AN INSTITUTION OF General Hiſtory, OR THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

BEING

A Complete Body thereof,

FROM

The beginning of the World till the Monarchy of
Constantine the Great. 5th of

WHEREIN

Are deſcribed the ſeveral Empires, and the Contemporaries with them, all diſtinctly and by themſelves, and yet linked together by Synchroniſms.

AS ALSO,

The Forms and Models of Governments, with the Power and Nature of their reſpective Magiſtrates, Cuſtoms, Laws, and Antiquities.

All in ſuch unbroken Order and Method as yet
Never was Extant.

The Second Edition with large Additions.

By **William Howel, LL. D.** ſometimes Fellow
of *Magdalen College* in *Cambridge.*

Ἡ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ἱϛορίας μάθησις ἑτοιμοτάτη διώρθωσις, καὶ ἀληθεινοτάτη παιδεία. Polybius.

Neſcire quid antequam natus ſit acciderit, id eſt ſemper eſſe puerum. Cicero.

Unde facilius quam ex Annalium Monumentis aut res bellica aut omnis Reipub. diſciplina cognoſcetur? Idem.

LONDON,
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TO THE
KINGS
Moſt Excellent and Moſt Sacred
MAJESTY.

Sir,

Although the quality of this work be truly ſuch, that, conſidering the brightneſs of Royal Majeſty, and the obſcurity of its own extraction, it cannot expect a bare acceptance, much leſs plead any merit in this addreſs; yet doth it find more reaſon for hope than deſpair; for as much as the whole World hath taken notice that your Majeſty's Grace and Clemency is founded more upon the tranſcendent goodneſs of your own Diſpoſition than the qualifications of your Subjects. Allowance hereby being made for what is mine, it were needleſs to inſiſt upon the Nobility and uſefulneſs of the Subject, the excellency whereof as humane tranſcendeth not your Orb, and the utmoſt improvement of which is within the Sphear of your activity. It were a piece of pedantry to ſhew to your Majeſty that Hiſtory is the ſtore-houſe whence Precedents may be fetched for all ſorts of Actions, Publick and Private, Military and Civil; that it is a Mirrour of prudence to ſhew both their beauty and deformity, a Touchſtone to diſcover deceits, an Incentive to virtue, and a Terror unto vice; that in it are contained the Prudence of times, imbecillity and ſtrength of Nations, Reaſons of State, Councils of Peace, and Stratagems of War; that in it Monarchy triumpheth over the Confuſions, Alterations, and Seditions of Popular Government. And ſhould I go about to inſtance in the various helps it affoardeth to the management of Civil matters, I might juſtly incur more than the cenſure that light upon him, who was ſo impertinent as to read a Lecture of the Art of a General in the preſence of Hannibal. *For it may juſtly be ſaid*

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that your Majeſty hath improved Hiſtory to the utmoſt ; that your actions have ſo far imitated antient Patterns as to exceed them. Others have waſted and deſtroyed Nations, you have recovered and reſtored three dying ones. Others have raged with fire and ſword, have rooted out, overturned, and made deſolate ; your Majeſty by Mercy and Grace hath replanted, ſettled, and inriched. Alexander *conquered the effeminate* Perſians, *and ſubdued other Nations whom their own unfitneſs for Military matters helped him to overcome.* Cæſar *tamed the naked* Galls, *and painted* Britains, *whom fool-hardineſs and barbariſm had armed againſt themſelves ; or if there be any other Atchievements of them, or others, which ſeem more glorious, yet the valour of their Soldiers, the experience of their times and viciſſitude of humane affairs, challenge to themſelves the greateſt ſhare of reputation. Your Majeſty hath ſubdued thoſe things which are beyond* Mars *his reach : You have tamed wild and extravagant paſſions of men, Conquered ſtubborn and perverſe diſpoſitions, laid low prejudice, and convinced ſuch, whom all theſe Diſtempers had rendred affectedly ignorant and diſobedient. Your Majeſty's Conqueſts therefore ſo much more excel the commendations of others, as it is more glorious to cure than kill, to reſtore than to deſtroy, to follow the dictates of Compaſſion and Mercy, than of indignation and revenge, to Conquer the mind than the Body ; and indeed to overcome one's ſelf than ſubdue others. That this is no flattery Hiſtory will aſcertain future times, and both the mouths and hearts of your People at preſent do teſtifie, which, though in other matters they may diſagree, yet all unite in this concent, that you are the* True Father of your Countrey. *In our acclamations during thoſe ſolemnities of your Majeſty's Royal Coronation, ſeeing there is no need of wiſhing you the Goodneſs of* Trajan, *we ſo much the more pray that the Happineſs of* Auguſtus *may light upon you, and that thoſe ſolemnities may in one part imitate the* Sæcular *ones amongſt the* Romans, *that though ſome of us have heretofore ſeen the like, yet through the length of your happy Reign none of us may do it for the time to come. I for my part, though a well-wiſher to Hiſtory, unfeignedly deſire, that not till after very many years ſo great an acceſſion of glory may come to it, as will accrue from the paſſages of your Majeſty's Government ; and that in the mean time your Majeſty may be as happy in the Love and Loyalty of your People, as they are in your Princely clemency and care. To this, both a ſenſe of merit and duty binds me, being*

Your Majeſties moſt Loyal Subject

WILLIAM HOWEL.

PREFACE.

THe *French* (who firſt Introduced this Cuſtom into the World of writing Prefaces before the works of others) have uſed that liberty with ſo much exceſs in the commendation of their friends, that they have rendred it not only ſuſpected to the Reader, but prejudicial to their repute whom they intended to honour by it. But as I cannot approve the indiſcreet zeal of thoſe perſons that would rather abrogate a good Office when abus'd, than indeavour to reform it, I would neither wave an imployment which gave me the occaſion of hinting to the Reader ſome ſuch things as may be of concernment to him in the peruſal of this work, and which the modeſty of the Author would not permit him to communicate, neither on the other ſide would I willingly recede from the ſtrictneſs and ſeverity of truth. So that whatſoever ſhall fall from me to his advantage ſhall not need any favourable conſtruction to make it paſs, nor ſhall I take that freedom to mix Fiction and Hiſtory together: The uſe of this latter is ſo obvious to every eye, that it is needleſs to ſpeak much of it, it ſhall ſuffice me in ſhort to ſay, that by the knowledge of Hiſtory we are taught wisdom, and led to virtue, there being nothing in the Actions or Fortunes, either of publick or private perſons, to which ſomewhat in former Ages bore not a reſemblance, and which by a due conſideration of the circumſtances we may not with profit apply to our preſent occaſions. How much we are excited to virtue by it, they that know the power of Emulation in noble minds will eaſily conclude: which is manifeſt by the famous examples of *Themiſtocles*, whom the victories of *Miltyades* robbed of his repoſe, of *Alexander*, who was ſtirred up to the deſire of glory by reading the actions of *Achilles*, as *Cæſar* by reflecting upon his; add to this, that ſuch perſons whom theſe Precedents of virtue will not encourage to it, are aw'd by Hiſtory from running headlong into vice, when they cannot but look on the writers of the preſent Age to be ſet as ſpies upon their Actions, and muſt expect when they are dead to be expoſed without fear or flattery to the Impartial cenſure of the living. For who is there that would ſo much value the pleaſure of a glaſs of Wine, as not to abſtain from drinking it, if he knew it had been all night ſteep'd in Antimony.

Theſe, beſides many others, are the benefits which accrue to us by the knowlege of Hiſtory in general, but that I may inform the World how much it is acknowleging to the worthy Author of this Inſtitution in particular, and wherein thoſe excellencies of his conſiſt, which diſtinguiſh him from the ordinary crowd of Hiſtorians, *Ut poſſit digito monſtrari & dicier hic eſt*, I muſt take leave to inſiſt upon theſe enſuing heads, wherein I ſhall plainly make appear to the equal and candid Reader, that Hiſtory is reduced by him in this work to ſuch order, and exact Method, as never yet in any Language.

For, firſt you have here all the Empires in diſtinct Chapters by themſelves, with the Contemporaries of them diſtinguiſhed in the ſame manner from each other, and from the Empire to which they were coætaneous. Whereas both in Syſtems and in larger Volumes of *General Hiſtory* they are mingled together with a ſtrange confuſion, like the ſeveral ingredients of an Olio in the ſame Diſh, where the variety of the Meats deſtroy the taſte of one another, and he that would read any Hiſtory by it ſelf, finds it immediately embroyl'd and interwoven with the affairs of other Nations, ſo that he will not eaſily form a perfect Idea in his mind of that which is given him but in parcels.

In the next place this Author has furniſhed you with a general Deſcription of *Greece*, its antient Kingdoms and Commonwealths, from their firſt Originals, the ſucceſſions of Kings, changes of Government, and forms of the ſeveral Republicks, with the power and nature of their reſpective Magiſtrates and Officers, not omitting the moſt conſiderable Cuſtoms, Laws, and Antiquities of each of them, deduced from the beſt Hiſtorians, whom you ſtill find quoted in the Margent; this, as it hath never been intirely performed by any Author heretofore, ſo ought it to ſet a peculiar mark of Honour upon ours, who hath been careful to give us an exact account of that Countrey, which was the Mother of Arts and Sciences.

After this, if we will turn our eyes upon the *Macedonian* Empire, and the ſeveral parts and branches of it, as the Kingdoms of *Syria*, of *Macedon*, and *Ægypt*, we ſhall ſtill have greater occaſion to admire the learn'd diligence of the Author. The *Græcian* Monarchy after the deceaſe of *Alexander* not being more diſmembred and rent in pieces by his Succeſſors, than by thoſe Writers who have tranſmitted the memory of it to poſterity, particularly, the *Aſian* and *Ægyptian* Kingdoms under the *Seleucidæ* and *Ptolomies* have never been compiled in one Hiſtory, and I have often wondred in my peruſal of this Inſtitution, by what means the Author of it could arrive at ſo clear a knowledge of thoſe perplex'd ſucceſſions. It was certainly a work of great labour to compare Hiſtorians, and to weave theſe ſeveral Arguments and looſe pieces into one entire Loom, which I the rather mind the Reader of, becauſe it is not eaſily perceiv'd by every ordinary capacity; for the uniformity of the ſtyle, and the unbroken order of the whole is ſuch, that they only who are converſant in Antiquities are able to judge what travel and ſtudy were required to it.

The *Roman* Hiſtory next invites our obſervation; wherein the ſucceſs of this Author hath ſufficiently recompenced his worthy pains; I dare confidently affirm, No modern Pen hath yet carried it on with ſo great light from the Original of the City to the time of *Conſtantine*. For from the baniſhment of *Tarquin* to the new modelling of the Government by *Auguſtus*, you have all the Intermediate Changes, Alterations, and Seditions of it, while yet a State; as, the conteſts of the *Patritians* and *Commons*, with the ſeveral motives of them; The diſplacing and reſtoring of Annual Magiſtrates, the Deſcription of their Offices, the Rites and Ceremonies of their Religion; all collected with great diligence from the Fathers of *Roman* Hiſtory, but never given us in one body by antient Authors, or by any of later days. I confeſs I have read a *French* Hiſtorian, who from the Reign of *Auguſtus* almoſt to that of *Juſtinian* hath given me the greateſt ſatisfaction of any man; Yet he often amuſeth himſelf (as ſome of our bad Chroniclers at home have done) with paſſages of ſmall concernment, and below the Dignity of an Hiſtorian to relate: and from the Foundation of the City to *Auguſtus*, pays his Readers with a bare tranſlation of *Florus*. Sr. *Walter Rawleigh* (never to be mentioned without honour) concludes his Hiſtory with the end of the *Macedonian* War, and the converſion of that Kingdom into a *Roman* Province: much about the ſame time we are forſaken by our beſt Guide *Livy*, whoſe Decads from the Captivity of *Perſeus* to the time of *Octavius Cæſar* (whoſe Contemporary he was) are wholly loſt: for in the concluſion of his fourty fifth Book (the laſt which is left us) he introduces King *Pruſias* ſpeaking to the *Romans*, whom he came to viſit, in theſe words; *Deos qui urbem Romam incolerent Senatumque & Populum Romanum ſalutatum ſe veniſſe, & gratulatum quod Perſea Gentiumque Reges viciſſent, Macedonibuſque & Illyriis in Ditionem redactis, auxiſſent Imperium.* But as this Author hath ſupplied the Defects of *Livy*, and continued the *Roman* Hiſtory five hundred years beyond Sr. *Walter Rawleigh*, ſo in the alteration of the Government from a Commonwealth to a Monarchy by *Auguſtus*, the reaſons which induced the Emperour to make that change, the manner how, and the form of it, are delivered with ſo great care, and deſcrib'd with ſo much life, That I could not but take a particular notice of it; and (with the civility of thoſe that carve to others where themſelves beſt like) invite the Reader to a more exact obſervation of that which hath given me ſo great contentment.

Neither hath he deſerved leſs of Chriſtian than prophane Hiſtory: for from the Primitive times till *Conſtantine* the *Great* he hath deduced the Succeſſions of Biſhops in the principal Sees, with the practice of the Chriſtians, and a faithful relation of their ſufferings in all the perſecutions.

For what concerns our own Iſland, I think he hath perform'd the part of a true *Engliſh-man*, and a lover of his Countrey: for he hath vindicated the Antiquity of its firſt Diſcovery by the *Phœnicians*, and that not only by the probable reaſons alleged by that great Perſon *Bochartus* for the Etymology of the word *Britannia*, but by other indeniable, and convincing Circumſtances, which as it redounds to the honour of our Nation, ſo reflects a part of that glory to our Author.

One particular of no ſlight conſequence I had almoſt omitted: That as the Reader may without any intervening matters impertinent to his preſent purpoſe read the Hiſtory of any Empire, or Kingdom Contemporary to it, by it ſelf, ſo he may likewiſe obſerve that the principal paſſages in all of them are link'd together by Synchroniſms, not only placed in the Margent, but in the beginning or end of every notable Occurrence.

Thus I have briefly and with much ſincerity couch'd together ſome of thoſe Excellencies, which amongſt many others I have obſerved

ſerved in this Inſtitution of Hiſtory: of which if I may preſume to give my private opinion, (though I am conſcious to my ſelf how little it ought to ſignifie to the World) I think the work taken altogether is for the order of it handſomly and judiciouſly contrived, for its ſtile perſpicuous, and for the learning in the ſeveral parts of Hiſtory, Antiquity, and Chronology, uncommon. Thoſe who deſire a greater politeneſs in the ſtyle may conſider, that the florid way of writing, which hath undeſervedly acquired ſo great a name to ſome of our own Age and Nation, is nothing proper to an Hiſtorian, and that our Author buſied himſelf in matters more ſerious, and of greater uſe, he choſe rather the plain but comely ſtrength of the *Dorique* Pillar, than the Effeminate, though curious ſhape of the *Corinthian*. For my own part, I confeſs that plainneſs and unaffected ſimplicity is pleaſing to me: and I think no Intelligent Perſon that goes upon buſineſs, will leap Hedges out of the open and direct Road, to Travel over Flowry Fields, or painted Meadows.

AN

AN
INSTITUTION
OF
General Hiſtory:
OR THE
Hiſtory of the World.

The Firſt Part.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

From the Beginning of the World to the Beginning of the Firſt EMPIRE.

1. IN (a) the beginning God created the Heaven and the Earth. By (b) Faith we underſtand that they were framed by his Word, ſo that things which are ſeen, were not made of things which do appear.

(a) Gen. 1. 1.
(b) Heb. 1. 3.

Man created.

Gen. 1. &c.

2. Mans Habitation being made and conveniently furniſhed the ſixth day; then (and not till then) was he made of the Duſt of the Earth, and, God breathing into his Noſtrils the Breath of Life, he became a living Soul. Being placed in the Garden of *Eden*, and a meet Help wanting to him, *Eve* was framed of one of his Ribs. Of all the Trees of the Garden, except that of the Knowledge of *Good* and *Evil*, they might ſafely eat; and at ſuch time as they ſhould eat of *it*, they were ſurely to die. But the Serpent beguiled the Woman, who did eat thereof, and giving to her Husband, he did alſo eat. Hereby they rendred themſelves guilty of Temporal and Eternal Death; they were condemned to Labour and Sorrow; and thoſe not confined to their own Perſons, but extended to their whole Poſterity, involved with them in the ſame Guilt: the demonſtrating whereof might ſeem the Scope of this preſent Work; nothing having ſucceeded but *Vanity and vexation of Spirit*; *nothing but Labour and Travail under the Sun.*

Falleth.

Expelled Paradiſe.

3. *Adam*, being expelled Paradiſe, to till the Ground, begat of *Eve* his Wife *Cain* and *Abel*; though in what Years is not expreſſed. *Abel* was a Keeper of *Sheep*, and *Cain* a Tiller of the Ground. By Faith, *Abel* offered to God a more excellent Sacrifice than *Cain*, by which he obtained witneſs that he was righteous, and contracted ſuch Envy, that his Brother ſlew him in the Field. The voice of his Blood cried to God from the ground, and drew down this puniſhment upon *Cain*, (beſides that of the Ground formerly laid upon his Father) to be a Fugitive and Vagabond in the Earth: Then departed he from the preſence of the Lord, and went into the Land of *Nod*, where he built a City, and called it *Enoch*, after the name of his Son. His Family was propagated to *Lamech*, the fifth in deſcent from himſelf, by whom the *Jews* * have thought him to have been ſlain, by reaſon of *Lamech's* words to his two Wives: that *he had ſlain a man to his wounding, and a young man to his hurt: if* Cain *ſhall be avenged ſeven-fold, then* Lamech *ſeventy and ſeven fold.*

Cain killeth *Abel.*

* *Vid.* Mercerum *in* Gen. 1. & Pererium.

Seth's Birth.

fold. After the death of *Abel*, *Adam* begat *Seth*, in the hundred and thirtieth year of his Age, as *Moſes* (*a*) maketh expreſs Mention; neglecting the Account of Time in the Family of *Cain*, becauſe his wicked Race periſhed in the Flood: the Church of God being to be continued in the Poſterity of *Seth*, of whom alſo (as to the Fleſh) his Son himſelf was to proceed.

(*a*) Gen. 3.

And poſterity.

4. In the Race of (*b*) *Seth*, is laid down the Account of Years from the Creation to the Deluge. For *Seth*, being born when *Adam* was 130 years old, begat (*) *Enos*, at the age of 105; *Enos* being 90, begat *Cainan*; and *Cainan* when he was 70, begat *Mehalelec*. From the Birth of *Mehalelec*, to that of his Son *Jared*, paſſed 65; from *Jared*'s to *Henoch*'s, 162; and thence, to that of *Methuſalah*, 65. *Methuſalah*, when he begat *Lamech*, was aged 187 years; *Lamech*, when he begat *Noah*, was 182; and *Noah* at the Time of the Flood, had lived 600 years; all which amount to the ſumme of 1656; each year of the Father's age being ſuppoſed compleat at the Birth of his Son. All theſe, by Divine Providence, for the propagation of Mankind, obtained a very long time upon the Earth. Though *Enoch* had the ſhorteſt, yet he never died, being taken up by God, after he had walked with him 365 years. *Methuſalah* his Son, of all others, arrived at the greateſt age, being 969 when he died. Yet, in a certain ſenſe, *Adam* lived longer than he; for being Created in his perfect ſtrength, and fit for Generation, he had the advantage of 60 Years, before which age, we read of none of them to have had any Children; Nature then requiring a longer time for maturity. If 60 now be added to 930 Years, which he lived, the number exceeds that of *Methuſalah*'s age by 21. Seeing the World required it, it cannot but be preſumed, that each of theſe begat other Children, and ſome of them before theſe here mentioned. But ſuch being but collateral to that Line, which was to be brought down to *Noah*, (who was to continue the Generation of Mankind, and to re-people the Earth) *Moſes*, upon that account, had no occaſion to make mention of them.

(*b*) Gen. 1.

* Here the Word *begat*, is to be underſtood in the ſame ſenſe as the Hebrew ילד, the Greek γεννᾶν, and the Latin *gignere*, which are applied to Mother as well as to Father, & betoken Birth rather than Conception. The Latin word *genitus* & *natus* ſignifie the ſame thing. *Tune ille Æneas quem Dardanio Anchiſæ Alma Venus Phrygiæ genuit Simoentis ad undas?* *Vide* Gen. 40. 20. Mat. 11. 1. Luc. 1. 47. 1 Pet. 2. 2.

Vide Plin. l. 7. c. 1.

Man's wickedneſs cauſeth a Deluge.

5. In the 480 year of the life of *Noah*, God ſeeing all Fleſh to have corrupted it ſelf, and as well the Poſterity of *Seth*, as that of *Cain*, to be given up to all wickedneſs; it repented him that he had made Man. He reſolved not alwayes to ſtrive with him, yet gave him the ſpace of 120 years to repent in. If no amendment appeared in that time, he fully determined by an univerſal Deluge to deſtroy Man and Beaſt, with the creeping thing, and the Fowls of the Air. Yet *Noah*, a juſt man, found grace in his ſight, and being a Preacher of Righteouſneſs to the wicked world, the Lord was graciouſly pleaſed to make choice of him and his Family to be a Remnant and a Seed, out of which Mankind and his Church might be propagated and repaired. He commanded him to build an Ark of * *Gopher* wood, into which he was to take his Wiſe, his Sons and their Wives, with ſome of every living thing of all fleſh; of the clean by Seven, and the unclean by Two. On (*c*) the tenth day of the ſecond Month, he commanded him to bring the living creatures into the Ark: On the ſeventh after, he entred it; and on the ſame day the Rain began to fall, and ſo continued for 40 days, and as many nights. For 150 days the Waters prevailed upon the Earth, (reckoned from the firſt Fall thereof;) inſomuch that fifteen Cubits upward the Mountains were covered, and all Fleſh died that moved upon the Earth, both of Fowl, and of Cattel, and Beaſt, and of every Creeping thing that creepeth upon the Earth, and every Man. But God remembring *Noah*, and every living thing, and all the Cattel that was with him in the Ark; after the forty days, the windows of Heaven were ſtopped, and the Rain from Heaven was reſtrained; and at the end of 110 more (which make up the 150) the Waters were abated. This fell out on the 29th day of the 6th Month, and the 196 of the Year conſiſting of Lunar Months; or the 17th day of the 7th Month, if they were Solar.

Noah and his family preſerved in the Ark

The order of the Deluge.

Gen. 5.

A. M. 1656.

* Some interpret it *Cedar*, others *Cypreſs*, than which, no wood is ſtronger; of which the doors of the Temple of *Epheſus* were made, the coffins of thoſe that died in the ſervice of their Country, *Jupiter*'s Scepter, and Ships in *Babylon* and *Aſſyria*.

(*c*) *Vide* Lud. Capellum *in Chronol. ſacra.*

The Ark reſteth on *Ararat.*

6. On the 17th day of the 7th Month the Ark reſted upon the Mountains of *Ararat*, according to the *Hebrew*; if, in this place the Verſion of the 70, and S. *Hierom* in the *Vulgar*, be not rather to be credited (which have the 27th,) ſeeing it is not probable that the Ark ſhould reſt the ſame day, or two days before the Waters began to decreaſe. On the firſt day of the 10th Month were the tops of the Mountains ſeen; and forty days after, *Noah* ſent forth a Raven which went to and fro, until the Waters were dried up from off the Earth. The Raven returning no more unto him, ſeven days after he ſent forth a Dove, to ſee if the Waters were abated, which finding no reſt for the Sole of her foot, returned unto him. He ſtay'd yet other ſeven days, and again ſent forth the Dove, which in the Evening brought in her mouth an Olive-leaf; ſo that he knew the Waters to be abated. Then, ſeven other days paſſed, he ſent her out the third time, and ſhe returned not

to him any more, the waters being now ſo much fallen, that the ordinary Hills might be uncovered, wherein ſhe might continue and feed; although the Plains and Vallies were ſtill overwhelmed. On the firſt day of the firſt Month of the 601 year of *Noah*'s Life, the Waters were dried from off the face of the Earth; yet ſo, as it ſtill remained moiſt and dirty, having been ſo long a time ſoaked with ſuch a quantity of moiſture. Therefore he ſtai'd yet 55 days more, till the 27th. day of the ſecond Month, before he went out of the Ark; ſo much time having been requiſite for drying the Ground (eſpecially in low places) and for the growth of Graſs, and other things neceſſary for the ſuſtenance of Living Creatures, which had continued in the Ark 365 days, or a full *Solar* Year, which exceedeth the *Lunar* eleven days.

Where *Ararat* is.

7. *The Ark reſted upon the Mountains of Ararat*; by which place moſt underſtand *Armenia*, rejecting the pretended Verſes of *Sibylla*, which place it upon a Mountain of *Phrygia*, near to the City *Celænæ*, and out of which the two Rivers *Marſyas* and *Meander* do iſſue. Some will have it to have reſted about *Araxene*, a Plain of *Armenia*, through which the River *Araxes* runneth, by the foot of the Mountain *Taurus*. But the far greater number conſiſting both of Heathens, Jews, and Chriſtians, pitch upon the Mountains of the *Gordyæans*, otherwiſe called *Carduchi*, *Cardiæi*, *Cordyæi*, *Corduëni*, *Gordi*, *Cordæi*, *Curdi*, *&c.* the Hill it ſelf being variouſly named *Kardu*, *Cardon*, *Kurud*, *Kardynus*, *Cordyæus*, &c. What Hill ſoever it was, it muſt have ſtood Eaſtward of the Countrey of *Shinar* or *Babylonia*, and the Vine muſt have naturally grown there; upon which, and other accounts theſe *Gordyæan* Mountains are rejected by a Learned (*) Writer of modern times, who affirmeth that *Ararat* named by *Moſes*, is not any one Hill, ſo called, no more than any one Hill among thoſe Mountains which part *Italy* from *France*, is called the *Alpes*; and will have the ſame Ledge of Hills running from *Armenia* to *India*, to keep the Name all along, and even in *India* to be called *Ararat*. For that the beſt Vine naturally groweth on the South-ſide of the Mountains *Caucaſi*; and, becauſe of other excellencies of that Soil, he thinketh it moſt probable that *Noah* there ſetled himſelf, and planted his Vineyard. And he alloweth beſt of the Opinion of *Goropius Becanus*, who conceiv'd the Ark to have reſted on the higheſt Mountains of that part of the World.

Vide Bocharti Phaleg. *l.*1.*c.*3.

(*) *Sir* Walter Raleigh. *lib.* 1. *c.* 7. *ſect.* 10.

The Teſtimony of the Heathen concerning *Noah*'s Flood.

8. Of this Deluge a Tradition remained amongſt the Heathen. (*a*) *Beroſus* the *Caldæan*, Prieſt of *Belus*, and Contemporary with *Alexander* the Great, wrote of the Ark's reſting upon the *Cordyæan* Mountains of *Armenia*, and how thoſe that came to ſee the Reliques of it (which yet were to be ſeen in his time) plucked off ſome Pitch, which they uſed to carry about them, as an Antidote againſt Infection. *Hierome* the *Ægyptian*, who wrote the Antiquities of *Phœnicia*, related the ſame; beſides *Mnaſeas*, and many others: amongſt whom *Nicolas* of *Damaſcus* is conſiderable, who in his 96th Book ſpake of the Hill *Baris*, in the Countrey of the *Mynians*, (a People in *Armenia*) upon which many ſaved themſelves in a Deluge, and one being carried thither in an Ark, there reſted; who might (ſaith he) be the ſame man concerning whom *Moſes* the Law-giver of the *Jews* wrote. *Xiſythrus* by one (*b*) is related, being forewarned of a Deluge by *Saturn*, to have fled by Boat into *Armenia*, where, the Waters decreaſing, he ſent out Birds to diſcover dry Land; which, finding none, returned to him again. He is ſaid by (*c*) a ſecond to have eſcaped a great Deluge which hapned in his dayes (being alſo forewarned by *Saturn* thereof) by providing an Ark, wherein, with himſelf, Birds, Creeping things, and Beaſts were preſerved. (*d*) A third brings in an *Ægyptian* Prieſt, declaring to *Solon*, out of the Monuments of Antiquity, that before the particular *Ogygian* and *Deucalionæan* Deluges, there was an univerſal one, by which the Earth was much defaced. (*e*) Another yet telleth a Story like in all things to the Hiſtory of *Moſes*, but that *Deucalion* is placed in the room of *Noah*. The particular Deluges which hapned afterwards in *Greece*, and other places, have by the Ancients been confounded with this; and (*f*) ſome think they did not in reality differ from it.

(*a*) Joſephus *Antiqu.l.*1.*c.*3.

(*b*) *Abydenus apud Euſebium*, præpar. Evang. *lib.* 9.

(*c*) Alex Polyhiſtor. *apud* Cyrill. *contra* Julian. *lib.* 1.

(*d*) Plato *in* Timæo.

(*e*) Lucian. *in lib. de Dea Syra*

(*f*) *Vide* Gerard Johan. Voſſii Chron. Sacr. Iſagog. Diſſert. 4. *c.* 3. *Vide eundem* Diſſert. 5. *c.* 1.

Noah's progeny.

9. *Noah*, before the Flood, begat three Sons, *Sem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*; of which the laſt in order ſeemeth to have been the firſt in Nature, although the contrary is defended; and yet ſo, as *Cham* is never accounted the Eldeſt. (*g*) *Noah* is, with great probability, thought to be *Saturn*, ſo much talked of by the Heathen; for many things concur to perſwade us to it. He was the common Father of all Mankind after the Flood, which thing is by *Orpheus* attributed to *Saturn*. Not only a juſt perſon, as *Saturn* (*h*) was, but a Preacher of Righteouſneſs. From the time of the Flood to the Diviſion of the Earth, he had a Natural Dominion over all Mankind, which ſpace fitly anſwereth to the Golden Age under *Saturn*. In

He is compared with *Saturn*.

(*g*) Bochart. Phaleg. *l.*1.*c.*1.

(*h*) Diodorus *lib.*5. *&* Aurelius Victor *de* Orig. Rom.

that Age there was but one Language, which *Mythologiſts* (a) ſo far extended as to make men and Beaſts to have ſpoken in the ſame Dialect. *Noah* is called an Huſbandman, (or, in the Hebrew phraſe, a *man of the Earth*;) and *Saturn*'s wife, *Rhea*, is the ſame with the Earth: he (b) being alſo ſaid to have taught *Janus* the Uſe of the Vine, and Sickle, in imitation of *Noah*, who planted a Vineyard. From *Noah*'s once being overtaken with Wine, the liberty of the *Saturnalia* might proceed; and from his Curſing of *Cham* with Servitude, the Cuſtom (c) obſerved amongſt the *Romans* during that Solemnity, of exerciſing ſervile Offices. The occaſion of the Curſe was *Cham*'s ſeeing his Father's Nakedneſs, and making a jeſt thereof; and the Poets (d) feign'd a Law made by *Saturn*, that none ſhould ſee the gods naked and go unpuniſhed. *Saturn* and *Rhea* are ſaid (e) to have been begotten of the *Ocean* and *Thetis*, and thence the Ancient *Romans* would have (f) the Badge of *Saturn* to be a Ship; which things much accord with the Hiſtory of *Noah*. *Saturn* devoured all his Children but theſe three, *Jupiter*, *Neptune* and *Pluto*, who divided the World amongſt them, as did *Sem*, *Cham* and *Japhet*. Of theſe, *Cham*, the youngeſt agreeth with *Jupiter*, being named *Jupiter Hammon*. *Japhet* with *Neptune*, for that he had his portion in Iſlands and Peninſula's. And *Sem*, being for his Goodneſs hated by Idolaters, might by them be condemned to Hell, and termed *Pluto*.

Cham is *Jupiter*. *Japhet Neptune*. *Sem Pluto*.

The poſterity of *Sem*.

10. Two years after the Flood, *Sem* being an hundred years old, begat *Arphaxad*, who is rationally (g) thought his eldeſt Son; although *Elam* and *Aſſur* be named before him; the Scripture in Genealogies not always obſerving the Order of Birth. *Arphaxad* at the Age of 35 years, begat a Son call'd *Selah*, according to the *Hebrew*; but the *Greek* Tranſlation of the 72. maketh him at the Age of 135. to have begat *Cainan*, which is followed by *Luke* in the Genealogie of Chriſt. Much is ſaid on both ſides for theſe ſeveral Readings; but moſt likely it is that this *Cainan* was neither thought of by *Moſes*, the 72 *Interpreters*, nor S. *Luke*; but that by a miſtake of the Tranſcribers, he crept into the Copies of *Luke*, and the 70. *Beza* had a Copy of *Luke* very ancient, and now in the Publick Library of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, wherein he is not found; and, what is more, he was not acknowledged by the Primitive Church, as appeareth by (h) *Irenæus*: That the Verſion of the 72. moſt anciently had him not, is probably inferred from *Joſephus*; who, though he wrote in *Greek*, and uſually followeth that Tranſlation, nameth him not; neither doth *Epiphanius* againſt Hereſies; nor *Hierome* in his *Hebrew Traditions*, though he there diſcourſeth of the differences betwixt the *Hebrew* and *Greek* Copies. Neither is he read in all Copies of the 1 *Chron.* 1. In *Moſes* he is no where to be found, either in the *Hebrew* Text, or the *Chaldæan*, or *Samaritan* Verſions. *Selah* (or *Schelach*) at the Age of thirty years begat *Heber*, from whom many think the *Hebrews*, and the *Hebrew* Tongue to be ſo named. *Heber* being 34 years old, begat *Phaleg*, ſo called, becauſe in his days the Earth was divided.

The building of *Babel*.

11. The Diviſion of the Earth was occaſioned by the confuſion of Languages; and this, by building of the Tower of *Babel*. (i) *Joſephus* telleth us that God had ſeveral times admoniſhed men to ſeparate themſelves, and inhabit the Earth: which they impiouſly taking in an ill ſenſe, as though he did it upon deſign to deſtroy them; at the inſtigation of *Nimrod*, the Son of *Chus*, and Nephew of *Cham*, (who now ambitiouſly affected Dominion over them) agreed to build a ſtately City, and a Tower which ſhould reach to Heaven, to defend them from danger, in caſe another Deluge ſhould overwhelm the Earth. They came from the Eaſt into the Land of *Shinar*, and there began their Work. Some put no other diſtinction betwixt the City and Tower but will have it only a City adorned with Towers. Others place them at a great diſtance from each other; but it (k) ſeemeth evident, that ſome one notable Tower was begun, and that in the City which was ſituate upon the River *Euphrates*.

Confuſion of Languages.

To put an end to this Deſign, God confounded their Language, that they underſtood not one another's Speech, and hereupon the City was called *Babel*, ſignifying Confuſion; and the Land of *Shinar*, afterwards known by the Name of *Babylonia*, ſometimes called *Babel* it ſelf, and the City *Babylon*, in ſeveral Languages.

Mentioned by Heathens.

Of this great Paſſage a Tradition alſo remained amongſt the Heathen, as appeareth by (l) *Abydenus*, *Hiſtiæus*, and *Sibylla*, who made mention of it; the Land of *Senaar*, and of *Babylon*, which they acknowledge was ſo called from *Babel*, in the *Hebrew* Tongue ſignifying *Confuſion*.

The Fable raiſed thereupon by the Poets.

Hence alſo the Fable aroſe concerning the Giants fighting againſt the gods, and their making a way to Heaven by heaping Mountains one upon another; which Attempt was blaſted by *Jupiter*'s Thunderbolts.

12. What

(a) Plato *in* Polit.

(b) *Servius in Virg. Æneid.* 8.

(c) *Athenæus lib.* 14.

(d) *Callimachi Hymni.*

(e) *Plato in Timæo.*

(f) *Vide* Aurelium *Victorem de Orig. Gentis* Roman. *ad initium.*

(g) Jacobus Capellus *in Hiſtor. ſacra & exotica.* p. 34.

(h) *Lib.* 3. *c.* 33. *Vide de hac re* Jacob. Capell. *Hiſt. ſacr. & exotic.* p. 35, &c. Gerard. Johan. Voſſium *in Diſſert. de genere Jeſu Chriſti ad Aphor.* 5. *Et Chron. ſacr. Iſagog. Diſſert.* 5. c. 2. Greg. Anglum *in Opuſculis.* Bocharti Phaleg. *l.* 2. c. 13. Uſſerii *Chron. ſacr.* c. 6.

(i) *Antiquit.* l. 1. c. 4.

(k) *Vide* Bocharti Phaleg. l. 1. c. 9.

(l) *Apud* Joſ. *quo prius. Et* Euſeb. *Præpar. Evang.* l. 9.

The Diviſion of the Earth.

Sem's Inheritance.

His five Sons.

1. *Elam.*

12. What the Sons of men (in oppoſition to the People of God ſo called) laboured to prevent in the Building of *Babel*, was thereby brought upon them; the Lord ſcattering them abroad upon the face of the Earth, and yet doing them more good than they intended to do themſelves. Some will have the three Sons of *Noah* to have divided the Earth by Lot, which, as yet could not be ſufficiently known; and at ſuch a City (namely *Rhinocoluca*) as was not built till many Ages after, by (*a*) *Actiſanes*, King of *Ægypt* and *Æthiopia:* Nay, one (*b*) proceedeth ſo far, as to brand him with Hereſie whoſoever doth not believe it. *Cham*, though the youngeſt, was advanced by the Heathen above the reſt, and named *Jupiter*: *Japhet*, as the Eldeſt, had the Prerogative of Birth-right; but *Sem*, for his Piety was preferred by his Father, through God's diſpenſation, and obtained the choiceſt Inheritance, which extended to this, and a better World. He hath five (*c*) Sons mentioned in Scripture, *Elam*, *Aſſur*, *Arphaxad*, *Lud*, and *Aram*. Of *Elam* deſcended the *Elamites*, or *Elymæans*, Neighbours to the *Medes*, and whom *Luke* placeth betwixt *Media* and *Meſopotamia*; from whom alſo the Neighbouring Regions were named: For *Suſan*, the Metropolis of the *Suſians*, is by *Daniel* placed in the Province of *Elam*; and, beſides that, (*d*) *Gabriana*, *Carbiana*, *Maſſabitica*, and *Suſiana*, as far as to the River *Eulæus*; near the Mouth of which alſo upon the *Perſian* Gulf, *Pliny* and others place the *Elymæans*.

(*a*) Diodorus *lib.* 1. *pag.* 38. *in margine notata.*

(*b*) Philaſtrius, *Hæreſ.* 70.

(*c*) Gen. 10. 22.

(*d*) *De his omnibus, vid.* Bocharti Phaleg. *l.* 2. &c.

2. *Aſſur.*

3. *Arphaxad.*

4. *Lud.*

5. *Aram.*

13. From *Aſſur* deſcended the *Aſſyres*, called afterwards *Aſſyrians*, and from him was named *Aſſyria*, properly ſo called, (which was the Countrey lying about *Ninas*, or *Ninive*) named alſo anciently (*e*) *Aturia*, and (*f*) *Atyria*, and in latter times (*g*) *Adiabene*. In it *Strabo* placeth the *Babylonians*, *Elymæans*, *Paraetacans*, *Gordiæans*, *Meſopotamians*, *Arabians* and *Syrians* (from *Ægypt* to *Pontus*, where the *Leuco-Syrians* dwell) called alſo *Aſſyrians*. *Syria* and *Aſſyria* were of old time promiſcuouſly uſed; but at length Cuſtom obtained that *Euphrates*, or *Tigris* parted them. From *Arphaxad*, *Joſephus* would have the *Chaldæans* iſſued, which, as he and others ſay, were anciently called *Arphaxadæans*; but in Scripture they are conſtantly read *Chaſdim*, from *Cheſed*, or *Chaſed*, Son to *Nachor*, the Brother of *Abraham*, and therefore owe their Original rather to him; and from *Arphaxad* ſeemeth to have received its Appellation part of *Aſſyria*, called *Arphaxitis*, and named *Arrapachitis* by *Ptolomy*. From *Lud* came the *Lydians*, anciently alſo known by the name of *Mæones*, as we have it from *Herodotus*, and others; the *Carians* and *Myſians* alſo, who inhabited the South part of *Aſia*, beyond the River *Mæander*, being reckoned of the ſame Original by him. Of *Aram* deſcended the *Aramæans* and the *Arimi*, called *Syrians*, after the growth of the *Aſſyrian* Empire. Four Sons of *Aram* are mentioned by *Moſes*, which (*) elſewhere are reckoned amongſt the Sons of *Sem*, viz. *Huz*, *Hull*, *Gether*, and *Mas*, or *Meſech*.

Vide eundem.

(*e*) *Strabo lib.* 16. *pag.* 736, 737.

(*f*) Dio *in Trajano.*

(*g*) *Suidas.*

Lib. 1.

(*) 1 Chron. 17.

The four Sons of *Aram.*

1. *Huz.*

2. *Hull.*

3. *Gether.*

4. *Mas.*

Joctan the ſecond Son of *Eber* had thirteen Sons.

14. *Huz*, or *Uz*, by general conſent of the Ancients, built *Damaſcus*. There being two beſides of the ſame Name, this hath made a confuſion amongſt Writers. One (*h*) was the ſon of *Nachor*, the Brother of *Abraham*, whoſe Seat is called *Auſitis* (*i*) in the *Greek*, and his Poſterity *Auſitæ*, a People of *Arabia* the *deſert*, mentioned by *Ptolomy*. (*k*) Another of the Poſterity of *Eſau*, or *Edom*; who fixed in *Arabia* the *Stony*, on the Borders of *Canaan*, from whom *Idumæa* is (*l*) called the Land of *Uz*. *Hull* (by *Joſephus* named *Otrus*) as they ſay, inhabited part of *Armenia*. *Gether* was the Father of the *Bactrians*, according to *Joſephus*; according to *Hierome*, of the *Carians*, and *Acarnanians*: and *Mercerus* ſtrangely joyneth all theſe Nations, ſo far diſtant in place, together in Original. *Mas* (called alſo (*m*) *Meſech*) is thought by *Joſephus* to be the Founder of the *Meſanæans*, a People near the *Camp* of *Paſinus*, about the Mouths of *Tigris*. *Hierome* maketh him the Father of the *Mæones*; being the ſame with the *Lydians*, whom he himſelf deriveth elſewhere from *Lud*. (*n*) Others will have him to have given Original to the People inhabiting the North-part of *Syria*, between *Cilicia* and *Meſopotamia*, near the Mountain *Maſius*; or to the Inhabitants of this Mountain, called *Maſieni*, and *Maſiani*. *Eber* the Son of *Selah*, beſides *Phaleg*, had another Son, named *Joctan*, whoſe thirteen Sons *Moſes* relateth, as the Founders of ſo many Nations; *Almodad*, *Sheleph*, *Hazermaxeth*, *Jerah*, *Hadoram*, *Uzal*, *Diklah*, *Obal*, *Abimael*, *Sheba*, *Ophir*, *Havilah*, and *Jobab*. Their dwelling was from *Meſha*, as thou goeſt, ſaith *Moſes*, unto *Sephar*, a Mount of the Eaſt. They inhabit, ſaith *Joſephus*, from *Cophenes*, a River of *India*, that Countrey of *Syria* which lieth upon it; as now the Text is: which cannot but be falſe Geography. And for *Syria*, *Aria* is rather to be read; which, as *Pliny* ſaith, according to the Judgment of others, included three other Provinces of the *Gedroſi*, *Arachotæ*, and *Paropamiſidæ*, being terminated with the River *Cophetes*.

(*h*) Gen. 22. 21.

(*i*) Job 1. 1.

(*k*) Gen. 36. 28.

(*l*) Lam. 4. 21.

(*m*) 1 Chron. 1. 17.

(*n*) *Junius*, *Bochartus*.

15. But neither in this place is there any thing to be met withal like *Meſha*, or
Sephar, or any people thereabout of the ſame name with *Joctan*, or his Sons; neither
could that *Ophir*, to which *Solomon* ſent for Gold by Sea, and which they
alſo will have denominated from one of the thirteen, be near *Aria*, which lieth
Their Seat. at the foot of the Mountain *Paropamiſus*, at a vaſt diſtance from the *Ocean*. Great
Bochartus therefore placeth them in the Mediterranean parts of *Arabia* the *Happy*, the
Inhabitants whereof, if they may be heard, challenge *Joctan* for the Founder of
1. *Almodad.* both the *Arabian* Nation and Language, calling him otherwiſe *Cahtan*. From *Almodad*
then, deſcended the *Amodæans*, by the *Greeks* called *Allumæotæ*, whom *Ptolomy*
placeth in the middle of *Arabia*, near the Head of the River *Lar*, which emptieth
2. *Sheleph.* it ſelf into the *Perſian* Sea. From *Saleph* the *Salapeni*, who lived more remote
upon the Borders of *Arabia Deſart*, not far from the Spring of the River *Betius*.
3. *Hatſarmaveth.* From *Hatſarmaveth* (which word is variouſly written, and by the *Arabians*
called *Hadramauth* or *Chadramauth*) were named the Regions *Adramyta*, *Chatramis*,
Chatramitis, and the Inhabitants *Athramotitæ*, *Chatramotitæ*, *Chatramotæ*, *Atramitæ*,
and *Adramitæ*, whoſe Metropolis was anciently called *Sabota*, *Sabbata*,
4. *Jerach.* *Saubata*, at this day *Sebam*. From *Jerach* came the *Alilæi*, a People inhabiting
near the *Red Sea*: *Jerachæi* in *Hebrew*, and *Alilæi* in *Arabick*, being the Sons of
Jarlach, *Hilal*, or the *Moon*.

5. *Hadoram.* 16. From *Hadoram* iſſued the *Drimanti*, placed by *Pliny* upon the *Perſian* Gulf,
6. *Uzal.* near the *Macæ*. From *Uzal*, the Inhabitants of the Kingdom of *Alieman* (in
the Eaſtern part of *Arabia*) ſeem to be deſcended, *Sanaa* the Metropolis, being by
7. *Dicklah.* the *Jews* ſtill called *Uzal*. *Dicla*, in the *Chaldæan* and *Syrian* Tongues ſignifying a
Palm; from him muſt that part of *Arabia* have been called, wherein that Tree
8. *Obal.* moſt grows, inhabited by the *Minæi*, *Obal* (in the *Arabian* Tongue *Aubal* and
Abal) ſeemeth to have paſſed over the Gulf into *Arabia Troglodytica*, and to have
9. *Abimael.* given Name to the Mart-Town and Bay of *Abalites* or *Avalites*. *Abimael* was the
Father of the *Malitæ*, whom *Thophraſtus* maketh to have inhabited one of the four
10. *Shebah.* Regions fruitful in Spices. Of *Seba* came the *Sabæans*, properly ſo called; named
alſo *Sabatæ*, who dwelt by the *Red Sea*, betwixt the *Minæans* and *Catabanes*, which
Nations alſo, together with the *Chatramotæ*, are by Writers often included amongſt
the *Sabæans*. Beſides this *Seba*, there were three others of that Name, and Founders
of Nations. As (a) *one* the Son of *Chus*, *another* his Nephew by *Ragmah*.
and the (b) *third* the Son of *Jockſhan*, and Nephew of *Abraham*. *Seba* the Son of
Joctan joyned to the *Arabian* Sea; the reſt to the *Perſian*; ſo that the *Sabæans*, (of
whom the *Greeks* and *Romans* know no diſtinction) are ſaid by *Pliny*, to live from
Sea to Sea. The Son of *Jokſan* lived on Robbery; but the reſt by Commerce
11. *Ophir.* with other Nations. *Ophir* (in *Arabick*, *Auphar*, ſignifying *moſt rich*) gave Name
to that part of *Arabia* near the *Sabæans*, which was inhabited by the *Ceſſanitæ*, *Caſandres*,
or *Gaſandræ*, ſo called from the Treaſures; Gold, for its plenty, being
here in little requeſt. Another *Ophir* there was alſo in *India*; in the Iſland *Taprobane*,
as moſt probable; the *Phœnicians* being accuſtomed to give old Names to
12. *Havilah.* new-found places. From *Chauila* the Son of *Joctan* (for there was another of
this Name, Son to *Chus*) deſcended the *Chaulonitæ*, called otherwiſe *Carbi*, and
Cerbani, the moſt warlike of the *Arabians*, whoſe Seat is yet called *Chaulan*. Of
13. *Jobab.* *Jobab*, the laſt of the thirteen, came the *Jobabitæ*, placed by *Ptolomy* next to the
Sachalites. This was the Habitation of the Sons of *Joctan* from *Meſha*,
called otherwiſe *Muſa* and *Muza*, a famous Port upon the *Red Sea*, as one goeth
to *Saphar* a Mountain Eaſtward, where was a City of the ſame Name; both Port
and City being well known to the *Ægyptians* and *Æthiopians*, who uſed to trade
into theſe parts. This was the Inheritance of the Sons of *Sem*, the choiſeſt of all,
though contained only within *Aſia*.

Japhet's portion. 17. To *Japhet* fell a very conſiderable part of *Aſia*, and *Europe*, the leaſt of the
Diviſions of the Earth, but better improved than the reſt, and far more populous;
of later times the Seat of Learning, & of two Empires, which extended their power
to the Inwards both of *Aſia* and *Africa*; and in an eſpecial manner bleſſed with
Japetus. more than worldly proſperity, ſince *Japhet dwelt in the Tents of* Sem. The *Greeks*
Japhet's ſeven Sons. acknowledged him for their Founder, by the name of *Japetus*, than whom they
thought nothing more ancient. *Moſes* reckoneth ſeven of his Sons, and as many
1. *Gomer.* Nephews. The Sons are (c) *Gomer*, *Magog*, *Madai*, *Javan*, *Tubal*, *Meſhech* and
Titas. *Joſephus* maketh *Gomer* the Father of the *Galatians*, which if ſo, the ſame
Original muſt be extended to the *Gauls*, of whom the other were but a Colony;
and to ſome the Names of *Cimmerii* and *Cimbri*, whereby the Inhabitants of the
Weſtern parts have been known, as alſo thoſe of *Kumero*, *Kumeri* and by *Cymbro*,
which

(a) Gen. 10.7.
(b) Gen. 5.3.
(c) Gen. 10.2.

Bochartus lib. 3. cap. 8.

which our ancient *Britains* (of the ſame ſtock with the *Gauls*) called themſelves, ſeem to own no other Original. But another thinketh the Land of *Gomer* to be that part of *Phrygia* called *Catecaucemene*, lying upon the Rivers *Cayſter* and *Mæander*, and the City *Philadelphia*; the Plains of which conſiſt of a burnt kind of Earth like Aſhes, and the Hilly parts are all Stony, the whole Countrey being brittle, aduſt, and eaſie to be inflamed. This he gathereth from the ſignification of *Gomer* and *Phrygia*, both which import *Burning*: *Moſes* (according to his Judgment) not alwayes calling the Founders of Nations by their true and proper Mames, but by the Names of the Countries which they planted. Ever when the word is of the Plural Number, as of the Sons of *Javan*, *Chittim*, and *Rodauim*; and all the Sons of *Miſraim* and *Canaan* (except *Sidon* and *Heth*) muſt needs be Names of Peoples, not of particular Men. *Hatſarmaueth* he proveth to be the Name of a Place only; for that it ſignifieth the *Region of Death*; as *Dikla*, a place of *Palm-trees*; *Ophir*, a *rich*; *Jobab*, ſo called from the *Deſart*, and ſeveral others.

Gomer's three Sons.
1. *Askenaz.*
2. *Riphath.*
3. *Togarmah.*
(a) *Chap.* 58. & *chap.* 27. *v.* 14.

18. *Gomer* hath three Sons mentioned by *Moſes*; *Aſhkenaz*, *Riphath*, and *Togarmah*. From *Aſhkenaz* thoſe deſcended, according to *Joſephus*, by the *Greeks* called *Regines*; which who they were, is not to be underſtood. Moſt probably, by *Aſhkenaz* is ſignified *Bithynia*, in which is the Bay *Aſcanius*, beſides a Lake and River of the ſame name; or *Troas* and *Phrygia the leſs*, in which were *Aſcanea*, both Countrey and City, and Iſland *Aſcaniæ*. From *Riphat*, *Joſephus* deriveth the *Paphlagonians*, a People of *Aſia the leſs*, near *Pontus*, and Neighbours to the *Phrygians*. *Togarma* is variouſly expounded by Writers. It appeareth out of *Ezekiel* (a) that *Gomer* and *Togarma* were not far diſtant; both North of *Judæa*: and that from *Togarmah* came Horſes and Mules to be ſold at *Tyre*. Hereto well agreeth the Opinion of *Joſephus*, who placeth *Togarmah* in *Phrygia*, to which *Cappadocia* was near adjacent, North to *Judæa*, and excelled in the Breed of Horſes and Mules.

2. *Magog.*
The ſame with *Prometheus.*
(b) *Vide* Bochartum *l.* 1.
3. *Madai.*
4. *Javan.*
(c) *cap.* 8. *v.* 21.

19. From *Magog*, *Japhet*'s ſecond Son, deſcended the *Scythians*, according to *Joſephus* and others; *Gog* and *Magog*, being that part of *Scythia* about *Caucaſus*, which the *Colchi* and *Armenians* (whoſe Language was half *Chaldæan*) called *Goghaſan* (*i.e.* the Fort of *Gog*) and thence the *Greeks*, *Caucaſus*: to whom alſo *Gogarene* was known, which *Stephanus* deſcribeth to be between the *Colchi* and Eaſtern *Iberi*. *Magog* ſeemeth to be the ſame with *Prometheus*. For as *Prometheus* was the Son of *Japetus*, ſo *Magog* of *Japhet*. *Prometheus* was feigned to be fixed to *Caucaſus*, and *Caucaſus* was the Seat of the *Scythians* of old time, till they expelled the *Cimmerii*, and ſucceeded them: *Prometheus* brought down Fire from Heaven, which might take Original from *Magog* his finding out of Metals in *Colchis* and *Iberia*. And the Fable of his Heart or Liver being eaten by an Eagle, may be found in (b) the word *Magog*, which ſignifieth *to be diſſolved*, or *to decay*. *Hierapolis*, a City in *Syria*, ſeemeth to have been called alſo *Magog* from him; ſeeing *Deucalion* the *Scythian*, and Son of *Prometheus*, is by *Lucian* ſaid to have conſecrated the Temple there to the *Syrian Goddeſs*. From *Madai* it's generally granted, that the *Medes* are iſſued; the *Medes* and *Perſians* being conſtantly in the Book of *Daniel* and *Eſther*, named *Mædai* and *Paras*. From *Javan* deſcended the *Iones*, (or all that inhabited *Greece*, from *Thrace* to the *Iſthmus* of *Corinth*, the *Macedonians* being included) *Homer* calling them *Iaones*, and *Alexander* being ſignified by (c) *Daniel* under the Name of the King of *Javan*.

His four Sons.
1. *Eliſa.*
2. *Tarſhiſh.*
* 2 Chron. 20. 36.
3. *Kittim.*

20. The Sons of *Javan* were *Eliſa*, *Tarſhiſh*, *Kittim*, and *Dodanim*; from whom four Provinces took their Names. From *Eliſa*, *Æolis*, according to *Joſephus*; but rather *Elis* (the moſt ancient and ample Region of *Peloponneſus*, part whereof is by *Homer* called *Aliſium*) to be taken for the whole *Peninſula*. From *Tarſis*, *Joſephus* and others derive *Tarſus*, the great City in *Cilicia*; ſome *Carthage*; another *Tunis*; but *Euſebius* and *Bochartus* underſtand the *Iberians* or *Spaniards*, amongſt whom was a place called *Tarleſſus*. Beſides this, there was another (*) *Tarſis* in the *Indian* Sea, whither Ships went from *Eſion-gaber*; and indeed, whatever the word originally ſignifieth (whether *Cilicia* or any other place) it is ſecondarily applied to the *Mediterranean Sea*, which reacheth unto *Phœnicia*, and ſometimes ſeemeth to denote the *Ocean* it ſelf. *Joſephus* will have *Cittim* to have poſſeſſed himſelf of the Iſland *Cyprus*, where was a City called *Citium*, the native place of *Zeno* the Stoick; and hence, he ſaith, the *Hebrews* called all Iſlands and maritime places by the name of *Chethim*. Others will have the *Chians*, ſome certain Nations of *India*; others *Cilicia*, ſome, *Macedonia* to be underſtood by this word. The *Romans* are by *Daniel* ſignified under this name, and in *Italy* were of old the Cities *Cetia*, *Echetia*, and the River *Cetus*; and *Chittim* imports the ſame thing with the word *Latinum*,

4. *Dodanim*, or rather *Rhodanim*.

Chap. 11. v. 29, 30.

um, betokening to lie hid. The Opinion therefore of *Joſephus* is very probable, that theſe Iſlands and Coaſts of the *Mediterranean* might be known to the *Hebrews*, under the Name of *Chethim*. *Dodanim* (omitted in *Joſephus*) by ſome is interpreted *Dardanians*, by others *Dodonæans*. But moſt anciently it was read *Rhodanim*, which the *Greek* rendreth *Rhodians*, though the Name of *Rhodes* is later than *Moſes* his time. *Bochartus* therefore placeth this People in *Gaul*, about the River *Rhodanus* (now *Rhene*) which he proveth not to have been ſo named from *Rhoda*, a Town there Founded by the *Rhodians*. *Rhodanim*, he ſaith, ſignifieth *Yellow*, or *Saffron-coloured*, which agreeth well with the colour of the Hair of the ancient *Gauls*, either Natural, or Affected; wherein alſo the *Britains* ſhewed themſelves deſcended of the ſame Stock; as *Jornandes* judgeth.

5. *Tubal*.

6. *Meſech*.

Chap. 27. v. 13.

7. *Tiras*.

21. *Tubal* and *Meſech* (the fifth and ſixth Sons of *Japhet*) are joyned in Scripture, moſt commonly, together; as near to each other. *Joſephus*, from them deriveth the *Iberians*, and *Cappadocians*, who had a City in his time, known by the Name of *Mazacha*. *Bochartus* underſtandeth by *Meſech* and *Tubal*, the *Moſchi* and *Tibareni*, which are ſo joyned together by *Herodotus*, as *Meſech* and *Tubal* in the Scripture. The *Moſchi* (beſides *Moſchica*, properly ſo called) poſſeſſed all from *Phaſis*, as far as *Pontus* of *Cappadocia*; the *Moſchian* Mountains reaching ſo far. Then next ſucceeded the *Tibarens*, according to *Strabo*, who extendeth their Borders to *Pharnacra*, and *Trapezond*, the *Moſchian* and *Colchian* Mountains: ſo that they lay betwixt the *Trapezuntians*, and the Inhabitants of *Armenia* the leſs. *Tubal* and *Meſech* are noted by *Ezechiel*, to abound in Slaves, and Braſs; which, by the Conſent of Authors, fitly agreeth with the Regions of *Pontus*; eſpecially *Cappadocia*. From *Thiras*, moſt Authors derive *Thrace*; a Woman of which Countrey was called *Threiſſa*; and many Names there, both of Places and Perſons, perſwade the ſame thing. This was the Portion of *Japhet*, anſwerable to the Bleſſing of his Father; that *God ſhould enlarge him*. For unto it belonged all *Europe*, how big ſoever, beſides *Aſia* the leſs, *Media*, part of *Armenia*, *Iberia*, *Albania*, and thoſe vaſt Tracts towards the North, inhabited of old by the *Scythians*, and now by the *Tartars*: To ſay nothing of the New World, into which it's probable the *Scythians* paſſed by the Straits of *Anian*. To his Poſterity belong the Northern parts, which by *Jornandes*, an Hiſtorian of the *Goths*, are deſervedly termed, The *Work-houſes of People*, and *Sheaths of Nations*.

Cham's portion.

Plutarch in *Iſide*.

22. Curſed *Cham* was not excluded from Earthly Bleſſings. To his Lot fell *Ægypt*, and all *Africk*, a great part of *Syria*, and *Arabia*, beſides *Babylonia*, *Suſiana*, *Aſſyria*, and other Countries, which his Grand-ſon *Nimrod* poſſeſſed himſelf of. *David* very often calleth *Ægypt* the Land of *Cham* or *Ham*: the Ancient Inhabitants themſelves, *Chamia*, or *Chemia*. In *Arabia* and *Africk* the Name of *Ammon*, (the Aſpiration being taken away) was univerſally known, as appeareth by *Ammon*, a River in *Arabia*, the Promontory *Ammonium*, and the People called *Ammonii*. In *Africk*, the City *Ammonis* upon the River *Cinyphus*. The Chappel of *Ammonis* in the Iſland *Meroe*. In *Marmarica*, the City *Ammonia*, vulgarly *Parætonium*: And the *Ammonian* Countrey, where was the famous Oracle of *Ammon*. Nay, all *Africk* was called *Ammonis*, or *Ammonia*. *Ham* ſignifieth *Hot*: in which reſpect it agreeth well with the *Greek* word *Zeus*, the Name of *Jupiter*. *Ham* was *Noah*'s youngeſt Son; ſo was *Jupiter* the youngeſt of *Saturn*. From *Cham*'s living in *Africk*, the hotteſt part of the World, *Jupiter* may be called the Lord of Heaven. And *Saturn*'s being made an Eunuch by his Son *Jupiter* (or *Cælius* by his Son *Saturn*, as *Macrobius* hath it) ſeemeth to relate to that Fault, for which *Cham* received from his Father a Curſe inſtead of a Bleſſing. Of theſe things *Bochartus* giveth abundant ſatisfaction, to name no more.

His four Sons.
1. *Chus*.

(a) *Vide Bochartum lib.* 4. *cap.* 2. *Raleium* l. 7. c. 8. ſec. 10.

His ſix Sons.

Their Seat.

Mizraim.

23. Four Sons of *Cham* are recorded by *Moſes*; *Chus*, *Miſraim*, *Phut*, and *Canaan*. From *Chus*, by a general Miſtake, the *Æthiopians* in *Africk* have been thought to be deſcended; whereas, by the Land of *Chus*, in Scripture is meant (a) part of *Arabia*, inhabited by the *Chuſæans*, called alſo *Cuthæans*; of whom were the *Madianites*, and *Sephora* the Wife of *Moſes*, who did not flie into *Æthiopia*, and there marry her. They inhabited above *Ægypt* upon the *Perſian Gulf*, in part of *Arabia* the *ſtony* and the *happy*; thought by ſome to be the ſame with the Ancient *Scenites*, and the Modern *Saracens*, being called *Scenites* from dwelling in Tents; and *Saracens*, from their Robberies. *Chus* hath ſix Sons mentioned; *viz.* *Seba*, *Havilah*, *Sabtah*, *Raamah*, *Sabtecha* and *Nimrod*. *Raamah* hath two, *Sheba*, and *Dedan*. All theſe inhabited about the *Perſian Sea*; except *Nimrod*, whom *Moſes* affirmeth to have fixed his Seat at *Babel*. By the Name of *Mizraim*, is to be underſtood the Father of thoſe who inhabited *Ægypt*, thrice in Scripture called

Maſor (the Singular Number of the word *Mizraim*) as it's thought, from the ſtraightneſs of it, being extended out in length from the Sea towards *Syene*. From *Mizraim*, *Moſes* deriveth ſeven People or Nations: *Ludim*, *Anamim*, *Lehabim*, *Pathruſim*, *Caſluhim* (out of whom came *Philiſtiim*) and *Caphtorim*.

24. *Joſephus* will have the eight Sons of *Miſraim* to have poſſeſſed all the Country lying between *Gaza* and *Ægypt*, though *Philiſtin* only gave Name to it; from whom the *Greeks* called it *Palæſtina*. *Lybis*, he ſaith, led a Colony into *Libya*, which he named after himſelf; but as for the reſt, he confeſſeth both their Names and Affairs to be obſcure, their Cities being overthrown, as he ſaith, in the *Æthiopian* War made by *Moſes*; concerning which he bringeth a meer Fable, taken out of *Artapanus*, and the Inventions of the *Helleniſts*. As for *Ludim*, *Bochartus* by ten Arguments proveth the *Æthiopians* to be meant thereby, whom he will have alſo a Colony of the *Ægyptians*. By *Anamim* the *Nomades* of *Africk*, who inhabited about *Ammonis*, and in *Naſamonitis*, and for *Anamians*, might eaſily be called *Amonians* and *Ammonians*; they being alſo a Colony of the *Ægyptians* and *Æthiopians*, as appeareth out of *Herodotus*. Of the ſame Original he maketh the *Naſamones*, *Amantes*, *Hammanientes* (who * made their Houſes of Salt) and the *Garamants*. *Lehabim* or the *Lehabæans* are thought to be the ſame with the *Libyans* bordering upon *Ægypt*, from whom this Denomination might paſs to thoſe that inhabited the greateſt part of *Africk*. *Naphtuhim* he placeth in *Marmarica* upon the *Mediterranean* Sea; *Pathruſim* in *Thebais*, a Province of *Ægypt*, called *Pathros*, and by many diſtinguiſhed from *Ægypt*, though Peopled from it.

Miſraim's 8 Sons.

1. *Ludim.*

2. *Anamim.*

3. *Lehabim.*

4. *Naphtuhim.*

5. *Pathruſim.*

Antiq. l. 1. c. 6.

* Solinus. c. 31.

25. *Caſluhim* he maketh to ſignifie the *Colchi*, though ſo far diſtant from *Ægypt*, out of which they deſcended; and from *Paleſtine*, the Inhabitants whereof deſcended from them; both their Language and Life in all particulars ſo abſolutely agreed with the *Ægyptians*, of whom, by the Heathen alſo, they have been thought a Colony, left there by *Seſoſtris* in his Expedition, though they be of more Antiquity than he. The *Caphtorim* ſeem to have been Neighbours to him; from whom alſo, together with them, the *Philiſtines* deſcended, as appeareth from ‖ Scripture. They are therefore to be placed in that part of *Cappadocia*, which lieth next to *Colchos* about *Trapezond*. It is probable that, upon the Report of the Richneſs of theſe Places, the *Ægyptians* ſent out a Colony (for this drew thither *Phrixus*, *Jaſon*, *Seſoſtris*, the *Medes* and *Perſians*, and of later times the *Saracens* out of *Arabia*:) which, finding the Climate too cold, or the Countrey not to anſwer expectation, or perhaps moleſted by the *Scythians* and others; part thereof reſolved to return home, and in their way ſeated themſelves in *Paleſtine*, after they had expelled thence the * *Anims*. The Captain of this Expedition ſeemeth to have been *Typhon*, reported by the *Greek* Poets, to have made War againſt the Gods, and to have pierced as far as *Caucaſus*; but, after many Battels, being ſtricken of *Jupiter* with a Thunderbolt, to have fled into *Paleſtine*; where he died at the Lake of *Serbonis*, and ſtill lyeth buried.

6. *Caſluhim.*

7. *Caphtorim.*

‖ Jer. 47. 4. Amos 9. 4.

* Deut. 11. 23.

26. The third Son of *Cham* was *Phut*, who divided *Africk* with his Brother *Miſraim*. To *Miſraim* fell *Ægypt*, and moſt part of *Africk*, as far as the Lake of *Tritonis*, which divideth *Africk* into two equal parts. To *Phut*, all from the Lake, as far as the *Atlantick Ocean*; as may be gathered from (a) *Herodotus*. As far as the *Lake*, he ſaith, all the *Africans* uſed the Cuſtoms of *Ægypt*; but thoſe beyond them towards the Weſt, a far different kind of Life. Some Names retained a Memorial of *Phut*, as the City *Putea*; a River of *Mauritania Tingitana*, called *Phut*; and the Haven *Phthia*, mentioned by *Ptolomy*, *Pliny*, and others. *Canaan* is the fourth Son reckoned in order by *Moſes*. He begat *Sidon*, his Firſt-born, and *Heth*, the *Jebuſite*, the *Amorrhite*, the *Girgaſite*, the *Hivite*, the *Arkite*, the *Sinite*, the *Arvadite*, the *Zemarite*, and the *Hamathite*. By *Canaan* was inhabited the Land, which thereupon bore his Name, and was afterwards conquered by the *Hebrews*. His Family was propagated as far as the Sea, the *Phœnicians* being deſcended of him, as *Eupolemus* an Heathen Writer, in his Book of the *Jews*, bare witneſs, ſaying, That *Saturn* begat *Belus* and *Chanaan*; and the later begat the Father of the *Phœnicians*: beſides, one *Cna* is ſaid by *Sanchoniathon* (a moſt ancient *Phœnician* Writer) to have been the firſt Man that was called *Phœnician*; whence, by *Stephanus*, *Phœnice* is called *Cna*, and the *Phœnicians*, *Cnai*. But, what is more, the Scripture calleth *Phœnicia* the Land of *Canaan*.

3. *Phut.*

4. *Canaan.* His Poſterity and Seat.

(a) *Lib.* 4. c. 185, 187.

Euſeb. *Præpar. Evang.* l. 9.

27. *Sidon*, the Firſt-born of *Canaan*, was the Father of the *Sidonians*, or the Builder of the City *Sidon*, which was more ancient than *Tyre*, and the Metropolis to it; the *Sidonians* having led a Colony thither, and founded *Tyre*, according to *Trogus* (b) before the deſtruction of *Troy*; 240 years before the building of *Solomon*'s Temple, as *Joſephus* counteth. The Children of *Heth* dwelt in the Land of

1. *Sidon.*

2. *Heth.*

(b) *Lib.* 18. *Antiq.* l. 8. c. 2.

3. The *Jebuſite.*
4. *Ammonite.*
5. *Gergaſite.*
6. *Hivite.*
7. *Arkite.*
8. *Sinite.*
9. *Arnadite.*
10. *Zemarite.*
11. *Hemathite.*

Canaan, about *Hebron* and *Barſeba* towards the South; and from them the *Anakims* deſcended. The *Jebuſites* held *Hieruſalem*, and the Caſtle of *Sion* until *David's* time. The *Ammonites* paſſed the Mountains of *Judæa*, and paſſing over *Jordan*, made War upon the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*; ſeized upon *Baſan*, *Heſbon*, and all the Country lying between the River *Jabbok* and *Arnon*: in memory whereof, one of their Poets wrote a Poem, which *Moſes* (a) hath inſerted into his Writings. The *Gergaſites* ſeem to have continued about *Gereſa*, or *Gadara*, over againſt *Galile*, beyond *Jordan*, (b) till Chriſt's time. The *Hivites* dwelt in Mount *Hermon*, towards the Eaſt of the Land of *Canaan*, from whom deſcended the *Gibeonites*, living nigh to *Jeruſalem*, and the *Sichemites* dwelling near to *Samaria*, more towards the Weſt. The *Arkites* inhabited *Arca*, or *Arce*, a City in *Libanus*, mentioned by *Joſephus* and *Ptolomy*. The *Sinites* had a City called *Sin*, not far from *Arce*, according to *Hierome*: but *Bochartus* placeth them at *Peluſium*; *Sin* ſignifying *Mud* or *Clay*, as *Pelos* in *Greek*. The *Arnadites*, or *Aradites*, ſeized upon the Iſland *Aradus*, on the Coaſt of *Phœnice*, at the Mouth of the River *Eleutherus*, and part of the Neighbouring Continent, where was *Axtaradus*, *Marathus*, and *Laodicea*. The *Zemarites*, or *Semerites*, dwelt (as it's thought) about *Fineſa*, a notable City of *Cœloſyria*, upon the River *Orontes*, and built *Semarajim* in the Tribe of *Benjamin*. And the *Hemathites* were ſeated about the City of *Syria*, called *Epiphania*, and not at *Antiochia*, which is at too great a diſtance. This was the Inheritance of the Sons of *Canaan*, *whoſe Border was from* Sidon, *as thou comeſt to* Gerar *unto* Gaza, *as thou goeſt unto* Sodom *and* Gomorrah, *and* Admah *and* Zeboim, *even unto* Laſha; which ſome interpret *Cæſarea Philippi*, others *Callichoë*; but *Bochartus* thinketh it to be *Lyſa*, a City of the *Arabians*, in the mid-way between the *Dead*, and *Red Seas*.

(a) Num. 21. 27.
(b) Mat. 8. 28. Mark 5. 1. Luke 8. 27.

Thus was the Earth moſt anciently divided, and poſſeſſed after the Flood. How it hath ſince, in the ſeveral parts of it, changed its Inhabitants, ſhall be diſcovered, upon occaſion, as the Work will bear.

CHAP. II.

Of the Babylonian *Empire, from the firſt Founding thereof, to its utter Subverſion by* Cyrus.

The Beginning of *Nimrod's* Kingdom.

1. After the Diviſion of the Earth, *Nimrod*, as we ſaid, the Son of *Chus*, and Nephew of *Cham*, fixed his Seat at *Babel*, and therein firſt began a Kingdom; having joyned to it (a) *Erech*, and *Accad*, and *Calneh*, in the Land of *Shinar*. By *Erech*, the Ancients underſtood *Edeſſa*; and by *Accad*, *Niſibis*: But neither the Names nor Situation of theſe Cities do agree; they being in that part of *Meſopotamia* which lieth towards *Armenia*, and very far from *Babylon*. Therefore *Erech* is rather to be taken for *Arecca*, a City of *Suſiana* upon *Tigris*, mentioned by *Ptolomy*, which alſo ſeemeth to be the ſame with *Arderica* or *Anderica* (b) in *Herodotus*; *Ard* in the *Perſian* Tongue ſignifying *Great*. And well *Arecca* might ſo be called, which was ſo long, that ſailing up the River, one ſhould meet with it three ſeveral days, one after another; as the Hiſtorian relateth. *Bochartus* thinketh *Acchad* (called alſo *Archad*) to have given Name to the River *Argad*, which ran through *Sittacena*, a Province near to *Babylonia*, and ſince called *Apolloniatis*. By *Calneh* (which is alſo *Calno* and *Cauno*) is to be underſtood that City, by the *Parthians* re-built, and called *Cteſiphon*. It ſtood upon *Tigris*, three Miles from *Seleucia*, being the Metropolis of *Chalonitis*, a Province denominated from it, and mentioned by *Strabo*, and others. *Babylon* was exhauſted by the Building of *Seleucia*, as *Pliny* (c) telleth us; and the *Parthians* built (or re-built) *Cteſiphon* in *Chalonitis*, three Miles off, to drein *Seleucia*.

(a) Gen. 10. 10
(b) *Lib.* 1. *c.* 185.
(c) *Lib. 6. c. 26.*

The Beginning and Duration of the *Aſſyrian* Empire.

2. The Duration of this *Babylonian* or *Aſſyrian* Empire, till *Sardanapalus*, is variouſly aſſigned; the cauſe of which ſeemeth to be, for that ſome derived the Original thereof from the Birth of *Chus*, as Cappellus * thinketh; and ſo *Herodotus* might aſſign 1520 years to the continuance of it. Others from the Beginning of the *Babylonian* Kingdom, as *Diodorus*, who reckoneth 1400 years to the Death of *Sardanapalus*. Some from the Building of *Ninive*, as *Cteſias*, who hath 1360.

* *Ad* A. M. 1822. *p.* 45.

And laſtly, others from the Death of *Belus*, as *Trogus* and *Euſebius*; who give to it 1300 years. That *Nimrod* ſhould begin his Kingdom within an hundred years after the Flood, is not very probable; as neither, that the Building of the Tower of *Babel* happened within that time: which would have been too ſhort a ſpace for the propagation of Mankind to ſo great Multitudes. An hundred years after the Deluge, *Phaleg* was born; in whoſe days it was that the Earth was divided. Some make the Diviſion to have been at the ſame time of his Birth, and thence his Name impoſed, as from a thing already done, or in doing. Others aſſign it to the latter end of his days, and will have his Name prophetically given by his Father: But there are not wanting, who take a middle way betwixt theſe two, and think the Diviſion made when he was come to ripeneſs of Age, or in the middle of his Years; the Number of which amounted to 239. When *Alexander* the Great had conquered *Babylon*, which fell out about the 3675th year of the World; *Calliſthenes* the Philoſopher, who followed him in his Wars, at the deſire of *Ariſtotle* his Kinſman, enquired into the Antiquities of the *Chaldæans*, and could find no Obſervations of any longer date than 1903 years; which being caſt back from the foreſaid years, fall in their beginning, into 1772 from the Creation, the 116th from the Deluge, and the 16th of *Phaleg*'s Life.

A. M. *759*.

Lege Voſſii *Iſag. Chron. Diſſert.* 5. *c.* 5, 6.

Porphyrius *apud* Simplicium *in Ariſtot. de Cœlo.* l. 2.

Nimrod named *Belus*.

3. *Nimrod*, the Founder of this Empire, was by his Subjects named *Bel*, or *Belus*, which ſignifieth *Lord*, or *Sovereign*. That he was the Ancient *Belus*, is thence proved; that (*) moſt of the old Writers accounted *Belus* the Builder of *Babylon*, although ſome attributed it to *Semiramis*; herein relying upon the Credit of *Cteſias*, which now is deſervedly ſuſpected by Learned men, and in no caſe worthy to ſtand in Competition with that of *Beroſus*, the famous *Babylonian Prieſt* (who, as *Pliny* ſaith, had a Statue erected to his Memory at *Athens*, with a Gilded Tongue) nor with that of *Abydenus*, who alſo collected his Hiſtories out of the *Chaldæan Archives*. After *Moſes* hath ſpoken of the four Cities, which were the Beginning of *Nimrod*'s Kingdom; we read that *out of that Land* (*of* Shinar) Aſſur *went forth and built* Niniveh, *and the City* Rehoboth, *and* Calah, *and* Reſen, *between* Niniveh *and* Calah. Some, according to this Tranſlation, will have this *Aſſur* to have been the Son of *Sem*, who having built *Niniveh*, and founded the *Aſſyrian* Kingdom, *Nimrod* diſpoſſeſſed him, or his; or ſome manner of way obtained, and joyned it to the *Babylonian*, as *Julius Africanus* hath delivered. But others contend, that this *Aſſur* is the Name of the Countrey, and not of a man; and that it is to be read, *And out of that Land went* (Nimrod) *into* Aſſur, (*i. e.* Aſſyria) *and builded* Ninive, *&c.* Otherwiſe they think it would be out of the way for *Moſes* to mention the Son of *Sem* in this place, where he is in hand with the Genealogy of *Cham*; neither could it be peculiar to him to go out of this Land, and build *Niniveh*; ſeeing all Mankind almoſt, at the Diviſion of the Earth, went out of it. The laſt Reading only maketh the Senſe entire; for how elſe could the four Cities properly be ſaid to be the Beginning of *Nimrod*'s Kingdom, except he added more unto it? Laſtly, this ſeemeth very urgent, that, in Scripture *Aſſyria* is called the *Land of* Nimrod.

* Semiramis *eam condiderat vel, ut plerique credidere*, Belus, *cujus regia oſtenditur.* Curtius. *l.* 5. *c.* 1.

Beroſus *apud* Joſeph. *contra* Apionem, *lib.* 1.

Abyden. *apud* Euſeb. *Præp. Evang.* lib. 9.

Dorotheus, *Sidonis poeta apud* Julium Firmicum.

Whether he built *Niniveh*.

Mich. 5. 6.

4. He was *a mighty Hunter before the Lord*; or, therein none was to be compared with him; things being ſaid to be ſuch before God, as were ſo indeed, or in an eminent manner; He judging not according to outward appearance, but as they are in their own Natures. By the means of Hunting it is probable that he made way unto his Monarchy: For under pretence of what was very neceſſary at this time (when men were few, ſcattered, and lying abroad, without defence againſt wild Beaſts, which ever eſpecially abounded about *Arabia* and *Babylon*) he might gather a Band of men, and by ſuch Exerciſes (which the Heathens (*a*) by their Practice, as well as Opinion ſhewed to be convenient for breeding of Warriours) train them up, till he converted their force from Beaſts, to Men. What was performed by him, ſeemeth to have been attributed to his Succeſſors. *Ninus* is (*b*) ſaid to have gathered an Army of *Arabians*, and therewith to have ſubdued the *Babylonians*; which ſeemeth to have related to his Conqueſt of that Countrey. For being a *Chaſæan*, and conſequently an *Arabian*, he might by the Aſſiſtance of his own Countrey-men and Kindred effect it; whom he (*c*) rewarded with that Region beyond *Tigris*, which thence, was, by the *Hebrews*, called *Chus*; by the *Chaldæans*, *Chuth*; *Ciſſia*, by the *Greeks*; and *Chuzeſtan*, (*i. e.* the Province of *Chus*) by the *Perſians*. From this uſurping the Right of *Noah*, ſome think the Fable to have ſprung, of *Saturn* being caſt out of his Kingdom by *Jupiter*; the Word *Nimrod* ſignifying a *Rebel*, and anſwerable to his Carriage. He is alſo judged to be the true *Bacchus*; this word being little changed from *Bar-Chus*, that is, the Son of *Chus*;

Made way to his Kingdom by Hunting.

The true *Bacchus*.

(*a*) Xenophon *de venatione & in* Cyropædia.

(*b*) Diodorus. *l.* 2. *p.* 64. *A.*

(*c*) Bochartus *l.* 4. *c.* 12.

Chus. Bacchus was the Son of *Jupiter*, and he was the Grand-ſon of *Jupiter Hammon.* The moſt ancient Name of *Bacchus* was *Zagreus*, which ſignifieth a *ſtrong Hunter*, anſwerable to the Epithete given to *Nimrod.* He undertook an Expedition into the Eaſt, wherein ſeemed to be contained the Facts of *Nimrod*, and his Succeſſors. *Bacchus* was feigned to be born at *Nyſa* in *Arabia*; and *Nimrod* was alſo an *Arabian.* And not unlikely might *Nimrod* be called to be over the Vines, who firſt reigned at *Babylon*, where was that moſt excellent kind of Wine, dignified by the Ancients with the Name of *Nectar.* To the Reign of *Belus*, or *Nimrod*, 65 years are given by *Julius Africanus.*

Athenæus.

Ninus.

His Conqueſts.

Ninive.

5. *Ninus*, his Son, ſucceeded him, and Canonized him for a God; which gave, as 'tis ſaid, the firſt occaſion to Idolatry. He made a Confederacy with *Arieus*, King of *Arabia* (which Countrey withſtood moſt Conqueſts;) and then invading *Armenia*, forced *Barzanes* the King thereof, to ſubmit to his Vaſſallage. Next, he entred *Media*, where he took, and crucified *Phamus*, the King; and then, being pricked on by deſire of Glory, and encouraged by his Succeſs, he ſubdued all the People of *Aſia* in ſeventeen years, except the *Indians* and *Bactrians*; the latter whereof, under Conduct of their King *Zoroaſtres* (or rather *Oxgartes*; for *Zoroaſter*, the great *Magician*, lived many Ages after) ſtoutly oppoſed him, and yet at length were brought under, as we have it from *Diodorus*, who reporteth alſo that *Ninus* built *Ninive*, which he ſo named after himſelf. Whether he, his Father, or any other built it, a City it was of great Bigneſs, Strength, and Ornament, being in Compaſs ſixty Miles; of a Quadrangular form, incompaſſed and fortified with a Wall a hundred foot high, and of ſuch a Breadth as three Chariots might have been driven together a-breaſt upon it; adorned alſo with Towers 200 Foot in height. The place of it is not agreed of, and (*b*) ſome think there were two Cities of this Name; one upon *Euphrates* in *Comagena*, and another in *Aſſyria*, beyond *Tigris.* As for *Ninus*, many things done both by his Father, and Succeſſors, ſeem to have been attributed to him. He reigned 52 years; and the manner of his Death is diverſly related: (*c*) One ſaith, he was ſhot with a Dart as he lay before a Town. (*d*) Another writeth that *Semiramis* his Wife (whom he had choſen for her admirable Beauty, and now doated on) obtained leave to wear his Royal Robe, and reign over *Aſia* five dayes; and then, when ſhe had got the power into her hands, commanded one of the Guard to kill him: But a (*e*) third only relateth him to have been ſecured in Priſon.

His Death.

(*a*) *Biblioth.* l.2. p.65. *ex Cteſia Cnidio.*

Juſtin. lib. 1.

(*b*) *Lege* Bocharti.*Phaleg.* l. 4. c. 20.

(*c*) *Oroſius.*

(*d*) Dinon *apud* Ælian. *var. Hiſt. l.*7. *c.* 1.

(*e*) Diodorus *ubi ſupra.*p.76. *D.Ex* Athenæo *& aliis.*

Semiramis, his Wife, counterfeiteth her Son.

Her Acts.

6. He left a Son by *Semiramis*, named *Ninyas*, who being but young, ſhe put on Mans Apparel, and counterfeiting his Perſon, as well as Sex, is reported to have done very great things; part of which might rather be challenged by the two foregoing Kings, and by ſome that followed her. The Reſemblance of her Son in all the Lineaments and Proportion of her Body took away Suſpition; for the further prevention whereof, ſhe commanded the ſame kind of Garment to be worn by the People. At length, when ſhe thought ſhe had got Fame ſufficient, ſhe made her ſelf known; which detracted not from her Glory, but added to the Luſtre of it. She re-edified and enlarged *Babylon*, incompaſſing it with a Wall made up of Brick, Sand, and a certain Clay, or Slime, clammy like Pitch, which there abounded; and * reſtrained, by new works, the violence of *Euphrates*, which, formerly was wont to overflow into the Town. Not content with the Empire, as her Huſband left it, ſhe enlarged it with the Conqueſt of *Æthiopia*, and made War upon *India*, though without Succeſs; in which Undertaking, ſhe only had *Alexander* the Great her Æmulator, as *Juſtin* affirmeth. But, after ſhe had reigned 42 years, either for that ſhe would have had to do unlawfully with her Son (being reported exceeding vicious of her Body,) or, becauſe he was impatient of her ſo long retaining the Power, he ſlew her; although ſome ſay, ſhe voluntarily reſigned the Kingdom. After her Death, ſhe was feigned to be turned into a *Dove*, and worſhipped for a Goddeſs under that ſhape: the occaſion of which ſeemeth to have been the Bearing of that Bird pourtraied in her Enſign.

Juſtin. *ex* Trogo. *l.* 1.

Diodorus, *ut prius.*

* Herodotus. *l.* 1. *c.*184.

Ninyas.

7. *Ninyas*, or *Ninus*, (as *Juſtin* calleth him) ſucceeding, imitated neither Grandfather, Father, nor Mother; but giving up himſelf wholly to an effeminate courſe of Life, would be ſeen of none except Concubines and Eunuchs. Yet to him is aſcribed that politick ordering of the Militia, which was imitated conſtantly by his Succeſſors. A yearly Choice was made of Officers and Soldiers out of each Province, to lie in Garriſon in the City, and to be ready at all Eſſays, there to continue for one year; at the end of which, they were ſucceeded by new Levies. Hereby, the Subject was contained in Obedience; and yet, by ſuffering the Souldiers no longer to continue together, all Conſpiracies and Plots were prevented,

Diodorus. *l.* 2. *p.* 77. *A.*

which might elſe have riſen amongſt ſuch multitudes; the ſpace of a year not being ſufficient for ſuch through and intimate acquaintance, as might produce any conſiderable Stirs. Thoſe that followed *Ninyas*, for thirty Generations, trode, for the moſt part, in his paths; nothing either memorable, or certain, remaining of them, except *Teutamus* the 20th. from *Ninyas*, to whom *Priamus* King of *Troy*, when he was beſieged by the *Greeks*, ſent for Aid. This *Teutamus* is ſaid to have ſent him a Supply of 10000 *Æthiopians*, and as many of the Inhabitants of *Suſiana*, with 200 Chariots, under the Command of *Memnon*, who bearing himſelf very valiantly againſt the Beſiegers, was at length, by the wiles of the *Theſſalians*, circumvented and ſlain. From the Beginning of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, to the Deſtruction of *Troy*, *Euſebius* reckoneth 943 years, *Cappellus* from the Building of *Niniveh*, 995.

Teutamus.

Sardanapalus.

A. M. 3166.

8. The 30th in order, was *Tonos-Concoleros*, by the *Greeks* and *Romans* called *Sardanapalus*, ennobled only above the reſt, for his exceſs in Effeminateneſs, and his ruine cauſed thereby. He ſpent all his time among Women; with whom he would ſit and ſpin, imitating them in all things poſſible, ſo as ſcarce ever in his whole time was he ſeen of the other Sex. This extraordinary corruption in Manners gave occaſion to two of his greateſt Officers to compaſs his Deſtruction. For, *Beleſis* (or *Belochus*) the Governor of *Babylon*, a great Magician and Aſtrologer, out of the Doctrine of the Stars, foretold to *Arbaces* Governor of *Media*, (otherwiſe called (*a*) *Arbachus*, (*b*) *Orbachus*, and (*c*) *Pharnaces*,) that one day he ſhould obtain the whole Principality of *Sardanapalus*, and excited him to Attempts ſutable to ſuch an Atchievement. *Arbaces* herewith puffed up, promiſed him the poſſeſſion of *Babylon*, if his Prediction ſhould take, and laboured to ingratiate himſelf with the Captains of the ſeveral Provinces. Then having a great deſire to ſee what manner of Life the King lived, he hired an Eunuch to bring him into the Palace; where, beholding with his Eyes his diſſolute Carriage, he deſpiſed him, and much more encouraged himſelf in the hope given him by *Beleſis*. They now reſolved, the one to draw the *Medes* and *Perſians*, and the other the *Babylonians*, to revolt; and *Arbaces* communicated his Deſign and Purpoſe to the Governour of *Arabia*, his great Friend.

Beleſis and *Arbaces* conſpire againſt him.

(*a*) *Juſtin.*
(*b*) *Strabo.*
(*c*) *Gaterculus.*

Diodorus.

9. Theſe things being as diligently put in practice, as readily undertaken, the next year an Army of 400000 men coming up to *Niniveh*, where the King then lay; under pretence of relieving the former years Guard, reſolved to employ their Force in the Ruine of the *Aſſyrian Kingdom*. *Sardanapalus*, having timely notice of the Revolt, drew out ſuch Forces as were in the City, and falling upon the Rebels in the Plain, put them to the Rout. They flying to the Mountains, and recollecting their Courage, came down again, and engaged; but with the ſame ſucceſs: after which they retreated to the ſame place. Hereupon, *Arbaces* calling the Officers together, to adviſe what was to be done, all of them were for diſbanding the Army, and departing home, except *Beleſis*, who, urging them with what the Stars portended, prevailed with them to ſtay; but to no other purpoſe than that the King might gain the third Victory, which ſhortly happened. Now they fully reſolved to be gone; when *Beleſis*, his Credit being deeply engaged, ſpent the whole night in viewing the Stars; out of the Myſtery of which, he was bold to affirm, that Help would come of its own accord, and great Changes follow, if they would have Patience but five dayes longer. They being yet prevailed with for this once; before the five dayes were expired, News came, that great Forces were coming from *Bactria* to the aid of the King. To them *Arbaces* ſent, and eaſily perſwaded them to joyn with the Conſpirators.

He obtaineth three victories over them.

10. *Sardanapalus* knowing nothing of this, and puffed up with his Succeſs, returned to his former Courſe of Life; which *Arbaces* underſtanding from certain Fugitives, and how his Army lay in a ſecure and careleſs poſture, drew down upon it in the Night, and made a great Slaughter, and drove thoſe that eſcaped, into *Niniveh*. Hereupon the King committed the Conduct of the Army to *Salæmenes*, his Wives Brother, and took upon himſelf the Defence of the City; but the Rebels twice in the Field overthrew his Forces, and killed the General with moſt of his Souldiers. Then was the City cloſely beſieged, and many Nations revolted to the Conſpirators; which the King conſidering, and ſenſible of his Condition, ſent out his three Sons and two Daughters, with a great Treaſure, to *Cotta*, the Governour of *Paphlagonia*; and, diſpatching Courriers into ſeveral Provinces, took what care he poſſibly could for the making of New Levies.

Is worſted twice.

11. Neither was he behind-hand in providing all things within, that were neceſſary for Reſiſtance. There being no fear of Storming the Town, by reaſon of the wonderful ſtrength and height of the Walls. He conſidered the main danger

to

The River ſwelling with Rain, breaks the Wall.

Sardanapalus burneth himſelf in his Palace.

to lie in the Affections of the Inhabitants; to whom, that they might have no cauſe to attempt any new thing, he ſupplied all Neceſſaries in a plentiful meaſure. Two years and above he held out, and doubted not but to be able to do it, till Relief ſhould come; and the rather, for that they had an Oracle that *Niniveh* ſhould never be taken, till the River firſt proved an Enemy to it; which he never could ſuſpect. But in the third year fell ſuch Rains, that *Euphrates* (or *Lycus*, upon which, ſome conceive that *Strabo* placeth the City, and not *Euphrates*, nor *Tigris*, as others) ſwelling with abundance of Waters, made a Breach in the Wall twenty Furlongs in length. At this, the King utterly diſcouraged, as judging the Oracle to be fulfilled, leſt he ſhould fall alive into the hands of his Enemies, he built a Pile of Wood in his Palace, upon which he heaped his Treaſures, and rich Attire; and, making a little Room in the midſt, wherein he beſtowed himſelf, his Concubines and Eunuchs, ſet fire to the Heap, and ſo periſhed with this Company and the Palace. Such was the end of him, who placed all his Felicity in his Senſual Appetite, which he would have alſo recorded in his (*a*) *Epitaph*, and adviſed the Reader to imitate. He is reported to have built (but rather he reſtored) two Cities of *Cilicia* in one day, *viz.* *Tarſus* and *Anchiala*; in the latter of which was his (*b*) Monument to be ſeen, being a Statue of Stone, with the Finger and Thumb of the right hand joined together, as about to give a Fillip. Upon the Monument was written in *Aſſyrian* Characters, Sardanapalus *the Son of* Anacyndaraca *built* Anchiales *and* Tarſus *in one day. As for thee, Friend, Eat, drink, and play; for all things elſe are not worth this*, viz. that Fillip. In him this Line of the *Aſſyrians* failed, the Empire being divided into two Principalities, after it had continued about 1400 years, reckoned from the Building of B*abylon.* This Fall of *Sardanapalus* happened about the year of the World 3186, 43 years before the firſt *Olympiad.*

(*a*) Athenæus *lib.* 1.

(*b*) Strabo. *l.* 14 *Edit.* Cauſab. *p.* 672 *A.*

Hæc habeo quæ edi, quæque exſaturata libido hauſit, at illa jacent, multa & præclara relicta. Epitaph. à Cicerone *verſ.* Tuſc. *l.* 5. *Quid aliud*, inquit Ariſtoteles, *in Bovis, non in Hominis Sepulchro incideres? Hæc habere ſe dicit, quæ ne vivus quidem diutius habebat, quàm fruebatur.*

Arbaces made King.

Granteth *Babylon* to *Beleſis.*

12. The (*c*) Beſiegers underſtanding what was become of *Sardanapalus*, preſently entred in at the Breach, and took the City. Then, inveſting *Arbaces* with a Royal Robe, they created him King; who rewarded them according to their Deſerts, and allotted the Provinces to their ſeveral Governors. B*eleſis*, according to Agreement, having received the Principality of B*abylon*, and underſtanding from an Eunuch, how great Treaſure *Sardanapalus* had burnt with himſelf, begged the Aſhes of *Arbaces*, under pretence of having made a Vow, in the Heat of the War, to carry them to B*abylon*, and therewith to raiſe a laſting Monument of the Deſtruction of the *Aſſyrian* Empire. He being ignorant of his covetous Deſign, granted his Requeſt; but, when the Matter was diſcovered, referred his Judgment to a Council of Officers, who condemned him to Death: Yet, being deſirous to begin his Reign mildly, he not only remitted this Puniſhment, but permitted him to enjoy all the Gold and Silver already tranſported; and, what remained, which amounted to many Talents, he conveyed it to *Ecbatane*, the chief City of the *Medes.* (*d*) *Diodorus* and (*e*) *Strabo* tell us how he levelled *Ninus* (or *Ninive*) with the Ground. Some (*f*) think it was only the Caſtle; ſeeing the City had afterwards Kings, if not comparable to the reſt, yet great and powerful, which they think might deſcend from B*eleſis.*

(*c*) Diodorus. *l.* 2. *p.* 81. *A.*

(*d*) *L.* 2. *p.* 816.

(*e*) *L.* 16. *p.* 737

(*f*) Jacob. Cappellus. *Hiſt. Sacr. & Exotica.* p. 170. Simſon *in Chronico ad A. M.* 3187.

What kind of Government was in Media.

Kings of M*edia* according to *Cteſias.*

13. *Herodotus* (*g*) writeth, how the *Medes*, having freed themſelves from the *Aſſyrian* Yoke, lived for many Ages without a King, in a way of Popular Government. But (*h*) *Cteſias* of *Cnidus*, an Author of ſomething a later Date (who ſerved *Cyrus* the younger, in his Expedition againſt his Brother *Artaxerxes*, and being taken Priſoner in the Battel, was for his excellent Skill in Phyſick, which he profeſſed, received into Favour by the King, and lived in good Eſteem in his Court 16 years, pretending to tranſcribe his Hiſtory out of the Records of *Perſia*,) reported that *Arbaces*, after the Overthrow of the *Aſſyrians*, reigned 18 years: and as he left the Dominion of *Aſia* to the *Medes*, ſo alſo the Sovereignty of them to his Son *Mandauces.* That *Mandauces*, having reigned 50 years, left the Kingdom to *Seſarmus*, who reigned 30. Him followed *Artias*, and reigned 50; then *Arbianis* 22; *Arſæus* 40; in whoſe time the *Caduſians* revolted, through the Procurement of *Parſodas*, the Preſident of his Council, whom he had offended. *Artynes* 22. *Artibanes*, 14; (in whoſe Reign the *Parthians* revolted, and gave up themſelves to the *Sacæ.*) And laſt of all, *Aſtyages* his Son, who being overthrown by *Cyrus*, the Empire was thereby devolved upon the *Perſians.*

(*g*) *L.* 1. *c.* 95.

(*h*) *Vide* Droderum *ut ſupr.* *p.* 84.

According to *Euſebius.*

14. That *Cteſias* out of Deſign, wrote things contrary to *Herodotus*, is probable enough, and that he is Fabulous, cannot be denied; yet have we a Succeſſion of Kings elſewhere (*a*) recorded, though ſuch an one, as ſcarce in one Name agreeth with that of his. *Soſarmus* is ſaid to have ſucceeded *Arbaces*, and continued 30 years; then *Medidus*, 40; *Cardiceas*, 13; and then *Deioces*, whom *Herodotus* will have to have firſt obtained Sovereignty over the *Medes*. For having, as he (*b*) writeth, an Ambition that way, he made himſelf Popular by pretence to the Love of Juſtice, which then ran at a low Ebb amongſt them, for want of Authority. He firſt took upon him to decide the Controverſies of his own Village; which, performing with much Equity and Conſcience, thence became known to other Parts; and at length became ſo Famous, that few would bring their Cauſes before any other Judge than him alone. Being aware of this, he withdrew himſelf, giving out, that no longer could he undergo ſuch a Burden, and thereby neglect his Private Affairs. Hereupon, Robberies, Violence and Oppreſſion returned throughout the Countrey; inſomuch, that the People, gathering together from all Quarters, after a ſerious Debate, concluded there was neceſſity of having a King, under whoſe Protection every man living might the better mind his Domeſtick Matters. *Deioces* was choſen by univerſal Conſent, who, having got the Power into his Hands, cauſed them to build a City for his Reſidence, which he called *Ecbatane*; and having ruled with abundant Severity, 53 years, left the Kingdom to his Son *Phraortes*. He, after he had Reigned 22, left, for Succeſſor, his Son *Cyaxares*, who having long ſtrugled with Various Fortune, (as afterwards will be ſeen) gave place to his Son *Aſtyages*, Father to *Mandane*, the Mother of *Cyrus*.

Deioces, how he got the Kingdom.

Phraortes.

Cyaxares.

Aſtyages.

(a) Euſeb. *in Chronico.*

(b) *Lib.* 1. *c.* 9, 7, 98, &c.

Beleſis his Succeſſors.

Nabonaſar.

15. *Beleſis* obtained *Babylon*, as was ſaid; but how long he held it, or who ſucceeded him immediately, is not known. About 71 years after, *Nabonaſar*, or *Nabonaſſar*, obtained the Kingdom there; from the Beginning of whoſe Reign, that Famous *Æra*, or *Epoche*, known by the Name of *Æra Nabonaſari*, is derived. It is counted from the firſt Day of that *Ægyptian* Month *Thoth* (*Febr.* 26.) which fell out 746 *Julian* years, and 310 days before the *Æra* of Chriſt, as *Cappellus*, and others reckon; 424 years before the Death of *Alexander* the Great; according to *Ptolomy* (*c*) the Prince of *Mathematicians*, in the 8th. *Olympiad*. This Author hath preſerved the Names of ſuch as Succeeded *Nabonaſar*, in his Catalogue of Kings. He Reigned 14 years; after him, *Nadius*, 2; then *Chezirus*, or *Porus*, 5; *Jugæus*, or *Ilulæus*, 5, and then *Mardocempadus*, 26. In his Time happened the (*d*) three moſt Ancient Eclipſes of the Moon, obſerved by the *Babylonians*: The firſt of them in the firſt of his Reign, and the 28th. of the Month *Thoth*, and the 27th year of *Nabonaſar*. The ſecond, in his Second year, on the 18th of *Thoth*. And 176 days, 20 hours and an half after this, the third Eclipſe fell out, on the 15th day of the Month *Phamenoth*. *Scaliger* and others, think this *Mardokempad* to be the ſame with him, who, in the (*e*) Scripture is called *Merodach-Baladan*, the Son of *Baladan*. But *Cappellus* conjectureth there were two *Merodachs*, Sons of *Baladan*, and Nephews of *Nabonaſar*, whereof the one was called *Merodac-Kempad*, and the other, *Merodac-Baladan*.

Ptolomie's Catalogue of Kings.

(c) *Magn. Syntax.* l. 3. c. 8.

(d) *Idem* l. 4. c. 6, 7.

(e) 2 King. 20. 12.

16. *Mardokempadus*, having Reigned 12 years, was ſucceeded by *Arkianus*, who ruled 5. Then followed an *Inter-regnum* for two years; after which, *Belibus* obtained the Kingdom for 3; then *Apronadius*, 6; *Rigibelus*, 1; *Meſeſſimordak*, 4; after whom, another *Inter-regnum* enſued for eight years; he being alſo written *Meſeſſi-cardac*. Now the Royal Race ſeemeth to (*f*) one, to have failed, and *Eſarchaddon* the King of *Aſſyria*, to have again ſubjected the *Babylonians* to his Kingdom; and his Reaſon is, for that he who followed at the end of this *Inter-regnum*, is by *Ptolomy* called *Aſſaradinus*, which he thinketh to differ only from *Eſarchaddon* in the Sound of ſeveral Languages. If ſo, this is he, who brought out of the Eaſt-Countrey, Strangers to inhabit *Samaria*; whence, *Salmaneſſer* had, 40 or more years before, tranſported the *Ephramites*. He is alſo, by the Poſterity of this new Colony, called the Great and Noble *Aſnapper*. But how this *Aſſyrian* Kingdom had ſprung up again, during theſe two Principalities of the *Babylonians* and *Medes*, is to be conſidered.

(f) Uſſerius *in Annal. Vet. Teſtament. ad* A. M. 3323.

The Ariſing anew of the *Aſſyrian* Kingdom. How, when, and by whom.

17. It is not probable that the vaſt Empire of *Sardanapalus* was all (nor perhaps the greateſt part) ſubject to *Media* and *Babylon*; but that, although *Arbaces* left not the *Medes* to their Liberty, yet ſeveral People he did, for want of Power to keep them under: Hence, in ſome time, the People beyond *Euphrates*, weary of that Anarchy and Confuſion under which they laboured, might be willing to admit of a Prince again, though not of the Old Stock of *Belus*; whoſe Succeſſors, having far excelled in Power and Dominion, the *Greeks* accounted *Sardanapalus* the

Phul.

Tiglath-Pileſar.

Salmanaſſer.

the laſt King of the *Aſſyrians*. Who this new Prince ſhould be, remaineth very obſcure. One (*a*) thinketh him that ſame *Phul* who made an Incurſion into the Land of *Iſrael*, in the Time of *Menachem*, fixing the Beginning of his Reign in the 4th *Olympiad*, 17 years before that of *Nabonaſar*. Another (*b*) will have *Tiglah-Pileſer* (or *Thilgath-Pilneſer*, or *Theglath-Phalaſſar*) to be the man (in *Ælian*, he ſaith, called *Thilganus*) whom alſo he accounteth the ſame with *Ninus Junior*, mentioned by *Euſebius*, (*c*) having aſſumed the Name of the firſt Founder of the *Aſſyrian* Empire. This *Tiglath-Pileſar*, at the Invitation of *Judah*, went up againſt *Rezen* (*d*) King of *Damaſcus*, and killing him, tranſported his Subjects into *Kir*, a place, (as *Joſephus* will have it) of Upper *Media*. He died when he had Reigned 19 years, and was ſucceeded by *Salmanaſſer*; to whom (*e*) *Hoſea* King of *Iſrael* refuſed to pay Tribute, entring into Confedracy with *So* King of *Ægypt* againſt him: But *Salmanaſſer* Beſieged him in *Samaria*, and at the End of three years, taking the City, carried the *Iſraelites* into Captivity into *Chelach*, *Chebar*, and *Nehar-geſan*, Cities of *Media*; where he, as well as his Predeceſſor, might have Power, if, (*Deioces*, as yet, not having obtained the Kingdom) that Countrey was ſtill ſubject to a Popular Government, or rather in a Confuſed Anarchy.

Senacherib
A. M. 3287.

18. After the Subverſion of the kingdom of *Iſrael*, he over-ran all *Phœnicia* and *Syria*. He ſent an Army againſt the *Tyrians*, at ſuch time as *Elulæus* their King, made War upon the *Cittæans*, which had Rebelled; but a Peace was preſently made, and he drew back his Forces. Not long after, *Sidon*, *Arce*, *Palætyrus*, and other Towns revolted from the *Tyrians*, to him; ſo that they alone ſtanding out, he returned; and having a Supply of 60 Ships from the *Phœnicians*, ingaged with them in a Sea-Fight; but they having but 12, yet overthrew his Fleet, and thereby obtained great Credit. At his Return, he ſet Guards upon the River, and Water-Courſes, and there kept them five years together; which conſtrained them to make a Shift with Wells and Pits, as *Menander* (*f*) related out of the *Tyrian* Annals, Tranſlated into the *Greek* Tongue, wherein the Name of *Salmanaſar* was Recorded. *Salmanaſar* dying, *Senacherib* his Son ſucceeded him; called alſo *Sargon* in (*g*) Scripture, as ſome think. He infeſted all *Aſia* and *Ægypt* with War; into the latter of which as he deſcended, in his Retreat he ſore (*h*) diſtreſſed *Hezekiah* King of *Judah*, who making his Application unto his God, obtained Deliverance, to the Confuſion of the *Aſſyrian* and his Army. *Herodotus* (*i*) telleth a Story, How when he came to *Peluſium*, *Sethes*, the Prieſt of *Vulcan*, then King of *Ægypt*, by his Prayer to his god, procured all the Habiliments of War to be eaten with Mice; ſo that being rendred unable to fight, he was forced to draw back his Army. But the Prophecies againſt *Ægypt* aſcertain us, that this Expedition proved very diſaſtrous to it, and that many Captives were thence led away; yet the Prieſts, from whom *Herodotus* had his Information, hid this, and all other things that tended to the Diſhonour of their Countrey.

19. Returning from *Ægypt* into *Paleſtine*, he Beſieged (*k*) *Lachiſh*, and thence removed to *Libnah*, where he wrote a Blaſphemous Letter to *Hezekiah*. For, hearing that *Tirhakah* King of *Æthiopia* (or *Arabia*) (by *Joſephus* called *Tharſices*; by *Strabo*, *Tearkon*) was coming againſt him in behalf of the *Ægyptians*, he removed for Fear; and God ſent his Angel into his Camp, who ſlew in one Night 85000 men; which thing, as a Plague, was alſo recorded by (*l*) *Beroſus*. Then returned he (as God had promiſed *Hezekiah*) with great Conſternation into his own Land; where, raging againſt the *Jews* that dwelt at *Niniveh* (if Credit be to be given to the Book of *Tobit*) he was, after 44 days, ſlain in the Temple of his Idol *Niſroch*, by his two Sons *Adramelech* and *Sharezer*, (who fled for it into the Land of *Ararat*, or *Armenia*) and *Eſarchaddon* his Son Reigned in his ſtead.

Eſarchaddon
the ſame with
Aſſaradinus.

Saoſduchinus.

20. This *Eſarchaddon* is thought (and that probably) to be the ſame with *Aſſaradinus*, mentioned by *Ptolomy*, in his Cataloge of Kings, and who ſubdued *Babylon*. It is alſo thought that (*m*) this is he, who, when he brought a new Colony into *Samaria* from *Babylon*, *Cathah*, *Ana*, *Hamath*, and *Sepharvaim*, at the ſame time making an Inrode into *Judæa* (as 'tis very probable) took (*n*) *Menaſſeh*, the King thereof in the Thorns, and carried him in Captivity into *Babylon*; for it appeareth from both theſe Paſſages mentioned in Scripture, that at this time that City was ſubject to the King of *Aſſyria*. After *Eſarchaddon* (or *Aſſaradinus*) had Reigned thirteen years, *Saoſduchinus* ſucceeded him, according to *Ptolomy*; and not *Merodach*, whom the general Opinion will have (being King of *Babylon*) to have killed him, and again overthrown the Empire of the *Aſſyrians*. For this Succeſſion is founded upon a feigned (*o*) Author impoſed on the World, with ſeveral

others

(*a*) Jacobus Cappellus *ad* A. M. 3236.

(*b*) Uſſerius *ad* A.M. 3257.

Hiſt. Anim. l. 12 c. 21.

(*c*) *In Chron. ex* Ceſtore Rhodio.

(*d*) 2 King. 15. 16.

(*e*) 17.

A. M. 3273.

(*f*) *Apud* Joſephum, *Antiq.* l. 9. c. 14.

(*g*) Iſa. 20. 1.

Beroſus *apud* Joſephum. *Antiq.* l. 10. c. 1.

(*h*) 2 King. 18.

(*i*) *Lib.* 2. *c.* 141

Iſa. 18.

(*k*) 2 Chr. 32. 1 King. 19. Iſa. 37.

(*l*) *Apud* Joſephum, *ut ſupr.* c. 2.

(*m*) 2 Kin. 17

(*n*) 2 Chr. 33.

(*o*) *Pſeudo-Metaſthenes apud* Annium vit. Erbenſem. fol. 221. *De cujus fictis Authoribus. vide* Joh. Goropium *Biblioth. Hiſp.* Tom. 2. p. 356. *Gaſp. Barterium. ibid.* p. 386, 407, 417, 431. *Seth. Calvis. Iſagog. Chronol.* cap. 28, 29. & *Chron.* p. 171. A. *Non eſt germanum opus.* Pam. *in* Tert. *Apol.* n. 287.

others of the ſame Credit, and therefore deſerveth to be rejected. The time of this *Saoſduchinus* falling in with that of *Deioces* (who according to *Herodotus*, built *Ecbatane* the Metropolis of *Media*) if any Credit be to be given to the Book of *Judith*, we may judge him to be that *Nabuchadonoſor* mentioned there to have overthrown *Arphaxad*, King of the *Medes*, and Builder of that City in the great Plains of *Ragan*. After he had taken him in the Mountains, he ſlew him, plundred *Ecbatane*, and then returned Victoriouſly unto *Niniveh*, where he Feaſted his Army for 120 dayes. The Year after, entring into Conſultation how to ſubdue the ſeveral Nations about him; he ordained *Holophernes* his General, who ſtraightly Beſieged *Bethſara*, a Town of *Judæa*; by the Wiſdom and Courage of *Judith*, the Widow of one *Manaſſes* of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, was circumvented, and had his Head cut off in his Tent.

Chuniladanus.

21. *Saoſduchinus* (or *Saoſducmus*) having Reigned twenty years, *Chuniladanus* Succeeded him, thought alſo to be the ſame with *Saracus*, mentioned by *Alexander Polyhiſtor*. Againſt him came (*a*) *Phraortes*, the Son of *Deioces*, in revenge of his Father's Death; after he had firſt of all others ſubdued the *Perſians*, and the reſt of *Aſia*. But his good Fortune here forſook him, and he periſhed with the greateſt part of his Army, in the 22th. year of his Reign. His Son *Cyaxares* Succeeding, is ſaid to have been more puiſſant than his Anceſtors, and the firſt that diſtinguiſhed the People of *Aſia* into ſeveral Provinces, and Souldiers into their ſeveral Ranks of Pikemen, Horſemen, and thoſe that uſed Darts. He fought with the *Lydians*; at which time ſo great an Eclipſe of the Sun happened, that the Day ſeemed to be turned into Night. Having brought to his Obedience all *Aſia*, beyond the River *Halys*, he gathered his Forces together, and went againſt *Niniveh*, with Intentions to deſtroy the City. He overthrew the *Aſſyrians* in Battel, and Beſieged the Place; but it happened at this time that a great Army of *Scythians*, having driven the *Cimmerians* out of *Europe*, under the Conduct of *Madyes*, the Son of *Protothya* (called otherwiſe *Judathyrſus*) their King, ſtill followed them, and from the Lake *Mæotis*, leaving the Mountain *Caucaſus* on their right hand, pierced into *Media*.

(*a*) Herodotus. *l.* 1.102.*&c.*

The *Scythians* obtain *Aſia* 28 years.

22. *Cyaxares* hereby was conſtrained to raiſe his Siege, went, and gave them Battel; but was overthrown, and loſt the Dominion of *Aſia*; which, the *Scythians* having obtained, marched ſtraight for *Ægypt*. *Pſammetichus* the King met them on their way, when they had new entred *Palæſtine*, and by good Words, back'd with Money, prevailed with them to go no further. They enjoyed the Dominion of *Aſia* 28 years; after the expiration of which Term, managing their Affairs with as great Neglect, as formerly they had uſed Diligence in polling and rifling the Countrey; the greateſt part of them being entertained by *Cyaxares*, were made drunken, and ſlain, and the King recovered his Dominion. During theſe things, (*b*) *Nabopolaſſar* a *Babylonian*, and General to the *Aſſyrian* King, contracted Affinity with *Aſtyages* the Son of *Cyaxares*, and Governor of *Media*: *Nebuchadneſar*, the Son of *Nabopolaſſar*, marrying *Amylis* Daughter to *Aſtyages*. The Effect of this Alliance was, that they jointly ſet upon *Barachus*, or *Chynaladanus* in *Niniveh*, and taking the City, ſlew him therein, after he had Reigned 22 years. At this time the Prophecies againſt *Niniveh* ſeem to be fulfilled in its Deſtruction. For in the latter end of the *Greek* Book of *Tobit* it is written, that *Nebuchadonoſor* and *Aſſuerus* took *Niniveh*, *Tobius* being yet alive, who is ſaid to have lived 127 years (or, as the *Latine* hath it, 99.) 95 having already paſſed from the taking of *Samaria*; at which time he was carried Captive with his Father into *Aſſyria* by *Salmanaſar*.

Loſe it

(*b*) Polyhiſtor *apud* Cedrenum, *vide* Uſſerium *in Annot. vet. Teſt. ad* A. M. 3378.

Nabopolaſſar.

23. *Chynaladanus* being dead, *Nabopolaſſar* (or *Nabulaſſar*) obtained his Kingdom in the 123^d year of *Nabonaſar*, according to (*c*) *Ptolomy*, whoſe Canon of Kings alſo (as to the Term of Years collected from the particular Reign of each) directly anſwereth to this Account. (*d*) Againſt him came up *Pharoh Necho*, and took *Carchemiſh*, a City ſituate upon *Euphrates*, killing *Joſiah* the King of *Judah*, who attempted to ſtop his paſſage. He holding this Town, the (*e*) Governour of *Cœloſyria* and *Phœnicia*, revolted from the *Babylonian*; who, being now unable to undergo the Trouble of War, made his Son *Nebuchadneſar* King with him, in his 17th. year, and ſent him with an Army to ſubdue *Ægypt* and *Syria*; with him joyned (*f*) *Aſibares*, King of the *Medes*, whom ſome think to be *Cyaxares*, and others, more probably, *Aſtyages* his Son. In this Expedition he made *Jehojakin* King of *Judah*, his Tributary, and drew him from the Obedience of *Ægypt*; which *Necho* taking in Diſdain, came up againſt him, and engaging once more at *Carchemiſh*, was overthrown, and ſlain, as may be gathered out of Scripture.

(*c*) *Magn. Synt.* l. 5. c. 14.

(*d*) 2 King. 23. 2 Chron. 35.

(*e*) Beroſus *apud* Joſeph. *l.* 1. *contra* Apion.

(*f*) Alexand. Polyhiſt. *apud* Euſeb. *præp. evang.* l. 9.

ture. Whilſt *Nebuchadneſar* was proſecuting his Victories, overrunning all from the River of *Ægypt* to the River *Euphrates*; in the mean time his Father, being ſick at *Babylon*, died; after he had Reigned twenty one years, as it is now in the Catalogue, for which ſome Learned men think, 29 is to be read. He underſtanding hereof, diſpoſed of the Affairs of *Ægypt* and other Countreys, and giving Order for the Conveyance of the *Judæan*, *Syrian*, *Phœnician*, and *Ægyptian* Priſoners, he himſelf made haſt through the Deſart, and took Poſſeſſion of the Government reſerved for him by the *Chaldæans*.

Nebuchadneſar.

Jerem. 46.

Beroſus *apud Joſeph. ut prius: & Antiqu. lib.* 10. *cap.* 11.
A. M. 3410.
Olymp. 46. *an.* 2.
Romæ 159.

His great Exploits and Buildings.

24. He diſtributed the Captives into Colonies about Babylon, adorned the Temple of Belus (which *Semiramis* had built) with the Spoiles; repaired and increaſed the Buildings of the City, and fortified the Chanel of the River, that the Enemy ſhould not make Uſe of it againſt the Town. He added a new City to the old, and compaſſed both with three Walls of Brick. He raiſed divers remarkable Ædifices, built a new Palace, and about it a Garden or Wilderneſs, ſo much celebrated by the *Græcians*. His Wife being a *Mede*, and, according to the Nature of her Country, delighting in mountainous woody Proſpects, brought him to imitate with Art, what was wanting in the Plains of Babylon. This Garden was made four-ſquare, taking up in Compaſs ſixteen Acres, in height equalling the Walls, ſet with tall and beautiful Trees. It was borne up by ſtone-Pillars; upon which a Pavement of four-ſquared Stones being laid, Earth was heaped up in great Quantity, and Engines were made for the Conveyance of Moiſture out of *Euphrates* to water it. The Trees that grew upon it were (many of them) eight Cubits in Compaſs at the Bole; and fifty Foot high, bearing Fruit as plentifully as in their Native Soil. *Jehojakim* the King of *Judah*, rebelling againſt *Nebuchadneſar*, he came up againſt him, waſted the Country, and taking him, caſt him out unburied, as the Prophet *Jeremiah* had foretold. Four Moneths after, he alſo carried away Captive *Jechonias*, or *Jehojachim* his Son, and made *Mattaniah* his Uncle King in his ſtead. This *Mattaniah*, whom he named *Zedekiah*, rebelled againſt him, notwithſtanding his ſolemn Oath of Fealty taken at his Inſtitution; and therefore in the eleventh year of his Reign he was alſo taken by the *Babylonian*, had his Eyes put out, and was ſo carried to Babylon: the Temple and City were burnt with Fire, and the People led into Captivity, as will appear in its proper Place.

Vide Diodor. lib. 2. *p.* 70. B.
Curtium lib. 5.

2Kings 23. &c.
2 Chron. 36.
Jerem. 22.

His Pride.

25. *Nebuchadneſar* returning home, was exceeding Proud, and puffed up at his Succeſs. He erected a great Image of Gold; in the Dedication whereof, all his chief Officers were commanded to fall down and worſhip; which was obeyed by all except three Jews, *Shadrach*, *Meſhach*, and *Abednego*, the Companions of *Daniel*. For their Puniſhment they were caſt into a fiery Furnace, heated ſeven times hotter than uſual, and ſo miraculouſly preſerved from the Fury of the Flame, that not an Hair of their Heads was ſing'd; though it killed thoſe that caſt them in. At this, the King aſtoniſhed, by publick Edict acknowledged Gods Power, and forbad the blaſpheming of him. Yet repented he not of his Pride, and notwithſtanding a ſufficient Warning given him by God in a Dream, exalted himſelf in the conceit of the Greatneſs and Splendour of Babel, *which he had built for the Houſe of the Kingdom, by the Might of his Power, and for the Honour of his Majeſty*. But *the ſame Hour*, as he was anſwered by a Voice from Heaven, *the Kingdom departed from him, he was driven from men, made to eat Graſs as Oxen, and his body was wet with the Dew of Heaven, till his Hairs were grown as Eagles Feathers, and his Nails like* Birds *Claws, and ſeven times paſſed over him, till he knew that the moſt High ruleth in the Kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomſoever he will.* And this time prefixed being expired (ſeven years as moſt ſuppoſe, though ſome reckon but three and an half, counting for times, *Winter* and *Summer*) *his Reaſon returned to him, with the Glory of his Kingdom, his Honour and* Brightneſs; *his Councellors and his Lords ſought unto him; he was eſtabliſhed in his Kingdom, and excellent Majeſty was added to him.* Therefore he ſhamed not by a publick Writing to own the thing, *praiſed, honoured and extolled the King of Heaven, all whoſe works* he confeſſeth *to be Truth, his wayes Judgment, and that thoſe that walk in Pride he is able to abaſe.*

Daniel 3.

Puniſhed.

What is found recorded of him by the Heathen.

26. Of theſe ſtrange Paſſages the Heathen were not utterly ignorant. *Abydenus* wrote, that being exceeding proud, and going up upon his Palace, he was taken with a divine Fury. This he had out of the *Annals* of the *Chaldæans*, who fancied him to have been ſeized on with a prophetick Spirit, and ſo to have vaniſhed. *Megaſthenes* in his fourth Book of *India*, endeavoured to ſhew how this King in valiant Exploits exceeded *Hercules* by far; that he ſubdued the chief City

Apud Euſeb. præp. Evang. lib. 9.
Apud Joſephum, ubi prius.

of *Africk*, and a good part of *Spain*. *Diocles*, in his ſecond Book of *Perſia*, made mention of him, and *Philoſtratus* both in his Hiſtories of *Phœnicia* and *India*; writing, that he fought againſt *Tyre* thirteen years, which, 'tis probable, at length he took by Compoſition, and there placed *Baal* King in the room of *Ithobalus*. What he did againſt this City, God taking as Service done to himſelf, promiſed him the Land of *Ægypt* for his Wages, which we muſt accordingly believe to have been paid. At length, having foretold that *Babylon* ſhould be loſt to *Cyrus*, as *Abydenus* wrote; he died after he had reigned forty three Years, being in *Ptolomies* Catalogue of Kings, called *Nabocolaſſar*, which may be corruptly written for *Nabocodolaſſar*.

Ezek. 29.

Evilmerodach.

Neriglissor.

Laboroſardochus.

Nabonidus.

27. *Evilmerodach* his Son ſucceeded him, who lifted up the Head of *Jehoiakim* King of *Judah*, in the 37th year of his Captivity, ſpake kindly unto him, ſet his Throne above the Throne of the Kings that were with him in *Babylon*, and changing his Priſon-Garments, allowed him a continual Diet all the days of his Life. But for his Wickedneſs and Debaucheries, he continued not long, being circumvented by *Neriglſſor* his Siſter's Huſband, and ſlain when he had reigned but two years. *Neriglſſor* after his Death, reigned four. After him came his Son *Laboroſardochus*, who being of an untowardly Diſpoſition, was made away by his Relations, after nine Moneths, and they preferred to his Place one *Nabonidus* a *Babylonian*, by *Ptolomy* called *Nabonadius*, by others, *Nabannidochus* and *Labynitus*. [Who reigned ſeventeen years, for which ſome think twenty ſeven is to be read.] This Succeſſion we have from *Beroſus* the *Chaldæan*, atteſted by *Ptolomy*, who yet leaveth out *Laboroſardochus*, either for his ſmall Continuance, or becauſe he reigned together with his Father. But learned men do not agree in the manner of reconciling this Hiſtory, with what *Daniel* hath written of *Belſhazar*. Some will have *Labynitus* or *Nabonodus*, to be *Belſhazar*, *Nabonodus* being the laſt of the Kings, which *Belſhazar* alſo ſeemeth to be; at his Death, *Babylon* being taken by *Cyrus*, as the Interpretation of the Writing on the Wall hinteth: Peres, *Thy Kingdom is divided, and given to the* Medes *and* Perſians. As for *Darius* the *Mede*, he ſeemeth to them to be noother than *Cyaxares*, the Son of *Aſtyages* King of *Media*, and the Uncle of *Cyrus*, who of his own Accord delivered *Babylon* to him: and they think this ſufficient to prove that *Laboroſardochus* could not be *Belſhazar*, becauſe he hath but nine Moneths aſſigned him by *Beroſus*, whereas we read in *Daniel* of the third year of *Belſhazar*.

A. M. 3440. *Olymp.* 53. *an.* 4. Romæ *condit.* 189.

Apud Joſephum *lib.* 1. *cont.* Apionem.

Whether the ſame with *Belſhazar.*

28. Others think they have ground enough to deny *Nabonidus* to be *Belſhazar*, who is called the *Son of Nebuchadneſar*; in regard no ſuch Relation is mentioned by *Beroſus*, that can intitle him to ſo much as his Grand-child, which *Laboroſardochus* was by his Daughter, being called *his Son* by a common *Hebraiſm*: For the *Latin* Verſion of *Joſephus*, which maketh *Nabonodus* of the Blood; it is in no caſe agreeable to the Original, which plainly relateth him to have been of the Conſpiracy. For the fifth year of *Belſhazar*, it well enough agreeth with *Laboroſardochus*, becauſe he reigned four years with his Father; and after his Fathers Death, nine Moneths by himſelf. Now the Hiſtory of *Daniel* only relateth *Belſhazar* to have been ſlain, not that *Babylon* was then beſieged by *Cyrus*: it being improbable, ſay they, that a time of ſo great Danger, the King and his Nobles ſhould ſpend in Feaſting and Jollity; but rather likely, that behaving himſelf too inſolently in that drunken Fit, he was knocked in the Head by his Companions, as *Beroſus* hinteth, and the Scripture rather ſeemeth to approve than contradict. As for the Interpretation of the Writing on the Wall, it might note what was already determined, and within a little time was to be accompliſhed, concerning *Cyrus* the *Perſian*, who being at that time known to the World, could not be hid from *Daniel*, who had met with his name long before in the Prophecy of *Iſaiah*, and had his Mind, without Doubt, fixed upon the 70 years of Captivity foretold by *Jeremiah*; to which a Period ſhould ſhortly be put by that Perſon. That *Darius Medus* was of *Median* Deſcent, appeareth, but that he was King of the *Medes*, can no way be evinced; eſpecially ſeeing that no ancient *Greek* Hiſtorian maketh mention of *Cyaxares* the Son of *Aſtyages*, (whom we read to have had but one Daughter) except *Xenophon*; and he either one Purpoſe ſeemeth to thwart *Herodotus*, or to have written his *Cyropædia*, rather (*a*) to ſhew, what a Prince ought to be, than what *Cyrus* was indeed, and ſo to have taken ſome of that Liberty of Invention which others (*b*) have done of late upon the ſame and other Subjects. But though *Joſeph Scaliger* may ſeem to ſhew more Reaſon for this latter Aſſertion, yet *Pererius* truly affirmeth the thing to be obſcure, perplexed, and difficult.

ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπισυστάσεως.

ἀπὸ τῶν φίλων ἀπετυμπανίσθη.

(*a*) Cicero *ad quintum fratrem. Ep.* 1.

(*b*) As the *Grand Cyrus* of *George de Scudiry* Governour of *Noſtre Dame de la Garde*, a *Romance* of 10 Volumes.

Cyrus.

The Sum of what *Herodotus* hath written concerning his Birth and Fortune.

29. If *Laboroſardochus* be taken for *Belſhazar*, then *Nabonodus* muſt be the ſame with *Darius Medus*; whom further, ſome would have to be the Brother of *Aſtyages*, not his Son, and yet called *Cyaxares*. In him the Empire of the *Babylonians* ceaſed, and was derived upon the *Perſians* by *Cyrus*, whoſe firſt Beginnings are to be viewed, with the Progreſs of his Actions, which made way to that Pitch of Greatneſs whereat he arrived. Herein Hiſtorians do not relate the ſame things. That *Aſtyages* was his Grand-father is acknowledged by all, except *Cteſias*, who will have them nothing akin, and calleth him *Aſtyigas*: His Father's name is granted to be *Cambyſes*, his Country *Perſia*, but his Condition is diverſly reported of. *Herodotus* writeth how *Aſtyages* dreaming two Dreams concerning his Daughter *Mandane*, (which by the Wizards were interpreted to portend the Loſs of his Kingdom, through the Greatneſs of her Iſſue) gave her in Marriage to one *Cambyſes* a *Perſian*, of obſcure Fortune; and not ſatisfied in this Security, ſent for her when ſhe was with Child, and as ſoon as the Boy was born, gave him to one *Harpagus* to be made away. *Harpagus* fearing he might afterwards be called to an Account by the Mother, for Violence offered to the Babe, delivered him to the Kings Shepherd, to be expoſed in the Woods to the Mercy of the wild Beaſts. This being done, and the Shepherd's Wife lately brought to Bed of a ſtill-born Child, ſhe prevailed with her Huſband to fetch him home; nurſed and brought him up as her own Son amongſt the Shepherds. At ſeven years of Age being choſen King of the Boyes in their Play, he executed the Office with Severity, towards ſuch as were diſobedient, and for this was complained of by their Parents to the King. Being ſent for and accuſed of the Crime, he would acknowledge none, alledging he had done like a King; and ſtanding in his Juſtification without the leaſt Change of Countenance, *Aſtyages* was ſtruck with Admiration, and preſently called to mind his Dream. Upon Examination of the Shepherd, he got out the whole matter; owned him for his Grand-ſon, becauſe he thought the Dream fulfilled in his boyiſh Reign amongſt the Shepherds; only he thought it good to ſend him out of the way into *Perſia*.

30. But to puniſh *Harpagus* for his Diſobedience, he invited him to Supper, and cauſed to be ſerved up to the Table his only Son; of which, after he had eaten heartily, and approved the meat, he let him ſee his Entertainment, by the Head, hands and Feet, reſerved in another Platter, *Harpagus* for the preſent kept down his Paſſion, ſeeming to acquieſce in the Kings Pleaſure, untill *Cyrus* came to mans Eſtate. Then, hearing of his Activity and Forwardneſs, he reſolved by Preſents to make him his Friend, meditating a convenient way of Revenge by the means of this Youth, from whom he expected ſomething anſwerable to his Grand-fathers Dream. Knowing *Aſtyages* his tyrannical Carriage towards the *Medes*, he inſinuated himſelf into the chief of them by Degrees, and ſecretly perſwaded them, that it was convenient he ſhould be removed from the Government, eſpecially ſeeing they might with ſome Plauſibility place *Cyrus* in his Seat. Having thus made War, he wrote Letters to the young man into *Perſia*, (which, to prevent Diſcovery, he ſowed up in the Belly of an Hare) wherein recalling to his Memory what he had ſuffered from his Grand-father upon his Account, he ſollicited him to draw the *Perſians* to revolt; then to come down with an Army into *Media*, where he might be ſure of him or any other the Kings Generals, and ſo eaſily become Maſter of all.

Cyrus overthroweth *Aſtyages* his Grand-father.

31. *Cyrus* conſidering of a way how to accompliſh this Buſineſs, which now he made no leſs than a Deſign, called the *Perſians* together; firſt gave out, that he was choſen their *General* by *Aſtyages*, and then eaſily perſwaded them, by laying open, how much Liberty was to be preferred before that Slavery they now underwent, to cloſe with him and break out into open Rebellion. The old man hearing this, ſent a Meſſenger for him; but he returned Anſwer, he would come ſooner than he ſhould have cauſe to deſire his Company; whereupon he armed his Subjects of *Media*, and forgetting how he had formerly injured *Harpagus*, committed the Army to his Conduct. *Harpagus* revolting, he loſt thereby the firſt Battel, yet was not daunted, but threatned *Cyrus*, nailed to Croſſes the *Magicians* who had perſwaded him to diſmiſs him, and arming all both old and young that were in the City, led them out to a ſecond Engagement, wherein his Succeſs was worſe than before, he being taken Priſoner. When *Harpagus*, boaſting of his Revenge, inſulted over him, he taxed him of Imprudence and Injuſtice: of the one, for that having Power to make himſelf King he ſhould transferr the Dignity to another; and of the other, becauſe for to revenge a private Injury, he had enſlaved the whole Nation of the *Medes*, out of which he might rather

have choſen one to the Kingdom, refuſing it himſelf, than Him, who would now ſo order the matter, that the *Perſians*, Slaves before, ſhould be Lords and Maſters of all. Thus *Aſtyages* loſt his Kingdom, after he had held it thirty five years, enjoying all things elſe at his Grand-ſon's hands, till his natural Death: And the *Medes* became ſubject to the *Perſians*, after they had enjoyed the Dominion of *Aſia* beyond the River *Halys*, the ſpace of 128 years, (except that Space wherein the *Scythians* kept them under) and in the ſecond year of the 55th *Olympiad*, of the World 3446.

Provoked by *Crœſus* King of *Lydia*.

A. M. 3446. *Olymp.* 55. *an.* 2. *urbis conditæ* 195.

32. *Cyrus* having obtained the Sovereignty of *Perſia* and *Media*, was within a while provoked by *Crœſus* King of *Lydia*, who at this time was grown eminent, having improved the Inheritance which deſcended upon him from his Anceſtors.

Lydia whence ſo called.

Lege Bochartum. *Phalag. lib.* 2. *cap.* 12.

Herodotus *lib.* 1. *c.* 7. Strabo *lib.* 13. *p.* 586. *c.* Plin. *l.* 5. *c.* 29. Diodorus Halicar. *lib.* 1. Diodorus *l.* 3. *p.* 165.

Tertul. *de Spectac. lib* 5. Dionyſ. *Halic. lib.* 2.

(*a*) Herodotus *lib.* 1. *c.* 95.

Athenæus *l.* 12. Plut. *Sym. l.* 4. Herodotus *lib.* 1. *c.* 49.

(*b*) Λυδὰς καπηλεύει.

The *Lydian* Nation was of great Antiquity, ſo named from *Lud* the Son of *Sem*, or rather deſcended of him who by *Moſes* is ſo called; both he and they having obtained this name from that Country, which from the crookedneſs and Winding of the River *Mæander* took the Appellation of *Lud*, in the *Phœnician* Language ſignifying *crooked* or *winding*: The *Greeks* ſay, that the *Lydians* were firſt called *Mæones*, and *Lydia Mæonia*, from *Mæon*, an ancient King of *Phrygia* and *Lydia*, who was thought to have been the Father of *Cybeles*, Mother of the Gods, and that long after him reigned *Lydus* the Son of *Atys*, and Brother of *Tyrrhenus*, from whom they fancy the Country to have been named. Better is the Opinion of *Stephanus*, who deriveth *Mæonia* from the River *Mæon* or *Mæander*. For, though the *Greeks* might call them *Lydians*, yet that their right name was *Ludians*, appeareth from the *Latin* words, *Ludus*, *Ludo*, *Ludio*, &c, thence derived; ſeeing it is granted, that the firſt Players came from *Lydia* into *Hetruria*, ſo to *Rome*, as the *Lydians* (*a*) boaſted themſelves to have been Inventors of thoſe Games, which afterwards were common with them to the *Greeks*. Hence it appeareth that though the Country might be called both *Lydia* and *Mæonia*, from the ſelf-ſame thing; yet moſt ancient was the name of *Lud*. After the Poſterity of *Lydus*, reigned the *Heraclidæ* or thoſe that were deſcended from *Hercules*, by his Son *Alcæus*. The firſt was *Argon*, ſaith *Herodotus*, the Son of *Ninus*, Grandſon of *Belus*, and great Grand-ſon of *Alcæus*; the laſt was *Candaules* the Son of *Myrſus*, by the *Greeks* called *Myrſitus*. *Candaules*, or *Candylos*, ſignified a certain kind of *Lydian* meat made of Flower, Cheeſe, Honey, Bread and Fleſh; the *Lydians* being accounted the firſt (*b*) of all Nations, that buſied themſelves in Cookery, inſomuch that they became a Proverb for it.

Euſeb. *in Chron.*

The Royal Families of *Lydia*.

Herodotus *l.* 1. *c.* 8, &c.

33. The Antiquity of the *Lydians* appeareth further out of the ancient Fables, *Attis*, *Tantalus*, *Pelops*, *Niobe* and *Arachne*, being of this Country: Their Fruitfulneſs, from the Colonies they ſent out into *Peloponneſus* and *Caria*, into *Etruria* alſo as they ſay. Their Valour and Power is ſhewn to have been of great Antiquity from their holding the Dominion of the Sea 92 years, which they took from the *Cretians* about the time of *Jepthe*, and 1200 years before Chriſt, loſing it again and recovering it afterwards. But *Candaules* with his Family being extinct, and the Kingdom devolved upon the *Mermnadæ* (of whom *Crœſus* deſcended) the Power of the Nation grew greater alſo at Land. Theſe *Heraclidæ*, held it the ſpace of 505 years, through twenty two Succeſſors unto this *Candaules*, who ſo far being enamoured of his Wife, as he eſteemed her the moſt beautiful of all Women, conſtrained his Servant *Gyges* to ſee her naked. She eſpying *Gyges* whilſt therein he only ſatisfied his Maſters Will, offered him the Choice of killing her Husband, and marrying her with the Kingdom, or of ſuffering Death himſelf; one of their two Lives being the leaſt ſhe could require in way of Juſtice. He in ſo great a Strait, preferring his own Safety before his Maſter's Life, ſlew him in his Bed-chamber, the place where the Fault was committed, and ſo enjoyed the Queen with the Kingdom; wherein he was confirmed by the Oracles of *Delphos*, to the Sentence of which, he and his Adverſaries had agreed to ſtand.

Vide ſuprà paragraph. 21.

34. *Gyges* reigned thirty eight years; in which Space, he made War upon *Miletus* and *Smyrna*, and took the City *Colophon*; *Ardys* his Son and Succeſſor ſubdued *Priene*, fought againſt *Miletus*; and in his time the *Cimmerians* being expelled their Seats by the *Scythian Nomades*, paſſed into *Aſia*, and took *Sardis*, all but the Caſtle. He reigned forty nine years, his Son *Sadyattes* twelve, who gave Place to *Alyattes* his Son and Succeſſor. *Alyattes* waged a War with * *Cyaxares* King of *Media*, and expelled the *Cimmerians* out of *Aſia*; took *Smyrna*, and ſet upon *Clazomenæ*. In the ſixth year of the War betwixt the *Median* and him, whilſt they fought upon equal Terms, the Sun was eclipſed, which *Thales*, one

of the ſeven wiſe men, had foretold to his *Mileſians*. Both the Armies ſeeing the Day beginning to be turned into Night, left off fighting, and then by the Mediation of *Syenneſis* the *Cicilian*, and *Labynitus* the *Babylonian* a Peace was concluded; *Ariena* the Daughter of *Halyattes* being marryed to *Aſtyages* the Son of *Cyaxares*. From the Tables of *Ptolomy* (or of *Hipparchus*) it appeareth that this Eclipſe happened in the fourth year of the forty fourth *Olympiad*, the 147*th* of *Nabonaſar*, the fourth day of the *Ægyptian* Moneth *Pachon*, (which anſwereth to the twentieth of *September*, three hours and twenty five Minutes before noon; nine Digits being eclipſed, and the Duration almoſt two hours. *Halyattes* purſued alſo the War left him by his Father, againſt *Miletus*, the Inhabitants whereof received from him two great Blows, for that none of the *Ionians* helped them except the *Chians*, in way of requital for the Aid they had afforded them againſt the *Erythræans*. At length, having Notice that he intended to ſend a Meſſenger into the Ciey, at the Command of *Thraſybulus* their Prince, they brought all the Proviſion they had into the Market-place; which appearing to be much, and as ſuch related to *Alyattes*, he thinking himſelf miſtaken in his former Belief of their diſtreſſed Condition, made Peace with them; and died after he had reigned fifty ſeven years.

Herod. *ad ſupra*. c. 26. &c.

35. *Crœſus* his Son ſucceeded him, at the Age of thirty five years. He made War upon *Epheſus*, which when he beſieged, the Towns-men for their Security gave up the City to *Diana*, by a Rope faſtned from the Wall to her Temple; but for all this he brought them under, and ſubdued all the reſt of the *Greek* Cities in the Continent. He brought into his Subjection all the People of *Aſia*, within the River *Halis*, as the *Phrygians*, *Myſians*, *Bythinians*, *Paphlagonians*, the *Mariandyni*, *Chalibes*, *Thracians*, *Thyni*, *Carians*, *Ionians*, *Dorians*, *Æolians*, *Lycians* and *Cilicians*. Being grown great, and flowing with Wealth, and flouriſhing with Glory, the choiceſt Wits of *Greece* flocked to *Sardis*, and amongſt the reſt *Solon* the *Athenian*, who being now in his Travels, had been with *Ameſis* of *Ægypt*, and now came to viſit *Crœſus*. He kindly entertained him, and ſhewing him his Treaſures, out of a vain Conceit of his own Felicity, demanded of him, whom he thought the happieſt man. He anſwered, he eſteemed for ſuch one *Tellus* an *Athenian*, who having lived in good Credit, and leaving divers Children and Nephews of honeſt and vertuous Carriage, died in the War at *Eleuſine*, after he had firſt helped to put to flight the Enemy; for which he was honoured by his Citizens with a publick and ſtately Funeral. *Crœſus* expecting, if not the firſt, yet the ſecond place, asked him, Whom he accounted next to *Tellus*, he replied *Cleobis* and *Biton*, two Brothers of *Argos*, who had ſufficient to live on, and being very ſtrong, had gotten the better in Trial of Maſteries. On a time at the Feaſt of *Juno*, their Mother being to be drawn in a Chariot to the Temple, and the Heiffers not at hand, they yoked themſelves, and drew her thither. She being much affected with the Piety of her Sons, prayed the Goddeſs, that whatſoever was beſt for Man, might be beſtowed on them, who ſleeping that night in the Temple, were found dead in the Morning, and honoured by the *Argives* with two Statues, erected to their Memory at *Delphos*.

36. The King was troubled that his Felicity ſhould be ſo little valued, as not comparable to that of private men. But *Solon* plainly told him, that all things were uncertain in this Life, and no man ought to be accounted happy till his End; for which Philoſophy, as ſtrange to the Courtiers, he was diſmiſſed with ſmall Reputation for Learning. *Crœſus*, growing exceeding proud and irreligious; to humble him, had a Dream, That the choiſeſt of his two Sons, (whereof one was dumb) ſhould be ſlain with the iron Head of ſome Weapon. Hereupon he removed all things of that Nature out of the way, looked to him diligently, and married him out of hand. But at this time it hapned, that a certain wild Boar haunted about the Mountain *Olympus* in *Myſia*, which, doing great harm to the Inhabitants, they were in no wiſe able to maſter, and therefore ſent to *Crœſus*, deſiring him to ſend his Son, accompanied with a ſufficient Train, to hunt and kill the wild Beaſt. He plainly denied, becauſe of his Dream, to let him ſtir from home; but the young man, having a great deſire to the Exerciſe, thereby to approve himſelf for Activity to his new married Wife, obtained Leave to be ſent, ſaying, that no ſuch thing would be uſed in the game as that of which he had dreamed. He committed him then to the Care of one *Adraſtus*, the Son of *Gordius* (and he of *Midas*) King of *Phrygia*, who having at unawares killed his Brother, had been baniſhed by his Father. When they came into the Field, and had diſlodged the Boar, *Adraſtus* throwing a Dart at him, chanced to hit

the young man, and ſo fulfilled the Dream; for which, offering himſelf to be killed, upon *Crœſus* his Refuſal, as done without any Intention, he yet ſlew himſelf. *Crœſus* took the Accident very heavily, and kept himſelf in Mourning two years.

Crœſus *Halym greſſus, magnam pervertet opum vim,*

37. This Mourning was broken off by the Proſperity of *Cyrus*, who having now overthrown the Kingdom of the *Medes*, advanced highly the Affairs of *Perſia*. Herein he found himſelf exceedingly concerned, ſo as to withſtand, if poſſible, his Succeſs, and make an Addition thereby to his own Fortune. For Encouragement in this Deſign, he ſent to enquire of the Oracles far and near; which anſwering with one Conſent, that he ſhould *overturn a great Principality*, he was much incouraged, not doubting but that of the *Perſians* was meant thereby; and much more, after the Oracle at *Delphos* had (in Anſwer to his Requiry, whether his Empire ſhould long continue) bid him look to himſelf, when a Mule ſhould have Poſſeſſion of the Sovereignty of *Media*; taking this in a literal Senſe, notwithſtanding the conſtant Ambiguity of ſuch Anſwers. Now (the Oracle giving way to it) he ſent to make a League with the *Lacedæmonians*, who being obliged to him, eaſily complied; though no Supplies do we read of ſent to him. For he, being in great Haſte, prevented the ſending of any; and, with all the Force he could make, invaded *Cappadocia*, to revenge, as he pretended, upon *Cyrus*, the Injury offered to *Aſtyages* his Brother-in-Law; but indeed to lay that fertile Country to his own Dominions. Having paſſed the River *Hayis*, he came into a place of *Cappadocia* called *Pteria*, the moſt ſafe of all the Country, near to the City *Sinope*, which was ſituated upon the *Euxine Sea*. Taking up his Quarters here, he made Incurſions, took the City of the *Pterians*, with all the reſt round about, and baniſhed the *Syrians* (ſo were the *Cappadocians* called by the *Greeks*, till ſubjected to the *Perſian* Empire) though they had nothing ill deſerved at his hands.

Crœſus invadeth *Cappadocia*.

38. *Cyrus* coming againſt him ſent to the *Ionians*, to draw them to his Party; but they ſtanding off, he proceeded, and pitcht his Camp againſt *Crœſus*. After ſome Skirmiſhes the Armies ingaged, and a very hot Diſpute continued, till night parted them, many falling on both ſides. *Crœſus*, though neither Party owned any Defeat, was blamed by his Souldiers for Ingaging with ſo numerous an Army; ſo that, *Cyrus* not ſtirring out againſt him the next day, he thought it beſt to retreat to *Sardis*, and ſent out of Hand for Aid to *Ameſis* King of *Ægypt*, and *Labynitus* of *Babylon*, whom he had by a League obliged to him: to the *Lacedæmonians* alſo, to diſpatch their Auxiliary within five Moneths, with which, reſting that Winter, he would re-invade the *Perſians* the following Spring. Accordingly he diſmiſſed all his Mercenaries, ſtanding then in no need of them, as he thought; which *Cyrus* hearing, reſolved with all Speed to follow him to *Sardis*, hoping he might utterly defeat him before he could recollect his Forces: and accordingly marching into *Lydia*, he prevented any Meſſage of his Coming. *Crœſus*, though exceedingly perplexed at ſo unexpected a thing, gathered his Subjects together, as time would give Leave, and provided for his Defence; which the other perceiving, and fearing the Power of his Horſe (wherein the *Lydians* excelled all other People of *Aſia*) took off the Burthens from all the Camels that followed the Camp, and ſetting Riders upon them, placed them in the Front; the ſmell of which (when the Armies joyned) the Horſes not enduring, turned aſide. Yet were not the Riders thereby deterred from Fighting, but diſmounting, performed on Foot what could be expected, till over-powered, rather with number than Valour, they were put to Flight, and beſieged in the City.

Retreateth to *Sardis*.

Overthrown in Battel,

And beſieged.

39. *Crœſus* thinking he might poſſibly be able to hold out ſome conſiderable time, ſent again to his Confederates to haſten their Succours. But *Cyrus*, on the fourteenth day of the Siege offering a great Reward to him that ſhould firſt mount the Wall, one *Hyræades*, a *Mardian*, having taken notice of a place, which becauſe of its Height and Precipitancy was held impregnable, and therefore neglected by the Beſieged (where yet he had ſeen a Souldier come down to fetch his Helmet, he had let fall) made means to climb up, and after him more and more followed, till the City was thereby ſurprized. All Places being full of Slaughters, a Souldier not knowing *Crœſus*, was about to kill him; which he neglected, as willing to dye with his Kingdom. But his dumb Son, affrighted at the Danger he ſaw him in, is ſaid to have broken Silence (or Dumbneſs) with this Expreſſion; *Man, do not kill* Crœſus, and thenceforth to have enjoyed the Uſe of his Tongue. Thus *Crœſus overturned a great Principality*, as the Oracle had foretold, after he had reigned fourteen years, and been beſieged ſo many Days.

Sardis taken.

Vide Herod. lib. 1. *c.* 85. *Aul. Gellium. l.* 5. *c.* 9. *Val. Max. l.* 5. *c.* 4. *Ext. Exem.* 6.

Cyrus

Crœſus condemned.

His Life ſpared.

Solinum. c. 7.

A. M. 3460. *Olymp.* 58. *an.* 4. *Cyri* 15.

Cyrus adjudged him to Death, and had burnt him alive, but that he, almoſt too late, remembred the words of the wiſe Law-giver of *Athens*, and cryed out *Solon, Solon, Solon! Cyrus* commanded the Interpreters to demand of him whom he invocated (thinking it to be ſome God he mentioned:) to which he anſwered, when compelled to ſpeak, that he named one whom, rather than any thing, he would have to ſpeak with all Princes; and being urged to explain himſelf, told the whole Story concerning the Diſcourſe betwixt him and *Solon*. Herewith the Conquerour was ſo affected, that, conſidering the Uncertainty of his own proſperous Condition, though the Pile was already kindled, yet commanded he the fire to be quenched, and receiving him into his moſt inward Counſels, held him ever moſt dear, and in great Eſteem for his Wiſdom; wherein, after ſuch manifold Experience, he excelled. This hapned in the fourth year of the 58 *Olympiad*, the fifteenth year of the Reign of *Cyrus*. A. M. 3460.

Herodotus l. 1. *c.* 141. *&c.*

Pactyas revolteth.

Taken.

(a) Λυδιάζειν *ventri indulgere*, Λυδοϖαθεῖς *voluptatibus deditus.* (b) Λυδοφοίτης *unguentarius. Lege Athenæum. lib.* 15. *c.* 12.

40. When the *Ionians* and *Æolians* heard that *Crœſus*, with ſo little ado, was utterly ſubdued, they ſent to *Cyrus*, offering to put themſelves into his hands, on the ſame Terms as the *Lydians* were received; but he returned them no Satisfactory Anſwer, becauſe of their Refuſal formerly to joyn with him. All of them then (except the *Mileſians*, thoſe having yielded themſelves) made their Application to the *Lacedæmonians*, who refuſed to grant any Aid; but ſent ſome to make Diſcovery how matters went in *Aſia*. The Meſſengers finding *Cyrus* at *Sardis*, according to Order acquainted him with the Pleaſure of that Republick, not to ſuffer him to moleſt any of the *Greek* Cities. He enquiring what the *Lacedæmonians* were, preſently ſlighted them, and anſwered, That if the Gods preſerved him, they ſhould have Cauſe to bewail their own Calamities, and not buſie themſelves with what concerned the *Ionians*. He committed *Sardis* to the Cuſtody of *Tabalus*, a *Perſian*; to *Pactyas* a *Lydian*, the Treaſure of *Crœſus* and others: and ſo ſet out for *Ecbatane*, making little Account of the *Ionians* (againſt whom he intended to ſend ſome Lieutenant) in Compariſon of *Babylon*, the *Bactrians*, *Sacæ* and *Ægyptians*, upon all which he had caſt an hungry Eye with purpoſe to invade them. After his Departure *Pactyas* revolted, and drawing into Rebellion the Maritime Coaſts, beſieged *Tabycus*; whereat *Cyrus* being angry, as eſteeming it a Plot of the *Lydians*, *Crœſus* fearing worſe things might come upon them, after an Excuſe of the Generality, adviſed him to take from them the Uſe of Arms, and enure them to effeminate Courſes, whereby they would eaſily be kept under. *Cyrus* according to his Advice, diſpatched away with an Army, one *Mazares* a *Mede*, who finding *Sardis* deſerted by *Pactyas*, put in Execution what *Crœſus* had adviſed. By this Courſe was brought to paſs, that the *Lydians*, to whom for Valour no Nation in *Aſia* could be compared, grew infamous for Effeminateneſs and Luxury; ſo that gluttonous (*a*) and voluptuous Perſons, (*b*) ſuch as made it their Profeſſion to afford Incitements to Debauchery, received Epithets from their name.

The *Ionians* ſubdued.

41. *Pactyas* having fled to *Cuma*, *Mazares* ſent to demand him of the Citizens; but, they diſmiſſing him, he fled to *Mytilene*, and thence to the *Chians*, who ſold him to *Mazares*. He then reduced ſuch as had revolted, and haraſſing the Country of *Priene*, with that lying upon *Mæander* and *Magneſia*, fell ſick and died. *Harpagus* the *Mede* ſucceeded him, and out of hand undertook an Expedition againſt the *Ionians*. The *Phocæans* being firſt beſieged, obtained Truce for a day, and then ſhipping themſelves, left their ancient Seat, and paſſed over into the Iſland *Chius*, and thence (for that the *Chians* refuſed to ſell them the Iſlands *Oenuſæ*, leſt they ſhould thither carry the Traffique) to *Cyrnus*, where twenty years before, they had built a City called *Alalia*. Here playing the Pirates, they were after five years defeated in a Sea-fight by the *Tyrrhenians* and *Carthaginians*, and then thoſe that remained paſſed over to *Rhegium* in *Italy*, where they built a City named *Hyela*, in the Territories of *Oenotria*. The *Teians* alſo, after their Example departed into *Thrace*; where they built up a City called *Abdera*, the Foundations of it being formerly laid by one *Temeſius* a *Clazomenian*, whom the *Thracians* thence expelled. The reſt of the *Ionians* ſtood it out againſt *Harpagus*, who yet utterly ſubdued, and forced them to undergo the Yoke the ſecond time, having refuſed to follow the Counſel of *Bias* the *Prienæan*, (one of the ſeven wiſe men of *Greece*,) who adviſed them to ſhun Servitude by going to *Sardinia*, and there Planting themſelves in one great and common City; as they had formerly rejected the Advice of *Thales* the *Mileſian* (another of that number) to ſet up one common Court at *Teus* in the middle of *Ionia*. After the Conqueſt of the *Ionians*, *Harpagus* ſubdued the *Carians*, *Caunians*, and *Lycians*,

Lycians, and brought all the lower *Aſia* under the Dominion and Sovereignty of *Cyrus*, who in the mean while not idle, did as much by the upper Provinces; leaving nothing in his way, but clearing all before him.

And the *Aſſyrians* or *Babylonians.*

42. Having conquered the reſt of the Continent, he went againſt the *Aſſyrians*, who, being aware of him, had furniſhed themſelves in *Babylon* for a long Siege. Coming to the River *Gyndes* (which riſing in the *Mantienean* Mountains, runneth through the Country of the *Dardaneans*, and emptieth it ſelf in *Tigris*) he could find no Ford to paſs it, and a certain white Horſe, ſacred to the Sun, boldly taking the Water, was overwhelmed in the Floods. Hereat being exceeding angry, he threatned to reduce it to ſuch a Condition, as it ſhould not be knee-deep, and accordingly ſetting all his Army on work, derived it into 360 Rivulets, in which Employment he ſpent all that Summer. The Spring following, he marched for *Babylon*, the King whereof (*Labinitus*) oppoſed him; but, being defeated, retreated into the City, to which he then laid cloſe Siege. In vain for a long time did he attempt the Taking of it. At length he divided his Army, and leaving the two ſtronger parts of it, the one at that ſide of the Town where the River entred, the other there where it came out; with the third he retired into the adjoyning Fens, and digging great Ditches derived the River into them. Hereby he brought it to ſuch an Ebb, that his Souldiers eaſily paſſing it, became Maſters of the City, and he of the *Babylonian* or *Aſſyrian* Empire. This is the Sum of what *Herodotus* hath written concerning the proſperous Fortune of *Cyrus*.

The Sum of *Xenophon's Cyropædia.*

43. *Xenophon*, contrary to the former Story, will have *Cambyſes* his Father no obſcure man; but King of *Media*: not a word from him of his Grand-father's Dream, or Expoſing of the Infant. When he was twelve years old, he was ſent for by *Aſtyages* into *Media*, where having tarried till almoſt a man, and being admired for Underſtanding and Abilities far above his Age; he returned to his Father, and entred into the College of Youth, where he was trained up in all ſtrict Diſcipline according to the Cuſtoms of *Perſia*. *Aſtyages* dying, *Cyaxares* his Son ſucceeded him, at what time the King of *Aſſyria* having ſubdued all the *Syrians*, *Arabians*, *Hyrcanians*, and had now fallen upon the *Bactryans*, promiſed himſelf the abſolute Empire of the Eaſt; if he could but bring under the *Medes* and *Perſians*. He ſent therefore to all his Neighbours; to *Crœſus* King of *Lydia* the King of *Cappadocia*, to both the *Phrygians*, *Caſians*, *Paphlagonians*, *Cilicians*, and *Indians*, accuſing theſe two Nations of ambitious Deſigns to enſlave them all, and procured them to joyn with him in an offenſive and defenſive League againſt them. *Cyaxares* hearing this, deſired of *Cambyſes* his Brother-in-law to ſend down *Cyrus* to him, with an Army; *Cyrus* being accordingly choſen General by the People, firſt ſubdued the *Armenians*, who becauſe of this Combination of the Princes, had denyed to pay their accuſtomed Tribute to *Cyaxares*, and then perſwaded his Uncle to invade the *Aſſyrians*, to keep the War from his own doors.

Lege de inſtitutione Perſarum, Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 1. *ad initium.*

44. Making then an Inroad into *Aſſyria*, the King thereof, *Crœſus* of *Lydia*, and divers other Confederates came againſt them, but in the firſt Engagement were worſted, and beaten back into their Camp, and amongſt others the *Aſſyrian* himſelf (*Nerigliſſor*, if any) was ſlain. The Night following, all brake out of the Fortifications and fled; whereupon *Cyrus* prevailing with his Uncle to ſuffer him to purſue them, with as many of the *Medes* as would follow him of their own Accord, in his way entred into Confederacy with the *Hyrcanians*, through the Conduct of whom he overtook, and again defeated them: they alſo ſlew the Kings of *Cappadocia* and *Arabia*. After this he invaded the Territories of the *Babylonians*, went up to the City it ſelf, and challenged the King to a ſingle Combat, who refuſing it, he, after ſome few Skirmiſhes thereabout returned to *Cyaxares*, upon the Borders of *Media*, to deliberate about carrying on the War: He found him greatly diſcontented at his Succeſs (out of Apprehenſion that he had robbed him of all the Glory) and much averſe to the War; but at length he appeaſed him, and ſo wrought under hand upon the Officers of the Army, that they unanimouſly voted the War to be carried on. Some time being neceſſary then for Preparation, he choſe out a convenient place for the Army's Quarters; and not long after, underſtood by certain Fugitives and Priſoners that the King of *Aſſyria* was gone towards *Lydia* with much Treaſure.

45. *Cyrus*, ſuppoſing his Deſign to be for raiſing men, prepared for the main Chance, by horſing his *Perſians*, inventing new and more convenient Chariots, and, to get Intelligence of the Enemie's Purpoſes, ſent one *Araſpes* into *Lydia*,

who, under Colour of a Revolt, ſhould inſinuate himſelf into their Counſels. This Device taking, he diſpoſed of his Affairs according as he ſaw behooveful, modelled his Army, and marched againſt the Confederates, whom without any great Difficulty he overthrew, all but the *Ægyptians*. They put him to ſore Trouble, and endangered his Life; but having fall'n in upon their Rear, and thereby diverted the Front, he ſo overpowered them behind and before, as, glad they were to deliver up their Arms, and, upon Promiſe of better Entertainment, willing to change Maſters and ſerve him. *Crœſus* now, who commanded in Chief, fled amain to *Sardis*, whither *Cyrus* purſued him, and getting the Caſtle into his hands, by the Help of a *Perſian*, who had been Slave to an Officer in it, got Poſſeſſion both of the City and its King. He, coming to *Cyrus*, acquitted the Oracle of *Delphos* from all Blame, and took the Fault upon himſelf, in that he, overweening of his own Condition, had fooled himſelf continually in a fond Opinion of Happineſs. After this the *Carians* falling into two Factions, both ſent unto him: and he diſpatched to them *Aduſias* with ſome Forces, who overpowering both the one and the other, compounded their Differences.

46. Then ſent he *Hyſtaſpes* into *Phrygia*, who ſubdued the Country, and took the King Priſoner; at what time the *Greeks* of *Aſia* ſubmitted themſelves, procuring by Gifts, that they ſhould not be conſtrained to receive any Gariſon, but only pay Tribute, and ſerve in the Wars. Afterward, in his March to *Babylon*, he brought under the greater *Phrygia*, ſubdued the *Cappadocians* and *Arabians*. He ſate down before that City with a vaſt Army, the Walls whereof after he had viewed, he concluded there was no ſtorming of it, and reſolved, the beſt way was to pine them out. Underſtanding then, that they were provided within for a whole year, he divided his Army into twelve parts, aſſigning to each a Moneth to lye in Leaguer, at which the beſieged ſcoffed, as utterly out of Danger. But *Cyrus* taking Notice how the River ran through the City, cauſed deep Ditches to be made, which by dreining, rendred it fordable, and ſo taking Advantage of a ſolemn Feaſt, entred by night, and ſurprized them all in their Cups. The King was ſlain by *Gobryas* and *Gadatas*, who both, being formerly injured by him, had revolted to *Cyrus*. The Inhabitants, commanded upon pain of Death to deliver up their Arms, inſtantly obeyed. And thus the *Babylonian Empire* being quite overthrown, *Cyrus* aſſumed to himſelf Royal Majeſty, ſettling his Court with great Wiſdom, wherein *Xenophon*, in his moſt exquiſite Hiſtory, maketh him to have excelled, in all things, to Admiration.

The Sum of that wherein *Cteſias* diſſenteth from other Hiſtorians concerning *Cyrus*.

Ex Photii *Bibliotheca*.

47. But *Cteſias* will have *Aſtyages* (whom he calleth *Aſtyigas*) nothing akin to *Cyrus*; tells us how he fled to *Ecbatane*, where he was hid by his Daughter *Amytis*, and her Husband *Spitama*: and how *Cyrus* coming upon them, put them both to the Rack, to make them confeſs where he was, with their Children *Spitaces* and *Magabemes*. *Aſtyigas*, rather than they ſhould be tortured, diſcovered himſelf, and was firſt bound with Fetters, but afterwards honoured as a Father by *Cyrus*, who at length married *Amytis*, having killed *Spitama*, becauſe he had denied he knew where he was. After the Marriage, the *Bactrians* gave up themſelves to *Cyrus* and *Amytis*, though formerly they made great and effectual Reſiſtance. He relateth alſo how *Cyrus* made War upon the *Sacæ*, whoſe King *Amorges* he took Priſoner; but *Speretha* the Queen gathered an Army of 300000 Men, and 200000 Women, and therewith overthrowing *Cyrus*, took him with other Priſoners, and thereby redeemed her Husband. With the help then of *Amorges*, he made War upon *Crœſus*, and beſieged *Sardis*, which City he took by a Stratagem taught him by *Oebares*; making Images of the *Perſians*, and placing them upon the Walls, at which the Defendants were affrighted. But before this, *Crœſus*, deluded by a *Spectrum*, gave out his Son, an Hoſtage to *Cyrus*, and delaying to perform what he had promiſed, procured his Death, which the Mother beholding from the Wall, tumbled her ſelf down headlong, and yet was not killed; but the City being taken, fled to *Apollo*'s Temple, and died there.

Vide Julium Frontinum *Stratagem. l.* 3. *cap.* 8.

48. *Crœſus* being bound in the Temple, by an Art he had of Deceiving the ſight, three times was looſed, though the Place was ſecured, and committed to the Care of *Oebares*; for which they that were bound with him loſt their Heads. Then was he brought into the Palace and more ſtrongly fetter'd, but was looſed again by Thunder and Lightning. Hereat *Cyrus* his Anger abated, and giving him his Liberty, he uſed him ever after with great Reſpect, and beſtowed on him a great City called *Barene*, near to *Ecbatane*. After this, *Cyrus* ſent *Petiſacas* his Eunuch to fetch *Aſtyigas* from the *Barcanians*, both he and his wife having a great Deſire to ſee him: But *Petiſacas* through the Inſtigation of *Oebares* left him in a

deſart Plaee, where he was famiſhed to death. The Treachery was revealed by Dreams, and *Petiſacas* was given up into the hands of *Amytis*, who plucked out his Eyes, his Skin over his Ears, and then crucified him: *Oebares* fearing the like Puniſhment, though *Cyrus* promiſed him Indemnity, killed himſelf. As for the Body of *Aſtyigas* it was ſumptuouſly buried, having been guarded by Lions in the Wilderneſs, till *Petiſacas* fetched it away. Theſe improbable things are related by *Cteſias*.

What *Beroſus* and *Abydenus* wrote of him.

49. *Beroſus* the *Chaldæan* left recorded, that, in the 17th year of *Nabonidus*, *Cyrus* having ſubdued all *Aſia*, with a great Army, turned againſt *Babylon*. That *Nabonidus* meeting and engaging with him in Battel, was overthrown, and betook himſelf into a Town of the *Borſippians*. *Cyrus* beſieged *Babylon*, and conſidering it was not to be taken in haſt, returned to *Borſippus*, where *Nabonidus* not expecting a Storm, yielded himſelf; and *Cyrus* uſing him kindly ſeni him from *Babylon* into *Caramania*, where he allotted him an Habitation. *Abydenus* further added, that *Cyrus* beſtowed upon *Nabonidus*, now above eighty years old, the Government of *Caramania*. This is the Sum of what the moſt ancient Hiſtorians delivered concerning *Cyrus* his Attainment of the Empire of the Eaſt; which happenned about the year of the World 3465, the firſt of the 60th *Olympiad*, 538 years before the *Æra* of Chriſt.

Apud Joſeph. *cont.* Apion. *l.* 1.

A. M. Olymp. 6. *an* 1. *V.C.* 214.

Apud. Euſeb. *præpar. Evang. lib.* 9.

Of Sacred Hiſtory,

CHAP. III.

Contemporary with the Babylonian *Empire.*

SECT. I.

From the time of Phaleg, *and the Diviſion of the Earth; to the Departure of the Iſraelites out of* Ægypt.

Phaleg.
Reu.
Sarug.
Nahor.
Terah.

1. PHaleg being thirty years old, begat *Reu*, otherwiſe called *Rehu* and *Ragau* by the 70: *Reu* 32 years old, begat *Sarug*. He at thirty years of Age, had a Son named *Nachor*. And *Nachor*, one (when he was 29) called *Terah* or *Thare*. Gen. 11.

Abram.

2. *Terah* being ſeventy years old begat *Abram*, *Nachor*, and *Haran*. Not that all theſe were born at the ſame time, or are to be accounted in Age as we find them in Order; Priority in years not being conſtantly obſerved in Scripture; but rather that of Piety and true Worth. *Haran* is to be reckoned as the eldeſt; who died at *Ur* of the *Chaldees*, before his Father departed thence, and left three Children, *viz.* one Son named *Lot*: and two Daughters *Milcah* married to his Brother (and her Uncle) *Nahor* and *Sarai* (or *Iſcah*) to *Abram*. The ſecond was *Nahor*, Father to *Cheſed* (or *Chaſed*;) and ſo *Abram* the youngeſt; becauſe he was born, not in the 70th as hath been thought; but 130 year of his Father. For *Terah* lived in all 205 years, and died in *Charran*. *Abram*, when he came out of *Charran* (which *Stephen* ſaith, was after his Father's Death) was 75 years old; which being deducted out of 205, 130 years will remain. But if he was born in the 70 year of his Father; then, at his Death, was he 135 years old; and having *Iſaac* born to him, when 100, in the Land of *Canaan*, he muſt with him have returned back to *Charran* (which ſeemeth very incredible;) or elſe he left it not at his Fathers Death, as *Stephen* muſt make us believe he did.

Verſ. 26.

What year of his Father he was born.

De iſtis lege Ludov. Cappellum, *Chronol. Sacra. notis ad Tabulam* 5. Joh. Gerard. Voſſii. *Iſagog. Chronolog. Diſſert.* 5. *c.* 6. Jacob. Cappell. *Hiſt Sacra & Exotica ad A.M.* 2003, *& multos alios.*

Verſ. 32. Acts 7. v. 4. Gen. 12. 4.

3. *Abram* therefore was born in the 130 year of his Father's Life, and the 2008 of the World, as is clear from the Ages of all his Progenitors, taken at the Births of their Sons, and laid together. About the 70 year of his Age, God commanded him to leave his Father's houſe, and come into the Land which he ſhould ſhew him, promſing to make of him a great Nation, to bleſs him, and in him all the

A. M. 2008.

He cometh from *Ur* to *Charran.*

A. M. 2078.

Thence into *Canaan.*

Families of the Earth. He, obeying this Command, drew on his Father alſo with him, and ſo (together with *Lot* the Son of *Haran*, and *Sarai Abram*'s Wife) they came from *Ur* of the *Chaldæans* to *Charran*, and dwelt there. *Dwelling there*, ſeemeth to imitate a longer Stay than of one year; ſo that ſome probably think five *Years* to have been there ſpent. For *Terah*, now very old, might detein them by his Weakneſs; they being unwilling to leave him, till they ſaw him either recovered or dead: But after his Death, mindful of Gods Command, they left *Charran*, and came into the Land of *Canaan*. This Journey from *Ur* to *Charran*, was the Beginning of the four hundred thirty years of him, and his Poſterity's, ſojourning in a ſtrange Land; the Promiſe alſo made to him being ſo many years before the Promulgation of the Law in Mount *Sinai*, as the Apoſtle *Paul* hath obſerved.

Gen. 12.

Sojourneth in *Ægypt.*

Chap. 13.

4. The firſt Place of *Canaan* in which *Abram* made any Stay, was *Sichem*; where God again appeared to him, and renewed his Promiſe; another of giving that Land to his Seed being added to it; and in this place he built the firſt Altar to the Lord. Thence he removed towards the hilly Country, and the Eaſtern Tract of *Luz*, (afterwards called *Bethel*) where he built another Altar, and ſo proceeded into the Southern Coaſts, whence a Famine drove him into *Ægypt*. There he ſojourned, and taught the *Ægyptians* Aſtrology, which *Joſephus* ſaith they were ignorant of, till he communicated to them the Knowledge of it, and of Arithmetick. His Wife being beautiful; for fear of his Life, he counterfeited himſelf her Brother, ſo that *Pharaoh* began to caſt his Affections on her, till, plagued by God, he was conſtrained to diſmiſs them both in Peace, Out of *Ægypt* then he returned to that place, between *Hai* and *Bethel*, where he built the ſecond Altar: Now was he and *Lot* grown ſo rich, that no longer could they conveniently live together. *Lot* being departed to the Plains of *Sodom*, God again renewed his Promiſe to *Abram*, which he more largely explained, both as to the Giving of the Land, and the Propagation of his Poſterity. After this, as he was commanded, he went and viewed the Land; then pitch't his Tents in the Plain of *Mamre* near to *Hebron*, where he built another Altar to the Lord.

Chap. 14.

Recovereth Lot and the Booty from the four Kings.

5. At this time four Kings about the River *Euphrates*, viz. *Amraphel* King of *Shinar* or *Babylonia*, *Arioch* King of *Ellaſar*, (thought to be *Arabia*, becauſe of a City upon the Borders of that Country, called *Ellas*) *Chedorlaomer* King of *Elam* (afterwards *Perſia*) and *Tidal* King of *Nations*, (thought to be many petty Kingdoms, adjoyning to *Phœnicia* and *Palæſtine*) came and fought againſt the five Kings of the *Pentapolis*; viz. *Bera* of *Sodom*, *Birſha* of *Gomorrah*, *Shinah* King of *Admah*, *Semeber* of *Zebojim*, and the King of *Bela* (afterwards called *Zoar*;) all who, had twelve years ſerved *Chedorlaomer*; and in the thirteenth rebelled. They overthrew theſe five petty Princes, led away much Pillage, and many Captives, amongſt which was *Lot*, who then ſojourned in *Sodom*. *Abram* hearing this, armed 318 Servants; and purſuing them, recovered *Lot*, and all the Prey, which he reſtored to the Owners. In his Return, *Melchiſedech* (whom ſome improbably make *Sem*) King of Salem (or *Jeruſalem*,) Prieſt of the moſt high God, brought forth Bread and Wine, and bleſſed him; to whom he gave the Tithes of all. In this Story *Abram* is firſt called an *Hebrew* by *Moſes* (*And there came one which had eſcaped and told* Abram *the* Hebrew) which Word, in Scripture, is not found applied to any other before him.

Why called an *Hebrew.*

Vide Bochartum Phaleg. *lib.* 2. *c.* 10.

(*a*) *Lege* Ludov. Cappell. *Chronol. Sacra. p.* 111, &c.

περάτης.

Artapanus *apud* Euſeb. & Charax. *apud* Stephanum.

6. Some think he was ſo called from *Heber* the Son of *Salah*; and that this Appellation only was proper to his Family, becauſe it kept the moſt ancient or *Hebrew* Tongue incorrupt. But (*a*) others finding the word to ſignifie one that *cometh from beyond the Water*, or a *Stranger*; think it was given to *Abram* upon no other Account, than becauſe he came from beyond *Euphrates*: None of *Heber*'s Poſterity being called ſo, but only he, and ſome of his; they think, addeth much to their Reaſon. They conclude, that the *Hebrew* Language was not appropriate to *Heber* as a Reward of his Piety, becauſe thoſe that deſcended of him uſed it not always; and to others, beſides his Poſterity, it appeareth to have been natural. They inſtance, that *Laban* ſpake *Syriack*, and the *Canaanites* and *Philiſtines* the *Hebrew* naturally; as the names of their *Men*, *Places*, and *Rivers*, &c. do ſhew. Therefore they judge it moſt probable, that *Abram* ſpeaking the *Chaldæan* Language before, (which only differeth in Dialect from the *Hebrew*) got both the Name and Language, after his Arrival in the Land of *Canaan*. The Heathen (*a*) Writers thought them to have been called *Hebrews* from *Abraham*, as corrupted from *Abrahæans*, out of Ignorance of the Language. *Auguſtine* alſo once inclined to this Opinion, which he afterwards renounced.

7. *Abram*, after his Victory over the Kings, received a more large promiſe from God, who ingaged to become to him a *Shield*, and a *ſufficient Reward*; and (for that it troubled him to go childleſs) to give him Iſſue, from which ſhould proceed an innumerable Poſterity, that, inhabiting a ſtrange Land four hundred years, was to return and poſſeſs this of *Canaan*, when the Iniquity of the *Amorites* would be full, in the fourth Generation. This League made betwixt *God* and *Abram*, was confirmed by Sacrifice; yet, *Sarai*, ſeeing her ſelf barren, perſwaded her husband to go in unto *Hagar* her handmaid, of which he had a Son born to him, and named *Iſmael*, in the eleventh year after his coming into *Canaan*, the 86 of his Age, and of the World, the 2094. In the thirteenth year after, God made another Covenant with him concerning the ſeed of *Iſaac*, who was to be born the year following, and Circumciſion was inſtituted as a Seal thereof. Now, whereas his name before was *Abram* or an *High-father*, it was changed into *Abraham*, or *Father of a great multitude*. And *Sarai*, which ſignifieth *My Princeſs*, or *Lady*, (as of one Family) was altered into *Sarah*, or a *Princeſs abſolute*; as *of* many Nations. Not long after, God made known to *Abraham* his purpoſe to deſtroy *Sodom*, and the other Cities, for their abominable wickedneſs. He interceded hard for them; but there being not ſo many as five righteous Perſons in *Sodom*, God having taken care for *Lot* and his Family, rained Fire and Brimſtone down upon the Cities, which, together with the Plain were utterly deſtroyed; only *Bela* was ſpared for *Lot*'s ſake, who fled thither. Of the reſt the *Dead Sea* (into which the Ground was converted) remaineth a laſting Monument to this day. In this Sea (or Lake) no living Creature is bred, having nothing but a Sulphureous matter thence taken in great quantities. It is deſcribed to be 72 miles in length, and 19 in breadth. Nigh to it fair and pleaſant Apples grow, which being touched, turn into a Sulphureous Vapour: and a Tradition remained amongſt the Heathen, of theſe Cities being deſtroyed with Thunder and Lightning from Heaven. *Lot*'s Wife, after ſhe had got out of *Sodom*, looked back, and was turned into a Pillar of Salt. His two Daughters, thinking all Mankind to have periſhed, made their Father drunk, and lay with him; from which inceſtuous Copulation came *Moab* and *Ammon*, Fathers of the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*, two great and powerful Nations.

Retractat. l. 2. c. 16.
Gen. 15.
Chap. 16.
Iſmael born.
Chap. 17.
A. M. 2094.
Abraham and *Sarah*.
Sodom, &c. deſtroyed.
Vide John Biſſelium *Jeſuitam, de Illuſtribus ruinis.*
Lege Tacitum Hiſtor. l. 5.

8. A little after (in the ſame year) *Abraham* having continued in the Plain of *Mamre* about eighteen years, departed unto *Gerar* the *Metropolis* of the *Philiſtines*; where hapned the ſame thing concerning his Wife, as formerly had done in *Ægypt*, *Abimelech* the King having taken her into his Houſe, who therefore was plagued till he reſtored her with large Gifts. The year being preciſely finiſhed, *Sarah* bare to him *Iſaac* (ſo called becauſe he laughed when God made mention of it to him) he being now an hundred years old, and ſhe ninety; four hundred before the Departure of his Poſterity out of *Ægypt*. At the weaning of *Iſaac*, *Sarah* ſeeing *Iſmael* mocking, procured him and his Mother to be baniſhed the Houſe, God bidding *Abraham* fulfill her Deſire herein, and promiſing to make of him a great Nation. When *Iſaac* was grown up (though of what Age, is not expreſſed, ſome gheſſing thirty years; others (improbably) ten, or twelve, becauſe he muſt have been of ſufficient Strength to carry wood) God to try his Fathers Faith, commanded him to offer him up for a burnt-offering on Mount *Moriah*, where afterwards the Temple of *Solomon* ſtood. He, out of Obedience, went about to do it; but God accepting his Will for a Performance, renewed his Promiſe to him. *Sarah* died aged 127 years, and after her Death *Abraham* married another Wife, called *Keturah*, by which he had other ſix Sons. To thoſe he gave Gifts, and before his Death ſent them away from *Iſaac*, the Heir of the Promiſe.

Gen. 20.
A. M. 2108.
Chap. 21.
Iſaac born.
Chap. 22.
Sarah dieth.
Chap. 23.

9. When *Iſaac* was forty years old, his Father procured him to Wife *Rebecca*, the Daughter of *Bethuel*, who was Son to *Nachor*, the Brother of *Abraham*. She (married at fourteen years of Age, according to the Tradition of the *Jews*) was barren twenty years; but then her Husband beſeeching God for her, ſhe brought * forth Twins (*Eſau* and *Jacob*) which ſtruggled in her Womb; the elder being, as God foretold, to ſerve the younger. Fifteen years after, *Abraham* died, being 175 years old, having ſojourned in the Land of *Canaan* a hundred years; twenty two after the Death of *Sem*, four before that of *Heber*; in the days of *Inachus* King of the *Argives*, 1821 years before the *Æra* of *Chriſt*, in the 2183 year of the World. Of *Abraham* (beſides *Artapanus* and *Charan* before mentioned) *Beroſus* the *Chaldæan* had ſome Knowledge, though he named him not. *Hecatæus* not only made mention of him, by the way, but wrote an Hiſtory of him. *Nicolaus Damaſcenus*, in the fourth Book of his Hiſtories, related that *Abra-*

Iſaac married.
Chap. 24.
A. M. 2148.
Chap. 25.
* A. M. 2168.
Abraham dieth.
Apud Joſeph. *Antiq. lib.* 1. *cap.* 7.

ham, a certain Stranger, reigned at *Damaſcus*; having come from a Country about *Babylon*, ſaid to be that of the *Chaldæans*. That he departed thence with his People into the Land of *Canaan*, afterwards called *Judæa*, where his Poſterity grew very numerous; concerning which he ſhould ſpeak in another Place. In *Joſephus* his time the name of *Abraham* was famous at *Damaſcus*; where was ſhewn a certain Village, called *Abrahams dwelling*.

Gen. 26.

Iſmael dieth.

His Poſterity.

Strabo l. 16. *p.* 779.

Lib. 19. *p.* 722. A.

10. After the Death of *Abraham*, God bleſſed *Iſaac*, and made the ſame Covenant with him. In a time of Famine, he alſo ſojourned in *Gerar*, where diſſembling concerning *Rebecca* his Wife, the ſame thing happened to them as formerly to *Abraham* and *Sarah*, from another *Abimelech*, which name was common to all the Kings of the *Philiſtines*. Some years after, *Iſmael* died, aged 137 years, 48 after his Father, in the year of the World 2231. From his eldeſt Son *Nebaioth*, deſcended the *Nabathæans*, who inhabited part of *Arabia*, from the River *Euphrates* to the *Red-ſea*, called *Arabia Petræa*, from *Petra* the *Metropolis* of the Country; which, wanting Fruits, abounded in Sheep and Cattel. *Diodorus* deſcribeth it to have lyen like a Wilderneſs untilled, as without Inhabitants; without Rivers or Fountains. It was unlawful with them to ſow or plant, to drink Wine or build Houſes, being extraordinary deſirous of Liberty, and judging theſe things but Temptations, to ſuch as were ſtronger, to inthral them. Some of them kept Camels, others Sheep; ſome uſed to convey Spices, brought out of *Arabia* the Happy, to the Sea. When they were invaded by an Enemy, they betook themſelves into the Wilderneſs, which being vaſt, and without water, afforded them ſufficient Protection. Another Son of *Iſmael*, named *Kedar*, gave name to a Place of *Arabia* the *Deſart*, often mentioned in Scripture. It is thought that, though the *Chuſæans*, *Madianites*, and *Iſmaelites* were of ſeveral Originals, yet they dwelt promiſcuouſly together, and grew up into one Nation of the *Saracens*.

Gen. 27.

Chap. 28, 29, 30.

Jacob flieth from his Brother into *Meſopotamia*.

A. M. 2246.

His Iſſue.

11. Fifteen years after this, *Iſaac* being 138 years old, and blind, ſent his eldeſt Son *Eſau* to Hunt for Veniſon, that he might eat and bleſs him before his Death. But *Jacob*, by his Mother's Help, ſupplanted him, and got the Bleſſing, having formerly bought his Birthright for Pottage. Hereat *Eſau*, inraged, determined to kill him after his Fathers Death; which *Rebecca* knowing, ſent him into *Meſopotamia* to her Brother *Laban*, that he might thence alſo take a Wife out of her own Kindred, and not make his Choice amongſt the *Hittites*, of which *Eſau* had married two Wives. In his Journey God appeared to him in a Dream, and bleſſed him; for which Cauſe he changed the name of the Place from *Luz* into *Bethel*. Coming to *Laban*, after a Moneths time, he covenanted to ſerve him ſeven years for his youngeſt Daughter *Rachel*; which being ended, *Leah*, the eldeſt, was given to him in her ſtead, and preſently after, *Rachel*; for which he agreed to ſerve him other ſeven years. *Rachel*, moſt beloved, continued barren; and *Leah*, becauſe neglected, obtained Favour of God to be fruitful, which raiſed ſuch Emulation betwixt them, as *Rachel* firſt, and then *Leah*, gave her Maid to his Bed, accounting the Children begotten on them, as their own. Within ſeven years, he had by *Leah* ſeven Sons, viz. *Reuben*, *Simeon*, *Levi*, *Judah*, *Iſſachar*, *Zabulon*, and a Daughter named *Dinah*; by *Bilhah*, *Rachel's* Maid, two Sons, *Dan* and *Naphtali*; by *Zilpah*, *Leahs* Maid, alſo two Sons, *Gad* and *Aſher*. Laſtly, by *Rachel*, her ſelf one Son, named *Joſeph*, and born the fourteen year of his Service ending. Six years longer he ſerved *Laban* for Wages (being to have the Cattel of ſuch and ſuch a Colour) which his hard Maſter changed ten times; but could not withſtand the Providence of God, in his growing rich.

His Return.

Chap. 31, 32, *&c.*

A. M. 2266.

12. Having ſerved his Father-in-law and Uncle twenty years, and obſerving what Envy he had contracted from him and his Sons, he ſtole away with all he had, and proceeded three days on his Journey, ere his Departure was known. Then *Laban* with his Friends purſuing, overtook him after ſeven days in Mount *Gilead*, which from the Event of this Meeting had its Name. After ſeveral Expoſtulations, they made a Covenant (*Laban* being warned by God not to hurt him) and, in Teſtimony thereof, laid together an Heap of Stones, which *Jacob* called *Galead*; but *Laban*, in his *Syrian* Tongue, *Jegar-Sehadutha*. *Jacob* then continued his Journey towards *Canaan*, wreſtling with God's Angel in his Way; from which he received a Bleſſing, and the Sirname of *Iſrael*. His Brother *Eſau* alſo met him, and lovingly received him, contrary to his Fears. The firſt place he ſtayed at was *Succoth*, ſo called becauſe there he built an Houſe, and made Booths for his Cattel. Thence he paſſed over *Jordan*, and came to *Sichem*, where he bought of *Hamor*, the Father of *Sichem*, a Field, for a hundred Lambs,

or ſo many pieces of Money. How long he continued in either of theſe places is not expreſſed. *Demetrius* and *Alexander Polyhiſtor* wrote that he abode ten years in *Socot*, ſaying nothing of *Sichem*; perhaps becauſe he made little Stay there. Indeed *Dinah* ſeemeth to have been Raviſhed not long after their firſt coming thither; *Hamor* ſpeaking to his Citizens concerning them, as perſons lately come, and her curioſity to ſee the Women of that Country, probably may be thought to have proceeded from the ſtrangeneſs of it. At the end of theſe ten years ſhe was Raviſhed, then ſixteen years old; being born a little before *Joſeph*, and perhaps the ſame year. To be revenged upon *Sichem*, who committed the Rape, her two Brothers *Simeon* and *Levi* ſlew him, and put the whole City to the Sword, coming upon them when they were yet ſore by Circumciſion, which he had procured them to admit of, that he might obtain the Maid for his Wife.

Apud Euſeb. *præparat. Evang. lib.* 9. *cap.* 21.

Dinah raviſhed.

13. *Jacob* much troubled hereat, was commanded by God to go to *Bethel*, having Buried all the ſtrange Gods and the ear-rings of his Family under the Oake in *Sichem*. At *Bethel* he erected an Altar to the Lord, and here *Deborah* the Nurſe of *Rebecca* died. Thence he removed to *Ephrath*, being 107 years old, and when they had almoſt reached the place, *Rachel* died in Travel of *Benjamin*, having (as *Demetrius* and *Alexander* wrote) lived with her Husband 23 years. Eleven years after *Jacob's* Return into *Canaan*, when he was now 109 years old, *Joſeph* being hated of his Brethren, becauſe he had brought to their Father their evil report, and for his Dream (which preſaged his preheminence over them) they ſold him to the *Iſmaelites*; who carried him down into *Egypt*, where *Potiphar* Captain of the Kings Guard bought him, being now ſeventeen years old. Ten years he lived with him: Till refuſing to ſatisfy the wanton Deſires of his Miſtreſs, he was falſely accuſed by her of her own fault, and caſt into Priſon. The year after, he Interpreted the Dreams of the chief *Butler* and *Baker* of *Pharaoh*, both which were in Priſon with him; and accordingly the *Baker* was hanged, but the *Butler* reſtored, who yet forgot *Joſeph*.

Rachel dieth.

Chap. 38.

Joſeph ſold.

A. M. 2277.

14. At this time his Grand-father *Iſaac* died; aged 180 years, in the 2288 year of the World. He was buried in *Hebron*, by his two Sons *Eſau* and *Jacob*; the former having (as ſome think they have Ground in Charity to believe) reconciled himſelf to his Brother, and joyned himſelf to the Church; not being eſtranged from the Grace of God, but only from the ſpecial and particular Covenant, as to the promiſed Seed; which they have the ſame Reaſon to think concerning *Iſmael*: The Funeral paſt, and the Goods divided betwixt them, being both exceeding rich, and therefore requiring large Room, *Eſau* departed to his former Poſſeſſion of *Mount Seir*; Providence ſo ordaining it, that when the *Iſraelites* ſhould afterwards come to inherit *Canaan*, his Poſterity might neither be deſtroyed, nor diſplaced. He was otherwiſe called *Edom*, and from him *Idumæa* took it's Name, which ſeemeth from *Strabo* to have alſo included the Country of the *Nabatæans*. And likely enough it is, that he who married the Siſter of *Nebaioth*, might joyn himſelf to them, and preſide over them. This is the famous *Heroe*, from whom not only *Idumæa*, but alſo the adjoyning *Erythræan*, *Edomæan*, or *Redſea*, (all ſignifying the ſame thing) was ſo called; being known to the *Greeks*, by the name of *Erythras*, the ſame with *Edom*.

A. M. 2288.

Iſaac dieth.

Edom.

Vide Fulleri *Miſcell.* 4. *c.* 20.

15. But two years after *Joſeph* had interpreted the Dreams of the Servants of *Pharaoh*, he was called up out of Priſon, to explain the meaning of one, which the King himſelf had dreamed. This, betokening ſeven years of great Plenty to come, and after them as many of Famine; and it being neceſſary, as he hinted to *Pharaoh*, to chuſe out ſome wiſe Man, who being ſet over the Land, ſhould gather and preſerve the Fruits of the Earth, againſt the time of Want; *Pharaoh* made Choice of him, being about thirty years old, for this purpoſe: he appointed him next to himſelf, and gave him in Marriage *Aſenath* the Daughter of *Potipherah*, Prieſt of *On* (or *Heliopolis*, where *Strabo* writeth, that the Prieſts of old time had their Habitation) on which he begat *Ephraim* and *Manaſſes*. According to his Prediction, ſeven moſt plentiful years enſued, wherein he gathered into Store-Houſes the Corn that abounded; and after them came ſeven other of Famine, which prevailed ſore both in *Ægypt* and the neighbouring Countries of *Canaan* and *Arabia*. *Jacob*, amongſt others, wanting Proviſions, in the ſecond year of the Famine, ſent his Sons down into *Ægypt* to buy Corn. *Joſeph* knowing them, though undiſcovered, accuſed them for coming as Spies, caſt them into Priſon, and diſmiſſed them not, till, *Simeon* (the eldeſt of thoſe which conſpired againſt his Life) was bound and left as an Hoſtage, for their bringing down of *Benjamin*; that ſo their Story might be confirmed, of their being one Mans Sons, and that their youngeſt Brother was left behind. The next year, being preſſed with Famine

Gen. 41.

A. M. 2290.

Joſeph advanced.

A. M. 2297.

Chap. 42, 43, &c.

Jacob goeth into *Ægypt.*

A. M. 2298.

mine, they returned, and *Benjamin* with them, whom their Father was conſtrained to let go. Now, after ſome further terrifying of them, he made himſelf known, and ſent for his Father down into *Ægypt*. *Jacob* underſtanding of his Son's Life and Promotion (whom he had given over of a long time, for dead) gladly went down, and with him 66 Souls, beſides his Son's Wives; in the third year of the Famine, of the World the 2298th, aged 130 years.

Chap. 47.

Chap. 48, 49.

Dieth.

A. M. 2315.

Gen. 50.

16. By *Pharaoh*'s Conſent, *Joſeph* placed them in the Land of *Goſhen*, and there nouriſhed them during the Famine. He ſold to the *Ægyptians* the Corn formerly treaſured up, and therewith purchaſed for the King all their Money, Goods and Lands, except the Lands of the Prieſts, which were not alienated. The Grounds he afterwards granted to the former Owners, paying the fifth part of the Profit to *Pharaoh*'s Uſe. After *Jacob* had lived in *Ægypt* ſeventeen years, he adopted the two eldeſt Sons of *Joſeph*; *viz.* *Manaſſes* and *Ephraim*, of whom the younger he preferred before the elder: He called his Sons together, bleſſed them, and told them apart, what ſhould befall them in their Poſterity. From *Reuben* his firſt born he took the Preheminence, becauſe he had defiled his Bed, and gave it to *Judah*. He propheſied of Chriſt's Coming, commanded them to bury him in the Cave of *Machpelah*, in the Land of *Canaan*, with his Anceſtors, and then died at the Age of 147 years, in the year of the World 2315. *Joſeph* cauſed his Servants the Phyſitians to embalme *Iſrael*, and a Mourning of ſeventy days (or ſeventy two,) was obſerved for him, which number in that Country was only proper to Kings; Then, obtaining Leave of *Pharoah*, he and his Brethren, with a great Company of Courtiers, carried him into the Land of *Canaan*, and buried him there, according to his Will, where they alſo mourned for him ſeven days.

Joſeph dieth.

A. M. 2370.

Lib. 36. *c.* 2.

17. Being returned into *Ægypt*, *Joſeph* forgave his Brethren the Fault they formerly had committed againſt him (which now they feared he would revenge, after their Fathers Death,) and as long as he lived, he nouriſhed them and their Children. This ſpace of time was fifty four years after his Fathers Death, at the end whereof, having exhorted them to Unity and Concord, foretelling them their Departure out of *Ægypt*, and commanding them thence to carry his Bones, he dyed at the Age of 110 years, when he had governed *Ægypt*, under ſeveral Kings, the ſpace of 80. *Trogus Pompeius* (as appeareth out of *Juſtin* his Epitomizer) wrote many things concerning him, partly taken out of the Sacred Hiſtory, partly mixed with ſuch Fables as the Heathen were not wanting to invent concerning the *Jews*. *Abram*, *Moſes*, and *Iſrael*, are made by him Kings of *Damaſcus*, which City took it's name from their Predeceſſor. *Iſrael* had ten Sons, to whom he committed the Kingdom, and commanded them to call themſelves *Jews*, from *Judah*, who died before the Diviſion, and whoſe Portion was divided amongſt them all. The youngeſt of the ten Sons was *Joſeph*, whoſe excellent Wit his Brothers fearing, they ſold him to ſome Merchants that carried him down into *Ægypt*. Here learning the Magick Arts, he became very dear to the King, having skill in working Wonders, and Interpretation of Dreams: moreover, nothing either Divine or Humane was beyond his Reach; inſomuch, that he foretold the Barrenneſs of the Ground ſeveral years before it hapned, and all *Ægypt* had periſhed with Famine, but that the King, by his Advice, cauſed Corn to be treaſured up many years: finally, ſuch was his Knowledge, that his Anſwers ſeemed rather the Oracles of a God, than the Replies of a Man. Then followeth, that *Moſes* was his Son, who both wiſe and beautiful, became a Leader to ſuch *Ægyptians* as were infected with Scab and Itch, and ſo returned to *Damaſcus*, the Country of his Anceſtors. Which Lyes (with others hereafter to be mentioned) are to be attributed to the Malice of the *Ægyptians*. With the Life of *Joſeph* endeth the firſt Book of *Moſes* his Hiſtory, called by the *Greeks*, *Geneſis*, which containeth the Account of 2369 years of the World. The next to it in order of time, the Book of *Job* is thought to be; of which *Moſes* alſo is reputed Author, by the common Conſent and Opinion of the *Hebrews*.

Exod. 1.

The *Iſraelites* oppreſſed in *Ægypt.*

Chap. 2.

Vide Pererium *in* 2 Exodi.

18. After the Death of *Joſeph*, and all that Generation, the Children of *Iſrael* increaſed abundantly, and grew exceeding mighty; ſo that the Land was filled with their numbers. But a certain King ariſing, which knew not *Joſeph*; to keep them down, he preſſed them with ſore Labour; and leſt they ſhould increaſe, gave order to the Midwives to drown all the Male Children in the River. At this time (fifty eight years after the Death of *Joſeph*, and forty one after that of *Levi*) *Aruram*, the Son of *Caath*, and Grand-ſon of *Levi* by *Jochabed* the Daughter of *Levi* (ſo called by an Hebraiſm, and not *Caath*'s own Siſter, as ſome have

thought)

Moſes born.

A. M. 2428.

thought) was made Father of a Son, whom for his Beauty they hid three Moneths, not fearing the Kings Command, and when he could no longer be concealed, put him in an Ark of Bull-ruſhes, daubed within and without with Pitch, and laid him on the Brink of the River. Hither the Kings Daughter (by *Joſephus* called *Thermutis*) coming down to waſh her ſelf, found the Babe; and moved with Compaſſion, ſent for a Nurſe, which was *Jochabed* her ſelf, through the Procurement of *Miriam* her Daughter, which had watched what would become of the Child, and unknown, had offered her ſelf for a Meſſenger. Being nurſed up, ſhe educated him as her own Son, and called him *Moſes*, becauſe ſhe had taken him out of the Water. *Moy* in the *Ægyptian* Tongue, as *Joſephus* ſaith, ſignifying *Water, and Yſes taken out*, though *Moſche* in the *Hebrew* is no compounded word, ſignifying *drawn out*, *delivered*, or rather a *Deliverer*; not without a Myſtery; he being a Type of that great Deliverer of Mankind. He was learned in all the Learning of the *Ægyptians*, and became mighty in Words and in Deeds.

De nominibus Hebræis à Joſepho *verſis vid.* Jacob. Capellum *Hiſt. Sacra & Exotica ad* A. M. 1719.

19. But *Moſes* being grown up, by Faith refuſed to be called the Son of *Pharaoh*'s Daughter, and deſpiſed the Pleaſure of his Court; having, according to *Joſephus* his Hiſtory, thrown down his Crown, ſet upon his head when a Child, and trampled it under his Feet; for which, as an ill Omen, the Prieſt (who had foretold, that his Nativity would prove diſaſtrous to the *Ægyptians*) would have had him ſlain; but he was ſpared through the Affection of *Thermutis*. Being forty years old, he viſited his Brethren the *Iſraelites*; and looking upon their Burdens, when he ſaw an *Ægyptian* ſmiting one of them, he killed him, and hid his Body in the Sand. But this coming to *Pharaoh*'s Ear, he was forced to fly for his Life, into the Land of *Midian*, where he kept the Sheep of *Jethro*, or *Hebab* Prieſt of that Country, who gave him *Zipporah* his Daughter to wiſe. Forty years he continued with him, till the Burthens of the Children of *Iſrael* were grown ſo intolerable, after above eighty years Continuance, that God being moved with their Cries, called to him out of a burning Buſh, as he was feeding Sheep, to ſend him on a Meſſage to *Pharaoh*, about their Diſmiſſion. He laboured by all means to make Excuſe; but at length, confirmed by Promiſe of divine Aſſiſtance by Miracles, and the Company of his Brother *Aaron*, (three years elder;) he undertook the Employment.

A. M. 2468.

Exod. 3, & 4.

Sent to *Pharaoh*.

Chap. 5, & 7, &c.

The ten Plagues of *Ægypt*.

20. This Meſſage was ill reſented by *Pharaoh*, and greater Burthens impoſed on the People; no Straw being now allowed them, for the making of Brick, in which ſervile work they were imployed. Many Signs and Wonders were wrought by *Moſes* in the Kings Preſence, which little availed; *Jannes* and *Jambres*, *Magicians*, doing the ſame with their Enchantments. Ten Plagues alſo by the Miniſtry of *Moſes*, God inflicted upon the Land. 1. The Waters were turned into Blood. 2. Frogs ſwarmed in the Land. 3. Lice. 4. Flies and other Inſects. 5. A Murrain followed amongſt the Cattel. 6. Ulcers in Man and Beaſt. 7. Thunder and Rain mingled with Fire and Hail, that deſtroyed the Corn with the Trees of the Field. 8. Locuſts covered the Face of the Earth, and conſumed the Fruits thereof. 9. Enſued Darkneſs throughout the Land of *Ægypt*, ſuch, as no *Ægyptian* could ſtir out of his Houſe, yet the *Iſraelites* had Light in their dwellings. 10. Laſt of all the firſt-born were ſlain, from *Pharaoh* that ſate upon the Throne, to the firſt-born of the Captive in the Dungeon, and the firſt-born of Cattel.

The *Iſraelites* depart.

Exod. 12.

A. M. 2508.

21. The nine former Plagues *Pharaoh*'s heart was ſo hardened as to withſtand; but the tenth forced him to let the People go. Upon the Death of the firſt-born, he and his Subjects thruſt them out with Haſte, out of the Land, and forgot the Jewels of Silver and Jewels of Gold, which they had lent them. For the *Iſraelites* were commanded by God, to borrow theſe things; and, the Night before their Departure, to kill a Lamb; with the Blood of which they were to ſprinkle the Lintels of their Doors, that the Angel appointed to do this Execution upon the firſt-born, might paſs by their Houſes, at the ſight thereof. And in Memorial of the thing, this they were to do every year, on the tenth day of that Moneth (thenceforth commanded to begin the year, being called *Abib*) eating a Lamb in a travelling Poſture, with their Loins girt, and Staves in their hands. Thus left they *Ægypt*, 430 years after the firſt Promiſe made to *Abraham*, and his Leaving *Ur* of the *Chaldæans*, 400 after the Birth of *Iſaac*, 210 after *Jacob*'s Deſcent into *Ægypt*, in the 2508*th.* year of the World. This their Departure is alſo atteſted by Heathen Writers; but related to have been upon ſuch Grounds, as the *Ægyptians* them-

ſelves invented; who, as it ſeemeth, took Occaſion from the Plague of Ulcers, which they ſuffered in their own Perſons, to feign, that becauſe of Leproſie they were forced out of the Land; as will largely appear in the Hiſtory of *Ægypt.*

SECT. II.

From the Departure of the Iſraelites *out of* Ægypt, *to the Death of* Solomon, *and the Rent of the Kingdom.*

The number of the *Iſraelites* at their Departure.

1. THE Number of the Children of *Iſrael* may be eſteemed by what is recorded concerning their men of War, of the Age of twenty years and upwards. Of theſe went out about 600000, beſides Women and Children; ſo that if thoſe of that Age be reckoned as two parts of five, of the whole Multitude, (which is the uſual Account amongſt all Nations, to reckon men for War, as forty to a hundred, in reſpect of the whole Body) then the total number of all, both old and young, amounted to about 1500000. To theſe muſt be added a mixed Multitude; which, having taken up their Religion, went out with them, and is thought by ſome to have conſiſted of as many more; ſo that the whole Sum of all together, at that rate, would ariſe to 3000000. As for the number of the *Iſraelites*, it need not ſeem incredible, that from about 70 Perſons in the ſpace of 210 years, ſo many ſhould proceed. For if but one man, in the thirtieth year of his Age, ſhould begin to be a Father, and had but in all ten Children, who alſo with their Poſterity ſhould beget at the ſame Age, that one man, before 200 years, would have deſcended from him, of the ſixth Generation 1000000. of the fifth 100000. of the fourth 10000. of the great Grand-Children 1000. of Grand-Children 100. and of Children 10. But that the *Iſraelites* began to be Fathers before the Age of thirty is more than probable; Nature * ſometimes not requiring half that time, and there is ground ſufficient to think that they often exceeded the number of ten Children. The Scripture relateth *Abdon* to have had forty Sons, *Abizara* thirty, and as many Daughters, *Gideon* ſeventy Sons, and *Ahab* as many. *Ægyptus*, *Danaus*, *Priamus*, and *Darius*, are reported to have had fifty Children; *Artaxerxes*, *Juſtin* relateth to have had 115. and *Hierotimus* 600. Theſe things (to add no more) prove the great Increaſe of the *Iſraelites* to have been poſſible in the courſe of Nature, although not without an eſpecial Providence.

Vide Pererium *in* 12.*cap.Exod.*

Vide Jacob. Cappell. *ad* A.M. 2293.

* *Mea memoria in civitate Lactoratenſi Novempopulentiæ, puer minor annorum duodecim genuit ex puella conſobrina ſua quæ nondum decimum annum expleverat. Rem notam narro, & cujus memoria adhuc recens eſt in Aquitania. Pater hoc ipſe de ſe patri meo teſtatus eſt, quod alioqui tunc ne pueri quidem ignorabant.* Scaliger. *in Parei orat.* 1.

The Paſſover annually to be obſerved.

2. *Moſes* had gathered the People together, as *Joſephus* writeth, about *Rameſſes* the chief City of *Goſhen*, that they might be in a Readineſs; and thence they came to *Succoth* where was their ſecond Station. Here *Moſes* propounded the Command of God concerning the annual Obſervation of the Paſſeover, and the Conſecration of the firſt born. A ready way hence to the Land of *Canaan* would have been through that of the *Philiſtines*; but becauſe the *Iſraelites* were born in Slavery, and therefore had but low and poor Spirits; to exerciſe them, to ſtir them up, and leſt, for want of Experience, they ſhould be ſo terrified as to return, God lead them another and longer way. From *Succoth* therefore they came to *Etham* in the end of the Deſart, in two days; whither God conducted them by a Pillar of a Cloud by day, and Pillar of Fire by night, that never forſook them, till they came to the Borders of the promiſed Land. From *Etham* they journeyed to *Pihahiroth*, aud thence to the *Red Sea*. Hither *Pharaoh* purſued them with all his Forces, repenting he had let them go. They were there exceedingly ſtruck with Terrour, and murmured againſt *Moſes*, for bringing them out of *Ægypt*. In this Extremity God divided the Waters of the *Red Sea*, which being as a Wall on both ſides to them, they paſſed over on dry Ground. The *Ægyptians* eſſayed alſo to purſue them in this place, but the Pillar then removed from before them, and placed it ſelf between them, giving light to the *Iſraelites*, but cauſing great Darkneſs to their Enemies. Hereupon enſued great Conſternation, and a pannick Fear amongſt the *Ægyptians*, which cauſing great Diſturbance, the Lord alſo

The *Iſraelites* paſs the *Red-Sea*.

ſo fought againſt them, and they fled. But then the Waters returned to their Place and overwhelmed them all, ſo that neither *Pharaoh*, nor any one of his men eſcaped. This place of the *Red Sea* being here not at all fordable, the ſole Power of God procured their Paſſage; though *Joſephus*, to gain Credit to the Story from the incredulous Heathen, taketh off from the Miracle, by an unſuitable Comparing of it to *Alexander* the Great his Paſſing the ſhoar of the *Pamphylian*-Sea, which at low Water was ever bare, and at other times not very deep.

Vide Strabonem. *l.* 14. *p.* 666. D.

Quails and Manna.

3. From the *Red Sea* they journeyed three days through the Wilderneſs of *Etham*; (which, as it ſeemeth, ſtretcheth forth it ſelf to both the ſides of the Sea) where they found no Water. Thence they came to *Marah*, where they found Water, but bitter, and thence the Place had its name; which Bitterneſs was removed by the caſting in of a certain Tree which God ſhewed to *Moſes*. From *Marah*, they came to their fifth Station at *Elim*, where were twelve Fountains of Water, and ſeventy Palm-trees, and thence to the *Red Sea*; which name ſeemeth to be applied to ſome Bay or Creek thereof. From the Sea they came into the Deſart of *Sin*, where they pitched their Tents on the fourteenth day of the ſecond Moneth after their Departure. Here murmuring for Fleſh, Quails were rained down upon the Camp at Evening, and in the Morning was there found Manna, which continued every Morning to fall, all the forty years they abode in the Wilderneſs. This Wilderneſs of *Sin* being very large, and reaching as far as Mount *Sinai*, they had ſeveral Stations in it. The ninth was at *Diphka*, the tenth at *Aluſh*, the eleventh at *Rephidim*; where the People again Murmuring for Water, the Rock being ſtruck by *Moſes* guſhed out into Streams. Whilſt they here continued, the *Amalekites* (deſcended from *Amalek*, who was the Son of *Eliphaz*, and Grand-ſon of *Eſau*) fell in upon their Rear, and made Slaughter of the weaker ſort. *Moſes* againſt them ſent *Joſhua* the Son of *Nun*, he himſelf in the mean time praying to God in the Mount. And as long as his hands were lifted up the *Iſraelites* overcame, but when he let them down the *Amalekites* prevailed; ſo that *Aaron* his Brother, and *Hur* his Siſter *Miriam*'s husband, bore them up till the Going down of the Sun.

Exod. 17.

Chap. 19, 20.

The Decalogue.

4. In the third Moneth they removed, and took up their Station in the Deſart of *Sinai*, over againſt the Mountain *Horeb* (which 'tis thought was ſome part of *Sinai*) and here they continued almoſt a year; to the twentieth day of the ſecond Moneth of the next year. Upon this Mountain, God gave the Law of the ten Commandments in a terrible manner, on the fiftieth day after their Coming out of *Ægypt*, as ſome of the Ancients apprehended. The day after, ſeveral other Laws were promulgated, as it were Commentaries upon the *Decalogue* both Judicial and Ceremonial. Then *Moſes* having offered Sacrifice, read the Book of the Law to the People, and made a Covenant betwixt God and them, and went up into the Mountain, where he remained forty days, ſix in the lower and cloudy, and thirty four in the higheſt and fiery Part. In this ſpace of time he received Advice concerning the Structure of the Tabernacle, the Ornaments and Conſecration of Prieſts, *&c*. From this familiar Converſing of God with *Moſes*, the Heathen Law-givers took occaſion to feign ſuch a Privilege to themſelves. As amongſt the *Getes*, *Zamolxis* gave out he received two Laws from *Veſta*; *Zathrauſtes* amongſt the *Arimaſpians* from a good *Dæmon*; *Mneves*, amongſt the *Ægyptians*, from *Mercury*; *Minos* the *Cretian*, from *Jupiter*; *Lycurgus* the *Lacedæmonian*, from *Apollo*; and *Numa* the *Roman*, from the Goddeſs *Egeria*. To this number * *Diodorus*, out of Ethnick Ignorance, addeth *Moſes* himſelf, writing that he counterfeited Conference with the God *Jaus*.

Hieronymus *ad Fabiolum*: *&* *Leo Serm.* 1. *de Pentecoſte*.

* *Biblioth. l.* 1. *p.* 59. B. *in Margine notat.*

The molten Calf.

5. But the People miſſing *Moſes* ſo long a time, and not knowing what was become of him, raiſed a Tumult, and cauſed *Aaron* to make them a God that might go before them. The *Hebrews* have a Tradition, that *Hur*, oppoſing this, was ſlain; but *Aaron*, overcome with their furious Importunity, made them a molten Calf of Gold, after the Faſhion of the *Ægyptians*, who worſhipped two Heifers, *Apis* and *Mnevis*, which they accounted Gods. Forty days, and as many Nights being ended, God gave *Moſes* two Tables of Stone, wherein was written the *Decalogue* by his own Finger, and ſent him down, telling him wherein his People were employed. *Moſes* ſomething appeaſing Gods Wrath, came down from the Mount; but ſeeing them dance before the Calf, in a great Rage caſt the Tables out of his hands, and brake them. He put the Calf into the fire, and grinding it to Powder threw it into the Brook, and made them to drink of the Water:

Chap. 31, &c.

then commanded the *Levites* to take every man his Sword, and ſlay his Neighbour; ſo that of the People fell that day about 3000 men. After this going up into the Mount the ſecond time, he interceded for the People, and at his Return, removed the Tabernacle, or Tent, wherein he uſed to ſpeak with God, out of the Camp, in token of the Lords Diſpleaſure. He hewed two new Tables of Stone, like to the former, and having given order for the making of an Ark of Wood, and all things about the Tabernacle, according to the Pattern ſhewed him in the Mount, he went up the third time, and continued there forty dayes and as many nights,without eating any thing, as before. In this time God wrote anew the Ten Commandments; and, being pacified, renewed the League conditionally, and propoſed other Laws to the People. When *Moſes* returned, his Face ſhone, ſo that he put thereon a Vail when he ſpake to the Multitude, to which he declared Gods Commands, urged the Obſervation of the Sabbath, and the Offering for making of the Tabernacle; in the Work whereof, the latter part of this year was ſpent by *Bezaleel*, and his Companions.

The Tabernacle reared.

Chap. 40.

Num. 19.

N*um.* 1.

Chap. 10.

Chap. 23.

The *Sanhedrim.*

Chap. 11.

6. On the firſt day of the firſt Moneth of the ſecond year, was the Tabernacle reared, and in this Moneth were theſe things done which are ſpoken of in the third Book of *Moſes*, called *Leviticus*. On the fourteenth day was the Paſſeover celebrated in the Wilderneſs of *Sinai*. On the firſt of the ſecond Moneth God commanded *Moſes* to number all the *Iſraelites*, except the Tribe of *Levi*, from twenty years old to ſixty; the number of whom amounted to 603550. juſt ſo many as had been found ſeven Moneths before, when the Contribution was to be made for the Tabernacle. On the twentieth of the ſame Moneth, the Cloud which reſted on the Tabernacle, removed, and they following it in four Armies came from the Wilderneſs of *Sinai* to that of *Paran*, where they ſtayed twenty three dayes, in the thirteenth Manſion of *Kidroth-Hattaavah*. Here the People, weary of their Heavenly Bread, luſted after the Fleſh of *Ægypt*, and were puniſhed with a ſudden Fire, which devoured many, and was at length quenched by the Prayer of *Moſes*. Here alſo *Moſes* complaining to God of the great Burthen which lay upon him; the *Sanhedrim* of the ſeventy Elders was inſtituted. In this place, moreover God gave the People Quailes for a whole Moneth, on which they ſurfeited, ſo that a Plague aroſe whilſt the Fleſh was yet betwixt their Teeth, and many periſhed. Hence the Place had it's name of *Kibroth-Hattaavah*, or the *Sepulchres of Concupiſcence.*

Miriam ſtruck with Leproſie.

Chap. 12.

Chap. 13.

The Spies ſearch the Land.

Chap. 14.

7. From *Hattaavah* they removed to *Hezeroth*, where *Aaron* and *Miriam* ſpake againſt *Moſes* about his Wife; *Miriam* for that, was ſtruck with Leproſie, and caſt out of the Camp, till *Aaron* confeſſing their Fault, and interceding to *Moſes* for her, he prayed to God, and ſhe was healed. She being after ſeven dayes received again into the Camp, they removed, and came to *Rithma*, near unto *Cades-barnea*, in the ſame Deſart of *Paran*. In the fifth Moneth of the ſecond year, and the time of Vintage, *Caleb* the Son of *Jephunne*, *Joſhua* the Son of *Nun*, and ten other principal men were hence ſent to ſpy the Land of *Canaan*. After forty days they returned, bringing with them of the Fruit of the Land. *Caleb* and *Joſhua* incouraged the People, but the reſt utterly diſheartned them, cauſing them to deſpair ever to poſſeſs it, becauſe of the Strength of the walled Towns,and the Gyants which there lived. This raiſed ſuch a Mutiny, that they not only murmured againſt *Moſes*, but ſpake of making them a Captain, and of returning into *Ægypt*, threatning to ſtone *Caleb* and *Joſhua*, who laboured to the contrary. This ſo highly provoked the Lord, that he threatned ſuddenly to deſtroy them, and being prevailed with by *Moſes* to mitigate his Wrath, denounced that none of twenty years and upwards ſhould ever enter into the promiſed Land, but wander up and down till their Carkeiſes fell in the Wilderneſs; except *Caleb* and *Joſhua*. And this Sentence was preſently executed upon the ten, which had cauſed the Sedition.

The *Iſraelites* commanded to turn back.

8. When they had therefore now arrived at the Borders of the promiſed Land, they were commanded to turn back again into the Wilderneſs towards the *Red Sea*. But to make ſome amends, as they thought, for their late Fear and Cowardiſe, they aroſe in the Morning; and againſt the expreſs Command of *Moſes*, went up into the Mountain to fight, where the *Amalekites* and *Canaanites* that there inhabited, ſmote and diſcomfited them even unto *Hormah*. At their Return they wept before the Lord, but were not heard; and upon this Occaſion, and the Death of thoſe that fell daily in the Deſart, *Moſes*, as it's thought, compoſed the 90 Pſalm, wherein complaining of humane Frailty and ſhortneſs of Life, he ſignifieth, that mans Age was reduced to 70 or 80 years: and ſo now the third

time was it, as it were, cut ſhorter by the half; the two former having been immediately after the Flood; and again, in the time of *Phaleg*, at the Diviſion of the Earth.

Their Manſions for thirty ſeven years.

Numb. 33.

Miriam dieth.

Chap. 20.

9. Thenceforth, from their Departure from *Cades-barnea*, are numbered ſeventeen more Stations in the Wilderneſs of *Paran*, wherein they ſpent 38 years, wandring about, till all the rebellious ones were conſumed. The things which hapned in thoſe years, cannot certainly be fixed upon any particular one, *Moſes* herein being ſilent. Yet it is thought, that the Hiſtory of the Man that gathered Sticks on the Sabbath day, and for it was ſtoned; of the Rebellion of *Corah* and his Companions, of *Aaron's Rod* that *budded*, &c. are to be referred to the latter part of the ſecond year; none of the forty, except the two former and the laſt of all, being taken notice of by *Moſes*, who recordeth only the ſeventeen Manſions which were taken up, during the 37 years that paſſed between. The ſeventeenth and the laſt of theſe (being the thirty ſecond Manſion reckoned from the Beginning) was at *Ezion-gaber*, upon the *Red Sea* in the Country of the *Edomites*, whence they came to *Cades*, where they took up their 33 Manſion. *Hierom* and others, account this *Cades* the ſame with *Cades-barnea*, the fifteenth Station, making the *Iſraelites* to have after ſo many Windings and Turnings, in ſo many years, returned to the ſame Place. But, others finding *Cades-barnea* in the Southern Confines of *Canaan*, will have this *Cades* or *Kadeſh*, a place different from it, and near to *Ezion-gaber* upon the *Red Sea*, (whence they immediately paſſed to it) in the Deſart of *Zin*. Whilſt they remained in *Cades*, *Miriam* died at the Age of 126 years, and was there buried. After this the People murmured, becauſe the Water which had hitherto followed them from the Rock *Rephidim*, here failed, being, as ſome think, ſwallowed up of the *Red Sea*. Hereupon *Moſes* and *Aaron* were commanded only to *ſpeak* to a Rock in that Place, to give out Water; but *Moſes*, wearied with the Untowardneſs of the Multitude, uttered ſome words of Impatience and Diffidence, and *ſtruck* the Rock twice, ſo that the Water guſhed out in great Abundance. Becauſe they did not ſanctifie God in the Eyes of the People, he was angry with them, and excluded them both from Entering into the Land of Promiſe.

Aaron dieth.

Chap. 21.

The King of *Arad* vanquiſhed.

10. *Moſes* afterwards ſent to the King of *Edom*, deſiring Leave to paſs quietly through his Country; but, he oppoſing, he led the People by the Borders from *Kadeſh* unto Mount *Hor*, where *Aaron*, died, ſome four Moneths after his Siſter *Miriam*, at the Age of 123, in the 40 year of their wandring in the Wilderneſs; and *Eleazer* his Son ſucceeded him in the Office of High-prieſt. In the ſixth Moneth of the 40 year, the King of *Arad*, who inhabited the Southern parts of *Canaan*, came out againſt them, and took many Priſoners; whereupon, they vowed, if God would deliver his Country into their hands, to deſtroy his Cities. Hereunto God aſſenting, they went up, and proſpering, gave to the Country the name of *Hormah*, which is the ſame with *Anathema* or *Curſed*. Then journeyed they from Mount *Hor*, to compaſs about the Land of *Edom* (againſt which God had charged them not to fight, becauſe of their Anceſtors) and came to the thirty fifth Manſion of *Tſalmona*, which ſignifieth an *Image*. For here the People murmuring againſt the Lord and *Moſes*, becauſe of the Tediousneſs of the Journey, and loathing Manna, were bitten by fiery Serpents ſent by God (the *Greeks* call them *Dypſades*, and *Ælian* maketh them chiefly to breed in *Arabia*;) ſo that many periſhed without Remedy. At length, *Moſes* by God's Appointment erected on a Pole a brazen Serpent, upon which as many as looked, were preſently made whole.

Chap. 33, & 34.

11. From *Tſalmona* they came to *Punon*, thence to *Oboth*, and ſo to *Jie-Abarim*, on the Borders of *Moab*, in the Deſart thereof, towards the Sun-riſing. Here runneth the Brook *Zared*, towards which, when they paſſed, God commanded them not to make War upon the *Moabites*, who had formerly beaten hence Giants called *Emmim*, as their Brethren the *Ammonites* had alſo outed others, known by the name of *Zamzummim*. Thirty eight years after their Removal from *Kades-barnea*, the *Iſraelites* paſſed *Zared*, all the Carkeiſes of the rebellious being in that ſpace fallen in the Wilderneſs, and came to their thirty ninth Manſion of *Dikon-Gad*. Thence they travelled to *Almon-Diblathaim*, ſtill in the Deſart of *Moab*, and being to touch upon the Borders of the *Ammonites*, God forbad them to moleſt theſe alſo, becauſe deſcended of juſt *Lot*. He commanded them to paſs over the River *Arnon*; which having done, they removed to their 41 Manſion, in the Mountain of *Abraim*, over rgainſt *Nebo*.

12. Out

Sect. 2.

Sihon King of *Heſhbon.*

Og King of *Baſhan.*

Deut. 11. Numb. 21. *Antiq.* lib. 4. cap. 5. Numb. 22.

12. Out of the Wilderneſs of *Kedemoth*, *Moſes* ſent to *Sihon*, the *Amorite*, King of *Heſhbon*, to deſire Leave peaceably to paſs through his Borders; but he refuſed, and oppoſed them at *Jahaz*, where he was diſcomfited and ſlain. The *Iſraelites* thus became Maſters of his Cities and Country, which (as *Joſephus* writeth) lay like an Iſland between three Rivers; *Arnon* on the South, *Jabock* on the North, (which falling into *Jordan*, loſeth it's Name) and *Jordan* it ſelf on the Weſt; being on the Eaſt bounded with the Mountains of *Arabia*. As they proceeded by the way of *Baſan*, *Og* King thereof, who remained of the Giants called *Rephidim*, oppoſing them, was alſo ſlain, and his Country wholly ſubdued, with the Deſtruction of its Inhabitants; and in like manner all *Argob* (afterwards called *Trachonitis*,) wherein were ſixty Cities. After theſe Victories, they removed from the Mountains of *Abarim*, and came to their forty ſecond and laſt Manſion (taken up by *Moſes*) near *Jordan*, lying from *Jeſimoth* unto *Shittim*, or *Abel-Shittim*, in the Plains of *Moab*, which was ſo called, becauſe the *Moabites* formerly poſſeſſed them, till driven beyond *Arnon* by the *Amorites*. Here they continued till they were led thence by *Joſhua*, to paſs over *Jordan*.

Balaam.

By his Advice the People drawn to Idolatry.

Numb. 22, 23, 24. *Chap.* 1 Cor. 10. Numb. 26.

13. When *Balack* King of *Moab* had heard all that the *Iſraelites* did to the *Amorites*; leſt under Pretence of Paſſage, they might alſo ſeize upon his Kingdom, he conſulted with the *Midianites*, and ſent into *Meſopotamia* for *Balaam* the Son of *Beor*, the Soothſayer, to come and curſe them; intending afterwards, to fall upon them. *Balaam*, having the Pleaſure of God revealed to him, at firſt feared to come: and though he came at the ſecond Meſſage, and laboured all he could to curſe them; yet was he over-ruled, and his Curſe turned into a Bleſſing. But although he had no Power to curſe, yet he adviſed the King to that which tended eſpecially to their Deſtruction; to ſend ſome of the moſt beautiful Women into the Camp, to draw them both to Carnal and Spiritual Fornication; the latter of which was committed with *Baal-peor*, the Idol of the *Moabites*. God being angry hereat, commanded the Principal of the Idolaters to be hanged up before the Sun, and *Moſes* gave order to the Judges, to ſlay every one his men: A Plague alſo brake out amongſt them, whereby in one day, fell 23000 Men: to which thoſe that were hanged and fell by the Sword, being added, advance the number to 24000. *Phineas* the Son of *Eliazar* the Prieſt executing Judgment upon *Zimri* an *Iſraelite*, and *Cozbi* a *Madianitiſh* Woman, in the Act of Fornication; the Wrath of God was thereby appeaſed, and the Plague ſtayed.

Moſes numbereth the People.

Balaam ſlain.

The Land beyond *Jordan* divided.

Chap. 31. *Chap.* 32.

14. A little after, God commanded *Moſes* the third time to number the People. In this Space of 40 years all the men of War were periſhed, except *Caleb* and *Joſhua*, which amounted to the number of 603000. Yet was there by this time ſuch a Supply of young ones grown up, that they almoſt equalized the number of their Fathers; there being found 601730, from twenty years old and upwards, beſides 23000 *Levites*, reckoned from a Moneth old. After this, *Moſes*, by Gods Command, ſent *Phineas* with 12000 men againſt the *Midianites*, who had conſpired with the *Moabites* againſt them. He deſtroyed them, and amongſt them *Balaam* the Soothſayer, who, as it appeareth, was not yet returned. The Women they brought away Captives; whereof the married ones they ſlew, and kept the Virgins for themſelves. Now were the Lands of *Sihon* King of the *Amorites*, and *Og* King of *Baſhan*, divided amongſt the *Reubenites*, *Gadites*, and the half Tribe of *Manaſſes*, on this Condition, that they ſhould accompany their Brethren over the River *Jordan*, and aſſiſt them in the Conqueſt of the Land of *Canaan*, ſo long as need ſhould require.

Moſes dieth.

Deut. 1, &c. Deut. *ult.* A. M. 2548. *Antiq.* l. 4.

15. The time now drew near, that *Moſes* muſt dye, being not to paſs over into the Land of *Canaan*. Therefore in the eleventh Moneth of the fortieth year, he made a Repetition of the Law to the People, related God's Benefits beſtowed on them, and exhorted them to Obedience. The Law he wrote in a Book, and commanded it to be read every ſeventh year, at the Feaſt of Tabernacles. He alſo, at the Command of God, wrote a Song concerning the future Idolatry, and Afflictions of the *Iſraelites*. *Joſhua* being then ordained Captain of the People in his ſtead, he aſcended from the Plains of *Moab* to Mount *Nebo*, part of the Mountains of *Abarim*, and whoſe Top is called *Phaſga* or *Piſgah*, looking towards *Jericho*. There God having ſhewn him the Land of *Canaan*, from the one ſide to the other, he died ſome five Moneths after *Aaron*, being 120 years old (the third part of which time, ſaving one Moneth, he ſpent, as *Joſephus* writeth, in Government) in the fortieth year ending, after he had brought the *Iſraelites*

out of *Ægypt*, the year of the World 2548. God buried him in the Valley of *Moab* over againſt *Beth-Peor*, and no man knoweth of his Sepulchre to this day. Concerning his Body, a Conteſt hapned between *Michael* the Arch-Angel and the Devil; the reaſon of which is thought to be, becauſe Satan would have had the place thereof known, that the People might be drawn to Idolatry out of Reverence to ſo great a Perſon. The *Iſraelites* mourned for him thirty days, and with his Life endeth the *Pentateuch*, or his five Books. The Book of *Joſhua* followeth, taking it's Beginning from the 41 of the Departure out of *Ægypt*, and the 2549*th* year of the World.

Joſh. 1, 2, 3, 4. Chapters.

The *Iſraelites* paſs over *Jordan* into the Land of *Canaan*.

A. M. 2549. *ineunte Chap.* 5.

16. Whilſt the *Iſraelites* were ſtill mourning for *Moſes*, the two Spies were ſent over *Jordan*, (as ſome think) to ſearch the Land. The next morning after their Return, the whole Hoſt removed from *Shittim*, and came to *Jordan*, where they lodged that night, and the next day paſſed over the River. As ſoon as the Feet of the Prieſts which bare the Ark touched the Water, it fell off on both ſides, and made a way; ſo that they went over on dry Ground, the Floods not returning to their place, ſo long as the Ark remained in the Chanel. On the tenth day of the firſt Moneth *Niſan*, they arrived in the Land of *Canaan*, and took up their firſt Manſion at *Gilgal*, not far from *Jericho*. Here (it's thought the next day) God commanded that all the Males ſhould be circumciſed, this Sacrament being omitted ever ſince they left Mount *Sinai*; becauſe they were in conſtant expectation of Travel: upon which account neither had they kept the Paſſeover ſince that time. Three days they reſted, and on the fourth they did eat the Paſſeover, and the day following unleavened Bread of the Corn of the Land, at which time Manna ceaſed, after it had continued forty years.

Chap. 6.

Jericho deſtroyed.

Chap. 7, 8, 9.

Chap. 10.

The Sun and Moon ſtand ſtill.

Codomannus.

17. The firſt place they fell upon with War, was the City of *Jericho*, which having compaſſed with the Ark ſeven days, on the ſeventh the Walls fell down of their own Accord, the City was taken, and all therein put to the Sword, except the Family of *Rahab* (ſhe, having harboured the Spies, had Security promiſed from them) whom *Salmon* of the Tribe of *Judah* married, to whom ſhe bare *Boaz*. All the Goods found therein were alſo accurſed, nothing thereof to be made Prey; which Law *Achan* tranſgreſſing, cauſed *Iſrael* to be diſcomfited at *Ai*, and for that was firſt ſtoned, and then burnt, with all that *belonged* to him. The Kings of *Canaan*, ſtartled at *Joſua's* Succeſs, combined againſt him; but the *Gibeonites*, fearing the worſt, counterfeited a Meſſage to him as from a far Country, and procured ſafety to themſelves and Poſterity; yet ſuch as ſlavery was joyned therewith. *Adoniſedeck* King of *Jeruſalem*, and the Kings of *Hebron*, *Jarmuth*, *Lachiſh*, and *Deber*, enraged hereat, conſpired againſt them and fell upon their City; to the Relief whereof *Joſhua* being called, raiſed the Siege, and proſecuting his Victory againſt the Kings, at his Command the Sun ſtood ſtill over *Gibeon*, and the Moon in the Valley of *Ajalon*. Upon which ſtrange miraculous accident this is obſerved, that *Ajalon* being ſcarce a *German* Mile Weſtward off *Gibeon*, the Moon, as 'tis probable, was then decreaſing, or in the Wane, and theſe two Luminaries ſtanding ſtill and moving together, the aſtronomical Account was thereby nothing at all diſturbed.

Joſhua vanquiſheth the Kings.

Chap. 11, &c.

In Vandalius.

18. *Joſhua* drave the five Kings to that Streight that they hid themſelves in a Cave at *Makkeda*, where after he had utterly vanquiſhed and deſtroyed their Armies, he took them, and killing them, hanged their Carcaſes on five Trees till Sun-ſet: then caſt them into the Cave and laid a great Heap of Stones thereon. After their Death he warred with many other petty Kings, as with the King of *Libnah*, *Lachiſh*, *Gezer*, *Eglon*, *Hebron*, and the reſt: there was not one City that made Peace with *Iſrael*, ſave the *Hivites*, the Inhabitants of *Gibeon*; all others they took in Battel, and utterly deſtroyed, except ſuch as it pleaſed God to reſerve, for a Laſh and Scourge, wherewith to reduce them in times of Rebellion and for their Exerciſe to be as Thorns in their Eyes, and Goads in their Sides. The *Canaanites* being thus deprived of their ancient Habitation by *Joſhua* and the *Iſraelites*; Many of them, as is conjectured, removing to the *Mediterranean-Sea*, (where they were known afterwards by the name of *Phœnicians*) continued not all there, but ſpread themſelves abroad, and ſent Colonies far and wide into many Places of *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africk*, concerning which that excellent Book of *Bochartus*, called *Canaan*, is to be conſulted. That is remarkable, which *Procopius* mentioneth concerning Pillars erected in the Province of *Africk*, called *Tingitana*, with a *Phœnician*-Inſcription to this Purpoſe: *We are they who fled from the Face of* Joſhua *the Robber*, *the Son of* Nane. How

Sect. 2.

How long this War continued till the Diviſion of the Land, is not expreſſed in Scripture; yet is thence to be gathered. For *Caleb* being forty years old, when with others he was ſent by *Moſes* to ſearch the Land, was at the time of the Diviſion, as he ſaith, forty five years older. Now the Spies were ſent out in the fifth Moneth of the ſecond year, after their Departure out of *Ægypt*, or ſooner; ſo that from that time to the Entrance into *Canaan*, followed almoſt 39 years; (the *Iſraelites* being fourty years in the Wilderneſs) which being deducted out of the ſaid forty five, ſix years and ſome few, Remain; during which, the War in *Canaan* muſt have continued.

The *Clerouchia*, or Diviſion of the Land.

19. The *Clerouchia* then, or Diviſion of the Land, fell out in the Beginning of the ſeventh year from their Entrance into *Canaan*, and in the year of the World 2555 alſo beginning. It continued about one year, as ſome gather from the Story. First of all, an Inheritance was given to two Tribes and an half, *viz.* The Tribes of *Judah*, *Ephraim*, and the other half Tribe of *Manaſſes*. Then met the *Iſraelites* together in *Shiloh*, becauſe ſeven other Tribes yet remained undiſpoſed of. Therefore certain men were ſent from that place to bring a Survey of all the Land, which could not be done in a few days; and then, after their Return the Diviſion was perfected; for all which no leſs than the ſpace of a year ſeemeth neceſſary. So, there are from the Beginning of the World to the end of this Diviſion, 2555 years, containing juſt ſo many Weeks of Years, as there are natural Days in the year, *viz.* 365. Or if we make a great year conſiſting of ſo many years as the ſolar Year conſiſteth of Days; then have we ſix (or ſeven) ſuch great years. It is further obſervable, that from the Beginning of the World, to the Entrance of the *Iſraelites* into *Canaan* may be reckoned ſo many Jubilies of years (*viz.* 52.) as are Days in the ſeventh part of a Solar year, one only excepted. The War having endured ſix years, they reſted on the ſeventh, wherein the Diviſion was made, as in the Sabbatical year.

A. M. 2555.

Chap. 14, 15, *&c.*

Vide Ludov. Capellum *in Chronol. Sacr.*

The Riſe of Sabbatical years and Jubilies.

20. The Riſe therefore, and Beginning of the *Sabbatical* year, and of *Jubilies*, ſome chuſe rather to fetch from the firſt Entrance into *Canaan*, than from the Diviſion of the Land. For though they began not to ſow the Land on this ſide *Jordan* till after the Diviſion; yet before this, had they taken Poſſeſſion of the Country lying beyond the River, which was divided betwixt the two Tribes and the half; whereof, though it muſt be granted that thoſe which were fit for War, accompanied their Brethren over *Jordan*, according to the Charge laid upon them by *Moſes*, yet it is to be ſuppoſed that thoſe which ſtayed behind were nouriſhed by the Fruits of that Soil. For Manna had already ceaſed, and the Corn which the other reaped of the Enemies ſowing being but gotten by Degrees, according as they conquered the Country, could ſcarce maintain them without ſending for Supplies to thoſe that ſtayed beyond the River. When they had ended the Diviſion, the Children of *Iſrael* gave for an Inheritance to *Joſhua* that which he asked, even *Timneth Serah* in Mount *Ephraim*, where he built a City, and dwelt therein. The Tabernacle of the Congregation was ſet up at *Shiloh* by the whole Aſſembly. As for the *Levites* they had no Inheritance aſſigned them, but (the Lord being their Inheritance) they were to live of Tythes and Offerings. Only 48 Cities on both ſides of *Jordan*, were ſet apart for them to dwell in, which were alſo to be Cities of Refuge, whither thoſe that were guilty of caſual Homicide might fly from the Avenger of Blood, and there remain in Security till the Death of the High prieſt. *Joſhua* being very old at the Diviſion, is by the *Jews* ſaid to have lived paſt the firſt Sabbatical year, but to have died before the next arrived. Some give to this Government 20 years, and ſome above; but others think he died, not long after the Diviſion. There is no Certainty thereof from Scripture; but that he lived a hundred and ten years is expreſly recorded.

Joſh. 18.

Chap. 20.

Joſhua dieth.

Chap. 24. *v.* 29. *Judge* ii. 8.

The *Iſraelites* fall to Idolatry.

21. After *Joſhua* and that Generation were dead, which had ſeen the Wonders of the Lord, another aroſe after them, that knew not the Lord, nor the Works he had done; ſo that the Children of *Iſrael* followed other Gods, ſerving *Baal* and *Aſhtaroth*. For this Cauſe the Anger of the Lord was hot againſt *Iſrael*, and he delivered them into the hands of Spoilers which ſpoiled them. He ſold them into the hands of their Enemies round about, inſomuch that they could not ſtand before them; but whitherſoever they went out, the Hand of the Lord was againſt them for Evil, as he had ſaid and ſworn. Nevertheleſs he raiſed them up Judges to deliver them out of the hands of thoſe that ſpoiled them; and yet they would not hearken to their Judges, but went a whoring after other Gods, and bowed themſelves unto them. Hereupon the Lord reſolved not to drive out thenceforth any Nations before them, which *Joſhua* left when he died, that

Chap. 3.

that by them he might prove *Iſrael* whether they would keep his way, and to teach them War. There were left five Lords of the *Philiſtines* with all the *Canaanites*, the *Sidonians* and *Hivites* that dwelt in Mount *Lebanon*, from Mount *Baal Hermon*, unto the entring of *Hamath*. The Children of *Iſrael* dwelt amongſt the *Canaanites*, *Hittites*, *Ammorites*, *Perizzites*, *Hivites*, and *Jebuſites*: They took their Daughters to be their Wives, gave their Daughters to their Sons, and ſerved their Gods.

Cuſhan oppreſſeth them.

Verſ. 8.

22. For this, the Anger of the Lord was hot againſt *Iſrael*, and he ſold them to the hand of *Cuſhan-riſhathaim* King of *Meſopotamia*. How long this was after the Diviſion, the Scripture expreſſeth not. We read that he oppreſſed them eight years, but ſome think it ſhould be read in the eighth year, *viz.* after the Diviſion, or eighth years, becauſe this Servitude ended in the eight. But that it began not immediately after the Diviſion, neither after the Death of *Joſhua*, ſeemeth evident, becauſe the *Iſraelites* ſerved the Lord as long as that Generation laſted which had ſeen his Wonders; which cannot be conceived extinct at the ſame time with him. Others think a longer time than ſeven years to have paſſed betwixt the Diviſion and this Oppreſſion, aſſigning fourteen years to the Government of *Joſhua* after the Diviſion, then ten more to the Government of the Elders after his Death, who might very well live longer than ſo; none that were twenty years old when they came out of *Ægypt* having entred *Canaan*, except *Joſhua* and *Caleb*. After that, as many years they attribute to an Anarchy, in the ſixth year of which they will have the Civil War to have broken out betwixt *Benjamin* and the reſt of the Tribes, wherein all the *Benjaminites*, except ſix hundred, were ſlain. Four years after this War, and at the end of the tenth, *Cuſhan* the King of *Meſopotamia* afflicted *Iſrael* for its Idolatry eight years. But concerning this there is no Certainty.

Lud. Cappellus.

Jacobus Cappellus.

Judg. 20.

Othniel delivereth them.

Judg. Chap. 3.

23. At the end of the eight years, God ſtirred up for a Deliverer, *Othniel* of the Tribe of *Judah*, Nephew to *Caleb* by his younger Brother *Kenaz*, and his Son-in-law. Into his hands the Lord delivered *Cuſhan*, and the Land had reſt forty years. After his Death (which is ſet to the end of theſe forty years) *Iſrael* turned again to Idolatry, and the Lord delivered them up to *Eglon*, King of *Moab*, for eighteen years. At the end of this Term he ſtirred up *Ehud* a left-handed man of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, who under Colour of a Meſſage ſtabbed *Eglon* into the Belly, and gathering the *Iſraelites* together on Mount *Ephraim*, ſlew 10000 of the *Moabites*, all men of War. After this, the Land is ſaid to have reſted eighty years, the words being taken literally; but then ſome think none of the years of the Tyrants or Oppreſſors, are to be counted ſeverally, and by themſelves, but to be included herein as other years after mentioned; elſe the Account will ſwell much larger than the whole number of years which the Scripture ſeemeth to allow of. If we take in all the years aſcribed to the Tyrants, then they will have it an Enallage (frequent in all Languages) and inſtead of 80, *Ehud* governed, or the Land reſted under him only eight years; but others think they have as much reaſon to take them literally.

Eglon oppreſſeth them.

Delivered by *Ehud*.

Shamgar judgeth *Iſrael*.

Chap. 4.

24. After *Ehud*, *Shamgar* the Son of *Aneth* judged *Iſrael*, but no mention is made of any time. It followeth, when *Ehud* was dead, the Children of *Iſrael* did Evil again in the ſight of the Lord, and he ſold them into the hand of *Jabin*, King of *Canaan*, whoſe General was *Siſera*, and who had 900 Chariots of Iron: he mightily oppreſſed them twenty years. It is moſt probable that in this time the Government of *Shamgar* was included, (he ſlew with an Oxe-goad 600 of the *Philiſtines*, who at this time might alſo afflict *Iſrael*) or elſe it being but ſhort might fall betwixt *Ehud*'s Death, and the Oppreſſion of *Jabin*; there being Probability enough that ſome time paſſed after his Death, before the *Iſraelites* ſo highly provoked the Lord as to be given up into *Jabin's* hands. At the end of theſe twenty years *Deborah*, the Wife of *Lapidoth* (judging *Iſrael* at this time in Mount *Ephraim*) moved by God, ſent for *Barak* the Son of *Abinoam* from *Kadeſh-Naphtali*, and made him Captain. He, with 10000 men of *Zebulon* and *Naphtali*, overthrew *Siſera*, who flying on his Feet to the Tent of *Heber* the *Kenite* (deſcended of *Jethro*, Father-in-law to *Moſes*) *Jael* his Wife killed him, by a Nail driven into his Temples as he lay aſleep. So the Land reſted under *Deborah* forty years, as we read it, another interpreting it *in the fortieth year*, viz. after the Reſt reſtored to it by *Ehud*.

Jabin oppreſſeth them. And the *Philiſtines*.

Deborah and *Barach* deliver them.

Uſher.

Jud. 6.

The Midianites oppreſs them.

25. This time expired, and the *Iſraelites* relapſing to Idolatry, God gave them up into the hands of the *Midianites*, and other People of the Eaſt, which afflicted them ſeven years, deſtroying their Corn, driving away their Cattel, and making Havock of all things. This made them cry to the Lord, who firſt reproved them

Sect. 2.

Gideon delivereth them.

Chap. 7. Chap. 8.

by a Prophet; and afterwards, by an Angel ſtirred up *Gideon*, the Son of *Joaſh*, of the Tribe of *Manaſſes*, to deliver them. He having pulled down the Altar of *Baal*, and burnt his Grove, out of 23000 men choſe 300. with which number marching againſt the *Midianites*, he ſo affrighted them by a Stratagem of *Lamps* and *Pitchers*, that he routed their whole Army. The *Ephraimites* took *Oreb* and *Zeeb*: *Gideon* following the Chace beyond *Jordan* wholly diſcomfited them, and took, and ſlew two Kings of the *Midianites*; *Zeba* and *Zalmanna*. After ſo great a Victory the *Iſraelites* offered him the Kingdom; but he refuſed it, and asked only the Earings of the Prey, wherewith he made an Ephod, which afterwards gave Occaſion to Idolatry (all *Iſrael* going a whoring after it) and became a Snare to him and his Houſe. But thus *Midian* being ſubdued, the Country was in Quietneſs under *Gideon* forty years, as moſt read it; but, as others, was quiet in the fourth year; *viz.* after Quietneſs reſtored to it by *Deborah* and *Barach*.

Abimelech his Son maketh himſelf King.

Chap. 9.

26. Though *Gideon* refuſed the Sovereignty, yet *Abimelech* his baſe Son thinking ſuch a thing was not to be neglected, dealt with the *Sichemites*, of whoſe City his Mother was Native, to make him King: and by their Help he ſeized on the Kingdom, having ſlain his ſeventy Brethren upon one Stone; *Jotham* the youngeſt only eſcaping. The *Iſraelites*, after *Gideon*'s Death, had again turned after Idols, and therefore God not only ſubjected them to the Dominion of this moſt wicked of all Parricides, but to inteſtine Diſſentions, by reaſon of him. For after he had tyrannized three years, *Gaal* with the *Sichemites* conſpired againſt him, which having timely diſcovered, he deſtroyed them and their City (ſowing it with Salt) and burnt the houſe of their God *Berith*, with a thouſand Men and Women which had fled to it. Then went he againſt *Thebez*, and took it, the Inhabitants whereof retired for Defence into a ſtronger Tower. Here, as he was about to ſet Fire to the Door, a Woman caſt down a Piece of a Mill-ſtone upon his Head, and ſo brake his Skull, and he cauſed his Armour-bearer to kill him, leſt it ſhould be ſaid, that he died by the hands of a Woman. After his Death, *Tolah*, the Son of *Puah*, the Son of *Dodo*, a man of *Iſſachar*, that dwelt at *Samir* in *Ephraim*, aroſe to defend *Iſrael*, and judged it twenty three years. After him *Jair* a *Gileadite* 22 years, thought to be deſcended of that *Jair* who took the Towns of *Argob*, and called them after himſelf *Hanoth-Jair*; as his thirty Sons in like manner, after that Example, named ſo many Cities, which they poſſeſſed in the Land of *Gilead*.

Tolah judgeth *Iſrael*.

Chap. 10.

Jair.

Judg. 10. ver. 8, 9.

The *Philiſtines* and *Ammonites* oppreſs *Iſrael*.

27. *Jair* being dead, the *Iſraelites* returned to their evil Courſes, ſerving *Balaam*, *Aſhtaroth*, the Gods of the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and the *Philiſtines*; for which God ſold them into the hands of the *Philiſtines* and *Ammonites*. It is written, *And that Year they oppreſſed the Children of* Iſrael *eighteen Years, all that were on the other ſide* Jordan, *in the Land of the* Amorites, *which is in* Gilead. *Moreover, the* Ammonites *paſſed over* Jordan, *to fight alſo againſt* Judah *and* Benjamin, *and the houſe of* Ephraim; *ſo that all* Iſrael *was ſore diſtreſſed.* Some will have this Oppreſſion but to begin at the Death of *Jair*; others think, they had oppreſſed *Iſrael* eighteen years before, and now paſſed over the River, to afflict the other Tribes. The *Iſraelites* cried to God, and being reproved, put away their Idols: hereupon, the *Ammonites* being got together in *Gilead*, and the *Iſraelites* aſſembled in *Mizpah* in the ſame Country, *Jepthah* the Son of *Gilead*, begotten on an Harlot, was ſent for by the *Gileadites* and made Captain, being a mighty man of Valour: He firſt ſent to expoſtulate with the King of *Ammon*, and to demand the Cauſe of the War. He anſwered, it was becauſe *Iſrael* took away his Land, when they came out of *Ægypt*, from *Arnon* unto *Jabbock*, and unto *Jordan*; of which he required Reſtitution. *Jepthah* replyed, that in their Journey from *Ægypt*, they ſent to the Kings of *Edom* and *Moab*, to deſire Paſſage through their Coaſts; but this being denied, they turned aſide through the Wilderneſs, and compaſſed about the Lands of *Edom* and *Moab*, not coming within the Borders of *Moab*, and ſo at length came and pitched on the other ſide of *Arnon*, which was the Limit of *Moab*'s Coaſts; Then, that *Sihon* King of the *Amorites* denying them Paſſage, and fighting againſt them, the Lord God of *Iſrael* delivered him into their hands: and they poſſeſſed the Land of the *Amorites* from *Arnon* unto *Jabbock*, and from the Wilderneſs unto *Jordan*.

Chap. 11.

28. Seeing the *God of Iſrael* had diſpoſſeſſed the *Amorites*, he demanded a Reaſon, why *he* ſhould poſſeſs that Country; and whether he was any thing better than *Balack* the Son of *Zippor*, King of *Moab*, who never ſtrove nor fought againſt *Iſrael*. Laſtly, he asked him, why he recovered not the Land all the 300 years

which the Children of *Iſrael* had enjoyed it, and appealed to God for righteous Judgment betwixt them. Theſe 300 years, if they be reckoned exactly, the years of the Oppreſſions, and of the Judges, muſt all along be counted in Length, without including the one in the other; but if this be done, ſtill many more than 300 will be found, and a hundred years more will ariſe in the Account of time, from the Coming out of *Ægypt* to the Building of the Temple, than the Scripture in another Place alloweth of. Some ſay, if ſo many years really paſſed, betwixt the laſt year of *Moſes*, ſave one, and this time of *Jepthah*, as thoſe Succeſſions do make; 400 years was rather to have been mentioned, ſeeing the number exceeded that of 300; and therefore accounting the other way ſhort of 300, they alledge, that it is uſual, when a full or round Number is choſen, rather to make Uſe of that which moſt favoureth their Cauſe; and therefore *Jepthah* meant by 300, about, or almoſt ſo many. On the contrary, others believe, that the Scripture doth not ſuffer them to omit the years of Servitude, and contain them under thoſe of the Judges, which they ſuppoſe clearly appeareth out of thoſe words before mentioned, which in General deſcribe the Condition of the *Iſraelites*, as *ſucceſſively* guilty of Idolatry, then puniſhed, and delivered; after which, falling into an Anarchy at the Death of their Deliverer, they again relapſed into the ſame Sin. They will have alſo the particular Accounts of theſe things in Scripture, by their Order and Diſtinction, to hold out no leſs unto us. Judg. 11. 18.

Jeptha overthroweth the *Ammonites.*

29. But the King of the *Ammonites* not hearkening to *Jepthah*, was overthrown with a very great Slaughter. *Jepthah* at his going forth, vowed, if the Lord would deliver the Enemy into his hands, that whatſoever came firſt out of his Houſe to meet him at his Return, ſhould ſurely be the Lord's, and he would offer it for a Burnt-offering. It hapned that his only Daughter came out to meet him with Timbrels and Dances; and after ſhe had bewailed her Virginity, he is ſaid to have *done to her according to his Vow.* Some obſerve that for *And* in the place may be read *Or*, as if, he would offer the thing, if it were to be offered, or, however to conſecrate it to the Lord. And their Opinion ſeemeth moſt probable, who hold ſhe was not offered up as a Burnt-offering, but conſecrated by perpetual Virginity and Auſterity of Life, being altogether ſeparated from Humane Society, except four days in a year, for a little Refreſhment; it being ſaid, that he executed his Vow upon her, for that he did not redeem her with Money, according to the Law mentioned in *Exodus*, but left her conſecrated to God in an unmarried State, leſt ſhe ſhould ſeem to be another's and not the Lord's. *Chap.* ult. *Jepthah*, after this, warred againſt the *Ephraimites*, who ſpake againſt, and threatned him and his Houſe. Judg. 12. He cut off forty two thouſand Men, all being ſlain in their Paſſage over *Jordan*, that could not pronounce *Shiboleth*. Having judged *Iſrael* ſix years, he died, and was buried in *Gilead*.

Abzon. *Elon.* *Abdon* Judges. The *Philiſtines* vex *Iſrael.*

30. After *Jepthah* aroſe *Ibſan* of *Bethlehem*, and judged *Iſrael* ſeven years, then *Elon* a *Zebulonite* ten, and *Abdon* the Son of *Hillel* a *Pirathonite*, after him eight years. Now the *Philiſtines* again vexed *Iſrael* forty years. Seeing neither of theſe three are ſaid to have delivered the Land, ſome think thoſe forty years, to have included ſome of Their Government. There are that fetch the Beginning of them from the fourth year of *Ibſan*, and end them at the Death of *Sampſon*, whom they will have the immediate Succeſſor of *Abdon*. Of thoſe that are for the lengthening out of the time, ſome think they are to be reckoned from the Death of *Sampſon.* *Abdon*, and end at the Beginning of *Sampſon*'s Government, which others again Uſher. inferr, by good Arguments, to be included in them, or elſe twenty of them muſt fall in with the time of *Eli*; the ſeventy Interpreters accordingly, giving to *Eli* not forty years, as the *Hebrew* Copies, but only twenty. Still there are not wanting, who think *Eli* to have ſucceeded *Abdon*, and *Sampſon*'s 20 years (who was yet unborn) to have been included in his 40. They fetch the Riſe of the forty years of the Oppreſſion, from ſeventeen years before the Beginning of *Eli*, and end them ſo many after his Death. *Sampſon* was a *Nazarite* from his Mothers Womb, no Razor coming on his Head, and keeping himſelf from Wine and ſtrong Drink all his time. Hence, as his admirable Strength is ſaid to have lain in his Hair, ſo others have aſcribed it to his Abſtinency, as if it had not proceeded from the eſpecial Providence and Power of God. He was the *Hercules* of the *Iſraelites*, really performing ſuch things as the *Greeks* would ſcarce attribute to their's, on whom yet they heaped thoſe things that were done by many. He afflicted the *Philiſtines* much in his Life, but much more at his Death, by throwing down the Houſe of *Dagon* upon the chief of them, being therein aſſembled

to make themſelves Sport with ſo great an Adverſary, whom having got into their Power, they had deprived of his Sight.

Eli.

31. Had *Eli* preceded *Sampſon*, he would have been reckoned amongſt his Predeceſſors; according to general Apprehenſion. The High-prieſt-hood which hitherto had continued in the Family of *Eliazar* for five Generations, (*viz.* in himſelf, *Phineas*, *Abiſna*, *Bukki*, and *Uzzi*, according to *Joſephus*) was in *Eli* tranſlated to that of *Ithamar*, another of *Aaron*'s Sons. The Sons of *Eli* being very lewd, grievouſly abuſed their Power, and he uſed not his Authority in Correcting them, whereby he ſo far incurred Gods Diſpleaſure, that he threatned to deſtroy his houſe; as it came to paſs. The *Iſraelites*, towards the end of his forty years, fought with the *Philiſtines*, but were worſted, and loſt four thouſand men. To better their Succeſs, they then ſent for the Ark of God from *Shiloh*, promiſing to themſelves Victory in it's Preſence; but of the next Battel the Iſſue was the ſame. *Hophni* and *Phineas* the Sons of *Eli* were ſlain, and the Ark taken. This News being brought to *Eli*, upon mention of the Captivity of the Ark, he fell backward from a Seat, and being 98 years old, his Neck brake. The *Philiſtines* placed the Ark in the houſe of their God *Dagon*, which Idol fell down twice before it; and the Multitude was ſo plagued with the Hæmorrhoides, that they were glad to return it back with Preſents.

1 Sam. 2, 3, 4. Chap.

The Ark taken.

Returned.

Samuel.

ἔτεσι τετρακοσίοις.

32. To *Eli* ſucceeded *Samuel*, both a Levite and a Prophet, to whoſe Government, from the Diviſion of the Land, paſſed 450 years, according to St. *Paul*, as the Text of *Luke* now hath it. But to this Place another in the firſt Book of the * *Kings*, expreſly ſeemeth to contradict, which maketh the Foundation of the Temple to be laid in the 480*th* year after the *Iſraelites* Departure out of *Ægypt*. This later number exceeded the other but by 30. although in it muſt be comprehended, beſides what is in the former, the forty years of their Stay in the Wilderneſs, the ſix years which paſſed before the Diviſion, the time of *Samuel*'s Government, the Reigns of *Saul* and *David*, with the three years of *Solomon*, that paſſed before the Building of the Temple; all which make up the number of 129; ſo that the literal Senſes of theſe two cannot ſtand together: Some go about to reconcile them by drawing down the Beginning of the 480 years, lower than the Text will bear; and by removing that of the 450, higher than is convenient: to whom others joyn, in attempting the Reconciliation both of thoſe Numbers, and clearing up the matter concerning the 300 years aſcribed by *Jepthah*, to the Poſſeſſion of the Land of the *Amorites* before mentioned. But there are, who find a Neceſſity of confeſſing a Miſtake, either in the one or other Copie of theſe Places. Theſe are divided in their Opinions; one Party thinking they have better Reaſon to ſtick to the Place of the *Kings*, which is not ſo liable to any Corruption (through the great Care of the *Jews*) as the *Greek* Text hath that, by Reaſon of the Similitude of Words, might well be changed from one to another, through the Ignorance of Tranſcribers. Another will have the 450 years to belong to the Diviſion of the Land, and not to the Judges: all which have been miſtaken through the wrong Reading of the words.

Acts 13. 10.
* Chap. 6. 1.

From *τριακοσίοις* to *τετρακοσίοις.*

33. Others both of ancient and modern times, are very confident, that, all conſidered, the Fault muſt fall upon that Place of the *Kings*, which giveth but 480 years, to all that time that paſſed from the Departure out of *Ægypt* to the founding of the Temple; and that, inſtead of 480, 580 was anciently written. For when any one Place diſagreeth with the whole Series of Hiſtory, clearly held out elſewhere, it is rather to be corrected in its number (which may eaſily be altered by a Miſtake of one Word) than many Places wreſted to a Compliance with it. Now all the times of the *Anarchies*, *Liberty*, *War and Servitude*, *of the* Iſraelites *laid together*, *without Confuſion of years* (for which there is no ground at all,) clearly hold out a hundred years more than this Place of the *Kings*; and ſo exactly from the ſeveral Particulars make it up, that it ſeemeth to take away all Doubt. From the Departure out of *Ægypt* to *Moſes* his Death, intervened 40 years; thence to the Beginning of *Othniel* 34. whereof 26 are given to the Government of *Joſhua* and the Elders, and eight to the Servitude under *Cuſhan*. Then *Othniel* governed 40 years, the Oppreſſion of the *Moabites* followed for eighteen. *Ahud* ruled 80. The *Canaanites* tyrannized 20. *Deborah* and *Barak* governed 40. the *Madianites* oppreſſed the *Iſraelites* 7. thence *Gideon* judged *Iſrael* 40. *Abimelech* reigned 3. *Tolah* 23. *Jair* 22. and then the *Ammonites* oppreſſed *Iſrael* 18. All which numbers amount to 385 years. After this, *Jepthah* judged *Iſrael* 6 years, *Ibzan* 7. *Elon* 10. *Abdon* 8. the *Philiſtines* vexed *Iſrael* 40. and *Heli* ruled 40. which make up the Sum of 111 years. Then *Samuel* and *Saul* governed 40 years (as will be ſeen)

Uſſerius *Chronologiæ Sacræ.* Cap. 12.

Vide Gerard. Joh. Voſſii *Iſag. Chronol. Diſſert.* 8.

ſeen) *David* alſo 40. and S*olomon* 3. before the Foundation of the Temple was laid, which make up 83 years. Now all theſe numbers laid together amount exactly to 579 years, to which if the fourth year of *Solomon* be added, wherein the Temple was founded, there ariſeth the full number of 580. They perceive therefore it was not without Reaſon that ſo many of the Ancients diſſented from that Place of the *Kings*, which might alſo be lyable enough to the Careleſsneſs of Scribes. According to this Account, Students in Hiſtory and Chronology are to take Notice that a hundred years are to be added to the more ordinary *Æra* of the World.

1 *Sam.* 7.

The *Philiſtines* overthrown.

Chap. 8.

Chap. 11.

The *Iſraelites* deſire a King.

Saul is King.

Hoſea 13.

34. In the days of *Samuel*, the *Philiſtines* grievouſly afflicted *Iſrael*, till ſuch time as by his means, the People being turned to the Lord caſt off their Idols, and ſolemnly repented at *Mizpah:* Hereat God was pleaſed to ſpare them, and thundring upon the *Philiſtines*, when they were ready to joyn Battel, diſcomfited them utterly, and ſo terrified them that they forſook the Cities formerly ſeized on, leaving only one Garriſon in the Country; and no more afflicted the Children of *Iſrael* ſo long as *Samuel* had the chief Power in his Hands. When he grew old he made his Sons Judges over the Land; who perverting Juſtice by Bribery, the People thence gladly took Occaſion to deſire a King, that in Government they might be conformable to other Nations, Their moſt urgent Reaſons were, for that the *Philiſtines* yet kept an Hold in their Country, and *Nahaſh* the King of the *Ammonites* threatned them with War; at which they were ſo affrighted, that neither truſting in God's Providence (who hitherto had been their King, and Avenger) nor to the Juſtice and Prudence of *Samuel*, would they be ſatisfied, or put off without a King. God therefore gave unto them *Saul* the Son of *Kiſh* of the Tribe of B*enjamin*.

1 *Sam.* 7. 2.

35. In the Book of *Samuel* no certain years are either given to his own Government, or to that of S*aul*, but it ſeemeth probable from Scripture that he governed about twenty years alone, from the Death of *Eli* to the Election of S*aul*. For it is ſaid, that the Ark of God abode in *Kiriath-jearim* twenty years; and that, the time being long, all the houſe of *Iſrael* lamented before the Lord at *Mizpeh*; which Paſſages are joyned unto the ſerious Exhortation of S*amuel* to move them to Repentance. So then the end of twenty years, the Exhortation, their Repentance hereupon, and their moving for a King, with good Reaſon ſeem to have been about the ſame time; ſo that 20 or 21 years and an half are to be given to his Government, which began at *Eli*'s Death. Now *Heli* died when the Ark was taken; which ſtaying ſeven Moneths in the Land of the *Philiſtines* was then ſent away and came to B*ethſhemeſh*, where the Inhabitants loſing 50610 of their number, for their Curioſity of looking into it, ſent Meſſengers to thoſe of *Kiriath-jearim* to fetch it unto them, with whom it remained twenty years; and theſe years the *Iſraelites* counted along.

Chap. 10.

Chap. 11.

Raiſeth the Siege at *Jabeſh-Gilead.*

Chap. 13. &c.

David anointed.

36. *Saul* was firſt by *Samuel* privately anointed, and afterwards publickly declared King at *Mizpah*. Not long after (a moneth it's thought) *Jabeſh-Gilead* was beſieged by *Nahaſh*, who refuſed to grant Peace to the Inhabitants upon any other Terms than to put out all their right Eyes, and lay this for a Reproach upon *Iſrael*. They deſired Truce but for ſeven days; in which Space, if no Relief came they promiſed to come out to him. But *Saul*, hearing of their Diſtreſs, got together an Army of 300000 of *Iſrael*, and 30000 of *Judah*, with which he eaſily overthrew the *Ammonites*, and raiſed the Siege. Hereupon, at the Procurement of *Samuel*, the People again met at G*ilgal*, where the Kingdom was eſtabliſhed, and confirmed unto S*aul*: at which time S*amuel*, upbraiding them with their Unthankfulneſs to God and him, terrified them with Thunder and Rain in Wheat Harveſt; and again comforted them in the Mercy of God. *Saul* having reigned two years, the *Philiſtines* again afflicted the Land, with whom he had ſore War all the days of his Life. He fought againſt his Enemies round about; againſt *Moab*, the Children of *Ammon*, *Edom*, and the Kings of *Zobah*: he ſmote the *Amalekites*, and delivered his People out of the hands of them that ſpoiled them. Yet, his heart not being upright before the Lord, God choſe him out a man after his own heart, and rejected him and his Family. This man was *David*, the youngeſt Son of *Jeſſe*, of B*ethlehem-Judah*, whom *Samuel* was ſent to anoint ſome years before his own Death, and more before that of S*aul*. In this ſpace, S*aul* perſecuted him from Place to Place; yet ſuch ardent Affection was there betwixt *Jonathan* his Son, and *David*, that the Love of a Kingdom it ſelf, joyned with the deep Diſpleaſure of a Father, was nothing able to interrupt it.

Sect. 2.

37. The Apoſtle *Paul* declareth, that, *after God had deſtroyed ſeven Nations in the Land of* Canaan, *and divided their Land to them by Lot, he gave unto them Judges for the Space of* 150 *years, untill* Samuel *the Prophet. And afterward, they deſired a King, and God gave them* Saul, *the Son of* Kis, *a man of the Tribe of* Benjamin, *by the Space of forty years.* Some take the words as giving ſo many years to his Reign alone; but by general Conſent the Government of *Samuel* is to be included in them. *Samuel* ſeemeth to have died not long before *Saul* (two years it's ſuppoſed) at ſuch time as *David* was provoked by the Churliſhneſs of *Nabal*; and is ſaid to have judged *Iſrael* all the days of his Life. Hence is it certain, that *Saul* reigned not alone all thoſe fourty years, and probable that *Samuel* having governed alone for one half of them, had ſtill an hand in the publick Affairs of the Nation. At length *Saul* was overthrown in Battel by the *Philiſtines*, and loſt his three Sons, *Jonathan*, *Abinadab*, and *Melchiſua*. And he himſelf being ſore wounded, after he could not prevail with his Armour-bearer to kill him, fell upon his own Sword and died. His Son *Isboſheth*, by the means of *Abner* Captain of his Hoſt, ſucceeded him at the Age of fourty years; but the Tribe of *Judah* anointed *David* King over them in *Hebron*, who had formerly been conſecrated to this Office by *Samuel*: and he reigned over that Tribe alone, ſeven years and ſix Moneths. *Isboſheth* is ſaid to have *reigned over* Iſrael *two years*; which is to be interpreted *peaceably*, and *not diſturbed by War*; as his Father is ſaid to have reigned one year, *viz. unmoleſted by the* Philiſtines.

Acts 13. 21.
1 *Sam.* 25.
Verſ. 55.
Chap. 31. and 1 *Chron.* 10.
Saul's three Sons ſlain, and he killeth himſelf.
2 *Sam.* 2. 3. &c.
Ishboſheth ſucceedeth him.
A. M. 2944.
1 *Sam.* 13. 1.

38. For, after theſe two years were expired, a long War enſued betwixt *David* and him, his ſide growing weaker and weaker, as *David*'s grew ſtronger and ſtronger: *David* to ſtrengthen himſelf married *Maacha*, the Daughter of *Talmai*, King of *Geſhur*, on which he begat *Abſolom* and *Tamar*. At length *Abner* conceiving a Diſpleaſure againſt *Isboſheth*, becauſe he had reproved him for medling with his Father's Concubine, revolted to *David*, and laboured to transfer the Kingdom to him; but coming to viſit him about this Affair, he was treacherouſly ſlain by *Joab*, *David*'s General, and Nephew by his Siſter *Zerviah*. All being out of order now in *Iſrael*; Baanah and *Recab* two *Benjamites*, the Servants of *Iſboſheth*, ſlew their Lord as he ſlept in his Chamber, and brought his head unto *David*. He rewarded them with Death, and was by the Captains and all the Elders of the Tribes, anointed the third time King at *Hebron*, over all *Iſrael*; which Government he held 33 years. A little after this Inſtallment he took *Jeruſalem* from the *Jebuſites*, and made it the Seat of his Kingdom; himſelf building and fortifying the City of *Sion*, and *Joab* repairing the reſt. Then twice he overthrew the *Philiſtines* in *Rephidim*, who came up againſt him after they heard he was made King. The Ark of God he removed from *Kiriath-Jearim*, to the houſe of *Obed Edom* the *Gittite*, and thence, after three Moneths, into *Sion*. He purpoſed to build God an Houſe, but was forbidden (becauſe a man of Blood) that Work, which was to be reſerved for *Salomon*. For beſides his Wars in his younger time, all the Space betwixt this and the Birth of *Solomon*, ſeemeth imployed in Wars; wherein he overcame the *Philiſtines*, *Amalekites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Idumæans* and *Syrians*. The Borders of his Empire he very much inlarged, not only from *Shihor* of *Ægypt* to the entring in of *Hamath*, but alſo as far as *Euphrates*, the utmoſt Limits promiſed by God unto *Abraham*; and only poſſeſſed by him, and his Son and Succeſſor *Salomon*.

2 *Sam.* 2. 3. &c.
Iſhboſheth ſlain after ſeven years.
1 *Chron.* 12.
2 *Sam.* 5. 6, 7, &c.
1 *Chron.* 12 &c.

39. *Salomon* was the ſecond Son begotten on *Bathſheba*, the Wife of *Uriah* the *Hittite*; with which Woman *David* firſt committed Adultery, and then for a Cover added to it the Murder of her Huſband. After he had been reproved by *Nathan* the Prophet he repented, and wrote the fifty firſt Pſalm upon this Occaſion. Yet the Infant conceived in Adultery, died as ſoon as it was born; and, though *Salomon* was born the next year (as it's thought) yet this Sin eſcaped not without a further Puniſhent. For within a while, his eldeſt Son *Amnon* raviſhed his half-Siſter *Tamar*, and for that was killed by *Abſalom*. Some years after, *Abſalom* by the Advice and Policy of *Achitophel* ſeized upon the Kingdom. *David* hereupon fled to God as his Rock of Refuge, and compoſed the third and the fifty fifth Pſalms: then oppoſing Force to Force, overthrew *Abſalom* in the Wood of *Ephraim* by *Joab* his General, who thruſt the young man through with a Dart as he hung in an Oak, contrary to *David*'s Order, who had charged all the Captains to deal gently with him for His Sake. This Rebellion was followed by a new Sedition raiſed amongſt the *Iſraelites*, by one *Sheba*, upon this Occaſion; becauſe they had not the chief hand above the Tribe of *Judah*, in bringing back the King to his houſe; but this was happily ſuppreſſed, after *Joab* had procured the Inhabitants of *Abel* to cut off *Sheba*'s head.

David's Adultery and Murder.
1 *Sam.* 11. 12, 13.
Puniſhed.
A. M. 2957.
Amnon raviſheth *Tamar*.
Davidis 14.
Abſalom rebelleth.
Chap. 15, 16, 17, 18.
The Conſpiracy of *Sheba*.
Chap. 19. 20.

40. After

Sect. 2.

2 *Sam.* 21.
1 *Chron.* 20.
2 *Sam.* 24.

40. After theſe things, ſeveral Battels inſued with the *Philiſtines*, in one of which (the laſt wherein he was preſent) *David* hardly eſcaped the hands of *Iſhbi-benob*, one of the Sons of the Gyant; being reſcued by *Abiſhai* his Nephew, who ſlew the *Philiſtine*. Not long after, tempted by Satan and his own Ambition, he numbred the People: for which God being angry, propoſed to him three ſorts of Puniſhments, viz. *Famine*, *Sword*, or *Peſtilence*; as to which, he choſe rather to fall into the hands of God, than of man. Then God ſent a Plague, whereby periſhed in one day 70000 men; but, as the Angel was alſo about to deſtroy *Jeruſalem* he was commanded to deſiſt. *David* at length having arrived at ſeventeen years of Age, was ſo decayed and ſpent by his many Labours and Troubles, that he could not receive any heat from Cloaths, and therefore a young Maid, one *Abiſag*, a *Shunamite* was choſen out, to lye in his Boſom. *Adonijah* his Son taking Advantage at this Infirmity, by the Aſſiſtance of *Joab* the General, and *Abiathar* the Prieſt, ſeized upon the Kingdom. When he had Notice thereof, according to the Prediction of God, and his Promiſe unto *Bathſheba*, he eſtabliſhed *Solomon* in his Throne, and having given him a Charge, died about ſix Moneths after, when he had reigned over *Judah* alone in *Hebron* ſeven years and ſix Moneths, and in *Jeruſalem* over all *Iſrael* and *Judah* 33 years; in the year of the World (according to the vulgar way of reckoning, without taking in the 100 years formerly mentioned in the Hiſtory of the Judges) 2985.

David numbreth the People.

1 *Chron.* 20. 7.

1 *Kings* 1.

1 *Chron.* 28. 29.

Maketh *Solomon* King.

Dieth.

A. M. 2985.

41. *David* being dead, and *Solomon* eſtabliſhed in the Kingdom, *Adonijah* asked *Abiſag* the *Shunamite* to wife, and for that was put to Death, as affecting the Sovereignty. *Abiathar* was removed from the Prieſthood, and *Zadok*, of the Poſterity of *Phinehaz*, placed in his Room, as had been foretold by God, againſt the houſe of *Eli*, from which the Prieſthood now returned; *Joab* for Fear fled to the Horns of the Altar, and there was ſlain by *Benaiah*, who was made General in his ſtead. *Simei*, who had curſed *David* when he fled from *Abſalon*, was commanded to build him an Houſe in *Jeruſalem*, and not to ſtir thence beyond the Brook *Kidron*, upon pain of Death; which he after two years ſuffered, having broken the Order. *Solomon* within a year after his Father's Death, married the Daughter of *Pharaoh*; after which, offering 1000 Burnt-offerings at *Gibeon*, where the Tabernacle then reſted, God appeared to him in a Dream, and offered him whatſoever he would ask. He asked only Wiſdom to govern his People, and neither Riches nor Honour; with which God was ſo well pleaſed, that he made him to excell therein all meer men, and accumulated alſo the other upon him.

1 *Kings* 2.

Solomon putteth *Adonijah* and others to Death.

Chap. 3.

42. Having all things in a Readineſs for building an Houſe to the Lord, (for which *David* his Father had made large Proviſions) *Vaphres* King of *Ægypt* ſupplying him with 80000 Men, and *Hiram* King of *Tyre* with as many, beſides an Architect named *Hypero* (whoſe Mother was an *Iſraelitiſh* Woman, of the Tribe of *Judah*;) he laid the Foundation of the Temple in the fourth year of his Reign, and the ſecond day of the ſecond Moneth *Zif*. The Structure being in building ſeven years, the Work began (according to their Computation, who by reckoning the years of the Judges, and the Oppreſſions ſeverally, add 100 years to the *Æra* of the World) in the 3089*th* year from the Creation entering, was dedicated in the 3095*th* ending, and in the 587*th* year after the Departure out of *Ægypt*, alſo ending; from which if we ſubſtract thoſe 40 they lived in the Wilderneſs, then 547 years will be found to have paſſed from the Original of Jubilies to the Dedication of the Temple, which make up eleven Jubilies, and eight years. So the Service therein began in the eighth year of the twelfth Jubilie, or in the firſt year of the ſecond week of the twelfth, which ſeemeth agreeable to the Ceremonial Law, wherein moſt things conſiſt in the number of ſeven, and are reckoned by Sabbatical years and Jubilies. And if we divide 3025 by ſeven, we ſhall find the Temple dedicated in the firſt year of the 442 Week from the Creation, almoſt twelve intire Jubilies after the Service thereof had been firſt appointed on Mount *Sinai*.

Chap. 6.
Clemens
Stromat. lib. 4.

The building of the Temple.

Ludov. Capellus.

43. About the ſame time *Solomon* built a Navy at *Eſion-gaber*, on the Shoar of the *Red Sea*, in the Land of *Edom*. This furniſhing with his own Subjects and the *Tyrians* (then, by reaſon of the Situation of their Country, the beſt Sailors in the World) ſent to him by *Hiram*, he diſpatched to *Ophir*, once in three years, for Gold and other Merchandize, whence they brought him 420 Talents. The Country of *Edom David* had formerly ſubdued, and thence *Solomon* his Son had the Privilege of building his Ships there. *Æleth* or *Eloth*, called by other Writers *Ælana* and *Ælanum*, was then a famous City, ſeated upon the *Arabian Gulf*, to part whereof, lying about it, it gave Appellation. As *Eſion-gaber* was the *Ar-*

Solomon's Navy.

1 *Kings* 1.

nal for building the Navy; ſo this City ſeemeth to have been the *Emporium* or *Mart-town*: and, as long as the *Edomites* continued under the Obedience of the Kingdom of *Judah*, it is probable, that thence Merchandiſe was tranſported to *Petra*, the chief City of *Arabia*, and ſo to *Jeruſalem*. But when the *Edomites* revolted (which happened after the Death of *Jehoſaphat*) the Courſe was altered from *Jeruſalem* to *Rhino colura*, a City in *Phœnicia* upon *Ægypt*; and there continued long, till ſuch time as the *Ptolomies* with much ado, brought down the Trade to *Alexandria*. To effect this, they made two Ports upon the Borders, whereof the one bare the name of *Berenice*, and is miſtaken by *Joſephus* for *Eſiongaber*, that lying at a great Diſtance both from this and *Elath*, which ſeemeth to be the ſame Place, mentioned in (*a*) *Strabo*, by the name of * *Albus Pagus*.

* Λευκὴ κώμη.

(*a*) Strabonem *lege lib.* 16. *p.* 780. *D.* & 781. *A. B.* &c. *Vide* Fullerum *in miſcellaneis.*

44. As this Navigation of the *Tyrians* gave a Beginning to their Fame in that Art; ſo from it (as is probably conceived) came the name of the *Red Sea*, or that of *Edom*, firſt to be famous in other Countries. Their Traffique increaſing, they might well ſend out Colonies into other parts; and hence, as *Herodotus* writeth, the Sea-coſt of *Arabia* might be inhabited by them; but as for their coming from theſe parts to inhabit *Phœnicia* (which Opinion ſeemeth to have taken it's Original, from the Journey of the *Iſraelites* out of theſe Coaſts) it is a meer Fable. Sailing out of the *Arabian* into the *Perſian* Gulf, the name of *Red Sea* might upon this Occaſion be given by them to both (which is uſually to be expounded of both in ancient Writers) the word *Edom*, being changed into others of the ſame Signification in ſeveral Languages. As for *Ophir*, if we think this Country denominated from the Son of *Sem*, (or him from it) either immediately by his Habitation therein, or rather mediately by the *Tyrians* impoſing that name upon it, which properly belonged to a place in *Arabia*; then need we not ſeek for it in *America*, and feign ſtrange Circuits to have been made, from the *Red Sea* round about *Africk* to ſail thither; as thoſe, who place it in that part of the World, are forced to do.

His Buildings.

45. *Solomon* after the Dedication of the Temple, fortified *Jeruſalem* with a treble Wall, and repaired *Hazron*, the ancient Metropolis of the *Canaanites*; ſo did he *Gaza* of the *Philiſtines*; he built Bethoron, *Gerar*, and the *Millo*, or Munition of *Jeruſalem*. He alſo built *Megiddo* in *Manaſſeh* on this ſide *Jordan*, Balah in *Dan*, and *Thadmor*; which may be either *Thameron*, in the Deſart of *Judæa*, mentioned by *Ptolomy*, or *Palmyra*, as *Joſephus* thinketh, ſituate in the Deſart of *Syria*, on the Borders of his Dominions; which being many Ages after rebuilt by *Adrian* the Emperour, was named after him *Adrianopolis*. He built for himſelf in thirteen years time a Palace, and an Houſe for his Wife the Daughter of *Pharaoh*. After this, he offered twenty Towns, bordering upon the Tribe of *Aſher*, to *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, as a Reward for the Aſſiſtance he offered him in his Buildings; but he refuſing them, he placed Colonies therein. And from his Refuſal the Country came to be called *Cabul*.

His Incontinency and Idolatry.

1 Kings 11.

46. In the latter part of his Reign, he fell into great Incontinency, and thence became acceſſory to abominable Idolatry. He loved many ſtrange Women, as (together with the Daughter of *Pharaoh*) Women of the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, *Sidonians*, and *Hittites*: of the Nations, wherewith the Children of *Iſrael* were forbidden to marry. He had 700 Wives, and 300 Concubines, which turned his Heart after other Gods, ſo that he went after *Aſhtaroth* the Goddeſs of the *Sidonians*, and *Milcom* the Abomination of the *Amorites*: he built an high-place for *Chemoſh* the Abomination of *Moab*, in the hill before *Jeruſalem*, for *Molech* the Abomination of the Children of *Ammon*; and ſo did he for all his ſtrange Wives, which burnt Incenſe, and ſacrificed to their Gods. This provoked the God of *Iſrael*, who had twice appeared to him; inſomuch, that for his horrible Ingratitude, he determined Evil concerning his Kingdom, to be fulfilled in his Son. Yet have we ground to judge well of his eternal Condition, ſeeing he made a Recantation of his former Errors, and was uſed as a Pen-man of Scripture by the Holy Ghoſt. He died after he had reigned 40 years, being without Parallel for *Wiſdom*, *Magnificence*, and *Humane Frailty*. A. M. 3025.

His Death.

A. M. 3025.

SECT. III.

From the Death of Solomon *and the Rent of the Kingdom, to the Deſtruction of the Kingdom of* Judah.

1 Kings 12.

Ten Tribes fall off from *Rehoboam.*

2 Chron. 11. *Ver.* 13, 14.

Joſh. 19. 9.

2 Chron. 31. 2. & 28. 19.

1. SOLOMON being dead, *Rehoboam* his Son, by *Naama* an *Ammonitiſh* Woman, reigned in his Stead. The Tribes, when they met at *Sichem* to make him King, petitioned for a Relaxation of their Burthens impoſed by his Father; to which he anſwered ſo churliſhly (deſpiſing the Counſel of the ancient and grave men,) that ten Tribes revolted from him, and made King over them *Jeroboam* the Son of *Nebat*, who had fled into *Ægypt* for fear of *Solomon*, after that God's Intentions came to be known of giving him part of the Kingdom. With *Rehoboam* yet remained the two Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, and the greateſt part of the *Levites*, who left their Poſſeſſions and ſetled themſelves in *Judah* and *Jeruſalem*, becauſe *Jeroboam* and his Sons had caſt them off from executing the Prieſt's Office. With the Tribe of *Judah* is alſo to be reckoned that of *Simeon*, whoſe Poſſeſſions were within the Inheritance of *Judah*, for which that part of the Diviſion that fell to it was too much. Part alſo of the *Danites* had its Seat within that of *Judah*; for it appeareth that they had ſome Towns in the Diviſion of the Land, which formerly had been aſſigned to the Children of *Judah*, who (as hath been obſerved) had ſo large a Country at firſt aſſigned to them, rather to protect and defend, than ſolely to poſſeſs it. All theſe ſtill remained the Subjects of *Rehoboam*, though ten Tribes are ſaid to have revolted, the Tribe of *Dan* being attributed to *Jeroboam*, for that *Dan* the chief City, was within his Dominions; and becauſe the Tribe of *Manaſſeh* being ſeparated and divided into two parts, might be reckoned for two Tribes. The Kingdom thus divided, the Northern parts fell off; but the Southern continued in Obedience to the Son of *Solomon*, whoſe Succeſſors henceforth are called *Kings of Judah*, as thoſe of *Jeroboam*, *Kings of Iſrael*; and yet this Diſtinction is not always obſerved, *Jehoſaphat* being called *King of Iſrael*, and alſo *Ahaz*; though we know they were both Kings of *Judah*; of that Diviſion only.

1 Kings 12. 14.

He and his Subjects rebell againſt God.

Afflicted, they humble themſelves, and are delivered.

2. *Rehoboam* purpoſed to make War upon the Tribes, but, admoniſhed by God, gave over the Enterprize of Invading them with 180000 Men; although there was continual War betwixt the two Kings all their Days. The Prieſts and Levites that were driven into *Judah*, reteined it in the true Religion three years; but when *Rehoboam* had eſtabliſhed himſelf, he forſook the Law of the Lord, and all *Iſrael* with him, committing Sins above all that their Fathers had done. They built them high-Places, Images, and Groves on every high hill, and under every green Tree: there were *Sodomites* in the Land, and they did according to the Abomination of thoſe Nations, which the Lord caſt out before the Children of *Iſrael*. Becauſe of this, the fifth year of his Reign, *Shiſhak* King of *Ægypt*, (perhaps invited by *Jeroboam*, who had lived with him in Exile) came up againſt him with 1200 Chariots, 60000 Horſemen, and innumerous People, out of *Ægypt*: the *Lubims*, *Sukkiims*, and *Æthiopians*, with which he took Garriſons in *Judah*, and pierced as far as *Jeruſalem*. *Rehoboam*, and his Princes humbling themſelves at the Preaching of *Shemaiah*, thereby obtained Deliverance; which yet, was to be bought at an high Rate. For *Shiſhak* took away the Treaſures of the houſe of the Lord, and the Kings Houſe, with all the golden Shields which *Solomon* had made, in the room of which *Rehoboam* put others of braſs. He died after he had reigned ſeventeen years.

Abiah.

A. M. 3043.

2 Chron. 11. 20.

(a) *Chap.* 13. 2.

1 Kings 15.

3. *Abiah* his Son ſucceeded him, whoſe Mother is in one place named *Maachah* the Daughter of *Abſalom*, and in another (a) *Micajah*, Daughter to *Uriel* of *Gibeah*. Some think ſhe was the Daughter of *Tamar*, which might be married to this *Uriel*, and adopted by *Abſalom*, who ſeemeth to have left no Iſſue. He imitated the Impiety of his Father, his heart not being perfect before the Lord his God; and yet God remembring the Covenant made with *David*, brought him by a fatherly Correction into order, and Acknowledgment of his Sovereignty. He alſo warred with *Jeroboam* all his days, who coming up againſt him with 800000 Men, he joyned Battel with him having but half ſo many, and yet truſting in God, obtained Victory, and killed 500000 *Iſraelites*, the greateſt number we read to have fallen in one Battel. He took from him *Bethel*, *Jeskanah*, and *Ephraim*, with their Towns; neither did *Jeroboam* recover his Strength in his time. *Abijah* waxed mighty, married fourteen Wives, begat 22 Sons and 15 Daughters. Yet he reigned but three years.

Aſa. A. M. 3046. 1 Kings 15. & 2 Chron. 14. 15, 16. Chap.

4. *Aſa* his Son ſucceeded him in the twentieth year of *Jeroboam* ending, and did that which was righteous in the Sight of the Lord. He reformed what was amiſs, commanding his Subjects to ſeek the God of their Fathers: in his time the Land had reſt ten years. In his 11*th* year, according to *Joſephus*, came *Zerach* the *Æthiopian* againſt him, with 1000000 Men, of *Caſhæans* (inhabiting *Arabia*, where alſo *Zerach* his *Æthiopia* is only to be found) and *Labæans*, beſides 300 Chariots. To thoſe he oppoſed himſelf with 300000 of *Judah*, and 280000 of *Benjamin*; and calling upon his God, obtained the Victory, which he proſecuted, and got much Booty. Returning to *Jeruſalem*, he was ſo wrought upon by the words of *Azariah* the Prophet, the Son of *Obed*, as together with his own Subjects and others, (that fell to him in Abundance out of *Iſrael*) he ſacrificed to, and made a Covenant with God. Then proceeding in the Reformation of his Kingdom, he removed *Maaca* his Grand-mother from her Dignity, becauſe ſhe was the Patroneſs of Idolatry. *Baaſa* who now reigned in *Iſrael*, provoked with the Revolt of his Subjects, and jealous of the growing Power of *Aſa*, came up againſt him, and built *Ramah*, in the 36*th* year from the Diviſion, leſt any ſhould go in or out to him. *Aſa* to divert him, hired *Ben-hadad* the King of *Syria*, to invade *Iſrael*. This *Ben-hadad* was the Son of *Tabrimmon*, and Grandſon to *Hezrin*, or *Rezin*, the firſt King of *Damaſcus*, and from him the Sirname of *Hadad* deſcended upon his Poſterity. He ſmote *Jion*, *Dan*, *Bethmach*, all *Civeroth*, with the Land of *Napthali*, and conſtrained *Baaſa* to leave off building *Ramah*. *Aſa* then deſtroyed *Ramah*, and with the Stones thereof built *Seba* and *Mizpah*; but was checked by God for not truſting in him, but putting his Confidence in the King of *Syria*; and War for this was denounced to be upon him all his Days. Hereat he grew angry with the Seer that brought the Meſſage; and oppreſſed ſome of his People: and for this was puniſhed with the Gout in his latter days, for a Remedy to which, he had Recourſe to the Phyſitians, and not to God. So he died, in the 41 year of his Reign.

Jehoſaphat. 1 Kings 22. A. M. 3087.

5. *Jehoſaphat* ſucceeded him, to a good Father a better Son. In this third year he ſent the *Levites* throughout the Cities to teach the People, having removed the *Sodomites* out of the Land. He married his Son *Jehoram* to *Athaliah* the Daughter of *Ahab* King of *Iſrael*, and in his eighteenth year made him Vice-King. This Affinity drew him down with *Ahab* to fight againſt *Ramoth-Gilead*, where *Ahab* received his Death-Wound, and he eſcaped narrowly with his Life. For joyning himſelf with this wicked King, he was ſorely chidden by *Jehu* the Prophet, the Son of *Hanani*; which ſo affected him, as he reformed his Subjects, travelling himſelf from *Beerſheba* unto Mount *Ephraim* to accompliſh it: he alſo conſtituted Judges, to whom he gave a pious and ſtrict Charge. After this the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and a great Multitude of others invaded him; againſt which he firſt ſtrove by Prayer to God, and thereby obtained Victory, his Enemies being ſo ſtricken with Madneſs, that they fell upon, and ſlaughtered one another. Afterwards intending to ſend Ships for Gold to *Ophir*; becauſe he joyned with wicked *Ahaziah* King of *Iſrael*, the Lord ſpoiled the Works, and the Ships were broken at *Eſion-geber*. Some think he made his Son Partner in the Kingdom it ſelf, having formerly been but his Vicegerent, a year or two before he died. He reigned 25 years, or rather 24, with ſome odd Moneths. 2 Chron. 19, 20, 21. Chap.

Joram. 2 Chron. 21. A. M. 3109.

6. To *Jehoſaphat* ſucceeded *Joram* being thirty two years old, to the beſt Father the worſt Son; who being eſtabliſhed in his Seat, made away all his Brethren, and ſome of the Princes. In his days the *Edomites*, or *Idumæans*, who hitherto, from the time of *David*, had been in Subjection to the Kings of *Judah*, revolted. They had heretofore been governed by a Vice-Roy, choſen either out of themſelves or the Jews; but now they made themſelves a King; the Prophecy of *Iſaac*, the common Progenitor of both Nations, being now fulfilled, that though *Eſau* ſhould ſerve his younger Brother Jacob, yet the time ſhould come, when he ſhould break the Yoak from off his Neck. Gen. 27. 40. At the ſame time *Libnah* (a City of the Prieſt's in the Tribe of Judah) revolted, becauſe he had forſaken the God of his Fathers; for having married *Ahab's* Daughter, he followed the Example of his Houſe, making high-places in the Mountains of Judah, and cauſing his Subjects to commit Idolatry therein. Becauſe of this, there came a Writing to him from the Prophet *Elijah*, rebuking him for his Sin, and foretelling his Puniſhment. *Elijah* being before this taken up to Heaven, the *Jews* have believed that this Letter was ſent down thence. 2 Chron. 21. verſ. 12. Some think, there was another Prophet of this name; but moſt are inclined to believe, that foreſeeing, before his Aſſumption, the Idolatry of this man, he left this Letter with his Scholars to be delivered to him

in due time. According to the Threatnings therein contained, God firſt ſtirred up againſt him the *Philiſtines* and *Arabians*, who making an Invaſion took away all his Goods, his Wives, and Sons, except *Jehoahaz* the youngeſt, otherwiſe called *Ahaziah* and *Azariah*. Afterwards God ſtruck him with an incurable Diſeaſe in his Bowels, which after two years came out of his Body: ſo that he miſerably died, having reigned eight years; three whereof are to be reckoned in Conjunction with his Father. He was buried without Honour at *Jeruſalem*, not in the Sepulchre of Kings; not deſired, miſſed, nor lamented.

Ahaziah. *A. M.* 3116.

2 *Kings* 8. & 2 *Chron.* 22.

7. *Ahaziah* his Son ſucceeded him, who followed the Steps of his Grandfather, *Ahab*'s wicked Family, and became a Patron of Idolaters. But having ſcarce reigned one year, he went down to *Jezreel* to viſit his Uncle *Joram*, King of *Iſrael*, where they were both killed by *Jehu*; *Joram* being ſlain outright, and *Ahaziah* dying ſhortly after of his Wound, at *Megiddo*. *Athaliah* his Mother ſeized upon the Kingdom, wherein to eſtabliſh her ſelf, ſhe deſtroyed all the Royal Seed. Only *Jehoſheba* the Daughter of *Joram*, and Wife to *Jehojada* the High-Prieſt, withdrew *Joaſh* an Infant, her Brothers Son, and hid him ſix Years in the Houſe of God. At the end of theſe years, *Jehojada* brought him out to the People, then ſeven years old, and anointed him King, ſlew *Athaliah*, reſtored the Worſhip of God, and deſtroyed the Houſe of *Baal*, whoſe Prieſt *Matthan* he ſlew before the Altar.

2 *Kings* 9.

Athaliah uſurpeth.

Chap. 11. 2 *Chron.* 24.

Joas.

8. *Joas* then ſucceeded his Father after ſix years, who did what was good and juſt as long as *Jehojada* the Prieſt lived, and through his Advice took Care to repair the Temple, which now had ſtood 155 years. But *Jehojada* being dead (who lived 130 years; the Jews obſerving that he, the Repairer of the Temple, was born the ſame year that the Builder thereof died) Idolatry brake out afreſh through his Connivance. The Prophets exclaimed againſt it in vain, eſpecially *Zacharias*, the Son and Succeſſor of *Jehojada*, againſt whom *Joas* was ſo far tranſported beyond the Bounds of Piety, and Gratitude to his Father's Memory, that he commanded him to be ſtoned, and that in the Court of the Houſe of the Lord. Whil'ſt as he died, he ſaid, *The Lord look upon it and requite it.* So he did; for after a years time, the Forces of *Hazael*, King of *Syria*, though but ſmall, invaded *Judah*, deſtroyed all the Princes of the People, and ſent the Spoil to their King. *Joas* himſelf they left very ſick of great Diſeaſes, but when they were departed from him, his own Servants conſpired againſt him for the Blood of the Sons of *Jehojada* the Prieſt, and ſlew him on his Bed, in the 40*th* year of his Reign. *A. M.* 3160.

2 *Kings* 12. A. M. 3122.

Chap. 14.

9. *Amaziah* his Son ſucceeded him, who alſo ſeemeth to have reigned with him the three laſt years; ſeeing he is ſaid to have begun his Reign in the ſecond year of *Joas*, King of *Iſrael*. When he was confirmed in his Seat, he put thoſe to Death that ſlew his Father, ſparing their Children, according to the Law of *Moſes*. In his twelfth year, he undertook an Expedition againſt the *Edomites* with 300000 of his own Subjects, and 100000 *Iſraelites*, which he hired for 100 Talents of Silver. But as he was about to begin his March, a Prophet dehorted him from joyning to himſelf the idolatrous *Iſraelites*, ſo that he diſmiſſed them, and they returned home in great Diſcontent. He proſpered againſt the *Idumæans*, but the Souldiers (diſmiſſed) fell upon his Cities, and ſmiting 300 of them, took much Spoyl. Yet he at his Return, to amend the matter, having brought home the Gods of the *Edomites*, ſet them up to be his Gods, bowed down before them, and burnt Incenſe to them. The Lord being ſore angry for this, ſent firſt a Prophet to him, whom he rejected. But burning with a deſire to be revenged upon the *Iſraelites*, he ſent and defied *Joas* their King, who admoniſhed him to be well adviſed, but this being in vain, they met, and joyned Battel, wherein *Amaziah* was taken, and led back to *Jeruſalem*; the Wall of which City *Joas* demoliſhed 400 Cubits, and plundering the houſe of the Lord, with the Kings Houſe then, departed. Fifteen years after, *Amaziah* lived; but then, having turned away from following the Lord, a Conſpiracy was made againſt him in *Jeruſalem*; whence he fled to *Lachiſh*, and there was ſlain by the Purſuers, after he had reigned 29 years.

2 *Chron.* 25. A. M. 3160.

Uzziah.

10. He left a Son named *Uzziah* and *Azariah*, who ſucceeded him; but being ſaid to have begun his Reign in the twenty ſeventh year of *Jeroboam*, King of *Iſrael*, an *Inter-regnum* of twelve years muſt needs have paſſed betwixt his Father's Death and his Beginning; the Kingdom all this time having, perhaps, been governed by a Lieutenant, or the High-Prieſt. When he came to the Age of 16 all the People of *Judah* took him, and made him King in the room of his Father, and under him the State of *Judah* much flouriſhed. He fought proſperouſly againſt the *Philiſtines* and *Arabians* that dwelt in *Gur-Baal*, and *Mehunims*, or *Minæans*, dwelling in

2 *Kings* 15. 2 *Chron.* 26. A. M. 3201.

Arabia the *Happie* upon the *Red Sea*: the *Ammonites* ſought to him with Preſents, and his name was great in thoſe Parts. About the 35*th* year was celebrated in *Greece* the firſt *Olympiad*, that great Help to our Underſtanding in the Diſtinction of times. He invaded the Prieſts Office in offering Sacrifice, and for that was ſtrucken with Leproſie, which continued upon him till his Death, living in an houſe by himſelf and *Jotham* his Son ordering the Affairs of the Kingdom. He reigned 52 years.

Jotham.

2 Chron. 27.
A. M. 3253.
Olymp. 5. *an.*4.

Ahaz.

A. M. 3269.
Olymp. 9. *an.*2.
2 *Kings* 16.
2 *Chron.* 28.

11. *Jotham* his Son ſucceeded him, who prevailed againſt the *Ammonites*, and forced them to pay Tribute two years. He became mighty, becauſe he prepared his ways before the Lord his God; he built the high-gate of the Temple much on the Wall of *Ophal*; Moreover, Cities in the Mountains of *Judah*, and in the Forreſts thereof Caſtles and Towers. Under him, his Predeceſſor, and his two Succeſſors, propheſied *Iſaiah* and *Hoſea*. *Micah* began in his time; and *Nahnm* alſo, according to *Joſephus*, propheſied the Deſtruction of *Niniveh*, which was fulfilled 115 years after; though others think the Beginning of theſe years ſhould rather be placed in the time of his Son. He reigned ſixteen years, and was ſucceeded by *Ahaz* his Son, whoſe Reign if it be compared with that of *Pekah* and *Hoſea*, Kings of *Iſrael*, it will appear that he reigned ſeven or eight years with his Father. He did that which was evil in the ſight of the Lord, walking in the ways of the Kings of *Iſrael*: he made molten Images for *Baalam*, burnt Incenſe in the Valley of the Son of *Hinnom*, burnt his Children in the Fire, ſacrificed and burnt Incenſe in the high Places, on the Hills, and under every green Tree. Becauſe of this, God ſtirred up *Pekah*, King of *Iſrael*, and *Rezin* the Son of *Remaliah*, King of *Syria* againſt him, who invaded his Kingdom, and did much Hurt: *Rezan* got *Elath*, which *Uzzias* had recovered and built; the King of *Iſrael* gave him a grievous Overthrow: the *Edomites* alſo afflicted him; and the *Philiſtines*, whom *Uzziah* had brought under, made Inroads upon him. Suſpecting his Eſtate becauſe of theſe things, he ſent to *Tiglath-Pileſer*, King of *Aſſyria*, for help, preſenting him with the Silver and Gold, which was found in the Temple.

Nicol. Damaſcenus apud Joſephum *Antiq. l.* 7. *c.* 6.

Hezekiah.

A. M. 3276.
Olymp. 12. *an.* 3.
2 *Kings* 18.
2 *Chron.* 29. &c.

12. *Tiglath-Pileſer* accordingly came up, and taking *Damaſcus*, killed *Rezin*, in whom fell this Kingdom: which having continued ten Generations, and begun in a *Rezin*, ended in one of that name. Then turned he his Forces upon *Pekah*, tranſported into *Aſſyria* the Inhabitants of *Gilead* and *Naphthali*, as formerly he had done thoſe of *Damaſcus*. But *Achaz*, to procure thoſe things, having made himſelf his Vaſſal, was yet never the better, remained in great Fear of him, and ſtill continued in his Wickedneſs. He made his Son *Hezekiah* for his three laſt years Partner with him in the Kingdom, and at the end thereof died, having reigned together with his Father, and by himſelf, 16 years. *Hezekiah* ſucceeding, opened the Temple which his Father had ſhut, and reformed the Abuſes in Religion. He brake in pieces the brazen Serpent, becauſe the ſuperſtitious Multitude fancying ſome Divine Virtue therein, gave it ſuitable Worſhip. He ſhook off the Yoak of the King of *Aſſyria*, refuſing to pay Tribute; for which Cauſe in his fourteenth year, *Senacherib*, being to make War upon *Ægypt*, led part of his Forces into *Judæa*. Beſieging *Lachiſh*, *Hezekiah* bargained with him to depart; but he brake his Promiſe, and ſent *Rabſhakes* with others to *Jeruſalem*, who blaſpheming God, and reproaching the King, laboured to draw the People from their Obedience. This being to no Purpoſe, *Rabſhakes* returned to him, who had now departed from *Lachiſh*, and beſieged *Libnah*, a ſtronge City of *Judah*; removing ſtill nearer *Jeruſalem*, that he might ſeem to purſue what he had given in Charge to *Rabſhakes* to denounce againſt *Hezekiah*.

Eſay 38. 8.

The Sun returneth ten Degrees backward.

13. But lying before *Libnah*, News came that *Tirhakah*, King of *Æthiopia* (who, as it ſeemeth, had entred into Conſpiracy with the *Ægyptian* againſt him) was moving towards him; at which he was ſo terrified, that he brake up his Siege, and departed homewards. Yet having a greedy mind towards *Judæa*, he ſent a blaſphemous Letter, full of Threats to *Hezekiah*; but he loſt in one night by the Stroak of an Angel 180000 men (as ſome think being on his way towards *Jeruſalem*) and confounded hereat, returned to *Niniveh*, where he was ſlain by his two Sons, *Adramelech* and *Sharezer*, as he was worſhipping in the houſe of *Miſroch* his God. In the time of theſe Dangers, *Hezekiah* fell ſick unto Death, the Sentence of which he received from *Iſaiah* the Prophet. But by his Prayers and Tears he obtained a Prolongation of Life for fifteen years, and in Confirmation of the Promiſe, the ſhadow of the Degrees which was gone down in the Sun-dyal of *Ahaz* was brought ten Degrees backward; and it followeth, *So the Sun returned ten Degrees, by which Degrees it was gone down.* As for this Sun-dyal it's thought that in thoſe ancient times the Knowledge of *Dyals* was ſcarce amongſt the *Hebrews*. Yet it is poſſible that *Achaz* might have ſomething of that Nature, though imperfect, from the

Gregory of Oxford.

Babylonians, who were of old much given to Aſtrology, he being otherwiſe too curious an Admirer of foreign things, as appeareth, in that he muſt needs have ſuch an Altar made, and erected at *Jeruſalem* as he had ſeen at *Damaſcus*. That the Sun went back, hath been generally believed: but one of late hath gone about to prove that the Shadow was lyable to Reduction, without Retroceſſion of the great Luminary.

2 Chron. 32. 31.

14. The Knowledge of this Miracle coming to the *Babylonians* (who by reaſon of their continual Obſervation of the Heavenly Bodies might have more Occaſion to take notice of it) *Merodach*-*Baladan* their King ſent to *Hezekiah* to congratulate his Recovery, deſirous, it's likely, of his Friendſhip whom he had underſtood to be ſo much in the Favour of God; eſpecially bearing no Good Will to the *Aſſyrians*. He in a vain Oſtentation of his Wealth ſhew'd the Ambaſſadours all his Treaſures, and whatſoever was in his Houſe; for which, *Iſaiah* the Prophet denounced the Carrying away all theſe things to *Babylon*. For the Pride of his Heart there was Wrath upon him and *Judah*; yet he humbled himſelf, both he and the Inhabitants of *Judah*, ſo that the Wrath of the Lord came not upon them in his days. He flouriſhed in Abundance of Riches and Honour, ſtopped the upper water-courſe of *Gihon*, and brought it ſtreight down to the Weſt-ſide of the City of *David*. He reigned 29 years (three whereof were together with his Father:) being dead, they buried him in the chiefeſt Sepulchers of the Sons of *David*, and all *Judah*, with the Inhabitants of *Jeruſalem*, did him Honour at his Death.

Manaſſes.

2 Kings 21.
2 Chron. 33.
A. M. 3304.
Olymp. 19. *an.* 4.

15. *Manaſſes* his Son ſucceeded him at the Age of twelve years, and therefore was begotten by him after his Recovery. He did Evil in the ſight of the Lord above thoſe Nations, which the Lord had caſt out before *Iſrael*, being more idolatrous than any of his Predeceſſors; he was alſo given to Witchcraft and Divinations, built Altars for all the Hoſt of Heaven, which he ſerved in the two Courts of the Houſe of the Lord, wherein he alſo ſet up an Image of the Grove which he had made. He filled *Jeruſalem* with innocent Bloud; amongſt other Martyrs *Iſaiah* the Prophet (as it's ſaid) being ſawn aſunder with a wooden Saw, becauſe he was free with him in reproving his ungodly Life; although he was of the Blood Royal, as the Son of *Amos*, the Brother of King *Amaziah*, according to the Tradition of the Jews, who alſo have related him to have been Father-in-Law, nay (as ſome) Grandfather by the Mothers ſide, to *Manaſſes* himſelf. In ſuch Wickedneſs continued he for ſeveral years, till ſuch time as God ſent upon him the Captains of the King of *Aſſyria* (*Eſarchaddon* ſome think) who took him lying amongſt the Thorns, and carried him bound with Fetters unto *Babylon*, which City (as it appeareth from this Place) was now again under the King of *Aſſyria*. Here having Leiſure and Occaſion to bethink himſelf, in his Affliction he repented, was humbled greatly, and beſought the Lord, who heard his Prayer, and reſtored him to his Kingdom. After this, he knew that the Lord was God; and purged his Realm of Idolatry; which Reformation the Jews make to have been in the 33 year before his Death. He reigned 55 years.

Amon.

A. M. 3359.
Olymp. 33. *an.* 4.

16. *Amon* his Son ſucceeded him in his Kingdom and Idolatry, but not in his Repentance, worſhipping and ſacrificing to all the craved Images which his Father had made, and going on to treſpaſs more and more. After two years, his Servants conſpired againſt him and ſlew him in his own houſe, all whom the People of the Land put to Death, and made *Joſiah* his Son (a Child of eight years old) King in his ſtead. He in the eighth year of his Reign began to ſeek after the God of his Fathers, and in his twelfth to cleanſe his Kingdom, and all the Land of *Iſrael*, from Idolatry: although the greateſt part of the latter, was now Subject to the King of *Aſſyria*. In the eighteenth year of his Reign and of his Age the *26th*, he commanded the Temple to be repaired, and the Worſhip of God therein reſtored: where alſo finding a Book of the Law, he renewed the Covenant between God and the People, and celebrated ſuch a ſolemn Paſſeover, as had not been kept in *Iſrael* ſince the time of the Judges. Now if the time of the Judges, and the Oppreſſions, be not confounded, but taken at their full Length; then this year being the *930th* ending, or the *931ſt* Beginning, from the entering into *Canaan*, was the *7th* of the 133 week, or the laſt of the *19th* Jubilie. *Joſiah* in his *21th* year ending, diſguiſed himſelf that he might fight with *Necho* King of *Ægypt* (who was going up againſt the *Aſſyrians*) and would not hearken to his words from the Mouth of God, labouring with him to refuſe Fighting againſt the Lord, who had ſent him, and commanded him to make Haſte. Therefore joyning Battel with him in the Valley of *Megiddo*, he was ſore wounded, and being carried to *Jeruſalem*, died there; all *Judah* and *Jeruſalem*, mourning and making great Lamentation for him.

Chap. 34.

Joſiah.

2 Kings 23.
2 Chron. 35.
A. M. 3368.
Olymp. 35. *an.* 4.

Jehoahaz.

2 Chron. 36.
A M. 3392.
Olymp. 41. *an.* 4.

17. Whilſt *Pharaoh* was buſie in his Affairs againſt the *Aſſyrians*, the People made *Jehoahaz* the younger Son of *Joſias*, King; who continued but three Moneths in the Digni-

Sect. 3.

Jehoiakim.

Dignity. For *Pharaoh* having finiſhed his work at *Euphrates*, and in *Cœloſyria*, came to *Jeruſalem*, whence he led away into *Ægypt* this young King, and left his elder Brother *Eliakim* in his Place, whoſe name he changed into *Jehoiakim*, impoſing a Tax of a hundred Talents of Silver and a Talent of Gold upon the Land. Though *Jeoahaz* be ſaid to have reigned three years, yet ſome will have a year to have paſſed betwixt the 31 year of *Joſias*, and the firſt of *Jehoiakim*; partly for that *Joſias* ſeemeth to have reigned ſomething more than 31 years, and ſome ſpace would be taken up in ſo ſolemn a mourning for him, before the Inſtalment of *Jehoahaz*; and alſo to conſult about this thing, ſeeing it was againſt Right and Cuſtom to give this Honour to the younger Brother: laſtly ſome time (perhaps ſome Moneths) was requiſite for ſetling the Affairs of *Judæa*, about the Inſtalment of *Jehoiakim*, and the Tribute. *Ludovicus Cappellus* moreover, giveth a whole year to *Jehoahaz* and *Jehoiakim* (though the Scripture ſpeaketh but of three Moneths apiece) that the laſt year of *Zedekiah* might fall into the 390*th* year from the Rent of the Kingdom; of which more, when we arrive at that time.

18. *Jehoiakim* thus advanced by *Pharaoh Necho*, was twenty five years old when he began to reign; which if ſo, he was born in the fifteenth year of his Father's Age; as, if *Jehoahaz* was twenty three when he began his Reign, he muſt alſo have been born in the ſixteenth of *Joſiah*. This maketh *Joſiah* to have applied himſelf to Procreation of Children at leaſt in the fourteenth year of his Life; which ſeeming too early, and not agreeable to the Piety of that Prince, there are that ſuſpect for 25, ought to be read 15, and 13 for 23; ſo that the one might be born in the 24 and the other in the 25 year of his Father. But there is no Neceſſity for ſuch a Reading of the Text. The *fourth* year of *Jehoiakim* fell in with the *firſt* of *Nebuchadneſar* King of *Babylon*, and was the 23*th* from the 13*th* of the Reign of *Joſias*, wherein *Jeremiah* the Prophet firſt began to propheſie; and hence it alſo appeareth, that *Joſias* reigned at leaſt full 31 years, and that one paſſed between his Death and the Beginning of *Jehoiakim*, elſe 23 only had paſſed betwixt the 13*th* of the one, and the 4*th* of the other. In this year *Pharaoh Necho* fell upon the *Babylonians* with War, becauſe, as it ſeemeth, they had ſollicited *Jehoiakim* his Tributary to revolt, and fought againſt *Nebuchadneſar* at *Carchemiſh* near *Euphrates*, (by the *Greek* and *Latin* Writers called *Cercuſium*;) in which Battel he was overthrown and ſlain.

Jerem. 25. 1. & 3.

Chap. 6.

Pharaoh Necho ſlain.

A. M. 3396. *Olymp.* 42. *an.* 4.

19. After this Victory, came *Nebuchadneſar* to *Jeruſalem*, where he either took *Jehoiakim* Captive to lead him to *Babylon*, or at leaſt made him his tributary Vaſſal. Some account this year, as the Beginning of the Reign of *Nebuchadneſar*, ſo of the Captivity of *Judah*, and the Deſolation of that Country, becauſe that *Jeremiah*, having ſpoken firſt of the 13 years, in which he and the other Prophets had warned the People to no Purpoſe, afterwards addeth, that God would ſend *Nebuchadneſar* his Servant againſt the Land, which ſhould be a Deſolation and an Aſtoniſhment, and that theſe Nations ſhould ſerve the King of *Babylon* 70 years. But the Prophecy of *Daniel* beginneth thus: *In the third year of the Reign of* Jehoiakim *King of* Judah, *came* Nebuchadneſar *King of* Babylon *to* Jeruſalem, *and beſieged it: and the Lord gave* Jehoiakim *King of* Judah *into his hand, with part of the Veſſels of the Houſe of God, which he carried into the Land of* Shinar, *to the Houſe of his God.* This Place ſeemeth to contradict the other; ſome have choſen to cloſe with the literal Senſe of it, and to hold, that in the third year of *Jehoiakim*, began the Captivity of the *Jews*. Others ſee more Reaſon to ſtick to the other Place, and, to take away all Difference, interpret this third year of the third of the *Sabbatical year*, or the Week of Years, and thus would read it, *In the third year*, Jehoiakim *the King of* Judah *reigned, came* Nebuchadneſar *King of* Babylon *unto* Jeruſalem, *&c.* But the *Jews* with ſome modern Writers underſtand by this third year, the *third of the Rebellion of* Jehoiakim, againſt whom *Nebuchadneſar* coming, about the end of the fifth year of his Reign, made him his Tributary, and ſo he continued three years; *viz.* the 6, 7, and 8th, of his Reign. Afterwards, changing his Mind, he rebelled in the Beginning of his ninth year, and ſo continued for three years in Rebellion, which being expired, in the end of the eleventh, *Nebuchadneſar* took *Jeruſalem*, and carried Him Captive to *Babylon*, with part of the holy Veſſels, and others of the Royal and Princely Race, amongſt whom was *Daniel*; and ſo the Captivity of 70 years began not till this year.

Chap. 25. 9. & 11.

The beginning of the ſeventy years of Captivity, which is variouſly aſſigned.

20. That this *third year* cannot be underſtood of the third of *Jehoiakim*'s Reign, is clear from *Jeremiah*, who joyneth his fourth with the firſt of *Nebuchadneſar*; and becauſe elſewhere is made Mention of his fifth: whence is apparent, that he could not be led Captive in his third year. The ſecond Opinion indeed is not amiſs; for

this was really the third year of the Week or the third from the Sabbatical year. For, the 18*th* of *Joſiah*, in which the Paſſeover was celebrated, being the laſt year of the 19*th* Jubilie, and ſo the Sabbatical year; from that to the 11*th* ending of *Jehoiakim*, or the 12*th* Beginning, are counted 31 years: *viz.* four weeks and three odd years; this being uſual with the Pen-men of holy Story, to count their times by Sabbatical Years or Jubilies. *Jacobus Cappellus* would have *Nebuchadneſar*, at the Command of *Nabopolaſſer* his Father, to have come into *Judæa* in the ſecond year of the Reign of *Jehoiakim*, who then ſware Fealty to him; but in the third year rebelled: whence *Nebuchadneſar* came down again in his fifth year, and took him Captive. Then will he have him to have ſet *Shallum* over the Kingdom, till *Jeconias* his Son, an Infant of a year old, ſhould come to Age; but *Jehoiakim* himſelf there lived miſerably in Captivity, till the 11*th* year, reckoned from his firſt being made King by *Necho*. He being then dead, and News of it brought to *Jeruſalem*, they there made his Son *Jehoiakim* King in his ſtead. And he beginneth the ſeventy years of the Captivity in his fifth year, when he will have him carried to *Babylon*.

Ad A.M. 3391, & 3392.

21. But *Ludovicus Cappellus* his Brother replyeth, that in no Place is there any Mention made of *Nebuchadneſar*'s coming up againſt him in the ſecond year of his Reign, the place thought to make for the Purpoſe, having as much Reſpect to the fifth, as the ſecond year. And as little Mention is there any where made of *Jehoiakim's* ſix years of Captivity, who if he had died at *Babylon*, the Scripture would never have attributed to him the Reign of eleven years, but only ſo many as he really reigned, *viz.* 5. The reſt, it would either have given to *Shallum* the pretended Vice-roy, or to J*ehoiakim* his Son; it being a thing improbable, that the Name ſhould be preſerved for J*ehoiakim*, whilſt *Sallum* indeed reigned. Beſides, the *Babylonian* King obſerved no ſuch matter afterward in J*ehoiakim*, whom taking away he really made King *Zedekiah*, without the Title of Vice-roy or Lieutenant. Nay, though J*ehoiakim* lived long at *Babylon*, and after the Death of *Nebuchadneſar*, being looſed out of Bonds, was honoured and eſteemed by *Evilmerodach* above any of his Condition (and therein excelled J*ehoiakim*, if he lived there ſo long;) yet is there no more time given to his Reign, than that wherein he only continued in his Principality. As for the Regency of *Shallum*, it is a meer Invention, there being no other, according to the *Jews*, than J*ehoahaz*, who was alſo called by that name. For in the place thought to make this out, they are bidden not to weep for the dead (viz. *Joſias*) but for him that goeth away (*Jehoahaz* taken away by *Necho*) for he ſhould return no more into his Native Country.

2 Kings 24. 1.

Jerem. 22.11. *Conſule* Ludov. Cappellum *Chronol. Sacr. p.* 202.

22. J*ehoiakim* therefore being taken to be led away Captive, in the third year of his Rebellion, and the eleventh of his Reign, died e're he went (as we may ſuppoſe) and was caſt out or buried, according to the Prophecy of J*eremiah*, who had foretold he ſhould be buried with the Burial of an Aſſe; being caſt forth beyond the Gates of J*eruſalem*, in the Day to the Heat, and in the Night to the Froſt, which could be done by none, except the barbarous *Babylonians*. After his Death, the Conquerour placed in his ſtead J*ehoiakim* his Son, called alſo *Conias* and J*echonias*, who did evil in the Sight of the Lord, as his Father before him, and *Nebuchadneſar* it ſeemeth, repenting of what he had done, leſt he ſhould be drawn from his Obedience, by the Example of his Father, and the Perſwaſions of thoſe about him, ſent his Army before him, (about a year after his former Expedition) to beſiege J*eruſalem*. When he himſelf came to the Siege, J*ehoiakim* came out to him with his Mother and Servants, and yielded his Perſon in the eighth year of *Nebuchadneſar* ending. Then the *Babylonian* entring J*eruſalem*, took away the Treaſures found in the Houſe of the Lord, and the Kings Houſe, brake all the golden Inſtruments which *Solomon* had made for the Temple, and ſo carried J*ehoiakim* with his Mother, Wives, and Servants unto *Babylon*. Beſides thoſe, he tranſported all the beſt ſort of the People from J*eruſalem*, with the ableſt and ſtrongeſt for War from other Places, in which number was *Ezekiel* the Prieſt, the Son of *Buzzi*. J*ehoiakim* in (*a*) one place is ſaid to have been but eighteen years old when he began to Reign, but in another (*b*) only eight. A Fault muſt needs be in the Reading of one place of the two, which may beſt be laid upon the former. For if J*ehoiakim* his Father was 15 years old when he began to Reign, (as ſome will have it) then was he born to him in the 18*th* year of his Age, being otherwiſe (according to this Tenent) abſurdly made to have been begot in his 7 or 8*th* year.

Chap. 22. 18, 19. & 36. 30.

Jehoiakim.

2 Chron. 36. 2 Kings 23. A. M. 3404. *Olymp.* 44. *an.* 4. *Nebuchad.* 8.

Ezek 1. 2, 3. (*a*) 2 Kings 24. 8. (*b*) 2 Chron. 36. 9.

23. *Nebuchadneſar* made King over the J*ews* that remained, *Mattaniah* the Son of J*oſiah*, from whom he received an Oath of Homage, and thereupon changed his name into *Zedekiah*. He trode in the Steps of his Brothers and Nephews, the people

Zedekiah.

ple alſo being with him incorrigible. He rebelled againſt *Nebuchadneſar*, taking part with the King of *Ægypt*, who maintained a Quarrel with him, and therefore the *Babylonian* came up in the ninth year after his Eſtabliſhment, took all the Cities of *Judæa*, except *Jeruſalem*, *Lachiſh*, and *Azcka*, which he alſo beſieged. The year following *Pharaoh* came with an Army to his Aſſiſtance, which *Nebuchadneſar* underſtanding went to meet him, and he thereupon afraid to ingage, retreated into his own Land. *Nebuchadneſar* then returning ſate down again before *Jeruſalem*, wherein Famine at length prevailing, and *Zedekiah* ſtill refuſing to yield, though *Jeremiah* conſtantly adviſed him to do it, in the end of his 11*th* year, and the firſt day of the Moneth it was broken into by the *Chaldæans*. *Zedekiah* flying, was overtaken, and brought to *Riblah*: where he firſt ſaw his Children and Friends ſlain, and then, having his Eyes put out, was carried to *Babylon*, where he miſerably ended his days.

2 Kings 25.

Zedekiah taken.

Jerem. 39.

24. On the ſeventh day of the fifth Moneth, in the 19*th* year of *Nebuchadneſar* came *Nebuzaradan*, Captain of his Guard; and having got all things ready in two days, ſet the King's Houſe, with the Temple, and the reſt of the Buildings in the City on Fire. The ſame Moneth all the Walls were demoliſhed; they that remained in the City, with thoſe which before had revolted, and the reſt of the People, together with the Treaſures of the Kings and Princes, and the Utenſils of the Houſe of the Lord, did *Nebuzaradan* carry to *Babylon*. So went *Judah* into Captivity in the 12*th* year after the Death of *Jehojakim*, 390 after the Death of *Salomon* and the Rent of the Kingdom (which the Prophet *Ezekiel* was commanded to repreſent by Sleeping ſo many nights upon his left ſide, the Iniquity of the Children of *Iſrael* having from that time abounded) to which the two years being added wherein the Captivity was compleated at the Death of *Gedaliah*, and eight Jubilies are therein contained; 490 from the Beginning of *Saul*; ſo that the Kingdom of *Judah* continued 10 Jubilies, or 70 Weeks of years, ſo many as are given by *Daniel* to the Commonwealth of the *Jews*, from its Reſtitution, to the *Meſſiah*: From the building of the Temple 420. which therefore ſtood eight Jubilies, with four Weeks, or in all ſixty weeks of years; from the Entrance into *Canaan* 967, as *Ludovicus Cappellus* reckoned, containing 138 weeks: from the Departure out of *Ægypt* 1007. during which time Satan was as it were bound, and Gods People were free: Laſtly, from the Beginning of the World 3515, which make 502 Weeks, and 71 Jubilies with five weeks of years. The Concurrence of all theſe Accounts do mightily confirm the Diſcoverer in his Opinion of their Reality.

Jeruſalem and the Temple burnt.

A. M. 3415.
Olymp. 48. an. 4.
Nebuchad. 9.

Ezek. 4. 5.

25. *Jeremiah* the Prophet had Leave, either to go to *Babylon*, there to live honourably, or to ſtay with the ſmall Remnant that were left in the Land. The latter of theſe he accepted; and went to *Gedaliah*, who being appointed Governour kindly embraced him, and gave Encouragement to all the *Jews* left under his Charge, promiſing them Favour and Liberty, as long as they remained obedient Subjects to the King of *Babylon*: But e're the year went about, one *Iſmael*, a Prince of the Blood, who during the War had kept himſelf out of the way with *Baalis* King of the *Ammonites*, ſlew *Gedaliah* whil'ſt he lovingly feaſted him at *Miſpah*, with others, both *Jews* and *Caldæans* in his Company. The Reſidue then of the *Jews* being without a Governour, and fearing the Revenge of their Lords and Maſters, were minded to fly into *Ægypt*, and cauſed the Prophet to inquire of the Lord for them. *Jeremiah* anſwered, that if they would remain in *Judæa*, God would mercifully provide for them; but if they offered to ſave themſelves in *Ægypt*, they ſhould undoubtedly periſh. They, notwithſtanding this Warning, went down and conſtrained him, with *Barach*, to accompany them, where, by the Leave of *Pharaoh*, they inhabited near *Taphanes*. Here the Prophet often reprehending them for their Idolatry, and foretelling both their Deſtruction, and the Ruine of thoſe that harboured them, was by their wretched and ingrateful hands * ſtoned to Death; but is ſaid to have been exceedingly honoured by the *Ægyptians*, ſo that *Alexander* the Great tranſlated his Bones into *Alexandria*. In the 23*th* of *Nebuchadneſar* (who then beſieged *Tyre*) *Nebuzaradan*, Captain of his Guard carried away the Reliques of the *Jews* and *Iſraelites*, to the number of 745. which was the laſt Deportation. And the Prophecies both of (*a*) *Jeremiah* and (*b*) *Ezekiel* confirm us in this Belief, that the *Jews* in *Ægypt*, after *Nebuchadneſar* had ſubdued that Country, were partly ſlain and carried away Captive to their own Country with the Natives, being nothing reformed by the former puniſhments inflicted either upon themſelves, or their Nation.

Chap. 40.

Chap. 41.

Gedaliah the Governour ſlain.

Chap. 42, 43. &c.

The *Jews* conſtrain *Jeremiah* to go down with them into *Ægypt*, where they ſtone him.

* *Zonaras Tomo* 1. Tertullian *in* Scorpiaco. *cap.* 10. *Jerem.*

Jerem. 52.

The laſt Deportation.

(*a*) Chap. 43, 44, 46.
(*b*) Chap. 29, 30, 31.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

The Kingdom of *Iſrael*

From the Revolt of the Tribes, to their final Captivity under Salmanaſſer.

Jeroboam.

1 Kings 11. 12, 13, 14. 2 Chron. 11. 13.

1. THE ten Tribes, falling off from *Rehoboam* upon his churliſh Anſwer, choſe *Jeroboam* the Son of *Nebat*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim* to reign over them. He, being induſtrious in the Work of Fortifications, had been made by *Salomon* Ruler over all the Charge of the houſe of *Joſeph*; but the Lord, after he was provoked by the Idolatry of *Salomon*, ſent *Abijah* the Prophet to him, to promiſe him ten Tribes; which coming to the Ears of the King he ſought to ſlay him; whereupon *Jeroboam* fled for his Life to *Shiſhak*, King of *Ægypt*, with whom he ſojourned till *Solomon*'s Death. Then he was ſent for out of *Ægypt*, and accompanied all *Iſrael* as their Speaker in their Addreſs made to *Rehoboam*; whom after they had rejected, they made him King, that the Lord might perform what he had promiſed by the Prophet. A. M. 3026.

2. In the beginning of his Reign he built up *Shechem*, which had lyen Waſte well nigh 260 years, from the time that *Abimelech* deſtroyed it. This place being ſituated in Mount *Ephraim* he firſt made his Habitation, till he went over *Jordan*, and built *Penuel*, whence afterwards he alſo removed his Seat to *Tirza*. He forſook the Lord, who promiſed him Eſtabliſhment, if he would keep his Statutes and Commandments, going about by carnal and wicked Policy to ſecure his Intereſt. For leſt his Subjects by going up to *Jeruſalem* to worſhip, ſhould be turned again from their Obedience to him, he ſet up two Golden Calves, the one at *Dan*, and the other at *Bethel*, having learnt Idolatry towards this ſort of Cattel in *Ægypt*. To that in *Bethel* he ſacrificed, inſtituting a Feaſt like to that of Tabernacles: and, though rebuked by a Prophet, he was ſtricken with Leproſie, and might have been convinced by other Miracles; yet neither theſe things nor the many Judgments of God againſt him and his Succeſſors, could reclaim either him or them. Rejecting the Prieſts of the Sons of *Aaron*, and the *Levites*, he made of the loweſt of the People Prieſts for the high Places: He had War with *Rehoboam* continually, and with *Abiah* his Son, who overthrew him in a great Battel, and ſlew 500000 of his men, although he added a Stratagem to the Force of his numbers (which doubled thoſe of his Enemy) compaſſing-in *Abiah*'s Army whilſt he was ſpeaking to it. Some years after, he died, having reigned 22. *Nadab* his Son ſucceeding him, walked in the ways of his Father, and in his Sin wherewith he made *Iſrael* to ſin; but in his ſecond year, he and all *Iſrael* beſieged *Gibbethon* of the *Philiſtines*, *Baaſa* the Son of *Ahijah*, of the Houſe of *Iſſachar* conſpired againſt him, and ſlew him there.

Setteth up two Golden Calves.

Nadab.

A. M. 3047. *Aſa* 2. 1 Kings 15.

Baaſa.

3. *Nadab* is ſaid to have began his Reign in the ſecond year of *Aſa*, and to have reigned two years: yet Baaſa to have began to reign in the third year of *Aſa*. To this, either muſt be ſaid, that *Jeroboam* made his Son King whil'ſt he himſelf yet lived, or elſe not reigning twenty two years compleat, but ſome part only of the twenty ſecond year (ſo that the far greater part of the firſt year of *Nadab* muſt fall in with the greater part of the ſecond of *Aſa*) neither did *Nadab* reign two whole years, but one with a piece of another, and ſo the firſt year of Baaſa will fall in with the greater part of the third of *Aſa*. For in this comparing of the times of the Kings of *Judah* and *Iſrael*, is to be taken notice; That, 1. A year only begun is taken for a compleat one. 2. The fathers often, yet living, communicated the Royal Dignity to their Sons. 3. Some were twice inaugurated, as *Joram* in the Tribe of *Judah*, and *Hoſhea* in that of *Ephraim*. 4. That there were many Vacancies, eſpecially in the Kingdom of *Iſrael*. *Baaſa* cut off all the Poſterity of *Jeroboam*, not leaving one to piſs againſt the Wall, according as *Abijah* had foretold; ſo that here *Jeroboam*'s Policy failed him, the Golden Calves having puſhed down his Family. When *Baaſa* ſaw that *Aſa* had reſtored Religion, and for that Cauſe many of his Subjects revolted to him, he had War with him all his days, and in his fourteenth year built *Ramah* to reſtrain Fugitives. *Aſa* to divert him hired *Benhadad*, King of *Syria*, who breaking the League formerly made with *Iſrael* came up with his Forces, and ſmote *Jion* (a City of the Tribe of *Aſher*)

Jeroboams Poſterity utterly deſtroyed.

2 Chron. 16.

Dan of the *Danites*, *Abel-bethmaach* of the *Manaſſites*, and all *Cinneroth* with the Land of *Napthali*; which forced *Baaſa* to leave off building *Ramah*, and return to *Tirzah*. He reigned 24 years, *viz.* 23 with part of another.

1 Kings 16.

Elah ſlain by *Zimri.*

4. *Elah* his Son ſucceeded him in the twenty ſixth year of *Aſa*, and reigned two years; at the end whereof his Servant *Zimri*, Captain of one half of his Chariots, ſlew him at *Tirzah* as he was drinking in the Houſe of *Arza* his Steward, and the Prophecy of *Jehu*, the Son of *Hanani* was fulfilled againſt the Houſe of *Baaſa*, that it ſhould be made like to that of *Jeroboam*, all of it being deſtroyed in like manner by *Zimri*. But *Zimri* himſelf reigned only ſeven days; for the People then beſieged *Gibbethon*, and underſtanding how things had paſſed at *Tirzah*, made *Omri*, the General of the Army, King. He preſently led them againſt *Tirzah*, and took it; Whereupon *Zimri* withdrew himſelf into the Palace, and ſetting it on Fire periſhed therein, becauſe he alſo walked in the Steps of *Jeroboam*. A Schiſm now followed, for one half of the People choſe *Tibni*, the Son of *Gineth*, and he reigned four years (imperfect) as the *Jews* have it: this Diviſion continued, till at Length *Tibni* dying, *Omri* reigned alone. He is alſo ſaid to have began his Reign in the 31*th* year of *Aſa*, which muſt be underſtood of his reigning alone, having ſlain *Zimri* in the twenty eighth year (beginning) of that King. After he had reigned ſix years at *Tirzah*, he tranſlated the Seat of the Kingdom to *Samaria*, which City he had built on a Hill, bought of one *Shemer*, from whom it took the name, Having done worſe than any that were before him, he died after he had reigned twelve years. Which if they be accounted from the Death of *Zimri*, and ſo contain his whole Reign, then reigned *Ahab* his Son, and Succeſſor but two years with him, his 11*th* year falling into the 38 of *Aſa*; but if they be reckoned from the Death of *Tibni*, then muſt *Ahab* have reigned about five years together with him.

A. M. 3071.
Aſæ 26.

Omri.

Tibni.

A. M. 3076.
Aſæ 31.

Vide Lud. Cappellum *Chron. Sacr. pag.* 179.

Ahab marrieth *Jezebel.*

5. *Ahab* exceeded in Wickedneſs all his Predeceſſors, not only living in the Sins of *Jeroboam*, but marrying *Jezebel* the Daughter of *Ethbaal*, King of *Sidon*, whoſe god *Baal* he ſerved and worſhipped. For this, through the Prayer of the Prophet *Elijah*, it rained not upon the Land for three years; but at the end thereof he prayed again, and the Heavens gave Rain. He took Occaſion to ſhew the Vanity of the Idol *Baal*, and then ſlew his Prieſts; for which being threatned by *Jezebel*, he fled into the Deſart to Mount *Horeb*. Againſt *Ahab* came up twice *Benhadad*, King of *Syria*; once with 32 petty Kings, and both times with great Forces, but ſtill was overthrown, and at the latter time yielded himſelf. *Ahab* honourably received him, and, making a League with him, let him go in Safety; for which he was ſharply rebuked by a Prophet, and told that his Life ſhould go for the Life of *Benhadad*, and his own People for his People; but there followed a Peace betwixt *Iſrael* and *Syria* for three years. In this ſpace *Ahab* fell ſick for *Naboth*'s Vineyard, who being by *Jezebel*'s Procurement accuſed of Blaſphemy, was ſtoned to Death, and ſo *Ahab* enjoyed the Vineyard by way of Confiſcation. For this ſo wicked a Fact ſevere Judgment was pronounced againſt him and *Jezebel*, by *Elijah*; the Execution whereof by a temporary Repentance they cauſed to be prorogued. But the three years of the Peace being expired, he renewed the War with *Syria*; for that *Benhadad* having engaged to reſtore ſuch Cities as he had taken, refuſed to ſurrender *Ramoth-Gilead*. Four hundred falſe Prophets perſwaded him to undertake the Expedition; only *Micajah* ſent from God diſſwaded him from it. With him joyned *Jehoſaphat* King of *Judah*, whoſe Son *Jehoram* had married *Athaliah* his Daughter. But going down both together, *Ahab* received a Wound by an Arrow, and thereof died, that day, in the 22*th* year of his Reign.

A. M. 3083.
Aſæ 38.

1 Kings 18.

Chap. 19.

Chap. 20.

Ahaziah.

6. *Ahaziah* his Son ſucceeded him, whom he had formerly made his Aſſociate in the Kingdom, and reigned two years in all; being ſaid to have begun his Reign in the ſeventeenth year of *Jehoſaphat* King of *Judah*, becauſe his Father then dyed, having reigned 21 years, and ſome part of another. After *Ahab*'s Death, *Moab* fell off from *Iſrael*, to which it had been ſubject ever ſince the days of *David*. *Ahaziah* falling ſick, of a Fall which he had through a lattiſe in his upper Chamber, ſent to conſult *Baal-zebub* the god of *Ekron* about his Recovery; but the Lord commanded *Elijah* to meet the Meſſengers, and denounce Death to him for this his Sin. Hereat *Ahaziah* being angry, ſent two Captains with their Fifties, one after another, to fetch him to him; but he called for Fire down from Heaven, which conſumed them: then being intreated by the third, he went with him to the King, where denouncing the ſame to his Face, *Ahaziah* accordingly died, not long after him his Brother *Joram* followed, in the eighteenth year of *Jehoſaphat*

A. M. 3103.
Jehoſaphati 18.

2 Kings 1.

Joram.

King

Chap. 3.

King of *Judah* ending, who wrought Evil in the ſight of the Lord, but not like his Father and Brother; for he put away the Image of *Baal*, erected by his Father, yet cleaved to the Sin of *Jeroboam* the Son of *Nebat*, who made *Iſrael* to ſin, becauſe of his carnal Intereſt; all the Kings of *Iſrael* accounting it an eſpecial piece of Policy, to buſie the People in the Worſhip of the golden Calves.

7. *Joram* made War upon the *Moabites* which had revolted, in Conjunction with *Jehoſaphat* King of *Judah*, and the King of *Edom* his Tributary, *Eliſha* the Prophet miraculouſly providing the Armies of Water, and promiſing them Victory. When the Sun aroſe and ſhone upon the Pits full of Water, it appeared, to the *Moabites*, Blood; ſo that they concluding their Enemies to have fallen one upon another, came out to take the Plunder of the Field; but finding other Entertainment, were repelled with great Conſternation and Loſs. The *Iſraelites* then falling upon the Country, made Havock of all things, and beſieged *Meſha* King of the *Moabites*, in *Kirhazereth*, who being ſtreightened, attempted with 700 Men to break through to the King of *Edom*, but could not; whereupon taking his Son, (his own ſome think, others the King of *Edom*'s) which ſhould have reigned in his Stead, he offered him for a Burnt-offering upon the Wall. This Spectacle ſeemed ſo horrible, as raiſed Indignation againſt *Iſrael*, and ſuch Pity towards the Man driven by extreme Neceſſity, (as *Joſephus* telleth it,) that being mindful of the Mutability of humane Affairs, they raiſed the Siege and departed.

8. *Benhadad* King of *Syria* made ſeveral Attempts upon *Iſrael*, and beſieging *Samaria*, reduced it unto extreme Neceſſity by Famine. Him *Hazael* his Servant ſlew, and poſſeſſed himſelf of his Kingdom; but having received, together with it, the Succeſſion of the War, *Jehoram* went up againſt him, and was accompanied by *Ahazaah* King of *Judah*, to *Ramoth-Gilead*. Here receiving a Wound, he returned to *Jezreel*, to be cured; but the Army was left under ſeveral Captains, amongſt which was *Jehu* the Son of *Jehoſaphat*; to whom *Eliſha* ſent one of the Sons of the Prophets, to anoint him King. He was preſently received as ſuch by the Army, and returning to *Jezreel*, ſlew *Joram*, (and gave *Ahaziah* his Death's Wound) after he had reigned twelve years. He cauſed *Jeſabel* to be thrown down out of a Window, where her Carkeiſe was eaten by the Dogs; after which, writing Letters to *Samaria*, he procured ſeventy Sons of *Ahab* to be ſlain, and their Heads ſent to him. Then going thither, he ſlew 42 perſons in his way, of the Kindred of *Ahaziah* King of *Judah*, who were going to viſit *Jehoram* and *Jeſabel*: at *Samaria* he put to Death all the Prieſts of *Baal*, and burnt the Temple with the Images. Yet took he no Heed to walk in the Law of the Lord God of *Iſrael*, with all his Heart, departing not from the Sin of *Jeroboam*. For his executing of Juſtice upon the Houſe of *Ahab*, the Lord promiſed that his Seed of the fourth Generation ſhould ſit upon his Throne; yet becauſe of the Rottenneſs of his Heart, he began to cut *Iſrael* ſhort in his days, by the means of *Hazael*, who now ſubdued not only the *Gileadites*, but alſo whatſoever the *Iſraelites* poſſeſſed beyond *Jordan*, raging with Cruelty againſt Man, Woman, and Child, as *Eliſha* had foretold him. *Jehu* coming to the Kingdom at the ſame time as *Athaliah* began her Uſurpation in *Judah*, reigned full 28 years, and then died.

Chap. 8.

Jehu anointed King.

Chap. 9.

A. M. 3117.
Athaliæ. 1.
Chap. 10.

Deſtroyeth the Family *Ahab.*

9. *Jehoahaz* his Son ſucceeded him, in the 23*th* year of *Joaſh* the Son of *Ahaziah* King of *Judah*, who did Evil in the Sight of the Lord, in the Sin of *Jeroboam*; a Grove being alſo in *Samaria*. *Hazael* mightily oppreſſed *Iſrael* alſo in his days, ſo that to him were left but 50 Horſemen, 10 Chariots, and 10000 Foot-men. Yet the Lord was intreated by him, and ſent *Iſrael* a Deliverer; notwithſtanding which, yet Prince and People remained incorrigible. After he had reigned ſeventeen years he died, and left his Kingdom to his Son *Joaſh*, who alſo reigned with him about three years, for that he began his Reign in the 37*th* year of *Joaſh* King of *Judah*, and is held by the Jews to be that Deliverer, mentioned to have been ſent by God. He overcame the *Syrians* thrice, as dying *Eliſha* foretold him (whom he viſited, and conſulted about the Affairs of his Kingdom;) and thereby recovered the Cities loſt to *Hazael* by his Father. Upon the Occaſion formerly mentioned, he took *Jeruſalem*, with *Ahaziah* the King of *Judah*, and, breaking down the Wall of the City 400 Cubits, plundred the Houſe of the Lord and the Kings Houſe. He alſo was guilty of *Jeroboam*'s Sin, and died after he had reigned together with his Father, and by himſelf ſixteen years.

Jehoahaz.

Chap. 13.

A. M. 3145.
Joaſi 23.

Joaſh.

A. M. 3159.
Joaſi 37.

10. His Son came after him, *Jeroboam* by name, whom God made inſtrumental to preſerve *Iſrael*; nay to raiſe it to the higheſt Top of Greatneſs it arrived at. For he recovered *Damaſcus* and *Hamath*, which had by Right belonged to the

Jeroboam the Second.

Chap. 14.

A. M. 3175.
Amaziæ. 16.

Tribe of *Judah*, with whatſoever the *Syrians* had taken from his Predeceſſors, from the ancient Border of the *Entrance of Hamath*, to the *Sea of the Plains*, or the Lake *Aſphaltites*, as *Jonas* the Prophet the Son of *Amitthai* had foretold, the ſame with him that propheſied againſt *Ninive*, being of *Gath-Hepher*, a Town of the Tribe of (a) *Zebulon*, in (b) *Galilee of the Gentiles*; out of which therefore aroſe a Prophet, though the learned *Phariſees* ſo earneſtly urged the contrary to *Nicodemus*. In the King's days alſo propheſied *Hoſea*, and *Amos*, called from the Herd in *Judæa*, to propheſie to the People of *Iſrael*. Notwithſtanding all that God did for *Jeroboam*, he did Evil alſo in his Sight, accompanying his Anceſtors in the Sin of *Jeroboam* the Son of *Nebat*. He reigned 41 years, and after his Death the Affairs of his Kingdom fell to decay; way being made for the Ruine of his Houſe, and an Anarchy enſuing for 24 years. For ſo it muſt be, if *Zacharias* his Son began not his Reign till the 38th of *Vzziah* King of *Judah*, the laſt of *Jeroboam* falling in with the 14th of this King, ſeeing *Vzziah* is ſaid to have begun his Reign in the 27th of his, and he reigned 41 years. This may well ſeem ſtrange in this Kingdom, where Princes were often made away by Uſurpers; but God had promiſed *Jehu*, that his Children ſhould reign to the fourth Generation; and this *Zacharias* might be a Poſthumus, or however very young, and therefore not admitted by the Nobility to govern, till he had attained to ſuch Ripeneſs, as was convenient for ſo great a Charge.

(a) Joſh. 19. 13.
(b) Iſa. 9. 1.

2 Kings 15.

Zachariah.

A. M. 3238.
Hazariæ. 38.

11. *Zachariah*, doing Evil in the Sight of the Lord, as did his Anceſtors, reigned but ſix Moneths, being then ſlain by *Shallum* the Son of *Jabeſh*, who reigned in his ſtead in the 39th year of *Azariah* King of *Judah*. He enjoyed his uſurped Royalty but a ſhort ſpace, being after two Moneths ſerved ſo himſelf by *Menahem* the Son of *Gadi*, who alſo reigned in his Stead. *Menahem* ſmote *Tiphſah* and all that were therein, with the Coaſts thereof from *Tirzah*, becauſe they opened not to him; and ripped up the Women with Child. He did Evil in the ſight of the Lord, not departing from the Sin of *Jeroboam* all his days; wherefore God ſtirred up the Spirit of *Pul* King of *Aſſyria*, who invaded the Land; but he gave him 1000 Talents of Silver, which he wreſted from the richeſt of his Subjects, to confirm the Kingdom in his hand. After he had held it ten years he died, and his Son *Pekahiah* reigned in his Stead, in the 50th year of *Azariah*; ſo that *Menahem* having begun his Reign in the 39th of that King, and reigned but ten years, here ſeemeth an *Inter-regnum* of a year or more to have happened after his Death, except that be admitted which ſome think, *viz.* that *Menahem* did not peaceably enjoy the Kingdom till about a year after *Shallum*'s Death, purchaſing it then of *Pul*; ſo that beginning his Reign in the 29th of *Azariah*, or *Vzziah*, muſt be underſtood *peaceably*, and in that year ending. Then muſt *Pekahiah* have begun his Reign in the very beginning of the 50th year; and ſo a few Moneths being added to the ten years of *Menahem*, at the furtheſt, there will be no need of an *Inter-regnum*. *Pekahiah* treading in the wicked Steps of his Predeceſſors, reigned two years, and then was ſlain by *Pekah* the Son of *Remaliah*, one of his Captains, who poſſeſſed himſelf of his Seat.

Shallum.

Menahem.

Pul King of *Aſſyria* invadeth *Iſrael*.

Pekahiah.

A. M. 3250.
Hazariæ 50.

12. *Pekah* joyned with the King of *Syria* againſt *Ahaz* King of *Judah*, ſlew in *Judah* 120000 in one day, all valiant men, becauſe they had forſaken the Lord God of their Fathers. *Zichri*, a mighty man of *Ephraim*, ſlew *Maaſeiah* the Kings Son, *Azrikam* the Governour of the houſe, and *Elkanah* that was next the King. Two hundred thouſand were alſo carried Captive, with much Spoil, all which *Obed* the Prophet, when they came to *Samaria*, procured to be ſent back. This made *Ahab* purchaſe the Help of *Tiglath-Pileſer* King of *Aſſyria*, who firſt deſtroyed the King and Kingdom of *Damaſcus*, carried the Inhabitants thereof into Captivity; and then came againſt *Pekah*, and tranſported the *Reubenites*, *Gadites*, and the half Tribe of *Manaſſes* into *Halah*, *Habor*, *Hara*, and to the River *Gozan*: then croſſing *Jordan*, he ſet upon *Galilee*, and carried away the Inhabitants thereof with all the *Napthalites* (which remained of thoſe that were left by *Benhadad*) into *Aſſyria*. *Pekah* doing Evil in the ſight of the Lord, after he had reigned twenty years, was ſlain by *Hoſea* the Son of *Elah* who uſurped the Kingdom.

Pekah.

2 Chron. 28.

1 Chron. 5.26.

The *Reubenites*, *Gadites*, and the half Tribe of *Manaſſes*, carried Captives into *Aſſyria*.

13. *Hoſhea* the 19th King of *Iſrael* began his Reign in the 12th year of *Ahaz* King of *Judah*, who reigned ſeven or eight years with his Father *Jotham*, and began to reign by himſelf in the 17th year of *Pekah*; ſo that *Hoſhea* may truly be ſaid to have began his Reign in the 20th year from the Inauguration of *Jotham*; which we muſt ſay, except we allow of a kind of *Inter-regnum* for eight or nine years, during which time *Hoſhea*, for the Stirs that hapned could not peaceably enjoy the Kingdom; and then muſt we lengthen out the time of this Kingdom longer by ſo many years. *Hoſhea* did Evil in the Sight of the Lord, but not as the Kings of *Iſrael* which were before

2 Kings 17. 18.
A. M. 3272.
Achazi 12.

Hoſhea the nineteenth and laſt King of *Iſrael*.

before him. Againſt him came up *Salmanaſſer* King of *Aſſyria*, and made him his tributary Vaſſal, which he continued for ſome time, till weary of this Bondage, he conſpired with *So* King of *Ægypt*, and refuſed to pay his Tribute: Hereupon, *Salmanaſſer* ſubdued firſt the *Moabites*, leſt he ſhould have an Enemy at his Back, then invaded *Iſrael* and beſieged *Samaria*, in the fourth year of *Hezekiah* King of *Judah*, and the *7th* of *Hoſhea*. At the end of 3 years (in the 6 of *Hezekiah*, and the 9 of *Hoſea*) he took the City, and carried the *Iſraelites* Captive into *Aſſyria*, where he placed them in *Chalach*, *Chabor*, by the River of *Goſan*, and in the *Cities of Media*, becauſe they had not obeyed the Voice of the Lord, but tranſgreſſed the Covenant. In their Seat he placed certain *Perſians* that inhabited by the River *Chuthus*, and afterwards, in Diſtinction from the *Jews*, were called *Samaritans*. This hapned to *Iſrael*, for their abominable Idolatry, 255 years after the Rent of the Kingdom; ſo that this Schiſm laſted five Jubilies and ten years; in the 832 after the Entrance into *Canaan*, according to *Ludovicus Cappellus*, and therefore in the end of the ſeventeenth Jubilie from that; in the year of the World 3380, or 3381. and ſo in the end of the 69 Jubilie from the Creation; 134 before the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and the Captivity of *Judah*.

The *Iſraelites* carried away Captive.

A. M. 3280. *Ezechiæ 6.*

The *Samaritans* placed in their room.

CHAP. IV.

The moſt ancient Kingdom of Ægypt, *Contemporary with the* Babylonian *Empire.*

1. THIS Country falling, at the Diviſion of the Earth, to *Cham* and his Poſterity, ſeemeth alſo to have been inhabited by himſelf. For, thence (a) *David* knew it by the name of the *Land* of *Ham*; (b) *Plutarch* found it was called *Chemia*; *Stephanus*, *Hermochymius*; the Inhabitants themſelves calling it (c) *Kam*, who diſtinguiſhed their *Nomi*, by this Alluſion, into *Chemmis*, *Pſochemmis*, *Pſittachemmis*; the Oracle of *Jupiter Hammon* in *Africk*, and the names of *Ammonis*, and *Ammonia*, given to that Country, challenge no other Original. It is not probable that theſe names ſhould be only given to it upon this Account, that part of his Poſterity here fixed themſelves, for then the like might have been expected concerning many other places. *Miſraim* his ſecond Son ſucceeded him; or he, to whom *Moſes* giveth this name, as Father of the Inhabitants of the Land of *Miſraiim*; it ſcarce being the name of a man, becauſe not of the ſingular number. The Scripture calleth *Ægypt* (d) often by the name of *Maſor*, which ſeemeth the ſingular of *Miſraiim* contracted from *Meſoraiim*, and ſignifieth a *fortified Place*; no Country in the World being more fenced by its natural Situation. The *Arabians* at this day know the Metropolis *Alcairo* by the name of *Meſre*, and the *Ægyptians* anciently called their firſt Moneth *Meſori*. The dual word *Miſraiim* ſeemeth to hint at the Diſtinction of *Ægypt* into *Upper* and *Lower*; whereof the former, watered by the River *Nile*, running in one Channel, was divided into *Thebais* and *Heptanomus*. (*Thebais* being called the Land of *Pathros*, and diſtinguiſhed from *Ægypt* by *Iſaiah* and *Jeremiah*) and the lower part was by the *Greeks* called *Delta*, from the Triangular Figure thereof; the River being herein divided into many Branches.

Cham the firſt Inhabitant of *Ægypt* after the Flood.

Miſraim his Son.

(a) Pſal. 105. 23, 27.
(b) *In* Iſide.
(c) Iſiodorus & Hieronymus *in* Geneſim. *vide cap.* 1. *Parag.* 22.

Lege Bocharti Phaleg. *l.* 4. *c.* 24.
(d) 2. Kings 19. 24. Eſaias 19. 6. Mich. 7. 12.

Oroſius *l.* 1. *c.* 2.

2. This *Miſraim* is thought to be the ſame with *Oſiris*, ſo much ſpoken of by the *Ægyptians*, and accounted the Son of *Saturn*, the eldeſt of the Gods, and alſo the Son of *Jupiter Hammon*. For *Oſiris* being by the *Greeks* named *Dionyſus*, one telleth us that he had this Appellation both from his *Father* and *Country*, the *former* part of the word noting the one, and the *latter* the other, *viz.* *Nyſa* a City of *Arabia Fœlix*, built by *Cham*, in which he ſeemeth to have been born. From the Reign of *Oſiris*, to the Coming down of *Alexander* the *Great* into *Ægypt*, the Prieſts reckoned, ſome above 10000 years, others little leſs than 23000. But ſeveral Forms of years being uſed in ſeveral Nations we are to ſuppoſe theirs to have been meaſured rather by the Courſe of the Moon through the Zodiack, than that of the Sun. *Jacobus Cappellus* therefore thinketh 1889 years to have paſſed from the Reign of this *Oſiris* to *Alexander* his Going down into *Ægypt*, the beginning whereof he fixed at the 1778*th* year of the World; 100 and odd years after the Flood, about the ſame

The ſame with *Oſiris*.

Diodorus Siculus *lib.* 1. *pag.* 1.

time

Oſiris, and *Iſis* their Renowned Acts.

time that *Nimrod* his Nephew began his Principality at *Babylon.* This *Oſiris* is feigned by the *Ægyptians* to have married his Siſter *Iſis,* and they make them the true *Bacchus* and *Ceres.* Much they are both reported to have done for the Benefit of Mankind, by bringing it to Civility; to Him they aſcribe the finding out of *Agriculture,* and to Her the Invention of *Corn* and *Laws.* He built *Thebes* the ancient Seat of the Kings, with 100 Gates; travelled into the greateſt part of the World to teach men Civility with the Uſe of Corn and Wine, taking *Pan* along with him, who being had in great Reverence amongſt the *Ægyptians,* dedicated a City to him by the name of *Chemmis.* In his time lived *Hermes,* or *Mercurius;* and *Hercules,* who being otherwiſe called *Gygωn,* or *Gygnωn,* is ſaid to have helped the Gods againſt the Gyants. *Oſiris,* when he returned, was killed by his wicked Brother *Typhon.*

Oſiris killed by *Typhon.*

Typhon puniſhed by *Iſis,* and her Son *Orus.*

Diodorus.

3. *Typhon,* ſeizing upon the Kingdom, was by *Iſis,* through the Help of her Son *Orus,* diſpoſſeſſed again of it, and his Life; after which gathering together the 26 parts of her Huſbands Body (into which he had mangled it) ſhe inſtituted to him divine Honours, ordering that the ſeveral Tribes of the Prieſts ſhould dedicate ſome one of their living Creatures to him, and for him worſhip it as long as it lived; then at his Death, ſeeking out another of the ſame kind, to do as much to it. Several things were conſecrated in ſeveral Places, yet by a general Conſent the Sacred Bull, called *Apis* or *Mnevis,* was moſt valued, and chiefly adored, becauſe of the ſpecial Help that kind of Creature afforded to Tillage. This Bull was black all over, having only a ſquare white ſpot in his Forehead, ſaith *Herodotus,* on his right ſide ſaith *Pliny,* like to a Creſcent, being alſo ſacred to the Moon, as *Marcellinus* will have it. On the back he had the Image of an Eagle, a knot on the Tongue like to a Crab, and on his Tail double hairs. This kind of Beaſt did the *Ægyptians* worſhip as the greateſt God, with aſtoniſhing Veneration, as *Macrobius* termeth it, till it had lived ſeveral years; but not being ſuffered to paſs a certain Term, it was then drowned by the Prieſts. Being dead, a great and ſolemn Mourning there was, untill another could be found with the ſame Marks. Now ſome make this Beaſt to be worſhipped in Honour of *Apis,* King of the *Argives,* who going down into *Ægypt,* was there Deified after his Death, and called *Serapis.* But there having been ſeveral Kings in divers places, of that name, they are confounded one with another.

The Sacred Bull *Apis.*

Auguſt. de Civit. Dei. l. 18. *c.* 5.

4. Nothing, indeed, but Uncertainties attend the moſt ancient Hiſtory of that Nation; no two Authors agreeing betwixt themſelves, concerning the Succeſſion of the *Ægyptian* Kings. This is not only to be attributed to the Force of time, but the Unfaithfulneſs of their Prieſts, who having it committed to their Charge, to record the Memorables of their Country, foiſted things of their own heads into the Story, concealed from the Natives whatſoever made againſt their own Profit, and from Strangers all things that tended to the Diſhonour of their Country. Out of ſuch a kind of Deſign they related not the ſame things to ſuch as travelled thither with a Deſire to be informed; ſo that from the corrupt Fountains of their Records have proceeded the Hiſtories of ſeveral, who pretending to have taken them out of the very Archives, are no leſs diſſonant amongſt themſelves than from the Truth. The Catalogues of their Kings are full of inextricable Labyrinths; *Manetho* being of no Credit, becauſe of his notable Lying, and all thoſe who profeſs to follow him, as *Joſephus, Africanus, Euſebius, Syncellus, Scaliger, Uſher,* and others not agreeing in their ranking and ordering of them.

The *Dynaſties* of the *Ægyptian* Kings.

Euſeb.

5. Several *Dynaſties* are made to have preceded the time of *Abraham,* with whoſe Birth (as it is placed in the 43*th* year of *Ninus*) the beginning of the 16*th* is joyned. Much Labour is ſpent by ſome, in an Endeavour to clear the order of theſe *Dynaſties,* and to expound them. But, if they ſhould be allowed of, little more than 200 years are to be aſſigned to the Continuance of all the firſt 15. becauſe the Paſſage of *Cham,* and his Poſterity from the Mountains of *Ararat* into *Ægypt,* and the Eſtabliſhment of a formal Government there, could ſcarce be performed within one Century after the Flood; time for the Increaſe of mankind, and the unpaſſableneſs of the Earth duely conſidered; except we caſt the Beginning of the firſt *Dynaſtie* back beyond the Flood. It hath been thought therefore that theſe were not ſeveral Succeſſions of Kings, which continued for ſo ſmall a time, but rather certain Ranks and Orders of Governours under the Kings; who might be content to enjoy their Eaſe and Quiet, together with the Dignity (as the Kings did which *Joſeph* ſerved) whil'ſt the Management of publick Affairs was wholly committed to theſe Regents, or Lieutenants, of ſundry Lineages or ſorts of men, who by their Actions might leave greater Impreſſions upon Poſterity than the Kings them-

themſelves, and ſo give Occaſion to the *Ægyptians* of vaunting them for ſo many Sovereign Princes indeed. That *Euſebius* might accommodate the times and Orders of theſe Dynaſties to the Hiſtories of other parts of the World, he is not afraid to tranſpoſe them as he findeth them in ſeveral Authors. Upon this Account *Jacobus Cappellus* thinketh it a vain thing to recite in his Chronicle the Series of the Kings, ſeeing *Manetho*, by whom Scaliger would amend *Euſebius*, is moſt worthy of Credit. But it being requiſite to give Beginners ſome Inſight into the Story, ſuch things muſt be briefly related, as out of ſuch Uncertainties carry the greateſt Shew of Probability.

Orus the laſt of the *Ægyptian* Gods.

6. After *Typhons* Death, *Iſis*, as *Diodorus* writeth, for ſome time governed the Kingdom; but ſo joyntly with her Son *Orus*, or *Horus*, that he is alſo ſaid to have ſucceeded after the Death of his Father, and is moreover accounted the laſt of the gods. He inſtituted a year conſiſting of three Moneths, and thence a year was called after him *Horos*. The *Ægyptian* Year, properly ſo called, conſiſted of 365 days; but beſides this, they had alſo monethly years of thirty dayes, and others of four Moneths apiece, or 120 days, that by this various, and cunning Account, as *Cappellus* thinketh, they might delude the *Greeks*. Of this latter way few Examples we meet with: but *Diodorus* maketh mention of it, aſſigning the Cauſe to have been, for that they divided their Solar year, not into four, but only three parts; and *Cappellus* maketh this following account to conſiſt of ſuch kind of years. After the gods, came men to the Government, and the *Ægyptians* boaſted that they had Kings of their own Country, and home-born, for the moſt part, during the Term of 4700 years; after *Cambyſes* Strangers, as *Perſians* and *Macedonians*, having governed them. Now theſe 4700 years he gueſſeth to conſiſt of four Moneths apiece, and to contain 1544 *Julian* years, which being deducted out of the years of the World, at the Period whereof *Cambyſes* came down into *Ægypt*, 1931 will remain; at what time *Oſiris*, or *Orus* his Son might perhaps die, who being the laſt of the gods, Kings began where they ended.

Lib. 1. *p.* 13. *&c.*

Cenſorinus, *&c.*

Vide Cappellum *ad* A. M. 1931. *&* 1941.

Menis the firſt King.

7. The firſt King that reigned after theſe gods was *Menas*, or *Menis*, which name by ſome is thought to have been only of Dignity, and that *Oſiris* was ſo called. Others think *Mercurius Triſmegiſtus* meant thereby, for that the *Hebrew* Word *Meni* ſignifieth an *Arithmetician*, and that *Oſiris* might well be termed *Triſmegiſtus*, being a great *Conquerour*, *Philoſopher*, and *Benefactor* to Mankind, in giving good Laws, and teaching profitable Arts. Another would have *Seſoſtris*, whom he ſuppoſeth to have ſucceeded *Oſiris*, to be meant by *Menas*, as nothing inferiour to *Oſiris* in Proweſs and great Undertakings. But *Seſoſtris* the Great reigned not till many years after, and nothing hindreth but *Menas* in the *Ægyptian* Language (to ſay nothing of the *Greek*) might be a proper name as well as a Title of Dignity. But, who ſucceeded him is not known; the Prieſts feigning 52 Princes to have followed him in order for the ſpace of 1400 years, unto *Buſiris*, multiplying Kings, Years, Lies (or Fallacies) to make their Story the more admirable. We muſt therefore in this unknown Path, take the blind Conduct of the *Dynaſties* again, of which omitting the firſt ſeventeen, to which almoſt 4000 years are aſcribed, the 18*th* is by *Cappellus* made to begin nine years before the time whereunto *Euſebius* ſets it, *viz.* in the 107*th* year of the Patriarch *Jacob*, the firſt in order of it being *Amos*, or *Amoſis*.

Herodotus *&* Diodorus.

Amos or *Amoſis.*

A. M. 2274.

Chebros. *Amenophis.* *Mephres.* &c.

8. To his reign are given 25 years; ſo that, according to this Account, he it was who honoured *Joſeph*, and ſet him over the Land. He dying in the ſecond year of the Famine, *Chebros* ſucceeded him, who reigned thirteen years, and him *Amenophis*, who reigned 21, under whom *Jacob* died. To him ſucceeded *Mephres*, according to *Euſebius*, but *Manethon* after him placeth his Siſter *Ameſſes*, or *Amerſes*, to which he giveth 21 years and 9 Moneths. After this reigned *Mephres* twelve years, *Mephramuthoſis* 26, and *Thuthmoſis* (or *Thomſis*) 9. After him followed *Amenophis* (otherwiſe called *Palmanothis* and *Phamenophis*) who reigned 31 years, and by ſome is accounted that *Memnon* whoſe Image of Stone, at *Thebes* in *Ægypt*, ſounded like an Harp, when the Sun-Beams, firſt in the Morning beat upon it; which is witneſſed by many Authors of good Credit. To him ſucceeded *Orus*, or *Horus*, who reigned 38 years, and to him *Acenchres*, who reigned 12. *Manetho* maketh *Acenchres* the Daughter of *Orus*, and giveth to her 12 years and one Moneth; after her, he bringeth in *Rathotis* her Brother, to whom he giveth nine years. But after *Acenchres*, *Euſebius* placeth *Achoris*, and giveth to him but ſeven years, to whom ſucceeded *Cenchris* the twelfth King: who, being more wicked than his Predeceſſors, oppreſſed the *Iſraelites* moſt grievouſly, and continued eighteen years in his Tyranny, till an end was put to it in the *Red Sea*.

Euſeb.

A. M. 2508.

9. Above

The *Iſraelites* afflicted in *Ægypt*.

9. Above eight years had they vexed the *Iſraelites* with inſupportable Burthens, notwithſtanding which, they grew and increaſed exceedingly; nay, although Order was given to drown all the Male Children, leſt growing too numerous, they might in time of War joyn with their Enemies; elſe get them out of the Land with an high hand; or becauſe of a *Prediction* mentioned by *Joſephus*, that an *Hebrew* ſhould be born, who was to afflict and overthrow the *Ægyptians*. That the *Jews* lived amongſt them, is ever acknowledged by their Hiſtorians, accounting it an Honour, as all Nations do, to have ſet forth Colonies. But to take away Diſgrace, and to ſave the Honour of their Country, (which to the Prieſts was ever moſt ſolemn) abominable Lies have been made, and ſtrange Stories deviſed, concerning their firſt Coming into *Ægypt*, and eſpecially about their Departure: which briefly to relate ſeemeth agreeable enough to the Nature of our Deſign.

Manetho his Lies concerning the Original of the *Jews*.

In ſecundo Ægyptiac. apud Joſephum lib. 1. *contr. Apionem.*

10. *Manetho*, an *Ægyptian* Prieſt and Hiſtorian, pretending to deſcribe the Original of the *Jews*, relateth, That in the days of one of their Kings, *Timaus* by name, a certain ignorant People called *Hycſos*, (which ſignifieth *Royal Shepherds*, or *Captives*, as he himſelf interpreteth it) from the Eaſtern parts, with great Confidence invaded *Ægypt*, which eaſily obtaining without any Force of Arms, they burnt the City and Temple, and raged againſt the Natives with Sword and Servitude. At length they made them a King of their own Stock, named *Saltis*, who, coming down into the Country about *Memphis*, impoſed a Tribute upon the upper and neather Province, and put Garriſons in convenient Places. Eſpecially he took Care of the Eaſtern Coaſts, being jealous of the Power of the *Aſſyrians*; ſo that in the Principality of *Sais*, Eaſtward from the River *Bubaſtis*, he built up a City called anciently *Anaris*, which fortifying with moſt ſtrong Walls, he therein placed a Garriſon of 240000 Men. When he had reigned nineteen years, he gave place to *Bæon*, who governed 44, after him *Apachnas* 36 with ſeven Moneths, then *Apochis* 61, *Janias* 50, and one Moneth; then *Aſſis* 49. Under thoſe ſix firſt Kings, they ſore oppreſſed, and endeavoured utterly to dedroy *Ægypt*, and 511 years had they Power over it. Afterwards the Kings of the Province of *Thebes*, and the remaining part of *Ægypt* fell on them with a great and laſting War, and by a King named *Aliſfragmuthoſis*, were they overcome, and driven up into a place containing the Quantity of 10000 Acres of Ground, called *Avaris*. The Son of this King, *Themoſis* by Name, attempted the taking of this Place, beſieged it with 480000 thouſand Men; but, deſpairing of Succeſs, agreed with him, that leaving *Ægypt*, they ſhould go whither elſe they pleaſed; ſo that, departing with all their Goods, to the number of 240000 Perſons, they travelled through the Deſart into *Syria*, (for that they feared the *Aſſyrians*, who then obtained the Empire of *Aſia*) and built them a City in the Country, afterwards called *Judæa*, which might ſuffice for ſo many thouſands, and named it *Jeruſalem*.

11. To this Hiſtory taken out of the ancient Records, *Manetho* addeth, as he confeſſeth, fabulous Reports riſe amongſt the Vulgar, mixing with the *Iſraelites* a Multitude of *Ægyptians* languiſhing with Leproſie and other Diſeaſes; which he relateth, as having forgotten, that the Shepherds left *Ægypt* 518 years before, as may be gathered from the Series of the Kings, and the Diſtance of time betwixt *Themuſis*, who reigned when the Shepherds departed, and *Amenophis*, under whom the Lepers went out, the time of whoſe Reign neither dareth he to define; though he be exact, in the years of other Princes, as *Joſephus* noteth. Now this *Amenophis*, forſooth, was told by a Prieſt of the ſame name, That he might ſee the Gods, if he would cleanſe his Kingdom from *Lepers*, and other unclean Perſons. He, being a very religious man, gathered all the infirm out of the Land, to the number of 80000, whom he ſent with others to cut ſtones on the Eaſt of the River *Nile*; there being amongſt them alſo ſome of the learned Prieſts infected with Leproſie. Becauſe Favour was ſhewed towards them, the Prieſt, who would have had them deſtroyed, feared much the Diſpleaſure of the gods, as well againſt himſelf as the King, and foreſeeing they ſhould have Power over *Ægypt* for thirteen years, he durſt not tell the King ſo much, but wrote a Book concerning the matter, and then killed himſelf; which caſt the King (you muſt know) into a great Melancholy.

12. But being ſtill deſired to do ſomething for the Security of the diſeaſed People, he gave them *Avaris*, the City of the Shepherds, now not inhabited: whither being entred, and perceiving the place to be very advantagious for Rebellion, they made Choice of *Oſarſiphus*, one of the Prieſts of *Heliopolis*, for their Captain, ſwearing to obey him in all things. He preſently eſtabliſhed for Law, that they ſhould not worſhip the gods, nor abſtain from ſuch Creatures as were moſt ſacred to the *Ægyptians*; to marry with none but thoſe that were tied to them by the ſame League,

and commanding many other things (eſpecially ſuch as he knew contrary to *Ægyptian* Cuſtoms) he prepared for War. Then ſent he to the Shepherds at *Jeruſalem*, formerly expelled by *Themuſis*, to open their Condition to them, and to invite them to give their Aſſiſtance againſt *Ægypt*. The Shepherds readily cloſed with the Motion, and all, to the number of 200000, marched down to *Avaris*. *Amenophis* much ſtartled hereat, eſpecially becauſe of the Prediction of the Prieſt, committed his Son, but five years old, to a Friend; and, together with *Apis* and his other gods, went into *Æthiopia*, where he was received with all his Multitudes of Subjects, and was kindly entertained by the King, who made Proviſion for them for theſe thirteen years. The *Solymitans*, or Shepherds, with the unclean Multitude, made now great Havock of all things in *Ægypt*, burning Villages and Cities, and raging againſt the ſacred Animals with their Prieſts, whom they compelled to be their Butchers, and drave away naked; the forementioned Prieſt ſtill giving Laws, and framing their Policy; who being from *Oſiris* the *Heliopolitan*-god called *Oſarſiphus*, now changed his Name into *Moſes*. But at the end of the thirteen years, *Amenophis* returned with great Power out of *Æthiopia*, and with the Aſſiſtance of his Son *Rampſes*, fell upon the Shepherds and unclean Multitude, whereof killing many, they purſued the reſt as far as the Borders of *Syria*.

Chæremon his ridiculous Lies.

13. Theſe ridiculous Lyes are much more augmented by others. *Chæremon*, who profeſſed to write the Hiſtory of *Ægypt*, giveth the ſame name *Amenophis* to the King, and of *Rhameſſes* to his Son; but addeth, that the Goddeſs *Iſis* appeared to the former, complaining that her Temple was deſtroyed by War. That *Phritiphantes* a ſacred Scribe, told the King, that if he would be freed from Terrours in the Night, he muſt purge *Ægypt* from polluted Men: he therefore gathered out 25000 diſeaſed Perſons, caſt them out of his Borders: That the two Scribes *Moſes* and *Joſeph* (the *Ægyptian* Name of the former being *Tiſithes*, and of the latter *Peteſephis*) became their Leaders, and, coming to *Peluſium*, found there 380000, which *Amenophis* having left behind would not convey into *Ægypt*: with thoſe they ſtruck up a League, and undertook an Expedition againſt the Land. *Amenophis* not expecting the Iſſue of their Attempt, fled into *Æthiopia*, leaving his Wife big with Child, which lying hid in a Cave, brought forth a Son called *Meſſenes*. He, when he came to age expelled the *Jews*, to the number of 200000 into *Syria*, and received back his Father *Amenophis* out of *Ethiopia*.

Lyſimachus his malicious forgeries.

14. *Lyſimachus* an Hiſtorian, going beyond the other two in the maliciouſneſs of his Lyes, wrote, that when *Bocchoris* reigned in *Ægypt*, the People of the *Jews*, infected with Leproſie, Scab, and other Diſeaſes, reſorted to the Temple to beg for their Living, and many being infected with this Diſaſe, Barrenneſs fell upon the Land. *Bocchoris*, ſending to the Oracle of *Ammon* about it, received this Anſwer, That the Temples were to be cleanſed from impure and prophane Perſons, who were to be caſt out into the Deſart; but the Scabby and Leprous ſhould be drowned, the Sun not enduring they ſhould live; which being done, and the Temples purified, fruitfulneſs would be reſtored to the Earth. *Bocchoris* accordingly ordered the Prieſts to gather all the prophane out of the Temples, and give them up to Souldiers, who were to carry them into the Wilderneſs; and the Leprous and Scabby to be wrapped in Lead, and caſt into the Sea; which being drowned accordingly, the other were expoſed to periſh in the Deſart. But thoſe, conſulting for their own Safety, kept Fires that Night, and ſtrict Watch; then, the day following, a ſolemn Faſt to God for their Preſervation. On the next, Counſel was given them by a certain Man named *Moſes*, that they ſhould march on in one Body, till they arrived at ſome good Soil. Then commanded he them to be kind to no man, to give bad Counſel rather than good, and overthrow the Temples of the Gods, as many as they ſhould find; which being approved of, they travelled through the Deſart, and after much Trouble, came to a fruitful Soil, where uſing the Inhabitants very injuriouſly, and rifling and burning the Temples, they arrived at length in that Country, ſince called *Judæa*, and building a City ſeated themſelves there. This City was at firſt called *Hieroſyla*, from the ſpoiling of the Temples; but afterwards, to ſhun the Diſgrace of the Occaſion, they changed it into *Hieroſolyme*, and took the name of *Hieroſolymitans*.

Apion his Lie.

15. Further than this; *Apion* a Grammarian of *Alexandria*, as he counterfeited himſelf, but born in *Oaſis*, a Town of *Ægypt*, amongſt ſeveral other Lyes againſt the *Jews*, wrote, that he had received from the eldeſt of the *Ægyptians*, how *Moſes* was a *Heliopolitan*, and, being brought up according to the Cuſtoms of his Country, changed the Rites thereof at his own Pleaſure: That he led the Leprous, Blind, and Lame, out of *Ægypt*; but fairly ſaith, it was in the firſt year of the ſeventh

Joſephus *lib.* 2. *contr.* Apionem.

Olympiad, the ſame wherein *Carthage* was built by the *Tyrians*, which happened about 150 years after *Hiram* the King of *Tyre* (as appeareth out of the *Phœnician* Annals) with whom *Solomon* was contemporary. He mentioned the ſame number of infirm Perſons as *Lyſimachus*, but addeth a Reaſon why the *Sabbath* was ſo called. Travelling ſix days together, ſaith he, on the ſeventh day they reſted in *Judæa*, for that they were ſorely plagued with Ulcers in their privy parts, and named it *Sabboth*, from the *Ægyptian* Word *Sabbatoſis*, which ſignifieth that Diſeaſe. Notwithſtanding that he ſaith they finiſhed their Journey in ſix days, yet he further writeth, that *Moſes* hid himſelf for forty days upon the Mount *Sinai* (which lyeth betwixt *Ægypt* and *Arabia*) whence coming down, he gave Laws unto the *Jews*. As for the *Jewiſh* Religion, he was not aſhamed to write, that in their Temple was ſet the head of an Aſſe made of Gold, and of great Value, which being there worſhipped, was taken thence when *Antiochus Epiphanes* ſpoiled the Place.

Reaſons for theſe Lyes raiſed by the *Ægyptians*, and others againſt the *Jews*.

16. Such Abſurdities were delivered by the *Ægyptians*, and thoſe who out of deſire to gratifie them, have, after their Example, endeavoured to conceal the Truth; to which *Joſephus* in his two Books againſt *Apion*, hath abundantly anſwered. Several Reaſons have moved them to corrupt their Original Records. The *Iſraelites* growing great in that Country, out of it they returned to the promiſed Land by the ſtretched out Arm of God, to the great Reproach of their cruel and imperious Lords. The Difference of Religion raiſed alſo betwixt the two Nations (as betwixt the *Jews* and the whole World) mortal Enmity, whilſt the one worſhipped the only true God, and the baſe and degenerate Spirit of the other fell down to things far inferiour to themſelves; which Difference ſome (though but few) Perſons diſcerning, were ambitious to become Proſelytes to the *Jewiſh* Doctrine: Hence again aroſe ſuch Envy, that ſome deſcended to that Indiſcretion and Weakneſs, as to contradict their own moſt ancient and authentick Writers. The in-bred Blindneſs of men's Minds, increaſed by Education, hath ſo far prevailed, that the (*a*) greateſt part of Heathen Writers have in this Contention ſided with the *Ægyptians*, (otherwiſe contemptible enough in their Eyes) and ſubſcribed to what they have ſaid concerning the Original of the *Jewiſh* Nation; though ſome (*b*) have not given Credit to ſuch Reports.

(*a*) As *Diodorus Siculus in Eclog.* lib. 34. & 40. Tacitus *Hiſt. lib.* 5. *ad initium.* Juſtin. *lib.* 36.
(*b*) Strabo *lib.* 16. *p.* 761. Dion. Caſſius *lib.* 37.

Manetho his falſe Chronology.

17. As *Manetho* erreth in the Cauſe of the Departure of the *Jews* out of *Ægypt*, ſo alſo in the time thereof, though not ſo groſſely as his Friend *Apion*. *Manetho* nameth the King *Themuſis*, by whom they were expelled: Who, if the ſame with *Amoſis*, he lived 230 years before their true Departure; and that he is the ſame appeareth by *Manetho*'s Catalogue, taken out of *Joſephus*. But (to go on with the Story of the Kings) *Themuſis* reigned, according to *Manetho*, 25 years and four Moneths after their Expulſion. *Chebron* his Son ſucceeded him, and reigned thirteen years; next him, *Amenophis* 20 with ſeven Moneths; his Siſter *Ameſſes* two, and nine Moneths. *Mephres* followed her, and continued twelve years and nine Moneths; him *Mephramuthoſis*, who reigned 25, and ten Moneths; then *Themoſis* nine, and eight Moneths; *Amenophis* thirty, and ten Moneths; *Orus* 36, and five Moneths. His Daughter *Acencheres* reigned ten years and one Moneth, *Rathotis* her Brother nine years; *Acencheres* twelve, and five Moneths; another of that Name twelve, and three Moneths; *Armais* four, and one Moneth; *Armeſis* one, and four Moneths; *Armeſſes Miamun* ſixty ſix, and two Moneths; and laſtly *Amenophis* nineteen, and ſix Moneths. In whoſe time one who, forſaking *Euſebius*, followeth *Manetho*, in ranking thoſe Kings holdeth the *Iſraelites* to have departed *Ægypt*, and conſequently will have this King drowned in the Sea. That *Rameſſes Miamun* was he who firſt began to afflict the *Iſraelites*, the length of his Reign (as * one ſuppoſeth) maketh probable; whoſe Name alſo ſeemeth to him to have given Appellation to one of the Cities, in building of which they were employed.

* Uſſerius *Annal. Vet. Teſt. ad* A.M. 2427. & 2494.

Manetho *apud* Joſephum *l.* 1. *contr.* Apionem.

A. M. 2422.

Sethoſis or *Ægyptus*.

18. After *Amenophis* reigned *Sethoſis*, who having great Forces both by Land and Sea, left his Brother *Armais* Deputy of *Ægypt*, and forbidding him the Diadem and medling with his Wife or Concubines, undertook an Expedition againſt *Cyprus* and *Phœnicia*, and then againſt the *Aſſyrians* and *Medes*, all which he brought under, either by the Sword or the Terror of his name, whereby, elevated in his mind, he confidently marched up and down the Eaſt Countries, overrunning the Cities and States thereof at his Pleaſure. Much time being herein ſpent, his Brother in the mean while acted all things in *Ægypt* contrary to his Injunctions, by the Advice of his Friends, aſſuming the Diadem and rebelling. Of this the Chief-Prieſt ſecretly gave him Intelligence, ſo that haſting back to *Peluſium*, he recovered his Kingdom. *Manetho* addeth, that this *Sethoſis* was alſo called *Ægyptus*, (from whence the Country took the Name of *Ægypt*) and this his Brother *Armais* had

His Brother *Armais* or *Danaus*.

Rameſſes Miamun the ſame with *Neptune*.

Amenophis his Son with *Buſiris*.

alſo the Appellation of *Danaus*. If ſo; then *Amenophis*, who was ſwllowed up of the Sea, muſt be taken for *Belus*, the Father of *Ægyptus* and *Danaus* according to the *Greeks*, who not being confounded with the Father of *Ninus* (as by *Mythologiſts* he is wont to be) is ſaid to have lived 322 years before the Deſtruction of *Troy*, which account Learned *Uſher* judgeth fitly to agree with the time of *Amenophis*. He alſo thinketh *Rameſſes Miamun* to be *Neptune*, *Mia* coming near to, and therefore ſeemeth to be derived from, *Moy*; which in the ancient *Ægyptian* Language, according to *Joſephus*, ſignifieth *Water*. *Neptune* is ſaid alſo to be Father of *Buſiris*, who at this time tyrannizing about the River *Nile*, cruelly ſlew ſuch Strangers as came near him. Such a Son indeed was worthy of ſo cruel a Father as *Rameſſes Miamun*; and it ſeemeth likely enough, that the Story of *Buſiris* might be taken from his and his Sons Cruelty to the *Iſraelites*, and ſo the thing may well enough be applied to *Amenophis*. Further, if we obſerve what * another telleth us, that the Poets are wont to call cruel and bloody men by the name of *Neptune*, as born of the raging and troubleſome Sea; then may we find more Reaſon for *Rameſſes Miamun* his being ſo called, becauſe of his Inhumanity towards the *Iſraelites* and their innocent Children.

What the *Greeks* write concerning *Seſothis*.

Lib. 2.

19. Now, to joyn this Story of the *Ægyptians* with that of the *Greeks*, (whom yet the other complain of, as corrupting their Antiquities) *Apollodorus* writeth, how *Neptune*, on *Lybia* the Daughter of *Epaphas* (who being the Son of *Telegonus*, and *Io* the *ſecond* Daughter to *Jaſus* King of *Argos*, built *Memphis*, as ſome ſay, and reigned in the lower part of *Ægypt*) begat two Sons *Belus* and *Agenor*, whereof the latter went into *Phœnicia*, and there reigned. *Belus* obtained *Ægypt*, and of *Anchinoe* the Daughter of *Nilus* begot *Ægyptus* and *Danaus*. He ſent *Danaus* to inhabit *Africk* or *Lybia* (ſo called from his Mother; and after *Ægyptus* had ſubdued the Country of the *Melampodi*, or *Black-feet*, named it *Ægypt* after himſelf, which according to *Euſebius*, was formerly called *Aeria*, and, according to others, *Potamitis*. But he whom *Maneth*, in *Joſephus*, calleth *Seſothis*, ſeemeth to be the ſame with *Diodorus* his *Seſooſis*, and *Seſoſtris* of *Herodotus*, concerning whom both of them record (as *Manetho* hath done) very admirable things. Agreeable to what *Manetho* delivereth of *Seſothis*, *Herodotus* writeth, that *Seſoſtris* ſubdued many Nations. (*a*) *Diodorus* ſaith, that *Seſooſis* conquered *Arabia* and *Lybia* before his Father's Death, and afterwards, having a great Ambition to do as much by all the World, firſt ſecured the Affections of his Subjects at home (to keep him in Obedience) by his Clemency and Bounty. Then with an Army of 600000 Foot, 24000 Horſe, and 27000 Chariots, he ſet upon the *Æthiopians*, towards the South, whom having conquered, he compelled to pay a Tribute of Ebonie, Ivory, and Gold. With a Navy of 400 Ships ſent into the *Red Sea*, he ſubdued all the maritime Coaſts, as far as *India*; he himſelf with a Land-Army overrunning not only thoſe parts of *Aſia* which afterwards *Alexander* ſubdued, but beyond *Ganges* all as far as the *Ocean* it ſelf.

His Conqueſts.

Lib. 2. *c.* 102, &c.

(*a*) *Lib.* 1. *p.* 34, &c.

20. After this, he conquered the Nations of *Scythia* as far as the River *Tanais* (which ſevereth *Aſia* from *Europe*) and left ſome of his *Ægyptians* to make a Plantation by the Lake *Mæotis*, that gave original to the Nation of the *Colchi*, which the *Ægyptians* ſuppoſed they ſufficiently proved to be their Colonie from the Uſe of *Circumciſion*, imagining that the *Jews* had alſo this Rite from Them. Finally all *Aſia* he ſubdued, with moſt of the Iſlands *Cyclades*; but then paſſing over into *Europe*, was in danger of loſing his Army for want of Proviſions, and by the Difficulty of Places: therefore in *Thrace* he put Bounds to his Expedition, having in all Places erected Pillars, wherein was written his Succeſs; and where he found Courage, he cauſed a Member of a Man to be ingraven, but where he met with Cowardiſe that of a Woman. At Length, after nine years, he returned home with much Spoil, where he refreſhed, and rewarded his victorious Army. Here he was not idle, but ſet himſelf to ſuch Works as he thought might eternize his Name, wherein he employed none of his natural Subjects, but the Captives he had brought with him. This the *Babylonians* not enduring, brake out into Rebellion, and, fortifying a place near the River, held it out in Deſpight of him, till at laſt by Compoſition they enjoyed a Seat, which they called *Babylon*, in Remembrance of their own Country. He raiſed up great heaps of Stones and Earth, and to them removed ſuch Cities, as by Reaſon of the Loweneſs of their Situation, were obnoxious to Inundations from the River: yet, leſt there ſhould be want of Water, and for Convenience of Trade, he cauſed Rivolets to be digged throughout the Land; he alſo fortified the Country by a Wall on the Eaſt, and otherwiſe provided againſt Invaſions.

* A. Gellius *Noct. Attic. lib.* 15. *c.* 21.

His Pride.

Sethoſis, or *Seſoſtris*, the ſecond, Son to the other.

Actiſanes King of *Æthiopia*.

21. For an Oſtentation of his Greatneſs, he cauſed ſuch, as being ſubdued held their Kingdoms of him, or had received new Principalities at his hand, at certain times to come down with their Preſents, whom he otherwiſe uſed with much Reſpect: but being to go to the Temple, or enter the City, he would looſe his Horſes out of his Chariot, and be drawn by four of theſe Princes. At Length, having excelled all men in Conqueſts, and other Royal Atchievements, he fell blind, and killed himſelf when he had reigned 33 years; for which Act he was the more admired by the *Ægyptians*. Theſe amongſt other things are reported of *Seſoſtris*, before whoſe Statue many years after *Darius*, the Son of *Hyſtaſpes* cauſing his own to be erected, the chief Prieſt contradicted it, alleadging that *Darius* had not yet excelled *Seſoſtris* in honourable Actions; with which Freedom the King was well pleaſed, and ſaid, if he lived, he would labour to come no whit ſhort of him. His Son ſucceeded him, of the ſame Name and Misfortune in the Loſs of his Sight, which to recover, he was bid by an Oracle to waſh his Eyes in the Urine of ſome Woman which never knew any other man than her own Huſband. Beginning with that of his own Wife, he proceeded to make Tryal of the Honeſty of many others, but found none effectual to the Cure, but the Wife of a certain Gardiner, which Woman he then married, and burnt all the reſt. Many after him followed in Order till one *Arnoſis* came to the Government, who by his Tyranny made way for *Actiſanes*, the King of *Æthiopia*. He uſing his Power with Moderation, put no Malefactor to Death, but, cutting off their Noſes, ſent them away into the Confines of *Ægypt* and *Syria*, where he built them a City, called from the Maimedneſs of the Inhabitants *Rhinocolura*, which was deſtitute of all ſorts of Proviſions through the Barrenneſs, and Unhealthfulneſs of the Place. The Soil he choſe on Purpoſe, that they might be diverted from idle, and vitious Courſes, by anxious and effectual Care for a Livelyhood, which they got by a Trade of Fiſhing in the adjoyning Sea.

Mendes.

After, an Anarchy.

Remphis.

Nileus, from whom the *Nileans* named.

22. After his Death the *Ægyptians* recovered the Sovereignty, and created a King of their own Nation, called *Mendes*. He ſpent his Life in making Proviſion for Death by a Sepulchre inimitable for Art, which he made under the Notion of a Labyrinth; according to which Pattern they believed *Dædalus* to have framed that he made for *Minos* King of *Crete*, wherein to keep the *Minotaure*. After *Mendes* an Anarchy followed for a long time, till one of ignoble Extraction was made King; by the *Ægyptians* named *Cetes*, but by the Greeks *Proteus*, who living in the time of the *Trojan* War, had great Skill in Aſtrology, and the Knowledge of Winds; whence, and becauſe the Kings of *Ægypt* were wont to have ſeveral kinds of living Creatures, Trees, Fire, and other things painted, and worn about their Heads, the *Greeks* took Occaſion to invent that Fable of his Turning himſelf into all manner of Shapes. *Remphis* his Son, and Succeſſor, ſpent his time in the Improvement of his Revenue and Cuſtomes, inſomuch that he died far richer than any of his Predeceſſors, having got together 400000 Talents of Gold and Silver. The next who was any thing conſiderable, was *Nileus*, who becauſe he took great Care about bringing Water from the River to furniſh the Country, changed the name of it from *Ægypt* into *Nile*.

Chemmis firſt buildeth a Pyramid.

Diodorus.

23. The 8*th* from *Nileus* was *Chemmis*, who being born at *Memphis* reigned fifty years, and built the greateſt of the three Pyramids, counted amongſt the ſeven Wonders of the World. *Herodotus* writeth that the firſt King who gave his Mind to this Work was *Cheops*, and that he proſtituted his Daughter to raiſe Money for this Purpoſe: That the biggeſt was twenty years in building by no fewer than 100000 Work-men, towards the Diet of whom the Price of Onions and Garlick only, amounted to 1600 Talents of Silver: That his Daughter, of every one who had to do with her begged a Stone, and therewith built a little Pyramid near adjoyning. *Diodorus* writeth that the Baſis of the greateſt, was on each ſide 700 Foot broad, the height above 600 Foot, and at the Top it was ſix Cubits broad, all of ſolid Stone very hard, and of an everlaſting Subſtance, which he proveth, for that the whole Structure in his time remained unchanged and uncorrupted, though raiſed 1000 years before. But others which within this hundred years have travelled into *Ægypt* relate how thoſe monſtrous Buildings which ſtand 13 Miles off from *Memphis*, and look like Mountains at a Diſtance, are on the North-ſide much eaten, and conſumed with that Wind; the *Eteſian* Winds being there as much putrifying as the Southern in other Parts. Theſe Piles of Stone ſtand in a ſandy Place which affordeth not any Quarries of Stone, ſome five Miles diſtant from the *Nile*, ſo that the Work may well ſeem right miraculous, though the *Ægyptians* raiſed many Fables thereupon. But ſo many thouſands of men were to be killed with this Toil that one might be ſtately buried; which yet they ſay hapned not to him: For the

Vide Phocium *lib.* 36. *c.* 22.

People were ſo enraged hereat, that his Son durſt not there bury him, but laid him in another obſcure and ignoble place. And yet he could not contain himſelf, but to his Power muſt alſo imitate his Father's Madneſs.

Cephren. Herodotus. Diodorus.

24. *Cephren* the Brother of *Chemmis* ſucceeded him, and reigned 56 years, though ſome would have his Son *Chabryis* immediately to have followed him. He ſpent his time the ſame way, building another Pyramid in Workmanſhip like to the former, but much inferiour to it in Compaſs and Largeneſs; being alſo buried in an obſcure place, for Fear of the Rage of the Multitude. After *Cephren* followed *Mycerinus* (or *Mycherinus*) the Son of *Chemmis*, or *Cheops*, of whom the *Ægyptians* made great Account, becauſe he reformed much amiſs in his Father's and Uncle's Days. He alſo built a Pyramid leſs than the other, but in Excellency of Workmanſhip far excelling them. One *Bocchoris* ſucceeded next, according to *Diodorus*; in Body contemptible, but for Endowments of mind going beyond all his Predeceſſors. Then, after a long time came in *Sabacon* the *Æthiopian*, and reigned in *Ægypt*. But *Herodotus* writeth that *Aſychis* ſucceeded *Mycerinus*, and built a Pyramid of Brick; then followed *Anyſis*, who being blind, in his time *Sabacus*, or *Sabacon*, invaded *Ægypt*, and drove him into the Fens, where he hid himſelf: but *Africanus* relateth that *Sabacon* took *Bocchoris* alive, and burning him quick, reigned in his Stead eight years. This Cruelty is little agreeable to that Humanity which *Herodotus* aſcribeth to him, *viz.* that he put no Malefactor to Death; but, according to the Degree of Guilt, impoſed upon every one the Carriage of ſo much Earth to the Place where he dwelt; and hereby the Towns were made much higher, and leſs ſubject to Inundations at the time of the overflowing of the River. His Piety is much commended; for being told by one of the gods, that if he would reign quietly in *Ægypt* he muſt cut off all the Prieſts by the Middle, he made Choice rather to quit his Intereſt in the Kingdom, and the Poſſeſſion thereof, than to hazard the Quiet of it, or commit ſuch an Act of Cruelty. He is thought by ſome to be the ſame with *Soo*, King of *Ægypt*, who combined with *Hoſhea* of *Iſrael* againſt *Salmanaſar*.

Mycherinus.

Bocchoris.

Sabacon.

25. After his Departure *Herodotus* brings the blind man out of his lurking Hole, where he had now lien fifty years, and maketh him to have recovered the Kingdom. More likely it is that *Sathon* the Prieſt of *Vulcan* ſucceeded him, thought to be *Senechus* his Son, whom *Africanus* placeth after him; and it may ſeem probable enough that if he forſook the Kingdom himſelf, yet he might leave his Son in the Government. This *Sathon* (or *Sethon*) wholely devoted to his Superſtition neglected Military men, and therefore, when *Senacherib* King of *Aſſyria* invaded *Ægypt*, was quite forſaken by them; yet he is ſaid, by his Importunity ſo far to have prevailed with his god, that pitching his Tents at *Peluſium*, the Mice did eat the Thongs of the *Aſſyrian* Targets, and the Horſe-Bridles, ſo that his Enemies were rendred incapable of fighting; and, confounded with Fear at ſo ſtrange an Accident, retreated. But whatſoever was done at *Peluſium*, the * Prophecies againſt *Ægypt* clearly ſhew that the *Aſſyrians* pierced further into the Country, and led away a Multitude in Captivity. After *Senechus*, *Africanus* placeth *Tiracus* the *Æthiopian*, the ſame with *Tirhaka*, who affrighted *Senacherib* back into his Country, and is ſaid to have made an Expedition into *Europe*, and pierced as far as the Pillars of *Hercules*. Him followed an Anarchy of two years, and then happened the Government of twelve men together, which having continued fifteen years, *Pſammeticus* one of the twelve, aſſiſted by the *Ionians* and *Carians*, got the Power wholly to himſelf. He reigned 54 years, 29 whereof he ſpent in the Siege of *Azotus*, or *Aſhdod* in *Syria*. By placing his *Ægyptian* Souldiers in the left Wing of his Army, he gave them ſuch Diſtaſte, that diſdaining Strangers ſhould have the chief Place, 200000 forſook him, and do what he could, departing into *Æthiopia*, there ſeated themſelves, He, firſt of all *Ægyptian* Princes, invited the *Greeks*, and others to trade in his Dominions, from which they had been formerly diſcouraged, either by the ſeverity of his Predeceſſors, or by giving Credit to the Fable of *Buſiris*.

Sathon.

* Nahum 3. Eſay 20.30,31. 2 Kings 18.

Tirhaka. A. M. 3288.

Strabo. Diodorus. Herodotus.

Pſammeticus.

Pharoh-Neco. A. M. 3390. V. C. 139. Joſiæ 30.

26. He left the Kingdom to his Son *Necos*, called in Scripture *Pharoh-Neco*, who firſt undertook that Fruitleſs Task of cutting a Paſſage from the River *Nile* into the *Red-Sea*, and in that work ſpent the Lives of 120000 men. Undertaking a War at Gods Command againſt the *Aſſyrian*, *Joſias* King of *Judah* oppoſed him in the Valley of *Megiddo*, where he was worſted, and ſo mortally wounded, that he died within a ſhort Space. After his Return he diſpoſed of the Kingdom of *Judah* to *Eliakim*, to whom he gave the name of *Jehoiakim*, and made him his Tributary: Him *Nebuchadneſar* King of *Aſſyria* withdrawing from his Obedience, to his own Ser-

Pſammis.

Pharoh-Hophra, or *Apries.*

Amaſis.

vice, *Neco* went up againſt the *Aſſyrian* to *Carchemiſh*, and there was ſlain, as is before (*a*) ſhewn from Scripture. *Herodotus* (*b*) writeth that he got a Victory over the *Syrians* in *Magdalum*, and took *Cadytis* in *Syria*, which may well be that *Kadeſh* mentioned by (*c*) *Moſes*. He reigned ſixteen years, ſaith *Herodotus*, ſix ſaith *Euſebius*, and was ſucceeded by his Son *Pſammis* or *Pſammetichus*, who after he had reigned ſix years made an Expedition into *Æthiopia* and died. Him followed *Apries* his Son, called in Scripture *Pharoh Hophra* and *Vaphres*, who invading *Phœnicia*, made War by Land upon *Sidon*. He fought a Battel at Sea with the *Tyrians*, whom overthrowing, and returning home with great Spoil, he was ſo far puffed up, as to perſwade himſelf that no God could deprive him of his Kingdom; ſo ſtrongly did he think he had eſtabliſhed it. But making War upon the *Cyrenæans*, he received from them a great Overthrow, and the Souldiers thereupon mutined againſt him, as having wilfully expoſed them unto Danger. To appeaſe them, he ſent one *Amaſis*, whom they preſently choſe for their King, and he after ſome Pauſe accepted their Offer. *Apries* fled, but after ſome time was taken, and by *Amaſis* delivered up to his Subjects, who ſtrangled him, having reigned ſix years.

(*a*) Chap. 3. Sect. 3. Paragr. 18.
(*b*) L. 2. *c.* 159.
(*c*) *Num.* 20. 16.
A. M. 3396.
V. C. 145.
Joakimi 4.

A. M. 3426.
Nebuchad. 30.
Aſtyagis 15.

27. With this Report of *Herodotus* agreeth *Diodorus Siculus* his Story, relating how *Apries* vanquiſhed the *Cyprians* and *Phœnicians* in a Sea-fight, took by Force and demoliſhed *Sidon*, wan the other Towns of *Phœnicia*, with the Iſle of *Cyprus*, and finally periſhed, as is before rehearſed, when he had reigned 22 years. But others of late conſidering the more ſure Teſtimony of Scripture, and how *Ægypt* was promiſed to *Nebuchadneſar* * as Wages for the Service he had done againſt *Tyre*; how *Pharoh* and his Army ſhould be ſlain by the Sword, and the *Jews* in *Ægypt*, and *Pharoh Hophra* delivered into the hands of his Enemies as *Zedekiah* had been; reſolve that the *Ægyptian* Prieſts notably deluded thoſe Hiſtorians, hiding the Diſgrace and Bondage of their Nation. Therefore it is thought fit rather to believe the Report of *Joſephus*, that *Nebuchadneſar* in the 23th year of his Reign, and the fifth after the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* conquered *Ægypt*; killed the King thereof, and appointed another in his Stead. Some think *Amaſis* might be uſed as an Inſtrument by *Nebuchadneſar*, and for that was made Governour by him; others, that the Deputy, or Vice-Roy, which he had ſet over the Land was ſlain by *Amaſis*. Agreeable to this latter Opinion, the Army of *Ionians* and *Carians* are held to have been none other than the Garriſons of Mercenaries left by the *Aſſyrian*, for the Guard of his Viceroy, and Cuſtody of this his new ſubdued Province: as likewiſe the Company returning from *Cyrene* and *Barce*, who, together with the Friends of ſuch as were ſlain in that Expedition, depoſed, and ſlue *Apries*, are conceived to have been the *Ægyptian* Fugitives, which then recovered their own Country, ſeeing that of the Prophet was verified: *At the end of forty years will I gather the* Ægyptians *from the Poople where they were ſcattered, and I will bring again the Captivity of* Ægypt, *and will cauſe them to return into the Land of* Pathros, *into the Land of their Habitation, and they ſhall be there a ſmall Kingdom.*

* *Ezek.* 29. 18, 19.
Jerem. 43. and 44.

Herodotus.

Amaſis his Law.

Pſammenitus.

28. *Amaſis* being a man of mean Extraction, and perceiving himſelf upon that Account, deſpiſed of his People, took a Golden Veſſel wherein he and his Gueſts had uſed to waſh their Feet, and thereof made an Image of a God, which when the *Ægyptians* worſhipped with great Reverence, he called them together, and comparing his Original with the former Uſe of the Gold, convinced them of that equal Reverence which the Change of both ought to beget in them. Under him the *Ægyptians* boaſted that their Country was moſt happy, no fewer than 1020 Towns of good Note flouriſhing therein, in his days. He made a Law that all men ſhould yearly give Account how they lived, which if they could not prove to be by ſome honeſt Calling, they were to be puniſhed with Death; and this, *Solon* is ſaid to have tranſlated to *Athens*. He being the firſt of all others that took *Cyprus*, reigned 54 or 55 years. It ſeemeth probable enough that he revolted from *Cyrus*, being before tributary to the *Babylonian* Empire (though the Prieſts hid this amongſt other things from *Herodotus* and others;) and that this was the chief Cauſe, whatever is pretended, why *Cambyſes* came down and conquered his Kingdom. This was not accompliſhed in his time, he dying in Preparation for the War. But his Son *Pſammenitus* ſucceeding him loſt all, and ſo *Ægypt* became a Province of the *Perſian* Empire; which things involving much of the Affairs of *Perſia*, and nearly relating to the Tragedy of *Cambyſes*, are to be referred to a more proper Place.

A. M. 3480.
V. C. 229.
Cambyſis. 5.

The Kingdom of *Ægypt* very ancient.

29. The *Ægyptians*, accounting themſelves the moſt ancient of all Nations, were not wanting indeed of many Reaſons to witneſs their Antiquity, although their Pride tranſported them beyond the true *Epoche* of their Original. The Scripture it ſelf witneſſeth *Ægypt* to have been a mighty Kingdom, every way better repleniſhed

than any other Country that we can read of, in ſo ancient times: in the days of *Abraham* it was a flouriſhing Kingdom, and the *Iſraelites* were not a People till ſuch time as the *Ægyptians* were one of the moſt flouriſhing Nations upon Earth. The *Ethiopians* concluded themſelves more ancient, becauſe *Ægypt*, as they thought, was of old a Sea or Lake, ancient Writers being of Opinion, that it was the *Gift* of the River *Nile*, which having once contained within it ſelf all the Compaſs of the Land, at length warped it up out of it's Bowels; ſo that from it's Mud, or Dirt, the firm ground proceeded, and became a Continent. They urge, that in the yearly Inundations of the *Nile* much Mud is left and ſticks Immoveable; that in the Mountains of *Ægypt* the Shells of Fiſhes are found; that the Springs and Wells there digged, afford Water of a brackiſh Taſte, as if the Reliques of Sea-water yet remained in the Earth. Laſtly, they ſay, that the Iſland *Pharus* at this day, is ſcarce a Mile diſtant from *Alexandria*; whereas in the time of (*a*) *Homer* it was a Day and Nights Sail off from *Ægypt*. But Experience ſheweth, that for ſome thouſands of years there hath been no Acceſſion by any ſuch Mud, but that thoſe Towns which anciently ſtood upon the Shore of the Sea, and River, ſtill continue there. The Shells might come from the general Deluge, being found alſo in other Places as well as *Ægypt*. Many deſcribe the Fountain of the Sun at *Heliopolis*, and yet none obſerve any brackiſh Taſt in the Water. And as for *Pharus*, in the *Trojan* times it was diſtant from *Canobus*, where *Menelaus* is thought to have arrived, but 120 Furlongs; and therefore could not be a Day and Nights Sail from *Ægypt*, as *Homer* wrote by Virtue of his Poetick Liberty, or rather his Ignorance in Geography.

Ephorus *apud* Diodorum *l.* 1. *p.* 25. Herod. *lib.* 2. *c.* 5. Ariſt. *Meteor.* *l.* 1. *c.* 14. Strabo. *l.* 12. *p.* 536. D. Plut. *in* Iſide. Plin. *l.* 2. *c.* 85. Ammian. *l.* 22. (*a*) Odyſſ. *l.* 4. *ver.* 356.

Ægypt not the Gift of the *Nile*, as was generally imagined.

Vide Brodæi *Miſcell.* *l.* 3. *c.* 5. & Bocharti *Phaleg.* *l.* 4. *c.* 24.

30. Certainly they had Cauſe enough to charge the *Greeks* with Novelty, and to jeer (as they did) at their pedantick Pretence to Antiquity; the Luſtre of any one of their Commonwealths being to that of theirs but as yeſterday; their Laws and Policy, their Religion and Rites but new Upſtarts, and (as the *Ægyptians* would go about to demonſtrate) but Copies of their Original. There was Ripeneſs of Literature, civil Diſcipline, and Inventions of ſeveral ſorts amongſt them, before the like did as much as bud forth in *Greece*, *Italy*, or other Weſtern Countries. They ſtick not to inſtance wherein the *Greeks* have borrowed of them. All, or moſt of the Names of theirs Gods, with the Superſtition belonging to them, were, they ſay, ſtollen out of their Country, the Rites being ſomething altered and new Stories invented, to blind the World, as to their Original. *Oſiris* they avow to have been the true *Bacchus* or *Dionyſus*, in whoſe Myſteries *Orpheus* the Poet being initiated whilſt he ſojourned in *Ægypt*, when he was afterwards kindly entertained at *Thebes* in *Bœotia*, to gratifie them of that Place, raiſed a Fable of his being born there, and begotten by *Jupiter* on *Semele* the Daughter of *Cadmus*, a certain Baſtard having at that time been born of her, and fathered upon *Jupiter*. *Iſis* the Siſter and Wife of *Oſiris*, they affirm to be the true *Ceres*. *Hercules* was an *Ægyptian*, not born immediately before the *Trojan* War, but in the moſt ancient time, even at the Beginning of Mankind, to which Seaſon the Wearing of a *Club* and *Lion's skin* was moſt congruous, when Clothes were not as yet found out; as alſo his cleanſing the Country of Monſters and wild Beaſts, at that time, the Earth being but inhabited in a ſcattered manner. *Apollo* in like ſort was no other than *Orus*, who was taught the Arts of Propheſying and Healing, by his Mother *Iſis*. As to this Controverſie, is obſervable the Incertainty of the names of thoſe heatheniſh Vanities, the ſame being to ſome *Iſis*, to others *Ceres*, and to others *Themophoris*, (or, the Inventor of Laws) to others *Juno*, to others the *Moon*, and to ſome all thoſe Names are one. *Oſiris* in like manner, is now taken for *Serapis*, then for *Dionyſus*, otherwhiles for *Pluto*; ſometimes for *Ammon* and *Jupiter*, and not ſeldome thought to be *Pan*, as *Diodorus* hath obſerved.

The Antiquity of the *Greeks*, Novelty in Compariſon of that of the *Ægyptians*.

Herod. *l.* 2. *c.* 49.

Diodorus *l.* 1. *p.* 14, &c.

The Incertainty of the Heatheniſh Deities.

31. Several Colonies they glory to have ſent forth. The firſt by *Belus* the Son of *Libya* and *Neptune*, into *Babylon*; where, upon *Euphrates*, he conſtituted *Flamins* after the Cuſtom of *Ægypt*, free from all Taxes and Impoſitions. Theſe by the *Babylonians* were called *Chaldæans*, who in Imitation of the *Ægyptian* Prieſts, and Philoſophers, obſerved the Stars. *Danaus* out of *Ægypt* peopled *Argos* the (almoſt) ancienteſt City of *Greece*. The Nation of the *Colchi* and the *Jews* they prove theirs by Original, from the Rite of *Circumciſion*. *Cadmus* and *Phœnix* his Brother they report to have been Natives of their *Ægyptian Thebes*, whence the former tranſlated the name of that City into *Greece*: but *Agenor* his Father, as is believed, (being the Brother of *Belus*, and uncle to *Ægyptus* and *Danaus*) came thence into *Phœnicia*, then have they further Occaſion to boaſt of a Colony led by him into that maritime Tract. The *Athenians* they prove to have been a Colony, led by *Cecrops* from *Sais* in *Ægypt*, for that they alone called their City *Aſtu*, from a Place ſo named in their

Colonies pretended to, by the *Ægyptians*.

their Country, and becauſe the Members of their Common-wealth were diſtinguiſhed into three Ranks; of *Noblemen*, who only were capable of Honours as the *Ægyptian* Prieſts; *Country-men* who bare Arms agreeable to that ſort of People in *Ægypt*, who being called *Husbandmen*, afforded Souldiers for the Wars; laſtly, *Artificers*, exerciſing manual and common Arts, which fitly anſwereth to the Cuſtom of that place. Beſides *Cecrops*, *Petes* the Father of *Mneſtheus* and *Ericthe*us** were of the *Ægyptian* Extraction; of whom the latter carrying great Store of Corn out of *Ægypt* to *Athens*, thereby obtained the Kingdom, and gave Occaſion to the Story that *Ceres* at that time came into *Greece*.

The *Ægyptian* Hieroglyphicks.

Ammianus Marcell. *l.* 17. *De Hieroglyph. vide* Joh. Pierium *Valerianum Bellunenſem.*

32. Although it may not paſs for currant, that the whole World is beholding to them for the Uſe of Letters, the Knowledge of the Stars, Geometrical Speculations, the beſt Laws, and moſt of the Liberal Arts, as they have bragged; yet moſt ancient have ſeveral of theſe things been amongſt them. Beſides the common and uſual way of writing, they had certain Notes, called * *Hieroglyphicks*, wherein each Letter ſerved for a Word, and ſingle Words expreſſed whole Sentences. As by the Image of a Vulture they expreſſed the Word *Nature*, becauſe in that kind of Bird no Male can be found. By the Picture of a *Bee making Honey* they underſtood a *King*; hinting, that in a Governour, a *ſting* or *ſharpeneſs* ought to be mixed with *Sweetneſs*. They alſo uſed ænigmatical Compoſitions or Mixtures of Images; as, by a *Scepter with an Eye, and an Ear at the Top thereof*, they ſignified the Sovereign and all-knowing Majeſty of God. As for Aſtronomy, though the *Babylonians*, for the Antiquity of their Knowledge therein, had no Need to give them place, yet were the *Ægyptians* furthered in the due Obſervation of the Stars, by the Plainneſs and Evenneſs of their Ground, and the Serenity of the Air; it never raining in *Ægypt* in ordinary Courſe of Nature, which Defect is ſupplyed by the yearly overflowing of the River. If the World be bounden to them for Geometry, it's to be aſcribed alſo to their River, as another Fruit of its Inundation, whereby waſhing away the Marks, and removing the Fences of their particular Lands, they were forced every year to meaſure them over again, and thence, through Neceſſity, driven to Mathematical Speculations. Now that the beſt Laws, and moſt ingenious Arts were from them conveyed into *Greece*, they evidence by a Particular of the Bearers.

Diodorus *l.* 1. *p.* 60, 61, 62.

Greek Poets and Philoſophers that borrowed their Knowledge of the *Ægyptians*.

33. The Prieſts, pretending in their Sacred Records to find the Regiſter of their Names, and to demonſtrate the Truth thereof by other Tokens, have made mention of *Orpheus*, who out of *Ægypt* fetched the Myſteries of *Ceres*, with the Fable of the *Inferi*, or thoſe in Hell; the ſeveral Places whereof, with the Ferry-man *Charon*, are taken out of the Fens of *Acheruſia*, and the paſſing over this Lake by Boat to bury their Dead there. Beſides him, they make mention of *Muſæus*, *Melampus*, *Dædalus*, and *Homer*, who travelled into *Ægypt* to get Knowledge. To theſe they add, of Law-givers, *Lycurgus* the *Spartan*, and *Solon* the *Athenian*, who borrowed many of their Laws, and *Plato* the choiceſt of his Notions. *Pythagoras* of *Samus* from them received his *Sacred Speech*, as it's called; his Principles of *Geometry*, *Arithmetick*, and *The Doctrine of the Tranſmigration of Souls*. *Democritus* of *Abdera* they take for granted, to have lived amongſt them five years, in which time he proved an excellent Aſtrologer. *Oenopis* of *Chius*, by his Converſation with their Prieſts and Aſtrologers, amongſt other things, learnt the particular Oblique Courſe of the Sun. And, to add no more, *Eudoxus* the Mathematician is beholding to *Ægypt* (where he ſtudied) for thoſe Inſtructions which much profited *Greece*, and thereby procured him no ſmall Honour.

Laemtius Jamblicus.

Hermes or *Mercurius Triſmegiſtus.*

34. The Invention of Philoſophy and Laws, with all the reſt of the *Ægyptian* Wiſdom, wherein *Moſes* was learned, is aſcribed by divers unto *Hermes*, or *Mercurius Triſmegiſtus*; of whom yet, either as to his Perſon or time, nothing certainly can be affirmed. *Cotta* in *Cicero*, reckoneth up five, who have born the name of *Mercury*. The firſt, begotten by the *Heaven*, or the *Day*; the ſecond, Son to *Valens* and *Pheron*, who liveth under the Earth, called alſo *Triphonius*; the third, begotten by *Jupiter*, on *Maia*; the fourth, Son to the *Nile*, whom the *Ægyptians* feared to name for Reverence ſake; the fifth and laſt, whom the *Phæneatans* worſhip, who ſlew *Argus*, and flying thereupon, was ſet over *Ægypt*; to the Inhabitants whereof he gave Laws and Literature, and was by them named *Theul*. But others attribute the Finding out of Letters, not to the *laſt*, but the *firſt Mercury* truly called *Theut*, *Thoyoth*, *Thot*, and *Tautus*; it being utterly againſt all Antiquity, that any ſhould out of *Greece* tranſport Learning into *Ægypt*. Others account two of this name natural *Ægyptians*, of whom the latter was Nephew, or Grand-ſon, to the former. Some think *Joſeph*, ſome think *Moſes* the true *Mercury*. Whatever he was, his Works loſt and * thoſe yet extant, ſhew him to have been a man very well

* Tranſlated by *Ficinus* & *Apuleius*.

well skilled in true Divinity, and have gained him the Credit to be numbred amongſt the Prophets, and Sibylls, for that he wrote many things of God, worthy of Admiration; nay alſo, it's believed, of the coming of Chriſt, of the Trinity, and the laſt Judgment. Of the Learning of the *Ægyptians* he is ſaid to have written 36525 Books, if Pages be not rather meant hereby: And one telleth us, that in his time were extant 36 of his Books, *viz.* of the Wiſdom of the *Ægyptians* ſixteen, of Phyſick ſix, of the Orders of Prieſts ten, and four of Aſtrology.

Iamblicus.
Clemens Stromat. *l.* 6.

The ancient Government of *Ægypt.*

35. The moſt ancient Government of *Ægypt*, though Monarchical, yet left not Princes to the Liberty of their own Wills, which were reſtrained by the Laws and Cuſtoms that had ſuch Authority over their private and domeſtick Actions, that they could not exceed the Bounds of Temperance and Moderation preſcribed to them thereby. For no Slaves were they ſuffered to entertain, which might prove Inſtruments for Debauchery, but were attended by the Sons of the moſt noble Prieſts, excellently educated. Their Hours, both Night and Day, were deſtined and ſet over to particular Buſineſſes. In the Morning when firſt awake, Letters were brought in to them; that, having perfect Intelligence, they might be better able to provide for the publick Safety. When waſhed and royally apparelled they ſacrificed; during which Devotion the chief Prieſts prayed for them, and their Subjects extolled their Virtues, curſing at laſt their Sins of Ignorance, committed without their Faults, and reflecting upon their Adviſors and Councellors. Then did the Prieſts read out of the Records, famous Preſidents of Council, or Action performed by their moſt illuſtrious Predeceſſors, which were to them propoſed as Copies to take out. Their time was preſcribed, not only of ſpeaking to the People, and diſtributing Juſtice, but alſo of walking, waſhing, and other more ſecret Imployments. Their Diet was very moderate: uſually Veal and Gooſe, with a moderate Quantity of Wine, as if ordered by an exact Phyſician. No Liberty was there of puniſhing any man in Paſſion, or choler, either of acting any otherwiſe unjuſtly; every Caſe being determined by the Laws. Yet neither did they hereby account themſelves ſtraitned of true Liberty, but rather happy in that they indulged not their Appetites like other men. Hereby obtained they the Love of their Subjects, who held them more dear, alive, or dead, than their own Relations, and the Government continued for many Generations, as long as they ſubmitted to thoſe Rules and Orders.

The Diviſions of the Land, and its Inhabitants.

36. *Seſooſis*, or *Seſoſtris*, divided *Ægypt* into 36 *Nomi*, which word, whether *Greek* or *Ægyptian*, ſignified ſeveral Cities with certain Villages and Grounds thereto belonging. Of theſe, 10 belonged to the Province of *Thebes*, or to *Thebais*, other ten to *Delta*, and the reſt to the *Midland Countries* lying betwixt them; all which had their ſeveral *Nomarchæ*, or Governours, who ruled them, and took Care of the Kings Tributes. The Lands were divided into three Portions, whereof the *firſt* belonged to the Prieſts, who were in great Authority, and high Eſteem with the People. Of their Revenues they maintained Sacrifices throughout the Land, and their own Families; being exempted from all Burthens and Impoſitions. They were chief Councellors to the Kings, always aſſiſting with their Advice, judging of things out of their deep Skill in Aſtrology, and ſuggeſting uſeful matter out of the Records; their Function hereditarily deſcended upon their Children. The *ſecond* Portion of Land belonged to the Kings, by which they maintained their State, waged War, rewarded deſerving Perſons, and which affording them ſufficient Treaſure, they burthened not their Subjects by any Taxes. The *third* Portion belonged to the Souldiers, who were at all Occaſions ready for the War; it ſeeming reaſonable that ſuch as ventured their Lives for the Safety of their Country ſhould be well rewarded; and good Policy not to commit the Safeguard thereof to any that had nothing dear, or precious in it: and hereby they were encouraged to be careful in Behoof of their Poſterity, which ſucceeded them in their Poſſeſſions. As for the reſt of the People, they were divided into three Ranks, or Orders, *viz. Shepheards*, *Husbandmen*, (that farmed the Grounds,) and *Artificers*; who all attending their Buſineſs, and not medling with State-Affairs, neither having any Right to Offices, thereby the more improved their Arts, and ſaved the Commonwealth harmleſs from ſuch Diſtempers, as are bred by the Violence of an heady, and ignorant Multitude.

Diodorus *lib.* 1. *p.* 35, &c.
Strabo *l.* 17.

Ariſtot. Oeconom *lib.* 2.

Diodorus.

The Courts of Juſtice.

37. Their Courts of Juſtice were furniſhed with the moſt upright, and able men that could be procured. Thirty Judges were choſen from *Heliopolis* (or *On*,) *Thebes* and *Memphis*, each of them 10. Which Aſſembly would not give place, either to that of the *Areopagites* at *Athens*, or the Senate at *Lacedæmon*. One of theſe thirty being choſen Preſident, the City for which he ſerved made choice of another to ſit in his Place. All had Maintenance from the King; but the Preſident in larger Pro-

portion;

portion: who alſo wore about his neck, in a Chain of Gold, an image of *Truth* made of precious ſtones, as a badge of his Office. When they were ſate, and the Codes, wherein the Laws were contained, laid before them; then the Plaintiff exhibited his Bill of the Crime, the Manner of it, and the Eſtimate of the dammage. The Defendant having a Copy of the Bill, anſwered particularly to it, either that he did not the thing, committed no Crime in doing it, or elſe had not deſerved ſo great a Puniſhment. The Plaintiff had liberty to reply, and the other to rejoyn his Anſwer; but after this, the 30 proceeded to Judgment, and the Preſident ſet the Image of Truth towards one of the Parties. No Lawyers were ſuffered to plead, as being thought rather to caſt a miſt upon the Cauſe, and darken the Evidence.

Particular Laws.

38. As for particular Laws; Perjury was puniſhed with Death, as a great Offence, both againſt God and man. If one man ſuffered another to be murdered in the High-way, or undergo any other Violence, without giving his Aſſiſtance, he was to dye for it; and if he could give him no help, he was bound to diſcover the Robber, and follow the Law againſt him, under pain of enduring a certain number of ſtrokes, and being deprived of all ſuſtenance for three dayes. Falſe Accuſers underwent the Puniſhment due to that Fault they accuſed of. Every one was bound to give in an account to the Magiſtrate how he lived, under pain of Death; which Law was made by *Amaſis*. Wilful Murder, either of Bond or Free, was Death; onely this Law took no hold on Parents; but ſuch were conſtrained to continue three dayes embracing the Carkaſſes. Againſt Children who killed their Parents, moſt exquiſite Puniſhment was deviſed: For, having firſt their Fleſh all cut and ſlaſhed, and then being laid upon Thorns, they were burnt quick. Women condemned were not executed before their Delivery. For other Laws not-Capital, it was enacted that Souldiers running away from their Colours, or diſobeying their Officers, ſhould not dye, but be branded with Infamy, as a means to excite them to regain their former credit. If any held Intelligence with the Enemy, his Tongue was to be cut out of his head. They that imbaſed the Coin, uſed new weights, counterfeited Seals; Clerks that falſified and forged Records, were to loſe their hands. Raviſhment of a Free-woman was puniſhed with the loſs of the Members. Adultery of the man, with a thouſand ſtrokes with a Rod; of the Woman, with the loſs of her Noſe.

39. *Bocchoris* enacted, that he who denied the borrowing of any money, ſhould be abſolved upon his Oath; which was accounted as a ſufficient Purgation; a mans Credit being ſo much therein concerned. Uſury upon Bond was not to exceed the double of the Principal; for which it was lawful to diſtrain the Goods, but in no wiſe to meddle with the Perſon of the Debtor, that was owing to his Countrey, and not due to his Creditor; eſpecially if a Souldier, the common Safety ſuffering in him. Upon this account, they were wont to ſcoff at the Law-givers of *Greece*, who forbad the ſeizing upon Plows, Weapons, and other things, but ſuffered thoſe that ſhould uſe them to be carried away, and impriſoned. For ſtealing, they had a peculiar Law: Every Thief entred his name with the Chief of that Myſtery; and when he had ſtoln any thing, carried it ſtreight to him, where, if any one could tell the time and place, and prove it by certain tokens to be his, he was to pay the fourth part of the value, and receive it again; the Law-giver thinking this the beſt remedy againſt what otherwiſe could not be prevented.

The Law-givers of *Ægypt*.

40. The firſt man that gave Laws to the *Ægyptians*, was *Mnevis*, perſwading the People to receive them, becauſe they were communicated to him by *Mercury*. The ſecond was *Saſyches*, who, amongſt other Laws, inſtituted thoſe concerning Religion; and, being a man of great Learning, taught Geometry and Aſtronomy. 3. *Seſoſtris*, who, as he excelled all others in Military glory, ſo he made Laws for the Diſcipline of War. 4. *Bocchoris*, a wiſe and prudent man, ſeveral of whoſe Apothegms were a long time preſerved in the memories of men. 5. *Amaſis*, who much amended the whole Policy of *Ægypt*, his rare Wiſdom having preferred him to that high Dignity, for which alſo being admired abroad as well as at home, he was reſorted to by ſome out of *Greece*, as an Oracle. Laſtly, *Darius*, the Son of *Hyſtaſpes*, King of *Perſia*.

Particular Cuſtoms of the *Ægyptians*.

41. As for particular Cuſtoms. The *Ægyptians* married as many Wives as they pleaſed (Poſterity being with them a thing of greateſt conſequence) except the Prieſts, who were allowed but one apiece. Children born of Bond-women, and Free, were alike reſpected, and equally legitimate, the Father by them being only accounted the Author of Generation, the Mother affording but Place and Nouriſhment to the Child; in which reſpect alſo, contrary to the Cuſtom of other Nations, thoſe Trees that bare Fruit they accounted Males, and the barren ones Females. Their

Children they educated exceeding hardly, the Expence of bringing one up not exceeding twenty Drachms. Each Child ſucceeded his Father in his Trade, or Courſe of Life. All ſorts had ſome kind of Learning, eſpecially ſuch as conduced to their Callings. Muſick was neglected by them, as rendring men effeminate. Once a Moneth they uſed to purge, or uſe ſome medicinal Courſe for their Health. With them no Phyſician was found (as *Herodotus* writeth) who profeſſed the Art of curing the whole Body; but one was for the Head alone, another for the Eyes, and ſo for the other Parts: all which yet, as *Diodorus* hath it, were maintained of the publick, and bound to obſerve Methods, and Medicines preſcribed them in Books; which if they altered or changed, upon the Miſcarriage of the Patient they forfeited their Lives, together with their Credit.

42. Such was the Conſtituton of the *Ægyptian* Commonwealth, as they themſelves related, which from ſome gaineth little Credit, this Conſtitution of Policy hardly agreeing with the manners of thoſe Kings that built the Pyramids; ſo that to them this excellent Model of Government ſeemeth to be of the ſame Nature, and Credit with the * *Cyropædia* of *Xenophon*. This is obſervable, that according to this Conſtitution the Propriety in Land was varied from that Form wherein it was left by *Joſeph*, who purchaſed all the Land (except that of the Prieſts) for *Pharoh*, and made the King abſolute Lord thereof. The fond and ridiculous Superſtition, which poſſeſſed this People above others taketh off much from its Reputation. The ſordid and degenerate Humour of conſecrating, with ſuch blind Earneſtneſs, *Bulls*, *Sheep*, *Dogs*, *Cats*, *Ichneumons*, *Ibis*, *Goſſehawks*, *Eagles*, *Goats*, *Wolves*, *Crocodiles*, * *Plants* that grew in their Gardens, and other things, is ſo abominable at the firſt Sight, as none of their Pretences can give thereto the leaſt Shew of Reaſon, in the Opinion of a man but ordinarily qualified with the Light of Nature.

Their ridiculous Superſtition.

* *Vide Juditium* Jacob. Cappelli *in Hiſt. ſacra & Exotica ad* A. M. 1931.

* *Porrum aut cæpe nefas violare aut frangere morſu. O Sanctas gentes quibus hæc naſcuntur in hortis Numina! Juvenal.* Satyr. 15. 2. 9.

CHAP. V.

The moſt ancient State, and Condition of Greece, *during the* Babylonian *Empire, with a Deſcription of its Kingdoms and Commonwealth.*

SECT. I.

The State of *Greece* in General.

1. THE moſt ancient common name of the Inhabitants of this Country is more agreeable to the *Roman* Appellations of *Graii*, *Græci*, and *Grajugenæ*, than that whereby they have rather choſen to call themſelves, *viz. Hellenes*. For, till * ſuch time as *Hellen*, the Son of *Deucalion* reigned in *Theſſaly*, which hapned ſome years after the *Deucalionean Deluge*, no ſuch name as the latter was known. From him his Subjects, who inhabited that part of *Theſſaly*, lying betwixt the two Rivers * *Peneus* and *Aſopus*, were firſt called *Hellenes*, being formerly known by the name of *Græci*; and the Country it ſelf *Hellas*, afterwards named *Pthiotis*. *Homer* owneth none by the name of *Hellenes*, but thoſe, who with the *Myrmidonæ*, amongſt others, followed *Achilles* to the Siege of *Troy*, neither any Place calleth he *Hellas*, but only one in *Theſſaly*, mentioned by *Strabo*, who knoweth not whether it be a Town or Country, though he would gladly prove, that, by *Hellas*, *Homer* underſtood the whole Nation. *Strabo* is in no wiſe to be heard againſt *Thucydides*, and *Apollodorus*, whereof the former witneſſeth, that the Poet no where mentioneth the *Barbarians*, becauſe all the *Hellenes* were not yet known by one common Name, whom he might oppoſe againſt them; and the latter expreſly ſaith, that he only called thoſe in *Theſſaly* by the name of *Helle-*

Whence the *Greeks* were called *Hellenes*.

Vide Apollod. lib. 1. *c.* 21. *Thucyd. l.* 1. *in præfat. Ariſtot. de Meteoris l.* 1.

* Strabo *l.* 8. *p.* 383. A. Γραικοί.

Vide Strab. *lib.* 8. *p.* 370. *A.*

Hellenes. But though in *Homer*'s time the whole Nation might begin to be called *Hellenes*, and the Country *Hellas*; yet clear it is from many Witneſſes, that theſe names came out of *Theſſalie*, and were thence transferred to ſignifie the whole Nation, and their Colonies placed elſewhere; inſomuch, that priding themſelves, as it were, in it, they wholly rejected the other of *Græci* (which, ſignifying *ancient*, as ſeemeth, they had alſo out of *Theſſalie* from the ſame People) who were afterwards called *Hellenes*; though the Poets deſpiſe it not, as *Callimachus*, *Sophocles*, and others; and the *Latins* ſtill retain it, taking no notice of the other in their Language, whence theſe words *Greece* and *Græcians* are derived.

Thucyd.

The moſt ancient *Greeks* lived in an unſetled Condition, preying one upon another.

2. *Greece* was not anciently inhabited in any ſetled or eſtabliſhed way, though in after Ages it became ſo famous in it's flouriſhing Commonwealths. Seats and Habitations were often changed, according to the Power and Strength of ſuch as were not ſatisfied with their own Fortune. No Commerce was there amongſt them, being in continual Fear one of another: they lived only from Hand to Mouth, not regarding Money, or the Improvement of their Grounds, knowing not how long they ſhould enjoy any thing in preſent Poſſeſſions; ſo that no conſiderable City was there, or any Fortifications of Value. *Attica* indeed was ſomething privileged by its Barrenneſs, and ſecured from ſuch violent Attempts as other parts were obnoxious to; whence ſuch as were diſturbed elſewhere, flocked thither, and it grew ſo populous, that not able to maintain the great Numbers, under which it groaned, it poured out Colonies into *Aſia* the leſs, which made up the Body of *Ionians*. Before the *Trojan* War, nothing conſiderable was done abroad by the *Græcians*; but at that time having got ſome Power at Sea, they were rendered capable of that Expedition. For *Minos* King of *Crete*, (whom *Thucydides* would make to have had the firſt and moſt ancient Fleet of all others) had not long before obtained the Dominion of the greateſt part of the *Greek* Sea, and making himſelf Maſter of the Iſlands *Cyclades*, caſt thence the *Carians*, and placed Colonies of his own therein, over which he made his Sons Princes. And to increaſe his Cuſtoms, he ſcoured the Seas of Pyrats; it being then the Trade of thoſe that lived upon the Coaſts, to paſs over and make Prey one of another; which to the laſt could not be left by ſome, as the *Ætolians* and *Acarnanians* amongſt others.

Nothing conſiderable done by them abroad till the *Trojan* War.

A. M. 2773.

Cities begin to be built upon the Sea-Coaſts.

3. The Sea being cleared, Cities began to be built upon the Coaſt both for Trade and Security, whereas the moſt ancient Towns ſtood at a good Diſtance from the Sea, both in the Continent and Iſlands. Then came it to paſs, that the weaker ſubmitting themſelves to the more powerful for matter of Profit, or the ſtrong hand procuring it from them, ſome new and conſiderable Principalities were erected, which rendred them fit for the Expedition againſt *Troy*; wherein *Agamemnon* præſided, as the moſt powerful Prince then reigning, eſpecially at Sea. Yet was there ſtill ſuch Scarcity of Money and of Proviſions, that only ſo many Forces did they carry over, as they hoped the War might maintain, and uſed thoſe not all together, and at the ſame time, but employed them in tilling the *Cherroneſus*, and in Depredations; whereby being thus diſperſed, the *Trojans* were the longer able to reſiſt them; which they could not have done, had they been ſufficiently furniſhed with Neceſſaries, and incontinently with all their Strength, fallen upon the City. Ten years being conſumed in this War, great Alterations were thereby produced in *Greece*. For through their Abſence ſo long abroad, Seditions and Tumults aroſe at Home; whence many at their Return, or afterwards, were forced to ſeek out new Habitations. A long time it was, e're the Country returned to Quietneſs and Settlement; but at Length, it was enabled to ſend out Colonies, as the *Athenians* into *Ionia* and the *Iſlands* of the *Greek* Sea, the *Peloponneſians*, and ſome other Cities into *Italy*, and *Sicily*. The Nation now growing ſtronger and wealthier daily, Tyrannies or petty Kingdoms were erected in every place, there being now a Poſſibility of raiſing Revenues; and as any exceeded others in Power and Cunning, they invaded the Governments of others, which they made arbitrary; whereas before Kingdoms were hereditary, with a conſtant limited Power, that they ſeldome exceeded.

The *Græcians* maintained themſelves by Tillage, and Plunder at the Wars of *Troy*.

A. M. 2821.

Great Changes cauſed at home by their ſo long Abſence.

The *Corinthians* firſt eminent at Sea.

A. M. 3353. *D. C*, 102. *Manaſſis*. 50.

4. The *Corinthians* firſt began to be famous at Sea, being the firſt that uſed that ſort of Gallies named *Triremes*, and fought a Battel with the *Corcyræans*, 220 years before the beginning of the *Peloponneſian* War. For being ſeated in the *Iſthmus*, they enjoyed thereby a conſtant Mart, which filled them with Wealth, eſpecially after the Sea was cleared of Pyrats, and Traffick increaſed. Long after, the *Ionians* got the Start of the reſt in Naval Glory, making good Progreſs therein, and had gone ſtill further, but that *Cyrus* having broken in pieces the Power of *Crœſus*, and ſubdued all as far as the River *Halys*, forced them alſo, after ſome ſtrugling, to ſubmit themſelves unto the Yoak: After them, *Polycrates* the Tyrant of *Samus*, the

The *Ionians*.

A. M. 3462.

Polycrates and others.

A. 3473.

Moſſilians and *Corcyræans* obtained the greateſt Power at Sea; the *Æginetans* and *Athenians*, with the reſt, being inconſiderable therein, till theſe two States falling out, *Themiſtocles* procured the *Athenians* to apply themſelves more to Sea-matters, when they now alſo expected the Coming of the *Perſian* King. Great Commodity all theſe obtained by the Power of their Navies, either in getting Money, or new Poſſeſſions; for they ſubdued the Iſlands, ſuch eſpecially labouring herein, whoſe native Soils afforded leaſt Advantage. By Land no War aroſe that gave any ſufficient Advantage of inlarging their Dominions further, than to the Diſturbance of their next Neighbours; they ſtirred not abroad nor gave their Minds to any new Conqueſts. Thoſe that were Subjects, were patient under the Yoak, and Equalls in Power made no conſiderable Quarrels, till all *Greece* come to be divided in the old War, betwixt the Inhabitants of *Chalcis* and *Eretria*. Then, to hinder them from growing great, the Affairs of the *Perſians* were advanced; till having caſt out their Tyrants, (who all this while contenting themſelves with the private Power they had over particular Places, ſtirred not) they got Ground by little and little of the Eaſtern Empire. Almoſt during this whole Period had they no written Laws, *Homer* being witneſs, who never uſeth the word *Law* throughout his Writings. They were not generally governed but by indefinite Sentences and Precepts of their Kings, remaining a long time without any written Precepts, and referring all to the Event, according to which Judgment inſued. Such was the moſt ancient Condition of *Greece* in General. Now a particular Account is to be given of the ſeveral Kingdoms and States, that were moſt conſiderable and contemporary with the *Babylonian* Empire.

No War by Land.

No written Laws.

Joſeph. *contra* Apion. *l.* 2.

SECT. II.

The *Sicyonian* Kingdom.

The *Sicyonian* Kingdom moſt ancient.

Ægialeus the firſt King.

A. M. 1915.

Europs.
Telchines
Apis.

Thelxion.

Ægyrus.

Thurimachus.
Leucippus.
Peratus.
Plemnæus.
Orthopolis.

Euſeb. *in Chronic.* Auguſt. *de Civit. Dei.* l. 18. Pauſan. *in Corinthiacis.* p. 49. *Edit. Grec.* Francofurti. 1583.

1. THE Affairs of the *Sicyonian* have the firſt place allotted to them in Antiquity, who inhabited a City ſituated upon the *Bay* of *Corinth*, and the Confines of *Achaia*. Here *Ægialeus* began a Kingdom about 270 years after the univerſal Deluge, 232 before the beginning of *Inachus*, 1313 before the firſt *Olympiad*, the year of the World 1915, according to the Vulgar way of Computation, without taking in the 100 years formerly mentioned in the Hiſtory of the *Judges*, and 859 year of *Noah*) whilſt *Ninus* reigned in *Aſſyria*. From him the City was firſt called *Ægialia*, and part of the *Peninſula* it ſelf, according to ſome; which afterwards was from *Pelops* named *Peloponneſus*. He left his Kingdom to *Europs* his Son, after he had reigned 52 years, and *Europs* having reigned 45, was ſucceeded by *Telchines*. He governed 20, and was followed by *Apis*, who was ſo great, that all within the Iſthmus was from him called *Apios*. When he had continued 25 years, his Son *Thelxion* ſucceeded him, during whoſe Reign, all things were ſo proſperous and happy, that being dead, they worſhipped him for a God by Sacrifices, and ſolemnizing Games, which (as they ſay) were firſt invented for his Sake. Him followed *Ægyrus*, after he had reigned 52 years. *Ægyrus* or *Ægydrus*, reigned 33; *Thurimachus* 54; *Leucippus* 43; who had only a Daughter named *Calchinia*, on which *Neptune* (or rather *Meſapus*) begat *Peratus*, who was Heir to his Grand-father, and governed forty ſeven years. After *Peratus* followed *Plemnæus*, whoſe Children all died as ſoon as they were born, till *Ceres* came in the Likeneſs of a Woman, and brought up *Orthopolis*, who ſucceeded his Father, having reigned 48 years.

Coronus.
Corax.
Epopeus.

2. *Orthopolis* the twelfth King of *Ægialea*, had a Daughter named *Chryſorthe*, on which *Apollo* is ſuppoſed to have begot *Coronus* his Succeſſor. *Coronus* left two Sons *Corax* and *Lamedon*. *Corax* after he had reigned 30 years, died without Iſſue, and *Epopeus* a *Theſſalian* ſeiſed on his Kingdom, *Epopeus* ſtole *Antiope* the Daughter of *Nycteus* King of *Thebes*, for which Injury he was proſecuted with War by the *Thebans*. A Battel being fought, he had the better, but both the Kings were mortally wounded. *Nycteus* preſently died after he was carried Home, but left the Tuition of *Lamdacus* the Son of *Polydorus* and Nephew to *Cadmus*, (whoſe *Guardian* he had been) to his Brother *Lycus*, requeſting of him to lead down another Army into *Ægialea*, to revenge him upon *Epopeus*, and to puniſh *Antiope*, if he could take her; but in the mean time *Epopeus* died alſo of his

Lamedon.

Wounds, being neglected, and *Lamedon* the Son of *Coronus* obtained his Fathers Kingdom, gave up *Antiope* to *Lycus*, as *Pauſanias* writeth, though *Apollodorus* ſaith, that *Lycus* took *Ægialea* and ſlew *Epopeus*. *Antiope* in the way to *Thebes* fell in Travel, and brought forth *Amphion* and *Zethus*, who being found and nouriſhed by an Herdſman, the former gave himſelf to Muſick, and the latter to nouriſhing of Cattel, and both afterwards revenged their Mother upon *Lycus* and his Wiſe *Dirce*, from whoſe hard Uſage ſhe had eſcaped, and came to them. A. M. 2616.

Sicyon, from whom the City was named. *Polybus.* *Adraſtus.* *Janiſcus.* *Phæſtus.*

3. *Lamedon* married *Phenon* the Daughter of *Clytius* an *Athenian*, and undertaking War againſt *Archander* and *Architeles* the *Achæans*, ſent for *Sicyon* the Son of *Metion* and Nephew of *Erechtheus*, out of *Attica* to aſſiſt him, to whom giving his Daughter *Zeuxippe* in Marriage, he left him alſo his Succeſſor. A. M. 2656. From *Sicyon* the City was named *Sicyon*, and the Country *Sicyonia*. He had a Daughter named *Chthonophyle*, on which *Mercury* begat *Polybus*; after whoſe Birth ſhe was married to *Phlias* the Son of *Dionyſus*, and to him bore *Androdamas*. *Polybus* ſucceeding his Grand-father, left alſo his Grand-Son *Adraſtus* (by his Daughter, married to *Talaus* King of *Argos*) his Heir, who being expelled his own City, had fled to him. But he making his Peace at home returned, and after his Departure *Janiſcus* or *Inachus* the Nephew of that *Clytis* whoſe Daughter married with *Lamedon*, came out of *Attica* and obtained the Kingdom. After *Janiſcus* had reigned 42 years, he gave way by Death to *Phæſtus*, one vulgarly accounted the Son of *Hercules*, who after eight years, by the Direction of an Oracle, went over into *Crete*, where he built a City of his own Name.

Zeuxippus. *Hippolytus.* *Polyphides.* *Pelaſgus.* The Prieſts of *Apollo Carinus.* *Laceſtades.* *Phalces* ſeizeth upon *Sicyon*.

4. After his Departure *Zeuxippus* the Son of *Apollo* by the Nymph *Syllis*, was King of *Sicyon*; but reigned not long. A. M. 2846. *Hippolytus* Nephew to *Phæſtus* by his Son *Rhopalus*, obtained his Grand-fathers Seat. Againſt him *Agamemnon* King of *Mycenæ* made War, till he forced him to ſubmit. After four years ſucceeded *Polyphides*, and continued 31, then *Pelaſgus* 20, and after this * *Euſebius* would have *Zeuxippus* to have begun his Reign, which after 32 years ended with the Kingdom. It having now continued the ſpace of 962 years, the Prieſts of *Apollo Carnius* obtained the Sovereighty, and held it 33. But *Pauſanias* writeth, that when *Laceſtades*, the Son of *Hippolytus* reigned at *Sicyon*, *Phalces* the Son of *Temenus* (who had been King of *Argos*) ſeized upon it with the *Dores* in the Night time; but, for that both of them were deſcended of *Hercules*, dealt not roughly with him, but admitted him to Partnerſhip in the Kingdom. A. M. 2908. So, from thenceforth the *Sicyonians* became *Dores*, and were reckoned amongſt the *Argives*. This fell out 87 years after the Deſtruction of *Troy*, 120 before the firſt *Olympiad*, A. M. 2908.

* *Ex Caſtore Rhodio Chronographo.*

SECT. III.

The Kingdom of *Argos*.

The Kingdom of *Argos* hath the ſecond place, if not the firſt.

1. THE (*a*) ſecond Place in Antiquity belongeth to this Kingdom, for which (*b*) ſome have not been wanting to challenge the firſt, affirming that many years after the Eſtabliſhment of this, *Ægialeus* began that of the *Sicyonians*; and certainly though *Argos* miſſed ſomething of *Sicyon* in years; yet in Fame, Dignity, Power, and Riches, it exceeded it. *Inachus* firſt here began a Kingdom, about 244 years after the Beginning of the *Sicyonian*, the 142 of the Life of *Abraham*, 676 before the Deſtruction of *Troy*, and 1082 before the Beginning of the *Olympiads*. A. M. 2149. From the Antiquity of *Inachus* came that Proverb of *Inacho antiquior*, concerning which *Eraſmus* is to be conſulted in his *Adages*. On his Siſter *Meliſſa* he begat *Phoroneus* and a Daughter named *Io*, which muſt not be confounded with the Daughter of *Jaſus* of a later Date, as ſhe is wont to be by *Mythologiſts*. After fifty years Reign, he left his Kingdom to his Son *Phoroneus*, who by ſome was thought the firſt man, as the Son of a *River* in that Place, called *Inachus*, and conſequently the Father of Mortals, and Author of Mankind. He is ſaid to have built the firſt Altar unto *Juno*. Againſt him and the *Parrhaſians*, the *Telchines* and *Caryatæ* made War, but being overcome betook themſelves to the Mercy of Wind and Sea, and at length arrived in *Crete*, as ſome, or *Rhodes*, as others ſay. He obtained the Dominion of the whole *Peninſula*, and of the Nymph *Laodice*, begot a Son called *Apis*, and a Daughter named *Niobe*, which *Jupiter* loved the firſt of all Women

Inachus. *Phoroneus.*

(*a*) *Euſeb. in Chronico.*

(*b*) *Vide Ludov. Vivem in Auguſtin. de Civitat. Dei lib.* 18. *cap.* 3.

Pauſan. in Argolicis p. 58. *Clemens Stromat. l.* 1. *Nonius.*

Oroſius l. 1. *cap.* 7.

Sect. 3.

women, and on her begat *Argus*; *Phoroneus*, after he had reigned ſixty years, died, and left his Kingdom to his Son *Apis*.

A. M. 2260.

Apis.

2. *Apis* turning Tyrant, commanded the *Peninſula* to be called after himſelf, *Apios*, and being circumvented by the wiles of *Thelxion*, and *Telchin*, died without Iſſue, after he had reigned 34 years. *Apollodorus* ſaith, he was killed for his Tyranny in *Greece*, though ſome make him to have gone into *Ægypt*, and there dying, to have been taken for a God, and called *Serapis*; but there being two Kings of this name beſides him, *viz.* one of *Sicyon*, and another of *Ægypt*, moſt Mythologiſts confound them, and attribute what was done by all unto one; which thing is uſual with the *Greeks*.

Argus.

Apis dying after he had reigned 34 years, left for his Succeſſor *Argus*, his Siſters Son by *Jupiter* the King of *Crete*, who lived about this time. In that Iſland firſt reigned *Cres*, who gave name to it, and was one of thoſe *Curetes* that were ſaid to have hid *Jupiter* from his Father *Saturn*, who would have devoured his youngeſt Son after the other, and nouriſhed him; as alſo to have built the City *Cnoſſos*, and the Temple of *Cybele*. With this man, many others are confounded, according to the cuſtom of Poets, who have obſerved no diſtinction in aſcribing to one what many did, and fathering things of their own Invention upon the common name of *Jupiter*.

Several particular men known to have had the name *Jupiter*.

3. The firſt man known to have had this name, was *Ham*, the youngeſt Son of *Noah*, who was worſhipped for a God, under the title of *Jupiter Hammon*. His Nephew *Nimrod*, the firſt King of *Babylon* and *Aſſyria*, was ſirnamed *Belus*, and often called *Jupiter Belus*. In *Crete* lived (*a*) one very ancient, that hath gone under this name; although as many places have challenged him for their Native, as (*b*) contended for the Birth of *Homer*. Some think, that he who is reported to have been preſerved, and nouriſhed by the *Curetes*, or the *Idæi Dactyli*, was more ancient than *Niobe*, and therefore make a ſecond *Jupiter* to have lived in *Crete* about 150 years after; who becauſe he was the firſt of this name known to have been extravagant towards Women; thence aroſe that ſaying, That *Niobe* was the firſt Woman beloved by *Jupiter*. *Æolus* the Son of *Hellen*, and Nephew of *Deucalion*, who lived about *Theſſaly*, and gave name to the *Æoles*, became ſo famous with Poſterity, that they gave him the name of (*c*) *Jupiter* and *Neptune*. *Picus*, King of the *Aborigines* in *Italy*, Father to *Faunus*, and ſuppoſed to be begotten by *Saturn*, after he had fled into *Latium* from his Son *Jupiter*, is alſo called *Jupiter* by (*d*) one, and *Æneas Jupiter Indiges* by the *Romans*. Theſe are ſuch particular men as are known to have had this name, which hath been ſo far advanced as to ſignifie the beſt, and chiefeſt Being, whil'ſt ſuch as at firſt were reverenced for their Vertue or Power, at length were forgotten to have been Mortals.

(*a*) *Euſeb.*
(*b*) *Vide Pauſan. in Meſſeniis, p.* 143.7.
(*c*) *Idem ibid. p.* 154.31.
(*d*) *Apud Suidam.*

Whence ſo many.

4. Each Nation of old had its Native *Jupiter*, who was either the Founder thereof, or, living in remote times, was by that Veneration, which attributeth immoderate things to Antiquity, elevated into a Deity. Here is to be conſidered what *Annius* his *Xenophon* wrote in his Treatiſe of *Æquivocals*, as he calleth them. The moſt ancient King of any Great and Illuſtrious Family, was wont to be called *Saturn*, the eldeſt Son *Jupiter*, and the moſt Valiant amongſt the Nephews, or Grand-ſons, *Hercules*. *Jupiter* the ancient King of *Crete*, or ſome other, by his great Exploits, and well-deſerving of that Age, might gain this credit to his Name; or the word *Zeus* in the *Greek* Tongue ſignifying what *Ham* doth import in the other Language, the Original of this name may better agree with the Name, Place, and Condition of the Son of *Noah*. As for *Jupiter* the younger, who is ſuppoſed to have begotten *Hercules* on *Alcmena*, the Wife of *Amphitrio*, appeareth a meer Fiction; ſo Valiant a Perſon as that Child proved, inhancing the repute of his Generation: or if this *Hercules* was not the Son of *Amphitrion*, but begotten by ſome other man, then was the name of *Jupiter* given to his Father, to take away the *Odium* of Baſtardy; it being an ordinary thing for ſuch as were Baſe-begotten to be fathered upon *Jupiter*, *Mars*, or *Apollo*.

From *Argus* the City took its name.

5. From *Argus* the City was named (*e*) *Argos*, before called *Phoronicum*, from *Phoroneus*, who firſt gathered the People into it, being before that diſperſed; and then made them Laws for Government. From him alſo his Subjects took the name of *Argi* and *Argivi*, and the whole * *Peninſula*, named *Apia* before; he would have called after himſelf, *Argos*. In (*f*) his time *Greece* began to be full of Corn, which being aſcribed to his Care and Induſtry, he was honoured after his death with a Temple and Sacrifice, which Worſhip was before given to one *Homogyrus*, killed by a Thunder-bolt, for that he had firſt yoaked Oxen in the Plow. His Brother was (*g*) *Pelaſgus*, (ſaid alſo to have been begotten by *Jupiter* on *Niobe*) the Father of *Lycaon*, and who gave name to the *Pelaſgi*, a People that firſt inhabited

(*e*) *Heſychius.*
* *Lege Strab. lib.* 3. *p.* 365.
(*f*) *Auguſt. de Civit. Dei. l.* 18. *c.* 6.
(*g*) *Apollodorus, lib.* 2. *initio.*

inhabited *Arcadia*, (hence called *Pelaſgis* and *Pelaſgia*) afterwards ſpread themſelves throughout *Greece*, and ſent Colonies into *Latium*. *Argus*, on his Wife *Evadne*, the Daughter of *Strymon* begat *Jaſus*, *Peiranthus*, *Epidaurus*, and *Criaſus*. *Jaſus* begat *Agenor*, the Father of that *Argus* whom the Poets make all Eyes, though ſome report him the Son of *Areſtor*. *Criaſus* ſucceeded his Father, after he had reigned ſeventy years, and governed the *Argives* 54. Two of his Brothers are added by *Pauſanias*, viz. *Piraſus* the ſame with *Peiranthus*, and *Phorbas*. *Peiranthus* firſt built a Temple to *Juno* at *Argos*, wherein he placed her Image made of a wild Pear-Tree, and made his Daughter *Callithya* called alſo *Callirhoe* and *Io*,) Prieſt thereof: which Superſtition being continued for many Ages, all Inſtruments publick and private were dated from ſuch or ſuch a year of her Succeſſors, as the Cuſtom hath been from thoſe of the Kings, or Magiſtrates in other Places.

Criaſus.

Dionyſ. Halicarnaſſ. lib. 1.

Argol. p. 58. 17. *Euſeb. præp. l.* 3. *Evangel. lib.* 3.

6. That this *Peiranthus* reigned, appeareth no where but in *Pauſanias*, who ſeemeth to make him the immediate Succeſſor of *Argus*, by the name of *Piraſus*. But *Phorbas* ſucceeded *Criaſus*, and reigned 35 years; after him *Triopas* 46. whoſe Son *Xanthus* being Prince of ſome of the *Pelaſgi*, who went out from *Argos*, ſeized firſt upon part of *Lycia*, and there ſeated himſelf: afterwards he paſſed over into the Iſland *Iſa*, then void of Inhabitants, which dividing amongſt his Followers he named *Pelaſgia*, in Proceſs of time called *Lesbos*. *Pauſanias* maketh *Jaſus* and *Agenor* the Sons of *Triopas*, and *Jaſus* to have reigned at *Argos*, though by *Euſebius* he be not reckoned amongſt the Kings. His Daughter was the famous *Io*, which being got with Child by *Jupiter*, and thereupon, through the Diſpleaſure of *Juno* turned out of her Wits, or into a Cow, as the Poets ſing, paſſed over the Straits of *Thrace*, to which, upon this Occaſion of her Metamorphoſis, was given the name of *Boſphorus*. Then went ſhe down into *Ægypt*, where, reſtored to humane Shape, ſhe brought forth her Son *Epaphus*, the Builder of *Memphis*, and was afterwards taken for a Goddeſs, and called *Iſis*. *Herodotus* leading us out of the Labyrinth of Fables, relateth that the *Phœnicians*, after their Removal from the *Red-Sea* (where he thinketh them once to have inhabited) to the *Mediterranean*, applied themſelves unto Sailing, and Traffick from *Aſſyria* and *Ægypt* unto other places. On a time coming to *Argos* (which then excelled all *Greek* Cities,) on the fifth or ſixth day after they had expoſed their Merchandize to Sale, many Women came to their Ships to buy what liked them, and amongſt the reſt this *Io*, the Kings Daughter. The *Phœnicians* encouraging one another laid hands on thoſe they could catch, and taking her with ſome others, carried them into *Ægypt*. This by *Herodotus* is made one of the firſt Grounds of Envy, betwixt the *Aſiaticks* and *Greeks*; though he confoundeth her with the Daughter of *Inachus*, (which is uſual;) and the *Greeks*, as *Pauſanias* hinteth, gave another Account of her Deportation.

Piraſus.
Phorbas.
Triopas.

Jaſus.

Diodorus Siculus *lib.* 5. *pag.* 239. *in margine notata.* A.

Lib. 1. *ad initium.*

7. As *Pauſanias* reckoneth *Jaſus* amongſt the Kings of *Argos* (which after him was, without Doubt, called *Jaſos* and the Citizens *Jaſii*;) ſo he nameth *Crotopus*, his Brother *Agenor*'s Son, for his Succeſſor, whom *Euſebius* will have to have ſucceeded his Grand-father *Triopas*. His Daughter *Pſamathe* being with Child by *Apollo*, after her Delivery expoſed the Infant, which ſhe named *Linus*. It chanced to be devoured by wild Beaſts; whereat ſhe was ſo troubled, that her Father perceiving it, got out the matter, and put her to Death, for which *Apollo* brought a Plague upon the *Argives*, who, to pacifie him, made great and ſolemn Lamentation for the Child, which is not to be confounded with the Poet *Linus*, as ſome ſo order the matter. *Crotopus* having reigned 21 years was followed by *Sthenelas* his Son, who held the Kingdom for 11. and then left it to his Son *Galenor*. In his time, *Danaus*, the Brother of *Ægyptus*, King of that Country, having 50 Daughters, refuſed to marry them to his Brother's 50 Sons, becauſe he was bidden by an Oracle to beware of a Son in Law, and therefore taking them away with him, ſailed to *Rhodes*, wherein he built a Temple to *Minerva Lindia*; and thence came to *Argos*, where he moved a Conteſt with *Galenor* for the Kingdom, as deſcended of *Epaphus*, the Son of *Io*. Both pleading hard before the People, the Cauſe, as doubtful, was put off till the day following; at what time there came a Wolf and killed an Ox, which was feeding by the Walls. The People took the Wolf to ſignifie *Danaus*, becauſe a Stranger; and, making this Conteſt of the Beaſts a leading Caſe, decreed the Kingdom to the *Ægyptian*.

Crotopus.

Sthenelas.
Galenor.

Danaus.

Stephanus.

Apollodorus lib. 2.

Diodorus l. 5. *p.* 227. D.

A. M. 2531.

Apollod. ibid. & Pauſan. *in* Argolicis *pag.* 61.

8. *Danaus* having obtained the Kingdom, his Brother *Ægyptus* feared leſt by the Marriage of his Daughters he might get too great Alliance and Strength, and therefore ſent down his 50 Sons to *Argos* with an Army, and command, either to marry them, or deſtroy him. They perſwaded their Uncle by fair Means to receive them as Sons in Law; but he commanded his Daughters that each of them ſhould the firſt

Night kill her Bridegroom, and gave them Poniards for that Purpoſe. They all obeyed him, except *Hypemneſtra*, (and ſome add *Bebrice*;) which diſmiſſing *Lyncæus*, with advice to ſhift for himſelf, was by her Father accuſed, and brought to Judgment; but acquitted by the *Argives*, and afterwards had Leave from him, to receive again *Lynceus*, now reconciled to him. As for the reſt of the Siſters, they were beſtowed upon ſuch, as in tryal of Maſteries got the better; and became ſo Infamous, that it was believed they were condemned in Hell, to fill with Water a Barrel, which having an hole in it, let out as much as it received in.

9. From *Danaus*, thoſe who had formerly had the name of *Pelaſgiotæ*, were called *Danai*. He built the Caſtle, and his Daughters are ſaid to have ſupplied the City with Water, by digging of Wells; although (*a*) *Strabo* proveth, that by reaſon of its Situation, it could never want the commodity of that Element. Having reigned (*b*) 50 years, he died, and was ſucceeded by *Lynceus*, who governed 41, and on *Hypermneſtra* begat *Abas* his Succeſſor. *Abas* ruled 23 years, and begat on his Wife *Ocalea*, the Daughter of *Mantineus*, *Acriſius* and *Prætus*, Twins. They are ſaid to have ſtrugled in the Womb, and did it to purpoſe afterwards for the Kingdom. *Prætus* firſt obtained, and held it ſeventeen years, but then was driven from *Argos* by *Acriſius*, and forced to fly into *Lycia*, to *Iobas* his Father-in-law, King of that Countrey. From him he returned with armed hand, ſeized upon *Tyrinthe*, and afterwards joyned Battel with his Brother, wherein they two are reported, firſt of all others, to have uſed Targets. The Battel ending with equal ſucceſs, they came to an accommodation, and divided the Kingdom. *Acriſius* was to ſtay at *Argos*, and *Prætus* to enjoy *Heræus*, *Midæa*, *Tirynthe*, and the Maritime Parts. *Prætus* had by his Wife *Sthenobæa*, a Son named *Megapenthes*, and three Daughters, which being taken with the Fury of *Bacchus*, *Melampus* the Poet is ſaid to have cured. *Acriſius* on *Euridice* begat a Daughter named *Danae*, and conſulting the *Oracle* about Iſſue Male, was anſwered, that he ſhould have no Son, but a Nephew, by his Daughter, that ſhould procure his Death. Hereupon, he ſhut up *Danae* with her Nurſe in the Ground; but *Jupiter* turning himſelf into a Golden ſhower, thereby got to her, and begat *Perſeus*. Both Mother and Son were put into an Ark, and caſt into the Sea, which drave them aſhore on the Iſland *Seriphus*, where *Dictys*, Brother to *Polydectes* the King, educated the Boy. Being grown up, he made an Expedition into *Africk*, where he ſlew the Gorgon *Meduſa*, being ſent, as the Fable goeth, by *Polydectes*, who ſought to be revenged on him, for hindering him from the Marriage of his Mother; but *Pauſanias*, not at all regarding the Fable, writeth, that this *Meduſa* was the Daughter of *Phorchus*, and ſucceeded him in his Kingdom, which lay upon the Lake *Tritonis*; that ſhe was wont to go out and fight with the *Africans*, over which ſhe reigned; but *Perſeus* coming againſt her with choice Forces out of *Peloponneſus* (ſo that this Voyage muſt have been after his Return thither, and his Grand-Father's death) ſhe was entrapped by him, and ſlain in the Night. He admiring her Beauty, cut off her Head, and carried it into *Greece* for a Spectacle.

Acriſius and *Prætus.*

Danae.

Mother to *Perſeus.*

(a) *Vide* lib. 8. p. 376, 377.

(b) Euſeb. Apollod.

Pauſan. *in* Argolicis.

10. *Perſeus*, after this, married *Andromeda*, (Daughter to *Cepheus*, by *Caſſiopeia*, who reigned at *Joppe*, a Maritime Town of *Phœnicia*) having firſt ſaved her from being devoured by a Whale. This by one is thus interpreted; That *Phœnix*, by her Father's conſent, took her away by Force, and carrying her in a Ship called the Whale, *Perſeus* ſailing that way, and hearing her Lamentations, boarded the Ship, and delivering her out of his hands, married her. After this, he returned to *Siſyphus*, where he revenged upon *Polydectes*, the Violence offered to his Mother; and then, with her and his Wife, went to *Argos* to ſee his Grand-Father, who being afraid becauſe of the Oracle, departed into *Pelaſgia* (or *Theſſaly*) ſo called from the *Pelaſgi*, who were now removed thither out of *Peloponneſus*, being a vagabond People, and ſtaying in no place:) where, when *Teutamias*, King of the *Lariſſæans*, made Games in honour of his deceaſed Father, thither alſo came *Perſeus*, amongſt other luſty and active young Men, and ſlew his Grand-Father at unawares in the Game, by a ſtroke of a Quoit upon his Foot, after he had reigned thirty years.

Conon. apud Photium *in Bibliotheca.*

Apollod. lib. 2

Perſeus killeth *Acriſius.*

11. Some (*c*) think, that rather to *Acriſius*, than to *Amphyction* the Son of *Deucalion* (who 182 years before, began his Reign at *Athens*) the Founding of the Famous Council of the *Amphyctiones* is to be aſcribed. It ſeemeth probable, that *Amphyction* firſt of all aſſembled it in *Theſſaly*, near the Streights of *Thermopylæ*, (*Pauſanias* writeth to have been the common opinion) and that *Acriſius* thence transferred it to *Delphos* in *Phocis*, where it for the moſt part aſſembled; this Place being the middle of *Greece*, and, as the *Greeks* thought, of the World it ſelf, where was alſo the famed Oracle of *Apollo Pythius*. For, theſe Cities, which at firſt had only Right to ſend their Deputies to the Council, were ſuch as either were ſeated in *Theſſaly*,

The General Council of the *Amphyctiones.*

Lege Strabon. *lib.* 9. *p.* 419, 420.

Lege Pauſan. *in* Phocicis.

or

Sect. 3.

or near unto it. This was the chief Tribunal of all *Greece*, for deciding of Publick and moſt weighty Cauſes, betwixt the ſeveral Cities, and Common-wealths. The authority thereof was very great; inſomuch as its Decrees have ſometimes been executed by the Sword, with the great Motions of ſeveral States, ſome or other ſcarce ever being wanting to undertake the work. It uſed to meet twice a year, (and oftener if neceſſity required) in the beginning of Spring and Autumn; the Cities ſending their Deputies, three, two, or one, according to their bigneſs. Theſe were called *Pylagoræ*, becauſe they met at *Pylæ*, a place near to the Temple, of which they alſo had the overſight, and præſided over the Games made in honour of *Apollo Pythius* every other year. This Court continued for many Ages without change, until the time of *Philip* King of *Macedon*, and Father of *Alexander* the Great, who overthrowing the *Phocians* in the *Sacred War*, for their Sacrilege outed them, and the *Lacedæmonians* their Aſſiſtants, of their Privileges of Voting therein, and transferred the Right to his own Kingdom. Long after, *Auguſtus Cæſar* innovated again, by removing the *Magneſians Maleans*, and others, from their Intereſt herein, and making *Nicopolis* (a City built by him in memory of his Victory at *Actium*) free of that Society, as *Pauſanias* telleth us, who hath alſo recorded, that in his time, (which fell in with the Reign of *Antonnins Pius* the *Roman* Emperour) this Council was ſtill maintained and kept up, conſiſting of thirty Perſons.

A. M. 2693.

The Kingdom of *Argos* divided.

12. *Perſeus*, after that Diſaſter, which happened to his Grand-father, was aſhamed to return to *Argos*, his Inheritance, and therefore went to *Tirynthe*, and changed Kingdoms with his Couſin *Megapenthes*. He built *Mycenæ* (ſo called from his Sword's * *Scabbard*, that fell from him in this place, which thing he took as a ſign, that here he ſhould build a City) and making it his Seat, therein reigned fifty eight years. About this time this Kingdom of *Argos*, that had now continued about 544 years, came to be divided into three parts. For *Anaxagoras* the Son of *Megapenthes* contenting himſelf with a third of his half, gave the other two to *Melampus* the Son of *Amythaon*, and his Brother *Bias*; either for that he (who is ſaid to have found out the way of Purging) had cured the Daughters of *Prætus* (Aunts to *Anaxogoras*) of their madneſs, as was told before, or (*a*) invented a Remedy for that Diſtemper, which had ſeized epidemically upon the Women of thoſe Parts. But *Perſeus* begat of *Andromeda* five Sons, *Perſes*, *Alcæus*, *Sthenelus*, *Electryon*, and *Meſtor*. Hereof *Perſes* the firſt, as the *Greeks* believed, gave Original to the *Perſians*, *Alcæus* was Father to *Amphytrion*, *Sthenelus* ſucceeded his Father in the Kingdom of *Mycenæ*, and *Electryon* begat *Alcmena*, Wife to *Amphytrion*. *Sthenelus*, on a Daughter of *Pelops*, begat *Euryſtheus*, his Succeſſor, ſeven Months after whoſe Birth, *Hercules* the Son of *Amphytrion* and *Alcmena* was born. *Iphicles* their other Son coming into the World after *Hercules* (for they were Twins) *Amphytrion* was accounted the Father of him, and *Jupiter* of *Hercules*, whereupon, *Juno* is ſaid to have ever hated him, and by the help of *Ilythia*, (*Lucina* or the Moon) to have hindred his Birth, and kept his Mother in Travel for ſeven dayes. The Boy was firſt named *Alcæus*, after his Grand-father; but afterwards, for his great Atchievements called *Hercules*, and aſcribed to no leſs a Father than *Jupiter*, who made the Night wherein he begat him as long as three, that his Strength might be the greater. That this Perſon was eminent in his time, is eaſie to be granted; but incredible things contained in twelve Labours, being reported to be done by him, are either meant of the paſſing of the Sun through the twelve Signs of the *Zodiack*; or what things were performed by ſeveral others that lived elſewhere, have been by his Countrey-men attributed to him, whoſe Epithete of *Hercules* (ſignifying Fame and Glory ſpread abroad in the Air) came alſo to be given to them, if the Word be of no other than *Greekiſh* Original.

* *μύκη.*

(*a*) *Apollod. lib.* 2.

(*b*) *Pauſan. ut ſuprà.* *Diodor. lib.* 4. *p.* 188.

Hercules.

A. M. 2724.

How many of that name.

13. *Cicero* reckoneth up ſix who had the name of *Hercules*. The firſt and moſt ancient, he maketh begotten by the ancienteſt *Jupiter*, on *Lipitus*, and to have ſtriven with *Apollo* about the *Tripos*. The ſecond was an *Ægyptian*, Son to *Nile*, who deſpiſed the *Phrygian* Letters. The third, a Native of *Crete*, and one of the *Idæi Dactyli*, who firſt found out the making of Iron, by taking notice of the melting of that Metal in the Hill *Ida* when it burned, and being five in number, had the name of *Dactyli* from the Fingers, in number ſo many on each hand. The fourth was Son to *Aſteria*, the Siſter of *Latona*, and Father to *Carthage*, being worſhipped by the *Tyrians*. *Belus* in *India* is reckoned for the fifth; and then in the ſixth place cometh this Son of *Alcmena*. The *Ægyptian Hercules* is ſaid to have aided the Gods in their War againſt the Gyants, which being the off-ſpring of the Earth, *Diodorus* acknowledgeth that this cannot agree with the time of the *Græcian Hercules*, who

lived but one Age before the *Trojan* War; but rather happened at the Original of Mankind.

14. *Hercules* the *Tyrian* is believed to have been the Captain of that Expedition which the *Phœnicians* made into *Spain* and *Gades*, which, though the *Græcians* attribute to theirs, yet this convinceth their aſſertion of Falſhood, That in the Iſland *Gades*, was a moſt ancient Temple, wherein *Hercules* was worſhipped, not after the *Græcian* manner, but according to the Rites of *Phœnicia*. This was he, who erected his Pillars at the Bound or utmoſt Limit of the World, and that over-ran *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Gaul*. *Sanchoniathon* a *Phœnician* Author of great Antiquity, wrote, that he was the Son of *Damacuns*, and that his Proper Name was *Melcarthus* (which ſignified the *King of the City*) by the *Greeks* called *Melicertes* and *Palæmon*. He was alſo called *Diodas* * by *Euſebius* (for which *Deſanaus* is thought to be corruptly written in *Hierom's* Tranſlation) which *Phœnician* name he ſeemeth to have had, becauſe he was invocated by Lovers; their happy Succeſs being ſuppoſed to depend on him. Some think this *Tyrian Hercules* was the ſame with the *Ægyptian* or *Libian*, by *Pauſanias* named *Maceris*, who undertook a Journey to *Delphos*, and whoſe Son *Sardus* leading a Colony into the Iſland *Ichnuſa*, changed its name into *Sardinia*. *Tacitus* * writeth, that the *Libyans* would have the moſt ancient *Hercules* a Native of their Countrey, and that ſuch as came near him in Valour and Renown were named after him. *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Euſebius* mention three of this name, (though the former attributeth all their Actions to the youngeſt, or the Son of *Alcmena*) *Servius* 4, and *Varro* 44. And here muſt be remembred what was before noted; that it was the Cuſtom of old, to call the moſt antient Kings by the name of *Saturn*, their Sons by that of *Jupiter*, and their moſt Valiant and active Nephews, by this of *Hercules*.

* *Conſule Bocharti Canaan* lib. 1. cap. 24.

* *Annal.* lib. 2.

The Story of *Hercules* the Son of *Alcmena*.

Apollodorus & *Diodor.*

15. This *Heroe* being ſo much written and talked of, it concerneth Beginners to have ſome account of his Actions, and the rather, becauſe they include the Labours of many. *Amphytrion*, his Father, as it ſeemeth, was Prince of *Tyrinthos*, but thence was forced to fly to *Thebes*, having at unawares killed *Electryon* his Uncle and Father-in-Law, where *Hercules* being educated, ſlew *Linus* his Muſick-Maſter with an Harp as he taught him. His Father ſeeing his Diſpoſition, and fearing ſome ſuch like Accident might fall out again, ſent him amongſt the Herdſmen, where, not yet eighteen years old, he ſlew a Lyon. For his extraordinary Strength and Courage he was taken notice of by *Theſpis*, (or *Theſpius*) Prince of the *Theſpienſes*, who made him lye with his fifty Daughters, of which begetting ſo many Sons, theſe afterwards paſſed over into the Iſland *Sardinia*, with the name of *Theſpiades*. A little after this, he delivered *Thebes* from the Tyranny of *Erginus*, King of the *Minyans*, who exacted an Annual Tribute of 100 Oxen. He deſtroyed *Orchomenus*, with his Palace therein, and for this was rewarded with *Megara*, Daughter to *Creon* Prince of *Thebes*. When he was about twenty years old, he ſailed with *Jaſon*, amongſt others to *Colchos*, to fetch thence the Golden Fleece, ſo much celebrated by Poets, and variouſly interpreted by Expoſitors of Mythology.

The *Argonautæ*.

16. This *Jaſon* was the Son of *Æſon*, and the fourth in Deſcent from *Æolus*, being born at *Ioleus*, which Place, *Pelias*, King thereof, unjuſtly detained from his Father. He conſidering with himſelf what glory *Perſeus* and others of late had gotten, ſought how he might accompliſh ſome notable Enterprize for the eternizing of his Name; and having at length reſolved on this Deſign, publiſhed his intentions throughout *Greece*, by a Crier. The young and active Spirits of that time were much taken therewith, and fifty three of the Flower of *Greece* gave their Names to the Expedition, of whom the moſt Eminent, beſides *Hercules*, were *Orpheus*, (Scholar to *Linus*) *Oileus*, *Telamon*, and *Peleus*, the Sons of *Æacus*, *Pollux* and *Caſtor*, Sons to *Tindareus* King of *Sparta*, *Meleager* and *Argus*, who built the Ship, named after *Argo*, wherein they ſailed, and thence were afterwards called *Argonautæ*. Having all things in readineſs, (*Pelias* ſupplying *Jaſon* with all Neceſſaries, to be rid of him, fearing he ſhould call him to account for the Kingdom) they ſet ſail from *Ioleus*, and came to *Lemnus*, an Iſland in the *Ægæan* Sea, whence they ſailed to the Countrey of the *Doliones*, by whoſe King *Cyzicus* they were honourably received; but thence lanching out by Night, were driven back by Tempeſt, and being taken by him for the *Pelaſgi*, with whom he was at feud, he fell upon them, and loſt his Life in the Fight, with many of his Followers; but, his Errour once underſtood, was magnificently buried by them. From *Cyzicus* they came into *Myſia*, where *Hercules*, for want of skill in rowing, brake his Oar, and going into the Woods to provide another, whil'ſt his Companions reſted themſelves on the Shoar, it happened that *Hylas* his Boy drinking at a Fountain, was intercepted by the Nymphs, as the Story goeth. Crying

Apollonius Rhodius l. 1.

Lege Simſonium in Chronico ad A.M. 2743.

out, *Polyphemus*, the Son of *Elatus*, who had married *Laonome*, the Siſter of *Hercules*, ran out to reſcue him, and meeting with *Hercules*, went up and down ſeeking him in great perplexity; ſo that they were left behind by their Companions, whom *Hercules* followed on foot to *Colchos*.

Theocritus in Hyla.

17. *Jaſon* with the reſt ſailed to *Colchos*, and by the treachery of *Medea*, Daughter to *Æetes* the *King*, that fell in love with him, became Maſter of the Golden Fleece, and returned home with her, having finiſhed his Journey in four Moneths. They lived happily at *Corinth* for ten years, till *Creon*, King of that City, betrothing his Daughter *Glauce* to him, *Medea* was commanded to quit the Place; whereupon, mad with anger, ſhe ſet the Palace on fire, and ſlew her own three Sons which ſhe had by *Jaſon*, as *Euripides* relateth the Story; who, as it's probable, too much indulgeth his Poetick liberty, the *Corinthians* having corrupted him with five Talents, as an ancient (a) Hiſtorian hath diſcovered. (b) *Herodotus* writeth, that a Meſſenger was ſent from *Colchos* to demand *Medea*, but he was put off with this Anſwer, that they of *Aſia* had formerly ſtoln away *Io* from *Argos*. As the *Argonautæ* ſailed by *Athos* and *Samothracia*, they were driven by Tempeſt upon *Sigæum*, a Promontory of *Troas*, (c) where they found *Heſione*, Daughter to *Laomedon* King of *Troy*, bound upon the Shoar, that ſhe might become a Prey to a Whale. This Whale had been ſent by *Neptune* to devour Paſſengers upon the Coaſt, becauſe (d) *Laomedon*, with Money taken out of the Temple of *Neptune*, and *Apollo*, had built the Walls of the City, and made no Reſtitution. *Apollo* had anſwered, that no way could they be quit of the Whale, but by the devouring of ſome one choſen out by lot, which fell upon the King's own Daughter. But *Hercules* moved with pity, upon promiſe to have the Maid, and certain Horſes that never were handled, undertook to kill the Whale, which readily performing, he truſted *Laomedon* with his Wages, till his return from *Colchos*. Then he demanded them (e) by *Iphicles*, his Brother, and *Telamon*, whom he ſent into the City, but the King, inſtead of reſtoring what he formerly detained, impriſoned the Meſſengers, and plotted the deſtruction of the whole Company. *Priamus*, of all his Sons, was onely againſt this Treachery, and when he could not otherwiſe prevail, ſent in two Swords to the Priſoners, wherewith they diſpatching their Keepers, got out to their Companions. In revenge for this afterward, *Hercules* took the City, ſlew *Laomedon*, and preferred *Priamus* for his Integrity to the Kingdom.

(a) *Vide Parmeniſcum, ſcholiis ad Euripidem.*

(b) *Lib.*1.*c.*2.

(c) *Diodorus l.* 1. *p.*171.

(d) *Vide Pindari interpret. ad Nem.* 3.

(e) *Diodorus ibid. p.* 175.

18. The *Argonautæ* being returned into *Greece*, *Hercules* (f) took an Oath of them mutually to aid one another, as alſo to chuſe out ſome certain place, wherein to meet and celebrate Games in honour of *Jupiter Olympius*. This matter being left to his Care and Management, he pitched on the Plains of the *Eleans*, lying upon the River *Alpheus*, where he ordained Exerciſes, both to be performed on Foot, and Horſe-back, appointed Rewards to the Victors, and ſent abroad to give notice thereof to the ſeveral Cities, which were all hereby wonderfully affectionated towards him. But after *Euryſtheus* had ſucceeded *Sthenelus* his Father, in the Kingdom of *Mycenæ*, he began to grow jealous of the Strength and Proſperity of *Hercules*, and ceaſed not to preſs him forwards into dangerous, though glorious Attempts. He at firſt refuſing, went and conſulted the Oracle at *Delphos*, which is ſaid to have acquainted him with the Pleaſure of the Gods, that at the appointment of *Euryſtheus*, he ſhould finiſh twelve Labours, and ſo attain to Immortality. Hereat he grew exceeding melancholy, taking it in great Diſdain to be commanded by him, which Diſcontent aroſe to a Phrenſie, and in this Diſtemper he killed the Children that he had by *Megara*, and put her away; but afterwards coming to his right mind, reſolved to venture himſelf, and returned to *Euryſtheus* for his Orders.

(f) *Idem pag.* 178.

Olympick Games inſtituted by *Hercules*.

His twelve Labours.

The * firſt Task impoſed on him, was to kill a Lyon in *Nemea*, a Wood of *Achaia*, whom no Sword nor any other Weapon could pierce; being only to be maſtered by the Hand, he caught and ſtrangled him, then taking off his Skin, thenceforth wore it as a Garment. The ſecond thing enjoyned him, was to kill an *Hydra* with an hundred Heads, like Snakes, whereof when one was cut off, two others ſprung up in its room. The third was, to bring home alive the *Erymanthian* Boar, at the ſight of which Beaſt upon his ſhoulders, *Euryſtheus* was ſo frighted, that he ran for fear into a braſen Hogſhead; and in this Expedition he alſo overcame the *Centaures*. The next thing commanded him, was to catch an Hart of marvellous ſwiftneſs, with Golden Horns, which he effected, but in what manner is not agreed on. After this, he drave away innumerable companies of Birds from the *Stymphalian* Fens, which there, and in other places devoured the Corn. Then cleanſed he *Augeas* his Stable; not by carrying the Dung out upon his ſhoulders, (which Indignity was intended him by *Euryſtheus*) but by the Current of the River *Peneus*, which he

* *Diodorus l.* 4. *p.* 219. B.

brought down thither for that purpoſe. The ſeventh thing commanded him, was, to fetch a wild Bull out of the Iſland *Crete*, with which *Paſiphaes* is ſaid to have faln in love: and betwixt this and the next Labour, he helped the Gods againſt the Gyants, and pacifying *Jupiter* towards *Prometheus*, looſed this man from the place, where an Eagle continually fed upon his Liver, for his communicating to men the knowledge of Fire. The eighth Task was to fetch the Mares of *Diomedes* out of *Thrace*, which had brazen Mangers, were tyed with Iron chains, and fed not on any other Fodder but the fleſh of Strangers coming that way: But *Hercules* firſt gave them their Maſter's Fleſh, and then brought them to *Euryſtheus*, who dedicated them to *Juno*, and their Breed is ſaid to have continued to the time of *Alexander* the Great.

20. After this it is, that *Diodorus* maketh him to have ſailed amongſt the *Argonautæ* to *Colchos*. Then, at the Command of *Euryſtheus* he warred againſt the *Amazons* in *Africk*, and brought to him the Girdle of *Hippolyta* their Queen. The tenth Labour was to fetch the Oxen of *Geryon* out of *Iberia*, or *Spain*, as the Fable goeth; whereas *Geryon* reigned not there, but in that part of *Epirus* which lieth about *Ambracia* and *Amphilochus*, as (*a*) *Arrianus* witneſſeth, from the Pen of *Hecatæus*, a moſt ancient Hiſtorian, (*b*) and others do teſtifie. There were afterwards in *Epirus* a very large ſort of Oxen, called *Larini*, thought to be of that Kind which *Hercules* drove away, and to have had this name from *Larinus* his Herdſman. Seeing then that this occaſion of invading *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Gaul*, is taken away from this *Hercules*, that Expedition is to be left to the *Phœnician*, to whom formerly we aſcribed it. But *Hercules* is farther ſaid in this Journey to have ſlain *Antæus*, to have gone down into *Ægypt*, and made an end there of *Buſiris* that cruel Tyrant, and erected his Pillars in the utmoſt Bounds of the World. Within eight years and one month he finiſhed theſe his ten Labours. After his return, he was enjoyned to fetch *Cerberus* out of Hell; which having accompliſhed, the twelfth was the fetching of the golden *Heſperian* Apples; which, whether they were ſuch, and were kept by a terrible Dragon, or by them were to be underſtood Herds of Cattel, defended by ſome ſtrong and valiant man, he alſo brought out of *Africk* to *Euryſtheus*. Theſe are his twelve Labours, as *Diodorus* deſcribeth, and ranketh them.

(*a*) L. 2. *Anab.*

(*b*) *Euſtathius in Dionyſium Periegetem. Athenæus lib. 9. Scholiaſtes in Ariſtoph. Aves. Suidas.*

His other Acts.

21. Having ſerved *Euryſtheus* twelve years, he returned to *Thebes*, and there gave *Megara*, whom he had put away, to *Iolaus*, the Son of his Brother *Iphicles*. He had now no Legitimate Iſſue, and therefore married *Dejaneira*, Daughter to *Oeneus*, King of the *Calydonians*, to pleaſure whom, he derived the River *Achelous* into another Chanel, and thereby rendred the Countrey more fertile; whence the Fable aroſe, that he fought with *Achelous*, turned into a Bull, and cutting off one of his Horns, gave it to the *Ætolians*, (part of whom the *Calydonians* were) called the Horn of *Amalthea*, wherein was plenty of all Fruits. Before this, he had won *Iole*, the Daughter of *Eurytus*, Prince of *Occhalia*, by ſhooting, which Exerciſe her Father had propoſed to all Comers, againſt himſelf and his Son. Yet was he denied her; whereupon, to be revenged on *Eurytus*, he drove away his Horſes, and carrying his Son *Iphitus*, who was ſent to ſeek them, up into a Tower, to ſee if he could make any diſcovery of them, when he could not eſpy them, as if he had wrongfully accuſed them of Theft, he threw him down headlong. For this, he was ſtruck with a Diſeaſe, and had anſwer from the Oracle at *Delphos*, that if he would be freed from it, he muſt be ſold, and the price given to the Children of *Iphitus*. He then paſſing over into *Aſia*, willingly permitted one of his Friends to ſell him, and was bought by *Omphale*, Queen of the *Mæonians*, to whom her Husband *Tmolus* had left the Kingdom. Being freed from his Diſeaſe, he did his Miſtreſs great Service, killing many of the famous Robbers, called *Cercopes*, and bringing ſome of them alive unto her. *Omphale* admiring his Acts, after ſhe knew who he was, gave him his liberty, and took him to her Bed. Of her he begat *Lamus*, having already a Son by his fellow ſlave, named *Cleolaus*: he ſerved her three years, and then returning into *Peloponneſus*, went againſt *Laomedon* King of *Ilium*, as ſome rank the Series of his Actions.

Diodorus & Apollodorus.

22. Some years after, having ſubdued ſeveral Perſons, and Cities in *Greece*, he joyned the *Arcadians* and others to him, and went with an Army againſt *Eurytus*, whom he ſlew, with his three Sons, and taking away *Iole*, came to *Cenæum*, a Promontory of *Eubœa*. Here, being about to ſacrifice, he ſent *Lichas* his Servant to *Trachine* for his Shirt and Coat, wherein he was wont to perform that Religious Work. From *Lichas Dejaneira* learning how *Iole* was taken, and fearing to be robbed by her of her Husband's Affections, anointed his Shirt with a Poyſon given her by *Neſſus* the *Centaure*, as he was dying (who would have raviſhed her, and for that

Diodorus ut prius, p. 169. &c. Apollodorus.

His end.

was killed by *Hercules*) perſwading her, that it was an Ointment Efficacious to procure Love. As ſoon as the Shirt touched his Body, the Venom alſo ſeized on it, wherewith being grievouſly tormented, he diſmiſſed his Army, and returned to *Trachines*, where the Diſeaſe increaſing, he ſent to enquire of *Apollo* about a Remedy. It was anſwered, he ſhould be carried up to the Mountain *Oeta*, where a great pile of Wood being reared, *Jupiter* would take care for the reſt. This done, and all hope of Recovery paſt, *Hercules*, in his Warlike Habit, caſt himſelf upon the pile, and deſired the Standers by to put Fire to it; which, when all his Relations refuſed to do, *Pœas*, who ſeeking his Cattel came that way, as *Apollodorus* writeth, or his Son *Philoctetos*, as moſt deliver, (to whom *Hercules* gave for a reward his Bow and Arrows) ſet fire to it, which alſo being kindled with Lightning, was preſently reduced together with the Body, into Aſhes. *Iolaus* finding one of his Bones, a perſwaſion aroſe, that he paſſed from amongſt Mortals to the Gods, as the Oracle had formerly ſhewed. He commanded, that *Hyllus* his Son, when he came at Age, ſhould marry *Iole*. As for *Dejaneira*, ſhe, ſeeing what was brought upon her Husband, out of vexation hanged her ſelf. Thus periſhed *Alcæus*, Sirnamed *Hercules*, the Son of *Amphytrion* and *Alcmena*, at the Age of 52 years, having in a fit of Phrenſie, as it's thought, burnt himſelf. And theſe are the moſt remarkable things that are written of him, who lived (according to the Chronology, which taketh not in the hundred years formerly mentioned) in the dayes of *Tholah* the Judge of *Iſrael*.

A. M. 2776.

What happened to his Children.

23. *Hercules* being dead, his Children for ſome time ſtayed at *Trachine*, with *Ceyces* the King, till *Hyllus* and others of them were grown up. Then *Euryſtheus* began to fear them, and therefore reſolving to baniſh them all out of (a) *Greece* (or rather *Peloponneſus*) ſent to *Ceyces*, commanding him, upon pain of his Diſpleaſure, to remove them together with *Iolaus*, and the reſt of their Friends. They being unable to make reſiſtance, voluntarily quitted the Place, and ſent about to the Principal Cities to beg harbour, which none would afford them except the *Athenians*, who placed them in *Tricorinth*, one of the four Parts of their City. After ſome time, when they were come to ripeneſs of Age, and now bare themſelves high upon the glory of their Father, *Euryſtheus* much more ſuſpecting their growth, led down a great Army againſt them; but, aſſiſted by the *Athenians*, under Conduct of their Couſin *Iolaus* and *Theſeus*, they overthrew and ſlew (b) him with all his Sons, and then invaded *Peloponneſus*. Now a Plague ſeized on the Countrey, and the Oracle anſwered, that it was, becauſe they returned thither before their time; whereupon *Hyllus* returned, as ſome ſay, and went to *Æpalius*, King of the *Dorienſes* about *Oeta*, by whom he was (c) adopted, becauſe, by *Hercules* his means, *Ægymius* had formerly recovered his Kingdom; and thenceforth the *Heraclidæ* became embodied with the *Dorienſes*. *Diodorus* writeth, that *Hyllus*, provoking ſome one of his Enemies to a ſingle Combat, upon this condition, that if he overcame, then were the *Heraclidæ* to be Maſters of *Mycenæ*, if not, they ſhould depart for fifty years, was ſlain; and ſo they accordingly returned, and kept themſelves quiet for that time.

(a) *Diodor. l.* 4. *p.* 181.

(b) *Strabo l.* 8. *p.* 377.

(c) *Idem lib.* 9. *p.* 427. C.

Atreus the Son of *Pelops*.

24. *Euryſtheus* being ſlain, after he had reigned at *Mycenæ* forty three years, (d) *Atreus* the Son of *Pelops* ſucceeded him, who alſo at this time had the Sovereignty of *Argos*. This *Pelops*, above an hundred years before (for ſo famous a Man muſt not be omitted) being the Son of *Tantalus* Prince of *Phryſia*, had made War upon *Ilium*, where, after he was put to the worſt by *Ilus* the King, he was forced to fly into *Greece*, and coming to *Piſa*, fell in love with (e) *Hippodamia*, Daughter of *Oenomaus*, Prince of that City, who, being warned by the Oracle to take heed to himſelf when ſhe ſhould take an Husband, had condemned her in his Reſolutions, to perpetual Virginity. Therefore he admitted no Suiter, but on this condition, to run a Race with him in the Chariot, and if he won her not, to ſuffer Death, to which he brought many, through the ſwiftneſs of his Horſes, till *Pelops* (or *Hippodamia* for him) corrupting the Chariot-driver, obtained the Prize, for grief of which, the old man thinking now the Oracle to be fulfilled, hanged himſelf. *Pelops* then obtained *Hippodamia*, and *Piſa* with her, after which, by little and little, he got moſt of the *Peninſula* into his poſſeſſion, called after him *Peloponneſus*, wherein he reigned fifty eight years. Of *Hippodamia* he begot many children, by which he promoted his Affairs more than Power; for by the marriage of them, he inſinuated into the Principalities of moſt of the Cities. Amongſt his Sons the moſt eminent were, *Atreus*, *Thyeſtes*, and *Pleſthenes*. The two former he left his Succeſſors, and *Pleſthenes* dying young, left two Boyes to *Atreus*, to be brought up, called *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*. *Atreus* married their Mother, by name *Aërope*, the Daughter of *Minos* King of *Crete*, with whom his Brother *Thyeſtes* commit-

(d) *Euſeb.*

(e) *Diodorus lib.* 4. *p.* 191.

Pelops obtained *Piſa*, with moſt of the *Peninſula*.

mitting Adultery, he firſt baniſhed, and after recalling him, feaſted him with the Fleſh of his own Sons.

Agamemnon and *Menelaus.*

The *Trojan* War.

25. Some will have *Atreus* to have out-lived *Thyeſtes*; others ſay, he died before him, and, being reconciled, left him the Kingdom at his Death, on this condition, to reſtore it to *Agamemnon* when he ſhould come to Age. After *Euryſtheus* his death, it ſeemeth, that he became Maſter of all *Peloponneſus*, and oppoſed *Hyllus*, who challenging any in his Army, as was ſaid, to a ſingle Combat, *Eckemus* King of the *Tegoatæ* in *Arcadia*, accepted the Challenge, and ſlew him. He was very ſkilful in Aſtrology, being by ſome reputed the firſt that diſcovered the Motion of the Sun to be contrary to that of the Starry Heaven, (*a*) and that obſerved the Eclypſe of that Luminary. He adopted his two Nephews *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*, who ſucceeded him (*b*) ſeventeen years before the beginning of the *Trojan* War. *Agamemnon*, a Man of Prudence and Courage, obtained not only *Mycenæ*, but *Argos* alſo, with all as far as (*c*) *Sicyon* and *Corinth*, and that Countrey then called *Ionia* and *Ægialea*, afterwards *Achaia*. *Menelaus* got *Laconia*, and there reigned at *Lacedæmon*. For *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, the Sons of *Tyndareus* the King, (*d*) dying before their Father, he ſent for him to *Sparta*, and delivered up his Kingdom to him, having firſt given him his Daughter *Helena*, whom *Paris* the ſecond Son of *Priamus* King of *Troy* (by his Wife *Hecuba*) ſtealing away, gave occaſion to the famous ten years War, and the ruine of that City; concerning which ſomething is to be ſpoken.

(*a*) *Servius.*
(*b*) *Clemens in Stromat.*
(*c*) *Strabo ex Homero. lib. 8. p. 377.*
(*d*) *Apollod.*

The Original of the *Trojans.*

Dardanus.

Erichthonius.

Tros.

Ilus.

Laomedon.

26. The firſt (*e*) Man reported to have reigned in *Arcadia*, was *Atlas*, who inhabited about the Mountain of *Caucaſus*, and had ſeven Daughters, which made up the *Pleiades*, whereof, on *Electra*, *Jupiter* her Husband begat *Jaſus* and *Dardanus*. *Jaſus* lived unmarried, but *Dardanus* had by his Wife *Chryſe*, the Daughter of *Palaus*, two Sons, *Idæus* and *Dimas*, who ſucceeded *Atlas* in his Kingdom. Afterwards great Inundations happening in this Countrey, they were forced to divide the People into two parts, whereof, leaving one with *Dimas* in *Arcadia*, with the other *Jaſus*, *Dardanus* and *Idæus* left *Peloponneſus*, and coaſting by *Eupope*, at length came into the Bay of *Melane*, and arrived at a certain Iſland of *Thrace*, called *Samo-thracia*, from the Countrey, and a Man's Name who inhabited it; one *Samon* the Son of *Mercury*, by the Nymph *Rhene*. Here finding no convenient Habitation, the greater part under the Conduct of *Dardanus* (for *Jaſus* died in the Iſland, being ſtruck with a Thunder-bolt, becauſe he attempted the Chaſtity of *Ceres*) paſſed into *Aſia*, and landing in the *Helleſpont*, ſeated themſelves in *Phrygia*. *Idæus* with part of the Army, ſetled upon the Mountains, which bore his Name, and *Dardanus* in that part of the Countrey ſince named *Troas*, built a City of his own Name, having ſome Grounds given him by *Teucer* the King of the place, the Son of *Scamander*, from whom the Countrey was called *Teucris*, and whoſe Daughter *Batea* he married. He ſucceeded him in his Kingdom, and changed the name of his Subjects from *Teucri* to *Dardani*, and built the City upon the Sea-ſide, about the 2530th year of the World, in the dayes of *Sthenelaus* King of *Argos*. On *Batea* he begat his Son and Succeſſor, called *Erichthonius*, reported by (*f*) *Homer* and others, to have been exceeding Rich and Fortunate, who on *Callirhoë* the Daughter of *Scamander*, begat *Tros*, from whom the Countrey was named. *Tros* ſucceeding him, begat *Ilus*, *Aſſarachus*, and *Ganymedes*. *Ilus* ſucceeded him. From *Aſſaracus* deſcended *Æneas*. *Ganymedes* for his Beauty was ſtollen by *Tantalus* King of *Phrygia*, and Father to *Pelops*, whence aroſe a War, in which many loſt their Lives, and *Tantalus* (though the Son of *Jupiter* by the Nymph *Plota*) was beaten out of *Paphlagonia*. *Ilus* built the chief City on the Plain, which, though the *Latins* called it *Troja*, and we *Troy* (which Names moſt properly belong to the Countrey) yet the *Greeks* conſtantly *Ilium* from him. Againſt him and it *Pelops* made an Expedition, and miſcarried in the Succeſs, as was ſaid before. *Laomedon* his Son ſucceeded him, who ſeeking to defraud *Hercules* of his wages for killing the Whale, which ſhould have devoured his Daughter *Heſione*, was outed of his Kingdom and Life; and *Priamus* his Son, for his love to Juſtice, was placed in his Throne.

(*e*) *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus, lib. 1. Diodorus l. 4. p. 192. & l. 5.*
(*f*) *Iliad. l. 20.*
Diod. ut ſuprà. Vide Strabon. l. 13. p. 587. C.

Priamus.

27. *Podarces* (Sirnamed *Priamus*, as *Apollodorus* writeth) was exceeding rich, and had a large Dominion, extending from *Lesbus* and *Tenedos* to the upper *Phrygia*, containing (*g*) nine Diviſions, and many Towns beſides. He had fifty Sons, (*h*) whereof ſeventeen were lawfully begotten. His firſt Wife was *Ariſba* the Daughter of *Merops*, on which he begat *Æſachus*. Diſmiſſing her, he married *Hecuba*, the Daughter of *Dymas*, *Ciſſeus*, or *Sangarius* (all which are mentioned) and by her he had *Hector*, *Paris*, *Helenus*, *Deiphobus*, and others. Before ſhe was brought to bed of *Paris*, ſhe dreamed that ſhe was delivered of a Fire-brand, which ſhould

(*g*) *Conſulas omnino Strabon. l. 13. p. 184.*
(*h*) *Cicero Tuſcul. quæſt. l. 1.*

conſume to aſhes the whole City. (*a*) *Priamus* hereupon cauſed the Child to be expoſed on the Mountain *Ida*, but by the procurement of his Mother, he was educated amongſt the Shepherds, whom, becauſe he aſſiſted againſt the Robbers, and ſhewed himſelf very couragious, he obtained the name of *Alexander*. He (whether out of Deſign or no, is uncertain) came to *Sparta*, to the Houſe of *Menelaus* the King, and thence ſtole his Wife *Helena*, which ſome (*b*) report he took away by force, and that after the taking of the City; but (*c*) others affirm of her, as of all others thus taken away, that it was not without her own liking. Fearing he might be purſued, he carried her firſt to *Sidon* in *Phœnicia*, where he married her, and thence to *Troy*; at which City they were ſcarce arrived, before all *Greece* was in an uproar, as if the whole Countrey had been over-run. *Agamemnon*, who was much concerned for his Brother, poſſeſſing almoſt all *Peloponneſus*, by his Authority eaſily perſwaded other Princes to engage in the Quarrel. He firſt aſſembled them at (*d*) *Ægium*, a City of *Achaia*, to conſult about the management of the War, where being choſen General, they afterwards met at *Aulis*, a Sea-Town of *Bœotia*, with their Ships, and there ſware never to return home, till *Troy* ſhould be taken.

The Rape of *Helena*.

(*a*) *Apollod.*

(*b*) *Herod. l.* 1. *c.* 3.

(*c*) *Servius in Virgil. l.* 10.

(*d*) *Pauſan. in Achaicis.*

A. M. 2812.

28. The chiefeſt of theſe renowned Warriours were *Neſtor*, who reigned in *Meſſenia*, *Ajax* the Son of *Telamon* Prince of the Iſland *Salamine*, *Ajax* the younger, or the Son of *Oileus* King of *Locri*, over againſt *Eubœa*, *Achilles* the Son of *Peleus* by the Goddeſs *Thetis*, whoſe Principality was *Phthiotis*, part of that Country afterwards called *Theſſaly*, *Ulyſſes* the Son of *Laertes* King of *Cephalenia*, *Thoas* the *Ætolian*, *Podalirius* and *Machaon*, Sons of the third *Æſculapius*, and *Tlepolemus* the Son of *Hercules*, who now inhabited the Iſland *Rhodes*. They made up amongſt them a Navy of about 1000 Ships, and therein tranſported an Army of 120000 men. From *Aulis* they ſailed to *Lemnos*, and thence, miſſing of *Troy*, into *Myſia*, which miſtaking for their Enemies Country, they began to make Incurſions into it, and were beaten back by *Telephes* Prince thereof; all but *Achilles* and *Patroclus*, the former whereof ſore wounded him: and *Therſander* General of the *Bœotians* here loſt his Life, into whoſe Room, becauſe his Son *Tiſamenus* was but young, they elected *Penelaus*. A Conflict preſently enſued their Arrival at *Troy*, wherein *Proteſilaus* was ſlain by a *Dardanian*, as *Homer* calleth him, (either *Hector* or *Æneas*) and then the *Greeks* ſent *Menelaus* and *Ulyſſes* Ambaſſadours, to demand *Helena*. *Priamus* calling a Council to deliberate about the Matter, *Antenor* was for delivering her up, and ſo were the reſt of the grave and ancient Men, though they attributed much to the Beauty of the Woman; but *Antimachus* being corrupted by the Gold of *Paris*, urged the contrary, and not only moved to have the Meſſage rejected, but the Meſſengers killed.

The Names of the chief amongſt the *Greek* Warriours.

Vide Simſonium in Chron. Cathol. ad A. M. 2812. &c.

Pauſanias in Bœoticis.

29. *Priamus*, though otherwiſe prudent enough, rejected the Counſel of the old men, and out of Indulgence to his Son, ſent away the Ambaſſadours without any Satisfaction. Then both Parties prepared for the War, and another Engagement followed, wherein the *Greeks* had the better, who then dividing their Forces, left part to continue the Seige, and with the other, *Achilles* (who took with him *Palamedes*) was ſent to haraſſe the Country, and cut off Proviſions from the City. This he ſo well performed, as he took 23 Towns, and therein got much Booty, which was divided. Whil'ſt *Palamedes* was with him carrying on the War in the Iſland *Lesbos*, *Ulyſſes* envying him for his great Wiſdom, wherein he ſeemed to overtop him, circumvented him by Treachery, and by falſe Suggeſtions procured him to be ſent for to the Camp, and ſtoned as a Traitor, though he had exceedingly well deſerved of the Army, being a Perſon of great Courage (which he alſo expreſſed at his Death) and yet ſo moderate and wiſe, that he thereby allayed the too much Heat of *Achilles*. To him ſome attribute the Invention of 16 Letters in the *Greek Alphabet*, others only 4. but withal, the ordering and ranking of an Army, the watch word, Guards, and Dice to divert the Souldiers. His Death was grievouſly taken by *Ajax*, the Son of *Telamon*, who for ſome time abſented himſelf, but eſpecially by *Achilles*, who took it ſo heinouſly, that for a great while he would not be reconciled, nor brought to Fight, having much more Cauſe to be offended for this thing, than the detaining of a Woman from him by *Agamemnon*, as the Poet ſings, who induſtriouſly omitteth whatſoever reflecteth upon *Ulyſſes*.

Servius.

Tacitus lib. 11. *Plin. l.* 7. *c.* 56.

30. *Achilles* determined not to fight till the *Trojans* ſhould pierce as far as his own Ships, which at length happening, he firſt ſent out *Patroclus* in his Armour, who had deſired it. *Patroclus* with the *Myrmidones* (*Achilles* his Subjects) put the *Trojans* to flight, who now had begun to caſt Fire into the Ships, ſlew *Pyrachmes* with his own hand, purſued *Hector*, and ſmote *Sarpedon* King of *Lycia* about the

Lege Simſonium in Chronic. Cathol. ad A. M. 2120. &c.

Heart ſo that he died; but being wounded by *Euphorbus*, who came behind him, he was ſlain by *Hector*, *Euphorbus* endeavoured to get his Body, but was killed by *Menelaus*; and the Soul of this *Euphorbus Pythagoras* affirmed (according to his Principle of Commigration) to have paſſed into his own Body. After this, *Achilles* (whoſe Preſence formerly had kept the *Trojans* within their Walls) went out to fight, and taking twelve young men alive, ſlew them at the Funeral of *Patroclus*. By the River *Scamander* (or *Xanthus*) he killed *Aſteropæus*, Captain of the *Pæones*, from whom, though he received a Wound in the Arm, yet went he to fight with *Hector*, who expected him without the Walls, and would not be perſwaded to decline his Fury, though it proved his Ruine, being ſlain in this ſingle Combat about the 30*th* year of his Age. His Body tied to a Chariot, the Conquerour drew in Triumph about the Walls, but afterwards it was ranſomed by *Priamus*. After this he ſlew *Memnon* the Nephew of *Priamus* by his Brother *Tithonus*, who was ſent out of *Perſia* by the *Aſſyrian* King *Teutamus* to his Aid; then *Troilus* his Son by *Hecuba*, and laſtly *Pentheſilea* one of the *Amazons*, who for Murder had fled her Country, and coming to *Troas* after *Hector*'s Death, did good Service againſt the *Greeks*. When dead, *Achilles* is ſaid to have been enamoured of her Body, and with her alſo the Valour of this ſort of Women is believed to have been extinct.

Patroclus ſlain.

Hector ſlain.

Diodorus l. 2. *p.* 91.

Servius.

31. *Achilles*, whom no Art nor Valour of the *Trojans* could overcome, was taken by the Love of a Woman, and ſlain by Treachery. For having a View of *Polyxena*, the Daughter of *Priamus*, from the Wall, he became ſo inſlaved to her in his Affections, that he proceeded to a Treaty of Marriage, wherein he was ſhot with a Dart by *Paris*, who hid himſelf behind the Image of *Apollo*, which Idol is therefore feigned an Aſſiſtant in the Work. Afterwards the *Greeks* had it revealed to them, that except they could take the *Palladium*, or Image of *Pallas* out of the City, till they ſhould get *Hercules* his Arrows, and provide a wooden Horſe, *Troy* could never be taken. *Ulyſſes* therefore, and *Diomedes*, as *Virgil* ſingeth, ſtole away the Image; *Philoctetes*, who had the Arrows, was ſent for from the Iſland *Lemnos*, and with them ſlew *Paris* the Incendiary, after whoſe Death *Deiphobus* the Son of *Priamus* obtained *Helena*, as being of beſt Account for Valour, next to his Brother *Hector*. Then was a wooden Horſe prepared by the hands of *Epeus*, which pretending to dedicate to *Minerva*, they left before the City, having induſtriouſly made it higher than the Gates, hoping the *Trojans* would pull down part of the Wall to take it in. They left alſo ſome of their choiceſt men in the Horſes Belly, and *Sinon* with his hands bound behind him, who under Notion of a Fugitive that had been ill uſed, ſhould perſwade them to receive it into the City; and then giving out that they would raiſe the Siege for ſome time, they withdrew into the Iſland *Tenedos*. The *Trojans* with great Reſolution break down the Wall, and taking in the Horſe placed him in the Caſtle; but in the Night *Sinon* giving Warning by Fire, the *Greeks* came from *Tenedos*, and being eaſily let in by their Campanions, by reaſon the *Trojans* had drunk themſelves faſt aſleep, the City was taken, ſacked and burnt. *Menelaus* killing *Deiphobus* in his Bed, took away *Helena*, and *Priamus* was ſlain in his own Houſe by *Pyrrhus* (or *Neoptolemus*) the Son of *Achilles*. Of the *Trojans* which eſcaped, *Antenor*, being ſpared by the *Greeks*, came with the *Heneti* into the *Adriatick* Sea, where he built *Padua*, and *Æneas* the Son of *Anchiſes* at length reached *Italy*. This Deſtruction of *Troy* hapned in the 10*th* year of the Siege, 408 before the firſt *Olympiad*, 1182 before the *Æra* of Chriſt, of the World 2821. in the days of *Jepthah*, who judged *Iſrael*.

Idem ad Virgil. Æneiad. l. 3.

Achilles treacherouſly killed by *Paris*.

Æneiad. 2.

Troy taken.

A. M. 2821.

32. Of the *Greek* Captains which eſcaped, *Ajax* the Son of *Telamon* ſtriving with *Ulyſſes* for the Armour of *Achilles*, and overcome by the Judgment of the Army, killed himſelf, or elſe was circumvented by his Adverſary. *Ajax* the younger, the Son of *Oileus*, having taken Priſoner *Caſſandra*, the Daughter of *Priamus*, unwilling to part with her, was driven by the Plots of *Agamemnon* to ſhift for himſelf, and putting out to Sea in an unſeaſonable time, miſcarried by Shipwrack. Of thoſe that returned home, moſt encountred with many Difficulties; *Ulyſſes* eſpecially, who for many years wandred about, as it is poetically deſcribed by *Homer*. *Menelaus* after the Work was done, preſently commanded the *Greeks* to prepare for their Return; but *Agamemnon* being unwilling to depart before he had ſacrificed to *Minerva*, the Fleet was divided, and a Contention aroſe betwixt the Followers of *Menelaus* when they came to *Tenedos*, becauſe ſome would have ſtayed for *Agamemnon* there; inſomuch as *Ulyſſes* then returned back to him. *Neſtor* ſet Sail thence before *Menelaus*, but was overtaken by him about the Iſland *Lesbos*, whence they ſailed together as far as *Attica*, where *Menelaus* ſtaying to bury *Phrontes*, the other left him, and came ſafe Home to *Pylus*. *Menelaus* his Ships were moſt of them over-

The *Greeks* return home.

In Odyſſ.

Sect. 3.

whelmed in a Tempeſt about the Promontory of *Malea*, and the reſt with him and *Helena* driven into *Ægypt*, where and in other places he continued till the eighth year. *Agamemnon*, after he had ſacrificed, and erected an Altar to the twelve Gods in the Promontory of *Troas*, came home, and was preſently murdered by *Ægiſthus*, the Son of his Uncle *Thyeſtes*, with whom *Clytemneſtra* his Wife (the Daughter alſo of *Tyndareus* had lived in Adultery, and now conſpired to make him away.

Conſule Strab. l. 1. *p.* 37, *&c. Homer Odyſſ.* 4.

Oreſtes.

33. He left a Son named *Oreſtes*, and three Daughters begotten on this Woman. The Boy (for he was but young) was by his Siſter *Electra*, and his Nurſe, when they perceived his Life was laid at by *Ægiſthus* before his Fathers Return, conveyed into *Phocis*, unto *Stophius*, who had married his Father's Siſter, whence returning the eighth year after his Death, he killed *Ægiſthus* together with his Mother, and recovered the Kingdom. Becauſe of his Mothers Death he was vexed by the Furies, and found ſome Difficulty in maſtering the *Argives*, who now oppoſed him; but by the Help of the *Phocians* he recovered his Fathers Dominions, though *Menelaus* his Uncle, either for that he diſapproved the Death of his Mother, or for private Reſpects, bare him no good Will, and neglected him, which he ſhewed further in taking from him his Daughter *Hermione* (who had brought him a Son) and giving her to *Pyrrhus*, the Son of *Achilles*. Tormented with the Furies he went into *Arcadia*, and thence to *Athens*, where he was acquitted in the Court of *Areopagus* about his Mother, the Suffrages, for, and againſt him being equal, in which Caſe Judgment always paſſed on the Defendants ſide. A little after this he is thought to have killed *Pyrrhus* as he was ſacrificing to his Father at the Temple of *Delphos*, and then reſumed his Wife. When *Menelaus* was dead he obtained the Kingdom of *Sparta*, the *Lacedæmonians* being more willing to receive him as the Grand-ſon of *Tyndareus* by *Clytemneſtra*, than the baſe Sons of *Menelaus Nicoſtratus* and *Megapenthos* begotten on a Slave. It it probable that he, as his Father before him, was Supream Lord of *Argos*, and that the Succeſſor of *Melampus* and *Bias*, ever ſince the Diviſion of the Kingdom, or for a good Space, held their Principalities of his Predeceſſors and himſelf. But now being King of *Lacedæmon*, and the greateſt part of *Arcadia* lying near to *Argos*, after the Death of *Cylababes*, the Son of *Sthenelus* (who left no Children) and that *Amphilochus* was departed thence to the *Amphilochians* (to whom he gave name) having the *Phocians* conſtant Friends to him, he eaſily made himſelf ſole Maſter of *Argos*, and ſo this Kingdom was re-united about 140 years after the threefold Diviſion of it. Divers years after, he placed a Colony of the *Æolians* in *Aſia* (four Ages before that of the *Ionians*) and ſhortly after died in *Arcadia*, when he had reigned 70 years.

Lege Simſonium in Chronico. A. M. 2829.

Paterculus l. 1.

Pauſan. in Corinthiacis.

Strabo l. 13. *p.* 582.

34. He left two Sons: One Legitimate, and named *Tiſamenus* (from his revenging his Fathers Death) begotten on *Hermonie*; and another born of *Frigone* the Daughter of *Ægiſthus*. *Tiſamenus* ſucceeded him according to *Pauſanias*, though *Paterculus* writeth that both of them reigned after their Fathers Death. Scarce was *Tiſamenus* warm in his Seat, when he was diſplaced by the *Heraclidæ*, or Poſterity of *Hercules*. They had ſeveral times attempted their Return into *Peloponneſus*, but were ever fruſtrated till now; *Hyllus* the Son of *Hercules* once or twice, *Cleodæus* his Son after him, and *Ariſtomachus* left three Sons, *Temenus*, *Creſphontes*, and *Ariſtodemus*, which being grown up conſulted the Oracle of *Apollo*, concerning their Return, and had the ſame Anſwer their Father formerly had, that they ſhould attain their Deſire, if they went by the way *Stenygrus*, which Word in the *Greek* being of an ambiguous Signification, *Ariſtomachus* thinking by it to be meant the *Iſthmus*, as a narrow way, led down his Forces through it, and miſcarried. *Temenus* objecting this, the *Pythia*, or woman that delivered the Oracles, anſwered, that their Anceſtors by their Miſunderſtanding had been Authors of their own Infelicity; for whereas *Hyllus* was told that the *third Fruit* was to be expected, the *third Generation* was meant, and not the *third Crop* or *Summer*, as he expounded it, and accordingly periſhed: And as for *Stenygrus*, by it they were to underſtand the *Deep Sea* on the right hand as one entreth *Peloponneſus*, and not the narrow *Iſthmus*. Having received this Anſwer, and conceiving all things now to be fulfilled and ripe for their effectual Return, they built Ships in *Ætolia* upon that Sea, the Place wherein they were made thenceforth keeping the name of *Naupactus* from that Occaſion. Whilſt they were about this Work, a certain Prophet appeared to them, and foretold them ſeveral things; but *Hippotes* taking him for a Magician ſent on Purpoſe to delude the Army, killed him. For this a Peſtilence was ſent amongſt them, about which conſulting the Oracle they were bidden to baniſh *Hippotes* for ten years, and uſe the Conduct of a Captain with three Eyes, for two years ſpace.

Vide Pauſan. ut prius p. 60. *Apollodorum l.* 2. *pag.* 123.

Tiſamenus.

35. Seek-

Sect. 3.

The Return of the *Heraclidæ*.

35. Seeking out ſuch a man, they met one *Oxylus*, an *Ætolian*, Son to *Thoas* that went to the Siege of *Troy*; who being on Horſe-back had but one Eye, now returning into his own Country from *Elea* in *Peloponneſus*, whither he had been baniſhed for killing a man. Him they made Captain of the Expedition, bargaining to procure him the Poſſeſſion of *Elis* as *Pauſanias* witneſſeth, who reporteth him to have ridden on a Mule that had but one Eye, and therefore to have been taken for the man meant by the Oracle, through the Perſwaſion of *Creſphontes*. Being ready, they gave out they would march again through the *Iſthmus*, and by that Means the *Peloponneſians* attending their Motions there, eaſily paſſed over the Sea, and landed at *Molycrium*. Three parts of *Peloponneſus* eſpecially they challenged as their Due: *Argos*, becauſe deſcended of *Perſeus*, whereas *Tiſamenus* the preſent King was of the Poſterity of *Pelops*, who had no Right to that Kingdom. *Lacedæmon*, for that *Hercules* killed *Hypocoon*, who had expelled *Tyndareus* thence, and reſtored the latter to the Kingdom on this Codition, to keep it for his Children. *Meſſenia*, becauſe having alſo conquered it, when he deſtroyed the City *Pilus*, and ſlew all the Brothers of *Neſtor*, he gave it to him of meer Goodneſs and Compaſſion, but on the ſame Condition, as *Lacedæmon* to *Tyndareus*. The Dominion of *Argos* without much adoe they got into their hands; after that, taking a certain Village in the Confines thereof, *Temenus* fortified it, and uſed it for a Place of Retreat for carrying on the War. One *Philonomus* betrayed *Sparta* into their Hands, which they entred with ſound of Pipes inſtead of Trumpets, as moſt effectual by the Tune, to make the Souldier attentive, and keep his Ranks, which Uſe was conſtantly obſerved by the *Lacedæmonians*, together with that of the Harp.

Apollodorus.
Eliac. 1. *p.* 150.
Polyænus Stratag. l. 21.
A. M. 2901.
Lege Pauſan. in Argolicis & Strabon. l. 18. *p.* 352, *&c.*
Strabo. lib. 18. *p.* 365.
Polyænus.

36. *Tiſamenus* and the *Achæans* thus expelled theſe parts, and out of *Meſſenia* by the *Heraclidæ* and *Dorienſes* their Aſſociates, ſent to the *Ionians* then inhabiting *Peloponneſus*, their Neighbours, deſiring Leave to live amongſt them. But they being jealous of him, leſt for his high Birth and Valour, he ſhould be choſen King of the Country, denied their Requeſt. The *Achæans* then, driven by Neceſſity and Deſperation, attempted to get by Force, what they could not by Intreaty, and though they loſt *Tiſamenus* in the Fight, drave the *Iones* out of their Seats, and conſtrained them to paſs into *Attica*, where they were received by the *Athenians*, through the Perſwaſion of *Melanthus* the King. As for the *Heraclidæ*, when they came to divide what they had won, *Argos* fell to *Temenus*; *Creſphontes*, by Fraud uſed in the Lot, obtained *Meſſene*; and *Lacedæmon* became the Portion of *Procles*, and *Euryſtheus*, the Sons of *Ariſtodemus*, who was ſlain by the Sons of *Pylas*, Kinſmen to *Tiſamenus*, before they entered *Peloponneſus*: they alſo, according to their Ingagement poſſeſſed *Oxylus* of *Elis*.

Pauſan. in Achaicis, Meſſenicis & Lacinicis.

Temenus obtained *Argos*.

37. *Temenus* being ſetled in *Argos*, after ſome years incurred the Diſpleaſure of his Sons; for marrying his Daughter *Hyrnetho* to *Deiphontes* his Kinſman; he ſo affected them two above his other Children, that he made him his only Counſellor in all Affairs; inſomuch that his Sons fearing he would transfer the Kingdom from themſelves to him, made their Father away by one Means or other. And *Creſphontes* his Brother, who had uſed too much Cunning in getting *Meſſene*, not long after, ſeeming to be too Gracious with the People, incurred the Diſpleaſure of the Nobility, and was murdered together with two of his Sons; only *Epitus*, then but young, eſcaped, and killing *Polyphontes* the Uſurper, revenged his Father's Death. Recovering thus the Kingdom, he had Succeſſors, *Glaucus*, *Iſthmias*, *Dotadas*, *Sybotas*, *Phintas*, *Antiochus*, and *Euphaes*, who dying of a Wound, received in a Battel fought with the *Lacedæmonians*, without Iſſue, *Ariſtodemus* was elected in his Room, and continued as long as the Kingdom it ſelf laſted, being overturned by Means of the *Spartans*, as will be ſeen in their Story. *Ciſus* the eldeſt Son of *Temenus* ſucceeded him, though the People generally inclined to *Deiphontes*, by whoſe party they were ſo ſtirred up and animated, that *Ciſus* being dead, they took away from his Succeſſors all Regal Power and Authority, left them nothing but a meer empty Title, and ſo in Reality, this Kingdom fell, being in Effect turned into a Free-State. Which Change happened about forty years after the Return of the *Heraclidæ*, 690 after the Beginning of *Inachus*. A. M. 2940.

Idem in Argolicis.
In Meſſenicis.
Ciſus.
All Regal Power taken from his Succeſſors.
A. M. 2940.

38. One (and he a great one) there is, who would gather out of an old Tragedian, that the ancient Government of this Kingdom of the *Inachidæ* was meerly abſolute, the King being by the Poet called both *People* and *City*, *not ſubject to any Laws, but ſuſtained by the Power of his Throne, and acting all things according to his meer Will and Pleaſure*. But if Credit may be given to the expreſs words of *Pauſanias*, rather than the Liberty of a Poet, *Emmius* thence concludeth, their Power was but moderate; for the *Argives* ſaith *Pauſanias*, from the moſt ancient times were exceeding ſtudious of Liberty. Out of this Principle (being ſtirred up as it

Grotius ex Æſchylo in ſupplicibus, de jure Belli & Pacis. lib. 1. *cap.* 3.
The Kingdom of the *Inachidæ* moderate.
In Corinthiacis. pag. 61.

ſeemeth by the Party of *Deiphontes*) they abated the Power of *Ciſus* his Succeſſors, leaving them nothing but an empty Name. And this they further ſhewed, when *Meltas* the Son of *Lacidaus*, one of theſe Kings, not enduring this Abatement, grew as they thought, Diſſolute and Imperious in the Government. For, impatient hereof, they deprived him of all Power,took upon them to condemn him to Death, and pluck'd up all Supremacy by the roots,not ſuffering any afterwards to reign amongſt them.For,though we meet with one afterwards,called *King of Argos*,in *Herodotus*; yet that Name ſignified no more than it did in the Common-wealths of *Athens*, *Carthage*, and *Rome*, where this Title was wont to be given to ſome ſorts of Officers, as this work will ſhew. The Government was now *Democratical*, the chief Power lying in the People, divided into three Tribes, to which the Senate was ſubordinate, choſen every year for the preparing of matters for the whole Body, and the management of the Executive Power, with Authority to Enact things of leſſer conſequence. There was alſo a Council of State, conſiſting of 80 Perſons, beſides Inferiour Magiſtrates of the City, and Judges for determining of Cauſes, all which are mentioned in the League, made betwixt the *Argives*, *Athenians*, and others, deſcribed by *Thucydides* in his fifth Book of the *Peloponneſian* War. No further Intelligence have we concerning the conſtitution of this Common-wealth, which yet flouriſhed downwards for many Ages, and had great Conteſts with the *Lacedæmonians*, eſpecially about the Territories of *Thyrea*, to which both laid claim. Sometimes they fell out about their Confederates, being moved with much emulation and diſtaſte at each others Government (the one being a *Democracie*, and the other an *Oligarchy*) which once eſpecially brought the State of *Argos* into great danger. But theſe things belong to another place.

The Government made *Democratical.*

SECT. IV.

The moſt ancient Kingdom and Commonwealth of Athens.

Cecrops.

1. THE Founding of the *Athenian* Kingdom is aſcribed to (*a*) *Cecrops*, who firſt reigned in *Attica* (then *Acte*) in the dayes of *Triopas* King of *Argos*, 373 years before the deſtruction of *Troy*, 780 before the firſt *Olympiad*, A.M. 2449. The (*b*) *Ægyptians* ſaid he was their Countreyman, and brought hither a Colony of the *Saitæ*, who inhabited upon one of the Mouths of *Nile*. He was feigned to be double-natured, conſiſting both of a Serpentine and Humane ſhape, becauſe, coming into *Greece*, he ſhook off Barbariſm, and turned Civil. Beſides this Colony, he gathered the People of theſe Parts into twelve Towns, whereas before that, they lived diſperſedly, according to the moſt ancient cuſtom of *Greece*, and called them *Athenæ*, after the name of *Minerva* in the *Greek* Language. The Story is (*c*) told, that when the name came to be given, on a ſudden an Olive-tree, and a Fountain of Water appeared, whereat *Cecrops* moved with wonder, ſent to enquire of the Oracle what they ſhould mean. It was anſwered, that the Olive ſignified *Minerva*, the Water *Neptune*, and that they might name that City from which of theſe two they pleaſed. Hereupon, all the Men and Women were gathered together to make the choice: the Men were for *Neptune*, but the Women,being the greater number, carried the name for *Minerva*. *Neptune* angry hereat, drowned their Territories, whom to pacifie, they puniſhed the Women ſeveral wayes. They decreed, that thenceforth they ſhould not have a Voice in any Publick matter; that no Child ſhould bear the Mother's name, and that they ſhould not be called *Athenææ*, but *Atticæ*. Some Women, known by the name of *Minerva*, there have been, though impure Spirits, ambitious to blind men with Superſtition and Idolatry, might well act in this matter, as *Auguſtine* telleth us, under the name of *Neptune*.

(*a*) *Euſebius in Chron. ex Caſtore.* A.M. 2449.

(*b*) *Diodorus, l.* 1. *p.* 17.

(*c*) *Auguſtin. ex Varrone. de Civitat. Dei, l.* 18. *c.* 9.

Several *Minerva's*,

2. *Cicero* (*d*) mentioneth five ſeveral Women that have had the name of *Minerva*. The *firſt* was the Mother of *Apollo* by *Vulcan*. The *ſecond* born of the River *Nile*, and worſhipped by the *Saitæ*. The *third* Daughter to *Jupiter Cœlius*. The *fourth* begotten by *Jupiter* on *Ceriphe*, Daughter to the *Ocean*, called *Coria* by the *Arcadians*; which invented the Chariot drawn by four Horſes. The *fifth* was the Daughter of *Pallas*, ſaid to have killed her Father, becauſe he attempted to violate her Vir-

3 *De natura Deorum.*

Virginity. Of theſe the ſecond muſt be ſhe that was thus honoured by *Cecrops*, having founded the City *Sais*, near to *Delta*, being by the *Ægyptians* called *Neuth*. To her he had formerly erected a Statue in *Ægypt*, and he, as they ſay, firſt gave the name of *Zeus* to him whom the *Latins* called *Jupiter*. As there were ſeveral *Minervaes*, ſo alſo more (*a*) than one City known by the name of *Athenæ*. From this in *Attica*, the Citizens were by the *Romans* called *Athenienſes*; but another there was in *Eubœa*, built by *Cecrops* the Son of *Erechtheus*, the Inhabitants of which went by the name of *Athenæi*: and a City in *Narbone*, a Province of *Gaul*, near to *Marſeils*, called *Atheneopolis*, and the Citizens *Atheneopolitæ*. There was alſo in *Laconia* a Town called by the name of *Athenæ*.

and *Athenæ*.

(*a*) *Varro de Analogia. Vide Ludovic. Vivem in Auguſtin. de Civitat. Dei, lib.* 18. *cap.* 9.

Deucalion his Story.

3. In the dayes of (*b*) *Cecrops*, *Deucalion* the Son of *Prometheus* reigned in *Theſſalie*, whoſe Hiſtory being remarkable, muſt be briefly touched. *Iapetus* had three Sons, *Atlas*, *Prometheus*, and *Epimetheus*. For (*c*) the firſt, One telleth us, there were three that bore the name of *Atlas*. One a *Moor*, and the greateſt of all; another an *Italian*, Father to *Electra*; the third an *Arcadian*, Father of *Maia*, the Mother of *Mercury*; all which the Antients confound according to their Cuſtom. The firſt (*d*) lived near to Mount *Atlas*; to which, for his great Skill in Aſtrology, is attributed the bearing up of the Heavens; and he is alſo counted the Father of *Electra*. *Prometheus* found out the inſtrument to ſtrike fire, and thereupon is ſaid to have ſtollen fire from the Gods. *Deucalion* his Son married *Pyrrha* the Daughter of his Uncle *Epimetheus*, and in his time (*e*) happened that great Deluge in part of *Greece*, which is known by the addition of his name; that Countrey called moſt antiently and truly *Hellas*, his Seat near to the Mountain *Parnaſſus* being chiefly afflicted with it, on which Hill he is thought to have ſaved many men by Boats, and thence the Fable to have riſen of his re-peopling the Earth. But (that we may note it altogether) there are three particular Floods which we read to have happened to this Countrey of *Greece*. The firſt, under *Ogyges* (called the *Ogygean* Deluge) concerning whom we ſhall ſpeak in the Hiſtory of *Thebes*. This fell 248 years before either of the other, and overwhelmed *Attica*, eſpecially ſo, that as *Pererius* will have it, it remained waſte 200 years after. The next was this of *Deucalion*, which happened 737 years before the firſt *Olympiad*: and the (*f*) third fell 86 years after it, in the dayes of *Dardanus* and *Cadmus*.

(*b*) *Euſeb.*

(*c*) *Servius ad* 8 *Æneiad.*

(*d*) *Diodorus l.* 5.

(*e*) *Auguſt. de Civit. Dei, l.* 18. *c.* 8. *Oroſius l.* 1.

(*f*) *Diod. l.* 5. *p.* 223.

His Iſſue, which is eſpecially to be noted, for a diſtinct knowledge of the ſeveral ſorts of *Greeks*.

4. *Deucalion* of *Pyrrha* his Wife begat *Hellen* and *Amphiction*. *Hellen* gave the name of *Hellenes* to his Subjects before called *Græci*, and of *Hellas* to the Countrey formerly named *Pelaſgia*, from the *Pelaſgi* (who there inhabited) as *Hæmonia* from *Hæmon*, the Son of *Pelaſgus*, and *Pyrrhea* from *Pyrhar*. He had three Sons, *Xuthus*, *Æolus*, and *Dorus*. To *Æolus* he left his Kingdom, and ſent the other two abroad to ſeek out Seats elſewhere. *Æolus* grew ſo famous, that the name of *Jupiter* and *Neptune* came to be given him. *Dorus* inhabited the Countrey *Hiſtiæotis*, about the Mountains *Oſſa* and *Olympus*. *Xuthus* after his Father's death, was baniſhed *Theſſaly* by his other Brothers, for ſtealing away a great part of his Fathers Treaſure, and came to *Athens*, where he married the Daughter of *Erechtheus*, on which he begat *Achæus* and *Ion*. *Achæus* getting aid from *Athens* and *Ægialus*, went into *Theſſaly*, and recovered his Grand-father's Kingdom; but afterwards killing a man by chance, he fled into *Laconia*, where his Poſterity continued till expelled by the *Heraclidæ* and *Dorienſes*, as we ſhewed in the Hiſtory of *Tiſamenus*. *Ion* being exceeding famous at *Athens*, had a numerous Progeny, which, for that *Attica* was now grown too full, was ſent out as a Colony into *Peloponneſus*, whence they were thruſt out by their Brethren the *Achæans*, after they had denied them harbour (as is formerly ſaid) and returned to *Athens*, from which City they were afterwards led out into *Aſia*, by the Sons of *Codrus*. But theſe things happened in after-times.

Strabo. l. 8.

Herod. l. 1. *Pauſan. in Achaicis.*

Strabo ut ſuprà.

The Council of *Areopagus*.

5. In *Cecrops* his time (*g*) one maketh the Council, or Senate of *Areopagus* to have had its Original, though no clear light can we diſcover concerning the true beginning of it. (*h*) Some write that it began under *Solon*, but (*i*) another of a more ancient date ſignifieth, that it was a Court of Judicature before. (*k*) One deriveth the word from *Mars*, (in Greek *Ares*) making him to have been firſt tried there for killing *Halirrhodius*, the Son of *Neptune*, who offered Violence to his Daughter *Alcippe*. Others would fetch a reaſon from the erecting his Spear there, or from this, that the Court of *Areopagus* took Cogniſance of Slaughters, which are uſually committed with Swords or other Weapons of *Mars*. Laſtly, ſome think it thence to have been named, for that the *Amazons*, when they fought againſt *Theſeus*, made *Mars his Hill* their Fortreſs, and there offered Sacrifice to him. * *Cecrops* died after he had reigned fifty years, and becauſe *Eryſicthon* his Son died before him, *Cranæus* the moſt powerful man then at *Athens*, ſucceeded him in the Kingdom. He, after

(*g*) *Euſeb.*

(*h*) *Cicero Offic. l.* 1. & *Plutarch.*

(*i*) *Ariſtot.*

(*k*) *Pauſan. in Atticis.*

Suidas.

Cranaus.

* *Euſeb. Pauſan. ut ſuprà. A.M.* 3507.

Amphyction.

ter he had reigned ſome ſeven years, was thruſt out by *Amphyction*, the Son of *Deucalion*, and his Son-in-law, the Founder, as ſome have thought, of the National Council of the *Amphyctiones*, of which we have already ſpoken. He is reported to have given entertainment to *Dionyſus*, or *Bacchus*, who, at this time, as they ſay, came into *Attica*, and when he had reigned ten years, was alſo expelled by *Erichthonius*.

Erichthonius. *Pandion.* *Erechtheus.* *Apollodorus, l. 3.* *Pauſan. in Atticis.*

6. The Father of *Erichthonius* was ſaid to be *Vulcan*, and his Mother, the Earth; becauſe he was found in *Vulcan*'s Temple upon the Earth, with a Snake wound about his feet, whence alſo they feigned that he had feet like Snakes, and invented a Chariot wherein he might ride and hide them. He inſtituted Games to *Apollo* and *Minerva*, and having reigned fifty years, left his Kingdom to his Son *Pandion*, who alſo, after forty, gave way to his Son *Erechtheus*. He became a man of great account; and whereas the Subjects of *Athens* were before his time called *Cecropidæ*, thenceforth they were named after the Place it ſelf. He made War upon the Inhabitants of *Eleaſine*, *Ion* the Son of *Xuthus*, and his own Grand-ſon, by his Daughter, being his chief Commander, wherein, after he had ſlain *Immardus*, the Son of *Eumolpus* their General, he alſo loſt his Life, when he had reigned fifty years. He left three Sons, *Cecrops*, *Metion*, and *Pandorus*, who falling into contention about the Succeſſion, put it to the Arbitration of *Xuthus*. He adjudged it to the eldeſt, but yet would they not reſt ſatisfied, which made him leave *Athens*, and go into *Ægialea*, where he died. This *Cecrops* the ſecond, ſome think to have gathered the People into twelve Towns, for that living diſperſedly abroad, the *Carians* by Sea, and the *Bœotians* (called *Æonæ*) by Land, haraſſed the Countrey, as * *Strabo* writeth. At the end of forty years, his Son, named *Pandion*, ſucceeded him, who was expelled the Kingdom by the Sons of *Metion* his Uncle, and fled to *Pyla*, the King of *Megara*, his Father-in-law, who left him his Succeſſor. Whil'ſt he here reigned, he begat four Sons, *Ægeus*, *Lycus*, *Pallas*, and *Niſus*, who after his death went againſt the *Metiontidæ*, and expelled them *Athens*, the Dominions whereof they divided into four parts, according to their Father's injunctions, *Megara* falling to *Niſus*, who reigned there a long time.

Cecrops 2d. *Pandion.* * *L.* 9. *p.* 397. C. *Pauſan. ut prius.*

Ægeus. A.M. 2723. *Plutarch. in Theſeo.* Begetteth *Theſeus.* *Apollod.* A.M. 2725.

7. Though this diviſion was made, yet was *Ægeus* Sovereign in effect, for fear of whom, *Lycus* fled to *Athens*. *Pallas* the other Brother had fifty Sons, which growing up, gave cauſe enough to *Ægeus* to be jealous of them, having him in contempt becauſe he was childleſs. For though he married two Wives, yet had he Iſſue by neither of them, which made him go to *Delphos* to enquire of the Oracle about Poſterity. The anſwer being obſcure, in his return he was entertained by *Pittheus*, the Son of *Pelops*, a man famous for Learning, at *Træzene*, who, either underſtanding the Oracle, or otherwiſe induced, made his Daughter *Æthra* to lye with him, after he had cauſed him to drink good ſtore of Wine. At his departure he put a Sword, and a Knife under a great Stone, bidding her, if ſhe brought forth a Boy, as ſoon as he could remove the ſtone, and take thoſe things from under it, to ſend him with them as Tokens, unto *Athens*, and he would own him for his Son. She accordingly brought forth a Son (called *Theſeus*, from putting the marks under the ſtone) whom *Pittheus* brought up; and for that he proved exceeding Prudent and Couragious, his Mother at ſixteen years of Age brought him to the Stone, acquainting him with his Original, and his Father's Injunctions. He eaſily removing it, and taking away the Tokens, prepared for his Journey; but they were unwilling to let him go by Land, becauſe all the wayes were full of Robbers, ſince *Hercules* (who went up and down deſtroying them) after his killing of *Iphitus*, had quitted theſe Parts, and was gone into *Lycia*, where for ſome years he ſerved *Omphale* the Queen. But *Theſeus*, burning with emulation upon hearing continually the Praiſe of *Hercules* his Kinſman (for their Mothers were next Couſins) reſolved to take that way to obtain ſome Renown in killing thoſe Robbers; and effected his Deſign upon ſeveral of them.

Plutarch.

8. Being arrived at *Athens*, he was in danger to be poyſoned by his Father, through the perſwaſion of *Medea*, (who now was fled to him from *Corinth*, and filled his jealous Head with ſuſpitions of this Stranger) till thinking it wiſdom to make himſelf known, rather than let another do it, he ſhewed him the Tokens, which he preſently acknowledged, and owning him for his Son, made his Subjects, as ſuch, to take notice of him. But the Sons of *Pallas*, who before had been Seditious, now ſeeing all hopes of the Kingdom taken from them by him, and diſdaining that *Ægeus* ſhould firſt reign himſelf, being not of the Bloud Royal, but adopted onely by *Pandion* (as *Plutarch* writeth) and then leave for his Succeſſor a Stranger, and a Baſtard, they took Arms; and the better to accompliſh their Deſign, divided them-

ſelves into two Parties, whereof the one came openly with their Father againſt *Athens*, and the other lay in ambuſh. *Theſeus* having notice of the latter ſort, ſurprized, and cut them all off, which ſo diſcouraged the other, as they ſeparated themſelves and fled.

The acts of Theſeus.

Theſeus after this, to employ himſelf, and gain the Favour of the People, went, and took the *Marathonian* Bull, fetch'd out of *Crete* by *Hercules*, and brought him quick into the City, after he had infeſted the Countrey very much. Then ſailed he to *Crete*, where, as the Fable goeth, he ſlew the *Minotaure*, a Monſter kept by *Minos*, King of that Iſland.

[illegible]nos.

9. *Minos*, (*a*) *Rhadamanthus*, and *Sarpedon* were the children of *Jupiter* by *Europa*, and all adopted by *Aſterius* (the Grand-ſon of *Hellen*, by his Son *Teutamus*) King of that Iſland, who married their Mother, and was childleſs. *Minos* was the Law-giver of the *Cretians*; this honour being aſcribed to him by the moſt Authentick of ancient (*b*) Authors. Yet (*c*) *Ephorus* in his Book of *Europæan* Commonwealths, wrote, that he was but an Imitator of one *Rhadamanthus* (of the ſame name with his Brother, who by others is alſo ſaid to have been employed by *Minos* in this work, but more ancient) who firſt cultivated the Iſland by Laws, Cities, and Commonwealths, feigning that he had from *Jupiter* all the Ordinances which he publiſhed. In (*d*) imitation of him, *Minos* having continued in the Cave of *Jupiter* nine years, produced Laws in Writing, and aſcribed them to the ſame Author, as *Homer* alſo hinteth; which (*e*) word of *Homer*, though *Strabo* taketh to ſignifie a continuance for ten years, yet *Plato*, and from him (*f*) *Valerius* Maximus, interpret it not of nine years continuance, but every ninth year, wherein, as it ſeemeth, he amended his Laws. Although *Minos* was a King, yet he directed (according to * *Ephorus*) the whole Model of his Laws to the Freedom of his Subjects. This Liberty he thought to be preſerved beſt by Concord, which would be moſt eſtabliſhed by the prevention of Avarice and Luxury, the great cauſes of Diſagreement. He would therefore have them all live ſoberly and frugally, to which purpoſe he ordained, that Boyes ſhould live together in Companies, called *Agelæ*, when they were grown up, and men, in others, called *Syſſitia*, from eating together, (which they alſo named *Andria* from their Manhood) that taking their Meat all in publick, the Poor might live in equal condition with the Rich.

(*a*) *Diodorus l.* 4. *p.* 183.
(*b*) *Plato in legibus. Ariſtot. Polit. l.* 2. *cap.* 8.
(*c*) *Apud Strabon. lib.* 10. *p.* 476.
(*d*) Ἐννέωρος.
(*e*) *Odyſſ.*
(*f*) *Lib.* 1. *c.* 2. *Exter. Exempl.*
* *Apud Strab. ut priùs. pag.* 480. B.

The Form of the *Cretian* Common-wealth.

10. After the abdication of Regal Power, the chief Magiſtracy was exerciſed by ten *Coſmi*, in Power, though not in Number, like to the *Spartan Ephori*, being choſen out of the loweſt ſort of People as thoſe; yet not out of the whole Body, but particular Families, which Cuſtom *Ariſtotle* accounteth worſe than the other of *Lacedæmon*. Thoſe *Coſmi* at home Governed the Common-wealth; in War commanded the Army with abſolute Authority. There was alſo a Senate choſen out of thoſe who in this Office had well demeaned themſelves, being for life, and not liable to be called to account. There was an Order of *Horſe-men*, who were bound to keep Horſes for the ſervice of the State, whereas they at *Lacedæmon* had no ſuch tie upon them. In the *Concio*, or great *Aſſembly*, all Members of the Common-wealth had equal Votes, but its Power was not great, confirming onely what was propounded by the *Senate* and *Coſmi*. They had publick Slaves, called *Periæci*, from their inhabiting up and down the Countrey, who tilled the Grounds, and paid in a conſtant Revenue. All, when ripe of Age, were commanded to marry, for the propagation of legitimate iſſue: Yet did they not lead their Wives to their Houſes, when newly married, but let them ſtay till they were fit to govern a Family. The Boyes took their meat altogether on the ground, ſerving themſelves and the elder ſort. They were cloathed meanly, and alike both Winter and Summer; they uſed bickerings with one another, both with ſingle Hand and Weapon, on certain dayes, and had thoſe who exerciſed them alſo in Shooting, and a warlike kind of leaping, invented by *Cures*; moreover, in certain Rythms, called properly * *Rythmi Cretici*. The *Cretians* had ſeveral commendable Laws, as that which ſeverely reſtrained Drunkenneſs; another, commended by *Plato*, that required an account how publick Corn was diſtributed and ſpent. The younger ſort were utterly forbidden to make any enquiry into the Equity of the Laws, and if the elder were unſatisfied, without their knowledge, they were to have recourſe to the Magiſtrates, and their own Equals. But, that the Laws might be ingraven in their memories, the Boyes were wont when they were taught to read, to get ſome of them by heart, being put into Verſe, together with ſome Muſical Notes.

Vide Ariſtot. quo priùs & Strabon.
* Ρύθμοι Κρητικοί.

11. *Lycurgus*, the *Spartan* Law-giver, made this Model the Pattern of his new Common-wealth, having travelled into the Iſland, where he had converſe with *Thales*, a man ennobled for his Laws, and Lyrick Poems; for we muſt not ſuppoſe *Minos* the ſole Author of the *Cretian* Cuſtoms. As the *Cretians* had their *Coſmi*, ſo the

Strab. lib. 10. *pag.* 482.

the *Spartans* their *Ephori*, though moſt probable it is, that theſe were brought in after the death of *Lycurgus*. As they a *Senate*, ſo theſe alſo endowed with the like Immunities. The *Concio*, or *Aſſembly* of the People in *Crete*, reſolved nothing but what was propounded by the *Coſmi* and *Senate*, which was followed by the firſt Conſtitution of *Lycurgus*, the *Senate* propounding at *Sparta*. The *Periœci*, and *Heloti* fitly agreed, though the *Cretians* received leſs dammage from the former, becauſe, being in an Iſland, there were no Neighbours to hold correſpondence with the Slaves. The *Syſſitia* of the *Lacedæmonians* were fetched, as *Ariſtotle* proveth, from *Crete*, and their *Phiditia* taken from the *Andria* of that Place, as alſo their Education of Children was agreeable to the *Cretian*. *Plato* commendeth much the Commonwealth of *Crete*, and the *Legiſlator* for his Wiſdom and Prudence, though he abominateth the immodeſt love of Boyes, and rejecteth his reaſon for it, which yet *Lycurgus* ſo approved, as to put it in his Model. *Ariſtotle* condemneth it, as alſo, amongſt ſome other things, the Election of the *Coſmi*, and their too great advantage they had of raiſing Seditions in the State, when they came to be puniſhed. But *Polybius* affirmeth, the two Commonwealths of *Crete* and *Sparta* to have vaſtly differed, not fearing to blame *Ephorus*, *Xenophon*, *Caliſthenes*, and *Plato*, for ſaying they were very like; becauſe with the *Cretians* it was uſual to ingroſs Land and Money, whence they were avaricious, contentious, ſeditious, and what not? Moreover, they had annual Magiſtrates, whereas the other had two Kings for life. They were, he ſaith, fraudulent and crafty in their private Demeanour, and moſt unjuſt in their publick Councils. Though ſome publick Abuſes taxed by *Polybius*, might have crept in in after times, ; yet it appeareth from the teſtimony of that Verſe of *Epimenides* a *Cretian*, which St. *Paul* citeth and confirmeth,

Ariſt. Politic. lib. 2. *cap.* 8.

De legibus, lib. 8.

Lib. 4. & 6.

Proverb. cum Cretenſe Cretiſſare, lib. 8.

Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί,

That the Diſpoſition even of the old *Cretians* (for *Epimenides* is found contemporary with *Solon*) was very naught.

12. *Minos* ſucceeding his Step-father, begat *Lycaſtes*, and left him his Succeſſor, who, on *Ida* the Daughter of *Corybas*, begat *Minos* the ſecond, fathered alſo on *Jupiter*. He had Iſſue by *Paſiphae*, (Daughter to *Sol* and *Crete*) *Deucalion Aſtrea*, *Androgeos*, *Ariadne*, and other Children. *Androgeos* going to the Solemn Feaſt of the *Panathenæa*, inſtituted by *Theſeus*, at *Athens*, excelled all men in the Exerciſes then performed, whereby he became familiarly acquainted with the Sons of *Pallas*. This, when *Ægeus* perceived, fearing they might by his means receive ſome aid and aſſiſtance, he procured him to be made away, at which *Minos* ſore aggrieved, came to *Athens* to demand ſatisfaction, but obtaining none, is ſaid to have procured from *Jupiter* a Famine to fall upon all Greece, and eſpecially *Attica*, which could not be abated, till he received ſatisfaction. A yearly Tribute then he impoſed on the *Athenians*, of ſeven Boyes, and as many Girls, which being unwillingly willing to ſubmit to, they were ſore diſpleaſed when they came to part with their Children, and repining at *Ægeus*, as the Author of their Calamity, at the third time of ſending, *Theſeus* offered himſelf to go amongſt the reſt. The Fable is, that they were to be devoured of the *Minotaure*, a Monſter, whoſe upper Parts were like to thoſe of a Man, but reſembled a Bull in the other. Some thought there might be ſuch a Monſter indeed, but moſt account it fabulous, and it is interpreted to be meant of one *Taurus*, the Captain of *Minos*, who might have cuſtody of theſe Children, whom *Ariſtotle* will not have killed, but made Slaves till their death. *Theſeus* promiſing to kill this *Minotaure*, *Ægeus* with much adoe yielded he ſhould go, and commanded the Maſter of the Ship, that, whereas for the ſadneſs of the occaſion they uſed black Sails, if his Son came back alive, he ſhould change them for white ones, as ſoon as they came within kenning of *Attica*.

Plutarch. ut ſuprà.

He killeth the *Minotaure*.

13. *Theſeus* coming into *Crete*, by the help of *Ariadne* the Daughter of *Minos*, (which fell in love with him) got into the Labyrinth where the *Minotaure* was kept (and which was made by *Dædalus*, who having killed his Siſters Son at *Athens*, fled into this Iſland) and ſlew him. It is thought, that when he landed, he offered the Combat to whomſoever would accept of it, and that this *Taurus*, who bore himſelf high upon his Valour, and was hated by all for his ill manners, was forced by *Minos* to accept of it. *Theſeus* having killed him, was ſo admired by the King, that he gave him back the Children, and remitted the Tribute. *Ariadne* fell in love with him, whom, ſome ſay, he carried away with him, but others, that he left her behind, and ſhe hanged her ſelf; ſeveral things, one contrary to another, being reported of her. Peace now being made, and *Theſeus* returning homewards, they were ſo tranſported with Joy, that they forgot to ſet up the white Sails; whereupon *Ægeus*, deſpairing of his Son's ſafety, threw himſelf headlong from a Rock and

Philochorus apud Plutarchum, ut ſuprà.

The Death of *Ægeus*.

and periſhed. From this *Ægeus* ſome would fetch the name of the *Ægean* Sea. But others think it was ſo called from *Ægæ*, the Iſland near *Eubœa*; others from *Ægæ* a Town of *Eubœa*; ſome from *Æga*, a Promontory of *Æolis*, and others from the Rock *Æge*, lying betwixt *Tenedus* and *Chius*; Again ſome from *Ægeus*, the Name of *Neptune* in *Pherecydes*; and others from *Ægeon*, the ſame with *Briareus*, and others from a Goat, becauſe by it's Turbulency it leapeth like that Creature. *Feſtus*, who deriveth the Name alſo from *Ægæus*, mentioneth other two Originals as probable, *viz.* the many Iſlands, which to one looking at them afar off, appear as Goats, in the *Greek* Language called *Ægæ*; and the periſhing of *Ægæ* the Queen of the *Amazons* in it. Concerning *Ægeus*, *Suidas* telleth a long Story out of *Nicocrates*, which is refuted by the Scholiaſt of *Apollonius*, who concerning this, is to be conſulted, together with *Strabo* and *Pliny*.

Theſeus gathereth the *Athenians* into one City. A.M. 2775.

14. *Theſeus* ſucceeding his Father, ſet himſelf all manner of ways to deſerve well of his Subjects; Whereas before they were diſperſed in twelve Towns or more, he gathered them into one City, as being more convenient for Strength, Concord, and Diſpatch of publick Buſineſs. This being hard to effect, by reaſon that the People were unwilling to quit their preſent Poſſeſſions for new Hopes, he went from Place to Place, ſhewing them the Convenience of the thing; and that he might effectually perſwade, he promiſed them Liberty, offering to lay down all Power except that of the Generalſhip, and of keeping the Laws; in all other things to be like them, and the Power to reſt in the People. The Multitude being allured by this Promiſe, he made the chief City, called *Cecropia*, his Regal Seat, and built another about it for the People, which he divided into three Ranks, of *Nobility*, *Husbandmen*, and *Artificers*, all under the ſame equality of Liberty and Law. But the former ſort he appointed to be the Fountain of Magiſtracy; yet ſo, as elective by the Suffrages of the other two. He aboliſhed the ſeveral Courts of Judicature belonging to the twelve Towns, and conſtituted one general *Prytaneum* in the City, Thus did he diveſt himſelf of all Royalty in a manner, and brought Popular-government into the State.

His Exploits. *Plutarch.*

15. As *Hercules* had inſtituted the *Olympick* Games in Honour of *Jupiter*, ſo he ordained the *Iſthmian*, and dedicated them to *Neptune*. He ſailed with *Hercules* into the *Euxine* Sea (ſome ſay, by himſelf) againſt the *Amazons*, from amongſt whom he got *Antiope* his Wife, which gave Occaſion to that ſort of Women to come againſt *Athens*. They ſore diſtreſſed it by a Siege, till Peace was made by *Antiope* or *Hippolyta*, as others called her. Some have affirmed, that he was not Partaker in any Exploit with any of the *Heroes* of his time, except in that he helped the *Lapithæ* againſt the *Centaurs*. Others again contend, that he ſailed to *Colchos* with *Jaſon*, and aſſiſted *Meleager* in killing the Boar; whence came the Proverb, *Non ſine Theſeo:* he alſo performed many brave things by himſelf, without the Aſſiſtance of any, hence he came to be counted *Alter Hercules.* Having contracted near Friendſhip and Alliance with *Perithous* the Son of *Ixion*, being now 50 years old, he joyned with him in ſtealing away *Helena* the Daughter of *Tyndareus* from *Sparta*, and when they caſt Lots who ſhould have her, ſhe fell to him. He carried her to his Mother living at *Aphidna*, there to be kept till ſhe were ripe for Marriage: But having agreed that he who obtained her, ſhould help the other to procure him a Wife elſewhere, they both travelled into *Epirus*, to ſteal thence the Daughter of *Aidoneus* King of the *Moloſſians*, whoſe Wife was called *Proſerpina*, and his Dog *Cerberus*, he himſelf by the Fable being named *Pluto*. When he underſtood their Errand, that they came not to woe but to ſteal, he laid hands on them both, and cauſed his Dog to devour *Perithous*, kept *Theſeus* in Priſon, till *Hercules* deſired he ſhould be ſet at Liberty.

16. Whilſt *Theſeus* was abſent, one *Meneſtheus* the Son of *Peleus*, (who was Grand-Son to *Erectheus* by his Son *Orneus*) incenſed the People againſt him, and that upon the Account of that Change he had made in the State, which he would have them believe was intended to enſlave them under Pretence of Liberty: and at this time came down the *Tyndaridæ*, *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, (ſome think by his Procurement) againſt *Athens* in Behalf of their Siſter. Finding that ſhe was not there, and diſcovering the place of her Reſtraint, they went to *Aphidna*, and taking it by Force recovered her, and took *Æthra* the Mother of *Theſeus*, which afterwards accompanied her as her Servant to *Troy*, and at the taking of that Town was ſet at Liberty by her Grand-ſon *Demophon*. By Means of *Meneſtheus*, the *Tyndaridæ* were received into *Athens*, and great Honour was done unto them, which thing contributed to his Deſign. For when *Theſeus* returned, the Citizens were ſo wrought upon, that in no wiſe would they be reconciled, and ſo was he forced to baniſh

Idem.

His Exile.

Diod. l. 4. *p.* 184. *Pauſanias in Atticis.* A. M. 2802.

himſelf into the Iſland *Scyrus*, having ſent away his Children privately to *Elpenor* the Son of *Chalcedon* into *Eubœa*. One writeth, that ſailing towards *Crete* to *Deucalion* the Son of *Minos* (whoſe Siſter *Phædra* he had married after the Death of *Antiope*) he was driven by Tempeſt upon *Scyrus*, the Inhabitants whereof receiving him with great Honour for Reverence of his Name, *Lycomedes* their King, out of Jealouſie, made him away, having led him up to a Rock, as though to ſhew him the Country, and thence tumbled him down headlong.

And Death.

Meneſtheus.

17. *Meneſtheus* then began his Reign at *Athens*, in the days of *Atreus* King of *Argos* and *Mycenæ*, and ſome years after accompanied *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus* to the Siege of *Troy*, with fifty Ships. During the War, we hear little or nothing of him, but after the City was taken, he honoured the Funerals of *Ajax* the Son of *Telamon* with a Funeral Oration, which work belonged to the *Athenians* to perform for thoſe that died in the Wars; but within a while he himſelf afforded Matter for that Office, dying in the Iſle *Melos* at his Return Homewards. After his Death *Demophon* the Son of *Theſeus*, (who together with his Brother *Achames*, (both begotten on *Phædra*) followed *Elphenor* to *Troy*) went to *Athens* and obtained the Kingdom. As he returned, *Phyllis* Daughter to *Sichon* and Queen of *Thrace*, fell in Love with him, and woo'd him for Marriage. He told her he would firſt go to ſettle his Affairs at *Athens*, and then come and marry her; but ſtaying ſomewhat long, ſhe had no Patience to wait, and thinking ſhe was ſlighted, hanged her ſelf. He ſtole the *Palladium* or Image of *Pallas*, from the *Argives*, who brought it from *Troy*, and in their Return with *Diomedes* made Encurſions unwittingly into *Attica*, being driven by Night upon *Phalerus*, and not knowing where they were. He reigned about thirty four years, and then left his Kingdom to his Son *Oxyntes*, who after twelve was ſucceeded by *Aphidas* his Son, who reigned but one year. Then followed *Thymœtes* the fifteenth King, who being a Baſtard, is reported to have murdered *Aphidas* his Brother, and after eight years loſt the Kingdom. He was the laſt of the *Erechthidæ* that reigned at *Athens*.

Philoſtratus in Heroicis.

Demophon.

Servius in Ecloг. 5. Virgil.

Oxyntes.
Aphidas.
Thymœtes.

Athenæus.

18. It hapned that the State of *Athens* had War with the *Bœotians* about *Celœnæ*, a Place ſeated in the Confines of both Countries, and it pleaſed the Parties that their Kings ſhould decide the Quarrel in their own Perſons. *Thymœtes* declined the Combat, and for that was depoſed. *Melanthius* a *Meſſenian*, who was then driven from Home by the *Heraclidæ*, accepted it, and overcame *Xanthus* the *Bœotian* King by a Stratagem; for when they came to fight he cried out: *Thou doſt not juſtly* Xanthus, *but contrary to our Agreement, who accompanied with another Perſon, comeſt to fight againſt me a ſingle man*, at which he wondering, and looking back to ſee who ſhould follow him, *Melanthius* ran him through with his Lance. He then reigned in the room of *Thymœtes*, and at his Death left *Codrus* his Son his Succeſſor; who willingly offered himſelf to Death for the Safety of his *Athenians*. There were now Diſtaſts ariſen betwixt the *Heraclidæ*, who held *Peloponneſus*, and them, for that they harboured the *Iones*, and other Fugitives out of that Country; and at length the *Heraclidæ* intending to make War upon them, conſulted the Oracle beforehand concerning their Succeſs, which anſwered, that they ſhould have the better, if they kept off their Hands from the *Athenian* King, and not otherwiſe. They gave Order to their Men to beware of hurting him; but he getting Knowledge of the Matter, diſguiſed himſelf, and going into their Army, by Blows provoked them to kill him. This being known, they raiſed the Siege, though ſome of them had already got into the City, on whom then the *Athenians* had Mercy, and diſmiſſed them without any Harm. This happened 486 years after *Cecrops*, 114 after the Deſtruction of *Troy*, 35 after the Return of the *Heraclidæ*, 293 before the firſt *Olympiad*, A. M. 2935.

Pauſan. in Atticis.

Frontinus Stratagem l. 2. *c.* 5. *Exemp.* 41.

Melanthius.
Codrus the laſt King.

Juſtin. lib. 2.
Strabo lib. 9.

A. M. 2935.

The *Archons* for Life.

Pauſan in Meſſeniciis.

19. After *Codrus* his Death, the People took away the Title of *King*, and gave the Name of *Archon* with a diminiſhed Power to his Succeſſor, who might be called to an Account for what he did, though he kept the Principality during Life. This was *Medon* the Son of *Codrus*, whom the reſt of his Brothers deſpiſing, as weak, and lame, led out Colonies of the *Ionians*, and ſome others (*Attica* being now full) into *Aſia*, and there founded the 12 Famous Cities of the *Ionians*, viz. *Epheſus*, *Miletus*, *Priene*, *Colophon*, *Myus*, *Teos*, *Lebedus*, *Claromenæ*, *Erythræ*, *Phocæa*, *Chius* in the Iſland *Chios*, and *Samus* in an Iſle of the ſame Name over againſt *Epheſus*, which at firſt being ſubjected to ſeveral petty Princes, at length joyned in one Body politick, and became very famous in After-Ages. Twelve other *Archons* ſucceeded *Medon*, named from him *Medontidæ*, and in this Condition the State remained unaltered for 315 years, during which time there is little remarkable, either concerning Princes,

The twelve Cities of *Ionia*.

Idem in Achaicis & Strabo l. 14.

or Commonwealth; only the time of *Ariphron* the 19th *Archon* fell in with that of *Sardanapalus*, and *Alcmæon* the Son of *Æſchylus* was the laſt, who dying when he had ſcarce reigned two years, the People took another Occaſion to alter the Government; for being weary of this perpetual Power of their Princes, they confined it to the Space of ten years. This Change being made about the Beginning of the firſt *Olympiad*, *Charops* was the firſt that underwent it, in whoſe time *Dionyſius* of *Halycarnaſſus* will have *Rome* built. Six others ſucceeded him in the Power thus qualified, whereof *Hippomenes* the fourth in Order was the laſt of the Poſterity of *Codrus*, being depoſed for his Cruelty to his Daughter, whom being defloured, he ſhut up with an Horſe that had no Meat given him, and ſo cauſed to be devoured quick. The laſt of all the ſix was *Eryxias*, who after he had governed ſix years, either died, or being depoſed for ſome Crime, opened the Door to a new and greater Innovation, after 70 years Continuance of the *Decennal* Government.

Archons for ten years.

A. M. 3248.

Suidas.

Euſeb.

Annual *Archons*, nine in number.

A. M. 3318.

Lege Sigonium de Repub. Athen. & uttonem Emmium.

20. The People ſtill burning with a Deſire of greater Liberty, aboliſhed quite the Power of a ſingle Perſon, and inſtead of him made nine *Archons*, to be but annual, a new Election being to be made every year out of thoſe who for Birth, Wealth or Favour were moſt conſiderable in this City. The firſt in Order was properly called *Archon*, as Principal of the Colledge, and *Eponymus*, becauſe he ſigned the Calendar, and all things that fell out in that year, were ſaid to be done he being *Archon*. He had the Care of their Superſtition; to him it belonged to take Cogniſance of Differences ariſing about Inheritances, as alſo betwixt Huſband and Wife, Parents and their Children, and Kinsfolks one amongſt another: Moreover, he took Care of Orphans, and aſſigned them Guardians. The ſecond in Order had the name of *King*, who taking Care alſo of another part of their Superſtition, determined Cauſes both Civil and Criminal, or referred them to the greater Courts of Judicature. The third was called *Polemarchus*, who beſides the Charge of ſome religious Cuſtoms, had that of War committed to him (whence he had his name) was General of the Armies abroad, and at home the Judge of Strangers. The other ſix were termed *Theſmothetæ*, being keepers of the Laws or Cuſtoms, Judges in ſeveral Caſes, and had Power to commit to Priſon all ſuſpicious Perſons. Theſe were their diſtinct Offices. Altogether they had Authority to aſſemble the People as the *Kings*, and other *Archons* in former times, and to reſolve with them about publick Buſineſs.

Draco.

A. M. 3381.

Plutarch in Solone.

21. Such were the Improvements of that Liberty, which *Theſeus* beſtowed on the People: but though they ſeemed great, yet were they not arrived at that height as to ſatisfie the heady Multitude offended with the too great Power of the Nobler and Richer ſort; and which finding it ſelf aggrieved with the many Inconveniences that aroſe for want of Laws (the Sentence of the Magiſtrate, or Judge, being the only Law) many Grudges and Diſcords thence aroſe, which ſo far prevailed, as that after 50 years, Power was given to one *Draco*, a man honeſt and wiſe, but of auſtere Severity, to make Laws. Many he framed, reformed the Court of the *Ephetæ*, which he made to conſiſt of 51 perſons, not under 50 years of Age, who were to judge of Murders, and ſuch like Crimes. But ſo ſevere were his Conſtitutions concerning Manners (judging no leſs than Death to the leaſt Offence) that as they were by *Demas* ſaid to be *written in Blood*, ſo in Proceſs of time they grew intolerable, and little or no Relief had the poorer ſort againſt the Power of the great ones, with the Uſury of whom they were even exhauſted: Hence grew great Diſturbances in the Commonwealth, the Commons hated the Nobility, and the Nobility feared the Commons; nothing but Deſolation ſeemed to attend the State, ſome being earneſt for a *Popular Government*, others for an *Oligarchy*, and others for a *middle way*. Theſe tempered, and poiſed the other two parties; but nothing at length ſeemed to avail, except all the whole Power ſhould be put into the hands of one, and a plain Tyranny erected as the only ſufficient Remedy for theſe deſperate Diſtempers. The common ſort were hot for an equal Diviſion of the publick Grounds now in the hands of the rich, and fit to make themſelves an head, and do it by Force; but the moſt prudent ſort taking notice of *Solon*, now very eminent, a man of unblameable Life, and unbyaſſed by the Intereſt of either Party; him they beſought, having ſufficient Wiſdom, to compoſe theſe Differences of the diſtracted Commonwealth; offering him the Power and Command of all.

Solon.

How he became eminent.

Plutarch. & Diogenes Laertius in vita Solonis, Polyænus Stratagem l. 1.

22. A year or two before thoſe great Diſturbances, hapned that which gave a Riſe to the Eminency of *Solon*, and as well out of Reſpect to the Commonwealth, as in Relation to him, muſt be recited briefly. The Iſland *Salamine* lying not far from *Athens*, had of late time revolted to the Inhabitants of *Megara*, and for the Recovery of it ſeveral Attempts had been made with ſuch bad Succeſs, that a Law was preferred,

whereby it was ordained Capital for any man thenceforth to move about it. *Solon* conſidering the Conſequence hereof, counterfeited himſelf mad; and going into the Place of publick Meeting, began, as the People came about him, to ſay a Company of odd conceited Verſes, whereby he ſo moved them, that they repealed the Law, and decreed another Expedition againſt the *Megarians*, ordaining him their Captain therein. *Solon* ſailing towards *Colias*, where the *Athenian* Women were keeping the Feaſt of *Ceres*, ſent one to the *Megarians*, who counterfeiting himſelf a Fugitive ſhould tell them, that now at this Place they might eaſily ſurprize the Women. This being done, he ſends them away, and in their Rooms and Cloaths, left there a Company of beardleſs young men, who being provided of Daggars, ſtabbed the *Megarians* when they came to ſeize on their Prey, and ſo by this Plot (which ſeveral Authors ſay was executed by *Piſiſtratus*, though deviſed by *Solon*) the *Athenians* again recovered the Iſland. *Solon* proved it to belong to *Athens*, for that *Phileus* the Son of *Euryſaces*, and Grand-ſon to *Ajax Telamonius*, being made free of the City, gave it unto the *Athenians*; and becauſe that ſuch as were buried there, lay with their Faces to the *Weſt*, according to the *Athenian* Cuſtom, whereas the *Megarians* buried their Dead in a careleſs manner, not regarding any ſuch Poſition.

Frontinus Strat. l. 4. *c.* 7. *Juſtin.* 212. *Æneas Poliorcet. l.* 4.

23. *Solon* having got much Credit by the Succeſs of this Enterprize, procured ſuch to be called to an Account, as had been guilty of the Death of *Cylon*. This man being famous for his Victory at the *Olympick* Games affected the Tyranny of *Athens*, and endeavouring to ſeize on the Caſtle, failed therein, and fled for Refuge to the Image of *Minerva*, whence the Magiſtrates giving him Hopes of Life, took him and his Companions, and notwithſtanding put them to Death. This now was accounted a great Injury offer'd to the Goddeſs, and ſuch, as both the Actors thereof, their Poſterity and Country were eſteemed as contaminate, and lyable to heavy Puniſhment. *Solon* perſwaded them to ſubmit to Tryal, and 300 Judges were appointed out of the chiefeſt Perſons, who condemned them to Baniſhment. Whil'ſt this was a doing the *Megarians* fell upon the *Athenians*, took *Niſæa*, and recovered *Salamis*: ſtrange Sights alſo appeared, whereat the City was afrighted, and their Prophets told them that certain Crimes were committed, which muſt be expiated. For this Cauſe *Epimenides* a famous Philoſopher (whom ſome reckon amongſt the Number of the ſeven wiſe-men in the Room of *Periander*) was ſent for out of *Crete* to cleanſe the City; a Plague having alſo faln upon it at this time, as *Diogenes Laertius* writeth in his Life. Several Altars upon this Occaſion he cauſed to be made, as amongſt the reſt one to *Contumelie* (or Reproach) and another to *Impudence*. At this time alſo it is thought that the Altar was erected to the *unknown God*, they having received no Benefit by making Addreſſes to their known ones, but preſent Eaſe as ſoon as this Altar and a Temple of the ſame Dedication were made and uſed. One ſaith this was the Inſcription: *To the Gods of* Aſia, Europe, *and* Africk, *to Gods unknown and ſtrange*; another that it ran after this Manner: *To* the *Gods of* Aſia, Europe, *and* Africk, *to the unknown and ſtrange God*, in the ſingular Number. But theſe Calamities increaſing publick Diſcontents, made the Aſſiſtance of *Solon* the more deſirable.

Herod. l. 5.

Cicero de Legibus lib. 2. *Iſiodorus lib.* 4. *Epiſt.* 69.

Hieron. in Comment. ad Titum.

Beza.

24. He feared much to undertake ſo difficult a Task as a Settlement; and as for the *Tyranny* (ſo then it was termed) he refuſed it abſolutely; though his Friends perſwaded him that by his Moderation and good Demeanour he might eaſily change this odious name into that of a Kingdom. But being elected *Archon* after *Philombrotus*, in the third year of the 46 *Olympiad*, ſome 93 years after the laſt Change of Government, and in the days of *Nebuchadneſar*, King of Babylon, he ſet himſelf about the Work of Reformation, and firſt of all eaſed the People of the great Burthen of their Debts, whereby they redeemed their Bodies and Eſtates; which Act was in *Greek* called *Siſachthea*. Some have thought that it was only of the Intereſt, but others of the Principal too, alledging him to have forgiven 5 (ſome have ſaid 15) Talents that were owing to himſelf. However, he made them more able to ſatisfie their Creditors by raiſing the Value of Money, as of the *Attick Mina* from 75 Drachms to 100. Then for the ſettling of the Commonwealth; in way thereto, and in the firſt place he abrogated all *Draco*'s Laws, except that againſt Murther, as too ſevere. The four *Tribes* of the People he left as they were ordered by *Erechtheus*, diſtinguiſhed into *Souldiers*, *Crafts-men*, *Husbandmen*, and *Keepers of Goats*; but for that here was no Diſtinction made according to Eſtates, and it concerned thoſe that had moſt therein to take Care of the Commonwealth, he alſo divided the People into four *Ranks*, or *Claſſes*, according to their Subſtance, and out of the three firſt ordered all Magiſtrates to be choſen, the fourth and laſt having equal Votes in the great *Council*, or *Aſſembly* of the whole Body of the State, in which lay

Lege Plutarch. in Solone. Ariſtot. lib. 2. *Politic. Julius Pollux lib.* 8. A. M. 3411.

He reformeth the Common-wealth.

lay the Supream Power. The firſt was called *Pentacoſio Medimni*, the ſecond was the *Ordo Equeſtris*, the third called *Zeugitæ*, and the fourth *Thetæ*. Hereby he gave a Right to the common ſort to elect, and call to account the Magiſtrates, to have an hand in making, and repealing Laws, and in the higheſt Court of Judicature, by which equal Temper, he ſuppreſſed all theſe Factions that had lately riſen. And yet, leſt the Multitude ſhould be too much elevated, beſides the Court of *Areopagus* he inſtituted a *Senate* of four hundred, (a hundred to be choſen out of each Tribe) through which all things ſhould paſs into the great *Aſſembly*, wherein nothing was to be debated, but what was offered from this Council, elected anew every year.

A Senate of 400.

Vide Ubbonem Emmium in deſcript. Reip. Athen.

Of Areopagus.

25. The College of the nine *Archons* he left Elective as he found it; but ordained that they ſhould not be admitted to take their Oath, till they had firſt in the Senate made Proof of their Deſcent, and the Unblameableneſs of their Life (eſpecially of their Duty to their Parents) and then been approved in the great *Aſſembly*, after which they were to take their Oath in the Kings Gate, to keep the Laws, and accept of no Bribes; or if they ſhould be thereof detected, then to erect at *Delphos* a Statue of Gold of their own Bigneſs: and the ſame Oath they were again to take as they went up to the Caſtle, crowned with Myrtle. Unto them ſeverally he aſſigned their Offices; for the moſt part as they were before, only more certain; for a Reward of their good Service, if after much and through Examination they were found Upright and Faithful, they were to be choſen unto the Senate of *Areopagus*, the Colledge of the *Archons* being hereby conſtituted the Seminary of it. To this Council, conſiſting of moſt grave, experienced, and upright men, an Inſpection was given into all Concernments of State, a Power of preſerving the Laws and Cuſtoms, and alſo of reforming Manners, in which Particular they were ſo ſevere, that once they condemned a Boy, for a Cuſtom of pulling out the Eyes of *Quails*, as hereby betraying a bad Diſpoſition. They met ordinarily thrice a Moneth on *Mars his Hill* (whence the Council had its name) but extraordinarily as Occaſion required, and then in the Place called the *Kings Gallery*. As for the Council of State conſiſting of 400, it had Power alſo to determine great Matters and Controverſies of it ſelf, and if it ſaw it convenient, to report them to the People. If the Aſſent of the People was had, then paſſed it's Acts and Conſtitutions into firm Laws; if not, they continued in Force one year, and no longer. To this Council moreover it belonged, to provide for ſuch as were grown poor, and were to be maintained by the Publick; to call all indebted to the State to an Account, and provide for the making of Gallies.

The Aſſembly of the People.

26. To the great *Aſſembly* of the People alone belonged the Power of making and nulling Laws, of Peace and War, ſending Ambaſſadors, and giving the Freedom of the City. When they met together they took an Oath, with a bitter Execration, to conſult the beſt they could for the Good of the Commonwealth. Thoſe that were above fifty years of Age ſpake firſt, and after the Buſineſs was throughly debated, they ſignified their Pleaſure by holding up their Hands. *Solon* ordained that all the Laws ſhould be reviewed once a Year, being cited by the *Theſmothetæ*. But when any were to be abrogated, or new ones made, the whole Aſſembly took not that matter of Debate upon it ſelf; but committed it to the Care of the moſt grave and prudent amongſt them, choſen for that Purpoſe and called *Nomothetæ*, amongſt which none were admitted, but ſuch as had dealt in the moſt important Affairs. Before them five Orators (called *Syndici*) pleaded concerning any Law that was to be aboliſhed, which ſhould not be done without mature Advice, leſt thereby an Occaſion might be given to Sedition and Innovation; and what was concluded by the *Nomothetæ*, the Body of the People always approved. The *Aſſembly* was had ordinarily thrice in 35 days, at the Pleaſure of the Council of State or 400; but extraordinarily upon Occaſion called together, either by the ſame Authority of the ſame *Strategi* or *Generals* for War, and ſometimes of the nine *Archons*.

Courts of Judicature.

27. For Courts of Judicature, beſides the *Areopagites* formerly mentioned, there was that of the *Ephetæ*, founded, as it's thought, by *Demophon* the Son of *Theſeus*, conſiſting at firſt of 50 Judges choſen out of *Attica*, and as many from *Argos*; but *Draco* excluding the Strangers, made the Number only 51 Citizens, and after him *Solon* tempering the Rigor thereof, transferred thence the more weighty matters to *Areopagus*, leaving the Judgment of *caſual homicide*, and *lying in Wait for Life*, in ſome Caſes to it. The Cauſes brought in thither were re-

reported

ported by the *King* or *ſecond Archon*. There was another Court moſt large and common, conſiſting of 500, 1000, or ſometimes 1500 Perſons, according to the Occaſion, choſen by Lot out of all the Citizens of thirty years old and upwards. They judged of many, and often of the greateſt Cauſes; and this was called the *Heliaſtick Council*, becauſe they ſate in an open place where the Sun ſhone. A fourth Court there was of *Arbitrators*, conſiſting of two hundred and twenty, choſen out of the Tribes, and being equally divided according to the Number of them, heard and determined their Cauſes. A fifth and leaſt Conſiderable there was yet, made up of thirty Perſons at the firſt, afterwards increaſed to forty, going in Circuit to the ſeveral ſorts of People gathered by *Theſeus* into one City, heard and judged leſſer Matters. As for the Officers belonging to the ſeveral Courts, the twelve men for Impriſonment and Execution, with the Officers of the ſeveral Tribes, they are ſcarce to be mentioned by this Work.

Particular Laws.

Plutarch in Solon.

28. For particular Laws. *Solon* knowing what a Multitude of People inhabited *Athens*, took ſuch Care for the Prevention of Idleneſs, that he abſolved any Son from the Duty of maintaining his Father fallen into Poverty, that had not procured him to be inſtructed in ſome Trade: and the ſame Liberty he gave unto ſuch as were born of Strumpets. He made a Law whereby he gave Leave to the People to make Teſtaments, which they never could do before; all the Eſtates of deceaſed Perſons going to the next Heir. He forbad Women to have any Portions, leſt Marriages ſhould be made for Gain; yet ſucceeded they in the Inheritances of their Fathers, in Default of Iſſue Male. Some things about Marriages and Adultery he decreed, which have been noted, and not unworthily, as abſurd. He commanded the Court of *Areopagus*, to take an Account of all Perſons how they lived, and puniſh thoſe that could render none. He forbad all native Fruits, except that of the *Olive*, to be tranſported out of *Attica*. And nothing is more memorable than this, that he deprived of all Honour, and rendred infamous thoſe, that, in a time of Faction and Sedition in the City, joyned themſelves to neither Party, concluding, that ſuch as were concerned for the Good of the Commonwealth, would according to their beſt Apprehenſions, ſide with ſuch as contended for it. His Laws he expoſed to publick View, that none ſhould pretend Ignorance in them. He ſware the *People*, *Magiſtrates*, and *Senate*, to obſerve them for an hundred years, and the *Archons*, if they brake them, to ſet up a Statue at *Delphos*, of their own Bigneſs. Then to conclude his Work, he reformed the Calendar, much amiſs at that time, and reduced the Year into ſuch a Form as was agreeable to the Motion of the Sun.

Solon travelleth.

Idem ibid. & Herodotus l. 1.

29. The Work being over, there wanted not thoſe who would both Praiſe and Diſcommend it. Some would be amending it by Addition, others by Subſtraction or Change, ſo that plainly ſeeing what Stir would be about it, he got Leave to travel for ten years; in which time he went into *Ægypt*, where he converſed with *Ameſis*, and into *Lydia*, where he had that notable Conference with *Crœſus* before mentioned. But while he was abroad, the City anew brake into Factions. There were the *Pediæans* headed by *Lycurgus*, the *Paralians* by *Megacles*, and the *Diacrians* by *Piſiſtratus*, one who was deſcended from *Codrus* the laſt King. To the latter, a Company of the poorer ſort joyned themſelves, ſuch as were moſt inveterate againſt the Rich, and although they had not much to ſay againſt *Solon*'s Laws, yet were they deſirous of Innovation, hoping to be Gainers therein. Things were in this Poſture when *Solon* returned home, who being received with much Honour, laboured by his Authority to take off the Ring-leaders of the ſeveral Factions, and reconcile them. *Piſiſtratus* ſeemed to give Ear to him, being a man of deep Diſſimulation, and ſo much apter to deceive, in that no man appeared ſo great a Friend to Equality as he, and therefore a greater Enemy to the Change of the preſent Government. But *Solon* quickly found him out; yet proſecuted him not with any open Malice, but ſought to draw him from his Deſigns by fair Means, often profeſſing, that no man was more inclined to Virtue, or to make a good Commonwealths-man, if the Deſire of Rule and Sovereignty were but taken from him.

Plutarch ut ſupra.

30. For all this, *Piſiſtratus* proceeded, and by his ſeeming Readineſs to patronize the poorer Sort againſt the rich, invaded the Tyranny. He wounded himſelf and his Chariot-Horſes, and drove into the *Forum*, making Shew of an

Eſcape

A. M. 3425.

Eſcape from great Danger, and deſired of the People that he might have a Guard aſſigned him to defend his Perſon. He ſo far prevailed, as to have fifty Perſons allowed him, though *Solon* ſtepping to him, told him he did not well to act *Ulyſſes* in *Homer*, (who, as he counterfeited himſelf wounded to circumvent his Enemies, ſo did he the ſame, that he might cheat his Fellow Citizens) and oppoſed the thing as much as poſſible. Having obtained the Liberty of ſo many Followers, he took Leave to increaſe their Number, and thereby got the Caſtle into his Hands, at which the City was much ſtartled. *Solon* went into the *Aſſembly* of the People, where upbraiding them with their former Stupidity, he earneſtly exhorted them yet now to pluck up that Tyranny by the Roots, which before they might have ſo eaſily prevented; but not at all prevailing, ſuch Conſternation had ſeized upon men's Spirits, he got him to his Houſe, and laying his Weapons before his Court-gate, ſaid, he had diſcharged his Duty towards his Country, and thenceforth kept himſelf quiet, continuing in the City, though his Friends moved him to flie for his Life. But ſuch a Reverence bore *Piſiſtratus* not only to his Perſon, but alſo to his Laws, that he retained ſtill the moſt of them in their former Vigour. A few he made himſelf, as one for Maintenance of Maimed Souldiers (though ſome attribute this alſo to *Solon*, and ſay, the Occaſion was given by one *Theſippus*) and another againſt Idleneſs, whereby he cauſed the Ground to be more diligently tilled, and the City more quiet than uſual. By theſe two he effectually provided for his own Intereſt, obliging the Souldiers by the one, and by diſperſing the People into the Country through the other (under Pretence of preventing Idleneſs, and keeping up Tillage) cutting off from them all Occaſion of plotting any thing prejudicial to him. For he knew well, that as *Theſeus* his gathering them all up into one Town, conduced to the Perſwaſion of that Liberty he meant to beſtow on them, ſo this contrary way tended as much to the keeping of his arbitrary Power.

Piſiſtratus invadeth the Tyranny.

Expelled.

Herodot. l. 1. *cap.* 59.

31. Being ſeized of the Sovereignty, he carried it exceeding well to People, Magiſtrates, and Laws, and much adorned the City, of which he held Poſſeſſion about three years. Then *Megacles* and *Lycurgus*, with their Parties, ſo prevailed, as they baniſhed both him and his Tyranny, and being condemned, his Goods were ſet to Sale, of which none but *Callias* the Son of *Phænippus* would adventure to buy any. But not long it was, before thoſe that caſt him out, became the Means of his Reſtitution; for falling out amongſt themſelves, *Megacles*, upon Promiſe that he would marry his Daughter, covenanted to bring it about, and effected it by a ſtrange and ridiculous Wile. There was a Woman in the City named *Phya*, almoſt four Cubits tall, but otherwiſe of tolerable Beauty: her being armed, curiouſly dreſſed and ſeated in a Chariot, they drove into the City, ſending ſome before to proclaim, that the *Athenians* were to receive *Piſiſtratus*, whom their Goddeſs *Minerva* eſteeming above all Mortals, now in her own Perſon reduced into her Caſtle. This being acted with wonderful Confidence, the Citizens were ſo far beſotted, as to adore this Woman for *Minerva*, and received *Piſiſtratns* as brought by her; whereby he recovered the Tyranny about five years after his Expulſion.

Val. Max. l. 1. *c.* 2. *Ext. exemp.* 2.

Reſtored.

Forced out again.

Herodot. l. 1.

And again recovereth the Tyranny.

32. He married the Daughter of *Megacles*, according to Agreement; but having ſeveral Sons already in the Flower of their Age; and *Megacles* being ſuppoſed guilty of that heinous Crime about the Death of *Cylon*, not yet expiated, leſt he ſhould put them beſide their juſt Expectations, and his Family be attainted, he neglected to uſe her as his Wife. She concealing this for ſome time, at length revealed it to her Mother, who told it to *Megacles*. He took it in great Diſdain, and reconciled himſelf to his Enemies, conſulting again how he might out him; which *Piſiſtratus* underſtanding, departed of his own Accord out of *Attica*, and went to *Eretria* a City of *Eubœa* in the third year of the 54*th Olympiad*, about ten years after his Reſtitution. Ten other years he continued in Exile, at the end whereof, by the Advice of his eldeſt Son *Hippias*, he laboured again for a Recovery of his Principality. Scraping together all the Money he could make, he drew the *Thebans* and *Argives* into Confederacy with him, and got *Marathon* a Town of *Attica* into his hands, whither flocked to him from *Athens*, and the Country round about, thoſe of his Faction. He marched then againſt the City, and put ſuch to flight as came out againſt him, but fearing they might rally again, he gave Order to his Sons to ride after, and bid them fear nothing, ſo they would but get them to their own Homes, and be quiet. Thus recovered he the Tyranny once more, which he laboured to eſtabliſh, not by the ſhedding of Blood (from which he wholly abſtained, and therefore hath the beſt Report of any of his Condition)

but by ſeeking Confederates, making himſelf a conſiderable Revenew, and taking the Sons of thoſe his Enemies, that remained in the City, for Hoſtages, ſending them into the Iſle *Naxus* to be kept. Not long after his Reſtitution he died (for his whole Reign including the Exile, amounted but to thirty three years) about the time that *Crœſus* King of *Lydia* was overthrown by *Cyrus*, in the ſecond Year of the fifty ſeventh *Olympiad*, and the 3460*th* Year of the World.

A. M. 3460.

33. This only could be reprehended in *Piſiſtratus*, that he had caſt the Yoak upon his Country. For ſuch an one it was as had no great Weight in it, more than what lay in the Minds of the *Athenians*, not accuſtomed ſince the days of *Theſeus*, to ſtoop to Sovereignty. Though he commanded them to apply themſelves to Huſbandry (contrary to what *Theſeus* had done, who gathered them out of the Country into the City) that he might take them off from plotting againſt him, yet required he no other Tribute than the Tenths of their Profit, which had wont to be payed to the former Kings. He killed no man, neither baniſhed any; he made Spoil of no mans Fortune or Eſtate, injured none by any contumelious Demeanour, abuſed neither the one Sex nor the other through any libidinous Carriage. The Laws of *Solon* with the Order of Magiſtrates he left as he found; and though he had moſt Cauſe to be averſe to him, yet detained he him in Town when he would have been gone, deſiring his Counſel and Advice for the better Government of the Commonwealth, contenting himſelf only in having a Power greater than the Laws, in which Reſpect *Cicero* was wont to call *Julius Cæſar*, who trode in his Steps, by the Name of *Piſiſtratus*. He was as Learned as any in his Time, and deſerved very well of Learning, being the firſt that erected a publick Library. Whereas *Homer*'s Verſes before this were ſcattered abroad and confuſed, he purchaſed with Gold whatſoever of his Works he could come by, and ſetting on Work the ableſt Grammarians, put them into that Order of *Iliads* and *Odyſſes*, in which they are now found; to which work *Solon* is ſaid to have contributed his Diligence. He had two Sons, *Hippias* and *Hipparchus*, to whom he left the Principality of *Athens*. They for many Years reigned, as lovingly betwixt themſelves, ſo with Moderation towards their Subjects, till the younger being ſlain by *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton*, upon Occaſion of ſome Injury ſuppoſed to be offered by him to the Siſter of *Harmodius*, the other exaſperated hereat grew ſevere towards the *Athenians*, and for that was expelled by them four years after his Brothers Death, and his Tyranny was utterly ſubverted. But theſe things falling in with the Reign of *Darius*, the Son of *Hyſtaſpes*, belong properly to another Place.

Plutarch & Diogenes Laertius.

Gellius l. 6. c. ult. Cicero 3. de Oratore. Ælian lib. 13. c. 14.

SECT.

SECT. V.

The moſt antient Kingdom and Commonwealth of Lacedæmon.

The firſt inhabitants of *Lacedæmon.*

(a) *Pauſanias in initio Laconicorum & Meſſenicorum.*

1. THis Country was moſt antiently inhabited by a people called (*a*) *Leleges*, ſo named from *Lelex* their King, ſaid to be an *Indigena*, or a natural of the place, becauſe it was uncertain from what Countrey he and his people came. From him this Region was called *Lelegia*, and *Lelegis*. He left two ſons, *Myles* and *Polycaon*, whereof the former ſucceeded him in his Kingdom, and the latter marrying *Meſſene*, the daughter of *Triopas* King of *Argos*, went and ſubdued that Countrey, which from her he named *Meſſenia*. *Myles* was ſucceeded by his ſon *Eurotas*, who perceiving the water to ſtand in the grounds,drew a Ditch from it to the Sea,which draining the earth, continued to be a River, bearing his name. He, dying without iſſue-Male, left his Kingdom to *Lacedæmon*, the ſon of *Jupiter* and *Taygeta*, from which woman the Mount *Taygetus* took its name. For *Lacedæmon* married *Sparte*, the daughter of *Eurotas*, and when he came firſt to the Kingdom, named the Countrey from himſelf, and to the City which he built gave his wive's name; it being ever after moſt properly called *Sparta*, when any diſtinction was made betwixt Country and City; although it be alſo ſometimes read *Lacedæmon*, as in (*b*) *Thucydides*, and *Latine* (*c*) Authors. As for the Inhabitants of both places, thoſe of the City are by *Herodotus*, *Xenophon* and *Diodorus* called *Spartiati*, in oppoſition to thoſe that lived up and down in the Countrey, comprehended under the name of *Lacedæmonians*. The City was built in the days of *Crotopus*, King of *Argos*, and *Amphitryon* of *Athens*, 303 years before the deſtruction of *Troy*, 711 before the firſt *Olympiad*, A. M. 2518.

A. M. 2598.

Sparta, whence ſo called.

(b) *Lib.* 1. Πόλις Λακεδαίμων.

(c) *Livius l.* 38.

(d) *Pauſan. ut ſuprà.*

2. *Amyclas* the ſon and ſucceſſor of *Lacedæmon* (*d*) begat three ſons, which are recorded, *Argalus*, *Cynortas*, and *Hyacinthus*: of which the latter, as *Apollodorus* writeth, being for his beauty the delight of *Apollo*, was killed by him at unawares, when they were at play. *Argalus* ſucceeded his Father, and left his Kingdom to his brother *Cynortas*,whoſe ſon and Succeſſor was *Oebalus*,from whom the Countrey was alſo called * *Oebalia*, and thence *Caſtor* and *Pollux*,by *Statius*, *Oebalidæ fratres*. On his firſt Wife he begat *Hippocoon*, and *Icarion*, and on his ſecond *Gorgophone* (the Daughter of *Perſeus* by *Andromeda*, and Widow of *Perieres*) his Son *Tyndareus*. The former and latter, after his death, contended about the ſucceſſion, and *Tyndareus* having the worſt of it, was conſtrained to baniſh himſelf for many years, till at length he was reſtored by *Hercules*,(who ſlew *Hippocoon* and his ten Sons, with a great number of the *Spartans*;) but on this condition delivered was the Kingdom to him, to keep it for *Hercules* his own Children, and reſtore it when it ſhould be demanded. *Tyndareus* of *Leda*, the Daughter of *Theſtius* an *Ætolian*, begat *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, (called *Dioſcuri*, as the ſuppoſed off-ſpring of *Jupiter*) and on her, or ſome other, a Daughter named *Helena*. The two Sons being famous in their lives, grew more renowned after their death, having the eſteem of Gods, and from them was named the Conſtellation of *Gemini*. *Helena* was ſhe that made ſuch a broil in the World, being firſt ſtoln by *Theſeus*, afterwards married to *Menelaus*, and from him ſtoln again by *Paris*, who kept her till the deſtruction of *Troy*, as hath been ſhown. Her two Brothers dying before their Father, *Menelaus* with her obtained the Kingdom of *Lacedæmon*, through the ſpecial favour of *Tyndareus*, who, from amongſt 29 Suitors,(all Princes of *Greece*) made choice of him. Leſt thoſe great ones ſhould fall out amongſt themſelves, he bound them all with an Oath to be Defendants to whomſoever he would give her; which he did by the advice of *Ulyſſes*, upon promiſe to aſſiſt him in his ſute, being one of the number. This we do not find that he did; but in way of requital procured for him *Penelope*, the Daughter of *Icarius*.

* *Servius ad Georg.* 4.

Tyndareus.

Apollod. l. 3. *Pauſan.* A. M. 2646. *Diodorus Siculus.*

Caſtor and *Pollux.* *Helena.*

Menelaus.

A. M. 2809.

3. *Menelaus* on a ſlave begot two baſe Sons: but by *Helena* had onely a Daughter named *Hermione*, which he married firſt to *Oreſtes*, the Son of his Brother *Agamemnon*, and again taking her from him, gave her to *Pyrrhus* the Son of *Achilles*. It's thought that *Oreſtes* killed *Pyrrhus*; for after his death he preſently reſumed his Wife, and *Menelaus* once dead, he added the Kingdom of *Lacedæmon* to his other two of *Mycenæ* and *Argos*; for the *Lacedæmonians* were more willing to receive him as their Prince, than *Nicoſtratus* and *Megapenthes* the baſtard Sons of *Menelaus*. *Tiſamenus* his Son ſucceeded him in his Kingdoms, out of all which

he was outed by the *Heraclidæ*, or poſterity of *Hercules*, as before was ſhewed, by the help of the *Dores*; with him the *Achæans* being alſo baniſhed, who were Originally of *Phthiotis* in *Theſſaly*; for *Achæus* their Progenitor was the Son of *Xuthus*, Grand-ſon to *Deucalion* by his Son *Hellen*. *Argos* fell to *Temenus* by lot; *Creſphontes* got *Meſſene*; and *Lacedæmon* became the portion of *Procles* and *Euryſthenes* the Sons of *Ariſtodemus*, who was ſlain at *Delphos* (for *Pauſanias* judgeth this the moſt probable opinion) by the fraud of *Pylas*, when they were preparing for the Expedition. Thenceforth the *Lacedæmonians* were accounted *Dores*; who if formerly they were part of the *Achæans*, and going to *Troy*, at their return were expelled by thoſe that remained at home, and ſo forced to ſeek out new ſeats, and received the name of *Dores* from their Captain, as *Plato* writeth; then had they full as much right to the Countrey as the *Heraclidæ* themſelves, the title of whom we have formerly ſhewn. This change happened 80 years after the deſtruction of *Troy*, as *Thucydides* gathereth; 327 before the firſt *Olympiad*, in the days of *Melanthus*, Father to *Codrus* the laſt King of *Athens*, in the year of the World 2901.

A.M. 2901.

The deſcent of the *Heraclidæ*. *Procles* and *Euryſthenes* obtain *Sparta*.

4. The two Brothers *Euryſthenes* and *Procles* were Twins, and that ſo like, as their Mother, not knowing them aſunder, was ignorant which was the eldeſt, and therefore the *Lacedæmonians* made them both Kings with equal power: onely becauſe *Euryſthenes* was firſt waſhed and fed, he was vulgarly accounted the elder; and though their Families were of the ſame dignity, yet was his accounted ſomething the more honourable. In their minority *Theras* their Uncle by the Mother's ſide managed the Kingdom for them, in obeying whom they ever agreed; but in nothing elſe, though Twins, and ſo like one another. This difference was in a manner propagated to their poſterity, which continued on both ſides for many Generations downwards by the names of *Euryſthenidæ* and *Proclidæ*; and being partakers in what is commonly accounted to bear no corrivals, no wonder it is that Emulation ſhould be continued, but much that for ſo long it kept within the bounds of civil concord. After theſe two followed their two Sons: *Agis* for *Euryſthenes*, (from whom the Kings of this family were alſo called *Agidæ*) and *Soüs* for *Procles*. In their time it happened that the Inhabitants of *Helos* (a Town built by *Helius* the youngeſt Son of *Perſeus*) were made Slaves (both they and their poſterity) to the *Lacedæmonian* State: for whereas they as well as others had formerly the freedom of the City, and were Members of the Commonwealth, *Agis* took away that privilege, and ordered them to pay Tribute to *Sparta*, which refuſing to doe, and ſtanding out, they were thus puniſhed; all other Slaves to that State, though of what Original ſoever, being called after them *Helotæ*. *Agis* dying, was ſucceeded by *Echeſtratus* his Son; and *Soüs* ſome years after left for his Succeſſor his Son *Eurytion*, (called otherwiſe *Eurypon*, and *Euryphon*) from whom the Kings of that family were alſo named *Eurytionidæ*. *Echeſtratus* was followed by *Labotas* his Son, and *Eurytion* by *Prytanis*, in whoſe reign the firſt quarrel aroſe betwixt the *Lacedæmonians* and *Argives*. *Labotas* being dead, *Doryſſus* his Son ſucceeded him in the Kingdom; and in like manner after the death of *Prytanis*, *Eunomus* his Son continued the ſucceſſion of that family.

Both Kings with equal power.

Lege Herodot. lib. 6. cap. 52.

Plutarch. in Lycurgo.

Helotæ made Slaves.

Strabo lib. 8. pag 363. & 365.

Euſeb.

5. After *Doryſſus* followed *Ageſilaus*, *Eunomus* of the family of *Procles* ſtill continuing, who of a former Wife begat *Polydectes*, and of a later *Lycurgus*, born 150 years before the firſt *Olympiad*. *Archelaus* the Son of *Ageſilaus* ſucceeded his Father, and was accompanied in the Government by *Polydectes*, who dying without iſſue left his inheritance to *Lycurgus* his Brother. *Lycurgus* then governed as King, but not long after his Brother's Wife proved to be with Child. She ſent to acquaint him therewith, and to tell him, that if he would marry her ſhe would make away the Infant. He deteſting from his heart ſuch Villany, yet returned her no denial, but deſired her not to practiſe any thing upon her ſelf whereby ſhe might come in danger, for when the Child was once born he would take care for the deſtruction of it: and by this deceit he drew her on till the time of her Travel. When that came he ſent ſome to obſerve her, with command, if it were a Girl, to deliver it to the Women, but if a Boy, to bring it ſtraight unto him. As he was ſupping with the Magiſtrates, a Boy was born and brought to him, who taking him in his Arms, told the *Spartans* that there was their King, and preſently put him in the Royal ſeat. And becauſe all men wonderfully rejoyced at ſo ſtrange a thing, admiring his Magnanimity and Juſtice, he gave to the Child the name of *Charilaus*.

A.M. 3019. *Euſeb. in Chronico.*

Plutarch. ut ſuprá.

Lycurgus.

A. M. 3107.

6. Then as Tutor to this his young Nephew, he managed publick affairs for ſome eight moneths; but there wanted not thoſe of the *Queen's* kindred (eſpecially

Tutor to *Charilaus*.

Lege Plutarchum & Strab. lib. 10. *pag.* 482.

Travelleth.

her Brother) who reproached him to his face, as intending no good to the Child, which ſhe alſo now ſtuck not to ſay, incenſed by his repulſe in the matter of Marriage. He took this in very ill part, and fearing that ſome inconvenience might follow theſe ſuſpicions that were begotten by his Adverſaries in the breaſts of ſeveral perſons, reſolved to cut them off by Travel, wherein he purpoſed to continue ſo long, till his Brother's Son ſhould come to maturity, and had begotten an Heir for his Kingdom. He went firſt into *Crete*, where he made Obſervations of the Laws and Cuſtomes of that Commonwealth inſtituted by *Minos*, (which afterwards he made his Pattern) and whence he ſent *Thaletas*, an eminent *Lyrick* Poet of thoſe times, by his charming Verſes to ſtir up the *Lacedæmonians* to Love and Unity. From *Crete* he paſſed over into *Aſia*, (that he might compare the Luxury thereof with the *Cretian* Severity, and as good Phyſick make up a temper out of both) where he found *Homer's* Verſes, kept as it ſeemeth by the Sons of *Creophylus*, (the Poet being dead not above thirty years before) which he then copied out, and bringing them home, firſt made them publick in *Greece*, though in great diſorder; in which they continued till the days of *Piſiſtratus*. The *Egyptians* reported that he came down into their Countrey, and there learnt the diſtinction of *Military* men from *Artificers*, and thoſe of *other* Callings. But whilſt he thus improved himſelf abroad, he was much wanted at home, and often earneſtly ſolicited to return by all parties.

Plutarch.

7. For great need there was of his Preſence to heal the Diſtempers into which the State was now fallen, the heady Multitude having by its deſire of looſe liberty brought all things into confuſion. The firſt Government, till the coming in of the *Heraclidæ*, for any thing that can be known, was meerly abſolute; and afterwards we do not find that the Regal power was diminiſhed till *Eurypon*, or *Eurytion*, moſt imprudently let looſe the reins of Government. This gave occaſion to the Rabble to fly high in diſobedience, and conteſt with his Succeſſours when they endeavoured the recovery of their old Authority. Many great tumults and ſeditions were hence raiſed, inſomuch that *Eunomus*, the Grand-ſon of *Eurypon*, Father of *Lycurgus*, and fifth from *Procles*, was murthered in one of them with a Butcher's knife. Theſe Diſtempers increaſing, and the Kings not being ſtrong enough to rule the diſſolute Rabble, nothing but abſolute ruin and deſtruction was expected, when *Lycurgus* returning home (of whoſe prudence and integrity they had had formerly large demonſtrations) alone ſeemed able to give any hope of better things.

At his return he a-new modelleth the State.

A.M. 3122.

8. He thought this opportunity was not to be neglected, now that all were in ſo good a mind, and reſolved to uſe his utmoſt endeavour for an alteration. This was the ſcope he aimed at, to make proviſion for Equality, which he thought to be the beſt Nurſe of Concord, and the Bulwark of all Societies; to accuſtom the People from their tender years to obey the Laws and Magiſtrates, and hereby to render them more inclinable to live juſtly and frugally, to bridle all corrupt affections, endure labour and hardſhip, refuſe no danger for the publick good, nor Death it ſelf if the caſe required. Having therefore a deſign to make a full evacuation of all bad humours, as he accounted them, and knowing how full of difficulty and danger this might prove to the Body politick, the minds of men much loathing ſo violent a Purgation, he conſidered that they were apt to be led by a ſhew of Religion; and having learn'd how *Minos* pretended to have received his Laws from *Jupiter*, with whom he converſed in a Cave, he reſolved to go to *Delphos*, and make uſe of that Oracle to the ſame advantage. There was he received with incouraging words, ſaluted, *Beloved of the gods, a God rather then a Man*, and received in an Oracle the frame of a Commonwealth, which bringing home, he called *Rhetra*, to gain the more Authority to it. At his return he firſt conſulted with his intimate Friends, and drew others on by degrees, till having made a Party, he ordered thirty principal perſons to go armed into the Market-place betimes in the morning, that they might thereby ſtrike a terrour into their Adverſaries. *Charilaus* at this much affrighted, as thinking it ſome Plot againſt himſelf, fled to *Chalciæcum*, (the Temple of *Minerva* much ſpoken of) where he took Sanctuary; but underſtanding how things were, came forth and joyned himſelf to his Uncle, being of a moſt ſweet and mild diſpoſition.

9. The *Rhetra* according to which he framed his Model was of this tenour. *Let him build a Temple of* Jupiter Syllanius *and* Minerva Syllania: *Let him divide the People into* Phylæ *and* Obæ, *ordain thirty* Senatours, *with the* Archegetæ: *then let him call together the People betwixt* Babyces *and* Cnacion, *ſo let*

let him propoſe concerning matters, or null them. Gamodan, Gorian, &c. In theſe words of the Oracle, ſaith *Plutarch*, *Obæ*, and *Phylæ* (that is, Tribes) ſignifie certain parts, into which the People was to be divided: the Kings are called *Archagetæ*, as Captains: and to aſſemble the People, is in *Greek* expreſſed by *apollazein*, for that he attributed the beginning and cauſe of the Commonwealth to *Apollo Pythius*. *Babycas* and *Cnacion* is at this day called *OEnuns*. *Ariſtotle* writeth, that *Cnacion* is the name of the River, and *Babycas* of the Bridge. In the middle betwixt theſe the *Concio* was aſſembled, though there was neither Gallery nor any other accommodation; becauſe he thought that thoſe things conduced nothing to Council, but rather hindred; for that Statues, Pictures, the Attiring-rooms of Theatres, and Withdrawing-rooms of the Court, being too curiouſly adorned, made thoſe that met light and vain, diverting them with toys and idle thoughts. The Multitude being aſſembled into one place, power was not granted to any of the People to propoſe: they could onely enact what the Senatours and Kings had propounded. But in after-times, the common People perverting and wreſting their Suffrages, *Polydorus* and *Theopompus*, then Kings, added this to the *Rhetra: But if the People reſolve upon any bad thing, let it be lawfull for the Senatours and Kings to diſſent*; that is, ſaith *Plutarch*, let them not ratifie it, but forthwith diſmiſs the Aſſembly; ſeeing the People depraveth the Decree, and altereth what is beſt. As for *Gamodan* and *Gorian*, *Plutarch* doth not interpret them, and it cannot be underſtood what they mean. Another *Rhetra* was this; *That they ſhould uſe no written Laws.* Another, concerning Expences, commanded, *That the roof of every houſe ſhould be made with an Axe onely, and the doors with a Saw.* And a Third ordained, *That War ſhould not be often made upon the ſame Enemies*; leſt, learning to defend themſelves, they ſhould thereby be made warlike: which afterwards was laid to the charge of *Ageſilaus* in behalf of the *Thebans*.

The Kings.

10. Having prepared all things for his purpoſe, he diſſolved the Government of his Forefathers. For though he left two *Kings* as he found, with the ſame Right of Succeſſion, yet took he away almoſt their whole Power, inſtituting a Senate to reſtrain them, and be an equal poize betwixt them and the People, to reduce both Parties into order. Without the Authority of this Senate the Kings could not decree nor undertake any thing of conſequence. He ordered they ſhould ſit in the chiefeſt places as Members of the Senate, firſt ſpeak their minds and give their Suffrages; but conclude nothing without conſent of the *major* part. All Magiſtrates, till the impudent *Ephori* took ſo much upon themſelves, roſe up to, and did them reverence. Their employment was to take care of Sacrifices, to command the *Pythii*, whereof two conſtantly attended them, to be ſent to conſult the Oracle of *Apollo Pythius* at *Delphos*: they took care of Embaſſadours and other Strangers, of the cauſes of Women that were Heirs; Adoptions alſo they had charge of, ſo as none could be made without them. They gave anſwer to Embaſſadours, and looked to the Repairing of High-ways. This was their condition at home, which amounting to no more then titulary Royalty, after that the preſent Kings had either given away their juſt Right, (as *Plutarch* telleth us, that *Charilaus* joyned with his Uncle) or were deprived of it by the Treaſon and Violence of *Lycurgus* and his Party; the attempt of ſome men is as ridiculous as ſeditious, who taking it for granted that the popular Villains, the *Ephori*, were 130 years after this ſet up by the People to reſtrain the Kings, (which yet cannot be granted, though moſt have ſo thought) thence would draw a Precedent to the diſadvantage of true Royal Majeſty. For theſe Kings were not real Kings as to Prerogatives of Majeſty, being ſcarcely ſo much as a *Duke* of *Venice*.

Lege Plutarchum in Lycurgo, Nic. Cragium, Ubbonem Emmium, & Doctiſs Dr. Heylin, lib. cui titulus, The Stumbling-block of Diſobedience diſcovered, *&c.*

11. Abroad they were the Generals of Armies, which were left to their ordering or diſpoſal; ſo as no Council of War, or any in Commiſſion could thwart their Commands; they onely receiving Orders from the State for their expeditions and returns. They had Judges to accompany them, a General of the Horſe, four *Polemarchi*, beſides Colonels, and other inferiour Officers, whoſe advice, as well as help, in the War they might uſe, but were at their own diſpoſal, and obnoxious to none of them. And what is here ſpoken of a King, is to be extended to his Protectour, Guardian, or Tutour in his minority, by the *Lacedæmonians* called *Prodicus*. Such were choſen to this truſt and charge as were neareſt of kin by the Father's ſide to the Orphans, and conſequently the next Heirs, that whoſe was the hope, his alſo might be the burthen. This appeareth by ſeveral examples of *Ly-*

of *Lycurgus* himſelf, *Ariſtodemus*, and *Pauſanias*, to be related in their due places. Which though it be not admitted in other Commonwealths, and perhaps with good reaſon, yet theſe *Prodici* having all in their power, ſcarcely ever any of them was found to have plaid falſe, or, by treachery towards their Pupills, gone about to make way for their own preferment.

The Senate.

12. The *Senate* conſiſted of 28 perſons, beſides the Kings, not under 60 years of age. The firſt were ſuch as had aſſiſted *Lycurgus*, and been helpfull to him in the Settlement, whom he ordered to continue for Life, except they committed any Offence worthy of ſecluſion; conceiving it not ſafe for this his Commonwealth, to have a frequent change of Senatours, which the Kings might improve to their own intereſt. Into this ſecond rank of dignity were none to be admitted, but ſuch as had well deſerved of the State by good ſervice or eminent vertue; that ſo it might be a reward to old men, and an incouragement to the younger ſort, to be conformable to the Laws. They had in effect the whole executive power in their hands. They had the ſupreme power of Judicature, wherein they proceeded not raſhly, but with great advice and delay, deferring Judgement moſt commonly for ſome days, till they had heard both parties, and received the teſtimonies of witneſſes: yet it was lawfull afterwards to appeal from them to the People. They were not liable to be called to an account for whatſoever they did: which immunity, as exceeding the moderation of a Commonwealth, (together with their ſuing to the People for their Places, whereas able and honeſt men ſhould be ſought for,) amongſt other things is taxed by *Ariſtotle*.

Lege Plutarch. in Lycurgo, Platon. de legib. lib. 3. Xenoph. ut ſuprà, Ariſtot. Polit. Demoſth. adverſus Leptinem.

Politic. lib. 2. c 8.

13. A Reverend and Learned man obſerveth, that whatever the Kings loſt, the People got little by the alteration, being left out of all imployment in affairs of State, and forced to yield obedience unto Thirty Maſters, whereas before they had but Two. For the Kings and Senate aſſembled, and diſmiſſed them when they pleaſed, and propounded to them what they thought convenient. For the People ſo aſſembled it was not lawfull to propound any thing to be debated or determined, nor to deliver their opinion in the Point propounded: there being nothing left to them, but to teſtifie their aſſent to the Propoſitions made either by the Kings or Senate. But the cunning flattery of the *Ephori* in after-times much enlarged the power of the People. By the appointment of *Lycurgus* it met at the River *Cnacion* (afterwards called *OEnuns*) by the Bridge *Babycas*. Sometimes onely the *Spartans*, or Inhabitants of the City, met together, and then it was called the *Leſſer Aſſembly*: but otherwhiles the whole Body of the *Lacedæmonians* gathered together out of all *Laconia*, that was free of the Commonwealth, which went by the name of the *Greater Meeting* or *Aſſembly*, called then ſimply * *Eccleſia*.

Dr. Heylin.

Plutarch. in Lycurgo. Xenoph. Hellenic. lib. 3. & 6.

* Ἐκκλησία.

An Equality of Poſſeſſions.

14. Having reduced the Government to this Antimonarchical paſs, he rightly judged it could not ſubſiſt without levelling. He therefore attempted a thing moſt difficult, and even beyond all hope of attaining. Many that had got much wealth in the late turbulent times, he perſuaded to part with moſt of it, and to an equal diviſion of the grounds, urging, that no Inequality was to be amongſt them, but what Vice and Vertue made; and what by arguments drawn from convenience, as others from neceſſity that lay upon them from the indigent and diſpleaſed Multitude, he brought his Deſign to perfection. Then divided he the grounds into 30000 *Lots*, or equal Portions, whereof 9000 he laid to the City of *Sparta* it ſelf, (the number of Citizens amounting to ſo many,) and diſtributed the reſt to the other *Lacedæmonians* inhabiting the Countrey. Each Portion contained ſo much as to maintain a family in a frugal way, and no more. To the Kings a larger quantity was aſſigned for the maintenance of their Degree, ſo much as might ſerve with moderation, and not make them abound in Riches.

Plutarch in vita Lycurgi; & in Compar. Lycurgi & Numæ; & in Agide, & alibi.

Iron money.

15. That he might take away Covetouſneſs, and the deſire of hoarding up wealth, he forbade the uſe of *Silver and Gold Coin*, putting in the room thereof *Iron* money, of which a great quantity amounting but to a little value, no conſiderable payment could be made without the help of an Horſe or Waggon. Hereby it came to paſs that they were unfit to Traffick with other people, no Merchandize being imported, which he herein aimed at, as well as by another Law made expreſly againſt the continuance of Strangers in the City; fearing more the Contagion of the mind in his People then that of the body. And otherways to prevent Luxury, he forbade that any man ſhould eat at home by himſelf, or with his family, or to make any private Feaſts, without ſome ſpecial occaſion; but ordered them to ſup together in common, without any diſtinction of Dignity or Fortune, by fifteen together. Each one ſent in his Proviſion monthly; as Meal, Wine, Cheeſe, and Figs, with a little money to buy other Victuals. If any had killed Veniſon, or offered

Plutarch.

Sacrifice, whereby any Fleſh was gotten, the ancient men left that to the younger ſort, and contented themſelves with Broaths, of which a black ſort was moſt uſed, of no pleaſant taſte to ſuch as were not accuſtomed to eat it. As for Fiſh, and all kind of delicate Cates, they were utterly forbidden. None were to eat or drink beyond ſuch a proportion as ſufficed Nature: the Kings indeed were allowed a double Meſs, but this was, that they might have opportunity to pleaſure and countenance others with part of it. All came to theſe publick Meetings (which firſt were called *Andria*, after the name of thoſe of the *Cretians*, from whom *Lycurgus* borrowed this Conſtitution, afterwards *Phyditia* and *Syſſitia*) with their Arms, and after Supper were to go home without Torch or Candle, though never ſo dark, that they might learn, if need ſhould be, to make the ſame ſhift when they lay abroad in the field. All ſtately Buildings he forbad, and all Trades that tended any way to the maintenance of Luxury or Exceſs.

The *Phyditia* and *Syſſitia*.

16. But to have theſe Cuſtomes durable, it being highly neceſſary to breed up the youth in ſuitable Diſcipline, he alſo provided for that in ample manner. The firſt thing previous to education was very unnatural and cruel; for the Infant, as ſoon as born, was carried to the moſt ancient of that Tribe to be viewed; and if it was found any way deformed, weak, or ſickly, whereby might be judged that it would rather prove burthenſom then beneficial to the Commonwealth, then was it to be expoſed upon the craggy places of the Hill *Taygetus*, there to take ſuch quarter as wild beaſts, fowls, hunger and cold would afford it. But if it ſeemed ſtrong, luſty, and worthy to live, then was it reſtored to its Parents to be nurſed. And nurſed it was very harſhly, not uſed to any delicate or coſtly feeding, and ſo uſed to darkneſs and ſolitarineſs as not to be affrighted at them. When the Children were ſeven years old, they were not committed to any mercenary School-maſters, after the cuſtom of other people, but to the care of the Publick, being diſtributed into ſeveral Companies, over which ſome that were moſt fierce, hardy and prudent amongſt them were ſet as Captains, who governed them in their ſports and exerciſes, and to whoſe correction they ſubmitted. There were alſo moſt commonly ſome men preſent at their exerciſes, who would rebuke and chaſtiſe them, obſerving which had the moſt notable ſpirits; *Lycurgus* leaving it in charge to the *Lacedæmonians*, to take care of other mens Children as of their own. All manner of ways were they inured to labour and pains. Their Hair was cut cloſe to their heads, they went bare-footed from their Infancy, fought with one another naked with as much earneſtneſs as might be, and after a certain barbarous and cruel manner were once a year whipped at the Altar of *Diana Taurica*, (to which goddeſs ſacrifice could not be offered without man's bloud) till the bloud ran down in great abundance, their Parents beholding the ſight. They would bear it with admirable patience and emulation, chearfully (nay, many times, with great delight, which they took in excelling one another in patience) enduring the ſtroaks unto Death it ſelf.

The Education of Boys.

Plutarch. in Lycurgo.

17. When they were paſt their Childhood, at twelve years of age, their labours and exerciſes were both increaſed, leſt vice together with years ſhould grow upon them. They were to be content with one Coat both Winter and Summer, and ſlept by Companies together upon courſe and uneaſie Beds. The ancient men alſo overſaw them upon occaſion, but the Charge was committed to one of the principal, called thence *Pædonomus*, who had power to gather them together and correct them. Over ſeveral Companies certain young men of twenty years of age, called *Irens*, were ſet, who, if no man was preſent, had command over them, exerciſed them in watches, lying in ambuſh, and other crafts of War, wherein if any were caught, they were ſeverely puniſhed, to make them the more wary for the future; as alſo if they were taken in Theft, Stealing with them being lawfull, and incouraged as an exerciſe for War, but to be ſurprized therein was puniſhable. The ſame *Irens* ſupping with them would make ſome ſing, and others propoſe queſtions, in anſwering which they exerciſed their wits, accuſtoming them to make a ſhort, clear and witty anſwer, in the dexterity whereof the *Lacedæmonians* excelled all others: Oratours with their long-winded ſpeeches being utterly forbidden. When the *Iren* corrected them, there were men ſtanding by to take notice of it; and if it was not rightly done, nor upon good grounds, he had the ſame puniſhment inflicted on him. Thoſe Boys performed ſeveral ſorts of exerciſes; but amongſt the reſt, thoſe called *Plataniſta* (from the place thick ſet with *Plane*-trees) were moſt eminent, in which with hands and feet, teeth and nails, they fought in good earneſt, to the putting out of eyes, and ſometimes to the danger of Life it ſelf, none giving over, or ſhrinking one jot, than which no diſgrace was eſteemed more hainous.

Pædonomus.

Iren.

Plutarch. in Apophthegmat. Laconicis.

Such ſtrict and conſtant diſcipline under-went they all their minority, till they arrived at 30 years of age, (before which time they married not, went not out to War, neither exerciſed any Office) ſo that the greateſt trouble in the Field afterwards ſeemed much more eaſy to be undergone.

The education of *Virgins*.

18. The Education alſo of young Women was agreeable to this of the other Sex, that by Vigilancy, Induſtry, and enduring Labour, they might be furniſhed with Courage and Reſolution againſt all evils, being married with more eaſe undergo the pains of Travel, and bring forth Children of the ſame conſtitution. According to their age they had Exerciſes of ſundry ſorts; moſt of which they performed in publick, naked, and that not onely in the ſight of *Kings* and *Senate*, but the young men alſo; which yet becauſe of the *Laconick* modeſty and temperance, with the cuſtom of it, was not judged at all to contribute to Vice, but rather to an innocent and harmleſs emulation, and honeſt love. Their diet was ſuch as might nouriſh them, and not any ill diſpoſition in them. Such were their Cloaths, and all things elſe about them, as long as *Lycurgus* his Conſtitutions were in force; and therefore the too great power of the Women, their Luxury, and the many great inconveniences that thence aroſe to the State, objected ſo much by *Ariſtotle*, is to be aſcribed to the married ſort; and probable it is that this corruption crept in in after-times, it being well nigh as eaſie for him to reform the Women as to make this great alteration in the Commonwealth, though the contrary be aſſerted by the Philoſopher, who as it ſeemeth was much ſatisfied in the wilfulneſs of that Sex. The ſet time for Marriage of Men was at 30, for Women at 20 years, before which it was unlawfull; but if a man within ſome reaſonable time after betook him not to that eſtate, he was publickly diſgraced by command of the Law-giver. Women had no Portions; yet the Heirs carried with them their Father's Inheritance. No plurality of Wives did he allow; and yet as for Adultery it was not heard of in that City, againſt which neither did he make any Law, having already provided ſufficiently againſt it by ſuch ſtrict Conſtitutions.

Politic. lib. 2. cap. 7.

Travel forbidden.

19. As he provided againſt the flocking of Strangers to *Sparta*, ſo forbad he any Citizen or Member of the Commonwealth to Travel, (except in any expedition of War) leſt he ſhould bring home with him the diſſolute and effeminate Cuſtoms of other places. Merchandizing was eſteemed a baſe imployment, as meerly practiſed for getting of Wealth. Drunkenneſs they rendred more abominable to Children by making their Slaves drunk, that then they might behold them in that beaſtly condition. He that had been ſo unthrifty as not to be able to bear the charge of the *Phiditia* was excluded from all truſt in the Commonwealth. To keep them vigilant, he commanded that the City ſhould not be walled, they having ſufficient leiſure to look carefully to it; this being even their whole calling, with their heads and hands to attend publick affairs; the drudgery of Tilling their Grounds, and gathering their Fruits, being impoſed upon the *Helotæ*, or publick Slaves, with other ſervile and mechanick affairs. Thoſe Slaves it was not lawfull for any one privately to manumit, or ſell out of *Laconia*; whereby increaſing to ſo great a number, that they equallized, or exceeded that of their Maſters, they ſometimes afforded occaſion of great danger; upon which account this Conſtitution is taxed by the *Philoſopher*. For the leſſening of their numbers a courſe was taken not altogether clear from a note of cruelty, Certain young men being ſent about into the Countrey, who lying hid in the day-time, (whence this practice was called *Cryptia*) by night killed as many of them as they could light on.

Sparta unwalled.

The *Cryptia*.

20. Such was the form of the Commonwealth inſtituted by *Lycurgus*, which ſaved him the labour of erecting any other Courts of Juſtice then what have been already mentioned. For Gold and Silver being taken away, and the uſe thereof forbidden upon pain of death, Controverſies and Suits moſt commonly thence ariſing naturally fell of themſelves. He forbad his Laws to be written in Tables, becauſe he would have them rooted in the Minds of the people, to which he thought the ſtrict Diſcipline he erected might ſufficiently conduce. After the thing was done, as it hath happened uſually in this kind, he was but ill rewarded; for ſuch as had parted with their Silver, Gold, or Luxury, were ſo enraged as to throw ſtones at him, which to ſhun he was glad to betake himſelf to his heels, and looking back had an Eye ſtruck out by one *Arcander*, who yet afterwards repented him of the deed, and was very obſervant of him. One telleth us he was caſt out by publick rage; but * he who hath handled the ſubject of his Life with greateſt induſtry, hath recorded, that when things began to be ſettled, and he ſaw the Commonwealth thus conſtituted able to ſupport it ſelf, he calling the People together, told them, that indeed all things were ſo already ſettled as to provide for

Plutarch. ut ſuprà.

* *Valerius Max. lib. 5. cap. 3. Ext. Exemp. 2.*

Kings, Senate, and People ſworn to obſerve the Laws and Conſtitutions of *Lycurgus*.

His Death.

for vertue and happineſs, but one thing, and that of greateſt conſequence, was yet behind, which was not to be enacted before firſt he had conſulted the Oracle at *Delphos*. Therefore he deſired them to keep the Laws already made, and change nothing in them till his return with ſuch Anſwer as the Oracle would give him. All conſenting, he took an Oath of the Kings, Senate, and People, and began his Journey. At *Delphos* he enquired whether the Laws already made, and eſtabliſhed, were not ſufficient for the vertue and ſafety of the State. It was anſwered they were, and that it ſhould continue moſt glorious ſo long as it would ſtand to them. This Anſwer then he ſent to *Sparta*; but, reſolving never to looſe them from their Oath, he there made an end of himſelf by abſtaining from all ſuſtenance. Some have ſaid that he died in *Crete*, and that he ordered his Body to be burnt, and his aſhes thrown into the Sea, leſt his Reliques being brought back to *Sparta*, they ſhould account themſelves freed from the Oath. But * *Tertullian* writeth, that he famiſhed himſelf, becauſe the *Lacedæmonians* went about to alter his Laws.

* *In Apologet.*

The War with the *Argives*.

Pauſan. in Arcadicis. *Herod. lib.* I.

Pauſan. in Meſſenicis.

* *Clemens Strom. lib.* I.

The firſt *Olympiad*.

21. *Lycurgus* being dead, and the State ſettled, after this great change, it renewed the War formerly begun with the *Argives*; and afterwards deluded by the ambiguity of the Oracle, commenced another againſt the *Tegeatæ*, a people of *Arcadia*, by whom they were worſted, and *Charilaus* the King was taken Priſoner, through the eſpecial valour of the Women: yet was he preſently ſet at liberty, upon his Oath never to fight more againſt them, which he but ill performed. After this they overthrew divers Cities, on which the *Achæans* had ſeized, ſome whereof made their peace, as *Pauſanias* telleth us, and departed out of *Peloponneſus*. The Colleague of *Charilaus* (or *Charillus*) for ſome time was *Teleclus*, whoſe death gave one occaſion to the famous *Meſſenian* War. *Charilaus* was ſucceeded by *Nicander* his Son, and *Teleclus* by *Alcamenes*. In * the 34th year of *Nicander*, was celebrated the firſt *Olympiad*, after the Reſtitution of thoſe Games by *Iphitus*, in which *Corœbus* a Cook of *Elis* got the Prize in the Courſe. Theſe Solemnities being of ſo great conſequence to the knowledge of times, muſt not be paſſed over without ſome obſervation.

The renewing of the *Olympick* Games.

Pauſan. in Eliacis.

A. M. 3229. *Oſiæ* 34.

22. Theſe Exerciſes had in former times been held by divers others, as *Hercules*, (both the *Idæan* and the Son of *Amphitryon*, as ſome think) *Pelops*, *Endymion*, *Neleus*, *Pelias*, *Lycurgus*, and others. After the deſcent of the *Heraclidæ* into *Peponneſus*, *Oxylus* the *Ætolian* alſo (who, as we ſaid, was choſen their Guide, and according to agreement had the Countrey of *Elis* given to him) renewed the Games: but they were interrupted as formerly, or ſeldom obſerved, for about 300 years, till *Iphitus* the Son of *Praxonidas*, and Nephew of *Hæmon*, deſcended from him, and one of his Succeſſors, again reſtored them; after which they never intermitted, but were kept up for many generations. But the occaſion of the laſt reſtitution was this. *Greece* being almoſt ruined by Seditions and Peſtilence, *Iphitus* inquired of the Oracle at *Delphos*, how thoſe evils might be redreſſed: and it was anſwered, that it was expedient for him and the *Eleans* to reſtore the *Olympick Games*; whereupon he proclaimed them, and for the better celebration of them, procured a Truce to be made. The place whence they had their name was *Olympia*, a City ſituated in the territories of the *Piſæans*, upon the River *Alpheus*, upon which account the *Piſæans* contended a long time with the *Eleans* about their intereſt in them. There was a Temple dedicated to *Jupiter Olympius*, and a place for Races and all ſorts of Exerciſes, filled with many goodly buildings, which reſembled another City. Near to the Town was alſo a place where the *Eleans* ſate and judged of the Controverſies ariſing about Victories, to which Crowns or Garlands were given. As long as the *Eleans* continued under a Monarchical Government, their Prince, of the poſterity of *Oxylus*, was ſole Judge; but afterwards there were Two, choſen by the Votes of the People, which where after increaſed to the number of Nine, then to Ten, and laſt of all to Twelve. This ſolemnity was held once every fifth year beginning, ſo that from the commencing of one to the beginning of another, paſſed four entire years, by ſome miſtaken for five, becauſe of the commencement of the Games. The time was at the full of the Moon, the change whereof immediately preceded the Summer Solſtice, in the Moneth by them called *Hecatombæon*.

23. Upon this occaſion meetings and conſultations were had concerning the affairs of all *Greece*, beſides the Inhabitants of which, many flocked from other Countries. Care was here taken concerning the form of the year, for the intercalation of a day at the end of every fourth. Charge was given to the Prieſts of the Temple, to take notice of every new Moon, eſpecially of that wherewith the

Moneth *Hecatombæon* began, and to proclaim it: they were alſo not onely to regiſter the names of the *Victors* in the ſeveral ſorts of Games, with other things that concerned them, but alſo whatſoever memorable thing occurred in the intervalls. The account of years henceforth never failed, and the affairs of *Greece*, and other Countries, were known in a moſt certain order. And here the ſecond intervall of time, amongſt three reckoned by * *Varro*, received its period. The *firſt* began with the beginning of things, and ended at the *Deluge*, called by him *Unknown:* the *ſecond* began where the firſt ended, and concluded with this reſtitution of the *Olympiads*; which he termed *Fabulous*, becauſe the Story thereof is mixed with Fables: and the *third*, commencing with the firſt *Olympiad*, reached to his own time, which he named *Hiſtoricall*, for that things done therein were truly and clearly related. This happened 408 years after the deſtruction of *Troy*, 774 before the *Æra* of Chriſt, *A.M.* 3229.

* *Vide Cenſorinum de Die Natali, cap.* 21.

The bringing in of the *Ephori* into *Sparta.*

A. M. 3256.
V.C. 5.
Jothami 10.

24. Towards the latter end of the ſeventh *Olympiad*, a great change was made in the Government of *Lacedæmon*, by the bringing in of the *Ephori*, who, according to *Plutarch*, had their beginning 130 years after *Lycurgus*. It ſeemeth that for all the means uſed by him to gain an Equality, and clip the power of the Great ones, yet it again grew extravagant within this time, ſo that the People, to provide againſt that of the Kings and Senate for the future, got theſe Officers created. Five they were in number, (whereof one *Elatus* was the firſt) choſen every year by and out of the People, without any diſtinction of birth or wealth; inſomuch, that ſometimes the meaneſt ſort of men were elected: which cuſtom is noted as bad by *Ariſtotle*. But their uſe and end being onely to protect the Liberty of the people, ſuch, what ever they were, muſt be preferred, as made the greateſt ſhow of love to Freedom, of a ſharp and bold wit, and averſeneſs towards the power of the great ones. *Theopompus* the Son of *Nicander*, and Grandſon to *Charilaus*, was King at this time, who bringing in, or giving way to this Office, his Wife rebuked him for ſo doing, ſaying, that he would leave the Kingdom to his Son of leſs value than he had it of his Father. To which he anſwered, that on the contrary, he ſhould leave it ſo much the greater, by how much more durable. Indeed hereby it came to paſs, as *Plutarch* obſerveth, that the Kingly power, being leſs, was not ſubject to that envy which ruined the affairs of the Kings of *Meſſene* and *Argos*, who would not moderate their power, nor at all ſtoop to any Popularity; and the Government here being poized, continued longer, as freed from the inteſtine diſtempers of the neighbour Commonwealth. Yet it is alſo obſerved by * one, that the reaſon of the proſperity and long duration of the *Spartan* State, above that of the *Athenian* and others, is to be fetched from its ſo much partaking of *Ariſtocracy*, and the want of that influence which the heady Multitude had into the greateſt affairs elſewhere.

*Ariſt.Polit.lib.*5. *cap.* 11.

*Val. Max. lib.*4.

Plutarch.in vita Lycurgi.

Plato de Legibus lib. 3.

Cicero de Legib. lib. 3.

* *Machiavelli ſopra la prima Decad. di Tito Livio.*

25. The general and moſt probable opinion is, that the *Ephori* were brought in in the time of *Theopompus*. So writeth *Ariſtotle*, *Plutarch*, and *Valerius Maximus*: Yet (*a*) *Herodotus*, having reckoned up ſeveral things performed by *Lycurgus* in the framing of his Commonwealth, at length addeth, *Farther*, Lycurgus *ordained the* Ephori *and Elders:* of which opinion *Xenophon* ſeemeth alſo to have been in his Treatiſe of the *Lacedæmonian* Commonwealth. But though they were brought in during the reign of *Theopompus*, yet it is not agreed who was the principal Author of their creation, becauſe the end or deſign thereof is uncertain, though that ere now ſpoken of be generally received. (*b*) *Plato*, and *Plutarch* (as he confeſſeth) from him, will have them created to be as a bridle to the *power* of the Kings, for theirs it muſt needs be, which he calleth *Hereditary*. *Cicero* alſo in his third Book of Laws teſtifieth, that the *Ephori* at *Sparta* were oppoſed againſt the *Kings*, as the *Roman Tribunes* againſt the *Conſuls*, who as well as the *Senate* were, even at the firſt inſtitution, feared by the Commons, for that they were the chief Patritian Magiſtrates at that time, and the Animoſities in that State were cauſed by the diſtinction of the two Orders. *Valerius Maximus* maketh the ſame compariſon betwixt the *Ephori* and *Tribunes*, and will have them inſtituted by *Theopompus* for this very end, whom *Plato* alſo ſeemeth upon the ſame account to call the third *Saviour* of the *Lacedæmonians*; ſo that he muſt have been at the leaſt inſtrumental in their inſtitution. *Ariſtotle* (*c*) accounteth this Magiſtracy as the Nerves of the Commonwealth joyning the parts thereof together; becauſe the People by virtue of it being partaker of Empire, was quiet: ſo that the People ſeemeth eſpecially conſidered in this Office, by which in another place the Philoſopher expreſly ſaith *Theopompus* moderated the power of the Kings. But for all this *Cleomenes* King of *Sparta*, as (*d*) *Plutarch* himſelf relateth the Story, affirmed in a ſpeech to the people,

(*a*) Πρὸς τε τούτοισι, τοὺς ἐφόρους καὶ γέροντας ἔστησε Λυκοῦργος. *li.*1. *cap.* 65.

(*b*) Ὁ τρίτος σωτὴρ ὑμῖν ἔτι σπαργῶσαν καὶ θυμουμένην τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁρῶν, οἷον ψάλιον ἐνέβαλεν αὐτῇ τὴν τῶν ἐφόρων δύναμιν, ἐγγὺς τῆς κληρωτῆς ἀγαγὼν δυνάμεως. *De Legibus lib.* 3.

(*c*) Συνέχει μὲν τὴν πολιτείαν τὸ ἀρχεῖον τοῦτο. ἡσυχάζει γὰρ ὁ δῆμος, διὰ τὸ μετέχειν μεγίστης ἀρχῆς. *Politic. lib.* 2.

(*d*) *In Cleomene.*

people, that *Lycurgus* having added the *Senate* to the *Kings*, the Commonwealth was for a long time governed without any other Magiſtracy. Afterwards, when the *Meſſenian* War was drawn out in length, the Kings, becauſe they were employed abroad, choſe ſome of their friends to adminiſter Juſtice, whom they left as their Deputies over the people: and thoſe were called *Ephori*, from their *inſpection*. Being at firſt no other than Aſſiſtants to the Kings, by little and little they aſſumed power to themſelves, and no body aware of it, conſtituted a peculiar Office. Hereof, he ſaid, a ſign remained at that day, for that the King being called by the *Ephori*, refuſed to come once, and again; but at the third call came to them: beſides, *Aſteropus*, who firſt inlarged the bounds of this Office, was *Ephorus* many Ages after.

Their power.

26. The power of thoſe Magiſtrates, for what end ſoever conſtituted, (as of others in other places) was moderate at the firſt; but in proceſs of time, as the ambition of them, and the confidence of the People thereupon increaſed, it exceeded the due and juſt bounds, and made the Government almoſt degenerate into a *Democracy*. They not onely conſulted with the *Kings* and *Senate*, reſolved about the affairs of State, and judged of Controverſies amongſt the people; but afterwards grappled even the whole Power into their hands, doing all things themſelves that were of moment. They govened the *Aſſemblies* of the people, propoſing and gathering Suffrages, they made and diſannulled Leagues, ordered what Forces were to be ſent out, for which they alſo made proviſion, they rewarded or puniſhed, according to their pleaſure, other Magiſtrates, calling the very * Kings to account for their Lives; inſomuch that, as the *Philoſopher* obſerveth, they obtained a kind of Tyranny: the onely remedy was, that their Office was but annuall, and being five in number, the deſigns and endeavours of one or two were croſſed and overthrown by the contrary party, nothing being done without the conſent of the whole *College*. They roſe not up, as other Magiſtrates, in preſence of the Kings, with whom they mutually ſware every moneth; the Kings, that they would rule according to the Laws, and they in the name of the people, to preſerve their Rule thus ordered, ſafe and entire to them. With their entring into their Office the year began, (conſtantly in Winter, as we learn from *Thucydides*;) and from one of them, as principal, the year was named, (who thence was called *Eponymus*,) as from the *Archon* at *Athens*. At their firſt entrance they were wont to publiſh an Edict, that the men ſhould take off all the Hair from their upper Lips, and obſerve ſtrictly all the Laws, leſt they ſhould be conſtrained to puniſh them, requiring obedience in a little, thereby to inure the people to it. In the Wars two of them uſed to go out with the Kings, to aſſiſt them in their Councils. They were wont to proclaim open war againſt the publick Slaves or *Helots*, giving liberty to kill them; and thence is to be derived that cruel cuſtom of the *Cryptia*, rather than from any Conſtitution of *Lycurgus*, as *Ariſtotle* thinketh. The cauſe thereof, as *Plutarch* judgeth, was the conſpiring of theſe Slaves againſt their Maſters, during the *Meſſenian* War.

* *Agis.*

Pauſanias.

Vide Plutarch. & Corn. Nepotem.

Lib. 5.

Plutarch. in Cleomene ex Ariſtotele.

The *Meſſenian* War.

27. In the ſecond year of the ninth *Olympiad* this War began: though the ground of the quarrel had been partly laid ſeveral years before the bringing in of the *Ephori*. In the days of *Teleclus* Father to *Alcamenes* now King, there being a Temple of *Diana* in the borders, to which both the *Lacedæmonians* and *Meſſenians* conſtantly reſorted, it happened that ſome *Spartan* Virgins going thither, according to the cuſtom, were abuſed by the *Meſſenians*, and *Teleclus*, endeavouring to prevent the injury, was there ſlain: morover, the Virgins for very ſhame and grief deſtroyed themſelves, as the *Lacedæmonians* told the Story. On the contrary, the *Meſſenians* pleaded, that at this Temple *Teleclus* lay in wait for the principal of their City, by ſending thither young men, diſguiſed in the habit of Virgins, with Poniards under their cloaths; that hereupon the *Meſſenians* coming in to help their friends, ſlew *Teleclus*, and the counterfeits, for which at that time the *Lacedæmonians* found not themſelves ſo much concerned as to ſtir. However it was, grudges hence aroſe, or were rather heightned betwixt them; for the *Lacedæmonians* often complained, that in the diviſion of the Territories obtained by the *Heraclidæ*, *Euryſthenes* and *Procles*, their Kings, were cheated by their Uncle *Creſphontes* of the far better grounds, for which now they envied the *Meſſenians*, thinking themſelves far worthier of them, as being much the more conſiderable people.

Pauſanias in Meſſenicis.

Strabo lib. 6. & 8.

Juſt. in lib. 3.

28. Animoſities being raiſed upon theſe accounts, another thing happened which increaſed them to that height as they brake out into open War. There was one *Polychares*, a *Meſſenian*, who had got the victory in the Courſe at the celebration of the fourth *Olympiad*. He let out ſome Cows to one *Euæphnus* a *Lacedæmonian*, on this condition,

Pauſan. ut ſuprà.

condition, to have part of the profit. *Euæphnus* ſold the Cows, and then coming to *Polychares*, told him that they and their Keepers were ſtoln from him. But while he was labouring to gain credit to his tale, ſome of the Herdſ-men (who, as it ſeemeth, with the conſent of *Euæphnus*, were taken away by force) eſcaped from the Merchants, and acquainted *Polychares* with the Fraud; which now the other not able to deny, asked him pardon, told him for how much the Cattel were ſold, and promiſed to ſend the money, if he would let his Son accompany him to *Sparta*. He ſent his Son accordingly; but when they were come together into *Laconia*, *Euæphnus* moſt perfidiouſly murthered the young man: with the horridneſs of which fact *Polychares* grievouſly moved, came ſeveral times to *Sparta*, complaining bitterly, and with many tears, to the *Kings* and *Ephori*, but found no Juſtice; inſomuch that growing into a great rage againſt all *Lacedæmonians* in common, he killed them as enemies whereſoever he could meet them.

29. The *Lacedæmonians*, finding themſelves concerned herein, ſent to the *Meſſenians*, demanding *Polychares*. At that time *Androcles* and *Antiochus*, the Sons of *Phintas*, reigning at *Meſſene*, promiſed they would report the matter to the People, and know their minds therein. The Multitude being called together, *Androcles* was much for the giving up of *Polychares*; but, on the contrary, *Antiochus* urged how unjuſt and lamentable a thing it would be for him to be tormented before *Euæphnus*: and the contention grew ſo hot betwixt the Brothers, that it came to blows. *Antiochus* his faction prevailing, *Androcles* with the chief of his party loſt their lives. *Antiochus* then reigning alone wrote to the *Spartans*, offering to refer the buſineſs to the *Argives*, who were of the ſame ſtock with them both; or to the publick Council of the *Amphyctiones*; or elſe, if neither of theſe liked them, to the Senate of *Areopagus*. They returned no anſwer by the Meſſenger, and within a few months *Antiochus* died, and his Son *Euphaes* ſucceeded him. Neither then did they ſend any meſſage, nor yet renounced amity with the *Meſſenians*, but entring into ſecret conſultations provided for the War, and bound themſelves with an Oath never to return home till they had ſubdued *Meſſenia*.

Pauſ. Polybius lib. 6.

30. Being bound with this Oath, and having all things in a readineſs, under the conduct of *Alcamenes*, the Son of *Teleclus*, they went out by night and fell upon *Aruphea*, a Town upon the Borders; which by the ſuddenneſs of the onſet, no Watch being kept, but the Gates ſtanding open, they eaſily took; and finding it a place for ſituation, and convenience of water, fit for their purpoſe, put all to the Sword, intending to uſe it as a Receptacle, and chief Fortreſs in the War. After this they made Excurſions, and rather practiſed Robberies than carried on a War, the *Meſſenians* declining the Fight through the perſuaſion of *Euphaes*. But after four years, when they were now well exerciſed, and exceedingly incenſed againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, he gave them leave to make inroads into *Laconia*, where they waſted all about *Taygetus*. He then led down his Army into the Borders to fight: which opportunity the *Lacedæmonians* imbraced, and ingaged with the Horſe, and thoſe Foot that bare the light Armour. But *Euphaes* having provided matter for making a Trench, cauſed the place where his other Souldiers lay to be fortified, (in them conſiſting his chief ſtrength;) ſo that, ſeeing they could not fight with them, and being unprovided to beſiege the Camp, they returned home, where they had but cold welcom, becauſe of this Retreat made contrary to their ſolemn Oath.

Idem ibid.
A. M. 3262.
Olymp. 9. *an.* 2.
V. C. 11.
Jothami 16.

31. The year after, for that the elder ſort exceedingly upbraided them, they returned into *Meſſenia* under conduct of both the Kings, *Theopompus*, the Son of *Nicander*, and *Polydorus* of *Alcamenes* now dead. There they were received by the enemy, and entertained in a great and bloudy Battel, wherein both Parties with much earneſtneſs and contention demeaned themſelves. The *Spartans* as they ſurpaſſed the other in skill, being trained up in Exerciſes from their Childhood, ſo exceeded them alſo in numbers: but deſperation and neceſſity made the *Meſſenians* valiant, as they abundantly ſhewed it, many breaking their Ranks on purpoſe to come to hand-ſtroaks with the enemy. In the main Battel the Victory continued doubtfull a long time; in the right wing *Euphaes* put *Theopompus* to flight, and in the left *Polydorus* did as much by the *Meſſenians*, and neither Party would give the chace: *Euphaes*, for that he thought he had already done enough; and *Polydorus*, becauſe the *Lacedæmonians* were deterred from it through their ignorance of the place, being in an enemie's Countrey: ſo that fighting on even terms they were parted by the night. The day following neither ſide would fight, nor had the confidence to erect a Trophee; but made truce ſo long as to bury their dead.

32. After this Battel none other ſucceeded for ſeveral years. The *Meſſenians*, for that their Countrey was the ſeat of War, were preſſed with many difficulties.

Their Garriſons had coſt them ſo much money, that now they were rendred unable to pay their Army: their Slaves fled daily to the *Lacedæmonians*, and a certain Diſeaſe, not much better than the Plague, ſeized upon them; which though not exceeding deadly, yet, jointly with the other difficulties, cauſed great trouble and perturbation. After a ſerious debate concerning the main of their Affairs, it was reſolved, that moſt of the Towns lying upon the Sea ſhould be diſmantled as far remote, and *Ithome*, a Mountain as large as any within the *Iſthmus*, (whereupon ſtood a Town more ancient than great) was to be fortified, becauſe of the natural ſtrength thereof. When they had here ſettled themſelves, they ſent to *Delphos* to enquire concerning the event of the War. The Oracle (agreeable to the diſpoſition of the Enemy of mankind) required a Virgin of the ſtock of *Æpytus* to be ſacrificed; whereupon all that belonged to that Family were ſubjected to the lot, and the Daughter of one *Lyciſcus* was taken. She being to be offered, the Sooth-ſayer forbade it, alleging that ſhe was not the Daughter of *Lyciſcus*, but brought in under-hand by his Wiſe that was barren: and whilſt he was thus perſuading the people, *Lyciſcus* fled away with her to *Sparta*. All hereat exceedingly ſtartled, *Ariſtodemus*, another of that Family, voluntarily offered his own Daughter: but a young man there preſent that was in love with her, and ſhortly intended marriage, ſtifly impugned it, and contended ſhe was not in her Father's power, becauſe betrothed to himſelf. Not herewith prevailing, he affirmed he had lien with her, and that ſhe was with Child. Whereat *Ariſtodemus* was ſo inraged, that he killed her with his own hand, and, ripping up her belly, ſhewed plainly to all that there was no ſuch matter. Yet the Sooth-ſayer avouched her Death could not at all profit the State, and commanded ſome other to be offered: but *Euphaes* perſuaded the People that the Oracle was already ſatisfied, and required not the Life of any other.

Ariſtodemus killeth his Daughter.

A. M. 3269.
Olymp. 11. *an.* 1.
V. C. 18.
Achazi 8.

The *Lacedæmonians* make War upon the *Argives*.

Pauſan. in *Laconicis* & *Argolicis*; *Plutarc.* in *Parallelis*; & *Herod. lib.* 1. *Suidas in voce Othryades.*

33. The reſt which the *Lacedæmonians* had in this intervall was preſently turned into action with the *Argives* about *Thyrea*, a Town ſituate in the borders of both Commonwealths.. This fell out in the reign of *Theopompus*, whereat yet he was not preſent, partly by reaſon of his old age, and alſo for grief taken at the death of his ſon *Archidamus*. The controverſie was brought before the *Amphyctiones*, who ordered that 300 on each ſide ſhould decide it. Of the *Argives* two perſons ſurvived the Combat; but of the *Spartan* party onely one, by name *Othryades*, as good as many, who lived no longer than to make uſe of broken Spears in ſtead of Crutches to ſuſtain his body, then to gather together the Targets of the ſlain, and to erect a Trophee therewith, whereon he made an inſcription with his own bloud. Becauſe of this Trophee the *Amphyctiones* decreed the Town to the *Lacedæmonians*; but the *Argives*, for that two of their party ſurvived, afterwards renewed the War to their own dammage.

That with the *Meſſenians* renewed.

Pauſanias in Meſſenicis.

34. The offering up of *Ariſtodemus* his Daughter ſeemed to the *Meſſenians* to have done ſome good, the affairs of *Lacedæmon* appearing to be in a declining poſture, and that State ſlower in its Enterpriſes than formerly. But in the ſixth year after the departure of *Lyciſcus*, and the eighth from their removal to *Ithome*, the War was again renewed againſt them. Another Battel was fought, but with the ſame ſucceſs as formerly. In the midſt of the Fight was the hotteſt conteſt, the moſt valiant on both ſides betaking themſelves thither; where *Euphaes* alſo, venturing farther than either ſtood with his dignity or ſafety, againſt *Theopompus*, received many and deadly wounds. Herewith being ſo weakned that he fell, the *Lacedæmonians* ſtrove to take him, and a great conflict enſued; but one *Amander* ſo far reſiſting as to loſe his own Life in the quarrel, *Euphaes* was brought off, and died a few days after, having reigned thirteen years, all which time he ſpent in the War againſt the *Lacedæmonians*. He dying Childleſs, a great controverſie aroſe about the Succeſſion, for that ſeveral of the Family of *Æpytus* ſtood for the Kingdom, amongſt whom was *Ariſtodemus*, who, though it was objected that, having polluted his hands in the Bloud of his Daughter, he was not capable, was preferred before all others through the favour of the People. After his Election he ſent Preſents to the chief of the *Arcadians*, *Argives*, and *Sicyonians*, whom he engaged to his Party. Aſſiſted by ſome *Arcadians* he made incurſions, and the *Lacedæmonians* did the ſame, proceeding to no greater extremity: but at length, in his fifth year, another Battel was fought near to *Ithome*, wherein the *Meſſenians* were aſſiſted by the three States ere now mentioned, and the *Spartans* by no other *Peloponneſians* than thoſe of *Corinth*. The diſpute was very ſharp, and the event doubtfull, till the *Meſſenians*, having the upper ground, at laſt put their enemies to flight, of whom it is credible, as *Pauſanias* onely writeth, that many miſcarried.

A. M. 3274.
Olymp. 12. *an.* 2.
V. C. 23.
Achazi 13.

35. The *Lacedæmonians*, after this, almoſt deſpairing of ſucceſs, both Parties ſent to enquire at *Delphos* concerning the iſſue of the War. The *Meſſenians* received an anſwer ſo ambiguous as could not be interpreted: that to the *Spartans* plainly ſignified, that as *Creſphontes* had obtained *Meſſene* by a wile in ordering the Lots, ſo by wiles it was to be recovered. Several then they invented, but all were diſcovered, by the vigilancy and cunning of *Ariſtodemus*. But the twentieth year of the War approaching, the Affairs of the *Meſſenians* began exceedingly to relapſe, and the Oracle, again conſulted, anſwered, that whoſoever could firſt dedicate a hundred Treſtles (or Three-footed ſtools) to *Jupiter* of *Ithome* ſhould obtain *Meſſene*. The *Meſſenians*, having the Temple within themſelves, doubted not but to be able to doe this firſt: yet the Anſwer being brought to *Lacedæmon*, one *OEbalus*, a crafty man there, made a hundred of Clay, and while the *Meſſenians* were buſie about others of Wood, (for their purſes were not able to reach to Braſs) diſguiſed himſelf in the habit of a Fowler, and carried them into the Temple. This ſtruck the *Meſſenians* with great conſternation, who were ſtreightly beſieged by this time, and hindred from getting in any Proviſions. *Ariſtodemus* was alſo tormented with ſad Dreams about his Daughter, whereat ſorely moved, and exceedingly afflicted with conſideration that he ſhould kill his Child for his Countrey's good, which notwithſtanding was deſperate, he ſlew himſelf at her Monument.

36. With this ſad Accident the *Meſſenians* were more grievouſly ſtruck, and ſo deſpaired as to have thoughts of making their applications to the *Lacedæmonians*; but as yet not able to ſtoop, they made no Overtures, though almoſt oppreſſed with Famine: they choſe them Captains in the room of *Ariſtodemus*, preparing to ſally out, and fight it out to the laſt man for their lives and fortunes. Yet at length diſtruſting their ability to doe any thing that way, and conſidering themſelves urged hard with the want of all neceſſaries, they left *Ithome*, and yielded in the fifth month after the death of *Ariſtodemus*, the twenty eighth year of the War being almoſt finiſhed, in the firſt of the fourteenth *Olympiad*, the *Medontidæ* at *Athens* yet enjoying the Power for ten years, in the days of *Hezekiah* King of *Judah*, and the time of the deportation of the ten Tribes. The Conquerors utterly demoliſhed *Ithome*, and, having gotten eaſily the other Towns of *Meſſenia* into their power, impoſed what Laws they pleaſed upon the Inhabitants, who were commanded to till their grounds, and ſend one half of the profits unto *Sparta*; to bind themſelves by Oath, to remain in perpetual Fealty to the *Lacedæmonians*, and both men and women, when the Kings and Nobles of *Sparta* died, to attend upon their Funerals in mourning weeds: which things were injoyned them upon pain of Death. As many as would not endure thoſe hard Conditions, and had hope of entertainment with the *Arcadians*, *Argives*, and *Sicyonians*, went thither, and ſuch as were Prieſts, to *Eleuſine*: all the reſt of the Multitude departed every one to his own ſeat: and ſo the firſt *Meſſenian* War ended.

The end of the firſt *Meſſenian* War.

A. M. 3282.
Olymp. 14. *an* 2.
V. C. 31.
Ezech. 8.

37. Whilſt the *Lacedæmonians* were abroad, and lay under the obligation of their Oath, never to return till the War ſhould be finiſhed, fearing, either through the ſuggeſtion of their Wives, or their own recollection, that their Poſterity might fail, they choſe out of their luſtieſt young men fifty in number, who, coming out under age, were not liable to the Oath, and ſent them to *Sparta*, to lie with their Wives and Virgins (or the Virgins onely) in a promiſcuous manner, whence aroſe a generation called *Partheniæ*, as the Sons of Virgins. But after that the War was finiſhed, and the *Spartans* returned home, they looked upon them as a ſpurious brood, and as ſuch contemned them; which theſe Youths apprehending, and how they could not inherit any thing in the Commonwealth, entred into conſpiracy with the *Helots*, and made one *Philanthus* their Captain, whoſe Father *Aracus* had given the advice to ſend the yong men to the Virgins. This Plot being revealed by ſome of the Slaves, they were expelled, and forced to ſeek out new ſeats; ſo that departing into *Italy*, they drove out the *Barbarians* and *Cretians*, who inhabited about *Tarentum*, and ſeizing upon that Place, therein planted themſelves.

Juſtin. ex Trogo, lib. 3.

The *Partheniæ.*

Lege Strabon l. 6. *p.* 278, 279, 280, 281.

The ſecond *Meſſenian* War.

38. The *Meſſenians* thus brought under the yoak, endured it, though with much repining, for 39 years; but then, beſides their moſt hard and ſervile condition, wearied with the inſolency of the *Spartans*, in the fourth year of the 23. *Olympiad*, a little after the nine *Annual Archons* were conſtituted at *Athens*, in the fortieth after the taking of *Ithome*, they revolted, at the inſtigation of *Ariſtomenes* eſpecially, a young man of a moſt active and courageous ſpirit, who had before-hand ſolicited for aſſiſtance the *Arcadians* and *Argives*, now being jealous of the power of the *Lacedæmonians*, and at open enmity with them. At this time *Anaxander*, the Nephew of *Polydorus* by his Son *Eurycrates*, and *Anaxidamus* the ~~Son of Zeuxi-~~

Pauſan. in Meſſenicis.
A. M. 3310.
V. C. 69
Manaſſis 17.

~~damus~~ Grand=

Grand-ſon to *Theopompus*, by his Son *Archidamus*, who died ere he came to reign, were Kings at *Sparta*.

39. *Ariſtomenes* managed the whole buſineſs for the *Meſſenians*, being of extraordinary abilities both of body and mind. He firſt ingaged with the *Spartans* at *Deræ*, a Village of *Meſſenia*, where he is ſaid to have behaved himſelf above the capacity of a man, and ſeeing he was of the Family of *Æpytus*, was choſen *King* by the People. Refuſing this Title, he was created *General*, with abſolute Authority; and afterwards, at the Monument of the *Boar*, (a place in *Meſſenia*, where *Hercules* made a League with the Sons of *Nileus*) by the aſſiſtance of the *Arcadians*, *Argives*, *Sicyonians* and *Eleans*, overthrew the *Lacedæmonians*, terrifying all whereever he came. In the purſuit he loſt his Target, which whilſt he was ſeeking, they had opportunity to eſcape. After this, he took and plundred a Town of *Laconia*, named *Pharæ*, whence retreating with much Booty, he alſo overthrew *Anaxander* the King, who purſued him; and having in his intentions to march againſt *Sparta* it ſelf, is ſaid to have been deterred from it by the Apparitions of *Helena* and her two Brothers, *Caſtor* and *Pollux*.

40. The *Lacedæmonians*, much ſtartled at this Loſs, thought to have put a period to the War, but were again incouraged by the Verſes of *Tyrtæus*, who perſuaded them to fill up their Army with the *Helots*. A year or two before this, ſending to conſult the Oracle about the War, they had anſwer, That they muſt ſend to *Athens* for a Counſellor. The *Athenians* were unwilling in the leaſt to promote their Affairs, being jealous of their growing Power: yet fearing alſo to doe any thing croſs to the Oracle, they ſent to them this *Tyrtæus*, a School-maſter, lame on his feet, and not very ſound in his brain. In the third year of the War, another Battel was fought, at a place called the *Great Ditch*, wherein the *Meſſenians* having no other Aſſociates than their Friends of *Arcadia*, theſe alſo failed them at this time, through the Treachery of their Captain; ſo that, left to themſelves, and compaſſed in by their Enemies, moſt of them were ſlain, though *Ariſtomenes* omitted nothing worthy of a General, or common Souldier. Having gathered up the reliques of his Army, he perſuaded the people to quit all in-land Towns, and, fortifying onely *Pylus* and *Methone* upon the Sea, to ſecure themſelves in the Hill *Ira*. Here they were preſently beſieged, and iſſuing out for Booty, made Depredations both in *Laconia* and their own Countrey; which drew out an Edict from the *Lacedæmonian* State, that the Borders of both Countries ſhould, during the War, be left deſolate: whereupon a Dearth enſued at *Sparta*, and thence a Sedition, which *Tyrtæus* with his Poetry had work enough to ſuppreſs.

Pauſanias in Meſſenicis.

41. *Ariſtomenes* in the mean time, like ſome fierce and greedy Lion, with 300 choice men at his heels, to the great fear of all men, ranged up and down, and made continual Excurſions into the Enemie's Countrey. At length he was taken and carried to *Sparta*, where condemned to death, he was thrown into a deep Dungeon, the ordinary way of puniſhing capital Offenders. Coming ſafe to the bottom, though others were killed by the fall, he perceived a Fox feeding upon ſome dead Carkaſes; whereat conſidering that this creature muſt have ſome hole to creep in at, he caught it by the tail, and defending himſelf from its teeth by the other hand, it led him to the hole, which being but little, he ſo inlarged with his hands, as, contrary to the belief and expectation of all men, he returned ſafe to his Companions. Preſently after his return, he fell upon the Camp of the *Corinthians*, who aſſiſted the *Spartans* in the Siege, and lay careleſly, without any watch, and killing the Captains, plundered their Tents. Not long after a Truce was made for forty days, during which, he wandring abroad too careleſly, was entrapped by ſome *Cretians*, who aſſiſted alſo in the Siege, and being bound with the thongs of their Quivers, was carried into a Village, to the houſe of a certain Widow. This Woman, underſtanding who he was, caſt in her head how to deliver him: which ſhe effected, by giving his Keepers ſo much drink, that they falling aſleep, with one of their daggers he cut the thongs. Being looſed, he ſtabbed the *Cretians*, and eſcaped: and afterwards, to requite the Woman's kindneſs, married her to his Son *Gorgus*.

42. Ten years the Siege of *Ira* continued, the *Meſſenians* enjoying the grounds at the foot of the Mountain, as far as the River *Neda*, and thereby being better provided for to hold out. But in the eleventh, when *Ariſtomenes* was rendred by a wound incapable of taking ſuch care about the Watch as he had been wont, in a rainy and dark night the Sentinels, ſecure of him, betook themſelves to their own homes. Amongſt thoſe there was one, whoſe Wife in his abſence entertained a certain Herdſ-man as a Lover, who belonged to *Emperamus*, a *Lacedæmonian*, now at

the Siege. He being hid by his Paramour upon her Husband's coming, heard the man tell the Story, how he and his fellows had forſaken their charge, and ſlipping away, therewith acquainted his Maſter. Both the *Spartan* Kings were abſent at this time; but *Emperamus*, unwilling to let ſlip ſo fair an opportunity, led the Army thither, and got into the Fortreſs before he was diſcovered. When the matter was perceived, a great conteſt there was betwixt the parties; but *Ariſtomenes* ſeeing there was no hope of doing any good,and willing to ſave what was left of the afflicted *Meſſenians*, obtained liberty to depart: and ſo *Ira* being taken, the War ended, after it had laſted ſixteen years, in the firſt of the 28. *Olympiad*, when *Autoſthenes* was *Archon* at *Athens*, A.M. 3337.

The end of the ſecond War.

A. M. 3337.
Ol. 28. *an.* 1.
V. C. 86.
Manaſſis 34.

43. When the *Arcadians* underſtood of the taking of *Ira*, they deſired of *Ariſtocrates* their King to be led out, either to reſtore their friends, or die with them. But he having formerly betraied them at the *great Ditch*, was now alſo corrupted with money, and refuſed to doe it, alleging there was none left to whom they could give aſſiſtance. Yet when it was clearly known that they were alive,they ſent ſome before to comfort them, then met them with Cloaths and Meat, as far as the Hill *Lycæus*, and kindly invited them to live amongſt them. *Ariſtomenes* boyling with hatred and revenge againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, choſe out of the Company 500 men, whom he knew to be no whit deſirous to outlive the fortune of their Countrey, and asked them in the hearing of *Ariſtocrates* (not knowing any thing of his treachery) and the *Arcadians*, whether they would venture their lives with him. Upon their anſwer that they would, he acquainted them with his deſign, to march ſtraight for *Sparta*, which if he could ſurprize, now that all its ſtrength was employed in the plunder of *Meſſenia*, then ſhould he make an even exchange with the *Lacedæmonians*; but if not, death would be the worſt that could happen. Beſides the *Meſſenians*, 300 *Arcadians* gave their names to this Expedition; but being ſtayed by reaſon that the entralls of the Beaſt were not propitious, *Ariſtocrates* had time to give notice of the deſign to *Anaxander* King of *Sparta*. The Treachery was diſcovered after the return of the Meſſenger by ſome that ſuſpected it, and the Letter ſent back from *Anaxander* was read in the Aſſembly of the *Arcadians*, wherein thanks was given to *Ariſtocrates*, as well for the help he afforded the *Lacedæmonians* at the *great Ditch*, as for this timely notice. Hereat the multitude was ſo inraged, as they ſtoned him out of hand, caſt him out unburied, and erected a Monument to his infamy, with this note, that *Perjury cannot eſcape God.* They exhorted alſo the *Meſſenians* to throw Stones at him,who looked upon *Ariſtomenes*, as expecting directions from him; but he onely fixed his eyes on the ground and wept.

Ariſtocrates puniſhed for his treachery.

44. The *Meſſenians* deſired of *Ariſtomenes* to lead them out to ſeek ſome new place to inhabit; but he denied it, reſolving to ſpend his days in doing as much miſchief as he could to the *Lacedæmonians:* onely his Sons *Gorgus* and *Manticlus* he offered to them. Thoſe that had kept *Pylus* and *Methone*, with others which lived on the Sea-coaſts, went by Ship to *Cyllene*, the Haven of the *Eleans*, to ſeek out the reſt. The following Spring ſeveral places being propoſed to go to, *Anaxilus*, who then reigned at *Rhegium*, and was deſcended of one *Alcidamidas* a *Meſſenian*, (that, after the taking of *Ithome* in the former War, betook himſelf thither) ſent ſome to convoy them into *Italy*. After their arrival, he told them he had continual War with the *Zanclæans*, a people of *Sicilie*, that inhabited a fruitfull and pleaſant Soil, which if they would help him to conquer, he would put it into their hands. He then beſieged them by Sea, and the *Meſſenians* by Land; whereby being diſtreſſed, and the greater part of the Wall now caſt down, they fled to the Altars of their Gods. *Anaxilus* would have had them ſlain, and their Wives and Children ſold; but the others, unwilling to commit ſuch cruelty againſt any *Greeks*, (for ſuch they were, the Town being firſt inhabited by Rovers, and afterwards by others from ſeveral parts of *Greece*) gave them liberty to continue, and incorporating themſelves into their body, changed the name of the place from *Zancle* into *Meſſene*. *Ariſtomenes* for ſome time continuing in *Greece*, married his Daughters very honourably, whereof *Demagetus*, Prince of *Rhodes* at that time, took the youngeſt to Wife, having been adviſed by the Oracle to make choice of that man's Daughter who was the beſt in all *Greece*. He carried his Daughter to *Rhodes*, whence he intended to go to *Ardys* the Son of *Gyges*, then reigning in *Lydia*, and thence to *Ecbatane*, to *Phraortes* King of the *Medes*; but death prevented him, and he finiſhed his days in that Iſland, being found in the number of thoſe few that lived and died in great glory.

The *Meſſenians* paſs into *Sicily*.

A. M. 3339.
Ol. 28. *an.* 3.
V. C. 88
Manaſſis 36.

45. *Meſſenia* thus ſubdued by the *Lacedæmonians* was tilled by the common

Such as continued in *Meſſenia* made Slaves.

Slaves, amongſt whom ſuch of the Inhabitants as there ſtill remained were inrolled, and became a Proverb for their hard Bondage; being worſe uſed than any, becauſe, as ſome think, the War was carried on with them, not for *glory* and *Empire*, but for *life* and *ſafety*; not with *a contention which People ſhould rule*, but *whether ſhould be preſerved.* The acceſſion of this Countrey to their Demeſnes very much increaſed the power of *Lacedæmon*, and ſo they held it for two hundred years, till an opportunity was offered for the old Inhabitants, in deſpite of them, to return. This thing being brought to paſs long after, muſt be referred to another place: as alſo (becauſe what farther happened betwixt the *Arcadians*, *Argives*, and this Commonwealth, is not very material) whatſoever we have farther to obſerve concerning the *Lacedæmonians.*

SECT. VI.

The moſt antient Kingdom of Corinth.

Corinth firſt called *Ephyra*, and built by *Siſyphus.*

Pauſan. in Corinthiacis.

Euſeb. in Chron. A. M. 2486.

1. THis City, ſeated in the *Iſthmus* of *Peloponneſus*, had firſt the name of *Ephyra*, and was built by *Siſyphus* (whoſe poſterity reigned here ſome 428 years) in the days of *Cecrops*, the firſt King of *Athens*, and a little before *Deucalion's* Floud, about the 2486. year of the World. He married *Merope*, the Daughter of *Atlas*, by which he had four Sons, *Glaucus*, *Ornytion*, *Therſander*, and *Almus*; was accounted a very wiſe and prudent man, feigned alſo to have returned to life again, that he might chaſtiſe his Wife for not having performed what was due to his memory. After he was once got up, he would not return of a long time to Hell; where he is alſo ſaid by the Poets to rowl a great Stone up an Hill, which continually tumbling down again keepeth him in conſtant toil; having this puniſhment inflicted on him for diſcovering to *Aſopus* his Daughter ſtoln away by *Jupiter.* *Glaucus* his eldeſt Son was the Father of *Bellerophon*, and firſt celebrated Games in the *Iſthmus.* *Ornytion* begat *Phocus*, who led a Colony into, and gave name to the Countrey called *Phocis* after him: and *Thoas*, a younger Son, who continued at *Corinth.* *Therſander* had two Sons, *Coronus* and *Haliartus*, who being adopted by *Athamas* their Uncle on the Father's ſide, then reigning in *Bœotia*, (after he had loſt his own two Sons *Phryxus* and *Helles*, and his Daughter *Ino* with her two Sons) gave name to two places in that Countrey. *Almus*, (called otherwiſe *Halmus* and *Olmus*) the youngeſt Son of *Siſyphus*, had part of the Countrey of the *Orchomenians* beſtowed on him by *Eteocles* the King: and from him *Almon*, or *Olmon*, a place in *Bœotia*, was ſo named.

Bellerophontes.

Apollodorus. A. M. 2660.

2. *Bellerophontes*, having committed man-ſlaughter at *Corinth*, was forced to fly thence, and went to *Prætus* King of the *Argives*, whoſe Wife *Sthenobæa* enamoured of his beauty tempted him to lie with her; but he had the modeſty to deny her, wherewith ſhe was ſo incenſed as to accuſe him to her Husband of an intended Rape. *Prætus* taking it in great diſdain to be ſo uſed by his Gueſt, yet would not kill him, but ſent him to *Iolas*, King of *Lycia*, his Wive's Father, with Letters, wherein he deſired him to make the bearer away. To fulfill his requeſt, *Iolas* firſt cauſed him to fight with the *Chimæra*, a Monſter that vomited fire, not doubting of his deſtruction thereby; but he mounting the Horſe *Pegaſus*, ſlew the Monſter. After this he ſent him againſt the *Solymi* and *Amazons*, whom he conquered: then cauſed ſome of the ſtrongeſt young men he could procure to ly in ambuſh, and fall on him; whom alſo he having ſlain, *Iolas*, admiring his valour, gave him his Daughter *Philonoe* to Wife, and when he died, left him his Succeſſor in the Kingdom of *Lycia*. Concerning this *Chimæra*, what ſhould be meant thereby is ſcarcely diſcernable. (*a*) Some have underſtood by it a *Mountain* in *Lycia*, the top whereof vomited forth fire, the middle part had paſtures full of Goats, and the foot or bottom abounded with Serpents. 'Tis conceived he might make this Mountain habitable, and thence be ſaid to have ſlain the *Chimæra*, which had a mouth like a *Lion*, middle parts as a *Goat*, and the hinder parts like a *Dragon.* (*b*) Others again ſay that *Bellerophontes* gave occaſion to this Fable by killing one *Chimærus* a Sea-Captain, who infeſted the *Lycians* with Piracy: the ſtory being thence raiſed, for that *Chimærus* his Ship had a *Lion* painted on the Prow, and a *Dragon* on the

The *Chimæra.*

(*a*) *Servius in Virgil. Æneid. lib.* 6.

(*b*) *Plutarch. de Virtutibus mulierum.*

Deck,

(c) *Homer. Il.* 3. *Euſt. & Iſac. in Lycoph. p.* 6.

(d) *Lege Bocharti Canaan, lib.* 1. *c.* 6.

Deck; and *Bellerophon's* Veſſel, called *Pegaſus*, might have a winged *Horſe* for its ſign. A third (c) ſort think three kinds of Enemies to be ſignified by this Monſter; the *Solymi*, *Amazons*, and *Lycians*; the former being for their valour compared to a *Lion*, the next for their nimbleneſs in climbing of Rocks to a *Goat*, and the laſt to a *Dragon* for their craftineſs in Ambuſhes. Laſtly, a (d) modern and moſt learned Writer judgeth the three Gods of the *Solymi*, whom *Bellerophon* overthrew, to have been painted in their Enſigns; reſembling a *Lion*, *Goat*, and *Dragon*, like the three Heads of the Monſter, as 'tis deſcribed by *Heſiod*.

Aletes.

Pauſan. ut prius.

Vide Simſonium ad A. M. 2914.

Διὸς Κόρινθος.

Euſeb. in Chronico, & Exerpta Diodori per Georgium Monach. inter l. 5. *&* 10.

* A. M. 3048.

The Bacchiadæ.

3. *Bellerophontes* being driven from *Corinth*, *Thoas* the Son of *Ornytion* obtained the Kingdom, whom ſucceeded *Demophon* his Son, then followed *Propodas*; whoſe two Sons *Doridas* and *Hyanthidas* reigning both together, *Aletes* the Son of *Hippotes* (Son to *Antiochus*, and Nephew to *Hercules*) came down and ſubdued the Kingdom. The *Heraclidæ* having, before this, obtained *Peloponneſus*, reſerved this part for him, who conſulting the Oracle of *Jupiter* at *Dodona*, was anſwered, that he ſhould then obtain it, *when a Clod of earth ſhould be given him.* At his return this was fulfilled; for begging ſome meat of an Herdſman, he, having nothing to give him, offered him a *Clod*, which he gladly accepted, ſaying, Aletes *accepteth of a Clod:* which became a Proverb. Who gave the name of *Corinth* to the City is uncertain; but however, *Aletes*, out of gratitude to the Oracle, named it *Corinth of Jupiter:* which gave occaſion to the multitude to believe that *Corinth*, the King that built it, was the Son of *Jupiter*; wherein they ſo gloried, and ſo often vaunted of it, that nothing became more ridiculous, and they were laughed at for it throughout *Greece*. After *Aletes*, the eldeſt of the Family ſucceeded for ſeveral generations. The firſt was *Ixion*, who reigned 37 years; the next *Agilaus*, who ruled as many; *Prumnis* 35, and * *Bacchis* full ſo many, who was ſo famous, that whereas he and all his Anceſtors were called *Heraclidæ*, his Succeſſors from him had the name of *Bacchiadæ*. The firſt after him was *Agelas*, who governed thirty years; the next *Eudemus*, who reigned 25: then came *Ariſtomedes*, who having ruled 35, left a Child behind him, which his Brother *Algemon*, whom he had appointed Guardian, depoſed, and held the Kingdom himſelf ſixteen years. After him followed *Alexander* for 25, whom *Teleſtes* the Son of *Ariſtomedes* ſlew, and obtained his Father's Kingdom, which he held twelve years. He was alſo ſlain by *Arieus* and *Perantas* his Kinſmen, and then *Automenes* reigned one year, which being expired, the *Bacchiadæ*, more than 200 in number, ſeized on the Kingdom, and governed in common; onely every year they created a *Prytanis* out of their own Body to be in the room of a King, and ſo they continued 90 years in the way of an *Ariſtocracy*.

Colonies of the *Corinthians.*

A. M. 3272. *Olymp.* 11. *an.* 4. *V. C.* 21. *Achan.* 11.

4. During this term, in the fourth year of the eleventh *Olympiad*, the *Corinthians*, being powerfull at Sea, ſent out a Colony into the Iſland of *Sicily* under conduct of *Archias*, one of the *Heraclidæ*, which, expelling the *Siculi* out of that quarter, founded the City *Syracuſæ*. More people flocking thither out of *Peloponneſus*, this City grew and increaſed exceedingly; ſo that it became not onely the principal of all in *Sicily*, but the greateſt and moſt beautifull of all *Greece*, as *Cicero* witneſſeth, and in its due place will be farther diſcovered. Much about the ſame time was there another Colony ſent into the Iſland *Phæacus*, lying nigh to *Epirus*, at a little diſtance from the Continent, conducted thither by *Cherſicrates* another of the poſterity of *Hercules*. *Homer* in his *Odyſſ.* maketh this Iſland inhabited in the *Trojan* times, by the *Phæacians* a moſt noble People, over whom reigned *Alcinoüs* the Son of *Nauſithoüs*, who received *Ulyſſes* after his long Wandrings, and helped him in his journey home to *Ithaca*. He mentioneth his Royal ſeat, called *Scheria*, (which *Pliny* from him affirmeth alſo to have been the name of the Iſland, as well as *Phæacia*) and ſaith, the Inhabitants were much given to Navigation, and moſt ſkilfull therein. In the ſoil of this *Scheria*, the old Inhabitants being expelled, this new Colony planted it ſelf, which taking the name of *Corcyra*, the whole Iſland came thence to be ſo called. The City, much befriended by the commodiouſneſs of the Haven, and the conveniency of the place for Sea-matters, grew in a ſhort time to be very conſiderable; ſo that it founded of it ſelf two Cities, *viz.* that of *Epidamnus*, as we have it from *Thucydides*, (by the *Romans* called *Dyrrachium*) and *Apollonia*, as *Strabo* writeth; both of them ſeated in that part of *Illyricum* inhabited by the *Taulantians*. The form of this Commonwealth was (agreeable to the conſtitution of all Colonies) like to that of *Corinth* the *Metropolis*, which then was governed by the *Bacchiadæ* in an *Oligarchicall* way. When *Corinth* was afflicted by Tyrants, *Corcyra*

felt alſo their influence upon its infancy; but at length it grew to that height, as to renounce ſuch obedience as the other challenged, whence great and tedious Commotions were produced in *Greece*.

5. The *Bacchiadæ* neither communicated the Government nor Marriage to any other perſon than of their own family, till one of their Women being lame, and upon that account deſpiſed by them all of her own ſtock, had thereby an occaſion given to break the cuſtom. She (named *Labda*) married *Eetion*, (the Son of *Echecrates*, and Nephew to *Antaſſus* of the *Petrean* Tribe) who, having no Children by her, or any other, went to *Delphos*, and enquired of the Oracle concerning iſſue. He received an anſwer to this effect, That he ſhould have a Son, who like a Stone would fall upon the *Oligarchy*, and breaking it in pieces, amend the State of *Corinth*. This coming to the ears of the *Bacchiadæ*, who had an Oracle before much to the ſame purpoſe, though under general terms, they reſolved to hold their peace, and kill *Eetion*'s Child as ſoon as it ſhould be born. And as ſoon as his Wiſe was delivered, they ſent ten of their Company to deſtroy it, whom the Mother preſented with a ſight of the Babe, thinking they had come to congratulate her Husband about its birth. They had agreed amongſt themſelves, that whoſoever firſt came at the Infant ſhould knock out his Brains: but the Child ſmiling in his face who firſt took it in his Arms, he was ſo moved with compaſſion, that he would not kill it, but delivered it to one of his fellows, who touched with the ſame compaſſion gave it to another, till it paſſed through all their hands unhurt. Being gone out, and ſtanding at the door, they blamed one another exceedingly, eſpecially the firſt, whoſe part it was to kill it, and in they returned now to doe the deed. But the Mother, hearing their diſcourſe, hid the Infant under a *Buſhell*, or ſuch a like inſtrument of meaſuring Corn, ſo that not finding it they returned, giving out they had done their errand: and ſo the Child thus preſerved was named *Cypſelus*, from the meaſure under which he was hid, in the *Greek* tongue called *Cypſele*.

Herod. lib. 5. *cap.* 90. *&c.*

Cypſelus.

Κυψέλη.

6. When he was come to man's eſtate, relying upon another Oracle (whereby he was plainly bidden to be King of *Corinth*, and his Children after him, but not his Nephews) he invaded the Tyranny, which to eſtabliſh, many he deprived of their eſtates, but many more of their lives. He firſt lulled the people aſleep with good language, and thereby getting all into his hands, made himſelf Lord of the City. His power he preſerved by removing thoſe out of the way whom it moſt concerned him; but once eſtabliſhed he grew exceeding mild and fair, with good words, and no ill deeds, drawing the people into ſuch a reſpect of him, that all his time he ſtood not in need of any Guard: a rare thing in men of his condition, which *Gelo* at *Syracuſe* onely imitated. This change happened at *Corinth* in the ſecond year of the 31. *Olympiad*, in the days of *Phraortes*, King of the *Medes*, and *Ardys* Grandfather to *Crœſus*, King of *Lydia*, 20 years after the ſecond *Meſſenian* War, and 30 after the nine *Annual Archons* were eſtabliſhed at *Athens*, A. M. 3350. Upon his ſeizing the power, *Demaratus*, a man eminent amongſt the *Bacchiadæ*, and very rich, fled into *Italy*, and ſeated himſelf in *Hetruria*, where, of a Woman of that Countrey, he begat two Sons, *Aruns* and *Lucumon*, the latter whereof became King of *Rome*, by the name of *Tarquinius*.

A. M. 3350.

Conſule Ariſt. Polit. l. 2. *c.* 12.

A. M. 3350. *Dionyſ. Halicarn. & Livius l.* 1.

7. *Cypſelus* having enjoyed the Principality of *Corinth* and *Corcyra* the ſpace of thirty years, then died, and left it to his Son *Periander*. He was much unlike his Father, of a cruel diſpoſition, (if we believe *Ariſtotle* rather than *Soſicles* in *Herodotus*) inſomuch as not truſting the good will of his People, he got a Guard of 300 men about him, and would rather be feared than loved of his Subjects; yet being hardy and warlike, he held the power longer than he. *Herodotus* out of *Soſicles* relateth, that at firſt he was very mild and courteous, till, by acquaintance with *Thraſybulus* the Tyrant of *Miletus*, he altered his humour: for ſending to him for his advice how he might beſt order his affairs in Government, he returned no anſwer to the Meſſenger, but carrying him out into a plot of Corn, fell a-plucking off the talleſt and moſt eminent Ears, till he had well-nigh marred the whole plot. The Meſſenger returning, told *Periander* what he had ſeen; who eaſily gueſſed, that the moſt eminent and powerfull Citizens were to be removed out of the way. But * *Ariſtotle* maketh him the Author of this Counſel to *Thraſybulus*. *Laërtius* ſaith, he grew more cruel after it was known that he lay with his Mother *Cratea*.

Periander.

Herodotus & Ariſtot.

* *Polit. l.* 3 *c.* 9. *& l.* 5. *c.* 10.

8. He married *Meliſſa* the Daughter of *Procles* (or *Patrocles*) Tyrant of *Epidaurus*, on whom he begat *Cypſelus* and *Lycophron*, whereof the elder was very blockiſh and ſtupid. At the inſtigation of his Whores he afterwards killed his Wiſe, kicking her when ſhe was great with child, then lay with her when ſhe was dead;

Laërtius in vita Periandri, & Herod. ut ſuprà.

dead; and calling together the *Corinthian* women, as well adorned as poſſible, to celebrate the Feaſt of *Juno*, cauſed his Guard to ſtrip them all naked, and made a parentation to *Meliſſa* of all their cloaths and ornaments. *Lycophron*, his youngeſt Son, who onely was capable of the Government, moved by *Procles* his Grand-father, grew exceeding froward and refractory becauſe of his Mother's death; inſomuch that, differences and diſtaſts increaſing, *Periander* baniſhed him firſt his houſe, then forbad all his Subjects to ſpeak to or comfort him, and at length forced him into *Corcyra*. But after ſome years growing old, infirm, and unfit for buſineſs, he ſent for him home, offering to paſs over all to him: but by no arguments or intreaties could he move him to return, till he offered to change places, and deveſt himſelf of all Power. Now when this was agreed on, the *Corcyræans*, fearing above all things to have *Periander* come amongſt them, to prevent it, killed the young man. *Periander*, to be revenged, took away from them 300 of their choiceſt Boys, which he ſent to *Halyattes*, King of *Lydia*, his Friend and Ally, to be gelded: but they being driven upon the Iſland *Samus*, the Inhabitants took ſuch pity both on them and their relations, as to ſend them home ſafe, and diſappointed the Tyrant. This ſo vexed him, now almoſt eighty years old, that he died of grief, though by ſome he be reckoned amongſt the ſeven Wiſe men of *Greece*. *Suidas* out of moſt ancient Authors delivereth this Character of him; That he was an harſh and cruel Tyrant, very martial, ſcarcely being ever out of War, and very powerfull at Sea, having ſo convenient Havens both upon the *Ionian* and *Ægæan* Gulfs. He reigned nigh forty years, and died in the fourth of the forty eighth *Olympiad*, ſeven after the eſtabliſhment of *Solon*'s Laws, A. M. 3420. A. M. 3420. *Olymp.* 48. *an.* 4. *V. C.* 169. *Nabuch.* 24.

Pſammetichus. 9. *Periander* being dead, his Tyranny as it were tottered for three years and ſome ſix months, during which time *Pſammetichus* the Son of *Gordias*, Brother to *Periander*, or rather ſomething a-kin to him, held it; as appeareth by (e) *Ariſtotle*, who onely hath preſerved his name to us from utter oblivion. After his removal the power of One man was laid aſide, and the People put themſelves into a Free State, which continued as long as the Liberty of *Greece* it ſelf. The form thereof is not deſcribed to us by any ancient Author; onely this we know from (f) *Plutarch*, that it was inclining more to *Oligarchy* than that of *Syracuſe*, the power of the Multitude being more bounded. Yet, for certain, the Government was Popular, things of greateſt conſequence never being reſolved on without the conſent and decree of the People, (which kept thoſe of higheſt concernment in its own power;) and, if any other in the World, was a friend to Antimonarchical liberty, and an utter enemy to Monarchy, whereever it was found in *Greece*. For this City undertook many times great Wars for this very cauſe, and not out of any ambitious deſign, as is clear in the caſe of the *Syracuſians*, and others; ſo that a Captain out of it was moſt deſirable upon ſuch an occaſion; as may hereafter be diſcovered.

(e) Politic. l. 5. c. 12.

(f) In Timoleonte & Dione.

SECT. VII.

The ancient Kingdom of Thebes.

Calydnus. *Ogyges.* 1. BOEotia had on the Weſt *Phocis*, on the Eaſt the *Eubœan* Sea, on the North the Eaſtern *Locri*, and on the South *Attica* and *Megaris*. The chief Seat and Metropolis of this Countrey was *Thebes*, the Builder of which is not certainly known. *Calydnus* is reported firſt to have reigned here; whence by a Poet of *Chalcis* it is called the *Tower of Calydnus*; and in *Heſychius*, *Calydnæan* is the ſame with *Ancient*. After him was *Ogyges*, or *Ogygus*, from whom *Thebes* by the Poets is called *Ogygian*, and that great *Ogygian* Deluge is named; which is ſaid to have happened in his time, 1020 years before the firſt *Olympiad*, in the days of *Phoroneus* King of *Argos*, (as *Africanus* gathereth) and ſo overwhelmed all the region of *Attica*, that it made it unhabitable for 200 years, as *Pererius* noteth. *Pauſanias* writeth, that he was King of the *Ectenæ*, the firſt Inhabitants of *Thebaïs*, and that from his Son, *Eleuſine*, a famous Town in *Attica*, took both Original and name, as ſome were of opinion. Theſe *Ectenæ* are reported to have been conſumed by Peſtilence, whom ſucceeded the *Hyantes* and *Aonæ*, who continued in A. M. 2244. In Bœoticis & Atticis.

in thoſe parts, together with the *Temmices*, (who came from *Sanium*) and the *Leleges*, till *Cadmus*, coming to *Greece*, made himſelf Maſter of this place, in the days of *Corax* King of *Sicyon*, and *Danaus* of *Argos*, 347 years after the beginning of *Ogyges*.

Cadmus.

Apollod. lib. 2.

*Diod. l.*4. *p.*183.

Lib. 1. *cap.* 2.

2. This *Cadmus*, according to the tradition of the *Greeks*, was Son to *Agenor* the Brother of *Belus*, Uncle to *Danaus* and *Ægyptus*, who, coming out of *Ægypt* into *Phœnice* ſome 36 years before, on his Wiſe *Telphaſſa* begat three Sons, *Cadmus*, *Phœnix*, *Cilix*, and a Daughter named *Europa*. This *Europa Jupiter* ſtole, and carried over Sea into *Crete*, in the likeneſs of a Bull, where he begat on her *Minos*, *Rhadamanthus*, and *Sarpedon*. *Aſterius* King of the Iſland afterwards married her, and, having no Children of his own, adopted her Sons. *Herodotus* telleth us that ſome *Greeks*, (*Aſterius* perhaps, or ſome for him) in revenge for what the Nation had formerly ſuffered from the *Aſiaticks* in ſtealing away *Ino*, went to *Tyre*, and thence ſtole *Europa* the King's Daughter, bringing her away in a Ship whoſe Enſign was a *Bull*; whence occaſion was given to feign, that ſhe was carried over upon a *Bull's back*.

*Diod. l.*4 *p.*147.

Pauſan. lib. 5.
A.M. 2555.

*Strabo l.*9 *p.*401.

*Diod. l.*3. *p.*140.
Lib. 5. *pag.* 227, 228. *Multi alii.*

3. *Agenor* ſent out his three Sons to ſeek their Siſter, charging them never to return without her into *Phœnicia*. *Cadmus* ſailed firſt into the Iſland *Calliſthe*, (lying near *Crete*) where he left a Colony, and thence into *Thaſus*, (ſo named from *Thaſus* one of his Companions, and head of another Colony left here) and at length into *Greece*, where, in *Bœotia*, being paſt all hope of finding his Siſter, and conſequently of returning into *Phœnicia*, by the command of an Oracle he founded *Thebes*; or re-edifying what was formerly built by *Ogyges*, a-new laid the foundation of the *Caſtle*, which, ever after, from him retained the name of *Cadméa*. The *Hyantæ*, beaten by his Forces, fled the night following into *Phocis*; but the *Æonæ*, upon their ſubmiſſion, were ſuffered to continue and imbodie themſelves amongſt the *Phœnicians*. Here he married *Harmonia* the Daughter of *Mars* and *Venus*, agreeable to which alliance, the Gods are ſaid to have come down unto *Cadméa* to the Wedding. Out of *Phœnicia* he firſt brought Letters into *Greece*, giving them their peculiar names and characters, fitted for the language of the place, and thence they were called *Phœnician*; though afterwards *Pelaſgian*, becauſe the uſe of them was, after they were brought over, firſt made known to the *Pelaſgi*.

*Idem l.*3. *p.*147.

Apollod.

Polydorus.

4. Of *Harmonia Cadmus* begot *Polydorus* his Son, and four Daughters, *Semele*, *Ino*, *Autonoe*, and *Agave*. On *Semele Jupiter* enamoured begot *Dionyſus*, or *Bacchus*, who found out Wine and Ale, and travelled throughout the then known World, to reduce men to civility. This he did with an Army both of men and women, and after an Expedition of three years returned out of *India*, firſt triumphing upon an Elephant. *Ino* was married to *Athamas* the Son of *Æolus*, and Grandſon of *Hellen*, to whom ſhe bore *Actæon*, that was devoured by his own Dogs. *Agave* became the Wife of *Eetion*, to whom ſhe bore *Pentheus*. After *Cadmus* had reigned ſome time at *Thebes*, he was called by the *Encheleæ*, who had Wars at that time with the *Illyrians*, and were bidden by the Oracle to ſend for him and *Harmonia* to be their Captains. He left then the Kingdom of *Thebes* to his Son *Polydorus*, and, having ſubdued the *Illyrians*, reigned over them, and begot another Son called *Illyrius*, who either gave or took name from that People. The Poets feigned *Cadmus* and his Wife to have been turned here into *Snakes*, becauſe they ſeem to have forgot their former civility, and learnt barbariſm.

What the *Sidonians* ſaid of *Cadmus.*

5. This is the ſum of what the *Greeks* have delivered concerning *Cadmus*. But though they, for their own credit, made him the Son of a King, yet the *Sidonians*, whoſe Countrey-man he was, denie this, alleging that, being their King's Cook, he fled away with *Harmonia*, a certain Minſtrel. His time, as it is computed, falleth in with that of *Joſhua*, ſo that he ſeemeth to have led into *Greece* a Colony of thoſe *Canaanites*, or *Phœnicians*, who were outed of their habitations by the *Iſraelites*. His Family may be gathered to have been that of the *Kadmonites*, mentioned by *Moſes*, who were the ſame with the *Hivites*, and called *Cadmonim*, or *Orientals*, becauſe they poſſeſſed Mount *Hermon*, the moſt Eaſtern part of *Canaan*, taken for the *Eaſt*, as *Thabor* for the *Weſt*. Hence came it to paſs that *Cadmus* his Wife was called *Harmonia*, or *Hermione*; and it is apparent why they were feigned to be turned into *Snakes*, becauſe an *Hivite* in the *Syrian* language ſignifieth a *Serpent*. That he firſt brought Letters into *Greece* is moſt probable, 1. Becauſe the ancienteſt *Greek* letters, in moſt things, are like to the old *Phœnician*, which the *Samaritans* at this day uſe. 2. Their names are plainly *Phœnician*, or *Hebrew*, as may be inſtanced in *Alpha*, *Beta*, &c. of which the *Greeks* were not

ignorant, as appeareth out of *Varro.* For *Crates* the Philoſopher, diſputing in *Greece* about ſome points of Grammar, demanded why they ſaid not *Alpha Alphatos* as well as *Gramma Grammatos*; to which the *Grecians* anſwered, that the names were not theirs, but barbarous: and *Plutarch* rendred this reaſon why *Alpha* is ſet before the reſt by the *Phœnicians*, becauſe they called an *Oxe* by that name. 3. The *Greeks* kept the ſame order of letters as the *Phœnicians* did, being moſt ancient, as appeareth by ſome acroſtick Verſes of *David* and *Jeremiah.* *Cadmus* brought over the Rites of *Bacchus* into *Greece*, and thereupon is feigned to be Grand-father to him, who lived many Ages before, and indeed was *Nimrod.* To this City, built or re-edified by him, he gave the name of *Thebes*, of which name there was a place in *Canaan* mentioned by the Book of (a) *Judges*, and by (b) *Joſephus* alſo written *Thebæ*, in the plural number; ſo that an end may be put to that controverſie about the original of the word, which betokeneth *mud* or *dirt.* But concerning all this *Bochartus* is to be conſulted, in the firſt Book of that admirable Work intituled *Canaan.*

(a) *Cap.* 9. 50.
(b) *Antiq. l.* 5. *cap.* 9.

Labdacus.

* *A. M.* 2601.

Pauſan. in Bœoticis & Corinth.

Laius.

Diod. l. 4. *p.* 19

6. *Polydorus*, ſucceeding his Father, married *Nyctëis* the Daughter of *Nycteus*, by whom he had a Son named *Labdacus*, whom, dying before he came at age, he * left to the tuition of his Father-in-law. *Nycteus* had another Daughter, *Antiope* by name, which *Epopeus* King of *Sicyonia* ſtole away, whence a War inſued, wherein both of them received mortal wounds, and *Nycteus* dying, left the tuition of the young King to his Brother *Lycus.* After *Labdacus* came at age, *Lycus* reſtored faithfully the Kingdom to him: wherefore the King dying alſo not long after, and leaving his Son *Laius* a Child but of one year old, having experience of his faithfulneſs, committed him to his protection. Afterwards *Amphion* and *Zethus*, the Sons of *Antiope*, invaded *Thebaïs* in revenge for their Mother's hard uſage and Captivity, ſhe having been taken by *Lycus* in *Sicyon*, or delivered up to him by *Lamedon* King of that City, when he led down thither an Army, at the deſire of his dying Brother, to revenge him upon her and *Epopeus*, as we before ſhewed. *Lycus* meeting them in the field was ſlain in battel, *Thebes* loſt, and the Child *Laius* had miſcarried, but that ſome well-wiſhers to his Family withdrew him out of the danger, leſt the poſterity of *Cadmus* ſhould be utterly extinct. *Amphion* then and *Zethus* obtained the Kingdom; ſaid by *Homer* to have built *Thebes*, which muſt be meant of the lower City diſtinct from *Cadméa.* *Amphion* was ſo excellent a Muſician, that he is ſaid to have made Stones to follow him, wherewith he built Towers about the City. He married *Niobe*, the Daughter of *Tantalus*, and Siſter to *Pelops*, who brought him many Children, but boaſting her ſelf more fruitfull then *Latona* her ſelf, procured the deſtruction of them all. For *Apollo* was commanded to kill the Boys, and *Diana* the Girls; whereat ſhe was ſtruck with ſuch ſtupidity, that ſhe is feigned to be turned into a Stone; and *Amphion* with all his Family at length died of the Peſtilence. *Zethus*, having his young Son killed at unawares by the Mother, pined away for grief; ſo that both Brothers being dead, and their Families ruined, the *Thebans* reſtored the Kingdom to *Laius* the Son of *Labdacus.*

Apollod.

Diod. l. 4. *p.* 185.
A. M. 2695.

A. M. 2722.

7. *Laius* married *Jocaſte*, the Daughter of *Menœceus*, but was admoniſhed by the Oracle to beget no Children, becauſe elſe he ſhould be killed by his Son; which puniſhment *Pelops* had prayed might fall on him for ſtealing his Son *Chryſippus*, begotten on a Concubine. Notwithſtanding this he had a Son, but as ſoon as he was born he thruſt his Feet in Iron fetters, and expoſed him as a prey to wild Beaſts. Yet, either by thoſe that had this charge, or others that found him, he was carried to *Polybus*, King of *Corinth*, who cauſed his Feet to be healed, (from the Swelling of which he had the name of *OEdipus*) and brought him up. Many years after, when he was grown, *Laius*, either hearing ſome rumour concerning him, or carried by natural affection, went to enquire of the Oracle what had happened to his Son; and at the ſame time it chanced that *OEdipus*, having heard of ſome deſign againſt himſelf, went thither alſo to enquire who were his true Parents. They met in *Phocis*, where *Laius* bidding the other ſomewhat imperiouſly to give way, *OEdipus* moved with choler killed him, being utterly ignorant who he was.

Creon.

OEdipus.

Apollodorus.

Plutarch. in lib. quòd bruta ratione utuntur.

8. *Laius* being dead, *Creon* the Brother of *Jocaſte* (called alſo *Epicaſte*) ſeized upon his Kingdom, and kept it for ſome time, till *OEdipus* explained the Riddle of *Sphinx.* This Monſter, which the *Bœotians* alſo called *Phix*, is feigned to have had an Head and Face like a Woman, the hinder parts like a Lion, and Wings as a Bird; and keeping upon the Hill *Phicion*, or *Phiceon*, (ſo named from her) ſhe propoſed Riddles which whoſoever could unriddle ſhould have *Jocaſte* in marriage with the Kingdom; but if not, ſhe preſently devoured them. Her Riddle to *OEdipus* was this; *What is that which goeth both on two Legs, three, and four?* Many having

Unriddleth the Riddle of *Sphinx*.

* A. M. 2758.

* Clemens Strom. l. 5.

loſt their lives for a miſ-interpretation, he expounded it to be meant of a Man, who when an Infant creepeth on hands and feet, when arrived at ripeneſs of age goeth upright on legs, and when he cometh to be old uſeth a ſtaff. Some think her a deformed and ſavage kind of woman, that living on prey uſed to lie in wait for Paſſengers. But *Pauſanias* writing that ſhe was the Baſtard-daughter of *Laius*, others judge her to have been for her wiſedom preferred to determin the Pretences of ſuch as claimed the Kingdom, and that thoſe who were caſt in the Trial ſhe puniſhed with Death: which Cruelty the Poets deteſting raiſed the Fable. Becauſe of her Abilities, this kind of Monſter was made by * the *Ægyptians* an Hieroglyphick of *Wiſedom* and *Strength*, in both which *Plutarch* maketh her to have excelled.

Pauſan.

Diodorus.

Apollod.

Eteocles and *Polynices*.

9. *OEdipus* then married *Jocaſta* his own Mother, not knowing that ſhe was ſuch, and obtained the Kingdom of *Thebes*. *Diodorus* telleth us that he had two Sons by her, *Eteocles* and *Polynices*, with as many Daughters: but others ſay he had them by *Euryganea*, the Daughter of *Hyperphas*. At length all came to light; both that he had killed his Father, and married his own Mother: whereupon ſhe preſently hanged her ſelf, and his Sons kept him up cloſe for the filthineſs of the thing, as ſome ſay; though others will have him driven from *Thebes*, and that, going to *Theſeus* King of *Athens*, he there died a little after. *Polynices*, while his Father was yet living, went to *Argos*, where he married *Argia*, the Daughter of *Adraſtus*; but after his death returned to *Thebes* to ſucceed him in the Kingdom. The two Brothers then agreed to reign by turns; but *Eteocles*, having the firſt courſe, refuſed to yield up his Power at the time prefixed, ſo that *Polynices* was glad to return to *Argos*. At the ſame time there happened to be with *Adraſtus* one *Tydeus*, the Son of *OEneus*, who, having killed a man in *Ætolia*, fled alſo to him: both theſe he kindly received, and, by direction of the Oracle making them his Sons-in-law, promiſed to reſtore them to their Countreys and Eſtates. Beginning firſt with *Polynices*, he ſent *Tydeus* in Embaſſage to *Eteocles*, who cauſed fifty men to lie in wait for him by the way, but he killed them all, and returned ſafe to *Argos*. *Adraſtus*, to revenge the injury, made all poſſible preparation for a War, and invited all the beſt Souldiers from all quarters to the Expedition. Seven eminent Captains gave their names, whereof *Amphiaraüs*, who had married *Eriphile*, the Siſter of *Adraſtus*, was Chief; though of ſo ancient a thing as this *Theban* War there can be little certainty.

The *Theban* War.

A. M. 2785.

Diod. l. 4. p. 177.

10. Having each of them his ſeveral Army, (or Company rather) they marched to *Thebes*, which they beſieged, and divided themſelves according to the Gates of the City. *Eteocles* made all preparations for defence, aſſigning to every Gate its Officer, and conſulted *Tireſias* a Prophet, then blind, concerning the event of the War. He anſwered, that the *Thebans* ſhould overcome, if *Menœceus*, the Son of *Creon*, would devote himſelf as a Sacrifice to *Mars*: which he preſently did, killing himſelf before the Gates. The *Thebans* then made a Sally, but were beaten back to the Walls, which when the *Argives* approached, *Capaneus*, one of the ſeven Captains, firſt of all others ſet to Ladders, and mounted; but he being killed, the other retreated, and many of them were ſlain in the purſuit. After this, it was agreed that the two Brothers, in a ſingle Combat, ſhould decide the Quarrel; and ſo doing, they mutually fell by the hands of each other: then followed a very ſharp Fight, wherein all the Captains that followed *Adraſtus* were ſlain, and he onely eſcaped by the ſwiftneſs of his Horſe *Arion*. Yet this Victory coſt the *Thebans* ſo dear, that being themſelves almoſt ruined, hence *Cadméa victoria* became a Proverb. This War fell out twenty eight years before that of *Troy*.

Laodamus.

The Expedition of the *Epigoni*.

A. M. 2799.

Pauſan.

11. *Eteocles* leaving behind him a young Son, named *Laodamus*, *Creon*, the Brother of *Jocaſta*, aſſumed the Guardianſhip of him, and would not ſuffer the *Argives* to be buried, till *Theſeus* and the *Athenians* procured it. Ten years after the War, when *Laodamus* was now grown up, the Sons of thoſe Captains that had been ſlain, called *Epigoni*, made an Expedition againſt *Thebes*, to revenge the Death of their Fathers. Conſulting before-hand the Oracle of *Delphos* about the ſucceſs, they were bidden to chuſe *Alcmæon*, the Son of *Amphiaraus*, for their General: which having done, and marching into *Thebaïs*, they waſted all the Countrey round about the City. Hereupon the *Thebans* made a Sally, and a ſharp conflict inſued, wherein *Laodamus* ſlew *Ægialeus*, the Son of *Adraſtus*, and was himſelf killed by *Alcmæon*; though *Pauſanias* ſaith he eſcaped out of the Fight, and fled to the *Illyrians*. After this the City was taken, and, with other plunder, *Tireſias* the Prophet was ſent as a Preſent towards *Delphos*; but drinking by the way preſently died. This is he who is ſaid to have experienced both Sexes, and lived ſeven

Therſander. *Peneleus.*

Generations; even from the days of *Cadmus* to this time. The *Epigoni* having taken the City, and either ſlain or driven away *Laodamus*, placed *Therſander*, the Son of *Polynices* in the Kingdom, who ſailed with *Agamemnon* towards *Troy* as Generall of the *Bœotians*, and was killed in *Myſia* by *Telephus*, as was before ſhewed. The *Bœotians* choſe *Peneleus* for their Captain, becauſe his Son *Tiſamenus* was then but young: and he was alſo ſlain in the War by *Euryphylus*, the Son of *Telephus*, who after the death of *Achilles* brought Auxiliary ſorces out of *Myſia* unto *Priamus*.

Tiſamenus. *Auteſion.* *Damaſichthon.* *Ptolemæus.* *Xanthus.*

Pauſanias ut ſuprà. * *Chap.* 5. *Sect.* 4. *Parag.* 15. A. M. 2877.

12. *Peneleus* being dead, *Tiſamenus*, the Son of *Therſander*, reigned at *Thebes*. His Son *Auteſion* left this place,and went to the *Dorienſes*; wherefore *Damaſichthon*, the Nephew of *Peneleus*, and Son of *Opheltas*, was choſen in his room. After him followed *Ptolemæus*, and then *Xanthus* the laſt King of all, who was ſlain by *Melanthus* the *Meſſenian* in a ſingle Combate, in behalf of the *Athenians*, about *Celænæ*, a place ſituate upon the Borders, as we have * already ſhown. This happened 56 years after the deſtruction of *Troy*, 24 before the deſcent of the *Heraclidæ*, 57 before the death of *Codrus* the laſt *Athenian* King, 252 before the firſt *Olympiad*, A.M. 2877. After his death, together with the poſſeſſion of *Celænæ*, the *Thebans* quitted the Government of Kings, it ſeeming good to them no longer to be governed by a ſingle perſon, but by many, as *Pauſanias* writeth, from whom yet it appeareth not what kind of Rule was erected; whether an *Oligarchy* at firſt, or the whole power was aſſumed by the People, which we know aſſuredly exerciſed it in after-times, in a *Democraticall* way. Such was the Government when the *Perſians* had obtained the Empire of the *Eaſt*, and *Greece* it ſelf moſt flouriſhed; at which time, in the entire Hiſtory of this Countrey we ſhall hear farther of the *Thebans*.

CHAP. VI.

The Original and Kingdom of *Rome* Contemporary with the *Babylonian* Empire.

SECT. I.

The Originall of the City of Rome.

The ancient inhabitants of *Latium*.

Dionyſ. Halicarnaſſ. l. 1.

1. THE City of *Rome* was ſeated in *Latium*, the *Weſtern* Tract of *Italy*, upon the River *Tiber*. The ſoyl, for as much as can be known, (ſaith *Dionyſius*) was firſt inhabited by the *Siculi*, who held many other places of that Countrey. Theſe were expelled by the *Aborigines*, who being the Poſterity of the *OEnotrians*, (who ſeized upon that Tract lying near *Tarentum*) were conſecrated firſt to the Gods, and, according to the cuſtom of the Countrey, then ſent out to ſeek them new ſeats, and fortunes. The *OEnotrians* came out of *Lycaonia* (afterwards called *Arcadia*) to ſeek a more commodious habitation under conduct of *OEnotrus*, the Son of *Lycaon*, from whom they received their name. Theſe *Aborigines* here ſettled, were forced to admit of ſome *Pelaſgians* to live amongſt them that fled from *Hæmonia*, (ſince called *Theſſaly*) where for ſome time they had continued; and afterwards certain *Arcadians* who followed *Euander*, Son to *Mercury*, and the Nymph *Themis*, from a Town of that Countrey called *Palantium*, which name they gave to an Hill on which they fixed, afterwards reckoned amongſt the Seven belonging to the City. Not long after, the *Greeks* will have *Hercules* come into theſe parts, as he was returning home from his Expedition into *Spain*, and the Weſtern Regions, and here to have left ſome *Peloponneſians*, who ſettled themſelves upon the Hill called then *Saturnius*, and afterwards *Capitolinus*, at what time *Faunus* reigned over the *Aborigines*.

2. The

Picus.

Auguſtin. de Civitat. Dei, lib. 18. cap. 15.

2. The Father of *Faunus* is ſaid to be *Picus* the Son of *Saturn*, who, flying out of *Crete* from his Son *Jupiter*, came into this Country, and here hiding himſelf, gave occaſion for the Region to be called *Latium*. Some ſay the Father of *Picus* was rightly called *Sterces*, and ſurnamed *Saturn*, from whom the *Laurentine* Kingdom took its beginning, named from *Laurentum* the Town, and that from *Laurus* or *Laurel*. *Picus* had this name from the Bird *Picus* (a *Wood-pecker*) which he uſed, by its flying to foretell things to come, as *Feſtus* noteth out of *Verrius*. *Plutarch* ſaith, that he was by the Sorceries of his Wife changed into this Bird, in the likeneſs of which he gave forth Oracles, and anſwered Queſtions. And agreeable hereto, *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* compareth this Bird with the Dove of *Dodona*, as performing that to the *Aborigines*, which it did to the *Theſprotes*. But *Servius* thinketh all this feigned, becauſe *Picus* was a Soothſayer, and obſerved the flying of this kind of Bird: and *Bochartus* telleth us, that *Piccea* in the *Phœnician* dialect ſignifieth a *Seer* or *Prophet*; whence, as *Phix* amongſt the *Bœotians* was taken for a cunning woman, ſo he, for his skill in ſuch matters, might, according to the termination of *Latin* words, have the name of *Picus*. This man, who in *Suidas* hath the name of *Jupiter*, (except *Jupiter* of *Crete*, that ſtole *Io*, was called *Picus*) begat *Faunus* or *Fatuus*, and a Daughter named *Fauna* and *Fatua*, which being in a fury would alſo foretell things to come; whence ſuch as were thus taken were ſaid *Fatuari*. Being killed by *Faunus* her Brother and Husband, as it ſeemeth, ſhe was worſhipped as a Goddeſs, and called *Bona Dea*, becauſe ſhe was ſo modeſt, that never any man ſaw her except her Husband. *Dionyſius* maketh this *Faunus* the Son of *Mars*. He is feigned to have ſerved under *Bacchus* in his Expedition into the Eaſt; and this is the reaſon, becauſe indeed he was the ſame with *Pan*, the conſtant companion of *Bacchus*. (*a*) One writeth that he was called alſo *Sylvanus Invius*, and *Pan* by ſome. (*b*) Another ſaith, his name in *Latin* was *Invius*, and in *Greek* *Pan*. So that his reigning in *Latium* was a meer Fable, invented by ſome who knew not that he was the ſame with *Pan* the *Arcadian*, whoſe worſhip was brought into *Italy* by *Euander*.

Faunus.

(*a*) Aurel. Victor de Orig. gentis Rom.

(*b*) Servius in Æn. lib. 6.

Latinus.

Æneas with the *Trojans* arrive in *Italy*.

A.M. 2821.

3. After him reigned *Latinus*, as the Story goeth, whom *Feſtus* maketh his Son; but others, as we have it from *Dionyſius*, fathered on *Hercules*, who begat him on a certain *Hyperborean* Virgin, whom having received as an Hoſtage from her Father, he kept untouched till he came into *Latium*, and afterwards gave her in marriage unto *Faunus*, therefore accounted the Father of *Latinus*. Fifty five years after the departure of *Hercules*, and in the 35. of the reign of *Latinus*, *Æneas* with his wandring *Trojans* arrived at *Laurentum*, not far from the Mouth of *Tiber*. *Livie* ſaith, it is moſt certain, that, *Troy* being taken, the *Græcians* raged againſt the other Inhabitants, but abſtained from *Antenor* and *Æneas*, (the Son of *Anchiſes*, who was Son to *Capys*, and Grand-ſon to *Aſſaracus*, the Brother of *Ilus* King of *Troy*) both for the friendſhip which had paſt betwixt them and their families, and becauſe they were ever for peace and the reſtitution of *Helena*. But *Dionyſius* relateth out of *Hellanicus*, that the lower part of the City being taken, *Æneas* with his aſſociates, that came from *Ophrynium* and *Dardanus* to the aid of *Ilium*, timely perceiving it, retired into the Caſtle, where were the Idols and much treaſure, protected by the moſt valiant Souldiers. Hither alſo betook themſelves ſuch as eſcaped the fury of fire and ſword; and they eaſily repelled the force of the Enemy. But *Æneas* conſidering that the City could no way be preſerved, reſolved to quit the Caſtle ſo as might ſtand with the ſafety of the Company. He therefore ſent out with a guard the aged and infirm, in the mean time diverting the Enemy, and then marched out in order of battel, when *Neoptolemus* and the *Achæans* had now taken part of the Fortifications. Whilſt the *Greeks* were buſied in plunder, they all eſcaped to the Mount *Ida*, where fortifying themſelves, the ſame night others flocked to them out of *Dardanus*, *Ophrynium*, and the reſt of the *Trojan* Towns, expecting till the Enemy, ſatisfied with the deſtruction of *Ilium*, would draw off, and return into his own Countrey.

4. But the *Achæans* having waſted the City, and leſſer Towns, provided alſo to ſtorm the Hills; when a Treaty was deſired by the *Trojans*. It was there agreed, that *Æneas* and his Companions, with ſuch things as they had, ſhould depart out of the Country under ſafe conduct. Whereupon he firſt ſent away his eldeſt Son *Aſcanius*, with part of his Aſſociates, (whereof the greater number was *Phrygians*) to the Lake *Aſcanius*, for that he was deſired by the Inhabitants of that Country to be their King. He continued not long with them, for the *Scamandridæ*, with others of the Family of *Hector*, now diſmiſſed out of *Greece* by *Neoptolemus*, the Son of *Achilles*, coming to him, he returned with them to *Troy*,

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and reſtored them to their Father's Principality. *Æneas* with the reſt of his Children, *Anchiſes* his Father, and his Houſhold, paſſed over the *Helleſpont* into a *Peninſula* called *Pallene*, whence he ſailed to the Iſland *Delus*, and thence to another named *Cythera*, over againſt *Peloponneſus*. Touching at the promontory *Cinæthium*, (ſo called for that *Cinæthus* a *Trojan* was here buried) they renewed their friendſhip with the *Arcadians* their kinſfolk, and paſſed on to the Iſland *Zacynthus*, which was ſo named from *Zacynthus* one of the Sons of *Dardanus*. Thence they came to *Actium*, and ſo to *Ambracia*; from which Bay *Anchiſes* directed his courſe towards *Buthrotum* an Haven of *Epirus*, and *Æneas* by Land went two days journey to the Oracle of *Dodona*, which having conſulted about new Seats, in four days he came to the Navy at *Buthrotum*. From this Haven ſailing towards *Italy*, they touched upon ſome parts thereof, but paſſing into the Streights of *Sicilie*, they fell alſo upon that Iſland; where leaving part of their Company, they went over and landed at *Laurentum*, the place appointed to put an end to theſe Wandrings. This account *Dionyſius* giveth us, as moſt probable, amongſt others which he briefly toucheth. *Alexander* the *Epheſian*, as he is cited by *Aurelius Victor*, wrote that *Ilium* being betrayed by *Antenor*, *Æneas* took his Father upon his back, with his Gods, and his little Son in his hand, and thus loaded made towards *Ida*; whither being ſuffered to come by the *Greeks*, (who were much moved at his Piety) he there built Ships, and by the advice of an Oracle came into *Italy*. The Piety of *Æneas* is much ſpoken of, and commended by many; and, amongſt others, by the pen of *Xenophon*, that *Attick Muſe*: but ſome wrote that he joyned with *Antenor* in betraying the City.

Dionyſ. l. 1.
Livius l. 1.

5. The *Trojans* landing at *Laurentum*, there pitched their Tents in the place called *Troy* from this occaſion, diſtant from the Sea about half a mile. Taking their dinner on the ground, ſome laid their meat on *Parſley*, that there grew, or, as ſome ſaid, on *cruſts of Bread*, which afterwards they did alſo eat up; and then underſtood that they had fulfilled the Oracle, which bade them go ſo far Weſtward, as till they ſhould eat up their Tables, and then take the conduct of a *Sow*, which they ſhould follow till ſhe lay down, and in that very place build a City. Now was *Latinus* buſie in War againſt the *Rutuli* his neighbours. As ſome wrote, he was firſt overcome by *Æneas*, and then made peace with him: but others ſay, he firſt ſent to expoſtulate the injury offered him by theſe Strangers in the invaſion of his Kingdom; and then, underſtanding who they were, agreed to give them all the ground five miles about the Hill where the Sow lay down, upon their ingagement to aſſiſt him in his War againſt the *Rutuli*. This Accord made, and Hoſtages delivered on both ſides, they ſoon utterly ſubdued the *Rutuli*, and then built up the *Trojan* City, which was called *Lavinium*, as the *Romans* ſaid, from the Daughter of *Latinus*. *Virgil*, too much indulging his Poetick fancie in imitation of *Homer*, bringeth *Æneas* into *Italy* not till the eighth year after the deſtruction of *Troy*. But *Dionyſius* and *Solinus* (out of the Annals of *Caſſius Hæmina*) write, that he arrived at *Laurentum* in the ſecond year, and the latter ſaith, with no more than 600 followers.

—— Nam te jam ſeptima portat Omnibus errantem terris & fluctibus æſtas. Æn 1.

Æneas ſucceedeth Latinus.

A. M. 3824.

6. *Æneas* in the third year after his departure from *Troy*, and the ſecond of his abode in *Italy*, reigned onely over the *Trojans*: but the next brought him alſo the Kingdom of the *Aborigines*, by the right of his Wife *Lavinia*, Daughter to *Latinus* now deceaſed, and the favour he had purchaſed of this People, by his conduct againſt the *Rutuli*. For they had again revolted, through the procurement of a certain Fugitive named *Turnus*, who being the Nephew of *Amata*, *Latinus* his Wife, out of indignation that a Stranger ſhould be preferred to the Marriage of *Lavinia* before him, at the inſtigation of *Amata* and others, revolted to the *Rutuli* with a party of men which he commanded. *Livie* maketh him King of the *Rutuli*, and to have made War upon *Latinus*, becauſe he had firſt made him a promiſe of his Daughter. The *Aborigines* had the Victory, but loſt *Latinus* in the Battel. *Dionyſius* ſaith, that *Turnus* was now alſo ſlain with many others: but *Livie* will have him again to renew the War, and to call in *Mezentius* King of the *Hetruſcans*, who was already jealous of the growing power of the *Greeks*. *Æneas*, to oblige his new Subjects, cauſed both them and his own Country-men to be called by the common name of *Latini*; but ingaging in another great and bloudy Battel with *Mezentius*, which night onely interrupted, he was never ſeen more, by ſome thought to be taken up to Heaven, and by others drowned in the River *Numicius*. This happened to him in the fourth year of his reign over the *Latines*, and the ſeventh after the deſtruction of *Troy*. He was honoured by a Chappel dedicated to him under the title of *Jupiter Indiges*.

Aſcanius.

Alba Longa built.

A. M. 2852. *ante Rom.* 400.

Aſcanius his Succeſſors in *Alba.*

A. M. 3081.

7. *Aſcanius* his Son ſucceeded him, who before was called *Euryleon*, till his name came to be changed in their flight from *Troy*, as *Dionyſius* writeth. Some thought him the ſame with the eldeſt Son of *Æneas* by *Creüſa*, and called *Iülus*, from whom the Family of the *Julii* took its name; but others accounted him younger. *Mezentius* grew very high upon the death of *Æneas*, and beſieging *Lavinium*, forced the *Latines* to ſubmit themſelves; but requiring all their Wine to be yearly ſent as a tribute into *Hetruria*, they would not endure ſo harſh terms, and encouraging themſelves, fell upon their Enemies at unawares, and, killing *Lauſus* the King's Son amongſt many others, forced him to ſubmit to equal conditions. Thirty years after the founding of *Lavinium*, *Aſcanius* led out a new Colony, and built another City called *Alba Longa*, whither he betook himſelf, leaving the old to his Mother *Lavinia*, who, if his own Parent, managed the Kingdom for him in his Nonage. He died in the 28. year of his reign, and was ſucceeded by *Sylvius*, whom ſome make his Son, others his Brother, ſaying, that *Lavinia* being left with child by *Æneas*, for fear of *Aſcanius* fled into the Woods, and there was delivered of this Child, who from the place of his birth had the name of *Sylvius*. *Iülus*, the eldeſt Son of *Aſcanius*, contended with him for the Kingdom: but the people conceiving it to belong to him of right, as the Nephew of *Latinus*, gave the Prieſthood to the other, in whoſe family it thenceforth continued. From *Sylvius* all his Succeſſors were ſurnamed *Sylvii*; whereof the firſt (after he had reigned 29 years) was *Æneas Sylvius*, his Son. *Æneas* having reigned ſo many, left *Latinus* his Succeſſor, whom after 51 followed *Alba* for 39. After *Alba*, *Capetus* reigned 26 years, *Capys* 28, *Calpetus*, or *Carpentus*, 13, and then *Tiberinus* 8, who being drowned in the River *Albula*, beſtowed on it the name of *Tiber*. After him *Agrippa* reigned 24 years, then *Alladius* (called alſo *Aremulus* and *Romulus Sylvius*) 19; who was very wicked and tyrannical, inſomuch that he would counterfeit Thunder, deſirous to be accounted a God by his Subjects, and juſtly periſhed by Thunder and Inundation through exceſſive Rains. *Aventinus* ſucceeded him, who gave name to one of the ſeven Hills, and after 37 years left *Procas Sylvius* his Succeſſor.

A. M. 3209. *Oziæ* 14.

Rhea the Daughter of *Numitor* bringeth forth Twins.

A. M. 3235. *Olymp.* 2. *an.* 4. *Oziæ* 40.

8. *Procas*, the thirteenth King of *Alba*, left two Sons, *Numitor* and *Amulius*: whereof the latter and younger violently thruſt his Brother from the Kingdom; and that he might have no Poſterity to revenge the injury, cauſed his Son to be made away in a pretended Hunting, and his Daughter *Rhea* to be devoted to the ſervice of *Veſta*, and a ſingle life. In the fourth year of her Prieſthood, as ſhe was going to fetch water for the ſervice of the Goddeſs, ſhe was light upon by ſome one, and raviſhed: ſome ſaid by one of her Lovers, others by *Amulius* himſelf, who came diſguiſed upon her, rather out of deſire to take an occaſion againſt her, than for any affection; but for credit of the cauſe the fact is laid upon *Mars*, in whoſe Grove it was committed, and who came to her, as 'tis ſaid, in a terrible manner with Thunder and Lightning. *Rhea* (called alſo *Sylvia* and *Ilia*) conceived with two Boys; and when they were born, ſhe was either put to death, or condemned to perpetual priſon, and they were thrown into the River. At the fall of the water they were left upon the dry ground, and a Wolf moved with their cries came and ſuckled them, till they were taken notice of by *Fauſtulus* the King's Herdſman, who brought them home to his Wife *Acca Laurentia*, that had been newly brought to bed of a ſtill-born Child. Some thought that *Numitor*, aware of his Brother's intention to make them away, cauſed other two to be brought in their rooms, and gave his two Nephews to be nouriſhed by this *Fauſtulus*. Others write that this *Acca Laurentia* was but the Paramour of the Herdſman, and for the naughtineſs of her life called *Lupa*, (*Lupanaria* amongſt the *Romans* ſignifying Brothel-houſes, and *Lupa* a Strumpet) whence the Fable aroſe that the Children were nouriſhed by a Wolf. Their names were *Romulus* and *Remus*.

Romulus and *Remus.*

Dionyſ.

9. The Boys grown up proved active and couragious, ſuitably to their birth: but being educated as was agreeable with the fortune and employment of their Foſter-father, they had occaſion to fall out with the Herdſmen of *Numitor*, and *Remus* being taken priſoner was carried before the King. Now did *Fauſtulus* reveal the whole matter to *Romulus* concerning their Original, who got together a company of Herdſmen, and therewith falling upon the Palace ſlew *Amulius*, and reſtored their Grand-father to the Kingdom. After things were ſettled at *Alba*, the young men had a deſire to build a City in the place where they had been brought up; which their Grand-father well approving gave them the ground, with ſuch of his Subjects as he knew to be of his Brother's Faction, and all others that of their own accord would willingly go out in this new Colony.

Lead out a Colony.

Moſt of the *Trojans* gave their names, (whereof continued to the time of *Dionyſius* almoſt fifty Families:) the Inhabitants of the place alſo, as many as were left about *Palantium* and *Saturnia*, were taken in, and the Multitude divided into two parts, that by emulation the work might proceed with greater expedition. But what was intended for a laudable contention grew to a greater inconvenience; for hereby were two Factions made, which preferring the Brothers each before the other, raiſed in them ambitious deſire of Preeminence. This ſoon appeared in that they could not agree about the place; *Romulus* would have the *Palatine* Hill (or *Palantium*) to be taken in, and *Remus* contended for *Remuria*, though on the other they were educated. The matter was brought before their Grand-father, who adviſed them to go apart, and obſerve the flying of Birds; and to whom happened the moſt lucky Flight, he ſhould be accounted the Author of the Colony. *Romulus* went to the *Palatine* Hill, and *Remus* to the *Aventine* near adjoyning. *Remus* firſt had ſix Vultures come flying by him; but *Romulus* his flock doubled the number: ſo that both of them were ſaluted King, and neither would give place to the other.

Remus killed.

10. The contention grew ſo ſharp as to proceed to a Fight, wherein *Remus* had the worſt of it, and was ſlain; which *Dionyſius* thinketh the moſt probable opinion. Others write, that he ſcoffed at the lowneſs of the Wall which his Brother had made, ſaying, it would eaſily be paſſed over by Enemies, and therewith leaped over it himſelf; for which he was preſently killed by one *Celer*, who overſaw the work. *Romulus* compaſſed in the *Palatine* Hill, and made that the Rudiments of the City, with an *Heifer* and a young *Bullock* joyned together plowing up a furrow where the Wall ſhould be reared: which uſe was afterwards obſerved by the *Romans*, both in the building and razing of Cities. This is the moſt common and received opinion about the Original of *Rome*, which ſome make built at another time, and by other Founders. *Cephalon Gergithius*, a moſt antient Hiſtorian, wrote that it was built in the ſecond Age after the *Trojan* War, by *Romus*, one of the four Sons of *Æneas*; with whom many other Authors agreed. Others made the Founder of it to be *Æneas* himſelf, whom they will have come in company with *Ulyſſes* into *Italy*. *Ariſtotle* the Philoſopher wrote, that part of the *Achæans* themſelves, in their return from *Troy*, were by Tempeſts driven upon *Italy*, and forced to plant themſelves in *Latium*. *Callias* the Hiſtorian, who recorded the Acts of *Agathocles*, mentioned a *Trojan* Woman, called *Roma*, that being married to *Latinus*, King of the *Aborigines*, bare to him two Sons, *Remus* and *Romulus*, who building the City, named it *Rome* after their Mother. *Xenagoras* reckoned up three Sons of *Ulyſſes* by *Circe*, *Romus*, *Antias*, and *Ardea*, all which built Cities of their own name. *Dionyſius* of *Chalcis*, with others, would have this *Romus* to be the Son of *Aſcanius*; ſome of *Emethion*, and ſome of *Italus* by *Electra* the Daughter of *Latinus*. Beſides theſe, many other *Greek* Authors diſſented about the Founders of the City.

Several opinions concerning the Builder of *Rome*.

11. Neither have *Roman* Writers agreed amongſt themſelves. Some of them would have the Sons of *Æneas* to be Founders of the City, *viz.* *Romulus* and *Remus*; others, his Nephews by his Daughter, which he gave up as Hoſtages to *Latinus*, King of the *Aborigines*. Some write how *Aſcanius*, being left Heir by his Father, divided his Inheritance with *Romulus* and *Remus* his Brethren. He himſelf built *Alba* and other Towns: *Romulus Capua*, ſo called from *Capys* his Great-grand-father; *Anchiſa*, from *Anchiſes* his Grand-father; and that place afterwards called *Janiculum*, which he named after his Father *Æneas*; then laſtly, *Rome* after his own name, which being afterwards deſolate, the *Albans* re-peopled by a Colony led thither by *Romulus* and *Remus*. According to this Hiſtory, this City ſhould have been twice founded; firſt, not long after the *Trojan* times, and then again in the fifteenth Age after. But more than this, *Antiochus* of *Syracuſe* mentioned a third *Rome* that muſt have been before the War of *Troy*, writing, that from *Rome* came a certain *Sicilian* fugitive to *Morges*, the Son of *Italus*, King of *Italy*. By reaſon of this uncertainty of the Founders, ſome, whoſe prejudice againſt the Empire of the City moved them with envy, accounted it no other than a receptacle and fortreſs of Barbarians, Fugitives, and Vagabonds; and were ready to call into queſtion the Hiſtory of *Romulus*, as a meer invention made to hide the deſpicable Original of ſo great a Commonwealth.

12. Whether it was a new Plantation, or reparation of an old Town, there is great variety of opinions concerning the Time thereof. *Timæus* the *Sicilian* made its Foundation contemporary with that of *Carthage*, and the 38. year before the firſt *Olympiad*. But of thoſe which ſeem to approach nearer to truth, ſome place the

SECT. 2.

Several opinions concerning the time of the building.

foundation of it in the ſixth *Olympiad*; whereof *Velleius Paterculus* aſſigneth the *firſt* year, others the *third*, and *Varro* (from the opinion of *Tarcutius*, a moſt excellent Mathematician) the *fourth:* which opinion is followed by many Authors of great note, (beſides *Auguſtus*, *Claudius*, *Severus*, and *Philip*, Emperours, in their *Secular* Games) as *Plutarch*, *Tacitus*, *Dio*, *Gellius*, *Cenſorinus*, *Onuphrius*, *Cæſar Baronius*, *Torniellus*, *Joſeph Scaliger*, and *Jacobus Cappellus*. *Solinus* will have *Pomponius Atticus* and *Cicero* to reckon from the third year of this *Olympiad*; but as *Pliny*, *Paterculus* and *Livy*, ſo *Cicero* varieth, ſometimes counting from the Calends of *January* of the foregoing, one while of this, and another of the following year. *M. Portius Cato*, knowing that *Rome* was built ſomething before the ſeventh *Olympiad*, not ſtanding upon minute and ſcrupulous deductions, began the *Æra* of the City from the firſt of *January* that fell in the firſt year of that *Olympiad*; and ſo the year of his own Conſulſhip he ſaid to be the 758. year of the City. This *Æra* is followed by the *Faſti Capitolini*, *Solinus*, *Euſebius*, *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, (who taketh pains to prove the account good) *Polybius*, *Sigonius*, *Pighius*, *Occo*, *Goltzius*, *Iſaacus Caſaubonus* upon *Polybius*, and others. *Fabius Pictor* wrote that *Rome* was built in the eighth *Olympiad*; the reaſon whereof, as *Cappellus* thinketh, is, becauſe *Romulus* might then have finiſhed the Wall and Ditch; ſome deriving the *Æra* of a Building from laying of the Foundation, and others from the finiſhing of the Structure. Laſtly, *L. Cincius*, as *Dionyſius* informeth us, held that the City was built in the ſecond year of the twelfth *Olympiad*. In this great variety of opinions we have moſt reaſon to approve that of *Varro*, the moſt learned of all *Romans*, who placeth the beginning of *Rome* in the fourth year of the ſixth *Olympiad*, the ſixth of *Jotham* King of *Judah*, and the ſeventh of *Pekah* King of *Iſrael*, about the time that the *Ephori* were made at *Sparta*, in the days of *Charops* the firſt *Archon* at *Athens* for ten years, A.M. 3252.

A. M. 3252.
Ol. 6. an. 4.
Jothami 6.
Pekachi 7.

SECT. II.

From the Building of the City to the Deſtruction of the Kingdom. The ſpace of Two hundred forty five years.

The founding of *Rome*.

1. Romulus, being 18 years old, laid the foundation of the Walls on the (*a*) eleventh day before the *Calends* of *May*, (which anſwereth to the fourth of *October*, after the *Julian* account) betwixt the hours of two and three, the Sun being in *Libra*, and the Moon in *Taurus*, *Jupiter* in *Piſces*, *Saturn*, *Venus*, *Mars* and *Mercury* in *Scorpio*, according to the Computation of *Tarrutius*, the moſt noble of Mathematicians. (*b*) *Varro*, (*c*) *Ovid*, and ſeveral others write that *Rome* was founded on the *Parilia*, or *Palilia*. *Feſtus* telleth us the *Parilia* were ſo called *à Pariendo*, from *bringing forth*; thoſe Stars in the head of *Taurus*, (or which make up the head of themſelves, as *Gellius* criticizeth againſt *Tiro*) named *Hyades*, and under which *Rome* was founded, being alſo called *Parilicium*, and *Palilicium Sidus*. *Servius* noteth that *Pales* was the *Roman* Goddeſs of Fodder, to whom a Solemnity being obſerved on the eleventh of the Calends of *May*, it had the name of *Palilia*. *Cappellus* thinketh that, according to the mind of *Tarrutius*, the firſt year of the City commenced from the firſt of *January*, and *Capricorn*, in the new Moon, three moneths after the foundation was laid.

(*a*) *Solinus c.* 2. *Cicero de divin. lib.* 2. *Plutarch. in Romulo.*
(*b*) *de re Ruſtica l.* 2. *c.* 1.
(*c*) *Lib.* 4. *Faſt. Vid. Joſ Scalig. de Emend. temp. lib.* 5. *pag.* 362.

The number of the Colony.

2. The number of the Colony amounted ſcarcely to 300 horſe, and 3000 foot, wherewith *Romulus* (which ſome make but the diminutive of *Romus* his true name) planted this new City, called *Rome* after himſelf. To increaſe the number of his Citizens, he opened a Sanctuary to all malefactors and diſcontented perſons, who then reſorted to him in great numbers from the Countries adjoyning. Setting about the frame of the Commonwealth, by his Grandfather's advice, he remitted it to the choice of the People what kind of Government they would have; whereby, obtaining the Kingdom in way of gift, his Power became the more plauſible. He divided the people into three *Tribes*, every Tribe into ten *Curiæ*, and every *Curia* into ten parts or *Decuriæ*, over all which he appointed Officers. According to the number of the *Curiæ* he divided the Grounds into thirty parts, excep-

Dionyſ. lib. 2. *Livius lib.* 1.

The diviſion and diſtinction of Citizens.

excepting one portion for publick uſe, and another for ſuperſtitious Ceremonies. He made a diſtinction of his People according to honour and dignity, giving to the better ſort the name of *Patres*, either for that they were elder, had Children, for the Nobility of their ſtock; or, if Detractors may be heard, he therefore named theſe *Patritii*, becauſe they alone could ſhew their Fathers, the other multitude being a rabble of Fugitives that had no free and ingenuous parentage. Wherefore when an Aſſembly of the People was called by the King, the *Patritians* were by the Crier cited by their own and Fathers name; but the inferiour ſort, or *Plebeians*, were gathered together by the ſound of Ox-horns. Having diſtinguiſhed his Subjects into theſe two Ranks, he ordered what each ſhould doe. The *Patritii* were to take care of Superſtition, bear Offices of Magiſtracy, adminiſter Juſtice, and govern the Commonwealth together with the King: The *Plebeians* to till the Fields,feed Cattel, and exerciſe Trades; leſt by their meddling in the Government, and by mutual Contention of the poorer and richer ſort, ſuch Seditions might ariſe as were too viſible in other Commonwealths.

Patrons and *Clients.*

Dionyſius.

3. To bind each to the other, he commended to the *Patritians* certain of the *Plebeians*, whom they ſhould protect and countenance; liberty being given to the common ſort to make choice of whom they would for their *Patrons*. This cuſtome of *Patron* and *Client* was very ancient in *Greece*, eſpecially amongſt the *Theſſalians* and *Athenians*; where yet the *Clients* were very imperiouſly uſed, their *Patrons* impoſing on them ſervices ill beſeeming Free-men, and beating them like Slaves, if they diſobeyed their commands. The *Athenians* called them *Thetæ* for their ſervice, and the *Theſſalians Peneſtæ*, upbraiding them with their Fortune. But *Romulus* refined the uſe of *Patronage*, rendring it profitable unto both. *Patrons* by him were ordered to adviſe their *Clients* concerning Law,of which they were ignorant, and take care of them as well abſent as preſent, as their own Children,in what concerned money and contracts,undertaking Suits for them when oppreſſed, and procuring them quiet both as to publick and private buſineſs. On the other hand it was the duty of *Clients*,to help their *Patrons* with money in the marriage of their Daughters, if need ſhould be, or redeem them and their Sons if taken captive; to bear the charges of private Sutes or publick Fines, and that at their own coſt,in way of gratitude; to aſſiſt them with their purſes in defraying the charge of Magiſtracy,or honourable employments. This was common to both,that neither ought to accuſe the other, nor give any teſtimony or ſuffrage againſt each other,or to be reckoned amongſt his Enemies;which if any one did, or was, he was held guilty of Treaſon by *Romulus* his Law,and it was lawfull for any one to kill him. Hereby, for many Ages, this *Patronage* continued in force,and was as effectual for love and mutual help as Conſanguinity or Alliance: it was the glory of the Nobility to have many Clients devolved upon them from their Anceſtors, and obtained by their own vertue. But not onely the *Plebeians* in the City found themſelves ſecured by this *Patronage*, but in proceſs of time all Colonies, aſſociate Cities, and ſuch as were ſubdued by war, had their *Patrons*, to whom many times the *Senate* would remit ſuch Controverſies as were brought before it from the ſaid Cities or Commonwealths, and ratifie their Judgement. Laſtly,ſuch firm Concord followed this Conſtitution of *Romulus*, that, for 730 years, as *Dionyſius* reckoneth, though many and great Conteſts aroſe betwixt the Nobility and Commons about the Commonwealth, (as is uſual in all both great and little States) yet it never came to bloud or ſlaughter, but, mutually yielding and granting, all Controverſies were compoſed by civil Expoſtulations; till *Caius Gracchus*,*Tribune* of the people,overthrew the peace of the City: after which, they neither ſpared to kill and baniſh one another, nor to commit any other wickedneſs, whereby they might compaſs Victory and their own devices.

Idem.

The *Senate.*

4. After this,*Romulus* reſolved to chuſe a Senate, which ſhould aſſiſt him in the Government, and from amongſt the *Patritians* ſelected 100 after this manner. Out of them all he firſt made choice of one particular man, to whom, when he was conſtrained to be abſent in the Wars, he committed the Government of the City: Then he commanded every *Tribe* to chuſe three men, ſuch as were eminent for birth and wiſedom; and every *Curia* to elect three out of the *Patritians*. This number he called a *Senate*, either for their age, or vertue; or becauſe, as *Feſtus* will have it, nothing was done without their permiſſion, the Senate being named *à Sinendo*. Perceiving after this, that he ſtood in need of a Guard for his own perſon,he cauſed the *Curiæ* by their Suffrages to chuſe him out 300 young men, (ten out of each) whom he called *Celeres*, from their readineſs to execute his commands, as moſt have written; or, according to *Valerius Antias*, from their

Captain, whoſe name was *Celer*. Under him were three Centurions, and other inferiour Officers. This Company with their Spears defended the King in the City, and received his Orders: in Battels were the firſt Leaders, and the Keepers of his body, beginning the fight firſt, and retreating laſt of all; which cuſtome *Dionyſius* thinketh *Romulus* to have taken from the *Lacedæmonians*. Things being thus appointed, he limited unto all their work and honours.

The Office of King.

The *King*'s duty was *to take care of their Superſtition; to look to the preſervation of the Laws and Cuſtoms, either natural or written; to decide the moſt weighty Cauſes betwixt man and man, and refer thoſe of leſſer conſequence to the Senate, into which he was alſo to have an inſpection. He was to call together the Senate, aſſemble the people, firſt to ſpeak his opinion, and ratifie what was approved by the major part.* This was the King's work at home, who *in the Wars had abſolute authority.*

Senate.

To the *Senate* this honour and power was given, *to debate and reſolve about ſuch things as the King propounded, which were decreed by the greater number of voices,* agreeable to the conſtitution of *Lacedæmon*, as our Author obſerveth.

People.

To the *People* he committed three things; *to create Magiſtrates, make Laws, and reſolve about War what was propounded by the King:* yet ſo, as that the authority of the Senate interpoſed. All the whole Multitude together gave not their votes, but the *Curiæ* apart; and whatſoever ſeemed good to moſt, was referred to the *Senate:* which cuſtom was afterwards changed, when the *Senate* did not confirm the Decrees of the *People*, but the *People* the Reſolves of the *Senate*.

Priſoners to be preſerved.

5. For the increaſe of the City, beſides the opening of a *Sanctuary*, (which *Dionyſius* ranketh after this ſettlement of the Civil Policy) he forbad, when any Town was taken, that Priſoners of ripe age ſhould be ſlain or ſold, or their grounds left untilled; but commanded a Colony to be ſent from *Rome*, to which part of them ſhould be aſſigned, and ſome of the Strangers to be admitted to the Freedom of the City: which device our Author eſteemeth of great weight and conſequence. He made many good and profitable Laws, whereof moſt were unwritten.

Laws in reference to marriage.

He ordained in reference to Marriage, that the Wife ſhould be partaker of all that was her Husband's, when chaſt and modeſt. If he died inteſtate, ſhe was his abſolute Heir; and if he left Children, equally with them. When ſhe offended, ſhe was left to his diſpoſal for puniſhment, who admitted her Kindred to judge with him concerning the fault, if ſhe either violated Chaſtity, or drank Wine, which *Romulus* utterly condemned, as an incentive to wantonneſs.

Conſule Val. Max. l. 2. c. 1.

So effectual became this Conſtitution to the preſervation of the conjugal knot, that for 520 years there happened not any Divorce in *Rome*, till, in the 137. *Olympiad*, when *Marcus Pomponius* and *Caius Papirius* were Conſuls, *Sp. Carvilius*, an eminent man, put away his Wife; and then, though he ſware to the Cenſors, that he did it onely to provide for poſterity, yet was he ever hated by the people.

Parents and their Children, *&c.*

He gave to Fathers abſolute power over their Sons, and that for all their lives, either to impriſon, beat, carry away bound to ruſtick labours, or kill; although the Son bore the greateſt Office in the Commonwealth, or were publickly commended and honoured. By virtue of this Law, ſome eminent Perſons, making Orations to the People in oppoſition to the Senate, in the midſt of popular applauſe, have by their Parents been pulled down from their ſeats, and led away to be puniſhed according to their pleaſure: and as they paſſed along the *Forum*, none could deliver or reſcue them; not the *Conſul*, *Tribune*, nor *Multitude* it ſelf, which they had flattered. And becauſe of this abſolute paternal dominion, ſeveral valiant men have been put to death for their valour ſhewed in ſome way againſt the Enemy, contrary to the direction or command of their Fathers.

6. He compelled Parents to educate all their Male-children and their eldeſt Daughters: he permitted a Child younger than three years to be made away, if it was born defective in ſome member, or monſtrous; and yet then was it not to be expoſed without approbation of the five next neighbours. If any one broke this Law, he, beſides other puniſhment, forfeited half of his goods. The Father was permitted by the Law-giver to ſell his Son, and that three times over, if it happened that he recovered his liberty: a greater power than was had over Slaves, who, if once made free, thenceforth ſo continued. All ſordid Arts, and ſuch as were ſubſervient to Luxury, he forbad, which being left to Slaves and Strangers, for a long time the *Romans* ſcorned to meddle with. Two courſes of life onely he enjoyned them, *Warfare* and *Husbandry*, allowing a Market once in nine days. He divided equally to them the Grounds, Slaves, and Money, taken from the Enemy. Concerning Injuries, he preſently decided all Controverſies, or referred them unto others, inflicting puniſhment according to the crime: and ſeeing the

people to be by fear beſt retained in order, he ſet up his Judgement-ſeat in the moſt conſpicuous place of the *Forum*, where his guard of 300 *Celeres*, and twelve *Sergeants*, or *Lictors*, carrying Rods and Axes, and in the view of all men either beating or putting to death Malefactors, made a terrible ſhow. This is the form of the Commonwealth, as *Romulus* firſt eſtabliſhed it, much admired by *Dionyſius* above all the Conſtitutions of his own Country-men the *Græcians*: whoſe Religion alſo (as giving occaſion to the vulgar ſort to contemn their Gods involved in ſuch misfortunes, or to abſtain from no iniquity and filthineſs to which they heard that their Deities were alſo obnoxious) he eſteemeth vain, frivolous, and dangerous, in compariſon of that which was inſtituted by the *Roman* Lawgiver.

The Rape of the *Sabine* Virgins.

7. *Romulus*, conſidering that there were ſeveral powerfull Nations round about him, which with evil eyes beheld the growth of his City, bethought with himſelf how he might contract Amity with them. Concluding, that Affinity was the onely means, by the advice and conſent of the Senate, he reſolved upon a courſe to provide Wives for his Subjects. He cauſed, at the ſuggeſtion of his Grandfather *Numitor*, a ſolemn Feaſt, and Exerciſes in honour of *Neptune*, to be proclaimed throughout the Countrey: to which many flocking with their Wives and Children, upon ſign given, his men laid hold on ſuch Virgins as were come to ſee, and violently carried them to their houſes. The number of them amounted to 683; for whom *Romulus* choſe out ſo many Husbands, and married them after their own Country Rites, making them covenant a Society or Communion of Fire and Water: which Cuſtom continued for many Ages. Some write that this happened in the firſt year of *Romulus*; but others aſſign the fourth of his reign for it, which ſcarcely could be done till matters were ſomething ſettled. Some delivered, that ſcarcity of Women was the cauſe of this Rape: others thought, that by it an occaſion was onely ſought for War: but a third party will have, that by this violent act an Affinity with the neighbouring Cities was endeavoured.

Romulus his defenſive wars.

8. Some were grievouſly moved, and others put a good conſtruction upon the buſineſs: but at length the matter broke out into a manifold War, of which that with the *Sabines* was moſt grievous. The Cities *Cænina*, *Antemna* and *Cruſtumium* firſt began, after they could not perſwade the *Sabines* to joyn with them. The two former, inhabited by the *Aborigines*, *Romulus* preſently ſubdued, and afterwards the latter alſo, which was a Colony of *Alba*. The Grounds were divided betwixt ſome *Romans*, ſent thither to plant, and the old Inhabitants; of whom ſuch as would were made free of the City, and, without loſs of their former eſtates, reckoned amongſt the Tribes and *Curiæ*, to the number of 3000: ſo that now the *Roman* Footmen were increaſed to 6000 men. Upon the Victory over *Cænina* and *Antemna*, he firſt triumphed, and deſigned a plot for a Temple to *Jupiter Feretrius*, (ſo called from *Romulus* his bringing home in triumph the Spoils of *Acron* the King of *Cænina*, whom he ſlew. The Spoils were named by the *Romans Opima Spolia*.) The plot of ground was about fifteen foot long, and this was the original of the *Capitol*. Having obtained a great name for his valour and clemency, many eminent men went over to him with their families, amongſt whom was *Cælius*, who gave name to an Hill in the City: and ſome whole People committed themſelves to his protection, (having taken example from the *Medullini*) and received Colonies from *Rome*. This ſucceſs the *Sabines* ſore repined at, layning now the blame one upon another, that they had not withſtood the beginnings of the *Roman* Greatneſs: wherefore they reſolved to correct their former careleſsneſs by double diligence, and aſſembling together at *Cures*, their Metropolis, decreed War againſt *Rome* for the Spring following, and made choice of *T. Tatius* their King to be General. *Romulus* made all poſſible proviſion for reſiſtance, fortifying the *Capitoline* and *Aventine* Hills. *Lucumo* from *Solonium*, a City of *Hetruria*, brought Auxiliary forces, and *Numitor* was not wanting to the aſſiſtance of his Grand-ſon.

9. The *Sabines* having demanded reſtitution of their Virgins, and to have the authors of the injury delivered up, (that they might have a more ſpecious pretence for their actions) received no ſatisfactory anſwer, and therefore both parties drew out into the field. The *Sabines* brought 25000 foot, and almoſt 1000 horſe: and the *Roman* Army contained 20000 foot, and 800 horſe; a very great number for a new-builded City. *Tatius* pitched his Tents betwixt the *Quirinal* and *Capitolian* Hill, where ſeeing all places ſtrongly fortified, and ſmall hopes for him to attempt any great matter, as he deſpaired of doing any good, one *Tarpeia*, the Daughter of *Tarpeius* who kept the *Capitol*, called to his men from above,

and covenanted with them to betray the place into their hands. Concerning the wages ſhe was to receive, ſeveral ſtories, or fables, are related. It is ſaid, that ſhe required to have what they wore on their left arms, meaning their Bracelets; but when ſhe let them in, they threw their Targets which they carried on their left arms upon her, and therewith preſſed her to death. Being Maſters of the *Capitol*, they had thereby great advantage to continue the War at their pleaſure, and firſt ſome light Skirmiſhes inſued: but at length they reſolved to doe their utmoſt on both ſides, and for ſeveral days continued the fight, ſo long as till night ſevered them, for the moſt part with equal ſucceſs. This made the *Sabines* ſeriouſly bethink themſelves, whether they had beſt carry on the War, or retreat; and the *Romans* were rather more to ſeek how to hold out: yet neither party would ſtoop to deſire a Treaty. Whilſt they remained in this anxious condition, thoſe *Sabine* Women who were married to the *Romans*, and the cauſe of the War, through the perſwaſion of *Herſilia*, one of the principal amongſt them, became Mediators, and made Peace betwixt theſe Fathers and Sons-in-law, after the War had laſted ſix years. The Conditions were, that *Romulus* and *Tatius* ſhould reign at *Rome*, with equal prerogative: that the City from *Romulus* ſhould be called *Rome*, but the Citizens *Quirites* from *Cures* the native place of *Tatius*. Such of the *Sabines* as would, were made free of *Rome*; and a reſpect was had of thoſe Matrons who procured the Peace, that they which would live with their Husbands, ſhould be exempted from all work and ſervice, beſides ſpinning and making of Cloath.

The end of the *Sabine* War.

A.M. 2363.
V. C. 12.
Achazi 2.

10. Some write, that from thirty of theſe Women which undertook this Reconciliation, to perpetuate their memories, the *Tribes* were named: but *Terentius Varro* denied it, alleging that they had names before, and that by ſuch honour given to thirty, the reſt of the Women were not paſſed by and diſcouraged. For five years the two Kings reigned peaceably together, and joyntly ſubdued the *Camerini*, a Colony of the *Albans*: but in the ſixth, it happened that ſome of *Tatius* his friends plundring the *Lavinians*, and by him being protected, notwithſtanding *Romulus* and the *Senate* judged they were to be given up; moreover killing the Embaſſadors ſent to demand them, wherein they were alſo born out by him; when he went to *Lavinium* to ſacrifice, or perſwade the injured perſons to be quiet, the friends of the Embaſſadors fell upon and knocked him on the head. *Romulus*, to his great contentment thus freed from his Partner, made ſatisfaction to the injured, and burying *Tatius* at *Rome* very honourably, ſubdued *Fidenæ*, a Town five miles off, which had ſeized on proviſions coming to *Rome* in a time of famine. Thither he ſent ſome of his own to inhabit, according to his cuſtom, and then puniſhed the *Cruſtumini*, who had killed thoſe Planters which he placed amongſt them: and over them he obtained his ſecond Triumph. The *Veii*, moſt powerfull People of *Hetruria*, inhabiting a City no leſs than *Athens*, ſituated upon a craggy Rock, at ſome twelve miles diſtance from *Rome*, found themſelves concerned in what the *Fidenates* ſuffered, and by an Embaſſie required the *Romans* thence to remove their Garriſon, and reſtore the Inhabitants to their whole Demeſnes. This being denied, they met at *Fidenæ*, and there fought two bloudy Battels, wherein *Romulus* had the better, and triumphed the third time. *Plutarch* writeth, that the *Veientes* ridiculouſly challenged *Fidenes* to belong to them, and receiving a ſcornfull anſwer from *Romulus*, divided themſelves into two parts, whereof with one they fought the *Fidenates*, and with the other went to meet *Romulus*, who ſlew of them above 8000, with the loſs of 2000 of his own men. In the next Battel he is fabulouſly reported to have killed 7000 with his own hand, being half the number that was ſlain. The *Veientes* now betook themſelves to intreaties, and entred into a League with the *Romans* for an hundred years, on theſe Conditions; to quit a great part of their Grounds, with the Salt-pits near the River, and give up fifty Hoſtages of their moſt conſiderable Families. *Romulus* triumphed over them on the *Ides* of *October*, leading with him their Captain, an aged man, who had badly performed his office, for which he was afterwards perſonated by an old man in all Triumphs.

Tatius killed.

The *Veii* overcome.

Romulus grown tyrannical,

is made away by the *Senators*.

11. This was the laſt War managed by *Romulus*, who being grown exceeding high and tyrannical upon his Succeſs, inlarged his Prerogative beyond thoſe bounds he had formerly ſet to it, and made uſe onely of the *Senate* to ratifie his commands. Hereby he contracted the hatred of that Order, (though the Souldiers loved him) which brought him to an untimely death. Some think he was torn in pieces in the *Senate-houſe*, and the Senators by piece-meal carried out his body under their gowns, ſo that it was never ſeen. Others wrote, that having drawn out the people to the place called *Capræ Palus*, and there making an Oration to them, a ſudden

darkneſs

Called *Quirinus.*

darkneſs and Tempeſt happened, wherein he vaniſhed and departed from amongſt mortals. The *Senators* took occaſion from the ſecrecy of their fact, and concealment of his body, to perſwade the multitude that he was taken up amongſt the Gods; and *Julius Proculus*, a man of prime Nobility and credit amongſt the *Patritians*, put all out of doubt, by ſwearing moſt religiouſly that he appeared to him in the high-way, and told him, that *it pleaſed the Gods, from whom he came, ſo long to let him continue amongſt men, till he had founded a City, whoſe Empire and glory ſhould excell, and then again that he ſhould return to Heaven. He bade him farewell, and tell the* Romans, *that if they did but uſe Temperance and Valour, they ſhould in power excell all Mortals. And he would be a propitious God unto them, under the name of* Quirinus. He lived 55 years, and reigned 37, in which ſpace he much advanced the State of the City, which who firſt planted with him, were not much above 2000 foot, and ſcarce 300 horſe; but when he died, he left of the one kind 46000, and almoſt 1000 of the other ſort. After his Grand-father's death, he ſucceeded in the Kingdom of *Alba*, which he governed by *Deputies*, continuing his reſidence at *Rome*. The day on which he died, was the *Nones* of *Quintilis*, (afterwards called *July*) which anſwereth to the 26. of *May*, as the Calendar was reformed by *Julius Cæſar*. It was named *Nonæ Caprotinæ* from the place where he vaniſhed; and *Fuga Populi*, becauſe the people aſtoniſhed at the King's death took them to their heels. *Tarrutius* the Mathematician obſerved, that the Life of this Prince was ſignalized by three Eclipſes of the Sun: one at his Conception, which is alſo the firſt that is obſerved by Authors; another the ſame day he founded *Rome*; and the third on the day of his death; concerning which, for that the calculation of the former is rather founded upon Aſtrological than Aſtronomical Principles, *Jacobus Capellus* is to be conſulted.

An *Inter-regnum* for a year.

Numa.

A. M. 3291.
V. C. 40.
Ezechia 17.
Olymp. 16. *an.* 3.

His Religion much ſuited with that of the *Pythagoreans.*

12. *Romulus* dying childleſs, the *Senate* for a year's ſpace retained the Power in their own hands, which is called an *Inter-regnum.* They governed by their courſes, each man five days. But the People murmuring, and giving out, that for one Tyrant they had got an hundred, at length they reſolved that a King ſhould be choſen. The *Sabines* thought it reaſonable he ſhould be of their Nation, not having had any ſince *Tatius*; and the other were averſe to a Stranger, being deſirous he ſhould be ſome one of the *Patritians:* but at length the Fathers fixed upon *Numa Pompilius*, a *Sabine*, a man of almoſt forty years of age, and the moſt conſiderable for knowledge and ability of that time, who by conſent of the People was advanced to the Government. At firſt he excuſed himſelf; but ſolicited by his Father, and *Marcius* his kinſman, not to let ſlip ſo fair an opportunity of his own and Countrie's preferment, he accepted of it. He thought it policy to raiſe that City by Laws, and religious Cuſtoms, which had been founded by Force and Arms, and to ſoften the Genius of it by diverſion from Warfare; it being as neceſſary to employ a People well at home, as exerciſe them abroad. He built a Temple to *Janus*, which was to ſtand open in time of War, and be ſhut in peace, as it continued all his reign. But it onely happened ſo to be twice from his time to that of *Tiberius Cæſar*, as ſome obſerve. The *firſt* occaſion was in the Conſulſhip of *Titus Manlius* and *Marcus Attilius*, after the ending of the firſt *Punick* War; and the *ſecond* in *Auguſtus* his reign, after he had ſubdued *Antonius* and *Cleopatra*, at what time there was an univerſal Peace. *Numa* diſbanded the Royal Guard of the 300 *Celeres*, as ſtanding in no need of them. To the two *Flamens* of *Jupiter* and *Mars*, he added the third of *Romulus.* To him is alſo aſcribed the bringing in of the *Pontifices*, whereof he himſelf was one, and the Original of which name is ſo much controverted. He alſo ordained the *Veſtal Nuns*, and the *Feciales*, a ſort of Prieſts which judged concerning the equity of War, and denounced it. His Religion much ſuited, in the manner and ſtrictneſs thereof, with that of the *Pythagoreans*, which cauſed the report of his being contemporary and converſing with *Pythagoras*; although this Philoſopher was born 100 years after his death. The reaſon of this miſtake, beſides the ignorance of the times, was his familiarity with *Pythagoras* a *Lacedæmonian*, who gave him advice concerning the ordering of his Kingdom, travelling in *Italy* in the ſixteenth *Olympiad*, the third year of which was the beginning of *Numa*'s reign, according to *Plutarch.*

13. As *Pythagoras* taught that the Principle of all things is not to be perceived by ſenſe, or liable to motion, but inviſible, immortal, and to be apprehended by the underſtanding alone; ſo *Numa* forbad the *Romans* to uſe the Image of any God which repreſented him after the form of a Man, or any other living Creature. Neither in theſe antient times was there any painted, carved, or molten Image amongſt them: but for the firſt 170 years, though they built Temples

and Sacred places, yet had they no Image at all; becauſe they thought it wickedneſs, to liken more excellent things to thoſe below them, and thought God no otherwiſe to be perceived than by the Mind. *Numa* divided thoſe Grounds amongſt the poorer ſort which *Romulus* had gained in his Wars, cauſing his Subjects to apply themſelves to Husbandry, to cultivate their Minds as well as the Earth; and that he might take away the diſtinction of *Roman* and *Sabine*, which threatned the State with endleſs emulation and prejudice, he diſtinguiſhed them all according to their Trades and occupations, making every Art a particular Company and Fellowſhip. He abated the rigour of that Law made by *Romulus*, concerning the power of Fathers over their Children, ordaining it ſhould not be lawfull for them to ſell ſuch Sons as by their leave had married, becauſe it was unjuſt that a Woman which had married a Free-man ſhould be conſtrained to live with a Slave. He reformed the Year, which in the time of *Romulus* was quite out of all order: ſome moneths had fewer than 20 days, ſome had 35, and ſome above; the variety of the ſeveral courſes of Sun and Moon was not underſtood; but onely this aimed at, that the Year ſhould conſiſt of 360 days.

He reformeth the Year.

14. *Numa*, conſidering that a Solar Year exceeded the Lunar by eleven days, (the one conſiſting of 354, and the other of 365) doubled theſe eleven days, and every other year inſerted a Moneth after *February*, conſiſting of 22 days, and by the *Romans* called *Mercedonius*, becauſe at that time *wages* were wont to be paid. He changed the order of the Moneths, aſſigning to *March* (formerly the *firſt*) the *third* place, to *January* the *firſt*, and *February* the *ſecond*; whereof this was the *laſt*, and the other the *eleventh*, in the days of *Romulus*. Many have been of opinion, that *Numa* added *January* and *February* to the reſt of the Moneths, and that formerly the *Romans* had but ten, which appeareth by the name of *December*, the laſt moneth, and becauſe the *fifth* and *ſixth* moneths from *March* were called *Quintilis* and *Sextilis*. Thus *March* muſt have been the beginning of the Year, which *Romulus* ſo named from *Mars* his ſuppoſed Father. The *ſecond* was *April*, ſo called from *Venus*, as ſome thought, (becauſe her ſuperſtitious Worſhip was performed in it, when the Women were crowned with Myrtle as they waſhed;) or, as others gathered, from the *opening* of Plants at that time of the year. The *third* was *May*, named from *Maia*, and ſacred to *Mercury*. The *fourth* was *June*, from *Juno*, as ſome thought: others deriving the names of theſe two from *Majores* and *Juniores*, the *Elder* and *Younger*. The reſt had their names from their order, as *Quintilis*, *Sextilis*, *September*, *October*, *November*, *December*. Afterwards *Quintilis* was from *Julius Cæſar* called *July*; *Sextilis Auguſt*, from *Auguſtus*. *September* and *October* the Emperour *Domitian* changed into his own names, but preſently after he was killed they recovered their former. Onely the two laſt ever retained their firſt appellations. Of thoſe moneths which *Numa* either added, or ranked, *February* was ſo called from the *Expiations* which uſed to be in it, ſignified by the word *Februa*: then they were wont to make Parentations to the dead, and celebrate the *Lupercalia*, certain Sacrifices and Games in honour of *Pan*, much like to the Sacrifice of Expiations. *January* was named of *Janus*, which *Numa* ſeemeth to have ſet before *March*, becauſe he would ſhew that Civil vertue is ever to be preferred before what is exerciſed in War: For *Janus* was accounted one of the moſt antient Gods, or Kings, (from whom, reigning in *Italy*, ſome make the *Romans* deſcended) very ſtudious for civil ſociety and humane converſe, and who changed the courſe of man's life from brutiſh and ſavage to an humane and gentle kind. He is therefore feigned to be double-faced, becauſe he brought in another faſhion of life than what formerly had been; and had a Temple built by *Numa* with two doors, that were ſhut in Peace, and open in War, as was before ſaid. Theſe things *Plutarch* relateth in the Life of *Numa*.

15. But *Livie*, and other conſiderable Authors, (*a*) *Solinus*, (*b*) *Macrobius*, and (*c*) *Cenſorinus*, write that the firſt *Roman* Year conſiſted but of ten moneths and 304 days; ſix of the moneths having 30 days, and the other four 31 apiece. But this account differing from the courſe of the Sun, *Numa*, to make them agree, added 51 days to the year. That he might make up the twelve months; from the ſix, conſiſting of thirty days, he took one day apiece, and therewith made up 57, which were divided into two moneths, whereof the one contained 29, and the other 28 days; and ſo the Year began to have 355. Of this opinion, beſides *Junius Gracchanus* and *Fulvius*, both *Varro* and *Suetonius* were, as appeareth out of *Cenſorinus*. Yet *Licinius Macer* and *Lucius Feneſtella*, by the ſame teſtimony, (two antient Writers of *Annals*) delivered that the firſt *Roman* Year conſiſted

(*a*) *C.* 3.
(*b*) *Satur. lib.* 1. *cap.* 12.
(*c*) *cap.* 20.

conſiſted of 12 moneths, agreeable to the former opinion related by *Plutarch.* This a * noble pair of modern Criticks prove to have been the truer opinion, affirming that *January* and *February* were not added by *Numa*, but transferred from the end to the beginning of the year; and endeavouring to ſhew, that they who would have the year to conſiſt but of 10 moneths make it no ſhorter than they that are for 12, diſtinguiſhing it not ſo much in number as placing of days: for the *Romans* in *Romulus* his time filled up the year, either by aſſigning more days than thirty to the moneths, or adding ſo many in the end thereof as ſeemed to be wanting. But it ſufficeth to have touched theſe things for the direction of beginners.

* *Joſeph. Scalig. de Emendatione Temp. lib. 2. & Lidyatus de variis annorum formis, cap. 17.*

16. *Numa*, to gain credit and obedience to his Conſtitutions, feigned that he had converſe with the Goddeſs *Egeria.* He married *Tatia*, Daughter to *Tatius* the King, by whom he had a Daughter named *Pompilia.* Some ſaid he neither had any other Wiſe nor any more Children: but others both as to Wiſe and Children diſſented from them. He lived above 80, reigned 43 years; and at his death was buried with great honour. His body was not burned, (which he forbad) but buried in a Stone-Coffin under the *Janiculum*; and the Books of his Ceremonies laid by him in another, which being twelve written in *Latine*, and as many in the *Greek* tongue, were 400 years after, when *Publius Cornelius* and *Marcus Bæbius* were Conſuls, by water wrought out of the earth, and, for that it was thought wickedneſs to have ſuch things diſcovered to the multitude, (from whom he alſo kept them, after the faſhion of the *Pythagoreans*, not communicating diſcipline by writing, but onely by word of mouth) burned by command of the *Senate.* He kept the State in conſtant Peace, and his ability herein contributed to the general quiet of *Italy*; ſo that, by the example of his Reign, *Plutarch* judgeth that ſaying of *Plato* to be verified, That the onely means whereby men ſhould be made happy, would be, to have a Philoſophical mind and Regal power concur in a Prince, who would make Vertue ſuperiour to Diſhoneſty. But the fortune of the ſucceeding Kings added to the luſtre of his glory: For of the five which followed, the laſt was caſt out, and died in exile; and none of the reſt obtained a natural and quiet end, according to *Plutarch.*

Tullus Hoſtilius.

17. *Numa* being dead, and the Government devolved upon the *Senate*, after ſeveral *Inter-reges*, at length *Tullus Hoſtilius* was created King by the univerſal conſent of the City. His Grand-father was that *Hoſtilius*, who moſt gallantly behaved himſelf againſt the *Sabines* at the *Cittadel*, and married of that Nation, the Daughter of *Herſilia.* After much valour ſhown, he was ſlain in battel, and left a young Son, who at ripeneſs of age, of a noble Matron, begat this *Tullus Hoſtilius*, the *third* King of *Rome*; whoſe beginning, according to the account of *Dionyſius*, was in the ſecond year of the 27. *Olympiad*, wherein *Eurybates* the *Athenian* was *Victor*, when *Leoſtratus* was *Archon* at *Athens*, in the 83. year of the City, and the 31. of *Manaſſes* King of *Judah.* At his firſt beginning he purchaſed the favour of the poorer ſort, by dividing unto them, man by man, that portion of Land which the two former Kings had kept to bear their charges, ſaying, that his own inheritance would ſuffice for his own expences. Leſt theſe ſhould want room, he took in the Hill *Cælius*, where ſuch as wanted habitation, and now had gotten grounds, built them houſes, and he alſo dwelt himſelf. He was not onely of a different temper from *Numa*, but, as *Livie* deſcribeth him, more fiery than *Romulus*, being as well moved by his proper inclination, as the glory of his Grand-father; ſo that he ſought, and greedily imbraced, all occaſions for War. It was not long ere one was preſented from the *Albans*, who made Depredations in the *Roman* Territories, and were again robbed by the *Romans.* At that time *Caius Cluilius* governed *Alba*, who envying the growth of *Rome*, ſought to ſtir up Diviſion, and raiſe War betwixt the two Cities. *Dionyſius* writeth, that for this end he privately procured ſome to prey upon the *Romans*, knowing they would revenge the injury; and when they did ſo upon ſuch as they could take, he perſwaded the *Albans* that they had received a great affront, and excited them to take up Arms.

A. M. 3333. V. C. 82. Olymp. 27. an. 2.

His War with the *Albans.*

18. Embaſſadors were ſent to *Rome* to demand Reſtitution, and ſuch as had been Authors of the injury to be given up into their hands. This *Hoſtilius* being aware of, and knowing that they who firſt refuſed to make ſatisfaction would bear the Odium of the War, cauſed ſome of his friends kindly to entertain the Embaſſadors, pretending he was by neceſſary occaſions hindred from giving them audience, till he firſt ſent ſome of his own to *Alba* to demand Reſtitution. They received a ſharp repulſe from *Cluilius*; whereof *Hoſtilius* having notice, then gave audience to the *Albans*, told them how thoſe that he ſent had already received ſuch an anſwer as argued the League quite broken: whereupon he denounced

Dionyſius l. 3. Livius l. 1.

denounced a juſt and neceſſary War againſt the *Albans*, which he would carry on not onely with his domeſtick forces, but by the aid of his other Subjects and Dependents. Both parties then made all poſſible preparations, and drew out their Forces to a place afterwards called the *Ditch of Cluilius*, ſome five miles diſtant from *Rome*. When they expected ſuddenly to decide the quarrel, *Cluilius* was found dead in his Tent, whether by ſome ſecret practice upon himſelf, by grief, or any other means, is uncertain. Into his place was choſen *Metius Suffetius*, a man of a turbulent ſpirit, and ſcarcely able for warlike matters, but thought fit for the place, becauſe as great an Incendiary as his Predeceſſor. Yet ſenſible of danger that hung over his head from the *Fidenates*, (who gaped after the deſtruction of both) he drew out the War in length, and at laſt fearfull to loſe all, was inclinable to a preſent Compoſure. *Hoſtilius* was now alſo not averſe to a determination of the buſineſs, being deſirous to puniſh the *Fidenates* and *Veientes*, who, formerly overcome by *Romulus*, had ſubmitted to the obedience of *Rome*, and in the days of *Numa* taken occaſion of his peaceable Government, to provide for the abſolute ſhaking off of the yoak. This time they thought preſented them with a fit opportunity; for, gathering together at *Fidenæ*, they were ready, when the *Albans* and *Romans* ſhould in battel have weakened each other, to fall upon both.

The *Horatii* and *Curiatii*.

19. This Plot diſcovered, wrought ſo upon both the Captains, that they came to a Conference, wherein much being alleged for the juſtice and right of both parties, at length it was agreed, that three perſons on each ſide ſhould by Combat decide the quarrel, and that City, whoſe Champions ſhould have the better, obtain preeminence and command over the other. Whilſt every Officer deſired to be one of the three, *Suffetius* bethought himſelf of two ternions of Brothers who were moſt fit, as he thought, to take it upon them. One *Seguinius* of *Alba* had two Daughters, whereof one he married to *Curiatius* his Fellow-citizen, and the other to *Horatius* a *Roman*. It happened that both being with child at the ſame time, brought forth each of them three Sons at the firſt birth, whom their Parents educated as the hope of their Families. To theſe it was that *Suffetius* thought the Combat concerning Principality was to be committed, being of equal years, ſtrength, and courage. The motion was imbraced by the parties, who diſpenſed with their private Affection, (no whit unſuitable to their Conſanguinity) now that the honour and welfare of their Country was concerned. In the Combat two of the *Horatii* were ſlain firſt, and the third left to deal with three adverſaries, ſpirited afreſh by the great advantage they had of him; but warily retreating, ſo as he might have but one upon him at a time, he ſlew them all, and *Rome* in him remained Conqueror. As he returned into the City, he was met by his Siſter, who fell upon him with chiding and outrageous words, for imbruing his hands in the bloud of his Couſin-germans, whereof one was contracted to her. Now elevated by his ſucceſs, and tranſported with a certain kind of eſtatical love to his Country, he killed her in the place, as one that, preferring private reſpect before publick good, was unworthy to live. Hereof he was accuſed, and *Tullus* neither thinking it ſeemly to quit or condemn him, as ſome ſay, created the *Duumviri* for capital Judgement, who condemned him: but, if ſo, there lying Appeal from theſe Officers to the People, the Multitude granted his life to the tears of his Father, who not onely took not ill his Daughter's death, but eſteemed it an heroick act, and gave her an ignominious Burial.

20. *Hoſtilius* dealt moderately with the *Albans*; but *Metius Suffetius*, their *Dictator*, or *King*, thinking his credit much impaired by the event of the Combat, ſought how he might betray the *Romans*, and wreſt the Power out of their hands. He dealt therefore underhand with the *Fidenates* and *Veientes*, who now, called to account for their Double dealings, brake out into open Rebellion, and by promiſe of aſſiſtance, incouraged them in their enterprize. And when the *Romans* and the other came to ingage, he reſolved to ſtand neuter till he ſaw which party had the better, intending then to cloſe with it. The *Romans* were diſcouraged to ſee their Friends ſtand aloof, ſuſpecting the Treachery; which *Tullus* alſo apprehending, gave out, that it was by his order, as meaning by ſome Strategem to ſurprize the Enemy: upon which report the *Fidenates* and their Companions were diſcouraged, and at length by the *Romans*, who reſumed their courage, put to the rout. After the Victory *Hoſtilius* called the *Albans* together, and laying open the Treachery of *Suffetius*, (which ſavoured the more of Treaſon, becauſe he had truſted him as his inward Friend, and kept him three years in his place) cauſed him to be pulled in pieces; having beforehand ſent *Marcus Horatius* to *Alba*,

who razed the City, and tranſlated the Inhabitants thereof to *Rome*, after it had ſtood about 487 years, according to the account of *Dionyſius*, which is to be preferred before the other of *Livie*, or that of *L. Florus*, an Author not to be relied on, either as to Chronology, or order and diſpoſition of matters, to ſay no more.

Alba deſtroyed.

A. M. 3051.
V. C. 100.
Olymp. 31. *an.* 4.
Manaſſis 48.

21. To this end came *Alba*, through the power of its own Colony, having flouriſhed with Riches, numbers of Inhabitants, and been the Mother of thirty *Latin* Towns. After this, *Tullus*, having fully brought under the *Fidenates*, moved War againſt the *Sabines*, for robbing ſuch *Romans* as uſed to traffick into the Country, and refuſing to make reſtitution of the goods. He overthrew them at the Wood called *Malitioſa Sylva*, and forced them to beg Peace. Now alſo the *Latines* and *Romans* fell out, becauſe they refuſed to yield obedience to theſe, who challenged it as due to their City, which had conquered the *Metropolis*. The War was managed for five years with great moderation; onely, beſides continual Depredations, *Hoſtilius* puniſhed *Medallia* for an example, which in the time of *Romulus* had received a *Roman* Colony. Otherwiſe no Battel was fought, nor any Town taken and plundred; which made both inclinable to Peace. But at this time *Tullus Hoſtilius* died, having reigned 32 years; ſome ſay by Lightning, with his whole Family, for neglect of the Religion inſtituted by *Numa*: but moſt believed him taken away by the practices of his Succeſſor, though *Dionyſius* holdeth their opinion to be improbable.

Livie.
Pliny.
Plutarch.

Ancus Marcius.

Dionyſ. l. 3.

A. M. 3366.
V. C. 115.
Olymp. 35. *an.* 2.
Joſiæ 6.

22. After the death of *Tullus*, the State fell into an *Inter-regnum*, according to the cuſtom, and, by the *Inter-rex* and *Senate*, *Ancus Marcius* was elected King; who being confirmed by the People, began his Reign in the ſecond year of the 35. *Olympiad*, wherein *Sphærus* the *Lacedæmonian* was Victor, at what time *Damaſias* was annual *Archon* at *Athens*. He (who, according to what *Feſtus* writeth, had the Surname of *Ancus* from his *crooked* Arm, which he could not ſtretch out in length) was Grand-ſon to *Numa*, by his Daughter *Pompilia*. She was married to *Marcius*, the Son of that *Marcius*, who, being the Kinſman of *Numa*, came with him to *Rome*, after he had earneſtly perſwaded him to take upon him the Kingdom; and being elected into the Senate, after the King's death, ſtood in competition with *Hoſtilius* for his place, and miſſing of it laid violent hands on himſelf. *Marcius* his Son marrying *Pompilia* the Daughter of *Numa*, (whether by *Tatia* or *Lucretia*, is uncertain) begot on her this *Ancus Marcius*, who was five years old at the death of both his Grand-fathers. *Ancus* conſidering that much of the Superſtition brought in by *Numa* was neglected, ſet himſelf to reſtore the uſe thereof, alleging to the people, that the Diſeaſes, Peſtilence, and other innumerable Calamities which had lately fallen upon the City, together with the diſaſtrous end of *Hoſtilius*, proceeded from neglect of their Gods. He adviſed them to return to Husbandry, and other peaceable imployments, neglecting violence, and the profit that cometh by War. The State being thus reſtored, he thought, as his Grand-father had lived, ſo to paſs his time free from all War and moleſtation: but he found his expectation croſſed, for that he was compelled to be a Warriour againſt his will, and was never free from peril and tumult. Scarcely had he begun to reign, and modelled the Commonwealth, when the *Latines*, contemning him as a Sluggard, and unfit for military imployment, made Depredations upon the *Roman* Territories. Making preparation for War, *Livie* writeth, that he firſt denounced it, ſending to the *Latines* beforehand, and now conſtituted the Office of the *Feciales*, the Rules whereof he took from the *Equicoli*, an antient People.

Livius l. 1.
Plutarch. in Numa.

23. He ſurprized *Politorium*, a Town of the *Latines*, the Inhabitants of which he tranſlated to *Rome*, where (for that the antient *Romans* inhabited the *Palatine*, the *Sabines* the *Capitoline*, and the *Cælian* had been given to the new Denizons of *Alba*) to them was granted the *Aventine* Hill to poſſeſs, other Neighbours being added, when, within a while, *Tilene* and *Sicania* were taken. The *Latines*, much concerned at this loſs, conſpired againſt him for the Spring following; but at ſeveral times he defeated their united powers, and forced them to ask Peace: ſo did he the *Fidenates*, *Volſci*, *Veientes*, and ſuch *Sabines* as, not yet having felt the ſtrength of *Rome*, ſorely repined at the ſucceſs of an upſtart City. He laid a wooden bridge over the River *Tiber*, and fortified the *Janiculum* on the other ſide with a wall, having by a bridge united it to the City: and in the middle of *Rome* he made a Priſon for Malefactors. Neither did he onely extend the *Pomœrium* or *Area* of the City, but inlarged its Dominion. For having taken from the *Veientes* the *Meſian* Forreſt, his Territories reached to the Sea, upon which, at the mouth of *Tiber*, he built a Town called *Oſtia*, to ſecure the profit of Navigation unto his Subjects; for thither Commodities being brought by Ship, were in leſſer Veſſels

Livius lib. 1.
Dionyſ. l. 3.

conveyed to the City. *Ancus Marcius* reigned 24 years, coming behind the commendations of none of his Predeceſſors, either for the glory of Peace or War.

A. M. 3390.
V. C. 139.
Ol. 41. *an.* 2.
Joſiæ 30.

The pedigree of *Tarquinius Priſcus.*

Feſtus in voce Gaia.

24. *Ancus* being dead, (of a natural death, as ſhould ſeem by Hiſtorians, ſave that *Plutarch*, as was ſaid, included him in the number of thoſe four that came to untimely ends) the *Senate* received power from the People to order the Affairs of the Commonwealth, and created certain *Inter-reges*, who holding the *Aſſemblies* for election, *L. Tarquinius* was choſen King, and began his reign about the ſecond year of the 41. *Olympiad*, wherein *Cleonidas* the *Theban* was *Victor*, *Eniochides* being *Archon* at *Athens*, the 139. of the City, and the 30. of *Joſiah* King of *Judah*. This man being of forein extraction, what his Original was, why he came to *Rome*, and how he attained to the Kingdom, is to be conſidered. There was a *Corinthian*, *Demaratus* by name, of the race of the *Bacchiadæ*, who trafficking much into *Hetruria*, changed his Merchandiſe for *Tuſcan* Commodities, and thereby growing very wealthy, when Troubles aroſe at home by means of *Cypſelus* his Tyranny, with all his goods ſailed from *Corinth*, and fixed himſelf at *Tarquinia*, a City of *Hetruria*; where marrying a noble Matron, of her he begat two Sons, called by the *Hetruſcan* names of *Aruns* and *Lucumon*. *Aruns* died without hope of iſſue; *Demaratus* for grief followed him not long after: ſo that *Lucumon*, poſſeſſed of the whole Inheritance, began to elevate his deſigns, and to look after ſome place of Magiſtracy in his Country. Here he received a repulſe, not being able to procure any mean Office; at which ſorely diſdaining, he heard that *Rome* received Strangers with great courteſie, and gave them free admiſſion unto Honours. He then reſolved to remove thither with his goods and friends, and after his arrival, was much made of by *Ancus*, to whom offering his Patrimony for the publick good, as exceeding that of a private man, he received Freedom of the City for himſelf and followers, with ground to build houſes, and for their ſuſtenance. Now he changed his name from *Lucumon* to *Lucius*, and his Wife from *Tanaquil* to *Gaia Cæcilia*, and from the place of his birth ſuperadded that of *Tarquinius*. During the reign of *Ancus*, who choſe him into the *Senate*, he flouriſhed in great eſteem with him, and in the favour of the People; in War no man ſhewing himſelf more hardy, nor in Council more dextrous, prudent, or ſucceſsfull: and his Integrity ſeemed ſuch unto the King, that he left him Guardian to his two Sons, whereof both were under age, and one but yet an infant.

He obtaineth the Kingdom.

His Wars.

25. He took advantage at the Minority of the eldeſt, as yet ſcarcely fourteen years old, whom ſending out of the way, under pretence of hunting, he made a Speech to the People, ſaith *Livie*, wherein he plainly begged the Kingdom, drawing to his private intereſt the example of *Tatius* and *Numa*, whom, being meer Strangers, they had choſen to reign over them: whereas He was not abſolutely ſuch, having lived a good ſpace in *Rome*, and been trained up both in civil and military Affairs under *Ancus*. He urged then his Liberality towards them. Which things not being meerly pretended, he obtained his end, and was the firſt that came to the Government through his own ambitious ſeeking. His firſt War was with the *Latines*, from whom he took ſeveral Towns, and amongſt the reſt *Collatia*, over which he placed Governour his Nephew *Aruns Tarquinius*, the poſthume iſſue of his Brother, and ſurnamed *Egerius* from his *poverty*, (having no Patrimony) and *Collatinus* from this place, which Surname continued to his Poſterity. Having forced the *Latines* to beg Peace, notwithſtanding their ſupplies out of *Hetruria*, he turned his Arms againſt the *Sabines*; whom after he had alſo forced to ſubmit, all *Hetruria* combined againſt him, becauſe he retained ſuch priſoners as he had taken of the Auxiliaries ſent by them to the *Sabines*. It was decreed amongſt them, that what Town ſoever refuſed to joyn againſt him ſhould not be accounted of their Body; and they preſently poſſeſſed themſelves of *Fidenæ*, a *Roman* Colony. But he ſo ordered the matter, that overthrowing them in ſundry Battels, and preparing for another Expedition, they were humbled; to purchaſe Peace owned him for their Prince, and, as tokens of fealty and allegiance, ſent him the Enſigns of Sovereignty wherewith their Kings had wont to be adorn'd. Theſe were *a Crown of Gold*, *an Ivory Chair*, *a Scepter on the top of which was an Eagle*, *a Coat of purple wrought with Gold, and a purple Gown pinked*; like to the Robes of the *Lydian* and *Perſian* Kings, ſave that it was not fourſquare, but of a ſemicircular figure. Some wrote alſo that they ſent 12 *Axes* for ſo many Cities, it being their cuſtom for every Magiſtrate in his own Town to have an Axe with Rods carried before him, and in a common Expedition twelve to be born before their General. Others contended that *Romulus* uſed theſe Axes and Rods as a badge of his Authority to puniſh Offenders; but *Dionyſius* replieth, that *Romulus* might learn this cuſtom of the *Hetruſcans*,

ſcans, and if not, yet might *Tarquinius* have theſe ſent to him, ſeeing the People of *Rome* afterwards uſed to ſend Diadems and Scepters to ſuch Kings as they confirmed; which theſe Princes received, although they had worn the ſame Ornaments before.

26. In nine years he finiſhed the *Hetruſcan* War, and then fell again upon the *Sabines*, (who alone contended with the *Romans* for Superiority) a warlike Nation, poſſeſſing a large and fertile Countrey not far diſtant from *Rome*. Over them he obtained his third Triumph, and providing for another Expedition, they prevented him by their intreaties, giving up themſelves fully into his power, whom he received on the ſame terms as formerly he had done the *Hetruſcans*. Theſe were his Military actions. At the beginning of his reign, that he might bind the People to him, he choſe out an hundred of the *Plebeians*, who for valour or wiſedom were moſt eminent, and added them to the *Senate*, which now firſt conſiſted of 300. *Romulus* at the beginning choſe 100 out of the firſt Planters, then added 100 more of the moſt noble of the *Sabines*, who with theſe of *Tarquinius* were called *Patres conſcripti*, and the laſt *Patres minorum gentium*. *Zonaras* agreeth with *Dionyſius* concerning the number of *Senators* made by *Romulus*, adding, that *Tatius* and he at firſt conſulted with their *Senators* apart, but at length they were joyned together; ſo that thoſe are not to be heard, who will have but 200 in all during the time of the Kings, and 100 afterwards added by *Brutus*. He increaſed the number of the *Veſtal Nuns* from four to ſeven, adorned the *Forum*, built the Walls of the City (before patched up in haſte) with four-ſquare ſtones, whereof each was a Cart-load. He cauſed the common Sinks to be made for voiding the filth of the City into *Tiber*; a work ſo admirable, that *Dionyſius* thinketh, from the *magnificence* of it, as from the *Aquæducts*, and the *high Cawſied ways*, the Amplitude of the *Roman* Empire appeared. And this is manifeſted from what *C. Aquilius* wrote, that thoſe Sinks being once ſtopped, the *Cenſors* ſpent 1000 Talents in cleanſing them. In the *Circus Maximus* (a place dedicated to the beholding of Games and Exerciſes, betwixt the *Palatine* and *Aventine* Hills) he cauſed Seats to be raiſed for Spectators, whereas, before, all ſtood; and he diſtinguiſhed their places according to their dignity.

He encreaſeth the *Senate*.

The *Veſtal Nuns*.

Cloaca, or common Sinks.

27. *Tarquinius* intended to adde three Centuries of Horſemen, named after himſelf and his friends, to the former three inſtituted by *Romulus*. That King firſt choſe 300 out of the three *Tribes*, or Legions, and, after the taking in of the *Sabines*, increaſed the Legions, ſo that each contained 4000, whence it was called *Quadrata*, as *Feſtus* obſerveth. Yet afterwards a Legion compriſed full ſo many men as were found convenient for the ſervice of the Commonwealth. But he was forbidden by *Actius Nævius* to change the Conſtitution of *Romulus*, and therefore, without increaſe of the *Centuries*, doubled the number of the men. This *Nævius* was the moſt famous *Augur* that *Rome* ever knew, and ſo well verſed in his Art, that he never miſſed in his Predictions. *Tarquinius* on a time, to try him, asked if that was poſſible to be done which he had in his thoughts; who anſwering, *Yea*, he laughed him to ſcorn, ſaying, that he had thought of cutting a Whetſtone with a Razor which he held in his hand: but *Nævius* ſtill replying he ſhould doe it, and bidding him to ſtrike hard, he cut through it. This much inhanced the reputation of his skill, and he flouriſhed thenceforth with great honour, till at length he was ſuddenly miſſing, and his body never could be found, which turned to the diſquiet of *Tarquinius*. For the Sons of *Ancus Marcius*, now grown men, grudged him their Father's Kingdom, and often thought of thruſting him out, expecting much from martial men, who generally bore love to their Father's memory. Now they accuſed him to the People of having made away the *Augur*, (becauſe he had contradicted his devices) and created him ſome trouble; till *Tullius* his Son-in-law anſwered the objections, and cleared him of the Calumny. Miſſing of their deſign this way, they counterfeited repentance; and being eaſily reconciled to the old man, out of reſpect to their Father, cloaked their malice for three years. Then they cloathed two of their Companions like Shepherds, who going to the Court, and pretending to be faln out, did beat each other, and called loud upon the King for Juſtice, having at their backs other Conſpirators apparelled alſo in ruſtick weeds, who offered to give Teſtimony on both ſides. Being called in to the King they wounded him to death, and betaking themſelves to their heels were caught, confeſſed who were authors of the Plot, and received their juſt reward. To this end came *Tarquinius* (ſurnamed *Priſcus*, after his Grand-ſon of the ſame name had obtained the Kingdom) about 80 years old, when he had reigned 38 years, and done many and great good Offices for the Commonwealth.

Actius Nævius.

Tarquinius murthered.

28. *Tar-*

SECT. 2.

Servius Tullius his deſcent and education.

Dionyſius l. 4.
Livius l. 1.
Florus l. 1. *c.* 6.

28. *Tarquinius Priſcus* being dead, *Servius Tullius* his Son-in-law ſucceeded him in the fourth year of the 50. *Olympiad*, wherein *Epitelides* the *Laconian* was Victor, when *Archeſtratides* was *Archon* at *Athens*: concerning whoſe Original, and private life, ſomething is firſt to be ſpoken. A certain man of *Corniculum*, a Town in *Latium*, of Royal bloud, was ſlain when *Tarquinius* took the place, and left his wife *Ocriſia* big with Child; which Woman *Tarquinius* gave to his Queen *Tanaquil*. *Ocriſia* then was delivered of a Son in the King's houſe, named *Tullius*, and ſurnamed *Servius* by her in remembrance of her Bondage. When being an Infant he lay in the Cradle, a flame of fire is ſaid to have appeared, and incompaſſed his head; which raiſed great expectation of him in *Tanaquil*, a Woman skilfull in the myſteries of her Countrey. She brought her Husband into a great opinion of him, ſo that he was educated by them, and anſwering what had been conceived of him, at length was made their Son-in-law: then abroad he had Command in the Army, and at home managed publick Affairs for the King when grown old; in all things behaving himſelf with ſuch integrity, valour, and prudence, as purchaſed him the love of all the people. Now whereas *Tarquinius* had at his death no Sons (as *Dionyſius* maketh moſt manifeſt) but left two Grand-ſons both Infants, *Tanaquil* having a deſire that *Tullius* ſhould ſucceed him, kept his death private for ſome time, till he had procured the people to baniſh the *Marcii*; giving out that the King, dangerouſly wounded though not dead, had referred all buſineſs to him according to his cuſtom. Being ſecure of the Faction of the *Marcii*, he then carried out *Tarquinius* to be buried, as newly dead; and, as *Tutor* to the young Children, executed the Office of King: which *Tanaquil* out of the window had told the people was her Husband's will, when yet ſhe feigned him to be living. But the *Patritians* grudging *Tullius* this honour, conſpired how, the next time he aſſembled the *Senate*, they might conſtrain him to leave off all the Royal enſigns, and then go to an Election, according to the uſual manner.

29. He, coming to the knowledge hereof, aſſembled the People, and producing the two Boys, pleaded their cauſe and his own: he promiſed them to pay all their Debts, and divide to thoſe that wanted the publick Grounds. Hereby retaining the power under the notion of *Guardian*. The *Patritians* were ſore agrieved thereat, but the wiſeſt ſort thought it not good to ſtir, though they plainly ſaw the Authority of the *Senate* much infringed. For they conſidered, that if they ſhould make a King of their own Body, the people would not approve the choice; and if it were referred to the Multitude, *Tullius* would aſſuredly be the man: wherefore they thought it more wiſedom to ſuffer him to reign in an unlawfull manner, that ſo they might ever have ſome juſt pretence againſt him, than by ſtirring in the matter to procure him a legal Title. But he prevented this their deſign, going with his Mother, Mother-in-law, and all his Kindred, in mourning habits unto the *Forum*; where he ſhewed the People how lamentable his condition was through the plots of the *Patritians* againſt him, which he deſerved no otherways then by his good deeds towards the Commonality. He laid to their charge that they would call in the *Marcii*, that had murthered *Tarquinius*, and expoſe his Poſterity, who had ſo well deſerved of the State together with himſelf, to the ſame cruelty: and in concluſion, offering to lay down all, if ſuch was the pleaſure of the People, and undergo any hardſhip rather then be troubleſom, he offered to deſcend from the Tribunal. A great clamour then aroſe mixed with prayers and tears of thoſe that beſought him to retain the Government: and preſently ſome, that were provided beforehand, began to cry out that he was to be choſen King, and the *Curiæ* were to be called [illegible] the Vote; which thing was inſtantly reſolved by the Multitude. He gladly took hold of the opportunity, thanked them that they were mindfull of the benefits received from him, promiſed larger if he were elected King, and appointed a day for the *Comitia*, or *Aſſembly*, whereat he intended to have preſent thoſe alſo that were abroad in the Countrey. At the day appointed for the *Aſſembly* of the *Curiæ*, (called *Curiata Comitia*) he was choſen King by the Suffrages of them all, and ſo, in deſpite of the *Conſcript Fathers*, who refuſed to confirm the choice, as the manner was, obtained the Principality.

Obtaineth the Kingdom.

A. M. 3427.
V. C. 76.
Olymp. 50. *an.* 3.
Nebuch. 31.

30. Preſently after his ſettlement he accompliſhed his promiſe, concerning the diviſion of the publick Land to ſuch as were forced to preſerve themſelves by daily labour in other mens grounds; and in the *Curiata Comitia* preferred fifty Laws concerning Contracts and Injuries. He added two Hills to the former five, *viz.* the *Viminal* and *Eſquiline*, in the latter whereof he lived himſelf; and was the laſt man, if ſome rightly obſerve, that inlarged the *Pomœrium* of the City, the Wall whereof was never any farther ſtretched out, though very large Suburbs were afterwards added.

ded. After he had compaſſed all the Seven Hills within one Wall, he diſtinguiſhed the City into four parts, and, in ſtead of three, made four Tribes. And as *Romulus* diſtinguiſhed the People, according to their Seats and Communion in Sacrifices, into *Tribes* and *Curiæ*; ſo *Servius*, making every one give an account how much he was worth, according to their riches divided them into ſix Ranks, or *Claſſes*. Of theſe, the firſt and higheſt conſiſted of ſuch as were worth 110000 Aſſes (each of which anſwereth to *ob. q.* of our money,) the next four decreaſed in value a fourth part; and in the laſt were contained all ſuch whoſe Eſtates were of little or no value.

The *Cenſus.*

31. The *Claſſes* he did alſo ſo ſubdivide into *Centuries*, that 193 were made in all: his deſign herein being to know certainly how many were fit to bear Arms, and what Treaſure might be ſupplied for Wars, or other occaſions. He alſo firſt ordained the *Luſtrum* (ſo named *à Luendo*, (from *paying*) ſaith *Varro*, as *Fluſtrum à Fluendo*) to be celebrated after this *Cenſus*, or value of each according to their ſubſtance. On a certain day after the valuation, he enacted that all the Citizens ſhould meet in their Armour in the *Campus Martius*, every one in his ſeveral *Claſſis* and *Century*; where by ſacrifice the City was expiated, or *Luſtrated*. This Solemnity was termed *Solitaurilia*, (or rather *Suovetaurilia*,) becauſe an *Hog*, *Sheep*, and *Oxe* were ſacrificed, as we reade in *Quintilian*. Theſe things being performed, the *Luſtrum* was finiſhed, which, becauſe of continual change of mens Eſtates, he ordained ſhould be reiterated every five years; ſo that he (who begun it according to *Lipſius*, in his twelfth year) celebrated it himſelf four times, according to *Valerius Maximus*. Every fifth year the *Tribute* or *Tax* (called *Cenſus*) was *paid*; and thence *Luſtrum* ſeemeth to have had its name. After the Baniſhment of the Kings, the Conſuls managed this buſineſs, till the *Cenſors* (Magiſtrates proper to the work) were brought in. Laſtly, *Joſeph Scaliger* telleth us, we muſt diſtinguiſh the old *Roman Luſtrum* from the later or *Julian*, which is onely a Syſteme of four *Julian* years, whereof the laſt conſiſteth of 366 days abſolutely without any overplus of hours. For the *old* and *proper* Luſtrum contained five years compleat, which that cited by Cicero, concerning the *Cenſors*, out of the Laws of the Twelve Tables, *Let them be two, Let them obtain the Magiſtracy for five years*, maketh manifeſt: ſo that this *Luſtrum* cannot anſwer to an *Olympiad*, properly ſo called; of which beginners are to take notice.

Luſtrum.

De Lingua Latina lib. 5.

Lib. 1. cap. 5.

Lib. 3. cap. 4.

De legibus l. 3.

Dionyſ. ut ſupra.

32. Of the ſix *Claſſes*, which contained 193 *Centuries*, the *firſt* and richeſt was divided into 98, the *Equites* or *Horſemen* being counted in; the *ſecond* into 22, taking in *Artificers*; the *third* into 22, the *fourth* 20, the *fifth* 30; and the *ſixth* and laſt, of the poorer ſort, made up but one *Century*. Men and monies being levied according to theſe *Centuries*, and not by poll, (each *Century* ſuch a quantity) it came to paſs, that the richeſt being fewer, yet divided into more *Centuries*, (here the word is not to be taken for 100 perſons preciſely, being made uſe of onely to expreſs ſuch a Diviſion) were never free from warfare, and contributed alſo more money then the reſt: they that were but moderately or meanly provided of wealth, being exceeded by the other in twenty *Centuries*, went to the War by turns, and paid but little Tribute: and they that had not any eſtate to ſpeak on underwent no burthens. This ſeemed very juſt and equal to him, that they who were moſt concerned ſhould take moſt pains, and bear the greateſt charge; the *Romans* at that time maintaining themſelves in the Wars without any pay from the publick. But the richer ſort, ſomething grieved to undergo all charge and danger, for the preſervation of others as well as themſelves, *Servius* ſufficiently ſatisfied and requited, by giving them in a manner the whole prerogative in matters of State, the poorer being almoſt wholly removed from any power in the Commonwealth, though at firſt they did not perceive it.

The *Centuries* and *Centuriata Comitia.*

33. This Secret lay in the *Comitia* or *Aſſemblies*, where the People reſolved about the moſt important affairs; theſe three things being in their power, viz. *Creation of Magiſtrates* as well *Military* as *Civil*, *making or abrogating Laws*, and *decreeing Peace or War*: concerning which things the Suffrages of the ſeveral *Curiæ* were wont to be gathered, and the Vote of the pooreſt availed as much as that of the richeſt perſon; whence the poorer ſort, being much more numerous than the rich, ever prevailed by their Multitudes. *Tullius* underſtanding this, in ſtead of thoſe of the *Curiæ*, called the *Comitia* of the *Centuries* upon ſuch occaſions. Firſt of all were called the *Centuries* of the firſt or richeſt *Claſſis*, *viz.* the 18 of *Equites* or *Horſemen*, and the 80 of *Footmen*; which being three more in number then all the reſt beſides, if they all agreed, they overcame in number, and there was no need of calling any of the others to the vote: if they diſagreed, the 22 *Centuries* of the ſecond *Claſſis* were called, and, if need were, the third *Claſſis*, and the fourth, till

97 *Centuries* agreed in their Suffrages. If this happened not after the calling of the fifth, (192 *Centuries* being divided equally in number, and of ſeveral opinions) then was the ſixth *Claſſis* called, containing the laſt *Century*, free from Tributes and War; and to which ſide it joyned, that overcame.

34. This rarely happened, and was almoſt impoſſible, the *Comitia* being ended moſt commonly by the firſt call; but however, ſeldom came it to the fourth *Claſſis*, ſo that the two laſt were ſupervacaneous. By this Conſtitution the poorer ſort were deceived, thinking it enough that every man, as well one as another, gave his Suffrage, and not conſidering that the Suffrage of the whole *Century* was but one, whether it contained more or fewer perſons in it. But at length, ſeeing themſelves freed from danger and charge, they were content; and the richer, injoying ſuch privileges for their pains and coſt, were well ſatisfied. And this order was kept for many Ages; till afterwards, by the violent actings of ſome, the Common ſort got more power, as *Dionyſius* himſelf obſerved the Innovation to have broken in in his time. At the firſt *Luſtrum* were found 84700 Citizens; but to increaſe their number, he brought in the cuſtom of making Slaves free of the Commonwealth, whom being before manumitted or ſet free, he diſtributed into the four Tribes of the City.

The cuſtom of manumitting Slaves.

35. Theſe Slaves were either made, or born ſuch, as *Juſtinian* the Emperor diſtinguiſheth them. The former ſort were either taken in War,(then properly called *Mancipia*) or as ſuch bought of the publick,or of ſome private man. The latter were thoſe that were born either of both Parents being ſuch, or of the Mother onely. At firſt they obtained their Liberty *gratis*, by well deſerving ſome way of their Maſters, or ſome by payment of money earned by their honeſt labours, they having a certain *Peculium*, though all was ſaid to belong to their Maſters. But in proceſs of time, when the *Romans* degenerated from their former worth and honour, ſome by Robberies, others by breaking of houſes and other villanies, got money, whereby they purchaſed their Freedom. Some by helping their Maſters in theſe things obtained Liberty as a reward; others on condition to let them enjoy the monthly allowance of Corn out of the publick purſe, or other Largeſſes conferred by Princes upon poor Citizens. Sometimes they were manumitted through the levity and vain-glory of their Lords; ſome having by their Teſtaments ſet at liberty all their Slaves, to obtain a fame of clemency after their death, and that their Funerals might be celebrated by a great train of ſuch as wore caps upon that occaſion; in which pomp a thouſand Rogues have been ſeen, who much better deſerved hanging. This was laid to the charge of the Miſtreſs of the World, that challenging the Empire over all, ſhe ſhould defile her ſelf with ſuch impure Citizens: which cuſtom might have been reformed, as *Dionyſius* obſerveth, by the care of the *Cenſors*, who, inquiring into the lives of *Senators* and *Knights*, never conſidered what perſons were unfit to be admitted *Free-men*.

Tullius clippeth the King's power.

36. *Tullius* not onely clipped the power of the *Patritians* and *Senate*, but took away half of the King's Prerogative alſo. Whereas the former Princes called before themſelves all Controverſies, and took cogniſance of crimes as well committed againſt particular perſons as the publick, he ſeparated theſe Cauſes, making himſelf Judge of ſuch as reſpected the Commonwealth, and referring the quarrels of private perſons unto others, to whom he preſcribed Laws and Rules to go by. After he had thus ordered the Commonwealth, he cauſed the *Latines* to build a Temple at *Rome* to *Diana*, upon the *Aventine* Hill, whereat they ſhould meet and feaſt every year, and ſo preſerve themſelves as one body politick in unity and concord. If any controverſy aroſe betwixt particular Towns, it was to be decided by the judgement of others, in ſuch a manner as the *Amphictyones* in Greece were wont to proceed, the Council of the *Ionians* at the Temple of *Epheſus*, and that of the *Dorienſes* in the Temple of *Apollo*, built by common conſent at *Epitropium*. Theſe things were done by *Tullius* at home, according to *Dionyſius*, *Livie*, and others: to which we may adde from *Pliny*, that he firſt ſtamped money with the image of Cattel, whence it was called *Pecunia*, whereas the *Romans* before his time uſed it in a rude lump or Maſs. As for his actions abroad; he warred with the *Hetruſcans* 20 years, who refuſed to obey him, as an obſcure man, and renounced the League formerly made. In all Battels, both with the united Nation and particular Cities, he ever had the better, triumphed over them thrice, and at length forced them to ſubmit to the yoak on the ſame terms as formerly *Tarquinius* had impoſed it, except that from three Towns, that had been principal in the Revolt, he took part of their Grounds, which he divided to thoſe that had newly been made free of the City. Having done theſe things at home and abroad, when he was grown old and not far from the natural period of his life, he periſhed by the devices of *Tarquinius* his Son-in-law, and of his own Daughter.

Is murthered by his Son-in-law and his own Daughter.

37. *Tullius* had two Daughters by his Wife *Tarquinia*, which he married to their two Couſin-germans, the Grand-ſons of *Tarquinius*, joyning them in wedlock according to their age, as he thought it moſt equal and convenient. But it happened that they were matched together with thoſe of diſpoſitions clean contrary to one another. *Lucius*, the elder, a man of a bold, arrogant, and tyrannical nature, had an honeſt, modeſt Wife, and one moſt dutifull towards her Father: on the contrary, *Aruns Tarquinius*, the younger, being of a mild and ſweet diſpoſition, lighted on a wicked Woman, one of a bitter ſpirit againſt her Father, ready to attempt any thing. *Lucius* breaking out into paſſion againſt his Father-in-law, for keeping the Kingdom from him, was ſtill appeaſed by his Wife: but *Aruns* being content to ſtay his time, and averſe to any thing that might ſavour of diſreſpect to *Tullius*, was importuned ever and diſquieted by his Wife's earneſt and tedious ſolicitations, to attempt the utmoſt, though with the deſtruction of her Father, for the obtaining of the Sovereignty. This Woman being impatient of her Husband's backwardneſs, and bewitched by the fury of Ambition, reſolved to change Husbands, if it might be, and match her ſelf to the other *Tarquin*, who ſuited well with her own humor. She brake her mind to *Lucius*, telling him of what a ſordid ſpirit they were, to ſuffer an Uſurper ſo long to poſſeſs their Patrimony, railing againſt her own Husband, as a man of a poor and degenerate diſpoſition; and at length made a proffer for them two to diſpatch out of the way their preſent unequal Yoak-fellows, and then unite themſelves in that relation, thereby to bring about their noble and gallant Deſign. He was not backward to a compliance, and the device was accordingly brought about. After which, they reſolved by force to expell *Tullius* from the Kingdom, if he would not give place on his own accord, raiſing a Faction of the *Patritians*, that were diſcontented with the King's new modelling of the State, and the pooreſt *Plebeians*, whoſe aſſiſtance they purchaſed openly, without any reſpect to right or modeſty. *Tullius* was not ignorant what they intended, and feared alſo to be deſtroyed ere he could provide for his defence; yet thinking it an unſeemly thing to make War upon his Son-in-law and his own Daughter, and puniſh them as Enemies, he indeavoured by fair means to take them off; before their Friends, blaming, admoniſhing, and dehorting *Tarquinius* from the intended injury.

38. Effecting nothing hereby, but the other ſaying, that he would plead his cauſe in the *Senate*, he called together the *Fathers*, and gave him liberty to ſpeak. *Tarquin* laid his claim to the Kingdom, as his Grand-father's Heir, and alleged, that *Tullius* kept it from him unjuſtly, having got all his preferment from their Family, and obtained the place illegally, without the conſent of the *Senate*. *Tullius* replied, that the Kingdom was in the power of the People, to diſpoſe of it to whomſoever they would; which he proved from the Example of *Tarquinius Priſcus*, who, being a Stranger, was preferred before the *Marcii*. He mentioned how well he had deſerved of him, by protecting and taking care of him in his Minority; and as for his coming to the Government without the ordinary aſſent of the *Senate*, that concerned the *Fathers*, and not him. He then appealed to the *Senate*, whether ever he had wronged or carried himſelf arrogantly towards any of them, that they ſhould conſpire with his Son-in-law againſt him; and in concluſion told them, that if they thought *Tarquinius* the fitter man, he ſhould not be againſt the profit of the Commonwealth, but retire to a private life, and let the World ſee, he could as readily obey as be obeyed, after he had reſtored the Honour to thoſe from whom he had received it. Having ſtruck a great reverence of him into the *Senate*, he aſſembled the People, to whom, after a great complaint againſt *Tarquin*, and a recital of what good things he had performed for the Publick, he offered to reſign his place; but was confirmed therein, and after he had refuſed to give ear to ſuch as would have *Tarquin* diſpatched, with great acclamations brought home to his houſe by the multitude.

39. *Tarquin* thus prevented of what he expected from the *Patritians*, counterfeited repentance, and a deſire to be reconciled to the King, which was eaſily obtained. Covered with this Cloak he laid his deſigns anew, and being continually ſolicited by his Wife to attempt ſomething worthy of a Kingdom, took his opportunity on a day when moſt of the people were out of the City, with the Robes of Eſtate, and all Royal Enſigns as King, to go to the Senate-houſe. There he preſumed to call together the Fathers, and, ſuch being aſſembled as were appointed beforehand, he took poſſeſſion of the King's Seat. *Tullius* having notice hereof, unadviſedly with a few followers haſted thither, admiring the young man's impudence, whom ſeeing in his Chair, he fell of rating, and received as bad language; then going about to thruſt him out, *Tarquin* took him up by the midde, and haling

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him to the door, threw him down the ſtairs into the *Comitium.* The old man hardly recovering his ſpirits was led homewards, when his Daughter, *Tarquin's* Wife, being come in her Chariot to ſee the event, ſaluted her Husband as King, but told him his Principality would be but uncertain, except, perfecting what he had begun, he would ſend ſome who ſhould overtake and diſpatch *Tullius.* He took her advice, and the feat being done, ſhe preſently returned home the ſame way. In her paſſage when ſhe came to the place where the body lay as yet almoſt gaſping, her Chariot-driver ſtood ſtill, confounded at the ſight, and not having room to paſs beſides it. Hereat ſhe reviled him, and cauſed him to drive her over it, after ſhe had firſt thrown her footſtool at his head. The place, formerly called *Cyprius Vicus*, was afterwards named *Sceleratus*, from that occaſion. To this end came *Servius Tullius*, after he had reigned 44 years, a man juſt and moderate, who aboliſhed the envy contracted in his illegal aſſumption, by his after-acts, and was thought, if he had not been prevented, to have intended to lay down his Office, and reſtore abſolute Liberty with the care of the Commonwealth to the People; which ſome of the *Patritians* perceiving, took in the intereſt of *Tarquinius*, that they might preſerve their own power.

Dionyſ. & Feſtus in voce Sceleratus Vicus.

Dionyſ. lib. 4. *Livius l.* 1. *Florus l.* 1. *c.* 7.

Lucius Tarquinius, ſurnamed *Superbus.*

40. *Lucius Tarquinius* obtained the Kingdom by violence in the fourth year of the 61. *Olympiad*, wherein *Agatharchus* was *Victor*, when *Heraclius* (or rather *Heraclides*) was *Archon* at *Athens.* By his Tyrannical and imperious carriage he ſoon got the ſurname of *Superbus*, as that of *Priſcus*, for diſtinction, was given to his Grand-father. He would not ſuffer his Father-in-law's body to be buried publickly, for fear it ſhould give occaſion to the people to riſe againſt him, ſaying, that *Romulus* died without Burial. He murthered ſuch as he ſuſpected to favour the cauſe of *Tullius*, and fearing what end his wickedneſs might bring upon him, got to him a ſtrong Guard which continually attended his perſon. He reigned onely by his own arbitrary will, neither ſtanding upon the conſent of the *Senate* nor People. As for the former, he much diminiſhed it by the murther of the richer ſort, whoſe wealth he ſeized on for his own uſe, and reſolved to chuſe no more in, that it might wear out, and grow contemptible. All Controverſies he decided himſelf, aſſiſted by his intimate friends, and took cognizance of all Offences, ſo as he might kill, baniſh, or fine at his pleaſure. He ſought to eſtabliſh himſelf and confirm his Tyranny by great Alliance, marrying his Daughter to *Octavius Mamilius*, the greateſt man amongſt the *Latines*, (being deſcended from *Telegonus* the ſon of *Ulyſſes* by *Circe*;) and by falſe accuſation and a cunning device cauſed them to ſtone *Turnus Herdonius*, who had diſcovered to them his baſeneſs and villanies. He began a War with the *Volſci*, which ended not with him, but laſted above 200 years; and ſubdued the *Sabines*, who refuſed to obey him. From the *Volſci* he took *Sueſſa Pometia*, (where getting much plunder, he firſt caſt in his head the deſign of building a Temple to *Jupiter*, which his Grand-father had formerly vowed) and afterwards the City *Gabii* by treachery, making *Sextus* his eldeſt Son to counterfeit flight from him for hard uſage, whereby he was made their General, and having, according to the ſecret advice of his Father, (who, in imitation of *Thraſybulus* the *Mileſian*, carried the meſſenger into the field, and cut down the talleſt Poppies, diſmiſſing him without any other meſſage) put to death the moſt principal Citizens, at length eaſily betrayed it into his hands. After this he made peace with the *Æqui*, and renewed the League with the *Tuſcans.* Then went he forward with the work of the Temple formerly deſigned.

A. M. 3471. *V. C.* 220. *Olymp.* 61. *an.* 4. *Cyri* 26.

His Wars.

Buildeth the Capitol.

The Capitol.

41. *Tarquinius Priſcus*, in his laſt War with the *Sabines*, made a Vow, that if he got the Victory, he would build Temples to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*; and with great coſt had in his life-time levelled the Rock, and formed a plot for the Building; but died before he could finiſh the work. *Tarquinius* his Grand-ſon, reſolving to perfect what he had begun with the plunder of *Sueſſa*, ſet on all ſorts of workmen; at which time, as they were digging to lay the foundation, a man's Head was found bleeding afreſh, which belonging to one called *Tolus*, thence the building had the name of *Capitol.* He perfected a great part of the Temple, but could not conſummate the work, being prevented by Exile; which was finiſhed by the City in the third Conſulſhip after its Freedom. It was ſeated upon an high Cragge, eight Acres in compaſs, almoſt two hundred foot wide on every ſide, and almoſt of the ſame length and breadth, as differing onely in fifteen feet. After it had ſtood 425 years from its Dedication, it was conſumed by fire in the days of *Sylla*, when *L. Scipio* and *Caius Norbanus* were Conſuls, as *Tacitus* writeth: Yet it roſe again with greater coſt and ornament on the ſame foundation. Its front looking toward the South had a Porch, or Gallery, with three rows of Pillars: on each ſide were alſo

Hiſt. l. 3. *c.* 14.

alſo a double row. The three Temples were contained within the ſame Walls, the middle belonging to *Jupiter*, and the other two to *Juno* and *Minerva*, under the ſame roof.

42. In the time of this *Tarquinius*, another great bleſſing, as it was counted, happened to the *Romans*. A certain ſtrange Woman came to the King, offering to ſell nine Books of the Oracles of *Sibyl:* which when he refuſed to buy at her rate, ſhe went away, and burning three of them, returned; and demanded as much for the ſix. Being derided for a mad woman, ſhe departed, and burning half of them, returned with the other three, ſtill asking as much as at the firſt. Whereat *Tarquin* aſtoniſhed, ſent for the *Augures* to know her meaning; who anſwered, that the Nine ought to have been bought, and the Three were to be purchaſed at the ſame Rate. The Woman after the ſale and delivery vaniſhed, and never after could be ſeen. *Tarquin* choſe two men out of the Nobility to keep them, to whom he allowed two publick ſervants. After his Expulſion the people elected moſt noble perſons, who all their lives executing this Office were freed from all other burthens, both Military and Civil, to whom onely it was lawfull to look in them. No ſacred thing was ſo carefully kept as theſe *Sibylline Oracles*. They were conſulted by decree of the Senate when the Commonwealth was diſturbed by any Seditions, when any great Overthrow was received in War, or any Prodigies happened. They were kept by the *Decemviri*, or Ten men appointed to this Office, within a Vault under the *Capitol*, in a ſtone Cheſt, till they periſhed at the burning of the place. Thoſe that the *Romans* uſed afterwards were copied out of ſuch as belonged to other Cities, and private perſons, wherein were ſome ſuppoſititious things, which they diſtinguiſhed by the difference of the *Acroſticks*.

Sibyls.

Sibyls books.

43. The Woman that brought thoſe Books to *Tarquin* having the name of *Sibylla*, and there being many found to whom it hath been given beſides, ſomething is to be ſaid of thoſe Women, for diſtinction. The firſt *Sibylla*, or Woman-Propheteſs, (to which the * Counſel of *Jupiter* was communicated, as the word importeth) was a *Perſian*, according to (*a*) *Varro*, or elſe a *Chaldæan*, or an *Hebreweſs*, born at *Noe*, a City near the *Red-Sea:* her name was *Sambetha*, her father called *Baroſſus* and her mother *Erymantha*. The ſecond was a *Libyan*. *Themis* of *Delphos* was the third. The fourth was called *Cumæa*, becauſe ſhe was born at *Cimærium*, a Town of *Campania* in *Italy*, near to *Cuma*. The fifth of *Erythræ*, a City of *Ionia* in *Aſia*, at this day called *Cabo Bianco*. The ſixth was of the Iſland *Samus*, her name being *Phyto*. The ſeventh of *Cuma*, and called *Cumana*, her proper name being *Amalthea*, according to ſome; but *Herophile* and *Demophila* according to others. *Suidas* calleth her *Hierophile*, and ſaith ſhe brought nine Books to *Tarquinius Priſcus*, and demanded for them 300 Philippines, being Gold Coyn of *Philip* King of *Macedonia*. *Pliny*, contrary to the common account of Writers, mentioneth three books, not nine, and writeth that ſhe burnt two of them. But the eighth was called *Helleſpontiaca*, being born in the *Trojan* Country upon the *Helleſpont*, in a Village named *Marmiſſus* near to *Gergetium*, which *Heraclides* of *Pontus* affirmed to have flouriſhed in the days of *Solon* and *Cyrus*. The ninth was a *Phrygian*, and propheſied at *Ancyra*. The tenth was of *Tybur*, by name *Albanea*, being worſhipped for a Goddeſs at that place, near the Banks of the River *Aniene*, wherein her Image is ſaid to have been found holding a Book in one hand. Theſe ten are reckoned by *Varro*. There were ſeveral others alſo. (*b*) *Strabo* maketh two to have lived at *Erythræ*, whereof the latter flouriſhed in the time of *Alexander*. There was another of *Colophon*, a City of *Ionia*. *Eliſſa*, and *Caſſandra* the Daughter of *Priamus*, were accounted *Sibyls*. There were alſo a *Theſſalian*, *Manto* the Daughter of *Tireſias* the *Theban*, and another of *Epirus*. Moreover, *Carmentis* the *Arcadian*, the Mother of *Evander* and *Fauna*, or *Fatua*, the Siſter and Wife of *Faunus*, King of the *Aborigenes* in *Italy*, might be reckoned in the number.

* Σιὸς βȣλή.

(*a*) *Vide Ludov. Vivem in Auguſtin. de Civitate Dei, lib. 18. cap. 23.*

(*b*) *Lib. 14. pag.* 633.

The ſiege of *Ardea*.

44. In the work of the *Capitol Tarquin* employed the people, and in other baſer works, wherewith he even tired them out; ſo that to appeaſe them, and eſpecially to recruit his own Coffers, he made War againſt the *Rutuli*, and beſieged the rich City *Ardea*, five German miles, toward the Eaſt, diſtant from *Rome*. The Quarrel he pretended to be, for that they received the *Roman* Exiles, and endeavoured to reſtore them: but the true cauſe was his thirſt after the Riches of this moſt flouriſhing place, once the Metropolis of the *Rutuli*. While he lay before this Town, taking great pains to gain it, and the other as eagerly reſiſting, (yet ſo as he ſeemed to have hope to carry it) an act of his eldeſt Son *Sextus* occaſioned both the freedom of the one and other City. *Dionyſius* writeth, that he was ſent to *Collatia* about ſome buſineſs concerning the War, and going to the

Sextus Tarquinius raviſheth *Lucretia*.

houſe of *Tarquinius Collatinus* his Kinſman, (Grand-ſon to *Egerius* the Nephew of *Priſcus*) he raviſhed his Wife *Lucretia*, the Daughter of *Lucretius* a Noble *Roman*. *Livy* and *Aurelius Victor* relate, that the Courtiers drinking together in the Camp before *Ardea*, and with them *Tarquinius Collatinus* the Son of *Egerius*, they fell ſeverally on praiſing each one his own Wife; inſomuch as proceeding to an earneſt diſpute, *Collatinus* ſaid there needed not many words, for that they might ſee within a few hours how far his *Lucretia* excelled them all; and he deſired them to ride to the ſeveral places, and judge according as they ſhould find. Being well heated with wine they agreed to this motion, and away they rode. They found not *Lucretia* junketing, and idlely ſpending her time as the King's Daughters-in-law, but late at night hard at work amongſt her Maids; ſo that by conſent of all ſhe far excelled the reſt, and *Collatinus* nobly entertaining his Gueſts returned with them to the ſiege.

45. Now was *Sextus Tarquinius* inflamed with a luſtfull deſire after *Lucretia*, becauſe of her Beauty, and, as it happeneth towards difficult or forbidden things, the more becauſe of her eminent Chaſtity. Within few days, without the knowledge of her Husband, accompanied onely with one ſervant, he returned to *Collatia*, where being kindly entertained by her, he was brought to his Bed-chamber: but when he thought all aſleep, having obſerved where ſhe lay, with a naked Dagger he went to her, and laying his hand on her breaſt, threatned her with death if ſhe offered to ſtir. He mixed threats with fair words, but yet could not prevail, till he told her he would firſt kill her, and then his Slave, whom laying by her ſide, he would report it was for having ſurprized her in Adultery with him; whereby obtaining his prey, in the morning he departed. When he was gone, ſhe ſent for her Father from *Rome*, and her Husband from the Camp, (or ſay ſome, went her ſelf to the City) deſiring they would call together ſome friends, for that a matter of great importance had befallen her. With *Lucretius* came *Publius Valerius*, and with *Collatinus*, *Junius Brutus*; who finding her in her Chamber in a ſad and afflicted condition, ſhe told them the whole matter, refuſed to admit any comfort, and intreating them to revenge her cauſe upon the Author of her ſorrow, ſtabbed her ſelf to the heart before them, with a knife ſhe had kept cloſe about her for that purpoſe.

Lucretia killeth her ſelf.

Junius Brutus.

46. *Lucius Junius*, ſurnamed *Brutus*, was the Son of *Marcus Junius*, who being deſcended from one of the Companions of *Æneas*, and, for his Vertue, very eminent amongſt the *Romans*, married *Tarquinia* the Daughter of *Tarquinius Priſcus*, of which he begat this *Lucius*. This *Lucius* was nobly educated, inſtructed in all diſciplines of the City, and of a pregnant wit. But after that *Tarquin* had privily murthered his Father, (not for any offence, but to poſſeſs his great eſtate, as he did ſeveral others) and with him his eldeſt Brother, who ſeemed to bear ſuch a mind as would revenge the injury, he being young, and deſtitute of any aſſiſtance from his kindred, counterfeited himſelf a fool, which he acted all along, and thence had the ſurname of *Brutus*; this being the ſole remedy againſt the cruelty of the Tyrant, who thinking his folly not feigned but real, deſpiſed the man, and having ſpoiled him of his Patrimony, kept him as an Ideot in his houſe, and ſuffered him to converſe with his Children, not out of reſpect as a Kinſman, but to make them ſport by his ridiculous words and actions, as true Ideots are wont to doe. On a time a great Peſtilence having ſeized on the City, he ſent him to *Delphos* with his two Sons *Sextus* and *Titus*, to conſult the Oracle. They were glad they had him to make them merry, and laughed at him for offering to *Apollo* a wooden ſtaff, wherein yet he had ſecretly put ſome Gold, having made it hollow for that purpoſe. Having privately enquired which of them ſhould be Prince of *Rome*, it was anſwered, he who firſt of all ſhould kiſs his Mother; which the young men miſunderſtanding, agreed betwixt themſelves, that at their rettrn they would doe it, and ſo reign, joyntly together. But *Brutus*, as ſoon as they arrived in *Italy*, knowing the meaning of the Oracle, fell and kiſſed the Earth which is Mother of all. When, under the Vizard of a Fool, he waited for an opportunity to revenge himſelf and Family upon *Tarquin*, this diſaſter of *Lucretia* at length preſented it ſelf.

He urgeth the baniſhment of *Tarquin*.

47. Being ſent for beforehand, or coming in with *Collatinus* his Kinſman after the death of *Lucretia*, as *Dionyſius* writeth, while her Husband and Friends were lamenting over the dead body, he told them it was not time now to weep, but to ſtudy how to revenge the injury. He acquainted them with the cauſe of his aſſuming the name and behaviour of an *Ideot*, and manifeſting himſelf to be a moſt cunning man, deſired they might unanimouſly joyn for the Expulſion of *Tarquinius*

nius and his Friends from the City, ſpeaking many things efficacious to perſwade them to it. Finding every one very ready, he ſaid there was no need of words and promiſes, but real deeds, if they meant to perform any thing, and that he firſt would begin. Then went he to the dead body, and taking the bloudy knife in his hand, ſware by *Mars* and the reſt of their Gods, to caſt out *Tarquinius Superbus* with his wicked Wife and Progeny, to proſecute them or their Friends with fire and ſword, or any other way, and never after that to ſuffer the *Tarquins*, or any other to reign in *Rome*. He made them all ſucceſſively take the ſame Oath; then for the way how to bring the matter about, ſaid, the Gates of the City ſhould be ſafely kept, that the King might not hear the leaſt word, till he who was Prince of the Sacrificers, ſhould, as he might by his place, aſſemble the people, to which the dead Body being exhibited, and *Lucretius* with *Collatinus* deploring their condition, they might procure the Baniſhment of *Tarquin* by a publick Decree, that ſhould be preſently diſpatched to the Army for its concurrence.

48. But before *Tarquinius* ſhould be removed, they thought it Wiſedom to conſider what Magiſtracy was fit to ſucceed his; leſt they ſhould pull down the preſent dwelling before another houſe was prepared. Some were for *Monarchy*, as indeed the beſt of Governments; others for *Ariſtocracy*, or the Rule of the *Senate*; and others would have the whole Power put into the hands of the *People*: each party bringing examples of good Government in the ſeveral kinds. *Brutus* ſaid the time was ſhort, and theſe matters required mature deliberation, which neither at length could produce ſuch a form as would be void of all inconveniencies. He ſaid, he hoped that after the expulſion of the Tyrants, they ſhould have leiſure to conſider how they might beſt reform the Commonwealth, *if any better way could be found out than what* Romulus, Pompilius, *and the other Kings had chalked out to them, wherein proceeding, till* Tarquin *forſook the path, the City had been happy and famous, both for its Acts abroad, and Conſtitutions at home.* This he could not deny: yet however, he thought thoſe incommodities, as he called them, had procured the Kingly power to degenerate into Tyranny; and therefore were at preſent to be aboliſhed, and to be taken heed of for the time to come. As firſt, becauſe ſome men made a great matter of very Names, he thought that of a *Kingdom* was to be left off, and the other of *Commonwealth* to be aſſumed; and that for the Title of *King* and *Monarch*, ſome more modeſt and popular was to be invented. Then the Regal power he judged not ſafely to be intruſted with a ſingle perſon; but that two were to be choſen, who ſhould Govern with equal command and authority, and ſo be a counter-poize each to other. Of all royal Enſigns or Ornaments, ſuch as procured the envy and grudge of the People were to be laid aſide, viz. *Scepters*, *golden Crowns*, and *purple Robes* of *Cloth of gold*, except upon Feſtival days, and in triumphal Pomps; which rare uſe of them would not be at all ſpoken againſt: but as for the *Ivory Chair* in which they ſate in Judgment, with the *white Robe* edged with Purple, called *Prætexta*, and the twelve *Lictors* or *Sergeants*, bearing Rods and Axes, they were to be continued. He added, that the main thing to keep theſe Magiſtrates in order, was, to prevent their perpetual Power, which would keep them from giving account of their Actions: wherefore he thought fit their Magiſtracy, after the manner of *Athens*, ſhould be but *Annual*, that ſo each one might learn as well to be ſubject as to govern, and this would preſerve the mind from being drunk with too much liberty. Laſtly, that the name of *King* might not utterly periſh, (whence may be concluded, that his judgement was not againſt the Office, though his paſſion was) he would have the title given to one who ſhould be called *Rex Sacrorum*, and having this honour for his life, with immunity from warfare, ſhould meddle with nothing elſe but theſe ſuperſtitious Rites, of which the Kings had charge before.

Preſcribeth a new model of Government.

Dionyſius.

49. Having firſt got a Decree of the *Senate* for the King's Baniſhment, according to the cuſtom of publick proceeding, the *Comitia* were aſſembled by *Brutus*, and the Body of *Lucretia* brought in her gore into the meeting-place, where it was ſet for a ſpectacle to all. *Brutus* then diſcovered himſelf, told them why he had ſeemed what he now appeared never to have been; and then declared the occaſion of their meeting to be, that the *Patritians* might have their aſſent for baniſhing *Tarquin*, who, having obtained the Principality illegally, had abuſed it more than any Tyrant that was ever heard of. He illuſtrated his aſſertion by a relation of his Crimes: as of his poyſoning his own Brother before he was King, together with his lawfull Wife, and marrying the other Siſter that was partaker with him in his wickedneſs; his killing *Servius Tullius*, and ſtrangling his Wife whom he ought to have reſpected as Parents; then his invading the Government, without Decree

of Senate or Suffrages of the People, by force of Arms. He reckoned up the injuries received by the *Patritians*, moſt of whom he had made away, and reduced the reſt to the eſtate of beggars; how from the *Plebeians* he had taken *Laws*, *Religious Meetings*, the *Comitia* and *Suffrages*, and uſed them no better than Slaves bought with money. He then demanded how long they ſhould endure this bondage; whether no longer than till the death of *Tarquin:* whenas he had three Sons more wicked and miſchievous than himſelf, eſpecially the elder, which he proved by the ſpectacle before their eyes; telling them then the whole ſtory. This advantage he improved to the utmoſt, ſhewing how the *King* being now abſent, and the *Patritians* reſolved, nothing could be wanting to them, if they had but courage for the enterprize; not Men, Money, Arms, Captains, nor foreign aid: urging, that it was a ſhame they ſhould think of commanding the *Volſci*, *Sabines*, or others, and be Slaves to others at home; or maintain ſo many Wars for to ſerve the Ambition of *Tarquin*, and undertake none for their own Liberty. As for the Army now at the Siege, there was no fear, but that for their own freedom and accommodation, they would readily cloſe with them; and if any ſhould be found to intend the contrary, they had their Wives and Children as Hoſtages in the City, whereby they might eaſily draw them off.

The people decree *Tarquinius* his Baniſhment.

50. The Multitude being variouſly affected with hope of Liberty, and fear to miſs of it, during his Speech, yet made acclamations to the particulars, and at the end, with one voice deſired he would give them Arms. He ſaid he would, if firſt they would confirm what was offered from the *Fathers*, as the beginning of their Liberty; and therewithall recited the form of this ſevere Decree, *that the* Tarquinii *ſhould be baniſhed with all their Off-ſpring, and be capital for any one to ſpeak or act for their return.* The ſeveral *Curiæ* being called, confirmed it by all their Suffrages; which being done, he acquainted them how it was agreed, that unto two men the Government ſhould be committed, whom they ſhould elect in their *Centuriata Comitia*, which was alſo paſſed. Then according to the cuſtom, by vertue of his Office formerly mentioned, he named *Sp. Lucretius* to be *Inter-rex* for holding of the *Comitia* or *Aſſembly*; who adjourned the meeting to the *Campus Martius*, where it was the cuſtom for the *Romans* in their Armour to elect Magiſtrates. There he named *Brutus* and *Collatinus* (as was formerly agreed on betwixt the Conſpirators) for to have the Regal power, and the *Centuries* confirmed them by their Suffrages. In the mean time, whilſt theſe things were done in the City, *Tarquinius*, having heard by ſuch as eſcaped out ere the gates were ſhut, that *Brutus* called the people to their Liberty, making none acquainted but his Sons and ſome truſty Friends, with them rode away in all haſt, to prevent the general defection; but finding the Gates faſt ſhut, and the Walls full of Armed men, in great grief he returned to the Camp. There now he could not be received; for *Brutus* foreſeeing his ſudden coming, ſent Letters to the Army, (or went himſelf by another way than that he knew he would come) wherein he acquainted them with the Decree of the People, and deſired that they would revolt from the King. The Letters were read to the Souldiers by *T. Herminius* and *M. Horatius*, whom *Tarquin* had left to govern the Army; and they being called to give their Suffrages alſo by Centuries, all thought that what their Friends at home had done was to be approved, and would not admit the King at his return. Fruſtrated of this hope, he went to *Cære* in *Hetruria*, ſaith *Livie*, to *Gabii* ſaith *Dionyſius*, where he had made his Son *Sextus* King, now gray-headed, having reigned 25 years. *Herminius* and *Horatius* took Truce with the Enemy for 15 years, and breaking up the Siege before *Ardea*, returned with the Army. This happened in the 244. year of the City, after the account of *Cato*, but the 245. according to the computation of *Terentius Varro*, in the latter end of the 67. *Olympiad*, or the beginning of the 68. *A. M.* 3496. *Pliny* writeth, that it was the ſame year wherein the *Piſiſtratidæ* were baniſhed *Athens*; and *Clemens* joyneth it with the recovery of *Babylon* by *Darius Hyſtaſpis*. This was ſomewhat above twenty years after the beginning of *Cyrus*, and the deſtruction of the *Babylonian* Empire.

He is driven into exile.

A. M. 3496.
V. C. 245.
Olymp. 67. *an.* 4.
Darii 13.

AN INSTITUTION OF General Hiſtory.

The Firſt Part.

BOOK II.

Of the Perſian *Empire, and the Affairs of the World Contemporary with it.*

CHAP. I.

The *Perſian* Empire.

SECT. I.

From the beginning of the Empire of Cyrus, *to the death of* Cambyſes *his Son and Succeſſor.*

1. CYRUS having obtained the Empire of the Eaſt through the Conqueſt of *Babylon*, after a three years ſiege, as is conjectured, *Ezra.* 1. 11. was ſenſible of Gods providence therein (whom he underſtood to have foretold it, and called him by name above 100 years before he was born) and out of obedience to his decree, gave leave to all the *Jews* that were in Captivity in his Dominions, to return to their own Countrey, the 70 years of their exile foretold by *Jeremiah* the Prophet being now expired. The *Jews* return out of Captivity. In compliance with this opportunity *Zorubbabel* the ſon of *Salathiel*, and Grand-ſon to *Jechoniah* as Captain, with *Joſhua* the ſon of *Joſedec* (which *Joſedec* was brother to *Eſdras*, and ſon to *Seraiah* the Chief Prieſt, who being Counſellour to *Zedekiah* was ſlain by *Nebuchadneſar*, the year wherein *Jeruſalem* was taken) and 42462 *Jews* (as *Joſephus* reckoneth up the number) departed, and went into *Judæa*. *Antiqu.* l. 11. c. 1. Though the other Tribes formerly led into Captivity by *Salmanaſar* might have the ſame liberty of returning, yet having together with the memory of their antient Countrey loſt their affection to their God, and it, regarded not the time, the Lord having onely promiſed liberty of returning to thoſe that were exported by *Nebuchadneſar*. And a great part of the Tribe of *Judah* it ſelf (if not the greater) unwilling to leave their poſſeſſions got in a ſtrange Land, as alſo diſcouraged by the difficulties and troubles they were to undergo, preferred perpetual baniſhment before the ſeat and habitation of their Anceſtors.

2. In the ſecond year of the *Perſian* Empire, and the ſecond moneth, when all things were in a readineſs, according to Commiſſion given by the King (who defrayed the charge out of his own Revenue, and reſtored the Golden Veſſels carried away by *Nebuchadneſar*) the *Levites* were ſet over the work of the

A. M. 3474.
V. C. 223.
*Olymp.*62. *an.*2.

Sect. 1.

The ſecond Temple built at *Jeruſalem.*

Lords houſe, and *Zorubbabel* laid the foundation of the ſecond Temple, to the joy of the younger ſort born in Captivity, but with the lamentation of the elder, who had ſeen the glory of the former houſe. When the *Chuthites* (whom *Eſarhaddon* planted in *Samaria*) heard of their progreſs in the work, they firſt fraudulently offered their aſſiſtance, pretending the ſame religion, and being rejected ſo corrupted the Courtiers (who either kept the thing from *Cyrus*, or he was then buſied in his Wars, as *Joſephus* writeth) that the building was hindred for ſeveral years, untill the ſecond of *Darius*, the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes*. For this the Prophet *Daniel* (who was yet alive, and nigh 90 years old, as having been carried into Captivity 73 years before) mourned, and faſted three weeks, and had the great, and laſt Viſion concerning the future Kings of *Perſia*, of *Alexander* the Great, and his Succeſſors in *Aſia* and *Egypt*, untill the time of the *Haſmonæans*, or *Maccabees*. But whether he lived paſt the third year of *Cyrus* or no is uncertain. *Dan.* 10.

The end of *Cyrus* variouſly reported.

3. Concerning the end of *Cyrus* many and ſeveral things are written. According to *Herodotus*, *Trogus* and others he invaded the *Maſſagetes*, and periſhed in their Countrey. The Queen of this *Scythian* people named *Tomyris* he firſt made a pretence to ſue to for marriage, but ſhe being aware of this deſign to entrap her forbad him entrance; whereupon betaking himſelf from wiles to force he laid a Bridge over the River *Araxes*, and provided for the paſſing of his Army over. Whil'ſt he thus employed himſelf, ſhe was ſo hardy as to ſend him a meſſage, offering him either to invade her Countrey, or elſe to permit her a paſſage into his. Amazed at it, he referred the matter to his Council what ſhould be done therein, where ſome adviſed him to ſuffer her to paſs the River, but *Cræſus* ſtifly oppoſed it, ſhewing the danger in caſe he were overthrown but in one battle, and adviſed him after he had ſet over his men, and diſcovered the Enemy, to leave the weakeſt ſort amongſt his Army there in the Camp plentifully provided of ſtrong Wines, with which liquor being utterly unacquainted, they would make themſelves drunk, and ſo might be eaſily deſtroyed. This advice ſucceeded accordingly, and amongſt the reſt *Spargapiſes* the Queen's Son was taken priſoner, who as ſoon as he came to himſelf deſired to be looſed, and put an end to his life with his own hands, out of a deep ſence of his condition. His Mother knowing nothing of his death, with threatning language required *Cyrus* to diſmiſs him, and when ſhe ſaw he returned not, gathered together all her forces, wherewith counterfeiting flight ſhe trained the King into ſtreights, and by an ambuſh laid in the Mountains, cut him off with his whole Army to the number of 200000 men. His head ſhe caſt into a Baſon of Blood, upbraiding him with cruelty in theſe words: *Satisfie thy ſelf with blood after which thou haſt thirſted.* To this ſtory *Diodorus* addeth that ſhe nailed his Body to a Croſs. *Lib.* 2.

4. But *Cteſias* wrote that the laſt War he made was againſt the *Derbices*, a people alſo of *Scythia*, whom though he overcame, yet he received a wound in fight, of which he dyed three days after. *Xenophon* ſaith he died aged, and in peace, and how finding himſelf almoſt ſpent, he called to him his friends, with his two ſons *Cambyſes* and *Smerdis*, or *Tanaoxares*, whom (after a long Oration, wherein he diſcourſed much concerning the immortality of the Soul, and the puniſhment and reward which is due to things committed in this life) he exhorted by the ſtrongeſt arguments to perpetual concord and love. If ſo, he acted like one that had received the knowledge of the true God, which he had opportunity alſo to know from *Daniel* and others, being by them inſtructed in the Scriptures. Some think that the variety of theſe reports proceeded from the ſtudy of the *Perſians* to conceal the ſhame of his being overthrown by the policy of a woman. Others obſerve, that had he loſt his whole Army in *Scythia*, it is ſcarce probable that his Son would have tranſported all his remaining Forces into *Egypt* ſo ſoon, and hereby leave that ſide of his Kingdom deſtitute and naked, when the *Scythian* Nation bordering upon *Media* was ſo victorious: not to add that *Cambyſes* would not have been able to undertake, and perform ſuch a Conqueſt in ſo little a ſpace. Conſiderable certainly is that which the Writers of *Alexander*'s Acts have committed to memory, as *Curtius*, *Plutarch*, *Arrianus*, and even *Ariſtobulus* (who by command of the King was an eye witneſs of it) as he is cited by *Strabo*: That he was buried in his own City *Paſagardis* in *Perſia*, where his Epitaph was plain to be read, in which after telling the Traveller who he was, he deſired him not to grudge him that Earth wherewith his Body was covered. The Tomb was opened by *Alexander*, either *Lib.* 15. *p.* 730. *Vide Plutarch. in Alexandro.*

Sect. 1.

ther out of hope to find ſome Treaſure, or (what was pretended) out of deſire to honour his dead body with ſome Ceremonies, and in it were found an old Target, two *Scythian* Bows and a Sword. The Coffin wherein he lay *Alexander* cauſed to be covered with his own Roab, and a Crown of Gold to be ſet thereon. Theſe things ſomething weaken the credit of that opinion which *Herodotus* relateth as the moſt probable of thoſe that were held in his time. But leſs credit is to be given to that * which will have him ſlain in a Sea-fight againſt the inhabitants of *Samus*; and * another that lengtheneth his life to 100 years, whereas he ſcarce paſſed 70. *Herodotus* giveth to his reign 29 years; but moſt agree that he reigned 30. which muſt be counted from his firſt obtaining the Kingdom of *Media*.

* *Malela.*
* *Lucian in Macrobiis.*

5. What time paſſed from the Conqueſt of *Babylon*, and the beginning of his Monarchy, unto his death, is controverted amongſt learned Writers. Some reckon ten years, or thereabouts, and others but three, of which number was once *Joſeph Scaliger*, who afterwards retracted it as an error; but *Ludovicus Cappellus* hath renewed the aſſertion, making it probable by arguments drawn from Scripture, who therefore is to be conſulted in his ſacred * *Chronology*. *Cyrus* had iſſue two Sons, *Cambyſes* and *Smerdis*, or *Tanaoxares*, with three daughters, *Atoſſa*, *Meroe*, and *Artyſtona*, to which *Cteſias* addeth *Amytis*. *Atoſſa* and *Meroe* their brother *Cambyſes* afterwards married; and *Darius Hyſtaſpis* obtained *Artyſtona*, as alſo *Atoſſa* after the death of *Cambyſes*. Of the two ſons, to *Cambyſes* he left his Kingdom, and to *Smerdis* or *Tanaoxares* aſſigned the Government of *Media*, *Armenia*, and the *Caduſians*, according to *Xenophon*.

His iſſue.

* *In notis ad Tab.* 13.

Cambyſes maketh War upon *Egypt*.

6. *Cambyſes* preſently after he came to the Government, made all poſſible proviſion for a war with *Egypt*, the cauſe wereof is to be enquired after. *Herodotus* telleth a ſtory how he ſent to *Amaſis* King of that Countrey to deſire his daughter *Nitetis* in marriage, which he not daring to deny becauſe of the then formidable Power of the *Perſians*, and not willing to gratifie him abſolutely, for that he conceived his daughter would be entertained but as a Concubine, he found out a way as he thought to ſatisfie *Cambyſes*, and yet keep his daughter. There was one of *Apries* his predeceſſor's daughters yet unmarried, her he ſent to him under the name of his own, who when ſhe had ſufficiently ingratiated her ſelf with *Cambyſes*, told him how indeed ſhe was nothing a kin to *Amaſis*, but begotten by his Lord and Maſter; whereat the *Perſian* conceived ſuch indignation, that, to be revenged on him, he invaded *Ægypt*. But that which moved *Cambyſes* to ſend for this woman, ſeemeth ſomething ſtrange. He had formerly deſired from *Amaſis* a Phyſician for the Eyes, the beſt that could be procured in *Ægypt*, wherewith he gratifying him, the man took it ſo ill of *Amaſis* to be ſent out of his native Country, that in way of revenge, he moved the matter to *Cambyſes*, concluding with himſelf, that the King of *Ægypt* would not ſend his own daughter: This was the ſaying of the *Perſians*; which *Herodotus* rather approveth than what the *Ægyptians* alledged, that *Cambyſes* was ſon to *Nitetis* the daughter of *Apries*, and that the *Perſians* aſcribed that to the Son which belonged to the Father, becauſe they would have *Cambyſes* born of *Caſſandane* the daughter of *Pharnaſpes*, of the noble race of *Achæmenes*; and yet he confeſſeth there was a report, that beſides *Caſſandane*, *Cyrus* kept *Nitetis* as his Concubine, whom he moſt affected, and that to revenge his Mother upon her, *Cambyſes* when but young threatned, and after his Father's death made War upon *Ægypt*. However things might go in reference to the daughter of *Apries*, *Cambyſes* ſeemeth to have invaded that Kingdom, upon pretence of the right he had to it as Heir by conqueſt to *Nebuchadneſar*, who ſubdued it, though it revolted from his Succeſſors; which might be concealed from *Herodotus* by the Prieſts, who ſpared not to invent lyes for a cover to the diſgrace of their Country.

Lib. 3. *cap.* 1.

A. M. 3476.
Olymp. c. 2.
*an.*4. *V.C.*225.
Cambyſis 1.

Vide Polyænum lib. 8.

7. While *Cambyſes* was yet buſie in his preparations, one *Phanes* an *Halycarnaſſæan* by birth, taking ſomething in diſtaſte from *Amaſis*, whom he ſerved, fled out of *Ægypt* by ſhip, and coming into *Perſia*, adviſed this King, that for his better paſſage of the ſandy Deſarts, he ſhould ſend to the King of the *Arabians* for ſafe conduct, who being no good friend to the *Ægyptian*, came and met him with Camels bearing abundance of water, which was neceſſary for the ſuſtenance of the Army in that hot and dry place. Ere *Cambyſes* could arrive in *Ægypt*, *Amaſis* had prevented captivity by a natural death, and *Pſammenitus* his Son having ſucceeded him, expected his coming at *Peluſium* one of the mouths of *Nile*. Here a Battle being fought, the *Ægyptians* were over-

Vide Herod. l. 3. *cap.* 4. *&c.*

Paſſeth through the Sandie Deſarts.

Conquereth *Ægypt.*

thrown and fled to *Memphis*, whither *Cambyſes* ſent after them to yield up themſelves to him; but they tare in pieces the Meſſengers, and then being beſieged, ſtood out for ſome time; but at length the City was taken. *Pſammenitus* had his Son put to death before his eyes, to try his patience, though the Conqueror too late repented of it, and had given him his life with the Kingdom to govern, as a Province, had he not attempted new matters, for which he was forced to drink Bulls blood, and ſo died, having reigned ſix months after his Father.

His extravagant practices.

8. This work done in *Ægypt*, *Cambyſes* betook himſelf to extravagant practices. The dead body of *Amaſis* he cauſed to be brought forth, to be beaten, pinched, and then burnt, contrary to the practice as well of the *Perſians* as *Ægyptians*, who abhorred ſuch a thing, becauſe the former accounted Fire a God, and the latter a ravenous beaſt, periſhing with the thing devoured by it. Then reſolved he to make a three-fold War: One upon the *Carthaginians*, another upon the *Ammonians*, or the Inhabitants of the place ſituate about the Temple of *Jupiter Hammon*, and the third againſt the long-lived *Æthiopians*, who inhabited *Africk*, near to the Southern Sea. He reſolved to ſend a Fleet againſt the *Carthaginians*, an Army of Foot againſt the *Ammonians*, and as for the *Æthiopians*, he would firſt ſend to diſcover their Country. While his Meſſengers were diſpatching towards *Æthiopia*, he gave order to the *Phœnicians* (who having yielded themſelves, were his only ſtrength at Sea) to fight againſt *Carthage*, which they flatly refuſed, becauſe that City was a Colony of their own, and thereby this deſign was daſhed. After the return of his meſſengers, who brought him word how he was ſlighted by the *Æthiopian* King, in great rage and haſte he ſet forwards againſt him, without all thought of victualling his Army, commanding all his foot to follow, except the *Græcians*. When he was come to *Thebes*, he ſent about 50000 men againſt the *Ammonians*, with command after they had ſpoiled them to burn the Temple; and ſo he marched on with the reſt of the Army. But ere he had paſſed the fifth part of his journy, all proviſions failed, and all the beaſts that carried burthens were eaten up; yet did he not now recollect himſelf, but proceeded till they were conſtrained to eat up every tenth man, and then returned he with great loſs and diſgrace to *Memphis*, where he diſmiſſed the *Greeks* from his ſervice. The forces ſent againſt the *Ammonians*, never reached thither, neither ever returned, being all overwhelmed, as was reported, in the Sandy Wilderneſs.

His fruitleſs Expeditions.

9. *Cambyſes* at his return to *Memphis*, found the Citizens in great mirth and jollity, for that *Apis* their god had appeared to them lately; which he interpreting as an expreſſion of Joy for his bad ſucceſs, wounded the beaſt in the thigh (thinking to ſtrike him into the belly) of which he died. He derided much the *Ægyptians* for ſuch deities: thoſe that were found rejoycing, he commanded to be ſlain, and the Prieſts to be beaten with rods. For ſuch impiety they accounted him ſtricken with that madneſs, which afterward appeared. For not long after, he ſent his brother *Smerdis* back into *Perſia*, having conceived great indignation againſt him, becauſe he alone of all the *Perſians*, could draw a Bow that was brought him by his meſſengers out of *Æthiopia*. After this he dreamed, that one came and told him how *Smerdis* ſate on the Throne, and with his head reached to Heaven, whereupon, he ſent *Prexaſpes* his greateſt confident to make him away, who murdered him in a pretended hunting, or as ſome ſaid, drowned him in the *Red Sea*. To this he added the murther of his own Siſter, whom, without any example, he had married, becauſe ſhe upbraided him with their brother's death. Memorable is the anſwer of his Judges, who, when he demanded, whether there was not a Law among the *Perſians*, that a man might marry his own Siſter, anſwered, they found no ſuch Law, but one there was, *viz. The King might do whatſoever he liſted.* Then married he one Siſter, and afterwards another, whereof the younger he killed being great with Child, as the *Ægyptians* reported, ſo that ſhe miſcaried double.

He murdered his brother and ſiſter.

10. To this rage and madneſs againſt his relations, he added fury towards thoſe that were neareſt about him. Asking *Prexaſpes* the Miniſter of his paricide, what his people thought of him, and receiving this anſwer, that they thought him too much given to Wine, that it might be ſeen how ſober he was to do miſchief, he ſaid it ſhould be a demonſtration, if he could ſhoot with an arrow the Son of *Prexaſpes* right into the heart, which accordingly he did. The day after he buried quick twelve other *Perſians* for no fault at all, and

commanded *Crœſus* the *Lydian* to be ſlain for admoniſhing him gravely concerning ſuch enormities, having diſpatched him himſelf with an Arrow, if he had not taken him to his heels. His ſervants notwithſtanding preſerved *Crœſus* alive, expecting a reward if he ſhould afterwards repent of his death. And he really rejoyced in his preſervation, when he returned to himſelf; but put them to death for their diſobedience. Many more ſuch like things he did whilſt he remained at *Memphis*, and raged againſt the Images and Temples of the *Ægyptians*.

The *Magi* uſurp.

11. But whilſt he thus ſpent his time, two of the *Magi*, *Medians* by birth, conſpired againſt him. One of them he had left Overſeer of his houſhold affairs, named *Patizithes*, who having certain knowledge of the death of *Smerdis*, though it was kept very ſecret, took occaſion thereat to rebel, becauſe moſt of the *Perſians* thought this Prince yet living. For, having with him in the Kings houſe a brother as like him in the lineaments and proportion of body as in name, him he placed in the Throne, and ſent up and down through the Empire, to perſwade every one rather to obey *Smerdis* the ſon of *Cyrus* than *Cambyſes*. One of theſe meſſengers coming down to the Army towards *Ægypt*, found it at *Ecbatane* in *Syria*, where ſtanding in the midſt, he proclaimed what was enjoyned. *Cambyſes* being much ſtartled, blamed *Prexaſpes* for having neglected to execute his commands; but he proteſting his obedience therein, and that he had buried his Brother with his own hands, the meſſenger was perſued and fetcht back, out of whom *Prexaſpes* getting out that he had not himſelf ſeen *Smerdis*, but *Patizithes* had given him inſtructions as from him, eaſily conjectured what was at the bottom, and therewith acquainted the King. Then too late did *Cambyſes* bewail his Brother, and reſolving with all ſpeed to march for *Suſa*, as he mounted on horſeback his Sword fell out of the Scabberd, and wounded him in the Thigh. Demanding the name of the place, he gave himſelf for loſt, for that it had been told him he ſhould die in *Ecbatane*, which he had ever interpreted of the place in *Media* ſo called, where he hoped it would be in his old age. Twenty days after, he revealed the whole matter concerning his brother to the Nobility about him, conjuring them not to ſuffer the Empire to return to the *Medes*, but rather recover it the ſame way it had been betrayed. Not long after his thigh-bone being putrified, he died, when he had reigned ſeven years and five months. He left no iſſue, and ſo the direct line of *Cyrus* in him received it's period.

Cambyſes dieth.

SECT. II.

From the death of Cambyſes *to that of* Xerxes.

Lege Herod. l. 3. cap. 67, &c.

1. SMerdis the Magician (called alſo *Mardus*, *Sphendadates*, and *Oropaſtes*) reigned thoſe ſeven months which were wanting to compleat the eight year of *Cambyſes*, whom the *Perſians* believed not as to his brothers death, but thought that indeed he was alive and reigned, becauſe *Prexaſpes* feared to confeſs that he killed him. In this time he, or rather his brother, wonderfully pleaſed all men, except the *Perſians*, remitting to other Nations their Tributes, and excuſing them from War for three years. But in the eight month he was diſcovered by the means of *Otanes*, a man of higheſt rank in *Perſia*, who ſuſpected him for a counterfeit, becauſe he never would appear in publick, nor admit any of the Nobility into his preſence. He having a Daughter then at Court, which had been Concubine to *Cambyſes*, and now was in the ſame quality to him that reigned, as all the reſt of his wives; to her he ſent to know, whether it was indeed the Son of *Cyrus* with whom ſhe lay. She having had no acquaintance with that Prince, could give him no anſwer, and neither could ſhe come near *Atoſſa*, who being Siſter to *Smerdis* might eaſily know him, for that

A. M. 3483. *Ol.* 64. *an.* 3. *V. C.* 232.

The impoſture of the *Magi* diſcovered.

Sect. 2. the *Magician* to prevent intelligence, kept them ſevered one from another: This increaſing the ſuſpition, *Otanes* ſent to her again, charging her as he lay aſleep to know whether he had any ears; for *Cyrus* had upon ſome account cut off the ears of *Smerdis* the Magician. She obeyed her Father when it came to her courſe, notwithſtanding the danger, and the day following confirmed him fully in what he had ſuſpected.

A conſpiracy againſt them.

2. *Otanes* preſently diſcovered the matter to *Aſpathines* and *Gobryas*, two men of prime rank alſo among the *Perſians*, who eaſily giving him credit, as having ſuſpected the ſame thing themſelves, agreed to take three more, each of them one, into Council about it. *Otanes* brought *Intaphernes*, *Gobryas* choſe *Megabyſus*, *Aſpathines* took *Hydarnes*, and *Darius* being then arrived at *Suſa* from *Perſia*, which his Father *Hyſtaſpes* governed, they alſo thought fit to add him to their number. *Darius* when admitted, ſignified, that he had been aſſured of the cheat, how he was come to Town upon no other account than to kill the impoſtor, and urged them to joyn with him and attempt it ſpeedily. *Otanes* was much againſt ſuch haſty proceedings, deſiring further to conſult about it, but *Darius* alleging the danger of delay, for which cauſe, if they would not attempt ſomething that very day, he would go and diſcover rather than be diſcovered, at length they agreed.

3. But while they were thus debating the matter, the *Magi* knowing that *Prexaſpes* had made away *Smerdis* the Son of *Cyrus*, and conſidering how nearly it concerned them to make him their own, had ſent for him, and by vaſt promiſes endeavoured to purchaſe his ſecrecy in that private affair. He ſeemed to complie, and deſired that the *Perſians* might be called together under the wall, that he might perſwade them, that he who now reigned was the true *Smerdis*. But after he had mounted the Turret, he began to reckon up the Pedigree of *Cyrus* from *Achæmenes*, related his kindneſs and good turns done to the *Perſians*, and then telling the whole matter concerning *Smerdis* whom he had murdered, after he had laid many curſes upon them, except they recovered the Empire, and revenged themſelves upon the *Magi*, he threw himſelf down headlong and died. The ſeven Conſpirators utterly ignorant of this, arrived at the Court, at ſuch time as the *Magi* were conſulting concerning what had happened, where the Porters eaſily admitted them, becauſe of their dignity, nothing being ſuſpected of them. But coming into the houſe, they were ſtopped by ſuch Eunuches as there waited, whereupon they forced their paſſage with their Swords, and were encountred by both the *Magi*, who having taken the Allarm, and perceived the matter, betook themſelves to their weapons. One of them wounded *Aſpathines* in the Thigh, and put out the eye of *Intaphernes*: the other retired into another room, whither he was purſued by *Darius* and *Gobryas*. *Gobryas* grapling with him, *Darius* ſtood idle for fear of wounding his friend; but *Gobryas* bidding him ſtrike though it were thorow his ſides, he did it at adventure, and ſlew the Magician. Both of them being ſlain, they cut off their heads, and carrying them out, acquainted the *Perſians* with what they had done. Then fell they upon ſuch Magicians as they could meet, which the *Perſians* taking as an example, did the like, ſo that if night had not intervened, all that ſort of men had periſhed, and this day was obſerved annually as a great Feſtival, in which none of the Magicians ſtirred abroad. This was the end of the uſurpation, wherein ſeven *Magi* are ſaid by ſome to have been partakers; but if ſo, thoſe two brothers are to be accounted the chief, one of them counterfeiting the right Heir.

The *Magi* ſlain.

Valer. Max. lib. 9. cap. 2. Ammian. l. 23.

The Conſpirators conſult about a ſetlement.

Herod. l. 3. c. 80.

4. This tumult being over in five days time, the ſeven Conſpirators fell into conſultation about a ſetlement. *Otanes* ſpake for the takeing away of Monarchy, which he urged, from the example of *Cambyſes* and the Magician, was apt to degenerate into Tyranny, and would have had the Government remitted to the people in a Democratical way; *Megabyzus* was for *Oligarchie*; but *Darius* of all the three ſorts preferred Monarchy, as that into which at length the other would paſs, through ſeditions and the ambition of ſuch particular men as ſhould be able to advance themſelves above their Neighbours. The other four ſubſcribed to his opinion as beſt, which therefore being agreed on by the major part, ſeveral capitulations were made in order to the election. *Otanes* deſired that both himſelf and family might be exempted from the regal juriſdiction, which was granted, and all poſſible honour further decreed to him for his pains taken in the diſcovery. It was agreed amongſt the other ſix, that it ſhould be lawful for them at any time to come into the Palace, except the King were with his wife, and the King was prohibited

Capitulations.

to take a wife any where but out of their Families, As for the election, it was reſolved, that all the next morning by Sun-riſe riding into the Suburbs, he whoſe Horſe firſt neighed, ſhould obtain the Empire of *Cambyſes*.

Darius obtaineth the Kingdom.

5. *Darius* obtained it through the cunning of *Oebares* his Groom, who having knowledg from his Maſter of the buſineſs, the night before the controverſie was to be decided, put his Horſe to Mare in the place whither they were to ride. The Horſe the next morning remembring his mate neighed, for which, as coming by accident, the other five adored *Darius* as King. Having thus obtained the Kingdom, though he had children already by a daughter of *Gobryas*; yet the more to ſtrengthen his title, he married the two daughters of *Cyrus* which remained; *Atoſſa* the wife of her brother *Cambyſes*, and of the *Magician*, and *Artyſtona* yet a Virgin: he alſo took *Parinys* daughter to *Smerdis* the Son of *Cyrus*, and *Phædaina* the daughter of *Otanes*. This he did, being alſo himſelf of regal extraction, both allied to antient and modern Kings. He was iſſued from *Achæmenes*; *Cyrus* and his Father *Hyſtaſpes* being brother's ſons, the one to *Cambyſes*, and the other to *Arſamnes*, as ſome have reported. This tranſlation of the Kingdom is ſaid to have been firſt revealed to *Cyrus*, at ſuch time as having paſſed the river *Araxes*, he was marching againſt the *Maſſagetes*; For he dreamed that he ſaw the eldeſt Son of *Hyſtaſpes* (which was this; for he had three younger Sons, *Artabanus*, *Atarnes*, and *Artaphernes*,) having wings on his ſhoulders wherewith he overſhadowed *Aſia* and *Europe*. At that time he was about twenty years old, and Armour-bearer to *Cyrus* (according to * *Ælian*) who ſent him back into *Perſia*, and as ſome ſaid, cauſed him to be impriſoned. After his death he was delivered out of Priſon, and made governour of the *Perſian Magi*, accompanied *Cambyſes* into *Ægypt*, and when he had diſcovered the impoſture of the *Magi*, joyned with the other Princes againſt them, and then either by the neighing of his Horſe, or by ſtrong hand, as ſome have thought, obtained the Empire.

Herod. l. 3. c. 85.

Valer. Max. L. 7. c. 3. Ext. Exemp. 2.

Juſtin lib. 1.

Polyænus Stratagem. l. 7.

Sulp. Severus. Hiſt. Sacr. l. 2.

Herod. l. 1.

* *Var. Hiſt. lib. 12. c. 43.*

6. Though thus *Darius* obtained the Soveraignty; yet it ſeemeth to ſome, to have been as a perpetual Dictatorſhip, who think it probable, that the other ſix had alſo by turns the exerciſe of Tribunitial juriſdiction, together with him. Firſt, becauſe *Æſchylus* who fought againſt the Forces of *Darius* at *Marathon*, nameth two kings, *viz.* *Maraphis* and *Artaphrenes*, betwixt the ſlaughter of the *Magi* and Empire of *Darius*, who ſeem no other than *Mardonius* and *Artaphernes*, reckoned by *Cteſias* amongſt the ſeven. Then in the holy Scripture, together with the edict of *Darius* in the ſecond year of his reign, the aſſent of *Artaſhaſhta* King of *Perſia* is joyned, which may well enough be taken for the ſaid *Artaphernes*; though others do otherwiſe expound the place. And, to add ſomething not altogether ſo material, the other Conſpirators foreſeeing how burthenſom they ſhould be to *Darius* (which in what other way could it be than this?) bound him with an * Oath moſt ſacred amongſt the *Perſians*, that neither with Poyſon, Sword, any other violence, nor by famine ſhould he kill any of them; though it proved not ſo ſacred as to be inviolable.

Vide Uſſerium in Annal. Vet. Teſtam. pag. 157.

Eſra 6. 14.

* *Valer. Max. lib. 9. cap. 2. extern. exempl. 6.*

The building of the Temple proceedeth.

7. In the ſecond year of *Darius* the building of the Temple which had been interrupted, began again and proceeded. The *Samaritans* bribed the Courtiers in the time of *Cyrus*, to hinder the work, and *Cambyſes* having been formerly no friend to it, when he came to reign ſtopped it by expreſs command, through the calumniation of ſuch as bore the Jews no good will. The *Magician* alſo forbad it upon the ſame account, it being clear from Scripture, that two ſeveral Princes named *Ahaſuerus* and *Artaxerxes* withſtood it; and that betwixt the reigns of *Cyrus* and *Darius*. But when the adverſaries now betook themſelves to *Darius*, expecting from him a countermand to the Jews (who being reproved for their remiſſneſs by the Prophet *Haggai*, were fallen again to build upon the foundation formerly laid) he inſtead of any ſuch inhibition, ſent them an expreſs command, not only not to hinder, but at his own coſt to further the Structure, allowing alſo to the Prieſts expenſes for the daily Sacrifices. The Jews therefore incouraged by this new Edict, and confirmed by the Prophecies of *Haggai* and *Zachariah*, proceeded proſperouſly in the building.

Eſra 4.

8. In the ſame year had the Prophet *Zachariah* a Viſion, in which the Angel interceding for *Jeruſalem*, and the Cities of *Judah*, mentioneth *the Lord's having had indignation threeſcore and ten years*. The riſe or beginning of theſe years *Ludovicus Cappellus* fetcheth from the deſtruction of the Temple. For from the firſt Edict of *Cyrus*, and the end of the Captivity, to this time, paſſed about eleven years (*Cyrus* according to his account, reigning but three after the taking of *Babylon*,

lon, *Cambyſes* together with the *Magician* eight, and *Darius* one; from which muſt be deducted ſo much as the removal of the Jews would require) even ſo many as paſſed from the beginning of the Captivity to the deſolation of the Temple, and ſo the Temple lay deſolate full Seventy years. Hence is obſervable, that as the State and Policy of the *Jewiſh* Commonwealth was broken, and much impaired eleven years before the deſtruction of the Temple, ſo was it renewed at the end of the Captivity ſo many years before the re-edifying of it, which hitherto had been attempted without ſucceſs, but now renewed, was happily finiſhed in the ſixth year of *Darius*, as to the houſe it ſelf, though three years more ſeem to have been taken up in the building the porches and other appendices to it. And as the greateſt part of the holy Veſſels were carried away in the Captivity of *Jechoniah*, eleven years before the deſtruction of the Temple, ſo were they ſent back again ſo many years before the reſtauration of it. Laſtly, this alſo is obſerved, that as from the deſtruction of this typical Temple to the rebuilding of it, paſſed Seventy years, ſo from the Conception of Chriſt the true and ſpiritual Temple, to the final deſolation of the ſhadow or typical one at *Jeruſalem*, ſo many years paſſed, preciſely Seventy.

The Empire divided into twenty Provinces.

Intaphernes put to death

All the Conſpirators made away.

9. *Darius* after his ſetlement in the Kingdom, divided it into twenty Provinces (which the *Perſians* called *Satrapies*) over each of which he conſtituted a Preſident, withal appointing what tribute each Nation ſhould pay. For, hitherto, under the two former Kings, nothing was appointed concerning tribute, the ſeveral people contributing money by way of benevolence, whereupon, becauſe of this new impoſition, they ſtiled *Darius* an *Huckſter*, *Cambyſes* a *Lord*, and *Cyrus* a *Father*. *Cyrus* was mild, and uſed them as children, ſtriving to deſerve well of them; *Cambyſes* was ſharp and moroſe, and *Darius* by all ways poſſible purveied for mony. The next thing memorable concerning *Darius*, is, his putting to death *Intaphernes*, one of the Conſpirators, for abuſing the Porters, and violent intruding into the Palace, contrary to the Capitulations agreed on amongſt them. Having an intention to go to the King, they that kept the gate ſtopped him, ſaying that he was with his wife, which he thinking to be a lye, drew his Sword, and cutting off their ears and noſes, then tyed the reigns of an horſes bridle to their necks and let them go. They preſenting themſelves in this caſe to the King, he firſt ſuſpected ſome treaſonable deſign of all the ſix, but finding that the reſt knew nothing of the matter, he put *Intaphernes* to death, with all his ſons except the eldeſt, whom he granted to the intreaties of his Mother. But not only him, but all the reſt alſo who were burthenſom to him, another telleth us that he made away by a new kind of death. He cauſed many aſhes to be laid betwixt ſome walls, over which laying a rafter, thereupon he feaſted them very nobly; but being faſt aſleep the floor fell, and they therewith into the aſhes, where they periſhed. If he deſtroyed them in this ſtrange manner, probable it is, that he deſired to be rid of them, becauſe of ſome power to which they might pretend by virtue of a previous agreement, not enduring any incombrance or reſtraint upon his prerogative; for that Soveraignty is impatient of any competition in the Throne.

Herod.lib. 3. *cap.* 118, 119.

*Vide Val. Maxim.lib.*9. *cap.*2. *extern.exemp.*6.

Babylon rebelleth,

And recovered.

10. About the tenth year of his reign the City of *Babylon* rebelled againſt him, having of late recovered that greatneſs of mind which ſometimes poſſeſſed it's Inhabitants. *Cyrus* demoliſhed not their walls, but left them intire with the gates ſtanding, which putting them in a poſture of defence, they took courage at the forein *Wars* of *Cambyſes*, and the ſtirs that happened about the *Magi*. He gathered his forces together, with all ſpeed, and laid ſiege to it; but they being reſolved to ſtand out to the utmoſt, choſe every one a woman to make ready their meat, and to ſave proviſions, killed all the reſt of that Sex except their Mothers. Then, as if they had made themſelves impregnable, they derided the *Perſians*, ſaying, they ſhould be overcome when a Mule foaled: And above ninteen moneths they held out, notwithſtanding all their attempts and devices. At length in the 20th, *Zopyrus* Son to *Megabyzus*, one of the chief Commanders in *Darius* his Army, being incouraged by his Mule that foaled, mangled his face, cutting off his ears and noſe, and in gore Blood counterfeited a flight to the beſieged, as thus abuſed by the king. The *Babylonians* believed, and according to his expectation choſe him for their General, after which, he made ſeveral ſallies, and the beſiegers according to the former agreement fled; but within a while he betrayed the City to *Darius*. He demoliſhed the walls, and nailing 3000 of the principal actors unto croſſes, pardoned the reſt, for whom 5000 women were ſought out, by whom they might repair their decayed ſtock. *Zopyrus* was rewarded, as with

Herod. ut prius cap: 150.

other things in greateſt account amongſt the *Perſians*, ſo with the City of *Babylon* for his life. The ſon of this *Zopyrus* was *Megabyzus*, who afterwards conducted the *Perſian* Army againſt the *Athenians* and their companions: and ſon to this *Megabyzus* was that *Zopyrus*, who revolted from the *Perſians* to the *Athenians*.

Darius goeth againſt the *Scythians*.

11. After the recovery of *Babylon*, *Darius* wanting neither men nor mony, undertook an Expedition againſt the *Scythians*, to be revenged on them for holding the (a) dominion of *Aſia* 28 years, at ſuch time as perſuing the *Cimmerians* they overthrew and kept under the *Medes*, whom they found Lords of all in the days of their King *Cyaxares*. This (b) *Herodotus* maketh the pretended cauſe of the War, but (c) *Juſtin* from *Trogus* relateth, that it was becauſe *Lanthius* the *Scythian* King denied him his daughter in marriage. *Darius* cauſed a bridge to be laid over the *Boſphorus* into *Europe* half a mile long, and thereon paſſing his forces croſſed the Sea himſelf by ſhip, and gave charge to the *Ionians* his Subjects (who together with the *Æolians*, and others that lived upon the *Helleſpont*, made up the Navie) to ſail up the Sea as far as the River *Iſter* (which parted *Scythia* from *Thrace*) over which he alſo enjoyned them to make a bridge. In his march through *Thrace* all ſubmitted to him except the *Getes*, who out of Ignorance withſtood him. The *Ionians* prepared the bridge againſt his coming, whom, after he had tranſported his forces, he commanded there to expect him Sixty days, at the end of which if he came not, he permitted them to return into their own Country.

(a) *Vide l.* 1. *c.* 2. *p.* 21.
(b) *Lib.* 4. *c.* 1, *&c.*
(c) *Lib.* 2.

A. M. 3497.
Olymp. 68. *an.* 1.
V. C. 246.
Darii 14

12. The *Scythians* had no conſtant dwelling or habitation, removing with their wagons, wherein they lay, and cattel, from place to place, according as they were furniſhed with graſs, living upon milk and raw fleſh, without Towns or corn, and taking their conduct from the Pole-Star, as the *Chrim Tartars* their poſterity at this day alſo live, the great *Chrim* himſelf having no other City than an *Agora*, or one of Carts. Having intelligence of his coming, they ſent their wives, children, and cattle towards the North; then ſtopped all the Wells, deſtroyed all Fruits of the Earth, and ſometimes appearing to the *Perſians*, again retired on purpoſe to deride them. *Darius* ſeeing himſelf thus mocked, and deſpairing to come at them by reaſon of their perfect knowledg of the Country, and his ignorance therein, fearing alſo his proviſions might fail, and eſpecially leſt the *Ionians* ſhould forſake him at the Bridge, now that the Sixty days were expired, bethought how he might make a ſafe retreat. The *Scythians* getting knowledg hereof, laboured to remove the *Ionians* from the Bridge, telling them how good it would be for them to returne home in ſafety; for that now the time prefixed by the King was expired. They fell into conſultation hereupon, and *Miltiades* Tyrant or petty Prince of the *Cherſoneſus* beſought them, that, having this opportunity, they would not let it ſlip, but free themſelves from the *Perſian* Yoak. But *Hiſtiæus* Tyrant of *Miletus* a City of *Ionia*, and others, who had enſlaved their own Citizens at home, fearing, leſt if the power of the *Perſians*, by which they were maintained, were broken, they ſhould be reduced into a private condition or worſe; by their own Country-men, reſolved, that nothing more concerned them, than that the greatneſs of that Empire might be eſtabliſhed. Yet it was judged convenient to break the Bridg ſo far, as to be out of bow-ſhot from the *Scythian* ſide, therein to comply with that People, who perhaps elſe might force them to do it. Beginning therefore to break it, the *Scythians* believed their promiſe of performing the whole, and returned to hunt out the *Perſians*. Expecting them to retreat that way which was beſt for Proviſions, they miſſed of them; for *Darius* returned the ſame he went, and with great difficulty recovered the banks of *Iſter*. Here he arrived by night, and was much diſcouraged when he found the bridge broken; but upon the firſt ſhout *Hiſtiæus* came with all his Veſſels and made it up for the tranſportation of the Army.

His tetreat.

13. *Darius* paſſing over his Army marched through *Thrace* unto *Seſtus*, and thence ſailed over into *Aſia*, leaving *Megabyſus* in *Europe* with an Army of 80000 men. *Megabyzus*, according to order, ſubdued the *Perinthians* and *Pæonians*, whom he tranſlated into *Aſia*; and having reduced to obedience all the Maritime Coaſt, ſent into *Macedonia* to demand Earth and Water of *Amyntas* the King. Theſe were Symboles of ſubjection, ſignifying an acknowledgment of fealty, and voluntary homage, the chief Soveraignty over all wherein propriety lay, being yielded up with theſe two Elements. *Darius* had formerly ſent to demand them of the *Scythians*, and they in return ſent him a *Bird*, *Frog*, *Mouſe*, and five *Arrows*, leaving him to make the interpretation, which he framing according to his

Earth and Water demanded of *Amyntas* King of *Macedonia*.

Herod. l. 5. *c.* 1. *&c.*
Juſtin. lib. 7.

own wiſh, thought that they had yielded all thoſe Elements wherein thoſe Creatures live, and their Weapons withall into his hands. But *Gobryas* conſtrued the meaning to be this: *O ye Perſians, get ye wings like Birds, dive under the water, or creep into the holes of the Earth, for elſe our Arrows will overtake you*; which expoſition was accordingly verified. *Amyntas* doubting of his own ſtrength, kindly entertained the Meſſengers, and granting what they came for, magnificently feaſted them, in ſo much that being well heated with Wine they deſired that women, according to the cuſtom of *Perſia*, might be brought in to them. He replied, that it was not the faſhion of *Macedonia*; but yet he would gratifie them therein, which being done, they began to be uncivil towards the Women, whereat he inwardly fretted, but for fear ſuppreſſed his indignation, But his eldeſt Son *Alexander* being preſent, a young man of prompt boldneſs and little experience, deſired him to quit the room, and let him alone to entertain the Gueſts; and though he ſuſpected him for his courage, and diſſwaded him from any raſh attempt, yet did he withdrew accordingly. *Alexander* then told the *Perſians* they might have liberty to enjoy thoſe women, but for that it now grew late, he deſired they would let them go out to waſh, and make themſelves ready, which done, they ſhould come again. They aſſenting, he dreſſed ſo many bare-faced young men in women's Clothes, who, being brought in, when the *Perſians* began to dally with them, according to his command ſtabbed them with Daggers hid under their Clothes for that purpoſe. *Megabyzus* hearing nothing of his Meſſengers, ſent one *Bubares* a *Perſian* down with an Army to make diligent ſearch after them, but him *Alexander* eaſily took off by giving him his Siſter *Gygæa* in marriage, with whom he had fallen in love; ſo that he ſuffering the matter to reſt in ſilence, no farther inquiry was made after it.

The *Perſian* Ambaſſadors killed.

14. The year following, being the 16th of his reign, *Darius* ſent as ſucceſſor to *Megabyzus*, *Otanes* the Son of *Siſamnes*, who took in the Cities *Chalcedon*, *Byzantium*, and *Antander*, with the Iſlands *Lemnos*, and *Imbrus*. He himſelf was now returned to *Suſa*, whither he carried along with him *Hiſtiæus*, who ſtood ſo much his Friend at the Bridge of *Iſter*. *Hiſtiæus* having begun to build a City of his own in *Thrace*, *Darius* out of colour of doing him honour, and uſing his advice in his moſt important affairs, drew him away from it, knowing his great abilities, and fearing his reſtleſs Spirit. There he continued for ſome years, till not being able to hear ſo much talk of Empire, and Rule, wherein he himſelf had no ſhare, he much preferred his antient Dominion though but over one City, before this Real, though plauſible impriſonment, and therefore ſought how he might kindle a Fire in *Ionia*, that for his intereſt in that Country he might obtain to be ſent thither to quench it, and ſo with his liberty get ſome notable advantage for a great atchievement. It hapned that his endeavours did but tend to the blowing up of that Spark, which was already kindled without his knowledge, in *Ariſtagoras* his Son in Law, who Governed *Miletus* in his abſence. The firſt riſe was occaſioned by the inhabitants of the Iſland *Naxos*, who having baniſhed ſome of their principal Citizens, the Exiles fled to *Anaxagoras* for protection and ſuccor. He knowing not well of himſelf how to reſtore them, ſent to *Artaphernes* the brother of *Darius*, and his Lieutenant of *Ionia* then reſident at *Sardis*, propoſing the Conqueſt of that Iſland to him, and offering to ſubdue both it, and all the reſt of the *Cyclades* to the obedience of the *Perſian* Empire. *Artaphernes* acquainted the King with the buſineſs, and he approving of it, he lent him 200 Ships under the conduct of *Megabates* his Kinſman. They ſayled together towards *Naxos*, and it hapned in the way that *Megabates* harſhly uſed one of *Ariſtagoras* his followers, for which he ſharply rebuked him, as having no authority to puniſh thoſe under his command. This the *Perſian* took ſo hainouſly, that he gave intelligence underhand to the *Naxians* of their coming, who being forewarned were forearmed, ſo that no good could *Ariſtagoras* do, but ſpending his time to no purpoſe, was forced at length to raiſe his Siege. For this fruitleſs attempt, fearing diſgrace, or worſe from the *Perſians*, that he might prevent it, he ſtudied how to revolt, and draw the *Ionians* into Rebellion.

Hiſtiæus.

The occaſion of the *Ionian* Rebellion.

Herod. l. 5. c. 30. &c.

A. M. 3500.
Olymp. 68. an. 4.
V. C. 249.
Darii 17.

15. While he conſulted with himſelf, a Meſſage came from *Hiſtiæus*, who becauſe the ways were ſo watched that he could ſend no Letters, ſhaved cloſe the head of his truſty Slave, and thereon with an hot iron engraved ſuch marks as ſerved to make out his ſence, and after his hair was grown ſent him to *Miletus*. *Ariſtagoras* ſhaving his head again as he was commanded, (which was all the meſſage that the Slave carried by word of mouth) preſently and gladly apprehended the matter, *viz.* that

Idem c. 35.
Polyænus lib. 1.

that he ſhould excite the *Ionians* to rebel. Going now more chearfully about his work, that the *Mileſians* might more readily receive the motion, he reſtored them to a ſhew of Liberty, and to oblige the reſt of the Cities by one means or other abdicated the power of their petty Princes or Tyrants, as they were called. But knowing how little able this ſtrength would be to grapple with the whole power of *Aſia* which preſently would be upon them, he ſailed to *Lacedæmon*, there to deſire aſſiſtance from *Cleomenes* the King; who refuſing to intermeddle, he thence went to *Athens*, where, as before, he laid open the riches of *Aſia*, with the imbecillity of the *Perſians* the preſent Maſters thereof; and added, that the *Mileſians*, as a Colony of the *Athenians*, might juſtly expect relief from their hands.

Herodot. l. 5. c. 96, 97, 98.

The *Athenians* aſſiſt the *Ionians*.

16. The conjuncture of Affairs at preſent were ſuch at *Athens*, as he could not have had a more convenient opportunity: It happened that *Hippias* the Son of *Piſiſtratus*, being expelled thence had withdrawn himſelf to *Sardis*, where he laboured with his whole might to make the *Athenians* odious to *Artaphernes*, and bring the City into the Command of *Darius*, that ſo it might return to his own Dominion. They ſent their Embaſſadors after him, praying *Artaphernes* that he would give no credit to their Exiles; but he urging them, that if they meant to ſecure themſelves, they would receive *Hippias*, they choſe rather to become Enemies to the *Perſian*, and therefore complied with the motion of *Ariſtagoras*. They agreed to ſend out twenty Ships under the Command of *Melanthius*, a man of principal note amongſt them, with which the *Eretrians* (out of way of requital for aid formerly received from the *Ionians*) joyned other five. This was the beginning of thoſe many evils, which afterwards fell both upon the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, and of ſuch wars as ended not till the deſtruction of the *Perſian* Empire. It fell out in the nineteenth year of *Darius*, the ſecond of the ſixty ninth *Olympiad*, 501 before the *Æra* of Chriſt, *A. M.* 3502.

Ariſtagoras taketh *Sardis*.

Capp. 99, &c.

17. *Ariſtagoras* with this force went againſt *Sardis*, which he eaſily took all but the Caſtle, wherein *Artaphernes* ſecured himſelf: A Fire prevented the plundering of the City, which was all turned into Aſhes by the means of a Soldier's burning one particular houſe. The Confuſion being great, the *Perſians* and *Lydians* met together in the Market place, through which ran the River *Pactolus* having Golden Sands, and imbodying themſelves prepared to charge the Enemy; which when the *Grecians* perceived they fled for fear to the Mountain *Tmolus*, and thence to their Ships lying at *Coreſus* in the Territories of *Epheſus*. The *Perſians* in the purſuit ſlew a great part of them, amongſt whom fell *Eualcides* Captain of the *Eretrians*, ſo much Celebrated by *Simonides* the *Ceian* Poet, and other eminent men: Thoſe that eſcaped diſperſed themſelves through the Cities. *Ariſtagoras* could not by any means perſwade the *Athenians* from returning home; notwithſtanding, for what had happened to *Sardis*, *Darius* was exceedingly incenſed againſt them, inſomuch that he commanded one of his Servants wherever he ſate at meat, thrice to ſound theſe words in his ears; *Sir, Remember the Athenians.*

Defeated in his retreat.

Cyprus revolteth.

Capp. 103, &c.

Capp. 108, &c.

18. At this time all *Cyprus* revolted from the *Perſian*, except the *Amathuſians*, whom alſo the Rebels beſieged; yet *Darius*, blinded by the ſpecious pretences of *Hiſtiæus*, let him go, thinking indeed that being preſent at he might do him ſpecial ſervice in extinguiſhing the Rebellion. Though the *Ionians* were forſaken by their friends of *Athens*, yet they proceeded, and croſſing the *Helleſpont* took *Byzantium* with the Towns adjacent, and thence went into *Caria*, a great part whereof they drew into Society with them in the War. But the ſcene of Affairs was preſently altered: *Artybius* the *Perſian* with a numerous Army was ſent againſt *Cyprus*, and the *Ionians* followed with a Fleet to the Aid of *Oneſilus*, who firſt procured the revolt, and now lay before *Amathuſia*. Both Parties being well appointed by Sea and Land, they engaged with their Fleets and Land Armies: The *Ionians* had the better by Sea, but on Land the *Cypriots* were betrayed by *Steſanor*, Tyrant of the *Curienſes*, and by the *Salaminians*, ſo that being utterly routed, *Oneſilus* was ſlain, and *Ariſto-Cyprus* Prince of the *Solians*, and Son to that *Philo-Cyprus* whom *Solon* commended in his Verſes above other Tyrants, or *Reguli*. The *Ionians* receiving intelligence of this overthrow, and how all the Cities in the Iſland were beſieged except *Salamis* (which the Inhabitants had already given up to *Gorgus* their ancient Prince) haſted away. Of all Towns *Soli* ſtood longeſt out, but in the fifth Month was taken by the *Perſians* who undermined the Walls; and thus *Cyprus* was reduced into its former Bondage, a year after it had caſt off the yoak.

And is recovered.

Capp. 124, &c.

19. The *Perſian* Lieutenants or *Satrapæ*, *viz. Dauriſes*, *Hymees*, and *Otanes*, who had married the Daughters of *Darius*, after they had driven the *Ionians* to their Ships, parted the revolted Cities which each of them ſhould fall on. The two former

mer reduced many upon the *Helleſpont* and *Propontis*, and the latter by the aſſiſtance of *Artaphernes*, took *Clazomenæ* in *Ionia*, and *Cumæ* in *Æolia*, after which *Ariſtagoras* was utterly diſcouraged, and thought of nothing but flight. *Hecatæus* the Hiſtorian, who had formerly diſſwaded him from Rebellion, now adviſed him to build a Fort in the Iſland *Lerus*, where he might continue for ſome time till it were convenient for him to return to *Miletus*; but his reſolution being bent for *Myrcinus*, a Town built by *Hiſtiæus* in *Thrace* upon the River *Strymon*, and amongſt the *Edones*, thither he ſoon after departed with as many Volunteers as would follow him, leaving the Government of *Miletus* to *Pythagoras*, a man of the moſt approved Fidelity amongſt the Townſmen. He obtained the Countrey thereabout without much trouble, but beſieging the Town, was cut off by the *Thracians* with all his Forces.

Ariſtagoras ſlain.

20. *Hiſtiæus* being diſmiſſed by *Darius* upon that account formerly mentioned, was ere this come to *Sardis*: *Artaphernes* demanding of him what ſhould have moved the *Ionians* to Rebel, He anſwered that he knew not, but wondred at the thing: Whereto the other replied, telling him plainly, that *He had made that Shooe which Ariſtagoras had put on.* Fearing therefore to ſtay with him, whom he perceived ſufficiently to underſtand the matter, he fled the night after, and conveyed himſelf into the Iſland *Chius*, where the Inhabitants ſuppoſing that he came to promote the affairs of *Darius*, caſt him into Priſon, but upon farther advice reſtored him to liberty. Then ſent he to ſome *Perſians* lying at *Sardis*, who were partakers of his Conſpiracy, willing them to Riſe; but *Artaphernes* having timely notice thereof prevented it, by putting them to death. This device failing, he procured the *Chians* to convey him to *Miletus*, but there he could not be received, the Inhabitants rejoycing that they were rid both of him and *Ariſtagoras*; ſo that endeavouring to get in by Night he was wounded in the Thigh, and forced to retire himſelf again to *Chius*. Here now not being able to procure any Ships by all his intreaties, he went over to *Mitylene*, where he perſwaded the *Leſbians* to furniſh him with eight Veſſels, with which he ſailed to *Byzantium*; and at this Port he intercepted all ſuch Ships of the *Ionians* as, coming from *Pontus*, refuſed to obey him.

Herodotus l. 6. ad initium.

21. The *Perſian* Generals having much weakned the power of the *Carians*, and ſubdued all the *Ionians* that lived upon the *Helleſpont*, were now ready to go againſt *Miletus* both by Sea and Land. The *Ionian* Deputies aſſembling in *Panionium*, (the place of their Publick Councils) reſolved to levy no Land Army againſt them, but withſtand their violence from the Walls of *Miletus*, and make as great and ſtrong a Fleet as poſſible. They ranged themſelves in order of Battel near *Læda*, a little Iſland lying over againſt *Miletus*; the Wing that look'd towards the Eaſt the *Mileſians* themſelves made up with eighty Sail; to them joyned the *Prienians* with twelve, and the *Miuſians* with three: By them ſtood the *Teians* with ſeventeen; and by them the *Chians* with an hundred Veſſels. Beyond theſe were placed the *Erythræans* with eight Ships, and the *Phocæans* with three: Next to them ſtood the *Lesbyans* with ſeventy, and in the laſt place were ſeen the *Samians* making up the Weſtern Wing with ſixty Ships; the whole conſiſting of three hundred fifty three Gallies with three Ranks of Oars: But the *Perſian* Navy contained ſix hundred of *Phœnicians*, *Cyprians*, *Ægyptians*, and *Cilicians*.

Miletus beſieged.

Idem. ibid. capp. 6, &c.

22. Though the *Perſian* Fleet almoſt doubled the other in number of Veſſels, yet the Captains feared both the skill and valour of the *Ionians*, and therefore betook themſelves to politick Councils. They ſent for the ſeveral *Reguli* or *Tyrants* of the Cities, whom *Ariſtagoras* had depoſed at the beginning of the War, and deſired that every one would endeavour to draw off his own Citizens. While they were uſing their utmoſt endeavour herein, *Dionyſius* the *Phocian* Captain, and General of the whole *Ionian* Navy, exerciſing his men continually for the Fight, they being unaccuſtomed to ſuch Diſcipline, were after ſeven days weary of it; and pitching their Tents in the Iſland therein ſhaded themſelves, and could not be got to their Ships. The *Samians* doubting whitherto their ſluggiſhneſs might tend, thought it wiſdom to hearken to the Propoſitions made from the *Perſians*, by *Æaces* the Son of *Syloſon* their Prince, who adviſed them by a timely Repentance, to ſave their eſtates, rather than expoſe themſelves to the anger of the *Perſian*, who though he were beaten at preſent, was able to bring another Fleet five times as big, ſo that their labour and danger would know no end. Their Captains therefore took occaſion at the diſorder of the *Ionians* to deny any further obedience, and, when the *Phœnicians* began to tow their Fleet together to fall on, thoy hoiſed up their Sails and departed. After this pattern the *Lesbians* and a great part of the *Ionians* withdrew

drew themſelves, only the *Chians* ſtood to it; who taking many of their Enemies Ships loſt more of their own, and at length fled to Land: Some of them running their Gallies on ground at *Mycale*, went on foot by night unto *Epheſus*, where the women then Celebrating the *Theſmophoria*, the Inhabitants, taking them for Thieves, iſſued out and ſlew many of them. But *Dionyſius* having light on the *Perſian* Gallies retreated not home, knowing his own Country would go to wrack with the reſt; but going into *Phœnicia* there robbed certain Ships of Burthen of much wealth, and thus enriched ſailed into *Sicily*.

23. The *Perſians* having thus done their work at Sea, preſently laid Siege to *Miletus*, which by undermining the Walls, and uſing all ſorts of Batteries, they utterly deſtroyed in the ſixth Year after the Rebellion was firſt begun by *Ariſtagoras*. Some of thoſe Inhabitants which ſurvived their Country, together with the *Samians*, tranſported themſelves into *Sicily*; the reſt being brought to *Suſa* before *Darius*, he, without any puniſhment inflicted on them, placed in the City *Ampia*, ſituated where the River *Tygris* falleth into the *Red Sea*. As for their grounds, the *Perſians* took to themſelves the Campagne Country, and gave the Mountainous Parts to the *Carians* of *Pedaſus*. *Hiſtiæus* ſeeing what was befallen *Miletus*, with ſome *Lesbyans* ſubdued *Chius* eaſily, being weakned before, and thence with many *Ionians* and *Æolians*, he undertook an Expedition againſt *Thaſus*; but hearing that the *Phœnicians* were gone from *Miletus* into the other parts of *Ionia*, he returned back to *Lesbus*. Here his Forces not truſting themſelves, he went over into the Province of *Atarnes*, as it were thence, and from the Territories of the *Myſians* adjoyning to gather Forrage, where *Harpagus* the *Perſian* then lying with a conſiderable Force, engaged with him in a Fight at *Malena*; and having cut off the greater part of his men, took him alive. Being carried to *Suſa* unto *Artaphernes*, they nailed his Body to a Croſs, and ſent his Head as a Preſent to *Darius*, who was diſpleaſed that they had not preſented him alive; and cauſed his Head to be buried, as of a Friend, and one that had well deſerved of the *Perſians*. Now not only *Caria*, but all the Iſlands and Cities on the Continent were alſo recovered without much trouble; the moſt beautiful of the Boys being made Eunuchs, and of the Girls ſent to the *Perſian* Court. And thus the *Ionians* were ſubdued the third time, once by the *Lydians*, and twice by the *Perſians*; the Tributes were eſtabliſhed by *Artaphernes*, according to *Darius* his former preſcription, and all things ſetled at the coſt of the revolters.

It is taken.

Idem ibid. Capp. 18, *&c.*

Capp. 26, *&c.*

Hiſtiæus taken and put to death.

24. Two years after the deſtruction of *Miletus*, and in the 26th of his reign, *Darius* recalling the Commiſſions of all his late Captains, ſent *Mardonius* the Son of *Gobryas*, who had married his daughter *Artozoſtra*, with a great power to the Sea. *Mardonius* coming into *Cilicia*, ſent away all his Land Forces towards the *Helleſpont*, and paſſing by Sea into *Ionia*, there diſſolved all the Tyrannies, as they were called, or powers of ſingle men, and brought in the Democratical Government into the Cities. After this, with his Fleet he ſubdued the *Thaſians*, and with his Land Army other *Macedonians* beſides them that formerly obeyed his Maſter; but looſing from *Acanthus* and coaſting by the Mountain *Athos*, ſuch a Tempeſt fell upon the Navy as ſunk three hundred Veſſels, wherein periſhed above twenty thouſand men. Then quartering his Foot in *Macedonia*, the *Thracians* called *Brygi*, fell in upon him by Night, and, killing many, wounded him alſo; whereupon he turned his Forces upon them, and ſubduing them, carried back the Army into *Aſia*. The year following *Darius* conſtrained the *Thaſians*, who were accuſed by their Neighbours of having an intention to revolt, to pull down their Walls, and carry all their Ships to *Abdera*. Then to try of what Temper the *Græcians* were, he ſent throughout *Greece* to demand Earth and Water. The *Lacedemonians* and *Athenians* threw the Meſſengers into Pits, bidding them thence to take Earth and Water to carry to their Maſter: But the Inhabitants of *Ægina* and other Iſlands out of fear complied, for which they were accuſed by the *Athenian* Embaſſadors at *Sparta*, as intending with the *Perſians* to Fight againſt *Athens*. Hereupon *Cleomenes*, one of the Kings, was ſent to Chaſtiſe the Principal Revolters, but ſuch a Contention fell betwixt him and his Colleague *Demaratus* about it, as ended at length in the deprivation of the latter, who thus unjuſtly outed of his Patrimony, betook himſelf to *Darius*, by whom he was bountifully entertained.

Capp. 43, 44, *&c.*

A. M. 3509.
Ol. 71. *an.* 1.
V. C. 258.
Darii 26.

Capp. 46, *&c.*

Earth and Water demanded of the *Græcians.*

25. When *Darius* ſent into *Greece* to demand Earth and Water, he gave order to the Cities upon the Sea-Coaſts to build long Ships and flat bottom'd Boats, for the Tranſportation of Horſe. The burning of *Sardis* by the means of the *Athenians* and *Eretrians*, was thrice every time he went to Meat ſtill ſounded in his Ears: *Hippias* the late Prince of *Athens* was yet provoking him againſt that City, and at length procured

Darius ſendeth Forces into *Greece.*

Capt. 94, 95, 96, &c.

They take Eretria.

procured Forces to reduce him into his former place. Under colour of reſtoring him, *Darius* intended, if poſſible, to ſubdue all *Greece*, and therefore removing *Mardonius*, under whom the Fleet had of late miſcarried, he put in his room *Dates* a *Mede*, and *Artaphernes* his Brothers Son, to whom he gave in charge to lay waſt *Athens* with *Eretria*, and bring the Inhabitants thereof Priſoners into his preſence. In their paſſage they burnt *Naxos*, took ſome Forces and Hoſtages out of the Iſlands, and landed their Horſe upon the Coaſts of *Eretria*: They prepared to Fight, but the Enemy keeping himſelf within the Walls, they ſtrongly attempted the ſtorming of the City for ſix days, and on the ſeventh had it betrayed into their hands by *Euphorbus* and *Philagrus*, two of the Principal Citizens. The *Athenians* hearing of their approach, ſent *Phidippides* a famous, though ordinary Foot-Poſt, to *Lacedæmon*, to deſire that State to haſten their Succors. They reſolved to ſend aid, but ſaid it was impoſſible ſpedily to do it, for that they could not break the Law, which forbad them to go forth on the ninth day of the month *Or*, except the Moon was at the full. Whilſt they expected that ſeaſon, the *Athenians* made choice of Ten Captains for the War; and by this time the *Perſians*, now Maſters of *Eretria*, ſailed into *Attica*, wherein they were conducted by *Hippias* to the Plains of *Marathon*, as moſt convenient for Horſe. After the *Athenians* had taken the Field, the *Platæans* came into their Aid, but a great diſpute there was amongſt the Captains, whether they ſhould ſtand to the hazard of a Battel: Thoſe that were for the Negative had carried it, but that *Miltiades* who was all for fighting, drew over *Callimachus* one of the *Polemarchi* to his Party. The major part of the Votes then paſſing on his ſide, each Captain aſſigned his day to him, (who had formerly been Prince of the *Cherſoneſus*, and thence was expelled by the *Perſians*) committing the management of the Fight to his diſcretion.

Are overthrown at Marathon.

Lib. 2. c. 9.

26. *Miltiades* accepted of the Charge, yet thought good not to Fight till his own day (which was the tenth) ſhould be arrived.: Then ſet he the Army in order, and being at a miles diſtance from the Enemy, led very faſt upon him, which the *Perſians* attributed to madneſs, ſeeing the other ſo few in compariſon of themſelves, and badly provided both of Horſe and Arms. The Fight continued long, wherein in the middle Battel the *Perſians* put the other to flight; but in both the Wings the *Græcians* prevailed, and turning themſelves upon thoſe that worſted their Fellows, made great ſlaughter of them as far as the Sea ſide, where they alſo ſeiſed upon ſeven of their Ships. Concerning the number of the ſlain, Writers do not agree: *Herodotus* writeth of ſix thouſand four hundred of the *Barbarians*, and an hundred ninety two of the *Græcians*. On the one ſide fell *Hippias*, as *Juſtin* delivers out of *Trogus*, and *Callimachus* on the other. What year the Battle was fought is not certainly known, but in the ſecond or third of the ſeventy ſecond *Olympiad*, and four or five before the Death of *Darius*.

Herod. l. 6. c. 119, &c.

Idem lib. 7. c. 1, &c.

Darius declareth his Succeſſor.

Vide Juſtin. l. 2. c. 10. Plutarch. Περὶ Φιλαδελφίας. Apotheg. & in Artaxerxe.

Dieth.

27. *Datis* and *Artaphernes* returning into *Perſia*, carried the *Eretrians* Captive along with them to *Suſa*, where they preſented them before *Darius*; though *Cteſias* wrote that *Datis* was ſlain in the Battel of *Marathon*, and that his Body was denied to be reſtored. *Darius* placed the *Eretrians* in *Anderica* in *Ciſſia*, a Country ſo called, at two hundred and ten Furlongs diſtance from *Suſa*, the Poſſeſſion whereof their Poſterity held a long time together with their own Language. Notwithſtanding the defeat at *Marathon*, he left not off thoughts of Conquering *Greece*, making all poſſible proviſion for another Invaſion. But in the fourth year after, more work fell into his hands; for though *Diodorus* telleth us that the *Ægyptians* much honoured him as one of their Law-givers, they now rebelled. The year following he was provided for both Expeditions, and was about to undertake them when the cuſtom of the Country firſt required that he ſhould name his Succeſſor. He had three children before he was King by the Daughter of *Gobryas*, whereof the eldeſt *Artobazanes*, (by others called *Artemenes* and *Ariamenes*) challenged the Kingdom by virtue of his Birthright: But it was judged due to *Xerxes* his eldeſt Son by *Atoſſa Cyrus* his Daughter, who was Founder of the Empire, and he accordingly was declared at this time; although ſome make this civil and loving Context betwixt the two Brothers, to have happened after their Father's death, and been judged by *Artaphernes* their Uncle. But as *Darius* was about ſetting forwards for *Greece*, he was prevented by death, the firſt year after the Rebellion of *Ægypt* ending, after he had reigned thirty ſix years complete, in the third year of the ſeventy third *Olympiad* ending, before the *Æra* of Chriſt, 585. *A.M.* 3519.

Herodot. lib. 7. ad initium.

Xerxes.

28. *Xerxes* ſucceeded his Father in the third year of the third *Olympiad*, being the fourth King of *Perſia*, the right to the Empire whereof he fetched from *Cyrus* his Grandfather by the Mother's ſide. He was ſcarcely ſettled in the Throne, when

Mardonius his Kinſman ſtirred him up with earneſtneſs not to give over the War which he had begun with *Greece*, promiſing to himſelf great command upon the Conqueſt of *Europe*, which he made *Xerxes* believe would be as readily performed as ſpoken. He, though ambitious enough, was not at firſt of himſelf very forward, but as it concerned him, thought firſt of recovering *Ægypt*, for which all things were left in readineſs by his Father, and in the year next after his death, turned his Forces thither with preſent ſucceſs: For he reduced that Country under the yoak, which he laid heavier upon it than formerly, and committed the Government thereof to his Brother *Achæmenes*, who was after many years ſlain by *Inarus* the *Lybian*.

Recovereth *Egypt*.

29. *Ægypt* being thus fortunately recovered, he was therewith much elevated and now had reſolved to follow on the War with *Greece*, but to hear what his Captains would ſay, he called them together to adviſe about it; to whom with vanity enough he opened his mind, and was ſeconded by an indiſcreet flattering Speech of *Mardonius*, who ſeemed with words to be able to blaſt the preſent Condition of *Greece*. His Uncle *Artabanus*, a grave and long experienced man, ſtrongly urged the contrary, ſhewing how vain Humane Confidence is, how brittle and unſtable the Fortune of Princes and others, which appeared ſufficiently in his Fathers expedition againſt the *Scythians* firſt, and ſince that againſt the *Athenians*; that the *Greeks* were not ſo weak a Nation he proved by the Battel at *Marathon*; that the thing which he attempted was moſt dangerous; to be thought on again and again; that without mature deliberation the Attempt would be raſh, however the ſucceſs ſhould happen; that God many times pulls down the higheſt things, and humbleth the haughty that truſt in their own ſtrength, by making them to fall into ſudden Calamities: And as for *Mardonius*, he chaſtiſed his youthful and ambitious heat with a ſharp reprehenſion, foretelling him what would be the reward of his raſhneſs. But this wiſe Council could not be heard from a grave man, the Ears of *Xerxes* being ſtopped by the ſuggeſtions of one more agreeable to his head-ſtrong and youthful humour; ſo that he imputed to his Uncle baſeneſs of mind and cowardiſe, inflicting this puniſhment upon him for it, that ſtaying at home, he ſhould not partake of ſo glorious an expedition. To this enterprize he was alſo ſtirred up by the *Aleuadæ*, or Princes of *Theſſaly*, who grudged at the Liberties of the *Greeks*; by the Son of *Piſiſtratus* alſo baniſhed *Athens*, who living in his Court, abuſed his credulity by the help of a Wizard or Fortune-Teller.

Conſulteth about renewing the War with *Greece*.

30. Yet not long after, conſidering what *Artabanus* had ſaid, he changed his purpoſe, and calling his Council together again, after he had commended his Uncles opinion, ſignified the ſame unto them, at which all the wiſer ſort much rejoyced; but the thing running in his mind, ſo that he was diſturbed in his ſleep, he returned to his former reſolution, and concluded on the expedition. In the preparation for it three years (*Herodotus* ſaith four) were taken up, all *Aſia* being concerned therein ſo far, as to ſeem to be removed out of its place. A Navy he provided out of all the Sea Coaſts of his Empire to the number of about twelve hundred Veſſels, which he commanded to meet at *Cuma* and *Phocæa*, and having out of all his Provinces gathered great multitudes of Horſe and Foot, at length he moved from *Suſa* in the fourth year of the ſeventy fourth *Olympiad*, and in the fifth year (not after the *Egyptian* Expedition, as *Herodotus* hath it, but) of his Reign. All the Land Forces met at *Critalæ*, with which he paſſed the River *Halys*, and came to *Celænæ*, a City of *Phrygia*, where *Pythius* the *Lydian* (or *Bythinian*, as *Pliny* will have him) entertained him and his Army, and preſented him with a vaſt ſum of mony, which he returned with advantage: And ſo at length he came to *Sardis*, whence he ſent into *Greece* to demand Earth and Water, as Symboles of Subjection. The Navy was come to the *Cherſoneſus* by this time, and that it might ſhun the inconvenience which that, formerly governed by *Mardonius*, had incurred, by ſailing about the Mountain or Promontory of *Athos*, he cauſed the Mountain to be cut off from the main, by a Ditch ſo broad as two Veſſels might ſail a breaſt, through which the whole Navy paſſed. And wintering this year at *Sardis*, he commanded a Bridge to be laid over the *Helleſpont* (a mile over wanting an eighth part) which being ſhattered and broken by a great Tempeſt, he took ſo hainouſly, as he commanded three hundred Stripes to be given the Sea, and a pair of Fetters to be caſt into it in token of ſervitude, and cauſing the Heads of the Workmen to be cut off, ordered other Bridges to be made.

Idem ibid. Capp. 22, 23, *&c.*

He wintereth at *Sardis*.

31. In the beginning of the Spring he moved from *Sardis* with his whole Army and came to *Abydus*, the day being turned into night by a ſudden darkneſs (though no Stars appeared) at his ſetting forth, with which portentous thing (being

Ibid. Capp. 37, 38, *&c.*

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(being no true Eclypſe) *Pythius*, who formerly entertained him, was ſo terrified, that of his five Sons liſted in the Army, he deſired the eldeſt, as the comfort of his old age, might be left to him, at which the King was ſo angry, that he commanded the young Man to be cut in two, and the parts ſo to be laid aſunder that the Army might paſs betwixt them. When he was come to *Abydus* he had an extream deſire to view all his Forces, for which purpoſe he had an high aſcent raiſed for him, where he alſo deſired to ſee a Sea-fight, which in ſhew was performed, and wherein the *Sidonians* had the better: with the ſight whereof, and of all his Land Forces on the Shore, he was elevated into a great paſſion of Joy apprehending of how many thouſands he was Maſter, and then preſently again into another of weeping, the cauſe of which *Artabanus* his Uncle demanding (who had thus far accompanied him) he told him, it was in conſidering that of ſo many thouſands not a man ſhould be alive a 100 years after. Hence that wiſe old Man took occaſion to diſcourſe to him moſt gravely of the vanity, and miſeries of this life, and being again importuned to tell his opinion concerning the expedition, did it with the ſame faithfulneſs as formerly, after which he ſent him back to *Suſa* to govern as his Deputy in his abſence.

Paſſeth over into *Europe*.

Ibid. Capp. 52, 53, &c.

32. Then prepared he for his paſſage into *Europe*, and having performed his Heatheniſh Devotions to the Sun, by one of the Bridges bending towards the *Euxine*, paſſed over his Horſe and Foot, and by another inclining towards the *Ægean*, his Slaves and Beaſts; ſeven days, and as many nights being taken up in the paſſage. The Fleet ſayled Weſtward to the Promontory of *Sarpedon*, the Land Forces marched through the *Cherſoneſus* of *Thrace* to *Agora* and ſo bore down towards the Bay of *Melana*, where a River of the ſame name failed them in drinking, as *Scamander*, and ſeveral others in *Aſia* are ſaid to have done before. Paſſing over, and moving Weſtward they came to *Doriſcus*, where being a vaſt plain watered with the great River *Hebrus*, there they pitched their Tents, and *Xerxes* muſtered his whole Army, both by Land and Sea.

A. M. 3525.
Olymp. 75. *an.* 1.
V. C. 274.
Xerxis 6.

Herodotus lib. 8. *cap.* 60, 87.
Diodorus l. 11. *ad Olymp.* 75. *an.* 1.
Cteſias in excerptis.
Oroſius lib. 1. *cap.* 10.
Ælian lib. 13. *cap.* 3.
Corn. Nep. in Themiſtoc.
Plin. lib. 33. *cap.* 10.
Iſocrat. in Panathenaico.

33. The greateſt number of Men it contained that ever were ſeen liſted under the Banners of one Man; but yet great is the variety found in Writers about the true number. *Herodotus* writeth of 1700000 Foot, and 80000 Horſe, beſides Camels, and Chariots; *Diodorus Siculus* not half ſo many Foot, *viz.* 800000. and yet what he aſſigns to the Foot, *Cteſias* attributeth to the whole Army, which he writeth to have conſiſted of 80 Myriads, beſides Chariots. *Juſtin* from *Trogus*, and *Oroſius* out of him, reckons 700000 men out of his own Dominions, and 300000 Auxiliares. *Ælian* writeth of 700000 in all, *Cornelius Nepos* of 700000 Foot, and 400000 (perhaps rather 40000) Horſe. *Pliny* 788000 (for the name of *Darius*, *Xerxes* being to be read) and *Iſocrates* agreeth with *Ælian*, mentioning only 700000 in all. As for the Navy there were found 1207 beaked Ships, and other Veſſels for carrying of Horſes, and for other uſes 3000. according to *Herodotus*, from whom *Diodorus* little diſſenteth as to the number of the Gallies, writing, there were found above 1200 of them, to which he addeth 850 Horſe-boats, and other Veſſels of burthen of 30 Oars apiece 3000. with the former agreeth *Cteſias* (though often diſſenting) and *Cicero*: with the later *Iſocrates* and *Lyſias*. *Oroſius* mentions 1200 beaked Gallies, and 3000 Veſſels of burthen; and as for that place in *Juſtin*, which encreaſeth the number of the Fleet to 10000. there is no doubt of its corruption. *Herodotus* by giving 200 men to every Gally, and furniſhing all the other Veſſels, conjectures 517610 men to have been beſtowed in the whole Fleet, ſo that at this muſter the Land and Sea-forces being added together, with the 20000 *Arabians* that drove Camels, and the *Libyans* the Chariots, at this rate would amount to 2317610. beſides Slaves and others that followed the Camp.

34. Notwithſtanding all this number, he commanded all the Nations in his paſſage, from *Doriſcus* towards *Greece*, to march along with him, ſo that hereby came an acceſſion of 120 Ships to his Fleet, to which giving 200 men a piece, the number will amount to 2400. and to his Land Army another of 30 Myriads, or 300000 men, as *Herodotus* gathereth (though *Diodorus* thinketh leſs ſomething then 20 Myriads) and ſo the whole number of his *Aſian* and *Europæan* Souldiers would on this account amount to 2641610. and yet he thinketh the number of Slaves and attendants to have rather exceeded this, ſo that if it only be doubled, the number of thoſe perſons that by land came to *Thermopylæ*, and by Sea to *Sepias*, amounted to five millions two hundred eighty three thouſand two hundred and twenty. As for the number of women that baked meat, and of Concubines and Eunuchs which followed, no man can aſſign them, of carriage beaſts,

The number of his men.

beaſts, and for the Waggons, and of *Indian* Doggs no man could count; ſo that no wonder it is that to this ſtupendous multitude ſome ſorts of Rivers failed to afford drink, or that *Plutarch* and *Iſocrates* ſhould write five millions to have followed *Xerxes* into *Greece*; the wonder is, that no greater Plague raged amongſt them, that any concord could be preſerved amongſt ſo many Nations, and that proviſions could be procured for the preſervation of the lives of ſo many Creatures.

The preparations of the *Græcians* for defence.

35. The *Græcians* all this while having had intelligence; firſt of his deſign all along from *Demaratus* the *Spartan* Exile, and then of his motions, were according to their ſeveral intereſts variouſly affected. Some, as the *Thebans*, and the reſt of the *Bœotians* (except the *Theſpians*, and them of *Platæa*) and many *Theſſalians* (perſwaded by the *Aleuadæ*) and ſeveral others, out of fear, had under-hand ſent Earth and Water, as Symboles of ſubjection: Many alſo were uncertain in their reſolutions, not knowing what to do. The reſt meeting at the *Iſthmus*, and conſulting for the publick ſafety, reſolved, and ſwore *to joyn together in War againſt the* Perſians, *and with United power to defend the liberty of* Greece; *at the preſent to wave all their private differences for that purpoſe, and to remit the monies owing to each other; to devote the tenth to* Apollo, *i. e. to do to death the tenth man of all thoſe that had already given up themſelves to the Enemy.* The War which had often been patched up, and ſtill brake out again, betwixt the *Athenians* and them of *Ægina*, was compoſed. By occaſion of this War the *Athenians* of late had ſtrengthned themſelves exceedingly at Sea, through the procurement of *Themiſtocles* the Son of *Neocles*, a very wiſe man, who had brought the people to lay out the mony, which iſſued out of the golden Mines of *Lamio*, and was to be divided amongſt the multitude man by man, upon ſhiping, whereby the Fleet was encreaſed to almoſt two hundred ſayl, and *Greece* came to be preſerved. About the ſame time it hapned that the *Athenians* aſking Counſel at *Delphos*, the Oracle anſwered, that wooden Walls alone would be ſecurity to them; which ſeveral interpreting ſeveral ways, he expounded Ships to be meant by it, and preſſed hard that a Sea Victory was promiſed them at the Iſland *Salamine*, which being received by the greater part, they ſet themſelves with all their might to the ſtrengthning of their Navy.

36. But thoſe of the League finding it convenient to call in the help of their Friends, and Allies, ſent into *Sicily*, *Corcyra* and *Crete*, to deſire aid and aſſiſtance of the *Greek* Colonies againſt the publick Enemy; and to *Argos* to excite them to joyn againſt him with the reſt of their Neighbours. But all was to no purpoſe; for *Gelon*, who then had all *Sicily* in his power, and was thought to have more Ships then all the aſſociates put together, refuſed to give any aid except he might be declared Captain-General of the whole Army; the *Corcyræans* promiſed great matters, confeſſing their ſafety to be involved in that of *Greece*; but reſolving to make uſe of the ſucceſs of their party, when danger threatned *Greece* from *Xerxes*, they ſent ſixty Ships, under ſhew of ſupply, but commanded the Fleet to hover about *Laconia*, and apply it ſelf to *Xerxes*, if Conquerour, as coming in to his aſſiſtance; which being obſerved, after the Fight the Officers excuſed themſelves for being abſent at the Battel of *Salamine*, becauſe the Eteſian Winds blowing contrary, they could not double the Cape of *Malea*. The *Cretans* very powerful at Sea put off the matter under pretence of hearing an anſwer from the Oracle at *Delphos*, whither they ſaid they had ſent: and the *Argives* out of hatred to the *Lacedæmonians*, propoſed ſuch conditions as could not be admitted, and preſſed them ſore with the reſt of the aſſociates.

37. The *Athenians* then and *Lacedæmonians* being moſt ingaged (againſt whom the deſign of the *Perſian* was moſt bent) applied themſelves with all their might to make reſiſtance. *Xerxes* being about to paſs over into *Europe*, the *Theſſalians* ſent to them, demanding help to ſecure themſelves, as elſe being unable to ſtand out. The Council General at that time being aſſembled in the *Iſthmus*, thinking it wiſdom to withſtand him at the firſt entry into *Greece*, rather than to defend it in broken parts, ſent preſently away by Sea ten thouſand men into *Theſſalia*, under conduct of *Evenetus* a *Spartan*, and *Themiſtocles* the *Athenian*, who in conjunction with the *Theſſalian* Horſe, at the River *Peneus*, flowing betwixt the Straights of *Oſſa* and *Olympus*, might hinder the paſſage of the *Perſians*; but after they came there, it being ſhewed to them to be but a vain thing there to oppoſe themſelves againſt ſo great a multitude, (eſpecially ſeeing there were other paſſages into *Theſſalie*,) by *Alexander* King of *Macedonia*,

Sect. 2.

they returned back again to the *Iſthmus*, and the *Theſſalians* thus forſaken, gave themſelves up to the *Perſians*. Afterwards the Council again deliberating what ſhould be done, reſolved to ſeize upon the Straights of *Thermopylæ*, being the only paſſage out of *Theſſalie* into *Greece*, and better to be maintained by far than the other, and concluded on ſending ſix thouſand Foot thither under command of *Leonidas* the valiant King of *Sparta*. Sea-matters were committed to the care of the *Athenians* and *Æginætans* eſpecially, and it was reſolved, that the Fleet ſhould ſail to the *Artemiſian* Shore, towards the North part of the Iſland *Eubœa*, and not far from the Straights. *Xerxes* drawing near, this was done accordingly, both as to Land and Sea Forces; but the Navy receiving an Alarm, through a miſchance of three of it's Ships, retreated into the Straights betwixt *Eubœa* and *Bœotia*, where *Euripus* floweth betwixt *Chalcis* and *Aulis*; but underſtanding of a great Wrack ſuffered by the *Perſian* Fleet, wherein by tempeſtuous weather were loſt four hundred Veſſels, with a great multitude of Men, and much treaſure, it returned back after a few days; in the mean while *Xerxes* drew down with his innumerable multitudes to the Straights.

38. He ſent before a Spie to look how *Leonidas* and his men behaved themſelves, who bringing him word how he found the *Spartans*, who then kept watch, exerciſing themſelves in gymnick Games, and dreſſing their Heads as on ſome Feſtival, he demanded of *Demaratus* their Country-man the reaſon thereof. He told him they were fully reſolved to die for their Country, and ready to fight it out to the laſt man, if need required; whereat he derided him as before when he ſpake of the valour of his Country-men, thinking they would be ſo skared at his multitudes, as not to dare to come to hand-ſtrokes. But finding no ſuch matter, but *Demaratus* his words to be true, on the fifth day after, he commanded a party of *Medes* to fall upon them, who being with great ſlaughter repulſed, he ſent his Band of *Perſians*, which being invincible as was thought, he named were Immortal, and they, though wanting no courage under the eyes of the King, who from an high Throne beheld the Fight, came off with the ſame ſucceſs; whereat he was aſtoniſhed, and grew melancholly, as being now ſollicitous for his whole Army. The next day the Fight wae renewed, but with the ſame Iſſue, great ſlaughter being made of the *Perſians*, ſo that the way being more narrow by the Carkeiſes, there was no room for a multitude to Fight, which being driven one upon another, the confuſion and conſequently the Slaughter was the greater. At this, *Xerxes* was ſtruck with great conſternation, not knowing what to do.

The fight at *Thermoplæ.*

39. There was one in the Army, a *Trachinian*, named *Epialtes*, or *Ephialtes* (as *Pauſanias* writeth it) who underſtanding his trouble went to him, and offered to ſhew a way over the Mountains, by which, though with much difficulty, he might ſend a Party to come about, and fall on the backs of the *Græcians*. Being cheared with this, he ſent as many as ſhewed themſelves moſt forward, with him, under the command of *Hydarnes*, who paſſing over the River *Aſopus*, got in the dark of the night up into the Mountain, where beating down the Guard of *Phocians* which there watched, they began to come into the more plain and eaſie way, when the thing was carried by ſome fugitives to the *Græcians*. They were ſtricken with great terror at the report, all but *Leonidas* with his *Spartans*, who for that the *Lacedæmonians* were told by an Oracle, that they muſt either loſe their City or one of their Kings, was very ready to abide to the utmoſt. Wherefore he willingly gave way to his aſſociates to depart, bidding them reſerve themſelves for the better condition of their Country, who all preſently falling off, except the *Theſpians*, and ſuch *Thebans* as the reſt of the *Græcians* had forced thither, not ſo much to help them, as to keep them as Hoſtages; with them and his three hundred *Spartans* he prepared himſelf to fight, with a mind devoted already to death. When the Sun was up, and the *Perſians* not yet got down, thoſe reſolute *Grecians* paſſing the Straights to redeem their lives at deerer rates, fell in upon the multitudes of their Enemies, with which being compaſſed about, they were all cut off, with *Leonidas*, except ſuch as retiring back into the Straights took an hill, and fighting valiantly with thoſe *Perſians* whom *Epialtes* had led down upon them, ſold their lives as their fellows very deer; twenty thouſand of *Xerxes* his Army with this handful of men being ſlain. The *Thebans* alone lifted up their Targets begging quarter, crying out they were brought thither againſt their wills, and that they were *Xerxes* his Subjects; yet were they ſlain, or being taken were ſtigmatized for diſgrace. The body of *Leonidas* being found was nailed to a Croſs. Theſe things hapned at *Thermopylæ* in the middle

Juſtin.

middle of Summer, while ſome of the *Græcians* in *Peloponneſus* were Celebrating the Games of the ſeventy fifth *Olympiad*, in the beginning of its firſt year, wherein *Callias* was *Archon* at *Athens*, as we are told from *Diodorus Siculus*, of whoſe Hiſtory digeſted according to the years of their Solemnities, that part now extant beginneth with this Expedition; at which time alſo Philoſophy was tranſlated out of *Ionia* to *Athens* by *Anaxagoras* the *Clazomenian*, Scholar to *Anaximenes* the *Mileſian*, who now being twenty years old began to profeſs it in that City, way being made for Learning there, by the Library collected through the Induſtry of *Piſiſtratus*.

Laertius in vita Clemens Stromat. lib. 1.

40. *Xerxes* having now had experience of what *Demaratus* had ſaid to him, asked his advice for carrying on the War; being in great doubt what to do, after he had heard how they of *Sparta* were able to Arm well nigh eight thouſand men of ſuch temper as the former, and that the other *Lacedæmonians*, though inferior to thoſe, were very valiant. *Demaratus* being of this opinion, that all the Land forces would aſſemble together at the *Iſthmus*, to defend that entry into *Peloponneſus*, adviſed him to ſend three hundred Ships well mann'd to ſpoil the Country of *Laconia*, thereby to keep the *Lacedæmonians* and their Neighbours entangled at home; while having ſubdued the reſt, he might afterwards fall upon them, who would be then too weak of themſelves to ſuſtain his power: He farther alſo adviſed, that three hundred Veſſels ſhould ſeiſe upon *Cythera* the Iſland, which lying near the Coaſts of *Laconia*, might ſerve as a place of Retreat or Rendezvouz for their own ſecurity, and indamaging of the Enemy; *Chilon* the *Lacedæmonian* having been wont to ſay, that it were better for them to have it drowned in the Sea, than to ſtand ſo as it did for their diſadvantage. But *Achæmenes* the Brother of *Xerxes* ſtiffly impugned this advice, leſt by the ſevering of the Fleet after ſuch loſs by the Tempeſt, they might prove too weak for the *Græcians* at Sea; and to this out of fear the King ſubmitted, hoping his Land Army and Fleet ſhould ſtand each the other in good ſtead, both holding one courſe and not lying far aſunder.

Herodotus l. 8.

41. The Fleet of the *Græcians* ſtood all this while at *Artemiſium*; as a Bulwark to *Eubœa*, Commanded by *Eurybiades* the *Lacedæmonian*, to whom the *Athenians* for quietneſs and ſafety gave place. But now the *Peloponneſians* having every one an eye upon his own Country, longed to go farther into *Greece*, and were only ſtayed by the cunning of *Themiſtocles*, till ſuch time as the *Eubœans* could ſecure their Wives and Children, with the principal of their Goods. In the mean time, the *Perſians* thinking to incompaſs them, ſent two hundred Sail to come behind about the Iſland, they lying in the Straits betwixt it and the Main. They had knowledge of this device, and not ignorant of the loſs ſuſtained by the *Perſian* Fleet in the laſt Tempeſt, ſet ſail at midnight and met theſe two hundred Ships with a counterſurpriſe, took and ſunk thirty of them, and forced the reſt to take the Sea, where by foul weather they were driven upon the Rocks, and all caſt away. The news of this was brought to the *Græcians* by fifty three *Athenian* Ships, ſent in to increaſe the Fleet, which doubled the joy thereof; ſo that elevated with new hopes, they ſet next day upon ſome *Cilician* Ships which were ſevered from the reſt of the Fleet, and, damnifying them much, returned to *Artemiſium*.

A Sea-Fight:

42. The *Perſians* taking this in great indignation, and fearing the anger of *Xerxes*, reſolved to redeem their credit with ſome notable exploit, and for that purpoſe the next day in the form of a Creſcent invaded the *Grecians*. They cheerfully gave them battel, and the Fight endured from Noon till Night, ending with equal loſs to both parties: For though more of the *Perſian* Veſſels were loſt, yet the leſſer damage fell as heavy upon the other, which being ſmaller could leſs bear it, though they fought moſt manfully for their Liberty and Country; the *Athenians* deſerving beſt amongſt them and amongſt the *Athenians*, *Clinias* the Father of *Alcybiades*, a famous man in the next Age. Amongſt the *Perſians* the *Egyptians* fought moſt ſtoutly, and theſe things happened at Sea thoſe ſame three days in which the Land Action was at *Thermopylæ*, in both the Straits the *Greeks* endeavouring to hinder the Enemies acceſs into their Country. But ſhortly after that they had intelligence by one ſent out on purpoſe, what was become of *Leonidas* and thoſe with him, they would needs depart from *Artemiſium*, and draw their Navy, much battered in the former Fights, more inwards and nearer home. *Themiſtocles* ſeeing this reſolution, before they weighed Anchor, perſwaded them to kill up the Cattel of the *Eubœans*, and bring the meat on Shipboard, rather than to leave them a Prey to the Enemy, and engraved upon ſtones upon the Shore, and at the watering places where he knew the *Ionians* would come, an Exhortation to Revolt to the *Greeks* and ſide with their Mother Country, or elſe ſtand neutral in the Fight, or Fight coldly. This he

Idem ibid. Plutarch in Themiſtoc.

hoped would either prevail with them, or at leaſt render them ſuſpected with the *Perſian*.

43. From *Artemiſium* they ſailed to the Coaſt of *Attica*, and at the deſire of the *Athenians* took up their harbour at the Iſland *Salamine*: The *Perſian* Fleet removed to *Artemiſium* and the Coaſt adjoyning to *Hiſtæotis*. *Xerxes* now having paſſed the Streights of *Thermopylæ*, marched through the Country of *Doris* into *Phocis*, which being forſaken of its Inhabitants he waſted, and when he came to *Panopæa* a Town thereof, he divided his Army into two parts. With the one he invaded *Greece*, and the other he ſent to rifle and burn the famous Temple of *Delphos*; but as it's ſaid, this party was almoſt wholly deſtroyed without humane help, by Thunder and Lightning, and two Rocks, which breaking off from the Mountain *Parnaſſus*, overwhelmed it: Thoſe that eſcaped were generally killed by the *Phocians*, who having fled into the Mountain for fear of *Xerxes*, fell upon them, ſo that few remained and eſcaped to their Friends in *Bœotia*. *Xerxes* now marched through *Bœotia*, the Country of his Allies, into *Attica*, with intention to do his utmoſt againſt the City of *Athens* it ſelf.

A Party ſent by *Xerxes* to deſtroy the Temple of *Delphos*, conſum'd with Thunder and Lightning.

44. In the mean time, the *Gracian* Fleet lying at *Salamine*, though ſtrengthned with a new acceſſion of Ships at the Coaſt of *Træzene*, could hardly be contained there; for every one being ſollicitous for his own Countrey, and deſpairing of *Attica* and the reſt of *Greece* without the *Iſthmus*, was buſie in fortifying this neck of Land, and labour'd thither to bring the Navy, whence there might be ſafe retreat into *Peloponneſus* if need were. This the *Athenians* underſtanding, were ſore troubled, as having juſtly expected that the *Peloponneſians* would joyn with them, and the reſt of the Aſſociates in defending *Attica*, as they had fought for them at *Artemiſium*; but making the beſt uſe of it they could, they begged of them ſo long to ſtay there till they could provide ſome way for themſelves. Having obtained this, they publiſhed an Edict by the procurement of *Themiſtocles* (who improved the Oracle formerly mentioned to this purpoſe, and invented other devices) that all fit by Age ſhould come aboard, and tranſport their Wives and Children out of the City with their Slaves, and what they could; which was done, moſt carrying them to *Træzene*, where they were kindly entertained; and that *Ariſtides*, a man famous for wiſdom, juſtice, and integrity, but lately baniſhed for a time by the *Oſtraciſm*, by the potent faction of *Themiſtocles*, might return home; by the ſame procurement another Order was made to recall all whoſoever were baniſhed, that they might now in time of need ſerve their Country, and out of fear, leſt they ſhould joyn themſelves to the Enemy.

The *Athenians* remove.

Plutarch ut ſupra.

45. In the Fleet now at *Salamine* were three hundred fifty eight armed Ships, beſides other Veſſels of leſs importance, of which an hundred and eighty were provided and furniſhed by the *Athenians*; ſixteen only by the *Lacedæmonians*; the *Corinthians* ſent forty; the Inhabitants of *Ægina* thirty, which were notable for ſwiftneſs; the *Megarians* twenty; they of *Chalcis* furniſhed as many, having the Veſſels of the *Athenians*; the reſt were ſupplied in leſſer numbers by the *Chians*, *Naxians*, *Melians*, and *Seriphians* Iſlanders. Whilſt the Officers were in Council about the place of Battel, News came that the Enemy was entred *Attica*, waſting all with Fire and Sword; for having in *Bœotia* burned the Towns of the *Theſpians* and *Platæans*, who had forſaken their Habitations, he haſted into *Attica*, where conſuming all things he entred *Athens*, three months after he had paſſed over his Forces into *Europe*. The Caſtle, ſome few who would not leave their ancient Seat held out to the laſt, and were all put to the Sword; having refuſed quarter upon a vain confidence of the Oracle, that the City ſhould be defended with wooden Walls, and thinking they fulfilled the ſame by fortifying themſelves with Boards and Palliſadoes: the Temple of *Minerva* in the Caſtle he burn'd to aſhes. The Meſſage being brought, the Captains departed every man to his Ship, decreeing nothing, and all the reſt of the *Peloponneſians* determined to ſail to the *Iſthmus*.

46. This reſolution might have proved fatal to all *Greece*, had it not been prevented by the wiſdom of *Themiſtocles*, who being ſtirred up by *Mneſiphilus* of *Athens*, followed *Eurybiades* the Admiral into his Ship, and obtained of him again to aſſemble the Council. Here he overcame him by his mildneſs, who lifting up his Rod in an heat to ſtrike him, *he bad him ſtrike ſo he would but hear*. When he came to ſpeak of ſtaying at *Salamine*, one *Adymantis* upbraided him with the loſs of his Country, ſaying; It was not fit that ſuch an one ſhould give Council to them, that had theirs remaining to them: To whom he boldly replied, that though they, the *Athenians*, had left their Houſes and Walls, dead things, and not to be valued with their liberty, yet they had a City left them, than which there was none greater

Herodotus & Plutarch ut prius.

in *Greece, viz.* two hundred Ships which as yet was preſent, and ready to help their Aſſociates: But if they would depart and betray them, he would have them know they ſhould preſently hear, that the *Athenians* had both a free City and Territories as good as that they had left, meaning *Siris*, a Town in *Italy*, in their power. *Eurybiades* hearing this, and fearing to be deprived of the *Athenian* Fleet, ſo neceſſary for their ſupport, inclined to his opinion, inſomuch that the *Græcians* reſolved to ſtay and prepared themſelves for the Fight; but the *Perſian* Fleet drawing down to *Phalerus* the *Athenian* Port, and the Land Army to the Sea ſide, the *Peloponneſians* were ſo affrighted thereat, that having all their minds upon the *Iſthmus*, the advice of *Themiſtocles* was not at all regarded, and they reſolved to weigh Anchor and to be gone that night, and notice hereof was given to the Mariners.

47. For now *Xerxes* his Fleet was drawn down ſo repaired, and increaſed by a new acceſſion of Ships, that it was altogether as conſiderable as before the Shipwrack at *Sepias*, and taking all Nations as he paſſed along with them, his Land Army contained as great a number as heretofore at *Thermopylæ*. The King came down from *Athens* to *Phalerus* the Port, and called a Council to deliberate what ſhould be done. All the Captains were for a Sea Fight, the Kings of *Tyre* and *Sidon* being firſt asked their opinions by *Mardonius*; only a woman, *Artemiſia* Queen of *Halicarnaſſus*, a wiſe and valiant Perſon, who had followed *Xerxes* in this expedition with five Ships, with grave and important Arguments diſſwaded a Sea Fight, and adviſed him to enter *Peloponneſus* with his Land Army, for thereby he would preſently diſſolve the *Greekiſh* Fleet, and finiſh the War. Though this advice followed would have been enough, and *Xerxes* could not but commend it, yet the major and worſe part carried it, and it was reſolved to fight the *Græcians* out of hand at *Salamine*. The Anchors then were weighed, and the Fleet made thitherwards; but Night coming on, ſuffered them not that day to reach the Iſland.

Plutarch in Themiſtoc.

48. At this time were the *Peloponneſians* ready to depart homewards, and thereby the Eſtate of *Greece* to be ruined, by their breaking their united Power, and reducing themſelves into their particular and inconſiderable Conditions, had not *Themiſtocles*, born for the preſervation of his Countrey, relieved it by his wiſdom in its great neceſſity. There was one *Sicinus* a *Perſian*, who, taken Priſoner, was a great lover of *Themiſtocles*, and taught his Children: Him he ſent privately to the King, to tell him that he, preferring his good before that of the *Græcians*, gave him now firſt to underſtand that they were about to flee, and adviſed him not to ſuffer it, but prevent them and ſet upon them whilſt they were diſordered, and the Fleet was ſevered from their Land Army. *Xerxes* gladly hearing the meſſage, as believing it to proceed out of *Themiſtocles* his affection to him, communicated it to his Officers, and while the reſt could be furniſhed with Soldiers, ſent two hundred Ships about the Iſland to block up the Streights, ſo that none of the Enemies might eſcape. *Themiſtocles* communicated what he had done to *Ariſtides*, who approving of it, went to perſwade the *Greeks* to Fight; when preſently, while their minds hung in ſuſpence, came a Ship of *Tenedos* from the *Perſian* Fleet, and acquainted them with what was done in the Streights; ſo that Neceſſity completed what was but half effected by the ſpeech of *Ariſtides*.

Idem & Herod ut prius.

49. Then prepared they themſelves unanimouſly to the Battel. *Themiſtocles* made a ſpeech unto them, wherein he ſhewed where their concernments lay, exhorting them to Fight manfully for their Country and Liberty, for their Parents, Wives, Children, and whatſoever was dear to them; with which, being provoked, they applied themſelves to their Ships, and put forth the Fleet into the Main. *Xerxes* placed himſelf on an high Throne to behold the Fight over againſt *Salamine*, and had ſome with him to write down the particulars thereof: A bloody Fight indeed was fought with great earneſtneſs on both ſides, the one fighting under the eyes of their King, who marked every paſſage and accordinly was affected, and the other for as much as could be dear to them in ſo dangerous a condition. Herein the *Greeks* had the advantage, that they were more exerciſed in Sea matters, and having all they had lying at the ſtake, they did it with the more earneſtneſs, and in that they fought with greater order: The *Perſians*, with ſo great a multitude of Ships, fought in diſorder and hindred one another, and if the Veſſels ſunk, were all loſt; whereas their enemies, by their skill in ſwimming, ſaved themſelves. At length the *Ionians*, ſollicited as was ſaid, by little and little withdrawing themſelves from the Fight, the reſt what by that diſcouraged, and overcome by the pertinacious valour of their enemies began to flee, the *Athenians* preſſing hard upon them, and deſtroying many of their Ships: Of ſuch as fled towards *Phalerus*, many were intercepted by the *Ægenatans*, the Emulators of the other in deſerving well of *Greece*; ſuch

Xerxes his Fleet defeated.

ſuch as eſcaped them, and got to the Port, thence withdrew themſelves to the Land Army.

50. Of all the *Græcians*, the *Athenians* and *Æginætans* deſerved beſt, and amongſt them *Themiſtocles*; the Captains of the Fleet each one, when upon their Oaths they pronounced who merited moſt, naming him after themſelves. Amongſt the *Perſians* the valour of *Artemiſia* the Queen was moſt conſpicuous, acknowledged by *Xerxes* himſelf, who thereupon ſaid, that *his men were turned women, and women became men:* She was ſaved as it happened, and eſcaped to *Phalerus*. Many Noble *Perſians* fell, amongſt the reſt *Ariabignes* the Kings Brother; but few of the *Græcians*. *Xerxes* exceedingly diſcouraged with this great loſs, conſidered of his ſafe retreat out of *Europe*, fearing the *Ionians* might break the Bridge laid over the *Helleſpont*; yet that he might colour any ſuch intention, he began a new project by caſting earth into the Streights, to joyn the Iſland *Salamine* with the Continent. But *Mardonius* knowing his temper, and bethinking himſelf in what caſe he himſelf might ſtand for being the firſt adviſer to the War, went to him, and extenuating the loſs, the Land Army being left intire, at length propoſed to him to leave him three hundred thouſand men, with which he would engage to revenge him upon *Greece*, and reduce it all under his power if he pleaſed to depart himſelf into *Aſia*, being nothing tainted in honour for that things had not ſo well ſucceeded in this Encounter, becauſe the miſcarriage was procured by the Cowardiſe of the *Ægyptians*, *Phœnicians*, *Cilicians*, and others no better than Slaves; the *Perſians* having gallantly enough behaved themſelves; and he, their Prince, having ſubdued already the greater part of *Greece*, and taken *Athens* it ſelf, againſt which the War was principally intended.

51. He liked very well the motion, but ſtill diſſembled the matter, anſwering that he would refer it to his Council, which he accordingly called, and asked the advice particularly of *Artemiſia*. She approved of *Mardonius* his Opinion, for that if he ſhould ſubdue *Greece* it would be to the King's advantage, and if he miſcarried it would be no diſgrace to him, who in his own perſon had accompliſhed the main deſign of the expedition, in taking and waſting *Athens*. He was pleaſed therewith, ſent her before hand away with his Sons he had brought with him, and gave liberty to *Mardonius* to make choice of what, and how many forces he pleaſed; all this being done the ſame day with the Fight at *Salamis*. The Night following, in great fear and diſorder, the Fleet looſed from *Phalerus*, and fled amain towards the *Helleſpont*, which the *Græcians* ſeeing purſued them as far as *Andros* one of the *Cyclades*, and took in there, for that they could then no more diſcern them, and that Iſland had been of the *Perſian* Faction. Here it being debated in the Council of Officers whether the Enemy ſhould be any further purſued, *Eurybiades* the General, for ſeveral grave and urgent reaſons diſſwaded it, a Bridge being rather to be laid for him; inſomuch that he convinced the reſt; and *Themiſtocles*, who as *Herodotus* ſaith, was formerly for the purſuit or elſe diſſembled, for reaſons which followed, changed his opinion, and reſtrained the *Athenians*.

52. And further foreſeeing that through their inconſtancy and known ingratitude, he might have cauſe in time to come to uſe Friends; that now he might make one of *Xerxes*, and therein alſo further provide for the good of his Country, he betook himſelf to his wonted craft and policy. He diſpatched away to him his former truſty Meſſenger, to acquaint him how careful he was for his ſafety, in diſſwading the *Græcians* from purſuing him, and to adviſe him by all means to make towards the *Helleſpont*, e're the Bridge ſhould be broken down, which he thought would be within a ſmall time. He being much affrighted hereat retreated preſently with all his Forces the ſame way he came into *Theſſaly*, where delivering to *Mardonius* three hundred thouſand men picked out of the whole Army, and ſettling other matters, with a ſmall and obſcure Train fitteſt for haſt (all the reſt being commanded to follow) he haſted through *Macedonia* and *Thrace* to the *Helleſpont*, where he arrived after forty five days. Here, whether he found the Bridge whole and ſo paſſed over it, or (what the *Græcians* have believed) broken in pieces by Tempeſts, and ſo paſſed over obſcurely in a Fiſhers Boat, obſervable is the great change upon him, who with ſo great pride had formerly beaten the Sea, and caſt Fetters into it. His Army following was a great part conſumed by the Plague, Famine, and other caſualties; ſo that the Fowls of the Air continually followed it, the way being full of Carkaſes. And being ſhipped over to *Abydus*, very many died by intemperate uſe of dyet, and drinking too much in the dyſentery, wherewith they were ſorely grieved. Thoſe that remained, by ſlow Journeys reached their King, lying at *Sardis*.

Herodotus, Plutarch. Diodorus ut ſuprà.

53. *Artabazus*, a man of prime note amongſt the Perſians, accompanied *Xerxes*

He flyeth.

to the *Helleſpont*, with a partie of ſixty thouſand men taken out of *Mardonius* his Army, who finding at his return the inhabitants of *Potidæa* in *Macedonia* to have revolted, fearing the *Pallenians* round about would do the ſame, and ſuſpecting alſo *Olynthus*, which then was inhabited by the *Bottiæans*, he beſieged both Towns, of which the latter he took, and killing the Towns-men gave it to one *Critobulus* of *Chalcis* to govern, after which, they of that place inhabited it. He then more ſtrongly beſieged *Potidæa*, but after three months having layn before it to no purpoſe, many of his men being loſt in the Sea, which broke in with an unuſual Tide, he roſe up and departed to *Mardonius*, who, for that Winter was at hand, had taken up his quarters in *Theſſaly*, and the adjoyning places of *Macedonia*. The *Perſian* Fleet being returned to the Coaſt of *Aſia*, wintered at *Cumæ*, for the greateſt part, onely ſome Ships at *Samos*, whither in the Spring they all ſailed, being increaſed to the number of three hundred by the addition of the *Ionians*, on whoſe Coaſt now they lay to keep them in obedience, being little deſirous of ſailing any more Weſtward, for the experience they had lately had of the *Græcians* at *Salamina*; and yet being in as little fear of their coming to them, whom they expected to be kept in awe, ſo as not to ſtir far from home, becauſe of *Mardonius*.

54 They ſtirred not indeed about providing any Land-forces wherewith to oppoſe *Mardonius*; but very buſie they were at *Ægina* in rigging their Fleet, over which *Leutychides* King of *Sparta* (iſſued from *Procles*, and put into the place of *Demeratus*,) was made Admiral: *Xanthippus* Father to *Pericles* being General of the *Athenian* Fleet, which contained the moſt Ships. While they abode here, came ſix men from *Chios*, who having conſpired againſt *Strathes* their Tyrant, upon diſcovery of the Plot, fled, Beſeeching them that they would undertake the freeing of *Ionia*; and ſo far they prevailed, as to get them to ſail to *Delus*; but no further would they go, becauſe unacquainted as yet with the affairs of *Aſia*, they feared the *Perſians*; ſo that both parties ſtood in awe of each other.

Mardonius left behind.

55. *Mardonius* thinking of his promiſe made to his Maſter, conſulted the Oracles; but they refuſing to anſwer, he ſent *Alexander* King of *Macedonia*, now in great grace with the *Perſians*, through the marriage of his Siſter to *Bubares*, in ambaſſage to the *Athenians*, to take them off from the ſociety with the reſt of *Greece*. He knew they gave the moſt mortal blows in the Battle at *Salamina*, and thought, that if they could be taken off, the reſt would be conquered with little or no difficulty. The fame of this Ambaſſage flying abroad, came to *Sparta*, which netled the *Lacedæmonians*, and made them with all ſpeed to diſpatch away Ambaſſadors of their own, to prevent the alliance ſo dangerous to all *Greece*, and the *Athenians* refuſed to give audience to *Alexander*, till they were arrived, that they might alſo be preſent thereat. *Alexander* told them that *Xerxes* had given order to *Mardonius* to ſignifie to them how willing he was to remit what was paſt; to reſtore them their Territories, and more than them if they would; to leave them to their own freedom, and repaire their Temples at his own charges, if they would enter into a League of amity with him; otherwiſe they could not be ignorant how great inconveniences they drew upon themſelves from ſo potent a Prince, able to ſend other Armies if they now with *Mardonius* ſhould be overthrown: to theſe things ſpoken as from *Mardonius*, the Ambaſſador added as a friend, that they ſhould not let ſlip ſuch an opportunity. After him the Ambaſſadors of *Sparta* ſpoke, and ſhewed how unworthy a thing it would be for the *Athenians* of all others, to forſake the publick cauſe, they having been the Authors of the War, and their Anceſtors ſo renowned for ſetting others at liberty; wherefore they hoped that they would not be acceſſary to the ſlavery of all *Greece*. Their anſwer was to *Alexander*, that ſo long as the Sun ſhould hold his courſe, they would never enter into alliance with *Xerxes*, but reſiſt his Forces with their own; and him they deſired, whom they reſpected as a Friend, not any more to bring ſuch an unwelcome meſſage, leſt he might ſuffer ſomething from the angry people. To the *Spartans* they anſwered to this purpoſe, that they would never any of them as long as they lived enter into confederacy with the *Perſian*: they thanked them for their kind offer to maintain their Wives and Children in caſe of neceſſity, which they hoped they ſhould not have much cauſe to need, ſo as to be troubleſom to them; and deſired them to haſten away to them their ſupplies, for that they beleived the *Barbarian* would not loſe time after the report of their anſwer, but preſently invade them; and they thought it moſt convenient to meet him in *Bœotia*.

Herod. lib. 9.

56. *Mardonius* having received this anſwer from *Athens*, in great wrath march-

Sect. 2.

ed thitherwards out of *Theſſalie*. When he came to *Thebes*, the Inhabitants adviſed him to go no farther, for that he ſhould never ſubdue *Greece* united together, but ſtay there in a commodious place, and corrupt with mony thoſe that were moſt prevalent in each City, whereby he might divide the *Gracians* into factions, and ſo eaſily maſtering the diſſenters, ſubdue the whole Country. But he not hearkening to this advice, proceeded, hoping by Fires made in the Iſlands, to give notice to *Xerxes* ſtill lying at *Sardis*, that he was again got into *Athens*, which the Inhabitants upon his approach, and the *Peloponneſians* deferring to ſend their ſuccors, again quitted and departed to *Salamine*. He entered *Athens*, the tenth Moneth being now compleated after *Xerxes* had the poſſeſſion of that City, and having ſo done, ſent to *Salamine* to the owners of it, once more offering them the ſame conditions he had formerly propoſed by *Alexander* of *Macedonia*, hoping, that upon this extremity to which they were once again reduced, they might change their ſtubbornneſs for a more complying diſpoſition.

57. But they were ſo far from harkening to what he offered, that they ſtoned one *Lycidas* a Senator, for ſaying it deſerved to be taken into conſideration, and to be propoſed to the whole body of the People, and his Wife and Children were uſed in the ſame manner by the women. Then ſent they (together with the *Megarians* and *Platæans*) ſeriouſly to expoſtulate with the *Lacedæmonians* for the non-performance of their promiſe, whereby their Country was again expoſed to the will and pleaſure of the Enemy, and plainly to tell them, that except their aſſociates would better ſtand to their word, and diſpatch away their ſuccours in time, they muſt needs provide for themſelves apart, for as much as yet a way was open for their entry into confederacy with the common Enemy. The Ambaſſadors found them celebrating annual Games, and underſtood that the *Peloponneſians* were only intent upon their prefecting the Wall at the Iſthmus, having no regard at all to them, whereof they highly complained to the *Ephori*. They promiſed them an anſwer the next day, but deferred from day to day, until after ten days the wall of the *Iſthmus* was perfected.

58. After this time came a man of *Tegea* to them, and blaming them for their neglect of their allies, convinced them of the vanity of the Wall, in caſe the *Athenians* ſhould joyn with *Mardonius*; for they could with eaſe convey him otherwiſe than by the *Iſthmus* into *Peloponneſus*, wherewith being ſtartled, in the dead time of the Night, and without privity of the Ambaſſadors, they ſent out five thouſand men beſides ſeven thouſand of the Heilots or publick Slaves, under the conduct of *Cleombrotus* Tutor to *Pliſtarchus* the young King. In the morning the Ambaſſadors came again to them expoſtulating as before, whereto the *Ephori* anſwered, that their Succors were already on their way, whom then the other underſtanding the matter, followed, and with them other five thouſand gathered out of the places bordering upon *Sparta*. *Mardonius* having intelligence how things went in *Peloponneſus* from the *Argives*, who all this while, were of his party, was ſomething abaſhed, having till now had ſome hopes of the *Athenians* their compliance, for which reaſon he had ſpared their Territories. But now he deſtroyed all he could both in City and Country, and forſaking *Attica* as a Region dangerous to his Army, by reaſon of the unevenneſs of the Ground, and hard to be quitted ſodainly in time of danger, he returned into *Bœotia* a Champain Country, and in alliance with him, where in the Territories of the *Thebans* he pitched his Tents at the River *Aſopus*, bringing much dammage to his friends round about, in taking up ſuch things as were but neceſſary to the ſuſtenance of his Army. The *Spartans* in the mean time lying at the *Iſthmus*, the other *Peloponneſians* after their example came alſo thither, whence they marched to *Eleuſine*. Thither came the *Athenians* from *Salamine*, and joyned with them, whence they followed *Mardonius* into *Bœotia*, and ſate down over againſt his Camp at the foot of the Mountain *Cithæron*.

Burneth *Athens*, and goeth into *Bœotia*.

59. The *Greeks* brought into the Field eleven Myriads or eleven hundred thouſand, according to *Herodotus*, from which number (a) others take the odd thouſands, and make them juſt one hundred thouſand. The number of the *Perſian* Army amounted to thirty Myriads or three hundred thouſand, beſides the *Greek* Auxiliaries, which he conjectureth to have been about five Myriads more; the three hundred thouſand are owned by *Plutarch*, another (b) numbereth but two hundred thouſand Foot, and twenty thouſand Horſe; but *Diodorus* on the contrary ſaith, that beſides theſe Forces drawn out of *Xerxes* his Army, *Mardonius* had out of *Macedonia* and *Thrace*, and the aſſociate States, about twenty Myriads,

(a) *Diodorus, Juſtin, Oroſius.*

(b) *Corn. Nepos in Ariſtide.*

UMI

Herodotus ut Supra.

riads, and that his whole Army contained fifty Myriads or five hundred thouſand Men. *Mardonius* when the *Græcians* were encamped, ſent a party of Horſe to aſſail them, which objecting cowardiſe to them, and provoking them, very light skirmiſhes enſued, wherewith the *Megarians* were ſore put to it, being on diſadvantagious Ground, but being releived by three hundred ſtout *Athenians*, all others refuſing, a ſharp encounter followed, in which *Maſiſtius* who commanded the Party of the *Perſians* was ſlain. A great conteſt followed about the Body, the *Perſians* labouring with all their might to redeem it, all the *Perſian* Horſe coming into the Quarrel, and then the whole Army of the *Græcians*; but at length they were fain to return without it, and it was carried in triumph about the *Greekiſh* Camp. This as it brought great Sorrow to the *Perſians*, ſo the other were much elevated in their Minds thereby, and removed their Camp into the Territories of *Platææ*, whither *Mardonius* alſo followed them, and encamped over againſt them, both parties neglecting to fight (only excepting ſuch Skirmiſhes as was made by the *Perſian* Horſe) for ten days.

60. On the eleventh, it being palpable that the *Greekiſh* Army daily waſted by the revolt of many of their Countrymen, and yet that the *Perſian* groaned under its own Burthen, *Mardonius* called a Council of his Officers to conſult what was to be done. *Artabazus* the Son of *Pharnaces*, a man of great Nobility, and an emulator of the General, contended with him, urging that the beſt was to decline the Fight, and march to *Thebes*, where they might have plenty of Proviſion, here wanting, and whence by ſending Money into the principal Cities of *Greece* (according to the advice formerly given by the *Thebans*) they might diſpatch the War with Eaſe. But *Mardonius* being more hot and earneſt, thinking his Army to be for the preſent ſtronger than the Enemy, reſolved to fight, not ſuffering himſelf by any perſwaſions to be removed from his Purpoſe, and becauſe of his Authority the reſt daring not contradict it, it was reſolved to fall on the next morning by break of the day. Notice hereof was given by *Alexander* the *Macedonian* to the *Athenians*, who adviſed them in caſe *Mardonius* ſhould not fight, to ſtay it out; for the *Perſians* were ſtraightned for Proviſions. The *Athenians* bring this News to *Pauſanias* the General, who being ſomething ſtruck therewith, he deſired them to change places, becauſe they were better acquainted with the *Perſian* manner of fighting ſince the Battle at *Marathon*, and the *Spartans* were more uſed to the *Theſſalians* and *Bœotians* now oppoſed to the *Athenians*; they ſoon condeſcended hereunto, but *Mardonius* having notice of it, made his *Perſians* change place with the *Bœotians* and the other; and though *Pauſanias* again reduced his men into the former place, yet was neither this hid from *Mardonius*, who ſtill to prevent him did the like.

61. *Mardonius* upon this ſent and upbraided *Pauſanias* and his *Spartans* with cowardize, eſpecially ſeeing he had made a challenge to fight with them, with his *Perſians*, either a certain number of each, or all together, both which were refuſed. Then ſent he his Horſe upon them, which with Darts ſore troubled the whole Army, and moſt of all in that it hindred the fetching of Water, that the *Græcians* were conſtrained to change the place, and reſolved to paſs into an Iſland compaſſed about with the River, and neer the Walls of the City, which was very convenient for watering, and lay alſo well for Proviſions. By night they removed, but moſt miſſing of the place went to the Temple of *Juno* in the Highway to *Platæa*, and there encamped themſelves, whom the *Spartans* being commanded to follow, much trouble aroſe thereupon by the means of one *Amompharetus* a valiant man, who for ſome time would not ſtir with his Regiment, crying out, it was contrary to the *Laconick* Diſcipline to fly from the Enemy, and ſuppoſing *Pauſanias* and the reſt durſt not forſake him. But towards morning he came off from his reſolution, and ſo all marched to the Temple of *Ceres*, ſituate upon the River *Moloe*, being followed cloſe by the *Perſian* Horſe.

The battle at *Platæa*, and *Mardonius* ſlain.

62. The Sun being riſen, *Mardonius* grievouſly inveighing againſt the cowardiſe of the *Græcians*, and *Artabazus* for his late opinion, marched with his whole Army, as to purſue the Enemy flying, and all his Horſe began ſore to preſs upon the Backs of the *Spartans* and *Tegeatans*, joyned with them at the Chappel of *Ceres*, ſo that then enſued a ſharp Fight betwixt them, and betwixt the *Athenians* who came into their Succour, and ſuch *Greeks* as were confederate with the *Perſians*. The *Tegeatans* charged the *Perſian* Infantry, in which after much toyl and Bloodſhed, *Mardonius* fighting on a white Horſe in the midſt of one thouſand choice men, was ſlain by *Armneſtus* the moſt valiant *Spartan*. After his death, his men diſcouraged, were ſlaughtered in great numbers, and put to the rout,

which *Artabazus* ſeeing, ſhifted for himſelf with a party of forty thouſand commanded by him, and fled towards the *Helleſpont*: the *Greeks* that aſſiſted *Mardonius*, though nothing inferiour to their Countreymen for valour, were put to flight; and three hundred of *Thebans*, who moſt ſtoutly behaved themſelves, were ſlain upon the place.

63. In the mean time the *Corinthians*, *Megarians*, *Phliaſians*, and the reſt, who had taken up their ſtation at the Chapel of *Juno*, hearing of the Victory of their Friends, haſted to the place all out of order, the *Corinthians* over Hill and Dale the neareſt way; but the reſt through the plaine, who were circumvented by the *Theban* Horſe, and many of them cut off. The *Perſians* fled into their Camp, which they had fenced with a Rampire for ſecurity, whither they were followed by the *Spartans*, who laboured with all their might to ſtorm the place, but were ſtoutly repulſed by the Defendants, till the *Athenians* coming in, and better exerciſed in ſuch attempts, brake into the Camp. The *Tegeatans* followed with great violence, and took, and plundred the Pavilion of *Mardonius* with his braſen Manger, and then followed an unſpeakable ſlaughter of the *Perſians*, ſo that of thoſe three hundred thouſand left to *Mardonius* by *Xerxes*, excepting thoſe forty thouſand, which fled with *Artabazus*, not three thouſand remained, one hundred thouſand according to *Diodorus*, without mercy being put to death within the Rampire. Of the *Græcians* not many were ſlain, according to *Herodotus*, who reckoneth thirty one *Spartans*, ſixteen *Tegeatans*, and fifty two *Athenians*, mentioned at large by him; but *Plutarch* mentioneth one thouſand three hundred and ſixty of the *Greekiſh* Army to have been ſlain, and *Diodorus* increaſeth the number to above ten thouſand. The *Mantineans* and *Eleans* came after the Victory, at which they were ſo aſhamed, that returning home they baniſhed their Captains as Authors of the delay. The Conquerors thence marched to *Thebes*, where the Inhabitants gave up the Authors of their revolt to the *Barbarians*, whom being carried to *Corinth*, all but *Attaginus* that eſcaped, he there put to death.

In Ariſtide.

64. Whilſt theſe things were thus done in *Bœotia*, the *Greekiſh* Fleet of which *Leutychides* the *Spartan* King was Admiral, harboured at the Iſland *Delos*: Hither came three Ambaſſadors from *Samus*, deſiring aid againſt the *Barbarians*, and their Tyrant impoſed upon them, ſhewing that it was moſt equal that *Græcians* ſhould one vindicate the liberty of another, and that this Enterpriſe would be without difficulty, for as much as if the *Ionians* did but once ſee their Fleet, they would revolt from the *Perſians*, of whom ſuch as were amongſt them would either fly, or might eaſily be made a Prey; Laſtly, if the Ambaſſadors were miſtruſted as not repreſenting things according to their Commiſſion, they offered themſelves as Hoſtages, till the truth might be cleared. *Leutychides* taking an Oath of them that they came impowred from the *Samians*, retained *Hegeſiſtratus* (becauſe his Name he took for a good Omen) who had been the mouth of the reſt, and ſending the other two before, followed the next day to *Samus*. The Sea-men that were there, ſtricken with great fear at the report of the Fleet approaching, diſmiſſed the *Phœnician* Veſſels, and fled with the reſt to the Continent, hoping to keep them ſafe under the protection of the ſixty thouſand Foot left on the Coaſts by *Xerxes* to keep *Ionia* in obedience, over whom *Tigranes* was General, a man of a moſt proper and amiable perſonage.

65. The *Perſians* having drawn their Ships under the Foot of the Mountain *Mycale*, near the Temple of *Ceres Eleuſinian*, and barricaded them with great Stones, Wood, and other Materials, came the *Græcians* with their Fleet prepared for a Fight. But underſtanding what was done, *Leutychides* coming near the Shore, by the voice of a Cryer aloud (as *Themiſtocles* had done before) endeavoured either to make the *Ionians* revolt, or at leaſt to render them ſuſpected to the Enemy; which being done, preſently he landed all his men, reſolving to try the event of a Land Battel. The *Perſians* ſuſpecting the *Samians*, diſarmed them, and ſent the *Mileſians* to keep the paſſages leading up into the Mountain. As the Armies were going to meet, a ſudden Rumour was ſpread abroad through that of the *Græcians*, that *Mardonius* with his Forces were cut off, which elevated their Spirits, and made them to Charge with great alacrity, which was alſo increaſed; for that they were now to fight at the Temple of the ſame Goddeſs, as they heard their Friends had done with *Mardonius* in *Bœotia*. Then charged they the *Perſians* in a double Body, the *Athenians* with the *Corinthians* and others, on the Plain by the Sea-ſhore; the *Lacedæmonians*, and others joyned with them, through the mountainous and precipitous places, who whileſt they were getting up, the *Athenians* fell on, and calling on one another to endeavour to deprive the *Lacedæmonians* of

The battel at *Mycale*.

the Honour of the Victory, charged the Enemy ſo furiouſly, that at length they beat them back, and forced them into their Camp, whither alſo they brake in with them.

66. Hereupon enſuing a bloody Fight, all the reſt fled except the *Perſians*, who fighting with great reſolution, were yet cut off and defeated upon the coming in of the *Lacedæmonians* and the reſt. Two of the Sea-Captains were ſlain, two eſcaped, and with the reſt fell *Tigranes*, the General of the Foot, and of the *Greeks* periſhed not a few. The *Samians*, though diſarmed, and other *Ionians* came in and helped their Friends, and the *Mileſians* ſet to guard the Paſſages of *Mycale*, fell down upon the *Perſians* another way, and made great ſlaughter of them. So was *Ionia* rent from the *Perſian* Empire again, and joyned to the *Græcians*. After this performed by Land, the Conquerours burnt all the *Perſian* Ships in the Haven, and being inriched with great Spoil returned to *Samus*. It was found out afterwards that this Victory at *Mycale* was obtained on the ſelf ſame day as the other at *Platæa* in *Bœotia*, the later in the Morning, and the former at Evening, which cauſed the wonder how intelligence could be given to theſe that fought at *Mycale* of the ſucceſs of their Countrey-men ſo far off. This hapned often in following times as will be ſeen, although ſome have thought that no report was brought any way to the Army of the Victory of *Platæa*, but that it was ſo given out on purpoſe as a Stratagem by *Leutychides* to animate his Souldiers, who then being wholely ignorant of any ſuch thing, he invented that which afterwards proved accordingly. Theſe two Battels, and Victories, hapned on the third or fourth day of the Moneth *Boedromion*, in the ſecond year after the invaſion of *Greece* by *Xerxes*.

Ionia revolteth.

*Diodorus ad Olymp.*75.*an.* 2. *Polyænus ſtr.l.*1 *Front. lib.* 1. *cap.*11.*Exemp.*7.

67. The *Græcians* lying at *Samus* fell into diſpute about tranſlating the *Ionians*, and *Æolians*, out of *Aſia* into *Greece*, for that they could not be always in a readineſs to defend them, and they could not ſubſiſt of themſelves; and the *Spartans* moved that thoſe who had revolted to the *Perſian* ſhould be caſt out, and they placed in their rooms; but the *Athenians* fearing to be deprived of the right of their Colony, which yet the *Ionians* acknowledging themſelves, might own the reſt of the aſſociates for their patrons, upon ſuch a change, daſhed the project. Then were the *Samians*, *Chians*, *Lesbians*, and others, who had revolted, religiouſly and ſolemnly ſworn to the obſervation of the League, and the *Græcians* departed towards the *Helleſpont* to break the Bridge there, which when they found broken to their Hands, they conſulted about returning home. The *Athenians* were for going into the *Cherroneſus* of *Thrace* to recover it out of the hands of the *Perſians*, and, though the *Peloponneſians* returned, proceeding in their reſolution went and beſieged *Seſtus* an *Æolian* Town, ſituate in the *Cherſoneſus*, over againſt *Abydus*. Before this Town they continued till the Autumn was far ſpent, and then pined out the Inhabitants, who forſook the Town, but were overtaken, and either ſlain, or made Priſoners, amongſt the later ſort of which was *Artagetes* the Governour, who becauſe he had violated the Sepulchre of the Chapel of *Proteſilaus*, a great Saint in that place, ſaw firſt his Son ſtoned before his Face, and then was hanged by command of *Xanthippus* the *Athenian* Admiral. Then returned the Navy home to *Athens*, and nothing was done further this year, which was the ſecond of the ſeventy fifth *Olympiad*, and the ſeventh of the reign of *Xerxes*, of the World three thouſand five hundred twenty ſix, and before Chriſt the four hundred and ſeventy ſeven.

Herodotus ut prius lib. 9. *cap.* 105. & *Diodorus ut prius.*

The *Median* War endeth after two years.

68. *Xerxes* all this while lay at *Sardis*, and thither thoſe few that eſcaped from *Mycale* betook themſelves. In the way *Maſiſtes* Brother to the King fell foul upon *Artayntes*, one of the Captains of the Fleet, amongſt other reproachful words telling him that he had in this behaved himſelf more cowardly than a Woman, whereupon the other drew his Dagger, and had ſtabbed him, but that one *Xenagoras* an *Halicarnaſſean* interpoſed himſelf, whom for this ſaving of his Brother, *Xerxes* rewarded with the Government of *Cilicia*. Whilſt he lay ſtill at *Sardis* he fell in love with the Wife of *Maſiſtes*, but ſhe being too honeſt for his adulterous intentions, he married her, and his Brothers Daughter *Artaynta* to his Son *Darius*, hoping to enjoy her this way, which Ceremony being over, he returns home, leaving part of his Forces to continue the War with the *Græcians*. In his (*a*) flight he burned all the Temples of *Aſia* except the *Epheſian*, out of indignation at his late bad ſucceſs, and amongſt the reſt the Oracle of *Didymean Apollo* amongſt the *Branchidans*, who becauſe they betrayed the Treaſures of their God to him, durſt not ſtay behind, but followed him. (*b*) Some ſay he went to *Suſa*, others to *Ecbatane*, a (*c*) third, that by *Babylon* into *Perſia*. That in his way back from

(a) *Strabo lib.* 14.
(b) *Herodotus.*
(c) *Diodorus.*

from *Græce* he (*d*) deſtroyed the Temple of *Belus* in that City, we alſo read, with all the other religious places of the *Babylonians*, taking away a Statue off that Wall of twelve Cubits, and all of beaten Cold, and killing of the Prieſt who offered to hinder the removal of it.

(*d*) *Cteſias. Arrianus lib. 7. Herodotus ut Prius cap. 183. Strab. lib. 16.*

Xerxes his incontinence.

69. Being returned to *Suſa*, he fell from the Mother to the Daughter too, being in love with *Artaynta* his Daughter-in-law, whom inceſtuouſly he uſed conſtantly. She begged of him a Coat, which with much art and induſtry *Ameſtris* his Wife had made for him. By her wearing of this the Queen knew how matters went, and thence followed the deſtruction of the whole Houſe of *Maſiſtes*; for on *Xerxes* his birth-day, when he uſed not to deny her any requeſt, ſhe asked *Maſiſtes* Wife to be given up into her Power, which he doing, ſhe cut off her Breaſts, Noſe, Ears, Lips, and Tongue, and in this caſe ſent her home. *Maſiſtes* inraged at this barbarous uſage, conſpired with his Children how to be revenged, and reſolved to fly into *Bactria*, of which he was Governour, then to ſtir up that Province, and the *Sacæ* with whom he was very gracious, into rebellion againſt his Brother. But *Xerxes* coming to the knowledg of the matter, ſent a party after him, which cut him off with his Children, and all his retinue. Theſe things happened about a year after his return, with which endeth the Hiſtory of *Herodotus* the Father of hiſtory (as *Cicero* called him) ſeeing he is the moſt antient of all Heathen Writers now extant.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 75. an. 3. Thucid. lib. 1.

70. The ſame year being the third of the ſeventy fifth *Olympiad*, and the eighth of the Reign of *Xerxes*, a year after the finiſhing of the *Median* War, ſo called by the *Græcians*, the *Lacedæmonians* ſent *Pauſanias*, famous for his Generalſhip at the Battel of *Platæa*, to ſet at liberty ſuch *Greek* Cities as yet were under the *Perſian*, who accordingly with fifty Gallies ſet Sail out of *Peloponneſus*, and taking thirty more out from *Athens*, commanded by *Ariſtides*, firſt went to *Cyprus*, where he ſet at liberty ſuch Towns as were yet held by *Perſian* Garriſons, and thence to the *Helleſpont*, where he took *Byzantium*, and therein many Noble priſoners of the *Perſians*, whom he delivered to one *Gangylus* an *Eretrian*, to be kept as he pretended, to be put to death, but indeed to reſtore them to *Xerxes*. For he ſent this man ſecretly to the King, and bargained for his Daughter to be given him in Marriage to betray *Sparta* and all into his Hands. He gladly received the Meſſage, and wrote back again to him by *Artabazus* the Son of *Pharnaces* whom he ſent to the Sea-Coaſts to hold Intelligence with him, and for that purpoſe gave him the Government of *Daſcylis*, recalling *Magabates* who was over that Province. But *Pauſanias* growing more inſolent, hereupon was ſuſpected, and afterwards at length diſcovered, and puniſhed for his Treaſon, as farther is to be diſcovered in it's proper place.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 77. an. 3.

71. In the third year of the ſeventy ſeventh *Olympiad*, and the ſixteenth of *Xerxes*, *Demotion* being *Archon*, or chief Magiſtrate of *Athens*, the *Athenians* made choice of *Cimon* the Son of *Miltiades* for their General, and with a conſiderable force ſent him into the Maritime Coaſts of *Aſia*, with order to relieve the Aſſociates, and ſet at liberty ſuch as were ſtill under the ſlavery of *Perſian* Garriſons. He bends his courſe towards *Byzantium*, and took *Eione* and *Scyrus*, inhabited by *Pelaſgians* and *Dolopians*, and divided the Grounds thereof by lot; then caſting in his Mind greater deſigns, ſailed back to the *Piræus*, and furniſhing himſelf with more Ships, increaſed his Navy to the number of two hundred, to which he added of the Aſſociates one hundred more, and with all this Power ſailed towards *Caria*. Here all the Maritime *Greek* Cities revolted to him, and what did not, he ſubdued by ſtrong Hand, which having done, he ſailed to *Lycia*, where he had the ſame ſucceſs, and now requiring Ships to be provided by ſuch as had joyned themſelves in Society with the *Athenians*, he thereby mightily increaſed his Navy.

Vide Plutarch. in Cimone.

72. The *Perſians* now levied both a Land and Sea-Army, the former within themſelves, and the latter out of *Phœnicia*, *Cyprus*, and *Cilicia*, the General being *Tithrauſtes* the baſe Son of *Xerxes*, who by ſome other is ſaid to have only had command of the Fleet, and that *Pharendates* was over the Land-forces, though this place by another is given to *Ariomandes* the Son of *Gobryas*. *Cymon* having made diſcovery that the *Perſian* Fleet Rode nigh to *Cyprus*, ſailed thither, and with two hundred fifty Ships made Head againſt three hundred forty, whereupon enſued a ſharp Fight, both Parties fighting with great courage and animoſity, till at length the *Athenians* overpower'd the other, and ſpoiling many of their Veſſels, took about one hundred with the Men in them, the reſt eſcaping to Land at *Cyprus*, the men ſaved themſelves by Flight, but the Ships fell into the Hands of the *Græcians*. *Cimon*

not contented with this Victory, ſailed towards the Land-Army of the *Perſians*, then lying upon the River *Eurymedon*. To deceive the Enemy, he put his moſt valiant men aboard thoſe Veſſels lately taken in the Fight, adorned and cloathed after the *Perſian* faſhion, ſo that the *Perſians* not doubting at all but that it was their own Eleet, kindly welcomed theſe counterfeits as their Friends. Hereby *Cimon* received as ſuch, landed his men by night and fell upon the Enemies Camp, whence enſued great fear and tumult, his men preſently killing all they meet, and amongſt the reſt *Pheredates* Nephew to the King by his Brother. Of the common ſort many were ſlain, others ſorely wounded, and ſhortly all put to flight, yet they knew not by whom, not ſuſpecting the *Græcians* to have any Land-Army, and therefore concluding themſelves ſurprized by the *Piſidians* upon whom they bordered.

Idem ibid. Diodorus ut prius. Polyænus l. 1. *Frontinus Stratag. lib. ult. cap. ult. exempl. ultim.*

73. Suſpecting therefore this Storm to come from the Continent, they betook themſelves to their Ships, and the Moon then not ſhining, and the Night being very dark, the Error was the more increaſed, ſo that not diſcerning any thing, they ran upon their own Ruine, and great ſlaughter was made of them on all ſides. All things being thus in confuſion, the *Græcian* General fearing the ſtraggling of his Soldiers too far for Booty, according to former order, that when he ſet out a Light they ſhould all come back to that place, gave out that ſign by the Ships, upon ſight of which they withdrew themſelves thither. Notwithſtanding theſe two Victories, which in ſome ſence ſeemed to excel thoſe of *Salamina* and *Platæa*, being fought on the ſame day, yet would he add one thing more as a Supplement to them. Underſtanding eighty *Phœnician* Ships (expected as *Plutarch* ſaith, by the Navy at *Eurymedon*, which was the cauſe why he ſet upon it ſo ſoon, being unwilling they ſhould joyn) to be arrived at *Hydrus*, he ſailed haſtily thither, where as yet the News had not arrived, but now the *Phœnicians* ſuſpecting the truth, and thereby diſcouraged, he eaſily overcame, took and ſunk all their Ships, and therein the greateſt part of themſelves miſcarried. Hereupon enſued a certain agreement betwixt the King and the *Græcians*.

Plutarch ibid.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 78. *nn.* 4. *Juſtin. lib.* 3. *cap.* 1. *Cteſias.*

74. The next thing conſiderable concerning *Xerxes*, is his Death, placed in the fifth year after the former tranſactions, by *Diodorus*. There was one *Artabanus* an *Hyrcanian* by birth, of great power about him, as Captain of his Guard, who conſulted about making him away, and transferring the Kingdom to himſelf, and for that purpoſe inveagled *Mithridates* the Eunuch the King's Chamberlain, by whom being let in by Night with his ſeven Sons, they ſtrangled him in his Bed. He reigned twenty one Years, or twenty with odd Moneths, though ſome there be that cut off nine Years from that number. Their ground is, for that *Themiſtocles* the *Athenian* being baniſhed his Country, came to *Artaxerxes*, then the new King of *Perſia*, according to *Thucydides*, ſo that *Xerxes* muſt at that time have been dead. Now the ſame Author placeth this flight of *Themiſtocles* betwixt the Siege of *Naxus*, which the *Athenians* ſubdued, and the former exploits of *Cimon*, ſo that his Expedition muſt have happened alſo not in the days of *Xerxes* as we have fixed it according to *Diodorus*, but in the reign of *Artaxerxes* his ſucceſſor: and *Euſebius* placing the flight of *Themiſtocles* in the fourth Year of the ſeventy ſixth *Olympiad* (though *Diodorus* in the ſecond of the ſeventy ſeventh) hence it muſt follow, that the beginning of the Reign of *Artaxerxes* muſt be placed higher by near to nine Years. The authority of that grave Author is in no wiſe to be deſpiſed, yet notwithſtanding, this ſhortning of the Reign of *Xerxes* which muſt neceſſarily follow, is not agreeable to the Teſtimony of other Writers: eſpecially it is to be conſidered what difficulty will ariſe hereby to the Chronology of the ſacred Story, it being moſt probable, that the ſeventy Weeks of *Daniel* commencing in the ſeventh Year of *Artaxerxes*, and at the death of *Jeſus Chriſt*; which cannot be, if their beginning be to be aſſigned nine Years higher. This may incline us to believe, that ſome reaſon *Diodorus* had (who could not but have opportunity to ſee and compare ſeveral Hiſtories) not to follow *Thucydides*, and makes us rather ſubſcribe to the number of Years by general conſent aſcribed unto the Reign of *Xerxes*.

Xerxes murdered.

Uſher.

SECT. III.

Sect. III.

From the death of Xerxes, *and the beginning of* Artaxerxes Longimanus, *to the death of* Artaxerxes Mnemon, *containing the ſpace of one hundred and three Years.*

Diodorus ibid.

vid. Juſtin.

Artaxerxes.

1. XERXES left three Sons, *Darius*, and *Artaxerxes*, both of them at the time of his Death reſident in his Court, and *Hyſtaſpes*, who was abſent in his Government of *Bactria*. *Artabanus* having murdered their Father, preſently in the dead time of the Night went to *Artaxerxes*, and made him believe that his elder Brother *Darius* had made him away, out of ambition to reign himſelf, counſelled him to provide for his own ſafety and honour, before he ſhould eſtabliſh himſelf, and offered him the Guard to rid him of him, whereby he being perſwaded, ſent and ſlew his Brother. When this was done, *Artabanus* called his Sons together, telling them this was the time of obtaining the Kingdom, and drew his Sword with an intention now alſo to kill *Artaxerxes*. But he being only lightly wounded, laid ſo about him, that he ſlew him upon the place, as we have it from one; though others with more reaſon defer the time of *Artabanus* his Death, to whom alſo ſeven Moneths in the Empire are attributed by * *Euſebius*.

* In. Chron.

2. It is probable, that for that time the Treaſon of *Artabanus* not being diſcovered, or for ſome reaſons winked at, he might by a Vicegerency govern the Kingdom. By his means came *Artaxerxes* to it in his youth, a Prince of a great Spirit, and yet of a mild Nature, Sirnamed μακρόχειρ, or *Longimanus*, becauſe his right Hand was longer than the other, in the fourth year of the ſeventy eight *Olympiad*, or in the beginning of the ſeventy ninth, *Lyſitheus* being then *Archon* at *Athens*. A. M. 3540, four hundred ſixty three Years before the birth of *Chriſt*. Within a while *Artabanus* laid in wait for his Life alſo, communicating his deſign to *Megabyzus*, who had married the Daughter of *Xerxes*, and for her looſe life was fallen into a diſcontent, *Megabyzus* ſwore ſecrecie as well as he, but revealed the whole matter, ſo that *Artabanus* finding not the ſame ſucceſs as in his other Treaſons, was ſent the ſame way and by the ſame means with which he intended to diſpatch *Artaxerxes*. Now came out the whole truth concerning *Xerxes* and his Son *Darius*; and, *Spamitres* (or *Aſpamitres*) the Eunuch, who was acceſſary to the Murders, was tortured to Death. *Juſtin* telleth us, how the King fearing the number, and power of *Artabanus* his Sons, commanded his Soldiers to be ready armed the next morning, both for a Muſter, and to exerciſe them. Amongſt the reſt appeared he according to his place, with whom *Artaxerxes* deſired to change his coat-armour, pretending his was too ſhort for him, which to do, he firſt putting his off, the King took the advantage and ran him thorough with his Sword.

Cteſias.

Artabanus put to death.

3. After his death, his party being ſtrong, great troubles enſued, which ended at length in the deſtruction thereof, three of his Sons falling in fight, and *Megabyzus* who oppoſed them being ſorely wounded, for whom now great lamentation was made throughout the Court, till at length he eſcaped the danger by the ſkill and induſtry of *Apollonides* the Phyſician, native of the Iſland *Cos*. The *Bactrians* alſo, according to *Cteſias*, revolted, with another of the King's Officers named *Artabanus*, who ſeemeth to have had ſome other command than over *Bactria*. For we are told elſewhere, that *Hyſtaſpes* the Son of *Xerxes* was *Satrapas* or Governour of that Province, and thence may almoſt conclude him to have been the principal cauſe of the Revolt, out of indignation that being the ſecond Brother, the youngeſt of all the three ſhould be preferred before him. Two Battels were fought in this quarrel, in the latter of which the Wind being full in the Faces of the *Bactrians*, ſo diſturbed them, that thereby *Artaxerxes* became Victor, and reduced all that Country into Obedience. *Artaxerxes* having thus revenged his Father's and Brother's death, and brought *Artabanus* and his complices to condign puniſhment,

Bactria recovered.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 79 an. 2. Thucyd. lib. 1.

Sect. 3.

puniſhment, and recovered *Bactria*, ſetled the affairs of his Kingdom. He took care of his revenue, ſetled the Militia, diſplaced ſuſpicious Governours of Provinces, and carrying all things with much moderation and Juſtice, gained great Authority from his Subjects. In the mean while the *Egyptians* hearing of the death of *Xerxes*, and in what diſturbance the affairs of the *Perſians* were, out of deſire to recover their liberty, hearkned to the Counſel and perſwaſions of one *Inarus* King of *Libya*, the Son of *Pſammetichus*, ſo that the greater part of the Countrey revolted, and making him their Prince, ſent about to crave aid, and amongſt others to the *Athenians*. They thought it their intereſt to impair all ways poſſible, the intereſt of *Perſia*, and concluding it not amiſs to get ſome footing in *Egypt*, reſolved upon ſending three hundred Ships, and prepared for the ſetting of them forward with all earneſtneſs. *Artaxerxes* hearing on the other hand how things went in *Egypt*, determined to overmatch the Revolters in Proviſions for the War, and for that end levied Forces throughout his Dominions, Rigged his Fleet, and omitted nothing requiſite for an expedition of that moment.

The *Egyptians* revolt.

4. He thought firſt of going down himſelf, but being overruled by his Friends ſent *Achæmenides* his Brother, according to *Cteſias*, but according to *Diodorus*, *Achæmenides* the Son of *Darius*, and his great Uncle, whith an Army of above three hundred thouſand ſaith *Diodorus*, or four hundred thouſand Foot, and eighty Ships, who marching as far as the River *Nile*, there pitched his Tents, refreſhed his Souldiers, and prepared all things for a Battel. The *Egyptians* aſſiſted by the *Libyans* expected the *Athenian* Fleet, which at length arrived, and got poſſeſſion of the River. Preſently after this a Land Battel enſued, in which, though the *Perſians* for a time prevailed by their Multitudes, yet the *Athenians*, who were now acquainted with their manner of Fighting, preſſing ſore upon that Wing with which they joyned, did ſuch execution as put it to flight, at which all the reſt out of Fear betook them to their Heels. Great ſlaughters were then made in the purſute, the greateſt number of the *Barbarians* fell, and the reſt betook themſelves to a Fort called *White-wall*, whither the *Athenians* purſuing, took two parts of *Memphis*, and beſieged them in the third diviſion called by that Name; of four hundred thouſand that came into *Egypt*, *Cteſias* writeth one hundred thouſand to have been ſlain, and with them their Captain, killed by the Hands of *Inarus*, whoſe body was ſent back to *Artaxerxes*. That *Achæmenes* the Son of *Darius* was ſlain with many *Perſians*, * *Herodotus* tells us by an anticipation of the Story.

The *Perſians* defeated.

* *Lib.*7.*cap.*82.

*Diodorus ad Olymp.*79 *an.*3. *Thucyd. ut ſuprà.*

5. *Artaxerxes* underſtanding what bad ſucceſs his Affairs had in *Egypt* and knowing the main blow to have been given from the *Athenians*, ſent *Megabyzus* with a great ſumm of Mony to *Lacedæmon* to hire that State to make War upon them, and give them ſomething to do at home, to divert them from the aſſiſtance of his Rebels. The *Lacedæmonians* would not be bribed to fall out with *Athens*, and refuſed to hearken to any thing elſe the Ambaſſador offered on his Maſters behalf, ſo that he recalled him home, and gave in charge to *Megabyzus* the Son of that *Zopyrus* who recovered *Babylon* to *Darius*, to prepare for another expedition, with whom he alſo joyned *Artabazus*, making choice of them both out of reſpect to their great valour, and skill in Military matters.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 80.*an.*1. *Thucyd.*

They by the Spring having got together an Army of (above three hundred thouſand men, ſaith *Diodorus*, two hundred thouſand onely ſaith *Cteſias*) marched down into *Cilicia*, where, and in *Phœnicia* they reſted their men, and cauſed the inhabitants of theſe places, together with the *Cyprians*, to provide a Navy, which being done, to the number of three hundred Ships, they furniſhed them with the ableſt Souldiers, and all ſorts of Weapons, and whatſoever was requiſite for a Sea-fight, and in this preparation, together with the exerciſing, and training of their men, ſpent they almoſt all the Summer. In the mean while the *Athenians* laboured to ſtorm the *White-wall* wherein the *Perſians* were beſieged, but they made ſuch effectual reſiſtance as they kept them out all this year. When Winter was over, *Megabyzus* and his Colleague led down their Army through *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, the Navy Coaſting all along not far off; and at length came to *Memphis*, where the fear of them preſently looſed the Siege of their Countrey-men, whom joyning to themſelves they gave Battel to the *Egyptians* and their Aſſociates. Many fell on both ſides, but moſt of the *Egyptians*; at length *Megabyzus* wounded *Inarus* in his Thigh, and put him to flight, who betook himſelf to *Byblus*, a Town ſituate in an Iſland of *Nile*, called *Proſopitis*, and with him ſuch *Greeks* as had eſcaped the Fight, after which the *Egyptians* returned into Obedience, making their Peace with *Megabyzus*.

Cteſias.

Egypt recovered.

Sect. 3.

Thucyd. lib. 1. Diod. Ibid. Cteſias.

6. *Megabyzus* purſuing them, beſieged the place, which yet was ſo defended that they held it ont a Year and ſix Moneths in deſpight of him. The *Athenian* Fleet lay in the River before the Town, which the *Perſians* at length conſidering, and how it was poſſible by Ditches to drain the Water, and derive that courſe thereof another way, ſet about it, and ſo drained the Channel that the Iſland was now joyned to the Main, and the Ships reſted on dry Land. Now *Diodorus* ſaith, the *Egyptians* forſook their Confederates, and returned to obedience, which the *Athenians* underſtanding, and how their Ships by this Stratagem of the Enemy were rendred uſeleſs, burnt them all, and nothing affrighted with ſo great a danger in which they were involved, called upon one another with exhortations not to commit any thing unworthy of their former noble Atchivements, ſo that excelling thoſe their Country-men, if poſſible, who loſt their lives at *Thermopylæ*, they reſolved to fight. The *Perſian* Commanders ſeeing their Courage, and conſidering their own loſſes already great, having loſt many thouſands, though they had recovered the Iſland, yet gave them theſe terms to return with ſafety out of *Egypt*. Their number being ſomething above ſix thouſand, they returned home by *Cyrene* above their expectations, having conſumed ſix Years in the War to no good purpoſe, *Inarus* taken and Crucified; *Artaxerxes* then recovered all *Egypt* except ſome fenny parts, near which *Amyrtæus* reigned, who by reaſon of the difficulty of the place, and the fierceneſs of the People, could not be reduced into order.

Thucyd. ibid.

In the mean time, whilſt the *Athenians* travelled homewards, came fifty Ships more to their relief, which being utterly ignorant of what had paſſed, took up their harbour at *Mendeſium*, one of the Mouths of *Nile*. Here they were ſet uppon by the *Perſians* on Land, and the *Phœnicians* by Sea, and loſt moſt of their Veſſels, a few only eſcaping home, and ſuch was the end of this expedition of the *Athenians* with their aſſociates into *Egypt*.

Eſra 7. 12.

7. *Artaxerxes* in the ſeventh Year of his Reign made a Decree in the behalf of the *Jews*, that whoſoever of them would, might go up with *Ezra* to *Jeruſalem* and inhabit it. He and his Counſellors contributed much Treaſure, and gave them liberty to Collect what they could, and commanded his Treaſurers beyond the River *Euphrates* to furniſh him yearly with what he wanted, as far as one hundred Talents of Silver, one hundred Meaſures of Wheat, one hundred Baths of Wine, one hundred Baths of Oyl, and Salt without meaſure, for the Sacrifices and other Uſes, according to the diſcretion of *Eſra*. He commanded that all things ſhould be done according to the mind and will of the God of Heaven, leſt his Anger might break out againſt the Kingdom of him and his Sons: the Prieſts and Levites he made free from all impoſitions, and gave Power to *Eſdras* to Conſtitute Judges and Governours over the people, for the ſettlement of the Politie or Commonwealth.

8 Now though here in this Edict be no expreſs mention of repairing the Walls of *Jeruſalem*, or of the Requeſt of *Eſra* in that behalf, yet is it probable enough that he would deſire it, becauſe of the often incurſions of their Enemies, the *Samaritans*, and others, neither could their habitation in the City be ſecure, nor the work of the Temple go on with ſafety: and in what could all that Treaſure be ſpent but in Fortifications? So that we may even conclude ſufficient Licence and Authority to be included in this Decree, and that *Eſra* began to build the Walls, but was either hindred by other occaſions, or the negligence of the *Jews*, or (more probably) the moleſtations of their Enemies; who becauſe the Licence was not expreſſed, took thence occaſion to interrupt the work till thirteen years after it was renewed, and perfected by the procurement and induſtry of *Nehemiah*, who obtained a confirmation rather of the former Edict, than any new Decree; So though *Cyrus* had firſt of all granted Licence for the rebuilding of the Temple, yet becauſe the work was hindred by the Enemies of the *Jews*, there was need of another Edict granted out by *Darius*. As the decrees of theſe two Kings were in effect the ſame, ſo alſo thoſe were only put in execution afterwards by *Nehemiah*, becauſe the execution of it, as to the rebuilding of the Walls, was either remitted by negligence, or by malice of the Borderers.

Daniel 9. 24.

9. If ſo, the beginning of the ſeventy weeks of *Daniel*, fitly may be taken hence, ending moſt probably in the death of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. *Seventy weeks* ſaith the Angel, *are determined upon thy People, and upon thy holy City, to finiſh the tranſgreſſion, and to make an end of ſins, and to make reconciliation for Iniquity, and to bring in everlaſting righteouſneſs, and to ſeal up the Viſion and Prophecy, and to anoint the moſt holy. Know therefore, and underſtand, that*

from the going forth of the Command, to reſtore, and rebuild Jeruſalem, *unto the* Meſſiah *the Prince, ſhall be ſeven Weeks, and threeſcore and two weeks: and the Street ſhall be built again, and the Wall, even in troublous times. And after ſixty two weeks ſhall* Meſſiah *be cut off, but not for himſelf: and the people of the Prince that ſhall come, ſhall deſtroy the City and the Sanctuary, and the end thereof ſhall be with a Flood, and unto the end of the War deſolations are determined. And he ſhall confirm the Covenant with many in one week: and in the midſt of the week he ſhall cauſe the Sacrifice and the Oblation to ceaſe, and for the overſpreading of abominations he ſhall make it deſolate, even until the conſummation, and that determined ſhall be powred upon the deſolate.* Thus the Oracle, in which is contained a Prophecy concerning the rebuilding of *Jeruſalem*, and the coming of Chriſt, who ſhould bring unconceivable benefits along with him, and yet at length be put to death, not for himſelf, but others, and this ſhould be all accompliſhed within ſeventy weeks of years, which contain four hundred ninety. Laſtly, it foretels, that for that horrible ſin of the *Jews* in murdering the *Meſſias*, they ſhould loſe both Principality and Prieſt-hood, and be puniſhed with perpetual Exile, and the utter and unreparable deſolation of the City.

10. Many are the opinions concerning the beginning and end of theſe ſeventy weeks amongſt Chronologers. Some begin them in the firſt year of the Empire of *Cyrus*, and end them in the Nativity of Chriſt. Others fetch their riſe from the ſecond of *Darius Nothus* (Succeſſor to *Artaxerxes*) and conclude them with the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, by *Titus Veſpaſian*. Some make them Commence from the twentieth of *Artaxerxes* (when *Nehemiah* obtained another Decree of him) and to conclude with the paſſion and death of *Chriſt*; and others will have them begin in the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, and end in the deſolation of the City by the *Romans*. But many there are who rejecting all theſe, with beſt reaſon, fix the beginning of them in the ſeventh of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, and their concluſion in the death of *Chriſt*, in which termination moſt of the Learned, both ancient and modern, agree.

The beginning of *Daniel's* ſeventy weeks.

11. For if we ſeriouſly conſider the account of time, and judge of it according to the beſt approved Authors, the three former opinions will be found either to exceed, or come ſhort of the number. From the beginning of the *Perſian* Empire to Chriſt's Nativity paſſed about five hundred thirty years. From the ſecond of *Darius Nothus* indeed to the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, neer upon four hundred ninty years intervened; but concerning any Edict made by that Prince, there is not a word in Scripture. From the twentieth of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, to the death and paſſion of Chriſt, are found four hundred ſeventy ſix, or four hundred ſeventy ſeven, which come too ſhort by thirteen of the four hundred ninety, and betwixt the twentieth of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, and the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, are found but about four hundred fifty, which come far ſhort of the true account; as alſo the Chronology of ſuch as would fetch the riſe of the four hundred ninty from the firſt of *Darius Medus*; and the ſecond or ſixth of *Darius* the Son of *Hyſtaſpes*. And although the Angel mentioneth the Puniſhment to be inflicted on the *Jews*, yet doth he not compriſe it in the four hundred ninty years, the end of which he ſignalizeth by the anointing and ſufferings of the *Meſſias*, but aſſigneth half a week or of ſeven years for the accompliſhment of thoſe Plagues, which in ſuch a quantity of time were to be inflicted upon his murderers.

Vide Ludovic. Cappelli tabulis in Chron. Sacra.

12. But if we reckon from this ſeventh of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, down by his Succeſſors in the *Perſian* Empire, the *Ptolomies* of *Ægypt*, after that of *Alexander* the Great, and then by the *Aſſamonæans* or *Jewiſh* Princes till we come at length to *Herod* the Great, and ſo to *Chriſt*, the juſt number of four hundred ninty we ſhall find accompliſhed at his death, with ſuch ſmall difference, as is pardonable to ſo many Authors handling ſo many things. Or if we reckon by the years of the *Olympiads* and the building of *Rome*, we ſhall find Chriſt to have died in the four hundred nintieth year after the promulgation of this Decree. The ſeventh year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* fell in with the ſecond and third of the eightieth *Olympiad*, according to *Euſebius*, and the two hundred ninty fifth, or the two hundred ninty ſixth of the City, from which continuing to the ſecond year of the two hundred and ſecond *Olympiad*, and the ſeven hundred eighty fifth of the City, (in which Chriſt was crucified) four hundred eighty nine years, or four hundred ninty are preciſely found; ſo that farther we ſhall not enquire about theſe ſeventy weeks, having therein already ſatisfied what this deſign and

work requireth, leaving the further inquiry thereof to the ſtudious Reader, and the judgment to the Learned.

Thucyd. lib. 1. *Diodorus ad Olymp.* 82. *an.* 3.

Plutarch. in Cimone.

Cimon dieth in *Cyprus.*

13. In the fifteenth year of *Artaxerxes* the *Athenians* having recalled *Cimon*, whom for ten years they had baniſhed by the *Oſtraciſm*, ſent him with a Fleet of two hundred Sail againſt *Cyprus* ſubject to the *Perſian.* Sixty of theſe Ships he ſent into *Ægypt* to the aid of *Amyrtæus*, who ſtill was up in the mariſhes, and with the reſt he ſet upon *Citium* a Town in the Iſland. At this time were *Artabazus* and *Megabyzus* ſtill Generals of the Forces of *Perſia*: the former lay with three hundred Ships in the Road of *Cyprus*, and the other with a Land-Army of three hundred thouſand men quartered in *Cilicia.* *Cimon* when he had beſieged *Citium* ſent ſome Meſſengers to *Delphos* to enquire ſomething of the Oracle, but ere they got to their Journeys end, he died before the place, either of Sickneſs, or by ſome Wound, both which are affirmed. When he ſaw he ſhould dy, he councelled his men forthwith to depart, and conceal his death, and they doing ſo, it hapned that neither the Enemy, nor Aſſociates knew any thing of it. At this time came back the Fleet ſent into *Ægypt*, ſo that all joyning together again, they ſailed to *Salamine* a Town in *Cyprus*, where they fought with the *Phœnicians* and *Cilicians*, who were come to aid their Friends of *Cyprus.* In a Sea-fight they ſunk many of their Veſſels, took one hundred with the men in them, and purſued the reſt as far as *Phœnicia.* The *Perſians* with that part of the Fleet which yet remained, fled into *Cilicia*, where *Megabyſus* lay, but the *Athenians* followed them with ſpeed, and landing fell upon them, and making great ſlaughter, amongſt the reſt ſlew *Anaxicrates* the Sea-Captain, who moſt galantly fought whilſt life laſted. Then the *Greeks* victorious got them to their Ships and ſailed home.

Diodorus ad Olymp. ejuſdem ann. 4.

Herod. lib. 7. *cap.* 101.

14. The King underſtanding what loſs he had received in *Cyprus*, called a Council to deliberate what ſhould be done thereupon, at which, when all was conſidered, it was reſolved that it was requiſite to procure a Peace if poſſible. He wrote then to his Captains about *Cyprus*, to make peace upon as good terms as might be; according to which order *Artabazus* and *Megabyzus* ſent to *Athens* to treat about it. The *Athenians* not being averſe from hearking to them, both ſides ſent their Commiſſioners with full Power to conclude; at which time alſo the *Argives* ſent to *Artaxerxes* to demand of him whether the confederacy into which they entered with his Father remained, or they were accounted by him as Enemies; to which he anſwered, that he did not doubt of it's continuance, and as for his part he accounted no City more friendly to him than that of *Argos.*

Plutarch & Diodorus ut prius.

Diod. ad Olymp. 84. 3.

The Articles of Peace concluded with the *Athenians* were, That all the *Greek* Cities in *Aſia* ſhould be free: though in the Peace with *Lacedæmon* it was agreed they ſhould be under the *Perſian*; that the *Perſian* Generals ſhould not come within three days journey of the Sea, that none of *Perſian* Subjects ſhould come with a long Ship between the *Cyanian* and *Chelidonian* Iſlands. The *Athenians* on the other part took an Oath, not to invade the King's Territories. For the Joy conceived about this Peace, they built an Altar of Peace, and graced *Callias* the principal of the Embaſſie with the greateſt Honours. *Cimon* was dead, and with him in a manner the true gallantry of the *Greekiſh Nation*; for none of their Captains after him did any thing to purpoſe againſt the *Barbarians* (as they termed all except themſelves) but being drawn by their Orators to inteſtine differences, and none after him being left to take them up, they fell one upon another, and ſo afforded an happy occaſion to the *Perſian* to breath himſelf, and for a good time to effect his own ſecurity with the imparement of their intereſt. For though *Ageſilaus* afterwards (as will be ſeen) paſſed over his Army into *Aſia*, and made a ſhort War with the *Perſian* Commanders on the Sea-Coaſts, yet without doing any thing of much conſequence, was he recalled by Seditions at home, leaving the *Perſian* Officers behind him, who exacted Impoſitions from the Cities confederate with *Greece*: whereas whilſt *Cimon* was in command, not ſo much as a Carrier appeared in theſe quarters, nor an Horſe came within four hundred furlongs diſtance of the Sea.

Nehem. 1. 11, *&c.*

Nehemiah obtaineth leave to repair *Jeruſalem.*

15. In the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes*, *Nehemiah* his Cup-bearer the Son of *Hachaliah* the *Jew* received a meſſage, that the remnant of the Captivity left in *Judæa* were in great affliction and reproach: that the Wall of *Jeruſalem* was broken down, and the Gates thereof burnt with Fire. Becauſe of this he wept, faſted, and mourned certain days, and praying to God to make the King favourable to him, obtained to be ſent with ample Commiſſion to build up the Walls. Now was no new Edict promulgated in behalf of the *Jews*, which had been done ſufficiently thirteen years before by the conſent of the Princes: only Let-

ters were written to the keeper of the King's Forreſt, to furniſh *Nehemiah* with wood ſufficient for building of the Gates and Walls of the City, for the Temple, and an houſe for himſelf; and the Governours beyond the River were ordered to convey him over till he came into *Judah*. By virtue of this Authority he came to *Jeruſalem*, and notwithſtanding the indignation and oppoſition of the Enemies of the *Jews*, by his great diligence and valour, finiſhed the work of the Wall in fifty two days. From the new Moon of the moneth *Niſan*, which followed this repairing of the Walls, to that new-Moon of the ſame Month in which Chriſt ſuffered, paſſed four hundred ſeventy five *Julian* years, which make up four hundred ninty *Lunar* years, conſiſting each of twelve *Lunar* Moneths. This being not without a providence, that as from the going out of the decree to the death of *Chriſt* intervened four hundred ninty *Solar* years; ſo alſo from the rebuilding of the Walls to his death, ſhould intervene ſo many conſiſting each of twelve Lunary Moneths. This gave occaſion to many eminent men both Antient and Modern to follow the opinion of *Africanus*, in placing the beginning of the ſeventy weeks in the twentieth year of this King, and concluding them with the death of Chriſt: although he reckoneth from that time to the fifteenth of *Tiberius* four hundred ſeventy five years; whereas there are to be accounted but four hundred ſeventy two; and Chriſt died not in the fifteenth year of his Reign, but was then baptized.

Nehem. 7. *&c.*

16. *Nehemiah* not thinking it ſufficient to repair the Walls whilſt the frame of the State was out of frame, reſtored both the Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Polity, thereof. Taking notice how all ranks of men, and eſpecially the Prieſts were out of order, no certainty being of their Pedigrees; he cauſed to be ſought for, and read, the Regiſter of thoſe who returned with *Zorubbabel*, from which whoſoever could not prove his deſcent from ſome Prieſtly Family was caſt off from the Prieſthood. Twelve years ſtaid he at *Jeruſalem*, governing with great moderation, and ſelf-denial, and reforming abuſes both in Religion and State. The Rulers of the People dwelt at *Jeruſalem*, the reſt of the People caſt lots to bring one of ten to dwell therein, for that it was little inhabited, and nine parts to dwell in other places, the People bleſſing all ſuch as willingly offered themſelves to dwell in *Jeruſalem*. Then return'd he to the King, from whom he yet obtained leave to come again into *Judah*, where he ſeemeth to have lived until the ſixteenth year of *Darius Nothus*, in which the firſt part of the ſeventy weeks endeth, conſiſting of fourty nine years, *viz.* ſeven weeks, which are thought to be thoſe of which the Angel ſpake, that *the Street ſhould be built again and the wall, even in troublous times.*

17. After *Artaxerxes* had made peace with the *Græcians*, he fell into civil and inteſtine Broils with *Megabyzus*, who had done him ſuch ſervice in *Ægypt* and elſewhere, if credit be given to *Cteſias*, from whom we have a relation of theſe tranſactions. This *Megabyzus*, after he had quieted *Ægypt*, and committed it to the Government of *Sartamas*, departed thence and went to the King, leading along with him *Inarus* and ſome *Greekiſh* priſoners, after he had obtained a promiſe from him, that no puniſhment ſhould be inflicted on them, though *Amytis* (or rather *Ameſtris*) the King's Mother had ſo layn upon him to deliver into her hands not only them, but *Megabyzus* himſelf her Son in Law, being inraged for the death of *Achæmenes*, who in the former Expedition was ſlain by the *Ionians*. For five years he endured her importunity without yielding, but at length being wearied and overcome, he gave up the *Greeks* and *Inarus* into her power. His Body ſhe nailed overthwart to three croſſes, and beheaded fifty of the *Greeks*, which were all ſhe could take. That *Inarus* was crucified *Thucydides* witneſſeth, though nothing of this time or manner; and *Herodotus* reporteth, that his Son *Thannyras* was reſtored by the *Perſians* to the Principality of his Father.

Artaxerxes his civil War with *Megabyſus.*

Lib. 3. *cap.* 15.

18. *Megabyzus* being ſorely moved with the uſage of his priſoners, concealed his diſpleaſure for a time; but getting leave to depart to his Government in *Syria*, whither he had privately ſent ſome *Greeks* beforehand, broke out into open Rebellion, and got an Army together of one hundred fifty thouſand men. Againſt him then was ſent *Oſiris* with two hundred thouſand, who joyning Battel with him wounded him in the Thigh, but received two wounds from him, one in his Thigh and the other in his Shoulder, with the anguiſh whereof, and loſs of Blood, he fell from his Horſe and was taken priſoner; and though his men well behaved themſelves, yet were they overthrown, and *Megabyzus* getting the Victory uſed him very curteouſly, and ſent him back to the King who deſired it. After this was ſent more Forces commanded by *Mexiſtenes* Nephew to *Artaxerxes*, by his Brother *Artarius* the Governour of *Babylon*. He alſo giving battel to *Megabyzus*, was

wounded by him both in Shoulder and Head though not mortally, and being put to flight *Megabyzus* obtained another famous Victory.

19. Things going thus, *Artarius* dealt with him by Meſſengers, then *Artoxares* the Eunuch Governour of *Paphlagonia*, and *Ameſtris* alſo adviſed him yet to be reconciled to the King, afterwards *Artarius* himſelf, *Amytis* his Wife, and *Artoxares* (now twenty years of age) were ſent to him to perſwade him to go to him: being perſwaded, after his return the King ſignified to him by a meſſage, that he freely pardoned him all that was paſt, but going on a time a hunting with him, when a Lyon ſet upon the King, as he raiſed himſelf up *Megabyzus* ſlew him, whereat *Artaxerxes* was in a great rage, that he had ſtricken him before he could touch him, and commanded his Head to be cut off. But by the interceſſion of *Ameſtris*, *Amytis*, and others, his life was ſpared, yet was he baniſhed to *Cyrta*, a Town upon the red Sea, and *Artoxares* the Eunuch into *Armenia* for ſpeaking freely to the King in his behalf.

Five years he then continued in exile, at the end of which feigning himſelf to be a *Piſagas* (which in the *Perſian* tongue ſignifieth a Leper, at whom no man might come) he fled away and came to his Wiſe *Amytis* at his own houſe, by whom ſcarcely being known, he was by her means and the help of *Ameſtris* reconciled once again to the King, who made him eat at his own Table as formerly, and ſo continued in great favour till his death at ſeventy ſix years of age, for which the King was much troubled.

Thucyd. l. 4.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 84. *an.* 3.

20. Whilſt the *Græcians* were buſie with one another in the *Peloponneſian* War, of which now ſeveral years had paſſed, *Artaxerxes* ſent *Artaphernes* a *Perſian* to the *Lacedæmonians*, with a Letter written in *Aſſyrian* Characters, in which, amongſt other things, he deſired to know plainly of them how they ſtood affected, for that he was utterly ignorant of what they thought, many Ambaſſadors coming, and no one of them agreeing with another, wherefore he deſired, that if they intended to declare themſelves, they would ſend ſome of their own back with *Artaphernes*. What was effected hereby is not known, but we find elſewhere, that the *Lacedæmonians* entred into a League with him in one main matter, contrary to that formerly made with the *Athenians*. For whereas it was provided firſt in the one, that the *Greekiſh* Cities in *Aſia* ſhould be left to their own liberty, in the other they were expreſly left under his Dominion; ſuch influence had then the Civil Wars of *Greece* upon the matters of *Aſia*; perhaps becauſe the *Lacedæmonians* were jealous of the *Ionians*, as the Colony of their adverſaries the *Athenians*, who, if not now, entred into War with them, were much ſuſpected, Jealouſies abounding betwixt them. Not long after this Meſſage, *Artaxerxes* died, having reigned according to *Diodorus* fourty years compleat, according to *Sulpicius Severus* forty one, but after *Cteſias* forty two, amongſt which opinions 'tis probable that he died in the beginning of the fourty ſecond year, after the death of *Xerxes*, in the ſecond year of the eighty ninth *Olympiad*. A. M. 3582. four hundred twenty one years before the birth of Chriſt.

Artaxerxes dieth.

Ad Olymp. 88. *an.* 4.

Cteſias in Excerptis Hiſtor. Perſic.

21. *Artaxerxes* had only one legitimate Son by his Wife *Damaſpia*, named *Xerxes*, but ſeventeen by Concubines, amongſt which were *Sogdianus Ochus*, and *Arſites*. *Xerxes* ſucceeded his Father, but was ſlain by *Secundianus*, as he was drunk, in the fourty fifth day after his death. *Secundianus* then became King, but cauſing *Bagorazus* the Eunuch to be ſtoned for ſomething done about his Fathers Body, incurred the diſpleaſure of the Army, which becauſe of this, and his Brothers death, could never be taken off by all the gifts he beſtowed on them. Being jealous of his Brother *Ochus*, whom his Father had made Governour of the *Hyrcanians*, he ſent for him; but he refuſed to come, and ſo did ſeveral times, till he had got a conſiderable Army. For *Arberius* General of the Horſe revolted to him, then *Arxanes* the Viceroy of *Egypt*, and *Artoxares* coming out of *Armenia* cauſed him to take the *Cidaris* (or *Citaris*) a Cap peculiar to the Kings and Prieſts of *Perſia*.

Ochus.

Idem.

Jacobus Capellus.

Ochus thus taking the Royal Enſign and Title of King, changed his name into *Dariæus*, and was alſo moſt commonly called *Darius Nothus*. By the advice of *Paryſatis* his Wife, he enticed by all means *Secundianus* to come to him, not ſparing Oaths, or any other ways to get him into his Hands, and ſo far prevailed, that though *Menoſtanes* the Eunuch counſelled *Secundianus* not to truſt himſelf, yet he came to him, and being caſt into Aſhes he died the ſame way as *Darius* the Son of *Hyſtaſpes* formerly made away his Emulators, though ſome think this *Darius* to have been the firſt inventor of this Puniſhment, and that it is falſly aſcribed by *Valerius Maximus*, to the Son of *Hyſtaſpes*. Then reigned he alone by himſelf after his brother had reigned ſix months and twenty dayes. The three Eunuchs, *Artoxares*, *Artibarxanes*, and *Athous* were in great power with him; but eſpecially, he was adviſed by his wife, by whom he had two Children, *Amiſtris* a daughter, and *Arſaces* a ſon (called afterwards *Artaxerxes*) before he came to the Kingdom. Afterwards he begot of her another ſon, called *Cyrus*, from the Sun; and others to the number of thirteen. But all the reſt died young, except theſe two and his fourth ſon named *Oxendras*.

His Children.

22. After this *Arſites* his own brother, both by father and mother, and *Artiphius* the ſon of *Megabyzus* revolted from him. *Artaſyras* was ſent with an Army againſt them, who falling upon *Artyphius*, was worſted in two battels; but in the third overthrew him, and corrupting the *Greeks* that fought for him, drew away all his Company, except three *Mileſians*; ſo that upon the Oath of *Artaſyras* for his ſecurity, for that *Arſites* could not be found, he yielded himſelf to the King. He was minded to put him to death, but *Paryſatis* his wife perſwaded him to ſpare him for a time, for *Arſites* ſeeing him unpuniſhed would alſo be moved to yield himſelf, and then he might rid himſelf of them both together, which accordingly came to paſs, both being caſt into the aſhes; though *Darius* was hardly brought by her perſwaſions to make away his brother: now alſo *Pharnacyas*, who with *Secundianus* had ſlain *Xerxes*, was put to death, and *Menoſtanes* being apprehended ſhunned the ſame puniſhment by laying violent hands upon himſelf.

Cteſias.
Stirs in his time.

This Rebellion was followed by the revolt of *Piſathnes* the Governour of *Lydia*, againſt whom *Tiſſaphernes* and others being ſent, he met them, having in his Army *Lycon* the *Athenian*, with ſuch *Greeks* as he had brought with him, who being corrupted by the Kings Captains revolted from him, ſo that with fair words he was drawn in, and carried to the King, who caſt him into the aſhes, and gave his Government to *Tiſſaphernes*, and the Cities with the regions adjoyning to *Lycon* for a reward of his treachery. After this followed the treaſon of *Artoxares* in great power with *Darius*, who conſpired about killing him, and transferring the Kingdom to himſelf. For this purpoſe being an Eunuch, he cauſed his wife to make him a beard, that he might ſeem no other than a perfect man; but the matter being revealed by her, he was delivered into the hands of *Paraſytis*, who put him to death.

23. *Arſaces* (afterward called *Artaxerxes*) the eldeſt ſon of *Darius*, married *Statira*, the daughter of *Idarnes*, a man of prime rank amongſt the *Perſians*; and *Terituchmes* the ſon of *Idarnes*, who after his death ſucceeded in his Government, married *Amiſtris* daughter to the King. She had a ſiſter named *Roxana*, who being very beautifull, and well skilled in ſhooting, *Terituchmes* fell in love with her, and having to do with her deteſted his wife, inſomuch as he reſolved to murder her by the help of three hundred men, with whom he practiced to revolt. Whileſt he thought hereof, one *Udiaſtes*, a man in great power about him, being promiſed great matters if he could deliver the Kings daughter from ſo great a danger, ſlew him; but the ſon of this *Udiaſtes*, who was Armour-bearer to *Terituchmes*, and was not preſent at his death, after he had notice thereof curſed his father, and ſeizing upon the Citie *Zaris* delivered it up to *Terituchmes* his ſon. Then did *Paryſatis* bury alive the Mother, Brethren, and Siſters of *Terituchmes*, and commanded *Roxana* to be cut in pieces alive. *Darius* would have had her to have made away *Statira* his daughter-in-Law together with the reſt; but through the importunity of *Arſaces* her husband, ſhe ſpared her; of which *Darius* told her, that afterwards ſhe would ſorely repent, as it came to paſs.

From the ſecond year of this King, * *Sulpicius Severus*, and * many learned men with him, count the beginning of the ſeventy weeks of *Daniel*, ending them with the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, becauſe the number of years do agree, and the Angel maketh mention of that deſolation; though nothing be ſpoken in any place concerning any going out of a Decree during the reign of this Prince, from which thoſe weeks muſt needs have commenced. They muſt needs allow the work now to have been carried on by the ſollicitation of the Prophets *Haggai* and *Zachariah*, which had been interrupted for one hundred fifteen years, ever ſince the ſecond year of the return of *Zerubbabel* and *Jeſhua*, at which time they begun to build. But now at this time, and before this, lived *Malachias* the laſt of the Prophets, who exhorts not the people to the building of the Temple as the others did, which is an evidence of the finiſhing of it before; but reprehends thoſe corruptions which * *Nehemiah* in his ſecond Government had obſerved amongſt the *Jews*, viz. marriages

* *Hiſt. ſacr. lib.* 2.

* *Joſephus Scaliger, Edu. Livelæus, Junius.*

* *Cap. ult.*

marriages with ſtrangers, unjuſt detention of Tithes, and corruption of Divine worſhip. And becauſe the ſucceſſion of Prophets was no more to be expected; in the later end of his Prophecie he exhorts the people to keep the Law of *Moſes*, untill ſuch time as the great Prophet the *Meſſias* ſhould be revealed, before whom *John Baptiſt* was to come, in the ſpirit and power of *Elias*. The ending of the Canon of holy Scripture is by *Euſebius* placed in the thirty ſecond year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*. After theſe Prophets the *Hebrews* held the men of the great Synagogue to have ſucceeded; but the latter *Jews* reckon the three laſt Prophets amongſt them, and *Eſra* as the Preſident of the Council.

24. Againſt this *Darius* the *Medes* rebelled, but were after ſome time reduced again into obedience. At this time the States of *Greece* being plunged deep in the *Peloponneſian* War, he made his advantage thereof as much as he could, ſiding with the *Lacedæmonians* againſt the *Athenians*, who did him moſt hurt in *Aſia*, both by their great skill and practice in Navigation, and being allied to the *Ionians*, whom as their Colonies they helped againſt him; ſo that much entercourſe, and great tranſactions paſſed betwixt *Tiſſaphernes* his Lieutenant, and thoſe of *Sparta*, which are involved in the affairs of *Greece*. In the ſeventeenth year of his reign he ſent his ſon *Cyrus* (born ſince he came to the Government) down to the Sea-ſide as *Satrapa*, or Lieutenant, with a kind of power over the other his Lieutenants there, and Captain General of all the forces which were wont to muſter at the plains of *Caſtolus*: giving him in charge to aſſiſt the *Lacedæmonians* in the War againſt the *Athenians*, and by his help did they recover to the hopes of their former fortune. When he had continued in his charge a year or two, he grew ſo high that he killed his two Couſin-Germans, *Autobæſaces* and *Mitræus*, becauſe they came not to him with their hands folded under their Clothes, which Ceremony was onely obſerved in the preſence of a King. Their Parents of this complaining highly to his father, and alledging how unjuſt it was to connive at ſuch practices, he ſent for him to come to him, alledging he was not well, lying then incamped in the Country of the *Medes*, againſt the *Caduſians*, bordering thereupon, who had revolted,

Xenoph. Hellenic. 10.

Idem ibid. & Exped. Cyri lib. 1. *Diodorus ad Oylmp.* 93. *an.* 1. *ad Oylmp.* 94 *an.* 2. *Juſtin. lib.* 5.

Cyrus for his miſdemeanors ſent for.

25. Leaving the command of the Cities, with all his Treaſure, and the aſſignment of his Tributes to *Lyſander* the *Spartan*, he went up, taking along with him *Tiſſaphernes* as his friend, with three hundred *Greeks*, under the leading of *Xenias* the *Parrhaſian*. His father lived not long after he came to him, whom in his ſickneſs, *Paraſytis* his wife having ruled him all his life, loving *Cyrus* above her eldeſt ſon, urged him to leave him his Succeſſor, as *Darius* the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes* did *Xerxes*, for that he was born to him being a King, and the other but a private perſon. But he thinking it not juſt refuſed to do it, but left him thoſe Cities over which he had made him Governour, and his Kingdom to *Arſaces*, or *Artaxerxes* his eldeſt ſon, and ſo died after he had reigned nineteen years, in the fourth of the ninety third *Oylmpaid*, the twenty ſeventh of the *Peloponneſian* War now ending. A. M. three thouſand ſixty; four hundred three years before the birth of Chriſt.

Xenoph. ibid.

A.M. 3600. *Ol.* 93. *an.* 4. *U.C.* 349.

Ochus death.

Arſaces then, by the pleaſure of his father, or his intereſt in the great ones, obtained the Kingdom, and changed his name into *Artaxerxes*, being for the excellency of his memory ſirnamed *Mnemon*. When he had made ſure his poſſeſſion, his wife *Statira* thinking it time then to revenge the death of her brother, and the reſt of her kindred, cauſed *Udiaſtes*, who ſlew *Teritachmes*, to have his tongue drawn backwards through his neck, and cut off, and got his ſon *Mitridates*, who had delivered the Citie *Zares* into the hands of *Teritachmes* his ſon, to ſucceed in his Government. Not long after his fathers death *Artaxerxes* went to *Paſargada*, there to be initiated by the *Perſian* Prieſts in the royal myſteries. There was a Temple dedicated to ſome warlike Goddeſſe, thought to be *Diana*, whoſe Temple he that was to be initiated entring muſt put off his own Clothes, and put upon him a Garment worn by *Cyrus* the Great, before he came to the Empire; there was he to eat ſuch a quantity of Figs, to drink Milk mingled with Vinegar, and perhaps uſed ſome other unknown Ceremonies. Whilſt the King was about theſe things came *Tiſſaphernes* unto him, and with him a Certain Prieſt, who having been appointed the inſtructer of his brother *Cyrus*, had taught him the Magical Arts. He accuſing him of treaſonable practices, had more credit given to him, becauſe *Cyrus* had reſolved to ſet upon the King in the Temple, and kill him as he ſhould put off his Clothes; ſome ſay he was apprehended upon this accuſation, others, that he came indeed

Artaxerxes. Mnemon ſucceedeth. *Cteſias.*

Plutarch. in Artaxerx.

Cyrus attempts his brothers death.

into the Temple, and being hid by the prieſt, was diſcovered and taken.

Idem & Xenoph. Expedit. Cyri lib. 1.

26. The King was minded to put him to death, and out of reverence to his Family cauſed him to be bound in Golden Chains, but their mother took him in her arms, wrapped him in her hair, laid her neck to his, and with great lamentations and intreaties prevailed for his pardon, and ſent him back again into his former Province of *Lydia*, and the Sea-coaſts. When he came there, not at all contented with this command, nor ſo much as remembering that he was ſaved by his mother's interceſſion, as that he was taken and bound by his brothers, burned more than ever with a deſire of reigning. And to this purpoſe, as ſecretly as he could, gathered forces of the *Greeks*; and under one pretence or other, laid out for forein aid both far and near, hoping to ſurpriſe his brother. The *Ionian* Cities given up now into the hands of *Tiſſaphernes* revolted to him, all except *Miletus*, the Inhabitants of which he finding to practice the ſame, killed ſome, and drove away the reſt, who flying to *Cyrus*, he beſieged the City both by Sea and Land, endeavouring to reſtore them. Then wrote he ſubmiſſively to his brother, deſiring he might have the Government of thoſe Cities rather than *Tiſſaphernes*, and herein he was furthered by his Mother, who lying as it were his Lieger at Court, made the beſt of all things. Hence was *Artaxerxes* deluded, ſuſpecting nothing, but accounting theſe forces to be kept together againſt *Tiſſaphernes*, betwixt whom and *Cyrus* he little regarded though there were a War, and the rather, becauſe *Cyrus* ſent him the Tributes due from the Cities, which *Tiſſaphernes* had formerly kept in his hand.

Is pardoned but

Idem & Xenoph. Expedit. Cyri lib. 1.

Practizeth new matters.

Idem ibid.

27. *Clearchus* at this time being baniſhed from *Lacedæmon*, came to *Cyrus*, who after conference with him admired the man, and gave him ten thouſand *Daricks*, wherewith he levied an Army, and paſſing out of *Cherroneſus* warred upon the *Thracians* that inhabited above the *Helleſpont*, thereby greatly promoting the affairs of the *Greek* Cities, inſomuch that they willingly furniſhed him with money to maintain his Forces which were onely raiſed for *Cyrus*, though thus employed for a cover to the deſign, and till he could be in a readineſs. There was alſo one *Ariſtippus* a *Theſſalian* a gueſt of *Cyrus*, who being overpowered by his Country-men of the contrary faction came to him, and requeſted him to ſpare him two thouſand Mercenaries and three months pay, alledging that thereby he ſhould be able to overcome his adverſaries. He granted his requeſt, and doubled both the number of men and ſum of money, deſiring him withal, not to agree with his adverſaries till they two had conference together; and ſo this Army in *Theſſalie* (though not diſcovered) was kept on foot and maintained for him. Further he ſent to *Proxenus* the *Bœotian*, his friend, to bring unto him as many men as he might, under pretence of warring againſt the *Piſidians*, who ſpoiled his Country; and *Sophænetus* the *Stymphalian*, with *Socrates* the *Achæan*, who likewiſe were both his Gueſts, to come to him with as many men as they could make, under colour, together with the baniſhed *Mileſians*, of making War upon *Tiſſaphernes*.

29. When he was now reſolved to march up into the higher Provinces againſt his brother, and for that purpoſe muſt gather all his Forces together, he gave out, that his purpoſe was to chace the *Piſidians* wholly out of the Country, and ſo, as for that intent, aſſembled both his *Barbarian* and *Græcian* Troups. He commanded *Clearchus* with the Army he led to come unto him, *Ariſtippus* to compound with his adverſaries, and ſend him his Forces, and *Xenias* the *Arcadian* (whom he had appointed General of the Mercenaries that lay in Garriſons in the Cities) leaving onely ſo many as ſhould be neceſſary to keep the Cittadels, gathered thoſe Forces together, and brought them to *Sardis*, being about four thouſand armed Foot. He ſent for thoſe that lay before *Miletus*, and invited the baniſhed men to his ſervice, promiſing, if his affairs ſucceded, not to give over till he had reſtored them, which they gladly accepted of. *Proxenus* came with fifteen hundred heavy-armed and five hundred light-armed foot. *Sophænetus* the *Stymphalian* brought one thouſand armed, *Socrates* the *Achæan* about five hundred, *Paſion* the *Megarean* three hundred, and as many Paltaſts or Targetiers.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 94. *ann.* 4.

29. He had before this ſent to *Lacedæmon*, deſiring of that State, that as he had formerly aided them againſt the *Athenians*, ſo they would not refuſe now in his need to do the ſame for him: boaſting in his letters, that if they ſent him Foot-men, he would provide for them Horſes, if Horſe-men, Chariots, if they had before of their own certain pieces of ground, he would give them whole Villages, and he would not count but meaſure their pay to them. They counting

it but juſt and agreeable enough to their own intereſt (not conſidering againſt whom they engaged) decreed aid to be ſent to him, thinking hereby if he overcame, to ingratiate themſelves with him; but if *Artaxerxes* ſhould get the better, to excuſe themſelves well enough, as having decreed nothing againſt him abſolutely. The *Ephori* then preſently wrote to their Admiral, to do whatſoever he ſhould command, who accordingly went to *Epheſus* and joyned himſelf with *Tamos* the *Ægyptian* and Admiral to *Cyrus*, with whom he ſailed into *Cilicia*, and there prevailed that *Syenneſis* the Prince of that Country hindred not *Cyrus* as he paſſed by Land againſt his Brother. *Tiſſaphernes* conceiving that theſe preparations were greater than fitted the War againſt the *Piſidians*, with a party of five hundred Horſe, haſted to the King with all poſſible ſpeed, who as ſoon as by him he had the intelligence, made contrary preparations. *Cyrus* after he had committed the care of *Lydia* to ſome *Perſians* of his Kindred, and given the charge of *Lydia*, *Æolis*, and the parts adjacent to *Tamos* of *Memphis* his faithful friend, he preſently ſet forwards toward *Cilicia* and *Piſidia*, it being bruted up and down that ſome of theſe people had revolted. From *Sardis* he marched through *Lydia*, and after four encampings, came an hundred and twelve miles and an half to *Coloſſe*, a great, rich, and well inhabited City, where he ſtayed ſeven days, and *Menon* the *Theſſalian* came to him with a thouſand Armed Foot, and five hundred *Dolopian*, *Ænian*, and *Olynthians* Peltaſts. From thence he marched in three Encampings ſeventy five miles and an half to *Celænæ*, a great and rich City of *Phrygia*, where he reſted thirty days, and *Clearchus* the *Lacedæmonian* came to him with a thouſand Armed Foot, and eight hundred *Thracian* Peltaſts, and two hundred *Cretian* Archers; and *Soſias* the *Syracuſian* brought a thouſand Armed Foot, and *Sophenætus* the *Arcadian*, the ſame number. Here he alſo muſtred the *Greeks*, and found them to be eleven thouſand Armed, and about two hundred Peltaſts or Targetiers.

Plutarch in Artaxerxe.
Juſtin.lib.5.
Xenoph.Expedit. Cyri,lib.1.
Diodorus.
Xenoph. ibid.

Cyrus marcheth up againſt his Brother.

30. From *Celæne* he marched, in two Encampings, ten Paraſangs, or thirty ſeven miles and an half, and came to *Peltæ*, where he ſtayed three days; and thence, in two Encampings, forty five miles, and arrived at the Market of the *Ceramanians*, a City full of People, and the laſt in the Country of *Myſia*: And hence, in three Encampings, he marched thirty Paraſangs, an hundred and twelve miles, and reached to the Plain of *Cayſter*, a City well peopled, where he reſted his Army five days. Here the Army made much ado for pay, being more than three months behind, which he was enabled to pay them with a month over, by the coming of *Epiaxia*, Wife to *Syenneſis*, King of *Cilicia*, who brought good ſtore of Treaſure with her. From thence, in four Encampings, he proceeded ſeventy five miles as far as *Tyriæum*, a City full of people, and hence, in three Encampings, ſeventy five miles, and arrived at *Iconium* the laſt City of *Phrygia*. He ſtayed here three days, and then marched, in five Encampings, through *Lycaonia* an hundred and twelve miles, which Country he ſuffered the *Greeks* to ſpoil as Enemy. Now he ſent away the *Cilician* Queen by the neareſt way into her own Country, and with her *Menon* the *Theſſalian* and his Regiment, to make way for his paſſage into that Country.

31. *Cyrus* with the reſt, marched through *Cappadocia* twenty five Paraſangs, or ninety three miles and an half in four days, and came to *Dana* a great and wealthy City, where he put to death two *Perſians* for Treaſon againſt himſelf. From hence attempt was made to break into *Cilicia*, but the Streights were ſo narrow, that one Chariot could but paſs at once, and withal exceeding ſteep, ſo that if reſiſtance was made it was impoſſible, which *Syenneſis* the King was ſaid to be ready to make at the height of the Streights; and the Army for that reaſon ſtaid in the Plain. But the next day word was brought that he had quitted the paſſage, after he perceived *Menon's* Troops to be got into *Cilicia* beyond the Mountains, and heard how a Fleet of *Lacedæmonian* Gallies were with thoſe of *Cyrus*, under Sail to paſs from *Ionia* thither, under Conduct of *Tamon*. Then aſcended he the Mountain without any oppoſition, from which deſcending, in four Encampings, he marched ninety three miles and an half, and came to *Tarſus* and a great rich City of *Cilicia*, where was the Palace of *Syenneſis*, and through which runneth *Cydnus*, a River two hundred foot in bredth.

32. The Inhabitants thereof, except ſuch as bought and ſold, fled with their King to the tops of the Mountains, leaving the City to be ſacked with the Palace by the Soldiers, enraged for the loſs of an hundred of their Companions of *Menon's* Regiment. *Cyrus* ſent for the King to come to him, who refuſed it, till overcome by the perſwaſions of his Wife, and then he gave him great ſums of mo-

ney to uphold his Army, and received back ſuch gifts as were accounted moſt honourable amongſt Kings, as an Horſe with a golden bit, a Chain of gold, Bracelets, a ſword decked with gold, a *Perſian* Garment, and Freedom of his Land from ſpoil; as alſo reſtitution of Slaves taken in ſpoil by the Souldiers whereſoever they could be found. Here the ſoldiers now imagining that they were lead againſt the King flatly refuſed to go any farther, it being, as they ſaid, no part of their agreement. *Clearchus* went about to force his men to proceed, but they, as ſoon as he offered to go forwards, caſt ſtones at him and at his carriage beaſts, whereby he was forced to betake himſelf to a fair and politick way; and to effect it (which with trouble enough he did) *Cyrus* gave out that he went againſt *Abrocamas* an Enemy of his, who laid upon the River *Euphrates* about twelve encampings from thence, that if he found him there, he would be revenged on him, and if he fled away they ſhould deliberate what to do. Hereupon, though they ſuſpected the matter, yet they reſolved to hold on, and upon demanding more pay, he promiſed them half as much more as formerly they had: *viz.* a *Darick* and an half inſtead of one *Darick* to every Soldier. All this while no man heard in publick they were led againſt the King.

33. From *Tarſus* in five encampings he marched about eighty three miles to *Iſſos*, the laſt City of *Cilicia*, well peopled, large, and rich, and ſituated upon the Sea, where he remained three dayes. Hither out of *Peloponneſus* came to *Cyrus* thirty five *Lacedæmonian* ſhips, under the command of *Pythagoras*, together with *Tamos*, who brought from *Epheſus* twenty five of *Cyrus* his ſhips, wherewith he had beſieged *Miletus*, and *Cheriſophus* the *Lacedæmonian* whom *Cyrus* had ſent for, and who brought with him ſeven hundred armed Foot. Whilſt the Army lay here, the *Græcian* Mercenaries that ſerved *Abrocamus*, viz. four hundred armed Foot revolted and came to *Cyrus*. From hence in one encamping he came about eighteen miles to the Streights of *Cilicia*, and *Syria*, defended with a wall on each ſide, betwixt which ran the River *Kerſos* a hundred foot broad. The diſtance betwixt the walls was three furlongs, admitting no paſſage by force, the nether way toward the Sea being narrow and fenced with ſtrong walls, and the upper nothing but inacceſſible Rocks, in either wall there being ſet a gate. This paſſage *Cyrus* ſuſpecting to be ſtopped by *Abrocamas*, ſent for his ſhips to tranſport ſo many men as might force it: but he upon hearing of *Cyrus* his coming into *Cilicia*, returned with all ſpeed out *Phœnicia* to the King though reported to have an Army of three hundred thouſand men.

34. From the Streights he marched in one encamping eighteen miles, and upwards, and came to *Myriandrum* a City of *Syria*, inhabited by the *Phœnicians*, upon the Sea, being a place of traffick, where many ſhips of burthen then rode in the Haven. Here he remained ſeven dayes, and *Xenias* the *Arcadian* Collonel, with *Paſion* of *Megara* ſhipping themſelves ſailed homewards, diſcontented, as was thought, becauſe *Cyrus* ſuffered *Clearchus* to keep their Soldiers, which refuſing to go any further againſt the King, removed into his Camp, with intent to return into *Greece*. From thence in four encampings he marched ſeventy five miles to the River *Chatos*, a hundred foot broad, which was full of great tame Fiſh, which the *Syrians* counted gods, and therefore ſuffered them not to be harmed no more than Pigeons. The Villages wherein they encamped belonged to *Pariſatis*, being aſſigned her for her maintenance. Thence in eight encampings he marched a hundred ſixty eight miles to the River *Euphrates*, whoſe breadth was three furlongs, and upon which was built the great and rich Citie *Thapſacus*, where the Army remained five dayes.

35. Here it was openly declared to the *Greeks* that they were led againſt the King, for which they were very angry with their Officers, who, they ſaid they were ſure, knew it before, for not acquainting them ſooner with the deſign; and refuſed to ſtir one foot forwarder, except upon promiſe of as much as their Country-men had, who formerly waited on *Cyrus* to his father. He promiſed to give every man five pounds in ſilver (of the value of fourteen Mnæ pounds, eleven ſhillings, eight pence, ſterling) as ſoon as they came to *Babylon*, and to continue their whole pay, till they ſhould be ſent back into *Ionia*, to which conditions moſt of them yielded, and *Menon* prevailing with his Regiment to paſs over the River firſt, whileſt the other were yet in conſultation, thereby to gain greater favour with *Cyrus*, all the Army followed, not a man being wet above the breaſts in wading over; ſo that this paſſage ſeemed to be miraculous, and to portend more good to *Cyrus* than followed, the River giving way

to him, which they of *Thapſacus* reported never to have been paſſed over on Foot before, but only with ſhipping, which *Abrocamus* had burnt to hinder him in the paſſage. Thence in nine encampings he marched fifty Paraſangs, or one hundred eighty ſeven miles and upwards through *Syria*, and came to the River *Araxes*. Here they ſtayed three days, and made proviſion of Victuals, and then departing thence, marched through the Wilderneſs of *Arabia*, one hundred thirty miles in five encampings, having *Euphrates* on the right Hand, and proceeding through this Countrey came to the River *Maſca*, where they ſtayed three days in making proviſion for the Army; whence in thirteen encampings they marched through the deſert ninty paraſangs, or three hundred thirty ſeven miles and an half, and came to the Straights.

36. Proceeding in their Journey hence, they might diſcover the footings, and dung of Horſes; for a party had been ſent of about two thouſand, which going before the Kings Camp, burnt up the Fodder, and made havock of all things profitable for uſe. Now came *Orontes* a *Perſian* to *Cyrus*, whom having ſought to betray him in times paſt, and pardoned by him, attempted now to do the like, but was diſcovered, and put to death. Marching ſtill forward they proceeded in three incampings fourty five miles through the Countrey of *Babylon*. In the third encamping at midnight *Cyrus* ſet his men in order, thinking his Brother to be near, and would give him battel the next morning. The *Græcians* were in number ten thouſand four hundred Armed, and two thouſand four hundred Targetiers, the *Barbarians* with *Cyrus* were ten Myriads (or one hundred thouſand) beſides about two hundred Sythed Chariots. From hence in order of Battel he marched ſome twelve miles, thinking the King would have fought that day, becauſe at the end of this half days Journey he found a Trench caſt five Fathoms broad, and three deep, running up fourty five miles into the Countrey, as far as the Wall of *Media*, where the four Chanels begin that derived out of the River *Tigris*, fall into *Euphrates*. This Trench the King cauſed to be made after he heard that *Cyrus* was ſtirring, who now paſſing it without any diſturbance, he and all his Army were ſtrongly perſwaded that the King determined not to Fight; whence he had not ſo great care of his March the next day, and the third day after he advanced ſitting in his Chariot: the moſt of his Army marched confuſedly, many of the Souldiers having their Arms laid upon the Wains, and carriage of Beaſts.

37. Now it was time, the Market was full, and the place of encamping where they ſhould quarter was at hand, when *Patagyas* a *Perſian*, one of the faithfulleſt of *Cyrus* his Train was ſeen to come upon the Spur, his Horſe dropping with Sweat, crying out in the *Perſian* and *Greek* language that the King was hard by, with an huge Army, ready and prepared for Fight. This news made a great confuſion, all thinking they ſhould be charged in that diſorder, *Cyrus* leaping from his Chariot, put on his Curace, and mounting on horſback, took his Dart in his Hand, and commanded the reſt to arm, and every man to take his place. *Clearchus* ſtood in the point of the right Wing, by the River *Euphrates*, *Menon* and his Regiment held the point of the left, and *Cyrus* himſelf the midſt with ſix hundred horſmen armed with great Curaces, and Taſes, and all of them with Casks, except he alone, who ſtood waiting the Fight with his Head unarmed, according to the cuſtom of *Perſia*. The King had with him ninty Myriads (or nine hundred thouſand) and one hundred fifty Chariots, having on both ſides Sythes prominent, and bearing ſtraight forth from the Axle-trees, and ſome from the former ſeat of the Chariot with their Points turned towards the Ground, that they might cut in pieces whatſoever they met and ſtruck upon: His purpoſe was to ſend them with high ſpeed againſt the Ranks of the *Græcians*, to break and rent them aſunder.

Artaxerxes and *Cyrus* joyn battel.

38. The Kings Army came on an equal and ſlow pace, in great ſilence, quietneſs, and order, which amazed, and diſcouraged *Cyrus*, and the *Græcians*, little expecting any ſuch thing. *Cyrus* now galloping up to the right Wing, cried out to *Clearchus* to lead the *Græcians* againſt the middeſt of the Enemies battel, becauſe the King was there, ſaying that if he were overcome, there would be no more for them to do. *Clearchus* ſeeing the middeſt of the Battel, and hearing from him that the King, by reaſon of his multitude which ſtretched out the Body, was far without the point of the left Wing of the *Græcian* Phalang, would not for all that draw away the right wing from the River, fearing to be confronted, and incompaſſed on both ſides: but anſwered, he would have a care that all things ſhould go well. The word was betrayed before they joyned ſo that they were forced to change it to *Jupiter the ſaviour, and victory*, after the giving of which the *Græcians* ſinging the *Pæan*, and running on with a ſhout,

the *Barbarians*, before they came within an Arrows ſhot, turned their Horſes and fled, the other following the Chace with all ſpeed, and crying to one another not to haſte too much, but to follow in good order. The Chariots void of Guides were carried, ſome upon the Enemies themſelves, ſome upon the *Gracians*, who upon a forecaſt opened, and let them paſs through, only ſome were overthrown by fear, who notwithſtanding were reported to have had no harm, nor yet any other *Gracian* in this whole fight, one only excepted, who was ſtrucken with an Arrow in the left ſide.

Cyrus worſhipped as King.

39. *Cyrus* beholding this ſight much rejoyced, and was now worſhipped as King by thoſe about him; notwithſtanding he followed not the Chaſe, but keeping by him his ſix hundred Horſe, obſerved what the King would do, who being in the midſt of his Phalang, without the point of *Cyrus* his left Wing, and ſeeing no man to fight againſt him on the contrary part, wound, and turned his Battel to the left hand, to overwing, and encompaſs in his Enemies. *Cyrus* perceiving it, and fearing, leſt coming on the backs of the *Gracians* he ſhould cut them in pieces, galloped forth, and met him in front, and charging with his ſix hundred, overcame, and put to flight the ſix thouſand that were ordered before him, and with his own Hands (as was reported) ſlew *Artagerſes*, one of his Generals. His ſix hundred purſuing hotly were diſperſed, except a few that were left with him, for the moſt part ſuch as uſually ſat at his Table, with which being accompanied, he eſpied the King, and the Troup about him, and after he had ſaid *I ſee the man*, flew out directly againſt him, ſtruck him on the Breaſt, and wounded him through the Curace, as *Cteſias* of *Gnidus* the Kings Phyſician related, who reported alſo that he cured the Wound. Whilſt *Cyrus* thus fought, one with a Dart hit him a ſore blow under the Eye.

Xenoph. ut ſupra et Plutarch in Artaxerxe.

40. The King and *Cyrus* with their followers in defence of either of them thus coping together, *Cyrus* was ſlain by the King, as his flatterers ſaid, as others by a Carian, though *Cteſias* writeth his death to have hapned after the King had withdrawn himſelf to an Hill, being firſt wounded beſides the Eye, and then diſpatched by a thruſt into his left Leg, by a Caunian of a baſe condition, who with other of his Companions had thruſt himſelf, it being now dark, in amongſt his followers. Here he died in the battel of *Cunaxa* a place diſtant from *Babylon* five hundred Furlongs, or ſixty odd Miles, a man in the opinion of ſuch as had acquaintance with him, of a moſt Kingly diſpoſition, and moſt worthy a Crown of all the *Perſians* that ſucceeded *Cyrus* the Great. *Clearchus* before the Fight adviſed him to keep himſelf behind the Army, and not to venture into danger, to whom he replied as one who wiſhed him to carry himſelf unworthy a Kingdom whileſt he fought for one. In the opinion of *Plutarch*, not ſo much his raſhneſs (though inexcuſable) as the lazineſs, not to ſay cowardiſe, of *Clearchus* is to be condemned, who having marched ſo many Miles for no other purpoſe than to place him in the Throne, not ſo much endeavoured his ſafety and Conqueſt, as his own eaſe and ſecurity: The event of the Fight ſhewed, that none of thoſe about the King would have endured the leaſt brunt from the *Gracians*, and that after they had been put to flight, and he with them, or elſe killed in the place, the Victory and Kingdom muſt have remained to *Cyrus*. But this advantage was loſt by *Clearchus*, who ſo placed his men that *Artaxerxes* could not have deſired a more convenient order, on his part, they being at greateſt diſtance from him and his Army, inſomuch that he neither perceived himſelf overcome by them, and *Cyrus* was ſooner ſlain than they could reap any fruit of their Victory. This Battel was fought about the beginning of the fourth year of the ninty fifth *Olympiad*, *Epænetus* (or *Xenanætus*) being Archon at *Athens*, in the third ending, or fourth beginning of *Artaxerxes*.

Cyrus ſlain.

A.M. 3607.
V. C. 353.
Xenoph. & Plutarch. ut prius & in Periclc.

41. *Artaxerxes* commanded the Head, and right hand of *Cyrus* to be cut off, and following the Chace, chanced upon his Camp, which they plundred, and took thence his *Phocæan* Concubine, called the *wiſe* and *beautiful*, whoſe name in her own Countrey was *Mitto*, but by *Cyrus* called *Aſpaſia*, whom the King moſt loved, and kept amongſt his three hundred ſixty Concubines. Now were he and the *Gracians* near four Miles aſunder; the laſt giving Chace to ſuch Enemies as ſtood before them, as if they had been Conquerours of the whole Army; the other rifling the Camp of the *Gracians*, as if his Army had gained the Victory. After this both parties rallied again for a new engagement, but the *Barbarians* received not the *Gracians*, but fled with greater ſpeed than before. Having perſued them ſome way, the *Gracians* made an *Holt*, and reſted themſelves, wondering they ſaw not *Cyrus*, being ignorant what was befallen him.

The *Gracians* having the better in the battel, are ignorant of *Cyrus* his death.

Then after ſome conſultation what was to be done, they returned to the Camp about Supper time, where they found the moſt of their other Goods rifled, and eſpecially the Meat and Drink, and the four hundred Wains loaden with Meal and Wine, which *Cyrus* had prepared to relieve them, in caſe the Army ſhould at any time be driven to want. The moſt of them therefore were ſupperleſs, having alſo wanted their Dinner that day: for that the King came in ſight before they could refreſh themſelves. Thus this day ended, and together with the Story, the firſt Book of the *Aſcent* of *Cyrus* commonly aſcribed to *Xenophon* as the Author.

Xenoph. An. lib. 2.

42. The *Græcians* hearing of *Cyrus* his death were much troubled, and offered *Ariæus* (a *Perſian*, who followed *Cyrus*, and commanded his left Wing) to place him in the Throne; but he refuſed it, for that, as he ſaid, there were many *Perſians* in all reſpects better than he, who would never endure that he ſhould be King. *Artaxerxes* ſent a Meſſage to them to lay down their Arms, and to repair to his Gate, there to ſubmit themſelves to his mercy. The Coronels were divided in their opinions concerning it, and gave ſeveral anſwers according to their apprehenſions, but *Clearchus*, for all a doubtful one, *viz.* that if they might be accounted as his Friends, they ſhould be better Friends having Arms, than delivering them up to any man; if no remedy there was but War, they ſhould better make War with Arms, than without, after they had rendred them up. And whereas he offered them Truce, as long as they abode in the ſame place, but threatned War if they ſtirred thence, he replied only, that they would expect accordingly. Then reſolved he, after he knew *Ariæus* his anſwer, and how he invited them to march back again into *Ionia*, for that the Sacrifice killed about marching againſt the King was not proſpitious, to joyn the Army unto his, which accordingly he did, *Ariæus*, and the Officers of the *Græcians* taking an Oath to be Friends, Confederates, and not to betray one another. The League was entred into on this manner: They killed a Boar, a Bull, a Wolf, and a Ram; and the *Græcians* dipped the point of a Sword, the *Barbarians* of a Spear in the Blood of theſe Beaſts, being powred out into the hollowneſs of a Target.

They joyn with *Ariæus*, and retreat.

Xenoph: Aſcenſ. Cyri. lib. 2. & *Diodorus ad ann.* 4. *Olymp.* 94.

43. The length of the Journey from *Epheſus* in *Ionia* to the place of the Battel was ninty three encampings, five hundred thirty five paraſangs, ſixteen thouſand thirty Furlongs, two thouſand Miles and above, which though very long, yet reſolved they to take another and longer way through *Paphlagonia*, becauſe the former was deſtitute of Proviſions. Then ſet they forward that way, marching more ſlowly for the better gathering of neceſſaries, and after the King had ſomewhat recovered of his Wound, he purſued them, and pitched his Tents hard by theirs; but with the noiſe of them his men were ſo affrighted, that ſome of the neareſt to them removed their Tents, and on the next day ſetting their men in order for Battel, he who before had made ſuch large demands, ſent and offered them Truce, and covenanted to let them have free paſſage through his Territories till they came to the Sea, and afforded them Proviſions for their money, which was alſo granted to all the Mercenaries who ſerved under *Ariæus* (or *Aridæus*) and *Clearchus*. Then proceeded the *Greeks* on their Journey, and the King returned to *Babylon*, where rewarding thoſe that had beſt deſerved on him in the laſt Battel, he judged the Service of *Tiſſaphernes* to have been moſt eminent, therefore as a reward (amongſt ſeveral other noble Gifts) he gave him his own Daughter to wife, and the government of ſuch places as formerly had been under *Cyrus*, binding him to him thereby ſo, as he proved ever moſt faithful to him.

The King purſueth and is forced to diſmiſs them.

44. *Tiſſaphernes* ſeeing how the King was incenſed againſt the *Græcians*, promiſed him to deſtroy them all, if he were but furniſhed with Forces to that purpoſe, and could but withdraw *Ariæus* from them, by whom he doubted not but they might eaſily be betraied. The King accepting his offer, gave him leave to chuſe of the moſt valiant of his Army as many as he would, with which he followed after, and incamping near to them, ſent for *Clearchus* and the other *Coronels* to come to him, pretending he had ſomewhat for their good to ſay to them. They with the Captains of the ſeveral Companies going to him, with two hundred more (who went to buy Victuals) he ſecured the Coronels called into his Tent, and killed the Captains at the Door with the other two hundred, of which one chanced to eſcape with the News thereof to the Camp. The Coronels were ſent to the King, who put them all to death except *Menon*. The Soldiers at firſt greatly terrified, having now no body left to command or lead them, by the advice of *Xenophon* made choice of other Leaders, amongſt whom *Cheiriſophus* was chief, and he himſelf was one, being elected into the place of *Proxenus*,

Tiſſaphernes intrappeth their Officers.

Sect. 3.

Xenoph. Exped. lib. 3.

The Soldiers make a new choice, in which Xenophon is one.

Proxenus, who being his ancient Friend and Gueſt ſent for him, and promiſed him if he would come, to make *Cyrus* his Friend, who, as he eſteemed him, would be more to be prized than his own Country. He communicated the matter to *Socrates* the Philoſopher and his Maſter, who, for that *Cyrus* his intereſt ſeemed croſs to that of the City of *Athens*, ſeeming to ſtand with the *Lacedæmonians*, adviſed him to conſult the Oracle of *Delphos*. Thither he went, and enquired how he might beſt accompliſh his Journey, to which was anſwered, that he muſt Sacrifize to thoſe Gods to whom he ought to Sacrifize, which he reporting again to *Socrates*, he blamed him for ſo propounding his Queſtion, alleging he ought to have asked whether he ſhould travel or no, and not as one reſolved already to do it; but ſeeing it was ſo, he muſt do as he was bidden, and accordingly he followed *Cyrus* to *Sardis*, where *Proxenus* preſented him to him.

Idem ibid. & Diodorus ut prius.

45. The *Græcians* marching on towards *Paphlagonia*, where dogged at the Heels by *Tiſſaphernes*, who being affraid of the valour of deſperate men, never durſt ingage in any Battel with them, but only flancked them or fell in upon their Rear, as he could have opportunity, and yet followed them as far as the Borders of the *Carduchians*, after which, ſeeing he could not do them any conſiderable hurt, he departed with his men towards *Ionia* another way. The *Carducians* a warlike Nation and at Enmity with the King, and much exerciſed in ſlinging of great and maſſie Stones, much diſturbed the *Græcians* in their paſſage of their Country, and in the paſſing the Mountains thereof were ſpent ſeven days. With great difficulty and danger having paſſed it, they went over the River *Centritis* into *Armenia*; of which *Artabazus* being then Governour, entred into league with them, and ſuffered them quietly to paſs; but in travelling thorow the Mountains they were near all being overwhelmed in the Snow, the diſcerning of ways being taken away thereby. The whole Army had periſhed alſo by extream cold, had they not light upon ſome Villages near hand, wherein being furniſhed with plenty of neceſſaries, they refreſhed themſelves. The Houſes ſtood within the Ground, into which the men deſcended by Stairs, and their Cattel by deſcents made for that purpoſe. Having here ſtayed eight days, they journeyed thence to the River *Phaſis*.

Xenoph. lib. 4. Diodorus.

46. Having continued four days at this River, they marched through the Country of the *Tacchi* and *Phaſiani*, by whom being oppoſed, they fought and made great ſlaughter of them, and then ſeized upon their Villages, which were plentifully furniſhed with ſuch things as they wanted, they there reſted fifteen days. Thence marching through the Territories of the *Chalcidenſians*, in ſeven encampings they came to the River *Harpaſus*, and thence coming into the Plains of the *Taſcutini*, they there refreſhed themſelves three days, and proceeding, in four encampings they arrived at a great City called *Gymnaſia*. The Prince of this Countrey entring into a League with them, furniſhed them with Guides to the Sea, of which, after fifteen days being got up to the Hill *Chenius*, they got a ſight a far of, at which the Front ſhouted ſo for joy, that thoſe in the Rear thinking they had been ſet upon by ſome Enemy, prepared themſelves for a Fight, and there laid they a great heap of Stones as a Monument to Poſterity, of the Spoils obtained from the *Barbarians*, and the immortal memory of their Expedition.

They came to Trapezond upon the Euxine Sea.

Exped. Cyri, l. 5.

Diodorus ut ſuprà.

47. Then came they into the Country of the *Macri*, with whom they made a League, by taking and receiving a Spear, according to the cuſtom of theſe *Barbarians*. Having got over their Mountains they came into the Territories of the *Coleti*, where a great multitude oppoſing them, they made no ſmall ſlaughter of the Inhabitants, and made a great ſpoil, where they found a kind of Honey, of which whoſoever did eat, became according to the quantity eaten, drunken, mad, or as dead, but the next day at the ſame hour returned to their right Senſes, and after three or four days aroſe as having received ſome Medicine. Thence in two encampings they come to *Trapezond* a *Græcian* City well inhabited, ſituate upon the *Euxine* Sea, being a Colony of the *Sinopeans*, placed in the *Colchian* Country. Here *Jaſon* with his Companions are reported to have arrived with their Ship *Argos*. They ſacrifized to *Hercules* and *Jupiter*, and celebrated Games of Exerciſe, and hence was *Cheriſophus* ſent to *Byzantium* to provide Ships for the tranſportation of them home, and for him here they ſtaied thirty days, but after that term he returning not, their Proviſions growing ſcarce, though they had made excurſions both by Sea and Land, they put on Shipboard (having obtained a little Shipping of the *Trapezuntans*) the Sick, all thoſe above fourty Years of Age, with the Women and Children, and

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paſſed in three dayes to *Ceraſunt* a *Græcian* City ſituate upon the Sea, being alſo a Colony of the *Sinopeans* in the *Colchian* Countrey. Here they remained ten dayes, and taking a muſter, found eight thouſand ſix hundred remaining of thoſe that aſcended with *Cyrus* into *Perſia*, the reſt being conſumed by the Enemies hand, or Snow, or ſickneſs. Here alſo they divided the money that aroſe out of the ſail of Captives, the tenth part of which the Officers took into their hands, being ſevered as an offering to be made to *Apollo* and *Diana* of *Epheſus*; every one keeping and preſerving a ſhare for his gods.

48. From *Ceraſunt* they came into the Country of the *Meſynecans*, the verieſt *Barbarians* they had met with in the whole Journey, which they paſſed by force in eight encampings, and in three more that of the *Tibarenes* through which they came to *Cotyora* a *Græcian* Colony alſo of the *Sinopæans*. Thus far the Army marched one foot, the whole length of the retreat from the place of the battel in the *Babylonian* Territories hither, being a hundred twenty two encampings, ſix hundred twenty paraſangs, ten thouſand eight hundred twenty furlongs, one thouſand three hundred fifty two miles and ſomething more. At *Cotyora* they continued fifty dayes, making encurſions upon the neighbouring people of *Paphlagonia*. Then the *Heracleans* and *Synopeans*, a Colony of the *Mileſians* in *Paphlagonia*, furniſhed them with ſhipping, into which they put themſelves and their baggage, and ſailed away, *Cheriſophus* meeting them with a few Veſſels. Holding on their courſe they ſailed by *Jaſon*'s ſhore, where the Ship *Argo* is ſaid to have anchored, and by the mouths of the Rivers *Thermodon*, *Halys*, and *Parthenius*, by which after they had paſſed, they arrived at *Heraclea* a *Græcian* City and Colony of the *Magaræans*, ſituate in the Territory of the *Maryandens*, and came to anchor near the *Cherroneſus* or *Peninſula* of *Acherouſia*, where *Hercules* is ſaid to have fetcht the Dog *Cerberus* out of Hell; the marks being there ſhewn of his decent, and the depth of the place, being more than two furlongs.

Xenoph. lib. 6. *Diodorus.*

They part aſunder at *Heraclea.*

49. Here the Souldiers, through the perſwaſion of *Lycon* an *Achaian*, making unreaſonable demands of money from the *Heracleans*, they ſhut their gates upon them, and provided for their own defence, which bred a ſedition in the Army, ſo that they parted aſunder. The *Arcadians* and *Achæans* being more than four thouſand five hundred all heavy armed, ſailed away firſt, having got ſhipping of the *Heracleans*, that falling ſuddainly upon the *Bithynians*, they might prevent the reſt, and make the greateſt prey. *Cheriſophus* a little before choſen General, having one thouſand three hundred armed, and ſeven hundred Peltaſts, (who were the *Thracians* that followed *Clearchus*) marched on foot from *Heraclea*, and as ſoon as he entred *Thrace*, led along by the Sea-coaſt being now ſick, and preſently dead of a Medicine he took in an Ague. *Xenophon* with one thouſand ſeven hundred Armed, three hundred Peltaſts, and forty Horſe, taking ſhipping, landed in the confines of *Thrace*, and marched through the midſt of the Land. With great difficulty paſſed they through the Country on foot, the *Thracians* of *Aſia* and *Bithynians*, grievouſly afflicting them, till meeting together again, they reſolved no more to part, and decreed it ſhould be death for any one to move ſuch a thing. Then came they ſafe, though with great difficulty, to *Chryſopolis* a City in *Chalcedonia*, whence without much trouble ſome returned home, others were employed by *Seuthes* the King of *Thrace*; and after that *Thymbro* joyning them to the reſt of the *Græcian* Forces, made War with them againſt *Tiſſaphernes*.

Xenoph. l. 7. *Diodorus.*

They return home.

The Governours of the King's Provinces at their return.

50. The Governours of the King's Provinces through which they journyed were *Artymas* of *Lydia*, *Artacamas* of *Phrygia*, *Mithridates* of *Lycaonia* and *Cappadocia*; of *Cilicia Syeneſis*, of *Phœnicia*, and *Arabia Darnes*, of *Syria* and *Aſſyria Beleſis*, of *Babylonia Raparas*, of *Media Arbacas*, of the *Phaſians* and *Heſperites Teribazus*. The *Carduchans*, *Chalybes*, *Chaldæans*, *Macrons*, *Cholcans*, *Moſynæcans*, *Coitans*, and *Tibarens*, were free people, and under no man's ſubjection. *Paphlagonia*, was ruled by *Corylas*, the *Bithynians* by *Pharnabazus*, the *Europæan Thracians* by *Seuthes*. The total number of the Aſcent and Deſcent, was two hundred twelve encampings, one thouſand one hundred fifty paraſangs, thirty four thouſand two hundred fifty five furlongs, four thouſand two hundred eighty one miles and more. The time of the Aſcent and Deſcent one year and three monthes. Thus theſe Strangers wanting all things, ignorant of the Countries through which they paſſed, over precipitous Mountains, ſtraight and (almoſt) impaſſable wayes, notwithſtanding the malice of Enemies, ſharpneſs of air, and difficulty of the Soil, by the wonder-

ful Providence of God, and ſingular prudence of *Xenophon*, returned home into *Greece*, as we have it deſcribed by *Xenophon* himſelf, though the ſeven Books of this Expedition, notwithſtanding the conſtant opinion of Antiquity, are adjudged by a late Learned Man (by reaſon of the diſagreement of their manner of writing from his other works) from him, and are aſcribed to *Themiſtogenes* the *Syracuſian*, whom* elſewhere he mentioneth to have related theſe matters. However this Service performed to *Cyrus* coſt him the loſs of his Country, being for that baniſhed by the *Athenians* his Countrymen; but the *Lacedæmonians* taking pity of him, gave him ſome Lands in the Country of *Elis* and the Territories of *Triphyllis*, whence we may very well fetch an account of his writing that elegant Treatiſe of the form of their Commonwealth.

* *Hellen.* 3.

Plutarch in Artaxerxe.

51. In this mean time whilſt the *Græcians* were on their way homewards, *Paryſatis* the Queen-mother of *Perſia* greatly lamented the death of her Son *Cyrus*, and meditated nothing but revenge upon ſuch as had been inſtruments in his death, whom one way or other getting into her Hands, ſhe killed with moſt exquiſite Torments. The *Carian*, who vaunted he, and no other, had killed him, being deſigned by *Artaxerxes* to be beheaded, becauſe he robbed him of the glory of ſo valiant an action, ſhe begged of the King, that ſhe might have the puniſhing him, and ſo delivered him to thoſe, who for ten days tormented him; then digged out his Eyes, and laſtly made an end of him by powring melted Braſs into his Ears. *Mithridates* guilty of the ſame Crime of Boaſting, and thereby greatly incenſing the King, who would have had all men to believe that he alone in a ſingle Duel had ſlain his Brother, was condemned to be put to death after an odd kind of Puniſhment full of Cruelty, then in uſe in *Perſia*. The Malefactor was laid on his Back between two hollow things, in form like to Boats, ſo fitted together that his Head, Hands, and Feet might lye out, and the reſt of the Body be contained within. Being thus made faſt Meat was given to him, and if he would not receive it, he was forced to eat by pricking of his Eyes; and when he did eat, inſtead of Drink, Honey and Milk mixed together were powred into him, being ſo placed as ever to have his Eyes againſt the Sun. Hereby it came to paſs, that his Face would be wholely covered with Flies; and doing that within the Engine, which a man needs muſt who keepeth conſtantly eating and drinking; from the putrefaction of the Excrements were Maggots and Worms bred, which creeping up into the Entrails fed upon the Body, ſo that the miſerable man being dead, and the upper part of the Engine removed, they might ſee the Fleſh devoured, and Swarms of Filth ſticking on the Carcaſe: After this manner was *Mithridates* by degrees extinct, after ſeventeen days.

Paryſatis rageth againſt ſuch as had any hand in the death of her Son *Cyrus*.

Idem ibid.

52. *Paryſatis* after this, having won from *Artaxerxes* her Son at Dice, the Eunuch *Megates*, who had cut off the Head and Hands of *Cyrus*, cauſed him to be flead alive. Her ſtudy then was how to rid herſelf of *Statira* her Daughter-in-law, whom ſhe never cared for, now hated Mortally, and emulated her by reaſon of her Hatred againſt *Cyrus*, and her Power with the King her Husband, ſo as ſhe reſolved in the procurement of her deſtruction to hazard her own ſafety. Being now in an appearance reconciled, and all old things forgotten, ſo as they met and Supped together, ſhe thence took occaſion ſecretly to work her death. There was a Bird in *Perſia*, called *Rhyntaces*, in which being nothing ſuperfluous or of excrement, all the inward parts were filled with Fat. This, as *Cteſias* wrote, ſhe cut it in two with a Knife, whereof the one ſide was only poyſoned, and then taking the clear half to her ſelf, ſhe gave the other which the Poyſon had toucht unto *Statira*, who ſuſpecting nothing, for that ſhe ſee her eat her ſelf of the Bird before her, did eat it up, and died after great Convulſions and Torment. She ſuſpected her before her death, and poſſeſſed the King with the matter, who knew ſufficiently the cruel, and implacable diſpoſition of his Mother. He preſently with Tortures examined her neereſt Servants, but ſhe kept *Gygis* a woman who had been acceſſary to the Fact, and would not give her up to him, till at length having notice that ſhe ſhould go out of the Houſe by night, he ſurprized, and condemned her to dy the Death due to Poyſoners by the *Perſian* Law, which was, that the Head of the Malefactor being laid on a great Stone, with another it was broken and flatted. As for his Mother he hurt her not at all, either by word or deed, but ſhe deſiring to go to *Babylon*, he ſent her, adding only this, that he would not ſee that City ſo long as ſhe lived. This was the ſtate of the Domeſtick affairs of *Artaxerxes*.

The Bird *Rhyntaces*, wherein *Paryſatis* poyſoneth *Statira*.

53. After

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Diodorus ad an.1.Oylmp.95.

53. After the overthrow of *Cyrus*, he ſent down *Tiſſaphernes* (not *Pharnabazus*, as is falſly written in *Diodorus*) to the Sea-Coaſts to recover them into his power, the Governors of which fearing now to pay dearly for their compliance with *Cyrus*, ſent to make their peace with this new General, and ſought all wayes poſſible to be received into his favour. But *Tamos* a man of prime note amongſt them, and Governour of *Ionia*, ſhipping his goods, and all his ſons (except one, named *Cyaos*, who afterwards became Captain of the Kings forces) ſayled for fear of *Tiſſaphernes* into *Egypt* to *Pſammitichus* the King, hoping for former courteſies to be received; but he, without conſideration of former benefits, to get his ſhips and money to himſelf, murdered his friend with his Children.

Idem ibid. Xenoph. Hellen lib.3. Juſtin. lib.6.init.

In the mean time the *Ionians* fearing *Tiſſaphernes*, and deſirous to enjoy their liberty, ſent to the *Lacedæmonians*, now the cheifeſt State in *Greece*, deſiring, that being the Captains, and Protectors of all *Greece*, they would not neglect them Originally of the ſame ſtock, but endeavour that they might enjoy their liberty, retain their Lands, and not utterly be deſtroyed, as danger ſeemed to threaten them from *Tiſſaphernes*, whom they had incenſed by revolting from him to *Cyrus*. They, who were nothing contented with the doubling of their power by the acceſſion of that of *Athens* lately ſubdued, but ſtill according to the nature of men deſiring more, began to caſt in their heads how they might attain to the Empire of *Aſia*, being alſo encouraged by the retreat of their Country-men, did not unwillingly receive the embaſſy; but promiſing them ſpeedy releif, firſt ſent to *Tiſſaphernes*, deſiring him not to offer any violence to the *Greek* Towns, but he neglecting their Meſſage, and falling upon *Cumæ*, in the Territories of which he did much harm, and took many priſoners, then they created *Thymbro* their Captain General againſt the King, giving him one thouſand of their own Citizens, and order to take up as many from amongſt their aſſociates as he ſhould think convenient.

Diodorus & Xenoph.ut prius.

Thimbro ſent to the aid of the *Greek* Cities, falleth on *Magneſia*.

54. *Thimbro* then with theſe marched to *Corinth*, where making them up to the number of five thouſand, beſides three hundred *Athenian* horſe, he thence ſayled to *Epheſus*. Having there out of the Aſſociates and others, raiſed two thouſand men more, he removed and fell upon *Magneſia*, a Town ſubject to *Tiſſaphernes*, which he took at the firſt onſet, and preſently after attempted *Tralles*, a Town of *Ionia*; but it being to no purpoſe, he retreated to *Magneſia*, which being Fortified with no Wall, fearing that *Tiſſaphernes* might after his departure recover it, he removed it to an Hill hard by, named *Thorax*. Then invaded he, and haraſſed the Enemies country, but hearing that *Tiſſaphernes* was coming towards him with a great power of horſe, he thought himſelf unable to graple with him, and therefore returned unto *Epheſus*. Not long after upon promiſe of pay he procured *Xenophon* his forces to joyn with him, with which then he took the field againſt *Tiſſaphernes*, whereupon *Pergamus* yielded to him, together with *Teuthrania*, and *Halyſarnia* Governed by *Euryſthenes* and *Procles*, who were deſcended from *Demaratus* the *Lacedæmonian*. Other Towns alſo were delivered up to him, and ſome he took by force, till at length he ſate down before *Lariſſa*, called the *Egyptian*, which attempting for ſome time to no purpoſe, his Superiours at *Lacedæmon* were nothing ſatisfied with his management of the War, ſo that he received orders from the *Ephori* to leave *Lariſſa*, and remove the Army into *Caria*. He obeyed, and when he was come on his way as far as *Epheſus*, *Dercyllidas* (a man ſo famous for his rare invention and cunning, that he got the ſirname of *Siſyphus*) being appointed his Succeſſor, there met him, and diſcharged him of his employment. Returning home, he was accuſed by the Aſſociates for giving his Souldiers liberty to ſpoyl the friends and confederates of the State, and for that was baniſhed,

Dercyllidas ſucceedeth him.

Xenoph. ibid. Juſtin lib.6. init. Diodorus ad Oylmp.95.an.2.

55. *Dercyllidas* taking the Army into his hands, and not ignorant how he had to do with two *Perſian* Lieutenants, *Tiſſaphernes* and *Pharnabazus*, who feared and hated each other; leſt he ſhould be overmatched with both he reſolved if he could to make peace with one of them. He had conceived ſome diſtaſte againſt the later for an affront he put upon him, when he formerly ſerved under *Lyſander* in *Aſia*: wherefore he made peace with *Tiſſaphernes* upon certain conditions, and lead his Army into *Æolis*, without any hurt to the confederates in the way, which was under the Command of *Pharnabazus*, where taking nine Cities in eight dayes, and getting into his hands all the Citties of *Troas*, he conſulted by what means he might ſo quarter his Souldiers in Winter as not

to be burthenſom to the Aſſociates as *Thimbro* was, and yet prevent *Pharnabazus* from troubling the Cities with the excurſions of horſe, of which he had good ſtore. He ſent then preſently to *Pharnabazus* to offer either war, or peace, who making choice of a Truce, for that he ſtood in fear of *Phrygia*, which bordered upon *Æolis*, and where he had his ſeat, he thereupon lead his forces into *Bithynia* to Winter there; the other not being unwilling he ſhould ſo do, becauſe the *Bithynians* were often troubleſom to him.

56 In the beginning of Spring *Dercyllidas* marching out of *Bithynia* came to *Lampſacus*, where he met with three *Lacedæmonians* ſent from the State to ſignifie to him the Prorogation of his Command for another year, who alſo by order from the *Ephori*, rebuked the Souldiers for the injuries offered by them to the aſſociates in the time of *Thimbro*, and commended them for their great moderation laſt year, warning them for the time to come, to which one of the Officers anſwered (who had followed *Cyrus*) that the Souldiers were one and the ſame, but that the change of Generals produced a change in their behaviour. The meſſengers being departed out of *Aſia*, he ſent again to *Pharnabazus*, offering him either peace, or War, as before, who making the ſame choice, he out of hand paſſed over the *Helleſpont*, and by the hands of his Souldiers, amongſt whom the work was divided, fortified the *Iſthmus* of the *Cherroneſus* of *Thrace* with a Wall, thereby to defend it from incurſions of the *Thracians*, who now had fallen upon it, and whom to repell he was ſent for. He ſo incouraged the minds of the Souldiers by hope of reward, that the work being began in Spring was finiſhed before Autumn, being thenceforth a great advantage to the inhabitants. After this he returned into *Aſia*, where viſiting the Cities he found that the Exiles of *Chius* having ſeized upon *Atarna*, there lurked, and lived upon ſuch booty as they could make out of *Ionia*; wherefore he beſieged the place, though ſtrong, and well victualled, and after a ſiege of eight months forcing them to yield, he committed the care of the Town to *Draco* a *Pellenian*, and returned unto *Epheſus*.

Diodorus ibid. Juſtin. ibid. Pauſan. in Atticis & Iſocrates in Evagora & ad Philip.

57. In the mean while *Pharnabazus*, after he had made Truce with him, went up to the King, to whom he accuſed *Tiſſaphernes*, as not having repelled the *Lacedæmonians* out of *Aſia*, but ſuffered them there to continue at his loſs and damage, alledging how unworthy a thing it was to fight more with money than Arms, and to reſtrain an Enemy more with rewards than valour. He adviſed him to make ready a Fleet, and give the Command thereof to *Conon* the *Athenian*, a man of great experience in things that concerned War, who ſince the diſaſter of his Country ſojourned with *Evagoras* the King of *Cyprus*. *Artaxerxes* yielding, gave him five hundred Talents to provide ſhips; and *Conon* hoping by this means to do ſome ſpecial ſervice for his Countrey, undertook the charge, but the Fleet being not yet ready, he ſayled with fourty *Phœnician* Veſſels into *Cilicia*, there to ſet all things in order. About the ſame time the *Ionians* ſent to *Lacedæmon* to declare to that State, that if *Caria* were invaded in which *Tiſſaphernes* his principal ſeat was, there might be hope that he would leave them to their Laws and Liberty. This ſo wrought with the *Spartans*, that the *Ephori* thereupon ſent order to *Dercyllidas* to lead his forces into that Countrey, and to *Pharaces* their Admiral to ſayl thither with his Fleet.

Conon the *Athenian* is made Admiral to *Artaxerxes*.

Xenoph. & Diodorus ut ſuprà.

Tiſſaphernes though impeached by *Pharnabazus* continued in his power.

58. Notwithſtanding the ſecret accuſations of *Pharnabazus*, yet ſtill was *Tiſſaphernes* truſted by the King, and ſo far as with the Chief power in the War againſt the *Græcians*; in ſo much that *Pharnabazus*, though much againſt his will, was forced to come to him at ſuch time as *Dercyllidas* invaded *Caria*. He firſt carried him thither, where taking what order their affairs required, and re-inforcing their Garriſons, they returned into *Ionia*, and *Dercyllidas* perceiving they had croſſed the River *Mæander*, after he had conſulted with *Pharaces* the Admiral about the preſervation of the *Ionians* at that time but naked of defence, he alſo paſſed the River after them. The *Perſian* forces were in number twenty thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe; *Dercyllidas* his whole Army amounted but to ſeven thouſand, and though the *Peloponneſians* well enough behaved themſelves, yet ſuch as came from *Priene* and out of the *Ionian* Cities and Iſlands had liſted themſelves under him, ſome of them throwing their Arms into the Corn (which grew plentifully by the River,) took them to their heels, and the reſt ſufficiently evidenced what they would do if they came to fight. Yet *Tiſſaphernes* having not forgot how ſuch *Greeks* as followed *Cyrus* had put them to it, and judging all their Country-men to be of the the ſame metal, would by no means hear of fighting, which *Pharnabazus*

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Dercyllidas maketh an agreement with them.

ſore preſſed him to; but ſent to *Dercyllidas*, deſiring to come to interview. After Hoſtages given and received on both ſides, they met, and an accommodation was made on theſe terms : *That the King ſhould leave all the Greek Cities to their own liberty; that the Greekiſh Forces ſhould all depart out of his dominions, with all Lacedæmonian Governours from his Cities, and that a truce ſhould be for ſo long a time, till both parties could hear from their Superiours, concerning their reſolutions herein.* Then marched away the Armies to their quarters, the *Perſian* to *Tralles*, and that of the *Greeks* to *Lexcophrys*.

Xenoph. Hellen. lib. 3. Hlutarch. & Æmilius Probus in Ageſilao.

59. Notwithſtanding this truce entred into by theſe Captains, yet the rigging of a new Fleet went forwards in *Phœnicia*, and nothing do we hear concerning the confirmation of the Treaty by the King. It hapning that one *Herodas* a *Syracuſan*, living with a Sea-man in *Phœnicia*, and taking notice how great diligence was uſed in preparing a Fleet, which he heard ſhould be compleated to the number of three hundred Veſſels, he took the firſt opportunity of a ſhip and ſailed into *Greece*, giving notice that ſuch a Navy was providing by the King, and *Tiſſaphernes*, though he knew not, as he ſaid, upon what deſign. The *Lacedæmonians* hereat ſtartled, began to look about them, when *Ageſilaus* one of their Kings, through the perſwaſion of *Lyſander*, offered himſelf to undertake an Expedition into *Aſia* againſt the *Perſian*; provided they would ſend with him thirty of his chooſing, by whoſe advice he might manage affairs; give him two thouſand men from home, and ſix thouſand more of the aſſociates, which being granted him, together with proviſions for half a year, he ſailed with *Lyſander* (who had procured himſelf to be one of the three hundred, hoping by this means to reſtore the *Decemvirates* in the *Aſian* Cities, which he having erected, the *Ephori* had again diſſolved) unto *Epheſus* with ſuch ſpeed, that he landed his Forces before the *Perſian* Lieutenants knew ſo much as of his coming, and thereby took them at unawares.

Ageſilaus the *Lacedæmonian* King invadeth *Aſia*.

in Ageſilao cum Plutarcho & Æmilio Prob. ſive Cor. Nepote.

60. At *Epheſus* he raiſed new Forces to the number of four thouſand, and increaſed his Army to ten thouſand Foot and four hundred Horſe, with which he took the field, a great company of raſcally men, not inferiour in number to the other, following the Camp out of greedineſs for prey. *Tiſſaphernes* ſent to him to know the cauſe of his coming into *Aſia*, to whom he anſwered, that it was to reſtore the *Greek* Cities to their liberty; to which the other replyed, deſiring a ceſſation of Arms for ſo long a time, as he could ſend to the King, hoping to obtain from him that which he required. *Ageſilaus* gave little credit to his bare word, thinking, as indeed it was, that he protracted onely the time; but ſwearing moſt ſolemnly, that without any deceit he would do what in him lay to procure a Peace, he alſo upon this condition ſware to hold the Truce; but *Tiſſaphernes* having little regard of his oath, ſent onely to the King for new forces to joyn with his old ones, which though *Ageſilaus* ſufficiently knew, yet kept he his Faith inviolable in preſervation of the Truce; and when he denounced war againſt him, except he would forthwith quit *Aſia*, he gave notice thereof joyfully to his Souldiers, and ſent to the *Ionians*, *Æolians*, and the *Greeks* living upon the *Helleſpont*, to diſpatch their ſupplies unto *Epheſus*. Contrary then to the expectation of *Tiſſaphernes* (who thought he would have made for *Caria*) he invaded *Phrygia*, where ſetting upon the Cities at unawares, he got much booty, and without any loſs came to the confines of *Daſchylium*, where his Forlorn-hope meeting with a Party of Horſe belonging to *Pharnabazus*, were worſted, loſing twelve Men, and two Horſes, till he with the Infantry coming in to their relief, the *Barbarians* retired with the loſs of one Man, and *Ageſilaus* ſpending the greateſt part of Summer in waſting *Phrygia*, marched back with his Army mightily inriched, and came back in Autumn unto *Epheſus*, where he took up his Winter quarters.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 96. ann. 1

61. Whileſt the *Lacedæmonians* thus acted in *Aſia* againſt *Artaxerxes*, that they might ſtrengthen their intereſt abroad, they ſent to *Nephereus* the King of *Ægypt*, which now for a good ſpace had revolted from the *Perſian* Empire, to procure him to joyn with them in the War, who ſent them one hundred Gallies, and five hundred thouſand meaſures of Wheat for a ſupplie, *Pharax* then with a Navie conſiſting of a hundred twenty Sail departing from *Rhodes*, ſailed to *Caunus*, where he ſet upon *Conon*, who there had forty Ships lying at anchor; but *Artaphernes* and *Pharnabazus* coming in to the relief of the ſhips and Place with great Forces, he retired back to *Rhodes*, the Inhabitants of which not long after expelled his Fleet, and revolting to the *Perſians* received *Conon* and his Navy. It hapned after this revolt, that thoſe that brought the Corn from

Ægypt being ignorant of what had happened, thruſt their ſhips into the Haven, which *Conon* and the *Rhodians* ſeizing upon, thereby well furniſhed the City. Afterwards came in to *Conon* ninety Gallies more: Ten from *Cilicia*, and the reſt out of *Phœnicia*, of which the petty King of *Sidon* had the charge. And here the ſouldiers of *Conon* mutinied for want of pay, who therefore more earneſtly called for their Arrears, becauſe their ſervice was the ſtricter under ſo great a Captain. *Juſtin lib. 6.*

Xenoph. Plutarch. & Æmilius Probus ut prius.

62. *Ageſilaus* knowing that without Horſe he could not well carry on the War, in Champain places, in the Winter-time took order about it, permitting ſuch rich men in the City as would not fight themſelves, to furniſh him with each of them an Horſe and a Man in their ſtead. Then upon the approach of the Spring, drawing together all his Forces to *Epheſus*, he trained and exerciſed them in the management of Arms, that City ſerving them as the ſhop of War, during theſe Exerciſes. When he had thus prepared their minds, and encouraged them by rewards, and otherwiſe, he gave out he would march ſtreight into the moſt fortified places of the Enemies Country, further to exerciſe them for the Fight. *Tiſſaphernes* thinking this rumor to be ſpread on purpoſe to deceive them, again marched into *Caria*, whither he thought indeed he meant to go; but *Ageſilaus*, as he ſaid, invaded the Territories about *Sardis*, which waſting round about, on the fourth day his men ſtragling about for plunder, were ſet upon by the Enemies Horſe, which ſlew many of them. He going in to their relief, underſtanding the *Perſians* had no Foot there, and conſidering how he had all things in a readineſs, reſolved to make ſomething of it, ſo that falling on in good earneſt, he got a conſiderable Victory near the River *Pactolus*, and plundering the enemies Camp, from what belonged to friend and foe, got booty worth above ſeventy talents, amongſt which was Camels which he carried with him into *Greece*.

Diodorus & Juſtin ut ſupra. Æmil. Probus in Conone.

63. *Tiſſaphernes* at the time of this engagement (if we may believe *Xenophon*, who accompanied *Ageſilaus* in this Expedition, rather than *Diodorus* or *Pauſanias*) was at *Sardis*, and upon that account was accuſed by the *Perſians* to have forſaken and betrayed them. About this time it happened that *Conon* the Admiral of the *Perſian* Fleet, having to no purpoſe for a long time ſollicited the King by letters, for money to pay his men, reſolved now himſelf to go to him, *Pharnabazus* egging him on that he might accuſe *Tiſſaphernes* of treachery. Leaving then his Fleet to the care of two *Athenians*, he came to *Thapſacus* in *Syria*, and paſſing down *Euphrates* unto *Babylon*, made ſupplication to *Tithrauſtes*, to whom he ſignified that hee would ſpeak with the King. But none being to be admitted to his preſence, except he adored him, he tranſacted his buſineſs by Letters and Meſſengers, and prevailed to have *Tiſſaphernes* adjudged an Enemy, the *Lacedæmonians* to be proſecuted with War, and to chuſe whom he pleaſed for the paying of Moneys; and with great Gifts returned he to the Sea, having Commiſſion to charge the *Phœnicians*, *Cyprians*, and other maritime Inhabitants, with long Ships, and having *Pharnabazus* for his Aſſociate, according to his deſire, to provide a Navie for the defence of the Seas againſt the next Summer.

Xenoph. Diodorus ut prius. Plutarch. in Artaxerxe & Ageſilao. Polyænus Stratagem. lib. 7.

64. The accuſations of *Tiſſaphernes* were ſo proſecuted by *Paryſatis* who bore him mortal Hatred in the behalf of her Son *Cyrus*, that *Artaxerxes* made *Tithrauſtes* Captain General of the War in his ſtead, enjoyning him to make him away, and granting Letters to all the Cities and Lieutenants to be obedient to him. He gave him two Letters at parting, whereof the one was written to *Tiſſaphernes*, being a pretended Commiſſion to him to have full and abſolute Power in the War: the other to *Ariæus* Lieutenant of *Lariſſa*, commanding him to aſſiſt *Tithrauſtes* in the apprehending of him. He delivered the Letter as ſoon as he came to *Colloſſe* in *Phrygia*, whither *Ariæus* procured *Tiſſaphernes* to come, as to adviſe together about the War, and as he was in the Bath having laid by his Scimiter, cauſed his Servants to take him, and ſent him to *Tithrauſtes*, who carrying him as far as *Celæna* cut off his head, which he conveyed to the King. He ſent it to his Mother, who greatly rejoyced at the ſight, with her alſo the *Græcian* women who had loſt their ſons or husbands through his fraud; and the whole Nation in the death of their mortal Enemy.

Tiſſaphernes put to death.

Xenoph. Hellen. 30.

65. *Tithrauſtes* now ſent to *Ageſilaus* to acquaint how the incendiary betwixt the King and the *Græcians* was deſervedly puniſhed, ſo that his Maſter thought it reaſonable that he would withdraw his Forces out of *Aſia*, and the *Greek* Cities being left to their own laws, ſhould pay their accuſtomed tribute to him. He denyed to do any thing herein without conſent of the *Lacedæmonian*

State,whereupon they agreed that *Tithrauſtes* paying him thirty talents for the maintenance of his Army, he ſhould depart into the parts ſubject to *Pharnabazus*, till ſuch time as he underſtood the will of his Superiors. Then led he towards *Phrygia*, when in the way he met with an Order come from *Lacedæmon*, whereby not only the power at Land, but over the Navy alſo was given unto him, over which he might make Admiral whomſoever he pleaſed. He then to gratifie the Cities and thoſe who at home ſtudied to pleaſure him, made up a Navy of an hundred and twenty Ships, over which he ſet *Piſander* his Wives Brother, a man indeed greedy of honour, and of prompt boldneſs, but of little experience in ſuch great concernments.

Plutarch in Ageſilao. Pauſan. in Lacon.

66. *Tithrauſtus* taking notice hereof, and how *Ageſilaus* did not intend to quit *Aſia*, but rather conceived great hopes of overthrowing the King, reſolved there was no way to be taken but to find his Countrymen ſuch work at home, that they muſt neceſſarily recall him. To this purpoſe he ſent one *Timocrates* a *Rhodian* into *Greece*, with Gold to the value of fifty Talents, to the intent that he might therewith corrupt the leading and principal Men of the ſeveral Cities, and engage them into a War with the *Athenians* againſt *Lacedæmon*, which was accordingly brought about. *Ageſilaus* in the mean time entring *Phrygia*, which was ſubject to *Pharnabazus*, about Autumn, ſpoiled the Country, and by fair or foul means took many Cities. Thence marched he into *Paphlagonia*, which he withdrew from the Obedience of the *Perſian*, and received one thouſand Horſe and two thouſand Foot from *Cotys* the King, and after this he went to *Daſcylium*, where *Pharnabazus* his Palace was, and there, it being a place plentious of Proviſions, he took up his Winter-quarters.

Xenoph. ibid. Plutarch. in Artax. & Ageſilao. Pauſan. ibid.

67. Whilſt his Soldiers ſtraggled abroad for Booty in great contempt of the *Barbarians*, *Pharnabazus* light on a party of Horſe, and therefore ſlew one hundred. Three or four days after *Herippidas* (the principal of thirty Counſellors who accompanied *Ageſilaus*) having notice from *Spithridates*, that *Pharnabazus* lay incamped in a large Village named *Cave*, twenty Miles of, procured of *Ageſilaus* four thouſand Foot and as many Horſe-men as he could perſwade to accompany him, with which beginning his march as ſoon as it was dark, by break of Day he fell in upon the Enemies Camp, killing moſt of the *Myſians* who kept the Watch before it. Then the *Perſians* fled; *Pharnabazus* fearing to be beſieged, ſo that he wandred from place to place like the *Scythian Nomades*, and *Herippidas* got much rich Plunder, amongſt which the coſtly Stuff of *Pharnabazus*, but ſeeking out too auſterely all the concealed Prey, he took from *Spithidrates* and the *Paphlagonians* all they had gotten; with which diſgrace being exceedingly affected, they went away by Night to *Ariæus* lying at *Sardis*, who had formerly rebelled and waged War with *Cyrus* againſt the King. At this departure of *Spithridates* and *Megabates* his Son (who was moſt dear to him) *Ageſilaus* was ſo troubled, as alſo at that of the *Paphlagonian Forces*, that nothing more vexed him of all things that fell out in this *Aſiatick* Expedition.

Pharnabazus defeated.

68. Afterwards *Ageſilaus* and *Pharnabazus* met together to treat about a Peace by the procurement of *Apollophanes* of *Cyzicus*, who was gueſt unto them both. *Pharnabazus* profeſſed that if he were not made General of the War he would revolt from the King; but if he ſhould be, he would carry it on againſt the other with all his might, and to his utmoſt ability. *Ageſilaus* on the other ſide promiſed he would ſpeedily depart out of his Territories, and as long as any other remained to make War upon, would ſpare him and his Eſtate. Upon the approaching of Spring, he led down his Forces into the Plains of *Thebes*, where pitching his Tents near the Temple of *Diana Aſtyrina*, he levied all the Forces he could; for he intended an Expedition into the upper Countries, being confident to turn all in his paſſage from their Obedience to the King, his Fame being ſpread abroad far and near, having ſpent now two Years in the War. But the Gold ſent into *Greece* the laſt year by *Tithrauſtes*, had by this time ſo wrought upon the Humours of the ſeveral States there, that they conſpired together in a great and dangerous War againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, who thereupon ſent to *Ageſilaus*, ſetting him a Day by which he muſt needs be at home with his Army for the preſervation of his Country. It troubled him much to leave *Aſia*, for the Conqueſt of which he was in ſo fair a way, yet he reſolved to obey the call of his diſtreſſed Conntry,ſeeing(as he himſelf expreſſed in his anſwer to the *Ephori*) a General then truly and juſtly commandeth, when he obeyeth the Laws,and the *Ephori* or whatſoever Magiſtrates elſe are in the City.

Plutarch in Ageſilao, Artax. & Apotheg. Laconicis. Xenoph. Hellen. lib. 40.

Ageſilaus called home through the device of *Tithrauſtes*.

At his departure he is reported to have ſaid, that the King expelled him *Aſia* by thirty thouſand Archers, wittily intimating the ſame number of *Daricks* ſtamped with the Effiges of an Archer, whereby he had procured the conſpiracy of the *Græcian* Cities againſt *Lacedæmon.*

69. Having paſſed the *Helleſpont,* and being come to *Amphipolis,* he received news of a Victory obtained by the *Lacedæmonians* about *Corinth,* whereupon he diſpatched *Dercyllidas* preſently back into *Aſia,* by theſe tidings to confirm the aſſociated Cities. In the mean time while he marched through *Macedonia* and *Theſſalie* towards the Straights of *Thermopylæ, Conon* the *Athenian* and *Pharnabazus,* Admirals of the *Perſian* Fleet, lay about *Doryma* a place in the *Cherſoneſus,* with about ninty Gallies, who having notice that the Enemies Fleet were about *Gnidus,* prepared themſelves for an engagement. *Periarchus* (or *Periander*) the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral weying Anchor ſailed from *Gnidus* with one hundred twenty Ships to *Phyſens* another place in the *Cherſoneſus,* and thence directed his Courſe ſtraight againſt the Kings Fleet, and at the firſt had the better of it, but the *Perſian* Gallies coming in a pace to the relief of their Friends, the *Lacedæmonian* confederates began to ſhift for themſelves. The Admiral thought it unſeemly and unworthy of the *Spartan* valour to run away, and therefore directed his Ship to the front of the Enemy, where firſt killing many of his Enemies, at length he was ſlain. Then the followers of *Conon* purſuing the *Lacedæmonians* to the Continent, took fifty Veſſels, and five hundred Men, the moſt part ſwimming to ſhore and ſaving themſelves; and the reſt of the Gallies with ſafety recovered *Gnidus.* By this Victory of *Conon* (who made uſe of the Kings Forces for the recovery of the Eſtate of his own Country) *Athens* and all *Greece* which heretofore were under the *Lacedæmonian* Yoake, again recovered their liberty. *Diodorus* placeth it in the ſecond year of the ninty ſixth *Olympiad,* when *Diophantus* was *Archon* at *Athens*; but *Lycias* in the year following, being under the government of *Eubulides,* and the eleventh of *Artaxerxes.*

Xenoph. ibid. Plutarch in Ageſilao. Xenoph. Hellen. lib. 4. Diodorus ad ann. 2. Olymp. 96. Corn. Nepos. in Conone.

Juſtin lib. 6.

Conon the *Athenian* obtaineth a Victory againſt the *Lacedæmonians.*

70. *Pharnabazus* and *Conon* for the improvement of this Victory, laboured with the Iſlands and Maritime Towns of *Ionia,* to revolt from the *Lacedæmonians,* which they effected, ſome caſting out the Garriſons, and maintaining themſelves in their antient liberty, others yielding unto *Conon,* only *Dercyllidas* lying at *Abydus* at the time of the Fight, retained that place, and *Seſtos* over againſt it, ſtill in hoſtility againſt the *Perſians,* though endeavoured alſo to be *reduced.* In the next Spring the two *Perſian* Generals invaded the Maritime parts of *Laconia,* which after they had waſted as they might, and now were about to return, *Conon* perſwaded the other to let him have the Navy, with which he ſaid he would ſail to *Athens,* and there build up again the long Walls, and the *Piræus* or Haven, than which he affirmed nothing could happen more diſagreeable to the *Lacedæmonians.* This he eaſily obtained, and Money alſo to rebuild the Walls, for which ſailing thither with eighty Gallies he took order; giving thoſe fifty Talents which he had received of *Pharnabazus* unto the *Athenians.*

Idem ut ſupra, & Plutarch in Apotheg. Laconicis.

Idem cum Diodoro Olymp. 96. ann. 3.

The *Lacedæmonians* having notice of this, being very fearful the *Athenian* State ſhould again recover it's antient power, ſent away *Antalcidas* to *Teribazus* another of the *Perſian* Lieutenants who governed *Sardis,* if poſſible to draw him to their Party, and reconcile them to the King. After this was known at *Athens,* they alſo ſent *Conon* and others to him, and with them joyned ſeveral other States, as the *Bœotians, Corinthians,* and *Argives* who were weary of the Power of the *Spartans.* *Antalcides* declared how thoſe that ſent him were ready to imbrace a Peace upon ſuch terms as the King pleaſed, for that they would no longer contend with him about the *Greek* Cities in *Aſia,* thinking it ſufficient, that the reſt which were elſewhere ſituated might be left to their own Laws and liberty: he alſo laboured earneſtly to render *Conon* ſuſpected to the King, alleging, that at the King's coſt he only promoted the Affairs of his own Country, ſeeking with his Forces to obtain as many Cities as he could for the *Athenians,* to whom under-hand he went about to reſtore *Ionia* and *Æolia* alſo. This offer concerning the leaving of the *Greek* Cities to the King's diſpoſal, ſo nearly concerned his affairs, that the other Ambaſſadors in no caſe admitting it, for private reſpects returned home, without any thing concluded of; and though *Teribazus* durſt not without Commiſſion joyn himſelf to the *Lacedæmonians,* yet gave he privately Monies to *Antaclidas* to enable them to build a Fleet, wherewithal to conſtrain their adverſaries to ſubmit to accommodation, and laying hold of *Conon* committed him to cuſtody, till ſuch time as going himſelf to the King he might know his pleaſure concerning theſe things.

Antalcidas ſent from the *Spartans* to *Artaxerxes.*

Iſocrat. in Panegyr. *Æmil. Probus. in Conone.* *Diodorus ad Olymp.97. ann. 3.*

71. Some have reported how *Conon* was carryed to the King, and by him put to Death, but others that he made an eſcape. Whilſt *Teribazus* was yet with the King, he ſent *Struthas* into *Aſia* the leſs, to take care of the Sea-Coaſts, who ſhewing himſelf very bitter againſt the *Lacedæmonians* for the Evils which the Provinces had ſuffered of *Ageſilaus*, and favourable upon that account to the *Athenians*, the *Spartans* ſent over *Thymbro* to make War upon him. He with eight thouſand men took *Coreſſus* the high Hill ſome five miles diſtant from *Epheſus*, whence he made excurſions into the King's Dominions; but *Struthas* lying not far from him with a great Power of Horſe, beſides Foot, at ſuch time as with a Party he was ranging about for Booty, fell upon him, killed him amongſt many others, and putting the reſt to Flight, took many; the other ſecuring themſelves where they might beſt do it. The year after the *Lacedæmonians* ſending *Ecdicus* to the aid of the Exiles of *Rhodes* with eight Ships, diſpatched away with him one *Diphridas*, with order to paſs into *Aſia*, there to gather up the remnant of the Forces, with which, and as many more as he could raiſe, he was to protect thoſe Cities which had received *Thymbro*, and to grapple with *Struthas*. He acted accordingly, and ſo ordered his Affairs, that he proved hard enough for *Struthas*, and amongſt other commendable actions took Priſoner *Tigranes* his Son in Law, as he was going with his Wife to *Sardis*, whom releaſing for a great Ranſom, he ſeaſonably made uſe of for the payment of his Soldiers.

Xenoph. ut ſupra.

Diodorus ad an. 2. Olymp. 97. *Iſocrates in Evagora.*

Artaxerxes looketh after *Cyprus.*

72. Whilſt theſe things paſſed betwixt *Artaxerxes* and the Common-wealth of *Sparta*, he was alſo imployed about the affairs of *Cyprus* which he ſtrove to get into his Hands. There was in that Iſland one *Evagoras* of great Birth (being deſcended from thoſe who firſt built *Salamine* the Principal City therein) who being lately expelled through a Sedition, returned with a little Force of Auxiliaries, and expelling *Abdemon* the *Tyrian*, who then had the Power over the City, and a great Friend of the King of *Perſia*, made himſelf King of *Salamine*, and within a ſhort time growing very Rich, gathered Forces, and by the help of his Son *Protagoras* ſubdued almoſt the whole Iſland. But the *Amathuſians* with the *Solians* and *Citians* ſtood out againſt him, and by their Ambaſſadors ſollicited *Artaxerxes* for Aid, accuſing *Evagoras* for the death of *Agyres*, who had been Confederate with the King, and offering him their help for the poſſeſſing himſelf of the whole Iſland. He being jealous of the growth of *Evagoras*, and conſidering how convenient this Iſland might be, by reaſon of its ſituation, for the promoting of his Affairs at Sea, by which eſpecially *Aſia* could be defended, reſolved to aſſiſt them, and diſmiſſing the Ambaſſadors to their content, gave order to the Cities upon the Sea-Coaſts to build Ships with all ſpeed, he himſelf travelling into the upper Provinces for the raiſing of a great Land Army.

Xenoph. ut ſupra.

Diodorus ad annum 2. Olymp.98.

Plutarch. in Artaxerxe.

Antalcidas concludeth a Peace with him.

73. Till he had compoſed matters with the *Græcians*, no conſiderable thing could he attempt upon *Cyprus*, and though they favoured the cauſe of *Evagoras* in oppoſition to him, yet their enmity one againſt another hindred that effect which their Union might have produced, to the great impairment of his Affairs. The *Athenians* ſent ten Ships to the aid of *Evagoras*; but it happening that *Teleutias* being ſent by the *Lacedæmonians* at that time to ſucceed *Ecdicus* in the Fleet, and to defend their Intereſt in *Aſia*, met with them, and intercepted them all, whereby it hapned that thoſe who were Enemies to *Artaxerxes* overthrew thoſe who went to make War againſt him. After this theſe two Commonwealths contending ſore with each other at Sea to their mutal damage, at length *Antalcidas* was ſent by the *Lacedæmonians* to the Government of the Fleet, becauſe they knew him to be in great Grace with *Teribazus*. He coming to *Epheſus*, left *Nicolochus* his Lieutenant, and according to his private inſtructions went with *Teribazus* to *Artaxerxes* about a Peace, towards whom he ſo behaved himſelf (to pleaſe him caſting off the *Spartan* Gravity, and not refuſing to dance before him) that the King, who before could not endure the *Spartans*, as counting them the moſt impudent of all men, imbraced him with ſingular Reſpect and Courteſie.

Xenoph. Hellen. lib. 5. *Diodorus & Plutarch. ut prius.*

74. He concluded of a Peace with him for the *Lacedæmonian* State, in caſe the other *Græcians* would not conſent to ſuch overtures as the King made, and returned with *Teribazus*, who giving notice that all who could might accept of the Conditions which his Maſter propoſed, they diſpatched their ſeveral Deputies to him. He ſhewing them the King's Seals, opened the Letters wherein was contained, that *Artaxerxes the King accounted it meet that the Cities in* Aſia, *and,*

Iſlands Clazomenæ *(ſince joyned to the Continent) and* Cyprus, *ſhould be under his Dominion: as for the other* Greek *Cities, both great and ſmall, that they ſhould be left to their own Liberty; except* Lemnus, Imbrus, *and* Scyrus, *which having been ſubject to the* Athenians *time out of mind, he thought it reaſonable they ſhould ſo continue. Thoſe that ſhould not receive this Peace, he with the reſt who would embrace it, would proſecute with War to his utmoſt Power, both at Sea and Land.* The Ambaſſadors went home, and made report of what was propoſed to the ſeveral Commonwealths, who grudged it much that the Cities of *Aſia*, for whoſe Liberty *Ageſilaus* had taken ſo much Pains, ſhould be ſo unworthily again betrayed. But being neceſſitated to ſubmit, they accepted of the Conditions; and the Peace was ſworn to at length by all *Greece*, in the ſecond Year of the ninty ſixth *Olympiad*, and the eighteenth Year of *Artaxerxes.* A. M. 3618.

A.M. 3618.

Diodorus l. 16. ad Olymp. 98. ann. 3.

75. *Artaxerxes* being thus freed from this tedious Controverſie with the *Græcians*, ſet himſelf to a preparation for the Wars of *Cyprus*, from which as yet he had been diverted. *Evagoras* by this time, through the aſſiſtance of *Chabrias*, whom the *Athenians* had ſent to his aid with eight hundred Peltaſts, and ten Gallies, had brought under the whole Iſland, having got together alſo a moſt numerous Army, whilſt the King was kept in play by the *Græcians*. For he entred into Society with *Acoris* King of *Egypt*, who furniſhed him with great ſtore of Money, and *Hecatomnus* the Viceroy of *Caria* underhand ſupplied him with ſome for the hiring of forein Souldiers; and the King of *Arabia* with others, who bore no good Will to *Artaxerxes*, ſent a great Power of Men. He had in a readineſs ninty Gallies, whereof twenty lay at *Tyre* in *Phœnicia*, which with other Cities he had got into his Hands, and the reſt anchored readily furniſhed before *Cyprus*. The King gathered together both his Land and Sea Forces, the former conſiſting of three hundred thouſand men, and the latter of three hundred Gallies. Over his Land Army he appointed General *Orontes* his Son-in-law, and *Teribazus* Admiral of his Navy, who taking up their Forces out of *Phocæa* and *Cuma*, marched down into *Cilicia*, whence paſſing over into *Cyprus* with great Induſtry they began the War.

Artaxerxes turneth his forces from the *Græcians* againſt *Cyprus*.

76. *Evagoras* having ſix thouſand Men of his own, many more Auxiliaries, and having hired a great Force of Strangers over and above, (Money being very plentiful with him) firſt with his Pinnaces well Armed ſet upon the Enemies Ships as they brought in Proviſions, whereof ſome he took, others he ſunk, or chaced away. Hereby it came to paſs, that no Commodities being imported into the Iſland, a great Dearth enſued in the *Perſian Camp*; and hereby a Mutiny of the Souldiers, eſpecially of the Mercenaries, who fell upon their Officers, and killed ſome of them. This put *Glaus* the Admiral upon a reſolution to Sail with the whole Fleet into *Cilicia*, whence he brought ſufficient ſupply; which *Evagoras* ſeeing, and conſidering his Navy to be far inferiour to the *Perſian*, he got ready other ſixty Ships, and procuring fifty more from *Acoris* (who readily furniſhed him with all things neceſſary for the War) he made up his Fleet two hundred Sayl. Then exerciſed he his Men often to prepare them for a Fight, and that to the terror of the Enemy who beheld it, and at length as the *Perſian* Fleet ſayled by *Citium* he fell upon it, taking ſome Veſſels, and ſinking others, but the Admiral and other Commanders ſtanding cloſe to their Tackling, a ſharp Conflict enſued, in which though *Evagoras* at the firſt prevailed, yet *Glaus* with all his Power, and with great earneſtneſs and Valour grapling with him, he was at length after great Loſs put to flight.

Getteth a victory at Sea againſt *Evagoras*.

77. The *Perſians* after this Victory muſtered all their Forces, both by Sea and Land at *Citium*, and preſently both ways laid Siege to *Salamine*. Now *Evagoras*, though he had had the better of it formerly in ſome Sallies out upon the beſiegers, cooled in his Courage after this Defeat. Though the Siege was very ſtraight and preſſing, yet reſolving to continue the War, he left his Son *Pythagoras* for the defence of the City, with full Authority, and departed by Night with ten Gallies into *Egypt*, where he laboured hard with *Acoris* the King, to perſwade him to carry on the War with him, and that with all his Power. He granted him ſome Money; but for that he was diſcouraged by the late Defeat, nothing according to his Expectation, ſo that returning, and finding the City very much ſtraightned and himſelf deſtitute of Succour, he was forced to ſend about an accommodation: *Teribazus* offered his conſent upon theſe Terms, that quitting all the Cities except *Salamine*, he ſhould for that pay a yearly Tribute to the King, and be at his Command as a Servant to his Lord; which though hard, he conſented

Diodorus ad ann. 4 Olymp. 98.

ted to, except the laſt, thinking it a great Diſgrace to be at his back as a Servant, and more reaſonable to be ſubject to him as one King to another.

His Captains diſagree, and peace is made.

Iſocrates in Evagora.

78. *Teribazus* not admitting of this Exception, *Orontes* his Colleague, and emulator, accuſed him by ſecret Letters to the King, as well for other matters, as that having an opportunity ſufficient to take *Salamine*, he did not uſe it, but ſpent his time in Treaties with the Enemy; he farther laid to his charge privatly entring into Friendſhip with *Lacedæmon* ſending to conſult the Oracle about warring againſt the King, and eſpecially alluring the Officers by Honours, Gifts, and Promiſes. *Artaxerxes* believing theſe things, wrote back to *Orontes* to arreſt *Teribazus*, and ſend him preſently unto him, who accordingly ſent, earneſtly deſired to be brought to his Tryal, but being for the preſent committed to Priſon, and the King employed in the *Caduſian* War, his Judgment was ſtill delayed. In the mean time *Orontes* being now General with full Power and Authority in *Cyprus*, finding that *Evagoras* with great Courage ſtill held out, and that his own Souldiers taking ill the Impriſonment of *Teribazus* refuſed to obey him, ſent to *Evagoras* to treat of Peace, offering him the ſame Conditions he was formerly willing to admit of from *Teribazus*. He being thus delivered beyond Hope, concluded a Peace on theſe Terms; to pay a yearly Tribute for the Kingdom of *Salamine*, and as King, to be obedient to the King of *Perſia*. And thus the *Cyprian* War ended ten Years after the firſt preparation for it, and after it had been managed two Years. *Artaxerxes* after all this time, and the expence of fifty Talents, leaving *Evagoras* in effect, in the ſame Condition he was before.

Diodorus ut ſupra.

Gaus out of fear conſpireth with the *Lacedæmonians* againſt the King.

79. *Gaus* the *Perſian* Admiral, after this War, having married the Daughter of *Teribazus*, fearing, leſt becauſe of his Affinity, he ſhould be ſuſpected alſo by the King, and ſuffer upon that Account, reſolved for a prevention to fortifie himſelf againſt him, by entring into League with his Enemies. This he did preſently with *Acoris* of *Egypt*, and wrote to the *Lacedæmonians* to excite them to break the Peace, making large offers of what he could do for *Greece*. They had of late as before caſt in their Heads how to make themſelves Maſter of all *Greece*, and finding that they heard ill for the Peace concluded with *Artaxerxes*, in which the Intereſts of their Countrey-men were betrayed, they ſought for, upon a new advice, a fit opportunity to renew the War againſt the *Perſians*, and therefore now not unwillingly accepted of this Confederacy with *Gaus*.

Plutarch. in Artax. cum. Diodoro ad Olymp. 98. *ann.* 4.

Artaxerxes invadeth the *Caduſians* to no purpoſe.

80. At this time *Artaxerxes* made War upon the *Caduſians*, leading againſt them an Army of three hundred thouſand Foot, and ten thouſand Horſe. He caſt himſelf into great Straights marching into a Country uneven, rainy, and bringing no Corn, but nouriſhing only its Inhabitants with Pears, Aples, and ſuch like Fruits; ſo that finding there no Proviſion, and not able to come by it from elſewhere, the carriage Beaſts were killed for Meat, an Aſſes Head could ſcarce be bought for ſixty Drachms, the Kings ſet Meals were laid down, and very few Horſes remained; the reſt being all eaten up. Then *Teribazus* under diſgrace ſaved the King and his whole Army; for there being two Kings of the *Caduſians*, he himſelf went to one of them, and ſent his Son to the other, each of them ſignifying to him whom he went to, that his Colleague had ſent about a Peace to *Artaxerxes*, having left him out, wherefore his advice was, that they ſhould ſend with him Ambaſſadors to treat, and conclude a pacification firſt, which, being both deceived, they did, and a League was entred into by both apart. Then returned he homewards, and in the way, to give a good example to others, alighted from his Horſe, and with Quiver and Target upon him travelled on Foot over the Mountains, and rough places, and coming at length to a place called the *Kings Inn*, compaſſed with pleaſant Gardens and Groves, becauſe of the extremity of Cold, he gave leave to the Souldiers to cut down the Cypreſſes and other Trees, which becauſe they out of modeſty refuſed, he took an Axe, and himſelf cut down the moſt beautiful. But coming home, and upon ſence of his great loſs, both of Men and Horſes, ſuſpecting he was contemned for his ill Succeſs, he ſlew many of his principal Subjects, of whom he thought he had cauſe to be jealous.

81. The *Caduſian* War being finiſhed, he cauſed *Teribazus* to come to his Tryal, commending the matter to three of his moſt eminent Judges, who upon conſideration of what was alleged, *pro* and *con*, and of his former great Merits, abſolved him, to the ſatisfaction of the King, who then beſtowed on him the greateſt Honours, expunged the name of *Orontes* his falſe accuſer out of the Catalogue of his Friends, and caſt upon him the greateſt Ignominy. About the ſame time

following herein the Example of *Cambyſes* his Predeceſſor, he cauſed certain Judges convicted of unjuſt Decrees to be flead alive, and their Skins ſpread over the Judgment Seat, where the reſt heard, and determined cauſes, that they might have a conſtant *Memento* before their Eyes.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 99. *ann.* 2.

Gaos ſlain.

Not long after *Gaos* the *Perſian* Admiral, who, as before was ſaid, had entred into Society with the *Lacedæmonians*, and the King of *Egypt*, whileſt he was managing his Revolt, was ſlain by ſome that cunningly laid in wait for him. One *Tachos* undertook the carrying on of his deſign, and fortifying himſelf with an Army, built a City in an high Rock upon the Sea, called *Leuca*, where was a Chapel dedicated to *Apollo*; but he dying a little after, great controverſie hapned about the place betwixt the *Clazomenians* and *Cumæans* (whereof the former obtained it) and thereby thoſe Rebellions in *Aſia* fell of themſelves, and the *Lacedæmonians*, thinking it beſt to intermeddle no more with *Perſian* matters, gave their minds wholly to eſtabliſh their Power in *Greece*, got into their Hands ſeveral Cities by one means or other, and not obſcurely ſought after the Empire of all *Greece*, contrary to the form of the League, made by the means of the *Perſian* King at the procurement of *Antalcidas*, amongſt all the *Græcians*, as *Diodorus* telleth us.

Idem ad Olymp. 100. *ann.* 4.

Acoris of *Egypt* ſtrengtheneth himſelf againſt *Artaxerxes*.

82. *Acoris* the King of *Ægypt*, who of late had entred into Society with *Gaus*, and before had given aſſiſtance to *Evagoras* againſt *Artaxerxes*, as one who laid claim unto his Kingdom, to ſtrengthen himſelf raiſed a great Army of Strangers, and for that he gave very good pay, and ſought otherways to diſerve well of Military men, many *Græcians* gave their Names and liſted themſelves in his Service. But wanting ſtill ſome famous and expert General, he procured *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, a man of great Command and no leſs Valour; though without the conſent of the People. *Artaxerxes* made *Pharnabazus* (now of late his Son in Law) the General of his Forces, who furniſhed with Money made great preparations for the War, and ſent to *Athens* to complain of *Chabrias*, who as he ſaid, by his Service to the *Ægyptian*, alienated the Kings Affection from that State; and deſired that they would ſend *Iphicrates* to be a Captain in his Wars. The *Athenians* being deſirous to have both the King and *Pharnabazus* their Friend, preſently recalled *Chabrias*, and gave order to *Iphicrates* to aſſiſt the *Perſians*.

Idem ad ann. 3. & 2. *Olymp.* 101.

Artaxerxes againſt him.

Pharnabazus and *Iphicrates*. ſent againſt *Acoris*.

83. *Pharnabazus* ſpent ſeveral Years in preparation for the War, of which *Iphicrates* being weary, told him he wondred, that he being ſo quick in ſpeaking ſhould be ſo ſlow in doing, to which he anſwered, that the reaſon was, that he himſelf was Maſter of his Words, but the King of his Actions. The *Græcians* were again fallen into civil Diſſentions, the former Peace being not long continued through the ambitious practices of the *Lacedemonians*; which *Artaxerxes* conſidering, and how needful their help was to him in this *Egyptian* Expedition, he ſent to mediate and take up their Differences, which they all liked well and accepted, except the *Thebans*. At length after three or four Years ſpent in preparation, the King's Forces were drawn down into *Ace* a Town of *Syria*, where being a general Muſter, there were found two hundred thouſand *Barbarians*, under the command of *Pharnabazus*, and twenty thouſand *Greeks* under the Enſigns of *Iphicrates*: the Navy amounted to the number of three hundred Gallies, beſides a great number of Veſſels of Burthen. In the beginning then of Summer they marched for *Ægypt*; the Fleet ſailing along the Coaſts, and coming near the Mouths of *Nile*, found the *Ægyptians* furniſhed ſufficiently for a War; warning enough having been given them by the delay of *Pharnabazus*, who (as other *Perſian* Generals) having not the full diſpoſal of things in his Power, was conſtrained to ſend to the King, to know his Pleaſure concerning particulars, whoſe anſwer not being quickly obtained at a great diſtance, procured much ſlowneſs in all Expeditions.

Idem ad Olymp. 101. *ann.* 3.

The *Ægyptians* defeated.

84. *Nectanebis* the King of *Ægypt* (for *Acoris* was now dead) ſent to ſpie out the number of the *Perſian* Army; but his chiefeſt hope was in the ſtrength of the Country, which was mightily fortified againſt any Invaſion, by the ſeven Mouths of *Nile*, whereof each was ſtrengthened with a Caſtle, and a wooden Bridge, to hinder the paſſage of any Ships up the River. But eſpecially he took care of *Peluſium* the readieſt paſſage from *Syria*, ſtopping up ſuch places as might be paſſed by Water, and drowning ſuch as gave acceſs by Land. *Pharnabazus* his Officers finding *Peluſium* ſo ſtrongly fortified, reſolved there was no paſſing there, and to carry the Fleet up to the *Mendeſian* mouth of the River,

where landing three thouſand men, *Pharnabazus* and *Iphicrates* ſet upon the Caſtle. The *Ægyptians* brought in three thouſand Horſe and Foot to the relief of it, and thereby enſued a moſt ſharp encounter; but being at length overpow'red by the number of *Perſians* which coming in continually to the Fight, encompaſſed them; a great ſlaughter was made of them, and many taken alive. The reſt betaking themſelves to the Fort, *Iphicrates* his men brake in with them, took it, and razing it, carried the Defendants away Priſoners.

85. *Iphicrates* now underſtood by theſe Priſoners, that the Garriſon was called out of *Memphis* the ſtrongeſt City in *Ægypt*; whereupon he adviſed *Pharnabazus* with all ſpeed to Sail thither, before the *Ægyptians* ſhould have time to unite their Forces. *Pharnabazus* anſwered, he would firſt ſtay till all his Army arrived, by the which the taking of *Memphis* would be more eaſie; but the other replyed, that if he would but let him have all the Mercenaries in the Army, he would promiſe to reduce the City. *Pharnabazus* hereupon grew jealous of his Valour, and fearing he might thereby, with his Skill and Courage bring *Ægypt* into ſubjection, denyed him what he required; to which refuſal he oppoſed this ſolemn Proteſtation, that if the *Perſians* ſhould let ſlip out of their Hands this fair Opportunity, this Expedition through their Fault would prove ſucceſsleſs. Nothing being procured hereby but Hatred and ill Words, the *Ægyptians* by the means of this delay reinforced the Garriſon of *Memphis*, and with all their Forces came to the Fort which the *Perſians* had demoliſhed; where dividing their men into ſeveral parties, they ſet upon the Enemy, and prevailed ſo much upon him, that making great ſlaughters, the *Perſian* Generals, having ſpent much time about the Place, and now the *Nile* ſwelling, and beginning to overflow all the Grounds about them; leſt they ſhould ſeem to ſtrive with Nature it ſelf, reſolved to retreat out of the Country: And this was the fruit of ſo long a preparation, and ſo much Expence.

Emulation betwixt *Pharnabazus* and *Iphicrates* fruſtrateth their deſign.

86. Being returned into *Aſia*, the differences betwixt them brake out afreſh; inſomuch that *Iphicrates* fearing leſt he might be attached as *Conon* formerly had been, withdrew himſelf by Night, and returned to *Athens*. Thither *Pharnabazus* ſent after him, to accuſe him as guilty of the miſcariage of the Expedition, to which the *Athenians* anſwered, that if they found him guilty, they would puniſh him; but within a while they gave him the command of their Fleet. This year *Nicocles* the Eunuch ſlew *Evagoras* the King of *Salamine*, and ſeized on the Kingdom, according to *Diodorus*, who in no caſe is to be believed, as to the Author of the Paricide; for though it be confirmed by one (*a*) that he was killed by an Eunuch; yet it appeareth from another, that his name was *Thraſydæus*; ſeeing it is clear from *Iſocrates*, that *Nicocles* (to whom he wrote one Oration; another concerning the Office of a King, he ſtiled by his Name; and made a funeral one concerning *Evagoras*) was the very Son of *Evagoras*, and ſucceeded him in the Kingdom and is not to be reckoned amongſt Eunuchs.

(a) *Ariſtot. Polit. lib.* 5. *cap.* 10.
(b) *Theopompus apud Photium Biblioth. num.* 176.

87. The next Year, *Artaxerxes* underſtanding how *Greece* was ſhaken with inteſtine Broiles, which he ſtill looked upon as by it's help to recover *Ægypt*, ſent to compoſe the difference amongſt the ſeveral States. They all aſſented to his Offers, except the *Thebans*, who having a deſign to be Maſters of all *Bæotia*, would not enter with the reſt into the League, which the *Lacedæmonians* ill reſenting; and ſuſpecting their ambitious Practices for the dominion of all *Greece*, invaded them as the publick Enemies. Hereupon enſued a great and bloody Battel at *Leuctra*, in which the *Thebans* had the better, through the Conduct of *Epaminondas*, who ſo abated the Strength of the *Spartans*, that they ſent *Ageſilaus* their King into *Ægypt*, and *Antalcidas* to *Artaxerxes*, to deſire a ſupply of Money. But the King, either becauſe they ſought to his Rebels the *Ægyptians*, or upon ſome other account, ſlighted the Meſſage, and rejected *Antalcidas*, in ſo much that returning home, when he found that he was laughed at by his Enemies, and fearing the ſeverity of the *Ephori*, he ſtarved himſelf to death.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 102. *ann.* 1.

Xenoph. Hellen. lib. 6. *Plutarch in Artaxerxe.*

88. Yet ſtill did the King endeavour to reconcile the *Græcians*, for that as long as they exerciſed mutual feud, he could not have any conſiderable ſupply from them. This Year on the former meſſage *Philiſcus* of *Abydus* was ſent to them, who procured both the *Thebans* and their Aſſociates, and the *Lacedæmonians* to meet at *Delphos*; but the controverſie reſting about *Meſſene*, and the *Thebans* refuſing to conſent that it ſhould be under the *Lacedæmonians*, the Treatie had again the ſame ſucceſs: which ſo offended *Philiſcus*, that he left two thouſand

Xenoph. Hellen. lib. 7. *Diodorus ad Olymp* 102. *ann.* 4.

Soldiers he had hired to the *Lacedæmonians*, and returned into *Aſia*. The *Thebans* not long after having a Deſign to bring all *Greece* into ſubjection, and knowing their endeavours to be vain, except they made *Artaxerxes* their Friend, or at leaſt induced him to ſtand neuter, reſolved to ſend Ambaſſadors to him. Calling together then their Aſſociates, they pretended the thing to be neceſſary, becauſe *Euthycles* the *Lacedæmonian* was already there, and diſpatched away *Pelopidas* from themſelves, *Antiochus* from the *Arcadians*, *Archidamus* for the *Eleans*, and another for the *Argives*, which being known at *Athens*, they alſo ſent *Timagoras* and *Leon* from their State.

Xenoph. ibid.

89. *Pelopidas* found the moſt favour at the King's Hands, pleading (and not falſely) that the *Thebans* had only aſſiſted the *Perſians* at *Platæa*, and ſince that had never fought againſt that Kingdom; and that for this only cauſe were they invaded by the *Lacedæmonians*, becauſe they refuſed to follow *Ageſilaus* againſt the King, having alſo prohibited him to Sacrifize at *Aulis*, where *Agamemnon* Sacrifized when he paſſed into *Aſia* and took *Troy*. The late Victory of the *Thebans* at *Luctra*, and the Invaſion of the *Lacedæmonians* Territories, did not a little add to the eſteem of *Pelopidas*, who to inhance the renown of his Country, ſtuck not alſo to aver, that the reaſon why the *Argives* and *Arcadians* had of late been overthrown by the *Lacedæmonians*, was, becauſe the *Thebans* were not at the Battel. He obtained of the King, that *Meſſene* being exempted from the juriſdiction of the *Lacedæmonians*, ſhould be left to its own Liberty, and that the *Athenians* ſhould withdraw their Ships, or elſe War was to be made upon them, which being read to the publick Miniſters of the other Republicks, *Leon* the *Athenian* openly ſaid, that the *Athenians* muſt find out another Friend beſides the King, who replyed, that if they knew any more equal thing, they ſhould acquaint him therewith.

In Artax. & vide Ælian. var. Hiſt. lib. 1. cap. 21.

90. With *Pelopidas* was joyned in Commiſſion *Iſmenias* the *Theban*, as we have it from *Plutarch*. He being brought by *Tithrauſtes* a Colonel into the Kings Preſence, and commanded, according to the Cuſtom, to adore him, took off his Ring ſecretly from his Finger, and caſt it down at his Feet, and then ſtooping down to take it up, as he thereby ſatisfied the King, and obtained his requeſt; ſo he thought he provided ſufficiently for the credit of himſelf and Country. *Timagoras* the *Athenian* communicated by Letter ſome Secrets to *Artaxerxes*, for which he was rewarded with one thouſand *Daricks*, a coſtly Supper, and eighty Cows to find him with Milk for his Health; with a coſtly Bed and Furniture to it, and ſome *Perſians* that knew how to make it, the *Greeks* being accounted ignorant in theſe things. But returning home with the reſt of the Ambaſſadors he was put to Death; either becauſe he accepted of theſe Gifts, as *Plutarch* believed; or for that he adored the King after the *Perſian* manner, wherewith they counted their whole State to be reflected on, or (what is moſt likely) becauſe of this intercourſe betwixt him and *Artaxerxes* they queſtioned his Fidelity; his Colleague moreover impeaching him at their return for refuſing his Company, and imparting all the Secret of their Negotiation to *Pelopidas*.

Val. Max. l. 6. c. 3. exter. exemp. 2. Xenoph. ut prius.

Idem ibid.

91. After the return of the Ambaſſadors, the *Thebans* ſent for the Deputies of the ſeveral Cities, whom, when the Letters from the King were read, they commanded, all that would be accounted his and their Friends, to ſwear to the Contents of them. The Deputies anſwered, their Commiſſions were to hear, and not to take any Oath, which if they would exact from Cities, they muſt ſend to them. This they did, hoping that the particular States would not dare to refuſe the Society of the King and them; but the Meſſengers firſt coming to *Corinth*, and that City refuſing to Swear, the reſt followed their Example, and ſo this device of the *Thebans* came to nothing Then fell the *Græcians* into great Broyls again, making havock of the Territories, and Goods of one another, which *Artaxerxes* ſtill looking upon as againſt his deſign for the recovery of *Ægypt*, ſent once more and procured a Peace betwixt them, whereby the *Laconick*, or *Bœotian* War (as it was called) ended, after it had endured about five years from the firſt beginning, in the thirty ninth Year of *Artaxerxes*.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 103. ann. 3.

Idem ad Olymp. 104. ann. 3.

92. This Peace yet effected nothing on his behalf, the intereſts of the ſeveral States being at this time ſo contrary, that they preſently after broke out afreſh into civil Wars; and what Forces could be ſpared out of *Greece*, being not employed for, but againſt him. For, three or four Years after, the Maritime Parts of *Aſia* revolted from him, and *Tachos* now King of *Ægypt* made great Proviſion for the War, both by Land and Sea; and hiring many Soldiers out of

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A defection from *Artaxerxes.*

ſeveral Republicks in *Greece*, drew alſo to his party the *Lacedæmonians*, who had conceived diſpleaſure againſt *Artaxerxes*, becauſe he made *Meſſene* to be comprehended in the general Peace. At the ſame time had he then to deal with the *Ægyptians*, the *Greek* Cities in *Aſia*, and the *Lacedæmonians*; and beſides them ſeveral of his Lieutenants in *Aſia* revolted; amongſt whom were *Ariobarzanes* of *Phrygia* (who had lately ſeized upon that Country after the Death of *Mithridates*) *Mauſolus* of *Caria*, a powerful Prince, having many ſtrong places, eſpecially *Halicarnaſſus*, in his Power; with whom joyned *Orontes* of *Myſia*, *Autophradates* of *Lydia*, and of the *Ionian* Race, the *Lycians*, *Piſidians*, *Pamphylians*, *Cilicians*: and beſides theſe the *Syrians*, *Phœnicians*, and almoſt all that bounded upon the Sea. The General Command over all was given to *Orontes*. By this ſo general a defection, half of the Tributes were withdrawn from the King; and the other half ſufficed not for warlike preparations.

93. But *Orontes* having got the chief Command, and therewith received a years pay for twenty thouſand men, betrayed thoſe that had entruſted him with ſo great a Power. For, promiſing himſelf no ſmall matters from the King, he firſt ſent up to him thoſe that brought him the Money, and then betrayed many Towns, and a Band of Mercenaries to thoſe who were ſent from him for that purpoſe. At the ſame time things went in the ſame courſe in *Cappadocia*, accompanied with ſome memorable Circumſtances. *Artabazus* the King's General invaded that Country with a numerous Army, and *Datames* the Governour thereof, who had revolted, meeting him with a great Party of Horſe, and twenty thouſand Foot, pitched his Tents againſt him. The Captain of *Datames* his Horſe was his Father in Law, who to ingratiate himſelf with the King, and to provide for his own ſafety, having firſt agreed with *Artabazus*, by Night paſſed over with all his Troops unto him. But *Datames* not at all diſcouraged hereby, exhorted his Mercenaries to conſtancy, and promiſing them a large Donative, preſently led them againſt the Revolters, whom he fell upon, juſt as they were joyning with the Enemy, and with great Violence made great ſlaughter of both. *Artabazus* being ignorant of the matter, ſuſpected that the Revolters went about again to betray him, and return to *Datames*, and therefore gave order to his Souldiers to fall upon the Horſe approaching; whence *Mithrobarzanes* (for ſo was the Revolter called) being ſhut up in the midſt, whilſt one part laboured to repel the Traytor, and the other to be revenged upon him for his Treachery, was reduced into great Straights, and out of extreme deſpair made great Slaughter on both Sides, till at length having loſt ten thouſand men, the reſt were put to Flight by *Datames*, to whom ſome returned and asked Pardon; others betook themſelves to a place, whence being not able to ſtir they were kilſed, to the number of five thouſand men.

94. Whileſt theſe things were thus carried on, *Rheomithres* was ſent into *Egypt* to *Tachos* for aid, from whom obtaining five hundred Talents, and fifty Gallies, he returned to *Leuca*, a Citie in *Aſia*, where ſending for many of the Officers of the Revolters he laid Hands on them all, and ſent them up to the King, by which Treachery he reconciled himſelf unto him. *Tachos* by this time had prepared all things for the War, having obtained out of *Greece* two hundred Gallies, ten thouſand moſt valiant Souldiers, and out of *Egypt* it ſelf raiſed eighty thouſand Foot. *Ageſilaus* the King of *Lacedæmon* he alſo procured to come to him, promiſing him the Command of all his Forces. Upon the report of his landing, all ſorts of Preſents were diſpatched to him; but the Courtiers finding no Train, nor any thing of State about him, only an old Man, little of Stature, not at all trimmed, but with coarſe and old Cloathes, ſitting on the Shore upon the Graſs, they greatly deſpiſed him, and were ſeized with wonder at his poorneſs of Spirit, when they beheld how amongſt the Preſents, taking the Meal, Calves, and Geeſe to himſelf, he gave the ſweet Meats and Oyntments to be divided amongſt the Slaves. And *Tachos* himſelf gave him not the chief Command according to his Promiſe, deriding him for the ſmallneſs of his Stature, and ſaying, that the Fable was fulfilled in him, *the Mountains are in Travel, and a Mouſe is brought forth*; to which with Anger and Scorn he anſwered, that *afterwards he ſhould have cauſe to think him a Lyon.*

Xenoph. Plutarch. & Æmilius Probus in Ageſilao.

Tachos King of *Egypt* ſtrengtheneth himſelf.

Diod. & Plutarch.

95. With *Tachos* alſo was *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, though not ſent from the State as was *Ageſilaus*, but on his own account, who adviſed him wanting Treaſure, to command his richeſt ſort of Subjects to furniſh him with as much Money as they could ſpare, and he would repay them out of his yearly Tributes, which courſe he following got great ſtore of Money, and yet injured no man.

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Nectanebus King of *Egypt.*

To him he committed his Fleet, to *Ageſilaus* the Conduct of the ten thouſand mercenary *Gracians*, to *Nectanebus* his Son (or rather the Son of his Brother, or Siſter, being called his Nephew;) reſerving to himſelf the command over all; and though *Ageſilaus* adviſed him rather to manage the War by his Lieutenants, and ſtay in *Egypt*, he ſayled into *Phœnicia*, the *Spartan* following him, though againſt his Dignity and Diſpoſition. Coming into *Phœnycia*, he ſent *Nectanebus* againſt the Cities in *Syria*, to whom came a meſſage from the Viceroy of *Egypt* left there by *Tachos*, ſignifying that he had revolted, and now invited him to ſeize upon the Kingdom; to which he conſenting, drew preſently to his party, all the Officers by gifts, and the Souldiers by large Promiſes. *Tachos* now being in fear of his own Servants, and *Ageſilaus* whom he derided, betook himſelf to *Sidon*, and thence to *Artaxerxes*, by whom he was curteouſly entertained, though not declared General in the *Egyptian* War, (and ſo by the help of *Ageſilaus* recovered his Kingdom) as *Diodorus* writeth.

Plutarch. Xenoph. Cornelius Nepos & Diodorus ut ſupra.

96. Another King beſides theſe two was made by the *Egyptians* of *Mendeſium*, of whom ten thouſand aroſe, and for him made War upon *Nectanebus*. The Caſe being ſuch, *Ageſilaus* took part with *Nectanebus*, whom he thought more to favour the *Græcians*, ~~took the other Priſoner, and confirmed him in the King~~dom, who importuning him to ſtay and winter with him, he refuſed, haſting homewards, for that he knew the *Lacedæmonian* State to be at this time ingaged in a War, deſtitute of Treaſure, and yet to keep Strangers in conſtant pay for want of their own men. *Nectanebus* when he would not ſtay, diſmiſſed him with great Gifts and Honours, giving him two hundred and twenty, or two hundred and thirty Talents for the maintenance of the War at home, with which taking Ship, he ſayled homewards, though in the midſt of Winter; making haſte, leſt through his abſence the State ſhould do nothing the next Summer; but being carried by Tempeſt into a deſert place, called the *Haven of Menelaus*, lying betwixt *Cyrene* and *Egypt*, he there fell ſick and died. His Friends laying his Corps in Wax, for want of Honey, carried it to *Lacedæmon*, where it was buried according to his worth and dignity.

Ageſilaus having ſerved him, in his return dieth.

Plutarch. in Artaxerxe, Juſtin. lib. 10.

Artaxerxes dieth, having before his death made *Darius* King, who plotting againſt him,

97. About the time of his Death died alſo *Artaxerxes* the King of *Perſia*, after he had reigned fourty three Years. He had one hundred and fifteen Sons, of which three only were legitimate; *Darius*, *Ariaſpes*, and *Ochus*, the reſt being begotten of Concubines, of which he kept three hundred and ſixty, with which yet he could not be contented without the addition of *Atoſſa* his own Daughter, his own Mother to pleaſe him, becoming a Bawd to his inceſtuous affections. When he was grown old, perceiving his Sons to ſtrive about the Succeſſion, and eſpecially *Ochus* (who although the youngeſt, hoped by the means of *Atoſſa* to procure the Kingdom of him) fearing leſt after his death he might do as his Uncle *Cyrus* had formerly done, contrary to the cuſtom of *Perſia*, which ordinarily admitted not of two Kings at the ſame time, he made *Darius* the eldeſt, now fifty years old, King, whilſt he lived, leſt his Death ſhould involve the Empire in civil Broils. It was the faſhion for him that was made King, to ask, and receive ſomething at the hands of him that made him, according to which *Darius* asked *Aſpaſia* to Wife, which formerly having been Concubine to *Cyrus*, *Artaxerxes* took, and afterwards married. He out of Indulgence to him firſt granted his requeſt, for that ſhe being a free woman, and no Slave, might chuſe whether ſhe would have him, and hoping ſhe would refuſe; but ſhe willingly accepting of the thing, and he then repenting of what he had raſhly promiſed, conſecrated her as a Nun to *Diana*, that ſhe might live for the remainder of her days a ſingle life. *Darius* hereby incenſed, through the provocation of *Tiribazus*, (who bore *Artaxerxes* malice for defrauding him of his Daughter *Amiſtris*, whom he promiſed to him, but married her himſelf) entred with fifty of his Brethren into a conſpiracy againſt the Life of his Father, and the Plot being revealed by an Eunuch, was put to death with his complices.

Is put to death.

Ochus his wicked Practices for the Kingdom.

98. *Darius* being removed out of the way, *Ochus* was more inflamed with a deſire of reigning, to which he was more incenſed by *Atoſſa* his Siſter. But he feared two of his Brothers; *Ariaſpes* legitimate, and the elder, and one *Arſames*, who though baſe born, and the younger, yet was much eſteemed for his Wiſdom, and eſpecially beloved by his Father. Both of them he reſolved to deſtroy; the former by his cunning, and the latter by down-right cruelty; for he hired ſome who never ceaſed to tell *Ariaſpes*, as a great Secret, that his Father was reſolved to make him away by a cruel, and ſhameful Death, and ſo often inculcating it unto him as ſpeedily to be done, drove him to that fear and deſperation

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that he poyſoned himſelf, *Artaxerxes* mourned for him, but knowing the kind of his death, and ſuſpecting the cauſe, yet through extreme Age was unable to ſearch into the matter and find it out: only he imbraced *Arſames* more affectionatly than ever, and not obſcurely ſignified that he only could truſt, and rely upon him. *Ochus* judging then that no delay was to be uſed, procured *Harpates* the Son of *Teribazus* (who fell in the Treaſon of *Darius*) to murder him. *Artaxerxes* was already ſo ſpent with Age that he ſeemed to want but the leaſt furtherance to his Death, ſo that word being brought him of the death of *Arſames*, he was not able to bear it, but died Heart-broken with Sorrow, after he had lived ninty four Years, in the forty third of his Reign; in the third of the one hundred fourth *Olympiad*. A. M. 3644. about three hundred and ſixty before the Birth of Chriſt. He was eſteemed mild and loving towards his Subjects, which Opinion was mightily confirmed by the Cruelty and Paricide of his Succeſſor.

SECT. IV.

From the Death of Artaxerxes Mnemon, *and the beginning of* Ochus, *to the Death of* Darius Codomanus,

Containing the ſpace of thirty two Years.

Diodorus.

Ochus ſucceedeth.

Jacobus Cappellus, alii.

Eſther's Huſband.

1. OChus Succeeded his Father, after whom he was alſo named *Artaxerxes*, and whoſe Name the *Perſians* put upon his Succeſſors for a memorial of his mild and proſperous Government. Some think him by the *Perſians* to have been called *Ochoſueros*, or *Achoſueros*; and that he is to be taken for that *Acheſuerus*, or *Ahaſuerus* the Husband of *Eſther*, mentioned in Scripture, who by the ſeventy, and *Joſephus* after them, is named *Artaxerxes*. Some have thought *Cambyſes* to have been the Man, but he reigned only ſeven Years, whereas above twelve are given to *Ahaſuerus*. Neither could *Darius* the Son of *Hyſtaſpes* be he, if the *Jews* with others rightly accounted the Book of *Eſther* to have been the laſt in Order of all the Canonical Scripture of the Old Teſtament, and for that *Vaſhti* his Wife is thought to be *Atoſſa*, the Daughter of *Cyrus*, it cannot be, becauſe he never put away *Atoſſa*, on whom he begat *Xerxes*, and although ſome plead hard for *Xerxes* becauſe his Wife is called by *Herodotus*, *Ameſtris*, which they take in the *Perſian* Tongue to be only *Ham-Eſther*; yet 'tis apparent out of the ſame Author, that ſhe was the Daughter of *Otanes* a *Perſian Satrapa*, by Religion an Heathen, and of a moſt cruel Diſpoſition. Beſides, *Ahaſuerus* in the ſeventh Year of his Reign was at *Suſhan*; but *Xerxes* in the ſeventh of his Reign was abſent in the War with *Greece*, and though the *Greeks* corrupted forein Names, and might call *Xerxes* him, whom the *Perſians* named *Artachſaſta*, or *Artachas-ta*, yet not one in his own Language called *Achoſchveroſch*. Neither is it probable that *Longimanus* could be the man, who is both in Sacred, and prophane Story called *Artach-ſaſta*, and *Artaxerxes*; but no where *Achaſuerus*. The ſame may be ſaid of *Nothus*, who both by *Nehemiah* and *Greek* Writers is called *Darius*, and of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, concerning whoſe Wife *Statira*, ſuch things are written as can neither agree with *Vaſhti* nor *Eſther*. Now if that of *Eſther* be the laſt Canonical Book; and *Nehemiah* lived to the time of *Darius Nothus*, then is it probable, that *Eſther* lived in the Reign of his Son, or Grand-ſon, and cannot ſo conveniently be aſſigned for a Wife to any as to *Ochus*.

Polyænus Stratagem. lib. 7.

2. *Ochus* knowing of how great Authority his Fathers Name was to his Subjects, and how contemptible he ſhould be after his Death was known, procured

of the Eunuches, Chamberlains and Colonels to conceal for ten Moneths, and in the mean time ſending about the Royal Seal, commanded in his Father's name, to proclaim *Ochus* King. When all owned, and obeyed him as King, he then confeſſed his Fathers Death, and commanded a general Mourning, according to the cuſtom of *Perſia*, and preſently taking away all Competition, filled (*a*) the Court with the Blood of his Kindred, and Relations, no regard being had, either to Sex or Age. Amongſt the reſt he put to death his (*b*) Siſter *Ocha*, being alſo his Mother-in-law, with cruel Torments, and his Uncle with his two Sons and Nephews, he cauſed to be ſet in an empty place, and killed with Darts, who ſeemeth well to have been Father to *Siſigambis* (Mother to *Darius* the laſt *Perſian* King) whoſe eighty Brethren together with their Father, *Curtius* reporteth to have been murdered by *Ochus*.

(a) Juſtin. lib. 10.
(b) Valerius Max. lib. 9. *cap.* 2. *Ext. ex.* 7.

Lib. 10. *cap.* 8.

3. From *Ochus* revolted *Artabazus*, againſt whom were ſent ſome of the *Perſian Satrapaes* with ſeventy thouſand men, and yet by the help of *Chares* the *Athenian* he overthrew them, and rewarded *Chares* with a great ſumm of Money, which he laid out in the paying of his Souldiers. *Ochus* knowing of this, expoſtulated ſeriouſly with the *Athenians* about it, who hearing that he intended with three hundred Ships to aſſiſt their Enemies (with whom they were now ingaged in the *ſocial* War) preſently clapt up a Peace with them. *Artabazus* being forſaken of the *Athenians*, betook himſelf to the *Thebans*, who ordered *Pammenes* with five hundred men to paſs over into *Aſia* to aſſiſt him; by whoſe help *Artabazus* again overthrew the King's Forces ſent againſt him in two great and bloody Battels, which got no ſmall Credit to *Pammenes*, and his *Bœotians*. Yet a few Years after, when the *Thebans* were ingaged in the *Phocian* War, and reduced to extremity for want of Money, they ſent to *Artaxerxes Ochus*, and obtained of him three hundred Talents, which he granted as it ſeemeth to put an obligation upon them to aſſiſt him in the War, which he renewed againſt the *Egyptians*.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 106. *ann.* 1. & 4.

Artabazus revolteth from him.

Idem ad Olymp. 107. *ann.* 2

4. Although *Egypt* had long before this revolted from the *Perſian* Empire, yet *Ochus* not at all affecting War had kept himſelf quiet; for, having ſent ſome Armies thither, by the Treachery, or ignorance of their Captains, they miſcarried, ſo that having ſeveral times badly ſped, though deſpiſed on that account by the *Egyptians*, yet being a lover of his eaſe and quiet he ſubmitted to the Diſgrace. But now at this time (about the eleventh Year of his Reign) the *Phœnicians* and *Cyprians* taking Heart, and rebelling alſo, he reſolved to chaſtiſe them all with Arms, and that in his own Perſon; and making great Proviſion of all things for the War, raiſed three hundred thouſand Foot, thirty thouſand Horſe, and three hundred Gallies, beſides Veſſels of Burthen. The firſt Tempeſt of the War fell upon *Phœnicia*, which revolted upon this Occaſion. A famous Citie there was therein named *Tripolis*, conſiſting, according to it's Name, of three Cities diſtant a Furlong from each other, and inhabited by *Tyrians*, *Sidonians*, and *Arcadians*, in which the aſſembly General of the *Phœnicians* met and reſolved of their moſt important affairs. Herein the *Perſian Satrapaes* and Ambaſſadors, behaving themſelves very uncivilly, and abuſing the *Sidonians*, they thereupon reſolved to rebel, and perſwading the other *Phœnicians* to ſide with them for the obtaining of their Liberty, ſent to *Nectanebus* King of *Ægypt* to deſire him to receive them into Confederacy againſt *Ochus*. Then to begin their Hoſtility they cut down the Paradiſe wherein the Kings of *Perſia*, when they came that way, uſed to divert themſelves; burnt the Hay which the *Satrapaes* had gathered for uſe in War, and puniſhed ſuch Officers as by whom they had been abuſed.

He invadeth *Phœnicia*.

5. *Ochus* having notice of this, longed to be revenged of all the *Phœnicians*, but eſpecially of them of *Sidon*; and gathering his Forces together at *Babylon*, ſet out thence againſt them. In the mean time whilſt he was on his way, the Preſident of *Syria* and *Mazeus* Governour of *Cilicia*, with joynt Forces fell upon the *Phœnicians*; but *Tennes* King of *Sidon*, having received out of *Ægypt* a ſupply of four thouſand *Græcians*, over which *Mentor* the *Rhodian* was General, with them and his Citizens together, fell upon the *Satrapaes*, worſted, and expelled them out of *Phœnicia*. Whilſt things were thus carried there; another War aroſe to the *Perſians* out of *Cyprus*, wherein were nine Cities of good account, having the leſſer Towns in their Subjection, and each of them a King; but all Subjects to the *Perſian*, all which now, imitating the *Phœnicians*, revolted. *Ochus* receiving tidings hereof, wrote to *Adrieus* Prince of *Caria* (who being newly come to the Government, was by the tenure of his Principallity a

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Friend and Aſſociate in War to the *Perſian* Empire) to provide Forces both for Sea and Land againſt them, who accordingly with great expedition making ready forty Gallies and eight thouſand Mercenaries, ſent them into *Cyprus*, under the conduct of *Phocion*, the *Athenian*, and *Evagoras*, who heretofore had held the Iſland as King. Theſe two landing their Men, laid cloſe Siege to *Salamine* both by Land and Sea, and the Iſland having been quiet of late, and for that reaſon abounding with Riches, great numbers flocked out of deſire of Plunder from *Syria* and *Cilicia*, inſomuch that the number of the Beſiegers was doubled. Hereupon all the other Cities ſubmitted themſelves; only *Protagoras* held out ſtill, and *Evagoras* thought by force to re-inveſt himſelf of that Kingdom, devolved upon him from his Anceſtors: But at length *Protagoras* alſo ſubmitting, obtained *Salamine* ſtill; and *Evagoras* contented himſelf with a large Dominion given him in *Aſia*, which ill governing, he fled again into *Cyprus*, and there taken was put to death.

Mentor the *Rhodian* offereth to betray *Sidon* to him.

6. The King was on his March towards *Phœnicia*, when *Mentor* the *Rhodian* underſtanding what ſtrength he had, and how unable the Rebels were to make reſiſtance, ſent one to him privately, offering to betray *Sidon* into his Hands, and to do him eſpecial Service in the Conqueſt of *Ægypt*, being very well skilled in that Country and the River. *Ochus* not only offered him indemnity, but a large reward, if he would perform what he promiſed, and placing his greateſt Felicity in the recovery of *Ægypt*, ſent to the chiefeſt of the *Græcian* States, to deſire aid. The *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* ſignified their deſire to retain Amity and a good Correſpondence with him, but at preſent could yield him no aſſiſtance; but the *Thebans* ſent him one thouſand men, the *Argives* three thouſand, and the *Greeks* in *Aſia* willing to ſhew their readineſs, furniſhed him with ſix thouſand. Before their arrival the King was got into *Phœnicia*, and ſate down not far from *Sidon*, which the Inhabitants had by this time ſtrongly manned within, and fortified with a threefold large Ditch, and high Walls, beſides a Fleet of one hundred Gallies. For they exceeded by far all their Neighbours in Riches.

Tennes King of *Sidon* joyneth with him, and yet put to death by *Ochus*.

Sidon taken and burnt by the Inhabitants.

7. But *Tennes* their King had aſſociated himſelf with *Mentor* to betray the City, whom leaving therein with command of a Part thereof for the better carrying on of the Treachery, he himſelf with five hundred Soldiers went out, pretending to go to the publick convention of the *Phœnicians*, having with him one hundred of the prime Citizens as his Counſelors. Theſe he brought ſtraight to *Ochus*, who put them all to death as Authors of the Rebellion, and after them five hundred more, who came as Suppliants with Olives in their Hands, after he had underſtood from *Tennes* that the City ſhould be ſurrendred to him without any Conditions, thereby to ſtrike a Terror into the other Towns. After this, *Tennes* eaſily prevailed with the mercenary *Ægyptians* to let him and the King into the Town, which being done, and *Ochus* having it in his Power, judging him now to be of no uſe to him, he commanded him alſo to be ſlain. The *Sidonians* before the King approached had burnt all their Ships, leſt any private Perſon ſhould convey himſelf away during the Siege. Now ſeeing themſelves betrayed, and their City full of the Enemy which ſwarmed on every ſide, they ſet fire to their Houſes, and therein burnt themſelves with their Wives and Children, ſo that (accounting Slaves) above forty thouſand are thought to have periſhed in the Flames. The King ſold the Rubbiſh thereof for many Talents, much Gold and Silver being found therein, becauſe it had flouriſhed with great Riches. By this Tragedy of *Sidon* the other Cities being terrified, yielded themſelves unto the *Perſian*.

Ochus invadeth *Ægypt*.

8. The (*a*) Auxiliaries out of *Greece* being come to *Ochus* after the taking of *Sidon*, he ſet forward with his whole Army towards *Ægypt*, (*b*) taking *Jericho* a City of *Judæa* (as it's probable) in his way, and drawing many *Jews* along with him in his Expedition. Coming (*c*) to the Lake *Sirbonis*, he loſt part of his Army in the Whirlpits and Bogs, through ignorance of the place, and at length arrived at *Peluſium* the firſt frontier-Town, which was held with a Gariſon of one thouſand Men. Now the King divided the *Græcian* Forces into three Bodies, and over each conſtituted a Captain of their own Nation, and joyned a *Perſian* with him: the other Forces he kept in his own Command, being greatly intent about the main buiſneſs. On the other ſide *Nectanebus* was not a whit diſcouraged, having in pay twenty thouſand *Græcians*, and as many *Africans*, beſides ſixty thouſand of his own *Ægyptians*, and an innumerable Company of Boats for the River. But by his Conceitedneſs and want of Skill he miſcarried,

(*a*) *Diodorus ad Olymp.* 107. *ann.* 3.

(*b*) *Solinus cap.* 35. *Ariſteus de* 70. *Interp.*

(*c*) *Diodorus ibid.*

ried, having formerly proſpered whilſt he uſed the Conduct of the *Græcian* Captains, but now his Fortune changing upon his ſole managing the War, for which he thought himſelf ſufficiently able. After then he had fortified his Garriſons, with thirty thouſand *Ægyptians*, five thouſand *Greeks*, and half of the *Africans*, he ſeized upon ſuch places, as were moſt advantagious for paſſage into the Country.

9. Things ſtanding thus betwixt them, *Nicoſtratus* the Captain of the *Argives* getting ſome *Ægyptians* for Guides, paſſed with the Fleet through a Ditch, and in a place ſomething remote and out of ſight landed his men, and pitched his Tents; which being known by the Garriſon, a party iſſued out, and fell upon them; but the *Græcians* after a ſharp conteſt, ſlew their Captain, and of them about five thouſand men. *Nectanebus* upon report made of this Defeat was greatly diſcouraged, fearing all the reſt of the *Perſian* Army might be eaſily tranſported, and ſuſpecting leſt the Enemy ſhould bend his utmoſt ſtrength againſt *Memphis* the Metropolis, was eſpecially concerned for it, and with that party which accompanied him returned thither. In the mean time *Lacrates* the *Theban*, General and principal of the *Græcian* Captains drained the Chanel by cutting a Ditch, and paſſing over his Soldiers, raiſed a Battery againſt *Peluſium*, by which the Walls being much broken, the defendants raiſed ſtill Palliſadoes in the place, and the *Græcians* within ſtoutly defending the Fort, a great Conteſt hapned for ſeveral days. But as ſoon as they heard of the Kings departure, they deſired a Parley, and *Lacrates* interpoſing an Oath, that upon yielding of the place, they ſhould depart with ſuch things as they brought out of *Greece*, they preſently yielded. Then *Artaxerxes* ſent *Bagoas* an *Eunuch* of great authority with him, with a party of *Barbarians* to take poſſeſſion of *Peluſium*, who meeting the *Græcians* took from them many things contrary to the agreement. This they received in great diſdain, and called upon their Gods as Witneſſes of the Oath, which to keep *Lacrates* fell upon the *Barbarians*, put them to flight with the loſs of ſome, and defended his Country-men, for which being accuſed by *Bagoas*, the King defended what he had done, and puniſhed the Authors of the Violence.

10. *Peluſium* being taken, the other Towns were eaſily reduced by this ſtratagem of *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, the third Captain of the *Græcians*. Theſe places being held by Garriſons conſiſting of two ſorts of Nations, *Græcians* and *Ægyptians*, he cauſed this Rumor to be ſpread abroad, that *Artaxerxes* had reſolved to deal mildly with all thoſe who ſhould deliver up any Towns, but ſuch as ſhould withſtand him, he would proſecute with as great ſeverity as the *Sidonians*; and he gave in charge to the Sentinels to let as many Citizens go out as would. By this means this report was preſently ſpread all over *Ægypt*, and thereupon mutinies followed betwixt the Strangers and Natives in every Garriſon, each endeavouring firſt to betray their truſt, and gain credit of the Conquerours by their ſpeedy Treachery. Accordingly when *Mentor* and *Bagoas* laid Siege to *Bubaſtis*, the *Ægyptians* ſecretly ſent to the latter to yield to him the Town upon ſecurity of a free diſmiſſion. The *Græcians* ſuſpecting the matter, purſued the Meſſenger, and getting from him the whole truth, in a great rage fell upon the *Ægyptians*, whereof ſome they ſlew, others they wounded, and drove the reſt into a corner of the Town. The *Ægyptians* ſignified this to *Bagoas*, and deſired him with all ſpeed to come and take poſſeſſion of the Town, and in the mean time a Meſſenger was ſent to *Mentor* from the *Græcians*, who adviſed them as ſoon as *Bagoas* ſhould enter the Town to fall upon the *Barbarians*. As ſoon therefore as part of his Soldiers with him was entred, they ſhut the Gates, and killing all the Soldiers, took *Bagoas* himſelf Priſoner.

11. *Bagoas* (*a*) ſeeing his only hope to be in *Mentor*, earneſtly beſought him to be the means of his deliverance, promiſing him to do nothing for the future without his approbation, who procuring his releaſe, and having the Town delivered up into his own Hands, as he got the credit of the enterpriſe, ſo ingaged he *Bagoas* to him, who entred by Oath into Friendſhip and endearedneſs, which he alſo kept to the laſt, and by which Union they both became afterwards the moſt powerful of all the King's Officers. After the ſurrender of *Bubaſtis*, the other Cities made their Peace, but *Nectanebus* lying at *Memphis*, and ſeeing what Progreſs the Enemy made in his Conqueſt, would not endanger his perſonal ſafety for a Kingdom, but packing up all his Treaſures got him away into *Æthiopia*. Then became *Artaxerxes* Maſter of all *Ægypt*, and demoliſhing the Walls of the greater Towns, ſpoyled the Temples, and got much

(a) *Diodorus ut ſupra.*

Nectanebus flieth out of *Ægypt*.

treaſure. He carried away the Writings of the Prieſts, which afterwards *Bagoas* reſtored to them for a great ſum of money, he (*b*) derided *Apis* and all their gods, and for that the *Ægyptians* had for his dulneſs (*c*) called him an *Aſs*, he ſacriſiſed *Apis* being taken by violence, to an *Aſs*, making his fleſh alſo be dreſſed up for meat. Then rewarded he the *Græcians* with great munificence, according to their particular merits, and making *Phærendates Satrapa* of *Ægypt*, he returned laden with glory and ſpoyl unto *Babylon*, taking (*d*) in his way a great number of *Jews* captive, of whom ſome he placed at *Babylon*, and others in *Hyrcania* upon the *Caſpian* Sea.

(*b*) *Sulp. Severus Hiſt. Sacr. lib.* 2.
(*c*) *Ælian. var. Hiſt. lib.* 4. *c.* 8.
Suid. in Ocho.
(*d*) *Oroſius l.* 3. *cap.* 7. *quære Diodorus ad Olymp.* 107. *ann,* 4.

12. *Ochus* rewarded *Mentor* the *Rhodian* with one hundred talents of ſilver, and much coſtly houſholdſtuff, and making him governour of the Coaſts of *Aſia*, gave him full power to make war upon his Rebels. He uſed his power moderately towards *Artabazus* and *Memnon*, who formerly had revolted, and now were fled to *Philip* King of *Macedonia*: thoſe he reconciled to the King, and ſent for them both with their Families; for *Artabazus* had by the Siſter of *Mentor* and *Memnon* eleven Sons and ten Daughters, by which number *Mentor* being much affected, not onely procured him his pardon, but preferred by degrees all the youths to honourable command in the Army. After this promiſe of pardon he allured *Hermias* the Eunuch Governour of *Atarnus* into his hands, whom caſting into priſon, he took his Ring and therewith ſigned letters, wherein was commanded in his name, that ſuch as had command of any Caſtles or Towns ſhould deliver them up into the hands of the bearers, which was accordingly done, and then *ſent* he *Hermias* up to the King, who cauſed him to be hanged, *Ariſtotle* the Philoſopher and *Xenocrates* the *Chalcedonian*, (whom he had ſent for to him) made their eſcape out of ſuch places as the *Perſians* had got into their hands. Afterwards *Mentor* either by force or policy, reduced all ſuch Captains as had revolted.

Idem ibid.
*Polyænus. lib.*6.
Strabo lib. 13.

Philip King of *Macedonia* oppoſed by *Ochus.*

13. *Philip* the ſon of *Amyntas* at this time reigning in *Macedonia*, grew very potent, and beſieged *Perinthus*, a Town in *Thrace*, ſituate upon the *Propontis*, with thirty thouſand men, and very ſtrong proviſion for War; ſo that he ſtraightly preſſed the inhabitants, giving them no reſt through his continual attempts. This *Artaxerxes Ochus* taking notice of, and being very jealous of his ſudden growth, commanded the *Satrapaes* of the Maritime Coaſts of *Aſia* to relieve the *Perinthians* as effectually as might be, which they ſo perfomed as he miſſed of his deſign; and this afterwards was objected as a ſufficient cauſe, amongſt others, for the invaſion of *Aſia*.

*Diodorus ad Olymp.*109. *ann.*4.

Affairs of *Judæa* in the time of *Ochus.*

14. In the reign of *Ochus*, as ſome think, hapned thoſe things which are *ſaid to have been done in *Judæa*, during the reign of *Artaxerxes*, and to have given an occaſion of impoſing a Tribute upon that Countrey. After the death of *Eliaſhib* the Prieſt, his ſon *John* ſucceeded him in his Office according to his birthright, who had a brother named *Joſhua*. This *Joſhua* being in great favour with *Bagoſes*, the Kings General, had a promiſe from him that he ſhould have the Prieſthood, by which he was ſo heartned as to ſtrive with *John* in the Temple, and ſo far provoked him as he ſlew him there. *Bagoſes* hearing this, endeavoured to enter the Temple, and when he was forbidden asked if they counted him more impure than the Carkeſs that lay within, and getting in by force, took thence occaſion to puniſh the *Jews* ſeven years for the death of *Joſhua*. For two Lambs being dayly offered in the conſtant ſacrifices, he impoſed upon every one a Tribute of fifty drachms, which amounted to the yearly rate of ſixty *Attick* Talents. But if theſe things hapned in the time of this *Artaxerxes*, and he be taken for *Ahaſuerus*, then muſt this murther have been committed towards the beginning of his reign, and this Tribnte of ſeven years been exacted before *Mordecai* the *Jew* came in favour, which was after the fall of *Haman*, in the twelfth year of *Ahaſuerus*,

* *Joſephus Antiquit. lib.* 11. *cap.*7.

15. During the reign of *Ochus*, in his ninth dear, died *Mauſolus* the petty King of *Cariia*, more famous after his death than whileſt living, to whom his wife *Artemiſia* ſucceeding, becauſe he left no Children, burned with ſuch affection towards him, that reducing his bones and aſhes into pouder ſhe drunk it, deſiring to become a quick and breathing monument of her husband. She propoſed great rewards to ſuch Orators as would ſpeak eloquently in his commendation, in which did ſeveral notable men of that time. For the preſervation of his memory ſhe raiſed ſuch a monument as deſerved to be reckoned amongſt the ſeven wonders of the World, and in the work whereof the moſt exquiſite artificers that then could be found were employed. *Scopas* on the

*Diodorus ad Olymp.*106. *ann.*4.
Strabo lib. 14.
Gellius lib. 10. *cap.*18.

Mauſolus his monument.

Eaſt part, *Bryaxes* on the North, *Timotheus* on the South, and *Leochares* on the Weſt, who notwithſtanding *Artemiſia* died of melancholy before the work was compleated, yet proceeded to the finiſhing of it, intending it as a monument, not onely of *Mauſolus* (upon which account the * *Romans* called their moſt exquiſite pieces of Architecture *Mauſolea*) but alſo of the excellency of their Art; to tranſmit their own names as well as his poſterity.

*Plinius lib.*36. *cap.*5.

* *Pauſan. in Arcadicis.*

16. *Bagoas* had riſen to that power with *Ochus*, that he ruled all things at his pleaſure, the King doing nothing without his conſent. Yet either misboubting of his ſecurity through the cruel diſpoſition of the King, or willing to have a greater power, owing *Ochus* alſo ſome diſpleaſure for killing the *Egyptian* God *Apis* (he belonging to that Countrey) he poyſoned him by the means of a Phyſician, after he had reigned twenty three years. Being dead, he caſt him to the Cats to be devoured, another being buried in the Royal Sepulchre, in his ſtead, and that he might expreſs his cruel diſpoſition, of his Thigh-bones he cauſed ſword hilts to be made. In his ſtead he made King his youngeſt ſon *Arſes*, killing all his other ſons, that the new King being deſtitute of kindred and friends, might yeild the more obedience to himſelf. In reality he now reigned, uſurping all, except the meer Title; but *Arſes* beginning to look to himſelf, when he had ground to ſuſpect that he intended to call him to an account for his wickedneſs, he made him away alſo with all his Children in the third year after he had ſet him up.

*Diodorus ad Olymp.*111. *ann.*2.
*Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib.*6. *cap.*8.

Bagoas killeth *Ochus*, and ſetting up *Arſes* maketh him away within a while.

17. All the Children of *Arſes* periſhing with him, and the Royal family thereby being deſolate, *Bagoas* made choice of one (a) *Codomannus* his friend, and placed him in the Throne, whom ſome Authors would have not at all to be deſcended of the Royal line, being a Carrier of Letters, but others make him the ſon of *Arſames* (brother to *Ochus*) by *Siſygambis* his ſiſter, according to the cuſtom of the *Perſian* marriages. Whileſt he was a private man in the *Caduſian* War he ſhewed himſelf valiant, killing an Enemy, who challenged any one of *Ochus* his Army to a ſingle Combat, and thereby for the preſent procuring great rewards, honour, and the Government of *Armenia*, after *Arſes* his death came to be remembred by the people, which made choice alſo of him for their King, and that nothing of Royal Majeſty might be wanting to him gave him the name of *Darius*. Not long after his perferment *Bagoas* repented him of what he had done, and being much verſed in King-killing, provided a potion to ſend him, after *Ochus* and *Arſes*, which he having notice of, called him to him, and in a pleaſant humor offered it to himſelf to drink, and thereto compelled him, ſatisfying the people ſufficiently in that he thus requited him, who ſought the ſame way to entrap him

Darius Codomannus.

(a) *Diodorus. Strabo lib.* 15. *& Plutarch. in Alexand. alibi, Diodorus, Arrianus, Curtius.*

Juſtin. lib. 10.

*Curtius lib.*6. *cap.*6.

18 By this *Darius* was ſent into *Samaria*, as a *Satrapa*, *Sanballet*, a *Cuthæan* by birth, and ſo of the ſame Original the *Samaritans* themſelves were. He thinking it good policy to procure Amity with the *Jews*, his Neighbours, married his daughter *Nicaſo* to *Manaſſes* the brother of *Jaddus* the High Prieſt.

Joſephus Antiquit. lib. 11. *cap.* 7.

19. *Darius* with the Empire of *Perſia* was neceſſitated to eſpouſe a quarrel with the greateſt Monarch then known in the World except himſelf, and with ſuch a people in combination with him, as eaſily excelled all others in Military skill and valour. The quarrels which hapned betwixt the *Perſians* and *Græcians* had been many, and as many bickerings and conteſts in the field had enſued thereupon, wherein as the *Greeks* both at home and abroad had conſtantly had ſucceſs agreeable to their dexterity, ſo each foil of the *Perſians* gave as great a ſtroak to their credit, inſomuch as they were ſlighted by the other, eſpecially after the retreat of thoſe that aſſiſted *Cyrus*, who in deſpight of all *Artaxerxes* could do, marched through the midſt of his Territories as Conquerours, and having ſeen the great riches of thoſe Countreys through which they paſſed, carried home a longing deſire after them, and an indignation that ſuch things ſhould be enjoyed by thoſe who ſeemed not in capacity to defend them.

Together with his Kingdom eſpouſeth a quarrel with the King of *Macedonia.*

20. The diſadvantage of the *Perſians* was the riſing of the Kingdom of *Macedonia*, to that high pitch of greatneſs to which it had been of late advanced by the abilities of *Philip* the preſent King, who though he might have pretended a cauſe where none was, yet there was ſome occaſion of offence given him, though but counted a neceſſary allay to his riſing fortune ſo terrible to the *Perſian* Empire: For when with great preparations he had beſieged *Perinthus* a Citie of *Thrace*, *Ochus* gave order to his Lieutenants to aſſiſt the beſieged, which was ſo powerfully done, as his deſign miſcarried. Yet he having brought all *Greece* to his beck, and eſtabliſhed his intereſt ſufficiently in *Europe*, reſolved upon

*Vide Arrianum lib.*1. *pag.*41.

on *Aſia*, and aſſembling the eſtates at *Corinth*, procured himſelf to be declared General of all *Greece* for the *Perſian* War; for which he made mighty preparations, impoſing a certain number of Souldiers upon every Citie. The next Spring he ſent over as before him into *Aſia* three Captains, *Parmenio*, *Amyntas*, and *Attalus*, under pretence of freeing the *Greek* Cities there, which hapned the ſame year that *Arſes* died, and he lived himſelf not long after, being ſtabbed by one *Pauſanias*, as he was ſolemnizing the nuptials of his daughter *Cleopatra*, with *Alexander* King of *Epirus*. Hereupon *Darius*, who before ſtudied how to turn the War into *Macedonia*, thought himſelf ſecure, deſpiſing the youth of *Alexander* his ſon and Succeſſor, who exceeded not the age of twenty years.

21. But *Alexander* being a young man of a great and reſtleſs ſpirit, and of wiſdom and valour far above his age, overcame all difficulties both in *Greece* and *Aſia*, which his Enemies had raiſed (getting himſelf to be choſen in a little time General of the one, as his father had been, and in the other ſuppreſſing betimes the ſedition of the Army of *Attalus*, by taking of him out the way) and moſt vehemently burnt with a deſire of the Conqueſt of the *Perſian* Empire; from an endeavour after which he might by no means be diverted. Having either by fair, or foul means ſetled his matters in *Europe*, he paſſed over into *Aſia* two years after his fathers death, and landed at *Troas* with a Fleet of ſixty long ſhips. He firſt caſt a ſpear out upon the ſhore, and leaped out in a frisking manner, as taking poſſeſſion of the Continent. Then preſently he made a viſit to the Tombs of *Achilles* and *Ajax*, to whom he made a parentation, and muſtered the Army he had brought over with him. Concerning the number of Forces, thoſe that were there preſent themſelves have not agreed in their relation, but according to the greateſt probability, there were of foot thirteen thouſand *Macedonians*, of the Aſſociates ſeven thouſand, and five thouſand Mercenaries, beſides of *Odryſæ*, *Triballi*, and *Illyrians* five thouſand, and one thouſand Archers, with ſuch as fought with Darts. Of horſe there were one thouſand eight hundred *Macedonians*, one thouſand eight hundred *Theſſalians*, and of other *Græcians* ſix hundred, beſides a Guard of nine hundred *Thracians* and *Pæonians*.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 111. *ann.*3.
*Juſtin. lib.*11.
Arrianus lib. 1

Alexander of *Macedonia* invadeth *Aſia*.

22. *Darius* after he had heard how *Alexander* was declared General of *Greece*, and was much ſpoken of for his valour, ſhook off his former ſecurity and buckled himſelf to preparation for reſiſtance. He got together a conſiderable Navy, and raiſed great Forces, for command of which he made choice of moſt expert Captains, and amongſt the reſt of *Memnon* the *Rhodian*, a man very excellent in Military matters, whom he ſent into *Phrygia* with a band of five thouſand Mercenaries to reduce *Cyzicus* to his obedience. He paſſed over the Hill *Ida*, and on a ſudden ſet upon the Citie, and had well-nigh taken it; but the Defendants making ſtrong reſiſtance, he plundered the Territories adjacent, and then retreated with much booty. In the mean while *Parmenio*, one of the three Captains ſent into *Aſia* by *Philip*, and who ſtood cloſe to the intereſt of *Alexander*, took by ſtorm *Strynium*, a Town of *Phrygia*, and ſold the inhabitants. From thence he went to *Pitanes* to attempt the ſame upon it, but *Memnon* coming upon him ſtruck ſuch a terrour into his men that he was forced to raiſe his ſiege. After this, *Callas* with a band of *Macedonians* and Mercenaries ingaged with the *Perſians* in a battel at *Troas*, but being overmatched in numbers, he was worſted, and betook himſelf to *Rhæteum*. Theſe things fell out before the paſſage of *Alexander* into *Aſia*.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 111. *ann.*2.

23. After (*a*) *Alexander* was landed, the *Perſian* Captains met to conſult about carrying on the War, whom *Memnon* adviſed by no means to hazard a battel; but to lay waſt the Countrey before him, thereby to hinder his march any farther for want of neceſſaries, and then to paſs all their Forces over into *Macedonia*, and ſo to transfer the ſeat of the War into *Europe*. This wholeſom Councel was rejected as below the *Perſian* courage, and a reſolution taken to ingage, ſo that gathering their forces together they marched into *Phrygia* towards the *Helleſpont*, and pitched their Tents upon the River *Granicus* (which runneth through the plains of *Adraſtea*) intending it ſhould be a defence to them. (*b*) *Alexander* in his way thither paſſed by *Lampſacus*, the inhabitants of which either having already revolted to the *Perſian*, or elſe ſuſpected of ſuch an intent he reſolved utterly to deſtroy. As he was thus minded *Anaximenes* an Hiſtorian of that place, well known formerly to his father, and alſo to him, preſented himſelf to him, to whom he ſwore in ſo many words, that he would not grant what he was about to ask, which the other readily apprehending deſired

(*a*) *Diodorus ad Olymp.* 111. *ann.*3.

(*b*) *Valer. Maximus l* 7. *cap.*3. *Exter Exemp.*4. *Pauſan. Eliac. lib.*2.

deſired of him *that he would deſtroy Lampſacus,* ſo that wit h his ſharpneſs of wit being circumvented, he was conſtrained to ſpare it againſt his will.

The battel of *Granicus.*

(a) *Diodorus ibid.*

24. *Alexander* having with great trouble and danger paſſed the River *Granicus,* then (a) ingaged with the *Perſians* in a great and bloody battel, wherein much valour was ſhewn on both ſides. *Spithrobates,* a *Perſian Satrapa* of *Ionia,* and ſon in Law to *Darius,* a man of a great courage, with a ſtrong body of Horſe fell upon the *Macedonians,* whom no one being able to ſuſtain, *Alexander* himſelf grapled with him, a fierce combat enſued, he wounding the King, who yet at length ſlew him. But *Roſaces* his brother coming in upon *Alexander,* gave him ſuch a blow upon the head as broke his helmet and lightly wounded him, and a ſecond had killed him outright but that *Clitus,* Sirnamed *Niger,* a *Macedonian,* putting ſpurs to his Horſe, in good time cut off the hand of the *Barbarian.* A great conflict then enſued betwixt the principal *Perſians* and *Macedonians,* and many of the former loſt their lives upon the place; amongſt which of ſpecial note were *Atyxes* and *Pharnaces,* brother to the wife of *Darius,* and *Mithrobarzanes* Captain of the *Cappadocians.* Theſe being ſlain, thoſe that oppoſed *Alexander* began to flye, and afterwards all the reſt; of the hundred thouſand foot which the *Perſians* brought into the field about ten thouſand being ſlain, and of the twenty thouſand Horſe, two thouſand. Of *Alexander* his Army one (b) reports nine Foot-men, and a hundred and twenty Horſe-men to have fallen, but (c) another only thirty four in all, amongſt which were nine Foot-men. The King by confeſſion of all deſerved moſt commendation for his valour, and next to him the *Theſſalian* Horſe-men. (d) *Arſites* the *Perſian* fled into *Phrygia* and there killed himſelf, becauſe through his advice, he ſeemed to have been author of this overthrow.

(b) *Juſtin ex Trogo.*

(c) *Plutarch. ex Ariſtobulo.*

(d) *Arrianus lib.* 1.

Diodorus ut prius.

25. *Alexander* after he had refreſhed his Army, marched through *Lydia,* having *Sardis* delivered up to him, and came to *Epheſus,* where he diſſolved the Oligarchical form of Government, and ſet up a Democratical one in its room, commanding the ſame to be done in all *Greek* Cities, which he otdered to be left to their own Laws. The *Perſians* which eſcaped at *Granicus* were come to *Miletus* with *Memnon* the *Rhodian,* againſt which Citie he went and beſieged it both by land and Sea, and by his Engines making great breaches in the walls, the Inhabitants yeilded themſelves to his mercy, to whom he gave both life and freedom, but ſuch *Barbarians* as he took he either ſlew or ſcattered them up and down in the quality of ſlaves. A little after he diſſolved his Fleet, conſiſting of a hundred and ſixty Ships or more, only reſerving a certain number for the conveying of Engines and other inſtruments for a ſiege, amongſt which were twenty Auxiliary Veſſels belonging to *Athens.*

Alexander ſeteth at liberty all *Greek* Cities.

26. *Memnon,* after the taking of *Miletus,* with the moſt conſiderable *Perſian* Officers, and a multitude of Mercenaries, betook themſelves to *Halicarnaſſus,* the greateſt and moſt elegant Citie in *Caria,* which he took upon him to defend for the King, to whom he ſent as Hoſtages his Wife and Children, and thereupon command was given to all the Maritime parts of *Aſia,* to obey him as their Captain General in the War. *Alexander* in the mean time ſent his Engines thither by water, together with proviſion for his Army, and marched himſelf by Land thitherwards with his whole Force, ſetting at liberty in his way all the *Greek* Cities, which he left to their own Laws, and freed from Tribute, profeſſing that he undertook this Expedition for the freedom of the *Greeks.* In his way he was met by *Ada* the Queen of *Caria,* who after the death of her Husband *Idrieus,* was depoſed by her Brother *Pexodarus.* She delivered up *Alinda,* the ſtrongeſt City in the countrey wherein ſhe dwelt, into his hands, and imploring his help for the rocovery of the Kindom, adopted him for her ſon. He deſpiſed it not, and left her the Government of *Caria,* over which he declared her Queen, by which courteſie the Cities being overcome, ſent him Crowns of gold, and delivered up themſelves into his power.

Diodorus & Arrianus ut ſupra.

27. *Orontobates* a *Perſian,* Son in Law to *Pexodarus,* after his death kept poſſeſſion of *Halicarnaſſus.* With whom *Memnon* the *Rhodian* and other *Perſians,* after the taking of *Miletus,* joyned themſelves. *Alexander* now beſieged it, and with all his might endeavoured the taking of it by aſſault; but ſuch was the pertinaciouſneſs of the defendants, that they held him out, and making a ſallie had given him a defeat, if the old Souldiers buckling their Arms to them had not come in in good time, and repulſed them with great ſlaughter; after which the Enemy forſook the City, and ſo he took it, and levelled it with the ground. The Caſtle he fortified with a wall, and a notable ditch, in which

He taketh & razeth *Halicarnaſſus.*

which for the defence of *Caria* he left three thouſand forein Foot, and two hundred Horſe under the command of *Ptolomy*; and reſtored to his adoptive Mother *Ada*, the Principality of the Country. Thence he proceeded towards *Lycia* and *Pamphylia*, that reducing the Sea-Coaſts into his power, he might render the Enemies Navy unſerviceable to him, which he in a good meaſure performed, and came in the midſt of Winter into *Mylias* a Region of *Phrygia*, where he entred into League with the Ambaſſadors ſent to him from *Phaſelis*, and the lower *Lycia*, who ſurrended all the Cities into his hands. Afterwards he went into *Phaſelis*, where he ſtormed a Caſtle built by the *Piſidians*, to infeſt the Country.

(a) *Arrianus lib.* 1.

The treaſon of *Alexander Lynceſtes*.

28. Whilſt (a) he here remained, he underſtood of a plot againſt his life, by *Alexander Aeropus*, called alſo *Lynceſtes* (from *Lyncus* a Town of *Epirus*, as it's probable) who was promiſed by *Darius* the Kingdom of *Macedonia*, and a thouſand talents of Gold beſides, if he could any way procure his death. His Mother had by letters adviſed him to take heed of him, and the thing being confeſſed by *Aſiſines* a *Perſian*, whom *Darius* under a ſhew of a Meſſage to the Governour of *Phrygia*, had ſent to deal with him in this matter, he committed him to cuſtody, not thinking it ſafe to put him to death, leſt thereupon ſome trouble ſhould follow, in *Macedonia*. From *Phaſelus* he marched to *Perga* on the ſhore of the *Pamphylian* Sea, concerning which many antient Hiſtorians reported, that it by an extraordinary providence gave way to him, and herein *Joſephus* hath rather been too credulous, whereas (b) at a low water the place uſed to be dry, and gave way to paſſengers; only *Alexander* hapning to come thither in Winter-ſeaſon, and truſting all to the goodneſs of his Fortune, would march through before the water was fallen off, ſo that his men waded all the day in water up to the navel. (c) Subduing all in his paſſage, at length he came to the Lake of *Aſcania* in *Phrygia*, and thence in five Encampings to *Celænæ*, the Caſtle of which being held by the *Satrapa* of *Phrygia*, with a thouſand *Carians*, and an hundred mercenary *Græcians*, after ſixty dayes truce (in which they had in vain expected relief from *Darius*) was yielded unto him.

(b) *Strabo lib.* 14.

(c) *Arrianus ibid.*

Curtius lib. 3. *Arrianus lib.* 1. *&* 2. *Plutarch in Alexand. Juſtin lib.* 11. *Curtius l.* 4. *c.* 2.

29. In *Celænæ* he left a Garriſon of one thouſand five hundred Souldiers, and declaring *Antigonus*, *Satrapa* of *Phrygia*, went forward for *Gordium*, having written to *Parmenio* to meet him there with his Forces, who accordingly came; and there arrived alſo a ſupplie of one thouſand ſix hundred and fifty men out of *Greece*. This *Gordium* a City in *Phrygia*, had been the regal City of *Midas* the Son of *Gordius* King of this Country (concerning whom notable Stories are related) and herein was a Temple of *Jupiter*, wherein *Alexander* heard that there was a yoak belonging to *Gordius*, the bands of which whoſoever could untie, the Oracles promiſed him the Empire of all *Aſia*. When he had taken the Town he came into the Temple, and asked for the yoak, which being brought to him, when he could not find the ends of the thongs which were hid among the knots, leſt his fruſtrate endeavour ſhould be ominous, he cut them in pieces, with his ſword, and thereby either eluded or fulfilled the Oracle.

He cutteth in two the *Gordian* knot.

Diodorus, ad Olymp. 111. *ann.* 4.

30. *Darius* this while ſent a great ſum of money to *Memnon*, whom he had declared General of all his Forces, wherewith he raiſing many men all over where he came, and rigging a Navie of three hundred ſhips, betook himſelf ſeriouſly to his work. He preſently reduced *Chius*, and ſailing to *Leſbus* eaſily took *Antiſſa*, *Methymnus*, *Phyrrhus*, and *Ereſſus*; but *Leſbus* and *Mitylene* more ſtrongly fortified, with great loſs of men. His name being blazed abroad by theſe actions, moſt of the Iſlands *Cyclades* ſent their Ambaſſadors about a Peace, and a rumour being ſpread that he intended to fall upon *Eubœa*, a great fear ſeized upon the Inhabitants thereof, and many of the *Græcians* who envied the Fortune of *Alexander*, began to take courage, and conceive new hopes, amongſt which were the *Lacedæmonians*, who alwaies had deſpiſed both his alliance and that with his Father. Thus proſperouſly ſucceeded *Darius* his affairs under the management of *Memnon*; but Providence having otherwiſe determined concerning his eſtate, *Memnon* died ſhortly after, and with him the King's ſucceſs was even extinct. He was in good hope that the War would have been tranſlated out of *Aſia* into *Europe*, neceſſitating *Alexander* to return; but underſtanding of his death, he conſulted with Friends whether he ſhould manage the War by his Lieutenants, or go himſelf in perſon, and give the *Macedonians* battel.

Arrianus l. 2.

Memnon Darius his General dieth.

Diodorus ibid. Curtius lib. 3.

31. The *Perſians* perſwaded him to march in the head of the Army, which thereby would fight with more alacrity, but *Charidemus*, (or *Eudemus*) an *Athenian*, a man much admired for valour and prudence (who by the command of *Alexander* being baniſhed his Country, was come to the *Perſian* Court) adviſed

him not raſhly to commit the Fortune of his Empire to the hazard of his own life, but keeping the chief Power in his own Hands to ſend ſome expert Lieutenant to the War. He told him that one hundred thouſand men would be ſufficient for this Enterprize; a third part of them being *Græcians*, with which he doubted not to engage to perfect what already was well begun by *Memnon*. The King at firſt gave ear to what he ſaid; but the *Perſians* obſtinately oppoſed it, and ſo interpreted his words as if he affected the chief Command, for that end, that he might betray the Empire to the *Macedonians*. Hereat he grew angry, and in his Paſſion upbraided the *Perſians* with Cowardiſe, which ſo far incenſed the King, before this exaſperated againſt him, that his Anger overtopping his Reaſon, he caſt a Belt about him after the *Perſian* manner, and commanded him to be put to death, who foreſeeing his Ruine, cried out as he was led away, that ſhortly he would repent it, and pay ſufficiently for ſo unjuſt proceedings. After the cooling of his Paſſion he repented too late of his raſhneſs, and conſidering the valour of the *Lacedæmonians*, bethought himſelf what man of worth he might find fit to ſucceed *Memnon*; but finding none to whom he might commit ſo great a Truſt, was neceſſitated to expoſe himſelf to danger for the preſervation of his Kingdom. Then raiſed he Forces in all places, which he commanded ſhould meet at *Babylon*, where accordingly were found four hundred thouſand Foot, and above one hundred thouſand Horſe, and with this number (taking his Mother, Wife, one Son of ſix Years of age, and two Daughters marriageable along with him) he marched towards *Cilicia*.

32. *Alexander* in the mean while placed *Satrapaes* over *Paphlagonia* and *Cappadocia*, which voluntarily yielded themſelves, and haſtned towards the Straights of *Cilicia* called *Pylæ*, which being quitted by thoſe that were there placed to maintain them, he eaſily paſſed, and came to *Tarſus*, which *Arſames* the *Perſian* alſo forſook, and waſting *Cilicia*, to ſtraighten the *Macedonian* Army of Proviſions, fled amain to the King. Here *Alexander* fell ſick of a Diſeaſe which (*b*) one wrote he got by too much Toil, (*c*) others aſſign no particular cauſe at all; but according to the general Tradition, (*d*) he contracted it by caſting himſelf all hot and ſweaty into the River *Cydnus*, whence ſuch a cold ſeized upon his Nerves that he fell ſpeechleſs, and ſo ſmall hopes there were of recovery, that little probability was conceived of protracting the danger. Only one Phyſician named *Philip* an *Acarnanian*, who uſed a ſpeedy and deſperate kind of courſe in his practice, undertook the Cure. But by Letters from *Parmenio* he was lately adviſed to beware of him, as being corrupted by *Darius* for a great ſum of Money to make him away. Yet he counting it ſafer to commit himſelf to the doubtful fidelity of the man, than periſh by a certain Diſeaſe, put himſelf into his Hands, and taking the Potion, gave him the Letters of *Parmenio* to read, fixing his eyes upon him as he drank, whom as he ſaw nothing troubled at the matter, he took more courage, and recovered the fourth day after.

Arrianus & Curtius ut ſupra.

(*b*) *Ariſtobulus.*
(*c*) *Diodorus.*
(*d*) *Juſtin l.* 11. *Curtius. Plutarch. Arrianus & Val. Maximus lib.* 3. *cap.* 8. *extern. exemp. ult.*

33. *Darius* having notice of the ſickneſs of *Alexander* haſted towards *Euphrates*, thinking to prevent him, and ſeize upon *Cilicia*. But he ſending *Parmenio* before to poſſeſs himſelf of the *Pylæ*, or Straights that part *Cilicia* and *Syria*, followed from *Tarſus* and came to *Anchiale* built by *Sardanapalus*; and thence to *Solos*, where he placed a Garriſon, and fined the Inhabitants two hundred Talents of Silver for their affection to the *Perſians*. Hence he marched againſt the *Cilicians*, inhabiting the Mountains, which having brought under, he returned, and underſtanding how *Ptolomy* and *Aſander* his Lieutenants had overthrown *Orontobaces* the *Perſian*, who held the Caſtle of *Halicarnaſſus*, whereby the parts adjacent were reduced to obedience, upon this good news he ſacrifized to *Æſculapius*, and reſtored the Democratical Government of the *Solians*. Then giving order to *Philotas* to lead about the Horſe to the River *Pyramus*, he marched with the Foot by the Sea-Coaſts, and came thither, whence he paſſed over to the Citie *Mallos*, where he had notice that *Darius* lay at *Sochus*, a place diſtant two days march from the Straights. From *Mallos* he paſſed to the Citie *Iſſus*, which being forſaken by the *Perſians*, *Parmenio* had ſeized on, and cleared the Paſſage thither, where he conſulted whether he had better paſs forwards, or there expect his ſupplies out of *Macedonia*. *Parmenio* perſwaded him that no place could be more convenient for him to fight in than that ſtraight one about *Iſſus*, becauſe both their Armies would then be equal in effect, ſuch narrow places being uncapable to receive a multitude. After three days he paſſed the Straights and came to *Myriander*, where much Rain falling held the *Macedonians* in their Tents.

Quintus Curtius ibid.

Sect. 4.

34. *Darius* in the mean while by the perſwaſion of ſome *Græcians* about him, had made choice of the Plains of *Syria*, moſt capable to receive his Multitudes, and opportune for the Horſe to charge in; and for ſome time here he continued; but *Alexander* delaying his march, he was perſwaded by his Courtiers that he dared not to adventure any further, or look him in the Face, and becauſe Winter approached he would loſe no time, and therefore ſending away his Money and Stuff of moſt value, with ſuch Perſons as were not fit for War, unto *Damaſcus*, he haſted into *Cilicia*, where he ſuppoſed *Alexander* to have poſſeſſed himſelf of the difficult paſſages, as not daring to try battel in open Field. Suppoſing that he pretended Sickneſs, and hid himſelf in the Straights, he paſſed over the Mountain, and went to *Iſſus*, moſt imprudently paſſing by, and leaving him at his Back. Taking this place, and therein ſuch of the Enemy as being ſick and weak were there left, he cut off their Hands, and then ſearing their Arms ſent them away to tell their King what they had ſeen; for he thought now the Enemy to have left *Iſſus*, and fled for fear of him, and for that reaſon haſted over the Hill *Pinarus*, thinking to fall upon him in the Rear. *Alexander* knowing for certain that he was paſſed by, took thence occaſion to encourage his Soldiers, who now could not be overmatched by Multitudes, and ſending a party of Horſe to view the Straights, returned thither by Night, and repoſſeſſed himſelf of them. Then refreſhing his men for the reſt of the Night, he ſet a ſtrong Watch upon the Rock, and in the Morning went down into the path, and ſet his Army in order for a Battel.

The Battel of *Iſſus.*

35. This being done the Armies joyned ere long, and *Alexander* ſeeing where *Darius* was, made towards him, which when *Oxyathres* the Brother of *Darius* ſaw, to prevent him, he placed a Company of moſt valiant Horſe-men before the Chariot, which cut off many of *Alexander* his men, who preſſed forwards. But the *Macedonians* giving way to none in Valour, with great violence broke in amongſt them, and then a mighty ſlaughter followed, and a great heap of Carkaſes lay before *Darius* his Charriot. Many of the moſt noble Captains amongſt the *Perſians* fell, ſome of the *Macedonians*, and *Alexander* himſelf received a wound in his Thigh. *Darius* his Chariot Horſes being wounded with Spears began to fling, and threatned the overturning of him, when fearing he ſhould be taken alive he leaped out, and mounting on Horſe-back, he caſt away his royal Apparel, and ſhifted for himſelf, after which his Cavalry was put to the rout and ran away. The Infantry diſcouraged herewith made no conſiderable oppoſition, the great multitudes being unſerviceable in ſo ſtraight and precipitous a place, and being put to the rout ſo hindred the flight, and trode one another down, that more damage accrued hence than from the meer ſtrength of the Enemy. Of the *Perſian* Horſe *Arrianus* writeth ten thouſand to have been ſlain, and of the Foot ninty thouſand, with whom others conſent as to the number of the Horſe, but as to the Foot there is little agreement, ſome accounting more, and others leſs: forty thouſand are reported to have been taken.

36. Of *Alexander*'s men five hundred and four *Curtius* ſaith were wounded; thirty two Foot-men were ſlain, and of Horſe-men one hundred and fifty, which ſome reckon leſs by twenty, though another increaſeth them to three hundred. *Alexander* following the Chace was forced to paſs with his Phalange over the Enemies dead Bodies, and with one thouſand Horſe did great execution, but was not able to reach *Darius*, who rode upon a Mare that had a Fole left at home, and therefore ran with more ſpeed, he being accuſtomed to have ſome kept for ſuch neceſſities. His Tents were eaſily taken, and therein his Mother, Wife, Son, and two Daughters; but of Money not above thirty thouſand Talents; the reſt being ſent before-hand to *Damaſcus*. The Women hearing that *Alexander* was returned with the Robe of *Darius*, made great lamentation, which he underſtanding, ſent *Leonatus* to them to put them out of fear as to his Death; to promiſe them the maintenance of their former dignity, and a Viſit from him to be made the next morning. As ſoon as it was light, he went to them with *Hephæſtion* his greateſt Favourite, both whom when the Mother of *Darius* ſaw, and knew not which was the King, ſhe made reverence to *Hephæſtion*, as ſeeming to her from the worth of his Clothes to be the greater perſon, which when ſhe underſtood to have been amiſs, was troubled at it, and asked his pardon; to which he anſwered, ſmiling: *Be not troubled Mother, for he alſo is* Alexander. This Battel of *Iſſus* was fought in the Moneth *Mæmacterion*, *Nicoſtratus* (or *Nicocrates*) being *Archon* at *Athens*, in the fourth year of the one hundred and eleventh *Olympiad*, the fourth of the reign of *Darius*, and the fourth of *Alexander*. A. M. 3672.

A. M. 3672.
Olymp. 111.
ann. 4.
Darii 4.
Alexand. 4.

37. *Alexander*

Sect. 4.

*Curtius lib.*3.

Darius his Lieutenants revolt to *Alexander.*

Juſtin. lib. 11.
Curtius lib. 4.

His offers corn by *Alexander.*

37, *Alexander*, after this victory, marched for *Syria*, and ſent *Parmenio* before him to *Damaſcus* to ſeize upon *Darius* his Treaſure, which by *Cophenes* the Keeper thereof was betrayed into his hands, and for that he was rewarded with death by one of his Complices, who ſent his head to *Darius*. Of Coyn here was found two thouſand and ſix hundred Talents beſides five hundred pound weight of Bullion, and a World of other riches. Of men and women thirty thouſand were alſo taken with ſeven thouſand beaſts that carried burthens. Then was *Parmenio* ſent to ſeize upon the *Perſian* Fleet, and others to take in the Cities of *Syria*, which upon the report of the ſucceſs of the battel at *Iſſus* was eaſily done, the Governours of *Darius* yielding themſelves with their Treaſures. As *Alexander* travelled into *Syria*, many petty Kings met him adorned with their Diadems, whereof ſome he received into friendſhip, and others he deprived of their principalities, as they had deſerved of him. When he came to the Citie *Marathon*, he received Letters from *Darius*, wherein he deſired the ranſom of his Wife, Mother, and Children, and offered other conditions of peace; but ſuch as rather became a Conquerour, than one that had now been thrice ſhamefully beaten, not vouchſafing, in his direction to *Alexander*, the Title of King. He diſdained his offers, juſtified his War from the invaſion of *Greece* by the former *Perſian* Kings, and the treachery of *Darius* himſelf, who hired one to murder him, as *Philip* his father had formerly been killed by ſome ſet on by them. He promiſed him his relations without Ranſom, if he would come himſelf as a Suppliant for them, and ſafe conduct, both knowing, as he ſaid, to overcome, and ſhew favour to the Conquered. And the next time he wrote he bad him remember that he did it not onely to a King, but to his own King alſo.

*Arrianus lib.*2.
*Curtius lib.*14.
Juſtin. lib. 11.

*Diodorus ad Olymp.*111. *ann.*4.

38. *Alexander* marched to *Byblus*, which yeilded to him upon compoſition, and thence to *Sidon*, the inhabitants of which being ſo hardly uſed formerly by *Ochus*, in hatred of the *Perſians* ſent for him. The King of *Sidon* was one *Strato*, who being the ſon of *Geroſtratus* the King of *Aradus* the Iſland, Governed it in his abſence (he joyning his ſhips, as the reſt of the *Phœnician* Kings, to the fleet of *Darius*) and meeting *Alexander* as he came into *Phœnicia*, put a Golden Crown on his head, and gave up *Aradus*, and *Marathus*, a great and wealthy Town, ſtanding upon the Continent over againſt it, with *Mariamne*, and all that belonged unto them, into his hands. But now becauſe he had done this rather for that the will of the people was ſuch, than out of his own inclination, *Alexander* deprived him of his Kingdom, and permitted his beloved *Hephæſtion* to beſtow it upon any of his friends. He choſe to confer it upon a *Sidonian* by whom he was entertained; but he refuſed it, for that it was unlawfull for any but one of the Royal ſtock to poſſeſs it. He wondering at the greatneſs of his ſpirit, joyned with ſo much honeſty, bid him chooſe any one of the Royal Race on whom to beſtow it, who accordingly made choice of *Abdalmon* (or *Abdalomnius*) a poor Gardiner who wrought for his living, but of unblameable life, and deſcended of the Royal family. *Alexander* admitting of him, ſaid, the habit of his body could not hinder the nobleneſs of his ſtock, but deſired to know with what patience he had endured ſuch poverty, to whom he anſwered, That he wiſhed he could as well bear a Kingdom, and that thoſe his hands had ſatisfied his deſire: whileſt he had nothing, nothing was wanting to him. The King being much taken with his carriage, not onely gave him the houſ-hold ſtuff of *Strato*, but moſt of the booty got from the *Perſians*, ſubjected the Countrey adjacent unto his power, and afterwards alſo the Citie of *Tyre*, according to *Diodorus*.

*Curtius. lib.*4.
*Juſtin. lib.*11.
Diodorus ad Olymp. 112. *ann.*1.
Plutarch. in Alexandro.
*Arrianus lib.*2.

39. Now was all *Syria* in the hands of the *Macedonians*, and whole *Phœnicia* alſo except *Tyre*, which Citie was ſeated in an Iſland about half a mile diſtant from the Continent. As he marched thitherwards, the *Tyrians* ſent him a Crown of Gold of great value, in a Congratulatory way, and a large quantity of proviſions; which he received as from friends, and friendly ſignified to the Meſſengers his intention to go into their Citie, to pay ſome vows he had made to *Hercules*. They told him there was a Temple of *Hercules* without the Citie, in the place called *Old Tyre*, wherein his devotion would be moſt ſuitably performed, and ſo diſſwaded him from entrance, that he was inraged thereat, and threatned ruin to the Citie, telling them, that though they were confident in the ſtrength of the place, and deſpiſed his Land Army, yet in ſhort time he would make them find they were in the Continent. And in confidence that their Town, not onely fenced with high and ſtrong Walls, but alſo with the Sea,

was impregnable, they reſolved to ſtand out againſt him, being incouraged alſo by the *Carthaginian* Ambaſſadors, who after their yearly cuſtom (in token of obſervance to their Mother City) were come to celebrate the ſacred Anniverſary, and promiſed them certain, and ſpeedy ſupply by Sea, which for the moſt part at that time was commanded by their Fleets.

40. *Alexander* yet having not his Navy at hand, and foreſeeing that a long ſiege would be a great hindrance to his deſigns, ſent to them about an agreement; but contrary to the Law of Nations, they ſlew the Meſſengers, and caſt them into the Sea, with which affront being much moved, he reſolved to beſiege them. Ere he could do this, ſuch a quantity of earth or other matter was to be caſt into the Sea, as to joyn the Iſland to the main land, which by reaſon of the depth of the water, and the force of the Current, was a task almoſt inſuperable; but there being great ſtore of ſtones and rubbiſh at hand in *Old* * *Tyre*, he cauſed it to be utterly demoliſhed, and by the hands of many thouſands of his own men, and the people of the neighbouring places, ſet upon the work. The *Tyrians* (whoſe King *Azelmicus* being abſent with *Darius* his Admiral, had left them to the Government of his ſon) hindred it all wayes poſſible, and when it was near concluded, a violent wind ſpoiled a great part of it, but to repair it he cauſed great Trees to be cut down in the Mountains, which together with the boughs caſt in, and earth heaped upon them, reſiſted the violence of the waves, and at length by the great number of hands, and incredible induſtry, the Iſland became a Peninſula. But for all this, the *Tyrians* having the command of the Sea, their City ſeemed yet to be impregnable, whereupon *Alexander* had thoughts of gathering together a Fleet; but in the mean time came in the Kings of *Aradus* and *Byblus*, who had withdrawn themſelves with their Fleet from *Autophradates* the *Perſian* Admiral, and with them the *Sidonian* Gallies. Beſides theſe Veſſels belonging to *Phœnicia* (which were eighty in number) at the ſame time came ten from *Rhodes*, from *Solos* and *Mallos* three, and from *Lycia* ten, beſides one great Gally from *Macedonia*. All theſe he pardoned, as having been neceſſitated to joyn with the *Perſians*. And *Azelmicus* the King of *Tyre* now left *Autophradates* and came home; *Arrianus* writing that he was taken in the City.

Alexander his great attempt for the Conquering of *Tyre*.

* *Palætyrus*.

41. From the Mountain *Libanus* was wood brought for the making of Engines, Towers, and Ships, in which work whilſt *Alexander* his men were imployed, ſome of the wild *Arabians* fell upon them, ſlew thirty, and took ſcarcely ſo many, He upon notice hereof left the charge of the Siege to *Perdiccas*, and *Craterus*, and ſpeedily with a ready Band of men went into *Arabia*, where when they came to the mountainous parts of the Hill called *Antilibanus*, they left their Horſes and marched on foot. When it grew night, and the Enemy, approached, though his men were before, yet would he not leave his School-maſter *Lyſimachus* being weary and ſpent, but ſtill drawing him on was parted from the Army, and forced with a few about him to paſs the night in a dark and cold place. But ſeeing many fires to be kindled afar off by the Enemy, he being nimble of body ran to one of them, and killing two Barbarians that there ſate, brought away a fire-ſtick burning to his Companions, who therewith kindled a great fire, and ſtruck ſuch a terror into the *Arabians*, as all that night they paſſed in quietneſs. Then partly by force and partly by agreement he reduced the Country into obedience, and in eleven dayes time returned to *Sidon*, where he found arrived out of *Peleponneſus* four thouſand *Greekiſh* Mercenaries, under the conduct of *Alexander* the Son of *Polemocrates*.

42. Having then got together a Navy of an hundred and ninety or two hundred ſhips, he ſet ſail from *Sidon* and came to *Tyre*, the Inhabitants whereof refuſed to fight by Sea, but yet abated none of their courage, though thirty Meſſengers were come from *Carthage* to let them know, that that State being hindred by a domeſtick War, could not afford them any ſuccour. They ſent their wives and children thither to be out of the danger, being thereby the more willing to undergo any themſelves, which they little regarded, making ſtout reſiſtance, but at length the City was taken; one ſaith by treachery, another by a ſtratagem, but more by plain force; *Alexander* himſelf alone firſt going down from the wooden Tower he had reared, by a bridge laid upon the Wall. The Inhabitants, though the Enemy had entred, called one upon another, and fortifying the narrow paſſages ſtood out ſtill, till the number of ſeven thouſand (the moſt of thoſe that fought) were ſlain. The Conquerour condemned the women and children that were found unto bondage, the young men to the number of two thouſand he cauſed to be

Tyre taken

hanged all along the Shore, or crucified, as another telleth us, (which was accounted a ſervile kind of death) becauſe the *Tyrian* Slaves had formerly conſpired againſt their Maſters, and ſlain them all with their whole Families, leaving no free people alive, except one *Strato* and his Son, to whom and his Poſterity they committed the Kingdom. Fifteen thouſand the *Sidonians* ſaved upon the account of Kindred (they reckoning both *Tyre* and *Sidon* to have been built by *Agenor*) from whom the City was again re-peopled, and to ſuch as had fled to the Temple of *Hercules*, *Alexander* granted indemnity, amongſt which the King and his Family were, with ſome *Carthaginians* which were come for the Honour of *Hercules* to the *Metropolis*. This befel *Tyre* in the Moneth *Hecatombæon*, when *Annicetus* (otherwiſe called *Niceratus* and *Nicetas*) was *Archon* at *Athens*, in the firſt year of the hundred and twelvth *Olympiad*, the firſt of *Darius*, and the fifth of *Alexander*, A. M. 3673.

A. M. 3673.
Ol. 112. *an.* 1.
V. C. 422.
Darii 5.
Alexand. 5.

43. During this Siege, the Officers of *Darius* which eſcaped from the Battel at *Iſſus*, with all thoſe that followed them, and the youth of the *Cappadocians*, and *Paphlagonians*, attempted to recover *Lydia*; but *Antigonus* who there commanded for *Alexander* overthrew them thrice in ſeveral places. At the ſame time alſo *Ariſtimenes*, who was ſent with ſome Ships by *Darius* to recover the Coaſt of *Aſia*, lying upon the *Helleſpont*, was wholly defeated by a Fleet of *Macedonians* which *Alexander* had ſent for out of *Greece*.

Darius ſendeth new propoſals to *Alexander*, which he refuſeth.

44. Whilſt *Alexander* lay before *Tyre*, another Ambaſſage came to him from *Darius*, who now offered him ten thouſand Tallents as a Ranſom for his Relations, and all *Aſia* betwixt the *Helleſpont* and the River *Halys* in Dower with his Daughter; which Conditions that he might incline him to receive, he ſet before him the difficulties of paſſing into the eaſtern Countries, and laid the loſs of the laſt Battel to the ſtraightneſs of the place: he ſought to terrifie him by threatning to incompaſs him in the plain Countries, and bade him conſider how impoſſible it was to paſs the Rivers of *Euphrates*, *Tigris*, *Araxes*, and the reſt, with things of the like nature. The Propoſals being brought before a ſelect Committee of *Alexander*'s Friends, *Parmenio* who was now old, and full of Riches and Honour, ſaid, that if he were *Alexander*, he would accept of them, to which the King anſwered, that ſo would he, if he were *Parmenio*. But he returned anſwer to *Darius*, that he offered him nothing but his own, and what Victory and his own Valour had poſſeſt him of; that he was to give Conditions and not to receive any, and that having paſſed the Sea it ſelf, he diſdained to think of reſiſtance in tranſporting his Army over Rivers. As for his Daughter, he ſaid he would marry her, though without his conſent, and if he would taſte of his humanity, he ſhould come and refer himſelf to him. *Darius* having received this Anſwer, prepared himſelf anew for the War.

Euſeb. in Chronico.
Plin. lib. 12. *cap.* 25.
Joſephus Antiquit. lib. 11. *cap.* 8.

A Temple built by *Sanballat* on mount *Gerizim*.

45. *Tyre* being taken, *Alexander* invaded *Judæa*, reſolving to bring all *Palæſtine* into ſubjection. At this time *Jaddus* was the High-Prieſt there, whoſe Brother *Manaſſes* married *Nicaſo* the Daughter of *Sanballat*, who had been ſent from *Darius* to govern *Samaria*, being both Sons to *John*, called in *Nehemiah*, *Jonathan*, and *Johanan*, who was Son to *Jehoiada*. *Manaſſes* thus matching himſelf, the People was diſpleaſed at it, and *Jaddus* deſired him to put away his Wife; not only the People but the Law ſo requiring it. Hereupon he repaired to his Father in Law, and told him, that his Wife was dear unto him; but he muſt either part with her or his Prieſt-hood, who anſwered that he would ſo bring it about, that he ſhould not only be Prieſt, but an High-Prieſt alſo, being minded to build for him upon Mount *Gerizim* near to *Samaria* a Temple like to that of *Jeruſalem*, which thing he would obtain to be confirmed by *Darius*. Many betook themſelves to *Manaſſes*, being allured with the Newneſs of the thing, and the liberality of *Sanballat*; but *Alexander* at that time paſſing the *Helleſpont*, the conſultation thereupon was diſturbed. After *Darius* was beaten and retired back into *Perſia*, *Sanballat* revolted unto *Alexander*, and going over to him with eight thouſand men, though now very old, deſired of him leave to build this new deſigned Temple, perſwading him it would be for his intereſt, that thereby the *Jews* being divided amongſt themſelves, might be the leſs able to reſiſt him. *Alexander* yielding to his requeſt, he returned, and falling with great induſtry upon the work, he died not long after.

Jaddus the High-Prieſt of the *Jews* refuſing to break his Faith,

46. This was at ſuch time as *Alexander* lay before *Tyre*, during which Siege, he ſent round about to demand an Oath of Allegiance, and Aſſiſtance from the ſeveral Cities, and amongſt the reſt the Meſſengers came to *Jeruſalem*, *Jaddeus* or *Jaddus* the High-Prieſt anſwered, that he had entred by Oath into

Alexander invadeth *Judea.*

But his wrath is appeaſed.

Society with *Darius*, and whilſt he lived he might not by any means break his Faith; with which anſwer *Alexander* being moved, after the taking of *Tyre* (not of *Gaza* as *Joſephus* thinketh, for then he muſt have returned backwards) he invaded *Judæa*. The High-Prieſt and People then looked for nothing but Ruine, but he imploring the aſſiſtance of God, was warned in a dream to go out and meet him, adorned with his Pontifical Veſtments, with the *Levites* and People, as in a ſolemn Proceſſion. *Alexander* meeting this long Train, lighted from his Horſe, and adored the Prieſt, at which thing all the reſt being amazed, *Parmenio* asked him the reaſon thereof, to whom he anſwered, that he worſhipped not the Prieſt, but the God whom he ſerved, for that whilſt he was yet in *Greece*, and conſulted about his Expedition into *Aſia*, ſuch an one appeared to him, adviſed him to it, and promiſed him ſucceſs. Then going up to the City he aſcended to the Temple, and ſacrifized according to the directions of the Prieſt, who ſhewed him the Prophecy of *Daniel*, wherein was foretold, that a *Gracian* ſhould obtain the Empire of the *Perſians*. He accounting himſelf the man rejoyced thereat, and the next day offered to the People whatſoever they would ask of him, who requeſted that they might live after their own Laws and Cuſtoms, that on every ſeventh year in which they ſowed not, they might pay no Tribute, and that ſuch of their Country-men as inhabited *Babylon* and *Media*, might alſo be left to their own Laws, all which he readily granted them. He offered them alſo, if they would follow him, the freedom of the exerciſe of their Religion, whereupon many gave their Names to the Expedition; and then leading his Forces to the neighbouring Cities, he was friendly received by them.

47. The *Samaritans* met him in the way, deſiring him to viſit their City *Sicima*, (ſeated at the foot of the Hill *Gerizim*, and inhabited by the Runagates of the *Jewiſh* Nation) to honour their Temple with his preſence, and to remit to them alſo the tribute of every ſeventh year, they ſowing not therein; for that they were *Hebrews*, though not *Jews*, as deſcended of *Joſeph* and his two Sons *Ephraim* and *Manaſſeh*, all which he referred to his return. By this time his Officers had recovered ſeveral places that had revolted, as *Callus*, *Paphlagonia*; *Antigonus*, *Lycaonia*; and *Balacrus*, *Miletus*, after he had overthrown *Idarnes* the Captain of *Darius*. *Cilicia* he had committed to the care of *Soſcrates*, and the Country about *Tyre* to *Philotas* the ſon of *Parmenio*, who had delivered his charge of *Cebeſtia* to *Andromachus*, that he might follow the Expedition. All the Towns of *Paleſtine* he had got now into his hands, except *Gaza*, which *Batis* the Eunuch reſolved to hold out againſt him. This was a City diſtant from the Sea about two miles and an half, of difficult acceſs by reaſon of the depth of ſand about it, the Sea near unto it being very muddy; it was large, ſeated upon an high Rock, and compaſſed with a ſtrong wall. Hither, having commanded *Hephæſtion* to go before with the Fleet, he came, and ſate down before it with all his Forces.

Curtius lib. 4.

He beſiegeth *Gaza.*

Diodorus, Joſephus, Curtius, Arrianus, ut prius.

48. Having viewed the ſituation of the City, he reſolved that light kind of earth to be fit for receiving of mines, which he commanded preſently to be attempted, and ſeeing that no wooden turrets could be erected by the walls becauſe of the looſneſs of the ſand, he made a great heap of earth and ſtones to be laid, which equalled the height of the walls, on which he planted his Engines for batterie. By the advice of *Ariſtander* his Prophet, he contained himſelf for a time without the reach of the Arrows, but the *Arabians* whom *Batis* the Governour (called *Baberneſes* by *Joſephus*) had hired, iſſuing forth ſet fire to the Engines, and beat away the *Macedonians* from the Mount, upon which he ran in with the Targetiers to the reſcue, and kept his men from running, but he himſelf received a wound on his ſhoulder. Afterwards thoſe Engines being come by water with which he had taken *Tyre*, he cauſed the whole City to be ſurrounded with mounts two furlongs broad, and two hundred and fifty foot high, whereby conflicting both with Engines above ground and below, at length after two moneths it was taken, the wall being broken by a Mine, at which breach the *Macedonians* entred. *Alexander* himſelf led in his men, and when his former wound was not yet quite cured, received a bruiſe on his thigh with a ſtone. The defendants ſtirred not from their places, but fighting to the laſt, were all ſlain to the number of ten thouſand. The women and children the Conquerour made Slaves, and furniſhing the City with a new Colony gathered out of the places adjacent, uſed it as a Garriſon in the War.

Diodorus. ad Olymp. 112. *ann.* 2. *Curtius lib.* 4.

49. From *Gaza* he ſent *Amyntas* the Son of *Andremo* with ten Gallies into

He marcheth for *Egypt.*

Macedonia, to make a Levie of the ſtouteſt young men, and bring them over, becauſe the War though proſperous, waſted his old ſtock of Soldiers, and he could not ſo well truſt foreiners as his own ſubjects. Then marched he ſtrait for *Egypt*, and the ſeventh day after his removal from *Gaza* arrived at that place, afterwards called *Alexanders-Camp*, and came to *Peluſium*. Here met him great multitudes of *Egyptians*, who being weary of the inſolence and avarice of the *Perſians*, expected his coming, and gladly received him. Placing a Garriſon in *Peluſium*, and commanding that the Ships ſhould ſayl up the River to *Memphis*, he having the *Nile* on his right hand, came, through the deſart to *Heliopolis*, and thence croſſing the River, unto *Memphis*, which when he approached, *Mazaces* the *Perſian* Governour met him, and delivered into his hands eight hundred Talents, with all the royal houſhold-ſtuff. Here he ſacrifized to all the *Egyptian* Gods, and celebrated Games, and then ſayled down the River to the Sea; and when he came to *Canopus* ſayled about the Lake *Mareotis*, betwixt which and the *Egyptian*-Sea, he choſe out a place whereon to build a City, which he would have called after himſelf *Alexandria*.

Strabo lib. 17

Plutarch. in Alexandro.

Foundeth *Alexandria.*

50. In this place towards the Sea and Haven ſtood once a Village named *Rhacotis*. When the figure of the new City was to be delineated, for want of Chalk, they marked out the ground with Meal, which preſently was ſeized upon by an innumerable company of Fouls of all ſorts, that from the Sea and Lake came flocking thither, and devoured it all. Hereat the King was diſcouraged, but his Prophets told him, that it ſignified the City ſhould be exceeding populous and wealthy, and nouriſh all ſorts of men. He himſelf deſigned in what place the Forum ſhould be, and where the Temples that were to be Conſecrated to the *Egyptian* and *Græcian* Gods, and herein uſed the skill of that noble Architect *Dinocrates* (called alſo *Staſicrates*) who was imployed by the *Epheſians*, in reſtoring their Temple formerly conſumed with fire. This (afterwards Famous) City was founded by *Alexander* in the fifth year of his Reign, and the firſt of the hundred and twelfth *Olympiad*, the four hundred and ſeventeenth of *Nabonaſar*, from which year, the moneth *Thoth*, as alſo the fifth of *Darius*, the ſupputation of the years of *Alexander* is begun by *Ptolomy* the Mathematician, and a Native of this City, A. M. 3673. three hundred twenty nine years before the *Æra* of Chriſt.

Iidem.

*Arrianus lib.*3

Diodorus ad Olymp. 112. *ann.* 2.

Juſtin. lib. 11

51. Leaving the care of his new deſigned City to fit Overſeers, he took a journey toward the Oracle of *Jupiter Hammon*, ſituate in the vaſt ſandy deſarts of *Libya*, becauſe he had heard that *Perſeus* and *Hercules* had formerly gone thither; or to know his fortune, or that he might at leaſt have occaſion to boaſt of his knowledge of it. In the midſt of his way he encountred Ambaſſadours, ſent to him from the *Cyrenæans*, who brought a Crown with other great gifts, amongſt which were three hundred excellent horſes trained up and taught for the War; which receiving in good part, he entred into confederacy with them. Two great dangers eſpecially to be met with in this journey, *viz.* want of water in ſo dry a place, and of being overwhelmed by heaps of ſand, which the South-wind threw upon fifty thouſand of *Cambyſes* his army, he eſcaped wonderfully by abundance of rain which is ſaid to have falln, wherby the way was made more firm and paſſable; and two Crows are reported to have been his Guides, and in the night time when they could not be ſeen, by their croaking to have given notice which way they tended. When he arrived at the Temple, the Prieſt, either hired to it, or miſtaking the *Greek* language as it is thought, ſaluted him by the name of *Jupiter*'s ſon. Hereupon he took the name upon him, and to his Mother *Olympias* as well as others wrote with that Title. She facetiouſly checked him for ſlandring, and bringing her in danger with *Juno*, by making her an Whore to *Jupiter*. By the terrour hereof he hoped to do wonders with the *Barbarians*, and becauſe *Hammon* was painted with the upper part like a Ram, and the nether like to a man, he alſo would appear to be horned, for which reaſon amongſt the *Arabians* he obtained the name of *Dulcarnaiin*. When he received an anſwer ſatisfactory, as he pretended, he returned into *Egypt* the ſame way he came, or, as another wrote, by a more direct one towards *Memphis*.

Goeth to the Temple of *Jupiter Hammon.*

Gellius lib. 13. *cap.* 4.

Arrianus. Curtius. Juſtin. Joſephus de bello lib. 2. *Antiquit. lib.* 11. *cap.*8.

52. Being come to *Memphis*, he received many Embaſſies from *Greece*, whence alſo came a new ſupply of Forces, *viz.* four hundred *Greekiſh* Mercenaries from *Antipater*, and five hundred horſe out of *Theſſaly*. The neighbouring Cities he exhauſted for the peopling his new one, which he ordained ſhould be the Metropolis of *Egypt*. Amongſt other ſorts of people the *Jews* alſo whoſe fidelity he approved, were inrolled inhabitants, having equal privilege

with *Græcians*, and obtaining the name not only of *Alexandrians*, but of *Macedonians* alſo: and to the Souldiers of *Sanballat* the *Cuthean*, who followed him into *Egypt*, cauſed he Lands to be aſſigned in *Thebais*, which Province he committed to their defence. He greatly deſired to ſee not onely the remoter parts of *Egypt*, but *Æthiopia* alſo: but the War depending yet with *Darius*, hindred him, and therefore diſpoſing of *Egypt*, he removed in the Spring to *Tyre* in *Phœnicia*. Over *Egypt* he left *Æſchylus* the *Rhodian*, and *Peuceſtes* the *Macedonian*, with four thouſand Souldiers; and the care of the River *Nile* he committed to *Polemon*, with thirty Gallies. As for the Civil Government, he left it to *Dolaſpes* the *Egyptian*, to rule according to the antient Laws.

Curtius.

53. Ere his departure, he underſtood of the death of *Andromachus* the Governour of *Syria*, whom the *Samaritans* had burnt alive. With all expedition he removed to revenge his death, but being on his way, the murderers were delivered up to him, whom he puniſhed according to their deſerts, and placed *Memnon* in his Room. Taking the City *Samaria*, he gave it to the *Macedonians* to inhabit, but the Country about it to the *Jews*, for their fidelity to him, with immunity from Tribute. Coming to *Tyre*, he celebrated Games, as he had done at *Memphis*, and ſacrifized again to *Hercules*; and nominating ſeveral Governours over the places already Conquered, took his journey towards *Euphrates*.

Euſebius.

Joſephus contra Apionem lib. 2.

Arrianus, Curtius, &c.

54. *Darius* having underſtood of his deſign, to find him out whitherſoever he ſhould go, gave out orders for all his Forces to meet at *Babylon*, whereof ſome conſiſted of ſuch Nations as rather ſeemed to fill up the names of men than to make reſiſtance. This Army being almoſt greater by the half than that which periſhed at *Iſſus*, many Soldiers wanted Arms, which were ſought for with all diligence. Some have reckoned one Million of Foot, and four hundred thouſand horſe, beſides two hundred Chariots, and fifteen *Indian* Elephants; whereas *Alexander* his Forces amounted but to Fourty thouſand Foot, and ſeven thouſand Horſe. In the moneth *Hecatombæon Alexander* came to *Thapſacus*, where he found two bridges on the River *Euphrates*; but ſuch as reached not quite over to the further ſide. *Mazæus* was ſent thither to hinder his paſſage, with order alſo if he could not do this, to ſpoyl, and deſtroy all things in his way; but upon his approach he made haſte away, and *Alexander* then making up the bridges, tranſported over all his Forces, and ſo proceeding through *Meſopotamia*, having *Euphrates* and the *Armenian* Mountains on his left hand, made for *Babylon*, not the neareſt way, but that which was more convenient for proviſion and moderation of heat. As he went forwards, he was given to underſtand by ſome Scouts which he took, that the King had pitch't his Camp on the further ſide of the River *Tigris*, with intentions to hinder his paſſage, but coming thither, he neither found him, nor any oppoſition at all. This River was ſo ſwift (being upon that account by the *Perſians* called the *Arrow*) that by the violent force of its ſtream it drave many weighty ſtones before it, and thoſe that lay in the bottom were made ſo round, and well poliſhed by continual rolling, that no man was able to fight on ſo ſlippery a footing, ſo that the *Macedonian* foot-men to wade the River, were forced to enterlace their Arms, thereby making one weighty body to reſiſt the fury of the ſtream; ſo deep the Channel was on the further ſide, that to keep their Bowes from being wet, as alſo their Arrows, and Darts, they were inforced to lift them above their heads, ſo that *Darius* might here have eaſily reſiſted the *Macedonians*, and given a check to the fortune of the Conqueror, had not the fate of the dying *Perſian* Empire beſotted his mind, and deprived him even of all common prudence.

Alexander paſſeth *Euphrates*,

And *Tigris*.

55. Having (though with great danger) paſſed the River without any loſs ſave of a little of the Baggage, he led on through *Aſſyria*, having on the right hand the River *Tigris*, and on the left the *Gordian* Mountains. On the fourth day after his paſſage *Mazæus* ſent a party of one thouſand horſe to attaque him, which was eaſily repelled by the *Pæonian* Captain *Ariſton*, who ſlew their Captain, and bringing his head to *Alexander*, demanded a Cup of Gold as his fee, according to the cuſtom of their Country, to whom he replied, ſmiling, That an empty one was due, but he would give him one full of good Liquor. Two days he here continued, giving orders for a march the next morning; but it hapned that in the firſt watch the Moon was eclipſed, and ſeemed of a bloody colour, whereat (as all other common people long time after) the *Macedonians*, not knowing

An Eclipſe of the Moon diſcourageth his men.

ing the cauſe, were marvelouſly affrighted. They apprehended it as a certain token or preſage of their overthrow and deſtruction, and began to murmur, that for the ambition of one man that diſdained to own *Philip* for his father, and would be called the ſon of *Jupiter*, they ſhould all periſh, being forced to make War, not only againſt Worlds of Enemies, But againſt *Rivers*, *Mountains*, and the *Heavens* themſelves. He knowing it to be dangerous to lead his Army to fight whileſt it was poſſeſſed with matter of terrour, called the *Egyptian* Aſtrologers, to aſſure them that this Eclipſe was rather a certain preſage of good ſucceſs: and he made it out onely by this reaſon, that the *Græcians* were under the Aſpect of the *Sun*, and the *Perſians* of the *Moon*; and therefore the Moon failing and being thus darkned, the *Perſian* glory was to be Eclipſed. *Ariſtander* the Southſayer affirmed the ſame, promiſed *Alexander* good ſucceſs, and affirmed a battel was to be fought in that ſame moneth, for the ſacrifices portended victory. Hereby the Souldiers were ſettled, and their courage redoubled, according to the great influence of ſuperſtition upon the common ſort of people.

Statira the wife of *Darius* dieth.

56. Thinking it wiſdom to make uſe of the preſent diſpoſition of their minds he marched thence, and proceeded, till he heard that *Darius* was not much above twenty miles diſtant from him, upon notice whereof he reſted there his Army for four days. Here were intercepted Letters written by *Darius* to the *Græcians*, to perſwade them to kill, or betray him, which by the advice of *Parmenio* he ſuppreſſed, and removing thence it hapned that *Statira*, the Wife and Siſter of *Darius*, through the tediouſneſs of the journey, and grief, fell into untimely travel, and died; at which diſaſter *Alexander* ſhed tears, and ſpared no coſt in ſolemnizing her Funerals, grieving that he was thus deprived of ſo fair an occaſion of ſhewing mercy. One of her Chamberlaines, by name *Tireos*, an Eunuch, ſlipped away, and carried the news of her death unto *Darius*. He fell of beating his head, and deplored the fortune of the *Perſians*, which not only ſuffered the Queen to be taken Captive, but dying in that condition to want the Ornament of a Royal Funeral. Being ſatisfied that there was no want of any ſuch Ceremonies, or of tears from his Enemy to bedew her Hearſe, he fell into a jealous conceit that nothing but unchaſte affections had drawn them from *Alexander*, and lamented his Wife's condition, who had been ſubjected to the luſtful power of the Conqueror. But being with much ado perſwaded of his continency, with hands lifted up to Heaven, he prayed that he himſelf might be able to reſtore the fortune of the *Perſians* to his poſterity as he found it, that ſo he might be in capacity to requite *Alexander* for his noble carriage towards his relations: But if the fatal time was come, and it ſo ſeemed good to *Nemeſis*, and the viciſſitude of worldly things, that the *Perſian* Empire ſhould receive its period; that none but *Alexander* might ſit in the Throne of *Cyrus*.

Vide Plut. in vita Alexand.

5.

Juſtin,Curtius. Diodorus ut ſuprà.

57. He diſpatched away to him then a another Embaſſy of ten of his principal friends, and offered him for his Mother, and two Daughters at Ranſom of thirty thouſand Talents, and in portion with his Daughter *Statira* all *Aſia*, betwixt the *Helleſpont* and the River *Euphrates*. He anſwered, that ſometimes he endeavoured to corrupt his friends, and otherwhiles his Soldiers to deſtroy him, and that therefore he was to be proſecuted not as a juſt and fair enemy, but as a pernicious murderer: that what he had already got, though now offered to him, was the reward of War, by which the bounds of both their Kingdoms ſhould be limited, and that they ſhould both abide by what the fortune of the next day ſhould aſſign them. *Darius* had before this come to *Arbela* a City belonging to *Babylon*, where leaving the greateſt part of his baggage, he went to the River *Lycus*, over which laying a Bridge, he tranſported his Army in eight days, and proceeding ten miles pitcht his Camp upon the River *Bumelus*, near to a Village called *Gaugamela*, which in the *Perſian* Language ſignified the *houſe of a Camel*; for that *Darius* the Son of *Hyſtaſpes* gave this place to the maintenance of a certain Camel which had been tired in carrying his proviſions through the Deſarts of *Scythia*. This was a Champain Country and ſuch grounds as were high he cauſed to be levelled, to be convenient for the fighting of his Horſe, and that he might have a free proſpect round about him.

Strabo lib. 16.

A Pannick fear ſeizeth on the *Macedonians*.

58. Underſtanding from his Ambaſſadors returning, that he muſt expect nothing but a battel, he ſent *Mazæus* to defend a paſſage which he never yet dared ſo much as to hazard; the reſt of the Army he cauſed to march above a mile farther in battel-aray, and there to expect the Enemy. *Alexander* fortifying his

Camp which he left with an ordinary Guard, went forwards towards the Enemy, and in his march a pannick fear ſeized on his Army, by reaſon of the Lightning of the Heavens in the Summer-ſeaſon, which they took as proceeding from ſome attempt of *Darius*; with ſome pains he undeceived them, and thought good to fortifie himſelf in the ſame place that night. Yet in the night he departed thence about the ſecond watch, as thinking to fall on the Enemy by break of day. Upon his approach *Mazæus* with his Horſe forſook an Hill which he had ſeized, and returned to *Darius*, and this place *Alexander* by the advice of *Parmenio* choſe himſelf, as ſafer than the Plain, and from which one might take a full view of the *Perſian* Army. Before the Fight his friends came to him and complained of the Soldiers, becauſe in their conſerences they had agreed to take all the profit of the plunder to themſelves, without bringing any thing to his Treaſury; whereat he ſmiled, and ſaid, they told him good news concerning the diſcourſes of ſuch as were reſolved to overcome, and not to flie. Many then of the Soldiers reſorted to him, and bad him be of good cheer, and not be afraid of the multitude of the Enemies, which would not endure their very ſhouting for the battel.

Plutarch in Apophthegm.

59. The two Armies lying in the view of each other, in the eleventh night after the Eclipſe of the Moon, *Darius* kept all his men in Arms, muſt'ring his Forces by torch-light, which made all the Plain betwixt *Niphates* and the *Gordyæan* mountains be of a flame. *Alexander* in the mean time whilſt his *Macedonians* took their reſt, was buſie in his ſacrifice with *Ariſtander*. *Parmenio* and others would have had him fallen upon the *Perſians* in the dead of the night, thereby to ſtrike more terror into them; but he anſwered, them, that he *would not ſteal Victory*; which *Darius* was afraid of, and therefore contained his men in Arms all the night, which not a little injured his affairs the day following. All the night *Alexander* paſſed without reſt, being careful for the main chance; but about the morning watch fell ſo faſt aſleep, that it being full day he could hardly be awaked, and to his friends demanding the cauſe thereof he replyed, that now he was eaſed by *Darius* of all his care, ſeeing he had gathered all his Forces into one place, and therefore in one day he hoped to put an end to his daily labours and danger. His whole force conſiſted of about ſeven thouſand Horſe, and fourty thouſand Foot, over which his chiefeſt Captains were *Parmenio*, with *Philotas* and *Nicanor* his Sons, whereof this commanded the Foot-Regiment of the *Argyraſpides*, or Silver-Shields; *Cænus*, who commanded the *Elimiots*; *Perdiccas* Captain of the *Oreſtæ* and *Lynceſtæ*; *Meleager*; *Polyſperchon*; *Hepheſtion* Captain of his Life-guard; *Menidas*; *Philip* the Son of *Balaccus*; *Craterus*; *Erigyus* the *Mitylenæan*; *Philip* that headed the *Theſſalian* Troops, and *Clytus* the black who lead the Kings Regiment. He himſelf commanded the right wing, and in both cauſed the battel to be made ſomething bendingwiſe, leſt they ſhould be incompaſſed with the multitudes of the *Perſians*.

Idem in Alexand. Curtius. Arrianus Diodorus.

60. *Darius* having marſhalled his men according to their ſeveral Nations, took the command of the wing oppoſite to *Alexander*, and led on againſt him. After a ſound to the charge on both ſides, and a great ſhout, the Armies met, and in the firſt place the ſcythed Chariots being driven with great fury upon the *Macedonians*, ſtruck them with great conſternation, for that *Mazæus* the General of the Horſe following the Chariots cloſe, made the charge the more terrible. But the *Macedonian* phalange, according to the King's order, beating their Targets with their Spears, made ſuch a noiſe, that the Horſes ſkared therewith bore backwards, and retreated for the moſt part; and though ſome went ſtill forwards, yet the *Macedonians* parting aſunder, made a lane and let them paſs through, but with the loſs of many whom the Scythes had caught. After the Arrows and Darts were ſpent, the Armies came to hand-ſtrokes, wherein the Horſe were firſt ingaged. *Darius* in the left wing was ſtoutly defended by his followers, who fighting under his eye, laboured all they could with their multitudes to oppreſs the *Macedonians*. And *Mazæus* in the Right wing charging with great valour, at the firſt onſet did great execution. Then ſent he a Party of two thouſand *Caducians*, and one thouſand of the choiceſt *Scythian* Horſe, to fall upon the Enemies Camp, where a great tumult following, ſome of the captive women took their opportunity, and got away to their friends, but *Siſygambis* Mother to *Darius* refuſed to ſtir, and kept her ſelf quiet in the ſame place, not thinking it fit to truſt her ſelf to the doubtful fortune of an eſcape, or ſhew any ingrateful diſreſpect to *Alexander*: the *Scythians* plundered moſt of the baggage and departed.

The battel of *Gaugamela.*

Darius flieth.

60. In the mean while, part of the Horſe that fought about *Darius*, with their multitudes preſſed ſore upon the *Macedonians*, and forced them back, whereby the ſecond time the Victory ſeemed to incline towards the *Perſians*. *Alexander* ſeeing how he was concerned to relieve his men, broke out with his own Regiment upon *Darius* himſelf, and with a Dart ſlew his Chariot-driver. The Courtiers hereupon crying out, thoſe that were further off ſuppoſed the King himſelf to have been ſlain, and therewith betook themſelves to their Heels, which the next ſeeing fled alſo for company. The Ranks alſo about *Darius* began to be broken, till at length all one ſide was bared, and then he accounted it time to fly, and therewithal ſuch a Duſt was raiſed, *Alexander* with his Troops giving the chaſe, that it could not be diſcovered which way he fled, uſing great celerity therein, and for that purpoſe mounting a Mare that had lately foaled, as he had done before at the battel at *Iſſus*. Whilſt theſe things were thus carried in the left Wing, *Mazæus* in the right ſore preſſed upon his adverſaries, which *Parmenio* with the *Theſſalian* Horſe and others for a time ſuſtained; but being put ſore to it, he ſent to *Alexander* for ſpeedy relief. But he could not be found; ſo that he was forced to uſe his utmoſt Skill in making the *Theſſalians* endure the brunt; and at length put the *Barbarians* to flight, after they were diſheartned with the report of their Princes Fortune.

The number ſlain.

61. *Darius* with a few in his Company came to the River *Lycus*, which having paſſed, when ſome adviſed him to break down the Bridge, leſt the Enemy ſhould make uſe thereof in the Purſuit, knowing that if he ſhould do ſo, he muſt leave many thouſands of his Men as a Prey to him, he anſwered, that he had rather give way to the purſuers, than take it from thoſe that fled. Here *Alexander* immediately purſued him, but not being able to reach him, he returned, and fought a more ſharp encounter than ever with ſome *Parthians*, *Indians*, and many of the valianteſt of the *Perſians*, wherein though he had the better, yet he loſt Sixty of his followers, and *Hephæſtion* with *Cœnus* and *Mendas* were wounded. Of the *Barbarians* (*a*) one maketh above ninty thouſand to have been ſlain, of the *Macedonians* five hundred, and many wounded. Another (*b*) counteth of the former three hundred thouſand to have been ſlain, and a great number taken, with all the Elephants, and ſuch Chariots as were not broken; Yet of *Alexander*'s men but one hundred at moſt, with one thouſand Horſes, partly killed outright, and partly heart broken in the chaſe. A (*c*) third reckoneth forty thouſand *Perſians*, and leſs than three hundred *Macedonians* to have been loſt. This Battle was fought at *Gaugamela* a Village ſituate upon the River *Bumelus*, which being but an obſcure place, the *Macedonians* to innoble their Victory, gave out that it was at *Arbela* a Town of good note, ſome fifteen Miles diſtant, beyond the River *Lycus*. Alexander obtained the Victory on the fifth day of the Moneth *Boedromion*, in the ſixth year of his Reign, as alſo the ſixth of *Darius*; *Ariſtophanes* (not *Ariſtophontes* his Succeſſor, as ſome miſtook) being Archon at *Athens*, in the ſecond year of the hundreth and twelvth *Olympiad*. *A. M.* 3674.

(a) *Diodorus.*
(b) *Arianus.*
(c) *Curtius.*

A. M. 3674.
Olymp. 112.*an.* 4. *V. C.* 423.
Darii 6.
Alexand. 6.

Alexander declared King of *Aſia*.

62. *Darius* fled from the River *Lycus* to *Arbela*, where he arrived about midnight, and then concluding that *Alexander* would march to *Babylon* and *Suſa*, reſolved to flee to the utmoſt Borders of his Kingdom, there to renew the War; and accordingly withdrew himſelf into *Media*, beyond the Mountains of *Armenia*. About midnight *Alexander* ſet forwards for *Arbela*, hoping to take him there with all his Treaſure; but arriving the next day, he found not him, but met with much Treaſure, with his Bow and Target. Now ſeemed the Empire of the *Perſians* to all men to be diſſolved, and thereupon *Alexander* was declared King of *Aſia*, and for joy thereof ſacrificed with great magnificence to his Gods, and beſtowed Riches, Houſes, and Countries upon his Friends. Foreſeeing that the Air thereabouts, by reaſon of the corruption of the dead Bodies might be infectious, he removed with all ſpeed from *Arbela* towards *Babylon*, being in his way met with *Mazæus* the Governour, who gave it up into his Hands, and *Bagophanes* the Keeper of the Caſtle and the King's Treaſures, leſt he ſhould be exceeded by *Mazæus*, cauſed the way to be ſtrowed with Flowers and Garlands; ſilver Altars heaped with Frankincenſe and other Odours being placed on both ſides. The Towns-men came alſo to meet him, whom he commanded to follow his Rear, and ſo entered the City and Palace in a Chariot, with his armed men about him. Thirty days he ſpent in* looking over *Darius* his houſholdſtuff, all which time his Army glutted themſelves with the contentments of the Town. Here the *Chaldæans* ſhewed him the

Entereth *Babylon*.

* *Juſtin lib.* 11. *Curtius.* *Diodorus.*

motions of the Stars, and the appointed viciſſitudes of times: and *Caliſthenes* the Philoſopher ſent into *Greece* unto *Ariſtotle* (whoſe couſin-german his Mother was.) the Cœleſtial obſervations of (a) one thouſand nine hundred and three years. He conſulted theſe men about his affairs, and at their deſire cauſed ſuch Temples to be rebuilt, as *Xerxes* had out of anger deſtroyed, after his overthrow in *Greece*. And eſpecially care was taken for that of *Belus* in the midſt of the City, the Ruines of which were ſo great, that the labour of (a) ten thouſand men for two months was required for the clearing of the ground. He commanded all his Soldiers to lay their hands to the work, amongſt which the *Jews* only refuſed to do it, who thereupon received great incommodity, till ſuch time as they were diſcharged of this task by the King, as (c) *Hecatæus* the *Abderite* wrote in his Book concerning the *Jews*, who alſo at that time lived with *Alexander*.

63. He committed the charge of the Caſtle of *Babylon* to *Agathon* of *Pydna*, with a Garriſon of ſeven hundred *Macedonians*, and three hundered *Mercenaries*, appointing *Mazæus* the *Satrapa* of the Country. To *Apollodorus* of *Amphipolis*, and *Menetes* of *Pella*, he aſſigned the Government of the *Militia* of the *Satrapies* of *Babylon*, and the other Countries as far as *Cilicia*, leaving them two thouſand Foot, and ten hundred talents of Silver, to hire as many Soldiers as they could; and to *Mithrinas* who betrayed the Caſtle of *Sardis* unto him, he granted *Armenia*. Of the money which he found at *Babylon*, to every *Macedonian* Horſe-man he gave ſeven *Minæ* (each *Attick Mina* containing an hundred Drachmes, and about three Pound two Shillings ſix Pence Sterling) and to every ſtranger five; to every *Macedonian* Foot-man two; and to every ſtranger two moneths pay, for a reward. Then ſet he forwards from *Babylon*, and in his way met with a ſupply of five hundred Horſe, and ſix thouſand Foot, ſent out of *Macedonia*, with ſix hundred Horſe out of *Thrace*, and three thouſand five hundred Foot; and out of *Peloponneſus* four thouſand Foot, and three hundred and eighty, (or according to *Diodorus* little leſs than one thouſand) Horſe. Theſe were alſo accompanied with fifty of the Noblemen's Sons of *Macedonia*, for a Guard to the Kings perſon.

Cometh to *Suſa*.

64. Drawing near to *Suſa*, he met with the Son of the *Satrapa* thereof, ſent unto him with a Meſſenger that brought Letters from *Philoxenus*, whom preſently after the Battle at *Gaugamela* he had ſent thither. The Letters imported that the *Suſians* had yielded their City to him, and that all the King's Treaſure was ſafe for him, which *Abulites* the *Satrapa* ſent his Son alſo to ſignifie, either for that he thought to obtain favour, or as ſome thought, being underhand ordered by *Darius* to do ſo; that *Alexander* being buſied with ſuch Booty, he might have time to conſult the better for his own affairs. On the twentieth day after his departure from *Babylon* he arrived at *Suſa*, where he took poſſeſſion of betwixt fourty and fifty thouſand (as is to be gathered from all Authors) Talents of Silver, beſides Gold and Rich Furniture. Many things he there found, which *Xerxes* had brought out of *Greece*, and amongſt the reſt the brazen Statues of *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton*, which he ſent back unto *Athens*. He left the Mother and Children of *Darius* at *Suſa*, with Maſters to teach them the *Greek* Tongue, and then committing the City to the care of *Archelaus*, the Caſtle to *Xenophilus*, the Treaſury to *Callicrates*, and the *Satrapy* of the Countrey of *Suſa* to *Abulites*, in four encampings he came to the River *Paſitigris*, being reſolved to invade *Perſia*.

Diodorus.
Curtius.
Plutarch.

Arrianus.
Polyænus. Stratagem. lib. 4.

65. Near to the Countrey of *Suſa* lieth that of the *Uxians*, running out into the Borders of *Perſia*, and leaving a ſtraight paſſage betwixt it ſelf and the *Suſian* Dominions. The inhabitants of the low-land Countrey became without much ado ſubject to *Alexander*; but the other with ſome ſlaughter he forced to ſubmit; and whereas they demanded money of him which they uſed to receive from the Kings of *Perſia* for their paſſage, he impoſed a Tribute of one hundred Horſes, five hundred Cattle, and thirty thouſand Sheep yearly to be paid; they living like Shepheards, and uſing no Money. After this he committed the Baggage, with the *Theſſalian* Horſe, the Mercenaries and Aſſociates, with the reſt of the Army that uſed heavy Armour, to *Parmenio*, to lead that way into *Perſia*, that was paſſable with Carriages; and he himſelf taking the *Macedonian* Foot with the Horſe of the Aſſociates, and others, with all ſpeed marched a nearer one through the hilly Countrey. Being arrived at the *Pylæ*, or Straights of *Perſia*, he found *Ariobarzanes*, a *Perſian Satrapa*, ſeized thereof, by whom he was repulſed alſo with ſome diſgrace and loſs, being forced to retreat four miles from the Straights; but at length being led

He is oppoſed at the Straights of *Perſia* by *Ariobarzanes*.

(a) *Porphyrius apud Simplicium de Cœlo l.* 2.

(b) *Strabo lib.* 16. *pag.* 738.

(c) *Apud Joſeph. contr. Apionem lib.* 1.

led by a Shepherd another difficult way, he came upon his Enemies on a ſudden, and put them to flight. But *Ariobarzanes* in the midſt of near forty Horſe and five thouſand Foot, with great Slaughters on both ſides broke through the Army of the *Macedonians*, which on both ſides had beſet him, and made for *Perſepolis*, the chief City of that Country; but being ſhut out by thoſe that kept it for the Conqueror, he turned again upon his Enemies, and with great valour renewing the Battel, periſhed with all his followers.

He cometh to *Perſepolis.*

Which he cauſeth to be plundered.

66. Having private notice from *Tiridates* the Eunuch, Keeper of the Treaſure at *Perſepolis*, that they there had an intention to rifle it upon hearing of his coming, he took the Horſe, and all the Night marched thitherwards. Being a quarter of a mile from the Town, about eight hundred *Græcians* met him in manner of Suppliants, whom the former *Perſian* Kings had reduced into bondage, and as a token of ſlavery cut off their Feet, Hands, Ears, or Noſes, and having marked them with ſome *Barbarian* Letters, kept them as laughing ſtocks for deriſion. They beſought *Alexander*, that as he had done by *Greece*, ſo he would alſo deliver them from the cruelty of their Enemies. He offered to ſend them back; but they rather choſe to receive ſome grounds to live on, than returning home, to carry greater diſgrace than comfort to their Relations. To each of them he gave three thouſand Drachms and ten Garments, with Cattel, Sheep, and Corn, for the ſtocking of their Grounds. The next day he called a meeting of his Officers, whom he told that there was no City more inveterate againſt the *Græcians* than that, which had been the Seat of the *Perſian* Kings, and that therefore by the deſtruction of it they were to make a Parentation to their Anceſtors. The Town, all beſides the Palace, he allowed the Soldiers to plunder, who made a great ſlaughter of Captives, and got ineſtimable Riches in that place, which heretofore of all, they had been moſt ſecure. Entring the Caſtle, he received the Treaſure which there had been heaped up from the time of *Cyrus* the Great, containing a great quantity of Gold and Silver. *Diodorus* ſaith, he took thence one hundred and twenty Talents, Gold being reckoned at the reckoning of Silver, part of which he employed in the preſent ſervice of the War, and the reſt ſent to *Suſa* to be kept.

He harrazeth the Country of *Perſia.*

Burneth in a Frollick the Palace of *Perſepolis.*

67. Leaving a Garriſon in *Perſepolis*, and a great part of the Army with the baggage there, with one thouſand Horſe and a party of Foot, he made an invaſion into *Perſia*. Much rain fell, and grievous Tempeſts enſued, but he perſevered in his purpoſe, as alſo when they came to ſuch places as were full of Snow and Ice; and though the Inhabitants fled from their Cottages to the Mountains, and killed his Stragglers, yet he brought them to ſubmit; and laying waſt the Territories of *Perſia*, ſubdued alſo the *Mardi*, a Warlike Nation, differing much from the Cuſtoms of the other *Perſians*; and on the thirtieth day returned to *Perſepolis*. Then did he diſtribute Gifts to his Friends, making no ſpare of Treaſure, and there he wintered four Months, rather enervating than refreſhing his Army with the delicacies of the Place. For the Celebration of his Victories he offered magnificent Sacrifices, and Feaſted his Friends Princely; and to the Feaſt admitted Courtiſans. Amongſt the reſt, was *Thais* the *Athenian*, the Miſtreſs of *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Lagus*. She gave out, that the King would Atchieve a moſt gallant Enterprize, if, in a Frollick, he would with them ſet on fire the Pallace, and thereby, in one moment, overthrow the Glory of the *Perſians* by the Hands of Women. This finding acceptance amongſt the younger ſort, now in the midſt of their Cups, one amongſt them deſired that they might Revenge the Injuries offered to the Temples of the *Greeks* with burning Fire-brands, which was ſeconded by others; but yet they ſaid, that ſo great an Affair did only belong to *Alexander*. He being moved herewith, was led out by *Thais* in a Dance with the Minſtrels, and ſhe receiving a Fire-Brand from him, firſt ſet it to the Pallace, after which all the reſt followed; and ſo that Structure was reduced into Aſhes. Thus was the Fury of *Xerxes* againſt *Athens* revenged by a Woman, and Native of that City, in the ſame way, though accompanied with deriſion. But *Alexander* afterward repented too late, alledging that he ſhould more grievouſly have puniſhed the *Perſians*, by forcing them to behold him ſeated in the Pallace and Throne of *Xerxes*.

Cometh to *Paſargadæ.*

68. From *Perſepolis* he removed to *Paſargadæ*, a City founded by *Cyrus* the Great, and the ancient Seat of the *Perſian* Kings; which being delivered up to him by *Gobaſes* the Governour, he therein found ſix thouſand Talents. Here he ſaw the Sepulchre of *Cyrus* in a Garden; into which he Commanded *Ari-*

Strabo lib. 15. pag. 730.

Sect. 4.

ſtobulus (who wrote the ſtory) to enter, who there found a Golden Bed, a Table, and Cups, with a Golden Basket, and great ſtore of Apparel, and Robes adorned with Pearl. On this place *Cyrus* overthrew *Aſtyages* the *Mede* in his laſt Battel, and thereby obtaining the Soveraignty of *Aſia*, in memorial of it built this City, and a Palace, which being by *Curtius* named *Perſagadæ*, or *Paſagada*, ſignifieth the Army of the *Perſians*. Then *Alexander* either by force or fair means, became Maſter of all the other Cities of *Perſia*, about the time of the riſing of the ſeven Stars, from which the Antients uſed to begin their Summer. He placed over this Country *Phraſaortes* a *Satrapa*, and then being minded to purſue *Darius*, ſet forwards for *Media*, where he heard he was; but being within three days Journey of *Ecbatane*, there met him *Biſthanes* the Son of *Ochus*, who reigned before *Darius*. He aſſured him that the King was gone thence five days before, having taken with him ſeven or eight thouſand Talents, and being accompanied with an Army of ſix thouſand Foot and three thouſand Horſe.

Gad, turma. Stephanus.

Arrianus.

He cometh to *Ecbatane.*

What *Darius* did after the battel of *Gaugamela.*

69. *Darius* ſtayed at *Ecbatane* ſome time, to receive ſuch of his Soldiers as had eſcaped the Battel; and for the furniſhing of them with Arms. He raiſed Forces in the Neighbouring Nations, and ſent to the *Satrapa* of *Bactria*, and the higher Countries to retain them in obedience. And he determined, if *Alexander* ſhould ſtay about *Babylon* or *Suſa*, to continue in *Media* in expectation of ſome better change of Fortune: But if he ſhould purſue him, then to betake himſelf into *Parthia*, or as far as *Bactria*, and lay all the Country waſt as far as he paſſed, to cut off proviſions from the Purſuer. He ſent therefore the Women with all his Furniture and Carriages to the *Caſpian* Straights, and ſtayed himſelf with ſuch Forces as he had raiſed at *Ecbatane*, till ſuch time as *Alexander* was within leſs than two hundred miles of him. Then thought he of *Bactria*; but fearing to be overtaken by *Alexander* (againſt whoſe celerity no diſtance ſeemed to be ſufficient) he changed his purpoſe, and though he fled, yet prepared he himſelf rather for a Fight than Flight. His Army conſiſted now (according to *Curtius*) of thirty thouſand Foot (whereof four thouſand were *Grecians*, commanded by *Patron*, (a man for his conſtant Fidelity to *Darius*, never enough to be commended) and three thouſand three hundred *Bactrian* Horſe, under the Command of *Beſſus* the *Satrapa* of the Country.

Curtius lib. 5.

70. *Alexander* being come to *Ecbatane*, ſent back towards the Sea the *Theſſalian* Horſe, and other Aſſociates, beſtowing on them, beſides their full pay, two thouſand Talents. To *Parmenio* he gave in charge to bring all the Treaſure out of *Perſia* into *Ecbatane*, to be committed to the truſt of *Harpalus*, whom he left with a Garriſon of ſix thouſand *Macedonians*, beſides ſome Horſe, and of the Aſſociates; and then afterwards he ordered him to march through the Country of the *Caduſians* into *Hyrcania*. *Clitus* he Commanded to go with his own Regiment into *Parthia*, whither he himſelf intended to come; but now with a ſelect party, with incredible ſpeed purſued *Darius*, and in eleven Encampings came to *Rhagæ*. Here ſeeing no hope ever to reach him (who before this had paſſed the *Caſpian* Streights) he ſtayed five days, and then marched for *Parthia*, and on the firſt day pitched his Camp by the Straights, and on the next having entred them, news was brought to him concerning the Captivity of *Darius*.

Alexander purſueth him.

71. For, *Beſſus* the *Satrapa* of *Bactria*, and *Nabarzanes* a Colonel of Horſe, though his own Servants, rebelled againſt him, and drawing their Men to their party, cauſed him to be bound, with an intention if *Alexander* ſhould overtake them, to curry favour with him by the delivery of ſuch a Priſoner into his hands; but if they ſhould eſcape, then to kill him, ſeiſe upon his Kingdom, and renew the War. They ſeized on his money and ſtuff, and taking into their ſociety *Brazus*, or *Barzaentes*, the *Satrapa* of the *Arachoti* and *Drangi*, led him away Captive in a Chariot, bound in Golden Fetters, as beſeemed ſo great a King; but yet, leſt he ſhould be known, they covered the Chariot with baſe Skins, and unknown Men drove it, his Keepers following aloof off, leſt he ſhould be diſcovered to any that asked of him. The *Perſians* having none now to follow, joyned themſelves to the *Bactrians*, and with the reſt owned *Beſſus* for their General. But *Artabazus* with his Sons and Soldiers, as alſo the *Greeks* (whoſe Captain was *Patron*) ſeparated themſelves from them, and taking another way towards the Mountains out of the high Road, departed, and went into *Parthiene*.

Beſſus and others bind *Darius.*

72. Upon notice of this Conſpiracy, *Alexander* concluded that more haſte was to be uſed, and therefore taking along with him a party fit for ſuch Expedition, he left the reſt of the Army to *Craterus* to come after with more leiſure; and travelling all that Night, and the next day till Noon, gave his men a little time to

reſt, and then again ſetting forward, came the next morning to that place where *Bagiſtenes* the *Babylonian* (who brought him notice of the condition of *Darius*) had departed. Then again marching faſt that night, and the day following until noon, he came to the place where *Beſſus* laid hands on *Darius*, as * one telleth us; but as * another, where they that conducted him had reſted the day before. Here he met with *Melon*, *Darius* his Interpreter, who being ſick and not able to follow, now counterfeited himſelf a Fugitive, and fully acquainted *Alexander* with the King's Condition. He hereby was further quickened up to uſe all expedition, but his men ſpent with continual travel muſt needs have reſt, and therefore he made five hundred Horſemen to diſmount, and the Officers of Foot, and others moſt valiant amongſt them to take their Horſes, being arrived as before, that ſo they might be both Horſe and Footmen as need ſhould require.

* *Curtius.*
* *Arrianus.*

73. Whilſt he was thus buſied, *Orſillos* and *Mithracenes*, two *Perſians* who deteſted the Parricide of *Beſſus*, came back from him, and acquainted *Alexander* that he was five hundred Furlongs off, but that they could lead him a nearer way, whereby he might ſoon overtake him. With this Conduct he began his Journey that Night, and being come three hundred Furlongs, Encountred *Brocubelus* (or *Antibelus*) the Governor once of *Syria* under *Darius*, who told him that *Beſſus* was but two hundred Furlongs off; that as he thought he made for *Hyrcania*, and marched out of order as fearing no danger, and therefore might eaſily be ſurpriſed. He then continued his induſtry to overtake him, but he and his Complices had notice of his approach, and coming to *Darius*, bad him mount on Horſeback, and withdraw himſelf by flight from the Enemy. He refuſing to do this, *Satibarzanes* and *Barzaentes* threw darts upon him, and leaving him mortally wounded, wounded alſo the Horſes that drew him, leſt they ſhould follow far; and killed two Slaves which accompanied him, having none now to follow him but a Dog which he had brought up. Having done this, the murtherers with ſix hundred fled with full ſpeed, and that they might not venture altogether, *Narbarzanes* went towards *Hyrcania*, and *Beſſus* with a few Horſemen in his Company kept on the way for *Bactria*. The reſt of their men ſtragled as they were led either by hope or fear; five hundred Horſemen imbodied themſelves, not knowing whether to flee, or to receive and fight the purſuing Enemies.

And upon *Alexander's* approaching mortally wounded him.

Ælian. Hiſt. animal. l.6.c.25.

74. But *Alexander* having notice of the fear and anxiety of the Enemy, ſent *Nicanor* with part of the Horſe on before to reſtrain their flight, he with the reſt following after; and when they were come up, ſo little courage appeared in the *Perſians*, that though they reſiſted, yet three thouſand were preſently ſlain, and the reſt ſtraggled about like Sheep, *Alexander* giving command then to his Soldiers to abſtain from ſlaughters. Now appeared an incredible thing, more Priſoners than they that took them, whilſt the Conquered were ſo ſtupified, that they neither conſidered their own multitude, nor the ſmall number of their Enemies. In the mean while, the Beaſts that drew *Darius* having none to drive them, wandred out of the way for half a mile, and being wearied both by their wounds and heat, ſtood ſtill in a certain Valley. Not far of was a Spring, to which *Polyſtratus* a *Macedonian* being directed, came almoſt ſpent with thirſt, and whilſt he was drinking water in his Helmet, he eſpied the Horſes fainting away, by reaſon of the darts ſticking in their ſides, and drawing near to conſider of the matter, found *Darius* in the Chariot ſorely wounded, but yet breathing. He deſired ſome water of him to drink, which though none of the beſt, yet he ſaid was the beſt that ever he drank. He prayed him to carry his thanks to *Alexander*, for his great humanity and courteſie towards his Relations. As for himſelf, he deſired rather a ſeemly than noble Burial, but bad him put him in mind how dangerous it would be to all Princes to ſuffer his death to go unpuniſhed. He wiſhed him the Empire of the whole World, and gave his hand to *Polyſtratus* as though to be preſented to *Alexander*; after which, wiſhing him a reward, for his kindneſs, from the Gods; he expired.

Darius diſcovered by *Polyſtratus.*

Dieth.

75. This was the end of the Life, Reign, and Empire of *Darius*, a man who, if we look at warlike matters, was fit for nothing leſs, but in other things did nothing unbeſeeming Royal Majeſty. And neither could he, for as ſoon as he began to Reign was he vexed by the *Macedonians*. Whilſt he lived, one Croſs preſently ſucceeded after another; neither could he enjoy any reſt from the beginning of his Reign: For within a while after, he received that overthrow at the River *Granicus*; then loſt he *Æolia*, *Ionia*, and both the *Phrygia's*; the *Lydians* alſo and *Carians* (all but the *Hallicarnaſſians*) and not long after *Hallicarnaſſus* it ſelf, and then all the Maritime Coaſt as far as *Cilicia*. After this he received a great overthrow at

A view of his Reign.

Iſſus, in which his Mother, Wife, and Children were taken: *Phœnicia* and *Ægypt* fell off from him. At *Arbela* (or *Gaugamela*) loſing a mighty Army conſiſting of all ſorts of people, he diſgracefully was forced to flee; then driven from his Kingdom, wandring up and down and wanting due Accommodations, at laſt he was betrayed by his own Servants, and at the ſame time both a King and a Captive was ignominiouſly bound in Fetters, and periſhed by the treachery of thoſe, from whom he ſhould have expected ſafety, as *Arrianus* writeth. This happened in the year that *Ariſtophontes* was Archon at *Athens*, in the Month *Hecatombæon*, when he had lived about fifty years, in the ſeventh year of his Reign, and the two hundred and third of this Empire, in the third year of the hundred and twelfth *Olympiad*, *A. M.* 3675. three hundred and twenty eight years before the ordinary *Æra* of Chriſt.

76. We have ſeen the end of *Darius*, and the Concluſion of the *Perſian* Dominion; but have not yet done with the *Perſian* Hiſtory and Antiquities; many of which could not be made out nor diſcovered by the *ſeries* of thoſe Narrations concerning *Cyrus* and his Succeſſors, without breaking the order and method thereof; and therefore judging it fit more fully to inform the Reader therein, we ſhall preſent him with a proſpect of the *Polity* of that Kingdom, with this Caution and Admonition; that it reſpects and hath relation alſo to what followed in after times, when that People ſhook off the *Macedonian* Yoak, but became ſubject to the *Parthians*, and when they recovered their Liberty, and gave Laws to the Eaſtern Nations; and therefore we place it here not as an *Apparatus* to the *Perſian* Empire, but a general Light to their Affairs.

SECT. V.

The Polity, Cuſtoms, and Manners of the Perſians.

The King called himſelf King of Kings.

1. THe Government we ſee was Monarchical, the Head of which in reſpect to the great extent of his Dominions, had the Title of *Great King*, and *King of Kings*; however toward the Period of their power they were ſcoffed at, for challenging it, by *Alexander* and other *Greeks*. And after that *Arſaces* had overthrown *Seleucus Callinicus*, and brought the *Perſians* under the *Parthian* Yoke, his Succeſſors took it as an high Affront if it was not given them by the *Roman* Emperors; inſomuch that *Phraates* receiving a Letter from *Auguſtus*, directed to him as to bare *Phraates*, in his Anſwer took to himſelf that of *King of Kings*; and to be even with him, gave him no other than that of *Cæſar*. When the *Perſians* afterward recovered their liberty, and the *Perſian* Kingdom revived, the Kings thereof ſtill challenged it as their due: Particularly *Sapor*, in a Letter he wrote to *Conſtantius* the Emperor, aſſumed it together with other lofty Titles, as *Ammianus Marcellinus* tells us. But this was no more than what *Nebuchadonoſor* had done before.

Vide libros tres de Regio Perſarum Principatu ex Adverſariis Briſſonii.

Perſice Saanſaan quod Rex Regum ſonat ut Ammianus ſcribit lib. 19. *ad initium.*

The Kingdom Hereditary.

2. As the Government was Monarchical, ſo was it Hereditary; the Laws forbidding any to be admitted King, but one of the Royal Line if it had not failed. As herein they were conformable to the beſt Rules of Prudence, ſo alſo to the Dictates both of Prudence and Nature, in that the eldeſt Son was to be preferr'd. This was conſtantly and religiouſly obſerved for many Ages, till at length the Kingdom was beſtowed at the diſcretion of the Nobility, yet ever upon one of the Royal Family. Sometimes the Firſt-born after the Father was King, was preferred before the Elder Brother, whoſe Birth happened when his Father was yet but a private man, as we have ſeen in the caſe of *Xerxes* and his Brother; and long after becauſe *Cabades* was weak ſighted, *Coſroes* younger than he was advanced to the Throne, it being unlawful for any one to Reign amongſt them, that was imperfect or deformed in his Body. Generally Baſtards were not regarded when there were any legitimate Sons, and yet ſome will have *Darius Nothus* to have been preferred before

The manner of the Kings Promotion.

fore *Iſogæus* the Legitimate Son of *Artaxerxes*. Though the Throne was not wont to be quitted but by Death, yet ſome Kings have given the Title to their Sons, while yet they lived, and when they went out on any Expedition, they were then wont to declare their Succeſſors. It was the Cuſtome for them to be inaugurated at *Paſagarda* by the Preiſts of their Nation, in the Temple of a certain Goddeſs like to *Pallas*. The ſolemnity was performed by putting off their own, and putting on the Garments which *Cyrus* wore when a private Man; eating a lump of Figgs, taſting a ſort of Turpentine, and drinking a draught of ſowre Milk, having firſt been inſtructed in the diſcipline of the *Magi*. On the new Kings Head was ſet a Bonet or Diadem called *Cidaris*. He was placed in a Royal Chair or Throne, and ſometimes would change his Name upon his promotion. Now was he adored by his Subjects as ſome God upon Earth, or rather the living Image of God. And the Adoration they performed by proſtrating themſelves on the Ground, which *Alexander*, after he grew ſo proud, required of his *Macedonians*. But *Cyrus* was the firſt that required and had it paid unto him; and that as ſoon as they came into his ſight, not only when they were near unto him. And it was paid not only by Subjects but alſo by Strangers. For if Ambaſſadors of other Nations refuſed to give this Adoration, they were not admitted to ſpeak to the King, but diſpached their Buſineſs by the Intervention of Meſſengers. This not only the *Jewes*, but the *Greeks* abhominated and derided as not due to any mortal Man. But much more reaſon they would have had to refuſe to adore his Image, which being of Gold, all were compelled to do that entred *Babylon*, in the time of *Apollonius*.

How adored and reſpected.

3. Such as ſaluted or thus adored them, were wont to wiſh them perpetual Life and Empire, agreeable to that we meet in Scripture, *O King live for ever*. And they were not to forget when they met them to fold their Hands in their ſleeves, the neglect whereof coſt *Autoſaces* and *Mitræus* dear, when *Cyrus* the younger uſurped againſt his Brother. This their Subjects might better do, becauſe they did it but very ſeldom; the *Perſian* Kings being very rarely ſeen abroad, that by converſation they might not become vile and deſpicable. This gave the greater opportunity to the *Magus*, who counterfeited *Smerdis*, to cheat the People, which was wonderfully pleaſed with *Statira* the Wife of *Artaxerxas* for uſing ſuch freedom, that ſhe would go abroad and be ſeen in her open litter, and give free acceſs to any of them, and that by order of her Husband, who was more kind in that reſpect alſo than his Predeceſſors. Without leave obtained none could enter the Palace, ſo that moſt tranſacted their Buſineſs at Court by Meſſengers, a greivance from which the Conſpirators agreed to free themſelves, except the King was private with his Wife, which Exception when *Intaphernes* diſregarded, it coſt him his Life. We know from the Book of *Eſter* how it was death to come into the inner Court, except the King was graciouſly pleaſed to reach out to the venturing Perſons his golden Sceptre. The Nobility were expected to wait before the Gate till they were called in, neither was it ſafe for them to neglect it. To be ſure it was capital for any Subject to ſit in the Kings Chair; neither was it lawful to weare his Robe. Nay ſuch reſpect they challenged from their Subjects, that *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, forbade that any in hunting ſhould ſtrike a Deer before he had caſt his Dart at him.

Looſed from the Laws and Abſolute.

4. But not onely by theſe Shadowes and Ceremonies was the Majeſty of the *Perſian* Kings kept from contempt, as with railes and barriers; they enjoyed not only the Shadow but the ſubſtance of Soveraignty. For they were looſed from the Laws, ſo as they might do whatever they liſted or luſted, as we have ſeen in the caſe of *Cambyſes*, his marrying his Siſter. As the *Turke* at this day moſt imitates theſe Patterns of the *Perſian* haughtineſs, ſo their pride in this particular, that all his Subjects he terms and holds as his Slaves; for ſo did alſo the Kings of whom we write, their Wives excepted; for, Wives they had who were eſteemed of ingenuous and free condition, of which amongſt the Turkes, none could boaſt except *Roxolana*. As they gave to their Subjects no better terms than that of *Slaves*, ſo they received from them that of *Deſpots* and *Lords*, which as the People owned them to be, ſo they obeyed them as ſuch, patiently and piouſly, as *Curtius* writes. What Burthens they laid upon them they willingly bore, and eſteemed it an Honour rather than an Injury to be beaten at the command of the King. Letters ſigned with his Seal none dared to contradict; neither was it, or rarely known, that any revealed his Secrets; the reaſon why *Alexander* was ſtill uncertain concerning the meaſures that *Darius* took; and *Ammianus* ſaith they worſhipped the Numen or Divinity of Silence. It's

certain that no nation whatſoever ſhowed more dearneſs and affection to their Princes. They prayed for them; and they came not into their preſence without a preſent, which though never ſo mean was wont to be kindly received. As they travelled, Husband-men and others of the meaneſt ſort, preſented them with ſuch things as they had, and beſides with the firſt Fruits of the Grounds through which they paſſed. The ſtory of one who preſented *Artaxerxes Mnemon* with an Apple of a great bulk, and for it received a great reward; and of another who having nothing elſe, brought him ſome Water in both his Hands from the River, *Cyrus*, is celebrated both by *Plutarch* and *Ælian*.

Their Ornaments.

Κυρβασία

The *Tiara*.

5. The birth Days of their Kings they kept as Holydays, and not only honoured whilſt alive, but proſecuted them with the ſame reſpect when taken from them. For their death being known, *Non-terme*, for the ſpace of five Days, was injoyned, in which, Courts were ſhut up and Laws were ſilent. Moreover that Fire which every one kept alive in his Houſe, as ſacred and his Tutelar Deity, upon that occaſion was extinguiſhed. Such Majeſty and Power did even the betrayers of *Darius* own and acknowledg in him as King, that when they deſigned to give him up, they bound him in golden Chains and Fetters. And truly ſuch eſteem the Majeſty and Soveraignty of their Kings might challenge from them; but the People, the meaner ſort eſpecially, being governed by imagination, which receives Impreſſions from Senſe, is wont to be wrought upon by glorious Objects, the Scarlet Gowns of Judges commanding ſuch regard as would not be had unto them if they ſate in Cuerpo. Therefore to procure Reverence, the *Perſian* Kings had their Royal Ornaments. Firſt upon their Heads they wore the *Tiara*, which was common to them with their Subjects, but that of the Kings was ſtraight and upright, whereas theſe of the reſt, fell down upon, or towards the Brow, rolled up or folded. Only to ſeven Conſpirators againſt the *Magi*, a middle ſort was granted and to their Poſterity, which was prominent in the fore part of the Head, neither upright as that of the Kings, nor falling as the other of the more ordinary ſort; for they were made of Linnen folded, and not of more ſubſtantial or thick Stuff, but as the Turbants of the Eſtern Nations in preſent uſe. And ſo I am wont to interpret that of the three *Jews* which were caſt into the fiery Furnace, their being bound in their Hats, as we read it in our preſent Tranſlation; for they were Turbants or Caps wreathed together, which might eaſily be unlooſed and become Bandage and Ligaments, not like our ordinary Caps and Hatts. Of the *Tiara*, we ſhall now only further obſerve that it came down if need were upon the Temples and Cheeks; but this, as we ſaid, was a common wear both of Prince and Subjects.

The *cidaris*.

The *Stole*.

The *Candys*.

Long Hair.

6. The peculiar and proper Royal Ornament for the Head was the *Cidaris* or *Citaris*, for, by both theſe Names it was called. This though ſome Writers ſeem to confound with the *Tiara*, yet was diſtinct from, and added to, it, being no other than the *Diadem* which others mention as proper to the *Perſian* Kings, or a Purple Fillet diſtinguiſhed with white Spots, and perfumed. As the *Perſian* Kings wore this *Diadem* or Fillet about their *Tiara*, ſo when *Alexander* began to take their ſtate upon him, he added it to the *Macedonian Cauſia*. Long after this *Sapor*, King of *Perſia* who lived in the time of *Conſtantius*, changed it ſeems the Faſhion of this Cap, for *Ammianus Marcellinus* writes of him, that he wore upon his Head inſtead of a *Diadem*, a covering made in the ſhape of a Rams Head, adorned with Gemms, which poſſibly was his peculiar Fancy; though the *Tiara* was alſo formed into wreaths and rounds, and *Sidonius Appollinaris* writes of its being horned. But, farther as to other Ornaments, the *Perſian* Kings wore the Stole or a purple Robe which hung down to the Ankles, was exceſſively rich in Gold and precious Stones, and portraied with the Figures of various ſorts of Animals, being in ſhape four ſquare, as the *Greek* Pallium was, which was plaited and buttoned about the Neck. Beſides this they wore a Tunick called *Candys*, which was common to other *Perſians*; but that of the Kings differed from the reſt, not only in value, but in Colour; for it was of the Sea Purple or *Phœnician* Dye, when their Dominions extended to the Coaſts of that Country, though afterwards in ſtead thereof they were ſupplied out of *India*. This purple Tunick had a white ſpot in the middle, it hung upon the Shoulders, and had its Sleeves down to the Fingers ends, which the *Romans* counted effeminate, and ſo did *Alexander*, who though he took up the *Perſian* habit refuſed the *Candys*, it becoming a Man, in their Opinion, to have his Arms free and diſintangled. From that Story we read in *Suetonius* concerning *Veſpaſian* his Jeſt about the Comet or Blaſing Star, we may learn that theſe Princes wore their Hair

Interea te Suſa tremunt, ac ſupplice cultu. Flectit Achæmenius lunatam Perſa tiaram. In Pangyrico Anthemii ſic Conſtantinopolim allocutus:

Haire ſomething long; for, when he heard it was of that ſort called *Criniti* or ſtreaming forth like Haire, he ſaid it concerned the King of *Perſia* and not himſelf. They wore Jewels at their Ears; were girt with rich Girdles or Belts; uſed *Bracchæ* or cloſe Breeches, which alſo did the reſt of the Nation, by them called *Sarabara*, from which *Alexander* abſtained as from the *Candys* and *Tiara*. But in *Perſia* both Men and Women wore theſe Breeches; however the *Macedonians* and *Romans* did diſpiſe them. In concluſion beſides theſe Ornaments, The Kings bore golden Scepters in their Hands, as is evident from the Book of *Eſther*.

'Αναξυρίδες *Græci.*

Sarabara or cloſe Breeches.

7. The Kings for their Commodious manner of living, had their Royal Palaces in ſeveral Provinces, to which they removed as their Occaſions or the Seaſon of the Year did urge them. For the Seaſons, generally they paſſed the Winter in *Babylon*, the Spring at *Suſa*, and the heat of the Summer at *Ecbatane*. Of *Babylon* we have ſpoken already. *Suſa* (in our Tranſlation *Shuſhan* the Palace) was a City built by *Tithonus* and his Son *Memnon* upon the River *Choaſpes*, and took its name from *Lillies* wherewith that Region abounds, *Suſum* in the *Perſian* Tongue ſignifying that Flour. *Cyrus* made choiſe of it as a place convenient to inhabit, both for its pleaſantneſs and its neighbourhood to the Nations conquered by him; and afterwards it was repaired and very much beautified by *Darius*, who is therefore by ſome Writers termed the founder of it. As for *Ecbatane*, it was the Metropolis of *Media*; and it ſeems they made choice of it for the coolneſs of the Air; and why might they not do it, notwithſtanding they be laughed at for changing their places and termed *Nomades* from their flitting from one Region to another; the progreſſes of Princes being very requiſite for the knowing and redreſſing of the Greivances of their People; Beſides theſe three, they had ſeveral other Manſions, and ſeveral retiring places throughout the Country, which were pleſantly incompaſſed with Parks and Trees after the beſt Art and Contrivance, of which were moſt eminent *Paſargadæ* and *Perſepolis*. The former *Cyrus* prized above all others, becauſe there he overthrew *Aſtyages* (whereupon it had the name of the Troop or Army of the *Perſians*) and here was part of the Royal Treaſures kept. But in *Perſepolis* was ineſtimable Wealth heaped up; it being in a manner filled with the Spoils of the (Eaſtern) World. In it was a Caſtle incompaſſed with three Walls wonderful for their height and thickneſs, wherein ſtood the Kings Palace, the Royal Court of *Perſia* marvailous for its rich Ornaments of Gold and other Materials. Beſides what was beſtowed upon the Houſe it ſelf, here was a golden Throne on which it was capital for any Subject to ſit. The King lay upon a golden Bed, and his Chamber was decked with a Tree of Gold, and moreover a Vine made of Gold, the Grapes wereof were compoſed of precious Stones, being the workmanſhip of *Theodorus* a Native of *Samus*.

Their Royal Palaces.

Inde Memnonia etiam dicta.

8. But rather more remarkeable were the Gardens, Groves and Parkes adjoyning to the Kings Palaces, admirable in their contrivance and planting, and for being ſtocked with all ſorts of wild Beaſts; if wild we may call them that are ſhut up betwixt Walls and Pales. Theſe places of Divertiſement they in their own Language called *Paradiſes*, the *Romans Vivaria*, and we *Parkes*; but in them were kept Bears and Bores, fierce beyond Madneſs it ſelf as *Ammianus* expreſſeth it: They were well furniſhed with Springs of Water, and had Towers built in them for Receptacles to the Hunters, as ſo many Caſtles of Defence againſt the Violence of the inraged Beaſts. With the variety of Trees and the pleaſant Walkes in theſe *Paradiſes*, the *Perſian* Princes were wonderfully taken, eſpecially *Cyrus* the younger, who himſelf contrived one at *Sardis*, ordered the Walks, framed the Wilderneſſes in them, and ſet many of the Trees with his own Hand: And *Alexander* after his Conqueſt ſeemed ſo much to be of the ſame mind, that he ſent for ſeveral ſorts of Plants out of *Macedonia* to increaſe the *Perſian* Store. But wherever the Kings hunted, if they were thirſty and were pleaſed to drink Water, it was no other than that what was taken out of the River *Choaſpes* which ran by *Suſa*; thence it was fetcht in golden Veſſels, and in them, being boiled, was preſerved for their Uſe; being carried along with them whitherſoever they went as the lighteſt in Body, and ſweeteſt of all others. To this *Pliny* and other Writers joyn the River *Eulæus* as a Companion, which riſing in *Media* takes it courſe alſo by *Suſa*, ſo that we may queſtion whether it was not one and the ſame River; for *Solinus* alſo writes that theſe Kings would drink of no other Water. If this was ſo ſweet, we may hence perceive the power of Thirſt which cauſed *Darius* when he was expiring and drank of muddy and ſtinking Water,

They drank only of Water running by *Suſa*.

ter, to ſay it was the beſt that ever he had drank in his Life; for, as *Cicero* well obſerves, he had (ſcarce) ever formerly drank thirſting. But as they drank but of one ſort of Water, ſo onely one ſort of Wine would content them, and that was the *Chalybonian* which grew about *Damaſcus* in *Syria*; far ſought and deer bought, being it ſeems, fit for *Perſian* Kings as well as Engliſh Ladies. With this it was permitted them to be drunk one day of the Year, which they dedicated to the ſervice of *Mithra*. Otherwiſe, it ſeems that by the Laws they were obliged to this ſort of Temperance.

One ſort of Wine.

9. But if not Drunkards they might be Gluttons; and yet *Xerxes* by the Story of *Herodotus* concerning *Magagreon* one of the *Abderites* who entertained him, appears to have eaten but once a Day. But it's to be thought this Meal like that of Children, laſted well nigh all the Day long, if he dined betimes; or all the Night if he ſupped; for if he had dined as well as ſupped, his Entertainers had not been able to ſuſtain the Charges. What way ſoever they travelled, their Subjects were wont to entertain them at Supper, all the Cities being obliged to it either by Law or Cuſtom according to their Abilities, for which Money was raiſed no otherwiſe than as Tribute; and ſo great was the expence ſometimes, that it amounted to twenty, thirty, Tallents or more. When at their own charge, their Diet was moſt exquiſite and coſtly. They had of Delicacies which their ſeveral Provinces produced, the firſt Fruits as it were preſented to them. They uſed Oyl made of the *Perſian* Wallnut, and another ſort made of a Thorne growing in *Caramania*; but it is obſervable that amongſt all the ſeveral Spices, Sawces and Pickles reckoned up by ſuch as write of this Subject, there is no mention made of Pepper and Vinegar, the beſt of all. Amongſt all their Feaſts thoſe exceeded which they made on their Birthdays, which they beleived to riſe to ſuch exquiſiteneſs, that in their own Language they called them *Tycta* or Perfect. On thoſe Days they combed and cleanſed their Hair, and were wont to give Gifts to their People; neither could they well deny any Petition, then put up unto them. As their Meals were eminent both for quantity and richneſs of Diſhes, ſo alſo for cleanlyneſs and neatneſs in ſerving thereof. *Briſſonius* gathers from the *Hebrew* Copy of *Eſther* that *Artaxerxes* was ſerved with ſeaven Eunuches. To be ſure ſuch as waited were as clean and neat as Water and rich Clothes could make them. And becauſe the Lives of Princes are precious and in danger, they had their Taſters who when they had given the Liquor to them, in a Viol, took ſome of it out with a Spoon or Cup, and pouring it into their left Hands, ſupped it up. And probable it is that for fear of Poyſon they uſed the ſame Caution in their Meat as in their Drink, which generally hath been obſerved by other Kings, though theſe of *Perſia* ſome will have firſt to have introduced the Cuſtome.

Their Diet.

Attendance at Table.

10. But upon this account it was that the Office of Cupbearer (enjoyed by *Neemiah* the *Jew*) was as a place of eſpecial truſt, ſo of great eſteem and honour; and ſo it was in the Court of *Alexander* where *Phillip* and *Jollas* the Sons of *Antipater* prepared and taſted his Drink. Sufficiently known it is what a number of Butchers, Cooks and other Miniſters of the Throat and Palate attended in that of *Perſia*. To this purpoſe is obſervable what is told by *Athenæus* concerning thoſe that followed the Waggons and Baggage of *Darius*, and were taken at *Damaſcus* by *Parmenio*. Theſe were two hundred and ſeventy ſeven Cooks; of Scullions who made clean Utenſils belonging to the Kitchens, twenty nine; thirteen Perſons that provided Milk, and ſeventeen who took order for his Drink; of Cellar Men and ſuch as purified his Wines ſeventy: of Oyntment-makers forty; and ſuch as made Garlands and Ornaments for the Head ſixty and ſix. In the Court a Table daily was furniſhed as dedicated to the Genius of the King. The Room where he dined was furniſhed with Women Singers, with which and other ſorts of Muſick thoſe Princes were wonderfully pleaſed, as well as with other Meriments at their Meals. For *Parmenio* wrote to *Alexander* that after the taking of *Damaſcus* he found, beſides what we lately mentioned, no fewer than three hundred and twenty one of thoſe Wenches that were Minſtrells. When the Table was removed they left ſinging; but when the King called for Wine they renewed their Melody, and were wont with their vocal and other ſorts of Muſick all the Night long to lull him on ſleep. No ſort of Luxury was wanting that could be deviſed; for rewards were propoſed to ſuch as could find them out. Moſt commonly the King ſate at meat by himſelf; ſometimes the Queen with him, and ſome of his Children: but of *Artaxerxes* it is ſaid that he took his Mother to the Table, placing her above him, as his Wife beneath him, and that with his Company at Meals, he ſometimes honoured *Oſtaces* and *Oxates* his Brothers.

Gueſts.

Brothers. Moreover they were wont at certain Feaſts, to entertain their Kindred as the *Romans* did theirs in their *Chariſtia*; others alſo ſometimes in reſpect to ſome notable ſervice, Strangers though they were, who could not be admitted to the Feaſt of the Kindred; and from the Books of *Eſther* and *Ezra* we are informed, that ſometimes they entertained their Captains, *Satrapa*'s, and great Officers.

11. But of ſuch as they admitted, ſome ſupped within and ſome without the Room where the King did eat, and from thoſe that ſupped within, the view of the King was intercepted by an Hanging or Curtain, ſo as he might ſee them but could not be ſeen. The number of his Gueſts exceeded not that of twelve: As for the order of their ſitting, *Cyrus* placed thoſe he leaſt truſted on his Right Hand, and whom he moſt truſted on his Left; becauſe the Left Side is moſt expoſed and leaſt defenſive: In like manner, as ſtill at this day amongſt the Eaſtern Nations, it's moſt honourable to go on the left hand, becauſe ſuch an one hath the advantage, commanding the Sword of his Companion which hangeth on his left Thigh. The honour was great to be thus entertained, and need there was for it, the freedom they enjoyed with it being ſo little; For look about them they muſt not, but hang down their Heads, leſt any of the Eunuchs ſhould eſpye them to caſt an eye upon ſome of the King's Women: And they muſt alſo forbear all complaints, and take all patiently that was ſaid or done unto them. And yet theſe Kings were not ſo inſolent as by report were thoſe of the *Parthians*, their Succeſſors; for if they entertained any of their Friends at meat, the Gueſts took their Repaſt on the ground, and fed like Dogs upon what they caſt from their Table, which was placed aloft from the floor; Nay ſometimes upon ſome ſlight account, being taken out of the Room, they were beaten till blood followed; but in that plight were to fall down and worſhip him that beat them, as having conferred on them ſome ſpecial favour. The Kings of the *Parthians* did eat by themſelves and on an elevated aſcent, and they alone as Earthly Gods were ſerved at a Table furniſhed with foreign meat. Thoſe rather were to be envied to whom the Kings of *Perſia* ſent diſhes of Meat from their Table, for ſo they were wont to do to their Friends; which cuſtom was begun by *Cyrus*, as *Xenophon* writeth of him. To be ſure with great quantities of Meat they were wont to be ſerved, the remainders whereof went to the Waiters and Attendants; for not only their dyet, but alſo that of Slaves and of the very Dogs, as *Plutarch* obſerves from the late mentioned Writer, was ſerved up to the King's Table.

They had ſeveral Wives.

12. For propagation of the Royal Offspring it was permitted the Kings to have ſeveral, and thoſe Legitimate Wives. *Darius* had two daughters of *Cyrus*, *Atoſſa* the Widow, *Ariſtona* whom he married a Virgin, *Parmys* the Neece of *Cyrus*, and the Daughter of *Otanes* at one and the ſame time. With what magnificence they Celebrated their Nuptials, we may learn from the Hiſtory of *Eſther*, how not only that King appointed a Feſtival to be kept by the People, but entertained his *Perſian* and *Median* Nobility for a month, and granted Remiſſion of Tributes to the Provincials, tſtat they might with more chearfulneſs attend the ſolemnity. Thence alſo we may perceive, that they ſet Diadems on the heads of ſuch of their Wives as they had the greateſt affection for; as alſo that theſe Queens were gorgeouſly apparelled. And indeed we are told by *Cicero*, that their Husbands were wont to beſtow on them Cities or Territories for furniſhing them with Cloaths and Ornaments, ſo as the Revenues of one was for the attire of the Head, another for Necklaces, and others for other Trinkets which were moſt in faſhion and of value in thoſe Ages; inſomuch that the *Akers* prided themſelves in bearing the Names of ſome of them: Particularly *Socrates* in *Plato*'s Dialogue, which goes under the Name of *Alcybiades*, tells how he had it from one who went Embaſſador to the *Perſian* King, that he paſſed through a large and fertile Country, which extended well nigh a days Journey, and by the Inhabitants was called *the Queen's Girdle*. *Athenæus* alſo relates, that *Antylla* a City of *Ægypt*, not far diſtant from *Alexandria*, was by the Kings of that Country and thoſe of *Perſia*, appropriated to the purchaſe of their Wives Girdles. So rich were they in their Cloaths, Oyntments, and other Accoutrements, that well might they ſeem to themſelves too great to be cheap, and accompany with any Subjects. And indeed no Jealouſie poſſeſſed their Husbands in this kind, ſo as they never doubted the Children they bore to be their own, nor ſo much as appointed them any Keepers to watch them, or any other Guardians of their Chaſtity than Love or Fear alone. But ſo much did the *Perſian* Kings indulge their Carnal Appetites, that to ſeveral legitimate Wives they added Miſtreſſes or Wenches, the number of which was limited only by their own Appetites. But how great it was, we may underſtand by

Vaſtly rich in their Ornaments.

Their Concubines.

what we find of *Artaxerxes*, that by his Wenches he had an hundred and fifteen Sons; and of *Darius* that three hundred and ſixty furniſhed his Court, and followed him on his Expedition. Nay it was told of a *Surenas*, who was next in place to the King of *Parthia*, that even he had no fewer than two hundred following him in the Camp. Some write, that three hundred women daily attended in the *Perſian* Court, and took their ſleep in the day time, and paſſed all the night in ſinging and Minſtrelſy. But the King's Miſtreſſes had a *Gynaceum* of their own, wherein they were ſeparately kept and attended by Eunuchs, with all things conducing both to their Health and Cleanlineſs. By times the King took them to his Bed, and they followed him not only in Expeditions, but when he went out to hunt.

Their Eldeſt Sons how educated.

13. Of ſuch Children as they had by their legitimate Wives, they took eſpecial care, and chiefly as to their Education. As ſoon as the eldeſt or Heir to the Kingdom was born, he was committed to the truſt and overſight of the moſt eminent Eunuchs, who made it their buſineſs in the firſt place ſo to order the ſwadling and forming of his Limbs, that he might, if poſſible, become a moſt beautiful Perſon. When he was ſeven years old he learn'd to ride, and to teach him that skill, had the beſt Maſters that could be found; and now by degrees he was taught to take delight in hunting. At fourteen he was delivered to thoſe they termed *Royal Pedagogues*, four men the moſt wiſe, juſt, temperate and valiant perſons that could be found in the Nation. Of theſe the firſt being moſt eminent for Prudence, taught him the Doctrine of the *Magi*, ſuch as *Zoroaſter* the Son of *Horomaze* taught, which ſhowed the worſhip of their Gods. The ſecond being of high eſteem in Acts of Juſtice, ſtudied to frame his mind to the love of Truth and Sincerity. The third, who was as remarkable for Temperance, endeavoured to make him Lord and Commander over his Carnal Luſts and Appetites: And the fourth and laſt, having a great Name for his Fortitude, laboured to render him void of all Fear and Cowardiſe. When he came to be King, he was awakened in the morning by one of his Bed-chamber, who bad him ariſe, and take order for ſuch Affairs as *Meſoromaſdes* was pleaſed he ſhould adviſe about; agreeable to which Cuſtom was that particular Injunction of *Darius* after the burning of *Sardis*, that one of his Attendants at Dinner ſhould three times ſay aloud, *Remember the Athenians*. Every day they gave their attendance at Sacrifices, for the performance of which, thouſands of Oxen, Aſſes, and Deer ſometimes fell in one day. But this was not to be done without the preſence of the *Magi*, who as they aſſiſted in the private Conſultations relating to Civil matters, ſo eſpecially in Religious Concernments: And ſome report, that as the Kings ſacrificed they made diſcourſes concerning Piety, as they were wont to harangue concerning Valour, before their Armies engaged in Fight.

14. Great Attendance and Ceremonies of State, they eſteemed neceſſary for preſervation of Reſpect due to the Majeſty of the Soveraign Power; and indeed upon this account *Julian* the Emperor was blamed for turning the Eunuchs, Cooks, Barbers, and ſuch like out of the Court upon the death of *Conſtantius*; Royal Authority being contemptible if there be no Pomp obſerved in the Palace. Out of the Court the King was never ſeen on Foot, but either mounted on Horſeback or in his Chariot, or if he walked it was upon Tapeſtry: The Chariot was drawn by white Horſes, bred in *Niſæum* a Region of *Media*, famous for a breed of extraordinary bigneſs. When he alighted he was not to ſtep upon the ground, how near ſoever it was, nor to lean upon any of his Attendants, but to make his ſtep upon a golden Footſtool, with which one of his Servants ever followed and attended the Chariot. As they rode they were not to read or force their minds on any grave or ſerious matter, upon which and other accounts *Seneca* had reaſon to call them *Barbarous*, as not being cultivated by any ſort of Literature. When they were to travel into *Media*, they were wont to make Proclamation three days before their ſetting forward, that the Inhabitants ſhould kill all the Scorpions they could meet with, becauſe that Country abounded with them, and ſuch as diſpatched many they were wont to reward; and they were obliged to make progreſſes into all their Provinces by virtue of an ancient cuſtom founded upon the mutual intereſt both of themſelves and their people; for the neceſſities of the Provincials the grievances and oppreſſions under which they laboured, they could not ſo well underſtand in their own Court. By their preſence in the ſeveral concerned places they might beſt compoſe the differences betwixt ſeveral Cities, reſtrain the turbulent humour of factious Perſons by reaſon and good words, curb the Inſolence and Rapacity of Magiſtrates and null all unjuſt Sentences and Decrees: In concluſion, lend their preſent and helping hand whereever it was wanting. Into ſuch Provinces as they could not go themſelves, they ſent their Deputies to underſtand and report the true ſtate of them: Such

Quod remoto faſtu Palatii contemptibile videretur Imperium.

How they travelled.

Such Governors as were found to have by their forecaſt and due Adminiſtration, benefited the Countries committed to their charge, they rewarded and promoted to higher places, and others who had ill managed their affairs, they puniſhed and removed: For if the Fields were not well and duly tilled, Merchandiſe induſtriouſly followed, and mechanick Arts as diligently practiſed, Tributes could not be paid, nor money circulate throughout the Body politick, though it be neceſſary for the preſervation of the whole, that it ſhould ſo do. To make this more effectual, they had two ſorts of ordinary Officers in the Country, *viz.* the *Governors of Forts and Garriſons*, who were to defend the Provincials from all force and violence; and the *Prefects of Cities*, who ſaw that all the Inhabitants thus protected, ſhould follow their buſineſs, for the publick ſecurity and advantage.

They ſate in Judgment.

And had Royal Judges.

Vide Valeſii Notas in Ammian. lib. 27. p. 260.

15. The Kings of *Perſia* were wont in Perſon to hear Cauſes, and ſit in judgment upon Capital matters, wherein they uſed deliberation, giving no haſty Sentence, nor condemning any for one offence, except the miſdemeanors of his life did overballance his merits: But a Sentence of Condemnation once given by the King, could not by the King be revoked; ſuch Perſons being apprehended by their Girdles, were inſtantly deliver'd to the Serjeants & Officers, and ſo led to Execution. If the King was angry with any, his face was covered, as we learn in the caſe of *Haman*. But from amongſt the moſt knowing men of the whole Nation, were certain ſelect Perſons choſen, whom they called *The Royal Judges*, who had their places for life, and decided Controverſies in all caſes; held their Circuits about the Provinces, and attended upon the King in his Journeys. As it highly concerned King and People that they ſhould be juſt and not mercenary, ſo were they very ſeverely puniſhed when any corruption could be diſcovered. The Story is commonly known of *Siſamnes*, whom for his guilt in this kind, *Cambyſes* cauſed to be flea'd alive, and his Son to ſit upon the Judgment-Seat covered with his Skin; and though *Ammianus Marcellinus* doubteth concerning the truth of it, yet little need there was he ſhould ſo do, for beſides this related by *Herodotus*, there is another, and more ſevere, mentioned by *Diodorus Siculus*. *Tiribazus* a Governor, being by *Orontes* accuſed, for holding ſecret Intelligence with the *Lacedæmonians*, *Artaxerxes* referred the hearing of the matter to three Judges; whom finding afterwards to have been corrupted with money, he cauſed their Skins to be pulled over their Ears, and ſpread upon the Bench where he had appointed others to ſucceed them. As for fleaing alive, ſomething like it is alſo related to have been practiſed by *Pyrrhus* upon a *Tarentine*, for having a deſign to betray *Tarentum*; how having put him to death, he cauſed a Chair to be covered with Thongs made of his skin, and delivered it to *Milo*, to whom he committed the cuſtody of the Caſtle, with the Garriſon.

Seven in number.

How they rewarded deſerving Perſons.

16. By the advice of theſe Judges who ſeem to have been ſeven in number, and to have been their Privy Counſellors, the Kings not only puniſhed Offenders, but rewarded ſuch as well deſerved of the State; a Commonwealth being preſerved in a ſafe conſtitution both by Rewards and Puniſhments. They thought fit amongſt others to reward ſuch as begot many Children, but eſpecially thoſe from whom they had received ſome eſpecial good or advantage, tending to the preſervation of their Government or Perſons, whom they termed their *Benefactors*: To theſe they were wont to aſſign the next place to themſelves, to honour them with a kiſs, to cloath them with a Veſt of *Media*, as the *Greeks* then termed that which afterward was called *Serica*; and to adorn them with a Chain of Gold, with golden Bracelets and a Scimitre; which Ornaments could be wore by none but ſuch as the Kings deſigned to honour, and took their Original from the *Medians* and *Babylonians*. But of all other Ornaments, thoſe of gold belonging to Horſes for Saddle or Chariot, were moſt eſteemed by the *Perſians*; yet ſometimes to their Friends they were wont to aſſign Lands and Territories for their maintenance: Nay it is ſaid of *Themiſtocles*, that he received ſeveral Cities from *Artaxerxes*, particularly *Magneſia*, (out of which he raiſed a yearly Revenue of fifty Talents) to find him with bread, *Lampſacus* with wine, and *Myus* with other proviſions for his Table, to which ſome add two others for his Cloaths and Bedding. Sometimes they would give the honour of Captain over an Army, which was reckoned as an extraordinary favour; but the moſt noble Gift of all was that of a golden Mill, (as *Cteſias* writes) which among others was given by *Xerxes* to *Megabyzus*, by whoſe means he became Maſter of *Babylon*; and weighed ſix Talents. This was eſteemed the moſt noble gift, although that could not be but moſt acceptable which the Party himſelf did aſk, for ſometimes they gave their Favourites liberty to aſk what they would, as appears by ſeveral examples. And this by the Laws he had liberty to do, who was nominated King by his Father or Anceſtor yet living; yet the *Perſian* Kings were wont

to be very munificent in their Largeſſes and Donatives to deſerving Perſons, without asking.

Their hunting.

17. And eſpecially to Foreign Embaſſadors ſent to them upon occaſion. *Ælian* reckons up the particulars with which they ſometimes were preſented, *viz.* A *Babylonian* Talent of the pureſt Silver, (a *Babylonian* Talent was in value ſeventy two *Attick* Minæ) two Viols of ſilver, Bracelets, a Cymitre, and Chain of Gold each worth a thouſand *Daricks*, beſides a ſtole of *Media* otherwiſe called *Dorophorica* by the the *Græcians*. When they gave their faith to them, they were wont to give them their right hands, which was a ſecurity inviolable; but their ordinary Oath was by the Sun, whom they thought the greateſt Deity, and called by the name of *Mithras*. What time they could ſpare from publick buſineſs, they uſually ſpent in hunting, in which diverſion, as Noble and moſt reſembling War, they choſe often to Exerciſe themſelves: When they went to hunt they carried along with them one half of their Guards, and were accompanied with the Flower of the *Perſian* Youth. For the following of their Game they kept ſuch a multitude of *Indian* Dogs, that in the Plain of *Babylon*, four large Villages were aſſigned to maintain them, being freed from other Tributes. Not only in open Fields and Champions were they wont to hunt, but in thoſe fenced places they called *Paradiſes*, did they perſecute and kill poor Beaſts, kept up as in ſo many Coops or Cages, which to deſtroy was no Maſtery. It was not lawful before the King had deſiſted, to let fly againſt any Beaſt, or to offer to Combat with him; which was ſo ſtrictly required; that the ſtory goes how when in this Exerciſe, *Artaxerxes* was ſet upon by a Lyon, and it was juſtly feared would be worſted by him; *Megabyzus* ſeeing him in danger, as the Beaſt raiſed himſelf upon his hinder Feet and became Rampant, prevented it by killing him; was condemned to loſe his Head, becauſe he diſpatched him before the King had ſpent one dart upon him.

The Kingdom divided into *Satrapies.*

The duty of the *Satrapæ.*

How their behaviour was inquired into.

18. But to come to the ſubordinate Government, the Kingdom of *Perſia* was divided into Provinces, which were governed by ſo many ſingle Perſons in Chief: The Provinces in their own Language they called *Satrapies*, and their Governors *Satrapæ*. How many they were is uncertain, the number being varied according to the pleaſure of Princes as is moſt probable: Some Writers making mention of twenty, and others of above an hundred more than that number, in the Reigns of ſeveral of the Eaſtern Princes. And ſometimes one and the ſame *Satrapa* governed two or more Provinces, being by Latine Writers, when they would call them by Names of their own, termed *Prætors* and *Præfects*; although this ought not to be practiſed; for ſeldom are the employments of Officers the ſame in diverſe Kingdoms or States. By the *Greek* Hiſtorians, when they alſo are of that humor, they are called *Eparchi*; the younger Sons of the Kings were wont to be employed in theſe Commands, which were noble and furniſhed with great Authority: For, to their care the Provinces were committed to provide for their Defence and univerſal Emolument; to raiſe the Tributes, pay the ordinary Magiſtrates their Salleries, and give their aſſiſtance in all Emergencies, of which they were to certifie the King by Letters, or elſe by ſpecial Meſſengers. Upon occaſion they were called to Conſult with him about great affairs. They were much honoured by the Provincials, very well attended by young men of good quality at home, and when they went to hunt; and had a Noble Guard for their credit and protection. They had under them Secretaries Royal, who read the Kings Letters and diſpatched other buſineſs; they received allowances from the Publick, and it was not the manner or agreeable to the policy of the *Perſians* to put them out of their Offices, ſo long as they well diſcharged them: But leſt their long continuance and great Power, which in honeſt men begets experience and opportunity to do good, ſhould give them opportunity to oppreſs the people, or any way evilly to demean themſelves; the Kings were accuſtomed yearly to ſend ſome of their chief Miniſters into the Provinces, with full Authority to make inſpection into their ſtate and condition; to aſſiſt the *Satrapa*'s if need ſhould be; to reſtrain their violence and amend what was amiſs themſelves, or elſe to make report of what they found. The People were overjoyed at their coming, and as if the King himſelf came to bring them relief, called them his Sons, his Brothers, and his Eyes.

The Prefect of a City.

19. Beſides the *Satrapæ* who governed ſingle Provinces or more, there were other ſubordinate Officers, who preſided ſome over particular Cities and their Towns; others had command in the Caſtles of the ſaid Cities. For one and the ſame Perſon was not ſet over both the City and Cittadel of the ſame, but it was thought beſt policy to divide the Commands; ſo as one might be a ſpy upon the other, to ſuch purpoſes as we have formerly declared. But when the *Satrapa* came into the Province,

it

The *Phrurarch.*

Chiliarch.

Treaſurer.

it was his duty to overſee both, and as by his care of Artificers and Husbandmen, that they minded their Employments, and that Tributes were duly collected, to diſcharge the duty of the *Præfect* of the City, ſo by protecting them all to do what was incumbent on the *Phrurarch* or Commander of the Garriſon. This *Phrurarch* was choſen by the King and diſplaced by his order alone, as was the *Chiliarch* who commanded Soldiers diſpoſed and quartered about in ſeveral Regions, for the ſafety of the Provinces, and brideling if need were the extravagant Power of the *Satrapæ*. Beſides theſe, each Province had its *Treaſurer* for receiving and keeping all the Royal Revenue belonging to it; which Treaſure or Treaſury in their Language they called *Gaza*. So great was the Income ariſeing from Tributes, that accounts being caſt up, fourteen thouſand five hundered and ſixty Talents of *Eubœa* were yearly brought into the Kings Coffers, and *Juſtin* ſpeaks of a yearly product of three hundered thouſand Talents in this way accruing unto *Alexander*. But over and above Tributes and Stipends, every Province contributed its ſhare to the maintenance of the King and his Army; the *Satrapy* of *Babylon* for four Months of the Year, and the reſt of *Aſia* for the remainder. The *Armenians* ſent in Horſes by way of Tribute; for, of this noble Creature beſides what were for War, eight hundered were kept for Stallions, to ſerve ſixteen thouſand Mares; for, twenty Mares were kept for every Horſe. What numbers of *Indian* Dogs were maintaned for the Chace, we have already ſaid.

The Guard called *Immortals.*

Other Satellites.

20. Whereever the Kings went, they were attended and garded by ten thouſand *Perſian* Horſe called *Immortals*; becauſe though the Perſons miſcaried, the number of them never died, to ſupply which, others were ſtill choſen into the rooms of the deceaſed. They were adorned with golden Chaines, wore Veſts imbroidered with Gold, and Sleeves to their Coats ſparkling with Gemms, being choſen out of the beſt of the Nation, and that Nation alone. Of theſe there were a thouſand ſelect Perſons, who for that they had golden Aples fixed to their Lances, were by the *Greeks* both called *Doryphori* and *Melophori*, the Name and Service of which *Alexander* kept up after the overthrow of *Darius*. With a great Number of *Satellites* beſides theſe, were the Kings protected either in Battle or in their Palace, choſen alſo from amongſt the moſt faithful of the *Perſian* Nation, till *Darius* the laſt King broke the Cuſtome. And theſe had their *Præfect* or peculiar Captain, and one of them followed the Kings Chariot with the golden Footſtool lately mentioned; neither received they any pay, but had allowances, for their maintenance, of neceſſary Proviſions and the Meat which came from the King's Table. Of the *Doriphori*, there were ſome which being next the Kings Perſon in the greateſt truſt and dangers, were called his *Kinſmen*, honoured with the liberty of kiſſing him, and a Feaſt, to which no ſtranger was admitted. Beſides there were another ſort who being called *Homotimi* from their being equal in honour, watched before the Gates of the Palace, till, by the Kings order they were diſmiſſed; although all the *Perſian* Noblemen were wont alſo, as we ſaid, to give their Attendance at the Gate.

Megiſtanæ.

Surenas.

Several other Names of Dignities.

Vide valeſii Notas in Ammiani Marcellini lib. 23 p. 250.

Sar Dominus ena noſter.

21. By a general Name, the Nobles or principal Courtiers of *Perſia* were called *Megiſtanæ*, which is to be met with in Writers as well Sacred as Prophane. But amongſt the *Partho-Perſians*, the cheif in dignity next to the King had the Title of *Surenas*; for that a Title it was, *Plutarch*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and *Zozimus* aſſure us, and not a proper Name of a Man. He it was that put the Diadem about the Kings Head. Beſides this we meet with ſeveral other Names of Dignity, and may ſooner meet with them than underſtand them. *Ammianus* mentions the *Vitaxa* which its uncertain whether it was appropiate to the King or the Title of a Subject. *Procopius* writes of the *Chanarragan* as being a *Magiſter Militum* or *Dux* of a Limit. He mentions the *Ovarizes*, but tells not what he was, and makes the *Mirranes* whom *Ammianus* calls *Merenes* of the ſame Office as the *Chanarragan*. Others will have *Cardarigan* to be the name of Dignity amongſt the *Perſians*, to whom they ſay it was ordinary to take Names from Dignities, and receive thoſe that were given them by their Parents. As alſo that the *Darigmedun* was of higheſt eſteem, and to be compared with the *Curopalates* at *Conſtantinople*. They alſo tell us that the *Pherochanes* injoyned the ſame with the *Magiſterian* Dignity in the Emperors Court; and others ſay that *Zich* was a Name of greateſt Dignity amongſt the *Perſians*. Although none ſeems to ſound higher than *Surenas*, which ſignifies *our Lord*. But of theſe let ſuch as are skilled in the *Perſian* Language conſider.

Dorekeepers and *Admiſſionales*, with others generally Eunuches.

22. But in or neer to the Kings Perſon, beſides the Guard that watched at the Gate, were the *Dore-keepers* who forbade paſſage to all intruders, and next them

theſe

Scribes who wrote Edicts.

theſe we may call *Admiſſionales* who ſtood at the Dore to carry all Meſſages in unto him, and to return Anſwers. Theſe moſt commonly were Eunuches, as were alſo their Chamberlains, or thoſe of the Bedchamber and their Cupbearers; for, ſuch *Cyrus* thought fitteſt to be truſted neareſt to his Perſon, though ſo great were the Inſolences and Abuſes committed too often by them, that they were abominated by ſome Princes in after times. But in the *Perſian* Court Eunuches waited alſo on the Queens, and had cuſtody of the reſt of the Kings Women. But for matters of State they had their Secretaries attending, which by the Eaſtern Nations were called *Scribes*; we mean by Names anſwering to the ſignification of this, who wrote their Letters, Edicts and Decrees. Their Edicts and Reſcripts ordinarily began thus; *The King ſaith*, or *the King ſaith thus*; and they were ſealed with his Ring. But what Character the Ring had ingraven is uncertain. Some have ſaid the Kings own Image; others the Image of *Cyrus* the firſt King of the *Perſians*, and others the Image of *Darius* his Horſe, which by neighing procured him the Kingdom. The Edicts were ſent by Meſſengers throughout the Provinces, but kept in Memorials, and regiſtred in the *Archives* of the Kingdom. For beſides two places of Record, or two Treaſuries as they termed them, in one of which Books belonging to Science were kept, and in the other Papers relating to Accounts and the publick Revenue, there were other Paper Offices wherein were preſerved for the uſe of Poſterity, Chronicles or Commentaries of whatſoever happened of any Importance, which others might conſult upon occaſion, and the Kings themſelves ſometimes would have read unto them, as we find in the Hiſtory of *Mordecai* the Jew.

'Τάδε λέγει.

Phyſitians.

23. The Kings, however Barbarous, had the moſt learned men in the art of Phyſick, that the neighbouring Nations could afford, to attend them, whom according to the Laws of the *Roman* Emperors, we may term *Archiatri*. Such they had out of the *Ægyptian* Nation, and *Darius* would have put ſome of them to death for being unskillful as to his particular caſe, but they were pardoned at the Interceſſion of *Democedes* a *Greek* Phyſitian of *Crotone*, who did the Cure. Of *Greek* Phyſicians who then were more learned than any other, its to be preſumed they wanted not ſome. For, *Cteſias* who ſerved in the Army of *Cyrus* the younger, being taken priſonner became Phyſitian to *Artaxerxes*; and from the Epiſtles of great *Hippocrates* it appears that he was very much courted to come and live with the ſame Monarch. Theſe Monarch's had alſo ſome at hand who ſhould tell them the time of the Night or Day. They had ſuch as bore up their Train. And when they rode, they had a number of Servants who carried Scepters before them. And if we ſhould mention all the Officers belonging to them, and relating to the more private or ordinary ſervices of their Courts, to their Patrimony, or *Res privata*, as the later *Romans* called it; if we ſhould diſcourſe of the Officer appointed to relieve Strangers, of the Curators of their publick buildings, and of ſuch as had the charge of Horſes and of Doggs, we might poſſibly ſeem to be too tedious if not impertinent. Of the *Curſus publicus*, we cannot be ſilent, inſtituted as is reported by *Cyrus* the great, who obſerving how far one Horſe would run in one day, appointed certain Stages and Manſions for changing of Men and Horſes, and delivering of Letters or other things given in charge from one Poſt to another. This was called *Angarion* and *Angaron*, and the Men themſelves *Angari* and *Aſtandæ*. If what *Plutarch* writes concerning *Darius* the laſt King of *Perſia* be true, that when he lived a private life, he was one of the Kings *Aſtandæ*, it was no vile or mean Imployment.

The Poſtage.

A Poyſon they uſed when reſolved to dye.

where buried.

24. Such were the Kings of *Perſia*, and ſo they lived or deſired to live; if they could not, they made proviſion for the moſt ſpeedie and eaſieſt Death. They were provided of a Poyſon made of the Excrements and inwards of a little *Indian* Bird called *Dicaærus*, of which whoſoever took a very little quantity in a draught of Drink, expired ſhortly after without any Pain or Torment. This Poyſon being given them by the Kings of *India*, was eſteemed as a very choice and extraordinary Preſent, and being kept if need ſhould be, for the uſe of the King and his Mother, it was not lawful for any other *Perſian* to have it. Being dead, their Funerals were celebrated with all magnificence, and the Sacred Fire as they accounted it, was then put out. Their *Mauſoleum* or place of Interment, ſome ſay was at *Perſepolis*, although *Cyrus* was buried at *Paſargadæ*, where his ſepulcher was kept by *Magi*, who for their maintenance had a Sheep every Day, and an Horſe every Month allowed them. And *Joſephus* makes mention of a Tower built at *Ecbatane* by *Daniel*, when he flouriſhed in the favour of *Darius*, which continued to his time, and remained ſo freſh that it ſeemed to the beholder to have been finiſhed

ed but that day. In this Tower, he ſaith, the Kings of the *Medes*, *Perſians*, and *Parthians* were wont to be buried, which cuſtom continued to his very time; and that the cuſtody of the ſaid Tower was intruſted with a Prieſt of the Jewiſh Nation. Their Monuments were wont to have Epitaphs inſcribed upon them, and particularly thoſe of *Cyrus* and *Darius*, both the one and the other are related: But this was no new thing in the Eaſt, if the Epitaphs of *Ninus* and *Sardanapalus* be not counterfeited, as we have no reaſon to believe they were.

The Perſian way of Education.

25. From the Kings of the *Perſians*, it's fit we paſs to ſpeak ſomething of the manner of their Government, of their Rites and Cuſtoms; and how their Religion ought to be conſidered in the firſt place; but that it muſt be referred to one more proper. As for their civil Rites and Cuſtoms, they are reported to have been founded upon excellent Laws and Conſtitutions, and ſuch as excelled all others in this reſpect, that they tended to the prevention of Puniſhments, by preventing of the Crimes themſelves. In other Kingdoms and States we find very wholeſom Ordinances indeed for prevention, but ſtill it is of the like for the time to come, and ill manners have produced good Laws; or if they have been made by Legiſlators antecedent to a Society or Common-wealth; yet though not in practice they have been, yet in Theory they have ſuppoſed the Commiſſion of thoſe miſchiefs they endeavoured to redreſs. But the *Perſians* choſe rather ſo to inſtruct Children and ſo to principle their Youth, that they ſhould abhor Theft, Rapine, Murther, Adultery and the like, by a good Education; and, that ſmart of the Rod might prevent Execution and choaking by the Halter. They left not Children in the hands and power of Parents to diſpoſe of them as ſhould ſuit their humor; neither when come to ripeneſs of Age, permitted them to live as they liſted, but by a ſort of breeding in a publick *Forum* and other rules, ſo endeavoured to mould and frame the Spirits of all free-born men, that there ſhould be no need of Terror ariſing from pains of death. This inſtitution and theſe Rules are laid down by *Xenophon* in his *Cyropædia*, or his Books concerning the Inſtitution of *Cyrus* the elder. Indeed theſe Books, *Cicero* was of opinion to have been written, not ſo much by any true Hiſtorical Account, to make an impartial Relation concerning *Cyrus* his breeding, as in way of a Romance to give an Image and Repreſentation of a juſt and perfect Government. But as for what concerns the Rites and manners of the *Perſians*, he himſelf profeſſeth, as *Briſſonius* urgeth, that he feigneth nothing; and not once affirms, that ſuch Ordinances as were made by *Cyrus*, were obſerved to his own time: Now, an Eye Witneſs, and one who had himſelf travelled through ſo many Provinces of the *Perſian* Empire, who dare adventure to ſuſpect? Beſides many things written by him are atteſted by *Herodotus* and others. This plea of *Briſſonius* may at leaſt prevail for a ſuſpenſion of our misbelief.

The liberal *Forum*,

Diſtinguiſhed into four Claſſes.

Twelve men ſet over each.

That of Bog's.

Vide Briſſonii de Regno Perſic. lib. 2.

26. However it will not be amiſs to ſay in ſhort, from this information of *Xenophon*, that for the education of Youth in learning and good manners, the *Perſians* had a publick School or liberal *Forum*, as it was termed. Here were the Tribunals or Courts of Juſtice, and places where Wiſe Men ſate both to teach and execute Laws: The *Forum* was diſtinguiſhed, as it were, into four Claſſes or parts; whereof one was of Boys, or ſuch as were under ſeventeen years old; the ſecond of young men under twenty eight; the third of full grown men under fifty from the former term; and the fourth was the Claſſis of Old Age. All ſorts met in their ſeveral Apartments, and the young men, except married, there lay and took their Refections, and ſhewed themſelves before the Magiſtrates with their weapons fit for the Exerciſes they underwent. The people being divided into twelve Tribes, ſo many men were ſet as Governors over each Claſſis; and moſt care being had of the two former, moſt choice Perſons were appointed from amongſt the Seigniors to inſtruct them. *Strabo* writes, that Boys came not into the ſight of their Fathers till four years old, which Age *Herodotus* extends to five and *Valerius Maximus* to ſeven years; adding this reaſon, that ſo their Parents might more patiently bear the loſs of them, if they chanced to dye within that time. From five years to twenty, as *Herodotus*, or as *Strabo* ſaith to twenty five, they eſpecially inſtructed them to ſpeak truth, a lye being eſteemed as a ſervile vice, and moſt opprobrious of all others, by that Nation. And what was highly ſuitable with veracity, in the next place they were taught to be juſt in all their ways, and give to every man his own.

27. That this they might the more readily do by examples ſet before their eyes, as *Auguſtus* at *Rome* permitted the Sons of Senators to be preſent in the Court, to teach them the way of Government; ſo the *Perſian* Youth was admitted to hear Cauſes and Deciſions, although afterwards *Xenophon* confeſſes and bewails, that from their hearing of ſuch caſes, they learn'd to practiſe more Injuries and Violence

than Juſtice and Equity, as Vice and Luxury brake in aud uſhered in the downfal of their Empire. And as amongſt Boys themſelves and young Men, differences continually ariſe, either for things ſtollen, reproachful words, or upon ſome other occaſions; their Maſters were wont to ſpend time in examining theſe complaints, and to puniſh the Offenders, whether ſuch as falſely accuſed, or were proved guilty; and thereby ſhewed them how to become Judges when their time ſhould come. But as without Sobriety and Temperance, which curb and reſtrain immoderate Appetites, no virtue can exert it ſelf, and theſe things are taught more by example than Precepts; their Maſters by their ſpare manner of living and exemplary continency, ſhewed them the way, and gave them incentives to a ſober life; and before them they took their victuals, not with their Mothers,and not till the ſignal was given, their meat being bread, their ſawce *Naſturtium*, and their drink water taken from the neareſt River. By this courſe of Diet and Abſtinence they enjoyed health; and exerciſe being joyned to it, their Bodies became ſo dry and ſolid, that they ſeldom ſpate or had occaſion to wipe their Noſes: And we cannot let paſs what *Ammianus Marcellinus* relates concerning the dead Bodies of the *Perſians* that were killed at the Siege of *Amida*, how they could eaſily be diſtinguiſhed as they lay, and known whoſe they were by reaſon of their dryneſs, when thoſe of the ſlain *Romans* ſpeedily putrefied, and could not be diſcerned after two days.

The good Examples their Maſters gave them.

Their way of Inſtruction by Fables.

28. Their manner and courſe of Inſtruction was this, beſides the good example their Maſters gave them in ſubmitting themſelves to the dictates of the Seniors. In Tables and pleaſant Tales they involved wholeſom hints and documents for framing of the lives and manners of their Scholars. They taught them Songs wherein were extolled the praiſes of their Gods, and great and laudable Actions of their Anceſtors; they inſtructed them in the nature and virtue of Plants, that as occaſion ſhould ſerve they might ſhun the hurtful, and furniſh themſelves with Remedies againſt diſtempers, and preſerve their health by proper applications. But the thing which they endeavoured to make odious to them next to lying, as the moſt hainous thing the Nation abhorred,was being in debt:They eſteemed a man in debt no better than a Lyar, as by it ſo made *ipſo facto*, conſidering what excuſes, evaſions, denyals, and perfidious Anſwers ſuch do make, and that they conceal their Perſons as well as their Intentions. But this is a misfortune rather than a fault, and a burthen to which ingenuous Spirits are conſtrained often to ſubmit;that is rather a crime, wilfully to make deſerving Perſons unfortunate. Therefore nothing more did they abhor than that black and ugly Vice of Ingratitude, as indeed containing in it ſelf all other Vices; inſomuch that by their Laws and cuſtoms an action lay againſt that man who being unmindful of a benefit received would not make a return when it lay in his power. *Ammianus* ſaith that their Laws made againſt Ingratitude, in ſeverity exceeded all others; as that thoſe were alſo ſevere which were made againſt deſertors, than whom few were more odious amongſt the *Perſians*.

Next to lying, a fault to be in debt.

Ingratitude.

Diſobedience to Parents.

29. Thoſe ever excepted who were diſobedient to Parents, for whom that Nation had ſuch Reverence, that it was counted worſe than ill breeding to ſit down in preſence of their Mothers, except they had their permiſſion ſo to do. And they gloried in this of old, that amongſt them none was found to have laid violent hands upon them; for if ever any thing like to this happened, upon diligent inquiſition it was found that the wickedneſs had been committed by ſome ſuppoſititious or adulterous brood; neither could they once believe that any but a ſpurious off-ſpring would attempt ſuch a crime, it being contrary to Nature for a true Parent to be murthered by a legitimate Iſſue. The Piety indeed of *Artaxerxes Mnemon* is very remarkable which he ſhewed toward his Mother, though ſhe had procured the death of his dearly beloved Wife. It's evident from *Ariſtotle* that Sons were under the Dominion and Power of their Fathers, and this Power in the opinion of the Philoſopher was Tyrannical; for they uſed them, he ſaith, like Slaves. Such, during the Infancy and Youth of the Common-wealth, was that of Sons at *Rome*, who differed little in their condition from Slaves, their Fathers having power of life and death over them as well as the other. In concluſion as to vices, *Herodotus*,and not only he, informs us, that ſuch things as were unlawful to be done, were alſo unlawful to be ſpoken.

Sons were in the Dominion of their Fathers.

Education of young Noblemen.

30. But farther as to the Education of Youth,the Sons of Noblemen were educated while Boys, in the City at the entrance into the King's Palace, and in the Provinces at the Gates of the *Satrapæ* where they learn'd Leſſons of Temperance and Continency, and were Spectators of Puniſhments executed upon ill Livers. As to Exerciſe, they were taught from five to twenty,or five and twenty,to ſhoot in the Bow, to Ride and manage an Horſe, and caſt Darts; and this Exerciſe continued incumbent

bent upon the *Ephebi*, or young men, to fit them the better for War: And a certain War was Hunting eſteemed, wherein theſe young men were exerciſed together with their King, who uſually led out half of them into the Field, and left the other half to watch about the Palace; for the Boys went home from the *Forum* every Night, but they lay in their Apartment Night and Day to inure them to Temperance, and to have them ready againſt any violence or other neceſſity which might require their help. Beſides this, they were uſed to Run fifty in a Company, a courſe of thirty or forty Furlongs, one of the Kings Sons, or ſome Son of one of the *Satrapa*'s being Captain of the Company: And Dancing alſo they practiſed after their own Country manner, the better to obtain a Command of their Limbs. Being thus employed and rendred fit for ſervice, the Magiſtrates made uſe of them for apprehending Thieves and other Malefactors, and doing other buſineſs wherein Diligence and Agility were required.

The practiſe of men.

31. When arrived at Mans eſtate or ripeneſs of Age, they aſſiſted the Magiſtrates (choſen out of their own *Claſſis*) if need was, with their Council and Advice, or went to the Wars where now they fought not like *velites* or with miſſile weapons, but hand to hand, having on a Breaſt-plate of Braſs, bearing in the Right Hand a Basket Target, and in the Left a Sword, as a *Perſian* in Armour was wont to be painted. When arrived at Fifty they were reckoned amongſt the Seniors, and by benefit of their Age obtained miſſion from warfare, and were not compelled to paſs in ſervice out of their own Country, but ſtaying at home attended the deciding of publick and private Cauſes; for not only did they hear matters relating to Money and Eſtates, but publick Officers and others were accuſed before and ſentenced by them; it being lawful to any of the People to accuſe. As they ſentenced and depoſed, the creation of Magiſtrates belonged alſo to them, and to them alone Offices of Magiſtracy, and afterward the honour of Seniority to ſuch as had paſſed through the publick Diſcipline. Such had, when Boys, been educated in the *Forum* as we have ſaid, and thence paſſed into the *Claſſis* of the *Ephebi*, and after that into the other of perfect Manhood; for it muſt not be imagined that in what we have ſaid of the *Perſian* Inſtitution and breeding up in theſe Claſſes, all *Perſians* were indifferently concerned; it was only their Children who had wealth or Eſtates to be at the expence, and could maintain their Sons in the publick Schools of Juſtice. But if ſuch Sons were ſo educated and born Subjects of the King, they were admitted of what Nation ſoever, *Hyrcanians* as well as *Perſians* or *Medes*.

Of thoſe of fifty.

Other Cuſtoms.

32. As to their more general Cuſtoms and demeanour, Laughter was by them very unſeemly, eſpecially when vehement and extraordinary or in publick, neither was it decent to be ſeen to make water or evacuate, but this was done ſecretly and at home. Neither were they wont to do theſe things or to eat and drink in Journeys, but theſe Journeys *Xenophon* confeſſeth, in his days were wont to be ſo ſhort, that there was no great need of any Refection. And who conſiders their ſort of Diet will not wonder that they had little temptation to eat, or occaſion to evacuate; for beſides Bread they ordinarily eat nothing but *Naſturtium*, except a Cake made of Flour with water and ſome Oil, and beſides they made uſe of Salt and *Cardomum*. But this ſort of Diet we may believe to have been in faſhion in old times, in the days of *Cyrus*, when the *Perſians* lived with great labour and parſimony by reaſon of poverty and the barrenneſs of the Soil they inhabited. Afterwards when the *Median* and *Lydian* Triumphs gave them a taſte of foreign delicacies, they fell like thoſe they conquered into exceſs and riot: Now ordinary food would not content them, Wine now muſt diſcharge the duty of Water and that to intemperance, from the ill example of their Kings. We have ſeen how guilty *Cambyſes* was of this crime, but *Xenophon* eſpecially dates the decay of the ancient Diſcipline from *Artaxerxes*, and thoſe about him their giving up themſelves to intemperance in this kind. But from the Hiſtory of *Eſther* it's apparent that in the days of *Ahaſuerus*, they were arrived at that extravagancy as to compel one another to drink, elſe what reaſon could he have to prohibit this practice? when hot with drink they would alſo have women introduced.

After the diſſolution of their Diſcipline.

33. Yet *Herodotus* writes that in their Cups they were wont to Conſult about as high as State Affairs, but if they debated any thing at Table, they were wont the next Day when more ſober to conſider of it, and then to confirm or reject their former Opinions: though they would alſo call to the Teſt when drinking, what out of their Wine they had conſidered, whether matters of War or others, and ſome ſay their drunken Councils they moſt approved. After the diſſolution of the antient Diſcipline, not only the Kings but Nobility, and all the People according to their Wealth loved to fare after the moſt delicious ſort. Eſpecially on

their Birth days whereon ſome would kill and Roſt whole Oxen, Camells, Horſes or Aſſes, and others according to their Ability leſſer Animals. But by the time of *Ammianus Marcellinus* it appears that the Nation was returned to Frugality again. *Herodotus* writes that in his Days they uſed ſweet Meats, or ſecond Courſes, but he relates that they ſhunned Curioſity and Luxury of Feaſts as a Plague, and eſpecially greedineſs of Drinking. Neither, the Kings Meals being excepted, had they any ſet or appointed Hour of Dining, but every mans Belly was his Clock or Dial, and when it called upon him he eat what came to Hand; neither after he had enough did any throw in any ſuperfluous Meats. Extraordinarily Cautious they were; ſo that paſſing through the Gardens or Vineyards of their Enemies, they neither deſired nor touched any thing therein, for fear of Poyſon or ſome ſort of Treachery. Beſides what *Juſtin* long before had written concerning the *Parthians* being ſparing in Diet, *Procopius* adds concerning the *Perſians* that therein they were hard and ſingular. And he interprets what *Xenophon* writes that their cuſtome was to eat but once a Day; that it was towards Evening.

Ammian.lib.23. p.260.Edit. valeſianæ.

Their ſumptuous Feaſts.

34. However before reduced to their temperate way of Life, or when they purpoſed to be ſumptuous in their Entertainment, they had beautiful Boys to wait at Table; they uſed Ointments, Garlands and Perfumes. The Attendants were not to ſpeak one word, not ſo much as gape or ſpit, it being indeed a cuſtome amongſt them, for all to keep ſilence at the Table, except he that ſung a merry Song, which ſhould be as a condiment to their Meat. They wanted no Bakers, Confectioners, Cooks, nor Butlers upon occaſion; nay they had Artiſts who made it their Trade to finde out Allurements of the Belly. Cupboards and Tables they had ſet forth and adorned with all ſorts of Cups and drinking Veſſels of great value and rarity. When *Pauſanius* had defeated *Mardonius* and was become maſter of his Baggage, ſeeing all his Furniture, in Veſſells and Tapeſtry of Gold and Silver, he commanded his Cooks and other Officers to prepare him a Supper after the ſame manner as *Mardonius* his Cuſtome was to be ſerved. They diligently obeyed his Orders, to the admiration of *Pauſanius* who was amazed to behold the golden and ſilver Bedds, the rich Furniture and the whole preparation. That they were wont to take their Repaſts upon ſuch Bedds covered with coſtly Carpets is otherwiſe evident, and as curious they were in their Bedds whereon they ſlept, for which they had their peculiar Bedmakers, in the myſtery of whom the *Greeks* were no whit skilled; ſo that when their King made Preſents of thoſe Bedds to them of that Nation, they preſented alſo the Bedmakers with them. Their Beds were not only furniſhed with coſtly Curtains, but their Rooms hung with curious Hangings of Purple and other Colours, drawn with Images as our modern ſort of Tapeſtry. Theſe Hangings the *Greeks* called *Aulæa*, and the *Romans* from them; but becauſe many ſuch were found in the Palace of *Attalus* King of *Aſia* who made the People of *Rome* his Heire, they imagined them ſo named from his *Aula* or Court. Indeed *Attalus*, as *Pliny* writes, firſt mixed Gold with them, and thence ſuch golden Tapiſtry might well be called *Attalica*. But the *Babylonians* invented the variety of Colours interwoven, and their City to that ſort gave a Name. The *Phrygians* firſt wrought that kind with a Needle, which received the name of *Phrygiones*. And thoſe that were woven with many *Licia* called *Polymita* were wrought at *Alexandria*. In concluſion the *Perſians* uſed Carpets not only for hangings on their Wall; but to tread on upon their Floores. Of Ointments they had good ſtore; eſpecially in their Baths, where they had Slaves to attend them, as alſo to carry them on their Shoulders, and what not; being as *Ammianus* deſcribes them crafty both in Proſperity and Adverſity, Proud, Cruel, and exerciſing the power of Life and Death, both over their Slaves and obſcure *Plebeians*. But one thing they frequently made uſe of, which afforded no pleaſant ſmell, and that was Garlick wherewith they even filled their Kitchins, thinking that thereby Serpents and other venemous things were driven away. When the Table was uncovered, what remained was by the Server diſtributed amongſt the Slaves and Attendants who were to live upon it as long as it could laſt.

Aulæa or Hangings.

36. Polygamy the *Perſians* very antiently uſed, but then its thought rather out of deſign to propagate a numerous People, than for Luſt; for they eſteemed the ſtrength of a Nation to conſiſt in its being populous, and their Kings were wont with Gifts to ſupport ſuch as had begot many Children. But afterwards as Luxury broke in upon them, for their Luſt they took many Women, and thoſe under the notion both of Wives and Concubines, even ſo many as they had Wealth to maintain. And though they did not as *Ammianns* tells us, make uſe of Boyes, yet was there no natural ſhame amongſt them, but they would marry or lye with their

Promiſcuous Luſt.

own Mothers and Siſters. And that they might lawfully ſo do with their Mothers, was the opinion of their *Magi*, though *Alexander* when he had conquered them removed this inceſtuous courſe, allowing them well to reverence but not marry their Mothers. The cuſtom of marrying their Siſters it's ſaid they received from the *Aſſyrians*, and however that of Mothers was forbidden by *Alexander*, yet this of Siſters was propagated even to the *Macedonian* Race of *Ptolemies* in *Ægypt*, where it continued the ordinary practice of theſe Kings to marry their Siſters, and to receive the Kingdom with them by the appointment of their Fathers. But however *Alexander* carried himſelf in this matter, *Agathias* complains of the *Perſians* of his time, (after that of *Juſtinian*) not only for lying with their own Mothers, Couſins, and Siſters, but with their own daughters alſo: The ordinary time of marrying was at the vernal Æquinoctial; before the Bridegroom went to bed, he eat an Apple or ſome marrow of a Camel, neither did he taſt any other food on his wedding day.

Their Weddings.

37. Though they were pleaſed with Polygamy and a multitude of Wenches, yet were they given to Jealouſie over both, and nothing did they puniſh more than Adultery; yet alſo were they antiently given to Boys, if *Herodotus* be to be credited; however *Ammianus* acquits them of that Vice: Nay it's ſaid that Gelding of Boys proceeded from them, as alſo the Name of *Spadones* from *Spada* a Village where Caſtration firſt began; though ſome alſo fetch this Extravagance from the *Aſſyrians* and *Medians*; *Ammianus* writing that *Semiramis* firſt offered this violence and injury to Males. To the cuſtody of theſe Eunuchs they committed not only their Wives and Concubines, but alſo their Male Children. That they might omit nothing of pleaſure they were alſo delighted with Muſick; and the better to conſult their eaſe they rarely went afoot, but either rode on Horſeback or in Chariots. Riding, yet by their Anceſtors as one of their principal Exerciſes for War, was uſed not for lazineſs, but to facilitate great and honourable Atchievements; but they turned it into ſo great a ſort of Luxury, that they burthened the Beaſts they rode on with Saddles and Trappings, laying more Tapeſtry upon them than on their beds, though they alſo were furniſhed ſo as beſt to conduce to the pleaſure of ſoft & delicate lying. Moreover the women were carried up and down in Litters, and a ſort of Chariot they called *Armaxa* wont to be drawn by Mules; but ſo cloſe ſhut up as not to be ſeen. Theſe alſo were adorn'd with coſtly Carpets and Tapeſtry, and adorn'd with Gold or Silver: For the middle ſort of *Perſians* flowing with Luxury, their wealth conſiſted rather in coſtly Furniture than in money; they gloried in Gold and Silver Veſſels, and if any was in diſgrace with the King, he was to be ſerved in Earthen ware. In imitation of the Royal *Paradiſes* they diligently planted and cultivated their Gardens, ſet with Trees both of Fruit and pleaſant ſhade, not only in rows and Walks, but Groves and Wilderneſſes for the Summer ſeaſon. That they planted Vineyards is alſo believed, and at firſt they were generally Artificers and given unto manual labour; but as Luxury crept in, Artificers began to be deſpiſed, when they had applied themſelves (or the better ſort of them) to the practice of Arms. Yet notwithſtanding were not ſuch Arts as were neceſſary for ſubſiſtence and pleaſure laid down and utterly neglected, for that both Husbandry and Handycraft Trades ſhould diligently be exercoiſed, it was the work of Preſidents of Provinces acurately to ſee, as alſo Governors of Cities and Caſtles.

They were Accuſtomed to Riding.

Gardens.

38. The *Perſians* when they met were not wont in words to ſalute one another, but in room of that they kiſſed, and if they were of equal degree they kiſſed the Mouth, if of unequal he who was chiefeſt in dignity offered his Cheek to be kiſſed by the other: Indeed if one of meaneſt condition had occaſion to accoſt a Perſon of Quality, he fell down and did him reverence. But none they eſteemed ſo much as their Neighbours, and by the diſtance from themſelves they meaſured all the goodneſs of the Inhabitants of the Earth, valuing their next Neighbours moſt, and thoſe leaſt who were moſt removed from them: And yet they abominated all Leprous and ſcabby Perſons, ſuffering them not to abide in their Cities, though they might have an Eagles Noſe as they ſay *Cyrus* had, whom they prized above all Mortals. All *Perſians* wore a *Tiara*, and when they would ſalute to purpoſe, they would take that Cap from their Heads, in reverence of the Perſons whom they ſaluted: They uſed a looſe and large Veſt reaching to their Ankles, and taken from the *Medes*, the ſtole of whom was uſually of that called *Sericum*. They wore alſo an inward Tunick which they called *Candys*, and hanging down from their Shoulders had ſleeves to it; and was, as they pleaſed, of divers colours. To keep them yet more warm, they had another ſort of Garment called *Caunaces*: they wore not only Sleeves but

Their Cloaths.

Mittens or Gloves; and beſides ſomething to cover their nakedneſs, had their *Braccæ* to defend their Thighs from cold, at firſt made of plain and ſimple skins, afterward painted to all degrees of Luxury. The women wore large and laced Girdles, and the Nation had a ſort of Shooe peculiar to it ſelf, elegant enough in the times of Luxury; though at firſt, as in all other things, ill accoutred in this particular. They delighted to appear gay in their Necklaces of Pearl, their Bracelets and Chains of Gold adorned with precious ſtones. As this cuſtom they took from the *Medians*, ſo of the *Lydians* they learn'd to bore their Ears, and thereat to hang Gems and other things then in faſhion, as the *Lybians* alſo were wont to do. They not only loved to have their hair long, but to Nature added Art, wearing Periwigs or adventitious hair, which they alſo learn'd of the *Medes*, as they did to paint their faces and to colour their Eyebrows. In caſe of mourning they rent their hair from their heads, and tore their Clothes; nay we read that they would alſo cauſe their Horſes and Cattel to be like them by making bare their hides. They alſo had their proper mourning weeds, and yet their women eſteemed it the moſt contumelious thing imaginable, to put their hands to the dreſſing, ſpinning, or ordering of Wool.

The ſorts of their Capital Puniſhments.

39. Of their Tribunals and form of Judicature, we have already ſpoken. If the ſentence given againſt a Malefactor was Capital, it was executed either by Beheading, Crucifying, Burning, Burying alive, Fleaing, or Stoning. Beheading was a favour indulged to the Nobler ſort, but it was not done with an Axe after the faſhion of the *Romans* and the *Engliſh*, nor with a Sword as moſt Nations of *Europe* practice, but with a Razor or a Knife as the *Spaniards* cut the Throats of their Nobility with a crooked Inſtrument; and together with the Head the Right Hand was alſo cut off, and ſometimes fixed to a Gibbet. They were wont alſo to Nail even Great Men to Croſſes, though ſometimes not till after their Heads were off; and this ſort of puniſhment *Alexander*, after his Conqueſt, inflicted upon ſeveral *Satrapæ* themſelves. Such as they flea'd alive they ſometimes caſt to the Dogs, and making bottles of their Skins hung them up high. There were yet other ſorts of Puniſhments which we have related in the Hiſtory of *Perſia*, as the flatting of the Heads of Priſoners between two Stones; and the device of the Boat, and forcing the Party to eat honey and milk by pricking the Eyes with Needles, as the Reader may remember. But theſe Puniſhments were inflicted for thoſe they eſteemed the moſt grievous offences. For ſtill lighter crimes they had lighter cenſures, as Exile, Mutilation of Members, as of Noſe, Ears, Hands, or Feet, which they too ordinarily executed upon their *Greek* and *Roman* Priſoners, and branded them in the Body: Sometimes they digged out the eyes of noxious Perſons, and ſo Princes were wont to ſerve their Competitors. Beſides, ſome they noted with Infamy, as by taking from them the trimming of their hair which they eſteemed as the greateſt Ornament. Of others they confiſcated the Eſtates; and for a perfect diſcovery they were wont to examine guilty perſons by torture.

Leſſer Cenſures.

Puniſhment of High Treaſon.

40. But the greateſt puniſhment of all was that which being inflicted for the higheſt offence, extended to the greateſt latitude of Perſons. This was, when for high Treaſon committed againſt the Prince, all the Kindred or Relations ſuffered together with the Malefactor. This the *Perſian* Kings practiſed though ſo ſevere, and yet ſome of them, particularly *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, was ſo full of humanity that as *Ammianus Marcellinus* writes, when delinquents were to be puniſhed, in room of their heads he would cauſe their *Tiaræ* to be cut off, and inſtead of their Ears the ſtrings that hung down from their Caps upon them. The greateſt affront they eſteemed it to be termed more cowardly and lazy than a woman, and the greateſt indignity to be forced to ride on the bare back of an Aſs. They were to be commended for this, that their faith they uſually kept inviolable. So reſpective were they to their Kings, that they ſtrowed Flowers and Garlands in the ways where they were to paſs, as they did alſo upon occaſion of publick rejoycing. Their ordinary Coin was called *Staters*: one ſort was ſtamped with the Image of *Darius*, and thence the pieces had the name of *Daricks*, though ſome alſo with that of an Archer, according to the jeſt of *Ageſilaus*, when he departed home out of *Aſia*. Theſe were probably of Gold; but in after times the *Perſian* Kings only coined Silver money. In concluſion, they celebrated their Funerals with great pomp, burying them uſually in the Earth, though in latter Ages they and the adjoyning Nations ſuffered the dead to be devoured by Birds and Beaſts, and ſuch as theſe ravenous Creatures did not ſoon eat up, they accounted accurſed.

Their Coin.

Their Burials.

Of old they were very warlike.

41. We cannot diſmiſs the *Perſians* without conſidering ſomething concerning their Wars, without which they would have afforded little whereby to entitle themſelves to a ſhare in this work. However they were degenerated toward the latter

Vide Briſſonium quo ſuprà. lib. 3.

end of their domination, yet were they formerly very conſiderable for the diſcipline and Arts of War; and to be excellent therein, they ſeemed to bend their greateſt endeavours. For that cauſe, when young, they learn'd and practiſed Riding, Shooting, and caſting Darts, and Hunting, which they eſteemed as more than a reſemblance of a Battel. All the hardſhips they underwent, they bore with more patience, becauſe fitting them for the inconveniencies of a Field, having learn'd this prudence and diligence in *Scythia*; for *Ammianus* tells us that originally *Scythians* they were, and thereby became moſt expert in fighting, but by degrees they conquered their Neighbouring Nations, and brought them under their own Name. As if they had ſtill owned their Original out of the North, whilſt Diſcipline ſtill continued amongſt them, they learn'd to Swim, and alſo to endure both cold and heat. In times of peace and greateſt ſecurity they never went without their Swords, not at Feaſts and Solemnities, which was of old the cuſtom of the *Greeks* alſo, till the *Athenians* firſt broke it off, and the *Romans* did not approve it. As ſoon as they were able to bear Arms, they were liſted in the Troops: From twenty years they ſerved till fifty, and then, as we ſaid, obtained an honourable miſſion; but before that time the Kings took it ill, if any deſired to be excuſed when they were going on an expedition, as *Darius* and *Xerxes* made it appear by ſad examples.

De Alanis loquens addit paulatimque Nationes conterminas crebritate victoriarum attritas ad gentilitatem ſui vocabuli traxerunt ut Perſæ. p. 437. ——*unde etiam Perſæ qui ſunt originitùs Scythæ pugnandi ſunt peritiſſimi. p. 439.* *Vide ſi placet Notas Valeſii in locum qui per Perſas Ammianum contendit Parthos intellexiſſe at ego quidem hæreo.*

42. Wars we know are undertaken, either to defend our ſelves at our own homes or doors, or to invade thoſe we call our Enemies. For their better defence, and to hinder the impreſſion of Foreign Nations, their Kings had their Captains, *Satrapaes*, and Miniſters, diſpoſed in all places; they had their Scouts both by day and by night, and their Beacons, which being fired ſucceſſively, from all the high places of the Kingdom, in one day ſignified what it concerned them to know. When any Army was to be raiſed, Orders were given out to ſome *Satrapa* for this purpoſe. Their Soldiers they called in their own Language *Cardaces*, as ſome ſay from a Country, others from *Carda* ſignifying a Lot. *Herodian* writes, that in his time they uſed no mercenary Soldier, neither held their Armies in any conſtant Camp, but that all the multitudes of the People, and ſometimes of women too, were gathered together by the King's Command, which when the War was over, was again diſmiſſed home without any other pay, wages or emolument, than what they had got by booty or plunder. But *Ammianus Marcellinus* obſerves in his days, that for their Military Methods, Diſcipline and Exerciſes, or Trainings, they were to be feared even by the greateſt Armies; truſting in the valour of their Horſe, wherein all the Nobility and the ſplendor of the Nation was concerned. As for the Foot, they being covered with their Targets like ſo many *Mirmillones* or Sword-players, obeyed orders rather like ſo many Scullions or the vileſt ſort of men; and always this multitude followed as condemned to perpetual ſlavery, neither ever being ſupported with pay or gifts. Beſides, ſaith he, this Nation over and above thoſe it hath abundantly conquered, had ſent many others under the Yoak, ſo bold and ſkilful it was in Martial Conteſts, if it had not been conſtantly vexed with civil and foreign Wars. What he ſaith of the *Perſian* Foot is atteſted by others who make the Infantry inconſiderable, and rather thought to ſerve and attend the Horſe, though for this purpoſe they will have the women alſo taken along in expeditions.

Cardaces.

Their Horſe.

Mirmillones cum adverſus retiarium, in arnea pugnabant oblongo ſcuto tegere ſeſe ac genuinflexo ſubſidere ſolebant.

Their Arms.

43. As for their Arms they wore *Acinaces* or Daggers, hanging at their Girdles upon their Right Thighs: In their hands they carried their *Copides*, which were Scimiters or Swords made crooked ſomething like Sickles, and otherwiſe called *Sagares*, which it's ſaid was alſo the weapon of the *Amazons*: But for defence of his Body, the *Perſian* Soldier wore a Breaſtplate of Braſs or Iron (or both) made with joynts like fins or ſcales of Fiſhes; and well might *Ammianus* write that their Foot covered themſelves like ſo many *Myrmillones*; for the *Perſians* had their *Gerra* or Targets made of Wickers ſo large, that they might cover their whole Bodies, like to thoſe uſed by the *Romans* and *Galls*. A ſort of miſſile weapon or Dart they had alſo called *Paltum*, made of the *Cornus* Tree as were Arrows and other things. Under their *Gerra* or Targets hung their Quivers at their Shoulders full of Arrows, *Herodian* reporting, that in his time they came not abroad without their Bows; and their Succeſſors the *Parthians* herein did ſo ſucceed, that if poſſible they exceeded them in the practice; for not only their Foot but their Horſemen had their Arrows hanging by them; and not only in their purſuit but againſt purſuers themſelves when running away, they were wont to let them fly. They made uſe, moreover of Slings for throwing of Stones, and thoſe of a conſiderable bigneſs. Ordinarily they wore no Helmets, but their own *Tiara* which was their Ornament for the Head both at home and abroad; and ſo were for their Thighs their *Bracca* or Breeches, which they uſed in, as well as out, of Fight.

Sect. 5.

Horſes they cheifly uſed.

44. But their chief Refuge as well as Delight (which *Ammianus* hints) was in their Horſe; and their Delight contributed to their Refuge. For while they were ſober and induſtrious, they ſo uſed themſelves to riding, that never were they to be ſeen on foot, but if feaſted, if they went upon publick or private buſineſs, if to the market, to meet, diſcourſe or talk, if Freemen, they went on Horſeback. But, as all good Inſtitutions are wont to degenerate, this Riding afterwards was only uſed for Pompe and ſhow, when more Trappings and Tapeſtry were laid upon a Horſe than was wont to be put upon a Bed or in a Chariot. And golden Bridles, he who had not, was out of the Faſhion either at home or in the War. In a Word, whereas at firſt the Nobility were they that compoſed the Cavalry, afterwards Cooks, Victuallers, Bath-holders and ſuch like were ſuffered to liſt themſelves in the Troops, after that Luxury and exceſs crept in amongſt them from the *Medes*. And as from the *Medes* they received their Luxury and particularly in riding, though poſſibly not riding it ſelf as ſome have written, ſo the beſt Horſes they were wont to ride. For in *Media* was *Niſæum*, where the *Niſæan* Horſes were bred, the goodlieſt of all others that were to be ſeen in the Eaſt; thoſe of *India* being nothing comparable to them; and though great as they were, yet what is wonderful, they excelled in ſwiftneſs as well as bulke. And ſome bulke it was neceſſary they ſhould have, both to bear the burthen of their Riders ſo armed as they were at all points, and to ſupport their own Armour wherewith they themſelves were alſo covered, framed after the manner of Scales of Fiſhes on their Fronts and Breaſts, if for the Sadle; and their Sides, if they drew at the Chariot. The Horſemen thus accoutred the *Greeks* called *Cataphracti*, but the *Perſians Clibanarii*.

The beſt out of *Media*.

They fought with Chariots.

45. But not only did they fight from Horſes, but alſo from Chariots, which differed too according to the uſe and imployment they had for them. For ſome were adorned with Gold and Silver; and others were armed with Sythes and ſuch crooked and cutting Irons as faſtened to the Body, Axletree and Wheels, were intended for cutting and tearing all they met in their paſſage, being governed by two Horſemen, who with Ropes faſtened to them, erected and let them fall as they ſaw convenient. By their long uſe of this ſort of armed Chariots, they ſhewed that they were not ineffectual in War, but by reaſon of their careleſſneſs in managing them, and the unskillfulneſs of the Drivers, they often did them more harm than good; and the Romans, however once a Terror, made them no better than a laughing Stock, finding them eaſily overturned by the inequality of the ways, and eſpecially by caſting Loggs and other Impediments before them. But in ſome of them the *Perſians* were wont to carry their Impediments, *viz.* their Wives and Children, their Mothers and Concubines, pretending that the ſight of theſe dear Relations would provoke them to Fight for their preſervation. Some write that above all things, the King took care for Forage, and all neceſſaries for their Armies before they ſet forward, which ordinarily were carried upon the Backs of Camells.

The order of their March.

46. The order and method of their March, was this as it is deſcribed by *Quintus Curtius*. It was their cuſtome to ſet forward when the Sun was firſt riſen. Then warning was given from the Kings Pavilion by a Trumpet, and by an Image of the Sun incloſed in Chryſtal placed ſo on the Top, as it might be ſeen gliſtering by all. The Fire which they termed Sacred and Eternal, was borne before on ſilver Altars, being followed by the *Magi*, who ſung ſome of the Songs of their Country. And the *Magi* were followed by three hundred and ſixty five young Men, as equal to the Days of the Year in Number, covered with Purple Veſtments. Then followed the Chariot Sacred to *Jupiter* drawn by white Horſes, behind which came an Horſe of extraordinary greatneſs, called the Horſe of the Sun, and thoſe that drove or led the Horſes, had in their Hands golden Rods, and were clothed in White. Not far from them marched ten Chariots very rich in Gold and Silver workemanſhip. And next to the Chariots a party of Horſe of twelve Nations, differing in Armes as in other Faſhions. Then were to be ſeen the Troop of them called *Immortals* conſiſting of ten Thouſand, excelled by no *Barbarians* in the wealth and ſplendor of their Accoutrements: they were adorned with Chains of Gold, wore Clothes imbroidered with that rich Metal; and their ſleeved Coats gliſtered with Gemms. Behind them, at a little diſtance came thoſe called the *Kings Kinſmen*, being fifteen thouſand Perſons, who had the Name alſo of *Doryphori*, or Spearbearers, though accoutred rather like Women than Men, and in their Arms being Effeminate.

47. Next to them went a Troop of Men who were to take up the Kings Robe:

The King how ſet out in it.

They went before the Chariot wherein he ſate aloft; the ſides of which were ſet out with the Images of their Gods, the Yoake was adorned with gliſtering Gemms, and from the Axletree ſtood up two golden Images, each of the length of a Cubit, whereof one bore the reſemblance of *Belus*. There was the ſhape of an Eagle ſtretching out it's Wings. The Kings Apparrel was throughout notable for Luxury. He had his Purple Tunick with white Spots. Golden Haukes as if falling together with their Beaks, adorned his golden imbroidered *Palla*. At his golden Girdle, wherewith he was Effeminately girt, hung his Dagger which had a Gemm for its Scabbard, and the royal Ornament of his Head, which they called *Cidaris*, was compaſſed with a blew Circle ſtudded with white. Ten thouſand Spearemen followed the Chariot, who had their Spears adorned with Silver, and bore Darts headed with Gold. On the right and left hand of him went about two hundred of the moſt Noble of his Relations, behind followed thirty thouſand Foot, and after them were led four hundred of the Kings Horſes. At a furlong diſtance *Siſygambis* the Mother of *Darius* was drawn in one Chariot, and in another his Wife. The Troops of Women that attended the Queens, rode on horſeback. Then came fifteen Cariages they called *Armamaxæ* wherein were the Kings Children with thoſe that brought them up, and a company of Eunuches no ways deſpicable in thoſe Nations; then the Kings Concubines three hundred and ſixty in number, in Royal Apparrel and Furniture. After them ſix hundred Mules, and three hundred Camels carried the Kings Money, being guarded with a party of Archers. Near to them marched the Wives of the Kings Kinſmen and Friends; then rode Flocks of Lacquies and mean Attendants. And the Rear was brought up by ſeveral Troops of light armed men, headed by their ſeveral Leaders.

The manner of their Incamping.

48. The Army in its March having not always Cities Townes or Manſions wherein to lodge, great Care was taken for its Incamping. For ſafety and defence, by the multitudes of Hands, they eaſily caſt up a Trench, and ſometimes fortified it by Wood and Stones, but always incloſed themſelves with their Cariages. In the Camp, to all ſorts of Officers both Military and other, places were aſſigned, and the ſeveral Tents of Command had their Markes and Tokens fixed upon them, whereby they might be diſtinguiſhed, and called out upon occaſion. The Kings Pavilion was as his Court at home, having its ſeveral Rooms and Appartments wonderful for wealth and bravery; and ſo proportionably were the Tents of the *Satrapæ* and great Men, who had their Sumpter-horſes for conveyance of all ſorts of rich Furniture into the Field. And they delighted to be as Rich and Gay in their Clothes, as in the Furniture of their Tents. They took with them their golden Chaines and Bracelets. The Scabberds of their Swords were adorned with Gemms. Their Trappings and Bridles were of Gold, ſo that as *Alexander* told his Men they rather bore Booty for the Conquerors, then Armes to Fight; ſo Luxurious they were even in the moſt ſerious Actions of their Life, when degenerated.

How they Muſtred.

49. Ordinarily their Armies were raiſed out of their own Countryes, yet ſometimes they alſo took in Auxiliaries of the *Greeks*. Their Soldiers were divided into Tenns, Sixes, Twenty foures, Hundreds, Thouſands and ten Thouſand; for, Commanders of all theſe are to be found in Writers; they had alſo beſides their Foot-Officers, Commanders of Horſe, particularly three in the Army of *Xerxes*. There were Commanders of Chariots and of the *Harmamaxæ* wherein the Women or Baggage were carried. The Kings were wont carefully to muſter their Men; and to take an account of their Numbers. The laſt *Darius* followed the device of *Xerxes*, practiſed at *Doriſcus*, to make a place which ſhould contain ten thouſand, and by filling the place, meaſure out his Soldiers as Grain or any other ſorts of things are meaſured. When the *Perſian* Kings propoſed to make War upon or invade any Country, they were wont after the manner of the *Babylonians* to ſend to demand Earth and Water to be ſent them, as Symbolls or Tokens of ſubjection and ſervitude, thoſe two things compoſing the places of which they challenged the Dominion. With what diſdain the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians* received this Meſſage we have ſeen, and how they treated the Great Kings Ambaſſadors. Such as ſent the Symbolls owned him as their Lord and Soveraign; as the *Ilanders*, *Amyntas* of *Macedonia* and ſome others were forced to do.

50. What number of Animals the Kings were wont to carry along in their Expeditions, we have ſeen ſufficiently in the Hiſtory of their Warrs. *Ammianus* writes that they themſelves were not obliged to be in Battells; but that *Darius* in Perſon fought againſt *Alexander* we read, and that he was armed with his Dag-

Sect. 5.

ger, Target and Bow. In the midle of the Battle the King ſtood. The Signal was given by Trumpet from his Pavilion. Before they joyned, the *Perſians* were accuſtomed to make a confuſed and terrible Noiſe. The Word was given by the Commander in Cheif, and Orders as well by other ſignes as word of Mouth; as when *Sapor* ſet upon a City he erected a red Flagg, as a Token that then his Men ſhould fall on. But the Royal Enſigne or Standerd is reported to have been an Eagle ſitting on a *Pelta* or a ſhort Target made like an half Moon. Carefully were the wounded provided for by Officers, whoſe peculiar charge and care it was. Such as fought ſtoutly were bountifully rewarded, thoſe that died for their Country honourably remembred, and on the contrary *Ammianus* tells us they had Laws bitter and ſevere againſt Deſertors. Some of their Kings would be cruel to ſuch Enemies as fell into their Hands; and propoſe Rewards to ſuch as would bring them alive. Of Wiles and Stratagems in War they knew little, as thinking it a diſgraceful thing to ſteal a Victory; Yet did they keep ſuch careful Watch, that they could not be ſurprized, who to preſerve themſelves awake, ſung Songs in the Night concerning the Juſtice and Felicity of their Princes. As for Scouting, the *Perſians*, in diligence and ſecrecy, ſeem to have excelled all others.

Proceeded to Battel.

How they Attacked Towns.

51. So deſirous they appear to have been of War, that in their Paintings and Landskips, ſcarcely any thing but Battles and Slaughters of Men or wild Beaſts were to be obſerved. For taking of Towns they made uſe of Ladders and Engines, and alſo of Mines, not to blow up the Walls as ſince the uſe of Gunpowder hath been practiſed, but to open Paſſages within them, that they might enter the beſieged places. Of the *Baliſta*, *Scorpions* and other ſort of Machines uſed by them *Ammianus* and others make mention. But, inſtead of our Wildfire they had ſeveral Oiles which would do the ſame Execution, one ſort made of an *Indian* Worm, which as *Ælian* writes, being ſhot in earthen Veſſels againſt the Gates of a Town, would ſet them on Fire: and another called the *Oyl of Media* or *Naphta*, in their own Language, a Bituminous matter, which burning could not be extinguiſhed with any thing but Duſt, as neither the *Oyl* of the *Indian* Worm with any thing but Durt and Mud lying in high Ways. In beſieging of Townes they made uſe alſo of Traps to catch the beſieged; and of *Murices*, or peices of *Iron* fourſquare with Pricks to hinder the Paſſage of their Horſe.

Their Ships.

52. For defence and Offence at Sea, the *Perſians* had their long Ships, their ſwift Veſſells, and Veſſels of burthen, for conveyance of Horſes and other Neceſſaries for War. On their Borders they had ſtrong Caſtles on high and ſcarcely acceſſible Hills very Strongly fortified, which had their ſeveral Governours, whoſe ſole work it was to look unto them. But in Winter they abſtained from War, as impatient of Cold. Obſervable it is that when they Adopted, it was not by words or writing, but by arming the Perſons to be adopted. Commendable it was that the Kings took it in diſdain that their Subjects ſhould be Slaves any where, and therefore ſuch as were taken in War, they readily redeemed. In concluſion, after thirty Years of Service performed, when fifty Years old, the *Perſians* obtained an honourable Miſſion.

How they contracted a League.

53. Peace is the end of War, and this the *Perſian* Kings might ſometimes be obliged by the badneſs of their Succeſs to admit of. Sometimes with Preſents they would contract Amity and Friendſhip with the Kings their Neighbours, as *Cambyſes* with him of the *Æthiopians*. Sometimes they would make a League, and then the Ceremony was performed after this manner: A Goate, a Bull, a Wolfe and a Ram was killed, and the Blood being put into a Target, the *Greeks* dipped therein a Sword, and the *Perſians* a Spear. But as we ſaid, had they ſtill had Peace with their Neighbours, we had heard little of them; They would ſcarcely have borne a ſhare in our Hiſtory of the World. For notwithſtanding this Policy of theirs extolled by *Xenophon*, ſo illiterate were they that we had had little or nothing of their Affaires communicated to us, had not their Actions been with the *Greeks*; from the Penns of whom we receive what account we have of them; not truſting to other pretended Hiſtories ſaid of late to have been taken out of their Archives.

Several *Perſian* things came out of *Perſia* into *Europe*.

54. But by way of *Ægypt* and *Greece*, many things and words of *Perſian* Original have been communicated to the weſtern World. Some Fruits have thence arrived in *Europe*: As the *Peach*, by ſome called *Nux Molluſca*, but ordinarily in Latin *Malum Perſicum*, ſaid to have been brought into *Greece* by thoſe that followed *Alexander* in his Expedition. That the Walnut, eſpecially the better ſort, allſo came out of *Perſia*, *Pliny* believed, from the *Greek* Names of *Perſicum* and *Baſilicon* given to it. The *Limon* or *Citron*, alſo grew in that Country, though in

Aſſyria and *Media* in greater abundance,as ſhould appear by its Names of *Malum Aſſyrium* and *Medium*. *Athenæus* alſo writes that the Cocks called by the Latines *Gallus Gallinaceus*, firſt came out of *Perſia*, and was diſperſed into other Regions; being by the *Greeks* called the *Perſian* Bird. But that learned men interpret *Athenæus* concerning this Cock,I ſhould rather have thought it to have been the *Turky*, that Bird which hath ſeveral Names in ſeveral Languages, each Nation calling him by that Country out of which it thinks it firſt received him. For though we call him a *Turky* (as any man coming out of that vaſt Empire a *Turk*) yet the *French* and others a *Cock of India*. From *India* to *Perſia* there was good acceſs. *Athenæus* alſo relates that out of *Media* the neighbouring Country, *Pheaſants* firſt were brought, being kept by *Ptolomy* King of *Alexandria* in his Palace. Shall we mention that *Perſian* Skinns elegantly painted, were much prized in other Countries, and made uſe of by the *Perſians* themſelves, in their dining Roomes?

And Words.

55. Beſides Things, ſeveral *Perſian* Words have arrived in *Europe*, whereof ſome have been uſed even by *Greeks* and *Romans*, to ſignify what they could not otherwiſe, it ſeems, ſo well expreſs. For *Gaza*, though uſed for Treaſure, is a *Perſian* word, and ſo is *Paradiſe*, with which even Sacred Writers thought fit to ſerve themſelves. Many other there are ordinarily known, though rarely or ſcarcely uſed for any thing but what they properly ſignified in *Perſia*. Such were *Satrapa*, *Paraſanga*, *Tiara*, *Candys*, and many others which it might be tedious here to mention. *Cyrus*, though the Name of a River as well as a Man, its ſaid ſignified the *Sun* in the *Perſian* Language; *Xerxes Martial* or a *Warriour*, and *Artaxerxes* a *great Warriour*, or, as *Ammianus* interprets it, a *Conqueror of Battells* as *Achemenes* a *Commander of Kings*, for by both theſe the *Perſians* in his time ſtiled *Sapor* their King, when they ecchoed out his Name in the Army. The Generals of their Armies ſome ſay were called *Megabyzi*. And to terminate our diſcourſe as Countries are wont to be with a River, the Name of *Tigris* ſignifieth in the *Perſian* Dialect an Arrow, which that famous one received from the ſwiftneſs of its Stream.

Contemporaries with the Perſian *Empire.*

CHAP. II.

The Affairs of the *Græcians* amonſt themſelves during this Empire.

SECT. I.

Of ſuch things as happened from the beginning thereof until the Expedition of Xerxes.

Polycrates.

1. IN the time of *Cyrus* the Great, and afterwards, lived *Polycrates* the famous *Tyrant* of *Samus*, who from a ſmall beginning arrived at ſuch extraordinary power, as no petty Prince of the *Greekiſh* Nation was ever accounted equal to him for wordly Felicity.

The word *Tyrannus* or *Tyrant* whence derived, and whom it ſignifieth.

Τύραννος.

2 The word *Tyrannus* (which we Engliſh *Tyrant*) *Suidas* thinketh to have been derived from the *Tyrrheni*, a people of *Italy*, becauſe they were cruel and given to Robbery. Others thought it was derived of the City *Tyre*, by means of it's Riches and Glory. Moſt anciently the word was of no ill

ſignification, but was uſed in a good ſence, there being no diſcrimination betwixt King and it, as * *Servius* obſerveth. For, though *Homer* (who never mentioneth *Tyre*) either knew it not or would not uſe it, yet the Poets who follow him, call thoſe Kings that lived before the *Trojan* times by the appellation of *Tyranni*. Afterwards through the diſſolute and cruel demeanour of ſome Princes, and the antipathy of the *Greeks* towards Monarchy (after they had generally erected Oligarchical or Democratical Governments) it came to be taken in a bad ſence. Herein it is eſpecially given to thoſe who, being once private perſons, enſlaved their Citizens by invading without any juſt Title the ſupreme power; as to *Polycrates*, *Piſiſtratus*, *Dionyſius*, and *Agathocles*. It's alſo applied to the Children who ſucceeded their Fathers in the uſurpation; and it is alſo given ſometimes to theſe who governed by the deſire and conſent of the People, as *Gelon* of *Syracuſe*, betokening as to this particular, a petty Prince or *Regulus*: For it is ſeldom or never in ancient Authors, when it is taken in an ill ſence, found applied to any but the uſurping Lords of Cities (not any notable Kingdom) and ſuch Cities as had before been governed in the way of a Commonwealth. And what is ſaid of thoſe Governors called *Tyranni*, muſt be extended to their Government, in the *Greek* Language called *Tyrannis*, which we Engliſh *Tyranny*, though not in any ill ſence wherein the *Athenians* uſed it not when they would have *Solon* to take the *Tyrannis* or Government upon him, though the word was harſh. This is hinted to take off any thoughts of the ignorant, as if the word reflected upon Monarchy, the beſt of Governments when all ſhall be conſidered.

* *Æneiad. l. 7.*

Vid. Strabonem l. 14.

Samus called firſt *Parthenia*, and afterward *Dryuſa*.

3. *Samus* is an Iſland in the *Mediterranean* Sea, lying over againſt *Ionia*, not far ſevered from it, containing in circuit ſcarce an hundred miles, ſo called from the heighth of it by the Ancients in their language. On the Weſt it looks towards the Iſland *Icaria*, but on the Eaſt the continent of *Aſia*, being near to *Epheſus*, and the promontory of *Mycale*, from which it is diſtant but five Miles. The moſt antient Inhabitants were *Carians* differing much from the *Greeks* both in Language and Manners. But when the Sons of *Codrus* led out Colonies from *Attica*, *Androclus* one of them here ſetled one, by which the City of the ſame name with the Iſland was built; having a very large and commodious Haven. It was preſently much beautified with frequency of Inhabitants, Riches, and multitudes of Buildings, and being very famous for the Temple of *Juno*, which was eſpecially worſhipped in this place, it was reckoned amongſt the twelve *Ionian* Cities, being partaker of the great Council of *Panionium*, and counted not inferior to *Miletus*, *Epheſus*, or *Chius*, the moſt eminent amongſt them. From *Herodotus* it ſhould appear to have at firſt been governed by Kings, the Inhabitants as he ſaith, in the Reign of *Amphicrates*, making War upon *Ægina* which was hurtful to both ſides: and this was the cauſe that in the Age following the *Æginetans* did as much by the *Samian* exiles which had retired into *Crete*. But in what Age *Amphicrates* lived he doth not mention; yet this is apparent from his words, that the *Samians* becauſe Iſlanders remained untouched by the King of *Lydia* and *Perſia*, when the other *Ionian* Cities in the Continent were forced by them into ſubjection.

Vid. Heraclid.

Lib. 3.

Herodotus lib. 3. cap. 39.

Polycrates his exploits.

His Felicity.

4. But when *Cyrus* flouriſhed in *Aſia*, and *Piſiſtrates* at *Athens*, *Polycrates* the Son of *Æaces* one of their own Citizens offered violence to their liberty. When firſt he ſeized on the Soveraignty, he made his two Brothers *Pantagnotus* and *Syloſon* partners with him, but afterwards he ſlew the one, and ejected the younger, and ſo having all the Power in his own Hands, he contracted amity with *Amaſis*, who at that time reigned in *Ægypt*. In a ſhort time his Affairs ſo proſpered, that he became famous through *Ionia* and all *Greece*, for whereſoever he made War he proſpered, with his hundred Biremes or Gallies with two ranks of Oares on a ſide, and one thouſand Archers, invading all his Neighbours without any difference, for that he held it for a Rule, that he *gratified his Friend more by reſtoring what he had taken from him, than if he had taken nothing away.* He ſubdued many Iſlands and many Towns in the Continent. The *Lesbians* coming to help their Friends of *Miletus* with all their Force, he overthrew, and took ſo many, as ſerved him to draw a Ditch round about the Walls of *Samus*. His Affairs being thus proſperous, were not unknown to *Amaſis*, but being every day more proſperous than other, at length *Amaſis* ſuſpected that his Friend and Allie, for this proſperous Fortune would have ſome diſaſtrous end, and therefore he wrote to him, and deſired him that to make ſome certain Change therein, he would pick out that which was moſt dear to him, and in the loſs whereof he would be moſt troubled, and make that away, ſo that he ſhould never more enjoy it. He accordingly took ſhip and caſt into the Sea his Signet, which was an *Emrald* ſet in a gold Ring; but it ſo hapened, that a Fiſher

taking a very large fiſh, preſented it to him as only worthy of it, and in the Belly of it his Servants, when they cut it up, found the Signet. *Amaſis* hearing this, took ſuch aſſurance that an unfortunate end muſt follow ſuch prodigious ſucceſs, that leſt he ſhould be troubled with the miſcariage of a Friend and Allie, he renounced his friendſhip.

5. When *Cambyſes* was raiſing his Forces for his Expedition into *Ægypt*, *Polycrates* ſent to him underhand, to deſire him to ſend for ſome Supplies, who doing ſo, he picked out ſuch as he thought were moſt prone to Rebellion, and with them manned out two Triremes, deſiring of him that he would not ſend them back. Yet they after the War withdrew themſelves from *Cambyſes*, and went to *Lacedæmon* to deſire aid of that State againſt the Tyrant, which was granted them, either for that the *Lacedæmonians* were engaged to the *Samians* (as theſe pretended) becauſe they had received Supplies from them in the *Meſſenian* War, or as the *Spartans* alledged, not out of any kindneſs, but malice to the *Samians*, becauſe they had in the Age foregoing intercepted certain Preſents ſent by them to *Cræſus*, and to them from *Amaſis*. The *Corinthians* were alſo drawn in, having a particular quarrel of their own; the occaſion was alſo given at the ſame time, the *Samiani* having taken from the *Corinthians* certain Boyes which they were carrying from *Periander* their Tyrant to *Alyattes* King of *Sardis* to be made Eunuches.

6. The *Lacedemonians* coming with a great Fleet to *Samus*, beſieged the City, but endeavouring the ſtorming of it were repulſed with ſome loſs, and having in vain ſpent forty days in the Siege (ſo valiantly was it defended by *Polycrates*) they then returned home into *Peloponneſus*. A Story went, that *Polycrates* ſtamped ſome Lead, and covering it over with Gold, with it purchaſed the departure of the *Lacedæmonians*; but this was the firſt Expedition which the *Dores* made againſt *Aſia*. Afterwards at ſuch time as *Cambyſes* fell ſick, that fell upon *Polycrates* which *Amaſis* had forewarned him of. At this time one *Orætes* a *Perſian* was governour of *Sardis*, *Ionia*, *Lydia*, and the Sea-coaſts, in the place of *Harpagus*, who either for that he was upbraided that he got not *Samus*, ſo near to his Province, into the King's hand, or for that *Polycrates* ſlighted and gave no anſwer to a Meſſenger which he ſent to him (both which are reported) ſought earneſtly to work his deſtruction. Knowing he had an Ambition to become Maſter of *Ionia* and the Iſlands, he ſent to him to tell him that he heard how excellent things he caſt in his Head, but that he wanted Money to accompliſh them, wherefore he having now heard for certain that *Cambyſes* determined to kill him, offered to him, that if he would receive him, he ſhould have half of the King's money which he had in his poſſeſſion, whereby he might get the Soveraignty of all *Greece*. And if he doubted of his faithfulneſs, he deſired him to ſend one of his moſt truſty Servants to whom he would give ſatisfaction.

7. *Polycrates* with great joy received the Meſſage, being greedy after money, and to make the thing ſure, ſent *Mæandrius* his Secretary over to *Orætes*, who knowing him a cunning and circumſpect Man, filled ſeveral Cheſts with Stones, and covering them at the top with Gold, thereby deceived him. *Polycrates* was yet diſſwaded by all his Friends from going over himſelf, for that the Oracles were againſt it, and his Daughter dreamed that ſhe ſaw him up aloft in the Air, where he was waſhed by *Jupiter*, and anointed by the Sun; but he was angry with her for her importunity, and notwithſtanding all diſſwaſions went over to *Orætes*, taking with him amongſt others, *Democedes* the Son of *Calliphon* of *Crotone* in *Italy*, the moſt famous Phyſician then in his Country. He went over into *Magneſia* as far as the River *Mæander*, and then *Orates* laying hold of him, nailed him to a Croſs. Of thoſe that accompanied him, the *Samians* he diſmiſſed, telling them that they muſt account it for a great Favour ſo to be uſed by him, but all the Strangers and Slaves he took to himſelf, and reduced them into the State of ſervitude. This end had *Polycrates*, with whom none of the *Syracuſian* Tyrants, or any other of *Greece* for magnificence were to be compared. Him ſucceeded one *Mæandrius* his Vicegerent or Procurator, of whom *Herodotus* telleth many Stories, and who by the help of *Otanes* the *Perſian Satrapa*, being removed by the approbation of *Darius* the Son of *Hyſtapes*, *Syloſon* the Brother of *Polycrates* ſucceeded, *Samus* paying very dearly for it, what by the War, and the enſuing ſeverity of *Syloſon*. When *Syloſon* died, *Æaces* his Son ſucceeded him, by the favour of the *Perſians*; but was not long after thruſt from his Tyranny, when *Ariſtagoras* the *Mileſian* drew all *Ionia* into rebellion againſt the *Perſians*; which hapned about the eighteenth year of *Darius*.

Endeth miſerably.

Mæandrius.

Syloſon.

Æaces.

8. In the ſecond year of *Darius*, and the firſt of the ſixty fifth *Olympiad*, the
inhabitants

inhabitants of *Platea* in *Bœotia*, who never well accorded with their Neighbours the *Thebans*, being now irritated with their continual injuries, that for the future they might free themſelves from ſuch grievances, ſent, and offered themſelves to the *Lacedæmonians* (who then were of greateſt Authority in *Greece*) as Allies and Dependents. But they perceiving themſelves to be at too great a diſtance from them to give any Succors when need required, adviſed them to have recourſe to the *Athenians* as nearer to them, and of ſufficient ability to relieve them. They accordingly did ſo, and contracted a ſtraight League of Alliance with *Athens*, which became a great eye-ſore to the *Thebans*, and all their party a long time after.

Eminius de rebus florentis Græciæ.

A League betwixt the *Platæans* and *Athenians.*

9. In the third Year of the ſixty ſix *Olympiad*, and the eighth of the Reign of *Darius*, fell out great ſtirs at *Athens*, which never ceaſed till they produced a change in the Government. *Piſiſtratus* the famous Tyrant at his death left three Sons, *Hippias*, *Hippharcus*, and *Theſſalus*, and the principality (as it ſhould ſeem from * *Heraclides*) to them all; though *Hippias*, as the eldeſt, had ſupream Juriſdiction. He had hitherto for the ſpace of thirty years enjoyed his Fathers Kingdom, being loving and affectionate towards his brethren, and moderate towards his Subjects: *Hipparchus* was accounted a wiſe man, and lover of learning, being ſomething given to be amorous, and *Theſſalus* bold, and head-ſtrong. It hapned that *Hipparcus* fell in love with one *Harmodius*, a young man of the City, and ſorely ſollicited him to unlawful dalliance, who therewith acquainted one *Ariſtogiton*, a man of a middle rank amongſt the Citizens, and who moſt paſſionately loved him. He fearing he ſhould be deprived of this his dear one, conſulted with himſelf how he might deſtroy, both *Hippharcus* and the Tyranny. *Hipparchus* ſtill going on to ſollicite *Harmodius*, but in vain, at length reſolved to be revenged on him, and executed it on his Siſter, which being on a certain ſolemnity to carry up the Basket that was to be dedicated to *Minerva*, he put her by as unworthy of the Office; though ſome of late have thought that he raviſhed her.

* *De Politia Athen.*
Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 8. *cap.* 2.
Thucydides lib. 6.

Stirs at *Athens.*

10. *Harmodius* taking this in very evil part, and *Ariſtogiton* much worſe, prepared all things neceſſary for their Conſpiracy; but expected the great Feaſt called *Panathenaa*, on which day only the Citizens might be in Armour without ſuſpition, for diſcharging the Solemnity. They provided not many men before hand, for the more cloſe carrying of the buſineſs, and becauſe they hoped all the reſt would without any heſitation be ready to come in to them. When the day came, they and their party being ready with their Poniards, eſpied a man talking with *Hippias*; Whereupon they thought they were diſcovered, and therefore reſolved to do that, wherein eſpecially they were concerned, if they could, and ſo ruſhing in violently upon *Hippharcus*, they ſlew him in the place. *Ariſtogiton* defended himſelf for ſome time from the Guard; but the multitude flocking in, he was taken, after he had received many Wounds, and his friend *Harmodius* ſlain outright. *Hippias* having notice of what had paſſed, came cunningly upon the Citizens that were armed for the Solemnity, and by his Guard picking out ſuch as had Daggers about them, or whom he ſuſpected, thereby prevented at this time all further trouble.

Hippharcus ſlain by *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton.*

The behaviour of the *Piſiſtratidæ*, in the Government of *Athens.*

11. Hitherto he and his brethren had not been diſtruſtful of their own ſafety, and therefore had uſed no great Guards about them; not rendring their Power very burthenſom to the people, but acting according to the Rules of Vertue and Prudence. They exacted only the twentieth part of the publick Revenue, exceedingly beautified the City, waged War, and left the Citizens to their former Laws; only ſome one of them was alwaies Magiſtrate, and other men held of them yearly Offices, *Piſiſtratus* the Son of *Hippias*, and Nephew to the founder of this Kingdom, as it appeareth from *Thucydides*, having ſometimes had the Power in his Hands. But *Hippias* after this, fearing himſelf, exerciſed his Power very ſeverely againſt the *Athenians*, putting many of them to death, and to eſtabliſh himſelf by forein alliance he gave his Daughter in marriage to *Hippoclus*, the Son of *Æantedes* the Tyrant of *Lampſacus*, knowing them to be in great grace with *Darius* King of *Perſia*. To find out the complices of theſe two young men, he tortured, amongſt others, a woman named *Leæna* the Paramour of *Ariſtogiton*, but ſhe was ſo conſtant as to endure all, and biting off her Tongue, ſpit it in the Face of the Tormentors, leſt therewith ſhe ſhould diſcover any one; in memory of which the *Athenians* afterwards Conſecrated in the Caſtle a Lioneſſe without a Tongue, as alſo Erected Statues to the memory of *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton*, as the liberators of their Countrey. Theſe Statues were taken away by *Xerxes* into *Aſia*, and long after ſent back by *Alexander*, or *Antiochus*, or *Seleucus*, as is

ſeverally delivered by Hiſtorians. They alſo Decreed that their Names ſhould never be given to any Slaves.

Herodotus lib. 5. Capp. 62. &c.

12. Though theſe two did not actually procure the freedom of *Athens*, but periſhed in the attempt, yet it was attributed to them, becauſe that in the fourth year after, ſome imitating their Example expelled *Hippias*, and effectually procured it. At this time the *Alcmæonidæ* (or thoſe of the Family of *Alcmæon*, who was great Grand-ſon to *Neſtor*, and being caſt out of *Meſſenia* by the *Heraclidæ*, came and lived at *Athens*) being driven into exile by the *Piſiſtratidæ* (or *Piſiſtratus* his Sons) having ſometimes endeavoured in vain the recovery of their Countreys liberty, ſtill lay in wait for a more convenient opportunity to accompliſh it. Being full of Money, they hired the *Amphyctiones* to let them build a new Temple at *Delphos*, which was very magnificent, and corrupted the *Pythia* (or the woman that received and delivered the Oracles, ſtanding in a Tripos, or three footed Stool) as often as any of *Sparta* came thither, ſtill to propoſe to them to ſet *Athens* at liberty. This being conſtantly done, the *Lacedæmonians* accounted it a piece of their Religion to do it, and ſent *Anchimolius*, a man of prime Rank amongſt them, with an Army to expell the *Piſiſtratidæ*, though their Friends, and ſuch as had deſerved no otherwiſe than well of them. They being aware of this, had contracted friendſhip and alliance with the *Theſſalians*, and now procured from them a ſupply of one thouſand Horſe, which by a common Decree they ſent under the Command of *Cixeas* their King; which falling in upon the Camp of the *Spartans*, ſlew amongſt many others *Anchimolius* the General, and beat the other to their Ships, in which they returned home.

Herodotus ut prius cap. 64. &c.

13. Afterwards the *Lacedæmonians* ſent another Army by Land, under the Conduct of *Cleomenes* the Son of *Anaxandridas*, who invading the *Athenian* Territories was encountred by the *Theſſalian* Horſe, which he put to flight, and having killed above forty of them, the reſt ſhifted away, and betook themſelves as they could into *Theſſaly*. *Cleomenes* then coming up to the City beſieged the Tyrants, being ſhut up within the *Pelaſgick*-wall, but being unprovided for a Siege, and they furniſhed ſufficiently with Proviſions, after a few days he was about to depart homeward, had not one thing fallen out. As the Children of the *Piſiſtratidæ* were privately to be conveyed out of the Countrey, they were intercepted, which overturned the Affairs of their Parents, and forced them to Covenant with the *Athenians*, for their Ranſom, within five days to depart out of *Attica*, which accordingly was done, *Hippias* going ſtraight to *Sigeus*, and thence to *Lampſacus*, from which place he went to *Darius*, and in the twentieth year after returned with his Army, and died (as ſome ſay) in the Battle at *Marathon*. *Sigeus* was a Town ſituate upon the *Helleſpont*, which *Piſiſtratus* took by force out of the Hands of the *Mitylenæans*, and made *Hegeſiſtratus* his baſe ſon, by a woman of *Argos*, Tyrant there. *Hippias* was offered from *Amyntas* the King of *Macedonia*, either *Anthemus*, or *Iolcos*, a City in *Macedonia*; but he refuſed both, and betook himſelf to *Darius*, whoſe Army he afterwards conducted into *Attica*.

The *Piſiſtratidæ* baniſhed.

Thucydides ut ſuprà.

Herodotus cap. 66.

14. The State of *Athens* great before, grew greater after this grand mutation, in which two men contended for the chief Authority: *Cliſthenes* one of the *Alcmæonidæ* (the Nephew by his Mother of *Clyſthenes*, the Tyrant of *Sicyon*) and *Iſagoras* the Son of *Tiſander*. *Clyſthenes* being too weak for the other's faction, that he might engratiate himſelf with the people, whereas they were before divided but into four Tribes, encreaſed them unto ten, and whereas formerly they were named from the four Sons of *Ion*, viz. *Teleon*, *Ægicor*, *Argadæus*, and *Hopletes*, now he changed theſe for other *Heroes* which were, 1. *Hippothoon* the Son of *Neptune*, 2. *Antiochus* of *Hercules*, 3. *Ajax* of *Telamon*, 4. *Leon* the *Athenian*, who according to the Oracle devoted his Daughters for the publick ſafety, 5. *Erechtheus*, who ſlew *Immaradus* the Son of *Eumolpus*, 6. *Ægæus*, 7. *Oeneus* the baſe Son of *Pandion*, 8. *Acamas* the Son of *Theſeus*, 9. *Cecrops*, and 10 *Pandion*.

Clyſthenes changeth the names of the Tribes.

Pauſan. in Atticis.

15. *Iſagoras* envying *Clyſthenes* that reſpect, which hereby he obtained, procured *Cleomenes* the King of *Sparta* (with whom he had contracted Friendſhip during the War with *Hippias*) to come once more againſt *Athens*. He ſent a Meſſenger firſt, and preſently procured him to be baniſhed, and yet came thither with an Army, and beſides many of the Family of *Alcmæon* formerly caſt out with *Clyſthenes*, now alſo expelled 700 Families proper for War, under pretence of their being contaminated with them in the buſineſs of the death of *Cylon*. Then endeavoured he to diſſolve the *Senate*, and commit their Power to thoſe of *Iſagoras* his faction; but both *Senate* and People reſiſting, *Iſagoras* and he with their men ſeized on the Caſtle wherein they were beſieged two days: On the third the *Lacedæmonians*

Civil Wars betwixt *Iſagoras* and *Clyſthenes*.

dæmonians with *Iſagoras* had leave to depart, but the reſt were caſt into Priſon, and put to Death. Then was *Clyſthenes* with the ſeven hundred Families recalled, who reſtored the Democratical Government to the City, as it was founded by the Laws of *Solon*.

Clyſthenes reſtoreth *Solon*'s Laws.

Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 13. *cap.* 24. *Diodorus lib.* 11. *Plutarch in vita Ariſtid. & Periclis.*

The *Oſtraciſm*.

16. To *Clyſthenes* is alſo aſcribed the introducing of the *Oſtraciſm* into the *Athenian* State, being generally granted to have been brought in a little after the baniſhment of the *Piſiſtratidæ*. For, conſidering the Calamities which had hapned in their time, the *Athenians* for the time to come would have all of equal Power and Authority. By the *Oſtraciſm* therefore they forced abſence from the City for ten Years upon the moſt powerful amongſt them for Glory, Nobility, or Eloquence, leſt they ſhould grow too great; without any Ignominy,or diſgrace; they being neither deprived of Goods, Lands, or any thing, ſave their preſence at home for that time. The form of it was this. Each of the Citizens wrote the Name of that man in an Oyſter Shell (whence it had the name of *Oſtraciſm*) who ſeemed to him to be the moſt powerful for the overturning of the Democracy, and then brought the Shell in as a ſuffrage into the place deſigned, and ſo he that was found to have moſt written with his Name, was for ten years ordered to leave the City. But two conditions were required that this Judgement ſhould ſtand in force: That no fewer then ſix thouſand ſhould be at the meeting, and the giving of Suffrages; and that thoſe that gave them ſhould be no younger than ſixty years old. The firſt that was baniſhed by this Law, was (as *Ælian* tells us) *Clyſthenes* the Author of it, though (according to another) *Hipparchus*, and *Charmus* Kinſman to *Piſiſtratus*: In after times *Ariſtides*, becauſe of that great Title *Juſt* given to him, and *Themiſtooles* for his Military Glory.

Harpocration. in Ἵππαρχος.

Herodotus lib. 5. *cap.* 4. *&c.*

Cleomenes to no purpoſe invadeth the *Athenians*.

17. But *Cleomenes* the *Lacedæmonian* King perceiving himſelf damnified both by Word and Deed from the *Athenians*, raiſed forces throughout *Peloponneſus*, intending (though diſſembling the matter) to be revenged upon them, and ſet up *Iſagoras* as Tyrant over them. He invaded one part, and procured the *Bœotians* on one ſide, and the Inhabitants of *Chalcis* on the other, to fall in upon other places. The *Athenians* thus diſtreſſed on all ſides, yet firſt went againſt the *Peloponneſians* lying in *Eleuſine*, and when the Armies were about to joyn, the *Corinthians*, firſt bethinking themſelves of the injuſtice of their cauſe, withdrew themſelves; and ſo did *Demaratus* the Son of *Ariſton* King of *Sparta*, and the Collegue of *Cleomenes*, having never diſſented from him formerly. Then the reſt of the aſſociates ſeeing that the Kings agreed not betwixt themſelves,and the *Corinthians* were gone, drew off alſo in like manner: the *Athenians* then to be revenged, fell upon the *Bœotians*, of whom killing many, they took priſoners ſeven hundred, and then paſſing over into *Eubœa* the ſame day, chaſtized the Inhabitants of *Chalcis* in like manner. Thus, four times the *Dores* out of *Peloponneſus* came into *Attica*; twice in a hoſtile manner, and twice to the help of the *Athenians*. Firſt when they brought a Colony into *Megare*, which was in the time of *Codrus*, the ſecond and third times to expel the *Piſiſtratidæ*, and now the fourth, when *Cleomenes* with the *Peloponneſians* invaded *Eleuſine*.

The Iſland *Ægina*.

18. The *Thebans* and the reſt of the *Bœotians*, ſeeing themſelves too weak for the *Athenians*, deſired help of the Inhabitants of *Ægina*, an Iſland ſituated in that part of the Sea, which ſevered *Attica* from *Argolis*, being five miles diſtant from the former, ſome eight in Circuit, and the Country of *Æacus*, (whence the *Æacidæ*) having a City of its own Name. The *Æginetans* bearing an old grudge to thoſe of *Athens*, and puffed up with a conceit of their Wealth, eaſily imbraced their Society, and when the *Athenians* were buſie with the other, paſſed over in their long Ships into *Attica*, and waſted the Coaſts thereof. The *Lacedæmonians* at this time underſtanding how they had been deluded by the *Alcmeonidæ* their corrupting the women that gave out the Oracles, and thereby their loſſe both of their old Friends, and all thanks alſo as to the *Athenians*; hearing further by the Oracles which *Cleomenes* had brought out of the Citadel of *Athens*, that that State ſhould much diſtreſs them, and eſpecially ſeeing how weak it was under Tyrants, but now how it increaſed in ſtrength after the recovery of its liberty, called back *Hippias*, reſolving to reſtore him. He was ready at their call, but then it happened that *Soſicles* the *Corinthian* Ambaſſador and others of their Confederates utterly diſallowed of this practice, and therefore ſeeing there was no hope of recovering his former Condition, he returned into *Aſia*, and there laboured with all his might to poſſeſs *Artaphernes* the *Satrapa* of *Lydia* againſt the *Athenians*, that they might be conquered by *Darius* his Brother. They ſent to *Artaphernes*, to deſire him not to give credence to their Exiles; but as when two or three

years before, when they ſent to enter into ſociety with the *Perſians*, he told them they muſt give Earth and Water, as ſymbols of ſubjection (which the Ambaſſadors doing, were much blamed at their return) ſo now he told them, if they would be ſafe, they muſt receive *Hippias*. They refuſed the *Condition*, and choſe rather to be profeſſed Enemies to the *Perſian*, and thence preſently after joyned with *Ariſtagoras*, who withdrew the *Ionians* from their obedience, which provoked *Darius* afterwards to invade them, procured the Expedition of *Xerxes*, and the quarrel of that Empire with *Greece*. But theſe things concerning *Athens* and *Hippias*, hapned in the firſt year of the ſixty nineth *Olympaid*, the eighteenth of the Reign of *Darius*, A. M. 3501.

A. M. 3501.
V C. 250.
*Olymp.*69.*an.*1.
Darii. 18.

*Herodotus Lib.*6.*c.*48,&c.

19. After the *Ionian* War was over, and the *Græcians* in *Aſia* were forced once more to undergo the yoke, *Darius* in the twenty ſeventh year of his reign, and the third after his victory, ſent into *Greece* to demand Earth and Water as tokens of ſubjection. The *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* threw the Meſſengers into a well, and bad them thence fetch Earth and Water to carry to their Maſter, but the Inhabitants of *Ægina* and other Iſlanders, for fear of the *Perſians*, promiſed obedience. The *Athenians* preſently took offence thereat, as judging that the *Æginetans* did it out of a grudge to them, that they might fight under the conduct of the *Perſians* againſt *Athens*, and therefore they ſent to *Sparta* to complain of them as Traitors to *Greece*. *Cleomenes* was ſent from that State, and came to *Ægina*, with an intention to apprehend the principal authors of the revolt; but one *Crius* there openly oppoſed him, threatning him, in caſe he laid violent hands on any, for that he knew he did it without any publick decree of the *Lacedæmonians*, who elſe would have ſent the other King with him. This he ſaid at the inſtance of *Demaratus* the other King of *Sparta*, who diſagreeing with *Cleomenes* ever ſince the invaſion of *Attica*, now alſo grievouſly accuſed him in his abſence. Hereupon *Cleomenes* returned home, caſt out *Demaratus*, upon pretence of his illegitimation, from his Office, and put *Lutychides* his kinſman in his place.

The *Æginetans* by giving Earth and Water to *Darius*, incenſe the *Græcians* againſt them.

Stirs at *Sparta* betwixt *Cleomenes* and *Demaratus* the Kings.

The birth of *Demaratus.*

Cap. 61, &c.

20. The Father of *Demaratus* was *Ariſton*, of the poſterity of *Procles*, a man as worthy as any of his Anceſtors; who having no children by two wives (for which cauſe he divorced them) to ſatisfie the deſires of the people (which greatly wiſhed for ſome iſſue male from him) married a third, which already was the wife of his friend *Agetus*, covenanting with him for her, (ſhe being the moſt beautiful woman next after *Helena*) which by the Laws of *Lycurgus* he might do. Being married, it hapned juſt after ſeven months, when he was according to the cuſtom ſitting amongſt the *Ephori*, his houſhold ſervant came and ſignified to him that he had a Son born, with the ſuddainneſs of which thing being diſturbed, he raſhly ſwore that it was not his, coming ſo much within the time. The *Ephori* then neglected it, and he afterwards repenting of his raſhneſs, brought up the Child as his own, and becauſe he was ſo deſired by the publick wiſhes of the People, gave him the name of *Demaratus*. After his death *Demaratus* ſucceeded, a man of great worth, and who obtained a crown in the *Olympick* Games, which never hapned before to the Kings of *Sparta*. But that ſpeech of his Father was now objected againſt him, by his Colleague and Emulator *Cleomenes* the Son of *Anaxandridas*, who accuſed him alſo for their retreating formerly out of *Attica*, which occaſioned all the difference betwixt them; and all this was aggravated by *Leutychides*, who ſought for his place, and had a private quarrel with him about a woman, of which he had hindred him by taking her to himſelf to wife

Demaratus depoſed, and *Leutychides* put in his place.

21. Great contention hence ariſing, the *Spartans* reſolved to ſend to *Delphos*, and enquire of the Oracle whether *Demaratus* was the Son of *Ariſton*; which being done, *Cleomenes* procured a friend he had at *Delphos*, to corrupt *Pythia*, ſo that being drawn by bribery ſhe gave the anſwer againſt *Demaratus*. Hereby *Cleomenes* procured him to be removed from the Kingdom, and *Leutychides* his kinſman to ſucceed him; yet though thus handled, he ceaſed not to love his Country, and continuing at home, diſdained not to bear inferiour Offices, till further affronted by *Leutychides*, who to inſult over and deride him, at ſuch a time as he was overſeeing the exerciſes of the Boyes, ſent and demanded of him how he liked of that Office after the Kingdom. He anſwered, that he had tried both, but the other not, and that that queſtion ſhould be the original either of great miſchief or happineſs to the *Lacedæmonians*, and then getting him home with his head covered he ſacrifized to *Jupiter*, and ſending for his Mother conjured her to tell him the truth concerning his Father. Being aſſured

from her of his Legitimation, he went out of the City, under pretence of going to *Delphos*; but tooke the way to *Elis*, and thence to the Iſland *Zacynthus*, and ſo to *Darius* King of *Perſia*, the *Zacynthians* having refuſed to give him up to his Country-men who purſued him. He was received with great honour by the *Perſians*, who beſtowed Lands upon him to maintain him in a Princely equipage; and there his poſterity is reported to have endured a long ſeaſon.

Cleomenes his ill end.

22. Not long after *Cleomenes* received his juſt reward, his own hands being his executioners; for, his treachery againſt *Demaratus* being come to light, and fearing to be called to an account for it, he firſt fled into *Theſſalie*, and thence returning into *Arcadia* ſtirred up the Inhabitants againſt the *Spartans*, and attempted to ſwear them to be true to him whitherſoever he ſhould lead them. The *Lacedæmonians* hearing of this, and fearing what he might do to them, recalled and reſtored him to his former dignity; but when he was come home, having not had before this time a very ſetled head, he now fell into a Phrenſie, as he met any one in the City, puſhing their faces with his Scepter. His friends bound him with wooden fetters, in which condition, partly by intreaties, and partly by threats, he got a Sword of his Keeper, wherewith beginning at the calf of his leg, he cut up his fleſh upwards to the thighs, and, when he ripped up his belly, died, leaving no iſſue behind him, but a pattern of Juſtice to all *Greece*, which being amuſed at his end, moſt attributed it to the corruption of *Pythia*, and that in juſtice done to *Demaratus*; the *Athenians* attributed it to his invaſion of *Eleuſine*, and his deſtroying the Temple of their gods; but the *Argives* concluded this Judgment to have fallen upon him, becauſe he had baſely killed ſuch of their Country-men as eſcaped from a battel fought with him, after he had got them out of the Temple of *Argos*, and had burnt down the grove which he had taken. This paſſage betwixt the *Lacedæmonians* and *Argives*, is to be related though it be in the ſame order *Herodotus* hath done it, it having hapned long before the death of *Cleomenes*, and as *Pauſanias* ſaith, in the beginning of his reign.

In Laconicis.

23. For Conſulting the Oracle at *Delphos*, it was anſwered, that he ſhould take *Argos*, and hereupon he raiſed an Army and invaded the Territories of that State. The *Argives* in their own defence made haſt to meet him, but he ſetting upon them as they were at dinner, put many of them to the Sword, and beſieged the reſt in the grove at *Argos*, whither they fled. Then learning their names from ſuch fugitives as were with him, he called them man by man out of the Wood to redeem themſelves (which at the *Lacedæmonian* rate was two *Minæ* a man) and ſo fifty of them coming out of the grove (in which place they could not ſee beforehand what was done to their Companions) he put to the Sword. At length one of them climbing up a tree diſcovered the matter, after which no man would come out; but then he ſet fire to the grove and burnt it and them together. After this, asking to whom of their gods the grove belonged it was anſwered to *Argus*, and ſo he found and acknowledged Himſelf deceived by the Oracle. Returning to *Sparta*, he was accuſed as having been corrupted, for that he might have taken *Argos* if he would; but the major part were ſatisfied with his excuſe and acquitted him. As for *Argos* it was rendred by this overthrow ſo deſolate of men, that the Slaves governed all things, till ſuch time as the ſons of the ſlain grew up and recovered their Patrimony; after which the Slaves conquered *Tyrinthe*, and held it, till perſwaded by *Cleander* a certain Wizard, they returned, and made War upon their Maſters, which continued long, till ſuch time as the *Argives* with difficulty remained Conquerours.

Leutychides puniſhed for the injury offered to *Demaratus*.

24. *Cleomenes* being dead, the *Æginetans* ſent and complained of *Leutychides* for the injury he had done to them, in cauſing together with *Cleomenes* ten of their principal men to be kept as Hoſtages, at *Athens*. He was given up to them, but fearing to carry a King of *Sparta* away priſoner, though for the preſent the State had given him up, they took him onely to *Athens* to procure them the liberty of their Hoſtages. But the *Athenians* put them off, as refuſing to deliver them without the authority of two Kings, ſeeing both of them committed them to their cuſtody, and the journey being to no purpoſe *Leutychides* was diſmiſſed and ſo returned; but yet he alſo paid for the injury offered to *Demaratus*. * For leading an Army into *Theſſalie*, of which as of the War he had full and ample power, he was corrupted with money, and betrayed the intereſt of his Country, after which being diſcovered, as he held the money in both his hands ſitting in his tent, he was apprehended and carried to *Sparta*, where being called to account, he fled to *Tegea*, and there died in exile, his houſe being razed as a traytor to his Countrey.

* *Herodotus Lib.* 6. *cap.* 87.

Idem cap. 87.

25. But the *Æginetans*, of old, Enemies to thoſe of *Athens*, were now much more incenſed againſt them for detaining their Hoſtages, and ſet themſelves to ſtudie a revenge. At that time there was at *Sunium* (the utmoſt promontory of *Attica*) a Gallie which (according to the cuſtom obſerved every year ſince the time of *Theſeus*) was then going to *Delphos*, aboard of which were the principal men of *Athens*: on this they ſeized, and taking the men priſoners, bound them all. The *Athenians* hereat inraged, laboured with all might on the other hand to revenge this, and agreed with one *Nicomachus* to have the City betraied to them; yet for that they could not get their Fleet together ſoon enough, they came a day too late, and miſſed of that enterpriſe. But through the councel of *Themiſtocles*, having rigged a Fleet of ſeventy Gallies (twenty of which the *Corinthians* ſold them at an inconſiderable rate, becauſe by the Law they could not give them) they ſet upon the *Æginetans*, and overthrew them in a Sea-fight. They betook themſelves for aid to the *Argives* their old friends, but having offended them not long before, they received a publick denial, yet underhand a ſupply of one thouſand Volunteers, moſt of whom fell in *Æginia* by the hands of the *Athenians*, againſt whom yet the *Æginetans* afterwards, reinforcing their power at Sea, in another battel became Victors. But what the iſſue of this War farther was, is not declared by *Herodotus*, who yet elſewhere affirmeth, that it gave occaſion to the ſafety of all *Greece*, by putting the *Athenians* upon the care of Sea-matters, whereby when *Xerxes* came, they became the bulwark thereof. Probable it is, that this War which was begun before the battel of *Marathon*, was not compoſed till the time that *Xerxes* was about to invade *Greece*, when we read that all the *Græcians* (and theſe two States amongſt the reſt) reſolved to lay aſide all private quarrels amongſt themſelves, the *Æginetans* being obſerved by * another to have had the Dominion of the Sea twenty years, untill the paſſage of *Xerxes*, which thenceforth they were forced to yield to the *Athenians*.

War betwixt the *Athenians* and *Æginetans*.

* *Euſeb in Chronico.*

26. Whileſt the *Athenians* were buſie in the War againſt *Æginia*, *Darius* ſent his Forces into *Greece* againſt them, and the *Eretrians* (inhabitants of the Iſland *Euboea*) which though they took the Citie of the latter, and made them Captives, yet were they overthrown by the former in the battel at *Marathon*. After the fight two thouſand *Spartans* came to *Athens* (being hindred hitherto by their ſuperſtition, which forbad them from a Law of *Lycurgus* not to ſtir out till the full Moon) whence they proceeded to *Marathon* to ſee the number of the ſlain, and then commending the valour of the *Athenians* returned home. Of theſe were ſlain in this fight *Callimachus* one of the *Polemachs*, *Cynægirus* commended by many Writers, who when the *Perſians* fled, and betook themſelves to their ſhips, held one of them with his hands till they were cut off, and then with his teeth, till at length he was ſlain; and *Hippias* the late Tyrant (who now hoping to recover, after twenty years baniſhment, his old power, became the conducter of the *Perſian* Forces) though neither *Herodotus* nor *Thucydides* make mention of his death, yet is reported by later Authors here to have been ſlain. *Themiſtocles* now a young man behaved himſelf gallantly in the battel; but the ſucceſs is aſcribed to the valour, and conduct of *Miltiades*, to whom, when *Ariſtides* one of the Captains had aſſigned his day's Government, the reſt when it came on their turns did the ſame, after that by the ſame help he had carried it into the Councel for a battel. Yet did he not fight till his own day came, and then ingaging, overthrew the Enemy in that memorable battel.

The battel of *Marathon*.

Juſtin. lib. 2.

Miltiades

Plutarch. in Ariſtide.

Herod. lib. 6.

27. His father was *Cimon*, who in the Tyranny of *Piſiſtratus* departed from *Athens*, and thrice obtained the Garland in the *Oylmpick* Games; yet being reconciled to *Piſiſtratns* afterwards returned, but after his death was ſlain by his faction. His eldeſt ſon, was called after his Grand-father *Steſagoras*, was brought up with their half-Uncle *Miltiades* in the *Cherſoneſus*, over which he was Prince. His other ſon was this *Miltiades*, ſo called after this his Uncle, which dying without Children, *Steſagoras* ſucceeded him, but not long after was killed by one that connterfeited himſelf a fugitive, and died alſo without iſſue. Then did the *Piſiſtratidæ* ſend *Miltiades* to ſucceed his brother in the Principality of the *Cherſoneſus*, and there he ruled when *Darius* undertook the expedition into *Scythia* and he it was that gave the *Ionians* councel to break the bridge, and leave him there wandring with his Army. Being ſetled, he married *Hegeſipyla* the daughter of *Olorus* King of *Thrace*; but the *Scythians* provoked by *Darius*, and making an excurſion as far as the *Cherſoneſus*, he

His Pedegree and Actions.

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he daring not to withſtand them fled, and after their retreat was reſtored by the *Thracians*. After ſome years *Darius* being angry with him, ſent a Fleet of *Phœnicians* to ſubdue the *Cherſoneſus*; whereupon he fled with five Gallies from *Cardia*, and came to *Athens*; but as he fled the *Phœnicians* intercepted one of them, and therein his ſon *Metiochus*, who being preſented to *Darius*, received from him houſe, lands, and a *Perſian* Wife. Being returned home, he was accuſed for poſſeſſing the Tyranny of the *Cherſoneſus*, but was acquitted, and * having perſwaded the *Athenians* to caſt *Darius* his Ambaſſador into the pit, was afterwards declared by the people one of their Captains, and thence had occaſion to obtain this famous Victory at *Marathon*.

* *Pauſan.lib.*8.

Herod. lib. 6. *cap.* 132. *&c.*

His fruitleſs expedition to *Paros.*

28. *Miltiades* flouriſhing in great glory, and grace with the people, obtained of them ſeventy Gallies well manned, not making known his intention, but profeſſing that he would much thereby benefit the State. He ſayled to the Iſland *Paros* (one of the *Cyclades* in the *Ægean*-Sea, and famous for the beſt Marble) the inhabitants of which having aſſiſted the *Perſians* at *Marathon*, he beſieged, demanding one hundred Talents of them. They would not hear of parting with money, but made proviſion for reſiſtance, whereupon he harraſſed their Territories, and more cloſely beſieged them, and attempted the City for twenty days, but leaping off from a Wall, he hurt his Thigh, and was forced to return home. There, when he was arrived, he was accuſed by *Xanthippus* (the ſon of *Ariphron*, and Father to *Pericles*, his Emulator) of Treaſon, as having voluntarily miſcarried in the Enterpriſe about *Paros*. He could not be preſent himſelf to anſwer, his Thigh now corrupting, which held him in his bed, but *Steſagorus*, or *Tiſagoras*, his brother (according to *Cor. Nepos*) or rather, other of his friends were there for him, bidding the people remember the battel at *Marathon*, and the taking of *Lemnus*, which he, having expelled the *Pelaſgians*, had ſubdued under the *Athenian* power. The people ſpared his life, but fined him fifty Talents, which ſum this expedition coſt them. One tells us it was not out of any regard to his Crime ſo much, as having lately been under the Tyranny of *Piſiſtratus*, they feared now the power of their own Citizens, and him eſpecially, who having been much practiſed in Magiſtracy and Power, and enclined naturally to a love of it, could ſcarcely as they thought bear the condition of a private life; ſo that though being called a Tyrant, he obtained that power not by his own ſeeking, but was ever found to be juſt, moderate, and humble; yet having a great name for Military matters, and thereby great intereſt, they choſe rather to condemn him though innocent, than continually to be in fear; though they might have thought on the *Oſtraciſm*.

Corn. Nepos in vita Miltiadis.

He dieth in priſon.

29. After this, *Miltiades* died in priſon of the corruption of his Thigh, as moſt have delivered, his fine being yet upon the ſcore; upon which account the *Athenians* would not ſuffer his body to be buried, till ſuch time as his Son *Cimon* offered himſelf to bonds in the room thereof. As his father before him, ſo he was unable to pay the fine, and by the Laws of *Athens* could not be releaſed until he had done it. He had then to Wife his ſiſter by the Father's ſide (as we are to take it) named *Elpinice*, * it being lawful for the *Athenians* to marry ſuch. One *Callias* there was in the City, a rich man, though of a vulgar caſt, who had gained much by the Mines; he being in love with her, offered *Cimon*, if he would part with her to him, to diſcharge the fine. *Cimon* ſleighted the offer, but ſhe vowed that ſhe would not ſuffer any of *Miltiades* his Children to die in priſon, and that to prevent ſuch a thing, ſhe would marry *Callias*, if he would perform his offer. *Cimon* was perſwaded, married her to him, and the fine being diſcharged, was ſet at liberty, which he preſently improved for his own advancement. Theſe things fell out not long after the battel at *Marathon*.

Valer. Max. lib. 5. *cap.*3. *ext. exempl.ult.*
Corn. Nepos in vita Cimonis.
Plutarch in Cimone.
* *Vide Janum Rutgerſium Var. Lect.lib.*1. *cap.*9. *& Boecleri notas ad Corn. Nepotem.*

His ſon *Cimon.*

Xerxes invadeth *Greece.*

30. Three years the *Græcians* had reſt, as from without, ſo within themſelves, till the coming of *Xerxes*; only the War betwixt the *Athenians* and *Æginetans* ſtill depended, until common danger drew them to a compoſure. As the *Athenians* had given moſt occaſion to the invaſion of *Greece*, ſo they bore the greateſt burthen thereof, and by the means of *Themiſtocles*, one of their Citizens, procured the overthrow and flight of *Xerxes*, in that by his Stratagems the *Peloponneſians* were brought to fight, and not ſuffered to depart to their ſeveral homes, which would have brought certain deſtruction to them all. Aſſiſtant to *Themiſtocles* was another of his Country-men, named *Ariſtides*, who though baniſhed by the *Oſtraciſm* through his procurement, for that, as they diſagreed in temper, ſo in their way of policy, and Government (*Themiſtocles* being quick, bold, crafty, and

Vide Plutarchum in vita Ariſtidis.

Themiſtocles and *Ariſtides.*

and eaſily changeable, according to the juncture of affairs; but *Ariſtides* conſtant and grave, only intent upon Juſtice, and who neither in jeſt nor earneſt would give way to lying, ſcurrility, or deceit) yet now with others was recalled by his means for the ſafety of the Country, and voluntarily laid aſide all private quarrels which came into competition with the publick ſafety. The ſirname of *Juſt* which firſt got this man love, afterward procured him envy, *Themiſtocles* whiſpering this into the ears of the multitude, that whilſt he took upon him to cenſure all things, he had prepared for himſelf a Throne, in the ruine of the Courts of Judicature, being defended with a ſufficient Guard. The multitude puffed up with their ſucceſs at *Marathon*, and deſigning great things in their heads, could ill bear any that excelled them in fame and glory, and therefore flocking into the City they baniſhed him by the *Oſtraciſm*, cloaking their envy at his glory with a ſpecious pretence of fear of Tyranny.

Idem ibid.

Iliad. α.

31. When they were come together to give their ſuffrages, a Countryman ignorant of Letters, is reported to have given a ſhell to *Ariſtides* (not knowing him, but to be of the common ſort) and deſired him to write for him therein the name of *Ariſtides*, at which he wondring, and asking him if ever he had received any injury at his hands, he ſaid no, but that he was troubled to hear him all over go by the name of *Juſt*. *Ariſtides* hearing this, anſwered nothing, but wrote his own name, and gave it to the man, and when he departed out of the City, with hands lifted up to heaven prayed (contrary to what *Achilles* did when he found himſelf ill uſed by *Agamemnon*) that the eſtate of *Athens* might never happen to be ſuch as to give them occaſion to think of *Ariſtides*. But in the third year after, when *Xerxes* now marched through *Theſſaly* and *Bœotia* towards *Attica*, the *Athenians* repealing their Decrees, recalled all that were baniſhed, eſpecially for fear of *Ariſtides*, leſt joyning with the Enemy, he might by his Authority draw many of their Citizens to revolt. They were miſtaken concerning the mans diſpoſition, for before the Decree for his return was made, he had not been wanting to provoke the *Græcians* as much as he could to defend their liberty; then joyned with *Themiſtocles*, though one moſt averſe to him, and for the publick good advanced him to the higheſt degree of Dignity. He joyned in endeavours with him for procuring the *Græciaus* to fight, and underſtanding that *Pſyttalia* a little Iſland before *Salamina* was poſſeſſed of the Enemy, he paſſed over thither with a party of ſuch as voluntarily followed him, and put them all to the ſword, except ſome of the chiefeſt, to whom he gave quarter. He diſpoſed Soldiers ſo throughout the Iſland, that on which quarter ſoever any of either party ſhould light, he might ſeize upon them, and ſo preſerve his friends, and provide that none of the enemy ſhould eſcape: upon which account a Trophy was erected in *Pſyttalia*. And when *Themiſtocles* to try him after the victory, ſaid, that one brave act was done, *viz.* the overthrow of *Xerxes*, but that another remained, which was, by breaking the bridge to take *Aſia* in *Europe*, he earneſtly deſired him to reject all ſuch advice, and rather to conſider how ſoon they might expel the *Mede* out of *Greece*, leſt being ſhut in with ſuch great Forces, and all opportunity of flight being taken away, he might by neceſſity be egged on to revenge.

Herodotus lib. 8 *cap.* 111.

The acts of *Themiſtocles* immediately after the flight of *Xerxes*.

Idem cap. 122 &c. & *Plutarch. in Themiſtocle.*

His glory.

32. After the overthrow and flight of *Xerxes*, *Themiſtocles* having the greateſt authority in the Fleet, went therewith againſt ſuch Iſlanders as had taken part with the *Perſians*, demanding money of them. He urged them with two powerful divinities *Perſwaſion* and *Neceſſity*, to which the inhabitants of *Andros* (one of the *Cyclades*) truſting in the ſtrength of their Fortifications, oppoſed two others as ſtrong as the former, *viz.* *Poverty* and *Impoſſibility*, whereupon they were cloſe beſieged, and it being to no purpoſe, the Fleet returned to *Salamine*, *Themiſtocles* without the privity of the reſt, going to other Iſlands, from which by his threats he exacted much money. After they had at *Salamine* divided the ſpoile, and conſecrated part thereof to their gods, they went to the *Iſthmus*, there to reward him who ſhould be thought to have beſt in the War deſerved of *Greece*. When the Captains ſeverally came to deliver their minds in writing at the Altar of *Neptune*, each one aſcribed to himſelf the firſt place in merit, but to *Themiſtocles* aſſigned the ſecond, which amounted to as much, as if by a ſilent confeſſion they had acknowledged his merit to be principal. And though by the envy of the Captains his glory was depreſſed, yet was he accounted the moſt prudent man of all *Greece*, and being invited down to *Lacedæmon*, by the judgment of that ſevere State, as the praiſe of valour was given to their own *Eurybiades*, ſo that of prudence and dexterity unto him. They gave him a crown of Olives, and the beſt Chariot they had, as a reward,

Sect. 1. and what before was not done to any mortal man by them, at his departure, to do him honour, they ſent three hundred Horſe to conduct him to the borders of their Dominions. After this, the *Græcians* overthrew *Mardonius*, whom *Xerxes* had left behind him, at the battel of *Platæa*, and the ſame day the *Perſian* Fleet at *Mycale* a Promontory of *Ionia*, which they hereby reſtored to liberty, *Xanthippus* being Archon at *Athens*; in the ſecond year of the ſeventy fifth *Olympiad*, and the ſeventh of the Reign of *Xerxes*. During which paſſages abroad, little hapned at home but in relation to them; the ſum of which elſewhere hath been related.

Learned Men. 33. As for learned men which flouriſhed during this period; ſome of the ſeven Wiſe men of *Greece* lived in the time of *Cyrus*, and about the beginning of the *Perſian* Empire. Theſe ſeven were, *Pittacus* of *Mitylene*, who was born about the thirty ſecond *Olympiad*; *Bias* of *Priene*, *Chilon* of *Lacedæmon*, and *Cleobulus* of *Lindus*, all who flouriſhed about the fourty ſeventh *Olympiad*, with *Thales* of *Miletus*, who being born about the firſt year of the thirty fifth *Olympiad*, foretold an Eclypſe of the Sun, which hapned about the third year of the fourty eighth, in the reign of *Alyattes*, and *Aſtyages*, and about the beginning of the fifty eighth, having helped *Crœſus* over the River *Halys*, by draining it with a ditch, then died. The ſixth was *Solon* of *Athens*, who died the ſame year with *Thales*, and the ſeventh *Periander* of *Corinth*. *Conſule Diogenem Laertium.*

34. Beſides theſe there was *Xenophanes* the *Colophonian*, who being born in the fortieth *Olympiad*, came into *Sicily*, when *Hieron* and *Epicharmus* flouriſhed, about the ſeventieth *Olympiad*. *Epicharmus* lived ninety ſeven years as *Lucian* writeth, and invented the Comedy eight years before the beginning of the *Perſian* Empire. *Phocylides* flouriſhed at the ſame time, to whom a Poem yet extant concerning Laws is aſcribed, though *Scaliger* thinks it made by ſome *Helleniſtick Jew*. Beſides theſe, *Anacreon* the *Teian* Poet, who as * *Pliny* writeth, was choaked with the ſtone of a raiſin. *Simonides* a Poet of the Iſland *Ceos*, where he was born in the City *Iulis*. Having lived ſome time at *Athens* with *Hipparchus* the Son of *Piſiſtratus*, he went into *Sicily* unto *Hiero*, by whom being asked what God was, he demanded a days time to conſider of it, and after that another; ſtill profeſſing that the more he ſtudied the point, the more he was to ſeek in it. Some ſay he found out the Art of Memory, and that being very covetous, he firſt expoſed the Muſes to ſale. In the ſecond year of the fifty eighth *Olympiad*, and eight before the *Perſian* Empire, died *Anaximander* the natural Philoſopher of *Miletus*. *Anaximenes* his Scholar flouriſhed about that time. *Theagenes* of *Rhegium* the moſt antient Chronographer. *Democedes* of *Crotone* a Phyſician, being taken Captive with *Polycrates* by *Oetes* the *Perſian*, was carried as a Slave to *Darius*, with whom he lived in great eſteem, after he had cured his foot and the breaſt of his wife *Atoſſa*.

**Lib. 7. cap. 7.*

35. There flouriſhed alſo in *Darius* his time, *Cadmus* of *Miletus* an Hiſtoriographer, there having been another of this name and place, according to *Suidas*, who in four Books wrote the Hiſtory of *Miletus* and all *Ionia*: and *Strabo* nameth *Cadmus*, *Phercydes* and *Hecatæus* as thoſe who firſt of all *Greeks* wrote Proſe. *Hecatæus* flouriſhed at this time, and gave light to *Herodotus*. *Phrynichus* the *Athenian*, a tragical Poet, who firſt cauſed a woman to be perſonated, and invented the verſe with four feet. *Heraclitus* the *Epheſian*, a contemner of Heatheniſh Idols, who out of fear wrote his Book of Nature in ſuch an obſcure manner, that that thence he got the name of *Scotivus* or *Dark*. *Zeno* of *Elea*, or *Velia*, in *Italy*, Scholar to *Parmenides*, who conſpiring againſt *Nearchus* the Tyrant, endured torments to death, rather than he would diſcover his complices. *Pythagoras* the ſon of *Mneſarchus* the *Samian*, but born at *Sidon* in *Phœnicia*, about the fifty third *Olympiad*. Being twelve years old he learnt of *Thales* and *Phocilydes*, from the latter taking the tranſmigration of Souls. Travelling into *Ægypt* and to *Babylon*, he drunk in the learning of both places. About the ſixty eighth *Olympiad* he went into *Italy*, where he lived firſt at *Crotone*, and then at *Metapontus*. Here he taught and conſtituted the *Italian* School or Sect, as *Thales* had done the *Ionick*. Whereas others ſuffered themſelves to be called *Sophoi*, he would be called out of modeſty *Philoſophus*. In the ſixty ſeventh *Olympiad* he found out the nature and courſe of the Planet *Venus*. In the fourth year of the ſeventieth he died at *Metapontus*, where he was ſo admired, that his houſe was made a Temple, and that part of *Italy* called *Magna Græcia*. Amongſt his Scholars was *Milo* the famous Wreſtler; and women through him became famous for learning, their Epiſtles being yet extant.

Diogenes.
Jamblicus.
Juſtin. lib. 20.
Plin. l. 2. c. 8.

UMI

SECT. II.

Of ſuch things as fell out amongſt the Græcians, *from their Victories at* Platæa *and* Mycale, *until the beginning of the* Peloponneſian *War.*

Containing the ſpace of fourty eight Years.

Thucyd. l. 1.

1. THe *Perſians* being overthrown in *Greece* both at Sea and Land, and ſo driven utterly out of *Europe*; and thoſe that fled into *Aſia* in Ships being alſo defeated at *Mycale*, *Leutychides* the *Spartan* who there commanded in chief, returned home with his Aſſociates of *Peloponneſus*. The *Athenians* with the *Ionians*, and thoſe that inhabited upon the *Helleſpont*, beſieged *Seſtus*, which the *Perſians* had ſeized on, all Winter, and reduced it; after which they alſo all departed home.

Idem ibid. Plutarch & Corn. Nepos in Themiſtocle.

2. The *Athenians* having brought home their Wives and Children, after the overthrow of *Mardonius*, had the popular Government reſtored by *Ariſtides*, and ſet themſelves to rebuild the Walls of their City in a greater compaſs, and ſtronger than had been formerly, being thereto eſpecially induced through the perſwaſion of *Themiſtocles*. The *Lacedæmonians* above all others were hereat exceedingly troubled, as conſidering that having obtained ſo great Glory by the two Victories at *Marathon* and *Salamina*, the *Athenians* would yet contend with them for the Principallity, and upon that account they wiſhed them as weak as might be. They diſſwaded them therefore from going on with their work; alledging that it was dangerous for *Greece* to have any fortified place without the *Peloponneſus*, which the *Barbarians* might ſeize on, and poſſeſs. They ſaid they would ſend anſwer by Ambaſſadors of their own, and *Themiſtocles* took the buſineſs upon him. He firſt went alone, and ordered that the reſt ſhould follow, but not till the Wall was brought to a reaſonable height; that in the mean time both Bond and Free ſhould ply the work; and ſparing no place, whether Holy or Prophane, Private or Publick, take all ſuch ſtuff for building as they might ſooneſt light on. When he came to *Sparta*, he demanded no audience, but ſought to protract the time, pretending he expected his Collegues. The *Lacedæmonians* complaining that nevertheleſs the Work went on, and that he went about to deceive them, the other Ambaſſadors arrived, of whom after he knew that the Fortifications were almoſt finiſhed, he laboured to perſwade the *Ephori* (who now had the chief Power in that State) that the things were falſe, which they were made to believe, deſired them to ſend Perſons conſiderable whom they might truſt to make inſpection, and keep him as an Hoſtage till their return.

The *Athenians* rebuild their Walls, which the *Lacedæmonians* grudge.

3. They ſent accordingly three of their principal men to *Athens*, and with them *Themiſtocles* his Collegues, to whom he gave in charge that the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould not be diſmiſſed till his return. After their departure, he demanded audience of the Magiſtrates and Senate, and then freely and openly profeſſed, that the *Athenians* by his Advice, and agreeable to the common Law of Nations, had fenced their publick and private Goods with a Wall, that they might more eaſily defend them; and neither could that be to the damage of *Greece*, of which *Athens* was the Bulwark againſt the *Barbarians*, for here the King's Navy had twice ſuffered Shipwrack. He told them, they did ill to regard more their private ambition, than what was profitable for all *Greece*; and, to conclude, if they expected the return of their Ambaſſadors, they muſt diſmiſs him, or elſe never expect to ſee them again; which accordingly they were forced to do with much private regret, though aſhamed to own the Cauſe. He adviſed his Country-men further to finiſh the work of the *Piræus* or *Port* of *Athens*, which they had begun a long time before, whilſt he was *Archon*; for he perſwaded them firſt to apply themſelves

But are eluded by *Themiſtocles*.

ſelves to Sea-matters, as the way to obtain Dominion, and commended to them that Place as moſt convenient for their deſign, having three natural Havens. The Wall he cauſed to be made ſo thick as two Carriages loaded with Stones might paſs by each other; but brought the height of it but to half of that which he had deſigned. And with ſo great a deſire was he carried out for the inlargement of the Dominion of that State, that obſerving the *Lacedæmonian* Navy to be drawn up at *Gytheum*, and ſo, eaſie to be ſet on fire, he much deſired to have it done, and told the Pepole he had a thing of great moment in his Head, but ſuch as was not to be divulged. The People appointed *Ariſtides* to confer with him, and if he approved it, reſolved he might proſecute it; but he making a report that *Themiſtocles* adviſed a thing, than which nothing was more profitable, and more unjuſt, he was commanded to deſiſt.

Plutarch in Themiſtocle. Val. Max. l. 6. c. 5. ext. exem. 2. Cic. Offic. l. 3.

4. A little after theſe things, *Pauſanias* the *Lacedæmonian*, famous for the Victory at *Platæa*, was ſent with a Fleet of twenty *Peloponneſian* Gallies, and thirty of *Attica*, againſt *Cyprus*, where he took many Towns, and *Byzantium* afterwards, held by the *Perſians*. He was very imperious towards the Aſſociates, inſomuch as he carried himſelf more like a Tyrant than a General, and being ſorely complained of to his Superiours, he was by them recalled to give an account of it. He gaped after the Kingdom of *Greece*, and to that end, entred into conſpiracy with *Xerxes*, whoſe Daughter he asked to Wife, and being accuſed of much favour ſhewed towards the *Perſians*, yet for that nothing could be proved, he was diſmiſſed, having the Government of the Fleet only taken from him. Yet returned he to the *Helleſpont*, under pretence of the War to continue his intelligence with *Xerxes*; but being expelled from *Byzantium* by the *Athenian* Soldiers, he returned not to *Sparta*, but ſtaied at *Troas*, and for that was again complained of, as holding clandeſtine Conſultations with the *Perſians*, and not having any juſt and warrantable Cauſe there to remain. Hereupon he was called home by the *Ephori* the ſecond time, and caſt into Priſon, but appearing again to his Tryal, he was the ſecond time diſmiſſed.

Thucyd. lib. 1.

Diodorus l. 11. ad Olymp. 75. ann. 4.

Pauſanias holdeth intelligence with *Xerxes.*

5. The *Lacedæmonians* ſent Dorcis with others to ſucceed *Pauſanias* in the Fleet; but the Aſſociates would take no notice of him; for *Ariſtides* the *Juſt*, Captain of the *Athenians*, ſo moderately behaved himſelf, and wrought croſs to the Actions of *Pauſanias*, that all the Cities of *Aſia* hating the others pride, joyned themſelves to him, ſo that he became the means of transferring the chief Command at Sea, which (together with that at Land alſo) had hitherto been enjoyed by the *Lacedæmonians*, unto his own Country-men; the *Spartans*, at this time not being unwilling, or oppoſing it in the leaſt, ſo aſhamed were they of the carriage of their own Citizens. The *Athenians* being thus advanced by the Aſſociates for their moderation, under pretence of revenging the States upon *Xerxes*, obtained alſo liberty to lay a Tax upon them all, how much Money one, and how many Ships another ſhould find. Officers they appointed to receive the Tributes, the ſumm of all which amounted to four hundred and ſixty Talents: *Delos* was appointed for the Treaſury, and the place to meet in, to deliberate of the Affairs of all the free States. This aſſeſs (as *Plutarch* writeth) was made by *Ariſtides* at the deſire of the *Græcians*, who relied upon his integrity; and his moderation ſo much appeared herein, that afterwards the *Athenians* inſlaved the States, and drawing the Tributes to their private uſe, firſt doubled, and then tribled the ſum. For now, whereas the whole Tax impoſed by him amounted but to four hundred and ſixty Talents, *Pericles* added almoſt a third part (as *Plutarch* reckoneth) and increaſed it to ſix hundred, and after his death it was brought to one thouſand and three hundred Talents.

Thucydid. & Diodorus ut prius. Plutarch & Corn. Nepos in Ariſtide.

The *Athenians* by the means of *Ariſtides* draw the chief power to themſelves.

6. The *Athenians* having ſetled the Tribute, under the conduct of *Cimon* the Son of *Miltiades*, took from the *Perſians Eione*, a Town of *Thrace*, ſituate upon the River *Strymon*, which they deprived of its Liberty. Then expelled they the *Dolopians* out of *Scyrus* (an Iſland in the *Ægean* Sea) and therein planted a Colony of their own; then waged they War with the *Caryſtians* in *Eubæa*, for denying them Obedience (which was compoſed) and beſieged the *Naxians* that had revolted from them, whom they forced to ſubmit. This being the firſt of all *Greek* Cities, which, contrary to the League, was ſubjected to Bondage, after it, others were as occaſion ſerved, which was taken hold of by the *Athenians*, either for that they ſent not the full Tribute, or Ships, or would not ſerve in the War when Affairs required it. The *Athenians* alſo ſeverely exacted what had been appointed, and compelled ſuch as refuſed, having forgotten their former mildneſs, now in Power, and carrying it very imperiouſly towards their Aſſociates whom they

Thucyd.

The *Naxians* inſlaved.

could order as they pleaſed. And this was alſo effected by the *Greeks* themſelves: for, to ſhun the labour of it, moſt of them choſe rather to ſend money than ſhips; whereby the *Athenians*, who had Veſſels enough, and always in readineſs, increaſed their ſtrength, and upon occaſion found them unfit for reſiſtance.

7. In the mean time *Pauſanias*, who had been called home to *Sparta*, gave not over his conſpiracy againſt his Country, though he changed his aſſociates. For he now ſought to draw the *Helotes*, or publick Slaves, into rebellion with the allurement of liberty, and hereof being detected by one *Argilius* (whom he had unchaſtly loved, and now being ſent with Letters to *Artabanus*, ſuſpected he carried a Warrant for his own death, and ſo opening them, diſcovered both his plot againſt himſelf and the State) he took ſanctuary in the Temple of *Minerva*, and there the door being made up (to which end his own Mother is ſaid to have brought the firſt ſtone) was ſtarved to death. After his death the *Spartans* ſent to *Athens* to accuſe *Themiſtocles* of the ſame Crime, who being before this baniſhed by the *Oſtraciſm*, lived at *Argos* in great eſteem, and was much envied by the *Lacedæmonians* for having done many things in his Countryes behalf, which they looked upon as tending to their prejudice. 'Tis ſaid that certain Letters were found in *Pauſanias* his Coffers, intimating a correſpondence betwixt them for promoting the affairs of the *Perſian* King, which though he aſſented not unto, yet diſcovered not the thing, hoping *Pauſanias* would either be deterred from his deſign, or the thing would come out ſome other way. But the *Spartans* laying it heavily to his charge, and his own Citizens envying his glory, though he ſought to purge himſelf by Letters, yet was he condemned, and the people perſwaded to ſend ſome to lay hold of him, and bring him up. He pereiving this, fled to *Corcyra*, and thence to *Admetus* King of the *Moloſſians*, with whom, not being able to continue in ſafety, he went to *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, by whom he was honourably received, and bountifully entertained (having three Cities given him, one for bread, another for wine, and a third for victuals, to which others add two more for Clothes and Linnen) and died at length at *Magneſia* a natural death, though ſome wrote, that ſeeing he was not able to perform his promiſe to the King of Conquering *Greece*, which by this time had many expert Captains (amongſt whom of moſt eſpecial note was *Cimon*) he poyſoned himſelf.

Idem. Plutarch. in Themiſtocl. & Ariſtide. Corn. Nepos in Pauſania. Diodrous ut ſuprà. Plutarch. & Corn. Nepos. Thucid. Val. Max. lib. 5. cap. 3. extern. exempl. 3.

The ends of *Pauſanias* and *Themiſtocles.*

And of *Ariſtides.*

8. (*a*) Four years after the baniſhment of *Themiſtocles* died *Ariſtides*, whoſe moderation and abſtinency herein appeared, that having born ſuch Offices, yet he died ſo poor, that he ſcarcely left wherewith to be buried; yet ſo grateful was the State towards his memory, that his Children were provided for at the publick charge. Eight years after the battel of *Platæa*, *Cimon* being ſent out by the *Athenians*, obtained in one day two notable victories at Sea and Land, over the *Perſians* at *Eurymedon*, a River in *Pamphylia*, which brought him and the State no little credit. After this they fell out with the *Thaſians*, who by their Colonies had taken poſſeſſion of the rich Mines of Silver and Gold, which were in that part of *Thrace*, lying upon *Macedonia*, betwixt the two Rivers *Strymon* and *Nyſſus*. For theſe Mines the *Athenians* envied them, and raiſed ſuch a contention, that they withdrew themſelves from the aſſociation; whereupon they preſently commenced War againſt them, and overthrew them in a Sea-fight, and afterwards beſieged them by Land. The *Thaſians* beſieged, ſent to the *Spartans*, deſiring them to invade *Attica*, thereby to divert the *Athenians* from them; and, having promiſed, they were ready to perform it; but that they were hindred by an Earth-quake, which ſore afflicted them, and whereupon the publick ſlaves (called *Helotes*) of the poſterity of the *Meſſenians*, took their opportunity; and rebelling, ſeized upon *Ithome* in the Territories of *Meſſenia*, being acted by that impreſſion, which *Pauſanias* not long before had made upon them.

(*a*) *Corn. Nepos & Plutarch in Ariſtide. Thucyd. lib. 1.*

The *Thaſians* envied by the *Athenians* for the Mines.

The *Lacedæmonians* diſtreſſed.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 77. ann. 4. Thucyd.

9. The *Spartans* much diſtreſſed by this rebellion, having loſt two thouſand men by the Earth-quake, beſides a great loſs in their buildings, after three years the *Thaſians* were no longer able to hold out, and yielded to ſuch hard conditions as the *Athenians* laid upon them. The *Lacedæmonians* proceeding but ſlowly in their War, ſent to the *Athenians* for aid, which was ſent them, but through ſiniſter ſuſpitions they returned it back again, and this was taken as an affront by the *Athenians*, who were very much moved at it. This was the beginning of that mutual malice and enmity which thenceforth paſſed betwixt theſe two States, and proved the riſe of a bundance of miſchief. For, the *Athenians*, preſently after the return of their men, forſook the League, which they had entred into with the *Spartans* againſt the common Enemy, and made an Alliance with the

The beginning of malice betwixt the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians.*

Argives their Adverſaries, in which they alſo comprehended the *Theſſalians*. And they that were beſieged in *Ithame*, at length in the tenth year, being forced to yield, and baniſhed *Peloponneſus* by the *Spartans*, the *Athenians* kindly received them with their Wives and Children, and gave them *Naupactus* to inhabit, which they had lately taken from the *Locrians*, called * *Ozolæ*. A little after this, another great acceſſion was made to the ſtrength of the *Athenians*, and that with the detriment of the *Spartans*; for the inhabitants of *Megara*, Neighbours to the former, being falln upon with War by the *Corinthians*, betook themſelves to them for aid, though heretofore they had been the Allies of *Sparta*. This opportunity the *Athenians* embraced, and thereby got *Megara* into their hands, with *Paga*, a Mart-Town adjoyning to it; and fortifying *Megara* as far as *Niſæa* upon the Sea, therein placed a Garriſon of their own. And this was alſo the beginning of that inveterate hatred betwixt *Corinth* and *Athens*.

* *Vide Strab. lib. 9. pag.* 427.

The beginning of the hatred betwixt *Corinth* and *Athens*.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 78. *ann.* 1.

10. During the War betwixt the *Lacedæmonians* and their ſlaves, hapned another in *Peloponneſus*, betwixt the *Argives* and the inhabitants of *Mycenæ*, upon this occaſion. The *Mycenæans* ſtanding high upon the antient Eminency of their City, would not be ſubject to the *Argives*, as the other Cities of *Argolis* were, but would live according to their own Laws and Cuſtoms, having nothing to do with the Commonwealth of *Argos*. Moreover, they contended with them about the Temple and Rites of *Juno*, challenged to themſelves the Right of Adminiſtring the *Nemæan* Games, and whereas during the War with *Xerxes*, the *Argives* had made an order not to help the *Lacedæmonians* at *Thermopylæ*, except they would yield them part of the Command, the *Mycenæans* alone joyned themſelves to them. Theſe things made the *Argives* jealous that their power increaſing with the return of their antient ſpirit, they would contend with them for Empire it ſelf, and therefore of a long time they deſired to deſtroy their City. Now ſeeing they had a good opportunity, whilſt the *Spartans* being buſied at home could afford them no relief, they raiſed a great Army out of their own, and the Neighbouring Cities, and therewith ſetting upon them, overthrew them, and laid cloſe ſiege to *Mycenæ*. They ſtoutly reſiſted for ſome time, but being exhauſted by the War, and the *Lacedæmonians* (being buſied with the *Helotes*, and lately diſtreſſed by the Earth-quake) not being able to relieve them, the Defendants being moſt ſpent, the City was taken and levelled with the ground, the inhabitants being made ſlaves, and the tenth part of them conſecrated to the god of *Argos*. So, this City happy in more antient times, a Nurſe of famous men, and renowned for worthy exploits was brought to deſtruction, and continued deſolate to the time wherein our Author lived.

The *Mycenæans* and *Argives* fall out.

Mycenæ deſtroyed.

Thucyd. lib. 1.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 80. *an.* 2. & 3.

11. The difference raiſed betwixt the *Athenians* and *Corinthians*, about *Megara*, proceeded ſo far, as the former invaded *Peloponneſus*, and joyning battel with the *Corinthians* and *Epidaurians*, were worſted; but engaging the ſecond time at the Iſland *Cecryphalea*, obtained a victory. Not long after, the War betwixt the *Athenians* and the inhabitants of *Ægina* was again renewed, wherein the former obtained a great victory at Sea, and took ſeventy Veſſels from the Iſlanders, and then beſieged the City, to the relief of which three hundred men were ſent out of *Peloponneſus*. Now the *Corinthians* judging it a fit ſeaſon to be doing ſomething, for that they were both occupied in the War of *Ægina* and *Egypt* alſo, (where their Forces were aſſiſting *Inarus* the ſon of *Pſammitichus* againſt *Artaxerxes*) invaded the Territories of *Megara*. But things hapned otherwiſe than they expected, for the *Athenians* left not the ſiege at *Ægina*, but ſent out of the City of *Athens* ſuch as were both above and under age for the War, to the aid of *Megara*, which at length carried away the victory, and forced the *Corinthians* to return home with great loſs. At this time the *Athenians* began to build their long Walls from the City to the port.

The difference betwixt the *Athenians* and *Corinthians*, about *Megara* renewed.

12. After this aroſe a War betwixt the *Phocians* and the *Dores*. The *Lacedæmonians* being Patrons to the latter, ſent to their aid eleven thouſand and five hundred men, which Army forced the *Phocians* and brought them to terms, but being about to return home, it dared neither do it by the *Criſſæan* Sea (or Gulf of *Phocis*) nor through the *Iſthmus*, for fear of the *Athenians*, and ſo ſtaid in *Bæotia* for an opportunity: eſpecially being deſired by ſome principal men of *Athens*, who hating the popular Government, hoped by the help of this Army to diſſolve it, and hinder the building of the long Walls, which made much for the intereſt of the people. But the *Athenians* hearing of this ſtop came out of the City to a man againſt

A War betwixt the *Phocians* and *Dores*.

them, having with them one thouſand *Argives*, and a great number of other Allies, ſo that the whole amounted to fourteen thouſand. Who when the *Theſſalian* horſe joyned with them gave battel to the *Lacedæmonians* near *Tanagra*, a great and famous City of *Bœotia*, not far from *Thebes*. The *Theſſalian* horſe revolting to the *Lacedæmonians*, they obtained the victory, and then preſently marching into *Megaris*, waſted it and ſo returned home through the *Iſthmus*. Yet the *Athenians* reſolving not to give way to Fortune, ſeventy two days after this defeat marched again into *Bœotia* to revenge themſelves, which by the overthrow of the inhabitants they reduced, together with *Phocis*; raſed the Walls about *Tanagra*, and compelled the *Opuntians* of *Locris* to give them one hundred Hoſtages of their richeſt men. At this time they perfected their long Walls; *Ægina* was yielded to them, the Walls of which they pulled down, took away their ſhipping, and impoſed Tribute upon them for the future. And *Tolmides* their Captain coaſting *Peloponneſus* with a Fleet, burnt the *Lacedæmonian* Arcenal at *Gythium*, took *Chalcis*, a Town of the *Corinthians*, and landing his men, overthrew the *Sicyonians* in fight.

Idem ad ann. 4. *& ad Olymp.* 81. *ann.* 1.

13. But in *Egypt* the *Aahenians* had bad ſucceſs, *Inarus* being taken and Crucified, and few of their men after ſix years returning home: fifty Gallies alſo being ſent to their relief were moſt of them taken and ſunk by the *Phœnicians*. Other Expeditions they made alſo with like ſucceſs, ſave that they overthrew the *Sicyonians* again in battel; which made them after three years willing to make truce with the *Peloponneſians* for five years, by the advice of *Cimon*, whom being baniſhed by the *Oſtraciſm* they had recalled; during which time they warred in *(b) Cyprus* under conduct of *Cimon*, and in *Egypt* in the ſervice of *Amyrteus* the King, with good ſucceſs. *(c)* After this followed the *Holy War*, as they called it, the *Spartans* taking the Temple at *Delphos* from the *Phocians*, and giving it up to the *Delphians*, from whom the *Athenians* again took it and reſtored it to the *Phocians*. Afterwards the *(d) Bœotians* revolted from the *Athenians*; who thereupon in great indignation under conduct of *Tolmides* invaded them, took *Chæronea* and other Towns, in which putting a Garriſon, and returning homewards they light upon the Enemy, who killed and took them all, and amongſt others *Tolmides* was ſlain, who had made this bold attempt, contrary to the advice of *Pericles* the Son of *Xantippus*, who now had begun to grow eminent. Hereat the *Athenians* exceedingly daſhed, to redeem their priſoners parted with all *Bœotia*, and not long after all *Eubœa* revolted from them, their credit being now on the decaying hand. To the recovery of this Iſland *Pericles* was ſent, who ſcarcely being landed, news came that *Megara* had alſo revolted, and that the *Peloponneſians* were about to invade *Attica*.

Thucyd lib. 1.

The *Athenians* forced by bad ſucceſs to make a Truce with the *Peloponneſians*,

(b) Diodorus ad Olymp. 82. *ann.* 3.
(c) Toucyd. ut prius.
(d) Idem. Diodorus ad Olymp. 83. *ann.* 2.

They part with *Bœotia*, & *Eubœa* revolts.

14. This conſtrained him to return, and the *Peloponneſians* accordingly invaded *Attica* under the command of *Pliſtonax* the ſon of *Pauſanias* the *Lacedæmonian* King. They waſted all as far as *Eleuſine*; but *Pericles* there oppoſing them, corrupted *Cleandridas* Counſellour to *Pliſtonax* with gold, whereby they were deterred, and returned home, where *Cleandridas* was rewarded with death, and *Pliſtonax* with baniſhment. *Pericles* having ſo eaſily diſpatched his affairs here, returned into *Eubœa*; which he wholly reduced, pulled down the Walls of *Chalcis*, and baniſhed only the Inhabitants of *Heſtiæa*, which he peopled with a Colony of his own Citizens. This various fortune inclined both ſides to an accommodation, and procured a League to be made for thirty years betwixt the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*, with their allies on both ſides, whereby *Niſæa*, *Achaia*, *Pagæ*, and *Trazene*, were ſet free by the *Athenians*, and it was made lawful for any City that had not been aſſociate with either part, to joyn it ſelf to which it beſt liked; which Article afterwards was urged by them of *Corcyra* to *Athens*, whereby they demonſtrated that they ought not to deny them the liberty of aſſociation.

Toucyd. lib. 1. *Diodorus ad Olymp.* 83. *ann.* 3, *& ann.* 4. æ

Pericles reduceth *Eubœa*, and various fortune inclineth both ſides to an accommodation.

15. Six years after, a War aroſe betwixt the Inhabitants of *Miletus* and thoſe of *Samus*, about *Priene* a Town in *Ionia*, under the Mountain *Mycale*. The *Mileſian* affairs going down the wind they ſent to *Athens*, where they grievouſly accuſed the other, with whom joyned alſo many of the *Samians* themſelves, who not being imployed in the Government, deſired to have it changed. The *Athenians* being perſwaded by them, manned out fourty ſhips againſt *Samus*, by which power *Pericles* reſtored the Popular Government, exacted eighty Talents, and taking for Hoſtages fifty Boys, and as many Men, which they kept in cuſtody at *Lemnus*, put a Garriſon of their own into *Samus* it ſelf. But ſome of the Citizens who had withdrawn themſelves into the continent, entred into a con-

Toucyd. Diodorus ad Olymp. 84. *an.* 4.

Stirs in *Samus*. *Pericles* victorious there.

a conſpiracy with the greateſt in the Town, and aſſociating to them *Piſſuthnes* the Governour of *Sardis* for the *Perſians*, with ſeven hundred Auxiliaries paſſed over by night into the Iſland, and ſetting upon the People on a ſudain (of which they overthrew the major part, and having their Hoſtages delivered to them by ſtealth out of *Lemnus*, delivered up the *Athenian* Garriſon with the Officers into the hands of *Piſſuthnes*) and brake out into open rebellion, and drawing in the *Byzantians* to their party, made War upon *Miletus*.

16. The *Athenians*, having notice of this preſently diſpatched away ſixty Gallies againſt *Samus*, with fourty four of which *Pericles* and his nine Colleagues ſailing for *Miletus*, ingaged with the *Samian* Fleet conſiſting of ſeventy Veſſels (whereof twenty were laden with Soldiers) at the Iſland *Tragiæ*, and obtained the victory, and afterwards with the other part of the Fleet, and a new ſupply of fourty ſhips, ſailing to *Samus*, overthrew the Inhabitants, and cloſely beſieged them both by Sea and Land. *Pericles*, whilſt things were thus ordering, heard that the *Phœnicians* were coming to the relief of the beſieged, to meet whom he took away with him ſixty Gallies, and bent his courſe towards *Caria*, after whoſe departure the *Samians* perceiving the Guards thinner than uſual, broke out of the Haven, put to flight the ſhips that lay neareſt, overthrew the next, and ſo recovering the maſtery of the adjoyning Sea, for fourteen days exported and imported what they pleaſed. But *Pericles* being returned with ſixty other ſhips from *Attica* (commanded by excellent Captains) beſides thirty others from *Chius* and *Lesbus*, they were beſieged cloſer than ever, and being ſpent with the War, in the ninth month of the ſiege yielded up the City. The conditions were hard enough, *viz. To demoliſh their Walls, give Hoſtages, deliver up their ſhips, and pay the charge of the War. Byzantium* affrighted at this ſucceſs, returned alſo to it's former obedience.

The City yielded to him.

A. M. 3566.
Olymp. 85. *an.* 2. *V. C.* 314.
Artax. Longim. 25.

17. Shortly after this, fell out thoſe motions which occaſioned the *Corinthian*, and ſo by conſequence laid the foundation of the *Peloponneſian* War, about the ſecond of the eighty fifth *Olympiad*, and the twenty fifth of the reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*.

Thucyd. ut ſupra
Diodorus ad. Olymp. 85. *an.* 2.

18. The Inhabitants of the Iſland *Corcyra*, who were a Colony of the *Corinthians*, ſome eighty five years after their plantation in that Iſland (formerly called *Phæachus*, ſituate one the *Illyrian* ſhore, and being very populous) ſent out a Colony which built a City called *Epidamnus*, and afterwards *Dyrrachium*, but not without the leave of *Corinth* the Metropolis, which at their requeſt had aſſigned a Citizen of their own (*Phalius* of the poſterity of *Hercules*) according to the Law and Cuſtom, to be Prince of the Colony; and out of the number of their own Citizens and other *Dores* made up the number. This new Colony ſeated in a very convenient place, in a ſhort time flouriſhed exceedingly, and abounding with plenty of all things, as uſually it hapneth, fell out of luxury unto civil diſſentions about the Government, and hereat occaſion being taken by their next neighbours the *Taulantians* (who made War upon them) ſuffered no little dammage. At length the People incenſed againſt the great ones expelled them the City, who thereupon betaking themſelves to the *Taulantians*, procured them to diſtreſs *Epidamnus* both by land and ſea, by which the people being ſtraitned ſent to the *Corcyræans* their Founders, and Patrons, humbly to beſeech them that by their authority they would make an accommodation betwixt them and their exiles, and bring the *Taulantians* to ceaſe their Hoſtility. The *Corcyræans*, whether diſapproving the cauſe, or minding ſomething elſe, rejected their petition, who then by direction from the Oracle at *Delphos*, betook themſelves to the *Corinthians*, Founders of them both, and gave up their Colony into their hands. They were glad of this occaſion, and preſently promiſed them all aſſiſtance, being angry with the *Corcyræans*, who upon their good fortune were grown inſolent, and paid not the reſpect to them which was due from a Colony to the Metropolis; for they were ſo rich and ſtrong, that giving way to no City of *Greece* in the former reſpect, they had alſo one hundred and twenty Gallies readily furniſhed, which drew envy upon them from the *Corinthians*, inſomuch that now by the help of their Friends they reſolved to chaſtiſe them, and ſent a Party of Soldiers to defend *Epidamnus*, together with new planters to be imbodied into the Colony.

Stirs at *Epidamnus*, a Colony of the *Corcyræans*.

Procure a falling out betwixt the *Corcyræans* and the *Corinthians* their founders.

19. The *Corcyræans* took this heavily that they ſhould intermeddle with the affairs of their Colony, and being ſollicited by ſuch exiles as had fled to them, ſent a Fleet to *Epidamnus*, commanding it to receive the exiles without delay, and caſt out the new Planters with the *Corinthian* Garriſon. But the *Epidamnians* refuſing

Sect. 2.

Thucyd. Diodorus ad Olymp 85. *ann.* 3, & 4.

The *Corcyræans* victorious.

to do it, and the *Corinthians* making great proviſions for the War, they ſent their Ambaſſadors to *Corinth* with ſome *Spartans* and *Sicyonians* to bear witneſs of the matter, and offered to put it to a *reference* before equal Judges: But the *Corinthians* neglecting their Meſſage, as reſolved for War, they alſo made preparation for it. They ſtill continuing the Siege before *Epidamnus*, the *Corinthians* ſent a Fleet of ſeventy five Gallies, armed with two thouſand fighting men thither, but leaving fourty for the carrying on of the Siege, with eighty more they ingaged with them in a Sea-Fight near the Promontory of *Actium*, and got the Victory. The ſame day *Epidamnus* was yielded to that party they had left at the Siege, and ſo hereby getting the Dominion of the Sea far and wide, and growing proud upon their good Fortune, they invaded the Territories of the Allies of their Enemies, to ſuccour whom the *Corinthians* manned out another Fleet, and landed an Army at *Actium*. They pitched alſo there their Tents againſt them, but Winter drawing on, they both departed without any Act of Hoſtility; the *Corinthians* all that Year, and the Year following, out of hatred to the other, uſing all their endeavours for rigging a new Fleet, and procuring plenty of Rowers out of *Peloponneſus* and other parts of *Greece*.

Thucyd. Diodorus ad Olymp. 86. *an.* 1.

They enter into ſociety with *Athens.*

The deſign of the *Athenians* herein.

Plutarch in Pericle.

20. The *Corcyræans* before this time not joyned in alliance with any other State, now began to look about them how they might ſtrengthen themſelves. They ſent to *Athens*, deſiring to enter into ſociety with that State, and to have aſſiſtance from it; and the *Corinthians* having notice hereof, ſent their Ambaſſadors to oppoſe them. The *Corcyræans* were firſt heard, making a large diſcourſe, and then the *Corinthians* larger than they. The matter was brought twice before the People, which at length reſolved that a defenſive League ſhould be made with them of *Corcyra*, that the one ſhould aſſiſt the other in caſe they were aſſaulted by an Enemy: but to make any Invaſion Aſſiſtance was denied, leſt they ſhould break the Leagues formerly made with other States. The *Athenians* reſolved on this courſe, for that they ſaw plainly they muſt have War with the *Peloponneſians*, and therefore deſired to have the *Corcyræans* who were very powerful at Sea, on their ſide; and they thought it would be for their intereſt to have the *Corinthians* and their Aſſociates to ſpend their Stock upon thoſe of *Corcyra*, which Iſland they alſo looked upon as very commodious for paſſage either into *Sicilie* or *Italy*. Ten Triremes therefore were decreed to aſſiſt the *Corcyræans*, in caſe they were in any danger, and three Captains ſent, one of which was *Lacedæmonius* the Son of *Cimon*, whom *Pericles* envying for his Fathers ſake, procured that no more Aſſiſtance ſhould be ſent, that ſo the buſineſs might miſcarry under him; but afterwards out of plain Shame he ſent another Squadron of Ships which came too late. Theſe Generals had in charge by all means to decline the Fight with the *Corinthians*, except they ſet upon the *Corcyræans*, whom then they were to protect to the utmoſt.

The *Corinthians* overthrown in a Sea-fight.

21. This Squadron of ten Ships joyning with the *Corcyræans*, made up their Fleet one hundred and twenty Sail, with which they gave Battel to the *Corinthians* (who had ninty of their own, and ſixty from their Allies) betwixt the Iſland *Corcyra* and the continent of *Epirus*. This Fight (deſcribed moſt accurately by *Thucydides*) was the moſt valiantly fought, and with the greateſt number of Ships, of any that thoſe times had happened betwixt the *Græcians* themſelves. The *Athenians* being mindful of the Charge received from their Superious, at the firſt rather thought to deter, than to fight with the Enemy, ſuccouring the *Corcyræans* in ſome places; but they being fully worſted and put to flight in that Wing wherein they ſtood, they then with all their might fell upon the *Corinthians*, and ſpoiled their Victory in that part, and rendred it Ambiguous as to both ſides. On the ſame day both parties rallied for a freſh Ingagement, and they were ſounding to the Charge, when unexpectedly the *Corinthians* eſpied twenty *Athenian* Ships, which *Pericles* had now ſent to aſſiſt with the other ten, at which ſight being utterly diſcouraged (as fearing more might follow them) they fell off again, to the admiration of the *Corcyræans*, who knew nothing of the coming of theſe Ships. Great Slaughter was made on both ſides; the *Corinthians* loſt thirty Ships, and *Corcyræans* ſeventy, beſides one thouſand of their men taken Priſoners, whom as the *Corcyræans* carried homewards, they took *Anactorium* (a Town ſituate upon the Bay of *Ambracia*) in their way, and therein left ſome Planters of their own. This Battel was fought in the twenty ninth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, the tenth of the eighty ſixth *Olympiad*, and five years almoſt before the beginning of the *Peloponneſian* War, *Lyſimachus* being *Archon* at *Athens*.

22. Eight

This with other things exaſperate them and the *Peloponneſians* againſt the *Athenians*.

22. Eight hundred of the Priſoners which had been formerly Slaves they ſold, and the reſt (many of them being of the chiefeſt Rank of the *Corinthians*) they kindly entertained. Thus was *Corcyra* as it were made victorious, and the *Athenian* Ships diſmiſſed, which proved the firſt cauſe of the *Corinthians* making War upon the *Athenians*. Others followed, which not only inraged them, but the other *Peloponneſians* againſt the *Athenians*. *Potidæa*, a Town ſituate in the *Iſthmus* of *Pallene* (formerly called *Plegra*, and afterwards *Caſſandrea* from *Caſſander* King of *Macedonia*) was a Colony of the *Corinthians*, but aſſociated with the *Athenians*. The Inhabitants thereof were now commanded by the later to demoliſh that part of their Wall, which was next *Pallene*, to give Hoſtages, and to caſt out the Magiſtrate which every Year the *Corinthians* uſed to ſend them, and receive no more from them afterwards. This the *Athenians* did, for that they perceived the *Corinthians* to be much exaſperated againſt them, and feared that joyning with *Perdiccas* King of *Macedonia*, with whom they were at odds, and upon whoſe Kingdom *Potidæa* bordered, they would ſollicite the place to revolt, and by its example would entice the reſt of the Towns thereabout from their alliance. But *Perdiccas* being firſt aware hereof (againſt whom the *Athenians* had Armed his Brother *Philip* and *Derdas*) in great wrath ſent to *Lacedæmon* to ſtir them up with the other *Peloponneſian* States to make War upon them, and invited the *Potidæans* to revolt, with other Towns in *Thrace*.

Strabo lib. 7. *pag.* 330. B. *Thucyd. Diod. paulo aliter ad Olymp.* 86. *ann.* 2.

23. The *Athenians* being not ignorant of all this, to prevent the revolt of the Towns, ſent order to the Captains of the thirty Gallies lately ſent into thoſe parts, firſt to ſee the execution of their Commands laid upon *Potidæa*, and take all poſſible care that the other places ſhould not give ear to any ſiniſter advice. They of *Potidæa* ſent to *Athens*, deſiring earneſtly that nothing of extremity might be put upon them; but yet they diſpatched alſo Ambaſſadors (together with ſome from the *Corinthians* their Founders) to *Sparta*, to deſire aid thence, that they might provide for the worſt. Having no good Anſwer from *Athens*, but affrighted with the coming of the Fleet; and on the other hand being promiſed by the *Lacedæmonians*, that in caſe the *Athenians* fell upon them, they would ſtraight invade *Attica*, they took the advice of *Perdiccas*, and revolted with the *Chalſidenſians* and *Bottiæans*. The *Athenian* Fleet having notice hereof departed from *Thrace*, where they had arrived, and ſayling to *Macedonia*, joyned their Power with *Philip* and *Derdas* againſt *Perdiccas*. The *Corinthians* to help their Friends at *Potidæa*, ſent one thouſand and ſix hundred men, partly of their own, and partly hired out of *Peloponneſus*, of heavy Armour; and four hundred beſides light armed, who fourty days after the revolt of the Town came into *Thrace*, under conduct of *Ariſtæus*, the Son of *Adimantus*.

Thucyd. lib. 1. *Diodorus ad Olymp.* 87. *ann.* 1.

24. The *Athenians* hearing of this aid, to give greater ſtrength to their Affairs in *Thrace*, ſent to their former Forces two thouſand armed men, with a Fleet of fourty Gallies, under the command of *Callias*, the Son of *Calliades*, with whom were joyned in Commiſſion four others. Being arrived in *Macedonia*, they found their Friends who had joyned with *Philip* to have taken *Therma*, and now intent upon the Siege of *Pydna*, and joyned themſelves to them; but ſeeing how their Affairs would be endangered by the Conjunction of *Perdiccas* with the *Corinthian* Forces and *Potidæa*, they made up a Peace with the King, and attempting *Berrhæa* in their way, made haſt towards *Potidæa*, and pitched their Tents at *Gigonum*, whither another *Athenian* Fleet of ſeventy Gallies alſo came. *Perdiccas* the *Macedonian* King again revolted to the *Potidæns*, and joyned himſelf with the *Corinthian* Army, betwixt which, and that of the *Athenians* enſued a Fight, wherein the *Athenians* were worſted in that Wing wherewith they fought with the *Corinthians*; but got the better againſt *Perdiccas*, which *Ariſteus* the *Corinthian* General ſeeing, after he returned from the purſute, broke through, and fled into *Potidæa*. Of the *Athenians* were ſlain one hundred and fifty, amongſt whom *Callias* the General, but of the contrary part few leſs than three hundred. The *Athenians* after this Victory drew a Line againſt the Town, and a ſupply of one thouſand and ſix hundred freſh men being ſent from *Athens* under the Command of *Phormio*, cloſely beſieged it both by Sea and Land. Theſe were the mutual cauſes of the Heart-burnings of the *Corinthians* and *Peloponneſians* againſt the *Athenians*, and of the *Athenians* againſt them, about *Corcyra*, and *Potidæa*, both of them Colonies of the *Corinthians*, of which the *Athenians* defended the former againſt its founders, whilſt they endeavoured to chaſtiſe it; and they again inticed the later, with other Towns which were Tributaries to *Athens*, to renounce their allegiance to that State.

The *Athenians* getting the better,

Cloſely beſiege *Potidæa*.

25. *Po-*

Thucyd.

The States of *Peloponneſus* accuſe the *Athenians* at *Lacedæmon*.

25. *Potidæa* being thus blocked up, the *Corinthians* were highly concerned, both for the Town it ſelf, and ſuch of their own Citizens as were therein; and reſolving that it was no time now to be idle, ſent to their aſſociates of *Peloponneſus* to meet them at *Lacedæmon*, where they grievouſly inveighed againſt the *Athenians*. Liberty being given to every man to ſpeak, ſeveral others alſo ſharply accuſed them, but eſpecially the Deputies of *Megara*, for many injuries, and chiefly for that, contrary to the agreement made with them, they had interdicted them the Ports and Market of *Athens*. The *Corinthians* cunningly ſuffered the reſt to ſpeak firſt, that by them the *Lacedæmonians* might be incenſed againſt the *Athenians*, but then, after all, more fully and earneſtly laid open their Faults, aggravated the injuries received from them, preſſed the great danger which threatned *Peloponneſus* from their Power, checked the *Lacedæmonians* for their too much remiſneſs in vindicating the cauſe of their diſtreſſed Friends and Allies, and plainly declared, that if now they would not do it, they muſt ſtrengthen themſelves with other Confederates.

Their Ambaſſadors anſwer in their behalf.

26. It hapned at this time that there were at *Lacedæmon* ſome Ambaſſadors ſent from *Athens* upon other buſineſs, who underſtanding how things went, deſired alſo to be heard, and this being obtained, ſought to allay the Stomach of the *Peloponneſians* by calm and prudent Reaſons. They deſired not to be underſtood, as though they came to plead the cauſe of their State which they neither could acknowledge as guilty, nor own them as their Judges: but deſired, and adviſed them not raſhly to reſolve upon any violent Courſe, nor give credit to all that was objected, untill ſuch time as they could throughly underſtand the caſe; for that things being once confounded could not eaſily again be compoſed. They mentioned the Commodities of Peace, and the Evils that come by War; charged theſe Calumnies upon the Envy of their Accuſers, who could not behold the Power of *Athens* without prejudice, though it was obtained no otherwiſe than as the Reward of Vertue, as the Aſſociates themſelves could not but witneſs, who knew well enough how the *Athenians* merited at *Marathon* of all *Greece*, as afterwards at *Salamine*; and they averred, that they had uſed their Power ſo moderately, as none had any reaſon to complain. That they had increaſed their Strength they denied not, which to endeavour was agreeable to the Law of Nature, as alſo that the weaker ſhould obey the more potent; ſo that it was without injury, though not without Force, which was abſolutely neceſſary for the maintenance of any Command, and was practiſed not only by themſelves, but the *Lacedæmonians* alſo, and would ever ſo be in the like Caſes. Again, they laid before them the uncertainty of the event of War, and concluded with a religious proteſtation, concerning their innocency, and deſire of Peace.

Archidamus King of *Lacedæmon* his prudent diſcourſe.

27. The *Lacedæmonians* having heard both Parties, debated the buſineſs amongſt themſelves. They were generally inclined to make War preſently upon the *Athenians* as the Authors of many Injuries, which *Archidamus*, one of their Kings, and a very prudent, and moderate man obſerving, by a grave Speech dehorted them, not from undertaking a War for the ſafety of their Allies, but ruſhing into it; for that the ſtrength of *Athens*, and of their own State (as he ſaid) being compared, there was need of a ſufficient time to make Proviſion for it, in which not only the aſſiſtance of the *Græcians*, but of the *Barbarians* alſo was requiſite. He ſhewed that the *Athenians* could not be ſubdued by the waſting of *Attica*, having alſo Proviſions in a readineſs, and that it was no policy for them being unprovided to deal with ſuch an Enemy: but that rather the thing was to be deferred till things could be in a readineſs, in which time the *Athenians* might perhaps be in a better mind, and give ſatisfaction without conſtraint; and this could not turn to the diſgrace of the *Lacedæmonians*, in that they followed the Example of their Anceſtors: Laſtly, that by how much they took Arms with more advice, they ſhould by ſo much conclude with more happineſs and celerity. But *Sthenelaides* one of the *Ephori*, and who ſpake laſt, diſſenting from the Judgment of *Archidamus*, very ſharply perſwaded the People to take up Arms againſt the *Athenians*, as violators of the former Leagues, and War was decreed accordingly, not ſo much at the inſtance of their Confederates, as out of fear of the growing Power of *Athens*. This was done in the fourteenth Year after the ending of the *Eubæan* War, and the Truce made for thirty years.

which is croſſed by *Sthenelaides*, and War is decreed.

28. The *Lacedæmonians* acquainted the Deputies with what was reſolved; but withal told them they would ſignifie it to all their Aſſociates, that if ſo be the

War

Sect. 2.

The *Lacedæmonians* enquire at *Delphos* about it.

War ſhould be decreed by the common conſent, it might be carried on with their joynt Force: then departed they to their ſeveral homes to know the minds of their ſuperiours, and the *Athenian* Ambaſſadors returned. After their departure, the *Lacedæmonians*, before the matter ſhould any further proceed, ſent to *Delphos* to enquire of the Oracle concerning the event of the War, whence receiving ſuch anſwer as they wiſhed, they again ſent for their Allies, and propounded the buſineſs to them, who unanimouſly decreed it, and it was exceedingly preſſed by the *Corinthians*, who, before this meeting, for fear of the loſs of *Potidæa* had ſent about it. It being not expedient to begin the War unprovided, all were deſired to repair home, and make all Proviſions poſſible (in which was almoſt ſpent a Year) and in the mean time Ambaſſadors were ſent to *Athens* to make demands, of which, if any were denied, a more ſpecious pretence might be obtained for the War.

They ſend frivolous meſſages to *Athens*.

29. In the firſt Embaſſie they demanded the expiation of a piacular Offence, in which *Pericles* was involved by his Mothers Kindred. For, knowing him to be a man of great Counſel and Courage, by all means they endeavoured upon this account to have him baniſhed; but the other objected to the *Lacedæmonians*, that they had drawn out of the Temple of *Neptune* ſome of their *Helots*, and ſlain them, and ſtarved *Pauſanias* to death in that of *Pallas Chalciæca*, where he took Sanctuary. After this the *Spartans* ſent to require them to abſtain from *Potidæa*, to ſet at liberty *Ægina*, and eſpecially they preſſed them to let the Inhabitants of *Megara* have the liberty of their Port and Market, without which they muſt expect nothing but War: but to none of theſe Demands was there given a ſatisfying Anſwer, the *Megarians* being accuſed for appropriating to their own uſe the Ground which belonged to the Goddeſs of *Eleuſine*, and receiving ſuch fugitive Slaves as fled from *Athens*. In the third Meſſage *Ramphius* and his Collegues added but this to the other demands, that the *Lacedæmonians* were deſirous of Peace, and would give it, in caſe the *Athenians* would ſuffer all the *Græcians* to be free, and live according to their own Laws. Theſe things thus often the *Spartans* demanded, to amuſe the other party till they themſelves could be provided, and to catch at a ſpecious pretence for a quarrel.

*Thucyd.lib.*1. *Diodorus ex Ephoro ad Olymp.*87. *ann.*2.

The *Athenians* by the advice of *Pericles*, gave a poſitive anſwer once for all by way of denial.

30. The *Athenians* upon the laſt Meſſage called the Aſſembly of the People to deliberate about the matter, that they might ſend a clear and poſſitive Anſwer, once for all. Many ſpeaking *pro* and *con*, at length *Pericles* the moſt excellent of all the *Athenians* of that Age, both for doing and ſpeaking, with his Eloquence (wherewith he was ſaid by the Poets to Thunder and Lighten) eaſily drew the Multitude to his Mind. After he had inveighed againſt the *Lacedæmonians* as ſwollen with Envy, he excuſed themſelves, and incouraged the People by agreeents drawn from their Ability to undertake the War. He adviſed that this Anſwer ſhould be returned: That the Decree againſt them of *Megara* ſhould be reſcinded, in caſe the *Lacedæmonians* would give ſuch freedom of their City to the *Athenians* and other of the Aſſociates: that they would ſet all Cities under their Juriſdiction at liberty, which were free before, when the League ſhould be entred into: provided the *Spartans* would do the ſame, and ſuffer ſuch as were under them to live according to their own Cuſtoms, and not to be tyed to thoſe of *Laconia*: and laſtly, that they were content to be judged concerning theſe things in controverſie, according to the Leagues; neither would they firſt make War, but effectually defend themſelves. He added, that this was both juſt and honourable, and if they undertook the War chearfully, they ſhould find their Enemies leſs conſiderable: that out of the greateſt Extremities the greateſt Honour was wont to accrue both to their State in general, and to each Citizen in particular, which he made good by inſtancing in the *Median* War, at which time the City was far leſs conſiderable than at preſent, and whence it arrived to this pitch of greatneſs: He told them it was fit they ſhould imitate their Anceſtors, and leave not the Empire received from them diminiſhed unto poſterity.

31. Why *Pericles* ſhould be ſo earneſt for the War (*a*) ſeveral reaſons have been alleged, and this (*b*) amongſt the reſt, that he was not able to make account for the publick Money he had received to build a Portal in the Caſtle to the Honour of *Minerva*. He conſumed abundance of Treaſure in this Work, and none looking after him, diverted the publick Money taken up under that pretence to other uſes. Whilſt he conſidered hereof, and ſat ſorrowful at home, *Alcibiades* a Boy and his Siſters Son (whom after his Brother in Laws death

(*a*) *Vide Plutarch in Pericle.* (*b*) *Idem ibid. Val. Max. l.* 3. *c.* 1. *ext.exempl. Diodorus ut ſupra.*

he brought up in his own Houſe, and who afterwards became very eminent) came and asked him why he was ſo ſad, to whom he anſwered, becauſe he *knew not how to give an account of his Office*, at which the Boy replied, *Study therefore rather how thou mayſt not need to give an account of it.* This moſt prudent man deſtitute of advice from himſelf, uſed this of a Child, and for this reaſon perſwaded the People to the War, that being intangled therein they might have no leiſure to call him to account for the disburſement of the Money. What ever his Motives were, the People (c) decreed what he propoſed, and anſwered the *Lacedæmonians* particularly according to what he ſaid, and in general, that they would do nothing they had enjoyned them, but were ready to acquit themſelves of theſe matters laid againſt them, before equal and indifferent Judges; and with this anſwer the Ambaſſadors returned to *Lacedæmon*, whence no more came. Theſe were the Quarrels which fore-ran the War, being begun about the Affairs of *Epidamnus* and *Corcyra*. Notwithſtanding this diſagreement, yet they continued commerce with each other, went to and fro without any publick Officer, or Herauld; but yet not without jealouſy one of another. For theſe things that happened made confuſion in the Leagues, and miniſtred matter for War.

Alcibiades when a Child, his advice to his Uncle *Pericles.*

(c) *Thucyd. in fine. lib.* 1.

32. Several learned Men flouriſhed in this ſpace, as (a) *Æſchylus* the Tragœdian, (b) *Iccus* a famous Phyſician of *Tarentum* in *Italy*, (c) *Anaxagoras* the *Clazomenian* Philoſopher, who was defended by his Scholar *Pericles*, when accuſed of Atheiſm; (d) *Panyiaſis* a famous Poet; *Pericles* himſelf, the Son of *Xanthippus*, accounted by (e) *Cicero* the firſt *Athenian* Orator. Beſides theſe, (f) *Charondas* and *Zaleucus* both Scholars of *Pythagoras*, whereof the former gave Laws to the *Thurians*, and the other to the *Locrians*; *Meliſſus*, *Protagoras* the Atheiſt, and *Empedocles*, (g) all who flouriſhed about the eighty fourth *Olympiad.* *Herodotus* of *Halicarnaſſus*, who being ſent to *Thurium* in *Italy* with ſome new Planters to reſtore the Colony there, lived to the beginning of the *Peloponneſian* War which he mentioneth; and in the fourty ſecond Year of his Age, about the third of the eighty fourth *Olympiad*, recited his Book at (h) *Athens* in the Aſſembly of the *Panathenæa*, by the emulation of which *Thucydides* then young was much moved; ſo that afterwards this ſtirred him up to write. (i) *Euripides* the Tragœdian, the Scholar of *Anaxagoras*, (k) *Sophocles*, who was choſen General of the *Athenian* Forces, (l) *Phrynicus* the Comœdian, and (m) *Pindar* a *Theban* the Prince of *Lyrick* Poets, who died aged eighty five years, in the ſecond of the eighty ſixth *Olympiad.* (n) *Meton* an *Athenian* in the year before the beginning of the *Peloponneſian* War (according to the account of *Thucydides*) *Apſeudes* entring into his Office of *Archon*, began his *Cycle* of the *Moon*, containing ninteen Years. In this ſpace, though not preciſely, the *Lunations* do recur; ſo that if the *Quadrature* of the Moon fall out as at this day this year; the ſame ſhall return the ſame day of the nineteenth year ſucceeding. Either becauſe it was written in Letters of Gold, or for the precious uſe of it, it obtained to be called, as ſtill it is, the *Golden Number.* It is found by adding an unit unto the Year of our Lord, and dividing the whole by ninteen. The remainder ſhall be the *Cycle* of the *Moon*; or if nothing remain, the *Cycle* is out; that is *Nineteen.*

(a) *Anonymus ad. Ol.* 76. *an.* 4.

(b) *Steph. in* Τάρας.

(c) *Plutarch in Pericle.*

(d) *Anonym ad Olymp.* 78. *an.* 1.

(e) *In Bruto.*

(f) *Diodorus.*

(g) *Diog. Laert Anonymus.*

(h) *Voſſius de ſcript. Græcis.*

(i) *Euſeb.*

(k) *Schol. in vita Anonym. Suidas.*

(m) *Idem.*

(n) *Cappellus Cenſorinus c.* 18. *Ælian. var. hiſt. lib.* 10. *c.* 7. & *lib.* 13. *c.* 12.

SECT. III.

From the beginning of the Peloponneſian *War, to the ending thereof.*

Containing the ſpace of twenty ſeven Years.

Thucyd.lib.2. ad ann. 1. Diodorus ad Olymp.87. an.1. Et Xenoph. Hellenic. lib. 2.

1. IN the fifteenth Year after the recovery of *Eubœa* by the *Athenians*, and the Truce concluded for thirty years; the ſixth moneth after the Battel fought at *Potidæa*; in the fourty eighth Year of the Prieſthood of *Chryſis* the Prieſt of *Argos*; *Æneſias* being the principal *Ephorus* at *Sparta*, *Pythodorus Archon* at *Athens*; in the firſt Year of the eighty ſeventh *Olympiad*, the thirty third of the Reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, of the World the 3574, began the *Peloponneſian* War, henceforth there being no Commerce with one another without an Officer at Arms, and Hoſtility exerciſed without intermiſſion.

The *Peloponneſian* War beginneth with the ſurpriſing of *Platæa* by the *Thebans*. which the Towns-men preſently recover.

2. In the ſecond Moneth of *Pythodorus* his Government, and the beginning of the Spring, three hundred *Thebans* ſeized upon *Platæa*, by the Treachery of ſome in the Town, it being aſſociate to the *Athenians*; for they perceiving a War to be drawing on, and knowing that Town to be always in Peace adverſe to them, thought good to make ſure of it betimes. The Inhabitants thinking more to have got in, than indeed did, at the firſt yielded it, but then again apprehending the Truth, reſolved to reſcue their Liberty, and ſet by Night upon the *Thebans*, whom they knew to be weary, ignorant of the Town, and would be much troubled with the Dirt, by reaſon of abundance of Rain which fell that Night. The Device proſpered, and they ſlew almoſt half the number, taking the reſt Priſoners, which were one hundred and eighty, and amongſt them *Eurymachus* the Author of this Expedition. It hapned that from *Thebes* another Party came too late to the help of their Fellows if need ſhould be, who ſeeing what was done, conſidered whether they ſhould not ſet upon ſuch *Platæans* as were abroad in the Country, and waſte it round about, thereby to redeem their Friends. The *Platæans* (as the *Thebans* ſaid) ſent to them, being afraid of this, and offered them to releaſe the Priſoners if they would forbear to ſpoil their Grounds; but in caſe they did, threatned to put them to Death; whereupon the *Thebans* withdrew; and yet for all this the *Platæans* put their Friends to death. The *Platæans* on the other hand alledged, that they never made any Promiſe to diſmiſs them; but in caſe they ſhould agree in Treaty. But they ſent to *Athens* to give them notice there of this Attempt made upon their Town.

3. The Meſſage being carried before the *Thebans* were put to death, the *Athenians* ſent word to *Platæa*, that they would do nothing againſt them till they heard further from them; after they had firſt ſeized upon ſuch *Bœotians* as were in their Dominions. Then after the truth was known, they ſent an Army which victualled the place, and taking out the uſeleſs multitude of both Sexes, put a Garriſon therein. Thus the League being plainly broken on both ſides, both parties prepared themſelves for the War, both ſent away Ambaſſadors to the *Perſian*, and other *Barbarians*, and ſet themſelves to obtain new Alliances. Now were old Prophecies and Sayings in all mens Mouths, which they interpreted according to their affection. Moſt were inclined towards the *Lacedæmonians*, who profeſſed themſelves the vindicators of the Liberty of *Greece*, and hating the *Athenians*, either for that they deſired to ſhake off their Yoak, or feared to undergo it. On the *Lacedæmonian* ſide were the *Peloponneſians* except the *Argives* and *Achæans*, who were Friends to both, all but the Inhabitants of *Pellene* amongſt the latter, who at the beginning ſided with the *Lacedæmonians*,

The *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* heads of the two Parties.

What *Greeks* ſtand with the *Lacedæmonians*,

demonians, and afterwards the reſt alſo joyned themſelves to them. Without *Peloponneſus*, the *Megarians*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, *Bœotians*, *Ambraciots*, *Leucadians*, *Anactorians*. The *Corinthians*, *Megarians*, *Sicyonians*, *Pellenians*, *Eleans*, *Ambraciots*, and *Leucadians*, furniſhed them with ſhips; the *Bœotians*, *Phocians*, and *Locrians*, ſent out Horſe-men, and the reſt of the States ſupplied them with Foot.

And who with the *Athenians*.

4. With the *Athenians* ſtood the *Chians*, *Lesbians*, *Platæans* *Meſſenians* inhabiting *Naupactus*, moſt of the *Acarnanians*, the *Corcyræans*, *Zacynthians*, and the reſt of the tributary Cities all over, the *Carians* inhabiting the Sea-coaſts, the *Dorians* their neighbours, *Ionia* upon the *Helleſpont*, ſeveral Towns of *Thrace*, and other places not few, the *Iſlands* lying betwixt *Peloponneſus* and *Crete* towards the Sun-riſing, and all the *Cyclades* except *Melus* and *Thera*. The *Chians*, *Lesbians*, and *Corcyræans*, afforded ſhipping, the reſt, men and money, as *Thucydides* writeth, who in this Catalogue paſſeth by *Eubœa* and *Samus*, though they abounded with ſhipping, and ſided with the *Athenians*. Preſently after the action about *Platæa*, the *Lacedæmonians* ſent abroad to their aſſociates to meet at the *Iſthmus*, which they did accordingly, two third parts of each of the Cities. Here *Archidamus* the *Spartan* King and Captain General, having firſt gravely adviſed them not to truſt too much to their own ſtrength, though they made up ſuch an Army as the eldeſt of them had never ſeen, ſent to *Athens* to ſee if that City would now remit any of it's former rigor; but the Meſſenger being ſent back without hearing, he marched for *Attica*, the *Bœotians* at the ſame time having invaded the Territories of the *Platæans*.

Archidamus invadeth *Attica*.

The Proviſion of the *Athenians* for War.

5. Ere *Archidamus* invaded *Attica*, *Pericles* his friend, who by the *Athenians* with nine others was appointed General, foreſeeing that if he ſhould ſpare his Villages, either upon the account of their particular friend-ſhip, or by order from the *Spartan* State, to render him ſuſpected, it would create him abundance of envy and ill will, to avoid all ſuſpition, called the People together, and gave the ſaid Villages to the Commonwealth, and adviſed them to gather all their things out of the Villages, and contain themſelves within the Citie, to take care of their ſhipping, and not to neglect their confederates, from whom they might he ſupplied with money, which together with good councel and advice is the ſinnews of War. He told them that they had ſix hundred Talents of Tribute yearly coming in, beſides other revenues; that they had in the Caſtle left ſix thouſand Talents of Silver readdy coyned, beſides in bullion and plate five hundred Talents more, and money in the Temples, beſides fourty pound of pure Gold about the ſtatue of *Pallas*, which it was lawful to uſe in extremity, making it up again afterwards. They had ready nineteen thouſand Foot-men, and twelve hundred Horſe, beſides others that uſed bows on Horſe-back, and ſix thouſand Archers on foot: of Gallies fit for ſail three hundred, and he added other things to make them couragiouſly begin the War. They obeyed him in fetching their goods into the City, and ſhutting up themſelves there, though much to their prejudice and trouble; but ſuch authority had he with the people, having firſt, to ingratiate himſelf, inlarged the authority and liberty of the multitude, whereby afterwards in effect he ruled alone. They ſet themſelves alſo with all their might to the rigging of their Fleet, and gathering together the forces of their Confederates.

6. The *Peloponneſian* Army entred *Attica* by *Oenoe* a Caſtle of the *Athenians*, upon the frontiers of *Bœotia*, and there *Archidamus* ſtaid, providing all things for the ſtorm. Being ſomewhat long in his preparations, his adverſaries thence found matter wherewith to accuſe him, as one who affected the *Athenians*, and one purpoſe before at the *Iſthmus*, and now alſo protracted the time till they ſhould have removed all their goods out of *Attica*. He indeed thought they might be inclined to a compoſure for the ſaving of their goods, and therefore did delay his march, but finding no meſſage ſent, and not being able to take the Caſtle, he removed about eighty dayes after the *Thebans* entred *Platæa*, in the height of Summer, Corn being now ripe, and invaded *Attica*, which he waſted as far as *Acharnæ*, the ſtrongeſt Garriſon of all the Countrey, and but ſeven or eight miles diſtant from *Athens*. When they in the Citie underſtood this, having not ſuſpected he would have peirced ſo far, and afflicted for the loſs they ſuſtained, they began to be much moved, (eſpecially they of *Acharnæ*, who ſeemed to themſelves a conſiderable part in the State) and tumultuouſly gathering together, now began to rail at *Pericles*, that he being General did not lead them out againſt the Enemy. He would not call the aſſembly nor any Company

pany together, for fear they ſhould reſolve raſhly upon any thing; but was very careful of the defence of the Citie, and ſent out a party of horſe, of which ſome were *Theſſalian* Auxiliaries, to reſtrain the excurſions of the Enemy into the parts adjacent, which was beaten back with ſome loſs. At length the *Peloponneſians* ſeeing the *Athenians* would not come out to fight, removed from *Acharnæ*, and waſting other places, departed through *Bœotia* into *Peloponneſus*, and went ſeverally to their own homes.

The *Athenians* ſend a Fleet into *Peloponneſus* to divert their enemies.

They eject the Inhabitants of *Ægina*, and plant a Colony of their own in the Iſland.

7. Whileſt they were yet in *Attica*, the *Athenians*, to divert them, ſent out a Fleet of one hundred Gallies, on which were aboard one thouſand Souldiers of heavy Armour, and four hundred Archers, with which the *Corcyræans* joyned fifty Veſſels more, and other aſſociates contributed their numbers. Coaſting the *Peloponneſian* ſhoar, beſides other harm done, they landed in *Laconia*, and had taken *Methone*, then unwalled, and meanly manned, but that *Braſidas* the *Spartan* with one hundred men brake through, and getting into the Town, defended it ſo, as they were glad to retreat to their ſhips. Then went they to *Elis*, where they ſeized on *Phia*, and ſtaying there two dayes, harraſed the Countrey, and overthrew ſuch as were ſent to reſtrain them: but their ſhips being ſorely toſſed with a Tempeſt, and hardly recovering the Haven of *Phia*, and underſtanding alſo that greater forces were coming againſt them, they departed thence, and grievouſly diſtreſſed ſuch places as they came to. At the ſame time alſo another Fleet was ſent from *Athens* to infeſt the *Locrians*, and defend *Eubæa*, which did much harm upon the Coaſts of *Locris*, took *Thronium*, took Hoſtages with them, and overthrew the *Locrians* that came out to reſiſt them. In the ſame Summer the *Athenians* caſt out the Inhabitants of *Ægina*, for that they imputed to them the eſpecial cauſe of the War, and judged that Iſland convenient for them to place a Colony therein of their own. The *Lacedæmonians* out of requital for the kindneſs received from them during the Earth-quake, and War with their ſlaves, and out of hatred to the *Athenians*, gave them *Thyrea* and its Territories to inhabit (which ſeparate *Laconia* from the Countrey of *Argos*, reaching as far as the Sea;) but ſuch of them as this place for its ſtraightneſs could not receive, were diſperſed up and down *Greece* it ſelf.

An Eclypſe of the Sun on the third of *Auguſt*.

The manner of burying thoſe who died in the Wars.

8. This ſame Summer, at the change of the Moon, hapned ſuch an Eclypſe of the Sun (at which time ſaith *Thucydides*, it is judged that it can onely happen) that at Mid-day the Stars were ſeen, which according to the *Julian* account hapned on the third day of *Auguſt*, as the aſtronomical Tables demonſtrate. About the ſame time the *Athenian* Fleet of one hundred Gallies having in *Acarnania* taken ſeveral Towns, came to *Cephallenia*, an Iſland lying over againſt *Acarnania* and *Leucas*, which being inhabited in four Towns, they reduced without one ſtroak, and ſo returned home. In the beginning of Autumn, the *Athenians* with a vaſt Army invaded *Megaris*, which waſting in an Hoſtile manner they returned, and ſo they did once a year, till they got *Niſæa* into their hands. At this time alſo they placed a Garriſon in *Atalante*, an Iſland belonging to the *Locrians* of *Opus*, which hitherto no body had peopled, leſt it ſhould prove an Harbour for Robbers that from *Locris* might prey upon *Eubæa*. In Winter, according to their cuſtom, they ſolemniſed the Funeral for thoſe that firſt died in the War on this manner. Firſt, their bones for three dayes were laid out to be ſeen in a Tent, where it was lawful for their friends to come, and do ſuch duties as was uſual to the dead. Then when they were carried out, each Tribe came, and putting the bones of their fellows into *Cypreſſe* Coffins, carried them away on Chariots, and one Cheſt was carried empty for ſuch as had not been found; the women of their kindred making lamentation as for them. Then were they buried in a publick Sepulcher, in the moſt famous Suburb of the Citie, called *Ceramicus*, where all ſlain in War were conſtantly buried, except they that fell at *Marathon*, who for their greater honour were buried in the place of the fight. After they were buried, ſome one Eminent for prudence and eloquence made a Funeral Oration in commendations of them, which at this time was moſt excellently performed by *Pericles*. The ſcope of his ſpeech was to ſhew they deſerved immortal glory for ſhedding their bloud in their Countreys behalf, and to excite the living to ſeek after ſuch renown. With this Winter ended the firſt year of the *Peloponneſian* War, whoſe Hiſtory for its influence into the whole is the more conſiderable.

9. In the Spring the *Peloponneſians* again under conduct of *Archidamus* their former General invaded *Attica*, at which time fell alſo upon it, a moſt fearful plague, as it is deſcribed by *Thucydides*, who was ſick of it, as ſeldom hapned; during the rage of which they plundered and waſted the Countrey all over. *Pericles*

Thucyd. lib. 2. ad ann. 2.

returning

Attica the ſecond time invaded, when it was ſeized with a fearful plague.

Diodorus.

returning to his former Counſel, hindred the Citizens who were very deſirous to iſſue out and fight, and provided an hundred ſhips, with which and fifty of the aſſociates of *Chius* and *Lesbus*, armed with four thouſand foot and three hundred horſe, he departed to *Peloponneſus*, the Coaſts of which he ſore waſted, and forced the Army to return home to defend it, which they were willing to do alſo becauſe of the plague, after they had been in *Attica* fourty days. After the return of *Pericles*, his Army was ſent under the Command of *Agnon* and *Cleopompus*, againſt *Chalcis* and *Potidæa*, at the later of which it was ſeized by the peſtilence and greatly diminiſhed, and *Agnon* with one thouſand and five hundred, which remained of four thouſand, returned home. But the people being ſore afflicted by the plague and War together, were angry now againſt *Pericles*, as him that moved them to take up Arms, who calling them together ſharply reproved them; and they confeſſed what he ſaid to be true, and that he had adviſed them upon good grounds, but being inraged at their private diſcommodities, they fined him eighty Talents, and baniſhed him the City, and yet preſently after, according to the inconſtant nature of the multitude, recalled, and created him General with full power.

Potidæa delivered up to the *Athenians.*

10. In the ſame Summer a Navy from *Peloponneſus* of an hundred Gallies fell upon *Zazynthus*, an Iſland addicted to the *Athenians*, which waſting, and being not able to do any more, they returned home. The *Peloponneſians* alſo in the end of Summer ſent Ambaſſadors to the *Perſian* King to deſire aid, who were alſo commanded to go to *Sitalces* King of *Thrace*, to deſire a League of confederacy with him; but they were taken near the *Helleſpont* by ſome *Athenians*, through the aſſiſtance of *Sadocus* the Kings ſon, and free of *Athens*, and being brought thither, in revenge for ſome *Athenians*, Merchants, and others, ſlain in *Peloponneſus*, they were put to death. In Winter twenty Gallies were ſent from *Athens* to *Naupactus* to ſecure the Straights lying betwixt *Peloponneſus* and *Ætolia*, and other ſix to *Caria* and *Lycia*, to gather money, under Command of *Meleſander*, who in a fight was there ſlain with part of his forces. *Potidæa* now alſo being in deſpair of any ſupply from *Peloponneſus*, and ſore afflicted with famine (which raged ſo far as they ate man's fleſh) yielded to the *Athenians*. Of the beſieged ſuch as were Males had liberty to depart with one Garment apiece, Females with two, and a little proviſion. The City being thus emptied was repleniſhed with a Colony from *Athens*, to which ſtate this ſiege ſtood in two thouſand Talents. And ſo the ſecond year of the War ended with this Winter.

Idem lib. 2. *ad an.* 3.

Archidamus beſiegeth *Platæa*, which holdeth out.

11. In the next Spring *Archidamus* the *Lacedæmonian* King marched againſt *Platæa*, and beſieged it. The *Platæans* ſent to him to deſire he would forbear to uſe any extremity againſt them; but he returned them very harſh conditions, requiring them to forſake the *Athenians*, to give up their City, and all they had, for the time of War, and in the mean time to go and dwell ſomewhere elſe, promiſing that as ſoon as the War ſhould be over, they ſhould have all entirely reſtored to them. They deſired a Truce, till ſuch time as they could ſend to the *Athenians*, their aſſociates, and know their mind, who being utterly againſt it, they then ſent *Archidamus* word, that they were reſolved to undergo whatſoever the chance of War ſhould lay upon them, for that they neither could, nor would revolt from the *Athenians*. He then fell of waſting their grounds, and with all his might attempted the City, which was as valiantly and powerfully defended by the Inhabitants. No way taking, at length the *Spartans* attempted it by fire, which conſumed moſt part of the Town, leaving but a few houſes for the *Platæans* to live in. Yet ſtill the matter ſucceeded not, and at length deſpairing to take the place by force, they raiſed a Wall round about it, which they fenced with a double Ditch to ſhut them in, and leaving ſufficient Guards, departed home. Before this the Townſ-men had ſent out to *Athens* all their uſeleſs Company. This ſame year the *Athenians* fought with various ſucceſs in *Thrace* and *Acarnania*.

Idem in Pericle.

Pericles dieth.

12. In the latter end of this Summer, and the ſixtieth Month of the year died *Pericles*, of the Epidemical Diſeaſe, or the Plague, as *Plutarch* reporteth, though not by its ſudden force as others, but in a way of Conſumption, which, if ſo, was extraordinary. As he drew towards his end, ſome of the principal men of *Athens* that were left alive of his antient friends, as they ſate by him, not thinking that he underſtood any thing, diſcourſed much of his great and many victories and Trophies which he had erected, placing therein the main of his commendation. He underſtanding the diſcourſe, interrupted them, ſaying, that he wondred they ſhould eſpecially take notice of thoſe things, which fortune made common

His commendation.

to him with others, and make no mention of that which was moſt worthy and remarkable, for *No man, ſaith he, upon mine account hath put on a black Garment.* A man he was to be had in conſtant admiration, not only for his equity and mildneſs, which he ſhewed in ſo many buſineſſes of concernment, and ſuch enmities as were exerciſed againſt him; but alſo for his greatneſs of ſpirit, that this he eſpecially charged upon himſelf, not to indulge his anger in ſo great power, or his malice; neither to be implacable towards his greateſt adverſary: and this ſeemeth to be the reaſon that he enjoyned the ſirname of *Olympius* without envy, becauſe he was of ſo ſweet a diſpoſition, and in the greateſt power preſerved his life unblemiſhed. The great miſs the *Athenians* had of him made them ſoon perceive what man he was, whoſe power whilſt alive they ill bore, as daſling their eyes; when dead, and they had experience of others, they confeſſed that no man could in that height of place have carried himſelf more moderately, or in that modeſty more gravely, and that height of power which uſed to be branded with the name of Tyranny, appeared in him to have been the wholſom preſervative of the Commonwealth; ſuch depravedneſs of manners, and exceſs of wickedneſs falling upon all things after his death, which he weakning and keeping under as long as he lived, procured that it exceeded not the ſtrength of the remedy.

Thucyd. lib. 3. *initio.*

Archidamus the third time invadeth *Attica.*

The *Athenians* beſiege *Mitylene.*

13. The Summer following being the fourth year of the *Peloponneſian* War-riſing, the *Peloponneſians* and their confederates made the third invaſion of *Attica*, when Corn was now ripe, under the Conduct of the ſame *Archidamus*, which they waſted up and down as long as their proviſions laſted. In the mean time all the Iſland *Leſbus* (except *Methymna*) revolted from the *Athenians*, having had a great deſire to do it before the War, but that the *Lacedæmonians* would not receive them. A Fleet of fourty ſhips were then preſently diſpatched from *Athens*, and War was denounced to the Inhabitants of *Mitylene*, except they delivered up their ſhips, and pulled down the walls; which being denied, War was made upon them, their Gallies put to flight, and the Haven blocked up. Hereupon they deſired a Treaty, and obtained truce to ſend an Ambaſſage to *Athens* about a Peace; but in the mean while they ſent underhand Ambaſſadors to *Lacedæmon*, to deſire a ſtraight League and alliance, with preſent aid. The Ambaſſadors being ordered by the *Spartans* to ſtay at *Olympia* at the time of the ſolemnity of the eighty eighth *Olympiad* pleaded there their cauſe, and in the name of their City were received into the League, and aſſiſtance out of hand was promiſed to them. Another Expedition was then reſolved on into *Attica*, but the *Spartans* being ready, at the *Iſthmus*, whereas their aſſociates loitered, and the *Athenians* then with a Fleet of thirty ſhips prey'd upon *Peloponneſus*, they being advertiſed of the loſs they ſuſtained in *Laconia*, returned heme.

14. Yet the *Peloponneſians* in performance of their promiſe made to the *Mitylenæans*, diſpatched away a Fleet of fourty Gallies, which found another from *Athens* to oppoſe it, conſiſting of one hundred; for the *Athenians* now abounded in ſhipping, having ready furniſhed two hundred and fifty Gallies, on which they expended much, ſo as to defray their expences, they now firſt of all were aſſeſſed, exacting yet from their confederates the uſual Tributes, which they paid with much repining. At the ſame time the *Mitylenæans* and the reſt of the *Leſbians*, made War upon the *Methymnæans*, who perſiſted in their obedience to the *Athenians*. Theſe underſtanding of it, ſent at the latter end of Smmer a band of men into the Iſland, which drew a line round about *Mitylene*, upon which Guards being ſet, the Inhabitants were ſtraitly beſieged. In Winter the Inhabitants of *Platæa* being greatly diſtreſſed for want of victuals, and deſpairing of any aid from *Athens*, reſolved to break through the Enemies Fortifications, though exceeding difficult to be paſſed, and ſave themſelves by flight. Many for the difficulty of the thing changed their minds, but three hundred ſtood firm in their reſolution, and taking advantage of an exceeding dark and tempeſtuous night, two hundred and twelve with remarkable courage and conſtancy brake through, and (the reſt being repulſed into the City) came ſafe unto *Athens*. Towards the end of Winter *Salæthus* was ſent from *Lacedæmon* to *Mytilene*, to encourage the beſieged to hold out, by promiſe of help; and another Expedition to be made by the confederates into *Attica*. And ſo the fourth year of the *Peloponneſian* War ended.

Attica invaded the fifth time, and the *Mitylenians* yield.

15. In the beginning of the fifth year, the *Peloponneſians* ſent fourty ſhips to *Leſbus* to the relief of the *Mitylenæans*, under the conduct of *Alcidas*, and they themſelves with an Army, over which *Cleomenes* (Uncle and Guardian to *Pauſanias* their

young King yet under age) was Captain, invaded *Attica* the fifth time, which they moſt grievouſly diſtreſſed; but hearing nothing from *Lesbus* that they liked, and being in ſcarcity of Victuals, they returned the ſooner into *Peloponneſus*. The *Mitylenæans* being ſorely diſtreſſed in the ſame nature, whether the Magiſtrate would or not, yielded themſelves to the mercy of the *Athenians*, which the *Peloponneſian* Fleet underſtanding before they arrived at *Lesbus*, went over to the Coaſt of *Aſia*, and there having caſt many things in their heads, without any thing of note performed, returned, through the perſwaſion of their General, into *Peloponneſus*, being from *Lesbus* in vain purſued by *Paches* the *Athenian* Captain. He returning from the purſuite, ſettled things in *Lesbus* according to his own mind, ſent *Salæthus* the *Lacedæmonian* Meſſenger (whom he took in the Town) with the authors of the revolt, and ſome whom the Townſ-men ſent to intercede for them, unto *Athens*, ſtaying there himſelf for further orders. *Salæthus* was preſently put to death, and the people being called together to conſult about the *Mitylenæans*, reſolved, at the inſtigation of *Cleon*, a man of bitter ſeverity, that all thoſe of ripe age ſhould be put to death, as well as they that were ſent to *Athens*, and all the women and children ſhould be made bondſlaves; and this decree was without delay ſent to *Paches* to be put into execution. But conſidering of this raſh and cruel ſentence, they repented of what they had done, and the next day met to adviſe further of it, when again *Cleon* a man in great grace with them, preſſed vehemently the former decree. But *Diodotus* one of a milder ſpirit oppoſed him, and having endeavoured the day before to no purpoſe to do it, now by very few voices carried it from him.

A ſevere ſentence againſt them.

Reverſed.

16. Then was there diſpatched a ſwift Gally, with order if poſſible to get before that which carried the former Decree, and command *Paches* to abſtain from putting it in execution. Yet the former arrived at *Mitylene* firſt, having ſet forth a whole day before it; but whilſt *Paches* was conſidering of the ſharpneſs of the Decree, and how to perform it, the latter arrived, and ſo the lives of the multitude were ſaved, being ſo near to deſtruction, as ſcarcely any thing nearer. But to puniſh the revolt, above one thouſand of thoſe whom *Paches* had ſent to *Athens* as authors of it, the People commanded to be put to death, *Mitylene* was deprived of it's walls and ſhips, all *Lesbus* except the *Methymnæans* had hard conditions impoſed upon them. The fields were taken from all the owners, of which the tenth part being dedicated to the gods, the remainder was diſtributed to the Citizens of *Athens*, the tillage thereof being left under a vaſt rent to the *Lesbians*: and all ſuch Towns as were now ſubject to the *Mitylenæans*, the *Athenians* reduced under their Dominions. The ſame Summer they ſeized upon *Minoas*, an Iſland lying before the ſhore of *Megaris*, and the Port of *Niſa*, and fortifying it, made the Coaſts more ſafe and convenient to all intents. In the mean time thoſe that were left in *Platæa* were forced by meer famine to yield themſelves and City to the judgment of the *Lacedæmonians*, who ſent five men to hear their Orators, and the *Thebans* their Enemies. Theſe men adjudged them all to death, which accordingly was executed upon them to the number of two hundred, with whom were ſlain twenty five *Athenians* found in the Town, and the women adjudged to ſlavery. The City for ſome time was given to ſome exiles to inhabit: then, ſcarce a year being paſt, was by the *Thebans* utterly deſtroyed, an Inn only being built out of the ruines of the Temple of *Juno*, and the Temple it ſelf inlarged, all the grounds being ſeized on by the *Thebans*. This was the fortune of the *Platæans* (who thought they might have had ſome favour ſhewed them for the merits of their Anceſtors in the *Median* War) after they had continued ninety two years in ſociety with *Athens*, and no more is to be heard of them till *Platæa* was rebuilt by *Alexander* the Great.

Platæa at length yielded and deſtroyed.

A lamentable ſedition at *Corcyra*.

17. During theſe things, a moſt lamentable ſedition hapned at *Corcyra*, part of the Citizens being for Popular Government, and the reſt for that of a few of the moſt potent; the former truſting to the aid of the *Athenians*, as conformable to their policy, and the other to the *Peloponneſians*. Twice within the City did they fight, and both the *Athenians* and *Peloponneſians* ſent their Fleets to the aſſiſtance of their friends; but the *Athenians* being ſtronger at Sea; and ſending ſixty Gallies more to the help of the former Navy, the *Peloponneſians* withdrew themſelves, having only lightly skirmiſhed with the Enemy in the ſight of *Corcyra*, before the latter Fleet arrived. Then thoſe for the Popular Government, ſtrengthned by the aſſiſtance of the *Athenians*, cruelly raged

againſt their Adverſaries, no mercy being ſhewn to ſuch as took Sanctuary, or hung upon the Altars, neither from Parents to their own Children, inſomuch that the City was almoſt ſhaken to pieces and made deſolate, and a grievous Sedition indeed came afterwards proverbially to be termed a *Corcyræan*. And it was not only fatal to *Corcyra*, but to all *Greece* beſides, being drawn into Example by other States which afterwards broke out into factions.

Stirs in *Sicilie* of which the *Athenians* make advantage.

18. At the ſame time the *Greek* Cities in *Sicilie* fell into Diſſentions, ſome being of the *Dorick*, and others of the *Ionick* Faction, the Head of the former *Syracuſe*, and of the latter *Leontium*, which two made War upon each other. The *Leontines* craved aid of the *Athenians*, for that they were not only of the *Ionian* Stock, but conjoyned with them in an antient League of confederacy. The *Athenians* willingly took the opportunity to get ſome footing in *Sicile*, to hinder the exportation of Corn thence into *Peloponneſus*, and eſpecially to make way for their Power and Dominion there. At the end of Summer they ſent thither twenty Gallies. In Winter theſe Ships aſſiſted with ten more from *Rhegium* in *Italy*, invaded the *Æolian* Iſlands neer to *Sicilie*, and waſted ſuch as refuſed to yield. At the ſame Seaſon the Plague began again at *Athens*, which took away a great number of Soldiers, but much greater of the common People: Earthquakes alſo hapned in ſeveral places. And with this Winter the fifth Year of the *Peloponneſian* War ended.

The ſixth Summer of the War.

19. In the beginning of the next Summer, the *Peloponneſians* came the ſixth time to the *Iſthmus*, with intent to invade *Attica*, under the conduct of *Agis* the *Spartan* King, but being affrighted with the frequent Earthquakes, they returned. In the mean while the War in *Sicily* variouſly proceeded; *Laches* the *Athenian* Captain taking ſome Towns. The *Athenians* ſent out one Fleet to infeſt *Peloponneſus*, and another the Iſland *Melus*, which ſtubbornly withſtood their Commands, both which did nothing of very great concernement. The *Spartans* planted the Colony of *Heraclea*, in the platform of old *Trachinia* a City in *Theſſalie*, being for the convenience of its ſituation upon the Sea, and the Haven, very fit for carrying on the War againſt the *Athenians*. Theſe received a great loſs from the *Ætolians*, but in Winter thrice overthrew the *Ambraciots*, who were forſaken by their Friends the *Peloponneſians*, which made them now imbrace a Peace with their Adverſaries the *Acarnanians* and *Amphilochians* (who called in the *Athenians* againſt them) and entred into a League and Society for ten Years with them. The War proceeding all this while in *Sicily*, a greater Fleet was ſent under conduct of *Eurymedon* and *Sophocles*, to oppoſe the *Syracuſians*, towards the end of Winter, at which time the Hill *Ætna* belched out great ſtore of Fire into the Territories of *Catana*, fifty years after it had the laſt time ſo done. Thus the ſixth Year of the *Peloponneſian* War ended.

Ætna breaketh out into Flames.

Thucyd. lib. 4.

20. In the beginning of the next, the *Peloponneſians* under the command of *Agis* the Son of *Archidamus* the *Spartan* King, again invaded *Attica*. The *Athenians* having furniſhed fourty Ships for *Sicilie*, gave order to the Captains, in their way to have an eye to the *Corcyræans*, who were much infeſted by their own exiles, and were in fear of ſixty *Peloponneſian* Gallies ſent thither: and to *Demoſthenes* was given the command of ſome Ships wherewith he ſhould infeſt *Peloponneſus*. As all the Ships ſailed by *Laconia*, *Demoſthenes* a man of a prompt and earneſt Diſpoſition, adviſed the other Captains to fortifie *Pylus*, which is a ragged Promontory joyned to the main by a little neck of Land. Before it lies a ſmall barren Iſland of leſs than two Miles Compaſs, and within that a Creek which is a good Harbour for Ships, the force of Weather being born off by the Head-land and Iſle. The Promontory which had antiently belonged to the *Meſſenians*, and was now deſolate, he preſſed ſore that they might ſeize upon, and make their own, being very convenient for the waſting of *Laconia*; but the other Captains diſſented from him, haſting for *Corcyra*, when in the mean time ſuch a Tempeſt aroſe as forced them to take into the Harbour. Then did he again urge his former advice, and though he nothing more profited with the Captains, yet the Soldiers deſirous to make ſome ſtay there, and ſeeing the commodiouſneſs of the Haven, fell upon fortifying the place, and with wonderful diligence and pains perfected the Wall in ſix days. Then was *Demoſthenes* left there to keep it with five Ships, and the reſt directed their courſe for *Corcyra*.

Attica the ſixth time invaded.

Pylus fortified by *Demoſthenes* the *Athenian*.

Draweth the *Peloponneſians* out of *Attica*, and being ſorely laid at the *Peloponneſians* are worſted.

21. The news of theſe doings at *Pylus* drew the *Peloponneſians* in all haſt thither out of *Attica*, fifteen days after their arrival, and they brought their whole Force both by Land and Sea to recover this piece of Ground, which they well foreſaw how bad a Neighbour it might prove in time. In the Iſland named *Sphacteria*, they

placed a number of men all *Spartans*, which were to keep it by their turns, and ſtopped up the Haven on both ſides, that there might be no entrance in for the *Athenian* Ships: then furiouſly did they aſſault *Pylus* both by Land and Sea, but it was as valiantly defended by *Demoſthenes*; So that with ſeveral new onſets the Storm was continued till the next day, and then the *Peloponneſians* drew off to recruit themſelves, and provide for a new onſet. In the mean time came in fourty *Athenian* Ships (to which *Demoſthenes* had before-hand ſent to acquaint them with his condition) and with them ſome belonging to their Allies, which firſt offered fight to the *Peloponneſians* in the open Sea; but that being refuſed, ſet upon them in the Haven, brake, and ſunk many of their Veſſels, took ſome, and forced the reſt to run themſelves on Ground, about which afterwards enſued a great contention, whileſt the *Athenians* would become Maſters of them, and the *Spartans* out of Shame, and Grief for their Friends in the Iſland, laboured with more earneſtneſs to get them off, which they effected by ſome, and the reſt fell as Prize to the Enemy, who now cloſely beſieged the *Spartans* that were left in the Iſland.

The *Lacedæmonians* deſire a Truce,

And ſend to *Athens* about a Peace, which *Cleon* croſſeth.

22. *Pylus* being now ſecure, but the *Spartans* in the Iſland as good as loſt, the Magiſtrates were ſent for from *Lacedæmon* into the Camp (as the cuſtom was in great Dangers) who perceiving that there was no other way to reſcue their Citizens, than by compoſition with the Enemies, took Truce for a time with the Captains, till they might ſend to *Athens* about a Peace. The conditions of the Truce were, that *the Peloponneſians ſhould deliver up to the other all their Ships, as well ſuch as were upon the Coaſt of* Laconia *as there, to be reſtored to them if the Peace ſhould not ſucceed, and that they ſhould attempt nothing upon the Fort, nor the* Athenians *againſt their Camp. That a certain quantity of Victuals ſhould be daily carried into the Iſland, but no Ships ſhould paſs into it ſecretly; that the Truce ſhould end at the return of the Ambaſſadors, and if in the mean time it ſhould be broken in any one point, it ſhould be eſteemed utterly void in all.* The Ambaſſadors coming to *Athens* put the People in mind of that moderation all men ought to ſhew in Proſperity, and with what credit they might now, at their requeſt, make a Peace. But *Cleon* a man very vehement, and much in requeſt, with-ſtood it, ſo that in ſtead of Peace on equal Terms, and recompence for harm received, the *Athenians* demanded certain Cities, which had been by the *Spartans* long before this War taken from them, and refuſed to continue the Treaty, except the *Spartans* in the Iſle were delivered up to them as Priſoners. The Ambaſſadors returned without ſucceſs, and the Truce being ended, both ſides betook themſelves to their Weapons again about *Pylus*.

The *Spartans* in the Iſland *Sphacteria* yield to mercy.

The Sedition of *Corcyra* endeth.

23. The *Peloponneſians* demanding their ſixty Ships which they had given up, and now at the end of the Truce were to be reſtored to them in as good a condition, were put off, under pretence that they had broken the Truce. The Iſland was alſo afreſh beſieged, and the *Spartans* valiantly ſtanding out, things went on but ſlowly, ſo that *Cleon* himſelf, who much vaunted what he could do, was by the People, who now began to relent of their not imbracing a Peace, forced, whether he would or not, to command a new ſupply of men thither. He and *Demoſthenes* (whom he choſe for his Collegue) firſt offered Conditions to the *Spartans*, and then upon their refuſal forced them, after the loſs of one hundred and twenty eight, to yield themſelves to Mercy. The number of thoſe that yielded were two hundred and ninty two (whereof one hundred and twenty of the Nobility of *Sparta*) which were carried to *Athens*, and being cloſely impriſoned, it was reſolved, that when the *Peloponneſians* next invaded *Attica*, they ſhould all be ſlain; and then was a Garriſon of *Meſſenians* (the old Inhabitants and bitter Enemies to the *Spartans*) ſent into *Pylus*. The *Lacedæmonians* ſorely diſcouraged by theſe Events, and fearing worſe things, ſent to *Athens* again about the liberty of the Priſoners, and delivery of *Pylus*, but the Ambaſſadors were often rejected, and nothing done, the *Athenians* being ſtill more puffed up by their good ſucceſs. This Summer they overthrew the *Corinthians* in the *Iſthmus*. A Fleet being alſo ſent for *Sicily*, aſſiſted the *Corcyræans* in their way againſt their Exiles (who having got footing in the Mountains, annoyed them) and by their help they now utterly ſubdued them, and uſing them with unwonted cruelty, the ſedition here had an end. *Anachorium* a Town to *Corinth*, upon the Bay of *Ambracia*, they alſo took. In Winter *Artaphernes* a *Perſian* being ſent from his Prince to *Lacedæmon*, was intercepted in *Thrace*, and brought to *Athens*, where his Letters being opened and read, they contained no ſecret, and he was ſent back with Ambaſſadors to *Epheſus* to the King of *Perſia*, *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, concerning whom they there had intelligence that he was

dead, and ſo the Ambaſſadors returned home. The Inhabitants of *Chius* being ſuſpected by the *Athenians*, were commanded to demoliſh their new Wall. With theſe things the ſeventh year of the War ended.

A Partial Eclypſe of the Sun on the 21ſt of *March*.

24. In the beginning of the eighth year hapned a partial Eclypſe of the Sun, which the Aſtronomical Tables ſhew to have fallen out on the twenty firſt day of *March* after the *Julian* account, before noon, half of the Diameter or above being obſcured, the fourth year of the eighty eight *Olympiad* now drawing to an end; and an Earth-quake hapned on the firſt of the Moneth *Munichion*, which ſome make to fall in with the ſame day. The *Athenians* this year fell upon the Iſland *Cythera*, lying near to *Laconia*, and inhabited by a *Spartan* Colony, which they took, and putting therein a Garriſon for a time, thence made excurſions into *Laconia*. Afterwards they removed thence a great part of the Colony, and took, and burnt *Thyrea*, ſtanding upon the Confines of *Laconia* and *Argolis*, given by the *Spartans* to the *Æginetans*, whom now they carried away, and plundering the Town ſet it on fire. Conveying their priſoners to *Athens*, the *Æginetans* were condemned to death, and the *Cytheræans* being diſperſed throughout the Iſlands, ſuch as they left in *Cytherea* were ſubjected to a great Tribute. But in *Sicily*, at this time, an Univerſal peace was made, and imbraced by all the Cities, through the earneſt perſwaſion of *Hermocrates* a *Syracuſian*; ſo that the *Athenian* Forces were forced to quit the Iſland, for which at their return two of the Generals were unjuſtly baniſhed, and the third underwent a great fine.

An Univerſal peace in *Sicily*.

25. The Exiles of *Mitylene* with others of *Lesbus*, and ſome Mercenaries, ſeizing upon *Rhetium* in *Aſia*, took *Antandrus*; but ſelling the former again to the Inhabitants, they were drawn out of the later to fight, by *Ariſtides*, and *Demodocus*, (or *Symmachus*, as *Diodorus* calleth him) who overthrew them, and took the Town from them. Theſe two were Captains of the Fleet, and collected Tribute from the Iſlands; their Collegue *Lamachus* being gone into *Pontus* againſt the *Heracleans*, who being in League with the *Perſian* King denied to pay it. His ſhips, by the vehemency of water which ran down the River, were ſhattered, and he loſt one way or other the greateſt part both of them, and his Forces; ſo that he could not move thence, either by Sea, or Land; whereupon the *Heracleans* thinking it a more honourable part to do good than to take revenge, furniſhed him with proviſions, and ſent him away with a Convoy, concluding that the waſting of their grounds would be well recompenſed if they ſhould make friends of their Enemies. With this Convoy he paſſed through the Country of the *Thracians* in *Aſia*, and ſo came to *Chalcedon*.

Stirs about *Megara*.

26. At this time the Inhabitants of *Megara* were much diſtreſſed, what by the ſeveral inrodes of the *Athenians*, and their own Exiles whom they had caſt out, who now preyed upon them from the Villages. Wearied with theſe continual diſturbances, they thought of recalling the Exiles; but the Magiſtrates underſtanding that, and preſently apprehending what danger might ariſe to themſelves from thoſe men of whoſe baniſhment they had been the cauſe, conſpired with *Hippocrates* and *Demoſthenes*, the two *Athenian* Captains, to betray the Town to them. The Gates were opened, and the *Athenians* had been Maſters of the place, but that ſome of the Conſpirators changed their minds, and obſtructed the buſineſs, which the other ſeeing ſeized upon part of the long Walls, and caſting up a croſs work againſt the Town, ſet themſelves with all their might to compaſs about the *Niſæa*, or Port, hoping, if they could get it, the more eaſily to obtain the Town. And the Garriſon in it being preſently diſcouraged by the ſtopping of victuals, which they were wont dayly to receive out of the Town, yielded; the *Spartans* to mercy, and the reſt upon condition of liberty to Ranſom themſelves. Then the *Athenians* prepared for ſetting upon the Town: but were hindred by the coming of *Braſidas* the *Spartan*, who hovering about *Corinth*, upon notice how things paſſed here, haſted, thinking to prevent the taking of *Niſæa*, and after he had heard of its ſurrender, yet uſed all expedition, hoping to ſave the Town, and to recover it. But when he came the *Megarians* were divided in their affections, yet both parties feared to let him in, for that they thought it beſt to reſerve themſelves for that party that ſhould have the better, and Govern themſelves according to Emergencies, and therefore he was forced to depart at this time without having done one thing or other.

27. Not long after, the *Bœotians* came, and joyned themſelves to *Braſidas*, and thereupon followed an Engagement with the *Athenians*, which ended with equal ſucceſs to both ſides. That party of the Town which favoured the

Exiles, being incouraged with the preſence of their friends, ſent for *Braſidas*, and other *Peloponneſian* Officers into the Town, to conſult with them, who confirming them in their reſolutions then departed home: The *Athenians* alſo following, ſuch as ſided with them for fear betook themſelves to flight. Then were the Exiles recalled, having firſt taken an Oath to forget all things paſt, and not conſult their own paſſion, but the good of their Countrey; but having got the power into their hands, and having the Guards of the Citie at their diſpoſal, they cauſed one hundred of thoſe they ſuſpected to be apprehended, and being condemned by a forced judgement of the people, they put them to death. Then taking all the Government to themſelves, it continued in an *Oligarchical* way a long time.

The Exiles re-admitted rage againſt their Adverſaries, contrary to their Oath.

Several amongſt the *Bœotians* attempting to bring in Democracy are diſappointed

28. At the ſame time, ſeveral amongſt the *Bœotians* attempted to change the frame of their Government, being much deſirous of *Democracy* as it was eſtabliſhed at *Athens*; and to this purpoſe held correſpondence with them there, plotting to betray ſeveral places into their hands; but the matter being diſcovered ſucceeded not, but onely to the loſs of the *Athenians*, who were overthrown in battel. In the mean while the *Lacedæmonians* being invited by *Perdiccas* King of *Macedonia*, and ſome of the Inhabitants of *Chalcis* (who promiſed them ſome pay for their men) reſolved to ſend ſome Forces into *Macedonia*, and *Thrace*, to divert the power, and deſign of the *Athenians*, who now began to be ill thought of by many in thoſe parts, and feared by reaſon of their growing ſtrength. They made choice of *Braſidas* for their General, a man of approved valour, and remarkable integrity. They did a thing at this time, which is noted with cruelty and injuſtice. Being ſomething down the wind in their Fortune, they ſuſpected the power and number of their ſlaves the *Helotes*, leſt in this their weakneſs they ſhould attempt ſomething againſt them, and took occaſion at this expedition, by offering all ſuch of them liberty as would chearfully imbrace the ſervice, to obſerve who amongſt them were moſt active, and when they expected to be manumiſed, inſtead thereof they made away (though how is not known) about two thouſand of them, and ſent ſeven hundred away with *Braſidas*, together with one thouſand Mercenaries hired out of *Peloponneſus*.

Braſidas the *Spartan* ſent into *Thrace* to give trouble to the *Athenians.*

29. *Braſidas* after his arrival, by fair means reduced *Acanthus* and *Stagirus* (both Colonies of the *Andrians*) from the *Athenians*, and then in Winter ſet upon *Amphipolis* a famous Colony of theirs, ſituate upon the River *Strymon*, which almoſt compaſſing it gave an occaſion to the latter name of it, being before called *Nine-wayes*. In a dark night he ſeized on the bridge, and all but the Citie it ſelf, and 'tis thought had taken it alſo had he led his Souldiers on, but ſuch as had conſpired with him to betray it being overmatched, and ſtiring not, he onely waſted the grounds about it, and attempted nothing further for the preſent. The Inhabitants who affected the *Athenians*, being more in number, ſent to *Thucydides* the ſon of *Olorus*, and the Writer of the Hiſtory of the *Peloponneſian* War, then the *Athenian* General, lying in *Thaſus*, an Iſland inhabited by a Colony of the *Parians*, half a dayes ſayl diſtant from *Amphipolis*, who with ſeven ſhips haſted thither to prevent the delivery of it, or however to ſave *Eione*. But *Braſidas* being aware hereof, to obtain *Amphipolis* before his coming offered them moſt large conditions; that all ſhould there remain, and live in the ſame State as formerly, as well *Athenians* as others; or if they liked better to remove, it ſhould be free for them ſo to do, which they accepted of, hearing nothing from *Thucydides*, who yet came to *Eione* that very night, and ſaved it, whereas *Braſidas* elſe had taken it the next morning. Yet he took three other Towns near to *Amphipolis*, and left them to be Garriſoned by *Perdiccas*.

Thucydides the Hiſtorian, the *Athenian* General.

30. The *Athenians* were much moved for the loſs of *Amphipolis*, which had been of great uſe to them in affoarding them Wood for ſhipping, as well as money, and beſides this, how a free paſſage ſeemed to be open to the *Lacedæmonians* to invade their confederates, who thereupon might be induced to revolt by *Braſidas*, who being a very moderate, and juſt man of himſelf, gave out, that his deſign was to ſet *Greece* at liberty. And even ſo it fell out, for the Cities hearing what had hapned, and great commendations of *Braſidas*, ſent to him to haſten his march towards them with promiſe to revolt, thinking they might ſafely enough do it, for that they falſly perſwaded themſelves, that the power of the *Athenians* was not ſo great as they found it afterwards, when it was too late to repent them of their raſh and inconſiderate reſolution, into which they were hurried

by an earneſt deſire of liberty. The *Athenians* having intelligence of this, uſed all diligence to ſend Souldiers into all of them, as the ſhortneſs of the time, and the Winter ſeaſon would bear. *Braſidas* ſent to *Lacedæmon* for a new ſupply of men, but little heed was given to his meſſage, partly becauſe the great ones there envied his glory, and eſpecially becauſe the people being well wearied now with the War, deſired to have their men that were taken in the Iſland, and to make peace. Yet he having made proviſion for the building of ſhips upon the River *Strymon*, went on with the War, drew all the Towns upon the Mountain *Athos*, except two, to ſubmit, and then by ſurpriſe taking *Torone*, a Town of *Chalcis*, and tributary to the *Athenians*, he ſtormed the Caſtle the third day after. The remainder of the Winter he ſpent in fortifying the places taken already, and providing for taking of others which he deſigned. And thus the eighth year of the War ended.

Braſidas envied by his own Countrey men.

31. In the beginning of Spring the *Lacedæmonians* for the reaſons above-mentioned were deſirous to come to a compoſition, and they hoped that now the *Athenians*, ſomething diſcouraged by what *Braſidas* had done in *Thrace*, might not be averſe to it. And indeed they were inclining to a ceſſation of Arms, that they might ſtop his proceedings till ſuch time as they could recruite themſelves, intending to be governed in reference to the length of the Truce as their affairs ſhould comport, and ſo a Truce was concluded for a year, the Articles of which imported theſe things eſpecially. That *what both ſides poſſeſſed at this time they ſhould enjoy; that free acceſs and regreſs ſhould be given to Ambaſſadors and Heralds, and their Confederates, to treat about a peace: that Fugitives ſhould not be received; that all controverſies ſhould be decided by Law, and not by force: and ſomething was added concerning the uſe of the Sea; In this Truce the Confederates on both ſides being compriſed.* During this Ceſſation ſeveral Treaties were held about a League, but ſomething hapned which diſturbed ſorely the minds of the *Athenians*. For *Scione* a Town of the Peninſula of *Pellene* of its own accord revolted to *Braſidas*, and was followed by *Menda*. *Braſidas* ignorant of the Truce, after the revolt of the former, laboured ſore with the latter, and *Potidæa*, to reduce them alſo; but then news came to him of the Ceſſation, and much contention there was about the places; for that the *Athenians* ſaid that *Scione* revolted two dayes after the Truce was ſworn to, and concluded. Being not able to recover them by words, they ſent an Army to effect it by deeds, and *Menda* they recovered, whileſt *Braſidas* was abſent, aſſiſting *Perdiccas* the King of *Macedonia* in his War with *Archibæus*, where ſuch diſſatisfaction paſſed betwixt the King and him, that thenceforth *Perdiccas* began to joyn himſelf to the *Athenians*. *Scione* was incompaſſed about with a Wall, which being finiſhed in the later end of Summer, and a ſufficient Guard being left, the reſt of the Army was brought home. The Winter following all was quiet betwixt the two States by vertue of the Truce; but the *Mantinæans* and *Tegeatans* fought a battel with equal ſucceſs, both parties erecting their trophies. The Spring drawing on, *Braſidas* attempted by night to ſurpriſe *Potidæa*, but miſſed of his purpoſe. And with this Winter the ninth year of the War ended, in which the Temple of *Juno* at *Argos* was burnt through the negligence of *Chryſis* the Woman-Prieſt, who flying for it, another was placed in her room, after ſhe had during this War continued eight years and an half therein.

A Truce for a year.

The Temple of *Juno* at *Athens* burnt.

32. The Truce being expired on the day of the *Pythian* Games, the ſeventh of the moneth *Thargelion*, *Cleon* having himſelf perſwaded the *Athenians* to undertake the Expedition was ſent into *Thrace* with a Fleet of thirty ſhips, aboard of which were one thouſand and two hundred Foot, and three hundred Horſe, beſides Confederates. Hearing that *Torone* was but manned with a mean Garriſon, he departed from the ſiege of *Scione*, and ſet upon it with ſuch earneſtneſs, both by Land and Sea, that in the ſame day he took it, and though he attempted *Stagirus* in vain, yet he effectually did it upon *Galopſus*, a Colony of the *Thaſians*, after which he ſtaid at *Eione* expecting ſome Auxiliaries out of *Macedonia*, and *Thrace*. Here he grew very ſecure, being exceedingly puffed up with his late ſucceſs and that at *Pylus*, which he arrogantly imputed to his own wiſdom; but his men diſdained to lye idle, and pretended to be wearie of his Government, as thinking him unfit to command. Herewith he moved from *Eione* in a ſecure poſture, thinking of nothing leſs than fighting, which was taken notice of by *Braſidas*, who having fewer men than he, and leſs experienced, thought it not

Thucyd. lib. 5.

Cleon ſent into *Thrace*, is quickly puffed up.

wiſdom to try a battel with him, nor at once to let him fight with all his Forces; but pouring them violently upon him by degrees, thereby to confound and overthrow his Army. He had a diſcovery of *Braſidas* his intents,and began to retreat, but then he fell upon him out of *Amphipolis* in the manner aforeſaid, and without much ado put his men to the rout. *Cleon* himſelf flying was ſlain outright, and *Braſidas* before this was mortally wounded and carried to *Amphipolis*, where he died, after he had heard how his men had got the Victory, being honoured by the Townſ-men, as an Heroe, by ſacrifice, anniverſary Solemnities,and naming a Colony after him, which they did to ingratiate themſelves with *Sparta*, becauſe of the fear they ſtood in of the *Athenians*. Of the *Athenians* were ſlain ſix hundred; but of the Conquerors but ſeven men; ſuch diſadvantage was there in the battel.

Is ſlain together with *Braſidas* his adverſary.

33. In the beginning of Winter *Ramphias* with others in commiſſion with him, was ſent from *Lacedæmon* with new Forces, and came as far as *Pieria* an hill of *Theſſaly*; but there the *Theſſalians* oppoſed his paſſage, and news of *Braſidas* his death arriving, other cauſes alſo moving him (whereof this was not the leaſt, that the *Spartans* before his coming from home were inclined to a peace,) he returned to *Lacedæmon*. And after that the action at *Amphipolis*, and his return, came to be known, both ſides for weighty and urgent reaſons were much more enclined to it, *Cleon* and *Braſidas* being both ſlain, whereof the one was a man of a turbulent ſpirit, and the other a great Soldier, who ſought after glory in Military matters. The *Athenians* having received two great blows, at *Delium* firſt (when the change of the Government was to be made in *Bœotia*) and now at *Amphipolis*, had learnt not to truſt too much to the ſmiles of their fortune: therefore they who before would hear of no conditions, as certain of Victory, now were much abated in their confidence, and repented they had not imbraced peace, when it was offered them upon ſuch honourable terms, after the action at *Pylus*, fearing that their confederates would be incouraged by this change of their fortune to change their affections. On the other ſide the *Lacedæmonians* who thought they ſhould have ended the War, and brought the *Athenians* to terms by an invaſion of *Attica*, now found they were much miſtaken; the defeat in the Iſland they had ever before their eyes, and felt the excurſions from *Pylus* and *Cythera*; they feared their ſlaves, leſt they ſhould riſe againſt them; and another danger preſſed them ſore; for the State of *Argos* which had antient enmity with them, was now after a truce of thirty years well-nigh expired, would probably take the benefit of their preſent troubles, by joyning with thoſe who alone found them work enough, being ſo powerful at Sea. Above all, the liberty of the Priſoners at *Athens*, whereof moſt of them were of the greateſt quality, provoked them to a purſuite after peace.

But the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* deſire a peace.

34. The buſineſs was much helped on by *Pliſtonax* the *Spartan* King, and *Nicias* the *Athenian*, the former being weary of thoſe calumnies which were raiſed againſt him upon any miſcarriage in the War, and the other much enamoured of Peace, by the obtaining of which he thought he ſhould be famous to ſucceeding Ages. Several treaties all the Winter were on foot about it, and towards the Spring the *Lacedæmonians* to make the *Athenians* the more readily to imbrace it, gave out, that they would with the whole force of all their confederates invade *Attica*, and fortifie a Caſtel therein. After much ſtickling about it, a peace was concluded for fifty years, upon theſe terms eſpecially: *that a reſtitution of places and priſoners ſhould be made on both ſides, except Niſæa, which the Athenians might ſtill keep from the Megarians, and Platæa, which the Thebans refuſed to reſtore to it's Inhabitants.* The two States ſwore to the performance of it, and all their allies and confederates (except the *Bœotians*, *Corinthians*, and *Megarians*, who liked it not) and it was concluded at *Sparta*, upon the the twenty ſixth day of *Artemiſius*, *Pleiſtolas* being *Ephorus*; at *Athens*, upon the twenty fourth of *Elaphebolion*, *Alcæus* being Archon, in the beginning of the Spring, preſently after the *Bacchanalia*, ten years and a few days being paſt ſince the firſt invaſion of *Attica*, and the beginning of the War.

Which is concluded.

35. The *Lacedæmonians* were by lot to make reſtitution firſt; which they preſently did perform, but as to places, *Amphipolis* was the cauſe that they could not perform it; for neither the Inhabitants, nor the reſt of the Aſſociates would ſuffer it, though the *Spartans* drew out their Garriſon, and did all that in them lay to reſtore it, they being unwilling to come again under the dominion of their old Lords, and counting it unreaſonable for the *Spartans* to deſire it.

Several Cities diſſent.

And the Deputies of the *Corinthians* application to *Argos.*

The deputies of the diſſenting Cities were at *Lacedæmon*, and being deſired to ſign the League, flatly refuſed, except ſome things were changed in it. Which the *Spartans* hearing diſmiſſed them, and very prudently applied themſelves to the *Athenians*, making an offenſive and defenſive League with them, thereby to retain them from joyning with the *Argives* and *Peloponneſians*, which confederacy it behoved them above all things for to hinder. After this ſtraight League, the priſoners taken in the Iſland were ſet at liberty, the eleventh year of the War now riſing, and the peace was obſerved according to agreement; but all the late confederates of *Sparta* took this exceedingly ill, and let out all their hatred, formerly conceived againſt the *Athenians* their profeſſed Enemies, upon their unjuſt friends. The *Corinthians* eſpecially took it in great diſdain, who had been the greateſt incentives to the War, out of envie to the State of *Athens*, and as their Deputies departed from *Lacedæmon* they took *Argos* in their way, where to the principal Citizens they inveighed grievouſly againſt this League, ſaying, it was made with deſign to enſlave *Peloponneſus*, whoſe vindicators they the *Argives* mnſt needs be, and that it was incumbent upon them to decree, that all free Cities which would, might enter into an alliance with them for their mutual ſafety, which if they would ſo do, they were ſure that many, out of hatred to the *Spartans*, would give their names to it.

Thoſe of *Peloponneſus* apply themſelves to that City.

36. After their departure the thing was firſt referred to the Magiſtrates, and then to the People, who choſe twelve men, to whom they gave power to make a League with any City or State, except the *Spartans*, and the *Athenians*, with whom nothing was to be concluded, without the advice and conſent of the whole body of the People. This thy did, becauſe they foreſaw a War to be made with *Sparta* after the end of the Truce, and hoped by this means to become maſter of *Peloponneſus*; for as the *Lacedæmonians* were now contemned for their bad ſucceſs (and the rather more for that all had ſuch vaſt conceits of their courage, that they thought they would have ſubmitted to no conditions, but have cut out all by the Sword) ſo they who had been of neither party in this War, but allied to both, had bettered their condition, and now flouriſhed exceedingly. The *Mantineans* firſt, who living in *Arcadia*, ſtood in fear of the *Spartans* whoſe confederacy they had ſhaken off, entred into an alliance with them, and after them the reſt of the *Peloponneſians*, who thought they might underſtand more of the matter than themſelves did, and had high thoughts of this great and rich City, conceiving it able to do much, becauſe that of ſo long it had done nothing. They were grievouſly incenſed againſt the *Spartans*, and this offended them eſpecially, that in the ſtraight League betwixt them and *Athens* it was provided, that *by mutual conſent they might add new conditions, or alter the old at their own pleaſures.* This proviſo they looked upon as made to enſlave *Peloponneſus*, by the aſſiſtance of *Athens*, for that if any thing was to be changed, it were but juſt that it ſhould be done by conſent of all the Confederates who were concerned in it,

The *Lacedæmonians* vindicate themſelves at *Corinth.*

37. The *Lacedæmonians* knowing well how much they were concerned in theſe courſes, ſent Ambaſſadors to ſtop the matter at *Corinth*, whence they well perceived the miſchief to have proceeded. They expoſtulated with them for what had been done, and laid perjurie to their charge, in caſe they left their ſociety and betook themſelves to *Argos*, and blamed them for not admitting the League with *Athens*, becauſe it was formerly agreed, that what the major part ſhould conclude, it ſhould oblige all; except ſome divine impediment interpoſed. The *Corinthians* replied in the Aſſembly of the Agents of thoſe Ciries which refuſed the League, that in general the *Lacedæmonians* themſelves had not fully performed the conditions of the League, who had not taken order that the places forced from them ſhould be reſtored, and that for their part they could not deſert their confederates in *Thrace*, whom they perſwaded to rebel againſt *Athens*, and taken into protection, and to whom they were obliged by oath taken more than once, which to them appeared to be a ſufficient divine impediment why they could not enter into a League with *Athens*. And as for their conjunction with *Argos*, aſter they had adviſed with their friends, they ſhould do what was right and fitting. After their departure, in the next aſſembly they entred into a League with the *Argives*, and ſo did the *Eleans* with the *Corinthian* Colonies, and thoſe of *Chalcis* in *Thrace*.

38. All the Summer of the eleventh year, the *Athenians* and *Peloponneſians* had commerce with one another, though great conſultations were on foot, and the aſſociates bickered with one another, and both parties wanted not diſſatisfaction.

For

Diſſatisfaction betwixt the parties.

For, the *Lacedæmonians* reſtored not *Amphipolis*, neither procured the aſſociates in *Thrace*, the *Bœotians*, nor *Corinthians*, to ſign the League, though they ingaged joyntly to cauſe them to do it, and that if within a certain time they did it not, both were to hold them as Enemies. The *Athenians* ſeeing that they performed not theſe things, ſuſpected they dealt deceitfully with them, and for this cauſe refuſed to ſurrender *Pylus*, repented they had diſmiſſed the priſoners, and withheld other places till the *Spartans* had firſt performed the Covenants. They excuſed themſelves, for that they had done as much as in them lay, having ſet at liberty their priſoners, drawn out their Forces from *Thrace*, and omitted nothing in their power, in which the reſtitution of *Amphipolis* was not: and as for what concerned the *Bœotians* and *Corinthians*, they would do what they required. They earneſtly deſired that *Pylus* might be reſtored, or, at leaſt, that the *Helotes* and *Meſſenians* might be taken thence, which after much ado was granted, and theſe men were conveyed into the Iſland *Cephalenia*.

The deſigns of the *Bœotarchæ* fruſtrated.

39. In Winter the Deputies of the Confederates came to *Lacedæmon*, and laboured in vain to diſſolve the League betwixt that State and *Athens*. But now other *Ephori* having entered into their Office, who had nothing to do in making the ſtraight alliance, and were alſo much averſe unto it, they dealt ſecretly with the *Bœotians* and *Corinthians*, to perſwade the former to joyn themſelves to *Argos*, and then all to enter into a League with *Sparta*; which they were ſure would purchaſe this willingly, with a breach betwixt them and *Athens*, for that then the War would be more eaſie out of *Peloponneſus*; only they deſired much that the *Bœotians* would deliver up *Panactus* into their hands, that therewithal making exchange with the *Athenians* for *Pylus*, they might with leſs difficulty make War againſt them. As the Ambaſſadors were in their way, two of the principal men of *Argos* met them, and were very earneſt with the *Bœotians* to imbrace their ſociety, which, when they came home, they laid open to the *Bœotarchæ*, and Ambaſſadors followed from *Argos* to perſwade them to it, who were kindly entertained and diſmiſſed with hope that ſome Ambaſſadors ſhould follow them to conclude the buſineſs. In the mean time the Agents from *Corinth*, *Megara*, and *Thrace*, agreed with the *Bœotarchæ*, that they ſhould bind themſelves by Oath to aſſiſt him who ſhould want it, and not to begin or finiſh any War without the joynt conſent of all, and upon this condition, that the Treaty ſhould be ſigned. But ere this could be done, the *Bœotarchæ* were to refer the matter to the four Councils of *Bœotia* wherein lay the ſupreme power, which not being made acquainted by them what advice the *Ephori* and others of *Sparta* had given, for fear they ſhould give that State offence by joyning with *Corinth* which had revolted, they judged the contrary, and ſo by the means of the *Bœotarchæ*, who took it for granted that the Councils would act according to their advice, the matter proceeded no farther now, and afterwards was neglected by them.

Panactus diſmantled.

40. This Winter alſo many Treaties were held betwixt the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*; about the reſtitution of places; and the *Spartans* hoped, that if *Panactus* was but reſtored to the other, they ſhould recover *Pylus*. But ſuch Towns as their old Allies had gotten by their means in the late War, could not be reſtored without their conſent, and therefore Ambaſſadors were ſent earneſtly to requeſt the *Bœotians* to deliver up *Panactus* with the *Athenian* priſoners. They ſtoutly refuſed to do it, except they would enter into as peculiar and ſtraight a League with them, as they had done with the *Athenians*. Now this could not be legally done, becauſe in the League with *Athens* it was provided, that neither ſhould make either League, or War, without mutual conſent. Yet being poſſeſſed with an imflamed deſire of recovering *Pylus*, and the more, becauſe they were moved by the *Ephori*, and others that deſired a breach with *Athens*, they ſtruck up a League with them. Then did the *Bœotians* utterly demoliſh *Panactus* inſtead of giving it up, and ſo the eleventh year of the War ended.

41. In Spring the *Argives* hearing nothing of the *Bœotian* Ambaſſadors promiſed to be ſent, but great talk of the demoliſhing of *Panactus*, and the League betwixt them and the *Spartans*, whom they thought to have drawn them in with the conſent of the *Athenians*, were much perplexed, thinking they now ſhould be run upon by all, though they formerly promiſed themſelves the Dominion of *Peleponneſus* by forſaking the alliance of *Lacedæmon*. They therefore ſent preſently thither, and ſtruck up another League with them for fifty years. In the mean

The *Athenians* thereat, and otherwiſe offended.

while three were ſent from *Sparta* to receive from the *Bœotians* the *Athenian* priſoners and *Panactus*, who yielded both perſons and place, but this utterly demoliſhed, pretending for their excuſe, that by an ancient League it was to be held by neither of them in particular, but be common to both. The *Athenians* received their men, but were much moved that *Panactus* was demoliſhed (though the Ambaſſadors put it off by telling them they needed not now to fear any thing from it) being ſenſible of a double injury received, both as to the Town, and the League made without their knowledge, and then they called to mind other breaches of the peace, and were jealous that they were circumvented by the *Spartans*. And occaſion was hence taken by ſuch amongſt them as bare no good will to the peace, to ſeek all manner of ways to break it. Amongſt theſe was *Alcibiades* the ſon of *Clinias* by the ſiſter of *Pericles*, who though a young man, yet eminent for his Nobility, Riches, and Favour with the people, bare a ſecret grudge againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, for that deſpiſing his youth, and having no regard to the antient friendſhip betwixt them and his family (which his Grand-father having diſſolved, he ſought to reſtore by kindneſs ſhewed to the priſoners taken in the Iſland) they made uſe of *Nicias* and *Laches* in the concluſion of the League before him, which he thought was much to the prejudice of his honour.

Are incenſed by *Alcibiades*.

42. He cried out, that their deſign was firſt to ſuppreſs *Argos*, and then to do as much for *Athens*, and at this time there being no good agreement betwixt the *Argives* and *Spartans*, he ſent to them privately, exhorting them, as they tendered their own ſafety, to enter into a League with *Athens*. They who were now not conſulting how to become maſters of others, but how to ſave themſelves, were well pleaſed with his meſſage, and though they had Ambaſſadors now reſident at *Lacedæmon* about the League with that State, yet did they ſend away others to *Athens*, together with the *Eleans* and *Mantineans*, to make one offenſive and defenſive with them there. The *Lacedæmonians* hereat were at a ſtand, ſeeing well, that ſuch a Combination tended to their hurt. To keep in with the *Athenians* the *Ephori* thought that more was done already than ſtood with their honour or profit; others held it the wiſeſt courſe, ſeeing they had done ſo much, not to ſtick at a little more, but rather by giving full ſatisfaction, to retain the friendſhip of that State, which was more to be valued than the reſt of *Greece*. This reſolution prevailing, ſuch were ſent away to *Athens* as had moſt affection to peace, who ſaid in the *Senate*, that they came with full Commiſſion to conclude all, excuſed the League entred into with the *Bœotians*, as having been done only to pleaſure them in the regaining of *Panactus*, and aſſured them of the readineſs of their State to give all ſatisfaction, being much grieved that things went otherwiſe than according to their pleaſure. *Alcibiades* taking notice that they ſaid in the *Senate*, that they came with full Commiſſion to conclude, feared that thereby the people might be drawn to a peace, and he interpoſed by a notable ſtratagem. He perſwaded the Ambaſſadors of his friendſhip towards their City, and adviſed them to take heed that their abſolute power to conclude might not be known to the Commonalty, leſt the multitude ſhould thereupon grow peremptory, and yield to nothing, except they could draw them to unreaſonable conditions.

Who hindreth the peace by a notable ſtratagem.

43. The Ambaſſadors believed him, and ordered their ſpeech to the people according to his directions. Hereupon he took the advantage which their double dealing afforded, and openly inveighed againſt them as men of no ſincerity, come for no other purpoſe than to draw the people from ſtrengthning themſelves with friends, intending to withdraw the *Argives*, and their adherents, to their own alliance, as already they had done the *Bœotians*, though contrary to their Oath. Then he commended the cauſe of the *Argives*, *Eleans*, and *Mantineans*, to the people, which was much moved, having had before no good opinion of the *Lacedæmonians*; but an Earth-quake intervening before they came to the queſtion, nothing was done that day. At the next meeting *Nicias* perſwaded them to let him firſt go to *Lacedæmon* to know their minds concerning the League with the *Bœotians*, whether or no they would renounce it, and their friendſhip with *Amphipolis*, and reſtore *Panactus* in ſuch a condition as it ought. But *Xenares* the *Ephorus*, and his party, was ſo ſtrong, that none of theſe things could be procured; only the peace with *Athens* was again ſworn to, to gratifie *Nicias*, who was ſenſible how he ſhould be blamed at his return, being accounted alſo the Author of the League. After his return the *Athenians* made a League with the *Argives*, *Eleans*, and *Mantineans* for one hundred years, at large

Nicias laboureth for it.

large deſcribed by *Thucydides*, but tending to the mutual aſſiſtance of each other. Hereby nothing in terms was done derogatory to the League with *Sparta*, and the *Corinthians*, though the Allies of *Argos*, yet refuſed to be compriſed in it (as in the former betwixt the *Argives*, *Eleans*, and *Mantineans*) alleging that the former Convention was ſufficient, which did not oblige them joyntly to make War upon any one, though to defend one another. This they ſaid, for that they ſeemed to find reaſon to forſake theſe Confederates, and to apply their Minds afreſh to the *Lacedæmonians*.

The *Lacedæmonians* kept from the *Olympick* exerciſes.

44. This Summer the nintieth *Olympiad* was celebrated, from the ſolemnity of which the *Lacedæmonians* were kept by the *Eleans*, being forbidden the Temple, and offering Sacrifice, for which a Guard was ſet, becauſe they had not paid a Fine of two thouſand Minæ impoſed upon them by them, according to the *Olympian* Law, for putting ſome men into the Caſtle *Phorycus*, and the Town of *Leprea*, during the *Olympian* Truce. They ſent their Ambaſſadors to excuſe the matter, but nothing was done, ſo that they ſacrifized at home, which bred very ill Blood betwixt them. After this ſolemnity the *Argives* and their Confederates ſent to *Corinth*, to perſwade them there to imbrace their Party; but the Ambaſſadors of *Sparta* being there, and it being much debated, an Earthquake hapned, and ſo they returned without any ſucceſs. In Winter hapned a Fight betwixt the *Heracleots* of *Trachine* (placed there by the *Spartans* to their loſs) and part of the *Theſſalians*, with others, wherein they were worſted, and many of them ſlain: amongſt whom *Xenares* the *Lacedæmonian* General. With theſe things the twelvth Year of the War ended.

Alcibiades marcheth into *Peloponneſus*.

45. The next Summer *Alcibiades* with ſome Forces out of *Attica*, and the aſſiſtance of *Argos*, marched into *Peloponneſus*, which paſſing over he came to *Patræ*, where he dealt with the Inhabitants about building a Wall thence unto the Sea, intending alſo of himſelf to build another as far as *Rhium* in *Achaia*; but the matter was hindred by the *Corinthians*, *Sicyones*, and others, who would have been endamaged thereby. The *Argives* made War againſt *Epidaurus* upon light occaſion, thinking, that if that Town was but ſubdued, they ſhould be more ſafe from the *Corinthians* on that ſide, and the *Athenians* would have a readier way to ſend them aid from *Ægina*. Whileſt they were buſie about a Peace, *Ephamidas* the *Corinthian* threw this in their Diſh, that what they made words of, that they contradicted by their Deeds, and upon that account they drew back their Army. But no concluſion coming of their Treaty, they invaded the Territories of *Epidaurus* again, and waſted the third part thereof. The *Lacedæmonians* were twice abroad with their Armies this Summer, but were recalled by their ſuperſtitious Ceremonies. The *Athenians* alſo ſent the *Argives* one thouſand men under Conduct of *Alcibiades*; but they having drawn away their Forces, and having no imployment for them, they returned home. In Winter the *Lacedæmonians* conveyed three hundred Garriſon Souldiers into *Epidaurus*, which paſſing through the Borders of the *Athenians*, the *Argives* expoſtulated with them for ſuffering it, contrary to the League, and complained that they reſtored not the *Helotes* and *Meſſenians* unto *Pylus*, whence they had taken them upon the deſire of the *Spartans*. This accordingly was done at the inſtance of *Alcibiades*. All others were quiet this Winter, except the *Argives* and *Epidaurians*, who skirmiſhed ſometimes, and towards Spring the former hearing *Epidaurus* to be naked, came ſuddenly with their ſcaling Ladders, and endeavoured the taking of it, but in vain. Together with this Winter the thirteenth Year of the Wer ended.

Agis the *Spartan* King invadeth the *Argives*.

46. The Summer following, the *Spartans* ſeeing in how bad a caſe their Friends the *Epidaurians* were, and that the reſt of *Peloponneſus* had either already revolted, or was ill affected to them, fearing that if they delayed, all things would go worſe, they armed themſelves, and Slaves, with their Confederates, under the conduct of *Agis* their King. It hapned that the *Argives* were compaſſed round about by their Enemies; but when they were about to fall on, two of their Captains ſteped out, and perſwaded *Agis* to abſtain from Fight, ſaying, that the *Argives* were willing to do all juſt things, and make Peace with the *Lacedæmonians*. This they ſpake of their own Heads, without the conſent or knowledg of the Multitude; and *Agis*, without acquainting any more of the Captains or Confederates, conſented to a Truce for four Moneths, and therewith drew off his Army. The *Lacedæmonians* and Confederates obeyed him for the rigour of the Law, but grievouſly blamed him for letting ſlip, or rather wilfully loſing ſo great an opprtunity, having the Enemy at ſuch an advan-

Is eaſily put off, and deſervedly blamed.

tage, and having ſuch a numerous and well-furniſhed Army as had not been ſeen of the *Græcians* to that day; there being met together beſides the *Spartans*, the *Arcadians*, *Bœotians*, *Corinthians*, *Sicyonians*, *Pellenians*, *Phliaſians*, and *Megarians*, and the choice of all theſe States, who ſeemed not only able to fight with the *Argives*, and their Aſſociates, but with any other in Combination with them. The *Argives* alſo not conſidering what danger they had eſcaped, were ſore inraged againſt their Officers, who had as they thought let the other eſcape out of their Hands, inſomuch that they had ſtoned one of them, had he not taken Sanctuary, and yet they ſold his Goods. Not long after a party of one thouſand Foot, and three hundred Horſe coming from *Athens* to their aid, the People, by the perſwaſion of *Alcibiades*, renounced the Truce made with *Agis*, and the Confederates gathering together, went and beſieged *Orchomenus*, wherein the *Spartans* had put the Hoſtages received from the *Arcadians*, and which was, without much to do, delivered up to them.

Severely ſentenced.

47. The *Lacedæmonians* being grievouſly inraged againſt *Agis*, eſpecially after the news came about *Orchomenus*, beyond all precedent decreed his Houſe ſhould be demoliſhed, and fined him one hundred thouſand Drachmes, which he deprecating, and promiſing to redeem his credit by ſome notable exploit, they yet made a new Law, that there ſhould be ten men aſſiſting to him, without whoſe conſent he ſhould not as much as lead the Army from the City. News preſently was brought that *Tegea* was beſieged, whereupon he took the Field, and came to a ſet Battel with the *Argives* and their Confederates, wherein though his right Wing was over-borne through the negligence of the *Polemarchi* (who did not ſoon enough communicate the orders received from him) yet he put to flight the Enemy in the other, and then coming to the help of it, obtained the Victory. This was that noble Fight, as *Thucydides* extolleth it, betwixt the moſt eminent and powerful States of *Greece*, than which there was none more remarkeable that hapned amongſt the *Græcians* themſelves. Yet the number of the ſlain was not great. Of the *Argives* and their Allies about eleven hundred, of the Confederates of *Sparta* not many, and of the *Lacedæmonians* themſelves three hundred were reported to have fallen. The Day after, the *Epidamnians*, while *Argos* was naked, fell in upon their Grounds, and killed many of thoſe that came out of the City againſt them. While the *Lacedæmonians* were buſie in their *Carnean* Solemnities, the *Eleans* and *Athenians* aſſiſting the *Mantineans*, went and drew a line about *Epidaurus*, upon which they left a ſufficient Guard, and departed.

According to his promiſe he redeemeth his Credit.

Yet the *Lacedæmonians* ſent to *Argos* about a peace.

48. In the beginning of Winter the *Lacedæmonians* after their Solemnity was over, again took the Field, but thinking now the *Argives* might be humbled, ſent to feel their Minds about a Peace. At this time ſuch as deſired a change of the Government at *Argos* became powerful, and hoped if they could conclude with the *Spartans*, to take it out of the Hands of the Multitude, and bring it to a temper agreeable to the conſtitutions of that State. By the artifices of thoſe men, the *Argives* were brought to forſake the *Mantineans*, *Eleans*, and *Athenians*, and joyn themſelves in a League with the *Lacedæmonians* to continue for fifty Years: It was agreed, that no entercourſe ſhould be held with the *Athenians*, except they would draw out all their Forces from *Peloponneſus* (The freedom of *Epidaurus* being eſpecially looked at herein by the *Spartans* as much concerning them) and that no Treaty or War was to be entred upon without mutual conſent. They then took care for ſeveral other things, and ſent to *Perdiccas* King of *Macedonia*, to enter into a League with him, but he did not throughly aſſent to it, though he bore reſpect to *Argos*, whence he accounted himſelf deſcended: but they renewed the League with them of *Chalcis*, and obliged others unto them. The *Argives* ſent alſo to the *Athenians*, to require them to draw off their Guards from *Epidaurus*: but they hereupon ſent *Demoſthenes* thither to get all the Fortification into their own Hands, after which they ſurrendred it to the Towns-men, and renewed their antient League with them. The *Mantineans* at firſt refuſed to joyn with the *Argives* in the League with *Athens*; but after conſidering that they could not ſubſiſt without them, ſubſcribed, and gave up thoſe places they had in their Hands. After this, one thouſand men from *Lacedæmon*, and as many from *Argos*, were ſent to *Sicyon*, where by the endeavours of the *Lacedæmonians*, the Supreme Power was transferred out of the Hands of the People to few Men, which was after affected at *Argos* alſo, an Oligarchy being introduced, agreeable to the Government of *Sparta*. With this Winter the fourteenth year of the War ended.

Which is procured by thoſe who affected an Oligarchy.

An Oligarchy ſet up at *Sicyon* and *Argos*.

The *Argives* recover the Democracy, and renounce the League with *Sparta*.

49. The Summer following, the People of *Argos* bearing heavily the change of the Government, took their opportunity when the *Lacedæmonians* were buſie in the naked exerciſes of their Youth, and killing ſome of their adverſaries, and expelling others, reſtored the popular Government, renounced the League with *Sparta*, and renewed that with *Athens*. Then they fell on building of their long Walls from the City to the Sea, thinking, that if they ſhould be blocked up by Land, to have entercourſe with the *Athenians* by Sea. In Winter the *Lacedæmonians* knowing that they were buſied (men, women, ſlaves and all) in this work, with their Aſſociates (all but the *Corinthians*, who ſtirred not) came againſt *Argos*, hoping to take the City by means of thoſe within that were of their party; but being fruſtrated of their expectations, they demoliſhed the Wall, and taking *Hyſias* a Caſtle of *Argolis*, put to the Sword all the Males of free condition, and ſo returned. After this, the *Argives* waſted the Territories of the *Phliaſians*, for harbouring their Exiles. This ſame Winter the *Athenians* renounced the League with *Perdiccas*, accuſing him of Conſpiracy with the *Argives* and *Laconians*, of non-performance of the League betwixt them, and laying the blame upon him that the Expedition miſcarried which they had made, under the conduct of *Nicias* againſt the *Chalcidians* and *Amphipolis* in *Thrace*. With theſe things the Winter ended, and together with it the fifteenth year of the War.

The *Lacedæmonians* in vain attempt to take *Argos*.

50. The Year following, *Alcibiades* with twenty Ships ſailing to *Argos*, took thence three hundred men ſuſpected of *Laconiſm*, who were carried into the Iſlands ſubject to the *Athenians*, and there committed to cuſtody. After this the *Athenians* with ſtrong force invaded the Iſland *Melus*, the Inhabitants of which being a Colony of the *Lacedæmonians*, denied them obedience. They firſt ſent Commiſſioners to the Town to treat with the *Melians*, where there was much canvaſſing the caſe; but in concluſion they continuing in their reſolution not to yield, Fortifications were made againſt the City, and ſtrong Guards left upon them. Almoſt at the ſame time, the *Argives* making excurſions into the *Phliaſian* Territories, by the lying in wait of the *Phliaſians*, and their own Exiles, loſt eighty of their men. The *Athenians* that lay in *Pylus* now alſo waſted *Laconia*, notwithſtanding which, the *Lacedæmonians* would not take ſo much notice as to account the League broken, and thereupon to take Arms; but only cauſed it to be proclaimed by a Cryer, that whoſoever of their Subjects would, might prey upon the *Athenians*: the *Corinthians* only about ſome controverſies made War upon them, all *Peloponneſus* beſides being quiet. The *Melians* made two Sallies againſt the Beſiegers, with good ſucceſs; but a freſh Army being ſent from *Athens* by the help of ſome Treachery took it this Winter, upon terms of yielding to Mercy. All the Males of ripe age that could be taken were put to the Sword, the women and children made Slaves, and the Town was repeopled by a Colony of five hundred *Athenians*.

They will not take notice that the League is broken with *Athens*.

Melus taken.

The *Athenians* look after *Sicilie*.

Thucyd. l. 6.

51. This ſame Winter the *Athenians*, with greater preparations than ever, reſolved ſeriouſly to look after *Sicilie*. Their pretence was to give aſſiſtance to their Friends and Allies there, but the true and only cauſe was the deſire of propagating their Empire, by the bringing under of all that whole Iſland. A good occaſion was now given them by the *Egeſtans*, who upon account of former Alliance, came and ſued to them for Aid againſt the *Selinuntians* their Enemies, upheld by them of *Syracuſe*, offering them Money for carrying on the War; whereupon they thought fit firſt to ſend Ambaſſadors to be informed concerning the Money boaſted of, and the ſtate of the War. The *Lacedæmonians* this Winter made excurſions into *Argolis*, and carried away much Booty. The *Argives* cauſed Ornea to be demoliſhed, where their Exiles harboured, by the help of the *Athenians*, who ſent ſome Forces to *Methone* a Town bordering upon *Macedonia*, thence to infeſt the Territories of *Perdiccas*. The *Chalcidians* hereupon ſollicited the *Lacedæmonians* to ſend Aid to the King, but they thinking it not Policy to break quite with *Athens*, refuſed. Thus the Winter with the ſixteenth Year of the *Peloponneſian* War ended.

Decree aid to be ſent to the *Egeſtans* under the command of *Nicias*, *Alcibiades*, and *Lamachus*.

52. In the beginning of Spring the Ambaſſadors ſent from *Athens* returned out of *Sicilie*, bringing from the *Egeſtans* ſixty Talents of Bullion, with a moneths pay for ſixty Ships, as was required. The Ambaſſadors affirming (though falſly) as well as the *Egeſtans*, that they had much Money in their Temples and publick Treaſury; the People thereupon much elevated decreed Aid to be ſent to them, under the conduct of *Nicias*, *Alcibiades*, and *Lamachus*, to whom they gave in charge,

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that, if it might be, they ſhould reſtore the *Leontines*, and do thoſe things which they ſaw to be moſt advantagious to the Commonwealth, according to the comportment of affairs. *Nicias* laboured with all his might to divert the People from ſuch a ſuddain reſolution, propoſing all the difficulties and dangers of the War, and thought to have excuſed himſelf by magnifying the power that was required to ſuch an undertaking ; but his mouth was ſtopped by a Decree, which gave him as much as he could exact. For one hundred Gallies were ordered for the Expedition, beſides others of their Confederates, which amounted to above thirty, over and above Veſſels of burthen, and others neceſſary for the tranſportation of ſix thouſand and one hundred men, whereof five thouſand and one hundred bore heavy Armour. All things were prepared, with the greateſt care and induſtry imaginable ; the Soldiers were completely furniſhed with Arms, cloths, and all things neceſſary ; and a drachm a day aſſigned for their wages.

The *Hermæ* broken at *Athens*.

Alcibiades ſuſpected, and deſirous to be tried, is yet by his Enemies ſent away.

Then again recalled.

53. Before the departure of the Fleet, all the *Hermæ* throughout the City (theſe were the images of *Mercury* ſet up at every man's gate) in one night were mangled and abuſed, which was taken as an ill omen, and the People was jealous that it was done by ſome that were Enemies to the Popular Government. Great inquiſition was made in vain to find out the Authors, but the ſuſpicion light upon *Alcibiades* one of the Generals, through the practice of his emulators, who made uſe of his lofty deportment, which ill ſuited with their kind of policy. He offered himſelf to the tryal, being fearful to be condemned abſent ; but his Enemies put it off for the preſent, and got him to be ſent away, intending to make uſe of that which he feared, that being condemned unheard, he might be the ſooner oppreſſed, becauſe now by his own authority and intereſt, he had drawn many to give their names to the Expedition, and therefore they could not eaſily carry any thing againſt him, becauſe of his popularity. As the Fleet ſailed towards *Sicily*, the Generals ſent ſome before to diſcover further in what conditions the *Egeſtans* were, who bringing tidings clean contrary to what both they, the *Egeſtans* themſelves, and the Ambaſſadors ſent to them had aſſerted, the Generals were all divided in their opinions what to do, but *Alcibiades* hot and youthful, was for their proceeding, to which *Lamachus* at length aſſenting, his deſire was obtained. They then landed and ſeized upon *Catana*, attempted *Camarina* in vain, when *Alcibiades* received orders to come and plead his cauſe at *Athens* about the *Hermæ*, his Enemies having obtained it ſhould be ſo. In truth he was condemned beforehand, but to colour the matter, he was ſent for to plead, and that muſt be with bonds laid upon him. He was aware of the danger, and departed ſtraight to *Lacedæmon*, with intention to teach the *Athenians* what perſon they had compelled by unjuſt Judgment to forſake his Countrey, and betake himſelf to their Enemies. After this was known, ſentence of death was publiſhed againſt him of his Partners, many (whether juſtly or no *Thucydides* much queſtions) being put to death without proof already in the City.

The *Syracuſians* ſtand on their Guard.

54. The *Syracuſians*, though not fully perſwaded of the deſign of the *Athenians* againſt them at firſt, (and thereupon not ſo well provided as they might have been) yet made all poſſible proviſion for reſiſtance. The two Generals, after the departure of *Alcibiades*, by a ſtratagem drew them out of the City, and in the mean time brought their Forces near unto it, and worſted them when they ſallied out, but without any great loſs ſuſtained on either part, and then drew off to their Winter quarters at *Catana* and *Naxus*. The *Syracuſians* incouraged by *Hermocrates* one of their new Generals (a wiſe man, who had forwarned them of the deſign of the *Athenians*) ſent to *Sparta* and *Corinth* for aid ; ſtrengthned their Fortifications, made excurſions to *Catana*, where they waſted the grounds, plundred, and burnt part of the *Athenian* Camp which was empty. Both ſides laboured to draw the *Camarinæans* to their ſide, but in vain ; yet many Cities eſpecially in the In-land, imbraced the ſociety of the *Athenians*, who ſent alſo this Winter to the *Carthaginians* to procure their amity ; the Cities upon the *Tyrrhenian* ſhore they alſo drew in, and all *Sicily* was now divided into theſe two factions. The *Corinthians* readily reſolved to ſend aid to the *Syracuſians*, and ſent ſome of their own with their Ambaſſadors to *Sparta* to procure as much for them from that State. The *Spartans* made difficulty at firſt to do it, for fear of giving the *Athenians* offence ; but hearing from *Alcibiades* what their deſigns were (who was come thither upon the publick faith) at his perſwaſions reſolved alſo upon ſending Forces under the Command of *Gylippus* they alſo imbraced his Counſel concerning

The *Corinthians* and *Spartans* ſend them aid.

renewing the War, and fortifying *Decelea* a Caſtle in *Attica*. At the ſame time, the *Athenian* Generals ſent to *Athens* for money and horſ-men, which was readily decreed to be ſent. Herewith the ſeventeenth year of the War ended.

55. The next year the *Argives* and *Lacedæmonians* preyed mutually upon one another in *Peloponneſus*. In *Sicily* the *Athenians* with their whole force, and new ſupply of horſe, ſayled to *Syracuſe*, about which they ſeized upon many places, and ſeveral skirmiſhes enſued about the Fortifications, wherein the *Athenians* had the better. Then was the *Athenian* Fleet conveyed into the Haven of *Syracuſe*, whence great contention enſued, and *Lamachus* one of the Generals aſſiſting his friends was ſlain. The *Syracuſians* endeavouring the recovery of *Epipolæ* were repelled by *Nicias*, who thence drew a double work againſt the Town, and ſtrengthned himſelf by the acceſs of Confederates, and ſtore of proviſion. The beſieged receiving no aſſiſtance from *Peloponneſus* parlied with *Nicias*; but the matter ſucceeding not, they made choice of new Captains, whilſt *Gylippus* was not now far off, but deſpiſed by *Nicias* for the ſmall number of his men. In *Greece* the *Spartans* diſtreſſed the *Argives*, who were aſſiſted by the *Athenians* with thirty ſhips. Theſe made excurſions into the Territories of *Epidaurus*, ſo that the League which had ſo long continued betwixt them and *Sparta*, though in a doubtful condition, was now openly broken, and the War reſumed; and that more by their fault than any blame of the *Lacedæmonians*, if *Thucydides* be judge.

Thucyd. lib. 7.

56. *Gylippus* arriving at *Syracuſe* diſturbed the work of *Nicias* about the Wall, and changed the conſtancy of his good fortune, who yet was not diſcouraged thereby, but proceeded in his utmoſt endeavours for the ſervice of thoſe that ſent him, making preparation for Sea-matters, wherein the *Athenians* ſeemed to excel all others: hereupon enſued ſeveral skirmiſhes with various fortune, and the remaining of Summer was ſpent on both ſides, in increaſing their Forces and procuring aid. *Nicias* writing [illegible] *Athens* for ſupplies, new Levies were made, and *Demoſthenes*, and *Eurymedon* joyned in Commiſſion with him, whereof the latter was ſent in mid-winter with ten Gallies, and a great ſumm of money into *Sicily*, and the other ſtaid till Spring to get ready what was remaining: twenty ſhips they alſo ordered to attend the motions of the *Peloponneſians*. Theſe things being known, the *Spartans* and *Corinthians* calling upon their Confederates provided for the invaſion of *Attica*, accordingly as *Alcibiades* had adviſed. With theſe things the eighteenth year of the War ended.

Demoſthenes and *Eurymedon* joyned in Commiſſion with *Nicias*.

57. In the beginning of the Spring the *Peloponneſians* under the Command of *Agis* the *Spartan* King, invaded *Attica*, where they fortified *Oecalea*, a place ſome twelve miles diſtant from *Athens*, and as much from the Borders of *Bœotia*. The *Athenians* ſent thirty ſhips to waſte *Peloponneſus*, and ſixty (with five of *Chius*) into *Sicily* under *Demoſthenes* his Command. Out of *Peloponneſus* were ſent to the aid of the *Syracuſians*, from *Sparta* ſix hundred men, from *Corinth* five hundred, *Sycion* two hundred, and out of *Bœotia* three hundred, to which the *Corinthian* Gallies lying at *Naupactus* were ordered to be a Convoy. At *Syracuſe* the affairs of the *Athenians*, through the skill and valour of *Gylippus* and *Hermocrates*, went down the wind, who being alſo much diſtreſſed at home by the excurſions out of *Decelea*, yet kept up their ſpirits to the admiration of all men. After *Demoſthenes* had arrived in *Sicily*, and heard of the miſcarriages of their Fleet at Sea, he blamed *Nicias*, that he had not as ſoon as he came, applied all his endeavour to *Syracuſe* the head of the War, and cauſed him to agree to ſet upon *Epipolæ*, a difficult and craggy place, where falling on in the dark night, they could not diſcern betwixt friend and foe, all ſpeaking in the ſame dialect, and thereby great ſlaughter being made of them, partly by themſelves and the Enemy, the *Athenians* received a great defeat. The Generals hereupon conſulting together, were not of the ſame opinion; *Demoſthenes* now was for departing away ſpeedily out of the Iſland, ſeeing all things hapned croſs therein, though he had been the cauſe of the fight: on the other ſide *Nicias*, who had laboured with all his might againſt the War, now preſſed earneſtly that it was for the honour and intereſt of their Country to ſtay and carry on the ſiege, and though *Eurymedon* was of the ſame opinion with *Demoſthenes*, yet could not *Nicias* be removed from his, ſo that their departure was deferred till they underſtood that *Gylippus* was come with new ſupplies out of *Peloponneſus* and *Sicily*. This reſolution he ſtuck to ſo much, for that he knew the multitude rather to look at ſucceſs than the reaſon of things, and was unwilling to hazard

The *Athenians* defeated at *Syracuſe*.

his life and reputation in the hands of thoſe who would be ready to condemn before they heard him, as they had done *Sophocles* and *Pthiodorus* the former Generals, pretending they had taken money for making peace, when indeed there was not any poſſibility of making War.

58. But upon the report of *Gylippus* his coming, *Nicias* was content, and order was given for the Army to diſlodge with the greateſt ſecrecy; when in the mean time fell out an Eclypſe of the Moon. By this, which was accounted an ill Omen, was *Nicias* again ſo terrified, that out of a ſuperſtitious conceit he would not have the Camp break up till twenty ſeven days were paſt. The *Syracuſians* much rejoyced hereat, and reſolved to hinder their flight, or force them to transfer themſelves to ſome other place. They firſt beat up thir Camp, and the next day provoked them to fight, both at Land and Sea, and in the mouth of the Haven ingaged in a great and bloody battel, wherein *Eurymedon* one of the *Athenian* Generals was ſlain, and though the Squadron of *Gylippus* was worſted, which made the *Athenians* Erect a Trophy, yet had they the worſt of it, all conſidered. This made them too late repent that they had ſo ambitiouſly and unjuſtly undertaken a War with a City as great as *Athens* it ſelf, and one of the ſame kind of Government, Enemy to *Oligarchy*. But the *Syracuſians* were more and more animated, conceiving now great hopes of obtaining much glory and favour amongſt the *Græcians*, of whom ſome they might free from ſlavery, and others from the fear of it for the time to come, by chaſtiſing their Tyrants, as they were accounted. As a way hereto they reſolved to block up the mouth of the Haven, that the *Athenian* Fleet ſhould not paſs out thence by ſtealth.

Again at Sea,

59. The *Athenians* ſeeing themſelves in this ſtraight, concluded it the beſt for them to make a new, and a more narrow Camp near to their ſhips, and attempt another battel at Sea, in which, if they had the better, then to remove to *Catana*, but if not, to burn their Veſſels and depart by Land to ſome convenient place. This was attempted with all care and expedition; but the *Syracuſians* oppoſed them, and in the ſtraight of the Haven was ſuch a diſpute, as ſcarcely ever before had hapned, which was beheld by the land Armies with paſſion ſuitable to the condition of their friends: Notwithſtanding the *Syracuſians* loſt almoſt as many Veſſels, yet the other were ſo weakned, and the Sea-men ſo diſcouraged, that though the Generals would have attempted to breake out another time, yet they refuſed any more to go aboard; ſo that they concluded of getting away by Land the next night. If this had been done it might have falln out well for the Army, but by the cunning device of *Hermocrates* they were circumvented, and perſwaded to ſtay till the third day after.

Sorely ſtraightned.

60. Their departure was moſt full of out-cries, ſorrow, and miſery, ſet out to the life by *Thucidides*, ſo that none can read it without compaſſion. *Gylippus* ſeized upon their hundred and thirty ſhips left in the Haven, then purſued them, and ſet upon them behind, before, and on all ſides, ſo that diſtreſſed for all neceſſaries, they took another way than that which lead to *Catana*, otherwiſe than they had intended, and they were divided into two bodies, whereof that with *Demoſthenes* ſoon yielded upon promiſe of their lives. *Nicias* required better terms, and refuſed to ſubmit; but at length was forced to it, craving favour for himſelf and men, at the hands of *Gylippus* and the *Spartans*; eighteen thouſand in one day were ſlain, ſeven hundred taken and condemned to Mines, were after ſold. The two Generals were (contrary to the utmoſt indeavour of *Gylippus*, who would fain have had the honour of carrying them to *Sparta*) put to death, or as *Diodorus* ſaith, killed themſelves in priſon. This was the end of the *Sicilian* War, ſo indiſcreetly undertaken by the *Athenians*, who when they had thoſe already that gave them enough to do, would needs make to themſelves more Enemies, and ſo by labouring to graſp, loſt, all. *Meton* (*a*) the Aſtronomer (mentioned before) was ſo certainly perſwaded of the danger of this expedition, that when he was enrolled amongſt thoſe that were to undertake it, to prevent his going, he counterfeited himſelf mad, to confirm the belief of which he ſet fire on his own houſe. But (*b*) *Hippocrates* the *Coan* (Prince of Phyſicians) is ſaid to have ſet out his own ſon at his own charge, as Phyſician to the *Athenian* Army.

They fly.

Are forced to yield to mercy.

(*a*) *Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib.* 13. *cap.* 12.

(*b*) *Vide Sympſon in Chron. ad ann.* M.3590.

61. The *Athenians* were loath to give credit to the firſt report of the loſs of their Army and Fleet, becauſe of the greatneſs of it, but then knowing it to be ſo indeed, were much incenſed againſt thoſe that perſwaded them to undertake the War, and for that they feared the *Sicilians* would now come upon them whilſt they

Thucyd. lib. 8.

Great joy in *Greece.*

they were deſtitute of all things, the City was filled with great conſternation. Yet within a while, they took courage, and making all proviſion for defence, gave Commiſſion to ſome few of the moſt antient and experienced amongſt them, to conſult and provide fit matter for the multitude to decree. In Winter following all *Greece* was elevated upon this their bad ſucceſs. They who were neuters before, now offered themſelves to joyn in ſuppreſſing thoſe of whom formerly they ſtood in fear: the Confederates of *Lacedæmon* more vigorouſly provided againſt them, and all thoſe that had been ſubject to them were earneſt to ſhake off the yoak. The *Lacedæmonians* having ſuch encouragement, ſet themſelves very ſeriouſly to the War. *Agis* their King went into *Theſſaly* to raiſe money, and a Fleet of one hundred Gallies was prepared amongſt the Confederates. *Pharnabazus* one of the *Satrapaes* of *Perſia*, and Lieutenant of thoſe parts of *Aſia* about the *Helleſpont*, and *Tiſſaphernes* another of the *Satrapaes*, ſent to *Sparta*, and offered them aſſiſtance. Theſe deſigns were carried on as ſecretly as could be, that the *Athenians* might get no knowledge of them, who laboured alſo at the ſame time about the Rigging of a new Fleet. With theſe preparations the nineteenth year of the War ended.

Alcibiades his actings againſt his own Country.

62. The next year the *Athenians* were at the beginning ſomewhat encouraged by ſome ſucceſs at Sea, and thereby the *Lacedæmonians* ſo far diſcouraged again, that they thought ſeriouſly of concluding the War, till otherwiſe perſwaded by *Alcibiades*, who undertook an expedition into *Ionia* to withdraw it from the obedience of *Athens*, and did very much effect it. The *Athenians* hereat abaſhed, and fearing all their Aſſociates would revolt, took out one thouſand Talents, which as yet had been untouched, as forbidden by the Law, and laid them out in this caſe of extremity in proviſions, and eſpecially in preparing a new Fleet. Then by *Alcibiades* his means was a League of alliance made betwixt *Darius Nothus* King of *Perſia*, and the State of *Sparta*, by virtue of which the King allowed money for the paiment of their Soldiers. The *Athenians* recovered *Lesbus*, and *Clazomenæ*, the *Mileſians* and *Chians* (principal in the revolt) were deſtroyed by them, but again they had the worſt of it in a Sea-fight near to *Rhodes*, which the *Peloponneſians* then by fair means drew to their ſociety, exacting of the Inhabitans twenty three talents in the name of tribute, which ſucceſs, becauſe of the ſtrength of that City, made them confidently deſpiſe the money, and alliance of *Perſia*.

He flieth from the *Spartans* out of fear.

He ſuggeſteth crafty counſel to *Tiſſaphernes.*

63. For, *Tiſſaphernes* and they were at ſome difference about the form of the League, which they complained was not rightly drawn, for therein they were tied to give up to the *Perſian* the Iſlands, *Theſſaly*, *Locri*, and *Bœotia*, which heretofore had been under the power of that Empire: which ſeemed unworthy for the *Lacedæmonians* to do, who pretended themſelves the vindicators of the liberty of *Greece*, againſt the incroachments of the *Athenians*; Herewith *Tiſſaphernes* was grievouſly netled, and departed in diſcontent from *Cnidus*, where eleven *Spartans* had met him to require that the inſtruments ſhould be corrected. At this time it alſo hapned that *Alcibiades* was envied for his glory, and ſuſpected by the *Peloponneſians*, and hated by *Agis* the *Spartan* King, for that he had corrupted his Wife, inſomuch that order was reported to have been ſent to *Aſtyochus* the General, to kill him; but he withdrew himſelf to *Tiſſaphernes*. He laid open to him the full State of the *Peloponneſians*, perſwaded him to diminiſh the pay that his Maſter allowed them, by changing a Drachm into three Oboli a day, part of which alſo he ſhould ever keep unpaid, to have the Seamen at his devotion. He further ſuggeſted crafty counſel to him: eſpecially that they ſhould not ſuffer the *Athenians* to be ſuppreſſed by the *Lacedæmonians*, but to keep thoſe two States ever in an even ballance, and let them weaken one another by their mutual enmities; yet to favour a little more the *Athenians*, becauſe they would be content with part of the ſoveraignty of the Seas, and would go no further, whereas the *Spartans* would not reſt here, but contend for the ſole Dominion, and to bring all the *Græcians* from under the *Perſian* yoak. Theſe things he preſſed upon him as great myſteries of State for his Maſter's ſervice, and as ſuch he embraced them; wherefore the promiſe he had made of joyning the *Phœnician* Fleet with that gallant one of the *Peloponneſians* was not performed, and the power of this was weakened by the with-holding of the Soldiers pay.

He deſireth to return to his Country.

64. *Alcibiades* had a great deſire to return into his own Country, which would not be to any purpoſe except it were preſerved, and therefore he communicated theſe things to *Tiſſaphernes*. He wrote to ſome of the chief of the *Athenians* then

Phrynicus ſtandeth in fear of him, and laboureth to deſtroy him,

To no purpoſe.

lying at *Samus* concerning his deſire, and told them wherein he was dealing with him; and yet he ſignified that he had no mind to return, as long as the Popular Government (under which he was baniſhed) ſhould continue. The *Athenians* that lay at *Samus* liked the matter well, and generally inclined to change the Government, for that they were made to believe that *Tiſſaphernes* by the procurement of *Alcibiades* would be their friend, and they ſhould have money from him for the payment of their Army. But *Phrynicus* the General ſtanding in fear of *Alcibiades*, by reaſon he had ſpoken too freely againſt him, oppoſed it with all his might, and when he could do nothing by words, very boldly acquainted *Aſtyochus* the *Lacedæmonian* General with the matter. He who now had not *Alcibiades* in his power, was no whit eager for his deſtruction, and being withal corrupted by *Tiſſaphernes* to betray his truſt, went and acquainted him and *Alcibiades* with what he had received. Hereupon *Alcibiades* wrote to the *Athenians* in *Samus*, and acquainted them with the treachery of *Phrynicus*, required them to put him to death as a Traitor to his Country, who hereupon was exceedingly troubled, and boyled with anger againſt *Aſtyochus*; yet in ſo deſperate a caſe adding one raſh act unto another, he wrote again to him, upraided him with unthankfulneſs, and ſignified that he would betray *Samus* with all the *Athenian* Army there unto the *Lacedæmonians*, which he could do, becauſe the Town was unwalled, and would do, foraſmuch as it was lawful in ſo eminent a danger, as he was in, to provide for his own ſecurity.

Commiſſioners ſent to treat with *Alcibiades* and *Tiſſaphernes*. but in vain.

65. *Aſtyochus* without taking this opportunity to ſerve his Country, made this known alſo to *Alcibiades*, which *Phrynicus* underſtanding, and knowing that *Alcibiades* would write hereof to the Army, that he might prevent him, he told the Soldiers that the Enemy intended to ſet upon *Samus* by Sea and Land, now that the City wanted walls, whereupon he commanded them, having abſolute authority, to raiſe a work about it, and keep diligent watch. This was done accordingly, and then though *Alcibiades* his letters preſently after arrived, yet no credit was given to the accuſation, as proceeding from his bitter Enemy, but more confidence repoſed in him. *Alcibiades* then applied himſelf to *Tiſſaphernes* to reconcile him to the *Athenians*, but he being unwilling to loſe all his credit, was cool in the buſineſs. But whilſt he dealt with him, the Soldiers in *Samus* having ſent to *Athens* to deal with the People about the change of Government, *Piſander* chief of the meſſengers laboured to convince them of the abſolute neceſſity thereof, for that otherwiſe they could not be freed from imminent deſtruction. The People being circumvented yielded to it, and gave him with ten other Commiſſioners power to treat, and conclude whatſoever they found neceſſary for the State, with *Tiſſaphernes* and *Alcibiades*: but the former of theſe ſtanding in fear of utterly loſing the *Peloponneſians*, and having this always in his mind to keep the two States in an equal ballance, would not give any encouragement, or open his mind fully to *Alcibiades*, who fearing to loſe his power and credit with him, which he had ſo boaſted of to the *Athenians*; that he might put them by, demanded ſuch hard Conditions as he knew they could not grant, and ſo the Commiſſioners returned with great ſtomach and diſdain, to have been ſo ill uſed by him.

Tiſſaphernes renueth the War with the *Peloponneſians*.

66. And *Tiſſaphernes* to proſecute that deſign of ſetting the *Græcians* upon each other, and keeping them in equal power; fearing that if he detained any longer the pay from the *Peloponneſians*, that they would be too much weakned by the *Athenians*, who now of late had the better of it in ſome engagements, and thereby the King's Provinces ſhould be expoſed to danger, went this Winter into *Caria*, where he renewed the League on better terms for the *Peloponneſians*, paid the arrears due to the Army, and promiſed to diſpatch away the *Phœnician* Fleet. This new alliance was made in the thirteenth year of *Darius*, (*Alexipidas* being *Ephorus* at *Sparta*) upon the River *Mæander*, atteſted by the names of *Tiſſaphernes*, *Hieramenes*, and the Children of *Pharnaces*. Towards the end of Winter *Oropus* a Town ſituate upon the confines of *Attica* and *Bœotia*, revolted to the *Bœotians*, being formerly in the juriſdiction of *Athens*. Hereupon the *Bœotians* conceived hopes to alienate all *Eubœa* from the *Athenians*, eſpecially for that the *Eretrians* who were principal in that Iſland, inclined to a revolt, and ſent away to the *Peloponneſians* to deſire they would come into *Eubœa*. But their care for *Chius* which was diſtreſſed by the *Athenians* ſuffered them not to comply with their deſire; for they ſet out a Fleet to relieve that Iſland, but the *Athenians* being maſters of the Sea, it durſt not venture further than *Miletus*; and therefore the *Athenian* ſhips returned unto *Samus*. Thus ended the twentieth year of the War.

The Government changed to Oligarchy in *Athens*, aud the Cities ſubject to it.

67. In the beginning of Spring *Dercylidas* was ſent from *Sparta* by Land to the *Helleſpont*, with no great force, where with eaſe he brought off *Abydus* (a Colony of the *Mileſians*) from their obedience to *Athens*, and after that *Lampſacus*, but attempted the ſame upon *Seſtus* to no purpoſe. The *Athenians* and *Chians* had a battel at Sea upon equal Terms: but *Strombichides* the *Athenian* hearing what was done in the *Helleſpont* haſted thither, recovered *Lampſacus*, was repelled by the Inhabitants of *Abydus*, and then went to *Seſtus* in *Europe*, where he placed a ſtrong Garriſon for the ſecurity of thoſe parts. In the mean time *Piſander* and his Colleagues being returned from *Alcibiades* to *Samus*, in conjunction with thoſe therein, reſolved without him to change the Government. They firſt did it in moſt of the Cities which were ſubject to *Athens*, and found it almoſt effected there, after that *Androcles*, a man who was moſt earneſt in the defence of *Democracy*, with ſome others, were ſecretly murdered by ſome Conſpirators, who laboured thereby to gain the good will of *Alcibiades* and *Tiſſaphernes*. Theſe deſigned to have the State governed by five thouſand men of the moſt able with Bodies and Eſtates to ſerve it, and the People durſt not contradict them, ſuch factions and jealouſies had riſen, that no man was ſecure of his Neighbour. But *Piſander* and his Colleagues arriving, obtained of the Multitude, that ten men might be impowred, to conclude and ſet down in writing ſuch things as ſeemed to them requiſite for a ſetlement, which on a certain day were to be referred to the People.

The Model.

Eour hnndred men have the executive Power.

They ſend to *Agis* about a peace, who ſlighteth them.

68. When the day came, theſe ten men firſt required, that it might be lawful for any one to ſpeak his Opinion without danger of incurring any penalty by the Laws. Then they propoſed, that no Magiſtracy ſhould be undertaken and exerciſed after the uſual manner, nor any receive ſalary for the exerciſing thereof: that five Preſidents ſhould be choſen, who ſhould pick out one hundred men, and each of theſe chuſe three more, that all might make up the number of four hundred. That theſe four hundred men ſhould be inveſted with the ſupreme Power aud Authority; ſhould decree and ordain what ſeemed good unto them; and might call together the five thouſand when they thought it convenient. Theſe Propoſitions, though of ſo great conſequence for the change they were likely to produce, were yet admitted of, not as much as one man gainſaying them, ſuch a change there was made in the minds of the People, which now ſince the baniſhing of the Tyrants, had only been governed by its Laws and Conſtitutions, and not only not ſubject to the Authority of others, but reigning over many, deveſted it ſelf of ſo great Soveraignty and Power. But theſe four hundred men thus authoriſed, were conducted in a ſolemn manner to the Senate-houſe, with Daggers under their Coats, and compaſſed about with armed Men, where the old Senate having their Salaries paid were diſmiſſed. They choſe the *Prytanes* or *Preſidents* out of their own Body, and then began to exerciſe their Authority; but not without Blood, Bonds, and Baniſhment. They ſent to *Agis* the *Lacedæmonian* King, then lying at *Decelea*, to treat of Peace, but he not having any Opinion of their Power as long to continue, but thinking the People would ſhortly reſume it, rejected their Ambaſſie, and ſending for more Forces out of *Peloponneſus*, came to *Athens*, hoping that in theſe Commotions he might affright the City into a Surrender. But he found the contrary; for all agreeing in this to reſiſt him as the common Enemy, they ſtood notably to their defence, and ſallied out upon him; ſo that having no hopes, he diſmiſſed his new Forces, and with the other returned to *Decelea*.

Refers their ſecond addreſs to *Sparta*.

The Army at *Samus* inraged at them.

69. After his return, the four hundred ſent other Ambaſſadors to him about a Peace, who referred them to *Sparta*, whither they went, but what ſucceſs they had, doth not appear from *Thucydides*. They knew the common Soldiers at *Samus* (though *Piſander* and his Companions had ſtickled ſo for it) to be Enemies to Oligarchy, and therefore to take them off, they ſent to acquaint them that the Power was not in them only, but in the five thouſand alſo, and laboured to ſatisfie them in this point, that this was equivalent to *Democracie*, ſeeing that during that Government, when all things were done by the Body of the People, a greater number did not uſe to meet. But they at *Samus* being impatient of any but Popular Government, after the departure of *Piſander* and his Colleagues, had reſtored it there, and ſent to *Athens* to ſignifie ſo much, not knowing what had hapned there, which was very unwelcome news to the four hundred, who caſt ſome of the Meſſengers into Priſon. But *Chareas*, hiding himſelf for ſome time, eſcaped, and carried back a report how things ſtood, amplifying much the oppreſſion and inſolence of theſe Governours; whereat the

Soldiers were grievouſly enraged, and threatned death, not only to the Authors of the *Oligarchy*, but to all that had been partakers of it; and at ſuch a Seaſon when the Enemy expected ſuch advantages, they had committed ſomething, tending to the ruine of their Countrey, had they not been reſtrained by the interpoſition of more ſtayed and prudent men. *Thraſybulus* and *Thraſyllus*, who had been moſt earneſt for reſtoring the Popular Government, that they might do it in a ſafe and honourable way, cauſed all the Soldiers, eſpecially ſuch as they knew to favonr *Oligarchy*, to take an Oath unanimouſly to act for the reſtitution of the power of the People; to fight reſolutely againſt the *Peloponneſians*; to take for Enemies the four hundred men at *Athens*, and to admit of no entercourſe with them by any Officer at Arms; which Oath alſo they cauſed to be taken by all the *Samians* that were at Age, whoſe conjunction they thought neceſſary for carrying on the Deſign.

Takes an Oath of Combination againſt them.

70. Then did the Soldiers chuſe them new Officers, of whom were *Thraſybulus* and *Thraſyllus*, and encouraged one another to the Enterprize, both from the juſtneſs of their undertaking (for that the Army had not revolted from the Citie, but the Citie from it) as alſo from their Strength, far ſuperiour (eſpecially in reſpect of the Fleet) to that of the four hundred, adding alſo, that *Alcibiades* upon promiſe of ſecurity, and reſtitution, would be aſſiſting to them, and that they might hope well concerning *Tiſſaphernes*, and the King of *Perſia*. In the mean while the *Peloponneſians* ſore mutined againſt *Tiſſaphernes*, and *Aſtyochus*, that they had not their pay, and were not lead out to fight with the *Athenians*, whilſt they were ſo at odds amongſt themſelves, which forced the later to draw both Sea and Land-forces to *Mycale* for an Ingagement, but the *Athenians* refuſing to fight, for that they were inferiour to them in number of Ships, when more came from the *Helleſpont* preſented themſelves; but then the *Peloponneſians* conceiving themſelves too weak for the encounter, refuſed to ingage. *Thraſybulus* in the mean while perſwaded the Army to recall *Alcibiades*. Audience being given him, after he had complained of the injuſtice of his Enemies, he diſcourſed much of the State of Affairs as they then ſtood; Magnified above meaſure his Power with *Tiſſaphernes* (which he did, both to diſcourage them at *Athens*, and to render the *Satrapa* the more odious to the *Peloponneſians*) who he ſaid would aſſiſt them to the ſelling of the bed he lay on. Hereupon the Soldiers mightily elevated with Hopes, preſently created him one of their Generals, with full power, thinking of nothing but the puniſhment of the four hundred, and reſolving without any regard of the Enemie at hand to ſail directly for the *Piræus*.

Recalleth *Alcibiades*.

71. *Alcibiades* withſtood their Reſolution, ſaying, that nothing was raſhly to be committed, and ſeeing that they had put the Power into his Hands he muſt go to *Tiſſaphernes*. This he did, not only to tranſact what he pretended, but alſo to boaſt of his new Power, to let the *Perſian* know he could either pleaſure him, or incommodate his Affairs, and ſo this crafty man procured, that he both made him fear the *Athenians*, and the *Athenians* ſtand in Awe of him, whilſt hereby he made up his own Intereſt. That alſo which he intended concerning *Tiſſaphernes*, and the *Peloponneſians*, came to paſs; for diſtruſting him before, they were now very bitter againſt him, ſince he hindred the Fight at *Miletus*, and defrauded them of their pay, and *Aſtyochus* their own General they had killed in a Mutiny, had he not taken Sanctuary. Preſently upon this came *Mindarus*, ſent from *Sparta* to ſucceed him, who then departed home with an Agent from *Tiſſaphernes*, whom he ſent to excuſe himſelf to that State, and anſwer ſuch Objections as were made againſt him. *Alcibiades* returned from *Tiſſaphernes* to *Samus*, where met him the Ambaſſadors of the four hundred men (who upon hearing how things went here, had all this while out of fear ſtaid at *Delus*.) The Soldiers would not hear them, and voted they ſhould be put to death; but he cauſed them to have leave to deliver their Meſſage, which they did with all the advantage they could, in excuſe of thoſe that ſent them, accuſing of falſhood what had been reported by *Chareas*; but ſtill the Army was diſſatisfied, and cried out to ſayl to the *Piræus*. *Alcibiades* now timely interpoſed himſelf; for, had the Army then departed for *Athens*, all *Ionia*, and the *Helleſpont* had been preſently loſt; but he put a ſtop to their heat, and checked thoſe that were ſo fierce againſt the Ambaſſadors. He himſelf bad them return this Anſwer, that the five thouſand might retain their Power, but the four hundred were commanded to deſiſt, and reſtore the *Senate* of five hundred whom they outed; that they ſhould do well at *Athens* to take care of the Commonwealth, and not to give place to the Enemy: for whilſt the City was ſafe,

The Ambaſſadors of the 400 come to *Samus*.

Alcibiades giveth them a croſs anſwer.

ſafe, he hoped to make up the breaches; but if either it ſhould be loſt, or the Army at *Samus* miſcarry, there would want thoſe who ſhould be reconciled to each other.

The Counſels of *Tiſſaphernes* in the dark.

How men in *Athens* ſtood affected to the four hundred.

72. With this anſwer he diſmiſſed the Meſſengers in ſafety, as he did alſo with much kindneſs Ambaſſadors ſent from *Argos* to offer aſſiſtance againſt the four hundred. *Tiſſaphernes* now upon what deſign is uncertain, went to *Aſpendus* where the *Phœnician* Fleet lay, pretending he would purge himſelf to the *Lacedæmonians*, and give order to *Tamus* his Officer to pay the Arrears due to the Army. But neither did he remove the Fleet from *Aſpendus*, according to agreement, pretending frivolous things, nor did *Tamus* accordingly pay the monies; which raiſed many conjectures and much diſcourſe. *Thucydides* thinketh his deſign to have been to hold the *Græcians* in ſuſpence, and ſuffer them to weaken one another, for that if he had joyned himſelf to either party, by the help of his Fleet he might in a ſhort time, and without difficulty have finiſhed the War, and given the victory to which ſide he pleaſed. *Alcibiades* went to him with thirteen ſhips, promiſing either to induce him to joyn his Fleet with the *Athenians*, or to procure that he ſhould not aſſiſt them of *Peloponneſus*; it being likely enough that he knew his intention of not moving to the one part or the other; but this he did, eſpecially by his entercourſe, and familiarity with him, to increaſe the indignation and choler of the *Peloponneſians*, and thereby to conſtrain him to joyn himſelf with the *Athenians*. But the return and report of the Ambaſſadors ſent from the four hundred men raiſed great perturbations in the minds of men at *Athens*, whilſt thoſe, who either out of ſome ambitious deſign (all men being greedy of power over others) or for the publick good, deſired that the Supreme Authority might be in the five thouſand, had the advantage of the other factions. The other were as buſie as concerned, eſpicially *Phrynicus*, becauſe ſo obnoxious to *Alcibiades*, *Piſander*, and others. They ſent to *Lacedæmon* to make peace with that State upon any terms, and Fortified that part of the *Piræus*, which commandeth the mouth of the Haven, which made the other party, which affected *Democracy*, very jealous; *Theramenes* crying out that they intended to betray the City to the Enemy, who now with fourty two Gallies hovered about the Coaſts.

The Traiterous deſigns of the four hundred.

Tumults at *Athens*.

73. Neither were theſe mere Calumnies; for theſe four hundred men for the moſt part deſired to retain the Dominion over both Citizens and Allies; but if not that, yet to continue Maſters of the Fleet and Fortifications, and if this could not be obtained, then to call in the Enemy, to redeem their lives, and part of the City, with the ſhips and works; being reſolved never to give way to the Popular Government, from which they could expect nothing but ſudden deſtruction. To this purpoſe they made the Wall upon the *Piræus* with ſeveral Gates to let in the Enemy if need were. But *Phrynicus* returning from *Sparta* whither he was ſent Ambaſſador (though to no purpoſe) was ſtabbed in the Forum by a conſpiracy, after which *Theramenes* and his party grew more bold, and by the help of the Soldiers ſeized upon ſome of the Chief of the four hundred, whence enſued a very great tumult, all being ready to fall one upon another, and certain miſchief had followed, but that the antient men ſomewhat repreſſed the younger, and *Thucidides* the *Pharſalian*, then ſojourning in the City, laboured earneſtly to perſwade them, crying out, that they ſhould not themſelves deſtroy their Country, now that the Enemy was ready to aſſail it, and with much ado he kept them from offering violence to one another. *Theramenes* alſo checked the Soldiers in the Haven; but he giving way to it, the new Fortifications there were demoliſhed. The next day the four hundred met, though in great fear, and ſent ſome of their number to appeaſe the Soldiers, ſaying, that they would chuſe five thouſand men, who from amongſt themſelves ſhould chuſe the number of four hundred by turns to rule the State, deſiring they would not undo the City by compelling it to yield to the Enemy. Herewith the minds of the Soldiers were ſomewhat quieted, and with much ado they agreed that a general Aſſembly ſhould be had at a certain day for an agreement: but when the day came, and the Aſſembly was ſcarce gathered together, news came that the fourty two ſhips, under Command of *Hegeſandrides* the *Spartan*, held their courſe directly from the Coaſt of *Megara*, to the Iſland *Salamine*.

74. The Soldiers now concluded of the certainty of what *Theramenes* had told them, and that theſe ſhips intending for the *Piræus*, it was good that the Fortifications were demoliſhed; and likely enough it was that *Hegeſandrides* hovering ſo long about *Epidaurus*, expected ſome good opportunity to fall on *Athens*. Here-

upon all the Aſſembly haſted to the *Piræus*, but the Fleet making towards *Eubœa* at length came to *Oropus*, which making them very ſollicitous for *Eubœa* wherein their hope only remained, they ſent *Thymochares* with ſome ſhips to *Eretria*, which he joyning to thoſe that were in the Iſland, made up thirty ſix ſail. He was forced to fight ſooner than he intended, by the fraud of the *Eretrians*, who delayed to bring victuals to ſell as they were wont, and thereby drew the Soldiers further off from the Fleet, and made great diſorder; ſo that the *Peloponneſians* ſetting upon them, whilſt out of good order, quickly put them to flight. They took twenty two ſhips, killing ſome, and taking the reſt of the men: ſuch as fled to Land, and betook themſelves to *Eretria* as to friends, were killed by the Inhabitants; then preſently all *Eubœa*, except *Oreus*, revolted to the *Peloponneſians*. When tidings hereof came to *Athens*, never did ſo great conſternation ſeize upon them there, no not after the overthrow of *Sicily*. For the Army at *Samus* diſſented from the City; they had neither ſhips left, nor men to ſerve in them, and were broken into factions, of which they could not foreſee the event; and the loſs of *Eubœa* was exceeding great, becauſe that Iſland furniſhed the City with more Commodities than *Attica* it ſelf. And their fear was increaſed by the nearneſs of it, from which the Enemy might preſently come and ſeize upon the *Piræus* now deſtitute of ſhips, which they did not only think would be, but imagined to be already done.

The *Athenians* defeated are ſeized with great conſternation.

75. And had the Enemy been a little bolder, he might eaſily have done this, and more. Had he beſieged the City, it would have been more grievouſly broken by ſeditions, and conſtrained to call home the Army at *Samus*; and thereby he might have reduced with eaſe *Ionia*, the *Helleſpont*, all the Iſlands, and all as far as *Eubœa*; and ſo conſequently all the *Athenian* Dominion into his power. But well was it for the *Athenians* that they had ſuch an Enemy to deal with as the *Spartans*, who were of ſo contrary diſpoſitions: they being ſpeedy and bold in executing all their deſigns; but theſe ſlow, and ſomething fearful, eſpecially in Sea-matters, whereby they afforded many opportunities to the *Athenians*. Theſe things are confirmed from inſtance in the *Syracuſians*, who being of the ſame nature as the *Athenians*, were good enough for them at all aſſays. The *Athenians* in the midſt of all their fears took yet all care poſſible for their Affairs, furniſhing out twenty ſhips, and meeting together in *Pnice*, the uſual place for popular Aſſemblies, they abrogated the power of the four hundred, and gave it to five thouſand, amongſt whom ſome were to furniſh the Commonwealth with Arms, ordering that none ſhould receive any wages for his imployment. Many other meetings then ſucceeded, in which certain Law-makers were choſen, and other things decreed for the good of the State, at which time *Thucydides* thinketh the *Athenian* Commonwealth to have been better than ever tempered and qualified, a moderate, and equal way being brought in betwixt the power of a few, and that of the whole people. A decree alſo paſſed for the reſtitution of *Alcibiades*, and thoſe with him. Upon this change *Piſander* and the reſt that adhered to *Oligarchy* fled to the Enemy.

The contrary diſpoſitions of the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*.

The power of the four hundred abrogated, and the Government moſt equally poiſed.

76. In the mean while the *Peloponneſian* Fleet lying at *Miletus*, in vain expected money from *Tiſſaphernes*, and the coming of the *Phœnician* Fleet: on the other ſide *Pharnabazus*, Lieutenant to the King upon the *Helleſpont*, promiſed them all kindneſs, and in particular uſed his endeavour to draw all the *Greek* Cities within his Government from the ſociety of the *Athenians*, which *Tiſſaphernes* alſo had promiſed, but performed like other things. *Mindarus* the General of the Fleet moved herewith, went from *Miletus* towards the *Helleſpont*, with a Fleet of ſeventy three ſhips, which *Thraſyllus* the *Athenian* underſtanding, made after him with fifty five ſayl, labouring to get before him. Some ſtop was made by the way, but nothing very conſiderable done till they came towards an ingagement at *Gnoſema*. Sixteen Gallies of *Athens* were firſt met with by the *Peloponneſians*, who took three of them, and burnt another; and at length both the Fleets joyned battel, being inlarged ſince they came into the *Helleſpont* by the acceſs of other ſhips. At firſt the *Peloponneſians* put to flight the middle battel of the *Athenians*, and driving the ſhips to Land had the better of it there; but being too eager in the purſuite, they brake their ranks, which *Thraſybulus* and thoſe with him obſerving in his wing, wound about and fell upon them with ſuch violence, as forced them to flie. They took twenty one ſhips, the reſt by reaſon of the ſtraightneſs of the Sea getting into ſome Harbour or other, and though they loſt fifteen of their own, yet obtained they a ſeaſonable Victory, which made them lift up their heads (having been dejected by ſo many diſaſters) and ceaſe to complain of their Fortune.

The *Athenians* obtained a Victory at Sea.

77. The report of it at *Athens*, as of an unexpected thing, mightily incouraged the people alſo, ſo that notwithſtanding the revolt of *Eubœa*, and inteſtine Seditions, they had hopes ſtill, if they proſecuted the War with diligence, to have the better. Four days after the Fleet removed from *Seſtus* towards *Cyzicus*, where in their way they took eight Gallies that came from *Byzantium*, and taking the Town, which then for want of walls could make no reſiſtance, fined the Inhabitants; the *Peloponneſians* at the ſame time endeavouring to recruit their Navy. In the mean while *Alcibiades* having been with *Tiſſaphernes* returned to *Samus* with thirteen Gallies, bringing word, that he had ſtopped the *Phœnician* Fleet from joyning with the *Peloponneſians*, and had rendred the *Satrapa* more friendly towards the *Athenians*. Then preſently adding nine ſhips to the former, he conſtrained the *Halicarnaſſeans* to pay a great ſumm of money, and fortified *Cos*. *Tiſſaphernes*, when he heard that the *Peloponneſian* Fleet was gone towards the *Helleſpont*, haſted from *Aſpendus* into *Ionia*, where underſtanding that the Inhabitants of *Antandrus* had received a Garriſon from the *Peloponneſians* of *Abydus*, becauſe they had been ill dealt withal by *Aſtachus*, whom he had made his Lieutenant in thoſe parts, as alſo that the *Peloponneſians* had caſt his Garriſon out of *Miletus*, and *Cnidus* (which they did to affront him, laying grievous matters to his charge) leſt they ſhould proceed any further, and grieving that *Pharnabazus* in a leſs time, and with leſs expence, ſhould make more uſe of them againſt the *Athenians*, he determined to follow them into the *Helleſpont*, to expoſtulate with them about *Antandrus*, and purge himſelf as well as he could of thoſe things laid to his charge about the *Phœnician* Fleet, and other matters. And when he came to *Epheſus* he ſacrificed to *Diana*. Here the hiſtory of *Thucydides* (a) endeth (with the Summer of the twenty firſt year of the War) which afterwards was continued by *Theopompus* for ſeventeen years; but by *Xenophon* for twenty eight. The work of the former is loſt; and that of the latter extant, but without a beginning, in the judgment of a learned man, who, beſides the proeme, will have the hiſtory of two years to be wanting; from the end of that Summer at which *Thucydides* left, to the concluſion of the Summer of the twenty third year of the War. But *Diodorus* placing the laſt things of *Thucydides* in the ſecond year of the ninty ſecond *Olympiad*, in the very next relateth thoſe which are mentioned in the beginning of the firſt Book of *Xenophon*, ſo that if the whole was extant in his time, he either miſſed theſe two years, and ſo inverted the Chronology of all his hiſtory ſucceeding; or elſe only the proeme of the firſt Book of *Xenophon* is loſt (if there was any) and the hiſtory entire.

(a) *Diodorus ad Olymp.* 91. *ann.* 2.

(b) *Uſſerius in Annal. Vet. Teſt. pag.*216.

Xenoph. Hellanic. l. 1.

78. Not long after the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* engaged thrice in fight at Sea, wherein the *Athenians* had the better firſt and laſt, the ſecond having been fought to no great purpoſe on either ſide. *Tiſſaphernes*, after this coming to the *Helleſpont*, *Alcibiades* went to viſit him, whom he ſecured, and committed to cloſe cuſtody, pretending he had orders from his Maſter to make War againſt the *Athenians*; but rather for that he feared he ſhould be accuſed by the *Peloponneſians* to the King, and therefore thought by this enterprize to redeem his credit. But after he had been ſecured thirty days, he made his eſcape to *Clazomenæ*, where pretending to have been ſent by *Tiſſaphernes*, he ſayled thence to the *Athenian* Army lying at *Cardia*. Sailing thence to the *Helleſpont* or *Cyzicus*, he overthrew *Mindarus* both at Sea and Land, who died alſo in the fight, taking all the *Peloponneſian* ſhips, after which he forced from the Town a great ſum of money, and proſecuted the Victory by fining and ſecuring other places. In the mean while letters were intercepted, and ſent to *Athens*, which were to *Sparta*, written from *Hippocrates* Lieutenant to *Mindarus*, and found to contain the diſtreſs of the Fleet in theſe few words, according to the *Lacedæmonian* cuſtom: *All is loſt; Mindarus is ſlain, the Soldiers are famiſhed: we know not what to do.* But *Pharnabazus* laboured with all his might to encourage the *Lacedæmonian* Army, telling them they had loſt nothing but wooden ſhips, their men being ſaved, and that new ones ſhould be built at his Maſters coſt (who had wood enough at the Mount *Ida*) in which work he was very diligent, and relieved the *Chalcedonians* then diſtreſſed.

Tiſſaphernes ſecureth *Alcibiades.*

Alcibiades overthroweth *Mindarus* the *Spartan.*

A. M. 3594.
Ol. 92. *an.* 2.
V. C. 343.
Darii Nothi 13. *Belli Pelop.* 21.

79. The news of the ſucceſs with the letter of *Hippocrates* coming to *Athens*, filled the people with exceſſive joy, who offered ſacrifice to their gods, and kept holy day. They choſe then one thouſand of the moſt valiant Foot, and one hundred Horſe for proſecuting the War, and ſent thirty Gallies more to *Alcibiades*, that he might with greater ſucceſs ſet upon the allies of *Sparta* now the Sea was in his power.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 92. *an.* 3.

Sect. 3.

The *Lacedæmonians* ſend to *Athens* about Peace.

The *Lacedæmonians* when they underſtood how things went, diſpatched away Ambaſſadors (the chief of which was *Endius*, unto *Athens*) about a Peace. They offered that both States might retain ſuch places as they had already in their Power, that the Garriſons might be diſmiſſed on both ſides, and the Priſoners redeemed man for man; and much in a little was ſaid by *Endius*, to ſhew that the *Athenians* were more concerned to be for Peace, though he denied not but that the War was hurtful to *Sparta*. The moſt moderate men amongſt the *Athenians* were willing to hear of an accommodation; but ſuch as made their own Markets out of the publick loſs, and gained by the War, withſtood the propoſition. Amongſt theſe as principal was *Cleophon*, the moſt eminent of the *Damagogi* (or leaders of the People) at this time, though formerly a maker of Harps, whom many remembred to have been bound with Fetters, but he was ſurreptitiouſly regiſtred amongſt the Citizens. He ſpeaking many things fit for his purpoſe, eſpecially made uſe of the late ſucceſs; which he ſo improved, as if Fortune now had forgot to be inconſtant. The People herewith puffed up, and conceiving great hopes that by the conduct of *Alcibiades* they ſhould re-obtain their antient Power, refuſed to entertain the Propoſals made by *Endius*; of which ill advice they were afterwards ſenſible, when it was too late, falling ſo low from this height of Preſumption, that they could never after recover themſelves.

Cleophon hindereth it.

Xenoph. Hellen. lib. 1.

Agis repulſed from *Athens*.

80. After this, *Agis* the *Spartan* King made excurſions from *Decelea*, as far as the Walls of *Athens*, at which time it hapned that *Thraſybulus* was in the City about buſineſs, who leading out his *Athenian* Soldiers and others that were preſent, offered him Battel; at which he was troubled, and haſted away, loſing a few of his men in ſome light Skirmiſhes. This ſervice got *Thraſybulus* ſuch credit, that he eaſily obtained what he came for; one thouſand Foot of heavy Armour which he himſelf would pick out, one hundred Horſe, and fifty Gallies, being decreed to him; but *Agis* ſeeing that it was to no purpoſe to beſiege *Athens* by Land, as long as they could bring in what Proviſion they pleaſed at the *Piræus*, ſent away *Cleurobus* the Son of *Ramphius* to *Byzantium* and *Chalcedon*, to make proviſion for Sea matters, who got through the *Helleſpont* with much adoe, and with the loſs of three Ships out of his fifteen he had with him, came to *Byzantium*.

The acts of *Thraſybulus* the *Athenian*.

81. The next Year in which the ninty third *Olympiad* was ſolemnized, wherein *Eubotas* the *Cyrenæan* got the Prize in the Courſe, *Euarchippus* being *Ephorus* at *Sparta*, and *Euclemon Archon* at *Athens*, *Thraſybulus* having obtained the Ships decreed to him, with five thouſand Sea-men, ſailed to *Samus*, whence after three days he departed, and took *Colophon*, made excurſions into *Lydia*, where obtaining much booty, he alſo went againſt *Epheſus*. *Tiſſaphernes* coming in in good time, he was beaten back from the City with double loſs, whence he ſailed to the *Helleſpont*, and in his way at *Leſbus* put to flight a Fleet of twenty five *Syracuſian* Ships, four whereof he took with the men in them. Then departed he to *Seſtus* to the other *Athenian* Forces, and thence removed to *Lampſacus* with the whole Army in the beginning of Winter, which Town they fortified, and beſieging *Abydus* overthrew *Pharnabazus*, who came with a conſiderable Body of Horſe to relieve the Town; which Victory reconciled the Soldiers, who before this were at odds, becauſe thoſe under *Alcibiades* being hitherto Victorious, would not be joyned with the followers of *Thraſybulus* who had been beaten. In the ſame Winter the *Athenians* made frequent depredations in the Territories of the *Perſian* King. Then alſo the *Helots* which had fled from *Malea* to *Coriphaſium*, were upon agreement diſmiſſed by the *Lacedæmonians*; and the Plantation of *Heraclea*, and *Trachinia*, were by the *Acheans* the ancient Inhabitants, betrayed into the hands of the *Oeteans* the common Enemy, and ſeven hundred of them ſlain, together with *Labotas* the *Lacedæmonian* Governour. Thus the twenty fourth Year of the War ended, wherein the *Medes* having rebelled, were reduced to Obedience by *Darius Nothus*, and the Temple of *Pallas* at *Phocæa* was burnt with Thunder and Lightning.

Alcibiades beſiegeth *Chalcedon*.

82. In the beginning of the next Spring *Pantacles* being *Ephorus* at *Sparta*, and *Antigones Archon* at *Athens*, the *Athenians* with their whole Army and Fleet went into *Proconneſus*; thence to *Chalcedon* and *Byzantium*, and ſate down before *Chalcedon*. The *Chalcedonians* aware of their coming, ſent all their Booty to the *Bythinæans* their Neighbours, which being known to *Alcibiades*, he went with a ſufficient Force, and by Threats got it delivered up to him, after which returning he compaſſed *Chalcedon* from Sea to Sea with a Rampire, and to the River,

ver. *Hippocrates* the *Lacedæmonian*, Governour of the Town, troubled hereat, ſallied out, and fought with that party that was under *Thraſyllus*, for a long time with ambiguous Fortune, till *Alcibiades* coming in, *Hippocrates* was ſlain, and his men repulſed into the Town. *Pharnabazus* during the Fight came to relieve him, but could not get to them by reaſon of the *Athenian* Fortifications. He, whilſt *Alcibiades* was abſent, gathering Money from the Cities, made an agreement with the other *Athenian* Captains, that he ſhould pay them twenty Talents, that the *Chalcedonians* ſhould pay all their Arrears, and afterwards as much as they were wont: in the mean time the *Athenians* ſhould offer them no Violence, till the *Athenian* Ambaſſadors, which he took upon him to convey, ſhould return from the King. *Alcibiades* at this time was at *Selymbria*, which having taken, he returned to *Byzantium* with a body of Horſe and Foot newly raiſed in *Cherroneſus* and *Thrace*, where *Pharnabazus* expecting him to have his Oath to the agreement. He refuſed to take his Oath except *Pharnabazus* did the like, who condeſcended to him, and ſo they both ſwore not to hurt each other. Together with the *Athenians*, others went as Ambaſſadors to the King from the *Lacedæmonians*; as alſo *Hermocrates* and his Brother *Proxemus* now baniſhed from *Syracuſe*.

83. The *Athenians* then preſently beſieged *Byzantium*, which having no hopes to obtain by ſtrong hand, they attempted by Treachery, and had it delivered up to them, whilſt *Clearchus* the Governour, a *Lacedæmonian*, was gone to *Pharnabazus* to ſollicite him about Money to pay the Soldiers, and to gather a Fleet together wherewith if poſſible he might raiſe the Siege. News hereof was carried to *Pharnabazus* then wintring at *Gordium* in *Phrygia* with the Ambaſſadors whom he was carrying to the King. In the beginning of Spring when they were on their Journey, they met with ſome *Spartans*, who already had been with him, and ſaid they had obtained from him for the *Lacedæmonians* what they deſired, and how he had appointed his younger Son *Cyrus* his Lieutenant for the Sea-coaſts, whom he had commanded alſo to aſſiſt the *Spartans* in the War, bringing a Commiſſion with him whereby he was conſtituted Governour over all that uſed to meet upon the Plains of *Caſtolus*. The *Athenian* Ambaſſadors hearing this, deſired firſt to ſee *Cyrus*, and then to go to the King; but if not, to return home. But *Cyrus* required *Pharnabazus*, either to deliver them up into his Hands, or to ſend them back, becauſe he would not have the *Athenians* privy to what was done. But he neither ſent them to the King, nor diſmiſſed them, but kept them off and on for three Years, after which he obtained leave of *Cyrus* to diſmiſs them, ſeeing he would not permit them to go to his Father, and ſo procured them by *Ariobarzanes* to be conveyed through *Myſia* to Sea: and ſo they ſayled to the *Athenian* Army.

The *Athenian* Ambſſadors and others ſent to the *Perſian* King never come at him.

Xenoph. ibid. Plutarch. in Alcibiade.

84. *Alcibiades* having a great deſire to return to *Athens* with the Army, firſt betook himſelf to *Samus*, whence he went and gathered up one hundred Talents amongſt the *Carians*, and returned thither. *Thraſybulus* with thirty Ships going into *Thrace*, reduced ſeveral places into his Power, and *Thaſus* amongſt the reſt, ſorely at this time diſtreſſed with Seditions, Famine, and Peſtilence. *Thraſybulus* with the reſt of the Army ſailed to *Athens*, before whoſe coming the People had created anew three Generals, *Alcibiades*, and *Thraſybulus*, who were abſent, and *Conon* preſent in the City. *Alcibiades* encouraged hereby ſailed to the City, where at his landing multitudes of People came to meet him, admiring his perſon, and the preſent poſture of Affairs, which they aſcribed to his good conduct, whom they now acquitted from what was laid formerly to his Charge, and excuſed him for ſiding with the Enemy, ſeeing he was thereunto led by neceſſity. He ſpoke to the *Senate* and People in his own defence, and gave ſuch ſatisfaction, no body oppoſing, that he was created General with full Power, as able to reſtore the Commonwealth by his own Induſtry to its antient Power. He firſt on Land (which of late had not uſed to be done for fear of the Enemy) celebrated the *Eleuſinia*, and then in the third Moneth after his Arrival, with a Fleet of one hundred Gallies, aboard of which were one thouſand and one hundred Foot of heavy Armour, and one hundred and fifty Horſe, he ſailed to *Andrus*, the Inhabitants of which he worſted in Fight, and thence departed to *Samus*, intending to make uſe of that Iſland as the Seat of War. At this time *Liſander* was ſent from *Sparta* to ſucceed *Cratiſippidas* in the Fleet, who went to *Cyrus* to deſire him in earneſt to undertake the War, blaming the backwardneſs of *Tiſſaphernes*. *Cyrus* promiſed him his utmoſt aſſiſtance; but he deſired that the Saylers might have a Drachm a day aſſigned as their Wages, thereby to entice the *Athenian* Mariners to forſake

Alcibiades returneth to *Athens*.

Lyſander made Admiral by the *Lacedæmonians*, obtaineth pay of *Cyrus* for his Seamen.

ſake their Maſters. He anſwered, he could do nothing againſt his Fathers Order, who had appointed for every Ship thirty *Minæ* a Moneth, it being in the power of the *Lacedæmonians* to furniſh out as few, or as many Ships as they pleaſed; but afterwards he condeſcended to increaſe their pay to four *Oboli* a day: Moreover, he paid them all their Arrears, and gave them a Moneths Pay before-hand, which made them very chearful, and ready for all Duty.

Who refuſeth to meddle with the *Athenians*.

Alcibiades going to ſpeak with *Thraſybulus*, leaveth his Fleet with his Pilot, who fighting with *Lyſander*, contrary to his expreſs command, is defeated & ſlain.

For which *Alcibiades* is diſcarded.

85. The *Athenians* were much troubled hereat, and ſent alſo to *Cyrus* to obtain his Favour, but could not be admitted, though *Tiſſaphernes* uſed all his intereſt in their behalf, relating, that his deſign had been according to the wiſe Counſel of *Alcibiades*, not to promote the Affairs of either, but to ſuffer them to deſtroy one another. *Alcibiades* underſtanding that *Thraſybulus* being gone from the *Helleſpont* fortified *Phocæa*, went thither to ſpeak with him, leaving the Fleet with *Antiochus* his Pilot, whom he commanded expreſly not to Fight, no, not although he were provoked to it, untill his return. But he being not at all uſed to command any thing except the Helm of a Ship, could not bear his new Power without making trial of it, and with two Gallies went, and provoked *Lyſander* in the Haven of *Epheſus* (where he was intent upon mending his Fleet conſiſting of ninty Sayl) who firſt ſent out ſome particular Ships againſt him; but the whole *Athenian* Fleet coming in to his Aid, he was alſo forced to carry out his, and ſo ingaging with it, there enſued a ſharp Conflict upon uneven Terms. For, the *Athenians* came on without order, and ſo within a ſhort time were diſcomfited, *Antiochus* ſlain, and fifteen Ships loſt; the other returning back to *Samus*. *Alcibiades* returning within a while, in great chaſe for what had happned, went, and offered Battel again to *Lyſander*, but he contenting himſelf with his former Victory would not ſtir, and not long after the *Lacedæmonians* took *Delphinium* and *Eion*, two Towns in *Thrace*. This loſs was at *Athens* by *Thraſybulus* imputed to the neglect, and luxury of *Alcibiades*, who thereupon by the people was outed of his Command, and ten other Captains choſen for the management of the War, amongſt whom was *Thraſybulus* himſelf, *Conon*, and *Pericles* the Son of *Pericles* the great. He then went and made War upon the *Thracians* that were not under the Command of that King, and thereby enriched himſelf with great Treaſure, having built a Caſtle for his ſecurity, called *Biſanthe*, in thoſe parts. *Conon* who at this time was governour of *Antandrus*, *Phaniſthanes* being aſſigned his Succeſſor, according to the decree of the People, went to *Samus*, took *Thuria*, and made excurſions into the Territories of the Enemy. So this Year ended, in which the *Carthaginians* with a Fleet of one hundred and twenty Gallies, and one hundred and twenty thouſand men invading *Sicily*, overthrew the *Agrigentines*, whom after a ſeven Moneth's Siege they alſo forced to a ſurrender.

An Eclypſe of the Moon.

Callicratidas ſucceeding *Lyſander* defeateth, and beſiegeth *Conon* in *Mitylene*.

The *Athenian* Generals overthrew *Callicratidas*.

86. The Year following wherein the Moon was Eclypſed in an Evening (*April* the twenty fifth, ſome three hours after Sun-ſet, as the Aſtronomical Table demonſtrates) and the old Temple of *Pallas* was burnt at *Athens*, *Pitæus* being *Ephorus* at *Sparta*, and *Callias Archon* at *Athens*, the twenty ſixth Year of the War commencing, *Callicratidas* was ſent from *Lacedæmon* as Succeſſor to *Lyſander*, whoſe time was now expired. He having furniſhed himſelf with Money ſubdued *Methymna*, and charged *Conon* the *Athenian* General to depart out of thoſe Coaſts, and when he perceived him putting out to Sea, made after him, intending to ſtop his Paſſage to *Samus*. He purſued him to the Haven of *Mitylene*, where he worſted him, took thirty of his Ships, and then beſieged him in the Town, from which he cut off all Proviſions. *Conon* ſent out two Gallies to carry word hereof at *Athens*; one of which eſcaping clear from the Enemy, came thither with the News, whereupon relief was preſently decreed to be ſent. *Callicratidas* in the mean time overthrew *Diomedon*, who came to relieve *Conon* with twelve Ships, ten whereof he took, but when he heard that the *Athenian* Fleet was now come to *Samus*, conſiſting in all of one hundred and fifty Sayl, he left *Eteonicus* with fifty Ships to continue the Siege, and with the other one hundred and twenty betook himſelf to *Malea*, a Promontory of *Lesbus* over againſt *Mitylene*, where he ſupped, and it hapned that the *Athenian* Fleet coming to *Arginuſæ* (a place alſo over againſt *Lesbus*) ſupped there the ſame Night. Here they fought the next Morning a long, and earneſt Battel, wherein at length *Callicratidas* his Ship being Sunk, and he in it, his men began to flie towards *Chius* and *Phocæa*. The *Peloponneſians* loſt ſeventy nine Ships, and the *Athenians* ninteen, with moſt of the men in them.

87. The *Athenian* Generals reſolved that *Theramenes*, *Thraſybulus*, and others,

with

And for that 8 are rewarded with a ſentence of death executed upon ſix of them there preſent, amongſt whom *Pericles* the ſon of *Pericles*.

with fourty two Ships, ſhould haſten to ſuch Veſſels as were as good as loſt, to preſerve them and the men, and the reſt ſhould ſayl to *Mitylene* againſt *Eteonicus*; but a vehement Tempeſt ariſing they were all hindred, and forced to continue in the ſame place, during which ſtay, *Eteonicus* having notice by a Pinnace how things went, told his men the clear contrary, with which artifice incouraging them to take the Sea, he eſcaped. It might have been expected that the ten Captains, who joyntly had the Command in chief over the *Athenian* Fleet, might have received great Honour for ſuch a Victory: But they were inſtead hereof, by the eſpecial endeavour of *Theramenes*, brought to Judgment, for ſuffering many Citizens to periſh in the broken, and ſunken Ships; whereas, as it was pretended, they might have ſaved them. They alleged juſtly for their excuſe the Tempeſt which followed the Fight; but after much canvaſing, both in the Senate and Aſſembly of the People, the Malice of *Theramenes* (who ſet perſons on to make great Lamentations for thoſe that were dead) ſo far prevailed, together with the forgery of a certain fellow (who ſaying that he himſelf eſcaping in a Meal-Tub, had been intreated by thoſe that were in peril of drowning, to deſire the people to revenge their death againſt the Captains) that againſt the form of Law (contrary to which *Socrates* the Philoſopher only refuſed to act as one of the *Prytanes*) eight of them were condemned, and ſix being preſent were put to death; amongſt whom was *Pericles* the Son of *Pericles*. Thoſe that were abſent eſcaped, the heady multitude quickly repenting of their raſhneſs, and the accuſers of them were bound over to anſwer what they had done. Afterwards a Sedition being raiſed, wherein *Cleophon* was ſlain, they took the opportunity and fled; but *Callixenus* one of the moſt faulty returning to the City, and hated of all men, was famiſhed to death.

Xenoph lib. 2.

88. The Soldiers of *Eteonicus* wintring in the Iſland *Chius*, where they wanted both Victuals and Clothes, moſt of them conſpired together to ſeize upon the City *Chius*, to which whoſoever agreed was to wear a Reed as a diſtinction. He having notice of it, was ſenſible what ill will, diſgrace, and damage it would bring upon him if it proceeded, and fearing his own Life, he boldly killed one of the Soldiers, whom he met with the Reed upon him, and being asked the reaſon of it, ſaid as boldly, it was for wearing that mark of Sedition, whereat the reſt were ſo daunted that they for fear caſt away their Reeds, and ſo the Plot was broken in pieces: Then received he Money of the *Chians*, and gave them a Moneths Pay, and taking no further notice of the Plot, encouraged them with fair Words, and promiſes, and ſo ſayled away. After this the Allies met together at *Epheſus* to conſult about their Affairs, where it was agreed, that ten men ſhould be ſent to *Lacedæmon* to deſire that *Lyſander* might be ſent back to the Fleet, of whoſe abilities they had already ſufficient proof. By the Laws of *Sparta* he could not be twice General, and therefore they found out a middle way, to appoint *Aracus* to that place, and ſend him as his Lieutenant. Five and twenty Ships were then delivered to *Lyſander*, at the end of the twenty ſixth Year of the War, wherein *Cyrus* killed his two Couſins *Autobæſaces* and *Mitreus*, becauſe they had not given him the Honour due to Kings of *Perſia*, by holding their Hands within their Clothes when they came to him. For this he was accuſed to his Father, who upon pretence of Sickneſs ſent for him to come to him.

Lyſander is ſent for by the Allies to reſume the Government of the Fleet.

Idem ibid: Corn. Nepos & in Plutarch. in Lyſand. & in Alcibiad.

89. The Year following wherein *Archytas* was *Ephorus* at *Sparta*, and *Alexias* *Archon* at *Athens*, *Lyſander* gathering his Navy together, went to *Cyrus* for Money, which being obtained with ſome difficulty, he paid his Soldiers and Seamen their Arrears. At *Samus* alſo the *Athenians* provided for fighting; where in the mean time came a Meſſage to *Cyrus* from his Father, who now being ſick deſired to ſee him, although at this time the King lay incamped againſt the *Thamneri* of *Media*, Neighbours to the *Caduſians*, who had revolted. *Cyrus* hereupon ſent for *Lyſander*, and conſulting with him about the War, deſired him not to Fight the *Athenians*, except he overmatcht them in number of men, told him his Father and he were able enough to encreaſe the Fleet upon occaſion, and to bind him and the State of *Sparta* to him, he gave him all the Revenues he had in thoſe parts, with all the ready Money, and ſo took his Journey. *Lyſander* neither daring to Fight the Enemy with ſo few Ships, nor to be idle with ſo many, ſubdued ſome places, and having given *Agis* a Viſit in *Attica*, ſayled unto the *Helleſpont*, which finding clear, he beſieged *Lampſacus*, and took it. The *Athenian* Fleet, which conſiſted of one hundred and eighty Gallies, hearing of this, came from the *Cherroneſus* to *Seſtus*, and thence ſayled to *Ægoſpotamos*,

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The *Athenian* Fleet quite defeated at *Ægoſpotamos* by *Lyſander*.

a River over againſt *Lampſacus*, the *Helleſpont* at this place being not two miles broad. *Lyſander* contained his men in great order, and refuſed to fight without an advantage, which was at length given him by the *Athenians*, who braved him, but were in continual diſorder, careleſly running up and down, inſomuch that *Alcibiades* having notice of it, came and adviſed the Captains to look better to themſelves, but returned with no other recompence than bad words. But *Lyſander* keeping diligent watch upon them, obſerved his time when they were moſt of them landed, ſome eating and drinking, others looking for victuals, and others wandring up and down, and ſetting upon the Fleet eaſily became Maſter of it all without any oppoſition, except eight, wherewith *Conon* fled into *Cyprus* unto *Evagoras* the King, knowing how bad entertainment he ſhould have at home.

A conſultation what is to be done with the priſoners.

All of them put to death except *Adimantus*.

90. Such *Athenians* as had confuſedly got into their ſhips were ſlain or taken, and thoſe that were yet on Land by the Land Forces, which *Lyſander* had in a readineſs for that purpoſe. He took three thouſand men, with the Captains and all the ſhips, except thoſe eight of *Conon*, and a Packet-Boat, which tacking to his own ſhips, with the ſound of Pipes and the *Pæan* ſung, he returned in triumph unto *Lampſacus*. Then called he the allies together to conſider what was to be done with the priſoners. Many crimes were objected againſt them, as that they had done many unjuſt things, and now had determined, it they had got the Victory, to cut off the right hands of the *Peloponneſians* (or the thumbs rather, as *Plutarch* hath it, of their right hands, that they might never be able more to handle ſpears, but row with Oares) and having taken the two Gallies of *Andrus* and *Corinth* to caſt headlong all the men into the Sea, the perſwader to this being *Philocles*. Hereupon it was reſolved, that they ſhould all be put to death, except *Adimantus* who had withſtood the Decree of cutting off the hands, which ſentence was accordingly executed. *Lyſander* then ſailing about to the Cities under the *Athenian* power, diſmiſſed the Garriſon Soldiers and all others he found, with charge to get them to *Athens* under pain of death, which crafty policy he uſed to fill the City with men, that it might not be able long to endure a Siege for want of *Victuals*. When they of the City heard the news, they were affected accordingly, bewailing not only the fortune of the ſlain, but their own alſo, expecting now that ſhould be done to themſelves, which heretofore they had done to the *Melians*, a Colony of *Sparta*, and to the *Hiſtiæans*, *Scionæans*, *Toronæans*, *Æginetans*, and many other *Greek* Cities, not in way of revenge for any injury, but out of indulgence to their own luſt; for that they rejoyced in other mens miſeries. Yet as grief would give way to prudence, they took care for fortifying the City againſt a Siege, in which they could not look for any aſſiſtance from elſewhere, all their Confederates, except the *Samians*, having forſaken them, and ſuch as they had baniſhed from their dwellings being again reſtored to thoſe places which they had filled with Colonies of their own.

Lyſander beſiegeth *Athens* both by Sea and Land.

91. *Lyſander* having taken away *Democracy*, brought in the power of a few into all the Cities. Herein he dealt with much cruelty and ambition, (putting in ſuch men only as were his creatures, that he might obtain an unlimited power or Tyranny over all *Greece*) and ſending for Land Forces from *Sparta*, he beſieged *Athens* both by Sea and Land. The *Athenians* continued ſo reſolute for a long time, that till many were already dead of famine, not a word was heard of asking Peace. Then Ambaſſadors were ſent to *Agis* the *Spartan* King about it, who referred them to *Sparta*, having as he ſaid no commiſſion to entertain their overtures. Thither then they went, offering, that they might gain the friendſhip of *Lacedæmon*, to part with all places beſides the City and *Piræus*, where they would retain the Fortifications; but they had for anſwer, that if they ſeriouſly deſired peace, they muſt return home, and not return till they had better adviſed of the matter. Hereat the *Athenians* were much abaſhed, thinking now of nothing but ſervitude; none daring to propoſe the demoliſhing of the walls; for the *Lacedæmonians* having offered them Peace upon theſe terms, *Archeſtratus* for adviſing them to imbrace it, was impriſoned, and it was decreed that it ſhould be unlawful to mention it for the time to come. *Theramenes* then procured to be ſent to *Lyſander* to get out what his intention was, whether to enſlave them, or to have the walls demoliſhed, and thence he returned not till the fourth moneth, that in this time they might be coſtrained to reſolve of ſomething. At his return, he ſaid he could get no other anſwer, but that they muſt ſend again to *Sparta*, and thereby he procured himſelf and others to be ſent with full authority for concluding a Peace.

92. The Ambaſſadors of the Confederates being aſſembled at *Sparta*, many of them, eſpecially the *Corinthians* and *Thebans*, urged that no compoſition was to be made with them, but that *Athens* ſhould be deſtroyed; but the *Spartans* would

not give way to it, ſaying, it was not their intention to deſtroy a City, which in the greateſt dangers of *Greece* had done the greateſt things for it's deliverance. They then without much delay made peace with them upon theſe terms: *That the long walls and the fortifications of the Piræus ſhould be demoliſhed; that they ſhould deliver up all their ſhips except twelve, receive their exiles, follow the Lacedæmonians both by Sea and Land in the Wars, and have the ſame Friends and Enemies with them.* Some at the return of the Ambaſſadors would have refuſed theſe terms; but the far major part ſiding with *Theramenes* accepted of them. *Lyſander* then ſeized upon the ſhips, and the walls, upon the ſixteenth day of the moneth *Munichion* (on which they had formerly overthrown the *Perſians* at *Salamine*) and went about to alter the Government, which the People ſtrongly reſiſted, inſomuch that he ſent back to *Sparta* to complain of them, ſaying, they had broken the League, in that their walls were not demoliſhed; and though no worſe thing was yet decreed againſt them though preſſed by ſome, yet this made them willing to receive any thing. Then ſent he for all the Pipers out of the City, to whom joyning thoſe in his own Camp, at the noiſe of their inſtruments he cauſed the walls to be demoliſhed, and the Gallies to be burnt, the Confederates making great ſolemnity, as if that day gave beginning to the liberty of *Greece*. Herewith, the twenty ſeventh year, and the War it ſelf ended, which being carried on for ſo long a time with moſt various fortune, dubious and inconſtant events, with infinite charges, all ſorts of conteſts, and the ruine of ſo many Captains, as had not periſhed in all the Wars of *Greece* beſides, was finiſhed by the politick induſtry of one man, whom ſome thought thereupon they could not ſufficiently admire, in the ſeven hundred and eightieth year after the end of that of *Troy*, in the fourth of the ninety third *Olympiad*, the nineteenth of *Darius Nothus* (who died preſently after the concluſion of the Peace) A. M. 3600.

Which yieldeth.

The walls demoliſhed, and the Gallies burnt.

A. M. 3600.
Ol. 93. *an.* 4.
V. C. 349.
Darii Nothi 19.
Belli Pelop. 27.

SECT. IIII.

From the end of the Peloponneſian *War to the beginning of the Reign of* Philip *King of* Macedonia.

Containing the ſpace of fourty four Years.

1. THe year following being that wherein the ninty fourth *Olympiad* was celebrated, in the courſe of which *Crocinas* the *Theſſalian* got the prize, *Endicus* was *Ephorus* at *Sparta*, and *Pythadorus Archon* at *Athens*, whom yet the *Athenians* did not ſo account, becauſe that the *Oligarchy* being brought in this year, they eſteemed it as *Anarchical*. As ſoon as the long walls and the *Piræus* were demoliſhed by the command of *Lyſander*, thirty men were choſen to make Laws, by which the Commonwealth might be governed. After their creation and inveſtiture in the power, they deferred both to publiſh or write the Laws; but conſtituted the Senate and other Magiſtrates at their pleaſure. Then, firſt, they laid hold of all ſuch as had under the *Democracy* lived by informing, and falſe accuſing of others, which was not diſpleaſing to honeſt men. So that thoſe being condemned by the Senate, they were put to death. But afterwards they began ſeriouſly to lay their heads together, how they might make themſelves Maſters of all. They ſent *Æſchines* and *Ariſtotle* two of their company to *Sparta* to deſire a Garriſon for the better government of the City, till they had taken out of the way all naughty perſons, and had ſetled the Commonwealth, promiſing themſelves to pay the Soldiers. *Lyſander* being made uſe of procured what they deſired, and *Callibius* was ſent as *Harmoſtes*

Xenoph. ut prius.

The thirty Tyrants at *Athens*.

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unto *Athens*, whom they ſo flattered, that they brought him to conſent to whatſoever they ſhould act. Now then they fell upon, not only naughty and diſſolute perſons, but on the beſt, whoſoever they thought ill affected, and would indeavour to ſtop their proceedings. *Theramenes* one of them proteſted againſt this cruelty, and added, that it was impoſſible their power ſhould continue in that State without a ſufficient company to aſſiſt them. Hereupon they fearing him, leſt he ſhould make himſelf Captain of the diſcontented, which was almoſt the whole City, choſe out of the Citizens three thouſand which they thought meeteſt for their purpoſe, and gave them ſome part of the power, with this priviledge, that none of them ſhould be put to death without the conſent of the Senate; all the reſt of the People being left to the diſcretion of the thirty, whom they alſo diſarmed at a general muſter.

Fill all places with murders and rapine.

2. Now thinking themſelves ſecure enough, they filled all places with murders, not only of their private Enemies, but ſuch whoſe wealth might enrich them, of which they were exceſſive greedy; and to this purpoſe they agreed, that every one ſhould name one man whom he would put to death for to ſeize upon his goods. *Theramenes* having diſliked the election of the three thouſand, uttered now alſo his deteſtation of this wickedneſs, refuſing himſelf to commit it. For this they were more jealous of him, fearing he might croſs their abhominable practices, and reſolved upon his deſtruction; ſo that having provided a company of young men with daggers to aſſiſt them, they called the Senate together, and therein *Critias* (his once familiar friend, but now his deadly Enemy, becauſe the moſt cruel Tyrant of the thirty) bitterly accuſed him as a turbulent and unſetled man; being now for the People, and another while againſt them; he objected againſt him the death of the ſix Captains procured by him, and concluded he was not a fit man to live in a Commonwealth, eſpecially ſo conſtituted. *Theramenes* replyed with undaunted courage, and gave ſatisfaction to the Senate, as *Critias* perceived by their muttering, who thereupon concluding, that if he eſcaped it would endanger his own life, he conſulted with his Companions, and then returning to the Senate, told them, that having firſt expunged his name out of the Catalogue of the three thouſand, and hereby he being ſubjected to their cenſure, they condemned him to death. *Theramenes* replied again, that his name was no more eaſie to be blotted out than any other mans, in conſideration whereof, he adviſed them all to make his caſe their own: but none daring to oppoſe, for that they knew the men that were preſent to be privily armed, he was led away, and compelled to drink poyſon, which he did with a reſolute and gallant ſpirit. After this the Tyrants, as being at liberty to do what they pleaſed, forbad all that were not contained in the Catalogue, to come into the City, from which they expelled them and the borders, that they and their Aſſociates might enjoy their Lands. The Citizens betook themſelves to the *Piræus*, but being thence alſo expelled, they filled *Megara* and *Thebes* with their multitudes.

Theramenes one of them, for deteſting their wickedneſs, is put to death.

3. This baniſhment of the *Athenians* procured their liberty. For, now they entred into conſultation, and reſolved to hazard their lives for the freedom of their Country; ſeeing that now what would have been Treaſon at home, would have no danger abroad, but ſuch as might be found in the execution. Firſt *Thraſybulus* who was then at *Thebes*, with but * thirty in his company, ſeized upon *Phyla*, a Caſtle in the Territories of *Athens*; which the Tyrants underſtanding, endeavoured to recover, but to no purpoſe; for he having gotten to him within a while ſeven hundred men, put to flight the Garriſon Soldiers of *Sparta*, whom they had ſet to watch two miles off from the Caſtle, killing of them about one hundred and twenty men. Herewith the Tyrants were ſomething diſcouraged, but thinking it beſt to get *Eleuſine* into their power, they went thither, and perceiving the Inhabitatants that were able to bear Arms to go out at the gates, that they might only as they pretended take the number of their heads, moſt wickedly murdered them. After this *Thraſybulus* with one thouſand men ſeized upon the *Piræus*, againſt whom, though the Tyrants came out with their whole power, yet he obtained the Victory againſt them, killing ſeventy, and what more, *Critias* the Arch Tyrant, with *Hippomachus* one of the Collegues, and *Charmides* one of the ten Captains which had been placed over the *Piræus*. When the ſlain were delivered up to be buried, and thereupon both parties met, *Cleocritus* a Cryer belonging to the Prieſts, and a man famous for his loud and audible voice, expoſtulated with thoſe who ſided with the Tyrants for expelling them their fellow Citizens, educated together, partakers heretofore of the ſame things,

* Corn. *Nepos in Thraſybulo.*

Thraſybulus oppoſeth the Tyrants.

ſacred and prophane, proſperous and adverſe, and all for to ſatisfie the luſt of thoſe Monſters, who had kindled ſuch a flame as had already conſumed more than the *Peloponneſian* War did in ten years. His ſpeech produced ſuch effect, that the three thouſand fell at difference amongſt themſelves ; ſuch as had been buſied in the deſtruction of other men, together with the Tyrants, vehemently contended that nothing was to be granted to them in the *Piræus* ; but thoſe that were confident in their own innocence, crying out there was no reaſon that they ſhould obey the will and pleaſure of the thirty, and ſuffer the City to periſh, *prevailed* againſt them. Then was the power of the thirty abrogated, and ten choſen in their room, one out of every Tribe, after which they quitted the City, and retired to *Eleuſine*.

Their power is abrogated.

4. Notwithſtanding the change of the Government, yet there was no accord betwixt them in the *Piræus* and thoſe in the Town, but ſeveral acts of Hoſtility they committed againſt one another. At length the three thouſand in the Town, and the Tyrants of *Eleuſine*, ſent to *Sparta* to deſire aid againſt the other, ſaying, that the people revolted from the *Lacedæmonians* ; and *Lyſander* procured them one hundred Talents to be ſent out of hand, himſelf ordered to go General to aſſiſt them, and his brother *Libys* General of the Fleet. Then beſieged he the *Piræus*, both by Land and Sea, and ſorely ſtreightned them ; but *Pauſanias* the *Spartan* King thinking much that he ſhould get the glory of Conquering *Athens* the ſecond time, which he would make as his own, he perſwaded the *Ephori* to give way, that he ſhould follow him with another Army, under pretence of aſſiſting him ; upon which account the *Corinthians* and *Bœotians* amongſt the Confederates refuſed to follow him, alleging they ſhould break their Oaths by fighting againſt them, who had done nothing prejudicial to the peace. This they did, concluding that the *Lacedæmonians* would lay the Territories of *Athens* to their own demains. *Pauſanias*, after his arrival, ſent to them in the *Piræus* to bid them depart, and they refuſing it, for a colour to his deſigns, he led his Forces againſt them. But returning without any thing performed, he went to view the Walls the next day, at which time they ſallied out upon him, and ſtill freſh ſupplies coming in on both ſides, wrought, and received conſiderable damage.

They ſend for aid from *Sparta*.

Lyſander is ſent and beſiegeth *Thraſybulus*, and his fellows in the *Piræus*,

5. Yet for all this he underhand ſent unto them about a compoſure, and inſtructed them what they ſhould offer. They obeyed him, and he perſwaded alſo thoſe in the City to end the controverſie, that both might become friends to the *Lacedæmonians*. The two *Ephori* preſent with him (for two uſed always to accompany the *Spartan* Kings in their expeditions) inclined to his opinion, rather than to the ſeverity of *Lyſander*, and ſo accordingly they ſent Ambaſſadors from both parties to *Lacedæmon* about an agreement. The *Lacedæmonians* after audience preſently diſpatched ten Commiſſioners with them back to *Athens*, who, together with *Pauſanias*, might make an agreement. They preſently compoſed all on theſe terms : *That all ſhould return home to their own habitations, except the thirty, and the ten, and eleven men which had commanded in the* Piræus ; *and if any feared the people they might remove to* Eleuſine, Theſe things being done, *Pauſanias* drew off the *Spartan* Army, and thoſe that were in the *Piræus* went up with their Arms into the City, and there ſacrifized to *Minerva*. Then by the perſwaſion of *Thraſybulus* the popular Government was reſtored, and all things ordered as in former times. A little after it being heard that they in *Eleuſine* hired Soldiers abroad, attempting new matters, the whole City roſe againſt them, took their Captains as they came to parley, and ſlew them : the reſt by their friends ſent to them were perſwaded to agree. Then paſſed a general Act of Oblivion for all that was paſt, confirmed by an Oath, to keep which they being very careful, even yet ſaith *Xenophon*, joyntly mannage the affairs of the Commonwealth. By which wiſe order the City returned to its former quietneſs, upon this Sedition raiſed by the thirty Tyrants, who being created by a Decree of the *Senate*, as * another ſaith, put to death one thouſand and four hundred Citizens unheard, and forced more than five thouſand to fly into the *Piræus*.

But *Pauſanias* the *Spartan* King emulating *Lyſander* taketh up the matter.

The popular Government reſtored.

* *Iſocrates in Areopagit.*

6. But this Tyranny of the thirty, not only poduced the deſtruction of many in the Town, but of *Alcibiades* alſo then living in *Aſia* with *Pharnabazus*, whom he intended to make uſe of to bring him to the King, hoping he might deſerve no worſe of that Prince than *Themiſtocles* had done of his Predeceſſor. When the *Athenians* were deprived of their liberty by the means of *Lyſander*, and the Tyranny of the thirty, they then began again to repent of what they had done to him, judging that if he had been yet at the Helm, they ſhould never have made ſhipwrack of their liberty, and ſtill their confidence was in him, and

Plutarch in Alcibiad. & Corn. Nepos.

The thirty Tyrants procured *Abcibiades* to be made away.

and thought their cauſe was not utterly deſperate as long as he was ſafe. The Tyrants alſo were jealous of him, procuring all the intelligence they could concerning all his actions, and at length *Critias* remonſtrated to *Lyſander*, that things could not ſtand as they did long, if he lived, who yet was nothing perſwaded to procure his death, till he received a *Scytala* from the Magiſtrates at *Sparta*, who either feared his great abilities, or did it to gratifie *Agis*, to remove him by ſome means out of the way. He ſent to *Pharnabazus*, requiring him to diſpatch him, who enjoyned his brother *Magæus*, and his Uncle *Suſamithres* to be his Executioners: They coming to the Village in *Phrygia* where he lived, durſt not enter his houſe, but compaſſing it about ſet it on fire. He perceiving what was done, took ſome Clothes, and caſting them into the fire, which keeping down the flame for ſome ſpace, he brake out, whereupon the Barbarians fled, not daring to ſtand to him, but at a diſtance killed him with Darts, after which his body was burnt (with that matter that was prepared to conſume him alive) by the care of his Paramour *Timandra*, the Mother of *Lais* the famous *Corinthian* Courtiſan. Thus he died in the flow'r of his age, ſcarce exceeding fourty years, a man very beautiful, of moſt excellent parts, fit for any imployment, able to accommodate himſelf to all, both times, and cuſtoms, though never ſo repugnant, and therein yet eſteemed to excell. *Socrates* upon him excerciſed the true *Platonick* love, labouring to infuſe ſuch virtue into him as might make him truly lovely; but ſuch were his temptations, and inclination, that counterpoiſing the inſtructions, nature in this man ſeemed to try what ſhe could do; it being agreed by all, ſaith * one who wrote of him, that none was ever more eminent, both for vice and virtue.

* *Corn. Nepos.*

Xenoph. lib. 3.

7. After theſe things *Cyrus* made War upon his brother *Artaxerxes*, as hath been ſaid elſewhere, at what time he ſent to *Lacedæmon*, demanding a return for his kindneſſes ſhewed to them, who thinking it moſt juſt, ſent their Admiral to keep in play *Syenneſis* the *Satrapa* of *Cilicia*, till he paſſed that Countrey. After his overthrow, *Tiſſaphernes* his greateſt Enemy, being a moſt inſolent man before, now grew more haughty (after the King had laid the Province of *Cyrus* to his *Satrapy*) and began to be more troubleſome to the *Greek* Cities in *Aſia*. They ſent to complain hereof at *Sparta*, which State ſent to their relief *Thimbron* with an Army of one thouſand new raiſed Soldiers out of *Laconia*, four thouſand Foot of *Peloponneſus*, and three hundred Horſe from *Athens*, which the City willingly parted withal, with no good proſperity wiſhed to their perſons, for that they had been in the ſervice of the thirty Tyrants. What he did in *Aſia*, and how he returned home after *Dercyllidas* was ſent to ſucceed him, and was baniſhed upon the complaint of the Confederates, is related in the Affairs of *Aſia*. At the ſame time as *Dercyllidas* managed the War beyond the Seas, the *Lacedæmonians* and *Eleans* reviving their old grudges and complaints, broke out into another War, which was begun by the *Lacedæmonians* at the inſtance of the *Ephori*. They ſent out *Agis* their King, who led an Army into the Territories of the *Eleans*; but an Earth-quake hapning at his firſt entrance, which was counted ominous, he returned without any thing at all performed. The year after, he undertook another expedition, the *Athenians*, and all the other Confederates, except the *Corinthians* and *Bœotians*, following him, wherein he ſorely afflicted all the Country, ſparing the City *Elis* it ſelf, and though he retreated, yet the Garriſon he left behind him, continuing theſe depredations all the next Summer, and the Winter following, the next Summer the *Eleans* were conſtrained to receive ſuch conditions as their Enemies would give them. The Wall about *Patra* was demoliſhed, *Cyllene* relinquiſhed, five Towns delivered into the hands of the *Spartans*, and three to the *Arcadians*; the management of the Affairs of the Temple belonging to *Jupiter Olympius* being only left remaining to them.

Thimbro ſent into *Aſia*.

Idem. ibid. Corn. Nepos, & Plutarch. in Ageſilao, & Lyſandro. Xenoph. in Orat. de laudibus Ageſil.

8. Not long after theſe things *Agis* died, having fall'n ſick in his return from *Delphos*. He had born to him by his wife *Timæa*, a ſon called *Leutychides*, but conceived at that time when *Alcibiades* ſojourned at *Sparta*, by whom there were great preſumptions that he was begotten. He had not been with his wife of ten moneths before the Child was born; *Timæa* her ſelf was wont when ſhe would play with it to call it *Alcibiades* more commonly than *Leutychides*, as was acknowledged by her maids; and neither did *Alcibiades* himſelf forbear to acknowledge that he had to do with her, ſaying, it was not out of any carnal affection, but out of a deſire that thoſe who ſhould proceed from him might reign at *Lacedæmon*; upon theſe grounds *Agis* owned not *Leutychides* for his Son, but

A contention betwixt *Leutychides* and *Ageſilaus* for the *Spartan* Kingdoms.

but told the *Ephori* he was none of his, divorcing alſo his Mother; but when he lay ſick, having no Children, and moved by his prayers and tears, he owned him for his ſon before many witneſſes. After his death a great contention inſued about the ſucceſſion betwixt *Leutychides* and *Ageſilaus* brother to *Agis*, a man lame of one foot, but of a moſt noble and valiant diſpoſition. *Ageſilaus* was bred after the ordinary ſtrict way, as not having expected the Kingdom being a younger brother, and yet was in great favour with the people, and preſſing the illegitimation of his adverſary had their ear; but one thing they much ſtuck at, which was an old Prophecy much urged by *Diophites* their Prophet, that *it ſhould go very hard with* Sparta *when it ſhould have a lame King*. Yet *Lyſander*, who had taken a great affection to him, anſwered, that by a lame King was not meant lame of a foot, which could be no hinderance to virtue, but one of ſpurious extraction; and herewith, and by his private intereſt, procured the ſentence to paſs for *Ageſilaus*.

Ageſilaus carrieth it, by the means of *Lyſander*.

9. *Ageſilaus* had not been a year in his Office, before that being to ſacrifize for his Countrey according to the cuſtom, the entrails of the beaſt three times did not permit it, which being viewed by the Prophet, he foretold that a grievous conſpiracy was hatched againſt him, and all Magiſtrates, both in Town and Country. Five dayes after this a notable conſpiracy indeed was diſcloſed to the *Ephori* by one of the Complices, the head of which was *Cinadon*. They preſently referring it to the *Senate*, it was thought fit that he ſhould be ſent out of the City, under pretence of ſome employment, and that ſome ſhould go after him to make him reveal his fellows, which accordingly was done, and an ignominious death was executed upon them. After the execution *Herodus* of *Syracuſe* came with news out of *Phœnicia*, that a Fleet of three hundred Gallies was prepared by *Tiſſaphernes*, and the King, but upon what deſign was not known. The *Lacedæmonians* moved at this, called the Deputies of their Confederates to *Sparta* to conſult about it. Now *Lyſander* had a great mind to return into *Aſia*, deſirous to relieve thoſe his friends, who being by him placed in the Government of the Cities, ten in a place, were for their violence and great miſdemeanours, either killed, or driven into baniſhment. He therefore perſwaded *Ageſilaus* to undertake ſo noble and pious an expedition, and wrote to his friends in *Aſia*, to deſire of the State that he might be ſent. Being perſwaded, he offered his ſervice on condition they would grant him thirty Aſſiſtants, by whoſe directions and advice he might manage the War; with two thouſand choice men newly to be raiſed, and ſix thouſand of the Confederates: Theſe were all decreed to him by the dealing of *Lyſander*, who procured himſelf to be ſent as chief of the thirty, to which place he might well pretend for the great glory of his atchievements, and his friendſhip to *Ageſilaus*, whom as he judged he had more obliged by procuring this employment, than by the former courteſie of preferring him to the Kingdom.

He is ſent into *Aſia* by the ſame means.

A. M. 2608.
Ol. 95. *an.* 4.
V. C. 357.
Artaxerxis. Mnemon. 8.

10. Having his Army and Proviſions in a readineſs, he marched to *Aulis*, that thence, after the example of *Agamemnon*, he might paſs over into *Aſia*; but going about to ſacrifize a Doe to the Goddeſs, with which he thought ſhe would be better pleaſed than ſhe was with *Agamemnon* for his daughter, he was hindred by the *Bœotians* from doing that which was contrary to their cuſtom, and was conſtrained in a great chaſe to paſs over without the Ceremony, the Omiſſion of which he accounted as a bad preſage. When he came to *Epheſus*, it appeared that he only bore the name, and *Lyſander* had all the credit and authority, all men making application to him, and obſerving him as a man of whom they had had former experience to exceed all men in earneſtneſs to gratifie his friends, and deſtroy his Enemies. This much moved *Ageſilaus*, though a man of a moſt mild ſpirit (who was famous for bearing with any thing) and troubled alſo his own Collegues, ſo that the King reſolving to cut off his authority, rejected all the ſutes he made for any, and plainly ſhewed that his deſign was to croſs him in all he attempted. *Lyſander* hereupon told his friends how the caſe ſtood, that they muſt make no more addreſſes to himſelf, and being ſenſible of the diſgrace expoſtulated with him about it, who let him underſtand that he could not endure to be overtopped by him; He then deſired ſome employment of him, wherein he might both ſave his own credit, and do him ſervice, wherein he promiſed to be faithful. He then ſent him to the *Helleſpont*, where finding *Spithridates* the *Perſian* to be offended by *Pharnabazus*, he brought him over to him with a great Treaſure, and two hundred Horſe, although hereafter it was found that he took very hainouſly the diminiſhing of his reputation.

Is Eclypſed by *Lyſander*.

11. *Age-*

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11. *Ageſilaus* in *Aſia* proſpered in the War to admiration, gaining great glory for his Wiſdom, Valour, and Courteſie, both at home and abroad; inſomuch that the *Spartans*, in confidence of his abilities, and integrity, committed the Fleet alſo to his command, judging it moſt convenient for expedition, and that both the Armies might joyn the readilier upon occaſion, that they ſhould be in the Hands of one man whom they could truſt. But in this one thing he is accounted to have erred, in that not having reſpect to the publick good, he paſſed by many far more Eminent for prudence and gravity, and pitched upon *Piſander*, his wives Brother (a man very bold, but meanly practiſed in buſineſs) for his Admiral. As he was going towards the Fleet, and *Ageſilaus* marching for *Phrygia*, *Tithrauſtes* (who having cut off the head of *Tiſſaphernes* had ſucceeded in his place) conſidering in how great dangers his Maſters affairs ſtood, ſent *Timocrates* a *Rhodian* with much *Perſian* Gold into *Greece*, wherewith to corrupt the principal men in the Cities, and procure them to make War againſt the *Lacedæmonians*. This was effected at *Thebes* and *Argos*; and the *Athenians*, though they had no Gold, yet were very ready to imbrace the War, believing that therein they ſhould have the chief Command. Thoſe that were corrupted then grievouſly inveighing againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, procured that the chief Cities entred into a Combination againſt them. The *Thebans* knowing that they would not begin the War except firſt provoked, took occaſion to do it by the *Locrian Opuntians*, whom they procured to quarrel with the *Phocians*, and their other Neighbours, about ſome grounds in queſtion amongſt them, concluding, that thereupon the *Phocians* would break into *Locris*. They did ſo, and did more hurt than they had received; whereupon *Audocides*, who had received much Gold, procured the *Thebans* to aſſiſt the *Locrians*. The *Thebans* then invaded *Phocis*, which they waſted, and preſently did the *Phocians* ſend to *Lacedæmon* to deſire aid, ſhewing that they had not been the beginners of the War.

Tithrauſtes by Gold ſent into *Greece*, corrupteth the States to War againſt *Lacedæmon*.

Xenoph. ut ſupra.

Corn. Nepos & Plutarch in Lyſandro.

Lyſander ſlain.

His character.

12. The *Lacedæmonians* not unwillingly imbraced this occaſion of falling out with the *Thebans*, to whom they bore many Grudges. They exacted the tenth part aſſigned to *Apollo* at *Decelea*, refuſed to make War againſt the *Piræus*, perſwading alſo the *Corinthians*, as they judged, to do the ſame; they remembred alſo how they had forbidden *Ageſilaus* to ſacrifize, caſting the Sacrifize from off the Altar, and would not follow him into *Aſia*. They reſolved now that they had no War in *Greece*, and that their Affairs were in ſo good a condition in *Aſia*, to curb their inſolence. *Lyſander* was then diſpatched to *Phocis*, where he ſhould gather the Forces of the Confederates together, and ſtay for *Pauſanias* the King, who was to bring the Forces of *Sparta* and the reſt of the Aſſociates to *Haliartus*. He marching into *Bæotia* drew *Orchomenus* from the League of *Thebes*, and impatient of delay tarried not for *Pauſanias*, who hovered about *Tegæa*, but went with ſuch Forces as he had already to *Haliartus*, which he ſummoned, but in vain, the *Thebans* which already were in the City hindring the Surrender. Upon refuſal he led his men to the Walls, and they of *Thebes* upon notice hereof haſted out of their City to help their Friends, and falling upon *Lyſander* (whether aware of their coming or not is uncertain) ſlew him in the place, and routed his Forces, of which were ſlain one thouſand men, and of the *Thebans* three hundred. This was the end of *Lyſander*, which he partly brought upon himſelf by his eagerneſs to make this Expedition, being in his old age fallen into Melancholly, which rendred him more peeviſh than uſual. He left a great name behind him, but purchaſed rather by his good Succeſs than Virtue. He would neither ſpare for Cruelty nor Falſehood, to compaſs his deſigns, taking no eſtimate of any thing by any balance but that of Profit. He ſcoffed at ſuch as ſaid, that thoſe who were deſcended of *Hercules* (amongſt which he was reckoned, though not of the Royal Familiſes) ought to manage Wars without deceit, ſaying, that *where the Lyon's Skin would not ſerve, the Foxes was to be ſowed to it.* A Deſign of his was diſcovered after his Death, whereby he intended to have taken the Regal Power out of the two Families, and have made them common to all in general. To this purpoſe a Writing was found containing a Speech he intended to offer to the People; which *Ageſilaus* would have publiſhed, that it might have been ſeen what kind of Commonwealths-man he was; but was diſſwaded by *Lacratidas* chief of the *Ephori*, who ſaid, that *Lyſander* was not to be digged up again, but rather that Speech to be buried with him. Notwithſtanding his Ambition, yet he died poor, which rendred him the more famous, ſo that to do Honour to his memory, the *Spartans* impoſed a mulct upon cer-

tain Citizens, who being contracted with his Daughters before his death, afterwards when his Poverty appeared, refuſed to marry them.

13. The *Thebans* having loſt ſo many men in the late Fight, thought they had but ſmall cauſe to Triumph, counting their loſs equal with that of the Enemy. The Day after, when they underſtood that the *Phocians* and others had retreated, they took more Courage; but again, when they perceived *Pauſanias* to draw near, they eſteemed themſelves in no ſmall danger. Yet the day following the *Athenians* joyning themſelves to them, and *Pauſanias* not moving forwards, they then had no ſmall confidence in the goodneſs of their Fortune. *Pauſanias* being doubtful what to do, called a Council of the Confederates to conſult, whether he had beſt by main Force or by Truce recover the Body of *Lyſander*, who for that it lay near the Town Walls, and it was very dangerous to fetch it off by ſtrong Hand, concluded a Truce was to be deſired; and the rather, for that the *Corinthians* refuſed to joyn with them, and the Enemy had good ſtore of Horſe, which they wanted. The *Thebans* refuſed to give up the dead Bodies, except the *Lacedæmonians* would ingage to depart out of *Bœotia*, and therefore to their great grief they were conſtrained to do it, and in their Retreat the *Thebans* grown very inſolent, killed ſuch as ſtaid behind never ſo little in the Villages. The Expedition was unfortunate to the *Spartans* in general; but eſpecially to *Pauſanias*, who at his return was accuſed capitally for not meeting *Lyſander* in convenient time, according to agreement, for that he had not by Fight but Truce recovered the ſlain, and diſmiſſed ſuch *Athenians* as had been taken in the *Piræus*; and laſtly, had not appeared at his Tryal. Being condemned he fled to *Tegea*, where afterwards he fell ſick and died.

Pauſanias ſentenced to die.

Xenoph. lib. 4. *Plutarch in Ageſilao, & Apothegmat. Xenoph. in Orat. de laudibus Ageſilai.*

14. The *Lacedæmonians* awakned by their loſs, and now knowing for certain that Money had been ſent out of *Aſia* to the ſeveral Cities, which had moved them to take Arms, they thought themſelves in ſome danger, and recalled *Ageſilaus* to defend his Country. He having had ſucceſs in the War ſuitable to his Military Skill and Valour, was now gathering of greater Forces, wherewith he intended to march into the higher Countries againſt the King himſelf; but notwithſtanding this, and that it troubled him to leave *Aſia*, yet he reſolved to obey, acknowledging in his Letter to the *Ephori*, that then a General truly and juſtly commands, when he is governed by the Laws and Magiſtrates, upon which account he ſaid, he would follow the Letter, if not prevent it (ſeeing they had ſet him a day, and that he commanded not for himſelf but the City and Confederates) although he had ſubdued a great Part of *Aſia*, overthrown the *Barbarians*, and had made great preparations for the War in *Ionia*. He left *Enxenus* the *Harmoſtes* of *Aſia* with a Guard of four thouſand Soldiers, but making all Proviſion for his Country, drew over many out of the Cities to the Service. Having paſſed the *Helleſpont* into the *Cherroneſus*, he held the ſame way that *Xerxes* formerly had done, when in the mean time the *Ephori* and *Ariſtodemus* guardian to *Ageſipolis* the young King, with an Army of fifteen thouſand men overthrew that of the Leaguers, conſiſting of twenty thouſand (whereof thirteen thouſand bore heavy Armour) making great ſlaughter, though they loſt no more than eight of their number. Care was taken that *Ageſilaus* ſhould have notice of this ſucceſs (with the Confederates in *Aſia*) who grieved only that *Greece* ſhould deſtroy ſo many of its own Worthies. As he paſſed through *Thrace*, he would not ask any of the *Barbarians* leave to go through their Countries; but only ſent to know whether he ſhould paſs as a Friend or an Enemy. All friendly received and conducted him, except the *Tralles*, who having formerly ſold the paſſage to *Xerxes*, now alſo demanded of him one hundred Talents, and as many Women. He jeered them, asking why they came not to receive what was demanded? and going forwards made great ſlaughter of them. The King of *Macedonia*, when he asked the queſtion of him, ſaid he would conſider of it; ſo let him, ſaid he; but in the mean time we will proceed in our journey, which boldneſs ſo awed the King, that he ſuffered him to paſs quietly.

Ageſilaus recalled out of *Aſia*.

The Sun Eclypſed *Auguſt* 24. and *Ageſilaus* invadeth *Bœotia*. Where he obtaineth a Victory againſt the Leaguers.

15. Having paſſed through *Theſſalie* notwithſtanding all oppoſition, by order of the *Ephori* he invaded *Bœotia*, judging alwaies obedience beſt, though he could have wiſhed, and had intended firſt to have been better provided. As he invaded *Bœotia* the Sun was eclypſed (*Auguſt* the twenty fourth according to the Aſtronomical Table) and he received the news of the overthrow of *Piſander* upon the Coaſts of *Aſia* by *Pharnabazus*, and *Conon* the *Athenian*, who being for his Skill in Sea-matters in great requeſt with the *Perſian*, improved his intereſt for the reſtitution of the Fortune of his Country. Upon this report he put

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on a good Countenance, leſt he ſhould diſcourage his men, telling them *Piſander* the Admiral was ſlain, but that his Fleet had obtained the Victory. But now in *Bœotia*, when he was come near to *Coronea*, the Leaguers oppoſed themſelves againſt him, being the *Bœotians*, *Athenians*, *Argives*, *Corinthians*, *Eubœans*, *Ænianes*, and both the *Locrians*, with whom was fought ſuch a Battel as had not hapned in that Age. At the firſt onſet *Ageſilaus* had the better in one Wing, but the *Thebans* in the other, and being in the Purſute were forced to retire to help their Friends, where he charging upon the Front of the *Thebans*, and not on the Rear, as he might have done, did great execution and was wounded himſelf, notwithſtanding the Valour of his Guard, conſiſting of fifty ſtout young-men, lately ſent him from *Sparta* to do him Honour. At length he had the better of it, and diſmiſſed un-hurt eighty of the Enemies, who had taken Sanctuary near hand, after which he went to *Delphos*, and conſecrated the tenth of his Spoils, which amounted to no leſs than one hundred Talents. In the mean time *Gylus* the *Polemarchus* brake out into *Locris*, where the Soldiers being greedy of Plunder, were fallen upon by the Inhabitants, whom though they repelled at firſt, yet Night coming on they were ſo intangled, that *Gylus* himſelf and very many others were ſlain, and all of them had been loſt, but that the Alarm being taken by the Camp, relief was thence ſent to them. After this, the Soldiers were diſmiſſed to their ſeveral homes, and *Ageſilaus* went by Ship to *Sparta*. Yet notwithſtanding the War continued, the *Athenians*, *Bœotians*, *Argives* and their Confederates, making excurſions from *Corinth*, which they had made the ſeat of War; and the *Lacedæmonians* with their Allies from *Sicyon*.

Stirs at *Corinth*.

16. The *Corinthians* conſidering that their Grounds were waſted, and many of them ſlain, becauſe of their being ſo near to the Enemy, but their Confederates free from theſe miſchiefs, the moſt and beſt of them deſired Peace, and began to conſider of it amongſt themſelves. This being underſtood by the *Argives*, *Bœotians*, *Athenians*, and eſpecially by ſuch amongſt themſelves as had received the *Perſian* Gold, and cauſed the War, they fearing *Corinth* would return again to the *Lacedæmonians*, to prevent this, they reſolved to Maſſacre all ſuch as were for the Peace. This they performed on a Feſtival, when moſt were got together, ſparing none that took Sanctuary in religious places, ſo that moſt of the elder ſort were killed, and the younger fled out of the City. Many of them, by the intreaty of their Friends, and upon the Oath of the Mgiſtrates, that they ſhould be ſafe, returned home within a ſhort time; but ſeeing plainly the City was in the way to Ruine by the tyranny of thoſe that governed, as that for *Corinth* it was to be called *Argos*, the Laws of which City they muſt be forced to receive; moreover being ſenſible that they had no more Power at home than meer ſtrangers, ſome of them reſolved it was better, by attempting the freedom of their Country, to die in the Quarrel, if it ſhould fall out, than to live in that ſlaviſh Condition. In proſecution hereof they let in *Praxitas* Governour of *Sicyon* for the *Lacedæmonians* within the long Walls, who having no great Force with him, fortified himſelf as well as he might, which being underſtood at *Argos*, they flocked out thence to aſſiſt their Friends, and the *Lacedæmonians* oppoſing themſelves they came to a Fight, wherein after much difficulty and various Fortune, the *Lacedæmonians* were Conquerours, making great ſlaughter of their Enemies. This Victory was the more eminent, for that ſo ſmall a number had vanquiſhed ſuch multitudes, after which, they put to the Sword a Garriſon of *Bœotians*, which held the Haven called *Lochæus*.

Ageſilaus ſent againſt the *Argives*.

17. *Praxitas* purſuing his Victory, brake down part of the Walls to make a paſſage for his men, and then going on in the way towards *Megara*, took two Towns, wherein he left a Garriſon and departed, after which followed only ſome light bickerings, till at length the *Lacedæmonians* iſſuing out of *Lochæus*, with their Friends beſieged *Corinth*, at which time the *Athenians* fearing they might paſs the long Walls and invade their Territories, came out of the City with Maſons and Workmen, and repaired that part which was towards them. The *Lacedæmonians* grudging that the *Argives* ſhould flouriſh at home, and proſper abroad, ſent *Ageſilaus* with an Army againſt them, who laying waſt all their Territories, brake through to *Corinth*, and took the Walls which the *Athenians* had repaired, his Brother *Teleutias* Admiral, taking the Ships and Arcenals upon the Gulf. Returning home, he was not long after ſent out again, who when he came to *Corinth*, thought to have ſurpriſed it, but the Citizens

aware of it, called in a Garriſon of the *Athenians*, under the command of *Iphicrates*, and thereby prevented him. At this time Ambaſſadors came to him from ſeveral parts, and amongſt the reſt from *Bœotia*, to know what terms of Peace he would propound; but he carried himſelf ſo high, that he would take no notice of them; though *Pharax* interceded out of an inveterate grudge he bore towards the *Thebans*. But before their departure there came news that the party he had left in *Lechæus* was defeated by *Iphicrates*, at which unuſual meſſage being much affected he leaped out from his Throne, and in all haſte went to relieve them, but in his way met with three Horſe-men, who acquainted him how late his aſſiſtance would be. Hereupon he returned, and the next day ſent for the Ambaſſadors to hear what they had to ſay; but they ſomething incouraged at what had hapned, and minding to requite him for his diſreſpect, made then no mention of peace, but deſired leave to go to *Corinth*.

18. He eaſily apprehending them, told them they ſhould the next day ſee their friends in the Town rejoycing, and the defeat of his men, which was the true cauſe of their deſire to go to *Corinth*, and accordingly waſting all about the City, went to the Walls, and having in vain provoked the Inhabitants to fight, marched to the *Lechæus* the place of the defeat, after which he diſmiſſed the Ambaſſadors, not ſuffering them to go to *Corinth*. His Army now beholding with their eyes the monument of the late miſchance, were ſorely afflicted, having not at all been accuſtomed to ſuch a ſight, only the Parents, kindred, and relations of the ſlain, according to the *Laconian* cuſtom ſeemed to rejoyce in the Calamity of their Country. Having re-inforced the Garriſon of *Lechæus*, he returned home his men, ſhunning the light and ſight of all men, out of ſhame for what had hapned in this expedition contrary to their former fortune. But *Iphicrates* after his departure, in confidence of his good ſucceſs proceeded, and reduced ſuch places as had been taken by *Praxitas* and *Ageſilaus*. After theſe things the *Achæans* being put to it by the *Acarnanians*, who endeavoured to wreſt from them *Calydone*, a Town formerly belonging to the *Ætolians*, ſent to *Lacedæmon*, and expoſtulated with them for not aſſiſting them, who always were ready to follow them into all places. The State upon this complaint ſent *Ageſilaus* to aid them, who invading *Acarnania*, waſted the Country, made prey of moſt of their Cattel, and being oppoſed by them, was much put to it on the mountainous and precipitous places, by Darts and Arrows; but coming to hand-ſtroaks, they were preſently put to flight, and three hundred of them ſlain. Then conſumed he all things with fire and ſword, and attempted ſome Towns by the perſwaſion of the *Achæans*; but in vain. Now Autumn growing on, he could not be ſtaid by their intreaties to prevent the *Acarnanians* from ſowing their Corn, telling them they were not well adviſed in their requeſt; for his intention being to return the next year, how much more Corn they ſhould have upon the ground, by ſo much would they be the more deſirous of peace.

Ageſilaus ſent to relieve the *Achæans*.

19 And according to his promiſe, the Winter being over, he returned, at the report whereof the *Athenians* ſeated in a mid-land Country, and thereupon more obnoxious to damage in their Corn, and in great danger of loſing their Towns, made an agreement with the *Achæans*, and entred into a ſociety of War with the *Spartans*. This War being over, the *Lacedæmonians* not thinking it ſafe to contend with the *Athenians* and *Bœotians*, whilſt the *Argives* were at their back, they reſolved to ſend their Forces againſt them. The conduct falling to *Ageſipolis*, the other King, he would not undertake it, till he had conſulted both the Oracle of *Jupiter Olympius*, and that of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, concerning the lawfulneſs of of the War, becauſe the *Argives* deſired a Truce, but being ſatisfied therein, he invaded, and waſted their Territories; yet ere long terrified with divers prodigies, he retreated without any conſiderable thing done. In the mean time *Pharnabazus* and *Conon*, having overthrown the *Lacedæmonians* in a Sea-fight at *Cnidus*, freed the *Greek* Cities from the *Lacedæmonian* Governours, which *Conon* ſuggeſted to the other as the only way to make them his own, and not to attempt to deprive them of liberty, which would force them to combine againſt him, and thereby give him work enough. He attempted *Seſtus* and *Abydus*; but *Dercyllidas* having ſecured them, he loſt his labour, and gave order to *Conon* to procure a Navy from the Cities upon the *Helleſpont* againſt the Spring, being much incenſed againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, and reſolving to invade their Dominions. At Spring he did ſo, and having ſtrengthned the Enemies of *Sparta*, as much as poſſible, he furniſhed *Conon* with a Fleet, and money to rebuild the long Walls of the *Piræus*, than which *Conon* perſwaded him he could not do any thing more

Ageſipolis the other King ſent againſt the *Argives*.

Pharnabazus and *Conon* their acts againſt *Lacedæmon*.

ſuitable to his own intereſt involved in the damage of the *Lacedæmonians*, and gaining the good will of the *Athenians*. The *Spartans* underſtanding that their own affairs muſt neceſſarily decline as much as thoſe of *Athens* were advanced, (notwithſtanding *Teleutias* brother to *Ageſilaus* had recovered the Soveraignty of the Gulf of *Corinth*) yet thought it neceſſary as much as in them lay to prevent it.

Antalcidas ſent into *Aſia* by the propoſals of a peace to counter-work them.

20. Leſt *Conon* ſhould again recover the Iſlands to the *Athenian* ſtate, they thought good to advertiſe *Teribazus*, another of the *Perſian Satrapaes*, hereof, hoping either to draw him to their party, or at leaſt to procure that no more furtherance ſhould be afforded to the deſign of *Conon*. To this purpoſe they ſent *Antalcidas* to him, to lay open theſe things, and to try what could be done with him about a peace, who according to his inſtructions, to gain it the more eaſily, fully left to his diſpoſal the *Greek* Cities in *Aſia*, provided thoſe without were but left to their own freedom. *Teribazus* liked well of this, but the *Athenians*, *Bœotians*, *Corinthians*, and *Argives*, having alſo diſpatched away their Ambaſſadors upon report of his employment, refuſed to aſſent upon their own private intereſts. The *Athenians* feared, if the Iſlands ſhould be left to their own liberty, leſt they ſhould loſe *Lemnus*, *Imbrus*, and *Sciras*. The *Thebans*, leſt they ſhould be compelled to ſet at liberty the Cities of *Bœotia*, and the *Argives* concluded, that then they muſt lay aſide all thoughts of *Corinth*, which they had conceived great hopes to make their own. Their diſſention hindred *Teribazus* from concluding a peace with the *Lacedæmonians* without the Kings ſpecial Warrant; but underhand he ſupplied them with money to maintain their power at Sea,and committing *Conon* to cuſtody, went to the King to know his pleaſure.

21. The King upon his giving account how affairs ſtood, ſent *Struthas* to take care of the maritime affairs, who being ſenſible what damage *Ageſilaus* had done his maſter, was inclinable towards the *Athenians*, which being underſtood at *Lacedæmon*, they ſent *Thimbro* into *Aſia* to keep him in action, who at firſt ſorely afflicted the places ſubject to his command, but at length was ſlain, and his Forces defeated. At this time certain *Rhodians* being baniſhed by the people who had the power in their own hands, came to *Sparta*, and complained that the *Athenians* had brought the Iſland under their power by that kind of Government. The *Spartans* underſtood their intereſt in ſo powerful an Iſland, and ſent *Ecdicus* with eight Gallies to revive, if poſſible, the *Oligarchy* which was agreeable to their own model; and in this Fleet they ordered him to convey *Diphridas* into *Aſia*, who was to gather up the Reliques of *Thimbro*'s Army, and renew the War againſt *Struthas*. He ordered his affairs very well, being a man fitter for the purpoſe than *Thimbro* was. But *Ecdicus* fearful of the power of the people did nothing at *Rhodes*, into his room *Teleutias* was diſpatched, and with a a Fleet of twenty ſeven Gallies did that for which he was ſent. The *Athenians* hearing of theſe motions ſent out *Thraſybulus* againſt the *Spartans*, who deſpairing of *Rhodes* went into the *Helleſpont*, where in *Thrace* he reconciled two Princes, *Odryſes* and *Scuthes*, and made them friends of the *Athenian* State. Departing thence, he recovered ſeveral Cities, and amongſt the reſt *Byzantium* and *Chalcis*, whence going to the Iſland *Leſbus* (all the Towns whereof except *Mitylene* were joyned to the *Lacedæmonians*) he had good ſucceſs, taking ſeveral places, and waſting the Territories of the other.

Thraſybulus ſent againſt the *Lacedæmonians*.

Is ſlain.

22. From *Leſbus* he ſailed victoriouſly unto *Rhodes*, where he obtained money from the Inhabitants of *Aſpendus*; but his men after the receit thereof dealing injuriouſly with them, they iſſued out in great anger, and killed him in his Tent. This is he, who if virtue be to be valued without fortune, one doubts whether he be not to be preferred before all others, ſeeing that for faithfulneſs, conſtancy, greatneſs of mind, and love towards his Countrey, no man is to be preferred before him; and whereas it hapned rarely to any to free his Countrey from the ſlavery of one man, he did it from the Tyranny of thirty. But whereas no man excelled him in worth, many overtopped him in nobility, and hereupon it fell out, that though in the *Peloponneſian* War he doing many things of himſelf, *Alcibiades* did nothing without him, yet the eminency of that man eaſily ſwallowed the glory and profit of all atchievements. The *Lacedæmonians* having notice of what he had done, and fearful of what the friendſhip of *Pharnabazus* to the *Athenians* might produce, though they had nothing to ſay againſt *Dercyllidas*, yet ſent *Anaxibius* out to reſtore their fortune, who had prevailed with the *Ephori* for this employment, and promiſed great matters

Corn. Nepos.

if he were but aſſiſted with money and ſhipping. They gave him three Gallies, and pay for one thouſand men. He coming to *Abydus* skirmiſhed with *Pharnabazus*, and then getting three ſhips more, infeſted the *Athenians*. But the *Athenians* being ſollicitous for keeping what *Thraſybulus* had recovered, though they had nominated *Argyrius* to his place, yet now ſent *Iphicrates* with eight Gallies and twelve hundred men, who was lately returned from the *Corinthian* War. He ſetting upon *Anaxibius* whilſt he careleſly went abroad, ſlew him as he was going to *Abydus*, and with him twelve more Governours of Towns, and thence betook himſelf into the *Cherroneſus*.

Xenoph. lib. 5.
Diod.

23. At this time *Ægina* was withdrawn by *Eteonicus* from the *Athenians*, who thereupon beſieged it, but to no effect. At Sea both ſides as it were played the Pyrats with each other for ſome time: But *Teleutias* being made General of the *Lacedæmonian* Fleet, fell in upon the Haven at *Athens*, where he took ſome Veſſels laden, with the men, and putting the Citizens into a great fright, in his return preyed upon the Coaſts, whence he took many Fiſher-boats with other booty, the places being not aware of any ſuch things. In the mean while *Antalcidas* the *Spartan* returned with *Teribazus* from the *Perſian* King, having concluded a League offenſive and defenſive with him, in caſe the *Athenians* and others would not conſent to their propoſals for a general peace. He coming to Sea took eight *Athenian* Gallies which came from *Thrace*, under the Command of one *Thraſybulus*, and making up the Fleet to the number of eighty ſail, with twenty *Syracuſian* Gallies, and others which he procured of *Teribazus*, obtained the Soveraignty of the Seas. The *Athenians* were ſtartled hereat, fearing the iſſue of this War might be the ſame with that of the *Peloponneſian*, eſpecially the *Perſian* being now Confederate with the *Lacedæmonians*, and the Inhabitants of *Ægina* infeſting their Borders; upon all which accounts they were very deſirous of peace. The *Lacedæmonians* alſo being much ſtraightned in maintaining Garriſons in ſo many places, both affected to them, and weary of them, began to have enough of War, having moreover much trouble about *Corinth*. The *Argives* not ignorant that War was decreed againſt them, and that their old ſhifts and pretences would ſtand them in no ſtead, were alſo ready to imbrace peace. They all then ſent their Agents to *Teribazus* to know what was propoſed by *Artaxerxes Mnemon*.

The parties deſire peace.

24. *Teribazus* ſhewing them the Kings Seals, read the Contents of the writing, which imported, *that he thought it juſt that the Cities in* Aſia, *the Iſlands* Clazomenæ *and* Cyprus, *ſhould be under his Juriſdiction: and all the reſt, little and great, ſhould be left to their own freedom, except* Lemnus, Imbrus, *and* Scirus, *which having been time out of mind ſubject to the* Athenians, *he thought it fitting they ſhould ſo continue. And ſuch as would not admit of theſe conditions, he with the reſt of the Confederates would proſecute with War, both at Sea and Land, to the utmoſt ability.* The Agents returning home, all the States imbraced the conditions, except the *Thebans*, who were unwilling to ſet at liberty the Cities of *Bœotia*; but *Ageſilaus* making preparations to invade them, they were ſo far awed thereby as to receive them. He conſtrained alſo the *Argives* to leave *Corinth*, from which the Authors of the late Maſſacre then flying, the Exiles returned home. Theſe things being done, and the League ſworn to by all parties, this firſt peace was made betwixt the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* with their followers, after the ending of the *Peloponneſian* War, and caſting down of their Walls, being called the peace of *Antalcidas*; for ſo it was termed, from the procurer, being indeed the ſhameful betraying of thoſe Cities into the hands of *Artaxerxes*, for which *Ageſilaus* had proſecuted the War in *Aſia*.

The peace of *Antalcidas*.

A. M. 3518.
Ol. 98. *an.* 2.
V. C. 367.
Artax. Mnem. 18.

25. The *Lacedæmonians* were they who had the benefit thereof, being the Protectors and Patrons of it; and grew ſo high upon the ſucceſs, that now they reſolved to chaſtize ſuch of the Aſſociates as had in the late War born greater affection to their adverſaries than themſelves. Firſt they fell upon the *Mantineans* as guilty of this Crime, whom by their King *Ageſipolis* (for *Ageſilaus*, becauſe of the friendſhip that paſſed betwixt his father and them, deſired to be excuſed) they forced firſt to break down their Walls by turning the River upon them, which ran through the City, and then to divide themſelves into Villages. After this they forced the *Phliatians* to receive their Exiles, and made War upon the *Olynthians* in *Thrace*, at the requeſt of the *Acanthians* and *Appollonians*, who accuſed them of clandeſtine practices with the *Athenians* and *Thebans*. By theſe courſes they hoped that all the ſmall Towns in *Greece*, upon occaſion, would willingly follow them in their Wars as Authors of their

The *Spartans* hereupon grew high.

The practices of the *Olynthians.*

liberty; and the great Cities,having loſt their Dependents,would be unable to make oppoſition. And in particular they had conceived an emulation againſt *Olynthus*, now grown ſo mighty, that not only ſhe commanded her neighbour Towns, but was become terrible to places far remote, and to *Sparta* her ſelf. The *Olynthians* had taken a great part of *Macedonia*, together with *Pella* the *Metropolis* of that Kingdom, and now imitating the old pretence of the *Lacedæmonians* to ſet at liberty the places over which *Amyntas* did Tyranniſe, had almoſt driven him out of his Dominions, and taken all to themſelves. They of *Acanthus* and *Apollonia* further adding, that either they muſt War upon *Olynthus*, or become ſubject to it, and fight ſhortly in its defence, *Eudamidas* was ſent before with two thouſand men. He arriving in *Thrace*, fortified the Cities, and recovered *Potidæa*, which had aſſociated it ſelf to the *Olynthians*, and managed his Affairs with ſucceſs anſwerable to ſuch force. In the mean time his Brother *Phœbidas*, according as he had requeſted of the *Ephori*, was employed in raiſing the main Body of the Army, and having compleated the leavy marched away for *Thrace* to joyn with him.

Xenoph. ut ſupra, Plutarch. in Ageſilao.

Cadmæa the Citadel of *Thebes* betrayed.

The fact is unjuſtly excuſed by *Ageſilaus.*

Iſmenias put to death.

26. At this time the *Thebans* were much divided amongſt themſelves, being headed by two *Polemarchi*, *Iſmenias*, and *Leontidas*. When *Phœbidas* was come on his journey as far as *Thebes*, *Iſmenias* out of his hatred to the *Lacedæmonians* would not ſee him, but his Collegue betrayed *Cadmæa* the Citadel of *Thebes* into his Hands, ſeized on *Iſmenias*, and got the Command of the whole City, whereat thoſe of the contrary Faction to the number of four hundred fled to *Athens*. Then another being choſen into the place of *Iſmenias*, *Leontidas* went to *Sparta*, where he found the *Ephori* and People much diſpleaſed with what *Phœbidas* had done, being both againſt the League, and without any Commiſion from them; and ſuch as were Enemies to *Ageſilaus*, eſpecially aggravated the matter, labouring to draw him into ſuſpition about it. He otherwiſe as great both a Commender and practiſer of Juſtice as any, yet took upon him to defend the Fact, ſaying, that *Phœbidas* was worthy to be puniſhed if he had done any thing that was hurtful to the Commonwealth; but if it was profitable, then according to the antient cuſtom he was not bound, in ſuch caſes where haſt is required, to ſtay for a Warrant. Following herein his Ambition, or giving way to his Paſſion (which moſt ſhewed it ſelf againſt the *Thebans*) he not only indemnified *Phœbidas*, but perſwaded the City to own what he had done, to keep the Caſtle, and prefer *Archias* and *Leontidas*, who had betrayed it, to the chief command of *Thebes*. The reſt of the *Græcians* were ſo aggrieved at what was done; but the Confederates durſt not contradict it, and each City joyned one Commiſſioner to three ſent from *Sparta*, who all together ſhould take Cogniſance of, and judge the cauſe of *Iſmenias*. He was accuſed before them of having favoured the *Barbarians*, and held intelligence with the *Perſian*; that he had received part of the Money ſent from him to corrupt the *Græcians*, and together with *Andocides*, had been the great incendiary who kindled and fomented their inteſtine Broils. He anſwered ſeverally and apart to all; but being believed to have attempted great and pernicious things, was condemned and put to death. Then was the Power eſtabliſhed in *Leontides* and his Complices, who did more in favour of the *Lacedæmonians* than was deſired of them.

Teleutias ſent by the *Spartans* againſt the *Olynthians.*

Is ſlain.

Ageſipolis ſent after him, dieth of a Feaver.

27. Things thus proſpering, the *Lacedæmonians* more chearfully purſued the War againſt *Olynthus*. They ſent General thither *Teleutias*, who with the help of *Amyntas* the *Macedonian*, and *Derdas* Prince of *Elimea*, overthrew the *Olynthians* under their Walls, and waſting their Grounds, for that Summer was ended, withdrew to their winter Quarters. But the next Year when he returned, the *Olynthians* ſallied out againſt him, whom to repel, he ſending a party which drave them back beyond a River which ran by the Town, and followed them over, they then thinking they had his men at an advantage, turned back upon them, and ſlew to the number of one hundred. He being in a great chaſe hereat, went in to the reſcue with all his Forces, and following them within bow-ſhot from the Walls, his men were ſore galled by thoſe that ſtood on the Turrets, and forced to give back, and then being hotly charged he loſt his Life, with many others, ſo that the reſt clearly put to the rout, and ſhifting for themſelves to ſeveral places, the ſtrength of this Army was broken, which defeat *Xenophon* chargeth upon the Paſſion of *Teleutias*, ſhewing how dangerous it is in the Leader of an Army. The *Lacedæmonians* having notice of what had hapned, diſpatched away *Ageſipolis* their King with all convenient ſpeed into *Thrace*, who upon better advantages invading the *Olynthians*,took *Torone* one of their confederate Towns,

and harrazed the Country, but at Mid-ſummer by extremity of heat got a Fever, of which he died the ſeventh day, being much lamented by *Ageſilaus* his Colleague, for their long familiarity, though emulated by him. Being put into Honey and brought home, there he was interred with Royal Rites, and *Polybiades* was ſent to command the Army, who beſieging the *Olynthians*, at length forced them by Famine to yield on theſe terms: *To have the ſame Friends and Enemies with the Lacedæmonians, and to follow them as Aſſociates whitherſoever they ſhould lead them in their Wars.*

Olynthus taken by *Olybiades*.

28. In the mean time the *Phliaſians* grown confident upon the abſence of *Ageſipolis*, began to act very inſolently and unjuſtly againſt the Exiles which of late they were made to re-admit. The Exiles complained of them at *Lacedæmon*, and they thereupon in their abſence put a Mulct upon them, which underſtanding, they ſtill continued and pray'd juſtice from that State. At length the *Ephori* reſolved upon War, and *Ageſilaus* was ſent againſt the *Phliaſians*, who thereupon offering largely to do all things fitting, he refuſed them, ſaying, he muſt have Deeds and not Words, to which now without further confirmation he could give no credit. They asking what he would demand, he required their Caſtle to be delivered up to him, which being utterly refuſed, he beſieged the City. They held out longer than he expected, becauſe the Magiſtrate ſuffered them not to eat above half of the ordinary proportion, and by means of one *Delphion*, who with three hundred aſſiſtants, impriſoned ſuch as ſpake of a Surrender. But at length conſumed with Famine, they deſired a Truce, to ſend Commiſſioners to *Sparta* to treat of Peace. *Ageſilaus* ſtomached that they ſhould paſs him by, and therefore ſending his Friends to the City, he obtained that the matter ſhould be referred back to him. He ordered that fifty ſhould be choſen of the Exiles, and as many others, who ſhould determine which Citizens ſhould be ſuffered to live, and which put to death, and that then Power ſhould be given them to make Laws for the Government of the City. Whilſt theſe things ſhould be done he left a Garriſon in the Town, and ſo departed, having ſpent twenty Moneths in this buſineſs.

The *Phliaſians* ſubdued by *Ageſilaus*.

Xenoph. ut prius. Diodorus ad Olymp. 100. an. 3. Plutarch & Corn. Nepos in Pelopida.

29. All things thus falling out to the *Spartans* according to their wiſh, they judged their Empire ſufficiently eſtabliſhed; but another event (as *Xenophon* gravely diſcourſeth of divine Vengeance) taught the contrary, it being clear, both from the Hiſtories of *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, that God ſuffereth not to eſcape unpuniſhed wicked and ungodly Actions. They had ſworn not long before to leave the Cities to their own liberty, and yet they kept in their Hands the Citadel at *Thebes*, and therefore being formerly invincible, were now ſufficiently plagued by thoſe alone whom they had injured. There was one *Phillidas* Secretary to the preſent *Polemarchi* of *Thebes*, who being not at all ſuſpected by his Maſters, went to *Athens* where the Exiles lay, and there entred into a Conſpiracy with *Mello* one of them, for the killing of the *Polemarchi*, and recovery of their Countries liberty. *Mello* and ſix others being let in by *Phillidas*, were in womens apparrel brought in to the *Polemarchi* as Courtezans, whilſt they were drinking and celebrating the Feaſt of *Venus* at the end of their Office, whom they ſtabbed with Daggers hid under their Clothes; after which they did as much to *Leontides* the chief revolter, as he lay in his Bed, *Mello* being eaſily admitted to him without ſuſpition. Then went they to the common Priſon, and killing the Keeper ſet at liberty their Friends, when now they called the People together, and exhorted them to ſtand in defence of their native liberty. They preſently beſieged the Caſtle, wherein the *Lacedæmonian* Governour ſeeing the alacrity of the aſſailants, was forced to yield upon this condition, to go out with his Army, and for that was put to death at his return to *Sparta*. The *Thebans* then ſlew ſuch as they could come by, who ſided with *Leontides*, and, too rigorouſly, extended the ſame puniſhment to their Children.

Thebes recovered by the Exiles.

Xenoph. & Plutarch.

30. The *Ephori* ſollicited by the Exiles that fled to *Sparta*, and moved by the authority of *Ageſilaus* (who pretended a ſufficient quarrel, for that *Archias* and *Leontides* were ſlain) ſent *Cleombrotus* their King againſt the *Thebans* now in the depth of Winter. He in his paſſage ſlew thoſe whom *Phillidas* had let out of Priſon, to the number of one hundred and fifty, who kept watch upon the Mountains, but did nothing farther conſiderable, only he left *Sphodrias* Governour of *Theſpæ* to raiſe new Forces, and be a refuge to the diſcontented party amongſt the *Thebans*, and ſo returned. Yet herewith were the *Athenians* exceedingly affrighted, inſomuch that one they put to death, who had conſpired with the *Theban* Exiles, and condemned another who fled upon it. The *Thebans* alſo deſpaired of

Sphodrias invadeth *Attica* by the cunning of ſome *Thebans.*

being able to graple with the *Lacedæmonians*, and therefore betook themſelves to a politick device, which was invented by *Pelopidas* and *Gorſidas* principal of the late Conſpirators. A Merchant was ſent to *Sphodrias*, then lying at *Theſpæ*, a raſh and ambitious man, to perſwade him to fall upon the *Piræus* or Haven of *Athens*, as a work very grateful to his ſuperiours, for thereby he ſhould cut off the *Athenian* power at Sea, and he might be ſure the *Thebans* would not aſſiſt them being already too much incenſed. He pricked forwards by theſe conceits, invaded *Attica* as far as *Eleuſine*; but there his Deſign being known, and his Soldiers unwilling to proceed any further, as not ſufficiently prepared for ſuch an enterprize, he was forced to return.

Xenoph. Plutarch.

Ageſilaus moved by his ſon *Archidamus*, procureth him indemnity, whence the *Athenians* joyn with the *Thebans.*

31. The *Athenians* caſt into Priſon the *Spartan* Ambaſſadors as conſcious of ſuch an unlawful act; but they utterly renounced the leaſt knowledg of it, and promiſing *Sphodrias* ſhould anſwer it with his Life, they were content to expect the Juſtice of the State upon him. The *Ephori* called him to account indeed, and yet though he appeared not, was he acquitted, to the great admiration of all men, eſpecially becauſe of the Author of his acquitment, which was *Ageſilaus*. For the King, though at firſt he refuſed ſeveral times to hear any thing in his behalf; yet *Cleonymus* the Son of *Sphodrias* beloved by *Archidamus*, made ſuch means to him, that at length being very indulgent to his Children, he excuſed the matter, and ſaying, he held *Sphodrias* to be an honeſt man, and that the Commonwealth ſtood in need of ſuch Soldiers, he got him acquitted, to his great diſhonour. The *Athenians* hereupon out of indignation joyned themſelves to the *Thebans*, and the *Bœotians* and they ſent to the Cities under the command of *Sparta*, to draw them to their party, which they effected with moſt, they groaning under the Yoak of *Lacedæmon*. They appointed a Common-Councel to be held at *Athens*, for carrying on the War, made up of one out of every confederate City, by which courſe and other ways of ſelf-denial, the *Athenians* recovered much Authority, having conſtituted their Captains, *Timotheus* the Son of *Conon*, *Chabrias*, and *Calliſtratus*.

Diodorus ad Ol. 101 *an.* 1. *Xenoph. Plutarch.*

32. The *Lacedæmonians* to counterwork them, took off their ſeverity from their Subjects which had not yet revolted, whereby they kept them faſt to them, and renewing military Diſcipline, ſent *Ageſilaus* into *Bœotia* with a great Army; for *Cleombrotus* liked not the cauſe ſo well as to ingage in it; and thereupon he was forced to lay aſide his excuſe of ſuperannuation (being above fourty years older than one of ripe age) and ſubmitted to the employment. The *Thebans* oppoſing themſelves againſt him with the *Athenians* and others, took an Hill, where by direction of *Chabrias*, they received him careleſly, with their Shields let down to their Knees, and their Lances advanced, which Courage of theirs as it ſeemed made him to retreat, and ſo having done great damage to their Country, and loſt many of his men, he returned, leaving the Horſe ſtill to make excurſions, under the command of *Phœbidas*. Several Skirmiſhes then hapned after his departure, in one of which *Phœbidas* himſelf was ſlain, with three hundred of his Followers. This made the *Thebans* take more Courage, and many then revolted to them. The *Spartans* ſent a party to reinforce the Garriſon of *Theſpæ*, and in the beginning of Spring prevailed with *Ageſilaus* to undertake another Expedition, which was performed to little purpoſe. He broke a Vein in his ſound Thigh, and the Blood cauſed ſuch an Inflammation, that though opening another at his Ancle gave him ſome eaſe, yet at his return he was forced to keep his Bed for a long time, the Blood at the Orifice having ran Night and Day, till at length he ſwooned, which ſtopped the Flux. The Year after *Cleombrotus* was again ſent out; but the *Thebans* and *Athenians* diſputing the paſſage with him in his way, after he had loſt fourty men he returned. By theſe Conflicts the *Thebans* were ſo exerciſed, that they became excellent Soldiers, as *Antalcidas* ſaid jeeringly to *Ageſilaus* at his return, that he was very well rewarded by them, whom without either will or knowledg he had taught to fight.

Ageſilaus undertaketh another fruitleſs Expedition againſt the *Bœotians.*

33. The Confederates being met at *Lacedæmon*, accuſed themſelves of idleneſs, for that they had not ſtroven with the *Athenians* at Sea, and being now confident they could ſtarve them in the City, they rigged a Fleet of ſeventy Ships for that purpoſe. And hereby they for ſome time as it were beſieged *Athens*, ſo that the Corn-Ships durſt not approach, till *Chabrias* overthrew them in Fight, and brought in plenty of Proviſions. The *Lacedæmonians* preparing to ſend new Forces into *Bœotia*, the *Thebans* deſired of their Friends at *Athens* to invade *Peloponneſus* by Sea, to divert them; which they readily did, under the conduct of *Timotheus*, the *Thebans* at the ſame time taking ſeveral Towns upon their Borders. The *Spartans*

Xenoph. lib. 6

Diodorus.

The *Lacedæmonians* beaten.

tans ſent out one *Nicolochus* to Sea againſt *Timotheus*, who not ſtaying for ſix Gallies of *Ambracia*, which he expected, with fifty five Sail ſet upon the *Athenian* Fleet conſiſting of ſixty, and was worſted. Hereupon *Timotheus* erected a Trophy, but *Nicolochus* getting the ſix Ships of *Ambracia*, went and offered Battel again, and *Timotheus* not ſtirring erected another Trophy as a Conquerour. But *Timotheus* mending his Ships, made up his Fleet above ſeventy Veſſels, and prevailed at Sea. The *Thebans* having got all the *Bœotian* Cities into their power invaded *Phocis*, to the Succour of which *Cleombrotus* was ſent from *Sparta*, and there the Aſſociates both of the one ſide and the other met; but the *Athenians* thinking now that the *Thebans* became too potent by their aſſiſtance, were deſirous of a Peace. The *Thebans* with five hundred men went againſt *Orchomenus*, held by a Garriſon of the *Lacedæmonians*, which ſallying out againſt them, a hot diſpute enſued, wherein, although the *Spartans* were double the number, yet they were beaten, which thing had not happened in former Ages. This added courage to the *Thebans*, and their military Glory daily increaſing, it now became evident that they ſtrove for the Soveraignty of *Greece*. With this Year *Hermeas* of *Methymna* concluded his Hiſtory of *Sicily*, which conſiſted of ten, or, according to ſome, of twelve Books.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 101. *ann.* 2.

The *Thebans* left out of the general peace.

The peace continueth but a ſhort time.

34. The next being the ſecond of the one hundred and firſt *Olympiad*, the thirtieth of the reign of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, *Hippodamus* being *Archon*; *Artaxerxes* having a deſign to make War upon *Egypt*, and to uſe the *Græcians* therein, ſent to perſwade them to agreement. They being weary of War conſented to it, all the Cities being to be ſet at liberty, and the Garriſons drawn out; only the *Thebans* refuſing to quit the Cities of *Bœotia* were not compriſed in the League, being very confident in their good Fortune, and much incouraged by ſeveral excellent good Soldiers amongſt them, the principal of which were *Pelopidas*, and *Epaminondas*, who from a poor Philoſopher became the moſt renowned for martial affairs of all *Greece*. This change produced great Commotions in the ſeveral Cities, but eſpecially in thoſe of *Peloponneſus*, which by the *Lacedæmonians* had been ſubjected to *Oligarchy*, and now having the popular Government reſtored, knew not how to uſe it moderately, but by unjuſt Decrees oppreſſed many worthy men, driving ſome into Exile, and ſelling their Goods. Great ſtirs eſpecially hapned amongſt the *Corinthians*, *Megarians*, and *Phliaſians*, whilſt thoſe that were unjuſtly baniſhed endeavoured by Force or Policy to reſtore themſelves. Thoſe that were for *Democracy* were maintained by the *Athenians*, and the *Spartans* aſſiſting the *Oligarchical* faction, the Peace was but for a ſmall time obſerved by theſe two States, whilſt both favoured ſuch as bare moſt affection to their form of Government, and ſo they renewed the War: Such was the fruit of Antimonarchical Government, *viz.* Nothing but Sedition, Confuſion, and diſorder.

(a) *Xenophon. Diodorus ad Olymp.* 101. *ann.* 3.

Platæa and *Theſpis* demoliſhed.

(b) *In Bœoticis.*
(c) *Diodorus ad Olymp.* 101. *ann.* 4.
Strabo lib. 9. *p.* 385.
Pauſan. in Achaicis.

Ælianus Hiſt. Anim. lib. 11. *cap.* 19.

35. They (*a*) conteſted firſt about the *Zacynthians*, and afterwards in *Corcyra*, where the *Spartans* beſieging the City, the Inhabitants almoſt all famiſhed, yet ſallied out, and killing *Mnaſippus* their General, with many others, the reſt hearing of the coming of *Iphicrates* the *Athenian* with a great Fleet, with ſuch Plunder as they had got, diſgracefully raiſed their Siege and departed. At this time the *Platæans* having a deſign to commit themſelves to the Protection and Alliance of *Athens*, the *Thebans* thereupon demoliſhed the Town, and not long after did the ſame by *Theſpæ*. The ruine of *Platæa* is by (*b*) *Pauſanias* referred to the next Year when *Aſteus* was *Archon*, in which alſo (being the fourth of the one hundred and firſt *Olympiad*) hapned (*c*) ſuch Earth quakes, and Inundations of the Sea in *Peloponneſus*, that *Helice* and *Buræ*, two Towns of the *Achæans*, were together with the Inhabitants ſwallowed up. Hereof *Diodorus* aſſigneth ſeveral cauſes, laying the ſtreſs upon an injury formerly offered by them to *Neptune*, in refuſing to lend the *Ionians* their Statues, to which they ſhould have ſacrifized. Five days before the ruine of theſe Cities, all the Mice, Weaſils, Serpents, and ſuch like Creatures came out of *Helice* in great numbers, and took the way which leads to *Coria*. The Inhabitants admiring ſo ſtrange a Sight, had the next Night their Thoughts diverted by the Earth-quake, which made way for that Inundation wherein they periſhed, and with them ten Ships of the *Lacedæmonians* then lying in the Haven.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 102. *ann.* 1.

36. The next Year being the firſt of the one hundred and ſecond *Olympiad*, wherein *Damon* the *Thurian* got the prize, *Alciſthenes* being *Archon*, *Artaxerxes* ſent his Ambaſſadors into *Greece* again to perſwade the States to an agreement. The *Athenians* were now grievouſly diſpleaſed with the *Thebans* for deſtroying *Platæa* and

Sect. 4.

Xenoph. ut prius.

Theſpæ, two Cities which had ſo well deſerved of *Greece* in the *Median* War and thereupon would no more joyn with them. They ſent Ambaſſadors to *Lacedæmon* about a Peace, who uſed ſuch Rhetorick to that State, ſpecially *Calliſtratus*, that they brought the *Spartans* to aſſent upon theſe Terms: that *the Cities ſhould be ſet at liberty, the Armies diſbanded, and whoſoever would not acquieſce in theſe conditions, it ſhould be lawful for any of the Confederates, if they pleaſed* (*not being conſtrained to it*) *to help the diſtreſſed.* All others except the *Thebans* ſubſcribed the League, for they were unwilling as before to quit the Cities of *Bœotia*. Hereupon the *Spartans* jealous of them, reſolved to make War in the behalf of all *Greece*, and gave order to *Cleombrotus* their King (who now lay in *Phocis*, expecting what they would command him) to invade *Bœotia*. The *Lacedæmonians* having great Forces of their own, beſides their Allies, and none being willing to aſſiſt the *Thebans*, every one gave them for loſt, who yet upon *Cleombrotus* his Summons refuſed to ſet free the Cities of *Bœotia*, except the *Spartans* would reſtore *Meſſene*, and permit the *Laconians* to enjoy their liberty. In ſumm, they deſired they would no more meddle with what they did in *Bœotia*, than they were concerned in any thing done in *Laconia*.

Cleombrotus the *Spartan* King invadeth *Bœotia.*

Diodorus ad ann. 2.

Xenoph. Plutarch. in Pelopida. Pauſan. in Bœoticis.

37. They created *Epaminondas* General, of whoſe rare skill and valour they had had abundant proof, joyning with him the other *Bœotarchæ*. He levying twelve thouſand men marched away, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the Straights of *Coronea*, which *Cleombrotus* hearing, marched through *Phocis* another way, and came into *Bœotia* by the Sea's-ſide. Advancing to *Leuctra*, he there reſted himſelf, which the *Bœotians* underſtanding, paſſed over the Mountains, and came near to him, but ſeeing ſuch Multitudes overſpread the Plain, were not a little diſcouraged. The *Bœotarchæ* then deliberating what to do, were divided in their opinions, three being for fighting, amongſt whom was *Epaminondas*, and as many for departing; but whilſt they were ſtill in doubt came in the ſeventh, and through the perſwaſion of *Epaminondas* caſt the ballance on his ſide. *Plutarch* ſaith, that *Pelopidas* firſt approved of his advice, being Captain of the *Sacred Company*, which was made up (as is moſt probable amongſt many opinions) of intimate Friends and Lovers, who fighting earneſtly for one another, when in danger, did great harm thereby to the Enemy. Whileſt *Epaminondas* was ſeveral ways incouraging his men to the Fight, came in *Jaſon* the *Pheræan*, the moſt eminent leading man of *Theſſaly*, with one thouſand horſe and fifteen hundred foot, in ſhew to help the *Thebans*, but with intention to take up the quarrel; and he perſwaded both parties to accept of a Truce.

ab Ἐπαμένων *Patronymice fit* Ἐπαμεινονίδας *per Syncopen* Ἐπαμενώνδας.

38. *Cleombrotus* was then departing out of *Bœotia*, when a new Army met him from *Sparta*, under the Command of *Archidamus*; for the *Lacedæmonians* ſeeing the courage and reſolution of the *Thebans*, whereas otherwiſe they could not do it, reſolved to oppreſs them by their numbers. The General then thinking it diſgraceful at all to fear the *Theban* Valour, marched back to *Leuctra* without any regard of the Truce, where they found the *Bœotians* ready to receive them. *Cleombrotus* and *Archidamus* (both deſcended from *Hercules*) lead the Wings of their Battel. *Epaminondas* gave leave to all that would to depart, which was accepted by the *Theſpians* and others, who bore no good will to the *Thebans*. His prime men he placed in one Wing, and the other by themſelves, whom he ordered to give back, as though they fled. Making then an oblique battalion, he with the ſtouteſt men began the Fight, and whilſt the other retired from the Enemy he followed him cloſe, who now brake order to get into it. The ſucceſs remained doubtful as long as *Cleombrotus* lived; but he being ſlain whilſt he moſt valiantly demeaned himſelf, a great and bloody conteſt hapned about his Body, which at length his men recovered, and gave back in order, and by degrees. But *Epaminondas* ſtill preſſing upon them, and doing great execution, at length they fled, having no body to govern them. About four thouſand of them were ſlain, and three hundred of the other party. This Battel hapned in the thirty fourth year after the end of the *Peloponneſian* War, the ſecond of the one hundred and ſecond *Olympiad*, the thirty fourth of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, *Phraſiclides* being *Archon*. A. M. 3634.

Epaminondas overthroweth him in the battel of *Leuctra*, wherein he is ſlain.

A. M. 3634. *Olymp.* 102. *ann.* 2. *Urbis cond.* 383. *Artax. Mnem.* 34.

Xenoph. & Plutarch. ut ſuprà.

39. The Meſſage of this overthrow came to *Sparta* the laſt day of their Gymnick Solemnities, wherewith, though the *Ephori* were ſo affected, as thoſe that ſaw now a concluſion of that Principallity they had almoſt enjoyed five hundred years, yet ſuffered they not the exerciſes to be broken off; but ſending the names of the ſlain to their relations, finiſhed the Feſtival. The day after when it was known who were ſlain, and who eſcaped, one might ſee the Parents and Kindred of the dead

to meet together in the *Forum* with cheerful looks and minds, ſhaking one another by the hands; but on the other ſide the friends of ſuch as were living, as in ſome ſolemn time of mourning to keep themſelves at home, or if they came abroad, to ſignifie their ſadneſs in their habit, ſpeech and countenance: and this was eſpecially remarkable amongſt the women. But when their aſſociates had revolted, and *Epaminondas* was thought to be about to invade *Peloponneſus*, they then called to mind the Oracles, concerning what ſhould happen to them under a Lame King; yet reverencing the valour, power, and glory of *Ageſilaus*, they not only retained him in his ſeveral places of King and General, but made uſe of him as a Phyſician in this ſad diſtemper. Now whereas by the Laws of *Sparta*, ſuch as had fled from a battel were not only made incapable of Magiſtracy, and of marriage with others, who thereupon were noted with ignominy, but were to be ſtrucken by every one that met them, walking in a dejected poſture, in Fools Coats, with their beards half ſhaved; there being many and powerful who fled from *Leuctra*; leſt any inconvenience might follow upon their diſcontent, *Ageſilaus* procured that the Law for his time ſhould be ſilent, and (without repealing) obtain its antient vigour for the time to come. Then to recreate the minds of the Soldiers he lead them out into *Arcadia*, where induſtriouſly abſtaining from fight, he took a little Town of the *Mantineans*, and made excurſions in their Territories, to give his Citizens a little hope, and ſhew that the fortune of *Sparta* was not altogether deſperate.

The behaviour of the *Spartans* after the battel of *Leuctra.*

40. The *Ephori* made new Levies, liſting thoſe now that were above ſixty, the *Tegeatans*, *Mantineans*, *Corinthians*, *Phliaſians*, *Achæans*, and other Cities ſent their numbers, the Conduct of all which was committed to *Archidamus*, becauſe his father was not yet recovered. The *Thebans* preſently after the victory ſent a Meſſenger Crowned to *Athens*, to let them know their ſucceſs, and demanded aid; but the *Athenians* being not a little troubled at what had hapned gave him no audience. Then ſent they to *Jaſon* the *Pheræan* Prince of *Theſſaly*, who though he was otherwiſe employed with the *Phocians*, yet came, and when *Archidamus* had now invaded *Bœotia*, procured a Truce betwixt them, and thereupon the *Spartan* Army returned home. This by *Xenophon* is related as done after the battel at *Leuctra*, and becauſe he maketh no mention of any Truce made by *Jaſon* betwixt them, before the fight, we may ſuſpect a miſtake in the time, either of him, or *Diodorus*, who relateth the ſtory as before. *Jaſon* returning home was murdered by ſeven young men, having great deſigns in his head, after he had, partly by perſwaſion, and partly by awe, cauſed all *Theſſaly* to receive him as General, the *Lacedæmonians* having refuſed to ſend them aid to defend themſelves from his power. After his death his two brothers *Polydorus* and *Polyphron*, Authors of his death, were made Generals, of whom the former was ſlain within a while by the later, who turning his Principality into Tyranny, held it but one year, being then ſlain by his brother *Alexander*, under pretence of revenging the death of *Polydorus*, and overthrowing the Tyranny. But he proved ten times more Tyrannical, * burying men alive, covering them in beaſts skins, and ſo ſetting them before the Dogs to be devoured, and killing others with Darts, to make himſelf ſport. At length having a plot againſt his Wives brothers, he was ſlain by them by her means, and *Tiſiphonus* the eldeſt of all the brothers ſucceeded, who continued in the Government when *Xenophon* wrote his Hiſtory.

Archidamus invadeth *Bœotia.*

A Truce is procured by *Jaſon* Prince of *Theſſaly*, who is preſently after murdered by his brothers.

* *Plutarch. in Pelopida.*

41. The *Athenians* conſidering that the *Lacedæmonians* ſtill expected they ſhould follow them in the Wars as formerly and would compel them thereto if they could, thought it beſt for ſaving their credit to revive the peace formerly made with *Artaxerxes*. They therefore ſent fifty men about it, to the Cities, to take an Oath of them to this purpoſe: That they would obſerve the Truce eſtabliſhed by the King, and confirmed by the *Athenians* and their Aſſociates; and if any injury ſhould be offered to any that took the Oath, to aſſiſt them with their full power. All the States willingly admitted of it, and received the Oath, except the *Eleans*, who after the example of the *Thebans*, pretended that the *Marganians*, *Scilluntians*, and *Triphyllians* ought not to be ſet at liberty, becauſe they belonged unto them. All Cities both little and great being by virtue of this peace to be ſet at liberty, the *Mantineans* taking occaſion thereat, made a Decree to build their City again, and to fence it with walls, which formerly had been demoliſhed by the *Lacedæmonians*. They were agrieved that this ſhould be done without their conſent, and ſent *Ageſilaus* to them to ſtop their proceedings; but the Magiſtrates refuſed to call the people together to give him audience, though a friend upon his fathers account, telling him what was once decreed by the people could not be altered.

Xenoph.

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A Sedition at *Tegea.*

Some of the *Arcadians* ſent and promiſed them aſſiſtance, and the *Eleans* helped them with thirty Talents of Silver. At this time the Inhabitans of *Tegea* fell out amongſt themſelves, whilſt ſome would have all the *Arcadians* meet together and chooſe ſome one man to be their Prince, but others were for living under their own Laws only, and the maintenance of their liberty. Theſe at the firſt had the better of it; but by the help of the *Mantineans*, at length the other prevailed, and killing ſome, drove the reſt of their Enemies to *Lacedæmon*, to the number of eighty.

Alias Diodorus. vide.

42. The *Lacedæmonians* thought they were bound by Oath to revenge the cauſe of the Exiles upon the *Mantineans*, who by falling on them had broken theirs, and gave order to *Ageſilaus* to invade them. They by the advice of their friends the *Arcadians* contained themſelves within their walls newly built, and ſuffered him to ſpoil their Country, which doing with great caution and warineſs, yet without any loſs of honour, he returned home. At this time it muſt be, according to * *Pauſanias* (who placeth it in the ſame year with the battel at *Leuctra*) that by the perſwaſion of *Epaminondas* the *Arcadians* built them one City to inhabit (deſtroying there many little Towns) which thence had the name of *Megalopolis*. The fame of *Plato* being now ſpread abroad, the *Thebans* and *Arcadians* ſent to him to deſire his help, not only for the inſtruction of their youth, and to teach Philoſophy, but alſo to preſcribe them Laws for their Commonwealth. At firſt he intended to go, but asking the Ambaſſadors how their Superiours ſtood affected to an equal diſtribution of goods and honours, and hearing they were utterly averſe to ſuch a conſtitution, he thereupon refuſed to go to them. At this ſame time alſo *Epaminondas* ſent into *Sicily*, *Italy*, as far as the Iſlands *Eueſperites*, and all over where the old *Meſſenians*, dwelt; to invite them home into their antient Country, which was reſtored to them, and called after the old name *Meſſene*. Which reſtauration hapned two hundred and ninty eight years (reckoned from the firſt of the twenty eighth *Olympiad*) after the taking of *Ira*, and their baniſhment; in the third year of the hundred and ſecond *Olympiad*, *Dyſcinetas* being *Archon*. During all this time of their Exile they preſerved entirely their antient Rites, and the Dorick dialect unchanged, which in our Age (ſaith *Pauſanias*) by them, and only by them, is alſo preſerved uncorrupt and natural.

* *In Arcadicis.*

Ælian var. hiſt. lib. 2. cap. 42.

Megalopolis built.

Pauſanias in Meſſenicis.

The *Meſſenians* recalled and re-eſtabliſht.

43. The ſame year hapned ſuch a Sedition and Maſſacre at *Argos*, as could never be parallel'd in *Greece*. That City was then Governed in a *Democratical* way; but the Orators ſo ſtirred up the People againſt the Nobility, that ſome being accuſed, for fear conſpired againſt the Popular Government, to prevent their own ruine. Being hereupon ſuſpected and examined, ſome fearing to be tortured made away themſelves, and one in the midſt of his pains accuſed thirty of the moſt eminent in the City. The common ſort giving credit to this accuſation, put all thoſe to death unheard, and confiſcated their goods, and then many others being accuſed who were wealthy, they put them all to death, and in this manner made an end of ſixteen hundred. The Orators themſelves now were afraid, leſt in this ſo general a Maſſacre they themſelves alſo might unexpectedly miſcarry, and therefore ceaſed from their calumniations; which being underſtood by the multitude, as though they now forſook them, they put as many of them to death as they could find in the City, the vengeance of God thus repaying them.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 102. an. 3.

An unparalelled Sedition at *Argos*, the fruit of Antimonarchical Government.

44. The next year, the *Lacedæmonians* ſent one thouſand of their Citizens, and five hundred *Argives* and *Bœotian* Exiles, under the command of *Polytropus* into *Arcadia*, who there fortified *Orchomenus*, but meeting with *Lycomedes* the *Mantinean*, General of the *Arcadians*, he was ſlain in battel with two hundred men. The *Arcadians* after this deſiring help of the *Athenians* in vain, procured it of the *Bœotians*, who diſpatched into *Peloponneſus Epaminondas* and *Gelopidas*, to whom the other *Bœotarchæ* of their own accord left the command of the Army. When they were come into *Arcadia*, all the Confederates made up the number of fifty thouſand men; but yet the *Thebans* were very unwilling to invade *Laconia*. They conſidered that the Countrey was well fortified, and that the *Lacedæmonians* terrible every where would fight more deſperatley at their own doors. But the other preſſing them much to it, and ſome bringing word how the borders were deſolate of defence, and offering to conduct them into it, at length they invaded it in four ſeveral bodies, and bearing down all oppoſition, met together at *Sallaſia*, whence they marched for *Sparta* it ſelf, burning and conſuming all things in their paſſage. Six hundred years had the *Dores* now inhabited *Laconia*,

Idem ad ann. 4 Xenoph.

Epaminondas invadeth *Laconia.*

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Plutarch. & Corn. Nepos in Ageſilao.

nia, and for all this time not an Enemy had dared to appear in it, ſo that this unuſual ſight cauſed great tumults in the City, the women having never before ſeen as much as the ſmoak of War, nor the men able to endure a Siege. *Ageſilaus* contained them within, beſtowing them as he found convenient in ſeveral places, for the defence of the City, which had no other walls than the bodies of it's Inhabitants. He was much moved at the arrogance of the Enemy, who challenged him by name, as the cauſe of theſe diſſentions, to come out and fight; yet ſo contained himſelf, as taking great pains for the preſervation of his Country, he ſhewed clearly, that if he had not been, the City could not have continued.

Iphicrates ſent to aſſiſt the *Spartans.*

His conduct is cenſured by *Xenophon.*

45. The *Bœotians* laboured to provoke the *Spartans* to fight, bidding them either do it, or confeſs themſelves to be inferior to their Enemies; to which they anſwered, that when they ſaw occaſion, they would not fear to try a battel with them. They left then the City, and making great waſte of all *Laconia*, returned into *Arcadia*. The *Spartans* in the time of this their extremity, had promiſed liberty to ſuch of their Slaves as would fight for them, and ſent to *Athens* to procure aſſiſtance from that State, which the Ambaſſadors procured to be decreed, eſpecially by this motive, that the *Lacedæmonians* had ſaved that City, at the end of the *Peloponneſian* War, when the *Thebans* were earneſt for its utter deſtruction. They made choice of *Iphicrates* for the General in this Expedition, who otherwiſe a man of excellent conduct, yet is judged by *Xenophon* to have been far overſeen in the management of this employment. For having loitered at *Corinth*, and the *Thebans* being about to return home, he ought to have fortified *Cenchrea*, where they had the moſt convenient paſſage, and when he ſent to ſpie whether they had paſſed *Oneus*, he ſent both all his own and the *Corinthian* Horſe, whereas few had been ſufficient to ſpie, and better for a ſpeedy retreat; and hereby he loſt no fewer than twenty men, and the *Thebans* returned without any great moleſtation. The *Lacedæmonians* having got four thouſand Auxiliaries, beſides one thouſand Slaves newly manumitted, and many men out of the neighbouring Towns, thought themſelves then able to try a battel; yet convenient for them firſt to ſend to the *Thebans* about a peace. They offered it might one theſe terms; that *Meſſene* ſhould be reſtored by them, and the *Laconians* left to their liberty. Moſt enclined to receive theſe terms, till *Archidamus* riſing up, ſaid, that peace was not to be received upon ſuch unequal conditions by them, who were wont to give and not to receive it; that *Meſſene* was juſtly deſtroyed three hundred years before, and could not be reſtored, but to the great diſtreſs and dammage of the *Lacedæmonians*.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 102. *ann.* 4.

Epaminondas returning queſtioned for his life.

46. But *Epaminondas* having to his great honour reſtored *Meſſene* fully (the grounds being divided, and all things done) after eighty five days ſpent in this Expedition, returned home, and being in his way moleſted by *Iphicrates*, purſued him to the walls of *Athens*. But there was a Law at *Thebes*, which made it capital for any one to retain the chief command longer than was in that caſe provided by the conſtitutions of the City, new Magiſtrates being to be choſen the beginning of the new moneth *Bacatius*. This *Epaminondas* knowing to have been made for the good of the City, would not keep it to the dammage thereof, but continued his command four moneths longer than his Commiſſion warranted. After his return, he and his Colleagues were accuſed, and he permitted them to lay all the blame upon himſelf. They being hereby freed, no man expected any defence from him, as having nothing to ſay for himſelf. He appearing, denied nothing that his adverſaries objected, confeſſed what his Colleagues ſaid to be true, and refuſed not to undergo what the Law inflicted, only he made one requeſt to them: that this might be written upon his Tomb: *Epaminondas was puniſhed with death by the Thebans, becauſe he conſtrained them at Leuctra to vanquiſh the Lacedæmonians, whom, before he was General, none of the Bœotians durſt once look in the face; and for that in one battel he not only ſaved the Thebans from ruine, but alſo reſtored liberty to all Greece; and brought matters to that paſs, that the Thebans fell upon Sparta, and the Lacedæmonians had enough to do to preſerve themſelves; and left not off till Meſſene being reſtored, he beſieged their City.* Having ſaid this, the People affected with joy ſet up a laughter, and none of the Judges dared to paſs ſentence.

Plutarch in Pelopida & Corn. Nepos in Epaminonda.

Ælian. var. hiſt. lib. 13. *cap.* 42.

Pauſan. in Bœoticis.

Xenoph. lib. 7. *Diodorus.*

47. In the ſame year, according to *Diodorus*, but the next, according to *Xenophon*, *Epaminondas* was ſent again into *Peloponneſus* to the aſſiſtance of the *Arcadians*, *Argives*, and *Eleans*, who afreſh had made War upon the *Lacedæmonians*. The *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* had lately eſtabliſhed a League betwixt them-

ſelves

Epaminondas again invadeth *Peloponneſus.*

ſelves on theſe Terms: *That each ſhould command the Army five days in their courſe, which before was ſolely left to the Spartans.* The *Athenians* hearing of the coming of *Epaminondas*, ſent *Chabrias* with an Army to ſtop his paſſage. He coming to *Corinth*, with the *Lacedæmonians* and other Allies, made up an Army of twenty thouſand, and then all joyning together fortified the paſſage into *Peloponneſus*, making a Ditch and a Wall croſs the Iſthmus from *Cenchrea* to *Lachæus*. But *Epaminondas* obſerving at what place the Guards were weakeſt, there with ſome difficulty brake through, harazed the Country, had *Sicyon* and other places delivered up to him, but coming to *Corinth* was gallantly repulſed by *Chabrias*, who ſallying out of the City, and getting advantageous ground, not only ſuſtained his charge, but did good execution upon the Aſſailants. At this time two thouſand *Gaules* and *Spaniards* were ſent by *Dionyſius* Tyrant of *Sicilie* to the aid of the *Lacedæmonians*, who arriving at *Corinth*, the *Græcians* to try their Valour led them out againſt the Enemy. They behaved themſelves very well, did good ſervice againſt the *Bœotians*, many of whom and their Allies they ſlew, for which receiving great commendations and rewards beſides, they returned in the latter end of Summer into *Sicilie*.

Xenoph. Diodorus ad Olymp. 103. *ann.* 1.

The *Arcadians* fall out with the *Thebans*.

48. The *Thebans* being returned home, the *Athenians* conceived indignation againſt them, through the complaints of *Lycomedes* the *Mantinean*, who urged it was an unworthy thing for the *Arcadians*, being more noble (as the only antient Inhabitants of their Country) and more deſerving, to be commanded by the other, and follow them in the War. Being much puffed up with ſuch conceits, the *Thebans* began to be alienated from them, and the *Eleans* bore them Malice, becauſe they could not obtain of them the Towns which the *Lacedæmonians* had taken from them. Things being at this paſs, came *Phyliſcus* of *Abydus*, ſent from *Ariobarzanes* the *Perſian Satrapa*, with much Money, to perſwade the States to Peace. The *Thebans* yet would not come to any concluſion, alleging that *Meſſene* ought to be exempted from the juriſdiction of the *Spartans*, with which he being offended, not enduring that old pretences ſhould be again revived, he left two thouſand men already paid to the aid of the *Lacedæmonians*, and returned into *Aſia*. The *Arcadians* having choſen *Lycomedes* their General, ſent him into *Laconia* with an Army, where he took by ſtorm *Pallene*, and therein put to the Sword three hundred of the *Lacedæmonian* Garriſon Soldiers. To return the like unto them the year following (the firſt of the one hundred and third *Olympiad*, wherein *Pythroſtratus* the *Athenian* was Victor) *Archidamus* was ſent into *Arcadia* with the Confederates, and a new ſupply of men ſent from *Dionyſius*. He took *Caryæ*, and put all therein to the Sword, and going on in his attempts, *Ciſſidas* the General of the *Sicilian* Forces, pretending he had ſtaid his full time ſet him by *Dionyſius*, would needs be gone; but in his way was circumvented by the *Meſſenians*, and was forced to crave aid of *Archidamus*.

49. He haſtned to relieve him, and in his march the *Arcadians* and *Argives* oppoſed themſelves, whom charging with great reſolution, he got a moſt famous Victory, killing ten thouſand of his Enemies without the loſs of one man; ſo that as the Prieſts of *Dodona* had ſung (that it ſhould be a Fight without Tears to the *Lacedæmonians*) yet the Meſſage being come to *Sparta*, *Ageſilaus*, the *Senators*, and the *Ephori*, are all ſaid to have wept for joy. As this ſucceſs revived the Spirits of the *Spartans*, which had been almoſt extinct by the Battel at *Leuctra*, ſo, as *Diodorus* telleth us, the *Arcadians* now fearing their in-roads, for their better ſecurity built them one great City, twenty of the *Menalian* and *Parrhaſian* Villages being taken in for the ſite thereof, though *Pauſanias* will have *Megalopolis* built two years before. The *Thebans* and *Eleans* only rejoyced in the misfortune of their Friends the *Arcadians*, as tending to the humbling of them. The *Thebans* caſting much in their Heads how to obtain the principallity of all *Greece*, reſolved upon ſending an Ambaſſage to the *Perſian* King to contract a ſtraight League and Alliance with him, and aſſembling the Confederates they pretended a neceſſity thereof, becauſe *Euthycles* the *Lacedæmonian* was now with the King in behalf of that State. They ſent *Pelopidas*, with others for the *Arcadians*, *Eleans*, and *Argives*: The *Athenians* alſo underſtanding hereof ſent *Timagoras* and *Leon*. *Pelopidas* being very famous even in *Aſia* for his Valour, by his demeanour got all the favour from the reſt. He urged the King with the merits of the *Thebans*, who had never of all *Greece* born Arms againſt him, or his Anceſtors, either of old in the *Median* War, or of late in aſſiſtance to *Ageſilaus*, and he extolled their Valour, ſhewing that the reaſon why the *Arcadians* were of late overthrown by the *Lacedæmonians*,

Megalopolis now built according to *Diodorus*.

Pelopidas ſent by the *Thebans* to the *Perſian* King.

was becauſe of their abſence. For the truth hereof he appealed to *Timagoras* the *Athenian*, whom being at odds with his Collegue, he drew off to his party. He obtained of *Artaxerxes* what he demanded, *viz.* that *Meſſene* ſhould be exempted from the Juriſdiction of the *Lacedæmonians*, the *Athenians* ſhould abſtain from the Sea, and all the other Cities be left to their own Laws. Laſtly, that the *Thebans* ſhould be eſteemed the near Friends and Allies of the *Empire*.

Getteth much credit by his Ambaſſie.

50. This employment got *Pelopidas* abundance of Credit (who not long after was ſlain in a victorious Battel, fought in the behalf of the *Theſſalians* againſt *Alexander* the Tyrant) but *Timagoras* returning home received a great preſent from the *Perſian*, and being accuſed by his Collegue of ſiding with *Pelopidas* was put to death. The *Thebans*, though they had got what they deſired of the King, yet their deſign came to nothing, for the Commiſſioners of the Cities firſt refuſed to take the Oath of this new League, and then moſt of the Cities themſelves after the example of *Corinth*, the anſwer of which was, that there was no need of this new Engagement. This Plot then of *Pelopidas* having not taken good effect, *Epaminondas* thought of another to reduce the *Arcadians* and Allies to Obedience; and that was, firſt by ſubduing the *Achæans*, to which purpoſe he went again into *Peloponneſus*. He eaſily effected this, and receiving an engagement from them to continue faithful to the *Thebans*, returned, for which being much blamed by the *Arcadians*, and the reſt of that faction, Governours were ſent from *Thebes* into the ſeveral Cities, who bringing in the popular Government, thereupon drove away many of the principal men, who uniting themſelves, ſeized again upon their ſeveral Cities, and then ſtood no more Neuters, but openly declared for the *Lacedæmonians*. So this ſecond device of the *Thebans* came to nothing; and the *Arcadians* were preſſed both by the *Lacedæmonians* and *Achæans*. At this time *Euphron* the *Sicyonian*, a man of great power in his Countrey, perſwaded the People to bring in the popular Government, which done, and he with others being choſen *Prætors*, he murdered ſome of his Collegues, expelled the reſt, and openly eſtabliſhed a Tyranny. The Aſſociates he put off by doing them pleaſures, through which the *Argives* being incouraged, together with him fell upon the *Phliaſians*, and brought them to great ſtraights, becauſe of their faithfulneſs to the *Lacedæmonians*, wherein they excelled beyond Precedent, no adverſity nor any advantage being able to affright or allure them from it, as is largely diſcourſed by *Xenophon*. The *Athenians* ſent *Chares* with relief to them, who overcame the *Argives* in two Fights, and reſtrained their violent attempts againſt them.

Xenoph. ut ſuprà Diodorus ad Olymp. 103. *ann.* 2.

Stirs about *Sicyon.*

51. But *Æneas* the *Symphalian*, General of the *Arcadians*, judging things not to be at *Sicyon* as they ſhould, ſeized upon the Caſtle there, and forced *Euphron* to leave the Town, and give up the Haven to the *Lacedæmonians*. Yet a Sedition following in the Town he took occaſion thereat, and repoſſeſſed himſelf, joyning with the people againſt the Nobility, but the Caſtle being held by a Garriſon of *Thebans*, he thought there was no long continuing without their leave, and ſo taking money with him, went to *Thebes*, to procure the good will of the people there. Thither ſeveral of his adverſaries followed him, to withſtand his deſign, and finding that he wan upon the Magiſtrates and Senate, to hinder the progreſs of the buiſneſs, killed him in the Caſtle, at ſuch time as the Senate was ſitting there. One of them taking all the fault upon himſelf, made ſuch a diſcourſe in his own defence, by telling what the *Thebans* themſelves had lately done in the like caſe, and by other arguments, that *Euphron* was pronounced juſtly ſlain, and he was abſolved. Yet being carried to *Sicyon* he was honorably buried in the *Forum*, and worſhiped by the people as one of their greateſt Benefactors. The *Phliaſians* now had by the aſſiſtance of *Chares* taken *Thymia*, which was fortified againſt them by the *Sicyonians*, but their Exiles had ſeized upon *Oropus*; the *Sicyonians* and *Arcadians* recovered the Haven at *Sicyon*, and no body aſſiſted the *Athenians* at *Oropus*, but all forſook them, ſo that it was committed to the truſt of the *Thebans* till the controverſie about it ſhould be decided. *Lycomedes* ſeeing them diſſatisfied with their Allies, drew the *Athenians* to enter into ſociety with the *Arcadians*. The Conditions were, that the *Athenians*, in caſe *Arcadia* was invaded, ſhould ſend Succours of Horſe, without being conſtrained to invade *Laconia*.

The *Athenians* enter into ſociety with the *Arcadians.*

And conſult how to become maſters of *Corinth.*

52. The *Athenians* as ſoon as this was done, caſt in their Heads how they might make *Corinth* their own, through the perſwaſion of *Demotion*; which being known there, their Soldiers were diſmiſſed, and the Alliance broken betwixt them.

This made the *Corinthians*, who now had gotten ſo new and potent Enemies, look about them for their own ſecurity; and to this end levying all the force they could, they made alſo their peace with *Thebes*, in which they would have the *Lacedæmonians* concluded, ſaying, they were conſtrained to this accommodation; but the *Lacedæmonians* giving them, and all other their Confederates leave to provide for themſelves (which was accepted by the *Phliaſians* and others) ſaid they would perſiſt in the War, and commit the Iſſue to God, being reſolved never to conſent that *Meſſene*, which they had received from their Anceſtors, ſhould be taken from them. The condition of this Peace was only that each City ſhould enjoy its own; for the *Corinthians* flatly refuſed to enter into a ſociety of Arms, becauſe they would not offend thoſe that had well deſerved of them, but preſently a contention was revived betwixt the *Phliaſians* and *Argives* about *Thymia*, which was ſeized on, and held by the later, notwithſtanding all that could be objected. At the ſame time were twelve ſhips, under the Command of *Timocrates*, ſent to the aid of the *Lacedæmonians* by *Dionyſius* the younger (who now had ſucceeded his dead father) which they uſed in the ſtorming of *Sellaſia*, and then the Fleet returned back into *Sicily*. At this time *Artaxerxes* ſent once more to mediate about a peace, which was ſubmitted to by the Cities, and ſo the *Laconian*, or (as it is alſo called) the *Bœotian* War ended, after it had continued above five years.

Artaxerxes procureth another peace.

Xenophon, Diodorus ad Olymp. 104. *an.* 1.

53. But in the very next year ſuch ſparks were kindled, (firſt betwixt the *Eleans* and *Arcadians*) as brake out at length into a mighty flame. *Laſion* a Caſtle of *Triphylia* firſt belonged to the *Eleans*, but being in the poſſeſſion now of them, and another while of the *Arcadians*, continual controverſies were moved about it. The latter now having it in their hands, the *Eleans*, by means of the *Arcadian* Exiles with them, ſeized upon it. This being taken in great diſdain by the *Arcadians*, they procured help from *Athens*, and recovered it by force; after which they overthrew the *Eleans*, and waſted their Territories to the City Gates. This put them upon craving aid of the *Lacedæmonians*, and deſiring them to invade *Arcadia*, who accordingly ſent *Archidamus* the year after the firſt action at *Laſion*. He took *Cromnus*, and therin leaving a Garriſon returned; but after his departure the *Arcadians* recovering the place, and going into *Elis*, gave the management of the ſolemnities of the one hundred and fourth *Olympiad* now drawing on, to the *Piſæans*, who by old and fabulous arguments pretended it once to have belonged unto them. For this purpoſe they ſeized on *Olympia* before-hand, and going on when the time was come in the management of the exerciſes, the *Eleans* with all their ſtrength fell in upon them, and with incredible boldneſs ſo laid about them, that they put the *Arcadians* to flight, and though they could not keep the place, yet with great honour retreated to their City, having never before been at all accounted of for valour. This *Olympiad*, becauſe the *Piſæans* managed it by force, was not regiſtred in the Annals of the *Eleans*, neither is it certain who overcame in the courſe, *Phocides* the *Athenian* being named by *Diodorus*, but *Eubotus* the *Cyrenæan* by *Pauſanias*, in the ſecond of his *Eliacks*.

The *Eleans* and *Arcadians* at odds.

The *Piſæans* put in poſſeſſion of *Olympia* are fall'n upon by the *Eleans* at the time of the ſolemnities.

Diodorus ibid.

54. At this time *Epaminondas* labouring all manner of ways to get the Soveraignty of *Greece* for his Country-men; perſwaded them as a means hereto firſt to obtain the Dominion of the Seas. He ſhewed it was an eaſie thing for thoſe who were ſtrongeſt at land, to obtain, by inſtancing in the *Lacedæmonians*, who though in the War with *Xerxes* they furniſhed out but ten ſhips for two hundred of the *Athenians*, yet for their power on land were obeyed by them. By this, and other arguments, he got them to ordain that one hundred Gallies ſhould be provided, and that the *Rhodians*, *Chians*, and *Byzantians* ſhould be invited to joyn with them in theſe preparations. He himſelf going with a little Force to theſe Cities, induced them to ſide with the *Thebans*, and ſo terrified *Laches* the *Athenian*, who indeavoured to croſs his deſign, that though he commanded a ſtrong Fleet, yet did he quit theſe parts. During his abſence, ſome of the *Theban* Exiles having a great deſire to change the Government into an *Ariſtocracy*, drew into their plot three hundred horſ-men of the *Orchomenians*, who when they were about to execute their deſign, it was revealed by ſome principal contrivers to the *Bœotarchæ*. The *Thebans* had conceived a grudge againſt the *Orchomenians* of a very long date, ever ſince that City having paid Tribute to them formerly, was exempted from it by *Hercules*. Having now then an opportunity to vent their malice, they firſt put to death the three hundred horſ men, then taking the Town, they put to the ſword all the men, ſold the Woman and Children, and ſo utterly deſtroyed *Orchomenus*. This cruelty was utterly deteſted by *Epaminondas*, who ſaid, if he had

Epaminondas perſwadeth the *Thebans* to look after Sea matters.

The *Thebans* deſtroy *Orchomenus*.

been preſent, he would have in no caſe ſuffered ſuch wickedneſs to be committed by the *Thebans*.

Pauſanias in Bœoticis.

Xenoph lib. 7.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 104. *ann.*2.

Stirs betwixt the *Arcadians* and *Mantineans*.

55. The *Arcadians* having the *Olympian* Temple in their power, the Magiſtrates converted the money thereof to the paying of their *Epariti*, being the ſtrength of their Army. This the *Mantineans* firſt proteſted againſt as Sacrilege, and ſent the money which was due from them for the payment of the Soldiers, which being taken as an affront from the other, they called the *Mantinean* Magiſtrates before the Council of the ten thouſand, who refuſing to appear, they ſent to fetch them by force, but being repulſed, at length others in the Council appeared for them, being of their opinion, that the money was not to be touched, which would brand them for ever with a note of infamy. This was decreed by the Council, which the great ones ſeeing, and apprehending in what danger they were, ſent to the *Thebans* to tell them, that except they would come in time *Arcadia* would wholly revolt to the *Lacedæmonians*. The moſt ſober men amongſt the *Arcadians* hereupon perſwaded the Council to ſend to the *Thebans*, to proteſt againſt the coming down of their Army un-ſent for; and by reſtoring to the *Eleans* the Temple, to make peace with them. All took the oath of the League, and amongſt the reſt the Governour of *Tegea*, who lay in Garriſon with three hundred *Thebans*; but the great ones who feared to be called to account for the money, prevailed with him to lay hold upon the *Mantineans* and other *Arcadians*, who at *Tegea* were making merry for the peace. But the *Mantineans* making demand of their Citizens, promiſing if they had done amiſs they ſhould appear before the Council, the *Theban* General was at a ſtand, knowing not what to do, and at length diſmiſſed the priſoners, purging himſelf by ſaying, he heard the *Lacedæmonians* were about to invade *Arcadia*, and that ſome of the *Arcadians* had deſigned to betray *Tegea* into their hands.

Iidem & paulo aliter Polybius lib. 9.

Epaminondas again invadeth *Peloponneſus*.

56. Though they believed him not, as knowing the contrary, yet they diſmiſſed him, but ſent to *Thebes* to accuſe him as worthy of death, for attempting a matter ſo contrary to the good underſtanding betwixt the States. But *Epaminondas* excuſed him, laying the blame upon the *Arcadians*, who having drawn the *Thebans* into the War, would offer to make peace without their conſent, and thereby were guilty of Treachery: and he plainly declared, that the *Thebans* would march into *Arcadia*, and there aſſiſt their Friends. The *Mantineans* and others underſtanding this, ſent to *Athens* and *Sparta* to deſire aid, laying open the deſign of the *Thebans* plainly to be this: *To weaken Peloponneſus, and bring it all into ſubjection to themſelves.* They jealous of this, entred into a League with them, wherein it was provided, that each State ſhould have the command over the Army in their own dominions. Whilſt this was a doing, *Epaminondas* marched from *Thebes*, leading with him, beſides the *Bœotians*, ſome *Theſſalian* Horſe, and Soldiers out of *Eubœa*. When he came to *Nemea* there he ſtaied a little, having a great deſire to meet with the *Athenians*; but underſtanding that they paſſed by Sea into *Peloponneſus*, he aroſe and moved towards *Tegea*. Having notice in his way that *Ageſilaus* with the whole power of *Lacedæmon* was come into *Arcadia*, and that the City muſt needs thereupon be deſolate, he marched in all haſte thither, and had become abſolute Maſter of it, but that by meer divine Providence (as *Xenophon* himſelf acknowledgeth) a certain *Græcian* gave notice of his intention to *Ageſilaus*, who ſent word in all haſte to *Sparta*, willing them to ſtand upon their guard, with promiſe to be with them as ſpeedily as poſſible.

Sets upon *Sparta* and returneth to *Mantinea*.

His Horſe put to flight.

57. *Archidamus* his ſon being there left, ſet the old men and boys upon the Houſes to annoy the *Thebans* with ſtones, and diſpoſed ſo of thoſe that were fit to fight, in the ſeveral places of the City, that though *Epaminondas* had continued his march all night, yet found he that his deſign was betrayed, and ſuch was the oppoſition he found, that although he choſe the ſteepeſt deſcent into the Town, to have the upper ground, yet was he repelled, the *Lacedæmonians* loſing the moſt in their too long purſuites. Then underſtanding the *Lacedæmonian* and *Arcadian* Forces to be all coming to relieve *Sparta*, he thought it not wiſdom to hazard a battel with them all; but judging that *Mantinea* would be left naked, and at this time of the year the Inhabitants would be much abroad in the fields about their Corn and their Cattel at paſture, he thought it fit to try if he could ſurpriſe them all, and ſent before the Horſe for that purpoſe. At this time it hapned well for the *Mantineans*, that ſix thouſand *Athenians* under the command of *Hagelochus* were come through the *Iſthmus* into the City, who upon their deſire, notwithſtanding they ſhould have to do with ſuch Horſe as exceeded

His caſe how it ſtood in reference to his return or ſtay.

theirs in number, and the beſt eſteemed of in all *Greece*, reſolved to do their utmoſt in their behalf. In the engagement they had the better of it, and thereby preſerved all that the *Mantineans* had without their walls. *Epaminondas* after this thinking with himſelf that he muſt be gone within a few days, the term of his commiſſion being almoſt expired, was full of various thoughts. If he ſhould leave thoſe, for the aid of whom he was ſent, to be beſieged by the Enemy, he ſaw he ſhould loſe the honour he formerly had obtained, eſpecially ſeeing he had been repulſed at *Sparta* by ſo ſmall a number, and now alſo had miſcarried at *Mantinea*: and he conſidered that by this Expedition of which himſelf was author, he had given occaſion to the *Lacedæmonians*, *Arcadians*, *Achæans*, *Eleans*, and *Athenians*, to enter into a ſtraight League of offence and defence. From theſe reaſons he concluded he could not in honour depart without a battel, in which if he overcame, he ſhould make amends for all, and if he ſhould die, ſuch a death could not but be glorious, which ſhould be undergone in an endeavour to make his Country Miſtreſs of *Peloponneſus*.

58. Ere long the Armies of the *Lacedæmonians* and *Mantineans* appeared, conſiſting, with their allies, of twenty thouſand Foot, and about two thouſand Horſe. To the *Bœotians* were aſſiſtants the *Tegeatans*, and ſuch other *Arcadians* as were moſt powerful and wealthy, the *Argives*, *Eubœans*, the *Theſſalian* Horſe which the *Thebans* brought, the *Meſſenians*, *Sicyonians*, and other *Peloponneſians*; the number of all which amounted to thirty thouſand Foot, and little fewer than three thouſand Horſe. This is much admired by *Xenophon*, that *Epaminondas* ſhould ſo diſcipline his Soldiers, that neither night nor day they ſhould ſhun any labour, refuſe to undergo any danger, to be contented with any kind of proviſion, and very ready to obey all orders. When he had ranged his men in order of battel, he led them not ſtraight on againſt the Enemy, but fetching a compaſs towards the Mountains of *Tegea*, and made as though he would there pitch his Tents. This rendred the Enemy ſecure, which he well underſtanding, formed his Battalia like a wedge, thereby to break them ſooner, and led with ſpeed againſt them, who now were all to ſeek, and in a confuſion, ſome haſting to bridle their Horſes, others to buckle on their harneſs, and all in a condition rather to ſuffer than act any thing. And leſt the *Athenians* ſhould relieve their Companions from the left wing, he placed a Party of Horſe and Foot in the hills to keep them in awe, by being continually ready to fall upon their reer.

The battel at *Mantinea* wherein *Epaminondas* was mortally wounded.

59. His expectation was not croſſed, for on what part he fell he carried all before him, the Enemy not daring to ſtand; but ruſhing more violently amongſt them, the *Lacedæmonians* taking notice of him, flocked to him, and laid at him amain with Darts, ſome of which declining, and fencing himſelf from others, thoſe that ſtuck in his body he took thence and retorted. Whilſt he heroickly thus contended for the Victory, he received a wound from one *Anticiates* a *Spartan*, who gave him ſo mortal a ſtroak with a Dart, that the wood of it brake, leaving the iron and a piece of the tronchion in his breaſt. By the vehemency of the wound he ſank down, and then enſued a moſt bitter conteſt about him: but the *Thebans* inflamed with wrathful indignation at this ſad miſchance, with great ſlaughter compelled their Enemies to give back, but knew not how to improve the Victory. For neither Foot nor Horſe purſued them flying, but continued ſtill in the ſame place, and at length went off careleſly, inſomuch that many of the Foot came into the hands of the *Athenians*. Which ſo falling out, another thing hapned than men generally had expected. For almoſt all *Greece* being here gathered together, one State againſt another, in two factions, every one ſuppoſed, that when they ſhould once come to fight, they that overcame would obtain the Dominion over the reſt who ſhould be forced to ſubmit to their yoak: But God ſo poyſed the affairs, ſaith *Xenophon*, that both ſides, as if they had overcome, erected a Trophy, not being hindred by each other. Both ſides alſo as Conquerours gave up the ſlain, and as Conquered received their dead by compoſition. And whereas both ſides ſaid they had the better of it, neither obtained thereby either Countrey, City, or Dominion, other than they before enjoyed; but a greater diſturbance thereupon followed in *Greece*. So much for theſe matters ſaith our Author; as for what is behind, perhaps ſome other will take care to commit them to writing, and ſo he endeth his Hiſtory with this battel; though he lived almoſt three years after it, as we have it from *Laertius*. *Anaximenes* alſo of *Lampſacus*, who began his Hiſtory with the beginning of the gods and mankind (and therein in twelve Books almoſt comprehended all the affairs of the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*,)

A. M. 3642.
Ol. 104. *an.* 2.
V. C. 390.
Ante Æram Chriſti 362.
Artax. Mnem. 41.

Xenophon with it endeth his Hiſtory.
As alſo *Anaximenes* and *Philiſtus*.

Barbarians,) finiſheth it with the Battel at *Mantinea,* and the death of *Epaminondas.* So did *Philiſtus* his Hiſtory which he wrote of *Dionyſius* the younger in two Books.

60. *Epaminondas* being carried alive into his Tent, the Phiſicians affirmed that as ſoon as the Dart ſhould be drawn out of his body he would die. He then called for *Diaphantus* to declare him General of the Army; but it being anſwered he was ſlain, he bade them ſend for *Iolaidas,* but it being anſwered that he was dead alſo, he adviſed the *Thebans* to make peace, whilſt with advantage they might, for that they had none left that was able to diſcharge the Office of a General. Underſtanding of his approaching end, he inquired of his Armour-bearer if his Shield was ſafe; (which to have loſt was a great diſhonour) It being anſwered it was, he asked which ſide had the Victory; anſwer being made the *Bœotians,* then ſaid he, *It's time for me to die,* and comforting his friends who mourned that he ſhould die childleſs with this anſwer, that *he left behind him two daughters, the battel of Leuctra and Mantinea, which ſhould propagate his fame to all poſterity)* he thereupon cauſed the Dart to be drawn out, and ſo expired. This was the end of the worthieſt Soldier that ever *Greece* brought forth, and hardly to be parallel'd in any other Country, all the Virtues which in others were but ſingular having concentred and united themſelves in him. In ſtrength both of body and mind; in Eloquence, Juſtice, Temperance, Wiſdom, Magnanimity, and Sincerity, he excelled all men, and ſo far in Military skill, the art of a General, and in valour, that he could not adequately be called a Valiant, Politick, Wary, Bountiful, Induſtrious, or Prudent Captain; all theſe Titles and many more being due unto him. His modeſty was incredible, ſhewing it ſelf eſpecially in this, that after the Victory of *Leuctra,* and many other rare atchievements, he refuſed not to go in the Expedition into *Theſſaly,* in quality of a private Soldier. He was grave, yet affable and courteous, as a means to all thoſe virtues, having great inſight into all parts of Philoſophy and Learning, being therein inſtructed by *Lycis* the *Tarentine,* a *Pythagorean.* But * enough will be ſaid in his commendation, if this be added, that the City *Thebes* before the birth and after the death of *Epaminondas* was ever ſubject to the command of others; but as long as he had to do in the management of the affairs thereof, was the head of all *Greece;* from which may be gathered, that this man was of more conſequence than the whole City.

Vide Diodorum ut ſupra. Juſtin lib. 6.

Valerius Max. lib. 3. cap. 2. ext. exemp. 5.

Ælian. var. hiſt. l. 12. cap. 3.

Pauſan. in Aridicis.

Ciceron. Epiſt. lib. 5. cap. 12.

Epaminondas his character.

* *Corn. Nepos in vita Epamin.*

Juſtin.

Diodorus.

Corn. Nepos: Plutarch in Ageſilao.

Ageſilaus blamed.

His death.

61. For with *Epaminondas* all the ſtrength of the *Theban* Commonwealth was extinct, as if he had not only died, but all the reſt of the Citizens with him, who as before him they did nothing memorable, ſo now after were famous for nothing but their overthrows and diſaſters. After this battel of *Mantinea,* all the *Græcians* being tired out with War, entred into a League offenſive and defenſive together, out of which *Ageſilaus* would have excluded the *Meſſenians.* But *Artaxerxes* ſtood for them, as having Territories as large and fruitful as the *Laconians,* whereupon the *Lacedæmonians* burning with an implacable grudge againſt them, would not ſubſcribe, and alone by themſelves refuſed to be comprehended in the League, hoping ſtill to recover *Meſſenia.* This reflected ſomething upon *Ageſilaus,* who out of an inſatiable thirſt after War, had by his utmoſt endeavour hindred the union of *Greece,* and the burying of publick quarrels. And he ſeemed to increaſe the infamy, by undertaking an Expedition ſhortly after into *Ægypt,* though it was by his ſervice in his decrepit old age, to get ſome money for the ſupply of the now very poor and exhauſted State. For it appeared a thing unſeemly, for the beſt man in *Greece,* and one who had filled the world with his fame, to go ſerve a mean man, and a Traytor, and venture his life, credit and all, for a little gain, when becauſe of his old age, he had refuſed the Office of General at home, and in his own Country, though for the liberty of *Greece.* But he thought nothing too much wherein he might ſerve the Commonwealth, and in this reſpect undervalued his own honour, and having ſerved in *Ægypt* in a condition far unworthy of him, after he had received two hundred and thirty talents of Silver as a reward from *Nectanebus,* died in his return, when he had lived eighty four and reigned fourty one years. A moſt excellent Captain, in whom Nature inwardly made amends for that wherein outwardly ſhe had been deficient, moſt ambitious of glory, and yet of exceeding great humility, which he ſhewed in his houſe, and in his conſtant converſation. Though his juſtice was overruled by his paſſion in the buſineſs of the *Theban* War, yet generally he held it moſt ſacred, and as a puniſhment

for his default therein, that great Glory whereby he even reigned over *Greece* till then, was afterwards (together with the ſplendor of the *Lacedæmonian* greatneſs) much eclipſed by the riſing Fortune of *Epaminondas*.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 104. *an.* 3.

62. *Artaxerxes* King of *Perſia*, and *Ageſilaus* of *Sparta*, died both in the ſame year, and the next after the death of *Epaminondas*. And the ſame year the Peace of *Greece* was again broken by ſome *Arcadians*, who having been tranſlated out of the neighbouring places into *Megalopolis*, took occaſion at ſome words of the League (which gave leave to all to return home) to quit the City and return to their old Habitations. The other *Megalopolitans* endeavoured to reduce them by force, and thence inſued a great controverſie, they calling in to their help the *Mantineans* and the reſt alſo of the *Arcadians* and *Eleans*. The *Megalopolitans* that ſent to the *Athenians* for aid, who ſent them three thouſand Foot, and three hundred Horſe, under the command of *Pammenes*. He with this Force took ſome of the Towns, and terrified others into compoſition, and ſo reduced them all to *Megalopolis*. The Year following *Alexander* the *Phærean* Tyrant ſubdued ſeveral of the *Cyclades* and took thence abundance of Captives. The *Athenian* Garriſon commanded by *Leoſthenes* oppoſed him in *Peparethus*, whereupon he attacqued the *Athenian* Gallies, and took them, together with one belonging to *Peparethus*, and ſix hundred Priſoners. The *Athenians* enraged hereat, condemned *Leoſthenes*, and ſent *Chares* with a Fleet into thoſe parts, who ſpending his time in ſcaring the Enemies, but oppreſſing the Confederates, thereby contracted an ill name. For going to *Corcyra* he there cauſed ſuch a Sedition, as could not be ended but in the ruine of many, and committed other things which much tended to the diſgrace of thoſe that ſent him. With this Year *Diodorus* concludeth his fifteenth Book, having, according to his promiſe, related ſuch things as hapned before the Reign of *Philip* King of *Macedonia*, and ſuch, as together with other affairs of the *Greeks* related by others, ſhew that peace, ſecurity, and order, were things little akin to Antimonarchical Government.

Stirs amongſt the *Megalopolitans.*

Learned Men during this period.

Hippocrates.

Soranus.

63. Of Learned Men Contemporary with this Period, in the firſt place is to be remembred *Hippocrates* native of the Iſland *Cous*, Prince of all Phyſicians. He was the Son of *Heraclidas* and *Phænarete*, the twentieth in deſcent from *Hercules*, and the ninteenth from *Æſculapius*. Some have written that he was born in the firſt Year of the eightieth *Olympiad*. But a certain paſſage mentioned in his life of his curing *Perdiccas* of an *Erotick* Feaver, argueth him at this time to have been famous. This *Perdiccas* King of *Macedonia* (who having reigned twenty eight Years according to *Euſebius*, or according to others fifty three, died about the third of the ninty third *Olympiad*) fell in love with *Phila* his Father *Alexander*'s Concubine, but Modeſty forced him to conceal his Grief, till he fell into a Conſumption and languiſhed. *Hippocrates* by the motion of his Eyes found out the cauſe of the Diſtemper, and told *Phyla* it was in her power to ſave the King's life, whereupon ſhe was willing though with the impairment of her own credit to redeem it. The like Story is told of *Eraſiſtratus* the Phyſician, who diſcovered that *Antiochus* the Son of *Seleucus* was in love with his Fathers Concubine, which *Galen* * mentioneth, adding that he had made the ſame diſcovery in a certain Woman.

Lib. περὶ τοῦ προγινώσκειν.

64. *Hippocrates* grew ſo famous in his Art, that *Artaxerxes Longimanus* hearing of him, ſent for him, with large offers to come and cure his Army, then ſeized on by the Plague. But he ſaid it was not fit for him to touch any *Perſian* Gold, or cure the *Barbarians* who were Enemies to the *Greeks*. The Letters of entercourſe betwixt the *Perſians* and him, are amongſt others yet extant. Having lived as ſome ſaid eighty five Years, but as others ninty, or one hundred and four, or one hundred and nine, he died amongſt the *Lariſſeans*, in the firſt of the ninty fourth *Olympiad*. He left two Sons, *Theſſalus* and *Draco*; but the Fruit of his Brain hath been far more effectual for the propagating of his name to all poſterity, wherein he hath not only been a benefactor to the myſtery of Medicine by his writings, but alſo by his religious care of the Integrity of thoſe who ſhould profeſs it. For he framed an Oath to be taken by all that entred into his School, which for his honour, and the ſhame of thoſe who have more reaſon to be convinced of their Duty, together with the information of the ignorant, it is convenient to exemplifie.

His Oath.

65. *I ſwear by Apollo the Phyſician, and Æſculapius, and Hygia; and call all the Gods and Goddeſſes to witneſs, that to the utmoſt of my ſtrength and judgment I ſhall obſerve what now I ſwear and covenant by writing. Nomely that I will eſteem as my Parents my Maſter who taught me this Art, and thankfully communicate to, and ſupply him with all things neceſſary both for ſuſtenance and convenience, as alſo*

account of his Iſſue as mine own brethren, and if they deſire to learn the Art, teach them without any Wages or Contract. That I will communicate the Precepts, and what I have heard, and the whole diſcipline to mine own Children, to his who taught me, and my Scholars who have given their Names and Faith in this Oath, and none elſe whatſoever. That I ſhall alſo to my utmoſt Power and Judgment preſcribe an wholeſom courſe to the Sick, and defend them from all harm and Injury. Neither through the procurement of any will I give, or cauſe to be given, any deadly Medicament. Neither in like manner will I procure any Woman to miſcarry of her burthen; but preſerve my Life and Age alwaies chaſt and pure from all Wickedneſs. Neither will I cut any of the Stone, but leave this Work to be done by thoſe Chirurgions who are skilful in it. If I come into any Houſe I will do it for the Health of the Sick, ſhuning all ſuſpicion of injury, or Corruption, eſpecially as to the filthineſs of Venery both towards Women and Men, free Perſons and Slaves. Whatſoever things I ſhall ſee or hear, either in adminiſtring Phyſick or otherwiſe in common entercourſe, which I think ought not to be told abroad, I will conceal them. Now if I ſhall religiouſly obſerve this Oath, and in no caſe break it, let me live in great eſteem alwaies an happy Life amongſt all Men, and reap ample Fruit from mine Art. But if I break it and forſwear myſelf, may the contrary happen to me.* Much skill in Phyſick therefore corrupteth not the converſation; for though a little Philoſophy may occaſion Atheiſm, yet a great deal is an Antidote againſt it, not ſuffering a man to reſt in ſecond cauſes; but diſcovering a neceſſity of looking higher. But more concerning this, as alſo to the praiſe of this excellent perſon, may be ſaid in a particular account of the original, cauſe, profeſſors, ſucceſſion, progreſs and matter of the art of Medicine.

66. Beſides *Hippocrates*, there lived at this time (*a*) *Democritus* of *Abdera* the Philoſopher, who died in the ſame Year, and was well known to him, having alwaies laughed at the folly of men. Four Years after, (*b*) *Socrates* the *Athenian*, the Father of *Ethicks*, was made drink Poyſon for ſpeaking againſt plurality of Gods and the Superſtition of his Country-men; *Anytus* having firſt procured *Ariſtophanes* the Poet, and then *Melitus* to accuſe him. But afterwards the *Athenians* repenting of what they had done, in way of mourning forbad all publick Exerciſes, and then animadverting upon his accuſers, condemned *Melitus* to death, and the reſt to Exile. (*c*) *Plato* at this time being twenty eight years old, and having heard *Socrates* eight Years, went to *Megara* to learn the Mathematicks of *Euclide*, who now alſo flouriſhed. The Year after, (*d*) *Sophocles* died; ſix years after, *Euripides* the Prince of Tragick Poets. At this time alſo flouriſhed (*e*) *Cteſias* the Phyſician often mentioned before, who concluded his Hiſtory in the third year of the ninty ſixth *Olympiad*, (*f*) *Ariſtotle* Father of *Peripatetick* Philoſophy was born at *Stagira* a City of *Macedonia*, in the firſt year of the ninty ninth *Olympiad*. In the third year after, (*g*) *Demoſthenes* the famous Orator. (*h*) *Eudoxus* of *Cnidus*, a famous Aſtrologer and Geometrician, flouriſhed about the one hundred and third *Olympiad*, who (*i*) found out the ſuppoſed motion of the Stars from Weſt to Eaſt, unknown to the *Greeks* in the time of *Democritus*. *Zeno* the *Citiean*, Father of the Stoicks, was born in the third year of the one hundred and fourth *Olympiad*. And we muſt not forget *Thucydides*, nor *Xenophon* the Scholar of *Socrates*, and equal to *Plato*, with whom he exerciſed ſome emulation. He was a great Philoſopher; the greateſt maſter of eloquence in his time, inſomuch that for the ſweetneſs of his ſtile he got the name of *Attick Muſe*; and ſo great a Soldier, that his retreat with the *Greeks* out of *Perſia* after the death of *Cyrus*, to one who duly weigheth all circumſtances, will appear to have ſurpaſſed the exploits of *Alexander* the Great.

(*a*) *Anonymus.*
(*b*) *Diodorus, Laertius.*
(*c*) *Laertius.*
(*d*) *Suidas.*
(*e*) *Diodorus.*
(*f*) *Laertius.*
(*g*) *Anonymus.*
(*h*) *Laertius.*
(*i*) *Seneca natural. queſt. l. 7. c. 3.*

SECT.

SECT. V.

From the beginning of the Reign of Philip *King of* Macedonia, *to the Monarchy of* Alexander *his Son.*

Containing the ſpace of thirtyone Years.

1. M*Acedonia* having been formerly called *Emathonia* from *Emathon* a certain King, and afterwards *Macedonia* from *Macedon* the Son of *Oſiris*, or as others ſay of *Jupiter* and *Æthra*, was bounded on the North and Northweſt by the *Thracians* and *Illyrians*, on the South and Southweſt by *Theſſaly* and *Epirus*, and on the Eaſt with the *Ægean* Sea.

2. The people were firſt called *Pelaſgi*, ſaith *Juſtin*, and the Countrey *Bæotia*. In *Pæonia*, which afterwards became part of *Macedonia*, *Telegonus* reigned, the father of *Aſtriopæus* an eminent Warrier and friend to *Priamus* in the ſiege of *Troy*. On another ſide *Europus* reigned. But *Caranus* an *Argive*, the ſixteenth in deſcent from *Hercules*, ſome five years after the fall of *Sardanapalus*, by the command of an Oracle led a Colony into theſe parts, and having ſetled himſelf by force reigned twenty eight years. *Cœnus* ſucceeded him and reigned twelve, then *Tyrimas* twenty eight, *Perdiccas* a Prince much renowned fifty one, after him *Argæus* twenty eight, *Philip* the firſt as many, *Euripus* twenty ſix; in whoſe infancy the *Illyrians* invading his Kingdom, his ſubjects carried him in his Cradle into the field, thinking he being preſent could not but be victorious, or that his people durſt not forſake him, who was unable to defend himſelf. *Alcetas* after him reigned twenty nine years, *Amyntas* the firſt fifty years, to whom *Darius Hyſtaſpis* ſent for earth and water as tokens of ſubjection. *Alexander* his ſon who ſlew the Ambaſſadors ſent to his father, reigned fourty three years, and by marrying his ſiſter *Gygæa* to *Bubares* the *Perſian*, grew into ſuch grace with *Xerxes*, that he obtained all the Region between *Olympus* and *Hermus* to be united to his Kingdom, and yet during the War held ſecret intelligence with the *Græcians*, diſcovering to them all his intents and purpoſes. He left three Sons, *Perdiccas*, *Alcetas*, and *Philip*, the eldeſt of which ſucceeded him, whoſe ſtory is ſometimes by pieces related by *Thucydides*. *Perdiccas* left behind him *Perdiccas* and *Archelaus* his baſe ſon. *Perdiccas* was drowned in a Well by *Archelaus* his Guardian at ſeven years of age, the murtherer to excuſe himſelf alledging to his mother that he fell in by chance as he haſtily followed a Gooſe that way.

Euſeb. in Chronico. Juſtin. l. 7. Velleius lib. 1. Solinus cap. 15.

Euripus.

Alcetas.

Amyntas.

Alexander.

Perdiccas.

3. *Archelaus* having diſpatched his brother out of the way, did the ſame by *Alcetas* his Uncle, and *Alexander* his Couſin, ſon to *Alcetas*; and yet though he came in this way, is ſaid to have done many things to the advantage of the Nation, which is uſual with Uſurpers. He ſought by all means to draw *Socrates* to him, and greatly loved and honoured *Euripides* the Tragedian. He had two ſons, *Archelaus* and *Oreſtes*, *Archelaus* ſucceeded him, and reigned ſeven years, ſome confounding father and ſon together, and making this, who reigned but ſeven years, to have ſucceeded *Perdiccas*. *Archelaus* at the end of ſeven years was ſlain in hunting, either by chance or on purpoſe by *Craterus*, called by *Ælian Cratenas*, who relateth the cauſe to have been for that having married his daughter to him, he took her away and gave her to another. *Cratenas* had enjoyed the Kingdom ſcarce two or three days when he was alſo ſlain by others. *Oreſtes* then a Child ſucceeded, who was ſerved by his Guardian as his father had ſerved his Pupil, being killed by *Æropus* one of the blood Royal, who held the Kingdom ſix years: the ſame who at firſt denied paſſage to *Ageſilaus* when he returned out of *Aſia*. He left three ſons, *Pauſanias*, *Argæus*, and *Alexander*. *Pauſanias* when

Ariſtotl. Politic. lib. 5.

Vide Raleium lib. 4. cap. 1.

Archelaus.

Var. Hiſt: lib. 8. cap. 9.

when he had reigned one year was ſlain by *Perdiccas* the ſon of *Tharcileus* or of *Philip*, who being ſon of *Perdiccas*, and Grand-ſon to *Alexander* the Rich, was preſerved when *Archelaus* the Baſtard ſlew his brother *Perdiccas*, his Uncle *Arcetas*, and *Alexander* his Couſin German.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 96. *ann.* 3.

Amyntas.

(a) *Idem ad ann.* 4.

(b) *Ad Olymp.* 99. *ann.* 2. *Xenoph.*

4. (a) *Amyntas* was by the *Illyrians* driven out of his Kingdom, but reſtored by the *Theſſalians*, held it (though very unquietly) twenty four years. Some wrote how after his expulſion *Argæus* obtained the Kingdom for two years, till again he recovered it. (b) When he was overcome by the *Illyrians*, having little hope to recover his Kingdom, he gave the *Olynthians* a great part of the grounds adjacent; but after his reſtitution required it again. They refuſed to reſtore what was freely given them. He hereupon gathered an Army, and ſent to the *Lacedæmonians* for aid, who ſent *Phæbidas* to him with ten thouſand men at ſuch time as he ſurpriſed *Cadmea*, the Citadel of *Thebes*, having ſent before his brother; but the *Olynthians* had taken much of his Kingdom, and made themſelves Maſters of *Pella* the Metropolis of *Macedon*. He had iſſue by his wife *Eurydice*, three ſons; *Alexander*, *Perdiccas*, and *Philip*; beſides one daughter called *Euryone* or *Exione*. He had alſo by his ſecond wife *Gygæa* three ſons; *Archelaus*, *Argæus*, and *Menelaus*, afterwards ſlain by their brother *Philip*. *Alexander* reigned not much above one year, in which time he was invaded by *Pauſanias* the ſon of *Æropus*, but defended by *Iphicrates* the *Athenian*, who declared his fidelity in this as well as other things, towards the Children of *Amyntas*, that *Eurydice* flying to him with her two Children, *Perdiccas* and *Philip*, he defended, and ſuſtained her. Againſt him *Ptolomy Alorites* made War, and both called *Pelopidas* the *Theban* to judge betwixt them, who having decided the controverſie (as *Plutarch* ſaith) took *Philip* the Kings brother, and thirty other of the ſons of the chief Nobility, as Hoſtages to *Thebes*. But within a year after *Ptolomy* murdred him, not being his baſe brother as ſome ſuppoſe, ſaith *Scaliger*. *Juſtin* telleth us he was ſlain at the procurement of his mother *Eurydice*, who having agreed to marry her ſon-in-law (which muſt be this *Ptolomy Alorites*, and thence cometh he to be called the brother of *Alexander*) Conſulted in her husbands life time how ſhe might kill him, and transfer the Kingdom to the Adulterer, which being betrayed by their daughter, *Amyntas* for his Childrens ſake would not uſe any ſeverity towards her, little thinking ſhe would really accompliſh her wicked deſign upon any of them at length.

Alexander.

Ptolomy Alorites.

Philip educated at *Thebes.*

Diod. ad Olymp. 103. *ann.* 4.

5. *Ptolomy Alorites* held the Kingdom of *Macedonia* for three years, and then was ſlain by *Perdiccas* the brother of *Alexander*, who ſucceeded him and reigned five. He was then ſlain in battel againſt the *Illyrians* according to *Diodorus*; but *Juſtin* ſaith he periſhed by the wicked practices of his mother, as *Alexander* did. *Perdiccas* left behind him a young ſon, of whom *Philip* his brother was conſtituted Guardian in the ſecond year of *Ochus* King of *Perſia*, in the firſt year of the one hundred and fifth *Olympiad*, *Callimedes* being *Archon*. *Plutarch* maketh *Philip* to have been carried as an Hoſtage to *Thebes* by *Pelopidas*. *Diodorus* writeth that his father gave him as an Hoſtage to the *Illyrians*, and that they committed him to the *Thebans* to be kept, who delivered him to the cuſtody of *Polymnis* the father of *Epaminondas*, with whom he was brought up, though *Plutarch* ſaith he lived with *Pammenes*, and thence became an emulator of *Epaminondas*. *Juſtin* ſaith he was twice given as an Hoſtage by his brother; once to the *Illyrians*, and another time to the *Thebans*, which mightily conduced to his education; for being three years at *Thebes*, he laid the foundation thereof in a City full of antient ſeverity, and in the houſe of *Epaminondas* a great Scholar and General. If he there continued but three years, he ſeemeth to have returned home at the beginning of the reign of his brother *Perdiccas*, but *Diodorus* ſaith, it was after his death that he made an eſcape from *Thebes*. At firſt, as it ſeemeth from *Juſtin*, he bore but the Office of a Tutor, or Guardian to his Nephew; but afterwards great Wars hapning, in which the expectation of the Child could nothing avail, he was conſtrained to take upon him the Dignity of *King* by the people.

First Guardian of his Nephew,

Then King.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 105. *ann.* 1.

A.M. 3645. *Olymp.* 105. *ann.* 1. *V.C.* 394. *Ochi*, 2.

6. For the *Macedonians* having lately received an overthrow from the *Illyrians*, were much dejected thereat. The *Pæones* their neighbours made incurſions, and the *Illyrians* prepared for another terrible invaſion. The King of *Thrace* was minded to ſet up *Pauſanias*, and the *Athenians Argæus* (both ſons of the late Uſurper *Æropus*) having ſent *Mantias* with three thouſand men, and a Fleet readily furniſhed for that purpoſe. But *Philip* ſeeming nothing to be diſcouraged at theſe things, by his good language wherein (he was very able) and his

courteous

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He Conquereth all difficulties.

courteous deportment, bare up the Spirits of his People. He amended military Diſcipline, and inſtituted the *Macedonian Phalange*. Underſtanding the *Athenians* to have a great deſire to recover *Amphipolis*, and to have *Argæus* eſtabliſhed King, he left that City to its own Liberty. The *Pæonians* and the King of *Thrace* he bought off with money, and overthrew *Argæus* at *Methone* aſſiſted by *Mantias* the *Athenian*, by which Victory he mightily incouraged his men.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 105. *ann.* 2.

7. The year after he made Peace with the *Athenians*, who readily accepted of it, becauſe he was content to quit *Amphipolis*, giving him great commendations alſo for his clemency, in that he had ſuffered the Remainders of their Army at *Methone* to depart with their Lives and Liberty into *Attica* when he had them at his mercy. Being thus freed from the *Athenian* War, hearing that *Agis* King of the *Pæonians* was dead, he invaded, and brought them into Subjection to himſelf. Then entred he the Country of the *Illyrians* with about ten thouſand Foot, and ſix hundred Horſe, whoſe King *Bardylis* ſent to treat with him, offering that each ſhould retain ſuch places as they already held; but he returned anſwer, that though he was alſo deſirous of Peace, yet would he admit of no terms, except the *Illyrians* would quit all the Cities which belonged to his Kingdom. *Bardylis* then met him with a ſtrong Army, and a great and bloody Battel was with great animoſity on both ſides fought, wherein at length *Philip* had the Victory, and the *Illyrians* having loſt above ſeven thouſand men, were forced to relinquiſh all places belonging to *Macedonia*.

Idem ad ann. 3.

8. After he had brought under all the *Illyrians* as far as the Lake *Lychnitis*, and made an honourable Peace with them, he returned into *Macedonia* with great Fame. The year after, for that the Inhabitants of *Amphipolis* had ſeveral ways provoked him, and miniſtred occaſion of Quarrels, he went againſt them with a great Force, and having caſt down the Wall with his battering Rams, entred the City, whence baniſhing all his Enemies he granted indemnity to the reſt. This place being very conveniently ſited for his occaſions in *Thrace*, much conduced to the progreſs of his affairs. For hereupon he preſently took *Pydna*, and to ingratiate himſelf with the *Olynthians* (the friendſhip of whom was very neceſſary for ſuch as would grow great) having taken *Potidæa*, he gave up *Pydna* with the Grounds belonging to it into their hands. Then going to *Crenidæ*, he inlarged this Town with an acceſſion of new Inhabitants, and called it after himſelf *Philippi*. Here were rich Mines of Gold, which having been formerly neglected he now ſo far advanced as to bring him in yearly a Revenue of one thouſand Talents, which mightily tended to the advancement of his Affairs, and the Majeſty of his Kingdom, for now ſtamped he that piece of Golden Coyn, called the *Philipick*, raiſed great Forces, and afterwards with Bribes drew many *Græcians* to betray their Countrey. But he proceeded in his Affairs with more confidence and freedom, for that now the *Athenians* were buſied in the Social War begun this year, and thereupon could not take ſuch care as was neceſſary, for the preſervation of *Amphipolis*.

Crenidæ changed into *Philippi*.

The *Social* War.

9. The *Social* War, which continued three years, had its original from the revolt of the *Chians*, *Rhodians*, *Coans*, and *Byzantians*, from the State of *Athens*. The *Athenians* ſent againſt them two Generals, *Chares* and *Chabrias*, who when they came to *Chius*, found there Succors ſent from other Cities, and from *Mauſolus* the Prince of *Caria*. They fell upon the City; *Chares* by Land, and *Chabrias* by Sea, but the later whilſt too boldly he ventured by himſelf into the Haven, was ſlain, and then the reſt retreated without any thing done. One * in his Life telleth us, that in this Expedition he was a private man, but excelling the Commanders in Military Skill and Fame, was more regarded by the Soldiers; which thing proved his deſtruction. For endeavouring firſt of all to enter the Haven, when he had broken in none followed him, ſo that being compaſſed with Enemies his Gally was ſunk, out of which caſting himſelf, he might eaſily, as the reſt did, have ſwom to his Friends and eſcaped; but preferring an honourable death before an ignominious Life, fighting alone was ſlain, in all Fights having been daring, though otherwiſe he was accounted ſlow and heavy.

* *Corn. Nepos.*

Diodorus ad Olymp. 106. *an.* 1.

10. The year following, for any thing we underſtand, was ſpent altogether, or for the moſt part, in preparations on both ſides to decide the controverſie in a Sea fight. The *Athenians* having diſpatched before under the Command of *Chares* a Fleet of ſixty Ships, ſent other ſixty after, which they committed to the truſt of *Iphicrates* and *Timotheus*, two of the moſt noble in the City, who were to joyn with *Chares*, and in equal Authority to manage the War. On the other part the Confederates with one hundred Gallies waſted the Iſlands *Imbrus* and *Lembus*, and

coming

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coming into *Samus*, after they had haraſed the Country, beſieged the City both by Sea and Land, and making depredations upon many other Iſlands under the juriſdiction of *Athens*, got much money thereby. But the *Athenian* Generals uniting their Forces reſolved to beſiege *Byzantium*, which the Confederates underſtanding, raiſed the Siege at *Samus* to come and relieve it. They were about to joyn in Battel, when ſuddainly aroſe a mighty Tempeſt, which made *Iphicrates* and *Timotheus* decline the Fight, but *Chares* would not acquieſce in their opinion, but ſent to *Athens* and accuſed them to the People, as wilfully having neglected a good opportunity of doing their Countrey Service, which ſo incenſed the heady Multitude, that they condemned them in many Talents. *Corn. Nepos* relateth, that *Meneſtheus* the Son of *Iphicrates*, and Son-in-Law to *Timotheus*, was ſent as General, and they two as his Adviſers. That the action was about *Samus* wherein *Chares* miſcarried, and whereupon he accuſed them to the People. That *Iphicrates* being quitted, *Timotheus* was fined ten Talents, which he being unable to pay departed to *Chelus*, where dying, the Multitude repented of their raſh Judgment, and remitting nine parts of the Fine, cauſed his Son *Conon* to pay the other, towards repairing of the Wall. So that the Walls which *Conon* the Grandfather built with Spoils, *Conon* the Grand-ſon was forced to repair at his own coſt and diſgrace of his Family. This was the laſt Age of the famous *Athenian* Captains, which concluded with the lives of *Iphicrates*, *Chabrias* and *Timotheus*, thoſe that followed being not at all worthy the reckoning.

In vitis Timothei & Iphicratis.

11. *Chares* having got all the Power into his own Hands, aſſiſted *Pharnabazus* the *Perſian Satrapa*, who had revolted from his Prince, and was ſo rewarded for his Service after the Victory, that he was enabled to pay his Army. This was very acceptable to the *Athenians* at firſt; but when the King had once ſent to expoſtulate the matter with them, and a rumour was abroad that he intended with three hundred Ships to aſſiſt the Enemies in the *Social* War, they were far otherwiſe affected, inſomuch that they reſolved to make Peace with the Revolters, which was eaſily done, they being no leſs deſirous of it. *Philip* having the year before married *Olympias* the daughter ef *Neoptolemus* late King of the *Moloſſians*, and Niece (not Siſter as *Plutarch* hath it) to *Arymbas* or *Aribbas* the preſent, was much envied for his good ſucceſs by the three Kings of the *Thracians*, *Illyrians*, and *Pæonians*. Since they had been overthrown and ſubdued by him, they had no ſtrength ſeverally to incourage them to a Revolt; Yet joyning their Forces together they were confident of good Succeſs. But before they had compleated their Army, and whilſt they were as yet incompoſed, he ſet upon them ſuddainly, and eaſily reduced them to obedience.

Diodorus.

Alexander the Great is born.

12. The ſame year being the firſt of the one hundred and ſixth *Olympiad*, the ſixth of *Artaxerxes Ochus*, *Elpinices* being *Archon*, *Alexander* the Son of *Philip* and *Olympias* was born at *Pella* in *Macedonia*, in the *Attick* moneth *Boedromion*, if that be true which *Ariſtobulus* relateth in *Arrianus*, that being thirty two years and eight moneths old at his death, he died on the laſt day, but one, of the moneth *Thargelion*. If this be true, (and *Ariſtobulus*, if any, might have occaſion to know it) then could it not be on the ſixth day of the moneth *Hecatombæon*, as *Plutarch* relateth, whoſe error (into which others alſo fell) aroſe from thence, becauſe antiently the *Macedonian* moneth *Lous* fell in with the *Attick Hecatombæon*. The ſame Author telleth us in the life of *Alexander*, that *Philip* received at the ſame time three ſeveral meſſages: One, that the *Illyrians* had received a great overthrow from *Parmenio* his General: Another that he had got the Prize at *Olympia* with his ſwift-footed Horſe: And the third concerning the Birth of *Alexander*: and this was a little after he had taken *Potidæa*. But *Potidæa* was taken two years before, as appeareth not only from *Diodorus*, but alſo from *Demoſthenes*; and ſtrange it is, that *Philip* ſhould not know of his Sons Birth a good while before he could have intelligence of the *Olympian* Solemnities, concerning which Judgment was given on the ſixteenth day of the moneth: So that the relation of *Trogus* is more true, that he received two meſſages at the ſame time: *viz.* one of his Victory over the *Illyrians*, and another of his Prize at *Olympia*. The ſame day that *Alexander* was born, was the (*a*) Temple of *Diana* at *Epheſus* ſet on fire by (*b*) one who deſired by ſuch an act to be rendred famous to all poſterity, as he confeſſed upon the Rack. But the Council of *Aſia* decreed that none ſhould dare to name him; and for any thing we certainly know, his name is buried in Oblivion, or at leaſt, there is incertainty in it; for though *Theopompus* in his Hiſtory recorded it, and ſome (*c*) tell us it was *Heroſtratus*; yet by another he is called *Lygdamis*. (*d*) This being deſtroyed by this means

A. M. 3649.
Ol. 106. *an.* 1.
V. C. 348.
Ochi, 6.
Philippi. 5.

Vide Uſſerum in Annal. Vet. Teſtam. p. 271.

Juſtin lib. 12. *cap.* 16.
(*a*) *Plutarch in Alexandro.*
(*b*) *Val. Max. l.* 8. *c.* 14. *ext. exemp.* 5.
Gell. l. 2. *c.* 6.
(*c*) *Val. ibid.*
Strabo l. 14. *p.* 640.
Solin. cap. 40.
(*d*) *Strabo idem.*

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means a more excellent Structure was raiſed, the women contributing their Ornaments, and the men their Goods; to this purpoſe money being alſo made of the old Pillars. *Timæus* as (*e*) one, or *Hegeſias* the *Magneſian* as (*f*) another, ſaid the reaſon of the burning to have been, becauſe *Diana* that night being buſied in Midwives work at the travel of *Olympias*, had no leiſure to look to her Temple, which Jeſt *Plutarch* counteth ſo frigid, as to have been able to have quenched the Flame. Perhaps both conceits put together might have done it.

(*e*) *Cicero. l.* 1. *de Divinat. & 2 de natura Deorum.*

(*f*) *Plutarch.*

The *Phocian* or Sacred War.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 106. *an.* 2.

13. The year after wherein *Calliſtratus* was *Archon*, began the *Phocian* or *Sacred* War (as it was called) in *Greece*, which aroſe upon this occaſion. The *Lacedæmonians* after their overthrow in the Battel of *Leuctra*, had been fined much money by the Council of the *Amphyctiones*, to the uſe of the *Thebans*, for ſeizing upon *Cadmea* their Citadel, which was exacted of them. The *Phocians* alſo having plowed up a great piece of the Ground belonging to the Temple at *Delphos* and called *Cyrrhæa*, were alſo fined by the ſame Common-council of *Greece*, many Talents. This Decree being confirmed by all the *Græcians*, and about to be executed by ſeizing on their Grounds, *Philomelus* a man of principal note amongſt them told them the Decree was unjuſt, and perſwaded them by force to reſcind it, for that they had advantage enough ſo to do, becauſe the Oracle it ſelf was once in their poſſeſſion, and tuition, citing to that purpoſe two Verſes out of the ſecond Book of the *Iliads* of *Homer*. He perſwaded them therefore to get it again into their Hands, promiſing, if they would give him power, to do it, and all other things for their profit and honour. They made him General, with full power according to his deſire, who ſtraight went to *Sparta*, where he preſſed alſo the injuſtice of the *Amphyctiones* toward that State about their Fine, and ſhewing how it alſo concerned them to have the Sentence of the Council nulled, he perſwaded *Archidamus* the King to joyn with him. He ſupplied him with money, wherewith raiſing Soldiers he invaded the Temple, and beating back the *Locrians* that came to oppoſe him, with great Slaughter, pulled the Decrees of the Council from the Pillars, and brake in pieces the Tables wherein were regiſtred the Names of the condemned. He cauſed it to be told abroad, that he neither intended to rob the Temple, nor to have any other diſhoneſt intention; but the *Bœotians* not believing him, in their general Council decreed, that the Temple was to be recovered, and gave order for Levies for the ſame purpoſe. *Philomelus* in the mean time fortified the place, and made all poſſible proviſion for defence. He invaded the *Locrians*, who killing ſome of his men, refuſed to reſtore the Bodies, alleging the Law, that all ſacrilegious perſons ought to be caſt out unburied: but he on purpoſe ingaged with them in another Skirmiſh, and with ſome of theirs redeemed them formerly denied. Then forced he the Propheteſs to aſcend the *Tripos* to give him advice concerning the War. She out of fear, told him he might do whatſoever he pleaſed.

A.M. 3650.
Ol. 106. *an.* 2.
V. C. 399.
Ochi, 7.
Philippi, 6.

The original of the Oracle at *Delphos*.

14. The Temple of *Apollo Pythius*, and the Oracle at *Delphos*, one of the two chief Cities of *Phocis* (*Elatea* being reckoned with it) till made a Commonwealth of it ſelf by the *Lacedæmonians*, was of antient Original, as appeareth by the (*a*) Poets making *Agamemnon* before his Expedition to *Troy*, to have received anſwer from it. The place thereof was accounted the middle of all *Greece*, and alſo the navil of the whole World, a Fable being invented (related by *Pindar*) that two Eagles (ſome ſay Crows) being ſent out, the one from the Eaſt, and the other from the Weſt by *Jupiter*, met here. The (*b*) Original of the Oracle is to be fetched from Goats, which feeding about that Cave or Hole (where afterwards the Temple was built) were ſeen to skip and utter Voices unuſual to others and themſelves at other times, which the Herdſman perceiving, went thither himſelf, and was affected in like manner, withal foretelling things to come. This being blazed abroad, and many who flocked thither experiencing the ſame thing themſelves, it came to be judged an Oracle. For a time one gave anſwer to another indifferently; but many were tranſported with the fury, and leaping down into the Hole were utterly loſt, ſo that it was judged beſt, to ſet apart one woman, who ſhould attend conſtantly, and a certain Engine to be made, wherein ſtanding ſafely over the place, ſhe might give out the Oracle. This Engine having three feet, came thence to be called *Tripos*; the woman was named *Pythia*, from asking, ſaith *Strabo*, and the firſt of all others was called *Phemonoe*. Virgins at firſt were only deſtinated to this work, till one of them being raviſhed by *Echecrates* the *Theſſalian*, women of about fifty years, but in the habit of Virgins were only allowed of. The Temple in more antient times was

(*a*) *Odyſſ.* θ. 75. *vide Strabo. lib.* 9. *p.* 417. D.

(*b*) *Diodorus. ad Olym.* 106. *an.* 1.

was very famous for the Oracle; for the ſitting of the *Amphictiones*, the *Pythian* Games, and the riches thereof; but in the time of *Strabo* it was decayed in reputation, being nothing ſo much accounted of, which we may gather from it's poverty, ſeeing by gifts it was not able to recover the wealth taken out of it in after times, as it did that which it enjoyed in the time of *Homer*, having been rifled before it was recruited again by the preſent of *Crœſus*, his Father *Alyattes*, the *Italians*, *Sicilians*, and others.

15. *Philomelus* ſent to *Athens*, *Lacedæmon*, and the other eminent Cities of *Greece*, to excuſe himſelf, profeſſing he only intended the recovery of the Temple into the poſſeſſion of his Country-men, and not with any deſire or deſign to pillage the treaſures, adding, that he ſhould be always ready to account for the money or gifts belonging thereto. He deſired that if any out of ill will to the *Phocians* bare Arms againſt them, that they would enter into a League with them, or at leaſt to forbear all Hoſtility. The meſſengers effectually ſolliciting according to their inſtructions, brought the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* to enter into ſociety, and to promiſe aid; but the *Bœotians*, with the *Locrians* and ſome others, thought the contrary, and reſolved that the Temple was to be reſcued. *Philomelus* ſeeing what kind of a brunt he muſt undergo, laboured always to ſtrengthen himſelf, for which purpoſe abſtaining yet from the Treaſures of the Temple, he took a great ſumme of money from the Citizens of *Delphi*, wherewith he hired Soldiers. Having got together a conſiderable force, he took the field, and overthrew the *Locrians* who made head againſt him. They then ſent to *Thebes* requiring aid for *Apollo* and themſelves, and the *Bœotians* thinking their demand to be juſt, deſirous to ſhew their Devotion, and conceiving it to concern them that the Decrees of the *Amphyctiones* ſhould not be nulled, ſent to the *Theſſalians*, and the reſt of the *Amphyctiones* to joyn with them in this War againſt the *Phocians*. The Council meeting together, then Decreed, that War was to be made upon them, which cauſed great motions and factions throughout all *Greece*.

Idem ad an. 3

The Council of *Amphyctiones* decreeth War againſt the *Phocians*.

16. Some thought Religion bound them to relieve the God, and puniſh the *Phocians* as ſacrilegious perſons; but others inclined to defend them, according to their particular intereſts. The *Bœotians*, *Locrians*, *Perrhæbæans*, *Dorians*, *Dolopians*, *Athamanians*, *Achæans*, they of *Pthiotis*, the *Magnetes*, *Ænianes*, and ſome others were for reſcuing the Temple. With the *Phocians* ſtood the *Athenians*, *Lacedæmonians*, and ſome others of *Peloponneſus*, whereof the *Lacedæmonians* were now more than before concerned, for not having paid their Fine impoſed on them by the *Amphyctiones* within the time limited, at the laſt ſitting they were Fined one thouſand Talents more. This made them deſire that the Decrees of the Council ſhould be invalid, as well as the *Phocians*, and being unwilling to contract the Odium of making War in their own name upon that account, they were glad to do it as it were in the name of the other, endeavouring withal to get the Temple into their own hands. *Philomelus*, when there came certain intelligence that the *Thebans* would invade them with a ſtrong Army, to furniſh himſelf with mercenaries, ſeized upon the Treaſury of the Temple: then offering half as much more wages as formerly, he had multitudes offered themſelves to the ſervice. With ten thouſand he invaded the *Locrians*, who being aſſiſted with the *Bœotians* oppoſed him, and having the worſt of it, afterwards taking ſome of his men as they were gathering forage, put them to death as ſacrilegious perſons condemned by the *Amphyctiones*. This the *Phocians* complaining of, procured of their General, that to ſtop ſuch proceedings for the time to come, he ſhould puniſh ſuch priſoners as he took in the ſame kind. After this the Armies removed into other parts of the Countrey, where ingaging in Woody and difficult places of paſſage, the *Phocians* were overmatched by the number of their Enemies, and being put to flight, *Philomelus*, after he had omitted nothing worthy of a Captain, for fear he ſhould come into the power of his Enemies, leaped down a Rock, and periſhed with the fall. With *Diodorus* conſenteth (a) *Pauſanias* as to the kind of his death, though (b) *Juſtin* writeth him to have been ſlain in the beginning of the fight.

Philomelus ſlain.

(a) *In Phocicis.*
(b) *lib.* 8.

17. *Onomarchus* his Collegue taking upon him the Office of General after his death, gathering up the reliques of the Army, therewith retreated home, and the *Bœotians* rejoycing they had wrought the deſtruction of ſo infamous a man, returned into their own Countrey, hoping his hap would deter others from the like Enterprize. But the *Phocians* (being perſwaded by *Onomarchus*, who himſelf had alſo been Fined by the *Ampyctiones*, and therefore for his own ends ſtirred them up

Onomarchus ſucceedeth him.

Diodorus ad ann. 4.

up to continue the War) reſolved to perfect if poſſible what was begun, and to that purpoſe created him General. He as his Prodeceſſor had done, with large pay allured many unto him, corrupted the *Theſſalians* to quit the ſociety of the *Bœotians*, and invading the Territories of the Enemy took *Thronium*, forced the *Amphiſſians* to ſubmit, and waſted the grounds of the *Dorians*; he took *Orchomenus* in *Bœotia*; but beſieging *Chæronea* was worſted by the *Thebans*, and forced to retreat. At this time the *Thebans*, though deſerted by the *Theſſalians*, ſent over forces into *Aſia* to *Artabazus*, who had revolted from the King, and now began to decline after *Chares* the *Athenian* had left him. The War was renewed betwixt the *Argives* and the *Lacedæmonians* who had the better in a battel fought at *Orneæ*. *Chares* going into the *Helleſpont* took *Seſtus*, and *Kerſobleptes* the ſon of *Cotys* King of the *Thracians*, bearing ill will to *Philip* of *Macedonia*, drew all the Cities of the *Cherroneſus* to the party of the *Athenians*, except *Cardia*, into which the people were about to ſend Colonies. *Philip* conſidering that the *Methymnæans* ſuffered his Enemies to uſe their City ſeated in *Magneſia* for a refuge, and as a place convenient for carrying on the War, beſieged it. They held out againſt him for ſome time, and in the ſiege he loſt one of his Eyes with a ſtroak of an Arrow; but at length they deſired to be diſmiſſed with one ſute of Apparel apiece, and this being granted, he deſtroyed the City, and divided the grounds amongſt the *Macedonians*.

Philip beſiegeth *Methymna*, a Town ſituate in *Magneſia*.

18. After this he was called into *Theſſaly* by the Inhabitants againſt *Lycophron* Tyrant of the *Pheræans*, who in like manner deſiring aid of the *Phocians*, *Phayllus* the brother of *Onomarchus* was ſent to aſſiſt him with ſeven thouſand men. Him *Philip* worſted, and expelled out of *Theſſaly*. *Onomarchus* then, who had already attained the Dominion of all that Countrey in his mind, with all his ſtrength marched to the aid of *Lycophron*, and overmatching *Philip*, and the *Theſſalians*, in number of men, overthrew them twice with great ſlaughter, and ſorely diſtreſſed *Philip*, inſomuch that hardly containing his Soldiers in obedience, he preſently retreated into *Macedonia*. *Onomarchus* improving the credit this victory had got him, overthrew the *Bœotians*, and got *Chæronea*. *Philip* recruited himſelf, and returned into *Theſſaly* againſt the Tyrant, who being ſtraightn'd ſent again to *Onomarchus*, promiſing if his affairs ſucceded, to do his work in the Cities of *Theſſaly*. *Onomarchus* with twenty thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe was ready at his call, but ingaging in battel with *Philip*, and the *Theſſalians*, was utterly defeated by the power and courage of the *Theſſalian* Horſe, and fled amain with ſuch as could get away towards the Sea. It hapned that *Chares* the *Athenian* hovering then about the Coaſts with a fleet, ſaved many that took the Sea, and ſwom to his ſhips. But of the *Phocians* and their aſſiſtants ſix thouſand were ſlain, and as many taken, amongſt whom was *Onomarchus*, whom *Philip* cauſed to be hanged, and the reſt to be drowned in the Sea as ſacrilegious perſons. This battel hapned in the year wherein *Mauſolus* the famous Prince of *Caria* died, and *Clearchus* the Tyrant of *Heraclea* a City in *Pontus*, was ſlain, to whom ſucceeded his ſon *Timotheus*, and reigned fifteen years. *Clearchus* having obtained the Tyranny, and his deſigns proſpering imitated in all things *Dionyſius* of *Syracuſe*, and inſlaved his fellow Citizens very magnificently twelve years.

Is twice defeated by *Onomarchus*.

Who getteth *Chæronea*, but is again utterly defeated by *Philip*, and is hanged.

Vide Juſtin. lib. 16.

19. The year after, being the firſt of the one hundred and ſeventh *Olympiad*, wherein *Smicrinus* of *Tarentum* was Victor, and *Ariſtodemus Archon*, *Phayllus* was made General in the room of *Onomarchus* his brother. He having plenty of money, therewith not only allured obſcure men, but the principal Cities of *Greece* to joyn with him in the War. The *Lacedæmonians* ſent him one thouſand Foot, the *Achæans* two thouſand, and the *Athenians* five thouſand, beſides four hundred Horſe. *Lycrophon* and *Pitholaus* the *Phærean* Tyrants, after the death of *Onomarchus* being deſtitute of ſuccour, were forced to quit their power by *Philip* and gathering together two thouſand men, lead them to the ſervice of *Phayllus*. With ſuch forces and thoſe of his own he invaded *Bœotia*, but was worſted ſeveral times, firſt at *Orchomenus* where he loſt many men, then at the River *Cephiſus*, and again at *Chæronea*. After this he invaded the *Locrians*, called *Epicnemidii*, ſeveral of whoſe Towns he took, and received ſome loſs from the *Bœotians*, who invading *Phocis* he came ſuddenly upon them and revenged himſelf. But having conflicted long with a Conſumption, not long after in great pain, as his impiety (ſaith *Diodorus*) had deſerved, he ended his life. He left for his Succeſſor *Phalæchus* the ſon of *Onomarchus*, who being but young, he joyned as Counſellour to him, one *Mnaſeas* his familiar friend. The *Bœotians* falling by night

Diodorus ad Olymp. 107. *ann.* 1.

Phayllus ſucceedeth *Onomarchus*.

And dieth of a Conſumption.

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night upon them, ſlew two hundred of the *Phocians* with their Captain *Mnaſeas*, and within a while in a fight at *Chæronea*, *Phalæus* himſelf was alſo worſted, and many of his followers were ſlain. *Philip* of *Macedon* having reſtored the *Theſſalians* to liberty by taking away the yoak of the *Pheræan* Tyrants (which bound them ever after very faſt to him and his ſon) went towards the *Pilæ*, or Streights, to make War upon the *Phocians*; but the *Athenians* hindring his paſſage, thence he returned with great honour into his own Kingdom.

Stirs betwixt the *Lacedæmonians* and *Megalopolitans.*

20. Whilſt theſe things were adoing, the *Lacedæmonians* being at Enmity with the Inhabitants of *Megalopolis*, ſent *Archidamus* their King to invade them, who being too weak for them of themſelves, deſired aid of their friends. The *Argives*, *Sicyonians*, and *Meſſenians* helped them with their whole ſtrength, and the *Thebans* ſent them four thouſand Foot and five hundred Horſe. The *Lacedæmonians* had three thouſand Foot from the *Phocians*, and one hundred and fifty Horſe from *Lycophron* and *Pitholaus*, by the aſſiſtance of which forces they took *Orneæ*, a City of *Argolis*, before their Enemies could come to relieve it. The *Thebans* afterwards coming down, a battel was fought with equal ſucceſs, after which the *Argives* departed to their ſeveral homes, and the *Lacedæmonians* invading *Arcadia*, took and plundred *Eliſſus*, and returned unto *Sparta*. After ſome time the *Thebans* had the better of it at *Telphuſſa*, and after that in two battels more, wherein they killed many of their Enemies; but then again the *Lacedæmonians* by a notable victory recovered their credit, and the Armies returning home, a Truce was made betwixt them and the *Megalopolitans*. This was done whilſt *Phalæchus* in *Bœotia* took *Cheroieda*, and preſently loſt it again to the *Thebans*, who then with a numerous Army entred, and waſted *Phocis*, and then having taken ſome inconſiderable places with much booty they returned into *Bœotia*.

Idem ad ann. 2.

21. The next year the *Thebans* being ſpent with the *Phocian* War, ſent to *Ochus* the *Perſian* King to deſire a ſupply of money from him; who without any difficulty, or delay, beſtowed on them three hundred Talents. No memorable thing paſſed betwixt the *Phocians* and them this year, which was ſpent in skirmiſhes and mutual depredation. Two years after (a) *Philip* caſt out again *Pitholaus* the Tyrant, who had ſeized upon *Pheræ*, and ſetting upon the Cities of *Thrace* which belonged to *Chalcis*, took by ſtorm the Caſtle *Zeira*, which he demoliſhed, and forced other Towns to ſubmit to his yoak, (b) though upon the deſire of the *Chalcidians*, *Charidemus* had been ſent from the *Athenians* to help them, then lying in the *Helleſpont*. The (c) year following wherein was ſolemnized the one hundred and eighth *Olympiad*, whereof *Polycles* the *Cyrenæan* was Victor, having great deſigns in his mind, he haſted to get into his hands the Cities of the *Helleſpont*, and without any ſtroaks got *Micylerne* and *Torone* by treachery to be delivered up to him. Now he quarrelled with the *Olynthians* (becauſe his affairs were improved by ſucceſs) whom before he courted as fearing their power, which had been ever too much for his predeceſſors. 'Tis ſaid he pretended a quarrel becauſe they received his two half brothers, whom after he had taken in the Town he murdered; all things being lawful to him now that might any way ſerve his turn, all his affections and paſſions being ſwallowed up in his ambition, which made him not ſtick to break faith himſelf, and by his Gold to attempt others to do it. He thought it to no purpoſe to practiſe the winning of *Olynthus*, till he had firſt incloſed all their power within the Walls, and therefore he firſt overthrew them in two battels, and then beſieged the City, which attempting with many aſſaults and great loſs of men, at length it was betrayed into his hands by *Euthycrates* and *Laſthenes* the chief Magiſtrates, whom he had corrupted with money. He ſackt it, and ſold the Inhabitants with the reſt of the plunder, whereby he much enriched himſelf, and was enabled to buy in Cities which he daily did, having been adviſed by the Oracle at the beginning of his undertaking, to *make his aſſaults with ſilver ſpears*; inſomuch that he boaſted that his Kingdom was more increaſed by Gold than Arms.

(a) Idem ad ann. 4.

(b) Anagraphe Olympiadum.

(c) Diodorus ad Olymp. 108. ann. 1. Juſtin. lib. 8.

Philip getteth *Olynthus.*

Diodorus ibid.

22. The *Athenians* being ſenſible of his incroachments, jealous of his growing power, and warily providing for the liberty of *Greece*, ſupplied, as they might, ſuch as he fell upon with war, and now ſent up and down to the Cities to deſire them to value their liberty, and puniſh capitally ſuch as were treacherous amongſt them, promiſing them their alliance and utmoſt aſiſtance, in this work. And now at length by the ſpecial advice of *Demoſthenes* (the greateſt Wit and Orator of *Greece*) they openly declared themſelves his Enemies, and undertook the quarrel. But ſo far were the ſpirits of the *Greeks* degenerated, that this

The *Athenians* began to look to themſelves.

endeavour

Sect. 5.

endeavour of theirs could not counterwork the efficacy of his Gold, ſo that having a mind to take a Town that was ſtrongly fortified, and one of the place telling him it could not be done, he asked him if he thought it not poſſible for his Gold to get over the walls. He had in all the Cities up and down his inſtruments and ſecret workers, who ſought for a little gain to undermine the fortune of their own Country. After the taking of *Olynthus*, he celebrated the *Olympick* Games, and feaſted all Comers; and entertaining them with great magnificence, by this cunning ingaged many to betray their Faith.

Idem ad an. 1.

The *Bœotians* crave aid of *Philip*.

A remarkable accident.

23. The following year the *Bœotians* and *Phocians* mutually preyed upon each other, and ſeveral skirmiſhes hapned betwixt them, which produced no great loſs on either ſide. But *Phalæcus* the *Phocian* General, being accuſed to have ſtollen the ſacred money, was put out of his place, and three Generals ſubſtituted in his room, *Democrates*, *Callias*, and *Sophanes*, who were to make inquiſition about the money which was ſtollen, and call the Truſtees who had the management thereof, to account. The Chief of the Truſtees was *Philo*, who being not able to give an account, was racked, and confeſſed many of his fellow thieves. They had taken out of the Temple four thouſand Talents of gold after the rate of ſilver, and above ſix thouſand Talents of ſilver of ſuch preſents as *Crœſus* and others had ſent: and there wanted not ſome who affirmed as much to have been rifled out of this Temple, as *Alexander* afterwards found in the treaſures of the *Perſians*. *Phalæcus* was about to ſearch in the pavement for treaſure, hinted at by *Homer*; but when the Soldiers came to dig near to the *Tripos*, ſuch Earthquakes hapned, as deterred them from proceeding any further. The *Phocians* aſſiſted with theſe riches carried on the War, and by this time had got into their hand three ſtrong places in *Bœotia*; *Orchomenus*, *Cheronea*, and *Corſias*. The *Bœotians* being much preſſed herewith, having loſt very many men, and wanting money, ſent Ambaſſadors to the King of *Macedonia* for aid. *Philip* was very glad to find them in ſo weak a condition, deſiring to abate that Spirit which they had got at the battel at *Leuctra*, yet he ſent them a conſiderable number of men, becauſe he would not ſeem to be wanting to ſo religious a cauſe, as vindicating the right of the Oracle. At this time the *Phocians* building a Caſtle near *Abæ*, were fallen upon by the *Bœotians*, and ſhifting for themſelves into the neighbouring Towns, five hundred of them ſtepped by into a Chappel of *Apollo* near *Abæ*. Fire being left in their Tents, ſeized upon ſome Straw there, whence a great flame ariſing, caught hold at length of the Chappel, and therein burnt alive thoſe that had fled thither, for an example (as *Diodorus* accounteth it) to all ſacrilegious perſons.

(a) *Orat. contra Cteſiphont.*
(b) *Orat.* περὶ Στεφάνȣ.
(c) *Idem ibid. Juſtin. lib.* 8.

Philip lulleth the *Athenians* aſleep.

24. *Philip* being now imployed in the War of *Thrace*, which was to the great damage of the *Athenians*, to lull them aſleep, promiſed he would enter into a ſtraight league and alliance with them, and pretending fair things, ſo corrupted ſome of the chief Orators, (a) (*Æſchines* accuſeth *Demoſthenes*, and (b) *Demoſthenes* layeth the load upon *Æſchines*) that a peace was made up which continued ſeven years. (c) *Demoſthenes* adviſed them to ſend away their Ambaſſadors to *Philip* with all ſpeed, to ratifie the League, leſt he delaying the matter according to his cuſtom, ſhould ſtill proceed to incommodate their affairs. Accordingly five Ambaſſadors were diſpatched away, whereof one was *Æſchines*; but coming into *Macedonia*, they were there forced to ſtay till *Philip* had ſettled all things in *Thrace*, according to his own pleaſure, and paſſed through the *Pylæ* or Straights into *Phocis*. The *Athenians* hearing of his coming, notwithſtanding the place, were in great fear, and cauſed all their goods to be brought into the City. The *Theſſalians* and *Bœotians* earneſtly now deſired of him that he would undertake the conduct of all *Greece* againſt the *Phocians*; and on the other ſide the Ambaſſadors of the *Phocians*, *Lacedæmonians*, and *Athenians*, earneſtly dehorted him from the War. He hearing both ſides, being accuſtomed to double dealing, promiſed them he would do as all had deſired, and ſo making them ſecure hereby, ſeized upon the Straights of *Thermopylæ*.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 108. *an.* 3.

25. The *Phocians* having ſent to *Lacedæmon* for aid, procured one thouſand Foot-men of heavy Armour, which were commanded by *Archidamus*. *Philip* in conjunction with the *Theſſalians* with a ſtrong Army went down into *Locris*, where finding *Phalæcus* reſtored to his Generalſhip, he haſted to decide the controverſie by action, but the other lying at *Nice*, and perceiving himſelf too weak to fight, ſent to treat with him, and they agreed that he ſhould have freedom to depart with his men whither he pleaſed. Faith being given and received, he

departed

He endeth the *Phocian* War.

departed with his Mercenaries to the number of eight thouſand into *Peloponneſus*, and the *Phocians* being thus deſerted, were forced to yield. So the War was ended by *Philip* without a ſtroak, in the tenth year after the beginning thereof, in the third year of the hundred and eigth *Olympiad*, according to *Diodorus*, when *Archias* was *Archon*: but as * *Pauſanias* writeth, in the firſt of this *Olympiad*, and in the government of *Theophilus*.

* *in Phocicis.*

Diodorus ibid.

Pauſan. ut prius.

26. *Philip* calling a Council of the *Bœotians* and *Theſſalians*, it was reſolved to remit the matter of the *Phocians* wholly to the judgment and ſentence of the *Amphyctiones*. They decreed *that Philip as a reward for his good ſervice ſhould be inrolled in the number of themſelves, and have the double voice which the Phocians formerly had. That the Phocians ſhould be debarred from the Temple. That they ſhould have neither Horſe nor Arms till ſuch time as they had repayed the money which they had ſtollen from Apollo. All their Exiles and as many as were guilty of Sacrilege in their own perſons ſhould be accounted piacular, and it might be lawful to take them out of any place. All their Cities were to be levelled with the ground, and they reduced into Villages, not exceeding the number of fifty little Families apiece, and diſtant a furlong one from another. They were to pay to the Temple a yearly tribute of ſixty Talents, till the money ſtollen was made up.* But from this puniſhment, *Pauſanias* telleth us the *Abæans* were excepted, who alone had not contaminated themſelves. The Council then took order for reſtoring of the Oracle, and for the eſtabliſhment of peace in *Greece*; and *Philip* having confirmed their Decrees, imbracing them all with ſingular kindneſs, returned into his own Kingdom, flouriſhing with great glory both upon the account of Piety and Martial matters. This Expedition made not a little for the enlargement of his Empire, and the improvement of his deſign already laid, to procure himſelf to be choſen Captain General of *Greece*, and to make War upon the *Perſians*.

The *Phocians* how puniſhed by the *Amphyctiones*.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 109. *an.* 1.

27. Two years after, and in the ſeventeenth of his reign, he invaded the *Illyrians* his old Enemies with a potent Army, took therein many Towns, waſted the Country, and with rich booty returned into *Macedonia*. Then went he into *Theſſaly*, where caſting out the Tyrants out of the Cities, he much won upon the People, having a deſign hereby to make uſe of their favour, as a decoy to bring in the affections of the reſt. And it failed not; for their neighbours led by their example, very readily entred into League with him. The year after he proſecuted this deſign to a further advantage, for *Kerſobleptes* the King of the *Thracians* much diſtreſſing the *Greek* Cities in *Thrace*, he exhorted them to joyn together, and with a ſtrong force going againſt him overthrew the *Thracians* in ſeveral battels, and forced them to pay the tenths of their Lands to the Kingdom of *Macedonia*. He built Forts in ſuch places as were convenient for the bridling of their power, whereby the Cities being delivered now from their fear, moſt gladly imbraced his alliance and ſociety. The year after this, *Arymbas* King of the *Moloſſians* died, who left a Son named *Æacides*, the Father of *Pyrrhus*, but *Philip* deprived him of the Kingdom, and gave it to *Alexander* the brother of his wife *Olympias*. * Another ſaith, that he deprived *Arymbas* yet alive, and expelling him the Kingdom ſetled *Alexander* therein.

Idem ad an. 2.

Philip overthroweth the *Thracians*.

Idem ad an 3.

* *Juſtin. l.* 7. & 8.

Diodorus ad an. 4.

28. The next Expedition *Philip* undertook, was againſt *Perinthus* a ſtrong City, ſituate upon the ſhore of the *Propontis*, the Inhabitants whereof in favour of the *Athenians* croſſed his deſigns. With his utmoſt might, he fell upon it, continuing the ſtorm without intermiſſion, by freſh men ſent in the place of the dead or wounded: he built Turrets higher than theirs, and with battering rams and mines brake down a part of the wall. But the defendants being relieved from *Byzantium*, manfully reſiſted, and built a ſtronger wall in the room of that which was thrown down. By this means the Siege being drawn on in length, and great talk being in *Aſia* of the power of the *Macedonian*, *Ochus* the *Perſian* King being now jealous of his power, thought it wiſdom to ballance him, and for that purpoſe gave order to his *Satrapaes* upon the Sea Coaſts to aſſiſt the *Perinthians*. They uniting their Forces together, gave them their utmoſt aſſiſtance, which with the natural ſtrength of the place inabled them to ſtand it out. For it was ſeated upon the cliff of a Peninſula about a furlong in length, the houſes were thick and high, riſing one rank above another, according to the aſcent of the hill, ſo that the whole Town repreſented the form of a Theatre. Hereby, though the wall was battered down, yet ſtopping the ends of the ſtreets, their defence was little diminiſhed, which *Philip* perceiving, and how all things neceſſary fer the War were abundantly ſupplied

Beſiegeth *Perinthus*.

from

Marcheth thence to *Byzantium.*

from *Byzantium*, he left a ſtrong party under expert Captains to carry on the Siege, and with the reſt of the Army haſted againſt that City, the inhabitants whereof having ſent their men and arms to the *Perinthians*, were thereby much ſtraightned.

29. By this time the grudges betwixt *Philip* and the *Athenians* were ſo heightned, that now the Peace was held as broken on both ſides. *Phocion* the *Athenian* was ſent againſt *Clitarchus* the Tyrant of *Eretria*, who was made by *Philip*, and caſt him out, being by (*a*) *Plutarch* called *Plutarch*. (*b*) They ſent Aid alſo to the *Byzantians*, at the perſwaſion of (*c*) *Demoſthenes*, contained in the fourth Oration of his *Philipicks*. With them joyned the *Chians*, *Coans*, *Rhodians*, and other *Greeks*, which ſo terrified *Philip*, as he was glad for the preſent to yield to neceſſity, and made a Peace with them. For *Demoſthenes* having perſwaded his Citizens forgetting all committed in the Social War, to ſend relief to the *Byzantians* and *Perinthians*, and he himſelf being ſent Ambaſſador to the Cities, wrought ſo effectually with them, that beſides their ordinary Militia, they raiſed fifteen thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe, and liberally contributed Money for their pay; at which time the Aſſociates deſiring that the ſum of the Tax might be ſet, *Crobylus* the Orator ſaid, that War had no ſet rate of allowance. At this time (*d*) *Ateas* King of *Scythia* being invaded by the *Iſtrians*, ſent to *Philip* for aid, promiſing him ſucceſſion in his Kingdom; which being ſent when as the *Iſtrians* retreated, he alſo ſent back the *Macedonians*, and recalled his Promiſe concerning the ſucceſſion. *Philip* hereupon demanded money to pay the men, but he alſo refuſing it upon pretence of Poverty, raiſed his Siege from *Byzantium* to go againſt him, and ſent Meſſengers before to let the *Scythians* know he had vowed to ſet up to *Hercules* a Statue upon the Bank of *Iſter*, and to deſire peaceable acceſs and receſs for that purpoſe. He anſwered, that if he pleaſed to ſend the Statue it ſhould be erected, but refuſed to give leave for him to enter his Borders with an Army, ſaying, that if he ſet it up by force, he would pull it down after his departure, and turn the Braſs thereof into Heads of Arrows. *Philip* entering *Scythia*, a Battel was fought, wherein he overcame them by Craft, who in courage exceeded, and took twenty thouſand women and children, with multitudes of Cattel, but neither Gold nor Silver. Twenty thouſand Mares of the choiceſt were ſent into *Macedonia* to breed, As *Philip* returned, the *Triballi* oppoſed themſelves, refuſing to give him paſſage except he would part with ſome of his Booty. He diſdaining the thing, forced his paſſage, but received ſuch a wound in his Thigh, that through it his Horſe was killed under him, and being taken up for dead, ſo little care was had for the Prey, that it was left. *Iſocrates* the Orator taking occaſion at this diſaſter, ſought by his ſecond Epiſtle to draw his mind to a peaceable inclination; but to no purpoſe.

He invadeth the *Scythians.*

At his return wounded and diſtreſſed by the *Triballi.*

(*a*) *In Phocion.*
(*b*) *Diodorus ad Olymp.* 110. *an.* 1.
(*c*) *Plutarch in Demoſthen.*
(*d*) *Juſtin l.* 9.

30. Two years after, having drawn moſt of the *Græcians* into Society with him, he longed after the Empire of all *Greece*, in his way to which the *Athenians* only ſeemed the main Obſtacle. He reſolved now to daunt them, and obtain his purpoſe, and for that end ſeized firſt upon *Elatea* a City of *Phocis*, and calling his Forces thither reſolved ſpeedily to make War upon them, hoping his work would be the leſs, becauſe he ſhould take them altogether unprepared, and ſecure upon the account of the Peace. The *Athenians* exceedingly ſtruck hereat for ſome time ſtood mute, after they were met together, being come of their own accord, for that the Magiſtrates cauſed an Allarm to be ſounded all the night after they received the news. At length all their Eyes were turned upon *Demoſthenes*, who perſwaded them to ſend to the *Bœotians* to deſire their aſſiſtance in the vindication of the liberty of *Greece*, and being ſent himſelf by his Oratory perſwaded them to it, though they held themſelves upon the account of the *Phocian* War obliged to *Philip*. The *Athenians* were incouraged by this acceſſion of the *Bœotians*, which doubled their force, and diſpatched their Army under the conduct of *Chares* and *Lyſicles* towards *Chæronea* in *Bœotia*, all of flouriſhing age willingly giving their Names to the expedition, and the *Bœotians* admiring their readineſs haſted alſo themſelves, and joyning to them expected the coming of the Enemy. He ſent his Ambaſſadors to the Council, one whereof was *Python* an eloquent man, to withdraw them from the *Athenians*, but prevailing not, he notwithſtanding reſolved to fight them both, and with an Army of thirty thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe invaded *Bœotia*. He overmatched his Enemies as well in skill as numbers, all the *Athenian* Captains of note being now dead, and *Chares* Chief, who was nothing better for conduct than an ordinary Soldier. A cruel and bloody

Diodorus ad Olymp. 110. *ann.* 3. *Plutarch. in Demoſthene.*

Fight

He obtaineth a Victory over the *Athenians*, &c. at *Chæronea*.

A. M. 3667
Ol. 110. *ann.* 3.
V. C. 416.
Arſis. 1.
Philippi 23.

Fight was fought with great animoſity on both ſides, and with equal ſucceſs, till *Alexander*, *Philip*'s Son, firſt made his Enemies give ground in his wing, and then his Father had the ſame ſucceſs in the other, and obtained the Victory. Of the *Athenians* above one thouſand fell, two thouſand were taken, and of the *Bœotians* a great number. *Demoſthenes* being in the Battel made his actions far diſagreeable to his words, and cowardly with the firſt caſting away his Arms (though good Fortune was ingraven upon his Shield) ran away.

31. Together with this Battel was loſt the liberty of *Greece*, and in effect the antient Glory thereof here had its Period, being never able to recover its Power, but firſt enſlaved by one, and then by another for ever after. (*a*) *Iſocrates* the *Athenian* Orator was ſo ſenſible of the advantage *Philip* had got, that being ignorant how he would improve the opportunity, and reſolved not to ſee *Athens* beſieged the fourth time, he killed himſelf by abſtaining from all ſuſtenance four days, aged ninty eight years. (*b*) Preſently after the Victory, *Philip* carouzed for joy, and walking amongſt the Captives upbraided the badneſs of their condition, when *Demades* the *Athenian* Orator took him ſhort, asking him, if he who had obtained the Fortune of *Agamemnon* ſhamed not to act the part of *Therſites*? with the wit of which caſtigation he was ſo ſtruck, that he caſt off the former countenance, imbraced the Author of it with ſingular kindneſs, with him gave liberty to all the *Athenian* Priſoners, and forgetting his pride, made a League and Alliance with that Commonwealth. (*c*) He is alſo reported to have appointed a Boy every morning to beat this into his Ear, that *He was a man.* He was a great Maſter of his affections indeed. He was never paſſionate to his diſadvantage, and upon this account, to procure that with more eaſe which he had long deſigned, he might thus gratifie the *Athenians*, whoſe intereſt in the other Eſtates being the ſame with the common of all *Greece*, he might be unwilling to force them to the utmoſt. But he placed a Garriſon of his own in *Thebes*; and *Juſtin* writeth, how he ſold for Slaves all the Priſoners of that City, and the Bodies of ſuch as had been ſlain, to their Friends for burial: that of the chiefeſt of the Citizens ſome he put to death, and confiſcated the Goods of the reſt, being ſufficiently ſenſible of their ingratitude. After the Fight, when the *Athenians* fortified their City as expecting a Siege, (*d*) *Demoſthenes* at his own charge re-edified part of the Wall, for which Service *Cteſiphon* thought he was to be honoured with a Garland at the publick meeting of *Greece*; but *Æſchines* contended it was againſt the Law: and ſo his Oration againſt *Cteſiphon* concerning the Crown, or Garland, was written this year, *Charonides* (or *Charondas*) being *Archon*, the third of the one hundred and tenth *Olympiad*, and the firſt of the reign of *Arſes* the *Perſian* King.

(*c*) *Plutarch in vitis Rhetorum & Dionyſius in Iſocrate.*

(*b*) *Diodorus.*

(*c*) *Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib.* 8. *cap.* 15.

(*d*) *Plutarch. in Demoſthene.*

Obtaineth to be named General at Sea for all *Greece* againſt the *Perſian*.

Differences in his houſe by a new marriage.

32. (*a*) *Philip* by his ſucceſs having utterly broken the courage of the principal Cities of *Greece*, now gave out that he would undertake a War againſt the *Perſian* for the general commodity of all the eſtates, and thereby, and with his great courteſie, gained much upon ſome ſorts of People. At length he called them together at *Corinth*, and largely diſcourſing of the War, ſhewed the certain hope of ſucceſs, and earneſtly exhorted them to undertake it; to which all either out of Love or Fear aſſented. He was choſen Captain General for the expedition, allowance of men and money were appointed to the ſeveral Cities, the (*b*) *Lacedæmonians* alone ſcorning both him, and the conditions of his Peace, as accounting that Slavery, and not Peace, which was impoſed by the Conquerour. The Auxiliaries of *Greece* amounted to two hundred thouſand Foot, and fifteen thouſand Horſe, over and above the Forces of *Macedonia*, and the barbarous Nations thereto adjoyning. Whilſt he thus proſpered in his affairs abroad, (*c*) great differences aroſe in his own Houſe by his putting away *Olympias* upon pretence of incontinency, and marrying *Cleopatra* the Niece of *Attalus*. *Olympias* a Woman of an high Spirit, and melancholick Nature, took it exceedingly to heart, and incenſed all ſhe could her Son *Alexander*, who at the Wedding hearing *Attalus* in his Cups to exhort the *Macedonians* to pray for a lawful Heir of the Kingdom from *Philip* and *Cleopatra*, calling him naughty fellow, asked him if he counted him a Baſtard, and therewith threw a Cup at him. *Philip* thereupon with his drawn Sword made at *Alexander*, but to the good of both, being light headed with Wine, and mad with Anger, ſtumbled and fell. After this *Alexander* carried his Mother into *Epirus*, and went himſelf into *Illyricum*, whence his Father ſhortly recalled him by the procurement of *Demaratus* the *Corinthian*. Not long after *Pexodarus* the Governour of *Caria* ſent to offer his eldeſt Daughter in Marriage to *Aridæus* the baſe Son of *Philip*,

(*a*) *Diodorus ad ann.* 4.

(*b*) *Juſtin lib.* 9.

(*c*) *Plutarch. in Alexandro.*

whence great talk being raiſed that *Philip* did it on purpoſe to devolve the Crown upon *Aridæus*, *Alexander* ſent one *Theſſalus* a Player to *Pexodarus*, to perſwade him to neglect a Baſtard and a Fool, and transfer his affinity upon himſelf, which was very well liked by *Pexodarus*. *Philip* ſmelling out the matter, checked *Alexander* grievouſly, as degenerate, and unworthy of the hope of a Kingdom, being ambitious to become ſon-in-law to a *Carian*, who was no better than a Slave to a barbarian King.

33. The next Spring having enquired of the Oracle concerning the ſucceſs of the *Perſian* War (which gave him anſwer as ambiguous, and to the ſame purpoſe as formerly to *Crœſus*) he ſent three Captains over into *Aſia* under pretence of ſetting the *Greek* Cities at liberty; *Attalus*, *Parmenio*, and *Amyntas*. He himſelf, whilſt his Forces were gathering together, made a magnificent Sacrifice to the Gods, and celebrated the marriage of his Daughter *Cleopatra* with her Uncle *Alexander* of *Epirus*, to which he invited all that would, and gave large entertainment, being willing to ſhew to the *Græcians* how thankfully he took their making him General of all *Greece*. Feaſting and Muſick there was in abundance, and the Feaſt being done for that day (but all the Solemnity to be renewed on the next) whilſt it was yet night all the People ran together into the Theatre. Thither were carried twelve Images of his Gods in ſolemn proceſſion, and his own next after in a Divine habit, as arrogating to himſelf a place in the Council of the Gods. Then followed he himſelf apparelled in a white Robe in the midſt of the two *Alexanders*, his Son, and Son-in-law. As he thus proceeded in the ruff of his Pride, the People ſending up loud acclamations to the Skies, and Ecchoing his Felicity, one *Pauſanias* met him in the ſtraighteſt place of his paſſage, and ſtabbed him into the Side, the wound being ſo mortal that he fell down dead. This *Pauſanias* having been invited to a Feaſt by *Attalus*, had been carnally abuſed by him after he was drunk, and then proſtituted to the filthy luſt of baſe Fellows, for which having complained to the King, partly becauſe of their affinity, and becauſe *Philip* intended to uſe him in the War, he could have no ſatisfaction, and for this cauſe took this revenge upon his unjuſt Judge; yet *Alexander* objected to *Darius* that his Father was made away by his procurement.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 111. *ann.* 1. *Pauſan. in Arcadicis. Juſtin.*

He is ſtabbed.

A. M. 3668. *Ol.* 110. *ann.* 4. *V. C.* 417. *Arſis* 2. *Philippi* 24.

34. The murderer having mounted on Horſe-back had got away whilſt the Tumult was about the Body, but that his Shooe catching hold on a Vine he was thereby pulled down, and then ſlain by *Perdiccas* and others. This end had *Philip* after he had reigned twenty four years, and lived fourty ſix, to which *Olympias* is reported by ſome to have contributed, by incouraging *Pauſanias* to commit the fact, and neither know they how to clear *Alexander* of the matter. She put a Golden Crown upon *Pauſanias* his Head as he hung on the Croſs, and a few days after burnt his Body upon the Reliques of her Husband, built him a Monument in the ſame place, and cauſed a yearly parentation to be made to him. After this having killed *Cleopatra*'s young Son in her Boſom, ſhe then hanged her, or as one ſaith, fried them both to death in a brazen Veſſel, and conſecrated the Sword wherewith *Philip* was ſlain, to *Apollo*, under the name of *Myrtalis*, by which ſhe was called when young. The foundation of a great Empire was laid by *Philip*, and a great pattern left unto his Son, which to make, was far more hard than what with greater Glory was atchieved by *Alexander*. The recovery of *Macedon* when there were two Competitors that had ſuch aſſiſtants, was a work of much prudence and dexterity. The regaining of ſuch places as were loſt to the *Illyrians* and *Olynthians*, with the overthrow of the neighbouring Kings, and the State of *Olynthus*, were ſuch things as would have ſeemed too difficult for many ages to his predeceſſors. The matters atchieved by him required both *Mars* and *Mercury* for aſſiſtants, and therein he bred ſo many choice Commanders, as for their Skill and Valour being worthy to wear Crowns; He ſeemeth moſt to deſerve that Glory which his Son by the influence of his abilities afterwards attained.

His great atchievements.

35. *Alexander* his Son ſucceeded him, aged about twenty years, in the firſt of the one hundred and eleventh *Olympiad*, wherein *Cleomantes* was Victor, *Pithodorus* being *Archon*, in the firſt of the Reign of *Darius Codomannus*, and the year of the World 3669. being by the Father's ſide deſcended of *Hercules*, and the mother's from *Achilles*, neither of which lines he diſgraced by the courſe of his Fortunes. Of a great and lofty Spirit he was from a Child, eaſie to be perſwaded, but hard to be compelled. His Father apprehending his wit, procured *Ariſtotle* to be his School-maſter, offering him very large rewards, whoſe Native

Diodorus ibid.

Alexander ſucceedeth him.

Plutarch in Alexandro.

City *Stageira* being before by him demoliſhed, he re-edified for his ſake. By ſuch a Maſter he was not only inſtructed in morality, but had ſome inſight into the more abſtruſe Sciences, and ſeemed to have ſome skill in Phyſick, being wont to give directions to his Friends about their health. Being ſixteen years old, *Philip* undertaking an expedition againſt the *Byzantians*, left him his Deputy in *Macedonia*, where improving his time, he ſubdued the *Medæans* who had revolted, and taking that City, planted it with new Inhabitants, and called it after himſelf *Alexandropolis*. At the Battel of *Chæronea* he behaved himſelf very ſtoutly, which with other his good parts drew great love upon him from his Father (inſomuch that he willingly ſuffered the *Macedonians* to call him King, and himſelf General) but *Philips* mind towards his latter end being withdrawn from his Mother and faſtned upon *Cleopatra*; thereupon enſued great diſſatisfaction on both ſides, whilſt his mother ſtirred him to great indignation, inſomuch as he eſcaped not ſuſpition of being privy to her deſigns againſt his Father's life.

Idem ibid. Diodorus ad Olymp. 111. *ann.* 2.

He beginneth his reign well.

36. Yet began he his Reign with Juſtice againſt ſuch as had an hand in the murther, killing them upon his Grave, and blamed his mother that in his abſence ſhe had dealt ſo cruelly with *Cleopatra*. Then celebrating the Funerals of his Father with royal Rites and Ceremonies, he began to take care of his publick affairs, and being contemned for his youth and little experience, above expectation explicated himſelf out of all difficulties, by imitating his Fathers courteſie, and overcoming many by the invincibleneſs of his Spirit, which through the courſe of his life bore down all oppoſition. He renewed the diſcipline of War, and gained the affections of the Army; knowing alſo that *Attalus* upon the account of his Niece *Cleopatra*, lay at all advantages to do him miſchief, he ſent *Hecatæus* with a band of men, with order to attack him and ſend him over alive if poſſible, or elſe to kill him one way or other, which was at length effected. In the mean time *Demoſthenes* having had ſecret intelligence of *Philip*'s death, went to the people, and pretending to have dreamt it, ſtirred up the *Athenians* all ways poſſible to contemn the youth of *Alexander*, and not to ſuffer him to obtain the Principallity of *Greece*, and to this purpoſe they ſent unto *Attalus*, and entred into conſpiracy with him, how they might beſt effect it. The *Ætolians* intended to reſtore the Exiles of the *Acarnanians* baniſhed by *Philip*. The *Ambraciots* expelled the Garriſon there, and the *Thebans* decreed to do the ſame by that in *Cadmea*. As the *Aracdians* had refuſed to conſent that the Father ſhould be General of *Greece*, ſo were they now nothing better inclined towards the Son, and the reſt of the *Peloponneſians*, as the *Argives*, *Eleans*, and *Lacedæmonians* were ready to do any thing for the aſſerting of their own Liberty and Power. The Nations about *Macedonia* began to ſtir, being altogether inclining to renounce their obedience.

His difficulties in *Greece*,

Which he overcometh.

37. *Alexander* as an earneſt of his future ſucceſs eaſily removed thoſe obſtacles, overpowring ſome by entreaty and good words, others by awe, and ſome by force of Arms. He firſt obtained of the *Theſſalians* by a publick Decree to be owned as his Fathers Succeſſor in the Generalſhip, and then eaſily bringing the neighbouring People to do the ſame, paſſing the *Pylæ*, he called the Council of the *Amphyctiones*, and procured by their ſuffrages to be elected the Captain General of all *Greece*. Having done this, to bring over the reſt by fear, he led down his Army into *Bœotia*, where pitching his Tents by *Cadmea* he affrighted the *Thebans* and the *Athenians* alſo ſo much, that theſe getting in all their Goods to the City, and fortifying it as well as they might, ſent to beg his Pardon, that they had owned him no ſooner. One of the Ambaſſadors was *Demoſthenes*, who came not with the reſt to *Alexander*, but returned back when he was on his way, either for that he ſtood in fear of him for the Orations made againſt his Father, or becauſe he would not crack his Credit with the *Perſian* King, from whom *Æſchines* accuſed him to have received much money. He anſwered the Ambaſſadors to their ſatisfaction, and then ſent for the Deputies of the Eſtates to meet him at *Corinth*, where ſpeaking very courteouſly to them, he was again declared General againſt the *Perſian*, and aid decreed to him for carrying on the War; after which he returned into *Macedonia*. Whilſt he here was in the *Iſthmus*, many Philoſophers came to ſalute him; * only *Diogenes* the *Sinopian* made no reckoning of him. The King underſtanding this, went to viſit him then at *Athens*, and finding him ſuning himſelf in his Tub, ſaluted him kindly, and deſired him, to ask any thing of him whatſoever he pleaſed. He only deſired him to ſtand out of the Sun; which

*Diogenes Laertius & Plutarch, alii.

greatneſs of mind *Alexander* ſo much admired, that when his followers laughed and jeered at the man, he anſwered, that *If he were not Alexander, he would be Diogenes.*

Diodorus & Plutarch.

38. In the beginning of the Spring he made an Expedition into *Thrace*, where he ſubdued ſeveral People, and afterwards proſpered in the ſame manner in *Pæonia* and *Illyria*. In the mean time came intelligence, that many of the *Greeks* had a deſign to revolt, and not a few Cities, amongſt which *Thebes* was moſt eminent, and had renounced his authority. Hereupon he returned into *Macedonia*; the *Thebans* in the mean while beſieging his Garriſon in *Cadmea*, which, being ſupplied with Arms by *Demoſthenes*, they fell upon and ſlew many. They implored the aſſiſtance of the *Argives*, *Eleans*, *Arcadians*, and *Athenians*. The *Athenians* were perſwaded by *Demoſthenes* to ſend them aid, who reigning in the Aſſemblies by the Power of his Tongue, wrote alſo to the Kings Captains in *Aſia*, thence to oppoſe *Alexander*, whom he called a *boy* and a *fool*. But *Alexander* marching with ſpeed into *Bœotia*, the Valour of the *Athenians* well abated, and *Demoſthenes* himſelf grew very cool. The *Thebans* uncertain what their Allies would do, and ſurpriſed with the Kings coming, called a Council of Officers to conſult what ſhould be done, where it was reſolved to fight for their liberty, and this was confirmed by the People, which with great alacrity prepared for reſiſtance, though they might have had good Terms of *Alexander*. Who delayed alſo to do any thing, that they might have time to adviſe; for his mind being fully intent upon the *Perſian* War, he would gladly have been rid of all trouble on this ſide of the Seas. But when he ſaw their wilfulneſs, he fully reſolved to make this City a Terror to the reſt. Yet he firſt offered indemnity to all ſuch as would come over to him, which they to croſs, out of emulation, cauſed to be proclaimed from an high Tower, that if there were any who had a deſire to joyn with the great King and the *Thebans* in vindicating the liberty of *Greece*, and ſuppreſſing the Tyrant thereof, they ſhould repair unto them.

But the *Thebans* fall upon his Garriſon in *Cadmea*.

Whereupon he beſiegeth *Thebes*.

39. Then fell he with all his might and skill upon the City, which they as ſtoutly defended, knowing elſe what would follow, and encouraging themſelves with their former ſucceſs at *Leuctra* and *Mantinea*, they made reſiſtance to the wonder and diſcouragement of their Enemies; till at length *Alexander* perceiving a little Door to be left unguarded, ſent *Perdiccas* thither with a party, who breaking into the City made way for the reſt of the *Macedonians*. Now were the *Thebans* on one ſide by them, and the other by the Garriſon in *Cadmea* (which like a Tempeſt fell upon them) cut in pieces, the Law of War not being allowed them, becauſe of that Proclamation they had made from the Tower. The *Græcians* alſo that ſerved under *Alexander*, as the *Phocians*, *Theſpians*, *Platæans*, *Orchomenians*, and others, bearing them malice, ſpared them no more, ſo that great ſlaughter was made, they fighting it out to the laſt, having no other regard to their lives than this, to ſell them at as dear a rate as poſſible. There were ſlain ſix thouſand (*Ælian* * by ſome miſtake hath ninty thouſand) and thirty thouſand were taken Captives. *Alexander* having buried all his Slain (to the number of five hundred) aſſembled a Council of the *Græcians*, to which he referred what ſhould be done with the *Thebans*. There their Enemies urged againſt them, that they had conſpired with the *Barbarians* againſt the *Græcians*, in the time of *Xerxes*, had fought amongſt other Allies of *Perſia* againſt *Greece*, and ſince that being acknowleged and rewarded by his Succeſſors as well deſerving of them. By theſe things they ſo incenced the Council, as to decree the City to be levelled with the Ground, the Captives to be kill'd, and ſuch as had fled to be ſought for and brought to puniſhment. The King acquieſcing in this ſevere Sentence, executed it accordingly, ſelling all he had taken, except the Prieſts and thoſe that had entertained his Father when he was young, and their kindred, with the poſterity of *Pindar* the Poet, whoſe Houſe alone he left ſtanding. This Famous City then was demoliſhed the laſt day of the *Eleuſinian* Solemnities then celebrated by the *Athenians*, the twentieth day of the moneth *Boedromion*, after it had continued in a ſetled condition almoſt eight hundred years.

He taketh

And demoliſheth it.

* *Var.hiſt.lib. 13. cap. 7.*

40. *Alexander* publiſhing an Edict, whereby all *Græcians* were forbidden to receive the *Theban* Exiles, the *Athenians* alone refuſed to obey it, ſetting open their Gates to them, being then celebrating the myſteries of *Ceres*. Hereat he was inraged, and when they had ſent to deprecate his indignation the ſecond time, forgave them only on this condition: to give up to him the ten (*Plutarch* nameth but eight) Orators who had ſtirred them up againſt him, and the principal

whereof

The *Athenians* receive the *Theban* Exiles which maketh a quarrel betwixt him and them.

whereof were *Demoſthenes* and *Lycurgus*. The People hereupon not knowing how to demean themſelves, *Phocion* the *Good,* who went ever croſs to *Demoſthenes* in managing State Affairs, made a Speech, wherein he would have perſwaded the Orators to kill themſelves like good Citizens, rather than to bring their Country into danger; but the People ill reſenting this, expelled him in a tumult. At length *Demades* the Orator being hired by *Demoſthenes* for five Talents, perſwaded the People to mercy, and ſo framed an anſwer to the King, that it ſhould ſignifie their readineſs to puniſh them if they ſhould find them worthy thereof. They ſent him then to *Alexander*, with order, not only to take up this matter, but alſo to intercede for the *Theban* Exiles, and obtain leave for them to receive them. This he did by the power of his perſwaſions, ſaith *Diodorus*, although *Plutarch* ſaith it was done by *Phocion*, who after *Alexander* had caſt away from him the former Decree, and rejected the Meſſengers, was kindly received by him, after the King had underſtood that his Father reſpected him. He not only admitted of his requeſt but his counſel alſo: that if be loved an idle life he ſhould lay aſide all thoughts of War, but if he thirſted after glory he ſhould transfer his Armies from the *Greeks* to the *Barbarians*. *Juſtin* writeth, that he gave them leave to keep their Orators, but forced them to baniſh their Captains, who going over to *Darius* much incommodated his affairs beyond the Seas. *Arrianus* only mentioneth *Charidemus* to have fled to the *Perſians*.

In Phocione.

41. *Alexander* returned into *Macedonia* with his Army, where conſulting about the *Perſian* War, *Antipater* and *Parmenio* his choiceſt Warriours adviſed him firſt to marry, and beget Children, and then to undertake the Expedition after he was provided of Heirs. But he being of a moſt quick and active ſpirit, and impatient of delay, would not hear of any ſuch thing, ſeeing as he ſaid, he was now created General of *Greece*, and had ſuch Forces left him by his Father. After then he had by propoſing the commodities of ſuch an undertaking, inflamed the minds of his Soldiers with a deſire thereof, he ſacrifized to his gods, and ſolemnized the plays to *Jupiter*, formerly inſtituted by *Archelaus* his Predeceſſor. The ſolemnity continued nine days, one being allotted to each of the Muſes, during which in his Royal Pavilion which had twenty beds to eat on, he feaſted the Officers of his Army, and the Ambaſſadors of the Cities. In the Spring, all things being now ready, he marched with his Forces towards the *Helleſpont*. They who account the leaſt, ſaith *Plutarch*, reckon thirty thouſand Foot, and five thouſand Horſe, and who the moſt thirty four thouſand of them and four thouſand of theſe. For the maintenance of ſuch an Army *Ariſtobulus* wrote that he had no more than ſeventy Talents. *Daris* ſaid he had proviſion but for thirty days, and *Oneſicritus* delivered, that he owed beſides this two hundred Talents. And though he was thus ſlenderly furniſhed, yet before his journey making inſpection into the eſtates of his friends, to one he aſſigned a Village, to another a piece of ground, to this a certain rent, and to that the Cuſtoms of ſuch a Port. When he had almoſt diſtributed all he had, *Perdiccas* asked him what he left for himſelf, and he anſwered *Hope*; then replyed the other, That ſhall be common to us with thee, and refuſed to receive any thing, which was followed by many; but ſuch as would he willingly gratified, and thereby paſſed away moſt of the Revenues of *Macedonia*. He paſſed over his men in ſixty ſhips to *Troas*, and firſt of all caſt his Spear upon the ſhore, and skipping out, as it were, took poſſeſſion of *Aſia*, in the ſecond year of his reign, and the ſecond of *Darius Codormannus*, the third of the one hundred and eleventh *Olympiad*, *Euænetus* being *Archon*, and in the third moneth before his leaving of the Office, and the ſucceſſion of *Cteſicles*, under whoſe Government *Diodorus* placeth this Expedition, A. M. 3670.

He paſſeth over into *Aſia*.

A. M. 3671.
Ol. 111. *an.* 3.
V. C. 420.
Darii Codomani. 3.
Alexand. 3.

42. To *Antipater* he committed the Government of his affairs in *Europe*, with whom he left twelve thouſand Foot, and eleven thouſand and five hundred Horſe, as *Diodorus* hath it, if * fifteen hundred be not rather to be read. The *Lacedæmonians* after his departure grudged his ſucceſs, and lay watching for an advantage how to begin a War, and if poſſible divert the courſe of his good fortune, which after the battel of *Arbela* they ſuppoſed to be fitly preſented. For the iſſue of that battel being reported in *Greece*, many of the Cities who were jealous of his power reſolved to contend for their antient liberty, before the ſtrength of the *Perſians* ſhould be utterly ſpent, which they might have to their aſſiſtance. They were incouraged to revolt from tumults now raiſed in *Thrace*. For *Memnon* being ſent General thither, having Soldiers at his devotion, ſtirred up the Barbarians to rebel

* μυριοι being crept in. *Diodorus ad Olymp.* 111. *an.* 3.

The *Lacedæmonians* make ſtirs in his abſence.

rebel, and got together a great Army. *Antipater* hereupon was forced to march againſt him and leave *Macedonia*; the abſence of whom the *Lacedæmonians* thinking a ſufficient occaſion of working ſome notable feat, excited the *Grecians* to agree together with united Force to recover their Liberty. The *Athenians* conceiving themſelves ingaged to *Alexander*, who had reſpected them above all others, refuſed to ſtir, but moſt of the *Peloponneſians*, and ſome others, gave their Names willingly, and raiſed amongſt them twenty thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe, which were commanded by *Agis* the *Spartan* King. *Antipater* hearing this compoſed the matters of *Thrace* as he might, and with an Army of fourty thouſand men raiſed out of the Confederates of *Greece* marched againſt them, and joyning Battel, after much oppoſition ſlew five thouſand and three hundred with the loſs of three thouſand and five hundred of his own men; *Agis* himſelf fighting moſt valiantly, after he had received many wounds was to be carried out of the Fight and ſo to be conveyed home. But being incompaſſed with Enemies, and ſeeing there was no hope to eſcape, he bade his men ſhift for themſelves, and reſerve their lives for the future ſervice of their Countrey: he on his knees received his Enemies as well as he could, till having firſt killed ſome of them, at length he was ſlain, after he had been King nine years.

But are vanquiſhed by *Antipater* his Lieutenant,

43. *Antipater* having obtained this Victory, was willing to put an end to the War out of fear of Envy, by ſeeming to proceed further than the modeſty of a Subject ſhould require. For he knew the high Spirit of *Alexander*, who rejoyced in the Victory, but not in him being Victor, which he not obſcurely grudged at, thinking ſo much to be detracted from his own Glory as was added to that of another. The *Lacedæmonians* therefore being conſtrained to ſend to him, he remitted them for anſwer to the Council of *Greece*, which having heard what could be ſaid on both ſides, referred the whole matter to the Cogniſance of *Alexander*. They then gave up to *Antipater* fifty Hoſtages, and ſent into *Aſia* to *Alexander* to beg Pardon. Moſt of ſuch learned men as were eminent during this Period have already, upon occaſion, been ſpoken of.

And ſend to him into *Aſia* to beg pardon.

CHAP. III.

The Affairs of *Sicilie* during this Empire.

SECT. I.

The firſt Names and Inhabitants of this Iſland, with a relation of ſuch things as preceded the Perſian *Empire.*

1. SICILIE is an Iſland of the *Mediterranean* Sea, lying over againſt *Italy* at five miles diſtance; from which it is thought to have been ſevered by ſome Earth-quake, or the violence of the Sea, being joyned formerly by an *Iſthmus*, or neck of Land, to the Continent.

2. It was firſt, from the Triangular Figure, called *Trinacria*, then *Sicania*, and afterwards obtained the name of *Sicilie*. The moſt antient Inhabitants were *Cyclopes*, or *Gyants* with one only Eye in their foreheads (as the Poets fancied) and the *Læſtrygones* of the ſame Original. After them ſucceeded the *Sicani*, by ſome ſaid to be *indigenæ*, or naturals of the place, but by others a People of *Iberia*, or *Spain*, and ſo named from *Sicanus*, a River

The old Inhabitants of *Sicilie*.

in that Countrey, whence they were expelled by the *Ligyes*, and coming into the Iſland *Trinacria* changed its name into *Sicania*. After theſe, the *Siculi* a people of *Italie* (ſo named ſaith *Thucydides* from *Italus* a King of *Arcadia*) being expelled by the *Opici*, paſſed into this Iſland, and overthrowing the *Sicani* ſeized upon the beſt parts of it, and gave it the name of *Sicilie*, almoſt three hundred years before the *Greeks* found it out. When *Ilium* was taken, ſome *Troians* fled by Ship from the *Achæans* into this Countrey, and fixing themſelves near to the *Sicani*, were called *Elymi*, whoſe principal Seats were *Eryx* and *Egeſta*. To theſe were added ſome of the *Phocenſians*, of thoſe who in their return from *Troy* being driven by Tempeſt into *Libya*, or *Africk*, thence paſſed into *Sicilie*. The *Phœnicians* alſo inhabited all over the Iſland in the Maritime parts, and the little Iſlands near adjoyning, for the benefit of Traffick with the *Siculi*; But after that many *Greeks* arrived, they removed, and joyned themſelves to the *Elymi*, and inhabited *Motya*, *Soluns*, and *Panormus*, becauſe thence was but a little paſſage unto *Carthage*. So many *Barbarians*, and after this manner, inhabited *Sicilie* ſaith *Thucydides*, with whom in the main of their relations, conſent *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, *Dionyſius* of *Halycarnaſſus*, *Pauſanias*, *Conſtantinus Porphyrogenneta*, and others.

A. M. 2821.

Lib. 6. *ad initium.*

A. M. 3271.
V. C. 20.
Achazi 10.

Greek Colonies.

3. The firſt *Greeks* that came into *Sicilie* (as *Thucydides* proceedeth) were ſome from *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*, who under conduct of *Theocles* planted *Naxus*. The year following *Archias* the *Corinthian*, deſcended from *Hercules*, drove the *Siculi* from that place where ſtood the City afterward called *Syracuſe*. About the ſame time *Lamis* brought a Colony from *Megara*, which he firſt placed upon the River *Pantacius*, in a place called *Trotilus*. In the fourty fifth year after *Syracuſe* began to be inhabited, *Antiphemus* from *Rhodes*, and *Eutimus* out of *Crete*, with their ſeveral Colonies planted *Gela*, ſo named from the River by which it ſtood, the Inhabitants whereof one hundred and eight years after erected the great and magnificent City *Agrigentum*, or *Agragas*, ſo called alſo from a River of the ſame name. *Zancla* was firſt inhabited by ſome Pyrates of *Cuma*, a City belonging to *Chalcis*; but afterwards by a multitude that came promiſcuouſly from *Chalcis* and other parts of *Eubœa*, under the Conduct of *Perieres* of *Cuma*, and *Cratamenes* of *Chalcis*, and were hence caſt out again by the *Samians* and other *Ionians*, who fled from the *Medes* into *Sicilie*. *Zancle* was ſo named by the *Siculi*, from a *Sicle*, in their language *Zancla*, which it reſembled. Not long after *Anaxilas* Tyrant of *Rhegium* baniſhing the *Samians*, filled it with a mixt multitude, and called it *Meſſana*, after the name of his own Countrey. *Himera* was planted by the *Zanclæans*, and many *Chalcidians* amongſt them, with whom alſo joyned certain *Syracuſians* being expelled by the contrary faction, and called *Myletidæ*. Their language was mixed betwixt the *Chalcidian* and *Dorick* Tongues. Theſe were the Colonies which from ſeveral parts of *Greece* planted *Sicilie*. As for other Towns that were Colonies of theſe Colonies, they ſhall be told whoſe they were upon occaſion.

Gyants in *Sicilie.*

4. That *Gyants* inhabited *Sicilie* (although to ſome it hath ſeemed no other than the invention of Poets, who uſually ſpeak monſtrouſly of antient things) the diſcovery of the laſt age hath made moſt manifeſt; at what time were in ſeveral places of the Iſland found the Bones of ſuch kind of men, and the perfect proportion of one or more within the Earth, which upon touch mouldred all into duſt. *Cluverius* in his Deſcription of *Sicilie*, and *Fazellus*, herein give abundant ſatisfaction, which might be further ſtrengthned from what the diſcoverers of *America* relate concerning men of ſuch ſtature; but that the Teſtimony of Scripture alone ſufficeth to make evident the being of Gyants. That they were *Indigenæ*, or firſt Inhabitants of *Sicilie*, is probable, and the very ſame with the *Læſtrygones*. As for the *Sicani*, no credit is to be given to the Teſtimony of *Thucydides* in this point that they came out of *Spain*, for that *Diodorus* being this Countrey-man, and certainly rather more concerned in the delivery of the Antiquities of it, than other Nations, averreth the moſt accurate Hiſtorians to have affirmed them *Indigenæ*, which *Timæus*, who lived under *Agathocles* the Tyrant, did fully demonſtrate. *Thucydides*, who firſt obtruded this Fable upon the *Greeks*, confeſſeth that they themſelves were of a contrary opinion, and though they in a matter concerning their Honour might not be heard, yet this may ſatisfie, that in *Spain* there is no ſuch River to be found as ever had the name of *Sicanus*, which ſome of thoſe who follow the opinion of *Thucydides* change into *Sicoris* (at this day *Segre*) and others ſpeak of a City called *Sicania*, and one *Sicanus* Captain of the Colony,

The *Sicani* came not out of *Spain.*

all which are as true as any. Neither could theſe *Sicani* be driven from their ſeats by the *Ligures*, whoſe habitation was not in *Spain* beyond the *Pyrenæan* Hills, but in *Gaul* near the River *Rhodanus* and the *Alps*. Laſtly, that difficult journey which thoſe obſcure people muſt have taken by Land (for the uſe of ſhipping was much later in *Spain*) through the Countreys of the *Tyrrhenians*, *Umbri*, *Ligures*, *Auſonæ*, *Opici*, *Oenotrians*, and other fierce and warlike Nations, after the paſſage of the *Pyrenæans*, *Alps*, and *Gaul*, may juſtly induce us to give credit rather to the opinion of *Diodorus*, and of *Demetrius Calatianus* a moſt antient Writer; who, as the *Scholiaſt* of *Theocritus* telleth us, derived the *Sicani* from the *Cyclopes* or *Gyants*.

Neither the *Siculi* out of *Italy*.

5. That the *Siculi* came out of *Italy* ſeveral grave Authors relate, as amongſt others *Diodorus* and *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* from the credit of *Hellanicus* the *Lesbian*, *Philiſtus*, and *Antiochus*, both of *Syracuſe*; but they ſo diverſly relate the ſtory, that it appeareth to be no other than dubious, and ſo intricate as nothing certainly can be pitched on. In *Thucydides* the *Opici*, in *Antiochus* the *Oenotrians* and *Opici* drove out the *Siculi*: But in *Hellanicus* inſtead of *Siculi* the *Elymi* and *Auſonæ* were expelled, with *Siculus* their King, by the *Oenotrians* and *Fapiges*. Again, according to the mind of *Philiſtus*, neither any *Siculi*, *Auſonæ*, nor *Elymi* tranſported themſelves out of *Italy*; but the *Ligures* under conduct of *Siculus*. *Solinus* and *Martianus* make this *Siculus* the Son of *Neptune*, *Iſiodorus* the brother of *Italus*, *Servius* Captain of the *Sicani*, and *Antiochus* will have him a *Roman* Exile, whom *Morges* the Succeſſor of *Italus* entertained. Further, *Dionyſius* writeth, that the *Siculi* were Native Inhabitants of *Latium*, and thence beaten by the *Aborigines*, which is plainly out of the road of hiſtory, the *Siculi* never having been maſters of *Rome*. It would be too tedious to recite the ſeveral opinions concerning the time when the *Siculi* ſhould make their paſſage out of *Italy* into this Iſland. And what *Thucydides* bringeth for a confirmation of his opinion, *viz.* that in his time ſome of the *Siculi* remained in *Italy*, cannot but be falſe, no foot-ſteps of them being to be found out in that Countrey by the diſcovery of any Geography; ſo that others, on the contrary, grant that the whole Nation paſſed over. Theſe arguments drawn from the uncertainty of reports conſtrain us rather to acquieſce in the opinion of *Bochartus*, who concludeth that no other ſtranger came from other parts to inhabit *Sicily*, but all were *Indigenæ*, except the *Greeks* and *Phœnicians*, the *Siculi* and *Sicani* not being diſtinguiſhed in Nation but only in place. From the *Phœnicians* (who eſpecially lived about the Promontory of *Lilybæum*, though they were diſperſed throughout the Maritime Coaſts) he ſheweth the Iſland it ſelf, and every notable Town and River to have been named, in the firſt book of that admirable work intituled *Canaan*.

Lib. 4.

Cocalus.

A. M. 2773.

Dædalus.

6. *Sicily*, ſaith *Fuſtin* out of *Trogus*, was from the beginning the Countrey of the *Cyclopes*, which being extinct *Cocalus* made himſelf King of the Iſland. To him fled *Dædalus* for protection, from the preſence of *Minos* King of *Crete*. This *Dædalus* was an *Athenian*, of the family of the *Erechthidæ*, and a famous Artiſt in all manner of Graven and Carved works. It hapned that he had a Scholar, his own Nephew by his Siſter, named *Talos*, who going beyond him in Skill, he privately murd'red him, and the matter coming out, was forced to fly for his life, and went into *Crete*. There being courteouſly entertained by *Minos*, he wrought many rare pieces of Architecture, but at length ſo diſpleaſed the King in ſome thing which concerned *Paſiphae* his wife, that he alſo fled thence into *Sicily*, where he was entertained by *Cocalus* King of the *Sicani*, then reigning at *Inycus*, called alſo *Camicus*. Some thought that by the means of *Paſiphae* he eſcaped by Boat, his Son *Icarus* accompanying him in another, and that having invented ſails, (whereas before Oars only were in uſe) *Icarus* not managing his with skill enough, his Veſſel ſunk, and thereupon aroſe the fable that they eſcaped with wings made of feathers waxed together, and of the young man's ſoaring ſo high, till the Sun melting the wax, he thereupon fell headlong into that part of the Sea which afterwards bare his name. Others thought *Icarus* was drowned as he took water. But *Minos* getting notice whither *Dædalus* was fled, purſued him with an Army, and required *Cocalus* to deliver him up. *Cocalus* returned him a ſatisfactory anſwer, and invited him unto his houſe, where he ſtifled him in a Bath, or elſe his daughters, for the love they bore to *Dædalus*, when they came to waſh him (which was the cuſtom for women and maids to do unto gueſts, according to *Athenæus*) inſtead of warm water, poured on him ſcalding Pitch. He gave up his body to his

men, pretending he had ſlipped by chance into hot water, and perſwaded them to ſtay and plant in the Iſland, where they built *Minoa* and *Engyum*, now *Gange*, the two firſt *Greek* Cities founded in *Sicily*, as ſome note. The *Cretans* afterwards in revenge for their King's death, came and beſieged *Camicus* five years to no purpoſe, and were ſhipwrackt in their return upon the Coaſts of *Italy*, where then reſolving to ſtay and hide their diſgrace, they built *Hyria*, betwixt *Tarentum* and *Brunduſium*, and from them deſcended the *Iapyges* and *Meſſapii*. This paſſage concerning *Minos* the younger, happened in the days of *Hercules* the *Græcian*, an Age before the *Trojan* War.

7. *After* Cocalus *the ſeveral Cities (becauſe they wanted rightful and ſucceſſive Kings, as it ſeemeth, and lived under looſe Democracy) became the prey of Tyranni, whereof no Country was ever more fertil than this Iſland*, ſaith *Juſtin*. Of theſe, *Anaxilaus* his Juſtice vied with the Cruelty of the reſt, and was not unrewarded. For at his death leaving his Children young, whom he committed to the truſt of *Micythus* his faithful ſlave, his Subjects ſo prized his memory, as they choſe rather to obey him, and ſuffer the Majeſty of a Kingdom to be managed by a ſlave, than deſert his Sons. But if by theſe *Tyranni* be to be meant, ſuch as after the ſettlement of the *Greek* Colonies, made themſelves Maſters of the Cities (as we have no other ground than to believe; the name of *Anaxilaus* ſufficiently declaring its original) then *Cocalus* living an Age before the *Trojan* War, and the firſt *Greek* Colony mentioned by *Thucydides* being planted in the * eleventh *Olympiad*, this *after Cocalus* is with great liberty uſed by *Trogus* or *Juſtin*; ſeveral hundreds of years, (*viz.* five or ſix) intervening betwixt *Cocalus* and thoſe *Tyrants*. For the Cities were many years after their founding governed by the People, according to the cuſtom of *Greece*, till *Phalaris* uſurped in the State of *Agrigentum*, which *Suidas* writeth to have happened in the fifty ſecond *Olympiad*, and *Euſebius* in the fifty fourth. This difference betwixt them may well be reconciled, if, with *Cappellus*, we believe that *Phalaris* coming to *Agrigentum*, there was kindly entertained for eight years, at the end whereof took occaſion from a gueſt, and perhaps a Judge of Controverſies, to make himſelf *Tyrant*, and the People ſlaves.

ut ſupra.

* A.M.2723.

A. M. 3441.
Olymp.54.an.1.
V. C. 190.
Evilmerodachi, 2.

Phalaris the Tyrant.

8. *Phalaris* was born at *Aſtypalea* a City in *Crete*; his Fathers name was *Laodamus*, who died whilſt this his Son was an infant. He married *Erythia*, and on her begat *Paurolas*, a little before whoſe birth being baniſhed, and deprived of the greateſt part of his Eſtate, he continued long in a deſolate condition, not knowing what to do, till at length a Sedition being raiſed in the State of *Agrigentum*, he was ſent for by the weakeſt faction, and in concluſion got all the power into his hands. He kept the *Tyranny* by the ſame arts he firſt obtained it, *viz, fraud* and *cruelty*, for which cauſe he was grievouſly hated by many, and his life laid at by thoſe of whom he had well deſerved. *Erythia* continued all her life with her Son *Paurolas* at *Aſtypalea*, where though ſhe was much importuned by many Suters, yet ſhe remained ſtedfaſt in fidelity to her husband. The Citizens of *Aſtypalea* when they ſaw *Phalaris* had ſo advanced himſelf, either for that now their hatred was allaied, or out of fear of revenge, ſent to him to intimate that they had revoked what had been formerly done againſt him, as unjuſt. He deſpiſed not this late repentance, but ſent them his hearty thanks, and rewarded them. Having obtained a victory over the *Leontines*, his Son *Paurolas* ſent him a Crown of Gold, which he returned back unto his wife *Erythia*. She was at length poyſoned by *Python* one of the Suters, inraged at a repulſe; which thing *Phalaris* took moſt impatiently.

Perillus and his brazen Bull.

9. It hapned that one *Perillus* an *Athenian*, and an excellent Statuary, came to *Agrigentum*, where ſhewing his rare skill, he was kindly entertained by *Phalaris*. He taking notice of *Phalaris* his cruelty, framed a braſen Bull, which being heated and a man put in his belly, would by the roaring of him that was thus tormented, imitate the voice of a natural one. Preſenting him with this exquiſite piece, as incomparable for the torturing of men, he admired his skill, but deteſting his wickedneſs, cauſed him firſt to make a tryal of it, and excuſed himſelf to the *Athenians*, who took it ill, as having done nothing but what was juſt and meet. If *Perillus* had only made experiment, *Phalaris* had ſatiſfied all reaſonable men; but threatning his Enemies with this Engine, and making good his word upon them as often as he could have occaſion, he thereby incurred, and ſlighted the hatred of mankind. At the ſame time flouriſhed one *Steſichorus* a Poet of *Himera*, who died eight years before *Phalaris*. He wrote verſes againſt the *Tyrant*, and raiſed an Army, animating the Inhabitants of

Himera againſt him, with whom joyned *Conon* a moſt leud and naughty man, and divers others, all which, together with the Poet, at length fell into his hands. *Conon* was preſently condemned to the Bull. He doubted at firſt what to do with *Steſichorus*, but at length beholding his worth, he not only diſmiſſed him unpuniſhed, but with large gifts; and ever after mightily reverenced him both alive and dead; inſomuch as he deſired the *Himerians* to build him a Temple, and Altars (offering for that purpoſe men, money, and all neceſſaries) and moſt lovingly comforted his daughters.

10. He was ſo great a contemner of Popularity, and ſo conſcious of his wickedneſs and publick infamy, that he refuſed the honours offered him by them of *Melita*, not for any pride, but with a friendly admonition, that it would be to them infamous, and to him not at all advantagious. So when *Tteſichorus*, *Cleaneta*, *Theanæ*, and others, thought of writing in his praiſe, he ſeriouſly deſired they would forbear, wiſhing rather that his name might be buried in oblivion, than celebrated in the Writings of Learned men, and, to no purpoſe, adorned with falſe commendations. Being grievouſly provoked by the affronts of the *Meſſenians*, *Catanians*, *Leontines*, *Zanclæans*, and *Tauromenites*, he proſecuted them to the utmoſt, often ſaying, that he moſt certainly knew they would fall into his hands, which accordingly came to paſs. He confeſſed that he had tortured in the brazen Engine thirty ſeven men, ſeriouſly wiſhing they might be the laſt, but he foreſaw that *Lamachus* and *Epiterſes*, though abſent, would increaſe the number. Theſe things are related in the Epiſtles that go under his name, which ſome Learned Men think written by *Lucian*. But whoever ſo drew to the life another's diſpoſition as he there doth his own, inſomuch as *Suidas* accounteth them * very admirable. If one conſider their ſtyle, accuteneſs, and invention, there are no Epiſtles of any *Tyrant*, no not of any *Orator* or *Philoſopher* to be compared with them. But if one look at the diſpoſition of the man, he was a portentous thing, born for the chaſtiſement of the naughtineſs of men, of cruel hatred and unparallel'd cruelty; yet of a moſt propenſe and munificent mind towards his Friends, and withal reverencing Virtue ſo much in his very Enemies, that for its ſake he would pardon injuries, and relinquiſh hatred.

Phalaris his diſpoſition.

* ϑαυμασίας πάου.

11. That is ſcarce credible which *Clearchus* relateth in (a) *Athenæus*, that he was tranſported with ſo great cruelty, as to have ſerved up to his table ſucking and new born Infants. (b) *Ælian* hath a more likely ſtory concerning *Chariton* and *Melanippus*. *Chariton* loved *Melanippus* with an extravagant and immodeſt Love, as appeareth from the hiſtorian. *Melanippus* having a conteſt with one of *Phalaris* his friends, was commanded, and at laſt forced to deſiſt, which taking very ill, he complained of it to his Lover, and deſiring his aſſiſtance for killing the Tyrant, thought of taking in other young men into the conſpiracy. *Chariton* deſired of him to truſt him alone with the matter to take an opportunity to revenge him, unwilling that both of them ſhould miſcarry in it if it were diſcovered; and on a time made at *Phalaris* with his dagger, but was prevented by his Guard, which he had continually about him. Being examined concerning his Complices, he endured great tortures, ſo long, that *Melanippus* more ſenſible of them than he himſelf, went to the *Tyrant*, and revealed the whole matter. He admiring the courage and love of both, diſmiſſed them, with this condition, that they ſhould depart the ſame day out of *Sicily*. This love which appeareth to have been no better than an unnatural luſt, was afterwards by *Apollo* called *divine*, whence, as in other reſpects, theſe impure Spirits, the gods of Heathens, betrayed themſelves what they were. And hence it is no wonder that the Philoſophers of old, ſuch as *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Xenophon*, *Æſchines*, *Cebes*, and the reſt, might approve of this affection towards Males, which the (c) *Romans* yet abhorred in ſome Ages, the (d) *Lacedæmonians* held as capital, and the Lake wherein *Sodom* and *Gommorah* were ſwallowed up, evinceth to have been contrary to the Law of God and Nature. But as for *Phalaris*, after he had tyranniſed ſixteen years, he periſhed by the fury of all the multitude of *Agrigentum*, which, as (e) *Cicero* writeth, fell upon him. Some thought that his Subjects conſpired againſt him, being principled thereto by the doctrine of *Pythagoras*, of which opinion is alſo (f) *Jamblicus* in the life of this Philoſopher. But the whole relation concerning *Pythagoras* his entercourſe with *Phalaris* is therefore deſervedly ſuſpected, becauſe the Philoſopher being yet young had ſcarce paſſed into *Italy*. The death of *Phalaris* hapned about the firſt year of the fifty eighth *Olympiad*, and the twelfth year of *Cyrus* his Reign, reckoned from his firſt obtaining of e ingdom of *Media*.

Chariton and *Melanippus*.

(a) *Lib.* 9.

(b) *Lib.* 2. *c.* 4.

(c) *Val. Max.* *l.* 6. *c.* 1. *Plut. in Marcello.*

(d) *Ælian* *l.* 3. *c.* 12.

(e) *Offic.* *l.* 2.

(f) *Cap.* 31.

SECT.

Sect. II.

Of ſuch things as were Contemporary with the Perſian *Empire.*

A. M. 3525.
Ol. 75. *an.* 1.
V. C. 274.
Xerxis 6.

Thero Tyrannus of *Agrigentum.*

1. After the death of *Phalaris*, the Citizens of *Agrigentum* recovered their liberty, and enjoyed it till *Thero* again brought them under. He was the Son of *Æneſidamus*, and boaſted that he was deſcended from *Oedipus*. He got the prize at the Race with the Chariot in the *Olympick* Games, and is celebrated by (a) *Pindar* the Poet, whoſe *Scholiaſt* teacheth us, that he was the Father in-Law to *Gelon* Tyrant of *Syracuſe*, by his daughter *Damareta*, and married alſo his brothers daughter: At this time *Panatius* made himſelf Lord of *Leontium*, and *Cleander* of *Gela*. *Cleander*, after ſeven years, was ſucceeded by his brother *Hippocrates*, who ſore afflicted the people of *Naxus*, of *Zancle*, or *Meſſana*, and *Leontium*, whom he forced to acknowledge him for their Lord. After ſeven years, he was alſo ſlain in a battel againſt the *Siculi*, having before this made War with the *Syracuſians*, and by compoſition got from them the City of *Camerina*. After his death *Gelon* the Son of *Dinomenes* (deſcended of the Race of the *Rhodians*, who with the *Cretans* and other *Greeks* had ſeated themſelves in *Sicily*) that had commanded his Forces with great ſucceſs, and to whom committed the truſt of his Children, breaking all obligations made himſelf Lord of *Gela*. After he was in poſſeſſion of this Town, a Sedition happening in *Syracuſe*, betwixt the Magiſtrates and People, he being called in to the aſſiſtance of the Governours that were driven out by the multitude, made himſelf Prince. Such being the danger and infirmity of all Governments, except rightfully ſucceſſive Monarchy. This fell out in the ſecond year of the ſeventy ſecond *Olympiad*, when *Hybrilides* was *Archon* at *Athens*, the thirty firſt of *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, and the ſame, as ſome reckon, wherein the battel at *Marathon* was fought. Now the comportment of *Sicilian* affairs conſtraining us to ſpeak moſt concerning *Syracuſe*, ſo conſiderable a place, both as to its ſelf, as a City, and as the ſcene of ſo great tranſactions, requireth a more accurate deſcription.

(a) *Olymp.* *Herod. l.* 7. *c.* 153. *&c.* *Pauſan. l.* 6. *ſive Eliac. l. poſteriore.*

Gelon of *Syracuſe.*

The Original of *Syracuſe.*

2. *Syracuſe* was firſt inhabited by ſome *Greeks* of *Ætolia*, and had the name of *Ortygia*. Theſe were expelled by the *Siculi*, who poſſeſſed themſelves of the place, and at length were outed alſo by a Colony led hither out of *Peloponneſus* by *Archias* the *Corinthian*, in the eleventh *Olympiad*, *Romulus* then reigning at *Rome*, and the *Meſſenian* War being very hot in *Peloponneſus*. This new Colony, becauſe of *Archias*, and for that many followed him from *Corinth*, owned that City for its Metropolis, which at that time was moſt powerful at Sea. But many afterwards flocked out of other parts of *Peloponneſus*, and by little and little the City of *Syracuſe* ſo increaſed, as it became not only the greateſt, and moſt beautiful of all in *Sicily*, but of *Greek* Cities whatſoever, as *Cicero* affirmeth. It contained, as he writeth, four great Cities; the *Iſland*, *Acradina*, *Tycha*, and *Neapolis*. Its compaſs was one hundred and eighty furlongs, having, beſides Suburbs, two Ports very commodious for ſhipping, being ſeperated by the Iſland, and grounds about it very fertile, in ſome places riſing into little hills, but compaſſed about with Fennes. The firſt Inhabitants dwelt in the Iſland antiently called *Ortygia*; then as the City increaſed the other parts were added, whereof the lateſt was *Neapolis*. As for the ſtate of the City, after it received a new beginning from *Archias*, the form of the Commonwealth was without doubt the ſame that then was in the Metropolis under the Government of the *Bachiadæ*, *viz. Oligarchical* bordering upon *Ariſtocracy*. Afterwards the common people waxing heady outed the better ſort of the poſſeſſion of the grounds, and ſeizing of the Government, made bad to be worſe, as the ſad changes and deſolations will ſhew. The Exiles (by *Herodotus* called *Gamori*) betook themſelves to *Gelon* the *Tyrannus* of *Gela*, who coming to reſtore them with an Army, the people reſiſted not, but received him into the City, whereby obtaining the whole power, he reſtored it not to the Nobility, but made himſelf maſter of *Syracuſe*. This hapned at the time aforeſaid, and about two hundred and fourty four years after the Plantation of *Archias*.

Sect. 2.

The acts and power of *Gelon.*

3. *Gelon* ſo uſed his power as he was loved by all, and feared by none. He every way much inlarged, adorned, and inriched the City: out of all Conquered Towns he took the Nobleſt, and worſt diſpoſed Citizens, and brought them to *Syracuſe*. He procured the affections of almoſt all that dwelt in *Sicily*, and ſo greatly ſtrengthn'd himſelf, that he was able with a Navy of two hundred Triremes, and as great an Army as all *Greece* could ſet forth againſt *Xerxes*, to help the *Græcians* in the *Median* War; and had gone to their aſſiſtance, if they would either have granted him the Command of the Land Army or the Fleet. When he could obtain neither of thoſe, he employed his Forces againſt the *Carthaginians*, who had been called into *Sicily* by the *Egeſtans*, and on the ſame day wherein the *Greeks* obtained their victory at *Salamine*, got ſo great an one over them at *Himera* a Maritime Town, that his glory is thought to have equalled, if not exceeded, the other of *Themiſtocles*. At this time the *Carthaginians* were very powerful, and become eminent; whoſe affairs being by neceſſity to be joyned with ſuch matters as relate to this Iſland of *Sicily*, a more convenient place cannot be had, to ſpeak ſomething (as this work requireth) of the Original, and progreſs of their Commonwealth.

His ſucceſs againſt the *Carthaginians.*

The Original of *Carthage.*

4. *Carthage* was a Colony of *Tyre*, and *Tyre* of *Sidon* the moſt antient Metropolis of *Phœnicia*, mentioned by *Homer* with commendation for ingenious induſtry (who hath not one word concerning *Tyre*) and built by *Sidon* the eldeſt Son of *Canaan*. *Tyre* was built about the two thouſand ſeven hundred and fourty ſeventh year of the World, and two hundred and fourty years before *Solomons* Temple, as (*a*) *Joſephus* hath obſerved. The *Greeks* thought it received its name from *Tyrus* the Founder: and (*b*) ſome invented a fable of a Nymph, called *Tyros*, beloved by *Hercules*. But *Tſor* in the *Phœnician* language ſignifying a *Rock*, the ſituation it ſelf ſufficiently declareth the Original of the name, which upon this account was communicated to three other places, beſides this eminent City, *viz.* (*c*) two in the Continent, and another in the ſame Iſland. Near the Iſland of this famous City ſtood *Palætyrus*, or *Old Tyre*, mentioned by *Joſhua*, and called a ſtrong City even at the diviſion of the Land of *Canaan*, which hapned about two hundred years before the building of that whereof we ſpeak. Now (*d*) *Joſephus* maketh the Temple of *Jeruſalem* to have been founded in the eleventh year of the reign of *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, who was ſon to *Abebaal*, by *Joſephus* called *Abibalus*, and by *Euſebius*, *Abelbalus*. *Hiram*, or *Huram* according to the *Hebrews*, (by the *Greeks* called *Irom* and *Syron* (for *Horom*) by *Eupolemus*) was a great friend to *David*, and ſupplied *Solomon* his Son with materials, and work-men for building the Temple. He alſo propoſed hard queſtions to *Solomon* to be unfolded, as *Menander* teſtified, who tranſlated the *Tyrian* Annals into the *Greek* language: He ſtrengthned, and inlarged the City of *Tyre*, as *Dius* alſo wrote, and reigned thirty four years. After him his Son *Beleaſtartus* reigned ſeven, and *Abdaſtartus* nine, who being ſlain by the four Sons of his Nurſe, the eldeſt of them reigned twelve years. Then *Aſtartus* the ſon of *Baleaſtartus* twelve, his brother *Aſtarimus* nine, who was ſlain by his brother *Phelles*. *Phelles* reigned but eight months, being killed by *Ithobalus* the Prieſt of *Aſtarta*, who reigned thirty two years; after him *Badezorus* his ſon ſix, then *Mettinus* his ſon nine, and laſtly, *Pygmalion* fourty, in the ſeventh of whoſe reign his ſiſter *Dido* built the City of *Carthage* in *Africk*. Therefore from the beginning of *Hirams* reign to the building of *Carthage* intervened one hundred and fifty five years and eight moneths; and whereas the Temple was founded at *Jeruſalem* in the twelfth of his reign, from the building of the Temple to that of *Carthage* paſſed one hundred and fourty three years and eight months, as *Joſephus* collecteth from the Teſtimony of *Menander* the *Epheſian*, in his firſt book againſt *Apion*.

(*a*) *Antiquit. l. 8. c. 2.*

(*b*) *Stephanus Byzantius. Pollux. lib. 1.*

(*c*) *Scylax in deſcriptione Phœnices vide Bocharti Canaan lib. 2. cap. 17.*

(*d*) *Antiquit. lib. 8 cap. 2. & Contra Apionem lib. 1.*

The ſeveral opinions concerning the building of *Carthage.*

5. But *Appian* in his Hiſtory of the *Punick* Wars, writeth that *Carthage* was built by the *Tyrians*, fifty years before the deſtruction of *Troy*, which precedeth the former date three hundred and ſixty years. He nameth as founders *Zorus* and *Carchedon*, according to the opinion of the *Greeks*, who thought them the Captains of the Colony; whereas *Tſor*, or *Zor*, was the name of the Metropolis, and *Carchedon* of the new City, *Carthada* ſignifying a *New City*, in the *Phœnician* language, as *Solinus* witneſſeth. *Strabo* again will have the *Phœnicians* to have led out Colonies as far as the Pillars of *Hercules*, and planted ſome, a little after the *Trojan* War, upon the Maritime Coaſts of *Africk*, with which *Virgil* cloſing, feigneth *Dido* to have reigned at *Carthage* at that time; whereas ſhe was three hundred years later, according to the Teſtimony of the *Phœnician* Annals; ſo as *Servius* upon the Poet affirmeth the whole ſtory of *Æneas* and *Dido* to be a fiction

Lib. 1. p. 48.

fiction, and utterly againſt the courſe of Hiſtory. Further, *Euſebius* noteth that ſome accounted *Carthage* built one hundred and fourty three years after the deſtruction of *Tray,* about the 2966 year of the World, and the twenty third of the reign of *David,* one hundred and ſixty four years or more before the time aſſigned to *Dido* by *Menander*. For the reconcilement of theſe ſeveral aſſertions it muſt be conſidered that *Carthage* conſiſted of three parts, *viz. Cothon, Megara,* and *Byrſa,* whereof the firſt was the *Port,* and the laſt the *Citadel* compaſſed about by the ſecond, called *Magalia* and *Magaria,* but more truly *Megara,* ſignifying properly in the *Punick* Lauguage, *dwellings in a ſtrange Country.* 'Tis conceived that theſe might be built at ſeveral times; as that part about the Haven before the War of *Troy*; the other ſome time within one hundred and fourty four years after the deſtruction of it, which might rightly, in reſpect of the other, be called *Carthada,* or *New Town*; and laſtly, the *Byrſa* by *Dido* one hundred and ſixty ſix years after. For the *Phœnicians* being maſters at Sea, might according to their pleaſure, as they had occaſion, ſend out Colonies, which they began to do from the time that *Joſhua* expelled them out of the Land of *Canaan*. The *Greeks* themſelves believed that *Cadmus* made an expedition into *Africk,* and there built many Cities, as appeareth out of *Nonius*; and he built the Citadel at *Thebes* about the time of *Joſhua*. In *Procopius* his age, who lived under *Juſtinian* the Emperour, about the five hundred and fourtieth year of Chriſt, the two Pillars were yet ſtanding, which thoſe *Canaanites* erected that fled from the Face of *Joſhua,* in that part of *Africk,* called *Tingitana,* as the inſcription teſtified, which we formerly mentioned, and *Euſebius* writeth that theſe ſame *Canaanites* led Colonies into *Tripolis* in *Africk*. Laſtly, amongſt ſeveral other Cities built by the *Phœnicians,* the moſt conſiderable, after *Carthage,* was *Utica,* ſome ten miles diſtant from it, which *Ariſtotle,* from the *Phœnician* Hiſtories reporteth to be two hundred and eighty ſeven years antienter than *Carthage,* and *Velleius Paterculus* to have been built by the *Tyrians* a few years after *Gades,* about the time of *Codrus,* who being contemporary with *Saul,* this City obtained the name of *Utica* or *Ityca,* that is (ſaith *Bochartus*) in the *Phœnician* language, *Old* or *Antient.*

It conſiſted of three parts.

Utica.

The Story of *Dido.*

6. *Dido* was Siſter to *Pygmalion* King of *Tyre,* and wife to *Sichæus,* or *Sicharbas* their Uncle the Prieſt of *Hercules*. *Sichæus* being murdered by *Pygmalion* for his Wealth, ſhe out of hatred to, or for fear of her Brother fled into *Africk,* with all ſhe could take, and thereby diſappointed the murderer of his prey. The Story goeth, that coming into *Africk,* ſhe and her Companions were repelled by *Hiarbas* the King of that place, till they craftily deſired to buy of him ſo much Ground as an Ox's hide would compaſs. The *Africans* laughed at their folly, and out of a deſire to ſee what uſe they could make of ſo little Ground, ſwore to make good the Bargain. The *Phœnicians* then cut the Hide all into one ſmall thong, with which they encompaſſed twenty furlong, and thereon built a Caſtle, thence, (ſaid the *Greeks*) called *Byrſa*. But learned men explode this Story of the Hide as a meer invention, and a fable raiſed from a falſe explication of the word, which in the *Hebrew* Tongue is *Boſra,* and ſignifying a *fortified place,* or *Caſtle,* is changed into *Byrſa* for the better ſound, becauſe the Genius of the *Greek* language ſuffereth not *S* and *R* to be joyned together. *Juſtin* out of *Trogus* relateth that *Hiarbas* King of *Mauritania* ſent for ten of the principal *Carthaginians,* and required *Dido* in marriage, threatning elſe to make War upon them. At their return they told her he deſired ſome one who might teach his people breeding and manners, but none could be found that was content to leave his Countrey, and joyn himſelf with the *Barbarians,* whoſe Lives were like to thoſe of wild Beaſts. She blaming them all exceedingly, that they preferred their private commodity before the good of their Countrey, to which if need required they ought their very lives, they opened to her the whole matter, ſaying, that what ſhe would impoſe upon others, ſhe ought not her ſelf to refuſe. Being caught with this wile, ſhe long called on the name of *Sichæus,* her husband, with many tears and great lamentation, then taking three moneths time for the doing of what there was neceſſity for, ſhe made a pile of wood, as though to make a Parentation to *Sichæus,* and appeaſe his Ghoſt before her ſecond marriage. Having killed many Beaſts, ſhe aſcended the Pile with a Sword in her hand, and turning to the people ſaid, that now ſhe was going to her Husband, and therewithal killed her ſelf. Before the name of *Dido* (which ſome make to ſignify *Loved* or *Amiable,* and others more probably *Wandring* or *Erratick*) ſhe had that of *Eliſſa,* betokening a *Divine Woman,* or *Virago.* The *Latin* word *Virago,* in *Greek* written *Ouirago,* is in *Euſebius* corrupted into *Origo,*

Menander Epheſius apud Joſephum ut prius. Juſtin lib. 18.

Appian. lib. de bellis Punicis.

Servius in Æneiad. lib. 1.

Vide Bocharti Canaan. lib. 1. *c.* 14. & *Simſon. ad* A. M. 3132.

Sect. 2. *go*, and being applied as a name to the City, and not to the woman, by a miſunderſtanding hath much perplexed *Joſephus Scaliger* and others.

The form of Government at *Carthage*.

7. *Carthage* being then re-edified, or inlarged by *Dido*, and the Colony ſhe brought thither, about the 3132 year of the World, in the days of *Johas* King of *Judah*, and *Jehu* of *Iſrael*, three hundred and ten years after the deſtruction of *Troy*, ninty ſeven before the firſt *Olympiad*, and one hundred and twenty before the building of *Rome*, was at firſt under Monarchical Government; but afterwards rejecting it, indured many hazards and hardſhips, which followed looſe liberty, whereof moſt are briefly recited by *Juſtin* in his eighteenth book, and thoſe that follow. The (*a*) Philoſopher compareth this Commonwealth with thoſe of the *Cretans* and *Lacedæmonians*, ſaying that it was mixed of *Ariſtocracy* and *Policy*, as he calleth it. (*b*) *Polybius* ſaith it was compoſed of *Kingly*, *Ariſtocratical*, and *Democratical* Governments, and (*c*) *Iſocrates* maketh it *Oligarchical* at home, and in War *Monarchical*. As two Kings at *Lacedæmon* had the firſt rank of Magiſtracy with equal power, ſo at *Carthage* two perſons, by them called *Suffetes*, and by *Ariſtotle*, and *Polybius*, and *Corn. Nepos*, termed *Kings*, yet only nominal; As the former were for life, ſo theſe were but *Annual* (in which reſpect (*d*) *Livie* compareth them with the *Conſuls* of *Rome*) and their dignity being hereditary, thoſe were yearly elected out of any noble Families. Such were eſpecially preferred as were accounted moſt eminent for Virtue, and able to defray the charges of their place. *Ariſtotle* commendeth this above the *Lacedæmonian* cuſtom, all but that concerning their wealth, imputing it as an error to the Legiſlator; who ought another way to have provided for Magiſtrates, that they might attend publick buſineſs without any detriment to themſelves, and ſo be preferred meerly for their Virtue.

(*a*) *Polit. lib.* 2 *cap.* 9.

(*b*) *Lib.* 16.

(*c*) *In Nicocle pag.* 61. *totius operis editi Genevæ* 1636.

(*d*) *Lib.* 10.

The *Suffetes*.

8. Theſe *Suffetes* were more rightly in their own Language called *Sophetim*, the Hebrew name of thoſe chief *Judges* amongſt the *Iſraelites*, who from *Joſhua* to *Saul* governed their Commonwealth, and the *Hiſtory* of whoſe actions by us called *Judges*, hath the ſame title of *Sophetim*, for that interpretation which renders it *Sophim* (i. e. *Overſeers*) at the firſt ſight appeareth leſs probable. Their Office was to * aſſemble the *Senate*, in which doubtleſs they preſided and propoſed. They decided cauſes Criminal, but their power was confined to home, nothing appearing of their medling with warlike matters, or having command of the Armies. To theſe *Suffetes* was added a *Senate*, which becauſe *Ariſtotle* compareth it with that of *Lacedæmon*, may be ſuppoſed elective out of the beſt ſort and moſt antient men, and the Senators it's likely injoyed the dignity all their lives. How many they were in number doth not appear; but that herein this Senate exceeded the other of *Lacedæmon*, is to be gathered from * *Juſtin*, who ſpeaketh of one hundred perſons that out of it were choſen for Judges, to take account of the actions of all Generals at their return from the Wars. This Senate, as that at *Rome*, was the chief member, and as the Soul of the State, wherein the *Suffetes* propounding, as the *Conſuls* there, all things of moment were brought to it: eſpecially what concerned thoſe great things of Empire: *viz. Peace*, *War*, and *Leagues*. The *Suffetes* deliberating with the *Senate*, if it was unanimous, and they reſolved the ſame thing, their Decree was Law to the whole State; but if the *Senate* and *Suffetes* diſagreed, then was the matter referred to the People.

Senate.

* *Livius ibid. Lege Ubbonem Emmium in Deſcr. Reip. Carthaginienſium.*

* *Lib.* 19.

Concio or Aſſembly.

9. In the *Concio* or *Aſſembly* of the People, any one of the rabble might ſpeak his mind freely, and without danger contradict the Magiſtrates. The People's Decree concerning any thing referred, was taken for the ultimate determination of the whole and State, and being once paſſed was ſo binding, that it was not lawful to offer any thing againſt it, which *Ariſtotle* reprehendeth (and well may he) as too Popular, and too much declining from the beſt form of a Commonwealth, affirming this Conſtitution to have no place in the beſt modelled States. But * *Polybius* diſſenting from the Philoſopher, where he compareth the *Carthaginian* with the *Laconick* and *Roman* Commonwealths, ſheweth that it was poiſed of the three kinds of Government, that the *Suffetes* were as Kings, the *Senate* held the place of *Optimates* or *Nobility*, and the *People* a convenient Power. Yet he addeth, that when *Hannibal* made War upon the *Romans*, (which happened ten years after the death of *Ariſtotle*,) the State of *Carthage* declined from its antient and beſt condition, the People having aſſumed more than formerly, when the *Raman* Senate's authority was yet whole. This he thinketh to have much incommodated their affairs, and brought great advantage to the *Romans*. But what authority the People had during the beſt and moſt antient State

* *quo ſupra*

Conſule Polybium.

State, he no where in thoſe Books and fragments that are remaining, declareth. *Emmius* thinketh that it conſiſted in electing Magiſtrates, making Laws, Leagues, Peace, and War; in appointing and ordering Negotiations, Cuſtoms, Tributes, and ſuch like things, which concerned the generality, and reſpected the profit of the multitude. But ſome of theſe things ſeem rather to have fallen under the conſideration of the Kings and Senate; however the diſorders that followed, as in all other ſuch Governments, will ſatisfie the Reader in his opinion of the excellency of Monarchy.

Council of 104.

10. Beſides the *Senate* there was a *Council* of one hundred and four men, whereof *Ariſtotle* only informeth us, and which, according to the round number, from him we may call the *Centumvirate.* They had power to chuſe five men out of their Body, who had very large and great authority; Both theſe ſorts of Magiſtrates retained their power longer than any other, enjoying it both before and after they came to be of the five, which thing was plainly *Oligarchical.* But in that they were not choſen by lot, but by the Suffrages of the People, and ſerved without Wages; in that they alone took cogniſance of, and judged controverſies, and publick actions, none being remitted to others, as the cuſtom was at *Lacedæmon,* this he taketh notice to be *Ariſtocratical.* He compareth the power of the *Centumvirate* with that of the *Ephori* at *Sparta,* whereby he teacheth us, that the power of judging lay in it. And as the *Ephori* were (according to him) Conſervators of Popular Liberty at *Sparta,* protecting the Plebeians againſt the power of the great ones, ſo it is likely, from theſe words of *Ariſtotle,* that thoſe one hundred men at *Carthage* were the keepers of the *Popularity.* Herein he preferreth them before the *Ephori,* that they were not choſen out of the Rabble, but the better ſort of Citizens, wherein lay alſo a piece of *Ariſtocracy*; for *mean perſons being preferred to greateſt places, do much hurt a Commonwealth,* ſaith he, *and have already endamaged that of the Lacedæmonians.* Amongſt civil Officers there were ſome that made inſpection into the manners of the Citizens, as *Corn. Nepos* telleth us in the life of *Amilcar,* the Father of famous *Hannibal,* from whom they removed a beautiful young man called *Aſdrubal,* becauſe he was reported to be more familiar with him, than modeſty required. There was alſo a *Prætorſhip* which had authority to look to the Cuſtoms and Tributes, and alſo to prefer Laws, as appeareth by *Hannibal,* who being choſen into this Office, not only reformed the Cuſtomers, but alſo taking notice of the corruption of Judges, procured a Law for them to be choſen every year. But whether there were more than one of theſe Officers, is not to be diſcovered from antient Writers.

Cenſors.

Pretorſhip.

Faults in the Common-wealth.

11. Beſides the Faults before mentioned, *Ariſtotle* reprehendeth the Cuſtom of chuſing the *Suffetes* for their riches, which openeth a door to avarice and indirect practices thence ariſing. He alſo noteth it as a fault, that one and the ſame man had ſeveral Offices, which yet they eſteemed as a great honour. One deteſtable practice they uſed of old, to ſacrifize to their Gods humane Sacrifices, when any affliction or diſaſter fell upon them, and even their own Son, as *Plato* witneſſeth, which cuſtom they ſeem to have brought with them out of *Palæſtine,* every year ſending thither ſuch kind of Preſents unto *Hercules,* as we find in *Pliny.* Another abſurd Law they had, which forbad any Citizens to learn the *Greek* Language, leſt they ſhould hold intelligence with the Enemy, becauſe one *Suniator* had ſo done with one *Dionyſius* the elder, as *Juſtin* writeth. This indeed was laudable, that this City abhominated Drunkenneſs, and ſeverely prohibited Wine as much as to be taſted in the Camp, as *Plato* recordeth in his Laws. This alſo *Ariſtotle* commendeth, that, for an incouragement to warfare, they had a Law which gave liberty to a Soldier to wear ſo many Rings as he had ſerved times in the Field. The People were by their natural conſtitution, moroſe and ſurly, obedient to their Magiſtrates, tyrannical towards their Subjects, moſt dejected in time of fear, and cruel in anger, reſolute in their deſigns, notwithſtanding all force of flattery, and ſo infamous for their breach of faith, that the *Punick faith* or *truſt* became a Proverb. As for their greatneſs and Dominion, the deſcription thereof is to be left to it's proper place. Now muſt their affairs abroad in *Sicily* and other parts, be defined with the matters of that Iſland.

Lib. 30. *cap.* 5.

Good Laws.

The diſpoſition of the people agreeable with their government.

12. At what time, or upon what occaſion the *Carthaginians* firſt came into *Sicily* is uncertain, (a) *Livie* will have them firſt called in by the Sedition of the Iſlanders, in the year that *T. Quintius* (Sirnamed *Cincinnatus,* as alſo *Penno*) and *Cn. Julius Mento* were Conſuls, which was in the beginning of the

Peloponneſian

(a) *Decad.* 1. *lib.* 4.

Peloponneſian War, the three hundred and twenty third year of the City, fifty years after the paſſage of *Xerxes* into *Greece*, and conſequently as many from the Victory which *Gelon* got over them; a groſs miſtake. (b) *Juſtin* out of *Trogus*, having firſt related their impious cuſtom of pleaſing their gods by humane Sacrifices, addeth, that the divine powers being therewith diſpleaſed or averſe to them, when they had long unhappily made War in *Sicily*, they tranſlated it into *Sardinia*, and there loſing the greateſt part of their Army, received a grievous overthrow, whereupon they baniſhed *Mazæus* their General, (by whom they had conquered a great part of *Sicily*, and done great matters againſt the *Africans*) with that part of the Army which remained. The Army taking this in great diſdain, ſent to the City to deſire a repealing of the Act of baniſhment, and threatned by force to reſcind it, in caſe they were thereto conſtrained by a denyal of their ſute. Their meſſage being deſpiſed, they beſieged the City, and after a few days took it. *Mazæus* calling the People together, complained of the injury, excuſed the neceſſity of the War, and inveighed againſt the contempt of his Victories. He ſaid he would pardon all, but ſuch as had been authors of the injurious Exile of their fellow-Citizens; and accordingly putting ten of the Senators to death, he reſtored the City to its Laws. Not long after being accuſed of an intention to make himſelf abſolute, he was puniſhed both for his paricide committed againſt his Country, and his own Son (as *Juſtin* termeth it) whom being a Prieſt, he had crucified, for refuſing to come to him before he had finiſhed his ſuperſtitious rites, and when he came appeared in his purple and other ornaments, which *Mazæus* thought unſuitable with the condition of him his Father. Him ſucceeded *Mago*, by whoſe induſtry the wealth, dominion, and reputation of the *Carthaginians*, for matters of War, increaſed.

(b) *Lib.* 18.

Mazæus.

Mago.

13. *Mago* being the firſt, who by ordaining military diſcipline, had laid the foundation of Empire, and added to the ſtrength of the City, as well by introducing Virtue as the Art of War, left two Sons behind him, *Aſdrubal* and *Amilcar*, who by treading in his paths, ſucceeded as well to the greatneſs as the Patrimony of their Father. Under their conduct the State made War in *Sardinia*, and fought againſt the *Africans*, who demanded Tribute for the ground on which *Carthage* ſtood, which alſo at length they conſtrained the *Carthaginians* to pay. *Aſdrubal* died of his wounds in *Sardinia*, whoſe death was ennobled by publick mourning, eleven Dictatorſhips, as *Juſtin* calleth them (by which ſeemeth to be underſtood no other than ſo many times ſending out, or commiſſionating as General, with full power in the field, yet ſo as to be under the commands of the State) and four Triumphs: and the Enemies of *Carthage* took heart, as if with the Captain its force and power was alſo dead. The Inhabitants of *Sicily* then vexed with the continual injuries of the *Carthaginians*, betook themſelves to *Leonidas* the brother of the King of *Sparta*, and a great war inſued, wherein both parties long ſtruggled with various Fortune. At this time came Ambaſſadors from *Darius* (the Son of *Hyſtaſpes*) King of *Perſia*, commanding the *Carthaginians* to forbear offering humane Sacrifices, and eating mans fleſh, requiring them to burn their dead rather than to bury them, and demanding aſſiſtance againſt the *Greeks*, with whom he was about to ingage in War. They denied to afford any ſuccours becauſe of their continual Wars with their neighbours; but obeyed him in the reſt, leſt they ſhould ſeem too ſtubborn, ſaith *Juſtin*; yet that they ſtood not to their word, the teſtimonies of *Plato*, *Diodorus*, and *Pliny*, do certifie. Whilſt theſe things paſſed, *Amilcar* was ſlain in the War of *Sicily*, leaving three Sons: *Amilco*, *Hanno*, and *Giſgo*. *Aſdrubal* alſo left ſo many, *viz. Annibal*, *Aſdrubal*, and *Sappho*. Of theſe, *Annibal* is miſtaken for *Annibal* the great, by one who hath made ſome ſhort Notes upon * *Juſtin*, and *Amilcar* his Uncle, for *Amilcar Barchas* Father to the famous *Annibal*, and *Mago* alſo for another of this name, that lived * many years after in the days of *Dionyſius* the younger, and *Timoleon*. The Annotator wondreth what came into *Juſtin*'s mind to make *Annibal* (the great) the ſon of *Aſdrubal*, and well he might, if any ſuch thing had been intended; he alſo referreth the Reader to the life of *Timoleon*, to find that *Mago* killed himſelf, and was after his death nailed to a croſs, becauſe he fought unproſperouſly in *Sicily*, which *Plutarch* intendeth of another perſon. Of this groſs miſtake of one (whoſoever he was) that took upon him to inform beginners, Students in Hiſtory are to take notice and beware.

Juſtin lib. 19.

Darius his meſſage to the *Carthaginians.*

* *Margine ad l.* 19. *excuſ. Londini, pro Felice Kingſtonio.* 1651.

* *Vide infra parag.* 53.

14. For this *Amilcar* ſeemeth no other than the very ſame that was ſlain in

the battel with *Gelon* of *Syracuſe*, in the ſixth year of *Xerxes*; Son to *Darius* King of *Perſia*, from which was made a digreſſion into the affairs of *Carthage*. With *Amilcar* periſhed one hundred and fifty thouſand *Carthaginians*; the Captives that remained of his Army, filled all the Cities of the Iſland, and the State of *Carthage* was conſtrained to beg peace, having, as ſome ſay, made this War at the inſtance of *Xerxes*, that thereby the *Greeks* in *Sicily* might be diverted from helping their Friends. After this, *Gelon* was offered the Kingdom of *Sicily*; but he generouſly refuſed it, whereby he obtained the greater glory and love. At length, having ſetled all things well, he died full of honour at *Syracuſe*, after he had held the principality about thirteen years. In the third year of the ſeventy fifth *Olympiad* his elder brother *Hieron* ſucceeded him. He rebuilded *Catana*, and changed its name into *Ætna*, the Mountain of which name about this time brake out into flames, as fifty years after it did alſo. In the beginning of his reign he was much unlike to his brother *Gelon*, being ſuſpicious, cruel, covetous, and turbulent: then caught with a lingering diſeaſe, he was much amended by the converſation of moſt Learned men. After this he fought proſperouſly againſt the *Carthaginians*, who now again returned into *Sicily*, overthrew *Thraſydæus* of *Agrigentum* in a great battel, and drove him to deſperation: at length he incurred the hatred of the *Syracuſians*, uncertain for what cauſe, and ſhortly after withdrawing himſelf to *Catana*, there died in the ſecond year of the ſeventy eighth *Olympiad*, when he had held the Principality from the death of *Gelon* eleven years and eight moneths.

The great defeat of *Amilcar*.

Hieron of *Syracuſe*.

Herod. l. 7. *c.* 153.
Ælian var. hiſt. lib. 13. *c.* 37.
A. M. 3527.
Ol. 75. *an.* 3.
V. C. 276.
Xerxis. 8.

15. After him his brother *Thraſybulus* ſeized upon the power, whoſe practices ſtirred up the Citizens to recover their liberty with the haſtening of his ruine. For being ſet upon by them, he was overthrown, and reduced to ſuch a ſtraight, that he fled into *Locri* on the Coaſt of *Italy*, and there killed himſelf, having held the Soveraignty ten moneths from the death of *Hieron*. The *Syracuſians* now gladly reſumed their liberty; yet not therewith content, that they might the more ſecure it, they freed alſo many other Cities of *Sicily*, from *Tyranni* and forrein Garriſons. But not long after they fell into a moſt pernicious Sedition. For excluding thoſe from honours whom *Gelon* had brought into *Syracuſe* for the eſtabliſhment of his own intereſt, they themſelves bearing all Offices of Magiſtracy, and governing the Commonwealth, though they took not away from the other the freedom of the City, the lately made Denizons not enduring it, conſpired together, being in number ſeven thouſand of ten thouſand which *Gelon* had brought in. Three years after liberty recovered, they ſudainly fell upon the two parts of the City: the *Iſland* and *Acradina*. The natural Inhabitants overpowering them in numbers, beſieged them cloſe, and overthrowing them in a Sea fight, at length conſtrained them to acquieſce in the preſent ſtate of things, or elſe quit the City, after the Sedition and tumult had endured two years. In the mean time by the conduct of *Ducetius* a *Sicilian*, thoſe planters that *Hiero* had placed in *Catana*, were thence ejected, and the old Inhabitants reſtored to the place, whom he had caſt out: now alſo the whole Iſland was reſtored to its antient condition, the Exiles being repoſſeſſed, and new comers driven out, who ſetled themſelves at *Meſſana*, the utmoſt part of the Iſland.

Thraſybulus.

The *Syracuſians* recover their liberty.

A. M. 3538.
Ol. 78. *an.* 2.
V. C. 287.

Ariſt. Polit. l. 5. *c.* 3.

16. That form of a Commonwealth was now eſtabliſhed at *Syracuſe*, which *Ariſtotle* properly calleth *Policy*, mixed of *Oligarchy* and *Democracy*; which, how dangerous it was, appeared ſhortly. For, after ſome years, the State continuing in this form, and the number of Citizens increaſing, one *Tyndarides*, an eminent man, and very rich, egged on by his ambition, brought it into great danger. For binding to him the indigent rabble by his gifts, and uſing them as a Guard, he manifeſtly preſſed towards the Soveraignty, but by the Union of thoſe who were in greateſt grace with the people, he was repreſſed, and when the beggerly ſort would needs undertake his protection, killed in a tumult. When others not at all deterred by this example aſpired after ſuch power as threatned liberty, the people for to humble thoſe that carried their heads higheſt, in imitation of the *Athenians* brought in the uſe of the *Petaliſm*. As they by their *Oſtraciſm* removed ſuch Citizens for ten years, who for their reputation and intereſt were dangerous to the freedom of the City, ſo the *Syracuſians* by the *Petaliſm* removed ſuch like for five years. This kind of baniſhment, without loſs of honour, or fortune, was called in Greek *Petaliſmos*, becauſe his name whom any one would have baniſhed was written in a leaf of an Olive, according to * *Diodorus*, both which in the ſame language were

The form of the *Syracuſian* Commonwealth.

The *Petaliſm.*

* *Quem lege ad Olymp.* 812. *ann.* 2.

were ſignified by the word *Petalos*. But this conſtitution, as the other at *Athens*, could not long continue. For thoſe eminent perſons who were moſt fit for ſtate Affairs, for fear thereof by little and little withdrew themſelves from publick buſineſs to a private life. Hereby the Commonwealth fell into the hands of bold, raſh, unskilful, and the naughtieſt ſort of men, whence grievous incommodities and dangers followed. By theſe things the people were moved to abrogate the Law of *Petaliſm*, and the better ſort returned to the care of the Commonwealth, after which it remained in quietneſs for ſome time, but again relapſed, as neceſſarily it muſt, from the infirmity of its Antimonarchical Government.

Quickly abrogated for weighty reaſons.

The Wars of the *Syracuſians*.

17. Abroad the *Syracuſians* had War with the *Tuſcans* in *Italy*; with *Ducetius* Captain of the *Siculi*, as alſo the *Agrigentines*, *Trinacrians*, *Leontines*, and *Ægeſtans* in *Sicily*, wherein moſt commonly they had the better, and either fully brought under, or bound to them by Leagues, moſt of the Cities in the Iſland. *Leontium* a moſt flouriſhing Town was utterly deſtroyed when it now gaped after the Empire of *Sicily*, the principal Citizens being removed to *Syracuſe*, and the multitude driven into Exile. Out of theſe motions they fell into the *Athenian* War in the firſt year of the ninty firſt *Olympiad*, concerning which we have already ſufficiently ſpoken. *Syracuſe* was ſo exhauſted therein with expences and ſlaughters, that upon the brink of Ruin it was meerly preſerved by the wiſdom and valour of *Gylippus*, a ſtranger of *Sparta*; and not only preſerved, but made victorious to admiration, and inabled to return to the *Athenians* ſo great overthrows by Land and Sea. This War which begun in the fiftieth year after the recovery of their Liberty (by means of the *Egeſtans*, who craved aid of *Athens* againſt them and the *Selinuntians*) laſted not fully three years, leaving a ſufficient warning to all, of the viciſſitude of human affairs, and ſhewing, that they who gape after Dominion, and are buſie to inlarge their bounds, being carried out by the force of ambition rather than reaſon, often fall into a neceſſity of defending their own Eſtate, and ſometimes loſe all.

Lib. 2. *cap.* 4. *Diod.*

A. M. 3593. *Olymp.* 92. *ann.* 1. *V.C.* 342. *Darii Nothi* 12.

The State new modelled by *Diocles*.

18. The multitude grown exceeding high upon this ſucceſs, would not reſt ſatisfied with its former privileges, but ſo ordered the matter, that the temper of this Commonwealth more and more degenerated. *Diocles* a man of principal note, who had perſwaded them to put to death *Nicias* and *Demoſthenes* the *Athenian* Generals, being of a moſt ſevere and rigid diſpoſition, eloquent tongue, and great reputation for wiſdom, perſwaded the people to change the Commonwealth, and elect Magiſtrates by lot, whereas formerly they were left to the Suffrages of the People. The former way inclined to *Oligarchy*; but, by this, admiſſion was given to the meaneſt and unfitteſt Perſon to Govern, which ill agreeth with the fame of *Diocles* his wiſdom. Some think that the multitude having got a promiſe from the great ones in the late danger, in caſe they would well demean themſelves, now wreſted this Law from them, that *Diocles* perſwaded the Nobility, and the better ſort to give way to the time for avoiding ſome greater miſchief, and then he with his Collegues having power from the whole State, as *Diodorus* addeth, form'd this new Commonwealth with convenient Laws, whereby this liberty was bounded, and other things ordered as they thought, but falſly, made for publick good. This *Diocles* was in puniſhment of vice rigid, and inexorable, and yet moſt juſt in what was deſerved by any man. His Laws were ſo well thought of by the vulgar, that many Cities of *Sicily* received them on their own accord, the whole praiſe of the invention being given to him, though he had others joyned with him in the work, that were excellent for Wiſdom and Prudence. In after-times one *Cephalus* under *Timoleon*, and *Polydorus* under *Hieron*, were deputed to the making of Laws, but neither of them were accounted Legiſlators, but both Commentators upon him, who in the form of his Speech was ſomething ſhort and obſcure.

Diod. ad Olymp 91. *ann.* 4.

19. *Diocles* amongſt other Laws ordained, that it ſhould be Capital for any man to come into the Forum, or place where the people was wont to meet, with his Arms, and that neither the plea of ignorance nor any other excuſe ſhould ſtand him in ſtead that ſo offended. Afterwards it hapned that he himſelf having iſſued out againſt the Enemy who made incurſions, as he returned with his Sword, heard of a tumult in the Forum, and ſo went directly thither, not thinking what he had about him. Being for this reprehended by a private man as breaking his own Laws, he cried out he would do no ſuch matter, but eſtabliſh them with his Blood, and therewithal killed himſelf. In the Commonwealth thus new modelled by him, 'tis uncertain what order there was, or what method was obſerved in acting. There was a *Senate* conſiſting of ſix hundred men,

as we underſtand from *Diodorus*; but the fame of it was very obſcure, and the Power, as may be gathered, exceeding ſmall, which maketh it be ſo ſeldom mentioned. The Multitude was ſole Lord of all, and daily meeting together created the chief Magiſtrates, diſpoſed of the Militia, placing, and diſplacing Officers therein, decreed War, made Peace, contracted Leagues and Alliances, exerciſed Power as to life or death, granted Indemnity, baniſhed, and recalled at their pleaſure. Other things of leſſer moment were left to Magiſtrates, which were various, as in other popular Commonwealths. They were annual; as the Generals abroad, two, three, four, or more, as the people pleaſed; the General at home who was over the Militia of the City in time of Peace, and had great authority. Others were choſen by lot, as Judges, Treaſurers, Cenſors, and ſuch like, amongſt which were alſo thoſe that overſaw the matters at Sea, the City having an excellent ſite for trading. But things could not thus long ſtand, the Government being ſuch, and wherein the wiſeſt ſort could do leaſt, and the fooliſh unexperienced rabble was moſt powerful, though having no skill in State Affairs they little minded what they did, and only aimed at their private advantage. Hereby they were eaſily led aſide by one, who cunningly, though underhand, wrought his own deſigns. For ſcarcely were eight years paſſed over from the overthrow of the *Athenians*, when *Dionyſius* the Son of *Hermocrates*, a man of a ſubtile Head, and deep diſſimulation, ſo fooled the multitude, as obtaining from it a Guard for his Perſon, he invaded the Tyranny in the fourth year of the ninty third *Olympiad*, the very ſame that the City of *Athens* was yielded up to *Lyſander*. How this was effected muſt more particularly be related, to let the Reader behold the danger of Antimonarchical Government, and the happineſs of a People under that of hereditary Kings.

Dionyſius inſlaveth *Syracuſe*.

How this was effected by degrees.

20. The Citizens of *Ægeſta* (who had entred into League with *Athens* againſt the *Syracuſians*, and been cauſe of the *Athenian* War, by reaſon of the controverſie betwixt the *Selinuntians* and them about ſome Grounds) were in great fear after the overthrow of their Friends to be called to account, and quitted thoſe Grounds for which they had conteſted. But their adverſaries not reſting ſatisfied with the reſtitution of theſe Territories, but ſeizing alſo upon part of the adjoyning Region, they ſent to *Carthage* for help, giving up themſelves into their protection. The *Carthaginians* were very deſirous to be maſters of this City, ſo fit for their purpoſe of Conquering *Sicily*, but on the other hand they ſtood in fear of the *Syracuſians*, who had ſo lately grapled with, and worſted the Power of *Athens*. Yet their Ambition prevailing, they promiſed them aid, which they committed to the care of *Hannibal*, then one of their principal Magiſtrates, giving him Commiſſion to make War if the caſe ſhould ſo require. After the death of *Amilcar* the Affairs of *Carthage* had been managed by his, and his Brothers Sons, being ſix in number, under whoſe conduct War was made upon the *Moors* and *Numidians*, and the *Africans* were alſo conſtrained to remit the Tribute which had been formerly paid them for the ſite of the City. Now it was, that this great and numerous Family being dangerous to the liberty of the City, by doing and judging all things, one hundred Judges were choſen from amongſt the *Senators*, who received an account from the Generals at their return from the War, that by this awe they might ſo manage Affairs abroad, as having an Eye upon Juſtice, and the Laws at home. To *Amilcar* in *Sicily* ſucceeded his Son *Amilco*, who having good ſucceſs in the War, both by Land and Sea, on a ſudden loſt his Army by the force of Peſtilence, for which diſaſter there was a ſad mourning at *Carthage* (as it is largely deſcribed by *Juſtin*) and he at his return killed himſelf. *Hannibal* was his Brothers Son, being the Grandſon of *Amilcar* by his Son *Geſco*, or *Giſco*, * as *Diodorus* informeth us,

Juſtin. lib. 19.

* *Ad Olymp.* 92. *ann.* 3.

21. *Hannibal* having an inbred Hatred againſt all *Greeks*, and an earneſt deſire by his own acts to redeem the credit of his Family, was glad of an opportunity to gratify his Countrey, and near upon ſeventy years after the overthrow, and death of his Grand-Father, undertook the Employment. He firſt ſent to the *Syracuſians*, referring the matter betwixt the two Cities unto them, that the *Selinuntians* refuſing to ſtand to any award, as he knew they would, a more ſpecious pretence might be obtained for the War. They accordingly oppoſing it, the *Syracuſians* decreed to hold them as Allies and Confederates, and alſo to be at Peace with the *Carthaginians*; but the two concerned Cities falling upon each other, both *Syracuſe* and *Carthage* was thereby drawn into the Quarrel. *Hannibal* then having both in *Spain* and *Africk* made great preparations, the next year landed at *Lilybæum* the moſt Southern Cape of

A.M. 3595.
Olymp. 92. *ann.* 3.
V. C. 344.
Darii Nothi 14.

Ad ann 4.

Selinuns taken by the *Carthaginians.*

Sicily towards *Africk*, and ſetting upon the *Selinuntians* at unawares with a vaſt Army, took their City in the tenth day of the Siege, wherein he made Captive ſeven thouſand perſons, ſixteen thouſand being ſlain, and two thouſand and ſix hundred eſcaped to *Agrigentum*. He permitted *Empedion* and his kindred to people it anew, under condition of paying Tribute to *Carthage*. This was the condition of *Selinuns*, after it had ſtood two hundred and fourty two years from its firſt founding by the *Megarians*, who being deſcended from *Megara* in *Greece* firſt came into *Sicily* under conduct of *Lamis*, and built a Town upon the River *Pantacius*, called *Trotilus*. Thence *Lamis* departing with ſome of his Colony went to the *Leontines* and *Chalcidians*, with whom having lived ſome time he was driven out by them, and planting ſome Inhabitants in *Thapſus*, after his death they left the place, and under the conduct of *Hyblon* the *Sicilian* King, who betrayed the Countrey, inhabited *Megara*, and were called *Hyblæans*. After two hundred and fourty five years they were driven hence by *Gelon* of *Syracuſe*, but one hundred and fourty five years before this, they ſent out a Colony with *Pammilaus*, which built *Selinuns*.

And *Himera.*

22. *Hannibal* from *Selinus* marched to *Himera*, having a particular grudge againſt that place for his Grand-father's death. Falling on it with all his might, he was repulſed for a little time by the reſolute valour of the Inhabitants, but the Wall being beaten down with his Engines, he ſhortly took it. Many Women and Children had withdrawn themſelves out of the City; of thoſe men which he took he carried up three thouſand to the Hill where his Grandfather had been ſlain, and there killed them, being before uſed with all kinds of indignities; then raſed he the City which had been inhabited two hundred and fourty years, and diſmiſſing his Mercenaries and Subjects of *Sicily* departed home, where he was received with greateſt expreſſions of Honour and affection for having done in three moneths what other Captains would have required far larger time to effect. After his departure, *Hermocrates* the *Syracuſian* (who having been ſent as General to the aſſiſtance of the *Lacedæmonians*, was condemned to baniſhment in his abſence, through the malice of his Enemies) returned with a conſiderable Force into *Sicily*, and to ingratiate himſelf with his Country-men, repeopled *Selinus*, and fell upon the Tributaries of *Carthage*. The more ſtill to indear himſelf, he took up the Bones of thoſe *Syracuſians* that fell at *Himera*, and in a cariage ſent them to the City, well knowing, that this would procure as love to him, ſo envy and hatred to *Diocles* his main adverſary, who having been the Captain of the Slain, had taken no care for their Burial. *Diocles* much oppoſed their publick Sepulture, but the People reſolutly decreed it, then baniſhed him, and yet they recalled not *Hermocrates*, being jealous leſt he ſhould improve his power and abilities to the making of himſelf abſolute. He then being in deſpair of returning by fair means, attempted to do it by force, and getting in to the City, was amongſt his complices killed by the multitude.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 93. *an.* 1.

A. M. 3598.
Ol. 93. *an.* 2.
V. C. 347.
Idem. ad. an. 2.

23. In the ſecond year of the ninty third *Olympiad*, the *Syracuſians* ſent to *Carthage* to complain of the late War, and to deſire that for the time to come they would forbear all hoſtility, to which they returned an ambiguous anſwer, and made all poſſible proviſion for an Army, wherewith to ſubdue the whole Iſland. Before they tranſported any Forces they ſent a Colony thither, which at the hot Waters built a City, and called it *Thermæ*. The year following they ordered *Hannibal* to go over as General, who excuſing himſelf by reaſon of his Age, they joyned with him *Imilco* the Son of *Hanno*, one of the ſame Family. Theſe two Generals then made Levies throughout *Africk*, hired Soldiers out of *Spain*, the Iſlands *Baleares*, and *Italy*; and got together an Army of twelve hundred thouſand men according to *Timæus*, but after *Ephorus* his reckoning three hundred thouſand. As they were paſſing over, the *Syracuſians* met them, and ſunk fifteen of their Veſſels, but with the reſt *Hannibal* paſſed ſafe over, and fell upon the rich and ſtately City of *Agrigentum*, which contained two hundred thouſand Perſons. The *Agrigentines* wanted not aſſiſtance from their Friends, all the *Greek* Cities being deeply concerned in their welfare, and the *Syracuſians* gave the beſiegers a conſiderable defeat, who demoliſhing the Tombs and Monuments the better to get to the Walls, had thereby pulled down a Peſtilence upon themſelves, ſaith *Diodorus*, wherein *Hannibal* died. But *Imilco* (or *Imilcar*) thereby not diſcouraged, continued the Siege, expiating the offence, as he thought, by ſacrifizing a Boy to *Saturn*, and drowning a company of Prieſts in the Sea as an offering to *Neptune*. His Soldiers mutinying for Proviſions, he ſupplied, by taking of the Ships which loaded with neceſſaries were ſent from *Syracuſe* to the beſieged. Hereby he ſtarved them within, and conſtrained them to quit

Ad an. 3.

the

And *Agrigentum.*

the City, being guarded to *Gela* by armed men. *Imilcar* found extraordinary rich plunder in it, whereof ſome rarities he ſent to *Carthage*, amongſt which was *Phalaris* his Bull, though *Timæus* the Hiſtorian carping at all others, by denying that there was ever any ſuch thing, is juſtly cenſured by *Diodorus*. For *Scipio Africanus* the younger, two hundred and ſixty years after, having deſtroyed *Carthage*, reſtored this Engine to the *Agrigentines*, with whom it was yet remaining when *Diodorus* wrote his Hiſtory.

24. *Imilcar* having, after a Siege of eight months, thus maſtered *Agrigentum*, a little before the Winter ſolſtice, deſtroyed it not preſently, that therein he might quarter his Soldiers that Winter. All the Iſland was ſtruck with great fear upon report of what had hapned; ſome of the *Sicilians* departed to *Syracuſe*, and others tranſported their wives and children with their wealth into *Italy*. The *Agrigentines* being got ſafe to *Syracuſe*, accuſed their Captains, as having betrayed their Country, and the *Syracuſians* were alſo blamed by the reſt for having choſen ſuch Generals, as by their diſhoneſty had brought *Sicily* into extreme danger. A meeting being had at *Syracuſe*, and great fear of a War poſſeſſing all men's minds, none dared to ſpeak one word, or give any advice. All ſticking at the matter, at length ſtood up *Dionyſius* the Son of *Hermocrates*, and accuſing the Captains of having betrayed *Agrigentum*, earneſtly moved the People to puniſh them forthwith, and not ſtay the time prefixed by Law. For this unlawful and ſeditious motion, the Magiſtrates fined him; but one *Philiſtus* a wealthy man, who afterwards wrote his Hiſtory, bade him proceed, promiſing to pay his fine, though it were a whole day together. Animated hereby he proceeded, urging that the Captains had been corrupted to betray the intereſt of *Sicily*, and accuſing others of the better ſort of Citizens as affecting *Oligarchy*. He therefore moved that new Officers might be created, ſuch as were not eminent for power, but good will towards the People, for that the other uſurping dominion deſpiſed the common ſort, and made their own markets out of the publick; whereas thoſe being of lower fortunes, by a conſciouſneſs of their own weakneſs could not attempt ſuch a matter.

Dionyſius his tricks for making himſelf abſolute.

25. Having diſcourſed theſe things fitly to the humour of the multitude, and his own deſign, he made no ſmall impreſſion in the minds of the Vulgar, who having had the fidelity of the Captains in queſtion before, gave credence to theſe ſlanders, and depoſing them, made new, amongſt which was *Dionyſius*, having got much credit for his valour againſt the *Carthaginians*. The foundation thus laid, he beat his head all manner of ways how to accompliſh his device, and reſolved if poſſible to get his Colleagues removed. For this purpoſe he never would meet in council with them, giving out they hatched clandeſtine deſigns againſt the State, and ſeeing the Citizens much affrighted at an approaching War, procured the Exiles to be called home, hoping that they being obnoxious to him, and deſirous of innovation, would be fit for his purpoſe, taking great delight in ſeeing their Enemies killed, and their goods ſold, their own Eſtates being reſtored to them. At this time it hapned that a Sedition falling out in *Gela*, he had an opportunity to lead thither two thouſand Foot, and four hundred Horſe, where procuring their principal men to be put to death, and their Eſtates confiſcated, he thereby much ingratiated himſelf with the multitude and Soldiers. At his return he found the People juſt departing from the ſhows of the Theatre, which asking him news, he ſaid he knew none, but that their Governours were greater Enemies to the State than the *Carthaginians*, by whoſe flatteries they now kept holy-day, and who fleecing the Commonwealth, cheated the Soldiers of their wages. Now was an innumerable Army hovering upon the borders, and ready to invade, which they not at all regarded. This he underſtood a little before, but now fully, having received a meſſage from *Imilco* that deſired his connivance. Wherefore for his part he would lay down his Office, not induring that others making merchandiſe of the Commonwealth, he alone ſhould, together with the Citizens, bear the burthen, and undergo the danger; and yet alſo be accounted as treacherous as the reſt. For this night every man in great fear went home to his houſe. The next day he called them together, and loading his Colleagues with great invectives, ſo ſtirred the multitude, that ſome beginning to cry out he was to be made Dictator, for that they had formerly had experience how convenient the conduct of a ſingle Perſon was, by the example of *Gelon* his Victory over *Amilcar*; the multitude out of hand created him General with full power. Then to bind faſt the Soldiers to him, he procured a Decree for double pay, alleging that it would make them more valiant in that time of danger, and bidding the People take no thought about raiſing money.

The miſery of People deſtitute of rightful and hereditary Princes.

26. The wiſer ſort had all along ſufficiently underſtood whither theſe actions tended, but the multitude ſtopped their ears againſt all accuſations, as proceeding from the malice of the great ones. But now upon further conſideration they began to ſuſpect him, and repent they had put the power out of their own hands, which he being aware of, leſt the diſcontent ſhould ſo ſeize upon the generality as thereby to procure him any let or hindrance in the full compleating of his deſign, he drew out the Army to *Leontium*, which now was uſed as a Fortreſs or Garriſon, and there ſhutting himſelf cloſe up, pretended a great conſpiracy againſt his life. The day following he called the multitude together, and alleging many probable reaſons to perſwade them to believe the danger, obtained to have ſix hundred men as a guard for his perſon, which he ſhould chuſe out where he pleaſed. This number he increaſed to one thouſand, picked out, and conſiſting of ſuch as were deſperate in fortune, and thereupon backed with ſtomach and reſolution. He called the Mercenaries, and ingaged them to him with good words; then new modelling the Army, gave ſuch commands therein as he knew would beſt ſerve his own turn: he gave free admiſſion to all Exiles and malefactors, knowing ſuch would be effectual for all his purpoſes. Having thus in imitation of *Piſiſtratus* got him a guard, and made himſelf Tyrant, at his return to *Syracuſe* he openly ſhewed himſelf ſuch, placing his Tent in the Arcenal. The People murmured in vain, being beſet with ſtrangers and mercenaries at home, and in continual fear of a War hanging over them from abroad. To eſtabliſh himſelf he took to wife the daughter of *Hermocrates*, who did ſuch ſervice againſt the *Athenians*, and was ſlain in attempting to ſeize on the City: he alſo gave his own ſiſter in marriage to his wives Brother, thinking it his intereſt to be allied to ſo great a Family. Then aſſembling the People, by his devices he procured *Daphneus* and *Demarchus* the moſt potent of his Adverſaries to be put to death; and ſo from a Scribe and a man of mean condition, he became Maſter of the greateſt *Greek* City, continuing ſuch for thirty eight years, unto his end.

A. M. 3599.
Ol. 93. *an.* 3.
V. C. 348.
Darii Nothi 18.

Idem ad an. 4.

A conſpiracy againſt him

Diſappointed.

He maketh peace with the *Carthaginians*.

27. *Imilcar* having wintred in *Agrigentum*, at Spring-time razed the City, and then fell upon *Gela*. The Inhabitants betook themſelves to *Dionyſius* for help; but his endeavours not well ſucceeding, they were forced to quit the Town, and leave it alſo to the diſpoſal of the Enemy. *Dionyſius* made the Citizens of *Camerina* to do the ſame, poſſeſſing them with a fear of the *Carthaginians*, ſo that departing thence in haſte, ſome with their Gold and Silver, others with their Wives and Children only, and the ways being full of both ſexes and ages, who miſerably ſhunned ſervitude by Exile, the *Syracuſian* Horſemen pitied them exceedingly, and accounting this but a fetch of their Tyrant, to make himſelf Maſter of the place, conſpired how they might kill him in the way, and the rather, becauſe they had obſerved how remiſs, or rather induſtriouſly treacherous, he had been in the relief of *Gela*. He keeping the Mercenaries cloſe to him, they could not execute this deſign, but rode faſt to *Syracuſe*, where being eaſily admitted, they rifled his Palace, and uſed his Wife ſo harſhly that ſhe died. They were ſecure of him as at a great diſtance from them; he conjectured the ſame, and in poſt-haſte coming to *Syracuſe*, ſet fire on one of the gates, and ſo got in. Then ſlaughtered he ſuch of them as he could light of, as alſo of thoſe Citizens whom he knew to be moſt averſe to him, ſome he ſlew, and others he expelled the Town. Scarcely were things ſetled, when a meſſage came from *Imilcar*, inviting the *Syracuſians*, though conquered, unto Peace. *Dionyſius* moſt gladly imbraced the offer, ſo that is was made upon theſe terms: The *Carthaginians* were to have ſubject to them, beſides their old Tributaries and Colonies, the *Sicani*, *Selinuntians*, *Agrigentines*, and *Himerians*, and alſo the *Gelæans*, and *Camerineans*, who might inhabit their Towns unwalled, but be tributary to *Carthage*. The *Leontines*, *Meſſenians*, and all *Sicilians*, were to be free and the *Syracuſians* ſubject to *Dionyſius*. All ſhips taken on both ſides were to be reſtored. Theſe things confirmed, *Imilcar* paſſed over into *Africk*, having loſt half of his Army by the Plague, which ſo raged alſo in *Africk*, that great multitudes both of the *Carthaginians* and their Aſſociates fell thereby.

28. *Dionyſius* knowing that the *Syracuſians* now eaſed of the War, would buſie their heads how to recover their liberty, to prevent ſuch a deſign, fortified that part of the City called the *Iſland*, which he cauſed to be inhabited with his own confidents: he alſo divided the publick grounds to ſuch as he thought fit, and admitted ſtrangers to equal privileges with the Citizens. Having thus as he thought ſecured his eſtate, he reſolved to march againſt ſuch *Sicilians* as he thought moſt

Sect. 2.

Another deſign againſt him

aſſiſted the *Carthaginians*, and was about to beſiege *Erbeſa*, when the Citizens of *Syracuſe* now armed, conſidering what an opportunity was put into their hands, and repenting they had not aſſiſted the Horſemen in their revolt,reſolved to declare for their liberty. The attempt generally took, the Citizens ſtood upon their defence, and the Tyrant was beſieged, for whoſe head a great ſum of money was offered. He was much caſt down, and thought to reſign his power, according as ſome adviſed him; but *Philiſtus* turned his mind, and made him reſolve to venture all rather than do it. Bethinking himſelf how he might circumvent the Citizens, he ſent to them, pretending a willingneſs to quit all, if they would but permit him to carry away his goods; and at the ſame time he diſpatched a meſſage to the *Campanians* (mercenary Soldiers of *Campania* in *Italy*) offering them large rewards if they would ſtand by him. The *Syracuſians* conſented he ſhould depart with five ſhips, and then, as if their liberty was fully recovered, grew ſecure, remiſs, and idle, disbanding ſome of their men, neglecting their guards, and taking their pleaſure in the fields: The *Campanians* allured by his promiſes broke in to him, ſome Troops of Mercenaries alſo came to his aſſiſtance, with which he ſet upon the Towns-men, and eaſily putting them to flight recovered his power. He hindred his men from killing, and a great number flying to *Ætna*, he ſent to them, offering them pardon,which ſome imbraced, and others refuſed to venture themſelves upon it.

Fruſtrated.

His Wars.

29. When he had well re-ſetled himſelf, he made War upon ſeveral Towns in *Sicily*, ſome of which he took, and having an eye upon the *Carthaginians*, ſtrongly fortified his City of *Syracuſe*. He reſolved with himſelf to make War upon them, hoping that all thoſe Towns which in time of Peace willingly ſubmitted to their yoak, would now revolt to him. Underſtanding that in the *Athenian* War a line had been drawn before *Syracuſe*, from Sea to Sea, and thereby acceſs into the Country cut off, with admirable celerity he raiſed a wall to prevent this for the time to come, labouring himſelf amongſt the workmen, to cauſe them the more chearfully to undergo the toil: Then did he make extraordinary proviſions of all ſorts of Arms, compleatly furniſhed himſelf with ſhipping, and hired Soldiers from all parts. Thus provided, he cauſed all the goods of the *Carthaginian* Merchants, and others dwelling there, to be ſeized by the multitude of the *Syracuſians*, to whom now he carried himſelf more mildly, being very ready to begin the War; eſpecially upon ſo profitable terms. Other *Sicilian* Towns followed his example, out of hatred to the *Carthaginians* for their cruelty, of whom ſuch as were amongſt them they unmercifully handled in way of requital, which taught that State to deal more favourably afterwards with ſuch as they took, in remembrance of the viciſſitude of humane affairs. Then diſpatched he a meſſenger to *Carthage*, to denounce War from the people of *Syracuſe*, except they would ſet at liberty all the *Greek* Cities of *Sicily*. They were much ſtruck therewith, being exceedingly ſpent with Peſtilence, but refuſed to do it, and as they might, made proviſion for reſiſtance. *Dionyſius* beſieged *Motya* one of their Colonies, and chief Fortreſs for War. Upon his ſhips *Imilco*, as yet not ſufficiently provided, made an attempt, and beating up the Camp preſently retired again; ſo that *Dionyſius* became Maſter of the Town.

Diod. ad Olymp. 95. *an.* 3, 4.

30. Ere he had taken *Motya* he beſieged *Ægeſta*, the Inhabitants whereof would not betray their truſt, and made excurſions into the Territories of their Friends. But the Spring following the *Carthaginians* having created *Imilco* King, ſent him over with a vaſt Army, wherewith he firſt worſted *Leptines*, whom *Dionyſius* had commanded to attend his motions; then took *Eryx*, and preſently recovered *Motya*. He had *Panormus* betrayed to him: he took *Lipara*, and after that *Meſſana* with his ſhips, the Inhabitants having ſent their Forces out of the Town to meet his Land-Army. When he took *Motya*, *Dionyſius* brake up his Siege and retreated to *Syracuſe*; now hearing that he intended to ſet upon *Catana* both by Sea and Land, he ſent *Leptines* with the Fleet after *Mago* the *Carthaginian* Admiral, and he himſelf marched by Land to meet with *Imilco*. *Leptines* according to order made after as faſt as he could, and attacking the Enemies Fleet, at firſt ſunk diverſe Veſſels; but when he was now almoſt incompaſſed with *Mago*'s ſhips which were in number five hundred, not able to fight at ſuch diſadvantage, he was forced to fly out into the Main, and in his flight loſt one hundred Veſſels. *Dionyſius* kept on his march, intending to fight *Imilco*; but was ſtopped by the interceſſion of his friends, who feared leſt in his abſence *Mago* might with his whole Fleet ſet upon *Syracuſe*, and take it. He therefore

Idem ad Olymp. 95. *ann.* 1.

A.M. 3609.
Olymp. 96. *an.* 1.
V. C. 358.
Artax. Mnemonis, 9.

therefore returned to the City, and diſpatched away Meſſengers into *Greece* and *Italy* for aid.

Syracuſe beſieged.

31. *Mago* by Sea with two hundred ſhips, and *Imilcar* by Land with thirty thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Horſe, beſieged *Syracuſe*, who for that the Citizens refuſed to give battel, waſted their grounds for thirty days, and after that took the Suburbs of that part of the City called *Acradina*. His Army was taken with a ſudden pannick fear, and ſeized by a ſore diſeaſe; yet notwithſtanding he drew a line for the Fortification of his Camp, and built three Forts upon the Sea, wherein he put his proviſions, and ſent into *Sardinia* and *Africk* for more. Afterwards *Polyxenus* father-in-law to *Dionyſius* returning out of *Peloponneſus* and *Italy* with thirty long ſhips, and *Pharacidas* the *Lacedæmonian*, to the aſſiſtance of the *Syracuſians*, they took a victualling ſhip from the *Carthaginians*. They doing their endeavour to reſcue it, the *Syracuſians* drew out their whole Fleet, and ingaging, took the Admiral Gally, and ſpoyled twenty four Veſſels. After this the *Carthaginians* durſt not ſtir abroad, and the *Syracuſians* puffed up with this Victory, thought of recovering their former liberty. *Dionyſius* coming in at the *Port*, called them together, incouraged them in the War, and gave them hopes of finiſhing it ſhortly to their ſatisfaction. Here before his face, one *Theodorus* in many words exhorted his fellow Citizens to throw off the yoak, and either take the Militia into their own hands according to the Laws, or deliver it up to the *Lacedæmonian* General. But *Pharacidas* the *Lacedæmonian*, according to his inſtructions from his ſuperiours (who had now eſtabliſhed an Oligarchy whereever they could, agreeable with their own Government and intereſt, or gave way to the power of a ſingle man rather than that of the People) ſaid openly, that he was ſent to help them againſt the *Carthaginians*, and not to overthrow the power of *Dionyſius*; ſo that the people were at ſo unexpected a thing utterly quelled, murmuring much againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, who had now twice deceived them in the recovery of their freedom. *Dionyſius* affrighted hereat, made ſhew afterwards of great humanity, to gain the affections of the people.

Another attempt againſt him.

Fruſtrated.

A grievous plague ſeizeth on the *Carthaginians*.

32. The *Carthaginians* were at this time ſeized with a moſt grievous Plague, which *Diodorus* attributeth to their rifling the Temples of *Proſerpina* and *Ceres*, as the Meritorious cauſe, and to the unwholſomneſs of the place beſet with Fens, as the effectual means that wrought the diſtemper. A grievous diſeaſe had formerly fall'n upon the *Athenians* in the ſame place. For before Sun-riſe, becauſe of a cold vapour that roſe from the Fens, a cold and ſhaking ſeized on the body, then at noon a ſuffocating heat. So many men being gathered together into one place, the contagion began firſt with the *Africans*, who, though they died in great numbers, were at firſt all buried. Afterwards the number increaſing, ſuch as looked to the ſick dying alſo ſhortly after them, none would venture to come near the infected. But beſides want of attendance, no remedy could be had for the evil. For from the ſtench of the dead, and putrefaction of the Fenniſh Air, in the beginning of the diſeaſe a Catarrh, and then preſently an *Angina*, or ſwelling of the neck, took the Patient. Theſe were followed by a Fever, pains in the *Spina*, and numneſs of the legs, which drew after them a Dyſentery, and Spots over all the body. Some were taken with madneſs, and abolition of memory, who wandring up and down the Camp beat all they met. At length all the endeavours of Phyſicians were void, through the vehemence of the diſeaſe, and ſuddenneſs of death, for on the fifth, or at the furtheſt on the ſixth day they died in great torment. *Dionyſius* underſtanding this ſad condition of the beſiegers, thought it convenient to ſally out upon them, and ſent eighty ſhips to fall on their Navy. The Land Army firſt arriving took two of their Forts, and diverted them from their ſhips, which as ſoon as they ſaw in danger, they again retired to them; but with little advantage. For the *Syracuſians* boarded and ſlaughtered them in great numbers, and *Dionyſius*, with his Land Army, fired fourty of their Gallies that rode at Anchor in the Haven of *Daſco*. The night approaching broke off the fight, and then the *Carthaginians* ſent to *Dionyſius* three hundred Talents, begging leave to depart; which he granted (with exception to all *Sicilians* and other Mercenaries) being unwilling they ſhould be quite defeated, that through fear of them his Subjects might be the better contained in obedience. After the flight of the *Carthaginians*, the *Sicilians* departed home, and all the reſt were ſlain or taken, except the *Spaniards*, who gathering themſelves into a round body, ſent to *Dionyſius* to enter into Alliance with him; which he accepted.

Sect. 2.

Diod. ad Olymp. 96. ann. 3.

Idem ad ann 4

Dionyſius ſetteth upon Rhegium.

33. *Dionyſius* being ſecure of the *Carthaginians* for ſome conſiderable time, provided againſt his Mercenaries, which badly affecting him, he prevented by taking of their Leader, and beſtowing on them the City and Territories of *Leontium*. Then did he make new Leavies, and replanted *Meſſana* with its antient Inhabitants the *Meſſenians*; but ſeeing the *Lacedæmonians* his Friends offended with it, he removed them to another place near the Sea, which they called *Lyndarides*, and wherein they did thrive exceedingly, Conquering and laying ſeveral places to their demeſnes. Having fortified *Meſſana*, the Inhabitants of *Rhegium* (who formerly jealous of his growth, had ſhown their bad affection to him) conceived it to proceed from ſome deſign againſt their City, which ſtood over againſt it in *Italy*, upon the very Crag of the Promontory, where *Sicily* was ſuppoſed to have been broken off from the Continent, whence it had the name of *Rhegium*. They ſent *Heloris* to beſiege *Meſſana*, whereupon he determined to make War againſt them; but the *Sicilians* ſeizing upon *Tauromenium*, he firſt reſolved to recover it. He continuing his Siege all Winter, in a dark night got a certain Fort into his Hands, and made way for all his Army into the Town; but the Inhabitants gathering together, and reſiſting, from the higher ground, beat back his men, whereof ſix hundred were ſlain, and he himſelf eſcaped very narrowly, after which the *Agrigentines* and *Meſſenians* forſook him. The year after, he ſet upon *Rhegium* on a ſudden, burnt the Gates, and ſet Ladders to the Walls; but was repulſed by the ſtrong oppoſition of the Citizens. By this the Inhabitants of theſe Sea-Coaſts of *Italy*, ſeeing how far his covetouſneſs and ambition extended, made a League amongſt themſelves, and appointed a common Council, both for the reſiſtance of him and the *Lucanians*, who made War upon them at the ſame time.

Mago

Idem ad Olymp. 97. ann. 1.

Forced to return.

34. *Mago* was yet in *Sicily*, and was once overthrown in Battel by *Dionyſius*. The Year following his Superiours ſent over great Supplies, gathered as well out of *Sardinia* and *Italy*, as *Africk*, to the number of eighty thouſand men, wherewith he overran the Countrey and withdrew moſt of the Cities from their Obedience, till he came to the *Agyrinæans*, whom he could neither remove by fair nor foul means from their reſolution. *Dionyſius* with his Mercenaries and *Syracuſians* marched out againſt him, ſending before to the *Agyrinæans* to be in readineſs, who thereupon met him, and joyned their Forces with his Army. *Mago* now in an Enemie's Countrey was ſore ſtraightned for Proviſions, which made the other reſolve to draw out the War in length, and not to try his Fortune quickly by Battel. The *Syracuſians* being earneſt for fighting, upon his refuſal forſook him and departed home. This put him upon a reſolution to make free and liſt all Slaves, but even then came Ambaſſadors from *Mago* to treat of Peace, which he accepted upon this condition, that the *Sicilians* ſhould be under his authority; and ſo *Mago* returned home. After this *Dionyſius* ſeized on *Tauromenium*, and then baniſhed the greateſt part of the *Sicilians* from that Town.

Dionyſius his ſecond expedition againſt Rhegium.

Ad an. 3.

A. M. 3615.
Olymp. 97.
ann. 3.
V. C. 364.
Artax Mnem.
15.

Rhegium.

35. The next year but one, being the 3615 year of the World, into which fell part of the third year of the ninty ſeventh *Olympiad*, wherein *Rome* was taken by the *Gaules*, as ſome compute, *Dionyſius* once more undertook an expedition againſt *Rhegium*. He landed his Army, conſiſting of twenty thouſand Foot and one thouſand Horſe in the Territories of *Locris*, waſting all with Fire and Sword, his Navy, which conſiſted of one hundred and twenty Gallies, attending his motions all along, till at length he pitched his Camp near the Streights. The *Italians* inhabiting that part of *Italy* called *Magna Græcia*, hereupon diſpatched away ſixty Ships to help them of *Rhegium*, upon which he fell, and had taken or deſtroyed them, but that the beſieged iſſuing forth, repelled him with Darts and Arrows, and taking the opportunity of a Storm, drew the Ships to Land; ſo that in this Fight he loſt ſeven Ships with fifteen hundred men, and eſcaping drowning but narrowly, fled to *Meſſena*. Then Winter drawing on, he made a League with the *Lucanians*, who after his departure, for a private quarrel betwixt them, invaded the *Thurians*. Theſe ſending for aid to the reſt of the *Italian* Cities, would not ſtay for it, which they might juſtly expect according to Covenant, but iſſuing out againſt the Enemy, purſued them into their own Territories, who then taking them at advantage cut off many thouſands of them. The reſt ſeeing ſome Ships ſayl by, caſt themſelves into the Sea to ſwim to them, thinking they belonged to *Rhegium*. But it proved *Dionyſius* his Fleet ſent under conduct of his Brother *Leptines* to aid the *Lucanians*; yet *Leptines* took pity of them, and landed them ſafe; he alſo perſwaded the *Lucanians* for a pound of Silver a man

to releaſe their Priſoners, paſſing his word for the money, and at length made them Friends. But hereby he loſt the favour of his Brother (who hoped to devour both ſides, and make himſelf maſter of *Italy*, when they ſhould have ſufficently weakned one another) ſo that being diſplaced, *Thearides* the other Brother was made Admiral in his ſtead.

His third expedition.

Idem ad ann. 4: *& Olymp.*98. *ann.* 1, 2.

He taketh it.

A. M. 3618. *Ol.* 98. *ann.* 2. *V. C.* 367. *Artax. Mnem.* 18.

36. *Dionyſius* his mind was ſtill upon *Rhegium*, to which City he bore mortal hatred, becauſe ſome years before having ſent to them for a Wiſe, they returned him anſwer, that their Hangman had a Daughter, which if it pleaſed him to accept they would give to him. Therefore the Year following he ſet Sayl once more againſt them, who then looking for no mercy in caſe he ſhould take the Town, ſent to him, deſiring they might be moderately uſed. He required a Tribute of three hundred Talents, all their Ships, with one hundred Hoſtages, and then went againſt *Caulonia*, the Inhabitants whereof he removed to *Syracuſe*, razed the Town, and beſtowed the Ground upon the *Locrians*. But his deſign was not thus accompliſhed againſt them of *Rhegium*; his reſolution was not to diſmiſs them upon the former Terms, but by taking away their Ships to prevent the bringing in of Proviſions by Sea, that he might the more eaſily ſtarve them in a Siege. Bethinking himſelf how with any ſhew of Credit he might break the League, at length hovering yet about the Straights, he deſired a ſupply of Proviſions from them, pretending he would ſhortly return to *Syracuſe*; but he put it off from day to day, excuſing himſelf by his own indiſpoſition, or ſome other pretext, ſo that plainly ſeeing his drift, at length they flatly denied to ſend him any more Victuals. This he pretending to receive with great indignation as an afront, he laid cloſe Siege to the Town, and battered the Walls. The Inhabitants making one *Phyto* their General, armed all that could carry Weapons, and making many brave Sallies out upon him, burnt his Engines, and gave him a dangerous Wound with a Lance. But the Siege continuing, after eleven moneths they were driven to ſuch want, as a Buſhel of Wheat was ſold for ten Pounds, and at length they were forced to come out of the Walls, and there graze like Cattel, whereat he was ſo far from being moved with Compaſſion, that he ſent Beaſts thither to eat up the Graſs from them. Great heaps of Carkaſſes lying in the Town, and the Viſages of the living being by Famine rendred like unto them, they at laſt delivered up the Town. Such as could redeem themſelves with a pound of Silver he releaſed, and ſold the reſt. *Phyto* the General, after grievous torments, he drowned in the Sea, with his whole Family.

His ſtudies.

*Idem ad ann.*3.

Idem. ad Olymp. 99. *an.* 1.

Ad an. 2.

He overthroweth the *Carthaginians*:

37. After the deſtruction of *Rhegium*, *Dionyſius* lying idle at home, applied himſelf to Poetry, being heretofore much addicted to it. Whilſt he lay before *Rhegium* he ſent his Brother *Thearides* to the celebration of the *Olympick* Games, there to repeat his Verſes, which by their baldneſs drew the auditors into ſuch a diſtaſt, that they rifled the Ambaſſadors Tents. He called together the beſt Poets from all quarters to judge of his Skill. He alſo drew over to him *Plato* the Philoſopher, whom at firſt he uſed very courteouſly, but afterwards offended at him for his freedom of Speech, he brought him into the common Cage, and there for five pounds ſold him as a Slave. The Philoſophers coming over on purpoſe redeemed him, and then ſent him into *Greece* with this *Memento* in his Ear, That *A Philoſopher muſt either very rarely, or very pleaſantly converſe with Tyrants*. A year or two after this he put out to Sea with ſixty Veſſels, pretending an intention to clear the Coaſts of Pyrates, but wanting Mony, according to his cuſtome towards the Temples of *Sicily*, he ſeized upon a Chapel near *Argylla*, on the Coaſts of *Italy*, which being exceeding rich, he plundered of one thouſand Talents, and got much ſpoil from the Inhabitants of the place, who oppoſed him. Being now furniſhed with mony, he reſolved to renew the War againſt the *Carthaginians*, and the next year drew divers of their tributary Cities from their Obedience. The *Carthaginians* made great preparations for defence, raiſing a numerous Army, which they committed to the conduct of *Mago*. He poured out a great number of men both into *Sicily* and *Italy*. In the Iſland, *Dionyſius* overthrew him in a Battel near *Cabala*, wherein were ſlain more than ten thouſand of his men, and five thouſand taken: he himſelf with the reſt retired to an Hill, where fighting manfully he was ſlain, and his men ſent to *Dionyſius* to deſire Peace.

38. *Dionyſius* anſwered, that the only way to obtain their deſire, was to quit *Sicily*, and pay the charges of the War. To this he ſeemed to aſſent, but alledged they had no power to deliver up the Cities, and therefore deſired a Truce for ſome time to adviſe about it. During the Truce, *Mago*'s Son being advanced into

And receiveth an overthrow from them.

Deodor. ad Olymp. 103. an. 1.

He dieth.

his Father's place, trained the Soldiers, and exerciſed them continually, ſo as he brought them into a good condition for fighting, and then at the end of the Truce led them down, and gave battel inſtead of receiving Peace. Now were the *Sicilians* ſo puffed up by their late Victory, that the other took advantage of their careleſneſs, and ſo playd the men, that though *Dionyſius* in his wing, and *Leptines* his brother in the other, fought moſt valiantly, and the former prevailed; yet the latter being ſlain, his party was preſently put to flight, in which great execution was done, the *Carthaginians* giving no quarter; ſo as fourteen thouſand *Sicilians* are ſaid to have been ſlain. The Conquerours departed to *Panormus*, and thence ſent to *Dionyſius*, offering to have the quarrel taken up, which he gladly imbraced. Both ſides were to retain what they already had, only the *Carthaginians* took to themſelves the City and Territories of *Selinus*, with ſo much ground belonging to *Agrigentum* as reached to the River *Helycus*, and required of *Dionyſius* one thouſand Talents. Long after this he reſted from War, but ſtill grudging the *Carthaginians* any footing in *Sicily*. This moved him at length with great preparations both by Sea and Land to invade their Territories, wherein he took ſome Towns, waſted the Country, and beſieged *Lilybæum*; but perceiving it very ſtrong preſently again roſe up from before it. Then hearing that the Arcenal at *Carthage* was fired, he careleſly behaved himſelf, and ſent one hundred and thirty Gallies to ſeize on the Haven of the *Erycinians*, commanding all the reſt to return to *Syracuſe*; but the Enemy unexpectedly with two hundred ſhips well manned, fell upon them in the Haven, and took moſt of them; then winter coming on, they made Truce, and each departed to their own places. Not long after, *Dionyſius* died after a Surfet he got by feaſting, for joy he was pronounced Victor in Poetry at *Athens*, after he had reigned thirty eight years, in the firſt of the one hundred and third *Olympiad*, A. M. 3637. three hundred and ſixty ſix before the ordinary *Æra* of Chriſt. It had been told him by an Oracle, that he ſhould die when he overcame his betters, which he had applied to the *Carthaginians*.

His wives and iſſue

Vide Ælian var. hiſt. lib. 13. c. 10.

Plutarch. & Corn. Nepos in Dione.

Dionyſius his ſon ſucceeddeth him.

39. *Dionyſius* married two Wives in one day: *Doris* born at *Locri*, and *Ariſtomache* Daughter to *Hipparinus* of *Syracuſe*, and Siſter to *Dion*. By the former he had a ſon called *Dionyſius*; by the later no Children for a long time (for which cauſe he put to death the mother of *Doris*, upon ſuſpicion of having practiſed ſomething upon *Ariſtomache* to cauſe her barrenneſs) but afterwards begot of her two ſons and as many daughters. When he lay ſick, *Dion* inquired of the Phyſicians concerning his condition, whether he was in any danger, that if ſo, he might move him about the ſharing of his Kingdom; for that he thought his ſiſters Children might juſtly expect their part therein. The Phyſicians told this to young *Dionyſius*, who found himſelf ſo concerned in it, that to prevent his Father's diſcourſing with *Dion*, he compelled them to give him that which laid him ſo faſt aſleep that he never could awake, and ſo he ſolely ſucceeded him.

His diſpoſition.

Plutarch & Nepos ibid.

A. M: 3637. *Ol.* 103. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 386. *Artax. Mnem.* 37.

Omnis Ariſtippum decuit color & ſtatus & res Horat. Vide Diog. Laertium in vita,

Ælian var. hiſt, l. 12. c. 47.

40. *Dionyſius* the younger at firſt gave ſuch hopes of a pliable diſpoſition, that *Dion* prevailed with *Plato* to return to *Syracuſe*, thinking that by his inſtruction he might be made a good and temperate Prince. *But Dion*'s emulators fearing he might be changed from his former courſe, which though bad in it ſelf was more convenient for them, recalled *Philiſthus* (one who was baniſhed by the late *Dionyſius*, and being a learned man, wrote the hiſtory of his life) that they might have one to oppoſe to *Plato*. He according to what was injoyned, and his private intereſt, upheld him in his extravagancies, as many other flattering Philoſophers did; eſpecially *Ariſtippus* of *Cyrene* the Scholar of *Socrates*, who had ſo great a command of his own temper, that he could apply himſelf * ſuitably to all times and perſons. *Plato*, when he came, found *Dion* in great troubles, being for his nobility and courage both envied and feared by *Dionyſius*, who, four months after, ſeeing the People much addicted to him, baniſhed him to *Corinth*, pretending he ſent him thither for the good of them both, that the one might be out of fear of the other. Becauſe he ſaw that this diſpleaſed all men, he ſent him all his movables, but kept his wife and his ſon, marrying her afterwards by conſtraint to *Polycrates* one of his Guard. This much ſtartled *Dion*'s friends, and *Plato* amongſt the reſt, by whom *Dionyſius* fearing that ſomething might underhand be wrought againſt him, he gave them good words, and laboured to keep *Plato*, who earneſtly deſired now that War was begun in *Sicily* to be diſmiſſed; eſpecially ſeeing his mind far remote from the love of Philoſophy. By his importunity he got leave to depart, upon condition that, when Peace was made, *Dion* ſhould be recalled, and he return with him.

41. When the time came, *Dionyſius* earneſtly deſired the return of *Plato*, but would have *Dion* diſcontinue a year longer, who earneſtly beſought *Plato* to return to *Syracuſe*, for that it was reported that the Prince now was wonderfully taken with Philoſophy. He ſtifly refuſed to do it, objecting his age, with the breach of Covenants, but being again urged on all ſides, a Ship was ſent for him, and large Letters were written, wherein the Tyrant promiſed to deal with *Dion* as his Friends ſhould judge reaſonable; many of the beſt ſort alſo in *Sicily* and his acquaintance were ſent to accompany him over. Wherefore *Plato* once more undertook the Journey, with intention to reconcile *Dion* to *Dionyſius*, and reduce the Tyrant to a more ſtrict and commendable life. But not long after his arrival *Dionyſius* ſtopped *Dion*'s Revenues, which *Plato* taking ill, once prevailed to have the ſtoppage removed, for otherwiſe he would be gone; but when the Ships were departed, and *Plato*'s paſſage thereby prevented, he again ſequeſtred the Eſtate. After this he fell plainly out with *Plato*, for holding that Faith was to be kept with *Heraclides*, who was ſuſpected to have raiſed a Sedition, and put him out of his Court, ſo as the Philoſopher was glad to take up his quarters with the Mercenary Soldiers, amongſt whom alſo Slanders were ſpred concerning him, ſo that he ſignified his condition to his Frinds at *Tarentum* in *Italy*, who with much adoe prevailed with the Tyrant to ſend him home ſafe. Such was the entertainment of *Plato* with *Dionyſius* both Father and Son.

Diodor. ad Ol. 95. an. 2. &c.

Plutarch in Dione.

Dion invadeth *Sicily.*

42. Though *Dionyſius* had left to him an hereditary War with the *Carthaginians*, yet giving up himſelf wholly to Luxury and Sluggiſhneſs, he was unfit to manage publick Affairs, and therefore made Peace with them. But *Dion* being now at *Corinth*, together with *Megacles* his Brother, and *Charicles* the General of *Dionyſius*, raiſed as many Mercenaries as he could, which not in number paſſing five hundred, he tranſported in two Ships of burthen into *Sicily*, leaving *Charicles* (or rather *Hercules*) behind, to bring after more Ships; ſuch was his courage, that he durſt venture with ſo inconſiderable a Force upon ſo great a Power. After his landing, multitudes flocked to him as he paſſed through the Iſland, and out of *Syracuſe* it ſelf, whom *Dionyſius* in ſuſpition had diſarmed. To them he gave Weapons, having brought many over with him for ſuch a purpoſe. By the time he got unto the City he was five thouſand ſtrong, which he eaſily entred, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of thoſe Captains that *Dionyſius* had left there, who at this time was upon the Coaſts of *Italy*. Upon his declaring to the People that he came to reſtore them to their antient liberty, they made him and *Megacles* their chief Generals with full power. *Dionyſius* ſeven days after returned and got into the Caſtle, which ſtanding in the Iſland was ſevered from the reſt of the City, whence he ſent for ſome to treat of Peace, that he might gain time. The People overreached, ſent their Commiſſioners, whom he kept with him, till ſeeing the Citizens negligent and careleſs by reaſon of their hopes, he poured out his Mercenaries upon them; but *Dion* with much labour repelled them, and ſlew eight hundred men. After this he ſent again to deſire a Treaty, but *Dion* anſwered, that his only way to obtain Peace was to lay down his power, and content himſelf with certain Honours; whereat he was much vexed, and took Counſel how any way he might revenge himſelf.

A. M. 3649.
Ol. 106. an. 1.
V. C. 398.
Ochi 6.
Philip. 5.

He expelleth *Dionyſius.*

43. *Philiſtus* whom he had made Admiral, fought with the *Syracuſians*, now not inferior to him in number of Ships, and loſing the day loſt alſo his life; having either killed himſelf, becauſe he would not be taken, or been tormented to death after he fell into his Enemies hands, both which are ſaid. Then did *Dionyſius* offer half of his Kingdom to *Dion*, and afterward was content to quit it all; but he was anſwered by him, that he muſt leave the Caſtle, and be content with certain Goods and Honours: and it was agreed, that with his movables and Mercenary Soldiers he ſhould have leave to paſs into *Italy*. The People hardly granted this, as being confident to ſubdue him by Force; but he leaving ſome ſtout men to defend the Caſtle, departed in the twelfth year of his Reign, with his Treaſure and rich ſtuff into *Italy*, undiſcovered by *Heraclides*, who ere this arrived out of *Peloponneſus* with a good Force, and was ſet over the Navy. *Heraclides* being much blamed for this, that he might re-ingratiate himſelf, perſwaded one to ſtir up the multitude to an equal diviſion of the Grounds, which being oppoſed by *Dion*, he out of emulation procured him ill will, and cauſed the People to create twenty five Prætors, whereof he himſelf was choſen one. *Dion*'s Mercenaries by this new Model deprived of their pay, deſired him to uſe their help in revenging himſelf upon his ingrateful Country-men. He then took upon him to be their Leader, and marched away to *Leontium*.

Is diſobliged.

The *Syracuſians* purſued, and oppoſed them in their way; but being forced with loſs to retire, the *Leontines* received him with much Honour, gave to the Soldiers their Arrears, and made them free of their City.

Redeemeth *Syracuſe.*

44. But ere long there was an occaſion for the recalling of *Dion*. The Soldiers whom *Dionyſius* had left in the Caſtle of *Syracuſe*, being diſtreſſed by want of Proviſions, reſolved over night, that the next day they would yield it up; but that very morning appeared a Fleet ſent to their relief, over which *Nipſius* a *Neapolitan* had the command. The *Syracuſians* iſſuing forth againſt it, had the better; but then growing ſecure, and giving up themſelves to gormandizing and drunkenneſs, *Nipſius* thought a good opportunity to be offered for the redeeming of his Credit, and fell upon the City, ſending ſome over the Wall, who killing the Sentinels, opened the Gates for his Soldiers. The new Captains of the *Syracuſians* being drunk, could take no order for reſiſtance, ſo as great ſlaughters were made in every place, the Garriſon Soldiers iſſuing out of the Caſtle, and great plunder with many Priſoners was carried away. Now the Citizens ſaw that no help remained for them, but only in *Dion*, to whom they ſent, begging of him, that laying aſide all thoughts of private Injuries, he would now ſuccour his diſtreſſed Country. He being armed by precepts of Philoſophy againſt private grudges, marched for *Syracuſe*, and was met by a number of old men, women, and children, who with lamentable cries implored his help. As the Garriſon Soldiers were buſie in Plunder, and had ſet the Houſes near the *Forum* on Fire, he brake in upon them, diſtributing his men to the ſeveral quarters of the City. They fell upon them all in diſorder, and burthened with Plunder, killed four thouſand; and ſo forcing up the reſt into the Caſtle, cleared all.

Envied.

Corn Nepos in Dione.

45. *Dion* having atchieved much honour by this act, was made General of the Land Forces; but *Heraclides* his Emulator ſtill retained his Admiralſhip. This vexed him ſo, that he gave out ſome words that a *Commonwealth could not be well governed by many*, which procured him great envy, as if he thereby ſignified that he would get the Soveraignty over all. He ſtudied not how to palliate the matter, but ſought to carry on all things by an high hand, and in a way of Force; and either procured *Heraclides* to be made away, or connived at thoſe whom he formerly hindred from doing it; after which he ſeized on the goods of his Enemies, and diſtributed them to his Soldiers. But preſently again Money failing him, and having none to run upon but his Friends, he was conſtrained either to loſe them or his Soldiers, who being alſo diſpleaſed for want of pay, the common people might ſafely revile him, affirming that the Tyrant was not to be endured. Whilſt he with thoughts of theſe things tormented himſelf, there came to him one *Callicrates* (or *Callippus*) an *Athenian*, a moſt cunning diſſembler and irreligious perſon. He told him, that ſeeing he was in ſuch danger, both in reference to Soldiers and People, his beſt way was to have ſome friend, who counterfeiting himſelf his Enemy, ſhould hold intelligence with his adverſaries, and thereby diſcover all their Plots and Practices againſt him. This part, by *Dion*'s conſent, he took upon himſelf, and under this pretence really and indeed practiſed his deſtruction, which *Dion*'s Wife and Siſter hearing of, therewith acquainted him, but he regarded them not, giving too much credit to what *Callicrates* had promiſed. The women nevertheleſs brought *Callicrates* into the Temple of *Proſerpina*, and there made him ſwear, that he had not at all plotted againſt *Dion*'s life; but he minding no Religion, but being egged on more forward to the accompliſhment of his deſign, ſent certain young men, natives of *Zacynthus*, in to him, whilſt he was private in his Chamber, who being eaſily admitted, for the knowledge his Family had of them, fell upon and preſently bound him: but being unarmed could not kill him, till one *Lyco* a *Syracuſian* reached them a Sword in at a Window; his Guard hearing, but ſtirring not. He died in the fifty fifth year of his age, and the fourth after his return out of *Peloponneſus*, being much lamented after his death, though before called Tyrant, and what ever elſe could expreſs him odious.

Plunged into great difficulties,

Circumvented by *Callicrates*, and ſlain.

Callicrates expelled by *Hipparinus*, and ſlain.

46. *Callicrates* after *Dion*'s death ſeized on the Principality, which he held but thirteen moneths; for then *Hipparinus* Son to *Dionyſius* the elder, by *Ariſtomache* *Dion*'s Siſter, expelled him, and placed himſelf in his Father's Kingdom, which he enjoyed two years. *Callippus* (or *Callicrates*) with *Leptines* went againſt *Rhegium*, which was held by a Garriſon of *Dionyſius* his Soldiers, which taking, he was there ſlain by *Leptines*, and *Polyſperthon*, it's ſaid; with the ſame

Sword

Sect. 2.

Naſæus.

Juſtin. l.21.

Sword wherewith *Dion* was killed. After *Hipparinus*, *Naſæus* obtained the Soveraignty over *Syracuſe*, and then *Dionyſius* recovered it in the tenth * year after his expulſion. In this time of his exile he made himſelf Lord of *Locri*, where his mother was born, and tyrannized over the Inhabitants ſix years in a moſt cruel manner; raviſhing their Virgins, and playing other pranks ſuitable to his diſpoſition. There he raiſed a Company of men, and coming over on a ſudain to *Syracuſe*, there finding all men in deep ſecurity, he expelled *Naſæus*, and erected his Tyranny afreſh. When he was gone, the *Locrians* expelled his Garriſon, and in revenge for his raviſhing their Virgins tormented his wife and two daughters to death, by thruſting ſharp Needles under their Finger Nails. The Commonwealth of theſe *Locrians* being very famous, is commended much by the antients, not only *Diodorus Siculus* and *Strabo*, but more antient than they, as *Plato* and *Demoſthenes*; the former in his diſcourſe which he makes to have been betwixt *Socrates* and *Timæus* a *Locrian* Philoſopher of the *Pythagorean* Sect, concerning the nature of things, and Original of the World; and the later in his Oration againſt *Timocrates*, an Author of new and pernicious Laws. Something is therefore according to the nature of our deſign to be ſaid of it.

Dionyſius recovereth *Syracuſe.*

Ælian l.9.c.8.

A. M. 3658.
*Ol.*108.*ann.*2.
V. C.407.
Ochi 15.
Phil. 14.

Zaleucus modelleth the *Locrian* Commonwealth.

Lege Ubbonem Emmium de Repub. Locrenſium.

47. *Zaleucus* (as he was accounted) a wiſe, juſt, and honeſt man, born of an Eminent Family at *Locri*, was the modeller of this Commonwealth. *Euſebius* thinketh he flouriſhed about the twenty ninth *Olympiad*, but *Diodorus* and ſeveral others making him a Scholar of *Pythagoras*, who taught in *Magna Græcia*, reckon him as Contemporary with *Charondas* the Law-giver of the *Thurians*, another of *Pythagoras* his Scholars, and who is famous for the ſtrictneſs and ſeverity of his Laws, which he is ſaid to have confirmed by his death in the ſame manner as *Diocles* did his; the ſame ſtory being told of him. According to their account he muſt have flouriſhed about the eightieth *Olympiad*. In the beginning of his Laws, or his Preface to them, this to ſome appeareth to have been his deſign; to affect the minds of his people with piety towards God, as the Original of all Right and Juſtice, the Lord and Governour of Heaven and Earth, as alſo an hater and puniſher of wickedneſs. Then preſcribed he Laws, not very many in number, but moſt effectual for the defence of Juſtice, reſtraining Vice, preſerving concord and tranquility in the State, preventing innovations, and for the eſtabliſhment of themſelves; which as long as obſerved (and they were obſerved long) preſerved the Commonwealth in ſafety. He thought a few ſtable and unalterable Laws well obeyed, to be more profitable for a State than an infinite multitude of weak ones, which are eaſily changed by thoſe that have a mind to innovate, and he concluded, that the ſpeedieſt way to the ruine of a Commonwealth was by change and innovation. That his opinion was true, the example of *Athens* abundantly demonſtrated, which erring in this point paid dearly for it, as *Demoſthenes* often complaineth; and of *Rome* alſo, which being infected with this itching diſtemper, at length was conſtrained to ſubmit to the power of one man. It being almoſt impoſſible, but that popular Governments ſhould reel and ſhake, what ever might happen to this inconſiderable City. He commanded his Laws to be ſtrictly obſerved, and the Magiſtrate to proceed according to the Letter of them, without giving his own gloſs, or pronouncing ſentence according to his private fancy. To this purpoſe is moſt memorable of all his Laws, that which *Demoſthenes* and * *Polybius* relate concerning one who ſhould afterwards prefer a new Law, abrogate any old one, alter any thing in it, or diſpute concerning the meaning of it. He was to come into the Council of one thouſand men with an halter about his neck, where ſpeaking his mind, if to them he ſhould demonſtrate his opinion to be profitable for the State, then was he to be diſmiſſed ſafe, and the Law admitted; but if it ſhould appear contrary, then was he to be ſtrangled forthwith in the ſight of the Council.

* *Quo prius.*
* *Lib.*12.7.

The form thereof.

48. *Zaleucus* choſe one thouſand men out of all the People, in whom he appointed the Supreme Power to reſide. It is not to be doubted but he ordained alſo a *Senate* of a far leſs number, by which daily and leſſer matters ſhould be diſpatched: that there were alſo certain Magiſtrates and Courts of Juſtice, which had orders preſcribed to them, we need not queſtion; though we find one only Magiſtrate in * *Polybius*, called *Coſmopolis*, who ſeemeth either to have preſided in the Senate, or the greater Council. *Zaleucus* took care for preventing diſſentions amongſt Citizens, pride in the greater ones, and either favour or hatred in Courts of Juſtice. To cut off the pride and vanity of women, he forbad any to go abroad with more than one waiting woman, except ſhe were either drunk, went out of the City by night, or betook her ſelf to an Adulterer; to

deck her ſelf either with coſtly apparel, except ſhe profeſſed the trade of a Strumpet. He forbad men in like manner to wear Gold Rings, or a *Mileſian* Garment, under pain of being accounted Whoremongers and Adulterers. *Ælian* * mentioneth a Law of his, prohibiting any one to drink ſtrong Wine, except by the Phyſicians order, though for health's ſake, upon pain of death, and another, * commanding that an Adulterer convicted ſhould loſe both his eyes. Concerning the later a notable thing hapned to the Law-giver himſelf, whoſe ſon being found guilty of this Crime, all the people were willing for his ſake to remit the puniſhment, but he would not ſuffer his Laws to be broken, but to preſerve ſight to his ſon, commanded that one of his own, and another of the young man's ſhould be pulled out.

* *Var. Hiſt.l.*2 *c.*37.
* *Lib.*13.*c.*24.

49. *(a) Demoſthenes* maketh mention of another Law, commanding that he who ſtruck out his Neighbours eye ſhould be puniſhed with the loſs of one of his own, as a *Lex talionis*. It hapned that a naughty man bearing a grudge to his Neighbour that had but one eye, threatned him to ſtrike it out, though with the loſs of one of his own. The poor man terrified exceedingly herewith, and judging continual blindneſs worſe than death, with a rope about his neck came into the Council, and asked a Law, that *whoſoever ſhould ſtrike out his eye that had but one, or deprive him of the uſe of one who was purblind, ſhould loſe both of his own, or be puniſhed with the like calamity and loſs that he ſhould bring upon his Neighbour.* This as juſt he eaſily obtained, and this was the only new Law which in two hundred years time was brought in, the Inſolency of innovators being repreſſed by the ſeverity of the former conſtitution, as the Orator obſerveth. Another there was, that a thing controverted ſhould remain in the poſſeſſion of him whoſe it was when the ſute commenced, till ſuch time as a difinitive ſentence paſſed; concerning which *(b) Polybius* telleth a notable ſtory of two men that contending about a ſlave, the one having had him long in poſſeſſion, the other got him into his hand two days before the Tryal, and then the former went and taking him away, poſſeſſed him the ſecond time. The Judges referred the matter as an hard caſe to the *Coſmopolis*, who determined in favour of the firſt and laſt poſſeſſor; but the other contended with him about the ſenſe of the Law, to whom he offered that both of them ſhould go with ropes about their necks and diſpute about it. The young man told him, he was old, and expecting but three or four years longer to live, dying now would be no great loſs to him, whereas he expecting a far longer time, according to the courſe of nature, ſhould have the far worſe bargain; with which facete reply he handſomly ended the diſpute, and the Judges confirmed the opinion of the *Coſmopolis*. *(c) Ariſtotle* mentioneth a Law of *Zaleucus*, which forbad inheritances to be ſold except in urgent neceſſity, and this was to be proved, which Law being neglected amongſt the *Leucadians*, made their Government degenerate into too much Popularity. *(d) Heraclides* mentioneth other two, whereof the one forbad mourning for the dead; it being the cuſtom of the *Locrians* to feaſt after Funerals. The other inhibited all retailing ſhops, commanding Husband-men to ſell their own Commodities. This was the form of the Commonwealth of *Locri*, called *Epizephirii*, from the Promontory *Zephyrium* near adjoyning, being a Colony of *Locri (e) Ozolæ*, one of the two *Locri* of *Phocis* in *Greece*: whereof the other was called *Locri Opuntii* and *Epicnemidii*. *Dionyſius* the elder having got footing in *Italy*, made himſelf maſter of this place; but yet left them to their own freedom, but *Dionyſius* his ſon Tyrannized in the manner aforeſaid.

(a) Contra Timara.
*(b) Excerpt.*7. *lib.* 12.
*(c) Politic. lib.*2.*cap.*5.
(d) In Politiis.
*(e) Lege Polybium lib.*12. *Excerp.* 3.

The *Syracuſians* beg aid of the *Corinthians*.

50. When *Dionyſius* recovered his Principality over *Syracuſe*, the Citizens were more inclining to one *Hicetas* born amongſt them, who at that time was Lord of *Leontium*; yet notwithſtanding all their attempts he kept his poſſeſſion. But within awhile the *Carthaginians* from without invaded them, being thus at odds within amongſt themſelves, which conſtrained the *Syracuſians* to ſend, and beg aid of *Corinth* their *Metropolis*. *Hicetas* with the Meſſengers ſent ſome of his own, as deſiring the ſame thing; but held ſecret intelligence with the *Carthaginians*. The *Corinthians* reſolving to ſend aid to their Colony, pitched upon *Timoleon* for their Captain. He was the ſon of *Timodemus* or *Timenætus*, of a quiet and loving diſpoſition, but a great Enemy to ſuch as maſtered their Neighbours, which he ſhewed effectually againſt his own brother, whom, having made himſelf Lord of *Corinth* by the help of ſome Mercenaries, he gave way to have killed, being in the room, and burſting out into tears, whilſt his two companions did it. Some accounting this act as unnatural and impious, though others commended it, he thereupon abſtained from all imployment for twenty years, till this charge was laid

Plutarch in Timoleon.

Timoleon.

Sect. 2.

Sent to their aid.

laid upon him. Whilſt he was preparing for the Expedition, *Icetas* dealt underhand with the *Carthaginians*, that he might be advanced into the place of *Dionyſius*, wrote to *Corinth* to ſtop their proceedings, and procured the *Carthaginians* to ſend to forbid *Timoleon* from ſetting foot in *Sicily*. He beſieged *Dionyſius*, but riſing up upon other thoughts and returning homewards, the beſieged followed him, and falling on his rear, forced him to fight. Having the better in this ingagement, he killed three thouſand of *Dionyſius* his men; then purſuing the reſt to *Syracuſe*, got it all into his hands, except the Iſland. *Timoleon* being more earneſtly preſſed forwards by his fellow Citizens, upon diſcovery of *Icetas* his treachery, though he fell into the hands of the *Carthaginians* ſent from him to intercept him, yet eſcaped, and arrived in *Sicily* with ten ſhips and twelve hundred men. The ſeveral Cities in the Iſland being accuſtomed to be deceived and ill uſed by others, ſuſpected him alſo; but finding the Inhabitants of *Adranum* to be part for him and part for the *Carthaginians*, he uſing admirable expediton, fell ſudainly upon the Enemies Camp, which taking, he was admitted into the Town. After this diverſe other places joyned with him, and with ſpeed marching to *Syracuſe*, he unexpectedly alſo broke into the City.

He expelleth *Dionyſius*.

Who liveth in great want at *Corinth*.

A. M. 3661. *Ol.* 109. *an.* 2. *V*, C. 411. *Ochi* 19. *Philippi* 18. *Juſtin ut ſupra.*

Var, hiſt. l. 12. *c.* 60.

51. *Syracuſe* was now held by three ſeveral parties, *Timoleon*'s, and that of *Dionyſius*, and *Icetas*, in ſo many ſeveral quarters; moreover the *Carthaginians* were in the Haven with an hundred and fifty Gallies, which carried fifty thouſand men. It troubled *Timoleon* to ſee himſelf overmatched, but preſently things turned very well for him. Ten ſhips came loaden with men and money from *Corinth* to his aid, and *Mamercus* Tyrant of *Catana*, and diverſe ſorts joyned themſelves to him, which ſo diſcouraged the *Carthaginians*, as they weyed anchor and departed into their own dominions: *Icetas* being deſtitute of their aſſiſtance was quite diſcouraged, and *Meſſana* now alſo declared for *Timoleon*. *Dionyſius* too being terrified at this his ſucceſs, ſent to him, and yielded up himſelf and all he had into his hands, whom he ſuffered upon his delivery of the Caſtle, and laying down his Principality, to depart *Corinth*, ſome four years after the recovery of his former eſtate. Thenceforth, having loſt all by his ſluggiſhneſs, he lived in great contempt and penury, ſo as he would walk up and down in poor ragged cloathes, frequent the Stewes and drinking-houſes, gaze upon that meat in the ſhambles which he had no money in his purſe to buy, and at laſt took upon him the office of a Pædagogue, in which he might beſt imitate his former carriage towards his Subjects, in tyrannizing over his boys. *Ælian* reporteth, that *Philip* of *Macedon* meeting him on a time, asked him the reaſon why he kept not that great and ſtrong Principality left him by his father; to which he anſwered, That *his father left him that inheritance, but not his Fortune, whereby he defended both himſelf and it.* This was the end of the Tyranny of *Dionyſius* father and ſon, ſixty four years after the firſt beginning of it, in the ſecond year of the one hundred and ninth *Olympiad*, A. M. 3661.

Plutarch.

Timoleon recovereth *Syracuſe*, and ſetleth the State thereof.

52. *Icetas* very unwilling to loſe his hopes of preferment, procured the *Carthaginians* to return to *Syracuſe*. *Mago* filled the Haven with his Ships, and landing ſixty thouſand men, pitched his Camp in the City; *Icetas* then laid ſiege to the Caſtle, which the *Corinthians* now held from the reſignment of *Dionyſius*. *Timoleon* relieved them by Proviſions ſent from *Catana* in little Veſſels through the *Carthaginian* Fleet; whereupon *Icetas* and *Maga* drew out a ſtrong party and beſieged *Catana*, after whoſe departure, *Leon* Captain of the *Corinthians* ſallied out of the Caſtle, and falling upon the beſiegers lying in a ſecure and careleſs poſture, killed ſome, and, the other flying, took *Achradina* the ſtrongeſt quarter of the City. This the two Generals underſtanding, quickly faced about and returned; but miſſed of both places, out of a deſire to poſſeſs both. *Timoleon* having ſecured *Meſſana*, returned with four thouſand men towards *Syracuſe*, whereupon *Mago* for fear hoiſed up ſails and departed for *Africk*, having by his lazineſs and cowardize loſt a fair opportunity of reducing all *Sicily* into the power of his Superiours. Afterwards *Timoleon* dividing his men, ſet upon ſuch places of the City as *Hicetas* yet retained, and by force got them all into his power, without any bloodſhed of his own party: then threw he down all the Fortifications and Monuments of the Tyrants, except *Gelon*'s Statue, calling the People to the work by a publick Crier. Then he applied himſelf to making of Laws agreeable to a Popular Government, which yet he endeavoured but to little purpoſe ſo to reſtrain, as to prevent the inconveniences which formerly had their riſe from too much popularity. In explaining and illuſtrating *Diocles* his Laws, he uſed the help of *Cephalus*, and *Dionyſius*, both *Corinthians*. He ordained a new annual and chief Magiſtrate, whom

he would have called the *Servant of Jupiter Olympius*, in memory of their recovered liberty, commanding that by his name the year ſhould be ſigned, as by the *Archons* at *Athens*, and the *Conſuls* at *Rome*. The firſt that bore this Office was *Callimedes*, a man of prime note, being choſen by the Suffrages of the People. Now whereas by reaſon of Wars, Seditions, and Baniſhments, the City was even exhauſted, he recalled the Exiles out of *Sicily*, *Greece*, and *Aſia*, which being in number ten thouſand, he increaſed by a far greater, conſiſting of *Sicilians* and *Italians* of *Greekiſh* Original, to whom being made free of the City, he diſtributed Lands and Poſſeſſions.

53. *Icetas* having retired to *Leontium*, *Timoleon* laid ſiege to that City; but finding it ſtrongly manned, roſe up from before it, and went about to other places, to which he reſtored liberty, expelling their Tyranni. In this mean while *Icetas* went againſt *Syracuſe*; but was forced to retreat with great loſs. *Timoleon*'s renown was by this time ſo ſpread abroad, that many Towns of the *Sicanians*, and others ſubject to the *Carthaginians*, ſent to him, to deſire they might be admitted into the ſocial League. The *Carthaginians* herein were ſo concern'd, as to prepare amain for the renewing of the War, procuring Soldiers out of *Gall*, *Liguria*, *Spain*, and *Africk*. *Mago* had killed himſelf after his ſhameful return, and his dead body was nailed to a Croſs for the mal-adminiſtration of his Office; therefore in the third year after they ſent over *Aſdrubal* and *Amilcar*, with two hundred long-ſhips, and above one thouſand of burthen, wherein were ſo many men tranſported as made up thoſe already in *Sicily* ſeventy thouſand Foot, and ten thouſand Horſe, which with warlike Chariots marched againſt *Timoleon*. He having compoſed the difference with *Hicetas* muſtered all his forces, and judging it wiſdom to transfer the War into the Enemies Country, for this purpoſe he choſe out of all twelve thouſand men, with which he marched away in haſte; but in his journy a great mutiny happened amongſt his Soldiers. For one *Thraſius* a raſh impudent fellow, who with the *Phocians* had rifled the Temple at *Delphos*, cried out, that *Timoleon* being mad, led them into moſt certain death, for that the *Carthaginians* in number ſo far exceeded them: and he adviſed the Mercenaries to return to *Syracuſe*, and demand the pay already due to them. *Timoleon* had much ado to take up the matter, and one thouſand utterly refuſed to follow him. But he rejoyced that the mutineers had already fallen off, before they came to any ingagement, and with the reſt haſted toward the Enemy.

The *Carthaginians* receive a great overthrow.

54. By the convenience of a miſt he got near to the Enemy undiſcried, then lying upon the River *Crimeſus*. Ten thouſand of the *Carthaginians* paſſing the River, he fell down upon them from the hills, and made great ſlaughter, and their friends coming in to their relief, the fight was ſharply renewed, and the *Carthaginians* by their great numbers began to incompaſs the other round, when fell ſuch a ſtorm, as, together with the valour of the *Greeks*, forced them to to their heels. Flying into the River by heaps, the Foot amongſt the Horſe, and Chariots, multitudes periſhed, being either preſſed, wounded to death by the ſwords of their Companions, drowned through the ſwiftneſs of the ſtream then increaſed by rain, or elſe killed by the Enemy on their backs: the *Sacred band* ſo called, conſiſting of two thouſand and five hundred of the choiceſt Soldiers, fighting moſt valiantly, all died in the place. Near upon thirteen thouſand were ſlain, and fifteen thouſand taken, with two hundred Chariots (the greateſt part whereof was broken in pieces) and one thouſand brigandines with ten thouſand ſhields; though moſt of the Arms were ſwallowed up in the water: Thoſe *Carthaginians* that remained, in great conſternation eſcaped to *Lilibæum*. Their friends at *Carthage* hearing of their defeat, were in no little fear, out of conceit that *Timoleon* would now come over thither. Wherefore they recalled *Giſco* the brother of *Hanno* out of baniſhment, and made him General of the Army, which they raiſed with money out of other Nations, not thinking it meet to thruſt themſelves into ſuch danger for the time to come. But *Timoleon* returning to *Syracuſe*, found it a convenient time to puniſh the mutiniers, whom he baniſhed *Sicily*, commanding them to depart the City before Sun-ſet. Paſſing over into *Sicily* they ſeized on a Town amongſt the *Brutii*, who riſing and beſieging them, took the place, and therein put them all to the ſword.

55. *Hicetas* often mentioned before, and *Mamercus* Tyrannus of *Catana* joyned with the *Carthaginians* againſt *Timoleon*, perſwading them, for fear of loſing their ſhare in *Sicily*, to ſend over ſome Forces. They ſent away *Giſco*, who hired ſome *Greeks*, the firſt which ſerved that Nation. They cut off ſome hundreds

Timoleon taketh and putteth to death *Hicetas.*

Overthroweth *Mamercus.*

Hippo and *Mamercus* put to death.

of *Timoleon*'s Mercenaries, and *Hicetas* invaded the *Syracuſian* Territories, whence getting much booty he marched into *Calauria*, in contempt of *Timoleon*, who lay there now with inconſiderable forces in compariſon of his. *Hicetas* being purſued by *Timoleon*, got over the River *Damyriæ*, and then endeavoured to hinder his paſſage; but he preſſing upon him, ſlew one thouſand of his men, and putting him to flight, purſued him into the Territories of *Leontium*, where he took him alive, with his ſon *Eupolemus*, and put them both to death as Traitors to their Country, together with *Euthymus* his General of the Horſe; for that in a ſpeech to the *Leontines* he had ſcoffed at the *Corinthians*, ſaying, they needed not to be afraid, though *the Corinthian women were come from home*, terming *Timoleon* and his men no other than women. After this *Timoleon* overthrew in battel *Mamercus*, killing two thouſand of his men, whereof the greater number were *Carthaginians*, who thereupon earneſtly begged peace, and had it granted on theſe conditions: That they ſtill retaining all in their hands within the River *Lycus*, it ſhould be yet lawful for any one to remove thence to *Syracuſe* with his goods and family, and to renounce alliance with them, and with all the Tyranni in *Sicily*, which at this time had enſlaved many Cities of the Iſland. *Mamercus* fled over into *Italy*, and *Catana* was delivered up to *Timoleon*, who betook himſelf to *Meſſana*, where he beſieged *Hippo* both by Land and Sea, and taking him in his flight, delivered him up to the Citizens, who put him to death. *Mamercus* yielded himſelf to *Timoleon*, who having promiſed him he would not be his accuſer, he caſt himſelf upon the People of *Syracuſe*; but perceiving them as he began to ſpeak inraged againſt him, he attempted to daſh out his own brains, and that not diſpatching him, he was taken up and executed as a robber.

Nicodemus and *Apolloniades* put out of their power.

Timoleon's death.

56. *Timoleon*, after this, drove away *Nicodemus*, who ruled over the *Centorippini*, and forced *Apolloniades* to lay down his power, which he exerciſed over the *Agynnæans*, whom having reſtored thus to liberty he made free of *Syracuſe*. Then did he reſtore all the other Cities to their deſired liberty, one after another, and received them into confederacy with *Syracuſe*: and it was proclaimed by the voice of a publick Crier throughout *Greece*, that *The People of Syracuſe offered houſes and land, to all that would joyn themſelves as members to their Commonwealth.* Hereby it came to paſs that multitudes flocked thither as to a new inheritance. *Timoleon* ſetting himſelf to the care of the State, corrected and explained the Laws of *Diocles*, and acted other things neceſſary, as he thought, to the well being thereof, till growing old he loſt his ſight, which calamity as he bore very moderately, ſo by reaſon of it he intermitted not publick buſineſs. Not long after, he died, and was buried by the confluence of all *Sicily*, the affairs whereof he had ſetled; games being celebrated yearly in memory of him, as for an *Hero*. This hapned in the fifty eighth year of his government, the laſt of the one hundred and tenth *Olympiad*, and the laſt alſo of the reign of *Philip* of *Macedon* father to *Alexander* the Great; about the year of the World 3668, the ſecond of *Arſes* King of *Perſia*, and ſeven before the beginning of the *Macedonian* Empire, to the time whereof, what we have further to ſay concerning the affairs of *Sicily*, is to be referred; which affairs will ſhew, that the infirmity of Popular Government is greater than that *Timoleon* by his conſtitutions could heal the diſtempers thereof, and further evince the worth of Monarchy.

A. M. 3666.
Ol. 110 *an.* 8.
V. C. 415.
Ochi 13.
Phir. 22.

A. M. 3668.
Ol. 110. *an.* 4.
V. C. 417.
Arſis 2.
Phil. 24.

CHAP. IV.

The Affairs of the *Romans* contemporary with the ſecond Empire.

SECT. I.

From the Baniſhment of Tarquinius *and firſt change of the Government, to the alteration made by the* Decemviri.

Containing the ſpace of fifty ſeven Years.

Conſuls.

Whence ſo called.

1. THe Kingly Office being baniſhed with *Tarquinius* (though both rebelliouſly and impudently) that of *Conſuls* ſucceeded. Who were ſo called à *Conſulendo*. *Feſtus* obſerveth out of *Verrius*, that the word *Conſulas* was uſed by the Antients, not only for *Conſilium petas*, and *perconteris*; but alſo for *judices* and *ſtatuas*: Moreover the word *Conſulere* is many times taken for *providere*, or *proſpicere*. According to this Etymology various is the opinion of Learned Men concerning this Office. Some derive it from the duty or work of *conſulting the Senate*, which was incumbent upon the Conſuls. Others interpret it of *judging*, which, ſaith (a) *Lipſius*, I only read in (b) *Quintilian*, who puts the queſtion, whether Conſul was ſo named from *conſulting*, or *judging*, ſeeing that *conſulere* was uſed alſo for the later, whence aroſe that phraſe: *Rogat boni Conſulas*, that is, *judices*; but not only *Quintilian*, but *Feſtus* alſo, in the word *Conſulas*, giveth this Etymology. Laſtly, ſome derive it from the end of the Office, which was *conſulere*, or *providere*, as (c) *Florus* and *Juſtinian*'s *Code*. But thoſe Magiſtrates were not firſt of all named *Conſules* but *Prætores*, which name, although it was common to others, yet ſtuck to them by way of excellency. (d) *Feſtus* ſaith it expreſly; and ſo doth (e) *Juſtinian* in his *Novellæ Conſtitutiones*. *Xonaras* ſaith the name of *Prætor* continued till the *Decemviri*, who being baniſhed, then at length crept in the name of *Conſul*. But he ſhould rather have ſaid, that *then the name of Judex crept in*; for it appeareth out of *Livy*, that they were called *Judices* next after *Prætors*, before the name of *Conſuls* came in. The Hiſtorian in his third Book ſpeaking of ſuch things as hapned in the firſt year after the writing of the twelve *Tables* addeth: *In theſe times it was the cuſtom not to call the Conſul by the name of Judex, but Prætor.* (f) *Varro* out of antient Commentaries confirmeth this, and (g) *Cicero* giveth the Etymology of all theſe Offices thus, *à præeundo, judicando, conſulendo, Prætores, Judices, Conſules appellantur.* Some upon good grounds conjecture, that after the creation of *Prætors*, who were peculiar Judges, the name of *Judex* was left, and that of *Conſul* ſucceeded, which continued to the laſt.

(a) *De Magiſtrat. pop. Rom. cap.* 7.
(b) *Lib.* 1. *c.* 9.
(c) *Lib.* 1. *c.* 9.
(d) *In voc. Prætoria Porta.*
(e) 24, & 25.
(f) *De Ling. Latina. lib.* 5.
(g) *De Legib. lib.* 3.

Their power.

2. The power of *Conſuls* was at firſt the ſame with that of *Kings*, allayed only by plurality of perſons and ſhortneſs of time, ſo that *Cicero* calleth it *Regium Imperium*, and *Regia Poteſtas*, and the *Greeks* choſe to call them *Hypatoi*, which ſignifieth thoſe that are moſt excellent or chief, as *Dionyſius* telleth us. In the beginning they might impriſon and ſentence at their pleaſure, having the power of life and death over the Citizens, though ſcarce the authority to make Peace and War, as *Lipſius* affirmeth. By degrees this great power was diminiſhed, and that eſpecially by two things, *viz.* *Appeal*, and *Interpoſing*, called *Provocatio* and *Interceſſio*. The former was preſently brought in after the ban-

iſhment of the *Kings*, by *Valerius Poplicola*, who preferred a Law for taking away animadverſion upon Citizens from the *Conſuls*, and giving liberty of Appeal to the People as the higher Judge. But by the *Interpoſition* of the *Tribunes* of the People who were afterwards created, all actions of the Conſuls whatſoever might be obſtructed, as by the voice of the People it ſelf, whoſe power and dignity thenceforth daily increaſed, and took authority over all Magiſtrates. Hereby was that of the Conſuls much diminiſhed; Yet not quite broken and diſſolved as long as the Commonwealth continued; their Offices being both many and large. For firſt they were the head of the State, all ordinary Magiſtrates being ſubject and obnoxious to them, (except the *Tribunes*) in whoſe actions they might interpoſe. Secondly, they had the chief Command in the War over Citizens and Aſſociates, as alſo over Provinces and Subjects, whom they might puniſh; and Authority to appoint Officers in the Army, as appeareth out of *Cicero* and *Polybius* in ſeveral places. Thirdly, they aſſembled the People, conſulted with it, preferred Laws alſo, which if enacted bore their Names. Fourthly, they received Letters from Governours of Provinces, from Nations and Cities: gave audience to Ambaſſadors, and what was to be done either by Senate or People paſſed through their Hands as chief Miniſters of State. Fifthly, as the Senate handled and executed all things in Peace and War, ſo did they govern it in ſome Sence, they aſſembled and diſmiſſed it: therein they asked the Members their opinions, counted and divided them: and in concluſion they ſteered the Ship of the Commonwealth. This was their Power while the free State continued; but after it was ſubjected to the power of one Perſon, their Authority was again much impaired, few of all theſe Privileges remaining to them; for that the Prince aſſumed the Rights of all Magiſtrates, but eſpecially thoſe of the *Conſuls* and *Tribunes*. Under the *Emperors* they were employed in conſulting the Senate, adminiſtring Juſtice, aſſigning Tutors or Guardians, manumitting Slaves, letting out to farm the Cuſtoms (which Office formerly belonged to the *Cenſors*) and managing publick Games: beſides, they had the honour of having the year Characterized by their Names, as formerly. Theſe things will be ſufficiently evinced (at leaſt moſt of them) in the ſequel of this Hiſtory concerning *Roman* Affairs.

Certain Rites concerning them.

3. There were obſerved certain Conſular Rites, which it will rather behove us in this place to relate, than ſcatteringly hereafter to give an account of them. Firſt of all the time wherein the Conſuls aſſumed their Office was not ſet or conſtant, but various, till the year of the City five hundred and thirty two, when both they and other Magiſtrates entred on the Calends of *January*, having before, as * *Simpſon* and others obſerve, Commenced on the Calends of *Quintilis* called *July*, as well as at other times. The firſt day was an high day, and very creditable to them, the Senate and people meeting at their Houſes, ſaluting, and accompanying them to the Capitol, where they took their Oaths and Sacrifized. Thence they went to the Senate Houſe, where they were ordered by a *Senatus-Conſultum* to give thanks to the Prince of the Senate; then ſent they Gifts to their Friends, and threw Money to the People, which later expenſe was afterwards taken away by the Emperors, and appropriated to the repairing of aquæducts. They twice ſwore to govern according to the Laws (as all other Magiſtrates did, none being to keep his Office above five days, except publickly ſworn) when firſt they entred; once in the *Capitol*, and then again in the *Roſtra*, in their hands to whom they ſucceeded: and at the laying down of their Office again at the years end they ſwore in like manner, that wittingly and willingly they had done nothing, contrary to the ſaid Laws. Another Rite there was, as *Lipſius* termeth it, about their power, which thereby was ſo increaſed as to become as abſolute as the Kingly was. This was only upon an extraordinary occaſion, or in extream neceſſity, when all lay at the Stake, and the City was in danger. Then a Decree of the Senate paſſed in this form: *Viderint Conſules nequid Reſp. detrimenti accipiat*, or *Dent operam Conſules nequid Reſp. detrimenti Capiat*, as * *Salluſt* hath it, who addeth, that *this greateſt Power was given by the Senate to theſe Magiſtrates, to raiſe Forces, make War, all manner of ways to puniſh Citizens, and Aſſociates, to have, both at home, and abroad in War, abſolute Command and judiciary Power. Otherwiſe without the command of the People no Conſul could do any of theſe things.* In a word, by this Decree was reſtored to them that power (or rather more given) which was taken away by the *Appeal*, and other Laws.

* Ad A. M. 3676.

* De bello Catalin.

4. What the Ornaments and Enſigns of the *Conſuls* were, we have formerly

obſerved out of *Dionyſius*, to which ſhall be added upon occaſion what may be thought requiſite. As for the Age wherein a man was capable of this Office, (a) *Tacitus* obſerveth, that of old it was lawful at any age to ſue for the *Conſulſhip*, and the ſupream power of *Dictator*. But afterwards being taught otherwiſe by experience (in the five hundred and ſeventy third year of the City) the *Romans* thought fit to ſet bounds to juvenile heat and ambition. This was, as (b) *Livy* writeth, by a Law which *L. Julius* (or *Villius*) *Tribune* of the People preferred, whereby was limited a certain age before which it was not lawful to ſtand for any place of Magiſtracy; but from *Cicero* it ſhould rather appear that there were ſeveral Laws made for the ſeveral Offices; and at length the *Lex Julia* or *Annaria*, included, and aboliſhed all the reſt. For (c) he maketh them many, calling them in the plural number *Leges Annales*; and *Livy*, ſaying that *then firſt of all a Law was preferred by* Julius, in effect contradicteth himſelf, relating elſewhere a (d) paſſage concerning *Scipio Africanus*, that when he ſtood for the *Ædileſhip*, the *Tribunes* of the People oppoſed him, alleging that he was not yet arrived at the lawful age which was required for that Office; and yet he was many years before *Julius* or his Law. *Cicero* (e) declareth the fourty third year to have been the age of Conſulſhip, ſaying, that *Alexander* the great having died in his thirty third year, came ten years ſhort of the *Conſular* age. If his words be taken ſtrictly, the fourty third, but if more largely, the fourty ſecond was the year, and this rather as many examples do confirm. A grave age became this moſt grave and weighty Office; but ſometimes the People diſpenſed with the Law, as will be ſhewn, the *Emperours* neglected it, and *Cæſar* Dictator before them, who made *Dolabella* Conſul at twenty five. Laſtly, as for the Term or duration of the Conſulſhip, it was annual, as we before hinted in *Brutus* his Model, and ſo continued, till *Julius Cæſar* made ſeveral in one year, ſo that afterwards *Conſuls* were nominated for three, two, and one moneth, and others ſubſtituted one after another. Hence came it to paſs that there were two ſorts of Conſuls, *Ordinary* and *Subſtitute*, the former beginning on the *Calends* of *January*, and the later at other times. This cuſtom continued till *Conſtantine*, who again made the Office Annual, and inſtead of the *Suffecti*, or *Subſtitute*, ordained a new kind, called *Conſulares*, and *Conſules Honorarii*, whoſe Office was not called *Conſulatus*, but *Conſularitas*, having derived its Original from the *Conſular* Ornaments invented by *Julius Cæſar*. Of this titular promotion (f) *Caſſiodorus* is to be conſulted.

The age capable of this Office.

Its duration.

(a) *Annal. lib.* 11.

(b) *Lib.* 10.

(c) *Philipica* 5.

(d) *Lib.* 25.

(e) *Quo prius.*

(f) *Lib.* 6. *Epiſt.* 12.

5. But (to come to the matter in hand) the firſt *Conſuls* were *L. Junius Brutus*, and *L. Tarquinius Collatinus*, who began this Office, according to (o) *Dionyſius* his Computation, in the beginning of the ſixty eight *Olympiad*, wherein *Iſchomachus* of *Crotone* was Victor, *Iſagrus* being *Archon* at *Athens*. Becauſe they could not deny that many good things had been done by *Kings* for the Commonwealth, they would have the name preſerved for ever in the State, and therefore gave order to the *Pontifices* and *Augurs* to chuſe out ſome one, who taking care of *Superſtition*, and being exempted from War, ſhould be called *Rex Sacrificulus*, to which Office allotted unto the Patritians, *Manilis Papirius* of that Order firſt attained. Next after this, fearing that the People might have, as they well might, an ill opinion of their intentions, and ſay that for one they had got two Kings; to diminiſh Envy, whereas each of them had as yet twelve Axes carried before them, as the Kings uſed to have, they ordered that but one of them ſhould have twelve Axes, and the other twelve *Lictors* with Rods alone, and each his Moneth ſhould have the Axes. This contained the People better in obedience, as other things whereby they laboured to render themſelves popular. For they revived the Laws of *Servius Tullius*, concerning publick Meetings and Aſſemblies, with other things which conduced to the ſatisfaction of the common ſort, who now looked upon their lawleſs liberties as recovered.

The firſt Conſuls.

Their Acts.

(a) *Lib.* 5.

A. M. 3496.
Ol. 67. *ann.* 4.
V. C. 245.
Darii 13.

6. *Tarquinius* after his baniſhment firſt ſtayed at *Gabii* for ſome time, whither many of his party flocking to him, after he could not prevail with them of that place to make War in his behalf againſt the *Romans*, he betook himſelf into *Toſcany*, or *Hetruria*, where he could claim kindred by his Mother, and there winning mens minds by his munificence, and moving them with his Tears, he procured Ambaſſadors to be ſent to *Rome* in his behalf. Firſt they moved that he might be received again, promiſing on his behalf very good demeanour for the time to come, and when this equity could not be heard, they (or others ſent afterwards, as *Plutarch* writeth) deſired he might have his Goods,

eſpecially ſuch as were deſcended upon him from *Tarquinius Priſcus* his Grandfather, who had in no wiſe ill deſerved of them. *Brutus*, according to his furious and malicious temper, very vehemently oppoſed it, ſaying, that it would ſhew little forecaſt in them to furniſh him with money to imploy againſt themſelves; but his Collegue was for reſtoring the goods, and prevailed to have the Decree paſs on his ſide, by one Vote only overpowering the contrary party, according to *Dionyſius*. The Ambaſſadors having it in charge to labour with the friends of *Tarquinius*, that they might do ſomething effectually, drew out the time in length, pretending they wanted carriages, and muſt ſell ſuch things as could not be removed. They ſtayed ſo long as to draw over to them ſome of the two notable families of the *Aquillii* and *Vitellii*, *viz.* two perſons of this, and three of that. Of all theſe *Collatinus* the Conſul was Uncle; and *Brutus* alſo had married the ſiſter of the *Vitellii*, by which he had ſeveral Children, whereof two youths they drew in, having convinced them of their fathers vehemency, madneſs, and folly, and given them good hopes of great things to be done for them by *Tarquinius*.

Lege inter alios Dionyſium l. 5. & Plutarch. in Poplicola.

7. Theſe men met in the houſe of the *Aquillii* to ripen their buſineſs. There in the dark, a certain ſlave, *Vindicius* by name, fearing to be found in that room when they came in, and not with any intent to hearken, had himſelf behind a Cheſt, and heard their whole debate concerning their purpoſe of killing the *Conſuls*; about which they gave Letters then to the Ambaſſadors (who lodged in the houſe, and were preſent at the meeting) to be delivered to *Tarquinius*. The Slave in this caſe knew not how to carry himſelf; for, to go to *Brutus*, and to accuſe his own ſons to him ſeemed an hard and bold attempt, as alſo no leſs to do it unto *Tarquinius* their Uncle; no private perſon he knew to whom he might communicate ſo great a matter, and yet a thing of ſuch conſequence he thought was not to be buried in ſilence, nor yet the diſcovery thereof deferred. At length he betook himſelf to *P. Valerius*, who had alſo a great hand in caſting out the King. *Valerius* exceedingly ſtruck with the thing, that he might proceed warily, firſt ſecured the ſlave to have him forth-coming, then ſending his brother *Marcus* to ſeize the King's houſe, and watch the ſervants there, that they ſhould carry away no Letters, he himſelf with his Clients and Friends went to the houſe of the *Aquillii*, where he got into his hands what was written to *Tarquinius*. The *Aquillii* being abroad met him at the Gate, where they endeavoured to recover by force the Letters from him; but he through the help of thoſe about him drew them into the *Forum*, as his brother alſo having ſeized on other Letters at the King's houſe, forced ſome of his ſervants thither. The tumult being appeaſed by the Conſuls, *Vindicius* related the Story, and the Letters were read. The parties ſaid nothing for themſelves; all were aſtoniſhed and ſilent; at length ſome to flatter *Brutus* mentioned baniſhment; *Collatinus* ſhedding tears gave the priſoners hope, and this was increaſed becauſe *Valerius* held his peace.

Revealed.

8. But furious and implacable *Brutus* calling both his Sons by their names *(Titus* and *Tiberius)* asked them why they ſaid nothing to what was laid to their charge, and when they anſwered not at the third time, he turned to the Lictors or Executioners, and ſaid, *Now is it your part to perform the reſt.* They preſently took the youths, and ſtripping them tied their hands behind them: then did they beat with rods, and after that beheaded them, he, whilſt others could not behold ſo abhominable a ſpectacle, feeding his angry eyes with the object, till all was done. Then left he the reſt to the diſcretion of his Colleague and departed; after which a ſtupidity, horror, and amazement, as the things required, for a time poſſeſſed all. *Collatinus* his backwardneſs and delay incouraged the *Aquilii* to deſire time to anſwer, and that *Vindicius* their Slave might be given up to them, and not continue in the hands of their accuſers. The Conſul was about to do both, when *Valerius* who kept the Slave all this while in the midſt of his followers, would neither deliver him, nor ſuffer the People to depart without cenſuring the accuſed, though *Collatinus* was ready to diſmiſs the Aſſembly. He laid hands upon the *Aquilii*, and ſent for *Brutus*, crying out, that *Collatinus* did unworthily, to impoſe upon his Colleague a neceſſity of killing his ſons, and think of granting the lives of the other unto Women. The Conſul being vexed, commanded the *Lictors* to take away *Vindicius*, ſo that they laying hands on him, wounded thoſe that kept him, and *Valerius* his friends fighting in his behalf, the People cried out for *Brutus*. When he came he ſaid, that by his full authority he had animadverted upon his own Sons, and left the other delinquents to the People, giving leave to every man to ſpeak.

Brutus putteth to death his ſons.

The reſt beheaded.

There was no need of this, ſaith *Plutarch* (though *Dionyſius* relateth a great conteſt between the two Conſuls) but the Rabble called to the vote, condemned them by all their Suffrages, according to which Sentence they were beheaded. *Collatinus* now, who for being akin to the King had been ſuſpected, and whoſe name was hateful to the People, having by his carriage in this buſineſs offended the Generality, voluntarily laid down his Office and departed from the City, ſeeing now to what a ſad paſs he had helped to bring things, and too late repenting of his Rebellion. To him ſucceeded *Valerius* (the *Comitia* being held for an Election) whom *Brutus* much deſired to have had his Colleague at firſt, but that the greatneſs of *Collatinus* carried it from him.

Valerius Conſul in the room of *Tarquinius Collatinus*.

Brutus ſlain.

9. *Valerius* being with the good-will of all the Multitude created *Conſul*, thought the firſt Fruits of his Office due to *Vindicius*, whom manumitted he made free of the Commonwealth, this privilege being given to him firſt of all *Liberti* or *Freed-men*, according to *Plutarch* (which *Appius* long after communicated to them all) and from him a perfect and full manumiſſion had the name of *Vindicta*. This done, the Conſuls gave the Goods of the King to be rifled by the People, demoliſhed his Houſe, and laid the *Campus Martius* which he had to himſelf, open as before, wherein lying Corn cut down already, they threw it into the River, and ſending Trees that grew there after it, theſe receiving Gravel and ſuch Rubbiſh that came down the Chanel, at laſt grew into an Iſland called *Inſula Sacra*; though ſome ſay, this happened in after times, when *Tarquinia* a *Veſtal* Nun gave the adjoyning Field to the Publick, and for that obtained great Honours, as theſe amongſt the reſt; of all Women alone to appear as a Witneſs in any cauſe, and liberty to marry, which ſhe refuſed. But *Tarquinius* ſeeing that reaſon failed, betook himſelf to Force, and brought a great Army of *Tuſcans* againſt *Rome*. The *Conſuls* oppoſed him with another, and when they came to joyn, *Aruns* the Son of *Tarquin*, and *Brutus* the *Conſul*, with greater wrath and Fury than diſcretion, ſingled out each other, and ſo careleſly demeaned themſelves, as both of them loſt their Lives. A great and bloody Battel was fought betwixt the Armies, which Night only broke up, and that with ſuch equal Fortune, as neither party could boaſt it ſelf, till at length either by a Voice out of a Grove, as the Story goeth, that the *Etruſcans* had loſt one man more, or ſome other way, the *Romans* were ſo revived, and the other diſcouraged, that the later forſook their Tents for fear, and being fallen upon by the Enemy, were nigh five thouſand taken Priſoners, having loſt eleven thouſand and three hundred in the Fight. *Valerius* triumphed at his return to the City (leaving an example to poſterity which was duly followed) and then buried his Colleague with great Honour, making himſelf a funeral Oration in his commendation, which cuſtom *Dionyſius* will have more antient at *Rome* than in *Greece*; although *Anaximenes* wrote that *Solon* was the Author of it.

Dionyſ. lib. 5.
Livius lib. 2.
Val. Maxim. l. 1. *c,* 8.
Plutar. in Poplicola.
*Plin.l.*29*: c.* 1*:*
Feſtus in voce Inſula.

A. M. 3497.
Ol. 68. *an.* 1.
V. C. 246.
Darii 15.

Valerius ſuſpected.

Cleareth himſelf.

10. But when the People conſidered how *Brutus* the Father of their liberty, as they accounted him, would not govern alone without a Colleague, and yet *Valerius* made no haſte to take a Partner, they began to complain, that he had not taken to himſelf ſo much the place of *Brutus* (which yet not at all belonged to him) but that of *Tarquinius*, and were much offended with him. They confirmed themſelves in their hard opinion, from his having all the Rods and Axes carried before him, and with them, in greater ſtate than *Tarquinius* uſed, marched from his Houſe, which was much larger than the Palace that he demoliſhed. His Houſe was very fair, ſituate in ſuch a place as afforded him proſpect round about, and had a difficult aſcent; ſo that the convenience of the Site, conſidered with his Kingly port and attendance, ſeemed to threaten their infant Commonwealth, now an Orphan by *Brutus* his Death. His Friends remonſtrating to him theſe particulars, he contended not; but that very night ſent for Carpenters, who demoliſhed the Houſe ere morning: the next day the People were preſented with a New and unexpected Sight, which fully altered their opinion concerning *Valerius*, who now wanting an Houſe of his own, was glad to accept of the Courteſie of Friends, till the People gave him a place, wherein he built a Manſion leſs ſtately than the former. Further, that he might render not only himſelf, but alſo his Office, in ſtead of Terrible, familiar and acceptable to all, he removed Axes from the bundle of Rods, and, the Rods themſelves, when he came into the Aſſembly, he bowed or vailed to the People, thereby intimating, that in them lay the chief Power; which cuſtom his Succeſſors followed. Hereby, as to his own Perſon, he leſſened not himſelf, but cut off Envy, and got ſo much Power, as he renounced

of

Sect. 1.

of liberty, the People willingly ſubmitting to him, becauſe he flattered them, out of which reſpect they gave him the Sirname of *Poplicola,* not *Publicola*; as *Sigonius* hath evinced. He gave free leave to any to ſue for the Conſulſhip, but before a Colleague ſhould be joyned with him, being ignorant what might happen, and fearing he might either through emulation or ignorance croſs his deſigns, by his ſole authority, he gave birth to ſeveral Popular Conſtitutions, which at length produced ſuch effects as ſhewed the excellency of that Government which he had helped to deſtroy.

His conſtitutions.

11. Firſt he filled up the Senate which had been exhauſted, by an addition of one hundred and ſixty four Perſons, as ſome delivered the number. Then made he ſeveral Laws, which gave beginning to that paramount or rampant liberty, whereof the People were afterwards poſſeſſed. By one he gave leave to an accuſed perſon, to appeal from the Conſuls to the People. By another, he made it death for any one to take upon him an Office of Magiſtracy without the People's order. A third gave relief to poor Citizens, by taking away the payment of Tribute. Another puniſhed diſobedience towards the *Conſuls,* and appointed the mulct to be the price of five Oxen, and two Sheep: the price of a Sheep was ten *Oboli* (each *Obolus* was worth 1 d. q.) and one hundred the value of an Oxe. For at that time the uſe of money was but rare amongſt the *Romans*; wealth conſiſting in plenty of Cattel, whence riches were afterwards called *Peculia* from *Pecus,* and upon the antient money an Oxe, Sheep, or Hog was ſtamped, which gave it the name of *Pecunia:* and hence they impoſed upon their ſons (as *Plutarch* obſerveth) the names of *Suillii, Bubulci, Caprarii,* and *Porcii.* Another Law *Valerius* made, which gave power to any man to kill him unheard, that affected the Supreme Power, if he could demonſtrate the crime. The laſt was a Law for the creation of two *Queſtors* or publick Treaſurers, as *Plutarch* writeth. For it being neceſſary that the People ſhould contribute money for maintenance of Wars, he would neither undertake the keeping of it himſelf, nor commit the care of it to his friends, neither thought it convenient that the Publick money ſhould be kept in a private houſe: therefore he made the Temple of *Saturn* the *Ærarium,* or Treaſury, and cauſed the People to chuſe out two young men to be *Quæſtors.* The firſt were *P. Veturius,* and *M. Minucius.* A great quantity of money was now brought into the *Ærarium.* For at the *Cenſus* one hundred and thirty thouſand were ceſſed or valued, beſides Widdows and Orphans. Thus much *Plutarch* delivereth concerning this Office.

The *Quæſtors.*

When firſt made.

12. But ſome give a more antient beginning to the *Quæſtors,* making theirs antienter than any Office, except that of Kings. (*a*) *Gracchanus* a Lawyer wrote, that both *Romulus* and *Numa* had their *Quæſtors,* created by the conſent of the People; however he ſaith it is certain that *Tullus Hoſtilius* had his. (*b*) *Ulpian* confirmeth the later, and (*c*) *Tacitus* ſeemeth to agree with either of them, affirming that under the Kings there were *Quæſtors,* which the *Lex curiata* ſheweth, that was renewed by *L. Brutus.* He addeth, that the *Conſuls* had power to chuſe them, till the People took that honour to it ſelf, and firſt of all created *Valerius Potitus,* and *Æmilius Mamercus,* that they might follow the Army, in the ſixty third year after the baniſhment of *Tarquinius.* *Lipſius* thinketh this number ſhould be read twenty three, that it might agree with (*d*) *Dionyſius,* and alſo (*e*) *Livy,* who firſt mentioneth the *Quæſtors* in the two hundred and ſixty ninth year of the City, twenty three years after the baniſhment of the King, and differeth only in one of their names, having for *Æmilius, Cæſo Fabius.* Concerning the antiquity of theſe Officers (*f*) *Pomponius* alſo the Lawyer agreeth with the reſt. They had their name *à quærendo* ſaith (*g*) *Varro,* becauſe they made inquiry after publick money, and alſo Malefactors, or the actions of ſuch, which later employment was afterwards committed to the *Triumviri* for capital matters, ſo that *Quæſtor* is written as for *Quæſitor.* *Juſtus Lipſius* is of opinion, that though the Kings might have theſe Officers for the puniſhment of Vice, yet the Treaſurers were not created till the change of the Government, when the publick Treaſure being increaſed there was need of ſuch. At the beginning they were but two by conſent of all; and thoſe were made for the City, retaining afterwards the name of *Urbani.* But afterward when they were to look to the paying of the Armies abroad, and ſelling plunder and booty, then were there other two made, to accompany the *Conſuls,* as *Livy* ſaith, which hapned about the two hundred and thirty ſecond year of the City.

Their number.

23. This number long continued, until all *Italy* was brought in; then was

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(*a*) *Lib. de Poteſtatibus.*
(*b*) *Lib. de Officio Quæſtoris.*
(*c*) *Annal. l.* 16. 11.
(*d*) *Lib.* 8.
(*e*) *Lib.* 3.
(*f*) *Lib.* 2. *ff. de Orig. Juris*
(*g*) *De Lingua Latin. lib.* 4. *pag.* 22. *ex Edit. Joſeph. Scalig.*

Their duty.

The *Ærarium* or Treaſury.

it again doubled, no fewer than eight being thought to ſuffice for the Tributes of the Provinces; and this hapned when Silver money was firſt coined, about the four hundred and thirty ninth year of the City,as may be gathered from the Epitome of *Livie*'s fifteenth Book. Not long after *Sylla* procured by a Law, that twenty ſhould be made for the aſſiſtance of the *Senate*, as *Tacitus* writeth, to which he had delivered the judicial power: and for ſuch an end did *Cæſar* cauſe fourty to be created. The *Quæſtorſhip* was the firſt ſtep to Offices of Magiſtracy. Their duty, as is clear from ſeveral Authors, was to gather, lay up, and pay out the publick revenues, to keep the military Enſigns of Gold and Silver (for they then uſed no Banners) in the Treaſury; to ſell plunder and booty, receive, lodge,and carry out Ambaſſadors. They had alſo the government of certain places, as *Oſtia* and *Cales*. They received from *Auguſtus* the privilege of keeping the *Senatus conſulta*, which formerly belonged to the *Ædiles* and *Tribes*. And the *Emperours* had a certain *Quæſtor* of their own called *Candidatus Principis*, and *Quæſtor Principis*, or *Auguſti*, whoſe Office *Ulpian* deſcribeth. This gave original to the *Quæſtor Palatii* (ſaith *Lipſius*) to whom was granted great authority, as to make Laws and Decrees, ſubſcribe Petitions, return anſwers, and to be as it were the keeper or Preſident of the Laws, which name is now changed into *Chancellour*. But, to ſpeak ſomething of the *Treaſury*, the Temple of *Saturn* was firſt made uſe of to this purpoſe, as *Plutarch* telleth us. Here alſo were kept the *Libri elephantini*, Books wherein the thirty five Tributes were written, and the Decrees of the Senate; but the *Libri Lintei*, or the *Annals*, were kept by the *Pontifices*, who therein recorded ſuch things as were memorable. In the *Ærarium* was alſo a more ſecret place, where the twentieth part of the revenues were reſerved for caſes of extremity only. The *Ærarium* was afterwards called *Fiſcus*, from the *Fiſcella*, or bags wherein the money was kept,according to *Varro*. The firſt *Advocatus Fiſci* was inſtituted by *Adrian* the Emperour, as *Spartianus* witneſſeth. Amongſt other tributes, the People of *Rome* had the twentieth part of all revenues of Corn throughout *Italy*, beſides Salt, which was the device of *Livy*, thence Sirnamed *Salinator*. Thoſe that farmed the Tributes of Cuſtom were called *Publicans*, and the principal of them *Mancipes*, according to *Pedianus*, whom *Volateranus* followeth.

Lucretius Conſul.

14. *Valerius Poplicola* having finiſhed his conſtitutions of Setlement, held the Aſſembly of the People for the election of another Conſul. *Lucretius* the father of *Lucretia* was choſen, to whom, as the elder, *Poplicola* granted the *Faſces* or bundle of Rods; which reſpect of age was ever obſerved by their Succeſſors, till the time of (*a*) *Plutarch*, as himſelf writeth. This granting of the *Faſces* was yet but for the firſt month, which indeed afterwards was wont to be granted to the elder *Conſul*; but no longer than till the *Lex Julia*, in the ſeventh Chapter, whereof this privilege was given to him who had moſt children, either ſtill in his own power (that is to be underſtood not *Emanicipated*) or already loſt in War. But if both Conſuls had an equal number of children, he who at preſent was a married man was preferred. If both were husbands and fathers alike, then the antient cuſtom returned, and he who was eldeſt had firſt the *Faſces*. Concerning ſuch who were both unmaried, had the ſame number of children, or were both maried and had no children, the Law commanded nothing. But I hear, ſaith (*b*) *Gellius*, that thoſe who were exempted, were wont to yield the *Faſces* of the firſt month to their Colleagues that far exceeded them in age, or in birth, or entred upon their ſecond Conſulſhip. In the mean time that Conſul who had no *Faſces*, that he might be known by ſome note of diſtinction, had an *Accenſus* (a certain Beadle or Crier, concerning whom (*c*) *Varro* is to be conſulted) that went before him, and *Lictors* followed with Rods and Staves, as (*d*) *Dionyſius*, (*e*) *Livy*, and *Suetonius* do teſtifie.

Horatius.

15. *Lucretius* died alſo a few days after his creation, to whom ſucceeded *M. Horatius*, who continued the Colleague of *Poplicola* for the remaining part of the year. Now was the Capitol finiſhed which had been vowed by *Tarquinius Priſcus*, and begun by *Superbus* his grand-ſon. *Poplicola* had a great ambition to dedicate it, but the Nobility envied him the honour, and ſtirred up *Horatius* to ſtand for it, whom when the other was conſtrained to be abſent in the War, they injoyned by a Decree to do it, and carried him up thither, knowing that in the preſence of *Poplicola* they could not have prevailed. Some write, that by lot the War fell to *Poplicola* much againſt his will, and the Dedication to *Horatius*. On the *Ides* of *September*, which fell in with the full Moon of the *Greek* month *Metagitnion* (anſwering to *Auguſt* the twenty eighth of the *Julian* year,

(*a*) *In Poplicola.*

(*b*) *Noct. Attic. lib.* 2. *c.* 15.

(*c*) *De Ling. Lat. pag.* 62.

(*d*) *Lib.* 5.

(*e*) *Lib.* 3.

(*f*) *In Julio.*

as *Jacobus Capellus* computeth) when many flocked to behold the Solemnity, *Horatius* having commanded ſilence, and finiſhed all the uſual rites, touched the door, and pronounced the words of Dedication. Then *Marcus* the brother of *Poplicola* ſtanding near for that purpoſe, and watching for an opportunity, ſaid, *Thy Son O Conſul is dead in the Camp*, whereat when all others were ſtruck, *Horatius* nothing diſturbed anſwered only, *Then caſt him out whither you pleaſe, for I admit not of mourning*, and went on with the matter in hand. Neither was the ſtory true, but feigned by *Marcus* to deter him from the Dedication. The ſame fortune hapned to the Dedication of the ſecond Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, after this was burnt in the Civil Wars. For *Sylla* having rebuilt it died before the Dedication, as *Tarquinius* was baniſhed, and ſo that honour came to *Catulus*. When this had periſhed in the ſedition of *Vitellius*, *Veſpatian* built the third, and was herein more fortunate than *Sylla*, that, as he died before the Dedication of his, ſo the *Emperour* lived not to ſee the deſtruction of this, which preſently after his death was alſo burned. The fourth which ſtood in *Plutarch*'s time was both built and Dedicated by *Domitian*. *Tarquinius*, as was reported, ſpent fourty thouſand pounds of ſilver in founding his Temple; but the fourth was not guilded for ſo little as the wealth of the richeſt private man. The Marble Pillars *Plutarch* ſaw at *Athens*, being then of a thickneſs anſwerable to their length, but afterward when they were new cut at *Rome*, they got not ſo much ſplendor as they loſt of proportion and beauty, being rendred too ſlender in bulk or ſubſtance.

The Capitol dedicated.

16. In the * Conſulſhip of *Junius Brutus* and *M. Horatius* (that is in the ſame year that *Horatius* ſucceeded, though not immediately, into the place of *Brutus*, who with *Tarquinius* his Colleague governed but four months) when the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* was Conſecrated, twenty eight years before *Xerxes* his expedition into *Greece*, the firſt League was made betwixt the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*. Herein it was provided, that the *Romans* ſhould not ſayl beyond the *Fair Promontory*, which lay before *Carthage* towards the North. *Polybius* thinketh the cauſe was, for that the *Carthaginians* would not have them take notice of the places about *Byzacium*, nor the little *Syrtis*; which for the fruitfulneſs of the ſoyl they termed *Emporia*. But if it hapned that any, either by Tempeſts or Pirats, were forced in thither, they promiſed they would furniſh them with all things neceſſary, but forbad any thing to be taken by force, and commanded all to be gone thence within five days. It was lawful hereby for the *Romans* to Traffick to *Carthage*, and all that part of *Africk* which lieth on this ſide the *Fair Promontory*, as alſo *Sardinia*, and that part of *Sicily* then under the *Carthaginians*, who promiſe upon their publick faith that all Juſtice ſhall be duly executed. From this League it appeareth that the *Carthaginians* ſpeak of *Africk* and *Sardinia* as abſolutely their own, but far otherwiſe concerning *Sicily* expreſly diſtinguiſhing of that part thereof which they had ſubdued. The *Romans* alſo include in this League only *Latium*, making no mention of the reſt of *Italy*, which was not in their power. After this another League was made, or rather this renewed, wherein the *Carthaginians* comprized the *Tyrians*, and the People of *Utica*. To the *Fair Promontory* were added *Maſtia* and *Tarſeium*, beyond which it was neither lawful for the *Romans* to make any depredations, nor build a Town. Theſe things *Polybius* obſerveth concerning theſe Leagues, which he alſo exemplifieth, and to which we refer Students in Hiſtory.

* *Polyb.lib.*3. *p.* 160.

The firſt League betwixt the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*.

17. *Tarquinius*, after that great battel wherein he loſt his ſon *Aruns* in a Combat with *Brutus*, betook himſelf to *Cluſium*, the King whereof *Porſena* by name (one of great account for his power, and munificence amongſt the Kings of *Italy*) he procured to take upon him his quarrel. He firſt ſent to *Rome*, commanding them to receive their King according to their duty, and upon refuſal, both threatned, and made War upon them. Now were created Conſuls *Poplicola* the ſeond time being abſent, and *T. Lucretius Tricipitinus* on the Calends of *October*, according to the *Pompilian* year, which anſwered to *September* the fourteenth, of the *Julian* in the new Moon. *Jacobus Capellus* obſerveth that the Conſuls commenced at this time of the year from the firſt of *Poplicola*, till fifteen years after, in the two hundred and ſixty firſt year of the City. *Sp. Caſſius* and *Poſthumius Cominius* began their Office a moneth ſooner, *viz.* on the *Calends* of *October*. The reaſon might be, for that the new Moon fell in with the Autumnal *Æquinoctial* on the twenty ninth of *Julian September*, from which the *Pompilian*, or *Numan*, *September* ſeemeth to have Commenced that year, the Moon increaſing,

Porſena warreth againſt *Rome*.

Livius lib. 2.

Plut.ut prius.

Ad A. M. 3452. & 3507.

increaſing, although without order. For the *Calends* of *October* ought rather to have been on that day; but ſuch Errors were frequent in the *Pompilian* year, either through the negligence, or willful neglect of the Prieſts. After the third year the *Calends* (or firſt day) of *January* recovered their true place, *viz.* the next new Moon to the Winter Solſtice; but *September* obtained to be the beginning of the year until the two hundred and ſeventy eighth year of the City, wherein the *Comitia* for Creation of Conſuls were caſt back to the *Calends* of the moneth *Sextilis* (afterwards called *Auguſt*) at what time *A. Virginius Tricoſtus*, and *Sp. Servilius Structus* were made Conſuls, in the Summer Solſtice, as *Dionyſius* obſerveth.

18. *Poplicola* returning to *Rome*, firſt reſolved in magnanimity to outvy *Porſena*, and for that purpoſe, when the King was now approaching, founded the City *Sigliucia* (or rather *Signia*) which with great expence he fortified, and then planted it with ſeven hundred Inhabitants, making hereby a ſhow that he could without any trouble or fear ſuſtain the War. But *Porſena* laying cloſe Siege to *Rome*, very fiercely with all his might ſet upon the City. The two Conſuls with much ado repelling the *Toſcans*, at length were both ſo wounded as they muſt needs be carried off, after which the *Romans* fled from before their Enemies, who in their retreat into the Town followed them cloſe, and flocked upon the Bridge. There *Horatius* ſirnamed *Cocles* (either for that he had but one Eye, having loſt the other in War, or becauſe his Noſe was ſo depreſſed that both his Eyes ſeemed to go into one, whence intending to call him *Cyclops*, by ignorance of the Language they pronounced it *Cocles*) together with *Herminius* and *Lartius*, oppoſed himſelf againſt the *Toſcans*. *Cocles* ſtood before the Bridge, and repulſed the Enemy ſo long till it was broken down behind him, which done, he caſt himſelf armed as he was into the River, and ſwom out to his Friends, having received a Wound with a Spear. To requite him for the Lameneſs he contracted by this Wound, and in admiration of his Valour, *Poplicola* cauſed all the *Romans* to give him, every one ſo much Proviſion as would ſerve one for a day, then conferred he on him ſo much Ground as he could plow round about in one day, and they erected to his Memory a Statue in the Temple of *Vulcan*. But *Porſena* drawing out the Siege in length ſore ſtraightned the City. *Poplicola* now executing his third Conſulſhip, together with his laſt years Collegue *M. Horatius Pulvillus*, led forth his men, and giving the King Battel, overthrew him, and killed five thouſand of his men. Yet this little availed, the honour of finiſhing this War being reſerved for the Valour and Policy of *Mutius Cordus*.

Plut. in Poplicol. Dionyſ. lib. 5.
Livius lib. 2.
Florus lib. 1. *cap.* 10.
Aurel. Victor de viris Illuſtr.
Val Max. lib. 3. *cap.* 2, 3.
Vide etiam Polyb. lib. 6.

Horatius Cocles.

Mutius Scævola.

A. M. 3498.
Ol. 68. *ann.* 2.
V. C. 247.
Darii. 15.

19. *Mutius* a man of excellent courage, and no leſs Skill in War, reſolving with himſelf to lie in wait for the Life of *Porſena*, put on the *Tuſcan* habit, and uſing that Language, came into the Kings Camp, where obſerving the place in which the King was, but being ignorant of his Perſon, he ſtabbed his Secretary who ſate with him amongſt ſeveral others. Being taken in the Act, when they went about to examine him, he thruſt his right Hand into the Fire, as intending to puniſh it for ſo great a miſtake, and whilſt it burned beheld *Porſena* with a ſtedfaſt and angry Countenance, who admiring his reſolution diſmiſſed him, and reached him back his Sword from his Seat. *Mutius* took it with his left Hand (whence he had the name of *Scævola*, which Word ſignifieth one that uſeth his left Hand, ſaith *Plutarch*) and telling the King that he was now overcome by his braveneſs of Spirit whoſe Threats he had contemned, he ſaid in way of Requital he would reveal a thing to him which no force of Torment could have compelled him to diſcover. He affirmed there were three hundred *Romans* now in his Camp watching an opportunity to kill him. As for his part, having been by lot deſtined to make the firſt attempt, it did not trouble him that he had failed in killing him a right good man, and one much worthier of the Friendſhip than Hatred of the *Romans*. *Porſena* hearing this, inclined preſently to a compoſure of the Difference, not ſo much out of fear of the three hundred, as admiration of the *Roman* Courage. *Poplicola* having notice hereof, was glad of ſuch a Friend, and content to make him Umpire betwixt the Commonwealth and *Tarquinius*. He often challenged *Tarquinius* to put the matter to arbitration, to which the King anſwered couragiouſly, that he would not admit of any Judge, much leſs of *Porſena*, who having promiſed him aid now baſely falſified his word. *Porſena* hereat diſpleaſed, eſpecially through the ſolicitation of *Aruns* his Son, made Peace with the *Romans* on theſe Conditions: that they ſhould quit thoſe *Tuſcan* Grounds they had got into their hands, reſtore all Priſoners, and receive all their Fugitives.

Peace made with *Porſena*.

Clœlia.

20. For the eſtabliſhing of this Peace the *Romans* gave up twenty Hoſtages, *viz.* ten young Youths, and as many Girles, amongſt which was *Valeria* the Daughter of *Poplicola.* All Acts of Hoſtility ceaſing, the young Virgins went down to the River to waſh, and taking an opportunity, when none were preſent to hinder them, got over the Water, and returned home. Some reported, that one amongſt them named *Clœlia* went over on horſ-back, and perſwaded the reſt to ſwim after. When they preſented themſelves to *Poplicola,* he neither admired their reſolution, nor approved of their return, fearing it would be objected as a breach of Faith to the *Romans*; ſo that apprehending them all, he ſent them back to *Porſena. Tarquinius* aware hereof placed in ambuſh a party to entrap them and their Convoy; but *Aruns* the Son of *Porſena* hearing of it, came in, and reſcued them out of danger. When *Porſena* ſaw them, he demanded which had been the cauſe of their departure, and finding *Clœlia* the principal, beſtowed on her one of his own Horſes ſumptuouſly adorned. Then to give a further Teſtimony of his reſpect towards the *Romans,* beſides other things wherein he ſhewed his Magnificence, he commanded his Soldiers to depart out of the Camp only with their Arms, delivering up to the beſieged his Tents furniſhed with Victuals, and all other good things. Therefore for a long time after, when publick Goods were ſet to Sale, firſt of all the ſtuff of *Porſena* was cried, to preſerve the memory of his kindneſs: and about the Court-houſe was erected his Statue in a plain and antient Faſhion. For the next year *Dionyſius* nameth as Conſuls, *Sp. Lartius* and *T. Herminius,* of whom *Livie* maketh honourable mention, but not as executing his Office. He writeth that at the Bridge *Sp. Largius* and *T. Herminius* both nobly deſcended, together with *Horatius Cocles,* ſuſtained the firſt brunt of the *Hetruſcans,* but Learned men tell us that it ought to be written *Lartius,* not *Largius.*

A. M. 3501
Ol. 99. *ann.* 1.
V. C. 250.
Darii 18.

War with the *Sabines.*

Actius Clauſus.

21. The Year following being the two hundred and fiftieth of the City, and the fifth after the Baniſhment of *Tarquinius,* the firſt of the ninty ninth *Olympiad,* ſaith *Dionyſius,* wherein *Iſchomachus* of *Crotone* was Victor, *Aceſtorides* being again *Archon* at *Athens,* in the eighteenth year of *Darius Hyſtaſpis* King of *Perſia,* A. M. 3501. *M. Valerius* the Brother of *Poplicola,* and *P. Poſthumius Tubertus* were Conſuls. Now the *Sabines* made depredations in the *Roman* Territories, and proceeded ſo far in their Injuries that it ingaged the Parties in a War: *Marcus* by the Counſel and Aſſiſtance of his Brother obtained great Honour in his undertakings. He overthrew the *Sabines* twice, in the later of which Battels were ſlain of them thirteen thouſand, and not one of the *Romans* loſt. Wherefore beſides Triumphs this was given him as an addition of honour, to have an Houſe built for him in the place on the publick coſt. Beſides, whereas all the doors of other Houſes opened inwards, they would have this of his Houſe to open outwards toward the Street, as a mark of Honour in this reſpect, that he was ever ready to move for the publick good. Indeed all the Gates of the *Greeks* are ſaid moſt antiently to have opened this way, and that by Teſtimony of the *Comedies,* wherein they that are going out firſt knock within, that ſuch as either go by or ſtand near, may prevent being hurt of the Door, which was caſt forward into the Street. The next Year, wherein *Poplicola* was Conſul the fourth time, and his Collegue *T. Lucretius Tricipitinus,* the whole Nation of the *Sabines* with the *Latines* conſpired againſt *Rome,* which was alſo much diſturbed by Superſtition, for that all the Women with Child miſcarried of mutilous Births, and nothing came into the World perfect. When theſe things much dejected the minds of the *Romans,* another erected them, and afforded conſiderable incouragement to the War. *Appius* or *Actius Clauſus,* an eminent man amongſt the *Sabines* for Riches, Valour, Virtue, and Eloquence, being much againſt the War, was therefore maligned by his Emulators, as favouring the *Romans,* and deſigning to bring his Country under their Yoak. His Enemies gaining credit with the Vulgar, he feared to put himſelf upon Trial, and therefore raiſed a Commotion, which retarded the War. Then did *Poplicola* invite him to *Rome,* whither he came with five thouſand Families of his Friends and Dependents. The Families were made free of the City, and to every man aſſigned two Akers of Ground by the River *Aniene*; but to *Clauſus* himſelf twenty Akers, and the degree of a Senator. Having got this opportunity, he ſo improved it, as to become equal to the greateſt, and raiſed his Houſe ſo much, that the *Clauſi* afterwards called *Claudii,* became inferiour to no one Family.

22. His Revolt much more exaſperated the minds of his Country-men to the War, who coming with an Army to *Fidenæ,* placed in Ambuſh two thouſand

Foot, and then ſent ſome Horſe to make incurſions, commanding them to retreat, as if they fled, and ſo draw on the *Romans* into the ſnare. *Poplicola*, having notice hereof by certain fugitives, divided his Army into three parts, and taking the advantage of a miſt, fell upon the *Sabines* on ſo many ſides, and did ſuch execution, as the nearneſs of *Fidenæ* only hindred the deſtruction of them all. The *Romans*, beſides the advantage of much plunder, obtained that good by this Victory, to be furniſhed with courage for all aſſayes; yet imputed they the whole merit to the Conſul, and ſticked not to ſay, that he delivered into their hands their Enemies, blind and lame, only to be diſpatched with the Sword. Having triumphed, and given up the charge of the Commonwealth to the two new Conſuls, *Agrippa Menenius Lanatus*, and *Publius Poſthumius*, ſhortly after he died, finiſhing his life, as he had lived, in great grace with the multitude whom he had ſo flattered. The People, as if they had nothing at all requited him when living, but owed him yet his whole reward, decreed he ſhould be buryed at the publick charge, every one contributing a ſmall piece of money. Some ſay, that he was ſo poor, as he left not enough to bury him. The women by univerſal conſent mourned for him, as formerly they had done for *Brutus*, an whole year. He was by a ſpecial Decree buried within the City, (which honour (ſaith *Dionyſius*) hath only happened unto him to this day) and that privilege was alſo granted to his family. But now, (*Plutarch* writeth) none of them are there interred: the Funeral is only drawn out thither, and the Coffin being ſet down, one puts under fire, and preſently again taketh it away, ſhowing, that the deceaſed hath a right there to be buried, but on his own accord quitteth the privilege. This being done, the body was carried away.

Poplicola dieth.

23. The ſame year that *Poplicola* died, the *Sabines* provided of numerous Forces, invaded the *Roman* Territories, as far as the City walls. The *Conſuls* taking the field againſt them, *Poſthumius* was entrapped in an Ambuſh, and eſcaping narrowly himſelf, loſt many of his men, which defeat ſtruck the Citizens with great terror, who now ran to the walls, expecting the Enemy would fall upon the City. But nothing being attempted in this kind, they marched out, reſolving to redeem their credit; and *Poſthumius*, much more concerned in honour than the reſt, ſo behaved himſelf, as he made amends fully, and both the Conſuls obtained a notable Victory, which had been completed by the ſlaughter of all the *Sabines*, if the darkneſs of night had not interpoſed. The Senate ordered the Conſuls to return in pomp; *Menenius* with full honour in triumph, ſitting in a Chair, drawn in way of a Chariot, but *Poſthumius*, becauſe of his late defeat, in a more humble manner, which the *Romans* called *Ovation*, ſo named (ſaith *Feſtus* or *Paulus* from him, as he from *Verrius*) from the letter O, which the Soldiers in way of joy were wont to eccho at their return from a Victory; or corruptly pronounced for the *Greek* word *Euaſte*, as *Dionyſius* conjectureth. *Ovation* differed herein from a *Triumph* properly ſo called, that the General entred not the City in a Chariot, but on foot before his Soldiers; for the Robe interwoven with Gold, he only wore the *Prætexta toga*, the ordinary habit of *Conſuls* and *Prætors*; neither had he a Scepter, but only Laurel; and on his head a wreath of Myrtle, when the War had not been denounced, or finiſhed without bloodſhed. The year following, wherein *Sp. Caſſius Viſcellinus*, and *Opiter Virginius Tricoſtus* were Conſuls, the *Sabines* were overthrown in a great battel at *Cures*, ten thouſand and three hundred being ſlain, and about four thouſand taken, which defeat cauſed them to beg peace, and purchaſe it with Corn, Money, and part of their grounds. Whilſt *Sp. Caſſius* did this good ſervice againſt the *Sabines*, his Colleague ſubdued the *Camarinæans* who had revolted, and having put to death the Authors of the injury, ſold the reſt, and razed their City.

Ovation what.

Dionyſ.

The *Sabines* beg Peace.

24. The year that followed, being the firſt of the ſeventieth *Olympiad* (wherein *Nicæas* of *Opus* (a Town of *Locri*) was Victor,) *Myrus* executing the Annual Office of *Archon* at *Athens*) had for Conſuls *Poſthumius Cominius*, and *T. Largius*. Now all the *Latines* (to the number of thirty Cities, ſaith *Livy*) conſpired againſt *Rome*, by the procurement of *Mamilius Octavius*, ſon-in-law to *Tarquinius* (who at preſent was with him at *Tuſculum*) though *Valerius* the *Roman* Ambaſſador pretended to anſwer to ſuch accuſations as were made, and laboured to diſſwade the ſeveral People of *Latium*. In the mean time alſo the Slaves at home contrived how to ſeize upon the Capitol, and burn the City, but were diſcovered, and nailed to croſſes. The following year wherein *Ser. Sulpitius Camerinus*, and *Manius Tullus Longus*, were Conſuls, a Faction in *Fidenæ*, having

ving received ſome men from *Tarquinius*, killed or expelled their adverſaries, and cauſed the Town to revolt from the *Romans*. The Senate would not make War upon the *Latines* in general, knowing many amongſt them were inclined to Peace, and thought it ſufficient to block up *Fidenæ*, for which they ſent out *Manius* with a ſtrong Army. The beſieged implored aſſiſtance of the *Latines*, who in their general meeting heard alſo the complaints of *Tarquinius*, and though they were much importuned by ſome amongſt them, yet they only ordered the Ambaſſadors to be ſent to demand the reception of the King, and the removal of the ſiege from *Fidenæ*, which was done alſo meerly to give time, giving the *Romans* a years time to conſider of the matter, and taking ſo large a ſpace for to make preparations, in caſe the overture were rejected. *Tarquinius* and *Mamilius* having little hopes to prevail this way, ſeeing that the minds of the generality were averſe from War, endeavoured to bring his right about in an eaſier way, by raiſing in *Rome* an unexpected and inteſtine difference betwixt the rich and poorer ſort.

Tarquinius his endeavours for the recovery of his Kingdom.

25. For at this very time, as *Dionyſius* writeth, a great part of the common People, eſpecially the indigent and ſuch as were burthened by uſury, did not like of the preſent ſtate of affairs, which diſſatisfaction was cauſed by the extravagant courſe of Creditors, who ſeizing upon the bodies of their Debtors, uſed them no better than Slaves purchaſed with money. *Tarquinius* not being ignorant hereof, ſent certain of his friends with Gold, who gave them ſome in hand, promiſing more after the King's reſtitution, and procured thereby a conſpiracy of many poor Citizens, with ſuch Slaves as had been offended with their Maſters the year before, for the ſeverity ſhown towards their fellows. The matter was diſcovered to *Sulpicius*, who after he had returned a denyal, though very civilly, to the *Latin* Ambaſſadors, by a wile drew the Conſpirators into the *Forum*; where incompaſſing them about, he put them all to the Sword. The ſtirs being thus allaied for a time, the Conſuls of this and the following year looked abroad, and, in the next, *Fidenæ* was yielded up to *T. Largius Flavus*. Hereat the *Latins* were exceedingly ſtartled, and now all railed on their principal men, for that no order had been taken for relief of the Town. *Tarquinius* and *Mamilius* ſo improved this opportunity, that all the Cities (twenty four in number, as they are reckoned by *Dionyſius*) decreed War againſt the *Romans*, ingaging that none ſhould forſake their aſſociates, nor make Peace without common conſent, ſealing it with an Oath, and direful curſes againſt ſuch as ſhould break the League, who were to be held as Enemies by all the reſt. They gave liberty to *Tarquinius* and his ſon in-law to levy what Forces they thought convenient, and that they might have ſome kind of pretence, ſent a meſſage to *Rome*, whence the Senate returned a ſtout and reſolute anſwer.

A. M. 3504.
Ol. 96. *an.* 4.
V. C, 253.
Darii 21.
Poſthumius
Cominius
Auruncus
T. Lartius.
Ruffus. Coſſ.

War with the *Latines* in his behalf.

26. Great were the preparations of the *Latines*; the *Romans* ſending round about, could make no friends, and yet were not dejected, but truſting to their domeſtick ſtrength alone, were thereby rendred much more reſolute and couragious, as ſuch upon whom lay a neceſſity of being valiant. But a great difficulty was found in liſting Soldiers; for the poor and thoſe that were ſurcharged with debt, of which there was a great number, being cited, would not appear, ſaying, they had nothing to do with the *Patritians*, except their debts were remitted by Decree of the Senate, nay ſome talked of leaving the City, and exhorted one another not to ſtay in that place, where no good thing was communicated to them. The *Patritians* by good words laboured to appeaſe them, but all in vain; ſo that the Senate fell into a ſerious debate about ſo weighty a matter. Some were for a free remiſſion of the debts, after the manner of the *Athenian Siſachthea*, as the only way to remove all prejudice, and beget a fair correſpondence betwixt Nobility and Commons. Others condemned this as too great a condeſcention, and which would encourage them to like Seditions for the time to come, thinking it the better way to liſt ſuch as would give their names, and not at all value the reſt, who though gratified at preſent, would hereafter be unſerviceable. Betwixt theſe extremes ſeveral other ways were propounded; but this at length prevailed, that nothing ſhould now be determined, but the War being happily finiſhed, the Conſuls ſhould report it again to the Senate, and in the mean time all ſutes and proceſs concerning debts were to ceaſe, that Magiſtrates might make effectual proviſions for the matter now mainly incumbent. This expedient, though ſomething it wrought, had not ſufficient ſtrength to end the difference; and therefore the Senate was put upon another exigent. Whereas by the Law of *Valerius*, power of life and death was taken

away from the Conſuls, and all conſtrained, by an appeal to the People, ſo that no man could be forced to the War; It ſeemed neceſſary to create a Magiſtrate, who for ſix Moneths ſhould rule as abſolute above the Laws, and from whom ſhould lye no appeal. Thus having renounced Monarchy in effect, they had again recourſe to it, and ſhewed as well the neceſſity as excellency of it.

The Dictator.

27. This Supreme Officer was called *Dictator*, either for that he was *dictus*, or named, by the Conſul, according to *(a) Varro*, or rather from dictating, or ſhewing and commanding what was to be done, which Etymology *(b) Dionyſius* approveth. He was alſo called *(c) Magiſter Populi*, and *(d) Prætor Maximus*. Both name and thing came from the *Albans*, whoſe Dictator *Metius Suffetius* we have formerly mentioned. *Spartianus* ſaith, it was an ordinary Magiſtrate of old *Latium*. *Dionyſius* bringeth the Teſtimony of *Licinius Macer* for this opinion; yet he thinketh the Office firſt taken from the *Greeks*, who had their *Æſymnetæ* or extraordinary Kings made upon ſome urgent occaſion, with abſolute Power. The *Dictator* was created upon ſome urgent occaſion of War or Sedition, for fixing a Nale in time of a Plague, to hold the *Comitia* for electing of Conſuls, celebrate Games, make inquiſition, chooſing Senators, or in ſum, when there was need of a ſodain and extraordinary command. The manner of his creation was not, as of other Magiſtrates, by the Suffrages of the People; but, at the command of the Senate, the Conſul named ſome one of Conſular Dignity whom he pleaſed, in the Night, and who was approved by the *Auſpicium*, or divination from Birds, a Ceremony obſerved ever in the election of ſome Officers. The occaſion being many times ſodain, they could not ſtay for the Suffrages of the People, and the deſign being to reſtrain, or conſtrain, the Multitude, many times, he was not to be choſen out of their Body, although ſometimes theſe Rules were not fully obſerved, either through the abſence of the Conſul, or ſome other reſpect. *L. Cornelius Sylla* alone was named by the *Interrex*, as *C. Cæſar* by the *Prætor*; both which nominations *Cicero* in his Epiſtles conceiveth done contrary to right and order.

His Power.

The Authority of the *Dictator* was exceeding large. He had Power of Peace and War, to levie Forces, lead them forth, and disband them, and act all things according to his pleaſure, without referring them to the Senate. So that not only had he the Power of both *Conſuls* (whence the *Greeks* called him *Diſypatos*, or double Conſul) but more alſo, in that upon his Creation all other Magiſtrates, except the Tribunes, laid down their Offices, and the whole Government was left in his hands. He could puniſh as he pleaſed, without all appeal, and for the oſtentation of his Power, had twenty four bundles of Rods carried before him, with as many Axes, or Hatchets, as *Plutarch* and *Polybius* do teſtifie; although *Livie* diſſenting from them, will have *Sylla* firſt of all others to have had twenty four Bundles. Hence this Office came to be ſo terrible, as the Edict of the *Dictator* was ever obſerved as the command of a Deity.

(a) *De Ling. Latin. l. 4. p. 56.*
(b) *Lib. 5.*
(c) *Varro quo prius. Cicero de Fin. l. 3. Feſtus in voc. Optima Lex.*
(d) *Lex Antiqua.*

The bounds of his Office.

28. It was neceſſary, according to the *Roman* Government, that this extraordinary Power ſhould be bounded by certain Limits, wherein might lie redreſs of Inconveniencies thence ariſing. Six months were the time aſſigned for its duration, and never was it lengthned, except for meer neceſſity, as might be inſtanced in *Camillus*, *L. Papirius*, and *Fabius Maximus*: for the perpetual Dictatorſhips of *Sylla* and *Cæſar* were notorious Violations of the Laws. And not only the time but the place alſo was limited, it being unlawful for the *Dictator* to ſtir out of *Italy*, leſt being out of ſight, he ſhould take advantage at the diſtance of place, to attempt ſome new matter; and this conſtitution was never violated but once whilſt the old Commonwealth ſtood, by *Attilius Collatinus*. He was not to come on horſe-back, but march continually on foot, to ſhew, ſaith *Plutarch*, that the *Roman* ſtrength lay in the Legions, or rather to teach him Humility. Now becauſe in great Expeditions this could ſcarce be obſerved, he formally before his departure asked leave of the People that he might ride, as *Livie* informeth us.

Appeal from him.

But thoſe reſtrictions were inconſiderable, in reſpect of the Appeal which afterwards came to be made from him to the People. *Feſtus* in theſe words *Optima Lex*, ſaith, that firſt the power of the *Magiſter Populi*, or *Dictator*, was full or abſolute, as that of *Marcus Valerius*; but afterwards an Appeal lay from this Magiſtrate to the People. *Livie* ſeemeth alſo to hold out the ſame thing, where he bringeth *M. Fabius* in behalf of his Son thus ſpeaking to *L. Papirius* the Dictator: *Seeing that neither the authority of the Senate, nor mine age, which thou goeſt about to bereave of my Son, neither the Virtue and Nobility of the Maſter of the Horſe-men named by thy ſelf, prevaileth with thee; nor yet Prayers and Intreaties,*

Lib. 8.

ties, which are wont to appeaſe an enemy, and the anger of the Gods: I appeal to the Tribunes of the People, and the People it ſelf which I make our Judge, (ſeeing thou regardeſt not the Judgment of the Army and Senate) which alone can do more than thy Dictatorſhip. I ſhall ſee whether thou wilt give place to that Appeal to which the Roman King Tullus Hoſtilius yielded. Hereupon the People aſſembled, and the Tribunes were preſent at the meeting. *Papirius* denieth neither the Power of the one nor the other, but continueth reſolute for the puniſhment of the Maſter of the Horſe-men, who had fought in his abſence contrary to his Command, ſhewing how all diſcipline elſe would be deſtroyed. A way was found out to preſerve the Honour of both Offices, the power of People, Tribunes and Dictator, with the ſtrength of Diſcipline. For the People betook it ſelf to intreaties, and was ſeconded by the Tribunes. Whereupon the Dictator pardoned the party, granting his Life to the requeſt of thoſe, who, as he confeſſeth, might have commanded it.

29. At what time this *Appeal* was brought in, or how long it continued in Force, ſeeing that *Sylla* and other *Dictators* made uſe of the old and abſolute Power, is uncertain. It is probable, that the People being overwitted in ratifying the Decree of the Senate (as *Dionyſius* telleth us they were) grew ſenſible, how they had thereby given the Power again out of their Hands; it being lawful for the Senate at any time when they ſhould pretend a neceſſity, and that for the bridling of the People it ſelf, to give order to the Conſul to name a Dictator, and therefore reſumed its antient Power of *Appeal*, without which no lawleſs Freedom could be enjoyed. But in the declining condition of the Commonwealth, when Dictators grew more imperious, their Soldiers more diſſolute, and the Tribunes of the People eſpecially more Factious, and opportunity might be wanting for it to exert that right which as yet it had not given up to any other. If what *Dionyſius* writeth of the Dictators being approved by the People after the Conſuls nomination be true, the State ſtood in leſs need of the Appeal; but it being not poſſible for a Multitude never to miſtake in its Opinion of a Perſon, this defect might at length be experimentally diſcovered, and thence a recourſe had to that remedy which was ever certain whilſt it could be applied. By theſe cautions and reſtrictions, with the modeſty of the *Romans*, this Grand Office was for four hundred years managed for the publick good, as it was accounted, till *Sylla*, and afterward *Cæſar*, converted it into a Tyranny, as the multitude counted it, and rendred the very name thereof ſo odious, that after *Cæſar*'s death, in the ſeven hundred and tenth year of the City, when *M. Antonius*, and *P. Cornelius Dolabella* were Conſuls, a Law was made (from the former Conſul called *Lex Antonia*) whereby it was for ever baniſhed. The Dictator when he was created made choice of one who had either been Conſul or Prætor, to be *Magiſter Equitum, who,* ſaith *Varro, had chief Power over the Horſ-men, and Adcenſi (* Criers, Beadles, or publick Meſſengers*) as the Dictator had over the* Roman *People, whence he alſo was called* Magiſter Populi. *The reſt, becauſe they were of leſs value than theſe* Magiſtri, *were named* Magiſtratus, *as from* albus Albatus. If the Dictator was abſent, the Maſter of the Horſe-men executed his place in the Army, but if he was preſent, he commanded the Horſe, yet ſo as to be obedient to the Dictators Orders, and not to Fight, either contrary to, or without his Command. In the ſecond *Punick* War, *M. Fabius Buteo* was made Dictator for filling up the Senate, without a Maſter of Horſe-men. But he alleged, that he could not approve of two Dictators to be at the ſame time, nor a Dictator without a Maſter of horſ-men, and having perfected his work on the ſame day laid down his Office.

The *Magiſter Equitum*.

De Ling. Latin. lib. 4. *p.* 22.

30. Concerning the time of the firſt Dictatorſhip, Authors differ in the ſpace of two years, and do not fully agree about the Perſon. *Dionyſius*, a grave, faithful, and wary Author (by conſent of the moſt learned ſort of men) referreth it to the two hundred and fifty fifth year of the City; but *Livy*, and moſt *Latine* Authors aſſign it to the two hundred and fifty third. *Dionyſius* ſaith expreſly, that *T. Largius Flavus* was the firſt Dictator, being Conſul that year. *Livy* ſaith it could not be certainly known from antient Authors who was the firſt, yet confeſſeth that the moſt antient mentioned *Largius*, and upon good Grounds approveth of their opinion rather than that which maketh *M. Valerius* the Son of *Marcus* yet living, and Grand-ſon to *Voleſus* the firſt of all, which *Feſtus* ſeemeth to follow. *Livy* mentioneth no other cauſe of the Original than a falling out with the *Sabines*, and the conſpiracy of the thirty *Latine* Cities, putting off the Sedition till after the

The time of the firſt Dictatorſhip.

The Perſon.

finiſhing of the *Latine* War; but as there can little hold be taken of one who uncertainly relateth matters; ſo no need would there have been of an abſolute Authority for the *Latine* War, if no ſtir had been made in the City, all giving their names with alacrity, and obeying the Conſuls, as in former Wars. And if the Conſuls had been ſuſpected to ſavour the cauſe of *Tarquinius* (as ſome wrote they were) then new ones might have been made in their rooms, nothing being prevalent to alter the ordinary form of Government, but a neceſſity of abſolute Power for a time; and no ordinary accident about War could make this neceſſity; ſo that compulſion muſt have been the end, and the taking away that help from the multitude, which was unalterably given to it againſt the Conſuls by the *Valerian* Law. Thus might the Nobility, if they had had that duty, have ſeen cauſe to repent in time of their Kings baniſhment.

T. Largius the firſt Dictator.

31. *T. Largius*, the firſt Dictator, having named *Sp. Caſſius* for his Maſter of horſ-men (who had born the Office of Conſul in the ſeventieth *Olympiad*) cauſed Axes to be carried before him with the Rods, as had been wont, till the time of *Poplicola*, before the chief Magiſtrates, both Kings and Conſuls. Having with theſe and other Enſigns of power terrified the Seditious, he began the *Cenſus* after the Pattern of *Ser. Tullius*, according to the Tribes, taking the names and ages of ſuch as were Ceſſed, and of Children. In a ſhort ſpace, fear of loſing freedom of the City, and Eſtates, ſo prevailed, as one hundred and fifty thouſand and ſeven hundred of ſuch as were ripe of age gave their names, which he diſtributed into four parts, whereof taking one to himſelf, he gave the reſt to his Maſter of horſ-men, and two others, one being to continue in the City for the defence thereof. This done, he ſent ſome who underhand dealt with the ſeveral *Latine* Cities, and procured them to ſuſpend the War, and make a Truce for a year, notwithſtanding all that *Mamilius* and *Sextus Tarquinius* could do to the contrary. Then returned he home with the Army, and e're his ſix months were out, the Conſuls being appointed, laid down, no Citizens being killed, baniſhed or otherwiſe chaſtized by any grievous puniſhment; which carriage was imitated by his Succeſſors, until the third age from that wherein we live, ſaith *Dionyſius*. But in the time of our Fathers four hundred years from the Dictatorſhip of *Largius*, *L. Cornelius Sylla* firſt of all others behaved himſelf cruelly in this Office, ſo that the *Romans* conceived then what before they had cauſe to be ignorant of, that the Dictatorſhip was a *Tyrannis*.

Dionyſ. lib. 6.

32. When the Truce betwixt the *Latines* and *Romans* was ended, both parties prepared for the War: The former were againſt their wills, 'tis ſaid, drawn in by the intereſt of *Mamilius*; but the later with all cheerfulneſs imbraced the opportunity. The *Romans* thought fit a Dictator ſhould be Created, and accordingly *Virginius* the Senior Conſul named *A. Poſthumius* his Collegue, who choſe for Maſter of horſ-men *T. Ebutius Helva*, and haſting his Levies, divided his Forces into four parts, whereof one he kept to himſelf, aſſigned the ſecond to *Virginius*, the third to *Ebutius*, and the fourth to *Sempronius*, who therewith was to defend the City. News being come that the *Latines* had taken the Field, the Dictator with ſpeed marched to the Lake *Regillus* (at this day called *Il Lago di Santa Severa*) in the Country of *Tuſculum*, where he fortified his Camp againſt the Enemy, who as yet had not united his Forces, and expected Aſſiſtance from the *Volſci*. The *Roman* Army divided into three parts incompaſſed the *Latines*, who endeavoured to beat off *Ebutius* from an Hill he had ſeized on betwixt them and home; but he kept his Ground in deſpight of them, and fortified himſelf. The *Latines* hereupon being hindred from all Proviſions, reſolved to fight; the Dictator at firſt was minded to end the War without Blood, by famiſhing his Enemies, but underſtanding that the *Volſci* were expected within three days, changed his reſolution. The right Wing of the *Latines* was led by *Mamilius*, the left by *Sextus Tarquinius*, and the middle Battel by *Titus Tarquinius* his other Son. On the other ſide againſt *Mamilius* ſtood *Virginius*, *Ebutius* was oppoſite in the right Wing to *Sextus Tarquinius*, and the Dictator led the middle Battel againſt *Titus*, and the *Roman* Exiles. The *Romans* brought into the Field twenty four thouſand foot, and one thouſand horſe, but the *Latines* fourty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe. When they joyned, both parties miſſed of their expectation; for the one truſting to their numbers, and the other to their Valour, thought to bear all down before them. The Dictator gave the firſt opportunity of Victory by over powring *Titus*, after which, though *Mamilius* and *Sextus* omitted nothing requiſite to valiant and able Captains, yet both loſing their Lives, their followers were

The *Latines* overthrown at the Lake *Regillus*.

diſcouraged and overthrown; ſcarce ten thouſand eſcaping home of the whole number. Of the *Romans* fell *M. Valerius*, whoſe dead body his two Nephews by his brother *Poplicola*, *Publius* and *Marcus*, endeavouring to get off, were alſo ſlain in the attempt.

33. After the Fight, the *Volſci*, whom the *Latines* had expected, arrived at the Camp, which ſeeing full of dead bodies, and learning the iſſue of the battel, ſome of them were for falling on the *Romans* now weary, but another party prevailed to ſend Meſſengers to the Dictator, to tell him they came to his aſſiſtance, thereby to ingratiate themſelves with the Conquerours. But the Dictator convinced them of falſhood by their Letters which he had intercepted, and giving leave to the Meſſengers to return, whom the multitude would have pulled in pieces, reſolved on the morrow to fall on them; but in the night they deſerted their Camp and fled. From the place of this action the Dictator obtained the ſirname of *Rhegillenſis*.

34. The *Latines* ſent to deprecate the anger of the *Roman* State, laying all the blame upon their Nobility. The Ambaſſadors managed their work with ſuch earneſtneſs and humility (caſting themſelves at the Feet of the Senate, and making great lamentations) that the motion of *Largius* prevailed in their behalf for the former League to be renewed. This was the end of the War which in behalf of the *Tarquins* had been carried on for fourteen years: *Tarquinius* himſelf being only left behind of all his ſtock, now almoſt ninty years old, for that the *Latines*, *Hetruſcans*, and *Sabines*, refuſed to harbour him, as alſo all other neighbouring Cities which were free, went into *Campania* to *Ariſtodemus* the Prince of *Cumæ*, with whom he ſhortly after died. Of the man we may judge charitably, becauſe his ſtory was only related to poſterity by his bitter Enemies. However, his baniſhment our Religion muſt cenſure as Rebellion. And ſuch were the ſtirs, ſeditions and tumults afterwards, and ſo many changes and rechanges, as if the Reader ſeriouſly conſider them he will ſee that the *Romans* ſuffered much for want of Monarchy, and the contrary Government did not contribute to their happineſs. That this may appear, he hath here a fuller view of their changes than in any other modern Writer.

Great ſtirs in the City.

35. The *Romans* now freed from this War, fell into a grievous ſedition in the City, the Courts of Juſtice being again opened by the Senate, and the proceſs againſt debtors revived. The *Plebeians* alleged they were not able to pay their debts, by reaſon of their loſſes ſuſtained in the late Wars through want of tillage, and plundring of their Cattel by the Enemy. Their Creditors replied, that theſe loſſes had alſo befallen them, which made the remiſſion of the debts impoſſible; and ſo neither ſort would yield at all, but many tumults were raiſed, wherein the parties did not abſtain from blows. *Poſthumius* the Dictator perceiving ſome expedition to be neceſſary for the quiet of the City, created Conſuls for the following year, and laid down his Office. The Conſuls were *Appius Claudius* the *Sabine*, and *P. Servilius Priſcus*, who being of the Dictators mind as to the War, reſolved to go out againſt the *Volſci*, who had aſſiſted the *Latines* againſt the State, and now were making preparations for War; when they came to make Levies none of the *Plebeians* would give their names, complaining that they having already undergone the heat, and danger of the War, both for liberty and dominion, they were by their fellow Citizens at home kept in bondage (it being the cuſtom then for Creditors to make uſe of them as Slaves bound in fetters) and many times cruelly beaten, till they could pay their debts. They cried out, that the ſecurity of the common ſort was more provided for in War, and amongſt their Enemies, than in Peace, and with their friends. The diſagreement of the Conſuls amongſt themſelves added to the preſent diſtemper; *Servilius* being willing to comply ſomething with the deſire of the poor, but *Appius* inveighing againſt them with great bitterneſs, and earneſtly urging force and rigour to be the moſt ſuitable means for appeaſing theſe tumults. The Senate was forced to betake it ſelf to the popularity of *Servius*, who with fair words drew the people out againſt the *Sabines*, and when he had by this good ſervice deſerved a Triumph, the honour was denied him through the ſuggeſtions of his Collegue to the Fathers, for that by bearing with the multitude he impaired the Dignity of their Order.

Diverted by War.

36. After the finiſhing of the War the common ſort thought again of their own concernments, and expecting performance of what *Servilius* had promiſed, *Appius* exacted the payment of debts as rigorouſly as ever: This doubled the people's rage, and made them carry on all things by force, ſo that they re-

ſcued their Companions out of the hands of Sargeants, and holding ſecret councils by night, denied to the ſucceeding Conſuls to take up Arms, till they could have a relaxation of their burthens. This putting the Senate to a ſtand, *Appius* ſtill urged that nothing was to be granted to the rabble, and procured a Dictator to be created. When moſt looked upon him as fitteſt for the time, the Conſuls judged quite otherwiſe, and made choice of *M. Valerius* the Brother of *Publius*, and ſon of *Voleſus*, a popular man, being perſwaded that the terror of the Office alone would do the work, and that a man of mild temper would beſt manage it. The Dictator told the People, in caſe they would freely follow him, not only what they juſtly required concerning their debts, but other rewards alſo, and by this means liſted ten Legions againſt the *Volſci*, *Æqui* and *Sabines*, who were all up in Arms, which being brought under, he divided amongſt his Soldiers ſome grounds taken from the *Volſci*, but requeſting of the Senate, that his and their promiſe might be made good, was checked for his love to the multitude, and becauſe he was an old man above ſeventy, being unfit as he ſaid to contend, he laid down his Office. The People hereat much inraged, kept private meetings, and conſulted how to ſeperate themſelves from the *Patritians*, which when the Senate perceived, they gave order to the Conſuls not to diſband the Armies, pretending that the *Sabines* and *Æqui* had conſpired againſt *Rome*. The Soldiers being bound by the Oath taken at their liſting (called by them *Sacramentum*, and ever ſtrongly obſerved) could not forſake their Standards, but the Conſuls having their Camps near to each other, they all went into one by the advice of one *Sicinius Bellulus*, and taking away the Enſigns from the Conſuls, departed to the Mount called afterwards *Mons Sacer*, lying three miles from the City beyond the River *Aniene*, now called *Taverone*.

The firſt ſeparation of the Commons.

37. Notice hereof being brought into the City, filled all places with marvelous tumults. The *Patritians* were in great fear leſt War ſhould be made upon them; the *Plebeians* grew exceeding high, and many flocked to the Army, though the other hindred it as much as poſſible. The Fathers had alſo great ſtrife amongſt themſelves, while ſome pleaded for the multitude, and others would hear of nothing but carrying the matter through by ſtrong hand. But the former ſort prevailed to ſend a meſſage to the Armies, deſiring them to return home; promiſing that for the future all things ſhould be forgot, and the Senate would be ready to reward their faithfulneſs and ſerviceableneſs to their Country; withall, the Ambaſſadors had it in charge to know the utmoſt of their deſires. To the meſſage nothing would be returned but diſdainful words, and high complaints, ſomething mixed with threatning language, which more grievouſly afflicted the Fathers, not knowing what way to procure a reconcilement; and now would not ſuch as they had by their authority and intereſt hitherto retained in the City, be with-holden from going to the Army. The time for creation of new Conſuls was now at hand. The old ones appointing the *Comitia*, no Candidates (ſo called becauſe they appeared in white garments) would ſtand for the Office, nor any accept of it, till at length the Conſuls appointed by their ſole authority *Poſthumius Cominius*, and *Sp. Caſſius*, who had born it before, and were equally in favour with the Nobility and Commons. They having entred on the *Calends* of *September* (ſooner than uſual) in the ſeventy ſecond *Olympiad* (wherein *Teſicrates* of *Crotone* was Victor, and *Diognetes Archon*) firſt of all conſulted the Senate about the return of the Commons. *Agrippa Menenius* a man of great wiſdom and temper, being firſt asked his opinion, by all means poſſible exhorted the Fathers to a compoſure. He ſhewed what neceſſity there was of it in regard of the *Roman* Dominion, which could not be either preſerved or increaſed without the inferiour ſort of People, and made it clear, that they could not expect to have any of better temper than the preſent were, for as much as all, whoſoever they were, who by their labour and blood obtained power and Soveraignty of the City, would expect to be ſharers in its advantages. He preſſed the danger they were now in from their Enemies round about, and having uſed other motives, concluded with his advice, that *they would ſend meſſengers with full power to treat and conclude what they ſhould find convenient, without any more conſulting the Senate.*

38. After *Menenius* ſpake *M. Valerius*, and upbraided the Senate for not giving him credit when he foretold theſe diſtempers. He adviſed them to cure the Wound while it might be healed, ſhewed what reaſon the Commons had to be concerned more of late, becauſe of the Dictatorſhip, which took from them

The Prophecy of *Appius* concerning the lawleſs rabble.

their former Appeal, as alſo for that the Senate had denied the honour of Triumph to *Servilius* when they deſired it for him, becauſe he was ſuſpected to favour them, and for that neither he, the Conſul, nor he himſelf the Dictator, could at all profit them in what had been promiſed. He enveighed againſt the avarice and cruelty of Creditors, and particularly fell foul upon *Appius* for his rigour, and raiſing a Faction, which if others were not wiſe to prevent, would utterly deſtroy the Commonwealth. Laſtly,he commended the advice of *Menenius*, and deſired it might ſpeedily be executed, ſo as whatever the Commons required might be granted. *Appius* a man of an high Spirit, moſt ſtudious of the Patritian Dignity, and alſo of a ſober and venerable carriage, being asked his opinion next, in excuſe of himſelf recriminated *Valerius*. With great animoſity he noted the ambition and ſenſeleſneſs of the multitude, admiring that any of the Fathers ſhould be ſo abſurd, as having denied remiſſion of debts to them when friends, would grant it to them now Enemies, who would not * reſt here, but require alſo a communication of honours, and what not? ſo that at length the power would come into the hands of the rabble, and the Commonwealth degenerate into a *Democracy*. He leſſened, or rather endeavoured to remove, the danger which threatned either from the Armies revolt, or the hoſtility of old Enemies. He endeavoured to perſwade them, that they were able enough to reduce them by force, having their Wives and Children in the City; and alleging for further confirmation of this, that the multitude were without any perſons of good conduct, whereas the Patritian order abounded with experienced Commanders, concluded with this advice, *neither to ſend any meſſage to them, nor remit them their debts, nor do any other thing which might ſhew the leaſt fear or trouble: If they would lay down their Arms and returning into the City, ſubmit to the Senate, then moderately to determine concerning them; ſeeing that all fools eſpecially the Vulgar, are inſolent againſt ſuch as condeſcend, but cowardly towards thoſe that reſolutely demean themſelves.*

*Note.

39. The wiſe ſpeech of *Appius* ſo inflamed thoſe of his party, eſpecially the younger ſort, that nothing could be determined for the heat of contention. This put the Conſuls upon diſmiſſing the Senate for that time, admoniſhing the younger ſort to carry themſelves more reſpectfully and modeſtly for the time to come, or elſe they would neither uſe them as Adviſers nor Judges, but prefer a Law for limiting a certain age for Senators. The graver men they exhorted alſo to concord, letting them know they had a way to end the controverſie, by referring the matter to the deciſion of the People, which had right to judge of it, as a caſe about Peace and War. At the next meeting the antient men were of the ſame opinion as formerly, but the younger modeſtly referred themſelves to whatſoever they ſhould determine, ſo that the major part by far, being wearied with the cries and ſollicitations of thoſe who had relations in the Army, rather than any reaſon, notwithſtanding *Appius* ſtuck cloſe to his former reſolution, reſolved to follow the advice of *Menenius*, who with nine others were commiſſionated with full power, both by Senate and People, to compoſe the difference. At firſt the offers of the Commiſſioners could not be heard through the inſtigation of two cunning and turbulent fellows, *Sicinius*, and *L. Junius*, who conceited of his abilities, affected the name of *Brutus* alſo. *Menenius*, to give full ſatisfaction, promiſed that ſuch as were unable to pay their debts, ſhould be diſcharged both from obligation and impriſonment, and for the time to come matters of this nature ſhould be ordered by the joynt conſent both of People and Senate. Then adding the Fable of the ſeveral numbers falling out with the belly, as conſuming all which they provided, and thence the ruine and decay of the whole body, he ſo improved it to the preſent occaſion, likening the Senate to the belly (which digeſteth and diſtributeth ſuſtenance to all the reſt,though they provide it) that the whole multitude convinced of the neceſſity of Union, cried out, *He ſhould lead them home without delay.*

40. Little wanted of their departure without any other ſecurity than the bare word of the Commiſſioners. But *Junius Brutus* a *Plebeian* formerly mentioned with-held them, ſaying, that they were gratefully to acknowledge the kind offers of the Senate; but whereas ſome men of tyrannical ſpirits might reſerve their anger to a convenient opportunity, the Commons wanted ſuch good ſecurity for the time to come, as might defend them from the unreaſonable malice of great ones, and he moved, that they might have certain Officers created yearly out their own body, whoſe power ſhould only be *to give relief to ſuch Plebeians as were injured, and ſuffer none to be defrauded of their right*: and

therefore not to reſiſt the Conſuls, as ſome thought. This being received by the multitude with great approbation, was inſiſted on to *Menenius*, and his fellows, who thought not fit to admit of a matter of ſuch large conſequence, without leave from the Senate, and demanded time to know the pleaſure thereof. The Conſuls reporting the matter, *Valerius* thought this favour was to be granted to the Commons, and, though *Appius* oppoſed it earneſtly, crying out, calling their gods to witneſs, and truly foretelling what calamities they would bring upon the Commonwealth, yet the major part inclining to Peace, it was carried for them, and the Commiſſioners were ſent back with the reſolution of the houſe. The Commons by the advice of *Menenius*, firſt ſent to take from the Senate a religious confirmation of this privilege, and afterwards in the Aſſembly of the *Curiæ* elected *L. Junius Brutus*, and *C. Sicinius Bellutus*, to whom they afterwards joyned C. and P. *Licinius*, and *Sp. Icilius Ruga*. Theſe five firſt entred this new Office on the fourth of the *Ides* of *December* according to the Hiſtory and computation of *Dionyſius*, ſixteen years after the expulſion of *Tarquin*.

A Compoſure by bringing in the Tribunes.

A. M. 3511.
Ol. 71. *an.* 3.
V. C. 260.
Darii 28.
A. Virginio Montano, T. Veturio Gemino. Coſſ.

41. Theſe Officers were called *Tribuni Plebis*, there having been from the beginning other *Tribunes* in the City named *Tribuni Celerum*, ſo called from the Peoples being divided into three parts at that time, from which ſo many were ſent into the Army, as (a) *Varro* and (b) *Pomponius* derive the word; or becauſe they were elected by the Tribes, or overſaw them, as others. *Varro* ſeemeth to hold that the *Tribuni Plebis* were called *Tribunos*, becauſe they were firſt made of the *Tribunes* or Colonels of the Soldiers. *Livy* nameth *C. Licinius*, and *L. Albinus*, for the firſt two, to whom were ſhortly after added three more, *viz. Sicinius*, the Author of the departure, and two others, concerning which, ſaith he, Authors differ. In the two hundred ninty ſeventh year of the City five more were added, and this number of ten ſo continued. As theſe Officers were elected by the Commons, ſo ever out of their body, except where we read in *Livy* (in his third Book) of two Patritians; Nay moſt commonly of the lower ſort, till a Law ordained that they ſhould be created out of the Senate; that is, out of ſuch Plebeians as were admitted into the Senate. What time this Law was preferred, cannot certainly be diſcovered. (c) *Appian* ſaith, it is not certain whether *Sylla* did it. It ſhould appear from (d) *Gellius*, that there paſſed a *Plebiſcitum* or Decree of the People, for this purpoſe, called *Plebiſcitum Atinium*; but what *Atinius* this ſhould be is alſo obſcure, there being one *P. Atinius* Tribune of the Commons when *Julius Cæſar* and *Bibulus* were Conſuls. as concerning their power (e) *Cicero* ſaith, they were oppoſed againſt the Conſuls: but this is not true, the occaſion of their making not riſing from the Conſuls. At the beginning their power was only to relieve the oppreſſed, as a ſhield to keep off evil, and not as a weapon to inflict it. They nulled the unjuſt (as they accounted them) Decrees, and Commands of the Senate and Magiſtrates; and to ſhew their readineſs to protect the meaneſt, (f) their doors ſtood open night and day to their complaints. (g) *Gellius* telleth us, that they could not be abſent from the City one day; not an hour ſaith (h) *Dion*; and (i) *Appian* going further, confineth them within the Walls. They interpoſed by this one word *Veto* ſolemnly pronounced. They procured themſelves afterward to be accounted *Sacroſancti*, ſo as by a Law confirmed with an Oath, none might compel a *Tribune* to do any thing, as one of the vulgar, neither ſtrike, nor command him to be beaten; neither kill, nor command him to be killed. If any did contrary, he was to be held as *Sacer*, and his goods being Confiſcated unto *Ceres*, it ſhould be lawful for any to kill him. And leſt afterwards the People ſhould abrogate this Law, they made all the Citizens take the moſt ſolemn Oath that could be deviſed, both for themſelves and poſterity, to preſerve it for ever inviolable, as (k) *Dionyſius* writeth, who hath alſo exemplified the Law it ſelf. To this (l) *Cicero* addeth, that they were not only by ſacred Laws fortified againſt Force and Arms, but againſt words alſo, and interruption of ſpeech.

Their number.

Power.

Privilege.

(a) *Ling. Lat. l.* 4. *p.* 22.
(b) *Di Orig. Juris par.* 20.
(c) *Bel. civil: lib.* 1.
(d) *Lib.* 14. *c.* 8.
(e) *De Legib: lib.* 3.
(f) *Plutarch probl.* 81.
(g) *Lib.* 3. *c.* 2.
(h) *Lib.* 37.
(i) *De bell. Civil. l.* 2.
(k) *Lib.* 6.
(l) *Pro Sext.*

42. But as their power of *Interpoſing* was moſt powerful againſt Conſuls and Senate, ſo alſo againſt themſelves; the diſſent of one man being ſufficient to hinder whatever all his Collegues deſigned. This appeareth to have been the only conſtant effectual means for moderation of that power which afterwards they aſſumed, when the Patritians could prevail with one of the College to interpoſe. By that awe which their *Sacroſanct* Magiſtracy ſtruck into all men improved through

The ballance to their power.

through their prompt boldneſs (very common in men of meaneſt condition) they took advantage to inlarge their bounds. *Valerius Maximus* writeth, that at firſt it was not lawful for them to enter into the Senate, but they had Seats placed before the Door, where examining the Decrees of the Fathers, ſuch of them as they ſuffered to paſs they ſigned with the Letter *T*. But nothing in *Dionyſius* is more common than their ſpeaking in the Senate, and their contentions with the Members thereof in that very place at the very time, and that in the Infancy of their Office. However theſe fellows at firſt preſumed not to Tyranniſe and diſturb all, as afterwards they did, they preſumed not at firſt to aſſemble the Senate, which afterward they did in the two hundred and ſeventy ſeventh year of the City, and in proceſs of time to diſmiſs it alſo, when called by another. Within a ſmall time they aſſembled the People, preferred Laws, executed their ſawcy Decrees againſt the Magiſtrates themſelves, commanding the Conſuls to be carried to Priſon, (eſpecially after the enacting of the *Hortenſian* Law, whereby the *Plebiſcita* obliged the whole *Roman* people) for that they were the chief Officers of the Commons.

Lib. 2. *cap.* 2. *Exemp.* 7.

The extravagancy of their power.

43. Great were the Seditions and Tumults, which turbulent Spirits backed with ſuch liberty, ſtirred up; ſo as notwithſtanding their firſt end was to preſerve right, *Lucan* rightly termeth them *Turbantes jura*. *Sylla* was the firſt that bridled their extravagancy, by depriving them of liberty to prefer Laws, to make Orations, and obtain any Office of Magiſtracy; but after his death *Aurelius Cotta* by a new Law reſtored the latter privilege to them, and all the reſt they recovered when *Pompey* and *M. Craſſus* were Conſuls. Their Power thus recovered they kept till the Emperors ſwallowed it up themſelves, and left them little more than a name, which continued till the time of *Conſtantine*. As for the Enſigns of their Office, they wore not the *Prætexta*, had no *Lictors* or Sargeants, neither uſed they a *Curule* Chair; only a ſort of Beadle, called *Viator*, went before them. For want of theſe Ceremonies, as becauſe they entred not at the beginning of the year, and laid not down their Office upon the Creation of a Dictator, which others did, *Plutarch* writeth that ſome held them to be no Magiſtrates, but rather a curb and reſtraint to ſuch. Laſtly, beſides theſe *Tribunes*, and the *Tribuni Celerum* formerly mentioned, there were afterwards many other ſorts, as *Tribuni Militum*, and *Tribuni Ærarii*, during the Commonwealth: under the Emperours are found *Tribunus Voluptatum*, *Tribunus Matrimoniorum*, *Tribunus Chartariorum*, *Tribunus Provinciarum*, *Tribunus Fori*, and *Tribunus Scholarum*, concerning which *Caſſiodorus* in his Epiſtles, and *Lipſius* in his Commentary of the Magiſtrates of old *Rome* are to be conſulted.

Several other ſorts of *Tribunes*.

44. The Commons having got from the Senate a confirmation of the Office of *Tribunes*, obtained further, that they might yearly chuſe out of their own body two, to be as Miniſters to theſe Officers; to judge certain cauſes referred to them from the *Tribunes*, take care of publick buildings and proviſions. Theſe were firſt called the *Miniſters and Aſſiſtants of the Tribunes*; but afterward ſaith *Dionyſius* from one of their Duties had the name of *Ædiles*. Many things of great conſequence were committed to their truſt, being very much like to the *Agoranomi* amongſt the *Greeks*. *Feſtus* acknowledging that in the beginning *Ædilis* was a Magiſtrate who took care both of publick and private buildings, yet ſaith he was ſo called, *quòd facilis ad eum plebis aditus eſſet*. Truer is the derivation which *Varro* giveth, agreeable to that of *Dionyſius*; that they were named *Ædiles*, from *Ædes* the buildings, of which they took care, or thoſe particularly, wherein the *Plebiſcita* were kept, of which they had the over-ſight. This later Etymology is rendred by *Pomponius*, who in his ſecond Book of the Original of Law, deſcribing the ſeveral Offices of Magiſtracy, maketh the end of the conſtitution of the *Ædiles* to have been, that they might take care of that Houſe where the Decrees of the People were laid up. Whence ſoever the word was derived it came out of *Latium*, being a name of certain Magiſtrates in the *Latine* Towns, as was alſo *Dictator* and *Duumvir*, as ſome obſerve out of *Spartianus*. To theſe *Ædiles Plebis*, who were inſtituted in the two hundred and ſeventy firſt year of the City, at the ſame time with the *Tribunes*, were added two more out of the *Patritian* order one hundred and ſeventeen years after, called for diſtinction *Ædiles Curules*, becauſe they uſed the *Curule* Chair, whereas the other only ſate on Benches, as the *Tribunes* and *Quæſtors*. The occaſion of creating thoſe ſhall be ſhewn in its place, the end was only then for celebrating of Games.

The *Ædiles* created.

45. This number continued till the time of *C. Julius Cæſar*, who in the ſeven

hundred and tenth year of the City added two more, whom he would have created alſo out of the Patritians. They were called (*a*) *Cereales* from *Ceres*, being appointed to take care of, and make Proviſion for Corn. This number of ſix thus diſtinguiſhed, continued till the time of *Conſtantine*, as is probably conjectured, and were as moſt other Offices of Magiſtracy taken away by him. *The* Ædiles, ſaith (*b*) *Cicero*, *are the Curators of the City*, *of Proviſions*, *and of ſolemn Games*. *Of the City*, becauſe they looked to publick works and Temples; made proviſion againſt Fires (which *Auguſtus* ſeemeth to have charged upon them ſaith *Lipſius*) had inſpection over Funerals, and ſuch like Rites of ſmaller moment; over Marriages and Adulteries, Baths, Aqueducts, Sinks, and Streets, both for repairing and cleanſing of them. *Of Proviſions*, for that they had the over-ſight of all things to be ſold, men, and other Creatures, determining, judging, and cenſuring by their words and Edicts. *Of ſolemn Games*, and only *ſolemn* (not votive and private ones) as the *Ludi Florales*, *Circenſes*, *Megalenſes*, *Romani*, &c. Sometimes at their own charge they made theſe ſhews, and ever examined the Fables written before they were acted. And (whether from this inſpection of Play-books it came or no is uncertain) they ſeem to have been Licenſers and Judges of other Writings, being ordered by a Decree of the Senate, as (*c*) *Tacitus* telleth us, to burn the Papers of *Cremutius Cordus*. It is further (*d*) obſerved, that the *Generals* when they returned home after ſome Victory, delivered up the Corn and Proviſions which had been made prize to them, as the Captives to the *Prætor*, and the Money to the *Quæſtor*. All ſuch Victuallers as offended againſt the Laws, as alſo Monopolizers and others that tranſgreſſed in this kind, they accuſed to the People, and with the Fines celebrated Games, made Preſents to their Gods, or ſome publick works. Laſtly, 'tis obſerved, that they took care that none but *Roman* Gods, and thoſe after the *Roman* manner only, ſhould be worſhipped.

Their Office.

(*a*) *Diod. lib.* 43.

(*b*) 3. *de Legibus.*

(*c*) *Annal. lib.* 4.

(*d*) *Janus Gulielmus.*

46. But, to return to the Story, the rabble having obtained theſe Officers, willingly gave their names to the Expedition againſt the *Volſci*, under conduct of *Poſthumius Cominius* the Conſul. He took *Longula* and *Poluſtia* with no great difficulty, and preſently laid Siege to *Corioli* a ſtrongly fortified Town, and the head of the Nation. The *Antiates* coming to the relief of this place, he left part of the Army to continue the Siege under the Command of *Titus Largius*, and with the other went to give them battel. *Largius* attempting to ſtorm the Town, the Inhabitants ſallied out, and charged the *Romans* ſo furiouſly, that they forced them back into their Camp: all but a few whom *C. Marcius*, a Patritian of great Nobility, and greater Valour, kept about him. This *Marcius* with ſo ſmall a Company received the violence of the Enemy, and doing great execution, forced him at length into the Town, and following himſelf ruſhed in with him, whereat the beſieged were ſo afrighted, that not conſidering their own numbers, they fled to the contrary part of the City, and ſuffered him to let in the reſt of the Army. When the Soldiers now fell to plunder, he ſuffered them not, but haſted to the Battel to help the Conſul, and with the good news of his ſucceſs to chear the Army.

War with the *Volſci*.

Dionyſ. lib. 6.
Plutarch. *in Coriolano.*

Marcius.

47. He deſired of *Cominius* that he might be ſuffered with his men to fight againſt the middle Battel, wherein the chief ſtrength of the Enemies lay, which obtaining, he ſhewed there more valour than formerly, and was the greateſt cauſe of the Victory. The day following the Conſul gave him extraordinary commendations, and a good ſhare of Booty before it came to be divided amongſt the Soldiers; but he would accept of nothing except an Horſe, which gained him greater Honour from the whole Army, and moved *Poſthumius* to beſtow the ſirname of *Coriolanus* upon him for his incomparable valour ſhewn at that place. The *Volſci* were by this overthrow forced to ſubmiſſion, and made their Peace. This year was the League of Amity and Confederacy renewed with the *Latines* with all chearfulneſs, becauſe they had been faithful in the late Sedition and War, and had ſent to congratulate for the Peace made betwixt Nobility and Commons. The Senate for this Civil Union decreed ſupplications or thanks to their Gods, a third *feria* or Holy day, to be added to the other two *Latine Feriæ*, whereof *Tarquinius* had dedicated one, when he conquered *Hetruria*, and the People the other after the baniſhment of *Tarquinius*. In this Conſulſhip died alſo *Agrippa Menenius*, whom the People out of gratitude reſolved to bury at the publick charge, every man contributing ſomething, becauſe he died poor, and when the Senate would needs defray the charge out of the Treaſury, they beſtowed the money upon his Children. Now alſo the *Cenſus* being celebrated above one hundred and ten thouſand heads were Ceſſed.

Sirnamed *Coriolanus.*

A. M. 3512.
Ol. 71. *ann.* 4.
V. C. 261.
Darii 29.
Sp. Caſſio 2.
Poſthumo Cominio Coſſ.

48. The

A dearth, 48. The year following wherin *T. Geganius Macerinus*, and *P. Minucius* were Conſuls, a great dearth fell upon the City, the effect of the late Sedition. For, the Commons having departed a little after the Autumnal Æquinoctial, about the time of ſowing, the Country was forſaken of Husbandmen; *Dionyſ. l. 7.* the richer ſort betaking themſelves to the Patritians, and the poorer to the Army, and the diviſion continued till a little before Mid-winter. All the middle ſpace of time there was no tillage, though it was moſt proper for ſowing, and for ſome time after the agreement, it could ſcarce be renewed, for that Slaves had run away, and there was great ſcarcity of Cattels by theſe means, for the year following they were little beforehand in Corn, either for ſeed or proviſions. This put the Senate upon ſending into ſeveral parts of *Italy*, and alſo into *Sicily*, to buy Corn. But notwithſtanding their care, the multitude being exceedingly pinched with Famine, raiſed tumults, getting together by companies, and Which cauſeth a Sedition, laying all the fault upon the Fathers, as if by their wilful neglect they had in this way revenged themſelves. The *Volſci* being acquainted with this new Sedition, and the weak Eſtate of *Rome*, conſpired how to improve the advantage; but were diverted by a grievous plague, which ſo raged, as *Velitræ* a Noble City of that Country was almoſt utterly exhauſted, the ſmall remnant of the Inhabitants whereof gave up themſelves to the *Romans*, deſiring they would ſend a Colony thither.

49. Of this advantage the Senate was very glad, to leſſen the multitude of the City, and the poor were content to inhabit ſo fertil a place; but when they conſidered the danger of infection, they were again diſcouraged, and wreſted this to ſo bad a ſence, as to make it a deſign to deſtroy them. But the Senate laying a great penalty upon ſuch as refuſed to go, many obeyed and went thither, as alſo to *Norba* a *Latin* Town. This inraged more ſuch as ſtaid behind, being ſtill pinched by the famine, ſo that raiſing great multitudes, they called the *Tribunes* into the *Comitium*. Great ſtriſe hapned betwixt the Conſuls and them; The Tribunes affirming they had promiſed not to interrupt them in their diſcourſes to the People, to which the other anſwered, that it was only when they called the People together, not when the Conſuls themſelves did it, as now they had done, to promiſe them all fair accommodation from the Senate. Hereupon *Brutus*, who being ſo great a ſtickler before, was And this a new Law in behalf of the Tribunes. choſen one of the firſt Tribunes, deviſed a Law, which under ſuch a penalty as the Tribunes ſhould impoſe, forbad any one to contradict or interrupt them, when they ſpoke to the People. Such as could or would not give ſecurity for the payment of the fine, were to be put to death, and their goods be ſacred to *Ceres*. If any controverſie aroſe about the fine, it was to be determined by the judgment of the People.

50. This Law being enacted by the ſuffrages of the *Tribes*, cauſed greater diſturbance; the Senate refuſing to ratifie the reſolves of the People, and the People the Decrees of the Senate; yet proceeded it not to any greater inconveniency than words, and ſome blows without weapons. For the poor broke not into the ſtore-houſes of the rich, but were content to purchaſe victuals at an exceſſive rate; and when money failed were contented with Roots and Herbs: neither did the rich deal harſhly with the poor, but carried it towards them as indulgent Fathers, ſo that we muſt ſay, it was the infirmity of the Government, and not any bad diſpoſition of the People which cauſed the Seditions. The Conſuls, to divert their minds, and eaſe the charge, offered to lead them out into the Enemies Country, but few or none would give their names; ſo that *Marcius Coriolanus* with ſome Patritians, and a few of their Clients made incurſions, and returned home loaden with booty; the knowledge whereof made the poorer ſort murmur againſt their *Tribunes*, who had diſſwaded them from the Expedition. The following Conſuls *M. Minucius Augurinus*, and *A. Sempronius Atratinus*, famous for their abilities both in War and Peace, bent themſelves, by making proviſion for Corn, to allay the preſent diſtempers; though not with wiſhed ſucceſs. They procured much to be imported, and this Summer returned thoſe that were Corn brought out of *Sicily*. ſent into *Sicily*, with a great quantity of Wheat, whereof half they bought at a very cheap rate, and half was beſtowed on them by *Gelon*, the Son of *Dinomenes*. Now the *Patritians* conſidering how to diſpoſe of the Corn; ſome were for ſelling it to the poor at eaſie rates, thereby to win upon the multitude, but others urged they were to be harſhly uſed and afflicted; and the Corn to be ſold to them on dear rates; that by neceſſity they might be brought to ſobriety, and become ſubject to the Laws.

Coriolanus his Counſel thereupon.

51. Amongſt theſe was *Coriolanus* the chief, being offended with the Commons, as was given out, for a repulſe at the laſt election of Conſuls. He had been ever an extraordinary aſſertor of the power of the Nobility, which made the People afraid to chuſe him; but now incenſed he much more ſhewed his inclination, openly declaiming againſt the innovation of the multitude, and exhorting others to reſiſt the petulant endeavours of the Tribunes and rabble. The Conſuls calling together the Senate, he inlarged himſelf in a ſet ſpeech to this purpoſe, and preſſed that by force they ſhould take away the *Tribuneſhip*, as the only means for the recovery of the State; concluding with his opinion, that no favour at all ſhould be ſhewed to the multitude in the ſale of Corn. Some were offended with this freedom, perceiving what inconvenience it would bring; but others approving of it, the Tribunes who were preſent (ſay both *Dionyſius* and *Plutarch*) ran forth, and crying out, called the People together, and declared to them the effect of *Marcius* his ſpeech. The multitude inraged, would have violated the Senate inſtantly, but that the Tribunes ſtayed them, laying the whole blame upon *Marcius*. They ſent ſome Beadels for him to come and anſwer it before the People, but they returning with nothing but ill words, they went themſelves, and commanded the *Ædiles* to apprehend him. Theſe were *Brutus* and *Icilius* the firſt Tribunes, who going to do what was injoyned, were repulſed and beaten by the young *Patritians* he had got about him. This put all into a flame, the whole City being gathered together and ready to deſtroy it ſelf; but by the wiſdom of the Conſuls the matter was put off till the following day. Then the Conſuls laboured to heall the breach, confirming as from the Fathers, what was formerly granted to the Commons, and palliating as much as might be the ſuppoſed offence of *Marcius*. The Tribunes anſwering, inveighed againſt the Senate, as deſirous to break their faith, and laying open the fault of *Marcius*, concluded the action with a Decree of their College, *That he ſhould be forthwith caſt down headlong from the Tarpeian Rock*. For, having given him liberty to ſpeak, he was ſo far from recanting his former ſpeeches, that he flew out into the ſame invectives, as they were termed.

Put all into a flame.

52. The *Ædiles* laying hands on him, the *Patritians* again reſcued him, the ſober part even of them taking it ill he ſhould be condemned to death without due proceſs, and the more underſtanding ſort of the Commons not approving of the attempt; ſo as a great tumult being raiſed, the Tribunes nulled their former Decree, and ſet him a day wherein to anſwer, and ſtand or fall by the judgement of the People. In the mean time the Senate, by ſelling the Corn at moderate rates, and by intreaties, ſought either to procure the tryal to be utterly laid aſide, or at leaſt to defer it till the wrath of the multitude ſhould be appeaſed, which was alſo to be imployed in a War againſt *Antium*. When the former could not be done, and the War was blown over, the Conſuls being very unwilling to let the People take ſo much upon themſelves, as without Decree of the Senate firſt had (according to the antient Cuſtom) to paſs their judgment in any caſe, procured the Tribunes firſt to ſue out ſuch a Decree, on this condition, that they might be heard ſpeak their minds, and each Senator before he gave his judgment, ſwear ſolemnly, as was uſual in judicatury proceſs, to deliver what he thought moſt behoveful for the Publick. The *Tribunes* then argued much in the behalf of the *Commons*, who they ſaid had undergone the heat of all Wars, both in the time of Kings, in the expulſion of them, and ſince in the inlarging the *Roman* Dominion; in conſideration whereof, they could not in conſcience have leſſer privileges than of late they had obtained. They aggravated by ſeveral circumſtances the Crime of *Marcius*, who in ſo high a manner had gone about to infringe them, and therefore as well for maintenance of right, as the ſafety of the City, they deſired he might be left to the juſtice of the People. *Appius Claudus* ſtifly impugned the Decree, arguing that the Senate would be enervated, and the Commonwealth betrayed, if they granted to the People power of judging *Patritians*.

53. *M. Valerius*, and other popular men made a better conſtruction of the People's deſire, thinking they would uſe this power moderately, and in oppoſition to *Appius* his politick reaſons, ſtrangely conceived it would make for the ſecurity of the Commonwealth, and particular Members thereof, if the Commons were admitted to ſome ſhare in the Government, that ſo it might neither wholly lye in the *Patritians* nor *Plebeians*, but be tempered and poiſed betwixt both. He urged, that they had allayed the Kingly Power, by giving it to two annual Magiſtrates, and that therefore there was no fear of its degenerating into Ty-

ranny, being alſo awed by the overſight of three hundred moſt prudent and worthy perſons, of which the Senate conſiſted. But for the Senate it ſelf, there was no curb; ſo that it might afterwards (though of the preſent Members he had no cauſe to judge ſo) draw all things into extremity, and indeed ruine the State, except the People might be admitted to have an hand in the judgment of ſuch faults as concerned the Commonwealth, as when any was accuſed of moving Sedition, affecting Tyranny, Treaſon, or the like crimes; becauſe the more ſolemn and ſevere the Tryal was, ambitious men would be the more terrified from ſuch attempts. The generality inclining to give up the man, *Marcius* demanded of the *Tribunes* whereof they would accuſe him. They conſulting with themſelves apart, knew not well how to form an Impeachment out of his former words, which might paſs with the Senate, and therefore anſwered, they would lay the affectation of Tyranny to his charge. Hereat he very chearfully put himſelf upon Tryal, not refuſing the ſevereſt puniſhment, if it could be proved; and a Decree of the Senate paſſed accordingly, time being given him till the third Market-day, to prepare for it. For a Market was kept once in nine days, at which time the People that lived in the Country, came either to Traffick, receive Juſtice, or give their Suffrages in ſuch matters as either primarily concern'd them, or were referred from the Senate. When the day came, a greater multitude of Country-men than ever formerly was ſeen, early in the morning placed it ſelf in the *Forum*, and the Tribunes called the People to the *Comitia Tributa*, or *Aſſemblies of the Tribes*, ſevering each Tribe from another by cords. Now it having been the Cuſtom for the People to give their Suffrages by *Centuries* in the *Campus Martius* in Arms, and under their Centurions, the *Patritians* called hard for them, and proteſted againſt this innovation; but by the other way of *Centuries* brought in by *Servius*, the ordinary ſort of People being excluded, (for that moſt commonly the two firſt Claſſes carried it from the other four) the *Tribunes* would in no caſe ſuffer it, and the Crime of *Coriolanus* ſeeming to concern all alike, at length they obtained the conſent of the *Patritians* to this innovation.

He anſwereth before the People.

54. *Minucius* the Conſul beginning the action, declared the worth of the perſon now to be judged, and exhorting the People to mildneſs, ſignified that the Senate became petitioners in his behalf. *Sicinius* one of the Tribunes ſaid, he would neither betray the liberty of the People, nor ſuffer another to do it; therefore if the Patritians would, as they pretended, ſubject him to their judgement, he would give forth the balls without any more to do, to which the Conſul replyed, they did ſo, but on this condition, that he ſhould anſwer to the charge of the affected Tyranny, and therewith proteſting, went down. *Sicinius* then ripping up all that ever *Coriolanus* did, that might any way make for his purpoſe, laboured to put a bad conſtruction upon it. But when the party came to ſpeak, he ſo related what particular ſervices he had done the State, and ſhewed the Skars received all over his Body; withal, thoſe that he had ſaved in the Wars, made ſuch lamentation in his behalf, that the People generally cried out he was to be diſcharged. Then *Decius* another of the Tribunes ſtepping up, ſaid, that ſeeing the Senate, as the Conſul alleged, had abſolved *Marcius* from thoſe words he had ſpoken in their houſe, and ſuffered him not to be accuſed for them, he would wave his words, and come to actions, by which he would make good the charge. There was a certain Law that all Booty and Plunder got in War, ſhould be appropriated to publick uſe, ſo as no General was to meddle with it, but give it up into the hands of the *Quæſtor*. Now, whereas no man ever brake this Law, or ſo much as ſpake againſt it, this *Marcius*, ſaith he, hath dared to contemn it; for when in the late incurſion into the Territories of *Antium*, we had got great plenty of Slaves, Cattel, and Proviſions, he neither delivered theſe things up to the *Quæſtor*, nor payed any money unto the Treaſury, but divided all the Booty amongſt his friends, which could not but be taken as an argument that he intended to inſlave his Country; it being the Cuſtom of Tyrants, this way to procure themſelves inſtruments for their purpoſe. Though he had done this not with any ſiniſter intention, but for the ſervice of his Country, at ſuch time as all were full of Seditions at home, and the Enemy from abroad waſted the *Roman* Territories; yet the multitude interpreted it in the ſame ſence as *Decius*, and the whole matter was quite changed; he being abaſhed at ſo unexpected a charge, and the Conſuls and Patritians utterly to ſeek what to anſwer. The *Tribunes* named perpetual baniſhment, and gathered the ſuffrages of the Tribes,

Is baniſhed.

which being twenty one in number, nine only abſolved him, and ſo he ſtood condemned by the major part.

55. This was the firſt ſentence paſſed by the people upon any Patritian, and henceforth the *Tribunes* were wont to ſet the day to whomſoever they pleaſed; whereby the power of the Commons was inlarged exceedingly, and the Intereſt of the Patritians was more and more diminiſhed; *Plebeians* at length being admitted into the Senate, Offices, and Prieſthoods, which in former times were only communicated to the other: the Senate partly againſt their wills and by conſtraint, partly by a wiſe foreſight giving way to it, as will be ſeen in due place. *Marcius* being accompanied home with the lamentations and tears of many, ſaluted his Mother, Wife, and Children, as they made pitiful complaints, and without any appearance of trouble, bidding them bear their condition cheerfully, ſtraitway departed out of the City, attended only by a few Clients, and without any thing to bear his charges. He went to *Antium*, and there in the habit and poſture of an obnoxious ſuppliant betook himſelf to *Tullus Attius*, a man of royal condition amongſt the *Volſci*, both for Nobility, Riches, and Valour, whom he knew to be his greateſt Enemy in that Nation, becauſe in battel they had often challenged each other, and out of Æmulation added a private to the publick hatred. But knowing him to be of a magnanimous mind, and moſt willing to catch hold of any advantage againſt the *Romans*, he caſt himſelf at his feet, bidding him either avenge his Countrey of him, or elſe him againſt *Rome*, which by her unnatural carriage toward him had forfeited all duty and ſervice that ſhe might have expected at his hands. *Tullus* imbracing him with ſingular kindneſs, reſolved to make uſe of his great abilities. *Marcius* adviſed that ſome fair pretext might firſt be ſought for War, and for that purpoſe ſending many of the *Volſci* to behold the ſolemn Games at *Rome*, cauſed one to go to the Conſuls, and accuſe them of having ſome deſign againſt the City, that ſo they forcing them out on a ſudden, might be ſaid to have broken the peace. This accordingly ſucceeding (for the Conſuls commanded all by Proclamation to be gone before Sun-ſet) *Tullus* ſo aggravated the matter to his Country-men, that he procured them to ſend to *Rome* to demand back all the Towns and Territories which by War had been taken from them.

Dionyſius Halicarnaſſ. l. 8.

Stirreth up the *Volſci* againſt *Rome*.

56. The Senate taking the meſſage in great ſcorn, anſwered, that if the *Volſci* firſt took up Arms, the *Romans* would laſt lay them down. *Tullus* then perſwading the *Volſci* to the War, procured *Marcius* to be joyned with him as General, with full power, who preſently invading the *Roman* Dominions, waſted all ſuch grounds where ere he came as belonged to the *Plebeians*, not ſuffering any thing to be touched which belonged to any of the Nobility. His deſign was accompliſhed; for this raiſed great envy and malice againſt the Patritians, who upbraiding the people that they had baniſhed unjuſtly ſo conſiderable a man, were accuſed with greater indignation, that to be revenged for former injuries they had procured *Marcius* to invade the Countrey, ſeeing they were idle ſpectators, when others were undone, and kept their goods, being out of all danger of the War. *Coriolanus* leading home his men richly laden with Booty, was ſent out ſhortly after with one half of the Forces, and taking by ſurrender the Town of the *Circeians*, a *Roman* Colony, thence invaded the *Latines*, who being Confederates with *Rome* ſent thither for relief; but the common people were averſe to the War, and the Conſuls being almoſt out of their Office were unwilling to begin any thing; ſo that the Meſſengers were diſmiſſed without any ſatisfactory anſwer. *Marcius* then by ſtorm took *Tolerium*, *Lavici*, *Pes*, and *Bola*, which he plundered, and made the Inhabitants Slaves. Such as yielded he mildly treated, but having ſtormed *Bola*, which lay within thirteen miles of *Rome*, he put almoſt all to the ſword that were of age. The *Volſci* now ſo admired him, that ſuch as were left to defend the Towns would not ſtay, but all flocked to him, owning him only for their General. At *Rome* there was nothing but confuſion, all being in deſpair, and ſeeking no relief any other way then by venting their ſpleen one againſt another: but when news came that *Lavinium* was beſieged, it made a marvelous, yet abſurd change in their minds. The people now cried out that *Coriolanus* was to be reſtored by a repeal of the Decree for baniſhment; but the Senate utterly refuſed to aſſent to it, and plainly forbad it in full houſe; either for that they deſired to oppoſe the people in all things, or would not have his reſtitution aſcribed to the Commons; or elſe were incenſed againſt *Marcius*, who was become Enemy to all, though

Invadeth its Territories.

but injured by ſome, and had declared againſt his own Country, wherein he knew the greater and better ſort to ſympathize with him, and account his no other than a common grievance.

He marcheth towards *Rome.*

57. The reſolve of the Senate being publiſhed, the People could do nothing as to his reſtitution, the cuſtom requiring that the Fathers ſhould propound. *Marcius* hereupon roſe from before *Lavinium*, and marching towards *Rome* it ſelf, pitched his Camp at the *Ditches of Clælia*, five miles from the City. This forced Senate and People into agreement, all in common being ſeized with horrour and amazement, ſo that it was agreed a Meſſage ſhould be ſent to him, offering him his reſtitution. The Meſſengers were Patritians, and ſuch as for their love to him he had moſt cauſe to favour; but though with all advantage poſſible they made their addreſs, yet he received them with wonderful ſeverity in a Council of Officers, and gave them this anſwer, that if they would expect Peace, they ſhould reſtore to the *Volſci* all Towns and Territories taken away in War: and make them free of the City as the *Latines* were: and he would give them thirty days time to conſider of it. Hereat the Captains of the *Volſci*, eſpecially *Tullus*, took occaſion to malign him, though he employed this time of Truce very profitably, ſubduing ſeven great and ſtrong Towns. When the time was out, and he returned, another Meſſage came to him, deſiring that refraining himſelf he would draw off the *Volſci*, and then conſult in common; for they would do nothing by conſtraint or fear: but if he thought the *Volſci* were to be gratified, they would yield to him if they would lay down their Arms. He replied, he carried himſelf not as General of the *Volſci*, but as a *Roman* Citizen, and deſired, that, having a reſpect to juſtice and moderation, they would return within three days with a grant of what he had formerly demanded; elſe he muſt proceed in his enterprize. Hereupon the Senate, in ſo great a Tempeſt which threatned all, betook them to their ſacred Anchor as they accounted it, and ordered all the *Pontifices, Prieſts, Governours of their ſuperſtitious Houſes and Augurs*, in their ſeveral habits, ſhould go and beſeech him to compoſe the matter: but neither was *Marcius* moved with this Pompous train; but required they ſhould either accept of the terms, or expect hoſtility to the utmoſt.

58. The Prieſts being returned, the Citizens were warned to be ready at the Walls, thence to repel the Enemy if he came, for that no other hope remained, than what time, and viciſſitude of Fortune might afford. The whole City being full of Tumults, trembling, and amazement, the Women flocked to the Temples, but the moſt, and eſpecially the chiefeſt, made their ſupplications at the Altar of *Jupiter* in the *Capitol*. Amongſt theſe was *Valeria* the Siſter of *Poplicola*, into whoſe mind came this device, that they ſhould go to *Veturia* (ſay *Dionyſius* and *Livy*) or *Volumnia* (ſaith *Plutarch*) the mother of *Coriolanus*, and procure her, with *Volumnia* (ſay they) or *Virgilia* (ſaith he) her daughter-in-law, to go, and interceed for their Countrey. *Veturia* earneſtly preſſed to undertake ſo pious a work, anſwered, they had little hopes to obtain their ſute, for that her Son had never ſent to ſee them ſince his departure, being fallen out with his own family as well as his Country; yet ſhe was ready to improve that intereſt ſhe had in him, and ſet forth towards him with her daughter in-law, and two Nephews. *Coriolanus* ſeeing the women come, reſolved fully to give them a denial; but when he perceived his Mother amongſt them, he deſcended from his Tribunal, and went to meet her. Having courteouſly received her with his Wife and Children, he gave ear to her requeſt, which ſhe made with all the Oratory that ſhe could compaſs out of the impending ruin of his own Country, and the infamy which would neceſſarily follow a fruitleſs attempt. When herewith ſhe could not prevail, ſhe put him in mind how much Nature, together with a careful education of him in her Widdow-hood, had ingaged him to obedience, and in concluſion caſt her ſelf down at his Feet which ſhe imbraced and kiſſed. He preſently lift her up, and cried out, *Mother, thou haſt got the Victory, advantageous to my Country, but deſtructive to my ſelf*, and accordingly drew off the *Volſci* into their own Country, who were variouſly affected. Some blamed both him and the Action: others that were ſtudious of Peace did neither; and ſome, though they condemned the thing, yet abſolved the man, who was conſtrained by ſo great neceſſity to do it; yet none refuſed to obey his orders, but followed him, more through the authority of his Virtue than of his Power.

His mother prevaileth with him to retreat.

A. M. 3517.
Ol. 73. *an.* 1.
V. C. 266.
Darii 34.
Sp. Nantio
Sex. Furio
Coſſ.

59. But when he was come to *Antium*, *Tullus*, the great Emulator of his Glory, ſuppoſing he had a ſufficient advantage againſt him, required him to lay down

his Office, and give an account of his actions to the People. He refuſed to reſign his place, except commanded by the People to do it, unto which he ſaid he was not afraid to give an account of any thing he had done, at that preſent. The people being called together, the principal of *Tullus* his faction inſtigated them againſt him, but when he roſe to ſpeak for himſelf, thoſe turbulent ſpirits for ſhame gave way, and all ſober and peaceable men openly declared they would hear him candidly, and judge him according to right and equity. *Tullus* then fearing the man's eloquence, and ſufficiently apprehenſive how much repute the very Crime objected would bring him (for they could not ſeem to be injured by him in not taking *Rome*, without conſidering that he had brought things to that paſs by his incredible valour and dexterity, that they were near taking of it) would not expect the judgment of the multitude, but crying out with his complices, that the betrayer of the *Volſci* was not to be ſuffered to hold the Tyranny over them by refuſing to lay down his Office, ruſhed out, and ſlew him

He is ſlain.

in the place. Though no man ſtood up in his defence, yet that this wicked act diſpleaſed moſt, it preſently appeared. For upon report of his death they came generally out of the Towns and buried him honourably, adorning his Sepulchre, as of a General and a famous Warrier, with Arms and Trophies. Such was the end of the Eminenteſt Man of that age for valour, who by his ſour rigidity procured extreme hazard to his Country, and deſtruction to himſelf, whilſt he preferred private revenge before publick good, and yet would not ſtoop to any proviſion for his own ſafety.

60. At *Rome* upon *Marcius* his retreat was ſuch exultation, as is ſuitable to the joy of thoſe that are reſcued from utter deſolation. The Senate Decreed to the women what honours they would ask, but they only deſired they might build a Chappel to *Women's Fortune*, in the place where they had delivered their Country, which was done at the publick charge, and they at their own dedicated the Image. When the death of *Coriolanus* was heard, there was neither expreſſion of joy nor ſorrow further than this, that the women were permitted to mourn for him ten months: the longeſt time allowed by *Numa* for the neareſt relations, according to *Plutarch*. The Conſuls not long after took the field with a conſiderable Army, but had no occaſion to make tryal of it; for the *Volſci* and *Æqui* joyning their Forces together reſolved to take the *Romans* unprovided; but in their march they fell out about a General, of whether Nation he ſhould be, and from words to blows, in ſuch a manner that they fought a great Battel, and if night had not ſevered them, one party had been utterly deſtroyed. The year following the new Conſuls, *C. Aquilius* and *T. Sicinius*, overthrew, the one the *Hernici* and the other the *Volſci*, amongſt whom fell *Tullus Actius*, a man of perſonal valour, but no good conduct. Their Succeſſors, *Proculus Virginius*, and *Sp. Caſſius* took the field with the Legions; the *Æqui* falling to the former, as the *Volſci* and *Henrici* to the later. The *Volſci* preſently asked Peace, having in the laſt battel loſt the flower of their ſtrength, and after them ſhortly the *Hernici*, refuſing any more to conteſt for equality with the *Romans*. *Caſſius* having received money and proviſions, as from ſuch as confeſſed themſelves conquered, gave them truce, and referred them for conditions to the Senate.

61 After a long debate, the Fathers reſolved they ſhould be received into amity, and that *Caſſius* at his diſcretion might preſcribe the conditions of the League, confirming whatſoever they ſhould be. *Caſſius* returning home, asked, and obtained a Triumph, though he had neither taken any City, worſted any Enemy, nor had any Captives or Spoils for ornament of the ſolemnity, which poſſeſſed men with an apprehenſion of his arrogancy, and procured him envy. After his triumph he publiſhed as conditions of peace, the very ſame that were granted to the *Latines*, which gave great diſtaſte, it being conceived an unworthy thing to make ſtrangers equal in privilege with their kinſmen the *Latines*; ſuch as could allege no merit, with thoſe who had exceedingly well deſerved of the State: the Patritians took it alſo diſdainfully that he would determine fully on his own head a matter of ſuch weight, without asking any of them his advice. His rhree Conſulſhips, and two Triumphs, made him ſeem to himſelf far ſuperiour to any of the ſame rank, ſo that no leſs than the Principallity would

Caſſius aimeth at the Sovereignty.

now content him. Knowing that the ordinary way to it was to gain the favour of the People, by ſome great act of kindneſs, he reſolved upon that courſe, and firſt to divide amongſt them certain publick grounds, which through the neglect of the Magiſtrates, had been ſeized on, and poſſeſſed by the rich. The ſucceſs might have been dubious had he ſtayed here; but he would alſo have the *Latines* into the Lot with the *Hernici* his new denizons, that he might procure the Favour of thoſe Nations. The day after his Triumph, calling together the People according to the Cuſtom, he recalled to their memories the great ſervices he had done in his ſeveral Conſulſhips: how in the firſt he had ſubdued the *Sabines*, in the ſecond reduced the Commons into the City, after the appeaſing of the Sedition, as alſo received the *Latines* into fellowſhip and Communion: in the third, the *Volſci* of Enemies were made Friends, and the *Hernici*, a great and powerful Nation, received into cloſe and inward confederacy. By theſe diſcourſes he inſinuated, as if above all others he took charge of the Commonwealth, and ſo would continue to do. And he concluded with a promiſe to do more for the Commons, than any man ever did who was moſt in favour, and that ſhould preſently appear.

62. The day following, he called together the Senate, which was very much troubled at his Speech, and declared, that becauſe the Common People were very uſeful both in procuring Dominion, and defending Liberty, it was convenient to divide to them thoſe publick Grounds, which were moſt impudently held from the State by ſome Patritians, and pay the money back out of the Treaſury, that they had laid out for that Corn, which being given freely to the City by *Gelon* the Tyrant of *Sicily*, ought to have been divided amongſt the Inhabitants. The Fathers heard him with great diſdain, and rejected the motion, his Colleague *Virginius* grievouſly accuſing him as ſeditious. For ſeveral daies after, *Caſſius* diſcourſed of this to the People, and *Virginius* held the Senate conſulting how to withſtand him. The Tribunes of the People at length, either for that they were jealous of ſome deſign, or were diſpleaſed that they themſelves had not firſt propoſed this thing, withſtood it, alleging it was an unjuſt thing that what they had dearly purchaſed with their Labour and Blood, ſhould be common to Strangers as well as themſelves. As this raiſed ſome diſlike, ſo *Caſſius* again drew them to his party, by propounding that the Grounds might be divided amongſt ſuch as had moſt need, and by urging that it was better to have a little, than by expecting much to be fruſtrated of all. As the People were thus perſwaded to and fro, *C. Rabuleius* one of the Tribunes found out a way, which for the preſent ended the diſpute. *Virginius* pretending that he was for a diviſion of the Grounds, but not unto Foreiners, hoping that theſe would ever be joyned; and *Caſſius* being both for Citizens and Strangers; he took them both at their words; for the one and the other yielding there ſhould be a diviſion, he bade the People accept of that, and defer that wherein they diſſented to another time.

63. For ſome days after this, *Caſſius* kept his houſe, pretending ſickneſs, and ſtudied how he might cauſe his Law, called *Lex Agraria*, to paſs by force. For this purpoſe he ſent for the *Latines* and *Hernici* to be preſent at the Comitia, that he might carry it by greater number of Voices, ſo as the City was filled with them. *Virginius* hereupon made Proclamation, that all ſuch as dwelt not in the City, ſhould depart within a ſhort time prefixed, and *Caſſius* cauſed it to be proclaimed, that all ſuch as were free ſhould ſtay till the matter were determined. No end of the contention appearing, the Fathers feared it might come to Blows, or further inconvenience, and therefore aſſembled to make ſome effectual proviſion for the publick Peace.

64. After a little debate they came to this reſolution, that ten men of *Conſular* dignity ſhould be created to ſurvey the Grounds, and declare how much of them was to be let out to farm, and how much divided to the People. That it ſhould be declared, that for as much as it was inequitable for the new Aſſociates, or Denizons, to expect part in ſuch Lands as were gained to the State before their admiſſion, if any afterward ſhould be got by their aſſiſtance, to each ſeveral People ſhould be aſſigned it's portion, according to the League. That for the choice of the ten men, and the diſtribution of the Ground, the ſucceeding Conſuls ſhould make proviſion. This Decree being publiſhed to the People, appeaſed all, and fruſtrated the deſign of *Caſſius*.

His deſign fruſtrated.

65. In the year following, being the firſt of the ſeventy fourth *Olympiad*, wherein *Aſtylus* of *Syracuſe* was Victor, *Leoſtratus* executing the place of Principal *Archon* at *Athens*, according to the computation of *Dionyſius*, in the firſt year of *Xerxes* his Reign, *Q. Fabius* and *S. Cornelius* were Conſuls. Now two moſt noble young men, *Cæſo Fabius*, the Brother of the Conſul, and *L. Valerius* the Grand-ſon of *Poplicola*, being *Quæſtors*, and thereby having authority to aſſemble the People, ſet a day to *Caſſius* the late Conſul to anſwer in the Comitia to the charge

A. M. 3521.
Ol. 74. *an.* 1.
V. C. 269.
vel 70.
Xerxis 1, *vel* 2.

charge of affected Tyranny. Then in full Aſſembly did they lay open his actions; how he had beſtowed upon the *Latines* the third part of the Plunder, who thought it happineſs ſufficient to be made free of the City: then the *Hernici*, who could expect no leſs than to be deprived of their own Lands, he choſe rather to make Friends than Subjects, and Citizens than Tributaries. whence both grounds and plunder being divided into three parts, two of theſe muſt go to Subjects, and Strangers, ſo that if it were found neceſſary afterwards to give others the ſame privilege of the City, the *Roman* Citizens being by right Lords of all, ſhould not have remaining one third to themſelves. They aggravated this with the management of the buſineſs, as his doing all without conſulting the Fathers, and againſt the interpoſition of the Tribunes. That theſe things tended to the deſigned eſtabliſhment of a Tyranny, they proved from the money and arms wherewith the *Latines* and *Hernici* had furniſhed him, as alſo from the company of ſtout young men of thoſe Nations which he had about his perſon. In teſtimony hereof they produced ſeveral credible perſons, both Citizens and Aſſociates, who averred it. To theſe the People giving credit, notwithſtanding his premeditated Orations, and his three children, who with many Friends and Clients accompanied him in mourning habit, and interceded for him; notwithſtanding all his ſervices, and the honour obtained by them, they would not at all pity him, but out of extream hatred to Tyranny condemned the man, and that to death, leſt being baniſhed, he ſhould procure the State ſuch trouble and danger as *Marcius* lately had done. Therefore judgment being paſſed, the *Quæſtors* preſently led him to the Rock near to the *Forum*, and thence caſt him down headlong in the ſight of the People, this being the then ordinary kind of puniſhment. His Eſtate was confiſcated, and his houſe razed. Some would have had his Sons alſo put to death, but the Senate refuſed to uſe ſuch ſeverity, and at *Rome* the children never ſuffered for their Father's fault, although for high Treaſon, till the *Marſian* War, wherein thoſe that broke the cuſtom miſcarried, and he who deſtroyed them reſtored it to the State, as *Dionyſius* obſerveth, who diſliketh the practice of ſome of his Countrey-men the *Græcians*, in killing, or condemning to perpetual baniſhment the ſons of Tyrants themſelves.

He is condemned, and put to death.

66. By the death of *Caſſius* the Patritians were more elevated, and the Commons grieved after they ſaw this, and conſidered how ſerviceable a man to their intereſt, as they fooliſhly thought, they had cut off. They now called hard for the Execution of the *Agrarian Law*, but the Senate being reſolved to put it off, cauſed the Conſuls to make proviſion for an Expedition. None would give their names, and the Tribunes interpoſing hindred the Conſuls from puniſhing any; but it being given out that a Dictator would be created, the multitude fearing to fall into the hands of *Appius*, liſted themſelves, and ſo *Cornelius* waſted the Territories of the *Veientines*, as *Fabius* thoſe of the *Æqui*. The year following, being the two hundredth and ſeventieth of the City, when *Nicodemus* was *Archon* at *Athens*, the Patritians procured *Cæſo Fabius* one of *Caſſius* his accuſers, and *L. Æmilius*, to be created Conſuls, during whoſe Office all was quiet at home, the *Volſci* renewing the War upon the *Romans*. *Fabius* was ſent to the aſſiſtance of the *Latines* and *Hernici* whom they had invaded, and *Æmilius* led the other part of the Forces to *Antium*, where he was worſted by the *Volſci*, and being forced to deſert his Camp, had with his whole Army been cut off, but that his Colleague in good time ſent ſome choice Companies to recruit him. For the next year *M. Fabius* Brother to *Cæſo*, and *L. Valerius* Son of *Marcus*, who put *Caſſius* to death, being Conſuls, propoſed it to the Senate to fill up the Army at *Antium*. A Decree paſſing for new Levies, the People refuſed to be liſted, calling for the diviſion of the grounds, and one of the Tribunes withſtood the Conſuls. This put them upon this device, to ſit in the *Campus Martius*, where whoſoever was cited and did not appear, they puniſhed him, if he had any Lands, by cutting his trees, and pulling down his houſes; or if he hired grounds, by driving away his Cattel, or other ways, the Tribune not being able to do them any good. for that the power of his Office was confined within the walls; ſo as it was unlawful for them to lye one night out of the City, except in the *Latine feriæ*, where all the Magiſtrates for the common ſafety were wont to ſacrifize in the *Albanian* Mount unto *Jupiter*.

The Conſuls evade the interpoſition of the Tribunes.

67. This forced the Commons to ſubmit, and ſo the Conſuls making Levies led out the Legions, *Fabius* to the defence of the Aſſociates, and *Valerius* againſt the *Volſci*; who ingaging with him in battel, came off on equal terms; and after

Commotions in the City.

afterwards neither part were forward to fight. It was believed in the City, that the *Roman* Army wilfully neglected an opportunity of Victory, out of hatred againſt the Conſul, whom they deſpiſed as a man of no experience, and in revenge againſt the Fathers who had ſo long fruſtrated their hopes about the diviſion of publick grounds. At this time one of the Veſtal Nuns *Opimia* by name, being convicted of Incontinency, was ſhut up within the ground in the *Forum*, and her corrupters ſcourged and put to death. At the next election of Conſuls there was great contention, the Patritians having a deſire to prefer ſome in whom they could confide, and particularly pitching upon the ſon of *Appius*, a man of the ſame temper with his Father; and the Commons as much labouring the Contrary. When the Conſuls held the *Comitia*, the Tribunes interpoſed, and when the Tribunes called the People together, the Conſulls would not ſuffer any thing to be done, contending that it belonged to their Office. Both parties being incompaſſed with thoſe of their Factions, railed, and ſometimes came to hand-cuffs, ſo that worſe threatning, and the Senate conſulting what was to be done, ſome moved to have a Dictator named, who might firſt correct all diſtempers of late brought in, and then deliver the power to men of approved integrity; but a middle way pleaſed; to create *Interreges* for holding of the Aſſemblies. The firſt was *A. Sempronius*, who for his five days governing affairs in a peaceable manner, the other Magiſtrates having laid down, created according to the manner *Sp. Largius*. He in the *Centuriata Comitia* made Conſuls with the well liking of both ſides, *C. Julius* a favourite of the Commons, and *Q. Fabius* now the ſecond time elected, a man addicted to the power of the great ones. In their Conſulſhip the *Æqui* and *Vientes* invaded the *Roman* Territories, and did mnch hurt. Againſt the later they were ſent with the Legions, after ſome conteſt with the People (who were hardly drawn in by *Largius*, becauſe the Senate had now deferred the execution of the *Agrarian* Law five years) and harrazing the Country returned home with much ſpoil; neither was any thing elſe of moment done that year.

Dionyſ. l. 9.

Wars abroad.

68. The year following (which was the firſt of the ſeventy fifth *Olympiad*, wherein *Xerxes* made his Expedition into *Greece*, *Callias* being *Archon* at *Athens*) had for Conſuls *Cæſo Fabius* again, and *Sp. Furius*, to whom came meſſengers from the *Latines*, deſiring aſſiſtance againſt the inſolence of the *Æqui*; and all *Hetruria* was reported now to be in Arms at the deſire of the *Veientes*. The Conſuls were ordered to aſſiſt the one, and ſuppreſs betimes the other; but when they came to raiſe men, *Icilius* one of the Tribunes interpoſed upon the old pretence of the *Agrarian* Law. The work being hereby hindred, *Appius* adviſed the Senate to ſet one Tribune againſt another, by drawing over ſome of them unto their ſide, as the only way to abate the power of that Office now ſo ſacred and inviolable. This courſe both at preſent and afterwards was effectual, and the Conſuls with their Armies departed each one into his province; *Furius* againſt the *Æqui*, and *Fabius* into *Hetruria*. *Furius* harrazed the Enemies Country, and returned home with great Booty. *Fabius*, though an able Warriour, was ſo hated by his men, that when they had in battel routed the Enemy, they refuſed to purſue or do any thing more, but departing againſt his command to their Camp, thence alſo marched home, leſt they ſhould procure him the honour of a Triumph. The following Conſuls *Cn. Manlius*, and *M. Fabius*, again were both ſent to carry on the War in *Hetruria*, where they held the Soldiers in the Camp ſo long, till the Enemy was ready to fall upon it, and for ſhame they deſired to be led forth. *Fabius* taking this opportunity, upbraided them with their diſobedience to the Conſul the laſt year, in that place; and ſhewing them how little cauſe he and his Colleague had to truſt them, having ſufficiently humbled them, led them forth. A greater and longer battel was never fought by the *Romans*, who were thought to be Victors only, becauſe the *Hetruſcans*, the night following, forſook their Tents. *Manlius* was ſlain, and for that cauſe his Colleague refuſed the Triumph, ſaying, it was not right for him to take the Laurel at his Funerals. Having diſbanded his Army, he laid down his Office two months befor the time, becauſe his wounds diſabled him for ſervice; and by the ſecond *Interrex* in the *Comitia*, were declared Conſul *Cæſo Fabius* his brother (who having extraordinarily deſerved in the late battel, was now honoured with this Office the chird time) and *T. Virginius*.

69. *Virginius* being ſent into *Hetruria* againſt the *Veientes*, was overpowered by them, and had loſt his whole Army, but that *Fabius* upon the intimation of his extreme neceſſity came out of the Country of the *Æqui*, and brought
him

The Family of the *Fabii* ingage againſt the *Veientes.*

him off. When the *Romans* were retreated, the *Veientes* made excurſions very near the City, to the great loſs and diſparagement of the State. The Senate found it neceſſary to have a conſtant Guard upon the Borders; but the Treaſury was low, the Tributes of private men were not ſufficient for this new charge, and it ſeemed that none would give their Names willingly to ſo conſtant a Work. When they were at a ſtand, the whole Family of the *Fabii*, by the procurement of the Conſul, voluntarily offered to take both the charge and trouble upon it ſelf only, which was gratefully accepted. The *Fabii* then under conduct of *Marcus* the laſt year's Conſul, fortified a Caſtle near the River *Cremera*, and not far from *Veii*. Their whole number was at firſt four thouſand, whereof their Clients and Friends made up the greater part, and of ſuch as bore the name of the Family there were three hundred and ſix: afterwards another Company followed, being led by *Cæſo Fabius* the Conſul. Out of this Caſtle, which they named *Cremera* from the River, they made excurſions, and much endamaged the Enemy. This cauſed the *Veientes* again to implore the aid of all *Hetruria*, which making preparations, news came that the *Æqui* and *Volſci* alſo had agreed upon an invaſion. The Senate hereupon ordered their Armies to be provided, whereof *L. Æmilius* the next years Conſul led one againſt the *Hetruſci*, with whom joyned *Cæſo Babius* as proconſul. *C. Servilius* the other Conſul, marched with another part againſt the *Volſci*: and *Ser. Furius* with the third againſt the *Æqui*, having alſo the power of Proconſul. *Furius* no leſs happily than ſodainly finiſhed his work. *Servilius* raſhly managing his affairs loſt many men, and not daring to adventure all in a Battel, drew out the War in length; but *Æmilius* giving Battel to the *Veientes* and their Aſſociates, overthrew them, and then ſtorming their Camp, forced them to beg Peace.

70. Having purchaſed a Truce by the grant of Proviſions for two months to the Conſuls Army, and ſix months pay, they had leave to ſend to the Senate. The Fathers upon reading of *Æmilius* his Letters, who adviſed them by all means to finiſh the War, reſolved to make Peace, and left the Conditions thereof to him. He having a reſpect rather to equity than the profit of the Conquerours, made a League with them, neither taking from them any Grounds, nor any more Money, nor receiving any Hoſtages to ſecure their obedience, which procured him much evil will, and deprived him of the due honour of a Triumph. They ordered him to aſſiſt his Colleague againſt the *Volſci*; but he complaining grievouſly of them to the People, and ſuggeſting to the Multitude that they were angry, becauſe the War was finiſhed, out of a deſire to have the Peoples thoughts diverted from the *Agrarian* Law, disbanded his Army, as alſo that of *Furius*, and hereby afforded much matter for contention betwixt the Nobility and Commons. The year following, being the firſt of the ſeventy ſixth *Olympiad*, wherein *Scamander* of *Mitylene* was Victor in the courſe, and *Phædon* Archon at *Athens*, the new Conſuls, *C. Horatius*, and *T. Menenius*, found ſome obſtruction in the Levies; the Commons ſtill complaining that the *Agrarian* Law was not executed. But neceſſity cut off the diſpute, eleven ſeveral Cities of *Hetruria* having declared againſt the *Veientes*, for making Peace without publick conſent, and forced them to break it. The pretence was, for that the *Fabii* were not drawn off from *Cremera*, who ſending Intelligence to the Senate of this intended breach, it ordered *Menenius* to march into *Hetruria*, as *Horatius* againſt the *Volſci*. While *Menenius* loitered in his Expedition, *Cremera* was taken, and the *Fabii* all cut off. Some wrote that it was by an Ambuſh, as they were returning to *Rome*, to ſacrifize for the whole Family, according to their cuſtom. But others delivered more probably, that being accuſtomed to make depredations, they were drawn into Snairs by the *Hetruſcans* (who cauſed herds of Cattel to be driven thither, where they had beſtowed a ſufficient quantity of men) and being overpowred, were all at length deſtroyed, though with the great loſs of the Aſſaliants, except ſuch as they had left to keep the Cattel. Theſe were ſo far from being diſcouraged at what had befallen their Fellows, that they alſo ſtood it out to the laſt man, enduring all extremity, and fighting when half dead, with Weapons wreſted from the Hands of their Enemies.

All the adventurers are cut off.

71. A Tradition remained to poſterity, that three hundred and ſix of this Family being cut off, none remained except one Boy, who for his youth could not ſerve in the Expedition. *Dionyſius* ſheweth the Vanity hereof, by theſe reaſons. 1. All except one could not be unmaried, or without Children, for an antient Law commanded all at a legitimate age to marry, and provide for Poſterity, which being diligently obſerved till their age, the *Fabii* alone would not contemn:

A. M. 3528.
Ol. 15. *an.* 4.
V. C. 277.
Xerxis 9.

Whether only one Boy remained of the family.

but, 2. Grant this; it is not to be granted, that none of thoſe had a Brother of young years. 3. If their Fathers had been ſo utterly deprived of their Sons, yet certainly all would not have been ſo old and dry, as to deſpair of any more Iſſue, and conſequently make no proviſion for it by mariage. 4. And if they had no Fathers living, yet would it be a prodigious thing to ſuppoſe that none of them left any Son as yet an Infant, a Wife with Child, or a young Brother. This is true, that of the three Brothers, *Cæſo*, *Marcus*, and *Quintus*, in the Family of whom the Conſulſhip had continued for ſeven years, *Marcus* only left a young Son, beſides whome none of this Name afterwards being famous, thence the report might riſe that none elſe was preſerved. Concerning the time of this Defeat Authors ſomething differ. (*a*) *Macrobius* maketh the day to have been the ſeventeenth of the *Calends* of *Sextilis*; (*b*) *Plutarch* after the Summer ſolſtice, and about the full Moon in the middle of the month *Quintilis*. (*c*) *Livy* and (*d*) *Tacitus* on the fifteenth of the *Calends* of *Sextilis*, which ſuiteth with that of *Plutarch*, and (*e*) *Ovid* on the *Ides* of *February*.

(*a*) *Lib.* 1. *c.* 16.
(*b*) *In Camillo & Problem.*
(*c*) *Lib.* 6.
(*d*) *Lib.* 18.
(*e*) *Faſt.* 2.

The *Veientes* peirce within two miles of the City.

72. The *Veientes* having recovered the Caſtle, went confidently againſt the *Roman* Legions, which lay incamped not far off, and as was thought might have relieved the *Fabii*, but that *Menenius* the Conſul out of envy would not make uſe of the opportunity. They took the advantage of his unskilfulneſs, and ſeized on an Hill near unto him, where placing a Guard, they made Sallies upon the Camp, and ſo ſtraightned it, that they brought him to fight upon very unequal terms, and put his Army to the worſt. The *Romans* forſook their Camp, and fled in ſo tumultuous a manner, that had the *Veientes* not been too greedy of Plunder, they might utterly have deſtroyed them. The day following they invaded the *Roman* Territories, and came as far as the Hill *Janiculus*, two miles from the City, whereon they ſeized, and thence made excurſions to the great diſgrace of the *Romans*. *Horatius* the other Conſul returning from the *Volſci*, overthrew them twice, and gave the People ſome reſpit from their fear. The following year two skilful men in Military matters, *Sp. Servilius* and *A. Virginius*, entred the Conſulſhip after the Summer ſolſtice in the month *Sextilis*. Now the *Hetruſcan* War, though difficult enough, ſeemed profitable, compared with domeſtick Affairs; for the ſeizing upon the Mount, and the depredations thence made had hindred Tillage for the laſt Winter, and no Traffick having been for that time, there was ſuch ſcarcity of Corn that the City was brought into extream want, containing one hundred and ten thouſand men of ripe age, as appeared at the next *Cenſus*, beſides Women and Children, Slaves, Merchants, and Artificers (for no *Roman* Citizen was allowed to keep a Victualling-houſe, or to exerciſe any ſordid Trade) thrice as many. The People made great Tumults, and were ready to take away violently the proviſions of the rich: the *Tribunes* alſo made great diſturbance.

Menenius fined for the miſcarriage of the *Fabii*.

73. The Conſuls laboured to ſatisfie the pooreſt ſort by buying in all they could, and cauſing ſuch as had Corn to ſell it, till their Levies were finiſhed. Then led they out by night againſt the Enemy, and paſſing the River before day, unexpectedly fell upon him, and got a bloody Victory: after which the Mount was forſaken by the Garriſon, which having no relief ſent in, retired to *Veii*. This War being ended, *Menenius* the laſt years Conſul was called to an account, and condemned in a pecuniary Mulct for ſuffering the *Fabii* to miſcarry, whom the people ſo gratefully eſteemed, that they hated all who ſeemed to have been to blame as to their defeat, and placed the day thereof amongſt their *Nefaſti*, or unlucky ones, wherein no good Work was to be begun. The following year alſo, when *Servilius* was out of his Office, he was called before the people, for that in the laſt Battel againſt the *Hetruſcans*, he had ſo unadviſedly purſued the Enemy, as thereby to loſe the Flower of his Army; but the Mans abilities being conſidered, and his own defence with that of his Collegue weighed (who deſired either to ſtand or fall with him) he was acquitted. This year and that following, the *Veientes* were ſo overpowred, having been overthrown in Battel together with their Aſſociates the *Sabines*, and now cloſely beſieged, begged Peace once more, and having with a whole years pay for the Conſuls Army, and money for two months proviſion purchaſed leave to ſend to the Senate, obtained a Truce for fourty years. The next year being the firſt of the ſeventy ſeventh *Olympiad*, wherein *Dates* an *Argive* was Victor, and *Chares* Archon, *L. Æmilius Mamercus* the third time, and *Vopiſcus Julius* were Conſuls. Their Conſulſhip was very turbulent through the attemps of *Cn. Genatius Tribune* of the People, who required them to divide the Grounds formerly Decreed to the people by the Senate. They

Great ſtirs about the *Agrarian*.

They denied it belonged to them to execute what had been Decreed in the Conſulſhip of others, and alleged that a *Senatus Conſultum* was not of force, but for one year. Becauſe he could not compel his Superiours, he ſet the day to *Manlius* and *Furius*, the laſt year's Conſuls, to anſwer before the People, why they did not divide the grounds, pretending ſome reaſons wherefore they ought to be queſtioned more than others, though it was now twelve years ſince the paſſing of the Decree, and alleging, that except the preſent Magiſtrates were quickned by a ſence of puniſhment inflicted upon others, they would never ſet upon the work.

74. The Patritians exceedingly ſtartled at ſo bold and impudent an attempt, reſolved by force of Arms, if fairer means would not prevail, to protect the accuſed, and the City might have been in blood had not *Genatius* died ſuddenly that very morning, no ſign of violence appearing on the Body. This al'ayed the fury of the multitude, and the Sedition might have been quite appeaſed, had the Conſuls born their ſucceſs with moderation, and conſidered what was fitting for the time. But making new Levies, they would force one *P. Volero*, who had before-time been an Officer, to go in the preſent expedition as a Common Soldier, and when he alleged that he ought not to be compelled ſo to ſerve, for that he had not deſerved it by any offence, they commanded him to be ſtrip't and beaten. He flying to the aſſiſtance of the *Tribunes* appealed to the People, wherewith they not being at all moved, he became a *Tribune* to himſelf, with blows repelling one or two Lictors: and when the Conſuls ſent all their Officers to take him, ſuch *Plebeians* as ſtood by calling one upon another reſcued him from their hands. This diverted mens minds from thoughts of Land, and raiſed a zeal for privilege and liberty; the Patritians complaining that the Chief Magiſtrates ſhould be ſo contemned, and the *Plebeians* alleging it was a great breach upon their right for a *Roman* Citizen not to be heard when he appealed to the people, but ſcourged like a Slave: and they demanded Juſtice of the Senate againſt the Conſuls; with theſe ſtirs, without any other thing of moment, was their Conſulſhip paſſed over. For the following year *Volero* an impudent fellow, obtained, though a man of meaneſt condition, to be *Tribune*, having made himſelf popular by reſiſting that Office, which was once equal to the Kingly, and promiſing that he would clip the power of the great ones. He propoſed a Law for holding the Aſſemblies of *Tribes* at the Election of *Tribunes*, inſtead of the other of the *Curiæ*, betwixt which there was this difference. In the *Curiata Comitia* were ſuch things treated on, and confirmed by the ſuffrages of the *Curiæ*, as the Senate had firſt Decreed, and that with the *Auſpicia*; for except the birds predicted good, the *Comitia* were null and fruſtrate. But the *Tributa Comitia* were managed without any conſulting of the Senate, without the ſuperſtitious obſervation of birds (called *Auſpicia*, and obſerved at the Election alſo of Patritian Magiſtrates) and all things were determined by the ſuffrages of the *Tribes* gathered apart.

A Law propoſed for Creation of *Tribunes* in the Aſſembly of Tribes.

75. When the day for determination of the queſtion was come, great endeavours were uſed on both ſides; the whole time conſumed in ſpeeches, for, and againſt the Law. The *Tribunes* then put it off till the *Trinundinum*, againſt which time the Patritians improving all their intereſt, *Volero* reſolved by force to keep them from the *Comitia*, and the Conſuls from diſwading the thing, becauſe they carried mighty highly, and with their friends, and Clients, took up a great part of the *Forum*. He was prevented by a grievous plague, which like a Torrent carried away multitudes, ſo as his year being out before he could accompliſh his deſign, by his great promiſes he obtained to be *Tribune* again, as alſo his two Collegues who ſided with him in this enterprize. The Fathers to ballance him procured to be made Conſul *Appius Claudius*, the Son of *Appius*, abſent, againſt his will, and to their own prejudice. His Collegue was *T. Q. Quintius Capitolinus*, of a contrary diſpoſition. *Appius* was all for Wars, that by expeditions the multitudes might be diverted from Seditious Attempts, the effects of idleneſs; and *Quintius* contended that cauſes were not to be ſought for, leſt the ordinary ſort being forced to unneceſſary War, ſhould break out into rage, and trample Magiſtracy under their feet; and the Government being his, ſaith *Dionyſius*, this month, he prevailed. But *Volero* renewed his endeavour for the Law, and thereto added, that the *Ædiles* ſhould be elected by the *Tributa Comitia*, as alſo whatſoever ſhould concern the Commons, might be tranſacted, and paſſed in them, which tended to no other than to transfer the power from the Senate to the people. *Appius* now earneſtly preſſed

Appius and *Quintius* Conſuls.

to make Levies, and undertake ſome expedition; but *Quintius* prevailed that they ſhould rather go about to diſſwade the people by reaſons, than to compel them by force.

Appius ſpoileth all.

Is commanded to depart the Aſſembly.

76. *Quintius* to this purpoſe made a ſeaſonable Speech in the Aſſembly, and ſo far prevailed, that the Law as unjuſt had been laid aſide, but that his Collegue uſed, though juſt and true, yet unſeaſonable words, ſpeaking to the Commons, not as free Citizens, who had an hand in making, and abrogating Laws, but as a rabble of baſe perſons. He upbraided them with unthriftineſs, defrauding of their Creditors, revolting from the Conſuls, and voluntary Exile; as alſo perjury, and turning of the Weapons taken up in defence of their Country, into its bowels. He ſaid, it was no wonder that ſuch as they were ſhould proceed thus from one wicked Act to another, inſtancing in their ſeditious Attempts for the gaining of the juſt power of the Patritians. Having ſpared no contumelious, or afronting language, he came to that which gave moſt offence: that the State would never be at reſt ſo long as the Tribunitial power remained; for as much as it was impoſſible that what took its Original from violence, iniquity, ſedition, fear of a Civil War, and other abominable things, could produce any profitable effects. He concluded with an aſſeveration, that as long as he was Conſul, he would neither ſuffer this, nor any other Law to paſs without approbation of the Senate, and this he would ſtand by, both with Words and Deeds alſo if need ſhould require; ſo that, if never before, they ſhould learn in his Office, of what force was the Conſulſhip. Then ſtood up *C. Lictorius*, the principal man amongſt the *Tribunes*, and in anſwer to his accuſations related what labours the Commons had ſuſtained before, and ſince the baniſhment of *Tarquinius*; how, for all this pain and danger, they were not made partakers of any thing which they had obtained by their blood, till forced to ſeperate from the Patritians. That then they got this Office of Tribuneſhip, as a protection for the poor, with other Laws afterwards, as of judging the Patritians, and tranſlating the ſuffrages from the *Centuriata* to the *Curiata Comitia*, all which he accounted nothing. Then reproving *Appius* ſharply, he told him he would ſhew him of what force that Office was upon which he had trampled, and the power of the people called by him ſordid, and without Houſe or Harbour. Having ſpoken this, he ſwore moſt ſolemnly that he would, and not live except the Law paſſed, and commanding ſilence, when all men expected earneſtly what he would do, he ſawcily required *Appius* to depart the Aſſembly.

And to be ſent to priſon.

Is defended.

The People ſeize on the Capitol.

The Law paſſeth.

Appius his Soldiers refuſe to fight.

77. *Appius* not obeying, but incircling himſelf with a Company he had brought for that purpoſe, having made ſilence to be proclaimed by a Crier, he declared *that the College of Tribunes commanded the Conſul to be carried to priſon*, and therewith ſent an Officer to apprehend him. He was beaten back by the Lictors, whereat *Lictorius* himſelf exhorting the multitude to ſtick to him, went to lay hands on him. *Appius* being defended with a company of ſtout young men, a great and unſeemly Conteſt followed with railings and thruſtings to and fro: and at length it came to blows, and caſting of ſtones. The Conſul *Quintius* by his intreaties throwing himſelf into the middle, and the more grave Senators, hindred the tumult from proceeding to further inconvenience, which was ended ſhortly after by the night. Several days were ſpent with mutual recriminations; but at length the Tribunes and People ſeized on the Capitol, and there kept watch night and day. The Senators were very ſollicitous what to do, both in reſpect of the danger, and the difference betwixt the Conſuls; for *Quintius* thought the Commons deſiring no unjuſt thing, were to be gratified; but *Appius* would rather die than yield. *Quintius* taking great pains, at length procured the Tribunes to refer the Law to the diſcretion of the Senate, which after a long diſſwaſion of *Appius*, and perſwaſion of the Tribunes, permitted it to be put to the queſtion of the *Comitia*, wherein the Commons readily paſſed it. After this, the Conſuls were ſent out with the Armies; *Quintius* againſt the *Æqui*, whoſe Territories he waſted, and he returned with honour, which his Soldiers were careful to purchaſe for him; but *Appius* going againſt the *Volſci*, bore himſelf ſo auſterely towards his men, that they would not obey him, but out of hatred, and to procure him an ignominious retreat, when they came to fight, retired to their Camp without ſtriking a ſtroak, and no more could he draw them forth againſt the Enemy, ſo that he was conſtrained to depart homewards, and in his way put to death ſuch Centurions and Enſigns, as had been faulty, with every tenth man in the Army. Some were beheaded, and ſome knocked on the head with clubs: this decimation being an uſual puniſhment amongſt the *Romans*, of ſuch as had forſaken or loſt their Colours.

78. The following Conſuls *Q. Valerius* again, and *Tib. Æmilius*, being both well affected towards the Commons (the former out of envy to the Patritians, for that they had denied his Father a Triumph, and the later becauſe he would reconcile himſelf to the multitude, offended by him for accuſing *Caſſius* the Author of the *Agrarian* Law, when he was *Quæſtor*) promiſed the Tribunes to promote in the Senate the diviſion of publick grounds. The Tribunes in confidence of their aſſiſtance, came into the Senate, and ſpake very mildly in favour of the Law, which the Conſuls would not contradict, leſt they ſhould ſeem to ſeek after contention, but asked the ancienter Senators their opinions. *L. Valerius* Father to the Conſul, preſſed the diviſion of Lands; but *Appius* ſo ſeverely and plainly withſtood it by ſeveral invincible reaſons, that he carried it againſt the other, for which the Tribunes ſet him a day to anſwer before the People for his life. The crimes were: That he gave ill advice againſt the Commons, raiſed Sedition, laid violent hands ſorſooth on the Sacroſanct Body of the Tribune, and being General of an Army had received a defeat, and returned with ignominy. The Patritians exceedingly concerned, left nothing unattempted to ſave him, and deſired him, that giving way to the time, he would take the habit agreeable to his condition; but he flatly refuſed to do any thing poorly, or unworthy of his Anceſtors, adding, that he would die a thouſand deaths rather than touch the knees of any, as was the cuſtom of Supplicants. He forbad his friends to ſupplicate for him, ſaying, his ſhame would be doubled, if he ſaw any do that in his behalf, which he himſelf diſdained to do. Giving out many ſuch like ſpeeches, he neither changed his apparel, nor his countenance, nor remitted any thing of his antient magnanimity, but when he ſaw the whole City earneſtly intent upon his Tryal, a few days before the appointed time he killed himſelf. His friends gave out that he died of a natural death, and the Body being brought forth into the *Forum*, his Son was there ready, and asked leave of the Conſuls to commend him in a funeral Oration, according to the cuſtom. The Tribunes commanded the body to be taken away without any ceremony; but the People was thereat diſpleaſed, and ſuffered the young man to perform this laſt and uſual Office of honour to his deceaſed Father.

He croſſeth the *Agrarian*, for which he is called to anſwer for his life.

Before the Trial he killeth himſelf.

79. For this and the two following years the *Romans* fought ſucceſſively againſt the *Æqui*, *Sabines*, and *Volſci*. From the later was taken *Antium*, being ſurrendred to *T. Quintius Capitolinus* the Conſul, who placed therein a Garriſon. In the following year, wherein were Conſuls *Tib. Æmilius* again, and *Q. Fabius* (ſon to one of the three brothers, that with their friends and Clients died at *Cremera*) the Tribunes made new ſtirs about the *Agrarian*, and *Æmilius* furthering the buſineſs, the Senate to gratifie the multitude, decreed that ſome part of the Lands lately taken from the *Volſci* and *Antiates*, ſhould be divided. Yet not many would give their names, being unwilling to forſake their native Country, ſo that the Colony was made up out of the *Latines* and *Hernici*. The Conſuls marched, *Æmilius* againſt the *Volſci*, and *Fabius* againſt the *Æqui*; both had ſucceſs; the later forcing the *Æqui* to beg Peace, the conditions whereof were left to him by the Senate. But the *Æqui* receiving the Fugitives of *Aatium*, ſuffered them to make excurſions into the Territories of the *Latines*, and refuſed to give them up, whereupon ſucceeded another War, though the *Romans* obtained a bloody Victory, in the third year after the making of the Peace. In the next Conſulſhip which was executed by *L. Ebutius* and *P. Servilius Priſcus*, fell a more grievous plague upon the City than ever before hapned. It firſt conſumed almoſt all Cattel, and from the Country came into the City, wherein it ſwept away an innumerable company of ſlaves, and a fourth part of the Senators, and amongſt theſe the Conſuls, with moſt of the Tribunes. *Livy* writeth, that the *Ædiles* ſupplied the place of Conſuls. The diſeaſe began about the *Calends* of *September*, and continued that whole year, ſparing no Sex nor Age.

A moſt grievous plague.

80. When this was known by the neighbour Nations, the *Volſci* and *Æqui*, ſuppoſing the time of deſtroying the *Roman* Empire to be come, provided all things for a Siege, and to divert the *Romans* invaded the *Latines* and *Hernici* their aſſociates. Theſe ſending to *Rome* for aid, *Eubutius* was already dead, and *Servilius* as yet alive, in ſmall hope aſſembled the Senators, who were brought half dead in their Litters to the Court. They gave them liberty to defend themſelves, which doing, when the Enemies had waſted their grounds at their pleaſures, they marched for *Rome*, but contrary to their expectations, found it ſufficiently guarded, though with ſick and feeble men. When the next Conſuls were created, *L. Lucretius* and *T. Veturius Geminus*, the Peſtilence ceaſed; and all things

War with the *Æqui* and *Volſci*.

being quiet at home (for the Tribunes making adoe according to the cuſtom about the *Agrarian*, were commanded by the people to deſiſt, and expect better times) they invaded thoſe who had taken advantage at the publick calamity. They had good ſucceſs abroad, and better near home, when the *Æqui* in their abſence came and thought to have ſurprized the City. For underſtanding the Walls to be furniſhed with armed men, and four Cohorts of ſix hundred apiece to ſtand before the Gates, they altered their courſe when they came to *Tuſculum*; but *Lucretius* met and gave them battel, which they were haſty to imbrace before the coming of his Colleague. For a time they fought couragiouſly; but ſeeing a band of men behind them, which came from a certain Caſtle, they thought it had been the other Conſul, and fearing to be incloſed ran away, having loſt both their Captains, and many other valiant men. Afterwards without any let, the Conſuls waſted the Territories both of the *Æqui* and *Volſci*, and returned home at the time of the *Comitia*: *Lucretius* in full Triumph, and *Veturius* in the other called *Ovation*, by decree of the Senate, *with the like Pomp in all things, except that he entred on foot, and not in a Chariot*; which words conclude the ninth Book of *Dionyſius* his *Roman* Antiquities.

Dionyſ. l. 10.

Freſh ſtirs about new Laws.

A. M. 3545.
Ol. 80. *an.* 1.
V. C. 294.
Artax. Longim. 5.

81. For the year following (which was the firſt of the eightieth *Olympiad*, wherein *Torymbas* the *Theſſalian* was Victor, and *Phraſicles* Archon) *P. Volumnius* and *Ser. Sulpitius Camerinus* were created Conſuls, who having nothing to do abroad, imployed themſelves at home in defending the power of the Patritians againſt the Commons, now much inſtigated againſt it by their Tribunes. They were come ſo far, as to aſſert, that it was moſt agreeable with the conſtitution of a free State, for the Citizens to have equal power in Government. The People now would have all things done by the preſcript of Laws, whereof as yet there were none written, the Kings having judged according to their own diſcretion, and the Conſuls by certain preſidents of thoſe Princes formerly in power. The leaſt part was recorded in the Books of the *Pontifices*, which none could come at except the *Patritians*. *C. Terentius* or *Terentillus Arſa* according to *Livy*, Tribune of the Commons the foregoing year, had endeavoured to circumſcribe within certain limits the power of the Conſulſhip; but left the matter unfiniſhed, becauſe the greater part of Citizens were imployed in the War; the Conſuls on ſet purpoſe drawing it out in length, till the *Comitia*. Now the whole College of Tribunes renewed the attempt by the procurement of *A. Virginius* one of the number; the whole City being divided about it. Much contention there was in the Senate, betwixt the Tribunes and the contrary Faction; but at length, not doing any good in that place, they called the people together, and propoſed a Law, that ten men might be choſen in Lawful Aſſembly, ſuch as were moſt eminent for Age, prudence, and dignity, and who eſpecially reſpected their repute, and honour; that theſe men ſhould publiſh Laws both concerning private and publick buſineſs, by which right ſhould be preſcribed, both to private Perſons and Annual Magiſtrates. The Queſtion they put off till the *Trinundinum*, giving any one leave to ſpeak freely, either for or againſt it.

Cæſo Quintius called to an account.

82. The Patritians extraordinarily moved, that the Senate's authority in this matter was utterly neglected, both by fair and foul means laboured to hinder the debate; caſting the meaneſt ſort like Slaves out of the *Forum*, who minded their private commodity more than the publick Peace. Amongſt thoſe ſticklers *Cæſo Quintius* the Son of *L. Quintius Cincinnatus*, was principal, one of great Nobility, beautiful in perſon, and very ſtout and expert in War. Him the Tribunes reſolved to make an example to all young men, and called him to anſwer for his life before the People. He refuſed to anſwer, except at the Tribunal of the Conſuls; but his Father earneſtly intreated for him, recounting the ſeveral eminent ſervices he had done for the State, and imputing this miſcarriage to his youth, and indiſcretion. The multitude plainly declared by ſigns, that they were ready to gratifie him, which when *Virginius* perceived, knowing, that if *Cæſo* eſcaped without puniſhment, the inſolence of the young Patritians would be intolerable, he procured *M. Volſcius*, one of his Colleagues, to tell a feigned ſtory, how in the time of the Plague he and his brother returning from a friends houſe in the night, were ſet upon by *Cæſo* and his drunken Companions in the *Forum*, who killed his brother outright, and left *Volſcius* himſelf half dead. He added, that both the Conſuls dying of the Plague, he could have no ſatisfaction, and in the ſucceeding Conſulſhip, whenſoever he cited *Cæſo* before the Magiſtrates (as ſeveral could bear witneſs) he received nothing but blows. This ſo inraged

Flieth and is condemned.

raged the multitude, that they had torn him in pieces, but that the Conſuls and ſome of the Tribunes kept them off. His Tryal then was deferred, not without a great controverſie, whether he ſhould lye in priſon, or be out upon Bail, the later whereof was at length accepted by the interpoſition of the Senate, and he fled into *Hetruria*, leaving his ten ſureties to pay the money, which was exacted of them by the Tribunes, who alſo condemned him. His Father ſold the greateſt part of his Eſtate to reinburſe the ſureties, and content with a ſmall quantity of ground beyond *Tiber*, and a little Cottage, ſuſtained himſelf very laboriouſly by the help of a few ſlaves; for grief and poverty abſtaining from the City and his friends, and neglecting to divert himſelf with publick ſolaces.

A plot of the Tribunes.

Diſcovered by the Conſul.

83. The Tribunes were much croſſed in their expectations. For the calamity of *Cæſo* was ſo far from moderating the inſolency of the young Patritians, that they grew much higher, oppoſing the Queſtion both by words and deeds; ſo as in this Conſulſhip the Law could not be preferred. For the following year *P. Valerius Poplicola*, and *C. Claudius Sabinus*, were created Conſuls; and the Commons made the ſame Tribunes as the year before, who perceiving the Law was not by perſwaſion to be enacted, ſought to terrifie both People and Conſuls. They cauſed various rumours to be ſpread, that Enemies had hatched a great conſpiracy againſt the Commons, then coming into the Senate, there affirmed it, pretending they had letters from ſome friends to aſſure them of it. They ſaid certain Senators were in the plot, but that the greateſt part conſiſted of the order of the *Equites*, which it was not ſeaſonable then to name; but they had deſigned in Conjunction with *Cæſo Quintius* the Exile, to murder the *Tribunes* with others by night, and then at their leaſure to reſcind whatever had been granted by the Senate to the Commons: In concluſion they deſired the inquiſition of ſo grievous a deſign might be committed unto themſelves. The Senate being very ſollicitous, *Claudius* the Conſul (who was fully perſwaded that what the *Tribunes* went about was the only conſpiracy) by ripping up their deſigns concerning the *Agrarian* Law, and the bad ſucceſs of their endeavours which put them upon this Exploit, fully convinced the Fathers how the matter ſtood, eſpecially when they would neither name their friends from whom the Letter came, nor the Meſſenger: and though the *Tribunes* highly complained of him, and the Senate, unto the People, yet the moſt ſober amongſt the Commons were ſatisfied with his reaſons. Whilſt the heat of this contention remained, the City fell into ſuch danger from outward Enemies as never before, which, ſaith *Dionyſius*, had been foretold by *Sibyll*'s Books that it would ariſe out of inteſtine diviſion, and was likewiſe ſignified by the prodigies of the foregoing year, when beſides ſtrange ſights and noiſes, it rained pieces of fleſh, of which ſome were devoured by all ſorts of birds before they fell to the ground, and the reſt continued long upon the Earth, without either change of colour or ſmell.

Ap. Herdonius ſeizeth on the Capitol.

Which is retaken.

84. *Ap. Herdonius* a *Sabine* with four thouſand men ſeized upon the *Capitol*, and called the Slaves to their liberty. At this time of extream danger, the *Tribunes* made what diſturbance they could, inſtigating the multitude not to fight againſt the Enemy, except the Patritians would ingage by Oath to create ten men for the making of Laws, and ſuffer the Commons to live with them upon equal terms of privilege. *Claudius* would have wholly omitted them, and carried on the War by the Patritians, and their Clients only; but *Valerius* thought it neceſſary to have a cloſure in the body before it ſhould go about to defend it ſelf from outward attempts, and therefore promiſed with an Oath, that if the people would chearfully carry on that War, as ſoon as peace was reſtored, he would permit the *Tribunes* to put the queſtion, and indeavour to ſatisfie the deſire of the Commons. *Claudius* then being appointed to look to the City, *Valerius* on all ſides ſet upon the Capitol, which was taken by ſtorm, though he loſt his life, having omitted neither the part of an able General nor valiant Soldier; For though he had received many wounds, yet he gave not over, till climbing the Walls a great ſtone was tumbled down upon him, which took away his life. The War being ended, the *Tribunes* required of *Claudius* to make good the promiſe of his Collegue; but he deferred the matter by ſeveral pretences, and at length alleged he could do nothing of himſelf. He appointed then the *Comitia* for Creation of a new Conſul into the room of *Valerius*. The Patritians were very ſollicitous to get ſome choſen that would defend their intereſt, and reſolved upon *L. Quintius* Father to *Cæſo*, lately baniſhed, who at the day appointed was choſen by all the Centuries of the firſt *Claſſis*, as well *Equites* as the other,

Sect. 1.

Quintius made Conſul.

other, ſo that the reſt of the *Claſſes* were not called. They that were ſent to fetch *Quintius* into the City, found him at Plow without as much as a Coat about him, only in his Truſs, and a Cap on his head. Seeing the company make towards him, he wondred what it meant, but being told by a Viator that run before, he put on other apparel, and in a ſeemlier habit preſented himſelf. Being ſaluted not by his own name, but by that of *Conſul*, inveſted with Purple, honoured by the Faſces, and other Enſigns of Magiſtracy, he was deſired to begin his journey, whereat pauſing a little he anſwered with tears: *Then for this year this little field ſhall be unſown, and we ſhall be in danger of want.* After this, taking leave of his Wife, and commending his houſhold affairs to her care, he departed for the City.

His carriage in his Office.

85. *Quintius* reſtrained the *Tribunes* from preferring the Law, by denouncing, that except they were quiet, he would lead out all the Citizens againſt the *Volſci*. When they ſaid they would not permit him to make Levies, he called the people, and put the younger ſort in mind of their *Sacramentum*, or Military Oath, whereby they had bound themſelves to the Conſuls to follow whitherſoever he would lead them, and not be wanting to the Majeſty of the *Roman* people. He affirmed they were all obnoxious to him by this Oath now he was Conſul, and ſware he would animadvert upon Offenders according to the Laws. Herewith he commanded the Standards to be moved out of the *Ærarium*, and told them that to make them know they ſhould have no leaſure for Tribunitial Actions in his Conſulſhip, he let them underſtand, he would not return out of the Enemie's Country till his office was at an end, and bade them prepare for wintring in the Camp. The multitude terrified hereat, deſired him to forbear this rigour, and he did it upon this condition, that they would not moleſt him for his whole time, but ſuffer him to ſpend it in adminiſtring Juſtice. He behaved himſelf with ſuch Prudence, Juſtice, painfulneſs, and courteſie, that the Commons thought they ſtood not in need now of any new Laws, and the Senate was deſirous to have him Conſul for the following year, to oppoſe him to the *Tribunes*, who executed that Office now the third time. But as he approved it not in them, ſo he himſelf would not commit the ſame fault as he counted it, and in the Aſſembly ſpeaking much againſt ſuch as would not quit their Office when their time was finiſhed, ſwore moſt religiouſly, that he would not accept the Conſulſhip till he had laid down his preſent charge. Having finiſhed a new Election, he betook himſelf to his little Cottage, and his former laborious courſe of life.

Dionyſius ut ſupra. Livius l. 3.

He is made Dictator.

He overthroweth the *Æqui*.

86. The year following the *Æqui* ſurprized *Tuſculum*, which action cauſed a War betwixt them and *Rome*, wherein they were worſted, together with their friends the *Volſci*, and forced to beg peace. But in the next Conſulſhip they were drawn again to revolt, and making War upon the *Latines*, by *Gracchus Clælius* their Captain, an induſtrious man, who had improved the power granted him by his Country almoſt to regallity. He drew the *Roman* Army into ſo diſadvantagious a place, that it was thought convenient to make a Dictator, which was *L. Quintius Cincinnatus*. The Meſſengers found him newly dreſſed; for when he eſpied the company, ſuſpecting they came to him, he left the Country-work he was in hand with, and put on his better Clothes. Seeing himſelf made Dictator, by the trapped Horſes, the twenty four Axes, the Purple, and other royal Enſigns, he was ſo far from being delighted with this honour, that he ſaid with indignation: *This year's Crop will alſo be loſt by reaſon of mine imployment, and my family muſt be famiſhed.* When he came to the City he incouraged the people, and named Maſter of Horſmen, *L. Tarquinius*, a man of no great eſteem by reaſon of his poverty, but a good Soldier: Having gathered together the Forces, he gave *Clælius* battel, and beat him into his Camp, which having beſieged ſome time, he forced the *Æqui* to give him up, with other incendiaries, to be puniſhed with death according to their deſerts, as alſo to paſs under the *Jugum* (two Spears ſet in the ground, and a third laid over upon them in form of a pair of Gallows) in token of ſervitude; and becauſe they had the year following without any provocation plundred *Tuſculum*, to ſuffer him to deal in the like manner with *Corbio*. The choiceſt part of the plunder he cauſed to be carried to *Rome*; the reſt he gave to his own Soldiers, and thoſe of *T. Quintius* the *Quæſtor*, ſaying, that the other of *Minutius* the Conſul, who had been beſieged by the Enemy, ought to be content that they fell not as a prey into his hands. Having cauſed *Minutius* to lay down his Office, he returned to the City with a more illuſtrious Triumph than any Captain before him, (the General of the

Æqui, and other Eminent Priſoners in Chains preceding his Chariot) having overthrown a ſtrong Army, and plundered, and fortified a City of the Enemy within ſeventeen days after his Creation. That abſolute power which he might have kept for ſix months he preſently reſigned, having firſt given an account of his adminiſtration. And when the Senate and his private friends would have enriched him with publick Ground, Plunder, and Contributions, he utterly refuſed it, and betaking himſelf again to his ſmall Cottage, preferred a laborious life before Kingly power, for that he pleaſed himſelf more in his poverty, than others in the abundance of their wealth.

87. The year following, the *Sabines*, whoſe grounds the other Conſul *Nautius* had waſted, as alſo the *Æqui*, were in Arms, having retaken *Corbio*, againſt whom when Levies came to be made, the *Tribunes* again withſtood them, being all new Created the fourth time. Hereupon the Fathers with weeping eyes ſignified to the People, that being forſaken by them, who hitherto had ſtiled themſelves their Children, they would go forth and fight againſt the Enemy in their own perſons, wherewith the multitude being ſore moved, and *Virginius* ſeeing that do he what he could they would give their names, he averred it to be the reſolution of the Commons to live and die with them; only they deſired ſome reward for all their pains and danger, which was, that they might live in equal freedom. If this could not be granted, they waved it, and deſired another thing, which he was ſure would not intrench upon the Senate's privileges. The Conſul affirming the thing ſhould be propoſed if they would but refer it to the Senate, he deſired that the number of the *Tribunes* might be increaſed unto ten. The Senate debating the matter, *C.Claudius*, the ſon of *Appius* the Elder, ſpake againſt it, alleging, that the Commons would never be ſatisfied; but *Quintius*, who now bore the greateſt ſway, commended the opinion of *Appius*, that the * only way to croſs the deſign of the *Tribunes* was to ſet them one againſt another; and if ſo, it would make more for the Intereſt of the Senate to have their number increaſed. Accordingly a *Senatus Conſultum* was drawn, that it ſhould be lawful for the Commons to increaſe their College of *Tribunes* to the number of ten, and it was preſently confirmed by the People. After this the Sedition being appeaſed, the Conſuls levied Forces, and managed the War ſucceſfully againſt the *Sabines* and *Æqui*.

* *Vide ſupra Parag.* 66.

The number of *Tribunes* increaſed to ten.

A.M. 3350.
Ol. 81. *ann.* 2.
V. C. 280.
Art. Longim. 10.

88. The enſuing year, being the ſecond of the eighty firſt *Olympiad*, and the two hundred and ninty ſeventh year of the City according to *Cato*, as the two hundred and ninty eighth after the account of *Varro*, had for Conſuls *M. Valerius* and *Sp. Virginius*, who having nothing to do abroad, had too much employment in the City. Before this time, the *Tribunes* only reigned in the Aſſemblies, neither taking upon them to call together the Senate, nor give their voices therein. But now they ventured to aſſemble the Fathers, by the procurement of *Icilius* principal of the College, an induſtrious, and eloquent man, who preſumed to make a further innovation in the State, requiring the *Aventine* Mount for the People to build upon, which being a mile and an half in circuit, was not as yet fully inhabited, but publick, and full of wood. The *Tribune* moving the Conſuls to procure a Decree of the Senate for his new project, and they deferring the matter, an Apparitor was ſent from the College to cite the Conſuls before it. He applying himſelf to one of their Lictors, was beaten, and ſent back, which ſo inraged the *Tribunes*, that apprehending the Lictor, they led him to the *Tarpeian* Rock, the Conſuls, though much troubled, not being able to reſcue him; for that none could hinder the execution of what the whole College reſolved; all they could do was to deſire ſome of the *Tribunes* themſelves to interpoſe. But this could not be effected, they having reſolved at the beginning not to diſſent from one another, that thereby they might preſerve their Authority inviolable. As concerning the Lictor, then they anſwered they were reſolved, yet they put not the man to death, giving his life to the intreaties of the graver ſort of Patritians, leſt that order ſhould be driven by juſt indignation to attempt ſome thing extraordinary. Having then aſſembled the Senate, the Conſuls ſharply reprehended them, but *Icilius* excuſed what had been done to the Lictor, by the ſacred Laws, which forbade all, both publick and private, to croſs a *Tribune*. By a premeditated Oration he endeavoured to ſhew, that he had not unjuſtly aſſembled the Senate, and when he had ſeemed ſufficiently to have anſwered the charge of the Conſuls, he mentioned the Law: That *what private men were poſſeſſed of, and was juſtly gotten, ſhould remain unto them; what ground by force, or fraud, was already furniſhed with buildings, the expence of building being conſidered by*

Their incroachments.

A Law for diviſion of certain grounds.

arbitration, ſhould be recovered to the uſe of the People, and what was yet publick be divided amongſt them. He ſhewed that this Law would be exceedingly profitable for the ſuppreſſion of all Agrarian Seditions, foraſmuch as the Commons would be ſatisfied with poſſeſſions at home. No man diſſenting, except *C. Claudius*, a Decree of the Senate paſſed for it accordingly.

Diſſentions renewed.

89. The remainder of the year was ſpent in building. For the next were created Conſuls *T. Romulius* and *C. Veturius*; *Icilius* and his Colleague being continued in their Office: The civil diſſentions ſuppoſed to be removed by the late Law, were again revived, and the forein Enemies of the Commonwealth were in Arms, to the greater profit than diſcommodity of it. For ſuch a viciſſitude now there was, that Peace brought Sedition, and War procured Concord, which the chief Magiſtrates apprehending, wiſhed for nothing more than external motions, and when there was Peace abroad, ſought occaſion for War; as underſtanding the growth of the Citie's proſperity to be procured thereby. The preſent Conſuls were of this mind, being jealous of the beggerly and idle multitude. And their opinion was right, that they were to be diverted; but there they failed, that whereas in ſo ill a *Craſis* of the State, they ought to have proceeded gently, they admitted the excuſe of none who deſired exemption from the War, but ſeverely inflicted penalties upon all; which gave occaſion to the Tribunes to make diſturbance, crying out, that they violated the privilege of their Office, by impriſoning ſuch as appealed to it. From mutual revilings ſometimes it came to blows, both parties being berounded with thoſe of their faction,and the people not fully complying with the Tribunes in their demands,they went into the Senate, where they required, that the Conſuls might either lay down their Offices, or anſwer to their Crime againſt the Sacroſanct Tribunitial power before the People. The Senate determined nothing, ſeeing it dangerous to diminiſh the power either of the Conſuls or Tribunes, at which the later much diſcontented, returned to the multitude. Some were for departing again from the Patritians; others more moderate, would expect the courſe of Law againſt thoſe who had violated ſo ſacred an Office; and a third (the moſt ſober party) diſliked this as well as the other, for that the Conſuls were the Supreme Magiſtrates; and thought it meeter to puniſh their Abettors. If the Tribunes had not at length reſtrained their anger againſt Senate and Conſuls, the City that day had deſtroyed it ſelf, ſo intent were both parties upon Arms and War. But they ſet the Conſuls a day to anſwer before the People, and then were prevailed with to let the matter fall, telling the Commons that they remitted what concerned themſelves for their ſakes whom they ought not to deny it, but would revenge the injury done to the whole, to prevent an ill example.

The *Agrarian* Law after 30 years with another of epual right publiſhed.

90. This was by promulgating the *Agrarian* Law, which hitherto had layn dormant for thirty years, to which another was added of *equal right*, which the former year could not be paſſed. Having with an oath promiſed to prefer theſe Laws, they appointed a day for the *Comitia*, wherein having firſt themſelves ſpoken largely, ſeveral others related what good ſervice they had done for the Commonwealth, and laboured to ſhew how unworthy a thing it was for them to be defrauded of thoſe grounds, which by their labour and danger they had gained, and admitted to no part of reward. The multitude gladly hearing ſuch diſcourſes, none more affected mens minds than *L. Siccius Dentatus*, a man of admirable ſhape, fifty eight years old, and furniſhed with military eloquence, for a ſeditious attempt. He told them, he had ſerved his Country in the Wars fourty years, and been an Officer thirty; ſometimes a Centurion, afterwards a Tribune. He was raiſed to that honour by *Sicinius* the Conſul, for defending the Enſign of his Cohort, when the Centurion was ſlain, for which he was alſo adorned by his fellow Soldiers with a golden Crown. In another battel, wherein the Tribune of the Camp was ſtruck to the ground, and the Eagle (or Standard) taken, fighting for the whole Legion, he recovered it and ſaved him, for which the Tribune would have given him his place, but he refuſed it,and the Conſul made him Tribune of the firſt Legion, which Office was then void. Having thus purchaſed himſelf honour; to maintain his credit he ſpared no labour, nor refuſed any danger, being ever rewarded by the Conſuls with ſpoils,crowns, and other rewards and honours.

The atchievements of *Siccius Dentatus.*

91, In ſhort; during thoſe fourty years, he had fought one hundred and twenty battels,received fourty five wounds,all before and none behind,whereof twelve that day wherein he fought againſt *Herdonius*,who ſeized upon the Capitol. As for rewards

wards after the ſeveral battels, he had obtained fourteen *Civick Crowns* (which ſaith *Gellius*, were beſtowed upon him who had preſerved the life of a Citizen, and were made of Oake, becauſe the moſt ancient meat was thought to be the fruit of that tree;) three *Murals* (which were given by the General unto him who firſt mounted the walls, and entred a Town, being adorned with an image of the battlements) and eight *Golden Crowns*; beſides eighty three *Golden Chains*, ſixty *Golden Bracelets*, eighteen *pure Spears*, (which were Spears having no iron at the ends of them, being alſo called *Haſtæ donaticæ*, and *Haſtæ gramineæ*,) and twenty three *Horſe trappings*, whereof nine were for killing Enemies that he had challenged to ſingle Combats. To this relation of *Dionyſius*, *Gellius* addeth a Crown, called *Obſidionalis* (which was given to one who had freed the preſenter from a Siege) and increaſeth the number of *Bracelets* to above one hundred and ſixty, that of *Spears* to twenty two, and the other of *Horſe trappings* to twenty five. He calleth him *L. Sicinius Dentatus*, and writeth, that for his incredible atchievements, he had the appellation of *Achilles Romanus*. Lib. 5. c. 6. Lib. 2. c. 11.

92. *Siccius* proceeded, ſaying, that though he had fought ſo many years, ſerved in ſo many Expeditions, received ſo many wounds, and helped to gain ſuch large Territories for the *Roman* People, yet neither he, nor his fellow-ſoldiers partakers with him in the ſame dangers, had received any portion of thoſe Lands, being poſſeſſed by others, who could neither ſhew title nor merit for them. After this, he accuſed the Patritians of having put *Caſſius* to death, for no other cauſe than favouring the Commons, as alſo of privily murdering *Genutius* the Tribune, eleven years after, which had terrified others ſince from ſuch attempts as his were. He mentioned the affronts lately made to the Tribunes, and concluded with an exhortation to the multitude, to free themſelves from this Tryanny of the great ones, by paſſing the Law without giving heed to the diſſawſions of any. The Aſſembly was ſo moved by his words, that they ſeemed impatient of any thing to be ſaid againſt it; but *Icilius* riſing up, after he had extolled the worth of the man, ſaid, it was neither juſt, nor agreeable with the cuſtom of the City, to hinder any one from ſpeaking againſt the Law, eſpecially ſuch an one as aſſerted right, and oppoſed violence. He adjourned then the Comitia till the next day, when he commanded all to be preſent, who would ſpeak any thing againſt it. The Patritians meeting at the Conſul's houſe in the evening, reſolved, if they could not with words, by deeds to hinder the paſſing of the Law, and betimes in the morning took up the Forum, ſpreading themſelves all over to hinder the uniting of the Commons. Tumults about the Law. The Comitia being full, thoſe that ſpake could not be heard, ſome incouraging, and others interrupting them with great clamours. The Conſuls proteſted againſt this carriage, and that if any violence ſucceeded, the Commons were the procurers of it; and the Tribunes anſwered, that they had heard long ſuch diſcourſes as they were now making. The day being far ſpent, the People required the ballots; but then the young Patritians hindred them from uniting in their Tribes, and ſnatched away the pots and ballots, beating out of the Forum the Officers attending for the gathering of Suffrages. The Tribunes crying out, and caſting themſelves into the throng, they gave way to them, where ever they went, but hindred ſuch as would have followed, and rendred their Office thereby unſerviceable. At length the Patritians prevailed againſt the paſſing of the Law, by the means of three Families eſpecially, *viz.* the *Poſthumii*, *Sempronii*, and *Clœlii*, moſt eminent for Nobility, Riches, and Clients, who, alſo, eſpecially hindred the confirmation of the *Agrarian* by a *Plebiſcitum*.

93. The Tribunes conſulting how to vindicate their cauſe, the moſt moderate opinion prevailed, that neither the Conſuls, nor any other Patritians, ſave thoſe of the three Families now mentioned, ſhould be called to anſwer before the People; and not for their lives, but eſtates, for reſiſting the Tribunes in preferring the Law. The Patritians gave way to it, and having redeemed the eſtates, reſtored them to the owners. Afterwards, when the Tribunes again went about to prefer the Law, news came that the Enemy was on his march to *Rome*, as far as *Tuſculum*, which place only ſtopped him, but could not long hold out. Diverted by War. Levies now being to be made, according to a Decree of the Senate, the Tribunes endeavoured to hinder them, but another Decree being publiſhed, that the Patritians with their Clients, and ſuch as voluntarily came in, would undertake the War; ſome for ſhame, ſome for plunder, and others to gratifie the Nobility, gave their names; and amongſt the reſt *Siccius* himſelf, whom followed a Cohort of eight hundred old Souldiers to do him honour, though excuſed

A plot againſt *Siccius*.

He eſcapeth as Conquerour.

from warfare by the Laws. A ſtrong Army being preſently raiſed, the Enemies retired, and were followed by the Conſuls to *Antium*, where the Armies lying incamped one againſt the other, the *Æqui*, confident of their ſtrength, at length provoked the *Romans* to fight. *Romulius* having then the command, ſent for *Siccius*, as the ſtory goes, and gave him order with his Cohort to go a certain way, and fall behind upon the Enemies Camp; intending either to diſgrace him upon refuſal, or deſtroy him by ſo impoſſible an undertaking. When *Siccius* laboured to ſhew him that the thing could not be done, he upbraided him with his ſpeeches uſed in the Comitia concerning his own exploits, and objected to him pretended valour. Herat he undertook the matter, and giving all to underſtand his caſe, departed with his men all weeping, to the regret of the Army, who expected of theſe eight hundred to ſee no man return alive. *Siccius* led them not the ſame way as the Conſul thought, which being mountainous, would have brought certain deſtruction to them aſcending, but another through a Wood, by which they came upon the Camp of the *Æqui*, where it was forſaken of the guard, now gone to behold the fight of the two Armies, before this time joyned. Falling in with a ſhout, the *Æqui* ſuppoſing the other Conſul preſent, forſook the Camp and fled, after which *Siccius* and his Cohort marched down towards the battel, whom the Enemy diſcovering on their back, and knowing their Camp to be taken, were alſo diſcouraged and fled: The *Romans* purſued them till night, and did great execution, but none ſo valiantly demeaned himſelf as *Siccius Dentatus*.

He revengeth himſelf upon the Conſuls.

A new Law.

Romulius perſwadeth the Senate to ſubmit to new Laws.

Commiſſioners choſen to fetch ſome out of *Greece*.

94. *Siccius* having lodged himſelf and his men in the Enemies Camp, the next day ſet it and all the ſtuff therein on fire, and with haſte marched for *Rome*, on purpoſe to deprive the Conſuls of the honour they expected. Coming into the Forum, he related to the Tribunes and People the whole paſſage, how he and his old men being deſtined to ruin, had obtained the Victory. Hereby he not onely ingratiated himſelf with the People, but procured the diſpleaſure of the Senate alſo againſt the Conſuls, who were denied the honour of a Triumph. The Commons gratified *Siccius* in the higheſt meaſure they could, making him one of their Tribunes for the following year, wherein *Sp. Tarpeius*, and *A. Ternius* (or *Thermus* rather as *Gellius* hath it) were Conſuls. The firſt he did relating to his Office, was to ſet the former Conſuls a day to anſwer before the People, for violating the power of the Tribuneſhip, and deviſing the deſtruction of him and his Souldiers: and ſo reſolved was the whole College, that the judgment paſſed without interruption intended by the Patritians, and they were both condemned in a pecuniary mulct. The preſent Conſuls were hereby rendred more inclinable towards the Commons; ſo that they procured a Decree of the Senate, and a Law paſſed in the *Centuriata Comitia*, that *All Magiſtrates ſhould have liberty to puniſh ſuch as violated their authority*, which was formerly the privilege of the Conſuls onely. But the mulct was not left to their diſcretion, proviſion being made, that it ſhould not exceed the worth of two Oxen, or thirty Sheep; which Law was long obſerved by the *Romans*. After this, the *Tribunes* propounded to the Senate, that Laws might be made, which the Citie ſhoud uſe for ever. After a grave debate, the advice of *Romulius* the late condemned Conſul prevailed, who contrary to the expectation of both parties ſpoke in behalf of the thing propounded. He ſaid, he was for the intereſt of the Patritians as long as there was any hopes of its continuance, but finding things in ſuch a condition, as it muſt neceſſarily decline, he thought it wiſdom to comply with that neceſſity, and adviſed that Ambaſſadors might be ſent to the *Greek* Cities in *Italy*, and to *Athens*, thence to fetch ſuch Laws as were moſt excellent, and befitting the Commonwealth. After their return was to be propounded to the People the choice of Law-makers, what their power ſhould be, for how long, and what other things ſhould appertain to them. *Siccius* extraordinarily affected with the mans ingenuity, ſaid he was now friends with him, and remitted his fine; but he refuſed to forbear the payment of it, becauſe already ſacred to their gods. A *Senatus Conſultum* being made, and confirmed by a *Plebiſcitum*, Ambaſſadors were choſen to fetch Laws from the *Greeks*. Theſe were *Sp. Poſthumius*, *Ser. Sulpicius*, and *A. Manlius*, to whoſe uſe Gallies were aſſigned, and furniſhed at the publick charge, as was ſuitable with the Majeſty of the *Roman* People.

95. For the following year, being the firſt of the eighty ſecond. *Olympiad*, wherein *Lycus* a *Theſſalian* of *Lariſſa* was Victor in the courſe *Charephanes* exerciſing

ſing the Office of principal *Archon*, the three hundredth year of the City being now ended (as *Dionyſius* computeth, following the account of *Cato*) *P. Horatius* and *Sext. Quintilius* were Conſuls. Now fell a greater plague than ever had been known, upon both City and Country, which ſwept away *Quintilius* the Conſul, and *Sp. Furius* choſen in his place, with four *Tribunes*, and many Senators. The ſucceeding Conſuls were *L. Menenius* and *P. Sextius*, who took care for Corn to ſupply the City, which laboured under a famine, by reaſon that the grounds lay untilled the former year. In their year the Ambaſſadors returned out of *Greece* with Laws, preſently after which the *Tribunes* required, that according to the Senates Decree, law-makers might be appointed. The Conſuls knowing not how to deny them, yet unwilling to weaken the intereſt of the Patritians, deferred the matter, ſaying, that the time of the *Comitia* was at hand, after which they would labour, joyntly with the Conſuls Elect, in the buſineſs. The *Tribunes* were content; but when the *Comitia* were paſt, wherein *Appius Claudius*, and *T. Genutius* were choſen, they grew idle, and neglected the adminiſtration of affairs, as now belonging unto others; and *Menenius* was ſickly, pining away, as was thought, by melancholy; of which *Sextius* took advantage, pretending he could do nothing by himſelf. The *Tribunes* then betook themſelves to the Conſuls Elect, and though they had not yet entred upon their Magiſtracy, importuned them to gratifie the Commons, by propoſing great honours and rewards. *Appius* being elevated with the hope of a new kind of Magiſtracy, grew popular, and perſwaded his Collegue to a compliance, ſo that *Sextius* was forced to call together the Senate, and propound concerning Laws.

96. Many things were ſpoken, as well by thoſe that deſired a new model, as others, who thought it ſufficient to reſt ſatisfied in the cuſtoms of their Country. But the opinion of the deſigned Conſuls prevailed, which *Appius* the principal of the two delivered, being asked his advice, according to the cuſtom, before any other Senators. Their ſenſe was, that ten men out of the chief of the Senate were to be Elected, whoſe power continuing for a year ſhould be the ſame with that of the Kings and Conſuls, and all other Magiſtracies ceaſe till they might be renewed according to Laws: in the mean time the ten men, or *Decemviri*, were to adminiſter Juſtice to private men, and model the Commonwealth. When the day came wherein this *Senatus Conſultum* was to be confirmed by the People, the deſigned Conſuls reſigned their Office, for which they were exceedingly admired, and remembred in the choice. In the *Centuriate Comitia* were created *App. Claudius* and *T. Genutius*, late Conſuls Elect, *P. Sextius* Conſul for that preſent year, the three Ambaſſadors who fetched Laws out of *Greece*, *P. Poſthumius. Ser. Sulpitius*, *A. Manlius*, and one of the former year's Conſuls *T. Romulius*, who had been condemned by *Siccius* the Tribune, and afterwards was the author of this popular act: beſides theſe, out of the Senate *C. Julius*, *T. Veturius*, and *P. Horatius*, all of Conſular dignity. The *Tribunes*, *Ædiles*, *Quæſtors*, and all other Magiſtrates were for a time deveſted of all power. Inſtead of *Horatius*, *Livy* mentioneth *P. Curiatius*.

The *Decemviri* choſen.

SECT.

Sect. II.

From the Creation of the Decemviri *to the War of* Privernæ, *which fell out the ſame year that* Darius Codomannus *died.*

Containing the ſpace of one hundred and twenty one Years.

The ſecond change of Government when.

A. M. 3554.
Ol. 82. *ann.* 2:
V. C. 302.
Artax. Longim. 14.

1. THe ſecond change in the Government (from *Conſuls* to *Ten Men*, or *Decemviri*, as the firſt was from *Kings* to *Conſuls*) hapned in the three hundred and ſecond year of the City, according to the account of *Cato*, and the three hundred and third after the computation of *Tarrutius* and *Varro*, which fell in with the ſecond and third years of the eighty ſecond *Olympiad*, the fourteenth of the Reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, four hundred and fourty nine before the *Æra* of Chriſt, A. M. 3554. and, as may be gathered both out of *Dionyſius* and *Livy*, on the *Ides* of *May*.

The acts of the *Decemviri* for the firſt year.

2. The *Decemviri* having taken upon them the Government, in reference to a new conſtitution, agreed that only one of them at one time ſhould have the *Faſces* and other conſular Enſigns. He aſſembled the Senate, confirmed the Decrees, and did other things agreeable with chief Magiſtracy. The reſt (to leſſen envy) differed little in habit from private men, having only an *Accenſus*, or ſort of Beadle, going before them, which *Livy* addeth to the relation of *Dionyſius*. They ſucceeded by turns, for a certain limited time, till the year went about. The preſent Poſſeſſor of the *Faſces* only ſaith *Livy*, but all of them as *Dionyſius* ſeemeth to mean, judged private cauſes together with publick ones belonging to their Subjects, and aſſociates. All things they managed with ſuch Juſtice and moderation, that the Commonwealth ſeemed moſt happy under them having no need of appeal. *Appius* above the reſt grew exceeding popular by his familiarity with the ordinary ſort; ſo as in a manner he carried away the praiſe from the whole College, for he had a further deſign than any of the reſt.

3. At length having made a model out of ſuch Laws as were brought out of *Greece*, and their own Country's Cuſtoms, they propoſed it to the view of all men in ten Tables, that any one might make exceptions; liberty being given to private perſons to inform the Law-makers, who conſulted much with the Nobility about the work. When all approved of them; a *Senatus Conſultum* paſſed, *nemine contradicente*, for the ratifying of theſe Laws, and the queſtion being put to the People in the *Centuriata Comitia*, they were confirmed moſt religiouſly in preſence of the Pontifices, Augurs, and Prieſts. Then were they ingraven in braſs, ſaith *Dionyſius* and others, in Ivory ſaith *Pomponius* the Lawyer, and propoſed to the publick view in the moſt conſpicuous part of the *Forum*, as *Minos* of old, according to *Plato*, and long after him *Solon* cauſed his Laws to be written in Tables by the *Athenians* called * *Cyrbes* and *Axones*. The year being almoſt out, the *Decemviri* moved the Senate about the *Comitia*. After a great debate it was reſolved to continue this kind of Magiſtracy for the following year; becauſe ſomething ſeemed yet wanting to the new model, through the ſhortneſs of time allotted to the work; but eſpecially for that by this Office the Tribuneſhip was ſuſpended, of which the Patritians had cauſe to be moſt jealous. The Commons thought they had good reaſon to concur with the Fathers in this choice, and the day for holding the *Comitia* was appointed.

* κύρβεις & Ἄξονες.

4 The moſt antient and honourable of the Fathers ſtood for this Office, fearing that if turbulent ſpirits were poſſeſſed of it, they might have a great advantage againſt the State. Above all others was *Appius*

extolled

Appius obtaineth to be *Decemvir* the ſecond time by cheating the credulous multitude.

extolled to the Skies, the Commons labouring earneſtly to retain him in his place, for that none had behaved himſelf better than he. He deſired to be excuſed, pretending he had rather be diſcharged of ſo troubleſom and ingrateful a work. At length overcome as it were by the intreaties of the people, he profeſſed himſelf amongſt the Candidates, and by accuſing all others, as owing him ill will for his publick ſpirit, made way for himſelf and his friends. In the *Centuriata Comitia* he was made *Decemvir* the ſecond time, and with him was joyned *Q. Fabius Vibulanus*, who had been Conſul three times, a man hitherto of unblameable carriage: out of the other Patritians by the procurement of *Appius* were created *M. Cornelius*, *M. Servilus*, *L. Minucius*, *T. Antonius*, and *Manius Rabuleius*, perſons of no great Eminency; and out of the Commons *Q. Petilius*, *Cæſo Duellius*, and *Sp. Oppius*, whom he took in, the more to ingratiate himſelf with the rabble, ſaying, it was juſt that the Commons ſhould ſhare in that Magiſtracy, which was to govern and command all.

He and his Collegues labour to eſtabliſh themſelves.

5. *Appius*, a man more popular than any Magiſtrate that ever governed, either King or Conſul, with his nine Collegues, entred his Office on the *Ides* of *May*, which ſaith *Dionyſius* hapned in the full Moon, according to the courſe whereof months at that time were obſerved. The firſt thing the *Decemviri* did, was mutually *to agree and confirm by Oath to be of one mind, not to hold the Aſſemblies, but perpetually to retain the power in their own hands: to admit none into their number, and to be of equal power and authority amongſt themſelves: to make uſe of* Senatus Conſultum'*s, and* Plebiſcitum'*s, but rarely, and never except in caſe of neceſſity, acting moſt things by virtue of their own power.* On the firſt day (which to the *Romans* was ever Feſtival and Religious) after their ſuperſtitious Ceremonies were over, they all appeared with regal Enſigns, which exceedingly terrified the People, eſpecially the Axes added again to the Rods, which *Poplicola* had laid aſide, and none of his Succeſſors the Conſuls uſed in the City. By this fear they ſought to procure themſelves ſecurity, each of them getting about him a company of ſtout young men, ſuch as were moſt addicted to him.

6. Some preferring their private commodity before the publick good flattered them, and even amongſt the Patritians themſelves thoſe were not wanting, who though Eminent both for Birth and Eſtate patiently bore the oppreſſion of their Country. The *Decemviri* indulging their pleaſures, exerciſed now their authority with all licentiouſneſs, nothing valuing the *Roman* Senate and people. Being both Legiſlators and Judges, many Citizens they unjuſtly put to death, and deprived others of their Eſtates, whoſe cauſes were all formally judged, that they might have ſome ſhew, and pretence of Juſtice, accuſers being ſuborned out of their Dependents, each one affording all aſſiſtance herein to his Collegue. Such private perſons as in their ſutes feared their cauſe were conſtrained to joyn themſelves to the party of their Judges; ſo as it came to paſs in a ſhort time that moſt of the Citizens were alſo corrupted. Such as were offended with the extravigancy of the ten retired themſelves, expecting the *Comitia* for the Creation of new Magiſtrates.

They add two Tables of Laws to the ten.

7. The *Decemviri* added two Tables of Laws to the ten that were made the year before. Amongſt theſe new Laws there was one which forbad marriage betwixt the *Patritians* and *Plebeians*, for no other cauſe as *Dionyſius* conjectureth, than leſt the families being joyned together, concord ſhould enſue betwixt the two orders. Theſe Laws thus by accident, ſaith (*a*) *Pomponius*, came to be called the *Laws of the twelve Tables*, being written by the *Decemviri*, through the perſwaſion of one *Hermodorus* an *Epheſian*, as ſome reported, then baniſhed into *Italy*, concerning which perſon (*b*) *Cicero* and others are to be conſulted. Theſe Laws being eſtabliſhed, it followed, that diſputations and controverſies of the Court ſhould be neceſſary, for as much as an interpretation was to be built upon the authority of the Learned. This diſputation, or this unwritten Law, framed by the Learned, was not called by any peculiar name, as all other parts, but by the common one of *Jus Civile*, or *Civil Law* only. Beſides, out of theſe Laws, at the ſame time almoſt, were compoſed certain caſes, wherein men conteſted one with another, which caſes, leſt the People ſhould make them at their pleaſure, were to be certain and ſolemn; and this part of Law was called *Actiones Juris*; or *Caſes at Law*. Thus almoſt at the ſame time theſe three ſorts of Laws aroſe, *viz.* the *Laws of the twelve Tables*; from theſe flowed the *Civil Law*: and from the ſame were

The Original of the Civil Law.

(*a*) *Lib.* 2. *Dig. de Origine Juris.*

(*b*) *Tuſculan. lib.* 5. *Plin. lib.* 84. & *Strabo lib.* 14.

were compoſed *Caſes at Law*. But the knowledg of expounding all theſe, and the Caſes themſelves, were kept by the College of *Pontifices*, who appointed yearly thoſe that judged *Private Perſons*, which cuſtom the People uſed almoſt one hundred years. Afterward, when *Appius Claudius* had propounded, and reduced theſe *Caſes* into form, (*c*) *Gnæus Flavius* his Scribe, and the ſon of a *Libertine* (or of one whoſe father was once a Slave) ſtole the Book, and gave it to the People, which accepted ſo thankfully of the gift, that he was made *Tribune* of the Commons, a *Senator*, and *Ædilis curulis*. This Book was called *Jus Civile Flavianum*, as the other *Jus Civile Papirianum*. Yet *Flavius* added nothing of his own to the Book. The City increaſing, and there being as yet wanting certain ſorts of *Caſes*, not long after *Sextus Ælius* compoſed other Caſes, and gave a Book to the People called *Jus Ælianum*.

How the parts of it came in by degrees.

8. There being now in the City, the *Lex or Law of the twelve Tables*, the *Jus Civile*, or *Civil Law*, and the *Caſes of Law*, it came to paſs, that the *Commons* diſagreeing with and ſeperating from the *Patritians*, appointed Laws of their own making, called *Plebiſcita*. After their return there being a great controverſie about theſe, it was thought good to receive them alſo for Laws, and ſo it was enacted by a Law preferred by * *Hortenſius* the *Dictator*; ſo though there was a difference in the form of making a Law (called *Lex*) and a *Plebiſcitum*, yet the authority was the ſame. Then for that it was difficult for the People to meet, becauſe of its multitudes, neceſſity it ſelf devolved the care of the Commonwealth upon the *Senate*. So the *Senate* began to interpoſe, and whatſoever it reſolved was obſerved: and that Law was called *Senatus Conſultum*. At the ſame time the Magiſtrates alſo adminiſtred Juſtice, and that the People might know what they would determine concerning any thing, and to fore-arm themſelves, they publiſhed *Edicts*, which *Edicts* of the *Prætors* conſtituted the *Jus Honorarium*, ſo named from the *honour* and authority of the *Prætor*. Laſtly, as the courſe of affairs reduced the making of Laws to fewer faſhions, at length it came to paſs through ſeveral Factions, (*viz.* of *Sylla*, *Marius*, *Pompey*, and *Cæſar*) that there was neceſſity of the Commonwealth's being governed by a ſingle perſon. For the *Senate* not being able to govern all the Provinces, a *Prince* was ordained, and what he appointed was taken for Law. So that in the Commonwealth of *Rome*, all *Law* was either ſo conſtituted by a Law called *Lex*, as that of the twelve Tables; or properly called *Jus Civile*, which being unwritten, conſiſted in the interpretation of the Learned; or *Caſes of Law*, which contained the form of Pleas; or a *Plebiſcitum* made witout the authority of the Fathers: or the *Edict* of a Magiſtrate, called *Jus Honorarium*: or a *Senatus Conſultum*, which without a Law (*Lex*) was ordained by the ſole authority of the Senate: or *Principalis conſtitutio*, which the Prince himſelf enacted.

9. Theſe things are written by *Pomponius* in this narrative of the Original of Law; for the better underſtanding whereof, it is to be noted, that the word *Jus* ſignifieth all Law or Right in general, and is that *Genus* whereof *Lex* is but a ſpecies, being defined by (*a*) *Juſtinian* the *Emperour* to be that *which the People of Rome upon the quæſtion put by a Senatorian Magiſtrate* (for example a Conſul) *did enact*. As for the twelve *Tables*, they were furniſhed with Laws, partly borrowed from the *Græcians*, partly added at the diſcretion of the Lawmakers, and partly the ſame as formerly were in uſe. Of the firſt ſort were ſuch eſpecially as concerned private intereſts. Of the ſecond was that which forbad mariage betwixt the Nobility and Commons. And of the third, that Law which from *Dionyſius* we formerly mentioned to have been made by *Romulus*, giving power to a man to call together his Wives Kindred, and judge her for drinking Wine, or diſhoneſty: this is atteſted to have been taken into the twelve Tables by (*b*) *Pliny*; and (*c*) *Gellius* alſo hinteth as much. From (*d*) *Auſonius* is obſerved, that theſe twelve Tables were divided into three parts, whereof the firſt contained what belonged to the Religion of the *Romans*, the ſecond what concerned the publick, and the third the rights of private men. Great are the commendations which many give of them, but the moſt Eminent is *Cicero*'s *Encomium*, that we name no more. Diſputing under the name of *Craſſus*, in (*e*) one place he thus ſpeaketh: *If diverſity of Studies pleaſe any, in the twelve Tables there is a great Image of antiquity: becauſe the antient uſe of words is known, and certain kind of actions declare the Life and Cuſtom of our Anceſtors. If any look at Polity, you ſhall find it all in the twelve tables, which deſcribe all the intereſts and parts of the State:*

or

(*c*) *Conſule Valer. Max. l.2.c.5.exemp.2 A. Gellium Noct. Attic. l. 6. c. 9. & Cicero pro Murena.*

* *Vide Livium, lib.* 3. *A. Gellium l.* 15. *c.* 26.

(*a*) *Seu Tribonianus inſtitut. l.* 1. *Tit.* 2.

(*b*) *Lib.* 14. *cap.* 13.

(*c*) *Lib.* 10. *cap.* 23.

(*d*) *Jus triplex tabulæ quod ter Sanxere quaternæ Sacrum, Privatum, Populi commune quod uſquam eſt.*

(*e*) *Lib.* 1. *de Oratore.*

Cicero his comendation of the 12 tables.

or if any one be taken with this glorious Philoſophy, I will ſpeak more boldly, theſe are the fountains of all his diſputes contained in the Civil Law (Jure Civili) *and Laws* (Legibus.) *Though all be diſpleaſed, I will ſpeak what I think: that little Book of the twelve Tables alone, in my opinion excelleth the Libraries of all the Philoſophers (if one view the Fountains and heads of Laws) both in weight of authority and copiouſneſs of advantage.* In another (*f*) place he writeth, that *when he was a boy, they were wont to learn the twelve Tables as ſome neceſſary Poem.* Laſtly, a Collection of the fragments of theſe Tables out of approved Authors (ſuch eſpecially as conduce to the explication of the Inſtitutions, and of Antient Law with deep Antiquities) hath been made by *I. Criſpinus*, to which the Reader is referred.

(*f*) *De Legibus lib.* 2.

The *Decemviri* retain their power.

10. But (to return) the *Decemviri* at the uſual time of the *Comitia* bidding farewel to the Cuſtoms of their Country, and the new Laws, neither regarding the approbation of Senate nor People, continued themſelves in power for the year following, which was the third of the *Decemvirate*, the firſt of the eighty third *Olympiad*, according to *Dionyſius*, wherein *Criſo* of *Himera* was Victor, *Philiſcus* being Archon at *Athens*. They ſo ordered the matter ſhortly, as even all the conſiderable part of the Citizens, (*Patritians* and *others*) they either killed, or forced to quit the City. This pleaſed them well enough, but the *Sabines* and *Æqui* thinking it a fit time to attempt ſome great matter againſt *Rome*, invaded the Territories thereof, and of the *Latines*. The *Decemviri* much troubled hereat, after a conſultation how to make reſiſtance ſeveral ways, found themſelves conſtrained to aſſemble the Senate, wherein *Appius* with a premeditated Oration propounded the matter of the War. *L. Valerius Potitus*, the Son of him that beſieged the Capitol, and Grandſon of *Poplicola*, firſt aroſe, and though he was commanded by *Appius* to forbear, flew high againſt the tyranny of the preſent Uſurpers. He being forced to ſilence, was ſeconded by *Marcus Horatius Barbatus*, great Grandſon of the Collegue of *Poplicola*, who having expreſſed great indignation, the *Decemviri* incenſed with his biting words, threatned to caſt him down headlong from the Rock. All the Senators at this cried out as at a breach of their privilege, and made a tumult, whereat the Ten repented of what they had ſaid, and excuſed themſelves, ſaying, they deprived none of the liberty of ſpeaking to the matter in hand, but interrupted Seditious Orations, which they might do by their power of Conſuls and Tribunes received from the People, not for a year only, nor any limited time, but till the work of Laws ſhould be finiſhed, untill which time they were reſolved to act, and then give an account of their adminiſtration. *Appius* having delivered this in the name of all, asked the opinion of *C. Claudius* his Uncle.

They aſſemble the Senate about War.

Stirs in the Senate.

11. *Claudius* beginning his Oration with the occaſion of their meeting, fitly ſhewed what was the occaſion of it. The War he demonſtrated to be begun by no other inducements than what the preſent diſtempers of the State afforded, which were bred by the arbitrary and tyrannical carriage of his Nephew, and his nine Companions. He made out what theſe diſtempers were, and by virtue of his relation to *Appius*, took upon him, after a ſharp reproof, by the nearneſs of their blood, their Anceſtors, and the *Decemvir's* Father with all that was dear ad religious to them both, to conjure him, that putting a ſtop to his ambitious courſe (deſtructive to himſelf as well as the publick) he would reſign his uſurped power, and reſtore the Commonwealth to its former government and liberty. *Appius* anſwered him not a word, which ſo moved him, that with tears he ſignified he would depart to *Rhegillum*, the ſeat of his Forefathers, and there continue till that fell upon the *Decemvirate*, which he gueſſed would happen in a ſhort time; for as much as he could not endure to behold his Nephew degenerate ſo much from the antient worth of their Family. As concerning the War, he adviſed the Fathers to reſolve nothing, till the accuſtomed Magiſtrates were firſt created. The graver and more eminent ſort of Senators that ſpake after, were all of this opinion, which made the Ten reſolve to ask none now according to their age, as the Cuſtom was, but *M. Cornelius* called upon his Brother *Lucius* to deliver his opinion. He attributed all that had been ſaid againſt the *Decemviri* to envy, ſaying, it was becauſe the ſpeakers themſelves could not compaſs the Office, and laboured to ſhew, that it was moſt fooliſh Counſel to reſolve upon new elections, which would require time, and defer the War that threatned ruine and deſolation. By preſſing the danger very cloſe, and urging what neceſſity there was of committing the War to the management of the *Decemviri*, he drew almoſt all the younger

ſort to his party, there being many even in the Senate from whom fear wreſted compliance. After all theſe, the *Decemviri* gave *Valerius* leave to ſpeak, whom firſt of all they had interrupted. He profeſſed he was of *Claudius* his judgment as to the whole, and anſwered all the reaſons of *Cornelius* by one propoſal; that a *Dictator* might be inſtantly named, ſhewing, that if they miſſed of this opportunity, they could not expect again to be aſſembled by the *Decemviri*.

12. Few that delivered their opinions after him remained unconvinced, and many were changed from the ſenſe they had before delivered. He required then of the Ten, that the matter might be further conſidered of, and all might have liberty to recall their votes, which cauſed a great conteſt betwixt him and *Cornelius*, who deſiring that the *Decemviri* might have the command in the War, cried out, that the thing was already decided in a legal manner, and deſired the parties might be counted. Much heat being ſhewed by both, the *Fathers* were alſo divided, which advantage the Ten took to do what they pleaſed. *Appius* then formally declaring for what cauſe they had been aſſembled, told them they were divided according to the three ſeveral opinions of *Claudius*, *Cornelius*, and *Valerius*, every one having had liberty to ſpeak his mind freely: and ſeeing that moſt had approved of what *Cornelius* had propounded, he declared his party to have overcome. Then commanded he the Clerk to draw up a *Senatus-Conſultum*, whereby power of raiſing Forces, and commanding them, was given to the *Decemviri*; and therewith the Senate was diſmiſſed. They were by this kind of Victory rendred more confident, and imperious, as having now in their own thoughts eſtabliſhed themſelves, by having an Army at their command, which *Valerius* had adviſed the *Fathers* earneſtly to beware of. *Horatius* and *Valerius* made proviſion for their own defence, by gathering together their Clients and dependants, and *Claudius*, as he had ſaid, departed into the Country of the *Sabines*; whoſe example multitudes following, left their native ſeat, with their Wives and Children going into voluntary exile. The *Decemviri* troubled hereat, endeavoured at firſt to hinder them by ſhutting the Gates, but again fearing they might out of fury attempt ſome dangerous thing, they let them depart, but ſeized on ſuch goods as they left behind, having accuſed them of defection. Theſe things being added to the former miſcariages, incenſed much more both *Patritians* and *Plebeians* againſt them. Yet had they proceeded no further in ſuch like outrages, they might probably for a much more longer time have ſecured their power, through that influence which the mutual emulation of theſe orders afforded. For the *Plebeians* were glad to ſee the high ſpirits of the *Patritians* dejected, and the Senate void of all power: on the other ſide, the Nobility rejoyced that the Commons had loſt their former liberty, having not the leaſt help, becauſe the *Tribunitial* power was taken away. But they neither uſing moderation in War, nor temperance at home, conſtrained all to unite for their deſtruction, which followed certain hainous offences committed againſt the Commons.

They make uſe of the Senate to their own advantage.

They lead out an Army againſt the *Sabines* and *Æqui*.

13. They divided their Army into three parts, whereof one remained with *Appius* and *Oppius* in the City, the two other their Collegues led forth againſt the *Sabines* and *Æqui*. The later forced the *Romans* to forſake their Camp, and ſhamefully to fly, which cauſed great rejoycing in *Rome* amongſt the Enemies of the *Decemviri*, ſo that *Appius* fearing ſome attempt, wrote to his Collegues in the Army, by one means or other to deſtroy their known adverſaries, which was effected upon diverſe. But at *Rome*, *Siccius Dentatus*, the Roman *Achilles* as he was named, amongſt others ſpake much againſt the Captains as Cowards, and unskilful, which *Appius* underſtanding, with good words perſwaded him to go as Lieutenant or *Legatus* to the Army then lying at *Cruſtumeria* againſt the *Sabines*. He not ſuſpecting what was deſigned, undertook the employment, for that the Office of *Legatus* was moſt ſacred and honourable amongſt the *Romans*, having the authority and power of a General, and the inviolableneſs and veneration of a Prieſt. When he came to the Camp he was ſent out with one hundred men upon ſervice, who had order to kill him. He fought with them all, ſlew fifteen, and wounded twice as many, ſo that finding it too difficult a task to kill him by hand-ſtroaks, they threw Darts and Stones at him, and thereby at length, and at a diſtance, performed what was injoyned them. Though the murderers according to agreement gave out he fell by the Enemie's hand, yet the Soldiers fetching him off to give him honourable burial, by ſeveral circumſtances plainly perceived the truth, and demanding Juſtice againſt

Siccius Dentatus made away by them.

againſt the inſtruments, when that was put off, and they concealed, they eaſily underſtood who were the principal cauſe, and thought of nothing more than how to revolt.

14. The Army lying at *Cruſtumeria* and *Fidenæ* being thus incenſed againſt the *Decemviri*, another wicked act of *Appius* cauſed the other which lay incamped at *Algidum* againſt the *Æqui*, not only to think of, but fully to effect a revolt. There was one *L. Virginius* a *Plebeian*, who had a Daughter the moſt Beautiful of all *Roman* Women. The Maid being but young and at School near the *Forum*, *Appius* as he paſſed that way fell in Love with her in ſuch a meaſure as by no means could he allay his brutiſh paſſion. Marry her he could not, being a *Plebeian*, neither could he hope to obtain her for his Concubine: there remained then no other way for him to enjoy her, than by procuring *M. Claudius* one of his Clients to challenge her as his Slave, ſo that the matter being brought before him to judgment, he might judge her ſo to be. *Claudius* laid his claim, by affirming ſhe was the true and natural Daughter of his Slave, and that the Wife of *Virginius*, now dead, her ſelf being Barren, procured the Child, and brought it up for her own; which though he and others knew well enough, yet being young, he had not opportunity till now to right himſelf. The pretence was ſo impudent, as raiſed the indignation of all perſons no otherwiſe concerned than as in the publick liberty. *Numitor* the Maid's Uncle by her mother, and *Icilius* the Son of *Icilius* one of the firſt *Tribunes* of the Commons, to whom ſhe was already contracted, ſufficiently evidenced the truth; but *Appius* being bent upon his luſtful deſign, would hear no reaſon, and had not a tumult hapned out of the indignation of the multitude, would have given her up in the hands of *Claudius*, till ſuch time as her Father could be ſent for from the Army to defend her cauſe. Being hardly drawn to put off the matter till the next day, and not giving any more time, wrote to *Algidum* to hinder *Virginius* from coming, bidding *Antonius* Commander of that Legion to confine him, leſt he ſhould hear any thing of his Daughter. But *Numitor*, and the brother of *Icilius*, prevented the Letters, and *Virginius* pretending the death of a near Relation, getting leave to depart, through by-ways returned to the City, fearing a purſuite after the arrival of the Letters, which accordingly hapned, but he thus evaded it.

Appius his abominable practices for *Virginia.*

15. *Virginius* then was preſent in the morning to the great aſtoniſhment of *Appius*, when his Daughter was commanded to be brought forth. He proved the Maid to be his own Daughter, and no ſuppoſitious Brood; but *Appius*, a man of no great natural abilities, beſides the brutiſh, corrupted by the greatneſs of his power, and inflamed with the exceſs of his paſſion, neither conſidered the defence of *Virginius*, nor was moved by the bitter tears of the Virgin, being angry at the pity of the ſtanders by, who apprehended the caſe of Father and Daughter no otherwiſe than as their own, as if he himſelf were more to be pitied, enduring more for her beauties ſake than ſhe herſelf. Interrupting thoſe that ſpake in her behalf, and commanding them ſilence, he told them, that this was not the firſt time he had had knowledge of this matter, for that *Claudius* his Father being a Client to their Family had committed him yet a Boy, when he died, to his protection. In the time of his Guardianſhip he ſaid it had been cleared to him how *Numitoria* had procured the Girl of *Claudius* his Slave, but he thought it more convenient to let the matter reſt till *Claudius* was grown up, either to take, or ſell her as he ſhould like beſt. Since he came into imployment he had not medled with his Clients affairs, but he himſelf it ſeemeth making an inventory of his goods, and having notice of this Slave, now challenged his right, and accordingly he both witneſſed, and judged him to be the right Lord and owner of her. Great out-cries and lamentation being made, as well by the by-ſtanders as the Virgin's relations, *Appius* commanded all to depart, and gave order to *Claudius* to take poſſeſſion of his Slave. *Virginius*, ſeeing there was no way but to yield to the Tyrant's luſt if his Daugher lived, deſired he might ſpeak with her a little aſide, as to take his farewell, which being granted, he drew her, hanging upon him, and pitifully bewailing her condition, towards a Butchers ſtall, whoſe knife taking into his hands, he ſaid, *Daughter, I will ſend thee to our Anceſtors, both free, and of honeſt repute; for the Tyrant will not ſuffer thee to be either here; and therewith he ſtabbed, and diſpatch'd her.*

16. With the bloody Knife in his hand he ran through the City, calling the People to their liberty, and coming to the Gate, rode Poſt to the Army; a company

of four hundred *Plebeians* following after. In the ſame poſture he came to the Camp at *Algidum*, holding the knife, which together with his Cloaths was all bloody. Calling the Soldiers together, he took occaſion from his own misfortune to let them ſee in what condition their liberty ſtood, and with urgent reaſons perſwaded them to revolt from the ten, and redeem their country. They being conſcientious, as to their *Sacramentum*, or Military Oath, whereby they had ſworn not to forſake their Leaders, but follow them whitherſoever, he told them they were diſcharged from any Obligation, becauſe the Law for the Oath ſuppoſed the Captains ſhould be created according to the Laws, which the ten were not, having uſurped the power ever ſince the laſt time for the *Comitia*. Being ſatisfied herewith, the Army departed, ſome few Centurions only remaining, and took up its ſtation in the *Aventine* Mount, and the next day fortifying the Camp choſe ten Captains, whereof *M. Oppius* was the Chief. Preſently there came a great party from *Fidenæ*, and joyned with them, being offended with the murder of *Siccius*, and they chuſing alſo ten men out of their Body, to the twenty the whole matter now contended for was referred. *Appius* in the mean while having gone by force to ſuppreſs the tumult he had raiſed in the City, was overpowered by the faction of *Valerius* and *Horatius* formerly mentioned, and now perceiving that moſt of the *Odium* lay upon himſelf as the principal cauſe, he kept himſelf in his houſe. *Sp. Oppius* therefore aſſembled the *Fathers*, at which time came the Captains from *Fidenæ*, requiring that the revolters might be puniſhed. *L. Cornelius* accordingly moved that they ſhould all be remanded back to their charges, which if they obeyed, the Ring-leaders only were to be puniſhed, but if they refuſed, the Senate then ſhould conſider how all thoſe might be dealt with, who had betrayed their truſt. But the Fathers were too ſenſible of preſent grievances, to hear the motion of ſuch corrupt intereſt, and were prevailed with by *Valerius* and *Horatius*, to make Peace with the Army (which by this time was departed to the *Holy Mount*) on condition that the ſame form of Government ſhould return, as was in being before the creation of the *Decemviri*.

Procureth the deſtruction of the *Decemvirate*.

The next Conſuls prefer Popular Laws.

17. *Valerius Potitus*, and *M. Horatius Barbatus*, both Inheritors of popularity, were created Conſuls in the *Centuriate Comitia*, who (according to their promiſe to the *Commons* when they procured them to lay down Arms, that they would by all means poſſible procure their benefit) preferred divers Laws to the regret of the *Patritians*. One was, that ſuch Laws as the Commons enacted ſhould paſs in the *Comitia* of the *Curiæ*, wherein they were more prevalent than the *Patritians*, as thoſe in the *Centuriate*, by reaſon of their influence upon the *Equites*, and the richer ſort of Plebeians, were ever too ſtrong for the multitude, by reaſon of the diſtribution of the ſeveral *Claſſes* into *Centuries* formerly ſhewn. After this the *Tribunes*, whereof *Virginius* was one, thought fit to call the *Decemviri* to an account. *Virginius* being appointed the accuſer of *Appius*, inſiſted moſt, ſaith *Livy*, upon that Law, which commanded the defendant to have liberty till ſuch time as his or her Slavery was proved, which *Appius* had gone about to violate in his Daughter's caſe. Before the Tryal, being committed to Priſon, for that no Bail would be taken, he was there found dead, as ſome thought ſecretly made away by the *Tribunes*, but as they and others gave out, having hanged himſelf. After him *Sp. Oppius*, as next to him in guilt, was accuſed, and being condemned, died the ſame day in Priſon by his own hands, ſaith *Livy*. The other eight baniſhed themſelves, and *Claudius* the pretended Maſter of *Virginius* was driven out after them: with which Juſtice the State was ſatisfied, and indemnity given to all others. Things thus ſeeming to be ſetled, the Conſuls took the Field againſt the *Æqui*, *Volſci*, and *Sabines*, againſt whom their ſucceſs was ſuch, as deſerved a Triumph, but the Senate gave them a repulſe, being grieved at the Laws they had made in behalf of the Commons. *Claudius* alſo the Uncle of *Appius* accuſed them of the murther of his Nephew, and other violent courſes taken againſt the *Decemviri*, and their party, whereas all ought to have been (according to agreement) buried in oblivion. The Conſuls appealed to the People, and complaining much of the Senate, procured by the help of the *Tribunes* a Law to paſs for their receiving the privilege of Triumph from the *People*.

18. The *Commons* by all the privileges already obtained, were but more inflamed with a deſire of greater, each morſel out of the prerogative of the *Patritians*, adding unto their appetite. After three years they required to be made partakers of

Yet the multitude being inſatiable and reſtleſs demand the Conſulſhip.

Publick buſineſs hereby hindred.

An exedient found out by *Claudius*.

of the Conſulſhip, which hitherto the other had enjoyed, being elected in the *Centuriate Comitia*, wherein they themſelves had the power. The *Tribunes* provided a bill for making the People free, and at their own choice, whether they would create *Patritians* or *Plebeians* at every election, which thing the *Senators* bearing moſt hainouſly, as ſeeing their privileges utterly ruined thereby, thought all things to be endured, rather than the Law ſhould paſs. The Allies of *Rome* now ſent for aid againſt the *Æqui*, and *Sabines*, who invaded them, and news was brought that the *Veientes* and *Ardeates* would revolt; but the *Tribunes* thoſe Popular Tyrants hindred all Levies, ſuffering none, that refuſed to be liſted, to receive puniſhment; neither could the Senate prevail with them, to defer the matter till the War ſhould be ended. The *Conſuls* in ſo difficult a time held a private conference of certain Senators, whereof *Claudius*, according to the genius of his Anceſtors, was all for reſiſtance, urging that nothing was in this matter to be yielded to the Commons, who went about to change the conſtitution of the State, and thereby were Enemies to it. But *T. Quintius* ſhewed what inconvenience force and Civil War might bring, and the rather, for that their Anceſtors had made the *Tribunes* inviolable, by a Curſe laid upon themſelves and Poſterity, in caſe their perſons were hurt, or the conditions then ſworn to in their behalf ſhould be broken. When the reſt were all of his opinion, *Claudius* propoſed an expedient as ſeaſonable in ſo great neceſſity. He adviſed by no means to ſuffer the Conſulſhip to come into the hands of *Plebeians*, but to create certain Governours in the room of *Conſuls*, ſix, or eight, whereof an equal number at leaſt ſhould be *Patritians*; for hereby they ſhould ſeem not to take too much power to themſelves, and yet not give up the other Office, wherein lay the ſecret of their prerogative, to be managed by baſe and unworthy men. When this project marvailouſly pleaſed all, that nothing might ſeem to be deſigned beforehand, he adviſed the *Conſuls* not to ask them the graver men their opinions firſt, as the cuſtom was, when the Senate ſhould meet, but the younger and moſt popular: and he appointed *T. Genutius* the *Conſul*'s brother to propound this way of reconciliation at his private ſence.

The fickle and inconſtant humour of the multitude.

19. When the Senate was aſſembled, *Canuleius* the Tribune, who chiefly proſecuted the matter in hand, without preſſing it, inveighed againſt the *Conſuls*, as holding ſecret meetings, and hatching clandeſtine deſigns againſt the State: and thoſe Senators who had not been called took the thing in ſome diſdain. But the Conſuls proteſting their innocence by an Oath, ſaid they would alſo by deeds declare it, and therewith gave any of the younger ſort leave to ſpeak, and when none roſe up asked *Valerius* firſt of all his opinion. He adviſed the *Fathers* to favour the *Commons*, who had deſerved ſo well both in acquiring dominion, and in getting and preſerving liberty, and urged that the City could not be free if there were not an equality of right; yet for that the War was now urgent, he deſired the thing might at preſent be forborn till that was finiſhed, upon promiſe that then the Law ſhould be propounded. *Horatius* being asked next, and others, ſeconded him; and at length *Claudius* being deſired to ſpeak, that he might conceal the deſign, according to his own cuſtom, and that of his Family, flew out into invectives againſt the Commons, and adviſed that the Law might never paſs, neither then nor ever after. A greater tumult following, *T. Genutius* was asked his opinion, and as of himſelf propounded the expedient, that ſix Governours might be choſen, three out of each order, who having conſular power, when the time of their Magiſtracy ſhould be expired, then the Senate and People meeting together, might reſolve whether they would have the ſame Office or that of Conſuls for the following year; and what was concluded by moſt voices, ſhould prevail at the end of every year. This was gladly embraced, both by *Senators* and *Tribunes*, and leave given to any *Plebeians* to ſtand for the new Office. But ſo fickle a thing is deſire without reaſon, and ſo eaſily changing into the other extreme, eſpecially of the multitude, that thoſe who ſo earneſtly before ſought that the chiefeſt Magiſtracy might be communicated to their body, threatning elſe to leave the City as formerly, and take Arms, when they had their deſire, were glutted with it, and changed into the other extreme. For many *Plebeians* ſtanding for the Office, and uſing their utmoſt endeavours to be preferred, they thought none of them worthy of that honour, but beſtowed it upon eminent *Patritians* only, who appeared as *Candidates*.

20. This third change of the Government at *Rome*, happ'ned in the third year of

The third grand change of Government to the *Tribuni Militum*.

A. M. 3561. *Ol.* 84. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 310. *Artax. Longim.* 21.

L: 2. *ff. de Orig. Juris.*

Another change after 73 days to Conſuls again.

the eighty fourth *Olympiad*, as *Dionyſius* computeth, *Diphilus* being then *Archon* at *Athens*; but as others, in the firſt year of that *Olympiad*, which fell in with the three hundred and tenth year of the City, and the twenty firſt of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, *M. Genutius* and *C. Quintius* according to him, but *L. Papyrius* and *L. Sempronius* according to them, being Conſuls. Theſe new Magiſtrates called *Tribuni Militum*, were *A. Sempronius Atratinus*, *L. Atilius Longus*, and *T. Clælius* (or *Cæcilius*, as *Livy* hath it) *Siculus*. Thus at firſt they were but three in number, afterward it aroſe to ſix, and at length to eight. *Pomponius* the Lawyer writeth, that ſometimes there were twenty, and ſometimes more, which ſeemeth incredible, no other Author agreeing with him herein, ſo that *Budæus* with reaſon thinketh the place to be corrupted from *Seni* to *Viceni*. This number of Collegues, together with the mixture of *Plebeians* who afterwards preſſed in, procured, that although they had both the power and enſigns of *Conſuls*, yet their privilege and dignity ſeemed unlike, whence a *Tribune* in way of contempt called them a *Proconſular Image*, and *P. Manlius* the Dictator, ſhewing that a Maſter of horſ-men was inferior to a *Conſul*, compareth his power to that of theirs. Having been for ſome years created, and for others laid aſide, at length in the three hundred and eighty eighth year of the City, they were quite caſt off, at what time *Q. Sextius* a *Plebeian* was admitted to the Conſulſhip. But theſe firſt Tribunes having held their Office ſeventy three days, then were conſtrained to lay it down, for that the Augures found ſome flaw in their election, and the Government returned into its former courſe, the Senate naming *T. Quintius Barbatus*, who in the *Comitia* created *L. Papyrius Mugillanus*, and *L. Sempronius Atratinus*, although it be doubtful, to ſay truth, whether there were *Tribunes* only, or *Tribunes* and *Conſuls* both for this year.

Conſuls.

The Cenſors. and here *Dionyſius* his hiſtory is broken off, the following part being loſt.

Its commendation.

21. But to be ſure, for the year following the People having it in their power whether to elect *Tribunes* or *Conſuls*, reſolved upon the later, and created in *December*, the Moon being then full, *M. Geganius Macerinus* the ſecond time, and *T. Quintius Capitolinus* the fifth. This year were the *Cenſors* made, Officers who being but contemptible at the beginning, roſe to great dignity and power. Their original and power might have been more clearly diſcovered, but that *Dionyſius* his Hiſtory is here in the beginning of this ſtory broken off, the remaining part being loſt, to the great dammage of the ſtudious in Antiquity. For not to ſpeak of his ſmooth ſtyle, and the Attick purity thereof, he hath therein delivered the Antiquities of *Rome* from the firſt Original, with ſuch diligence, that he ſeemeth in this reſpect to have excelled all Writers, both *Greek* and *Roman*. For what *Latin* Authors have neglected, as vulgarly known amongſt themſelves, as Sacrifices, Games, Triumphs, Enſigns of Magiſtrates, the univerſal diſcipline of the *Roman* Commonwealth, the *Cenſus*, *Auſpicia*, *Comitia*, that difficult diſtribution of the whole People into *Curiæ*, *Claſſes*, *Centuries*, and *Tribes*: further, the authority of the Senate, and Commons, with the power of Magiſtrates, he of all others hath delivered moſt accurately. That theſe things may be better underſtood, he compareth them with the Cuſtoms of *Greece*, as where he ſpeaketh of *Clients*, he occaſionally maketh mention of this relation amongſt the *Athenians* and *Theſſalians*, as *Cæſar* alſo writeth it to have been ordinary amongſt the *Galls*. He compareth the *Roman* Dictator with the *Harmoſtes* of the *Lacedæmonians*, the *Archons* of the *Theſſalians*, and the *Æſymnetes* of the *Mitylenæans*. The Laws of *Romulus*, *Numa*, and *Servius*, had periſhed but for him, as alſo the knowledge of the Original of *Rome* in a great meaſure: and ſo choice are all his Collections, that they tend, as to the inſtruction of the Reader in the depth of State Myſteries, ſo alſo to his acquiring or retaining a religious awe of Providence. Such is his Hiſtory (ſaith * one well able to judge) that if it had been kept intire (for it conſiſteth of twenty Books, as *Photius* informeth us) there would have been no cauſe of bewailing the loſs of *Varro*'s treaſures, with whom he was very familiar, as well as *Pompey* the *Great* and *Tubero*; and from whom he ſeemeth to have derived his choiceſt Antiquities. Theſe things render a ſufficient account, why he is made uſe of in the Hiſtory of *Roman* matters, rather than any other.

22. *Servius Tullius* the ſixth King of *Rome* firſt inſtituted the *Cenſus*, as was ſhewn before, and did the work himſelf, without any peculiar Officer, as alſo did the Conſuls untill this time. But now in the ſixty ſixth year from the baniſhment of *Tarquinius*, and the three hundred and eleventh of the City, there having been no *Cenſus* for ſeventeen years, for that the Conſuls were neceſſarily diverted from that work by

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* *Bodinus Method. Hiſtor. cap.* 4.

more urgent buſineſs, the Senate procured out of their own order two peculiar Officers to be created, who were called *Cenſores*, becauſe according to their *Cenſio* or *eſtimation* the People was ceſſed, ſaith *Varro*, or becauſe every one accounted himſelf worth ſo much, *quanti illi cenſuiſſent*, as they judged, or eſtimated, according to *Feſtus*.

The duration of the Office of Cenſors.

23. At the beginning they were created for five [illegible]rs, becauſe according to *Servius* his conſtitution the People were to be ceſſed at ever *Luſtrum*, which conteined ſo many. But their dignity and power ſo increaſing, that they ſeemed of too long a continuance, nine years after, in the three hundred and twentieth of the City, by a Law which *Mamercus Æmilius* the Dictator preferred, the duration of their Office was confined within the term of one year and an half. Though their Office at firſt was only to take an eſtimate of mens Eſtates, and deſcribing all publick and private riches, to diſtribute the People according to their wealth into *Claſſes* and *Centuries*; yet within a while they came to have inſpection into manners alſo. For they upon miſdemeanour *put out of the Senate, took away publick Horſes*, and *caſt out of the Tribes*. The former kind of puniſhment was inflicted upon *Senators*, the ſecond upon *Equites*, and the laſt upon meer *Plebeians*. Their removing *Senators*, was by paſſing them by at the new election. For, ſuch *Senators* ſaith *Feſtus*, as were paſſed by in former times, were lyable to no diſgrace, becauſe as the Kings choſe and ſubſtituted whom they pleaſed, ſo after them the Conſuls and Tribunes Military, ſuch as they had greateſt intereſt in; firſt *Patritians*, and then after *Plebeians*, till by the *Tribunitial* Law of *Ovinius*, it was ordained, that the *Cenſors* out of every order or rank, ſhould (*curiatim*) elect the moſt worthy into the Senate, whence it came to paſs, that ſuch as were paſſed by or removed, were noted with ignominy. This note out of *Feſtus* hinteth to us the antient power of the *Roman* Kings in making Senators, one of the greateſt ſupporters of the Throne of their Empire.

Livius lib. 3.

Their power.

In voce Prateriti.

24. As for the diſgrace which they put upon *Equites*; It was the cuſtom for every *Eques* at the publick *Cenſus* to appear before the *Cenſors* with their Horſes in their hands. If they approved of them, they bade them paſs by and lead away the Horſe; if they determined otherwiſe, they took away the Horſe, and commanded him to be ſold. The third note of diſgrace concerned the *Plebeians*, whom they either removed from their own Tribe into another leſs honourable, according to *Livy*, or made them *Ærarii*, and regiſtred them in the Tables of the *Cærites*, whereby they were deprived of their *Centurie*, and remained Citizens only in this reſpect, *ut pro capitibus ſuis tributi nomine æra ſolverent*, as writeth *Aſconius Pedianus* upon the Oration of *Cicero* againſt *Q. Cæcilius*, called *Divinatio*, which diſputeth who ought to be admitted the Accuſer of *Verres*. *Gellius* telleth us what was meant by the *Tabulæ Cæritum*. The *Cærites* (inhabitants of *Cære* in *Tuſcany*, once called *Agylla*) *we underſtand to have been firſt of all made Municipals, without any right of ſuffrage: and it was granted them that they might receive the honour of being free of Rome, without any trouble or burthen, for that they received the Sacra* (*or Idols*) *of the Romans, and preſerved them in the* Gallick *War*; that is, when *Rome* was taken by the *Galls*, as *Livy* hath the ſtory alſo in his fourth Book. *Hence were thoſe called* Tabulæ Cæritum, *vice verſa, wherein the Cenſors cauſed ſuch to be regiſtred as they deprived of the right of Suffrage.* Although theſe ſeveral ſorts of puniſhment reſpected the ſeveral ranks of men, yet ſometimes thoſe of higher degree taſted of all or moſt of them, ſo that *Senators* might not only be paſſed by, and *Equites* deprived of their Horſes, but loſe their Tribes alſo, and be reduced to the condition of *Ærarii.*

Vide Plutarchum hiſtoriam narrantem in Pompeio.

Livium lib. 29.

Feſtum in voce cenſio.

*Lib.*16.*cap.* 13.

Livius lib. 4.

The effects of it.

25. This Office being committed to the prudent management of able perſons, became effectual to the repreſſion of ſuch vice, as fell not under the particular cogniſance of penal Laws. Private faults, and domeſtick miſcarriages were by them noted, with ſuch actions ſometimes as now would not ſimply incur the cenſure of preciſe illegality or indecency. Some of their queſtions upon Oath were ſuch as theſe: (*a*) *Haſt thou a Wife according to thy mind!* to which one once making a jeſting anſwer, was made an *Ærarius*. A certain man yawning before the *Cenſors*, had been puniſhed in that ſort, but that he ſwore he did it unwillingly, being troubled with that diſeaſe which the *Romans* called *Oſcedo*. *P. Scipio Naſica* and *M. Pompilius* being *Cenſors*, and finding a certain Knight very fat and compt, whoſe horſe was exceeding lean and ill favoured, they asked him the reaſon of that difference, to which he anſwered:

(*a*) *Lege A. Gellium l.* 4. *cap. ult.*

Becauſe he looked to himſelf, but Statius *to his horſe*; for which irreverent anſwer he was regiſtred amongſt the *Ærarii* according to the cuſtome. Now *Statius* was a ſervile name, given by the antients to moſt Slaves, whence *Cæcilius* the famous Writer of *Tragedies* was called *Statius*, though it was afterwards as it were turned into a ſirname,and he called *Cæcilius Statius*. They were wont alſo to take away horſes from very big and corpulent men, as unfit for ſervice, but *(b) Gellius* obſerveth, that this was no puniſhment, as ſome thought, but a taking away of the employment without ignominy. This *Cenſus* was was managed in the *Campus Martius*, and it being compleated, the *Luſtrum* was made, with prayers for the publick ſafety, and a ſacrifice of the *Suovetaurilia* formerly mentioned. Beſides theſe employments, the *Cenſors* (c) let to farm the cuſtomes, and ſent (d) out their conſtitutions throughout the Provinces, called *Leges Cenſoriæ*. They erected (e) publick buildings, made other publick works, and took care for their repair, as alſo of the high-wayes, in, and about the City more early; and in other places afterwards: they alſo provided for the expence of publick ſacrifices. But not onely were there *Cenſors* at *Rome* (as the *Græcians* alſo uſed the *Cenſus*) but the Colonies alſo had their *Subcenſors*, who gave account to the other, what numbers of men, and what wealth they found in the ſeveral places, which upon information was regiſtred in the publick Tables.

(b) Lib.7.c.22

(c) Liv. lib. 39. Cicero de Legib. l. 3.

(d) Idem ad Attic. Ep. & Jcti paſſim.

(c) Liv.lib.42. Feſtus in voce Produit. ubi meminit Legis cenſoriæ. vid.

26. The power of the *Cenſorſhip* remained untouched (although the power of the *Cenſors* was weakened by reſtraining their time to a year and a half, though they were named every fifth year) untill the Tribuneſhip of *P. Clodius*, who by a Law which he preferred *(a)* forbad any Senator to be paſſed by, or any of the other Ranks to be noted with ignominy, except lawfully accuſed, and condemned by ſentence of both the Cenſors. He took an advantage (as it ſeemeth from *(b) Pedianus*) at the hatred which had poſſeſſed the multitude againſt the ſeverity of the Office, which procured it to be intermitted for certain years. But afterwards (whether by reaſon of the corruption that was crept amongſt Judges, or for other reaſons) *Metellus Scipio* the Conſul procured *Clodius* his Law to be abrogated, and ſo the antient Vigour of this office returned. *Lipſius* writeth, that under the Emperours it was diminiſhed, and lay for dead till the time of *Decius*. But *C. Cæſar* the Dictator, that he might better execute the *Cenſus*, went to every ones houſe; and becauſe the principal part of the Office conſiſted in forming of manners, he called himſelf *Magiſter Morum*, not *Cenſor*. Then the form of the State being changed after the victory of *Actium*, *Auguſtus* having the care of manners committed to him by the Senate, looked to nothing more diligently than the *Cenſus*, for thrice he performed it, not onely in reverence to *Roman* Citizens, but all Subjects of the Empire, with ſuch care and diligence as none ever before him. Under *Tiberius* and *Caligula* the *Cenſus* was not obſerved, but under *Claudius* the ſeventy fourth *Luſtrum* was celebrated. Being intermitted during the reign of *Nero*, *Veſpaſian* renewed it, and celebrated the ſeventy fifth *Cenſus*. *Domitian* named himſelf amongſt his other titles *Perpetual Cenſor*, but made no *Luſtrum*, ſo that for an hundred and ſixty years the *Cenſus* was intermitted till *Decius* the Emp. created *Valerian* Cenſor with unlimited power. After this the *Cenſorſhip* was utterly omitted to the great detriment of the *Roman* Empire, which being at length broken into Eaſtern and Weſtern, the Emperours of the former (*Greekiſh* Emperours) made uſe of it, as others alſo of later times,and it appeareth that in the intermiſſion thereof, in the dayes of *Trajan*, particular Provinces and Towns had their *Cenſors*, who made choice of their Senators. Laſtly, the *Cenſors* during the popular Government were of *Conſular* dignity, ever after the ſecond *Punick* War, though it was otherwiſe ſometimes before. The ſame perſons were never created twice. And in caſe one of them died in his Office, his Collegue continued not therein, neither was any put into the place of the dead, becauſe in that year wherein *Rome* was taken by the *Galls* it had ſo hapned; whereupon it was counted ominous, and a Law made againſt it for the time to come. Their dignity was exceeding great, they being therein though not in power above the Conſuls, and having all other Enſigns the ſame with them except *Lictors*.

(a) Aſconius Pedianus in Orat. Ciceronis cont. L. Piſonem.

(b) In *Divinat.*

The various fortune of the *Cenſorſhip.*

Diod. lib.54. pag. 527.

Sueton. in Auguſto.

Idem in Domitiano.

Trebellius.

Conſule Bodinum de Repub. lib.6. cap. 1.

Liv. l. 5.

Lege Liv.l.4. Val. Max. lib.5. cap. 3. Exemp.2.& Lib.6. c. 3. Exemp. 1. Florum lib. 1. cap. ult. Ciceron. pro domo ſua & pro Milone.

27. The *Fathers* rejoyced they had got theſe Officers Created out of their own body, and the *Tribunes* counting that power inconſiderable, which at firſt was pretended to, gave way unto it. But the commons egged on by the continual complaints of the later, proceeded in their grudge againſt the Patritians, taking

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Sp. Mælius his attempt for the Soverainty blaſted.

it in ill part that marriage was forbidden betwixt the two orders, and breathing after no leſs than equal power in the State. This animated *Sp. Mælius*, a rich Knight, by his large bounty towards the poorer ſort in time of a great dearth, to hunt after popularity, and through it to aſpire to the Soverainty. He was hereof accuſed by *L. Minucius*, to whom the care of proviſions was committed, and the Senate affrighted with the ſtrangeneſs of the matter, by the advice of *T. Quinctius* the Conſul, commanded a *Dictator* to be named. *Quinctins Cincinnatus* now eighty years old was the man, who choſe *C. Servilius Ahala*, for his Maſter of horſ-men. The *Dictator* ſummoning *Mælius* to appear, when he would not obey, *Ahala* killed him in the *Forum*, and was juſtified for ſo doing by *Quintius*, who commanded his goods to be ſold, and his houſe razed. It ſhould ſeem from *Livy* that *Ahala* eſcaped without puniſhment: But *Cicero* and *Valerius* on the contrary affirm, that he was baniſhed by the incenſed multitude. This hapned in the three hundred and fifteenth year of the City after *Varro's* account. *Valerius* and *Livy* ſay, that the Area of his houſe for a memorial of his puniſhment had the name of *Æqui-Melium*.

The *Tribunes* ſeek to revenge his death by bringing in *Tribunes Military* again. The ſecond *Opima Spolia*.

28. The *Tribunes* inraged about the death of *Mælius*, procured for the year following *Tribunes Military* with Conſular Power to be created now ſix years after their Inſtitution, hoping that into the number of ſix ſome *Plebeian* might creep, which thing would give them an opportunity to revenge the death of *Melius*: But three only were created, and their expectation unanſwered thereby. This year *Fidenæ*, a *Roman* Colony, gave up it ſelf to *Tolumnius* King of the *Veientes*, and by his Inſtigation murdered the Ambaſſadors ſent thither. For this War *Mamercus Æmilius* was named *Dictator*, who overcame the Enemies in battel, wherein *Cornelius Coſſus* a *Tribune* in the Army, ſlew, and ſpoiled *Tolumnius*, thereby obtaining *Opima Spolia*. *Varro* thought they were called *Opima ab opibus* for their riches; but *Plutarch* thinketh rather *ab opere*, becauſe the conſecration of them was granted to a Captain, who with his own hand ſlew the General of the Enemy. They were conſecrated to *Jupiter Feretrius*, ſo called, becauſe the Trophy was carried in a *Feretrum*, or certain little carriage, as ſome thought, at that time there being many *Greek* words in uſe with the *Latines*, or a *Feriendo*, from *Jupiter* his ſmiting with Thunder-bolts, or elſe from the blows given in battel. This honour of carrying in Triumph the *Opima Spolia* hath only thrice hapned to *Roman* Captains ſaith *Plutarch* untill our time. Firſt to *Romulus*, who ſlew *Acron* King of *Cænina*; ſecondly to *Cornelius Coſſus*, who killed *Tolumnius*, (the *Etruſcan* in one place he calleth him, and the *Tyrrhenian* in another) and thirdly to *M. Marcellus*, who ſo killed and ſpoiled *Britomartus* (in one place, but *Virdumarus* in another) King of the *Galls*. A controverſie there was of old, whether any but a General from a General could take *Opima Spolia*, which maketh *Livy* Apologize for what he writeth in honour of *Coſſus*; but *Varro* wrote, as (*) *Feſtus* witneſſeth, that a Manipular Soldier might rightly be ſaid to take them, ſo it were from a General of the Enemy.

In Romulo & Marcello.

* *in Voc. Opima Spolia.*

After four courſes of Conſuls *Tribunes Military* again.

29. Two years after this, *Fidena* was taken by another *Dictator*, *A. Servilius*, through the working of a Mine. But when the Conſuls had kept the power four years, they were forced to give way to the *Tribunes Military*, for the Creation whereof, though the *Tribuni Plebis* prevailed, yet the Chief of the Commons miſſing all this while of being joyned with the Nobility in the honour, were much offended. At the end of two years the Senate took occaſion from the War wherewith the *Æqui* and *Volſci* threatned *Reme*, to bring in Conſuls, which alſo gave way to a *Dictator*, *A. Poſthumius Tubero*, againſt their wills, through the power of the *Tribunes*. He finiſhing the War ſucceſfully, laid down his Office. And in this year wherein *T. Quintius Cincinnatus* the ſon of *Lucius*, and *Cn. Julius Menio*, were Conſuls, *Livy* by a groſs miſtake would have the *Carthaginians* to have paſſed over into *Sicily* the firſt time, by an occaſion of the diſagreement of the Iſlanders amongſt themſelves. After five years the Commons prevailed to have *Tribunes Military* created the fifth time, four in number, who ſhewed how unprofitable the equal command of many in an Army is, and gave occaſion to the making of a new *Dictator*. For, *Fidena* having now again revolted, and joyned with the *Veientes*, three of thoſe *Tribunes* were ſent againſt it and them, and the fourth left to Govern the City. When they came to ingage with the Enemy, One cried *Fight*, but another ſaid *Stay*, and each one being of a ſeveral mind, matters were at length brought to that paſs, that the *Roman* Army fled. The City was ſtruck

Conſuls again.

Tribunes Military again.

A paſſage ſhewing the excellency of Monarchy.

with great amazement at the report, and was in an uproar, which cauſed *Mamercus Æmilius* the third time to be named *Dictator*, though the *Cenſors* had removed him from his Tribe, for that in his ſecond Office (to which he was called, becauſe of the ſtirs made by the *Hetruſcans* upon the taking of *Fidenæ*) he confined their Office to the term of one year and an half. *Æmilius* being named *Dictator*, appointed for his Maſter of Horſ-men *A. Cornelius Coſſus*, who obtained the *Opima Spolia* of *Tolumnius* King of the *Veientes*.

30. By the prudence and valour of theſe two *Fidenæ* was retaken, and ſacked after the *Hetruſcans* were overthrown; and the *Dictator* returning to *Rome* in Triumph, laid down his Office when he had held it ſeventeen days. For three years the *Tribunes Military* continued, at the end whereof the Senate took occaſion at the War which threatned from the *Volſci*, and at their abſence, to bring in the Conſuls again, notwithſtanding the *Tribunes* of the Commons oppoſed it. But *C. Sempronius*, one of theſe Conſuls, managing this War very careleſly, the *Tribunnes* thence took advantage, and the *Tribunes Military* again reſumed the Chief Power. This was for one year, at the end whereof the Senate again procured Conſuls to be made. When this year was exſpired, there was ſo great contention about two *Quæſtors*, which the Commons would have created out of their body, that the State fell into an *Interregnum*. *L. Papirius Mugillanus* being *Interrex* for a Compoſure procured the *Tribunes Military* to be again admitted, and four *Quæſtors* for the following year to be created, either out of *Patritians* or *Plebeians*, as the People ſhould think fit in their *Comitia*; but this ſatisfied not the *Tribunes*, nor the better ſort of *Plebeians*, not one of this order being preferred (though ſome ſtood) either as *Tribune Military* or *Quæſtor*. In the ſecond year after this, the Slaves conſpired to ſet fire on the City, and ſeize upon the Capitol; but the plot was timely diſcovered. The *Tribunes Military* held the Government for ſeven years, and then another *Interregnum* becauſe of the Contention following, *Fabius Vibulanus* the *Interrex* brought in Conſuls again.

Conſuls.

Tribunes Military.

Conſuls.

Tribnnes Military.

Conſuls.

31. The *Tribuni Plebis* according to their cuſtom made a bad conſtruction hereof, and having now and then mentioned the diviſion of publick grounds, preſſed it earneſtly with an extent now to all that at any time had been gotten by War. The *Patritians* no leſs vigorouſly oppoſed it, and the *Tribunes* hindred the Levies of Soldiers, ſo that with much ado, and upon extream neceſſity only could the Conſuls procure any to oppoſe the *Æqui* and *Volſci*, who now made incurſions. In the fifth year the Commons being croſſed in their intentions by the Senate, of reſuming the *Tribunes Military*, created three of the *Quæſtors* of their own rank, and the chief amongſt them deſigning to be created *Tribune Military* for the next year, ſtickled hard for that kind of Government. The Senate at length was conſtrained to yield; elſe no oppoſition could be made againſt the former Enemies, who now again made inroades into the *Roman* Territories, and by confederacies exceedingly ſtrengthned themſelves. For this cauſe alſo, though much againſt the mind of the *Tribunes*, a *Dictator* was named, who overthrowing the Enemy in one battel, waſted his Country and returned. In the third year after this, the two orders were ſomething reconciled, by the Plunder of a Town taken from the *Volſci*, and eſpecially by a Decree of the Senate for the publick pay of the Armies (with braſs money) before which time every one bore his own charges in the War. But ſuch was the contentious diſpoſition of the *Tribunes*, thoſe grand incendiaries, that they drew this into *Odium*, as grievous to ſuch who had formerly maintained themſelves in the Wars, and now were to pay others. They effected, that for a time the pay was denied, and after three years they procured a Plebeian (*P. Licinius Calvus*) to be choſen amongſt the *Tribunes Military*, wherein they mightily applauded themſelves, and readily permitted the pay of the Army to be gathered. *Licinius* carried himſelf ſo well in the Office, that for the year following all the *Tribunes Military* ſave one, were *Plebeians*.

Diſturbances made by the *Tribuni Plebis*, the Grand Popular Tyrants.

Tribunes Military.

The firſt *Plebeian* amongſt the *Tribunes Military*.

32. For theſe ſeveral years the War abroad was carried on with the *Hetruſcans*, with various ſucceſs, and *Veii* the principal of their Cities was beſieged, no leſs in compaſs than *Athens*, and exceeding wealthy, being within twenty miles of *Rome*. Its Inhabitants, called *Veientes*, had in behalf of the *Fidenates*, waged War with *Romulus*, afterwards being conquered, had ſeven times rebelled, and ever perfidious in time of Peace, always waſted the *Roman* Territories. They compelled the *Fidenates* alſo to rebel, perſwaded them to kill the Ambaſſadors, and the *Romans* thither ſent to inhabit, for, they vied with the

Romans

Furius Camillus.

Plutarch in Camillo.

Made Dictator.

Romans themſelves for power and riches. They had moreover injured the *Roman* Ambaſſadors, and not once procured *Hetruria* to riſe againſt the State; wherefore the People offended with ſo many injuries, reſolved utterly to deſtroy *Veii.* Whereas the Soldiers until this time, were wont in Summer only to be abroad in War, and Winter at home in the City, now were they conſtrained both Winter and Summer to continue the Siege. The ſeventh year thereof drawing towards an end, the *Tribunes Military* were blamed of remiſſneſs, ſo that for the following year new ones were created in their rooms. Amongſt them was *Furius Camillus*, who having got much credit in the battel fought with the *Æqui* and *Volſci* under *Poſthumius Tubertus* the Dictator, was honoured other ways, as by being created Cenſor; in which Office he cauſed the Batchellors to marry the Widdows of ſuch as had loſt their lives for their Country, and firſt of all others obliged Orphans to pay Tribute, for that the depending Wars, eſpecially the Siege of *Veii*, were very chargeable to the State. Being now *Tribune Military* the ſecond time, he did nothing againſt *Veii*, it having fallen to his lot to repreſs the *Falerienſes* and *Capenates*, who diſturbed the *Romans* in their enterprize. At length in the tenth year of the Siege, they created him *Dictator*, as the moſt fit perſon they had to finiſh it.

Surprizeth *Veii.*

Incurreth the diſpleaſure of the multitude, for hindring the ſeparation of Patricians and Plebeians, and otherwiſe.

33. *Camillus* appointed *Cornelius Scipio* to be his Maſter of Horſ-men, and firſt overthrowing in a great battel the *Faliſci* and *Capenates*, went againſt *Veii.* Finding it full of difficulty to take a place of ſuch ſtrength by ſtorm, he wrought a Mine up into it, through which his Soldiers iſſuing, he eaſily ſurprized it. Being elevated by ſo great an atchievement, whereby he had thus ſubdued the corrival of *Rome*, in the tenth year of the Siege, he triumphed in a Chariot drawn by four white Horſes, which his Country-men thinking proper only to the King and Father of their gods, were much offended at it: and indeed no man neither before nor after him (ſaith *Plutarch*) aſſumed to himſelf ſo much honour. Being offended with this carriage, they found themſelves as much concerned in another matter. The Tribunes of the Commons propoſed a Law for dividing aſunder the Senate and People, whereof the one ſhould ſtay at *Rome*, and the other remove to *Veii*; this parting as they thought, being a ready means for the enrichment of both, by the poſſeſſion of two ſuch conſiderable Cities. The *Plebeians* now many and rich vehemently preſſed it, and the *Patritians* judging it would prove the overthrow of the State, as earneſtly oppoſed the Law, betaking themſelves to *Camillus*, who put it off by diverting the multitude into other courſes. Having contracted an alienation of mind from them upon theſe accounts, another thing caſt him into an abſolute hatred, and that if not upon a juſt, yet a plauſible pretence. He had made a vow, that if he took *Veii*, he would dedicate the tenth part of the Plunder to *Apollo*, but when the City was taken, either becauſe he was unwilling to diſpleaſe the Soldiery, or forgot it, the thing was omitted. After he had laid down the Office of Dictator, he moved the People in it, and the Prieſts reported that the ſacrifices portended the anger of their gods, which muſt be appeaſed by gifts; ſo that the Soldiers who had already ſpent what they had got upon their neceſſary uſes, were forced upon oath to reſtore the tenth part, wherewith a preſent was made to *Apollo*. Becauſe there was little Gold in the City, the women contributed their ornaments, in way of requital whereof the Senate decreed, that at their burial they ſhould alſo be commended by funeral Orations, which before this had not been in uſe.

34. The Tribunes again moving for a ſeparation, the War with the *Faliſci* opportunely fell out to divert the multitude, for which *Camillus* was choſen *Tribune Military* with five others. He beſieging the *Falerii*, who inhabited a ſtrongly fortified City, the School-maſter thereof drew out his boyes into his Camp, and offered to give them up into his hands, which treachery he ſo far deteſted, as to cauſe the Pædagogue to be ſtripped, and put Rods into the hands of his boyes, wherewith they drove him back into the Town. Herewith the *Falerii* were ſo affected that they yielded, and the Senate referring them for conditions to *Camillus*, he only fined them a ſum of money, and received them with all the *Faliſci* into friendſhip. But the Soldiers who hoped to have enriched themſelves with the plunder of this place, enveighed grievouſly againſt him, and now the Tribunes preſſing again the Law for ſeperation, he uſed ſuch freedom in oppoſing it, that they out of revenge accuſed him of having pilfered the plunder in the *Hetruſcan* War, whereof ſome brazen dores had been, as they ſaid, ſeen in his houſe. The multitude now upon ſeveral accounts

He goeth into exile.

exaſperated againſt him, reſolved to ſhew their ſpleen. So that not having any way to evade their diſpleaſure, he went into exile, lifting up his hands towards the Capitol, and praying, that if he was unjuſtly and meerly by the luſt and malice of the multitude baniſhed, they might ſodainly repent it, and that it might appear to all men, how much the *Romans* ſtood in need of, and deſired his preſence. Being gone, he was fined fifteen thouſand *Æra*, which ſumm in ſilver made up one thouſand and five hundred *Denarii*. For *Æs* or braſs was then uſed for money, and *Denarius* thence had the name, for that it contained ten *Aſſes* thereof. But within a while it fell out, that *Camillus* was both miſſed and deſired according to his wiſh.

35. Many thouſands of the *Galles* called *Celtæ*, finding their own Country too narrow for them, with their wives and children left it, to ſeek out new ſeats. Some of them paſſing over the Sea, pierced as far as the *Riphæan* mountains, and placed themſelves in the utmoſt limits of *Europe*; others took up their habitation betwixt the *Pyrenæans* and the *Alps*, near the *Senones* and *Celtorii*. Theſe a long time after having taſted of ſome *Italian* Wine, were furiouſly tranſported with a deſire of inhabiting ſo rare a Soil, as brought forth ſuch fruit, and paſſing over the *Alps*, got into their power all that Country once belonging to the *Etruſcans*, and which reached from the *Alps* to both the Seas: for, that the *Etruſcans* once inhabited all this Country, *Plutarch* proveth thence, that the Northern Sea was named *Adriatick*, from *Adria*, one of their Towns, and the Southern, *Tyrrhenian*, from the *Tyrrheni* the ſame with *Hetruſci*. At this time the poſterity of thoſe *Galli Senones* under the conduct of their King *Brennus*, beſieged *Cluſium* a City of *Hetruria*, whoſe inhabitants ſent to *Rome*, deſiring of that State to interpoſe, by ſending Ambaſſadors and Letters to their unjuſt oppreſſors. The Senate performing this neighbourly part, the *Galles* required part of the Territories of the *Cluſini*, who were, as they ſaid, unable to manage them all, and *Brennus* not condeſcending to any other conditions, the Ambaſſadors (all three of the *Fabian* Family) in great anger went into *Cluſium*, and cauſed the Inhabitants to make a ſally out againſt the beſiegers. It hapned, that in the fight *Fabius Ambuſtus* one of the three killing a *Gall*, whilſt he diſarmed him, was diſcovered; whereupon *Brennus* conceiving juſt indignation, broke up his Siege, and marched towards *Rome*.

The *Galles* beſiege *Cluſium*.

36. Yet becauſe he would not ſeem to proceed unjuſtly, he ſent thither, requiring that the Ambaſſadors might be given up to him, as having broken the Law of Nations. But favour ſo far prevailed above equity, that the matter being referred from the Senate to the People, no ſatiſfaction could be had from either: nay the Ambaſſadors on the contrary, were with three others created *Tribunes Military*, for carrying on the War. *Brennus* then continuing his march, and breathing revenge, was met by the *Tribunes* at the River *Alia*, eleven miles from the City, who ſcarcely ſtriking one ſtroak, quickly betook them to their heels, and their Army after them. The *Galles* purſued them, being amazed at the flight and cowardize of thoſe who had already obtained for their valour a great name in the World; but were aſtoniſhed when they found the gates of *Rome* open, and none upon the walls to make reſiſtance; for it had been reſolved to quit the City and ſecure the Capitol. The greater part of the People departed into the adjoyning Country; the reſt poſſeſſed themſelves of the Capitol, all but certain old men of Senatorian degree, who in their robes placed themſelves in the *Forum*, reſolving to take ſuch quarter, as the diſpoſition of the Enemy would afford them. *Brennus* at firſt fearing ſome ſtratagem, after he perceived all to be clear, entred the City. His Soldiers were amazed, to ſee the grave Senators ſitting without fear in the *Forum*, and hurt them not, till one handling the long beard of *M. Papirius*, the old man ſtruck him with his ſtaff upon the head, whereupon the *Gall* ſlew him, and then all the reſt were killed, with all of both Sexes and all Ages that were found about the City, which was alſo now burnt to the ground, and the Capitol cloſely beſieged.

Defeat the *Romans* at *Alia*.

Come to *Rome* which is forſaken all but the Capitol.

A. M. 3615.
Ol. 97. *an.* 3.
V. C. 364.
Artax. Mnem. 15.

37. While the *Galls* lay before the Capitol, they careleſly demeaned themſelves, as ſecure of any Enemy, and were ſcattered into the Country adjoyning. *Camillus* at this time living in exile at *Ardea*, procured the Inhabitants of that City to iſſue out upon them, and killed many; which the *Romans*, who lay at *Veii*, underſtanding, choſe him for their General, deſiring him to forget injuries, and ſuccour his diſtreſſed Country. He objected his condition of baniſhment, and refuſed to act, except by commiſſion from thoſe in the Capitol, whom he conſidered to be the body of the *Roman* State yet ſurviving. There was

Camillus made Dictator.

one *Pontius Cominius*, who undertook to procure him leave from their friends in the Capitol, whither by a ſtrange adventure he got, paſſing by the Enemy, and ſwimming the River till he came to the Rock, which then he made a ſhift to climbe, and having procured the Senate to pronounce *Camillus* Dictator, returned in the ſame manner. By this time as well the beſiegers as beſieged were well wearied, both parties for want of proviſions, and the *Galls* by reaſon of a Plague which raged amongſt them; ſo as (having once attempted to ſurprize the Caſtel, by climbing up the Rock, they were diſcovered by the crying of the Geeſe, conſecrated to *Juno*, and repelled by the valour of one *Manlius* eſpecially) they agreed for fifty Pounds of Gold to ariſe and depart. Yet ſo covetous were they, that they took out the Gold as it was weighing, and added to the weight, which being complained of, *Brennus* caſt in his Sword alſo, crying *Væ victis*, which afterwards became a Proverb. But in the mean time came *Camillus*, and nulling this compact, as made without his conſent, who before was Dictator, and therefore alone had power of making Peace, overthrew them in fight, and did ſuch execution upon them in purſuite, as what remained of them, was overpowered and cut off by the Country. Thus *Rome*, which was unexpectedly taken by the *Galls* about the *Ides* of the month *Quinctilis*, was more unexpectedly recovered about the *Ides* of *February*, ſo that as *Plutarch* writeth, the *Barbarians* held it ſeven months, in the three hundred and ſixty fifth year of the City, and the ſixteenth of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*.

Overthroweth them and reſcueth *Rome*.

Hindreth the multitude from departing to *Veii*.

38. The Tribunes now renewed their importunity about removing unto *Veii*, which cauſed the Senate to procure *Camillus* his holding of the Office of Dictator, though contrary to the cuſtom, for the whole year. He with gentle language appeaſed the multitude, ſhewing them, how unworthy a thing it was to forſake the ſeat of their Anceſtors, and of their Country rites (which were appropriate to the ſame place) for to inhabit a conquered and enſlaved City. Then was *Rome* rebuilt in great haſte, whereby afterwards it became rather an heap of houſes than a well ordered Town, and that the watercourſes formerly laid in the ſtreets, now ran for the moſt part under private houſes. *Camillus* having laid down his Office was forced the year following to reaſſume it, becauſe of the *Volſci*, who now took Arms, as alſo the *Æqui* and *Etruſcans*, all which he overthrew, and forced the *Volſci* to yield themſelves after the War had continued with them for ſeventy years. In the third year after this he overcame them again, and with them the *Hernici* and *Latines*, whereof the later had ever from the battel at *Rhegillan* Lake been truſty and faithful until now: and from the *Etruſcans* he recovered two Towns which they had taken from the Allies of *Rome*. This he did being *Tribune Military*, though envied by *M. Manlius*, who having done ſpecial ſervice in the Capitol, by repelling the *Galls*, obtained the Sirname of *Capitollinus*. Being naturally haughty and ambitious, he was herewith puffed up, ſo as to extenuate the deſerts of *Camillus*, and by ingratiating himſelf with the common ſort, through paying their debts, and railing againſt the great ones, plainly to aim at the Soveraignty. This together with the War depending with the *Volſci*, which was alſo aggravated by the defection of the *Hernici* and *Latines*, cauſed the Senate to reſolve that a Dictator ſhould be created.

Livius lib. 6.

39. This was *A. Cornelius Coſſus*, as *Livy* writeth, though *Plutarch* nameth *Quinctius Capitolinus*, whom the other reporteth to have been Maſter of the Horſ-men to *Coſſus*. He triumphing over the Enemies from without, called alſo by the help of the Tribunes *Manlius* to account, and ſhut him in priſon. The multitude much afflicted hereat, took mourning Garments, and made ſuch diſturbance, that after ſome time he was ſet at liberty. But holding private meetings in the night, and growing more bold in his deſign, the Senate committed it to the care of the *Tribunes Military*, whereof *Camillus* was one, (as afterward in caſes of great exigency to the Conſuls) to *take care that the Commonwealth ſhould receive no dammage*. Being then brought to his Trial again in that place, whence a view of the Capitol might be had, he would ever point to it, and put the People in mind of what he had done there for them; whereupon *Camillus* cauſed his Judges to remove without the gate, into the grove called *Lucus Petelinus*, where being no ſight of the Capitol, he was condemned. He was thrown headlong from the *Tarpeian* Rock, the place both of his honour and infamy: and it was decreed, that none of the *Manlii* ſhould afterward be called *Marcus*.

Plutarch in Camillo.

Manlius thrown from the *Tarpeian* Rock.

40. After theſe things the *Latines* rebelling, and the *Volſci*, were ſeverally over-

Wonderful Sedition and confuſion about the Conſulſhip.

Camillus the fifth time *Dictator* again overthroweth the *Galles* at the River *Aniene.*

thrown without, and great tumults hapned within, by reaſon of the debts of the *Commons*, now again exceedingly increaſed. Their Tribunes incenſed them againſt the *Patritians*, and the conteſt was ſharpened by *Fabius Ambuſtus* one of this order, who having married one daughter to a *Patritian* and another to a *Commoner*, this took ſuch diſtaſte at her husbands condition, being void of honour, that *Fabius* told her he would ſo order the matter, that the ſame dignity ſhould be communicated to her houſe, as was to that of her Siſter. From this time he conſulted with *Licinius Stolo* her husband, and *L. Seſtius*, about the preferring of a Law, for making one Conſul out of the Commons. Theſe two being made *Tribunes* of the People, laboured ſo vigorouſly about it, that after long and great contention it came to that paſs, that for five years they ſuffered no Supreme Magiſtrates to be created. Nine years this diſpute continued, thoſe two continuing *Tribunes* ſtill, and the matter had come to another ſeparation or worſe, but that *Camillus* reconciled both parties. He was made *Dictator* the fourth time, ſaith *Plutarch*, for this purpoſe, but finding the multitude too ſtubborn, which threatned to Fine him except he complied, he again laid down his Office. The Senate then cauſed another *Dictator* to be named, and under him *Licinius Stolo* preferred a Law, which forbad any man to poſſeſs a bove five hundred Akers of ground, and afterwards being found himſelf to have above, was puniſhed by virtue of his own conſtitution. Whilſt the Contention was on foot about the Conſulſhip, news came that the *Galls*, many thouſands in number, were marching from the *Adriatick-Sea* towards *Rome*, which compoſed the difference for the preſent, and made them caſt their eyes upon *Camillus* as *Dictator* the fifth time. He being near eighty years of age refuſed not the employment in this time of great danger, and perceiving the *Galles* to fight with Swords, ſtriking at the heads and ſhoulders of their Enemies without any art or dexterity, he furniſhed his men with light iron Helmets, and bound their Targets about with braſs, teaching them how to fence, and receive the ſtroaks. By this device he rendred the ſwords of the *Galles* ſo unſerviceable, that giving them battel at the River *Aniene*, he eaſily overthrew them, in the twenty third year after he had recovered *Rome* from their Country-men.

Unheard of Seditions.

Procure to the Commons the Conſulſhip, and the Offices of *Prætor* and *Ædilis Curulis* to the *Patritians.*

Lib. 3. cap. 18.

What the *Curule* Chair was.

41. After this Fight the *Romans* deſpiſed the *Galles* whom before they ſo exceedingly feared, that whereas by a Law immunity from War was granted to Prieſts, an exception and Proviſo was added as to that with the *Galles*. *Camillus* in his retreat had *Velitræ* given up into his hands; but having now finiſhed his warlike exploits, a very conſiderable one remained to be performed by him at home. For at his return he was received with fierce and impatient Conteſts betwixt the Senate and Commons about the Conſulſhip, and retaining his power, that thereby he might ſerve the intereſt of the Nobility, an Officer was ſent from the *Tribunes* to pull him down from his ſeat in the *Forum*, and bring him before them. His attendants repelling the man, ſuch a noiſe and tumult followed as never before had been known, the multitude crying out, *pull him down.* Yet he laid not down his Office, but departing to the Senate-houſe, had a ſerious debate with the Fathers about the matter, and after great and various Contention, that party prevailed which granted to the Commons that one of the Conſuls might be created out of their Body. For this they deſired, and obtained of the Commons, to have a *Prætor* created yearly out of the Patritian order for adminiſtration of Juſtice in the City. By this agreement a good underſtanding being revived betwixt the parties, for as long a time as the infirmity of the Government could bear, a Temple was dedicated to *Concord*, which *Camillus* had vowed, moreover a fourth day was added to the *Latine Feriæ*, and the greater ſort of Games were ſolemnized, which when the *Ædiles* of the Commons refuſed to manage, the young Patritians offered themſelves, and the Senate procured alſo of the People that two Patritians every year might be made *Ædiles*, who from the Chair called *Cella Curulis*, had the name of *Ædiles Curules*. What their Office was hath been ſhewn before. As for this Chair, *Gellius* writeth, that antiently ſuch Senators as had born a *Curule* Office, were for honour's ſake wont to be drawn to the houſe in a Chariot, wherein was a Chair in which they ſate, and which thence (from the Chariot or *Currus*) was called *Curulis*. But others think that both the Orthography of the word, and the diſmenſion of the thing croſſed this derivation, and that it was called *Curulis* from *Cures*, a Town of the *Sabines*. The form of it upon old Coins repreſents that of *Spaniſh Chairs*, uſed by Princes as Chairs of State: It had alſo crooked Feet, as

Plutarch in the life of *Marius* deſcribeth it; ſeveral aſcents there were to it: it was covered with Ivory, as ſeveral Authors ſhew, and carved or ingraven, according to *Ovid*.

42. But as for the *Prætor*, there were two cauſes of the Creation of this Officer: *Æmulation* and *Uſe*. The former was wrought in the Patritians by the Commons, who now had wreſted into their own hands the Conſulſhip. The later was brought about by reaſon that the Conſuls were for the moſt part imployed abroad in Wars, and therefore there was a neceſſity of a Magiſtrate, whoſe peculiar work it ſhould be to adminiſter Juſtice in the Citie. The *Prætor* was ſo called a *præeundo*, as write both *(a) Varro* and *(b) Cicero*, and agreeable with this Etymology it was once the name of *(c)* Conſuls alſo, as we ſhewed before, and of all, or moſt other Magiſtrates, Civil or Military. It is probable, that this name, as the other of *Dictator*, *Ædilis*, and *Duumvir*, might come out of *Hetruria*, there being ſuch Officers there of old, as *Spartianus* ſeemeth to hint, and otherwiſe may be gathered. There being but one created at this time, *viz.* in the three hundred and eighty eighth year of the Citie, afterward about the five hundred year another was added, who adminiſtred Juſtice unto ſtrangers, ſo that for diſtinction the one was called *Prætor Urbanus*, and the other *Peregrinus*, the former being in Dignity above the other, and his Conſtitutions called *Jus Honorarium*, as we ſhewed before out of *Pomponius*. This ſame Author (having ſhewn, that after the bringing in of this *Prætor Peregrinus*; the *Decemviri* for judging of Cauſes, the *Triumviri* for coyning of Braſs, Silver, and Gold, the *Triumviri Capitales* for keeping of Priſons, and the *Quinqueviri* for both ſides of *Tiber* for executing what belonged to Magiſtrates in the evenings (at which time they were not to be abroad) were created by degrees) writeth further, that *Sardinia* being made a *Roman* Province, after that *Sicily*, then *Spain*, and after *Gallia Narbonenſis*; ſo many *Prætors* were made as there were Provinces, who partly governed at home, and partly abroad. *Lipſius* more particularly affirmeth, that in the five hundred and twentyth year of the City, *Sardinia* and *Sicily* being both made Provinces, there were two added, who as the former two aſſiſted the Conſuls in adminiſtring of Juſtice, ſo theſe in the government of the Provinces. When *Spain* (*Hiſpaniæ* in the plural number) was ſubdued, in the year five hundred and fifty ſeven, two more were added. So there were in all ſix *Prætors*, whereof two onely remained in the Citie, and the other, aſſoon as declared, departed into the Provinces, as they fell to them by lot: this order continuing till the examinations called *Quæſtiones Perpetuæ* were appointed, at which time the Senate reſolved that all the *Prætors* for the year of their Office ſhould continue in the Citie, and judge ſome controverſies, either publick or private.

(a) Prætor dictus qui præiret jure & exercitu. A quo Lucilius, Ergo Prætorum eſt præire. De Ling. Lat. lib. 4. *p.* 22.

(b) Vide Cap. hujus Sect. 1. *Paragr.* 1.

(c) Veteres enim omnem Magiſtratum cui pareret exercitus Prætorem appellaverunt unde & Prætorium tabernaculum ejus dicitur, & in caſtris porta prætoria, & hodie quoque præfectus prætorio. Aſconius Pædianus in Verrem de Prætura urbis.

43. *Pomponius* proceedeth, ſaying, that *Cornelius Sulla* appointed other publick Examinations or Inquiſitions: As, for example, *De falſo*, *De Paricidio*, and *de Sicariis*, for which he added four *Prætors* more; but *Lipſius* ſaith he is miſtaken in the number, proving out of *Cicero* that he made but two. *C. Julius Cæſar* appointed other two, as alſo two *Ædiles* called *Cereales*, and afterward ſixteen *Prætors*, as appeareth from *Dio*, who alſo relateth the *Triumviri* with greater liberty to have made ſixty four. *Auguſtus* filled up the number to ſixteen, ſaith *Pomponius*, though firſt *Lipſius* will have him to have confined the number to twelve. *Claudius* added two, who were to judge onely concerning *Fidei Commiſſa*, as the Law term is. *Titus* took one from the number: but *Nerva* reſtored and appointed him to hear and determine Cauſes betwixt the Exchequer and private perſons. Another was appointed by *M. Antonius Philoſophus*, called *Prætor Tutelaris*. So, in all there were eighteen, till, as the Empire decreaſed, they decreaſed alſo in number, and at length were reduced to that of three by a Law of *Valentinian* and *Marcian*. As for the Office of *Prætors*, the *Prætor Urbanus*, who was alſo called *Præfectus Urbi* (though a *Præfectus* was afterward onely choſen for the Latine *Feriæ*) in the abſence of the Conſuls executed their Office in the Senate and *Comitia*. But three things eſpecially belonged to them: *Games*, *Sacrifices*, and *Judicature*. The former onely continued to them in a manner when the Empire decayed. Their Judicature was either in publick or private matters. Private cauſes concerning *meum* and *tuum*, two onely handled, *viz.* the *Urbanus* and *Peregrinus*; Publick or Criminal maters were managed by all the reſt, who yet had their ſeveral and diſtinct Crimes, one or two, which they judged; and yet ſometimes in their Provinces they managed Civil matters alſo. They had the ſame Ornaments and Enſigns of power as the Conſuls; onely but ſix Lictors apiece, whereas the

other had twelve. In reſpect of their power and honour, as alſo becauſe they were created by the ſame *Auſpicia*, *Livy* calleth them the *Collegues of Conſuls*.

Liv. lib. 7.

44. The firſt Conſul out of the body of the Commons was *L. Sextius*, by whoſe Law the privilege was obtained; the firſt *Prætor Sp. Furius*, the ſon of *Camillus*, and the firſt *Ædiles Curules* were *Cn. Quintius Capitolinus*, and *P. Cornelius Scipio*. To *Sextius* was given as Collegue from amongſt the Patritians *L. Æmilius Mamercus*, and ſo the Conſuls again returned after twenty three years, theſe being the eighty eighth pair as they are found in *Livy*, and the *Tribunes Military* were for ever laid aſide after fourty eight courſes of that Office, and fifteen changes from the Conſulſhip to it, and from it to the Conſulſhip. Beſides theſe changes of Government in *Rome*, there were the two Grand ones from Kings to Conſuls, and from Conſuls to the *Decemviri*; and to this time from the firſt of theſe alterations had intervened twenty Dictatorſhips, beſides the ſeveral *Interregnums*. The firſt *Interregnum* was extraordinary, being betwixt the reigns of *Romulus* and *Numa*, when the Senate governed for the ſpace of a year: the other were ordinary, and continued but for five days under particular men, at the end whereof another was elected, and called *Interrex*, having for that time the power of Conſuls. All theſe changes of Government, except the *Interregnums* betwixt the Reigns of the Kings (whereof none but one is conſiderable) hapned to the Commonwealth of *Rome* within the ſpace of one hundred and thirty four years, ſcarce ſo many having completely paſſed from the baniſhment of *Tarquinius*, to this alteration in the Conſulſhip, It is not in vain to have made theſe obſervations, that the Reader may plainly ſee the ridiculous fickleneſs, weakneſs, and danger of the *Roman* Government after that it came to be Antimonarchical.

The many alterations in the *Roman* Government.

45. In the beginning of the year, news came of the *Galls* their meeting together, who had before been diſperſed through *Apulia*, and of the intended revolt of the *Hernici*; but all preparations were deferred by the Senate, becauſe it troubled them that any thing ſhould be done by a *Plebeian* Conſul, and there was a great ſilence with a general intermiſſion of buſineſs as in ſome great Vacation. Only the *Tribunes* were not ſilent, becauſe that for one *Plebeian* Conſul the Nobility had got three Patritian Magiſtrates, who ſate as Conſuls in their *Curule* Chairs, and their *Prætextæ*: eſpecially were they concerned about the *Prætor*, who adminiſtred Juſtice, was a Collegue of the Conſuls, and created by the ſame *Auſpicia*. Modeſty therefore ſuffered not the Fathers to create both the *Ædiles Curules* out of their own body; ſo that it was agreed firſt that every other year they ſhould be choſen out of the Commons; but afterwards they were elected promiſcuouſly. The year following fell a grievous Plague upon the City, which took away, beſides great multitudes of the common ſort, One *Cenſor*, one *Ædilis Curulis*, and three *Tribunes*: And who was more than all, *Camillus* himſelf now died, having born the Office of Conſul more than once, been five times Dictator, having Triumphed four, and done ſuch things as he deſervedly was written the ſecond founder of *Rome*. The Plague raging both in this and the following year, gave place to no means that were uſed, ſo that all mens minds being ſuperſtitiouſly bent, the Stage-playes were brought up to appeaſe their impure gods. The Actors were ſent for out of *Hetruria*, in the language of which Countrey *Hiſter* ſignifying a Player, thence was derived the *Roman* word *Hiſtrio*: theſe Playes were very barbarous and antick at the firſt. Two years after this the ground cleaving aſunder in the *Forum*, *M. Curtius* is ſaid to have rode into the hole, and ſo being ſwallowed up, purchaſed conqueſt for his Country, according to the Declaration of their gods. After this there was action abroad with the *Hernici* and the *Galls*. One of theſe provoking any one *Roman* to a ſingle Combat, *T. Manlius* accepted of the challenge, and killing his Enemy took a *Torques* or Chain from his neck, whence he and his poſterity obtained the Sirname of *Torquatus*. In this fight the *Galls* had the worſt, ſo alſo three years after, and eight years after that, when *M. Valerius* a young man, and Tribune of the Soldiers, fighting with another *Gall*, as *Manlius* did, had the ſame ſucceſs. As he was fighting a Crow came, and ſitting upon his head, with beak and wings aſſiſted him in his Combat, whence he had the Sirname of *Corvinus*. At this time alſo were ſeveral Victories obtained againſt the *Latines* and *Hetruſcans*.

Camillus with many others dieth of the Plague.

M. Curtius.

Torquatus.

Corvinus.

46. But, (that we may joyn domeſtick affairs with thoſe of the Camp) after the

Commons had enjoyed the Conſulſhip nine years, the Patritians took it from them again, out of diſdain that the year before *C. Marcius Rutilius* a *Plebeian* had been Dictator. Hereat the multitude was ſo inraged, that at the end of three years more, the Senate was forced to reſtore the Office, and becauſe Uſury again was grown exceeding burthenſom to the poorer ſort, they appointed five men to order the payment of debts out of the Treaſury. For the following year alſo one of the *Cenſors* was choſen out of the Plebeians. Hitherto were the Wars of the *Romans* as it were at their Gates: now they were removed further off, and henceforth continued longer: For in the four hundred and twelfth year from the founding of the City, and the fourty ſixth from its reſtauration, began the War with the *Samnites*, a People of *Italy*, * deſcended from the *Sabines*, from whom alſo they had their name, or from *Saunia* or *Sannia*, which in the *Greek* Tongue ſignifie *Spears*; or from the Hill *Samnium*, where, as they came from the *Sabines*, they ſeated themſelves according to *Feſtus*. They had the *Sabines*, *Peligni*, and *Æqui* on the Weſt, the *Picentini* and *Apuli* on the Eaſt, on the South the *Campanians* and *Sidicini*, and on the North the *Marucini*, *Dauni*, and *Apuli*, as is obſervable out of Hiſtory, ſaith * *Joh. Stadius*. It was the Cuſtom of the *Romans* by helping others to eſpouſe quarrels. The *Samnites* having unjuſtly moleſted the *Sidicini* with War, they betook themſelves to the *Campanians* for ſuccour. Theſe being luxurious and effeminate, were eaſily worſted, and ſent to *Rome* for aid, their Ambaſſadors imploring it with tears, and giving up themſelves and Country into the hands of the Senate and People. The Senate was at firſt unwilling to uſe any force, for that the *Samnites* were their friends in confederacy; but upon the importunate cries and prayers of the Ambaſſadors, and the ſcornful denial of the *Samnites* to abſtain from the Territories of *Capua* and *Campania*, their requeſt was granted, and the Conſuls ſent forth, the one to *Capua*, and the other into *Samnium*, where the *Samnites* were overthrown in both places, and many thouſands of them ſlain: For, in *Campania*, *Valerius* after a bloody Battel became Maſter of their Camp. In *Samnium Cornelius* having unwarily led his Army thither where they lay in wait for him, *P. Decius* a Tribune in the Army, poſſeſſed himſelf of an hill above the Enemy, who much wondring thereat, applied themſelves thither, and ſo gave liberty to the Conſul to draw forth his men into a more convenient place. Then brake he through, though beſieged, whereat the Enemy was ſo much aſtoniſhed, that the Conſul falling on obtained ſo great a Victory, that thirty thouſand of the *Samnites* were ſlain.

A Plebeian Dictator made which cauſeth great diſcontent.

The War with the *Samnites.*

Strabo l. 5. *p.* 228. *c.*

* *In Florum l.* 1. *c.* 16.

47. This defeat, together with the inroades made upon them the next year, drew them to a Peace, the *Sidicini* being left to their mercy. They deſired that the *Latines* and *Campanians* might be commanded not to aſſiſt the *Sidicini*; but becauſe the Senate would not deny that theſe Nations were under their command., and were alſo afraid to provoke them, ſo ambiguous an anſwer was made, that the *Samnites* being left but dubious, the *Latines* and the other thought themſelves ſo far diſobliged as to rebel. *T. Manlius Torquatus* now Conſul the third time, with *Decius Mus* his Collegue, was ſent to chaſtize the *Latines*. Upon dreams which they both had, that one General on the one part, and the Army on the other, belonged to the *Dii Manes* and *Tellus Mater*, they agreed, that in what part the *Roman* Army ſhould be diſtreſſed, he under whoſe command it was ſhould devote himſelf, and that ſtrict diſcipline ſhould be obſerved, ſo that all were forbidden to fight without orders. The Army being ſorely put to it in *Decius* his wing, he devoted himſelf, and ruſhing into the midſt of his Enemies, after great ſlaughter made loſt his life. *L. Manlius* the other Conſul's Son, paſſing with his Troop, before the battel, near the Camp of the Enemy, was challenged by *Geminius Metius* Captain of the *Tuſculans*, whom when he had ſlain and ſtripped, his Father for a reward cauſed him to be put to death; whence cruel Commands were wont to be called *Manliana Dicta*. Of the manner of the Combat * *Aulus Gellius*, or *Agellius* is to be conſulted. The *Latines* being overthrown were wholly ſubdued, and begged Peace; which being given to them, though not with the ſame conditions to all, *Manlius* returned, and was met by antient men only, the young ones refuſing to do him that honour, who ever after both hated and curſed him in reference to his ſon.

Decius Mus devoteth himſelf.

A. M. 3666.
Ol. 110. *an.* 2.
V. C. 415.
Ochi 23.
Philippi 22.

* *Lib.* 9. *cap.* 13.

48. After his return, the *Antiates* and *Ardeates* made incurſions into the *Roman* Territories. Being by ſickneſs rendred unfit for War, he named *L.*

Papyrius

The *Latines* overthrown.

The very conſtitution of the State changed.

Papyrius Craſſus for Dictator, who appointed *L. Papyrius Curſor* his Maſter of Horſ-men; but nothing memorable was done. The Conſuls for the following year, *T. Æmilius Mamercus* and *Q. Publius Philo*, overthrew the *Latines*, who had rebelled becauſe of the grounds taken from them. *Publius*, by whoſe conduct and *auſpicium* the Victory was obtained, receiving into amity ſuch Cities as had been worſted, *Æmilius* led the Army againſt *Pedus*, which received ſupplies from ſeveral places. Though he had the better in all skirmiſhes, yet the Town holding out, and he hearing that his Collegue was returned home to his decreed Triumph, he alſo left the Siege, and departed to demand that honour. The Senate was offended, and denied to permit him the honour, except *Pedus* was either taken, or ſurrendred, which cauſed him out of revenge all the year following to joyn with the Tribunes againſt the Fathers, his Collegue not oppoſing it, becauſe a Plebeian. The Senate having a deſire to be rid of them, commanded a Dictator to be named, but it belonging to *Æmilius* to name him, he whoſe were the *Faſces* for this month, named his Collegue, who appointed *Junius Brutus* his Maſter of Horſ-men. And his Dictatorſhip was very grievous to the Nobility, being full of invectives againſt them, and procured three Laws, whereof the firſt altered the very conſtitution of the State. This was, that the *Plebiſcita* ſhould bind all the *Quirites*, or the whole People compriſing all ranks, and degrees. The ſecond, that ſuch Laws as paſſed in the *Centuriata Comitia*, ſhould be propoſed by the Fathers before the Suffrage. The third, that one of the *Cenſors* at leaſt ſhould be a Plebeian, whereas now it was come to that paſs, that both might be ſuch. Thus did the Government of Rome devolve faſt to a Democratical temper, the intereſt of the *Patritians* being now quite broken by the force of the former Law (which proved as a *Lex talionis* to them, and as a puniſhment for their rebellion againſt their Kings) in the four hundred and ſixteenth year of the City, after *Varro*'s account, which fell in with the firſt of *Arſes* King of *Perſia*, and the twenty third of *Philip* King of *Macedonia*.

All *Latium* ſubdued.

The *Roſtra* at *Rome* whence ſo called.

49. In the following year, wherein *L. Furius Camillus* and *C. Mænius* were Conſuls, *Pedus* was taken by ſtorm, and the Conſuls in purſuite of the Victory ſubdued all *Latium*, for which they triumphed, and had Statues on horſeback ſet up in the *Forum*; an honour but rare in thoſe days. The ſeveral People of *Latium*, had ſeveral conditions of Peace ſet them. To *Antium* was ſent a new Colony, and the old inhabitants were forbidden the Sea, had all their long-ſhips taken from them, had leave to enter themſelves in the Colony, and were made free of the City. The ſhips were partly brought into the *Roman* Arcenal, partly burnt, and with their *Roſtra* or beaks was the Gallery or Pulpit for Orations adorned, which was built in the *Forum*; whence that Temple was afterwards called *Roſtra*. The year following *Minutia* a Veſtal Nun was buried quick in the *Campus Sceleratus*, which I *believe*, ſaith *Livy*, *had its name from Inceſt*; for ſo the fault of incontinency in thoſe women was termed. And in this ſame year *Q. Publius Philo* was made the firſt *Prætor* out of the Commons; the Senate not regarding now what hapned in this kind, becauſe they had been overpowered in things of greateſt conſequence. Now alſo a War aroſe betwixt the *Aurunci* and *Sidicini*, whereof the former were conſtrained by the other to forſake their antient ſeat, and depart to *Sueſſa*, which was afterwards called *Aurunca*. The *Aurunci* had given up themſelves to the *Romans*, who thereupon ordered them relief, but the Conſuls deferring it, this fell out in the mean time. But the next year the *Sidicini* and the *Auſones* who inhabited *Cales* were overthrown, and *Valerius Corvinus* now the fourth time Conſul for the following year, and the greateſt *Roman* Captain of this time, took *Cales* alſo, where a Colony was placed. In the ſecond year after the taking of *Cales*, the Cenſus was ſolemnized, and two Tribes added, *Metia* and *Scaptia*, for the newly admitted Citizens: the *Acerrani* were alſo made free of the City, without the privilege of Suffrage, by a Law preferred by *L. Papyrius* the *Prætor*.

50. In the year following, above one hundred and ſeventy women were put to death for the art of poyſoning, being diſcovered by a ſhe Slave, whereas heretofore there had been no inquiſition made after this crime, which therefore was accounted ſuch a prodigy, that a Dictator was made for fixing of a nail, which they had read in their Annals to have been a remedy for the diſtempers of the State, when the Commons ſeperated from the Patritians. For the two ſucceeding

War with the *Privernates.*

ceeding years a War was managed againſt the *Privernates*, who were drawn into it by *Vitruvius Vallus*, a man of principal note amongſt the *Fundani*. In the firſt year they were overthrown, in the next he was either taken or delivered up, and *Privernum* either ſtormed or ſurrendred, both being affirmed by Writers, of whom *Livy* is to be conſulted: the principal actors were together with *Vitruvius* put to death, and the reſt of the Inhabitants made free of the City. The firſt year of this War fell in with the laſt of *Darius Codomannus*, the laſt King of *Perſia*, being the four hundred and twenty fourth of the City, when *L. Papyrius Craſſus* the ſecond time, and *L. Plautius Venox* (or *Venno*) were Conſuls.

A. M. 3675.
Ol. 122. *an.* 3.
V. C. 424.
Darii 7.
Alexandri 7.

AN

UMI

A N
INSTITUTION
OF
General Hiſtory.

The Firſt Part.

BOOK III.

Of the Empire of the *Macedonians*, and Affairs of the World Contemporary with it.

CHAP. I.

From the beginning of the Monarchy of Alexander *to his Death, containing the ſpace of Six Years and Ten Months.*

Alexander bewaileth Darius.

Curtius lib. 5. cap. 14. Diodorus ad Olymp. 112. ann. 3. & 4.

Marcheth into *Hyrcania*.

Curtius lib. 6. Cap. 2, 3.

A. M. 3676. Ol. 112. ann. 4. V. C. 425. Alexand. 8.

1. ALexander riding hard after *Darius*, came a little after he had expired, ſaw the Body, and bewailed his Death with tears: he caſt his own Garment over him, and ſent him to his Mother to be Royally Interred amongſt his Anceſtors. His Brother *Oxyathres* he received into the number of his own Friends, and maintained him in his former Dignity. Then did he begin to purſue *Beſſus*; but finding that he was fled far before into *Bactria*, he left off his Purſuit, and returned to *Hecatompolis* in *Parthia*, where his Soldiers being tickled with a Rumor that the *Macedonians* ſhould have leave to return home, rouzed him up from his Idleneſs and Luxury, to which now he began to give way after the *Perſian* faſhion: but they were at length quieted, and perſwaded by him to perfect the work thus far carried on in *Aſia*. Leaving then *Craterus* in this Country with ſome Forces, he marched into *Hyrcania* which *Nabarzanes* had ſeized on, who yielded it up, and himſelf to him. After this he Invaded the *Mardi*, a neighbouring People, who, not being wont to be thus provoked by any, made reſiſtance with 8000 Men, and intercepted *Bucephalus* his moſt beloved Horſe, which, being given him by *Demaratus* the *Corinthian*, when unſadled, would ſuffer none to come on his back, and when adorned, none but the King himſelf, whom to receive he bowed down. *Alexander* exceedingly moved with the loſs of him, after he had ſlain, and taken moſt of theſe Men, cut down all the Trees, and threatned the Nation with utter deſtruction in caſe they did not reſtore the Horſe; ſo that for fear they did it, and with him ſent their Preſents, and asked Pardon by 50 Meſſengers.

Whether the Queen of the *Amazons* ever came to him.

Conſule Plutarchum in Alexandro & Arrianum lib. 7.

He cometh into the Country of the *Arii.*

That of the *Zarangæi.*

2. Returning back, he received 1500 Men which had been ſent out of *Greece* to *Darius* with 90 Ambaſſadors. Over this Party he made Captain *Andronicus*, who brought them to him, and then went on to *Zadracarta*, the Principal City of *Hyrcania*, where he ſtaid 15 days. Hither *Thaleſtris*, Queen of the *Amazons*, is ſaid, with 300 Women, to have come to have Iſſue by him, which Story, though it be delivered for a truth by ſome, yet is there better ground to ſuſpect it, ſeeing that neither *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagus*, who was then with him, and wrote his Acts, neither any other good Author of thoſe times approved of it: and *Alexander* himſelf in his Letters to *Antipater*, wherein he gave him an account of his Affairs, mentioned how the *Scythian* King offered to him his Daughter in Marriage, but not a word of this Matter. After this, he returned into *Parthia*, and purpoſing now to go againſt *Beſſus* (who in *Bactria* had taken upon him a Royal Robe, and the Name and Title of *Artaxerxes King of Perſia*) he thence removed into the Country of the *Arii.* *Satibarzanes* the Governor thereof meeting him at the City *Suſia*, he confirmed him in his Place, but after his departure he revolted from him, whereby the King was conſtrained to March back againſt him, which he hearing fled with 2000 Men towards *Beſſus*; ſo as *Alexander* following him ſome time, but in vain, reduced the Country to obedience, and returned to his former Expedition. Then came he into the Country of the *Zarangæi*, which was governed by one *Barſaentes*, who having had an hand in the Murder of *Darius*, now fled into *India*, whence he was afterwards ſent, and put to death. Here in this Land of the *Zarangæi* (or *Drangæ*) was a Conſpiracy againſt *Alexander* diſcovered; firſt by *Dymnus* to *Nicomachus*, who, though he ſwore ſecrecy, communicated it to *Zeballinus* his Brother. *Zeballinus* (or *Ceballinus*) acquainted with it *Philotas* the Son of *Parmenio*, who, delaying to tell it to the King, either through heedleſneſs, or on purpoſe, thereby procured the deſtruction of himſelf and family.

Philotas put to death for Treaſon,

And *Parmenio* his Father.

Lege Curtium lib. 6, & 7. Plutarch. & Diodorum ut prius. Arrianum lib. 3.

3. For, *Ceballinus* ſuſpecting him to be in the Plot, becauſe of his delay, diſcovered the matter to *Metro* a young Noble-man, and Maſter of the Armory, who acquainting the King therewith, he preſently cauſed them all to be apprehended. *Dymnus* knowing wherefore he was called, killed himſelf. *Ceballinus* caſt all the blame upon *Philotas*, who denied not that he had been told of ſuch a Buſineſs, but ſaid he revealed it not to the King only through neglect, and becauſe he eſteemed it of no Conſequence. Being brought to the Rack, he either confeſſed the thing as it was, or feigned a Story, and wrongfully accuſed himſelf to eſcape the extremity of Torment; after which he was put to death. Now was *Parmenio* his Father, a Man of 70 Years of Age, Governor of *Media*, one who had done eſpecial ſervice for the King, and his Father *Philip*. *Alexander*, either for that he feared he was privy to the Conſpiracy, or thought it not ſafe that he ſhould out-live his Son, ſent one away with ſpeed, who delivering a counterfeited Letter to him as from *Philotas*, ſlew him as he read it. Amongſt others that were put to death for this Conſpiracy, was *Alexander Lynceſtes* the Son-in-law of *Antipater*, who had conſpired the deſtruction both of *Philip* and *Alexander*, and for his Treaſon been kept in Durance now Three Years. This being done, the King proceeded in his Expedition againſt *Beſſus.*

Diodorus ut prius. Curtius lib. 7. *cap.* 3. *Arrianus.*

The King Marcheth againſt *Beſſus.*

4. Though the Soldiers condemned *Parmenio*, and his Son while living, yet they pityed them when dead, and conceived great Indignation againſt their Judges. *Alexander* underſtanding this, that he might know their ſeveral Minds, gave out, that he was ſending into *Macedonia*, and whoſoever would, might have an opportunity thereby to write to their Friends. By their Letters, all which he cauſed to be opened, he knew who were diſcontented and ready to Mutiny, and all thoſe he gathered into one company, leſt they ſhould corrupt the reſt, ſetting over them one *Leonidas*, an intimate friend of *Parmenio.* The King in his March came to the Country of the *Arimaſpi*, or *Agriaſpæ*, called alſo *Euergetæ*, ſay the *Greeks*, by *Cyrus* the Great; for that when he went againſt the *Scythians*, they furniſhed him with Proviſions in his great neceſſity. He uſed them very curteouſly, beſtowing upon them Money, and as much Ground as they would aſk, which was not much: And here he heard that *Satibarzanes*, being returned from *Beſſus*, had withdrawn the *Arii* from obedience. Againſt him he ſent 6000 Greekiſh Foot, and 600 Horſe, under the Command of *Erygius* and others, who joyning Battel with him, he pulled down his Helmet, and challenged any one to a ſingle Combate. *Erygius* accepting of the Challenge, ſlew him in the Place, and then his Soldiers, who had followed him rather by Conſtraint, than out of any good Will, yielded themſelves. *Alexander* having ſtaid among the *Euergetæ* 60 days, paſſed on, and in his way ſubdued the *Gedroſians*, the *Drangi*

and *Dragogi*, as alſo *Arachoſia*, where he got that Army into his Power of which *Parmenio* had the Command, conſiſting of 6000 *Macedonians*, and 200 Gentlemen, beſides 5000 other *Greeks*, and 600 Horſe.

Paſſeth the Mountain *Paropamiſus.*

A. M. 3677. *Ol.* 113. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 426. *Alexandri* 9.

Invadeth *Bactria.*

Beſſus delivered up to him.

5. The next People he paſſed through were the *Paropamiſadæ.* This being in the Winter-ſeaſon, his Army ſuffered extreamly through the Coldneſs of the Climate: Thence he came to the Mountain *Caucaſus* or *Paropamiſus*, (as that part of it was called) which he paſſed in 17 days, and built ſome Cities about it. *Beſſus* had now in *Bactria* about 8000 of the Inhabitants up in Arms, who thinking that *Alexander* would rather turn towards *India* than come againſt them, kept with him, till they plainly perceived that the King Invaded their Country: Then they all betook them to their own Homes, and *Beſſus* with his other Followers paſſed over the River *Oxus* into the Country of the *Sogdians*, being ſtill accompanied with *Spitamenes* and *Oxyartes*, in whoſe fidelity he confided. But *Alexander* Invading *Bactria*, after he had taken divers Cities, had the whole Country yielded to him; after which he paſſed to the great River *Oxus*, but in his way was ſo diſtreſſed for Water, that his Army languiſhed; and when it came to the River, ſo many drunk intemperately, that he loſt more Men thereby, than he had formerly done in any Battel. E're he paſſed the River, he ſent home 900 *Macedonians* and *Theſſalians*, the former being Old and Wounded, and the latter the remnant of the Volunteers: thoſe he rewarded, and gave thanks to ſuch of the reſt that remained as were willing to ſerve in the Wars yet behind. He paſſed over the River upon Skins and Bladders joined together, wanting Materials to make a better Bridge, and came to the place where he heard *Beſſus* lay with all his Forces. *Beſſus* was now forſaken by his Friends, for *Spitamenes* conſpiring againſt him with *Dataphernes* and *Catanes*, ſnatched the Diadem from his Head, tore *Darius* his Robe from off his Back, and gave notice to *Alexander*, that if he would ſend any of his Captains with ſome Forces, they would deliver him up. *Alexander* ſent *Ptolomie* the Son of *Lagus*, and one of his Guard, who brought him to his Preſence in an Halter, whence he was delivered to *Oxyartes* the Brother of *Darius*, to be tormented to death in that Place where he had moſt wickedly ſlain his Sovereign, his Lord and Maſter.

Curtius l. 7. *Strabo l.* 11. & 14.

He deſtroyeth the *Branchidæ.*

Curtius & *Arrianus.*

Cometh to *Maracanda.*

4. About this time he utterly deſtroyed the City of the *Branchidæ*, with all its Inhabitants, in revenge for a fault committed 150 years before. For, *Xerxes* flying out of *Greece*, they betray'd the Treaſures of *Didymæan Apollo* into his hands; and for this, not daring to ſtay behind, they left *Miletus* and followed him, who gave them this place, where their Poſterity dearly paid for their fault. After this, he marche to the River *Tanais*, (another than that which ſevereth *Europe* from *Aſia*) falling down from the Mountain *Caucaſus* into the *Hyrcanian* Sea. Here ſome of his Soldiers going forth to gather Forage, were intercepted by the Enemy, which to the number of 20 or 30000 betook himſelf to an Hill, and thence was beaten down and waſted to 8000, yet with great difficulty, and hazard to the King himſelf, who received a Wound in his Thigh. Thence in four days he marched in a Litter to *Maracanda*, the chief City of *Sogdiana*, where leaving a Garriſon, he over-ran the neighbouring Territories; and ſhortly after came an Ambaſſage from the *Scythians*, called *Abii*, who thereby gave up themſelves into his power. But in the mean time the Barbarians of *Maracanda* ſlew the Garriſon of the *Macedonians*; being, together with the greateſt part of the *Sogdians*, drawn back by thoſe that took *Beſſus*, who alſo got to their Party ſome of the *Bactrians* and *Suſians*. *Alexander* ſent to ſuppreſs them *Spitamenes* and *Catenes*, who had delivered up *Beſſus*; but they confirmed them in their Rebellion, and became Leaders in the Revolt, giving out, that the *Bactrian* Horſe was ſent for by the King on purpoſe to be made away.

7. To reduce theſe Revolters, *Alexander* preſently ſent *Craterus*, who beſieged *Cyropolis* the chief City, ſo called, becauſe built by *Cyrus* the Great; and he himſelf beſieged another called *Gaza*, which he took, and put all of ripeneſs of Age to the Sword, for a terror to their Country-men. After this he reduced ſeveral other Cities, and then went to the Aſſiſtance of *Craterus* againſt *Cyropolis*, which was defended by 18000 Men. Here he loſt many a valiant Soldier, and by a ſtroak of a Stone on his Neck was fell'd down ſenſeleſs; but this excited his natural Vigor, ſo that out of Indignation he ſet furiouſly on, and preſently took the Place. Eight Thouſand of the Inhabitants were ſlain, and the reſt retiring into the Caſtle, ſhortly after yielded for want of Water; and then one City remaining only of Seven, whither the Barbarians had fled, he reduced that alſo in a ſhort time. *Spitamenes* now had ſhut himſelf up in *Maracanda*, where he beſieged the *Macedonians* in the Caſtle. Againſt him he ſent a Party; and began to build a City upon the River *Tanais*, which being raiſed

in few days, with a Wall ſix Miles in compaſs, he called after himſelf *Alexandria.* His deſign was to have a convenient Fortreſs for the Invaſion of *Scythia*, which the Scythian King, inhabiting beyond the River, ſuſpecting, ſent his Brother with a Party of Horſe to beat away the *Macedonian* Forces, and demoliſh it. Coming to the narroweſt place of the River, they not only caſt over their Darts, but opprobrious Speeches, which ſo incenſed *Alexander*, as though he was extream ill, and for ſome time had not been able as much as to ſpeak to his Soldiers, yet he reſolved to paſs over againſt them.

Curtius ut ſuprà Juſtin. l. 12. Arrianus, l. 4.

Marcheth againſt the *Scythians.*

8. With admirable induſtry he got over his Men, partly in Boats, and partly upon Bladders, notwithſtanding the earneſt oppoſition of the Enemy, whom he put to the Rout, and, though he was very much indiſpos'd in his own perſon, purſued them 80 Furlongs, then fainting, he commanded his Men to follow the Chace as long as they day would permit. The want of Water in this Place was ſuch, that the Army was thereby exceedingly diſtreſs'd, and the King himſelf drinking of ſome that was corrupt, fell into a Diarrhea. But not long after the *Scythians* ſent to excuſe themſelves, denying that the War had been undertaken by their general conſent, but only by a certain Party that lived upon Robbery. Giving themſelves up into his hands, he diſmiſs'd the Amballadors curteouſly, and with them the Priſoners he had taken. By this time *Spitamenes* had cut off the Party ſent againſt him, which *Alexander* underſtanding, in three days time Marched 1500 Furlongs to *Maracanda*, whither he had notice that he was returned; but hearing of the Kings coming, he fled amain, and was purſued for ſome time, but to no purpoſe. *Alexander* then dividing his Forces, over-ran the Country which had revolted, and gave Command, that all of ripe Age ſhould be put to the Sword, for a terror to others, by which ſeverity fell 120000 of the Inhabitants of *Sogdiana.* Leaving *Peucolaus* there with 3000 Foot, he departed to *Bactra*, (a City ſo called from the River *Bactrus*, which runneth through it, being otherwiſe named *Zartaſpa*) where he cauſed *Beſſus* to be brought to the Head of his Army: Here he made his Noſe and Ears to be cut off, and then ſent him to *Ecbatane* to be Judged and Executed by Sentence of a Council of *Medes* and *Perſians.* Thus *Diodorus* relateth the Story; but *Plutarch* writeth, That by *Alexanders* Command, the Boughs of two Trees being firſt drawn together, aud he made faſt to them both, they then were ſuffered to return to their natural ſite, and he was thereby pulled aſunder.

Cometh to *Bactra.*

Beſſus puniſhed for his execrable Treaſon.

Arrianus.

9. Having much encreaſed his Forces by the coming in of freſh Supplies, he once more over-ran the Country of the *Sogdians*, as yet not fully ſubdued, and the five parts of his Army afterwards met and united at *Maracanda*, whence he ſent *Hephæſtion* to lead out Colonies into the Cities of *Sogdiana*, as *Cænus* and *Artabazus* againſt the *Scythians*, for to them he heard that *Spitamenes* was fled, who with a Company of *Bactrians* and *Sogdians*, and about 800 Horſe of the *Maſſagetes*, got a Caſtle near *Bactra* into his Hand, then came againſt *Zariaſpa*, or *Bactra*, and by an Ambuſh cut off many of the Defendants in their Sally out againſt him. Upon *Cænus* his Approach the *Maſſagetes* fled, but he purſued and killed many of them. *Alexander* having ſubdued more of the *Sogdians*, returned to *Maracanda*, whither the King of the *Europæan Scythians* inhabiting above *Boſphorus*, ſent to him, offering his Daughter in Marriage; or if this liked him not, he deſired, that the principal *Macedonians* about him might contract Affinity with his Nation; moreover he offered to come in Perſon and receive his Commands. After this, *Alexander* Hunted in the Forreſt of *Bazaria*, which had been untouched for four Ages. Herein a Lion coming upon him, *Lyſimachus* (who afterwards Reigned, and had ſlain a Lion e're this) went about to ſtave him off; but the King forbad him, and receiving the Beaſt, ſlew him at one ſtroak. Four Hundred Beaſts more being killed, he Feaſted his whole Army, and again repaired to *Maracanda*, where he ſlew *Clytus.*

Curtius lib. 8. cap. 1.

Alexander killeth a Lion.

Idem. ibid. Arrianus lib. 4. Cicero Tuſcul. Queſt. 4.

10. In a Feaſt (to which he had invited him) being heated with Wine, he fell of commending his own Acts, and therein ſoared ſo high, as to ſpeak ſcornfully of the things performed by his Father *Philip.* *Clytus* having alſo drunk ſufficiently, was netled with this, and defending *Philip*, in his Replies plainly reproached *Alexander*; who therefore ran him through, and killed him out-right, having a little before deſigned him to the Government of *Sogdiana* in the room of *Artabazus*, who excuſed himſelf by his Old Age; For being the Son of *Dropis*, and Brother to *Hellanica Alexander*'s Nurſe, he had done good Service to both Kings, and was now an Old Soldier. *Alexander*, when he came to himſelf, conſidering what he had done, would have made way for following him by his own Hands, and when he was hindred by his Friends from violent Attempts, would have done it by faſting four days. On the fifth, his

Killeth *Clytus.*

Atten-

Cometh to *Xenippa.*

A. M. 3678. *Ol.* 113. *an.* 2. *V. c.* 427. *Alexand.* 10.

Marrieth *Roxane.*

Attendants brake into his Tent, and comforting him, cauſed him to eat. The *Macedonians* judged *Clytus* rightfully put to death, and decreed he ſhould not be buried; but he commanded this laſt Office to be performed to him. Leaving a good Guard with *Cænus* to defend *Sogdiana,* and take *Spitamenes* if he ſhould come that way in Winter, he marched to *Xenippa*, where, after a ſharp Encounter, he received the *Bactrian* Exiles, who having revolted, had betaken themſelves to that Place, lying upon the Confines of *Scythia.* In the Spring following, being the Tenth Year of his Reign, he ſet upon a Fort in *Sogdiana*, ſituate upon a Rock, ſo ſtrong by Nature through its exceſſive heighth, that the Defendants counted it invincible, (many having fled thither out of the Country) and upon his Summons, *Arimazes* the Governor, who held it with Thirty Thouſand Armed Men, demanded if the *Macedonians* could flie? But he propoſed large Rewards to ſuch as would firſt mount it, whereby certain young Men being Animated, made a ſhift to climb and help one another up, and being got to the top, the Beſieged were amazed, and thinking their Number greater than it was, yielded the Place. In this Fort amongſt others was *Oxyartes* the *Satrapa* or Governour (who had revolted from *Alexander*) with his Wife and Children. Of his Daughter *Roxane* the King was ſo enamoured, as he ſhortly after Married her, and perſwaded the great ones about him to take them Wives out of that Place.

Arrianus. Curtius.

11. He thence departed into *Naura* (or *Parataca*) where he underſtood that many *Barbarians* had poſſeſſed themſelves of another Fortreſs, ſituate as the former, and Fortified moreover with an exceeding deep Ditch. This yielded to him through the perſwaſion of *Oxyartes*, and then with his Horſe he cleared the Country of the Revolters. About the ſame time *Spitamenes* coming into *Sogdiana*, was encountred by *Cænus*, who drew from him the Naturals of the Place, and the *Bactrians*, ſo that he had only left him a Company of *Maſſagetes.* Thoſe flying with him into the Wilderneſs, when they heard that *Alexander* purſued them, cut off their Captains Head, and ſent it to the King, though ſome write, that his own Wife cut it off, and preſented it to *Alexander*, who deteſting the Treaſon, commanded her to depart his Camp. After this the *Dahæ*, who had revolted by the procurement of *Datophernes*, delivered him up, and returned to obedience, and *Craterus* with *Polyſperchon* having finiſhed the War againſt the Revolters in a ſhort time, they all met at *Bactra. Alexander* was now ſo puffed up, as to require Divine Honours from his Followers; which *Calliſthenes* the Philoſopher ſtifly refuſing to give him, felt the effect of his Ambition.

Curtius ut ſupra. Plutarch in Alexand. Oroſius lib. 3. *cap.* 18. *Arrianus lib.* 4.

Calliſthenes put to death with others for Treaſon.

Valer Max. lib. 7. *cap.* 2.

12. It hap'ned that the King hunting on a time, one *Hermolaus* a Gentleman of his Guard, and Scholar to *Caliſthenes*, killed a wild Boar, which *Alexander* himſelf intended to have ſtruck, for which he was beaten by his Command. The Young Man bearing the diſgrace moſt heavily, as alſo *Soſtratus* his inward Friend, they conſpired with others of the Guard to kill the King, which to perform, they agreed, that one night they would all watch together. It was long e're they could ſo change their courſes as to bring this about, but at length having done it, it chanced that the King ſat up drinking all that night, ſo then the matter being fruſtrated, was revealed by one of them, and they were all ſtoned to death. Now whether any of them accuſed *Calliſthenes*, as ſome reported, or *Alexander* did it himſelf, he was made away, though as to the manner of his death, they who were preſent themſelves agreed not in their Relation. *Calliſthenes* was the Scholar of *Ariſtotle*, and the Son of his Couſin germane, of ſo ſevere a temper, that he could not order himſelf according to his Maſters directions, who when he ſent him to *Alexander*, adviſed him, *Either very pleſantly, or very rarely, to converſe with him, that ſo he might be either more acceptable for his diſcourſe, or ſafe by his ſilence. Ariſtotle* alſo himſelf ſeemeth to have been threatned in a Letter written by the King to *Antipater* in *Macedonia.*

Alexander marcheth for *India.*

13. *Alexander* had e're this time reſolved to make War upon *India*, and bound his Conqueſts with the Eaſt. That he might not leave any impediment at his back, he commanded 30000 Men to be raiſed out of the Provinces, that he might have them both as Soldiers and Hoſtages. Out of a conceit of the glory of the Expedition, he adorned the Shields of his Soldiers with Silver Plates, their Horſes with Golden Bridles, and their Armour was ſet out with Gold and Silver. Leaving then *Amyntas* in *Bactriana* with 3500 Horſe, and 10000 Foot, he ſet forwards in the Spring, leading an Army of 120000 Men. In ten days he paſſed over *Caucaſus* and came to *Alexandria*, which he had cauſed to be built in the Country of the *Parapomiſadæ*, whence he marched to the River *Cophenes*, and ſent to *Taxiles* to meet him, who came with ſuch Preſents as *India* afforded. Dividing now his Army, with

one part of it he ſent *Hæpheſtion* and *Perdiccas* another way, with Command, that when they came at the River *Indus*, they ſhould provide things neceſſary for paſſing over it. He with the other invaded the *Aſpians*, *Thyræans*, and *Araſacans*; and croſſing the River *Choe*, the firſt City he came at oppoſed him. He himſelf and *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagus* were wounded in the Storm, but he took the Place, and putting all the Inhabitants to the Sword, burnt it. In the Country of the *Aſpians* he got a Booty of 40000 Men, and 230000 head of Cattel, whence marching toward the *Gruræans*, with difficulty he paſſed over the River *Gruræus*. Invading the *Aſſacenians* he took the City *Maſſaga*, the King whereof being lately dead, his Mother *Cleophis* Reigned, and by the proſtitution of her Body to *Alexander*, procured a confirmation in the Kingdom.

Curtius Juſtin. lib. 12.

14. After this, he took *Bazira*, and *Nora* was forſaken by its Defendants, who betook themſelves to a ſtrong Rock called *Aornos*. This Place was exceedingly Fenced by its wonderful height, and the River *Indus* which ran by one ſide of it; as alſo by deep Pits and craggy Rocks, by reaſon whereof the report went, that *Hercules* himſelf attempted, but could not take it. The Story of *Hercules* inflamed the King with a deſire to maſter it, who having firſt taken ſeveral other Places, brought his Forces hither, and by means of an Old Man, who ſhewed him the only Paſſage, cloſely Beſieged it. By incredible diligence he filled up the Ditches, ſo as he could bring his Men to fight, but yet he was not able to ſtorm the Rock, and therefore reſolved to ſtarve them out, leaving a way for their Eſcape; and they ſeeing his Reſolution, took the advantage; but many were ſlain in the Purſuit. Taking order then for the full clearing of the Country, he paſſed on to the River *Indus*, near to which he hunted Elephants, and continuing in the Plains thirty days for the Refreſhment of his Army, Sacrificed to his gods, and Celebrated Games and Exerciſes. Now *Hephæſtion* and *Perdiccas* had finiſhed all things neceſſary for paſſing the River; and not of this only, but others alſo with one (almoſt) and the ſame labour. For, divers Rivers running through *India* (as beſides *Cophenes*, *Coes*, and *Indus*; *Hydaſpes*, *Aceſines*, *Hyarotis*, *Hyparus*, and *Ganges*) they ſo framed the Boats, as they might eaſily be taken in Pieces, and being conveyed in Carriages, be as eaſily, upon occaſion, again joyned together.

Croſſeth the River *Indus*.

A. M. 3679. *Ol.* 113. *an.* 3. *V. C.* 428. *Alexand.* 11.

15. In the Eleventh Year of his Reign, and the Fourth after the Death of *Darius*, in the Spring, *Alexander* paſſed over the River *Indus*, and was received above his Expectations. For, *Omphis*, or *Mophis*, King of the Country, had perſwaded his Father, when yet living, to ſubmit himſelf, and now having ſucceeded in the Kingdom, met him in the way, and gave it up into his Hands, who reſtored it to him, and permitted him to aſſume the Name of *Taxiles*, common to all Kings of that Country, of what Family ſoever. Coming to *Taxila* the Metropolis, he was ſumptuouſly entertained, and receiving great Gifts, gave alſo very liberally, to the diſdain of thoſe about him, of whom *Meleager* in his Cups congratulated with him, that at length in *India* he had found a Man worthy to receive from him in way of free Gift 1000 Talents. *Alexander* remembring how he had repented the killing of *Clytus*, contained himſelf, but not impertinently anſwered him, that *Envious Men are nothing elſe than their own torment:* The next day *Abiſarus* King of the *Indians* inhabiting the Mountains, and who together with *Porus* had Wars with *Taxiles*, by Ambaſſadors gave up himſelf and Kingdom. *Alexander* leaving a Garriſon in *Taxila*, marched towards the River *Hydaſpes*, beyond which Reigned *Porus:* Thinking by the terror of his Name to affright this Prince into obedience, he ſent to him before-hand, willing him to pay Tribute, and meet him on the Frontiers of his Kingdom, to which he anſwered, that he would do the latter only, and that Armed. Near unto *Porus* Reigned another of his Name, and his Nephew, who out of hatred to him, ſent Ambaſſadors, and gave up all he had into the hands of *Alexander*.

Curtius ut prius. Diodorus. Arrianus l. 4. *Oroſius l.* 3. *c.* 19. & *Plutarch in Alexand.*

16. The Boats formerly ſpoken of being conveyed from *Indus* to the River *Hydaſpes*, *Alexander* with *Taxiles*, ſeveral other great Perſons of the Country, and 5000 *Indians* more came thither: *Barſaentes* the Governor of the *Drangæ* being preſented to him in his way, whom he afterwards put to death for his Treaſon towards *Darius*. On the oppoſite Bank of the River lay *Porus* with an Army very great indeed, though the diſſention of Writers about the numbers almoſt equal the bigneſs of it. He had his Elephants ready to affright the Horſes, and keep the Army from landing; which *Alexander* perceiving, made as if he intended to paſs the River at the place over againſt which *Porus* ſtood, leaving ſome there to make a noiſe, as if he ſtill remained, and in a dark and rainy night got into a little Woody Iſland, which lay lower down the River, whence in the morning, though with much diffi-

And *Hydaſpes*.

difficulty (through the riſing of the Water by abundance of Rain) recovered the further Bank, where he defeated a Party led by *Porus* his Son, who by ſome is ſaid in this Ingagement to have loſt his Life. *Porus*, underſtanding this, drew down his Battel in the form of a City, whereof the Elephants, being many in Number, were as Walls. They grievouſly diſtreſſed the *Macedonians* for ſome time, and the *Indians* continually retired to them as a Bulwark; but at length being driven up cloſe together, they made great ſlaughter of the *Indians* themſelves, whom *Alexander* alſo encompaſſing with his Men, did great Execution upon them. *Porus* himſelf, a Perſon terrible to encounter (his height, as is ſaid, being five Cubits, and his bredth ſuch as his Armour extended it to the proportion of two luſty Men) fought himſelf moſt valiantly, and encountring *Alexander* hand to hand, ſlew his Horſe under him, ſo that he was ſaved meerly by the interpoſition of his Guard, many of his Men having faln at his ſide.

17. *Porus* gave not over as long as he had any to ſtand to him; when all had left him, he retreated on his Elephant moſt ſtately to behold. As many of the *Indians* were ſlain in the Chace as had been in the Battle, by reaſon that *Craterus* and others, who had been left behind, came in afreſh to the Purſuit. *Alexander* having a great deſire to ſave their King, out of reſpect to his great Valour, ſent after him *Taxiles* the *Indian*, whom perceiving to come towards him, he ran at him with his Lance as his Ancient Enemy. But others being ſtill ſent, and amongſt the reſt *Meroes* an *Indian*, *Porus* hearing his Voice, and being ſore diſtreſſed by thirſt, ſtood ſtill, and then alighted from his Elephant. *Alexander* coming on ſpake to him firſt, and asked him what the thing was which he deſired, to whom he anſwered, that *he might be uſed like a King*. The other replyed, that this ſhould be done for his own ſake, and bad him ask for his own Commodity what he pleaſed, to which he made anſwer, that *all things were contained in his former demand*. With this the Conqueror was ſo well pleaſed, that he received him into the number of his Friends, and reſtored to him his Kingdom, inlarged with new Territories. *Alexander* hoping that by his late Victory all *India* was laid open to him, intended to ſail into the Ocean; and perceiving there was in this Place much Wood, he cauſed ſuch a quantity to be cut down, as might ſuffice for the building of Ships. He gave order alſo for the building of two Cities: one in the place where the Battle was fought, which he called *Nice*, and another on the other ſide of the River, named *Bucephalæa* after his Horſe *Bucephalus*, who here died, being about thirty years old.

Overthroweth and taketh *Porus*.

18. Leaving *Craterus* to perfect theſe Cities upon the River *Hydaſpes*, he marched into the Country adjoyning to that of *Porus*, which having ſubdued, he beſtowed on him, and alſo the Kingdom of the younger *Porus*, who out of fear of his Uncle had now fled, with as many as he could draw after him to the *Gangaridæ*. After this he conquered ſeveral Nations beyond the River *Hydraotes*, and Invaded the *Cuthæans*, who together with the *Oxydracæ* and *Malli* oppoſed him, of whom in the Siege and Storming of the City *Sangala* periſhed 17000, and about 70000 were taken Captives. Theſe *Cuthæans* had a Cuſtome, that when any Man died, his Wife was to be buried with him, to which the wickedneſs of one Woman that poiſoned her Husband gave occaſion. The City *Sangala* was deſtroyed, and their Lands given to certain *Indians*, who lived in the form of a Common-wealth, and had formerly given themſelves up into the hands of the Conqueror. This ſeverity made other Cities without any reſiſtance ſurrender themſelves. Then advanced he into the Kingdom of *Sopithes*, who meeting him with his two Sons, with a Rod of Gold Adorned with Precious Stones, delivered up into his Hands himſelf, his Children, Kingdom, and all he had. Having received back his Kingdom, he magnificently entertained *Alexander* and his whole Army. Amongſt ſeveral other Preſents, he gave him 150 Dogs begotten of *Tigers*, as is reported, and of great ſtrength and activity, as appeared by four of them which were let out upon a Lion extraordinary for ſtrength and bigneſs.

Curtius lib. 9. *cap.* 1.

Sopithes yieldeth.

Ælian Hiſt. animal. l. 8. *c.* 1.

19. E're *Alexander* ſtirred from this Place, *Hephæſtion* returned to him from his Expedition, (having ſubdued *India* in a great compaſs that way he was ſent) whom he received with Honour ſuitable to his worth. Afterward he departed into the Kingdom of *Phegeus*, (or *Phegelus*) who alſo ſubmitted himſelf, and receiving the Conqueror, entertained him very magnificently. After two days he marched toward the River *Hyphaſis* (or *Hyparis*) taking *Phegeus* and *Porus* along with him. At the River ſide he enquired of *Phegeus* what Countries lay beyond it? He anſwered, That there was a vaſt Wilderneſs of 11 or 12 days journey, and next to that ran the River *Ganges*, beyond which inhabited, beſides others, the *Gangaridæ*, over whom Reigned

Curtius lib. 9. *Diodorus. Arrianus.*

The River *Hyphaſis* the Eaſtern limit of his Expedition.

Agyrammes (or *Xandrames*) provided of 20000 Horſe, 200000 Foot, above 2000 Chariots, and about 4000 Elephants. Theſe things ſeeming incredible to the *Macedonian*, he aſked *Porus* of the truth of them, who confirmed what the other had ſaid as to the ſtrength of that King, but withall added, That being by a Barber begotten on the Queen, who had killed her Husband that he might Reign, he was for this cauſe deſpiſed by his People. *Alexander* now conſidered the labours and perils undergone by his Soldiers, who from the beginning of his Reign had followed him Eight Years; withall, how of late for 70 days together they had been ſorely diſtreſſed by Rain, Thunder, and Lightning; that he might oblige them, he gave them the Plunder of the Enemies Country, being very Rich; and in their abſence gratifi'd their Wives and Children. Then after their return to the Camp, with a premeditated Oration he laboured to perſwade them to undertake the War with him againſt the *Gangaridæ*, but in vain.

20. For, *Cænus* the Son of *Polycrates*, anſwered him in ſuch a manner, as he might eaſily perceive how contrary the affections of the Soldiers were to the Expedition. After which, as *Arrianus* writeth, he kept himſelf cloſe in his Pavilion for three days, and would admit none of his Friends to his Preſence. Then ſending for his Officers, he told them, That ſeeing the Minds of his Men were averſe from proceeding any further, he intended to return home; yet, e're this, he had Sacrifized for paſſing over the River, but finding thar the Intrals of the Beaſt were not lucky, he ſetled himſelf in a purpoſe to retreat. He cauſed twelve large Altars of fifty Cubits heighth, like to ſome Warlike Towers, to be erected near the River, whereon he Sacrifized according to the cuſtom of his Country, and he celebrated Games in the Grounds adjoyning. After this he cauſed to be made a Ditch 15 Foot broad and 10 Foot deep, whereon, of the Earth, he raiſed a conſiderable Wall, making the compaſs of his Camp ſeem three fold larger than indeed it was. He commanded the Foot, that each one in his Tent ſhould ſet two Bedſteads of five Cubits apiece, and the Horſemen to make theirs with the Mangers of their Horſes as big again as they were wont to be. He cauſed Arms, Bridles, and other things to be framed after the ſame proportion, to amuſe Poſterity with a falſe appearance of a Gigantick proportion of his own Perſon and his Followers.

He retreateth.

21. He returned the ſame way he came, ſetling the Government of the Provinces in his paſſage, till he arrived at the River *Hydaſpes*. Ever ſince his departure hence, the weather had been rainy, which ſpoiled much of his new City *Bucephalæa*; but he cauſed it to be repaired; and here died *Cænus* his truſty and faithful Friend, but one who had grieved him by his Anſwer to his late Oration. Down this River *Hydaſpes* he reſolved, according to his former purpoſe, to Sail into the Southern Ocean, and therefore providing for ſuch Places as he ſhould leave, he reconciled *Porus* and *Taxiles* by affinity contracted betwixt them, and made the former, King, not of that Country only lying betwixt *Aceſines* and *Hydaſpes*, which formerly he had given to him, but alſo of ſuch free Nations, as lying betwixt *Aceſines* and *Hyphaſis* he had lately ſubdued. Having increaſed his Army by a new ſupply ſent him out of the *Weſt*, he divided it into three Parts, whereof two he committed to *Craterus* and *Hephæſtion*, commanding them to march on either ſide the River, down which he ſailed with a third in a Fleet of 1000 Veſſels. Looſing from ſhoar about the beginning of *November*, he firſt landed upon the Coaſts of the *Sibari*, who being reported to be deſcended of thoſe *Greeks* that with *Hercules* attempted the Storming of the Rock *Aornos*, claimed Kindred of him, and ſubmitted themſelves. Making Excurſions into the neighbouring Countries, he deſtroyed many thouſands of the Inhabitants that would not yield; and then returning aboard, haſted againſt the *Oxydracæ* and *Malli*, who, as he heard, had carried their Wives into their ſtrong Towns, and intended reſiſtance.

He saileth down the River *Hydaſpes*.

22. Coming down thither where *Hydaſpes* and *Aceſines* meet, the Channel being narrow, and the Stream exceeding great, two of his talleſt Ships miſcarried, and he himſelf miſſed narrowly of being Shipwrack'd: Here his Soldiers alſo began to murmur that they ſhould begin a new War, but he quieted them eaſily by a Speech. The *Indians* having gathered together 80000 Foot and 10000 Horſe, ſhewed themſelves near the River, having choſen their General out of the *Oxydracæ*, who made many Fires, and uſed other vain attempts to affright the *Macedonians*; yet as ſoon as theſe began to Arm, either out of fear, or by reaſon of diſſention amongſt themſelves, away they fled to the craggy Mountains. *Alexander* then marched with all ſpeed, through a large, dry, and barren Country, againſt the *Malli*, to defeat them e're they ſhould join with the other; and coming unexpectedly upon them,

Curtius & Diodorus ut priùs. Arrianus lib. 6. Plutarch ut ſuprà, & Oroſius.

He fighteth againſt the *Malli* and *Oxydracæ*.

them, many he ſlew, both in the Country, and thoſe ſtrong places which he ſtormed. After this he marched to the River *Hydraotes*, where he killed many of them, and thence to a City of the *Brachmans*, whither he heard that ſome of them had fled: This he took, with the Caſtle into which they retired, as alſo the chiefeſt City of the *Malli*, whence they fled beyond the River *Hydraotes*, on the Bank whereof they drew up into a Battalia. He followed, and with his Horſe skirmiſhed a little, not thinking it fit to engage with them in Battel, being 50000 in number, till the Foot came up. Then they betook themſelves to the next fortified Town, where by his hardineſs he ran into extream danger.

23. *Demophoon* his Prieſt acquainted him, how that by his art, great danger was portended to his Perſon, and therefore he adviſed him, either to omit, or at leaſt to defer the ſiege. But he rebuked the man, becauſe hereby he weakned the Valour of his Souldiers, and dividing them into two parts, ſet upon the Town, whereat the Defendants left it and fled into the Caſtle. The King with thoſe about him broke open a Gate, and entred firſt; Then he commanded Ladders to be ſet to the Caſtle-wall, which being but ſlowly performed, he took one from a *Macedonian*, and rearing it mounted himſelf: after him went up *Peuceſtes*, who bore uſually his Shield before him, (which being taken out of the Temple of *Pallas* at *Ilium*, he would always have ſo carried) and after him *Leonatus* by the ſame Ladder, and one *Abreas* by another. The *Argyraſpides* alſo, (or thoſe who uſed the ſilvered Shields) ſollicitous for the Kings ſafety, mounting haſtily broke the Ladders, and thereby hindred others as well as themſelves. The King upon the Wall was laid at with Darts on every ſide, and when his left arm was wearied with holding his Target, his Friends would have had him leap down again unto them, who were ready to receive him in their Arms. But by an unparallel'd attempt he leaped down on the other ſide into the Fort, where if he had not by good chance light upon his feet, he might preſently have been ſlain or taken. But caſting himſelf to fall upon them, and ſeeing a Tree hard by, he applied himſelf to it, ſo as he had it on his right hand, and the Wall on his left.

Caſteth himſelf into extream danger.

24. None of his enemies were ſo hardy as to come near him, only they plied it with Darts afar off, whereof the greateſt part being kept off by the Boughs and Leaves of the Tree, the reſt he received on his Target. But the *Indians* drawing nearer, threw ſhowers of Darts upon him, and with ſtones broke his Helmet. Being ſpent, and not longer able to ſtand, he fell upon his Knees, whereupon deſpiſing him they came to him; and yet he ſo received them with his Sword, as two fell down dead before him, and after this he killed their General who boldly ſet upon him; then none would venture to approach nearer, but plied it with Darts afar off. By this time thoſe three that mounted the Wall after him were got down, and fought ſtoutly for him, of whom *Abreas* was ſhot in the Face and fell; the King alſo in the Breaſt with an Arrow, which piercing through his Armour near his Pap, ſome affirmed, that Blood and Breath iſſued together out of the Wound, and he ſwooned, being covered by *Peuceſtes* with his Shield. Now the *Macedonians* brake into the Caſtle, and put all to the Sword, ſparing neither Sex nor Age. They carried their King out on a Target, not knowing whether he was alive or dead; but ſhortly after he came to himſelf, and his wound was dreſſed, (ſome ſay by *Critobulus* the Phyſician, others by *Perdiccas*) out of which much Blood iſſuing, he ſwooned again, and that very thing ſtaunched the bleeding. While he ſtayed a little in this place, a report flew to the Army then lying with the Fleet at the meeting of the two Rivers *Hydraotes* and *Aceſines*, that he was dead, and it gained ſuch belief, that the Letters he ſent were taken but as counterfeit. Therefore he haſted to the Camp, where he preſented himſelf to the view of them all there.

Saileth into *Indus*.

25. Having eſcaped this great danger amongſt the *Malli*, (for amongſt them it was, and not amongſt the *Oxydracæ* as ſome have miſtaken) and returned to his Fleet, he ſailed down the River, and on the fourth day came to a place forſaken of its Inhabitants, but convenient for to make ſome ſtay in. Here he reſted many days for the better curing of his Wounds, and employed his men this while in building of Ships. Hither the *Malli* and *Oxydracæ* ſent to ask pardon, and ſubmit themſelves. After which he ſailed further, and came to the confluence of *Hydraotes* and *Aceſines*, the former whereof loſeth it ſelf in the later. Proceeding further, he came through *Aceſines* into *Indus*, ſubduing a certain People in his way who lived in a Free State; and here he made *Philip* Governour of the *Malli* and *Oxydracæ*, with all the Country down to this place, wherein he alſo gave order for a City to be built. Following on his voyage, he arrived at the Country of the *Sanbeſtæ*, (or *Sabracæ*) who living alſo in a popular way of Government, were very populous and ſtrong, and

hearing of his coming had got together 60000 Foot, and near 8000 Horſe, but upon a ſight of his Fleet they let fall their courage, and ſent fifty of their Principal men to ask Peace. From this place on the fourth day he came to the Seat of the *Sogdæ*, who alſo yielded themſelves; and here by the River *Indus* he cauſed to be built another *Alexandria*, which he furniſhed with convenient Havens and Arſenals. Thence he ſailed down with ſuch expedition into the Country of *Muſicanus*, that he was upon him before he heard of his coming; therefore the *Indian* met him with ſuch Gifts as his Country afforded, and gave up himſelf with all he had into his hands, acknowledging his fault that he had no ſooner done it.

Upon which he buildeth an *Alexandria*, and ſubdueth *Muſicanus*.

26. Having here commanded *Teryeſtes*, whom he had ſet over the *Paropamiſadæ*, to be put to death, for abuſing that People by a covetous and tyrannical Government, he cauſed a Fort to be raiſed in the chief City of *Muſicanus*, wherein he left a Garriſon, becauſe the place ſeemed very convenient for keeping the Neighbouring Nations in Obedience. Leaving *Muſicanus* in his former power, though not authority, he ſailed down to the *Præſti*, another *Indian* Nation, over which ruled *Oxycanus*. Here he ſtormed two Cities, in one whereof their King being retired into the Caſtle, ſent to him to beg pardon, but too late; for e're the Meſſengers could come at *Alexander*, two Towers fell down, which made way for the *Macedonians*, who entring, killed *Oxycanus* amongſt the reſt; which being reported to the other Cities, they all yielded themſelves. After this he came into the borders of the *Brachmans*, whoſe King *Sabus* (or *Sambus*) cauſed the Gates of his Principal City to be opened, but afterwards revolted at the inſtigation of his Subjects, ſome of whom paid dearly for it in a certain Town wherein they were taken, *Sambus* himſelf with thirty Elephants eſcaping. Some of them were upon pain of death to anſwer to certain hard Queſtions, which having done, they were diſmiſſed with rewards, as *Plutarch* informeth us. But ere this, *Muſicanus* had revolted, againſt whom *Pithon* was ſent, who overpowering him took him Priſoner. He was Crucified in his own Country by *Alexander*'s Command, with all ſuch *Brachmans* as had drawn him to revolt.

and *Oxycanus*.

27. Returning to the River *Indus*, in the fourth day he came to a City of the *Brachmans*, called *Hamatelia*, the Inhabitants thereof hearing that he was invincible, poiſoned the Heads of the Arrows, truſting to their own valour, and the natural ſtrength of the Place. He ſent a party, which by approaching their Walls, and then retreating, drew them forth, by which ſtratagem, of 3000 he took 1000, and killed 600. Many of his own men died, and thoſe who ſurvived were brought into extream danger, amongſt whom was *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagus*. He being almoſt ready to dye, the ſtory goeth, that *Alexander* in a Dream had an Herb ſhewed to him, which drunk, and outwardly applied, helped againſt the Poyſon; the truth being, that the virtue of this Plant was by ſome declared to him, and this ſtory feigned out of flattery. For all this, the beſieged yielding, had indemnity granted to them, and then came *Mæris* King of the Iſland *Pattalena*, which he gave up into the Conquerors Power. *Alexander* reſtored, and ſent him back, commanding him to provide all neceſſaries for his Army; but ſailing down thither he found that he had left the City, and retired to the Mountains, with all his Subjects, both of Town and Country. *Alexander* ſent ſome Horſemen to perſwade them to return, which accordingly diverſe did. Then did he order *Hephæſtion* to build a Fort in the City, and ſent a party to dig Wells in that Coaſt of the Country which wanted Water. The Enemy fell upon theſe men out of the Wilderneſs, and killed many of them, which forced the King to ſend others for a ſupply. Now had he almoſt ſailed 10 months when he came to *Pattalena*.

Strabo lib. 15.

He ſayleth to the Iſland *Pattalena*.

28. At this Iſland the River *Indus* parteth into two branches, whereof both retained the name as far as the Sea it ſelf. *Alexander* taking the right hand ſailed down that Channel, his Army being led according to the cuſtom, near the Rivers ſide. The next day aroſe ſuch a Tempeſt, as exceedingly diſtreſſed the Fleet, ſome Ships being driven ſo far as ſcarcely could they be recovered; whereupon for ſome time the King ſtayed here at a certain Iſland, and ſent men on ſhore to take up ſome Natives to be their Guides. Coming lower, where the Chanel was very broad, another Tempeſt forced them into a certain Creek, where as great a fear ſeized on them, and ſo much the greater, becauſe they were unacquainted with the occaſion of it. It hapned, that the Tide being exceeding high (as it is at this day at *Cambaia*, where the River *Indus* falls into the Sea) all the Grounds near the River were overflown, except certain Hills, which appearing like ſo many Iſlands to them, the *Macedonians* ſwom, and left their Boats. When the Water fell again, the Veſſels were left

Is diſtreſſed upon the Water.

on the dry ground,ſome being overwhelmed, and others turned upon their ſides. But the River according to the courſe of the Tide overflowing again at the due time, ſuch Veſſels as ſtuck faſt in the Mud were lifted up unhurt, but thoſe that the Water found otherwiſe placed, were either daſhed againſt one another, or miſcarried after ſome other faſhion.

29. Repairing his Navy, as he could, he ſent before two Boats to make diſcovery of another Iſland below, by the *Indians* called *Cilluta*, but by him *Scillaſtis*, near which he muſt needs ſayl down into the Ocean. Hearing that it was large, and very Commodious to harbour in, he gave order for the Fleet to go thither, but he himſelf proceeded further, to ſearch whether there was an eaſie paſſage at the Rivers fall for the whole Navy into the Sea. Having paſſed ſome 200 furlongs, he diſcovered another Iſland, and then returned to the Fleet, where having ſacrifized to ſome gods, he went back, and performed this ſervice to others after another faſhion, ſaying, he was commanded ſo to do by the Oracle of *Jupiter Hammon*. Sayling out of *Indus* into the *Ocean*, he ſacrifized Bulls to *Neptune*, and after the burning of Incenſe caſt out a Golden Vial with Golden Cups, into the Sea, praying for a proſperous voyage to his Navy, (which he intended under command of *Nearchus* his Admiral ſhould ſayl through the *Ocean* into the *Perſian* Gulf, and ſo up *Euphrates* and *Tigris*) and that no mortal after him might paſs the bounds of his expedition. Then returned he up the River to *Pattala*, whither he found *Pithon* come with the Forces, and purpoſing to leave half the Fleet at the City (at this day called *Pattala* in *Cambaia*) he commanded *Hephæſtion* there to make a Haven, and proviſion for ſhipping. He himſelf ſayled down the ſtream on the left hand, which firſt led him to a Lake, where he left *Leonnatus* with moſt of the Souldiers, and with 20 Ships paſſed through this Mouth of *Indus* into the *Ocean*.

Paſſeth into the Ocean.

30. His deſign was to ſee whether the Fleet might not beſt ſail this way into the Sea; and he ſatisfied himſelf that it might. Then did he Travel up the ſhore, and cauſed Wells to be digged thereon to furniſh the Navy with Water. Returning then to *Pattala*, he ſent part of his Army to dig more, and going to the Lake, he cauſed Havens to be made, and proviſion for Shipping: he alſo left there a Garriſon with neceſſaries for 8 months. At this time the *Eteſian* winds in this Country blowing from the *South* (though in other places from other quarters) hindred Navigation, wherefore he was conſtrained to leave *Nearchus* at *Pattala* with the Fleet till they ſhould ceaſe. He journyed through the Country of the *Arabitæ* (or *Arbitæ*) to the River *Arabius* (or *Arbis*) digging Pits on the ſhore for the uſe of the Fleet in its paſſage by theſe Coaſts. *Nearchus* and his followers were two months after *Alexander*'s departure driven out by the Inhabitants of *Pattalena*, and compelled to begin their Voyage e're the ſeaſon of the year well ſerved. Coming to the mouth of the River, they were forced to cut through a Rock (for ſome way) ſuch a Ditch as by the help of the Tide might convey their Ships ſafe into the Ocean. The *Arabitæ* hearing of *Alexander*'s approach, fled into the Mountains,ſo that without oppoſition he paſſed over the River *Arabius*, and came into the Country of the *Oritæ*,of whom killing ſome, and taking others, (becauſe they had not ſubmitted themſelves) he thence marched into the Borders of the *Gedroſij*, with whom the *Oritæ* had joyned, but upon his approach ſent and begged peace, which he granted, on condition that they would depart to their dwellings. He ſet over them *Apellophanes* with whom he left *Leonnatus* one of the Keepers of his body, with a party of Horſe and Foot to expect the coming of the Fleet, and in the mean while to build a new City, and ſettle the affairs of the Country.

Nearchus the Admiral ſaileth the Ocean.

31. In this paſſage through the Country of the *Gedroſij*, greater loſs and damage hapned to him than in all his expedition through *Aſia* beſides; becauſe, what for want of Water, by exceſs of heat, ill diet and hunger, he carried not out the fourth part of thoſe Forces he brought into *India*. Yet was not this loſs ſuſtained through ignorance; for ſome tell us he knew of the danger very well; but hearing that this Country had been formerly invaded both by *Semiramis* and *Cyrus*, and that the former was forced to fly but with 30 Attendants, and the later with 7, he had an itching deſire to paſs through it, and in the glory of his adventure to excel them. After incredible trouble undergone, for 60 days, he came to *Pura* the chief City,where (as it was time) he refreſhed his Army, and thence marched towards the Borders of *Caramania*. Hither news came that *Philip*, Governour of the *Oxydracæ*, and of other *Indians*, was killed by the Mercenary Souldiers; but that his death was revenged upon them by the *Macedonians*; whereupon he wrote to *Taxiles* and *Eudemus* to take care of the Country, till ſuch time as he could ſend one to

Alexander paſſeth the Countrey of the *Gedroſians* with incredible difficulty.

ſucceed *Philip.* Coming into *Caramania* not far from *Perſia*, he animadverted upon the Governor, as upon *Cleander* and *Sitalces*, who being ſent to kill *Parmenio*, had after his death committed grievous outrages upon the people in thoſe parts. He alſo puniſhed *Ozines* and *Zariaſpes*, who had ſolicited the *Perſians* to revolt, and *Heracon*, who had rifled the Temple at *Suſa*: here alſo he made *Peuceſtes* one of the Keepers of his Body, they being before this ſeaven in number. In the mean time *Nearchus* having paſſed the borders of the *Arabii*, *Oritæ*, *Gedroſij*, and *Ichthyophagi*, came into the *Perſian* Gulf, and arrived at *Armuſia* (now called *Ormus*) where underſtanding that his Maſter was but diſtant but five days journey, he went to him, and having made a report of his Voyage, returned preſently to the Fleet, with order to paſs up to the mouth of *Euphrates*, and thence row unto *Babylon*.

He cometh to *Paſargadæ* in *Perſia*.

To *Perſepolis*.

Curtius lib. 10. *Diodorus, &c.* A. M. 3680. *Ol.* 113. *ann.* 4. *V. C.* 429. *Alexand.* 12.

32. It being now very good ſayling, *Alexander* ſent *Hæphæſtion* by Sea into *Perſia*, with the greateſt part of his Army, and ſhortly after departed himſelf and came by Land to *Paſargadæ*, where he beſtowed mony on the women, according to the cuſtom of the *Perſian* Kings when they came thither. Here he much lamented the violation of *Cyrus* his Sepulchre, which ſince his former being here, had been robbed of all its riches, except a Litter, and a Golden Urn wherein had been the Body; and this alſo was cut and mangled, the cover being taken away, and the body caſt out. He commanded the Urn to be repaired as well as might be, and the reliques of *Cyrus* being therein depoſited, the Door-place to be walled up. From *Paſargadæ*, now called *Chelquera*, he came to *Perſepolis*, the ſeat of the *Perſian* Kings, where great complaints being made againſt *Orxines* (who being deſcended from *Cyrus* and the ſeven Conſpirators, had contained the *Perſians* in obedience after the death of the Governor *Phraſortes*) he was crucified through the malice of *Bagoas* the Eunuch, *Alexander's* minion, who hated him upon no other account, than for that beſtowing great gifts upon the Courtiers at their return, he neglected him. *Phradates* alſo, who had been Governor of the *Madi*, *Hircanians*, and *Tapyri*, was here put to death, for affecting Kingly power. But, *Peuceſtes* who protected the King among the *Malli*, and as a reward had been received amongſt the Keepers of his Body, was now further made Governor of *Perſia*, and thereupon fully conformed himſelf to the faſhions of the Country.

Arrianus lib. 7.

He marrieth *Statira* the Daughter of *Darius*.

33. *Alexander* had a great deſire to ſail through *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, into the *Perſian* Gulf, to compaſs about *Arabia* and *Africk*, and ſo to paſs through the Straights leading into the *Mediterranean*, (now called the Straigths of *Gibraltar*) for which purpoſe he commanded Wood to be cut down in *Libanus*, to be carried to *Thapſacus* in *Syria*, and being made into Ships, thence to be conveyed to *Babylon*. Not long after, *Nearchus* brought the Fleet up *Paſitigris* to a Bridge newly made for the paſſage of the Land-army, where for the meeting of both the Armies, after ſix months ſayl, *Alexander* ſacrifized, and celebrated Games. Thence marching to *Suſæ*: the Provinces by their Deputies there accuſed many of their Officers, beſides other Offences, of violating their Temples. He cauſed them all to be put to death, without reſpect to any former friendſhip, and with them *Cleander*, *Sitalces*, and *Heracon*, whom he had formerly condemned in *Caramania*. This ſeverity noiſed abroad, netled many that knew themſelves faulty; Some ſcraped together much mony and fled, and others that commanded the Mercenaries revolted, which cauſed him to ſend up and down *Aſia* to diſband the Stipendaries, who being thus put out of imployment, robbed all over, and at length met at *Tenarus*, a Promontory of *Laconia* in *Greece*, whither many of their Captains fled to them. *Alexander* now married *Statira* the Daughter of *Darius*, and gave her younger Siſter *Drypetis* to his beloved *Hephæſtion*, having a great deſire that his Children might be Couſins to him. To ſome 80 more of his Commanders he gave Wives of the Daughters of the chiefeſt *Medes* and *Perſians*, and to them aſſigned Dowers. He made one great Wedding-feaſt for himſelf and them all: and to the other *Macedonians* that had married Wives in *Aſia* he gave gifts.

34. Moreover he paid the debts they had contracted in *Aſia*, and becauſe they were unwilling by giving up their names to let him ſee how bad Huſbands they had been (for they ſuſpected him of ſuch an intention) he cauſed the mony to be given them, without taking account to whom, and this expence reached not fully 1000 Talents (as appeareth from *Diodorus*, *Curtius* and *Plutarch*; though *Juſtin* and *Arrianus* mention 20000) ſo that as *Curtius* obſerveth, this Army which had conquered ſo many Nations, brought more Victory than Booty out of *Aſia*. He alſo rewarded them ſeverally, as they had done him moſt eminent ſervice; and to *Peuceſtes*, *Leonnatus*, *Nearchus*, *Oneſicratus*, *Hephæſtion*, and other Keepers of his

body, he gave Golden Crowns. But this did not ſatisfie the *Macedonians*, ſo as to keep them from mutining. For, having ſailed the River *Eulæus* to the Sea, thence to the mouth of *Tigris*, and up this River as far as *Opis*, he there calling them together, gave liberty to all who were rendred unfit for ſervice, either through age or being maimed, to return home, promiſing great rewards to ſuch as would voluntarily ſtay and finiſh the War with him. Though he intended hereby to gratifie them, yet they made a bad conſtruction of it, as proceeding from contempt of them and their ſervice, and counting them unfit for War. They called alſo to mind how he uſed the *Perſian* Habit and Cuſtoms, as did ſome of his Favourites; that the barbarous Nations were admitted amongſt that Troop called his Friends; and that he had lately cauſed 30 and more young men to be picked out of the Provinces, whom trained up in the Diſcipline of *Macedonia*, he called *Epigoni*, or his poſterity. Conſidering theſe things, and thinking that he now deſpiſed their Perſons, Faſhions and Country, they all deſired to be diſbanded, and bade him go alone to the Wars with his Father *Hammon*, ſeeing he ſet ſo light by his Souldiers.

The *Macedonians* mutinie.

35. The King inraged, preſently cauſed thirteen of the Ringleaders to be apprehended, and drowned in the River; and reviling the reſt, bade them all be gone home. Then entring his Palace, for that day and the next he would admit none to his preſence. On the third, having confined the *Macedonians* to their Tents, he called ſuch ſtrangers to him as followed his Camp. Their faithfulneſs to him and the former Kings he commended, he related what favours he had ſhewed them, and told them he now took them as fellow Citizens, gave them the Arms of the *Macedonians*, and would have the Kingdom of *Europe* and that of *Aſia* the ſame thing. Out of them he choſe 1000 young men, to whom he committed the charge of his Perſon in the Court; he beſtowed the commands of the Army amongſt them, and made choice of ſome, whome naming his Kinſfolk, he permitted to kiſs him. Theſe things cut the *Macedonians* to the heart, and made them ſeriouſly repent of their raſhneſs. Coming to the Palace, they caſt down their Arms at the Gate, and with great lamentation deſired to be admitted, offering to give up the Incendiaries, and deſiring him rather to kill than thus diſgrace them. He refuſed to admit them, but they continued ſtill two days, and as many nights before the Gates, profeſſing that they would not depart till he had compaſſion on them. On the third day perceiving them thus humbled, he came forth to them, and *Callines* after mutual weeping, told him, that it troubled them to know others received into his Kindred, and themſelves excluded from it. He anſwered, that he received them alſo, and ſo would call them thenceforth; then he offered himſelf to be kiſſed by as many as would. Being thus received again into favour, they returned with great joy to their Tents, and afterwards were feaſted by him, together with *Perſians* and others, to the number of 9000 Gueſts.

But having humbled themſelves he is reconciled.

36. He diſmiſſed now ſuch as were unſerviceable for the Wars (though ſome ſay it was not till a little before his death) to whom he paid not only their arrears, but gave them money to bear their Charges, and a Talent to every man beſides. He ſent home with them *Craterus* his beloved Friend to govern *Greece* and *Macedonia* in the room of *Antipater*, who was to bring over a ſupply of men. Then made he a progreſs through ſeveral places, and came to *Ecbatane* the chief ſeat of *Media*, where *Hephæſtion* by drinking got a Feaver, and then impatient of a ſtrict diet, died in ſeaven days. In the abſence of *Glaucus* his Phyſician (who was gone to the Theatre to behold the Sports) he eat his Dinner, and after it drank a Cup of cold Wine, which, as it was thought, increaſed the diſtemper. *Alexander* took his death moſt heavily, faſted three days, and refuſed to be comforted. He commanded the Phyſician to be Crucified, beſpoke an univerſal Mourning, wherein even the Cities ſhared by the removal of their Ornaments from the Walls. He ordered *Perdiccas* to convey the body to *Babylon*, where he intended him a moſt ſumptuous Monument, and refuſed to fill up his place of Captain of his thouſand Friends, leſt his name ſhould be forgotten, by which he would have the Company ſtill called. Then, for diverſion, he made War upon the *Coſſai*, a People bordering upon the *Oxii*, who having ſtood out againſt the *Perſians*, deſpiſed him alſo, becauſe of their valour, and the ſtrength of their Country, ſituate upon the Mountains of *Media*. Yet for all this, and the coldneſs of Winter, he brought them under within 40 days.

He cometh to *Ecbatane* in *Media*, where *Hephæſtion* dyeth.

37. Having a great deſire to ſail the *Caſpian* Sea, he ſent *Heraclides* with divers Ship-carpenters into *Hyrcania* to build Ships, and then he took his way towards *Babylon*. Being diſtant from the City two or three dayes journey, the *Chaldæans* ſent to warn him that he ſhould not come into the City, for they were told

by

He cometh to *Babylon*.

by their god *Belus*, that if he did, it ſhould be fatal to him. He intended to follow their advice; but being perſwaded otherwiſe by *Anaxarchus* and other *Græcians*, at length he reſolved on the contrary. Then they deſired him that he would not enter with his Face upon the *Weſt*; but it being difficult not ſo to do, by reaſon of the Fens about the City, having ſlighted their former advice, he alſo rejected this. Being arrived, he gave audience to Ambaſſadors ſent to him now from all parts, not only out of *Aſia*, but from *Africk* and *Europe* alſo; Out of *Africk*, from the Nations ſituate upon the Sea-Coaſts as far as the *Atlantick* Ocean: from *Europe*, beſides the *Græcians*, *Thracians*, *Illyrians* and *Scythians*, from ſome Nations of *Italy*, as the *Brutii*, *Lucani*, *Tuſci*; from *Sicilie*, and *Sardinia*; as alſo from the *Spaniards* and *Galls*, then firſt known to the *Macedonians*; but as for the *Romans*, though ſome ranke them in the number, yet have we no reaſon to give credit to their report. At the celebration of the *Olympick* Games, he cauſed it to be proclaimed, that all *Greek* Exiles might return home, except ſuch as were baniſhed for Sacrilege or Murder, againſt which the *Athenians* and *Ætolians* only made reſiſtance. Then celebrated he the Funerals of *Hephæſtion* with vaſt magnificence, and ſacrificed to him as an Heroe. After this he made great preparations for Shipping, intending alſo to invade and conquer *Arabia*, which, hearing it was no leſs than *India*, he ſent ſome to diſcover.

A. M. 3681.
Ol. 114. *an.* 1.
Urbis conditæ 430.
Alexand. 13.

Where he falleth into a Feaver.

38. While theſe preparations were making, and an Haven digging at *Babylon*, he paſſed through *Euphrates* into *Pallacopa*, a River, which being ſupplied with Water from the former, thereby hindreth it from overflowing the Country. Here he opened the paſſages, made a new one towards the Lakes, and coming into the Borders of *Arabia*, built there a City. Then deriding the *Chaldæans*, for that he had both entred, and ſailed in ſafety from *Babylon*, he thither returned, and liking the City exceedingly, intended to make it the Seat of his Empire; though it was but for a ſhort ſpace, as it fell out. For, having ſet up feaſting and drinking very late one night, as he was departing to go to Bed, he was again invited by *Medius* a *Theſſalian* to another carowze, where challenging, and being challenged, he drank ſo much Wine as put him into a Feaver, whereof he died the eleventh day. Some have delivered that he was poyſoned by the procurement of *Antipater*, who ſuſpecting he was through the malice of *Olympias* called out of *Macedonia* for no good towards himſelf, ſent his Son *Caſſander* with Poyſon to be delivered to *Iollas* and his other Sons, that then waited on the King. Indeed *Caſſander* was not at all favourable, as he ought to have been, to the Intereſt of *Alexander*'s Poſterity, as neither to his Reputation; and coming to him a little before his death, he did but little ſtrive to ſuit his humour. For ſeeing the *Barbarians* adore him, and unacquainted with ſuch a ſight, he burſt forth into laughing, for which *Alexander* caught him by the Hair, and knocked his Head ſoundly againſt the Wall, as *Plutarch* telleth us. But as for matter of Poyſon, the long lying of his Body in ſo hot a Country, during the contentions of his Captains, betrayed no ſymptoms thereof, and therefore others give no credit to the report. Moreover, the courſe of his ſickneſs preſenteth us with no ſuch ſymptomes, as it is deſcribed to us by *Plutarch* and *Arrianus* out of his Diaries.

Vide præter Plutarchum & Diodorum Senecæ Epiſt. 83. *Athenæum l.* 11. *c.* 17. *Macrobium Saturnal. lib.* 5. *cap.* 21.

39. *On the* 18th *day of the* (Macedonian) *month* Dæſius (May *the* 12) *he ſlept in a Bath, becauſe of his Feaver. The day following he returned to his Bed-Chamber, and ſpent it with* Medius *at Dice: then being waſhed at night, and having finiſhed his devotions, he ſupped ſomething liberally, and all the night was much diſtempered. On the* 20th *day he waſhed, and having finiſhed a ſolemn ſacrifice, in the Bath heard* Nearchus *relate the ſtory of his Navigation, and of what he had ſeen in the* Ocean. *On the* 21ſt *having done the ſame thing his Feaver increaſed, and he had an ill Night. The day after he was held with a ſharp Feaver, and was removed near the great place for ſwimming, where he diſcourſed with his Officers about ſupplying Vacant places in the Army with the fitteſt perſons. On the* 24th *his Diſeaſe increaſing he ſacrificed, being borne out to the place, and commanded the principal of his Officers to ſtay in the Court, and the reſt to watch before the Gates. Being removed into the Inner Palace on the* 25th *day he reſted a little; but the Feaver abated not, and when the Captains came to ſee him he ſpake not a word. So he paſſed over the* 26th *day, whereupon the* Macedonians *thinking him to be dead, came with great noiſe to the Door, and compelled his Friends to let them in; ſo in their Coats every man of them paſſed by his Bed-ſide. The ſame day* Pithon *and* Seleucus *were ſent to the Temple of* Serapis, *to ask if he ſhould be removed thither, and received anſwer, that he ſhould continue where he was. On the* 28th *day towards the evening he expired.* Though he fainted by the violence of his Diſeaſe; yet lean-

ing on his Elbow, he reached out his Hand to all Souldiers that would touch it in their paſſage, and (which ſeemeth incredible) continued in the ſame poſture he had ſet himſelf, till the whole Army had ſaluted him.

Curtius lib. 10. cap. 7.

40. The Souldiers being all gone, he asked his friends about him, *whether they thought they ſhould have ſuch another King.* When all kept ſilence he ſaid, that *as he was ignorant hereof, ſo he knew, could Propheſie, and almoſt ſee with his Eyes how much Blood* Macedonia *would ſhed in this Controverſie, with what ſlaughters and bloodſhed it would make him a Parentation when he was dead.* At length he commanded his body to be buried in the Temple of *Hammon*, and when his friends asked him to whom he would leave his Kingdom, he anſwered, *to the moſt Valiant.* Yet having taken his Ring from his Finger, he gave it to *Perdiccas:* whereby all conjectured that he commended his Kingdom to him till his Children ſhould grow up. Again, *Perdiccas* demanding of him when he would have Divine Honours given to him, he replied, *then, when they (his followers) were happy:* which were his laſt words, and a little after he expired. He lived 32 years and eight months, reigned twelve, and alſo eight months. He died ſix years and ten months after the murder of *Darius*, in the firſt year of the 114 *Olympiad*, A. M. 3681, 322 years before the *Æra* of Chriſt. *Siſygambis* the Mother of *Darius* having with ſome patience born the loſs both of her Son's life and Empire, when ſhe heard of *Alexander*'s death refuſed to live any longer. So, refraining from all ſuſtenance ſhe died the fifth day after.

Juſtin lib. 12. Corn. Nepos in Eumene. Curtius ut ſupra.

Of which he dieth the eleventh day.

Juſtin. Curtius Diodorus.

CHAP. II.

Of ſuch things as hapned after the Death of Alexander *amongſt his Captains, till their Cantonizing of his Empire into their particular Kingdoms, and their taking the Stile and Title of Kings upon them, Containing the ſpace of 17 years.*

1. SOme have written that *Alexander* by his Teſtament, diſtributed the Provinces amongſt his ſeveral Commanders. So the Author of the firſt Book of *Machabees* affirms, and the *Excerpta Chronologica* of an half *Barbarian*, as *Valeſius* terms him, publiſhed by *Scaliger*. *Alexander*, he ſaith, *coming to die wrote his Teſtament, that every one of the Princes of* Alexander *might Reign, all of them in their own Provinces.* But *Quintus Curtius*, *Arrianus* and *Diodorus Siculus* ſufficiently refute this Fable. *Curtius* writes expreſly, *Some have believed that by the Teſtament of* Alexander *the Provinces were diſtributed; but we have found the fame of that thing, though it be delivered by Authors, to have been vain.* *Alexander*, though he had taken ſeveral Wives, yet left but one Son already born of *Barſine*, the Daughter of *Artabazus* a *Perſian*, and another in the Belly of *Roxane*, the Daughter of *Oxyartes*. His Son called *Hercules* was deſpiſed upon his Mothers account by the Captains, who much ſcorned the Conquered Nations. He had a Siſter named *Cleopatra*, Widow to the King of *Epirus*, and their Uncle, who was ſlain in *Italy*; and a baſe Brother called *Aridæus* (begotten on *Philinna* a woman of *Lariſſa*) who Married *Eurydice* the Daughter of *Amyntas*, whom being the right Heir, and his Nephew, *Philip* kept from the Kingdom of *Macedonia*, after he had exerciſed the Office of his *Protector*, and on him beſtowed a Daughter of his own in Marriage. This *Amyntas* bore patiently the want of the Kingdom all *Philip*'s time, but in the beginning of *Alexander*'s reign, with the loſs of his life, attempted ſomething. His Title through the proweſs of the two late Kings was utterly forgotten; *Cleopatra* (as a woman perhaps) was not thought of. *Aridæus* neither by birth, perſonage, or qualities was fitly endowed; yet upon him the election fell, for want of a better, becauſe the Captains were at a loſs what courſe to take.

Alexander's Iſſue and Linage.

2. For, *Ptolomy*, the Son of *Lagus* (as he was called; but reputed the Son of *Philip*, who, as it's ſaid, having uſed the company of *Arſinoe* his Mother, put her off in Marriage to *Lagus*, when great with Child), rejecting the Title of the half *Perſi-*

Contention amongſt his Captains about the Succeſſion.

an Brood, though as *Alexander's* Children they ſhould have been conſidered, was for the Captains their taking the rule upon them, and deciding all things by Vote of the major part. But as he might think this courſe moſt likely to ſerve his own ambition, ſo *Ariſtonus* perhaps on the ſame grounds betook himſelf to the words of *Alexander*, which he interpreted as meant of *Perdiccas*, becauſe, ſaying, that he left his Kingdom to the worthieſt, at the point of death he delivered to him his Ring. He was ſeconded by many, who either bore good will to *Perdiccas*, or out of fear that he would carry it, would not venture to oppoſe him. But he would needs make a ſhew of modeſty, thinking thereby the more to indear himſelf, whereat *Meleager* an envious man, and one who bore to him a particular grudge, took advantage to inveigh againſt him, and diſturbed all Councils, by perſwading the Souldiers that whoſeſoever was the Empire, they had the beſt Title to the Treaſure. During the uproar *Aridæus* was mentioned, and his Name laid hold on by ſome peaceable Spirits, who labouring betwixt the Parties wrought a compoſure for the time, wherein yet *Perdiccas* had the better of his Adverſary. It was agreed, according to the deſire of the Infantry, that *Aridæus*, the baſe Son of *Philip*, ſhould be King, and foraſmuch as he was ſtupid and dull (rather through the practiſing of *Olympias* upon him, as ſome thought, than any Original indiſpoſition) *Perdiccas* was made his *Protector*, and Commander of his Forces, who hereby in effect was King for a time, though that Title, with Name of *Philip*, for a greater Grace was conferred upon the other.

Aridæus declared King.

A. M. 3682.
Ol. 114. *ann.* 2.
V. C. 431.
Ante Chriſtum 321.
Ptolom. 1.

3. Then did the Officers diſtribute the Provinces of the Empire amongſt themſelves. *Macedonia* and *Greece* were left to *Antipater*, *Thrace* with the neighbouring Countries was aſſigned to *Lyſimachus*; *Ægypt*, with all that which of *Cyrene*, *Africk* and *Arabia* had belonged to *Alexander*, was ſet over to *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagus*. *Syria* and *Phœnicia* were committed to *Laomedon*; *Armenia* to *Neoptolemus*; *Meſopotamia* to *Arceſilaus*. In *Aſia* the leſs, *Cappadocia* and *Paphlagonia*, with the Countries thereto adjoyning, which *Alexander* had paſſed by in his Conqueſts, were aſſigned to *Eumenes*; *Pamphylia*, *Lycia*, *Lycaonia*, and the greater *Phrygia* to *Antigonus*; the leſſer *Phrygia* as far as the *Helleſpont* to *Leonatus*; *Cilicia* to *Philotas*, together with *Iſauria*; and *Caria* to *Caſſander*. *Menander* was confirmed in the Government of *Lydia* given him by *Alexander*. The Iſle of *Cyprus* remained in the Power of certain Governors to which he had granted it; and all that part of his Empire from *Babylon* Eaſtward, continued in the ſtate wherein he left it. Thus was his Dominions diſpoſed of otherwiſe than he intended, for one telleth us that he made a Will, which he delivered to the *Rhodians*, and another affirmeth, that thereby all was given to one only Succeſſor. After this his Funerals were thought of, his Body having lain ſeaven days neglected. Yet no corruption had ſeized on it, and it looked as freſh in the Face as though it had been living, which as it's ſaid made the *Ægyptians* and *Chaldæans* afraid to touch it; but having prayed that Mortals might lawfully do it, they embalmed, and after that adorned it with Royal Enſigns. The care of the Burial was committed to one *Aridæus* (not the King, though ſome have ſo miſtaken) another of the Captains, who ſpent two years in making preparation for it, which made *Olympias* tax the late ambition of her Son, and bewail his misfortune together in the ſame Speech, as *Elian* obſerveth. For, the Burial of *Alexander* was to be uſhered in by the Funerals of many of his Followers.

The Provinces diſtributed amongſt the Captains.

Diodorus l. 20. *ad Ol.* 118. *ann.* 4.
Ammianus Mar. l. 23.
Juſtin.
Curtius l. 10.
Diodorus ad Olymp. 114. *ann.* 2. & 3.
Var. Hiſt. lib. 13. *c.* 30.

4. *Ptolomy* got poſſeſſion of *Ægypt* without any trouble, and ſetled himſelf therein, partly by his fair carriage towards the Inhabitants, and partly by the power of an Army, which he raiſed by virtue of 8000 thouſand Talents. Hearing that *Perdiccas* had an intention to deprive him of his Government, he contracted affinity with *Antipater*, and making away *Cleomenes* his Lieutenant, becauſe he was much addicted to the *Protector*, fortified the Country. *Antipater* was now employed in the *Lamian* War againſt the *Athenians* and *Ætolians*, who refuſed to receive their Exiles, as was hinted before, and ſo diſtreſſed him in Battel, that he was forced to fly to *Lamia*, a City of *Pthiotis*. Here *Leoſtenes* the *Athenian* General beſieged him; but when he perceived him forſaken by the *Ætolians*, he iſſued out, and ſlew him in the charge, being an excellent Souldier, and one who had deſerved well of *Greece*. *Leonatus* Governour of the leſſer *Phrygia*, allured by promiſe of his Daughter, came over to help *Antipater*; but marching through *Theſſaly* was driven into a Fen by the *Græcians*, and there ſlain. At his miſhap *Antipater* (who coming thither the day after, united his Forces with his own) is ſaid to have rejoyced, becauſe he had determined to make himſelf Maſter of *Macedonia*. At this time *Perdiccus* taking the King along with him, went againſt *Ariarathes* of *Cappadocia*, whom getting into his hands, he Crucified, and ſubduing thoſe Countries which *Alexander* had paſſed by, gave

Ptolomy getteth poſſeſſion of *Egypt*.

The *Lamian* War in *Greece*.

Perdiccas ſubdueth *Cappadocia*.

gave them to *Eumenes*, according to agreement. *Craterus* not long after paſſed over into *Macedonia*, to the aſſiſtance of *Antipater*, with 10000 *Macedonians*, and 150 *Perſians*, which Force united to the Army of *Antipater*, overpowered the joynt ſtrength of the *Grecians*.

A. M. 3683.
Ol. 114. *an.* 2.
V. C. 431.
Ptolom. 2.

Civil Wars amongſt the Captains.

Diod.

Arrianus.

Juſtin l. 13.

Perdiccas goeth againſt *Ptolomy*.

6. After this begun the Civil Wars betwixt the Captains themſelves. For, *Perdiccas* breathing after the Soveraignty, and knowing how able the other were to withſtand him, grudged *Ptolomy* exceedingly the poſſeſſion of *Egypt*, and through the perſwaſion of *Eumenes* procured much enmity, in that having married *Nicæa* the daughter of *Antipater*, by his advice, he reſolved to put her away, and take *Cleopatra* to wife, the daughter of *Philip*, and ſiſter to *Alexander*. This being made known to *Antigonus*, he certified *Antipater* of it, and being calumniated by *Perdiccas* (who intended to make him away) he fled unto him, with *Demetrius* his ſon. *Perdiccas* conſulting with his Officers what in this caſe was to be done, reſolved firſt to ſet upon *Egypt*, leſt *Ptolomy* during his abſence in *Greece*, ſhould ſeize upon *Aſia*. And to keep *Aſia* againſt *Antipater* and *Craterus*, he left *Eumenes* with large power over the Provinces, joyning with him *Alcetas* his own brother, and *Neoptolemus*. *Perdiccas* taking along with him *Aridæus* the King, and young *Alexander* now born of *Roxane* (who was eight moneths gone with child of him when his Father died) for a more ſpecious pretence, marched againſt *Ptolomy*. *Antipater*, and *Craterus*, hearing how things went, clapped up a peace preſently with the *Etolians*, and leaving *Polyſperchon* to govern *Macedonia* and *Greece*, paſſed over the *Helleſpont*, and diſpatched away meſſengers to *Ptolomy* to enter into a league and ſociety with him.

A. M. 3684.
Ol. 114. *an.* 4.
V. C. 433.
Ptolom. 3.

Eumenes left by him in *Aſia* getteth the better.

Perdiccas ſlain.

Idem, Pauſan. in Atticis.

* *Corn. Nepos in Eumene.*

7. *Alcetas*, with thoſe *Macedonians* he commanded, flatly refuſed to fight againſt them; and *Neoptolemus* envying *Eumenes* the chief command, plainly revolted. After this, ſome were ſent to feel *Eumenes*, but he anſwered, that he would rather die than betray his truſt, whereupon *Antipater* and *Craterus* divided their Forces. *Antipater* marched towards *Egypt* to joyn with *Ptolomy*, and *Craterus* ſtaied to oppoſe *Eumenes*, with whom fighting in *Cappadocia*, his Horſe ſtumbled, and was run through with a Lance, and after the fight died of the wound: *Neoptolemus* alſo grapling with *Eumenes* was ſlain by him. By this time *Perdiccas* with the two Kings came to *Peluſium* in *Egypt*, where though *Ptolomy* purged himſelf of the crimes objected againſt him, yet he would purſue his enterprize, though contrary to the inclination of his Soldiers, his end being hereby to be brought about. Divers of his friends preſently forſook him; yet he ſet upon a Caſtel near the *Nile*, and not being able to gain it, marched away and came over againſt *Memphis*, where the River parting into two ſtreams, maketh an Iſland very convenient for the lodging of his Army. Endeavouring to bring his men into it, he loſt 200 in the Ford, for that thoſe who firſt waded over ſo removed the ſand at the bottom, that the River was too deep for ſuch as followed. Yet did he command thoſe who had got ſafe over to return; of whom part were drowned, ſome carried down the ſtream to the Enemy, and others being toſſed to and fro in the River were devoured by Crocodils. By this imprudent act the minds of his followers were ſo turned againſt him, that 100 of his chief Officers revolting, he was ſlain by certain Horſe-men, after he had continued in his power almoſt three years. * One reporteth, that he was ſlain at the River *Nile* by *Seleucus* and *Antigonus*.

Pithon and *Aridæus* choſen into his place.
And *Eumenes* declared an Enemy.
Pithon layeth down and *Antipater* choſen into his place.

8. *Ptolomy* came over to the Kings, whom with the Officers he magnificently entertained, and then an election being to be made of a new Governour for them in the room of *Perdiccas*, though he could eaſily have procured himſelf to be choſen, yet he got two others elected, viz. *Pithon* one of *Alexander's* moſt intimate friends, and *Aridæus*, who having the care of the funeral committed to him, had at the deſire of *Ptolomy* buried the Kings body at *Memphis*, againſt the will of *Perdiccas*. The Army now being diſpleaſed at the death of *Craterus*, declared *Eumenes* an Enemy, and choſe *Antigonus* together with *Antipater* Generals for the ſubduing of him. But *Pithon* and *Aridæus* held not their places long, for *Euridice* the wife of *Aridæus* the King, being a woman of a notable ſpirit, would have nothing done without her knowledge, and grew ſo intollerable, that *Pithon* therewith wearied, and ſeeing the *Macedonians* too much addicted to her, called the Souldiers together, and laid down his Protectorſhip. Into his room then *Antipater* was elected with full power.

A. M. 3685.
Ol. 115. *an.* 1.
V. C. 434.
Ptolom. 4.

9. Againſt him alſo *Eurydice* raiſed ſuch a Sedition in the Army, taking occaſion at the want of pay, that with much ado he eſcaped the danger of his life, by the means of *Antigonus* and *Seleucus*. After this, he anew divided ſuch Provinces as he ſaw con-

He createth *Antigonus* General againſt *Eumenes*.

venient, placing and diſplacing Governours. He created *Antigonus* General againſt *Eumenes*, ſending his own ſon *Caſſander* as Collonel with him, by whom he might be certified, in caſe he attempted any thing for his own eſtabliſhment; and then with the two Kings he marched for *Macedonia*. *Eumenes* having intelligence concerning theſe Councils, made all preparations poſſible for reſiſtance. In the Spring *Antigonus* came againſt him into *Cappadocia*, where he firſt attempted by Libels thrown into his Camp, to draw his Soldiers from their obedience, offering a great reward for his head. *Eumenes* gave his Soldiers thanks for their fidelity, but told them, that theſe Libels were feigned by himſelf to try them, which was a notable device (and of ſuch he was full) to make them wary of giving credit to ſuch for the time to come. Yet ſome proved falſe to him, as one *Perdiccas*, who drew away a conſiderable party, but was purſued and taken, and being put to death, the Soldiers returned to obedience. But *Apollonides* his General of the Horſe did moſt miſchief; for being corrupted by *Antigonus*, when they came to joyn battel he paſſed over with his Troops to him, whereby *Eumenes* had the worſt of it, and loſt about 8000 men, with his Carriages.

Eumenes worſted through treachery.

10. *Apollonides* the Traytor he caught and hanged: then, flying a private way, he returned to the Camp, and there buried his dead, to the wonder and amazement of the Enemy; after which he could have plundered the carriages of *Antigonus* but for burthening his Soldiers with the booty. Being driven to and fro in this flight, at length he betook himſelf to a Caſtle called *Nora*, ſituate in the Confines of *Cappadocia* and *Lycaonia*, and diſmiſſed all his Army, except 500 Horſe-men, and 200 Foot, as alſo ſuch friends as were unwilling to undergo the hardſhip of a Siege. *Antigonus* before he would lay cloſe ſiege to the place, called him forth to a Treaty, requiring him to come to him a Superiour, to which he anſwered, that *he accounted no man his ſuperiour ſo long as he had a Sword by his ſide*. This parley, though managed with much reſpect, came to nothing, and *Antigonus* leaving a party ſufficient to carry on the Siege, marched againſt *Alcetas* and *Attalus*, two of *Eumenes* his confederates, whom he ſuppreſſed. About this time *Antipater* died in *Macedonia*, and at his death more ſwayed by the Publick good than any ſelfiſh reſpect, left *Polyſpercon* (who after himſelf was the oldeſt of *Alexander*'s friends now living) Protector of the Kings, and Captain, with full authority. *Caſſander* his ſon ſtomached this very much, and conſulting how to advance himſelf to be chief, ſecretly entered into confederacy with divers Captains. Amongſt theſe was *Ptolomy*, whom he deſired that he would ſend him ſome ſhips out of *Phœnicia* (for all that Country, together with *Judæa*, he had now got into his power) into the *Helleſpont*. But the death of *Antipater* ſtrangely alſo made way for the inlargement of *Eumenes*.

Beſieged in *Nora*.

A. M. 3686. Ol. 115. an. 2. V. C. 435. Ptolom. 5.

Antipater dieth and leaveth his place to *Polyſperchon*.

11. For, *Antigouus* now being lef in *Aſia*, thought oft no leſs than getting it all into his power, and for that end ſtrove to ingratiate himſelf with the ſeveral Captains. Judging that the conjunction of *Eumenes* might be of great advantage to him, he ſent *Hieronimus* his Country-man (who being an * Hiſtorian, wrote of the acts of *Alexander* and his Succeſſors) to deſire him, that forgetting the fight in *Cappadocia*, he would enter into ſociety with him, and receive a larger Province. He required that he ſhould take an oath, which, ſlightly paſſing over the Kings, he had framed to his own advantage. *Eumenes* unwilling to ſwear fealty to him, with the aſſent of *Hieronymus* and the beſiegers, changed the form of the oath, and ſwore to have the ſame friends and enemies, not only with him, but with *Olympias*, and the Kings. Hereupon the ſiege was raiſed after a years continuance, which he had born with admirable chearfulneſs and prudence, and now being let looſe drew many followers after him, ſo that within a few dayes, beſides the 500 which had continued with him in the Caſtel, he had 2000 at his devotion. *Antigonus* was very angry that he had changed the form of the oath, and by Letters checked the beſiegers, for admitting of it, requiring them to beſiege him again; but it was too late. Thus, they were as far from cloſing as before; and ſtill were further ſet at diſtance by the affairs which now were on foot in *Macedonia*.

* *Vide Voſſium de ſcript. Græcis. l.* 1. *c.* 11.

His death procureth the inlargement of *Eumenes*.

12. *Polyſperchon* having ſucceeded *Antipater* (as was before ſaid) recalled *Olympias* out of *Epyrus*, whither her enmity with *Antipater* had driven her, inviting her to take the care of her young grand-ſon upon her. But *Caſſander* reſolving to venture for *Macedonia*, entred into confederacy with *Ptolomy* and *Antigonus*, the later whereof gladly promiſed him aſſiſtance, out of love to the memory of his father, as he pretended, but indeed deſirous that he ſhould be diverted by ſo great a War, whilſt he in the mean time might make ſure of *Aſia*. *Polyſperchon* to ſecure *Greece*, in the name of the Kings publiſhed an Edict for the aboliſhment of all ſuch Oligarchies as ſince

A M. 3687. Ol. 115. an. 3. V. C. 436. Ptol. 6.

ſince the paſſing of *Alexander* into *Aſia*, had been erected in any of the Cities, which by virtue hereof he reſtored to their former liberty, hereby to oblige, and keep them from yielding to *Caſſander*. In the ſame name he alſo wrote to *Eumenes*, upon whom he confirmed his former Government, and beſtowed more, beſeeching him, that together with himſelf, he would take upon him the protection of the Kings houſe; if he pleaſed, in *Macedonia*, but rather in *Aſia* againſt *Antigonus*, who now had viſibly revolted from it: Moreover, he wrote to the Treaſurers in *Cilicia*, to furniſh *Eumenes* with money, and to the *Argyraſpidæ* (or the old Soldiers with Silver Shields) to obey him in all things. *Olympias* alſo by letters deſired his help, owning him as the moſt faithful of thoſe remaining, who could aſſiſt againſt the ruine and deſolation of her Family.

Caſſander laboureth for *Macedonia*, & *Eumenes* is ſtirred up to ſtand for the Kings intereſt.

13. *Eumenes* not able to ſtay any longer in *Cappadocia*, becauſe *Menander* was ſent from *Antigonus* againſt him, haſted into *Cilicia*, where the *Argyraſpidæ* being 3000 in number joyned with him. Fearing the envy of the *Macedonians*, for that he was but a Stranger of the *Cherroneſus* of *Thrace*, he carried it with great civility towards all, and made himſelf but equal to the other Captains. To contain them in order, he feigned that *Alexander* had appeared to him in a dream, ſitting upon his Throne, and commanding as formerly, in compliance wherewith, he cauſed a Throne to be erected in a Tent as for the King, whereon was alſo laid a Diadem and Scepter; and here the Council of Officers were alwaies to aſſemble: Then ſending his friends abroad he raiſed many men, the report of the largeneſs of his pay drawing Souldiers out of *Greece* it ſelf. *Ptolomy* and *Antigonus* ſent to take off the *Argyraſpidæ*, and *Tentamus* one of their Captains was perſwaded by them, but was reduced to his former reſolution by *Antigenes* his Collegue, and the common Soldiers were quieted by *Eumenes*, who came upon them while yet they were in fear of *Antigonus*, who threatned, that except they would deliver him up, he would come and deſtroy them with his Army. After this, *Eumenes* marched into *Phœnicia*, intending there to provide ſhipping, that if need were, he might have entercourſe with *Polyſperchon*. He alſo intended to reſcue *Phœnicia* out of *Ptolomie*'s hands; but finding himſelf unable to accompliſh this deſign, he began his march through *Cœleſyria*, and paſſed on till he came to *Carræ* near *Babylon*, where he took up his Winter-quarters.

Diod.
Plutarch & Corn. Nepos in Eumene.
Polyænus Stratagem. l. 4.

Who marcheth to *Carræ*.

14. *Antigonus having* overthrown at Sea *Polyſperchon*'s Navy, and attempted ſomething againſt the Governours near the *Helleſpont*, now haſted to make a full conqueſt of *Aſia*. He choſe out of all his Army 20000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe, wherewith, for expedition, he marched with ſpeed into *Cilicia* to ſuppreſs *Eumenes* his forces ere he could get them together, which cauſed the other ſooner to depart into *Phœnicia*, whence he marched to *Carræ*. While he here remained he ſent to *Seleucus* Governour of *Babylon*, and *Pithon* of *Media*, for aid againſt the enemies of the Kings; to which they anſwered, that they were ready to aſſiſt the Kings, but not him, who was condemned by a Council of the *Macedonians*, and they ſolicited the Captains of the *Argyraſpidæ* to forſake him; but in vain. After this he reſolved for *Suſa*, thinking to get aid out of the upper Provinces, and money out of the Treaſury, and thither he came with much difficulty, *Seleucus* having ſo drowned his Camp, that he was forced to get off his men with boats. It hapned that the Governours of the Provinces were at this time gathered together with many Forces againſt *Pithon*, who having ſlain *Philotas*, had placed his own brother *Eudramus* in his ſtead. Fearing the like might be attempted againſt themſelves, they armed, and having overthrown him in battel, drove him out of *Parthia* to *Babylon*, where he fled to *Seleucus* for relief. *Eumenes* formerly ſent them Letters from the Kings, now alſo ſolicited them for aid when thus met together, to which they agreed, and came down. Theſe were *Peuceſtes* Governour of *Perſia*, one of the Keepers of the late King's body, and now choſen by the reſt for their *Generaliſſimo*; *Polemon* of *Caramania*, *Sibyrtius* of *Arachoſia*, *Staſander* of *Aria*, and *Drangiana*; *Andrabazus*, who was ſent from *Oxyartes* Governour of the *Parapomiſadæ*, and *Eudamus* (or *Eudæmon*) Governour of the *Oxydracæ* and *Malli*, who brought with him out of *India* 120 Elephants (beſides other Forces) which he got into his hands after he had ſlain *Porus* the King. Their united Force conſiſted of above 18700 foot, and 4600 horſe, which being joyned to *Eumenes* his Army, made up a conſiderable body.

A. M. 3688.
Ol. 115. *an.* 4.
V. C. 437.
Ptolom. 7.

To *Suſa*.

The Governours of the upper Provinces joyn with him.

15. They had fallen out about chuſing a new General, had not *Eumenes* his former device of ſetting up *Alexander*'s Pavilion and Throne prevented it, whither he perſwaded them to repair, and rule in common; after which he took as much money out of the Treaſury at *Suſa* as his wants required. In Spring *Antigonus* being come into *Meſopotamia* marched to *Babylon*, where joyning in Confederacy with *Seleucus* and *Pithon*, he received ſome Forces from them, and paſſed the River *Tigris*. *Eumenes*

Antigonus marcheth againſt him.

A. M. 3689.
Ol. 116. *ann.* 1.
V. C. 438.
Ptolomæi 8.

hearing of his coming went down to *Paſitigris*, where he fell upon ſuch of his Soldiers as were got over the River, which he filled alſo with Carkeiſes, and took 4000 Priſoners. *Antigonus* therefore bent his courſe another way to the City *Radaca* ſituate upon the River *Eulæus*, whence he journeyed through the Countrey of the *Coſſæans* with great difficulty, and hardſhip, into the habitable parts of *Media*, where he refreſhed, and quieted his men now ready to mutiny, by reaſon of their tedious journey. *Eumenes* marched into *Perſia*, where the whole army was Magnificently entertained by *Peuceſtes* the *Satrapa*, who now thought to eſtabliſh himſelf in the Chief power, but by the great cunning of *Eumenes*, together with the other Captains, was retained in his former condition, and brought to a greater obſervance of him. *Antigonus*, following him into *Perſia*, he returned to meet him, but feaſting his Army, he drunk ſo exceſſively, that a great diſtemper thereby contracted, ſtopped him for ſome dayes, and then was he carried in a Litter out of the noiſe, till ſuch time as the Front would not march without him in the head of them. He was therefore conſtrained to lead them, and ſhortly after to frame the battel in his Litter, which *Antigonus* ſaw, and laughed at.

They meet.

16. Four dayes were ſpent in light skirmiſhing, during which time *Antigonus* endeavoured to draw away *Eumenes* his men; but to no purpoſe; and afterwards reſolved to go 3 dayes journey off into *Gabiene*, for that the Armies were both much ſtraitned for neceſſaries. *Eumenes* hearing this, ſent ſome, who as Fugitives ſhould acquaint him how as that night he intended to fall in upon his Camp, which he believing, ſtayed, expecting him, and then did *Eumenes* make haſte to get into *Gabiene* before him. *Antigonus* ſeeing himſelf deluded, marched after with great expedition, and leaving behind the reſt of his Army, with a party got before him. He preſented then himſelf to his view upon the Mountains, which *Eumenes* ſeeing, and thinking he had all his Forces with him, made an halt, and ſo they mutually deceived each other. Here in the Countrey of the *Paraetaceni* they joyned battel, wherein *Eumenes* had the better, though the other got the advantage of ground; but then his Soldiers beginning to be refractory would needs depart to their baggage, and not ſtay to bury their dead. Whereupon *Antigonus* doing this firſt, the victory came to be controverted.

The victory controverted.

17. *Antigonus* finding himſelf to have had the worſt of it, went his way to *Gamarga* in *Media*, where was plenty of Proviſions, and then *Eumenes* finding his Army in no good caſe to purſue him, departed to *Gabiene*. Here he divided his Forces into their Winter quarters, not according to his own deſire, but the pleaſure of the Souldiers; for the old ones which had followed *Alexander* in his Conqueſts were grown ſo high, as they would rather give Laws to their Captains than receive them. *Antigonus* hearing this, thought to ſurprize them on a ſudden, and for that they ſhould know nothing of it, reſolved to take a by-way, which yet was declared to *Eumenes*, who not being able to call his Soldiers together ſo ſoon as was requiſite, betook himſelf to his ſeldom failing policy. He cauſed fires to be made on the Mountains where the Enemy was to paſs, which they beholding, thought he had there with him his whole Army, and ſo took the common way, after they were come into the midſt of their journey. *Antigonus* ſtayed one day to recruit his Army, and *Eumenes* gathered in the mean time his Forces together, which admired his prudence ſo much, as they ordered him to be Chief, and thus brought him into danger of life, divers of the great ones conſpiring againſt him, which made him ſay he was amongſt a company of wild beaſts; and cauſed him to make his Will, and tear his Letters, leſt any of them that had wrote unto him ſhould be troubled after his death. This as it was faithfully done to his friends, ſo was it alſo in good time, as it after fell out.

Diodorus ut ſuprà, Plutarch in Eumene, & Cornel. Nepos.

18. For ſhortly after, *Antigonus* and he came to a Pitch-battel, which decided the controverſie, though not for the Conquerour. *Eumenes* lead into the field 36700, foot, 6500 horſe, and 114 Elephants, *Antigonus* brought 22000 foot, 9000 horſe, and 65 Elephants. The *Argyraſpides* (or ſilver ſhields) got the victory, for they put all *Antigonus* his foot to flight, and killed 5000 of them, ſo that though *Peuceſtes* withdrew himſelf out of the fight with his own horſe, and 1500 more; yet *Eumenes* with the loſs of 700 on his ſide got the day. But neither valour nor wiſdom could befriend him, for the place where they fought being exceeding duſty, ſo as ones ſight was taken away at a little diſtance, *Antigonus* ſends a party of horſe to plunder the Enemies baggage, ſo that the *Macedonians* though Conquerors, after the battel fell into a deep melancholy for the loſs of their Wives and Children taken away, and *Teutamus* firſt without the knowledge of any one ſent to *Antigonus*, who Covenanted with him to reſtore him all, on condition *Eumenes* were delivered to him, and they would all paſs into his Camp, whereupon the *Macedonians*, the 1000 which *Peuceſtes* commanmanded,

Eumenes getteth the better.

But is betrayed by his men,

manded, and moſt of the other Captains revolted, and *Eumenes* having his hands tied behind him was delivered up; his Army ſhamefully following him to the Tents of *Antigonus*, paſſing it ſelf in triumph after him. *Antigonus* for ſhame would not ſee *Eumenes* his old fellow Soldier in that condition; but aſſigned him to Keepers, at firſt requiring he ſhould be ſtrictly looked to, but afterwards remitting that rigour till almoſt all perſwaded him to make an end of him. This he was loath to do, and took ſeven dayes to conſult in; but then fearing ſome Sedition might ariſe in the Army, he commanded his dayly allowance of meat ſhould be withdrawn, ſaying, he would never lay hands upon him. Two or three dayes he languiſhed in this condition, and then the Army being to march, one was ſent in, and killed him without the knowledge of *Antigonus*; ſo fell this brave man, who was excelled in Military glory but by few Captains, in the eighth year after the death of *Alexander*.

And killed.

Diodorus *l.* 18.

19. *Caſſander* having obtained of *Antigonus* 35 ſhips, and 6000 men, ſayled with them to *Athens*, which together with the Haven he had got into his power, by means of *Nicanor*, whom he had ſent before-hand for that purpoſe. Againſt him came *Polyſperchon*, intending to beſiege him, but his Proviſions failing, he left his ſon with a party in *Attica*, and with the greateſt part of the Army marched into *Peloponneſus* againſt the Inhabitants of *Megalopolis*, who only amongſt the Cities had refuſed to take away their Oligarchy, and had joyned with *Caſſander*. Here he had the worſt of it, and that brought him ſo into contempt, as moſt of the *Greek* Cities revolted from him to *Caſſander*, and the *Athenians* ſeeing they could not ſhake off his Garriſon, agreed with him that he ſhould retain the Fort *Munychia*, till the War was finiſhed with the Kings, but that the City ſhould be governed by one whom he appointed, which was *Demetrius Phalereus* the Philoſopher, *Theophraſtus* his Scholar, who Governed ſome years with moderation, and was honoured with 360 Statues. Then *Caſſander* making an expedition into *Macedonia*, found there many friends. The year after, *Polyſperchon* by the help of *Æacida*, King of the *Moloſſians*, reduced *Olympias* with *Alexander* the ſon of *Rhoxane* her Grand-Child into *Macedonia*, whereupon *Euridice* the Wife of *Aridæus* the King fortified herſelf, and ſent to *Caſſander* for aid, but the *Macedonians* fearing the Majeſty of *Olympias* fell away from her, and ſhe with her husband being both committed to priſon, he was firſt made away, and then *Olympias* ſent her a Sword, an Halter, and Poyſon, to chuſe which of them ſhe pleaſed; ſo ſhe praying the gods that ſhe might have at length ſuch gifts ſent unto her, hanged herſelf with her Garter. This hapned after *Aridæus* had enjoyed the title of King ſix years and fourmoneths.

Laertius in vita. Phocionis.

Olympias deſtroyeth *Aridæus* and his Wife.

Diodorus *l.* 19.

20. *Olympias* killed *Nicanor* the brother of *Caſſander*, and deſtroyed the Sepulchre of his other brother *Iollas*, and then chuſing out 100 of his chiefeſt friends put them to cruel deaths. But he hearing ſhe was arrived in *Macedonia*, marched out of *Peloponneſus* againſt her; whereupon ſhe made *Ariſtonous* her General, and commanded him to meet *Caſſander*, ſhe betaking herſelf, with Alexander her Grand-ſon, his Mother, and others, into *Pydna*, hoping ſhe ſhould have many aſſiſtants, but ſhe was deceived: For, *Caſſander* beſieged her by Land and Sea. *Æacida* was coming to aſſiſt her, but by his means his men fell away from him, and baniſhing him his Countrey, joyned themſelves and Kingdom to the other; others in *Macedonia* intended to aid her, but fearing *Caſſander*, fell off alſo to him, and as for *Polyſperchon* in whom reſted now all her hope, *Callas* being ſent againſt him corrupted alſo moſt of his Souldiers. The ſiege therefore laſted without any let, till famine ſo prevailed in the City, as many of the Defendants came out, and ſhe was then driven by neceſſity to yield, very hardly obtaining promiſe of ſafety to her perſon. Afterward he cauſed thoſe whoſe Kinsfolks ſhe had put to death to accuſe her to the *Macedonians*, who naturally hated, and now incenſed by them, condemned her. Then did he ſend ſome of her friends to her, willing her to fly, but ſhe denied it, and reſolved to plead her cauſe before the people; ſo that he fearing their affections might be moved towards her, ſent ſome Soldiers to kill her. They were ſo ſtruck with her Majeſty, that they returned without doing their errand; but then ſome, the friends of whom ſhe had made away came in, and ſlew her, not at all amazed, or behaving her ſelf otherwiſe than as the Mother of *Alexander*, whom ſhe had outlived eight years.

Killeth *Nicanor* & others.

A. M. 3690.
Ol. 116. *ann.* 2.
V. C. 439.
Ptolom. 9.

She is alſo murdered by *Caſſander*.

21. *Pithon* the Governour of *Media*, envying *Antigonus* his power, and greatneſs, laboured to draw moſt of the Souldiers now in their Winter quarters to his own party, intending to eſtabliſh himſelf, which *Antigonus* being aware of, gave out that he would commit the Eaſt unto him, and by divers friendly Letters drew him to him, after which he got him condemned in a Council of his Aſſociates, and put him to death. Then marched he into *Perſia*, being received by the Inhabitants as King, for that now

Pithon put to death by *Antigonus*.

Who ordering matters as he pleaſeth in the Eaſt.

Seleucus flyeth into *Ægypt*.

now without controverſie he was Lord of *Aſia*. Here calling a Council, he confirmed divers in their Governments, and amongſt the reſt *Sibyrtius* of *Aracoſia*, to whom he delivered 1000 of the moſt turbulent *Argyraſpides* (who had delivered up *Eumenes*) under pretence to ſerve him in the Wars, but indeed to deſtroy them, giving him ſecret order to expoſe them to ruin, that ſo they might never ſee more *Macedonia* nor the *Greek* Sea. Perceiving *Peuceſtes* to be in great favour here, he removed him from the Government, to the great grief of the people, and then got the Treaſure at *Suſa* into his hands, out of which he made 25000 Talents. Thence he journyed to *Babylon*, where *Seleucus* the Governour royally entertained him, but offering to puniſh a certain Officer of the Army without his knowledge, he called him to an account for the revenues of the place. *Seleucus* denied to account, ſaying, that place was given him by the *Macedonians* for his faithful ſervice performed to *Alexander*; but the Conteſt grew ſharper every day, ſo as he remembring, and fearing the caſe of *Pithon*, with fifty horſe in his Company fled into *Egypt*. *Antigonus* was glad he had gotten *Babylon*, and that without any violence offered to his antient friend; but being told by the *Chaldeans*, that if he let him go he ſhould get all *Aſia* into his power, and he himſelf ſhould die in a battel againſt him, he ſent ſome to purſue him, but in vain.

Maketh the Captains combine againſt *Antigonus*.

22. *Seleucus* being courteouſly entertained by *Ptolomy*, ſent his friends into *Europe* to ſtir up *Caſſander* and *Lyſimachus* againſt *Antigonus*, who ſuſpecting ſome ſuch matter, ſent alſo to retain them in his friendſhip, but they entred into confederacy together with *Ptolomy* againſt him, and all three ſent their Ambaſſadors to him, as he was now marching tawards the upper *Syria*, to demand that *Cappadocia* and *Lycia* might be reſtored to *Caſſander* Governour of *Caria*; *Phrygia* upon the *Helleſpont* to *Lyſimachus*, all *Syria* to *Ptolomy*, and *Babylon* to *Seleucus*, and to divide all the treaſure he had got into his hands ſince the death of *Eumenes*, with them and the other *Macedonians* who had loſt their Governments. To this he anſwered ſharply, and that he was already preparing for *Ptolomy*, ſo that the Ambaſſadors returning without any effect, they made great preparations both by Sea and Land. He underſtanding how full his hands would be, ſent about to the chief States to retain them in friendſhip, and alſo to hire more Soldiers; he himſelf went into *Phœnicia*, where he beſieged *Tyre*, uſed great endeavour for the making of ſhips, and took in *Joppe* and *Gaza*. *Ariſtodemus* alſo he ſent into *Laconia*, who there by the permiſſion of the *Lacedæmonians* raiſed 8000 men, and joyned *Polyſperchon* and *Alexander* his ſon in confederacy with him, of whom the former was made general of *Greece*, and the later he deſired to go over to *Antigonus*, who going accordingly, in an aſſembly of the Army accuſed *Caſſander*, for that he had put *Olympias* to death, had committed *Rhoxane* and her ſon to cuſtody, married by force *Theſſalonica* the daughter of *Philip* and ſiſter of *Alexander*, and ſo evidently affected the Kingdom of *Macedonia*: moreover, that he had re-edified *Thebes* deſtroyed by *Alexander*, and reſtored the *Olinthians*; whereupon he was declared an Enemy, except he would amend what was amiſs, and obey *Antigonus*, and ſet all the *Græcians* at liberty, and ſo *Alexander* rewarded with 500 Talents was ſent back. But not long after he revolted to *Caſſander*, being for that declared General of *Peloponneſus*, and ſhortly after he was traiterouſly ſlain by the *Sicionians*.

Diodorus ut prius.

23. *Seleucus* in *Cyprus* proſpered againſt the party of *Antigonus*, and *Polyclitus* his Lieutenant overthrew *Theodotus* his Admiral both at Sea and Land, after which *Ptolomy* and *Antigonus* met and conferred together; but to no purpoſe. *Caſſander* ſhortly after fearing *Antigonus* might paſs over into *Europe*, to divert him, ſent an Army over into *Caria* to help thoſe Cities which were confederate with *Seleucus* and *Ptolomy*, *Caſſander* the Governour there joyning with him, which *Antigonus* fearing, left *Demetrius* his ſon in *Syria*, with order to entrap *Ptolomie's* forces if they ſhould march that way, and for that he was then but 22 years old, left four grave men his friends to counſel and direct him. Upon his coming to *Caria*, *Caſſander* the Governour having too great a burthen upon him, made a Peace, on condition to keep his place, and gave his brother for an Hoſtage, whom yet getting again out of his hands, he preſently revolted ,after which *Antigonus* got divers Cities into his Power, and reſtored the *Mileſians* to their liberty. At this time the inhabitants of *Cyrene* revolting, *Ptolomy* reduced them again to obedience by the means of *Agis* his General, and in *Cyprus* ſuppreſſed ſome of the Kings which were of the contrary faction. Returning home he was ſollicited by *Seleucus* to undertake an Expedition againſt *Demetrius* then in *Cœleſyria*, ſo that with 18000 Foot, and 4000 Horſe, he marched to *Gaza*, where *Demetrius* expected him. In the fight the Forces of *Demetrius* ſeemed rather to prevail, till his

Elephants being wounded and taken, his Horſe out of fear ran away. He himſelf fled accompanied with many followers till he came near *Gaza*, but then ſo many forſook him and went in thither to fetch out their goods, that multitudes flocking to the gates, and they therefore being hindred from being ſhut, the enemies entred with them and took the Town. *Ptolomy* took *Sidon* alſo, and beſieged *Tyre*, whoſe Governour *Andronicus* upon ſummons refuſed to yield, and reviled him; yet he getting the place into his power through the ſedition of the Souldiers, when he looked for preſent death, not only forgave him, but entertained him courteouſly as his familiar friend.

A.M. 3693.
Ol. 117. *an.* 1.
V.C. 442.
Seleuci 1.
Ptolom. 12.

Seleucus recovereth *Babylon* and the Eaſtern parts.

24. *Ptolomy* making himſelf maſter of the places about *Syria*, returned into *Egypt*, being followed thither by many which were allured by his great courteſie. But *Seleucus* thinking this a good opportunity for him to return to his former Principality, obtained of him 800 Foot, and 200 Horſe, and with them marched for *Babylon*. In his way in *Meſopotamia* he procured, partly by fair means partly by foul, thoſe *Macedonians* which quartered at *Carrhæ* to joyn with him, and when he came to *Babylon*, the Inhabitants there willingly received him, and he ſhortly after ſtormed the Caſtle which was held by *Antigonus* his garriſon. *Nicanor* the Governour of *Media* hearing this, came againſt him with above 10000 Foot, and 7000 Horſe, whom he went out to meet with but few more than 3000 Foot, and 400 Horſe, and knowing himſelf too weak to engage in a ſet battel with him, he hid his men in the Fens till he was paſt with his Army, and then came upon him lying careleſly in the night without any ſtrict guards; ſo as the *Perſians* coming to fight, *Euagrus* their Captain was ſlain, with other Officers; at which being ſtruck, and alſo weary of *Antigonus* his government, they revolted; and *Nicanor* with a few at his heels eſcaped, being glad he was not delivered up. *Seleucus* by this means getting a ſtrong Army, eaſily made himſelf Maſter of *Suſiana*, *Media*, and the Countryes thereto adjoyning; ſo as getting hereby Royal Majeſty, and Glory ſuitable to his dignity, ſome have from this year fetched the riſe of that *Æra*, which afterwards was called that of the *Seleucidæ*, and of the *Greeks*; for that his Kingdom proved the moſt conſiderable; about the year of the World 3694, the firſt of the 117 *Olympiad*, 309 years before the *Æra* of Chriſt, and twelve years after the death of *Alexander*.

Euſebius in Chronico, alii.

Demetrius his attempts againſt him.

A.M. 3694.
Ol. 117. *an.* 2.
V.C. 443.
Seleuci 2.
Ptolom. 13.

An agreement betwixt *Ptolomy*, *Caſſander*, & *Lyſimachus*.

25. When *Antigonus* heard of it, he ſent his ſon *Demetrius* againſt him. *Demetrius* had now redeemed his credit by the overthrow of *Cilles*, ſent to expel him out of *Syria* by *Ptolomy*, and upon it called thither his Father, ſo as they recovered all that Country, and *Phœnicia* out of his hands, he not daring to ſtay and try a battel with *Antigonus*. *Demetrius* led with him an Army of 15000 Foot, and 4000 Horſe, and had order to recover the Principality of *Babylon*, and then go down to the Sea. *Patrocles*, whom *Seleucus* had left Governour of *Babylon*, hearing of his coming, adviſed the inhabitants to leave the City, and flie ſome into the Deſart, or over the River *Tigris*; he himſelf with a Band of men flew up and down, taking advantages at the Enemy, and ſent to *Seleucus* into *Media* for aid, ſo that *Demetrius* coming and finding the City forſaken, ſtormed one of the Forts therein, and for that his time was out, beyond which he could not ſtay, he left *Archelaus* with a ſtrong party to beſiege the other. Then giving leave to his Soldiers to plunder all they could light on, he departed according to his Father's orders to the Sea, where he beſieged *Halicarnaſſus*, but was beaten off by *Ptolomy*, and ſo as it were took his leave of that Province for ever, taking what he could get along with him, and perhaps for this reaſon the *Chaldæans* with the Author of the ſecond Book of the *Machabees* in this year (one after the other) fix the *Æra* of *Seleucus*. Not long after, *Ptolomy*, *Caſſandar*, and *Lyſimachus*, made a Peace with *Antigonus* on theſe terms: that Caſſander *ſhould be Captain General of* Europe; Lyſimachus *ſhould retain* Thrace, *and* Ptolomy Ægypt, *and the reſt which he now enjoyed, until* Alexander *the ſon of* Roxane *ſhould come to age; and that* Antigonus *ſhould be over* Aſia, *and the* Greeks *live after their own Laws.* This agreement was not kept long, each one ſeeking under any pretence to inlarge his Dominions, and indeed they might better do it, ſeeing that he for whom they pretended themſelves Adminiſtrators, and was their Soveraign Lord, was taken away. For *Caſſander* taking notice that young *Alexander* grew up, and that the People began to talk, that now he ought to be delivered out of cuſtody, and to enjoy his Fathers Kingdom, and he fearing his own intereſt, commanded ſecretly *Glaucius* his Keeper to kill him and his Mother, and concealing their bodies, to acquaint no perſon living with it. Thus he who was unborn when

his Father died, died by the hands of violence and treaſon, thirteen years after his death.

The death of young *Alexander.*

Hercules his Brother

26. He had a brother yet living elder than himſelf, who being begotten of *Barſines* (never married to *Alexander*) was held as illegitimate by the Captains, though born before his Father's death. His name was *Hercules*, being now kept at *Pergamus*, whence he was called ſhortly after the death of the other, by *Polyſperchon*, who now being in *Peloponneſus*, and envying *Caſſander* the Principality of *Macedonia*, ſent about to his friends, intreating, that the youth being ſeventeen years old, might be brought, and eſtabliſhed in his Fathers Throne. The *Etolians* eſpecially, with others, imbraced the motion; ſo as he got together about twenty thouſand Foot,and one thouſand Horſe, in no great ſpace, and within a while after gathered up a numerous Army, with which he marched and came on his way to *Stymphalia*. Here *Caſſander* oppoſed him, and ſeeing that his *Macedonians* took well enough this reduction of their Prince, and fearing they might revolt to him, ſent to *Polyſperchon*, and with vaſt promiſes ſecretly perſwaded him to make away the young man, which accordingly was performed. About this time *Demetrius* overthrew *Ptolomy* his Lieutenants in *Cilicia*, and he to be revenged invaded *Licia*, where he took ſome Cities, after that ſailed into *Greece*, where he endeavoured in emulation to *Antigonus* to ſet the Cities at liberty; but the *Greeks* not keeping their promiſe of ſending money and corn, having received *Sicyon* and *Corinth* from the Widdow of *Alexander* the ſon of *Ephæſtion* (who had revenged ſtoutly her husbands death, and kept ſtill theſe places) he agreed with *Caſſander* that each ſhould retain ſuch places as he had in his power, and returned.

Made away.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 117.
Juſtin lib. 15.
A. M. 3696.
Ol. 117. *an.* 4.
V. C. 445.
Seleuc. 4.
Ptolom. 15.

27. *Alexander* the Great had yet a ſiſter living called *Cleopatra*, formerly the Widdow of *Alexander* King of *Epirus* (who making an Expedition into *Italy*, periſhed, againſt the *Lucanians*, as *Livie* tells us) and after that married to *Perdiccas*, whom alſo now being at *Sardis*, *Antigonus* ſeems to have wooed. But ſhe inclining rather to *Ptolomy*, ſtole out of *Sardis* to go to him, whereupon *Antigonus* took ſuch order by the Governour of the Town, that ſhe was not only ſtopped in her journey, but by means alſo of ſome women ſecretly made away; after which to colour the matter he put ſome of them to death, and buried her body with royal magnificence. Shortly after this, *Demetrius* was ſent into *Greece* to ſet the Cities at liberty, which he accompliſhed at this time for *Athens*; *Demetrius Phalareus* being driven out, and conducted to *Thebes* where he lived till *Caſſander's* death, and then fled to *Ptolomy*. Afterward *Demetrius* being recalled to make War in *Cyprus*, thither he paſſed, where he overthrew *Menelaus*, *Ptolomy* his brother and Governour there, and purſuing him to the City *Salamine*, ſlew three thouſand of his men, and took one thouſand, and then beſieged him in that place. *Ptolomy* hearing of the defeat of his men, came both with Sea and Land forces, and ingaged the beſiegers in battel, wherein though he overthrew that Wing againſt which he himſelf fought, yet the other prevailing, he was diſcomfited with the loſs of eight thouſand men, and all his ſhips ſave eight, with which he fled away, and *Demetrius* became Maſter of the Town and Iſland. *Antigonus* being elevated with this ſucceſs, received the title of King given him by his friends, and a Diadem ſet upon his head, which title and honour he alſo gave to his Son *Demetrius*. The *Egyptians* alſo hearing this, leſt they ſhould ſeem to be dejected for their loſs, gave the name of King to *Ptolomy*, who thenceforth in all his Letters ſtiled himſelf ſo. Neither now would the other great ones come behind theſe; for *Seleucus*, *Caſſander*, and *Lyſimachus*, after their example, took upon themſelves the ſame dignity and title, all the near relations of *Alexander* being quite extinct.

Diodorus l. 20. *ad Olymp.* 118.

And *Cleopatra* their Aunt.

Demetrius his Victories againſt *Ptolomy* whereupon *Antigonus* and then the reſt take the title of Kings.

Idem ibid.
Plutarch in Demetrio.
Juſtin lib. 15.
A. M. 3698.
Ol. 118. *an.* 2.
V. C. 447.
Seleuci 6.
Ptolom. 17.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

From Alexanders *Captains taking the Title of Kings, to the death of* Seleucus *the Surviver of them, containing the ſpace of* 24 *years.*

Diodorus ibid.

1. ANtigonus animated by his late ſucceſs againſt *Ptolomy* in *Cyprus*, now thought of no leſs than outing him alſo of *Egypt* it ſelf; wherefore recalling his ſon from the Iſland, he commanded all his Forces to meet at *Antigonia* a City newly built by him upon the River *Orontes* in *Syria*, as convenient againſt the upper Provinces and *Egypt* which afterwards *Seleucus* deſtroyed, and tranſlated the Inhabitants to his *Seleucia*. Leading the Land-forces himſelf, he committed the Fleet to his ſon, which was to ſayl along upon the Coaſts within ſight of the Army as it marched. Having good Proviſion both for men and beaſt, he marched through the deſert; His Navy ran great hazard at Sea, but the Tempeſt ceaſing in good time, they came all together unto the *Nile*. *Ptolomy* by this time had ſo fortified the ſeveral mouths of the River, as the Sea-forces could do no good, though they removed from one to another, and the Land-Army could not find any forage at that time of the year, the waters being very high: Moreover, many fell away to the Enemy, being allured with his promiſe of two pounds to every common Souldier, and a Talent to an Officer; ſo that *Antigonus* was fain to retreat into *Syria*. *Ptolomy* being exceeding glad hereof, ſent to his Confederates to acquaint them with his good ſucceſs; and now having thus defended his Kingdom, accounted himſelf rightly to enjoy it, and hereupon ſome have accounted the beginning of his reign from this very time, fixing it at nineteen years diſtance from the death of *Alexander*.

Antigonus his fruitleſs expedition againſt *Ptolomy*.

A. M. 3699.
Ol. 11. *ann.* 3.
V. C. 448.
Seleuci 7.
Ptolom. 18.
Ptolomæus in Regum Canone.

Diodorus ibid.

2. But this want of ſucceſs allayed not the ambition of *Antigonus*, He ſent his ſon *Demetrius* preſently againſt the *Rhodians*, who had formerly diſpleaſed him by a denial to ſend him aid, and ſhips. For, they endeavouring as near as they could to keep in with all theſe great ones; yet were drawn by their private intereſt, eſpecially to favour *Ptolomy*, from whoſe Kingdom they got the greateſt part of their livelyhood by way of Traffick. *Demetrius* according to his fathers command, went, and beſieged their City, lying before it well-nigh a whole year, during which time he made all ſorts of oppoſition he could, till ordered by his Father to make peace with them, which they were prone to accept of, though *Ptolomy* and others ſent them Proviſions, and ſupplies of men. Departing from *Rhodes*, *Demetrius* paſſed into *Greece* to reſtore the Cities which *Caſſander* and *Polyſperchon* had lately maſtered in the abſence of *Antigonus* his Forces. *Chalcis* he freed from a Garriſon of the *Bœotians*, whom he alſo withdrew from *Caſſander*'s friendſhip, joyned in ſociety with the *Ætolians*, and afterwards reſtored *Sicyon*, *Corinth*, *Athens*, and ether places to their freedom. *Caſſander* ſeeing things by the help of *Demetrius* to go well with *Greece*, ſent over to *Antigonus* to deſire peace, but he refuſed it, except he would refer himſelf whole unto him. He being affrighted at this, ſent to *Lyſimachus* in *Thrace*, to come and Conſult with him, and then they both diſpatch away Meſſengers to *Ptolomy* and *Seleucus*, to let them ſee how they were concerned alſo to reſiſt *Antigonus*. They hearkned willingly to the offers made unto them, and joyned in Confederacy againſt him as their common Enemy, promiſing great ſupplies for carrying on the War.

And as fruitleſs againſt *Rhodes*.

A. M. 3700.
Ol. 118. *ann.* 4.
V. C. 449.
Seleuci 8.
Ptolom. 19.

A Combination againſt him.

3. *Caſſander* thinking it good policy not to ſtay for the Enemy, to come upon him, but invade him firſt, gave part of his Army to *Lyſimachus* to paſs over with it into *Aſia*, and with the reſt marched for *Theſſaly*, there to oppoſe *Demetrius* and the *Greeks*. There meeting, and incamping with vaſt Armies, neither of them would begin the battel, expecting how things went in *Aſia*, till *Demetrius* was recalled thither by his Father. *Lyſimachus* being landed there, the Inhabitants of *Lampſachus* ſubmitted to him, whom he reſtored to their liberty; ſtormed *Sigeus*, and placed a Garriſon there; then he taketh in *Phrygia* upon the *Helleſpont*, and divers other places, by the means of *Docimus*, an Officer of *Antigonus*, whom he had drawn over to him; *Prepelaus* alſo, whom he ſent with a par-

Stirs preceding the great battel.

ty to ſubdue the Cities of *Æolis* and *Ionia*, took other Towns. *Antigonus* was at this time celebrating publick Games at *Antigonia*, when hearing this news, he preſently broke them off, and with all ſpeed marched againſt *Lyſimachus*, Whom he reached, and beſieged him in his Camp for ſome time, till taking the opportunity of a dark and rainy night he fled away: Then hearing that *Seleucus* was drawing down his Forces from the upper Provinces, he ſent for *Demetrius* to come over with all expedition. *Seleucus* had lately made peace with *Sandrocottus* (or *Androcottus*) who being a man of no quality, had ſollicited the *Indians* to revolt after the death of *Alexander*, and to kill his Officers, and thence took an occaſion to ſubdue them under himſelf. *Bactria* being ſubdued, *Seleucus* had waged War with him, but now for a Compoſure gave to him ſome Countries lying upon the River *Indus*, which *Alexander* had taken from the *Arians*, and received five hundred Elephants of him in exchange. *Ptolomy* with a compleat Army had come into *Cæleſyria*, where he reduced divers Cities; but as he was beſieging *Sidon* came a falſe report that *Antigonus* had overthrown *Seleucus* and *Lyſimachus*, and now was coming thitherward, wherefore he made a Truce with the *Sidonians* for five moneths, and returned, but not long after came up again to that fatal ingagement with *Antigonus*.

4. The Forces of theſe ſeveral Princes were drawn down to be in readineſs againſt the Spring. *Plutarch. in vita Demetrii. Appienus in Syriacis.* *Antigonus* had an Army of ſeventy thouſand Foot, ten thouſand Horſe, and ſeventy five Elephants. And the contrary party had made up amongſt them ſixty four thouſand Foot, one thouſand five hundred Horſe, four hundred Elephants, and one hundred twenty Chariots. *Antigonus* bragged that he would ſcatter the meeting of theſe Kings together, as one might do the flocking of birds gathering Corn, with the throwing of a ſtone; but when they approached, he was more melancholick than uſual, and was ſeen to diſcourſe with his ſon in private in his Tent, which he never uſed to do; he commended him alſo to the Army as his Succeſſor. The battel was fought at *Ipſus*, a Town in *Phrygia*, in which *Demetrius* leading the beſt party of Horſe, ingaged with *Antiochus* the ſon (and afterwards Succeſſor) of *Seleucus*, whom he routed, and put to flight, but being too hot in the purſuit undid all: for retiring back he could not again joyn himſelf with the foot, by reaſon that the Elephants were got between them. *Seleucus* ſeeing this, made as if he would have faln upon the Infantry, thus deſtitute of the Horſe, wherein his expectation failed him not, for they fearing it, part *Antigonus* ſlain in it. revolted to him, and the reſt were broken, and put to flight. *Antigonus* ſtanding his ground, expected continually *Demetrius* to come to relieve him: but in that expectation ended his life by a multitude of Darts thrown upon him, being now ſomething above eighty years old. *Demetrius* his ſon with five thouſand Foot, and four thouſand Horſe fled to *Epheſus*; but there fearing his Soldiers might be ſome way falſe to him, he ſayled to *Salamine* in *Cyprus*, which he then held. This fell out in the three thouſand ſeven hundred and fourth year of the World, the fourth of the one hundred and nineteenth *Olympiad*, twenty three years after the death of *Alexander*, and ſix after their taking the Title of Kings upon them. A. M. 3704. *Ol.* 119.*ann.*4. *V.C.* 453. *Seleuci* 12. *Ptolom.* 23.

5. The Conquerors parted his Dominions amongſt them, as we are told; but it ſeems to have been chiefly *Seleucus* and *Ptolomy*, *Iidem.* who did not well agree about their prey, and upon this account left a contention to their Succeſſors. *Seleucus* fell preſently upon building Cities, the firſt of which he called after himſelf *Seleucia*, and the later, to which he transferred the Inhabitants of *Antigonia* (to the number of three thouſand five hundred) as we ſaid before, he called *Antiochia*, either after his father or ſon's name; for both are affirmed, and this afterwards proved the *Metropolis* of *Syria*. *Ptolomy* after the death of *Antigonus* got *Syria* again, *Vide Uſſerium in prima parte Annal.pag.*461 with *Cyprus*, and afterwards *Cyrene* alſo into his power, and Married his daughter *Arſinoe* unto *Lyſimachus*, as, few years after, his other to *Agathocles* the ſon. *Seleucus* ſeeing that thus theſe two ſtrengthned themſelves in affinity, thought not amiſs The Alliances of the Kings. to joyn alſo with *Demetrius*, though gone down the wind; and accordingly ſent to him for his Daughter *Stratonice*. He receiving this unexſpected Meſſage, ſayled with her into *Syria*. Paſſing by *Cilicia*, which then *Caſſander* held, *Pliſtarchus* his Brother cried out that he would invade his Territories, and went ſtrait to *Seleucus* to expoſtulate with him his being reconciled to the common Enemy. But *Demetrius* landing went to *Quinda*, where finding yet two hundred Talents left in the Treaſury, he took them away, and ſo proceeded and met with *Seleucus* at *Oroſſus*, who taking his wife away with him to *Antioch*, *Demetrius* ſeized upon *Cilicia*, and ſent his wife *Phila* to *Caſſander* her brother, to purge him of thoſe things laid to his charge by *Pliſtarchus*.

6. Not-

Plutarch. Ibid.

A. M. 3707.
Ol. 120. ann. 3.
V. C. 456.
Seleuci 15.
Ptolom. 26.

Caſſander dieth

6. Notwithſtanding *Caſſander* he held *Cilicia*; but *Seleucus* his Son-in-Law required, that for a ſum of money he would give it up into his hands, which he refuſed, and then with ſome anger he demanded *Tyre* and *Sidon* of him, not being content, though he held all from the *Syrian* Sea, as far as *India*, that his Father-in-Law ſhould reſt quiet with it, though ſufficiently toſſed with adverſe fortune, but he as ſtoutly denyed this alſo, ſaying, that though he were a thouſand times more overcome, yet would he never purchaſe the affinity of *Seleucus*, and fortified the Cities with Garriſons. The next year *Caſſander* King of *Macedonia* died of a Dropſie (which was ſo loathſome, as Lice withal broke out of him) after he had ruled that Country nineteen years; twenty ſix after the death of *Alexander*; A. *M.* three thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeven.

Idem ibid. & in vita Pyrrhi.
Juſt. lib. 16.

Stirs betwixt his ſons about the Kingdom.

7. He left three Sons by *Theſſalonice* the Daughter of *Philip*, and Siſter to *Alexander*; *Philip*, *Antipater*, and *Alexander*. The firſt ſucceeded his Father, but died preſently of a Conſumption, *Antipater* coming after him killed his Mother, for that after her Husbands death ſhe ſeemed to favour his younger Brother *Alexander* more than him in the deviſion of the Kingdom; though ſhe beſought him by her breaſts that gave him ſuck to ſpare her life. After her death he endeavoured to expel his Brother out of *Macedonia*, who therefore craved aid of *Demetrius*, and *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus*, who being expelled out of his Kingdom, had Married *Ptolomy's* Wives Daughter, and by him was reſtored. *Demetrius* being now employed otherways, the other came, and received ſome Countries in way of encouragement and reward for his ſervice, which he fortified with his own Garriſons. *Antipater* now had his recourſe to *Lyſimachus* his Father-in-Law, who being alſo hindred with other affairs, and fearing *Demetrius* his coming, adviſed him to make an agreement with his Brother; and for that he knew *Pyrrhus* would in any thing ſeek to gratifie *Ptolomy*, that he might take him off, he feigned a Letter to him from him, wherein he adviſed him for three hundred Talents received from *Antipater* to forſake the Enterprize. *Pyrrhus* as ſoon as he opened the Letter, eaſily diſcerned it to be counterfeit, for that it was not directed after the uſual manner, as from the Father to the Son, but as from the one King to the other.

Plutarch in Demetrio.
A. M. 3711.
Ol. 121. ann. 3.
V. C. 460.
Seleuci 18.
Ptol. 30.

Procureth the deſtruction of them all.

8. However, *Lyſimachus* his perſwaſion ſeems to have wrought ſo with the Elder Brother, together with the preſence of *Pyrrhus*, as they came near to an agreement; but the coming of *Demetrius* ſpoiled all. For, he having loſt *Cyprus* lately to *Ptolomy* (which forced him to quit *Lacedæmon*, after he had taken *Athens*, and now had almoſt taken it alſo) came into *Macedonia* to amend his fortunes. *Alexander* being troubled at his coming, ſeeing he knew the peace was partly made, went out to meet, and received him with great honour, but told him he now had no need of his help; but he either having, or pretending to have a ſuſpicion of him, procured him to be ſlain, telling the *Macedonians* a fair tale afterwards, who ſeeing the one of *Caſſanders* Sons thus dead, and hating the other for his impiety towards his Mother, received him as King; ſome have written that *Alexander* uſed *Demetrius* his help firſt, in killing his Brother *Antipater*, and ſo revenged the death of his Mother upon him. Others ſay that *Lyſimachus* after *Alexanders* death, for that he was imployed in a War with *Dromichetis* King of the *Getes*, delivered alſo up to *Demetrius*, that part which belonged to *Antipater* his Son-in-Law, and afterwards killed him alſo, when he complained to him that by his means he had loſt his Kingdom, and impriſoned *Eurydice* his Wife, his own Daughter, for partaking with him in the complaint. But thus (one way or other) *Antipater* was rewarded for his Mothers death; and ſo in a ſhort time fell the poſterity of *Caſſander*, by the juſt Judgment of God, as even Heathen Writers obſerve.

Pauſanias in Bœoticis.

Juſtin ut ſuprà.
Plutarch ibid.

Demetrius getting *Macedonia* aſpireth ſtill after his former height.

9. For ſome time *Demetrius* enjoyed *Macedonia*, during which he ſtill aſpired after his former height and power: for now having this Kingdom and *Theſſalie* in his hands, as alſo *Athens* and *Megara*, and the greater part of *Peloponneſus*, he ſubdued the *Bœotians*. Then hearing *Lyſimachus* to be taken Priſoner by the King of the *Getes* (who ſhortly after yet ſet him at liberty) he reſolved to return for *Thrace*; but the *Bœotians* revolting cauſed him to retreat, though on his march thither. Coming back he found that his Son *Antigonus* had overthrown the revolters in fight, but *Thebes* ſtill remained untaken, and whilſt he was going about that, *Pyrrhus* of *Epirus* (being now alienated from him ſince the death of *Deidamia* his Siſter which *Demetrius* had married) invaded *Theſſaly* from his own Frontiers, and pierced as far as the Straights of *Thermopylæ*. *Demetrius* hearing this, left his Son in the Siege, and haſted againſt him; but he ſtayed not his coming but retired, and then *Demetrius* fortifying *Theſſalie* returned to *Thebes*, where the inhabi-

tants ſo ſtoutly defended themſelves, that he loſt many men, and himſelf was wounded in the neck; yet according to his skill and fortune in taking of Cities (whence he had the Sirname of *Poliorcetes*) he ſtormed the place, and though he pretended at firſt ſeverely to puniſh the Inhabitants, yet he ſatisfied himſelf with the death of ten or thirteen, and baniſhing a few, pardoned the reſt.

Plutarch.

10. Finding that his *Macedonians* were quiet when abroad, but ſeditious at home, he fell upon the *Ætolians*, to divert them. Waſting their borders there he left *Pantaucus* with ſome Forces, and with the reſt marched againſt *Pyrrhus*, who hearing it, came out to meet him, but they miſſed of each other, and went ſeveral ways; *Demetrius* into *Epirus* which he harraſed; *Pyrrhus* light upon *Pantauchus*, who challenging him to fight gave him a wound, but he received two for it himſelf, and thereupon falling he had been ſlain, but that his friends preſently reſcued him, after which his Army was put to flight, and five thouſand of them taken. After this, *Demetrius* fell ſick at *Pella*, and then *Pyrrhus* again invaded his Territories a great way, none reſiſting him, nay, he had ſuch an opportunity, as ſcarce could he have deſired a better, for ſeizing upon the whole Kingdom, many revolting to him, and *Demetrius* his Captains making but ſlow endeavours to hinder his progreſs. But he having his mind ſet more upon booty than any thing elſe, ſtayed not their coming, but fled away, loſing many of his men in the retreat. For all this *Demetrius* ſeeing him have a reſtleſs ſpirit, thought it not amiſs to reconcile him unto him; but eſpecially at this time, for now he reſolved to make for his Father's Kingdom with all the might he poſſibly could, and therefore leſt he ſhould leave an Enemy at his back, concluded a Peace, and entred into a league with him.

But labouring to get

11. Greater preparations he made than ever had been ſince *Alexander* his deceaſe. For he got together little leſs than one hundred thouſand Foot, and twelve thouſand Horſe, a Navie alſo of five hundred ſail; ſome ſhips whereof were of extraordinary bigneſs. *Seleucus*, *Ptolomy*, and *Lyſimachus*, being ſtartled hereat, combined together for reſiſtance, and joyntly ſent to *Pyrrhus* to move him to break the League which *Demetrius* had made with him, as they alledged, not to reſt in peace, but to make War upon whom he pleaſed. He believing as much, agreed with them, for that he hoped *Demetrius* might as eaſily loſe *Macedonia* as he had got it, and then *Ptolomy* ſailing into *Greece*, ſollicited there the Cities from their obedience. *Lyſimachus* from *Thrace*, and *Pyrrhus* from his borders made inroads into *Macedonia*. *Demetrius* firſt began to march againſt *Lyſimachus*, but afterwards hearing that *Pyrrhus* had gotten *Berrhæa* into his hands, returned and went againſt him thither, where when he was arrived, divers from the Town came into his Camp, and ſo extolled the valour and kindneſs of *Pyrrhus*, that the *Macedonians*, firſt in little Companies, and after all the Army revolted to him; ſo as *Demetrius* was very much deceived, who fearing they might do ſo to *Lyſimachus*, little ſuſpected this towards the other being a ſtranger. *Pyrrhus* thus obtaining all the Army without a ſtroak, was ſaluted King of *Macedonia* by the Souldiers; but *Lyſimachus* coming ſhortly after, alledged the endeavour of ſuppreſſing the Enemy to have been common to them both, and demanded the parting of the Kingdom; to whom he aſſented, for that he did not truſt the *Macedonians*, and ſo the Countreys and Cities, were divided betwixt them.

A. M. 3717.
Ol. 123. *an.* 1.
V.C. 466.
Seleuci 25.
Ptolom. Lagi 30.

Loſeth all.

Idem.

And flying up and down

12. *Demetrius* thus outed of his Kingdom fled to *Caſſandria*, and thence into *Greece*, where after a little time he got ſome Forces together and being angry with *Athens*, for that revolting from him, the Inhabitants had ſent for *Pyrrhus*, he beſieged it; but upon the entreaty of *Crates* the Philoſopher (whom being a man of great Authority they had ſent to him) he gathered together his ſhips and ſailed away into *Aſia* with eleven thouſand men. His deſign was to take if he could, *Caria* and *Lydia* from *Lyſimachus*, and he took divers Towns, and ſeized upon *Sardis*, but *Agathocles*, *Lyſimachus* his Son, coming down with an Army againſt him, he marched for *Phrygia*, with intention to paſs into *Armenia* and *Media*; and ſo attempt to make himſelf Maſter of ſome of the upper Provinces of *Aſia*, which at the worſt would afford retreating places enough, and other helps to a beaten party. In his way he was ſuperior to *Agathocles* who purſued him, but being brought into great diſtreſs for want of Proviſions, there fell withal ſuch a Plague upon his Army, that he loſt eight thouſand men, and ſo was forced to retreat, and came to *Tarſus*. This place being now again under *Seleucus*, he was very unwilling to endamage, for fear of giving him offence, but being forced by want, he wrote to him, whereby he excuſed himſelf, and ſadly lamented his condition. *Seleucus*, pitying him at firſt, commanded his Governours to uſe him and

his Army with great reſpect; but *Procles* one of his moſt familiar friends, filled his head with ſuch ſuſpitions, that he led down an Army towards *Cilicia* againſt him, whereat he wondering retired to the moſt convenient place of the mountain *Taurus*, whence he ſent to him to give him leave to ſeize upon ſome Country of the *Barbarians*, that there he might put an end to his flight and wandrings, and ſpend the reſidue of his days.

Idem.

At length is forced to yield himſelf to *Seleucus.*

13. *Seleucus* making a bad interpretation of the meſſage, only would give way, that delivering up for Hoſtages the chiefeſt of his friends, he might quarter for two months in *Catoania* (a Country bordering upon *Cappadocia*) and ſecured the paſſage out into *Syria*. Here he was kept up as a wild beaſt, what by *Seleucus* on one ſide, and *Agathocles* on the other; ſo that he was conſtrained to betake himſelf to force, and waſting the Territories always had the better of *Seleucus* in their encounters, and got poſſeſſion of the Straights which led into *Syria*. This ſo encouraged him, that he thought now of giving battel to *Seleucus*, but fell into a ſickneſs whereby his affairs were ruined, his Soldiers going away from him to the Enemy; yet he recovered after forty days, and away he marched, and getting over the hill *Amanus* waſted the bordering Territories. Then *Seleucus* coming near him, he joyned and fought him, and overthrew one of his wings; but then all his Army revolted, and he with a very few fled into the Woods, whence endeavouring to paſs to the Sea through the mountains, his diſcovering there the Enemies fires prevented that attempt, and at laſt one ſaying he muſt yield himſelf, he drew his Sword and would therewith have ended his life, but being hindred by his friends, he ſent to *Seleucus* by their advice and yielded. *Seleucus* cauſed him to be royally received at firſt; but the great confluence thereupon to him, leſſened that reſpect he elſe would have paid him; ſo as ſending *Pauſanias* with one thouſand men, he cauſed him to be carryed ſtraight (without as much as ſeeing him) into a *Peninſula* of *Syria*. Here he wanted nothing deſirable, not only for neceſſity but pleaſure; only his liberty, which yet to comfort him there was hope given of, after that *Antiochus* ſhould come with his wife *Stratonice*, whom his Father *Seleucus* upon his paſſionately falling in love with her, had yielded to him. *Antigonus* his Son much interceded for him; ſo did divers Princes and States; only *Lyſimachus* offered two thouſand Talents to have him killed, which *Seleucus* abhorred. At firſt he exerciſed himſelf much with hunting and ſuch Exerciſes; but by little and little grew ſluggiſh, and, as if he had never been *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, gave up himſelf to drinking and dice, whereby he grew fat, and contracted a diſeaſe of which he died fifty four years old, after he had continued three of them in reſtraint.

And dieth after three years in reſtraint.

Idem.

Pauſan. in Atticis.
Juſtin lib. 17.
Appian in Syriacis.

Lyſimachus having expelled *Pyrrhus* out of *Macedonia* is ſlain in battel againſt *Seleucus.*

A. M. 3722.
Ol. 124. *an.* 2.
V. C. 471.
Seleuci 30.
Ptolom. Philadelphi, 2.

14. *Lyſimachus* and *Pyrrhus*, after his expulſion out of *Macedonia*, preſently fell out, for the former ſeeing *Demetrius* thus made ſure and captivated by *Seleucus*, grew ſecure of his condition, deſpiſed *Pyrrhus*, and upbraiding the *Macedonians* for ſuffering him (being an alien, whoſe Anceſtors always had ſerved them) now to reign over them, drew many from him, and afterwards overthrew him and *Antigonus* Son of *Demetrius* in a great battel, and ſo quite diſpoſſeſſed him of *Macedonia*. After this he killed his eldeſt Son *Agathocles* at the inſtigation of his Wife *Arſinoe*, who was ſollicitous for her own children, if they ſhould fall into their brothers hands after their Fathers death. *Lyſandra* the Widdow of *Agathocles*, and Siſter to *Arſinoe*, accompanied with *Alexander* another Son of *Lyſimachus*, fled to *Seleucus*, whom they deſired to make War againſt him; and after this he putting divers of his chief Subjects to death for bewailing the young man, many of his Captains and Governours followed, all earneſtly deſiring the ſame thing. *Seleucus* was eaſily perſwaded to it now, having the whole ſtrength of *Aſia* and *Syria* united into one Kingdom after the fall of *Demetrius*, which the other being aware of, thought it beſt firſt to begin with him, and ſo paſſed over the *Helleſpont*. Theſe two being now only alive of the thirty ſix Captains and fellow-Soldiers of *Alexander*, joyned in a great and bloody battel in *Phrygia*, where *Lyſimachus*, though fighting moſt valiantly, was overthrown and ſlain, having formerly loſt fifteen children divers ways, and now compleating the ruin of his Family, after he had lived eighty years, and held *Macedonia* four, A. M. three thouſand ſeven hundred twenty two, the ſecond of the one hundred twenty fourth *Olympiad*, and forty after the death of *Alexander* the Great.

15. *Seleucus* being exceedingly elevated with the thoughts of his Victory, and more with conſideration that he only ſurvived of *Alexanders* followers, reſolved to go into *Macedonia* and there to end his days, giving up *Aſia* to his Son *Antiochus*. He paſſed the *Helleſpont*, and journying towards *Lyſimachia* came to a place called

Who being the ſurviver of *Alexander's* Captains is ſlain by *Ptolomy Ceraunus* the ſame year.

called *Argos*, where his time being but to live ſeven moneths after *Lyſimachus*, he was ſlain by *Ptolomy* Sirnamed *Ceraunus* the Son of *Ptolomy* the firſt by *Euridice* daughter to *Antipater*, who having fled out of *Ægypt*, for that his Father had preferred his younger Brother before him, joyned himſelf firſt to *Lyſimachus*, who Marryed his Siſter, and afterwards to *Seleucus*, by whom he was lovingly entertained, though he thus requited him. *Ptolomy*, as ſoon as he had done his feat, poſted away to *Lyſimachia*, where putting on a Diadem, and taking a Company of Gallants along with him, he went to the Army, which received him as King, having all *Seleucus* his money given unto them. *Antigonus Gonatas* (ſo called it's probable, from a place in *Perrhæbia*, where he was born) Son of *Demetrius Poliorcetes* preſently after undertook an Expedition for the recovery of *Macedonia*, hoping to juſtle out *Ptolomy* ere he could be well ſetled; but he having notice of his coming, and enjoying *Lyſimachus* his Fleet, went and met him at Sea, where he overthrew him, and forcing him to retire into *Bœotia*, then confirmed himſelf in his Kingdom.

Juſtin ut prius. Memnon apud Photium.

CHAP. IV.

The *Macedonian* Kingdom.

From the death of Seleucus *to the* Captivity *of* Perſeus, *and the end of this Kingdom, containing the ſpace of 139 years.*

Ptolomy Ceraunus King of *Macedonia.* maketh Alliances.

1. *Ptolomy*, that he might provide for the time to come, made Alliances with other Princes, as *Antiochus* of *Aſia*, and *Pyrrhus* of *Epyrus*, who now being about to paſs into *Italy*, made him Overſeer of his ſon, and Kingdom: he alſo wrote to his Brother *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, pretending to acquieſce in the miſſing of that his Fathers Kingdom, as ſufficiently ſatisfied with this that was taken from his fathers Enemy. Moreover, he counterfeited himſelf to be in love with his ſiſter *Arſione*, and married her, for that it was according to the cuſtom of *Egypt*, promiſing to adopt her Children, which he badly performed, for being received by her into *Caſſandria*, he cauſed them to be firſt killed in the boſom of their mother, and then thruſt her out of the City, from whence ſhe went to *Samothracia.* At this time the *Galls* being too numerous for their own Countrey, under three Captains went to ſeek their fortunes ſo many ſeveral wayes; ſome towards *Thrace*, under the conduct of *Cerethrius*; others to *Pannonia* under *Brennus* and *Acichorius*, and the reſt to *Macedonia*, being headed by *Belgius* or *Bolgius.* Theſe *Ptolomy* oppoſed with a ſtragling company, being more heady than wiſe, for he refuſed 20000 men offered him by the King of the *Dardanians*, and peace by the *Galls*, if he would but buy it, which he ſcornfully refuſed, and anſwered, he would not yield it to them, except they would give up the Chiefeſt amongſt them as Hoſtages, and deliver up their Arms. Joyning battel, his Army was overthrown, and he being ſore wounded was caſt by an Elephant on which he rode, and ſo taken alive by the Enemy. They tore him in pieces, and cutting off his head, put it upon a Lance, and carried it about to the terror of his followers, of which a few eſcaping, all the reſt were either taken or ſlain. To this end came *Ptolomy*, after he had held *Macedonia* ſcarce one year and a half.

Is ſlain by the *Galls.*

Porphyrius in Græcis Euſebii. Juſtin lib. 24.

2. *Meleager* his brother ſucceeded, but only for two moneths: for then the *Macedonians* caſt him out as unworthy of the Dignity, and in his room placed *Antipater* ſon to *Philip*, the brother of *Caſſander*, whom they ſirnamed afterwards *Eteſia*, becauſe he continued but 45 dayes, during which term the *Eteſian* winds blew. After this ſucceeded an *Interregnum* (if we look at the title of King;) for, *Soſthenes*, who gathering together a company of young men, and thereby reſtraining the pride and covetouſneſs of the *Gauls*, though he might have been preferred before divers of Royal Races; yet refuſed the name, and made the Soldiers ſwear to him only as General. But *Brennus* hearing of the good ſucceſs of *Belgius*, and what

plunder he had got in the Eaſt, with one hundred and fifty thouſand foot, and fifteen thouſand horſe marched thitherwards; but twenty thouſand falling off from him by the way, and turning up for *Thrace* (where they brought under the Cities of the *Propontis*) he came into *Macedonia*, and here he made havock of all things. *Belgius*, as it ſeems, before his coming being repelled or gone, *Soſthenes* went, and met him with an Army: but carrying too few againſt ſo great a number, was eaſily overthrown; after which the *Macedonians* ſecuring themſelves in the Cities, *Brennus* wrought his pleaſure in the Country and Villages throughout the Land. When he had ſatisfied himſelf here, with an Army of one hundred and fity two thouſand foot, and twenty thouſand four hundred horſe, of *Celtes* (or *Cimbres*) and *Illyrians* together, he invaded *Greece*. Each horſeman had two ſervants followed him on horſe-back, who were if it happened to ſucceed their dead Maſters; which cuſtom they called *Trimarkaſia*, or *Trimaraſia* rather; for, *Mare* in the *Teutonick* ſignified the whole ſpecies, as alſo in our own *Saxon* tongue, and ſo furniſhed, they entred *Theſſaly*, and came to the Straights of *Thermopylæ*. Here they were oppoſed by the *Greeks*, ſo as they loſt many men, till being lead over the Mountains (the ſame way that in the expedition of *Xerxes*, *Hydarnes* paſſed, and getting over, came upon the backs of the *Spartans*) the *Greeks* then fled, and they went to *Delphos* to ſpoyl the Temple, where with Thunder and Lightning, Cold, falling of Rocks, and the oppoſition of the Enemy, moſt of them came to their ends. *Brennus* himſelf being wounded, and not willing (or not daring) to out live this ſhameful expedition of which he had been the Author at home, firſt drinking much Wine killed himſelf, the reſt flying were taken with a Pannick fear, and killed one another for Enemies; and what by this means, the rage of the Countreys through which they paſſed, and with hunger, and cold, ſcarcely any of them ever returned home.

Siſthenes overthrown by *Brennus*.

Who with his whole Army is deſtroyed.

3. During their ſtay in *Greece*, *Soſthenes* died after he had ruled two years, and then *Antigonus Gonatus* having made peace with *Antiochus Soter*, returned, and obtained his fathers Kingdom. *Brennus* departing into *Greece*, had left ſome *Gaules* to defend the borders, and they leſt they ſhould be idle, being with fifteen thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, firſt fell upon the *Geta* and *Triballi*, whom overcoming, they then ſent to *Antigonus*, offering him peace if he would purchaſe it with money; but eſpecially to ſpy his Camp. He entertained nobly the Ambaſſadors, and to deter them from any warlike attempts ſhewed them his ſtrength at Land and Sea; but they were ſo far from being afraid, as having an itching deſire after prey, they ſtirred up their Companions to endeavour the attaining of that which they ſaw, no way in words diminiſhing the goodlineſs of any thing. By night therefore they ſet upon his Camp, but he being aware of ſome ſuch thing, had withdrawn his Army and all things into the Wood; therefore they go and endeavour to plunder the Navy, but are repelled thence with ſuch ſlaughter, as the credit of the victory over them procured *Antigonus* his quiet, not only from them, but his Neighbours about him. About this time theſe *Gaules*, which parting at *Dadania* from *Brennus*, and going into *Thrace*, had at ſeveral places paſſed the Sea into *Aſia*, here uniting again under ſeventeen Captains (of which *Lutatius* and *Leoporius* were Chief) they helped *Nicomedes* againſt *Zypæas*, who held part of *Bithynia*, and after he was overcome, waſting the Countrey far and near, divided the Kingdom with him, and fixed themſelves about the River *Halys*, in that place which ſince has been known by the name of *Gallogræcia* or *Galatia*, A. M. 3727. the third year of the 125 *Olympiad*, the *Romans* being now engaged in the War with *Pyrrhus*.

Antigonus Gonatus.

Defeateth other *Galls*.

Euſeb.

Juſtin lib. 25.

Idem ibic. &c.
Livius lib. 38.

4. But *Pyrrhus* having finiſhed his fruitleſs expedition into *Italy* and *Sicily* after ſix years, and being returned home, now wanting money ſought an occaſion to divert and maintain his Army. He made therefore an excurſion into *Macedonia* (having ſtrengthned himſelf with a ſupply of ſome *Gaules*) where he took divers Towns, and two thouſand Soldiers revolted to him; then marching againſt *Antigonus* himſelf, joyned battel with him. The *Gauls* on *Antigonus* his part fought very valiantly; but thoſe which governed his Elephants being compaſſed in, yielded themſelves, and the beaſts; after which the foot being affrighted, *Pyrrhus* making ſign to them, and calling by name the Officers, drew them all over to his own party. *Antigonus* fled, but kept ſome of the Maritime Towns ſtill in his poſſeſſion, and *Pyrrhus* became Maſter of the upper part of *Macedonia*, and of *Theſſaly*. For all this, *Antigonus* gave not out but returning to *Theſſalonica*, there recruited himſelf with Mercenary *Gauls*, and then endeavouring to re-eſtabliſh himſelf, was again defeated by *Ptolomy*, the ſon of *Pyrrhus*; ſo that again retiring to hide himſelf,

Plutarch. in Pyrrho.
Juſtin ut ſupra.

But is expelled by *Pyrrhus*.

Who endeavouring to reſtore *Cleonymus.*

Pyrrhus jeered him, and called him *impudent*, becauſe for all this he put not on a Coat but wore ſtill the Purple. He in way of return compared *Pyrrhus* to a Gameſter, which could throw the Dice well, but knew not how to improve his chance: for he knew how to conquer Kingdoms, and get Victories, but could not improve his Victory, nor retain what he had Conquered; as it had hapned as to this Kingdom before, and now alſo ſhortly followed.

M. M. 373.
Ol. 126. *ann.* 3.
V. C. 410.
Antioch. Soteris 9.
Ptolom. Philadelphi 11.

5. Scarcely two years did he hold *Macedonia*; for, *Cleonymus* the *Spartan* being rejected by his Citizens from being King in the room of his father, procured him to march down againſt his Enemies. He went down thither with an Army of twenty five thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, and waſting their Territories deferred the entring of the City till the next day, out of contempt of the ſmall number of the Defendants; who taking that occaſion, and making what means they could for reſiſtance, eſpecially the Women, hindred him a little from entring, and when entred, his horſe being killed under him, forced him notwithſtanding to retreat. During his abſence, *Antigonus Gonatus* recovered again the Cities of *Macedonia*, and taking it for granted, that after he had done his work in *Laconia* he would return again thither, thought it beſt to haſten into *Peloponneſus*, and prevent him. Being come to *Argos*, *Pyrrhus* provoked him to fight for the Kingdom, but Embaſſadors came to them both from the Town, deſiring they would depart from them, and not ſuffer it (which was obſervant of both) to come into the power of either. *Antigonus* obeyed, and ſent his ſon to them for an Hoſtage. *Pyrrhus* pretended he would, but entred the City in the night, being let in by *Ariſteus*; whereupon *Antigonus* was ſent for. He ſent in a ſtrong party, and *Areus* King of *Sparta* was at hand with a thouſand *Cretians* and other *Lacedæmonians*. *Pyrrhus* marched up into the Market-place, and there ſaw a Braſen Bull and a Wolf ſtanding in a fighting poſture, ſet there in memorial of *Danaus* his election, and ejection of *Galenor*, one thouſand two hundred years before, which ſtartled him ſore, for that it had been told him by an Oracle, that he ſhould die when he ſhould ſee a Wolf and a Bull fighting together. Hereupon he would have retreated, but fearing the ſtraitneſs of the Gates, ſent to his ſon *Helenus* to break down part of the Wall, and come in; but he miſtaking, brought his men and Elephants through the Gate, which ſtopped ſo up the way, that *Pyrrhus* in his coming back could not paſs, and that occaſioned his deſtruction.

Plutarch.

Is ſlain at *Argos.*

6. Being ſore crouded, what by them, thoſe at his heels, and the Enemy, and ſenſible of his danger, he endeavoured by force to remove the later. Then received he a wound through his Brigandine with a Lance, and turned himſelf againſt him that ran at him. This was the ſon of a poor Woman, who beholding the fight from the houſe, and ſeeing him ingaged thus with *Pyrrhus*, took up a ſtone with both her hands, and caſt it down upon the Kings head, which bruiſing the *Vertebraes* of his Neck, he fell down from his horſe, and his head was cut off by one *Zopyrus*. It being brought to *Antigouus* by *Alcioneus* his ſon, who rejoyced at the ſight of it, he checked him, and wept over it, and after cauſed it and the body to be magnificently burned: his bones being put in a Golden Urn, he delivered to his ſon *Helenus* to carry them to his brother *Alexander* in *Epirus*, and then receiving his Army, dealt very courteouſly with all his friends. After this the Cities of *Peloponneſis* were betrayed to *Antigonus*, which cauſed great ſtirs in that part of *Greece*; the *Gauls* revolting from him, he cut off at *Megara*, beſieged *Athens*, and notwithſtanding that *Patroclus* from *Egypt*, and *Areus* the King of *Lacedæmon* came to relieve them, yet he kept all proviſions from them, and after they had long ſtood out came to compoſition, whereby he placed a Garriſon in their Fort *Muſeus*, which yet not long after he drew forth again. *Areus* for want of neceſſaries was forc'd to return home; but they met again afterwards at *Corinth*, where *Antigonus* ſlew him, and not long after was forc'd to return home; for *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, to revenge his fathers death, had invaded *Macedonia*. Coming thither, his Army revolted from him, ſo that once more he loſt his Kingdom, and was compelled again to ſhift for himſelf: But his ſon *Demetrius* in his abſence gathering ſome forces together, ſo ordered the matter againſt *Alexander*, that he not only recovered his Fathers Kingdom, but ſpoiled him alſo for a time of his own. After this, nothing of great concernment occurs of *Antigonus*, who died after his firſt poſſeſſion of *Macedonia* 36 years, (having ruled in ſome *Greek* Cities ten years before) when he had lived above 80. A. M. 3762. in the ſecond of the 134 *Olympiad*.

A. M. 3733.
Ol. 127. *ann.* 1.
V. C. 482.
Antiochi Soteris 11.
Ptol. Philad. 13.
Juſtin. lib. 26.

Antigonus recovering *Macedonia*, preſently loſeth it again.

Demetrius his ſon again recovereth it.

7. *Demetrius* his ſon ſucceeded him, and hired *Agron* King of the *Illyrians* to relieve the *Mydionians*. Theſe the *Ætolians* had beſieged, and he performed it, though

Polybius ad principium l. 2.

And ſucceedeth him.

A. M. 3762.
Ol. 134.*an.* 2.
V. C. 511.
Seleuci Callinici 4.
Ptolom. Euergetæ 4.

the beſiegers were before ready to fall out about their priſoners, whether the old or new *Prætor* ſhould have the honour to diſpoſe of them and their goods. When it was agreed that both in common ſhould do it, the *Illyrians* falling upon them, and killing many, forced them to break up their Siege, after which *Agron* poſſeſſed with incredible joy, gave himſelf up to ſurfetting and drunkenneſs, and thereby falling into a Pleuriſie ended his dayes, and was ſucceeded by his wife *Tenta*. She being elevated alſo with the former Victory, and not thinking of any thing from without, gave leave to her Subjects to invade all perſons in what place ſoever by Sea, whereupon they took *Phœnice* the wealthy City of *Epirus*, and injuring thoſe of *Italy*, drew upon themſelves the diſpleaſure of the People of *Rome*, which the raſhneſs of their Queen heightned to a War, as will be ſeen hereafter. But by this act, *Demetrius* ſo ſet the hearts of the *Ætolians* againſt him, that whereas before they took part with his Kingdom againſt the *Achæans*, now they joyned in league with them againſt him.

Plutarch in Arato.

Juſtin. l. 28.

Porphyr. in Græcis, Euſeb.

8. He holding yet the *Piræus* or Haven of *Athens*, *Aratus* the *Prætor* of the *Achæans* pretending a deſire to ſet the *Athenians* at liberty from that bondage which thence lay upon them, endeavoured to take it out of his hands, but was overthrown by *Bithyes* his General, whereupon a rumour aroſe that he was ſlain or taken. *Diogenes* the Governour of the *Piræus* hearing this, ſent word to *Corinth* to command all the *Achæans* there to depart the Town; and the *Athenians* to pleaſe him and his party very ſolemnly rejoyced, wearing Garlands. But *Aratus* himſelf then was at *Corinth*, and hindring *Diogenes* his deſign there, marched down to be revenged on the *Athenians*, and he came as far as the *Acadæmy*, but then being overcome by entreaty, did them no harm. Some years after this the *Ætolians* endeavoured to take away part of *Acarnania* from *Epirus*, which then *Olympias* ſiſter and wife of *Alexander* now dead, governing in right of her ſons *Pyrrhus* and *Ptolomy*, betook her ſelf to *Demetrius*, and gave him her daughter *Othia* in marriage. He had before this the ſiſter of *Antiochus* King of *Syria* to wife (*Antiochus Hierax* as it ſeemeth, who endeavouring to diſpoſſeſs his brother *Seleucus* of his Kingdom, is called King by *Juſtine*) who thereupon fled to her brother, and ſtirred him up to make War upon her Husband. The *Acarnanians* fled to the *Romans* for help againſt the *Ætolians*, who were then commanded to abſtain from their incurſions, but deſpiſing the Ambaſſage, harraſed both the borders of *Acarnania* and *Epirus*; and *Olympias* having deliverd up the Kingdom to her ſon, they all ſhortly after died. And *Demetrius* (whom we read * to have alſo enjoyed *Cyrene* and all *Lybia*, but know not how he got it) ſurvived not long after, dying when he had reigned ten years, and fifty after the death of *Alexander* the Great.

Plutarch in vita Æmilii, & Pauſan. in Achaicis. 5.

Antigonus Doſon.

Vide Polybium lib. 2.

A. M. 3772.
Ol. 136. *an.* 4.
V. C. 521.
Sel. Callinici 14. *Ptolom. Euergetæ* 14.

War betwixt the *Ætolians* and *Achæans*

9. He left behind him a ſon called *Philip*, who being very young, and the Princes of *Macedonia* fearing an Anarchy, they conſtituted *Antigonus* (the brother or Uncle of the deceaſed, for both are affirmed) his Tutor, giving his mother to him in marriage. At firſt he held the Office by the title of Captain General, but afterwards being found moderate and civil, he was ſaluted King, and Sirnamed *Doſon*, for that he promiſed more than he did perform. After the death of *Demetrius*, the *Greek* Cities begun to lift up their heads, and the ſeveral Tyrants, which, through the incouragement of him and his Predeceſſors, had got many places, for fear renounced their power, and joyned themſelves with the *Achæans*, who being much reverenced of a long time by all their neighbour Cities of *Peloponneſus* for their Juſtice and Prudence, had united themſelves together, in the 124 *Olympiad*, and drawn ſome others into a body againſt the *Macedonians*. Their affairs were mightily ſtrengthened by *Aratus* the *Sicyonian* who governing his own City, though but young, joyned it unto them, and afterward by his great wiſdom and induſtry ſecured and bettered their condition. The *Athenians* being incouraged at *Demetrius* his death, now thought again of recovering their liberty, and he having done what he might before to help them, though in vain, and they again imploring his aſſiſtance, though ſick, he made himſelf be carried thither; and whereas *Diogenes* held for the *Macedonians*, *Piræus*, *Sunium*, *Munychia*, and the Iſland *Salamis*, he perſwaded him for a reward of 150 Talents to deliver them all up, twenty of which Talents he preſented of his own money. Whilſt he thus laboured for the Publick good, eſpecially of the community of the *Achæans*, the *Ætolians* envying their condition raiſed a dangerous War againſt them, in which *Antigonus Doſon* came to be ingaged.

Idem ibid. Plutarch in vita Arati & Cleomenis.

10. The *Ætolians* though they had been helped by the *Achæans* againſt the houſe of *Macedonia* of late, being vexed about the buſineſs of *Mydionia*; yet now ſeeing

their union, and the flouriſhing condition of their body, envying and alſo fearing it, reſolved to diſunite if poſſible, and withdraw the Cities one from another. At this time *Cleomenes* reigned at *Lacedæmon*, who reſolving to better the conſtitution of his Countrey by reducing it to it's ancient form, and taking away the *Ephori* thoſe impudent and raſcally Tyrants, ſought for an opportunity of War as moſt fit to bring about his purpoſe. Ever ſince the Victories of *Lyſander*, luxury and other vices had crept into *Sparta*, together with the uſe of riches. And the equality of poſſeſſions in Land was taken away by one *Epitades* an *Ephorus*, who having a ſon that diſpleaſed him, that he might diſinherit him, procured a law to be paſſed, that any one might diſpoſe of his Lands, either in his life time or at his death, to whom he pleaſed. Hereby it was come to that paſs, that there being ſeven hundred Citizens of *Sparta* and more, of thoſe not above one hundred poſſeſſed all the Lands and Eſtate, and the reſt being void both of wealth and honour lay idle at home, unwillingly ingaging in War, and expecting an occaſion of change. The *Ephori* tyrannized with unparallel'd impudence, domineering over the Kings, and ordering thoſe at their pleaſure, the ſervants of whom they had formerly been. *Agis* one of the *Spartan* Kings, of the family of *Eurytion*, the ſon of *Eudamidas*, and the ſixth from *Ageſilaus*, burned with a zeal to better the ſtate of affaires, and as a means unto it, endeavoured the reduction of *Lycurgus* his model for the equal diviſion of Lands; but *Leonidas* his Collegue being of a luxurious temper oppoſed him, and he was wickedly murdered by the hands of the *Popular Villains* the *Ephori.*

Wherein *Cleomenes* King of *Sparta* cometh to be engaged, and how.

Lege Plutarchum in Agide & Cleomene.

11. This noble ſpirited man being taken away, and his brother *Archidamus* deſtroyed, *Cleomenes* the ſon of *Leonidas* was King alone, and being of a far different temper from his Father, upon hearing what *Agis* had gallantly endeavoured, reſolved to purſue and accompliſh what he had attempted, and to take away utterly the power of thoſe Popular Tyrants, who uſurped the whole authority. Neither did theſe two Kings deſire to become aſſertors of Popular power by the reſtitution of the *Lots* of *Lycurgus*, but rather of Monarchy; for the reſtitution of thoſe *Lots* would not promote the power of the Commons who were ſtill to be kept under, as they were by the Laws of *Lycurgus*; but onely reduced them to that equality of wealth which might ſecure them from being inſulted over by their fellow Commoners, as they had been of late, by ſuch as had ingroſſed the riches of the State. As this might be intended by the two Kings, ſo it appeareth from *Plutarch*, that *Agis* attempted to get himſelf reputation, and *Cleomenes* for his preſervation, by gaining the good-will of the People, and making them ſure of their ſide when ſoever they ſhould be ready for the great deſign of deſtroying the *Ephori.* Now though *Agis* miſcarried in his attempt, yet *Cleomenes* perfected what he had intended. For he ſurprized the *Ephori* by his Mercenaries, killed four of the five, overthrew all their chairs except one, which he intended as a Chair of State for himſelf. Then reſtored he the Laws of *Lycurgus*, as to equal poſſeſſions and diſcipline, and for that there was none left of the family of *Eurytion*, made his own brother *Leonidas* King with him. But as was ſaid, perceiving this change would be better made in War than Peace, he cauſed the War betwixt the State, and the *Achæans*, and bribed the *Ephori* to ſend him forth in the Expedition.

Cleomenes killeth the *Ephori*, and reſtoreth *Lycurgus* his Laws.

12. To him therefore the *Ætolians* ſent, and ſtirred him up againſt the *Achæans*; and that they might ſtrengthen themſelves, and more eaſily ſuppreſs them, they made peace again with *Macedonia*, and without doubt had brought about their purpoſe, had they not had to do with *Aratus*, who undermined their Councils. They ſuffered *Cleomenes* to take in divers Towns which belonged unto themſelves, not onely not oppoſing but confirming him in the poſſeſſion of them, which *Aratus* knowing well enough to be intended onely to ſtrengthen him againſt his party, yet thought none were to be firſt Attaqued; but after that *Cleomenes* with great boldneſs had begun to build a Fort in the Territories of *Megalopolis*, then were the *Lacedemonians* declared Enemies. At firſt the *Achæans* undertook the Warre againſt them by themſelves; partly for that they thought it more honourable and ſafe to defend their own Eſtate, and partly for that they were loath to diſpleaſe *Ptolomy* (who had been formerly a good friend to them) by ſeeking for the patronage of any other; but the War going on (*Cleomenes* now having overthrown the *Achæans* in divers battels) *Aratus* thinking it a diſgrace for him to be worſted by the young *Lacedæmonian*, and being jealous ſtill of the knavery of the *Ætolians*, concluded it was high time to look about him; at leaſt for a ſupply.

13. Conſidering with himſelf the power of *Antigonus* King of *Macedonia*, and

withall his faithfulneſs; and that he was prone to enter into Leagues and alliances, he reſolved to make a Confederacy with him; but that ſecretly, as well becauſe he knew the *Ætolians* would ſeek to prevent him, as for that his people would be diſcouraged at the thought of expecting help from an Enemy. Knowing therefore the *Megalopolitans* to be ſore preſſed with the War (having little help from the *Achæans*) and how good affection they bore to the *Macedonian* Court ever ſince the dayes of *Philip* the ſon of *Amyntas*, who deſerved very well of them, he ſent for two of friends thence (*Nicophanes* and *Cercidas*) and dealt privately with them to perſwade their Citizens to crave aid of *Antigonus*. Theſe two were therefore ſent to the *Achæans*, and to *Macedouia* if they ſhould think fit. They giving way to it, they came to the King, and according to the inſtructions from *Aratus*, propoſed to him to conſider, whither this conjunction of *Cleomenes* and the *Ætolians* would tend; and whether when the *Achæans* were eaten up, he himſelf would not be in danger, ſeeing the covetouſneſs of the *Ætolians*, and *Cleomenes* his ambition could not be contained in leſſer limits than thoſe of *Greece*. He anſwered, that if *it ſhould ſeem good to the* Achæans, *he would ſend aid to thoſe of* Megalopolis. They being at this much encouraged, laboured to perſwade them to give way to it, but *Aratus* then fearing, that if the coming down of *Antigonus* ſhould breed any inconvenience, the blame would fall all upon him, diſſwaded his People from receiving as yet any aid, and made them try firſt what they could do of themſelves, exhorting each particular City to fight ſtoutly for their liberty. Now *Ptolomy* finding the *Lacedæmonians* to be more for his purpoſe to withſtand the *Macedonian*, ſtirred up *Cleomenes* againſt him, and furniſhed him with money. He alſo brought the *Achæans* by divers ingagements to ſuch a low ebb, that they were now in great danger to loſe all, and therefore they implored aid of *Antigonus*, and *Aratus* ſent his ſon to confirm whatſoever had been offered on his part.

Who marcheth down. And alſo *Antigonus*.

14. He then marched down, though a great difficulty there was at firſt for this to be hoped for by the *Achæans*, by reaſon that the Caſtel of *Corinth* which they had taken out of the hands of the *Macedonians* together with the Town, and which would be now mighty convenient for the carrying on of the War, they knew not how to reſtore unto him. But *Cleomenes* proſpering exceedingly, and having reduced nine Cities into his power, the *Corinthians* ſent to him, offering him theirs, and commanded all the *Achæans* to be gone; ſo that at this *Aratus* taking occaſion (who before durſt not give them up into the hands of the *Macedonians* without their conſent) reſtored the Caſtle into the power of *Antigonus*. *Cleomenes* (who after his taking the nine Cities, went and ſate down before *Sicyon*) hearing the intention of the *Achæans* and the King, marched with great ſpeed to the *Iſthmus*, and then fortified the place between the Caſtle of *Corinth* and the Mountains *Onii* with a ditch and bulwark; and *Antigonus* with twenty thouſand Foot, and one thouſand four hundred Horſe, coming through *Æubœa* (for that the *Ætolians* had forbidden him at his peril to paſs through the Straights of *Thermopylæ*) found no little oppoſition from *Cleomenes*, till *Argos* revolting to *Aratus* (by the means of *Ariſtotle* his friend, who with help from *Sicyon* ſet upon the Caſtel, *Megiſtonus* who was ſent to relieve it being ſlain) for that he feared if this Fort ſhould be taken the Enemy might thereby ſtop up the paſſage, and at his eaſe invade *Laconia*, he drew down his forces from *Corinth*. Then *Antigonus* entering *Peloponneſus* took *Corinth* in his way, where placing a Garriſon he followed *Cleomenes* to *Argos*, who having by a wile entred the Town, laboured again to reduce it, and took ſome parts thereof, but ſeeing him come down from the Mountains againſt him, withdrew himſelf, and ſo by *Mantinea* returned to *Lacedæmon*. *Antigonus* coming to *Argos* commended and encouraged the Citizens, and thence marching preſently for *Arcadia*, reduced divers Forts, which he delivered into the hands of the *Megalopolitans*: after which coming to *Ægium* to the general meeting of the *Achæans* (where he held conſultations with them) he was declared general of all the Aſſociates, and took up Winter-quarters for his Army, at *Sicyon* and *Corinth*.

Is victorious.

Polybius ibid. Plutarch. in Arato.

15. At the beginning of Spring he gathered his forces together and beſieged *Tegea*, where the *Achæans* met him. Having this Town yielded to him, he thence marched ſpeedily into *Laconia*, where *Cleomenes* meeting him upon the borders there paſſed ſome light skirmiſhes betwixt them, and then he hearing that the Garriſon Soldiers at *Orchomenus* were coming to help the Enemy, departed ſuddenly thither, and ſtormed the place at the firſt onſet. Thence moving to *Mantiuca*, that Town preſently was taken, the chief of the Inhabitants whereof (becauſe though when *Aratus* took the City, he reſtored them to their former priviledges,

He taketh *Mantinea*.

yet they again revolted, and put all his Garriſon to the ſword,) for their ingratitude were ſlain; of the reſt, part were ſold, and part ſent into *Macedonia*, their wives and children made ſlaves; and their Town was given by *Antigonus* to the *Argives*, who thither reſolved to ſend out a Colony, and *Aratus* being made *Prætor*, made a Decree for changing the name of it into *Antigonia*. After this, *Antigonus* took *Herea* and *Telphuſſa*, and Winter then drawing on he went again to the General Aſſembly of the *Achæans*, ſending out his Souldiers to their quarters, which *Cleomenes* taking notice of, and that *Megalopolis* was three days march from *Ægyum*, and wanted a ſufficient Garriſon, he brake in thither ſecretly in the night, where though he found ſuch oppoſition as both he and his were brought into great danger, yet became he Maſter of the place, and ſo cruelly raged againſt it (as *Polybius* a Citizen thereof telleth us) that no hope then ſeemed to be left of Peopling it again. This City being taken, he marched away to *Argos* (where *Antigonus* wintered) to harraſe the Territories; a raſh enterpriſe as the Vulgar judged, but prudent enough of it ſelf, conſidering that the King's Army being at a great diſtance, and he thereby unable to reſiſt, the *Argives* would then murmur againſt him, and he thereby be brought into contempt. This hapned juſt as he imagined, but *Antigonus* though very much ſpent of the Ptiſick, lived to the next Summer to regain his credit.

16. In the beginning of Summer he led towards *Laconia* an Army of twenty ſix thouſand eight hundred men (his own and of the aſſociates) which *Cleomenes* expecting fortiſied the paſſage betwixt the two mountains *Eva* and *Olympus*, placing his Brother at the former, and ſecuring the later himſelf, having in all about twenty thouſand in his Army. *Antigonus* wondering at his skill and induſtry in his fortification, pitcht his Tents upon the River *Gorgylus*, bethinking himſelf what he ſhould do; at laſt finding all paſſages made up, they both agreed to try the matter in battail. At the beginning of the fight thoſe of *Cleomenes* his party with the light Armour placed amongſt his Horſe, ſeeing the *Illyrian* cohorts not to be backed by the *Achæans*, fell upon their Reer, and had done great miſchief, but that *Philopomenes* a *Megalopolitan* (then but young) giving notice of it to the Officers, and they not regarding him, ſtirred up his fellow Citizens, and fell upon the Enemies horſe, which made the other return to their former place to help their Companions. After this the fortune of the day inclined to *Antigonus* his ſide, for *Euclidas* undid himſelf by the bad choice of his ground, receiving the *Illyrians* not on the ſide of the Hill, (whereby though he might have been repulſed, yet ſtill he might have had the advantage of being higher than the Enemy) but juſt on the top, ſo that being thence removed, and forced downwards on the other ſide, the *Illyrians* had the advantage of him. *Cleomenes* perceiving his brother overthrown, and the Horſe on the plain to have the worſt, for fear the Enemy ſhould compaſs him in, was forced to remove the Carriages from behind his Army, and draw it out as well as he could to prevent that. Then the Files coming to be ingaged, *Antigonus* preſſing upon the *Macedonians* in great violence with his doubled Files, put them to flight, and many being ſlain, *Cleomenes* eſcaped with a few in his Company and got to *Sparta*.

Defeateth *Cleomenes.*

17. *Cleomenes* coming to *Sparta*, adviſed the people which flocked about him to receive the Conquerour, and then by night getting to *Gythium*, thence went to *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, whereas if had either deferred the battel a little longer, or ſtayed at home, he might eaſily have recovered his former condition. For, *Antigonus* ſuddenly following him got *Sparta*, and very nobly, and with great humanity uſed the Citizens, reſtoring to them their antient liberties, but ſhortly after was conſtrained to leave that place, and *Peloponneſus* alſo, being called home by an invaſion of the *Illyrians* into *Macedonia*, where they made havock of all things. From *Sparta* he came to *Tegea*, which he again reſtored into the form of a Commonwealth, and thence to *Argos*, at the time of the Celebration of the *Nemean* Games, where by the Decree of the General aſſembly of the *Achæans* in common, and each of the Cities in particular, he had all poſſible honour given him. After this he marched with great ſpeed into *Macedonia*, where he overthrew the *Illyrians* in battel, but got his own death with the victory: for with exhorting his Soldiers, and ſhouting in the fight, he ſo ſtrained his Lungs that he ſpat bloud, and thereby his Conſumption was heightned, which in a ſhort time made an end of him, after he had diſcharged the Office of a faithful Guardian, a good King, and of an expert and valiant Captain ten years, A. M. 3782. in the ſecond of the one hundred thirty ninth *Olympiad*, one hundred years after the death of *Alexander*.

Polybius ut ſupra.

Dieth of a Conſumption.

18. *Philip*

Pauſan. in Achaicis.

*Polyb. lib.*4.

Philip ſucceedeth his Uncle, and cometh to be ingaged in the Social War of *Greece*.

18. *Philip* then ſucceeded this his Uncle, and once his Guardian, being ſixteen years old, in whom the Prediction of *Sibylla* was verified, that the *Macedonian* glory, as it began in a *Philip*, ſo it ſhould end in one of that name. Some three years after his coming to the Government he was alſo ingaged in the *Social War* of *Greece*, of which the *Ætolians* and *Achæans* were the chief parties. For now the *Ætolians* (who uſed to live by Pyracy and Robbing) being weary of peace, though awed by *Antigonus* as long as he lived, and having in contempt the youth of *Philip*, and judging themſelves ſtronger than the *Achæans*, they deſired occaſion to begin a War. The firſt occaſion was given by *Dorimachus* one of their body, who being ſent to *Phigalea*, a City of *Peloponneſus* in the Confines of *Meſſena* (under pretence of ſecuring it, and its Territories) to ſpy what was done in thoſe parts, and ſeeing the *Meſſenians* to live in ſecurity, and neglect of any martial Diſcipline, ever ſince the peace was made by *Antigonus*, being covetous gave leave to certain Pyrats to prey upon their grounds and drive their Cattel thence, though they were friends to the *Ætolians*. They complaining of this to him, he went to *Meſſena*, but in ſtead of giving them any relief, he derided, and threatned the Owners of the Cattel, and by the perſwaſion of *Sciron*, then *Prætor* of that City, he was ſecured. It ſo hapned, that at this time there was one *Babyrta* a filthy fellow, ſo like to this *Dorimachus*, that one could ſcarce know them aſunder had they been cloathed alike. As therefore on a time *Dorimachus* was malapertly inveighing againſt the *Meſſenians*, *Sciron* anſwered him, *Doſt thou think*, O Babyrta, *that we either care for thee, or thy threats?* This Jeer ſo affected him, as to be gone he reſtored them their goods; but getting him home, it ſat ſo deeply upon him, as by pretence of this injury alone did he ſtir up War againſt the *Meſſenians*.

A.M. 3782.
Ol. 139. *ann.* 2.
V. C. 531.
Antiochi Magn. 1.
Ptol. Euerget. 24.

The Original thereof.

19. He durſt not in publick Conventions perſwade the *Ætolians* to the War, for that his private grudge was ſufficiently known; but one *Scopas* being then *Prætor*, him he perſwaded to joyn with him in the invaſion of the *Meſſenians*. They two therefore, without any publick Decree, took the advantage of that time, wherein a few dayes onely were remaining to *Timoxenus*, the *Prætor* of the *Achæans*, to continue in his Office (during which time yet *Aratus*, who was to ſucceed him, could not execute it) and calling together the *Ætolians* to the Promontory of *Ægium*, ſayled over into *Peloponneſus*, and invading the *Meſſenians* (who being unable to reſiſt, had ſecured themſelves within their City Walls) waſted all with fire and ſword. Not onely the *Meſſenians*, but the *Epirotes*, *Achæans*, *Acarnanians*, and *Macedonians* alſo being declared Enemies by *Scopas*, they gave out Commiſſions to Pyrats to infeſt them by Sea. A Ship of the King of *Macedonia* was taken, and being brought into the Haven was ſold, with all the men, and things belonging to it; the Sea-Coaſts of *Epirus* were invaded; *Thyreas* a Town of *Acarnania* was ſet upon, and a band of men being ſent privately through *Peloponneſus*, a Caſtle there was ſeized on in the Territories of the *Megalopolitans*, which yet *Timoxenus* reduced by the help of *Taurion*, whom *Antigonus* had left to overſee his affairs in thoſe parts.

Idem ibid. & *Plutarch. in Arato.*

20. The *Achæans* meeting at *Ægium*, Decreed that aid ſhould be ſent to the *Meſſenians*; but *Timoxenus* whoſe time was not yet out, being ſlow in his preparations, *Aratus* who was to ſucceed him got the publick ſignet five dayes before the time, made Levies, and ſent to the *Ætolians* to draw away their Forces out of the *Meſſenian* Territories, and not to trouble *Achaia* upon pain of being proſecuted as Enemies. *Scopas* and *Dorimachus* hearing the *Achæans* were gathered together, marched towards the *Eleans* their Allies (with whom the *Ætolians* alwayes maintained friendſhip, that they might the better Prey upon *Peloponneſus*) ſo that *Aratus* hearing this, very indiſcreetly, and not like himſelf (as *Polybius* ſheweth) for that he thought they would retreat, diſmiſſed all his Soldiers except three thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe, with which, and *Taurion* his party, he marched after them. He conſtrained them to fight in a diſadvantageous place for himſelf, ſo that his forces were overthrown by them, and many being ſlain, the reſt ſecured themſelves in the Towns thereabouts, and the *Ætolians* paſſing without let or hinderance through *Peloponneſus*, attempted to take *Pellene*, and waſting the Territories of the *Sicyonians*, paſſed through the *Iſthmus*, and ſo returned home. After this the *Achæans* aſſembling together, *Aratus* was grievouſly accuſed for taking up the Office before his time, diſbanding the Army when he knew *Scopas* and *Dorimachas* were in *Peloponneſus*, fighting the Enemy with ſo few, when he might have eaſily had aid from the Towns thereabout, and, which was worſt of all, for ingaging not his beſt Soldiers in the plain, but onely skirmiſhing at the Roots of the Mountains, where the Enemy

Aratus is defeated by the *Ætolians*.

had the advantage of the ground, beſides their being the greater number. But as ſoon as *Aratus* appearing put them in mind of his former ſervices, anſwered to the things objected againſt him, and craved pardon in caſe he had failed of his duty in the fight, and deſired they would examine the caſe not maliciouſly, but with humanity, the people changed ſo in their affections, that they were angry a long time with his accuſers, and reſted upon his Counſels alone for the future.

21. Theſe things having given the occaſion to the Social War, it preſently was decreed againſt the *Ætolians*. For, the *Achæans* meeting together, ordered that ſome ſhould be ſent to the *Epirotes*, *Bœotians*, *Phocians*, *Acarnanians*, and unto *Philip*, to acquaint them that they had broken the League now twice by the invaſion of *Achaia*, to deſire help againſt them, and to receive the *Meſſenians* into the alliance; moreover it was reſolved, that the *Prætor* ſhould agree with the *Lacedæmonians* and *Meſſenians*, what Forces ſhould be raiſed by their States. The *Ætolians* alſo aſſembling, that they might make a breach betwixt the *Achæans* and their aſſociates, reſolved to make peace with the *Lacedæmonians* and *Meſſenians*, but as for the *Achæans* themſelves, they abſurdly decreed, that on no other condition would they have Peace with them, except they forſook the ſociety of the *Meſſenians*. The *Epirotes*, and *Philip*, after audience given to the Embaſſadors, willingly received the *Meſſenians* into the alliance; but as for the *Ætolians*, not at all wondering at their carriage (for that it being but agreeable to their cuſtom of Piracy and robbing, their cuſtome ſomething excuſed the badneſs of the action) they reſolved ſtill to keep peace with them. But *Scerdilaidas* the General of the *Illyrians* making an agreement with the *Ætolians* about his part in the booty, with them invaded *Achaia*, and took the City of the *Cynæthenſes*, being betrayed by ſome Exiles, which their Citizens had lovingly received again; but to pay for their ingratitude, theſe Exiles were put to the ſword as well as the reſt, and their City was burnt down to the ground upon the report of the *Macedonians* coming into *Peloponneſus*. For, *Aratus* had ſent to *Philip* again for aid, who came preſently with an Army down to *Corinth*, where the Commiſſioners from the ſeveral aſſociated Cities met him, and unanimouſly decreed a War againſt the *Ætolians*, in the firſt year of the 140 *Olympiad* (as *Polybius* telleth us) and about that time that *Hannibal* took *Saguntus*.

A. M. 3785.
Ol. 140. *an.* 1.
V. C. 534.
Ant. Mag. 4.
Ptol. Philopat. 3.

Philip marching down the Social War is decreed againſt the *Ætolians*.

22. While *Philip* was about *Corinth*, great ſtirs hapned at *Lacedæmon* by reaſon of him. For ſuch as were his Enemies there, cauſed ſome of his party, leſt they ſhould tell how they ſtood affected, to be ſlain, and afterwards the *Ephori* (who had brought the People to decree a continuance in the League with him) to be murdered as they were ſacrifizing, and then joyned their State to the *Ætolians*, and after they had heard of *Cleomenes* his death in *Egypt*, made a new election of Kings (wherof one was *Lycurgus*, an obſcure man, and not of the Race of *Hercules*) having lived in way of a Free State about three years, ever ſince they were ſet free by *Antigonus*, till this time, when their liberty ſo called, had bred great ſtrife and emulation. *Philip* coming to *Ægium* to the general meeting, the *Achæans* renewed the leagues and confederacies formerly made with his Anceſtors, and then with a great deal of credit he returned into *Macedonia*, there to make proviſions for the War, where ſpending the Winter in levying Forces, and fortifying that countrey againſt forein attempts, he alſo ſo dealt with *Scerdilaidas*, as he drew him over from the *Ætolians* to his own party, by reaſon they had not made him partaker of the booty, as they had covenanted with him. During this time ſeveral aſſociates were ſent to for aſſiſtance in the War, and amongſt the reſt the *Meſſenians*, who though they gave the occaſion of it, yet anſwered, being overpoured by the *Prætors* of the *Ætolians*, that ſeeing *Phygalea* was ſituate in their borders and belonged unto them, they would not aſſiſt in the War, except it was firſt taken out of the hands of the *Ætolians*. *Lycurgus* the *Lacedæmonian* King getting ſome Forces together, invaded the borders of the *Argives*, and took ſeveral Towns, they not ſtanding at all upon their guard, expecting no acts of Hoſtility from their friends as they counted them, and then was War proclaimed by the *Ætolians* againſt the *Achæans*. They were much elevated being now in a flouriſhing condition, the other on the contrary were put to it, for that *Philip* in whom was their chiefeſt hope, was onely yet providing for the War: the *Epirotes* would do nothing till they ſaw him begin; and the *Meſſenians* remained neuters; but ſhortly after, the marching of *Philip* from *Macedonia* revived their hopes.

Changes at *Lacedæmon*.

23. For having got together an Army of fifteen thouſand Foot, and five hundred

Polybius ut ſupra.

dred Horſe, he departed from *Macedonia*, for *Theſſalia* and *Epirus*, intending through them to invade *Ætolia.* Coming into *Epirus*, he was perſwaded there by the Inhabitants to ſet upon the City *Ambracus* and recover it, (which the *Ætolians* had gotten out of the hands of the *Epirotes*) to which he was ſo unwiſe as to agree, and thereby loſt the opportunity of finiſhing the Warr preſently, by neglecting to invade the inland Countries of *Ætolia*, and by harkening to the *Epirotes*, who more regarded their private profit then the publick good. In the mean time, in *Peloponneſus* things went on in favour of the *Ætolians*: for though they had been repulſed with ſome loſs from *Ægira*, a City of the *Achæans*, yet *Euripidas* the General of the *Eleans* made inrodes upon divers of the aſſociates, got much booty, and took divers Towns with the Caſtle of the *Dimæans*; *Lycurgus* the *Lacedæmonian* took *Atheneus* a Town belonging to the *Megalopolitans*; and *Aratus* ſon to the other the Captain of the *Achæans* could hire no Soldiers (becauſe behind already with much pay) and with fear and indiſcretion managed the buſineſs. *Scopas* the *Prætor* of the *Ætolians* through *Theſſaly* invaded *Macedonia*, where waſting all with fire and ſword about *Pieria*, he thence went to *Dium*, which the Inhabitants not ſtaying his coming, he burnt, and overthrew the Images of the Kings. *Philip* by this time had taken *Ambracus* in the ſpace of forty dayes, and thereby ſatisfied the greedy deſires of the *Epirotes*; then hearing what *Scopas* had done in *Macedonia*, he paſſed ſpeedily over the Bay of *Ambracia*, and through *Acarnania* invaded the *Ætolians*.

Scopas the *Ætolian* invadeth *Macedonia*

Idem ibid.

And Philip Ætolia.

24. Pitching his tents before *Phæteas*, after many ſharp skirmiſhes he received that town upon compoſition, and overthrew a party of five hundred *Ætolians*, who were coming to relieve it; after which, as he was waſting the Country, the Ambaſſadors of the *Achæans* came to him deſiring help. He promiſed to take their buſineſs into conſideration, and marched for *Metropolis*, the Inhabitants of which flying into the Caſtle, he burnt the Town, and thence moving towards *Conope*, ſome Horſe endeavoured to hinder him from paſſing the River, but finding it to be in vain, retired into the Town, and after this, none daring any more to ſhew themſelves, he paſſed unmoleſted through the Country, taking many Towns and Caſtles, the Walls of which he demoliſhed, onely *Oeniadæ* he reſolved to fortifie. While he thus imployed himſelf, news came from *Macedonia*, that the *Dardanians* had reſolved to make an invaſion; whereupon judging it requiſite to look home, he diſmiſſed the *Achæan* Ambaſſadors with this anſwer, that *as ſoon as he had provided for the ſecurity of his own Kingdom, he would uſe his beſt endeavour to relieve them.* Returning that way he came, with great journeys he paſſed through *Epirus*, and when he had arrived at *Pella*, the *Dardanians* hearing of his return disbanded their Army, and then he preſently marched back into *Theſſaly*, intending to paſs away the remaining of the Summer at *Lariſſa*, *Dorimachus* who being created *Prætor* of the *Ætolians* invaded *Epirus*, and harraſing the Country, robbed, and then deſtroyed the *Dodonæan* Temple; but *Philip* now in Winter, when it was little expected by any, leaveth *Lariſſa*, and paſſing over his Army from *Theſſalie* into *Eubœa*, marcheth through *Bœotia*, and the confines of *Megaris*, and about the Winter ſolſtice, cometh to *Corinth*, whither calling *Aratus* the elder to him to conſult of affaires, he writes to the *Prætor*, and ſeveral Cities of the *Achæans*, aſſigning them when and where to meet him.

Idem ibid.

And *Peloponneſus.*

His Exploits.

25. Having taken this order he departs from *Corinth* to *Dioſcurium*, a City of the *Phliaſians*, and thence to *Caphyæ*, where he had appointed the *Achæans* to meet him, lighting in his way upon a party which *Euripidas* was leading towards the Territories of the *Sicyonians* to waſte them, whereof two thouſand two hundred he took; the other being ſlain and periſhing amongſt the high Rocks, one hundred onely eſcaped with their Leader. This Victory got him abundance of honour (it being heard he was come, and had overcome alſo at the ſame time) which to maintain and increaſe, after he was come to *Caphyæ*, he joyned *Aratus* the younger to him with about ten thouſand men, and marched to *Pſophis* an ancient Town of *Arcadia*, ſituate in the middle of *Peloponneſus*, and vpon the confines of the *Eleans*, who then had it in their hands, and whither *Euripidas* their Captain had now withdrawn himſelf after his defeat. To this place *Philip* had a great mind, as very convenient for carrying on the War. He got the Town preſently, and after that had the Caſtle yielded to him, and ſtaying there ſome time gave up the place into the hands of the *Achæans*, as alſo *Laſione* ſhortly after, which upon his approaching was forſaken by a Garriſon of the *Eleans*. After this he came into the Country of the *Eleans*, which giving his Soldiers liberty to ſack and plunder, he paſſed the River

Alphæus, and came into *Tryphalia* including nine Towns ſituate betwixt *Elea* and *Meſſena*, which alſo the inhabitants of the former had got into their poſſeſſion a few years before, with *Aliphira* that belonged to *Arcadia*. Paſſing his men over by a bridge he cauſed to be made, he preſently took *Aliphira*, and within ſix dayes all *Tryphalia*, though *Phylidas* was ſent from the *Ætolians* to aid the *Eleans* with ſix hundred men, to whom were joyned five hundred Mercenaries, and one thouſand of the Inhabitans of *Elea*. Placing a Garriſon in the Caſtle of the *Lepreatans*, he came to *Heræa*, where dividing all the booty amongſt his Soldiers, and thence marching to *Megalopolis*, in the midſt of Winter, he afterward came to *Argos*, where he ſpent the remainder of that Seaſon. During theſe motions *Chilon* the *Lacedemonian* killed the *Ephori* who had made *Lycurgus* King; but the fact being not approved, he was glad to betake himſelf to his heels.

Apelles his plot againſt *Aratus* and others.

Polybius lib. 5.

26. *Philip* invaded again the Territories of the *Ætolians*, and thence took very much booty, and returning to *Argos* to winter, ſent his Army into *Macedonia*. At this time *Apelles* (who was one of them whom *Antigonus* had left his Guardians) much maligned *Aratus*, and joyning with *Leontius* Captain of the *Cetrati* (called ſo from the wearing of a ſhort buckler) and *Megaleas* the King's chief Secretary, reſolved to remove *Taurion* from the Government of *Peloponneſus*, and *Alexander* from his command of the Life-Guard; and had he not been hindered by *Aratus*, he had accompliſh't his purpoſe. He had procured alſo one *Eparatus* to be choſen *Prætor* in the room of *Aratus* the younger, and he managing his affairs very indiſcreetly, the King could get neither money nor proviſions, but was fain to flie to *Aratus* for relief; and now it being reſolved to carry on the War by Sea, he conſulting with his two creatures, determined to ſtop up proviſions from coming to the Army, and went to *Chalcis* for that purpoſe. He ſo managed his buſineſs, as he forced the King to pawn his plate, who now ſailed againſt the *Cephalenians*, whoſe ſhips the *Ætolians* conſtantly uſed in their invaſions of *Peloponneſus*, and coming to *Patra*, there drew up his Ships on ſhore. He laid ſiege to the City of the *Patæenſians*, and having undermined a piece of the Wall, ſent *Leontius* to take the place, but he remembring the conſpiracy of *Apelles*, *Megaleas*, and himſelf, to hinder the affairs of his Maſter, had corrupted the chiefeſt of the Officers, and ſuffered himſelf to be repulſed, ſo that *Philip* raiſed his Siege, and conſulted what was to be done. By this time *Lycurgus* the *Lacedæmonian* King had ivaded the *Meſſenians*, *Dorimachus* alſo the *Ætolian* had made an inroad into *Theſſaly*, ſo that from both parts came Ambaſſadors to crave aid. *Leontius* counſelled *Phillip* to go to *Meſſenia*; but *Aratus* to invade *Ætolia* again, to whom he agreed, having had experience of his wiſdom, and beginning now a little to miſtruſt the other.

27. Writing to the *Prætor* of the *Achæans* to relieve the *Meſſenians*, he invaded their Country, and taking *Thermus*, gave his Soldiers leave to plunder the Villages, in revenge for what the *Ætolians* had done at *Dius* in *Macedonia*, and rifled and burnt the Temple, for which he is grievouſly reprehended by *Polybius*. After this returning on ſhipboard, *Leontius* and *Megaleas* in their cups ſo abuſed *Aratus*, as to throw ſtones at him, for which the former eſcaping, the later was impriſoned and fined twenty Talents at a Council of War. *Philip* then ſailed to *Corinth*, whence ſending meſſengers to the aſſociated Cities to meet him at *Tegea*, he marched thither in two dayes, and getting ſome Forces together he invaded the *Lacedæmonians*, and waſted their territories far and wide, put to flight *Lycurgus* who came out of the City againſt him, and then returned again unto *Corinth*. While he prepared to attempt ſome notable thing upon *Phocis*; *Leontius*, *Megaleas*, and *Ptolomy*, moved the Soldiers to ſedition, which though he knew very well, yet diſſembled he it at preſent, but *Leontius* ſent for *Apelles* from *Chalcis*, who there had very naughtily behaved himſelf, and now returning was not entertained by the King after the uſual manner, nor admitted to the Council. *Megaleas* hereat being affrighted fled, leaving *Leontius* behind him ingaged for the twenty Talents, whoſe Soldiers *Philip* ſent with *Taurion* into *Thriphyllia* as upon ſervice, and then caſt him into Priſon for the payment of the money, and not long after (the Soldiers malapertly interceding for him, that he ſhould not be tried till their return, otherwiſe they ſhould take it as a great affront) he put him to death. Then came he to *Patra*, where he had appointed the Deputies of the Cities to meet him about a Peace with the *Ætolians*, which the *Rhodians* and *Chians* had by Ambaſſadors moved both parties to. Here letters of *Megaleas* were brought to him, wherein he ſtirred up the *Ætolians* to proceed in the War, becauſe he would be in great ſtraights for proviſions; whereupon he judging *Apelles* to have been the chief cauſe of thoſe evils, clapt him up at *Corinth*, and ordered

The treaſon of him and his complices diſcovered.

Alexander to go to *Thebes* and purſue *Megaleas*. He hearing this killed himſelf, and *Apelles* died ſoon after.

28. The *Ætolians* hearing of theſe ſtirs in *Philip*'s Court, and thinking thereby ſome great ſedition would be raiſed, put off their meeting at *Rhium* about the peace, which he was not at all ſorry for, but exhorted the Allies rather to bend their minds towards thoughts of War. Then, coming to *Demetrias*, there was condemned *Ptolomy*, *Apelles* his Companion, by the *Macedonians*, and put to death; and, for that Winter was now begun, having ſent his Army before, he himſelf followed into *Macedonia*. The next year he got *Bylazora* the chiefeſt Town of *Pæonia* into his hands, and *Thebes Pthiotick* alſo, which the *Ætolians* holding, much moleſted *Theſſaly*: but receiving news that *Scerdilaida* being revolted, made great waſte of all things about *Malea*, he returned into *Peloponneſus* at the time of the celebration of the *Nemean* Games. Here he received letters that *Hannibal* had overthrown the *Romans* at the *Lake of Thraſymene*; and *Demetrius Pharius*, who had waged War with the people of *Rome*, for the *Illyrians*, adviſed him to make peace with the *Ætolians*, and undertaking the affairs of *Illyricum* paſs thence into *Italy*, and think of no leſs than arriving at the *Monarchy of the World*. Being elevated with this fancy, he perſwaded the *Achæans* to agreement, and then ſending *Taurion* and *Aratus* to the *Ætolians*, who deſired a Treaty, at their requeſt he went alſo himſelf down to them, and made Peace on this condition, that *all parties ſhould enjoy what now they held*. *Agelaus* of *Naupactus* perſwaded the *Greeks* to imbrace amity, leſt cutting one anothers throats, they might be devoured by the *Carthaginians* or *Romans*. So all the Cities returned to their ancient Laws and Cuſtoms, and this *Social War* ended after it had continued four years, in the ſixth of the reign of *Philip*, the firſt of the 141 *Olympiad*. A. M. 3789.

Ptolomy put to death for treaſon.

Philip having vaſt things in deſign, putteth an end to the Social War.

A. M. 3789.
Ol. 141. *ann.* 1.
V. C. 538.
Antioch. M. 8.
Ptolom. Philop. 7.

29. *Philip* applied himſelf to the recovery of the Cities which had revolted from him, and then thought of nothing more than ſetling the affairs of *Illyricum*, neceſſary for the promoting of his deſigns, eſpecially the invaſion of *Italy*, upon which his mind was ſo ſetled, as ſleeping and waking his fancy ran wholly upon it, being ſpurred on by *Demetrius Pharius*, not ſo much for any great affection born to him, as for the others private intereſt, who thought hereby to recover the Iſland *Pharus*, which once he enjoyed; and out of hatred to the *Romans*, who having overthrown him in War, about this time ſent to demand him of *Philip*, to whom he had fled. After he had recovered the Cities, and ſent his Army to the Winter quarters, he bethought him that there would be need of Ships for the carrying on of his project; not for fighting with the *Romans*, but conveying of his men; ſo that he cauſed one hundred ſwift Barkes to be built, and yet in the Spring exerciſing his Soldiers a little in rowing, away he goes through *Euripus* near to *Cephalenia*, hearkening continually after the *Roman* Fleet. But the report of it's coming, after a ſhort time put his men into ſuch a pannick fear, that though he was going towards *Apollonia*, he tacked about, and in great diſorder after a day and a nights ſail came back again to *Cephalenia*. For all this he was not diſcouraged from his enterpriſe, but underſtanding how *Hannibal* proſpered in *Italy*, thought good to make him his friend, and thereby get an entrance in thither. And this year being the fourth of the ſecond *Punick* War, he ſent his Ambaſſadors to him.

Polyb. lib. 5.

Livius l. 22.

He ſendeth to *Hannibal* in *Italy*.

30. The Ambaſſadors landing near to the Temple of *Juno Lucinia*, went through *Apulia* towards *Capua* where *Hannibal* then lay; but in their way fell into the *Roman* Guards, by which they were brought to *M. Valerius Lævinus* the *Prætor*, then lying about *Numeria*. Being thus entangled, *Xenophanes*, one of them bolder and wiſer than the reſt, told the *Prætor* they were come from *Philip* to make a League and Alliance with the People of *Rome*; at which he rejoycing, that after the revolting of their Aſſociates in *Italy* ſo great a Prince ſhould deſire their friendſhip, entertained him and his fellows very lovingly, and ſent them away with ſome to conduct them, ſo that coming into *Campania* they preſently got to *Hannibal*. The alliance was made on theſe terms, that *Philip with as great a Fleet as poſſible (two hundred ſhips he thought he could procure) ſhould paſs into* Italy, *waſte the Maritime parts thereof, and help to carry on the War both by Sea and Land: that* Italy *being Conquered ſhould all fall to* Hannibal, *and the* Carthaginians *with all the ſpoil; and then they ſhould paſs into* Greece, *and there make War upon what Princes or States* Philip *pleaſed, who ſhould enjoy what ever places could be got, either in the continent or Iſlands*, he being willing to content himſelf with theſe conditions for a beginning. Things being thus concluded, the Ambaſſadors were diſpatched away, and with them ſome ſent from *Hannibal*, who ſhipping themſelves again where they landed

Idem lib. 23.

The terms of their Alliance.

The Ambaſſadors taken by the *Romans.*

before, were diſcovered by the *Romans*, who lay upon the Coaſts of *Calabria*, and taken. *Xenophanes*, having had ſuch good fortune before, with his skill attempted the ſame thing again, but the habit and language of the *Carthaginians* diſcovered them, and, the League being found about them, all was brought to light, and confeſſed; and then they were ſent to *Gracus* the *Conſul* to *Cuma*, and by him to the Senate.

31. The Fathers entred into ſerious debate about it, being much troubled to find, that though they were ſcarce able to undergo the *Carthaginian* War, they ſhould be ingaged in another with the *Macedonian* King; yet notwithſtanding they were not diſmayed, but conſidered how they might make work for *Philip* at home, thereby to divert him from *Italy*. Having therefore impriſoned the Ambaſſadors, and ſold their followers, they gave order for fifty ſhips fitly furniſhed to hover about *Italy*, and if the Kings attempts ſhould appear anſwerable to the Ambaſſage, *Marcus Valerius* the *Prætor* was then to invade *Macedonia*. While theſe things were in hand, one of the ſlaves which being taken accompanied the Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, eſcaped, and acquainted *Philip* how things had paſſed, who then not knowing what was done or concluded betwixt *Hannibal* and himſelf, ſent Meſſengers, who diſpatched the buſineſs with better ſucceſs, but the Summer was too far ſpent for him to do any thing this year. Theſe high thoughts and deſigns he now had in his head did ſo puff him up, that from an excellent Prince as he was at the firſt, he turned tyrannical, ſo that he began to wax harſh againſt the Cities of *Greece*, being ſet on by *Demetrius Pharius*, who adviſed him to get *Peloponneſus* into his power, and for that purpoſe to ſeize on the two Horns of that beaſt, (as he accounted them) the *Caſtle of Corinth*, and that of the *Meſſenians*, who being now at odds amongſt themſelves, he laboured to increaſe their differences; and for that *Aratus* was diſpleaſed at it, and laboured to diſſwade him, he caſt him out of favour. The year after he had entered into a League with *Hannibal*, finding it yet not convenient to make for *Italy*, he took *Oricus* a Town of *Illyricum*, in order to the beſieging of *Apollonia*, both which had joyned themſelves in ſociety with the *Romans* fifteen years before. But when *Lævinus* the *Prætor* heard of it, leaving the Coaſt of *Brunduſium* to the care of *P. Valerius*, he haſted to *Oricus*, and preſently recovered it, and afterwards ſent a party under the Conduct of *Nævius Criſpus*, which getting into *Apollonia*, afterwards fell upon the *Macedonians* who lay ſo ſecurely in their Camp, that about one thouſand men entred the Trenches before it was perceived. Hereupon followed ſuch a Pannick fear, that no body endeavoured to repulſe the Enemy; and three thouſand men were ſlain or taken. The King getting out of his bed, fled half naked to the ſhips; which *Lævinus* being aware of, ſecured the mouth of the River; ſo that he was forced to fly with a poor unarmed Army by Land into *Macedonia*.

Others ſent with better ſucceſs.

Polybius ex lib.7.excerpt.3.

He is beaten at *Apollonia*, and driven home.

A.M. 3791.
Ol. 141. *an.*3.
V.C. 540.
Antioch Mag. 10.
*Ptol. Philop.*9.

32. About this time, being angry with *Aratus*, becauſe he was concerned at his ill uſage of the *Meſſenians*, he procured him to be poyſoned by the help of *Taurion* his Lieutenant in *Peloponneſus*. At the firſt the thing was not known, it being a ſlow working poyſon, but *Aratus* himſelf was not ignorant of it, yet ſhewed ſuch calmneſs of mind as he acquainted none with it, but *Cephalo* his neareſt attendant, who obſerving him to ſpit blood upon the Wall, he only ſaid, *This reward* O Cephalo *have we for our friendſhip to* Philip; but after his death he was honoured by all the *Achæans* as an Hero. *Philip* about this time caſting his thoughts upon *Illyricum*, got *Lyſſus* a ſtrong Town thereof, and *Acrolyſſus* its Caſtle into his power, having divided his Army into two parts, one whereof he hid on the Land-ſide, and drew the Defendants towards the Sea with the other, ſo as they in ambuſh entred the Caſtle without oppoſition (otherwiſe impregnable) after which he got the Town, though with much trouble, and then moſt of the Cities out of fear ſubmitted unto him. But the ſame year *M. Valerius Lævinus* withdrew the *Ætolians* from their ſociety and alliance with him, by ſhewing them the civility of the *Romans* towards their friends, and eſpecially by putting them in hopes to recover *Acarnania* again into their power, having *Scopas* the *Prætor* and *Dorimacus* to back him in this perſwaſion. And in this new League were to be included the *Eleans* and *Lacedæmonians*, *Attalus* King of *Aſia* the leſs, *Pleuratus* of *Thrace*, and *Scerdilaidas* of *Illyricum*, if they pleaſed. *Lævinus* took preſently *Zacynthus* an Iſland near to *Ætolia*, having a City in it of the ſame name, *Oeniada* alſo and *Naſſus*, Towns of *Acarnania*, all which he gave up to the *Ætolians*, and then judging he had made work enough for *Philip* to keep him at home, that he ſhould not think of the invaſion of *Italy*, or of *Hannibal*, or the *Carthaginians*, he departed to *Corcyra*.

Idem lib. 8. *Excerpt.* 9.

Poyſoneth *Aratus.*

Idem ibid. Excerpt. 10.

*Livius lib.*26.

Lævinus the *Roman Prætor* maketh him work enough.

13. He

Idem ibid.

Polybius lib. 10.

Idem lib. 27.

33. He was Wintring at *Pella*, when the news firſt came to him, and therefore as he had determined to paſs into *Greece* in the Spring, and firſt to invade, and awe the *Illyrians*, he now made incurſions thither, after that into *Pelagonia*, and then took a City of the *Dardanians* in the Borders of *Macedonia*, being as it were the Key into their Countrey. This done, he haſted into *Theſſaly*, where leaving *Perſeus* with a party to reſtrain the *Ætolians*, he thence marched towards *Thrace* againſt the *Mædi*, which were wont to make inroads into *Macedonia* when the King was abſent in the Wars; from them he took *Jampharnia*, and attempted other places. But the *Ætolians* now aiming at, and expecting great things, becauſe of their conjunction with their *Romans*, ſtruck terror into almoſt all the other *Greeks*; wherefore the *Achæans*, *Bœotians*, *Eubœans*, *Epirotes*, and *Acarnanians* implored his help, for all which he provided as well as he might, and ſent a party to defend *Preparethus* the Iſland, at which he heard that *Attalus* coming into *Europe*, arrived, being choſen by the *Ætolians* their Commander in Chief. *Scopas* the *Ætolian* hearing he was gone into *Thrace*, invaded *Acarnania*, the Inhabitants whereof conveying away their Wives, children, and Aged into *Epyrus*, vowed never to return except as Conquerors, reſolving never to be again enſlaved under the *Ætolians*. This the Enemy hearing, was ſomething amazed at their reſolution, and then knowing of *Philip* his coming, returned home, and he when he heard they had ſo done, returned alſo unto *Pella*. The year after he ſuccoured the *Achæans* ſore moleſted by *Machanidas* Tyrant of *Sparta*, and the *Ætoliaus*, and went againſt *Lamia*, a City of the *Ætolians*, who coming out to meet him, he overthrew them in two ſeveral ingagements, after which they ſhutting up themſelves in the Town, he drew down his Army to *Phalara* a Maritime City of *Theſſaly*, whither Ambaſſadors came from *Ptolomy*, the *Rhodians*, *Chians*, and *Athenians*, to compoſe the difference betwixt him and them. Though not ſo much out of love to the *Ætolians*, as for fear that *Philip* and his Kingdom ſhould grow too great, and become burdenſome to the liberty of *Greece*. The Treaty was put off to the meeting of the States-General of the *Achæans*, and a Truce made in the mean time for thirty dayes.

The *Ætolians* refuſe peace.

Philip again worſted by the *Romans* at *Elis*.

A. M. 3796.
Ol. 142. *ann*. 4.
V. C. 545.
Antioch. M. 15.
Ptolom. Philop. 14.

34. It was alſo begun with this deſign, to keep *Attalus*, or the *Romans*, from coming into *Greece*; but the *Ætolians* obſerving the Term of the Truce almoſt to be expired, and hearing that *Attalus* was come to *Ægina*, and the *Roman* Navy to *Naupactus*, hindred the concluſion; firſt complaining of ſome things done during the Truce, and then plainly refuſing to agree, except the *Achæans* would reſtore *Pylas* to the *Meſſenians*, and except the *Romans*, *Athamanians*, *Scerdilaidas*, and *Pluratus* were included in the peace. *Philip* holding it an unſeemly thing that thoſe who had the worſt of it in the War ſhould give Laws to the other, broke up the meeting, and leavying 4000 men for a defence to the *Achæans*, went to *Argos*. In the mean while *P. Sulpicius* coming with the *Roman* Fleet from *Naupactus*, landed betwixt *Corinth* and *Sicyon*, and waſted the Countrey; but *Philip* lighting upon his men drove them to their ſhips, and then going to *Dymæ*, caſt out thence the Garriſon of the Ætolians, called thither by the *Eleans*. Their Territories he alſo waſted (*Cycliadas* the General of the *Achæans* having united his Forces with his) and then went againſt the City *Elis* it ſelf. It hapned that *Sulpicius* was ſecretly got in thither with four thouſand men, which ſtruck a terrour into the beſiegers as ſoon as they eſpied the *Roman* colours, and *Philip* would fain have drawn off his men; but a skirmiſh being begun he was forced to charge the *Roman* Cohort with his horſe-men. His own horſe being ſhot under him, a ſharp conflict followed about his perſon now on foot, but he was reſcued by his followers, and mounting another fled away. Then pitched he his Tents five miles from *Elis*, and the next day marching to *Pyrgus* a Caſtle not far off, there took a multitude of Countrey people, which with their Cattel had fled thither for protection; but as he was dividing the plunder, a Meſſenger came out of *Macedonia*, and informed him, that a certain man of the *Æropians* had taken *Lychnidus*, and was raiſing the *Dardanians*; wherefore leaving two thouſand five hundred men under Government of *Menippus* and *Polyphas*, for a Guard to the *Achæans*, away he marched into *Theſſaly*, where he heard the *Dardanians* had invaded his Kingdom, and that he was reported to be ſlain. After his departure *Sulpicius* went and wint'red at *Ægina* with *Attalus*, and the *Achæans* fought proſperouſly againſt their Enemies.

His acts in *Greece*.

Livius lib. 28.

35. The year after, *P. Sulpicius Galba* the *Proconſul*, and *Attalus* departing from *Ægina*, with their Navies joyned together (which made up fifty ſayl) came into *Æubœa*, and there took *Oreus* through the treachery of *Plator* the Governour. *Philip* now being at *Demetrias*, great complaints came to him of the *Ætolians*, who being

very high, troubled grievouſly the Aſſociates; the *Achæans* moreover being moleſted again by *Machanidas* Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, and deſiring aid, he diſmiſſed the Meſſengers with promiſe to provide for the ſafety of all as near as he could, and appointed fires to be made on the tops of the Mountains, with a Watch-Tower, to give him warning if the Enemy invaded the Sea-Coaſts. The fires upon the coming of the Navy to *Oreus* were by the cunning of *Plator* made too late; but upon the ſign given he haſted with his Army (having beaten off the *Ætolians* who oppoſed him at the Straights of *Thermopylæ*) and came to *Elatea* a Town in *Phocis*. *Attalus* at this time, and the *Proconſul* having attempted *Chalcis* to no purpoſe, came to *Opus*, which being taken, the Kings Soldiers were to have the plunder of it, as the *Romans* had before of *Oreus*. Here he ſtaying too long to gather money, was almoſt ſurpriſed by *Philip*, and haſting to his Ships, had not got all his men aboard before he fell upon him; then departing to *Oreus*, he there received news that *Pruſias* King of *Bithinia* had invaded his Kingdom, ſo that he preſently returned home, and *Sulpicius* to *Ægina*. *Philip* chiding the *Opuntians* for yielding ſo ſoon, went, and took *Thronium* inhabited by them of *Thebes Pthiotick*, who being outed thence by him 8 years before, as we ſaid, the *Ætolians* had given them this Town to dwell in. After this returning to *Elatia* (where the Ambaſſadors of *Ptolomy* and the *Rhodians* ſtayed his coming to move him again about the peace) and hearing that *Machanidas* had determined to ſet upon the *Eleans*, he reſolved to prevent him. *Machanidas* hearing of his coming, retreated preſently to *Sparta*, and then went he to *Ægium* to the general Council of the *Achæans*, to whom he reſtored *Heræa* and *Triphylia*; and *Aliphera* to the *Megalapolitans*. He made ſome depredations upon the *Ætolians*, then returned to *Oreus*, and ſo to *Demetrias*, where he gave order for making of Ships; (things being quiet there after the departure of *Attalus*) and ſo into his own Kingdom againſt the *Dardanians*.

Idem lib. 29.

The *Ætolians* forced to make a peace with him.

36. The two years following, little or nothing was done by the *Romans* in *Greece*, ſo that the *Ætolians* being deſtitute of their aid (in which they moſt confided) were forc'd to make a Peace with him on his own terms. Scarce was it concluded, when *Publius Sempronius* the *Proconſul* was ſent to ſucceed *Sulpicius* (who careleſly managed his affairs) with ten thouſand Foot, one thouſand Horſe, and 35 Gallies, who coming to *Dyrrhachium* raiſed the *Parthini*, and ſet upon *Damallum*. Coming a little after to *Apollonia*, *Philip* having received the news of his arrival, marched down thither, and would have given him battel, but the *Proconſul* refuſing it, and he not daring to attempt the Town, as alſo becauſe he was now inclinable alſo to Peace, he returned again into his own Kingdom. Not long after the *Epirotes* bearing alſo the ſame mind, ſent to him, deſiring he would think of Peace, which they deſpaired not of, ſo he and *Sempronius* would but meet together. He condeſcended to go down into *Epirus*, and then came to an interview with the *Proconſul* at *Phœnice*, together with *Aminander* King of the *Athamanians*, and the Deputies of the *Epirotes* and *Acarnanians*, where it was agreed that *the Parthini, the Cities Dimalum, Bargulum, and Eugenium, ſhould fall to the ſhare of the Romans, and the Atintanæ (becauſe they had deſired it from the Senate at* Rome*) to* Philip: in the confederacy were included on the Kings part, *Pruſias* King of *Bithinia*, the *Achæans*, *Bœotians*, *Theſſalonians*, *Acarnanians*, and *Epirotes*, and on the *Roman*, the Inhabitants of *Ilium*, King *Attalus*, *Plearatus*, the *Eleans*, *Meſſenians*, and *Athenians* with *Nabis* Tyrant of *Sparta*, and ſucceſſor of *Machanidas*, ſlain in battel by *Philopomenes*, who now had begun to defend his Country from the *Lacedæmonians* and others. A truce was made for two moneths, to have the conſent of the People of *Rome*, who now having turned the War into *Africk* upon the *Carthaginians*, were glad to free themſelves from all other troubles, and therefore the Peace was confirmed by the ſuffrages of all the Tribes.

A general peace made betwixt him, the *Romans*, and others.

Polybius l. 11. *excerpt.* 7.

Plutarch in Philopomene.

37. But *Philip's* mind was ſo inured to action, that he could not but make himſelf work; for perceiving *Philopomenes* (now *Prætor* the ſecond time of the *Achæans*) to be in great reſpect for his Military skill and valour, he ſent to murder him at *Megalopolis*, which being diſcovered, he deſervedly incurred the diſpleaſure of all *Greece*. He kept ſome correſpondence (together with *Antiochus* the *Great*) with *Ptolomy Philopater*, when living; but after his death, they two conſulted together to deprive his young Son of his Kingdom, and might well have done it, (eſpecially ſeeing the *Ægyptian* Court was much vexed by the diſcord of the great ones) had they not both been diverted by the *Romans*, and puniſhed juſtly, as *Polybius* obſerveth. And though he had been reconciled to the *Ætolians*, and uſed them as his friends and allies, yet now without any pretence did he withdraw *Lyſimachia* from their ſociety, and

He incurreth odium ſeveral wayes.

Lib. 5. *excerpt.* 20. *c.* 1.

And having other enemies

and joyned it to himſelf, after that *Chalcedon*; and to gratifie his Son in Law *Pruſias* of *Bithinia*, enſlaved the City of the *Ciani*, though the *Ætolians* had ſent them a Captain who commanded in chief, which cruelty ſo incenſed the *Rhodians*, as ever after they became his Enemies, and joyned with *Attalus* King of *Aſia* againſt him. Very ſtoutly did he deal with theſe his adverſaries, never being diſcouraged by any bad ſucceſs. He had the worſt of it in a battel at Sea near *Chius*, but driving *Attalus* on Land, and taking his Ship (though he had never loſt ſo many men in any battel whatever before) he aſcribed the Victory to himſelf. For all this War in which he was imployed by two powerful adverſaries, yet feared he not to undertake another with the People of *Rome*, which now a few moneths after the end of the ſecond *Punick* was decreed againſt him, about fourteen years after his entring into confederacy with *Hannibal*, of his own reign the 23, and the firſt of the 145 *Olympiad*. A. M. 3805.

Ibid. c. 2.

He ingageth againſt the *Romans*.

A. M. 3805.
Ol. 145. *an.* 1.
V. C. 554.
Ant. M. 24.
Ptol. Epiph. 4.

38. For though there had been a peace made, yet it was conceived he had broken it by his moleſting the *Ætolians*, and other aſſociates, and of late by ſending aid to *Annibal* in *Africk*, and the *Carthaginians*: The *Athenians* by their Ambaſſadors alſo called upon the Senate for help, whoſe Territories he had waſted, and forced them up into the City. The occaſion of the War betwixt him and them was from the *Acarnanians*; for two young men of that Nation coming to *Athens*, chanced to go into the Temple of *Ceres* with the other company at the Feaſt, being not initiated, and for that reaſon were put to death, as having committed an unpardonable offence, though ignorantly they did it; now this the *Athamanians* took ſo to heart, as they procured *Philip* to make War upon them. At the ſame time were come to *Rome* Ambaſſadors alſo from *Attalus*, and the *Rhodians*, complaining that the Cities of *Aſia* were alſo moleſted by him; ſo that now having little to do after the ending of the ſecond *Punick* War, the Senate unanimouſly made a Decree, by virtue whereof *Marcus Levinus* the *Vice-prætor* was ſent into *Macedonia* with thirty eight Ships brought out of *Sicily* by *Cn. Octavius*: afterwards came news further that he was about to take *Athens*, and then it being propoſed to the People, the War (through the perſwaſion of *Publius Sulpicius Galba* the Conſul, to whom it fell by lot) was decreed againſt him. He had not beſieged that City himſelf, but, ſending down *Philocles* one of his Captains thither, went and ſubdued the *Cherſoneſus* of *Thrace*. Onely the Inhabitants of *Abydus* ſtood out againſt him, and that with ſuch reſolution, as following the example of the *Saguntines* in *Spain*, they fought it out to the laſt, and made an end of themſelves, after he had denied to receive them upon any other terms than yielding to mercy. Yet *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* might have relieved them had they not loitered,

Vide Livium lib. 31.

The grounds of the War on the *Roman* part.

Idem ibid. & *Polyb. excerpt. lib.* 16.

39. *Sulpicius* the Conſul coming to *Apollonia*, upon the deſire of the *Athenians*, ſent *C. Claudius Cento* with twenty Ships out of the Fleet which lay at *Corcyra*, furniſhed with Soldiers, to relieve their City. He hearing that *Chalcis* was badly looked to, though fortified with a Garriſon of the *Macedonians*, went thither, took it with eaſe, then plundering it ſet it on fire, and returned to the *Piræus*, or Haven of *Athens*. *Philip* was now come down to *Demetrias*, where hearing this news he paſſed over *Euripus* on a bridge, and through *Bœotia* haſted to *Athens*, thinking to ſurprize the Town; but the Inhabitants having got notice of his coming, ſtood upon their guard, and then he perceiving his craft failed him, betook himſelf to force; but this being to no purpoſe (the *Romans* coming in, and the Soldiers of *Attalus* from *Ægina*) waſting all about the Town, and not ſparing ſo much as the Sepulchers, he went to *Eleuſine* thinking there to get the Temple and Caſtle into his power; but the guards being ſtrong, and the Navy coming to help from the *Piræus*, he marched thence to *Megara*, and ſo to *Corinth*. Hearing now that the *Achæans* were met at *Argos*, to conſult how to reſiſt *Nabis* Tyrant of *Sparta*, he went down thither, and came upon them unawares, and promiſed he would make War upon him, on condition they would but find him Soldiers to keep *Oreus*, *Chalcis*, and *Corinth*. His deſign was to ingage them in the War againſt the *Romans*, which they very well underſtood, and therefore *Cycliades* the *Prætor* anſwered, that it was not lawful to propoſe any other matter than that for which they were aſſembled, and ſo a Decree being made for raiſing an Army againſt *Nabis*, he broke up the meeting.

Livius ibid.

Philip's fruitleſs Expedition againſt *Athens*.

40. Nothing yet was done by the *Roman* Conſul of himſelf, but encamping upon the River *Apſus* between *Apollonia* and *Dyrrhachium*, he ſent *L. Apuſtius* his Lieutenant with a party to harraſe the Enemies Country, who performed what he went about, taking divers Towns of *Macedonia*, and then returned with much booty.

He courteth the *Ætolians*.

But his bad ſucceſs againſt the Conſul maketh them joyn with the *Romans*.

booty. *Philip* being come home, made all proviſion poſſible for the War, and knowing the reſtleſsneſs of the *Ætolians*, for fear they might ſide with the *Romans*, (which yet they had not done) ſent his Ambaſſadors to the general meeting of them called the *Panetolium*, whither came alſo *L. Furius Purpureo*, ſent from the Conſul, and others from the *Athenians*. The *Macedonian* being firſt heard, adviſed them to remain in their ſociety with him; the *Athenians* inveyed bitterly againſt *Philip*, as having broken the Laws of humanity and Religion, in violating their Sepulchers, and Temple; then *Purpureo* ſheweth how the *Romans* had undertaken the War for them, though they formerly made Peace without them, and now how good an occaſion was offered them of being reſtored into their friendſhip and ſociety, except they would rather periſh with *Philip*. This inclined all their minds towards the *Romans*; but *Democritus* the *Prætor* thought the buſineſs was to be put off to the next Council. But not long after *Philip* fought twice with the Conſul, and that ſo unproſperouſly, as he had like to have been taken himſelf, and then they imbraced the ſociety of the *Romans*, and invading *Macedonia*, took and burnt *Cercinium*, after which going into *Perrhæbia*, *Philip* ſet upon them at unawares, and killing many, forced the reſt to flie for their ſafety under the conduct of *Aminander* into their own Country. This year the *Roman* Navy joyning to that of *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, took the Iſland *Andrus*, and *Oreus*, the City we have often ſpoke of, in *Eubœa*.

Livius l. 32.

Tappulus the Conſul doth nothing.

Flamininus ſucceedeth,

With whom *Philip* hath a fruitleſs treaty.

41. *Philip* taking all care poſſible for the managing of his affaires, the next Spring ſent down his Auxiliaries and others through *Epirus* into *Chaonia*, to ſeize upon the Straights near *Antigonia*, and he himſelf following after with the ſtrength of his Army, fortified the Vally betwixt the Mountains, through which the River *Aous* runneth; *Athenagoras* his Lieutenant he commanded to look to the Mountain *Aſnaus*, and he himſelf pitched his Tents upon the Hill *Æropus*. To *Sulpicius* the Conſul ſucceeded *P. Villius Tappulus*, who coming late did nothing at all, for leading towards the Enemy, he with a few went to view the Moors, through which his neareſt way lay to him, and conſulting many dayes whether he ſhould paſs that way, or take the ſame *Sulpicius* went into *Macedonia*, before he could determine, news came to him, that his Succeſſor was already come to *Corcyra*. This was *T. Quintius Flamininus*, created Conſul ere he was thirty years old, who falling, this Province came ſooner then uſual, bringing over with him eight thouſand Foot, and eight hundred Horſe. Being arrived at the Camp, after ſome conſultation, he determined to ſet upon *Philip*'s Army in the place where it yet lay; but how to do it was hard to be reſolved, and forty dayes were ſpent in this deliberation, which time *Philip* was content to make an opportunity to look after Peace, and attempt the procurement of it through the *Epirotes*. They met at the River *Aous* (or *Apſus*) but the Conſul demanded things ſeeming ſo hard to the other, that he asked him if he would impoſe more hard conditions upon one conquered? and ſo withdrew himſelf from the conference.

And is beaten by him.

The Conſul taketh in ſeveral places in *Theſſaly*.

42. The next day followed ſome light Skirmiſhes, neither part receiving either much good or dammage, but as they continued in this condition, came a certain Shepheard, ſent by *Charops* Prince of the *Epirotes*, undertaking to lead the *Romans* through the Mountains an eaſie way, and bring them upon the Enemies back. The Conſul glad of this opportunity, ſent a party with him, and then gave an Alarm with the whole Army to the Camp, which the *Macedonians* received willingly enough, and both Armies being greedy of fighting, they marched out of their Trenches to receive the battel; but then thoſe on their backs ſetting up a ſhout, ſtruck them with ſuch terror, that ſome of them ran away, others by reaſon of the difficulty of the place for fight were compaſſed in, and two thouſand ſlain. The King fled amain till he came five miles off, and then rallying his men upon an hill, with a great company went into *Theſſaly*. Where waſting divers Towns to deprive the Enemy of Proviſions, het hence paſſed into *Macedonia*. The Conſul following him into *Theſſaly*, laboured to get the good will of the *Epirotes*, and called to him *Aminander* King of the *Athamanians* to conduct him on his way; then took he *Phaleria* (where were in Garriſon two thouſand *Macedonians*) which he plundered and burnt, at which alſo others being affrighted yielded themſelves, and *Philip* not daring to oppoſe, but keeping within *Tempe*, ſent relief upon occaſion to ſuch places as wanted. At *Rhaga* the Conſul found ſuch oppoſition as he raiſed his ſiege, but thence departing took in divers Cities of *Phocis*, and beſieged *Elatea*, during which things the Navy under the conduct of *L. Quintius* his Brother, in Conjunction with *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, took two of the moſt conſiderable

Towns

of *Eubœa*, and then prepared to venture for *Corinth*; but by the Conſul's advice, they firſt ſent to the *Achæans* to ſee if they might draw them from *Philip* to their own party.

The *Achæans* joyn with the *Roman* party.

Another Treaty.

Polybius excerpt. è lib. 17.

43. *Ariſtænus* or *Ariſtinetus* (as he is called by *Polybius*) their *Prætor*, laboured to perſwade them by all means to imbrace the ſociety of the *Romans*, at which the *Dymæans* and *Megalopolitans* out of diſtaſte went out of the Council, as unwilling thus to betray *Philip*, and the reſt unanimouſly entered into Alliance with *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, and for that they could not do as much with the *Romans* without conſent of the People at *Rome*, put it off onely till they might ſend their Ambaſſadors thither, and Decreed at the preſent to diſpatch away three to *Lucius Quintius*, and their Army alſo to *Corinth* before which he now lay. The Town was ſtoutly defended by the Inhabitants, and *Androſthenes* the Governour for the King, till ſuch time as *Philocles* came with 1500 freſh men to their relief, after which it ſeemed beſt both to *Attalus* and *Quintius* to raiſe their ſiege, and then *Philocles* had *Argos* betrayed to him. The Conſul in this mean time got *Elatea*, and then taking up his Winter quarters, news came that the *Opuntians* were at odds amongſt themſelves, ſome calling the *Ætolians*, and ſome the *Romans*, deſirous to give up their City to them. The ſtronger and richer part called the *Conſul*, but the Caſtle was ſtill held by the *Macedonians*, who could not be got out by any fair words or foul, and when it ſhould have been ſtormed came an Herauld from *Philip*, deſiring a time and place might be ſet for a meeting to treat again of Peace, which being granted, they met in the Bay near *Nice* at the day appointed, where *Philip* would not come aſhore, for fear as he pretended of the *Ætolians*. Much talk there was on both ſides, the treaty being put off from one day to another; but it being required of the King to quit all *Greece*, he refuſed to do it, having a great deſire to keep *Corinth*, *Chalcis* and *Demetrias*; and then at his requeſt he had leave given him to ſend Ambaſſadors to the *Senate*, and a Truce was made for two moneths.

He ſendeth Ambaſſadors to *Rome*,

44. The *Greeks* ſent their Ambaſſadors alſo, and all came to *Rome*, when the debate was about the Provinces of the new Conſuls, whether one of them ſhould have *Macedonia*, according to the cuſtom, or both ſtay, and carry on the War againſt the *Gaules* then depending: for the *Tribunes* of the people oppoſed the cuſtom, alledging that the reaſon why Wars were ſo lengthned was becauſe there was every year a new General according to the ſucceſſion of the *Conſuls*. This being referred to the Senate, it was thought fit to continue the Command to *Quintius*, and then had all the Ambaſſadors audience. The *Greeks* inveighed ſore againſt *Philip*, and earneſtly laboured that he ſhould not be allowed to hold *Chalcis*, *Corinth*, and *Demetrias*, for otherwiſe *Greece* could have no thoughts of liberty. They alledged it to his own ſaying, that theſe three were the Fetters of *Greece*, and that not without reaſon; for if he held *Corinth*, *Peloponneſus* could have no breathing time: if *Chalcis*, the *Locrians*, *Bœotians*, and *Phocians* durſt not mutter; and if *Demetrias*, the *Theſſalians*, and *Magnetes* ſhould not be able as much as to taſte of liberty: ſeeing therefore he pretended to be willing to quit all other places, this was but a ſhift for the preſent, ſeeing if he was maſter of theſe places he might recover what he had before; therefore they deſired he might either relinquiſh them or that the War might be carried on, ſeeing the greateſt part of it was finiſhed already. The Kings Ambaſſadors beginning a long Oration, were interrupted at the firſt, and asked whether their Maſter would be willing to leave the three Cities: they anſwered they had no Commiſſion to anſwer any thing to that point: and ſo being chidden by the Fathers they made an end, and the affairs of *Greece* were again left to the management of *Quintius*.

To no effect.

Livius ut ſupra.

Polybius excerpt. è lib. 17.

45. *Philip* ſeeing how things went, wrote to *Philocles* to deliver up *Argos* to *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Sparta*, on condition if he proſpered he ſhould again reſtore it to him; but he preſently after his getting into the Town, ſent word to *Quintius*, who giving him a meeting, deſired he would make peace with the *Achæans*, and ſend aid againſt the King; the later of which he promiſed to perform, and as for the peace, granted a Truce for four moneths. *Philip* ſhortly after came down again into *Theſſaly* (it being no policy at all to expect the Enemy in his own Kingdom) which *Quintius* underſtanding marched thither, where wandring after each other, they both at length in a thick miſt came near to ſome Hills, from the likeneſs of the heads of Dogs, called *Cynoſcephalæ*. Here both their foreguard fixing came to the diſcovery of each other, and from the skirmiſhing, and ingagement of them, to a ſet battel, though the King at firſt did not intend it. The victory ſeemed at the

Is overthrown at *Cynoſcephale*

A. M. 3808. *Ol.* 145. *ann.* 4. *V. C.* 557. *Antioch. Mag.* 27. *Ptolom. Epiphanis* 7.

beginning to incline towards the *Macedonians* in one Wing; but the other being overpowred, they both at length were overthrown by the skill and valour of the *Romans*, eight thouſand periſhing, and five thouſand being taken priſoners: Of the *Romans* 700 were ſlain. *Philip*, when he ſaw how things went, fled towards *Tempe*; at the entry of which he ſtayed for ſuch as had eſcaped, and then paſſed through that Countrey into *Macedonia*. The *Romans* coming to plunder the Enemies Camp, found the *Ætolians* got thither before them, at which they ſore repined, and grumbled at their General, as if he expoſed them to danger, and granted the prey to others. *Flaminius* was ſore diſpleaſed to ſee the greedineſs of the *Ætolians* after Prey; and as this gave occaſion to that hatred, which afterwards manifeſted it ſelf, ſo it made him the more willing to agree with the Enemy, that he might not leave them maſters of *Greece*

Idem excerpt. Legation. 6.

46. *Philip* ſent preſently to the *Roman* General to deſire another Treaty about a peace, who receiving them in a Council of Officers, without calling the *Ætolians*, uſed them very reſpectively, and preſently granted a Truce for fifteen dayes. This ſeeming ſtrange to the *Ætolians*, they preſently concluded he was bribed to it by *Philip*, not accounting better of others than according to their own covetous humour; But he being diſpleaſed with them, not onely for the matter of the plunder, but alſo for that they gave out ſleighting words of the *Roman* valour (attributing the good ſucceſs to themſelves) hearing alſo that *Antiochus* King of *Aſia* was coming towards *Europe*, and ſo fearing *Philip* might joyn with him, and then a new Conſul coming might take the glory of concluding the War away from himſelf, he reſolved to make an end of the difference, and appointed a day and place to meet at, to which he ſummoned the Allies. Being met together he willed them to declare their minds concerning the peace, on what terms they would have it made. *Aminander* very modeſtly deſired Proviſions might be made for him, elſe he was like to undergo the malice of *Philip*, who would be able preſently to cruſh him. The *Ætolians* were point blank againſt the peace, ſaying, all would prove fruitleſs, except the *Macedonian* were outed his Kingdom, and that *Quintius*, except he did it, would neither anſwer the expectations of *Greece*, nor of thoſe that ſent him; to which he replied, that it was not the cuſtom of the People at *Rome* utterly to undo at once thoſe with whom they Warred, and that the liberty of *Greece* would better be provided for by the ſtanding of the *Macedonian* Kingdom, ſo weakned as it was like to be, than by the deſtruction of it; ſeeing then it would be obnoxious to the invaſion of the *Thracians* and *Gauls*. The day after arrived Philip himſelf, and the next, coming into a full Council there, very wiſely allayed the heats of all parties againſt him, offering to ratifie the former demands of the *Romans*, and for the reſt to ſubmit himſelf to the pleaſure of the Senate. Therefore four months Truce was granted to him, according to his deſire, and paying to *Quintius* four hundred Talents in ready money, and giving up *Demetrius* his Son, and others for Hoſtages, he had leave to ſend to *Rome* about the concluſion; but with this caution, that if the buſineſs ſhould not ſucceed, he was to have the Hoſtages and Money returned back unto him.

Obtaineth a Truce, and ſending again to *Rome*,

Procureth peace.

Idem excerpt. Legation. l. 7. & 9.

47. Both Senate and People admitted of peace, though *Marcellus* the new Conſul laboured againſt it, out of deſire to be ſent into *Macedonia*. *Philip* was enjoyned, *beſides the ſetting of all* Greece *at liberty, before the celebration of the Iſthmian Games; to reſtore all Captives and Renegadoes; to give up all his covered Gallies except five, and one with ſixteen Oares on a ſide; to pay one thouſand Talents, half at preſent, and the other half in the ſpace of ten years, at ſo many payments.* Into Greece were ſent ten men of the Chief, with whom *Flamininus* was joyned in commiſſion, to compoſe affairs, and reſtore liberty to the ſeveral States thereof, which exceedingly affected all with joy, except the *Ætolians*, who carped at the Decree, and affirmed that *Greece* had only changed its Lords; ſeeing the *Romans* had *Corinth*, *Demetrias*, and *Chalcis*. When the Commiſſioners came to ſit, ſome controverſie indeed aroſe about theſe Towns; for they having it in expreſs charge to ſet all others at liberty, theſe were left to their diſcretion becauſe of *Antiochus*, who, as all men thought, had intentions to attempt ſomething upon *Europe*: therefore *Flamininus* perſwaded them to give up *Corinth* into the hands of the *Achæans*, and keep that Caſtle, *Demetrias* and *Chalcis* in their own power. Then going to the ſolemnity of the *Iſthmian* Games he there pronounced liberty, in that great audience, unto all *Greece*, which ſo affected the hearers, as with admiration of the thing they were ſcarce themſelves.

Livius lib. 39

48. During the War between the *Romans* and *Antiochus*, which ſhortly followed,

lowed, *Philip* behaved himſelf ſuitably enough to the expectation of the Conquerors: afterwards conſidering, and comparing his preſent condition with his former, he grew ſomething impatient, and eſpecially amongſt other things, this vexed him, that power of animadverting upon thoſe *Macedonians* who had revolted in the War, was taken from him; for after that *Antiochus* was overcome, and the War with the *Ætolians* was now in hand, *Acilius* the *Conſul* taking *Heraclea*, and *Philip* beſieging *Lamia*, when he was in a fair way of taking it, he was commanded to depart from it, that ſo it might be ſurrendered to the other. *Acilius* to pacifie him, gave him leave to make War upon *Athamania*, and to recover the Cities which the *Ætolians* had taken from the *Theſſalians*; ſo that he preſently drove out *Aminander* from *Athamania*, recovered divers Cities, amongſt which was *Demetrias*, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the Countrey of the *Magnetes*, and ſome Cities in *Thrace* alſo. This pacified him for the preſent, yet did he not let fall his indignation, but in time of peace made all proviſion poſſible for another War, increaſing his Revenues not onely by Cuſtoms, but by renewing the works of the Mines, and digging others, as alſo taking care for encreaſing the number of his people now exhauſted. Whileſt he thus imployed himſelf, there wanted not an occaſion to inflame his mind anew; for the *Theſſalians* and *Athamanians* ſent to *Rome* to complain of him; *Eumenes* alſo about the Cities of *Thrace*. The Senate not being willing to judge the matter in his abſence, ſent three Commiſſioners into *Greece* to hear and determine it, who ſitting, and hearing all parties as Arbitrators, were ſomething provoked by ſome words he uttered, affirming, that as yet *the Sun of all the dayes he had to live was not ſet:* and all being heard, they Decreed he ſhould withdraw his Guards from all the *Greek* Cities, and that the Kingdom of *Macedonia* ſhould be terminated by its ancient limits. As for the Cities of *Thrace*, much being alledged *pro* and *con*, betwixt him and *Eumenes*; they kept the middle way, reſerving the deciſion of that to the Senate, and ordered in the mean time that his Garriſon-Soldiers ſhould be drawn out of them. The Senate reſolved he ſhould quit them, and all the Maritime Coaſts of *Thrace*; ſo that now being ſufficiently incenſed, he wanted but convenient Forces to make him revolt.

His diſſatisfaction after the War.

49. Being commanded to quit *Ænus* and *Maronea*, with all the Sea Coaſts of *Thrace*, he procured the principal of the *Maronites* who were ſtrongly bent againſt him, to be murdered in the night, and then the *Romans* complaining of it as an unworthy deed, he denied it, and when *Onomaſtus* and *Caſſander* the inſtruments of the fact were required to be ſent to *Rome*, the latter he gave way for to go, but then (it's thought) procured him to be poyſoned in the way, leſt he ſhould tell tales; and as yet his affairs not being ripe for a revolt, he ſent *Demetrius* his younger ſon to *Rome*, to purge himſelf, and deprecate the diſpleaſure of the Senate. Underhand he ſollicited the inhabitants upon the River *Iſter* to break into *Italy*. *Demetrius* had got heretofore ſo much good-will at *Rome*, as coming to have audience in the Senate, though he was abaſhed at that preſence, and the heavy loads of imputations laid upon his Father by the Ambaſſadors of his Enemies, Yet were his Fathers faults paſſed over at this time for his ſake, and ſo much ſignified to *Philip* by *Q. Marcius*, ſent into *Macedonia* to ſee whether he had done all that was injoyned him. Then did he quit all the Cities of *Thrace* inhabited by the *Greeks*, and performed all other things which the *Romans* required, that he might not give any ſuſpition, but get leiſure to provide for the intended War. With *Demetrius* his ſon he was not well pleaſed, for that the Senate making no account of himſelf, had given him the credit of deſerving only favour; but eſpecially *Perſeus* his elder ſon conceived great indignation and malice againſt him, not only for the credit he had at *Rome*, but being jealous he might deprive him thereby of his Father's Kingdom. Indeed the *Macedonians* looking upon *Demetrius* as one to whom they were obliged for ſaving them harmleſs from the *Romans*, deſigned the ſucceſſion to him, whom alſo they held legitimate, but not *Perſeus*, whoſe mother was no better than his Father's Concubine.

He is diſpleaſed at the favour of the *Romans* towards his younger ſon *Demetrius*.

50. *Perſeus* growing more and more ſenſible of the favour his brother was in both with the *Romans* and *Macedonians*, bent his mind to bring him into the jealouſie and hatred of his Father, and thereby to work his deſtruction. His viſit in way of merriment and jollity to him he repreſents as an opportunity taken to make him away, whereby the young man is called for by his angry Father, and is forced with tears to make an apology, to which credit is hardly enough given, ſuſpitions and jealouſies getting ground. At length *Perſeus* accuſeth him of having dealt with them at *Rome* underhand about the Kingdom and place of his Father, who ſends two

Which advantage *Perſeus* his eldeſt ſon improveth, thither to enquire of it, but ſuch as were *Perſeus* his creatures and partners in the plot. *Philip* having a mind to go up to the top of the Mountain *Hæmus*, for to have a view and proſpect of the Country round about, took with him his eldeſt, and ſendeth his youngeſt into *Macedonia* to look unto it, with whom he ſent one *Didas* Governour of *Pæonia* with a ſmall guard. He being alſo one of *Perſeus* his Complices, he gave him in charge to inſinuate into him, and thereby get out his moſt inward intentions, which he eaſily did, the poor young man being reſolved to flie to the *Romans* for ſhelter, and deſirous to uſe his help therein. This is preſently made known to *Perſeus*, and by him with improvement to *Philip*, who having wearied himſelf and Soldiers to little purpoſe, and being troubled with this report, returneth home, caſts *Herodotus*, *Demetrius* his chiefeſt friend into Priſon, and cauſeth him alſo to be narrowly looked to. Some moneths remained the King thus exceedinly troubled and anxious in himſelf till the Ambaſſadors returning from *Rome*, put an end within a ſhort time to his reſolutions.

Livie lib. 40.

And compaſſeth his brothers death by falſe accuſations.

51. Theſe men being returned, feigned grievous accuſations againſt *Demetrius*, and amongſt the reſt brought counterfeited letters as from *Quintius*, wherein *he begs pardon of the King, if the young man had dealt with him in any kind out of his deſire to the Kingdom, but promiſeth he will do nothing againſt any one that belongs to him, for that he would not be accounted for the time to come, the author of any evil purpoſe.* Credit being given hereunto, *Herodotus* is racked to death, confeſſing nothing, and *Demetrius* being again accuſed by his brother of intended flight, is deſtined to die, though for fear of giving any offence to the *Romans*, and diſcovering his intentions againſt them, it's reſolved to be done cunningly. Being ſent to *Æſtræum* a Town of *Pæonia*, and thence called to *Heraclea*, he is there firſt poyſoned by *Didas*, crying out againſt the cruelty of his Father, the parricide of his Brother, and wickedneſs of *Didas*. Being tormented with the working of the Poyſon, two luſty Ruffians were let into the room, who ſtifled him with the Tapeſtry, and ſo the innocent young man was murdered. His Father within a year or two fell into a ſad melancholy for the loſs of him, which being perceived by one *Antigonus* the ſon of *Echecrates*, and Nephew alſo to *Antigonus* who was *Philips* Father, he having been alwayes a faithful friend to the King, laboured to diſcover to him the whole device, and brought to him one *Xyetius*, who was privy to the whole deſign. He laid open the ſeries of all things to him. Hereupon *Philocles* one of the Ambaſſadors that were ſent to *Rome* being preſent, was put to death: *Apelles* the other, hearing the buſineſs was come out, fled into *Italy*, *Perſeus* onely kept him out of ſight, but his Father intending to fruſtrate his expectations of the Kingdom, which he ſo wickedly ſought after, declared *Antigonus* his heir and ſucceſſor, ſaying, he had rather his Kingdom ſhould be deſtroyed, than ever come into the hands of *Perſeus*. Not long after being ſpent with extreme grief and melancholy, and having commended *Antigonus* to the States of *Macedonia*, and uttered many a bitter curſe againſt *Perſeus*, he died at *Amphipolis*, after he had reigned 44 years. A. M. 3826, the ſecond of the 150 *Olympiad*, 146 years after the death of Alexander the Great.

A. M. 3824.
Ol. 149. *an.* 4.
V. C. 572.
Seleuci. Philop. 6.
Ptolom. Epiph. 22.

The device is diſcovered,

Whereat *Philip* laboureth to diſinherit *Perſeus* and dieth of Melancholy.

A. M. 3826.
Ol. 150. *an.* 2.
V. C. 575.
Seleuci. Philop. 9.
Ptol. Philom. 2.

Yet *Perſeus* getteth the Kingdom, and reſolveth to renew the War with the *Romans*.

52. Had *Philip* lived a little longer, *Antigonus* had got poſſeſſion of the Kingdom by his means; but things being not now ripe, he loſt it by the procurement of the Kings Phyſician, who when he ſaw there was no hopes of life, ſent and acquainted *Perſeus* with it, and kept cloſe his death till his arrival, ſo that then having opportunity to oppreſs his Enemies not once thinking of it, he obtained the Kingdom. Being a little ſetled therein, he cauſed *Antigonus* to be ſlain, and then ſent to *Rome* to renew the League made with his Father, and to deſire that he might be owned as King, doing this only to ſecure himſelf for the preſent, and intending as ſoon as his affairs would permit, to make uſe of the preparation his Father had made for another War; as it afterwards proved. His Father a little before his death had prevailed with the *Baſtarnæ*, who lived near the River *Iſter*, to leave their ancient ſeat, and come and live in the Countrey of the *Dardanians*, which he intended to give unto them, that there leaving their Wives and Children, they might together with the *Scordiſci* (who being ſome of thoſe *Galls* that invaded *Thrace*, had ſeated themſelves at the meeting of *Danubius* and *Sabus*, and ſo called themſelves) invade *Italy*. They re-entred *Thrace* again with quietneſs, but after *Philips* death falling out with the Inhabitants, and purſuing them to the Mountains, they were ſet upon with ſuch a Tempeſt as ſeized on the *Galls* at *Delphi*, and being preſſed alſo by the *Thracians*, onely thirty thouſand got into *Dardania*, the reſt of the Multidude returning back beyond *Danubius*. Thoſe that arrived in *Dardania* now did *Perſeus*

Livius lib. 41.

ſtir up againſt the Inhabitants as much as poſſible, which being diſtaſteful to the *Romans*, their Ambaſſadors alſo returning from *Carthage*, reported to the Senate that he held intelligence with them there; for his Ambaſſadors had private audience of them by night, and others were ſent by them into *Macedonia*.

Livius lib. 41.

53. About this time ſome of the *Dolopians* refuſing to obey him, and willing to ſubmit their cauſe to the *Roman* Senate, he went down, and by force brought all their Countrey into his power; he laboured then to curry favour with ſeveral Cities of *Achaia* and *Theſſaly* in his paſſage, and either ſent or wrote to ſeveral others in *Greece*; deſiring them that an end might be put to the ancient grudges betwixt his Father and them; the *Achæans* eſpecially. The *Roman* Senate upon the report of the ſtirs in *Dardania*, ſent three to ſee how matters went, but he refuſed to ſee them; it being alleged ſometimes that he was abſent, and otherwhiles that he was ſick; but it clearly appeared to them that he was providing for the War, and ſo much the more, for that the *Ætolians* were now ſo ſeditious, as though their commiſſions gave them power to take up the differences amongſt them, yet could they not prevail by their authority. Indeed now he was better provided to make War than the *Romans* to reſiſt, having thirty thouſand Foot, with five thouſand Horſe, in a readineſs, and proviſions too for ten years. *Thrace* was at Peace with him, and though he was ſo infamous for his cruelty, not onely in reſpect of his brother's death, but alſo the killing of *Apelles*, whom he uſed as an inſtrument in that buſineſs, and alſo for making away his Wife, and upon other accounts, yet either out of reverence to the Court of *Macedonia*, or by reaſon of their emulation againſt the *Romans*, were both the *Greeks* and *Aſiaticks* generally more favourable to him than to *Eumenes* the King of *Pergamus*, though of a clean contrary diſpoſition. *Eumenes* himſelf came to *Rome* to complain againſt him; to anſwer to whoſe accuſations he ſent Ambaſſadors, and with them the *Rhodians*, who inclined to his ſide, and as *Eumenes* returned home, he moſt baſely ſent ſome to murder him, whom though that King eſcaped as to his life, yet was he ſore wounded in the ſtraight paſſage to the Temple at *Delphi*: This as it loſt *Perſeus* much with his friends, ſo it made him be the ſooner declared an Enemy by the *Romans*.

His bad carriage towards *Eumenes* maketh him the ſooner be declared an Enemy.

54. It was thought good that ſome forces ſhould be raiſed to be in a readineſs, and that certain Commiſſioners ſhould be ſent into *Greece* to retain the States in their fidelity, with Soldiers alſo to put into ſuch places as wanted. He perceiving their reſolutions, began to repent himſelf and procured a truce, that he might ſend Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, the Commiſſioners giving way to it, for that they knew him in a good poſture for War, and themſelves unprovided as yet; but the Senate for all this would not grant him Peace, his faults being ſo aggravated againſt him, that the War was denounced. *P. Licinius Craſſus* the *Conſul* being ſent againſt him, he had the better of it in an ingagement; but yet his heart failed him, ſo contrary to his former humour, as that then he ſent and deſired Peace, offering to perform all his Father was tied to; but had anſwer by the ſtout *Romans*, that on no other terms could it be granted, except he abſolutely referr himſelf and Kingdom to the courteſie of the Senate, and caſt all into their hands. After this he ſent to *Genthius* King of the *Illyrians*, to draw him to his party, having taken divers Towns from him, and might have done himſelf good thereby had he not been beſotted; for that Prince was inclinable enough to him, onely he ſaid, he wanted money, which though he had enough by him, yet neglected he to ſend. He laboured alſo to draw into his aid *Cotys* King of *Thrace*, and ſubdued again the *Dardanians*, but *Quem vult Jupiter perdere, dementat prius. Q. Marcius Philippus* coming againſt him, by reaſon of the difficulty of the wayes, and want of proviſions, might eaſily have been utterly defeated; but he cried out he was conquered, without fighting ran away, left the Streights open for his Enemy, ſent to *Theſſalonica* to burn his Ships, to *Pella* to caſt his treaſures into the Sea, and then being angry with the Meſſengers, the one for that he had not obeyed him, the other for that he had, he put them both to death, and recovering moſt of his treaſure, by thoſe that dived, out of the water, onely ſatisfied himſelf for this madneſs, by recovering *Dius* which had been taken by the Enemy.

Idem lib. 42. 43, 44.

He deſireth Peace which will not now be granted.

His conſternation of mind.

A. M. 3836.
Ol. 152. *an.* 4.
V. C. 585.
Ant. Epiphanis 8.
Ptol. Philom. 12.

55. *L. Paulus Æmelius* the Conſul was at length ſent againſt him, who found ſome difficulty at firſt to come at him, having incamped himſelf near the Sea under the mountain *Olympus*; but *Scipio Naſica* getting over a Rock led the way, and then *Perſeus* retired, and pitched his Tents near to *Pydna*. The Conſul was warie of ingaging with him (who now had an Army of thirty nine thouſand Foot, and four thouſand Horſe) his own men being tired; but the night before the fight, the Moon being eclypſed, ſo terrified the *Macedonians*, that they accounted it to preſage the

Livius ibid.

Plutarch in Æmilio.

ruine

He is overthrown,

Yieldeth himſelf, and dieth in cuſtody after two years.

ruine of their Kingdom, which made the *Romans* (to whom it was foretold on purpoſe) more eagerly to begin the fight. *Cato* ſon to *M. Cato*, and ſon in Law to the Conſul, behaved himſelf ſo ſtoutly, as this encouraged the reſt, and thereby he was the means to gain the victory. Of the *Macedonians* were ſlain twenty thouſand, and ſix thouſand taken; of the Conquerours but one hundred loſt their lives. *Perſeus* fled to *Amphipolis*, and finding there no relief, ſayled to *Samothrace*, where hoping to be ſecure in that ſanctuary, *Cn. Octavius* the Admiral being ſent after him, promiſed by the voice of a Crier ſafety and freedom to all that would come in, whereby he was forſaken of almoſt all his followers, and *Ion* of *Theſſalonica* gave up his young children into the hands of the *Romans*. He thought now of eſcaping to *Crete*; but, being left thus, gave up himſelf and eldeſt ſon to *Octavius*, when he had reigned eleven years; and after being led in Triumph by the Conſul was caſt into Priſon at *Alba*, where for ſeven dayes he lay in a moſt ſad condition, till through the importunity of *Æmilius* it was changed into a better. Two years he thus continued, and then through the deſire of life and liberty, encouraging himſelf in new and vain hopes, ended his dayes, ſome ſay through the barbarouſneſs of his Keepers, who would not ſuffer him to take any reſt, but others, by courſe of nature in free cuſtody, having his Funeral diſcharged at the publick coſt. Thus ended this *Macedonian* Kingdom, being changed into a free State through the ſeeming bounty of the Conquerours, A. M. 3837. the firſt of the 153 *Olympiad*, 156 years after the death of *Alexander* the Great.

CHAP. V.

The *Aſian* and *Syrian* Kingdom.

From the death of Seleucus, *to the reducing of* Syria *into the form of a* Roman *Province by* Pompey, *containing the ſpace of two hundred and twenty years.*

Plutarch. in Demetrio. Valerius Maximus lib. 5. cap. 7. Appianus in Syriacis.

Antiochus the ſon of *Seleucus* falling in love with his Father's wife hath her granted to him.

I. FOur or five years after the death of *Caſſander*, it hapned that *Antiochus* the eldeſt ſon of *Seleucus* fell in love with *Stratonice*, daughter to *Demetrius* (which woman we ſaid before that *Seleucus* married, after her father was overthrown, and beaten out of *Aſia*) and for that he was aſhamed to reveal his affection, pined away, and reſolved to ſtarve himſelf, had not his diſeaſe been diſcovered by *Eraſiſtratus* the Phyſician, by the changing of his countenance when ſhe came in or out, and by other tokens. *Seleucus*, who was ready to redeem his ſons life with his own blood, preſently gave him her to wife, though he had a Child by her; and that the buſineſs might ſeem to proceed of himſelf, calling his Army together, he declared it to be his pleaſure to make them two *King* and *Queen* of all the upper Countreys, having married them together; and that he thought his ſon, who had hitherto been obedient to him in all other things, would alſo herein be ruled by him; but if his wife ſhould diſtaſte ſo unuſual a thing, he deſired his friends to ſhew and perſwade her, that whatſoever the King ſhould think fit, and the affairs of State required, that ſhe ought to account of as juſt, and fitting. After this he took *Demetrius* her father, and impriſoned him in the *Cherſoneſus* of *Syria*, where he died, after three years as was before ſaid, and within a year after his death fought his laſt (and the laſt of *Alexanders* Companions) battel with *Lyſimachus*, in which he being Conquerour, and his Enemy ſlain, left *Aſia* wholly to his ſon, having a deſire to go into *Macedonia* (where he had never been ſince he came over with *Alexander*) and end his dayes in his Native Countrey. But as he was journeying towards *Lyſimachia*, he was traiterouſly ſlain by *Ptolomy Ceraunus* whom he had lovingly entertained, A. M. 3722. twenty three years after he had taken the title of King, being aged 73. and 42 after the death of *Alexander*. From his Conqueſts he was called *Nicanor* and *Nicator*, and is reported to have had the

A. M. 3712. *Ol.* 121. *ann.* 4. *V. C.* 461. *Seleuci* 20. *Ptol. Lagi* 31.

Vide Juſtin. lib. 25.

the print of an Anchor on his Thigh, and his poſterity alſo after him, as a note of their Original.

Appian in Syriacis. Memnon excerpt. cap. 16. &c.

Succeedeth his father.

2. *Antiochus* ſucceeded his father, and was ſirnamed *Soter* from repelling the *Gauls*, which in his time at the invitation of *Mithridates* King of *Bithynia* had ſeized on part of *Aſia.* Having with many battels recovered (though not all) his Fathers Kingdom from divers, which now begun ſeverally to pluck the parts of ſo great a body, he ſent over a ſtrong party under the command of *Patrocles* beyond *Taurus*, who took to himſelf *Hermogenes* for his Lieutenant. He intended amongſt other places to fall upon *Heraclea* a City of *Pontus*; but the Inhabitants coming out, and pacifying him, he made a League with them, and thence through *Phrygia* invaded *Bithynia*, where in an ambuſh laid for him he was cut off, though he fout ſtoutly with his whole Army, after which *Zipætes* the King built a City upon the Hill *Lyperus*, which being called after his own name became famous, and not long after he dying, left his Kingdom to *Nicomedes* his eldeſt ſon. Againſt hm *Antiochus* being about to undertake an Expedition, he craved help of thoſe of *Heraclea*, promiſing them to requite them with the like favour in their neceſſity, which they took as an occaſion to fall off again, and break the League made with *Hermogenes*; and partly by force, and partly by purchaſe recovered divers places taken from them, and attempting to do ſo by *Ameſtris*, which one *Eumenes* held, he choſe rather, out of anger, to deliver up the Town to *Ariobarzanes* the ſon of *Mithridates*, than to ſell it to them. Not long after *Antiochus* and *Antigonus Gonatas* being at difference, and preparing for the War on both ſides, *Nicomedes* joyned himſelf with *Antigonus*, againſt whom therefore the other thought firſt to try his ſtrength. *Mithridates* fortifying himſelf, procured 13 Gallies from *Heraclea*, which adding to his own Fleet, he went againſt that of *Antiochus*, but facing one another for ſome time, they departed at length without a fight.

A.M. 3728. *Ol.* 124. *an.* 3. *V. C.* 472. *Ptol.Philad.* 3.

His Wars.

Antigonus Gonatus maketh a League with him.

3. *Antigonus Gonatas* being reſolved to venture for *Macedonia* (where his father *Demetrius Poliorcetes* once reigned) though he had already been overthrown by *Ptolomy Ceraunus*, who now held that Kingdom, made a League with *Antiochus.* This Prince might be the more willing to imbrace it, by reaſon that the *Gauls* were now come into *Aſia*, brought by *Nicomedes* of *Bithynia* to help him againſt *Zybæus* (or *Zipatus*) the younger, who held from him (whether his brother or no is uncertain) the Maritime part of that Countrey. After they had helped him to recover *Bithynia*, they harraſed all the Countreys far and wide, and though they were but twenty thouſand, and of them but half fighting men, yet ſtruck they ſuch a Terrour into all Nations on this ſide *Taurus*, as moſt, though they had never ſeen them, ſubmitted unto them. But *Antiochus*, as we have it from *Appian*, repelled them from his Territories, and thence, for ſaving the Countrey harmleſs, had the name of *Soter* or *Saviour*, having before ſent as aid into *Greece* five hundred men againſt their Countrey-men, under the conduct of *Teleſarchus* the *Syrian.* After this having married his daughter *Apame* to *Magas* King of *Cyrene*, and brother to *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, he was perſwaded by his Son-in-Law to break the League which his father *Seleucus* had made with *Ptolomy*, and invade *Egypt*; but as he was about to do this, and was gathering forces for it, *Ptolomy* ſent ſeveral parties of Soldiers into all the Countreys over which he reigned, whereof ſome acting the parts of Robbers, and others of Enemies, diverted him from his purpoſe. The laſt ingagement he was in that we read of, was with *Eumenes*, the firſt King of *Pergamus*, near *Sardis*, from whom he received an overthrow.

He repelleth the *Galls*, and thence hath the name of *Soter.*

Pauſan. in Phocicis.

Idem in Atticis.

Strabo lib. 13.

The Original of the Kingdom of *Pergamus.*

Strabo ibid. &

4. For there was one *Philetærus* an Eunuch born at *Tios* in *Paphlagonia*, and belonging to *Lyſimachus* who made him Keeper of his Treaſure placed at *Pergamus*, which he built very ſtrong upon the Hill. He continued very faithful to him, till ſuch time as *Arſione* cauſed him to murder *Agathocles* his eldeſt Son, at which he being troubled, and thereupon ſhe accuſing him to her husband, he revolted from him, and ſending to *Seleucus* offered himſelf, and the money to him: then in the troubles betwixt them two ſo cunningly behaved himſelf, as he kept poſſeſſion, and alwayes fawning upon, and obliging the next, and moſt potent Prince, remained Maſter of the place and Treaſure for twenty years; For *Seleucus* being murdered by *Ptolomy Ceraunus*, he redeemed the body with a great ſum of Gold, and ſent the aſhes thereof to this *Antiochus Soter* his Son. This *Philoterus* had two brothers, *Eumenes* and *Attalus*, the former of which had a Son of his own name, who ſucceeded his deceaſed Uncle, and having in his poſſeſſion the places lying about *Pergamus*, overthrew *Antiochus* (who now it ſeemeth counted him an incroaching neighbour) as we ſaid before. *Antiochus* alſo built a City in *Syria*, which he called by his wives

Pauſan. in Atticis.

name *Apamea*, and after that another of the ſame name called after his mother, who was the daughter of *Artabazus*; herein imitating his Father. At length having killed one Son, and nominated another his Succeſſor, he died, after he had reigned nineteen years, A. M. 3742. the ſecond of the one hundred twenty nine *Olympiad*.

Prolog. in Trogi Pomp. lib. 26.

Antiochus Theos from whom the *Parthians* revolt,

Appian in Syriacis.

* *Lib.* 41.

5. *Antiochus* his ſon ſucceeded him, ſirnamed *Theos* moſt prophanely by the *Mileſians*, becauſe he rid them of *Timarchus* their Tyrant. From him the *Parthians* firſt revolted, who being (as * *Juſtin* out of *Trogus* tells us) Exiles out of *Scythia* (in the language of which Countrey *Parthus* ſignifieth ſuch an one) were very obſcure under the Government of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, and being Conquered by *Alexander*, when none of his Captains after his death would accept of the Soveraignty over them, fell to the lot of *Satagenor* a ſtranger, but a friend to the *Macedonians*. They followed firſt *Eumenes* in the Civil Wars; after his death *Antigonus*, and then ſubmitted themſelves to *Seleucus* and his Succeſſors, till now they took occaſion to revolt at the inſtigation of *Arſaces*. We muſt know that *Arſaces* and *Tiridates* were two Brothers, the ſons of *Arſaces* and Grand-ſons of *Phriapitus*. The ſecond or *Tiridates* was attempted by *Pherocles* the *Satrapa* of *Parthia* to be carnally and filthily abuſed, and diſcovered the Villany to *Arſaces* his Brother. They taking to their aſſiſtance five other Conſpirators, ſet upon *Pherocles*, killed him, and then called on the *Parthians* to ſtand up for their liberty, and drove out the *Macedonians*. For this valiant Act performed the *Parthians* gave the title of King to *Arſaces* as to whoſe name all Writers agree, though not to that of the *Perſian Satrapa*, whom ſome call by that of *Agathocles*. At the ſame time *Theodotus* the Governour of the one thouſand *Bactrian* Cities revolted alſo, which the people of the Eaſt uſing for a pattern, in like manner fell off from *Antiochus*. He waged many Wars with *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, till ſuch time as both being weary they contracted an Alliance, *Ptolomy* giving his daughter *Berenice* to the other, who had two ſons already, *Seleucus* and *Antiochus*, by *Laodice* his former Wife. Herein that Prophecie of *Daniel* is taken to be fulfilled, which ſaith, that *in the end of years they ſhall joyn themſelves together; for the Kings daughter of the South ſhall come to the King of the North, to make an agreement.* ***But***, as it followeth, *ſhe ſhall not retain the power of the Arm, neither ſhall he ſtand nor his Arm*, &c. For, *Philadelphus* dying ſhortly after, *Antiochus* took again his former Wife *Laodice*, who being ſenſible of the injury, and fearing her husbands inconſtancy, poyſoned him, after he had reigned 15 years.

Strabo lib. 11.

And the Eaſtern Provinces.

Cap. 11. *verſ.* 6

Appian in Syriacis.

Idem. ibid.

Juſtin lib. 27.

Seleucus ſirnamed *Callinicus* and *Pogon.*

6. *Lacdice* his wife kept his death cloſe, till ſuch time as ſhe had ſecured the Kingdom to *Seleucus* her eldeſt ſon, ſirnamed for his victories (though of none but one we read) *Callinicus*, and from his beard *Pogon*. The next thing ſhe went about was to make away *Berenice*, who underſtanding that ſome were ſent to kill her ſhut up her ſelf in *Daphne*, a Town near *Antioch*, and when ſhe was beſieged, news flying about the Cities of *Aſia*, they commiſerated her condition, and out of reſpect of her Fathers and Grandfathers Dignity, ſent men to her relief. But above all, her brother *Ptolomy Euergetes* being affrighted at her danger, haſtened out of his Kingdom with his whole power. Yet ere any relief could come ſhe was taken by treachery (promiſe of ſafety being made to her) and quickly ſlain; at which baſe and unworthy act the Cities conceiving great indignation, provided a great Fleet, and to revenge her death, gave up themſelves to *Ptolomy*, who invading *Syria* ſlew *Laodice*, ſeized upon *Cæleſyria*, with *Seleucia*, got into his hands *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and the upper Provinces beyond *Euphrates*, and almoſt all *Aſia*, even as far as *Bactria*. Without doubt he had conquered all *Seleucus* his Kingdom, had he not been forced by a Domeſtick Sedition to return, after whoſe departure *Seleucus* having prepared a great Fleet for the reducing of thoſe Cities which revolted from him, loſt it in a great Tempeſt, at the which they were ſo far from rejoycing, that pitying him for this Shipwrack, they voluntarily returned to obedience.

A. M. 3759.
Ol. 133. *ann.* 3.
V. C. 508.
Ptol. Euerget. 1.

Ptolomy Euergetes revengeth the death of his ſiſter *Berenice.*

Idem. ibid.

He invadeth *Ptolomy* and thence is caſt into great ſtreights.

7. Rejoycing that he fared ſo well by his ſhipwrack, he now made War upon *Ptolomy*, but being overthrown fled to *Antioch* in great fear, being as deſtitute as before, though he found not ſuch relief. For, writing to his younger brother *Antiochus*, he craved his help, offering him all *Aſia* within the Mountain *Taurus* for a reward, (who though he was but yet fourteen years old) being greedy of reigning imbraced this occaſion, and then behaved not himſelf not as an helper or brother, but like a Robber, intending to get the whole Kingdom. He ſhewed incredible boldneſs in invading and ſnatching, whence he had the Sirname of *Hierax* or

Goſhauck.

Antiochus Hierax his brother rebelleth.

Arſaces perfecting his revolt eſtabliſheth his *Parthian* Kingdom.

Goſhauck. *Ptolomy* hearing of his aiding his Brother, leſt he ſhould have two to deal with at once, made peace with *Seleucus* for ten years; and then *Antiochus* hiring the *Gauls*, with them made War upon his Brother in the other's ſtead, in which he had the better of it, and they ſuppoſing *Seleucus* to be ſlain in the Battel (that cutting off all the Royal Race they might be Lords of *Aſia*) turned their force againſt him that hired them; ſo that *Antiochus* was glad to purchaſe his freedom with Gold, and enter into ſociety with his Mercenaries. The two Brothers being thus at odds, and every one gaping after *Aſia*, *Eumenes* of *Bithinia* puts in amongſt the reſt, and overthrowing the *Gauls*, and after them *Antiochus*, got a great part of it into his poſſeſſion. Now alſo *Arſaces* hearing of the diſtreſs of *Seleucus*, perfected the revolt of the *Parthians*; for, invading that Country with a Band of Robbers, he ſlew the Governour *Andragorus*, and invaded the Principality, and not long after ſeizing on the Kingdom of the *Hyrcanians*, ſo ſtrengthened himſelf thereby, that after ſome years he overthrew *Seleucus*, and eſtabliſhed his Kingdom. Hence a double Epoche is to be made of the *Parthian* Kingdom or Dominion. Of theſe the firſt is to be fetched from the Revolt of the *Parthians* from *Antiochus Theos*; and the ſecond from the famous Victory obtained over this *Seleucus Callinicus*; and ſo ſeveral diſſenting Writers may be reconciled. But hence the *Parthians* accounting ever after the day of this Victory as the day of their Liberty, conſtantly obſerved it, and *Arſaces* being no leſs memorable to them than *Cyrus* to the *Perſians*, *Alexander* to the *Macedonians*, or *Romulus* to the *Romans*; out of honour to him they called all their Kings by his name. This beginning of *Arſaces* fell out in the firſt of the 135 *Olympiad*, of the City 510, the ſecond of *Seleucus*, and the third of *Ptolomy Energetes*. A. M. 3761.

Idem lib. 41.

The two brothers renew the War and Dye.

8. Now underſtanding that *Eumenes* had got the greateſt part of *Aſia* into his power, and both the brothers had even loſt their Principalities, yet could they not agree, but in ſtead of oppoſing the foreign and common Enemies, ſought the deſtruction of each other, by renewing the War. In the next battle *Antiochus* was overthrown, and flying many dayes, and not knowing how to beſtow himſelf, at length being wearied he went to *Artamenes* King of *Cappadocia* his Father in Law, by whom at firſt being received very civilly, he afterwards underſtood there was a plot laid againſt him, and fled thence. Whereupon not knowing where to be ſecure, he betook himſelf to *Ptolomy*, judging he might rather truſt to him then his brother, being (as well he might be) mindful of what he would have done to him, or had deſerved of him. *Ptolomy* commanded him to be narrowly looked to; but by the help of a certain Harlot with whom he had been too familiar, he deceived his Keepers and got away. Yet as he was flying he was ſlain by thieves. *Seleucus* alſo almoſt at the ſame time, being outed of his Kingdom, and thrown by an horſe, ended his life, after he had reigned about twenty years. A. M. 3779, the third of the one hundred thirty eight *Olympiad*, 98 years after the death of *Alexander*.

Idem. lib. 27.

Antiochus the Great.

9. He left two ſons, *Seleucus* and *Antiochus* of which the former ſucceeded according to his birthright, in the ſeventh year of *Antigonus Doſon* King of *Macedonia*, and was Sirnamed *Ceraunus*. *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, who had got ſo much of *Aſia* into his power now being dead of Drunkenneſs, *Attalus* his younger brother's Son ſucceeded him, and had got all on this ſide *Taurus* into his power, which being underſtood by *Seleucus Ceraunus*, he thought it concern'd him to look about him, and with *Achæus* (whoſe Father *Andromachus* was brother to *Laodice* his wife) paſſed over *Taurus* with an Army againſt him: but then was poyſoned in *Phrygia* by the treachery of *Apaturius* a *Galatian*, and *Nicanor*, after he had reigned ſcarce three years. *Achæus* to revenge his death preſently ſlew the conſpirators, and then ordering the Army with great wiſdom and courage, recovered all on this ſide the Mountain *Taurus*, which had been loſt; inſomuch that the People admiring him would have accepted of him as King, if he would have taken this opportunity; but he refuſed it, and kept the Soveraignty for *Antiochus* brother to *Seleucus*, who afterwards was called the Great. He in his brothers time lived a private life in the upper Provinces, and now was called from *Babylon* by the Army into *Syria*, to take upon him the Government, being about fifteen years old; after which he entruſted *Achæus* with all that Region he had lately recovered, made *Molon* Governour of *Media* and his brother *Alexander* of the Country of *Perſis*.

Seleucus Ceraunus.

Polybius lib. 4
Appian in Syriacis.

A. M. 3779.
Ol. 138. *an.* 3.
V. C. 528.
Ptolom. Euergetæ 21.

10. He fell into great troubles immediately upon his firſt entrance upon the Kindom; for *Molon* and his brother conſidering his youth, and hoping that *Achæus* would joyn with them in their enterprize, eſpecially out of fear and hatred

Polyb. lib. 5.

of

Falleth immediately into great troubles by the means of *Hermias*,

of one *Hermias*, who now ruled all at Court, conſpired together to withdraw all the upper Provinces from their allegiance. This *Hermias* a *Carian* by birth, had been left by *Seleucus* to look to his Kingdom when he took his Expedition over *Taurus*, and then being ſet in ſo high a place, began to envy the power of all others, grew proud and cruel, his malice above all others being againſt *Epigenes*, who had been *Seleucus* his General; for that he ſaw him to be a wiſe and prudent man, and the Army much at his devotion. A Council being called to conſult about the Rebellion, *Epigenes* adviſed that the King ſhould go in perſon to ſuppreſs it; for thereby the Rebels would either be terrified and deſiſt, or the Country at his preſence would be moved to croſs their deſigns, and deliver them up; but *Hermias* interrupting him, imputed this to a deſire that the Kingdom ſhould miſcarry, that thereby he might ſeize upon his eſtate, and prevailed that two others ſhould be ſent againſt *Molo*, and the King go againſt *Ptolomy Philopater* (who now thinking himſelf ſecure in the youth of *Antiochus*, and *Philip* of *Macedonia*, had given himſelf up to all luxury) hoping thereby to have an eaſie War of it, for that he was of a cowardly diſpoſition, and hoped by expoſing the young King to dangers and hazards, to eſcape the puniſhment due unto him, and maintain that power he already enjoyed. *Antiochus* being very young, was very earneſt to get *Cæleſyria*, and *Hermias* to prick him ſtill forward, framed a letter from *Achæus*, wherein he tells he is deſired by *Ptolomy* to take the Diadem and aſſume the title of King to himſelf, promiſing to ſend him ſhips,money, and all things neceſſary for that enterpriſe.

Who procureth him to march againſt *Ptolomy*, though *Molon* rebelled.

11. Having married firſt *Laodice* daughter of *Mithridates* King of *Cappadocia*, he prepared for his Expedition, when news came that *Molon* went on with his deſign, and how the Captains ſent againſt him, out of fear had ſecured themſelves in Garriſons. Hereupon he bent his mind to go himſelf, but *Hermias* being tenacious of his purpoſe, again diverted him, telling him, it was fitter for Subjects to fight againſt ſuch, and Kings againſt their equals, and ſo ſending one *Xinætas* an *Achæan* againſt *Molon*, again turned his mind now obnoxious to him for want of years. Then marched they to *Laodicea*, and thence through the Deſart to the Valley called *Marſya*, lying between the Mountains of *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*, where about the Straights he took in divers Towns; but the principal Fort held out and put him to a ſtand, which made him the more deſirous to go now againſt *Molon*; For *Xinætas*, who was ſent againſt him with full power,growing arrogant and careleſs,had raſhly ventured over the River *Tigris*,and then *Molon* making as if he fled ,came upon him in the night, and cut him off with moſt of his men, and thoſe that eſcaped the Sword taking the River, ſcarce any got to the other ſide. After this, *Molon* purſuing his Victory took *Seleucia*, all the upper Provinces, the Principality of *Babylon*, thoſe parts lying upon the Red Sea,all about *Tigris* as far as *Europus*, and *Meſopotamia* as far as *Dura*; onely the Caſtle at *Suſa* ſtood out, the Town being taken; *Antiochus* at this report called a Council to conſult what was to be done, where *Epigenes* expoſtulating that his former advice was not followed, moved the ſame again; but was taken up as before by *Hermias*, with foul language, who deſired the King he would not think of leaving *Cæleſyria*; but all being for going againſt *Molon*, it was concluded, and he was glad to comply for his own turn.

A. M. 3783.
Ol. 139. *an.* 3.
V.C. 532.
Antioch. M. 2.
Ptol.Philom. 1.

He is neceſſitated to go againſt *Molon*.

12. The Army before it ſtirred mutinied for pay, and then *Hermias* taking advantage at the Kings neceſſity; offered to lay down money, on condition *Epigenes* might be removed from his preſence, which having obtained, he procured the man to be murdered. The Army marched and came to *Antioch* in *Mygdonia* at the Winter ſolſtice, where ſtaying forty dayes till the extremity of the cold was over, after forty dayes it came to *Liba*, *Molon* then lying at hand about *Babylon*. Here a Conncil of War being called to conſult which way was to be taken, that they might not fail of Proviſions; *Hermias* was for going along by *Tigris*, that it, and two other Rivers, *Lycus* and *Kapros*, they might have for a defence; but *Zeuxis*, though fearful to ſpeak becauſe of him, ſhewed the danger of that advice, becauſe it would be a great compaſs, and after ſix dayes travel through a Deſart, they ſhould come to a place called *The Kings Ditch*, which if the Enemy got before them, they ſhould in no wiſe be able to paſs, and be reduced into great ſtraights for want of Victuals; but on the contrary, if they paſſed over *Tigris*, there was no doubt but the Inhabitants of the Countrey called *Apolloniatis* would return to obedience, obeying *Molon* at preſent out of neceſſity; further, in that plentiful Countrey they ſhould have plentiful of Victuals, and (what was moſt conſiderable) *Molon* would be hindered from retreating into *Media*, and thereby being ſtraightned, after that

the place where he yet remained was emptied of proviſions, would be forced to fight, or if he durſt not do that, then his Soldiers would revolt to the King. This counſel being taken, all things fell out accordingly ; for *Molon* fearing his paſſage into *Media* might be ſtopped, little truſting thoſe parts in which he then was, determined to get if he could, to the hilly Country of *Apolloniatis* ; but it hapned that the Scouts of both parties met there, and skirmiſhing for ſome time, afterwards retreated to their ſeveral Bodies, and ſo gave occaſion to a total ingagement the day following.

13, *Molon* conſidering how dangerous it was to bring his Soldiers forth in open face againſt their King, thought it the beſt way to chuſe out the moſt ſtrong and valiant, and ſet upon his Camp in the night. Going about to do this, ten young men went over to the King and told him the deſign of the Rebels, ſo that *Molon* was glad to return, and put his other Army left behind him into ſuch an Alarm, for that they were ignorant of the enterpriſe, that much ado he had to quiet them. The King being provided to fight, drew out his men by break of day, and placed them in batalia ; *Molon* could but do it in great diſorder and confuſion, by reaſon of that conſternation which fell upon his men in the night. In the fight which preſently followed, the right Wing of his Army ſtood faſt to him, and fought very earneſtly, but the left as ſoon as it came in ſight all revolted, which he underſtanding, now compaſſed in with Enemies, and conſidering the torments he was likely to undergo if taken alive, killed himſelf, and ſo did all his companions in the conſpiracy, but his body being found was nailed, for an example, to a croſs in the higheſt parts of *Media.* After this Victory *Antiochus* ſetled the affairs of theſe Countries, dealing more mercifully with his Subjects than was deſired by *Hermias*, and then reſolved to invade the Territories of the *Barbarians* lying upon his borders, to terrifie them from aſſiſting his rebels for the time to come ; which *Hermias* diſliked for the danger of the War, his mind ſtill running upon *Cæleſyria*, but news being brought that a young ſon was born to the King, he was content he ſhould expoſe himſelf to this danger, hoping that in caſe he ſhould miſcarry he muſt be made Guardian and Protector of the infant, but he was ignorant that his juſt reward hung over his head. For one *Artabazanes*, his Country being invaded, being unfit for reſiſtance becauſe of old age, made Peace with *Antiochus*, ſubmitting to whatſoever he demanded, and at the ſame time *Apollophanes* the Phyſician to the King, and his great favourite, perceiving *Hermias* not able to bear that high condition to which he was advanced, any longer, being ſollicious for his Maſters ſafety, and much more for his own, ſo wrought the King (inclinable enough to it before) as being called to walk abroad one morning more early than uſual, before his return he was made away.

Molon and his Army deſtroyed.

And *Hermias* put to death.

14. *Antiochus* his mind was now turned towards *Achæus*, who, though at the firſt he had born himſelf very modeſtly, being elevated with ſucceſs, and thinking that the King in his expedition againſt *Artabazanes* might poſſibly miſcarry, or if he did not, yet hoping that he being at ſo great a diſtance, he might have opportunity enough to break into *Syria*, and have help to ſeize upon the Kingdom, marched with his whole Army from *Lydia*, and coming to *Laodicea* in *Phrygia*, then ſet the Diadem upon his head, and firſt took the Title of King upon him. He continued his march till he drew near to *Lycaonia* ; but there the Soldiers mutined, refuſing to fight againſt their natural King, ſo that ſeeing this, he ſtrove to perſwade them that he had no intention to invade *Syria*, and diverted his courſe to *Piſidia*, which haraſing, and increaſing the Army with booty thereby, he returned home again. The King not being ignorant of any of this, firſt expoſtulated it with him, and ſending him threatning meſſages, put off the reſt for this time, and ſet himſelf with all his might to prepare for the War againſt *Ptolomy*. Conſulting then what way to invade *Syria*, he was perſwaded firſt of all to attempt *Seleucia* (held by the *Ptolomies* ever ſince the Invaſion of *Euergetes*, to revenge the death of his Siſter *Berenice*) being the Chief Seat almoſt of the whole Empire, from whence would ariſe much trouble being thus in the Enemies hands, and very commodious by its ſituation for carrying on the War both by Land and Sea. He firſt then corrupted ſome of the Officers of the Garriſon within, who promiſed, that if he could but take part of the Suburbs, they would procure the whole Town to be yielded. This being done, the Conſpirators came to the Governour, and moved him to yield, as from the neceſſity of the thing, who being ſtruck at this conſternation, as it appeared, of the Soldiers, ſurrendred preſently the Town upon Compoſition.

Achæus traiterouſly aſſumeth the Diadem, and Title of King.

Yet *Antiochus* maketh War upon *Ptolomy* for *Cæleſyria*.

And getteth into *Seleucia*.

A. M. 3786.
Ol. 140.*ann.*2.
V. C. 535.
Ant. M. 5.
Ptol. Philopatris 4.

15. While he was employed about this Town, Letters came to him from one *Theodotus*, deſiring him with all ſpeed to come into *Syria*, ſignifying that he would betray

With ſeveral other places.

Is by the practices of *Achæus* recalled.

it all into his power; for he being an *Ætolian* born, had done the Kings of *Egypt* ſpecial ſervice, but was ſo well requited for it as he was brought into danger of life, and therefore at what time *Antiochus* went againſt *Molon*, looking upon *Ptolomy* as a deſpicable Creature, and diſtruſting his Courtiers, he had ſeized upon *Ptolomais* and *Tyre* and ſollicited him to come down. Now therefore *Antiochus* putting off the buſineſs of *Achæus* till another time, marched down to *Marſyæ*, the ſame Valley and Straights as before, where hearing *Theodotus* was beſieged in *Ptolemais*, he went, and relieved him, and then having that and *Tyre* delivered up unto him, and beating the Enemy out of the Straights, he had then determined to march towards *Peluſium*, but underſtanding that *Ptolomey*'s Army was come thither, and all oppoſition poſſible making for hindering his paſſage, he went on in taking in the Towns thereabouts, divers whereof preſently ſubmitted, and others ſtood it out. *Ptolomy* himſelf being given wholly up to ſluggiſhneſs, though thus betrayed, took no order about his affairs; All the burthen of them lay upon *Agathocles* and *Soſibius*, then the greateſt Officers of State, who being able men, ſent up and down to raiſe Forces, and make all ſpeedy preparations for the War, though to divert *Antiochus* they ſent Ambaſſadors to him to treat of peace (as deſiring onely to go that way to work) and procured Embaſſies from the *Rhodians*, *Byzantians*, *Ætolians*, and them of *Cyzicus*, to mediate betwixt them, during which they gained time, and deceived the Enemy, carrying all things ſo cloſe as his Ambaſſadors could underſtand nothing of their Proviſions. A Truce was granted by *Antiochus* for four moneths, during which time he willed them to ſend to him to *Seleucia*, giving hopes to make up the difference, but contrary to his intentions: though now he was in a manner conſtrained to return into his own Kingdom, for that *Achæus* plotted againſt him, and held Intelligence with *Ptolomy*.

A Treaty betwixt him and the King of *Egypt*.

His plea for *Cæleſyria*.

The anſwer of *Ptolomy*'s Commiſſioners, and the Treaty ends without effect.

16. The Commiſſioners coming to debate the particulars according to their inſtructions, *Antiochus* laboured to overcome them with his Arguments for the juſtneſs of his cauſe, as well as with his Weapons, pleading he had done *Ptolomy* no injury in making that invaſion, for that he had but recovered his right, alledging much the Conqueſts of thoſe parts by *Antigonus Cocles*, and the poſſeſſion of them by *Seleucus*, and that *Ptolomy* the firſt waged not War with *Antigonus* for his own particular, but to help *Seleucus* to the Soveraignty of that Province, but above all, he preſſed the common agreement of all the Kings, made at that time when *Antigonus* was overthrown, wherein by *Lyſimachus* and *Caſſander*, all *Syria* was decreed to *Seleucus*. On the contrary, *Ptolomy*'s Commiſſioners aggravated the height of the injury offered to him, by the unworthineſs of cloſing with the treaſonable practices of *Theodotus*, and affirmed, that *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagus* intended the Dominion of *Syria* to himſelf, and joyned with *Seleucus* on no other terms, than that indeed all *Aſia* ſhould be his, but *Syria* fall to his own ſhare. Such like objections and replies as theſe were made often to no purpoſe, but that which put the greateſt ſtop to the Treaty, was the comprehending of *Achæus* in the League, which *Ptolomy* ſtickled hard for, and the other as impatiently heard, crying out of the unworthineſs of the thing, that he ſhould protect, or make any mention of Rebels. Winter being thus ſpun out with theſe diſcourſes, and Spring drawing on, *Antiochus* intending to ſet upon the Enemy both by Sea and Land, drew together his Forces, to the taking in of what remained unconquered of *Syria*; and *Nicolaus* on the other part, as the *Egyptian General*, with *Perigenes* the *Admiral*, made all poſſible proviſion for reſiſtance.

Hoſtility thereupon in Spring is renewed, whereby *Antiochus* getteth much.

* Called by *Joſephus Bethſan* in the Tribe of *Manaſſes*, through whoſe grounds *Jordan* flows,

17. *Antiochus* going to *Marathus*, there entered into Confederacy with the *Aradians*; then entring *Syria* through *Theu-proſopos* came to *Berytus*, in his paſſage taking in *Botris*, and burning *Trieres* and *Calamus*. The Mountain *Libanus* ſtraightning much the paſſage betwixt it and the Sea, and almoſt making it impaſſible, *Nicolaus* with a party alſo placed himſelf in the ſtraights, not doubting but to ſtop *Antiochus* there: but he dividing his Forces, and having his Fleet conſtantly near him, cauſed it firſt to ingage with the *Egyptian*, in which fight both ſides came off on equal terms, but *Theodotus* beating back the Enemy upon the Mountain, got over, and then cleared the paſſage below for the King. He after this came near *Sidon* with his Army, but judging it to no purpoſe to ſet upon the Town very ſtrong with men, and full of Proviſions, he gave order to *Diognetus* his Admiral to go with the Fleet to *Tyre*, and marched to *Philoteria* ſituate upon the Sea of *Tiberias*, which he took, together with * *Scythopolis*. Now he conceived great hopes of the perfecting his work, being come into a Countrey plentiful of Proviſions, ſo that placing Garriſons in theſe two Cities he took in *Atabyrium* by a Stratagem, making

as if he fled before the Inhabitants, but having men lying in wait who aroſe againſt them, and then the whole Army with ſuch violence, as put them into a great fear, and they yielded up the place. After this, *Karæus*, one of *Ptolomies* Chiefeſt of Officers revolted to him. *Hippolochus* the *Theſſalian* brought over with him four hundred horſe, and then the *Arabians* moved by his ſucceſs joyned themſelves to him. Shortly after he took in *Galatis* and *Gadara* beyond expectation, becauſe of the ſtrength thereof; but the Inhabitants terrified at his preparations yielded themſelves: then hearing that a great number of Enemies had met at *Rabath-ben Amon*, or *Rabatana*, a City in *Arabia*, and thence made incurſions into the Territories of his friends, he marched thither, and ſtriving by force in vain to be Maſter of the place, at length he effected it by ſtopping the courſe of Water, for want of which it was then ſurrendred. Then leaving a ſtrong Garriſon here, and ſending *Hippolochus* and *Karæus* to Govern the Coaſts of *Samaria*, he went to *Ptolemais*, and there took up his Winter quarters.

Ptolomy in the Spring following taketh the Field.

18. *Ptolomy* to give him a ſtop, prepared againſt the Spring a great Army, and then marched from *Alexandria* with ſeventy thouſand foot, five thouſand horſe, and ſeventy three Elephants, and came to *Peluſium*. *Antiochus* hearing this, gathered his Forces together, amounting to ſeventy two thouſand foot, ſix thouſand horſe, and one hundred and two Elephants. *Ptolomy* proceeding on his journey came to *Gaza*, and thence near to *Ruphia* (the firſt City of *Syria*, except *Rhinocerus*, as one cometh from *Egypt*) and *Antiochus* paſſing by that place ſhortly pitched his Tents at firſt within ten furlongs of the Enemy, and the next day, partly for the commodiouſneſs of the ground, and partly to embolden his Soldiers, approached within five furlongs of them. Being ſo near, ſeveral ſkirmiſhes fell out amongſt thoſe which on both ſides iſſued forth for proviſions, and *Theodotus* the *Ætolian*, after a moſt bold adventure taking but two in his company, for that he had been in *Ptolomy*'s Court, and knew his manner of life, went out in the duſk of the evening, and not being known got into the Kings Tent where he uſed to give audience, and though he miſſed of him being in a more obſcure place, yet wounded he two which waited there, and killing out-right *Andreas* his principal Phyſitian, eſcaped back in ſafety to his own Camp; having onely failed of his purpoſe for want of informing himſelf when the King was wont to take his reſt. For five dayes continued theſe two Princes in this poſture, and then both reſolved to try the matter in a ſett battel.

A pitch't battel.

The manner of the fighting of Elephants.

19. *Ptolomy* firſt drew out his men, and then preſently *Antiochus* ranged his in battel aray againſt him. Each of the Armies had two wings, wherein the two Kings met each other, guarded with Elephants, betwixt which the fight was begun, after *Antiochus* had cauſed the charge to be ſounded; their manner being firſt with their Trunks to thruſt each other, and ſtrive for the ground, and then after that for the one by force to remove the other's Trunk, and to fall upon him like a Bull, and gore his ſides. Few of *Ptolomies* beaſts would fight at all, for that being *Africans*, they could neither endure the ſmell nor noiſe of thoſe of *India*, ſo that the ranks being diſordered by them, his left Wing was quite broke by the charge of the Enemy, and put to flight. *Echecrates*, who commanded in the right, ſtayed firſt for the ingagement of the former, then ſeeing that his Elephants would not fight, gave order to *Phinidas* Commander of the Mercenary *Greeks* to invade his oppoſites, and he himſelf alſo wheeling about to be out of the danger of the Beaſts, fell upon the Flanks and Rear of the Enemies Horſe; ſo that both together they made them all being *Arabians* and *Medes* to give ground, and put all the Wing to flight, thus being even with *Antiochus*. Then came the bodies themſelves to ingage: *Antiochus* was buſie in the purſuite of that Wing wherein he fought; but *Ptolomy* coming to his Army much encouraged the Soldiers, and diſheartned his adverſaries, who being charged by *Andromachus* and *Soſibius*, the *Syrians* for ſome time maintained their ground, but the reſt ſcarce fighting one ſtroak ſhifted for themſelves. *Antiochus* being yet unſkilful and young, was ſtill following the chace, (thinking becauſe he had the better of it in his Wing, that therefore his whole Army overcame) till admoniſhed by ſome one about him, he returned, and ſeeing things ſo contrary to his expectation, endeavoured to break in with his Guard, to the place where his Army ſtood, but finding all his men fled, retired alſo unto *Raphia*, being perſwaded that he had done as became him, however, by reaſon of the Cowardlyneſs of others the work had miſcarried. On his part were ſlain little leſs than ten thouſand Foot, about three hundred Horſe, and four thouſand taken priſoners; three of his Elephants were ſlain outright, and two afterwards died of their wounds.

Antiochus beaten.

A. M. 3788.
Ol. 140. *ann.* 4.
V. C. 537.
Antiochi Magni 7.

Ptol. Philop. 6.

Ptolomy loſt one thouſand five hundred Foot, and ſeven hundred Horſe, ſixteen Elephants were killed, and the reſt taken for the moſt part.

Deſireth peace and eaſily obtaineth it.

20. *Antiochus* had intended after the rallying of his men to have fortified himſelf without *Raphia*; but moſt of them being got into the Town, he deſired leave to bury his dead, and then returned into his own Kingdom. *Ptolomy* preſently received all *Cœleſyria* again into his power, the Inhabitants accomodating themſelves to his preſent condition (as indeed bearing alwaies great reverence to his family) and ſtriving who ſhould firſt yield themſelves. *Antiochus* coming to *Antioch*, preſently diſpatched *Antipater* his brother's Son, and *Theodotus Herviolius* in an Ambaſſage to him, fearing exceedingly he ſhould be proſecuted with War, diſtruſting his Subjects becauſe of his adverſe fortune, and ſuſpecting *Achæus* might make uſe of this opportunity againſt him. But *Ptolomy* thought of nothing leſs than moleſting him, being overjoyed that he had above all expectation recovered *Cœleſyria*, and deſiring exceedingly to be quiet, out of his ſluggiſh diſpoſition, and other vices familiar to him; wherefore at firſt receiving the Ambaſſadors with threatning language, and complaints of the injuries received from their Maſter, he preſently granted a Truce for a year, and then ſent *Soſibius* to confirm the League, wanting onely courage and reſolution to ſpoil *Antiochus* of his Kingdom.

Idem excerpt. lib. 7.

He beſiegeth *Achæus* in *Sardis*,

For whoſe ſafety *Soſibius* plotteth,

Idem excerpt. lib. 8.

21. *Antiochus* ſpent all the Winter in preparations, and in Spring marched over the Mountain *Taurus* againſt *Achæus*, whom he beſieged in the City *Sardis*. Above a year he lay before it, having onely ſometimes light ſkirmiſhes with the defendants, till *Lagoras* a *Cretian*, a man of great experience, obſerving that the ſtrongeſt Cities are many times taken at ſuch places as are by reaſon of their ſtrength leaſt looked to, and perceiving a piece of the wall, beyond which they uſed to throw carrion and filth into a pit, to be deſtitute of any watch, by the ſitting of fouls upon it, which came to feed on the carkeiſes, he took unto him *Theodotus* the *Ætolian*, and *Dionyſius*, with ſome Soldiers, and they made a ſhift to get over and open the gates; the King to divert the Enemy making as if he would give the onſet at another place, and ſo the Town was taken. *Achæus* and *Aribazus* the Governour got into the Caſtle, and then were ſtraitly beſieged again, till ſuch time as *Soſibius* the chief Miniſter of State in *Ægypt*, pitying the condition of the former, made means for his deliverance, which by the treachery of the inſtrument wrought his deſtruction. There was at that time in the *Ægyptian* Court one *Bolis* a *Cretian*, ſecond to no one Captain, as he was reputed, for prudence, extraordinary boldneſs, and military skill; with him *Soſibius* dealt, having obliged him by his favours, and aſſured him that nothing could he perform more acceptable to the King his Maſter, than ſome way or other to work the deliverance of *Achæus*. He asking ſome time to conſider of it, within two or three dayes took the buſineſs upon him, which to effect he had as he ſaid a good opportunity, for that *Cambylus* the Commander of the *Cretians* ſerving under *Antiochus* was not onely known to him, but his kinſman, and had the charge of a Fort behind the Caſtle, which, becauſe it could not be fortified with works, was kept by a continual Guard of Soldiers.

22. Being ſupplied with money largely by *Soſibius*, and loaded with promiſes, away he ſailed for *Rhodes* to *Nichomachus*, and thence for *Epheſus*, to *Melancoma*, his acquaintance, and friends of *Achæus*, with whom dealing about his buſineſs, he ſent one *Arianus* to *Cambylus* to let him know that he was ſent from *Alexandria* to raiſe Forces, and that he muſt needs ſpeak with him, deſiring he would appoint time and place for their meeting, without the privity of any. Having obtained this, and bethinking with himſelf what to do, he gave him a letter concerning which *like Cretians they had a Cretian conference*, as *Polybius* termeth it. For not reſpecting the ſafety of the beſieged, or their faith given to thoſe that employed them, but agreeing to divide the ten Talents already given in advance by *Soſibius*, they reſolved to acquaint *Antiochus* with the matter, and undertake upon promiſe of money in hand, and a good reward afterwards, to deliver *Achæus* into his power. This being with great earneſtneſs promiſed, *Bolis* prevails with *Nicomachus* and *Melanchoma*, wholly ignorant of his treacherous intent, to write letters in cipher to *Achæus*, which he ſent hy *Arianus*, for whom paſſage was procured into the Caſtle by means of *Cambylis*. *Achæus* being earneſtly adviſed by his two friends to truſt *Bolis* and *Cambylus*, and withall conſidering the difficulty from him to eſcape; hoping if he got out to paſs preſently into *Syria* whilſt *Antiochus* was yet at *Sardis*, and then to get all the parts about *Antioch* into his power, yielded to put himſelf

into the hands of *Bolis*, who was ſent preſently by *Melancomas* with great entreaties and promiſes if he could accompliſh the buſineſs. *Bolis* ment to *Cambylus* at night, and ſtaying with him the next day to conſult of the buſineſs how it ſhould be managed, after he had been with *Antiochns*, and was much incouraged by him, he went up for *Achæus* into the Caſtle.

But he is betraied by the inſtrument into the hands of juſtice.

A. M. 3791. *Ol.* 141. *an.* 3. *V. C.* 540. *Ant. Mag.* 10. *Ptol.Philom.* 9.

23. Receiving *Bolis* with great reſpect, and after all his ſifting of him perceiving nothing diſagreeable to ſeriouſneſs, he much rejoyced; but bethinking himſelf how weighty a thing it was, and what a hazard he was like to run, he trembled again at the thought of it, and at firſt reſolved to ſend ſome before to *Melancomas*; but at length out he went of the Caſtle, and according to former agreement, *Bolis* coming behind him by a whiſtle gave a ſign to thoſe in Ambuſh, and held him by the clothes till he was taken. Being brought into *Antiochus* his Tent, who ſate late at night with a few attendants to ſee the iſſue of the project, the King was amazed, and could not forbear weeping to ſee him, ſo eminent a man, lye bound before him upon the ground in ſo ſad a condition; but a Council of War being called, after ſeveral wayes of puniſhment propoſed, at laſt it was agreed, that he ſhould have his outward members and limbs cut off, after that his head, and that being ſowed into an Aſſes bladder, his body ſhould be nailed to a croſs, which was executed accordingly. This end had he who was ſon to *Andromachus* the brother of *Laodice* Wife to *Seleucus*, who had married *Laodice* daughter to *Mithridates*, and had held all *Aſia* on this ſide *Taurus*, having recovered it by his own induſtry and valour: a man he was exceeding wiſe, and of great experience, yet left (as *Polybius* obſerveth for us) a double warning to poſterity, not to truſt any raſhly, and not to be puffed up with poſterity, or be ſecure of any thing incident to mankind, to which we may add another, *viz.* that none preſume to rebel againſt their Soveraigns, for puniſhment will overtake them. His death being known within, as they all firſt agreed in making lamentations for him, ſo ſhortly after they fell at odds, being divided into two factions, of which the one ſtuck to his Wife, and the other to *Ariobazus* the Governour; ſo that having ſuſpition of each other, both parties yielded themſelves and the place to *Antiochus*.

Polyb. lib. 10. *excerpt. et Appian in Syriacis.*

Antiochus maketh an Expedition into the Eaſt.

Polybius excerpt. lib. 11.

The fruits of it.

24. A year or two after, *Antiochus* undertook an Expedition into the *Eaſt* to reduce *Media* and *Parthia* which had revolted, and he paſſing through both, thereupon cauſed *Arſaces* to withdraw himſelf into *Hyrcania*, which he conſidering, and judging that he would not have forſaken this Countrey if he had been able to have defended it, reſolved to follow him, ſo that with great difficulty he paſſed over the hills, and entred alſo into that Region, where we finde that he took ſome Towns; but what further he did againſt *Arſaces*, or upon what terms he returned, if *Polybius* his Hiſtory had been kept entire, we might have known. After this he quieted the upper *Aſia*, and coming into *Bactria* for a good while endeavoured to drive out thence *Euthydemus* the King thereof, whom he defeated, and behaved himſelf moſt ſtoutly, whence he got great credit for his valour. At length *Euthydemus* complaining that he was injurious in oppoſing him thus who had not revolted from him, but cut off the poſterity of thoſe that had, beſeeching him alſo not to envy him the name of King, eſpecially conſidering that by this diſſention neither of their affaires could be ſecure, for that a number of the *Scythian Nomades* hovered at the borders, and were like to overrun the Country, *Antiochus*, who being tired with the tediouſneſs of the War, had ſought occaſion to make a Peace, not unwillingly now heard the overtures of it, eſpecially after that *Euthydemus* ſent his ſon *Demetrius* to him, with whom he was ſo taken for his perſon and parts, as thinking him worthy of a Kingdom, he firſt promiſed him one of his daughters, and then yielded that his Father ſhould take the title of King. Then the conditions of the league being written down, and ſworn to, and taking with him all the *Elephants* that *Euthydemus* had, he marched over *Caucaſus*, and renewed the confederacy with *Sophagaſenus* the *Indian* King; then taking with him more Elephants (of which he had now one hundred and fifty) and leaving *Androſthenes* of *Cyzicus* to bring the treaſure promiſed him, he came to *Arachoſia*, and ſo through *Drangiana* into *Carmania*, where he was forced to Winter, having received this fruit by this Expedition, that beſides the Countries recovered, and the maritime Cities and Dynaſties on this ſide *Taurus* added to his Dominions, he ſtruck ſuch an awe into his Subjects, as kept them more in order, and he was thought to be eſteemed as well by the People of *Europe* as thoſe of *Aſia*, worthy to govern.

A. M. 3803. *Ol.* 144 *an.* 3. *V. C.* 552.

25. Not long after this, *Ptolomy Philopater* dying and leaving a young ſon behind him but four years old, *Philip* of *Macedonia* and he (as we before hinted) made a wicked

Ant. Mag. 22. Ptol. Epiph. 2.

* Antiquit. l. 12. c. 3.

Livius l. 33.

He joyneth with *Philip* againſt *Ptolomy*, getteth *Judæa*, and preſently loſeth it again. Falling upon *Attalus* his Territories the *Romans* procure him to deſiſt.

wicked League for the outing him of his Kingdom, and dividing it amongſt them, wherefore he ſtriking again at *Cœleſyria* and *Phœnicia*, got *Judæa* into his power, which * as *Joſephus* telleth us, was toſſed betwixt theſe two Crowns as a ſhip with the waves. For *Scopas* the *Ætolian* recovered it again out of his hands for young *Epiphanes*, and yet again not long after loſt it with *Cœleſyria*, being overthrown by *Antiochus* (near the fountains or heads of *Jordan*) at the City *Panæas*, with whom the *Jews* then preſently joyned, but the Inhabitants of *Gaza* ſtanding ſtill out for *Ptolomy*, their City was taken and razed. In the mean time whilſt *Scopas* was recovering the Cities of *Syria*, *Antiochus* himſelf was buſie in invading the Kingdom of *Attalus*, who then being employed with the *Romans* in the *Macedonian* War againſt *Philip*, had left it naked of defence both by Land and Sea, but upon his complaint to the *Roman* Senate they ſent to *Antiochus* to tell him, that ſeeing *Attalus* was employed by them againſt *Philip* the common Enemy, he would do a thing very acceptable unto them to abſtain from his Territories, adding withall, that it was convenient for all the Kings which were the friends and allies of the People of *Rome* to be at peace amongſt themſelves; with the authority of which meſſage he was ſo moved, as he drew out his Army again from the borders. But this reſpect to the *Romans* continued not many years, he entering upon ſuch courſes as gave them offence, and proceeding therein at length to an open War.

A. M. 3807. *Ol.* 145. *ann.* 3. *V. C.* 556. *Ant. M.* 26. *Ptol. Epiphanis* 6.

Idem ibid.

Ye the miniſtreth occaſion for a War with them.

26. For having reduced all *Cœleſyria* into his power, and wintered at *Antioch*, the next Spring ſending before his two ſons *Ardyes* and *Mithridates* with the Army, and command to ſtay for him at *Sardis*, he himſelf followed with the Fleet to attempt the ſeveral maritime Towns of *Cilicia* and *Caria*, which were under *Ptolomy*, and alſo to help *Philip* both at Sea and Land, who now was buſie in the War with the *Romans*. Divers places by fair and foul means together he took in; yet *Coraceſium* ſtood out, and whilſt he lay before it came Ambaſſadors from the *Rhodians* to denounce War againſt him, in caſe he came within *Nephelis* the Promontory of *Cilicia*, not out of any hatred to him as they ſaid, but leſt joyning with *Philip* he ſhould hinder the *Romans* now active for the liberty of *Greece*. Though he heard this with much diſdain, yet thought he it wiſdom to give them good words for the preſent, and pleaſe them in this particular, but they, after all danger was over from *Philip* (who this Summer was beaten at *Cynoſcephalæ*) not tying themſelves with him to the former condition, ſent aid to the Cities their aſſociates, and preſerved ſeveral in their liberty. He took at length *Caraceſium*, and after it ſeveral others, and amongſt the reſt *Epheſus*, where wintering, he endeavoured to reduce alſo the Cities of *Aſia*, under the obedience they payed to his Anceſtors, and thinking it not difficult to be done by any of them, except two, viz. *Smyrna* in *Æolis*, and *Lampſacus* upon the *Helleſpont*, he ſent Forces to beſiege them both.

Antiochus the Great and the *Romans* grow jealous one of another.

Livius l. 33.

Appiam in Syriacis. Polybius excerp. Legat. 9. & Lib. 17.

27. Now the *Romans*, with all others, doubted not but his Army was for *Europe*, after his affairs had ſucceeded in *Aſia*, and they had the more cauſe to be jealous of him, for that *Hannibal* their old and ſworn Enemy had now been with him; therefore in the ſetting of the *Greek* Cities at liberty (after the overthrow of *Philip* King of *Macedonia*) the Senate had left it to the Commiſſioners appointed for that work, to deal as they ſhould think fit with *Chalcis*, *Demetrias*, and *Corinth*, the keys of the Country, and whether out of a deſire of the glory of ſetting all the *Greeks* at liberty, or to awe and affright him, they decreed, that all ſuch Cities, as well in *Aſia* as *Europe*, ſhould be freed. The ten Commiſſioners ſitting now in *Greece* about theſe affairs, they of *Smyrna* and *Lampſacus* (whom he had beſieged) ſent to them for relief, and *Antiochus* himſelf thinking fit not to anticipate his opportunities, ſent thither alſo his Ambaſſadors, to whom the Commiſſioners lay'd open the pleaſure of the Senate, and in caſe he contain not himſelf and Forces in *Aſia*, threaten him with War: and withall promiſe that ſome of their number ſhould come to him. Yet he in the beginning of Spring comes over into *Europe*, got a great part of the *Cherſoneſus* into his power, and then marching to *Lyſimachia*, there found the Commiſſioners, who preſſing him to the things formerly mentioned, he demanded by what right the *Romans* queſtioned with him about *Aſia*, ſeeing he medled with nothing done in *Italy*; and added, that the *Greek* Cities ſhould obtain their liberty, not by their commands, but his bounty. Now it was moved that thoſe of *Smyrna* and *Lampſacus* might be heard; which being obtained, and the Delegates uſing their liberty of ſpeech, he out of indignation, that he ſhould be forced to plead with them before thoſe Judges, interrupted them, ſaying the

Rhodians (and not the *Romans*) ſhould have the hearing of the cauſe; and ſo the Treaty ended without any concluſion or agreement at all.

Livius & Appian ut ſupra.

Upon a falſe rumour of *Ptolomie's* death he reſolved to invade *Ægypt.*

Hannibal's advice to invade *Italy.*

Livius lib. 34. *Appian ut prius*

28. A rumour was ſpred abroad, during this Treaty, that *Ptolomy* the King of *Ægypt* was dead, which much affected both parties, yet ſtrove they to hide it from each other: *Lucius Cornelius* one of the ten, who was alſo ordered to endeavour the reconciliation of the two Kings, demanded a little time to go into *Ægypt*; and *Antiochus* being reſtleſs, out of an itching deſire to get that Country into his hands, ſailed with his Fleet back to *Epheſus*; whence ſending again his Ambaſſadors to treat with *T. Flamininus* chief of the Commiſſioners (on purpoſe to hold them a little in hand till he could bring about his deſign) came to *Patara*, where he heard that *Ptolomy* was alive. Now he changed his purpoſe of invading *Ægypt*; but withal reſolved for *Cyprus*, to attempt that Iſland; but ſuch a tempeſt fell upon him, that he almoſt loſt his whole Fleet. Not long after, *Hannibal* being driven from home (by the malice of ſuch as incenſed the *Romans* againſt him, whilſt he only endeavoured the Publick good) returned to *Antiochus*, who though before he did but fluctuate in his reſolutions for the War, yet was now confirmed by him ſo in his purpoſe, that henceforth he thought not ſo much of it, as of the reward of the Victory. *Hannibal* denied that the *Romans* could be overcome any where but in *Italy*, and deſired but one hundred Gallies, ſixteen thouſand Foot, and one thouſand Horſe, with which he would firſt go to *Carthage*, hoping to draw his Countrymen to revolt, and though that ſhould not ſucceed, yet would he ſeize upon ſome part of *Italy*. The King cloſing with his propoſitions at this time, he went not himſelf, but ſent a certain *Tyrian* to *Carthage*, who under pretence of trading ſhould break the ice; but he being ſuſpected by *Hannibal's* adverſaries, was glad to ſhift for himſelf, and notice thereof was preſently given to the *Romans*. In the mean time *Antiochus* ſent three Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, who under colour of procuring a right underſtanding, ſhould feel how the Senate ſtood affected. They expoſtulating the matter, that their Maſter ſhould be forced to quit the Cities of *Aſia*, and forſake his ancient right in *Thrace*, were referred to the Commiſſioners in *Greece* for anſwer; to whom repairing, *Flamininus* and his Collegue, urged that the King ſhould either leave *Europe*, or the *Romans* have power to protect their friends in *Aſia*, and make as many more there as they could. The Ambaſſadors anſwer, they neither can, nor will conclude any thing to the prejudice of their Maſter's crown, and ſo the Peace was not nearer than before.

Livius lib. 35. *Appian ibid.*

Antiochus intending a War ſeeketh Confederates.

A. M. 3813.
Ol. 147. *ann.* 1.
V. C. 562.
Antioch. Mag. 32.
Ptol. Epiphan. 12.

29. *Antiochus* his reſolution being ſet therefore for the War, that he might prevent any thing that would divert or call him back, he reſolved to make alliances with his neighbours. To *Ptolomy* he married his Daughter *Cleopatra* (giving with her in portion all *Cœleſyria*, which before he had taken from him;) to *Ariarathes* King of *Cappadocia* another named *Antiochis*; and a third he offered to *Eumenes* of *Pergamus*, but he being acquainted with his deſign to make War upon the *Romans*, and by this affinity to oblige him to his party, conceiving it alſo his intereſt rather to ſtick to them whom he had ſome ground to think would prove victorious; he waved his offer. In Spring he ſet upon the *Pyſidæ*, a people inhabiting abut *Selga*, being deſirous firſt to bring all *Aſia* to his beck, and at the ſame time came Ambaſſadors from *Rome* to diſcover his deſigns and preparations, and either to take off the edge of *Hannibals* hatred, or at leaſt by their entercourſe with him to render him ſuſpected to the King. Viſiting *Eumenes* firſt, as they had it in charge, they were egged on by him to the War. *Sulpitius* one of them falling ſick, was forced to ſtay at *Pergamus*, but *Villius* hearing how *Antiochus* was employed, went to *Epheſus* where *Hannibal* then lay, and according to his inſtructions often met and diſcourſed with him. Thence he travelled to *Apamea*, where the King met him; but news coming that *Antiochus* his Son (whom he had lately ſent into *Syria*) was dead, it broke off the Treaty; ſo that *Villius* loath to be unſeaſonable returned to *Pergamus*, and the King breaking off the War, to *Epheſus*, where holding ſecret conſultation with one *Minio*, he gave way that the Ambaſſadors ſhould be called thither. When they had there arrived, they were referred to *Minio*, and both ſides arguing for themſelves as formerly, came to the ſame concluſion, and the *Romans* having ſcarcely obtained that they came for, returned home.

Livius & Appian ut prius.

30. The Ambaſſadors being departed, *Antiochus* then fell into another ſerious debate about the War, to which *Hannibal* being now ſuſpected was not called, till acquainting him how, when a Child, his Father had made him ſwear at the Altar never to be a friend to the people of *Rome*, all jealouſies were removed. About the ſame time came *Thoas*, and others from the *Ætolians* (who being falln out with

The *Ætolians* ſtir him up to the War, and he paſſeth over into *Greece*.

Livius lib. 36.

A. M. 3814.
Ol. 147.*ann.*2.
V. V. 563.
Antioch, Mag. 33.
Ptol. Epiphan. 13.

Marrieth an obſcure Girle at *Chalcis*.

the *Romans* about plunder, after the overthrow of *Philip* at *Cynoſcephalæ*, had ever ſince greatly grudged, and now ſtirred up the ſeveral Princes againſt them) offering him the Command of their Forces, and exhorting him to paſs over into *Greece*, where things were ripe enough for the War, and not expect the coming down of his Army from the Inland Countreys. They having gotten *Demetrias* (a Town of prime note) into their hands by a wile, in confidence of an opportunity thence ariſing, he came over with an Army of ten thouſand Foot, five hundred Horſe, and ſix Elephants, after which going to the general meeting, he was by a publick Decree received as General, and then ſending to ſummon *Chalcis*, had the Gates opened to him, and ſo eaſily became Maſter of all *Eubœa*. In the midſt of Winter holding another Council, he thought fit the *Theſſalonians* ſhould be, by all means, drawn in to joyn with them; but *Hannibal* preſſed above all things that *Philip* and the *Macedonians* might be dealt with; for then as he ſaid, the *Theſſalians*, and other *Græcians* (ſeeing themſelves invaded by the *Romans*) would eaſily return to their accuſtomed duty: he adviſed further, that the Forces with all ſpeed ſhould be ſent for out of *Aſia*; and this only was obſerved. *Antiochus* returning to *Chalcis*, fell in Love with an obſcure Girl, daughter to *Cleoptolemus* his Hoſt, with whom prevailing at length to marry her, he ſpent all the remaining of the Winter in feaſting and jollity, his Army for Company falling into idleneſs and all exceſs.

The preparations of the *Romans* reſolved on.

Glabrio the Conſul ſent over.

Overthroweth *Antiochus* at the Straights of *Thermopylæ*.

31. Hitherto the *Romans* had rather ſeverally, every man by himſelf, deſigned him an Enemy, than made any preparations againſt him. *Italy* was Decreed this year to both the *Conſuls*; only one of them, if need ſhould require, was to be in readineſs to march to any other place, and *Attilius Serranus* one of the *Prætors*, was ordered with his Fleet to go into *Greece*, and attend the affairs of the Confederates; and with him four Commiſſioners, men picked out, who by their authority might perſwade much. Moreover *Marcus Bæbius* was commanded to draw down the Legions towards *Tarentum* and *Brunduſium*, that thence, if need ſhould be, they might paſs over into *Macedonia*. But upon *Antiochus* his croſſing the *Helleſpont*, *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus* ſent his Brother *Attalus* to acquaint the Senate therewith, and that the *Ætolians* were preparing to joyn with him; whereupon *Bæbius* was then ordered, with all his Forces, to paſs over into *Epirus*, and hover about *Apollonia*. The next year came over *M. Acilius Glabrio* the *Conſul*, with ten thouſand Eoot, two thouſand Horſe, and fifteen Elephants; who taking in divers places held by *Antiochus* his Garriſons, marched towards the Bay of *Malea*, took *Thaumacha*, and waſted the Territories of *Hypata*. *Antiochus* ſomething herewith awakned, ſent to the *Ætolians* to have all their Forces in readineſs, and then came down with leſs then ten thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe; but fewer of the *Ætolians* came together than uſual, and his own Army, expected out of *Aſia*, loitered, ſo that wanting it, and forſaken of his Confederates, he fortified himſelf in the Straights of *Thermopylæ*, and ſent the *Ætolians* (whereof there were but four thouſand) to keep *Heraclea* and *Hypata*. Upon the approach of the *Conſul*, bethinking himſelf of the Mountains, which he knew had been formerly paſſed by ſome of *Xerxes* his Army, and fearing the *Romans ſhould* come over upon his back he procured ſome *Ætolians* to ſecure the paſſages. But *Glabrio* hearing of it, ſent *M. Porcius Cato* (then a Colonel in the Army) and *L. Valerius Flaccus* to beat them off, which being done by the former, he got over, and approaching the Enemies Camp, they at the firſt ſight ſuppoſed them to be friends; but then again underſtanding their error, caſt away their Arms and fled. But being cloſely purſued five hundred of them only eſcaped, though but fifty of the *Romans* were miſſing.

Antiochus his acts in *Aſia*.

32. *Antiochus* flying to *Chalcis*, paſſed thence with his new marryed wife unto *Epheſus*, after whoſe departure the Gates of *Chalcis* were preſently opened to the *Conſul*, who having taken in *Phocis* and *Bœotia* in his paſſage thither, all *Eubœa* preſently returned to obedience. Then fell he upon the *Ætolians*, whom (though not long before they had ſent to the King for aid, yet) now he forced to yield, and after he had uſed their Ambaſſadors ſomething roughly, and threatned to chaſtize them to purpoſe; through the interceſſion of *T. Flamininus*, gave them liberty to ſend their Ambaſſadors to *Rome*. *Antiochus* now lay at *Epheſus* altogether ſecure of the *Romans*; but *Hannibal* told him, he rather wondred they were not there already, than doubted at all of their coming, and procured the Forces to be ſent for out of the upper Provinces; and with thoſe ſhips which were ready the King ſayled into the *Cherſoneſus* of *Thrace*, fortifying it, and placed ſtronger

Garriſons in *Seſtus* and *Abydus*, where the *Romans* were to paſs over the *Helleſpont* into *Aſia*. At this time *Livius Salinator* being ſent from *Rome* to ſucceed *Attilius* in the Government of the Fleet, came with it to *Delus*, which *Antiochus* hearing, haſted from *Thrace* to fight him before the *Rhodes* and *Eumenes* ſhould joyn with him; but they coming in in good time, his Fleet was worſted, and chaſed as far as *Epheſus*.

He is defeated at Sea.

Livius lib. 37.

33. After this defeat he ſet himſelf with all his might to repair his Navy, and left his Son *Seleucus* in *Æolis* to look to the Maritime Coaſts. *Livius* the *Roman* Admiral coming into the *Helleſpont*, took *Seſtus*, and had done the ſame by *Abydus*, had not *Polyxenidas* a Fugitive of *Rhodes*, deſtroyed by Treachery all the Fleet belonging to that Iſland; whereupon he raiſed his ſiege and departed. *Seleucus* fell upon the Territories of *Pergamus*, and then beſieged the City it ſelf (*Attalus* being unable to graple with him in the field) with whom alſo at length *Antiochus* himſelf joyned, till hearing that the *Roman* and *Rhodian* Fleets were coming to relieve the place; and, worſe than this, that *Lucius Scipio* the *Conſul* (together with his Brother the *African*) was already in his march as far as *Macedonia*, and preparing now to paſs the *Helleſpont* againſt him, he ſent to *Æmylius Rhegillus* who had ſucceeded *Livius* in the Fleet, to treat of a peace. He calling *Eumenes* from *Pergamus*, and the Officers of the *Rhodians* to conſult, theſe were content to Treat, but *Eumenes* being averſe to it, and urging that nothing could be concluded of, before the coming of the *Conſul*, an anſwer to that effect was returned to the King, who leaving his Son ſtill before *Pergamus*, harraſed the Territories of the *Roman* Confederates, and taking divers places, returned to *Sardis*. *Seleucus* was preſently beaten off, and forced to raiſe his ſiege, by one thouſand Foot, and one hundred Horſe, ſent to relieve the place by the *Achæans*, and *Hannibal* returning with ſhips from *Syria*, was met by the *Rhodians*, who put him to flight, and cauſed him to be blocked up in *Pamphilia*.

Hannibal worſted at Sea.

A. M. 3815.
Ol. 147. *ann.* 3.
V. C. 564.
Ant. Mag. 34.
Ptol. Epiphan. 14.

34. *Antiochus* from *Sardis* ſent to *Pruſias* King of *Bithinia*, to joyn in Confederacy with him againſt the *Romans*; but he (though he formerly hung in ſuſpenſe, yet) of late was fully drawn to their party by the Letters of the *Scipio's*, and an Ambaſſage ſent from *Rome* for the ſame purpoſe. Failing therefore in this enterprize, he went to *Epheſus* to his Navy, where (concluding that no other way could he hinder the Conſul's paſſing the *Helleſpont* than by being ſtrongeſt at Sea) he reſolved to try another battel, and ſo ſet upon the Maritime Town near to *Epheſus*, that the *Romans* coming in to ſuccour their friends, *Polyxenidas* his Admiral might have an opportunity to work ſome notable feat. But he engaging with ninety Gallies againſt *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians*, who made up a Fleet together of about eighty three, being overmatched both in the valour of his men, and the nimbleneſs of his Veſſels, he loſt forty two of his Navy (thirteen of which, together with the men, were taken) having broken but two of the *Romans*, and by meer chance carryed a *Rhodian* away with him to *Epheſus*. The King now terrified at the meſſage of this third overthrow, madly drew out his Garriſon from *Lyſimachia* (which might have given a ſtop to the paſſage of the Conſul) leſt it ſhould be cut off; and raiſing his ſiege from before *Colophonia*, departed to *Sardis*, whence he ſent into *Cappadocia*, to *Ariarathes* his Son-in-law, for aid, and all over elſe where he could bethink himſelf, he raiſed Forces, neglecting in the mean time his true opportunities. For, the *Scipio's* in the mean while came to *Lyſimachia*, where they were received with ſuch plenty of all things, as if Proviſion had been made for the *Roman* Army, and thence marched through the *Cherſoneſus* of *Thrace* to the *Helleſpont*, where all things being in readineſs through the care of *Eumenes*, they paſſed over without any diſturbance into *Aſia*.

And *Polyxenidas* defeated.

Antiochus his imprudence.

Polybius Legat. 23.

He ſendeth to the Conſul about a peace.

35. *Antiochus* being ſo beſotted as to lye ſtill, and ſuffer the *Conſul* quietly to come over, was now exceedingly diſcouraged, and ſent out of hand to him, and his Brother, to treat of peace; with order alſo to deal in private with the *African* about it, whoſe authority he knew would ſway his Brother to either ſide indifferently. The Ambaſſador being arrived at the *Roman* Camp, deferred the delivering of his meſſage till the *African's* coming, who was yet behind; but after his arrival, and audience given, had theſe conditions ſet him: *To pay all the expences of the War, of which* Antiochus *had been the cauſe, and not only quit the Cities in* Æolis *and* Ionia *but all* Aſia *on this ſide the Mountain* Taurus. Being no whit ſatisfied with the propoſals, he made no further overtures to the *Conſul*; but, according to his inſtructions, offered to his Brother (in caſe he would procure a peace on the terms

propoſed by his Maſter) the reſtitution of his Son who had been taken Priſoner, as much Money as he would ask, and more than that, to be partaker of what the Kingdom it ſelf would amount to. The *African* anſwered, that the diſcharging of his Son would exceedingly oblige him, and as for the reſt, had he kept *Lyſimachia* in his hands, fortified the paſſage into the *Cherſoneſus* of *Thrace*; or at leaſt had he oppoſed them at the *Helleſpont*, and then offered theſe conditions, much might have been done for him. As things now ſtood, he adviſed to conſider into what eſtate he had brought himſelf, by all means to decline the War, and refuſe no conditions offered to him. But he thought no harſher terms could be impoſed upon one already Conquered, and therefore caſting off all thoughts of peace, made what Proviſion he could poſſible for a battel.

Rejecting the terms.

He prepareth for a battel.

36. The *Conſul* being deſirous to do ſomething before Winter (which now drew on) reſolved, if poſſible, to fight him, though, his Brother the *African* falling ſick, had departed to *Elea*, to whom *Antiochus* now to comfort him, reſtored his Son without any ranſom; which hapning as a Cordial to him in that condition, he adviſed him in way of requital (being able to do no more at preſent) that he ſhould not ingage in fight with his Brother, before his return to the Camp. Being much moved with his authority, he declined an ingagement to his utmoſt endeavour, but the *Conſul* ſtill dogging him from place to place, and being ready to ſtorm his Camp, for fear of utterly diſcouraging his men, he was forced to draw them out. (a) Some ſay he had ſeventy thouſand Foot, and about twelve thouſand Horſe, (though others (b) mention but ſeventy thouſand in all) with fifty four Elephants. The Conſul brought into the field but thirty thouſand, whereof two, being *Macedonians*, were left to keep the baggage; and ſixteen *African* beaſts placed in the rear for a reſerve, leſt (being worſted by the *Indians*) they ſhould break their ranks. The battel was fought near *Magneſia* a Town ſituate at the foot of the Hill *Sipylus*. It hapned then that ſuch a miſt fell as blinded ſo the Kings Army, that both the wings thereof could not be ſeen to one ſtanding ſtill in the ſame place; and their weapons were alſo ſpoiled with the wet. His Chariots armed with ſithes which he had placed in the front, proved his ruin: for the Horſes being gored with arrows (according to the direction of *Eumenes*) brake down all behind them, and ſo diſordered the ranks, that the Avxiliaries fled; which occaſion the *Romans* taking, preſſed hard upwards, and diſcomfited the whole left wing. In the right he had better fortune; for he put both Horſe and Foot to flight, and drove them to their Camp; but *M. Æmilius Lepidus* who was left there for the ſecurity of it, met them, and forced them to face about and to charge the purſuing Enemy, ſo that he and *Attalus* (the Brother of *Eumenes*, who came in in good time with two hundred Horſe) renewed the battel with ſuch earneſtneſs, that now the King (who ere while gave the charge) betook himſelf to his heels. The *Roman* Cavalrie, in the purſute, did great execution, and the rather, becauſe of the multitude of Chariots, and Camels, which blocked up the way; inſomuch as fifty four thouſand were ſlain, and one thouſand four hundred taken. Of the *Romans* fell but three hundred forty nine.

(a) *Livius ut ſupra.*
(b) *Appian in Syriacis.*

Wherein he is overthrown.

37. *Antiochus*, with a few about him, fled to *Sardis*, and thence to *Apamea*, making *Zeno* Governour of the former, and *Timon* of *Lydia*; but they were deſpiſed by the Soldiers and Townſmen that held the Caſtle, who gave up the places to the Conſul; which was followed as an example by divers Cities of *Aſia*. The Conſul being once arrived at *Sardis* (with his Brother now upon his recovery) the King preſently ſent and deſired ſafe conduct for ſome Commiſſioners to treat of Peace. This being granted, *Zeuxis* who had formerly governed *Lydia*, and *Antipater* the Kings Brothers Son, ſhortly after arrived, deſiring their Maſter might know upon what terms to purchaſe the friendſhip of the People of *Rome*. *Publius Scipio* the *African*, in the name of the reſt, anſwered, that the *Romans* uſed not to inſult over their conquered Enemies, and therefore nothing ſhould be required of him more than formerly; ſave only *to pay fifteen thouſand Talents of Eubæa to defray the charges of the War, by certain portions; four hundred to Eumenes (together with ſuch Corn as was due to him, by virtue of an agreement made with his Father) to give up* Hannibal, Thoas *the* Ætolian, *and other incendiaries, and laſtly, to deliver for the performance of theſe conditions twenty Hoſtages.* Theſe propoſals being accepted of, Ambaſſadors were out of hand diſpatched to *Rome*, to pray the confirmation of the Peace, which accordingly was ratified both by Senate and People; and for that *Eumenes* and the Ambaſſadors of *Rhodes*, differed about ſome Cities in *Aſia*, it was ordered by the *Fathers*, that the People inhabiting on this ſide *Taurus*, which before obeyed

Livius & Appian ut prius. Polyb. Legat. 25.

And hath well nigh the ſame terms as formerly were ſet him.

obeyed *Antiochus*, ſhould now be ſubject to *Eumenes*, except *Caria* and *Lydia* as far as *Mæander* : and theſe ſhould be delivered up to the *Rhodians*. As for the *Greek* Cities, they which were formerly tributaries to *Attalus*, ſhould ſo remain under *Eumenes* his Succeſſor; but ſuch as had been under the juriſdiction of *Antiochus*, ſhould be left to their own Laws : and ten Commiſſioners were ſent to compoſe all differences riſen betwixt the ſeveral Cities and States.

Juſtin lib. 32. *Valerius Maximus. l.* 4. *c.* 1. *Juſtin ibid. Strabo lib.* 16. *& Excerpt. Diodori.*

38. *Antiochus*, unwilling to give up *Hannibal*, gave him notice of what was required, that he might ſhift for himſelf. The Province of *Aſia* being taken from him, he ſaid the Conquerors dealt bountifully with him therein; for now ſeeing his Kingdom was contained within moderate bounds, he was only diſcharged from too great a burthen of Government. Two or three years after, he got another Army together, and having declared his Son *Seleucus* his Succeſſor, made a progreſs into the upper Provinces; where (either for that he really wanted money to pay the Tribute impoſed on him, or took that occaſion to pretend poverty) hearing the Temple of *Jupiter Belus* in *Elymais* to be exceeding rich, he went with his Forces by night and ſpoiled it of a vaſt treaſure, making a ſhow as if War had been made upon him by the Inhabitants thereabouts, who getting knowledg of it, came upon him, and without the help of any other, deſtroyed him and his whole Army. This is the end which, by the conſent of Hiſtorians, hapned to him; though one there be * that telleth us, how after he was overcome and baniſhed beyond the Mountain *Taurus*, he was ſlain by his Companions, whom he had beaten in a drunken fit. He died when he had reigned thirty ſix years, A. M. 3818. in the ſecond of the one hundred forty eighth *Olympiad*, one hundred and eighty five years before the *Æra* of Chriſt : *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, and *C. Flaminius* being *Conſuls*.

He is ſlain in *Elymais*.

* *Aurelius Victor de viris illuſtribus c.* 4.

His ſon *Seleucus* ſirnamed *Philopater* ſucceedeth him.

39. *Seleucus* his Son ſucceeded him (whom he formerly declared his Succeſſor as was ſaid) in the thirty fifth year of *Philip* King of *Macedonia*. This *Seleucus* Sirnamed *Philopater*, was no ſtirring man, and might have an excuſe for it, being ſo weakned by that blow his Father received from the *Romans*. Once he got together a conſiderable force of men, and prepared to paſs over *Taurus* to the aid of *Pharnaces* King of *Pontus* (who now waged War with *Ariarathes* of *Cappadocia*, and *Eumenes* of *Pergamus*) but bethinking himſelf that it was not lawful to do it, by virtue of the League which the People of *Rome* had made with his Father, he gave over his enterprize. He reverenced much at firſt the Temple of *Hieruſalem*, allowing out of his own revenues the charges of the publick Sacrifices; but afterwards his bounty was almoſt turned into rapacity by the means of *Simon* a *Benjamite*. This man being Captain of the Temple, and in contention with *Onias* the *High Prieſt*, when he could not have the better of him, told *Apollonius* Governor of *Cœleſyria* and *Phœnicia*, that in the treaſury there were great ſums of money, which the Prieſts having no need of, it might well enough be taken out into the Kings Coffers. *Apollonius* acquainting the King with this, he ſent *Heliodorus* his Treaſurer to ſeize upon the money, to whom *Onias* declared that it belonged to widows and orphans, that the ſum of it amounted but to four hundred talents of Silver, and two hundred of Gold, and that ſuch was the holineſs of the place, that it muſt not be violated. *Heliodorus* not being perſwaded by this, entered the Temple, and was ſmitten by an Angel dead for the preſent, but being reſtored by the prayers of *Onias*, returned to the King, declaring the holineſs of the place, and power of God. *Simon* after this calumniated *Onias*, as if he, who had well deſerved of his Nation, had been the cauſe of this evil, and being backed by *Apollonius*, in his fury proceeded to ſlaughters, ſo that *Onias* was forc'd to go to *Seleucus*, and, as ſome have it, got him baniſhed, though it ſeems not incredible that the King was dead ere he came to him, being ſlain by the treachery of *Heliodorus* after he had reigned twelve years.

A. M. 3818. *Ol.* 148. *ann.* 2. *V. C.* 567. *Seleucidarum* 126. *Ptol. Epiphanis* 17. *Appian ibib. Excerpt. Diodor. per Valeſium.* 2. *Maccab.* 3

The treachery of *Simon* a *Benjamite* againſt his religion and Country.

Seleucus is ſlain.

40. He left a ſon behind him named *Demetrius*, whom he ſent, being but young, to *Rome*, an Hoſtage in the room of *Antiochus* his younger brother; for that he was tyed by the agreement made with his Father, to change the Hoſtages at the pleaſure of the *Romans*. But when he dyed *Antiochus* was in his way home come as far as *Athens*. *Eumenes* therefore and *Attalus*, that they might bind him to them, being now a little offended at, and jealous of the *Romans*, drove out *Heliodorus*, who affected the Kingdom, and placed him in poſſeſſion of it. He was called by the *Syrians Epiphanes* or *Illuſtrious*, becauſe ſtrangers uſurping the Kingdom, he appeared the vindicator of the Dominion of his Anceſtors, though others accounted

Appian in Syriacis. Excerpt. Diodor. Siculi per Valeſium.

him rather *Epimanes* or *Mad*, becauſe of his Phanatick practices, and by the Angel he was termed *a vile perſon*. Being poſſeſſed of the Kingdom, he would ſlip privately out, with two other in his company, and wander about the City, keep company and drink with the meaneſt perſons, coming on a ſudden upon them with his cup and muſick. Laying off his robe he put on a gown, and according to the cuſtome of the *Roman Candidates* (who ſtood for Offices) took the people by the hand, deſiring their voices for the *Ædileſhip* or *Tribuneſhip* of the people. Having then obtained the Magiſtracy by the Suffrages of the people after the *Roman* manner, he ſate and gave Judgment out of an ivory chair with ſuch diligence, as the wiſeſt wondered what he meant, ſome attributing it to ſimplicity, ſome to imprudence, and others to madneſs it ſelf.

Antiochus his brother ſucceedeth him, Sirnamed *Epiphanes*.

A. M. 3829.
Ol. 151. *an.* 1.
V. C. 578.
Ptolom. Philometoris 5.

41. In *Syria* he was not acknowledged at firſt by thoſe who favoured *Ptolomy*; but afterwards obtained it by a counterfeit clemency, and then having entered into League with *Eumenes*, ſetled himſelf ſtrongly enough. In the beginning of his reign *Jaſon* the brother of *Onias* the third, the High-prieſt of the *Jews*, purchaſed the Prieſthood of him for three hundred ſixty Talents of Silver, and another rent of eighty Talents; and not ſatisfying himſelf with wronging his brother, promiſed one hundred and fifty more for a Licence to ſet up in *Jeruſalem* a place of exerciſe for the training up of youth after the faſhion of the Heathen, whereby an inlet was made, as unto idolatry, and prophaneneſs, ſo unto that bloodſhed and cruelty which enſued from the wickedneſs of this Prince, his inſtruments and ſucceſſors. For three years only kept he this Office, being then ſerved in his own kind. For, ſending *Menelaus* the brother of that *Simon* whom we before mentioned, to the King, to carry the money promiſed, and ſollicit his affairs, he circumvented him after the ſame manner he had done his brother, promiſing for the Prieſthood, over and above what he payed, three hundred Talents; ſo that he had his deſire, and *Jaſon* was forced to flie into the Country of the *Ammonites*. *Antiochus* being ſeized of *Cæleſyria*, *Ptolomy Philopater*, who pretended it belonged to him being paſſed over to his father as his mothers portion, ſought to recover it out of his hands, whereupon he marched down to *Ægypt*, which, having overthrown his Enemies in battel betwixt *Peluſium* and the mountain *Caſius*, he eaſily got into his power, pretending friendſhip to the young King for all this, and a provident care for his affairs. *Menelaus* taking occaſion at his abſence, took divers Golden Veſſels out of the Temple at *Jeruſalem*, ſome of which he gave away, and others he ſold to *Tyre*, and other places, for which being accuſed of Sacrilege by *Onias* the lawful-High-prieſt, he procured him to be murdered. Going on in ſuch miſchiefs he was accuſed to the King; but bribing *Ptolomy* the ſon of *Dorymenes*, got off, and procured the death of his accuſers. At this time *Antiochus* went down the ſecond time with a great power into *Ægypt*, which he recovered again (the King thereof flying before him) and getting the fortified Towns into his hands, there ſtaied, till the ſons of the *Jews* procured his return to their deſtruction.

Hieronym. in Dan. cap. 11.
Appian ibid.

Jaſon the *Jew* having bought the High-Prieſthood out of his brothers hands, is ſerved in the ſame manner by *Menelaus*.

2 *Maccab.* 4.

Antiochus ſeizeth on *Ægypt*.

Again.

2 *Maccab.* 5.

42. A falſe rumour being ſpread abroad of his death, *Jaſon* having got one thouſand men at his heels, ſet upon *Jeruſalem*, and getting the City into his hands, forced *Menelaus* into the Caſtle, and then made ſlaughters, as if he had not been amongſt his Countrymen and kindred, but foreigners and Enemies, yet obtained he not the Prieſthood, but was forced to betake himſelf back into the Country of the *Ammonites*, where being accuſed to *Aretas* King of the *Arabians*, he fled from place to place like a Vagabond, hated of all men as a forſaker of the Laws, and as the publick Enemy of his Country, and died at length at *Lacedæmon*. *Antiochus* hearing in *Ægypt* that they at *Hieruſalem* rejoyced at the report of his death, and ſuſpecting becauſe of theſe ſtirs of *Jaſon*, that *Judæa* was about to rebel, in a great rage departed thence, and came and took the City by force, and giving no quarter for three days ſpace, put eighty thouſand to the Sword, and afterwards ſold as many. Yet not contenting himſelf with this, he prophanely entered the Temple, *Menelaus* that Traitor to his Country being his guide, and rifling it of the holy Veſſels, killed ſwine upon the Altar, and with the broath of the fleſh of them ſprinkled the place; then taking away with him one thouſand eight hundred Talents, he got him back to *Antioch*, leaving behind him to afflict ſtill the people at *Jeruſalem* *Philip* a *Phrygian*, and *Andronicus* in *Samaria*; and beſides them *Menelaus* more grievous to, and deſpightful againſt, his fellow Citizens, than the other. Two years alſo after this, he ſent *Apollonius* a cruel man with an Army of twenty two thouſand, commanding him to kill all that were arrived at ripeneſs of age, and ſell the women and children for ſlaves. He coming to *Jeruſalem*, kept himſelf ſtill until the

Jaſon rageth at *Jeruſalem* againſt his Countrymen.

Antiochus his cruelty and prophaneneſs againſt *Jews* and Temple.

Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 13.

the *Sabbath*, and then taking the opportunity of the ſolemnity of the day, ſet upon thoſe imployed therein, then running through the City ſlew a great multitude, plundering and ſetting it on fire, pulled down the houſes and walls round about, and led away many women and children into captivity, whilſt *Antiochus* his Maſter was buſie again in his attempts upon *Ægypt*.

Excerpt. Diodori per Val.

He getteth all *Ægypt* into his hands except *Alexandria*.

Juſtin lib. 24. *Polybius Legat.* 84. *Livius l.* 44, & 45.

43. For *Ptolomy* being ſtirred up by *Æulaius* the *Eunuch* to attempt again the recovery of *Cæleſyria*, to prevent that, he went down into *Ægypt*, where putting him again to flight, he might have deſtroyed all his men, but riding to and fro himſelf to forbid it, he thereby procured ſuch love, as he preſently got into his hands *Peleuſium*, and not long after all *Egypt*, except *Alexandria*. *Ptolomy* after this ſent his Ambaſſadors to him, with thoſe of the *Achæans*, *Athenians*, and others, to excuſe the matter, and lay all the blame upon the *Eunuch*; but getting no good thereby, after he had ſpent ſome time careleſly without any further proviſion for his affaires, he departed to his younger brother to *Alexandria*, whom the Citizens there had made King after his overthrow. The *Alexandrians* at firſt received him, and made him partaker with his brother, but afterwards for ſome diſtaſte baniſhed him again, at which *Antiochus* took an opportunity, as thinking it beſt to accompliſh his deſigns, by pretending to protect and reduce him into his Kingdom; wherefore he engaged at *Peleuſium* with *Ptolomy* the younger in a naval fight, and getting the better, on a ſudain laid a bridge over the *Nile* and beſieged *Alexandria*. *Ptolomy* and *Cleopatra* his ſiſter being in this danger, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Rome* to crave aid; but he attempting once the walls, and experiencing the ſtrength of the places, having ſent his Ambaſſadors alſo to *Rome* after the other, raiſed his ſiege. About this time came the Ambaſſadors of the *Rhodians* to him to intercede, whom he put off, ſaying, that his intent was onely to re-eſtabliſh the elder *Ptolomy*, which if the *Alexandrians* would admit of, all things with his conſent might be compoſed. Preſently after this, leaving at *Memphis* *Ptolomy* the elder, for whoſe ſake he pretended to wage this War, and giving up the reſt of *Ægypt* to him, he only left a ſtrong Garriſon at *Peluſium*, and ſo departed into *Syria*, concluding with himſelf, that keeping this in his power, the key of the Country, he might ſafely ſuffer the two brothers to try out the quarrel; for the Conqueror being wearied beforehand, would eaſily be brought under by him.

A. M. 3835
Ol. 152. *an.* 3.
V. C. 584.
Antioch. Epiphan. 6.
Ptolom. Philomet. 10.

Retreateth.

Idem ibid. Polyb. Legat. 89.

44. The Ambaſſadors of *Ptolomy* obtained their deſire, the *Romans* being jealous of the increaſing power of *Antiochus*. For, *C. Popillius Lænas*, with two others, were ſent with order firſt to go to *Antiochus*, after that to *Ptolomy*, and to denounce unto them, that except they gave over the War, him that was the hinderer of the Peace they would not account as their friend or allie. Whilſt they were on their way, *Ptolomy* the elder bethinking himſelf what little cauſe he had to truſt *Antiochus*, ſent to his brother, and through the mediation of *Cleopatra* was reconciled to him, and reigned with him, the *Alexandrians* being willing to receive him, becauſe their City was much ſtraightened for proviſions, by reaſon of the Warr. *Antiochus* hearing this, contrary to his former pretences, was grievouſly fretted, and then more eagerly than ever preparing for the War againſt them both, ſent a Fleet againſt *Cyprus*, where *Ptolomie's* Forces were worſted, and in the beginning of Spring marched down for *Ægypt*. In *Cæleſyria* the Ambaſſadors of *Philometer* met him, and gave him thanks in their Maſters name, for that by his means he had obtained the Kingdom, deſiring he would continue his friend, and protect what he had helped him to, and rather ſay what he would have done, than by force to attempt it as an Enemy; but he replied, he would neither withdraw his Fleet nor Army, except he had all *Cyprus*, *Peluſium*, and all the ground lying upon that Mouth of the *Nile* given up unto him, and he ſet a day whereon at furtheſt he would have an anſwer to theſe conditions. *Popillius* and his companions hearing of his deſign (*Perſeus* of *Macedonia* being now overthrown) made haſte to get to him before he reached *Alexandria*, and ſtaying ſome time at *Rhodes*, they came to him, when he was but four miles off from the City, upon the ſight of whom he reached out his hand to *Popilius*; but he being a ſevere man, reached him the Tables, wherein was written the Decree of the Senate, which commanded him to abſtain from War, bidding him firſt to read them. Having peruſed them, he ſaid he would conſider with his friends what was to be done, and then give an anſwer, but *Popilius* after a certain inſolent faſhion made a Circle round about him with his Rod, and commanded him to anſwer before he went out of it; at which the King being amazed, after a little pauſe, ſaid he would do whatſoever the people of *Rome* commanded; and ſo within a ſhort time prefixed, grievouſly unwilling, and ſorrowing, but judging

He returneth into *Egypt*.

Livius ibid. Polyb. Legat. 92. *Valerius Maximus lib.* 6. *cap.* 4. *Appian ut prius.*

But is taken off by the *Romans* from further attempts.

it fit for the preſent to yield to the time, he drew out his Forces from *Egypt* and *Cyprus*.

1 Maccab. 1. & 2 Maccab. 6.

He perſecuteth the *Jews* for their Religion.

45. After this he publiſhed an Edict, commanding all throughout his Dominions to obſerve one and the ſame Religion, and relinquiſhing their own and former Rites, to conform themſelves to the Religion of the *Greeks* under pain of death, ſending divers Overſeers who ſhould compel each people to the obſervation of his Order. Into *Judæa* he ſent an old man of *Athens*, with order to defile the Temple, and name it the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius*, as that at *Gerizim* the Temple of *Jupiter Hoſpitalis*; he commanded the ſacrifices to be left off, the Sabbath he prohibited, he commanded them to defile the Sanctuary, built up Altars, Groves, and Chappels to Idols, to Sacrifice Swine, and other unclean beaſts, not to Circumciſe their ſons, but to forget the Law: Moreover, an order was ſent to the Neighbouring Cities, that they ſhould force the *Jews* to partake of their ſacrifices, and kill thoſe which would not come over to their Rites, ſo that many by fear obeyed, the Temple was polluted by the dalliances of the *Gentiles*, the abomination of deſolation, *viz.* the abominable Idol of *Jupitur Olympius* was ſet up therein, the Scriptures burnt, and a Decree publiſhed, that with whomſoever they ſhould be found, or whoſoever ſhould approve them, ſhould be put to death. Many yet were they that ſtood out, contemned the Kings Edict, and defiled not themſelves, ſo that being inraged he cauſed divers to be brought before him to force them by Torments, but they ſtood out couragiouſly, and enduring the pains ſealed the truth with their blood; amongſt whom are very notable the Mother and her ſeven Sons, from the eldeſt of them called *Maccabæans*. The rage of this perſecution coming to *Modin*, a Town ſituate near to *Dioſpolis* found ſome oppoſition; for there *Mattathias* a Prieſt eminent in degree, eſpecially for his five Sons, not onely refuſed to ſacrifice, but killed a *Jew* at the Altar that was ſo doing, and after that the Kings Officer who was ſent to compel the people. Then exhorting all that were zealous for their Law to follow him, he fled with his Sons into the Mountain.

1 Maccab. 2.

Mattathias maketh oppoſition.

46. Many went out after him, and lived with their Wives, Children, and Cattel, in Dens, and Caves, which coming to the knowledge of *Philip* the Governour of *Jeruſalem*, the Garriſon Soldiers were preſently drawn out to purſue them, ſo that falling on them on the Sabbath, and they not at all reſiſting for the obſervance thereof, they caſt in fire, and burnt them to the number of one thouſand perſons. *Mattathias*, and they that were with him hearing this, reſolved for the time to come to repulſe the Enemy on the Sabbath, and then the *Aſidæans*, a ſort of religious men joyning with him, with ſuch as dayly fled out of the Country, he made up a little Army, and therewith proſecuted the wicked ones, and drove them to fly to the Nations about, pulled down the Altars, and Circumciſed ſuch Children as they found in the Coaſts of *Iſrael*; then after he had been Captain of this wandring Company the ſpace of a year, he died, leaving his ſon *Simon* for a Counſellor, and *Judas* ſirnamed *Maccabæus* for a Captain to them. This *Mattathias* was the Son of *John*, and Grand-ſon to *Simeon*, ſirnamed *Aſmonæus*. * *Jacobus Cappellus* thinketh that this *Simeon* was *Simon* the ſecond, ſon of *Onias* the ſecond, and Grand-ſon to *Simon* the firſt, ſirnamed *Juſt*. But *Schinlerus* thinketh this *Simeon* to have been the Son of *Hiſmonæus*. From the * words of *Joſephus* it ſhould ſeem that *Mattathias* was the Great-grand-ſon of *Aſmonæus*, ſo called, or *Haſmon*, from whom his poſterity were named *Haſmonæans*. * *David* uſeth the word *Haſmanim* to expreſs *Ambaſſadors*, *Princes*, or *Great-men*. It is alſo obſerved that the *Jews* in *Italy* call the *Cardinals Haſmannim* or *Haſmonæans*.

1 Maccab. 3.
* *Ad* A. M. 3832.
* Ματθιας ὗιος Ἰωάννȣ τȣ̃ Συμεῶνος τȣ̃ Ἀσσαμωναίȣ.
* *Pſal.* 68. 32.

And *Judas* his ſon after him.

47. *Judas* being aſſiſted by his brethren, and his Fathers followers, fell upon the Enemy, burnt divers of their Towns, and ſeized upon the Commodious places, coming uſually upon them in the night, ſo as he forced many of them to quit the Land; *Apollonius* the Governour of *Samaria* coming againſt him, he overthrew, and ſlew him, and getting his Sword, ever after uſed it in the Wars, and after him he overthrew alſo *Seron*, who governed *Cæle-Syria*. *Antiochus* in this mean while lying about *Antioch*, made there Magnificent Games and Shows, imploying the money he had got in *Egypt*, and out of the Temples he had rifled, to that end and purpoſe, and entertaining his Gueſts in a vile and ſervile kind of obſervance. This being ended, an Ambaſſador from *Rome* arrived at his Court, ſent on purpoſe to ſpy out his deſigns. Whom he received with ſuch courteſie, as overdoing in that point, he eaſily concealed the grudge he had conceived for his ſtop at *Alexandria*, and the bent of his mind which was ſufficiently alienated from the *Romans*. But hearing of the ſucceſs

Polyb. Legat. 101. & 109.

Which inrageth *Antiochus.*

of *Maccabæus*, and the loſs of his Forces, he was exceedingly inraged, muſtered all his Army, to which he gave a years pay, and commanded they ſhould be ready at all occaſions.

1 Maccab. 3.

Who intending to go againſt him, yet changeth his mind and giveth order to *Lyſias* to deſtroy the *Jews.*

2 Maccab. 8.

He ſendeth ſeveral Captains into *Judæa.*

48. He purpoſed to march againſt *Maccabæus*, but ſeeing his Treaſury exhauſted by the pay of the Army (for that the *Jews* now being revolted, he thereby loſt his three hundred Talents of annual Tribute, and much alſo which he was wont to receive from other places, which being unwilling to quit their own religions as well as the other, were in combuſtions) and fearing he ſhould not have to ſatisfie for his gifts, wherein he took a pride to exceed all his anceſtors, he reſolved to make a progreſs into *Perſia*, and the upper Countries, to gather the Tributes thereof, and fill his Coffers. But before his departure, making *Lyſias* his Kinſman Governour of the Regions betwixt *Euphrates* and *Egypt*, to whoſe care he alſo committed his young ſon, he gave to him half his forces, and this in charge, to blot out the Nation of the *Jews* utterly, and to give their Country to ſtrangers to inhabit. *Philip* the Governour of *Jeruſalem* ſeeing to what an height *Maccabæus* was grown, wrote to *Ptolomy* the ſon of *Dorymenes* the Governour of *Cœleſyria* and *Cilicia*, who preſently diſpatched *Nicanor* one of his chiefeſt friends, and the ſon of *Patroclus* with twenty thouſand men, joyning *Gorgias* to him, a man of great experience; and not long after he himſelf was ſent by *Lyſias* with more aid, ſo that all three together made an Army of forty thouſand Foot, and ſeven thouſand Horſe. *Antiochus* at this time was behind hand in his Tribute to the *Romans* two thouſand Talents, therefore *Nicanor* reſolved to raiſe this money out of *Jewiſh* ſlaves, and ſent about for Chapmen for them, promiſing ninety perſons for a Talent; ſo that one thouſand Merchants came together with ready money into his Camp; more forces alſo from *Syria* and the Countrey of the *Philiſtins* came in to him.

1 Maccab. 4.

But they are defeated.

And *Lyſias* himſelf.

2 Maccab. 10.

49. *Judas* having kept a faſt at *Morpah* (becauſe the Heathen now held *Jeruſalem*, and the Temple was defiled) for his good ſucceſs againſt ſo great an Army, having himſelf but ſix or ſeven thouſand men, gave all the fearful, thoſe that had built Houſes, married Wives, or planted Vineyards leave to depart, according to the Law of *Moſes*; then marched down to *Emmaus* where the Enemy was incamped. That night *Gorgias* thinking to oppreſs the *Jews*, at unawares, came to their Tents with a party of five thouſand Foot and one thouſand Horſe; but *Judas* having notice thereof turned it to his own advantage, reſolving to go and fall upon *Nicanor* in the abſence of the other, whom he knew to be the more experienced Captain. *Gorgias* finding the Camp empty, thought the owners had fled for fear of him into the Mountains, and ſought for them there, but they being got to *Nicanor* ingaged with him in the morning, and routed his whole Army, laying above nine thouſand dead upon the place; ſo that he and his men perceiving preſently what was done by the ſmoke of their Camp now ſet on fire, fled amain, and the *Jews* coming to plunder the field found great Treaſure, of which part being ſet aſide for the infirm, Widows, and Orphans, the reſt the Soldiers divided amongſt them. After this, *Judas* overthrew *Timotheus* and *Bachides*, both of the Kings party, killing above twenty thouſand men, ſo that then they recovered many ſtrong holds, at which *Lyſias* was exceedingly troubled, things falling out ſo contrary to his expectations, and the next year invaded *Judæa* with an army of ſixty thouſand choice foot, and five thouſand horſe, but being met by *Judas* with ten thouſand men, he was received with ſuch reſolution that with the loſs of five thouſand he was glad to retreat to *Antioch*, intending greater preparations for his next expedition. *Judas* returning to *Jeruſalem* cleanſed the Temple, and offered ſacrifice upon a new Altar, after the Heathen had held it juſt three years; then kept they a feaſt for eight dayes, and ordered it to be obſerved to poſterity, which in the Goſpel is called *the Feaſt* of the *Dedication.*

Appian. *in Syriacis.*

Antiochus in the mean time proſpereth in the upper Countreys.

2 Maccab. 9.

50. *Antiochus* in the mean while waged War againſt *Artaxias* King of *Armenia*, and that with ſuch ſucceſs, as cutting off many of his men, he took him priſoner. Afterwards hearing that the City *Elymais* in *Perſia* was exceeding rich, and therein a Temple (of *Venus*, or *Diana*, both being aſſerted) wherein were laid up very rich Arms left by *Alexander* the Great, he being greedy of this prey, attempted to rifle them both, but the Inhabitants taking Arms, repelled, and cauſed him ſhamefully to retreat. Being come to *Ecbatane*, he there heard of the overthrow of *Nicanor* and *Timotheus*, and then journeying towards *Babylon*, in the Borders of *Perſia*, of the defeat given to that great Army of *Lyſias*, the throwing down the Idol of *Jupiter Olympius*, and the fortification of the Sanctuary, whereupon he fell into a great rage, reſolved to revenge himſelf upon the *Jews* for his ſhameful retreat, and commanded

And in his return hearing of the miſcarriage of *Lyſias*, and the reſt breathes revenge, but is preſently ſtruck with a foul diſeaſe.

commanded his Chariot driver to make ſpeed, ſaying, he would make *Jeruſalem* the common burying place of them when he ſhould come thither. Scarce had he made an end of threatning, when he was ſuddenly ſtruck with exceeding torment in his bowels, which yet reduced him not to any good conſtitution of mind, he ſtill breathing fury and revenge againſt the *Jews*, and crying out to make haſte, but the Chariot being driven very faſt, he was ſhaken out of it, and by the fall ſo ſore bruiſed, that he was conſtrained to betake himſelf to his Litter, and then Worms crawled out of his body, the fleſh whereof rotted, and fell from him yet alive. None could endure to carry him for the ſtench thereof, which alſo offended his Army, wherefore being forced to ſtay his journey, he ſtayed at *Taba*, a Town in *Perſia*. Before his death he confeſſed this to have falln upon him for the injuries offered to the *Jews*, acknowledged the Soveraignty of God, and his own pride, vowed if God would reſtore him, to grant immunities to his people, to adorn his Temple, to turn *Jew* himſelf, and to travel through the habitable world to declare his ſtrength and power. And when he perceived his end to draw near, he wrote moſt kind Letters to the *Jews*, deſiring them to ſtand faithful to him, and his ſon after him, then conſtituting *Philip*, who had been brought up with him, the *Protector* and Guardian of his ſon, till he ſhould come to age, he died, after he had reigned twelve years, A. M. 3841. after the beginning of *Seleucus* the 149. the firſt of the 154 *Olympiad*.

A. M. 3841. *Ol.* 154. *ann.* 1. *Seleucida* 149. *Ptol. Philomet.* 17.

And dieth.

Antiochus Eupater.

51. *Antiochus* his Son, a Child of nine years old ſucceeded him, ſirnamed *Eupator* by the *Syrians* for his fathers virtue. Him *Lyſias* governed, who had brought him up; ſo that *Philip* his deſigned Guardian by his Father fled into *Egypt*, and *Ptolomy* the Son of *Dorymenes*, for that being convinced how the *Jews* were wronged, he went about to compoſe the difference with them, was forced to drink poyſon. *Demetrius* the ſon of *Seleucus Philopater*, whom we before ſaid to have been ſent Hoſtage to *Rome*, hearing there of his Uncles death, deſired of the Senate that he might be reſtored to his Fathers Kingdom, ſo long unjuſtly detained from him, affirming he eſteemed of *Rome* as his own Country, in which he had been brought up; of the ſons of Senators as his Brethren, and themſelves as ſo many Fathers; but they judging it more for their intereſt that the Kingdom of *Syria* ſhould be under a child than one of mans Eſtate (ſuch as he was, being now twenty three years old) reſolved it ſhould be ſecured to *Antiochus*, and preſently ordered three Commiſſioners to be ſent thither to ſettle the affairs thereof, according to inſtructions received from themſelves, which might now be done eaſily enough, the King himſelf being ſo young, and his Courtiers thinking they were well enough dealt withall, ſo *Demetrius* was not reſtored; but eſpecially they gave them in charge to burn all the Ships they ſhould find there, not allowed to *Antiochus* by the League, and hough the Legs of all the Elephants, and diminiſh the Kings ſtrength as much as poſſible. Theſe things being executed, provoked one *Leptinus* ſo far as he ſlew *Cn. Octavius* the chief Commiſſioner (and who firſt brought the Conſulſhip into his family, out of which *Auguſtus Cæſar* iſſued) whom *Lyſias*, though he was ſuſpected to incenſe the People againſt the *Romans*, honourably buried, and diſpatched quickly Ambaſſadors to *Rome* in the Kings name to diſclaim any conſciouſneſs to the fact.

Appian in Syriacis.

2 Maccab. 10.

Demetrius the Son of *Seleucus Philopater* and the right heir, deſireth of the *Romans* to reſtore him; but they out of policy refuſe it.

Polyb. Legat. 107.

52. *Gorgias* being Governour of the parts about *Judæa*, fomented a continual War with the *Jews*, and with him joyned the *Idumeans*, who received all runnagates, and gave them entertainment. Againſt thoſe therefore, *Judas Maccabæus* marched, took divers places, and put twenty thouſand to the Sword, after which turning upon the *Ammonites*, he overthrew them in divers ingagements, and taking *Jazer* with the Territories thereto belonging, returned again into *Judæa*. *Timotheus* the General of the *Ammonites* hereat inraged, and gathering many men out of *Aſia*, came as if he would devour *Judæa*; but *Judas* with his having humbled themſelves, and called upon the name of God, gave him battel, in which twenty thouſand five hundred Foot, and ſix hundred of his Horſe being ſlain, he fled to *Gazara*, a ſtrong Garriſon kept by his brother, but that being taken he was pulled out of a Cave where he had hid himſelf, and ſlain, together with the other. After this the Nations about *Galaad* and *Galile* afflicting ſore the *Jews*, *Maccabæus* divided his Army into three parts, one of which (*viz.* three thouſand men) he delivered to his brother *Simon* to relieve them of *Galile*, the ſecond to *Joſeph* the Son of *Zechariah*, to defend *Judæa*, giving it in charge not to fight with any Enemy till his return, with the other he marched himſelf to the ſuccour of them in *Galaad*. *Simon* fought many battels with the Enemy, and killed many of them, brought his Countreymen

2 *Maccab.* 10.

Gorgias fomenteth a War with the *Jews*.

1 *Maccab.* 5.

Judas is victorious.

men into *Judæa* with great gladneſs, and *Judas* had the like ſucceſs, taking many Towns, and putting many thouſands to the Sword; but thoſe that were left at home deſiring alſo upon the report hereof to atchieve ſome military glory, marched to *Jamnia*, whence *Gorgias* iſſuing out, put them to flight, and following the chaſe as far as the borders of *Judæa*, killed about two thouſand of them.

2 Maccab. 11. & 12.

53. *Lyſias* the King's *Protector* and chief Miniſter of State, was diſpleaſed at the report of *Judas*'s ſucceſs, and taking eighty thouſand Foot with all the Horſe along with him, reſolved to make *Jeruſalem* an habitation for the *Greeks*, the Temple to pay tribute, and the Prieſthood thereof to ſet to ſale every year. He came and beſieged *Bethſura* nigh to *Jeruſalem*; but *Maccabæus* then meeting with him killed eleven thouſand of his Foot, with one thouſand ſix hundred Horſe-men, and forced him with the reſt (many of them wounded and diſarmed) to ſhift for themſelves. Conſidering this defeat, and that God fought for the *Jews*, he ſent to them to treat of Peace, and according to his promiſe brought the King to yield to ſuch reaſonable conditions as were offered by *Maccabæus*; but it was quickly broken by *Timotheus*, and other Captains, that governed the places adjoyning to *Judæa*, at which time they of *Joppe* alſo drawing two hundred *Jews* craftily on ſhipboard, drowned them in the Sea. *Judas* hearing this, went and burned all the Veſſels in the Haven at *Joppe*, and underſtanding that the inhabitants of *Jamnia* had alſo intended ſuch a thing againſt his Country-men, he did as much for them; then marching againſt *Timotheus*, the *Arabian Nomades* ſet upon him, being five thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe, but were ſo entertained, as yielding themſelves, with a promiſe of giving up their Cattel, and being at his beck for the time to come, they obtained Peace. After this he ſtormed the City *Caſpis* (wherein was ſuch a ſlaughter made of the Inhabitants, that a Lake thereto adjoyning ſeemed to be full of blood) and then proceeding ſeven hundred and fifty Furlongs came to the *Jews* called *Tubieni* inhabiting the Land of *Tob* (concerning which mention is made in the Book of *Judges*) whence *Timotheus* was departed, but had left a ſtrong Garriſon, which being taken by *Doſitheus* and *Soſipater* two of *Judas* his Officers, they put to the ſword above ten thouſand men.

Lyſias again defeated.

And the *Scythian Nomades*.

Chap. 11.

1 *Maccab.* 5. & 2 *Maccab.* 12.

54. *Timotheus* gathered together from the Nations round about him and the *Arabians* a hundred and twenty thouſand Foot, and two thouſand five hundred Horſe, wherewith, putting up the women and children into a ſtrong Fort called *Carnion*, he came and pitched his Tents againſt *Raphon* beyond the brook; but his great multitude was ſo ſurprized with fear upon the approaching of *Judas*, that every man ſhifted for himſelf, and what by their running upon one anothers Swords, and the purſute which *Maccabæus* followed on with much earneſtneſs, thirty thouſand of them were ſlain, and he himſelf fell into the hands of *Doſitheus* and *Soſipater*, from whom he obtained his liberty, upon promiſe of diſmiſſing ſuch of their Country-men as he had taken. *Judas* then proceeding took *Carnion*, wherein twenty five thouſand were put to the Sword, after which he gathered all the *Jews* out of *Galaad* to bring them into *Judæa*, and for that the City *Ephron*, through which they muſt needs paſs, denyed them entrance, they took it by force, and deſtroying the Inhabitants, went through and came up to *Jeruſalem* to the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt*. The Feaſt being ended, he taking three thouſand Foot, and four hundred Horſe along with him, went and fought with *Gorgias*, whom one *Doſitheus* of *Bacenor* his Company had once taken, but holding him by the Cloak, a certain *Thracian* came and cut off his ſhoulder, ſo that the Priſoner eſcaped. After the Victory the *Jews* coming to ſtrip and bury ſuch of their own party as had faln that day, found under their coats certain things dedicated to the idols of *Jamnia*, ſo that it appearing that this being forbidden them by the Law was the cauſe of their death, they betook themſelves by Prayer to God, intreating that it might not be charged upon them all. After this *Judas* ſubdued the *Edomites*, and the *Philiſtines*, their idols he burnt, and overthrew their altars, and then returning into *Judæa*, for that he found the Kings Garriſon Souldiers which yet kept the Caſtle to ſtraighten and infeſt the *Iſraelites* about the Sanctuary, with all the People, he beſieged them cloſe, but ſome of them with certain *Jewiſh* fugitives getting out, went ſtraight to *Antiochus*, and perſwaded him with all expedition to come and give a check to the growing power of the *Jews*.

As alſo *Timotheus*.

And *Gorgias*.

The *Edomites* and *Philiſtines* ſubdued.

1 *Maccab.* 6.

Ibid. & 2 *Maccab.* 13.

55. *Antiochus* gathering together all his friends and Captains, and a great Army (concerning the number of which the two Books of *Maccabees* differ) in a great rage marched thither, intending to deal worſe with them than his father had done before him, and to him *Menelaus* joyned himſelf, hoping by his means to regain the

Prieſthood.

Antiochus beſiegeth *Bethſura*,

Which being taken, he beſiegeth *Jeruſalem*,

But is called away by the motions of *Philip.*

Prieſthood. Paſſing through *Idumæa* he came and ſate down before *Bethſura*, where *Judas* by night with a choice party fell upon his Camp, and piercing as far as his own Tent ſlew four thouſand men, and the prime Elephant, with thoſe upon him, and giving an Alarm to the whole Army at break of the day, ſafely retreated, whereupon the King marched towards him the next day, and coming to an engagement loſt ſix hundred men more; but the *Jews* ſeeing themſelves overpowered, retreated. Then returned he to the ſiege, which *Judas* ſore moleſted, cutting off many of his men, and relieving the beſieged with proviſions, who being not provided within themſelves, becauſe this was the *Sabbatical* year, yielded up the Town upon compoſition. *Antiochus* having herein placed a Garriſon marched up to *Jeruſalem*, and there made all proviſion poſſible for gaining it, all manner of engines being raiſed for the caſting of fire and ſtones; which the beſieged reſiſted as well as they might by others of their own, but as for proviſions, were in no better condition than they of *Bethſura* had been, which gave opportunity enough to the King; but before he could perfect his work, came news that *Philip*, whom his Father had ordained to be his guardian, being returned out of *Egypt*, was coming with the Forces which *Epiphanes* had left in *Perſia* and *Media* to recover his right uſurped by *Lyſias*. Hereupon both he and his Captains were preſently perſwaded by *Lyſias* (becauſe their proviſions began to fail, the place was ſtrong, and the affairs of the Kingdom required it) to make Peace with the beſieged upon ſuch terms as they required.

A Temple built to God at *Heliopolis* by the procurement of *Onias.*

56. Going to the Temple he offered ſacrifice, and ſhewed civility and reſpect towards the place, but a little after conſidering the ſtrength thereof, cauſed the wall round about to be demoliſhed, contrary to his oath. Then returning to *Ptolemais*, the Inhabitants being great Enemies to the *Jews*, ſtickled hard to break the League, but *Lyſias* by his defence quieted their minds, and confirmed the Peace. The King haſting thence towards *Antioch*, *Lyſias* accuſed *Menelaus* the High-prieſt to him, as an incendiary, and he that had been the cauſe of the War, ſo that being thrown into a Tower full of aſhes, he there miſerably ended his life, and in his room was ſubſtituted one *Alcimus* of *Aron's* line, but not of the family of the Prieſts, through *Lyſias* his direction, which *Onias* the ſon of the laſt *Onias* the Prieſt underſtanding, went into *Ægypt*, where inſinuating himſelf into *Ptolomy Philometor* and *Cleopatra*, he obtained a Temple like that at *Jeruſalem* to be built in the Province of *Heliopolis*, and himſelf to be made Prieſt thereof. *Antiochus* coming to *Alexandria*, found *Philip* Maſter thereof, but ſetting upon it he took it by force, and taking him therein put him to death, and ſo quickly quieted theſe ſtirs, being reſerved with his Guardian, though but a little time, for others more dangerous. His Ambaſſadors now, which *Lyſias* had ſent about the death of *Octavius*, had been at *Rome*, where labouring to clear him of the fact, they were ſent back without anſwer, whereat *Demetrius* the ſon of *Seleucus* being much ſtartled, began to caſt again in his head how to obtain his freedom, and the Kingdom, according to his title, which was ſo clear and evident.

A. M. 3842.
Ol. 145. *ann.* 2.
Seleucidarnm 150.
Antiochi Eupatoris 2.
Ptolom. Philolemet. 18.
V. C. 591.
Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 12. *cap.* 15.

Polybius Legat. 114.
1 *Maccab.* 7. & 2 *Maccab.* 14.

Demetrius the right heir eſcapeth from *Rome.*

57. Conſulting with *Polybius* the *Achæan* and *Hiſtorian*, whether he ſhould not once more move the Senate in the buſineſs, he adviſed him not to daſh himſelf twice againſt the ſame Rock, but attempt ſomething of himſelf worthy of a Kingdom, hinting thereby what he would have him to do. But he being ruled by one *Apollonius* his intimate friend, but a young unexperienced man, requeſted the Fathers again, that at leaſt he might not be conſtrained to ſtay there as an Hoſtage, ſeeing they had ſecured the Kingdom of his Couſin *Antiochus*. They yet remained in the ſame opinion, and reſolved as formerly, ſo that then he conſulted how to eſcape, firſt with *Diodorus* a cunning man, who was come from *Syria*, and had belonged to him, and then with *Polybius*, who procured *Menethyllus* the *Ægiptian* Ambaſſador to hire a *Carthaginian* ſhip juſt then ſailing for *Tyre*; ſo that *Diodorus* being ſent before to feel the Peoples mind, and ſeek for advantages, he taking a few friends along with him ſupped at a friends houſe, whither, for fear he ſhould ſtay too long, *Polybius* ſent him a ſecret hint, not to let ſlip this opportunity; whereupon making as though he was ſick, he aroſe from the table, and came that night to *Oſtia* upon the mouth of *Tyber*. *Menethyllus* going before told the Maſter of the ſhip, that he had received orders from his Prince to reſide ſtill at *Rome*; but that he would ſend ſome young men of approved fidelity to him, to acquaint him with the affairs of his negotiation: So *Demetrius* and his followers going on ſhipboard, away they ſailed by break of day. At *Rome* nothing was known of his eſcape till the fourth day. On the fifth the Senate met about it; yet did not make any proviſion

A. M. 3843.
Ol. 154. *ann.* 3.
V. V. 592.
Seleucidarum 151.
Ptol. Philom. 19.

viſion for the purſuing of him, thinking it to be too late; but a few days after, they ſent three Commiſſioners into *Greece*, who viewing the affairs there, were commanded thence to paſs into *Aſia*, and amongſt other things have an eye to what he ſhould attempt.

58. Landing in *Lycia*, he thence wrote to the Senate, that he had no intentions to diſturb his Couſin *Antiochus*, but only revenge upon *Lyſias* the death of *Octavius*; then getting into his hands *Tripolis*, a Town of *Phœnicia*, as ſent by the Senate to poſſeſs the Kingdom, none gain-ſaid him; ſo that he ſeized alſo upon *Sparnea*. Thence, having gotten ſome forces together, he marched towards *Antioch*, out of which *Antiochus*, with *Lyſias* his Covernour (for that they thought he was ſent by the *Romans*, and therefore feared to oppoſe him) coming out to meet him in a friendly manner, was preſently made away, after he had reigned about two years. *Demetrius* having thus obtained the Kingdom, diſplaced *Heraclides*, whom *Epiphanes* his Uncle had made Treaſurer at *Babylon*, and his Brother *Timarchus*, whom he had alſo placed Governour there; for that he had badly behaved himſelf in his Office, whence from the *Babylonians* he got the ſirname of *Soter*, the next after *Antiochus* the ſon of *Seleucus Nicator*, as * *Appian* obſerveth. The *Roman* Commiſſioners being now come to *Ariarathes* into *Cappadocia*, he ſent *Menocharis* thither to them, to deal with them about his confirmation in the Kingdom; offered alſo to *Ariarathes* the Widow of *Perſeus* of *Macedonia*, and his ſiſter to wife; but he refuſed her for fear of giving offence to the *Romans*. After the return of *Menocharis* and his report, thinking it his main intereſt to obliege theſe men, he caſt off all other things, and labouring to pleaſe them, ſent firſt to them into *Pamphylia*, then to *Rhodes*, offering to do any thing whereby to purchaſe his being acknowledged King by the *Romans*, and *Tiberius* one of the Commiſſioners ſtood him in great ſtead for the obtaining of this his deſire. He ſhortly after ſent *Menocharis*, and others in Ambaſſage to *Rome*, and with them *Leptines* the murderer of *Octavius* (who offered himſelf to be ſent) and a Crown of Gold in token of his thankfulneſs for his good uſage all the time of his being an Hoſtage. The Senate long deliberating upon the buſineſs, reſolved at length not to receive *Leptines*, leſt they ſhould ſeem to be ſatisfied for the publick affront; but rather lay the blame upon all *Syria*, and reſerve to themſelves an occaſion of revenge, when, and as often as they ſhould ſee convenient: as for *Demetrius* himſelf, they beſtowed their friendſhip upon him, with this condition, if he would give ſufficient caution to be thenceforth as much in their power as formerly.

Zonarus ex Dione. *Joſeph.lib.* 12. *cap.* 16. *Juſtin lib.* 34. *Lib. Maccab. ut ſuprà.*

Getteth the Kingdom, and killeth *Seleucus.*

* *In Syriacis.* *Polybius Legat.* 120 & 122.

He courteth the Commiſſioners of *Rome* that he may be owned as King.

A. M. 3844. *Ol.* 154. *ann.* 4. *V. C.* 593. *Seleucid.* 152. *Demet. Soter.* 2. *Ptol. Philom.* 20.

59. *Alcimus*, who had procured from *Eupator* to be made high-Prieſt, and now was not received nor owned by the people, becauſe that in the days of *Epiphanes* he had defiled himſelf, came to *Demetrius* with other Apoſtates, and ſuch like as himſelf, and accuſed his Country-men, eſpecially the *Haſmonæans* (i. e. *Judas* and his brethren) that they had cut off, and baniſhed his friends; whereupon he ſent one *Bachides* a truſty friend with great Forces into *Judæa*, confirming the Prieſthood to *Alcimus*, whom he ſent back with him. All their deſign, being arrived there, was to get *Judas* into their hands; divers *Scribes* going out to them to ſollicit for peace, being confident becauſe the Prieſt was of the ſeed of *Aaron*, he moſt wickedly, and contrary to his Oath given, ſlew ſixty of them in one day; then *Bachides* going from *Hieruſalem*, ſent about, and cauſed divers that had fled from him, and many of the people whom being ſlain he caſt into a great pit, and ſo committing the Country to *Alcimus* (to the defence of which he left him ſome Forces) he returned unto his King. After his departure, *Alcimus* ſtriving to confirm himſelf in the Prieſthood, made great havock of the people, to reſtrain which, *Judas* went throughout the Country, and compelled his party to ſhut themſelves up within their holds, and growing ſtronger, he reſtrained their invaſions, ſo that *Alcimus* being afraid of him goes once more unto the King, carrying along with him a Crown of Gold, a Palm, and of the boughs which were uſed ſolemnly in the Temple; and ſeeing he could not have any more acceſs to the Holy Altar, taking a fit opportunity when he was asked of the affairs of his Country, accuſed the *Aſidæans*, and eſpecially *Judas*, as ſeditious, of depriving him of the Prieſthood (the honour as he ſaid of his Anceſtors) and plainly affirmed that as long as *Maccabæus* lived, the Kings affairs could not be ſecure. This being ſeconded by ſome ill-willers to the *Jews*, *Demetrius* was inflamed, and ſending for *Nicanor* one of his chiefeſt Princes, and a bitter Enemy to the *Iſraelites*, made him Captain over *Judæa*, and ſent him forth with a Command to ſlay *Judas*, to ſcatter them that were with him, and make *Alcimus* High-Prieſt of the great Temple.

1 Maccab. 7. 1 Mac. 14.

Bachides ſent by him againſt the *Jews.*

Leaveth *Alcimus* the High-Prieſt with ſome forces.

Who accuſing *Judas*, *Nicanor* is ſent againſt him.

Nicanor at firſt much loveth *Maccabæus.*

Then complained of by *Alcimus* ſeeketh his deſtruction.

His blaſphemous threats.

60. When he was come thither, and underſtood the courage and reſolution of *Judas*, his brethren and companions, for the defence of their Country, he feared to try the chance of War, and ſent to make peace with the people, who having agreed unto the Covenants, the two Captains came together to conſult about the League. *Nicanor* was ſo taken with *Judas* that he continued with him, loved him in his heart, and perſwaded him to marry, and beget Children; and ſo remained conſtant in his affection to him, till *Alcimus* perceiving it, and underſtanding the Covenants which were made betwixt them, took a third journey to the King, told him that *Nicanor* had taken ſtrange matters in hand, and appointed *Judas*, a Traitor to the Realm, to be his Succeſſor. *Demetrius* being hereat diſpleaſed, by Letters checked him for theſe things, and commanded him in all haſt to ſend *Maccabæus* bound in Chains unto *Antioch*, which grievouſly troubled him, that he, who had done no hurt, ſhould be thus uſed, but conceiving it neceſſary for him to comply with the pleaſure of the King, he waited for a convenient opportunity to accompliſh it. Behaving himſelf thenceforth more roughly to him, the other ſuſpected ſomething by the great change of his demeanour, and therefore gathering a few of his men, withdrew himſelf from him, but he followed him with a ſtrong power to *Hieruſalem*, and drawing him out to talk with him, had prepared ſome to ſeize on him; yet he having notice hereof got away, and would ſee him no more. Seeing his deſign to be diſcovered, he went and fought with him near *Capharſalama*, in which he loſt about five thouſand of his men, and the reſt fled into the City of *David.* After this he came up to Mount *Sion*, and ſome of the Prieſts with the Elders of the people went forth of the Sanctuary to ſalute him peaceably, and ſhew him the burnt-offering that was offered for the King; but he jearing hereat, demanded *Judas* to be delivered unto him, and they affirming with an Oath that they knew not where he was, he ſtretching out his hand againſt the Temple, ſwore that except *Judas* and his Forces were delivered up, he would when he ſhould return in peace, ſet the ſanctuary on fire, demoliſh the Altar, and build there a ſtately Temple to *Bacchus*. The Prieſts hearing this, went in, and ſtanding before the Altar, with tears begged of God that he would fruſtrate the mans intentions, and be avenged upon him and his Hoſt for his blaſphemous words.

1 Maccab. 7. & 2. 15.

He is ſlain in battel.

The end of the ſecond book of *Maccabees.*

1 Maccab. 8. & 9.

Bachides and *Alcimus* ſent into *Judæa* againſt *Judas.*

Maccabæus is ſlain.

61. Hearing that *Judas* was gone from *Jeruſalem* into *Samaria*, he went and pitched his Tents in *Bethhoron*, where new ſupplies from *Syria* came to him, the Enemy being in *Hadaſa* thirty Furlongs off, with no more than three thouſand men. He would fain have fought on the Sabbath day, which the *Jews*, who were conſtrained to follow, friendly dehorting him from, with great blaſphemy uttered againſt God, he refuſed to hear them, demanding if there were a living Lord in Heaven, who commanded that ſeventh day to be kept, and ſaying, he himſelf was mighty upon earth to command them to Arm themſelves, and to perform the Kings buſineſs. But coming to the ingagement, he himſelf was ſlain firſt, which when his Army ſaw, they caſt away their Arms and fled, and the *Iſraelites* following the chace ſlew thirty thouſand, ſo that not one of the Army was left remaining. Coming to the plunder of the field they cut off *Nicanor*'s head and hands, and carryed them to *Jeruſalem*, where they were hung up before the Temple, his tongue being cut in pieces, and caſt unto the Fowls. Then they decreed, that the thirteenth day of the twelfth month *Adar* (as the *Syrians* call it) the day before *Mardocheus* his day, ſhould be obſerved every year, as the Author of the ſecond book of *Maccabees* tells us, who with this ſtory finiſheth his work, being the *Epitome* of the five books of *Jaſon*, a *Jew* of *Cyrene.* After *Nicanor*'s death, *Judæa* was quiet for ſome time, and then *Judas* hearing of the power of the *Romans*, and their compaſſion of the diſtreſſed, and how much *Demetrius* ſtood in awe of them, ſent *Eupolemus* the ſon of *John*, and *Jaſon* the ſon of *Eleazer* on an Ambaſſage to the Senate, that entring into ſociety with them, the people might be freed from the yoak of *Demetrius* and the *Greeks.* But *Demetrius* hearing of the miſchance of *Nicanor* and his Forces, ſent *Bachides* and *Alcimus* again into *Judæa* with the greater part of his Forces, who coming to *Jeruſalem* to ſeek for *Judas*, marched thence with twenty thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe againſt him, who had but three thouſand men in all. With theſe few he ſetting upon *Bachides*, all of them forſook him but eight hundred, with which yet he ſo charged him, as fighting from morning till night, he put to flight the right wing in which he ſtood, but they of the left perceiving this, followed him behind as he gave the charge, and compaſſing him in, ſlew him, all his men then ſhifting for themſelves. This hapned A. M. 3844. of the *Greeks* or *Seleucidæ* the 152. in the ſecond of *Demetrius Soter*, and after he led the People, from his Fathers death, ſix years

62. A

1 Maccab. 9.

Jonathan his brother choſen Captain in his room.

A. M. 3845.
Ol. 155. *ann.* 1.
V. C. 594.
Seleucid. 153.
Demetr. Sot. 3. *Ptolom. Philomet.* 21.

62. A great Famine then raging, almoſt all the Country ſubmitted to *Bachides*, that they might the more commodiouſly get bread, and he made ſuch wicked perſons Governors, as bringing to him the friends of *Judas*, he mocked them, and revenged himſelf upon them. But ſuch of them as remained, and could do it, aſſembled themſelves together, and choſe *Jonathan* (Sirnamed *Apphus*) their Captain in the room of *Judas* his brother, which *Bachides* hearing ſought to kill him, but he underſtanding thereof, fled into the Deſert *Thecoa*, having ſent his brother *John* (Sirnamed *Gaddis*) with a party to the *Nabathæan Arabs*, to deſire they might leave their baggage amongſt them. He going down with it, was met in the way by the children of *Iambri* from *Medaba*, who killing him and thoſe with him, ſeized upon the prey; but no great joy had they of their booty; for *Jonathan* and his brother *Simon* hearing that they were about to make a great marriage, and bring the bride from *Medaba* with great pomp, being the Daughter of one of the nobleſt Princes of *Canaan*, they went, and hiding themſelves under the covert of the Mountain, when the Bridegroom and his friends came forth with Timbrels and inſtruments of Muſick, roſe up out of the ambuſh, ſlew many of them, and took the ſpoil; ſo having revenged the death of their brother, they returned again unto *Jordan*. When *Bachides* heard this, he marched down, and came thither with a great Army upon the Sabbath day, and *Jonathan* being beſet behind and before with the Enemy, and on each ſide with the River and Mariſhes, encouraged yet his men to fight, and lifting up his hand ſtruck at *Bachides*; but he declined the blow. Then ſeeing himſelf too weak for the Enemy he leaped into the River after he had ſlain one thouſand of them, and ſwom over with his men to the further ſide. *Bachides* would not adventure to follow, but returning to *Jeruſalem*, built up the ſtrong Forts throughout the Land, and placed therein ſtrong Garriſons, that thence making excurſions, he might endamage the *Jews*. He fortified the Cities *Bethſura* and *Gazara*, with the Caſtle at *Jeruſalem*, where he placed Souldiers with proviſions, and taking the ſons of the chief of the Country for Hoſtages, he ſecured them in the later.

1 Maccab. 8.

Demetrius is forbidden by the *Romans* to hurt the *Jews*.

1 Maccab. 9.

Alcimus his ill end.

Bachides ſweareth never more to moleſt the *Jews*.

63. The Ambaſſadors ſent by *Maccabæus* to the *Romans* were well received, and entered into a League and ſociety with the *Romans*, which being written in Tables of braſs, contained an ingagement mutually to ſuccour and relieve each other. The Senate alſo wrote to *Demetrius*, charging him no more to hurt or indamage the *Jews*, being their confederates, under pain of being proſecuted with War both at Land and Sea. Not long after *Alcimus* the High-prieſt commanded the wall in the Temple, which ſevered the Court of the People from that of the *Gentiles*, to be pulled down, which had been built by *Zorobabel*, and the Prophets, whoſe monuments he began to pull down and deſtroy; but at the ſame time he was ſo ſmitten that he could not open his mouth, being taken with a Palſie, ſo as he could not ſpeak nor give order concerning his houſe, and died with great torment. When *Bachides* ſaw that he was dead, he returned unto the King. Two years then did the Land continue quiet, but at the end thereof, certain wicked perſons ſent for *Bachides* to return, telling him he might eaſily apprehend *Jonathan* and all his company in one night, at which meſſage he aroſe with great haſt, and ſent Letters privily to his adherents to take them, but they having notice of it, took fifty of theſe men, which had been the greateſt ſticklers, and ſlew them. Then *Jonathan* departing into the Wilderneſs, built up the walls of *Bethbuſin*, and fortified it, which *Bachides* having notice of went down thither, and cloſely beſieged it; but ſuch was his entertainment from the beſieged (who getting out killed his men, and burnt his engines,) that having lain before the place a long time to no purpoſe, and ſeeing his journey to be fruſtrate, he eaſed his ſtomack againſt thoſe that had been the cauſe of his Expedition, and putting to death many of them, reſolved to retreat into his own Country. *Jonathan* having notice of this, ſent to him to treat of Peace, and exchange the priſoners, which he gladly accepted of, and made an oath never more to diſturb him. Returning then home he never brake it; ſo that the War being removed, *Jonathan* dwelt at *Machmas* (or *Michmaſh*) in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, began to govern the People, and deſtroy the ungodly out of *Iſrael*.

Excerpt. Diodori Siculi & Polyb.

64. *Ariarathes* (the fifth of that name) King of *Cappadocia*, marryed (as we ſaid before) *Antiochis* the daughter of *Antiochus* the Great. She having no children by him at the firſt, introduced two ſuppoſitious boys, *Ariarathes* and *Orophernes*, he knowing nothing hereof; but a little after growing fruitful, ſhe brought forth two daughters, and a ſon called *Mithridates*, and then acquainting her huſband with what ſhe had formerly done, procured the two Counterfeits to be ſent,

the one to *Rome*, and the other into *Ionia*, leſt they ſhould diſturb the true one in his ſucceſſion, who, being named *Ariarathes*, and being brought up in the faſhions and cuſtoms of the *Greeks*, obtained the Kingdom after his Fathers death. *Orophernes* afterwards reſolving to venture for it, came to *Demetrius*, complaining he was injuriouſly deprived of the Kingdom by his younger brother, and craved his aſſiſtance for the recovery of it. He being offended at *Ariarathes* for the refuſing the marriage of his ſiſter the widdow of *Perſeus*, bargained with *Orophernes* for one thouſand Talents, and expelled *Ariarathes* from *Cappadocia*, though he was helped by *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*. *Orophernes* having thus invaded the Kingdom, behaved himſelf not like one who intended to ſecure it to himſelf in the love of his People, but raging againſt them with pillages and ſlaughters, and corrupting himſelf with the luxurie of *Ionia* (where he had been brought up) pulled upon him the hatred of all his Subjects, which he perceiving, made only as an occaſion further to proſecute his wicked and unſeaſonable deſigns. *Ariarathes* went ſtraight to *Rome* to crave aid; and the Ambaſſadors both of *Demetrius* and the other, followed to excuſe what was done, and recriminate him, which thoſe of *Orophernes* performed ſo dexterouſly, that no body being preſent that could confute their lies, they ſeemed to gain credit, and *Ariarathes* becauſe he had been the confederate of the *Romans*, was ordered to reign together with his brother. This was all he got at *Rome*; but ſhortly after *Attalus* the brother and Succeſſor of *Eumenes* expelled *Orophernes* and *Demetrius* quite out of *Cappadocia*, and reſtored him to the entire poſſeſſion of his Kingdom.

Orophernes one of ſuppoſititious brood getteth *Cappadocia* by the help of *Demetrius*.

Artaphernes the true heir reſtored by *Attalus*.

65. Not long after, *Demetrius* caſting in his head how to inlarge his Dominions, offered *Archias*, the Governour of *Cyprus* for *Ptolomy Philometer*, five hundred Talents to betray the Iſland into his hands; which the man conſented to, but being diſcovered and ſentenced, prevented the execution by hanging himſelf. Being thus fruſtrated in this deſign, he thenceforth giving himſelf up to idleneſs, having built a Caſtle fortified with four Towers not far from *Antioch*, wherein he paſſeth away the time without any any attendance of State affaires, out of the ſight of his Subjects. Hereby he contracted ſuch hatred, that the *Antiochians* revolted from him, and made choice of *Orophernes*, then living in exile at his Court, who ſo badly requited him for his former kindneſs, as to conſpire with them to rob him of his Kingdom and life. He getting knowledg of this, ſpared his life, leſt he ſhould free *Ariarathes* from the fear of a competitor, and cauſed him to be kept ſecurely at *Seleucia*; but the *Antiochians* not at all terrified from their attempt, went on in their Rebellion, to which *Attalus* of *Aſia*, *Ariarathes* of *Cappadocia*, and *Ptolomy* lending their helping hand, they ſuborned a young man of the baſeſt condition (by one (*a*) called *Prompalus*, by others (*b*) *Balas*, and (*c*) *Balles* giving him the name of *Alexander*, and reporting him to be ſon of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, to recover as it were his Fathers Kingdom by force. This youth, together with *Laodice Antiochus* his daughter, did (*d*) *Heraclides* (whom *Demetrius* caſt out, as we ſaid, of the Office of Treaſurer at *Babylon*) carry to *Rome*, where he brought him into the Senate, and cauſed him to deſire that he might be helped in the recovery of the Kingdom, at leaſt that he might not be hindered in his endeavour that way; then he ſeconding him inveighed againſt *Demetrius*, and heaped up the praiſes and merits of *Antiochus* ſo far, as though to all ſober minded men his impudence was diſtaſteful as well as his perſon, yet he ſo bewitched the generality of the Fathers, that a Decree was made, whereby power was given to them to return, and aid ordered them for the recovery of the Kingdom (being the children of their late friend and allie) as they had required.

Excerpt. Polybii per Valeſium.

One *Balas* ſuborned by ſeveral Princes for the ſon of *Epiphanes*.

(*a*) *Juſtin. lib.* 35.
(*b*) *Strabo lib.* 16.
(*c*) *Joſephus lib.* 13. *c.* 8.
(*d*) *Polybius Legat.* 140.

66. *Heraclides* having obtained this act of the Senate, preſently hired Souldiers, and getting many eminent men to joyn with him, went to *Epheſus*, where he made all poſſible preparation for the War. Not long after *Alexander* got *Ptolemais* a City of *Phœnicia*, being betrayed to him by the Garriſon Soldiers, which *Demetrius* hearing, gathered together his Forces to go and fight with him, but conſidering the uncertainty of the chance of War, ſent away his two Sons *Demetrius* and *Antiochus* unto *Cnidus* to be out of the danger, and be reſerved to revenge his death or deprivation if need ſhould require. He ſent alſo unto *Jonathan* the Captain of the *Jews*, to renew Peace with him, giving him power to raiſe Forces againſt *Alexander*, and commanding the Hoſtages kept in the Caſtle of *Hieruſalem* to be reſtored to him, which he uſing as a good opportunity, began to build *Hieruſalem* anew, and repair the walls, but *Alexander* having notice of *Demetrius* his meſſage, and the promiſes made by him, ſent to him in like manner, and amongſt many privileges

1 *Maccab.* 10

Juſtin ut prius Appian in Syriacis.

Contendeth for the Kingdom of *Syria*.

A. M. 3852.
Ol. 156.*ann.*4.
V. C. 601.
Seleucid. 160.
*Demet. Sot.*10.
Ptol. Philomet. 28.

ledges and immunities granted to the Nation, appointed him to be the High-Prieſt, ſending him Purple and a Crown of Gold. So, in the ſeventh moneth of the one hundred and ſixtieth year of the *Seleucidæ*, *Jonathan* put on the Holy Robe, in the ninth after the death of his brother *Judas* (the Prieſthood having been vacant ſeven years from the death of *Alcimus*) being the firſt of the *Haſmonæans* that arrived at this dignity, and of the Prieſtly Family, but not of the *Pontificial*, to which *Onias* (who now was in *Ægypt*) was next heir. *Demetrius* hearing of the agreement his Enemy had made with the *Jews*, was ſore troubled thereat, and laboured again by incredible promiſes to allure them to his own party; but they having had experience formerly how his affections ſtood towards them, refuſed to entertain his overtures. *Balas* gathering his Forces together, not onely, thoſe that revolted to him in *Syria*, but his Auxiliaries alſo ſent from *Jonathan*, *Ariarathes*, *Attalus*, and eſpecially from *Ptolomy Philometer*, gave battel to *Demetrius*, whoſe left wing put thoſe to flight which fought againſt it, but the right having the contrary fortune was forced to run, which yet he would not do, though in it, but fighting manfully, light with his Horſe into a bog, where he fought ſtoutly on his feet, till at laſt he was ſlain with many wounds, after he had reigned twelve years. A. M. 3854. the ſecond of the one hundred fifty ſeventh *Olympiad*, of the *Seleucid* the 161.

And *Demetrius* being ſlain in battel,

1 *Maccab.* 10.

Alexander Balas getteth the Kingdom and marrieth *Ptolomies* daughter.

Joſeph. lib. 13. *cap.* 8. & *Livius lib.* 50. & *Juſtin. l.* 35.

Demetrius the ſon of *Demetrius Soter* maketh for the Kingdom.

A. M. 3857.
Ol. 158.*ann.* 1.
V. C. 606.
Seleucid. 165.
Ptolom. Philomet. 33.

67. *Alexander Balas* obtained the Kingdom, and ſhortly after his poſſeſſion of it, remembring how much he was beholding to *Ptolomy Philometor* for it, ſent to him for his Daughter to Wife, which he willingly aſſenting to, brought her to *Ptolemais*, and married her to him with royal magnificence. Thither came down *Jonathan* from *Hieruſalem*, bringing preſents for both the Kings, but was followed by divers naughty perſons to accuſe him; Yet *Alexander* was ſo far from liſtning to any tales, that he cauſed him to be cloathed in purple, to ſit near him, and by proclamation commanded all his accuſers to forbear, at which they being diſcouraged, went their wayes. After this *Alexander* giving up himſelf to idleneſs, and luxury, and minding nothing elſe, the affairs of the State were wholly managed by one *Ammonius*, who made ſlaughter of all his friends, and amongſt the reſt ſlew *Laodice* the Daughter of *Epiphanes*. Which being heard by *Demetrius* the eldeſt Son of *Demetrius Soter*, he hired Soldiers in *Crete*, and came into *Cilicia*, at which the other being affrighted, haſted to *Antioch* to ſecure his eſtate before his coming, where he made *Hierax*, and *Diodotus* (or *Tryphon*) Governours. With *Demetrius* joyned *Apollonius* the Governour of *Cœleſyria*, who being ordered to fight againſt the *Jews*, who ſtill ſtood cloſe to *Alexander*, with great pride provoked *Jonathan* to fight with him, and he accordingly marched from *Hieruſalem* againſt him with ten thouſand men. In his way he took *Joppe*, which *Apollonius* underſtanding marched to *Aſhdod*, and left an Ambuſh in the way to intrap him, but he getting clear of the Ambuſh, put all his Forces to flight, whereof many men fled into the Temple of the Idol *Dagon*, which he ſet on fire, and what by this means and by the ſword periſhed about eight thouſand men. This coming to the ears of *Alexander*, he honoured *Jonathan* more than ever: he ſent him a button of Gold, wont to be given to the Kings kinſmen, and gave him *Accaron* a City of the *Philiſtins* with its Territories as an inheritance.

1 Maccab. 11.

Joſeph. & Juſtin ut ſupra.

Ptolomy aſſiſteth him in recovering his Fathers Kingdom.

Diod. Sicul. apud Photium.
A. M. 3858.
Seleucidarum 166.

Alexander ſlain,

68. *Ptolomy Philometor* with great forces both by Land and Sea, came out of *Ægypt*, under pretence of aiding his ſon in Law, bnt indeed with an intention to ſeize upon *Syria*, and accordingly all the Cities being commanded to receive him honourably, he placed therein Garriſons of his own. He got into his hands all the maritime Cities as far as *Seleucia* upon *Orontes*, and then being clear out of conceit with *Alexander* (for that he demanding *Ammonius* who had plotted his deſtruction, he would not deliver him up) he ſent and made an agreement with *Demetrius*, promiſing him to take away his daughter from *Balas* and give her to him, together with the recovery of his Fathers Kingdom. The *Antiochians* ſlew *Ammonius*, and let *Ptolomy* into their City, who there put two Diadems upon his head; but preſently brought them to receive *Demetrius*, promiſing them that this ſhould make amends for the injury formerly offered his Father, and then the Soldiers revolted alſo. *Alexander* being now in *Cilicia* conſulted with the Oracle of *Apollo Sardonicus*, from which he had anſwer, that he ſhould *look to himſelf in that place which had brought forth a double formed ſpectacle*, which ſeemed to point out the City *Abas* in *Arabia*, where a certain Woman named *Herais*, being married to one *Samias* turned to a man; and where he was ſlain not long after. For invading *Syria* with fire and ſword, *Ptolomy* with *Demetrius* his new ſon in Law met and

overthrew

And *Ptolomy* dieth of his wounds.

overthrew him at the River *Oenopara*, and then he flying to *Abas*, his head was cut off by *Zabd* the Prince of the place, and ſent to *Ptolomy*, who though he received it with much joy, yet having in the fight received a great hurt in the head, upon the ſearching of the wound he died alſo the third day after. Such end had the ſtrange fortune of this counterfeit *Alexander*, after he had reigned about five years.

Appian in Syriacis. 1 *Maccab.* 11. *Excerpt. Diod. Siculi.*

69. *Demetrius* then according to his right obteined his Father's Kingdom, and for that he had ſubdued this counterfeitor of his Family had (the next after *Seleucus* the founder of the Race) the ſirname of *Nicanor* or *Nicator*. About this time *Jonathan* beſieged the Caſtle at *Hieruſalem*, and did all he could with his Engines to reduce it; but this being by ſome ill-willers made known to *Demetrius*, he wrote to him in anger, to raiſe his ſiege, and appear before him at *Ptolemais*, which he obeyed ſo far as to go to him; and partly by his preſents and otherwayes ſo appeaſed him, as rejecting his accuſers, he confirmed to him the Prieſthood, and upon promiſe of three hundred Talents granted him immunity from tribute, with the Principality of three other places. After this, ſeeing his Realm to be quiet on every ſide, *Demetrius* disbanded all his old Soldiers, retaining onely ſome *Cretians* and other *Iſlanders*, which ſo inraged them, being wont by the former Kings to be kept in pay, as an incouragement to them for the future ſervice, that they thenceforth became his Enemies, and ſhewed it upon occaſion which he alſo himſelf preſented them being wholly ruled by one *Laſthenes*, who had helped him in the recovery of the Kingdom. By this man's advice, thinking himſelf ſecure enough of his eſtate, he cruelly raged againſt ſuch as had been againſt him, and plunged himſelf into bad courſes; which (together with the alienation of the minds of the Soldiers) one *Diodotus* an *Apamean*, and one of *Alexander Balas* his Captains, conſidering, went to *Elmalchueles* the *Arabian*, with whom *Antiochus* the young ſon of that *Alexander* by *Cleopatra* was brought up, and acquainting him how things ſtood, at length obtained to have the boy delivered to him, to be reſtored to his Fathers Kingdom. *Demetrius* ſeeing his Soldiers alienated from him, deſired of *Jonathan* a ſupply, with great promiſes of reſpect and ſuccour. He ſent him three thouſand men, which ſtood him in good ſtead, for he going about to diſarm the *Antiochians*, they flatly refuſed it, and riſing, came many thouſands to Court to make an end of him, but theſe *Jews* ſo repelled them, as ſlaying a great number they ſet the City on fire, whereupon the Inhabitants were glad to ſubmit.

The Son of *Balas* ſet up againſt *Demetrius* by *Diodotus* or *Tryphon*.

A. M. 3860. *Ol.* 158. *an.* 4. *V. C.* 609. *Seleucid.* 168. *Ptol. Phyſconis.* 2. 1 *Maccab.* 11. *Joſeph. l.* 13. *c.* 9.

70. *Diodotus*, or *Tryphon*, took *Antiochus* the younger ſon of *Balas*, brought him out of *Arabia* into *Syria*, and there crowned him, giving him the ſirname of *Theus*. Hereupon all the disbanded Soldiers came over to him, ſo that *Tryphon* made open War againſt *Demetrius*, and overthrowing him in battel forced him to flie to *Seleucia*. Then ſent *Antiochus* to *Jonathan* meſſengers with preſents, and great promiſes, to draw him to his party, which he eaſily did, becauſe *Demetrius* had falſified his word, and proved very ingrateful towards him, who now therefore gathering his men together, reduced the Country beyond *Jordan* as far as *Damaſcus*, and overthrew a party which there met him, killing to the number of three thouſand men, after which he ſent an Ambaſſage to the *Romans*, to renew the alliance made with them by *Judas*. *Triphon* having brought his deſign thus far on, as to break the power of *Demetrius*, and having to that end deſired the friendſhip of *Jonathan*, yet now deſired his ruine above all things, as ſtanding in his way for the accompliſhment of his intended treaſon. He reſolved to ſeize upon the Kingdom himſelf; but fearing *Jonathan* might ſtand faſt to the intereſt of his young King, and oppoſe him, came down to *Bethſan* to ſee if he could apprehend him. Thither came *Jonathan* down with forty thouſand men to meet him, who entertained him with exceeding great reſpect, and adviſed him to diſmiſs all his Army, and with a few go along with him to *Ptolemais*, which he promiſed to put into his hands. He conſenting to this, ſent all his men back but one thouſand, which taking along with him, upon their entrance into the Town they were all cut off, he himſelf being kept priſoner. Then *Tryphon* invaded *Judæa* with a great Army, which to oppoſe, *Simon* the brother of *Jonathan* was choſen General in his ſtead by the People; ſo that he ſeeing the *Jews* prepared for reſiſtance, feigned as if *Jonathan* was onely detained for one hundred Talents of Silver which he was in arrear, which if they were ſent, together with his two ſons for Hoſtages, he promiſed he ſhould be releaſed. *Simon*, though he diſtruſted him, yet leſt it ſhould be ſaid that he neglected any thing for his brothers ſafety, ſent his Nephews with the money, which having received, he nevertheleſs ſlew *Jonathan*, and then returned into *Syria*.

Appian ut ſupra.

1 *Maccab.* 12. & 13.

Tryphon intending to ſet up for himſelf,

Circumventeth and killeth *Jonathan*.

17. He

Then killeth *Antiochus* his new made King. Seeketh friends in vain.

1 *Maccab.* 13. *Strabo lib.* 16. *Livius lib.* 55.

71. He preſently after made away young *Antiochus*, for giving out he was troubled with the ſtone, under pretence of cutting him for it, he cauſed the Phyſicians to kill him. Then after he had gotten the Kingdom, he laboured to confirm himſelf therein by the approbation of his moſt powerful Neighbours, ſending to *Rome* an Ambaſſador not empty-handed, but the Senate taking the preſent (a Golden Image of victory of great value) in ſtead of his name, ingraved that of his young King whom he had murdered. For all this he proceeded with great reſolution, and coyned money with his own Effigies and name, having taken that of *Tryphon* upon him. *Simon* being diſobliged, and accounting his acts to be but Robberies, ſent a Crown of Gold to make his peace again with *Demetrius*, who conſidering the reſpect the *Romans* had ſhewed his Nation, promiſed to bury all things in Oblivion, and confirmed the immunities formerly granted; ſo that the Yoke of the *Gentiles* being removed, the people began to date their inſtruments according to the years of their High-Prieſts. The year after he had the Caſtle of *Hieruſalem* ſurrendred to him, the Defendants being almoſt all conſumed with famine, which cleanſing and fortifying anew, together with the Hill of the Temple, he dwelt then in *Hieruſalem*, and after he had been High-Prieſt about three years, by a publick inſtrument of the Prieſts, Nobles, and the People (after a recapitulation of his merits and ſervices to his Nation, amongſt which an Ambaſſage lately ſent to *Rome*, and there well received, was a great inducement) *he was made their Prince and High-Prieſt perpetually, till God ſhould raiſe up the true Prophet, and all Ornaments and Prerogatives of Majeſty were given to him.* This being made in Braſs, was faſtened to the Wall that compaſſed the Sanctuary, in an open place, and a Copy thereof was laid up in the Treaſury, that *Simon* and his ſons might have it.

A.M. 3863. *Ol.* 159. *ann.* 3. *V. C.* 612. *Seleucid.* 171. *Ptol. Phyſconis* 5. *Simonis* 2.

1 *Maccab.* 14.

The *Jews* chuſe *Simon* for their Prince.

72. But the Cities all over revolting from *Demetrius*, who, we ſaid, was driven to *Seleucia*, that he might ſhake off ſuſpition of lazineſs, he reſolved to make War upon the *Parthian*, who had extended his Empire from the River *Indus* as far as *Euphrates*, and done no leſs things than the Great *Arſaces* himſelf. The *Macedonians* and *Greeks* not well bearing the Pride of their new Maſters, the *Parthians*, ſent to him often, with promiſe to revolt to him if he would but come up. He being tickled at this Meſſage, made haſte thither, not fearing but if he once were Maſter of theſe Provinces, with eaſe to drive *Tryphon* out of *Syria*; and being received with great alacrity, and ſtrengthned with the Auxiliaries of the *Perſians*, *Bactrians*, and *Elymæans*, he overthrew the *Parthians* in ſeveral battels, but at length being circumvented by the cunning of one of their Princes (ſent, under colour of treating of peace, to entrap him) having loſt his Army, he fell into their hands, and then being carried for a laughing ſtock up and down the revolted Countreys, was caſt into Priſon. *Arſaces* having ſo ſoon recovered all, raged not againſt the Revolters, but carried it towards his people with humility and reſpect, and not long after ſending *Demetrius* into *Hyrcania*, there maintained him with royal equipage, and not only ſo, but gave him his daughter in marriage, with promiſe alſo to reſtore him to his Kingdom. But whileſt *Demetrius* lived thus in exile *Tryphon*'s Soldiers being weary of his conditions revolted to *Cleopatra* his Wife, who then lived in *Seleucia* with her Children, and now taking it in great diſdain that he had married *Rhodoguna* the *Parthians* daughter, ſent to his brother *Antiochus* (the ſecond Son of *Demetrius Soter*, whoſe ſirname he alſo obtained from the *Jews*) offering him marriage, and the Kingdom. He willingly accepting of the offer, took the name of King upon him, ſent into *Judæa* to *Simon*, offering him great privileges to joyn with him in Alliance, and returning into *Syria* preſently married *Cleopatra*.

Juſtin lib. 36. *Joſeph. ut ſupra.* 1 *Maccab.* 14. & 15. *Excerpt. Diodori Siculi.*

Demetrius taken by the *Parthian.*

Joſeph. lib. 13. *cap.* 12.

His brother *Antiochus* maketh for the Kingdom,

73. All the Army except a few revolted to *Antiochus* ſirnamed *Sidetes*, and *Hunter*, ſo that *Tryphon* ſeeing himſelf thus forſaken fled to *Dora*, a Maritime Town of *Phœnicia*, whither he was ſtrait purſued and blocked up both by Sea and Land: yet got he out on ſhipboard, and betook himſelf to *Orthoſias*, another Sea-Town of the ſame Tract, and afterwards to *Apamea* to his own Countrey-men, where ſome way or other (for 'tis uncertain how) he was ſlain. Whilſt *Antiochus* lay before *Dora*, *Simon* by virtue of their Alliance ſent him out of *Judæa* a party of two thouſand choice men, with ſilver and gold, and much furniture for the War; yet he would not receive them, but brake the League, and ſending *Athenobius* to him, complained of his holding *Joppe*, *Gazara*, and the Caſtle at *Hieruſalem*, his waſting the borders, and having the Government of divers places of his Kingdom, requiring him either to deliver up the Cities with the Tributes of ſuch places as were without

1 *Maccab.* 15.

And diſpoſſeſſeth *Trypbon*.

A. M. 3176. *Ol.* 160. *ann.* 3. *V. C.* 616. *Seleucid.* 175. *Ptol. Phyſconis* 9. *Simonis* 6.

Cendebæus ſent by *Antiochus* againſt the *Jews*, is defeated by *John* the ſon of *Simon*.

the borders of *Judæa*, or elſe to pay five hundred Talents for the Cities, and the harm he had done, and for the Tributes of the places other five hundred, upon pain of being proſecuted with War. To theſe things *Simon* anſwered, that he held no Towns belonging to any other, but had recovered his own by right of War; but as for *Joppe* and *Gazara* which had done great harm to his people, he offered to pay him one hundred Talents, at which the King was ſo diſpleaſed, that following at that time *Tryphon* to *Orthoſias*, he left *Cendebæus* to overſee the Sea-Coaſts, with order to build up *Cedron*, whence he might make war upon the *Jews*. He coming to *Iamnia* made inroads upon *Judæa*, and built up that Town according to order, which *John* the Son of *Simon* then lying at *Gazara* underſtanding, gave notice thereof to his Father, who now being decrepit, committed the War to him and his Brother *Judas*. He taking with him twenty thouſand Foot, and a party of Horſe, marched ſtraight down againſt *Cendebæus*, and then placing his Horſe in the midſt of the Foot, that it might protect, and be protected againſt the Cavalry of the Enemy, which was exceeding ſtrong, he overthrew him, and putting the whole Army to the rout, ſome betook themſelves into the Fort newly built, and others flying away, he purſued them as far as the Towers of *Azotus*, which having ſet on fire, and ſlain two thouſand men, he retreated ſafe into *Judæa*.

Simon and his two ſons murdered by his ſon-in-law.

Antiochus beſiegeth *Jeruſalem*.

Joſephus Antiq. lib. 13. *cap.* 16.

74. This ſucceſs of *John* ſufficiently moved *Antiochus* to puniſh *Simon*, but it was done to his hand by one who of all others might leaſt have done it. There was one *Ptolomy* the Son of *Abubus*, Son-in-law to *Simon*, and by him ſet over the Province of *Jericho*. He entertaining his Father-in-law as he went his Circuit about the Countrey, to take care for the Government thereof, ſlew him treacherouſly after a feaſt, together with his two ſons *Mattathias* and *Judas*, when he had governed the people eight years. His deſign was, being rich, to obtain the Principality of that Countrey where he lived, and therefore he preſently certified *Antiochus* of his feat, deſiring an Army of him, wherewith he might ſubdue the Cities of *Judæa*. He alſo ſent certain Cut-throats to murder *John*, *Simons* ſon; wrote to the Collonels of the Army to draw them over to him, and ſent others to ſeize upon *Hieruſalem* and the Temple; But *John* having timely notice of his Treachery, prevented his death by that of the Meſſengers, and was made *High-Prieſt* in the room of his father: and here the Author of the firſt books of *Maccabees* concludes his work, having therein delivered the Hiſtory of forty years. *Antiochus* taking the opportunity of *Simons* death, came into *Judæa*, which waſting round about, he drove up *John* (ſirnamed *Hyrcanus*) into *Hieruſalem*, to which he laid cloſe ſiege, his Army being divided into ſeven parts. The beſieged, being exceedingly helped by the ſtrength of the Walls, ſtood out manfully, ſo that he raiſed an hundred Turrets, from which he endeavoured to ſcale the Walls, and compaſſed in the Town with a double Trench, that none might eſcape, but they ſtill defending themſelves, ſometimes ſallied out, and did him harm. *Hyrcanus* ſeeing a great and uſeleſs multitude in the City, which conſumed the Victuals, put the more infirm out of the Walls, whence being hindred from going any further by the ſiege, they wandred about the Walls almoſt famiſhed, till at the *feaſt of Tabernacles*, out of pity, they were again admitted.

75. At this *feaſt of Tabernacles*, *Hyrcanus* ſent out to *Antiochus* to deſire a Truce for ſeven dayes, becauſe of the celebration thereof. He not only granted this, but ſent in alſo Bulls with gilded horns, Golden, and Slver Cups, with all ſorts of Spices, and beaſts for Sacrifice, and made a feaſt to the Army, by which the other taking notice of his great humanity (whence he was ſirnamed *Pius*, as alſo, uncertain for what other reaſon, *Sidetes*) withall, conſidering that the *Sabbatical* year being now at an end, and the people being hindred from ſowing, a famine was likely to inſue, he ſent out to him, deſiring that the *Jews* might be ſuffered to live according to their own Laws. Many about the King adviſed him utterly to deſtroy the City, to blot out the very name of the *Jews* from under Heaven, at leaſt to diſſolve their Laws, and change their courſe of life, ſo diverſe from, and diſagreeable to other Nations; but he being moved by a principle of magnanimity and bounty, rejected this counſel, and approving of the piety of the *Jews*, commanded them to *deliver up their Arms, pull down their Walls, pay Tribute for* Joppe *and other Towns without* Judæa, *and receive a Garriſon*, upon which conditions he offered them peace. They yielded to all but the laſt, becauſe they would not converſe with the Gentiles, yet in *Lieu* of it choſe to give Hoſtages (amongſt others *Hyrcanus* his own brother) and pay five hundred Talents, whereof three hundred at preſent; whereupon the ſiege was removed, and they were freed from any further incumbrance. *Hyrcans*

cans

canus opening the Sepulcher of *David*, who had been the richeſt of Kings, took out thence three thouſand Talents, wherewith filling his Coffers, he firſt liſted ſtrangers in his Militia, and entertained *Antiochus* and his Army in *Hieruſalem* very plentifully.

Joh. Hyrcan. 1.

76. *Antiochus Sidetes* in the eighth year of his reign, three years after his departure from *Hieruſalem*, undertook an expedition againſt *Phraates* the *Parthian*, to fetch back his brother *Demetrius* ſtill kept there in free cuſtody, who had twice attempted an eſcape, but being retaken ſtill was ſent back to his Wife and Children, not ſo much out of any pity or reſpect of alliance, as becauſe that King having an itching deſire of getting *Syria* alſo into his power, preſerved him to uſe againſt his brother, as time and opportunity ſhould ſerve. *Antiochus* with a great (but extraordinarily effeminate) Army marched into *Media*, where many Eaſtern Princes met him, with all their hearts giving up themſelves and Countreys to him, and curſing the pride of the *Parthians*, whereby he got ſuch ſtrength, as overthrowing the Enemy in three ſeveral battels, he reduced him within the bounds of his own Countrey. But what he thus ſuddenly got, he almoſt as quickly loſt again; for upon the approach of Winter, quartering his Souldiers abroad in the Countrey, the people were ſo oppreſſed, what by the exaction of proviſions, and their inſolence, that they again revolted to the *Parthian*, and upon agreement, at one and the ſame time, ſet upon them as they were ſeverally diſpoſed of in their quarters. *Antiochus* hearing this, with that party which lay with him came in to relieve the next to him, and there met with *Phraates* himſelf, againſt whom he fought moſt couragiouſly; till being forſaken of his men he was ſlain, or elſe killed himſelf. *Phraates* had a little before this, to divert him from *Parthia*, ſent back his brother *Demetrius* with a Guard of *Parthians* to ſeize upon *Syria*; but now repenting him of that, ſent ſome to purſue him, and bring him back; but he fearing ſuch a thing, had by his ſpeed prevented it. *Phraates* finding a daughter of his, which her Uncle *Antiochus* had taken along with him in his expedition, fell ſo in love with her, that he married her out of hand.

Juſtin. lib. 38. *Appian in Syriacis & Livius lib.* 59.

Antiochus Sidetis Is ſlain by the *Parthians.*

A. M. 3877. *Ol.* 163. *ann.* 1 *V. C.* 626. *Seleucid.* 185. *Ptol. Phyſc.* 19. *Hyrcani* 8.

77. *Demetrius* then recovered all the Kingdom of *Syria*, though not long likely to hold it, by reaſon of that malice he contracted both from Soldiers and People. *Hyrcanus* the *High-Prieſt* and chief Magiſtrate of the *Jews* taking this occaſion, leads down an Army to the Cities of *Syria*, ſuppoſing indeed as it was, that he ſhould find them unmanned, took *Medeba* in the ſixth moneth, then *Samega* and *Sicima* the Metropolis of the *Samaritans*, and ſo to no King after *Antiochus Sidetes* were the *Jews* ſubject, but ſhook off the Yoak of the *Syrian* Kingdom. The *Parthian* King intended to make war upon him, but was hindered by the *Scythians*, whom having ſent for to aid him againſt *Antiochus*, becauſe they came ſomething too late, he denied them their pay, for which they harraſed his borders, and he oppoſing them with the *Greeks*, whom he had taken before in the War, and cruelly uſed, was betrayed by them, and ſo ſlain with the reſt of his Army. *Demetrius* being abſent in *Ægypt*, the *Antiochians* firſt, then other Cities revolted, not enduring his pride as they pretended, which he had increaſed by his durance in *Parthia*, ſo that he was forced to return; but they ſent to *Ptolomy Phyſcon*, deſiring him to ſend them ſome one of the poſterity of *Seleucus* to reign over them. He ſent them a young man an *Ægyptian*, the ſon of one *Protarchus* a Merchant. A fable was invented of his being adopted by *Antiochus Balas*, whereupon his name being *Zabinas*, (or *Zabinæus*) he was ſirnamed *Alexander*, and the *Syrians* being willing to have any rather than *Demetrius*, readily received him. Being come into *Syria*, it happened that the reliques of *Antiochus Sidetes* were ſent at the ſame time into *Syria*, which being received very ſolemnly by all the Cities, he alſo counterfeited a true mourner, and got himſelf thereby much favour from his new Subjects, not diſcovering his tears to be feigned. Not long after he fought with *Demetrius* near to *Damaſcus*, and overthrew him, who then fled to *Cleopatra* his Wife to *Ptolemais*; but being excluded by her and his ſons, with a few ſervants he went to *Tyre*, hoping to ſave himſelf there by the Religion of the Temple, and was ſlain by the procurement of his Wife, or *Zabinas*, in the one hundred eighty ninth year of the *Seleucidæ*, A. M. three thouſand eight hundred eighty one, the firſt of the one hundred ſixty four *Olympiad*.

Juſtin. ibid.

Joſephus Antiquit lib. 13. *cap.* 17.

Juſtin lib. 42.

Idem lib. 39. *Joſephus ut prius.*

Demetrius having recovered the Kingdom, is outed of it by his rebellious Subjects, and *Zabinas* a counterfeit, and is ſlain at *Tyre.*

78. *Alexander Zabinas* then, a counterfeit, ſucceeded *Demetrius*, by the favour of the People, though he left two Sons by *Cleopatra*, *Seleucus* and *Antiochus* ſirnamed *Grypus* from his hooked noſe. The former of theſe taking a Diadem upon him, at the years end his mother ſlew him with a dart by her own hands, becauſe

Appian ut ſupra & Joſephus.

he did it without permiſſion, fearing perhaps he might revenge his Fathers death; or being carried out with that height of Spirit wherewith ſhe ordered (and ruined) all things. *Alexander* entered into a League and alliance with *Hyrcanus* of *Judæa*. Three of his greateſt Captains revolted from him, and ſeized upon *Laodicea*, but he reduced and yet pardoned them, being of a mild and pleaſing deportment, whereby he got the affections of all men. But him he alienated from him whom it moſt concern'd him ſtill to oblige, viz. *Ptolomy*, who of late had ſet him up. He deſpiſed him, now grown inſolent, as being able to ſtand on his own legs, which the other taking in great diſdain, that a creature whom he had raiſed out of the duſt ſhould ſo requite him, laboured faſter to pull him down than ever he had done for his advancement. He reconciled himſelf to his ſiſter *Cleopatra*, and for that *Antiochus* whom ſhe had by *Demetrius* was yet alive (on whom having beſtowed the title of King ſhe ruled all her ſelf) he ſent him great aid, and his daughter *Tryphæna* for a Wife, which the People ſeeing, began to revolt apace from *Alexander*. At length they ingaged in a battel, in which *Alexander* was overthrown, who then fled to *Antioch*, where wanting money to pay his Soldiers, he took out of the Temple of *Jupiter* an Image of Victory of maſſie Gold, jeſting it out, that *Jupiter* had lent him Victory. But a little after attempting to remove ſecretly and take away *Jupiters* Image it ſelf of an infinite weight, he was diſcovered, and forced to run away by the multitude, after which being oppreſſed with a grievous Tempeſt, and forſaken by his followers, he was taken by thieves, and by them brought to *Antiochus Grypus* was killed (though ſome give other accounts of his death) after he had reigned four years.

Excerpt. Diodori Siculi.

Juſtin lib. 42.

Antiochus Grypus ſon to *Demetrius* defeateth aud killeth *Alexander Balas* the uſurping counterfeit.

79. The mother was ſore grieved at her ſons Victory, thinking her dignity was leſſened by it, having an ambitious deſire of reigning her ſelf, with which ſhe was ſo far driven as to offer him a cup of poyſon, as he once came in from exerciſe, which he having knowledge of beforehand, refuſed as it were in civility, deſired her to do it her ſelf, and then urging her to it, at length producing witneſs of her wicked intent, told her there was no way to clear her ſelf but by drinking that which ſhe had prepared for her ſon; ſo that being forced to do it, her wickedneſs fell upon her own head. Being thus rid of his unnatural mother, he reigned ſecurely eight years, but then *Antiochus* his half brother, the ſon of *Antiochus Sidetes* (begot on his mother, and from *Cyzicus* the place where we was brought up under *Craterus* the Eunuch, called *Cizycenus*) began to be his emulator for the Kingdom, whom he then going about to poyſon, provoked him to a more ſpeedy attempt of what he had but before deſigned. At this time it hapned that *Cleopatra* the ſiſter and Wife of *Ptolomy Lathurus*, being divorced from him by the means of that notable woman her mother, came into *Syria*, and married with this *Cyzicenus*, and for that ſhe would not ſeem utterly to come without a dowry, brought over to him the Army of *Cyprus*, whereby thinking himſelf ſufficiently ſtrengthened againſt his brother, he joyned battel with him, but was forced to retire unto *Antioch*. *Cleopatra* continuing here was beſieged by *Grypus* and taken; and then *Tryphæna* his Wife and her Siſter required her to be delivered into her hands, that ſhe might put her to death as her enemy and emulator, and though he refuſed it utterly, as being againſt the cuſtom of Warriours to rage againſt the weaker Sex, eſpecially when allied in blood ſo near as ſhe was; and protected by the Religion of the Temple to which ſhe fled; yet ſhe being more hereat enflamed, as judging his anſwer to proceed from love rather than pity, ſent ſome Soldiers in, who murdered her imbracing the Image of the Goddeſs. This was not left long unrevenged, for *Cyzicenus* renewing the War, and giving battel again to his brother, now by the turning of the chance of War overthrew him, and taking *Tryphæna*, with her blood appeaſed the ghoſt of his Wife, and expelling *Grypus* out of *Syria* ſeized on the Kingdom.

Idem ibid. & *Appian ut ſupra.*

Is emulated by *Antiochus Cyzicenus* his half brother and couſin German.

And expelled out of *Syria*.

80. *Antiochus Grypus* fled to *Aſpendium*, whence he got the ſirname of *Aſpendius*; but the next year returning, ordered the matter ſo with his brother, that the Kingdom being divided, he made him be contented with *Cœleſyria*. Both of them after this time gave up themſelves to nothing but idleneſs and luxury, onely preying upon each other as their opportunities ſerved them, which difference of theirs mightily conduced to the ſettlement of the affairs of the *Jews*. *Cyzicenus* procuring from *Ptolomy Lathurus* ſix thouſand men, went to relieve *Samaria*, which *Hyrcanus* beſieged, by waſting his Territories, but to no purpoſe. Afterwards it happened that *Lathurus* being expelled *Ægypt* by his Mother, and ſhe fearing that by the help of *Cyzicenus* he might recover his Kingdom, ſent great ſupplies to *Grypus*, with *Selene* for a Wife (whom ſhe had taken from her ſon before his expulſion) to provoke him thereby

Excerpt. Diodori Siculi. *Joſephus lib.* 13. *cap.* 17. & 18.

The two brothers reign together.

Juſtin ut prius

thereby againſt his brother, whence ſucceeded thoſe civil Wars betwixt them, concerning which we have only the title left unto us in the *Epitome* of the ſixty eight Book of *Livie*, who related the ſtory. *Grypus* died firſt, being ſlain by the treachery of one *Heracleon*; after he had lived forty five years, and reigned twenty ſix, whereof fifteen were in conjunction with his Brother. He left five ſons, whereof *Seleucus* his eldeſt and ſucceſſor made War upon his Uncle *Cyzicenus* for the Kingdom, and overthrew him in battel, after which the Horſe of *Cyzicenus* ran away with him into his Camp, wherein, when he was about to be taken, he killed himſelf, after he had reigned eighteen years. *Seleucus* after this, obtained *Antioch*, and the Kingdom, but againſt him aroſe *Antiochus* ſirnamed *Euſebes*, or *Pius*, the ſon of *Cizycenus*, who having avoided his ſnares by the help of a certain Courtizan that extremely loved him, went to *Aradus*, where taking a Diadem, he gathered forces, and in one battel clearly overthrew him. *Seleucus* then fled into *Cilicia*, where being received by the *Mopſueſtians* (as they are called) when he began to exact money of them, they ſet fire to the houſe wherein he lay, and he was burned quick with thoſe about him.

Joſeph. ut ſupra cap. 21.

Great ſtirs amongſt their ſons.

Porphyr. apud Euſebium.

81. Two twin brothers of *Seleucus*, *Antiochus* and *Philip*, carried down forces to *Mopſueſtia*, which having taken, in revenge for their brothers death, they levelled it with the ground; but *Antiochus Pius* coming preſently uqon them overthrew them in fight. *Antiochus* taking the River *Orontes* in his flight was drowned. *Philip* eſcaping carried the title of King, and gathering again conſiderable forces, ſtrugled hard with *Antiochus* for the whole Realm, till ſuch time as *Ptolomy Lathurus* calling from *Cnidus* his fourth brother *Demetrius*, made him King at *Damaſcus*, ſo that they joyning their forces together, they both oppoſed *Antiochus*, who though he manfully reſiſted, was put to the worſt, and glad at laſt to flie into *Parthia*; whence yet returning after two years he re-obtained *Syria*. *Philip* being thus deprived of that Kingdom, fell into conteſt with his other two brothers, *Demetrius Eucærus* and *Antiochus* ſirnamed *Dionyſus* for the Kingdom of *Damaſcus*, and being driven into *Beræa*, was there beſieged by *Demetrius*. *Straton* the Governour of *Beræa* being *Philip's* friend calls in *Zius* the *Arabian* Captain, and *Mithridates Sinax*, who coming with a great power overthrew *Demetrius*, raiſed his ſiege, and taking him priſoner ſent him into *Parthia*, where he was honourably treated till his death, and *Philip* marching to *Antioch* again, as it's ſaid, obtained the Kingdom of *Syria*, or (as is moſt probable) part of it. *Antiochus Dionyſus* the younger brother getting *Damaſcus* into his hands, made War againſt the *Arabians*, and was ſlain in a battel with their King *Aretas*, who then was choſen King by the inhabitants of *Damaſcus*, and thereby obtained the Kingdom of *Cœleſyria*. The Hiſtories which only give us hints of theſe things are ſo confounded, as no certain thing concerning the ends of *Antiochus Pius* or *Philip* can be aſſerted; yet this we find, that the *Syrians* taking occaſion at theſe diſſentions and Wars of the *Seleucidæ* amongſt themſelves, began to think of forein aides, and caſt their minds upon forein Kings. At length they all agreed to make choice of *Tigranes* King of *Armenia*, who being called in, held *Syria* for the ſpace of eighteen years, and by his dealing with them, made them know they had had no reaſon to rebel againſt their natural and rightful Princes.

Idem ibid.

Joſephus ibid.

Appian in Syriacis.

Joſeph. Antiquit. lib. 13. *cap.* 22, *&* 23.

Tigranes getteth *Syria.*

Juſtin lib. 40.

82. *Antiochus Pius* being outed thus by *Tigranes* of all *Syria*, from *Euphrates* to the Sea, and alſo of part of *Cilicia*, lay hid in another corner of it, which neither the *Armenian* nor *Roman* as yet touched; and his Wife *Selene* with her two ſons reigned (as it's termed) in *Phœnicia*, with ſome part of the lower *Syria*, till being beſieged in *Seleucia* a City of *Meſopotamia*, or *Ptolomais*, ſhe was therein taken by *Tigranes* and killed, for that ſhe endeavoured to recover *Syria*, as juſtly ſhe might, out of his hands. For fourteen years *Tigranes* governed the Country by one *Magadates*, till ſuch time as ſiding with his Father-in-Law *Mithridates* the Great of *Pontus*, againſt the *Romans*, and overthrown by them, he was forced to recall him with his Army. *Antiochus* the ſon of *Antiochus Pius*, ſirnamed *Aſiaticus*, taking this opportunity, inſinuated himſelf into the Principality, the *Syrians* being not unwilling, out of reſpect to the dignity of his family; and *Lucullus* the *Roman* General (whoſe work it was to drive *Tigranes* out of his new acquired poſſeſſions) envying him not the inheritance of his Anceſtors. Four years he kept it, till ſuch time as *Pompey* the Great having finiſhed the War againſt *Tigranes*, reduced *Syria* into the form of a *Roman* Province, though he challenged it as his inheritance; But it being eaſie to deal with him as he liſted, who was utterly unarmed, he put it off, by affirming it to be unreaſonable, that after the *Romans* had been at

Appian in Syriacis et Mithridaticis.

Juſtin lib. 40, *Joſeph. lib.* 13. *cap. ult.*

Appian in Syriacis.

Antiochus Aſiaticus recovering it.

Appian in Mithridaticis & Juſtin ibid.

all the coſt and pains to conquer *Tigranes*, the reward ſhould fall unto another, and with ſaying that he would not leave it to him, leſt he being unable to protect it, it ſhould be rendered obnoxious to the depredations of the *Jews* and *Arabians.* Thus *Antiochus* having never ill deſerved of the *Romans*, was commanded to contein himſelf within *Comagena*, whence his poſterity never ſtirred, and the Kingdom of *Syria* fell. A.M. three thouſand nine hundred forty two, the ſecond of the one hundred ſeventy ninth *Olympiad*, ſixty one years before the *Æra* of Chriſt, in the two hundred and fiftyth of the *Seleucidæ*, the two hundred and ſeventyth after the battel at *Iſſus*, after which it came under the power of *Alexander* the Great, *M.Tullius Cicero*, and *C. Antonius Nepos* being *Conſuls.*

Is untimely ſpoiled of it by *Pompey.*

A. M. 3942.
Ol. 179. *an.* 2.
V. C. 691.
Seleucid. 250.

CHAP. VI.

The *Ægyptian* Kingdom.

From the death of Ptolomy *the ſon of* Lagus, *to the death of* Cleopatra, *and the reducing of* Ægypt *into the form of a* Roman *Province:*

Containing the ſpace of two hundred fifty four years.

Paulan. in Atticis.
Juſtin lib. 16.

Ptolomy Philadelphus.

PTolomy the ſon of *Lagus* had ſeveral ſons by *Euridice* his Wife, the daughter of *Antipater*, and by *Berenice*, which Woman was ſent down by *Antipater*, onely to accompany her, with whom yet he fell ſo in Love, as marrying her he paſſionately affected her alwayes, and a year or two before his death made one of her ſons, called afterwards *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, his Copartner in the Kingdom, and more than that, ſerved him ſometimes as one of his attendants, ſaying it was more excellent than a Kingdom to be the ſon of a King. His eldeſt ſon by *Eurydice* ſeeing this, thought it was no ſtaying for him in *Ægypt*, but fled to *Seleucus*, by whom being honourably entertained, with ſome hopes of being ſetled in *Ægypt* after his fathers death, he ſo badly requited him, as he treacherouſly ſlew him, as we before ſhewed. *Philadelphus*, after his fathers death made away two of his brothers, the one as conſpiring againſt his life, and the other as ſuſpected to raiſe a Rebellion in *Cyprus*. In power and riches he ſurpaſſed his Father. Being learned himſelf above the common rate of Princes, he ſought to promote knowledge, by rewarding the moſt eminent and induſtrious (of which flouriſhed many in his time) and founding that his famous Library at *Alexandria*, conſiſting of two hundred thouſand Volumes. *Demetrius Phalereus* that noble Philoſopher, and ſometime Prince of *Athens*, being he that was imployed in the Collection, perſwaded him to ſend to *Eleazar* the *High-Prieſt* of the (a) *Jews* to deſire their Law, and that he might be the eaſilyer induced to ſend it, by the Council of *Ariſteas* (who wrote the ſtory) he purchaſed the liberty of all ſuch *Jews* as were ſlaves in *Ægypt*, to the number of about one hundred thouſand which coſt him more then four hundred and ſixty Talents. He alſo ſent extraordinary rich gifts to the Temple; and the *High-Prieſt* chuſing out ſeventy two men moſt eminent for birth, learning and experience, diſpatched them into *Ægypt* with the Law to be tranſlated by them into *Greek*. Being nobly entertained, and feaſted by him for ſeveral dayes, they were ſet to their work in the Iſland *Pharos* right over againſt *Alexandria*, which in ſeventy two dayes with admirabale agreement they are ſaid to have finiſhed, after which the King having exceedingly admired the wiſdom of the Law-giver, and commanded the book carefully to be kept, diſmiſſed them with great rewards to themſelves, and preſents to him that ſent them.

(a) *Vide circa res Judæorum Joſephum contra Apionem lib.* 2. *Tertull. in Apolog. Joſephum Antiq. lib.* 12. *cap.* 2. & *Ariſteum de* 70 *Inter.*

The Tranſlation of the *Septuagint.*

2. Here mentioning this Library of *Ptolomy*, and *Alexandria* where it was built, we cannot but now take further notice of this City, which by this time was grown to ſome perfection, though not near to that eminency at which it afterward arrived.

Alexandria its ſtate and condition.

Lib. 22. *p.* 234. *Edit. Veleſian.*

wards arrived. Concerning it's Original we have already ſpoken, but with ſuch brevity as fitted the celerity of *Alexander*'s Conqueſt and paſſage. *Ammianus Marcellinus* it is who tells us, that being the chief of all Cities of that Countrey; it was ennobled by many things, particularly by the Magnificence of the greateſt Founder, and the eminent skill of *Dinocrates* the Architect, who for want of Chalke when he went about to delineate the Tract of the Walls, made uſe of Meale; and this in the opinion of men predicted the plenty of all things neceſſary for humane ſuſtenance. He adds, that here the Air was wholſome, quiet and milde: and that as experience for many ages together did demonſtrate; ſcarcely any day paſſed wherein the inhabitants did not ſee the Sun clear and Splendid. That the Sea-Coaſts on which it ſtood, might not as formerly, by fallacious and treacherous Acceſſes, as he phraſeth it, afflict Navigators with many miſcarriages; *Cleopatra* invented in the Haven an high Tower, called *Pharos* from the place it ſelf; whence lights by night ſhould be expoſed for direction to Saylors; whereas in former times ſuch as held their Voyages from the *Parthenian* or *Lybian* Seas, having no tokens nor Markes from any Mountains, by reaſon of the Champian Countrey, wear too often choaked up, and miſcarried in the Sands.

The *Pharos* when built.

Vide Valeſium in l. præcipuuè Strabonem Geogr. lib. 17. *p.* 791. *D. qui obſervat hanc ἐπιγραφὴν* ΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ ΚΝΙΔΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΞΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ, ΘΕΟΙΣ ΣΩΤΕΡΕΙΝ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΠΛΟΙΖΟΜΕΝΩΝ.

3. So Writes *Ammianus* who yet is not ſo to be credited, if he meant it, as if *Cleopatra* (the laſt Queen and Prince of this Race of *Ptolomies*) was the firſt Inventor or builder of the *Pharos*; for it was built long before her time, in the Reign of this our *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, by *Soſtratus* the *Cnidian*. But the Tower being demoliſhed by *Julius Cæſar*, in the *Alexandrian* War, as he himſelf and *Strabo* relates; it was afterward reedified by *Cleopatra*. And ſo ſhe repaired another work, which though *Ammianus* attributes to her invention, yet *Cæſar* aſcribes to the former Kings; and this was that called the *Heptaſtadium*. The Iſland *Pharos* lay off at the diſtance of a mile from *Alexandria*, and thereby made a convenient Haven and refuge for Ships. But this did not ſatisfie, they thought it convenient to joyn the Iſland and the Continent whereon the City ſtood together, and for that purpoſe made a Mole of ſeven Stadia or Furlongs in length, which by the intervenvention of a Bridge accompliſhed their deſigne, and made thereby two Havens; one called the *Great*, and the other the Haven of *Euneſtus*. This it ſeems *Cleopatra* repaired, when by age and waſhing of the Sea it was decayed, and upon this occaſion if *Ammianus* was rightly informed. The Iſland *Pharos* where *Homer* Fabled, *Phocus* with his Flocks of Sea Calves to lodge was obnoxious and tributary to the *Rhodians*. Their Officers demanding exceſſive Tolls; this crafty Woman invited them to a ſolemn Feaſt, and entertained them ſo long till in ſeven dayes ſhe cauſed a Mole to be made of ſo many Furlongs; and then paſſing upon it in her Chariot affirmed the *Rhodians* were miſtaken in asking of Tolls to be paid for Iſlands; for there were no ſuch things to be found in thoſe Quarters. Others write that this Queen when ſhe ſaw ſhe ſhould have a War with *Auguſtus*, cauſed a Mole to be made betwixt *Pharos* and *Alexandria*, and ſo joyned the Iſland to the Continent by the skill and induſtry of *Dexiphanes* a Mechanical Mathematician.

The *Serapeum*.

The Libraries.

4. But *Ammianus* proceeding in the deſcription of this City, mentions the lofty Temples therein to be ſeen, amongſt which was eminent that called *Serapeum*, or of *Serapis*, which though it might be leſſen'd with the ſlenderneſs of Expreſſions, yet was ſo illuſtrated by its *Atria*, adorned with moſt large Pillars and a multitude of other works; that after the Capitol, wherein venerable *Rome* for ever prided her ſelf, the whole world ſaw nothing more ſtately. In it were ineſtimable Libraries: and the faith of antient Monuments unanimouſly ſpeaks that ſeven hundred thouſand Volumes having been carefully got together by the Induſtry of the *Ptolomies*, were burnt when the City was plundered under *Cæſar* the Dictator. As for the Libraries, *Epiphanius* writes of two which were publick at *Alexandria*, the firſt was this of *Philadelphus* iu that part of the City called *Bruchium*, and the ſecond made long after in the *Serapeum*, and called the ſiſter of the former. This of *Philadelphus* contaied an hundred thouſand Books, as *Euſebius* writes in his Chronicon; and afterwards by the following Kings, it was inlarged, who in this matter of Collecting Books, contended with thoſe of *Pergamus*; ſo that the number of Volumes roſe to that of ſeven hundred thouſand, as ſeveral Authors relate. *Livie* and *Oroſius* wrote that four hundred thouſand Books were burnt in the *Alexandrian* War; neither is it probable that all miſcarried. But beſides theſe, ſome ſpeak of another Library, and that a publick one in the Caſtle

of *Alexandria*; and others that *Cleopatra* repaired that which ſo miſcarried by Fire.

5. Certain it is from *Strabo*'s account he gives us of this City that by reaſon *Lib.* 17. *p.* 792. of its ſituation, it flowed with the abundance of all things, and though near to it Healthfulneſs. adjoyned a Lake, yet, which was chiefeſt, it enjoyed an Aer very healthful. It was waſhed with two Seas, the *Ægyptian* from the North, and that from the South called the Lake of *Mareia* or *Mareotis*. The Lake was filled by the River *Nile* both from the upper Countries by Ditches and from other parts, through which many more things were imported than by Sea, whereby it came to paſs that the Haven of the Lake was more rich and frequented. And any one might eaſily perceive that this way more Merchandize was exported from *Alexandria*, than was imported from *Italy*, if he had been both at *Alexandria* and *Puteoli*, and had taken notice of the ſhips of burthen which had egreſs and regreſs from and into both ports. Beſides the wealth which flowed into it from both Havens, The clemency of the Air he thinks worthy to be mentioned, which thence happened becauſe the place was on both ſides watered, and the *Nile* conveniently had its Increaſes. For other Cities (in another place he excepts *Ravenna*) placed upon Lakes, in Summer heats have a thick heavey and Choaking Air, and by reaſon of vapors excited by the Sun, abundance of mud and filth lyes upon the edges, whence noxious ſteems ariſe which infect the Air and produce the peſtilence. But at *Alexandria*, when Summer begins, the *Nile* being increaſed fills the Lake, and leaves no mud or filth from which any malignant vapor may exhale. Beſides the *Eteſian* winds blow ſo from the North, and ſo great a Sea, that the Inhabitants with much eaſe paſs the Summer.

The ſhape of the City. 6. In the days of our Geographer the Figure of the City repreſented that of a *Chlamys* or Souldiers Coat, the ſides of which extending in length were compaſſed with water being about thirty furlongs in Diameter; The ſides ſtretching forth in breadth were ſtraitned with *Iſthmi* or Necks of Land of ſeven or eight furlongs being waſhed with the Sea and the Lake. It was alſo ſo divided into ſtreets and paſſages, that both Horſes and Chariots might be driven through them, but two were conſiderable for their largeneſs, and cut through each other at equal Angles. It had Temples and publick places moſt beautiful, and Royal Palaces which took up a fourth or a third part of its Circumference. For every one of the Kings had a mind to be adding to things Conſecrated to their Gods, ſo ſome thing of his own to the Palaces built by his Predeceſſors. All of them were near together and joyned to the Haven. Part of the Palaces was the *Muſeum* which had a walk, an *Exedra*, and a large Houſe wherein was the Refectory of thoſe who being Fellows The *Muſeum* or Colledge. of the *Muſeum* applyed themſelves to the ſtudy of good Letters. This Colledge was maintained at the publick charge, and had a Prieſt for its Governor formerly nominated by the Kings, and in the time of *Strabo* by the Emperor.

7. Another part of the Palaces was called *Soma* (or Body) being a place walled in, wherein were the Sepulchres of the Kings and of *Alexander*. For, *Strabo* The *Soma* or place of Sepulture. writes that *Ptolomy* the ſon of *Lagus* took the body of *Alexander* from *Perdiccas*, as he carryed it from *Babylon*, and turned off unto thoſe parts moved by Avarice and the deſign of getting *Ægypt* into his own power. He was killed by the Souldiers being ſurpriſed by *Ptolomy* in an Iſland, where they fell upon and murdered him with their *Sariſſæ*. The body of *Alexander*, *Ptolomy* brought to *Alexandria* and there buried it; and there, ſaith he it ſtill lies though not in the ſame cheſt or coffin. For now it is Glaſs whereas he had laid it in Gold; But the Golden one was taken away by *Ptolomy* Sirnamed *Coccus* and *Subdititius* coming thither from *Syria*; though he was preſently overthrown and received no benefit by his booty.

8. In the great Haven near the entrance at the right hand, was the Iſland and the Tower *Pharos*; at the left lay Rocks and *Lochias* the Promontory wherein there was alſo a Royal Palace. As one went further to the left were more houſes of the Kings joyning to that in *Lochias* having many and various Appartments and Groves. To them joyned an Haven or Creek private and ſhut up which belonged alſo to the Kings. Alſo an Iſland lay before the artificial Haven, having moreover its Palace and its Creek, and called *Antirhodus*, becauſe it did, as it were emulate *Rhodes*. Above it was a Theatre, and a place called *Poſſideum*, becauſe in it was a Temple of *Neptune*; there *Antony* made a further Mole into the great Haven and *Timonium.* built a palace he called *Timonium*; and he did it at the laſt, when being forſaken by his Friends, after the defeat of *Actium* he had retired to *Alexandria*, and bidding

ding farewel to all his Acquaintance, purpoſed to lead there a ſolitary life, after the example of *Timon.*

Necropolis.

9. Next to them was the *Cæſareum Emporium* or Exchange, and the *Apoſtaſes* or *Abſceſſes* and then the *Navalia*, or ſtations for ſhips; as far as the *Heptaſtadium.* Beyond the *Heptaſtadium* lay the Haven of *Eunoſtus*, and above it was digged another Port called *Cibotus* or the *Arke* wherein were other *Navalia.* Within it was a Foſs or Ditch reaching as far as the Lake of *Mæotis*, and without lay a little part of the City. Then was to be ſeen *Necropolis*, or the City of dead bodies, and a Suburbe wherein were many Gardens, Monuments, and places for Embalming the dead. Within the Ditch ſtood the *Serapium* and ſome other old Temples almoſt ruinated, by reaſon of the building of the Temples at *Nicopolis*; for there was the *Amphitheater* and the *Stadium*, and the five years Games were there Celebrated: And ſuch things as were of old inſtituted became of no repute. In a word, ſaith he, the City is full of conſecrated and ſacred things, hath a beautiful *Gymaſium* (to which belongs *Porticus*'s longer than a furlong) a *Forum* or place of Judicature, and Groves. There is alſo the *Panium* an high work raiſed with the hand, broad above, and ſmall beneath, like a Top, to which they mount by Stairs and thence they have a fair proſpect of the whole City.

Nicopolis.

10. From *Necropolis* ran one ſtreet by the *Gymaſium* as far as the Gate of *Canopus*; then the Cirque or *Hippodrome*, and others as far as the Ditch of it. Paſſing through the *Hippodrome*, one came to *Nicopolis* inhabited as far as the Sea, ſo as it ought not be eſteemed to be leſs than the City, being thirty Furlongs diſtant from *Alexandria.* This place *Auguſtus Cæſar* beautified, becauſe here he overthrew thoſe that ſided with *Antony*, and taking the City in his firſt attempt, Conſtrained him to kill himſelf, and got *Cleopatra* alive into his Power, who ſhortly after being in Cuſtody ſecretly made away her ſelf by the biting of an Aſp, or as others deliver, by a poyſoned ointment.

11. *Ammianus* tells you (that we may finiſh this ſhort Account of this famous
City) that *Alexandria* being increaſed, not by degrees as others, but growing up “
at its firſt beginnings through ſpacious compaſſes, and being long and ſharply “
harraſed with internal ſeditions, at laſt after many years, in the Reign of the Em- “
peror *Aurelian*, Civil Conteſts proceeding to deadly blows, loſt its walls and with “
them the greateſt of its Regions called *Bruchion* the long abiding place of Ex- “
Famous men. cellent men. Here lived *Ariſtarchus* the Excellent Grammarian; *Herodian* the
moſt Minute inquirer into Arts; *Saccas Ammonius* the Maſter of *Plotinus*, and “
many other writers of noble Learning; amongſt whom *Chalcenterus Didymus* “
was eminent, memorable for his Attempt of manifold knowledg, who, for the “ *Silli Græcedicuntur Maledici & Satyrica carmina.*
five Books wherein unskilfully he reprehends *Tully*, immitating the *Silligraphi* “
and Malevolent Authors, is accuſed in the judgment of Learned ears, as a whelp “
or ſneaking curr, barking and making a rotten noiſe about a roaring Lyon. “

12. And although he adds, many of the Ancients, beſides theſe I have mentio- “
ned, there did flouriſh; yet at this preſent time various ſorts of Learning are “
not ſilent in that City. For, the Maſters of Studies there in a meaſure take their “
breath, and whatſoever lyes hid, there is diſcovered by the frame of *Geometry*, “
neither hath Muſick amongſt them quite decayed, nor harmony been put to ſi- “
lence; the conſideration of the motion of the World and Stars grows warme in “
ſome men though they be rare; and not a few are learned in Numbers: beſides “
Arts profeſſed. this they are skilled in that Science which telleth Fortunes. Over and above, the
Studies of *Medicine*, are daily ſo increaſed, that though the practice it “
ſelf do diſcover the skill ſufficiently, yet it abundantly ſufficeth for the “
Commendation of the Phyſitians Art if he ſay he learnt it at *Alexandria.* “
In *Bruchion* it was that *Philadelphus* made his Library, and credible it is that Learned men flocked to it, to whom he aſſigned Sallaries and maintenance from the publick. For, this our *Philadelphus* firſt inſtituted a Colledge of Learned men called *Muſeum* or the Temple of the Muſes, to whom he alſo inſtituted Games ſolemn and called *Muſea*; The *Muſeum* was part of the Palace, which as we have ſeen, took up the greateſt part of the City, and was moſt Fortified, ſo that in *Aurelians* ſiege it might very well make full reſiſtance as it did. But this and all together concerning this City. Now to return to our *Ptolomy.*

13. He got the ſirname of *Philadelphus*, not for any love ſhewed to his brothers (two of whom he put to death) but to his ſiſter *Arſinoe*, whom after an inceſtuous (though *Ægyptian*) faſhion he married, having Children before by another *Arſinoe* daughter to *Lyſimachus*; by his ſiſter he never had any, ſhe dying before ſhe was de-

Pauſan. in Atticis.

livered, *Demetrius Phalereus* laboured to diſſwade his father from leaving him his ſucceſſor, rnd counſelled him to beſtow the Kingdom on ſome of *Eurydice's* ſons, for which he was now caſt out of favour, and dyed by the biting of an Aſp, which he put to his hand. He had a brother by his mothers ſide named *Magas*, whoſe father was one *Philip* a *Macedonian*, but of baſe Original. Him ſhe had procured to be made Governor of *Cyrene*, the Inhabitants of which he now raiſed, and cauſed them to revolt from him, and marched with an Army towards *Ægypt*; and *Ptolomy* ſecuring all the paſſages, went out to encounter him. But news coming in the way that the *Marmaridæ*, a people of the *Lybian Nomades* had rebelled, *Magas* retreated in all haſt back to *Cyrene*, and *Ptolomy* then intending to follow him, was hindred by the *Galls* in his Army, whom having hired amongſt others, he found to have plotted to ſeize upon *Ægypt*; but he brought them all to the number of four thouſand through the *Nile* to a deſert Iſland, where with famine, and other ways, they were made away. *Magas* after this having marryed *Apame* the daughter of *Antiochus Soter*, perſwaded him to break the League betwixt him and his brother, and invade *Ægypt*, which he prepared to do; but *Ptolomy* ſent ſeveral parties abroad into *Syria*, and found him ſo much work at home, that he could have no time to look abroad, and *Magas* before his death having a deſire to be friends with his brother, betrothed his daughter to his ſon. Betwixt this *Ptolomy*, and the next *Antiochus* ſirnamed *Theos* were continual Wars, till both being weary thereof entered into an Alliance, *Ptolomy* giving him in marriage his daughter *Berenice*, which proved but an occaſion of greater trouble, and the deſtruction of the Bride, though he lived not to ſee it. For he, notwithſtanding all his learning, gave himſelf up to luxury, and fondly dreaming he ſhould live always, and that by him alone was found out immortality, ſuddenly died, after he had Reigned thirty eight years alone, and one (with ſome odd months) together with his father, A. M. 3758. and the ſecond of the 133th *Olympiad*.

Laertius in vita Demetrii.
Pauſan. ibid.

Magas his brother obtaineth *Cyrene*.

Juſtin. lib. 26.

Athenæus lib. 12. *cap.* 17.

14. *Ptolomy* his ſon by *Arſinoe*, the daughter of *Lyſimachus*, ſucceeded him, in the ſixteenth year of *Antiochus Theos*, and was ſirnamed *Euergetes*. As ſoon as he came to the Kingdom, he had work enough made him in *Syria*; for there *Antiochus*, who had put away his former wife (upon the marriage of *Berenice* his ſiſter) now overcome with Love, took her, and her Children, again into his Court, notwithſtanding which ſhe fearing yet his fickleneſs, and another diſgrace, to prevent it, procured him to be poyſoned, and conveyed his Kingdom to *Seleucus Callinicus* her eldeſt ſon. *Berenice* ſhe committed to two of the chief of *Antioch* to be made away, but the Lady, when ſhe heard that ſome were ſent to kill her, ſhut up her ſelf in *Daphne*, where being beſieged, the Cities of *Aſia*, moved with the remembrance of the Dignity of her family, ſent her aid, and *Ptolomy* her brother marched in all haſt poſſible to deliver her, but ere ſhe could be relieved ſhe was circumvented by thoſe that with an Oath promiſed her ſecurity, and ſlain together with her young ſon. Out of diſdain at this unworthy act the Cities revolted to *Ptolomy*, who entring *Syria* killed *Laodice*, paſſed to *Babylon*, and got almoſt all *Aſia* into his hands, at which time he viſited *Jeruſalem* alſo, where he offered many ſacrifices of praiſe to God, and dedicated gifts ſuitable to ſo great a victory. The Kingdom of *Syria* had become a Province to that of *Ægypt*, in all probability at this time, had he not been recalled by domeſtick troubles, which being very urgent, he left *Cilicia* to the Governance of *Antiochus* his great favourite, to *Xanthippus* another of his Captains the Provinces beyond *Euphrates*, and ſo plundring *Seleucus's* Kingdom of forty thouſand Talents of ſilver, he carryed down alſo many coſtly Veſſels and Images of Idols to the number of two thouſand five hundred, amongſt which were thoſe which *Cambyſes* had after his overthrow of *Amaſis*, vnd *Pſammiticus*, conveyed out of *Ægypt*: And therefore the *Ægyptians*, becauſe after ſo many years he had reſtored to them their gods, honoured him with the ſirname of *Euergetes*.

Juſtin lib 27.

Appian in Syriacis.

Hieronym. in Daniel.

Ptolomy Euergetes his Wars with *Antiochus Theos*.

Joſephus contra Apion. lib. 2.

15. *Seleucus* provided a Fleet for the recovery of the places revolted, but before he could come to uſe it, loſt it all by a Tempeſt, which yet proved the greateſt gain; for the Cities out of commiſeration of his eſtate, and as if he had already ſufficiently ſmarted for his paricide, returned again to their obedience. Being exceedingly encouraged, and animated herewith (as richer by his loſs) he then made War upon *Ptolomy*; but as if he had been born for a laughing ſtock to fortune, and not recovered the Kingdom for himſelf, he was overthrown again in battel, and as deſtitute of followers, as after the ſhipwrack, fled to *Antioch*, when applying a remedy worſe than the diſeaſe, he ſent to his brother *Antiochus* (from his ravenous diſpoſition ſirnamed *Hierax*) for aid; and ſo *Ptolomy* fearing himſelf not to be able to graple

Juſtin ut prius.

with

His wife *Bere-nice's* hair gi-veth name to a Conſtella-tion.

with both, made a Truce with him for ten years. Whilſt he was abroad in *Aſia*, his wife *Berenice*, daughter to his Uncle *Magas*, and betroathed to him, as we ſaid before, vowed to conſecrate her hair to the gods, in caſe he returned ſafe, and accordingly cutting it off, laid it up in a certain Chapel, whereupon *Conon* the *Mathematician*, who flouriſhed at this time, out of flattery to them both, feigned it to be taken up into Heaven, and invented that conſtellation which yet is known by the name of it. In his time a *Phœnix* is reported the third time after the days of *Seſoſtris*, and the next after them of *Amaſis*, to have flown (being a bird ſacred to the Sun) accompanied with a great number of other birds, admiring her new face, to the City *Heliopolis*, as *Tacitus* tells us, who reports that the ſame thing hapned afterwards in the Reign of *Tiberius*; *Paulus Fabius*, and *L. Vitellius* being *Conſuls*. To this *Ptolomy* fled *Cleomenes* the King of *Sparta* after his overthrow received from *Antigonus Doſon* of *Macedonia*, and the *Achæans*, who honourably receiving him, and prizing him very much for his worth, was much aſhamed that he had ſuffered ſuch a man to be defeated, and promiſed to re-eſtabliſh him; but he dyed before he could bring it about, after he had Reigned twenty four years, in the 139th *Olympiad*, within which *Polybius* * obſerves both *Antigonus Doſon*, and *Seleucus Ceraunus*, King of *Macedonia*, to have left the World, and their Kingdoms to their Succeſſors.

Annal. lib. 6.

Polyb. lib. 5. & Plutarch in vita Cleomen.

* *Sub finem lib. 2.*

Ptolomy Philopator.

16. His ſon ſucceeded him, being ſirnamed *Philopator*, ironically, if we believe *Juſtin*, who out of *Trogus* accuſeth him of making away both father and mother. Certainly if we look at his general carriage and diſpoſition, he was like enough to do it, giving up himſelf to all luxury and effeminateneſs, and thereby neglecting his affairs, whence he obtained the name of *Tryphon*. Finding his brother *Magas* by his mothers means to be very great with the Army, he made them both away by the means of *Soſibius*, who was his greateſt Counſellor, and manager of his publick buſineſs. His lazineſs, and neglect, encouraged *Antiochus* the Great to make War upon him for *Cœleſyria*, in which, though he got the better, yet can it not be aſcribed to any thing of his, he thinking of nothing leſs than preparation for reſiſtance, and whereas he had opportunity enough after the battel to have outed his Enemy of *Syria*, yet being overjoyed that he had recovered *Cœleſyria* only, he ſent *Soſibius* to confirm the peace. In his return out of *Syria* he went to *Jeruſalem*, and would needs ſee the inward holy places of the Temple, but was ſmitten ſo with a blind horror, that he fell, and could ſcarcely be recovered to himſelf, but departing home raged againſt the *Jews* at *Alexandria*. Then with great earneſtneſs returning to his a little intermitted jollities he doted ſo upon *Agathoclea* his Concubine, that he killed his ſiſter and wife *Eurydice*, and forgetting all credit and Majeſty, ſpent the nights in filthineſs, and the days in feaſting. Theſe things are firſt privately acted within the Court Walls, but preſently ſhamed not at the publick view; the impudence of the Strumpet containing it ſelf in no bounds, being increaſed by the favour of her brother *Agathocles*, one of as filthy a life as her ſelf, and the Conjunction of her mother *Euanthe*, who ſpent high, and preſumed much on the ſcore of her Childrens great grace with the King. Henceforth theſe women not contenting themſelves with the King, poſſeſſed the Kingdom alſo, and ſhamed not to appear in publick in great equipage to be reverenced. As for *Agathocles*, he reigned, and not *Ptolomy*, by the direction and advice of his two Aſſiſtants, Mother and Siſter, diſpoſing of Offices and Commands in the Army at his pleaſure.

Lib. 29. & 30.

A. M. 3783.
Ol. 139. ann. 2.
V. C. 532.
Antioch. M. 2.
Polybius lib. 5.

Polybius ibid. & Plutarch in Cleomen.

17. Yet, had *Ptolomy* the ſtrange fortune to overcome all difficulties he met with. *Cleomenes* the *Spartan* entertained, as we ſaid, lovingly by his father, with promiſe to endeavour his reſtitution, now finding things to make for it at home, by the death of *Antigonus*, and the Conjunction of the *Ætolians* with them of *Sparta* againſt the *Achæans*, earneſtly deſired to be diſpatched away; but he minding nothing but his pleaſures, and buried in ſottiſhneſs, regarded him not at all. *Soſibius* indeed conſidered of the thing, and called his friends to adviſe about it; but upon mature deliberation concluded it not wiſdom to diſmiſs him provided of men and arms, leſt finding all clear abroad, his Enemies being now dead, or quiet, he, who knew ſufficiently the ſtate and condition of *Ægypt* under ſuch a Prince, might attempt ſomething rather beneficial for himſelf, than ſafe for it. Hereupon its reſolved he ſhall be retained ſtill, and after ſome time an occaſion was found to confine him. For one *Nicagoras* a *Meſſenian*, who ought him an injury, coming to Town, he not at all conſidering to whom he ſpake, jeered the King to him for his filthy manner of life; which he being glad of, as having an opportunity againſt him, acquainted *Soſibius* with his words, and they two plot together that *Nicagoras* at his departure

Stirs about *Cleomenes* King of *Sparta*.

ſhould leave a Letter directed to the other, wherein he ſhould accuſe *Cleomenes* of an intention to make ſtirs in *Ægypt*, except he were ſent away according to the promiſe of *Euergetes*. This being laid to his charge by *Soſibius*, and ſoundly aggravated to the King, he was ſecured in free cuſtody, having a large houſe, but kept with a Guard, aſſigned to him; whereupon growing deſperate, one day when *Ptolomy* was gone out of Town, he made his Keepers drunk, and with his followers brake out into the ſtreets, and called the people to liberty. But none ſtirring, being all aſtoniſhed at the greatneſs of the Enterprize, they made for the Caſtle, which finding to be ſtrongly defended, he and all with him, after a *Laconian* faſhion, as *Polybius* termeth it, killed themſelves. Such was the end of this famous man, who being indued with a ſingular dexterity and promptneſs of wit, had a genious ſuitable to great and weighty matters, and was fitted by gifts of nature as well as experiences, for the Offices either of a great Commander, or a Prince.

18. Though *Cleomenes* his ſuddain and unexpected attempt made no ſuch impreſſion upon the City, as that any inſurrections enſued thereupon; (and indeed the luxurie of the Court had infected it and the whole Land with the ſame diſtemper) yet the minds of the people being ſomething ſcoured by the Wars with *Antiochus* from this ruſt, and elevated upon their ſucceſs againſt him, after the battel at *Raphia*, and the recovery of *Cœleſyria*, they began to ſlight their lawful King, and then aroſe to ſuch an height, as they clearly revolted, intending to ſet up againſt him a Captain of their own making, which ſhortly after they did, and waged War with him; though in what manner, or with what end, we know not, further than thus, that, as it ſeemeth, he had the better of it, for he retained his dignity and power. About this time ſixty thouſand *Jews* are ſaid to have been ſlain in *Ægypt*, who ſeeing they amounted to ſuch a number, we may have ground to think that they took part with the people, and that his cruelty towards them enſued as a revenge hereupon, though others there be that judge the contrary, and deliver it as a thing not to be doubted of. This is certain, that about this time he grievouſly perſecuted thoſe of that Nation which lived at *Alexandria*; abuſing them firſt with libels, and ſeeking to withdraw them from their Religion. Thoſe that refuſed to turn, were either put to death, or being deprived of all dignity and liberty, were branded with the image of an Ivy leaf as the badge of *Bacchus*; and becauſe they were ſuſpected to withdraw others from their obedience to the King, all the *Jews* throughout the Land were in forty days ſpace gathered together, to be deſtroyed by five hundred Elephants, to which was given wine mingled with much frankincence to inrage them. But in the morning when *Ptolomy* ſhould have come out to the ſight, a ſluggiſh fit is ſaid to have detained him until dinner, and on the next day ſuch a forgetfulneſs to have ſeized on him, as he thought them mad which mentioned the thing to him; and then on the third, when the beaſts were ready to be let looſe, two terrible Angels appeared, which ſtruck King and People with extraordinary horror, and drove the Elephants upon thoſe who came to be ſpectators of the cruelty. Hereupon enſued ſuch a change of the Kings mind, as he diſmiſſed the *Jews*, after he had feaſted them ſeven days, and giving them leave to kill the Apoſtates, acknowledged God to be their protector. At length he dyed (leaving a child of five years old, and begotten of his ſiſter, behind him) after he had Reigned about eighteen years, A. M. three thouſand eight hundred and one, in the firſt of the one hundred forty fourth *Olympiad*.

Polyb. ut prius.

Euſebius in Chronico.
3. *Maccab.*
Uſſerius Annal. Vet. Teſt. pag. 510.

The *Jews* perſecuted.

A. M. 3789.
Ol. 141. *an.* 1.
V. C. 538.
Ant. Mag. 8.
Ptol. Philop. 7.

Ptolomy dyeth.

19. His ſon a child of five years ſucceeded him, being declared King by him before his death, in the twentieth year of *Antiochus* the Great, King of *Syria*, and was ſirnamed afterwards *Epiphanes*. The death of *Philopator* was for a long time kept cloſe, by *Agathocles* and his party, till his mother and ſiſter had rifled the Court, and he had found out ſuch a way as he thought moſt effectual for the eſtabliſhment of himſelf in that power he already enjoyed. Then brought he out the King to the *Macedonians*, and with great expreſſions of ſorrow for the death of his father, tells them the child was by him delivered into the arms of *Agathoclea* his ſiſter, inveighs bitterly againſt one *Tlepolemus* (who being a true Patriot was an eye-ſore to him) as if he intended to ſeize upon the Kingdom, labouring to impoſe upon the belief of the Souldiers, and ſecure himſelf by their ſtrength; but no man gave any credit to whatever he ſaid, ſo intirely was he hated by all. The remembrance of the former outrages committed by him and his, being more freſhly renewed by ſome other attempts of cruelty whilſt things ſtill hung in this condition, ſo inraged the multitude, that from all the quarters of the City flocking to the Court, they would not be ſatisfied, till having the young King firſt delivered to them, they broke open the

Juſtin lib. 30.

Polyb. lib. 15.

His ſon *Ptolomy Epiphanes* a child of five years ſucceedeth him.

A. M. 3801.
Ol. 144. *an.* 1.
V. C. 550.
Ant. Mag. 20.

the doors, and getting him, his ſiſter, mother, and other of his creatures into their hands, they put them to death, mangling their bodies afterwards; it being natural to that People to be cruel if once in choler. After this, ſuch as had an hand in the murder of *Euridice* the Queen were knocked in the head by her women. The infamy of the Nation being thus in ſome meaſure expiated by the ſlaughter of theſe miſcreants, *Ariſtomenes* an *Acarnanian* was made *Protector* of the King, his Realms and Dominions, who though for his own intereſt he beforetime temporized with *Agathocles*, yet now managed the affairs of his Prince with much honeſty and wiſdom. And indeed ſuch there was need he ſhould be at this time, when the King, being obnoxious by reaſon of his years to injury and wrong, was ſtruck at by two the greateſt Princes then living, viz. *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, and *Philip* King of *Macedonia*, who pretending fair things to his Father, and nothing towards him but kindneſs, now ſought to devour him, and make a prey of his Kingdom; *Philip* by laying hold upon *Ægypt* and *Caria*; and *Antiochus* on *Cœleſyria* and *Phœnicia*. The only remedy was to ſend to *Rome* to complain, and deſire aid; and an Ambaſſage was quickly diſpatched away for that purpoſe.

Antiochus and *Philip* gape after *Ægypt*.

Idem lib. 3.

20. The Ambaſſage was no whit diſpleaſing to the *Romans*, who ſought an occaſion againſt *Philip*, for his entering into alliance with *Hannibal*, and were ſeldom backward to meddle in the affairs of other Nations, eſpecially now fearing none of them after the overthrow of the *Carthaginians*. Ambaſſadors were ſent then to the Kings, to require them to abſtain from *Ægypt*, and *M. Lepidus* thither to be Governor and Protector of the young King, whoſe Father, at his death, left him to the tuition of the People of *Rome*; over and above that it was now deſired of his friends. But ere the Ambaſſadors could reach to him, *Antiochus* had got *Phœnicia* and other Cities belonging to *Ptolomy* into his power, and then deſpiſing their errand, went on in his conqueſts. *Scopas* the *Ætolian* a year or two after ſent into *Cœleſyria*, with a great Army, reduced many Cities thereof, with *Judæa*, to *Ptolomie's* obedience, but again quickly loſt all, being overthrown by *Antiochus* at the head of the River *Jordan* near to *Paneæ*, whence he fled to *Tyre*, where the King beſieged him with ten thouſand men; and though *Æropus* and *Menocles*, two famous Captains were ſent out of *Ægypt* to relieve him, yet was he forced for want of proviſion to yield the Town, and march thence without his Arms. *Antiochus* then in purſute of this Victory, beſides what he did in *Cœleſyria*, withdrew divers places in *Cilicia* and *Caria* from *Ptolomy*, concerning whom alſo a rumor being ſpread that he was dead, he made haſte to ſeize upon *Cyprus*. What Cities he had got in *Aſia*, the *Romans* divers times by Ambaſſadors demanded to be put into their hands, which being refuſed by him, this, with his ambition, and other things, miniſtred occaſion of a War betwixt them (as is ſhewed before) and that turned to the commodity of *Ptolomy*. For *Antiochus* being unwilling to have any Enemies at his back, ſought to enter into affinity with ſeveral Kings, and amongſt the reſt gave to him in marriage his daughter *Cleopatra*, and with her in Dowry all *Cœleſyria* and *Judæa*; having this alſo in his eye, by means of her to get ſome footing in *Ægypt*, though he was miſtaken. For *Ptolomy* his Officers underſtanding his cunning well enough, behaved themſelves more warily; and *Cleopatra* together with the man married his intereſt, and acted accordingly.

Juſtin lib. 30. *&* 31.

Antiochus his Conqueſts.

Joſephus Antiq lib. 12. *c.* 3. *& Hieronymus in Daniel.*

Appian in Syriacis.

He marrieth his daughter to *Ptolomy*.

21. *Scopas* the *Ætolian*, *Ptolomy* his General in *Cœleſyria*, returning to *Alexandria* after his overthrow, fell into diſcontent, and thence to plot againſt the King and State. Yet though he had many Souldiers at his command, had he no heart to ſtir, and though having a ſufficient opportunity in the minority of the King, he ſtill delayed to execute his deſigns, till he was prevented. For *Ariſtomenes* having diſcovered what he was about, juſt when he was plotting with his aſſociates, ſent for him to the Court, whither being conſtrained to come, he was accuſed by the King firſt now ſitting in Council, then by *Polycrates* the Governor of *Cyprus*, and laſtly by *Ariſtomenes*, who laboured to prove him guilty of what was alledged, for that he was found in conſultation with his friends, and refuſed to come unto the King when ſent for; and he confirmed the charge from the teſtimony of divers eminent *Græcians*, and the Ambaſſadors of the *Ætolians*, who were then ſent about a Peace. His anſwers were no whit ſatisfactory; ſo that being condemned not only by all the Council, but ſuch foreign miniſters as were preſent, and being ſecured that night, he was together with his complices the next day taken away by poyſon, being a man ſo extraordinarily covetous above all others, that having broke down the walls (as *Polybius* terms it) of the Kingdom, he had exhauſted it with rapines. With him fell *Dicæarchus* one of his companions, who being tortured to death, thereby (as the

Polyb. lib. 17.

Scopas the *Ætolian* plotteth againſt the King and receiveth his reward.

the Hiſtorian tells us) made ſatisfaction to all *Greece*, againſt which he was made Admiral of the Fleet by *Philip* of *Macedonia*, when he wickedly ſet upon the Iſlands *Cyclades*; and alſo to the gods, into whom as well as men he thought to ſtrike a terror, for caſting anchor in the Haven, he there erected two Altars, one to *Impiety*, and another to *Iniquity*, on which he ſacrifized to them as gods. This conſpiracy being thus ſuppreſſed, ſuch *Ætolians* as would, had leave to depart with all they had, and then the Country betook themſelves to prepare for the ſolemnity, conſtantly obſerved when any one was ſaluted King, termed *Anacleteria*; for though he was as yet ſomething too young, yet they thought that when it was known he was his own Maſter, and at his own diſpoſal, his Kingdom would be more quiet, and his affairs be more promoted.

A. M. 3809.
Ol. 146.*ann.* 1.
V. C. 558.
Ant. Mag. 28.
Ptolom. Epiphan. 8.

Excerp. Diodori Siculi.

Polybius Legat. 37, 40, & 57.

Ptolomy contracteth amity with the *Achæans.*

Hieronym. in Danel.

Is poyſoned.

22. He carryed himſelf exceedingly well for ſome time, and with great commendation, but afterwards was undone by flatterers, and ſo far corrupted, as he poyſoned *Ariſtomenes*, whom he had before conſtantly obſerved as a Father, and who had deſerved well of him and the Commonwealth. After this he degenerated more and more, whence he contracted ſuch hatred of his Subjects, as he well nigh had loſt his Kingdom. Towards his latter end, having ſome high deſigns in his head, he ſent *Demetrius* an Ambaſſador to the *Achæans*, to renew friendſhip and alliance with them, who gladly accepting of his offer, ſent back to him *Lycortas* Father to *Polybius* the Hiſtorian, *Theodoridas* and *Rhoſiteles* to confirm it by oath on their part, and to receive the like aſſurance from him, which they obtained with a great preſent of money and arms. Some ſix years after he ſent other Ambaſſadors to them, now having well nigh faln out with the *Romans*, offering them ten ſhips of fifty oares, ſufficiently manned and furniſhed for War, which as of concernment, amounting almoſt to ten Talents, they accepted of moſt gladly, and diſpatched back to him *Lycortas* again with *Polybius* his ſon (though he was too young by the Laws for ſuch an employment) and *Aratus* the ſon of famous *Aratus* the *Sicyonian*, to give him thanks for the former preſent, and fetch the ſhips into *Peloponneſus*; but he was dead ere they could get out of their own Country. For plotting now againſt *Seleucus Philopator*, who had ſucceeded *Antiochus* his Father in the Kingdom of *Syria*, and preparing an Army againſt him, when one of his Captains asked him where he would get money ſufficient for ſuch an enterprize, he anſwered, that his friends were riches to him, which being told abroad amongſt the People, his Officers fearing he would fleece them to ſupply himſelf, took him away by poyſon, after he had lived twenty ſeven years, and Reigned twenty four thereof. A. M. 3825, and the firſt of the 150 *Olympiad*.

Ptolomy Philometor

A. M. 3825.

Idem. ibid.

Prepareth for *Cœleſyria.*

Polyb. Legat. 81, 82.

But his uncle *Antiochus Epiphanes* preventeth him by getting all *Ægypt* into his hands.

23. He left two ſons and one daughter, all very young, of which the eldeſt ſon ſucceeded him, being ſirnamed *Philometor*, in the eighth year of *Seleucus Philopator* King of *Syria*. After his *Anacleteria*, his mother *Cleopatra* the daughter of *Antiochus* the *Great* being lately dead, through the perſwaſion of *Eulaius* the Eunuch, and *Lenæus* his principal Counſellors, he began to caſt his thoughts upon *Cœleſyria*, which being given to his mother as a portion, was unjuſtly kept from him as he conceived, by his uncle *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who now had ſucceeded his elder brother in the Kingdom of *Syria*. *Antiochus* hearing of their preparations for the War at *Alexandria*, came down into *Ægypt* to prevent them, and overthrew the King ſeveral times as hath been ſaid, and got the whole Country, except that City, into his power; after which *Ptolomy* deliberating with *Comanus* and *Cineas* what was to be done, it was reſolved, that a Council of the moſt expert Captains ſhould be erected, by the advice whereof all things ſhould be managed. The firſt reſolve of this Council was, that ſuch *Græcian* Ambaſſadors as were preſent, ſhould be ſent to *Antiochus* about an agreement, with whom *Ptolomy* joyned of his own two others. The firſt day after their arrival, they were entertained very nobly, and on the next had audience, wherein they laid all the blame upon *Eulaius* the Eunuch, and urging the youth and kindred of the King to him, laboured to pacifie him. He after he had aſſented to them in theſe things, and ſpoken more to the ſame purpoſe, laboured with much earneſtneſs to demonſtrate, that *Cœleſyria* appertained to the Crown of *Syria*, alledging it to have belonged to *Antigonus* the firſt founder of that Kingdom, and he produced the conveiances of it to *Seleucus* after the death of the other, from the *Macedonian* Kings. Moreover calling to their remembrance, that *Antiochus* his Father had lately obtained it again by right of conqueſt, he flatly denyed that ever he paſſed it over as a portion with his daughter, to the late King of *Ægypt*, and ſo having diſcourſed on this ſubject to the ſatisfaction of all his hearers, he then departed to *Naucratis*, where friendly treating the Inhabitants, and giving a lar-

geſs to ſuch *Greeks* as dwelt there, he thence departed for *Alexandria*, deferring to give any anſwer to thoſe that had been ſent to him, till ſuch time as *Ariſtides* and *Theris* were returned, ſaying, he would have all the publick miniſters of *Greece* to be conſcious to, and witneſſes of, all his intentions.

24. But no ſatisfactory anſwer (if any) was given, or any thing done for *Philometor* by *Antiochus*, ſo that being thus outed of his Kingdom after twelve years reign, and giving up himſelf for all that to nothing but ſluggiſhneſs and luxury, the *Alexandrians* took upon them to make his younger brother King, ſirnaming him *Euergetes*, (though the badneſs of his manners made them afterwards change it into *Cacergetes*) being alſo called *Phyſcon* from his extraordinary fat paunch. *Philometor* was forced at length to betake himſelf to the *Alexandrians* too, who receiving him, made him partaker with his brother in the Kingdom, but ſhortly after again expelled him; which thing *Antiochus* made uſe of, and under pretence of reſtoring him, continued the War, and overthrowing young *Ptolomy* in a Sea-fight, beſieged *Alexandria*; but ſeeing that to be to no purpoſe, aroſe and departed into *Syria*, leaving *Philometor* at *Memphis*, to whom he reſtored all *Ægypt*, except *Peluſium*, which he kept as the key of the Country in his own hands, not doubting but when one of the brothers had ruined the other, to come, and with eaſe enough devour the Conqueror. But though his two Nephews were otherwiſe ſottiſh enough, yet in this they ſhewed prudence, to diſappoint him, for the elder ſeriouſly conſidering how little he ought to truſt him, ſent to *Cleopatra* his ſiſter, and ſhe ſeconding him to her brother, both of them by advice and entreaty, procured a peace to be made with conſent of both their friends, the Citizens of *Alexandria* giving way the more readily, becauſe of the dearth which troubled them, by reaſon of the War, as well when they were at liberty as beſieged. This drew off the Vizard from *Antiochus*, who, whereas he ought to have rejoyced, if he really intended the reſtitution of *Philometor*, fretted exceedingly hereat, and nothing would ſerve him, but needs he muſt come down again into *Ægypt*, and had laid ſiege to *Alexandria* the ſecond time, had not the *Roman* Ambaſſadors terrified him from his purpoſe (as we ſhewed in its more proper place) and forced him to quit both *Ægypt* and *Cyprus*.

Porphyr. in Græcis Euſeb.

Athenæus lib. 12. *cap.* 17.

Ptolomy Phyſcon made King.

Polyb. Legat. 83, & 84.

Livius l. 45.

A. M. 3837.
Ol. 153. *ann.* 1.
V. C. 586.
Ant. Epiphan. 9
Ptol. Philom. 13.

The two brothers agree, and are ſaved harmleſs from their Uncle by the *Romans*.

25. The *Roman* Ambaſſadors took ſome pains by their Authority to make them two friends, not being throughly reconciled before, and ſo they continued for ſix years peaceably together. But then differences betwixt them aroſe ſo high, that the Senate at *Rome* wrote to their Ambaſſadors, ſent into *Syria* after the death of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, by all means to reconcile them, of which mediation we yet hear of no fruit at all, for preſently the younger expelled his elder brother. *Philometor* being thus ſpoyled of his Kingdom, with a very few attendants, and in a pitiful habit, came to *Rome* for help, making his Inn the houſe of an *Alexandrian* Painter; which when the Senate underſtood, they ſent for him, and made as formal an excuſe as poſſible, that they had neither ſent a *Quæſtor* to meet him (after the faſhion of the receiving perſons of his quality) nor entertained him at the publick charge, which hapned not by any neglect on their part, but by reaſon of his ſudden and ſecret arrival. Then was he conducted from the Court to the publick Houſe of entertainment, and deſired, that laying off his unſeemly habit, he would move for audience, and a *Quæſtor* was appointed to make him preſents every day. At length, according to his deſire, *Canuceius* and *Quintus* were ſent back with him to *Alexandria*, who reſtored him to the Kingdom, and made the two brothers aſſent to a diviſion of it, whereby *Philometor* was to hold *Ægypt* and *Cyprus*, and *Euergetes* poſſeſs *Cyrene*, the Covenant being moſt ſolemnly confirmed. But *Euergetes* not being at all ſatisfied in his part, haſted to *Rome* to reverſe the agreement, alledging that he gave not his conſent freely but out of neceſſity of yielding to the times; wherefore he deſired of the Senate that *Cyprus* might be alſo adjudged to him, with the addition of which his part would yet be far inferior to his brothers. *Menethyllus* being ſent after him by *Philometor*, replyed, that he ought not only *Cyrene*, but his life alſo to his brother, ſo great hatred had he contracted from their ſubjects, that with the wonder of all, and beyond his hopes was that Kingdom beſtowed on him, and urged the agreement moſt religiouſly made and confirmed, with faith given on both ſides. But *Ptolomy* denying ſtifly all this, the Senate, for that it ſeemed to them that the parting of the Kingdom was not yet fully concluded, and eſpecially thinking it to be for their intereſt that the diviſion ſhould be equal, aſſented to his requeſt, and ordered *T. Torquatus*, and *Cn. Merula* to go with him, and put *Cyprus* into his hands. For the *Romans* underſtanding now fully the ſtrength of

Idem ibid.

Porphyrius ut prius.

Polybius Legat. 107.

Valerius Max. Lib. 5. *cap.* 1. *Exemp.* 1.

Philometor being expelled by his rebellious brother is reſtored by the *Romans*, and *Euergetes* or *Phyſcon* complaining, they alſo give him relief.

Polybius Legat. 113.

of *Ægypt*, and conſidering what it might aſpire to if united, wiſely made uſe of this difference, and gratified the two brothers one after the other in their ambitious (but imprudent) deſires.

Polyb. Legat. 115. 16. 17.

26. Departing out of *Italy* into *Greece*, he there hired a ſtrong band of men, intending to ſayl with them for *Cyprus*; but the *Roman* Commiſſioners calling to mind the Decree of the Senate, which was, that they ſhould reduce him without force, perſwaded him again to diſmiſs them, and paſs over to *Cyrene*, and they in the mean time going to *Alexandria*, would endeavour to perſwade his brother to comply with the Senate, and bringing him along with them meet him in the Confines of both Kingdoms. He accordingly went to *Crete*, where hiring nine thouſand Souldiers, he paſſed over to *Libyna*, where he expected to hear from *Alexandria*; but the *Romans* there treating with his brother about a reconciliation, and the yielding of *Cyprus* up to him, ſomething he aſſented to, and put off others, on purpoſe drawing out the time in length. Forty days with extraordinary entertainment he detained them at *Alexandria*, during which time news came to *Euergetes* that the *Cyrenians* had revolted from him, who underſtanding well the mind of his brother from his preſent carriage, and ſeeing nothing ſuitable to royalty in *Euergetes*, he acting all things aſter a Tyrannical manner, could not bring themſelves to ſubmit any longer to his Government. Hearing this, he ſailed to *Catabathmus*, thence to make for *Cyrene*, in which place he found the Straights kept againſt him, but ſending ſome about to come upon the Defendants on their backs, ſet upon them alſo himſelf, and cleared the paſſage, but coming to *Cyrene*, and ingaging with the Natives, was worſted by them. Whether he recruited himſelf again, and recovered his Soveraignty here or no, we have nothing from Hiſtory to ſpeak expreſly; but not long after he was in a capacity to attempt *Cyprus* (being encouraged by the Senates renouncing their friendſhip with his brother upon his account) where he was alſo overthrown by his brother, and then beſieged, and taken in the City *Lapithus*. Yet did *Philometor* ſpare him, what for his innate clemency and brotherly affection, and for fear of the *Romans*; and not only ſo, but made a Covenant with him when Conquered, wherein he reſtored him *Cyrene*, and for *Cyprus* certain Cities with a quantity of Corn yearly, and promiſed him his daughter in marriage, worſe than this being not accounted inceſt in that Country.

Polyb. Legat. 132.

27. Not long did they accord, for *Euergetes*, ſome two or three years after, being incouraged by his former ſucceſs, made another journey to *Rome*, where in the Senate he made another loud complaint againſt his brother, accuſing him of plotting againſt his life, for a witneſs of which deſign he ſhewed skars upon his body, and aggravating the thing with all his might, endeavoured to move the minds of all the beholders to compaſſion. Two Ambaſſadors were preſent from *Philometor* to anſwer to whatſoever he ſhould accuſe him of, but all mens ears were ſo filled with the accuſation, that no place would be found for their defence; ſo that they were inſtantly commanded to be gone, and five Commiſſioners were appointed (furniſhed all with Gallies) to go, and bring him into poſſeſſion of *Cyprus*; the Allies alſo, both in *Greece* and *Aſia*, being written to, and leave given to as many as would to aſſiſt him in the recovery of it. What was done as to the recovery of it, through defect of Hiſtory, we are ignorant, though ſome grounds we have to think he did not obtain the Iſland, and no more do we hear of him till his brothers death. In the days of this *Philometor*, *Onias* the ſon of *Onias* the third, *High-Prieſt* of the *Jews*, ſeeing the Prieſthood to be alienated from his family into that of the *Haſmonæans*, living in *Ægypt*, and having well deſerved of the King in his Wars, that he might eternize his memory, petitioned him for leave to build a Temple in the Province of *Heliopolis*, after the faſhion of that at *Jeruſalem*, ſignifying that thereby would be better provided for the quiet of his Kingdom, now when the *Jews* badly agreeed amongſt themſelves through the variety of their places of worſhip in that Country, and miſapplyed the Prophecy of *Iſaiah*, concerning the ſpiritual Prieſthood, and reign of Chriſt, to this his Ambitions and unlawful deſign. His Petition was granted, and in that Country built he a Temple reſembling the true, and lawful one; one hundred eighty furlongs diſtant from *Memphis*; only he put therein no Candleſtick, but hung up a Lamp in a Golden ſtring, which caſt a light about it like to the Sunbeams.

Joſephus Antiquit. lib. 13. *cap.* 6.

Onias the *Jew* buildeth a Temple in *Egypt*.

Chap. 19.
A. M. 3853.
Ol. 157. *ann.* 1.
V. C. 602.
Demet. Soteris. 11.
Ptol. Philom. 29.

Joſephus ibid.

28. In the time of this *Philometor*, the *Jews* and *Samaritans* inhabiting *Alexandria* fell out about their way of Worſhip, they contending earneſtly that the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, thoſe that at *Gerizim* was founded moſt according to the preſcript of *Moſes*, and ſo earneſt was the diſpute, that both parties appealed to him and his Council

Diſſention betwixt the *Jews* and *Samaritans*.

Council for a deciſion of the controverſie, who being to judge according to evidence produced out of the Law , was to put to death thoſe pleaders that could not make good their cauſe. For the *Jews* appeared *Andronicus* the ſon of *Meſſalani*, for the *Samaritans Sabbæus*, and *Theodoſius*, who being heard by *Ptolomy* in a full Aſſembly, all were ſo well ſatisfied in the proofs brought by *Andronicus*, as the King gave ſentence on his ſide, and condemned *Sabbæus* and *Theodoſius*. *Philometer* about this time was deeply ingaged in the affairs of *Syria*; for, *Demetrius Soter* having moleſted him much with War, together with *Attalus* King of *Aſia*, and *Ariarathes* of *Cappadocia*, all theſe agreed to ſuborn a young man of baſe condition, who counterfeiting himſelf the ſon of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, ſpoiled *Demetrius* both of his Kingdom and Life. This *Alexander* (as he is called) being eſpecially beholden to *Ptolomy* for this change of his condition, deſired of him his daughter in marriage; which he readily agreed to, and brought her (named *Cleopatra*) to him to *Ptolemais*, where the nuptials were ſolemnized with great ſtate. Afterwards *Alexander* giving up himſelf to cruelty and luxury, *Demetrius*, the ſon of *Demetrius Soter*, having hired Souldiers in *Crete*, attempted the recovery of his Fathers Kingdom. *Ptolomy* with great Forces both by Land and Sea, came then into *Syria*, under pretence of helping his ſon-in-law; but getting a great part of the Country into his hands, as far as the River *Orontes*, and the City *Seleucia*, he had other intentions, having conceived great prejudice in his mind againſt *Alexander*, the ſpecial occaſion of which was, that whereas one *Ammonius*, a great Officer of his had conſpired againſt his life at *Ptolemais*, he refuſed to give him up to him upon his demand. Wherefore, though he went to *Antioch*, and there ſet two Diadems on his head, the one for *Syria*, and the other for *Ægypt*, yet perſwaded he the *Antiochians* to receive *Demetrius* for their King, and taking away his daughter from *Alexander*, gave her to him; *Alexander* was overthrown, after which he fled into *Arabia* (as we ſaid) and there was made away. But in the fight it hapned that *Ptolomy* his Horſe being affrighted at the noiſe of an Elephant, threw him, which his Enemies perceiving came upon him, and gave him ſuch a wound in his head, that for four days he lay ſenceleſs, and though coming to himſelf, on the next, he was mightily pleaſed with the ſight of the head of *Alexander Balas*, which was ſent him; yet proved it not ſuch a Cordial, but the third day after, as his Phyſicians were buſie in dreſſing his own he dyed, after he had reigned thirty four years, A. M. 3859. in the third of the 158 *Olympiad*.

Juſtin lib. 35.

1 *Maccab.* 10. & 11.

Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 13. *cap.* 8.

Ptolomy fighting againſt *Alexander* King of *Syria*, whom he had formerly ſet up, received a wound and dieth.

A. M. 3859. *Ol.* 158. *ann.* 3. *V. C.* 608.

Livius Epit. lib. 52.

27. After his death the order of ſucceſſion was firſt changed in this Kingdom. For whereas hitherto the ſon had continually followed his Father, and now *Cleopatra* his wife with the help of the Princes, endeavoured to have it ſo, in his ſon and hers; yet his brother *Euergetes* the ſecond, or *Phyſcon*, then reigning in *Cyrene*, withſtood her purpoſe, and forced her, for to put an end to the controverſie, to marry him. Coming to *Alexandria*, he firſt cauſed the favourers of the Child to be ſlain, and then the boy himſelf in the arms of his mother on their wedding day, and amidſt the ſolemnities; according to which beginning he proceeded, being nothing milder towards thoſe that had ſent for him. For, giving liberty to the outlandiſh Souldiers to kill, and rifle, he filled all places with ſlaughters; many being accuſed, as though they had plotted againſt him, were made away with cruel torments, others under ſome pretence or other baniſhed, and their goods confiſcate. Having a ſon born of this his ſiſter, he named him *Memphitis*, after the place of his birth, but whilſt he was keeping his birth-day, that he might alſo feed his cruel humour, he put to death divers *Cyrenæans*, who brought him into *Ægypt*, for taxing him ſomewhat liberally for his too much familiarity with *Irene* his Concubine. As his cruelty, ſo alſo his luſt knew no bounds; for raviſhing firſt his wives daughter, and his own Niece, both by Father and Mother, he put away his wife and married her; whereat the Inhabitants of *Alexandria* being affrighted, for fear of death quit their habitations, ſo that being left alone as a King of houſes, and not of men, by Proclamation he called, and gave leave to ſtrangers to inhabit them. It hapned that at ſuch time as they flocked thither came alſo *P. Scipio Africanus* the younger, *Sp. Mummius*, and *L. Metellus*, ſent from *Rome* to viſit the Kingdoms and States of the Eaſt, and compoſe their differences. *Scipio* being landed, and having his face covered, the People flocked about him, and deſired him to uncover himſelf, which he granting, they out of the great pleaſure conceived at the ſight of ſuch a perſon, gave a ſhout. *Phyſcon* himſelf coming out to meet them, was exceedingly ridiculous to them, being a man otherwiſe ſufficiently deformed, of a low ſtature, and ſuch corpulence, as his belly reſembled rather that of a beaſt than a

Juſtin lib. 38. *Valerius Max. lib.* 9. *cap.* 1. *Extr. Exemp.* 5

Excerpt. Diodori Siculi.

Ptolomy Phyſcon unjuſtly obtaining the Kingdom his cruelty.

Val. Max. ibid.

Cicero in ſomnio Scipionis. A. M. 3875. *Ol.* 162. *an.* 3. *V. C.* 624. *Ptol. Phyſ.* 17. *Joh. Hyrcani* 6.

man. He provided magnificent entertainment, but they deſpiſing his dainties (as corrupting the manners of men) ate very ſparingly, only minded that they came about, and travelled into the Country, where viewing the ſeveral places thereof, conſidering the populouſneſs, ſtrength, and convenience of their ſituation, they concluded *Ægypt* a convenient ſeat for the greateſt Empire, if it had but Lords that knew how to make uſe of it, and ſo departed to *Cyprus*, and thence into *Syria*.

Excerpt. Diodori.

28. After ſome time he became ſo odious to the new inhabitants alſo for his cruelty, that they ſet fire to his Palace, and he was driven with his wife and ſon to get away to *Cyprus*, after which they reſtored the Kingdom to *Cleopatra* his ſiſter, whom he had put away. Hereupon he raiſed an Army, and made War upon her and them, and fearing that they might ſend for his eldeſt ſon from *Cyrene*, and make him King, to prevent that, he murdered him; which being known, they caſt down his ſtatues and images. He taking this to be done as well in favour of his ſiſter *Cleopatra*, as in deſpight of himſelf, to be revenged ſufficiently on her, commanded their ſon *Memphites* a comely and towardly child to be killed in his preſence, and then his head, hands, and feet to be cut off, and being ſent to *Alexandria* to be preſented her, as ſhe was feaſting at the celebration of her own birth day. This ſtruck not only her but all the City into exceeding horror and amazement, and the ſad ſpectacle was ſhewed to the People, to let them know what they might expect from ſuch a King. He notwithſtanding all this, yet went on in his own way; for conſidering how he was hated by his People, that he might reign more ſecurely, as he thought in their weakneſs, he cauſed a place of publick meeting full of youth to be ſet on fire, and deſtroyed all therein either with fire or ſword. *Cleopatra* having put an end to mourning for her ſon, and ſeeing her ſelf preſſed with War by her brother, ſent to *Demetrius Nicator* King of *Syria*, and her ſon in Law, for aid, offering him the Kingdom for his pains in ſecuring it. He gladly accepting the offer, came down, and waged War with *Phyſcon* for ſome time, but his People revolting from him at home, was forced to return, ſo that ſhe being then in a manner deſtitute, was glad to follow him into *Syria*. *Phyſcon* then re-entering, and being ſeized anew of the Kingdom, the *Antiochians* knowing his prejudice againſt *Demetrius*, ſent to him for one of the poſterity of *Seleucus* to reign over them, whereupon he ſuborned a young man and ſon of a Merchant, to mend the matter, giving out, that *Alexander Balas* was his Father. The counterfeit by his help outed *Demetrius* of his Kingdom; but then not being able to bear ſo high a condition, for which he was never bred, grew proud, and deſpiſed him. Therefore to be revenged on him, being now reconciled to his ſiſter, he pulled him down again, by ſending aid, and his daughter for a wife to *Antiochus Grypus* the ſon of *Demetrius*. Not long after *Phyſcon* died, after he had reigned (from his brothers death) twenty nine years. A. M. 3888, and the laſt of the 165 *Olympiad*.

Juſtin ut prius.
Livius Epit. lib. 59.
Val. Max. l. 9. c. 2. exter. exempl. 5.

A. M. 3876.
Ol. 162. *an.* 4.
V. C. 625.
Ptol. Phyſcon. 18.
Joh. Hyrcani 7.

Juſtin Lib. 39.
Vide Hegelochum apud uſſerium. p. 118.

He ſuborneth one againſt *Demetrius Nicator*.

Porphyr. apud Euſeb.
A. M. 3888.
Ol. 165. *an.* 4.
V. C. 637.

Dieth.

29. He left three ſons and as many daughters behind him. One of his ſons being baſe born, and called *Ptolomy Apion*, he left King of *Cyrene* by his will; as for *Ægypt* he left that to his wife, and to either of her ſons which ſhe ſhould chuſe, judging that the State of *Ægypt* would be better ſetled than the Kingdom of *Syria*, when the mother making choice of one ſon, ſhould make the other her Enemy. She thinking that her youngeſt named *Alexander* would be more pliable and obſervant of her, laboured with the People to accept of him for their King; but they not at all yielding to this, ſhe was forced to call home the elder, *Lathurus* (or *Lathyrus*) from *Cyprus*, whither ſhe had procured his Father to baniſh him; but before ſhe gave him the Kingdom ſhe took away his beloved wife *Cleopatra*, and commanded him to marry his younger ſiſter *Selene*. *Cleopatra* being thus divorced by her Mother, rather than forſaken of her husband, married to *Antiochus Cyzicenus* in *Syria* (as we before ſaid) and carryed away with her the Army in *Cyprus* for a portion. The Queen Mother, that ſhe might be the more awful to *Lathurus* her ſon, in the ſecond year of their reign made *Alexander* King of *Cyprus*, and ſent him thither, and then at the end of other ſix, took away from him, his wife *Selene*, though ſhe had brought him two ſons; and again to compleat her malice, ſtirred up the People againſt him. For taking ſuch of her Eunuchs as were moſt faithful to her, ſhe brought them wounded into the publick, accuſing him of having endeavoured to make her away, and of ſo uſing thoſe that were true to their truſt in her defence: at which the *Alexandrians* being much moved, came ſo upon him, that he narrowly eſcaped with his life, and then ſent they for *Alexander* from *Cyprus*, and made him King.

Idem. & Pauſan. in Atticis

He leaveth *Ægypt* to his wives diſpoſal.

Who firſt taketh to her one ſon and then another.

30. La-

Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 20, 21.

30. *Lathurus* made but an exchange with his brother, as it fell out, making himſelf Maſter of *Cyprus*, whither yet his Mother followed him with her hatred, and War the effect thereof. Here he lay not idle, for *Alexander Jannæus* at this time King of the *Jews* beſieging *Ptolemais*, the inhabitants thereof ſent to him for aid, and though they repented them of the bargain made with him, and ſent to ſtop his journey, yet he came on, and at his approach the ſiege was raiſed. Then invaded he *Judæa*, and overthrowing *Jannæus* in a great and bloody battel, haraſed the Country. *Cleopatra* his Mother was ſtartled at this his power and proſperity, and reſolved he was to be brought down, elſe her affairs were but in a tottering condition; therefore ſending a good part of her treaſure with her Nephews and teſtament to the Iſland *Cous*, She came her ſelf into *Phœnicia*, beſieged *Ptolemais*, and perſecuted him into *Cœleſyria*. He having ſome hopes to get *Ægypt* into his hands in her abſence, marched in all haſt down thither; but being diſappointed, and purſued by a party ſent by her, he was forced to return and winter at *Gaza*. She in the mean time took *Ptolemais*, whither *Jannæus* came to her, with whom a little after ſhe renewed the League at *Seythopolis*, and then he proſpering much in *Cœleſyria*, *Lathurus* was forced to return to *Cyprus*, and his Mother ſeeing that, departed alſo into *Ægypt*. During theſe Wars betwixt the Mother and ſon, it happned, that he was once taken by her General, but diſmiſſed again, whereat ſhe was ſo inraged, as ſhe put to death her Commander. Her ſon *Alexander* being afraid, that at length her cruelty might extend to him alſo, withdrew himſelf from her, preferring a ſecure, though obſcure eſtate, before a dangerous reign. She notwithſtanding went on in her way, not neglecting her affairs, and fearing her elder ſon might be helped by *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, ſent great ſupplies to *Grypus* his half brother and rival, with *Selene* for a wife, taken formerly from *Lathurus*, and by meſſengers prevailed with *Alexander* to return. Divers years then they lived and reigned together, but at length ſhe really plotted his deſtruction, and being caught in the manner, was according to her deſerts (though perhaps not his duty) put to death, after ſhe had domineered over him, and expelled his brother eighteen years.

Lathurus invadeth *Judæa* but his Mother marcheth againſt him and ſpoileth all his projects.

Juſtin ut prius & Porphyr. ibid.

She is killed by *Alexander* her ſon.

Juſtin ibid.

31. *Alexander* being known to the People to have killed his Mother, ſuch a Sedition was thence moved, as glad he was to flie for his life; and thence they recalled his elder brother *Lathurus* from *Cyprus*, and reſtored him his Kingdom ſo many years after his expulſion, being now (if we may believe *Juſtin*) ſo ſatisfied with his preſent condition, as of himſelf, he would never have made War upon his Mother, nor thereby ſought to recover out of his brothers hands what he had formerly enjoyed. About this time his baſe brother *Apion* of *Cyrene* dyed, and left the People of *Rome* his heir, which thereupon left the Country to its own freedom; but after ten years was it ſore ſhaken, and almoſt rent in pieces by Wars and Tyranny, which fell on it being deſtitute of a Royal Monarch. *Lucullus* going thither compoſed the differences, and ſetled the Commonwealth as he thought, which after other ten years came to be reduced out of neceſſity to a *Roman* Province. From *Cyrene Lucullus* returned through *Ægypt*, and in his paſſage being ſet upon by Pyrats, loſt almoſt all his Veſſels; yet eſcaped he ſafe to *Alexandria*, the Kings Fleet being ſent out to meet him, where *Lathurus* entertained him with great magnificence, lodged him in his own Court (which favour had never before been beſtowed on any ſtranger) and preſented him with gifts to the value of eighty Talents. But he only received what was neceſſary, and neither viſiting *Memphis*, nor ſeeing any of the rarities of *Ægypt*, being called away by his occaſions, returned through *Cyprus* unto *Sylla*, whoſe Lieutenant then he was in the War againſt *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*. After this the Inhabitants of *Thebes* revolted from *Lathurus*, but in the third year he reduced them again to obedience, which is not to be underſtood of *Thebes* in *Bœotia*, ſeeing he had nothing there to do, but of the City ſo called in his own Country. Not long after he dyed, thirty ſeven years (wanting ſome months) after the death of his Father *Phyſcon*, A. M. 3925, and the firſt of the 175 *Olympiad*.

Who being thereupon expelled *Lathurus* is reſtored.

Livius Epitom. lib. 70.

Plutarch in Lucullo.

He entertaineth *Lucullus* the *Roman*.

Pauſan. in Atticis.

32. It's difficult to tell certainly who ſucceeded him. (*a*) Some ſay *Cleopatra* his daughter, and wife to his brother *Alexander*; others, that *Alexander's* ſon being received into familiarity with *Sylla* the *Roman Dictator*, was by him placed in the Kingdom, then deſtitute of iſſue male. They may be reconciled, by that which is further affirmed by the former ſort, *viz.* that he married *Cleopatra* then Queen. *Apian* ſaith, that being ſeized on the Kingdom, the *Alexandrians* not enduring his inſolence, on the nineteenth day drew him out of the Court and killed him; but

(*a*) Porphyr. in Græcis Euſeb.
(*b*) Apian de bello civ. lib. 1.

Alexander the ſecond.

Porphyrie reporteth him to have ſlain her nineteen dayes after he had married her. Certainly though his reign be accounted no longer, and that of *Auletes* to begin here, yet cannot be rejected that which is produced to the contrary. For, *Suetonius* reporteth, that *Julius Cæſar in his younger dayes having ingratiated himſelf with the People, attempted by their Tribunes that* Ægypt *might be aſſigned him as a Province, having gotten an opportunity of extraordinary command, for that the* Alexandrians *had expelled their King, on whom the Senate had beſtowed the title of friend and Allie.* This can in no wiſe be meant of *Auletes*, for when he was expelled and came to *Rome*, *Cæſar* was then above ſuch a condition, having ſpent ſome years in the Wars of *Gall*. And that King of *Ægypt* mentioned by *Cicero* to have dyed at *Tyre*, and reported to have left the People of *Rome* his heir in his Conſulſhip, can be meant of none but of this *Alexander* the *Second*, who being expelled rebelliouſly by his Subjects, lived and died there in exile; ſo that we muſt neceſſarily aſſign him (counting from the death of *Lathurus* to the Conſulſhip of *Cicero*) about fifteen years; during which time of his life, he is to be ſuppoſed to have reigned longer than onely ſo many dayes, contrary to the vulgar opinion.

In Julio c. 11.

In Orat. 1 *a. &* 2*a Agraria.*

Auletes ſucceedeth *Alexander.*

33. *Alexander* being expelled by the *Alexandrians*, they immediately ſet up in his room, the ſon of *Lathurus*, ſirnamed *Dionyſius* and *Auletes*, becauſe he was too much addicted to the rites of *Bacchus*, and dancing to the ſound of Cymbals and Pipes. He was baſe born, as appeareth by the *Prologue* to the thirty ninth book of *Trogus*, and ſo was alſo his brother the King of *Cyprus*, if that be true which *Pauſanias* ſpeaketh of his Fathers having no legitimate iſſue, except one daughter. After ſome years, they that ſet him up pulled him down; for his brother of *Cyprus* being moſt unjuſtly ſpoiled of his Kingdom by the *Romans*, through the malice of *Clodius* Tribune of the People; they preſſed him ſore, either to demand *Cyprus* of the *Romans*, or renounce their friendſhip. Being unwilling to do this, and by reaſon of his great exactions which he made for paying of his debts (contracted by his purchaſe of the *Roman* alliance) he incurred their hatred, and whereas he could neither quiet the tumults by fair means nor foul, was glad to withdraw himſelf out of the way, and went to *Rome*. At *Rhodes* he met with *Cato*, who was ſent by *Clodius* out of the way, under colour of doing him honour, to reduce *Cyprus* into the form of a *Roman* Province, who adviſed him to ruturn, and be reconciled to his Subjects, rather than leaving his former happy condition to expoſe himſelf to danger, and the avarice of the *Roman* Officers, which *Ægypt* it ſelf could not be able to ſatisfie. Being by the counſel of this grave and wiſe perſon reduced as into his wits, he was minded to follow his advice; but was preſently again turned by his friends, and haſted to the City, where he had time and cauſe enough to repent of his deſpiſing the Oracle (as then he accounted it) of ſo great a man.

Jod. lib. 39.

Plutarch in Catone Minore.

Is compelled by his rebellious Subjects, and betaketh himſelf to *Rome.*

A. M. 3948.
Ol. 180. *ann.* 1.
V. C. 697.
Hyrcani 7.

34. At *Rome*, he created the Senate much trouble, being commended to it by *Pompey*, whom ſome reported to have been the cauſe of his leaving *Ægypt*, more than any injury offered him by his Subjects, that ſo he might afford matter for new Wars. He deſired he might be reduced into his Kingdom by *Cornelius Lentulus* the *Conſul*, to whom *Cilicia* was decreed for a Province: and upon the reporting of the matter, an order was made; *Lentulus* to ſtop *Pompeys* mouth, procuring him to have the charge of Proviſions (in that time of dearth) throughout the *Empire*. The *Alexandrians* in the mean while ignorant of his Voyage into *Italy*, and thinking he had ſome wayes miſcarried, ſet over the Kingdom *Berenice* his legitimate daughter, together with *Tryphæna* her eldeſt ſiſter called alſo *Cleopatra* the elder) and ſent into *Syria* to *Antiochus Aſiaticus* to come and reign with the Women, and afterwards he dying, to *Philip Euergetes* the ſon of *Antiochus Grypus* by *Tryphæna*, daughter to *Lathurus* late King of *Ægypt*, but he was alſo hindered by *Gabinius*, the *Roman* Preſident in *Syria*. But hearing at length how things went at *Rome*, they ſent one hundred of their Countrey-men thither, to make their defence, and recriminate their lawful King, which he underſtanding, procured moſt of the Meſſengers to be made away in their journey, and the reſt coming to the City, he either took away, or deterred, or elſe perſwaded them to hold their peace. The Senate hearing of this was grievouſly moved, and the rather, becauſe that divers publick Miniſters of others their Confederates had been made away with the reſt; as alſo for that it appeared, that there was much corruption amongſt themſelves. They ſent therefore for *Dion* the Chief of the Embaſſie, but *Ptolomy* his money had ſuch influence upon him, that he appeared not, and not long after his was alſo diſpatch-

Strabo lib. 17.

Plutarch in Pompeio.
Dio ibid.
Cicero Familiar.
Epiſt. lib. 1.
Epiſt. 1.
Strabo & Dio ut prius.
Porphyrius in Græcis Euſebii.

diſpatched out of the way. *Pompey* harboured the King all this time in his own houſe, being yet deſirous to reſtore him himſelf as *Cicero* ſignifieth to *Lentulus* then the *Pro-Conſul* of *Cilicia*, who ſtill waited alſo for the employment. At length *Sibylla's* books being conſulted, were reported to forwarn the people of *Rome* never to reduce him by force, and therefore to that purpoſe another Decree was made in the Senate. A great debate then enſued how the thing ſhould be done, ſome propoſing one way, and ſome another, till at length *Auletes* perceiving it was neither likely to be effected by *Pompey* nor *Lentulus*, deſpairing of his return, and getting him into *Aſia*, expected at *Epheſus* in the Temple of *Diana*, a better advantage for the recovery of his right out of the hands of the imperious Rebels.

Where getting no relief he departeth to *Epheſus*.

Dio lib. 39.

Joſeph. de bello Judaico lib. 1. *cap.* 6.

Appian in Parthicis.

Hireth *Gabinius* to reſtore him.

35. And he had not been long there, when a convenient opportunity preſented it ſelf. For *Gabinius* the *Preſident* of *Syria* having grievouſly afflicted his Province by oppreſſion, not thinking that ſufficient, but hearing the *Parthians* to be exceeding rich, ſet his reſolution ſtrongly to invade them. When he had paſſed the River *Euphrates*, *Ptolomy* came to him with Letters from *Pompey*, and offered him ten thouſand Talents (beſides a great ſum of money to the Soldiers, part whereof they ſhould have in hand) to reſtore him. Moſt of the Officers were againſt the thing, and *Gabinius* himſelf ſomething ſtuck at it, but being ſtirred up to it by *Antonius* (who then commanded the Horſe under him) and eſpecially bewitched by the money, notwithſtanding it was not lawful for a *Preſident* to ſtir out of his Province, nor undertake wars at his pleaſure, and the people at *Rome* out of reſpect to the Verſes of *Sibylla* had forbidden *Auletes* to be reſtored (at leaſt ſuch a way) yet he onely made the difficulty of the thing a means to inhance the price of it, and omitting the *Parthian* War, undertook that againſt the *Ægyptians*. *Berenice* had about this time called one *Seleucus* out of *Syria*, who vaunted himſelf of the Blood Royal of that Nation, and made him partaker of the Kingdom, marrying her ſelf unto him; but finding him to be of a ſordid, and baſe condition, made him away after a little while. Then an husband of a Royal ſtock being enquired out for her, *Archelaus* the ſon of *Archelaus* (General to *Mithridates* the great King of *Pontus*) and who had been made by *Pompey* Prieſt of the *Tomani*, counterfeiting himſelf the ſon of the King, procured by his friends to be received on the ſame terms with the other, and reigned with her ſix moneths.

Dio & Strabo ut ſupra.

Plutrch. in Antonio. Dio & Strabo ut ſu-

A. M. 3950.
Ol. 181. *an.* 2.
V.C. 699.
Hyrcani 9.
Cn. Pompeio Mag. 2.
M. Licinio Craſſo 2. *Coſſ.*

36. But *Gabinius* leaving *Syria* to the tuition of a Child, his ſon, marched for *Ægypt* through *Paleſtine*, and coming to the ſandy deſart, ſent *Antonius* before with the Horſe to ſecure the Straights at the entry of the Countrey; which he not onely bravely performed, but took alſo *Peluſium*, thereby gaining entrance for the whole Army, which preſently put to flight the *Ægyptians*. *Archelaus* himſelf was now taken; but *Gabinius* conſidering that perhaps *Ptolomy* would be unwilling to give him ſo much money as he expected, if with ſo ſmall ado he ſhould compleat the work; being alſo ſoundly bribed by *Archelaus*, he diſmiſſed him under pretence of an eſcape. A little after, the *Ægyptians* (more earneſt alwayes in rebellions than Wars) were utterly diſcomfited, *Archelaus* was ſlain, and all *Ægypt* recovered, and reſtored to *Auletes*, who preſently put to death his daughter, and the richeſt of the Nobility, as they deſerved, ſtanding then in great need of money. *Gabinius* leaving a Guard of Soldiers behind him for *Ptolomy's* ſecurity (who ſtayed at *Alexandria*, married, and begot Children, giving up themſelves to the luxury of the place) went back into *Syria*, and thence to *Rome*, where his great gifts meeting with the corruption of the times, onely purchaſed him his life, being fined for his bribery and diſobedient carriage. As for *Auletes* we hear no more of him, but that he died four years after his reſtitution. In the year of the World three thouſand nine hundred fifty four, and the ſecond of the one hundred and eighty ſecond *Olympiad*.

Dieth.

A. M. 3954.
Ol. 182. *an.* 2.
V.C. 703.

His eldeſt ſon and eldeſt daughter ſucceeding him, ſhe is driven away.

37. He left two Sons, and as many daughters behind him, of which the eldeſt of either Sex he ordered ſhould ſucceed him by his laſt Will and Teſtament; which he conjured the People of *Rome*, (under whoſe tuition he left his Children) by all the gods, and the Leagues he had made with them, ſhould be obſerved; and one of the Tables of which were brought to *Rome* to be laid up in the Treaſury; but this being hindered by publick buſineſs, it was left with *Pompey*, who was alſo appointed Guardian to the young King in this his nonage. After three years the boy, or rather *Pothinus* (not *Photinus*, as he is corruptly called in *Cæſar's* Commentaries) the Eunuch who managed his affairs, expelled *Cleopatra* his ſiſter, and

fellow both in marriage and the Kingdom; ſo that ſhe was forced to withdraw into *Syria*, there to make proviſion for her re-eſtabliſhment by force. Not long it was ere ſhe returned, having furniſhed her ſelf; which her brother being aware of, went, and pitched his Tents near to the Mountain *Caſius*, at the *Peluſian* mouth of the *Nile*; where lying incamped, *Pompey* being then beaten by *Cæſar* at the battel at *Pharſalum*, fled to him for defence and ſafeguard, chuſing rather to venture upon *Ægypt* than any other place, both for its nearneſs and ſtrength, and hoping upon the account of his Guardianſhip to be lovingly received. The King then a very boy (about thirteen years old) gave no anſwer to his meſſage; but thoſe moſt potent about him conſulting of it, were perſwaded by *Theodotus* his School-maſter to receive him, but then, that they might curry favour with *Cæſar*, to make him away; ſo that being received with ſmall civility into a little boat, he was ſlain ere he got to the other ſide, as is more largely expreſſed in the *Roman* ſtory. His head was reſerved as a preſent for *Cæſar*, who coming to *Alexandria*, though at the firſt he was very welcom, and got much reſpect for his frequenting the publick readings of *Philoſophers*, yet exacting the debt owing by *Auletes*, and not abſtaining from the Treaſure of the Temples for the payment of his Army, he thereby incurred the great diſpleaſure of the Towns-men, all things being made worſe by *Pothinus*, who to his utmoſt ability incenſed the ſuperſtitious multitude. *Cæſar* alſo accounting it to belong to himſelf as *Conſul*, and ſhortly after, as *Dictator*, to compoſe the differences of the Confederates of the people of *Rome*, took upon him to judge the cauſe of the King and his Siſter, which bred ſuch diſturbance, as thereupon enſued a troubleſome War.

Appian de bello civili lib. 2. *Cæſar. lib.* 3. *Plutarch. in Pompeio & Dio lib.* 42.

Pompey flying to him for ſuccour is ſlain.

A. M. 3957. *Ol.* 183. *ann.* 1. *V. C.* 706. *Hyrcani* 16. *C. Julio Cæſare* 2. *P. Servilio Iſaurico, Coſſ.*

38. There were ſecret plots laid for his life, which he being aware of, was glad to ſpend whole nights in feaſting to prevent them, and gave way to *Cleopatra* to come to him, who knowing he was no hater of Women, had ſent to him to complain and deſire a conference. At the ſight of her he became her very ſlave, and turned from being her Judge to be her Advocate, which thing ſo inraged the King, perceiving her now to be got into the Palace, that he ruſhed out to the People, crying he was betrayed, and pulling his Diadem from his head, caſt it on the ground. A great ſtir ariſing hereupon, he was caught by *Cæſars* Souldiers, and brought back into the houſe, which the multitude thereat inraged now beſieged, and *Cæſar* with promiſe to do whatſoever they would, ſcarce appeaſed the tumult; his men being unprovided for reſiſtance, having not expected any ſuch occaſion from thoſe they accounted their friends. Then taking *Ptolomy* and *Cleopatra* along with him, he read over their Fathers Will in publick audience, which ſubjecting them to the tuition of the People of *Rome* (whoſe Supream and abſolute Magiſtrate he then was) in execution of the ſaid Will he gave to them two as Husband and Wife the Kingdom of *Ægypt*, and to their younger brother and ſiſter that of *Cyprus*, not leaving any thing to himſelf, but willing rather to add ſomething of his own; ſuch a fear at this time had ſeized on him. The people hereby was quieted for a time, until *Pothinus*, fearing he might be called to account for what had already paſſed, kindled a new flame to divert it. He firſt objected, as well he might, what an unworthy thing it was that the King ſhould be called to anſwer, and then added, there was reaſon to ſuſpect, that whatſoever *Cæſar* might pretend, yet at length he would put all into the hands of *Cleopatra*. He ſent to *Achillas* General of all the Forces then lying at *Peluſium*, alluring him by great promiſes in the Kings name to draw down the army privily to *Alexandria*; and he, being not backward to cloſe with him, marched down with twenty thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe. *Cæſar* had not ſtrength enough to go out and meet him, and therefore contained himſelf in the City, yet commanded his men to be in readineſs, and kept the King with him; whoſe name he knew to be of great force amongſt his people, and that thereby this undertaking might appear rather to be the enterprize of a few diſſolute, and factious perſons, than any thing backed by his conſent, or Warrant.

Plutarch. in Cæſare. Dio & Cæſar ut prius.

Cæſar going about to reconcile brother and ſiſter, a War is thence raiſed by *Pothinus* the Eunuch.

A. M. 358. *Q. Fuſio Caleno Publio Vatinio Coſſ.*

39. *Achillas* (a) deſpiſing the number of *Cæſar*'s Soldiers, after he had entred the City, thought preſently to have broken in upon him, but he prevented this by blocking up the wayes, and fortifying his houſe. Then followed a ſharp contention at the Haven, the *Alexandrians* endeavouring to become maſters of the Fleet, and thereby to cut off all Proviſions and ſupplies from coming to him; but he made a ſhift to burn all the Gallies, from which the fire ſeizing upon the houſes adjoyning, conſumed to aſhes moſt part of that famous (b) Library Collected by the care and diligence of the former Kings. After this exploit ſo happily performed,

The *Alexandrian* War.

(a) *Idem ibid.*

(b) *Plutarch. in Cæſare. Oroſius lib.* 6. *cap.* 15.

med, he placed a Garriſon in (c) *Pharus* and after a few skirmiſhes, ſent about into *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and other places for aid. *Arſinoe* the Kings younger ſiſter got out to *Achillas*, and joyntly with him managed the War; yet with ſuch contention for the Chief command, as proved onely beneficial to the Soldiers; whom both by gifts ſought to oblige; for the conteſt at length arrived at ſuch (d) height, that lying in wait for the life of each other, he was ſlain by the help of one *Ganymedes*, who having helped her in the eſcape, was now preferred to be their General. *Pothinus* all this while was not backward, but out of the Court ſent Meſſengers to *Achillas*, to encourage him in his work, which being diſcovered coſt him his life, and cauſed the King to be more nearly looked to. *Ganymedes* at his entrance upon the *Generalſhip*, ſtopped up the channels which brought freſh-water into that part of the City, where *Cæſar* lay, and with engines conveyed ſalt from the Sea into the room of it, thinking thereby to diſcourage the Enemy, and force him out of his hold; but *Cæſar* (though his Soldiers were at firſt daunted at it) prevented the deſign by ſinking of Wells, which abundantly ſupplied their neceſſities, to the wonder of the *Ægyptians*, who had no ſuch invention. By this time a legion ſhipped by *Domitius Calvinus*, with proviſions and arms from *Syria*, landed on the *African* ſhoar, a little above *Alexandria*; which *Cæſar* underſtanding, went with his Fleet unmanned to fetch them in, and the enemy having notice of it, drew out alſo againſt him. He receiving the men aboard, had no mind to ingage, becauſe it grew towards night; but a *Rhodian* Gally, not keeping up with the reſt of the Fleet, was ſet upon, whereby he was conſtrained to go in to the reſcue, and ſo carried himſelf, that day-light onely was wanting to his compleating of the Victory, by utterly deſtroying the whole Navy of the *Alexandrians*.

(c) *Cæſar ut p ius.*

(d) *Hurtius de bello Alexandrino.*

Achillas the General is ſlain, and *Pothinus* put to death by *Cæſar*.

Cæſar defeateth the *Alexandrians* at ſea.

40. They notwithſtanding this defeat, in which and other wayes, of late, they had loſt no fewer than one hundred and ten Veſſels (yet being incouraged thereto by *Ganimedes*) ſet themſelves to the rigging of another Fleet, which being in a readineſs, *Cæſar* brought his about the Iſland *Pharos*, and ſet it in order againſt them. Both ſides being ready to ingage, yet a narrow paſſage lying betwixt them, each expected till the other ſhould enter firſt, as then having a better advantage, until the *Rhodians* deſired of *Cæſar* leave to enter the Streight. This once granted and done, they were preſently ſet upon and then relieved, till a total engagement enſued, in which the *Ægyptians* were worſted (not a ſhip of *Cæſars* receiving any hurt) and in their flight took into *Pharos*, where they were received by their friends, and kept off the *Romans* for ſome time, but at length were forced to quit the Iſland with great loſs. This being joyned to the main by two Bridges, one of them in like manner was forſaken by the Towns-men; but the *Romans* attempting to gain the other, through the raſhneſs of ſome in their company, were beaten off, and forced tumultuouſly to betake themſelves to their Ships. *Cæſar* himſelf in the hurry was glad to leap into the Sea, and the Enemy following, to dive under water, and take breath now and then as he could; till (having ſwom almoſt a quarter of a mile) he was taken up into a ſhip. He loſt four hundred of his Legionary Soldiers in this skirmiſh, as many Ship-men and rowers, yet neither he nor his Army were diſcouraged at all, but were rather incited to redeem their loſs by ſome other exploit, which the *Alexandrians* taking notice of, ſent to him deſiring he would diſmiſs their King, whom now they profeſſed they were ready to obey, and if he ſhould command them to be friends with him they would preſently yield. He knew there was neither any truſting of him nor them; but conſidering that if he diſmiſſed him, they would be nothing the ſtronger, and if he ſhould become the head of their party, the War would be more honourable, he gravely admoniſhed him to act nothing contrary to the intereſt of his People, or his confederacy with *Rome*, and then gave him leave to depart, though he pretended an unwillingneſs to leave him, and notably counterfeited ſincere friendſhip with feigned tears.

Idem ibid.

Again.

Appian de bello civili lib. 2.

He caſteth himſelf into danger.

Letteth the King go.

41. Though the King being returned was very earneſt for carrying on the War, yet they ſeeing themſelves nothing amended by the acceſſion of his name or preſence (which the *Romans* deſpiſed) and that they profited nothing by any of their attempts, were greatly diſcouraged, yet underſtanding that great ſupplies of men and proviſions were coming to *Cæſar*, they reſolved once more to take the Sea, and cut them off: and they did much hurt to thoſe that came by water, till he ſent out his Fleet under the command of *Tiberius Nero*, and reſtrained them. But by Land came *Mithridates* of *Pergamus* from *Syria*, accompanied with *Antipater* the Governour of *Judæa*, and Father to *Herod* the Great, bringing down with him a great

Hirtius ibid.

Joſephus Antiquit. l. 14. *cap.* 14, & 15. & *de bello l.* 1. *cap.* 7.

Aid ſent to *Cæſar*.

a great power of men, and pierced as far as *Peluſium*, which alſo was taken, with great pains and induſtry by aſſault. Thence marching down for *Alexandria* he took in the Countrey in his way, the *Jews* inhabiting thoſe parts (though at firſt they made reſiſtance, yet) being brought over by *Antipater* upon the producing of the Letters of *Hyrcanus* the *High-Prieſt*. When *Ptolomy* heard this, and that he had nigh already reached *Delta*, a place not far diſtant from *Alexandria*; knowing he muſt needs paſs the River, he ſent out a party to oppoſe him there, which he received prudently after the *Roman* faſhion, being intrenched in his Camp, and eaſily ſuſtained it's violence; till ſeeing them very diſorderly, and with great boldneſs to aſſaile his fortifications, he iſſued out, and killing a great number, had utterly defeated the reſt, but that by their knowledge of the Countrey, and by the Veſſels which had tranſported them, they ſecured themſelves. Whereupon rallying again they once more charged him, and a fight enſued in that place called *The Camp of the Jews*, in which engagement the wing commanded by *Mithridates* himſelf, was ſorely oppreſſed, and had been totally overthrown; but that *Antipater* (who led the other) came in good time to the reſcue, put to flight the *Ægyptians*, and took their Camp; which *Mithridates* confeſſed by letters to *Cæſar*, acknowledging *Antipater* to have been the Author, both of his ſafety, and the Victory. But now by this time was *Ptolomy* himſelf coming againſt *Mithridates*, and *Cæſar* alſo to fetch him off.

Being oppoſed overcometh.

42. Both went by Sea, but *Cæſar* firſt got to him, and took him in with his victorious Army. *Ptolomy* and *Cæſar* encamped then ſeven miles aſunder, the former in a high and moſt fortified place by nature, having a narrow River with exceeding high and precipitous banks betwixt him and the Enemy, which though the *Alexandrians* defended, yet *Cæſar*'s men got over (the Horſe by paſſing the Foard, and the foot by laying over a bridge made of long trees) ſo that *Cæſar* ſat down, not far from the Kings Camp. The next day he ſtormed a Caſtle in a Village near adjoyning, the defendants whereof flying amain to the Camp, his men had well nigh entred with them; but coming to hand-ſtrokes, were beaten back, being ſeverally laid at, both from the fortifications and the Ships. But *Cæſar* eſpying a very high place, which by reaſon of it's natural ſtrength was little looked to by the *Alexandrians*, ſet certain Companies to get up there into the Camp; which being performed, and a great cry raiſed on purpoſe round about, the *Romans* brake in, in ſeveral places, and made great ſlaughter. Moſt of the defendants fled upon the irruption, and in great heaps leaped down into the Trenches, wherein they firſt being overwhelmed, the reſt with great eaſe got over, amongſt which was the King; but coming to take boat, ſo many preſſed in after him, that the Veſſel ſunk, and he was drowned, after he had reigned well nigh four years. Together with him fell in this War (though moſt after another faſhion) twenty thouſand men, twelve thouſand were taken, with ſeventy long Ships, and five hundred of the *Romans* are ſaid to have been ſlain. *Cæſar* in confidence and purſute of this Victory, with the Horſe marched preſently to the City, where he found now not any reſiſtance, the Citizens entertaining him in a ſuppliant poſture, whom he comforted and forgave.

Cæſar ſtormeth the *Ægyptian* Camp.

A. M. 3598.

Oroſius lib. 6. cap. 16.

Ptolomy is drowned.

Cæſar taketh *Alexandria*.

43. Having thus made an end of the War, he laid not *Ægypt* to the *Roman* Empire, but gave it to *Cleopatra*, joyning to her in marriage (to colour the buſineſs) her younger brother as yet but eleven years old; but indeed ſubjecting all things to her will and power, with whom he was ſo familiar, as, out of love to her, he ſtayed in *Ægypt* nine moneths, and had done it longer, or elſe had taken her with him to *Rome*, had he not been called thence by the urgent affairs of *Syria*; and not long after ſhe brought him a Son, whom by his permiſſion ſhe named *Cæſario*. At his departure he removed *Arſinoe* out of the Kingdom, leſt any diſturbance ſhould ariſe upon her account, and left three Legions behind him for the ſecurity of theſe two Princes, who being diſreſpected by their own People for their reſpect to him, as yet were not confirmed in their ſeats.

Dio. lib. 42.

Appian de bello civili l. 2.

Plutarch in Cæſare.

Sueton. in Julio.

44. As for the Government, *Cleopatra* reigned, and acted alone without the control of any, permitting her brother to enjoy the title with his life as yet. Not long after *Cæſars* departure, the eldeſt ſon of *Pompey* his Enemy coming to *Alexandria*, ſhe is (*a*) reported to have been as familiar and common with him; yet upon *Cæſar*'s invitation ſhe (*b*) went with her brother to *Rome*, where they were admitted as friends and allies: for her a lodging was provided in his own houſe, and having built a Temple to *Venus Genetrix* (which he had vowed before the battel

(*a*) *Plutarch in Antonio.*
(*b*) *Sueton. ut prius.*

at

Cleopatra poyſoneth her brother,

Cometh to *Antony* in *Aſia* who followeth her into *Ægypt.*

(c) *Appian ibid.*
(d) *Joſephus. Antiquit.l.*15. *cap.* 4.
(e) *Appian de bello civili l.*3, & 4.

A. M. 3964.
Ol. 184. *an.* 3.
V. C. 712.
Hyrcani 22.
M. Emilio Lepido 2.
L. Munatio Planco Coſſ.

Plutarch ut prius.
*Appian lib.*5.

at *Pharſalia*) he therein placed (c) her effigies beſides the Goddeſs. In the fourth year, her brother growing towards a man, ſhe (d) poyſoned him, to be at her own liberty. After *Julius Cæſar* was killed in the Senate houſe, ſhe ſtood ever firm to thoſe that proſecuted the conſpirators: to (e) *Dolobella*, at his requeſt of aid, ſhe ſent four Legions, and had a Fleet ready to put out had the weather ſerved. To *Caſſius*, who with menacing language demanded ſupplies, ſhe plainly refuſed to ſend any; for that he had an hand in *Cæſars* death, his threats only inciting her to go and meet *Octavius Cæſar* and *Antony*, who were then making an expedition againſt him and his fellow *Brutus*, the heads of that faction. He getting knowledge of her intentions, ſent a ſtrong party with ſixty ſhips to hover for her about *Peloponneſus*; but ſuch a tempeſt ſeized on her Fleet, that her deſign was fruſtrated, and having received great loſs, and now fallen ſick, ſhe was forced to return into *Ægypt*. *Antony* after the overthrow of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, being left in *Aſia* to ſettle the affairs thereof, thither ſhe repaired to him in a ſtrange antick faſhion, and, he, who when he formerly ſerved under *Gabinius* in *Ægypt*, had caſt a wonton eye upon her, was now ſo ſmitten, (though forty years old) that he alſo became enſlaved to her in his affections. She ruled him and all his affaires, and procured him out of hand, to cauſe her ſiſter *Arſinoe* to be made away; who being formerly led in triumph by *Julius Cæſar* after the *Alexandrian* War, with the pity of all men, had for her brothers and ſiſters ſake been then diſmiſſed.

Plutarch & Appian ut prius.

Dio lib. 49.

A. M. 3968.
Ol. 185. *an.*4.
V. C. 717.
Herodis 3.
M. Vepſanio Agrippa.
L. Canidio Gallo. Coſſ.

*Joſephus Antiq.l.*15. *c.*5.

Plutarch & Dio ut ſupra.

Their looſe practices.

45. *Antony* had no power but to follow her into *Ægypt*, where they ſpent their time in nothing but extraordinary vanity and dalliance. After his reconciliation to *Cæſar*, and the making up of the breach betwixt them, by his marrying of *Octavia*, *Cleopatra* fearing that this new wife might draw his affections from her ſelf, pretended to be almoſt mad in love with him, practiſing upon her body in ſuch ſort, that being reduced into a Conſumption, ſhe ſeemed not to be able to live in his abſence; whereupon he gave over his intention of invading *Parthia* for that time, and returned to *Alexandria*. Not long after ſhe begged of him that part of *Judæa* which bare *Balm*, and many other places and Countries, which he beſtowed upon her, to the great diſtaſte of the People of *Rome*, who took it in high diſdain, as well that ſuch vaſt poſſeſſions ſhould be given her, as that now he had divers children by her, two of which, being twins, were named *Sun* and *Moon*. Shortly after ſhe accompanied him as far as *Euphrates*, then making an Expedition into *Armenia*, and taking *Judæa* in her way homeward, that part thereof, which *Antony* had given her, together with *Arabia*, ſhe let out to farm unto *Herod*, whom alſo, either out of her filthy affection to him (which ſhe pretended) or for ſome other end (having formerly wiſhed for an advantage againſt him, to get his Kingdom) ſhe ſollicited to the breach of the chaſtity of them both; but he inſtead of giving her ſatisfaction, conſulted with his friends how to kill her, and then being again terrified from that, to do her honour waited on her home as far as *Peluſium*. *Antony* having proſpered in *Armenia*, returned, and entred *Alexandria* in triumph, leading with him *Artavaſdes* the King with his wife and children, with whom he earneſtly laboured to make them fall down before her, as ſupplicants, but to no purpoſe. Then ſpent they their time in feaſting, he divided almoſt half of the *Roman* Empire betwixt her and her children; ſhe took upon her the name of *Iſis*, and he of *Oſiris*, and *Father Bacchus*, having his Temples crowned with Ivy, and wearing Buskins; being drawn in that garb, after the faſhion of *Bacchus*, in a chariot through the ſtreets of the City.

Sueton in Octavio & Dio lib. 49. 50.

Plutarch. in Antonio.

War at *Rome* is decreed againſt her.

46. Theſe fooliſh and looſe practices brought great inconveniences upon them. For *Cæſar Octavius* and he fell preſently of recriminating each other, and *Antony* not long after had the confidence to ſend to *Rome*, to deſire from the Senate a confirmation of his donations to her and her children; which gave ſuch offence, that his friends were forced to flie out of the City; whereupon he ſent thither again ſome to thruſt *Octavia* (his Wife, and *Cæſar*'s ſiſter) out of his houſe, and took upon him to make War upon both People and Senate. *Cæſar* hereat inraged, found out a way to incenſe the People againſt him, by opening his will depoſited in the hands of the *Veſtal Nuns*, wherein he had laboured to make *Cæſario* to be the lawful ſon of the *Dictator*, named for Heirs his Children begotten on *Cleopatra*, and commanded that notwithſtanding he might die at *Rome*, yet his body ſhould be ſent to her to *Alexandria*. Theſe things found to be true, gained credit to others which were but reported; as that in caſe he ſhould get the better, he would beſtow *Rome* it ſelf upon the *Queen*, and tranſlate the Seat of the Empire into *Ægypt*. When *Cæſar* then was ready for the War, it was decreed againſt her, and he was deprived

of all his Offices, which alone was thought enough at this time, leſt once declared an Enemy to the State, others with him ſhould have been included in the ſame capacity, of whom divers, being men of great influence, might have been driven through deſperation, to act more vigorouſly for him. Hereby it was thought he would be ſufficiently intangled, reſolving not to forſake her on any terms whatſoever, and vulgarly accounted to be bewitched by her. And to little leſs could theſe things practized by him amount to. He called her *Queen*, *Lady*, and *Miſtreſs*, gave her *Romans* for her Guard (who had her name engraven on their Targets.) He went abroad, celebrated Games, ſate in Judgement, and ſometimes rode with her, and when ſhe pleaſed to be drawn in her Chariot, ran by her ſide amongſt the Lackies. She was ſo confident ſhe ſhould be Miſtreſs at length of the Miſtreſs of the World, that if ſhe would ſwear moſt religiouſly, it ſhould be by that Law or Sentence, which ſhe ſhould pronounce in the *Capitol*.

He is bewitched as it were by her.

47. For all this adoe, yet in the preparation for the War, *Antony* miſtruſted her, and that ſo far, as to have his meat taſted for fear of poyſon. She taking notice of it, poyſoned a Cup of drink, and giving him it, when he was about to ſet it to his mouth, interpoſed her hand, convincing him thereby how eaſie a matter it was for her to do that of which ſhe was ſuſpected to have an intention, and then ſending for a Malefactor out of Priſon, and giving him the liquor he died immediately. This made him bold and confident of her, and further enſlaved his affections, inſomuch that that ſhe ruled him in the management of the War. For *Canidius*, whom ſhe had bribed to get leave for her to continue with him, changing afterwards his mind, or (at leaſt his language) and adviſing him to ſend her back into *Ægypt*, and to go into *Thrace* or *Macedonia*, and there to decide the controverſie in a pitcht battel, ſhe prevailed with him not onely to ſtay, but made *Antony* ingage at *Actium* in a Sea-fight, yet providing rather for flight than victory. Ere it could juſtly be diſcerned which party would carry it, ſhe being impatient of delay, with her Golden Prow and Purple Sayls, giving a ſign to her *Ægyptians*, betook her ſelf to flight, which *Antony* ſeeing made haſte after her as faſt as poſſible, and being received on board, neither ſaw, nor was ſeen by her; but ſate him down in a ſad and thoughtful poſture, holding his head betwixt his hands; and for three or four dayes ſo continued, till arriving at *Tanarus* (a Promontory of *Laconia*) the women there that were intimate with her brought them together. He paſſing over into *Africk*, ſhe returned into *Ægypt*, counterfeiting a triumph with her Ship curiouſly adorned, and melodious ſinging, that ſhe might be received of her Subjects, the chiefeſt of which preſently ſhe put to death, whom ſhe knew formerly to have born no good will towards her, and now to be elevated upon the report of the defeat received at *Actium*. Confiſcating their Eſtates, and rifling religious Houſes, ſhe heaped together a great Maſs of Treaſure, raiſing Forces therewith with all expedition, and that ſhe might draw into Confederacy the King of *Media*, ſhe ſent him the head of *Artavaſdes* (or *Artabazus*) the *Armenian*, his Æmulator. Then, attempting a matter of greateſt difficulty, ſhe conveyed Ships over the *Iſthmus*, or Neck of Land (which parting the *Ægyptian* (or *Mediterranean*) from the *Red-Sea* divideth *Aſia* from *Africk*) into the *Arabian* Bay, intending to fly ſervitude, and ſeek out ſome Forein ſeat, wherein to ſpend the remainder of her dayes. But *Antony* returning to her, who as yet had heard nothing of the loſs of his Land-Army, they encouraged themſelves, and ſhe changed her purpoſe. Her Ships were burnt by the Inhabitants of *Arabia Petræa*, at the procurement of *Q. Didius* the *Preſident* of *Syria*.

Plinius Natural. Hiſtor. lib. 21.*cap*.3.

Yet ſuſpecteth her.

Plutarch. ut prius.

She maketh him ingage at *Actium*,

Dio lib. 50.

Where he is defeated.

A. M. 3974. *Ol.* 187.*ann*.2. *V. C.* 723. *Herodis* 9. *Octavio Cæſare* 3. *M. Valerio Meſſala Coſſ.*

She conveyeth ſhips into the *Arabian* Bay to ſeek out her fortune, but is diverted by him.

48. But *Antony* having notice that his Army had revolted to *Cæſar*, withdrew himſelf in a ſad and Melancholick poſture from the ſight of all men into the Iſland *Pharos*, and then again within a while, having diſburthened himſelf of grief, returned to the Court, where they indulged their genius more than ever, thoſe that were willing to die with them giving in their names, and paſſing away their time together in nothing but feaſting and jollity. She gathered together divers ſorts of poyſons, which ſhe tried upon Capital Offenders and Brutes, approving above all the biting of an Aſp, which ſhe obſerved without any convulſion to caſt the party into an heavy ſtupefaction, with a moderate ſweat upon the face, and ſo to kill with an eaſie kind of languiſhment. Before *Cæſar* came down into *Ægypt* againſt them ſhe ſent ſeveral times to him. She asked the Kingdom for her Children, and without *Antony* his knowledge ſent him a Scepter, a Crown of Gold, and a Royal Throne, giving up her Kingdom to him, as it were with thoſe,

Plutarch. in Antonio & *Dio lib.* 51.

Many willing to dye give their names, and they ſpend their time in jollyty.

She yet laboureth to curry favour with *Cæſar*.

to gain reſpect. He received them as a good Omen, and returned to her openly threatning language; yet underhand promiſed her impunity, and the entire poſſeſſion of her Kingdom, if ſhe would make away *Antony*. And fearing leſt ſhe might be brought to undertake ſome deſperate deſign, he ſent one *Thyrſeus* his Freed-man, and a cunning fellow to her, to make her believe he was in Love with her, hoping that then, beſides the ſaving of the Treaſure, which ſhe had threatned to burn, ſhe having a great ambition to be loved by all great perſons, would not ſtick at killing *Antony*. She deſiring indeed that it might be ſo, and remembring how his Uncle, in time paſt, and ſince that *Antony* had been bewitched with her, eaſily fooled her ſelf into a fond belief thereof, and promiſed her ambition, not onely *pardon*, and *Ægypt*, but the *Roman Empire* it ſelf. *Antony* ſeeing her kind to the Meſſenger above meaſure, ſuſpected ſomething, and ſoundly laſhing him, ſent him back to his Maſter; and then ſhe to wipe off his jealouſie moſt ſolemnly celebrated his birth-day (though ſuitably to her preſent condition ſhe neglected her own) and ſought all manner of wayes how to humour him. Yet did ſhe betray *Peluſium* in to *Cæſars* hands, and when he drew down towards *Alexandria* ſecretly forbad the Towns-men to go out againſt him, though openly ſhe exhorted them to reſiſtance. And when *Antony* had provided a Fleet, ſhe cauſed it wholely to revolt, and in like manner the Horſe, which *Antony* plainly ſeeing, after the overthrow of his Foot, returned into the City, crying out that he was betrayed by her into their hands, againſt whom, for her ſake he had taken Arms.

She betrayeth *Peluſium*, and cauſeth the Fleet and Horſe to revolt to him.

40. She being afraid of him, went to her Monument, as intending to kill her ſelf, under pretence of being in feare of *Cæſar*, and ſent a Meſſenger to him to tell him ſhe was dead. He giving credit to it, deſired *Eros* his ſervant to kill him; but he preventing it with his own death, he wounded himſelf in the belly; but the ſtroak not being ſuch an one as could preſently diſpatch him, he intreated his friends to do it, who refuſing, and running out of the room, a tumult enſued, and ſhe perceiving what was done, ſent for him up into her Monument. He underſtanding ſhe was alive, aroſe, thinking he might alſo poſſibly live; but the blood iſſuing out in great abundance, he deſpaired of it, and was born by his attendants to the door of the building, whence he was drawn up with Cords in a lamentable plight, all in goar blood, helping himſelf as it were, and ſtretching out his hands to her, and her women, who haled him up thus to the top. When he was got up ſhe laid him on a bed, tore her fleſh, wiped off his blood with her face, calling him *Lord*, *Husband*, and *General*, after which he preſently expired. *Cæſar* now deſired to get her into his power by ſtrong hand, having an extraordinary ambition to grace his Triumph with her, and not willing to promiſe any thing, and be counted a deceiver by falſifying his word. She continued ſtill in the Monument, hoping at leaſt to purchaſe her Kingdom by the Treaſure ſhe had in her power, and refuſed to come down, talking with the meſſengers from above. But preſently ſome got in to her, removed all things out of the way wherewith ſhe might hurt her ſelf, and then bringing her into the Palace, detracted nothing from her former ſtate, thereby to delude her with vain hope. *Cæſar* now without any trouble entred *Alexandria* with *Arius* the Philoſopher on his right hand, who formerly had read the Sciences to him; he permitted her to bury *Antony* as ſhe pleaſed, which after ſhe had done, being ſpent with ſorrow, and her breaſt all exulcerated with ſtroaks, ſhe thereby contracted a Fever, and glad of that pretence to abſtain from all ſuſtenance, and ſo end her dayes, ſhe conſulted alſo with *Olympus* her Phyſician how to reduce her ſelf into a Conſumption. But *Cæſar* ſmelling it out, ſo terrified her about her Children, that ſhe was content to deſiſt.

Antony killeth himſelf.

Cæſar earneſtly deſireth to lead her in Triumph, and doth all he can to deceive her.

41. Shortly after, he coming to comfort her, ſhe caſt her ſelf down at his feet, indeavouring with all the art ſhe had to inveigle his affections, which though he perceived, yet fixing his Eyes on the ground, he onely ſaid, *Be of good chear Woman, thou ſhalt have no harm*; She being ſollicitous, not for life, but love, and a Kingdom. Then gave ſhe in an Inventory of her Goods and Treaſure, at which *Seleucus* one of her officers was ſo Malapert, as to accuſe her of ſuppreſſing ſomething, whereupon ſhe flew in his face, and ſoundly buffeted him, *Cæſar* ſmiling, and gently reprehending her for it. But ſhe asked him whether it was not a hard caſe for her, whom he had deigned to viſit, to be accuſed by one of her own ſlaves, if ſhe had reſerved any thing, not for her ſelf, but wherewithall to preſent his Wife and Siſter, that they might render him the more favourable to her. Hereat he exceedingly rejoyced, hoping ſhe had a great deſire to live, and promiſed her great matters, vainly ſuppoſing he therein deceived her. But ſhe having notice by *Dolobella*,

Plutarch & Dio ut ſuprà.

Vide Sueton in Octavio.
Florum lib. 4. *cap.* 11.
Oroſium lib. 6. *cap.* 19.
Eutropium.

But ſhe having notice of his intentions dieth by the biting of an Aſp.

a young Gentleman amongſt his followers, and one that bare her great good will, that after three dayes, ſhe and her Children were to go for *Italy*, firſt obtained leave of him to celebrate the obſequies of *Antony*, which having performed with lamentations, and great ſhew of affection, ſhe commanded a Bath to be prepared, and ſitting down to meat, ſumptuouſly Dined. After Dinner ſhe gave a Letter to her Keeper to carry to *Cæſar* (wherein ſhe deſired ſhe might be buried by *Antony*) ſealed, that he thinking the contents to be of conſequence, might the more eaſily be removed out of the way. He being gone, with the help of her two women, ſhe made faſt the doors, moſt gorgeouſly apparelled her ſelf, as upon ſome ſolemn day, with her Royal Ornaments, and then put an Aſp which ſhe had procured ſecretly to be brought in amongſt Figs, Grapes, and Flowers) to her left Arm, with the biting of which, ſhe fell preſently as into a ſleep, and ſo died. *Cæſar* having read the Letter preſently perceived what was done, and indeavoured with all ſpeed to recall her to life, though in vain, grieving ſore that he was fruſtrated of a glorious Triumph, yet pitying and admiring the perſon, whom he cauſed to be royally interred with *Antony*, according to her deſire, and afteawards dealt very nobly with their Children. Adorned ſhe was with all the endowments of nature above her Sex. Being learned her ſelf, ſhe was a great Lover and promoter of knowledge; which ſhe teſtified in erecting another Library, in the room of that which had been burnt, ſupplyed with Books from *Pergamus* at the procurement of *Antony*. She lived thirty nine years, reigned twenty two (counted from her Fathers death) fourteen whereof ſhe ſpent with *Antony*. And with her periſhed her Kingdom, now reduced into the form of a *Roman* Province, and the *Macedonian* Empire was quite extinct, three hundred years after the death of *Darius*, and the Monarchy of *Alexander*, by whom it aroſe; two hundred and ninety three after *Ptolomy* the ſon of *Lagus* had obtained *Ægypt*; in the third of the one hundred and eighty ſeventh *Olympiad*, the year of the World three thouſand nine hundred ſeventy five, and twenty eight before the birth of Chriſt. *Octavius Cæſar* the fourth time, and *M. Licinius Craſſus* being *Conſuls*.

A. M. 3975.
Ol. 187. *an.* 3.
V. C. 724.
Herodis 10.
Octavio Cæſare 4.
M. Licinio Craſſo Coſſ.

Contemporaries with the Empire of the Macedonians.

CHAP. VII.

The *Judæan* Kingdom or Principality of the *Aſmonæans*.

From the departure of Antiochus Sidetes *from* Jeruſalem *to the Reign of* Herod *an alien, being by birth an* Idumæan,

Conteining the ſpace of ninety eight years.

John firnamed Hyrcanus his exploits.

I. AFter *Antiochus* had raiſed his ſiege and departed from *Jeruſalem*, as was ſaid before, he undertook an Expedition againſt the *Parthians*, where in he was ſlain. *John* the Son of *Simon* who then was chief both *Prieſt* and *Magiſtrate* of the *Jews* accompanied him ſome way with a band of Auxiliaries, and got the ſirname of *Hyrcanus* from the overthrow of the *Hyrcanians*, as it's thought, and returned with great credit into his own Countrey. After *Antiochus* his death, he led down an Army into *Syria*, thinking, as indeed it fell out, that the Cities were left without defence, whereof he took ſeveral, *Medaba*, *Samaga*, *Sicima*, and *Gerizim*, where the *Cuthæans* had built a Temple reſembling that at *Jeruſalem*.

A.M. 38.70.

A.M. 3877.

A. M. 3878.
Ol. 263. *ann.* 2.
V. C. 627.
Seleucid. 186.
Ptol. Phyſcon. 20.
Joh. Hyrcani 9.

He reneweth the League with *Rome*.

Beſiegeth *Samaria*.

Jeruſalem. In this Expedition he alſo ſubdued *Idumæa*, the inhabitants whereof he put to their choice, whether they would be circumciſed or quit their habitations. They choſe the former, and now began to be reckoned amongſt the *Jews*, ſubmitting to all their rites and ceremonies. After this he ſent to *Rome*, deſiring that the confederacy made with the Senate might be renewed; that *Joppa*, *Gazara*, with other Cities and places taken from the *Jews* by *Antiochus*, contrary to their Decree, might be reſtored, that it might not be lawful for the King of *Syria* to paſs through their Countrey with his Armies, that whatſoever *Antiochus* had attempted againſt them in War contrary to their will might be made fruſtrate, and that the Senate would pleaſe to ſend their Ambaſſadors to procure thoſe things, and to cauſe ſatisfaction to be given for the havock made of the Countrey. The Fathers renewed the confederacy with them, according to their deſire, promiſed to take order they ſhould be no more wronged, and diſmiſſed the Ambaſſadors with money to bear their charges, and letters commendatory to thoſe through whoſe Countreys they ſhould paſs. The many changes which then preſently happened in the *Syrian* Kingdom ſo diverted the ſeveral Princes from medling with the *Jews*, that they were glad of their friendſhip, and this proved a ſufficient opportunity for *Hyrcanus* to eſtabliſh his affaires. For they deſtroying one another with War, he ſecurely injoyed the Revenues of the Countrey, and got together a great Maſs of money; ſo that deſpiſing them, he went and beſieged *Samaria*, the Inhabitants of which he was diſpleaſed with for their injury offered to the *Mariſſeni*, though the King of *Syria's* Subjects, yet his friends and allies.

Idem cap. 18.

Idim ibid. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. *c.* 2, & 3.

Taketh it.

Grudges betwixt him and the *Phariſees*.

2. He caſt a Trench about it, and committed the ſiege to the care of his two ſons *Antigonus* and *Ariſtobulus*, who ſorely oppreſſed the defendants, hindering all importation of Victuals, ſo that they were conſtrained to beg aid of *Antiochus Cyzicenus* then reigning in *Syria*. He came, but was overthrown by *Ariſtobulus* his Soldiers, and being purſued by the brothers as far as *Scythopolis*, hardly eſcaped, and the ſiege was renewed. The beſieged reduced to their former neceſſities, ſent once more to *Cyzicenus*, who then obtaining about ſix thouſand men of *Ptolomy Lathurus* (then expelled his Kingdom by his mother) made an inroad into *Hyrcanus* his Dominions, and made havock of all things, thereby hoping to conſtrain him to raiſe the ſiege. But having loſt many of his men being intercepted by the Enemy, he himſelf went to *Tripolis*, and gave over the War to *Callimander* and *Epicrates*, two of his Captains. *Callimander* being more venturous than wiſe was preſently ſlain, and his fellow was corrupted to betray *Scythopolis* and other Towns to *Hyrcanus*, who then after a years lying before *Samaria* took it, razed it, and brought the water-courſes through the Place, by the filth of which all appearance of a Town was taken away. After this, inviting the *Phariſees* on a time (whoſe Scholar he had been) to a feaſt, he laboured to approve his ſincerity to them, and deſired, if any of them knew any fault in him, to tell him plainly of it. All approved of his manners but one *Eleazar* a ſeditious and bad man, who told him, that if he would be accounted good, he muſt deveſt himſelf of the Prieſthood, and be content with the Principality, for that he had heard ſay, that his mother was a captive in the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. This being utterly falſe, *Hyrcanus* was grievouſly offended, and ſo were the *Phariſees*; but *Jonathan* a Saducee of the contrary fact, and one in great grace with him, took thence occaſion to tell him, that this affront came from all the *Phariſees* together, and that he ſhould perceive it by the puniſhment they would inflict upon him, if their opinion was demanded. They being mercifully inclined, thought it ſufficient he ſhould be impriſoned and beaten for no greater an offence: at which *Hyrcanus* was ſore diſpleaſed, as then thinking they had raiſed that ſcandal of him. Wherefore being more incenſed by *Jonathan*, he revolted to the *Saducees*, abrogated the conſtitutions of the *Phariſees*, and puniſhed their followers, whence it came to paſs, that neither he nor his ſons were much beloved by the People. A ſedition alſo aroſe hereupon, but he quieted all, and having governed thirty one years died, being honoured with three eſpecial dignities, of the chief *Government*, *High-Prieſthood*, and alſo *Prophecy*, as *Joſephus* tells us, who relateth, that he foretold his two eldeſt ſons ſhould neither of them long enjoy his Principality. A. M. 3899. the laſt of the one hundred and ſixty *Olympiad*, about one hundred and four years before the birth of *Chriſt*.

The original of the ſeveral *Jewiſh* Sects.

3. Mention being here made of *Phariſees*, it is requiſite to ſpeak ſomething of this Sect and others amongſt the *Jews*, according to the nature of this work. *Joſephus* firſt maketh mention of them in the ninth Chapter of his thirteenth Book of *Antiquities*, afterwards more diligently and largely * handling their matters.

* *Lib.* 18. *c.* 2. & *de bello lib.* 2. *c.* 7.

There is no queſtion but theſe ſects ſprang up after the return of the *Jews* from the *Babyloniſh* captivity. It's probable that the difference amongſt them aroſe after the building of the ſecond Temple, about their worſhip and offerings. Some thought they were onely to live by the preſcript of the Law, neither above nor below it. Others believed they were not onely to act according to the bare letter of the Scriptures, but alſo according to ſuch ſenſes and conſequences as might be made out from it, and accordingly they offered over and above what the Law required in the ſervice of the Temple, even what they conceived was due according to their riches or other reſpects. Thoſe that ſtood to the letter of the Law were called *Karraim*: Thoſe that beſides the precepts of the Law did works of ſupererogation, and voluntary ſervice without any compulſion, were named *Haſidim*, that is *Sancti* or *Holy*, and (after they grew into a body) *Haſidæans*. As long as this voluntary and ſupererogatory ſervice was free and ſpontaneous, there was no ſuch ſchiſm; but when this doctrine of the *Haſidæans* came to be digeſted into precepts, and the precepts of ſupererogation into Writings and Canons, many doubts, diſputes, and controverſies, daily aroſe, whence two dogmatical Sects had their original. One which onely allowed of the Law it ſelf, and another that imbraced alſo the gloſſes and interpretations of it. From the latter, being that of the *Haſidæans*, ſprung up ſome who called themſelves *Peruſchim* or *Separate*, as thoſe, who by reaſon of their holineſs were not only diſtinct and ſeparated from the vulgar, but alſo from other *Haſidæans*, for that they taught that thoſe conſtitutions formerly accounted free, were to be obſerved out of neceſſity. Theſe *Peruſchim* in *Syriack Pheruſchim*, came by *Greek* Writers to be called *Phariſæi*. Now as out of the *Haſidæans* aroſe the *Phariſees*, ſo from amongſt the *Karraim* the *Saducees*, ſo named from *Sadoc*. *Antigonus* the Maſter of this *Sadoc*, and Scholar to *Simeon* the *Juſt*, amongſt other heads of doctrin had taught, that they *ought not to be like Servants, who ſerved their Maſters on condition to receive their Wages*, meaning that we ought to ſerve God out of love, and not for our own gain or advantage. But *Sadoc*, or *Saduc*, and *Baithus* interpreted this godly ſaying into a wicked ſence, teaching, that there was no reward after this life; and therefore denied the future ſtate, and framed their Hereſie. The third ſect was that of the *Eſſæi* or *Eſſeni*, who as it's probable ſprang from the *Phariſees*, though when it becan it be uncertain. *Philo Judæus* thinketh they were ſo called from their holineſs Ἐσσαῖοι, as though Ὁσιαῖοι, though more probably from *Hæſi* the *Syriack*, whence the *Greek* Ὅσιος may be derived. The *Hebrew* ſignifieth ſuch as live apart from noiſe, which agreeth much with thoſe *Eſſeni*, who like the *Pythagoræans* kept ſilence, and lived in deſerts or Villages by themſelves, far from others. They had skill in Phyſick, and thence ſome would derive their name from the *Hebrew Aſa*, which ſignifieth to heal. This Sect was later then that of the *Phariſees*, and ſome think it aroſe at this time when *Hyrcanus* turned *Saduce*, and perſecuted the Sect of the *Phariſees*; for then might many of the *Phariſees* to ſhun perſecution depart into the Wilderneſs and deſert places, and afterwards be called *Eſſæi* or *Eſſeni*, who were held more ſtrict than the *Phariſees* themſelves.

Conſule Joſephum Scaligerum in Elencho Trihæreſi Fullerum Miſcellan. l. 1. c. 3.

Druſium lib. de tribus ſectis Judæorum. Jacobum Cappellum ad A. M. 3891. *& Simſonium* & A.M. 3896

Ariſtobulus the ſon of *Hyrcanus* changeth the Principality into a Kingdom.

4. But, (to return to our matter) *John* ſirnamed *Hyrcanus* left five ſons, whereof *Ariſtobulus* the eldeſt (ſirnamed *Philellen* for his love to, and familiarity with the *Greeks*) ſucceeded him, and firſt changed his Principality into a Kingdom, ſetting a Diadem on his head, four hundred and eighty one years after the return of the *Jews* from the Captivity of *Babylon*. His ſecond brother he loved exceedingly, ſo as he made him his partner in the Kingdom; but ſhut up the reſt in priſon, and with them his Mother, to whom his Father had left the Principality, and proceeded ſo far in unnatural cruelty, as to ſtarve her to death. Not long after, he cauſed to be made away alſo his beloved brother, though againſt his will he did it. For he (*Antigonus* by name) returning victorious from the Wars, at the Feaſt of the Tabernacles, marched up with his Soldiers to the Temple, as intending to offer Sacrifice for his brother then lying ſick. This was preſently interpreted to *Ariſtobulus* as an effect of a bad intention towards him, and a ſufficient ſign of affecting the Kingdom, and it was repreſented to him, as if *Antigonus* would preſently come down and kill him, accounting it folly when he might Reign alone, to be content with a communicated honour. He having rejected tales heretofore, did not eaſily give credit to them now, but to provide for his own ſecurity, and yet ſhun ſuſpition, he commanded ſome of his Guard to ſtand in an obſcure place where he was to come, and if he came armed, then to kill him, but if not, then not to moleſt him, and he ſent alſo to him to come without any guard at all. But the

A. M. 3900. *Ol.* 168. *ann.* 4. *V. C.* 649. *Ptol. Lath.* 13.

His cruelty againſt his mother and brethren.

Queen and the reſt of the conſpirators, perſwaded the meſſenger to deliver his errand the clean contrary way, ſo that *Antigonus* thinking nothing, but coming to ſee his brother, was there murdered. After this was done, *Ariſtobulus* preſently repented of the deed, though knowing nothing concerning the meſſage, which ſo increaſed his diſeaſe, that he vomited blood for anguiſh of mind. The blood being carried out by one of his attendants, chanced to be ſpilt in that place where *Antigonus* was ſlain, which being judged by them that ſaw it, to be done of purpoſe, they cryed out againſt the thing, and made ſuch a noiſe, that the King hearing it, forced the matter out of them; after which his Agony increaſed ſo highly (crying out, that his blood was required for that of his Mothers and Brothers which he had ſpilt, and chiding as it were his body for retaining the Soul required of him by their Ghoſts) that in great torment of conſcience he preſently breathed out his laſt, when he had ſcarcely reigned a whole year. He profited much his Countrey by his Government, and making War upon *Ituræa*, laid a great part of it to his own Dominions, and frighted the Inhabitants by threatning baniſhment to them, into an imbracement of Circumciſion, and the other *Jewiſh* Rites.

He dieth within a years time.

5. He being dead, his Wife *Salome* (called by the *Greeks Alexandra*) ſet his brothers at liberty, of which *Jannæus* (or *Alexander*) was made King, excelling the other, as in age ſo alſo in modeſty. His Father is ſaid to have hated him, and ſent him out of his ſight to be educated in *Galile* preſently after his birth, becauſe being ſollicitous for his two eldeſt Sons, and deſiring of God to know his Succeſſor, his likeneſs was preſented to him in his ſleep. Being ſeized of the Kingdom, he put to death one of his Brothers that conſpired againſt him, but the other who was contented with a private life he much honoured. Having ſetled his affairs at home, he went and beſieged *Ptolemais*, which with *Gaza* only of the Sea-Towns remained unconquered, beſides the Tower of *Straton* (ſince called *Cæſarea*) and *Dora*, which *Zoilus* the Tyrant had got into his hands. At this time the two Brothers *Antiochus Grypus* (called by *Joſephus Philometor*) and *Antiochus Cyzicenos* in *Syria*, attending nothing but the deſtruction of each other, the Defendants had little hope of any ſuccour from either of them, onely *Zoilus*, who gaped after the City himſelf, gave them a little relief. There remaining no help to be hoped for, but either from *Ægypt*, or *Cyprus* (whither *Lathurus* had been expelled by his Mother *Cleopatra*) they ſent to him, deſiring he would reſcue them out of the hands of *Alexander*, giving him hopes, that he ſhould not onely have them, but the Inhabitants of *Gaza* alſo on his ſide, and that *Zoilus*, the *Sidonians* and others would come and help him. He being puffed up with theſe promiſes made what haſte he could, but *Demanetus* one of their Citizens perſwaded them for reaſons formerly recited to refuſe his help, notwithſtanding which he came on, and pitching his Tents near the City, ſeeing he had no Meſſage from them, began to be diſcouraged. But *Zoilus* and the *Gazæans* came ſhortly to him, and deſired his help againſt *Alexander*, who waſted their Territories, whereupon the ſiege was raiſed before *Ptolemais*, and *Alexander* departed home, wherein he attempted to overturn, by policy the deſign of *Ptolomy*. He ſent privily to *Cleopatra*, exciting her againſt him, but openly counterfeiting himſelf his Friend and Ally, promiſed him three hundred Talents of Silver to take off *Zoilus* the Tyrant, and lay his Territories to his Dominions. At firſt he willingly imbraced his friendſhip and took *Zoilus*, but then finding he had ſent underhand to his Mother, renounced it again, and went and beſieged *Ptolemais*, which had ſhut the Gates on him, where leaving part of his Army to continue the ſiege, he departed thence to invade *Judæa*. *Alexander* alſo underſtanding his purpoſe, raiſed an Army of fifty thouſand (ſome ſay eighty thouſand) and went to meet him.

Joſephus Antiq. lib. 13. *cap.* 20.

Jannæus or *Alexander* his brother ſucceedeth him.

A. M. 3901.

Beſieging *Ptolemais*, the ſiege is raiſed by *Ptolomy Lathurus*.

A. M. 3905.
Ol. 170. *ann.* 1.
V. C. 654.
Seleucid. 213.
Alexand. 5.
C. Mario 6.
L. Valerio Flacco Coſſ.

6. He took *Aſychis* a Town in *Galile*, ſetting upon it at unawares on the *Sabbath*, and then attempted to do the like by *Sephoris*, a place not far diſtant from the other; but was received with ſuch reſolution, that he loſt many of his men, and aroſe from thence to go to meet *Alexander*, whom having found to have reached the River *Jordan*, he pitched his Tents on this ſide over againſt him. *Alexander* ſuffered him quietly to paſs fooliſhly ſuppoſing that the victory would be more eaſie if the Enemy had the River on his back, and ſo could not run away. For ſome time the Victory was doubtful, or ſeemed to incline to *Alexanders* party, till his Soldiers being beaten back by a reſerve of freſh men, and having none to ſuccour them, were put to flight, and the Enemy gave the chace as long as he could hold a ſword for wearineſs, ſo that thirty thouſand (ſome have affirmed fifty

Idem ibid. & *cap.* 21.

Who invadeth *Judæa*, and overthroweth *Alexander* in battel.

fifty thouſand) were ſlain in this battel. *Ptolomy* ranging up and down the Countrey, fell at length into ſome Villages, which ſeeing full of Women and Children, he commanded his Soldiers to kill them promiſcuouſly, and cutting off their limbs to caſt them into hot Caldrons, that a report going that his Army ate mans fleſh, the enemy might thereby be diſcouraged. But *Cleopatra* hearing that her ſon thus proſpered in his undertakings, thought her ſelf concerned therein, eſpecially he being ſo near her, and therefore ſhe came againſt him with Forces both by Land and Sea, over which ſhe placed *Checeias* and *Ananias*, both *Jews*. Her ſon thinking he had her at advantage, being now out of *Ægypt*, haſted thither, but ſhe had left it ſo provided, as he could not do any thing according to his purpoſe, and was beaten back to *Gaza* by a party ſhe ſent after him. She having taken *Ptolemais*, *Alexander* thither came to her, where he was received as a perſon diſtreſſed by her adverſary, and one who onely had refuge in her ſelf. Some adviſed her to ſeize his Countrey into her hands, and not to ſuffer ſo many good *Jews* to be at the command and pleaſure of one man: but *Ananias* counting it wickedneſs for him to diſpoſeſs a man received into friendſhip, and his own Kinſman beſides, and withall thinking that thereby he ſhould loſe himſelf with the *Jews* in all places, he perſwaded her to the contrary, and ſo ſhe entered into a League with him at *Scythopolis*, a City of *Cœleſyria*.

But is driven back by his own mother.

Who entereth into League with *Alexander*.

Idem ibid.

7. Hereby being freed from all danger, both from Mother and Son, he preſently made another expedition into *Cœleſyria*, took *Gadara* after he had layen ten moneths before it, and *Amachus* a ſtrong Caſtle upon the River *Jordan*, where *Theodorus* the Son of *Zenon* had laid up his Treaſure, who falling ſuddenly upon the *Jews*, cut off ten thouſand of them, and plundered the Carriages. Yet he was not at all terrified herewith from ſetting upon *Raphia* and *Anthedon* (called afterwards *Agrippias* by *Herod*) which he took, and perceiving *Ptolomy* to be gone to *Cyprus*, and his Mother into *Ægypt*, being angry with them of *Gaza*, for calling him in to help them againſt him, he ſet upon the City, and waſted their grounds. In the mean time *Apollodotus* their General brake out into his Camp by night with twelve thouſand men, and as long as night laſted had the better of it, but as ſoon as it was day the *Jews* Uniting themſelves, and encouraged after they ſaw *Ptolomy* was not come as they expected, charged the Townſ-men ſo fiercely that they ſlew a thouſand men. For all this they would not yield, expecting the coming of *Aretas* the *Arabian* King; but the City was taken ere they could ſee his face, by the treachery of *Lyſimachus* the Brother of *Apollodotus*, whom he envying for being in ſo great grace with the People, murdered, and then getting a party cloſe about him delivered up the place. *Alexander* upon his entry did no harm to the Inhabitants, but not long after gave commiſſion to his Soldiers to kill and ſlay all they would, who ranging up and down with fury and Sword, as many of them loſt their lives as they ſlew, the Defendants fighting couragiouſly, and ſetting their houſes on fire, leſt they ſhould become a prey to them; and ſome killed their Wives and Children with their own hands, rather than they ſhould be led into Captivity. It hapned that at the ſame time that *Alexander* was let in, the Senate was met, which conſiſting of five hundred men, he put them all to the Sword, and then razing the City, returned to *Jeruſalem* a year after he firſt ſate down before *Gaza*.

He again invading *Cœleſyria*,

Hath *Gaza* betrayed to him.

A. M. 3909.
Ol. 171. *an.* 1.
V. C. 658.
Seleucid 217.
Alexand: 9.
Cn. Domitio
Ænobarbo
C. caſſio: Longino Coſſ.

Idem ibid. & *De bello lib.* 1. *cap.* 3.

8. He was not at all affected by his Subjects, which they clearly manifeſted when the Feaſt of Tabernacles came. For then as he was about to ſacrifice they threw Orenges at him, and railed at him, upbraiding him with Captivity (that I ſuppoſe of his Grand-mother objected before to his Father) and crying out that he was not worthy of ſo high an Office as the High Prieſt-hood. Being inraged hereat he ſlew about ſix thouſand of them; made up the place about the Altar with boards to defend him for the time to come from the violence of the multitude, and furniſhed himſelf with Guards hired out of *Piſidia* and *Cilicia*. Then overthrew he the *Arabians*, and impoſed Tribute upon the *Moabites* and *Galadites*, and levelled *Amathus* with the ground, *Theodorus* not once daring to ingage. But making another expedition againſt the *Arabians*, he was drawn into an Ambuſh by *Obedu* their King, and being thruſt amongſt the Craggy and precipitous Rocks by a multitude of Camels, he hardly eſcaped by flight to *Jeruſalem*, his whole Army being cut off. Then were his Rebellious Subjects encouraged by this his overthrow to begin freſh ſtirs, which continued ſix years, during which time they fought often, but he had the better, and deſtroyed no leſs than fifty thouſand of them. This yet was no matter of joy to him thus to loſe the ſtrength of his own Kingdom; therefore he endeavoured

He is defeated by the *Arabians*, and hath Wars with his rebellious and ſawcy Subjects.

endeavoured to make up the breach, and by fair means to be reconciled to them. But being asked by him wherewith he ſhould appeaſe them, they anſwered, if he would kill himſelf, for ſcarce could they pardon him being dead. Then ſent they to *Demetrius*, ſirnamed *Acærus*, inducing him with great promiſes to come and aid them, ſo that joyning with him they made up an Army of three thouſand Horſe, and forty thouſand Foot, their King having twenty ſix thouſand and two hundred men in his Army. Both at the firſt laboured to draw their Enemies to revolt, *Demetrius* thoſe *Greeks* that were in pay with *Alexander*, and he the *Jews* which had called him in, but this ſucceeding on no part, they both reſolved to end the controverſie with dint of ſword. *Demetrius* had the better of it (all *Alexanders* Auxiliaries being ſlain, though they behaved themſelves moſt gallantly) but he was no whit better, but much worſe for his victory. For the *Jews* taking pity of their King after this his defeat, about ſix thouſand went over to him, which ſo diſcouraged *Demetrius*, that he thereupon retreated into his own Country.

Idem ibid. & Antiq. lib. 13. *cap.* 22.

9. They thenceforth waged War with him by themſelves, but ſtill had the worſt of it, and many of them were ſlain. At length he forced the ſtrongeſt up into a Town called *Bethoma*, which reducing, he took them in it, and brought them up to *Jeruſalem*, where he cauſed eight hundred of them to be nailed to Croſſes, and their Wives and Children to be ſlain in their ſight, yet living, he beholding the Spectacle from an high place, banquetting, and dallying with his women.

A. M. 3920. *Ol.* 173. *an.* 4. *V. C.* 669. *Seleucid.* 228. *Alexand.* 20.

He was highly provoked with that ſtubborn people, who not only brought him often into extream danger of life and eſtate, but not contenting themſelves with what they could do by their own power, without calling in of forreign aid, had reduced him to that neceſſity, that he was glad to reſtore thoſe places he had ſubdued in the Country of *Moab* and *Galaad* to the *Arabian*; and for animadverſion upon them they nicknamed him *Thracida*. About eight thouſand men got away by night, and paſſed all the time he lived, in Exile, and ſo ever after the Kingdom continued free from ſeditions.

Idem Antiquit. lib. 13. *cap.* 23. *& De bello lib.* 1. *cap.* 4.

Antiochus Dyonyſus King of *Syria* intending to make an invaſion into *Arabia* through his Kingdom, he getting knowledge of it, drew a Ditch from *Caparſale* (afterwards called *Antipatris*) as far as the Sea of *Joppe*, to hinder him, ſtrengthening it with a Bulwark, and Forts built here and there upon it where he expected him. But he burning theſe Forts eaſily got over, and then invading *Arabia*, was there ſlain in battel by *Aretas* the King, who was made King of *Cœleſyria*, and making an inroad into *Judæa*, overthrew *Alexander* at *Adida*, and forcing him to ſubſcribe to his own conditions, then departed.

His Conqueſts abroad.

Afterwards *Alexander* gathering together his Forces, went and took divers Towns with all the Valley of *Antiochus* (as it was called) and the Caſtle *Gamala*, and returned to *Jeruſalem* at the end of three years, now joyfully and honourably received by his people for his valour; and indeed at this time the Nation, what by his own, and the diligence of his predeceſſors, arrived at that height for dominion and glory abroad, that they enjoyed many Cities in *Syria*, *Idumæa*, *Phœnicia*, and other Countries; whereof a Catalogue of moſt *Joſephus* hath left unto us, and amongſt which *Polla* a Town of *Moab* was deſtroyed, becauſe the Inhabitants refuſed to receive the *Jewiſh* Rites.

Antiquit. lib. 13. *cap.* 13.

His death.

Alexander towards his latter end fell to drunkenneſs, and thereby contracted a Quartan Ague, which held him three years; yet recovered he his antient temper of mind, though not of body, and following on his Wars laid ſiege to *Ragola* beyond *Jordan*, in the Country of the *Geraſens*, where being ſpent with the force of his diſeaſe, he died before the Walls of that place, in the twenty ſeventh year of his reign, and of his age the fourty ninth. A. M. 3927. and the third of the 173 *Olympiad*, ſome ſeventy ſix years before the birth of *Chriſt*,

A. M. 3927. *Ol.* 175. *an.* 3. *V. C.* 676. *Seleucid.* 235.

10. His wife *Alexandra* ſeeing his end approaching, bewailed much the condition of her ſelf and children, being deſtitute of ſuccour, and about to enter upon the government of a People, likely enough to be untoward towards them, which bore him ſo much ill will.

His advice to his wife to gain the *Phariſees*.

He adviſed her, that ſhe might reign ſecurely, firſt to keep cloſe his death till that place ſhould be gained, then going victoriouſly to *Jeruſalem* to ſend for the chief of the *Phariſees*, whom both he and his Father had grievouſly offended, and thereby incurred the hatred of the People, and to gain their favour to ſhew them his body, and give them power of diſpoſing of it as they would either as to beſtow burial upon it, or caſt it out without Sepulture, or otherwiſe to abuſe it at their pleaſure; and withal, to promiſe them to do nothing without their counſel and advice. The Caſtle being taken, ſhe ordered her affairs according to his direction, whereby ſhe purchaſed the love of the *Phariſees*, who going out and ſpeaking to the People, related the great things done by *Alexander*, ſignified to them

Idem cap. 24. *& de bello ut prius.*

them the loſs of a juſt King, and ſo ſtirred up the multitude to mourning and lamentation, that hereby ſhe procured him (even as he forelold her) a more honourable burial than elſe he could have had, and as ſumptuous a funeral as any of his Predeceſſors obtained. *Alexander* left two ſons by this his wife, *Hyrcanus* and *Ariſtobulus*; but to her left the management of the Kingdom. The elder of their ſons was not at all made for government, but dull and heavy. She being in great grace with the People, becauſe ſhe ever had pretended to diſlike the proceedings of her husband, made *Hyrcanus* the *High-Prieſt*, not ſo much out of reſpect to his birthright as his lazineſs, keeping the title of *Queen* and Governeſs, though indeed all things were ordered at the will and pleaſure of the *Phariſees*, whom the People were commanded to obey, and againſt whom all ſuch conſtitutions as were made by *Hyrcanus* were taken away. Yet ſhe took care for ſomething her ſelf, for ſhe kept in pay a great number of foreigners, and ſo increaſed her power, that ſhe became formidable abroad, and ſuch a terror to the neighbouring petty Governors, that ſhe conſtrained them to give Hoſtages.

Which ſhe followeth and reigneth her ſelf.

11. Yet no great matters were done abroad, but ſtirs ſufficient hapned within the Kingdom; for the *Phariſees* knowing no moderation in the proſecution of their ambitious and envious deſires, cauſed her to put to death thoſe that had counſelled her husband to deal cruelly with the eight hundred before mentioned, and they made away divers of them; till ſuch time as thoſe of moſt power and eſteem being backed by *Ariſtobulus* (who complained of the too great power of his Mother) came to Court, and there laid before her how unworthy it was, that they ſhould ſuffer ſo much for their faithfulneſs to *Alexander*, and how joyful news it would be to *Aretas* the *Arabian* and others, to hear that the Kingdom was deprived of ſuch men, who had done good ſervice againſt him. They beſought her, that if their adverſaries were not ſatisfied with what blood they had ſpilt already, to give them leave to depart, and provide for their own ſafety, or if that could not be granted, to diſtribute them into ſeveral places of ſtrength, that there they might live quietly and meanly, with which condition they would be contented, ſeeing Fortune ſo frowned upon the favourers of *Alexander*. They ſetting theſe things off with all advantage poſſible to gain compaſſion, and calling on the ghoſt of *Alexander*, *Ariſtobulus* alſo ſoundly reprehended his Mother, but withal added, that they were juſtly puniſhed, for permitting the chief power to be in a woman, as if no poſterity had been left by his Father. She not knowing what to do, delivered into their hands all her Caſtles, except three, in which ſhe had hoarded up her choiſeſt goods, and ſhortly after ſent her younger Son againſt *Ptolomy Mennæus*, who troubled ſorely *Damaſcus*, but he returned without having done any thing. A report went at the ſame time, that *Tigranes* the *Armenian* had invaded *Syria* with fifty thouſand men, and would ſpeedily come into *Judæa*, which ſo terrified both Queen and People, that they ſent Ambaſſadors to him then lying before *Ptolemais*; for *Celene* or *Cleopatra* then reigned in *Syria*, and had adviſed her Subjects to exclude him. He kindly received the Ambaſſadors, becauſe come ſo far to tender him reſpect, and gave them incouraging words. And after he had taken *Ptolemais*, news being brought him, that *Lucullus* in his purſute of *Mithridates* the *Great*, King of *Pontus*, was entred *Armenia*, and waſted the Country, he being Son in Law to that King, and therefore taking his part, departed home with all Expedition.

This raiſeth ſtirs betwixt the two factions.

A. M. 3934.
Ol. 177. *an.* 2.
V. C. 683.
Seleucid. 242.
Alexandræ 8.

12. After this, *Alexandra* falling grievouſly ſick, *Ariſtobulus* judged that now or never was there a fit opportunity for him to do ſomething, and leſt the *Phariſees* ſhould get all into their hands, departed by night with one man in his company, and got the Caſtles within a ſhort time into his power, which ſhe had committed to their adverſaries, even to the number of twenty two within little more than fifteen dayes. This being underſtood, ſhe and all the People were ſtruck with conſternation, knowing that he would take the Supream Power, and fearing they ſhould dearly pay for what they had done to his familiar friends. They thought good then to ſecure his Wife and Children in the Caſtle adjoyning to the Temple at *Jeruſalem*. He increaſed in followers and in power daily, taking the ſtate of a King upon him, and got an Army from the Mountain *Libanus*, *Trachonitis*, and the petty Princes thereto adjoyning. The chief of the *Jews* therefore with *Hyrcanus* came to the *Queen*, beſeeching her that ſome courſe might be entered into to prevent his attempts, who now had gotten ſo many convenient places. She with ſhortneſs of mind told them they might do whatſoever they thought meet and convenient for the Commonwealth; that they had liberty and ſtrength enough both as to Souldiers, and money alſo

Ariſtobulus her younger Son aſſumeth the ſtate of King.

She dieth.

A. M. 3936.
Ol. 177. *an.* 4.
V. c. 685.
Sileucid. 244.

alſo the nerves of War; but as for her ſelf, ſhe could look to nothing, her body being now ſpent; and ſhortly after ſhe breathed her laſt, having reigned nine years, and lived ſeventy three. A woman of wiſdom, courage, and induſtry above her ſex, and who in the whole courſe of her Government could not be drawn (for the generality) from moderation, juſtice, and honeſty. But whereas ſhe looked more at the preſent than future times, ſeemed to ſide with the Enemies of her houſe, and to have made the Kingdom naked of fit Rulers, after her death the effects of her male adminiſtration was felt by her family, which came into ſuch misfortunes, as it miſcarried and fell from that power, wherein ſhe had laboured and taken ſo much pains to eſtabliſh it.

Joſephus Antiq. l. 14. *c.* 1. *& de bello ut ſupra & c.* 5.

Ariſtobulus by a battel diſpoſſeſſeth his Brother *Hyrcanus.*

Lib. 14. *c.* 2.
* *Vide Euſeb. Eccl. Hiſt. lib.* 1. *cap.* 7.

Antipater ſtirreth up *Hyrcanus* to recover his juſt right.

13. For *Hyrcanus* having entered upon the *High-Prieſthood* in the third year of the 177 *Olympiad*, *Q. Hortenſius*, and *Q. Metellus Creticus* bing *Conſuls*, his brother *Ariſtobulus* now preſently made War upon him. A battel being fought near *Jericho*, moſt of *Hyrcanus* his Souldiers revolted to the other, whereby he was forced to betake himſelf into that Caſtle where *Ariſtobulus* his wife and children were kept, and he now made his conditions to be ſuffered to live quietly a private life, remitting to his brother the Kingdom and Principality, and changing eſtates with him, he removing into *Ariſtobulus* his private houſe, and *Ariſtobulus* to the Court, which covenant was ſolemnly ſworn to, and confirmed in the Temple. But not long did this agreement hold, being broken by the means of *Antipater*, who being Governour at that time of *Idumæa*, feared the power of *Ariſtobulus*, and therefore endeavoured his deſtruction, both by ſtirring up *Hyrcanus* and the moſt powerful of the *Jews* againſt him. The fame of *Herod* Son of this *Antipater*, cauſeth his original to be more enquired into. *Nicolaus Damaſcenus* to flatter the ſaid *Herod*, derived his pedegree from the chief of the *Jews*, which returned from *Babylon*; but *Joſephus* denyeth it, and reports him to have been an *Idumæan* born. * Others have delivered, that this *Antipater*, or *Antipas*, was the Son of one *Herod* the Prieſt of *Apollo*'s Temple at *Aſcalon*, which City being invaded by the *Idumæan* thieves, he was taken with other ſpoils out of the Temple, and whereas his Father was not able to ranſom him, was brought up after the manner of the *Idumæans*, and became very familiar with *Hyrcanus* the *High-Prieſt*. *Joſephus* ſaith that he was conſtituted Governour of *Idumæa* by *Alexander* the King, and his Wife, and then minding his own intereſt, entered into ſociety with the *Arabians*, *Gazæans*, and *Aſcalonites*, having purchaſed their friendſhip with great gifts. He profeſſed to the *Jews* that it was unjuſt, that *Ariſtobulus* ſhould be ſuffered to enjoy his uſurped power, from which he had caſt down his elder brother, and had deprived him of the prerogative of his age. The ſame things he often incultated into *Hyrcanus*, adding withal, that his life was in danger, except he would in good time ſave himſelf by flight, for that the friends of his brother ſtill conſulted, how they might rid him out of the way, and eſtabliſh the Kingdom upon the other.

And procureth him to flie to *Aretas* King of *Arabia.*

Joſephus ut prius cap. 3.

Who beſiegeth *Jeruſalem.*

Idem cap. 4.
A. M. 3941.
Ol. 179. *an.* 1.
V. c. 690.
Seleucid. 249.
Ariſtob. 6.

14. He being a plain and well-meaning man, gave no great credit to theſe ſlanders; but the other ceaſed not for all that to invent freſh accuſations of *Ariſtobulus*, as if he lay in wait for his life, and at length hardly obtained of him to flie to *Aretas* King of the *Arabians*, becauſe his Country was nigh to *Judæa*. *Antipater* went firſt to the King, to get a promiſe from him not to betray him into the hands of his Enemies, which being obtained, he returned to *Jeruſalem*, and thence not long after taking *Hyrcanus* out by night, by great journeys came to *Petra*, where *Aretas* kept his Court. Being very great with the *Arabian*, he laboured to perſwade him to reſtore *Hyrcanus*, and with his importunity and gifts at length prevailed. *Hyrcanus* alſo promiſing, if by his means he ſhould recover the Kingdom, to reſtore to him that Country with the twelve Towns, which his Father *Alexander* had taken from him. *Aretas* being drawn in by theſe promiſes, undertook this Expedition with fifty thouſand men, and overthrew *Ariſtobulus*, who being firſt forſaken of his followers, who now fled amain to his brother, retired to *Jeruſalem*, where the *Arabian* and *Hyrcanus* beſieged him in the Temple. The Feaſt of the Paſſover hapning during the ſiege, the Prieſts who only remained with *Ariſtobulus*, that the Sacrifices might not be omitted, bargained with the beſiegers for beaſts to be ſold them for that ſervice, but when they had let down the money from the walls, were derided by them. But this wickedneſs the Hiſtorian obſerveth to have been puniſhed with great ſtorms and tempeſts, which procured extraordinary ſcarcity of Corn. In this mean while *Pompey* the Great being diverted by the War with *Tygranes* in *Armenia*, ſent *Scaurus* his *Quæſtor*, as *Appian* calls him, into *Syria*, who coming ſtraight to *Damaſcus* (taken then by *Metellus* and *Lollius*) haſted without intermiſſion into

Judæa. To him both parties ſent, to deſire his friendſhip and help, but though each promiſed as much as the other (*viz.* four hundred Talents) yet he cloſed with *Ariſtobulus*, being counted more free and rich, and whoſe requeſt was more eaſie to be fulfilled, in driving away the *Nabathæans*, than that of the other, to take the place which he held, being ſo ſtrong both of it ſelf and by defence.

But is beaten off by *Scaurus.*

15. Taking the money of *Ariſtobulus* he eaſily raiſed the ſiege, denouncing to *Aretas* that he ſhould depart, except he would be declared an Enemy of the People of *Rome*; and then returned to *Damaſcus*. *Ariſtobulus* having gotten this advantage againſt his Enemies, followed them with a great Army, and joyning battel overthrew them at a place called *Papyron*, about ſeven thouſand of them being ſlain, and amongſt the reſt *Cephalio* the brother of *Antipater*. But not long after *Pompey* came to *Damaſcus*, and going about *Cœleſyria*, thither were ſent to him Ambaſſadors from ſeveral parts. *Ariſtobulus* ſent him an excellent preſent, being a golden Urn of the value of five hundred Talents, which afterwards was dedicated by him amongſt other things in the Capitol at *Rome*. Shortly after were ſent ſome to him from both the brothers; *Antipater* from *Hyrcanus*, and one *Nicodemus* from the other, to whom he anſwered, that coming to *Damaſcus* he would hear the cauſe. Thither was ſent alſo an Ambaſſage of the *Jews* themſelves, who declared they were unwilling to live under Kings, it being the cuſtom of their Country to yield obedience to the *Prieſt* of their God; and that though theſe two were of that race of *Prieſts*, yet being deſirous to change the Government into another form, they thereby intended to enſlave them. *Hyrcanus* accuſed his brother of ambition and violence, in that he had gone about to deprive him of his birth-right, and the other excuſed himſelf by the neceſſity of the thing, leſt the Principality ſhould have been transferred into another family by his heavy dulneſs, which rendered him incapable of employment. To *Hyrcanus* bare witneſs one thouſand *Jews* which *Antipater* had brought for that purpoſe, but to *Ariſtobulus* a Company of effeminate Gallants, ridiculous to all for their fantaſtick bravery. *Pompey* having heard them, and diſapproved of *Ariſtobulus* his violence, diſmiſſed them both kindly at preſent, promiſing he would come to them as ſoon as he had inſpected the affairs of the *Nabathæans*, bidding them be quiet in the mean time, and uſing *Ariſtobulus* civilly, leſt he ſhould ſtop up the paſſages. But hereby he won nothing upon him, for not expecting his promiſes, he went to *Delium*, and thence betook himſelf into *Judæa*.

Idem cap. 5.

Both Brothers ſent to *Pompey* to complain.

Who ſideth with *Hyrcanus.*

Idem cap. 6. & *de bello lib.* 1. *cap.* 5.

16. *Pompey* being offended with this carriage of *Ariſtobulus*, took the Army which he had provided againſt the *Nabathæans*, and with other ſupplies out of *Syria*, and the Legions which were at his command, followed him. Coming into *Judæa*, and hearing he was in a Caſtle near *Coreas*, he ſent to him to come and ſpeak with him, and he obeyed, being adviſed by thoſe about him to take heed of Warring with the *Romans*. When he had diſputed the caſe with his brother, he returned to the Caſtle, and ſo he did divers times, deſiring to pleaſe *Pompey*, and pretending a willingneſs to obey him in all things, but providing ſtill for the War, fearing the Principality might be beſtowed upon *Hyrcanus*. *Pompey* in concluſion required him to deliver up into his hands the Garriſons, and write to the Governors of them for that purpoſe; which he obeyed alſo, but then preſently departed to *Jeruſalem* there to prepare for War. He followed him, and in the way heard how *Mithridates* of *Pontus* was killed by his Son *Pharnaces*. His firſt nights quarters he took up at *Jericho*, where the Trees grew, that being cut diſtilled with the precious *Balſamum*; and the next day marching towards *Jeruſalem*, *Ariſtobulus* repenting of what he had done, came and met him, offered him money, and referred himſelf to his pleaſure, ſo that omitting War he would order things in a peaceable manner. He pardoning him, ſent *Gabinius* to *Jeruſalem* to fetch the money; but he being ſhut out by *Ariſtobulus* his Souldiers, returned empty handed, which *Pompey* taking in great diſdain, committed *Ariſtobulus* to cuſtody, and went himſelf to the City. There were two factions diſagreeing with each other, whereof that of *Ariſtobulus* brake down the bridge, which went out of the City to the Temple, and therein fortified themſelves, whereupon the other let in the *Romans* into the City and Palace. Then did *Pompey* beſiege the Temple, filled up with the great toil of his Souldiers the Ditch before it, and with Engines brought from *Tyre* battered the Walls, taking occaſion at the ſuperſtition of the *Jews*, who thought it ſinful to do any thing on the Sabbath-dayes, but defend themſelves. The greateſt Tower being battered down, the *Romans* broke in (*Cornelius Fauſtus* the Son of *Sylla* firſt entering the breach) and then made ſlaughter of twelve thouſand, the Prieſts even

And followeth *Ariſtobulus* into *Judæa.*

Lib. 14. *cap.* 7.

A. M. 3942.

cap. 8.

Beſiegeth his party in the Temple, and taketh it.

then (as they had done all the ſiege) not neglecting to offer ſacrifices, and amongſt the reſt *Abſalom* the Uncle, and father-in-law of *Ariſtobulus* was taken, being the youngeſt Son of *Hyrcanus*. *Pompey* with many followers entered the Temple, and looked on thoſe things, which it was unlawful for any but the Prieſts to behold; yet touched nothing he ſaw, ſo great was his abſtinency. The Temple was taken as *Joſephus* tells us, in the third month, and the faſt day, which was kept in memory of *Jehoiakim's* burning the Roll, in the 179 *Olympiad*, *C. Antonius* and *M. Tullius Cicero* being Conſuls, A. M. 3942. about ſixty two years before the birth of *Chriſt*.

Idem ibid.
**Lib.20.cap.8.*

He reſtoreth the Prieſthood to *Hyrcanus* forbidding him the Diadem, and carryeth *Ariſtobulus* and his Sons to *Rome*.

Idem lib. 14. *cap.* 10. *& de bello lib.* 1. *cap.* 6.

His Son *Ariſtobulus* eſcapeth, and is defeated by *Gabinius*, and he himſelf alſo getteth away from *Rome*.

17. *Pompey* reſtored the Prieſthood to *Hyrcanus*, with the Government of the Country, *(forbidding him the wearing of the Diadem) becauſe amongſt ſeveral other ſervices he had done him during the ſiege, he had alſo kept the Countrymen from taking up Arms for *Ariſtobulus*. Then putting to death the Authors of the Sedition, he made the *Jews* Tributaries to the people of *Rome*, the Cities they held in *Cœleſyria* he took away, and ſubjected them to a Governor of their own, and the whole Nation much elevated then with ſucceſs abroad, he contracted within its own bounds; *Ariſtobulus* and his brother being the cauſe of all theſe troubles, and of the loſing of the Countries liberty to the *Romans*, who within a ſhort time exacted above ten thouſand Talents of it. *Pompey* having left *Syria* to the Government of *Scaurus*, with two Legions haſted to *Rome*, leading *Ariſtobulus* bound thither, with two Sons, and as many Daughters. One of his Sons eſcaped in the journey, and returned into *Judæa*, where he got together a conſiderable power, and awed his Uncle *Hyrcanus* unable to reſiſt him, and who, when now he was about to repair the Walls of *Jeruſalem*, demoliſhed by *Pompey*, was forbidden to do it by the *Romans*. But within a while *Gabinius* was ſent from *Rome* to Govern *Syria*. He undertook the War againſt him, by this time having ten thouſand Foot, and one thouſand and five hundred Horſe at his Command, but notwithſtanding he overthrew him not far from *Jeruſalem*, killing and taking ſix thouſand of them, and then beſieged him in the Caſtle *Alexandrium* whither he had fled. Leaving here ſufficient ſtrength for carrying on the ſiege, he went and viſited the Countrey, cauſing divers Cities to be re-edified, and then returning, and more powerfully inforcing the ſiege, *Alexander* yielded himſelf, and the Caſtles, which by his Mothers advice to *Gabinius* were demoliſhed, leſt they ſhould nouriſh another War. *Gabinius* then went to *Jeruſalem*, and eſtabliſhed *Hyrcanus* in the Prieſthood, but cantonized the Countrey into five parts, which he ordered to be Governed in an *Ariſtocratical* way. One diviſion was to be Governed by an Aſſembly at *Jeruſalem*, another by one at *Gadara*, a third at *Amathus*, a fourth at *Jericho*, and a fifth by one ſitting at *Saphora* a Town of *Samaria*. The *Jews* very gladly embraced this Government. But *Ariſtobulus* not long after eſcaped from *Rome*, and coming into *Judæa* miniſtred occaſion of further trouble.

*Idem ibid. & lib.*14. *cap.*11.
A. M. 3949.
Ol. 181. *an.* 1.
V. C. 698.
Hyrcani 8.

He is taken and ſent back by *Gabinius*.

Alexander his Son ſtirreth, but is defeated.

18. Coming into his own Countrey, he preſently found ſome who out of deſire of innovation ſided with him, amongſt the which was *Pitholaus* the Governor of *Jeruſalem*, who revolted to him with one thouſand men. He firſt ſeized upon *Alexandrium*, and went about to re-edifie the Walls thereof, but knowing that *Gabinius* had ſent againſt him three of his Officers, he departed toward *Machærus*, diſmiſſing the unarmed multitude, and making a choice of eight thouſand men. The *Romans* following he gave them battel, in which he fought ſtoutly, till his men being overpowered, five thouſand of them were ſlain upon the place, almoſt two thouſand fled to an Hill not far of, and a thouſand with him, brake through the Enemy to *Machærus*. There he thought to renew the War having fortified the place, but being beſieged, and holding it out two days, he could no longer withſtand, but was taken, and together with his Son *Ariſtobulus*, (who it ſeems got away with him) ſent back to *Rome*, where he was more narrowly looked to, but his Sons, becauſe *Gabinius* had ſo agreed with their Mother, in conſideration of the delivering up of the Caſtles formerly mentioned, were ſent back by the Senate. Then prepared *Gabinius* an expedition againſt the *Parthians*, but paſſing over *Euphrates*, was hired by *Ptolomy Auletes* to reduce him into his Kingdom, as we ſaid in the foregoing Chapter. In this voyage he made uſe of *Hyrcanus*, and eſpecially *Antipater*, who furniſhed him with ſupplies, both of men and proviſions, and prevailed with the *Jews*, inhabiting about *Peluſium*, to give him paſſage. But during his abſence *Alexander* the Son of *Ariſtobulus* made work enough for him after his return; for having gotten together a great multitude of *Jews*, he reſolved to cut off all the *Romans* that inhabited thoſe parts. *Gabinius* ſent *Antipater* before to ſee if he could perſwade the peo-

ple to be quiet, and he effected it with many; but thirty thouſand remaining ſtill with *Alexander*, he came out and gave battel to the *Romans*, near the the Mountain *Itabyrius*, wherein he loſt ten thouſand men. *Gabinius* victoriouſly thence marched to *Jeruſalem*, where ſetling things according to the pleaſure of *Antipater*, he went againſt the *Nabatæans* whom he overthrew in one battel, and diſmiſſed *Mithridates* and *Orſanes*, two noble *Parthians* who had fled unto him, pretending an eſcape. Then returning to *Rome*, he left his Province to *Craſſus* his Succeſſor.

Cap. 12.

Craſſus his ſacrilege and puniſhment.

19, *Craſſus* intending an expedition againſt the *Parthians*, came through that Countrey, and ſpoyled the Temple not only of thoſe two thouſand Talents which *Pompey* had ſpared, but of all the Gold found there beſides, which amounted to the ſum of eight thouſand Talents more, though *Eleazar* the Treaſurer had given him a beam of Gold weighing nine hundred pounds, and he had taken an Oath therewith to be ſatisfied, and abſtain from the money. But going againſt the *Parthians*, he received the reward of his Sacriledge and Perjury, being ſlain. *Caſſius* flying into *Syria* defended it from the incurſions of the Enemy, and being come to *Tyre* viſited alſo *Judæa*, where at the firſt onſet he took *Tarichæas*, and therein thirty thouſand Captives, which he led away and ſlew *Pitholaus* the favourer of *Ariſtobulus* at the deſire of *Antipater*, who now grew very conſiderable, having entered into Confederacy and Alliance with ſeveral Princes, and eſpecially with the *Arabian*, out of whoſe Countrey he had Marryed a Wiſe of noble extraction, by name *Cypris*, by whom he had four Sons, *Phaſaelus*, *Herod*, *Joſeph*, and *Pheroras*, and a Daughter named *Salome*, which Sons he alſo ſent into *Arabia*, there to be kept whilſt he was ingaged in the War with *Ariſtobulus*. When *Pompey* was driven beyond the *Ionian* Sea, and *Cæſar* had got *Rome* into his power, he ſet *Ariſtobulus* at liberty, and with two Legions ſent him back into *Syria*, hoping that all that Countrey, and round about *Judæa*, might be brought under by him; but he was prevented in his journey, being poyſoned by thoſe of *Pompey*'s party, and lay in his own Countrey for ſome time unburied, being Embalmed, till by *Antony* he was ſent to be buried in the Sepulchre of his Anceſtors. This expedition proved fatal, not only to himſelf, but his Son *Alexander* alſo, who was beheaded by *Scipio* at *Antioch*, by order from *Pompey*, being firſt arraigned before the judgment ſeat for his offences committed againſt the *Romans*. His Brother *Antigonus* with his Siſters were ſent for by *Ptolomy*, the Son of *Minnæus* (who held *Chalcis* under the Mountain *Libanus*) and courteouſly entertained. For *Philippio* his Son being his Meſſenger, fell in Love with one of the Siſters, named *Alexandra*, and Marryed her, but the paſſion of *Ptolomy* overcoming both reaſon and nature, he killed his Son, and took the Lady to himſelf. By this time *Pompey* was ſlain; and then *Antipater* betook himſelf to *Cæſar*, as his intereſt led him, and by his great induſtry purchaſed his favour.

Cap. 13. & *de bello ut prius cap.* 7.

Ariſtobulus poyſoned by *Pompeys* party, and his Son *Alexander* beheaded.

A. M. 3957. *Ol.* 183. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 706. *Hyrcani* 16.

Idem ibid. & lib. 14. *cap.* 14.

20. *Cæſar* Warring with young *Ptolomy* in *Ægypt*, after the death of *Pompey*, *Antipater* joyned with *Mithridates* of *Pergamus*, who went down thither with ſupplies; for whereas being hindred from coming to *Peluſium*, he was forced to ſtay about *Aſcalon*, he perſwaded the *Arabians* to help him, brought a ſupply of three thouſand *Jews* himſelf, and procured divers Princes in *Syria*, as *Ptolomy* of *Libanus*, *Jamblichus*, and others, to ſend their men. Then at *Peluſium* did he ſpecial ſervice, being the firſt that broke down the wall and entered; and whereas the *Jews* inhabiting the Countrey of *Onias* hindered them from going any further, he prevailed with them not to oppoſe, and more than that to furniſh the Army with Proviſions. At *Delta* he recovered the battel almoſt loſt by *Mithridates*, and afterwards behaved himſelf very gallantly for *Cæſar*, having received many wounds as the tokens of his valour. Some have delivered that *Hyrcanus* himſelf went down into *Ægypt*, and there deſerved well of *Cæſar*, but whether it was ſo or not he endeavoured to requite them both. For, *Antigonus* the Son of *Ariſtobulus* coming with a great complaint to him againſt them (whereas rather in policy he ſhould have complained of the putting to death his Father and Brother through the procurement of *Pompey* and his faction) he declined his requeſts upon the reply of *Antipater*, confirmed *Hyrcanus* in the *Prieſt-hood*, offered to *Antipater* what Government he would deſire, and made him *Procurator* of *Judæa*, gave him leave to rebuild the Walls of the City thrown down by *Pompey*, and cauſed theſe grants to be regiſtred in the Capitol, and ſeconded them with divers decrees, both of himſelf and the Senate in favour of him and the *Jews*. *Antipater* then bringing *Cæſar* on his journey as far as the borders of *Syria*, returned and built up the Walls, and going about the Countrey, by threatnings and other policy, contained the People in obedience, otherwiſe ready to rebel. And whereas he ſaw *Hyrcanus* heavy and dull, and

Antipater his great ſervices for *Cæſar*.

Cap. 15. A. M. 3958. *Ol.* 183. *ann.* 2. *V. C.* 707. *Hyrcani* 17.

Who rewardeth both him and *Hyrcanus*.

De bello ut prius cap. 8. & *lib.* 14. *Cap.* 16, 17.

A. M. 3959.
Ol. 183. *an.* 3.
V. C. 708.
Hyrcani 18.

and unfit to manage the affairs of Government, he made his Son *Phaſaelus* (who alſo commanded the Army) Captain of *Jeruſalem*, and the Country adjacent, and committed *Galile* to the cuſtody of his ſecond Son *Herod*, being now extream young, as not exceeding fifteen years, as our Author telleth us, except, as is moſt probable, that number be miſtaken for twenty five.

Herod the Son of *Antipater* his notable forwardneſs.

A. M. 3961.
Ol. 184. *an.* 1.
V. C. 710.
Hyrcani 20.
C. Jul. Cæſare 5.
M. Antonio
Coſſ.

21. *Herod* at the very firſt gave teſtimony of what ſpirit and height of courage he would be, finding out preſently occaſion for the exerciſe of it. For at that time there being one *Ezechias* a notable Thief, who with a great company of followers uſed to infeſt the Country of *Syria*, he took and ſlew him with many others of that rout, which thing ſo endeared him to the *Syrians*, that his name was ſung throughout the Towns and Villages, Peace being by his means reſtored, as it were, unto the Country, and the People unto their poſſeſſions; and thereby became he known to *Sextus Cæſar* the *Preſident*, and kinſman to the *Dictator*. *Phaſaelus* his Brother was hereby much ſtirred up to emulation, and moſt courteouſly behaved himſelf to thoſe of *Jeruſalem*, ſo that their Father was honoured by the People like a King, and yet notwithſtanding preſerved his fidelity intire to *Hyrcanus*. But divers of the chief of the *Jewiſh* Nation, underſtanding how he flouriſhed both upon his own account and that of his Sons, inwardly fretted thereat, and the rather, becauſe he made uſe of *Hyrcanus* for his own ends, as they conceived, having contracted friendſhip with the great ones, and *Rome*, and perſwaded him to ſend them money, yet procuring to himſelf the credit and profit of the gifts. But eſpecially the forward and bold diſpoſition of *Herod* affrighted them, whom they looked upon as a young and growing Tyrant, and therefore they grievouſly enveighed againſt *Antipater* to *Hyrcanus*, as one who carryed away all the profit of the Kingdom, an empty name being only left to himſelf, and laboured to bring him into ſuſpicion, hinting that ere long the vizard would be taken off, and he would dearly pay for the negligence of his own affairs. This they enforced by that bold act of *Herod's* killing *Ezechias*, and the reſt, in contempt of the Laws, which ſuffer no man, how wicked ſoever, to be put to death, till he firſt be caſt by the ſentence of his Judges. *Hyrcanus* though ſlow enough to believe any thing, yet having theſe things often ſounding in his ears, together with the lamentations of the Mothers of thoſe that were ſlain, grew ſomething moved, and ſummoned *Herod* up to *Jeruſalem*, to give an account of his actions before the Judges.

He is ſummoned to *Jeruſalem* to anſwer for killing *Ezechias* a thief.

Idem ibid.
Ant. et de bello.

22. *Herod* having ſetled the affairs of *Galile*, appeared, but with a guard, as his Father had written to him; yet with a moderate one, leſt taking care for his own ſafety, he ſhould affright *Hyrcanus*. *Sextus Cæſar* hearing of it, with threats wrote to *Hyrcanus* to quit him, which he was inclinable enough unto, loving him as his own Son; and when he appeared to anſwer, no body durſt accuſe him, except one *Sameas* bolder than the reſt, who inveighed againſt him for the manner of his appearance, not ſuitable at all to humility or guilt. The meeting being encouraged by his words, had certainly condemned him, had not *Hyrcanus* foreſeen it, and ſent him out of the way on purpoſe, having put off the determination to the next day. *Herod* retired therefore to *Damaſcus*, and afterwards viſiting *Sextus Cæſar*, and ſetling his affairs, plainly gave out, that he would no more appear though he were cited, at which they at *Jeruſalem* fretted, and ſought to perſwade *Hyrcanus* that all this tended to his ruin, and indeed he was convinced of it, yet could he do nothing, for that innate dulneſs which evermore accompanied him, though ſhortly after hearing that *Herod* had purchaſed of that *Cæſar* the Government of *Cœleſyria*, he feared he would imploy his power againſt him. And indeed ſo it hapned; for diſdaining now that he had been commanded to come and plead his cauſe, he marched towards *Jeruſalem* with an Army, and if his Father and Brother had not met him, and ſhewed him the uncertainty of the event of War, and that he was rather beholding to *Hyrcanus* for diſcharging him, than had reaſon to be angry with him, for being as it were forced by others to ſummon him up, he had made miſchief enough: But being prevailed with by them, he thought it was ſufficient for him to have made a ſhew of his power, and ſo retreated. About this time *Cæcilius Baſſus* in favour of *Pompey* made away *Sextus Cæſar*, and got his Army to ſubmit to him; but divers of *Cæſars* party reſolved to revenge his kinſman's death, and a War enſued about *Apamea*, whither *Antipater*, mindful of the benefits received from *Cæſar*, ſent his Sons with aid unto his Captains. The War being drawn out in length, *Marcus*, (or rather *L. Statius Murcus*) was ſent to ſucceed *Sextus*, and in the mean time *Julius Cæſar* was ſlain in the Senate houſe, which as it bred diſturbance and trouble to the whole *Roman Empire*, ſo neither did *Judæa* eſcape without its portion thereof.

He appeareth, but with a guard,

And had done miſchief but that his father and brother diverted him.

Appian de bello
civili. lib. 3.
Paterc. lib. 2.
cap. 69.

23. A

Joſephus Antiquit. l. 14. *c.* 18, *&* 19. *& de bello l.* 1. *c.* 9.

23. A civil War following and the chief Captains on both ſides running up and down to provide themſelves for it, *Caſſius* one of the conſpirators came into *Syria*, where raiſing the ſiege at *Apamia*, he drew both *Murcus* and *Baſſus* to his own party, and then conquering the Country, levied men, and exacted grievous contributions: But eſpecially he afflicted *Judæa*, laying a taxe of above ſeven hundred Talents of Silver upon it. *Antipater* committed the raiſing of the money to his two Sons and others, whereof *Herod* firſt of all raiſed that which was impoſed upon *Galile*, and brought it, thinking it good policy to purchaſe the favour of the *Romans* at the coſt of others. Divers Cities with their Inhabitants were ſold to make up the ſum, amongſt which the principal were, *Gophna*, *Emaus*, *Lydia*, and *Thamna*; and *Caſſius* having done this, was further ſo inraged, that he had ſlain *Malichus* alſo one of the Collectors, had not *Hyrcanus* by the means of *Antipater*, ſtopped his mouth with one hundred Talents of his own money. But *Antipater* was badly rewarded by *Malichus*, for after the departure of *Caſſius* he lay in wait for his life, thinking, that he being removed out of the way, the greater ſecurity would happen to the affairs of *Hyrcanus*. *Antipater* getting knowledge of his intention, paſſed over *Jordan*, to provide himſelf to revenge this treachery, but he being a moſt crafty diſſembler, ſo denyed the matter with Oaths to his two Sons, that they reconciled him to their Father, who by his interceſſion then ſaved him, when *Murcus* the *Preſident* of *Syria* upon the report of his attempting new matters, had reſolved his death. But he preſerved him to his own deſtruction. For, his Son *Herod* for his good ſervice being made *Procurator* of *Syria* by *Caſſius*, with promiſe alſo of the Kingdom of *Judæa*, if he got the better, *Malichus* then ſo feared him, that he reſolved to make him away, which within a ſhort time he effected, procuring him to be poyſoned by *Hyrcanus* his Brother, and getting a Company of Souldiers to him, invaded the Government of the City. This was the end of *Antipater*, a right good man, a great States-man, and one who had preſerved his fidelity to his Prince, and his care to his Country, before his own private or ambitious deſigns.

Grievous exactions by *Caſſius*.

A. M. 3962. *Ol.* 184. *an.* 2. *V. C.* 711. *Hyrcani* 21.

Antipater poyſoned by *Malichus*.

Idem ibid.

24. His Sons having knowledge of his death, *Herod* would have revenged it out of hand, and by open force, but *Phaſaelus* thought good rather to circumvent the murderer by ſome way of his own, leſt a Civil War ſhould happen, and therefore ſeemed to be ſatisfied with *Malichus* his flat denial of the thing, and ſet himſelf about building of a monument for his Father. *Herod* viſiting *Samaria*, and ſeeing it much out of order, laboured what he might to cheriſh it, and ſate in Judgement, deciding the controverſies of the People, and then preſently came up to *Jeruſalem* to the Feaſt with a Company of Souldiers at his heels. *Malichus* being exceedingly afraid of his coming, perſwaded *Hyrcanus* not to permit him to enter, and he accordingly forbad him to approach ſo holy a ſolemnity with a prophane rout of ſtrangers; but he notwithſtanding this, got in by night, and ſo affrighted *Malichus* that he betook him to his old trade of diſſembling, weeping to him bitterly for the death of *Antipater* as his kind friend, yet in the mean time providing himſelf of a guard, ſo that for a time it was thought fit by *Herods* friends, not to evince his deceit, but for the ſhunning of ſuſpition to treat him fairly; yet did he ſignifie by Letters his Fathers death to *Caſſius*, who willed him again to revenge it, and gave order to the *Tribunes* then lying at *Tyre* to aſſiſt him in his juſt endeavours. *Caſſius* not long after having taken *Laodicea*, they went and carryed him crowns and money, and then *Herod* thought to be even with him; but he ſuſpecting ſomething at *Tyre*, out of deſperation caſt higher matters than ever in his head. For his Son being kept hoſtage in that City, he reſolved to go in, and carry him out by ſtealth into *Judæa*, and then, when *Caſſius* ſhould be ingaged in the War againſt *Antony*, to ſollicit that Country to revolt, and get to himſelf the Principality, and caſt out *Hyrcanus*. But the cunning of *Herod* prevented him, who being aware of his project, invited him and *Hyrcanus* to ſupper, and then ſent to the *Tribunes* to come out to meet him, who remembring the commands of *Caſſius*, encountering him on the ſhoar, ſlew him there. *Hyrcanus* was ſo aſtoniſhed with fear at the fact, that he was not himſelf, and ſcarcely recovering his ſenſe, asked *Herod* who had ſlain *Malichus*; to whom one of the *Tribunes* anſwered, *the command of Caſſius*, at which he replyed, that *Caſſius* had preſerved both him and his Country, by cutring off him that had plotted the deſtruction of both. Whether he ſpake this ſeriouſly, or approved the thing out of fear, is uncertain; but thus *Herod* revenged his Fathers death upou *Malichus*.

Antiq. ut prius cap. 20.

His Son *Herod* revengeth his death,

25. *Caſſius* being gone out of *Syria*, there hapned a great ſtir at *Jeruſalem* by means

Idem ibid. & de bello lib. 1. *c.* 10.

Falleth ſick,

Antiquit. l. 14. *cap.* 21.

His acts after his recovery.

means of *Fœlix*, who being left there Commander, the Souldiers attempted violence upon *Phaſaelus*, intending by his death to revenge that of *Malichus* upon his Brother *Herod*. It hapned that at that time *Herod* living at *Damaſcus* with *Fabius* the *Roman* Captain, was ſick, and unable to come and help his Brother, but he by himſelf was too hard for *Fœlix*, and forced him into a Tower, whence he let him go with his life, and then expoſtulated much with *Hyrcanus*, objecting ingratitude to him for taking *Fœlix* his part, and ſuffering the Brother of *Malichus* to ſeize upon divers Caſtles; for now he held many, and *Maſſada* amongſt the reſt, the ſtrongeſt of all. But *Herod* after his recovery regained them all from him, ſuffering him to depart quietly out of *Maſſada* upon his deſire. *Antigonus* the Son of *Ariſtobulus* about this time ſo bribed *Fabius*, that he ſuffered him to get himſelf an Army, and *Ptolomy Minnæus* becauſe of the former affinity betwixt them, made him his Son in Law, *Marion* alſo, who by *Caſſius* his means had ſubjected *Tyre*, and divers places of *Syria*, came in to his help, having ſeized upon three Caſtles in *Galile*, but *Herod* alſo going againſt them, had them all ſurrendred by the *Tyrians* whom he diſmiſſed very graciouſly, out of reſpect to their City, and then marched againſt *Antigonus*, whom being ſcarcely entred the Coaſts of *Judæa* he overthrew. Returning to *Jeruſalem* he was received very honourably, not only by the People, but *Hyrcanus* alſo, who had of late received him into his family, contracting him to *Mariamne* the Daughter of *Alexander*, the Son of *Ariſtobulus*, and his own niece by his Daughter; by which Wife he was made a Father of three Sons and two Daughters, having on a former Wife (and his own Country-woman) named *Doris*, begotten *Antipater* his eldeſt Son. But now within a while *Caſſius* and *Brutus* were overthrown at *Philippi* by *Cæſar* and *Antony*, of whom the former returning into *Italy*, the other came over into *Aſia*, which gave occaſion to new ſtirs in *Judæa*.

Cap. 22.

Stirs in *Judæa* upon the approach of *Antony*.

Cap. 23.

Which end in the promotion of *Herod*, and his Brother *Phaſaelus*.

26. *Antony* being come into *Bithynia*, Ambaſſadors were ſent to him thither from all Countries, and amongſt the reſt came ſome from the chief of the *Jews*, to complain of *Phaſaelus* and *Herod*, who uſurped, as they ſaid, all the power, an empty title being only left to *Hyrcanus*. *Herod* went to defend himſelf, and ſo prevailed with his Money, that his accuſers were never heard. *Antony* having reached *Epheſus*, an Ambaſſie was diſpatched to him in the name of *Hyrcanus*, and the whole Nation, deſiring that all Captives which *Caſſius* had carryed away out of *Judæa*, might be ſet at liberty by his Letters publiſhed throughout the Province, which he readily granted out, and as he was travelling into *Syria*, *Cleopatra* met him in *Cilicia*, to whoſe allurements wholly giving up himſelf, at the ſame time came one hundred of the moſt conſiderable of the *Jews* to complain again of the two Brothers, whom *Meſſala* defended, and *Hyrcanus* himſelf ſtood by to aſſiſt. Their cauſe being heard at *Daphne*, *Antony* demanded of *Hyrcanus* whether part was fitter to Govern, who anſwering in commendation of *Herod*, he, who formerly loved the young men for their Fathers ſake with whom he had contracted familiarity when he ſerved in *Ægypt* under *Gabinius*, conſtituted them both *Tetrarchs*, and committed to them the Government of the *Jews*. To this purpoſe he wrote Letters, and caſt fifteen of their adverſaries into priſon, and had put them to death, had not *Herods* interceſſion prevailed for them; and yet were they not diſcouraged ſo as to deſiſt. For inſtead of one hundred, a thouſand returned in Ambaſſage, and ſtayed for him at *Tyre*, but his favour being further purchaſed by the two Brothers, he commanded the Magiſtrate of that place to animadvert upon them, and aſſiſt *Herod* in obtaining the principality. *Herod* going to them as they ſtood before the City on the ſhoar, adviſed them to withdraw themſelves, and *Hyrcanus* alſo laid before them in how great danger they were if they ſhould go on in their purpoſe: But they contemning their advice were preſently fall'n upon out of the Town by their own Country-men and the Inhabitants, and part of them being ſlain, and ſome taken, the reſt returned. And the people clamouring exceedingly againſt *Herod*, *Antony* was ſo far incenſed, as he cauſed thoſe whom he had before committed to cuſtody to be ſlain.

Idem de bello ut prius cap. 11. *& Antiquit. cap.* 24.

27. A year or two after, *Pacorus* Son to the King of *Parthia*, and *Barzapharnes*, one of his great Officers, ſeized upon *Syria*, at ſuch time as *Ptolomy Mennæus* dying, *Lyſanias* his Son ſucceeded him. *Antigonus* the Son of *Ariſtobulus* bargained with the *Parthians* for one thouſand Talents, and five hundred women, to ſettle him in the Kingdom of *Judæa*, and kill *Herod* with his friends, and though he could not perform the conditions, yet lead they down an Army to re-eſtabliſh him. *Pacorus* came down to the Sea-Coaſts, where he was excluded by the *Tyrians*; but

The *Parthians* procured by *Antigonus* the Son of *Ariſtobulus* invade *Judæa.*

they of *Sidon* and *Ptolemais* giving him entrance, he ſent a party of Horſe under the conduct of one *Pacorus* the Kings Butler into *Judæa* to make diſcoveries, and if it could be, to help *Antigonus*, with whom the *Jews* inhabiting *Carmel* joyning, he hoped by this force to ſeize upon a part of the Country called *Drymæ*, and divers ſtill coming in pierced to *Jeruſalem.* The number ſtill increaſing, they attempted the Palace, but the two Brothers with their friends oppoſing themſelves, beat them back into the Temple, and then ſent ſome Souldiers into certain houſes near adjoyning to defend them, which the people taking notice of, ſet them on fire, and therein burnt them alive, being unable to ſhift for themſelves; which injury *Herod* a little after revenged upon his adverſaries, of whom he ſlew many upon a Sally. Daily skirmiſhes thence inſued, *Antigonus* his party ſtaying for the feaſt of *Pentecoſt*, expecting then a great multitude of people to come up from all parts, and accordingly at the day many thouſands being aſſembled, what with Arms, and what without, they overran all, except the Palace which ſtill *Herod* and his Brother *Phaſaelus* kept with a few Souldiers, with whom alſo iſſuing out into the Suburbs, having there fought moſt manfully, he put many thouſands to flight. Shortly after, *Antigonus* procured *Pacorus* the *Parthian* with a few horſe-men to enter *Jeruſalem*, under pretence of compoſing the difference, but indeed to eſtabliſh him in the power, who being kindly met by *Phaſaelus*, and entertained, he perſwaded him to go in Ambaſſage to *Barzapharnes*, thereby intending to entrap him. He ſuſpecting nothing, went contrary to the mind of his Brother, who adviſed him rather to deſtroy the perfidious Barbarians, and with him went alſo *Hyrcanus* (an unheard-of imployment for the Prince himſelf) under conduct of *Pacorus.*

Hyrconus and *Phaſelus* going in ambaſſage to *Barzaphantes* are perfidiouſly captivated.

Herod beſieged at *Jeruſalem* getteth forth.

28. As ſoon as they came into *Galile*, they were met by the Governors of the Towns there, and *Barzapharnes* entertained them very civilly, and gave them gifts, but preſently ſought how he might entrap them. *Phaſelus* was lodged with his Train near the Sea, where hearing that *Antigonus* had made ſuch a bargain with the *Parthians*, as is above related, began to ſuſpect them, and then he had alſo intelligence, that they would be laid in wait for by night, and be privately ſecured; and certainly they had been taken ere now, but that there was great expectation, that the *Parthians* which *Pacorus* had left at *Jeruſalem*, ſhould take *Herod*, and thereupon the thing was deferred, leſt coming to his ears, he ſhould have notice of their Treachery, and thereby eſcape it. Shortly after, his fears were confirmed when he ſaw a Guard coming to ſecure him, whereupon there were not wanting ſome that adviſed him to mount, and ſave himſelf by flight, eſpecially one *Ofilius*, who had the ſecret revealed to him by *Saramalla* the moſt wealthy amongſt the *Syrians*, who now alſo voluntarily offered him ſhips to ſave himſelf. But he refuſed to forſake *Hyrcanus* and his Brother, and going to *Barzapharnes*, blamed him for harbouring ſuch deſigns, told him, if he wanted money, he might have more from him than *Antigonus*, and how baſe a thing it was to betray Ambaſſadors, innocent, and who had been drawn out upon the ſcore of his own faith. The *Parthian* ſwore there was no ſuch matter, and that he troubled himſelf with vain ſuſpitions, and preſently got him out to *Pacorus*; but he being gone, ſtraightway hands were laid on *Hyrcanus*, and *Phaſelus*, in vain upbraiding the Barbarians with perjury; an Eunuch alſo was diſpatched to *Jeruſalem* to get *Herod* by ſome means or other out of the Walls, and apprehend him. *Phaſelus* had ſent to make known his condition to him, but the Meſſengers were intercepted, which he having knowledge of, had a conference with the Chief of the *Parthians* then at *Jeruſalem*, who by all means laboured to get him out of the Palace. But he ſuſpecting them, and giving no credit at all to their words, preſently heard for certain of his Brothers Captivity, and ſeeing them in doubt what to do againſt him, reſolved to ſhift for himſelf, and taking the opportunity of the evening, departed with his relations that night, unknown to the Enemy.

A.M. 3965.
Ol. 185. *an.* 1.
V. C. 714.
Hyrcani 24.
Ante Chriſtum 38.
Cn. Domitio Calvino 2.
C. Aſinio Pollione Coſſ.

Cap. 25.

He goeth through *Idumæa* to *Petra* in *Arabia* for aid.

29. He travelled towards *Idumæa*, whither at length he came to *Maſſada* the Caſtle; but as his departure was ſad, ſo his journey was as dangerous, being purſued by the *Parthians*, whom following behind his Train he kept off, and was oppoſed alſo more violently by the *Jews*, over whom yet he got a victory, and afterwards in memorial of it built a ſumptuous Palace in the ſame place. Once his Mothers Litter was overturned in the way, with which ſhe being brought into danger of death, and he fearing the Enemy might overtake them, he drew out his ſword to kill himſelf, and had done it, but that the next to him interpoſing themſelves hindred it, ſhewing him how it was not the part of a valiant man to forſake others, by ſetting himſelf at liberty, as they termed it. After he came to the Borders of *Judæa*,

dæa, his Brother *Joſeph* met him, and perſwaded him to diſmiſs the moſt of his followers, becauſe the Caſtle could not harbour them, which he did to the number of nine thouſand and above, giving them money to bear their charges, and taking the ableſt Souldiers, whom he had culled out from amongſt the reſt, with his relations, to the number of eight hundred, he marched on to *Maſſada*, and there placed them, where no ſort of Proviſions was wanting; but he himſelf held on for *Petra* in *Arabia*, hoping of that King, who was ſuch a friend of his Fathers, to obtain help for the recovery of his Brothers liberty. But the *Parthians* after his departure from *Jeruſalem* plundred the City and Palace, and waſted the Country, in which they deſtroyed *Mariſa* a wealthy Town, and ſo reducing *Antigonus* into *Judæa*, delivered up *Hyrcauus* and *Phaſelus* into his hands, who was grievouſly troubled that the women had eſcaped, which he intended together with the money to have given to the *Parthians*.

Antigonus having received *Hyrcanus* and *Phaſelus*, depriveth the former of his ears, and *Phaſelus* daſheth out his own brains.

30. Then fearing that *Hyrcanus* by the favour of the people might again be reſtored to the Kingdom, he either cut or bit off his ears, making him thereby uncapable of the Prieſthood, which by the Law was not given, but to one of an entire body. But *Phaſelus* knowing he was deſtined to death, for that he could not otherwiſe kill himſelf for his bonds, daſhed out his brains againſt a ſtone. It was reported, that being grievouſly wounded in his head, *Antigonus* cauſed poyſon to be put into it inſtead of ſalve; and that he hearing before his death that his brother *Herod* had eſcaped, underwent it cheerfully, as leaving behind him a revenger of it. And he certainly knowing nothing thereof, laboured exceedingly to prevent it, going to *Malchus* the *Arabian*, whom he knew to be obliged to his family, hoping of him to get money, either upon free gift or truſt, and reſolving to give three hundred Talents for his brothers Ranſom, whoſe Son alſo a Child of ſeven years old he carryed with him to leave as a pledge. But the *Arabian* being perſwaded by his great ones to retain the money owing, with the goods which *Antipater* had depoſited with him, ſent ſome to meet him, and command him to depart from his borders, and after he was gone repented of what he had done, and ſent after him, but too late. For he was now almoſt got into *Ægypt*, hearing of his Brothers death in the way, where *Cleopatra* kindly entertained him, intending to uſe him in her Wars; but nothing could hinder him from haſting to *Rome*, though in the Winter ſeaſon, and though great ſtirs were reported to be in *Italy*, whither alſo he came, though with great danger, for the difficulty of Navigation.

Being rejected by the *Arabian*, he goeth to *Rome*.

31. He came thither when not long before there had been an agreement made betwixt *Antony* and *Cæſar* the *Triumvirs* (the former having marryed *Octavia* ſiſter to the later) and another betwixt them two and young *Pompey*, who then held *Sicily*, which was a time convenient enough for his affairs. He made his application to *Antony*, of whoſe favour he had formerly taſted, recounting to him the whole ſtory of the *Parthians* overrunning *Judæa*, of his brothers death, and the miſery of his family now beſieged in a Caſtle, and how through theſe Tempeſts both at Sea and Land, he had ventured to come to him as his only harbour and refuge; and withal he was not ſparing in offering money to him, in caſe he could procure him to be declared King of *Judæa*. Pity wrought ſomething with *Antony* (being backed with the memory of that friendſhip which had paſſed betwixt *Antipater* and himſelf) the money more, and to theſe being ſuperadded an hatred of *Antigonus*, whom he accounted a turbulent man, and one that bore a mind full of hatred towards the *Romans*, he much inclined to favour him. *Cæſar* alſo, partly for that *Antipater* had done good ſervice for his adoptive Father in *Ægypt*, and becauſe he was willing to gratifie *Antony*, was ready to do him all good Offices, being alſo inclined to favour him out of a particular fancy he had to the man for his courage. The Senate therefore being called, firſt *Meſſala*, and then *Atratonius* commended him to them, relating his Fathers, and then his own merits towards the Commonwealth; and withall they accuſed *Antigonus*, and inveighed againſt him as an Enemy, for that he had not only born himſelf as ſuch heretofore, but now of late in the calling in of the *Parthians*. Herewith the Senate being offended, *Antony* then declared to them that it would much conduce to the carrying on of the *Parthian* War, which was now depending, if *Herod* ſhould be King; ſo that without any more to do, he was ſo declared by unanimous conſent, and then being accompanied into the *Capitol* by *Cæſar* and *Antony* on each hand, the Conſuls going before, there ſacrifized, and according to the cuſtom, laying up the decree of the Senate, was feaſted by *Antony*. Thus obtained he the Kingdom with the wonder of himſelf as well as others, through the eſpecial friendſhip of *Antony*, having

Cap. 26.

Where to the wonder both of himſelf and others, he is declared King of *Judæa*.

ing ever ſeared that the *Romans* would never conſent he ſhould have that honour which was not wont to be beſtowed, but upon a Royal race, and therefore he intended to have ſued for it, not for himſelf but for *Alexander*, Brother to *Mariamne* his Wife; and this increaſed the wonder, that within ſeven days he ſhould be diſpatched and diſmiſſed out of *Italy*. But thus obtained he the Sovereignty of *Judæa*, A. M. 3965. in the firſt of the 185 *Olympiad*, *Domitius Calvinus* the ſecond time, and *C. Aſinius Pollio* being *Conſuls*, ſome thirty ſeven years before the birth of *Chriſt*.

A. M. 3965.

32. During his abſence, *Antigonus* laid cloſe ſiege to the Caſtle of *Maſſada*, where he left his relations, abounding with all ſorts of proviſions; only water was wanting; ſo that *Joſeph* had thoughts of flying with two hundred men into *Arabia*, the King whereof he had now heard to have repented of the rejecting of his brother. But this was prevented by a ſhower which fell by night, as if ſent on purpoſe from Heaven for their relief, whereupon they were ſo heartned, as to ſally out upon the beſiegers, whereof they cut off many. In the mean while *Ventus* the *Roman* General being ſent into *Syria* to expel the *Parthians* thence, after their retreat, came into *Judæa*, pretending to help *Joſeph*, but indeed with intention to fleece *Antigonus* of a round ſum of money, and this he did, pitching his tents nigh to *Jeruſalem*, which being done, he drew off the greater part of his forces, and left *Silo* with a party behind him, leſt the fraud ſhould be underſtood, whom *Antigonus* was alſo to pacifie till ſuch time as the *Parthians* could come to help him. But in the mean time *Herod* landed at *Ptolemais*, and having got together no mean company, haſted through *Galile* againſt him. To *Silo* and *Ventidius Antony* had ſent expreſs order by *Gellius*, to place him in the Kingdom. *Ventidius* was then buſie in compoſing differences amongſt the Cities, which the incurſion of the *Parthians* had made: *Silo* was in *Judæa*, but corrupted by *Antigonus*. Yet *Herods* forces increaſing, he marched towards *Maſſada* to relieve his friends, which he accompliſhed, having firſt taken *Joppe* in his way, notwithſtanding the lying in wait againſt him by *Antigonus*, after which having taken in alſo the Caſtle *Reſſa*, he went up to *Jeruſalem*, accompanied by *Silo*'s Souldiers, and many Citizens affrighted at his power. Laying ſiege to the City, both he and *Antigonus* laboured to draw over the contrary parties to themſelves, and though *Herod* could not at all move the Townſmen, yet it appeared that *Silo* was corrupted; for he cauſed ſome of his Souldiers to begin a mutiny, requiring to be led into a place more plentyfull of proviſions, which *Antigonus* had all cut off; but *Herod* took ſuch care for the bringing in of new, that his plot was fruſtrated, and taking out a party of ten Companies (half *Jews* and half *Romans*) went and took *Jericho*, forſaken of its Inhabitants, which he left to be rifled by the *Romans*. Then returning, he ſent down the reſt of their Army into their Winter quarters, which he appointed in *Idumæa*, *Galile*, and *Samaria*. *Antigonus* alſo obtained of *Silo* to have part of his men received into *Lydda*, thereby endeavouring to curry favour with *Antony*; ſo that the *Romans* lay idle all this ſeaſon in places abounding with all neceſſaries.

Joſephus de bello l. 1. c. 12.

Idem Antiq. l. 14. c. 27.
A. M. 3966.

He beſiegeth *Jeruſalem.*

33. *Herod* was not idle, but ſending his Brother *Joſeph* into *Idumæa* with one thouſand Foot and four hundred Horſe, went down into *Galile* to reduce ſome places there held by *Antigonus*; and within a ſhort while brought all the Country into obedience, except thoſe men that lurked in caves, and then dividing to his Souldiers one hundred and fifty drachmes a man, placed them alſo in their Winter quarters. *Silo* a little after came to him, being caſt off by *Antigonus*, who had ordered the Inhabitants to take all neceſſaries with them, and flie into the mountains, that ſo the *Romans* might be ſtarved. *Ventidius* being now ingaged in *Syria* againſt the *Parthians*, ſent to *Silo* to come to him when he had with *Herod* finiſhed the War. But *Herod* having no confidence in him, diſmiſſed him beforehand, and went himſelf againſt the Thieves, who dwelling in caves with their families in craggy and inacceſſible rocks, he was fain to invent certain cages, which being let down to the ſides of the rocks full of Armed men, either ſlew them or tumbled them down headlong out of their holes, or elſe burnt them within, and by this means he ſubdued them all. Then placing *Ptolomy* over that Country, he marched into *Samaria*, but was preſently forced to return, for *Ptolomy* being ſet upon by thoſe who formerly had diſturbed *Galile*, was ſlain, and then they betook themſelves into the fens and inacceſſible places, and thence making excurſions, robbed all the Coaſts thereabouts; but *Herod* returning puniſhed them, pulled down their places of ſtrength, and fined the Cities one hundred Talents. In the mean while *Ventidius* having ſlain *Pacorus*, and put the *Parthians* to flight, by *Antonius* his command ſent *Machæras* to help *Herod*, with two Legions,

and one thouſand Horſe; but he being corrupted alſo by *Antigonus*, would needs go to him as a ſpie againſt *Herods* will; Yet when he went could not be received, but was laid at with darts, ſo that repenting he had not followed *Herods* advice, he went and ſecured himſelf in *Emaus*, killing all the *Jews* that came in his way, without any difference of friend or Enemy, out of madneſs for what had hapned unto him. *Herod* being hereat enraged, reſolved to go and complain to *Antony*, but he entreated him to ſtay, or if he went, however to leave *Joſeph* with him to carry on the War againſt *Antigonus*, which later he granted, yet charging his Brother not to venture all, nor contend with *Machæras*. Then haſted he to *Samoſata* upon the River *Euphrates*, before which *Antony* then lay, leading Auxiliaries with him both Horſe and Foot. At *Antioch* he met with many, that having a deſign to go thither, durſt not for the *Barbarians*, who lying in the wayes, made great ſlaughters of travellers, but he taking the conduct of them upon him, ſtoutly defended them againſt the violence of the Robbers, and with great credit for his valour ſafely arrived at the Camp of *Antony*.

Goeth to *Antony*.

A. M. 3967.

34. *Antony* to do him honour, ſent out an Army to meet him, with great praiſes and embraces received him at the Camp, and gave him great reſpect, as a King of his own ſetting up. Shortly after his arrival *Antiochus* yielded up the place, and then *Antony* committing the Province to *Soſius*, and commending to him the affairs of *Herod*, went away back into *Ægypt*. In the mean while *Joſeph* neglecting his Brothers Counſel, was ſlain in *Judæa*, and great innovations followed in that place and in *Galile*; which *Herod* underſtanding, being ſent before by *Soſius* with two Legions, lying at *Daphne* the Suburb of *Antioch*, marched into *Galile*, where he worſted the Enemy, and took the Caſtle they fled into, whence haſting to *Jericho*, he there feaſted the chief Inhabitants in a room, which upon his departure to his chamber preſently fell down, and thereupon he was accounted to be eſpecially owned by God, who had ſo wonderfully preſerved him. Not long after he got five Towns into his hands, wherein he put to the ſword two thouſand of the Garriſon Souldiers, and then went againſt *Pappus*, whom *Antigonus* had ſent into *Samaria* in a vain oſtentation, as able to wage War in both places. *Pappus* gave him battel very boldly, but he overthrew him, and in revenge of his Brothers death did great execution, whereby *Antigonus* his intereſt was clearly broken, and he thought of quitting the City, had the weather ſuffered the King to improve the Victory, and make an end of the War. At night *Herod* being weary, went to waſh in a chamber, where one boy only was with him, and therein chanced to be divers armed men of the Enemy, who though they might have eaſily diſpatched him then naked, yet were they ſo affrighted, as they gladly got out and ſaved themſelves by flight. The extremity of the weather being over, he went up to *Jeruſalem* and laid ſiege to it in the third year after he had been declared King at *Rome*, intending to uſe the ſame manner of oppoſition as *Pompey* had made formerly againſt the Temple. But during the ſiege he turned off to *Samaria*, and there marryed *Mariamne* Daughter to *Alexander* and niece of *Ariſtobulus*, formerly contracted to him. The marriage being over he returned, and *Soſius* came alſo through *Phœnicia* up to *Jeruſalem*, ſo that both carryed on the ſiege with an Army conſiſting of eleven Legions, and ſix thouſand Horſe. The defendants with great earneſtneſs and courage made reſiſtance, countermining, and ſometimes fighting with the Enemy in the ground, though much ſtraitned for proviſions, it being the Sabatical year.

Idem de bello ut prius cap. 13.

He beſiegeth *Jeruſalem*.

Idem Antiq. ut prius cap. 28.

A. M. 3958.
Ol. 105. *an.* 4.
V. C. 717.
Herodis 3.
Ante Chriſtum 35.

Which after five months is taken, and therein *Antigonus*, who being beheaded by *Antony*, here the Principality of the *Aſmonæans* receive its period.

35. Force at length prevailed, joyned with skill, in both which the *Romans* excelled, ſo that after five months twenty of the ſtouteſt Souldiers, and then *Soſius* his Centurion got over, and the outward part of the Temple with the lower ſide of the City were taken, and at length the other alſo, where all were full of ſlaughters, the *Romans* being enraged by the tedіouſneſs of the War, and the *Jews* out of malice and particular grudges ſeeking to deſtroy all of the contrary Faction. *Antigonus* came and fell on his knees before *Soſius*, who received him with reviling ſpeeches, calling him *Antigona*. *Herod* had much adoe to keep the Souldiers from entering the ſecret places of the Temple, and to reſtrain them from ſlaughters, demanding of *Soſius* if the *Romans* intended to make him King of a deſert, and adding, that he ſhould think the price of all that blood which was ſpilt to be very little, though the Dominion of all the World ſhould come into the bargain, and at length was fain to redeem the City from further trouble by his own money, wherewith he diſmiſſed the *Romans* ſufficiently inriched. This diſaſter befel *Jeruſalem* in the Conſulſhip of *M. Agrippa*, and *Canidius Gallius*, and the laſt of the one hundred eighty fifth *Olympiad*, the third month, in the faſt, and on the ſame

day it had been taken by *Pompey* twenty ſeven years before. *Soſius* conſecrating a crown of Gold to God, went away with *Antigonus* unto *Antony*. But *Herod* fearing that *Antony* carrying him to *Rome*, he ſhould there obtain favour with the Senate, as being of the Royal race, and procure the Kingdom at their hands, if not for himſelf, yet for his children, who never had ill deſerved of the People of *Rome*, he procured *Antony* to diſpatch him out of the way, who pretending at leaſt the unquietneſs of the *Jews* for his ſake, cauſed him to be beheaded at *Antioch*. And ſo the Principality of the *Aſmonæans* ceaſed, after it had endured free from the yoak of *Syria* ninety eight years; and *Herod* a man of forein and obſcure birth was confirmed in the Soveraignty over *Judæa* by the *Romans*, in the *Empire* of whom we ſhall hear further of him.

Idem ibid. & l. 15. c. 1. Plutarch in Antonio, & Dio lib. 59.

CHAP. VIII.

The affairs of *Sicilie* Contemporary with the Empire of the *Macedonians*.

From the death of Timoleon *to the* Sicilian *or first Punick War, containing the ſpace of ſeventy three years.*

Diodorus Siculus lib. 19. ad Olymp. 115. ann. 4.

The Original of *Agathocles*.

He is made a Colonel.

A. M. 3688. Ol. 116. an. 4. V. C. 437. Ptol. Lagi 7.

Liveth in *Italy*.

1. THe conſtitutions of *Timoleon* being Popular, and tending to the looſe liberty of the Vulgar, which was deſtitute of lawfully ſucceſſive Princes, *Sicilie* continued not in peace many years, being of all other places, through want of lawful Monarchs, moſt ſubject to the ambition and tyranny of thoſe, who, though private Citizens, through flattery and deceit enſlaved their neighbours. Amongſt the reſt *Agathocles* is moſt eminent; none that ever in any time went before him, coming up to him, or, reaching him by far in cunning and cruelty. He was the Son of one *Carcinus* a Potter, and brought up by his Father in that trade of life, who being baniſhed from *Rhegium* in *Italy* his native ſoil, came into *Sicilie*, and placed himſelf at *Thermæ* at that time ſubject to the *Carthaginians*. Before he was born, and when his Mother was yet great with him, the *Delphick* Oracle foretold, that he ſhould be the author of great calamities to the *Carthaginians*, and alſo to all *Sicilie*, and for that cauſe he was expoſed by his Father, but preſerved by his Mother, and reſerved to ſuch a time unknown to him, as he repenting of what he had done, gladly underſtood from her of his ſafety. Being then again received by his Father, he was brought up in the trade of a Potter, and was but young when *Timoleon* overthrew the *Carthaginians* at the River *Cremiſſus*, and made all free of *Syracuſe* that would come thither. He was then with his Father admitted into that City, and not long after his Father dyed, but one *Damas* a chief Citizen being extraordinarily affected towards him for his comlineſs, gave him whereon ſufficiently to live, and afterwards being created the Captain of the *Agrigentines*, beſtowed on him the place of a Colonel in the Army, for that he was wont formerly in muſters to wear thoſe arms which none elſe could bear for their bigneſs. But now being advanced to this degree, he rendred himſelf more popular by his bold adventures, and his making ſpeeches often to the people, and *Damas* dying, he marryed his Widow, whereby he got abundance of wealth. Afterwards it hapning that *Crotone* being beſieged by the *Brutii*, they of *Syracuſe* ſent relief thither, which amongſt other Captains was conducted by his Brother *Autander*, and he himſelf by decree of the people had alſo the Office of a *Colonel*. But the Chief command was committed to *Heraclides* and *Soſiſtratus*, the later of which out of envy defrauded him of the rewards of his valour, which he now abundantly ſhewed, whereat he was ſo inraged, as to accuſe him and his Companions to the people, of affecting the Tyranny, but they giving no credit to his words, *Soſiſtratus* after his return ſeized on the Principality. *Agathocles* then for ſome time continued in *Italy*, and endeavouring to get *Crotone* into his power, failed of his Enterprize, and withdrew himſelf to *Tarentum*.

2. He was received into pay amongſt the Mercenaries, but being ſuſpected to attempt new matters, was not long after again caſhiered, after which getting together a Company of *Italian* Fugitives, he relieved *Rheginum*, then ſet upon by *Soſiſtratus* and *Heraclides*, and then *Soſiſtratus* being baniſhed *Syracuſe*, together with his Authority, returned thither, where ſometimes a private perſon, other-

Endangered at *Gela*.

Suſpected to affect the Tyranny and baniſhed.

Recalled, and made General.

whiles an Officer, he valiantly behaved himſelf againſt the Tyrants faction, in which the *Carthaginians*, and a great number of the chiefeſt Citizens were ingaged. Having once broke into the City *Gela*, and there being overmatched by *Soſiſtratus* and the Towns-men, ſo that he and his party were all of them in danger to be cut off, he ſent his Trumpetters round about to the Walls, commanding them to ſound an Allarm, whereby it came to paſs (as he intended) that the Enemy thinking the beſiegers had broken in from all quarters, retired from him to repulſe them, and ſo he ſafely retreated this Sconce. This buſineſs of *Soſiſtratus* being over, and *Aceſtorides* the *Corinthian* Created General of the *Syracuſians*, *Agathocles* was ſuſpected becauſe of his politick head, to affect the Tyranny; yet *Aceſtorides* would not take him of publickly, for raiſing new ſtirs, but commanding him to depart the City, ſent ſome to lye in wait, and kill him in the way; which he ſuſpecting, ſent out a young man very like himſelf, with his Cloaths, Horſe, and Armour, and in a diſguiſed habit travelled through by-wayes, ſo that he devolved the danger upon the head of another, and eſcaped. Afterwards the Exiles of *Soſiſtratus* his faction being received, and a peace made with the *Carthaginians*, he lived as an out-law within the Country, but gathering together conſiderable forces, proved ſo formidable to his own Citizens, and their new Allies, that they ſought to him themſelves to return, and having brought him into the Temple of *Ceres*, there took an Oath of him not to be againſt the popular Government. Making a ſhew then of Patronizing *Democracie*, he ſo inveigled the people by his fair ſpeeches and cunning pretences, that he was conſtituted General, and keeper of the Peace, till ſuch time as the differences then on foot, through the reſtitution of the Exiles, ſhould be compoſed; and then having obtained his wiſhed for opportunity, the Army being at his beck, and under pretence of oppoſing ſome, who at *Erbita* had lately revolted, ſufficient occaſion being taken to increaſe his ſtrength, he marched out as againſt the Rebels, and united unto him three thouſand men, ſome whereof had formerly ſerved him againſt the *Carthaginians*, and were moſt addicted to himſelf, and adverſe both to the people in general, and the ſix hundred who now had the power in their hands, after the *Ariſtocracie* was taken away. With theſe, and certain *Syracuſians*, who being poor themſelves envyed the wealth of others, he ſtrengthned himſelf, and accuſing the ſix hundred to the Souldiers as having plotted againſt him, procured them eaſily to be taken for Enemies, and cauſing an Allarm to be ſounded, commanded the Army to march to the City, and there to kill the Malignants, and take the ſpoyl of them and all their party.

Under a ſpecious pretence he cauſeth a Maſſacre to be made of the rich *Syracuſians*.

Taketh the Office of Captain General without a Collegue.

A. M. 3688.

3. The Army marching preſently to the City, every part thereof was filled with ſlaughters, there being no difference made betwixt friend and Enemy, but according to the riches or poverty of the perſons, and many running out into the ſtreets to know what the matter was, were ſlain as they asked the queſtion: all the Gates were ſhut that none might eſcape, ſo that four thouſand by this means in one day periſhed. Many leaped down the Walls, of which ſome periſhed in the fall, but others to the number of ſix thouſand eſcaped, of which moſt fled to *Agrigentum*, where they were courteouſly received, but ſufficiently tormented in this reſpect, that their Wives and Daughters at home were abuſed by the Souldiers in revenge for their eſcape. *Agathocles* being glutted with a two dayes ſlaughter, gathered together the multitude of his Captives, of which he only diſmiſſed *Dinocrates* for his former friendſhip, but the reſt he preſently put to death or baniſhed, and then calling the people together, grievouſly inveighed againſt the ſix hundred, and at the Ariſtocratical Government, and then mentioning what he had done to purchaſe the liberty of his Country, very formally laid down his Office, knowing certainly he ſhould be ſollicited to take it up again. For, his Souldiers now made rich by other mens goods, would not endure that he, or his authority, ſhould forſake them, but cryed out he muſt take care of them, ſo that with much adoe, as it ſeemed, he took upon him the Office of Chief Captain, but without a Collegue, being unwilling, as he ſaid, to be called to an account for others breaking the Laws, when as he acted according to them; to which the people conſenting, he was Created *Captain General* with full Authority by their ſuffrages.

Idem ad an. 2. *Olymp.* 116.

4. He carryed it with all ſweetneſs and moderation towards all them at the firſt, took great care for the Revenues, making of Arms, and increaſing of the Fleet, and got ſeveral of the Inland Towns into his power. Having ſeized upon a Caſtle of the *Meſſenians*, he promiſed to reſtore it for thirty Talents, but after the receit of the money, not only refuſed to ſurrender it, but alſo endeavoured to take *Meſſene* it ſelf, part of the Wall being fall'n down, and though he failed herein of his Enterprize, yet beſieged he *Mylæ*, and had the place ſurrendred to him, but the *Carthaginians* ſending their Ambaſſa-

Ad. ann. 3.

The *Agrigentines* provoked by the Exiles, reſolve to make War upon him.

Amilcar the *Carthaginian* maketh a peace.

Amballadors, expoſtulated with him his breaking the League, and conſtrained him to give the Caſtle up again into the hands of the *Meſſenians*. The year after, the Exiles that lived at *Agrigentum* exhorting their entertainers not to ſuffer him thus to go on in his Conqueſts, and make a prey of their Towns, for that it was better now to ſet upon him before he had confirmed his Tyranny, than when he ſhould be grown too ſtrong for them, and to be forced to War with him againſt their Wills. This appearing to be but reaſon, the people decreed the War, and having entred into a ſtrict Alliance with them of *Gela* and *Meſſena*, ſent ſome of the Exiles to *Lacedæmon*, thence to procure a General, ſuſpecting the fidelity and moderation of their own Citizens, and calling to mind the worth of *Timoleon*. At that time was there in that City one *Acrotatus* Son to *Cleomenes* the King, labouring under the envy of moſt of the youth, becauſe the *Lacedæmonians* having been overthrown by *Antipater*, who then Governed *Macedonia* (after the death of *Alexander* the Great) when ſuch as returned from the defeat were acquitted by the people, he alone had oppoſed the decree. Being inraged hereat, they beat him, and laid in wait for his life, whereupon now deſirous of ſome foreign command, he eaſily accepted of this imployment, and without conſent of the *Ephori*, with a few ſhips ſailed to *Agrigentum*, yet did he nothing worthy, either of his family or Country, but proving more bloody and cruel than the Tyrants themſelves, incurred the diſpleaſure of the people. Giving himſelf up to all luxury, and therewith ſpending the publick revenue, he murd'red *Soſiſtratus* the Chief of the Exiles having invited him to ſupper, for nothing but out of emulation, whereupon he was deprived of his command, and had been ſtoned, but that he withdrew himſelf into his own Country. After his departure a compoſure was made by the interpoſition of *Amilcar* the *Carthaginian*, upon theſe terms, that of *the Greek Cities* Heraclea, Solinus, *and* Himera *ſhould continue under the power of the* Carthaginians *but the reſt, over which the* Syracuſanians *had the Dominion, ſhould be left to their own Laws.*

Ad ann. 1. Olymp. 117.

He breaketh it.

A. M. 3693. Ol. 117. an. 1. V. C. 442. Seleuci 1. Ptol. Lagi 12.

5. The Iſland being hereby cleared of the Enemies Forces, he ſecurely laid divers Towns to his Dominions, and with the acceſſion of many places to his former ſtrength ſufficiently confirmed himſelf, having over and above his *Syracuſians*, and Confederates, ten thouſand Foot, and three thouſand five hundred Horſe of Mercenaries in conſtant pay, and making proviſion of all ſorts of Ammunition, for that he foreſaw, that the *Carthaginians* diſapproving of the peace made by *Amilcar*, would within a ſhort while renew the War: The year after ſeeing himſelf ſufficiently furniſhed, he reſolved then not to expect them, but begin himſelf; yet deſiring firſt to clear his way, by removing whatever might hinder him from the neighbouring Cities, he firſt attempted *Meſſene* whither the Exiles of *Syracuſe* had fled; and he firſt prevailed with them to expel theſe, and then to admit him into the Town, where he killed ſix hundred of the chiefeſt of them, and moſt adverſe to his power. Thence he went to *Agrigentum*, thinking to make alſo a prey of it; but ſixty ſhips of the *Carthaginians* with Forces having lately come thither, he forbore to attempt any thing, and drew his Forces into the Territories of the *Carthaginians*, where he took in divers Caſtles. In the mean while *Dinocrates* the principal man amongſt the Exiles ſent to *Carthage*, deſiring aid before *Agathocles* ſhould reduce all *Sicily* into his power, and having gathered his Companions together, and raiſed a pretty Force, ſent *Nymphodorus* to the Town of the *Centorippini* held then by *Agathocles*, but being promiſed to have it betrayed into his hands, under condition they ſhould be left to their own liberty, he got by the night into the Town, but the Garriſon having timely knowledge of it, cut him off, and all his followers which had entred, and *Agathocles* puniſhed the Conſpirators. But *Dinocrates* being called by the Inhabitants of *Galaria*, with three thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe marched thither, where *Agathocles* his faction being caſt out, he pitched his Tents without the Town; but he ſent two of his Captains againſt him with five thouſand men, who at length put him, and his whole Army to flight, and recovering the place, animadverted upon the Revolters, *Agathocles* being elevated with this ſucceſs, hearing the *Carthaginians* were ſeized on an Hill, marched thither, intending to fight them with all the power he could make, but they declining an engagement, in a Triumphant manner he returned unto *Syracuſe*.

Ad. ann. 2.

The *Carthaginians* receive a great loſs by ſhipwrack.

6. The year following, the *Carthaginians* ſhipped a great Army for *Sicily* under Conduct of *Amilcar*, a man of high Nobility; but ſuch a Tempeſt ſeized on the Fleet, that two hundred and ſixty Veſſels loaded with men and Proviſions miſcarryed, which made them cover their Wall with black, as it was the cuſtom upon ſome great and publick diſaſter. But *Amilcar* being an induſtrious man, gathering together the Relicks of the ſhipwrack, liſted more men after his arrival,

and made up a compleat Army of forty thouſand Foot, and well nigh five thouſand Horſe. *Agathocles* perceiving himſelf too weak to encounter the Enemy at preſent, took care how to ſecure his Towns and Caſtles from revolting, and eſpecially *Gela*, near to which the Enemy then lay. To ſend in a great party at once, he thought might awaken the Townſ-men too much, and put them upon ſome attempt diſadvantageous to himſelf, ſo that he got ſome Soldiers in at ſeveral times, till they amounted to a number too ſtrong for the other, and then going thither, accuſed the Inhabitants of Treachery, and took occaſion to make a Maſſacre of four thouſand of them, the goods of whom he ſeized, with all the Silver and Gold of thoſe that remained. Then pitched he his Tents againſt the *Carthaginians*, encamped on an Hill where the Caſtle of *Phalaris* the Tyrant of old time was reported to be, whence it got the name of *Ecnomos*, i. e. *wicked* or *unlawful*. A River ran betwixt the two Camps, concerning which a rumour having been of old time ſpread, that a great multitude of men ſhould periſh near it, this hindred both the Armies from ingaging, till ſuch time as excurſions being made on both ſides, the *Africans* broke out of their Trenches to reſcue the prey, which *Agathocles* foreſeeing, had placed many men in ambuſh upon the River, who falling upon the *Carthaginians*, as they purſued their friends, drove them back, and with great ſlaughter gave the chace unto their Camps. *Agathocles* judging this a fit ſeaſon for an ingagement, aroſe with his whole Army, and fell upon them in their Trenches, into which he brake, and there maintained for ſome time a hot diſpute, till the Enemy repulſed him by help eſpecially of Slingers, natives of the Iſland *Baleares*, who being exerciſed after the faſhion of that Countrey in ſlinging of ſtones, forced back the *Syracuſians*, by throwing at them thoſe of a pound weight. Yet he broke in in other places, and had almoſt done his work, when freſh ſupplies to the Enemy arrived out of *Africk*, which falling on him in his rear, turned the fate of the day clear againſt him, and put his men to flight, of which great execution was done by five thouſand *Africans* that gave the chace, many alſo deſtroyed themſelves by drinking over haſtily, out of extremity of the heat which then raged through the influence of the Dog Star. So that he loſt no fewer than ſeven thouſand men, ſix hundred onely of the *Carthaginians* being ſlain.

Overthrew *Agathocles.*

7. *Agathocles* getting together his ſtraglers betook himſelf to *Gela*, having given out, that he determined for *Syracuſe* with all ſpeed, ſo that three hundered *Affricans* entering *Gela*, and fearing nothing, were all cut off by him. Then ſhut he himſelf up there, that the *Carthaginians* laying ſiege to the place, the *Syracuſians* might have time enough to victual their City, and indeed *Amilcar* thought firſt of all to beſiege it, but afterwards underſtanding what force was in it, changed his purpoſe, and took in ſeveral Towns and Caſtles, and behaved himſelf ſo obligingly, as many within a ſhort time revolted to him. *Agathocles* then withdrew to *Syracuſe*, which he furniſhed with all ſorts of Proviſions for the enduring of a Siege, intending to leave a party for defence thereof, and remove the War into *Africk*, by paſſing all his Army over thither. For, conſidering that the *Carthaginians* had almoſt got all *Sicilie*, and his confederates generally revolted to them (who were moſt potent now both at Sea and Land) he judged it (though the moſt venturous, yet) the ſafeſt way to invade the Enemy in his own Territories, which being a ſuddain and moſt unuſual thing, he ſhould daunt him therewith, and drive his Subjects into an open revolt, and force him to call back the Army out of *Sicilie*. Communicating therefore this purpoſe to no man living, he left *Syracuſe* to the Government of his brother *Antander*, and ſevering all the relations of the City one from another, that no mutiny or ſedition might ariſe in his abſence (taking part of them along with him as hoſtages) he raiſed money by ſeizing the eſtates of *Orphans* into his hands (which he promiſed to reſtore when they ſhould come to age) by borrowing money of Merchants, and robbing of Temples; but eſpecially by calling the multitude together, and acquainting them, how he was moſt ready to endure any hardſhip, but it pitied him for the People: therefore he adviſed all that feared themſelves and eſtates to depart, which when the richeſt and moſt out of favour had done, he procured them to be cut off, and confiſcated all their goods. Then manumiting all ſlaves that were fit for the Wars, he ſhipt his men in ſixty Veſſels, and getting out into the Main whilſt the *Carthaginians* knew not his deſign, eſcaped them by the darkneſs of the night, and though they chaſed him all the way, yet arrived he in *Africk* with his Army in ſafety.

Ad ann. 3.

They having almoſt got all *Sicilie* into their hands, he reſolveth to divert them by invading *Africk.*

Being landed he burneth his ſhips.

The *Carthaginians* at firſt daunted,

Are overthrown by him.

8. Once arrived he burnt his Ships, as well to take away from his Soldiers all hope of eſcape (thereby to heighten their valour) as alſo having no great Army, left for the defence of the Navy, leſt it ſhould be divided. Then fell he upon two Cities immediately, which he took (the Soldiers being encouraged at the ſight of ſo pleaſant and rich a Countrey) but ſuffered none of his Army to lye there, but deſtroyed the places, leſt his men ſhould relie upon them as a refuge. The *Carthaginians* were wonderfully daunted at the firſt report of his landing, concluding he durſt not venture over, except he had firſt, by deſtroying their Army, made all ſure in *Sicilie*, but underſtanding the whole affairs by ſome meſſengers ſent from the Fleet, they gathered courage, blamed their Sea-officers, who having the Sea in their power, had ſuffered the Enemy to land, and made choice of two Captains, *Hanno* and *Bomilcar*, thinking that their enmity towards each other which had been intailed upon them, would prove the commodity of the Commonwealth; though indeed therein they were miſtaken. Theſe two Generals thought not fit to ſtay for their aſſociates, but muſter as many of their own Citizens as would make a ſhift, and ſo raiſing forty thouſand Foot, and one thouſand Horſe, with two thouſand Chariots, they encounter the Enemy. *Agathocles* his men, many of them, wanting Arms, he made them counterfeit ones, to be ſo eſteemed a far off, and perceiving them to be diſcouraged at the number of the *Carthaginian* Horſe, he procured many Owles to be let go in the Camp, which birds being taken to bring alwaies good luck with them, the Soldiers were therewith ſo cheared, that they reſolutely ſet upon the Enemy, and brake preſently the body of Horſe. The Chariots they drove for the moſt part back amongſt the Foot, which they charged alſo with ſuch reſolution, that the Wing where *Hanno* commanded was diſcomfited, and he himſelf ſlain. *Bomilcar* his Colleague underſtanding this, having formerly wiſhed for ſome good opportunity to invade the Tyranny (which the moſt eminent men of *Carthage* were many times forced to do, for the avoiding of thoſe cenſures and puniſhments conſtantly inflicted upon them for the leaſt miſcarriage of fortune, by the heady rabble) thinking now an occaſion to be preſented to him, as it were from Heaven, reſolved to take hold of it. And for that he thought it moſt convenient for him, that the Enemy ſhould not be overthrown, but an awe continued upon his Citizens, he retreated by little and little, ſuffering the *Sicilians* to prevail, and at length drew off his men to an Hill, whence they all fled as faſt as they could to *Carthage*, having loſt of their number one thouſand men, and killed of the *Greeks* but two hundred.

9. The *Carthaginians* now ſhut up in their City, and beſieged by *Agathocles* (though they had carried with them above twenty thouſand pair of Manicles in their Chariots to bind the *Greeks*, over whom they promiſed themſelves an eaſie Victory) were very much diſcouraged, and laying the blame of the misfortune upon the neglect of their ſuperſtition, ſent great gifts to *Hercules* the god of the *Tyrians*, from whom they were iſſued, and for that they had redeemed their own Children of late (by others gotten elſewhere) from being ſacrifized to *Saturn*, they preſently offered up to him two hundred boyes of the chiefeſt amongſt them for Nobility, being put into the hand of the Statue, and thence falling down into the hollow of it full of fire. They ſent alſo to *Amilcar* into *Sicilie* for aid, who receiving the news, cauſed it to be given out that all the *Sicilian* Army was cut off, and earneſtly thereupon urged the beſieged to a ſurrender of *Syracuſe*, ſhewing them (to inforce the matter) the Iron-work of the Ships wherein the Army had paſſed over, which indeed the *Carthaginians* had taken up into their Veſſels after the burning of the Fleet. But the chief men amongſt the beſieged ſtayed the reſt from yielding, though *Antander* the brother of *Agathocles* was ſo faint-hearted, as to be for delivering up the City, and caſt eight thouſand of the contrary faction, and the friends of the exiles, out of the Town: But within a few dayes arrived a Gally from *Agathocles*, to give them knowledge of his ſucceſs, which being purſued by the *Carthaginians*, and the People flocking to the Haven to gaze, the walls were ſo forſaken that *Amilcar* taking his opportunity, got ſome of his men over, but an Alarm being given, they were either ſlain, or forced headlong down the fortifications. *Amilcar* hereat diſcouraged, raiſed his ſiege, and ſent a ſupply of five thouſand men over to *Carthage*.

Amilcar raiſeth his ſiege before *Syracuſe*.

10. *Agathocles* in this mean while took divers places in *Africk*, and fortifying his Camp before *Tunis* (wherein he alſo left a ſtrong Garriſon) marched further and beſieged *Adrymis*, and drew into ſociety with him *Elymas* the King of the *Africans*. The *Carthaginians* having notice of this, turned all their forces upon *Tunis*,

which they beſieged, having firſt become Maſters of his Camp; but he hereupon leaving a great part of his Army ſtill before the Town, went with the reſt to an high Hill, whence he might eaſily be ſeen both by the *Carthaginians* that lay before *Tunis*, and alſo by the Inhabitants of *Adrymis*, and there making abundance of fires, deceived them by this ſtratagem at both places. For the beſiegers thought he was coming with a great Army to relieve *Tunis*, and therefore raiſed their ſiege out of hand, and departed to *Carthage*, the beſieged of *Adrymis* out of a ſtrong apprehenſion that new ſupplies were coming to the Enemy, yielded the Town. Then took he *Thapſus* by ſtorm, and divers other places, and having now got into his hands about two hundred Towns, went higher up into *Libya*. The *Carthaginians* took another occaſion at his abſence to beſiege *Tunis*, but he thereupon returned as before, but overcame them by a ſtratagem of a clean contrary Nature with the former; for he commanded that no fires now ſhould be made, and marching very faſt fell upon them at unawares, and cutting off two thouſand, took very many Priſoners, and forced the other to betake them to their heels, whereby he exceedingly advanced his affairs, giving the *Carthaginians* ſuch a blow (who now by reaſon of their ſupplies arrived out of *Sicilie*, were thought ſuperiour to him) that improving the Victory he went againſt *Elymas*, who had revolted from him, and killed him with a great number of his Subjects.

Agathocles proſpereth exceedingly in *Africk*.

11. The year following, *Amilcar* in *Sicilie* once more beſieged *Syracuſe*, and preſently made great haſte for ſtorming of it after his arrival, becauſe the Soothſayers had foretold him, that that day he ſhould dine in the City. A great number joyning themſelves to him out of hope of plunder, they ſo ſtopped up the way with Cariages, that they hindered one another, and ſuch a tumult aroſe, that the *Syracuſians* having notice of it, ſallied out upon them, and putting them to flight made great ſlaughter of them, and taking *Amilcar* alive, delivered him to the friends of thoſe that had been ſlain, who moſt cruelly tortured him to death, having been formerly it's probable, condemned by his ingrateful Citizens themſelves, though as then, he having the Army in his power, they durſt not let it be known, but caſting all their votes (written as the manner was) into a Veſſel, they ordered it to be covered, and the thing not to be looked into, until his return, and the giving up of his command. But his Army which conſiſted of one hundred and twenty thouſand Foot, and five thouſand Horſe, being thus ſtrangely defeated, was divided then into two factions. The Exiles and *Greeks* choſe them *Dinocrates* for their Captain, and the *Carthaginians*, him that had held the next place to *Amilcar*. The affairs of *Sicilie* being thus in confuſion, the Inhabitants of *Agrigentum* thinking a fit opportunity for gaining the Principality of the whole Iſland to be put into their hands, made *Zenodocus* their Captain, who went and took in divers Towns, many revolting to him (all which with the former he reſtored to their liberty) and reſtrained the excurſions of the *Syracuſians*, who were in great diſtreſs for want of proviſions which had been cut off by the *Carthaginians*, the conſtant Maſters at Sea. By this time *Amilcar's* head was ſent over to *Agathocles*, who receiving it with joy, raiſed the contrary affection in the Enemy, to whoſe Camp he brought it, together with the meſſage, that their forces were utterly cut off, whereupon they deſpaired forthwith of better fortune, adoring the head of their nominal King.

Ad ann. 4.

Amilcar beſieging *Syracuſe* again is taken and killed.

Juſtin l. 22.

Whereupon his Army is divided into two factions.

12. *Agathocles* was much puffed up at his proſperity, though he was not far from the waining of his fortune, a præludium to which was made by *Lyciſcus* one of his Officers, who in a drunken fit exceedingly jeered him. He took it patiently, and made a jeſt of it, becauſe the man was very ſerviceable to him in his Wars, but *Archagathus* his Son taking it heignouſly, returned it to him in his own language with threats, which further ſo inraged him, that he threw in his Teeth (which was generally reported) his inceſtuous having to do with his ſtep-mother. The young man hereat was ſo tranſported, as he ran him through and ſlew him outright, which was followed by a mutiny of the whole Army, demanding juſtice againſt him; and this flew to that height, that the Soldiers choſe themſelves Captains, ſeized on *Tunis*, and beſieged *Agathocles* and his Son, and many of the Officers upon promiſe of larger pay, revolted to the *Carthaginians*, who had not been wanting to add fuel to this flame. *Agathocles* ſeeing the danger he was in, put aſide his Purple, and made a pitiful Oration to the Soldiers, wherein he told them he was willing to lay down his life if ſo they pleaſed, rather than end his dayes by ſome ignominious death, and drew out his Sword as intending to kill himſelf; but the Army hindered it, and compelling him to reſume his Robes, were throughly reconciled

Agathocles being puffed up his fortune changeth by a grievous mutiny of his Soldiers.

Yet he quieteth them now, and defeateth the *Carthaginians.*

conciled to him, except ſome two hundred which went over to the Enemy. He taking this opportuinty marched preſently againſt the *Carthaginians*, who full little thought of a battel, but expected preſently a general revolt; ſo that taking them thus at unawares, he eaſily overthrew them with great ſlaughter.

Diodorus Siculus ut priùs, Ad ann. 1. Olymp. 118.

Agathocles obtaineth another victory againſt the *Carthaginians.*

Sendeth for *Ophellas* out of *Greece.*

A. M. 3697. *Ol.* 118. *ann.* 1. *V. C.* 446. *Seleuci* 5. *Ptol. Lag.* 16. *P. Decio Mure.* 2. *Q. Fabio Maximo* 3. *Coſſ.*

Whom he treacherouſly murdereth.

13. About this time the *Numidians* revolted from thoſe of *Carthage*, who ſent out an Army the next Spring to reduce them to obedience. *Agathocles* underſtanding that, left his ſon at *Tunis*, and marching after them with all expedition, at length overtakes them, then overthrows them, though with great difficulty, and loſs to himſelf. The *Numidians*, whileſt he was employed in the battel, having been intent upon the event of the fight, fell in, and plundered his Carriages, and getting away the greateſt part of the goods, by reaſon of the darkneſs of the night, he was glad to divide the plunder of the field equally amongſt his Soldiers, in way of recompence for the damage ſuſtained by them. Such *Greeks* as he took Priſoners, and had aſſiſted the *Carthaginians*, he put into a Caſtle, where they fearing to be put to death ſet upon the Garriſon by night, but being too weak, betook themſelves thence to a certain fortified place, which *Agathocles* hearing marched thither with his Army, and drawing them out under promiſe of impunity, contrary to his faith given, killed them all to the number of one thouſand, of which half were *Syracuſians.* At this time there was one *Ophellas*, who having been an Officer under *Alexander* the Great, had ſeized upon *Cyrene*, and gaped ſtill after larger Dominions. To him now ſent *Agathocles*, inviting him to come and joyn with him againſt the *Carthaginians*, offering him all *Africk* for a reward, to which he pretended he was conſtrained to paſs over, aſſuring him he would content himſelf with *Sicilie*, or elſe, if he thought good, invade *Italy* more commodious for him than *Africk*, by far. The man puffed up with great expectations, ſent to *Athens* (whence he had married a Wife of the ſtock of famous *Miltiades*) to unite them to joyn with him in the expedition, which not onely divers of that City readily imbraced, but others of *Greece* now much ſhattered by Wars within it ſelf, which were raiſed by *Alexander* his Succeſſors. *Ophellas* then began his journey (with above ten thouſand Foot, ſix hundred Horſe, one hundred Chariots, beſides ten thouſand others, extraordinary, as they called them) of two moneths long, through a deſert infeſted with wild Beaſts and venomous Serpents, wherewith his Army was ſore diſtreſſed, as alſo by want of neceſſaries, till at length they arrived at *Agathocles* his Camp. There they were received with all manner of Proviſions, but as the greateſt part of them were gone out to gather Forrage, he ſet upon the reſt with their Captain, who though he reſiſted, yet being overborn, was ſlain moſt treacherouſly, and *Agathocles* then forcing them to lay down their Arms, got into his power the whole Army, having aforehand ſtirred up his Soldiers againſt *Ophellas*, by feigning that he lay in wait for his life.

Bomilcar ſeeketh to invade the Tyranny at *Carthage*, and miſcarrieth.

14. Whilſt *Agathocles* was in hand with this treacherous deſign, *Bomilcar* having long intended, but ſtill out of fear deferred, the invaſion of the Tyranny, communicated his intention to five hundred Citizens, and one thouſand Mercenaries, and broke out into open Rebellion againſt his Countrey. Having ſeized on the new Citie, he thence invaded the old, which cauſed great conſternation at firſt, whileſt every one feared they had been betrayed into the Enemies hands; but underſtanding the matter, they preſently made head againſt him, who going on in his way made ſlaughters of all he met; but what with oppoſing him in the Streets, and throwing down ſtones fron the Houſes, they drove him back again into the new Citie through the narrow wayes, and there beſieged him. At length upon promiſe of pardon for what had paſſed, an agreement was made, and his followers by reaſon of the danger the Citie ſtood in, were all diſmiſſed without any puniſhment; but he, notwithſtanding the faith given to him, was moſt ignominiouſly, and with great Tortures put to death.

Idem ad ann. 2

Agathocles taketh the title of King.

* *Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib.* 11. *cap.* 4.

15. The year after, *Agathocles* hearing that the Captains of *Alexander* had taken the Titles of Kings upon them: for that he thought himſelf neither inferiour to them in power, Territories, nor for valiant Acts, called himſelf *King* in like manner: yet took he not the Diadem, being accuſtomed conſtantly to wear a Crown of Myrtles heretofore, either for the Ceremony of ſome Prieſthood, or as * others have conceived, by reaſon of baldneſs, which rendered bim exceedingly uncomely about the head. Then to attempt ſomething worthy of ſo great a Title, he fell upon *Utica*, near which taking three hundred of the Inhabitants, which upon his coming had been ſhut out, when he could not perſwade them to yield, he framed

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A. M. 3698.
Ol. 118. *ann.* 2.
V. C. 447.
Selenci 6.
Ptol. Lagi 17.

an Engine, to which he tied many of them, and drawing it along to that place where he intended to break into the Town, expoſed them either to be ſhot to death by their friends, or elſe if they within out of affection ſhould forbear, then could he eaſily enter. The defendants preferring their Countreys ſafety before that of a few private men, when they could do no leſs, repulſed the Enemy with all poſſible endeavour; but for all this *Agathocles* broke in at another place, and filled the Citie with ſlaughter, no regard being had to any condition; and after he had overcome them alſo in a Sea-fight, placed a Garriſon there, and ſubdued all the Maritime Towns under his power. Though he proſpered thus in *Africk*, yet was he ſollicitous for *Sicilie*, where the *Agrigentines* had made ſome progreſs in freeing the Cities; but now of late had received ſo great a blow from his Captains, that broke in pieces their deſign. Juſt after the fight was over he arrived, and making a progreſs about the Iſland, recovered moſt of the Towns, onely he was repulſed with great loſs from *Centorippa*, and upon the ſame terms gained *Apollonia*. Henceforth his affairs began univerſally to decline. In *Sicily*, *Dinocrates* got ſo great an Army of Exiles together, that he durſt not fight him, though continually dared, and dogged at the heels. In *Africk* his Son *Archagathus* proſpered very much at the firſt through the good fortune of *Eumachus*, who ſubdued many places. But the Senate at *Carthage* dividing their Army into three parties, whereof one was to march for the Maritime parts, another for the Iſland, and the laſt for the upper Countreys, they thereby attained their ends, *viz.* to leſſen their number in the Citie (which made all Proviſions ſcarce, by ſending out thirty thouſand men) to contain their Allies in fidelity, by giving them hopes of relief, and (which was the chiefeſt) to force the Enemy alſo to divide his Army, and ſo draw him down from *Carthage* it ſelf.

Returning into *Sicily*, his affairs go down the wind, both there and in *Africk*.

16. For *Archagathus* dividing his Army to oppoſe the *Carthaginians* in the ſeveral quarters, loſt almoſt the two parts thereof, which he ſent out under Conduct of two ſeveral Captaines, to the number of about nineteen thouſand men; ſo that the *Carthaginians* reduced almoſt all places back to obedience, all the confederates revolted except a few, and *Archagathus* being diſtreſſed for want of all things, and the remainder of his Army in great terrour, he ſent to his Father into *Sicily* to acquaint him in what poſture matters ſtood, and to deſire ſpeedy relief. He ſeeing his affairs to go down the wind in the Iſland was ſollicitous how to leave it, and three hundred Veſſels of the *Carthaginians* blocked up the mouth of the Haven, ſo that he could not ſtir out. But eighteen Veſſels coming in from *Hetruria*, he perſwaded the Maſters thereof being friends to put out, and then when the *Carthaginians* (as he expected) gave them the chaſe, he fell in upon their Rear, and beyond all hope got a Victory, boarding five of their Fleet, which he took together with the Defenders. Hereat encouraged, he ſent *Leptines* againſt *Agrigentum*, knowing *Xenodocus* their General then to be out of favour with a great part of the Town, and he ſeeing himſelf unable to grapple with him ſtirred not out, but provoked by the Citizens, ſo that being worſted, for fear of condemnation he fled to *Gela*. *Agathocles* now feaſted the people for joy, making himſelf common with all, and giving them Wine to exceſs, ſo that their wits being out, when that once was in, they might ſpeak their minds, and he thereby know their inclinations; for he feared that after his departure they might call in *Dinocrates* and the Exiles, and reſtore again the popular Government. Having by this means got out who they were that diſtaſted his power, he feaſted them again by themſelves, with other five hundred who bore the moſt noble minds, and compaſſing them in with his Mercenaries, ſlew them every man.

Being to return into *Africk*, he maketh a Maſſacre in *Syracuſe*.

17. Then ſayled he over into *Africk*, where he found his Army in a low and deſolate condition for want of neceſſaries. Therefore reſolved he to fight, though far inferionr to the *Carthaginians*, who ſought rather to draw out the time in length, knowing the condition of the Enemy; but he leading down his men to their Trenches, forced them to come out and give battel, in which he fighting valiantly, yet was worſted with the loſs of three thouſand men. After this a ſudden calamity ſeized upon both the Armies by reaſon of miſtakes. For the *Carthaginians* offering the moſt beautiful of their Captives, as a ſacrifice to their gods, it happened that the fire thence was driven to their Tents, which being covered with Reed and Straw eaſily catched it, and as eaſily were conſumed, whence it came to paſs that all things were in great confuſion. But the worſt of it was, that the *Africans* which had fought with *Agathocles* coming now over to them, the Scouts ſeeing them, gave

A ſtrange accident which maketh great diſorder in both the Camps.

Agathocles deſpairing of his affairs in *Africk*, intendeth to fly away with his youngeſt ſon.

gave an Alarm, as if all the *Greeks* taking their advantage of the fire were coming againſt them, ſo that flying in great confuſion, they killed and trode down one another, miſtaking one another for Enemies, and having thus diſpatched five thouſand of their Company, all ran away to *Carthage*, where they were received with great trembling by their friends, leſt that with them the Enemy ſhould enter. The *Africans* which were coming over, being affrighted at the burning of the Camp, retreated, which being alſo ſeen by the *Greeks*, they gave notice to *Agathocles* that the *Carthaginians* were coming againſt him, ſo that he drew out his men in great fear and terrour, who meeting the *Africans*, and they taking one another for Enemies, they killed, and ſlew all they could during the night ſeaſon, till ſuch time as four thouſand being ſlain, the reſt retreated to the Camp. *Agathocles* after this, ſeeing himſelf too weak now to grapple with the *Carthaginians*, and thereby his affairs to be deſperate in *Africk*, reſolved to return into *Sicily*, and conſidering that the Enemy having the command at Sea, would not ſuffer the Army to paſs away quietly, he reſolved with his younger Son *Heraclides*, and a few more, to paſs over ſecretly, and leave *Archagathus* behind him, whom he was jealous of, becauſe of the report raiſed of him that he had to do with his Stepmother.

The eldeſt hearing of it raiſeth a mutiny, wherein *Agathocles* is bound in Fetters, but being looſed eſcapeth away, and both his ſons are killed by his Army, which maketh its own terms.

18. But *Archagathus* having notice of his intention (which he took in marvailous evil part) communicated it to ſeveral of the Officers, who raiſing a mutiny preſently in the Army, *Agathocles* was ſeized on, and made ſure in Fetters. A little after it hapned that an Allarm was made in the Camp, as if the Enemy approached, which made all Arm themſelves and run out, and amongſt the reſt the Keepers of *Agathocles*, whom then the multitude ſeeing in ſuch a condition, cried out preſently that he ſhould be looſed; which being done, he forthwith took Boat with a few attendants, leaving both his Sons behind him. The Army underſtanding this killed them both, and then agreed with the *Carthaginians* for three hundred Talents to reſtore the Towns yet in their hands, and that ſuch as would ſhould receive pay in their ſervice. And ſuch as did ſo had the Terms performed; but thoſe that out of hope of ſuccour from *Agathocles* held out the places, being all forced to yield, their Captains were Crucified, and the common Soldiers being bound in Fetters, were forced with their hard labour to repair that Countrey which formerly they had helped to depopulate.

His horrid cruelty towards the *Ægeſtans*.

19. Thus the *Carthaginians* obtained peace after four years; Divine vengeance hurrying *Agathocles* to puniſhment, after that perfidious murder of *Ophalles*, his two ſons being ſlain on the ſame day, and by the hands of his Soldiers. After his arrival in *Sicily* he went preſently to *Ægeſta*, a Town confederate with him, whence wanting money he exacted much Treaſure, but they grumbling, and complaining thereof, all the poorer ſort he brought forth, and ſlew at the River *Scamander*, and then tortured the reſt with all ſorts of Torments to make them confeſs what they had. Some he broke upon the Wheel, others he ſhot of from Engines as Stones. Some had their Ancles cut off, and endured other ſuch cruel torments. He invented a kind of puniſhment alſo, ſomething reſembling *Phalaris* his Bull being a bed of Iron, wherein one being put, was burnt or fried to death by fire put underneath. Rich Women had their Ancles broken with Iron Tongs, others their Breaſts cut off. Some out of terror burnt themſelves in their houſes, and others hanged themſelves, ſo that the whole flower of the People being abſolutely deſtroyed, he ſold the Children to the *Brutii* in *Italy*, and utterly to deſtroy the name of the City, called it *Dicæopolis*, and Peopled it with Fugitives. Hearing then that his Sons were ſlain in *Africk*, to be revenged on the Soldiers, he ſent commands to *Antander* his Brother, to kill all their friends and kinſfolks at *Syracuſe*, which he readily performing, no ſex nor age was ſpared, but ſo horrid a Maſſacre committed, that as well old and decrepit men as young infants were included in the ſlaughter. Such as were thus murdered lying on the Sea ſhoar, none durſt bury them, though never ſo nearly related, ſo that the Sea waſhing them away was coloured with the blood, carrying along with it a note of this cruelty to other parts at a good diſtance. *Agathocles* continued his progreſs up and down the Iſland, ſtrenthgning Towns, and raiſing money; but *Paſiphilus* his Captain deſpiſing him now for the lowneſs of his fortune, fled over to *Dinocrates*, and withdrew the Army alſo from him. This caſt him into ſuch deſpair, that contrary to his former boldneſs, he ſent to *Dinocrates*, offering to quit the Tyranny, and reſtore the Government to the People, ſo he might have but two Caſtles to maintain himſelf on, and earneſtly preſſed him to admit of the conditions. But he gaping after the chief power himſelf,

Diodorus ut ſupra. ad ann. 3.

Out of deſpair he offereth to lay down his power, but *Dinocrates* intending to obtain the Tyranny himſelf rejecteth it.

ſelf, and unwilling to be reduced again to the eſtate of a private Citizen (being now (though but accounted Captain of the Exiles) as a King indeed, in regard of the great extent of his power and command) put him off with one pretence or other ſtill, till *Agathocles* ſmelling out his device, procured ſome to accuſe him to the Army, and ſending to *Carthage* made peace with them on theſe terms; *to reſtore all the places to them they formerly had in* Sicilie, *and for this in way of requital, to receive five hundred Talents of Gold, and a great quantity of Corn.*

Idem ad an. 4.

20. Furniſhing then himſelf with a ſmall Army, he went againſt *Dinocrates* and his Exiles, who ſeeing the little number he brought with him (being but about five thouſand Foot, and eight hundred Horſe) in compariſon of themſelves, amounting to twenty five thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Horſe, gave him battel. The diſpute at firſt was very ſharp; but ſhortly ſome two thouſand of the Exiles revolting to the Tyrant, ſo encouraged his men, and diſcouraged thoſe they had forſaken (who thought them to be more than indeed they were) that they were eaſily put to flight, though ſo far exceeding in number. All the Horſe got away, and ſome of the Foot; but the greateſt part ſetling upon an Hill, made peace with *Agathocles*, who had ſent to them, inviting them now at length to lay down their enmity, and return home; but after he had got them into his power, contrary to his faith given (which he never obſerved) he ſlew ſome ſeven thouſand of them. The remainder of the Army being gathered up he received, and *Dinocrates* himſelf, to whoſe command he committed part of his Souldiers, and contrary to his own diſpoſition, truſted him to the laſt. He betraying his companions, ſlew *Paſiphilus* at *Gela*, and going about in ſubduing the Towns and Caſtles (in which work he ſpent two years) delivered them all up to *Agathocles*.

A. M. 3700.
Ol. 118. *an.* 4.
V. C. 449.
Seleucid. 8.
Ptol. Lagi 19.

Whom he overthroweth and yet receiveth into favour.

Diodorus in Excerpt. l. 21.
A. M. 3704.

Juſtin lib. 23.

Rageth againſt the *Italians*.

21. Not long after, *Caſſander* the King of *Macedonia* beſieging *Corcyra*, *Agathocles* went and raiſed the ſiege, burning all his ſhips in the Havens. Returning to his Army, and underſtanding that certain *Ligurians* and *Tyrrhenians* had joyned with thoſe that ſlew his Son *Archagathus*, he got them into his power to the number of two thouſand, and put them all to the ſword. The *Brutii* (a People which iſſuing from the *Lucanians*, were grown mighty high, and at the very firſt fought againſt thoſe from whome they had their original, and forced them to a Peace, on equal terms) being offended with him, he ſailed over into *Italy* againſt them, and determined to beſiege a Town belonging to them, but they ſetting upon him at unawares, forced him with the loſs of four thouſand men to return to *Syracuſe*. Yet was he not diſcouraged from making another Expedition againſt *Crotone*, which purpoſing to beſiege, he pretended he was about to ſend his Daughter to the King of *Epirus* with a Royal Fleet, and beguiling them herewith, laid cloſe ſiege both by Sea and Land to the Town, when they full little thought it. Having undermined a great houſe, they being terrified thereat, opened their Gates and let him in, after which he plundered the Town, and committed great ſlaughters. Then entred he into ſociety with the *Japyges* and *Pacetii* notable Pyrates; whome furniſhing with Veſſels, he was to have part of the booty; and leaving a Garriſon in *Crotone*, he returned to *Syracuſe*.

Diodorus ibid.

Entereth into ſociety with *Demetrius Poliorcetes.*

22. Once more having prepared an Army of thirty thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe, he paſſed over into *Italy*, where being arrived, and committing the Navy to the care of *Stilpo*, he commanded him to make excurſions into the Territories of the *Brutii*, but he coaſting along and waſting the maritime parts, loſt almoſt all his ſhips by a Tempeſt. He himſelf took by ſtorm the City of the *Hipponiatæ*, at the report whereof the *Brutii* were ſo affrighted, that they ſent to him to treat, and delivered up ſix hundred Hoſtages. Yet after his departure they brake their oath, and expelling his Garriſon, returned again to their own freedom. *Agathocles* being returned home, ſent his Son of his own name to *Demetrius Poliorcetes* now King of *Macedonia*, to enter into ſociety with him, who taking the meſſage in good part, rewarded the Ambaſſador with royal gifts, and ſent one back with him, who under colour of ratifying the League, might eſpie out the condition of *Sicilie*. Having now been a long time, as he thought, at Peace with the *Carthaginians*, he made all proviſion poſſible again for ſhipping, intending to make another Expedition into *Africk*, and hinder the exportation of Corn from *Sicilie* and *Sardinia*.

Whilſt he thinketh of making another Expedition into *Africk*.

A. M. 3716.
Ol. 122. *an.* 4.
V. C. 465.
Seleuci 24.
Ptolom. Lag. 35

23. But while he buſied himſelf with ſuch thoughts, he was prevented by one *Mænon*, who being born at *Ægeſta*, had been taken captive there, and for his beauty was preferred to his ſervice. For a time he diſſembled the diſpleaſure he conceived from the calamity of his Country, and his own ignominious and filthy condition

dition, till he might have an opportunity to be revenged upon the Tyrant. But now it hapning, that *Agathocles* commending *Agathocles* his Son to the *Syracuſians* as his Succeſſor; and ſending him to ſucceed *Archagathus* (his nephew by *Archagathus* his Son, and a man of great courage) in the command of the Army then quartering about *Ætna*; *Archagathus* ſeeing how things were likely to go, plotted the ruin of them both, and ſending to *Mænon*, deſired him to make the old man away with poyſon, while he in the mean while inviting the young one to a feaſt, made him drunk, and then killed him. *Mænon* mindful of the meſſage, when the King after meat called for a tooth-pick to cleanſe his teeth, dipped one in poyſon and gave him it, which he uſing, began by little and little to wax ill, and then his teeth putrifying in a horrid manner, this was ſucceeded by tormenting pains. Seeing himſelf near his end, he called the people together, and inveighing bitterly againſt *Archagathus*, ſtirred them up to revenge him on him, and reſtored the *Democracy* to the people. Afterwards his voice failing him, he was put upon the funeral fire yet breathing, by *Oxythenius*, who had been ſent to him from *Demetrius*, and burnt. *Juſtin* from *Trogus* (who in the whole ſtory of this Tyrant diſſenteth from *Diodorus*) reporteth, that before his end, he ſent back his Wife *Theogene* an *Ægyptian* by birth, with her two young Children, and great wealth, into her own Country, to be out of that danger which he foreſaw muſt needs enſue. The ſtory of his life is almoſt beyond parallel; but he dyed after he had lived ſeventy two years, and thereof Reigned twenty eight, as amongſt other Hiſtorians cited by our Author, *Antander* his own Brother left recorded; A.M. 3718, and the ſecond of the 123 *Olympiad*.

He is prevented by poyſon.

A. M. 3718. *Ol.* 123. *an.* 2. *V. C.* 467. *Seleuci* 26. *Ptol. Lagi* 37. *Vide Diodorum in Excerpt* 12. *lib.* 21.

24. The *Syracuſians* having again got the power into their own hands, put to ſale *Agathocles* his goods, pulled down and tare in pieces all his pictures. *Mænon* in the mean while who had poyſoned him being in the Camp with *Archagathus*, and elevated with the thought of what he had done, made away alſo *Archagathus* by treachery, and with good words drawing the Army to himſelf, reſolved to make War upon the *Syracuſians*, and ſeize on the Principality. The *Syracuſians* therefore having made *Hicetas* their *Prætor*, ſent him out againſt him, but the *Carthaginians* joyning with *Mænon*, they were conſtrained to deliver them four hundred Hoſtages to let fall the War with them, and receive the Exiles. Afterwards the mercenary Souldiers being denyed the right of Suffrage in the election of Magiſtrates, a great ſedition aroſe thereupon, and both they and the People took arms, but the better ſort interpoſed themſelves, and prevailed with both parties to agree, the Souldiers conſenting to depart the Iſland with their goods. Theſe Mercenaries marching away, came to *Meſſene*, a Sea-town ſtanding over againſt *Italy*, where being kindly entertained by the Inhabitants, they ſo well requited them, that in the night they maſſacred them all, and Marrying their Wives, ſeized upon the Town, which they called in their own *Campanian* Language *Mamertina*; *Mars* in that ſpeech being named *Mamers*. Over againſt this Town ſtood *Rhegium* upon the promontory of *Italy*, which being in danger now in the War betwixt the *Romans* and the *Tarentines*, the Inhabitants deſired of the *Romans* to have a party ſent them for their defence, which being alſo *Campanians*, in imitation of what their Countrymen had done at *Meſſene*, and by their help, they alſo killed or expelled the Inhabitants, and ſeized upon their Town and Territories. *Decius* their chief Commander they baniſhed for the unequal diviſion of the prey, who going thence to *Meſſene*, fell ill afterwards of his eyes, and ſent to *Rhegium* for an expert Phyſician in this kind, who coming to him, in revenge of what he had done to his Country, applyed *Cantharides* to his eyes inſtead of ſalve, and utterly blinded him. And when the *Romans* were once diſintangled from the War, having grievouſly reſented the Treachery of their Souldiers, they beſieged them in the Town, which taking, they brought three hundred of them to *Rome*, and in the market-place firſt whipped and then beheaded them, after the cuſtom of their Anceſtors, to vindicate their credit with their confederates.

Mænon who poyſoned him laboured in vain to get the Tyranny.

The Mercenaries maſſacre the *Meſſenians*, and the *Roman* Soldiers thoſe of *Rhegium*.

Idem ibid. & *Polybius lib.* 1.

Diodorus Excerpt. l. 22.

25. In *Sicilie* were now many petty Tyrants: *Hicetas* at *Syracuſe*, *Phintias* at *Agrigentum*, and ſeveral others at other places. Theſe two fell out and Warred with each other, inſomuch that by reaſon of their mutual excurſions and depredations their grounds lay untilled. *Hicetas* having ſtill the upper hand of the other, was ſo elevated, that he ventured to fight with the *Carthaginians* at the River *Teria*, but as it proved to the great loſs of his men. Ever ſince the death of *Agathocles*, had the *Syracuſians* laboured with all their might to reduce that whole Iſland into their power, and now at this time rather doubling their diligence than at all ſlack-

Plutarch in Pyrrh.

ing their endeavours, ſent over into *Italy* to *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus* (who now was buſie in War againſt the *Romans*, being called thither by the *Tarentines*) deſiring aid of him for the expelling of the *Africans*, and to take upon him the protection of *Sicilie*. *Hicetas* having held the Dominion of *Syracuſe* nine years, was then ejected by *Thynio*, who together with *Soſtratus* were ſo vexed with the *Carthaginian* War, that they again called *Pyrrhus* into *Sicilie*.

Diodorus ibid.

Pyrrhus King of *Epirus* called over into *Sicily* by the *Syracuſians*.

The *Mamertines* entered into League with the *Carthaginians*, and reſolved if poſſible to hinder his landing, the *Romans* were alſo by reaſon of their enmity with him eaſily drawn into the confederacy, ſo that the Straights of *Sicilie* were narrowly watched. He delaying his coming till the next year, the *Carthaginians* ſent back thirty of their Ships upon other occaſions, and beſieged *Syracuſe*. But then he (having been in *Italy* now two years and four moneths, without ſucceſs) paſſed over without controul, and came directly to *Syracuſe*, where the *Carthaginians* lying incamped with no leſs than fifty thouſand men, having alſo one hundred Ships at anchor in the Haven, yet upon his approach raiſed their ſiege, not daring to try the hazard of a battel.

A. M. 3782.
Ol. 125. *an.* 4.
V. C. 477.
Antioc. Soteris 6.
Ptol. Philadelph. 8.

26. *Pyrrhus* coming to the City, reconciled the Inhabitants to their Governours, for which getting great favour, and receiving meſſages from diverſe Cities, which gave up themſelves into his hands, he not onely thought now of gaining *Sicily* (which he intended to give to his Son, begotten on *Lanaſſa* the daughter of *Agathocles*, as *Italy* to another) but of laying *Africk* it ſelf alſo to his Dominions.

Juſtin lib. 23.

Making a journey through the Iſland, he received the Cities to protection, and within a ſhort ſpace ſubdued all the places held by the *Carthaginians*, except, *Lilybæum*, a Town built upon the Sea by their Anceſtors, after that *Dionyſius* had taken *Motya*.

Diodorus ut ſuprà.

Proſpereth.

After he had been ſome time before it, though a great ſupply had arrived, yet ſent they alſo to him, offering him money to raiſe his ſiege; and he was inclined to accept of the offer; but his friends in Council perſwaded him by all means to refuſe it, and utterly expel the *Africans* out of *Sicily*. Then did he with all his might attempt the taking of the place by force, but it being ſtrongly defended, he every time came off with loſs, and finally after he had continued the ſiege for two moneths, roſe up and departed. After this he had thoughts of becoming Maſter at Sea, and tranſporting his Army into *Africk*; but behaving himſelf too Majeſterially in the preparation for this attempt he loſt himſelf exceedingly, and then ſuſpecting the fidelity of *Thæmo* and *Soſtratus*, the one he compelled by fear to revolt from him, and the latter he ſlew as guilty of the ſame intention.

Plutarch ut priùs.

But by his cruelty loſeth himſelf and departeth.

This ſo provoked the Cities, that ſome revolted back to the *Carthaginians*, and others to the *Mamertines*, ſo that perceiving a great defection, and a conſpiracy alſo hatched againſt him, being now ſollicited alſo by the *Samnites* and *Tarentines* for more aid, he departed again into *Italy*, being oppoſed ſo in his paſſage by the *Carthaginians* on the Sea, and that he loſt moſt of his Ships, and ſo much after he had landed by the *Mamertines* (who had before wafted over one thouſand men) that with much ado he got ſafe to *Tarentum*.

27. After the departure of *Pyrrhus*, the Soldiers which quartered in the Towns near to *Syracuſe*, beyond all example, created two Magiſtrates out of their own body, *Artemidorus* and *Hiero*, to the great indignation of the People, which took it in diſdain that their priviledge ſhould be thus uſurped by the Army.

Polybius lib. 1.

Juſtin ut priùs

The *Syracuſian* Soldiers created two Magiſtrates, *Artemidorus* and *Hiero*.

Yet afterwards did they confirm the honour unto *Hiero* for his great moderation and high abilities, who being the Son of *Hierocles*, had ſtrange preſages whileſt yet a Child concerning his future Dignity. He perceiving how in the abſence of the *Prætor*, the *Syracuſians* were apt to be ſeditious, and attempt new matters, entred into affinity with *Leptines* (by marrying his daughter) whom he knew to be the moſt conſiderable man, and of great Authority amongſt the vulgar, that he might ſupply his place as it were in his abſence, and contain the people in obedience. After this marriage was over, taking notice of the looſe Carriage of the old Mercenary Soldiers, and how they were ever inclining to mutinies, he drew them out againſt the *Mamertines*, who being *Barbarians* (as the *Greeks* alwayes termed all beſides themſelves) had ſeized upon *Meſſene*, and dividing them from the reſt, which he kept with himſelf, expoſed them againſt the Enemies, and ſuffered them every man to be cut off, ſo that being rid of them, he thenceforth Governed without any fear or trouble.

A. M. 3730.
Ol. 128. *an.* 2.
V. C. 479.
Antioch. Sot. 8.
Ptol. Philad. 19.
M. Curio Dentato 2.
L. Cornelio Lentulo Coſſ.
Polybius & Diodorus ut ſuprà.

Hiero being ſole Magiſtrate falleth upon the *Mamertines*.

Three or four years after he ſet upon the *Mamertines* in good earneſt, who, though they bare themſelves high ſo long as their friends and aſſociates continued Maſters of *Rhegium* (created much trouble to the *Carthaginians*, and compelled divers Towns to pay Tribute) yet now ſince the defeat of them, and eſpecially after that *Hiero* had got into his power two places near unto them, they were exceedingly ſtraitned.

A. M. 3739.

28. Yet ſent they out againſt him eight thouſand Foot, and one thouſand Horſe under the Conduct of one *Cios*, who calling the Soothſayers to divine what the iſſue ſhould be, they anſwered, that he was to ſpend the next night in the Enemies Camp, at which being much elevated, he ſet his men in order, and paſſed over the River. *Hiero* ſent two thouſand choice *Meſſenians*, and five hundred others, to get about the Hill *Thorax*, and come upon their backs, he in the mean time charging their front. Here was maintained a ſharp diſpute, till the ſeven hundred freſh men coming upon the backs of the *Mamertines*, did great execution upon them, ſo that being now compaſſed about, they betook themſelves to flight. *Cios* the General fighting moſt valiantly, received ſo many and great wounds that he ſwooned with too great expence of bloud, and being taken alive, was brought into the Camp of the *Syracuſians*, where all means poſſible were uſed for his recovery. But it hapning that divers Horſes being brought out of the Field, he eſpied that on which his Son rode amongſt them; whereat taking an apprehenſion of the young mans death, in great trouble of mind he untied his wounds, and thereby cauſed his own end, as unwilling to outlive his ſon.

Hannibal the *Carthaginian* General deceitfully tampereth with them.

29. The *Mamertines* upon the news of this defeat were minded to give up themſelves, and their Citie, into the hands of *Hiero*. But it hapning that *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian* General, being at that time in the Iſland *Lipara*, heard of the overthrow, and came over preſently to congratulate *Hiero*, as he pretended, but indeed to circumvent him with his General craft in which he was well skilled; and *Hiero* was ſo wrought upon as to give credit to him, and lye ſtill. Then went he to the *Mamertines*, and finding them ready to ſurrender, turned them clearly from it, and drew them to his own intereſt, by bringing them relief into the Citie. *Hiero* returning to *Syracuſe*, was for a reward of his great ſervice ſaluted King by the conſent of all men, which title he held to his laſt, the ſpace of fifty four years. *Hannibal* cunningly placed his Garriſon in the Caſtle, and thereby awed the whole Town, ſo that the *Mamertines* then ſuſpected him as much as *Hiero*, and they hindring thus each other from gaining the place, at length made an accord to carry on the War againſt it in common. This combination cauſing the other to bethink themſelves of ſome forein aid, they ſent to the *Romans*, deſiring them to take the patronage of them, their own Countrey-men, as being Originally *Campanians*.

Polybius ibid.

They ſend to the *Romans* for aid.

30. The Meſſage found no good entertainment with the Senate, for that the Fathers accounted it an abſurd thing for them, who had puniſhed the perfidiouſneſs of thoſe that had ſeized upon *Rhegium* ſo ſharply, now to take upon them to protect thoſe that were guilty, and patterns of the ſame Crime; and they could by no means be brought to conſent unto it. But the people (who alone could do it) being perſwaded by the *Prætor* that it was high time to ſtop the proceedings of the *Carthaginians*, who had almoſt ſwallowed up all *Sicily*, and would uſe that Iſland as a Bridge to paſs over into *Italy*, and being alſo made to believe how profitable it would be to their particular intereſts to undertake the War, having ſuffered much by that late one with *Pyrrhus*, and the *Tarentines*, they decreed that aid ſhould be ſent them. The next year was *Appius Claudius* accordingly ſent over with an Army, with which he put to the worſt, both *Hiero* and *Hannibal*, and thereupon conſtrained the other to joyn himſelf to him againſt the *Carthaginians*. This is called the *Sicilian*, or the firſt *Punick* War, which for that it falls into the Hiſtory of the *Romans* more eſpecially, under whom thenceforth *Sicilia* was ever ſubject, it muſt neceſſarily be referred thither, as to its proper place. It began A. M. 3741. the firſt of the 129 *Olympiad*, in the 19th of the Reign of *Antiochus Soter*, the ſecond King of *Syria*, and the twenty firſt of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, the ſecond alſo of *Ægypt*, after the diviſion of the Empire of *Alexander* the Great; twenty two years after the death of *Agathocles*, in the 490th year after the building of *Rome*, *Appias Claudius Caudex*, and *M. Fulvius Flaccus*, being Conſuls.

A. M. 3739.
Ol. 128. *an.* 3.
V. C. 488.
Antioch. Sot. 17.
Ptol. Philad. 19.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

The affairs of the Romans *Contemporary with the Empire of the* Macedonians.

SECT. I.

From the War of Privernum *to the firſt* Punick *War, wherein the* Romans *firſt ſet foot out of* Italy,

Containing the ſpace of ſixty ſix years.

War decreed againſt the *Palæpolitans.*

Livius lib. 8.

A. M. 3678.
Ol. 113. *an.* 2.
V. C. 173.
Alexand. 10.

1. IN the year after the taking of *Privernum* was War decreed againſt the *Palæpolitans*. *Palæopolis* ſtood not far off from the place where *Neapolis* (now *Napoli* or *Naples*) is ſeated, and, as ſome think, there where at this day, is ſeen *il borgo de Chiara*. The ſame people inhabited two Cities, being deſcended from *Cumæ*, which was alſo a Colony of *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*, now called *Negropont*. For the *Cumani* having a good Fleet firſt paſſed to the Iſlands *Menaria* and *Pithecuſa*, and afterward ventured upon the Continent. The *Palæpolitans* truſting to their own ſtrength, and counting of the treachery of the *Samnites*, and the plague Which now had ſeized upon *Rome*, committed many Hoſtile actions againſt the *Romans* that inhabited the Countreys about *Cumæ* and *Falernus*. When *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Q. Publius Philo* were both *Conſuls* the ſecond time, the *Fæciales* were ſent to demand reſtitution, who bringing from thoſe *Greeks* (more valiant in tongue, ſaith *Livy* than in deeds) a fiery and reſolute anſwer, it was reſolved that War ſhould be made upon them.

Alexandria in *Ægypt*, when built.

2. Whileſt this War depended, the year following was *Alexandria* in *Ægypt* built, as *Livy* writeth, whereas the foundation of this City was laid, while *Alexander* was in *Africk*, the year before the death of *Darius*, and the fifth before this, wherein *C. Pætilius* and *L. Papirius Mugilanus* were *Conſuls*. This ſame year he maketh *Alexander* the King of *Epirus* to have been ſlain, who being Uncle by the Mothers ſide to *Alexander* the Great, is thought to have undertaken an expedition into *Italy*, out of emulation towards his Nephew, that as the one was now Conquering the *Eaſt*, ſo the other might endeavour to ſubdue the *Weſt*, having no leſs matter to work upon in *Italy*, *Africk*, and *Sicily*, than the other found in *Aſia* and *Perſia*. He was deceived by the Oracle of *Jupiter* of *Dodona*, which bidding him beware of *Pandoſia* and *Acheron*, he knowing there was a City of the former name in *Epirus*, and a River of the later, thought himſelf ſo much the ſafer, as he could get fartheſt off from theſe. Being therefore ſent for by the *Tarentines*, he came into *Italy*, and made War with the *Brutii* and *Lucani*, from whom he took many Towns, and three hundred Familier, which he ſent as Hoſtages into *Epirus*. He entred into a League with the *Metapontini* and *Romans*: But the *Brutii* and *Lucani* recruiting themſelves by the ſupplies of their neighbours, reinforced the War, and ſet upon him near *Pandoſia* (a Town ſituate a little above *Conſentia*, the Metropolis of the *Brutii*) near to which ran a River called *Acheron*. Taking this River with his Horſe, he was therein ſlain by a *Lucanian*, and his dead body being carried down the ſtream into the Enemies quarters was mangled into pieces. A certain Woman whoſe Husband and Children were taken priſoners by the *Epirotes*, got the pieces together, and in exchange for her relations ſent his bones to *Metapontus*, whence they were conveyed into *Epirus* unto *Cleopatra* his Wife, and *Olympius* his Siſter, whereof the one was Siſter, and the other Mother to *Alexander* the *Great*.

Alexander King of *Epirus* ſlain in *Italy*.

3. The *Palæpolitans* though aſſiſted by the *Samnites* and *Tarentines*, were overmatched ſo, as glad they were to yield up their City, and the *Samnites* loſt three

Sect. I.

The *Palæpolitans* being conquered the *Tarentines* their allies proceed in the War, and draw in the *Samnites* and *Neapolitans.*

New Laws in favour of Debtors.

L. *Papyrius Curſor* made Dictator.

Is hindred from puniſhing *Fabius Rutilianus* his Maſter of the Horſe-men.

A. M. 3681.
Ol. 114. *ann.* 1.
V. C. 430.
Alexand. 13.

of their own Towns. The *Tarentines* yet proceeded, and drew both the *Samnites* and *Neapolitans* (the other part of this *Greek* Colony) afreſh into the War, wherein alſo the Inhabitants of *Veſtinus*, together with their allies ingaged themſelves. Whilſt this War was but beginning, great ſtirs happened in the City. There, one *L. Papyrius* had given up himſelf to one *C. Publius* as a ſlave, to work out his Fathers debt. Being a young man of a beautiful body, *Publius* attempted filthily to abuſe him, and when he would in no wiſe ſuffer this, moſt grievouſly beat and tore his body with rods. In this plight *Papyrius* got away, and running to the People, by declaring his condition, ſo affected them, that they procured the Fathers to Decree, that the *Conſuls* ſhould propoſe to them in the *Comitia* theſe two Laws: the firſt, *That no man ſhould be detained in bonds, except for ſome miſdemeanor, till the time of his puniſhment:* the ſecond, *that the money and goods, not the body of the debtor ſhould be reſponſible.* Whereupon all Priſoners for debt were forthwith ſet at liberty. The year following the *Veſtini* were overthrown by *Junius Brutus Scæva* the *Conſul*, who alſo took from them two Towns. His Colleague *L. Furius Camillus* being ſick in *Samnium* (or the Countrey of the *Samnites*) pronounced Dictator L. *Papyrius Curſor*, the moſt famous Captain by far of thoſe times, who named *Q. Fabius Rutilianus* for his Maſter of Horſe-men. *Papyrius* being in Camp againſt the *Samnites*, was forced to return to *Rome*, for the renewing of his *auſpicia*, and at his departure commanded his *Maſter of Horſe-men* not to ſtir out of the Trenches to fight one ſtroak till he came back: but *Fabius* underſtanding that a notable advantage of doing ſomething of conſequence was preſented from the Enemy, fell upon the *Samnites*, and made great ſlaughter of them. The Dictator hearing of this, in a great rage returned to the Camp, and had put him to death, but that he was reſcued by the Army, from which flying to the City, *Papyrius* followed him, and preſſing ſore to the Senate the neceſſity of diſcipline and authority, would not at all give way to the entreaties of the Fathers. This forced *M. Fabius* the Father of the party to appeal to the People and their *Tribunes*, by which he hardly was drawn to pardon him, though his authority was ſaved together with the life of *Fabius*, through the intreaties of thoſe who might juſtly have Commanded it, as was confeſſed by himſelf.

The *Samnites* overthrown,

Deſire Peace which is denied them.

Livius lib. 9.

4. This ſeverity of the *Dictator* ſo alienated the hearts of the Souldiers from him, that it had well nigh coſt him the loſs of a battel, which conſtrained him to be more Popular; then afterwards he overthrew the *Samnites*, and harrazed their Country. This made them deſire Peace, but returning quickly again to their former enmity, in the ſecond year after, they received another great defeat from *A. Cornelius Aruina* the *Dictator*. Herewith they were ſo ſtruck, that they ſent all the Priſoners they had home to *Rome*, with ſuch plunder as they had taken, and the dead body with the goods of him who had been the Author of the Revolt, and who fearing to be given up had killed himſelf. The Senate onely received the men, with ſuch goods as any Citizen could challenge for his own, and denied them Peace. At this *C. Pontius* a leading man amongſt them took occaſion grievouſly to enveigh againſt the injuſtice of the *Romans*, and cauſing them to take arms, led them preſently near to a place called *Caudium*, whence having apparelled ten Soldiers in the habit of Shepherds, he ſent them to *Calatia* (where he heard the *Conſuls* lay at preſent) with a charge, that when they ſhould be asked where the Army of the *Samnites* was, they ſhould anſwer in *Apulia*, beſieging *Luceria*, which it had already well nigh taken. A rumour being already ſpread abroad of ſuch a thing, now obtained greater credit, and the *Romans* accounted themſelves by all means bound to ſuccour *Luceria*, and the rather, for fear leſt all *Apulia* ſhould revolt. Two wayes there were which led to *Luceria*: one by the Sea ſide open and ſecure, another through the Straights of *Caudinum* called *Furcæ Caudinæ* (at this day *Caudino*, and *Forche Caudine*, ten miles diſtant from *Benevento*) a place incompaſſed about with high Mountains, and into which one could not enter, nor depart out of it but through very difficult and ſtraight paſſages. The *Conſuls* leading their Army through this, as the neareſt way, were quickly ſtopped up, ſo as they could neither proceed nor retire, becauſe on all ſides *Pontius* had blocked up the paſſage.

They entrap the *Roman* Army at *Furcæ Caudinæ.*

A. M. 3684.
Ol. 114. *ann.* 4.
V. C. 433.
Ptol. Lagi 3.

5. The *Samnites* having the *Roman* Armies at this advantage, ſent to *Herennius* the Father of *Pontius* their General, and a very wiſe man, for his advice what was to be done. He ſent word they ſhould diſmiſs the *Romans* without any injury at all, which anſwer not pleaſing, they ſent back for another, and then he counſelled them to cut them off, and not leave a man alive. Theſe two extremes

being aſcribed to dotage, he came to the Camp, and offered his reaſons. He ſaid, he gave the *firſt* advice as ſuch, which if followed, would by a great courteſie have for ever obliged a moſt powerful People, and the *ſecond*, as tending ſo far to the weakning of their power, as they could not for a long time either recruit themſelves or renew the War, having loſt two ſo conſiderable Armies; as for any third expedient he found none. Being asked concerning a middle way of diſmiſſing the *Romans* in ſafety, but under the obligation of ſome conditions, he anſwered, that this courſe would not procure them friends, nor diminiſh their enemies; for ſuch was the *Roman* Nation, that being diſgraced or defeated, it could not reſt, but would ſtill retain the memory of what preſent neceſſity urged it to ſubmit to; neither, ſaith he, will they ſuffer you to reſt till puniſhed abundantly. But this wiſe counſel would not be heard; ſo that the *Romans* had theſe conditions ſet them: *The Army was to march away onely with their clothes, having firſt in token of ſlavery paſſed under the jugum: the* Romans *ſhould quit wholly the Country of the* Samnites, *and thence remove their Colonies: and both* Roman *and* Samnite *live under the ſame terms of confederacy and alliance.* The Armies were conſtrained to ſubmit, and in great ſhame and conſternation marched away diſarmed. This diſaſter hapned in the four hundred thirty third year of the City, and the third after the death of *Alexander* the Great, when *T. Veturius Calvinus* the firſt, and *Sp. Poſthumius* the ſecond time were *Conſuls*.

Make it diſgracefully paſs under the *jugum* and march away diſarmed.

6. The City was moſt grievouſly afflicted with ſhame and anger at ſo diſgraceful and unuſual a thing. *Poſthumius* perſwaded the Senate to deliver himſelf and his Collegue into the hands of the *Samnites*, as being onely obliged to the conditions, and not the State, which was unacquainted therewith. This being accordingly done, *Pontius* refuſed to receive them, exclaiming againſt the perfidiouſneſs of the *Romans*. The Army then marching down again ſufficiently revenged themſelves, under the conduct of *Papirius*. Several Towns which had revolted were recovered, and ſcarce could the *Samnites* obtain a Truce for two years. They brake this Truce ere the time was out, and thereby drew the War again upon them, which enduring for eleven years, they loſt many thouſands of men, with many Towns, which humbled them ſo, that upon their ſubmiſſion the uſual confederacy was granted to them. Then were the *Æqui* chaſtized, who had helped them, and thereby were other Nations affrighted into ſubjection. In the ſecond year after, began another War with the *Hetruſcans*, wherein were fought divers bloody battels; but ſtill the *Romans* had the better, who ſtormed divers Towns, and waſted the Country. Two years after, the *Samnites* rebelled again, and joyned with the *Hetruſcans*, but with the ſame ſucceſs as formerly, being grievouſly ſlaughtered, eſpecially under the conduct of *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *Decius Mus*; the later of whom, ſeeing his wing give ground, in a great and bloody battel fought with the *Samnites* and *Galls* (for thoſe now had joyned with them) ſolemnly devoted himſelf and the Enemy to the *Dii Manes*, and ruſhing into the midſt was killed, as his Father had been forty four years before. Still continued the miſeries of the *Samnites*, and two years after their laſt Army (for this time it muſt be underſtood) was cut in pieces by *L. Papirius* ſon to the former, who alſo took many Towns, and for his ſervice obtained a moſt ſplendid Triumph. It is obſerved, that over the *Samnites* the *Romans* triumphed thirty times: viz. *Conſuls* twenty ſix times, *L. Papirius* the *Dictator* twice, *Publius Philo* once, who firſt of all others triumphed with *Proconſular* power, and once *Q. Fabius* another *Proconſul*. The Family of the *Fabii* obtained, of theſe thirty, four triumphs, and that of the *Papirii* five, as may be ſeen in the *Capitoline* Tables. This war having begun in the 410 year of the City, ended in the 481, and therefore continued 71 years, not fifty onely, as *Florus*, according to his cuſtome, falſely computeth; neither 81 as *Appian*, nor 49 onely, as *Eutropius*; nor yet onely ſeventy, which number *Livie* aſſigneth with tolerble difference. All Writers agree, that the *Romans* had no Enemy in *Italy*, who longer, or more pertinaciouſly, mannaged the grand quarrel with them, than the *Samnites*.

The conditions are renounced at *Rome*, and the *Samnites* often again defeated.

Decius Mus as his father before him, devoteth himſelf to the *Dii Manes*.

A ſummary account of the War with the *Samnites*.

7. During theſe ſucceſſes abroad, the People having got of late ſo many priviledges, were reaſonably quiet; yet their *Tribunes* having one occaſion left to create trouble to the *Fathers*, ſtomached much that all the *Prieſts* and *Augurs* ſhould be created out of the Nobility, and laboured to make the *Commons* partakers of theſe Offices. The Senate made no great reſiſtance, as being now accuſtomed to yield, and that in things of far greater moment, as the *Conſulſhip*, *Cenſorſhip*, *Dictatorſhip*, and *Triumphs*. So, whereas as yet there were but four chief *Prieſts* and as many

The Prieſthood and Augurſhip communicated to the Commons.

Augurs, to them were added four, and to thoſe five out of the body of the *Commons*. And this ſame year did *M. Valerius* the *Conſul* prefer a Law of *Appeale* more diligently enacted. Now was it the third time preferred ſince the baniſhment of the Kings, alwaies by the ſame Family. The cauſe of renewing it, ſaith *Livie*, I ſuppoſe was no other, than that the power of a few prevailed above the liberty of the Commons. Which cannot be, if we conſider, how for a long time the will of the multitude had got ground, and before this overturned the prerogative of the *Patricians*. The *Lex Porcia*, ſaith he, ſeemeth alone to be enacted for the backs of the Citizens, becauſe it inflicted an heavy puniſhment upon him that ſhould beat with rods or kill a *Roman* Citizen. The *Lex Valeria* having prohibited any to be killed or beaten who had appealed, if any did contrary, added no more than *it was naughtily done*, which (ſuch was then the modeſty of men) was I believe, a ſufficient obligation for the Law. Now ſcarcely can any one threaten a Slave in that manner. *Fabius Gurges* after this, being *Conſul*, fought unproſperouſly with the *Samnites*, whereupon the Senate conſulted about removing him from the Army. *Fabius Maximus* his Father deprecating this ignominy, prevented it, by promiſing he would go to the War as *Legatus* or *Lieutenant* to his Son. He performed it, and ſo aſſiſted the young man, that he procured him Victory, and a Triumph, wherein *C. Pontius* the *Samnite* being led was put to death. After this, *L. Poſthumius* a man of *Conſular* dignity, being ſet over the Army, uſed the help of the Soldiers in his own field, and for that was puniſhed. The *Samnites* deſiring Peace, the League was renewed with them the fourth time. But preſently again, as it ſeemeth, they rebelled; for *P. Cornelius Rufinus*, and *Manius Curius* (ſirnamed *Dentatus*, becauſe born with teeth, according to *Plinie*) overthrew them in ſeveral bloody battels, and took divers of their Towns. *Livie* in his eleventh Book (as appeareth from it's Epitome) wrote, that *Curius Dentatus* the *Conſul*, having overthrown the *Samnites* and *Sabines*, who had rebelled, triumphed twice the ſame year. After this were Colonies ſent to *Caſtrum*, *Sena*, and *Adria*. The *Triumviri* for Capital matters were now alſo firſt made. The *Cenſus* being *perfected*, the *Luſtrum* was made, and two hundred and ſeventy three thouſand Polls of the *Roman* Citizens were ceſſed.

The Law of Appeal renewed the third time.

Livii Epitom. lib. 11.

A. M. 3713.
Ol. 122. *ann.* 1
V. C. 462.
Seleuci 21.
Ptol. Lagi 32.

War with the *Samnites.*

Eutropius lib. 2.

8. Preſently after happened the third ſeparation of the *Commons* from the *Patricians*. The cauſe was the great debts which the poorer ſort had contracted. As a remedy for this the *Tribunes* of the *Commons*, thoſe incendiaries, propoſed new Tables in way of defalcation, which the Conſuls in favour of the Creditors oppoſed. The conteſt came to that height, that the *Plebeians* departed into the *Janiculum*, for the reconciliation and reducement of whom, *Q. Hortenſius* was made *Dictator*. He appeaſed them with good words, and perſwaded them to return, by promiſing that for the time to come their *Plebiſcita* ſhould have the force of Laws, and bind the whole politick body. This accordingly, by a Law called *Lex Hortenſia*, he enacted: though it appeareth out of *Livy*, that the ſame in effect had been granted twice before, *viz.* in the three hundred and fifth year of the City, by *L. Valerius*, and *M. Horatius* the *Conſuls*, and again in the four hundred and ſixteenth by *Q. Publius Philo* the *Dictator*, fifty years before this preſent, which having not been obſerved, might give the *Commons* as great diſtaſte as the matter of debts, if we may judge from that which pacified them. * *Florus* telleth a ſtory, that the buſineſs of Matrimony betwixt the *Patricians* and *Plebeians* cauſed this third ſeparation of the *Commons* into the *Janiculum*, the tumult being raiſed by *Canuleius* the *Tribune*. But ſtudents are to take notice, that none but he ſpeak any thing of this Sedition in this place, and by the inſtigation of this perſon, for this cauſe of marriage. That great Contentions were raiſed betwixt the two orders about the taking away the Law made by the *Decemviri*, which forbad marriage betwixt them, is often atteſted by *Livy*. But that the *Commons* departed into the *Janiculum* for the burthen of their debts, after great and long contentions in the four hundred and ſixty eight year of the City, is by ſeveral Authors affirmed, and that thence they were reduced by *Hortenſius* the *Dictator*, who preferred a Law in the *Eſculeium*, that what the *Commons* commanded ſhould bind all *Quirites*: neither do Writers mention any other cauſe of the third *Separation*.

The third ſeparation of the Commons.

Livii Epitom. lib. 11.
Plin. lib. 16.
Xonaras.

A.M. 3719.
Ol. 123. *ann.* 3.
V. C. 468.
Seleuc. 27.
Ptol. Lagi 38.

The *Lex Hortenſia.*

* *Lib.* 1. *cap.* 25.

The errour of *Florus.*

9. *Hortenſius* died in the time of his Magiſtracy. After this there was action with the *Volſinienſes* and *Lucani*, againſt whom aſſiſtance was given to the *Thurini*. Then the *Roman* Ambaſſadors being killed by the *Galls Senones*, War was decreed againſt them, and *L. Cæcilius* the *Prætor* was cut off by them with the Legions. The *Tarentines* being jealous of the growth of the *Roman* power, had hitherto privily

Livius Epitom. l. 11. 12.

The Original of the *Tarentines*, and a deſcription of their Citie, Government, and converſation.

Lege Strabon. l.6. p.278.&c. Florum lib. 1. c. 18.

privily ſavoured the *Samnites*, though openly they maintained a confederacy with the *Romans*. This People, being the oſpring of the *Partheniæ*, who were baniſhed *Lacedæmon*, for that being promiſcuouſly begotten, they could not have any inheritance, and therefore plotted againſt the State as was ſhown before, inhabited a Citie called *Tarentum*, from *Taras* a certain *Heroe*, the Metropolis once of *Calabria*, *Apulia*, and all *Lucania*. It was ſituate in a Peninſula on the Bay of the *Adriatick* Sea, famous for its bigneſs, Walls, and Haven eſpecially, which lay ſo convenient for ſayling into the *Roman Coaſts*, *Iſtria*, *Illyricum*, *Epirus*, *Achaia*, *Africk* and *Sicily*, that *Florus* accounteth the ſituation admirable. The *Tarentines* affecting looſe *Democratical* Government, obtained great power in thoſe parts, having a more conſiderable Fleet than any of their neighbours, thirty thouſand Foot, three thouſand Horſe, and one thouſand perſons fit to command them. They imbraced the Philoſophy of *Pythagoras* , eſpecially one *Archytas*, who governed the Citie a long time. In aftertimes luxury was produced by proſperity to ſuch exceſs, that if credit may be given to *Strabo*, the *Tarentines* had more publick Feſtivals yearly, than the year hath dayes; by reaſon whereof, the State of the Commonwealth under ſuch a Government was rendred much worſe. One of their bad cuſtoms was (as he judgeth it) to uſe the Conduct of Foreiners in their Wars; for againſt the *Meſſapii* and *Lucani* they employed *Alexander* the *Moloſſian*, and before that *Archidamus* the Son of *Ageſilaus*, as afterward *Cleonymus* and *Agathocles*; and afterwards *Pyrrhus* againſt the *Romans*. They contended with the *Meſſapii* about *Heraclea*, and imployed alſo againſt them the two Kings of the *Daunii* and *Peucetii*. Neither would they obey the foreign Captains for whom they had ſent, but fell to odds with them which procured no ſmall inconvenience.

Oroſius lib. 4. cap. 1. Xonaras.

The Original of their War with the *Romans*.

* *Valer. Max. lib. 2. cap. 5. Exemp. 5.*

They ſend for *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus*.

Plutarch in Pyrrho.

10. Near to the Haven, in the view of the Sea, was the Theatre of the City, which proved the cauſe of all its miſery and calamities, ſaith *Florus*. They were therein beholding Games, when *L. Valerius* (the *Duumvir* as he is called in *Livy's* Epitome) or one of the *Roman Admirals* ſayled thither as to a confederate Citie. They taking the *Romans* for Enemies, ſaith *Florus* (who addeth what cannot be credited, that they ſcarce knew, who, or whence the *Romans* were) or as others think, having both knowledge and malice ſufficient, ſet upon the Fleet, and either ſunk, or at leaſt rifled it, and ſlew the Admiral. The *Senate* ſent *L. Poſthumius* to complain of the injury, who delivering his meſſage boldly was diſmiſſed with a very diſſatisfactory anſwer, at his coming in, having had * Urine thrown upon him, or one of his Companions. War therefore was decreed againſt the *Tarentines*, and committed to the management of *L. Æmilius* the Conſul, who firſt indeavoured by fair means to reclaim them, and when that could not do it, waſted their Territories with Fire and Sword, revenging their inſolence with cruelty as *Oroſius* writeth, for which ſervice he triumphed the year after his Conſulſhip, as appeareth out of an old inſcription. The *Tarentines* finding themſelves too weak for the encounter, ſent to *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus* for aid, whom they had formerly aſſiſted againſt the *Corcyræans*. The multitude were of themſelves rather inclined to peace; but a certain company of men, by *Greek* Authors called *Demagogi* (from their leading of the People) would not let them reſt, till they had reſolved upon the War; whereupon they ſent Ambaſſadors to *Pyrrhus*, who not onely in their name, but of other *Italians* alſo preſented him with gifts, and ſignified that they ſtood in need of a General, Eminent both for abilities and reputation; *Italy* it ſelf being able to furniſh them with Forces out of the Countreys of the *Lucanians*, *Meſſapians*, and *Samnites*. The King being of a reſtleſs ſpirit, incouraging himſelf in vain hopes (whereby he graſped as it were the Empire of all the *Weſt*) promiſed them to come over with an Army, and diſpatched before him with three thouſand men, One *Cineas* a *Theſſalian*, an excellent Orator, and Scholar of *Demoſthenes*. He afterwards took the Sea himſelf with twenty Elephants, three thouſand Horſe, and twenty two Foot, beſides five hundred Archers and Slingers; but upon the Main was ſeized with ſuch a Tempeſt, that his Fleet being ſevered, many Veſſels were loſt, he was forced to leap out into the Water, and with great hazard got to Land, and onely at preſent two Elephants, a very few Horſe-men, and about two thouſand Foot could be recovered from the Shipwrack by the *Meſſapians*, upon the Coaſts of whom they were caſt.

A. M. 3725.
O'. 125. ann. 1.
V. C. 474.
Seleucidarum 33.
Antiochi Soteris 3.
Ptol. Philadelph. 5.
Idem ibid.

11. *Pyrrhus* did nothing without the conſent of the *Tarentines*, till his Ships, and the greater part of his Army arrived; then taking notice how they minded nothing but bathing and feaſting, he ſhut up the publick meeting places, reſtrained

them from walking (in which exerciſe they were wont to diſcourſe idly concerning War) and forbidding drinking, and Games, called them to Arms, making Levies of the youth with ſome rigour and ſeverity. *Valerius Lævinus* the *Conſul* haſting to give him battel ere the aſſiſtance of the Confederates came, he drew out his Army to him; but before they ſhould joyn, ſent to him, offering himſelf an Umpire betwixt the *Romans*, and their adverſaries, to which *Valerius* anſwered, that they neither cared for him as an Umpire, nor feared him as an Enemy, and taking his Spies, he cauſed them to be led throughout the Camp, and then bade them return, and tell him what they had ſeen. *Pyrrhus* pitched his Tents betwixt *Pandoſa* and *Heraclea*, a Town ſituate betwixt *Tarentum* and *Metapontus*, built by the *Tarentines*. The *Romans* beyond the River *Siris* not *Liris*, a River of *Campania*, as *Florus* and *Oroſius* Write, who alſo draw *Heraclea* out of that part of *Magna Græcia*, lying upon *Siris* and *Metapontus*, into *Campania*. In the fight *Pyrrhus* had his Horſe killed under him, by one *Obſidius* a *Ferentane*, who was ſlain in the place by his followers. This made him change Armour with one near to him, who being made at for him and ſtruck down, his Armour was taken from off him, and being carried about by the *Romans* in token of his death, ſtruck ſuch a terrour into his Souldiers that it had coſt him the Victory, but that he ſeaſonably with ſome labour made himſelf known. Whileſt the Victory ſeemed yet to be doubtful, or rather to incline toward the *Romans*, the Elephants being brought into the battel decided the controverſie. Till the paſſing of *Alexander* into the *Eaſt*, this Beaſt had been talked of, but never ſeen by the *Europæans* nor them of *Aſia*, except the *Indians* and their neighbours, as alſo the *Southern Africans*. *Homer* deſcribeth the houſes of rich men to have been adorned with Ivory, but as * *Pauſanias* noteth, never mentioneth the beaſt. The *Romans* themſelves were amazed, not knowing what they were; but the fault is laid upon their Horſes, which not enduring the ſmell or bigneſs of the Elephants broke their Ranks which opportunity the King took, and ſending his Horſe in amongſt the *Romans* thus diſordered, put them to the rout. He got but a bloody Victory, he himſelf being wounded, and a great part of his men ſlain, though of the numbers on either ſide Writers do not agree.

Eutrop.

Who defeateth *Lævinus* the Conſul by the help of his Elephants.

* *Eximp. vid in Atticis p.*11 *& Juſtin l.*18.

12. Having taken Priſoners one thouſand and eight hundred of the *Romans*, he uſed them with great civility, and buried their dead, whom obſerving to be wounded all before, and to be with ſtern countenances, he lifted up his eyes, and ſaid: He could have been Maſter of all the world if he had had but ſuch Souldiers. After this having received the Auxiliaries of the *Sammites*, *Lucani* and *Brutii*, he marched towards *Rome* as far as *Præneſte*, a Town eighteen miles diſtant from the City, waſting all with fire and Sword in his paſſage. Hearing that the *Romans* were buſie in recruiting their Army, he conſidered it was moſt creditable for him to make peace with them, being he had no hopes to ſubdue them, and for that purpoſe ſent *Cineas* to feel their minds, a man ſo powerful in the art of Rhetorick, that the King acknowledged him to have ſtormed more Cities by his Tongue, than he had ever done by force of Arms. *Cineas* preſented the principal Citizens and their Wives with gifts from *Pyrrhus*; but they refuſed them. When he had ſomething wrought upon the Senate to make a peace, and admit *Pyrrhus* into the Citie, *Appius Claudius* now blind came in, and by an Oration, recorded by *Plutarch*, procured the contrary. The Ambaſſadour at his return being asked what he thought of *Rome*, anſwered, that the Senate ſeemed to him as a Council of ſo many Kings. After *Cineas* his return the *Romans* ſent to *Pyrrhus* about redeeming of Priſoners, amongſt others *C. Fabricius*, a man of great note for virtue and poverty. The King being informed by *Cineas* concerning his diſpoſition, offered him Gold, which when he refuſed with great reſolution, to try his gravity, the next day as they were talking together, he commanded the greateſt Elephant he had to be ſet behind the hanging, and then on a ſudden the Tapeſtry being removed, the beaſt held his Proboſcis over *Fabricius* his head, and roared exceedingly. But he not at all terrified, though he had never before ſeen this kind of Creature, ſmiled, and told the King, that neither his Gold the day before, nor his Elephant now did at all move him. *Pyrrhus* amazed at his greatneſs of mind, releaſed to him the Priſoners, on this condition, that if the Senate accepted not of Peace they ſhould return to him, which accordingly they did, having ſaluted their friends, and ſolemnized the *Saturnalia*, being commanded to do it by the *Fathers* upon pain of death.

Eutrop. ut prius & Plutarch.

Marcheth towards *Rome*.

Sendeth about a peace which *Appius Claudius* hindereth.

Fabricius goeth to him about redeeming of Priſoners.

13. *P. Sulpicius Saverrio* and *P. Decius Mus*, being *Conſuls* for the following year, were

A. M. 3726.
V. C. 475.

Lib. 13.

Tuſcul.

Several ingagements of the *Romans* with him.

were ſent againſt *Pyrrhus*. The *Romans* by this time had learnt not to fear Elephants with ſuch aſtoniſhment as formerly; ſo that theſe beaſts now were overcome and killed, *Pyrrhus* himſelf was wounded, twenty thouſand of his men ſlain, and five thouſand of the *Romans*, according to *Eutropius*, but from *Livies* Epitome, it ſhould appear that the iſſue of this battel was doubtful, and *Cicero* writeth that *Decius* was ſlain. *Florus* relateth, that firſt in *Apulia*, and then at *Aſculum* the *Romans* had better ſucceſs, *Curius* and *Fabricius* being Conſuls; for now the terror of the Elephants was worn off, and *C. Minutius* by cutting off the *Proboſcis* from one, ſhewed that the Beaſts could die. Darts were thrown ſo thick upon them, and fire upon the Towers on their backs, that the Army was ſorely diſtreſſed, in which condition it remained till night relieved it, and the King being the laſt that fled, having received a wound in his ſhoulder, was carryed out by his Guard in his Armour. But as *Florus* is to be read with great caution in every place, ſo eſpecially in this; for *Curius* and *Fabricius* were never Conſuls together, as the Tables ſhow. This therefore is to be referred to the enſuing year wherein *C. Fabricius Luſcinus*, and *Q. Æmylius Papus* (both of them the ſecond time) were Conſuls. *Plutarch* writeth that two dayes together *Pyrrhus* and the Conſuls fought at *Aſculum*; whereof, on the former, his Elephants could do him no ſervice, but on the later, chuſing a more even ground, by the means of the Elephants eſpecially, he drove the *Romans* back into their Camp, having ſlain of them ſix thouſand, and loſt three thouſand and five hundred and five of his own men, as *Hieronymus* relateth out of the Kings Records. But he addeth, that *Dionyſius* neither wrote any thing of two battels fought at *Aſculum*, neither, for certain, of *Pyrrhus* his Victory: one fight he mentioned fought till Sun-ſet, at the concluſion whereof *Pyrrhus* was wounded in the Arm, which wound, with the *Samnites* rifling his baggage, put an end to it; either party having loſt above fifteen thouſand men. That this battel (or thoſe battels) fell out in the year aforeſaid is clear from that which moved *Pyrrhus* this way to attempt the ending of the controverſie. For the Conſuls, *Fabricius* and *Æmilius*, receiving a Letter from the Kings * Phyſician, wherein he offered to poyſon him, upon condition to be well requited, they wrote back to *Pyrrhus* to acquaint him with the Treaſon, and in theirs included the Phyſicians Letter. To requite the *Romans* for this courteſie, he ſent back their Priſoners *gratis*, and diſpatched away *Cineas* again to treat of Peace. The *Romans* would neither receive their Captives in way of free gift, nor reward; but ſent him ſo many of the *Samnites* and *Tarentines*: as for Peace, they refuſed to admit of any, except he would return with his Forces into *Epirus*. He perceiving (ſaith *Plutarch*) that he muſt try with them another battel, marched unto *Aſculum*. Moreover the *Triumphal* Tables ſhow, that in the Conſulſhip of *Fabricius* and *Æmilius*, the *Romans* fought with the *Lucani*, *Brutii*, *Tarentines*, and *Samnites* at *Aſculum*, which as * *Strabo* writeth, was a Town of the *Piceni* in the midland Country, moſt Fortified by nature, being encompaſſed, beſides a Wall, with mountains, over which no Army could paſs.

* *De hac hiſtoria aliter apud alios relata Conſule Livii Epit. l.* 13. *Val. Max. l.* 6. *c.* 5. *Exem.* 1. *Tullii Offic. l.* 3. *Gellium l.* 3. *c.* 8.

* *Lib.* 5. *p.* 241. *B.*

Pyrrhus getting nothing by his very ſucceſs.

Is ſent for into *Sicily* and paſſeth over thither.

14. *Pyrrhus* after this action at *Aſculum*, is reported to have anſwered one who congratulated with him about his ſucceſs, in this manner: *If we overcome the Romans another time we are utterly loſt.* For he had by this time loſt a great part of the Souldiers he had brought over, and almoſt all his friends and Captains: he had no more to ſend for: he perceived his *Italian* Allies to loiter, and the *Romans* to have a conſtant ſupply, whereby they preſently recruited their Army, and filled up their Legions, and he ſaw clearly that their courage was nothing daunted by the loſs of one battel, but rather their ſtrength and reſolution to be the more increaſed. Being preſſed with theſe difficulties, he had preſently a recourſe to vain hopes, occaſioned by ſuch affairs as caſt him neceſſarily into an anxious deliberation. For at the ſame time, the *Agrigentines*, *Syracuſians*, and *Leontines*, out of *Sicily*, gave up themſelves to him, deſiring his help in caſting out the *Carthaginians*, and clearing the Iſland of *Tyrants*: and out of *Greece* came intelligence, that *Ptolomæus Cærannus* was ſlain in battel by the *Galls*, and therefore it was moſt convenient for him to come into *Macedonia*, now without a King. Blaming Fortune much that had conjoyned two ſuch great opportunities, whereof the one muſt neceſſarily be omitted, after a long debate he reſolved to apply himſelf to the matters of *Sicily*, as more conſiderable than the other of *Greece*, becauſe of *Africk*. Having ſent over *Cineas* beforehand to deal with the Cities about the ſtate of affairs, he put a Garriſon upon the *Tarentines*, who took it in ill part, requiring him either to proſecute the

Gellius l. 4. c. 8.
A. M. 3728.
V. C. 477.

L. 2. de Oratore.

War againſt the *Romans*, for which he had been called, or clearly quitting the Country of *Tarentum*, to leave the City in that condition wherein he found it: But returning them no pleaſant anſwer, he bade them ſtay his time, and ſo departed, after he had carryed on the War in *Italy* two years and four months. For the following year, *P. Cornelius Rufinus*, and *C. Julius Brutus*, both the ſecond time, were *Conſuls*. *Rufinus* was a man very expert in War, but extraordinarily covetous and ſcraping, inſomuch that upon this account he was much hated by *Fabricius*, formerly mentioned. Yet, when this year he ſtood for the Conſulſhip, for that it was a very dangerous time, and his competitors were perſons of no value, *Fabricius* laboured earneſtly to have him elected, and when every one wondered at it; either to his friends, or, as **Cicero* writeth, to *Rufinus* himſelf, giving him thanks, he anſwered: *Malui compilari quam vænire, I deſired rather to be pilled than ſold.*

Returneth with difficulty.

A. M. 3730.
Ol. 126. an. 2.
V. C. 479.
Seleucid 38.
Antiochi Sot. 8.
Ptol. Philad. 10.

15. *Pyrrhus* having found things in *Sicily* according to his mind, proceeded in his enterprize with as much ſatisfaction, till growing tyrannical, he incurred the hatred of thoſe that imployed him, part of whom revolted to the *Carthaginians*, and others betook themſelves to the aid of the *Mamertines*. Perceiving at length that he was involved in the deep hatred of all, and nothing throughout the Iſland but revolts, new councils and a ſtrong conſpiracy againſt him, he received Letters from the *Samnites* and *Tarentines*, who being ſhut up in their Towns, which they hardly maintained, deſired his aſſiſtance. He was glad of ſo ſpecious a pretence, that he might not ſeem to be driven by deſperation out of *Sicily*, which indeed as a periſhing Veſſel in ſo great a Tempeſt he was not able to govern, and ſo returned into *Italy*, after he had been abſent near as long as formerly he had there continued. The *Barbarians* ſet upon him in his paſſage, and the *Carthaginians* ſo diſtreſſed him in the Straights, that he loſt many of his Ships. The *Mamertines* having landed, to the number of ten thouſand men before him, would not adventure to fight with him, but diſtreſſed his Army much in narrow and difficult places, killing two Elephants and many Men in the rear. He himſelf fighting in the front with a valiant and skilful Enemy, received a hurt in his head, whereupon he withdrew himſelf a little. This ſo animated the *Mamertines*, that one of them, great in bulk, and glittering with armour, came out far before the reſt, and in a threatning manner bade *Pyrrhus* come forth if he were alive. *Pyrrhus* inraged with his guard, bloody as he was, and with a terrible countenance ruſhed through the midſt, and coming up to the *Barbarian*, ſtruck him with ſuch fury upon the head, that the ſtroak through the Swords mettal and the ſtrength of the arm, pierced to the lower part of the body, ſo that in a moment it was chined down in the middle, and the two parts fell down on either ſide. The *Barbarians* aſtoniſhed hereat, left off their attempts, and ſo without further interruption he marched with twenty thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Horſe to *Tarentum*, where increaſing his Forces by new levies, he proceeded into *Samnium* againſt the *Romans*, who there lay incamped.

He is defeated by *Curius Dentatus* the Conſul.

16. Few of the *Samnites* joyned now with him, becauſe being ſo often overthrown by the *Romans*, their courage was wholly broken, and for that they were diſpleaſed with him for his going into *Sicily*. He divided his Forces into two parts, whereof one he ſent againſt *L. Cornelius Lentulus* into *Lucania* to hinder him from joyning with his Colleague *M. Curius Dentatus* the other *Conſul*, againſt whom he marched, then lying in a fortified place near *Beneventum*. Haſting to ſet upon him ere the other could come to his relief, with the moſt valiant of his men, and fierceſt of his Elephants picked out, he marched by night towards his Camp, but paſſing through Woods his lights failed him, and going out of his way he loſt his time ſo much, that at break of day the *Romans* diſcovered him upon the Hills. *Curius* then in haſt, as he could, drew out his Forces, and falling upon the vantguard of *Pyrrhus* put it to flight, killing many men, and taking ſome Elephants. Animated by this ſucceſs, he deſcended into the Plain, and there joyned battel with the whole Army. In one wing he beat back the Enemy, in the other by the violence of the beaſts was born back to his Camp, whence calling forth thoſe who kept the guard, they from high places ſo plied the Elephants with darts, that they forced them back upon their own friends, whom bearing down, and breaking their ranks, they thereby procured Victory to the *Romans*. *Florus* and *Oroſius*, contrary to what *Plutarch* reporteth of *Beneventum* (concerning which place Learned men do much doubt) make the battel to have been fought in *Lucania* in the *Arruſinian* Plains. *Florus* writeth, that

the cauſe of the Victory was a young Elephants being wounded in the head, which turning back and roaring for the pain, the Dam hearing him, ran as to his relief, and ſo both of them diſordered the battel, ſhe overturning as Enemies all ſhe met. *Oroſius* ſaith, that the beaſts were thus diſordered by bundles of hemp beſmeared with pitch, which having hooks in them and ſet on fire, the *Romans* caſt upon their backs, and the Towers ſet thereon. *Frontinus* maketh the battel fought about *Fatuentum*, in the *Aruſinian* Plains. *Eutropius* is ſilent concerning the place; but writeth, that *Curius Dentatus* beat *Pyrrhus* back to *Tarentum*, ſlew twenty three thouſand of his men, and led, the firſt of all others, Elephants (four in number) in triumph to *Rome*; which beaſts the *Romans* called *Lucæ boves*, becauſe they were firſt brought out of *Lucania*, where *Pyrrhus* was overthrown: This maketh much againſt that place which *Plutarch* aſſigneth for the battel, the original of whoſe error ſeemeth a miſtaking of *Beneventum* for *Fatuentum*, or *Statuentum*, a City of *Lucania*.

16. This Victory, ſaith *Plutarch*, made way for the eſtabliſhment of the *Roman* Empire: for the *Romans* got ſuch courage and reputation by this ſucceſs, that being counted invincible, they preſently obtained all *Italy*, and not long after, *Sicily* alſo. As for *Pyrrhus*, he having ſpent ſix years, and fall'n from his hopes both in *Italy* and *Sicily*, returned into *Epirus*, yet with a mind nothing daunted. He was thought the Ableſt Captain of all the Kings of that time, both for military skill, and perſonal valour; but what he had already obtained, he loſt ſtill by ſtriving to graſp more. Therefore *Antigonus* compared him to a *Gameſter*, who having lucky hits, knew not how to uſe them. (a) Having ſent to the Kings of *Aſia*, and *Antigonus* eſpecially, for men and money, after he had received bare Letters, he called the *Epirots* and *Tarentines* together, and told them, that preſently aſſiſtance would come, which report being carryed unto the *Roman* Camp, the *Conſuls* durſt not ſtir, and ſo taking this advantage, the night following, he paſſed over unmoleſted into *Epirus* (b) *Curius* the *Conſul* having taken his Camp, touched nothing of the plunder; and whereas the Senate gave ſeven Acres of ground apiece to the people, and five hundred to him, he would not exceed the common proportion. This year, *C. Fabricius Luſcinus* and *Q. Æmilius Papus*, much (c) commended for their poverty, being *Cenſors*, (d) removed P. *Cornelius Rufinus*, who had been twice *Conſul* and once *Dictator*, from the Senate, becauſe they had found in his houſe of plate for the ſervice of his table ten pounds; this being againſt a Law, as (e) *Plutrach* hinteth. At this *Luſtrum* were ceſſed two hundred ſeventy one thouſand two hundred and twenty four polls of *Roman* Citizens, as appeareth from the Epitome of the fourteenth Book of *Livie's* Hiſtory.

And withdraweth himſelf into his own Kingdom.

(a) *Pauſan. in Atticis.*
(bq) *Val. Max. l. 4. c. 3. exemp. 5.*
(c) *Idem l. 4. c. 4. exemp. 3.*
(d) *Livii Epit. l. 14.*
Val. Max. l. 2. c. 9. exemp. 4.
Agellius l. 17. c. 21.
(e) *In Sylia.*

17. The *Roman* name had begun to be famous before, but was terrible after the overthrow of *Pyrrhus*. In the ſecond year after his flight, (a) *Ptolomy Philadelphus* ſent Ambaſſadors to congratulate with the *Romans* about their ſucceſs, and to enter into confederacy with them. They ſent, to do him honour, Ambaſſadors alſo to *Alexandria*, where he received them moſt courteouſly, and ſent them back loaded with gifts. At their return they brought the gifts, though given to themſelves in particular, into the Treaſury; but the Senate commanded them to be reſtored. In the third year after the departure of *Pyrrhus*, the (b) *Tarentines*, being neither able to drive out the Garriſon he had there left under *Milo*, nor procure Peace of the *Romans*, deſired aid of the *Carthaginians*, wherewith giving the *Romans* battel, they were overthrown. *Milo* ſenſible how badly he was able to reſiſt, by leave from the Conſul *Papirius*, departed with his men, and left the Caſtle, which the *Romans* having got into their hands, eaſily maſtered the City, the walls whereof they demoliſhed. Peace and liberty was granted to the Citizens, and the two Conſuls *L. Papirius Curſor*, and *Sp. Cornelius Maximus* (both *Conſuls* the ſecond time) triumphed, having finiſhed both the *Tarentine* War and that of the *Samnites* in the four hundred and eighty firſt (or the four hundred and eighty ſecond) year of the City, as the *Capitoline* tables do ſhew. The greateſt part of *Italy* was now conquered, an acceſſion being made not only of the *Tarentines* and *Samnites*, but the *Lucanians* alſo, and a little before of the *Etruſcans*. After this, the (c) *Campanian* Legion, which without command had ſeized upon *Rhegium* was beſieged, and upon ſurrender was put to death. The Inhabitants of *Apollonia* in *Illyricum* ſending Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, the two Ædiles *Q. Fabius* and *Cn. Apronius* beat them, and for that were delivered up to the *Apolloniates*. The *Picentes* were overcome and had peace given them. Colonies were ſent forth to

Ptolomy Philadelphus by an Embaſſie maketh a confederacy with the *Romans*.

The Caſtle and Town of *Tarentum* taken; moſt of *Italy* being now ſubdued.

(a) *Livii Ep. l. 14.*
Eutrop. l. 2.
Val. Max. l. 4. c. 3. ex. 9.

(b) *Oroſius l. 4. c. 3.*
Xonaras.
A. M. 3733.
Ol. 127. *an.* 1.
V. C. 482.
Seleucid. 41.
Antioch Sot. 11
Ptol. Philad. 13.

(c) *Livii Epit. lib. 15.*
Val. Max. l. 6. c. 6. exemp. 5.

Silver money firſt ſtamped.

(d) *Lib.* 33. c. 3.

Ariminum in the Country of the *Piceni*, and to *Beneventum* (till now called *Maleventum*) in that of the *Samnites*. About the ſame time was ſilver Coin firſt ſtamped at *Rome*, braſs being uſed altogether till now, the State having got much ſilver in a Caſtle of the *Samnites*, as *Xonaras* writeth. This hapned five years before the firſt *Punick* War, as (d) *Pliny* computeth, *C. Fabius Piſtor*, and *Q. Ogulnius Gallus* being *Conſuls*, in the fourteenth year of *Antiochus Soter*, and the ſixteenth of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, A. M. 3736, two hundred and ſixty ſeven years before the birth of Chriſt.

SECT. II.

From the Firſt Punick War, to that with Antiochus *the Great, in which the* Romans *firſt invaded* Aſia, *the ſpace of thirty ſeven years.*

The Original of the *Sicilian* or firſt Punick War.

A. M. 3740.
Ol. 128. *an.* 4.
V. C. 490.
Seleucid. 49.
Antioch. Sot. 19.
Ptolom. Philad. 21.

1. THe *Umbri* and *Sallentini* being newly ſubdued, and the number of *Quæſtors* being increaſed to eight, the *Romans* took occaſion to transfer their Armies over the Sea into *Sicily*, and begun that, which from the Iſland (that gave both occaſion to, and was the ſeat of, it) is by *Greek* Writers called the *Sicilian* War. There had the *Mamertines* moſt perfidiouſly ſeized on *Meſſana*, as is already related, and thereupon were become Enemies to *Hieron* King of *Syracuſe*, who beſieged them juſtly as thieves and murderers, and had taken the City, but that *Annibal* the *Carthaginian* cunningly diverted him, with an intention to get it into his own hands, as it came to paſs; for pretending fair things to the *Mamertines*, as before to *Hiero*, and ſending them in proviſions, he poſſeſſed himſelf of the Caſtle. They being thus cheated by him, and now ſtraightned by both, who had joyned together againſt them, betook themſelves to the *Romans* for relief. The *Senate* begun to be very ſenſible of the power of the *Carthaginians*, who had now almoſt the whole Iſland in their hands, and was jealous of their approach ſo near to *Italy*; ſo that a juſt quarrel with them ſeemed very acceptable. But ſo bad was the cauſe of the *Mamertines*, as they could not in conſcience undertake the patronage of it, and gave them a denial. From the Senate the thing was brought to the People, which beſides it's antient uſe to debate matters concerning War, had by the *Hortenſian* Law obtained power by it's *Plebiſcita* to bind the whole State. The *Prætors* ſhewed what great profit would redound to the Commonwealth in general, and particularly to private Citizens (who having ſuffered much by the late *Italian* Wars, were deſirous by a new one to recruit their fortunes) and therefore by a *Plebiſcitum* they decreed aid to be ſent to the *Mamertines*, in the four hundred and eighty ninth year of the City, *Q. Fabius Maximus Gurges* the third time, and *L. Milius Vitulus* being Conſuls.

Hiero King of *Syracuſe* being worſted maketh his peace with the *Romans*.

2. In the year following, and the Conſulſhip of *Appius Claudius Caudex*, and *M. Fulvius Flaccus*, *Appius* was ſent over with an Army to *Meſſana*, to execute the commands of the People. He firſt defeated *Hiero*, then the *Carthaginians*, and ſo raiſed the ſiege. The ſucceeding *Conſuls Manius Octacilius* and *M. Valerius Maximus*, were ordered both, and with all the Legions, to paſs into *Sicily*, wherewith *Hiero* was affrighted into obedience, perceiving that the *Romans* were moſt likely to remain Victors, and made his Peace upon theſe terms, *To reſtore all their priſoners without ranſom, and pay one hundred Talents of Silver.* The *Romans* imbraced his friendſhip the more readily, for that the *Carthaginians* being maſters at Sea, they could not well ſend over proviſions, which they hoped might be ſupplyed by him in good meaſure. They alſo by this alliance thought themſelves eaſed of the burthen of War, and therefore the next year they ſent over but two Legions. *Valerius* the *Conſul* from *Meſſana* had the ſirname of *Meſſala*, who alſo having taken *Catana*, carryed thence a new Sun-Dial to *Rome*, *Papirius Curſor* having thirty years before ſet up the firſt that ever was in that City. This though not perfect, the People uſed ninety nine years, till *M. Philippus* their *Cenſor* ſet up a perfect one by it, and about the ſame time *Scipio Naſica* being *Cenſor*, firſt divided the equal diviſion of the day into hours, by water dropping out of one veſſel into another. This *Pliny* relateth out of *Varro*, who alſo reported, that out of *Sicily* the firſt Barbers were brought to *Rome* by *P. Ticinius Mena*, about the four hundred and fifty fourth year of the City, before which time the *Romans* never cut their hair. The firſt that

A Dial brought out of *Sicily* to *Rome*.

And Barbers.

that was ſhaven every day was *Scipio Africanus*, whom *Auguſtus* imitated therein; none more uſing the Razor than he.

Agrigentum taken.

3. The next year was *Agrigentum* taken after a long ſiege; *Hannibal* who came to raiſe it being overthrown by *L. Poſthumius* and *Q. Mamilius* the *Conſuls*. The news whereof filled *Rome* with exceſſive joy, and the Citizens now elevated in mind, would not acquieſce in former Councils. It ſeemed not ſufficient to them, that they had ſaved the *Mamertines*, nor inriched themſelves with great booty: but conceiving good hope that they might be able to caſt the *Carthaginians* out of *Sicily*, and much thereby promote their affairs, they thitherto directed their thoughts and conſultations. On Land indeed they ſeemed ſufficiently to proſper, for *L. Valerius* and *T. Octacilius* the ſucceeding *Conſuls*, managed the War very well; but the *Carthaginians* without controverſie being Maſters at Sea, thereby procured the Maritime Towns to revolt to them, ſo that the War was poiſed betwixt the two intereſts, now inclining to one ſide, and then preſently to the other. Moreover *Italy* was often moleſted by the *Carthaginian* Fleet; but *Africk* out of all danger. Wherefore they concluded, there was neceſſity of betaking themſelves alſo to Sea matters. Having never as much as thought of the Sea before, they now ſet upon building of one hundred Quinqueremes and twenty Triremes, a thing moſt difficult, becauſe the Carpenters were utterly to ſeek how to make the former ſort of Gallies, their uſe being utterly unknown to the *Italians*. But before they had made tryal, when they firſt tranſported their Forces to *Meſſana*, they ventured to fight with the *Carthaginians*, who had received the Dominion of the Sea, without any competition from their Anceſtors; which boldneſs and confidence *Polybius* eſteemeth no leſs than miraculous. Firſt of all *Cn. Cornelius* the *Conſul* and *Admiral*, going with ſeven Veſſels to reduce a Town of the *Liparæans*, was taken in the Haven by one ſent from *Hannibal*. But *Duilius* his Collegue preſently after gave the *Carthaginians* a great overthrow, the Souldiers having provided iron hooks, by the help of which they could board them and fight as on Land. The *Romans* hereby extraordinarily animated, relieved the *Ægeſtans*, and took *Macella* a certain Town by ſtorm. But *Amilcar* Captain of the *Carthaginian* Land-Forces then lying at *Panormus*, underſtanding that in the *Roman* Camp there was a mutiny, for that the Auxiliaries and Legions contended who ſhould have the firſt place in battel; and that the former had ſeparated themſelves, he ſuddenly fell upon them in their removal, and killed almoſt four thouſand men. *Hannibal* after this loſs at Sea departed to *Carthage*, where recruiting his Naval Forces he went into *Sardinia*, and being blocked up in a port by the *Romans*, loſt many ſhips, and for that was crucified by the Souldiers, who overlived the defeat. The puniſhment which he feared for the former overthrow he craftily evaded; for, before the thing was heard at *Carthage*, he ſent one of his friends thither, who coming to the Court, told the Senate that the *Roman* Admiral was come with a great Fleet, and therefore he was come to ask their advice whether he ſhould fight him. All the Senate anſwered, *there was no doubt but he ought*, to which the meſſenger replyed, *he hath fought and is overthrown*. By this means he hindered them from condemning that fact, which before they had judged that it ought to be done.

A. M. 3743.
Ol. 129. *an.* 3.
V. C. 492.
Antioch.Theï. 1.
Ptol.Philad 23

The *Romans* now firſt apply themſelves to Sea matters.

Hannibal crucified by his Souldiers.

A. M. 3745.
Val. Max. l. 7.
c. 3. *exter.*
exemp. 7.

Hanno ſlain.

4. Now had the *Romans* paſſed both into *Sardinia* and *Corſica*; Divine Providence as *Caſaubon* noteth upon *Polybius*, ſo ordering it, that preſent ſucceſs ſhould diſpoſe their minds for ſuch future undertakings, as made way for their decreed *Empire*. (*a*) *Hanno*, the year following, being in *Sardinia* was ſlain, and his Army cut off by *L. Cornelius Scipio* the *Conſul*. The next, many Towns were loſt and taken in *Sicilie* on both ſides. But (*b*) *Calpurnius Flemma* a *Roman* Tribune (or Leader of a Legion) gave a great demonſtration of his valour. For *A. Attilius Calatinus* the *Conſul*, having raſhly brought the Army into ſuch ſtraights, out of which there was no poſſibility to extricate himſelf, he with three hundred men took an hill near adjoyning, and drew thereby the *Carthaginians* to himſelf, till the Army could paſs through without oppoſition. All the three hundred were ſlain, yet he ſorely wounded and covered with dead bodies ſurvived, being by *Roman* Writers compared, for this act, to *Leonidas* the *Spartan*. This ſtory is twice told by *Julius Frontinus*, who acquainteth us with the uncertainty of the mans name, ſome calling him *Laberius*, others *Q. Cæditius*, but moſt *Calpurnius Flamma*. The following year, *C. Attilius Regulus* the *Conſul* ſubdued the Iſlands *Lipara* and *Melita*, whereof the later is ennobled by the ſhip-wrack of St. *Paul*, lying betwixt *Sicily* and *Africk*. *Polybius* writeth, that firſt *Regulus* was worſted at Sea, and then he defeated the *Carthaginians*. Now the *Romans* reſolved to change the ſeat of the War

(*a*) *Oroſius l.* 4. *c.* 7.
(*b*) *Front. Statag. l.* 1. *c.* 5. *Exemp.* 15. & *l.* 4. *c.* 5. *Exemp.* 10.
Gellius l. 3. *c.* 7. *alii.*

The valiant act of *Calpurnius Flamma*.

The Conſuls paſs into *Africk*, and in their paſſage defeat the *Carthaginians* at Sea.

War into *Africk*, and the next year ſent a Fleet under command of the Conſuls *M. Attilus Regulus* (who was ſubſtituted in the place of *Cæditius*) and *L. Manlius*, containing three hundred and thirty long and covered ſhips. The *Carthaginians* ſenſible enough how concerned they were to keep the War from their own doors, oppoſed them with three hundred and fifty Veſſels, and a threefold battel was fought, on the ſame day, in which the *Romans* remained Victors, having taken ſixty four ſhips with the defendants, and ſunk thirty, and of their own loſt twenty four, but not with the men; for the *Carthaginians* fearing their *Corvi* or Iron hooks, were afraid to come near them. Repairing then the ſhips they had taken, they paſſed over into *Africk*, and had ſurrendered to them *Clupea* a City ſeated upon the Promontory *Hermæa*. This done, they ſent to the Senate for further orders, employing themſelves, till the return of the meſſengers, in waſting the Country, which they did without interruption. At length they received the reſolution of the Senate, which was, that one of them ſhould continue in *Africk* with a convenient Army, and the other return to *Rome* with the remaining Forces.

Regulus maketh War againſt a monſtrous Serpent.

Defeateth the *Carthaginians*, and not long after is defeated and taken himſelf.

5. (*a*) *M. Attillius Regulus* remained in *Africk* with forty ſhips, fifteen thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe. Pitching his Camp upon the River *Bragada*, or *Bagrada*, he was forced to make (*b*) War with a Serpent of miraculous bigneſs, which with the great trouble of his whole Army, and uſe of Engines for battery, at length he ſlew, and ſent its skin, one hundred and twenty Foot long, to *Rome*. The Hiſtory hereof was curiouſly and elegantly related by *Livie*, as (*c*) *Valerius* telleth us. After this, (*d*) the Conſul gave the *Carthaginians* a defeat, fighting in ſuch a place where their Horſe and Elephants could do them no ſervice, and then took *Tunetum* or *Tunis*. But not long after he was overthrown himſelf, taken priſoner, and almoſt his whole Army loſt; this Victory being got for the *Carthaginians* by *Xantippus*, the *Lacedemonian*, whom afterwards ſending honourably home as they pretended, they commanded thoſe that carryed him to drown him and his in the Sea, leſt ſo great a Victory ſhould be aſcribed to the *Lacedemonians*, as *Appian* writeth. Of thirty thouſand but a few eſcaped into the City *Aſpis* (called alſo *Clupea*) where they were beſieged, till their Enemies perceiving they profited nothing, roſe up and made proviſion for reſiſting the ſuccours which the Senate ſent the following year, under command of *M. Æmilius Paulus* and *Ser. Fabius Nobilior*, the Conſuls. They taking the Sea with three hundred and fifty ſhips were oppoſed by the *Carthaginians*, whom they defeated, and took one hundred and fourteen of their Veſſels with the men in them, as *Polybius* writeth, or took thirty and ſank one hundred and four, as *Eutropius* and *Oroſius*, the later whereof addeth, that of the *Carthaginians* were ſlain thirty five thouſand, and that the *Romans* loſt nine Gallies and one thouſand and one hundred men. The Conſuls then went to *Clupea*, but, taking in the relicks of the Army, preſently ſet ſail again for *Sicily*. The Pilots told them they muſt take heed of the outward part of that Iſland, which was full of ſhelves and very dangerous, eſpecially at that time betwixt the riſing of *Orion* and the *Dog*. But they gave no heed to the Seamen, out of a deſire, by ſhewing of their freſh Victory and Plunder, to procure certain Towns upon the Coaſts to yield. They had ſafely paſſed the middle of the Sea, and drew near to the Coaſts of *Camarina*, when ſuch a tempeſt and ſo great calamities fell upon them, as cannot be expreſſed, ſaith *Polybius*, for the greatneſs thereof. For, of four hundred and ſixty four ſhips, eighty ſcarcely were ſaved, and the reſt were ſwallowed up, or caſt upon Rocks, ſo that the Shoar was filled with dead bodies, and broken pieces of Ships. Both the Conſuls periſhed. Thoſe few that eſcaped *Hiero* kindly received, and furniſhing them with Cloaths and other neceſſaries, conveyed them ſafe to *Meſſana*. *Karthalo* the *Carthaginian* taking advantage of this diſaſter, beſieged, conquered, and burnt *Agrigentum*, the Walls whereof he alſo demoliſhed.

(*a*) *Polybius lib.* 1.

(*b*) *Gallius l.*6. *c.* 3. *Liv. Epit.l.*18.

(*c*) *Lib.*1. *c.ult Exemp. ult.* *Polybius ut ſupra.*

A. M. 3749.
Ol. 131. *an.* 1.
V. C. 498.
Ant. Thei. 7.
Ptol. Philad. 29.
M. Attilio Regulo 2.
L. Manlio Vulſone Coſſ.

The Conſuls in their return from *Sicily* periſh by a lamentable ſhipwrack.

Agrigentum deſtroyed.

*Idem ibid. Eutrop. l.*2. *Diod. Siculus l.*23. *Eclog.* 12.

A. M. 3750.

6. The *Romans* nothing at all diſcouraged by the greateſt loſs that ever a tempeſt procured, gave order for the making of two hundred and twenty Gallies, which was proſecuted with ſuch alacrity, that in three months time they were both made and lanched. *Aſdrubal* the *Carthaginian* with all the old Army, new levies, and one hundred and forty Elephants, came into *Sicily*, and of old and new Veſſels made up a Fleet of two hundred ſail. The Conſuls *A. Attilius* and *Cn. Cornelius* being commanded to paſs into *Sicily*, therein, this year, took ſeveral Towns, and returned. Their ſucceſſors *C. Servilius Cæpio* and *C. Sempronius Blæſo*, in the beginning of the next Spring with all the Fleet paſſed into *Sicily*, and thence into *Africk*, where coaſting about they landed in many places, but did nothing memorable.

rable. At length they came to the Iſland of the *Lotophagi* called *Meninx*, not far diſtant from the leſſer *Syrtis*. Here they fell upon ſome quicks in the low water and were in great danger, being utterly ignorant of the Coaſts, but the Tide returning, when they had lightned the ſhips, cleared then off the ſhelves, and they returned in a kind of flight to *Panormus* in *Sicily*. Then paſſing hence towards *Rome* through the ſtraights very unadviſedly, ſuch a Tempeſt fell upon them, as above one hundred and fifty ſhips were loſt. Though the Senate and People were marvailouſly pricked forward to all attempts by deſire of glory, yet ſo many and great were their loſſes at Sea, that they were conſtrained to omit naval preparations, and place all their hope in the land Forces. They ſent *L. Cacilius Metellus* and *Cn. Furius Pacilus* the Conſuls into *Sicily* with the Legions, and ſixty ſhips only, for the conveying of neceſſaries to the Army. And not only did they plainly yield the Dominion of the Sea to the *Carthaginians*, but feared them alſo on Land, becauſe of their Elephants, which had oftentimes done them great dammage. *Aſdrubal* the *Punick* General underſtanding their fears, and how one of the Conſuls was returned back into *Italy* with half of the Army, in great confidence waſted the grounds about *Panormus*, and the more careleſly, becauſe *Metellus* kept himſelf within the Walls. But the Conſul taking an opportunity, ſo placed his men in reſpect of the Elephants, that when the *Carthaginians* came againſt the Town, he overthrew them, ſlew twenty thouſand, and took twenty ſix Elephants, according to *Eutropius*. But *Oroſius* writeth, that twenty ſix were ſlain, and one hundred and four taken: and *Livie* related, as appeareth by the Epitome of his nineteenth Book, that one hundred and twenty Elephants were led in triumph, with thirteen Captains of the Enemy. *Diodorus Siculus* maketh the occaſion of the overthrow to have been given by the *Celtæ*, in *Aſdrubals* Army, who meeting with Wine brought thither by Merchants, ſo ingurgitated themſelves therein, that being not themſelves, they broke the ranks and turned all into diſorder, which opportunity *Metellus* inſtantly improved.

Another ſhip-wrack of the Conſuls.

Metellus the Conſul defeateth the *Carthaginians*.

7. This defeat cauſed the *Carthaginians* to deſire Peace, and offered to ſend to the Senate about it. Amongſt the Meſſengers was *Attilius Regulus* whom they had overthrown, and taken priſoner, five years before, and now bound with an Oath to return to *Carthage*, in caſe neither Peace nor exchange of priſoners could be procured. He when he came to *Rome*, according to what he thought of the intereſt of the Commonwealth, diſſwaded the Senate from Peace; and yet to keep his Oath returned to *Carthage*, where he was cruelly tormented to death; and as * *Cicero* writeth, by hunger and watching having his eye-lids cut off. The year following, becauſe the Land-Forces were very fearful of the *Carthaginian* Elephants, and very uncheerfully went about their work, the *Romans* provided another Fleet, and beſieged *Lilybæum*, a Town ſtanding upon the Southern Promontory of *Sicily*, overagainſt *Africk*, but without ſucceſs; within a while the Navy was brought to nothing, and *Amilcar Barcas* being ſent from *Carthage* troubled *Italy* with his inroads and depredations. For ſeven years then did they abſtain from the Sea; but being ſorely diſturbed by *Amilcar*, they reſolved once more to try their fortune that way, and a Fleet was provided, and furniſhed out of their private purſes, the Treaſury being now exhauſted. With this they gave ſuch a blow to the *Carthaginians* near the Iſlands *Ægates*, under conduct of *C. Lutatius Catulus* the Conſul, as made them give commiſſion to *Amilcar* to conclude a Peace, if he found it requiſite. Though he was, as to his own diſpoſition, much averſe to it, yet ſeeing it neceſſary for his Countries welfare, he made an agreement with *Lutatius* upon theſe terms, if the *Romans* would approve them; viz. *That the* Carthaginians *ſhould wholly quit* Sicily; *make no War upon the* Syracuſians *or their allies; releaſe without ranſom all Priſoners, and pay within the ſpace of twenty years two thouſand two hundred Talents of Silver*. This pleaſed not the People, and therefore ten men were ſent into *Sicily*, with full authority to conclude the Peace, who *ſhortned the time of payment, added one thouſand Talents to the former ſum, and further cautionated that the* Carthaginians *ſhould not only quit* Sicily, *but all the Iſlands alſo betwixt it and* Italy. Thus ended the firſt *Punick* War, after it had continued twenty four years, and *Lilybæum* had been beſieged ten; in the five hundred and thirteenth year of the City, the fourth of the one hundred and thirty fourth *Olympiad*, the ſixth of *Seleucus Callinicus*, and the ſixth of *Ptolomy Euergetes*, A. M. 3764, two hundred and thirty nine years before the birth of Chriſt, *A. Manlius Torquatus* the ſecond time, and *Q. Lutatius Cerco* being Conſuls.

Which moveth them to ſend about a Peace.

Regulus one of the Meſſengers diſſwadeth it, and for that at his return is tormented to death.

* *De Finib. l.* 5. *Sed conſule Gellium l.* 6. *c.* 4.

Defeated again at the Iſlands *Ægates*, they deſire,

Polybius l. 3.

And obtain Peace.

Diodorus l. 24.
A. M. 3764.
Ol. 134. *an.* 4.
V. C. 513.
Seleuci Callin. 6
Ptol. Euerg. 6.

8. The *Carthaginians* ſubmitted to the terms of this Peace, that they might recruit

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cruit themſelves by a ceſſation; but the Peace procured them greater danger than the War could well have done. For, *Amilcar Barcas*, after the ratification, drew down the Forces to *Lilybæum*, and giving them up into the hands of *Geſco*, to be tranſported, laid down his Office. *Geſco* wiſely conſidering what danger there was of ſuch a multitude of Mercenaries it's falling into ſedition (eſpecially becauſe they wanted their pay, which the publick Treaſury already exhauſted could not afford them) conveyed them into *Africk* by ſmall companies together. But his Superiors, either through inadvertency, or for want of money, diſmiſſed them not as they arrived; but ſtayed them till all ſhould come together, with intention to prevail for an abatement of their wages. The City growing full, many outrages were committed by the Souldiers, which cauſed the Townſmen to procure their Captains to lead them out to *Sicca* a Town not far off, and when they left their baggage behind them, as intending ſhortly to return to *Carthage*, they fearing their unwillingneſs to depart, or their ſpeedy return, becauſe of their Wives and Children, in the carriages, forced them to take all away. When they were come to *Sicca*, they fell into greater licentiouſneſs through want of employment, and demanded larger pay than formerly they had pretended to, expecting alſo great rewards promiſed them by their Captains in dangerous adventures. As ſoon as they were all come thither, *Hanno* the *Carthaginian Prætor* was ſent to them, who was ſo far from curing, that he heightned the diſtemper.

Lege Polybium l. 1.

A lamentable mutiny of the *Carthaginian* Mercenaries.

9. He not only brought none of thoſe things with him which they expected, but complaining of the emptineſs of the Treaſury, talked of abating ſomething of their conſtant wages. This put the multitude into a rage, into which having once fallen, it was hard to be appeaſed, as upon other accounts, ſo through the diverſity of their ſpeech, things being either miſrepreſented by unskilful interpreters, or miſunderſtood by them who were willing enough to be miſtaken. Breathing nothing but fury and violence, they took Arms, and in deſpight of *Hanno* and the other Officers marched toward *Carthage*, and encamped at *Tunis*, fifteen miles from the City, to the number of twenty thouſand. The *Carthaginians* affrighted at the multitude reſolved to ſatisfie them; but then the Mercenaries perceiving how they were feared, every day invented what to add to their demands, requiring beſides their pay the price of their Horſes loſt in the War; and, after this was granted, Proviſion for ſeveral years, which they ſaid was behind. Their late Maſters not daring to deny them any thing, prevailed that ſome one who had commanded them in *Sicily* ſhould be choſen as Moderator, and the whole matter left to him.

Hanno ſent to make up the breach inlargeth it.

They march towards *Carthage*.

10. The Souldiers made choice of *Geſco*, as one who had beſt deſerved of them. And he laboured to pacifie them all he might, and was about to pay them their Arrears. But there being in the Army one *Spendius*, a *Campanian* of *Italy* by birth, but by condition a *Roman* ſlave, who having ran away from his Maſter, wanted neither ſtrength nor courage; and one *Mathos* an *African*; the former fearing to be tortured to death if his Maſter caught him, as the *Roman* manner was, and the later though free, fearing to be called to an account for his too great forwardneſs in the late ſtirs, ſought how to drive all things into extremity, that they might procure a War, inveighing grievouſly againſt *Geſco* and the *Carthaginians*, as having a deſign as ſoon as the reſt were diſperſed and gone home, to ſpend their rage againſt the *Africans*. The multitude herewith were ſtrangely incenſed, ſo that who ever attempted to ſpeak, before they could be heard what they would ſay, were all ſtoned to death except theſe two. *Geſco* yet would not ceaſe to do his duty, but went from one Nation to another, labouring to pacifie them; but when the *Africans* demanded allowance for their Proviſions, he bade them ask it of *Mathos* their Captain. This ſo tranſported them, that they plundered the goods of the *Carthaginians*, with all the money he had brought for the diſchargement of the Army, and binding him and his followers in a contumelious manner caſt them into priſon.

Spendius and *Mathos* hinder the agreement, and provoke the multitude.

11. By the advice of *Mathos* they rebelled againſt the *Carthaginians*, and ſo began the War called *Libycum* and *Africum*, as alſo ζενικὸν. Their numbers being increaſed to ſeventy thouſand. *Matho* and *Spendius* now created Generals, divided their Forces, and beſieged *Utica* and *Hippacra*. *Hanno* was ſent from *Carthage* to the relief of the *Uticans*, and at the firſt onſet drove away the beſiegers; but entering the Town, and loitering there, they ſet upon his Camp without, and killing many, took all his Engines, and other things prepared for the War. His Superiors troubled hereat, created Captain *Amilcar Barcas*, and ſent him into the field with

Whence ariſeth the *Libyan*, or *African* War.

Amilcar Barcas defeateth the Mercenaries.

ſeventy Elephants, and ten thouſand men. There he was encompaſſed by the *Africans* on his Front, the *Numidians* on his Rear, and *Spendius* on his Flank, where *Naravaſus* a *Numidian* with two thouſand of his followers revolted to him. Encouraged by this addition he engaged with his Enemies, cauſing his men ſo to face about as the Front became the Rear, whereby ſeeming to be in confuſion, the Mercenaries thought they ran, and breaking their Ranks to purſue them he took this opportunity, and ſetting on them out of order obtained the Victory, having ſlain ten thouſand, and taken four thouſand Priſoners.

Who are further provoked by their Captains.

12. He gave Arms to all ſuch Priſoners as would ſerve under him, and having exhorted the reſt to fight no more againſt the *Carthaginians*, diſmiſſed them freely. *Spendius* and *Matho*, together with *Autaritus* Captain of the *Galls*, hearing this, doubted how far his clemency, eſpecially the offer of indemnity, might prevail with the *Africans* and others, and conſulted how to obviate this his deſign by ſetting the multitude at irreconcilable enmity with the *Carthaginians*. To this purpoſe they feigned Letters to be ſent out of *Sardinia* from their friends, giving them to underſtand, that certain amongſt them held intelligence with the Enemy, and adviſing them to keep cloſe *Geſco*, and the other with him. *Spendius* taking hereat occaſion, earneſtly adviſed them not to truſt to the pretended clemency of *Amilcar*, and by no means to permit *Geſco* to eſcape; for thereby they ſhould incur the contempt of their Enemies, and by ſtrengthening them through the aſſiſtance of ſo great a Captain, not a little damnifie their own affairs. Whilſt he yet ſpake another pretended meſſenger brought Letters as from *Tunis* of the ſame Contents with the former; and then *Autaritus* openly proteſted, that whoſoever had any regard to the kinkneſs of the *Carthaginians* could not be faithful, and therefore ſuch were to be heard as perſwaded the moſt bitter things againſt *Carthage*, all others being Traitors and Enemies. Then did he perſwade them to Torture *Geſco* to death, with ſuch as were now with him, and all that hereafter ſhould be taken. There were many which ſpoke againſt this cruelty, eſpecially as *Geſco* was concerned in it; but for ſome time they were not underſtood, ſpeaking in their own Languages, and when what they aimed at was fully known, ſome one cryed out *ſtrike them*, which ſo provoked the multitude, that they forthwith ſtoned them. After this, bringing forth *Geſco*, and the other *Carthaginians* to the number of ſeven hundred, they cruelly tormented them to death; and made a decree, that whomſoever of them for the time to come they ſhould take, he ſhould be uſed in the ſame manner, and if any of their Allies were taken, his hands being cut off, he ſhould be ſent back to *Carthage*. This they very carefully afterwards obſerved, having alſo refuſed to deliver the dead bodies to the Meſſengers that came for them, and threatned, if any more came, to deal with them as they had uſed *Geſco*.

Amilcar Uniteth the *Carthaginian* forces.

Mathos and *Spendius* elevated by their ſucceſs beſiege *Carthage*.

Amilcar forceth them to break up.

13. *Amilcar* ſeeing into what ſtraights he was caſt by this boldneſs of the Mercenaries, ſent for *Hanno*, judging that an end might ſooner be put to the War if the Forces of the State were all United. Such of the Enemies as he took in the heat of the fight he killed, as he might by the Law of War, or taking them alive, caſt them to wild beaſts. When he thought that he had brought matters into a fair way of recovery, they preſently relapſed into a far worſe condition than ever. For, the ſhips that brought Proviſions miſcarryed by force of Tempeſt; *Sardinia* at the ſame time revolted from them, which was wont to ſupply them with large Proviſions; and *Hippacrita* and *Utica* which hitherto had remained faithful, now revolted without any manifeſt cauſe. *Mathos* and *Spendius* herewith elevated, reſolved to lay ſiege to *Carthage* it ſelf, and ſhortly after performed it. The *Carthaginians* in this their diſtreſs betook themſelves to their neighbours, whereof the *Romans*, and *Hiero* King of *Syracuſe* in *Sicily*, being ſenſible of the ſawcineſs of their Enemies, were ready to do them all good Offices. Herewith better enabled, they held out, and *Amilcar* lying abroad, ſo cut off all Proviſions from the Mercenaries, that being no other than beſieged themſelves, they were forced at length to riſe up and depart, reſolving to obſerve *Amilcar's* motions, and ly in wait for him on the ſides of the Mountains; for they would not venture to take the plain, being afraid of his Elephants, and the Horſe of *Naravaſcus*; and otherwiſe they were much inferior to the *Carthaginians*, who far ſurpaſſed them in Military skill, though but equal to them in valour.

14. But *Amilcar* ſingling them out by parties, killed many of them, and when they ingaged with their whole Force cut them off by ſtatagems: ſometimes by day, otherwhiles by night he would fall upon them on a ſudden with great Terror, and ſuch of them as he took he caſt to the beaſts. At length he compaſſed

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them about in ſuch a place, as, though they were afraid to fight they could not eſcape, and being ſhut up within a Ditch and Rampire, they were forced to devour one onother. Though they now could expect no mercy, yet they ſent to deſire a Parley, and having obtained leave, *Autarolus*, *Zarxas*, *Spendius*, and other Captains were ordered to manage it. It was agreed that the *Carthaginians* ſhould pick out ten men whom they pleaſed, and the other be diſmiſſed in their Coats. The Covenants being finiſhed, *Amilcar* declared that he made choice of thoſe who were preſent, and ſo got the moſt eminent Leaders into his power. The *Africans* underſtanding that their Officers were ſeized, took Arms in great haſte, but *Amilcar* with his Elephants and his Army compaſſing them in on every ſide, put them to the Sword. For the improvement of this ſucceſs, he and *Annibal* went and beſieged *Mathos* in *Tunis*, before the Walls whereof he nailed *Spendius* to a Croſs with the reſt of the Captives. *Annibal* pitching his Camp on that ſide of the Town towards *Carthage*, careleſly demeaned himſelf, which *Mathos* conſidering, made a Sally, and killing many, took much plunder, and amongſt other Priſoners *Annibal* himſelf, whom bringing to *Spendius* his Croſs, after he had taken down his Collegue's body, he nailed him to it, and killed thirty more of the moſt Noble *Carthaginians*.

Utterly defeateth them, and the War endeth, after three years and almoſt four moneths.

15. It was long ere *Amilcar* knew of this diſaſter, and when he did, for the diſtance of place, and difficulty of paſſage, he could give no relief. Marching therefore from *Tunis*, he ſate down by the mouth of the River *Macaris*, and his Superiours at *Carthage* making new Levies joyned *Hanno* in Commiſſion with him. Theſe two, after ſeveral paſſages, at length agreed to fight one ſet battel with the Enemy, who conſenting, a bloody conteſt enſued, wherein at length the *Carthaginians* had the better. A great part of the *Africans* were ſlain, and the reſt fled to a neighbouring City, where not long after they yielded themſelves, and *Mathos* was taken alive. The Subjects of *Carthage* now all returned to obedience, except they of *Hippacrita* and *Utica*, who being paſt hope of mercy from their inraged Lords, ſeemed reſolved to ſtand out; but *Hanno* and *Amilcar* bringing their Forces, conſtrained them to ſubmit to ſuch conditions as the *Carthaginians* would lay upon them. *Mathos*, and thoſe that were with him being carried to the City, were handled with all ſorts of contumely and torment, and ſo this *Libyan* War ended, having laſted three years, and almoſt four moneths, being, ſaith *Polybius*, the moſt cruel and wicked that ever we heard of. But it gave the *Carthaginians* occaſion to repent of two great errors, *viz. Truſting ſo great a multitude of Mercenaries together when they were idle*; and the *cruel*, *and tyrannical uſage of their Subjects*.

16. The *Romans*, (that we may return to them the Hiſtory of whom is our proper ſubject) though they obſerved the League during theſe troubles, at and length, as was ſaid, gave the *Carthaginians* alſo reaſon to like well of their friendſhip, yet thought they had ſome cauſe to be angry with them. For ſuch of their Subjects as ſayled from *Italy* into *Africk*, they ſeized on, leſt they ſhould carry Proviſions to their Enemies, and had at *Carthage* almoſt five hundred of ſuch kind of men in Priſon. Yet when Ambaſſadors were ſent to complain hereof, they kindly diſmiſſed all thoſe in cuſtody, which ſo affected the *Romans*, that they alſo ſent them all their Priſoners, gave them all they asked, and permitted their Merchants to carry them neceſſaries, forbidding them to Traffick with their Enemies: they alſo refuſed to hearken to ſuch of the *Carthaginian* Mercenaries as having betrayed their truſt, invited them into *Sardinia*. But though *Polybius* telleth us that this they did; yet it appeareth from him alſo that this modeſty continued but for a time. For, allured, as it ſeemeth, by this invitation, they ſayled thither, which much offended the *Carthaginians*, who thought that the place by far more right belonged to them; ſo that they prepared to ſend Forces into the Iſland. The *Romans* took occaſion hereat to decree War againſt them, complaining that theſe Forces were not deſigned ſo much againſt the *Sardinians* as themſelves, which forced the other, who found themſelves in no good caſe to manage the War with them, to give way to the time, and quit not onely *Sardinia*, but pay further to the *Romans* one thouſand and two hundred Talents. This, though ſubmitted to at preſent, bred ſuch grudges and malice, as at length brake out into another War, a more dangerous and bloody than the former.

The *Romans* wreſt *Sardinia* from the *Carthaginians* with more Tribute.

Comedies and *Tragedies* firſt at *Rome*, made by *Livius Andronicus*.

17. In the (*a*) year after the ending of the firſt *Punick* War, the five hundred and fourteenth of the City, *C. Claudius Cento*, and *M. Sempronius Tuditanus* being Conſuls, the year preceding the birth of *Ennius*, the firſt *Comedies* and *Tragedies* were

(*a*) *Cicero Tuſcul. lib.* 1. & *in Bruto. Caſſiodorus in Chronico.*

Comedies and *Tragedies* firſt at *Rome*, made by *Livius Andronicus.*

The *Ludi Scenici.*

The *Satire.*

(*b*) *Lib.* 17. *cap.* 21.

(*c*) *Lib.* 2. *c.* 4.

Lege Livium l. 7. & *Caſaub. de Satira Romana.*

were made by *Livius Andronicus* the Poet. This man being a *Græcian* born, was rightly called *Andronicus*, and ſirnamed *Livius* from his Maſter *Livius Salinator*, whoſe Children he taught, and for his learning was manumited by him. (*b*) *Gellius* ſaith, that he now firſt at *Rome* taught playes about one hundred and ſixty years after the death of *Sophocles* and *Euripides*, and fifty two after that of *Menander*. But whereas he is ſaid by *Gellius* firſt to have made or taught playes at *Rome*, it is to be underſtood of theſe two ſorts of Poetry now mentioned, (*c*) *Valerius Maximus* telling us, that he drew the minds of the ſpectators to thoſe ſhews from the uſe of *Satires*, which by little and little ſucceeded that moſt antient and plain *Roman* ſort of the *Hiſtriones* brought out of *Etruria*, (as we ſhewed before) for the ſtopping of the Peſtilence, through the command of the Oracle. Theſe *Ludi Scenici* were firſt managed with rude geſtures, and incompoſed Songs, called *Verſus Feſcennini* from *Feſcennium* a City of *Etruria*. From theſe jocular ſpeeches, which at random were wont to be uttered at the *Roman* Solemnities, came the *Satire*, as later in time ſo more elaborate, and as for metre a perfect Poeme containing ridiculous things digeſted into Verſe, which they were wont to utter amongſt themſelves, after the antient cuſtom. It differed as much from that of the *Greeks*, as from the reſt differeth *Dramatick* Poetry, whereof the *Romans* at this time knew not ſo much as the name. A *Satire* being afterwards variouſly handled by the *Romans*, at length was reduced to two ſorts, which *Fabius* onely acknowledgeth. The former was found out by *Lucilius*, and the later ennobled by *Varro*. *Horace* mentioneth two kinds of moſt antient Poetry; one whereof they uſed in the praiſe of their gods, as when they appeaſed *Tellus* with a Sow-pig, and *Sylvanus* with milk: the other, when in jeſt and ſport they jeered one another, being the ſame with the *Feſcennine* Verſes, whence came the *Satires*, to which *Livius Andronicus* added the playes of *Comedies* and *Tragedies*, as was obſerved.

A. M. 3769. *Ol.* 136. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 518. *Seleucid.* 77. *Seleuci Callinici* 11. *Ptol. Energet.* 11.

The third *Sæcular* or *Terentine* Games.

Vide Valerium Maxim. l. 2. *c.* 4.

The Original of the Terentine Games.

Trina Terentino celebrata trinoctia ludo. Auſon.

18. Four years after, were celebrated at *Rome* the third time the *Sæcular Games*, concerning which it is convenient to ſpeak in this place, that beginners may know the differences of *Roman* exerciſes. Theſe were called *Ludi Magni*, as others were, (in oppoſition to the *Scenici*, and games made by private men) and *Ludi Terentini* (not *Tarentini*, whereof Students are to beware) from *Terentus* a place in the *Campus Martius* where they were celebrated. But there were other games called alſo *Terentini Ludi* (which ſome not conſidering have run into confuſion) and that more properly than theſe *Sæcular* ones were, and therefore the riſe of them all is to be related. There was one *Valeſius* a man of prime note, amongſt the *Sabines*; who living near *Eretus*, and not far from *Tiber*, in a great Plague, had two Sons and a daughter which fell dangerouſly ſick. Amongſt his prayers for them, he heard a voice that they ſhould recover, if carrying them to *Terentus*, he would fetch them ſome warm water of *Tiber* from the Altar of *Pluto* and *Proſerpina*. He thought the City *Tarentum* was meant, and doubted how he ſhould come by any *Tiberine* water in that remote part of *Italy*; but reſolving to be obedient, he ſailed down the River towards *Oſtia*, and late at night arrived at the *Campus Martius*, where he underſtood there was a place called *Terentus*. Landing here, he gave his Children ſome warm water, wherewith refreſhed they fully recovered, and told their Father, how in a dream they had ſeen a certain god, who commanded, that at the Altar of *Pluto* and *Proſerpina* black coloured Sacrifices, (*furvæ hoſtiæ*) ſhould be offered, as alſo that *Lectiſternes* (Beds made for the cauſe of Sacrifice, as whereon to lye down after the *Roman* faſhion at a ſolemn feaſt) and night-games ſhould be made. *Valeſius* ſeeing no Altar in the place, thought of making one, when, as his ſlaves were digging for that purpoſe, they found one in the earth dedicated to *Pluto* and *Proſerpina*. Here then he Sacrificed, and three nights together, becauſe of the number of his Children, made *Lectiſterns* and *Games*, being afterwards from this thing named *Manius Valeſius Terentinus*. *Zozimus* writeth, that the *Romans* one hundred years before being to fight with the *Albans*, were admoniſhed to build this altar in the Earth, and that having ſacrifized they covered it. But this paſſage concerning *Valeſius* hapned about the twelfth year of *Servius Tullius*, wherein he founded the *Luſtrum*; in the one hundred eighty and eight of the City, and the ſame wherein the *Panathanæa* were inſtituted (or rather reduced to the courſe of five years, being formerly inſtituted by *Theſeus*) at *Athens*, this being the third year of the 53 *Olympiad*.

The Terentine and Sæcular Games confounded.

19. This was the Original of *Terentine* Games, which ſome have confounded with the *Sæcular*. For, the next that were celebrated were made by *Valerius Poplicola* in the year following the baniſhment of *Tarquinius*, which *Zozimus* calleth

Games of *Pluto* and *Proſerpina*, and * *Cenſorinus*, from *Antias* the Hiſtorian, giveth them the name of *Sæcular*. This confuſion caſt *Cenſorinus* into ſuch a perplexity about the *Sæcular* Games, that he thus expreſſeth the incertainty of the *Roman* intervalls of times and ages. ‘*Some think the* Roman *ages to be diſtinguiſhed by the* Sæcular *Games; which, if it be ſo, the manner of the* Roman *age is uncertain. For, concerning the intervalls of times, wherein theſe Games ought to be celebrated, we are not only ignorant how great they were formerly, but what they ought to be for the time to come. For,* Antias *and other Hiſtorians, with* Varro *and* Livy, *have written, that they ought to be made every hundreth year. But on the contrary both the Commentaries of the* Quindecimviri *(or fifteen* men*) and the edicts of* Auguſtus *teſtifie, that they ought to be reiterated every hundred and tenth, as* * Horatius Flaccus *alſo ſaith. Further, if we ſearch the annals of antient times, we ſhall yet be in greater uncertainty by far. For,* Valerius Antias *ſaith, that the firſt* Sæcular *Games were made after the baniſhment of the Kings,* 245 *years after the building of* Rome *by* Valerius Publicola*: But the commentaries of the fifteen* Men, *ſay, that two hundred ninety and eight years* M. Valerius *and* Sp. Virginius *being Conſuls. The ſecond Games* Antias *will have made in the* 305 *year of the City, but its written in the Commentaries of the fifteen* Men, *in the four hundred and eight,* M. Valerius Corvinus *the ſecond time, and* C. Pætilius *being Conſul:* and ſo he proceedeth.

* *Quem vide cap. 17. lib. de die Natali.*

Which much perplexed *Cenſorinus.*

* *Certus undenos decies per annos Orbis ut cantus, referatq; ludos Ter die clarâ totienſq; gratâ Nocte frequentes.*

‘20. * *Jacobus Cappellus* diſſolveth the difficulty in this manner. *The cauſe of this perplexity which troubleth* Cenſorinus *is this. All* Sæcular *Games are* Terentine, *but all* Terentine *Games are not* Sæcular, *For ſome were made upon ſome occaſion, as thoſe which* Valerius Publicola *made this* 245th *year of the City, and* Valeſius *about the year* 188. *Theſe were* Terentine *Games but not* Sæcular. *Now, the* Sæcular *are of two ſorts. The greater, which perhaps thou mayſt not call amiſs* * Quindecimvirales, *were celebrated at the diſtance of one hundred and ten years. Of this kinde the firſt were made by the command of the* Quindecimviri, *in the* 298 *year of the City,* 110 *years, as it ſeemeth, after the firſt* Terentine *Games made by* Valeſius. *So, the* Valeſian *ſhall fall in the* 188 *of the City. The firſt of the* Quindecimviri *were made in the* 298 *year of the City, the Second in the* 408, *the Third in the* 518, *and the Fourth in the* 628. *The leſſer* Sæculum, *or Age, conſiſted but of* 100 *years, inſtituted as it ſeemeth, by* L. Valerius, *after the baniſhment of the* Decemviri, *that year being according to ſome the* 300 *of the City. So the Firſt* Centenarie *Games agree with the* 305 Varronian *year of the City, the Second with the* 405, *the Third with the* 505, *the Fourth with the* 605.

* *Hiſt Sacra & Exotica ad* A. M. 3491.

The difficulty reſolved by *Jacobus Cappellus.*

Quindecim Diana preces virorum curet. Horat. in carm. Sæculari.

* *Vide Tacitum Annal. lib.* 11.

21. Though the Second of the *Centenaries* ſhould have been celebrated in the 405 year, yet whether it happened through the *Gallick* War or otherwiſe (they were not till that following, wherein *M. Popilius Lænas* the fourth time, and *L. Cornelius Scipio* were Conſuls, as *Zozimus* writeth. Theſe *Cenſorinus* hath omitted and four more, if credit be given to the inſcription of a certain ſtone mentioned by *George Herwart*, from which it ſhould appear, that before this year were celebrated three *Sæcular* Games, *viz.* in the 100, 200, and 300 years, according to the account of *Pictor*, and the 105, 205, and 305, according to that of *Varro*. Two Solemnities alſo at the diſtance of 110 years, as in the 188 and 298, after the account of *Varro*, to which may be added thoſe made by *Poplicola* extraordinarily in the 245 year. So that the Games celebrated this year (*viz.* in the 406) may rightly be called the ſeventh Games. The *Quindecimvirals* (or thoſe of 100 years) continued till *Conſtantine's* time, who forbad them to be celebrated in the 1067 year of the City. His Son *Conſtantius* alſo prohibited the *Centenaries*, which in his time fell into the 1100 year of the City. Fifty ſeven years after, the Heathen got leave of *Honorius* to celebrate the *Terentine* Games again in his ſixth Conſulſhip (for which *Claudian* thanks him) two hundred years after they had been kept by *Severus*. But to return, theſe Third *Sæcular* Games which gave occaſion to this diſcourſe, and were celebrated in the five hundred and eighteenth year of the City, and the fifth after the firſt *Punick* War, *P. Cornelius Lentulus* and *C. Licinius Varus* being Conſuls, were thoſe of the *Quindecimviri*, or of the interval of 110 years; that we may note thus much for the information of Students.

Obſervations concerning the Centenaries.

22. In the ſixth year after the firſt *Punick* War (*a*) the Temple of *Janus* was ſhut at *Rome* now the ſecond time, all things being in quiet, and the *Romans* having no Wars any where after the reducement of *Sardinia* by *T. Manlius Torquatus* the Conſul. In the following year, being the 520 of the City, the firſt (*b*) divorce was made by *Sp. Carvilius Ruga*, who, though he did it under a ſpecious pretence

The Temple of *Janus* ſhut the ſecond time.

The firſt divorce.

(*a*) *Livius l.* 1. *Eutropius l.* 3. *Plutarch in Numa.*

(*b*) *Val. Max. l.* 2. *c.* 1. *exemp.* 4. *Angellius l.* 17. *c.* 21. *Dionyſ. Halicarn.*

Sect. 2.

pretence of his Wives barrenneſs, was ever ill-willed for it by the People. This ſame year was *M. Porcius* (*c*) born in the Precincts of *Tuſculum*, who had the name of (*d*) *Cato* for his wiſdom; *Catus* in the *Roman* Language (whence the diminutive *Catulus*) ſignifying *ſagacious*, *acute*, or *ingenious*. And this year did *Cn. Nævius* the Poet (*e*) publiſh playes to the People, who wrote alſo the firſt *Punick* War, (wherein he ſerved) in the moſt ancient kind of Verſe called *Saturnii Verſus*, which were ſucceeded by the *Feſcennini*, ſome being with metre and ſome without. He died in the thirtieth year after this, and left a proud (*f*) Epitaph of of his own making, which he commanded ſhould be engraven on his Tomb, and *Gellius* hath recorded together with thoſe of *Plautus* and *Patuvius*.

Cn. Nævius the Poet.

(*c*) *Cicero de Senectute.*
(*d*) *Plutarch in Catone.*
(*e*) *Agellius ut ſupra.*
(*f*) *idem l.* 1. *c.* 24.

23. Five years the Temple of *Janus* continued ſhut, and in the ſixth was opened by a War with the *Illyrians*. For, *Teuta* Queen of that Nation, the Widow of *Agron* (who for joy that he had proſpered in his enterpriſes againſt the *Ætolians*, drank ſo hard, that he fell into a Pleuriſie, and thereof died) elevated by her proſperity in Peace, gave out Commiſſions to her Subjects to rob all at Sea whomſoever they met with. The *Illyrians* then having taken *Phœnice* a ſtrong City of *Epirus*, ſtruck a great terror into all the Maritime parts of *Greece*, and ſetting upon the *Italian* Merchants, ſome they robbed, others they killed, and not a few they carried away priſoners. The *Romans* having hitherto neglected all complaints againſt them, when now many came together, ſent unto *Illyricum Caius* and *Lucius Coruncani*, to inform themſelves concerning theſe matters. *Teuta* anſwered, ſhe would take care that no publick injury ſhould be offered to the *Romans*, but it was not the cuſtom to hinder any from making what private commodity they could out of the Sea. But ſaith *Lucius*, the *Romans* have a good cuſtom publickly to proſecute private injuries, and to relieve the injured: therefore we will ſhortly endeavour, God willing, to conſtrain thee to amend theſe cuſtoms. The Queen took this liberty of ſpeech ſo hainouſly, that her Womaniſh impotency and anger prevailed againſt the Law of Nations, to have ſome ſent after the Ambaſſadors, who killed *Lucius*. For this, War was decreed againſt her, and both the Conſuls of the 525 year of the City, *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus*, and *L. Poſthumius Albinus* Conſul the ſecond time, were ſent into *Illyricum*; *Fulvius* with the Navy, and his Collegue with the Land-Army.

Polybius l. 2.

The *Illyrians* infeſt the *Italians* at ſea,

Whence a War enſueth.

24. *Fulvius* received *Corcyra*, given up into his hands by *Demetrius Pharius*; then took he *Apollonia*, and the Armies joyning, the Conſuls freed *Dyrrhachium* beſieged by the *Illyrians*. Then moſt of the *Illyrick* Cities were either taken or delivered up, whereupon the Queen retired with a few followers to *Rhizon* a ſtrong Town, ſituate upon a River of the ſame name, and the Spring following ſent to *Rome* to deſire Peace. It was granted to her on theſe terms: *To pay a yearly tribute; to quit all* Illyricum, *except a very few places: and not to ſail beyond the River* Quiſſus *with more than two Barks, and thoſe unarmed.* For nine years the *Illyrians* continued in obedience, till the 535 year of the City, wherein rebelling, they were again reduced by *Æmilius Paulus* and *M. Livius* the Conſuls. For, *Demetrius Pharius* then their King, forgetting the great favours received from the People of *Rome*, waſted the Towns of *Illyricum* ſubject to the *Romans*, and paſſed the bounds ſet by the League. *Æmilius* within ſeven dayes took *Dimalium*, and followed him to *Pharus*, a Town of the Iſland *Phario*, which he alſo took. *Demetrius* being fled to *Philip* King of *Macedonia*, he ſeized on the reſt of *Illyricum*, which he ordered to pay a ſtipend to *Pineus* the ſon of *Agron*. But thus was begun, and finiſhed the War with *Teuta*, which *Florus* (according to his cuſtom, breaking the order and ſeries of time) falſly placeth after the *Gallicum Ciſalpinum*, or that with the *Galls* inhabiting within the *Alpes*.

A.M. 3776.
Ol. 137. *ann.* 4.
V. C. 525.
Sel. Callinici 18.
Ptol. Euerg. 18.
Idem & Juſtin.

Peace is granted to *Teuta* the Queen.

25. For, the ſame year wherein the peace was made with *Teuta*, the promulgating of the *Agrarian* Law by *C. Flaminius*, Tribune of the people, brought this great, and dangerous War upon the Common-wealth. There being a good quantity of ground Conquered within the Countrey of theſe *Galls*, he preferred a Law for the dividing of it to the People, man by man. *Q. Fabius Maximus* being now Conſul the ſecond time ſtiffly oppoſed it, *Sp. Carbilius* his Collegue not ſtirring as (*a*) *Cicero* telleth us; the Senate alſo laboured to croſs it, but when in the Roſtra *Flaminius* read the Law, his Father laying hands on him he obeyed, and went down, though he neither valued the Conſul nor Senate, nor yet was affrighted with the levying of an Army. Nay, the People about him was ſo overawed by paternal right, that, as *Valerius Maximus* writeth, though the Aſſembly was thus diſappointed, not the leaſt muttering was heard. Whether the Law for diviſion fully

A.M. 3777.
V. C. 526.

The Seditious attempts of *Flaminius* the Tribune,

(*a*) *De Senect.*

Lib. 5. *cap.* 4.
Exemp. 5.

fully paſſed or not (by reaſon of the interruption by old *Flaminius*) yet this thing gave occaſion to a new and great War, as *Polybius* writeth, who miſtaketh the time by four years, for as much as theſe ſtirs about the *Agrarian* fell not out in the five hundred twenty ſecond, but the five hundred and twenty ſixth of the City, wherewithall the ſecond Conſulſhip of *Fabius Maximus*, and that of *Sp. Carnilius Maximus* is joyned. Indeed the firſt of *Fabius* fell in with the five hundred and twenty firſt year of the City, two years before *Teuta* killed the Ambaſſador, and two more at leaſt before the finiſhing of the *Illyrian* War, whence may be conjectured that as the miſtake of *Polybius* might ariſe from want of diſtinction, betwixt the firſt and ſecond Conſulſhips of *Fabius*; ſo the error of *Florus* (or him, who ever wrote that *Syſtem*) in placing the *Gallick* War before the *Illyrian*, might proceed from an (inconſiderate) truſt to the Authority of that excellent Author.

Occaſioneth the War, called *Bellum Gallicum Ciſalpinum.*

26. The report concerning this Law awakened the *Galls*, eſpecially the *Boii*, who were neareſt neighbours. Concluding now that the *Romans* fought not ſo much for glory and Dominion, as out of a covetous deſign of enriching themſelves, they ſent to the *Inſubres* for aid, exhorting them to remember what their Anceſtors once did at *Rome*, and to tread in their ſteps. Theſe joyning together ſent over the *Alps* for other *Galls*, living near *Rhodanus*, and called *Geſſatæ*, from their Wages, ſaith *Polybius*, or as others write, from *Geſſa* a kind of weapon they uſed. Their Kings, *Congolitanus* and *Aneroeſtus* being allured by great promiſes, with a vaſt force paſſed over the *Alpes*, and joyning with the *Inſubres* and *Boii*, to the number of fifty thouſand Foot, and twenty thouſand Horſe brake into *Etruria*. When firſt the *Romans* heard of their paſſing the *Alps*, they commanded *Æmilius* the Conſul to go to *Ariminum*, to give them trouble in caſe they came that way. They ordered one of the *Prætors* into *Etruria*, for, *C. Attilius* the other of the Conſuls was already ſent into *Sardinia*. The whole City was ſad and grievouſly afflicted, fearing the *Galls* as fatal to it. All the Regiſters of the Military age were inquired into, to ſee what forces they, and what their Aſſociates, were able to ſet forth. The *Italians* prepared to fight, not as for the *Roman* Empire, but their own ſafety; ſo that an Army was in readineſs, conſiſting of ſeven hundred thouſand Foot, and ſeventy thouſand Horſe, according to *Polybius*. But *Fabius Pictor* wrote, as *Eutropius* relateth, that eight hundred thouſand men were prepared for this War, wherein he himſelf was employed.

Preparations on the *Roman* ſide for this War.

27. The Tables of the Military age, as they were brought to the Senate, contained of the *Latines* eighty thouſand Foot, and five thouſand Horſe; of the *Samnites* ſeventy thouſand Foot, and ſeven thouſand Horſe; of the *Iapyges* and *Meſſapians* fifty thouſand Foot, and ſixteen thouſand Horſe; of the *Lucanians* thirty thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Horſe; of the *Marſi*, *Marucini*, *Ferentani* and *Veſtini* twenty thouſand Foot, and four thouſand Horſe. And of the *Roman* people gave their names, together with thoſe of *Campania*, two hundred and fifty thouſand Foot, and two hundred and thirty thouſand Horſe. The total ſum five hundred and fifty eight thouſand. There went out with the Conſuls four Legions, whereof each contained five thouſand two hundred Foot, and three hundred Horſe, together with thirty thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Horſe of the Aſſociates: in all fifty thouſand eight hundred Foot, and three thouſand two hundred Horſe. There were in readineſs for neceſſary occaſions, of the *Etruſcans* and *Sabines* fifty thouſand Foot, and four thouſand Horſe, which the *Prætor* led into *Etruria* to oppoſe the Enemy on the Borders. Of the *Veneti* and *Cenomani* were aſſembled twenty thouſand and as many of the *Umbri* and *Sarſinates* inhabiting the *Appennine* Mountains, who were placed on the Borders of *Gall*, by invading the Territories of the *Boii* to draw them back, and divide them from the reſt. Theſe were the Forces placed on the Borders. At *Rome* were in a readineſs for the uncertain chances of War, as a ſupply, thirty thouſand Foot, and one thouſand five hundred Horſe of Citizens, beſides of the Aſſociates thirty thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe. In *Sicily*, and about *Tarentum* were placed two Legions, whereof each contained four thouſand two hundred Foot, and two thouſand Horſe. The ſum of all theſe amounts to two hundred ten thouſand and three hundred men. So, ſaith *Polybius*, the ſum of the Forces which guarded the City were one hundred and fifty thouſand Foot, and about ſix thouſand Horſe, but the whole number of the multitude fit for War was ſeven hundred thouſand Foot, ſeventy thouſand Horſe, which yet *Hannibal* durſt oppoſe, and invade *Italy* with ſcarce twenty thouſand. But this will appear further in what ſhall be hereafter ſaid.

Sect. 2.

A. M. 3780.
Ol. 138. *ann.* 4.
V. c. 429.
Sel. Cer [illegible] 2.
Ptol. Euerg. 22.

The *Galls* overthrown beg beace.

Which the Conſuls hinder.

28. The *Galles* deſcending into *Etruria* waſted all with fire and Sword till they came to *Cluſium*, a place three dayes journey diſtant from *Rome.* There were they beſet, the *Prætor* on their back, and the two Conſuls before blocking up all the paſſages, ſo that they were forced to fight two contrary wayes in two Fronts, and that very diſadvantageouſly, both by reaſon of their nakedneſs, and the unfitneſs of their Arms. But the vanity of the *Gæſatæ* was moſt hurtful to them, who caſting off their Cloths would needs fight naked and charge firſt; for, being eaſily diſcomfited, they diſcouraged their fellows. Forty thouſand were ſlain, and ten thouſand taken, amongſt whom was *Concolitanus*; the other King *Aneroeſtus* having killed himſelf. This battel was fought in the five hundred and twenty nitnh year of the City, *L. Æmilius D pus*, and *C. Attilius Regulus* (who was therein ſlain) being Conſuls. Afterwards inroads being made into the Territories of the *Galles*, they were ſeveral times overthrown, and ſo harraſed, that they ſent Ambaſſadors to *Rome* to beg peace on any terms. The people being inclining enough to it, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *Cn. Cornelius Scipio* the Conſuls of the 532 year put a ſtop to the thing.

Marcellus endeth the War.

* *Aſpice ut in ſignis ſpoliis Marcellus opimis Ingreditur, victorque viros ſupereminet omnes. Hic rem Romanam magno turbante tumultu Siſtet eques ſternet Pœnos Gallumq; rebellem Tertiaque arma patri ſuſpendet capta Quirino.* Virgil. *Æn.* 6.

Vide Polybium lib. 2.
Plutarch. in Marcello.
Florum. l. 2. *c.* 4.
Eutrop. lib 3.
Oroſium lib. 4. *cap.* 13.
Livii Epitom. lib. 23.

* *Simpſon in Chronic. Catholic. ad* A. M. 3780.

29. The former eſpecially, having a diſpoſition ſuitable to his name (*Marcus* and *Mamercus* being thought to be derived of *Mars*, and therefore alſo the diminutives *Marculus* and *Marcellus*) inflamed the multitude to the War; whereupon the *Galls* now deſperate reſolved to make the laſt tryal, and uſing all indeavours, ſent, and hired thirty thouſand of the *Gæſatæ.* The Conſuls invading the Countrey of the *Inſubres* beſieged *Acerræ*, which to relieve the *Galles* laid ſiege to *Claſtidium*, a Town aſſociate with the *Romans.* Here was fought a bloody battel, wherein the *Galles* were overthrown, *Marcellus* with his own hand killed *Virdomarus* King of the *Gæſatæ*, and dedicated the third * *Opima Spolia* to *Jupiter Feretrius*, though *Numa* had commanded they ſhould be conſecrated to *Quirinus.* Thoſe that eſcaped fled to *Mediolanum* (now *Millane*) the chief ſeat of the *Inſubres*, which being ſhortly taken, the War was thereby ended after ſix years, and *Marcellus* returned in Triumph. The title of the Triumph in the *Capitoline* ſtories mentioneth with the *Galles Inſubres*, *Germans* alſo to have been ſubdued, which *Germans* ſeem no other then the *Gæſatæ*, thus called by ſome miſtake. As for the name of *Cæſatæ*, though *Polybius* thinketh it derived from their Wages, and others from a kind of weapon; yet * another rendreth a more probable derivation, which the condition of theſe people being Mercenaries prompteth to. The *Teutonick* language (a dialect whereof *Joſeph Scaliger* and others prove the antient *Gallick* to have been) calleth him *Gaeſt*, whom the *Engliſh Saxon* a (a branch alſo of the *Teutonick*) nameth *Gueſt*, at this time, betokening a ſtranger. The word *Gæſata* might well therefore be thence derived, being changed ſomething by thoſe that were ignorant of the Language, from that whereby the *Galls* ſignified ſtrangers, ſuch as theſe Mercenaries were.

The Acts of *Amilcar Barcas*, after the ending of the firſt *Punick* War.

Of *Aſdrubal* his ſon-in-law.

Diod. Sicul. lib. 25. *Eclog.*

Annibal the ſon of *Amilcar Barcas* created General by the *Carthaginians.*

Polyb. lib. 3.
Livius l. 21.
Corn. Nepos in Hamilcar.
Val. Max. l. 9. *c.* 3. *Exter. Ex. emp.* 3.

30. The third year after the ending of the *Gallick*, began the *ſecond Punick*, or *Carthaginian* War. *Amilcar* the *Carthaginian* Captain had a great itching deſire to renew the quarrel with the *Romans*, as ſoon as the State could recover its ſtrength, and had done it betimes, but that the War with the Mercenaries hapned, which much diſtreſſing the Commonwealth, he paſſed over into *Spain*, where having to do with ſuch an Enemy as he could grow upon, he there inlarged far and wide the *Carthaginian* Dominion, and died in great honour, though he was drowned in a River, being put alſo to flight by *Oriſſon* King of the *Iberi*, who pretending to come to his aſſiſtance in the ſiege of *Helice* unexpectedly fell upon him. As he had governed the Army in *Spain* nine years, ſo his ſon-in-law *Aſdrubal* ſucceeding him, commanded it almoſt as many, with a mind as averſe from the *Romans* as he; but he diſſembled his hatred and deſigns, that he might gain all *Spain* to the *Carthaginian* intereſt. After eight years he was ſlain by a *Gall* (ſaith *Polybius*) or a ſlave to a certain *Spaniard* (ſaith *Juſtin*) who killed him in revenge for his Maſters death. He alſo much bettered the affairs of *Carthage*, not ſo much by Arms as his winning carriage upon the petty Princes. After his death *Annibal* the ſon of *Amilcar Barcas* was choſen Captain by the Army, and preſently confirmed at *Carthage* by the people, whom his Father taking along with him into *Spain*, being then nine years old, compelled to ſwear at the Altar; his hand touching the Sacrifice, that as ſoon as he could he would be an Enemy to the People of *Rome.*

31. *Annibal* preſently after his Creation fell upon the *Olcades* whom he ſubdued, and beſides them, within a years ſpace, the *Vaccæi* and *Carpentani*, and nothing

thing remained beyond the River *Iberus* that was conſiderable, and unſubdued, beſides the *Saguntines.* They being confederate with *Rome* gave them there intelligence how things went, who ſent ſome into *Spain* to ſee how matters ſtood, and what was intended by the *Carthaginians.* Theſe Commiſſioners having audience of *Hannibal*, religiouſly admoniſhed him not to meddle with the *Saguntines*, and (according to the League made with *Aſdrubal*) not to paſs over the River *Iberus.* His anſwers did not conceal his inward hatred, which cauſed the *Romans* to expect no better than a War; but they hoped to have *Saguntus* the ſeat thereof, and endeavoured to clear themſelves of *Illyricum* ere it hapned. *Annibal* was not ignorant of what they deſigned, end therefore reſolved by taking that Town to cut off all hope of Warring in *Spain.* He doubted not by that example to terrifie others, ſo as to reduce to obedience thoſe that yet ſtood out, and confirm therein ſuch as he had already brought under; and this eſpecially he aimed at, by reducing this place, to leave no Enemy at his back, by the plunder of which alſo he intended to gratifie his Soldiers. With all his force then he ſet upon it, and provoking his men by his own example to all manner of diligence, took it in the eighth moneth. The Inhabitants retained their fidelity unto the *Romans* to the laſt, and when almoſt ſpent with hunger, Fire, Sword, and Engines, they that remained, in a fire made in the Forum conſumed themſelves with all their Riches, as *Florus* writeth, though *Polybius* ſpeaketh of much money found in the Town, beſides rich ſtuff, which *Hannibal* ſent to *Carthage.*

He taketh *Saguntus* a Town in *Spain*, confederate with *Rome.*

32. When firſt the *Romans* heard that *Saguntus* was taken, they ſent Ambaſſadors to *Carthage* to require that *Hannibal* ſhould be delivered up as the breaker of the League, or elſe to denounce War. Upon their arrival the *Carthaginians* deputed *Hanno* to treat with them, who ſleighted the matter of the League made with *Aſdrubal*, pretending there was none; and if there was, it was made by his meer pleaſure without the conſent of the Senate. Beſides, therein, he ſaid, was no mention made of the River *Iberus*; that a regard was to be had of the Allies of both the States he confeſſed, but this nothing concerned the *Saguntines*, who at the time of the ratification were not confederates with *Rome.* The Ambaſſadors perceiving the *Carthaginians* backward to what they propounded, ſpake no more; but the Senior of them holding out the lap of his Gown to the Senate, *Here*, ſaith he, *we bring you both War and Peace; whether you will have I ſhall bring forth.* The *Carthaginian* King *bade them bring forth which they pleaſed*; then the *Roman*, ſaying, *he would take out War*, many of the Senators anſwered, that *they accepted of it.* This fell out in the Conſulſhip of *M. Livius*, afterward called *Salinator* (from his bringing up the Impoſt upon Salt) and *L. Æmilius Paulus.* In their time forein Ceremonies begun to be brought into *Rome*, which diſpleaſing the more ſober ſort of them, the * Senate thought fit that the Chappels of *Iſis* and *Serapis* ſhould be pulled down. When no Artificers would venture to touch them, *Æmilius* the Conſul put of his *prætexta*, or long Robe edged with purple Silk, and taking an Hatchet ſtruck it into the door.

Satisfaction is demanded by the *Romans.*

And none being given, War is denounced and accepted of.

* *Val. Max. l.* 1. *c.* 3. *exemp.* 3.

33. In the year following, being the five hundred and thirty ſixth of the City, the ſixth of *Antiochus* the Great, and the fifth of *Ptolomy Philopater*, in the Conſulſhip of *Pub. Cornelius Scipio*, and *Tib. Sempronius Longus*, three and twenty years after the ending of the *firſt punick* War, the *ſecond* began, which we have deſcribed by *Polybius*, and after him by *T. Livius*, who hath tranſcribed the twenty firſt Book of his Hiſtory almoſt word for word. *Annibal* now twenty ſix years of age, in the Spring moved from his Winter quarters with ninety thouſand Foot, and twelve thouſand Horſe, and paſſing over the River *Iberus*, ſudued all the Towns as far as the *Pyrenæan* hills. Then leaving *Hanno* with a ſufficient force to keep the Country, and ſending as many of the *Spaniſh* Soldiers home, he marched with the reſt, in number fifty thouſand Foot, and nigh nine thouſand Horſe, over the *Pyrenæans* and ſo through *Gall* unto the *Alpes.* Having marched one hundred miles in ten dayes from the River *Rhodanus*, he came to the foot of theſe Mountains, which when he aſcended, he encountred with great difficulties being oppoſed by the *Allobroges* (inhabiting the Country now called *Savoy*) who poſſeſſed themſelves of the places through which he muſt neceſſarily paſs. On the ninth day he arrived at the top, whence his Soldiers had a proſpect of *Italy.* Proceeding after a little reſt, he loſt as many men here in the depth of the Snow, as formerly by the incurſions of Enemies, and at length came to a place which would affoard no paſſage for Horſe, or Elephants. The place of it ſelf was precipitous, but lately by a falling of earth it was become ſo, to the depth of one thouſand foot. He laboured then to bring his

A. M. 3787.
Ol. 140. *an.* 3.
V. C. 536.
Antiochi Mag. 6.
Ptol. Philop. 5.
Polyb. l. 3.
Livius. l. 21.

The ſecond *Punick* or *Carthaginian* War beginneth,

Annibal having conquered all *Spain* as far as the *Pyrenæan* hills, his men through other wayes never before trodden, but at length the Snow making them impaſſable, he was forced to betake himſelf to the levelling of the Rock. They made a great fire, wherewith the Rock being heated, they putrified it with Vinegar, then did they cleave it, and ſo diminiſhed the deſcent by moderate turnings, that not onely the beaſts of burthen, but the Elephants alſo might ſafely paſs. Four dayes were ſpent about the Rock: and by this time almoſt all the beaſts were waſted; for on the top was little graſs, and that covered with Snow. Coming lower, certain Valleys afforded paſture, where the Cattel were refreſhed, and reſt was given to the weary Souldiers. Thence deſcended *Annibal* into the Plain, in the fifth moneth after he had parted from new *Carthage* (built by *Aſdrubal*, and now called *Cartagena*) in *Spain*, having paſſed over the *Alpes* in fourteen dayes. In the paſſage he loſt a great part of his Army, bringing into the Countrey of the *Inſubres*, but ten thouſand and two hundred *African* Foot, eight thouſand of the *Spaniſh*, and ſix thouſand Horſe.

Paſſeth over the *Alpes* into *Italy*.

34. *Scipio* the Conſul having *Spain* for his Province, was by Sea going thither, when he underſtood that *Hannibal* was near the River *Rhodanus*. There he intended to have given him a ſtop; but miſſing of him, he returned on ſhipboard and haſted to *Italy*, there to meet him, before his men had yet refreſhed themſelves. They met and joyned battel, wherein the Conſul had the worſt, being wounded, and preſerved alive by the valour of his young ſon afterwards named *Africanus*. The *Roman* Senate, when firſt they received intelligence that *Hannibal* had paſſed the *Alpes*, ſent for the other Conſul *Sempronius* out of *Sicily* to the aid of his Collegue. According to order he brought over his Army, and united it with *Scipio's* at the River *Trebia*. Having had the better in ſome skirmiſhes with certain parties of *Annibal*, he deſired to make trial of a battel, that his Collegue being ſick, he might have all the glory of the Victory, and though *Scipio* alledged, that by delaying to fight the *Galls* might be farther drawn in, and their own Soldiers better exerciſed, yet leſt the battel ſhould be deferred till the coming of the next Conſuls, he reſolved to fight alone. *Annibal* feared nothing more, than that they ſhould refuſe to fight, becauſe as yet the *Galls* continued his, and he knew the beſt of the *Roman* Captains to be unable to act, and his own Army freſh and chearful. In the battel, which ſhortly followed, the *Romans* were overthrown, being drawn out by a party that *Hannibal* ſent to provoke them, ere they had armed their bodies againſt the extremity of the mid-winter ſeaſon, either by meat or other proviſion; ſo that ingaging with cold and hunger, and beſet with their Enemies (whereof as in the former battel, the *Numidians*, to their great terror fell upon their rear) they were defeated though with great ſlaughter of the Enemy, through whoſe ranks ten thouſand broke and eſcaped to *Placentia*, the reſt being either ſlain, taken, or drowned in the River. The *Carthaginians* having purſued them to the River *Trebia*, returned to their Camp ſo ſtupified with cold, that they were ſcarcely ſenſible of the Victory. For, rain mixed with ſnow, and intollerable cold, killed many men, and almoſt all the Beaſts and Elephants.

Defeateth *Scipio* the Conſul.

And *Sempronius* his Collegue.

35. At this time things went better with the *Romans* in *Spain* and *Sicily*. In the former *Cnæus Scipio* (being ſent thither by his Brother the Conſul upon his return into *Italy*) overthrew *Hanno* the *Carthaginian*, and took in a good part of the Country, wherein was alſo new *Carthage*. For the following year *C. Flaminius* (who being *Tribune* had preferred the *Agrarian* Law) was the ſecond time made Conſul, together with *Cn. Servilius Geminus*. He had a good gift in ſpeaking, but no skill in War, being yet heady and impatient of advice. *Hannibal* having all this while made the Country of the *Galls* the ſeat of the War, reſolved to change it, and after ſome conſultation about his way into *Etruria*, reſolved upon that of the Fens, as ſhort and unexpected to the Enemy, though more troubleſome to paſs. Being forced to march three or four whole dayes through water, this ſorely diſtreſſed all his men, except the *Galls*, many of the beaſts were left in the mud, and the Hoofs of the Horſes came off. He himſelf riding on an Elephant that was onely left, eſcaped with his life, but was ſorely pained in his eyes, one whereof he loſt utterly. Being arrived at dry ground, he hoped by ſome means or other to entrap the Conſul, underſtanding what his diſpoſition was: He paſſed by the Camp and went further into the Country, which inraged *Flaminius*, who thought himſelf ſlighted by the Enemy. When amongſt the *Romans* ſome told him that he muſt not raſhly purſue, but uſe great caution, eſpecially by reaſon of the Horſe; but above all things ſtay for his Colleague, and not hazard a battel without the conjunction of both Armies, he was ſo far from following their advice, that he could

not bear their words. Riſing with all his Forces he had neither reſpect to time nor place, onely ſeeking to fight, as if nothing had been more certain than the Victory, with hope whereof he ſo elevated the vulgar, that a Rabble followed the Camp greater in number than the Army it ſelf, and furniſhed with Chains, Bonds, and other things, wherewith to keep faſt thoſe Priſoners and booty, whereof they doubted not to become Maſters.

Lege præter Polyb. & Liv. Plutarch in vita Fabii. Corn. Nepot. Annib. Appian in Annibalicis. Florum l. 2.c.6.

And *Flaminius* at the Lake *Thraſymene.*

36. *Annibal* marching through *Etruria*, waſted it with Fire and Sword, the more to inrage his Enemy, and at length came to the Lake called *Thraſymenus* and *Thraſymene*, near to which are certain Mountains, and betwixt them and it a narrow way leading to a Valley, beſet with them, and a ridge of Hills. Theſe Hills he made choice of, wherein to place his men, beſtowing them round about, ſo that *Flaminius* following him into the Valley, was fallen upon round about, and ſlain with many of his men ere (almoſt) they knew who hurt them, by reaſon of a miſt which then was riſen from the Lake. Within the Valley fell fifteen thouſand, and near upon ſix thouſand eſcaped to a Village, where they were forced to yield themſelves. *Annibal* gathering all his Priſoners together, to the number of fifteen thouſand, kept in cuſtody the *Romans*, but diſmiſſed the *Latines* without ranſome. The body of the Conſul, ſaith *Valerius Maximus*, was ſought for by *Annibal* to be buried; even his body, who as much as in him lay, had buried the *Roman* Empire. *Cn. Servilius* the other Conſul who kept *Ariminum* (a Countrey of *Italy* now called *Rimini*, lying upon the River *Rubicon*) hearing of *Annibal*'s coming into *Etruria*, purpoſed to joyn with his Colleague, but finding that difficult, choſe out four thouſand men whom he ſent to his aid, under conduct of *C. Centenius* (by ſome called *Centronius*) whom he commanded, if poſſible, to reach him before the fight. *Hannibal* hearing of this ſupply, after the battel, ſent out *Maharbal* with a party, which cutting off one half, forced the the other to an hill, where they alſo yielded themſelves.

Val. Max. l.1. c. 6. exemp. 6. Eutrop. Oroſium.

Whereupon *Fabius Maximus* is made Vice-Dictator, who by delaying breaketh *Annibals* ſucceſs.

37. The *Romans* ſtruck with conſternation at theſe loſſes, upon mature deliberation reſolved there was need of a General with abſolute authority. But the Conſul (who alone had power, and that in the *Roman* Dominions, to name a *Dictator*) being abſent, and incompaſſed with the *Carthaginian* Forces, ſo that no meſſage could conveniently be ſent to him, and the People having no power to create a *Dictator*, they created as a *Prodictator*, or *Vice-Dictator*, *Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucoſus*, whoſe Maſter of the Horſe-men was *M. Minutius Rufus*. *Fabius* matched *Annibal* in policy, breaking his ſucceſs by delaying to fight, which others had increaſed by their temerity, ſo that he obtained the name of * *Cunctator*. *Hannibal* was hereof very ſenſible, being by him put to his ſhifts, wanting proviſions exceedingly, and lying in an Enemies Country. But the Maſter of Horſe-men being ſomething hot and raſh, in *Fabius* his abſence, got the better in certain skirmiſhes, and hereby procured ſo much favour from the multitude, which now accounted the worthy *Dictator* lazie and fearful, that beyond all example his power was made equal to that of his. *Minutius* puffed up herewith, ſought to improve his authority by further raſhneſs, ſo as to ingage with the Enemy, in which action he and his party had been overthrown, but that *Fabius* in good time came in and ſaved him. This ſo convinced him of his former folly, that he confeſſed his fault to the *Dictator*, whom he called his Father, and renouncing his new power again, ſubjected his Office to the *Dictatorſhip*.

* *Unus homo nobis cunctando reſtituit rem. Ennius.*

38. *Fabius*, when his ſix moneths were out, laid down his Office, and was badly requited, the *Tribunes* and others calumniating him with the Nobility, as wilfully lengthening the War, which procured *Terentius Varro* a raſh, hot, and inconſiderable man, for the next year to be created Conſul. He, though joyned with a prudent perſon *L. Æmilius Paulus*, ſo far prevailed, as to joyn battel with *Annibal* at the place of *Cannæ* an ignoble Village of *Apulia*, which the year before had been deſtroyed, and onely the Caſtle remained, on which *Annibal* had lately ſeized. The *Romans* brought into the Field eighty thouſand Foot, and about ſix thouſand Horſe; the *Carthaginians* not much above forty thouſand Foot, and ten thouſand Horſe. *Florus* writeth, that for the deſtruction of the unhappy Army, both General, Earth, Heaven, the day, and the whole nature of things conſpired. For *Annibal* not content with the ſending of thoſe who counterfeiting a revolt, fell upon the backs of the *Romans*, obſerving the nature of the place, ſo choſe out his ground, that beſides his Army they muſt needs fight with wind, duſt, and Sun. But from others it appeareth, that the *Romans* fighting with their faces toward the South, and the *Carthaginians* toward the North, the Sun-beams offended neither. However the

Who yet giveth the *Romans* a moſt grievous overthrow at *Cannæ.*

A. M. 3789.
Ol. 141. *ann.* 1.
V. C. 538.
Ant. Mag. 8.
Ptol. Philop. 7.
Belli Punici 3.

abilities of the *Punick* General were ſeen ſo far in this, as in other battels, that he overmatched them in skill, who exceeded him in numbers, making ſuch ſlaughter of them, that at length wearied, he commanded his Soldiers to forbear, as *Florus* telleth us. Of the *Romans* we ſlain fifty thouſand men ſay *Plutarch* and *Appian*; ſeventy thouſand ſaith *Polybius*, and *Livy* hath forty thouſand Foot, and two thouſand ſix hundred Horſe. Amongſt theſe was *Æmilius* the Conſul (who unwilling to ſurvive the defeat refuſed to flie) 2. *Quæſtors*, 21. *Tribunes*, 80 of *Senatorian* degree, divers of *Conſular* dignity, and ſo many *Equites* or Knights, that, as *Pliny* writeth, *Hannibal* ſent three buſhels of Gold Rings to *Rome*, which were the Enſignes of that Order, though *Pliny* from this number endeavoureth to prove that the uſe of them at this time was promiſcuous, elſe a vaſt number muſt there have been of them: but *Livy* writeth, that more likely report held there were but one buſhel. *Hannibal* loſt five thouſand and ſeven hundred of his men. *Varro* the Conſul fled to *Vennuſia* with ſeventy Horſe, whither alſo eſcaped four thouſand Foot and Horſe, which leading to *Cannuſium*, where were already ten thouſand men, he made up a ſhew of a *Conſular* Army, which by the help of Walls, though not of Arms, ſeemed able to defend it ſelf.

And enervateth his Army by wintering at *Capua.*

Livius lib. 23.

39. Had *Hannibal* taken his opportunity and marched to *Rome*, in all probability he might have made an end of the War, and of the *Roman* Empire both together; but this great Souldier knew (as *Maharbal* Captain of his Horſe truly told him) how to get, but not how to uſe and improve a Victory. For, he loytered all this Summer, and having *Capua* a wealthy and luxurious City given up into his hands by the Townſ-men, there he took up his Winter quarters, and *Capua* became a *Cannæ* to his Soldiers. For, hereby he utterly ſpoyled an excellent Army, which now was ſo enervated by the pleaſures and effeminateneſs of the place, as ever after it became impatient of labour, and its ancient Military Diſcipline, ſo that before this it was harder for the *Romans* not to be overcome by *Hannibal*, than afterwards to overcome him. His fortune preſently began to change. He was worſted at *Nola* by *Marcellus* the *Prætor*, and repulſed at *Caſilinum*, a very ſmall Caſtle for a good ſpace. At this time, though there was a *Dictator* in the Camp (*M. Junius Pera*, whoſe Maſter of the Horſe-men was *Tib. Sempronius*) yet the Senate being exhauſted by the War, *M. Fabius Buleo* was named *Dictator* by *Terentius* the Conſul, for filling it up, without a Maſter of Horſe-men. He coming into the *Roſtra*, ſaid, he did not approve that there ſhould be two *Dictators* at one time (which never before had been known) nor that he was created without a Maſter of Horſemen; neither that the power of Cenſorſhip ſhould twice be permitted to one man; nor that power for ſix moneths ſhould be given to any *Dictator*, except for the War. What extream neceſſity had procured, he ſaid he would moderate. For he would not remove any Senator which *C. Flaminius*, and *L. Æmilius* the late Cenſors had choſen, onely tranſcribe, and cauſe them to be read over, leſt the credit, and eſteemed of Senators ſhould be in the power of one man; and ſo he would ſupply the places of the dead, that this man before that, and not one order ſhould ſeem preferred above another. The old Senate then being called over, he choſe into vacant places, firſt ſuch as ſince the laſt Cenſorſhip had born *Curule* Offices, as each one had been firſt created; then ſuch as had been *Ædiles*, *Tribunes* of the Commons, or *Quæſtors*, and laſtly, ſuch had any ſpoyls hung up at home, which they themſelves had taken from the Enemy, or had received a *Civick* Crown. So one hundred and ſeventy ſeven being thus choſen with univerſal approbation, he preſently laid down his Office.

Two *Dictators* at the ſame time.

The Senate filled.

The *Romans* quickly recovered their courage.

Annibal and his party goeth down the Wind in *Italy*, and *Spain.*

40. The *Romans*, though the defeat at *Cannæ* threatned them with no leſs than ruin, quickly recovered their courage. When *Varro* (being ſent for to name a *Dictator*) was near the City, all Ranks went forth to meet him, and though he was the cauſe of the overthrow, gave him thanks that he had not deſpaired concerning the Commonwealth. *Philip* King of *Macedonia* having expected the fortune of both parties, after the battel of *Cannæ* joyned in affiancy with *Hannibal*; and this being diſcovered through the intercepting of his Ambaſſadors, for to prevent his coming into *Italy*, the *Romans* took order for the invaſion of his own Territories. At this time *Hannibal* was beaten at *Cumæ*, and conſtrained to raiſe his ſiege; and from *Nola* the ſecond time by the ſame hand; *Hanno* having the ſame fortune at *Grumentum*. In *Spain* the *Scipioes* ſo managed the War that they got ground, being continually Superiors. *Aſdrubal* was ordered by the Senate at *Carthage* to paſs into *Italy*, but upon his departure they defeated him in battel, and by this ſucceſs not onely overthrew the deſign of joyning with *Hannibal*, but drew moſt

of the *Spaniards* to their party, ſtill improving the Victory.

And in *Sardinia*.

Livius lib. 24.

41. In *Sicilie* and *Sardinia*, though ſeveral attempts were made by the *Carthaginians*, and ſome revolts happened, yet things proceeded in a good condition. In one battel in *Sardinia* twelve thouſand were ſlain, and many taken Priſoners, amongſt whom were *Aſdrubal*, *Hanno*, and *Mago*, all noble *Carthaginians*. A year or two after the death of *Hieron* King of *Syracuſe* (who having been a faſt friend to the *Romans* died at ninety years of age or more) altered much the face of affairs. For *Hieronymus* his Grandſon ſucceeding him, was for his wicked diſpoſition quickly made away, and then the City breaking into divers factions; that which was moſt contrary to the *Roman* intereſt prevailed, by the means of two inconſiderable men made *Prætors*. *Marcellus* the Conſul beſieged *Syracuſe* both by Sea and Land, but was hindered from ſtorming it by the skill and invention of that excellent Mathematitian *Archimedes*. He framed ſuch Engines, as therewith to caſt huge ſtones upon the *Romans*, and great beams upon their Ships. He would ſet the Ships upon one end, overturn them, and hoizing them up into the air, after all the men, and other things were falln out of them, let them fall upon the Walls, or return down into the Sea. Such was the exactneſs of his skill, both near at hand, and afar of, that neither by Sea nor by Land could they attempt a ſtorm, their Engines of battery being alſo diſmounted by the force of his.

In *Sicily Marcellus* beſiegeth *Syracuſe*.

Lege Plutarch in Marcello. Livium lib. 25. *Val. Max. lib.* 8. *cap.* 7. *Extern. Exemp.* 7. *Ciceron. Tuſcull. lib.* 1. & 5. & *De Finibus l.* 5.

42. *Marcellus* hereupon departed from the ſiege, jeering his own Engineers, and calling *Archimedes* by the name of *Briareus*. He deſtroyed *Megara*, one of the moſt ancient Cities of the Iſland, and falling upon the Army of *Hippocrates*, as it was incampiug it ſelf, killed above eight thouſand men. After this he made incurſions, and drew ſeveral Towns from the *Carthaginians*. He took *Damippus* the *Spartan* as he ſayled from *Syracuſe*, about the redemption of whom coming often near the Walls of that City, he obſerved a Tower negligently kept, and convenient for receiving of men, becauſe the Wall there might be eaſily mounted. Taking the opportunity of *Diana*'s feaſt, wherein the *Syracuſians* gave up themſelves to Wine and ſports, he ſeized on this Tower and through it beſtowing his men about the Walls, eaſily became Maſter of the City, after three years ſpent in the ſiege. He wept when he beheld the goodlineſs of it, which notwithſtanding his Commands for moderation (in which he was eminent) he knew would ſuffer much. But more than the reſt, the death of *Archimedes* troubled him, whom he moſt laboured to preſerve. Some wrote that this famous Artiſt buſied in his Geometrical ſpeculations minded not what was doing in the City; but a Soldier coming to him, and bidding him follow him to *Marcellus*, he would not go till he had finiſhed his probleme, and demonſtrated it, whereupon the Soldier killed him. Others reported that a Soldier ruſhing in upon him, he deſired reſpite from death till he had finiſhed his contemplation; but the Soldier not at all regarding him ſlew him preſently. A third report went, that as he was carrying his Mathematical inſtruments to *Marcellus*, certain Soldiers came upon him, who ſuppoſing it to be Gold he carried in the Veſſel, inſtantly ſlew him. One of theſe wayes periſhed *Archimedes*, who excelling all men in this noble skill, deſerveth as much of blame as he had of knowledge, in that eſteeming ſordid and baſe the making of Engines, and what ſerved neceſſary uſes, he onely ſeriouſly ſtudied the Science abſtracted from Mechanick works, and through this kind of greatneſs of mind, refuſed to write any thing concerning thoſe works, which procured him his deſerved fame and eſtimation.

Archimedes forceth him to depart.

Yet he ſurprizeth the City, but cannot preſerve *Archimedes*.

A. M. 3793. *Ol.* 142. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 542. *Ant. M.* 12. *Ptol. Philop.* 11. *Belli Punici* 7.

43. At this time the *Scipioes* in *Spain* having well nigh done their work, and intending ſuddenly to make an end of the War, unfortunately divided their Forces, and through the treachery of the *Celtiberians* were both cut off with almoſt their whole Armies. The *Roman* intereſt hereby had been deſtroyed in that Countrey, had not the remainders of the forces been kept together, and preſerved by *L. Marcius* a *Tribune*, who revenged the death of the two Generals and his other Countreymen, by falling on the *Carthaginians*, divided into two ſeveral Camps, Secure, and without any watch, and ſuffering none to eſcape from one to give notice to the other, ſlew thirty ſeven thouſand and took one thouſand eight hundred and thirty with great plunder. In *Italy*, *Hannibal* had *Tarentum* betrayed to him by the Inhabitants, the Caſtle ſtill holding out; and the *Romans* laid ſiege to *Capua*. Hither was *Annibal* called for aid; but he made no great haſte, out of deſire he had to take the Caſtle of *Tarentum*. Bethinking himſelf how great ſcandal he ſhould give to all his Confederates, in caſe he did not relieve that City, he marched thither, and ſet upon the *Roman* Camp, which was ſo well defended, that he was repelled, though aſſiſted by the Inhabitants, and his own Garriſon he there had left.

The *Scipioes* having Conquered almoſt all *Spain*, are deſtroyed by dividing their forces, and their death is revenged by *Marcius*.

Livius lib. 26.

The *Romans* beſiege *Capua*.

Hannibal having got *Tarentum* beſiegeth the Caſtle in vain, and Marcheth for *Rome.*

Perceiving then that the Enemy would not be drawn out of his Trenches, and that he could not break through his Camp, leſt the new Conſuls ſhould intercept his Proviſions, he reſolved to be gone. Conſidering much whither he ſhould go, he reſolved for *Rome* it ſelf, the head of the War, deſigning at leaſt by this Enterprize to raiſe the ſiege of *Capua.*

44. His coming being heard of at *Rome*, they were there variouſly inclined as to reſiſtance. Some thought that all the Armies in *Italy* were to be ſent for; but *Fabius Maximus* would by no means hear of leaving *Capua*: Therefore a middle way was taken, to ſend for one of the Captains from the ſiege to the defence of the City. *Q. Fulvius* then the *Proconſul* chuſing out fifteen thouſand Foot, and one thouſand Horſe out of the three Armies, marched for *Rome*, which he entred at the Gate *Capena* (when *Hannibal* now lay encamped eight miles off) the Senate, leſt his power ſhould be diminiſhed, having decreed, that if he came into the City he ſhould have equal authority with the Conſuls. *Annibal* removing to the River *Aniene*, three miles from the City, with two thouſand Horſe thence went to take a view of it. *Flaccus* ſtomaching he ſhould take this liberty and do it with eaſe, ſent out a party of Horſe, which falling on made him retreat. The day after, and that following, *Hannibal* on one ſide, and *Flaccus* with the Conſuls on the other, drew out their forces for a battel, when on both dayes fell ſuch ſtorms of hail and rain, as the Armies could not joyn, but when they had retreated into their Camps a wonderful ſerenity appeared. This ſtruck the *Carthaginians* with a religious awe, and cauſed *Hannibal* to ſay, that *ſometimes a Will, and otherwhiles fortune were wanting to him for the taking of the City.* Removing back then his Camp to the River *Turia*, thence he proceeded to the Lake of *Feronia*, which Goddeſs had then a rich Temple there. This he robbed, and ſo marched through the Countreys of the *Lucani* and *Brutii* towards *Rhegium* and the Straights, where he well nigh had deſtroyed the Inhabitants unawares by the ſuddeneſs of his coming. *Flaccus* returned to the ſiege of *Capua*, whither that *Hannibal* returned not was much admired. The *Campanians* therefore deſpairing of any aſſiſtance from him, *Capua* was yielded up. The heads of the Rebellion (fifty three in number) were put to death (twenty eight having before poyſoned themſelves) at the command of *Fulvius*, contrary to the Will of his Collegue *Appius Claudius*, who would have had the the matter determined by the Senate at *Rome.* The common ſort was ſold, and the City, becauſe ſituate in ſo good a ſoyl, reſerved for a receptacle of all ſorts of Plow-men, Labourers, and Artificers, without any ſhew of government of its own, after it had ſtood about two hundred and ſixty years. Theſe things hapned in the eighth year of the War, being the 543 of the City, the 13th of *Antiochus* the Great, and the 12 of *Ptolomy Philopator*, *P. Sulpicius Galba*, and *Cn. Falvius Centumalus* being Conſuls.

Is hindred from fighting by Tempeſts, and departeth towards *Rhegium.*

A. M. 3794. *V. C.* 543.

Capua yielded.

Paterculus lib. 1.

Livius lib. 27.

Nero deluded by *Aſdrubal*

45. This year was ſent into *Spain Claudius Nero*, who having got *Aſdrubal* the *Carthaginian* into a ſtraight ſo as he might have cut off him and his Army, *Aſdrubal* promiſed he would draw all his Soldiers out of the Countrey, but drew out the time in length by the interpoſition of his *Punick faith*, till by little and little he withdrew all his men out of the danger. The Senate and People hearing this, took it ill that *Nero* would thus ſuffer himſelf to be abuſed, yet know they not whom to ſend to ſucceed him, and when the *Comitia* were held for the creation of a *Proconſul*, none appeared to ſtand for the Office. A great ſadneſs hereupon ſeized on the multitude, When *Publius Scipio* ſon to *Publius Cornelius Scipio* ſlain in *Spain* (whom as we ſaid he defended in battel) a young man but of twenty four years of age, ſtood up in a place where he might be ſeen, and profeſſed himſelf *Candidate*, having the year before been made *Ædilis*, though under age, by the great favour and confidence of the People. With great joy he was created by the ſuffrages of all, but when they conſidered what they had done, and eſpecially thought of his age, they were again much perplexed, which he apprehending, called them together, and with ſuch ſpirit and reſolution promiſed them good ſucceſs, that they departed well ſatisfied, judging many things to be in him which ſurpaſſed humane admiration; for having good parts, he could ſet them off to purpoſe. Paſſing into *Spain* then this year, the ſummer following he took new *Carthage* by ſtorm, a place of great conſequence both for riches and ſituation, by the fame of which exploit, together with his loving demeanour towards the natives, he well improved the Victory.

Publius Scipio taketh npon him the government of *Spain* and exceedingly proſpereth.

46. *Hannibal* at this time indulging his cruel diſpoſition in waſting ſuch Countries as he could not keep, loſt his credit; and the *Romans* in *Italy* gained thereby.

This

Sect. 2. This year *M. Valerius Lævinus*, who had done good ſervice againſt *Philip* of *Macedonia*, was the ſecond time, in his abſence, created Conſul, together with *Marcellus* the fourth time. *Lævinus* went into *Sicily*, where taking the City *Agrigentum*, he thereby brought the whole Iſland under the *Roman* Juriſdiction. The year following being the tenth of the War, *Tarentum* was betrayed into the hands of *Fabius Maximus*, now Conſul the fifth time, with *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, who the fourth time bore this Office. *Marcellus* for this year ſometimes winning and ſometimes loſing with *Annibal*, for that following being created Conſul (though he ſcarcely ſeemeth rightly created according to the *Roman* ſuperſtition) though otherwhiles wary enough, was cut off in an Ambuſh, whilſt with his Collegue *T. Quintius Criſpinus*, accompanied onely with two hundred and twenty Horſe, he went to view a place where he had a great deſire to fight *Hannibal*. *Criſpinus* alſo received a wound whereof he died, after he had named a *Dictator* for creation of the next Conſuls.

Lævinus recovereth all *Sicily*.

Marcellus ſlain.

A. M. 3797.
Ol. 143. *an.* 1.
V. C. 546.
Ant. M. 16.
Ptol. Philop. 15.
Belli 11.

47. The year following, *Aſdrubal* was ordered to go out of *Spain* into *Italy*, to the aſſiſtance of his Brother *Annibal*. This cauſed great carefulneſs in *Rome*, by reaſon they knew not well whom to oppoſe againſt him. At length *M. Claudius Nero* and *M. Livius Salinator* (who lately had returned to the City, after that being publickly diſgraced he had abſented himſelf for ſeveral years) were created Conſuls, having been at great odds, and now reconciled through the interpoſition of the Senate. *Livius* was ordered to meet *Aſdrubal*, and *Nero* appointed to attend the motions of *Annibal*. But the later having ſome ſucceſs againſt his Enemy, picked out of the flower of his Army ſix thouſand Foot, and one thouſand Horſe, and with great ſecrecy, and as much ſpeed, marched toward his Collegue, that he might reach him ere he joyned with *Aſdrubal*. Being joyned, they incompaſſed him, who was by a deceitful guide led into a dangerous place, and cut him with his whole Army in pieces: then marched *Nero* back to his own Army, and ere *Hannibal* knew of his departure, caſt his Brothers head into his Camp, whereby to his grief he knew of the defeat. The year following did *P. Scipio* after many Victories obtained, finiſh the War in *Spain*; all the *Carthaginian* Captains being either taken or driven away. This hapned five years after his undertaking the charge, and thirteen after the beginning of the War.

Aſdrubal ordered to march out of *Spain* into *Italy*,

Is cut off with his whole Army by *Livius* and *Nero* the Conſuls.

48. *Scipio* coming to *Rome*, and being made Conſul, greatly deſired to be ſent into *Africk*, urging it to the Senate as neceſſary for finiſhing the War, and undertaking ſo to manage his affairs, as to force the *Carthaginians* to recall *Hannibal* for the defence of his own Countrey. *Fabius Maximus* moſt earneſtly, and with ſome heat oppoſed this, and a conſiderable difference hereupon aroſe; but at length *Sicily* was granted him for his Province, and leave given him to paſs over into *Africk*, if he ſaw it convenient for the Commonwealth. All this year he ſpent in the Iſland, in providing neceſſaries for his Expedition, and the next, with a brave Fleet landed in *Africk*, where *Maſaniſſa* King of *Numidia* (who in *Spain* had joyned with him) came in to his aid. Within a while he killed *Hanno* with three thouſand men, and beſieged *Utica*; but *Syphax* King of *Numidia*, the enemy and competitor of *Maſaniſſa* (who formerly had entered into league with *Scipio*, but again upon a marriage with *Annibal*'s niece revolted) coming with the *Carthaginians* to raiſe the ſiege, he having attempted in vain to ſtorm the Town, roſe up and departed to his winter quarters.

Scipio having ſubdued *Spain* is made Conſul.

The year following paſſeth into *Africk*.

Livius lib. 29.

A. M. 3800.
Ol. 143. *an.* 4.
V. C. 549.
Seleucidarum 108.
Ant. Mag. 19.
Ptol. Philop. 18.
Belli Punici. 14.

49. In winter he was not idle, but again beſieged *Utica*, and entred into a Treaty with *Syphax* and *Aſdrubal* about a Peace, in the mean time ſending his ableſt Soldiers in the habit of Slaves with his Commiſſioners, to view the Enemies Camps. This being ſufficiently done, he brake off the Treaty, and ſet fire upon the Camps, which the other not ſuſpecting, but thinking it came by accident, were cut in pieces when they were buſied in quenching the fire, to the number of forty thouſand men, and ſix thouſand were taken Priſoners. Not long after he gave them another great overthrow, which ſo affected the *Carthaginians* with fear, that they called home *Hannibal*. Preſently after they ſent a Fleet to relieve *Utica*, which worſted the *Roman* Navy; and they might have done more than this had not fear made them loiter. But ſhortly after this, *Scipio* again routed *Syphax*, who had got together an unexperienced company of ſtrangers, and taking him Priſoner, gave his Kingdom to *Maſaniſſa*. In *Italy* about this time *Mago* was overthrown, and wounded in an ingagement with *Quintilius Varus* the *Prætor*, and *M. Cornelius* the *Proconſul*: he alſo was recalled as well as his Brother *Annibal*, and died on the Sea of his wounds. The *Carthaginians* ſent an Ambaſſage to *Rome*, with a deſign to obtain a ceſſation till *Hannibal*

Idem lib. 30.
Polyb. l. 14, & 15.

Where he ſo diſtreſſeth the *Carthaginians*, could arrive out of *Italy*. But their aim being ſufficiently underſtood, the meſſage was ſlighted; and to witneſs their perfidiouſneſs, they brake the Law of Nations, by offering to violate Meſſengers ſent from *Scipio*.

That they recall *Hannibal*;

50. *Annibal* being recalled by his ſuperiours, with very much reluctancy quitted *Italy*, after he had therein ſpent ſixteen years. He complained much of the Senate and of himſelf. Of the Senate, becauſe fighting ſo long a time in an Enemies Country, they had ſo little ſupplied him with money and other things neceſſary for War. Of himſelf, for that having ſo often overthrown and put to flight the *Roman* Legions, he had ſtill delayed and given them time to breath. It's reported alſo, that ere he took Ship, he built an Arch near the the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, wherein, in *Punick* and *Greek* letters, he wrote the ſum of his great atchievements. Taking the Sea, he landed in a few dayes at *Leptis*, whence he marched to *Adrumentum*, and thence to *Zama*. Conſidering now the weak eſtate of his Country, he deſired a meeting with *Scipio* to treat of Peace, which being granted, the two greateſt Captains in the World came to an interview betwixt their Armies, but receiving mutually no ſatisfaction, they returned to decide the controverſie by the Sword. *Hannibal* in the battel behaved himſelf moſt gallantly, and like ſo expert a Warriour amongſt his Soldiers, conſiſting of ſo many Nations and languages. But providence ordained the Victory to *Scipio*, who ſlew twenty thouſand, and took as many Priſoners, yet not without great loſs of his own men, whereof two thouſand fell. After this, *Annibal* perſwaded his Country-men to aſk Peace, and Ambaſſadors were diſpatched away accordingly.

A. M. 3802.
V. C. 551.

Whom he alſo overthroweth,

51. *Scipio* was not averſe to a cloſure, as loth to part with the glory of concluding the War, which the year before was in danger of being taken from him by *Tib. Claudius Nero* the Conſul, and now by *C. Cornelius Lentulus*, who both had procured *Africk* for their Province, and to be joyned in equal authority with him. The power of concluding the Peace was by the People decreed to *Scipio*, with ten others, which was at length agreed to on theſe termes. *That the* Carthaginians *being free, ſhould enjoy all their Territories in* Africk; *but the* Romans *hold* Spain *with all the Iſlands of the* Mediterranean *any time in queſtion betwixt the two States. That all Rebels and Fugitives ſhould be given up to the* Romans. *That the* Carthaginians *ſhould deliver up all their beaked Ships, except ten Triremes, with all their tamed Elephants, and tame no more. It was made unlawful for them to make War in* Africk *or elſewhere, without Licence from the People of* Rome. *They were to reſtore all to* Maſaniſſa, *and enter into confederacy with him. To give money and Corn to the* Roman *Auxiliaries, till the Ambaſſadors ſhould be returned. To pay ten thouſand Talents of Silver in the ſpace of fifty years, and give one hundred Hoſtages for performance of theſe things.* Thus ended the ſecond *Punick* War, in the eighteenth year, and *Scipio* obtained the honourable ſirname of *Africanus*, being the firſt General (if *Livy* obſerveth rightly) who was ennobled by the name of a Country he had overcome.

Whereupon Peace is deſired and obtained.

A. M. 3804.
Ol. 144. *an.* 1.
V. C. 553.
Ant. Mag. 23.
Ptol. Epiphan. 3.
Belli Punici 18.

52. The *Romans* had little or no reſt after this War; for immediately begun, or rather went on the *Macedonian*, or that with *Philip*, the occaſion being given, as was ſaid, ten years before, upon his entrance into confederacy with *Annibal*. The *Ætolians* being alſo invaded by him, aid was ſent them, by which he was worſted, and after ſeven years a Peace was made. But now the *Romans* having nothing to do, and being not without provocation, as well by his breaking of his faith with the *Ætolians* and others of their friends in thoſe parts, as by his ſupply of men and mony not long before ſent to *Hannibal*, and at the earneſt requeſt of the *Athenians* (the Territories of whom he had waſted) they decreed War anew againſt him, being alſo complained of by *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, and the *Rhodians*, for moleſting the Cities in *Aſia*. *Ser. Sulpitius Galba* the Conſul obtaining *Macedonia* for his Province, by himſelf and his Lieutenant, put him to the worſt divers times, and had almoſt taken him. Together with *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* he cauſed him to raiſe his ſiege from *Athens*, whereupon the *Ætolians* before backward enough, by reaſon of their Magiſtrate, and the *Athamanians* now incouraged invaded his Dominions, but being idle and careleſs were eaſily repelled by him. This year, did *M. Furius* the *Prætor* get a great Victory over the *Galls*, which beſieged *Cremona* in *Italy*, killing thirty thouſand, and with them *Amilcar* the *Carthaginian* Captain. For this, after much diſpute in the Senate, he triumphed, though againſt the Cuſtom, and without preſident, for any one to receive this honour, that had obtained Victory with the Army of another, as he had done with the Soldiers of *C. Aurelius Cotta* the Conſul

The *Macedonian* War.

Livius lib. 31.

Galba the Conſul proſpereth againſt *Philip*.

A. M. 3805.
Ol. 145. *an.* 1.
V. C. 554.
Seleucidarum 113.
Ant. M. 24.
Ptol. Epiph. 4.

Conſul in his abſence, who took it moſt hainouſly. The year following, *C. Bebius* the *Prætor* entering unadviſedly into the Territories of the *Galls Inſubres*, was incompaſſed and loſt above ſix thouſand and ſix hundred men.

And ſo doth *Flaminius.*

One good thing done by the Tribune of the People Εὕρηκα.

Philip overthrown by *Flaminnius* at *Cynoſcephale,* deſireth, and obtaineth peace.

53. Nothing conſiderable was this year done in *Macedonia* by *P. Villius Tappulus* the Conſul; but his ſucceſſor *T. Quintius* * *Flamininus* (not *Flaminnius* as *Plutarch* now hath him; for the *Flaminini Patritians* muſt not be confounded with the *Flaminii* who were *Plebeians*) uſing great expedition, beat *Philip* out of the Straights, wherein ſecurely he had encamped, and by Sea his Brother *Lucius* (with *Attalus*) took ſeveral Towns of his Confederates, and beſieged *Corinth*, though in vain. The time coming for the election of new Conſuls, and it being uſual for them to take the Provinces from their Predeceſſors, the *Tribunes* rightly objected, that this courſe hindred the progreſs of the Wars, and procured *Quintius* his Government to be continued to him, who being about taking the Caſtle of *Opus*, Meſſengers came from *Philip* about a Treaty. Several times they met (which before they had alſo done at the Straights) and the Ambaſſadors of *Attalus*, the *Rhodians* and *Achæans* were preſent; but the effect was nothing, and *Philip* gave up *Argos* into the hands of *Nabis* Tyrant of *Lacædemon*, who uſed the Inhabitants with great cruelty and incredible exaction. But *Quintius* following *Philip* into *Theſſaly*, gave him ſuch a blow at *Cynoſcephale*, as forced him to ask Peace, which was granted upon terms moderate enough. All the Cities of *Greece* which he had got in his hands, were hereby, beyond all expectation, and to the wonder of themſelves and others, ſet at liberty, and left to their own Laws. The year preceding this concluſion, did the *Galls* receive a great overthrow from *Cornelius* the Conſul. But in *Spain*, *C. Sempronius Tuditanus* was totally defeated. The ſame year wherein the *Macedonian* War ended, the ſlaves in *Tuſcany* made a dangerous Rebellion, but were chaſtized, and quieted, by *Attilius* the *Prætor*. And about the ſame time was another victory obtained over the *Galls*.

* *Apud Livium l.* 32.

A. M. 3809.
Ol. 146. *ann.* 1.
V. C. 558.
Ant. M. 28.
Ptol. Epiph. 8.

A. M. 3810.
V. C. 559.

54. The year after the ratification of the peace, ſome bickering there was in the City about the Women. Twenty years before, there had been a Law preferred by *Oppius*, Tribune of the People, preſently after the defeat at *Cannæ*, forbidding women the wearing of Gold or Purple, and the uſe of any other kind of Pomp. This now did two of the preſent Tribunes labour to abrogate, the face of things being changed, and the occaſion removed. *M. Porcius Cato* the Conſul ſtood ſtifly for preſerving the Law, inveighing much againſt the Females; but partly through the appoſite reply of *L. Valerius* the Tribune unto the Conſul, out of his own book, called *Origenes*, and eſpecially through the the importunity of the Women themſelves (who with liberty of behaviour ſufficient filled the ſtreets, came to the Aſſembly, and conſtrained two of the Tribunes to let fall their interpoſition) it was abrogated. *Cato* then betook himſelf into *Spain* his Province, where uſing ſeverity towards himſelf as well as his Soldiers, he reſtored the *Roman* intereſt by good Diſcipline. Having led his Army upon the back of the *Spaniards*, and thereby neceſſitated them to fight, he overthrew them in a great battel, and took their Camp; after which, notwithſtanding the fickleneſs of the Natives, he reduced the Province to obedience. The ſame Summer did *L. Valerius Flaccus* his Collegue give another overthrow to the *Galls* in *Italy*.

The *Oppian* Law againſt the women repealed.

Motions in *Greece.*

55. In *Greece*, *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Sparta*, ſtill held it, and *Argos*, in ſlavery; wherefore the freedom of them ſtill was wanting to the univerſal liberty of *Greece*, reſolved to be vindicated from the oppreſſion of the *Macedonian* party. *Quintius*, upon *Nabis* his refuſal to quit *Argos*, beſieged them both, and took in *Gytheum* a Port Town, which drove *Nabis* to ask peace. *Quintius* was not againſt it, urging to the *Græcian* Allies the length, which was likely to be of the ſiege of *Sparta*, the unſeaſonableneſs of the Winter ſeaſon, and the War that threatned from *Antiochus* King of *Aſia*; but indeed fearing leſt one of the new Conſuls taking *Macedonia* for his Province, might rob him of the glory of ending the whole controverſie in theſe parts. Yet the *Greeks* being earneſt for ſuppreſſing the Tyrant, he ſeemed to yield to it, and afterwards put them off by demanding ſuch ſupplies as they could not furniſh him with. Notwithſtanding this, the peace could not be made; for, *Nabis* accepted not of the terms, eſpecially of parting with his Ships. Hereupon *Sparta* was ſet upon round about, and had been taken, but that *Pythagoras* Son-in-law to the Tyrant ſet the out-houſes on fire, which drove away the Inhabitants. Though the onſet ſucceeded not, yet the danger put *Nabis* into ſuch a fright, that he now accepted of the former conditions, and had peace granted

granted him; the *Argives* having ere this taken heart at the abſence of *Pythagoras* their Governour, and freed themſelves. The following year *T. Sempronius* the Conſul killed many of the *Galls* who had ſet upon his Camp, but with great loſs of his own men. Several times had the *Romans* now the better againſt theſe people, and the *Ligurians*. Then came they flatly to fall out with *Antiochus* the Great, King of *Syria*, and began a War with him five years after the ending of the *Macedonian*, in the 563 year of the City, the ſecond of the 147 *Olympiad*, the three and thirtieth of *Antiochus*, and the thirteenth of *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, A.M. 3814. *P. Corn. Scipio Naſica*, and *Manius Acilius Glabrio* being Conſuls.

The *Romans* fight proſperouſly againſt the *Galls*.

SECT. III.

From the War with Antiochus, *and the invaſion of* Aſia, *to the deſtruction of* Carthage, *after which the* Romans *degenerated through ſecurity.*

Containing the ſpace of forty five years.

The occaſions of the War with *Antiochus*

1. ANtiochus had invaded the Territories of *Attalus*; but being then the friend of the *Romans*, gave over his Enterprize at their deſire. After this, having an hungry deſire after *Ægypt*; upon applycation of the *Ægyptians* to *Rome*, he was commanded to deſiſt, which breeding in him diſcontent, it was heightened by reaſon of his ſetting upon ſeveral Cities in *Greece*. He ſaid that they once had belonged (though not of a long time) to his Predeceſſors; but the *Romans* being ambitious to ſet all *Greece* at liberty, plainly told him that theſe Towns muſt not be excepted. When he was thus enough incenſed, and by *Hannibal* (who had fled to him) ſpurred on, the *Ætolians* importuned him to joyn with them againſt their late friends and benefactors. This they did, being an inconſtant people, and very covetous, having taken offence at the ſmall quantity of booty, as they accounted it, alotted to them in the War againſt *Philip*, by *T. Quintius*.

Things introductive to it.

2. The *Ætolians* firſt of all attempted to get into their hands *Lacedæmon*, and other Towns, before held as cautionary by *Quintius*; but miſſed of their deſign, though they brake into the former, and killed *Nabis* the Tyrant; for, they were afterwards cut in pieces by the Inhabitants themſelves. *Antiochus* having through the cunning inſinuations of *Thoas* the *Ætolian*, changed his purpoſe of ſending *Annibal* into *Africk*, and thence into *Italy*, landed in *Greece*, with an intention to make it the Seat of War. He brought an inconſiderable Army with him; but ſeemed to have made a good beginning, having got *Chalcis* into his hands, and by that means eaſily brought under the whole Iſland of *Eubœa*. After this, he ſent and buried the dead bodies of the *Macedonians* ſlain at *Cynoſcephale*, thinking thereby to oblige *Philip*, who taking it as tending to his reproach, becauſe he had not done it before, it proved but an effectual means to make him his Enemy, the *Theſſalians* being no better affected, becauſe he had taken ſome of their Towns. Then wintring at *Chalcis*, he fell in Love with, and marryed an obſcure maid; his Army which before was indifferently good, falling with him into all idleneſs and exceſs.

M. Acilius the Conſul defeateth *Antiochus* at *Thermopylæ*.

A. M. 3814.
Ol. 147. *an.* 2.
V. C. 563.
Seleucidarum 122.
Ant. Mag. 33.
Ptol. Epiphan. 13.

3. *M. Acilius* the Conſul, to whom *Greece* fell by lot, eaſily recovered the places of *Theſſaly*, and afterwards beat *Antiochus* out of the Straights of *Thermopylæ*, whither, being deſerted by his confederates, he had retired, as is ſhewn in the Hiſtory of his Kingdom. Then the Conſul received the *Bœotians*, chiding them only for their ingratitude, and the Gates of *Chalcis* being ſet open to him, he preſently recovered *Eubœa*. This done, he went againſt the *Ætolians*, from whom after he had taken one or two Towns they offered to ſubmit, but being offended with the hard conditions he propounded, and for that large things were promiſed by *Antiochus*, they flew back. Hereupon he beſieged *Naupactus* (now *Lepanto*) and had utterly ruined them, but for the interceſſion of *T. Quintius*. For he having then received the Iſland of *Zacynthus* from the *Athenians*, came to the Camp, and though they had ill deſerved at his hands by detracting from his worth, yet thinking it diſhonourable for him, being the deliverer of *Greece*, that any one people

ple ſhould periſh, he propoſed to the Conſul to be conſidered, whether *to counterpoiſe the power of* Philip, *who now had got by his leave* Athamania, Perrhebia, Aperantia, *and* Dolopio *into his hands, it would not be good policy to preſerve the Ætolians.* For this reſpect, and at their humble ſute he gave them Truce, that they might ſend to the Senate at *Rome*, and broke up his ſiege. Whilſt *Acilius* did theſe things in *Greece*, his Collegue *Scipio Naſica* got a notable victory over the *Boii* in *Italy*, which utterly broke their power in pieces.

L. Cornelius Scipio the Conſul obtaineth *Greece* for his Province with leave to paſs into *Aſia.*

4. *Lucius Cornelius Scipio*, and *C. Lælius Nepos*, being Conſuls for the following year, came, according to the cuſtom, to divide the Provinces by lot. Both were extreamly deſirous to have *Greece*, and *Lælius* being a man in great favour, offered that the thing might be left to the diſcretion of the Senate. *Scipio* at firſt knew not what to do, but his Brother *Africanus* perſwaded him by all means to aſſent to it. The thing was new, and the Senate expected many words on both ſides, when *Africanus* ſtanding up, told the *Fathers*, that if they would decree *Greece* to his Brother, he would go his *Legatus* or *Lieutenant*, whereupon there was no need any more ſhould be ſaid; for it was preſently voted with univerſal conſent, and power given to the Conſul to paſs into *Aſia*, if he ſaw it convenient. Coming into *Greece* he found *Acilius* fall'n upon the *Ætolians* again, becauſe the Senate had given them no poſſitive anſwer, either as to peace or War; only two things were propoſed: *To caſt themſelves wholly upon the Senate, or pay down one thouſand Talents, and have the ſame Friends and Enemies with the* Romans. When they deſired an expoſition of the former, no anſwer would be given, but a command to their Ambaſſadors to depart: The Conſul proſecuted what his Predeceſſor had begun, and with much ado, through the interceſſion of the *Athenians* by *Africanus*, another Truce was granted that they might have time once more to ſend to *Rome*. There their Ambaſſadors inſtead of confeſſing their faults, and asking pardon, boaſted what friends and aſſiſtants they had been to the *Roman* State, which gave ſuch offence, that they were commanded out of the City, as before.

5. *Antiochus* having with his Son *Seleucus* beſieged *Pergamus* the chief City of *Eumenes*, the friend of the *Romans*, was forced to raiſe his ſiege. He ſent to *Æmilius* the *Roman* Admiral now on thoſe Coaſts about peace, who diſowned any power of concluding it without the Conſul. Then did the *Rhodians* at Sea defeat his Admiral, which was *Hannibal*, a man out of his proper Element, and afterward in a battel fought with *Æmilius*, *Eumenes*, and the *Rhodians*, he fully loſt the command of the Sea. Affrighted hereat, he fooliſhly left *Lyſimachia*, which this year might have kept the Conſul in action, aud adding one folly to another ſuffered *Scipio* to paſs the *Helleſpont* without interruption. Now he offered to quit all places in *Europe*, and ſuch in *Aſia* as were the friends of *Rome*, to diſcharge half of the coſts ſuſtained by the *Romans* in the War, and rather than not be quiet, he was content to part with a portion of his own Kingdom. Theſe ſeemed but ſmall things to the Conſul, who thought it juſt that he, who had been the cauſe of the War, ſhould bear all the charges of it, and not only quit *Ionia* and *Æolis*, but leave all the *Greek* Cities to their liberty, which could not be, except he parted with all *Aſia* on this ſide the Mountain *Taurus*. The Ambaſſador had in charge to procure the favour of *Africanus*, to whom was offered the reſtitution of his Son taken priſoner, and all that could be expected on this ſide the Title of King, if he would live with him. But all private Offices of kindneſs only would *Africanus* promiſe, deſiring him by all means to procure peace, and, when he had received his Son, not to fight till he ſhould (being now ſick) return to the Camp. This cauſed *Antiochus* to delay fighting, but the Conſul followed, and provoked him to give battel, wherein his own Chariots Armed with Sithes, being driven back upon his own men, procured his overthrow. After this, peace was granted on the ſame terms as it had been offered to him before the battel. And thus this War ended in a ſhort time, and leſs trouble than was expected, the ſecond Conſul putting a period to it, who in imitation of his Brother took on him the ſirname of *Aſiaticus*.

Antiochus affrighted at his bad ſucceſs at Sea maketh offers.

Which are rejected.

He is overthrown, and hath peace granted upon former demands.

6. The year following, wherein *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, and *Cn. Manlius* were Conſuls, the former going into *Greece* fell upon the *Ætolians*, who now had taken from *Philip Dolopia*, and *Amphilochia* with *Athamania*; and beſieging *Ambracia*, drove them once more to ſue for peace. They were referred by the Conſul to *Rome*, where the Ambaſſadors of *Philip* made great complaints againſt them upon the former account. But the *Rhodians* and *Athenians* interceeding once more for them, their ſute was granted, on condition to *pay five hundred* Eubœan *Talents at ſeveral*

Livius lib. 38.

Peace granted to the *Ætolians.*

ſeveral payments, to reſtore all priſoners, and have the ſame Friends and Enemies with the People of Rome.

Manlius ſubdueth the *Galatians.*

Juſtin. lib. 3.

7. *Cn. Manlius* the other Conſul was now in *Aſia*, where of that part taken from *Antiochus*, much he conferred upon *Eumenes*, and the *Rhodians*, according to the reſult of the Senate. This done, he undertook an Expedition againſt the *Gallogræcians*, or *Galatians*, a People which having followed *Brennus* into *Greece*, after his death, had ninety years before paſſed into *Aſia*, where they were ſo terrible, as none denyed them tribute before *Attalus* King of *Pergamus.* They inhabited vaſt and high Mountains, and in that reſpect were with diffculty to be come at; but the Conſul by throwing Darts, eſpecially at their huge bodies, made great ſlaughter and ſubdued them. Returning home through *Thrace*, he had well-nigh loſt his booty by the Inhabitants that lay in wait for it in the woody paſſages, and hardly got leave to triumph, becauſe he had undertaken the War on his own head. It is obſerved, that luxury and idleneſs were firſt brought to *Rome* by his Army, out of *Aſia*, through the provocations to effeminateneſs there found, and his looſe and neglected Government.

Luxury firſt brought to *Rome* by his Army.

Scipio Africanus called to account by the *Tribunes.*

Lege Livium lib. 28.
Val. Max. l. 3. *c.* 7. *exemp.* 1.
Gellium Noct. Attic. l. 4. *c.* 18.

A. M. 3818.
Ol. 148. *an.* 2.
V. C. 567.
Seleuci Phi*lop.* 1.
Ptol. Epiphan. 17.

8. In the third year after the ending of the War with *Antiochus*, and the ſame wherein he dyed, envy procured the fall of thoſe by whom the Victory was obtained. For, *Scipio Africanus* was accuſed of having defrauded the Treaſury of the booty taken in the War, and had a day ſet him by the *Tribunes* to anſwer it before the People. It is not certain who was his accuſer, ſome mentioning *M. Nævius*, and others the two *Patilii* Tribunes, ſet on, as ſome delivered, by *M. Porcius Cato* the Enemy of *Scipio.* The day of hearing being come, and the *Tribunes* having taken their places in the *Roſtra*, the party entred the Aſſembly with a great train of Friends and Clients. Silence being made, he put on his triumphal Crown, and told the People, how as that day he had overthrown *Hannibal* and the *Carthaginians*; wherefore thinking it convenient for that time not to meddle with any brawling buſineſs, he would go and ſalute the gods in the Capitol, and give them thanks, that as well that day, as at other times, they had given him both will and power to do eminent ſervice for his Country. Then he wiſhed that ſuch of them there preſent as thought it convenient, would accompany him, and pray that they might have ſuch principal Officers (*Principes*) as he had been.

His great ſpirit.

He departeth to *Linternum* and is not condemned through the procurement of *Gracchus.*

9. Going up to the Capitol, the whole Aſſembly followed him, as alſo to all the Temples in the City, inſomuch that the very *Viators* and *Clerks* left the *Tribunes* alone, who alſo followed, and from accuſers turned admirers, (as appeareth from *Valerius Maximus*) out of very ſhame. The *Tribunes* accuſed him alſo grievouſly in the Senate, and deſired he might be brought to his anſwer. He riſing up, produced the Books of accounts, wherein was punctually ſet down all the particulars, but he tore it in pieces before them all, diſdaining to give account for ſo ſmall a matter in compariſon of thoſe vaſt ſums he bhimſelf had brought into the Treaſury. The next day of appearance he abſented himſelf, and his Brother pretending his indiſpoſition, he was excuſed, and another day appointed, before which he withdrew himſelf to *Linternum* (or *Liternum*) a Sea Town of *Campania.* For he clearly perceived under what envy he laboured, it being alſo objected againſt him, that he had ſpent in idleneſs all that Summer he lay in *Sicily*, and his power with *Antiochus*, who having diſcharged his Son without ranſom, honoured him above all others, which he willingly took upon him, as one, who alone ſate at the helm, and could ſteer matters concerning *Rome* according to his pleaſure. In his abſence the *Tribunes* were very fierce againſt him, yet through the interpoſition of *Tiberius Gracchus* (formerly accounted his Enemy) he was not condemned.

Aſiaticus his Brother is fined.

The abominable practices at the *Bacchanalia* diſcovered.

Livius lib. 39.
Val. Max. l. 6. *cap.* 3. *exemp.* 7.
Auguſtin de Civitate Dei l. 18 *c.* 13.

A. M. 3819.
V. C. 568.

10. *Lucius Scipio Aſiaticus* his Brother was alſo called to an account, and eſcaped not condemnation, the money ſuppoſed to be retained to his own uſe, being charged upon his eſtate; and he was kept from impriſonment meerly by the power of *Gracchus.* The following year was diſcovered the abominable practice of certain women at the feaſts of *Bacchus*, which being kept in the night, all manner of filthineſs and continual murders were committed. At firſt theſe feſtivals were obſerved but three dayes in a year, but now five in every month, and men were admitted, whereas they were begun by women. All who being preſent and drawn in, would not conſent to ſuch abominations, were ſacrificed as Beaſts, a vaſt number being bewitched with this folly. The matter being revealed to *Sp. Poſthumius Albinus* the Conſul, he acquainted the Senate with it, by which, order

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was taken for apprehending the perſons, impriſoning ſome, and putting others to death, as well in other parts of *Italy*, as in the City; the contagion having infected many other places, but eſpecially *Capua*. It was brought to *Rome* out of *Hetruria*.

Africanus dieth.

A. M. 3822. Ol. 159. an. 2. V. C. 571. Seleuci Philop. 5. Ptol. Epiph. 21.

11. In the ſecond or third year after this diſcovery, and the fourth of his exile, died *P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus*, whether at *Linternum*, or *Rome*, is unknown, the place of his burial being alſo uncertain. That he dyed this year, *Livy* gathereth, becauſe having been *Prince* or chief of the Senate at the former Luſtrum, this year he was left out, (which none uſed to be as long as he lived) by *L. Valerius Flaccus*, and *M. Porcius Cato* the *Cenſors*, the former whereof was choſen into the place. *Valerius Maximus* telleth us, that he commanded this to be ingraven on his Tomb, *Ingrata Patria nè oſſa quidem mea habes*, which ſheweth that he was not buryed at *Rome*. He had that hap which uſually accompanyeth the beſt men, to find their Country ingrateful, being of excellent parts, and of a kingly ſpirit, which he aſcribed to himſelf in *Spain*, when the Natives ſaluted him by, and would have had him take upon him, the title it ſelf. And upon this account he might be hated by *Cato*, who though a virtuous man, was moroſe and ſowre. *Livy* joyneth with his (in the ſame year) the death of *Philopœmen*, and of *Hannibal*; ſo that the three great Captains of the World at that time, left it deſolate as it were by agreement. *Philopœmen* Captain of the *Achæans* was through the fall off his Horſe, taken in an engagement with the *Meſſenians*, and compelled to drink poyſon, having done great ſervice for his Country. *Hannibal* having notice that the *Romans* would demand him from *Antiochus*, fled into *Crete* to the *Gortynians*. Having great Treaſure with him, and knowing himſelf to be in much danger, becauſe of the Avarice of the *Cretans*, he filled many barrels with Lead, which covering on the top with Gold, he depoſited in the Temple of *Diana*, truſting the *Gortynians* with his wealth. Then put he his money into brazen Statues, which he was wont to carry about with him, and caſt them before the gate. They then watching the Temple diligently from none ſo much as him, he got away ſecretly, and went to *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia*, who uſed him in the War againſt *Eumenes*. But *T. Quintius* being ſent to *Pruſias*, whether by the Senate on purpoſe, or upon other occaſions, demanded him as the grand enemy of *Rome*, to be delivered into his hands. He had provided in his houſe ſeveral places for iſſuing out upon ſuch an occaſion; but being beſet, and no way left to eſcape, he took poyſon, which it's ſaid he carryed about him in his ring. So this renowned Captain ended his life in his ſeventieth year; for which thing *Quintius* was by many hardly thought of, and got the eſteem of an importune and cruel man, as *Plutarch* writeth.

And *Philopœmen* General of the *Achæans*

Lege Livium ut ſupra. Corn. Nepot. in Hannibale. Juſtin l. 32. Auctorem lib. de viris illuſtrib.

And *Hannibal*, all three in one year.

Livius l. 40. 41.

12. After theſe things, the *Ligurians* were often defeated by the Conſuls and other Commanders; many a thouſand of them being ſlain, as alſo of the *Celtiberians* and other Nations in *Spain* who were continually rebelling. The *Iſtrians* beat the *Romans* out of their camp, and put them to the rout; *Manlius* the Conſul in vain oppoſing it; but ſhortly after they were diſcomfited by the ſaid *Manlius*, and afterward fully ſubdued by *Claudius* the Conſul, who quelled alſo the *Ligurians*, as his Collegue *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus* did the rebellion of *Sardinia*, with the loſs of one thouſand and five hundred of the revolters. About this time *Corſica* alſo was ſubdued. The year following, *Cornelius* one of the Conſuls died at the bath at *Cumæ*, into whoſe place *C. Valerius Lævinus* was elected. *Petilius Spurinus* the other Conſul fighting againſt the *Ligurians*, laboured to take a certain Mountain called *Letus*, concerning which in his ſpeech to his Souldiers he ſaying, that that day he would take *Letus* (*Hodie ego Letum utique capiam*) by raſh fighting confirmed what he had ſaid in another ſence (*viz.* wherein *Lethum* ſignifieth death) than he had meant it. Theſe actions abroad were ſhortly after followed by the ſecond *Macedonian* War, or that with *Perſeus*, in the five hundred eighty and third year of the City, twenty four after the Peace made with his Father, and ſeventeen after the concluſion with *Antiochus*.

Several Nations ſubdued.

The War with *Perſeus*.

13. *Perſeus* in a manner ſucceeded to this War as well as the Kingdom, his Father having intended and made great preparations for it. Puffed up by theſe preparations, he ſought to draw away the Allies of the *Romans* from their friendſhip, and abuſed ſeveral of their friends. Their Ambaſſadors he ſlighted, refuſing to give them audience, which made the Senate reſolve upon the War; but it was to be committed to one of the following Conſuls; only for the preſent, *Cn. Sicinius* the *Prætor* of the City was commanded to raiſe men, and tranſport them into *E-*

pirus, there to ſeize on the Sea-towns, that the Conſul might more freely land his Army. Some were ſent alſo into *Greece* to confirm the States in their friendſhip and alliance, who alſo demanding audience of *Perſeus*, after long waiting, he renounced the league made with the *Romans*, as entred into at the beginning of his Reign meerly for ſecurity. Hereupon the Ambaſſadors renounced alſo the confederacy made with him, and after that the Conſuls *P. Licinius Craſſus* and *C. Caſſius Longinus* had aſſumed their Office, the War was propounded to, and decreed by the People.

14. *Quintus Martius* and others being ſent into *Greece* to eſtabliſh the confederates in their fidelity, *Perſeus* began to bethink himſelf, and was affrighted, hearing of the motions of the Enemy. He applyed himſelf to *Martius* about a Treaty for Peace, truſting to that friendſhip which had paſſed betwixt their two families. The Ambaſſadors were glad of this addreſs, and to divert him granted him Truce, that he might ſend to *Rome*, for he had all things in a readineſs, and might have begun the War, as with great advantage to himſelf, ſo too ſpeedily to the *Romans*, who as yet had neither Army nor Leader arrived. Peace was denyed him by the Senate, and *A. Attilius* was ſent to ſeize upon *Lariſſa* the chief City of *Theſſaly*. Whereupon he drew together his Forces, having got a greater Army than any of his predeceſſors were Maſters of ſince *Alexander* the Great. He took in ſome Towns upon his borders, and *Licinius* the Conſul led ſo raw and unexperienced an Army into *Macedonia*, and through ſuch difficult and almoſt unpaſſable places, as had *Perſeus* taken his opportunity, he might eaſily have deſtroyed it, as alſo if he had not too ſoon retreated in a battel fought ſhortly after. After this he ſent to *Licinius*, offering to embrace the conditions ſubmitted to by his Father, in paying the tribute, and leaving the Cities to their liberty; which yet would not be granted. Then were *Thebes* and *Aliartus* taken in by *Lucretius* the *Prætor*; and the *Conſul* having had the better in another skirmiſh, received ſome Towns, and took up his Winter quarters; whilſt *Appius Claudius* in *Illyricum* loſt many men.

Peace is denied him by the Senate.

Thebes and *Aliartus* taken

A. M. 3834.
Ol. 152 *an.* 2.
V. C. 583.
Seleucid. 142.
Ant. Epiph. 6.
Ptol. Philom. 10.

15. The year following *C. Hoſtilius* the Conſul did nothing of moment; yet this he did in reference to the Army; he reduced the Souldiers to that antient diſcipline which his predeceſſor had let fall. *Q. Marcius Philippus* ſucceeding him at his firſt enterance into his Province might eaſily have been defeated, had he met with a prudent enemy, the wayes being ſo difficult and dangerous, that the Souldiers could ſcarcely for wearineſs hold their weapons. And after he had got into the plains he might eaſily have been ſhut up on every ſide, and famiſhed, but that *Perſeus* beſotted with fear ran away to *Pydna*, and left the Straights open to him. Yet *Martius* did nothing of conſequence, leaving all to be performed by his Succeſſor *L. Æmilius Paulus*, who had been Conſul ſeventeen years before. He cauſed the Eclypſe of the Moon to be foretold to his Souldiers, leſt they ſhould be diſcouraged by it, which brought great terror to the Enemy, that knew nothing of the natural cauſe. He kept them from fighting when they were weary, though the Officers much deſired to ingage. But the Armies lying incamped on each ſide of the River *Enipeus*, it hapned that a Beaſt paſſing over from the *Roman* ſide, was ſeized on, and being reſcued by degrees drew both the Armies into an ingagement, wherein *Perſeus* loſt the day, and with it his Kingdom. Flying into the Iſle of *Crete*, when all forſook him, he delivered up himſelf into the hands of *Cn. Octavius*. *Æmilius* ſeverely chaſtized the *Epirots*, who had joyned with *Perſeus*, plundering and demoliſhing about ſeventy of their Towns, whereby ſo much booty was got, as each Foot-man had two hundred *Denarii*, and every Horſe-man as much more. But the Souldiers having got little or no plunder in *Macedonia*, nor any of the Kings Treaſure, denyed their General a Triumph, which yet he obtained, and that very ſplendid. Of his four Sons, the two eldeſt he granted to be adopted to *Fabius Maximus*, and *Publius Scipio* the Son of *Africanus*, and of his two youngeſt, the one dyed five dayes before his Triumph, and the other three dayes after, which loſs he ſuſtained with great courage. Before his Triumphal Chariot was led *Perſeus* with his two Sons, and this ſame year Triumphed *Cn. Octavius* the *Prætor* at Sea, beſides *L. Anicius*, before whoſe Chariot was led *Gentius* King of the *Illyrians*, whom being the Confederate of *Perſeus* he had ſubdued, and forced to yield himſelf. This hapned to *Macedonia* and *Illyricum*, in the five hundred and eighty ſixth year of the City, the ſaid *Æmilius*, and *L. Licinius Craſſus* being Conſuls.

Perſeus beſotted with fear neglecteth his opportunities.

Livius l. 45.
Plutarch in Æmylio.

Is overthrown by *Æmilius* the Conſul, and yieldeth himſelf.

16. In the late War, *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, and the *Rhodians*, being wrought upon by *Perſeus*, ſtood Neuters, whereupon *Eumenes* coming towards

Livii Epitom. lib. 46.

Rome

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Rome, the *Senate* being unwilling either to declare him friend or foe, made a decree in General, that no King ſhould come into the City: the *Rhodians* with much ado, and after much ſeeking, were hardly received as friends and confederates. The ſame year that *Perſeus* was overthrown, *Antiochus Epiphanes* beſieging *Ptolomy* in *Alexandria*, upon the deſire of the beſieged, *C. Popillius Lænas* an auſtere man, with *C. Decimus*, were ſent from the Senate to command him to deſiſt, which he obeyed. After this the *Romans* fought in *Liguria* and *Corſica* with various fortune, the *Dalmatians* who had waſted the Borders of *Illyricum* and had overcome, and were overcome by *C. Marcius*, were ſubdued by *Scipio Naſica*. But in *Spain* things went ſo badly, and ſuch loſſes were received, that the City was abaſhed, none being found who would either go Lieutenant to the Conſul, or take place of a *Tribune* upon him, till *Scipio Æmilianus* (the Son of *Paulus Æmilius*, but adopted by *Scipio* the Son of the *African*) ſtanding up offered himſelf, and by his example drew on others. He went Lieutenant to *Lucullus* the Conſul, and behaving himſelf moſt gallantly in the War, killed an Enemy in a Duel which had challenged out any one in the Army, and firſt mounted the Walls of *Intercatia*.

Eumenes and the *Rhodians* having ſtood Neuters, are accordingly reſpected by the Senate.

Velleius Paterculus l. 1. *c.* 10.

Things go ill in *Spain*.

17. *Lucullus* ſubdued ſeveral Nations in *Spain*, though *Sulpicius Galba* unfortunately fought againſt the *Luſitanians*. About the ſame time one *Andriſcus*, an obſcure man in *Macedonia*, but ſomething reſembling *Philip*, counterfeited himſelf the baſe Son of *Perſeus*. He was once ſent to *Rome* by *Demetrius* the King of *Syria*, but making thence an eſcape returned, and renewed his claim to *Macedonia*, which partly by fair means, and partly by conſtraint, he got into his hands. *Juventius* the *Prætor* was firſt ſent againſt him; but he having ſtrengthened himſelf with the *Thracians*, cut him off and all his Army, and invaded *Theſſaly*, whence he was ejected by the help of the *Achæans*. After this, *Q. Metellus* the *Prætor* ſufficiently revenged the Commonwealth upon him, for he overthrew him in a great battel, whence he fled to *Byzus*, a petty King of *Thrace*, who delivering him up, he led him in Triumph. *Metellus* (accounted moſt fortunate) reduced *Macedonia* in this third *Macedonian* War into the form of Province, which ſhortly after alſo hapened to *Africk*. For, even now was proſecuting with all earneſtneſs the third and laſt *Punick* or *Carthaginian* War, and the ruin of the City *Carthage* it ſelf.

Andriſcus a counterfeit Son of *Perſeus*.

Florus lib. 2. *c.* 12.
Velleius lib. 1. *cap.* 11.
Oroſius lib. 4. *cap.* 22.

A. M. 3857.
Ol. 158. *an.* 1.
V. C. 606.
Ptol. Philom. 33.

Is taken.

18. Their opinion is not faulty, who profeſs not to be able to find any Meritorious cauſe of this War in the *Carthaginians*, and theirs, who affirm that *Carthage* was more hated for its competition of Empire, than for any fault it had committed in thoſe times. But there wanted not pretences. For, divers times had *Maſaniſſa* King of *Numidia*, and the *Carthaginians*, quarrelled about grounds upon the Borders, and often had the *Romans* ſent to take up the quarrel, but eſpecially of late not with indifferency had they judged, for that the fault lay in *Maſaniſſa*, who being a great friend of theirs, preſumed too much upon their affection to himſelf, and the jealouſie wherewith he knew them prejudiced againſt the other. The Ambaſſadors alſo that were ſent to *Carthage*, finding the City full, and flouriſhing, from that peace they had now enjoyed about fifty years, and provided alſo for war as well as peace, ſpake much of the danger which threatened *Rome* from it; eſpecially *Cato*, who never came into the *Senate*, but after that he had ſpoken his mind to any buſineſs, added, *This I think, and that* Carthage *is to be deſtroyed*. He was earneſtly contradicted by *Scipio Naſica*, who feared, that this rival for Empire once being removed, ſecurity would breed the deſtruction of the Commonwealth, as it too truly proved, this ſecurity being ſtrengthened by luxury and avarice, which the *Aſiatick* Triumphs had brought in. But *Cato*'s reaſons drawn from preſent danger, ſo, in the apprehenſion of the Senate, over-ruled *Scipio*'s forecaſt, that they reſolved upon a War, and kept the reſolution cloſe till they could catch at a convenient opportunity and pretence.

The pretences for the third Punick War.

Lege Polyb. Excerpt. lib. 33.
Appian. in Punicis. Livii Epitom. lib. 49. *&c.*
Flor. lib. 2. *cap.* 15.
Eutrop. lib. 4.
Oroſium lib. 4. *cap.* 22.

19. There being at this time three factions in *Carthage*, one affected towards the *Romans*, another ſtanding for the true intereſt of the State it ſelf, and the third for *Maſaniſſa*, this later was expelled by the ſecond, and a Law made that they ſhould never be again received. Thoſe men flying to *Maſaniſſa*, he ſent *Guluſſa* his Son to intercede for them, who being laid in wait for by *Amilcar Samnis*, although he eſcaped, yet thereupon the King beſieged *Horoſcopa*, a Town he much deſired; which act was expreſly againſt the Articles of the League. *Aſdrubal* went with a great Army to raiſe the ſiege, and a bloody battel was fought, wherein the *Carthaginians* were overthrown; but more dyed of the Plague, being incompaſſed

paſſed near a Lake, which by its noyſom vapours corrupted the air. Hereby the remnant were forced to yield, and conſent to a great Tribute, with the receiving back of their Exiles, and yet were they almoſt all ſlain by a party of Horſe ſent againſt them, out of revenge by *Guluſſa*. The *Carthaginians* therefore had now had an Army in the Field, and that againſt a confederate of *Rome*, which was againſt the tenour of the laſt League. This advantage the *Romans* took, and ordered the Conſuls to undertake the War, though the other condemned thoſe that had broken the League, and moſt humbly offered any reaſonable ſatisfaction. *M. Manlius Nepos*, and *L. Marcius Cenſorinus* being now on their journey, it was anſwered, that they ſhould enjoy all as formerly, if within thirty dayes they would ſend three hundred Hoſtages, (all Sons of Senators, or the principal Citizens) to *Lilybæum*, and do what the Conſuls ſhould further command them. The *Carthaginians* deſirous to give ſatisfaction within the time limited ſent the Children, and when now the Conſuls were landed at *Utica* (which being a Sea-Town convenient for their purpoſe had been ſeized on before-hand) thither they ſent their Commiſſioners to wait on them, and know their pleaſure. *Cenſorinus* the Senior Conſul commending their diligence, demanded all their Arms, which without any deceit were delivered up. Now with tears imploring mercy they deſired to know their laſt doom, and were commanded to leave their City (which the Conſuls had order to level with the ground) and build another any where in their own Territories, ſo it were but ten miles from the Sea. This they received with great horror and rage, and all reſolved rather to die than forſake, or give way to the ruin of their antient ſeat and habitation.

The *Carthaginians* being commanded to leave their City, refuſe to obey.

20. The Conſuls delayed to begin the War, as not doubting in the leaſt but to take the City thus diſarmed and naked at their pleaſure. But they found it not ſo; for the Inhabitants acted by indignation and fury, though at firſt ſcarce themſelves, ſetled their minds to reſiſtance, men and women working night and day in making of Arms. Where iron and braſs were wanting, they made uſe of Gold and Silver; and the women gave the hair of their heads to ſupply the defect of Tow, or Flax. They made alſo *Aſdrubal* (whom before for fear of the *Romans* they had condemned) their General in the field, where he had already a good Army. When the Conſuls came againſt the City, they found ſuch reſiſtance that they were diſcouraged, and the reſolution of the beſieged increaſed hereby. They ingaged ſeveral times to their diſadvantage, and might have ſuffered much, had not the Army been ſecured and brought off, through the great wiſdom and courage of *Scipio Æmilianus*, who drew off alſo *Pharneas*, the Maſter of the *Carthaginian* Horſemen, to his own party; which things procured him an exceeding great name. This year dyed *Maſaniſſa* ninety years old, leaving a Son but of four years behind him; and truſting his Kingdom with *Scipio*, to be at his diſcretion diſpoſed of to his Children. This ſame year alſo dyed *Cato*, being about eighty five years of age, and lived not to ſee the too much deſired ruin of *Carthage*.

And the War beginneth.

Maſaniſſa and *Cato* die.

21. The year following, *Calpurnius Piſo* the Conſul, and *Mancinus* the *Admiral* did no great matters, beſieging *Clupea*, and *Hippo* (a Town ſituate betwixt *Carthage* and *Utica*) to no purpoſe. Within *Carthage*, *Aſdrubal* Grand-Son to *Maſaniſſa* by his Daughter, being joyned in commiſſion with the other *Aſdrubal* without, was accuſed by him as intending to betray the City to his Uncle *Guluſſa*, and having nothing to ſay for himſelf, or being too ſlow in it, was knocked on the head by a Form in the Council-houſe. Now at *Rome* were all mens eyes upon *Scipio Æmilianus*, looking on him as deſtined to end the War; and whereas he ſought but the *Ædileſhip*, and it was againſt the Law for him to be choſen Conſul ſo young (being but thirty ſix, whereas the Law required forty three) it was diſpenſed with for this time, and then was he made Conſul, who ſo ordered the matter, though not wholy during his Conſulſhip, as he demonſtrated the people not to have conceived vain hopes concerning him.

Scipio Æmilianus made Conſul, though under the Conſular age.

22. For, reſtoring diſcipline which had gone much to wrack through the neglect of *Piſo*, he ſoon after took that part of *Carthage*, called *Megara*, and drove the Inhabitants into the *Citadel* or *Byrſa*. Then ſecuring the *Iſthmus* leading to the City, he cut off all Proviſions from out of the Country, and blocked up the Haven; but the Citizens with incredible induſtry cut out an other paſſage into the Sea, whereby at certain times they could receive neceſſaries from the Army without. *Scipio* therefore in the beginning of Winter ſet upon their Forces lying abroad, whereof he ſlew ſeventy thouſand, and took ten thouſand, ſo that now no relief could be obtained from without. In the beginning of Spring, he firſt took the

Taketh *Carthage*.

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the Wall leading to the Haven *Citho*, and then the *Forum*, where was a moſt lamentable ſpectacle, ſome being killed by the Sword, and other wayes, others half killed by the fall of houſes, or by fire, or half buried in the earth; or having one Limb torn from another. Six dayes the ſiege of the Citadel continued. On the ſeventh it was deſired by ſome that all who would come forth ſhould have their lives, which being granted to all but revolters, ſome fifty thouſand yielded, and afterward *Aſdrubal* himſelf, who was reviled for it by the revolters (who ſet fire to the Temple, and therewith burnt themſelves) as alſo by his wife, which threw her ſelf with her two Children into the flames.

A. M. 3859. Ol. 158. ann. 3. V. C. 608. Ptol. Phyſconis 1.

Which is razed.

23. Then was the City deſtroyed, being twenty two miles in compaſs, and ſo big, that the burning of it continued ſeventeen dayes. The Senate at *Rome* receiving the news joyfully, ſent ten of their own Rank whom they joyned with *Scipio* for diſpoſing of the Country. They ordered none of *Carthage* to be left, and that it ſhould never be rebuilt, laying heavy curſes on thoſe that ſhould do it. All the Cities which aſſiſted it in the War were to be razed, and the grounds given to the friends of the People of *Rome*: the reſt of the Towns were to be tributaries, and governed yearly by a *Prætor*. All the Captives were ſold, except ſome of the chief. And ſuch was the deſtruction of this renowned City, ſo famous once for command and Empire, and rival to *Rome* it ſelf, after it had ſtood about ſeven hundred years, in the fourth after the beginning of the War, the ſix hundred and eighth of *Rome*, the third of the one hundred and fifty eighth *Olympiad*, and the fifth of *Ptolomy Phyſcon*. A. M. 3859, *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* and *L. Mummius Nepos* being Conſuls.

SECT. IV.

From the deſtruction of Carthage *to the War with* Mithridates *King of* Pontus, *which afforded the occaſion to the firſt Civil War.*

Containing the ſpace of fifty eight years.

The *Achæan* war, and the deſtruction of *Corinth*.

Lege Velleium Patercul. l. 1. c. 12. Floruml. 2. c. 16 Livii Epitom. lib. 6. c. 51, 52. Pauſan. in Achaicis, & de ære Corinth. Plinium l. 34.

1. THis year was fatal, not only to the greateſt City of *Africk*, but of *Greece* alſo; *Corinth* that famous Mart-town being levelled with the ground. The occaſion was given by the *Achæans* themſelves, who violated the *Roman* Ambaſſadors (though whether by word or deed is uncertain) who were ſent to diſſolve their Communality, and leave the Cities to their own peculiar Laws, which becauſe of this union and fellowſhip had been too formidable. They had alſo in conjunction with the *Bœotians* and thoſe of *Chalcis*, made War againſt the *Lacedæmonians* the friends and allies of *Rome*, becauſe they would not be ſubject to them. Upon theſe grounds the Senate decreed the War, which *Metellus* as yet in *Macedonia* firſt undertook; who drawing down his Army through *Theſſaly* into *Bœotia*, there overthrew *Critolaus*, then took *Thebes*, with *Megara*, and coming to the *Iſthmus* was there treating of Peace, when *L. Mummius* the Conſul came into this his Province. He overthrew *Diæus* the *Achæan* General, after which he entred *Corinth* and razed it, becauſe there the Ambaſſadors had been abuſed. The men were ſlain, and the women and children ſold, with all ſuch ſlaves as the *Achæans* had manumitted for the Wars. As *Scipio*, who deſtroyed *Carthage* (as his Grand-Father before him for conquering it) had the ſirname of *Africanus*, and *Metellus* for his reducing *Macedonia*, that of *Macedonicus*; ſo this year *Mummius* for this ſucceſs obtained the Sirname of *Achaicus*, and according to the cuſtom, having others joyned with him, reduced thoſe parts and all *Greece* with *Epirus* into the form of a Province, called afterwards *Achaia*, not *Greece*, becauſe the *Greeks* were ſubdued when the *Achæans* had the chief command, as *Pauſanias* writeth.

A. M. 3859. Ol. 158. an. 3. V. C. 608. Seleucid. 167. Ptol. Phyſcon. 1.

Mummius thence ſirnamed *Achaicus*.

Viriatus up in *Spain*.

2. Now was it ſeventy four years ſince the *Romans*, in the ſecond year of the ſecond *Punick* War, entred *Spain* in an hoſtile manner, and ſince that time, eſpecially ſince the departure of *Scipio Africanus* the elder, many had the riſings and ſtruglings of that People been, of all others moſt impatient of the yoak. Now was *Viriatus* up in Arms, who of a ſhepherd became a robber, and of a robber a General over ſuch-like as himſelf, and made the *Romans* work ſufficient for the ſpace of fourteen years, in which time he defeated many Armies. *Q. Fabius Maximus Semilianus* (or rather *Æmilianus*, being Brother to *Scipio Æmilius*, and adopted by *Fabius Maximus*) after ſome ſucceſs was yet by him brought

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to ſuch ſtraights, as glad he was to ask Peace upon equal terms, which *Cæpio*, the Conſul of the following year, refuſing to ſtand to, received Orders from the Senate accordingly to proſecute the War. *Cæpio* attempted at unawares to deſtroy him; but he eſcaped, and ſending Ambaſſadors to treat of Peace, *Cæpio* ſo wrought on them, that returning they murdered him, to their own ſhame, and the Conſul's ſmall credit, in his bed.

Is deſtroyed by *Cæpio*.

Vide Appianum in Ibericis. Florum l. 2. c. 18.

3. But, a more dangerous War than this threatned from *Numantia*, a Town of no great bigneſs, yet peopled with moſt valiant, though but few, Inhabitants. Before *Viriatus* his death they had foiled *Q. Pompeius* the Conſul ſeveral times, and forced him to condeſcend to a diſhonourable Peace, which though he denied, was ſufficiently proved, and by favour only he eſcaped that puniſhment which fell on *Mancinus*, who being conſtrained to accept of the ſame terms, was delivered up to the Enemy; but (as the *Samnites* formerly did by another after the defeat at *Caudinum*) they refuſed to receive him. After this *Brutus* defeated many thouſands of the *Luſitanians*, and overthrew the *Gallæcians*; but *Lepidus* the *Proconſul* ſet upon the *Vaccæi*, an harmleſs People of the hithermoſt *Spain*, or *Hiſpania Terraconenſis*, (for in the 559 year of the City, *Spain* was divided into *Citerior* or *Terraconenſis*, and *Ulterior* or *Betica*, and *Luſitania*, two *Prætors* being yearly ſent thither, the number of which Officers was therefore upon this occaſion increaſed to ſix) by whom he was utterly defeated. Theſe things ſo affrighted the *Roman* Soldier, that he almoſt quaked at the ſight of a *Spaniard*, and at *Rome* Men were ſeized with great fear and ſhame. Therefore *Scipio Æmilianus Africanus* muſt be created Conſul the ſecond time, as the only refuge and hope of his Country.

Oroſium l. 5. c. 7. Patercul. l. 2. c. 4.

Bad ſucceſs in *Spain*.

Cauſeth *Scipio Æmilianus* to be created Conſul the ſecond time.

4. At the firſt he reſtored diſcipline, the want of which had ſpoiled all, but then coming to engage, found the courage of the Enemy ſuch, that he reſolved to fight no more, but lay cloſe ſiege to *Numantia*, and govern himſelf according to the comportment of Affairs. At length the Beſieged, greatly ſtraightned, offered to yield upon reaſonable Conditions, or fight if they might have Battel given them, which being denied, having drunk ſtrong drink on purpoſe, they aſſailed the Beſiegers ſo fiercely, that the *Romans* had run, but that *Scipio* was the General. At laſt they fired the City over their own heads, and ſcarcely one of them remained to be led in triumph. This famous City was ſeated in the hithermoſt *Spain*, in the head of *Galæcia*, and the confines of the *Celtiberians*. It had with four thouſand Men, for the ſpace of fourteen years, ſaith *Florus*, or twenty according to *Strabo*, born the brunt of forty thouſand *Romans*, and many times put them to ſhameful flight, with great ſlaughter. *Scipio* deſtroyed it, after he had for a year and three months continued the Siege, fourteen years after he had ſo dealt with *Carthage*, in the 621 of the City, A. M. 3871. *P. Mutius Scævola* and *L. Calpurnius Piſo Fruges* (both learned Men) being Conſuls. At this time a ſervile War was raiſed in *Sicily* by one *Ennus* a *Syrian* of *Apamea*, the Slave of *Antigenes* of *Enna*. It was followed by *Calpurnius Piſo* the Conſul, and finiſhed by *P. Rupilius Nepos* his Succeſſor. Twenty thouſand Slaves were by him ſlain in Battel: *Ennus* being caſt in Priſon died (it's ſaid, of the lowſie diſeaſe) at *Morgantia*.

He beſiegeth *Numantia*, and taketh it.

A ſervile War in *Sicily*.

Excerpt. Diod. Sicul. lib. 34. Oroſius l. 5. c. 9.

5. Ever ſince the beginning of the *Tarentine* War to this time, for the ſpace of almoſt 150 years was there much modeſty, abſtinence, ſelf-denial, valour and vertue amongſt the *Romans* in general, of which yet eſpecially the *Fabii*, *Fabritii*, *Marcelli*, *Curii*, *Metelli*, the *Scipio*'s and *Æmilii* have left Examples admirable to be commended to all Poſterity, ſuch were their cautious and politick, yet juſt and noble carriage, both at home and abroad. But now the *Aſian* Expeditions and Triumphs having brought in exceſs and riot, and the ruine of *Carthage* having taken away fear, idleneſs with ſecurity by degrees ſtole in upon them, and the infirmity of the Government (after that fear, which hitherto had preſerved it ſafe, was removed) again effectually ſhewed it ſelf. For though after this time many a People was ſubdued and brought under, and much glory gotten abroad, yet was it ſtained by emulations, jealouſies, and contentions at home, and even by ſhedding the Blood of one another in an open, though civil, feud, which firſt came to paſs while the former things were performed in *Spain* by *Scipio*.

6. *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus*, Son to one of the ſame name, (who had been twice Conſul, and once Cenſor) by *Cornella* an excellent Woman, Daughter of *Africanus* the elder, being *Quæſtor* to *Mancinus* the ſecond in *Spain*, had an hand in the diſhonourable Peace made by him, for which, being reflected on by the Se-

Tiberius Gracchus raiſeth a ſedition about the *Agrarian*.

Oroſius l. 5. c. 8, 9. Florus l. 3. c. 14.

nate, or at leaſt thinking himſelf ſo to be, acted now by ſhame and fear, in diſtaſt of the Nobility, as it's ſaid, he caſt in his head how to become gracious and popular with the Commons. Procuring himſelf to be choſen *Tribune*, he preferred a Law, forbidding any Man to poſſeſs above five hundred Acres of the publick Grounds, and ordering the overplus to be divided to the poor. For, ſuch Grounds as the People of *Rome* took from their Enemies, they were wont, if tilled, to divide to their own Citizens; if not arable, they then let them out to farm by the *Cenſors* to *Italians*, or the ordinary ſort of *Romans*, on condition, that if they plowed them, they ſhould pay the tenth part of the Corn, and the fifth of other Fruits: and if they bred up Cattel, they were charged with a certain Rent. But it came to paſs, that by incredible impudence and licentiouſneſs of the Rich, the Husband-men were outed of their ancient Poſſeſſions, which by Purchaſing, and other ways, they got wholly into their hands, ſo that the Publick was defrauded of its Revenue, and the Poor of their Livelihoods. For reſtraining the avarice of the Rich, the *Lex Licinia* and *Sempronia* were enacted. *Gracchus* increaſed the former by adding that, leſt the Law ſhould be wreſted, half ſhould be given to the Children, and the reſt divided to ſuch Poor as had nothing. And if any went about to inlarge their Portion by Purchaſe, *Triumviri* or three Men ſhould be yearly appointed to judge what Ground was publick, and what private.

Joh. Stadius Com. in Flor. l. 3. *c.* 14.

7. This netled the Nobility exceedingly, who, by vertue of this Law, were to part with their Inheritances; and one of his Collegues, *Octavius* by name, oppoſed it, for which he ſo handled him, as glad he was to quit his place, into which *Gracchus* choſe *Q. Mummius* one of his own Faction. This ſeverity being without preſident, much alienated even the minds of the multitude from *Gracchus*, who alſo perceiving there was not ground enough to quiet them all, (the expectation of whom he had now raiſed) he offered a Law for diſtributing the Money which *Attalus* King of *Pergamus* had left, together with his Kingdom, to the People of *Rome*. The Senate being aſſembled to conſult what was to be done, and all being of opinion that *P. Mutius Scævola* the Conſul ſhould defend the Common-wealth by Arms, he refuſed to do any thing by force. Hereupon *Scipio Naſica* taking up his Gown under his left Arm, held up his right Hand, and bad every one that loved the State to follow him. Up he went into the Capitol, being accompanied with moſt of the Senate, many *Equites*, and ſome Commoners, where *Gracchus* was ſpeaking to the People, and endeavouring to be choſen *Tribune* for the following year. They fell upon him and his hearers, whereof they killed three hundred, and amongſt them himſelf, with a piece of a Seat as he ran down from the Capitol. Thus he fell by the means of his own Kinſman, being a moſt excellently accompliſhed Man, though too violent in a matter honeſt enough. And this was the firſt Blood which in a ſeditious way the *Romans* firſt drew from one another, obſerved by *Cicero* to have been at the ſame time that the other *Scipio* deſtroyed *Numantia*.

Livii Epitom. l. 58. *Velleius l.* 2. *c.* 3.

Propoſing another Law for dividing of Money.

A. M. 3872. *Ol.* 161. *an.* 4. *V. C.* 621. *Ptol. Phyſc.* 14.

He and his Complices are killed by the means of *Scipio Naſica* his Kinſman, which was the firſt Blood drawn by the *Romans* from one another.

Offic. l. 1.

8. At this time there were ſome Riſings at *Athens*, and in *Delos*, being as ſparks of that fire formerly kindled by *Ennus* in *Sicily*, which with ſome trouble were extinguiſhed; neither was *Italy* altogether free from them. But a more noble War inſued about the Kingdom of *Aſia*. For, *Attalus* King of *Pergamus* or *Aſia*, (for ſo he is called, becauſe of a good part of *Aſia* given to *Eumenes* his Father) by his laſt Will left the People of *Rome* his Heir: But after his death *Ariſtonicus* his baſe Brother ſeized on the Kingdom as his Inheritance. Firſt was *Licinius Craſſus* the Conſul ſent againſt him, but was overthrown, and being taken, ſtruck one of the Soldiers on the Eye, on purpoſe to provoke him to kill him, which he did. He having thus miſcarried, (though he was aſſiſted in his enterpriſe by ſeveral Kings) his Succeſſor *M. Perpenna* haſting into *Aſia*, ſet upon *Ariſtonicus* at unawares, when he was not yet recovered of the ſecurity contracted by his Victory, and overthrowing him in Battel, beſieged him in *Stratonice*, where he forced him by famine to yield, and ſhortly after the Conſul died at *Pergamus*. The remainder of the War was finiſhed by *M. Aquilius* the next years Conſul, who poiſoned Fountains for taking in ſome Cities, and having together with thoſe joyned with him, (according to the Cuſtom) ſetled the Province with ſufficient oppreſſion of the People, he led *Ariſtonicus* in Triumph, though taken by another Man's labour; who by order of the Senate was ſtrangled in Priſon, in the 625 year of the City, the ſaid *M. Aquilius Nepos*, and *C. Sempronius Tuditanus* being Conſuls.

Livii Epitom. l. 59.

Oroſius l. 5. *c.* 8, & 9.

Ariſtonicus conteſting with the *Romans* for the Kingdom of *Pergamus*,

Velleius Patercul. l. 2. *c.* 4. *Florus l.* 2. *c. ult.*

Is taken.

And ſtrangled

9. The

Sect. 4.

Vide Appian. de bello civili lib. 2. Velleium lib. 2. cap. 6. Plutarch in Gracchis. Val. Maxim. lib. 6. cap. 2. Exemp. 3. Livii Epitom. lib. 59, 60. Oroſium lib. 5. cap. 10. Florum lib. 3. cap. 15.

The civil diſſentions renewed.

Caius Gracchus, the Brother of *Tiberius*, patronizeth his Law.

9. The civil diſſentions died not with *Gracchus* (who periſhed four years before) his Law for diviſion of the grounds being ſtill in force, and the people being ſenſible of the equity thereof, as they accounted it; for that the rich had got all into their hands, and thoſe that underwent all the toyl in Conquering the Land, were ready to ſtarve, being alſo exhauſted by the Wars, and almoſt none but ſlaves left in *Italy* for ordering of the grounds. *Gracchus* had a younger Brother called *Caius*, whom together with *Fulvius Flaccus*, and *Papirius Carbo*, he had made *Triumviri* for diviſion of the grounds. He with his Collegues undertook the patronage of the Law, and proſecuting his Enterprize with all earneſtneſs, ſuch trouble aroſe about the diviſion, in accounting and removing, that the *Italians* finding themſelves agrieved betook themſelves to *Scipio Africanus*. He refuſed not to undertake their Patronage, yet in the Senate ſpake nothing againſt the Law; only thought fit that the executive power thereof ſhould be taken from the *Triumviri*, and given to ſome others. The Senate moſt willingly did this, and conferred it on *Sempronius Tuditanus* the Conſul, who finding the work troubleſom, went his way under pretence of the War in *Illyricum*. There being now none to fly to in this Caſe, the People conceived great indignation againſt *Scipio*, as ingrateful, and favouring the *Italians* more than themſelves, from which his Enemies took occaſion to raiſe further jealouſies. Indeed hearing of *Gracchus* his death at *Numantia* by repeating a verſe in *Homer* he liked well of what was done to him, and being at his return asked concerning his death, he approved of it before all the People, which being offended at him for it, he rebuked the multitude with contumelious language. But at night going to his Chamber, he meditated of ſomething he intended to ſpeak to the People the day following, and in the morning was found dead in his Bed, it's uncertain by what means. *Cornelia* the Mother of the *Gracchi* was ſuſpected to have joyned with her Daughter his Wife (who being not overhandſom, neither loved him much, nor was over much loved) in practiſing ſomething upon him. No inquiſition was made after his death, and he was buried privately, though ſo great a man, and one that had been the Pillar of the Commonwealth.

Ὡς ἀπόλοιτο ϗ ἄλλος ὅτις τοιαῦτα γε ῥέζοι. Odyſſ. 1.

Scipio Africanus the younger dieth ſuddenly.

10. The Poſſeſſors of the grounds ſtill made delays in the diviſion, and ſome thought that they to whom they were to be divided ſhould in way of recompenſe be made free of the City, which however pleaſing to others, was highly diſpleaſing to the Senate. While men muttered much of theſe things, *C. Gracchus* procured the *Tribuneſhip*, and then bearing a grudge to the Senate effectually ſhewed it. He preferred a Law for dividing of the publick Corn to every man monthly, and getting his Office continued to him for another year, that he might gratifie the *Equites*, brought down the Office of judging corrupt Officers from the Senators unto them. *Romulus*, as we ſaid, inſtituted three Centuries of *Equites* or *Horſe-men*, whereof one from himſelf was named *Ramnenſis*, another from *Titus Tatius*, *Tatienſis*; and the third from *Lucanio* (or *Lucus*) *Luceris*. Under *Romulus*, and the Kings, they were alſo called *Celeres*, *Flexumines* and *Troſſuli*. Afterwards *Tarquinius Priſcus* added three hundred more, and ſo there continued to be ſix hundred *Equites*. But though they were in the Commonwealth from the beginning, yet had they no peculiar order, authority, or rank, till this Law of *Gracchus*, by which it was enacted, that theſe judgements ſhould be peculiar to them. Their reputation thence forward increaſed with various ſucceſs about the Publicans till *Cicero*'s time, who boaſting himſelf of this order, procured it ſuch honour, that from his *Conſulſhip* it came to be as a peculiar order in the State (before being included in the *Plebeian*, though it had a diſtinction by way of ſervice) being added to the *Senatorian* and *Plebeian*; out of which reſpect it was written after them both. Thus in ſeveral times were there ſeveral Ranks and Diſtinctions; the firſt diſtinction was betwixt *Patricians* and *Plebeians*; then *Plebeians* wreſting from the other a Communion in the greateſt Offices and places, though *Patricians* might ſtill be diſtinguiſhed in reference to Families, yet all Dignities being common to the reſt with them, ſuch *Plebeians* as could riſe to be *Senators*, conſtituted with the other the *Senatorian* rank (which included the *Patrician*, though the *Patritian* not it) thenceforth diſtinct from the *Plebeian* which ſtill contained the *Equites*. Then, as was ſaid, the *Equites* by the means of *Gracchus* and *Cicero* brake out from amongſt the *Plebeians* into a rank of their own.

Caius getting the *Tribuneſhip*, preferreth Laws diſtaſtefull to the Senate.

The Order and Rank of Equites, or Knights, how, and when it came up.

Sect. 4.

11. By this Law (ſaith *Florus*) *Gracchus* ſo divided the People of *Rome*, that he made it *double headed* (*bicipitem*, which expreſſion *Varro* alſo uſed, as appeareth from *Nonius*) and the *Equites* having the lives, and fortunes of Senators and Nobles in their hands, by ſeizing on the Revenue, with authority pilled the Commonwealth. He took the beſt time that could be deviſed for the making of the Law, becauſe the Senators having had hitherto the power of judging, were become odious of late, in that for mony they had acquitted *Aurelius Cotta*, *Salinator*, and *M. Aquilius*, perſons Capitally guilty of corruption. It's ſaid, he boaſted, that by this Law he had cut the ſinews of the *Senatorian* rank. And ſo he did; for by the authority of judicature they paſſed ſentence upon *Roman* Citizens, *Italians* and *Senators*, noting them with ignominy, baniſhing, or putting them to death at pleaſure, till ſuch time as their power was abated, as will be ſeen. For in the *Comitia*, or *Aſſemblies*, they conſpired with the *Tribunes*, and obtaining thereby what they pleaſed, had all things in their power, and flouriſhed with riches, whereas nothing remained to *Senators*, but a vain ſhew of Dignity. The Senators prevailed with *Servilius Cæpio* when Conſul, to make themſelves partakers of the power of judging, by a Law which he got preferred; yet ſtill had the *Equites* the better, for three hundred *Senators* only were added to them, who were in number ſix hundred. By the Laws of *Livius Druſus*, *Sylla* and *Cotta* their power was abated, *Druſus* making it but equal in judgement with that of *Senators*: *Sylla* transferred it wholly to the *Senators*, and *Aurelius Cotta* communicated the power of judging to three ſorts; *viz. Senators*, *Equites*, and the *Tribuni Ærarii*. But the *Equites* alone were wont to farm the cuſtoms of the *Cenſors* for five years, and thence from their farming the *Publick* Revenue had the name of *Publicans*. Theſe were the principal of the *Equeſtrian* Order, the Ornament of the City, and the ſtrength of the State, who made ſo many Companies as there were Provinces ſubject to the payment of Toll, Tribute, Cuſtom, or Impoſt.

How the Senators loſt in the tranſlation of the judicial power to the Equites by *Caius*.

Publicans whence ſo called.

12. But *C. Gracchus*, further than this, to gratifie the *Commons*, repaired the high-ways throughout *Italy*, ſent forth Colonies, bade the *Italians* ſue for their freedom, and gave power of ſuffrages to other Friends and Allies, contrary to the cuſtom; whom the Senate forbad to come near the City, at ſuch time as they knew his Laws would be offered, and to pleaſe the people, they gave way to the ſending out of twelve Colonies. *Gracchus* thus fruſtrated, departed into *Africk* with *Flaccus* his Collegue, intending to plant a Colony where *Carthage* ſtood; but was diſappointed therein alſo, Wolves, it's ſaid, removing the bounds of the intended City by night, as they were laid by day, whereupon the South-ſayers pronounced the deſign unlawful. Having been twice *Tribune*, he ſtood for it the third time, and had many voices; but his Collegues offended by his vehement carriage, got *Minucius Rufus* choſen into his place, who reſcinded many of his Laws. *Gracchus* inraged hereat, when the Aſſembly was met, went up to the Capitol, accompanied with *Flaccus* and his Friends privily Armed. There *Attilius* the Crier of *Opimius* the Conſul taking him by the hand, and deſiring him to ſpare his own Country, was ſlain. He then went about to excuſe the fact to the People, but could not be heard, and ſo together with *Flaccus*, and his other Confederates got them home, the Conſul keeping ſtrict watch all night in the City. After this they were cited by the Senate to come and give an account of their actions, but they betook themſelves to the *Aventine* Mount, where fortifying themſelves, they offered in vain liberty to all ſlaves that would come in to them. But the Conſul ſending a party againſt them, *Gracchus* fled into a Grove beyond *Tiber*, and procured his Slave to kill him, who inſtantly after he had cut off his Head, run himſelf through with the bloody Sword. *Flaccus* flying to a Friends houſe was betrayed and ſlain: and of their party, through the ſevere inquiſition of the Conſul, were put to death three thouſand perſons, 11 years after the death of the elder *Gracchus*. In the *Conſulſhip* of this *Opimius* was there ſuch a temper of the air called *Coctura*, that Wine being congealed through the heat of the Sun into a conſiſtency of Hony, kept good for near 200 years, and from him had the name of *Vinum Opimianum*, being ſtill preſerved in *Plinius* (*a*) his time, though (*b*) *Paterculus* denieth there was any in his, which was long before.

Caius attempteth other ſeditious acts.

A.M. 3884.
Ol. 164. *ann.* 4.
V. C. 631.
Ptol. Phyſc. 26.

Is deſtroyed with his party.

(*a*) *Plin. l.* 4. *c.* 4. & 14.
(*b*) *Lib.* 2. *c.* 7.

13. The death of *Gracchus* (whoſe Head was not *Sacroſanct*, as *Florus* imagineth, being out of the Office of *Tribune*) for the preſent allayed the diſtempers of the Commonwealth. For, preſently after was a Law made, that one might

The diſtempers of the State ſomething allayed thereby.

Lege Appianum de bello civili lib. 1.

ſell his Land, which the elder *Gracchus* had forbidden, whereby the poor, partly by purchaſe, and partly by conſtraint, were again diſpoſſeſſed. Afterward the Law for diviſion was fully abrogated by *Sp. Borcus*, and the grounds left to their antient Owners, with this condition, that a Tribute out of them ſhould be paid to the people, and this divided man by man. But not long after another *Tribune* abrogated the Tribute it ſelf, and ſo nothing was left remaining to the poor.

An horrid Peſtilence in *Africk*.

Livii Epitom. lib. 60.

Oroſius lib. 5. *cap.* 11.

14. During theſe Domeſtick troubles the *Sardinians* rebelled, and were reduced by *L. Aurelius*, and the *Fregellans* were puniſhed with the loſs of their City by *L. Opimius* the *Prætor*. Upon *Africk* fell ſuch a Peſtilence, as for its Original, and effects, was ſtrange and wonderful. It aroſe from an infinite number of Locuſts, which having overſpread the ground, and deſtroyed not only Corn and other Fruits, but even Trees and dry things themſelves, at length by a wind were driven into the *Mediterranean* Sea, and there putrifying corrupted the Air. Hence enſued a moſt fearful Plague, both of Men, Cattle and Fowls. In *Numidia*, where *Micipſa* was now King, eight hundred thouſand died; upon the Sea-Coaſts about *Carthage* and *Utica* two hundred thouſand; and in *Utica* it ſelf thirty thouſand Soldiers there lying in Garriſon, fifteen hundred being reported to have been carried out in one day through one Gate alone. Two years after, *Q. Metellus* the Conſul ſubdued the *Iſlands Baleares*, and reſtrained Piracy there maintained, and at the ſame time was carried on the War, called *Bellum Allobrogicum*; which hence aroſe. The *Salies* in *Gall* beyond the *Alps* invaded the *Naſſilians*, the friends of the People of *Rome*, and for this were chaſtized by *Fulvius*, and ſubdued by *C. Sextus Calvinus*. *Teutomalus* their King flying out of the battel, was received, and protected by the *Allobroges*, who alſo invaded the *Ædui*, friends of *Rome*, and drew into Confederacy the *Arverni*. Firſt, *Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus* overthrew them, and (by the uſe of Elephants eſpecially) ſlew twenty thouſand, and took three thouſand Priſoners. After him *Q. Fabius Maximus* (Grandſon of *Paulus Æmilius*, by his Son adopted into the *Fabian* family) defeated them, with the *Arverni* and *Ruteni*, in a bloody battel, wherein one hundred and twenty thouſand are reported to have been ſlain, and taking *Bituitus* (or *Betultus*) King of the *Arverni* Priſoner, obtained the ſirname of *Allobrogicus*. Theſe *Allobroges* inhabited about the Countries now called *Daulphine* and *Savoy*: the *Ruteni* nearer to the Sea; the *Arverni* more toward the North; the *Ædui* in *Burgundy*, and the *Saloii* or *Sayles* in *Piemont*. Now was *Gallia Narbonenſis* reduced into a Province.

The *Allobrick* War.

Livii Epitom. lib. 60, 61. *Florus lib.* 3. *cap.* 2.

Cæſar de bello Gallico lib. 1.

Affairs of *Thrace* very obſcure.

Livii Epitom. lib. 53, & 55. *Florus lib.* 3. *cap.* 4. *Velleius lib.* 2. *cap.* 8.

15. But the *Scordiſci*, a People of *Galliſh* Original, inhabiting *Thrace*, defeated the *Roman* Army under *Cato* the Conſul, yet were afterwards driven back into their own Country by *Didius* the *Prætor*, and the Conſul *Druſus*; and after this gave occaſion of a glorious Triumph to *Minutius*, of which honour *Metellus* alſo had partaken. Theſe tranſactions of *Thrace* are of all others moſt unknown; either becauſe they are confounded with thoſe of *Illyricum*, *Pannonia*, *Myſia*, or *Macedonia*; or becauſe what has been written of that ſubject in particular, hath miſcarried. Now we arrive at two Wars both together, and carrying noiſe ſufficient with them through the variety of events, and fulneſs of Hiſtory: *viz.* that with *Jugurtha*, and the other with the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*. Now to know the Original of the former, it's neceſſary to fetch things a little higher.

The original of the War with *Jugurtha*.

Lege Salluſt. de bello Jugurthino. *Oroſium l.* 5. *c.* 15. *Florum l.* 3. *c.* 1. *Livii Epitom. lib.* 62, 64, 65, 66.

16. *Maſaniſſa* King of *Mumidia*, that old and conſtant friend of the *Romans*, left three ſons: *Gulaſſa*, *Maſtanabal*, and *Micipſa*, of whom the laſt (his Brothers being dead) obtained the Kingdom alone. He had two ſons, *Hiempſal* and *Adherbal*, with whom he brought up *Jugurtha* his brother *Maſtanabal's* ſon in the ſame condition, and receiving Letters from *Scipio* out of *Spain*, who gave him large commendations (and under whom he ſerved with his Uncle's Auxiliary forces) he adopted him. When *Micipſa* was dead, *Jugurtha* murdered *Hiempſal*, and attempted to do as much for *Adherbal*, who fled to the *Romans* for ſuccour. By this time avarice and injuſtice had ſo much poſſeſſed the City, that *Jugurtha* ſenſible of it, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Rome* with full hands, who ſo wrought upon the *Senate*, that might overcame right, and it was decreed, that ten Commiſſioners ſhould be ſent to divide the Kingdom betwixt them. The Commiſſioners thinking they might lawfully imitate thoſe that ſent them, were bribed to beſtow the richeſt and beſt Peopled part upon *Jugurtha*, who therewith not ſatisfied, after their departure, fell ſodainly upon *Adherbal*, beſieged him in *Cirtha*, and at length getting him into his hands made

A. M. 3894. *U. C.* 643.

him away. For this, War was at length decreed againſt him by the Senate, and committed to the management of *L. Calpurnius Beſtia* the Conſul, in the 643*d.* year of the City, the ſecond of the 167*th Olympiad*, the ſeventh of *Ptolomy Lathurus*, the 25*th* of *Joh. Hyrcanus*, *P. Cornelius Scipio Naſica*, and the ſaid *Calpurnius* being Conſuls.

Fighting with ſilver weapons he conquereth all oppoſition.

17. *Calpurnius* invaded *Numidia* with great fierceneſs, and took in ſome Towns, but was preſently ſtopped in his career, being allured with the golden balls of *Jugurtha*; ſo that a Treaty of Peace was ſet on foot. The Senate was moved hereat, and at the power of *M. Scaurus*, who accompanying the *Conſul* as his Friend and Counſellor, was guilty of the ſame crime. The People were perſwaded to ſend *L. Caſſius Longinus* the *Prætor* to fetch *Jugurtha* to *Rome* upon the publick Faith, to diſcover his Complices, whereof he had by Gold procured many in the Senate it ſelf. *Caſſius* perſwaded him to caſt himſelf upon the Peoples mercy, and he came to the City in a mourning habit. But coming into the Aſſembly to do as he was Commanded, *Bælus* the *Tribune* bade him hold his Peace, being alſo bribed to put off the buſineſs, and delude the People. At this time there was one *Maſſina* the Son of *Guluſſa* his Couſin-German at *Rome*, who when he had murdered *Adherbal* eſcaped out of *Africk*. Him *Albinus* the Conſul, (who gladly would have had to do with *Numidia*) perſwaded to beg the Kingdom of the Senate: but *Jugurtha* having ſome notice hereof, procured him to be killed, and conveyed away the murderer into *Numidia*. Hereupon within a few days he was commanded to be gone, and being out of the City, he looked back upon it, and uttered theſe words, *O City that wouldſt be ſold if there was but a Chapman for thee*. This he ſaid, as having himſelf experience of the corruption of its Inhabitants; ſo horribly were they now degenerated from the fidelity and abſtinence of the preceeding age.

But is humbled by *Metellus*.

18. *Albinus* followed him with an Army, and at firſt ſeemed to be very ambitious of finiſhing the War, before the creation of new Conſuls. But upon ſome account he prolonged it, and his Brother, by virtue of ſome compact, withdrew from *Suthul*, where the treaſure of the Kingdom lay, when he was about to beſiege it. The Centurions alſo were ſo corrupted, as *Jugurtha* was ſuffered to break into the Camp, whence beating out the Army, he either forced, or by former agreement, brought *Albinus* to ſubmit unto moſt diſhonourable terms. In this condition *Metellus* the following Conſul found affairs and the Army ſpoiled for want of diſcipline. But bringing the Soldiers into good order, within the ſpace of two years he overthrew *Jugurtha* ſeveral times, outed him of ſeveral Towns, and chaſed him further than his own borders, which conſtrained him to ſubmit and beg Peace; but the conditions thereof he brake, and the former hoſtility returned. Now was there one *C. Marius*, *Legatus* or *Lieutenant* to *Metellus*, who by his good demeanour won much upon the Soldiers, for being deſirous of the Conſulſhip, he took all ways to purchaſe their favour. He calumniated *Metellus* privily to the Merchants at *Utica*, avowing that he was able with half of the Army, and that within a few days, to take *Jugurtha*. By theſe Speeches he procured many complaints to be written to *Rome* againſt *Metellus*, and getting leave to go thither, obtained his deſire, being created Conſul, and had the management of the War committed to him, which now was even ended. Nothwithſtanding, the People was ſo grateful to *Metellus*, that at his return, being certified what he had done, they both granted him a Triumph, and beſtowed on him the ſirname of *Numidicus*.

Marius by undermining *Metellus* getteth the Conſulſhip.

Several of the *Metelli* obtained ſirnames from Countries conquered.

Conſule Val. Max. l. 7. c. 1. exemp. 1. Patercul. l. 1. c. 11. Ciceron. de Finibus lib. 4.

19. This was the fourth *Metellus*, who from the Nation ſubdued, obtained a ſirname. The firſt was *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* ſirnamed *Macedonicus*, of whom we have formerly ſpoken. Much is ſaid of this mans felicity, whereof this is chief, that when he died, he had, of four Sons, ſeen three *Conſuls*, and the fourth *Prætor*. Of theſe, the firſt was *Q. Metellus* ſirnamed *Balearicus* from his ſubduing the *Baleares*, who was Conſul in the 631*ſt* year of the City: the ſecond *L. Metellus*, who was Conſul in the 635*th* year: the third *M. Metellus*, Conſul in the 639*th* year, the ſame wherein his Father died: and the fourth *C. Metellus* of *Prætorian* rank. But the third of this name who obtained a ſirname was *L. Cæcilius Metellus*, ſirnamed firſt *Diadematus*, becauſe having an Ulcer in his forehead, he kept it bound a long time, and afterwards *Dalmaticus*, from the *Dalmatians* whom he ſubdued to get him a Triumph; this People having nothing offended. He was Son to *L. Cæcilius Metellus Calvus*, who was Conſul in the 612*th* year. Laſtly, the fourth thus ſirnamed was this *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*

Numidicus, who was Conſul, together with *M. Junius Silanus* in the 645 year of the City.

20. *Marius*, after ſome time, took the City *Capſi*, a place very rich and ſtrong, and after this another called *Mulucha*. *Jugurtha* finding himſelf too weak, drew in to his aſſiſtance *Bocchus* King of *Mauritania* his Father in Law, by the help of whoſe Horſe he very much wearied the *Roman* Army. Coming to raiſe the Siege at *Cirta*, before which *Marius* was ſat down, what by the number of the Horſe reported to be ſixty thouſand, and what by heat and duſt, the *Romans* were ſorely diſtreſſed, and the fight continued dangerous and terrible to them for three days. Then a Tempeſt of Rain fell, which ſpoiled their Enemies Weapons, and relieved *Marius* his Men, almoſt killed with thirſt; and the courſe of fortune changing, the two Kings were defeated and fled. In another Battel *Marius*, as it's ſaid, killed ninety thouſand, after which *Bocchus* began to repent of his enterprize, and ſent to *Rome* to enter into a League, which he could not procure, but obtained pardon of his fault. Not long after, *Marius* took *Jugurtha* in an Ambuſh, whither he had drawn him by ſpecious pretences, and delivered him up to *Sylla* his *Quæſtor*, who had brought over ſome Forces gathered in *Italy*. *Sylla* having little or no skill in matters of War before, under him got that skill, which afterwards he uſed againſt his General. *Jugurtha* being led in Triumph by *Marius* with his two Sons, was after, by order of the Senate, put to death, and ſo the War ended, after about ſeven years continuance. *Numidia* was not now made a Province, as ſome have thought; for we find other four Kings, on which it was beſtowed, *viz. Hiempſal*, *Hiarbas*, and *Juba*, concerning whom we may have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. Now is to be deſcribed the War with the *Cimbri*.

Marius overthroweth *Jugurtha* and *Bocchus*.

Taketh *Jugurtha*, who is led in Triumph, and put to death.

21. The *Cimbri* inhabited the *Cherſoneſus*, from them named *Cimbrica*, (now *Holſatia*) and were a vagabond People. With a ſort of *Germans* called *Teutones* (from *Teuto* or *Tuiſco* the Patriarch, or reputed god of that Nation) they brake into *Illyricum* in the 641 year of the City, and there put to flight *Cn. Carbo* the Conſul, to whom the Province had fallen by lot. Some three years after they made an irruption into *Gall* and *Spain*, but being repelled, ſent to *Silanus* the Conſul, deſiring ſome ground wherein to plant and ſettle themſelves. This being denied by the Senate, they betook themſelves from intreaties to force, and ſetting upon the Conſul, put him to flight, entertaining *M. Scaurus* ſent againſt them into *Gall* in the ſame manner. *Scaurus* was ſucceeded by the Conſul *L. Caſſius Longinus*, who purſuing the *Tigurins* (now *Switzers*) to the Ocean, was circumvented by them, and ſlain, with *L. Piſo*, a Man of Conſular Dignity, his Lieutenant. After him *Cæpio* the Conſul made War upon the *Tectoſages* or *Toloſans*, whoſe chief City *Toloſe* (now in *Gaſcoigne*) he took, and therein a great Treaſure, which ſome ſaid was taken out of the Temple at *Delphos* by the *Galls*. His command was continued to him for the following year, as *Proconſul*, in conjunction with *Manilius* (or *Mallius*) his Succeſſor. Theſe two could not agree, but divided the Army, and parted the Province betwixt them. At length they were overthrown in a bloody Battel by the *Cimbri*, to whom the *Teutons*, *Tigurins*, and *Ambrones*, another People of *Gall* joyned themſelves: eighty thouſand Men were ſlain, and forty thouſand Lackies and Drudges, as alſo both the Camps taken. *Cæpio* for this was caſt into Priſon, where he died, theſe great defeats being charged upon his ſacrilege, of which thoſe *Galls* that were guilty, were ſtill followed and conſumed by one plague after another. After this, the *Cimbri* made another Expedition into *Spain*; but being thence repelled by the *Celtiberians*, returned into *Gall*, whence, with the *Teutons* and *Ambrones*, they reſolved to paſs over the *Alpes* into *Italy*.

The occaſion of the War with the *Cimbri*, by the *Greeks* called Κιμμέριοι.

Lege Florum l. 3. *c.* 3. *Livii Epitom. l.* 63, 65, 67, & 68. *Oroſium l.* 5. *c.* 16. *Paterc. l.* 2. *c.* 12.

22. *C. Marius* having vanquiſhed *Jugurtha*, was in his abſence made Conſul the ſecond time, to manage the War againſt the *Cimbri*. Whilſt they continued in *Spain*, he waged War againſt their friends the *Toloſans*, whoſe King *Copilus* was taken by *Sylla* his Lieutenant. Being created Conſul again the following year, he neglected to fight till their fury was abated. In his fourth Conſulſhip they were ready in three Bands to paſs over the *Alpes*, which he conſidering, attended their Motions. His Army was almoſt oppreſſed with thirſt, the *Teutons* and *Ambrones* lying betwixt it and the water, which made him deſirous to ingage with them, and coming to fight, in two days he utterly deſtroyed them, taking Priſoner *Theutobocchus* their King. The *Cimbri* eſcaped him, and got over into *Italy*, though

Which *Marius* diſpatcheth.

A. M. 3904.
Ol. 169. *an.* 4.
V. C. 653.

though it was Winter, and the *Alpes* were covered with Snow, being in vain oppoſed by *Catulus*, both at the *Alpes* and the River *Atheſis* near *Verona*. To *Catulus* did *Marius* joyn himſelf now the fifth time Conſul, for carrying on the War, and being challenged to give Battel, ſlew one hundred and forty thouſand, and took ſixty thouſand. Their Wives reſiſted, fighting from the Chariots, and when they ſaw all deſperate, killed firſt their Children, and then themſelves. The third Band of the *Tigurines* came to nothing; and ſo an end was put to this War, on the third of the month *Sextilis*, as *Plutarch* writeth, after it had continued twelve years, in the 653 year of the City, *C. Marius* the fifth time, and *M. Aquilius Nepos* being Conſuls, the former whereof was counted the preſerver of his Country, aud contented himſelf with one Triumph. And his Collegue put an end to the ſecond *Servile* War in *Sicily*, which now had laſted almoſt four years.

In Mario.

The ſedition of *Saturninus.*

Vide Appian. de bello civili. l. 1. *Flor. l.* 3. *c.* 16. *Livii Epitrm l.* 69. *Oroſium l.* 5. *c.* 17. *Velleium Paterculum l.* 2. *c.* 15.

23. Theſe dangers abroad did not ſuppreſs domeſtick troubles. There was one *L. Apuleius Saturninus*, who having been *Quæſtor* at *Oſtia* during a dearth, was put out of his place by the Senate, for which he conceived great diſpleaſure againſt it, and to ſhew it, procured the *Tribuneſhip*. By his help eſpecially *Marius* obtained the fourth Conſulſhip. But after his year was out, *Metellus Numidicus* being *Cenſor*, would have removed him from the Senate, but he was hindred by his Colleague; and to revenge this, he ſtood to be *Tribune* the ſecond time. Now was *Marius* Conſul the fifth time, and there being nine of the ten *Tribunes* choſen, and *A. Nonius* ſtanding in competition with him, by the aſſiſtance of *Marius* he murdered him, and got the place. Now being again in power, he preferred a Law for dividing of ſuch Lands as *Marius* had recovered in *Gall*, and compelled the Senate to ſwear to it, which *Metellus* refuſing to do, he ſet him a day to anſwer it before the People; but for fear of him and *Marius*, *Meetllus* fled to *Smyrna*. *Saturninus* being *Tribune* the third time, and finding *C. Memmius* to ſtand for the *Conſulſhip*; he alſo made him away to prefer *Glaucius* the *Prætor*, a Man moſt addicted to his own Party. At theſe things the Senate being ſtartled, took up reſolution, and *Marius* now the ſixth time Conſul, ſeeing him in a falling condition, withdrew himſelf from his friendſhip. The Conſuls were, as in dangerous times, impowered by the Senate to ſee that the Common-wealth received no damage. *Marius* therefore with his Collegue *L. Valerius Flaccus*, ſet upon *Saturninus* in the publick meeting-place, and drove him and his followers into the *Capitol*, where for want of water (*Marius* having cut the Pipes) they were forced to yield. This they did upon his faith given for their ſafety; for *Saturninus* and *Glaucius* much relied upon him, not ſticking to give out, that they were but the actors of his deſigns. Notwithſtanding, they were killed in the Court-houſe by the *Equites*, which brake in amongſt them; and *Metellus*, through the labour of his Son eſpecially, was re-called, with the general applauſe of the People.

He is ſlain with his complices.

A. M. 3905.
V. C. 654.

Lege Appian. de bello civili lib. 1. *Livii Epitom. lib.* 71. *Paterculum l.* 2. *c.* 13, 14.

24. For the ſpace of about eight years after, there was not any open Sedition; yet great diſſatisfaction amongſt thoſe of the *Senatorian* Order. For, it lay under great grievances, by reaſon of the Power of Judicature, which was by *Gracchus* his Law brought down to the *Equites*, by whom they were cruelly, and deſpightfully uſed, their Lives, Liberties, and Eſtates being wholly in their Power. The Common-wealth was even bought and ſold, the *Publicans*, who farmed the Cuſtoms, and publick Revenues, being, as *Equites*, both Judges and Parties. It hapned, that thirty years after *Gracchus* his Law, *M. Livius Druſus* the *Tribune* caſt in his mind how to reſtore the *Fathers* to their ancient Power, and yet not offend the *Equites*. He preferred therefore a Law, that becauſe the *Senators* were reduced to a ſmall number, as many *Equites* ſhould be added to them, and the Power of Judicature committed to this Body. But herewith neither Party was ſatisfied. Not the *Senators*, becauſe they diſdained that the other ſhould be equal to them, and neither the *Equites*, for that they feared the Power would at length be wholly removed from them. *Cæpio* alſo, one of *Druſus* his Collegues, (not that *Cæpio*, as ſome miſtake, who had been formerly Conſul, had propoſed ſuch a Law, which took not, he himſelf being condemned, and dying in Priſon as was ſaid) oppoſed him, and coming into the Senate, there accuſed ſome of the chief of unlawful ſeeking for Offices. *Druſus* to withſtand his endeavours, by the favour of the People propoſed again the *Agrarian* Law, and that the Allies and Confederates of *Italy*, now Poſſeſſors of the Lands, might not be aggrieved; he gave them hopes to make them free of the City. Great concourſe there was, and as

Druſus the Tribune labouring to reconcile the Fathers, and *Equites*, inlargeth the breach.

great contention. *Q. Marcius Philippus* the Conſul oppoſed the Law for diviſion of Lands, and for that was ſoundly buffeted by a Traveller. *Druſus* in this particular diſappointed, ſtill bent his mind how to make good what he had offered to the *Italians*; but going home, accompanied with a great multitude, he was ſtabbed in the Court of his own houſe, it's unknown by whom, the Knife being left in his body, and died within a few hours. He was a Man excellently accompliſhed, both with underſtanding and morals, whoſe good intentions had not the fortune to be rightly underſtood by the great ones, but to diſſatisfie all Parties. And ſtill more unfortunate he was in that great and dangerous War, which by his means (though not intentions) was kindled, and which being foreſeen or feared, might perhaps have no ſmall influence into his death.

And is ſtabbed.

A. M. 3914.
Ol. 172. *an.* 2.
V. C. 663.

The occaſion of the ſocial War.

Strabo lib. 5.
Velleius lib. 2. *cap.* 15, 16, 17.
Cicero pro Archia.
Appian. ut ſupra.

25. This War is called by divers names. Sometimes *Bellum Sociale*, becauſe of the *Aſſociates* of the *People* of *Rome*, who managed it: ſometimes *Bellum Marſicum*, from the *Marſi*, who began it: and otherwhiles *Bellum Italicum*, from *Italy* the Seat of it, *Corfinium* a City of the *Peligni*, being before all others choſen for the place of the Conſpiracy. The occaſion of it was the diſdain conceived by the *Italians*, becauſe they were not admitted to the freedom of the City, which had been partly promiſed them thirty ſix years before by *Flaccus* the Conſul, who being earneſt for it, was diverted into *Gall* by the Senate, and afterwards joyned himſelf in the Tribuneſhip with the younger *Gracchus*, to no purpoſe endeavouring with him the paſſing of it; with whom alſo, as is formerly ſhewn, he loſt his life. Now again, their expectation was heightned by *Druſus*; but then was he murdered, and all the great ones baniſhed who ſtood for them, by a Law which the *Equites* by force of Arms obtained, who hoped that having the Power of Judicature in themſelves, the profit would be great which would ariſe in ridding away their Enemies. They alſo thought they had reaſon enough to expect this Priviledge from that City, which was maintained both in its ſubſiſtence and Empire by their valour, they ever ſending out Forces double in number to thoſe of the *Romans*. Upon theſe grounds they reſolved to procure by force what could not be by fair means obtained, ſending Meſſages to and fro, and for the performance of what was agreed on, receiving Hoſtages from one another.

Preparations for it.

The *Romans* receive many blows.

26. This being known late enough at *Rome*, ſo buſied with its private ſeditious conteſts, Spies were ſent out into the ſeveral quarters. One of them ſeeing a young Man of *Aſculum* carried into another City as an Hoſtage, therewith acquainted *Servilius* the *Proconſul*, who going to *Aſculum*, and chiding the Citizens, was ſet upon and ſlain, together with all the *Romans*. After this, the Conſpiracy being quite diſcovered, all broke out into open Rebellion: The *Marſi*, *Peligni*, *Veſtini*, *Marrucini*, *Ferentani*, *Hirpini*, *Picentes*, *Pompeiani*, *Venuſini*, *Apulians*, *Lucanians*, and the old Enemies of the *Romans*, the *Samnites*. They thought good firſt to ſend to *Rome* to complain; but the Meſſengers could not be admitted without repentance for what was already done. Hereupon the War was committed to both the Conſuls, *L. Julius Cæſar*, and *P. Rutilius Lupus*, to whom were added *Cn. Pompeius Strabo* (Father to *Pompey* the Great) *C. Marius*, who had been ſix times Conſul, *L. Sylla Licinius Craſſus*, *C. Perpenna*, *Q. Cæpio*, *Q. Metellus Pius*, (Son to the *Numidian*) *M. Marſellus*, *Val. Meſſala*, and *T. Didius*, who were all ſent with *Proconſular* Power. The Forces on either ſide amounted to one hundred thouſand fighting Men. *Rutilius* the Conſul quickly loſt his life, falling into an Ambuſh laid for him by the *Marſi*, and many other blows did the *Romans* receive; ſo that they were forced to liſt ſuch as once had been Slaves. The Bodies of the Conſul, and thoſe of ſeveral others being carried into the City, the ſight of them ſo diſcouraged the People, that the Senate made a Decree, that thenceforth the ſlain ſhould be buried where they died, which as a prudent example was followed by the Enemy.

27. None ſucceeded *Rutilius* all the year, for that *Cæſar* could not come to a new Election, but his Army was committed to *Marius* his Lieutenant, and *Q. Cæpio*. *Cæpio* was killed not long after, being intrapped by *Popedius*, one of the *Italian* Generals. *Marius* now alone commanding the Forces, did good Service, as did alſo *Sylla*. For the following year, *Cn. Pompeius Strabo*, and *L. Porcius Cato* were made Conſuls. Now the Senate thought fit to make ſuch *Italians* free of the City as had not revolted, which thing eſtabliſhed thoſe, who ſomething wavered in their minds, and took off the courage of the other already ingaged; yet they choſe them not into any of the thirty five Tribes, but placed them by

themſelves behind all; ſo that as in voting they could not hinder the reſt, ſo ſeldom were they called to vote at all, which afterwards conſidered, though not at preſent, wrought ſome diſturbance. *Cato* the Conſul did very good Service, but thereof boaſted ſo much, that he compared himſelf to *Marius*, for which as he was fighting againſt the *Marſi*, he was killed in a croud by *Marius* his Son. *Pompey* overthrew the *Picentes* and *Aſculani*. Having long beſieged *Aſculum*, he defeated the Enemy which ſallied forth, killed eighteen thouſand of the *Marſi*, took three thouſand, and being got into *Aſculum*, cauſed all the Officers and Principal Men to be beaten with Rods, and then beheaded. *Sylla* his Succeſſor in the *Conſulſhip* overthrew the *Samnites*, and ſtormed two of their Camps, by which ſucceſs elevated, he went, ſtood for, and carried that greateſt Office. This War was ended by him, after it had endured above two years, in the *666* year of the City, he the ſaid *L. Cornelius Sylla*, and *Q. Pompeius Rufus* being Conſuls.

A. M. 3917. *Ol.* 173. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 666.

Sylla endeth the War.

28. What the *Italians* could not get with armed hand, was given them Conquered; at firſt to all, except the *Lucanians* and *Samnites*, and ſhortly after to them alſo, but ranked by themſelves in the ſame manner as the former. Not long after this, which was a kind of Civil War, there were ſtirs in the City about Uſury, which being rigorouſly exacted by the Creditors, *Aſellio* the *Prætor*, who withſtood it, was murdered by them. Yet hitherto theſe Seditions in the City were managed but by private Perſons, or in a private manner, but now came it to that paſs, that the Heads of the Factions got whole Armies to themſelves, and carried on their intereſts in open War one againſt another, their own Countrey being as the prize and reward of the Victory, ſuch were the manners and behaviour of thoſe who, through the infirmity of the Government, were not able to bear that greatneſs of fortune, which from the temperance and moderation of their Fathers had deſcended upon them. But an occaſion to the firſt *Civil War* was miniſtred by that with *Mithridates*, which began e're the *Social* or *Italian* ended.

After which freedom of the City is given to the conquered *Italians*, having been before this denied to them.

SECT. V.

From the War with Mithridates *and firſt Civil War, to the combination of* Pompey, Craſſus, *and* Cæſar, *termed by* Varro Tricipitina, *which proved the ruine of the Popular Government,*

Containing the ſpace of twenty eight years.

Mithridates King of *Pontus.*

Juſtin. l. 37. *Strabo l.* 10.

1. MIthridates was King of *Pontus*, (a Countrey of *Aſia*, ſo called becauſe it lieth upon the *Euxine* Sea) thought by ſome to have been deſcended from one of the ſeven *Perſians*, who conſpired againſt the *Magi* that had uſurped after the death of *Cambyſes*. He was ſirnamed *Eupator* and *Dionyſus*, being a Man of a vaſt mind and ambitious ſpirit. Succeeding his Father, who was a friend of the People of *Rome*, at thirteen years of age, within two years he made away his Mother, who was left Partner with him in the Kingdom, and after her his Brother alſo, and in his youth he ſubdued the Kings about *Phaſis* beyond *Caucaſus*. Thirty years after his coming to the Kingdom, he thought of no leſs than the Empire of *Aſia*, the *Romans*, as he fancied, being now ſufficiently imployed in the *Cimbrian* and *Italian* Wars. He began with *Paphlagonia*, parting it betwixt himſelf and *Nicomedes* King of *Bithynia*, and being checked for this by the *Romans*, and commanded to deſiſt, he pretended it was his Fathers Inheritance, and to amend the matter he ſeized on *Galatia* too. Then caſting his Eye upon *Cappadocia*, he cauſed to be murdered *Ariarathes* King thereof, and his Siſters Husband, and when ſhe married to *Nicomedes*, he drove out his Forces, and pretended to ſeize upon it for the uſe of her Son, whom then he murdered alſo, and beſtowed it on one of his own Sons. The *Cappadocians* refuſed to obey him, and called out of *Aſia Ariarathes* one of their former Kings Sons; but him did *Mithridates* drive away, and he ſhortly after died. *Nicomedes* afterwards procured one to counterfeit himſelf the Brother of *Ariarathes*, and beg the Kingdom of the

Memnon apud Photium.

His vaſt deſigns, and great attempts.

Strabo l. 12. *Juſtin. lib.* 38.

People of *Rome*; and he ſent his Wife thither to aver that ſhe had three Sons by *Ariarathes*. *Mithridates* hereupon ſent one to the Senate to affirm, that he whom he had placed in *Cappadocia* was alſo the Son of *Ariarathes*.

The Senate interpoſeth,

2 The Senate knowing well the aim of both, took from *Mithridates Cappadocia*; and *Paphlagonia* from *Nicomedes*, who had got it into his hands, and left theſe two Kingdoms to their own liberty. But the *Cappadocians* proteſted that they could not live without a King, and being therefore allowed to chuſe one from amongſt themſelves, made choice of one *Ariobarzanes*. *Mithridates* ſorely repining to be thus overruled, procured *Tigranes* the King of *Armenia* and his Son in Law to be an Enemy to the *Romans*, and perſwaded him to expel *Ariobarzanes*, whilſt he did as much by young *Nicomedes*, who now had ſucceeded his dead Father. Both of theſe Princes fled to *Rome* for relief, which was decreed them, and Commiſſioners were appointed to re-eſtabliſh them, whereof *Manius Aquilius* was chief. This being performed, they perſwaded both the Kings to invade *Mithridates*. *Nicomedes* did it, though unwillingly, whilſt *Mithridates* oppoſed him not, that he might have an advantage againſt him; only he ſent *Pelopidas* to the Commiſſioners to complain of him. They conſidering that *Mithridates* was a powerful Prince, returned this Anſwer, That *they did neither like that he ſhould moleſt* Nicomedes, *nor* Nicomedes *him*; for the former was not convenient for the *Roman* Common-wealth. He nothing moved with this Anſwer, re-invaded *Cappadocia*, ſending *Pelopidas* back with a bold expoſtulation. They hereupon raiſed a conſiderable Army againſt him on their own heads, without any decree of Senate or People. *Nicomedes* ingaging firſt of all with him was put to flight, though *Mithridates* his main Body never ingaged, and next after him *Manius* was diſcomfited. Then ſeized *Mithridates* upon *Bithynia*, *Phrygia*, *Miſia*, *Lycia*, *Pamphylia*, and other Provinces, as far as *Ionia*. He took alſo *Q. Oppius* and *Aquilius*, the later whereof he killed by melted Gold poured into his mouth, being ever wont to upbraid the *Romans* with avarice and corruption.

And reſtored the King he had caſt out.

But he again recovereth many Countries.

A. M. 3917.
Ol. 173. *an.* 1.
V. C. 656.
Selencid.

3. The *Romans* hereupon decreed a War againſt him, though they were now imployed in the *Italian*; and *L. Cornelius Sylla*, and *Q. Pompeius Rufus* being Conſuls, it fell by lot unto the former. But whilſt he was yet imployed in finiſhing the *Italian* War about *Nola*, *C. Marius*, who had been ſix times Conſul, either moved by a deſire of profit, or of glory, perſwaded *P. Sulpitius*, Tribune of the People, to prefer a Law for transferring the command againſt *Mithridates* to himſelf. He drew the People of *Italy* to his Party, by promiſing them that had been of late made free of the City, equal Priviledge with the reſt, which were diſtributed into thirty five Tribes; ſo that the thing was carried on by ſtrong hand, and *Pompey*'s Son, Son in Law of *Sylla*, was killed in the heat of contention. *Sylla* hearing of this, haſted to the City, eaſily perſwading his Army to any thing, for that his Soldiers were unwilling that any other ſhould go that Expedition, from which they promiſed themſelves ſo great matters. To him his Collegue *Pompey* joyned, and though *Marius* and the *Tribune* made all oppoſition poſſible, with ſome difficulty they entred the City, and *Marius* with his complices betook themſelves to their heels. *Sylla* ſuffered no harm to be done to the Citizens, but reverſed what *Sulpitius* had done, regulated the Senate, and procured *Marius*, with *Sulpitius*, and ten others, to be declared Enemies to their Country, whom it might be lawful for any to kill, and unlawful to harbour; their Goods alſo being ſet to ſale.

Sylla hath the charge of the War decreed againſt him.

Conſule Appianum de bello civili lib. 1. *Patercul. l.* 2. *cap.* 17, *&c.* *Plutarch in Mario & Sylla.* *Livii Epitom. l.* 77.

Which *Marius* ſeeking unjuſtly, is driven from the City, and declared an Enemy.

4. *Sulpitius* was found and put to death. *Marius* hid himſelf in the Fens of *Minturnum*, and being diſcovered, a *Gall* was ſent to kill him, but could not do it, he was ſo daſhed at his preſence; ſo that being conveyed out of that place, he eſcaped into *Africk*. To him *Cethegus* and others, who had fled into *Numidia*, joyned themſelves, expecting an opportunity to invade their own Country. *Pompey* the Conſul, to ſecure *Italy*, was appointed to receive the Army of *Cn. Pompey*, who had done ſuch good Service in the *Marſian* War; but the Soldiers unwilling to leave their old General, who alſo took it heavily, made away the Conſul. For the year following *L. Cornelius Cinna* and *C. Octavius* were Conſuls, whereas *Cinna*, as ſome think, corrupted, was altogether for the new Deniſons, and recalled *Marius*, with the reſt of the Exiles; but he was driven away by his Collegue, and *L. Merula* was put in his place. He then going about to the *Italian* Cities, by giving them freſh hopes of equal Priviledge, and pretending that he ſuffered theſe things for their ſakes, got much Money. *Marius* alſo

Sect. 5.

Recalled by *Cinna*.

coming over to him, they raiſed a conſiderable Army, wherewith *Cinna* ſat down before the City. *Marius* took *Hoſtia* by force, and *Cinna* being not able to do any thing at *Rome*, ſtormed *Ariminum*. The Conſuls, for that they could not recall *Sylla*, ſent for *Metellus* then lying in *Samnium*, but he differing with them about ſome conditions, had them granted by *Marius*, to whom then he joyned himſelf. In the mean while the City it ſelf was near being betrayed to *Marius* by *Appius Claudius* a *Tribune* of the Army, who being intruſted with the *Janiculum*, thus requited him for former kindneſs.

5. Though he and *Cinna* brake in, they were repelled by *Octavius*, and C. *Pompey* the *Proconſul*, who ſhortly after was killed with a Thunder-bolt. *Marius* after this took in ſeveral Towns about *Rome* where Proviſions lay, and *Cinna*, by promiſe of liberty, drew many Slaves out of the City, which the Senate underſtanding, leſt the People ſhould make diſturbance within, ſent to him about an agreement. He refuſed to admit of any addreſs made to him as a private Man, ſo that they were forced to treat with him as Conſul, and deſired he would ſwear to abſtain from Blood. This he flatly refuſed to do; but promiſed, that wittingly and willingly he would not be the cauſe of any Mans death; ſo he was received, and the Law abrogated for baniſhing *Marius*, and his Aſſociates. Upon their entrance began plundering and ſlaughters in all places. *Octavius*, though having the Oath both of *Cinna* and *Marius*, refuſing to fly from his charge, was killed, and his Head ſet upon the *Roſtra*, to which was afterwards added that of *Antonius*, (Grand-father to the *Triumvir*) an excellent Orator, who for a good ſpace defended himſelf by his eloquence from the Soldiers, and ſeveral others. None were ſpared, either for dignity, worth, or age. The dead bodies, being mangled and abuſed otherwiſe, were left to be torn in pieces by Dogs and Fowls, none daring to bury them. All *Sylla's* Friends were killed, his Houſe defaced, and his Goods put to ſale, he being judged and declared an Enemy. *Merula*, though he never ſought the Conſulſhip, but had it put upon him, and *Catulus*, having their days ſet them to anſwer, deſtroyed themſelves.

Getteth into *Rome*, and there cruelly rageth with *Cinna* his Collegue.

How the People carried it to proſcribed Eſtates and Perſons now and at other times.

6. Thus cruel were *Cinna* and *Marius*; but however they raged againſt their Country-men, the common People ſhewed much Abſtinence and Juſtice at this time. For when they had expoſed the Wealthy Houſes of the proſcribed Perſons to be plundered by them, none were found that would inlarge their own fortunes, or take a ſhare out of the publick calamity. They abſtained now from other Mens Goods, how indigent ſoever they were; although when accuſtomed to ſuch Tragical ſights, the People of *Rome*, as it happens, grew more hard-hearted. For it carried not it ſelf with the ſame moderation afterwards, in the Proſcription made by *Sylla*, when many were found that bought the Goods of the Proſcribed Perſons. And yet in that made by the *Triumvirs*, few would be inticed to make ſuch Purchaſes; and afterward when *Cremona* was taken, and the Citizens were expoſed to ſale by the Soldiers; the *Italians* bravely diſdained to make Slaves of their Country-men, born as free as themſelves were.

7. *Cinna* and *Marius* having thus ſatisfied their bloody minds, made themſelves Conſuls for the following year: But *Marius* died e're the months end, having born this Office now ſeven times; a Man more profitable to his Country in the time of War than of Peace. To him ſucceeded *Valerius Flaccus*, whom *Cinna* ſent into *Aſia*, to ſupply the room of *Sylla* there. But he by this time had done the work, and was coming home to revenge the former injuries, having ſubdued *Mithridates* in leſs than three years, killed one hundred and ſixty thouſand of his Men, recovered *Greece*, *Macedonia*, *Ionia*, *Aſia*, and other Countries, which he had got into his hands, taken his Navy from him, and forced him to be content with his own Inheritance. Theſe things are to be declared in order.

A. M. 3917.

8. After *Mithridates* had taken *Aquilius* with the reſt, and ſeized upon *Aſia*, and other Countries, (whilſt *Sylla* was at *Rome*, ſetling things there againſt *Marius* and his Faction, as is before ſhewed) he ſent his Letters abroad into all the Cities of *Aſia*, willing them at one day prefixed, to kill all *Italians* and *Romans*, with their Wives and Children, and caſt them out unburied; then to ſeize on their Eſtates, taking one part to themſelves, and reſerving the other for his uſe. This was accordingly done, and eighty thouſand according to ſome, according to others one hundred and fifty thouſand periſhed in one day. Then went he into the Iſland *Cous*, where getting great Treaſure into his Hands, there laid up by one of the *Cleopatraes*, he departed to *Rhodes*, and all manner of ways attempted to take the City, though

Mithridates cauſeth eighty thouſand *Italians* and *Romans*, or more in one day to be killed.

Valer. Max. l. 9. *c.* 2. *Ext. exemp.* 3. *Plutarch in Sylla.*

though without ſucceſs; ſuch was the conſtancy and fidelity of the *Rhodians* towards the *Romans*, amongſt other Confederates which univerſally revolted. Then ſent he *Archelaus* his General into *Greece*, leaving *Pelopidas* in *Lycia* to carry on the War there, he himſelf providing Forces, and puniſhing ſuch as he found inclinable towards the *Romans*.

9. *Archelaus* firſt recovered *Delos*, which from the *Athenians* had revolted to the *Romans*, then joyned he to himſelf the *Achaians*, *Lacædemonians*, and *Bæotians*. After this he was fought by *Brittius*, who had put to flight *Metrophanes* ſent alſo into *Greece* from the King; but having freſh Supplies, *Brittius* withdrew himſelf to the *Piræus*, or Haven of *Athens*, which ſhortly after *Archelaus* took in with his Fleet. Now *Sylla* arrived in *Greece* with five Legions, and ſome Companies of Horſe, and having furniſhed himſelf with Money and Proviſions in *Ætolia* and *Theſſaly*, marched into *Attica* againſt *Archelaus*, almoſt whole *Bæotia*, with *Thebes* the chief City, revolting to him in his paſſage. He beſieged *Archelaus* in the *Piræus*, a very ſtrong Place, as fenced with a Wall almoſt forty Cubits high, conſiſting of ſquare Stones, and built by *Pericles* during the firſt motions of the *Peloponneſian* War. Having alſo beſieged *Athens* it ſelf, he ſpent the whole Summer in the Siege, and at length took it, the Inhabitants being unable to make any more reſiſtance through famine, which ſo far prevailed, as they made meat of ſodden Leather, and fed upon the Bodies of dead Men. The *Piræus* was alſo ſhortly after taken, and the Walls thereof demoliſhed, with the Arcenal, and all the Rarities therein deſtroyed. Then *Sylla* followed *Archelaus* through *Bæotia*, and fought with him through *Cheronea*, in a Place ſo ſtraight, that no way being open for flight, he ſlew ſo many, that of one hundred and twenty thouſand not many more than ten thouſand remained, this being an Army ſent over by the King out of his new Provinces.

Sylla arriving in *Greece*,

Vide Appian. in Mithridaticis, & Plutarch in Sylla.

Taketh *Athens* and the *Piræus*, and overthrows *Archelaus* the Kings General once,

10. *Mithridates* put divers Princes of his newly conquered Provinces to death, for fear they ſhould kill or betray him, by which cruelty he loſt all *Gallogræcia*. *Epheſus* alſo, and other Towns revolted from him, whereof ſuch as he recovered he uſed cruelly, and afterwards fearing a general defection, to purchaſe favour he ſet the *Greek* Cities at liberty. Some that conſpired his death were diſcovered, and upon ſuſpition were ſixteen hundred Men made away. Then ſent he another Supply to *Archelaus* of eighty thouſand Men, which with the other ten thouſand remaining of the former Army, were routed by *Sylla* near *Orchomenes*, and about fifteen thouſand being ſlain, the reſt betaking themſelves to their Camp were alſo killed or taken, a vaſt ſlaughter having been made. *Archelaus* having loſt his Son *Diogenes* hid himſelf in a Fen, and thence fled to *Chalcis* once more. After this *Sylla* chaſtized the *Bæotians* for their fickleneſs (for they would ſtand to neither Party long) and took up his Winter Quarters in *Theſſaly*, providing himſelf of Shipping, becauſe he heard nothing of *Lucullus*, whom he had ſent into *Ægypt* to procure a Navy. Now at this time was *Flaccus*, who had ſucceeded *Marius*, ſent into *Aſia* by *Cinna* to ſucceed *Sylla*. Him *Fimbria* his *Quæſtor* killed in a quarrel about lodging, being hated by his Soldiers, and he headed his Army, with which he ſeveral times fought, and that proſperouſly, againſt *Mithridates* his Son, and drove the King himſelf into *Pergamus*, and thence to *Pitane*, where he took Ship and fled to *Mitylene*, and might have been taken if *Lucullus* would. Then did *Fimbria* harrace *Cappadocia*, and burnt *Ilium* the Daughter of *Troy*, for that the Inhabitants had given up themſelves to *Sylla*, and not to him; ſo that though a *Roman* and ſo akin to them, he is ſaid to have uſed them worſe than did *Agamemnon* himſelf. This hapned to *Ilium* in the latter end of the 173 *Olympiad*, about one thouſand and fifty years after the firſt taking it by the *Greeks*.

Appian. ut ſupra. Oroſius lib. 6. cap. 2. Florus l. 3. c. 5.

And again,

11. *Mithridates* receiving intelligence of the blow he had received at *Orchomenus*, wrote to *Archelaus*, to procure his peace on as good terms as he could. To a Peace *Sylla* was not now averſe, being in great want of Money, and receiving no recruits from the City, where he was declared an Enemy, and deſiring above all things to carry back a good Army into *Italy* to revenge himſelf. He offered Peace therefore on theſe conditions: *That he ſhould deliver up all his Navy, all Fugitives and Captives, reſtore the Inhabitants of* Chios, *and others whom he had carried into* Pontus, *remove his Garriſons from all places whither he had brought them ſince the breach of the Peace, pay all the Charges of the War, and be content with his Fathers Kingdom.* All theſe Conditions were agreed to ſave parting with *Paphlagonia*, but the Ambaſſadors ſaying they could have had better terms of *Fimbria*, drove *Sylla* into a great diſpleaſure, with a compariſon ſo odious to him. Shortly after *Mithridates* himſelf met him, and found him ſo reſolute, as he gladly accepted

Forceth *Mithridates* to beg Peace.

A. M. 3921.
Ol. 174. an. 1.
V. C. 679.
Seleucid. 229.
L. Cor. Cinna 4. Cn. Papirio Carbone 2 Coſſ.

cepted all the terms. So ended the firſt War with *Mithridates*, being concluded by *Sylla* three years after his coming into *Greece*.

12. *Sylla* required of *Fimbria* the Army to be delivered up to him, as held by no Authority; but was anſwered, as having as little himſelf. Yet the Army denied to fight againſt that of *Sylla*, and forſook *Fimbria*, who thereupon ſent a Slave to murder *Sylla*, which was diſcovered. He begged pardon, and it was granted him, ſo he would take Ship and depart out of *Aſia*; but he ſaid he had a better way, and going to *Pergamus*, there deſtroyed himſelf. *Sylla* gave him to be buried, ſaying, he would not imitate the barbariſm of *Marius* and *Cinna* towards his friends at *Rome*, whom they deprived both of Life and Burial; yet he kept in this mind but a while after his arrival there, whither he now haſted, having fined *Aſia* grievouſly for its revolt, and ſetled Affairs according to preſent occaſions. He took *Athens* in his way, whence he carried with him the Library of *Apellicon* the *Teian* (in which were moſt of the Books of *Ariſtotle* and *Theophraſtus*, then not vulgarly known) bought by him of the Poſterity of *Neleus*, to whom *Theophraſtus* had given it. He wrote to the Senate, to which he recounted all the great Services he had done, and then how he had been rewarded by the Party of *Marius*, telling them plainly, he would come and revenge both himſelf and the Publick, by puniſhing the Authors of the injuries, not medling with any other, either old or new Citizens. The Senate hereat affrighted, ſent to treat with him, offering their endeavour for his ſatisfaction, if he would preſently make known his mind. *Cinna* they ordered to ſtop his Leavies; but he only returned them a plauſible Anſwer, and proceeded, deſigning himſelf and his Collegue *Carbo* Conſuls again for the following year, that there might be no need of going to *Rome* to a new creation. He paſſed over ſome of his Forces into *Dalmatia*, there to fight *Sylla*; but the hindermoſt were driven back by a Tempeſt, and they refuſed abſolutely to fight againſt their Country-men; ſo that thoſe, who as yet had not paſſed the Sea, refuſed to go aboard. Hereupon he going to ſpeak with them, an Officer who made way before him ſtruck one of them, who ſtruck him again, for which offence he commanding him to be laid hold on, a Tumult aroſe, wherein he himſelf was ran through, and ſo periſhed in his fourth Conſulſhip, and the 670 year of the City, a Man worthier to have dyed by command of the Conqueror, than the fury of the Soldiers. *Carbo* then continued Conſul alone all the remaining part of the year.

Appian. Plutarch in Sylla.

Fimbria's Army revolteth to him.

He marcheth for *Italy* againſt his Enemies there.

13. *Cinna* and *Carbo* had by a Law abrogated *Sylla*'s command, and procured War to be decreed againſt him, before the Senate was affrighted into the offer of a mediation. He anſwered, that he would never be reconciled to ſuch wicked Perſons, as they deſired he ſhould; but if the People of *Rome* would give them indemnity, he ſhould not oppoſe it; yet he thought thoſe that would come to him might be more ſafe, ſeeing he had at his devotion ſuch an Army. Hereby declaring ſufficiently what his intentions were, he alſo demanded reſtitution of his Eſtate, his ancient Dignity and Honours; but the Meſſengers coming to *Brunduſium*, and there hearing of *Cinna*'s death, and the diſturbance of the Common-wealth, returned back to him. Then croſſed he the Sea to *Brunduſium* with a Fleet of ſixteen hundred Ships, and ſixty thouſand Men. Being landed, *Metellus Pius*, who had abſented himſelf from *Rome* for fear of *Marius* and *Cinna*, came to him, as alſo *Pompey*, afterwards ſirnamed the *Great*, who though his Father was no friend to *Sylla*, yet coming now to him with ſome Forces, became afterwards his greateſt favourite. Beſides theſe came *Cethegus*, who having joyned with *Cinna*, now begged pardon. *C. Norbanus* and *L. Scipio* the Conſuls, with *Carbo*, made all preparation for reſiſtance. The firſt tryal at Arms was at *Canuſium*, where *Norbanus* loſt ſix thouſand Men, and fled to *Capua*. *Scipio*, through the treachery of his Army, came with his Son into the Power of *Sylla*, who diſmiſſed them both. After this *Sylla* ſent to *Norbanus* to treat of Peace; but (perhaps) being not thought ſerious, had no anſwer returned back.

Landeth at *Brunduſium*.

Defeateth *Norbanus*.

14. He then paſſed on in *Italy*, making havock of all things, as *Carbo* did, who getting into *Rome*, procured *Metellus*, and the reſt that joyned with *Sylla*, to be declared Enemies to the State. Both Parties ſent up and down the *Italian* Cities, labouring both by fair means and foul to procure Forces; and ſo all this Summer was ſpent, wherein the Capitol was burnt none knoweth how. For the following year *Papirius Carbo* the third time, and *Marius*, Son (but adoptive as

A. M. 3922.

Sect. 5.

A. M, 3923.
Olymp. 174.
ann. 3.
V. C. 672.

Entreth *Rome.*

moſt probable) to the old one, were Conſuls; the latter being but twenty ſeven years old. In the Spring was *Carinas* the Lieutenant of *Carbo* overthrown by *Metellus*, and *Marius* himſelf by *Sylla*, and beaten into *Præneſte*, where being cloſe beſieged, and deſpairing of his own ſafety, he wrote to *Brutus*, then *Prætor* at *Rome*, that he ſhould under ſome pretext call together the Senate, and kill thoſe his Enemies; *P. Antiſthius*, another *Carbo*, *L. Domitius*, and *Mucius Scævola* the High-Prieſt, which was with cruelty enough performed. *Metellus* by this time having overthrown another Army of *Carbo's*, *Pompey* defeated *Marcius* another of that Party, *Sulla* marched to *Rome*, which he eaſily entred, many of the oppoſite Faction being fled. Their Goods he ſet to ſale, and willing the People to be of good cheer, for that he was neceſſitated thus to act, he left a ſufficient Garriſon, and departed to *Cluſium*, where he and his Officers ſeveral times overthrew *Carbo's* Armies. *Carbo* ſent to *Præneſte* to relieve *Marius* his Collegue eight Legions, which *Pompey* meeting in a ſtraight place, ſlew many of them, and moſt of thoſe that eſcaped, departed to their own homes. After this, *Carbo* and *Norbanus* in a Fight with *Metellus* had ten thouſand of their Men ſlain, and ſix thouſand yielded, whereupon many fell off to *Sylla's* Party, as alſo all *Gall* within the *Alps*. *Norbanus* fled to *Rhodes*, where fearing to be given up, he killed himſelf; *Carbo* into *Africk*, though he had thirty thouſand Men at *Cluſium*, and other Forces, which were then broken in pieces by *Pompey*. *Carinas*, with other Commanders, attempted to break through, by the help of the *Samnites*, and relieve *Marius*; but this being with no effect, they then made for *Rome* it ſelf.

15. A bloody Battel was fought at the Gates, where many thouſands were ſlain on both ſides. Yet *Sulla* had the better. *Carinas* and *Marcius* were taken, and their Heads ſent to *Præneſte* to be ſhewed to the Inhabitants, at which ſight, underſtanding how things had paſſed, they yielded up the Town to *Lucullus*, and *Marius* killed himſelf, whoſe Head was ſet up in the Pleading Place at *Rome*. All his Faction in *Præneſte* were put to death, and all the Natives with the *Samnites*; the *Romans* only with the Women and Children were ſpared, who loſt all they had, the Town (the richeſt at that time of all others) being plundred. *Norba* a little after was taken, and burnt to the ground by a Fire which the Inhabitants kindled over their own heads, ſome one way, and ſome another, deſtroying themſelves. So came *Italy* into the Power of *Sylla*, who in the improvement of his Victory, ſhewed what fury and revenge, backed with Power, are able to do.

Getteth all *Italy* into his Power.

Lege Appian. de bello civili l. 1. Plutarch in Sylla. Patercul. l. 2. Valerium Max. lib. 9. c. 2. Exemp. 1. Florum lib. 3. c. 21. Oroſium lib. 5. cap. 20, 21. Livii Epitom. l. 89.

Publiſheth Tables of Proſcription.

16. Having ſent *Pompey* into *Africk* againſt *Carbo*, and given him a charge thence to paſs into *Sicily* againſt others of that Party, he called the People together, and told them that he would put them into a better condition if they would obey his commands, but he was reſolved to proſecute his Enemies with all ſorts of calamities. So he did in a larger meaſure than any before him. He put to death eight thouſand together in the *Villa publica*, a large houſe in the *Campus Martius*, made for the reception of the Ambaſſadors of Enemies; and liberty was given to his Soldiers to kill all they met, till *Furfidius* putting him in mind that he ought to leave ſome to Reign over; he then firſt of any Man publiſhed Tables of *Proſcription*, wherein were proſcribed firſt of all eighty Senators, and ſixteen hundred Equites, to which he afterwards added more, promiſing two Talents to thoſe that ſhould diſcover them, and threatned ſuch as by whom they were harboured or concealed. Of thoſe out-lawed Perſons ſome were ſlain in their Houſes, others killed in the Streets, and others proſtrate at his feet; thoſe that fled, their Goods were ſeized on. *Marius*, a Man of *Conſular* Dignity, and Brother to *Sylla's* great Enemy, had at the Sepulcher of *Catulus* his Eyes firſt pulled out of his Head, and then his Hands and Legs cut off at ſeveral times, that he might die by degrees. But not only againſt private Perſons, but Cities alſo did he rage, whereof ſome, after the Inhabitants were ſold, he cauſed to be demoliſhed. Many were turned out of their Poſſeſſions, which were given to his Creatures. *Pompey* drove *Carbo* into *Sicily*, and thence into *Corcira*, where being taken and brought to him, after he had inveighed againſt him in an Aſſembly, he cauſed his Head to be cut off, and ſent it to *Sylla*.

And rageth cruelly againſt Perſons and Cities.

17. Both the *Conſuls* being now deſtroyed, *Sylla* withdrew himſelf out of the City, and willed the Senate to create an *Inter-rex*, which they willingly did, hoping they ſhould have a new election of Conſuls, and named *Valerius Flaccus*.

He maketh himſelf Dictator in *perpetuum*.

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His actions while ſuch.

A. M. 3925.
Ol. 175. *an.* 1.
V. C. 674.
Seleucid. 233.

A. M. 3926.
V. C. 675.

He layeth down his Power,

18. That a ſhew of the Common-wealth might remain, he permitted Conſuls to be made, which were *M. Tullius Decula*, and *Cn. Cornelius Dolabella*; yet did he plainly Reign alone, having twenty four Axes carried before, as the Kings in old time, with a great Guard continually at his heels, abrogating old Laws, and enacting new at his pleaſure. He regulated the *Conſulſhip*, ordering that none ſhould be capable of it without paſſing firſt through other Offices. He overthrew the *Tribuneſhip*, by making thoſe that bore it incapable of any other truſt. To the Senate he added three hundred out of the Equites, to the People ten thouſand out of the Slaves of the proſcribed, making them free, and calling them after himſelf *Cornelii*; and to twenty three Legions he aſſigned much Land in *Italy* to oblige them to him. For the following year he gave way to have Conſuls alſo, but joyned himſelf with *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, which courſe the *Emperours* afterwards imitated. The year after, when the People, to pleaſe him, deſigned him Conſul again, he waved it, and created *Servilius Iſauricus*, and *Appius Claudius Pulcher*; and then, to the aſtoniſhment of all Men, laid down his *Dictatorſhip*, and though he had done ſuch, and ſo many horrid things, yet offered to give an account of his actions.

And dieth.

A. M. 3927.
V. C. 676.

A difference betwixt the Conſuls about his Burial, and confirmation of his acts.

19. None accuſed him except one young Man, whoſe reviling language made him ſay, that this for the time to come would keep any one from laying down ſuch Supream Power; which *Cæſar* indeed ſeemeth to have been aware of. Not long after he went into the Country, where minding nothing but his Pleaſure, he not long after died at *Puteoli* of the Lowſie diſeaſe, his Body being putrified, and all turned into Lice, as *Plutarch* writeth. And this was the end of *L. Cornelius Sylla*, a Man born of the Noble Family of the *Cornelii*, (which of late had been Eclypſed, through the lazineſs of his Anceſtors) being the ſixth in diſcent from *Cornelius Rufinus*, one of the moſt eminent Captains in the War with *Pyrrhus*. As his life was pernitious to his Countrey; ſo his death brought alſo trouble to it, the two Conſuls and their Factions falling out about the Honour which was to be given to him at his Funeral. *Catulus* prevailed againſt *Lepidus*, and he was carried in great State through the City, and firſt of any of his Family was burned, being fearful, as *Cicero* thought, leſt he himſelf ſhould be dealt with as he had uſed *Marius*, whoſe Bones he had cauſed to be digged up, and thrown away. After the Funeral, the Conſuls fell into a greater diſſention. *Lepidus* would reſtore the Grounds given away by *Sylla*, and aboliſh his Laws. The Senate was fearful of another War, and cauſed them both to ſwear, that they would not decide the Controverſie by the Sword; but *Lepidus* was reſolved not to return out of his Province, till the new creation was over, and when he ſhould be out of his Office begin a War, as then diſcharged from his Oath. Hereupon the Senate ſent for him, and when he came, he would have brought his Forces into the City, but being oppoſed by *Catulus* and *Pompey*, a fight inſued, wherein he had the worſt, and then fled into *Sardinia*, where he died the ſame year with *Sylla*.

Livii Epitom. lib. 89.

Sertorius riſeth in *Spain*.

20. The Civil diſſentions died not with him; for, though *Pompey* had ſuppreſſed *Carbo* in *Sicily*, *M. Brutus* in *Gall*, *Cn. Domitius*, and *Hierba* King of *Numidia* in *Africk*, who were preparing for War, (and for this triumphed, being neither Conſul nor *Prætor*, and ſcarcely twenty ſix years of age) yet a more dangerous War was now depending, raiſed in *Spain* by *Q. Sertorius*. This Man being one of *Cinna*'s Faction, joyned with *Carbo* againſt *Sylla*, and having taken *Sueſſa*, thence paſſed into *Spain*, which fell to him by lot as *Prætor*. Thence he drove out ſuch as were for *Sylla*, and joyning the *Celtiberians* to himſelf, ſtifly reſiſted *Metellus*, who was ſent againſt him, whereby obtaining a great name, he choſe three hundred of his friends, whom he called a Senate, in oppoſition and deſpite to that

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Appian de bello civili lib. 1. *Plutarch. in Pompeio & Sertorio. Florus lib.* 3. *cap.* 22. *Livii Epitom. lib.* 90. *Alii.*

at *Rome.* And now being made ſtronger by part of *Lepidus* his Army, which *Perpenna* had led thither, he deſigned no leſs than the invaſion of *Italy.* The Senate afraid of this, ſent *Pompey* againſt him, a young man, but of great eſteem, who paſſing the *Alps* in imitation of *Annibal*, but another way, at firſt received ſome loſs, and in the Spring following had no ſucceſs, (though *Perpenna* and *Herculeus* were ſeveral times beaten by *Metellus*) but was reduced into great ſtraights, and wrote to *Rome* for a ſupply. *Lucullus* Conſul for the following year procured it to be ſent him, leſt the War that was renewed with *Mithridates* ſhould be committed to him if he came back into *Italy*, which he affirmed elſe he would. Being now ſupplied with men and money, he, and his aſſiſtants fell upon the places ſubject to *Sertorius*; yet did they this year no great matters. But many of *Sertorius* his Army came over to them, being aggrieved that he made the *Celtiberians* his Guard, as diſtruſting themſelves, and upon ſuſpition of the alienation of their minds, being cruelly uſed by him.

Is murdered by *Perpenna.*

21. The year following *Pompey* and *Metellus* being more bold, made excurſions into ſeveral places, and with more ſucceſs; yet no conſiderable battel was there fought. Indeed it needed not. For, *Sertorius* now grown lazie, ſpent his time with Women, and falling into an humour of cruelty had put many to death, whereby he wrought his deſtruction from his own party. *Perpenna* fearing it might fall to his lot to be made away amongſt the reſt, reſolved to prevent it, and ſo inviting him to a Feaſt, murdred him after he had beſotted him and his attendants with Wine. This was the end of this great Captain, who for ſome ten years had ſtoutly reſiſted ſuch as had been ſent againſt him, being rather Superiour to them all, and admired by the *Spaniards* as another *Hannibal.* *Perpenna* with much ado was owned as his Succeſſor, and not long after was overthrown, and taken in battel by *Pompey.* He offered, if his life might be ſpared, to diſcloſe certain things of conſequence in private unto *Pompey*; but ~~he to his~~ great commendation, commanded him to be killed, leſt accuſing any man he ſhould bring the State into further trouble. So ended this War in the 681 year of the City. *M. Tarentius Varro* that vaſt * Scholar (being the moſt learned of any, either *Greeks* or *Romans*) and *Caius Caſſius Varus* being Conſuls. *Appius Claudius* in *Thrace*, and after him *Scribonius Curio* fought proſperouſly againſt the *Scordiſci* and *Dardanians* at this time: ſo did *Servillius* againſt the Pirates of *Cilicia* expelling them the Seas, and taking ſeveral of their Towns; as alſo *Coſconius* againſt the *Dalmatians.* But theſe were inconſiderable matters in compariſon of that War which now was renewed with *Mithridates.*

A. M. 3932. *Ol.* 176. *an.* 4. *V. C.* 861.

* *Vir doctiſſimus undecunque Varro. Livii Epitom. l.* 99, 91. *Oroſius lib.* 5. *cap.* 23.

The War with *Mithridates* renewed.

Upon what occaſion.

22. *Sylla*, upon this departure for *Italy*, had left *Murena* behind him in *Aſia*, to ſettle ſuch things as were not yet compoſed, with the two Legions that belonged to *Fimbria.* *Murena* being ambitious of a Triumph, had catched at all occaſions to renew the War, and had one preſented to him after this manner. *Mithridates* waging War with them of *Colchos* and *Boſphorus*, who had revolted from him; the former deſired and obtained his Son for their King. This proved the deſtruction of the young man, for his Father thinking it to have been procured by his ſeeking, put him to death, having ſent for and bound him with Iron Chains, though he had done him eſpecial ſervice againſt *Fimbria.* Againſt the *Boſphorians* he made then great preparations, inſomuch that every one thought he deſigned another War againſt the *Romans.* *Archelaus* was now at this time out of favour, for that he was thought to have granted too much unto *Sylla* in the Treaty of Peace, and therefore fled to *Murena*, and ſtirred him up to invade *Mithridates*, who neither had reſtored the intire poſſeſſion of *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes.* *Murena* did ſo, ſlighting the mention of Peace, which was objected to him. *Mithridates* ſent to *Rome*, to complain of *Sylla*, and expecting the return of his Ambaſſadors, ſtirred not, though the other paſſing over the River *Halys* fired three hundred of his Villages. Afterwards came *Callidius* from *Rome*, who though he ſhewed no Decree of the Senate, yet ſaid, it was the pleaſure of the Fathers, that all acts of hoſtility ſhould be forborn, and afterwards he talked with *Murena* alone. Yet did not *Murena* forbear, ſo that the King judging that War indeed was intended, reſolved to look to himſelf, and paſſing over the River overthrew *Murena* in battel, who fled into *Phrygia.* This Victory brought many over to the Kings party, and hereupon he drove all *Murena*'s Garriſons out of *Cappadocia.* *Sylla* now dictator, was not well pleaſed he ſhould be thus diſturbed, and therefore ſent *A. Gabinius* to command *Murena* in good earneſt to forbear, and reconcile the King to *Ariobarzanes.* *Mithridates* gave him his Son of four years of age for an Hoſtage, and received part of *Cappadocia.*

Conſule Appianum in Mithridaticis.

The King overthroweth *Murena.*

And the ſecond War endeth.

So things were ſetled again, and the ſecond War, as *Appian* ſaith, ended in the third year. But ſome ſeven years after another was begun.

The War again breaketh out and why.

Mithridates recovereth *Bithynia*.

23. Preſently after the laſt concluſion, he ſent to *Rome* to have the conditions of the League recorded, but the thing was neglected. *Ariobarzanes* ſent alſo to complain, that he kept the greater part of *Cappadocia* from him, whereupon *Sylla* commanded him to quit it, which accordingly he did. Afterward he ſent again to deſire that the League might be recorded; but *Sylla* being now dead, the matter was not as much as reported to the Senate. Hereupon he underhand procured *Tigranes* King of *Armenia* his Son-in-law to invade *Cappadocia*, whence he led away three hundred thouſand perſons, and there built a City, to be the Metropolis of the Kingdom, which from himſelf he named *Tigranocerta*, i. e. *the City of* Tigranes. *L. Magius*, and *L. Fannius*, who had fled to him from *Fimbria*'s Army, perſwaded him to ſend into *Spain*, and joyn in league with *Sertorius*, which he did, and had granted to him *Bithynia* and *Cappadocia*, receiving from him as a Captain *M. Varius* (or *Marius*) one of his Officers. Being now without hope of pardon, he made all preparations poſſible, and got together an Army out of divers Countries, conſiſting of one hundred and forty thouſand Foot, and ſixteen thouſand Horſe, wherewith the following Spring he invaded *Bithynia*, which Country, *Nicomedes* being dead without iſſue, had a little before given by teſtament to the People of *Rome*, which thing inraged him. *Cotta* the Governour, a man of little courage, fled to *Chalcedon*, and he got it all into his hands.

Appian ut ſupra.
Plut. in Lucullo.

Lucullus beſiegeth him beſieging *Cyzicus*.

And forcing him to flye, purſueth him into his Kingdom,

A. M. 3932.
V. C. 681.

24. In the 680 year of the City, *L. Licinius Lucullus* and *M. Aurelius Cotta* being Conſuls, the former of them was ſent againſt *Mithridates* with one Legion out of the City, to which were joyned thoſe two that belonged to *Fimbria*, and two more, ſo that in all he had an Army of thirty thouſand Foot, and one thouſand ſix hundred Horſe. He found the King before *Cyzicus* a City of *Propontis*, and preſently beſieged the beſieger. He drove him to ſuch ſtraights by the help of *L. Manius* (who now again revolted) that though having a great deſire to the place, he laboured much to take it, yet through extreme famin he was forced firſt to ſend away the Horſe, and ſick Footmen, into *Bithynia*, whereof fifteen thouſand were intercepted, and then to fly himſelf with the reſt that could eſcape the great ſlaughter made of them in their flight. During this double ſiege, *Eumachus* one of *Mithridates* his Captains made incurſions into *Phrygia*, ſubdued the *Piſidæ*, and *Iſauri*, and endeavoured to do the ſame by *Cilicia*, till he was repelled by *Deiotarus* one of the *Tetrarchs* of *Gallogræcia*. But *Lucullus* improved his ſucceſs on land by ſeveral Victories at Sea, wherein he took divers of *Mithridates* his Commanders, and haſted into *Bithynia* to overtake him. He, flying with all ſpeed for fear of this, ſuffered moſt grievous ſhipwrack, and had been caſt away, but that he was received into a Pirate's Veſſel, to which he was glad to commit himſelf in ſo great a danger, and at length, after many difficulties, got into his own Kingdom, whither now *Lucullus* purſued him, having in his way taken in *Bithynia* and *Paphlagonia*. He made all poſſible preparations for reſiſtance, ſending for aid to *Tigranes* his Son-in-law, and to his own ſon reigning in *Boſphorus*; and he ſent *Diocles* with great gifts to the *Scythians*; but he ran away to *Lucullus*. In the ſpace of a year he got together forty thouſand Foot, and four thouſand Horſe, with which force he once or twice repelled the *Romans*, and ſtruck ſome terror into them. But *Lucullus* ſending out ſome Horſe for proviſions, he alſo ſent a party to interrupt them, which fighting in a diſadvantageous place was worſted. Being now deſtitute of Horſe, he thought of removing from *Cabira*, where he had wintred; and communicated his intention to his friends. They not expecting the ſign began to pack up, and ſend their baggage out of the Camp before day, which the Army taking notice of, thought much they ſhould flye without any warning given, and in great fear and diſorder breaking out of the Trenches ran away. The King went about to hinder them, but none taking notice of him, he was born down in the crowd, and being got on Horſeback betook himſelf alſo to flight, and might have been taken, but that the *Romans* were too buſie in plundering the Camp, though warned by their General to forbear.

And into *Armenia*.

25. *Mithridates* firſt fled to *Comana*, and thence into *Armenia* to *Tigranes*, who admitted him not to his preſence, but cauſed him to be entertained like a King, though in fenny and unwholſome places. All *Pontus*, except a few places, yielded to *Lucullus*, to whom alſo *Machares* King of *Boſphorus* ſent a Crown of Gold, and purchaſed the Title of his Friend and Allie. After this *Lucullus* purſued *Mithridates* into *Armenia*, intending to fall on *Tigranes* King thereof, if he gave him

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him occaſion by defending his Enemy. *Tigranes* at this time was a very potent Prince, having conquered ſeveral Nations. He wreſted *Aſia* from the *Parthians*, tranſported many thouſands of *Greeks* out of *Cilicia* and *Cappadocia*, into a City built by him near *Euphrates*, and called *Tigranocerta*; he obtained *Syria* and *Paleſtine*, diſplacing the Kings thereof, as was acknowledged by *Lucullus*. This made him intollerably proud, ſo that when he rode, he would have four of thoſe Kings he had ſudued to run beſide him like Lackies, and ſtand before him with their hands folded in token of ſubjection, when he ſate on his Throne. *Lucullus* ſent to him *Appius Claudius* his Wives Brother, to demand *Mithridates*; but he was then buſied in *Phœnicia*, in reducing ſome places, which the Meſſenger made an opportunity in his abſence, ſecretly to withdraw from him many, whom his intollerable pride had rendred impatient. At his return he gave a negative anſwer, and therefore *Lucullus* with two Legions and ſcarcely three thouſand Horſe, paſſed over *Euphrates*, being not acknowledged a General, becauſe he had not given him the title of *King of Kings*.

Where he overthroweth in battel *Tigranes* the King, who protected him.

A. M. 3935. *Ol.* 177. *an.* 4. *V. C.* 685. *Q. Hortenſio Nepote Q. Cæcilio Metello Coſſ.*

26. *Tigranes* had no good intelligence of his coming, for he hanged him that firſt brought the news, as a diſturber of the Peace; but when he perceived it was ſo indeed, he ſent *Mithrobarzanes* with two thouſand Horſe to interrupt his paſſage, left *Manceus* to guard *Tigranocerta*, and went himſelf up and down levying Forces. Whilſt he was bringing two hundred and fifty thouſand Foot, and fifty thouſand Horſe, the former was beaten back, and the later could not defend the City. *Mithridates* adviſed him not to hazard all in a battel, but rather ſtarve the *Romans*, as they had done him at *Cyzicus*, but he ſlighted the motion, and jeered at the ſmallneſs of their number, ſaying, that *if they were Ambaſſadors they were very many, and if Soldiers, very few*. But *Lucullus* pitching upon an Hill, ſent his Horſe to provoke and draw out the Enemy, that he might break his ranks, and then ſetting upon the carriage beaſts, cauſed them to drive the Foot amongſt the Horſe, whereby a great confuſion was made, and great execution continued all the day. *Tigranocerta* was taken by the means of certain *Greeks*, who being out of jealouſie diſarmed by *Mancæus*, took Clubs, and ſetting upon him and his men, got the better, and received the *Romans* within the Walls. After this, another great Army was raiſed, and committed to the conduct of *Mithridates*. They then endeavoured to incompaſs *Lucullus*, but were croſſed in their expectation, and both parties continued without any great matter performed, till want of victuals forced them to depart. Then went *Tigranes* further into his Kingdom, and *Mithridates* marched away into his own, being purſued by *Lucullus*.

Dion Caſſius. *Hirtius de bello Alexandrino.*

27. *Mithridates* overthrew *Fabius*, who had been left in *Pontus* by *Lucullus*, and after him *Triarius*, who being ſent with a new ſupply, out of a deſire of glory ventured to fight ere the General came. He loſt in one engagement twenty four Tribunes, and one hundred and fifty Centurions (which numbers were ſeldome heard of in an overthrow of the *Roman* Armies) and ſeven thouſand in all were ſlain near the Mountain *Scotius*, about three miles diſtant from *Zela* a City of *Pontus*. *Lucullus* having heard of the Kings intention to ſet upon *Triarius*, procured the Soldiers of *Fimbria* to march, who through the procurement of *P. Clodius* mutined againſt him, as formerly againſt *Flaccus* by the means of *Fimbria*. But *Mithridates* taking away all the neceſſaries he could carry, and deſtroying the reſt, departed into *Armenia* the leſs. *Lucullus* would gladly have followed him, and might have put an end to the War, but that now by the procurement of *A. Gabinius* the Tribune, *Manius Acilius Glabrio* that years Conſul, was appointed his Succeſſor, and an order made for diſbanding of *Fimbria's* Soldiers. This being known, *Lucullus* was ſlighted by his Army ſo much, that hardly could his men be drawn to ſtay, though they marched no further againſt *Mithridates*; ſo that the King began to recruit himſelf, and *Tigranes* waſted *Cappadocia*. Shortly after, *Glabrio* arrived in his Province, and ſent about to give notice, that the Senate was diſpleaſed with *Lucullus* for prolonging the War, diſbanded his Army, and would confiſcate the eſtates of ſuch as ſhould diſobey it's order. Hereupon all the Army forſook him, except ſome few poor men, who had no cauſe to regard the threatnings; and *Lucullus* being outed of his command, *Mithridates* recovered almoſt his whole Kingdom, and did much hurt to *Cappadocia*; *Glabrio* not as much as coming to the Army, but loitering in *Bithynia*. This hapned in the eighth year after *Lucullus* had undertaken the War; the ſix hundred and eighty ſeventh of the City, *C. Calpurnius Piſo* and the ſaid *M. Acilius Glabrio* being Conſuls. The year following the War was committed to *Cneius Pompey* (afterward ſirnamed the Great) by means of *C. Manilius* the Tribune, who

Lucullus being in a fair way to finiſh the War, is interrupted by the coming of *Glabrio*.

Dio. l. 35. *Plutarch in Lucullo.*

The War committed afterwards to *Pompey*.

having offended the Senate by a Law, which gave the ſame right of ſuffrages to *Liberti* or *Freemen* (once ſlaves) as to their Patrons, or ſuch as manumitted them, procured this Law alſo to paſs to curry favour with him, who now had a very great name and power, having ſcarcely finiſhed the *Piratick* War, which for his famous and ſpeedy Expedition, muſt be deſcribed, after we have firſt ſpoken ſomething of the War with *Spartacus*, that was managed whilſt *Lucullus* was buſie in *Pontus*.

Dio. lib. 36. Livii Epitom. l. 100. Plutarch in Pompeio.

The War with *Spartacus*.

28. *Spartacus* a *Thracian* born, was a *Fencer* in the houſe of *Lentulus* at *Capua*, where he perſwading about ſeventy of his condition, rather to fight for their own liberty than the pleaſure of ſpectators, they broke the houſe and fled to *Veſuvius* the hill in *Campania*, where receiving to them all fugitives, they fell down upon the parts adjacent, and robbed them. By making equal diviſion of the booty, he got together a great power of men, over whom he ſet as Captains two Fencers that were *Galls* by birth, called *Oenomaus* and *Crixus*. *Clodius* the *Prætor*, who was ſent againſt them from the City, they routed and put to flight, as alſo *P. Varinus*, whoſe Lictors and Horſe they took. *Spartacus* now having got together ſeventy thouſand men, and making great preparations, began to be formidable to the *Romans*, who therefore ſent againſt him *L. Gellius Poplicola*, and *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* the Conſuls with two Legions. *Crixus* was at the Hill *Garganus* defeated and ſlain. *Spartacus* making for *Gall*, was beſet before and behind by the Conſuls; but one after the other he overthrew, and putting them both to flight, killed three hundred Priſoners to appeaſe the Ghoſt of *Crixus*. Marching then towards the *Alps* he was oppoſed by *Caſſius* the *Prætor*, whom he alſo overthrew, and who hardly eſcaped from the ingagement.

Conſule Appian de bello civili l. Plut. in Craſſo. Florum l. 3. c. 20. Eutrop. lib. 6. Oroſium lib. c. 24.

29. *Spartacus* puffed up by ſuch ſucceſs, now conſulted of no leſs than ſetting upon *Rome* it ſelf. At the *Comitia* for *Prætors*, when the Candidates appeared, *M. Licinius Craſſus*, a perſon of great Nobility, and exceeding rich, undertook the Office, and was ſent againſt *Spartacus* with ſix Legions. He ordered *Mummius* his Lieutenant with two Legions to attend the Enemies motions, but not to fight, which doing, he was worſted, and many being taken, many alſo caſt away their Arms and fled. *Craſſus* to terrifie others. uſed great ſeverity againſt ſuch as forſook their Colours, decimating five hundred who had firſt begun to fly; which antient kind of Diſcipline being of a long time diſuſed, he hereby revived. *Spartacus* having by this time paſſed to the Sea, thought of going over into *Sicily*; but failing of his deſign upon ſome *Cicilian* Rovers, he ſate down in the *Peninſula* of *Rhegium*, where *Craſſus* as it were beſieged him, having drawn a line through the *Iſthmus* from Sea to Sea, to cut off all Proviſions. *Spartacus* in a tempeſtuous night made a ſhift to fill up the Ditch, and get over the third part of his Army, then ingaging with *Craſſus* loſt twelve thouſand men. After this defeat he went toward the *Petiline* Mountains, and the Lieutenant and *Quæſtor* of *Craſſus* purſuing him, he faced about and put them to flight, whereby his men being encouraged, refuſed not to give the *Romans* battel. *Craſſus* now deſired alſo to fight, becauſe *Pompey*, who was lately returned out of *Spain* was reported as coming to end this War. Pitching then one againſt another, *Spartacus* engaged with all his forces, and made at *Craſſus* through the midſt of Weapons and Wounds, whom yet he miſſed, but killed two of his Centurions. At length ſuch as ſtood near him running away, whileſt he ſtood his ground manfully he was ſlain, and the reſt were diſordered and put to flight. Some that eſcaped from the battel, and made head again *Pompey* ſuppreſſed, three years before he undertook the War againſt the Pirates.

He is defeated and ſlain by *Craſſus*.

The inſolence of Pirates.

30. The Pirates who had been a little repreſſed by *Servilius Iſauricus* (as we ſaid before) were now grown ſo numerous and powerful, that there was no paſſing of the Seas, nor any dwelling upon the Coaſts; for they not onely took and robbed Ships on the Sea, but alſo whole Provinces on the Land; the chief place of their Rendezvous being *Cilicia* the *Rough*. *Mithridates* firſt ſet them on work, which finding profitable they ceaſed not when he left off, but continued their Robberies; many thouſands of ſeveral Nations, as *Syrians*, *Cypriots*, *Pamphylians*, the Natives of *Pontus*, and almoſt all others of that part of the World joyning together. For, ſeeing that the War continued, they thought it more wiſdom to damnifie others, than loſe their own Eſtates. Becauſe they made choice of *Cilicia*, as moſt commodious in the Mountainy and Craggy places thereof to ſecure themſelves, they all went under the name of *Cilices*. They had defeated ſeveral *Roman Prætors*. *Murena* did little good againſt them, and *Servilius* but a little repreſſed their violence; for ſo impudent were they now grown, that beſides their incurſions into

Appian in Mithridaticis.

Dio lib. 36. Plutarch. in Pompeio.

Sicily and other places,which made the Inhabitants of the Coaſts forſake their habitations, they landed in *Italy* near *Brunduſium*, whence they took away ſeveral women of quality; and more then that, two Armies with their Enſigns.

Provoketh the people of *Rome*.

31. The People of R*ome* being very ſenſible of theſe diſgraceful loſſes, a Law was preferred by *A. Gabinius* the *Tribune*, ('tis uncertain whether at the motion of *Pompey*, or from his own deſire to ingratiate himſelf with him; for being none of the beſt men, he little valued the good of the Commonwealth) that ſome one from amongſt thoſe of Conſular dignity ſhould be Created General with full power for three years againſt the Pirates, to whom alſo ſhould be granted large forces, and many Lieutenants for carrying on the War. This Law little pleaſed the Fathers, who now began to be jealous of *Pompey's* power; but to him was the buſineſs committed, having equal authority with *Proconſuls* any where within fifty miles diſtance from the Sea, and full power over all perſons within that compaſs, whether Kings or others, that they might aſſiſt him in the work. The Senate permitted him to chuſe out of their body fifteen Lieutenants, to whom he might commit ſeveral Provinces to take up as much money out of the Treaſury and from the Publicans as he pleaſed; to raiſe what force he would, and take two hundred Ships. But he obtained greater things of the People, and doubled his preparations, getting five hundred Ships, one hundred and twenty thouſand Foot, and ſome five thouſand Horſe. He had alſo out of the Senate about twenty five *Vicegerents*, two *Quæſtors*, and took up ſix thouſand *Attick* Talents; ſo difficult a thing it ſeem'd to deſtroy ſo many Fleets as the Pirates had, in ſuch a Sea, where there was ſo many places of retreat and refuge.

Which ſendeth *Pompey* againſt them.

Florus lib. 3. cap. 6.

His Method.

32. He diſtributed to his Lieutenants the *Mediterranean* Sea, including all the Bayes, Havens, Promontories, Straights, Peninſulaes, and windings whatſoever, furniſhing them with convenient Shipping, forces, and authority; ſo that the *Pirates* being rouzed out of their lurking holes by ſome, might be received by the next, and chaſed by others, and none might need to ſayl too far. He himſelf like a King of ſo many Kings ſayled up and down, and viſiting, giving directions, and overſeeing, took care that not one Pirate eſcaped. By this courſe proſecuted with ſingular induſtry, in forty dayes he ſcoured all the Seas about *Africk*, *Sardinia*, *Corſica*, and *Sicily*; and the Pirates that eſcaped flocked into *Cilicia*, as the common receptacle. He coming to *Rome* about ſome neceſſary occaſions, quickly after followed them with ſixty Gallies; but though they prepared to give him battel at Sea, yet when they ſaw his Fleet at hand, ſubmitted to mercy. Then in the ſpace of forty dayes he reduced *Cilicia* unto *Roman* obedience; for though he had provided Engines of all ſorts to batter their Walls, it needed not, the greatneſs of his name, and preparation for the War had ſo terrified them, that one after another they all yielded themſelves with the furniture for their trade. Such as remained of them being above twenty thouſand he was unwilling to kill, and to let them return to their old habitations was not ſafe: therefore he removed them into another place at a good diſtance from the Sea, where he gave them Houſes and Land; and furniſhed their Seats with new habitations. Thus having taken well nigh four hundred Ships, killed ten thouſand men, and taken one hundred and twenty Forts, he finiſhed this War in three Moneths, uſing the Conquered with more clemency than did *Q. Metellus* in *Crete*, which being the other neſt of theſe Pirates, and glorying that it never underwent the yoak of any, he ſubdued, and obtained with a Triumph the ſirname of *Creticus*. Having ſucceeded *Antonius* (who died in the action, and had as large authority there as *Pompey*) he uſed the Pirates very roughly, and ſo much the more, becauſe hearing of *Pompey's* mercy, they had by a Meſſage given up themſelves into his hands.

Apian ut ſupra.
Plutarch. Dio.
Cicero pro lege Manilia.

A. M. 3938.
Ol. 178. *an.* 2.
V. C. 687.

With wonderfull expedition in three moneths he finiſhed the War.

The *Lex Manilia.* Whereby the War againſt *Mithridates* with vaſt power is committed to *Pompey*.

Dio lib. 36.

33. Whileſt he was putting an end to this *Piratick* War, did *Manilius* prefer a Law as we ſaid before, that *all the Armies the* Romans *had any where*, *with the Government of all* Aſia, *and the War againſt* Mithridates *and* Tigranes, *might be committed to him.* The Nobility conceived great indignation againſt this Law, as which did manifeſt injury to *Lucullus*, *Glabrio*, and *Marcius*; but eſpecially out of an high jealouſie of *Pompey's* greatneſs, to whom now even all the *Roman* Empire was ſubject, having theſe Provinces laid to his former, with the ſame power of Peace and War, and making what friends and enemies he pleaſed, and chiefly for that he had Juriſdiction over all Armies whatſoever, which things had never before been conferred upon any ſingle perſon. But the Commons with great alacrity imbraced the Law; *Cicero* the *Prætor* preſſing it exceedingly, who having formerly ſet himſelf to defend the Nobility, now had betaken himſelf to

the vulgar ſort. And *C. Julius Cæſar* (who of late had been *Quæſtor*) is ſaid to have favoured it, that he might have the people more inclined afterwards to commit extraordinary commands to himſelf.

A. M. 3939. *V. C.* 688.

34. It being now the 688 year of the City, the ſixty fourth before the birth of Chriſt, the fourth of *Ariſtobulus* King of *Judæa*, *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, and *L. Volcatius Tullus* being Conſuls, *Pompey* undertook the expedition. He firſt ſent to *Mithridates*, offering him good terms; but he ſleighted them, becauſe he hoped to have *Phraates* the *Parthian* on his ſide; yet when he heard that he had firſt made a League with him, on the ſame conditions as were offered to *Sylla* and *Lucullus*, he himſelf then ſent and asked peace. *Pompey* commanded him to lay down Arms, and deliver up all Fugitives; who fearing they ſhould be given up, and the other Soldiers mutining for being about to be deprived of their help, a great trouble inſued, which he evaded, by ſaying that he onely ſent to make an eſpial, and by ſwearing that he would never be reconciled to the *Romans*, becauſe of their inſatiable avarice. Then marched *Pompey* into *Galatia*, where meeting with *Lucullus*, much ado there was betwixt them. *Lucullus* ſaid the War was finiſhed, and that the Commiſſioners ſent from *Rome* were to decide the buſineſs, and when *Pompey* would not hear of this, he reviled him with an immoderate thirſt after power; *Pompey* again objecting covetouſneſs to him, ſo that the accuſations could on neither ſide be denyed. *Lucullus* gave out commands as yet in power, but *Pompey* by his Edicts forbade them, nulled all his Acts, and at length drew away moſt of his men. But at his return he was received with great honour by the Senate, carrying with him amongſt his booty gotten in *Pontus*, many * books, wherewith he furniſhed his Library, which ever ſtood open to *Greeks* eſpecially. He alſo firſt brought * the Cherry-Tree out of *Pontus* (from a City of which Religion it was called *Ceraſus*) into *Italy*.

Idem ibid. Plutarch. in Pompeio & Lucul.

He offereth the King terms to no purpoſe.

Stirs betwixt *Lucullus* and him.

* *Iſidorus Orig. l. 6. c. 3.*

* *Plin. l. 15. cap. 25.*

35. *Mithridates* had now got together a conſiderable Army; but coming to ingage with *Pompey* was inferiour to him in all skirmiſhes. *Pompey* conſidering how the King had waſted all the Countrey on purpoſe to ſtraighten him for Proviſions, went into *Armenia* the leſs, ſubject to *Mithridates*, who fearing he might get that Countrey into his hands, followed him thither. Firſt here *Mithridates* had hopes to ſtarve him; but was diſappointed with conſiderable loſs, and was himſelf encompaſſed with a Trench one hundred and fifty furlongs about. Hearing that *Marcius* was joyned to *Pompey*, who had Proviſions at will, he fled away, having firſt killed all ſuch as were ſick, and uſeleſs, about him. But *Pompey* purſued, and prevented him from paſſing over *Euphrates*; then forced him to fight in the night, being ſurprized, and at unawares. The Moon being low, and on the backs of the *Romans*, ſo lengthened their ſhadows, that his Soldiers thinking him nearer than they were, ſhot moſt of their Arrows without doing any execution. He loſt many thouſands; but he himſelf brake out with eight hundred Horſe, whereof but three hundred ſtayed with him. Then wandring through the Woods with his Horſe in his hand, he lighted of ſome Mercenaries, and about three thouſand Foot, by which he was conveyed into a Caſtle where he had laid up much Treaſure. Hence he ſent to *Tigranes*, who refuſed to receive him, laying to his charge, that by his means *Tigranes* his ſon (by the daughter of *Mithridates*) had rebelled againſt him, and offered one hundred Talents for his head. He fled therefore to *Cholcos*, which formerly he had ſubdued.

Dio. Appian. & Plutarch. ut ſupra.

He defeateth *Mithridates*,

Who flieth to *Cholcos*.

36. *Pompey* followed him to *Cholcos*, thinking he would not have ſtirred thence; but he paſſed into *Scythia*, where partly by force, and partly by perſwaſion, he made the Princes thereof of his party, beſtowing his daughters in marriage upon them. For he had now vaſt deſigns in his head, though outed of his Kingdom, even no leſs than of paſſing through *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, and *Pannonia*, and ſo over he *Alpes* into *Italy*. *Pompey* departing from *Cholcos*, and eſcaping the ambuſhes laid for him by the *Albanians* and *Iberians*, marched into *Armenia* againſt *Tigranes*, who was reſolved now not to fight, for that having had three ſons by *Mithridates* his daughter, two of them upon provocation he had already killed, and he that remained rebelling alſo, was now after an overthrow received from his Father, fled to *Pompey*. This ſon prevailed that his Ambaſſadors were not heard, who came to ask Peace. But *Pompey* marching againſt the City *Artaxa*, *Tigranes* yielded it up him, and afterwards, without ſending any beforehand, came into his Camp, and giving up himſelf with all he had into his hand, made him umpire betwixt him and his ſon, who would not ſo much as riſe up to him, or give him any reſpect, thoug *Pompey* uſed him very civily. *Pompey* left him his inheritance of *Armenia*, with a great part alſo

And thence into *Scythia*.

Tygranes ſubmitteth to *Pompey*.

Patercul. l. 2. c. 37.

alſo of *Meſopotamia* (allowing the Son to reign in *Gordena* and *Sophena*, and expect the reſt after his Father's death) but deprived him of all the Provinces he had ſubdued, and fined him ſix thouſand Talents of Silver for the charge he had put the People of *Rome* to in the War. So, he not onely quitted part of *Cappadocia* and *Cilicia*, but alſo all *Syria* and *Phœnicia* from *Euphrates* to the Sea, which he had got into his hands, with part of *Cilicia*, after he had ejected *Antiochus Pius*, as it is ſaid before in the reign of this unfortunate King. *Tigranes* the Son was very refractory, unwilling his Father ſhould have the treaſure adjudged to him by *Pompey*, that he might be able to pay his fine. Being minded to make away his Father, and for that caſt into Priſon; where therein alſo he ſollicited the *Parthians* againſt the *Romans*, he was reſerved for a Triumph, and after that killed in Priſon. The old King payed more than his fine, and gave ſomething to every Officer and Soldier, after which he was accounted a Friend and Allie of the People of *Rome*.

The conditions ſet him.

Liv. Epitom. l. 101.

His rebellious Son put to death.

37. *Pompey* reſtored *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*, gave him alſo *Sophene* and *Gordene*, with *Cabala* a City of *Cilicia*, and others. After this with ſome adoe he forced the *Albanians* and *Iberians* to beg Peace, and then paſſing over the Mountain *Taurus*, made War upon *Antiochus Comagenus*, and alſo *Darius* the *Median*, either for that he had helped *Antiochus*, or made War againſt *Tigranes*, or *Aretas* King of the *Nabathæan Arabs*. Then *Phraates* the *Parthian* affrighted at this great atchievements begged Peace, which he granted not, but ſent *Afranius* into *Gordiene*, to drive out his forces, and reſtore it to *Tigranes*, who about it had warred with the *Perſian*. *Phraates* hereupon invaded *Armenia*, and *Tigranes* ſent to *Pompey* for aid, who being unwilling to begin a War with *Phraates* without an order from *Rome*, ſent three Commiſſioners to agree them. *Antiochus* ſon of *Antiochus Pius*, to whom *Lucullus* granted *Syria* his inheritance, thought firſt of betaking himſelf to the *Parthian*; yet upon ſecond thoughts, reſolved to caſt himſelf upon the good nature of *Pompey*. But he having obtained it without a ſtroak, put him beſide it, commanding him to content himſelf with *Comagena*, though he had never ill deſerved of the People of *Rome*: for knowing he was not able to right himſelf, he excuſed the matter, ſaying, it was not fit that *Syria*, whence *Tigranes* had baniſhed the poſterity of *Seleucus*, ſhould now rather fall to it being conquered, than to the *Romans*, who were *Conquerours*. He refuſed flatly to give *Antiochus* what before he could not keep (for he had layn in a corner of *Cilicia* fourteen years, all the time that *Tigranes* enjoyed it) leſt he ſhould again render it lyable to the incurſions of the *Jews* and *Arabians*. Therefore having overcome the *Ituræans* and *Arabians*, he reduced *Syria* into the form of a Province.

A. M. 3940.
V. C. 689.

Appian ut ſupra.
Dio l. 37.
Plutarch ut prius.

Pompey reduceth *Syria* into a *Roman* Province.

Appian.
Juſtin l. 40.
A. M. 3942.
Ol. 179. *an.* 2.
V. C. 691.
Seleucid. 250.

38. *Mithridates*, in the mean time had ſent to *Pompey* to ask Peace, offering to pay tribute; but being willed to come to him, he flatly refuſed, and made great preparations to renew the War. After this *Caſtor* his Governour of *Phanagoria* a Port Town of *Pontus* revolted, and calling the People to their liberty, took the Caſtle held by *Mithridates* his Sons, whereof four he ſent to *Roman* Garriſons. Hereupon ſeveral places fell off, which made him put many perſons to death, amongſt whom were divers of his own friends, and one of his Sons. Seeing alſo that many revolted, and his new Army had no heart to the ſervice, he ſent to the Princes of *Scythia* to haſten their ſupplies, ſending his daughters to them with a convoy of five hundred Horſe; but theſe men killing the Eunuchs who had moleſted them about the King, carried away the Women unto *Pompey*. Yet ſuch a courage ſtill he had, as to think of paſſing through *Scythia* and *Iſtria*, and joyning with the *Galls* of *Europe* to invade *Italy*, hoping there to find many enemies of the *Romans*; though *Pompey* coming out of *Syria* had through ambition done what he condemned in *Lucullus*, having reduced his Kingdom into the form of a Province, whilſt he was yet alive, and provided for new oppoſition. But his Army was ſtartled at the news of his intentions, hating the tediouſneſs of the journey, and having ſmall hope to conquer thoſe in *Italy*, whom at their own doors they could not withſtand. Yet ſuch was his authority, as for a while they were quiet, till his own Son whom he had moſt loved, and deſtined his ſucceſſor, became the procurer of their defection and his death.

Appian.

Mithridates deſigning in his mind great things,

39. This was *Pharnaces*, who either out of apprehenſion that this attempt upon *Italy* would cut off all pardon from his Family, or upon other grounds, conſpired againſt him. The Plot was diſcovered, and though his Complices were tortured and put to death, yet was he pardoned, and betook himſelf to the fugitive *Romans*, ſhewing them their danger in caſe *Italy* were invaded, and then to the Army, which with ſmall trouble he drew to his party. *Mithridates* coming to ſpeak to them, his

Oroſius l. 6. *c.* 5.
Dio lib. 37.
Florus l. 3. *c.* 5.
alii.

His Son *Pharnaces* draweth the Army from him.

his own guard forſook him, his Horſe as he fled was killed under him, and *Pharnaces* ſaluted King, having a piece of Parchment put about his head in form of a Diadem. *Mithridates* ſeeing this from a high room, ſent divers to ask leave to depart, who not returning, he himſelf often deſired it of his ſon, but in vain, who bidding him dye, he cried out, and prayed, that he might hear one day the ſame words from his own Children. Then came he down to his Wives, Daughters, and Concubines, to whom when he had given poyſon, fearing he ſhould be delivered up to the *Romans*, he took ſome himſelf; but having uſed much his body to Antidotes (ſuch as yet are named from him) it would not work, though he walked much for that purpoſe, whereupon he wounded himſelf, but this not diſpatching him ſoon enough, he called one *Bitætus* (or *Bithocus*) a *Gall*, who, the wall being broken, had got in, by whoſe hand partly, and partly by his own, he diſpatched himſelf. A man, as one ſaith, neither, without good heed, to be omitted nor ſpoken of; in War moſt eager and fierce, and alwayes of notable valour. Sometimes in fortune, all times in courage of higheſt rank; in direction a good Captain, in execution a good Soldier, in hatred to the *Romans* another *Hannibal*; finally, the greateſt King after *Alexander* in the judgment of *Cicero*. This end came he to, after the War had firſt commenced juſt twenty years; for it began when *Cn. Pompeius Strabo*, and *L. Porcius Cato*, and ended now when *M. Tullus Cicero* the Orator, and *C. Antonius Nepos* were Conſuls, in the 691 year of the City, the ſecond of the 179 *Olympiad*, and the firſt of the reign of *Hyrcanus*, 61 years before the birth of Chriſt. A. M. 3942.

He killeth himſelf.

A. M. 3942.
Patercul. l. 2. *c.* 18.

40. *Pompey*, when the firſt tidings of his death came to him, was near *Jericho*, marching towards *Jeruſalem* againſt *Ariſtobulus* King of *Judæa*, who had diſplaced his elder Brother *Hyrcanus* and uſurped the Kingdom. *Hyrcanus* complained of his Brother to *Pompey* at *Damaſcus*, who came thither to anſwer for himſelf. *Pompey* uſed them both kindly, telling them, that as ſoon as he had diſpatched ſome affairs he would come into their Country, which after he had ſetled *Syria*, ſubdued the *Arabians* with the *Ituræans*, and reduced *Pontus* into a Province, (all in a ſhort time) he now performed, being much incenſed by *Hyrcanus* againſt the other. He ſent to *Ariſtobulus* to come to him, and deliver up all his Holds, which he did with much regret, and afterwards withdrew himſelf to *Jeruſalem*, to prepare for War. *Pompey* ſuſpecting ſome ſuch matter, delayed not to follow him, who then came out to meet him; but though the City was entred without oppoſition, his Soldiers fortified the Temple and ſtood out, which made him be delivered into cuſtody. The Temple being very ſtrong by it's ſituation, was after much labour taken in the third money, *Fauſtus* the Son of *Sylla* having firſt mounted the Walls. Twelve thouſand *Jews* were ſlain, of the *Romans* very few. *Pompey* entred the Holy of Holies, but medled with nothing, reſtored *Hyrcanus* to the Prieſthood and Government (yet with command not to wear a Diadem) and took *Ariſtobulus* along with him, making *Judæa* tributary to *Rome*, as is more largely related in it's proper place. After this, leaving *Syria* with two Legions to *Scaurus* his *Quæſtor*, he fully ſubdued *Cilicia*, and thence returning into *Pontus*, ſetled things there, beſtowing the Kingdom of *Boſphorus* upon *Pharnaces*. At his return he wintred at *Epheſus*, whence having ſubdued many Princes, and joyned others as Allies to the State of *Rome*, having taken one thouſand Caſtles, nine hundred Cities, and reſtored thirty nine; having planted Colonies in eight Cities and Countries, and ordered the policy of ſuch as through the Continent of *Aſia* belonged to the *Romans*; and having magnificently rewarded his Soldiers he returned into *Italy*, and at *Rome* triumphed two dayes together very glorioſly, leading amongſt other Captives *Ariſtobulus* King of *Judæa*, after he had ſpent five years in his Eaſtern Expedition.

Pompey invadeth *Judæa*, where he ſetleth matters betwixt *Hyrcanus* and *Ariſtobulus* the two brothers.

Joſeph. Antiq. l. 15. *c.* 9. *& l.* 14. *c.* 5, *&c. & de bello l.* 10. *c.* 5.
Livius lib. 102.
Plutarch in Pompeio.
Tacitus Hiſtor. l. 5. *c.* 9.
Florus l. 3. *c* 5.
Dio l. 37. *p.* 36. *C.*

A. M. 3444.
V. C. 693.

41. The ſame year wherein *Mithridates* died, and the Temple of *Jeruſalem* was taken, hapned a moſt dangerous conſpiracy at *Rome*, by the means of *L. Sergius Catalina*, a *Patrician* by degree, but one of a debaucht and infamous life. Some years before he had been accuſed of inceſt with *Fabia* a *Veſtal Nun*; but by the means of *Catulus* was acquitted; ſuſpected alſo to have murdered his Son for the love of *Aurelia*, who would not marry one that had Children. Having contracted by this looſeneſs of life a vaſt debt, he grew deſperate, and ſought for power and command, that he might if poſſible obtain the Soveraignty over all; but being alſo ſuſpected hereof, he twice received a repulſe in ſtanding for the *Conſulſhip*. The later time it was carried from him by *Cicero*, whom he would have killed in the *Comitia*, and railed at as a foreiner and upſtart, becauſe he was born but of an Equeſtrian family at

The conſpiracy of *Cataline*.

Lege Salluſt. de Conjuratione Catalinæ.
Oroſium l. 6. *c.* 3. *&* 6.
Appian de bello civili lib. 2.
Dionem l. 37. *p.* 42. *E.*

Arpinum a Town in *Puglia*, a Province (now) of the Kingdom of *Naples*. Hereby driven into extream diſdain and rage, he fell into that courſe wherein formerly he had been ingaged with *Piſo* for the deſtruction of his Country, to whom alſo *L. Aurelius Cotta* and *L. Manlius Torquatus* (being denyed the *Conſulſhip* which they had ſought by indirect means two years before) joyned themſelves, and anew plotted the deſtruction of the *Conſuls* and *Senate*, the burning of the City, and overthrowing of the Commonwealth, with *Lentulus*, *C. Cethegus*, and others. This *Lentulus* had been *Conſul* ſeven years before, and now was *Prætor* (as alſo *Cethegus*) being driven on by a vain confidence he had in the Books of *Sibylla*, which he would often ſay did portend that the Soveraign power, ſhould be in the hands of three *Cornelii*, viz. *Sylla*, *Cinna*, and *himſelf*.

Velleium Patercul. l. 2. c. 34. 35.

Livii Epitom. lib. 103.

Diſcovered by the means of *Fulvia*.

42. The plot was diſcovered by *Fulvia* a Courtiſan, to whom *Q. Curius* one of the Conſpirators (a man that for his debaucheries had by the *Cenſors* been removed out of the Senate) blabbed it out, while he boaſted to her, that ſhortly he ſhould be a very conſiderable man. She gave intelligence to *Cicero*, who out of them two got the whole matter, how, and where they had met, and what deſigns they had in hand, particularly for his own deſtruction to be brought about by *L. Vaſgunteius* a Senator, and *C. Cornelius* of Equeſtrian rank, under pretence of a kind viſit. He appointed guards to the ſeveral parts of the City, and on the eighth of *November* (as the year then went) called the Senate together, whither came *Cataline* amongſt the reſt; but none of the Senators would come near him, ſo as that part of the bench whereon he ſate, was wholly void. *Cicero*, whether fearing him, or angry to ſee him there, made his firſt Oration againſt him, wherein he commanded him to depart the City. He went away late in the night with three hundred Armed men, and Lictors carrying Axes and Rods before him as a Magiſtrate, into *Etruria*, gathering Souldiers all along, intending to return and make prey of the City, which upon his departure he had given order to burn, as alſo to kill *Cicero*, which *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* took upon them to do, as ſoon as he ſhould come to *Fæſulæ*. In the mean time the Ambaſſadors of the *Allobroges*, who were come to Town to accuſe their Magiſtrates, were alſo drawn in, to ſtir up the *Galls* againſt the Commonwealth; but declaring it to *Fabius Sanga* their Patron (it was the cuſtom for each Nation or State to have one in the City) it came to *Tullie*'s ear, and ſo was prevented.

Cicero maketh his firſt Oration againſt him.

His ſecond.

Third.

Fourth.

Catalines complices put to death,

And he himſelf ſlain.

43. The day after *Cataline*'s departure, the Conſul made his ſecond Oration, wherein he congratulates the People, and Commonwealth, concerning his abſence. The Senate judged *Cataline* an Enemy, and *Manlius*, with whom in *Etruria* he had joyned; they deprived *Lentulus* of his Office, by whom the Ambaſſadors had been drawn in, who confeſſed they had often heard from him what he idlely conjectured out of *Sibylla*'s Books. *Cicero*'s third Oration declareth what was done in the Senate. The times being very dangerous, he propounded to the *Fathers* to conſider what courſe was to be taken with *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, *Stalius*, and *Caſſius*, all whom he having ſecured, this bred a great diſturbance; for the Slaves and Dependents of the two former got together a great company of Artificers, and indeavoured to break in upon the back-ſide of the *Prætor*'s houſe, and reſcue their Lords. This being known, the Conſul haſted out of the Senate-houſe, and appointed a watch to be ſet, then returning, asked the opinions of the Senators. *Silanus* deſigned Conſul for the enſuing year, being firſt asked his opinion, according to the cuſtom, was for putting them to death, and ſo were divers others, till *Nero* diſſwaded it, judging it better to ſecure them till *Cataline* were ſuppreſſed, and the thing better ſifted out. Of this opinion was *C. Julius Cæſar*, ſomething ſuſpected to be privy to the deſign. He would have them diſperſed in ſeveral Towns in *Italy* by the Conſuls appointment, afterwards to be tryed, and not put to death altogether unheard. This ſeemed very plauſible, till *Cato* (great Grand-Son to *M. Porcius Cato* the *Cenſor*) very earneſtly preſſed the contrary, falling foul upon *Cæſar* as a ſuſpicious perſon. Then the Conſul made his fourth Oration, wherein he ſo diſputeth of the two contrary opinions, as he evidently inclineth to ſeverity, as fearing what the guilty party might do the night following out of neceſſity and deſperation. Hereby the Senate was induced to put them to death as ſurprized in the fact, which *Cicero* ſaw done accordingly ere the houſe aroſe. After this *Cataline* was overtaken by C. *Antonius*, the other Conſul, near the *Alps*, as he was going into *Gall* to perfect his Levies, and there fighting moſt valiantly was ſlain. His men alſo fought it out to the laſt, ſcarcely one of them being taken. So was quaſht this moſt dangerous conſpiracy, by the vigilan-

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cy eſpecially of *Cicero* the Conſul, who wrote an Hiſtory thereof which is loſt. Publick thanks for his great care and pains were given to him, and, at the inſtance of *Cato*, with divers acclamations of the people, he was firſt of all others ſtiled *Father of his Country*.

C. Julius Cæſar beginneth to be eminent.

Lege Suetonium in Julio.

His birth.

The foundation of his Military ſkill.

Made Quæſtor.

44. Now began *C. Julius Cæſar* to be very eminent, two and was years after theſe ſtirs ſent as *Prætor* into the further *Spain*. He was born in the ſix hundred and fifty fourth year of the City, *C. Marius* the ſixth time, and *L. Valerius Flaccus* being Conſuls, the ſame that the Sedition about *Saturninus* hapned, on the twelfth day of the Month *Quinctilis*, afterward from him named *July* by *Antonius* his Law. His Father was *C. Julius Cæſar*, who never aroſe higher than the *Prætorſhip*, and dyed ſuddenly at *Piſæ*, as his ſhooes were drawing on in the morning: his Mother was *Aurelia*, the Daughter of *C. Cotta*; and *Julia* the Wife of *Marius* was his Aunt. In his youth having Marryed *Cinna's* Daughter (by which he had *Julia*) refuſing to put her away, he was in great danger, being with much adoe ſpared by *Sylla*, who as it were foretelling what trouble he would bring to the State, ſaid, that in *Cæſar* were many *Marii*. The foundation of his Military ſkill he laid in *Aſia*, under *M. Thermus* the *Prætor*, by whom being ſent into *Bithynia* to fetch away the Navy, he ſtayed with *Nicomedes* the King, to whom it was ſuſpected that he proſtituted himſelf. Afterwards in the taking of *Mitylene* he deſerved well, and ſerved under *Servilius Iſauricus* in *Cilicia*; but not long. For, hearing of *Sylla's* death, and hoping to make his fortune out of the diſſentions raiſed by *Lepidus*, home he came; but not finding a convenient opportunity, and having to no purpoſe accuſed *Dolobella*, to ſhun the Envy thereby contracted, he went to *Rhodes* to hear *Apollonius*, whence ſayling in Winter; he fell into the hands of Pirates, and was forced to purchaſe his freedom with fifty Talents; to revenge which, he procured ſome ſhips, and took ſome of them, whom he nailed to Croſſes, though without leave from the *Prætor*, who would have ſold them. After this he gave a ſtop to *Mithridates* his Lieutenant, and ſaved divers Cities in *Aſia*. He aſſiſted *Pompey* the Conſul, and others, in reſtoring the *Tribuneſhip* which *Sylla* had broken. Shortly after he was made *Quæſtor*, and ſent into further *Spain*, where going about to adminiſter Juſtice, he came to *Gades*, and ſaw *Alexanders* image in the Temple of *Hercules*. It troubled him exceedingly, to conſider that he himſelf had done no memorable thing at that age wherein *Alexander* had conquered the World, and thereupon he earneſtly deſired to be recalled, that being in the City, he might catch at ſome opportunity for his own advancement.

Joyneth with factious perſons.

Made *Ædilis*.

45. Having got leave to return ere his time was out, he joyned preſently with the *Latine* Colonies in demanding the freedom of the City, and had incited them to ſome deſperate deſign, but that the Senate for fear of the worſt, retained the Legions ſome time, which were raiſed for *Cilicia*. He was ſuſpected to have been of the party of *M. Craſſus*, of *P. Sulla* alſo, and *Autronius* (who having been deſigned Conſuls, were found to have indirectly ſought for the Office, and ſo according to Law forfeited their places to the diſcoverers) in the beginning of the year to ſet upon the Senate, and kill whom they pleaſed. *Craſſus* being made *Dictator*, he was to have been Maſter of the Horſe-men under him, and all things being ordered according to their pleaſure, the Conſulſhip was to have been reſtored to the other two. Some have affirmed (whom *Suetonius* citeth) that he alſo conſpired with *Cn. Piſo*, that the one in the City, and the other abroad, ſhould riſe, which was prevented by *Piſo's* death. Being after this *Ædilis*, he ſo managed the buſineſs of publick buildings, and ſhews, that all was aſcribed to him, and nothing to his Collegue; by which means, and others, he procured the favour of the People, and eſſayed by the Tribunes to get *Ægypt* aſſigned to him, which, now having expelled the King, he thought would afford him an opportunity of an extraordinary command. But he was croſſed by the great ones, whom that he might vex, he reſtored the Trophies erected by *Marius* over the *Cimbri*, which *Sulla* had cauſed to be pulled down, and ſuborned thoſe who accuſed *Rabirius*. By his means eſpecially the Senate had ſuppreſſed *Saturninus* the ſeditious Tribune, and now being brought before *Cæſar* as his Judge, he was ſo ſevere againſt him, that nothing ſo much helped the man in his appeal from him to the People.

Getteth by bribery the High Prieſthood.

46. After his repulſe as to *Ægypt* he ſtood for the *High-Prieſthood*, and by large ſums (ſuch corruption were thoſe times arrived at) bought ſo many voices as he carryed it from two moſt powerful men and his Seniors, having more ſuffrages out

Joyneth again with ſeditious men.

Goeth *Prætor* into *Spain*.

A. M. 3944. *V. C.* 693.

out of their two Tribes, than they had out of all the reſt beſides. Then being *Prætor*, he ſtood for the complices of *Cataline* ſo earneſtly, as he drew to his party the Brother of *Cicero* the Conſul, and divers others. After this he aſſiſted *Cæcilius Metellus* the *Tribune* in preferring turbulent Laws, till both of them by a decree of the Senate were diſplaced, and yet then would he ſit, and execute his Office ſtill, till forced to withdraw: then, out of policy he reſtrained the multitude which flocked to him, and offered to reſtore him by ſtrong hand, of which the Senate taking notice, gave him thanks with great commendations, and re-inveſted him in his Office. After this, he fell into another danger, being accuſed by *Vettius* and *Curius*, as a partner of *Cataline*; yet, appealing to *Cicero* that he had diſcovered ſomething to him, he came off, and revenged himſelf upon his accuſers. Then obtained he by lot, as we ſaid, the Government of *Spain*, and having contracted a vaſt debt, put off his Creditors for that time, by the interpoſition of ſureties. Coming into his Province he ſpent not his time in adminiſtring Juſtice, but pierced farther into the Country, and ſubdued certain people before this untouched, ſeeking matter for a Triumph, which then to obtain he haſted to *Rome*. But it being now the time for the *Conſular Comitia*, he had an extraordinary deſire to that Office, and begged of the Senate, that he might ſtand for it by proxy, for that he could not himſelf be preſent, it being againſt the cuſtom for any that was to Triumph to enter the City ere that day came; for which as yet he was not provided. This, though againſt the Laws, was not without precedent, but could not now be granted. Therefore he reſolved rather to loſe his Triumph than miſs of the *Conſulſhip*, and coming to Town, ſtood for it himſelf.

Obtaineth the Conſulſhip by the means of *Pompey*.

Idem ibid Plutarch in Pompeio, Cæſare, & Lucullo Velleius Patercul. l. 2. c. 20. Appian de bello civili lib. 2. Dio lib. 37. pag. 35. At Livii Epit. lib. 103.

49. Great conteſts hapned about this Office, and he had not carryed it, but that *Pompey* at this time ſtood in need of it. For, the great ones envying his fame, refuſed to confirm thoſe conditions which he had granted to the Kings, Governors, and Cities of *Aſia*. *Lucullus* his Predeceſſor in the War with *Mithridates*, who ſince his return had given up himſelf wholly to idleneſs and luxury (for he firſt brought into *Rome* the extravagancy of buildings and feaſting) they ſtirred up, by his authority to promote their oppoſition, and he preſently fell upon him, together with *Metellus Creticus*, who bore him malice alſo ever ſince the *Piratick* War. *Lucullus* bade him report his matters ſingly, and not as a Soveraign Lord expect they ſhould all be confirmed without any conſideration: and whereas he had reſcinded ſeveral of *Lucullus* his acts, he deſired of the Senate that this might be conſidered of, whether juſtly done or otherwiſe. *Cato*, *Metellus Celer*, the Conſul, and *Craſſus*, defended *Lucullus*, who boaſted that the victory over *Mithridates* was his own; and he obtained that his decrees which *Pompey* had repealed might be in force, and thoſe that *Pompey* made in reference to the Conquered Kings ſhould be null: and he hindred, by the help of *Cato*, a Law which he would have preferred about dividing grounds to his Souldiers. *Pompey* being thus uſed in the Senate, betook himſelf to the *Tribunes*, one whereof (*L. Flavius*) that the Law for the grounds might more eaſily paſs, would have given the ſuffrage to all Citizens, but *Metellus* the Conſul ſo earneſtly oppoſed it, that though the *Tribune* caſt him in priſon, yet would he not depart from his former ſence, which pertinaciouſneſs of him and others, when *Pompey* ſaw, he deſiſted, repenting too late that he had diſbanded his Armies, and expoſed himſelf thus to the malice of his Enemies.

Pompey and *Craſſus* Made friends, and they three make the conſpiracy, called the *Tricipitina*.

A. M. 3946. *Ol.* 180. *an.* 2. *V. C.* 695. *Hyrcani* 5.

48. At this time came *C. Julius Cæſar* to *Rome* to ſtand for the Conſulſhip. *Pompey* joyned with him, upon condition that he procuring the Conſulſhip for him, he would confirm his acts. And whereas *Pompey* and *M. Craſſus* had formerly been at odds ever ſince their joynt Conſulſhip which they executed with great diſcord; *Cæſar* now made them friends, and not only ſo, but they all three conſpired together, that nothing ſhould be done in the Commonwealth which diſpleaſed any one of them; which conſpiracy, ſay Writers, was pernicious to the City, the World, and at length to themſelves. This conſpiracy of theſe three principal perſons, *Varro* (who wrote four hundred and ninety Books) deſcribed in one Book, and called it τρικάρανον, *Tricipitina*, or *Three headed*. *Diodorus Siculus* fetcheth the Original of *Cæſarean* matters from this year, wherein he travelled into *Ægypt*, when young *Ptolomy Dionyſus* was King. With this conſpiracy alſo *Aſinius Pollio* begun his Hiſtory of the Civil War. For the falling out of *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, did not, as moſt have thought, procure the Civil Wars; but rather their Conjunction, which was deſigned to break in pieces the power of the Nobility, as *Plutarch* obſerveth in the life of *Cæſar*. This was the ſix

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hundred and ninety fourth year of the City, the firſt of the one hundred and eightieth *Olympiad*, *Herodes* being *Archon* at *Athens*, the fifty and eighth year before the birth of *Chriſt*, A. M. 3945. *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, and *L. Afranius* being Conſuls.

SECT. VI.

From the beginning of the Tricipitina or firſt Triumvirate, to the abſoluteneſs of Julius Cæſar.

Containing the ſpace of ſixteen years.

Cæſar and alſo his adverſaries purchaſe the Conſulſhip.

Velleius l. 2. c. 33. Appian belli civilis l. 2. p. 435. Strabo lib. 12. p. 558. Plutarch in Cæſare, Lucullo, & Pompeio. Livii Epitom. l. 10.

His acts therein.

By inveigling the People he procureth *Gall* for five years.

1. CÆSAR by the help of *Pompey* obtained the Conſulſhip; but not without the aſſiſtance of money alſo. There were two other Competitors, *L. Lucerius* and *M. Bibulus*, whereof he was much for the former, having agreed with him, that becauſe he was leſs in favour, but very rich, he ſhould give money for them both through the Centuries. But the Grandees underſtanding this, and fearing if he had him for his Collegue he might do what he liſted, they cauſed *Bibulus* to offer more, they themſelves contributing to the expence, which corruption *Cato* denyed not to be for the good of the Commonwealth, now brought by the means of ſuch evil members into abſolute danger and neceſſity. *Cæſar* confirmed *Pompey*'s acts according to agreement, neither *Lucullus* nor any other oppoſing it, and *Pompey* procured, that what honour *Lucullus* had promiſed to certain men of *Pontus*, ſhould not be confirmed by the Senate, filling the City with Souldiers, and by force caſting him and *Cato* out of the *Forum*. In this his firſt Conſulſhip he ſold alliances with *Rome*, and alſo Kingdoms; and, to procure the favour of the Commons, preferred a Law for dividing certain grounds in *Campania* (which had been preſerved to defray publick charges) to ſuch Citizens as had three children or more. This he cauſed to paſs by force, and compelled all *Plebeians* to ſwear to obſerve the Law, and the Senators alſo, though *Cato* urged them to refuſe; for they did it to ſave their lives, he having cauſed the People to decree, that it ſhould be capital for any to deny it. He had recourſe to the People in all caſes, making little uſe of the Senate, which he ſeldom called together. *Bibulus* his Collegue having oppoſed his actions for ſome time to no purpoſe, kept himſelf at home, and ſtirred not for the remaining part of the year. *Cæſar* then governed alone, and was much courted by the *Equites* or *Knights*, who having farmed the cuſtom, deſired an abatement of the rent. The Senate refuſed to remit any thing, but he did their buſineſs for them, procuring the People to abate a third part. By this and other wayes of ſhews and largeſſes, he ſo inveigled the multitude, that he got *Gall* to be decreed to him for five years, with four Legions, and for the remaining part of the year, ſpent it in ſeeking how to eſtabliſh himſelf for the time to come.

He marryeth his Daughter *Julia* to *Pompey*, and otherwiſe provideth for his own intereſt.

Euſeb.

2. Knowing how conſiderable a man *Pompey* was, to bind him faſter to him, he gave him in marriage his Daughter *Julia*. He procured two of his own creatures, *A. Gabinius* and *L. Calpurnius Piſo* (whoſe Daughter he had Marryed after *Cornelia*'s death) to be deſigned Conſuls for the following year, as alſo *Vatinius* and *Clodius* Tribunes, though the later had abuſed his Wife (for he was a perſon exceedingly looſe that way) having in womens clothes crept into the meetings proper only to that Sex, for which he was accuſed as a breaker of the ſacred cuſtoms by *Cicero*. He appeared not againſt him though he put away his Wife, nay he helped him to his place, as it's thought, out of oppoſition to the Orator (who was wont to declame againſt the combination of the three great ones, as pernicious to the Commonwealth) and in way of requital for the help he had afforded him in the procurement of *Gall*, whither, when the time of his Conſulſhip was expired, he departed. This year was *Titus Livius* the Hiſtoriographer born at *Padua*.

Clodius the Tribune.

3. *Clodius* out of malice to *Cicero* ſeeking for the *Tribuneſhip*, whereas he was a *Patrician*, thereby uncapable of the place, he procured himſelf to be adopted by a *Plebeian*, and ſo with the loſs of his former dignity obtained it. Then did he prefer a Law, that *whoſoever had put to death any* Roman *Citizen unheard, water*

and fire ſhould be forbidden him, which amounted to as much as baniſhment; and ſet *Cicero* his day of appearance, for putting to death *Cethegus*, *Lentulus*, and others of *Catalines* conſpiracy unheard. *Pompey* at firſt ſtood ſtifly for the accuſed, ſaying, he would rather dye himſelf than *Tully* ſhould be hurt; but *Cæſar* took him off, becauſe *Cicero* having deſired to go his Lieutenant into *Gall*, upon *Clodius* his ſeeming willing to be reconciled, had changed his reſolution, and hereby diſpleaſed him. This is certain, that he who was wont to defend others ſo earneſtly, was very timorous in his own cauſe (which hapned alſo to *Demoſthenes*) and choſe rather to depart the City, and late at night, than undergo his tryal, after that *Pompey* had forſaken him, and the Conſuls would give him little hopes. After his departure *Clodius* baniſhed him by decree of the People four hundred miles from *Italy*, demoliſhed his Villages and his Houſe, on the plot whereof he built a Temple to *Liberty*, and ſet his goods to ſale. He went to *Theſſalonica* a City of *Macedonia*, being by Letters of the Senate commended to ſuch Kings, or Governours, as into the Dominions of whom he might have occaſion to come.

Baniſheth *Cicero*.

A. M. 3947.
V. C. 696.

4. *Clodius* having thus rid himſelf of *Cicero*, for that *Cato's* preſence was very troubleſom to him, ſent him alſo out of the way, under colour of doing him honour. He preferred a Law againſt *Ptolomy* King of *Cyprus* (Brother to *Auletes* of *Ægypt*) for the ſpoiling him of all his eſtate, and reducing that Iſland into a the form of a Province, though this man had nothing ill deſerved. He was indeed very vicious, if that could have given them any right to what he had; but the truth was, *Clodius* had been taken by the *Pirates*, and ſending to him for money to redeem him, he would part but with two Talents, and therefore he took this occaſion to be revenged on him and *Cato* both together. The King hearing of *Cato's* coming, killed himſelf, and ſome ſaid that he caſt his treaſures into the Sea. *Cato* ſold his goods, and brought a great ſum of money into the treaſury. But, by this time *Pompey* repented that he had forſaken *Cicero*; for, *Clodius* wanting other matter now to work on, vexed all the great ones, and repealed ſome things which he had done, ſo that now he ſet himſelf to have him recalled. *Clodius* withſtood it, but thereupon the Senate paſſed a Decree, that nothing ſhould be heard before his reſtitution was propounded. *Lentulus* the Conſul propounded it on the *Calends* of *January*; but the matter being hindred, ſeveral wayes, was brought down to the People on the eighth before the *Calends* of *February*, where was great endeavour uſed by *T. Annius Milo* and *P. Sextius* two other Tribunes for his reſtitution. *Clodius* their Colleague taking ſome Fencers belonging to his Brother *Appius*, fell upon the multitude and killed many: The Tribunes were wounded, and *Q. Cicero* Brother of the baniſhed (newly returned from *Aſia*, which he had governed three years) lay for dead amongſt the ſlain. Now the People began ſeriouſly to bethink themſelves. *Milo* ventured to draw *Clodius* by force to judgment, and *Pompey* poſſeſſing himſelf of the *Forum*, put the People to their ſuffrages, who with univerſal conſent voted his reſtitution. The Senate decreed honour to ſuch Cities as had entertained him, and that his Houſe and Villages ſhould be re-edified at the publick charge. So *Cicero* who had been baniſhed the year before about the Calends of *April*, returned this year in the month *Sextilis*, or, the day before the Nones of *September*, and therefore was abſent about ſixteen months. As *Plutarch* more rightly computeth than * *Simpſon*, who ſtrangely forgetting himſelf, blaming him, for ſaying he returned in the ſixteenth month, contended that from the firſt of *April* to the month *Sextilis* or *Auguſt* of the following year, intervene but fourteen months. Now **P.** *Cornelius Lentulus* and *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* were Conſuls.

Sendeth *Cato* to ſpoil the King of *Cyprus* moſt unjuſtly of his eſtate.

Lege Plutarchum in Catone Minore.

Cicero recalled

A. M. 3948.

5. But *Cæſar*, as we ſaid, obtained of the People *Gall* within the *Alpes* and *Illyricum* with three Legions; and the Senate added *Gall* without the *Alpes* (which in part we now call *France*) with another Legion. This gave occaſion to a War of ſuch conſequence as none at this time was greater, and being deſcribed by the Captain himſelf in his celebrated Commentaries, we ſhall be more particular and large in the Account we are obliged to give of it. His firſt work was to repel the *Helvetii* (*les Helvetiens & Suiſſes*) who having burnt their Houſes and reſolved to ſeek out more convenient Habitations, intended to paſs over the *Rhone*, and ſo through his Province. But before he come to ſhew how this was done, at the entrance of his work he gives his Reader a ſhort deſcription of *Gall* in this manner.

The occaſion of the *Gallick* War, written by *Cæſar* himſelf.

6. All

Sect. 6.

His Geography of *Gall*.

Cæſar de Bello Gallico lib. 1.

6. All *Gall* is divided into three parts, whereof the *Belgæ* inhabit one, the *Aquitani* another, and thoſe which they call *Celtes*, and we (*Romans*) call *Galls* a third, all which, differ each from other in Maners, Language and Laws. The River *Garumna* or *Garonne* ſeperates the *Galls* from the *Aquitanes*, and *Matrona*, and *Sequana* (*Marne* and *Seine*) bound them from the *Belgæ*. The *Belgæ* are moſt Warlike as being at moſt diſtance from the Civility and Politure of the Province, and leſs frequented with Merchants or acquainted with ſuch things as are imported to render effeminate mens minds, as alſo being ſeated next to the *Germans* beyond the *Rhine*, with whom they have continual Wars. For which cauſe alſo the *Helvetians* excel the reſt of the *Galls* in valour, being in daily conflicts with the *Germans*, for defence of their own territories, or by invading theirs. The part inhabited by the *Galls*, begins at the River *Rhone*, and is bounded with the *Garonne*, the *Ocean* and the Confines of the *Belgæ*; and reaching alſo to the *Rhine* as a limit from the *Sequani*, it ſtretcheth Northward. The *Belgæ* take their beginning at the extreme Confines of *Gall*, and inhabit the Country which lyeth along the lower part of the *Rhine*, inclining to the *North* and the riſing Sun. *Aquitain* ſpreadeth it ſelf betwixt the River *Garonne* and the *Pyrenæan* Hills, as far as the *Ocean* which lyeth toward *Spain*, between the *West* and *North*.

Miſliked by *Monetus*.

Monetus Jeſuita in Geographia Galliæ veterus Recentiſq; ſegmenti Octavi Celticæ latercullo. 3.

7. This diviſion of *Gall* hath by reaſon of the Authority of the Author, been eſteemed a Rule for the Geography of that Country; and yet a late accurate Surveyor of it thinks himſelf obliged to hint ſeveral either faults in it, or miſtakes of thoſe that ordinarily read it. For, he contends that by all theſe words laid together it is not to be underſtood that *Cæſar* makes a threefold diviſion of *Gall*, but that the *Celtick* was twofold as including *Gallia Narbonenſis*, though not expreſſed. And he accuſeth *Cæſar* of want of diligence in aſſigning the Borders of *Gallia Celtica* towards the *East*, where he writes that *By the Sequani and Helvetii it reaches to the Rhine*, as if the *Sequani* in any part bordered upon the *Rhine*, or the *Helvetii*, at a further diſtance, were ſeated on that River. And as improperly he writes that the *Celtick Gall* took its beginning from the River *Rhone*. For the *Rhone* except in a very little tract at the Lake *Lemanus* gives no limit or bound to *Gall*, but perpetually cuts through it, from *Geneva* to the Sea of *Marſeilles*. Such faults *Monetus* findes with *Cæſars*'s beginning of his Commentaries, as to his Geography. And we ſhall ſee he makes other Exceptions to his Narratives, both as to Countries, Nations, and his very own Acts. Let us firſt hear as compendiouſly as we can what *Cæſar* ſaith.

Orgetorix ſtireth up the *Helvetians*.

8. Amongſt the *Helvetians Orgetorix* was moſt Eminent both for the Nobility of his Deſcent and Riches, and in the year when *M. Meſſala* and *M. Piſo* were Conſuls, out of ambition to reign, moved the Nobility to a Commotion, and perſwaded the State as an eaſie matter for them, who in valour excelled all other Nations, to invade their Neighbours with their whole power, and make themſelves Maſters of all *Gall*. He did the more eaſily perſwade them becauſe the *Helvetians* were ſhut up on every ſide, by the ſtrength and Nature of the place they inhabited. On the one ſide with the depth and breadth of the River *Rhine*, which divides their Country from *Germany*; on the other ſide with the high ridge of the Mountain *Jura* which runs betwixt them and the *Sequani*; and on the third part they were flanked with the Lake *Lemanus*, and the River *Rhone* parting their Territories from the Roman Province. Being thus ſtraightned they could not eaſily inlarge themſelves, or make War upon the bordering Countries; and thereupon being men wholly bent to Arms, and War, were diſcontented as having too little roome for their multitude of People, and the fame they had obtained for their valour; their Country containing two hundred and forty miles in length, and in breadth one hundred and eighty. They reſolved to make preparation for an Expedition, for which purpoſe they bought a great number of Carts and Horſes for Cariages, ſowed much Corn that they might have plenty in their Journey, and made peace with the confining Countries. For this they thought two years would be ſufficient, and in the third inforced their ſetting forward by a ſolemn Law, appointing *Orgetorix* to give order for what remained.

9. Here we ſee that the ſtraitneſs of their Country, and its inability to nouriſh and ſuſtain their Multitudes, was the great motive of this deſign of the *Helvetians*, as the like hath been to moſt other Nations for tranſmigration; and if *Monetus* be heard, they had much more reaſon afforded from that inconvenience than *Cæſar* imagined. For, whereas he here writes that their Country contained two hundred

dred and forty miles in length, and one hundred and eighty in breadth, he affirms him to make it bigger by two thirds than it really was. Indeed the *Helvetians* themſelves in their Geographical Carts give out that from the Town of *Geneva* to the *Acronian*, or *Lake of Conſtance*, may be found the length aſſigned by *Cæſar*, and from *Jura* and the *Rhine* to the *Alps* that border upon them, the breadth of eighty miles; but he affirms they will never prove it to any Foreigner that knows the ways, but that their firſt aſſertion exceeds all belief. Then they challenge that Country lying at the roots of the *Alps* which the *Rhæti* (*Griſons*) the *Nantnates* and *Lepontii* will not yield them, as neither will the *Latobrigi* (* *Vaudois* or *Vauſſois*) that are adjacent to the Lake *Lemanus*, the Confederates indeed of the *Helvetians*, but not of their Body or Nation. To the *Latobrigi* he ſaith, of right belongeth as far as from the Mountain *Jura* and the Weſt, to the *Veragri* and the Eaſt, whatſoever ground lyeth upon the Lake, as far as the Region of *Berne* toward the North; although *Cæſar* in his running diſcourſe, and intent upon ſomething elſe, aſſignes it all to the *Helvetians*. But he either having ſeen theſe places but once, and but for a few dayes, or diſturbed with the noiſe and cares of the *Helvetian* War, or for that, after the *Gallick* and *Civil* Wars were over, he publiſhed his Commentaries at a long diſtance, ſpeaks little conſiderately and accurately of this Country and many others.

* *Peuple du pais de Vaux.*

And they other people.

10. But *Orgetorix*, ſtill acted by his ambitious deſign, communicated it to two of his Neighbours, and perſwaded *Caſticus* one of the *Sequani*, and *Dumnorix* one of the *Ædui*, to ſet up alſo for themſelves, and get the Soveraignty of their Countries. But his practiſes were diſcovered, and when he ſhould have been called to account he was found dead, not without ſuſpicion that he killed himſelf. However the *Helvetians* purſued their former deſign of leaving their Country; and when they thought themſelves prepared, ſet fire to all their Towns, in number twelve, and four hundred Villages, beſides private Buildings, and burnt all the Corn but what they carried along with them, that all hope of return being taken away, they might the more readily undergo all hazards; and order was given that every man ſhould carry with him ſo much meal as would ſuſtain him for three moneths. They perſwaded the *Rauraci*, *Tulingi*, and *Latobrigi* to do the like and go along with them; as alſo the *Boii*, who once dwelt beyond the *Rhine*, but were now ſeated in the Territories of the *Norici*, and had taken the Capital Town of that Country. There were only two wayes which gave them paſſage out of their Country, the one through the *Sequani* very narrow and difficult, between the Hill *Jura* and the River *Rhone*, through which a ſingle Cart could hardly paſs, and having an high Mountain hanging over, ſo that a ſmall force might eaſily hinder them: The other was through the *Roman* Province far eaſier and readier, the River *Rhone* running betwixt the *Helvetians* and the *Allobroges* (who lately had been brought into obedience to the People of *Rome*) giving paſſage in divers places by Fords. Now the utmoſt Town belonging to the *Allobroges*, and bordering upon the *Helvetians* was *Geneva*, where there was a Bridg leading to the *Helvetians*. They doubted not to perſwade the *Allobroges* (who ſeemed yet but little affected to the people of *Rome*) or at leaſt to force them to give them paſſage. Being now ready for a march, they appointed a day whereon to meet on the Banks of *Rhone*, which was on the twenty fifth of *March*, *L. Piſo* and *A. Gabinus* being Conſuls.

11. Here *Monetus* again reprehends this great Man as unskilfully delivering that there were onely two ways through which the *Helvetians* could paſs to their Neighbour Nations, ſo as to come to the Country of the *Santones*, on which they intended to ſeize. It's certain, ſaith he, that the *Allobroges* both then and now were paſſable by two ways, as well by the *Helvetians* as other Nations, and thoſe leading through the Borders of the *Latobrigi*; and that the *Sequani* were paſſable by as many; of which certainly the *Helvetians* would have choſen the moſt commodious. Of the two ways leading from the *Latobrigi* to the *Allobroges*, one lies beneath the Weſtern Head of the Lake *Lemanus* and *Geneva*, through which the *Helvetians* attempted to paſs, as ſhorter; where yet the *Rhone* is ſeldome fordable, as always ſwelling with the waters flowing out of the Lake; and the other lies above the Eaſtern Head of the Lake in the Territories of the *Veragri*, where the *Rhone* is not deep, but eaſily fordable. From the *Latobrigi* alſo to the *Sequani* lies two ways. That of which *Cæſar* ſpeaks at the root of the Mountain *Jura* and the right hand Bank of the River *Rhone*; and another almoſt ſix leagues diſtant from it, toward the Weſt, in the Straits of *Jura*, leading to *Pons Ælius*, now *Pontarlier*

and *Veſontio*, or *Bezanzon*. And beſides there was ſtill another leading from the *Helvetians* to the *Sequani*, and that was through the Territories of the *Tulingi* their Conſederates, the moſt large and even, but longer and more turning than the reſt, by the Confines of the *Lingones* and *Ædui*. And ſo there were not onely two, but five ways, by which the *Helvetians* might have paſſed out of their own Bounds, as well by the *Sequani* as *Allobroges* contrary to what *Cæſar* delivers, who is neither more to be believed when he writes that the *Rhone* runs betwixt the Borders of the *Helvetians* and *Allobroges*, giving paſſage in certain places by Fords. For the *Rhone* doth not touch the *Helvetians* but the *Latobrigi*; as alſo doth the Lake *Lemanus*: and as for the *Latobrigi*, though in this Expedition and War they were aſſociate to the *Helvetians*, yet were they no portion of their Nation, *Cæſar* himſelf being witneſs where he delivers, that the *Helvetians* perſwaded them, as alſo the *Rauraci* and *Tulingi* their Neighbours to joyn with them in the Expedition. Moreover what he writes concerning the *Rhone* being fordable near to its paſſage out of the Lake *Lemanus*, will not eaſily go down with any that are acquainted with thoſe places. But to proceed.

They ſend to *Cæſar* to deſire a paſſage.

He denies them.

12. *Cæſar* having notice of the deſign of the *Helvetians* poſted from *Rome* into *Gall*, and came to *Geneva*, where he brake down the Bridge, and raiſed Forts throughout the Province, there being but one Legion in thoſe parts. They having intelligence of his Arrival ſent their Ambaſſadors, the choiceſt of their Nobility, to deſire his permiſſion to paſs peaceably through the Province, having no other way to go. But he remembring how *L. Caſſius* the Conſul was ſlain, his Army defeated, and his Soldiers put under the Yoke, thought it not fit to grant their requeſt; for he did not think that men ſo ill affected would forbear to offer wrongs and injuries, if permitted. However for the better gaining of time, and raiſing ſufficient Forces, he took ſpace to deliberate till the Ides of *April*. And in the mean time with that Legion he had ready, and the Soldiers that came out of the Province, he made a Ditch and a Wall of ſixteen foot in height from the Lake *Lemanus* that runneth into the *Rhone*, to the Hill *Jura*, which divideth the *Sequani* from the *Helvetians*, being in length nineteen miles. The work being perfected, he diſpoſed Gariſons, and fortified Caſtles to hinder them if they went about to break out by force. At the day appointed for return of the Ambaſſadors he utterly denied to give any leave to paſs through the Province, as having neither Cuſtom nor Precedent from the People of *Rome* to warrant him in that kind. And if by force of Armes they would indeavour it, he ſaid he ſhould uſe his endeavour to oppoſe them. Here again *Monetus* asks the queſtion what need there was of ſo long a Wall and Ditch, ſeeing that *Cæſar* a little before had ſaid, that this Paſſage was ſo ſtraight that a ſingle Cart could ſcarcely get through it? Was it for that he would draw this Fortification from the Bank of the Lake toward the inward Champion of the *Latobrigi*, the better to keep off the *Helvetians* from paſſing the Fords of the *Rhone*, and from the Town of *Geneva*? But a little after *Cæſar* ſhall confeſs openly that the *Helvetians* entred theſe Fords, and yet broke not through his Fortifications; and when he ſo writes will manifeſtly contradict himſelf. Let us hear it as it comes in order.

They attempt a paſſage in vain.

13. The *Helvetians* fruſtrated of their former hope, went about, ſome with Boats joyned together, others with Flats whereof they made ſtore, and the reſt by Fords where the River was ſhallow, ſometimes in the day and oftentimes by night, to break out; but being beaten back by the help of the Fortification, the concourſe of Soldiers and multitude of Weapons, deſiſted from that attempt. Now, ſaith *Monetus*, the Northern Bank of the Lake *Lemanus*, and the declining Horn of the Mountain *Jura*, by this their vicinity make that Region of the *Latobrigi*, whom *Cæſar* not rightly calleth *Helvetians*, of the form of a Wedge, through which the Wall that was nineteen miles in length muſt be drawn in a tranſverſe line, at diſtance from the ſtraights of the ſaid Wedge, and the *Rhone* at that place iſſuing out of the Lake *Lemanus*, from the Mountain *Jura* to *Lemanus*, towards the inward Regions of the *Latobrigi*; that by that Fortification the *Helvetians* might be excluded from that other way that lay to the *Sequani*, more remote from the ſtraights of that way. But beyond that Wall fortified with a Ditch on this ſide at a longer diſtance the Weſtern Head of *Lemanus* was left, and from that Head the *Rhone* iſſueth forth, which being ſo, let us ſee, ſaith he, how little conſiſtent *Cæſar* is with himſelf, who muſt neceſſarily be ſaid to have ſpoken contradictions, or elſe at that time the ſite of *Jura*, *Lemanus* and the *Rhone* were otherwiſe than now, although he repreſents it the ſame as at this day is found. For, if when the *Helvetians*

vetians indeavoured to gain the Bank of the *Rhone*, they were prevented by a Ditch and a Wall lying ſo far before it, and yet this Fortification was not broken thorough by them, (the Legions driving them back from it.) then muſt the *Helvetians* by flying in the Air or by paſſages under ground, have got to the *Rhone* ſo fortified, and attempted their paſſage by Boats joyned together, the *Romans* being utterly ignorant which way they came. But if that Fortification of *Cæſar* was on this ſide the Paſſage of the *Rhone*, from the Lake, and conſequently on this ſide the whole Bank of that Lake, why is it ſaid that a Wall was raiſed from *Lemanus* as far as the Mountain *Jura*? And why ſo long a Wall in ſo ſtraight a Paſſage, that a ſingle Cart could ſcarcely paſs through it? Then with what prudence could *Cæſar* raiſe a Wall of Stone on this ſide, and not beyond the River, of which he deſired to have the Command, and ſo might, his deſign being aſſiſted by the great convenience of the ſoil?

14. There was only another way left (*Cæſar* proceedeth) through the *Sequani*, which they could not paſs, it was ſo narrow, but by the favour of the Country. They themſelves could little prevail as to that matter, and therefore they ſent to *Dumnorix* an *Æduan* to deſire his mediation, who having married the Daughter of *Orgetorix* an *Helvetian*, being of good authority in his Country, and ambitious of Dominion, undertook the buſineſs and procured them leave to paſs, each Nation giving the other pledges, that the *Sequavi* ſhould not interrupt the *Helvetians* in their Journey, nor they offer any injury to the Country. *Cæſar* now having intelligence that they would paſs through the Territories of the *Sequani* and *Ædui* on the Confines of the *Santones*, who were not far diſtant from the borders of the *Tholoſans*, a People of the Province, and knowing how ill the conſequences might be, left *T. Labienus* his Lieutenant to defend the Fortifications and poſted into *Italy*, where he raiſed two Legions and took three more out of their Winter quarters, near to *Aquileia*, with which five Legions he haſted back again into *Gall*, and though oppoſed in his return by certain Nations, got into the Country of the *Allobroges*, and ſo into that of the *Sabuſians* that were the firſt beyond the *Rhone*, bordering upon the Province. By this time the *Helvetians* having paſſed the Straights and Frontiers of the *Sequani*, waſted the Country of the *Ædui*, who thereupon ſent and complained to *Cæſar*, as alſo did the *Arabarri*, who had alliance and dependency with the *Ædui*. In like manner did the *Allobroges* quit their farms and poſſeſſions beyond the *Rhone*, and fled to him, complaining they had nothing left but the ſoile of the Country. *Cæſar* therefore ſeeing it was not convenient to linger any further, till the Allies of *Rome* were ſpoiled of their fortunes and ſtrength, and the *Helvetians* were come to the *Santones*, when he heard that they were to paſs the *Arar* (*Soane*) runing through the Confines of the *Ædui* and *Sequani*, about the third Watch of the Night he fell upon them with three Legions, and ſurprized part of them, which had by the aſſiſtance of Flats and bridges made of Boats got over; ſlew many of them, and the reſt eſcaped to the woods. Of the four Cantons into which the *Helvetians* were diſtinguiſhed, this was the *Tigurine* (of *Zurick*) which Canton alone had formerly ſlain *L. Caſſius* the Conſul, and put his Army under the yoak. But now *Cæſar* took revenge not only for the publick, but his particular loſs, for in that battel with *Caſſius* they ſlew alſo *L. Piſo* the Grand-Father of *L. Piſo* his Father in Law.

They are defeated by *Cæſar*.

15. Now as *Cæſar* purſued the *Helvetians*, ſo *Monetus* purſues him. Here he ſaith he layes down two things that look little like truth, whereof one is that leave was obtained for the *Helvetians* to paſs through the Country of the *Sequani* by the mediation of *Dumnorix* the *Æduan*; the other is the ſtory of their paſſage through the inward Territories of the *Sequani*; not by the outward ſtraights of the Mountain *Jura*, and the *Rhone* which they neither paſſed by Fords nor Boats. The firſt he ſaith, he ſhall never perſwade a prudent man to believe. For it was not in the power of the *Sequani* to grant them leave, who were then after a ſervile manner oppreſſed by *Arioviſtus*, a moſt proud *German* King, who would never have ſuffered the Armed *Helvetians*, a moſt numerous and fierce People to have paſſage throgh his Dominions. To obtain this leave, the Addreſs was not to be made to the *Sequani*, who had no power over their Countries, or themſelves in their own hands, but to *Arioviſtus*, from whom there could be no hope, that leave ſhould be obtained. But of this fiction convenient for the time, *Cæſar* ſerved himſelf, to prevent the diſgrace that muſt fall upon him and his men, the *Helvetians* having broken through his fortifications, during his abſence in *Italy*. For its both

falſe and fabulous to believe that they paſſed through the Straits of *Jura* to *Pons Ælius*, and *Veſontio*, without acquainting *Arioviſtus*, and that the *Sequani* durſt attempt it, or could obtain leave. But *Cæſar* was aſhamed to acknowledge that the *Helvetians* in his abſence broke through his Trenches, and thence conceived great hatred againſt them, and to be revenged, obſtinately purſued them which way ſoever they turned from him, and the *Roman* Province through the Territories of the *Ædui*. Two things perſwade that they paſſed between *Jura* and the *Rhone*. They would not venture to provoke *Arioviſtus*, nor endanger being ſtopped by him in their Journey. And the way by the *Rhone* was better and ſhorter, and one only Legion at the Wall, eſpecially in the abſence of *Cæſar*, could not hinder their paſſage. Their paſſage through theſe Straits is atteſted by their waſting of the Territories of the *Sebuſiani*, *Ambarri*, *Ædui*; and the complaints thereof made to *Cæſar*, but no devaſtation made in the borders of the *Sequani*. But for certain Reaſons he adds moſt things are otherwiſe written by *Cæſar* than indeed they were, of which we ſhall admoniſh the Reader in our Commentations, as fit occaſion preſents it ſelf. So bold is *Monetus*, and bold he is indeed as well in his own aſſertions as refuting what hath been written by others. It were well if he were as perſpicuous.

16. *Cæſar* after this overthrow, paſſed the River *Arar* and carryed over his Army, to purſue the reſt of the *Helvetian* Army. They much daunted at his ſudden coming, ſent their Ambaſſadors (for he had got over the River in one day which they could ſcarcely paſs in twenty) who yet, as the cuſtom is, were not wanting to urge all the Conveniences on theirs, and all the inconveniences on the other ſide. *Cæſar* made anſwer ſuitable to the ſtate of his Affairs, and *Divico* chief of the Ambaſſadors replyed with ſo little ſatisfaction, that the next day they removed their Camp, and ſo alſo did *Cæſar*. But he ſent all his Horſe before, to the number of four thouſand, which he had raiſed in the Province, and drawn from the *Ædui* and their Aſſociates. This was to eſpy which way the Enemy took, and they falling in upon the Reere, were forced to ingage with the Cavalry of the *Helvetians* in a diſadvantagious place, and thereby loſt ſome few of their Company. With this ſucceſs they were elevated, and thereupon ſeveral times made Sallies. But *Cæſar* kept back his men, judging it enough for the preſent to keep the Enemy from harrying and ſpoiling the Country, and for fifteen dayes ordered his march in ſuch a manner, that there were not above five or ſix miles betwixt his Army and the Reere of theirs. In the mean time *Cæſar* finding no forage, preſſed the *Ædui* daily to bring in Corn, according to their promiſe; for, the River *Arar* ſtood him in ſmall ſtead at that time, by reaſon that the *Helvetians* had taken their Journey, clear from the River, and he would by no means forſake them. But the *Ædui* delayed to bring any in, and thereupon *Cæſar* called to him beſides others, their chief Magiſtrates (who had the Name of *Vergobret* and power of life and death over their Subjects) for this year *Divitiacus* and *Liſcus*, whom he blamed exceedingly for not ſupplying him in ſuch a place and condition, where he could have none elſe, and when for their ſake, and at their requeſt he had undertaken the War.

17. *Liſcus* gave out ſuch words as hinted that *Dumorix* the Brother of *Divitiacus*, though a private perſon, had more Authority with the People, than they the Magiſtrates, and having ambitious deſigns was a great Enemy to the *Romans*. *Cæſar* in the Aſſembly would not make any inquiry, but privately got the whole matter out of him; how by keeping Taxes low he had obtained his wealth and Authority at home, and by Marriages Contracted friendſhip with other Nations. How he wiſhed well to the *Helvetians*, but hated the *Romans*, and eſpecially *Cæſar*, becauſe that by their coming into *Gall*, his power was weakned, and *Divitiacus* his Brother reſtored to his antient Honour and Dignity. Beſides this it was found that the route of *Cæſars* Horſe came by his means, for he commanded the Troops which the *Ædui* ſent to his Aſſiſtance, and from their diſorder the reſt of the Cavalry took the fright. He had a great mind to puniſh him, but durſt not do it without acquainting his Brother, who upon breaking it to him, burſt out into tears, imbraced *Cæſar*, and though he had deviſed the ruine of him as well as of the *Romans*, yet he obtained that he ſhould be ſpared as well for Brotherly affection, as for avoiding a general alienation and diſtaſt of *Gall*. *Cæſar* now having intelligence that the *Helvetians* were lodged under an Hill, ſent a party to get poſſeſſion of the Top; but by the Cowardiſe of *P. Cauſidius*, one who had been counted a great Souldier in the Army of *L. Sylla*, and afterwards with *M. Craſſus*, was prevented of his purpoſe. He commanding the Diſcoverers his fear cauſed him

to imagine that the *Helvetians* were poſſeſſed of the Top, and ſo acquainted *Cæſar*; whereas *Labienus* who was ſent for that purpoſe, had gained it, and in vain expected *Cæſar* to come and aſſiſt him, according as they had agreed. The Enemy being diſlodged, *Cæſar* followed and incamped within three miles of him; the day following the Army being to be paid in Corn. Two dayes after being but eighteen miles diſtant from *Bribracte* (the ſame with *Auguſtodunum*, *Auguſta Julia Æduorum*, *Flavia*, *Florentia* and *Pollia*, now *Autun* in the Duchy of *Burgundy*) a great and opulent City of the *Ædui*, he turned aſide from the *Helvetians* and made towards it.

Cæſar marcheth toward *Bibracte*.

18. Hereupon the *Helvetians* turned back, and fell upon the *Romans* in their Reer, which *Cæſar* perceiving, drew his Forces to the next Hill, and ſent his Horſe to ſuſtain the charge of the Enemy. In the middle of the Hill he made a triple Battel of four Legions of old Souldiers. Upon the higheſt ridge he placed two other Legions newly raiſed, together with the Aſſociate Forces. The whole Front of the Hill he filled with men, and beſtowed the Carriages ſo as to be guarded by the uppermoſt Battalions. The *Helvetians* alſo placed their Carriages for beſt ſecurity, and having beaten back *Cæſars* Horſe with a thick thronged Squadron, put themſelves into a *Phalanx*, and preſſed under the firſt Battel of the Legions. To take away all hope of flight, he ſent away firſt his own Horſes and then the reſt, and after ſome incouraging words, began the Battel. His Souldiers with the advantage of the Hill, by their Piles, eaſily brake the *Phalanx*, and then with their Swords came to a furious cloſe. The Piles of the *Romans* falling on the Targets of the *Galls*, ſtruck them through and joyned them together, ſo that they were glad to caſt them away, and retreat to an Hill a mile off. Thither they were purſued, and a furious charge was made on both ſides, not one man being ſound to have turned his Back, although the fight continued from one a clock, till the Evening. And it was kept ſtill on Foot, at the Carriages of the *Helvetians*, till it was far in the Night, and then after a long Conflict the Baggage was taken together with their Camp, and therein a Son and a Daughter of *Orgetorix*. About one hundred and thirty thouſand perſons were ſaved out of the Battel, who, marching all the Night, came the fourth day into the Confines of the *Lingones*; there being no purſuit made after them, by reaſon of the wounds of the Souldiers, and the burial of the ſlain wherein three dayes were ſpent.

Gives the *Helvetians* a great Overthrow.

19. *Cæſar* ſent to the *Lingones* (*les Langrois*) forbidding they ſhould ſupply them with any ſort of neceſſaries, or he would eſteem of them as of the *Helvetians* themſelves, and after three dayes followed with all his Forces. The *Helvetians* ſeeing in what condition they were, ſent to treat of their rendition, and then were commanded to come up to that place, and there attend his pleaſure. He required their Arms, their Servants, and Hoſtages to be delivered up, as alſo the fugitives. But while theſe things were performing, about ſix thouſand men of the Canton called *Verbigene*, either out of deſpair of Life, or hoping to eſcape in ſuch a multitude, in the beginning of the Night, left the *Helvetian* Camp, and made towards the *Rhine*, and the *German* Confines. *Cæſar* commanded thoſe through whoſe Territories they paſſed to bring them out, as they alſo tendered his diſpleaſure, and being brought back, dealt with them as Enemies. All the reſt, the conditions performed, he received to mercy, and commanded then the *Tulingi* and *Latobrigi* to return into their Countries. He ordered the *Allobroges* to ſupply them with Corn, and willed the *Helvetians* to reedifie their Cities and Towns, that the *Germans*, invited by the richneſs of the ſoil, might not remove thither and become near Neighbours to the Province of *Gall* and the *Allobroges*. The *Ædui* deſired that they might take the *Boij*, knowing them to be men of great Valour, to dwell in their Country, and he permitting it, they gave them lands, and the ſame liberties and privileges as they themſelves injoyed.

Who yield themſelves.

20. In the *Helvetian* Camp was found a Liſt or Regiſter written in *Greek*, Containing by Pole the whole Number that left their Country; how many of them were able to bear Arms, and the Boyes, Old Men and Women were alſo inrolled by themſelves. The Summary whereof was, that the whole Number of the *Helvetians* amounted to two hundred ſixty and three thouſand; of the *Tulingi* to thirty ſix thouſand, the *Latobrigi* to fourteen; the *Rauraci* to twenty three, and the *Boij* to thirty two. Of theſe there were that bare Armes ninety two thouſand, and the Total of all was three hundred and ſixty eight thouſand. A view being taken by *Cæſars* appointment of thoſe that returned home, there were found one hundred and ten thouſand perſons. So many *Cæſar* ſaith he found, which if ſo

Monetus finds fault both with his Narrative and his Cruelty. Its certain, he writes, both from *Cæſar* and others, that from the Mountain *Jura* to the *Rauraci* on this ſide the *Rhine*, is the longeſt extent of the *Helvetian* Borders, which yet is not an Interval of thirty *French* Leagues, or ſixty *Roman* Miles; and as for the breadth, their Territories were much more Contracted where moſt large. Whence neceſſarily either *Cæſar* or his Books have been abuſed, and whence alſo it may be gathered, that two hundred and ſixty three thouſand Souls could hardly proceed out of ſo ſmall a Country. And whereas he writes that after the Battel of the three hundred and ſixty thouſand *Helvetians* and Aſſociates, only one hundred and thirty thouſand perſons remained, it follows that the Number of the Armed men being but ninety two thouſand, there muſt have been killed by him almoſt two hundred thouſand perſons that were weak, helpleſs or unfit for War. By this he muſt have procured great Infamy for his Cruelty, or elſe there is a great miſtake and error Committed by him in his Account, or by the Tranſcribers of his Copies.

The Eſtates of *Gall* open to him the condition thereof.

21. But the Eſtates of *Gall*, he ſaith, Congratulated his victory, and procuring leave to call an Aſſembly, after they had conſulted together deſired ſecrecy, and by their Deputies revealed to him their grief. *Divitiacus* the *Æduan* told him, that *Gall* was divided into two Factions; that the *Ædui* were the Head of the one, and the *Arverni* of the other, each contending many years for the Principality. The *Arverni* with the *Sequani* their Clients hired the *Germans* to take their Part, of whom one hundred and twenty thouſand had paſſed the *Rhine*, with that ſucceſs that the *Ædui* oppoſing them received an utter overthrow, both of Nobility and Senate. With theſe loſſes they were ſo broken, that having formerly ſtruck a great ſtroke throughout *Gall*, they were now forced to deliver up the chiefeſt of their State to the *Sequani*, and to bind themſelves by Oath never to ſeek their releaſe or freedom, nor the aid of the People of *Rome*, nor uſe means to free themſelves from their Soveraignty. Only he himſelf refuſed to take the Oath, and give up his Children, but fled to *Rome* and craved aid of the Senate. Yet for all this, the victory became more grievous to the *Sequani* than to the *Ædui*; for *Arioviſtus* King of the *Germans* was planted in their Territories, and being already poſſeſſed of a third part of their Country (the beſt part of *Gall*) now required them to forgoe another third part, for twenty four thouſand *Harudes*, who being lately come over to him, Lands and Poſſeſſions were now to be allotted them. By this means it would come to paſs in ſhort time that all the *Galls* would be driven out by the *Germans*, who were allured by the goodneſs of the Country, betwixt which and theirs there was no compariſon. *Arioviſtus* having once defeated the *Galls* in Battel proved a cruel Tyrant, whom they could not bear, but muſt forſake their Habitations, as the *Helvetians* did, if *Cæſar* and the People of *Rome* by their Authority or Arms afforded them no relief, and hindred not the *Germans* from tranſporting any more Colonies into *Gall*. But if *Arioviſtus* ſhould know any thing of this Complaint, he would rage cruelly againſt them, eſpecially the *Sequani*, who were in his Power.

He undertakes their quarrel againſt *Arioviſtus* the German King.

22. *Cæſar* diſmiſſed them with good words, and concluding that it was neither honourable nor ſafe for the People of *Rome* to have ſuch troubleſom Neighbours as the *Germans*, and eſteeming the inſolency of *Arioviſtus* intolerable, reſolved to prevent ſuch miſchief with all ſpeed. He ſent to him to appoint ſome indifferent place for a Parly about ſome publick affairs which nearly concerned them both. To this he anſwered, that had his occaſions required *Cæſars* aſſiſtance, he would have farthered them with his own preſence, and he thought it as reaſonable, that if it were in his power to pleaſure the *Romans*, *Cæſar* ought not to think much of the like labour. He ſaid plainly he durſt not come into thoſe parts of *Gall* which were in *Cæſars* Hands, without an Army; and that an Army was not to be drawn up without much trouble and expence. The thing he moſt wondered at was, that *Cæſar* had to do in that part of *Gall* which the Law of Armes had made his Inheritance. Now the Reader muſt know, that in *Cæſars* Conſulſhip the People of *Rome* had vouchſafed to eſteem of *Arioviſtus* as a King in his Dominions and as of a Friend to their Commonwealth. *Cæſar* therefore returned, that for as much as he ſo requited the honour done to him by the State and himſelf, he would let him know that he required, that he ſhould not tranſport any more Troops of *Germans* over the *Rhine* into *Gall*. In the next place, that he ſhould deliver up the Hoſtages of the *Ædui*, and ſuffer the *Sequani* to do the like, and ceaſe all Hoſtilities againſt the *Ædui*, and their Aſſociates; if not, he would not neglect the injuries done to them, being injoyned by the Senate to take care of their Friends

Arioviſtus his Anſwer to *Cæſar's* demands.

and Confederates. *Arioviſtus* replied, that the Law of Nations allowed a Conqueror to rule a conquered Nation as he pleaſed. That the People of *Rome* thought fit to order their matters as they themſelves pleaſed; and why ſhould they direct him more than he did them. That *Cæſar* had much wronged him, in that his coming thither had made the Tribute of the *Ædui* much leſs than formerly. That he would ſtill retain their Hoſtages: That he would make no unjuſt War upon them or their Aſſociates, but if they failed of their Tribute, the Society of the *Romans* would come too late. In concluſion, that no man ever contended with him but to his own deſtruction. And try when he would, he ſhould find the *Germans* invincible and moſt exerciſed in Armes, having for fourteen years had no Houſe over their Heads.

Cæſar's men affrighted at the Report concerning the *Germans.*

23. At the ſame time Ambaſſadors from the *Ædui* complained, that the *Harudes*, lately tranſported into *Gall*, waſted their Borders, and that though they gave up Hoſtages they could not buy their Peace of *Arioviſtus*. And others from the *Treviri* brought News of an hundred Townſhips of the *Suevi* that were come to the *Rhine* to ſeek a paſſage into *Gall*, under the conduct of *Naſna* and *Cimberius* two Brothers. Hereupon *Cæſar* reſolved to uſe all expedition to prevent the conjunction of the *Suevi* with *Arioviſtus*, who, he underſtood, after three days journey, was with all his Force gone to take in *Veſontio*, the ſtrongeſt Town of the *Sequani*. Knowing the place to be well provided, and ſo fitted that he that Commanded it might prolong the War at his pleaſure, he prevented him by taking the Town and therein left a Gariſon. There as he reſted a few days to furniſh himſelf with Corn and other neceſſaries, the *Romans* enquiring of the *Galls* and Merchants concerning the *Germans*, received ſuch an account concerning their Stature, their Courage and their Experience in War, that they were ſeized with a wonderful fear and conſternation. From the Tribunes and Commanders of Horſe and ſuch as for friendſhip followed him from *Rome*, and had ſmall or no skill in War, it proceeded even to the old experienced Soldiers. And many ſtuck not to tell *Cæſar* that whenſoever he ſhould give Command to march and advance the Standards, the Soldiers would refuſe to do it.

He Reproves them at a Council of War.

24. Upon this *Cæſar* called a Counſel of War, and admitting all Centurions of what degrees ſoever to it, exceedingly blamed them for this their fear. He ſhewed how vain it was from former experience, when the *Cimbri* and *Tentoni* were vanquiſhed by *Marius*, and in the late ſervile Tumult in *Italy*, though then they were not a little aſſiſted by what they had learnt of the *Romans*; and from what had been done againſt them by the *Helvetians*, who had had the better of them in divers conflicts in their own Country, and at their own dores, as well as in *Gall*, though the *Helvetians* were not able to contend with the *Romans*. Indeed they had beaten the *Galls*, but theſe had been wearied with continual Wars, and ſurprized when diſperſed; and *Arioviſtus* muſt not think to inſnare the *Roman* Armies with the like ſubtilties. He told them that ſuch as pretended the want of Corn and dangerouſneſs of the ways, ſeemed arrogant and to direct their General; that the *Sequani* and *Lingones* had undertaken that charge, and Corn was now ripe every where in the Fields. He ſhewed they had no reaſon to diſobey his Orders; for he was neither Unfortunate nor Covetous, as his ſucceſs againſt the *Helvetians* and the whole courſe of his Life could ſhew, and therefore he was reſolved to diſlodge by the fourth watch of the Night, though it were with the tenth Legion alone as a guard, of which he had no doubt or ſuſpition, having chiefly cheriſhed and put moſt truſt in it, and that deſervedly for their Valour. The effect of this was, that the tenth Legion gave him thanks for his good opinion, and aſſured him of their readineſs; and then the reſt made means by the Tribunes and Centurions of the firſt Rancks to give him ſatisfaction. This being taken, and *Divitiacus* having upon viewing the ways reported, that in fetching a compaſs of fifty miles he might carry the Army through open and Champion Countries (for the Soldiers were frighted at the Woods) in the fourth Watch of the Night, according to his former ſaying, he diſlodged.

25. Continuing his March, the ſeventh day he received a Meſſage from *Arioviſtus* lying but twenty four miles off the place, that now being out of danger he was content to treat, and *Cæſar* refuſed not the offer. The fifth day following was appointed for the Parly, but *Arioviſtus* refuſed to meet if any Foot-men came, admitting only of Horſe to attend each Party. *Cæſar* not willing to break upon this account, reſolved to ſet on Horſes the tenth Legion which he could moſt truſt. The Legion he placed two hundred paces from a Mount on which they were to meet, and the Horſe of *Arioviſtus* ſtood at the ſame diſtance; and according

He and *Arioviſtus* parly,

ing to his deſire they brought ten Perſons each along with them, and diſcourſed on Horſe-back. *Cæſar* began,by ſhewing him the unuſual favour conferred on him by the *Romans* through his means. He declared how of a long time they had had Friendſhip and Alliance with the *Ædui*, who long before that had held the Principality of *Gall*. That they were kind to, and cheriſhed their Allies, and therefore could not permit that to be forced from them, which when they entred into a League with the *Romans* they quietly poſſeſſed; and then he required the ſame things he had formerly done by his Meſſengers. *Arioviſtus* made little anſwer to *Cæſar*'s demands but ſpake much of his own vertues and valour. He laid the blame of his Actions upon the *Galls* themſelves, who had incited him and provoked him to their own loſs. He affirmed that he was ſeated in *Gall* before the *Romans* came thither. That that part of it was his Province, in which they ought to give him no diſturbance, no more than he gave them in theirs. If his Tributaries would pay their Arrears they ſhould have Peace, if not, he regarded little that they had the *Romans* for their Friends. If *Cæſar* would not be gone out of the Country, he ſhould take him for an Enemy. And if he killed him he ſhould perform a very acceptable ſervice to many great men at *Rome*, as he well underſtood by Letters and Meſſages received from them. If he would depart and leave him the poſſeſſion of *Gall* he would well reward him; and what War ſoever he would have undertaken, ſhould be proſecuted without either his peril or charge.

To no purpoſe.

26. *Cæſar* replied as to many things, and ſhewed that he could not deſiſt from the courſe he had taken; which while he was doing, he was told that *Arioviſtus* his Horſe approached nearer the Mount, and aſſaulted his men with ſtones and other weapons. Hereupon he brake off the Parly, but forbore to charge the *Germans*, leſt it ſhould be ſaid that under pretence of an enterview he had intrapped them: But the Army upon hearing how *Arioviſtus* and his men demeaned themſelves, were more provoked to fight. *Arioviſtus* two days after ſent to *Cæſar* to give him another meeting, or that he would ſend him Commiſſioners to treat concerning thoſe things that were left imperfect. This later *Cæſar* refuſed not to do; but as ſoon as *Arioviſtus* ſaw the Meſſengers, he asked wherefore they came thither, and whether they were not ſent as Spies, and he commanded them to be put in Irons. Then did he remove and get two miles beyond *Cæſar*, and there he incamped himſelf to cut off all Proviſions that might be ſent to the *Romans* from the *Ædui* and *Sequani*.*Cæſar* for five days together ſtood prepared to give him Battel if he ſhould offer it. But he kept his Army within his Camp, and daily ſent out his Horſe to skirmiſh with the *Romans*. The *Germans* were wont to exerciſe themſelves with this manner of fighting. They had ſix thouſand Horſe-men, and as many ſtrong and nimble Foot,whom the Horſe-men ſelected out of of the whole Army, every man one for his defence; theſe they had with them in Battel, and unto them they reſorted for ſuccour. If the Horſemen were overcharged, theſe ever ſtept in to help them. If any was wounded or unhorſed they came about him and relieved him. If the caſe required that they ſhould either haſt forward or ſpeedily retire, their continual exerciſe had brought them to that ſwiftneſs, that hanging on the Mane they would keep pace even with the Horſes.

27. *Cæſar* to prevent the deſign of *Arioviſtus* of intercepting entercourſe betwixt him and his Friends, drew out his men in three Bodies,and with one of them, notwithſtanding all the oppoſition the *Germans* could make, fortified a ſecond Camp about five hundred paces beyond them. *Arioviſtus* attacqued this ſecond leſſer Camp to no purpoſe, but would not bring out his Army to a battel becauſe they had a cuſtom, that the Women by caſting of Lots and South-ſaying ſhould declare whether it was good for them to fight or not; and they found by their Art that they could not get the victory, if they fought before the New-moon. The next day *Cæſar*, to make a ſhew, becauſe his Legionary Soldiers were few in compariſon of the *Germans*, placed all his Auxiliaries before the leſſer Camp, and putting his Legions in a triple Battle, marched and provoked the *Germans* to fight. They ſet every Tribe and People by themſelves in like diſtance and order of Battle. There were the *Harudes*, *Marcomanni*, *Tribocei*, *Vangiones*, *Nemetes*, *Seduſii* and *Suevi*; and they invironed their whole Army with Carts and Cariages, that there might be no hope of flight. And in them they placed the Women, that by their Tears and Hands ſtretched out they might move the Soldiers ſo to demean themſelves, that they might not be brought into the thraldom

dom of the *Romans*. *Cæſar* aſſigned to every Legion a *Legatus* and a *Quæſtor*, that every man might have a witneſs of his valour; and perceiving where the *Germans* were weakeſt, he began the Battel from the Right Wing.

Cæſar gives him a great overthrow.

28. The *Romans* charged fiercely, and the *Germans* came on ſo ſpeedily, that the Legions had no leiſure to caſt their Piles, but betook themſelves to their Swords, which the *Germans* received according to their manner in the form of a *Phalanx*. But many Legionary Soldiers were obſerved to leap upon the *Phalanx*, to pull up the Targets that covered it, and to wound and kill thoſe that were underneath. The left Wing of the *Germans* was overthrown and put to flight; but in the mean time the left of the *Romans* was overcharged with an unequal number. This being perceived by *P. Craſſus* a young man who commanded the Horſe, he ſent the third Battalion to releive their fellows; by means whereof the fight was renewed and the Enemy was put to flight, and never looked back till they came to the *Rhine* about fifty miles off, which ſome paſſed by Swimming and by Boats, and the reſt were killed by the Horſemen. *Arioviſtus* lighting upon a Bark tyed to the ſhore recovered the other ſide, but both his Wives periſhed, and of his two Daughters the one was ſlain and the other taken. *Cæſar* in the purſuit recovered his two Meſſengers he had ſent to him. The noiſe of the ſucceſs drove back the *Suevi* that were come to the Banks of the *Rhine*, whom the Inhabitants of that Quarter finding terrified, ſtreight purſued, and ſlew a great number of them. *Cæſar* having thus ended two great Wars in one Summer, brought his Army into their wintring Camps in the Country of the *Sequani* ſomewhat ſooner than the year required, and leaving *Labienus* to command them went into the hither *Gall* (as the *Romans* called it) to hold the publick Aſſemblies. And thus with this war he concludes the firſt Book of his Commentaries, having done theſe things in the Conſulſhip of his two Creatures, *Piſo* and *Gabinius*.

Cæſar de Bello Gallico lib. 2.

The *Belgæ* whence deſcended.

29. While he was yet in his Winter Quarters, he was continually alarmed with news of the motions of the *Belgæ*, who were the third part of the further *Gall*. They were, he ſaith, deſcended from the *Germans*, who paſſing over the *Rhine* time out of mind, and finding the Country very fertile drove away the *Galls*, and ſeated themſelves in their poſſeſſions. They alone kept the *Cimbri* and *Teutoni* from entring into their Country, and thereupon they challenged Authority, and boaſted much of their feats of Armes. Upon notice of *Cæſars* ſucceſs they thought themſelves in danger as well as their Neighbours, and being excited and incouraged by ſome of them, thought themſelves highly concerned to give ſome ſtop to that progreſs the *Roman* power had made in *Gall*. *Cæſar* upon notice raiſed two Legions, and when Summer came on ſending them away by *Q. Pedius* his Legate, followed himſelf as ſoon as there was forage for the Army. Within fifteen days he came to the Borders of the *Belgæ*, which being unexpected, the *Rhemi* who lay next to *Gall* (*Celtick* he means) ſubmitted themſelves and all they had to the *Roman* Empire, affirming they were innocent as to the Conſpiracy of the reſt of the *Belgæ*. Of them the *Bellovaci* (*les Beauvaſois*) exceeded all others, in power, authority and numbers, being able to make an hundred thouſand fighting men, out of which they promiſed ſixty thouſand to this undertaking, and in that reſpect they demanded the Adminiſtration of the whole War. Here again *Monetus* is difficult of belief, though a Jeſuit, affirming that if *Cæſar* (or the Embaſſadors of the *Rhemi*, he ſhould have ſaid, if from them he had his information) ſaid true, they muſt have had vaſt Territories which could afford an hundred thouſand fighting men, and indeed far larger than he can find in his Geography. But he ſaith *Cæſar* himſelf puts him out of belief of it, who makes none of the neighbour States to be their Clients, but ſets them down as Clients of the *Ædui*. He affirms that *Cæſar* is wont to increaſe the Power of certain Nations above meaſure, to make way for his own glory, which would receive augmentation from ſo valiant and warlike People being vanquiſhed by one or two Battels. Yet he denies not but that the *Bellovaci* were always moſt famous amongſt the *Belgæ*, of which there ſtill remain eminent evidences in the ſingular priviledges of their chief Town, which now is *Beavois*.

A Conſpiracy of them and other Nations.

30. Next to them lay the *Sueſſones* (*Les Soiſſonois*) Inhabitants of a large and fruitful Country, whoſe King *Divitiacus* had lately poſſeſſed a great part of theſe Territories and alſo of *Britain*, and was the moſt powerful King within *Gall*. At preſent *Galba* was their King, and on him, for his Juſtice and Prudence, they una-

nimouſly

Sect. 6. nimouſly beſtowed the management of the War; they had twelve Walled Towns, and promiſed to ſet forth fifty thouſand men. The *Nervii* (the People of the Territory now called *Henalt* by the *French* from the River *Hene*) who were moſt barbarous amongſt them all, and dwelt fartheſt off promiſed as many. The *Atrebatii* (the People of *Artois*) fifteen thouſand. The *Ambiani* (the People of the Territory of *Amiens*) ten thouſand. The *Vellocaſſii* or *Veneliocaſſii* (inhabiting the Territory of *Rouen*) and the *Veromandui* (the People of *Vermandois*) as many. The *Morini* (*Bolenois*, *Guinois*, *Oiſiens maritime & de terre-ferme*) five and twenty thouſand. The *Menapii* (*Gueldrois*, *Clevois & Juliers*) nine Thouſand. The *Caletes* (*Les Cauchois, le peuple de Caux*) ten thouſand. The *Aduatici* twenty nine thouſand. The *Eburoni* (*Les Liegeois*) *Condruſi* (*le peuple des Ardenes*) and others called *Germans* forty thouſand, as was reported. *Cæſar* received Hoſtages from the *Remi*, and after that to provide againſt the multitudes of the Enemy, he perſwaded *Divitiacus* the *Æduan* to enter the Territories of the *Bellovaci* and waſte them, thereby to divert them and hinder the Confederates from uniting in one Army. And to ſecure himſelf againſt their great valour, as it was repreſented to him, he reſolved not to be too haſty in giving them battle; but firſt by skirmiſhing with his Horſe to try what they could, and what his own men durſt do.

They aſſemble together.

31. But finding them all aſſembled together, and at no great diſtance, he haſted and paſſed over the River *Axona* (*Aine*) which parted the *Rhemi* from the other *Belgæ*, and there incamped. No Enemy here could come on his Back, and he might receive Proviſions from *Rheimes* and other Cities; but that he might command the paſſage back he fortified a Bridge, and cauſed *Titurius Sabinus*, a *Legate*; to intrench himſelf ſtrongly on the other ſide. The *Belgæ* in their way indeavoured to take in *Bibrax* (*Beurai en Retelois*) a Town of the *Rhemi*, and had done it, but that upon notice given by the Governor, *Cæſar* ſent him ſpeedy relief. Diſappointed here they then made towards *Cæſar*, who finding his own men no whit inferior to them, by ſeveral skirmiſhes drew them out, placed himſelf conveniently for a Battel on a riſing ground, and leſt the Enemy ſhould by their multitudes incompaſs him, he drew a Ditch behind his Army from one ſide of the Hill to another, ſix hundred paces in length, the ends of which he fortified with Bulworks, and therein placed ſtore of Engines. There was a little Mariſh betwixt the Armies which neither party would adventure to paſs over to the other, but skirmiſhes were maintained betwixt the Horſe, in which *Cæſar* having the advantage thought it ſufficient, and ſo retired to his Camp. The *Belgæ* immediately took the way to the River *Axona*, either to break the Bridge, take the Fort held by *Titurius*, or cut off Proviſions from *Cæſar*; but *Cæſar* followed with a ſtrong party, and cutting off many of their men, hindered their deſign. In which being prevented, as alſo in their attempt upon *Bibrax*, when now their proviſions began to fail, they reſolved to break up and go to their ſeveral homes; where if he invaded any of them they could be ſupplied, though they intended to waſte the Country where-ever he came, and thither to haſte from all parts to give him battel, rather than in a ſtrange and unknown place. The Councel was the rather imbraced, for that the *Bellovaci* having intelligence that *Divitiacus* with a great power of the *Ædui* approached their Borders, haſted homeward to defend their Country.

They retreat.

32. In a tumultuous manner they returned, ſtriving who ſhould be gone firſt, ſo that *Cæſar* perceiving them to fly rather than retreat, at firſt ſuſpected ſome deſign, and conteined his Army within his Camp; but at length finding the truth he ſent ſome Parties after, who made great ſlaughter of them as they fled, ſo long as the light continued. The day following he ſtill gave the chaſe that they might not have time to take breath, and led his Army into the Territories of the *Sueſſones*, wherein he came to *Noviodunum*, which he attempted to take by ſurprize; but in regard of the breadth of the Ditch, and the height of the Wall, was forced to beſiege it. Yet when the Inhabitants ſaw the *Vineæ* (little Hovels made for ſhelter of the Soldiers) the Mounts raiſed, and the Turrets built with ſuch expedition, afrighted at the greatneſs of the works, they deſired to yeild, and by mediation of the *Remi* obtained their ſuit. Having received beſides others, two Sons of King *Galba* for Hoſtages, he took the *Sueſſones* to mercy, and led his Army againſt the *Bellovaci*, who deſiring the ſame favour, with Hands ſtretched out according to their cuſtom, he granted it at the ſuit of *Divitiacus*; for he ſpake well of the Common People as drawn into the Confede-

racy by the Arts of their Nobility. But their State being populous and powerful more than others, he required five hundred Hoſtages, and marched into the Coaſt of the *Ambiani*, who without delay gave up themſelves and all they had into his Power.

33. But the *Nervii* that bordered upon them were another ſort of men. There was no recourſe of Merchants to them, neither did they ſuffer any Wine, or what elſe might tend to riot, to be brought into their Cauntry. They were a ſavage people and of great valour, often upbraiding the reſt of the *Belgæ*, for yielding their Necks to the *Roman* yoke, and openly affirming that they would neither ſend Ambaſſadors nor take peace upon any condition. They all aſſembled on the farther ſide of the River *Sabis* (*Sambre*) and there attended the coming of the *Romans*. With them were joyned the *Atrobates* and *Veromandui*, and they expected a Power from the *Aduatici*. *Cæſar* paſſing the River had ſome skirmiſhes with them, and indeavoured to fortifie himſelf; but they made ſuch ſudden onſets, and were ſo ſwift both in their coming and retiring, that they ſeemed, he ſaith, to be in and out of the Woods at the ſame time, and gave him no leiſure to prepare for a Battel by his wonted methods. He had all parts to play at one time; the Flag to be hung out to give warning, the Trumpet to be ſounded for the Charge, the Soldiers to be called from their work of Intrenchment; and ſuch as were gone to fetch Turf and Materials for the Rampire, to be ſent for, the Battel to be ordered, the Soldiers to be incouraged, and the Signet to be given; the moſt of which were cut off by ſhortneſs of time and aſſaults of the Enemy. But theſe things he tells us were ſupplied by the experience of his Soldiers, who could as well preſcribe to themſelves what was to be done as any Commander could teach them. And notwithſtanding *Cæſar* had given order to every *Legate* not to leave the work or forſake the Legions, till the Fortifications were perfected; yet in extremity of danger they exſpected no countermand, but ordered all things according to their own diſcretion.

34. *Cæſar* had time only to deſire the tenth Legion to remember their antient valour, and be couragious; and to give the ſign of Battel, the Enemy being within a weapons caſt. In the Fight, the Legions that ſtood in the Left Wing had the better at firſt, and put to flight their Enemies; but thoſe of the Right were ſorely diſtreſſed and diſordered, inſomuch that the *Belgæ* got into the Camp. The Enſigns were crouded together into one place; the Soldiers of the twelfth Legion were ſo thick thronged on an heap, that they hindered one another; all the Centurions of the fourth Cohort were ſlain, the Enſign-bearer killed, the Enſign taken, and the Centurions of the other Cohorts either ſlain or ſore wounded. *Cæſar* ſeeing them turn tail, and matters to be almoſt deſperate, took a Target from one of the hindmoſt Soldiers, and preſſing to the Front of the Battel, called the Centurions by name, and incouraging the reſt, commanded the Enſigns to be advanced toward the Enemy, and the Maniples to be inlarged, that they might with more facility uſe their Swords. By his preſence being incouraged, his men recovered themſelves, and he cauſed two Legions that were oppreſſed to joyn back to back, and thereby making two Fronts they ſecured each other. But the whole face of things was changed by the coming in of the tenth Legion, which *T. Labienus*, having won the Camp of the *Nervii*, ſent to the aſſiſtance of their fellows. Now the wounded men began to fight afreſh; the Horſe ſtrove with extraordinary valour to wipe away the diſhonour of their former flight; nay the Boyes and Scullions perceiving the Enemy amazed, ran upon them unarmed, not fearing their weapons.

35. Howbeit, as amazed as they were, they ſhewed ſuch manhood, that as the foremoſt were overthrown, the next in place beſtrid their Carcaſes; and fought upon them; and theſe being likewiſe overthrown, and their bodies heaped one upon another, they that remained poſſeſt themſelves of the mount of dead Carcaſes, as a place of advantage; thence threw their weapons, and intercepting the Piles returned them back to the *Romans*. But the Battel was however thus ended, and the Name and Nation of the *Nervii* was well nigh deſtroyed; of five hundred Senators, but three men being left, and of ſixty thouſand fighting men ſcarcely five hundred. The Elder ſort, with their Women and Children, being before conveyed into Iſlands and Bogs, *Cæſar*, upon their ſubmiſſion pardoned, granting them the free poſſeſſion of their Towns and Country, and Commanding their Neighbours not to offer them any wrong. The *Aduatici* being on their way to aſſiſt the *Nervii*, when they heard of the defeat of their Friends, returned,

Cæſar overthroweth them.

and put themſelves, and all they had into one Town, very ſtrong by its ſituation. They were diſcended from the *Cimbri* and *Teutoni*, who in their journy into *Italy* left ſuch Carriages as they could not conveniently take along with them on this ſide the *Rhine*, and ſix thouſand men to look to them. They after the death of their fellows were many years diſquieted by their Neighbours, and ſometimes invading their States, and ſometimes defending themſelves, at length procured peace, and choſe this place to ſettle themſelves in, which ſome think to have been about *Doway* or *Bolduc* in *Brabant*.

36. *Cæſar* laying ſeige to the place, at firſt they deſpiſed him; and when they ſaw the Vines framed, the Mount raiſed, and a Tower built afar off they ſcoffed, and demanded with what hands and with what ſtrength, eſpecially by men of that ſtature (for the *Romans* were but little in reſpect of the *Galls*) a Tower of ſuch huge and maſſy weight ſhould be brought to do execution. But when they beheld the Tower removed, and approaching, they were aſtoniſhed, and ſent to treat with this complementing meſſage, that they believed the *Romans* did not make war without the ſpecial aſſiſtance of the Gods. They ſubmitted all they had to *Cæſar*'s mercy, but deſired that their Arms might not be taken from them, for fear of their Neighbours. Yet he thought fit to require them, ſaying he would take the ſame care for them as he had done for the *Nervii*, that they ſhould not be moleſted. However when they gave up their weapons they concealed a third part, and in the Night, thinking to ſurprize the Fortification of the *Romans*, they ſet upon it, but were beaten back with the loſs of four thouſand. The next day *Cæſar* brake into the Town, and finding none make defence, he ſold all the People, with the Spoil, to the number of fifty three thouſand bondſlaves. At the ſame time *P. Craſſus* ſent him information, that the *Veneti*, *Unelli*, *Oſiſmi*, *Curioſilitæ*, *Seſuvii*, *Aulerci* and *Rhedones*, being maritime Cities that lay to the Ocean, had ſubmitted to the People of *Rome*. The fame of this *Cæſars* ſucceſs in *Gall* produced ſo great effects, that beyond the *Rhine* ſeveral Nations ſent and ſubmitted. But haſting into *Italy* he placed his Army in its Wintring Camp, and willed the Ambaſſadors to come to him in the beginning of the following Summer. The Winter Quarters he took up next to thoſe places where his Wars had been, amongſt the *Carnutes*, *Andes* and *Turones*. For his Atchievements, upon the ſight of his Letters, a ſupplication was decreed for fifteen days, which honour had formerly happened to no man.

Taketh the Town of the *Advatici*.

Cæſar de Bello Gallico, lib. 3.

37. *Cæſar* going into *Italy*, gave order to *Ser. Galba*, with the twelfth Legion and Part of the Horſe, to march into the Territories of the *Nantuates*, *Veragri* and *Seduni*, which extended from the *Rhone* and *Lemanus*, to the tops of the higheſt Alpe, to clear them from Theives and Robbers, who intercepted thoſe that trafficked that way. Two Cohorts of his Legion he placed amongſt the *Nantuates*, and with the other took up his Winter Quarters in *Octodurus*, a Town of the *Veragri*, in a narrow Valley, over which hung mighty Hills. Here he thought himſelf ſecure becauſe of the Hoſtages theſe Nations had given up, and for other reaſons; but they taking it to heart, that they ſhould be ſo deprived of their Children, and that the *Romans* ſhould lay theſe their Territories to their Province, and moreover incouraged by the ſmallneſs of the number *Galba* had brought, reſolved to aſſault his Camp. And this they did with ſuch fury, that by their numbers they overpowered the *Romans* and put them to great diſtreſs, which had been followed by their ruine, had not the advice of *P. Sextus Baculus*, the Primiple of that Legion, and *C. Voluſenus* Tribune of the Soldiers, men of ſingular courage and wiſdom interpoſed. They ran to *Galba*, and told him there was no hope of ſafety if they did not break out upon the Enemy himſelf, which being reſolved the Soldiers by their Centurions were commanded to ceaſe fighting, to receive ſuch weapons as were caſt into the Camp, and having taken a little breath, upon the watch-word given, to break out. This they did with ſuch courage and alacrity, that the Enemy ſurprized was eaſily put to flight, and beaten from the ſeveral Gates at which they iſſued, and of thirty thouſand loſt the third part. *Galba* glad of the ſucceſs, yet conſidering he wanted Forage, and that he had met with difficulties he never dreamed of, burnt the Town, and the next day returned without oppoſition, and brought the Legion ſafe into the *Nantuates*, and thence to the *Allobroges*, where he wintered.

The Adventures of *Galba*.

38. The *Belgæ* being now overthrown, the *Germans* driven out, and the *Seduni*, who lived amongſt the *Alps* ſubdued and vanquiſhed; *Cæſar*, who was gone into *Illyricum* imagined not but that *Gall* would be in repoſe; but there ſuddenly fell out another commotion. *P. Craſſus* wintring with the ſeventh Legion in the Country

of the *Andes* (*Anjou*) near to the Ocean, and wanting Proviſions, ſent out the Prefects of Horſe and Tribunes to demand Corn of the next Cities and States; particularly of the *Unelli* or *Venelli* (*Normans* about *Caen*) the *Curioſolitæ* (thoſe of *Cornovaille*) and *Veneti* (people of *Vanes*) of moſt authority of all Nations in that Tract. For they had great ſtore of Shipping, with which they traded into *Britain*, had moſt skill in Navigation, had command of all the Ports on theſe Seas, and of thoſe that uſed them, as their Tributaries. The *Veneti* retained the Meſſengers ſent to them, hoping thereby to recover the Hoſtages they had given to *Craſſus*. And the reſt followed their example, and made a League to maintain their liberty againſt the incroachments of a Stranger. Thus united they ſent to tell *Craſſus*, that if he would have his Meſſengers returned, he muſt ſend back their Hoſtages; whereof he certified *Cæſar*. He reſolving to chaſtize them for breaking the Law of Nations in caſting the Meſſengers into Irons, gave order for Ships and Gallies to be made upon the *Ligeris*, (*Loire*) and they on the other ſide made as effectual preparations as they could to maintain what they had done. And the *Veneti* incouraged themſelves from the nature of their ſoil, which was defended by Arms and Greeks of the Sea, and by their experience in Maritime affairs, wherein, as in the knowledge of Ports in their quarters, they thought they were far ſuperior to the *Romans*.

The Maritime Cities unite againſt *Cæſar*.

39. *Cæſar* by chaſtizing them, reſolved to prevent the like inſolency of ſuch as had ſubmitted. And conſidering how quick the *Galles* were to make a war, he ſent into all parts, where he thought there might be danger, Forces to hinder their riſing and union with the *Veneti*. He made *D. Brutus* cheif Admiral of the Navy, and of thoſe Ships he had got together from the *Pictones* (*Poiteuins*) *Santones* (*Saintongeois*) and other Provinces which continued quiet, with orders to make for the *Veneti* with what ſpeed he could, and he himſelf marched thitherward with the Foot-Forces. But do what he could, the Tides were ſo much their Friends, being ſituated in Points and Promontories, and their Ships ſo accommodated to the nature of the Sea, that they could in danger, remove themſelves from one Town to another, and they deluded him the greateſt part of the Summer. Yet, he tells us, that inſtead of Cables they made uſe of Iron Chains, and raw Hides and Skins for Sails, either for want of Linnen Cloth, or ignorant of the uſe of it, or becauſe Sails of Linnen would hardly ſerve to carry Ships of that burthen, or endure the tempeſtuouſneſs of theſe Seas, and the violence of the Winds. If they wanted Linnen, how great is the alteration we find at this preſent time in that Country which affords ſo much Linnen, that thence (from *Morlaix* in *Britany* and other places) are we furniſhed with Sails for our Fleets, to its great advantage: and their Linnen we now find ſufficient to carry Ships of the greateſt burthen, to indure the tempeſtuouſneſs of thoſe Seas, and the violence of Winds.

The *Veneti* too cunning for him at Sea.

40. The *Romans* took one Town after another; but the *Veneti* ſtill conveyed themſelves to the next; ſo that *Cæſar* ſeeing it loſt labour, attended the coming of his Navy. And when it came there was but ſmall hope of ſucceſs againſt two hundred and twenty Sail of Ships, of ſuch height and ſtrength, that his could do no execution upon them. But this device made amends for thoſe Inconveniencies. The *Romans* had provided themſelves of ſharp Hooks or Sicles, which putting upon long Poles, theſe they faſtned to the Tackling which held the Main Yard to the Maſt; then forcing away their Ship with force of Oars, they cut the Tackling and the Main Yard fell down. Thus the *Galls* loſt the uſe of their Shipping, and ſo the Controverſie fell within the compaſs of Valour, in which the *Romans* being ſuperiours obtained the Victory; for to their natural Valour was added a deſire of Glory, they fighting in the ſight of *Cæſar*, and the whole Army; for all the Hills and Cliffs, which afforded proſpect into the Sea, were covered with the *Roman* Forces. Their Main Yards coming by the Board, their Enemies with fury took many of their Veſſels, at the ſight of which the reſt fled, but on a ſuddain were becalmed, ſo that the *Romans* coming up with them fought Ship to Ship, and eaſily maſtered them. Of ſo great a Navy very few eſcaped after eight hours fight, by the advantage of the Evening, and ſo the War ended with the *Veneti* and the other Maritime Nations. For all ſorts of People, young and old, that were fit either for Council or Action were preſent at the Battel, and all the Shipping they could make ingaged. Theſe that remained, not knowing how to diſpoſe of themſelves, yeilded to *Cæſar*, who to terrifie other Barbarous People from violating the Law of Nations, put to death all the Senate, and ſold the ordinary ſort for Slaves.

Yet he defeats them.

41. In the mean time *L. Titurius Sabinus*, with his Forces entred the Territories of the *Unelli*. With them joyned the *Aulerci* and *Eburones* (People of *Maine*, *Nor-*

Sabinus his good ſucceſs.

mans of *Aulanſon Sees* and *Evereux*) and *Lexobii* (People of *Liſieux*) having ſlain their Senate becauſe they would not countenance the War. They were headed by *Viridorix*, one of the *Unelli*, who marched and offered battel to *Sabinus*. He counterfeited himſelf fearful to ſuch a degree, that they were thereby moved to attacque his Camp, which being placed upon an Hill, he cauſed his men to take the advantage of the upper ground, and of the Enemy his being burthened with Turff and other Materials for filling up the Trenches, and iſſuing forth at two Ports, they fell upon them, and did ſuch Execution, that they ſlew great numbers, and chaſing their Horſe ſuffered very few to eſcape. Upon the noiſe of theſe two Victories obtained much at the ſame time, all the Cities and States yeilded themſelves to *Titurius*; for as the *Galls* were eager to undertake a War, ſo were they weak in ſuffering, and impatient of, the Conſequents and Calamities thereof.

42. At the ſame time it happened, that *M. Craſſus* coming into *Aquitain*, found he was to uſe no ſmall diligence; for the Country was large and Populous, and there *L. Valerius Præconius*, the Legate was ſlain, and the Army overthrown, and thence *L. Manlius* was forced to fly with the loſs of his Carriages. Having made what proviſion he could, he invaded the *Sontiates* who preſently raiſed very conſiderable Forces and oppoſed him in his march, but the *Roman* Soldiers, deſirous to ſhew what they could do, without their General and the reſt of the Legions, under the Conduct of a very Young man, put them to flight, and ſlew a great number; and then he beſieged their chief Town, which he attacqued with Vines, Turrets and Mounts. The Towns-men defended themſelves both by ſallying forth and undermining, wherein the *Aquitains* were very ſkilful. But ſeeing the induſtry of the *Romans* they offered to ſurrender, which being accepted, it was expected they ſhould deliver up their Arms. In the mean time *Adcantuanus*, their Governor or chief Magiſtrate, iſſued out at another Port with ſix hundred devoted Companions, whom they called *Soldurii*, the manner of whom was to enjoy all good things in common with their choſen friends, and if any misfortune befell them, either to dye with them, or preſently to kill themſelves; neither was it ever known in the memory of man, that any of them refuſed to dye when his Friend was ſlain. But making a noiſe they were diſcovered and driven back again into the Town, by the Soldiers that kept that Fortification; where, according to his deſire, the Governor was taken in the number of the ſubmiſſive multitude.

Adoleſcentulo Duce.

Craſſus taketh the Town of the *Sontiates*.

43. The Barbarous *Galls* allarmed at the taking this Town, aſſembled their Forces together, and got aid out of *Spain* and the adjoyning Countries, with ſuch Commanders as had got experience in *Sertorius* his Wars. *Craſſus* being come into the Confines of the *Vocates* and *Taruſates*, theſe began, according even to the Cuſtom of the *Romans*, to take place of advantage, to fortifie their Camp, and to intercept the Enemy from neceſſary intercourſes. *Craſſus* perceiving this, reſolved it was moſt expedient to give them battel, and prepared for it; but when he offered it they refuſed, hoping to end the War without bloodſhed, and if for want of Proviſions the *Romans* retreated, they intended to fall upon them when they were weary and out of heart. *Craſſus* perceiving their drift, reſolved to ſet upon them in their Camp, and this his reſolution was heartily received by his men, and put in execution. As they were with all alacrity attacquing one part of the Fortification, ſome of the Horſe informed *Craſſus*, that the Rampire at the *Decumane* Port was weak, and would admit an eaſie entrance. This place was eaſily ſurpriſed and entred by four Cohorts, which making a noiſe, and coming on the Backs of the *Galls* ſo unexpectedly, put them into a fright, and this fright drove them over the Rampart to ſhift as they could for their lives. But the Country being Champion, the Horſe purſued them with ſuch execution, that of fifty thouſand which came out of *Aquitain* and *Spain*, ſcarcely the fourth part remained.

Gives the *Galls* a great overthrow.

Moſt of *Aquitain* thereupon ſubmits.

44. This ſucceſs of *Craſſus* had ſuch effect, that moſt part of *Aquitain* ſubmitted, and of their own accord gave him Hoſtages. Amongſt them were the *Tarbelli*, *Bigerriones*, *Preciani*, *Vocates*, *Taruſates*, *Eluſates*, *Garites*, *Auſci*, *Garumni*, *Sibuſates* and *Cocoſates*. Only ſome few that lived farther off, truſting upon the coming in of Winter, held off and did not ſubmit themſelves. To this enumeration *Cæſar* maketh of People ſubdued thus by *Craſſus* we muſt alſo reckon the *Sontiates*, which make up the number of twelve; and now, if you will believe him, they were all ſeveral People or Nations, or as ſuch he repreſents them. But *Monetus* the Geographer will tell you, that but three of them were truly People; that the reſt in no ſort were ſuch, but of Towns or Villages, and for the aſſiſtance of young Beginners he takes the pains to enumerate them. The *Auſcii*, *Bigerriones*, and

Tarbelli were People. The *Cocoſates*, or *Coſates*, were no other than the Citizens of *Cocoſſium* or *Coſſium*, now *Baſas* the Metropolis of the *Vaſates* or *Baſadois*. The *Eluſates* were alſo Townſmen of *Eluſa*, now *Euſe* a Town at the bottom of the Territories of the *Auſcii*, (*les Auſciois*, and *Armagnaquois*) neither of old nor now ſo big as *Cæſar* would have it. The *Garites*, or rather *Gaurites*, were Inhabitants of the Valley of *Gaura*, in the Country of the *Convenæ* or *Comingeois*, the County of *Gaure*, of which ſome Towns are at this day reckoned unknown to the *Romans*, as *Baumont*, *Granate*, and *Gimont*. The *Garumni* inhabited a Village, or Villages, in the Valley adjoyning to the Mountains of St. *Beat* at the head of the River *Garumna*, or *Garonne*.

45. The *Preciani* were Inhabitants of ſome ignoble Valleys near the *Garumni*, in the Territories of the *Convenæ*. The *Sibuſates* alſo poſſeſſed a Ground no whit famous, called now *Sebouſan*, or *Sibouſan*, in the Confines of the *Convenæ*. The *Sontiates*, or rather *Sottiates*, as *Pliny* hath it, were Inhabitants of the Mountains of *Sotti*, now *Mons de Saut*, in the Grounds of the Weſtern *Bigerri*, or *Bearnois*. The *Taruſates* were the Townſmen of *Taruſa*, now *Tartas*, in the Borders of the *Tarbelli*, *Baionnois*, or *Baſques*. And laſtly, the *Vocates* in *Pliny Baſobacates*, were Inhabitants of the Town of a *Vaſates* not now ſtanding, in a Ground where at preſent is a Village. But *Cæſar*, though the Summer was well nigh ſpent; yet for as much as all *Gall* was at peace, only the *Morini* and *Menapii* ſtood out in Arms, and had never either ſent Ambaſſadors, or otherwiſe treated of Peace, hoping yet the War would quickly be at an end, invaded their Territories. They managed their matters far otherwiſe than the other *Galls*; for upon his approach they conveyed themſelves and Goods into the Woods and Boggs, and thence ſkirmiſhed with the *Romans*. *Cæſar* ſet his Men at work, who with admirable ſpeed, cutting down much Wood, cleared the Ground, and by that means took their Goods and Cattel; but they themſelves fled into the thicker Woods, of which they had plenty. Now fell abundance of Rain, which ſo diſtreſſed the Soldiers, that they could neither work, nor lie under their Tents of Skins; and therefore he burned and ſpoiled their Country, and placed his Army amongſt the *Aulerci*, *Lexovii*, and other late ſubdued Cities, therein to winter.

Sueton. in Julio. Appian belli civilis lib. 2. Plutarch in Pompeio, & in Craſſo.
Dio lib. 39. *p.* 108.
Patercul. l. 2. *c.* 46.

Great confluence to him at *Luca*.

46. Now by this time *Cæſar* had got great ſtore of Wealth, wherewith he not only paid his debts, but made him great ſtore of friends by Gifts and Contributions. Herewith he corrupted the *Ædiles*, *Prætors*, *Conſuls*, and their Wives. Paſſing over the *Alpes* this Winter to *Luca*, where he took up his head Quarters, ſo great concourſe was made to him, that there were preſent two hundred Senators, amongſt whom were *Craſſus* and *Pompey*, and ſo many *Proconſuls* and *Prætors*, that one hundred and twenty bundles of Rods have been ſeen together at his Gates. He fearing he might be recalled, procured *Pompey* and *Craſſus* to obtain the Conſulſhip for the following year, and continue him his imployment in *Gall* for other five years. *Cato* perſwaded *L. Domitius* to ſtand for the Conſulſhip, telling him he ſhould contend not for Magiſtracy, but for liberty, againſt the Tyrants. But *Pompey* fearing *Cato*'s vehemency, leſt, having the whole Senate in his power, he ſhould perſwade the People to what was beſt, ſent ſome armed Men upon *Domitius* as he went down to the Forum, who killed the Slave that carried the light before them, and diſperſed them all, *Cato* being the laſt that fled, who received a wound on his Arm whilſt he fought for *Domitius*. *Pompey* and *Craſſus* having thus by force obtained the Conſulſhip, bore themſelves nothing more moderately afterwards.. The People being about to give *Cato* the *Prætorſhip*, *Pompey* pretended a ſtrange ſight from Heaven, and diſmiſſed the Aſſembly; then corrupting the Tribes with Money, he procured *Antias* and *Vatinius* to be choſen *Prætors*. Now by the help of *Trebonius* the Tribune they procured Laws, which continued to *Cæſar* (as they had agreed) his Government in *Gall* for other five years, aſſigned *Syria* to *Craſſus* with the *Parthian* War; and to *Pompey* all *Africk*, and the *Spains* with four Legions, whereof two he lent to *Cæſar* for the *Gallick* Wars. *Pompey* being permitted to govern his Provinces by Deputies ſtayed at *Rome*, where he ſpent his time in Shows and Paſtimes. *Craſſus* much rejoyced in his part, ſcarcely being able to contain himſelf abroad and at home, but contrary to his wonted gravity, breaking forth into childiſh expreſſions of joy. For, he ſleighted the thoughts of *Syria* and *Parthia*, as one who would ſo order his affairs, that the exploits of *Lucullus* againſt *Tigranes*, and of *Pompey* in the War with *Mithridates*, ſhould ſeem but toys, extending his hopes as far as *Bactria*, the *Indians*, and the utmoſt *Ocean*.

Pompey and *Craſſus*, according to agreement, obtaine the Conſulſhip by force, and continue to *Cæſar* his Command for other five years.

A. M. 3950.
Ol. 181. *an.* 2.
V. C. 699.
Hyrcani 9.

Craſſus againſt the minds of all Men reſolving to go againſt the *Parthians*.

47. The *Tribunes* hindred all they could the Conſuls from raiſing Men, and laboured to repeal the Laws made for their Expeditions. *Pompey* was herewith well enough contented, having ſent his Lieutenants into his Provinces, and being unwil-

ling

Plutarch. & Dio ut prim.

ling to leave the City, as he pretended, becauſe of the charge of Proviſions committed to him, which *Cicero*, in way of recompence for his labour in his reſtitution, had procured him from the Senate, that ſo he might have authority all over the *Roman* Empire. But *Craſſus* betook himſelf to force, which when the *Tribunes* ſaw themſelves unable to withſtand, they deſiſted, but loaded him with curſes, and when he made the accuſtomed prayers in the Capitol for proſperous ſucceſs, they ſpoke of unlucky *auſpicia* and prodigies which had hapned. *Atteius* the *Tribune* laboured to hinder him from going, many exclaiming againſt it as an unworthy thing, that he ſhould fall with War upon thoſe who had nothing ill deſerved of the *Romans*, but were at peace with them. This made him fly to *Pompey* to conduct him forth, at the ſight of whom thoſe who came to ſtop him gave way. But *Atteius* meeting him, earneſtly exhorted him to deſiſt, and when that would not do, ſent a *Viator* to lay hold of him; but the reſt of the *Tribunes* not permitting this, and the *Viator* not quite diſmiſſing him, *Atteius* got before to the Gate, where he had ſome fire ready, and as *Craſſus* came by, throwing his Odours upon the Coals, devoted him with horrible and bitter curſes, invocating certain terrible and unheard of gods. Theſe ſecret and ancient execrations the *Romans* thought to be of that force that no man ever eſcaped deſtruction to whom they were denounced, and that they alſo proved unfortunate to the denouncer, and therefore they were ſeldom uſed, and *Craſſus* was blamed on the behalf of the City. * *Florus* calleth this Tribune *Metellus*, and others write, that the *Tribunes* generally thus devoted him, but it appeareth, * from *Cicero*, that *P. Atteius* was principal in this Action.

* *Lib.* 3. *c.* 11.
* *Lib.* 1. *de Divinat.*

Rifleth the Temple of *Jeruſalem*,

Lege Plutarch. in Craſſo. Dionem lib. 40. *Florum l.* 3. *c.* 11. *Oroſium lib.* 6. *cap.* 13. *Velleium lib.* 2. *cap.* 40. *Strab. lib.* 16.

48. *Craſſus* in his march rifled the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, and took away the Treaſures which *Pompey* touched not. He ſpent many days in weighing the Treaſure of the Idol, called *Atargatis* by the *Syrians*, and by the *Greeks Derceto*, the Goddeſs of *Hierapolis*, otherwiſe called *Edeſſa*, and *Bambyce*, and *Magog* by the *Syrians*. In his whole paſſage he ſhewed more covetouſneſs than valour, liſting Men, and then for Money diſcharging them. He neglected his opportunities of falling on the *Parthians* unprovided, and the friendſhip of the *Armenian* King, who offered him to invade *Parthia* through his Kingdom, as alſo of refreſhing his Army in ſome City, (as *Caſſius* adviſed him) till he had certain news of the *Parthians*, or elſe paſſing down the River to *Seleucia*, where he might have had Proviſions by water, and could not be compaſſed in by the *Parthians*. This latter Counſel he rejected by the cunning inſinuations of *Abgarus* the *Oſroenian* (otherwiſe called *Angarus*, *Mazares*, *Mazarus*, *Marachus*, *Macorus*, *Ariamnes*, and * *Acharus* by ſeveral) the *Regulus*, or *Petty Prince* of the *Arabians*, who having formerly been a Friend and Ally of the *Romans*, had now applied his mind to the *Parthian*, and feeding *Craſſus* with Money, to conceal his treachery, gave him notice of whatſoever was done. He perſwaded him to leave off thoughts of *Seleucia* and *Cteſiphon*, and go ſtraight againſt the *Surenas* and *Sillax* the Kings Captains. This he did, and thereby firſt loſing his Son, a choice young Man, he himſelf was by the *Surenas* circumvented under pretence of a Treaty, and either ſlain by his Enemies, or killed by ſome of his own Men, to prevent his falling into their hands. This hapned at *Sinnaca*, a City of *Meſopotamia*, on the ſixth of the *Ides* of *June*, as *Ovid* informeth us; twenty thouſand Men were ſlain, and ten thouſand taken, according to *Plutarch*, (not to name other accounts) ſo that the *Eaſt* being almoſt deſtitute of Forces, many Provinces thereof revolted; but by the care, induſtry, and valour of *C. Caſſius* the *Quæſtor* of *Craſſus* (the ſame who afterwards with *Brutus* killed *Julius Cæſar*) *Syria* was appeaſed. This King of *Parthia*, againſt whom *Craſſus* miſcarried, (called *Orodes*, *Herodes*, and *Hyrodes*) was ſomething ſkilled in the *Greek* Tongue, and other learning. *Artabazes*, or *Artavaſdes*, the *Armenian*, (that firſt offered kindneſs to *Craſſus*) had reconciled himſelf to the *Parthian*, who was now with him. He being alſo learned, (for he wrote Tragedies, Orations, and Hiſtories) part of *Euripides* his *Bacchæ* was repeated, and the head of *Craſſus* was brought in as it were by chance, and thrown at their feet. But the *Surenas* was afterwards puniſhed for his treachery, being killed by his Maſter, who envied him his glory. And *Orodes* himſelf having loſt his Son *Pacorus*, in a Battel againſt the *Romans*, and fall'n into that kind of Dropſie, called *Anaſarca*, *Phraates* (or *Phraortes*) his other Son, gave him *Aconitum*, or *Wolfs-bane*, which working ſo upon him, as with it ſelf it brought out the humour, and gave him eaſe, he made ſhort work of it, and ſtrangled him with his own hands.

And is ſlain.

* In *Tacitus* (*Annal. l.* 12.) is written *Abbarus*, but *Lipſius* noteth upon it, that in the *Vatican* Copy 'tis ever *Acharus*, and was common to all the *Arabian* Kings, as *Ptolomy* to thoſe of *Ægypt*, in *Appian* 'tis Ἄκβαρος

A. M. 3952.
U. C. 701.

Whereby one Head of the *Tricipitina* is cut off.

49. Thus periſhed *Craſſus*, (*a*) (who was ſo rich, that he would have none ſo accounted, but he that could by his own Revenues maintain an Army) and one of the Heads of the *Tricipitina* was hereby cut off. This laid the foundation of the Civil War

(*a*) *Cicero Offic. lib.* 1.

War betwixt the other two, for he, whilſt he lived, ballancing them, when he was gone, *Cæſar* muſt bring under *Pompey* before he could be Chief. Whilſt *Craſſus* warred againſt the *Parthians*, *Gabinius*, who had been Conſul when *Cicero* was baniſhed, reduced (*b*) into his Kingdom *Ptolomy Auletes*, whom his Subjects had expelled. Then was he *Proconſul* of *Syria*; but at his return being accuſed, eſpecially for making War upon *Egypt*, (which was ſuppoſed to be forbidden by the Verſes of *Sibylla*) and ready to be torn in pieces by the People, he was yet acquitted by corrupted Judges (or *Lælius* the Tribune) of Treaſon, but baniſhed, as upon other accounts, ſo chiefly for that he had ſcrewed out of his Province one hundred thouſand *Drachma's*, or *Denarii*, and was afterwards recalled by *Cæſar*.

(*b*) *Idem Epiſtolis ad Quintum fratrem & ad Atticum Dio lib.* 39. *Valer. Maxim. lib.* 8. *cap.* 1. *Exemp.* 3.

(*c*) *Cæſar Comment l.* 4.

Cæſar de bello Gallico lib. 4.

50, The Winter after *Cæſar* his Action againſt the *Morini* aud *Menapii*, *Pompey* and *Craſſus* being Conſuls, two *German* Nations, the *Uſipetes* and *Tenchtheri* paſſed with great multitudes over the *Rhine*, not far from the place where it falleth into the Sea. They had been ill treated for many years by the *Suevi*, the greateſt and moſt warlike Nation amongſt the *Germans*, who had one hundred *Pagi*, which yearly afforded to their Wars a thouſand Men apiece; the reſt living at home maintained themſelves and them, and ſucceeded them in the War the following year. By this means both Tillage and experience in War was continued. No Man had any Ground peculiar to himſelf, neither might they abide longer than a year in one place. They lived chiefly upon Cattel and Milk, and uſed much hunting; being for that, and becauſe they were not urged to any thing againſt their diſpoſition, ſtrong and of large ſtature. Their Bodies were but covered in part, and that but with Skins and Hides, and they waſhed them in the Rivers. Merchants frequented their Ports; not ſo much to bring them any Commodities, as to buy what they got in War. Oxen they cared not for, though the *Galls* would purchaſe them at any rate; but made uſe of their own rugged ugly Cattel, which by uſe they rendred tame and fit for ſervice. They often forſook their Horſes in Battel, which being taught to ſtand in one place, and ready again to receive them, they fought on foot. Furniture of Horſes they eſteemed a baſe thing. They admitted no Wine as that which would effeminate them. They thought it inhanced their reputation as to valour, to have the bordering Territories lie waſt, as being not to be reſiſted by many States. And it was reported, that one way the Country lay waſt from them ſix hundred Miles together.

51. Next to the *Suevi* inhabited the *Ubii*, a State alſo great and potent, ſomewhat more civil than the reſt, by reaſon of their entercourſe with Merchants, and with the *Galls*. Theſe the *Suevi* had much brought under, though they could not drive them out of the Country; as alſo they handled the *Uſipetes* and *Tenchtheri* beforementioned, who for three years were forced from their Poſſeſſions to wander through the Continent of *Germany*, and at laſt fell upon the *Menapii*, inhabiting either ſide of the River *Rhine*. They being terrified thereat, forſook all their dwellings on the *German* ſide, and betook themſelves to that of *Gall*, to hinder them from farther paſſage. And they did ſo far hinder them, that they counterfeited a Retreat to their old habitation; but their Horſe, after three days Journey, ſpeedily returned, and ſurprized, and ſlew ſuch as upon their abſence were returned to the farther ſide. Theſe being ſlain, and their Shipping taken, they got over the River before the other *Menapii* had notice of their coming, eaſily diſpoſſeſſed them, and lived that Winter upon the ſpoil. *Cæſar* having notice of theſe things, and knowing the fickle humour of the *Galls*, and how they took their meaſures from light and idle Stories, haſted to his Army ſooner than he was wont to do.

The *Germans* paſs the *Rhine*.

52. He found what he had ſuſpected, that the *Germans* were invited by ſome *Galls* to come farther into the Country, and they proceeded as far as the Confines of the *Eburones* and *Condruſi*, who were under the protection of the *Treviri*. Yet *Cæſar* thought fit to diſſemble the matters, and incourage the Princes now got together in their loyalty. But he reſolved to oppoſe the *Germans*, who in his march ſent their Ambaſſadors, deſiring, that being forced out of their Habitation, they might have leave to fix in *Gall*; and ſeveral things they propounded, as *Cæſar* believed, to ſpin on the time till their Horſemen were returned, which were gone for ſpoil and proviſion over the *Moſa*. He gave them truce for one day, but notwithſtanding that Truce, they ſet upon and defeated a Party of five thouſand Horſe. Then did he not think it ſafe to hearken to them any more, eſpecially ſeeing that by that fraudulent Act they gained reputation amongſt the *Galls*, to whom he durſt not give ſpace to think upon it. He reſolved to fall upon them even in their Camp, which when he communicated to the Legates and *Quæſtors*, a very fortunate accident hapned. For the next morning the chiefeſt of them came to excuſe their late practice, and to de-

He defeateth them.

ſire a further Truce. He detained them in hold, and marched with his Army in a triple Battle (the Horſe behind the Foot, becauſe lately diſcouraged) to the Camp of the *Germans*. At firſt the Soldiers found ſome reſiſtance, but upon the ſcreeking of the Women and Children, who running away, were purſued; the Men alſo took themſelves to their heels, and ſuch as had eſcaped the Fight, coming to the confluence of the *Moſa*, and the *Rhine*, what through fear, wearineſs, and the force of the water, were all drowned. In the Conflict the *Romans* loſt not a Man, yet the number of the Enemy, with Women and Children, was four hundred and thirty thouſand. He gave leave to them he had kept in hold to depart; but they fearing the cruelty of the *Galls*, for the miſchief they had done them, deſired they might continue with the *Romans*, which *Cæſar* granted.

And paſſeth the *Rhine*.

53. The *German* Horſe that was abſent at the overthrow, fled into the Confines of the *Sicambri*, who refuſed to give them up, upon *Cæſars* demand; ſaying, that if the *Germans* were forbidden *Gall*, why ſhould the *Romans* challenge any Authority in their Territories? But *Cæſar* thought fit they ſhould ſee that the *Romans* could paſs the *Rhine* as well as they; eſpecially being deſired by the *Ubii*, who had alone accepted of his friendſhip, to ſend them aid againſt the *Suevi*. To paſs the *Rhine* he reſolved, but to do it by Boats, was neither ſafe, neither for his own honour, nor for the Majeſty of the People of *Rome*; and therefore, notwithſtanding the difficulty in ſo large, deep, and ſwift a River, yet he reſolved to try to make a Bridge, which if it ſucceeded not, he determined not to paſs over at all. But within ten days that the Timber began to be cut and carried, the Work was ended, and the Army tranſported; leaving then a ſtrong Party at either end of the Bridge, he invaded the *Sicambri*, receiving in the mean time many Ambaſſadors, and requiring Hoſtages. The *Sicambri*, at the perſwaſion of the *Uſipetes* and *Tenchtheri*, had forſaken their Country, and betaken themſelves into Woods and Deſerts. He waſted their Territories, and marched to the *Ubii*, to whom he had promiſed aid againſt the *Suevi*. By them he underſtood that the *Suevi*, upon rumor of the Bridge, had ſent all their Wealth, with their Wives and Children, into the Woods, and reſolved, that all that were able to bear Arms ſhould make Head, and give Battle to the *Romans* in the middle of their Country. But *Cæſar* having terrified the *Germans*, been revenged upon the *Sicambri*, and ſet, as he ſaith, the *Ubii* at liberty, (the things he deſigned) and ſpent eighteen days beyond the *Rhine*, having done enough for his own Honour, and the good of the Common-wealth, returned into *Gall*, and brake up the Bridge.

54. Before this he had underſtood, that in moſt part of the former Wars the *Galls* had received their Supply out of *Britain*. Though the Summer was ſo far ſpent, that it would not ſuffer him to finiſh a War, yet he thought it would be to good purpoſe, if he came only to view the Iſland, to underſtand the quality of the Inhabitants, and to know their Coaſt, their Ports and Landing places. Hereof the *Galls* were altogether ignorant; for ſeldom any but Merchants did travel to them. Neither had they diſcovered any thing but the Sea-Coaſt, and thoſe Regions which were oppoſite to *Gall*. Calling Merchants together from all Quarters, he neither could underſtand of what quantity the Iſland was; what Nations, or of what power they were that inhabited it; what uſe or experience of War they had; what Laws or Cuſtoms they uſed; nor what Haven they had to receive a Navy of the greater Ships.

Britain,

The name whence derived.

Conſul. Cambdenum in Britania.

55. *Britain*, or *Britany*, which alſo is *Albion*, being in *Greek* ΒΡΕΤΑΝΙΑ, ΒΡΕΤΑΝΙΚΗ, ΒΡΕΤΑΝΙΣ, ΑΛΒΙΩΝ, and ΑΛΟΥΙΩΝ, was by the *Romans* called *Britania* and *Romania*. It is moſt probable, ſaith *Cambden*, that the Inhabitants were called *Britains* from their painted Bodies, for whatſoever is thus painted and coloured, in their ancient Country ſpeech they call *Brith*, having been of old much given to paint themſelves, as many Writers do teſtifie. Now the Ancient *Greeks*, who ſailed by the Coaſts, underſtanding that the Nation was called *Brith*, might unto it add *Tania*, (which word in *Greek*, as the *Gloſſaries* ſhew, betokeneth a Region) and thereof make the compound name Βριτανία, that is *Britons-Land*, which is corrupted into Βρετανία, but by *Lucretius* and *Cæſar* the two firſt *Romans* that make mention thereof is truly called *Britania*. In confirmation of this opinion *Cambden* obſerveth, that in the names of well-nigh all the ancient *Britains*, there appeareth ſome ſignification of a colour, which no doubt (he ſaith) aroſe from this kind of painting. The *Red* colour is of the *Britains* called *Coch* and *Goch*, which in his judgment lieth couched in theſe names, *Cogidunus*, *Argentocoxus*, and *Segonax*. The *Black* colour called *Du*, ſheweth it ſelf in *Mandubratius*, *Cartimandua*, *Togodumnus*,

Bunduica, *Cogidunus*. The *White* colour called *Gwin*, in *Veautius* and *Immanuentius*. The *Wateriſh* called *Gwellwe* in *Vellocatus*, *Carvilius* and *Suella*. The *Blew*, which they call *Glaſs* in *Cuniglaſus*, and he proceedeth further. But this Learned Man coming to ſpeak of the time wherein *Britain* came to be known abroad, denieth that the *Britains* were with *Hercules* at the rape of *Heſione*; that *Ulyſſes* was ever in *Britain*; that the *Britains* beſtowed any Preſents upon *Cato*; that King *Alexander* the Great, or *Hannibal*, was ever in the Iſland; he doubteth whether ever the Ship of *Hiero*, mentioned by *Athenæus*, came hither; yet thinketh that the *Britains* were mingled with the *Cimbri* and *Galls*, in their Expeditions into *Italy* and *Greece*.

Cambdens Arguments that *Britain* was but known lately.

56. But as the *Romans*, *Galls*, and *Spaniards*, were unknown to *Herodotus*, and the ancient *Greek* Geographers, ſo of this mind he ever was, that it was late e're the *Greeks* and *Romans* heard of the *Britains* name. For he judgeth that little Book of the World, which goeth abroad under the name of *Ariſtotle*, and maketh mention of the *Britains*, of *Albion* and *Hierne*, to be of latter days by far than that Philoſopher, as the beſt learned Men (ſaith he) have judged. He accounteth *Polybius* the ancienteſt *Greek* Writer that mentioneth the *Britiſh* Iſles; who yet knew nothing of them: then doth he, in reference to other Nations, count it but a fable that *Himilco* the *Carthaginian*, being commanded by his Superiours to diſcover the Weſtern Sea-Coaſts of *Europe*, entred into this Iſle many years before that time. And the firſt *Latin* Author to his knowledge that made mention of *Britain* was *Lucretius*, in his Verſes concerning the difference of Air. Now that *Lucretius* lived but a little before *Cæſar* no man denieth: at what time we are taught out of *Cæſar* himſelf, that *Divitiacus* King of the *Soiſſons*, and the moſt mighty Prince of all *Gall*, Governed *Britain*, which, as alſo appeareth from *Cæſar*, is only to be underſtood of the Maritime Coaſts. Howbeit, *Diodorus Siculus* writeth, that *Britain* had experience of no Forreigners rule; for neither *Dionyſus*, (or *Bacchus*) nor *Hercules*, nor any other worthy, or *Demi-god* have we heard (ſaith he) to have attempted War upon that People. *Now* Cæſar, *who for his noble Acts is called* Divus, *was the firſt that ſubdued the* Britains, *and forced them to pay a certain Tribute.* From his time (ſaith *Cambden*) and no further off muſt the Writer of our Hiſtory fetch the beginning of his Work, if he throughly weigh with judgment what the learned *Varro* hath in time paſt written, (*viz.* of the three diſtinctions of times which we have formerly mentioned, *Uncertain* before the Flood, *Fabulous* before the *Olympiads*, and *Hiſtorical* ſince the beginning of them) and my ſelf already heretofore ſignified. This moſt learned Man mentions this diviſion of *Varro*, becauſe that the *Britiſh* Hiſtory of *Geffrey* of *Monmouth* taketh its beginning three hundred and thirty three years before the firſt *Olympiad*. This Hiſtory we muſt abſolutely diſclaim as utterly fabulous in reference to King *Brutus*, and other fictions depending on his Story. But whether or no *Britain* was not known abroad till ſo late time as our *Antiquary* judgeth, muſt be examined for the honour of our Country, ſaving ever that reſpect which is due (and that juſtly) unto his name, and will not be at all diminiſhed, ſeeing the conteſt is betwixt him alſo, and *Bochartus* himſelf.

The contrary aſſerted.

57. The controverſie is decided clearly againſt *Cambden*, if two things can but be made out. 1. That the *Caſſeterides* or *Iſlands of Tinne* were known very anciently, and 2. That the *Caſſiterides* were no other than the *Britiſh Iſles*. The firſt is proved from the Teſtimony of many, that the *Phœnicians* were wont to trade to the *Caſſiterides*, and thence to fetch plenty of Tinne. *Strabo* affirmeth it, and that they firſt traded thither alone from *Gades*, hiding from others this courſe of Traffick, in ſo much that a certain *Phœnician* Sailor being chaſed by a *Roman* Veſſel, choſe rather to run his Ship aground, and ſuffer Shipwrack, to cauſe his purſuers to miſcarry, than to reveal the matter, for which fidelity, having eſcaped himſelf, he had his loſs made up out of the publick Treaſury at his return to *Carthage*. *Pliny* alſo writeth, (b) in the Chapter of the firſt Inventors, That *Midacritus firſt carried Lead from the Iſland* Caſſiteris. For *Midacritus* is to be read *Melcarthus*, or *Melicartus*, the *Phœnician Hercules*, according to *Sanchoniathon*, whom the *Phœnicians* make Author of the Weſtern Voyages. (c) *Herodotus* acknowledgeth he knew not where the *Caſſiterides* were; but that there were ſome then he acknowledgeth alſo, *whence Tinne came to them* the *Greeks*, and from him it appeareth, that they were ſituate in the utmoſt limits of *Europe*. The *Phœnicians* being unwilling that any ſhould know them but themſelves, the *Greeks* bought Tin and Lead, either of them, or the *Veneti*, or *Narbonenſes*, to whom it was wont to be carried by Land in a journey of thirty days, as *Diodorus* telleth us. (d) *Dionyſius Pæriegetes* mentioned them under the name of *Heſperides*, and ſo doth *Tzetzes*.

Lib. 3. *p.* 175.

(b) *Lib.* 7. *c.* 56.

(c) *L.* 3. *c.* 115.

(d) *Videſis apud Bocharti Canaan l.* 1. *c.* 39.

Feſtus Anienus ſpeaketh of them under the name of *Oeſtrymnedes*, expreſly of the ſailing of the *Phœnicians* to them, and that *Hamilco*, who was ſent from the Senate of *Carthage* to diſcover the Weſt, came thither, as he himſelf recorded, whom *Feſtus* profeſſed to follow in the deſcription of the Weſt, having made his Collections out of the depth of the *Punick Annals*. Theſe things conſidered, prove ſufficiently, that the *Caſſiterides* were known in very ancient times.

58. For the ſecond, that the *Britiſh Iſles are thoſe* Caſſiterides *or* Stannaries, there needs no proof, *Cambden* himſelf confeſſing, nay proving by many Arguments, that the *Iſlands* of *Silly* lying off from the Promontory of *Cornwal* eight Leagues, and in number one hundred and forty five, are the very ſame that from the plenty of Tin were called *Caſſiterides*, from their ſite *Heſperides*, and *Oeſtrymnides*, from *Oeſtrymnis* the Promontory of the *Artabri*, now *Gallitia* in *Spain*, over againſt which they lie. Now for the conſequence of the thing, can any imagine that theſe Iſlands ſhould be ſo long known, and not *Britain* it ſelf to which they lie ſo cloſe, and from which they are deſervedly called *Britiſh* Iſles? And what reaſon is there to think, (as *Cambden* doth) that ſuch dream as believe that *Hamilco* came hither? It's a wonder he ſhould ſay, that there's nothing for it but a Verſe or two of *Feſtus Anienus*; when *Feſtus* ſaith, that he read the ſtory of the whole Navigation, deſcribed by *Hamilco* himſelf in the *Punick Annals*. *Cambden* himſelf contendeth, that from the *Caſſiterides was Lead firſt of all carried into* Greece, whence it followeth, that they were known before the time of *Homer*, who maketh mention of the Metal. As for what he urgeth concerning *Polybius*, that he was utterly ignorant of theſe Parts, if it were granted that he was, yet the *Phœnicians*, who in the *Heroick* times ſent out Colonies into the Ocean beyond *Gades*, knew theſe Coaſts ſufficiently. But *Cambden* miſtook the Hiſtorian, as may appear from all that paſſage read together, which only importeth, that as *it was not known whether* Aſia *and* Africk *on the South ſide were terminated by the Sea, ſo neither whether the Sea flowed about the Northern parts of* Europe *that lie above* Narbon; which truly at this day we know not certainly, though in ſo much light. That this interpretation is to be made, and that *Polybius* did not mean, that *in his age whatever lay above* Narbon *was unknown, and that they dreamed who ſpoke or wrote any thing of it*, hence appeareth. For he himſelf accurately deſcribed the Fountains of *Rhodanus*, with *Corbilon* upon *Ligeris*, and many other places of *Gall* above *Narbon*. And in his third Book he promiſeth he would write of what lay *beyond the Sea, and what was there remarkable*, nay, (which is eſpecially to be noted) of the *Britiſh Iſles*, and *making of Tin*. That he performed his promiſe in the Books that are loſt, appeareth from **Strabo*, who telleth us, That *Polybius deſcribing the Regions of* Europe, *ſaid, he would let paſs the Ancients, and inquire into ſuch as reprehended them, as* Dicæarchus, *and* Eratoſthenes, *who laſt of all had handled Geography, and* Pytheas *who had impoſed upon many. For, he* (Pytheas) *ſaid, he had not viewed all the Soil of* Britain; *but the Iſland was above forty thouſand* (Stadia or Furlongs I ſuppoſe) *in compaſs*,

His Arguments refuted.

* *Lib.* 2. *p.* 104.

59, From this place it appeareth, that ſeveral whom *Polybius* calleth τȣς ἀρχαίȣς or Ancients, wrote of theſe Parts, before eitheir *Dicæarchus* or *Eratoſthenes*, *Pythæas*, or himſelf. Now *Eratoſthenes*, who, as he ſaith, was the laſt that handled Geography, *Suidas* writeth to have been born in the 126 *Olympiad*, which was celebrated in the thirty ſeventh year of the *Seleucidæ*, the ſeventh of *Antiochus Soter*, the ninth of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, and the 478 year of the City, when *Q. Fabius Gurges* and *C. Genutius Clepſina* were Conſuls, *Pyrrhus* then warring in *Sicily*, two hundred and ſeventy four years before the birth of Chriſt. But *Dicæarchus* boaſteth in *Athenæus*, that he had *Ariſtotle* for his Maſter; and then *Pythæas*, who was cited by both, muſt needs have preceded them, Yet theſe Writers were but of late in compariſon of *Orpheus* the moſt ancient Poet, one of the *Argonautæ*, by whom *Cambden* himſelf affirmeth *Britain* to have been deſcribed. Although in truth *Orpheus* was not Author of thoſe Poems fathered on him, but *Onomacritus* an *Athænian* Poet, who lived under the *Piſiſtratidæ*, as both (*a*) *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and (*b*) *Tatianus* inform us; yet two advantages we have hereby. For firſt, *Cambden* is inconſtant, denying that *Britain* was known to the ancient *Greeks*; and ſecondly, this Iſland muſt have been known then long before the former Geographers; for the *Piſiſtratidæ* were baniſhed *Athens* in the third year of the ſixty ſeventh *Olympiad*, the twelfth of *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, the 244 of the City, (at the ſame time that *Tarquinius* was baniſhed) five hundred and eight years before the birth of Chriſt, though they write that he flouriſhed in the fiftieth *Olympiad*, in the firſt year whereof *Piſiſtratus* indeed got the Sovereignty over the City. Theſe things ſufficiently prove, that *Britain* was known of old

(*a*) *Stromat. l.* 1

(*b*) *Orat. contra Græcos pag.* 173. *Edit. unà cum Athenagora & Theophylo.*

old to ſeveral Nations, though we mentioned not what *Bochartus* probably conjectureth concerning the Etymology of the name. The *Phœnicians* trading hither for Lead or Tin, might juſtly call it *Barat-Anac*, that is, *The Land of Lead or Tin*, as the *Greeks Caſſiteris*; and this might eaſily be changed into *Bretanica*. *Anac* ſignifieth both Lead and Tin, no places in the World are ſo fruitful of either as the *Britiſh Iſles*. And it may ſeem no wonder that the Word ſhould be ſo altered, ſeeing that from *Phœnice* are derived *Pœnicus*, *Punicus*, *Puniceus*, and *Pœnus*. He alſo giveth other marks of the *Phœnicians* their planting in thoſe Iſlands, in the thirty ninth Chapter of the firſt Book of that excellent Work entituled *Canaan*, concerning the Colonies and Language of that People, to which we refer the ſtudious in Antiquity, having thus far in ſome ſort ſeemed to vindicate the honour of our Country. Now to return to the courſe of our Hiſtory.

60. *Cæſar* ſent out *C. Voluſenus* with a Gally to diſcover what he could concerning the quality of the Iſland, and its Inhabitants, with order ſpeedily to return, and get all his Ships together on the Coaſt of the *Morini*; in the mean time his reſolution being known, many private States of the Iſle ſent and ſubmitted themſelves, offering to give Hoſtages, and he returned back the Meſſengers with good words. E're *Voluſenus* returned, who durſt not go aſhoar, the *Morini* ſubmitted, and being unwilling to have an Enemy at his back, he received them and their Hoſtages. Eighty Ships of Burthen he thought ſufficient to tranſport two Legions. He divided the Gallies to the *Quæſtor*, the *Legates* and *Commanders* of the Horſe, appointing other eighteen Ships of Burthen which lay wind-bound at another Port for the Horſemen. In the third Watch he put to Sea, commanding his Horſe to follow, which was but ſlowly performed. About the fourth hour of the day he arrived upon the Coaſt, where he fonnd all the Cliffs poſſeſſed by the Forces of the Enemy. The Place where he arrived was ſuch, that the Hills lay ſo ſteep over the Sea, that a Weapon might eaſily be caſt from the higher ground; and therefore he thought it not fit to land, but caſt Anchor till the reſt of the Navy were come up. Then after a Counſel called of the Legates and Tribunes, wherein he required a quick obedience to Orders, he removed eight Miles further unto a plain and open Shoar.

61. The *Britains* ſent their Horſe and Chariots (which they commonly uſed in War) before, and followed with the reſt of their Forces. *Cæſar* found that his Men did not uſe the ſame courage as formerly in landing, for the Ships were ſo great, that they could not be brought near the Shoar, and the Soldiers were forced to wade deep with their heavy Armour, in places unknown; whereas the *Britains* well knowing where they were, managed their matters with great advantage. He cauſed the Gallies to be rowed toward the Shore, with which the *Britains* unacquainted, and thence offended with Slings, Engines and Arrows, began to give back. But ſtill the Soldiers lingering, by reaſon of the depth of the Sea, the Enſign-bearer of the tenth Legion deſiring the Gods that it might fall out happily to the Legion, told the Soldiers, That if they would forſake their Eagle, and betray it to the Enemy, for his own part he would do his duty both to the Common-wealth, and to his General. Therewith he caſt himſelf into the Sea, and carried the Eagle towards the Enemy, at which ſight the *Romans* exhorting one another not to ſuffer ſuch a diſhonour to be committed, all leaped out of the Ship, and were followed by others near at hand with great alacrity. The Fight on both ſides was very eager, the *Romans* ſtrugling with great diſadvantages, and keeping with the Enſign they firſt met. The *Britains* over-powred them, till *Cæſar* cauſed the Ship-boats and ſmaller Veſſels to be manned with Soldiers, and where he ſaw need, ſent them in to the reſcue. Having got footing on Land, his Men made Head together, charged the Enemy, and put them to flight. But the Horſemen were not able to purſue, nor take the Iſland; which thing (he ſaith himſelf) was only wanting to *Cæſars* wonted fortune.

Cæſar invadeth *Britain*.

62. But the *Britains* being overthrown in this Ingagement, ſent and ſurrendred themſelves, gave ſome Hoſtages, and promiſed that others ſhould be delivered, excuſing themſelves by ignorance for what was done amiſs, and caſting the blame upon the Multitude. Their People they commanded to return to their Quarters, but the Governours and Princes came out of all Parts, and commended themſelves and their States to *Cæſar*. Peace was hereby concluded, and four days after that he was come into *Britain*, the eighteen Ships appointed for the Horſemen put out to Sea with a gentle Wind, but, were ſo diſtreſſed with a Tempeſt, that when they were within view of the *Roman* Camp, ſome were forced to return to the Port from whence they came, others were driven to the Weſtward, and there caſting Anchor, took in ſo much water, that they were forced to direct their courſe back again to the Coaſt of *Gall*.

Sect. 6.

Moreover the Fleet that *Cæſar* brought over with him, as well Gallies as Ships of burthen, were miſerably diſtreſſed by the Tide, of which the *Romans* were ignorant; many were ſplit and rent in pieces, and the reſt loſt both Anchors, Cables, and other Tackling, and became altogether unſerviceable. Hereat the whole Army was exceedingly troubled, there being no Shipping to carry them back, nor Proviſions to ſuſtain them; for here in the Iſland they could not continue. And the *Britiſh* Princes knowing this; beſides, that they wanted Horſe, and conſidering the ſmallneſs of their Camp, (for *Cæſar* had tranſported his Forces without ſuch neceſſary Carriages as they uſed to take with them) they reſolved to intercept their Proviſions, keep them in till Winter, and ſo ſtarve them; concluding, that if they were cut off, no Man would ever after adventure to bring an Army into the Iſland.

The manner how the *Brittains* fought from their Chariots.

63. *Cæſar* gueſſed that the event of the loſing of his Shipping would be ſuch, eſpecially when he ſaw that they brought not their Hoſtages; therefore he fetcht in Corn out of the Fields, and ſo repaired his Ships, that he loſt but twelve of the number, the reſt being made able to abide the Sea. But the ſeventh Legion being ſent out for Corn, were ſet upon by the *Britains*, and over powered; which *Cæſar* ſuſpecting from a greater duſt than was uſually diſcovered in that Quarter, haſted thither, and found his Men incompaſſed with their Horſemen and their Chariots. Their manner of fighting in Chariots was to ride up and down, and caſt their Weapons as they ſaw advantage, and with the terror of their Horſes, and the ratling of their Wheels, to diſorder the Ranks; and when they brought themſelves within any Troops of Horſe, they forſook their Chariots, and fought on foot; in the mean time the Drivers would go a little aſide, and ſo place them, that upon occaſion they might have an eaſie paſſage, and help their Maſters. In all Fights they performed both the nimble motion of Horſemen, and the firm ſtability of Footmen, being ſo ready with daily practice, that they could ſtop in the declivity of a ſteep Hill, turn ſhort, or moderate their going as they pleaſed, and run along the Beam, and reſt upon the Yoak or Harneſs of their Horſes, and return as ſpeedily again when they thought fit.

He returns.

64. *Cæſar* came in to the reſcue in very good time; upon which the Enemy ſtood ſtill, and his Men received courage; but having ſtaid ſome time in the place, he thought not fit to provoke the Enemy, or give him Battel, and ſo drew off back again to his Camp. After this, by tempeſtuous weather, the *Romans* were kept in their Camp, and all Action prevented. But in the mean while the *Britains* incouraged one another from the ſmallneſs of the *Roman* Forces, and reſolved to attacque their Camp. *Cæſar* gave them battle before the Camp, and eaſily defeated them, of whom great ſlaughter was made, though he had with him but forty Horſe; and their Towns were burnt far and near. The ſame day they ſent to treat, and *Cæſar* required double Hoſtages to be brought over to him into *Gall*. For the Æquinoctial being at hand, he thought it not ſafe to put to Sea in Winter, and therefore a little after midnight he ſet ſail, and brought all his Ships ſafe to the Continent, only two of Burthen, not able to reach the ſame Harbour, put in ſomewhat lower in the Land; and when the three hundred Soldiers that were in them went on ſhoar, they were ſet upon by the *Morini*, but relieved at length by a Party of Horſe which *Cæſar* ſent. The next day he ſent *T. Labienus* againſt theſe revolted *Morini*, who having not whither now to eſcape, their Fenns and Boggs being dried up, fell under the power of his mercy. *Q. Titurius* and *A. Cotta*, two other Legates alſo, after they had waſted the Territories of the *Menapii*, who were retired into thick Woods, returned to *Cæſar*. He placed the wintering Camp amongſt the *Belgæ*, to which two only of the States of *Britain* ſent Hoſtages, the other neglecting. Theſe things being related by *Cæſars* Letters, the Senate decreed a Supplication for thirty days. Now the Ceremony of Supplication was this. After the Magiſtrate had publickly proclaimed that the General had happily and ſucceſsfully adminiſtred the Affairs of the Common-wealth, the *Roman* People cloathed in white, and crowned with Garlands, went to all the Temples of their Gods, and there Sacrificed, to gratulate the Victory in his Name; and in this time they were forbidden all other buſineſs but what appertained to this Solemnity. At firſt it laſted but one or two days, then came to four, five, ten, afterward to fifteen in honour of *Cæſar*; and for his further Honour was now increaſed to the number of twenty.

65. *Cæſar* going into *Italy* from his Winter Quarters, as every year he was wont to do, when *L. Domitius* and *Appius Claudius* were Conſuls, gave order to his Legates to build as many Ships as they poſſibly could, and repair the old; and the new ones he would have lower and flatter for lading and unlading, and tranſporting Horſe, and all of them made for the uſe of Oars. From *Gall* within the *Alps* he paſſed to

Cæſar de bello Gallico lib. 5.

Illyricum, where the *Piruſtæ* infeſted the Province, whom having terrified into a compliance, and received Hoſtages, he deputed certain Perſons to compound differences, and puniſh the guilty, and ſo he returned the ſame way he came to his Army into *Gall*. After his Arrival he went to the *Treviri*, whom he ſuſpected of a deſign to revolt, becauſe they came not to the Aſſembly of Eſtates, and for other reaſons. Amongſt them *Indutiomarus* and *Cingetorix* contended for Superiority, of whom the latter preſently came over to *Cæſar*; but the former reſolving upon War, ſecured all perſons unable to bear Arms in the Wood *Arduenna*, which being very large, began at the *Rhine*, and ran through the *Treviri* to the Borders of the People of *Rheims*: But finding all the chief to fall off, leſt he ſhould be left alone, he alſo ſubmitted. *Cæſar* reſolving upon another Expedition into *Britain*, accepted of two hundred Hoſtages, and reconciled the chief of the *Treviri* to *Cingetorix*, whom he found to be for his Intereſt; which ſo vexed *Induciomarus*, that of no friend he became to the *Romans* a bitter Enemy. Having ſetled matters there, he came back with the Legions to the Port *Itius*, (now of *Calis*) where finding things in good readineſs, and Horſe to the number of four thouſand, he reſolved to take over with him ſome of the *Galls* from among the chief Men of every City that were come to him. And he pitched in particular upon *Dumnorix* the *Æduan*, knowing him to be a Man deſirous of change, greedy of Rule, of courage and reſolution, and one of greateſt Authority. He was very unwilling to go, and when Intreaties could not prevail for his ſtay, he endeavoured to make a diſturbance, and when that would not do, he fled, but by *Cæſars* order was killed reſiſting, by thoſe that were ſent to purſue him.

The ſecond Expedition into *Britain*.

66. *Cæſar* having left *Labienus* in the Continent with three Legions, and two thouſand Horſe, to ſecure the *Roman* Intereſt, with five Legions, and as many Horſe as he left behind him, imbarqued in a Navy of in all above eight hundred Veſſels, and put out about Sun-ſetting with a ſoft South-wind. The Wind continued till mid-night, and then he was becalmed; but was carried with the Tide till morning, when he perceived the Iſland to lie on his right hand. By rowing as the Tide changed, he endeavoured to reach that place where he formerly landed, and this he did by the great induſtry of the Soldiers, who by Oars made the great Ships of Burthen to keep way with the *Gallies*. Arriving at high Noon, he found the *Britains* had been on the Coaſt, but upon ſight of ſo huge a number of Ships, they retired, and hid themſelves in the Woods. Having fortified his Camp, and left a Guard for his Ships, in the third Watch of the night, he marched towards them, and found them at twelve Miles diſtance, where at a River they made ſome oppoſition, but were beaten back and retired into a Wood. The Place was ſtrongly fortified both by Art and Nature, and ſeemed to be made for a defence in their Civil Wars. For all the Entrances were cloſed with great Trees laid overthwart the Paſſages. They endeavoured to hinder the *Romans* from entring the Fortification. But the Soldiers of the ſeventh Legion with a Teſtudo and a Mount took it, and drove them out of the Woods without any loſs; but being ignorant of the Place, he would not ſuffer them to purſue, reſolving to imploy the remaining part of the day in the further fortifying of his Camp.

67. The next day early he ſent out his Forces in three Companies to ſeek them out, but received news in a ſhort time from *Q. Atrius*, with whom he had left ten Cohorts and the charge of the Shipping, that the whole Navy by an hideous Tempeſt was either ſore beaten or caſt on Shore. *Cæſar* called back the Legions, and found that forty Ships were loſt, and the reſt not to be repaired but with great induſtry and pains. He choſe Carpenters and Shipwrights out of the Legions, cauſed others to be ſent for out of *Gall*, and wrote to *Labienus* to provide what Shipping he could. And how laborious ſoever it was, he thought fit to take up all the Ships on Shore, and bring them within the Fortification of his Camp; in which work, and fortifying the Camp, were ſpent ten days without intermiſſion either of day or night; and returning to the Place whence he came, he found the *Britains* in great numbers aſſembled, and the management of the War conferred on *Caſſivellaun*, whoſe Kingdom was divided from the Maritime States, by the River *Thames*, beginning at the Sea, and extending it ſelf for fourſcore Miles into the Iſland. He had made continual War with his neighbour States; but, upon coming of the *Romans*, they all forgot their home-bred quarrels, and caſt their whole Government upon him, as the fitteſt to direct in the War.

Britain, by whom inhabited.

68. Now, the inner part of *Britain* was inhabited by ſuch as were reported to be born in the Iſland, and the Maritime Coaſts by ſuch as came out of *Belgia*, either to make Incurſions or Invaſions; and after the War was ended, they continued in the

Poſſeſſions they had gained, and were called by the Names of the Cities from whence they came. The Country was very Populous, and well inhabited with Houſes, much like unto them in *Gall*. They had great ſtore of Cattel, and uſed Braſs for Money, or Iron Rings weighed at a certain rate. In the Mediterranean Parts was found great quantity of Tin; and in the Maritime Parts Iron, but they had but little of that: their Braſs was brought in by other Nations. They had all ſorts of Trees, as in *Gall*, except the *Fig* and *Beech*. Their Religion would not ſuffer them to eat either Hare, Hen, or Gooſe; notwithſtanding they had of all ſorts, as well for novelty as variety. The Country, ſaith he, is more temperate, and not ſo cold as *Gall*. The Iſland lieth Triangular, whereof one ſide confronteth *Gall*, of which ſide that Angle wherein *Cantium* (or *Kent*) lies, is the uſual Place of landing from it, and pointeth to the Eaſt, and the other Angle to the South. This containeth about fifty Miles. Another ſide lieth toward *Spain*, and the Weſt, the ſame way that *Hibernia*, (or *Ireland*) being an Iſland half as big as *Britain*, and as far diſtant from it as *Gall*. In the mid way, betwixt *Britain* and *Ireland*, lieth *Mona*, (now *Angleſey*) and many other Iſles; of which ſome write, that in Winter time, for thirty days together, they have continual night, whereof we learned nothing by enquiry; only we found by certain meaſures of Water, that the Nights in *Britain* were ſhorter than in the Continent. The length of this ſide, according to the opinion of the Inhabitants, containeth ſeven hundred Miles. The third ſide lieth to the North, and the open Sea, ſaving that this Angle doth ſomething point towards *Germany*. This is thought to contain eight hundred Miles; and ſo the whole Iſland in circuit two thouſand. Of all the Inhabitants, they of *Cantium* are moſt courteous and civil, all their Country bordering upon the Sea, and little differing from the faſhion of *Gall*. Moſt of the In-land People ſow no Corn, but live upon Milk and Fleſh, cloathed with Skins, and having their Faces painted with a blew colour, that they may ſeem more terrible in fight: They have the hair of their Heads long, and all the parts of their Body ſhaven except their upper Lip. Their Wives are common to ten or twelve, eſpecially Brethren with Brethren, and Parents with Children; but the Children that are born, are put to them unto whom the Mother was firſt given in Marriage.

69. The *Britiſh* Cavalry and Chariots gave a ſharp oppoſition to the *Roman* Horſe in their march; but, *Cæſar* tells you, ſo as the *Romans* got the better every way, driving them with great ſlaughter to the Woods and Hills, and being too venterous in the Purſuit, they loſt certain of their own Men. After ſome intermiſſion of time, when the *Romans* little thought of them, and were buſied in fortifying their Camp, the *Britains*, from out of the Woods, ſuddenly charged upon ſuch as kept Watch before it. *Cæſar* ſent out two of the chiefeſt Cohorts of two Legions to aſſiſt their fellows. However he confeſſeth, that *Q. Laberius Durus*, a Tribune, was ſlain; and the *Britains* were repelled with more Cohorts which he ſent to relieve the fotmer; and he adds, that the Soldiers upon the Watch firſt ſet upon, and terrified with a ſtrange kind of Fight, while the Cohorts ſent to their relief fought with a Lane or Alley betwixt them, brake through, and came to their fellows. He owns farther, that the Fight happening in the view of all the Camp, it was plainly perceived, that the Legionary Soldiers, neither able for the weight of their Armour to purſue the Enemy, nor yet daring to go far from their ſeveral Enſigns, was not a fit Adverſary to conteſt this ſort of Enemy; and that the Horſe likewiſe fought with no leſs peril, in as much as the Enemy would retire back of purpoſe, and when they had drawn them a little from the Legions, they would then light from their Chariots, and incounter them with that advantage which is betwixt a Foot-man and an Horſeman. Beſides, they never fought thick and cloſe together, but thin, and at great diſtances, having ſtations of Men to ſuccour one another, to receive the weary, and to ſend out freſh Supplies.

Cæſar encounters with the *Britains*.

70. The next day they made a ſtand upen the Hills afar off, and ſhewed themſelves not ſo often, neither were they ſo buſie with the *Roman* Horſe as the day before. But about noon *Cæſar* ſent out three Legions, and all his Horſe to forage, and they made a ſudden aſſault upon the Foragers, and fell in cloſe with the Enſigns and the Legions. The *Romans* charged ſo fiercely, that they beat them back, and the Horſe incouraged by having the Legions behind them, put them to flight, and did great execution, giving them no reſpite to make Head, or forſake their Chariots. After this overthrow all their Auxiliaries forſook them; neither did they afterward contend with the *Romans*, with any great power. But *Cæſar* knowing their deſign, led his Army to the River *Thameſis*, and the Confines of *Caſſivelaun*, which River was paſſable by foot but in one place, and that very hardly. At his arrival he found a great

a great power imbatteled on the other ſide, and the Bank fortified with many ſharp Stakes, and many other were alſo ſtuck under the water. Theſe things being diſcovered by the Captives and Fugitives, *Cæſar* put his Horſe before, and cauſed the Legions to follow preſently after; and notwithſtanding they had but their heads above water, the Soldiers proceeded with that violence, that the Enemy was not able to ſuſtain the Charge, but left the Bank, and betook themſelves to flight. *Caſſivellaun* having no courage to contend any further, diſmiſs'd moſt of his Forces, and retaining only four thouſand Chariots, obſerved the motions of the *Romans*, keeping the Woods whither he had driven the People and Cattel out of the Fields; and as their Horſe made any Sallies for Forage or Booty, he ſent his Chariots out upon them, and put them to great peril, in ſo much that the Horſe durſt never venture further than the Legions; neither was there any more ſpoil made in the Country, than what the Legionary Soldiers made themſelves.

71. In the mean time the *Trinobantes*, being almoſt the greateſt State in the Country, ſent to *Cæſar* their Ambaſſadors, to offer ſubmiſſion, and that *Mandubratius* might be ſent to reign amongſt them, and be protected from *Caſſivellaun*; for, his Father *Imanuentius* holding that Kingdom, had been ſlain by *Caſſievllaun*, and he had fled to *Cæſar* into *Gall*. *Cæſar* requiring forty Hoſtages from them, and Corn for his Army, ſent *Mandubratius* to them. After this the *Cenimagni* ſeeing how the *Trinobantes* were delivered from all violence, as alſo the *Seguntiaci*, *Ancalites*, *Bibroci*, and *Caſſi*, yielded themſelves. From them he underſtood that the Town of *Caſſivellaun* was not far off; that it was fortified with Woods and Boggs, and well ſtored with Men and Cattle. Now the *Britains* call, ſaith he, a Town, ſome thick Wood incloſed about with a Ditch and Rampire, made for a place of Retreat, when they ſtand in fear of incurſions from the Borderers. *Cæſar* marched and found it well fortified both by Art and Nature. He aſſaulted it at two ſeveral places, and the Enemy unable to keep it, withdrew himſelf by a back way, and ſo he took it; therein he found great ſtore of Cattle, and ſlew many of the *Britans*.

73. In the mean time *Caſſivellaun* ſent into *Kent*, wherein were four ſeveral Kings, *Cingetorix*, *Carvilius*, *Taximagulus*, and *Segonax*; them he commanded, with all the power they could make, to ſet upon the Camp where the *Roman* Navy was drawn up. The Kings obeyed his Order, but by a Sally made out upon them, were overthrown, many of their Men ſlain, and *Lugotorix* a great Commander taken Priſoner. The ill ſucceſs of this Attempt concurring with the former loſſes, and eſpecially the revolt of the fore-named States, moved *Caſſivellaun* to deſire peace. *Cæſar* was reſolved to winter in the Continent for fear of Commotions in *Gall*; and conſidered that the Summer was far ſpent, and might eaſily be lingred out. He therefore appointed what Hoſtages he would have, and what yearly Tribute the *Britains* ſhould pay to the *Romans*; and gave a ſtrict charge to *Caſſivellaun* to do no injury to *Mandubratius*, or the *Trinobantes*. Having received the Hoſtages, he found his Ships repaired, and at twice tranſported his Army over into *Gall*, which he was conſtrained to do, becauſe of the number of his Priſoners, and that ſome Veſſels were caſt away.

73. This is the account which *Cæſar* himſelf gives us of his two Expeditions into this Iſland, of the behaviour of the *Britains*, and the ſucceſs. We have no relation of the *Britains* themſelves to compare with it, who probably would have told us ſeveral paſſages; which either he did not obſerve, or wittingly omitted. As to the main of the Affair, other Writers have agreed, that he rather affrighted the Inhabitants, than performed any great matter. *Tacitus* ſaith, he rather ſhewed than delivered *Britain* to the *Romans*. *Eutropius* writes, That in his firſt Expedition he was wearied with *bitter fight*, and ſeized with an adverſe Tempeſt; but *Lucan* (indeed no great friend to the Family of the *Cæſars*) ſings how he ran away in a fright from the *Britains*, whom he had ſought out. To ſpeak indifferently, his Narration of this *Britiſh* War is ſomething odd and different from other parts of his Hiſtory, in the boldneſs of Style, and vigour of Spirit, wherein he excelled. In relating the Skirmiſhes that hapned in the march of the *Romans*, he makes rather excuſes why his Men did no better, than any thing elſe. He acknowledgeth, that the Legionary Soldiers, by reaſon of their heavy Armour, and becauſe they durſt not go from their ſeveral Enſigns, were not a fit Adverſary to conteſt this kind of Enemy. And yet he alſo acknowledges, that his Horſe fought with no leſs danger, by reaſon of the advantage the *Britains* received from the nimble management of their Chariots, and their manner of fighting and ſuccouring one another. He confeſſeth that his Horſe was put to great peril, and for that *Caſſivellaun* ſent his Chariots by unknown ways, and ſurprized them, they durſt never adventure farther than the Legions, neither was there

Territa quæſitis oſtendit terga Britannis

The ſucceſs of *Cæſar* queſtioned.

Sect. 6. there any more ſpoil made in the Country than what the Legionary Soldiers made themſelves.

74. It's to be feared, that had not the Revolt of the *Trinobantes*, and other States happened, *Cæſar* would have been put more to his invention to excuſe his want of ſucceſs, and by reaſon of the temptation accompanying ſuch as write Commentaries of their own Acts, to make fairer gloſſes and flouriſhes than poſſibly the ſeverity of truth might require. However, wanting direct matter to oppoſe him, we ſhall not undertake the buſineſs. *Suetonius* tells us the report went, that he came over into *Britain* to ſeek for Pearls, to which the relation made by *Pliny* doth bear ſome teſtimony, who writes, that being returned victorious out of the Iſland, he dedicated *Cambden in Brit.* a Breaſt-plate made of *Britiſh* Pearls to *Venus Genetrix* in her Temple. The place where he landed is believed to have been *Deal*, where the Coaſt is flat, and eaſie of acceſs, and ſome riſings of ground are to be ſeen, which the Inhabitants call *Romeſworke*. He paſſed the River near *Otelands* in *Surrey*, at a place called *Coway Stakes*, from the Stakes which *Beda* in his time ſaid were ſtill to be ſeen, as big as a Mans Thigh, and covered with Lead, ſticking in the bottom of the River. The Town of *Caſſivelliun* is thought to have been *Verulam*, in the Hundred of *Caiſhow*, afterward a famous *Municipium* of the *Romans*. To conclude this matter concerning *Cæſars* Expeditions into *Britain*, I know no Hiſtorical Relations Authentick, before thoſe that he hath made; neither do I think, that we have any thing certain concerning *Britiſh* Affairs before his time, except what I have ſaid concerning the *Caſſiterides*, and that *Divitiacus* King of the *Sueſſiones* had Dominion here. As for them that will have a *Brute*, let them have a *Brute* if they will; but give leave to them that will have no *Brute*, to have no *Brute*; as he ſaid concerning the May-pole. Now *Cæſar again in Gall.* let us follow *Cæſar* into *Gall*.

75. Having held a Councel of the *Galls* at *Samarobrina*, he found that by reaſon of the ſcarcity of Corn which had followed a drought, there was more neceſſity of diſperſing his Army into their Winter Quarters, than there had been the years before. To ſeveral Officers he gave ſeveral Legions to be placed in ſeveral Countries, yet all within an hundred Miles, except that where *L. Roſcius* ſetled, in a quiet and peaceable part. This was, as the preſent Copies have it, amongſt the *Eſſui*. But our Geographer *Monetus* tells us, that in *Cæſars* Commentaries ſeveral forged People are put for true and genuine, by unskilful Tranſcribers or Interpreters; and he inſtanceth in this place, where he ſaith, That inſtead of *Eſſui* is to be read *Seſuvii*, the word being corrupted firſt, by tranſpoſing the two former Letters, and one put out of the middle. He tells us, That the *Aulerci Diablintes*, or *Diablitæ*, being one, were divided into two private People, *viz.* the *Selſuvii*, (now thoſe of the Territory of *Sees* in *Normandy*) who poſſeſſed the upper and Northern Parts, whoſe Metropolis was *Noviodunum*, now *Sees*; and the *Arovii*, inhabiting the lower and Southern, (now the People of the Territory of *Alanſon*) whoſe chief Seat was *Vagoritum* or *Alangon*. Now he gives a reaſon why *Cæſar* calls this Tract of theirs quiet and peaceable. Becauſe in the bordering Nation of the *Carnutes* reigned *Taſgetius*, a great lover of *Cæſar*, who contained the neighbouring Nations in the bounds of peace.

76. *Cæſar* indeed continues his Narration by telling us, that there was now among the *Carnutes* a Man of great Birth called *Taſgetius*, whoſe Anceſtors had born the chief Rule in their State. That this Man for his ſingular valour and good will towards him, (for he had done him very good ſervice in all his Wars) he reſtored to the Dignity of his Fore-fathers. But before he had reigned three years, his Enemies, by a conſpiracy of divers of his Citizens, killed him in the open Streets; which thing was complained of to *Cæſar*. He fearing, that in regard ſo many Men had an hand in the Murther, the City, at their inſtigation, might revolt, commanded *L. Plancus* immediately to march thither with his Legion from his Quarter in *Belgium*, and there to winter; with Orders to apprehend ſuch as were Ringleaders in the death of *Taſgetius*, and ſend them to him. Bur fifteen days had ſcarcely paſſed after the Legions were ſetled in their wintering Camps, but a Commotion happened; and *Sabinus* and *Cotta*, who wintered amongſt the *Eburones*, were attaqued by *Ambiorix* and *Catinulcus*, who commanded that People, at the inſtigation of *Induciomarus* of *Triers*, who owed *Cæſar* an ill turn, and now thought it a fit time to pay him. The *Romans* ſo well defended themſelves, that they could not compaſs their ends, which when *Ambiorix* perceived, he betook himſelf to a fraudulent practice. Having deſired that ſome might be ſent to treat with him, he pretended he was conſtrained to do what he did by the People, the *Galls* having univerſally agreed to fall upon the *Romans* in their diſperſed Quarters that day; he pretended great love and gratitude to *Cæſar*

for great benefits received from him, and in way of return adviſed, that foraſmuch as there was a great number of *Germans* coming, they would remove from that Camp, and joyn themſelves either to *Q. Cicero* or *Labienus*, of whom the one was not paſt fifty miles off, and the other but a little farther. And he affirmed by Oath, that they ſhould have ſafe paſſage through his Territories.

77. A Council of War met to conſult what to do, where by the vehemence of *Titurius Sabinus* it was carried that they ſhould diſcamp: and all things were diſpoſed in ſuch ſort, as to make the Soldiers believe they could not ſtay without danger, and that the danger might be augmented by being wearied with watching. As ſoon as it was light they began their march, in length, and with as much Baggage as they were able to carry; and ſome two miles off were way-laid by the *Galles*, who in the Woods had placed two Ambuſcados. *Titurius* now ran about like a diſtracted man, and ſo fearfully and after ſuch a manner did he diſpoſe his Cohorts, as if all things had gone againſt them, as it happeneth for the moſt part to ſuch as are forced to conſult in the inſtant of Execution. *Cotta*, who had thought what would happen, and was againſt the Journey, did all things required, both from a General and a private Soldier, and it was proclaimed that the *Romans* ſhould forſake their Baggage, and caſt themſelves into an Orb. This was not to be reproved; but the Enemy then conceived hope, out of apprehenſion that they were diſcouraged and poſſeſſed with fear. And though they made briſk ſallies with good execution, yet the *Galles* by advice of *Ambiorix* gave way to them, purſued them in their retreat, and then by their miſſile Weapons ſorely diſtreſſed them as they ſtood in their Orb. Many being killed, and ſome excellent Soldiers wounded, *Titurius* the cauſe of all the miſchief went over to *Ambiorix* his Friend, and intreated him to ſpare him and his Soldiers, and he gave him good words till he was incircled about and ſlain. The *Galles* then crying out victory with a great noiſe, aſſaulted the *Romans* and routed their Troops. *Cotta* was ſlain, and moſt part of the Soldiers with him. The reſt returned to their Camp, amongſt whom *L. Petroſidius*, the Eagle-bearer, when he ſaw himſelf overcharged, caſt his Eagle within the Rampire, and fighting with great courage within the Camp was killed. The reſt with much ado indured the fight till Night, and then deſpairing of ſuccour killed themſelves. Some few eſcaped; and by unknown ways through the Woods got to *Labienus*, and acquainted him how all things had fallen out.

Titurius and *Cotta* defeated and ſlain.

78. *Ambiorix* puffed up with this ſucceſs, uſing all ſpeed imaginable, got to the *Aduatici* his Neighbours, and from the late ſucceſs eaſily perſwaded them, the *Nervii* and others, to purſue their good fortune, and to attacque the Camp where *Cicero* wintered. Many Soldiers ſent out upon Forraging, they cut off, and violently attacqued the Camp, which the *Romans* as valiantly defended, and that for ſeveral days together, ſtill making preparations by Night for the defence of the following Day. In one Night were built one hundred and twenty Towers. No reſt was given to ſick or wounded. Stakes hardned with fire were prepared, many mural Piles made, the Towers floored, and Pinacles and other devices framed. *Cicero* himſelf though ever ſickly and of a weak Conſtitution, reſted not by night till the Soldiers of their own accord by way of intreaty compelled him to ſpare himſelf. The *Nervii* ſeeing things not to ſucceed, indeavoured by fair words and the like Arguments to deceive *Cicero* as *Ambiorix* did *Sabinus*, but in vain. And when this would not do, they drew a Ditch and a Rampire round about the Camp, according as they had learnt by converſation with the *Romans* and from Fugitives. They had no Iron Tools for this purpoſe, but cut the Turf with their Swords, gathered Earth with their Hands, and carried it away in their Mantles; yet was the Rampire eleven foot high, and the Ditch fifteen foot deep, and the Fortification of fifteen Miles in circuit, finiſhed in leſs than three hours, whereby may be gathered what multitudes of People there were at the ſeige. And they provided Towers, Hooks and ſtrong Penthouſes for ſafeguard, as the Captives inſtructed them.

Cicero beſieged in his Camp.

79. The ſeventh day of the ſiege they caſt hot balls of Clay out of Slings, and burning Darts upon the Cabbins of the *Romans*, which being thatched with Straw, after the manner of the *Galles*, took fire, and the day being windy, it was carried over all the Camp. Then did they with all their force with ſcaling Ladders, and ſuch Engines as they had, attacque them, but by the great valour of the *Roman* Soldiers who attended their Fortification, and never looked back at the burning of their Wealth, they were repulſed, and a Tower they had made was burned. The Centurions of the third Cohort drew back their men from the place,

and

and bid the Enemy enter if they thought good; but none durſt adventure to make a trial. Here was remarkable the valour of two Centurions *Pulſio* and *Varenus*, who were at perpetual contention amongſt themſelves who ſhould be firſt preferred, coming on apace to the Dignity of the firſt Orders. *Pulſio* iſſued out upon the Enemy, and drew the other after him, and they were both difficultly ingaged, and each ſaved the others life, and came off upon ſuch equal terms, that it could not be diſcerned who had got the greateſt honour.

Relieved by *Cæſar.*

80. But the ſeige daily growing hotter, and many Meſſengers having been ſent with Letters to *Cæſar*, but intercepted, and ſome of them tortured to death before the Camp, at length one of them being a *Gall*, of the Nation of the *Nervii*, by his Habit and Demeanour eſcaped their obſervation, and reached *Cæſar* with the Letters. He ſent for ſeveral Legions that lay neareſt in Quarters; but *Labienus* being in a manner allready beſeiged by the *Treviri*; he could get but two; however with them he marched, uſing all celerity, and hired a *Gall* to convey a Letter to *Cicero* of his coming, which he did by tying it, according to his directions, and throwing it into the Camp. It hapned to ſtick on a Turret, and there ſtuck for two days, but at length diſcovered and read, being in Greek Characters, it brought no ſmall joy to the beſeiged, which was confirmed in them ſhortly by the ſight of the fires. The Enemy upon diſcovery hereof raiſed the ſeige and went toward *Cæſar*, of which *Cicero* ſent him notice by his former Meſſenger. He perceiving himſelf much overmatched in numbers (he having but ſeven, and the *Galls* ſome ſixty thouſand men) fortified his Camp, and by counterfeiting fear, drew the Enemy over a Valley before his Camp, to a place very diſadvantageous for them. They were confident of Victory, and made ſome briſk attempts; but he ſallied out upon them from all Ports at once, eaſily put them to flight with great ſlaughter, and not thinking fit to purſue them into the Woods, went to the Camp of *Cicero*, whom he incouraged, together with his valiant Legion, and comforted them in the revenge of the loſs lately ſuſtained through the temerity of *Sabinus* the Legate. The report of *Cæſars* victory put a ſtop to ſeveral Deſigns of the *Galles*, of attacquing other Wintring Camps of the *Romans*; but upon the noiſe of the overthrow of *Sabinus*, great Combinations had been made, and Reſolutions taken for proſecuting that Advantage, and now they were ſtill promoted by *Induciomarus*, who beſtirred himſelf all manner of ways againſt the *Roman* Intereſt. He cauſed a Council of Arms to be called, which according to the manner of the *Galles* was allways the beginning of a War, being ſuch as conſtrained all men of years, by the Common Law of the Land to aſſemble together prepared; and he that came laſt was in the ſight of all the reſt put to death with exquiſite torture. His firſt attempt he told them ſhould be to take the Camp of *Labienus* in the Marches of the *Treviri*, amongſt the men of *Rheimes*. And accordingly he beſeiged him, who counterfeited fear the more eaſily to draw him on, but when he and his men inſulted, he cauſed to iſſue out the Horſe which he got in readineſs, which with ſome Cohorts eaſily put the Braggadocio's to flight, and killed *Induciomarus* as they had it given in eſpecial charge, before any other execution performed. His Head was brought into the Camp from the Foard of a River wherein he was ſurprized; which being known, the *Eburones* and *Nervii* departed home, and afterward *Cæſar* had *Gall* better ſetled and quiet.

Induciomarus killed.

Cæſar de Bello Gallico lib. 6.

81. But for all this he found reaſon to fear greater commotions, and therefore to let the *Galles* ſee what the *Romans* could do, he raiſed new Forces, and procured *Pompey* the Proconſul, foraſmuch as he continued at the City, about publick buſineſſes, to recall to their Enſigns, and ſend to him ſuch Soldiers as he had raiſed in *Gall* within the *Alps* when he was Conſul. By this means, before Winter was ended, three Legions were inrolled, and brought unto him, whereby that number of Cohorts was doubled which was left with *Titurius*. Though *Induciomarus* was dead, the *Treviri* gave the Government to his Kindred, and drew *Ambiorix* into their ſociety. The *Nervii*, *Aduatici*, *Menapii* and all the *Germans* beyond the *Rhine* were in Arms; the *Senones* being ſummoned came not, but were in Council with the *Carnutes* and other neighbouring States. *Cæſar* therefore thought it beſt to begin betimes and ſurprize them; and ſo he did the *Nervii*, whom ſodainly invading he waſted their Country, took a great number of men and Cattel, and cauſed the People to come in and give Pledges; which buſineſs having ſpeedily ended, he brought back the four Legions into their wintering Camps.

82. In the begining of Spring he called a General Aſſembly of all the States in *Gall*; from which the *Senones*, *Carnutes* and *Treviri* only abſenting themſelves, he

took it for a Defection. That he might ſeem to ſet all other things apart, he transferred the Council to *Lutetia*, a Town of the *Pariſii*, who were Confines to the *Senones*, and in the memory of their Fathers had united their State unto them, but were held cleer of this Confederacy. The ſame day he marched, and by great journies came into the Territories of the *Senones*, who ſurprized with his ſodain Arrival, ſued for pardon, and obtained it by mediation of the *Ædui*: and the *Carnutes* obtained the like favour by means of the *Remi*, upon giving Hoſtages as the other had done. Now did *Cæſar* bend his indeavours to reduce the *Treviri* and *Ambiorix*. He underſtood that he had friendſhip with the *Menapii* (People of *Geldres* and *Cleve*) who being incloſed with Bogs and Woods, had never ſent to *Cæſar* about any contract of Peace. Them he invaded, and by waſting the Country brought them to ſubmit; and he accepted of their ſubmiſſion, on condition that they would not receive him into their Country, or any Meſſengers from him.

Labienus defeateth the *Treviri.*

83. In the mean time the *Treviri* were got together to attacque *Labienus*, who was come into their Confines, and they expected the arrival of ſome *Germans* to their aſſiſtance. Betwixt them and *Labienus* there was a River, and he being poſted on an advantagious ground, did all he could to draw the Enemy over to fight before the *Germans* ſhould come to them. And by counterfeiting fear, and pretending to fly and forſake his Camp, he drew them over; and then turning head defeated them, and took in their whole State. For the *Germans* hearing of their overthrow returned home, and with them went the Kinſmen of *Induciomarus*, the Author of the Defection, who being gone, the Government was given to *Cingetorix*, and he from the beginning had been true and faithful to the *Romans*. *Cæſar* being come from the *Menapii* to the *Treviri*, paſſed over by Bridge again into *Germany* to chaſtize ſuch as had ſent ſuccours and ſupplies to them, and that *Ambiorix* might have no entertainment againſt them. He found by the information of the *Ubii*, that the *Suevi* had been the Offenders, and they upon his coming had retired to their utmoſt Confines, where was a Wood of an infinite greatneſs, called *Bacenis*, which ſerved for a Rampire and defence to keep the *Cheruſci* from the incurſions of the *Suevi*, and the *Suevi* from the injuries of the *Cheruſci*. At the entrance of this Wood they expected the coming of *Cæſar*, who here makes a ſtop without entring, and inſtead of an attack, gives us a more profitable account concerning the Cuſtoms and manner of Life both of *Galls* and *Germans*.

The Cuſtoms of the *Galls*.

84. As for *Gall*, not only in every City, Village and Precinct there were Factions and Parties; but almoſt in every particular Houſe. Before *Cæſar* came into *Gall*, the two great Parties were of the *Ædui* and *Sequani*, of whom the later got the better, till he by his Power and Intereſt repaired the Authority of the other, and alſo brought the *Remi* into repute; ſo that at this time in Power and Authority the *Ædui* excelled all other States, and next unto them were the *Remi*. Throughout all, there were but two ſorts of men of any Reckoning or Account. For the Common-people were in the condition of Servants, and of no value in themſelves, nor admitted to the publick Councils, but kept under by Debts, Tributes, or oppreſſion of the great ones, and putting themſelves into the ſervice of the Nobles, who had the ſame power over them as Lords injoyed over their Slaves. The two ſorts were one of the *Druides* and another of thoſe *Cæſar* calleth *Equites*. The *Druides* managed matters of their Religion which they expounded, and gave order for the publick and private Sacrifices. To them being held in great veneration, the Youth reſorted for Learning, and they determined almoſt all Cauſes betwixt publick and private Perſons. Controverſies both Criminal and Civil they decided, rewarded the virtuous and puniſhed the wicked. If any, either private man or State, did not obey their Decree, they interdicted him their Sacrifice; and this was the greateſt puniſhment amongſt them. For ſuch as were thus interdicted, were reckoned in the number of impious and wicked men; every man left their Company, and avoided to meet or ſpeak with them, leſt they ſhould receive any hurt by their Contagion: neither had they any benefit of the Law, though deſiring it, neither was any Reſpect or Honour communicated to them.

The *Druides*,

85. Over all the *Druides* one preſided with chief Authority, who was ſucceeded by him that next excelled, and if equals pretended, they went to election, which ſometimes was attended with force and Arms. They met at a certain time of the year in the Confines of the *Carnutes*, being the middle part of *Gall*, where they ſate in a ſecret place, and determined Controverſies from all quarters. The Art and Learning of the *Druides* was firſt found out in *Britain* and was thought thence to have been tranſlated into *Gall*; and in *Cæſars* time ſuch as would attain to the

Their Learning had its original here in *Britain*.

perfect knowledge of that Diſcipline, travelled hither to learn it. The *Druides* were exempt from Warfare, Tribute and all other Duties incumbent upon other men, which allured many to the Profeſſion. They were ſaid to learn many verſes, and ſome to have applied themſelves to that learning twenty years. To commit any thing to writing it was unlawful; in other publick and private buſineſſes they made uſe of Greek Letters, but they ſeemed to do it, that their knowledge might not become common and vulgar, and that their Scholars might not truſt ſo much to writings as to their memory, it happening for the moſt part, that men relying upon Books and Papers, in the mean time omit the benefit of good remembrance. Their indeavour was chiefly to teach that the ſouls of men do not dye, but remove out of one Body into another, which they thought very important to ſtir men up to virtue, and to neglect the fear of death. They alſo diſputed and delivered many Traditions to the Youth concerning the Stars and their motions, the magnitude of the Earth and the World, the nature of things, and the might and power of the Gods.

What they taught.

The *Equites.*

86. The other ſort of men amongſt them were *Equites*, who upon all occaſions, as before *Cæſar* his coming there never wanted, were converſant in War, each according to his Power and Wealth being attended with Clients and Followers, which they eſteemed the only note of Nobility and Greatneſs. The whole Nation was much addicted to that they accounted Religion. If ſick, or ingaged in War, they would either ſacrifize men, or vow the oblation of themſelves. Uſing herein the miniſtery of the *Druides*, they conceived that the Immortal Deity could not be pleaſed but by giving the life of one man for another, and to that purpoſe they had publick Sacrifices appointed. They burned men in Images made of Oſiers. The Execution of Thieves and Robbers they thought moſt pleaſing to the Gods, but wanting them they ſpared not the Innocent. They chiefly worſhipped *Mercury* as the Inventor of all Arts, the Conductor in all Voyages, and having great power in all Merchandize and gain of Money. Next to him they preferred *Apollo*, *Mars*, *Jupiter* and *Minerva*, having the ſame opinion of them as other Nations. They vowed to *Mars* the ſpoil of an Enemy they were to incounter, and ſuch Beaſts as they took they ſacrificed; other things they laid up in ſome ſacred place, heavy puniſhment being inflicted upon any that either kept back, or took them away.

The Religion of the *Galles.*

Other Cuſtoms.

87. Being made believe by the *Druides* that they were deſcended from the God *Dis*, they boaſted themſelves in their deſcent. For that reaſon they determined the ſpaces of time by the number of Nights, not of Dayes, obſerving their Nativities and the beginnings of their Months and years, ſo as the Day followed the Night. Contrary to the cuſtom of other Nations they ſuffered not their Children to come publickly unto them till fit for War. To the Portions of their Wives they added as much of their own; and the uſe of all the mony was laid apart, and together with the principal Coin to the Surviver. They had power of life and death both over Wives and Children. The death of great men was wont to be inquired into by the Kindred, and a ſuſpected wife was examined by torture; if guilty, put to death by fire and all other torments to be imagined. Their Funerals, as their Life, were magnificent and ſumptuous, and with the Corps was burned whatſoever the man delighted in, not ſparing living Creatures: Nay, not long before the time that *Cæſar* wrote, the cuſtom was to bury ſuch Clients and Servants with him as he had favoured in his Life-time. Such Nations as were careful, prohibited by a ſpecial Law, the communicating of Rumors or Reports concerning matters of State, to any but a Magiſtrate; it being found that raſh and unſkilful men had been put upon dangerous attempts by ſuch reports. The Magiſtrates kept ſecret what they thought fit, and what not they publiſhed; but it was not lawful, except in State Aſſemblies, to ſpeak of State Affairs.

The Cuſtoms of the *Germans.*

88. The *Germans*, *Cæſar* adds, did much differ from the *Galles* in their courſe of Life, for they had neither *Druides* nor Sacrifices. Nor Gods did they worſhip but ſuch as they could ſee, and by whom they were manifeſtly benefitted, as the *Sun*, *Vulcan*, and the *Moon*. In hunting, or in War they ſpent their lives, being from their Childhood inured to labour. They liked of ſuch as continued longeſt beardleſs amongſt them, ſome thinking it to conduce to their Stature, others to their Strength and Sinews. Before twenty years of age they held it abominable to know a Woman; and ſuch matters could not be hid; for they bathed themſelves together in Rivers, and uſed Skins and other ſmall coverings on their Reins, but were naked on the reſt of the body. They uſed no Tillage, the greateſt part of

their Food being Milk, or Cheeſe, or Fleſh. Their Magiſtrates and Princes every year alotted certain portions of Lands to Kindreds and Tribes that inhabited together, where and as they thought convenient; and the next year appointed them in a new place; and this they thought they did for ſeveral good reaſons. In caſe of War a State made choice of Magiſtrates to have the command with power of Life and Death; but in time of peace they had no common Magiſtrate, but the Principal Perſons of the Regions and *Pagi* interpreted the Law, and determined Controverſies.

89. Theft committed out of the Confines was commended as an exerciſe of the Youth. Such as would not follow their Great men in an exploit publickly declared, were held in the number of Traitors, and had never any credit afterward. Strangers they religiouſly protected from all injuries, to ſuch every mans Houſe being open and his Table common. The time was when the *Galls* excelled the *Germans* in valour, and made War upon them, and by reaſon of the multitude of People, and want of Ground, ſent many Colonies over the *Rhine* into *Germany*. By that means thoſe fertile places of *Germany* lying near the Wood *Hercynia* (known by the name of *Orcinia* to *Eratoſthenes* and other *Greeks*) were poſſeſſed by the *Volcæ Tectoſages*, who in *Cæſars* time ſtill there inhabited and retained their antient opinion of Juſtice and Military Glory. The *Germans* ſtill continued in the ſame poverty and patience as in former times, uſing the ſame Diet and Apparel; but the *Galls* having knowledge of other neighbouring Nations, lived in a more plentiful manner, and had by little and little been overthrown and weakned, ſo that at this time they ſtood not in compariſon with the *Germans*. The *Hercynian* Wood was nine days journey over; for they had no difference, he ſaith, of ſpace, but by days and journeys, as at this day in thoſe Countries they reckon not how far it is to ſuch a place by Miles or Leagues, but ſay it is ſo many hours to ſuch a Town or City. It began at the Confines of the *Helvetii*, *Nemetes* and *Rauraci*, and ran along the *Danube* as far as the *Daci*, whence it declined to the left ſide, and by reaſon of its large extention, bordered on many other Countries. No *German* could ſay that he himſelf had gone, or heard that any other had reached to its beginning, though therein he had travelled threeſcore days. In this Wood, he ſaith, were many ſorts of wild Beaſts not to be ſeen in any other place. He inſtanceth in one like a Hart, and the Beaſts called *Uri* ſomewhat leſſer than an Elephant. But moſt remarkable was that other ſort called *Alces* and remarkable indeed, not for being like a Goat, ſomewhat bigger and without Horns, but having their Legs without Joynts, ſo that when they took their reſt, they neither ſate nor lay upon the ground, but leaned againſt Trees; and if they chanced to fall could not riſe again. The Hunters therefore, to catch them, were wont either to undermine or ſo far cut the Trees, that with their weight, leaning upon them, they might bear them down and fall with them. And who would not but give mony now to ſee this rare ſort of Beaſt?

Colonies ſent out of *Gall* into *Germany*.

Cæſar quits *Germany*.

90. But *Cæſar* thought fit to return, and no further purſue the *Suevi*; but to leave ſome terror behind him, he cut down part of the Bridge next to the *Ubii*, the length of two hundred foot, and in the end of that which remained built a Tower of four ſtories, and left a Gariſon of twelve Cohorts with young *C. Volcatius Tullus* to defend it. He himſelf, as the Corn ripened, went forward to the war of *Ambiorix*, by way of the Wood of *Arduenna*, the greateſt in *Gall*, extending from the Banks of the *Rhine*, and the Confines of the *Treviri*, to the Seat of the *Nervii*, and carrying a breadth of five hundred miles. He ſent before him *L. Minutius Baſilius* with all the Cavalry, who ſurprized *Ambiorix*, and took all his Horſes and Chariots; but he himſelf eſcaped on Horſeback, being aſſiſted in his flight by the Woods, that were about his Houſe; for the *Galles* to avoid heat did commonly build near to Woods and Rivers. The People had by *Ambiorix* his advice betaken themſelves into Woods, Bogs, Iſlands and other places of Refuge. *Cativulcus* King of one part of the *Eburones* being drawn in by him, curſed him for it doing, and not able by reaſon of his age to undergo the trouble of War or Fight, drank the juice of Yew (whereof was great ſtore in *Gall* and *Germany*) and poyſoned himſelf.

Ambiorix defeated.

91. The *Eburones* being ſo diſperſed that *Cæſar* could do no good upon them, he gave notice to the Neighbouring Nations, that all men ſhould have liberty to ſack and make a ſpoil of their Country, for he durſt not ſuffer the Legionary Soldiers to ſtragle from their Enſigns. Upon the noiſe of this, the *Sicambri* dwelling in *Germany* next to the *Rhine*, ſent over a Party of two thouſand Horſe, which

got

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got great booty, being bred and born in Theft and War. But being by one of the Captains informed, that in a place called *Vatuco* the *Romans* had left all their Baggage, they took him for their Guide, and went alſo thither. For there *Cæſar* had placed it, having divided his Army into three Parties, and ſent them to ſuch Quarters as he thought convenient, he himſelf going to the River *Scaldis* (now the *Scelde*) to hunt out *Ambiorix*, but with purpoſe to return after ſeven days. There he had left *Q. Cicero* with the fourteenth Legion newly raiſed, and two hundred Horſe for a guard. Of theſe, five Cohorts went out to gather Forage with three hundred old Soldiers that had been left, becauſe infirm. The *Sicambri* having firſt attempted to break into the Camp, ſet upon theſe Romans as they returned. And they cut off moſt of them that belonged to the Cohorts, being raw and unexperienced; but the old Soldiers ſo diſcreetly ordered their matters, that they brake through their Enemies and got to the Camp. The *Sicambri* now out of hope to take the Camp, returned with their Booty over the *Rhine*, and *Cæſar* alſo returned ſeaſonably; for the Soldiers were in ſuch fear, that they would not believe but that the Legions were cut off. The Country being moſt grievouſly depopulated he brought his Army back to *Duro cortum* in the State of the *Remi*, where an Aſſembly was called to queſtion the conſpiracy of the *Senones* and *Carnutes*. By order taken therein, *Acco* the great Ringleader was put to death, as others had been, had they not eſcaped. This done, *Cæſar* diſperſed his Troops into their Wintering Camps, and having made proviſion of Corn went into *Italy*, to hold the Aſſemblies as he was wont.

Acco put to death.

Stirs in the City.

See Appian. de bello civil. l. 2.

92. Now with *Cæſar* let us make for *Italy* and, a ſtep further than his Journey, to *Rome* it ſelf. There we ſhall find him deeply concerned while he was fighting with the *Galls*; for, his Daughter *Julia*, the Wife of *Pompey*, while he was thus imployed, died in Childbed, and the Infant with her. Hereby was the Bond of Friendſhip betwixt them diſſolved, and their mutual emulation and envy which thereby had been reſtrained, now wanted but an occaſion to vent it ſelf. The following year produced great ſtirs in the City, and thoſe no leſs in *Gall*. For now were the times ſo altered, that *Rome* could not be found in *Rome*. Nothing was managed by antient equity and moderation, all Offices were purchaſed by Money, or elſe by Stones, Clubs, or Swords; and the inconveniences of popular Government now grew ripe, the name of a Free-State, or Commonwealth, covering the greateſt injuſtice, diſorder, and oppreſſion of the Peoples liberty. The Conſuls being debarred by the power of the *Tricipitina* from leading out Armies, or waging Wars according to the antient right and cuſtom, made up their Markets out of the publick Revenue, or their Offices by indirect practices, and therefore none of honour would ſeek after the Conſulſhip. *Pompey* connived at this, hoping that a neceſſity of affairs would draw upon him the *Dictatorſhip*, as ſome of his Creatures, though not in his name, did not ſtick to hint. This year eſpecially was there ſuch an horrid contention amongſt the Canditates (all or moſt men of large Conſciences) that for a long time no Conſul could be elected; and this heightned the matter, that *T. Annius Milo*, one of them, being at great enmity with *Clodius*, killed him as he met him in the way not far from the City. This fact the People ill reſented, and naughty, and diſſolute perſons, under pretence of ſearching for *Milo*'s Friends, committed many outrages in *Rome*. This turned indeed all mens eyes upon *Pompey*, as the fitteſt perſon to redreſs thoſe evils; but whilſt they thought of making him *Dictator*, *Cato* drew the Senate to this reſolution, that he ſhould be made Conſul alone, that he might be called to an account for his male adminiſtration if need were, and ſo he was made *ſole Conſul*, without any Precedent at all. Firſt, he ſate in Judgement alone, and examined *Milo*'s caſe; he alſo made inquiſition after ſuch as had by indirect means procured Offices. *Milo* was defended by *Cicero*, or rather ſhould have been; for the Orator was ſo terrified by *Pompeys* Soldiers, and *Clodius* his Friends, that he could not proceed, and is therefore ſaid to have written that Oration afterwards, which is now extant. *Milo* then was baniſhed, with ſeveral others for other Crimes. *Pompey* having hitherto as it were executed the Office of *Dictator*, took to him a Collegue, *Q. Scipio Metellus*, whoſe Daughter *Cornelia* he had married. Theſe things being heard in the further *Gall*, and a rumour ſpread that *Cæſar*, who was now in *Italy*, would be there retained by the motions in the City, many of the Natives conſpired for the recovery of their liberty, and choſe *Vercingetorix* for their Captain.

Milo killeth *Clodius*.

Pompey made Conſul alone. His Acts.

A.M. 3953. *Ol.* 182. *ann.* 1. *V. C.* 702. *Ante Chriſt.* 50. *Idem ibid. Plutarch in Pompeio. Livii Epitom. lib.* 107.

The *Galls* hearing of theſe ſtirs rebel.

93. *Cæſar*

Cæſar de bello Gallico, lib. 7.

93. *Cæſar* in *Italy* heard of the death of *Clodius*, and of a Decree made by the Senate touching the Aſſembly of the young Soldiers of that Country; whereupon he reſolved to raiſe Men in all the Province. The *Galles* hearing of theſe things, added other rumours, and that *Cæſar*, detained by troubles at *Rome*, could not return to his Army. They ſtirred up one another now to make haſt, and recover their ancient liberty: And the *Carnutes* made themſelves the chief of the War, and for fear of diſcovery, not daring to take, and receive Hoſtages, they ſtrengthned their Covenants by Oaths and mutual Collation of their Military Enſigns, the moſt religious and binding Ceremony amongſt them. And the *Carnutes* began the work by falling upon ſome *Roman* Citizens that lay about their own concerns at *Genabum*, whom they ſlew, and ſeized their Goods. The report thereof was quickly ſpread throughout *Gall*, by that ordinary means whereby they were wont to ſignifie any extraordinary matter. It was by an out-cry and ſhout, which begun by ſome, was taken by others, and delivered to the next, and ſo went from one to another ſo ſpeedily, that what was done at *Genabum* at Sun-riſing, was, before the firſt Watch of the night, heard in the Confines of the *Arverni*, which was above one hundred and threeſcore Miles.

The *Galles* again revolt.

94. In like manner *Vercingetorix*, of the Nation of the *Arverni*, being the Son of *Celtillus*, and named King by his People, though they had ſlain his Father for attempting to ſet up a Kingdom, perſwaded them to revolt, and though oppoſed and caſt out of the Town of *Gergovia* by his Uncle *Gobantio*, and thoſe of the contrary Party, got together a great Force, and expelled his Adverſaries by whom he had been caſt out. The *Senones*, the *Pariſii*, *Pictones*, *Cadurci*, the *Turones*, *Aulerci*, *Lemovices*, *Andes*, and all the reſt that bordered upon the Ocean quickly joyned in confederacy with him. He took Hoſtages of them, rated every City, and made proviſion of Horſe eſpecially. To extraordinary diligence he added extraordinary ſeverity, and the *Bituriges* ſided with him, their Patrons the *Ædui* having in vain attempted to protect them from him. Beſides this, *Lueterius*, one of the *Cadurci*, united the *Rutheni* to the *Aruerni*, and farther proceeding, received Hoſtages from the *Nitiobriges*, and the *Gabali*, and laboured to break into the *Roman* Province, and proceed toward *Narbo*.

95. *Cæſar* having heard thoſe things in *Italy*, as ſoon as he underſtood that matters were brought into better ſtate in *Rome* by the means of *Pompey*, made what haſt he could, and underſtanding in his Paſſage of *Lueterius* his Deſign, went himſelf to *Narbo*, and prevented him. He marched to the *Helvii*, and thence over the Hill *Gebenna*, though the Snow was five foot deep, into the Confines of the *Arverni*, who therewith exceedingly ſurprized, betook themſelves for ſuccour to *Vercingetorix*. Knowing what *Vercingetorix* would do, with wonderful celerity, he paſſed to the *Lingones*, and got the Legions together before the *Arverni* could have any notice of it. This being known, *Vercingetorix* laid ſiege to *Gergovia*, a Town held by the *Boii*, whom *Cæſar* had left there after the *Helvetian* War, and given the Juriſdiction of the Place to the *Ædui*. *Cæſar* was now in perplexity, whether he ſhould long to aſſiſt the Friends of *Rome*, or by drawing out his Army from its Winter Quarters ſooner than ordinary, expoſe it to hardſhips and danger for want of the uſual Proviſions.

96. But reſolving to adventure all hazards, rather than deſert his Allies in their neceſſity, he ſent Orders to the *Ædui* to make ſupply of all neceſſaries as far as poſſible, and by a Meſſage incouraged the *Boii* with news of his coming. In his Paſſage he took by ſurrender *Vellaunodunum*, a Town of the *Senones*. *Genabum*, now *Orleans*, was a City of the *Carnutes* upon *Ligeris*, over which lying a Bridge, the Townſmen were about to paſs over it, and eſcape by night; but he being aware of it, had appointed two Legions to watch, who burnt the Gate, took the Place, with moſt of the People, ſet it on fire, and ſacked it; which done, he paſſed over into the Territories of the *Bituriges*. There he reſolved to become Maſter of *Noviodunum*, (now *Vierſon*) and when he was about it, *Vercingetorix* his Forces ſhewed themſelves, who having heard of his March, left the Siege of *Gergovia*, and went to meet him. But he ſent out firſt his own Horſe to charge them, and then four hundred *Germans*, who put the *Galles* to flight, and many of them being ſlain, the reſt retired to the Army. Hereupon the Towns-men yielded, having delivered thoſe that ſtirred up the People unto *Cæſar*.

Cæſar takes *Noviodunum*.

The *Galles* waſt their Country.

97. *Vercingetorix*, upon ſo many loſſes received, with much adoe perſwaded the *Galles* to lay waſt their Countrey, to cut off all forrage from the *Romans*, and to prevent their taking refuge in any Towns, to burn them all; and none eſcaped but *Avaricum*, (now *Bourges*) at that time the faireſt City in *Gall*, incircled with a River

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and a Bog, which the *Bituriges*, proſtrating themſelves at the feet of all the *Galles*, deſired and obtained to defend. *Cæſar*, after the taking of *Noviodunum*, reſolved to attempt this Place, and accordingly ſat down before it, and made preparations for an Aſſault in that narrow place, where it was approchable. *Vercingetorix* followed and incamped himſelf fifteen Miles off to intercept all the Foragers he could. And *Cæſar* was really diſtreſſed for want of Corn, and the Army ſubſiſted meerly by Cattel fetcht afar off, which made him offer to the Legions to raiſe the Siege, but they ſtoutly and generouſly refuſed. To remove this diſtreſs, he himſelf left the Siege, and attempted to ſurprize the Enemy; but by reaſon that he had placed himſelf upon a convenient ground, not willing to expoſe his Men to danger in ſuch diſadvantages, he retreated without any thing done, and gave order for re-inforcing the Siege of the Town. And the *Galles* took as great care to fortifie it, by the addition of ten thouſand Men choſen out of all their Forces. For, being perſwaded that it was their main buſineſs to make this Town good againſt the *Romans*, they thought it not fit to commit the common ſafety of *Gall* to the *Bituriges*.

98. And the Garriſon all manner of ways poſſible defended the Place, both by mining the Mounts, erecting Towers, and making Sallies where and when the caſe required, being incouraged by the goodneſs of their Wall, which was framed ſo, both of Wood and Timber, that the Stone kept it from burning, and the Wood from the violence of the Rams. The *Romans* raiſed a Mount in the ſpace of five and twenty days of three hundred and thirty foot in breadth, and fourſcore in heighth. This Mount, when it began to touch the Wall, did the Beſieged by a Mine ſet on fire, and great conteſt there was about it, till the fire was at length quenched by the *Romans*. The Beſieged finding that nothing would do, but the Siege increaſed every day in vigour, reſolved to quit the Town, and get through the Mariſh to *Vercingetorix*, but were hindred by the Women, who when they could not prevail with them to ſtay, cryed out, and ſignified their flight to the *Romans*. Thereupon they deſiſted from their purpoſe. But *Cæſar* having perfected his Works, took the advantage when a Rain fell, and the Walls were ſlenderly manned, to make an Aſſault, which the Legions carried on with that ſucceſs, that they took the City, and made ſuch ſlaughter in revenge for what had been done at *Genabum*, that ſparing neither Sex nor Age, of forty thouſand, or thereabouts, ſcarcely eight hundred came ſafe to *Vercingetorix*, who received them in the night with great ſilence, for fear of a Sedition through the commiſeration of the People.

Cæſar taketh *Avaricum*.

99. *Vercingetorix* comforted the *Galles* for the loſs of *Avaricum*, by laying the blame upon the *Bituriges*, by calling them to witneſs, that the keeping of it was againſt his opinion, and telling them that he was in a way to unite all *Gall* together, and now he firſt perſwaded them to be at the pains to fortifie their Camp to prevent an Aſſault of the *Romans*. For the accompliſhment of his Promiſe of uniting *Gall*, he omitted no endeavour, and commanding each State to ſend in their Supplies, and getting together all the Archers, of whom there was great ſtore, he ſpeedily repaired his loſſes at *Avaricum*. At this time aroſe a great controverſie amongſt the *Ædui*, about the election of their Annual Magiſtrate. There were two, of whom each pretended to be duly elected, *Cotus* and *Convictolitanis*, and the matter muſt come to a Civil War, if *Cæſar* did not take it up. Fearing the conſequence might be otherwiſe bad, and that one Party might be drawn to ſide with the *Galles* againſt the *Romans*, he went and decided the Controverſie in behalf of *Convictolitanis*, as legally choſen, and then marched by the River *Elaver* againſt the *Arverni*, and notwithſtanding the watching and great diligence of *Vercingetorix*, having by a Bridge got over his Army, laid ſiege to *Gergovia*.

100. In the mean time *Convictolitanis* being corrupted by the *Arverni*, perſwaded ſome young Noble-men to revolt from the *Romans*, and draw their State from the ſociety with them, as Enemies to the liberty of *Gall*; and by lying ſtories told how the *Romans* had cut off their Brethren, the Princes, and ſome Horſe-men, they induced ten thouſand Men that were to be ſent from the *Ædui* to *Cæſar*, to march for *Gergovia*, to joyn with the *Arverni*. *Cæſar* having notice of this from his friends, took along with him four expedite Legions, and met with the ten thouſand Men, and ſhewing to them the Princes, whom they believed to be ſlain; when they ſaw they were abuſed, they caſt down their Arms, and ſubmitted. But their Countrymen not knowing thereof, and being led by covetouſneſs, or by anger and raſhneſs, robbed and killed divers *Roman* Merchants; for it was natural to the Nation to take a light Hear-ſay for a certain Truth. When they underſtood how things had gone, they then diſowned what had paſſed, as wanting publick Authority; called to account

Fruſtrates the Deſign of the *Galles*.

count ſuch as had robbed the *Romans*, expoſed to ſale the Goods of ſuch as had been Authors of the Revolt, and ſent their Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar* to excuſe themſelves. This they rather did to recover ſuch of their Men as were in *Cæſars* Hands, who though he underſtood well enough, that out of fear of puniſhment, and to avoid greater inconveniences, they under-hand ſtudied how to raiſe a War, and ſolicited other States to a League and Alliance to that purpoſe, yet gave them good words, caſting the blame upon the common People.

101. While *Cæſar* was abſent, the *Galles* had violently aſſaulted the Camp before *Gergovia*, and put the two Legions to great extremity to defend it, till he, having received the News, made all haſt imaginable, and arrived before the riſing of the Sun. Fearing a greater Revolt of the *Galles*, and that he ſhould be incompaſſed by them, he thought to raiſe his Siege and be gone, but his purpoſe was diverted by a diſcovery he made of an opportunity to advance the Service upon the Town. An Aſſault was made in purſuance of this Diſcovery, wherein the *Romans* were too hardy, and the Enemy ſo vigilant and induſtrious, that he over-charged them on all hands, to their loſs of ſix and forty Centurions, after which they beat them off, and they ſecured their flight as well as they could, as well as *Cæſar* can make it, who confeſſeth, that few leſs than ſeven hundred of his Souldiers were wanting. But he tells us that the next day he rebuked his Army, foraſmuch as they themſelves judged how far they were to go, and what they were to do, neither would they ſtop upon ſounding a Retreat, nor hearken to the Tribunes or Legates that would have kept them back. Yet he attributed the ſucceſs the Enemy had, not to his valour, but the in-equality of the Ground and Place where they fought. To evidence this, he ſaith, he drew out the Legions ſeveral times, and skirmiſhed ſucceſsfully where the Ground was indifferent, and then thinking it ſufficient to abate the pride of the *Galles*, and incourage his own Men, he removed his Camp into the Territories of the *Ædui*, the Enemy refuſing to make after him. Yet ſtill did the former Revolters amongſt the *Ædui* ſo beſtir themſelves, that for all this that State revolted; which Defection, procured by the means of *Litavicus* eſpecially, was perfected by two other Noble-men, whom *Cæſar* had had with him, *viz. Virdumarus* and *Eporedorix*, who deſired to be gone, under pretence of putting a ſtop to it; and *Cæſar* diſmiſſed them, though he perceived their intentions, leſt he ſhould ſeem to be injurious, or give any ſuſpicion of fear. They burnt and waſted the Country, and uſed other Arts to terrifie the *Romans*. *Cæſar* knowing he was to uſe Expedition before all their Forces could unite, marched with incredible celerity, and got his Army over the *Loire*, (the Foot paſſing with their Arms and Shoulders above water) and having refreſhed it with Corn and Cattle, reſolved to march toward the *Senones*.

Cæſar receives a Repulſe.

102. At this time *Labienus*, with four Legions, coming to *Lutetia*, a Town of the *Pariſians*, built in an Iſland in the River *Sequana*, (as *Cæſar* deſcribes it) and being to paſs the River, by making a ſhow to attempt it in ſeveral places, deceived and divided the Enemy, and gave them a notable defeat. But, for all this, the Revolt of the *Ædui* being known; in a Council of all *Gall* aſſembled at *Bibracte*, *Vercingetorix* was choſen general, and the *Ædui* diſappointed in their expectation of having the chief Command; ſo that if they had not been already engaged in the War, they would have thought again of *Cæſar*. He perceiving the Enemy to be ſtronger in Horſe than himſelf, and the Paſſages to be ſo ſhut up, that he could not ſend into the *Province* nor *Italy*, procured Horſes from ſuch States in *Germany* as he had quieted the year before, with ſuch light-armed Footmen as were uſed to fight amongſt the Horſe, whom he furniſhed with Horſes he took from the *Tribunes*, the *Roman Equites*, and the *Evocuti*. Reſolving then to protect the *Roman* Province, *Vercingetorix* made Head againſt him, as having a notable opportunity, with his Horſe, and perſwading his Men that ſo indeed he had, they required that this Reſolution might be ſtrengthened with an holy Oath or Imprecation. *Let him never be received under any Roof, nor have acceſs to his Wife, Children or Parents, that did not twice Charge through the Army of the Enemy.* The thing being approved, and every one forced to take the Oath, he divided his Cavalry into three parts, whereof two Bodies ſhewed themſelves on either ſide, and the third began to oppoſe *Cæſars* Front. *Cæſar* cauſed his Horſe to be divided alſo into three Parties, and to charge the *Galles*, having received the Carriages within the Legions, which he ſo placed, as to ſuccour the Horſe upon occaſion. The *Germans* having poſſeſſed themſelves of an Hill, forced the *Galles* to give ground; and the advantage was ſo proſecuted, that all the Horſe was routed, and many Priſoners taken of good note. After this *Vercingetorix* marched towards *Aleſia*, a Town of the *Mandubii*, and *Cæſar* following him in his Rear, as long as the day would give

leave, ſlew ſome three thouſand of his Men, and, the next day following, incamped alſo before *Aleſia*, which was ſited on the top of an Hill, in a very eminent place, and not to be taken but by a continued Siege. At the foot of the Hill ran two Rivers on each ſide of the Town: Before the Town lay a Plain of three Miles in length: The other ſides were incloſed with Hills, at a reaſonable diſtance, of equal height with the Town.

Cæſar beſieges *Aleſia*.

103. *Cæſar* reſolved to incloſe the Town with a Ditch, and a Rampire, and the whole circuit contained eleven Miles. At the Camp, ſited in a convenient place, were made three and twenty Caſtles, well manned both day and night. The Work being begun, there happened a Fight betwixt the Horſe on both ſides. The *Romans* were over-powered, till *Cæſar* ſent the *Germans* to their Relief, and drew out the Legions for their Refuge, with which animated, they routed the *Galles*, and driving them back into their Camp, killed many, and took very many Horſes. *Vercingetorix* upon this, thought beſt to diſmiſs all the Horſe before the Fortifications were perfected by the *Romans*, and he ſent them away in the night, every Man to repair to his own State, and to ſend all to the War that were able to bear Arms, and to procure his ſafety who had ſo well deſerved of them; but in caſe they were negligent, fourſcore thouſand Men he affirmed ſhould periſh with him in that place. He husbanded his Corn, which would ſerve, at the former rate, but thirty days, meaſuring it out ſparingly; and the Cattel he delivered to the Soldiers by Poll, whereof there was great ſtore brought from the *Mandubii*. All the Forces which he had placed before the Town he received within the Walls, and ſo purpoſed to attend the Supplies of *Gall*.

Vercingetorix, his preparations for reſiſtance.

104. *Cæſar* underſtanding this from Fugitives and Priſoners, took a prodigious courſe to fortifie himſelf. He drew a Ditch of twenty foot in breadth, and depth, as broad at the bottom as the top. At forty foot diſtance from this he made two Ditches of fifteen foot in breadth and depth, the innermoſt whereof drawn through the Fields, and the lower ground he filled with Water out of the River. Behind them he made another Ditch, and a Rampire of twelve foot, which he ſtrengthened with a Parapet and Pinacles, and with great boughs of Trees cut like to an Hartſ-Horn, which were ſet where the Hovels were joyned to the Rampire, to hinder the Enemy from climbing up. He made Towers round about the whole Work in the diſtance of fourſcore foot one from another; and his deſign of having the diſtance of forty foot betwixt the Ditch firſt mentioned, and the other Work, was, that the whole Body of the *Romans* might not eaſily be incloſed with an Army, which he thought to prevent by taking in ſo great a circuit of ground, and leſt the Enemy, in a ſudden Sally, ſhould by night attempt to deſtroy the Works, or by day trouble the Soldiers by miſſile Weapons, as they were buſied about the Fortifications.

The prodigious Works of *Cæſar*.

105. But the *Roman* Forces being imployed both in fetching Materials for the Works, and ſupply of Corn, were much weakned, and the *Galles*, by ſallying out of divers Ports, attempted to deſtroy the Works. That therefore the Fortifications might be made good with the leſs number of Men, he ſtill thought fit to add unto them. He made Trenches round about them of five foot deep, wherein he planted either the Bodies of Trees, or great firm Boughs ſharpened into many Pikes and Snags, and bound together at the bottom, that they might not be eaſily plucked up. There were of theſe five Ranks ſo combined and infolded one in another, that which way ſoever the Enemy ſhould enter upon them, he muſt neceſſarily run himſelf upon a ſharp Stake. Theſe they called *Cippi*, before which, in oblique courſes, after the manner of a *Quincunx* were digged holes three foot deep, narrow at the top. Theſe they ſet with round Stakes, of the bigneſs of a Mans Thigh, with ſharp points hardened with fire, in ſuch ſort, that they ſtuck not above four fingers out of the Earth, and, for the better faſtening of them, they ſtuck a foot within the ground; the reſt of the Holes, for the better ordering of the matter, were hid with Oſiers, and bruſhy Wood. Of theſe were eight Courſes, three foot diſtant one from another, and theſe they called *Lilies*, from the reſemblance they had to the Figure of that Flower. Before theſe were *Galthrops* of a foot long, faſtened in the Earth, and headed with barbed Hooks of Iron, beſtowed up and down in all places at a reaſonable diſtance; and theſe they called *Stimuli*. The inner Fortifications thus finiſhed, he followed the level ground as much as the nature of the place would permit, taking in fourteen Miles in circuit, and made the like Fortifications in all Points againſt the Enemy without, as he had done againſt the Town; that if he were driven upon occaſion to leave the Works, he might quit the Camp without danger, a

few Men being able to defend it. Things thus appointed, he commanded, that every Man ſhould have in readineſs Forrage and Proviſion of Corn for thirteen days.

Numbers of Soldiers furniſhed by the Nations of *Gall.*

106. In the mean time the *Galles* having ſummoned a Council of the Princes and chief Men of every State, reſolved to raiſe an Army, but not as *Vercingetorix* adviſed, of all that were able to bear Arms, leſt the Multitude ſhould be ungovernable, and want Proviſions; but to proportion a number to every State. Of the *Ædui*, and their Clients the *Seguſiani*, *Ambivariti*, *Aulerci*, *Brannovices*, and *Brannovii*, they require five and thirty, or as ſome read, five and twenty thouſand. Of the *Arverni*, and their Clients, the *Heleuteri*, *Cadurci*, *Gabali*, and *Vellaunii*, as many. Of the *Senones*, *Sequani*, *Bituriges*, *Santones*, *Ruteni*, *Carnutes*, twenty one (or two) thouſand. Of the *Bellovaci* ten thouſand. As many of the *Lemovices*. Eight thouſand of the *Pictones*, *Turoni*, *Pariſii*. Of the *Helvetii* and *Sueſſiones* eight thouſand. Of the *Ambiani*, *Mediomatrici*, *Petrocorii*, *Nervii*, *Morini*, and *Nitiobriges*, five thouſand. They required of the *Aulerci*, *Cenomani*, as many. Of the *Atrebates* four thouſand. Of the *Bello-Caſſi*, *Lexovii*, *Aulerci*, *Eburones*, three thouſand. Of the *Rauraci* and *Booi* three (ſome Copies have thirty) thouſand. Of the States bordering upon the Ocean by the Cuſtom of *Gall*, called *Aremoricæ*, as the *Carioſolites*, *Redones*, *Ambibarri*, *Caletes*, *Oſiſmii*, *Lemovices*, *Veneti*, and *Venelli*, ſix thouſand.

Great Errors as to Names and Numbers in *Cæſars* preſent Copies.

107. Such are the names of the States, and the number of Soldiers charged upon them, as we now find in *Cæſars* Copies. But that the Text is corrupted, *Monetus* tells us, loudly inveighing againſt the Tranſcribers and Correctors of the Copies for bringing in ſuch confuſion into a few words written by *Cæſar*, and committing ſuch miſtakes in the Numbers. For the Names, that of *Heleuteri* is commentitious, there never having been ſuch a People in *Gall*, no not in *Europe*. In ſtead of *Heleuteri* he reads *Helvii*, who were Neighbours to the *Velauni* and *Arverni*. He obſerves, that ſome People of theſe that are named are placed far from their own native and proper Seats. As the *Ambivariti* and *Aulerci* are here put as Neighbours and Clients of the *Ædui*, whereas they were far diſtant each from the other, and thoſe were far from being Clients to, and joyned in ſociety with them. For the *Ambivariti* were the ſame we now call *Brabanters* upon the *Meuſe*. And the *Aulerci*, as now, were ſeated at the mouth of the *Sequana*, or *Seine*, partly that People called *Cenomani*, (or *Manceaux*) and partly *Cimbroceltæ*, or *Normans*. Therefore for *Ambivariti* is to be read *Ambarri*, which was a Neighbouring People, and Clients to the *Ædui*, now divided into the *Charolois* and *Maconnois*.

108. The *Boii* he affirms ought not to be joyned with the *Rauraci*, but with the *Seguſiani* and *Ambarri*, with whom they were Clients of the *Ædui*, being ſeated in the Country of *Bourbon*, as it's now called, near the *Seguſiani*. More abſurdly ſtill are the *Lemovices*, by ſome ignorant Tranſcriber or Annotator put amongſt the *Aremorican* States, or thoſe upon the Ocean. For nothing is more erroneous in Geography, than that they, being a Mediterraneous People, and ſituated Southward near the *Pictones*, an hundred *French* Leagues from the Ocean, ſhould be placed in the Shore thereof amongſt the *Oſiſmii* and *Venelli*; from whom they are ſeparated by two great Provinces of *Poitiers* and the *Aremorican Britain*. Inſtead of *Lemovices*, who are to be left in the place formerly aſſigned them in *Cæſars* Enumeration, *Eburovices* are rather to be read, the Country of whom lay by the *Lexovii*, at the mouth of the *Seine*. Further, whereas *Aulerci* and *Cenomani* are divided in this Enumeration, they ought not, but to be joyned together, being one and the ſame People. But this Error is too often committed in the Text of *Cæſar*, of ſevering the *Cognomina* of certain People from the Names themſelves. For as *Cenomani*, *Diablintes*, (or *Diablitæ*) and *Eburaici*, or *Eburovices*, were the *Cognomina* of the *Aulerci*; ſo were *Cubi* and *Vibiſci* of the *Bituriges*. In like manner the *Volcæ*, one People, had ſeveral *Cognomina*, being from *Narbon* to the *Rhone* called *Arecontici*, and thoſe of *Toulouſe* and toward the South *Tectoſages*; and both by the *Romans* were called *Provinciales*, becauſe of the Province of *Narbon*, proper to the *Romans*.

109. But yet further he obſerves, that Nations moſt diſtinct in ſituation and original, are in this Enumeration joyned for contributing Soldiers to this Social War. As the *Ambivariti* upon the *Meuſe*, and the *Seguſiani* upon the *Loire*; the *Senones* ſeated at the *Seine*, and the *Santones* at the *Garonne*, the *Pictones* at the Weſtern Ocean, and the *Helvetians* at the *Rhine*, and the *Oriental Alpes*; the *Sueſſiones* not far diſtant from the Northern Ocean, and the *Nitiobriges* not far from the *Garonne*, and the Mediterranean; the *Caletes* ſeated upon the very Shore of the Northern Sea, and the *Lemovices* toward the South near the *Petrocorii*. How he at large amends this place, and endea-

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endeavours to reſtore it to it ſelf, is too teadious here to ſhow though from what we have ſaid already it receiveth light. As to numbers of Soldiers, what is more incredible, he demands, than that upon the *Boii* and *Rauraci* ſhould be impoſed thirty thouſaud Men, as ſome Copies have it, and upon the *Bello-Caſſi*, *Lexovii* and *Eburones*, populous Nations, no more than three thouſand; upon the *Sueſſiones*, *Ambiani*, *Nervii*, *Morini*, *Mediomatrici*, *Petrocorii*, and *Nitiobriges*, ſeven powerful People, but five thouſand men; and as many upon the *Cenomani* alone, a People contained in narrow Bounds? Other Inſtances of the like in-equality might be made.

The Generals of the *Galles*.

110. But whatſoever theſe Numbers were, the *Bellovaci* refuſed to give theirs, declaring that they would not ſerve under any Man's command, or make War in any other than their own Name. Yet *Comius*, one of the *Atrebates*, perſwaded them to ſend two thouſand Men, which *Comius* having ſerved *Cæſar* faithfully in *Britain*, had been rewarded by him, by freeing his State from all Duties to the *Roman* Empire, reſtoring them to their ancient Laws, and by giving to him the *Morini*. But he would not for all this be wanting to the general conſent of *Gall*, now bent to redeem its liberty and reputation in War. Having already muſtered eight thouſand Horſe, and two hundred and forty thouſand foot in the Confines of the *Ædui*, they gave the Command to *Comius* of *Arras*, *Vindomarus* and *Eporedorix*, both *Ædui*, and *Verguſilaunus* of the *Arverni*, the Couſin-german of *Vercingetorix*; and as well Officers as Soldiers were full of hope, in conſideration of their Numbers both within and without *Aleſia*, whither they marched.

Propter ejus ſingularem, ac nefariam crudelitatem.

111. In the mean time they that were beſieged in the Town, the day being paſt by which they expected relief, knew not what courſe to take. Some were for a Surrendry, and others for Sallies to be made upon the Enemy; but above all, the Speech of *Critognatus*, a Nobleman of the *Arverni*, was ſo remarkable for its ſingular and nefarious cruelty, that *Cæſar* thought fit to give an account of it in his Commentaries. The Deſign of it was to perſwade them to hold out as their Fore-fathers did in a War againſt the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*, who being ſhut up within their Towns, and brought to the like neceſſity, ſatisfied their hunger with the Bodies of ſuch as were unfit for War; neither did they yield themſelves to the Enemy. Nay if they had not had ſuch an Example, he would have it begun now, and to be left to Poſterity, no War being like to this. For, the *Cimbri* left the Country, and the Laws and Liberties all intire, whereas the *Romans* would bring them to ſlavery and bondage, as they had ſufficient evidence by the manner wherein they treated already that part of *Gall* which they had reduced into a Province. Having delivered their ſeveral Opinions, they reſolved, that ſuch as through Age, or other Infirmities, were unfit for War, ſhould depart the Town, and that they ſhould try all means before they yielded to *Critognatus* his opinion: and yet if the matter ſo required, to conſent unto it; and to attend their Succours, rather than yield to any ſurrender or condition of Peace.

The Reſolution of ſuch as were beſieged in *Aleſia*.

112. However, in the mean time the *Mandubii*, who had received the Army into their Town, were themſelves thruſt out with their Wives and Children, and coming to the *Roman* Trenches, deſired with Tears to be received and nouriſhed with Bread, though on condition of ſlavery, but *Cæſar* rejected them. Now all the *Gallick* Forces came to the relief of *Aleſia*, and though they appeared ſo numerous, yet *Cæſar* drew out his Horſe, and cauſed it to ingage the Enemy. Herein he had the better, by means of the *Germans*; but was attacqued both by them that were newly arrived, and thoſe in the Town, who with Hurdles indeavoured to fill up the Ditches, and with other Inſtruments of a Siege to ſcale the Works, but were forced to retire with loſs; for, ſome fell unwittingly upon the *Galthrops*, others falling into the Holes, were ſtruck through their Bodies with ſharp Stakes, and others died by Mural Piles caſt from the Rampire, and the Towers. Being repelled twice with great loſs, they fell into conſideration what courſe they were beſt to take, adviſing with them that were beſt acquainted with the Nature and ſituation of the Place.

The *Galles* repulſed.

113. This done, the Captains choſe out ſixty thouſand of thoſe States, which had the greateſt repute for courage, and attacqued the *Roman* Camp at the declivity of an Hill, where they might beſt maſter the Works, giving diverſion at the ſame time in other places. But the Induſtry and Fortune of *Cæſar* ſurmounted all difficulties, by ſending Supplies where there was need, and being aſſiſted by the conduct of *Labienus*, who having got together thirty nine Cohorts, charged the Enemy with great execution. Threeſcore and fourteen Enſigns were taken and brought to *Cæſar*, and very few of ſo great a number returned ſafe into their Camp. They in the Town, diſcouraged, drew back their Forces from the Works, which being known, the *Galles*

preſently fled out of the Camp, and if the Soldiers had not been wearied, they might eaſily, in the opinion of the Conqueror, have deſtroyed all their Enemies. However, the Horſe being ſent out about mid-night to fall upon the Reer, ſlew and took a great number. The next day *Vercingetorix* calling a Council, told them he had not undertaken the War for his own Intereſt, but for the common concern, and publick liberty; and ſeeing they muſt neceſſarily yield to fortune, he offered either to ſatisfie the *Romans* by his Death, or to be delivered up to them alive. Ambaſſadors were ſent to *Cæſar*, and upon his Command the Captains were brought to him, ſitting in the Fortifications before the Camp, and *Vercingetorix* amongſt the reſt, with whom their Weapons were delivered. The *Ædui* and *Arverni* being reſerved, of whom he diſmiſſed twenty thouſand Captives, of the reſt he gave throughout the Army every Man a Priſoner by way of booty. He marched to the *Ædui*, and received them, having been ſo kind to them and the *Arverni*, out of hopes by their means to bring in other States. Thither did the *Arverni* ſend their Ambaſſadors, and promiſed to obey his Orders. He required a great number of Hoſtages, and ſent the Legions into their wintering Camps: He himſelf determined to winter at *Auguſtodunum* or *Bibracte*. The Atchievments of this year being known at *Rome*, a Supplication for twenty days was injoyned.

Cæſars wonderful atchievments before *Aleſia*.

114. Such account *Cæſar* himſelf gives of this Action before *Aleſia*, and therewith concludes his Commentaries of his Wars in *Gall*. His Works and Fortifications being ſuch as he deſcribes them, though in down-right Language, without ornament of Rhetorick, hath ſtupified all Readers with admiration, as too great for a Man to effect. The ſingle Work to incompaſs the Town was wonderful; but doubled with another without to keep the *Galles* from raiſing the Siege doth double the wonder. Hereby he did beſiege, and was beſieged, took the Town, and overthrew the Enemy in the Field. The *Galles* in this War were acted by a natural and generous heat to preſerve the liberty of their Country, though they failed therein, and the unfaithfulneſs of any of them in not ſtanding to their former Ingagements cannot be excuſed. Above all others *Vercingetorix* was remarkable both for his Valour and Conduct, the manner of whoſe delivery *Plutarch* deſcribeth. Being armed at all Points, mounted on an Horſe, and furniſhed with a rich Capariſon, he came to *Cæſar*, and rode about him, as he ſate in his Chair of State; then lighting, he took off his Capariſon and Furniture, and diſarming himſelf, laid all on the ground, and went and ſate down at his feet, and ſaid never a word. *Cæſar* at length committed him as a Priſoner of War to be led as a Captive in his Triumph, which the Civil Wars prevented.

Florus his error about the Place.

115. *Florus* alſo writes of his coming as a Supplicant to the Camp, and caſting down his Ornaments and Arms before *Cæſars* Knees with theſe words: *Take them, thou haſt overcome a Valiant Man, O Man moſt valiant!* But where this Camp was, this Writer was vilely miſtaken. You have heard *Cæſar* all along tell his own ſtory. Certainly he knew what Town it was he took, and about the Siege of which the great ſtreſs of the War lay. He himſelf ſaith it was *Aleſia*, but *Florus* writes that it was *Gergovia*, a Town of the *Arverni*; that here is was where ſo great Munitions were raiſed; where *Vercingetorix* was taken, and the War being in a manner finiſhed, all *Gall* was reduced to the obedience of the *Romans*. Now could *Cæſar* be ignorant what Towns he took, or which he was forced to quit? (as he did *Gergovia*) and two hundred years almoſt after his death *Florus* muſt undertake to correct what he had written. But this he did out of his forgetfulneſs, or rather his impudence, in falſifying Hiſtory, according to his Cuſtom, as we cannot but obſerve upon occaſion.

The *Galles* again raiſe Commotions to no purpoſe.

Hirtius.

116. *Roman* Writers ſpeak of *Gall* as now ſubdued; but for all that, *Cæſar* could not paſs the Winter in quiet; though having reſted no part of the former Summer, he was deſirous to refreſh his Soldiers. For the *Galles* concluded, that though the *Roman* Army could not be maſtered in one place, and altogether; yet if they raiſed Commotions in divers places, *Cæſar* ſhould not be able to proſecute all at once. To prevent the effect of this Conſultation, *Cæſar* leaving *M. Antonius* with charge of his Winter Garriſons, with all ſpeed invaded the *Bituriges*, and making no uſual ſigns of an Invaſion,, by Fires prevented all relief which one City could afford unto another, and thereby ſurprizing many thouſands of ſuch as lay in the Fields, conſtrained them to ſubmit. He drove the *Carnutes* to great extremity, by forcing them into the Woods in the violence of cold weather; from which not able to defend themſelves, they were ſcattered abroad, and with the loſs of a great part of them, diſperſed into the neighbouring Cities.

Sect. 6.

117. This, notwithſtanding the *Bellovaci*, under the conduct of *Corbeus* and *Comius* the *Atribatian*, levied Men, with reſolution to invade the *Sueſſiones*. *Cæſar* thinking not only his Honour, but his ſecurity concerned to ſave his Allies, which had well deſerved of the Common-wealth, with three Legions marched againſt them. The *Galles* he found ſeated on the higher ground, from which they would not deſcend, notwithſtanding the ſmallneſs of the number of the *Romans* compared with theirs; and *Cæſar* conſidering their multitudes, would not attacque them with ſuch diſadvantages, but ſtrongly fortified himſelf to make them believe he was fearful, and thereby to draw them down to Battle. Yet we are told that he ſaw it neceſſary to ſend for three Legions more, the coming of which while he expected, the Enemy defeated by an Ambuſh a Party of the *Rhemi*, which was appointed to guard the Foragers, and killed *Vertiſco* the Prince of their State, and Captain of their Horſe, while, though an old Man, and ſcarcely able to ſit on Horſe-back, he too greedily purſued them. And on the other ſide the *Germans*, whom *Cæſar* had ſent for from beyond the *Rhine* to fight, intermingled with his Horſe-men, boldly paſſed the Mariſh that lay between the Camps, and routed ſuch flying Parties of the *Galles* as they could meet.

Are defeated.

118. The *Galles*, upon hearing of the coming of more Legions, were diſcouraged, and ſent away by night with their Carriages ſuch among them as were infirm or wanted Arms, fearing ſuch another Siege as had been at *Aleſia*. *Cæſar* perceiving they would all be gone, and that the Mariſh would hinder the Purſuit, made Bridges over it, and poſſeſſed himſelf of a ridge of an Hill which ran betwixt the Mariſh and the Enemies Camp; and ſo ordered his Battel, that thence the Engines might play amongſt the thickeſt of them. They being fearful to ſtay, and not knowing how to ſecure their retreat from *Cæſar*, who ſtood ready to purſue them, caſt up a great heap of Faggots betwixt the two Camps, and ſet them on fire, thereby to intercept his ſight when they fled, and that with ſuch ſucceſs, that though he ſent out the Horſe after them, as ſuſpecting their Deſign, yet his Men were afraid to venture into the thick flame and ſmoak, and the *Bellovaci* eſcaped to a place ten Miles off; whence, by laying Ambuſhes both of Horſe and Foot in divers places, they did the *Romans* great diſpleaſure in their foraging. *Corbeus* choſe out of his whole Army ſix thouſand Foot, and lay in Ambuſh with them in a place ſo incompaſſed with a River and Woods, that the *Romans* coming thither ſhould be taken as in a Toile. But *Cæſar* by a Captive got notice of it, and ſent his Horſe-men to the place, ſo ordering his matters, that being readily attacqued by the Enemy, they were ſuccoured firſt by light Foot-men, and he himſelf was preſently at hand with his Legions. Upon knowledge hereof the *Galles* would have fled, but could not, being themſelves caught in the trap they had laid for the *Romans*. Yet they adventured to enter the River, and the Woods, but were all overtaken and ſlain; and *Corbeus* refuſing quarter, but fighting and hurting many Men, exaſperated therewith the Victors ſo much, that they could not forbear to throw their Darts at him, and diſpatch him.

They ſubmit.

119. By ſome few that eſcaped through the Woods, the *Galles* incamped at eight Miles diſtance, perceived the miſery they were in, for *Cæſar* would be ſuddenly upon them; they called a Council by ſound of Trumpet, and ſent their Ambaſſadors to him, to whom they accuſed *Corbeus*, as Author of the Revolt. *Cæſar* told them it was an eaſie matter to caſt the blame upon the dead; and he put them in mind how the *Pellovaci* had ſtood moſt ſtifly in their opinion, and would not be reduced, when the other States had ſubmitted. Nevertheleſs he was ſatisfied with the puniſhment which they had brought upon themſelves; for they lamented, that beſides the loſs of their Horſe-men, many thouſands of their choiceſt Foot were cut off, ſcarcely any eſcaping to bring tydings of the ſlaughter. The reſt of the States having ſtaid to ſee what ſucceſs they would have, when they ſaw that they were admitted to give Hoſtages, ſubmitted themſelves, and did ſo too; only *Comius* having, upon his revolt from *Cæſar*, been almoſt aſſaſſinated by procurement of *Labienus* would truſt his life with no Man, but kept himſelf with the *Germans*, whom he had procured to aſſiſt in the War. *Cæſar* perceived that no Nation now ſtood againſt him, the moſt warlike being ſubdued. And therefore he diſpoſed of his Forces into ſeveral parts of *Gall*. He himſelf invaded the Country of *Ambiorix*, which he harraſed with Fire and Sword, on purpoſe to make him hated by his People. Having ſlain, and taken Priſoners a great number of Men, he ſent *Labienus* with two Legions amongſt the *Treviri*, the Country of whom, by reaſon of its nearneſs to *Germany*, being daily inured to War, was not much unlike it in rudeneſs and ſavagneſs of its Inhabitants. Neither did they obey *Cæſars* Commands at any time longer than he had an Army in their Country to compel them.

120. In the mean time a new War was raiſed in the Territories of the *Pictones*, a part of which State renounced their obedience. But they were happily reduced by *C. Fabius*, who before had received many Cities by compoſition, and now in an encounter cauſed the death of above twelve thouſand Men; after which he went againſt the *Carnutes*, and the other States, the power of whom he knew to be cruſhed by that overthrow. Giving them no reſpite, he ſpeedily brought them to ſubjection; for the *Carnutes*, who, though often before roughly handled, yet would never liſten to peace, now gave Hoſtages, and ſubmitted. And beſides them, the *Aremorican* States following their example, upon the coming of *Fabius* with his Legions among them, received his Command without delay. *Drapes*, one of the *Senones*, and *Luterius* of the *Cadurci*, having eſcaped from the Battel, fled toward the Province, and were purſued by *Cavinius* the Legate with two Legions. Perceiving that they could not upon his approach enter the Province without danger, they took *Vxellodunum*, a Town of the *Cadurci*, excellently well fortified by its ſituation. Hence, as they went to gather Forage, *Cavinius* fell upon them, and quite defeated their Forces, which done, he ſate down before the Town, and *Fabius* the next day came to his aſſiſtance.

121. E're this, *Cæſar* having left *M. Antonius* the *Quæſtor* with fifteen Cohorts among the *Bellovaci*, to prevent new Confederacies, viſited the other States, and charged them with more Hoſtages; but incouraged them with comfortable words. Yet when he came amongſt the *Carnutes*, he demanded *Guturvatus*, as Author of their Revolt, to be given up into his Hands, and *Hirtius* tells us, he was compelled by his Soldiers to puniſh him, who imputed to him all the dangers and loſſes they had ſuſtained by the War; ſo that being in a manner ſcourged to death, he was beheaded. Having received information from *Cavinius*, how *Drapes* and *Luterius* were defeated, and that the Townſ-men ſtood it out, he reſolved to go and puniſh them too, leſt occaſion ſhould be given to the reſt of the *Galles* to think that they wanted not ſtrength, but conſtancy and reſolution to withſtand the *Romans*, and other Cities truſting to the ſtrength of their ſituation, and incouraged by their Example, ſhould attempt to recover their liberty. For he was ſenſible that all the *Galles* knew his Power was to continue but one Summer longer; which if they conld weather out, they thought they ſhould need to fear no danger after. Coming beyond all expectation before the Town, he preſently ſaw there was no means to conquer it, but by cutting off the Water. For a River ran below the high Hill on which it ſtood, and a Spring of Water guſhed out under the Walls; with much labour and expence of Blood he cauſed Batteries to be planted, and drove them both from River and Fountain. They ſet fire to his Works, and by a Sally hindered him from quenching it. To divert them he reſolved to aſſault the Town, which apprehenſion cauſed them to retreat. And at length, by Mines, he diverted the courſe of the Spring another way; with which they were ſo daunted, that thinking it above the wit of Man, and to have been effected by the Gods, they yielded themſelves. *Cæſar* judging that his clemency was ſufficiently known, and could receive no blemiſh from one Act of ſeverity, for an Example to others, cut off the right Hands of all ſuch that were able to bear Arms.

Cæſar taketh *Vxellodnnum.*

122. While *Cæſar* was thus imployed, *Labienus* warred proſperouſly againſt the *Treviri*; of them he ſlew many, as alſo of the *Germans*, who were ready to aſſiſt any Man againſt the *Romans*. *Cæſar* having conquered, and ſubdued *Gallia Celtica*, and alſo *Belgica*, but never all this while viſited *Aquitania*, further than that he had made a kind of entrance into it by certain Victories obtained by *P. Craſſus*, with two Legions marched thither with intent to beſtow there the latter part of the Summer, and that he did alſo with ſuch ſucceſs, that all the States thereof ſent unto him, and gave him Hoſtages. This done, he went with his Horſe-guard to *Narbon*, and diſpoſed of his Foot into wintering places, ſo as no part of *Gall* was without an Army. Having ſtaid a few days in the *Province*, and inquired how every Man had behaved himſelf during the general Rebellion of *Gall*, which he had overcome by the faithfulneſs and aſſiſtance of the ſaid *Province*, he returned to his Legions into *Belgium*, and wintered at *Nemetocenna*. In the mean time *Comius* the *Atrebatian* lived by robbing and intercepting ſuch Proviſions as were carryed to the *Roman* Camps. Againſt him *M. Antonius* ſent out *C. Voluſenus*, whom he encountered, and wounded dangerouſly in the Thigh, but the *Roman* Horſe, out of indignation that their Commander was wounded, inforced the Fight with ſuch violence, that *Comius* his Party was routed. And though he himſelf eſcaped, yet he thought it beſt to ſubmit, and offer Hoſtages; which *Antony* received, and beſides pardoning him, granted him his

The States of *Aquitaine* ſubmit.

his requeſt, that he ſhould not come into the ſight of any *Roman*, which reſolution he had taken, upon the danger he had formerly eſcaped.

123. *Cæſar*, being come into *Belgium*, bent his Indeavours to this end, that at his departure, and withdrawing of his Army, he ſhould not be conſtrained to have War, and leave troubles behind him. He therefore took this courſe, to treat the ſeveral States obligingly, by highly rewarding the Noble-men, and by burdening the Country with no new Impoſitions, by which means he eaſily kept it quiet, now tired out with many unfortunate Battels; for ſo long as a ſence of the miſeries of War remains upon an harraſed People, they liſten not to their turbulent and unquiet fancies; but when that is off, they return to their whim again, which is wont to come upon them no otherwiſe than the fits of an Ague at Terms and Periods. Winter being over, *Cæſar*, contrary to his cuſtom, haſted into *Italy*, his chief buſineſs being to commend to the Municipal Towns and Colonies the Suit of his *Quæſtor M. Antony* for the Prieſthood. He had ſent him before to ſue for that promotion, and made all the Friends he could; and was now ſo far ingaged, that ſome few Men were grown factious and troubleſome about it, and by putting *Antony* beſide his purpoſe, ſought to diſparage *Cæſar* now going out of his Command.

124. Yet before he came near *Italy*, he underſtood that *Antony* was made Augur. Notwithſtanding he thought fit to viſit the Towns and Colonies, to give them thanks for their appearing for him, and to recommend to them his own buſineſs. For, he intended to ſue for the Conſulſhip himſelf for the following year, being concerned that his Adverſaries made their brags that *L. Lentulus* and *C. Marcellus* had been advanced to that dignity to deprive him of all Honour and Authority, and that it was wreſted from *Sergius Galba*, though he had more Voices on his ſide, becauſe he was a familiar friend of *Cæſar*, and had been his Legate. He was received with extraordinary affection and reſpect, upon this his firſt coming from the Wars in *Gall*. For nothing was omitted which they could deviſe for the adorning of their Gates, Ways, and Places where he was to paſs. The People with their Children met him on the Road, Sacrifices were every where offered, the Temples and Forums were hanged with Tapeſtry, and, as if ſome great Triumph had been provided for, great expenſe was made by the Richer, and great Expreſſions by the meaner ſort.

Cæſar honourably received in *Gall*.

125. Having lightly paſſed through the Countries of *Gallia Togata*, he returned with all ſpeed to his Army at *Nemetocenna*, and called all his Legions out of their Winter Quarters into that of the *Treviri*, where he muſtered them. Of *Gallia Togata* he made *Labienus* Governour, thereby to obtain more favour and furtherance in his Suit for the Conſulſhip. He heard oftentimes that *Labienus* was ſollicited ſtrongly by his Enemies; and was informed, that by the prevalency of a ſmall Faction, it was carried in the Senate to take away from him part of his Army; yet would he not give credit to any thing ſaid of *Labienus*, nor would be drawn to act contrary to the Authority of the Senate, believing, that if the Members thereof might have freedom of Voice, he ſhould eaſily obtain what he deſired. For *C. Curio*, Tribune of the People, had often propounded, that if any were terrified by the Army of *Cæſar*, foraſmuch as the Power of *Pompey* kept other Perſons as much in awe, both of them ſhould disband their Armies, and ſo the City be free to uſe her own right as ſhe pleaſed. The Senate was juſt and civil enough to him, as appeared both at this time and the year before, when *Marcellus*, oppoſing his Dignity contrary to the Law of *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, brought in a Bill for his diſcharge, before the time of his Authority was expired. Yet did not this diſcourage his Enemies, but rather excited them to make good their Party, and compel the Senate to approve of what they had determined.

His Enemies buſie at *Rome* againſt him.

126. Hereupon it was reſolved, that *Pompey* ſhould ſend one Legion, and *Cæſar* another, to the War againſt the *Parthians*. But *Hirtius* tells us, it was eaſily diſcerned that both theſe Legions were taken from *Cæſar*; for, the firſt Legion *Pompey* had ſent unto *Cæſar*, and given it him as out of his own Number, being levied in the Province. Yet did *Cæſar*, though no Man doubted but that he was weakened at the pleaſure of his Enemies, ſend *Pompey* his Legion again, and of his own Forces he ordered the fifteenth Legion which he had in *Gall* within the *Alps*, to be delivered according to the Decree of the Senate. And in the room thereof he ſent the thirteenth into *Italy*, to lie in Garriſon in the ſame place whence the other was drawn. Now did he place his Army in its Winter Quarters amongſt the *Belgæ* and *Ædui*, as the beſt way to keep *Gall* in quiet, the former being the moſt valiant, and the latter of greateſt Authority. Then took he his Journey into *Italy*, whither when come, he

underſtood that the two Legions which he had diſmiſſed to be according to the Decree of the Senate imployed in the *Parthian* War, were by *Marcellus* the Conſul delivered to *Pompey*, and kept ſtill in *Italy*. By this dealing was ſufficiently evident what was intended againſt *Cæſar*. Yet he determined to take all things patiently, as long as there was hope of determining the controverſie rather by Law than by the Sword.

SECT. VII.

Containing the Hiſtory of the Civil War betwixt Cæſar *and* Pompey, *to the Abſoluteneſs of* Julius Cæſar.

The ſpace of five years.

1. SUch is the account which *Hirtius*, or whoever wrote the eighth Commentary of the *Gallick* War, giveth us of the beginning of the *Civil* betwixt theſe great Perſons; but it is our part to enquire farther into the original of it. For whoſoever was the Author of that Book, who wrote moreover Commentaries of the Wars of *Alexandria*, *Africk*, and *Spain*, till the Death of *Cæſar*, was no ſmall a Friend and Admirer of him. In his Preface he tells his *Balbus* by whoſe daily Admonition he was conſtrained to write, that though all that read the Writings of *Cæſar* admired them as well as he, yet he had more reaſon to do it than others, becauſe they conſidered only in them the purity of Phraſe, and excellency of Stile; whereas he who knew with what facility and expedition he wrote, had a more particular Subject of Admiration. He was it ſeems preſent at the *Gallick* War, and for the General had very great Honour and Reſpect; but he had not ſo much reaſon and opportunity to underſtand the Intrigues relating to the *Civil*; neither was he poſſibly willing to reflect upon *Cæſar*, as, or where he did deſerve.

Hirtius favourable to *Cæſar*.

2. The Truth is, *Cæſar*'s carriage, eſpecially in his *Conſulſhip*, had rendered him very diſtaſtful to the Senate. *Pompey* on the other ſide, by his fair demeanour, had of late gained much upon it, which *Cæſar* being aware of deſired leave to ſtand for a ſecond *Conſulſhip* in his abſence. This was granted him; but he, fearing the malice of his Adverſaries in caſe he were reduced to a private condition, further importuned the *Fathers* that he might have his Government of *Gall* prorogued, caſting about all manner of ways to keep his Army till he ſhould be Conſul. This was hindered by *Marcellus* the Conſul, who had ſucceeded *Pompey*; whereupon *Cæſar* laying his hand upon his Sword, ſaid, That *that* ſhould obtain it for him. This *Marcellus* was very bitter againſt him, preſſing hard that a Succeſſor ſhould be ſent him; but this was croſſed by *Pompey*, either out of good nature, or policy. Such were deſigned Conſuls for the enſuing year, as were moſt oppoſite to *Cæſar*, viz. *L. Æmilius Paulus*, and *C. Claudius Marcellus*, Nephew to the former Conſul by his Brother: *Curio* alſo, an inveterate Enemy of *Cæſar*, was made *Tribune*. Yet all theſe, except *Claudius*, were drawn aſide by Money; *Paulus* by fifteen hundred Talents, and *Curio*, who was much indebted, by one hundred thouſand *Seſterces*. *Marcellus* then urging, that a Succeſſor was to be ſent to *Cæſar*, *Curio* ſtifly withſtood it, alledging, that then ought *Pompey* alſo to diſmiſs his Army; for that his power was equally dangerous to the publick liberty. *Pompey* outwardly ſeemed willing, and ſaid he would disband his Men; but *Curio* fell foul upon him, telling him, that promiſe without performance was nothing; and, that he might ſeem to ſtand for the good of the Commonwealth, and not curry favour with *Cæſar*, he deſired, that if they both refuſed to disband, they ſhould, the one as well as the other, be declared Enemies to the State.

The grounds and occaſions of the Civil Wars betwixt *Pompey* and *Cæſar*.

Appian. de bello civili lib. 2. *Velleius Paterc. l.* 2. *c.* 48.

3. *Pompey* exceedingly netled hereat, threatned him; but he ceaſed not to urge the thing. The Senate could have wiſhed them both reduced, but feared to disband *Pompey*'s Army, looking upon *Cæſar* as the more dangerous perſon. *Pompey* ſent now to him for the Legion he had lent him, two being ordered into *Syria* to defend the *Eaſtern* Parts now in danger by the overthrow of *Craſſus*: he ſent him this Legion, and another of his own; but there being no need of them in *Syria*, they wintered at *Capua*. Thoſe that brought them into *Italy* did ill Offices for *Cæſar*, and gave out, as if his Army at his return would all revolt, which though very falſe,

was believed by *Pompey*, who thereupon neglected to provide for ſo dangerous a War as followed. The next year *C. Claudius Marcellus* and *L. Corn. Lentulus* were Conſuls, and it was propounded to the Senate, whether *both* Pompey *and* Cæſar *ſhould lay down all Power.* Though once it was carried that *Cæſar* only ſhould, when the Conſul propounded it ſeverally, yet * *Curio* again putting it to the queſtion, it was carried againſt both by three hundred and forty eight Voices. Hereat the Conſuls inraged, left the City, and gave *Pompey* power as from themſelves to fight for his Country againſt *Cæſar*, which he ſeemed not altogether to approve. Now *Curio* perceiving himſelf in danger, and that he could do no more ſervice for *Cæſar*, fled unto him.

Curio laboureth hard for *Cæſar.*

* *Conſule Appianum de* [illegible] *civili lib. pag.* 446.

4. *Cæſar* himſelf tells us, that all things were carried impetuouſly and confuſedly; that leiſure was not given to his Friends to advertiſe him, nor yet to the Tribunes to avoid the danger falling upon them, nor to uſe the Right of oppoſition left unto them by *Sylla*; but within ſeven days after they were entred into their Office, they were forced to ſhift for their ſafety, notwithſtanding the moſt turbulent and factious Tribunes of former times were never put to look into their Affairs, nor give account of their Actions before the eighth Month. In the end they betook themſelves to that extream Act of Senate, which was never made but when the City was upon the Point of burning, or in the deſperate eſtate of the Common-wealth: *Let the* Conſuls, Prætors, Tribuni Plebis, *and ſuch* Proconſuls *as are about the City, do their endeavour that the Common-wealth receive no detriment.* This *Senatus-conſultum* was made on the ſeventh of the *Ides* of *January*; ſo that in the five firſt days in which the Senate might ſit, after that *Lentulus* had entered the Conſulſhip, the two Comitial days excepted, moſt heavy and bitter Decrees were made againſt the Power of *Cæſar*, and againſt the Tribunes of the People, famous and worthy Men, who thereupon fled preſently out of the City, and came to him, who being then at *Ravenna* attended an Anſwer to his eaſie and modeſt demands; if by any reaſonable courſe matters might be drawn to a peaceable concluſion.

Cæſars account of the beginning of the War.

De bello civili lib.

Dent opera Conſules, Prætores, Tribuni Pl. quiq; Proconſules ſunt ad urbem, nequid reſp. detrimenti capiat.

5. Others write, that *Curio*, being called to a Conſultation, would have had him preſently invade *Italy*; but he choſe rather firſt to make an overture of Peace, writing to his Friends, it's ſaid, to procure, though but two Legions with *Gall* within the *Alpes* and *Illyricum*, until he ſhould be *Conſul* again; which though it ſeemed ſomething reaſonable to *Pompey*, the Conſuls would not admit of it, Then wrote he to the Senate a menacing and bitter Letter; for ſo it is ſtiled by *Cicero*, who now was returned from *Cilicia*, his Province, which he had governed a year, and for his good Service in the Field had been ſaluted *Imperator*, and had a Triumph decreed him by the Senate, which theſe diſturbances hindered, he ſaying, that ſo an agreement were made, he had rather follow the Chariot of *Cæſar* than triumph in his own; and to effect it, he omitted no travel, writing to *Cæſar*, and ſpeaking unto *Pompey*. But *Cæſar* in that Letter, after an honourable mention made of his own Exploits, ſignified, that he was willing to reſign his Power, in caſe *Pompey* did the like; otherwiſe he ſhould retein his Forces, and ſpeedily come to revenge theſe Injuries which had been offered as well to himſelf as his Country. At the reading of theſe laſt words all cried out, that War was denounced, and they ſent *L. Domitius* to ſucceed him in his Command, with four newly raiſed Legions. *Antonius* and *Caſſius* the Tribunes being of *Curio*'s Judgment, the Conſuls bad them depart out of the Senate, leſt their Perſons *Sacroſanct* (as the term was) by their Offices ſhould be violated; and they in a great rage departing, that night fled toward *Cæſar*. So began this famous *Civil* War, in the fourth year of the CLXXXII. *Olympiad*, the DCCV. of the City, XLVII. before the Birth of Chriſt; *A. M.* MMMCMLVI. the aforeſaid *C. Claudius Marcellus*, and *L. Cornelius Lentulus* being Conſuls.

What others write.

Cic. Ep. 11. *lib.* 16. *Plutarch in Cicerone.*

The beginning of the Civil War.

6. Amongſt other things ordained by the Senate in order to preparation for War, *Cæſar* writes, that two *Conſular*, and the other *Prætorian* Provinces were given to private Men, that had no Office of Magiſtracy. That *Syria* fell to *Scipio*, and *Gall* to *L. Domitius*. That into the other Provinces were ſent *Prætors* without conſent or approbation of the People, as had been practiſed in former years, who having made their Vows, took their *Paludamenta*, and went their ways. That the Conſuls (which before that time was never ſeen) went out of the City, and had their Lictors privately within the City, and in the Capitol, againſt all Order and ancient Cuſtom. That Levies were made throughout *Italy*, Arms were required, and Money was exacted from Municipal Towns, from Temples and Religious Places. That all Divine and Humane Rights were confounded. Provoked by theſe things

Cæſars Complaints.

Made to his Soldiers.

things, he called the Soldiers together, acquainted them with all the Injuries he had received from time to time by procurement of his Enemies, and how they had alienated *Pompey* from him, of whom he had well deſerved. He lamented that the Power of the Tribunes, which former times had re-eſtabliſhed, ſhould now be ſuppreſſed by force. For *Sylla* having ſtripped the Tribunitial Power of all Rights and Prerogatives, yet continued to it the freedom of Interceſſion. But *Pompey*, who would ſeem to reſtore it to its Dignity, took away that Power which alone was left unto it. As for the *Senatus-conſultum*, whereby the Magiſtrates were required to take care for the ſafety of the Common-wealth, and by the Voice of which the *Roman* People were ſummoned to take Arms, it had never been practiſed, but when pernicious Laws were propounded, upon the violence of the Tribunes, and the mutiny and ſeceſſion of the People; when the Temples, and more eminent Places were ſeized, which Examples of former Ages had been expiated by the fortune of *Saturninus*, and the *Gracchi*. But at this preſent there was no ſuch matter attempted, no not in thought; no Law publiſhed; no tampering with the People; no ſeceſſion. Therefore he exhorted them to undertake the Defence of the Reputation and Dignity of their General, under whoſe Conduct for nine years together they had moſt happily managed the common Intereſt, fought many proſperous and victorious Battels, and ſetled all *Gall* and *Germany* in Peace. The Soldiers of the thirteenth Legion being only preſent, for the other Legions were not yet come, cried out inſtantly, that they were ready to undertake his Defence, and protect the Tribunes.

He goeth to *Ariminum*.

7. Having ſounded the minds of the Soldiers, he went, he ſaith, directly toward *Ariminum*, and there met with the Tribunes of the People that were fled to him; ſent for the reſt of the Legions from their Wintering Camps, and gave order that they ſhould follow him. *Plutarch* relates, that he had not in all above five thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Horſe about him in *Gall* within the *Alpes*, having left the reſt beyond the Mountains to be brought after him by his Lieutenants. That conſidering how for the execution of his Deſign he needed not ſo many Men, but that his Intereſt was to come upon his Enemies on a ſudden, and ſurprize them, rather than by great Preparations to give them notice and time to make oppoſition, he commanded his Officers to go before, without any other Armour than their Swords, to take *Ariminum*, (the firſt City * one comes to out of *Gall*) with as little blood-ſhed and tumult as they could poſſible. Then committing the Army he had with him to the care of *Hortenſius*, one of his Friends, he continued an whole day together openly in the ſight of every Man, to ſee the Gladiators exerciſe before him. At night he went to his Lodging, and bathing his Body a little, came afterwards into the Hall, and made merry a while with them he had invited to Supper. When it was pretty late, and very dark, he roſe from the Table, and prayed the Company to be merry, and not to ſtir, for he would ſtraight be with them again; but he had ſecretly given order to a few of his truſtieſt Friends to follow him, ſome one way, and ſome another. He himſelf having hired a Carriage, made at firſt as if he would have gone ſome other way; but ſuddenly turned back again towards *Ariminum*. Now, when he was come to the little River *Rubicon*, which parted *Gall* within the *Alpes* from *Italy*, he ſtopped his courſe upon a ſudden.

* Now *Rimini* in *Romania* upon the *Adriatick* in the Popes Dominion.

His anxious thoughts at the *Rubicon*.

8. For, the farther he went, and nearer he came to execute his purpoſe, the more remorſe he had in his Conſcience, to think what it was he took in hand, and his thoughts were more perplexed, when he entred into a conſideration of the deſperateneſs of his Attempt. He was plunged into various thoughts, and ſpoke never a word, waving ſometimes one way, and ſometimes another, and often changed his determination contrary to himſelf. At length he fell into diſcourſe with his Friends he had with him, amongſt whom was *Aſinius Pollio*, telling them what miſchiefs this Paſſage over the River would breed in the World, and how much Poſterity would talk of it. But at laſt, with Courage, caſting from him all theſe Melancholick thoughts, he ſpake ſuch words as Valiant Men are wont when they attempt dangerous Enterprizes, as that a *Deſperate Man feareth no danger, Come on*; and paſſing the River, never ſtopped; ſo that before day-light he was within *Ariminum*, and took it. It's ſaid, that the night before he paſſed over this River, he dreamed that he lay with his Mother.

Plutarch.

The great confuſion in *Italy* upon his Invaſion.

9. The City of *Ariminum* being taken, and the rumor thereof diſperſed throughout *Italy*, as if open War had been begun both at Sea and Land, as if all the Laws of *Rome* had been broken, together with the extream Bounds and Limits of the State, not only Men and Women, but whole Corporations themſelves quitting their Habitations, fled from one place to another. *Rome* was immediately filled with

multitudes that flocked thither, like droves of Cattel, being not to be commanded by any Authority of Magiſtrates, nor perſwaded by any Arguments, ſo confuſed they were, to the great danger of the City. For, in all places Men were of contrary opinions, and Tumults were raiſed by ſuch as were glad of this trouble, who could keep in no certain place, but every where fell out with ſuch as ſeemed either afraid or angry at it, and boldly threatned them with that which was to come. *Pompey* himſelf was amazed, but much more was troubled with the reflecting words which were given him on both ſides. Some ſaid he had done bravely, and paid for his folly, in making *Cæſar* ſo great and powerful both againſt himſelf and the Common-wealth. Others blamed him as having refuſed the honeſt and reaſonable Conditions offered by *Cæſar*, and ſuffering *Lentulus* the Conſul too much to abuſe him. *Phæonius* bade him ſtamp on the ground with his foot; for *Pompey* one day in bravery ſaid in the Senate, that none needed to trouble themſelves about *Preparation* for War; for when he liſted, with one ſtamp of his foot, he could fill all *Italy* with Soldiers. At this time *Pompey* had a greater number of Men than *Cæſar*; but thoſe about him, and concerned with him would never let him follow his own Determinations, bringing him ſo many lies, as if *Cæſar* had been already at their heels. *Dion Caſſius* writes, that he was affrighted by what he learnt from *Labienus* concerning *Cæſar*. For *Labienus*, who had been one of *Cæſars* greateſt Friends, and had fought valiantly under him, as his *Legatus* in *Gall*, forſook him and went to *Pompey*, to whom he revealed all his Secrets. A wonder it is made by *Dion*, what the cauſe ſhould be that moved *Labienus* to this Revolt. But he concludes it was, becauſe being now puffed up with his Wealth and Reputation, he carried himſelf very highly, and *Cæſar* diſdaining he ſhould think to equal him, did leſs reſpect him than formerly. This alteration of mind *Labienus* not enduring, and ſtanding in fear of what might be the conſequence of it, revolted from him.

Pompey ſendeth to *Cæſar*.

10. *Pompey* being altered in his Inclinations by this means, ſent Meſſengers to *Cæſar*, namely, *L. Cæſar* his Kinſman, whoſe Father was Legate in his Camp, and *Roſcius* the *Prætor*, who voluntarily undertook the Imployment. *L. Cæſar* told him, that *Pompey* deſired to clear himſelf, leſt he ſhould take thoſe things to be done in contempt of him, which were ordered only for the Service of the State. The good of that he ſaid he always preferred before any private reſpect, and that *Cæſar* was alſo obliged in honour to lay aſide all indignation and affection, for the ſake of the Common-wealth, and not to be ſo tranſported with anger and diſdain as he ſeemed to be, leſt hoping to be avenged upon them at *Rome*, he ſhould endamage his Country. Somewhat more he added with excuſes on *Pompeys* part, in all which he was ſeconded by *Roſcius*. *Cæſar* anſwered, That he had ever held the Dignity of the Common-wealth dearer than his own Life. He grieved that a kindneſs beſtowed on him by the People ſhould be ſpitefully wreſted from him by his Adverſaries; that ſix Months of his Government were to be cut off; and ſo he was to be called home to the City; and that notwithſtanding at the laſt Creation of Magiſtrates it was reſolved, that regard ſhould be had of him though abſent; Yet for the Common-wealth's ſake could he be content to undergo the loſs of that Honour. But having writ to the Senate, that all Men might quit their Armies, he was ſo far from obtaining it, that a Levy thereupon was made throughout *Italy*; moreover, that the two Legions, drawn from him under pretence of the *Parthian* War, were ſtill reteined about the City, which were alſo in Arms. He perceived well enough that all this tended to his deſtruction, and yet was he content to condeſcend to all things, and to indure all inconveniences for the good of the Publick. Let *Pompey*, ſaith he, go to his Government and Provinces. Let both the Armies be diſcharged. Let all Men in *Italy* lay down their Arms. Let the City be freed of fear. Let the *Comitia* be left to their ancient Liberty, and the whole Adminiſtration free to the Senate and People. For the ſecurity hereof let an Oath be taken, elſe let *Pompey* come near to me, or me be permitted to go nearer to *Pompey*, that by conference an end may be put to theſe differences.

Cæſars demands.

The Anſwer unſatisfactory.

11, The Meſſengers delivered this Anſwer to *Pompey*, and the Conſuls at *Capua*, to which, after Conſultation, they made a Reply by Writing, and the ſame Meſſengers. This was the drift of it, that *Cæſar* ſhould return into *Gall*, quit *Ariminum*, and diſmiſs his Army; which if he did, *Pompey* would then go into *Spain*; in the mean time, till ſecurity could be given that *Cæſar* would do this, the Conſuls and *Pompey* would not forbear to levy Men. Theſe Conditions were very unequal, that *Cæſar* ſhould quit *Ariminum*, and return into his Province, and *Pompey* hold Legions and Provinces belonging to others; that *Cæſar* ſhould diſmiſs his Army, and *Pompey* raiſe new Troops; that *Pompey* ſhould promiſe to repair to his Government, but aſſign no day for his departure; ſo that if he had not gone till *Cæſars* time of Government had been expired, he could not have been accuſed of breaking his word. But there being no time appointed for a conference, nor any ſhow made of coming nearer, there could be no hope of Peace. *Cæſar* ſeeing this, ſent out *M. Antony*, and others, and took in ſeveral Municipal Towns by the aſſiſtance of the *Decuriones* of *Auximum*, though *Actius Varus*, who held that Town, oppoſed it, making Levies of Men through the Country of *Picenum*.

Cæſar taketh in ſome Towns.

12. The noiſe hereof flying to *Rome*, ſtruck the City with ſuch terror, that *Lentulus* the Conſul being to deliver out Money to *Pompey*, according to a *Senatus-conſultum*, and having opened the inner Treaſury, forthwith fled away; for it was reported falſly, that *Cæſar* approached, and that his Horſe was near at hand. *Marcellus* the other Conſul, and moſt of the other Magiſtrates, followed after. *Pompey* departing the day before, was gone to thoſe Legions he had taken from *Cæſar*, and had left in *Apulia* to winter. In the mean time the Levies ceaſed in the City, and no place ſeemed ſecure betwixt that and *Capua*, where they began firſt to aſſemble. There to ſecure themſelves they preſſed for Soldiers ſuch *Coloni* as by the *Lex Julia* were placed there. The *Gladiators*, which there *Cæſar* kept in exerciſe, were by *Lentulus* brought out of the School, ſet at liberty, and had Horſes given them, being commanded to follow him. But afterward upon advice how ill it was ſpoken of, he diſperſed them throughout *Campania* for their ſafe keeping. So writes *Cæſar* himſelf as to the flight of the *Conſuls*, and *Pompey* out of *Rome*. *Plutarch* adds, that *Pompey*, wearied with the frights, fury, and madneſs of thoſe who cried ſtill that *Cæſar* was at hand, and ſeeing all things in tumult, concluded there was no way but to forſake the City, and commanded the Senate to follow him, and not a Man to tarry there, except he loved tyranny more than liberty, and the Common-wealth. And ſo the *Conſuls* themſelves, before they had offered their common Sacrifices, as was wont, upon going out of the City, fled away; as did moſt of the Senators, taking away in haſt ſuch things as came to hand, as if they had ſtoln them. And in this hurlyburly ſome even of *Cæſars* Friends took the ſame courſe, being out of fear, carried with the ſtream of this Tumult.

Hurliburly upon noiſe thereof.

13. *Dion Caſſius* having told us how the great ones were unwilling that *Cæſar* and *Pompey* ſhould meet and confer, leſt they ſhould conſpire together againſt their Intereſt; and that *Pompey* was unwilling to be reduced to a private Life, becauſe he knew, that in that condition he ſhould not be ſo great with the People as *Cæſar* would be; adds alſo, that before the Meſſengers were returned he went into *Campania*, where he thought he could with more convenience raiſe the War. He commanded, that all the Senate and Magiſtrates ſhould follow him, by a *Senatus-conſultum* having propounded Impunity to ſuch as would quit the place upon this occaſion, and having declared that he would eſteem him that continued here no other than a publick Enemy. He procured alſo a Decree, that they ſhould take along with them all the publick Money, and all things conſecrated to their Gods, thereby hoping to be able to raiſe a great Army: And almoſt all the Cities of *Italy* had that kindneſs for him, that a little before having heard he was dangerouſly ſick, they made publick Vows for his recovery; which was an extraordinary Honour, and happened only afterwards to them, who obtained Sovereign Authority; although it was no ſtrong Argument, that therefore they would continue conſtant in fidelity to him. And although it was decreed, that all the Treaſure and Conſecrated things ſhould be carried away, yet was neither ſort removed out of their Places. For when it was heard that *Cæſar* had not given any peaceable Anſwer, but blamed the Meſſengers as having falſly reported things on his ſide, and that he had many Men bold and couragious, and reſolved to make havock of all things, (as in ſuch Caſes things are uſually made worſe, and more terrible than indeed they are) affrighted therewith, before they touched them, they ran away in great tumults and diſorder. They called to mind what horrid things had been committed by *Marius* and *Sylla*, and could not think better of *Cæſar*, whoſe Soldiers for the moſt part were *Barbarians*. But in ſuch manner did *Pompey* leave the City, and with him moſt of the Senators; for ſome few ſtaid behind, who were addicted to *Cæſar*, and ſome others that reſolved to ſtand Neuters.

Pompey and the Senators leave *Rome*, and go to *Capua*.

14. *Cæſar* having notice hereof, went not ſtrait to *Rome*, for he knew that the City would fall to the Victor as a reward, and he profeſſed that he did not make War upon *Rome*, but for her ſake againſt his Adverſaries. But throughout *Italy* he diſperſed Papers, whereby he challenged *Pompey* to debate the matter betwixt them, and indeavoured to perſwade others to be void of fear, and to keep themſelves at

home. Diſlodging from *Auximum*, he paſſed through the Country of *Picenum*, and there was moſt willingly entertained by all the Governments. But a ſtop was given to him at *Corſinium* by *Domitius Ænobarbus*, who had raiſed twenty Cohorts out of *Alba*, the *Marſi*, *Peligni*, and adjacent Countries. *Cæſar* paſſed the River, which *Domitius* in vain attempted to hinder, by breaking down the Bridge at three Miles diſtance from the Town; but the Party he ſent vvas beaten off by *Cæſars* Vanguard, vvho then ſate dovvn before the Place. *Domitius* ſent to *Pompey* to deſire aid, affirming, that *Cæſar* vvith two Armies, by reaſon of the ſtraitneſs of the Paſſages, might eaſily be ſhut up; vvhich opportunity if he neglected, he himſelf vvith above thirty Cohorts, and of Senators and Equites a great number, muſt needs run a very great danger. In the mean time he took care for effectual defence, and to incourage his Soldiers, promiſed to each Man four Acres out of his ovvn Lands, vvith a ſuitable proportion to the *Centurions* and *Evocati*; for having been of *Sylla's* Party he had got great Poſſeſſions.

15. *Cæſar* made great Works to fortifie his Camp, and begirt the Tovvn vvith Caſtles, and other Fortifications, vvhich vvhile he vvas about, the Meſſengers returned to *Domitius*. *Pompey* vvrote back that he vvould not hazard the Cauſe by driving it to ſuch extremity; and vvhereas *Domitius* had, vvithout his advice or conſent, ingaged in keeping *Corſinium*, he adviſed him, if poſſible, to quit it, and bring the Forces to him. But he diſſembled the matter, and gave out, that *Pompey* vvould come ſpeedily to their relief, and at the ſame time conſulted vvith his intimate Friends, hovv to make his eſcape out of the Tovvn; vvhich being at length knovvn by his demeanour, and other Circumſtances, his Men ſeized on him, and ſent to *Cæſar*, offering to deliver him up, and ſurrender the Place. He concluded that the importance of ſuch a Tovvn vvas not to be neglected, but kept his Men from entering that night, leſt any violence ſhould be committed, vvhich he reſolved to prevent, as good policy it vvas in his undertaking. *Lentulus Spinther* being in the Tovvn, came forth to him, begged pardon, and put him in mind of their former familiarity, acknovvledging the favours received from him, vvhich indeed vvere of the greateſt ſize; for by his means he had been choſen into the Colledge of *Pontifices*, upon leaving his *Prætorſhip* had obtained *Spain* for a *Province*, and had been aſſiſted by him in his Suit for the Conſulſhip.

Cæſar taketh *Corſinium*.

16. *Cæſar* interrupting him ſaid, That he came not out of his Province to do any harm, but to defend himſelf from the affronts of his Enemies; to reſtore the Tribunes of the People, vvho had been driven out of the City, to their Dignity, and to put himſelf and the People of *Rome* into liberty, being oppreſſed by the faction of a fevv perſons. *Lentulus* put into heart by this Anſwer, deſired to return into the Town to incourage others who were deſperate as to their fortunes; and the next day *Cæſar* ſent for the Senators, and Senators Children, the Tribunes of Soldiers, the *Equites* and *Decuriones*, a great number of which *Domitius* had culled out of the Municipal Towns. All theſe he protected from the Inſolencies of the Soldiers, and having a little upbraided them with their Ingratitude, diſmiſſed them in ſafety. And that he might not ſeem more ſparing of the Lives, than the Monies, of Men, ſixty *Seſtertia*, which *Domitius* had brought with him to *Corſinium*, and depoſited there, being preſented to him by the *Duumviri* of the Town, he reſtored to him; though he knew it was publick Money, and given out by *Pompey* to pay Soldiers. *Domitius* his Men he commanded to take the Military Oath to himſelf, and having ſtaid ſeven days at *Corſinium*, through the Confines of the *Marrucini*, *Terentini*, and *Larinates*, he came into *Apulia*.

17. *Pompey* having notice of what had paſſed at *Corſinium*, took his Way from *Luceria* to *Brunduſium*, raiſing all the Force he poſſibly could, even to the arming of Shepherds and Slaves, whom mounting, he made ſome three hundred Horſe. In the mean time ſeveral Cohorts revolted to *Cæſar*, and *Cn. Magius* of *Cremona*, Maſter of the Works of *Pompey*, was taken on the way, and brought to *Cæſar*. Him he ſent back with this Meſſage to *Pompey*, that ſeeing there was no opportunity of meeting, he was reſolved to ſeek him at *Brunduſium*; it highly importing the Commonwealth, and every Mans ſafety, that they two ſhould confer together: Neither could matters ſucceed ſo well at a diſtance by the Intervention of a third Party. Coming then to *Brunduſium* with ſix Legions, he found that the *Conſuls* were gone over to *Dyrrachium*, and *Pompey* was in the Town with twenty Cohorts. He knew not whether he ſtaid there to command the *Adriatick*, and the Coaſts of *Italy* and *Greece*, or only wanted Shipping to make his Paſſage; but he would not endure that he ſhould think he could not be forced to quit *Italy*, and therefore he reſolved to block up the Haven, and to take away the uſe of it from him.

Follows *Pompey* to *Brunduſium*.

18. Where the mouth of the Haven was narroweſt he raiſed great Mounts of Earth, and where the Sea was ſhallow near unto the Shoar; and farther in the deep where no ſuch Mounts could be raiſed, he placed flat Boats two together, over againſt the Mounts, of thirty foot ſquare, which he faſtened with Anchors to keep them from being toſſed with the Waves; to them thus placed he added others of the ſame ſize, and covered them with Faggots and Earth, that Men might move upon them readily, and defend them. He fenced them with Hurdles, and ſuch ſtuff, and on every fourth flote made a Tower two Stories high, to protect them from the force of Shipping and Fire. *Pompey* againſt them ſent out great Ships of burthen with Towers of three Stories, full of all ſorts of Munition; and every day the Parties fought with Slings, Arrows, and other caſting Weapons. Yet *Cæſar*, he himſelf tells us, carried matters ſo, as being willing not to let fall Conditions of Peace. Wondering that he heard nothing from *Magius*, he ſent *Caninius Rebilus*, one of his Legati, to *Scribonius Libo*, (whoſe Daughter *Pompey*'s Son had married) to whom he was allied, and an inward Friend, to perſwade him to mediate a Reconciliation, and procure that *Cæſar* might ſpeak with *Pompey*. It might be, he ſaid, that both of them might yield to lay down their Arms upon equal Conditions, and then the greateſt ſhare of the Honour would fall to *Libo*. Having heard *Caninius Libo* went ſtraight to *Pompey*, and within a while returning, brought word, that nothing could be done towards an agreement, becauſe the Conſuls were abſent. Whereupon *Cæſar* reſolved to trouble himſelf no more about a Treaty, as he often had done, but to prepare vigorouſly for War.

19. The Work being half perfected, after nine days, the Ships that had tranſported the Conſuls, and the other part of the Army, returned, and thereupon *Pompey* began to fit himſelf for his departure, either moved by theſe Works of *Cæſar*, or elſe purſuing his former Determination. And the better to retard the proſecution of *Cæſar*, he ſtopped up the Gates, Streets, and Paſſages, ſunk Ditches croſs the ways, and therein ſtuck ſharp Piles and Stakes, which he covered lightly with Hurdles and thin Earth, leaving only two ways free, which led to the Haven, and theſe too he fenced with a ſtrong Paliſado of huge and ſharp Stakes. Then did he command the Soldiers to get aboard without noiſe or tumult, leaving here and there upon the Walls, and in the Towers, ſome of the readieſt Slingers and Archers, to be called away upon warning when the Soldiers were ſhiped; appointing Veſſels of burthen to take them in at a convenient place. The Citizens of *Brunduſium* being diſobliged by the affronts received from *Pompey*, and the injuries from his Soldiers, gave notice to *Cæſar* of their departure, as they were running here and there, from the tops of their Houſes. *Cæſar* prepared to ſcale the Walls, but *Pompey* weighed Anchor, and the light armed Soldiers got to the Veſſels e're his Men could mount them. Then were they ſeaſonably advertiſed of the blind Ditch by the Inhabitants, and avoiding the danger, were brought a great compaſs about, and came to the Haven. There, by Skiffs and Boats, they ſeized two Ships with Soldiers, which ſtuck by chance upon the Mounts *Cæſar* had made.

Pompey follows the Conſuls to *Dyrrachium*.

20. This flight of *Pompey*, accompanied with all the Circumſtances, is eſteemed the beſt Stratagem that he ever uſed in all his life, and indeed he had made it evident to *Cæſar*, if it had not been for the Information given by them of *Brunduſium*. However, his quitting the Place is cenſured but for a faulty reſolution, though handſomly carried. *Cæſar* marvelled much, that lying in a ſtrong City, and expecting his Army to come out of *Spain*, and being Maſter of the Sea beſides, he would leave *Italy*. *Cicero* alſo blamed him for abandoning *Italy*, therein following the Example of *Themiſtocles* rather than of *Pericles*; whereas this troubleſome time and affair was rather to be compared with that of *Pericles* than of the other; *Cæſar* himſelf having ſhewed that he was afraid of the time in that he ſent to *Brunduſium* to treat with *Pompey*. But ſo as *Dio* obſerves, did *Pompey* quit his Countrey, in ſuch a manner, as was both in deliberation and action contrary to his former practice, when he came into *Italy* out of *Aſia*; and therefore he procured a Fortune and Reputation contrary to his former. For he who once diſmiſſed his Soldiers from *Brunduſium*, that they ſhould not moleſt the Citizens, now carried others out of *Italy* to moleſt them, and he who before had carried the Riches of the *Barbarians* to *Rome*, now carried all things from it he could to other places; and deſpairing utterly concerning his Country, reſolved to uſe againſt it the aſſiſtance of Strangers, and of ſuch as he had formerly reduced into ſervitude; and he put more confidence in them for his ſafety and Power, than in thoſe of whom he had well deſerved. Therefore he went under

Plutarch.

His departure cenſured.

under ſuch circumſtances that he got inſtead of his former glory in War, a repute of puſillanimity and fear of *Cæſar*; and for the Honour he had had of increaſing the Renown of his Countrey, now procured the infamy of forſaking her.

21. But by this means became *Cæſar* in threeſcore days Maſter of all *Italy* without Blood-ſhed. Now although he well underſtood, that it much imported his Intereſt to put an end to the War by purſuing *Pompey*, before he could joyn himſelf with the Tranſmarine Forces, yet conſidering the lets and the length of time, and that he had no Shipping, but muſt ſtay for ſuch as could be brought from *Ancona*, *Gall*, and the *Straits*, which at this time of the year would require a long and troubleſome Paſſage; he reſolved to ſteer another Courſe. He thought it not fit that *Pompey's* old Army, and the two Provinces of *Spain*, whereof one in gratitude was deeply ingaged to his Adverſary, ſhould be aſſured and ſetled, or that time ſhould be given them there to raiſe new Forces, or opportunity to wreſt from him *Italy* and *Gall* in his abſence. He reſolved therefore for *Spain*, and gave order to the Municipal Towns to provide Shipping, and ſend it to *Brunduſium*. He ſent *Valerius* and *Curio* with convenient Forces to ſeize *Sardinia* and *Sicily*, which they eaſily did, *Cotta* and *Cato* the two Governours flying out of their Provinces.

Cæſar reſolves for *Spain*.

22. *Cæſar* then, to eaſe his Men and refreſh them, carried them back into the Municipal Towns, and went himſelf directly to *Rome*, where, calling a Senate, he laid open to them the affronts and injuries offered him by his Enemies. He proteſted that he never ſought Honour in the State by extraordinary means; but expected the legitimate time of the Conſulſhip, and was content with that which it was lawful to any Citizen to ſtand for. And the *Tribunes* of the People had propounded, that conſideration of him, though abſent, ſhould be had; but it was contradicted by his Adverſaries, and by *Cato's* long reſiſtance, who ſpent the time according to his cuſtom in teadious Speeches; which if *Pompey*, being Conſul, diſliked, why did he ſuffer it to be done? and if he did allow of it, why did he not ſuffer him to enjoy the kindneſs of the People? He declared how patient he had been, in having moved on his own accord, that both might quit their Forces, though this would have been very prejudicial to his Honour and Dignity. He ſhewed the malice and bitterneſs of his Enemies, in that they refuſed to do themſelves what they required of others, and choſe rather to put all things into confuſion, than relinquiſh their Commands, and their Armies. He told at large what injury they had done him in taking away his Legions, and how cruel and inſolent they had been againſt the *Tribunes*. He mentioned the Conditions he propounded, and the Conference deſired and refuſed; and upon the whole, beſought them to take the charge of the Common-wealth, together with him; but if, out of fear, they refuſed, he would not be burthenſome to them, but undertake it himſelf. He would have Meſſengers ſent, neither did he regard at all what *Pompey* had ſaid in the Senate, That they to whom Meſſengers were ſent had Authority attributed to them, and it ſignified fear in thoſe that ſent them; theſe things being Arguments of puſillanimity; for his part, as he had endeavoured to excell in proweſs and ſtrength, ſo would he alſo in Juſtice and Equity.

Cæſar gooth to *Rome*.

23. The Senators were well pleaſed that Meſſengers ſhould be ſent, but no Man was found that would go, for fear of *Pompey*, who, upon his departure from *Rome*, had ſaid in open Senate, that he would hold him that ſtaid there in the ſame condition with him that was in *Cæſar's* Camp. Three days were ſpent in Debates and Excuſes, *L. Metellus* the *Tribunus Plebis* being induced by *Cæſars* Adverſaries to protract the time, and hinder any matter that he ſhould propound. Perceiving then their reſolution, after he had ſpent there in vain ſome few days, that he might not ſpend any more time, nor leave thoſe things undone which he determined to do, he left the City, and went into the farther *Gall*. Such is the Account he gives us himſelf of what was done by himſelf and others during his ſtay in *Rome*, which is not full enough, if we conſult and regard other Writers. *Dion Caſſius* mentioning his coming to *Rome*, adds, that the Senate was called without the *Pomærium* by *Antonius* and *Caſſius*, who had formerly been put out of it. That his Speech was long and full of courteſie, he indeavouring thereby to gain their good wills, for the preſent, and put them in good hope for the time to come. For, beholding the multitude of his Soldiers, they were full of fears and ſuſpicions, and therefore he thought it fit to cheriſh them, that they might keep quiet till he had done his buſineſs. Therefore neither did he blame any, nor threaten; nay, he inveighed againſt them who would make War upon their fellow Citizens, not without Imprecations, and moved, that Meſſengers might be ſent to *Pompey* about a Peace. After the ſame manner he ſpake to the People, which flocked together alſo without the City, and he commanded Corn to be brought out

Leaves it, and goes into *Gall*.

Cæſars Relation not full enough.

What others ſay.

of the Iſlands, promiſing alſo to beſtow upon every Man three hundred Seſterces. For all this, they at *Rome* conſidered with themſelves, that the words and the actions of Deſigners were very different, as was evident when ſuch obtained what they ſought for. That at firſt they promiſed all fine things to ſuch as might be in capacity to oppoſe them; but having got poſſeſſion of the thing deſigned, remembred their promiſes no more, but made uſe of what they had procured from them againſt them that gave them it, as they remembred that *Marius* and *Sylla* had pretended all fair things imaginable. Their fear was increaſed when they ſaw that no Meſſengers were ſent; and that *Piſo* the Father-in-law of *Cæſar* was blamed exceedingly for making mention of a Meſſage. And how could they expect any Money, when what was left in the Treaſury, was to be given to thoſe Soldiers, of which they ſtood in fear, for their maintenance? Yet, as if all things went proſperouſly, did they reſume theſe Habits which they wore in time of Peace, and had laid by them.

24. The Propoſal concerning Money was oppoſed by *L. Metellus* the *Tribunus Plebis*, who not being able to prevail, got him to the Treaſury to watch the doors. But the Soldiers made no more of his watching than they did of his liberty of Speech, and breaking the Lock, (for the Conſuls had taken away the Keys) took away the Money. Beſides, many other Decrees were made, moſt of which *Antony* propounded under ſhew of equality, but indeed to eſtabliſh Domination. But each ſide called its Adverſaries, the Enemies of the Common-wealth, and pretended for the ſake of it to wage War, but both wrought only their own ends, and equally weakned the common Intereſt. *Plutarch*, as to the Meſſengers, adds another Reaſon to that of *Cæſar*, why none would undertake the Imployment. He ſaith, It was either becauſe they feared *Pompey*, having forſaken him, or becauſe they thought *Cæſar* meant not as he ſpake, but that he uſed words of courſe to colour his purpoſe. When *Metellus*, one of the *Tribunes*, would not ſuffer him to take any of the common Treaſure out of the Temple of *Saturn*, but affirmed it was againſt the Law, he told him that times of War and Law were two things, and bade him, if what he was about did offend him, to get him gone; for, War could not bear ſuch freedom and boldneſs of Speech; but when the War was ended, and all was quiet again, then he might ſpeak what he would. He added, that he told him this of favour, departing therein from his Right; for, ſaith he, *Both thou art mine, and all they that have riſen againſt me, and whom I have in my Power.* Having ſpoken thus to *Metellus*, he went to the Temple door, where the Treaſure lay, and finding no Keys, he cauſed Smiths to be ſent for, and made them break open the Locks. *Metellus* thereupon began to hinder him, and ſome that ſtood by commended him for ſo doing; but *Cæſar* at length ſpeaking bigly to him, threatned he would kill him preſently if he perſiſted to trouble him; and further ſaid, *Young Man, thou knoweſt it is harder for me to ſay it than to do it.* This word made *Metellus* quake, and he got him away, and ever after that *Cæſar* had all at command for his Wars.

25. All this *Cæſar* omits concerning this publick Treaſure, which they ſay was preſerved from the time that *Rome* was taken by the *Galls*, not to be made uſe of but upon ſome extream neceſſity. He pretends that *Lentulus*, who had orders to ſend it to *Pompey*, abandoned it by his flight, as we have ſeen, upon the firſt falſe report that *Cæſars* Troops approached *Rome*. But, to ſay the truth, his Report is very different in many things that concern himſelf from what we read of him in other Authors, theſe two eſpecially we make uſe of; and therefore we think it neceſſary to take in what others ſay in this matter of the *Civil* War eſpecially; it being difficult to a Writer in ſuch a caſe to reſiſt the temptation, and treat as indifferently of things which concern himſelf, as thoſe wherein he is no way concerned. But, if you pleaſe, take along with you the excuſe *Appian* maketh for him, who deriding the ſcrupuloſity of the ancient *Romans* that would not touch that Treaſure but in extremity of War againſt the *Celtæ* or *Galles*, ſaith, That *Cæſar* might lawfully take it, becauſe he had conquered that Nation, and the *Romans* had no more cauſe to fear them. *Dio* tells us further, That he took in *Sardinia* and *Sicily* without a ſtroak, the Governours of them receding from their Commands; and that he ſent away *Ariſtobulus* into *Paleſtine* his Country, that he might act ſomething againſt *Pompey*. He gave liberty to the Sons of ſuch as had been proſcribed by *Sylla* to ſue for Offices of Magiſtracy; and in concluſion, ſetled all matters both in *Rome* and throughout *Italy*, as might moſt conduce to his preſent Affair. Having committed the care of them to *Antony*, he reſolved for *Spain*, which greatly favoured *Pompey*, and put him in fear, leſt in his abſence *Gall* might alſo be perſwaded to revolt. In the mean time *Cicero*, having not come in the ſight of *Cæſar*, and with him certain other Senators, went to *Pompey*,

pey, whom they looked on as having the better cauſe, and who would they imagined prove victorious. For, the Conſuls before their departure, and *Cicero* himſelf, then *Proconſul*, had commanded that all ſhould follow them to *Theſſalonica*, the Enemy having ſeized *Rome*. They were indeed the chief of the Senate, and whitherſoever they went, they carried with them a reſemblance of the Common-wealth. Therefore did moſt of the *Senators* and *Equites* follow them either preſently, or after ſome diſtance of time: And the Inhabitants of all the Cities which *Cæſar* had not ſecured by his Arms. But now let us hear *Cæſar* himſelf relate what he did after he had left *Rome*.

26. Upon his Arrival in *Gall* he found that *Pompey* had ſent into *Spain Viballius Rufus*, whom *Cæſar* had taken at *Corfinium*, and diſmiſſed; as alſo that *Domitius* with eight Gallies was gone to ſecure *Maſſilia*, (or *Marſeilles*) the Inhabitants of which, upon a Meſſage received from *Pompey*, ſhut their Gates againſt *Cæſar*; called into their City the *Albicans*, a barbarous People, who of ancient time had held amity with them, and dwelt upon the Mountains above *Marſeilles*, and made all preparations for defence. *Cæſar* calling out ſome fifteen of the Citizens, expoſtulated with them, and told them they ſhould rather follow the Example of all *Italy*, than apply themſelves to the Will of any one Man. The Town made this Anſwer, That they underſtood the People of *Rome* were divided into two Parties, and whether of them was in the right they could not judge. That the Leaders of theſe Factions, *Pompey* and *Cæſar*, were both ſpecial Patrons and Benefactors to their City, the one having augmented their publick Revenues, and endowed their State with the Lands of the *Volcæ Arecomici*, and the *Helvii*; and the other having conquered and ſubdued *Galliæ*, (a Place it ſeems ſo called near the Town) gave it to them, and increaſed their Tolls or Impoſts; that therefore, as they were equally obliged to both, they would carry an equal reſpect unto them, and not aid either of them againſt the other, or receive them into their City or Ports. But while theſe things were in hand, *Domitius* arrived, and was made both Governour of the City, and General for the War. A Fleet now they rigged up, and made Proviſion for a Siege; with which injuries *Cæſar*, he tells us, provoked, brought three Legions to *Marſeilles*, reſolved to prepare neceſſaries for an Attacque, and to build twelve Gallies at *Arelatum*, or *Arles*. Theſe in thirty days time from the cutting down of the Timber, were built, armed, rigged, and brought down to *Marſeilles*. And the Command of them he gave to *D. Brutus*, and left *C. Trebonius*, his *Legatus*, to follow the Siege.

Cæſar beſiegeth *Marſeilles*.

27. *Dion Caſſius* his Relation ſo far agrees with this of *Cæſar*, as to affirm that they of *Marſeilles* were the only Men in *Gall*, who neither followed his Party, nor received him into their City. He ſaith the Anſwer they gave him was obſervable, that they were the Aſſociates of the People of *Rome*, and that at preſent they did not curiouſly inquire, nor were able to diſtinguiſh whether the one or the other was in the wrong. But if they pleaſed to come as Friends, they would receive them both without their Arms, but neither of them, if they came in a State of War. He ſpeaks nothing of *Domitius* his coming, which *Cæſar* inſiſts upon, and the receiving of him as a juſt ground for the War; but adds, that being beſieged, they both defended themſelves againſt him, and alſo againſt *Trebonius* and *D. Brutus* a long time, that *Cæſar* himſelf ſpent ſome time in attacquing *Marſeilles*, which he thought eaſie to be taken, thinking it a thing unſufferable, that he who had taken *Rome* it ſelf without any trouble, ſhould be ſhut out by them of that City. But perceiving the Siege would be drawn out in length, they making ſuch reſiſtance, he left it to others, and haſtened into *Spain*. He had diſpatched thither *C. Fabius*; but fearing that he might be worſted if he engaged in Fight, he reſolved to attend his buſineſs there in his own Perſon. He himſelf writes to the ſame effect. As that he ſent from *Marſeilles C. Fabius* one of his *Legati* with three Legions that wintered about *Narbon*, commanding him with all care and diligence to ſeize on the Paſſage of the *Pyrenæan* Hills, which were at that time kept by the Forces of *L. Afranius*. The other Legions which wintered further off he ordered to follow after. And *Fabius* according to his Directions haſted and put the Garriſon from the Paſſage; and by great Journeys marched toward *Afranius* his Army.

He haſteth into *Spain*.

How *Pompeys* Affairs ſtood there.

28. After the Arrival of *Viballius Rufus* in *Spain* the three *Legati* of *Pompey*, which were *Afranius*, *Petreius*, and *Varro*, did ſo diſpoſe and divide their Charges, that *Petreius* was ordered to bring his three Legions out of *Luſitania*, through the Territories of the *Vectones*, and joyn himſelf with *Afranius* in the hithermoſt *Spain*; and *Varro* was to keep the farther Province. *Petreius* accordingly haſted to *Afranius*,

and induced by the opportunity of the Place, they agreed to keep the War on foot near about *Ilerda*. *Afranius* had three Legions, and *Petreius* two, beſides *Scutati* of the nearer Province, and *Cetrati* of the farther, ſome eighty Cohorts; and of both Provinces about five thouſand Horſe. *Cæſar* had ſent his Legions into *Spain*, together with ſix thouſand Auxiliaries of Foot, and three thouſand of Horſe, which had been with him in his former Wars. And at his requeſt he had the ſame number out of *Gall*, the moſt noble and valiant being called out of every City, beſides thoſe of the *Aquitani* and *Highlanders*, bordering upon the *Gallick* Province. Now was he advertiſed, that *Pompey* himſelf was coming through *Mauritania* into *Spain* with his Legions, and with all ſpeed would be with him. Thereupon he borrowed Money of the *Tribunes*, and the *Centurions* of the Soldiers, and diſtributed it to his Army, by which largeſs he gained two Points. For by the Loan as a Pledge he ingaged the Officers to indeavour his good ſucceſs as their own Intereſt. And by the Largeſs he purchaſed the good Affection of the Soldiers.

Action betwixt the Officers and *Cæſar* near *Ilerda*.

29. Within two or three days *Cæſar* arrived with nine hundred Horſe, which he had kept with him for a Guard; and having viewed the Place, the next day in a triple Body he marched toward *Ilerda*, and offered Battel in an equal and indifferent place. But, *Afranius* was not diſpoſed to Battel, which *Cæſar* ſeeing, drew a Trench behind ſome of his Legions, as they ſtood in Arms facing the Enemy, and fortified his Camp, though *Afranius* and *Petreius* to divert him brought down their Forces, and provoked his Men to fight. Betwixt the Town and the Hill where *Pompey*'s Officers were incamped, there was a Plain above a quarter of a Mile over, and in it a riſing Ground, which *Cæſar* endeavoured to poſſeſs himſelf of, thereby to cut them off from the Town and the Bridge, which lay over the River *Sicoris*; but his Deſign being perceived, *Afranius* his Men came thither firſt, and thoſe of *Cæſar* were forced to retire to the Legions. The whole Army was well-nigh affrighted, for as all Soldiers, by living long in a place, get much of the Uſages and Cuſtoms of the Country, *Afranius* his Men now fought in a faſhion like thoſe of the *Luſitanians*, who were wont to run furiouſly upon their Enemies, and bold to ſeize on a Place, not regarding their Orders or Ranks, but fighting in a ſcattered and diſperſed manner. The Enemy now inſolent upon their ſucceſs, vigorouſly purſued, till *Cæſar*, bringing out the ninth Legion, forced him to turn tail, and retire under the Walls of *Ilerda*; but the Legion purſued them, till it came into a diſadvantageous place under the Hill, whereon the Town ſtood. Here from the upper ground it was ſorely annoyed, and the Fight continued long in ſo unequal a Place, each Party relieving its Men with freſh Supplies. They fought ſome five hours, and *Cæſar*'s Men having ſpent their other Weapons, drew their Swords and made up to the Hill with ſuch ſucceſs, that they forced their Enemy under the Walls, and the Horſe got up in an eaſie aſcent, and riding betwixt the Armies, the better ſecured the Retreat of their Friends. On *Cæſars* ſide ſeventy Men were ſlain, and ſix hundred at leaſt wounded. And of that of *Afranius* two hundred Soldiers, and five Centurions. But as well the one as the other thought it had the better.

Cæſar extricates himſelf out of great difficulties.

30. After this followed a great Rain, which cauſed the Rivers, betwixt which *Cæſar* was incamped, ſo to ſwell, that all Proviſions were cut off from him, and he was very much diſtreſſed. And the Inconvenience grew to that heighth, that, on the contrary, *Afranius* his Party having plenty of all things, by reaſon of the Bridge of *Ilerda*, concluded the War in a manner to be at an end, and thereof they wrote Letters to *Rome*, where the News was ſo acceptable, that Viſits were made to the Family of *Afranius* by thoſe that congratulated for his ſucceſs. Hereupon alſo many went out of *Italy* to *Pompey*, of whom ſome to be the firſt Meſſengers of the News, that they might not ſeem to expect the laſt event of the War, and come when they ſaw the quarrel determined. All the ways were kept by *Afranius*, and no Bridges could be made to ſerve in ſtead of thoſe that had been broken down with the violence of the Waves. When things were come thus to extremity, *Cæſar* cauſed ſome Boats to be made of light ſtuff, and ſmall Timber in the Keel, and with Wicker in the upper parts, being covered with Hides, and in the night conveying them in Carts about twenty two Miles from the Camp, therewith made a ſhift to tranſport his Soldiers, and ſettle a courſe for Proviſions. And he was cheared by news from *Marſeilles* of a Defeat given by *D. Brutus* his Admiral to the Inhabitants, who ſending out ſeventeen Gallies, beſides many other Veſſels, hoped to over-power him by their Numbers. But *Cæſar* had taken the ſtouteſt Men of all the Legions, as well of the *Antesignani* as *Centurions*, and put them aboard the Fleet; they themſelves deſiring to be imployed in that Service. They grapled with the *Maſſilians*, who in dexterity of

His Men defeat the *Maſſilians*.

tacking,

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tacking, and ſkill of their Pilots, were ſuperiour to them, and each Ship undertaking two, they ſunk part, ſome they took, with the Men, and the reſt they beat back into the Haven. The *Maſſilians* loſt nine Ships, with thoſe that were taken.

Pompeys Officers endeavour to remove the War.

Cæſar purſues their Army.

31. But, upon making the Bridge, fortune turned on *Cæſars* ſide, for he then had the Command of the Country. Many Cities and States ſent and ſubmitted to him, and the Enemy being diſcouraged, reſolved to transfer the War into *Celtiberia*, where the Name of *Pompey* was very precious, and that of *Cæſar* ſcarcely known: There they expected a good Addition of Horſe, and other Supplies, and thought to draw on the War in length till Winter. Setting forward, they were much diſturbed in their march by *Cæſars* Horſe, and the Legions in the Camp moved him by their *Centurions* and *Tribunes*, that they alſo might purſue them, refuſing no labour nor hazard. Having with great difficulty got over the River, which he drained with Trenches as much as he could, they fetch'd a compaſs of ſome ſix Miles, and yet came up with the Enemy about three of the Clock in the Afternoon, and ſtill dogging him at the heels, forced him to incamp himſelf, and ſtop his Journey. Upon diſcovery, both ſides found the way for five Miles was open and Champion, but afterwards Mountainous and Rocky, and that it was their Intereſt to poſſeſs themſelves of the ſtraits, which whoſoever firſt ſhould take, might hinder the Enemy from proceeding farther. *Cæſar* took a Circuit, and kept no High-way, the Soldier refuſing no toil in paſſing broken Rocks and Stones, which did ſo hinder them, that they were forced to give their Weapons from Hand to Hand, and lift up one another for moſt part of the way. This courſe he was forced to take, becauſe the Ways leading to *Iberus* and *Octogeſa* were poſſeſſed by the Enemies Camp, and he had that good fortune that none of his Men thought much of their labour, becauſe they hoped an end would be put to all their travel, if they could but keep the Enemy from paſſing *Iberus*, and cut off his Proviſions.

32. It had been reſolved in a Councel of War by *Afranius* and *Petreius*, not to ſtir in the night, and when they imagined that by *Cæſars* courſe he took, he was returning back to *Ilerda*, they applauded themſelves in their reſolution. But finding at length that he did but fetch a compaſs, and that the Front tended directly to the Streights, they were ſtartled, and hurried in all haſt to get firſt the poſſeſſion of them. Now the contention was which of the two Parties ſhould firſt take them: *Cæſar*'s was hindered by the difficulty of the Way, and that of *Afranius* by *Cæſars* Cavalry; and indeed if it ſhould firſt get the Hills, it might happily quit it ſelf of danger; but the Baggage and the Cohorts left in the Camp would be ſo intercepted by *Cæſars* Army, that there would be no means to relieve them. It ſo fell out, that *Cæſar* firſt came to the place, and being got from amongſt the Rocks into a Plain, could put his Army in order to give Battel. *Afranius* thus diſappointed, got to a ſmall Hill, and thence ſent four Cohorts with all ſpeed to poſſeſs themſelves of the higheſt Mountain, intending to follow after with all his Forces, and by the ridges of the Hills to get to *Octogeſa*. But as, by a Circuit, they endeavoured to do this, *Cæſars* Horſe ſet upon them, and cut them all in pieces in the ſight of both the Armies. Now was a notable Advantage offered of doing ſomething to purpoſe againſt the Enemy, who was diſcouraged by this Defeat, ſo as in probability not to endure a Charge. And the *Legates*, *Centurions*, and *Tribunes* came to *Cæſar*, and deſired him to improve it, for all their Soldiers were ready and forward to it. But he tells us he was in hope to end the Controverſie without a Stroak, or any Wound of his Men, having cut off the Enemy from Proviſions. Why then ſhould he loſe any of his Soldiers, though it were to gain a Victory? Why ſhould he ſuffer thoſe who had ſo well deſerved of him to be wounded? Why ſhould he put the matter to hazard? eſpecially it being the part of a General no leſs to overcome by Policy than the Sword. He was alſo moved with pity toward ſuch *Roman* Citizens as ſhould be ſlain; and rather deſired to accompliſh his buſineſs, and work out his ends with their ſafety. This opinion of his was ſo univerſally diſallowed, that his Men ſtuck not to ſay, That becauſe he over-ſlipt ſuch an opportunity of Victory, when he would have them, they would not fight. Yet he continued reſolute, and fell a little off from the Enemy to abate their fear and amazement. And *Petreius* and *Afranius*, upon the opportunity given them, withdrew themſelves into their Camp.

Spares them againſt the Opinion of his own Men.

33. To be ſure *Cæſar* had ſhut up all Paſſages leading to *Iberus*, ſo that the adverſe Party had but two Ways left open, either to return to *Ilerda*, or to *Tarracon*. Being troubled thereat, and that they were barred of all Proviſions, they conſulted what courſe to take, but were diverted by a neceſſity they were put upon to protect their

Soldiers

Thereby the Soldiers confeſs themſelves obliged, and would yield.

Soldiers that fetched Water. They attempted to do this by raiſing a Rampart from the Camp to the Water-ſide, and upon this occaſion, the two Generals being far off from the Camp, the Soldiers called to one another, and ſought out their acquaintance, and they of *Afranius* his Party confeſſed they ought their Lives to the favour of *Cæſar*, who had ſpared them when they were terrified the day before. They deſired aſſurance for the Lives of their two Generals, leſt they ſhould ſeem to look to their own ſafety and betray them; which being granted, they promiſed to come with their Enſigns to *Cæſars* Camp, and thereupon ſent ſome of their chief Centurions as Deputies to treat. On both ſides they invited their Friends, ſo as they ſeemed to have one and the ſame Camp, and ſeveral Perſons applied themſelves in particular to *Cæſar*. And *Afranius*, upon notice hereof, left the Work he had begun, and retired into his Camp, prepared as it ſeemed to take patiently what ſhould befall him; but *Petreius* was of another opinion, he put his Houſhold into Arms, and with the *Prætorian* Cohort of the *Cetrati*, and ſome ſtipendiary Horſe of the Barbarous People, whom he was wont to keep about him as a Guard, haſted to the Rampire, broke off the Diſcourſe of the Soldiers, and drove thoſe of *Cæſar* from the Camp, killing ſuch of them as he could light on. This done, he went weeping about to the *Maniples*, calling on the Soldiers, and beſeeching them not to forſake him, nor *Pompey* their General. A concourſe of Soldiers being made, hereupon an Oath they required of every Man, not to abandon or betray the Army, or the Generals, nor to Cabal in any Conſultation without conſent of the reſt. This both Generals, Officers and Soldiers took; and hereby the minds of the Soldiers being changed, the matter was reduced to the former courſe of War.

But are hindered by *Petreius*.

Cæſar his moderation.

34. Such effect had the choler of *Petreius*, as to cauſe it to be proclaimed, that whoſoever had with him any of *Cæſars* Soldiers, ſhould bring them out; and ſome being brought, they were publickly killed before the *Prætorium*; yet moſt of them were concealed by their Acquaintance, and in the night-time ſent over the Rampire. But *Cæſar* took the contrary courſe. He cauſed enquiry to be made after ſuch as came into his Camp in time of Treaty, and ſent them away ſafe; and his moderate and mild Proceeding had ſuch operation, that many *Tribunes* and *Centurions* ſtaid with him, whom he advanced together with ſuch *Roman Equites* as were of the better Rank. In the mean time the *Afranians* were diſtreſſed, being hindered from foraging. The Legionary Soldiers indeed had ſome of them ſtore of Corn, being commanded to take with them twenty two days Proviſion from *Ilerda*; but the *Cetrati* and *Auxiliaries* not being in condition to furniſh themſelves, nor their Bodies able to carry Burthens, a great number of them fled daily to *Cæſar*. The Captains ſeeing in what extremity they were, reſolved to return to *Ilerda*, as the moſt expedient courſe, where they had left behind them a little Corn; and this they attempted to do, but were ſo cloſely purſued by *Cæſar*, that they could not incamp themſelves in any place fit for watering and forage. And ſeeing them ſurrounded with ſo many Difficulties, he choſe rather to force them to a Compoſition, than to fight.

He forces them to ſubmit.

35. For this purpoſe he endeavoured to incloſe them with a Ditch and Rampart, to hinder their Sallies. They to prevent this, brought out their Legions, and imbatteled themſelves under their Camp; yet ſtill he refuſed to fight, both for the reaſon now mentioned, and becauſe the place betwixt the Camps was ſo narrow, that a Victory obtained would have been little advantageous to him. Notwithſtanding he alſo drew out, and they ſtood im-batteled till Sun-ſetting, and then retired into their Camps again. The next day, when *Cæſar* went about to finiſh the Fortifications, they tried to paſs the River *Sicoris* by a Ford, but being hindered alſo from that by Soldiers he had diſpoſed upon the Bank, they then ſent and required a Parley; for they were now ſhut up on all ſides, their Horſes had been without meat four days together, and they were in extream want of Water, Wood and Corn. They would have had the Conference private; but *Cæſar* denied to treat, except in publick. Then did *Afranius*, in hearing of both the Armies, deſire of him, that he would not be offended, neither with them the Commanders, nor the Soldiers, for being faithful to *Pompey*. But now they had done their duty, and having ſufficiently ſmarted in all reſpects, and ſuffered more in Body and Reputation than they were able to bear, they confeſſed themſelves vanquiſhed, and imploring his mercy, deſired they might not undergo the extremity of Fortune. In anſwer to what *Afranius* delivered, as humbly and ſubmiſſively as poſſible, *Cæſar* expoſtulated for the Injuries they and their Friends had done him, and ſhewed how all the Forces had been kept up in *Spain*, purpoſely againſt himſelf, the Provinces ſtanding in no need of them; how the courſe of Elections of Magiſtrates had been broken to do him prejudice;

And diſmiſſeth them.

to him was denied what had been granted to all Generals; that when they had brought matters happily to an end, they might diſmiſs their Armies with Honour, and, at leaſt without diſhonour, return home. Notwithſtanding all this, he would require only that they ſhould diſmiſs their Armies, having quitted the Provinces; which was readily accepted, eſpecially by the Soldiers, who had feared worſe things. Such as had Houſes and Poſſeſſions in *Spain* were preſently diſcharged, and the reſt at the River *Varus* ſent out of *Spain*; whither while they marched, *Cæſar* promiſed to ſupply them with Corn, and did accordingly perform it.

Other Writers celebrate his Generoſity therein.

36. To this generoſity of *Cæſar* other Authors bear witneſs, who had ſufficient opportunity to know the Truth. They rather make the dangers he underwent in this Expedition greater than he doth himſelf; and *Dio* writes, That at *Rome* they gave him for loſt, and many, as well Senators as others, betook themſelves to *Pompey*. He adds, That at the ſame time *D. Brutus* gave a defeat to the *Maſſilienſes* at Sea, which if it had not happened, *Cæſar* had been ruined; but the Report of this Victory being increaſed by deſign, and arriving in *Spain*, had ſuch operation upon them there, that changing their opinions, they ſetled themſelves to his Party. Having promiſed *Afranius* and his Companions to offer them no violence in any reſpect, and particularly not to conſtrain them to fight for him againſt *Pompey*, he kept himſelf ſtrictly to his word; for he put none of them to death, although they had killed ſome of his unwary Soldiers in time of Truce; neither compelled he any of them to follow him in the Civil War, but the chief being diſmiſſed, the reſt of their own accord cloſed with him for advantage. This did him eſpecial ſervice both as to his Reputation and management of his Affairs. For all *Spain*, and the Soldiers in it, except ſuch as in *Bætica*, *M. Terentius Varro*, the Legate of *Pompey* commanded, he hereby got to his Party, which things ſo ſucceeding, he travelled as far as *Gades*, and did no other injury to any Man than in what concerned Money, a great quantity of which he raiſed every where as he could. Many Honours he beſtowed both publickly and privately, and gave freedom of the City to the People of *Gades*, which they of *Rome* afterward confirmed. And ſo in the opinion of *Dio*, he requited them for the Dream he had there when he was *Quæſtor*, that he lay with his Mother, and for the hope he thence conceived of having all things in his ſole Power. Over *Spain* he ſet *Caſſius Longinus*, who being *Quæſtor* there under *Pompey*, had reaſon to underſtand the humour of the Nation. He himſelf went by Ship to *Tarraco*, and thence proceeded by the *Pyrenæans*, where he erected no Trophy, knowing his Adverſary to have been blamed for ſo doing, but near that of *Pompey* cauſed a large Altar to be made of ſmooth Stone.

Cæſar de Bello Civili lib. 2.

The *Maſſilians* defeated at Sea by *Brutus*.

37. In the mean time, at *Marſeilles*, *C. Trebonius* made Mounts, and did all things he could to annoy the Town, at that place which gave paſſage by Land; for three parts of it were in a manner waſhed by the Sea. But ſuch was the Proviſion of all neceſſaries for War, which in ancient time they had ſtored up in the Town, that no Hurdles made of Rods or Oſiers were able to reſiſt the force of their Engines. For out of their great *Baliſtæ* they ſhot Beams twelve Foot long, pointed with Iron, with ſuch execution, that they would pierce through four Courſes of Hurdles, and ſtick in the Earth. Beſides this the *Albici* made frequent Sallies, and ſet fire to the Mounts and Turrets; but they were eaſily preſerved by the *Roman* Soldiers, who forced ſuch as Sallied out to return with great loſs. While they tugged thus on both ſides by Land, an opportunity was preſented for a Sea-Battle, by means of *L. Naſidius*, who was ſent by *Pompey* with a Navy of ſixteen Ships. To theſe the *Maſſilians* joyned as many with all earneſtneſs imaginable, and with Exhortations to one another, and Prayers to their Gods, as now being to adventure for all, for the Lives of themſelves, and the Liberty of their City. But *Brutus* had alſo increaſed his Fleet with thoſe which *Cæſar* had cauſed to be built at *Arles*, and he had the advantage of exhorting his Men to deſpiſe the Enemy as a vanquiſhed Party, who had been overthrown in their very ſtrength. The *Maſſilians* yet were wanting in no Point of Valour, fighting for all they had, as their Friends had adjured them; and their Veſſels excelled in nimbleneſs of Swimming and Tacking. But however, they were out-done by *Brutus*, whoſe Ship alſo was ſo nimble, that it eſcaped two of theirs, which deſigned from contrary quarters to come upon her, ſo as they fell foul on each other, and did ſuch mutual miſchief, that their Enemies ſeeing them thus diſtreſſed, ſet upon, and quickly ſunk them both. The Ships that came with *Naſidius* proved of no uſe, and quickly left the Fight, which had that iſſue, that of thoſe which came from *Marſeilles* five were ſunk, and four were taken. One eſcaped with *Naſidius* his Fleet; and one of them that remained carried Tydings of the Defeat to the City, which received the

News with lamentations ſuitable to the endeavours it had formerly uſed for ſucceſs.

Their perfidious humour.

They are forced to yield.

38. Notwithſtanding they left not off purſuing what they had formerly done for their defence at Land. And the Legionary *Roman* Soldier was as induſtrious to oppoſe them, and protect himſelf in that oppoſition; for which purpoſe he raiſed an extraordinary Tower not far from the Wall, which was built by Stories, and by degrees with admirable Art and Induſtry. The Work-men were defended by the out-jettings of Matreſſes, and other Materials, till they brought to perfection ſix Stories, and a *Muſculum* or Mouſe, which reached even the Wall it ſelf, with ſuch ſtrength and ſhape, that it could not be forced down, nor over-powered. This Device had ſo great execution, that the Beſieged diſcouraged at it, and looking for nothing but the deſtruction of their City, threw themſelves unarmed out of the Gates, and with Lamentations and Weeping, joyned with Arguments that were moving, (for they were Men Learned and Eloquent) obtained of the Legates, that all Hoſtility ſhould ceaſe till *Cæſar* himſelf arrived. But ſo perfidious they were, that after a few days when the *Romans* were grown remiſs and careleſs, they took the advantage of the Noon-time, when all were aſleep, or out of the way, and ruſhing out of the Gates, ſet fire to the Works and Engines. The *Cæſarians* were at firſt amazed, but recollecting themſelves as well as they could, they drove them back with great ſlaughter, and fell to re-edifie the Works with greater alacrity than before. They began a Mount of a ſtrange and unheard-of faſhion, raiſed with two Side-walls of Brick ſix foot thick apiece, and joyned together with Floors. And the Work was carried on with ſuch ſpeed, that the loſs of their former Labour was redeemed by their incredible Dexterity and Valour. They within perceiving all things to go contrary to their expectations, and conſidering that the Neck of Land leading to the Town, might be ſo poſſeſſed with Fortifications, that their Soldiers could not ſtand upon their Works: That the Enemy had raiſed a Counter-mine againſt the Wall of their Town, and that Miſſile Weapons might be caſt upon them; knowing alſo that there would not be any more place for deceit and treachery, they deſcended to the ſame Articles of Surrendry as had been formerly accorded.

Varro his acting againſt *Cæſar.*

Is forced to ſubmit.

39. *Marcus Varro* in the further Province of *Spain* had all this while variouſly demeaned himſelf toward *Cæſar*. At firſt diſtruſting how matters would go with the contrary Party, he ſpake as kindly of him as of *Pompey*; but afterward upon report, and his own belief of *Afranius* his good ſucceſs, he ſet himſelf againſt him every way he could both by Word and Action. He levied Soldiers, he cauſed them of *Gades* to provide ten Gallies, and ordered many others to be made at *Hippalis*. He took all the Money and Ornaments out of the Temple of *Hercules*; made many reflecting Speeches againſt *Cæſar* and his Intereſt, affirming in publick, that he had been ſeveral times worſted, and that a great number of his Men had revolted to *Afranius*. He exacted much Money and Wheat from the Provincials, confiſcated the Eſtates of ſuch as he thought diſaffected, and conſtrained all the Province to ſwear fidelity to him, and to *Pompey*; and being at length advertiſed what had happened, in the hither Province, he kept himſelf with two Legions, and all the Shipping and Proviſion, at *Gades*, as moſt ſafe, knowing that the whole Province affected the Cauſe of *Cæſar*. And that ſo it did he found ſhortly by further experience. For though *Cæſar* by good Motives was called into *Italy*, yet reſolving to leave no appearance of War behind him, he ſent two Legions before him, and haſted himſelf with ſix hundred Horſe into the farther *Spain*. He ſent alſo an Edict for calling an Aſſembly at *Corduba*, and thither the Towns ſent their Deputies unanimouſly, and all *Roman* Citizens appeared. They ſhut their Gates of their own accord againſt *Varro*, and the *Gaditans* agreed with the *Tribunes* to drive *Gallonius*, whom he had left Governour there, out of their City; ſo that of *Varro*'s two Legions, one forſook him and went its way, he looking on. and then perceiving how he was diſtreſſed, he ſent and yielded up the other; and afterward coming to *Cæſar* at *Corduba*, delivered up the Money lying in his Hands, and gave an Account of the Corn and Shipping that was any where provided. After this *Cæſar* gave thanks, and cauſed reſtitution to be made to his Friends; ordered the the things taken out of the Temple to be carried back, and making *Q. Caſſius* Governour of the Province, he left with him four Legions. From *Gades* he paſſed by Ship to *Tarraco*, then by Land to *Narbon*, and thence to *Marſeilles*, where he firſt received News of the Law made at *Rome* for creating of a *Dictator*, and that *M. Lepidus* the *Prætor* named him to be the Man. The *Maſſilians* being reduced to great ſtraits by Famine and Peſtilence, and having no hope of relief, now

yielded

Sect. 7. yielded to him, and he, as he ſaith, was willing to ſave them, rather for the Name and Antiquity of the Town, than any merit of theirs. He left two Legions there, and ſent the reſt into *Italy*, he himſelf taking his way toward *Rome*.

40. In the mean time Matters had a contrary iſſue in *Africk* under the Conduct of *Curio*, who tranſported two Legions into that Country. The Fleet of *Pompey* he beat and diſperſed, and ſuch Ships as were in the Bay of *Utica* he drew off to his Party, by proclaiming, that ſuch (being in number two hundred) as would not preſently come, ſhould be taken for Enemies. At *Utica* lay *Actius Varus*, to whom King *Juba* had ſent to aſſiſt that Party ſix hundred *Numidian* Horſe, and four hundred Foot, having had acquaintance with *Pompey* by reaſon that his Father was his Gueſt, and he bare a ſpleen to *Curio*, for the Law he preferred when he was Tribune of the People, for Confiſcation of his Kingdom. The Cavalry on each ſide ingaged; the *Numidians* were not able to abide the Charge of *Curio's* Horſe; but about an hundred and twenty being ſlain, the reſt retired to the Camp. The next day he Incamped himſelf near the Town, but before the Fortifications were finiſhed, a noiſe there was of great Forces that were coming from King *Juba*. Yet did his Horſe, before the Legions could be well put in order, drive away all the Kings Forces that came marching without fear or care, and ſlew a great number of the Foot, the Horſe getting almoſt all ſafe into the Town by the Sea-Shore. But ſo it happened that the next night after, two Centurions of the Nation of the *Narſi* fled from *Curio* with twenty two of their Soldiers to *Varus*, to whom they declared, that the minds of the whole Army were alienated from him, and that it was very expedient that the Armies ſhould come in ſight, and find means to ſpeak together: Hereupon *Varus* drew out his Soldiers the next morning, and *Curio* put his Men alſo into order. But it had further happened that *Curio* had carried over theſe Legions which *Cæſar* had formerly taken at *Corfinium*; ſo that a few Centurions being ſlain, the Companies and Maniples remained the ſame. Now in *Varus* his Army there was one *S. Quintilius Varus*, who had been alſo at *Corfinium*, and being let go by *Cæſar*, went into *Africk*. This *Quintilius* taking the occaſion ſo fitly offered, went about the Army of *Curio*, and beſought the Soldiers as he could, that they would not forget the firſt Oath they had taken to *Domitius*, and to him their *Quæſtor*, nor bear Arms againſt them that had run the ſame Fortune, and endured the ſame Siege; nor fight for thoſe who by way of reproach had called them *Fugitives* or Turn-coats. And he added ſome Promiſes of Recompence, if they would follow him and *Actius*.

How Matters went in *Africk*.

41. Hereupon *Curio* his Army ſtood mute, and was much diſturbed in mind, but they declared not themſelves by any ſign either one way or other, and each Party drew back to their Camps. In concluſion, the Legions which before were in the Service of *Pompey*, willingly imbraced what was offered them; old acquaintance having made them forget what kindneſs they had lately received from *Cæſar*, being alſo of divers Countries and Nations. *Curio* ſeeing himſelf and his Affairs in ſuch danger, after the matter had been in vain debated in a Council of War, called together the Soldierrs, and in an exquiſite Speech harangued unto them. He called to remembrance what they had done for *Cæſar* at *Corfinium*; how by their furtherance he had gained the greateſt part of *Italy*, all the reſt of the Municipal Towns being drawn to follow him by their endeavours. He ſhewed how great folly it would be now to betray thoſe who profeſſed themſelves wholly theirs, and that afterwards they might come into their Power who took themſelves to be undone formerly by their means. He related what *Cæſar* had done in *Spain*; that there two Armies were beaten, two Generals defeated, two Provinces taken, and all within forty days after he came in view of them. He put them in mind that they did not forſake *Domitius*, but that he forſook them. For he thruſt them out, and expoſed them to all extremity. Without their knowledge or privity he ſought to ſave himſelf by flight; and then they were kept alive by *Cæſars* Clemency. He demanded how he could bind them by the Oath of Fidelity, when having caſt away his Faſces, and laid down his Authority, he himſelf was made a private Perſon, and became captivated to another Mans Power. He told them, in concluſion, what he himſelf had done in this Expedition, for which, though he was content to be called *Cæſars* Soldier, yet they had ſtiled him by the Title of *Imperator*. And if it repented them, he would willingly again reſign it, leſt they ſhould ſeem to give him Honour, which might turn to his Reproach.

42. His Oration ſo wrought upon the Soldiers, that they oftentimes interrupted him, as grieving to lie under a ſuſpicion of Revolt, and at their deſire he reſolved to

give Battel upon the firſt occaſion offered, ſeeing that the minds of all Men were ſo changed. And the day following an occaſion was offered, which he ſo far improved, as to put *Varus* his Army to the rout, and to force them to retire to their Camp, which he might have taken, but that his Men, not thinking of ſuch work, but only of a Battle, were not provided of fit Inſtruments. Of the Adverſaries were ſlain ſix hundred, with the loſs of one Man on *Curio's* ſide, one *Fabius Pelignus*, an ordinary Soldier, who in the Purſuit ſought for *Varus*, calling him with a loud Voice, as though he had been one of his own Soldiers, and had ſomething to ſay to him. Being often called, as he looked back, aſking him what he would have, and ſtood ſtill, he made at *Varus* his Shoulder with his Sword, which was unarmed, and was very near killing him: Yet he avoided the danger by receiving the Blow upon his Target, and *Fabius* was preſently incloſed and ſlain. Many more on *Varus* his ſide were wounded than were ſlain, who all, beſides many others that feigned themſelves hurt, left the Camp for fear, and went into the Town; which *Varus* perceiving, and knowing the aſtoniſhment of the Army, left a Trumpeter in the Camp, and a few Tents for ſhow, and about the third Watch drew his Army in ſilence thither.

Curio puts *Varus* his Army to the rout.

43. *Curio* now as Conqueror, the next day prepared to beſiege *Utica*, the Inhabitants of which favoured *Cæſar*, and the reſt in the Town being diſcouraged, all talked of a Surrender, and began to preſs *Varus* to it. But news arrived, that King *Juba* was coming to the Relief of the Place with all his Forces. This *Curio* was ſo confident, as not to believe at firſt, but when it was found aſſuredly that the Kings Forces were come within twenty five Miles, then he withdrew himſelf into a Place called *Cornelius* his Camp, from *P. Scipio* his Incamping himſelf there formerly, which was every way convenient for defence and ſupply of Proviſions. Hither he ſent to have the two Legions and the Horſe brought out of *Sicily*; and here he thought to draw out the War in length; when another report was brought, that the King himſelf was not come, being deteined by ſome Controverſies of the *Leptitani*; but only *Sabura* his Lieutenant was ſent with ſome competent Forces, and was not far from *Utica*: To theſe Reports giving too light and eaſie credit, he altered his purpoſe, and reſolved to give him Battle, being violently led to this reſolution (*Cæſar* his Friend tells us) by his youthful heat, the greatneſs of his courage, the ſucceſs of former times, and his confidence in managing of the War. He ſent all the Cavalry the firſt night to the River *Bagrada*, where the Enemy lay indeed under the Command of *Sabura*. But the King followed after with all his Forces, and lay continually within ſix Miles, or thereabouts.

44. The Horſe fell upon the *Numidians*, as they lay ſcattered, in a barbarous manner, altogether ſecure, and killing many of them, put the reſt to flight. *Curio* himſelf having left a Guard to his Camp, followed, and met with his Cavalry in their return, of whom demanding who was General at *Bagrada*, and they ſaying *Sabura*, he omitted for haſt to inform himſelf of the reſt, but told his Men, that now they ſaw was true what was formerly reported by Fugitives, that the King was not come, but had ſent ſome ſmall Forces which could not make their Party good with a few Horſe; and he bade them therefore make haſt to take the Spoil, and to receive the reward of their merits. The Soldiers incouraged with the ſight of the Booty, which their Friends had taken, and their bragging Speeches, conceived alſo hope that it would be as he ſaid, and haſted to find the Enemy, affrighted and aſtoniſhed, as *Curio* believed, who commanded the Cavalry to follow him; but the Horſe-men having travelled all night, could by no means do it; but ſome ſtayed in one place, and ſome in another, and yet this did not hinder or diſcourage *Curio*. Now ſee the Iſſue. *Juba* having notice of the Conflict, in the night ſent immediately two thouſand *Spaniſh* and *Gallick* Horſe, which he kept for the ſafety of his Perſon, and ſuch of the Foot as he moſt truſted, to relieve *Sabura*; he himſelf, with the reſt of his Forces, and forty Elephants, followed ſlowly after.

45. *Sabura* ſuſpecting that *Curio* was coming, Imbattelled all his Forces, and gave order, that under pretence of fear they ſhould retreat by little and little, till he gave the Signal of Battel, or other directions. *Curio* ſuppoſed they fled indeed, and drew his Forces down from an Hill into the Plain, having marched now ſixteen Miles. *Sabura* gave the Signal for Battel, and with his Horſe charged the *Romans*, who were harried and wearied, and the Horſe-men being but two hundred in number, (the reſt ſtaying by the way) were ſpent with travel; yet wanted they no courage nor deſire to fight, and on what part ſoever they charged, they forced the Enemy to give way; but they could not purſue them far, nor put their Horſes to any round or

long Carier. At length the *Numidian* Cavalry from both the Wings circumvented the Army, and malled them down behind, being often re-inforced by Succours ſent from the King. *Curio* ſeeing his Men ſo diſmayed, as not to receive his Orders, commanded them, as the laſt hope, to fly to the adjoyning Hills; but *Sabura* had alſo poſſeſſed theſe places, and ſo they fell into utter deſpair, ſome being ſlain as they fled, and others falling down without wounding. *Cn. Domitius*, General of the Horſe, deſired *Curio* to ſave himſelf by flight to the Camp, promiſing not to leave or forſake him; but he confidently replied, That he would never come in *Cæſars* ſight, having loſt the Army committed to him; and thereupon fighting valiantly, was ſlain. A few Horſe-men ſaved themſelves. The Foot were all killed to a Man; but ſuch Horſe-men as ſtaid behind to refreſh their Horſes eſcaped to the Camp. Such as deſired to be tranſported into *Sicily*, when Boats were brought, ſunk them by crouding in, and the reſt of the Veſſels would not come to Shoar, by that ſight diſcouraged; ſo that but a few Soldiers and Maſters of Families that could ſwim to the Ships got over ſafe. The reſt yielded to *Varus*, whom *Juba* challenging as his Booty, cauſed many of them to be ſlain, and ſelecting a few of the reſt, ſent them into his Kingdom; *Varus* in vain complaining that his Faith and Promiſe were violated. The King rode into the Town, accompanied by many Senators, and there remaining a few days, gave ſuch orders for things as he thought fit, and then returned into his own Kingdom with all his Forces.

Curio there defeated and ſlain.

Cæſar Dictator.

46. But now was *Cæſar Dictator*, and held the Aſſembly for creation of Magiſtrates. He himſelf and *P. Servilius Iſauricus* were created *Conſuls*; for at this time was he capable to be choſen, it being now ten years from his firſt Conſulſhip, and conſequently he was not obnoxious to the Law publiſhed by *Sylla*, wherein was provided, that no Man ſhould be choſen to an Office within ten years after he had ſupplied the ſame. He took notice that credit was very ſcant throughout *Italy*, and money lent was not repayed. He gave order that Arbitrators ſhould be choſen to make an eſtimation of Eſtates and Goods according as they had been valued before the War, and that at that rate Creditors ſhould take them for their Monies. He reſtored the ancient courſe of Rogations, made by the *Prætors* and *Tribunes*, to the People; as alſo certain that were condemned for indirect ſuing for Magiſtracy by a Law in *Pompey*'s time, when he kept the Legions about him in the City, he reſtored, and thoſe who had offered him aſſiſtance at the beginning of the War, though they did not do it, he procured to be abſolved by the People, that he might not ſeem ingrateful, nor yet aſſume to himſelf what belonged to the *Comitia*. In accompliſhing theſe things, celebrating the Latine Holy-days, and holding the Aſſemblies of the People, he ſpent eleven days; then gave over his Dictatorſhip, left the City, and went to *Brunduſium*, having commanded ſeven Legions, and all his Horſe, to come thither. Such is the Account he himſelf gives us of what he did in his Dictatorſhip.

His Acts.

What other Writers ſay he did.

47. And other Writers in their Relations do little differ from that of his. *Plutarch* ſaith in his Life, That when he returned to *Rome*, *Piſo*, his Father-in-law, adviſed him to ſend Meſſengers to *Pompey* to treat of Peace; but *Iſauricus*, to flatter him, was againſt it. That *Cæſar*, then created *Dictator* by the Senate, called home all the Baniſhed, and reſtored to Honour the Children of them who had been ſlain in *Sylla's* time, and did ſomewhat reſtrain the Uſuries that did oppreſs them; and beſides made ſome other Ordinances, but very few; for he was *Dictator* only eleven days, and then made himſelf Conſul with *Servilius Iſauricus*; and after that determined to follow the War. All the reſt of his Army he left coming on the way, and went himſelf before with ſix hundred Horſe, and five Legions, in the Winter Quarter, about the Month of *January*, which by the *Athenians* was called *Poſideon*.

48. *Dion Caſſius* having told us how this great Man took away all the Arms, Ships and Money of the *Maſſilians*, and at length all the reſt ſaving the Name of Liberty, becauſe *Pompey* left free *Phocæa*, from which the *Maſſilians* deſcended, then acquaints us with a Mutiny of certain of his Soldiers at *Placentia*. They pretended they were ſpent with labours, but the matter was, they took it ill that he would not give them leave to plunder and ſpoil the Country; and now they thought they could ask nothing but he would grant it, becauſe of the need at preſent he had of them. But their hopes were very ill founded; for ſo far was he from granting any thing they mutinouſly deſired, that calling them together, he ſhewed them in a long Speech what it was they deſerved, and not only by word but deed; for he cauſed them to be incompaſſed with their fellow Soldiers for his own ſecurity, and then made them an example of his Juſtice by taking out by lot, and putting to death the boldeſt of them;

Quam quidem Orationem vel Cæſaris vel Dionis, vide apud hunc p. p. 165, &c.

the reſt, as being of no uſe to him, he caſhiered; but afterward received them again when they had ſeen and repented of their Error.

49. But while he was ſtill in his Journey from *Marſeilles*, *Dion* adds, that *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, he who afterward was *Triumvir*, and at preſent *Prætor*, adviſed the People to make him *Dictator*, which was ſpeedily done according to the Cuſtom. Coming to *Rome*, he entered upon his Office, but nothing ſharp or ſevere did he the time he bore it: On the contrary, he gave liberty to Exiles, *Milo* excepted, to return home, and ordained Magiſtrates for the following year, for hitherto none had been put into the places of them that were gone away; inſomuch that there being no *Ædilis*, the *Tribuni Plebis* were obliged to diſcharge their Duties. He made new *Pontifices* in the room of the Deceaſed, yet therein not obſerving all things required by their Laws. He gave freedom of the City to the *Galles* inhabiting within the *Alpes*, becauſe they had been under his command, and then laid down his Dictatorſhip, though indeed he ſtill retained all its Power, the Senate permitting, that he ſhould do what he would. And he improved this Power in a matter of great and neceſſary conſequence. For now did Creditors with all bitterneſs imaginable exact what Monies were owing to them from thoſe who borrowed of them for Supply in the Civil War, and moſt of them were utterly unable to pay, at this time it being very difficult either to pay or borrow. By occaſion hereof many ſevere Acts were committed, and great miſchiefs could not but follow; for although formerly the *Tribuni Plebis* had done ſomething to reſtrain Uſury, yet was not thereby any proviſion made for paying Debts; the Debtors parting with their Pledges, and yet the Creditors exacting the Sums after the ancient manner.

50. To obviate this miſchief, *Cæſar* commanded the Pledges to be valued, and that Judges ſhould be choſen by lot to take up theſe Controverſies. And becauſe many Perſons were ſaid to have much Money, and to ſuppreſs it, he commanded by an Edict, that none ſhould have in Gold or Silver more than ſixty Seſtertia; which Law he did not make, but only renewed it, either that Debtors might pay ſomething to their Creditors, or to diſcover who were rich; or elſe that no Man might have any vaſt Sums to raiſe any diſturbance in his abſence. However, with this Law the People were elevated, and began to require, that a Reward ſhould be propounded to ſuch Slaves as would accuſe their Lords; but he not only refuſed to add this unto the Law, but laid Imprecations upon himſelf if ever he gave credit to a Slave that accuſed his Maſter. All theſe things done, and all Ornaments taken away both from the Capitol and other places at the end of the year, and before he entred his Conſulſhip, he went to *Brunduſium*. *Dio* here mentions, according to his Cuſtom, Particulars preſaging what afterward happened, which cauſed his Diviners to deſire him to haſten his Journey, affirming that deſtruction would betide him if he ſtaid in the City; but ſafety and Victory if he paſſed the Sea. After he was gone the Boys of *Rome* divided themſelves into two Parties, of which one took the Name of *Pompeyans*, and the other of *Cæſarians*; and making a ſhow of Fight, without Weapons, thoſe that called themſelves *Cæſarians* departed with advantage over the other. While theſe things were done at *Rome*, and in *Spain M. Octavius* and *L. Scribonius Libo*, with *Pompey*'s Fleet, drove *P. Cornelius Dolabella* out of *Dalmatia*, and ſhut up *C. Antonius*, who prepared to relieve him in a ſmall Iſland, where being deſerted by the Inhabitants, and pinched with famine, they took him and all his Men, except ſuch as killed themſelves, or eſcaped into the Continent. *Dio's* Story of *Curio* his defeat in *Africk*, otherwiſe agrees with that of *Cæſar*; but he adds, that *Juba* was greatly honoured for that Action by *Pompey*, and the Senators with him in *Macedonia*, and had the Title of King. But by *Cæſar* and thoſe of his Party he was adjudged an Enemy; and *Bocchus* and *Bogud* were ſaluted Kings, becauſe they were Enemies to *Pompey*. Now let us ſee what *Cæſar* himſelf writes of the coming to Blows betwixt him and *Pompey*.

Cæſar goes to *Brunduſium*.

Pompey's Party hath the advantage by Sea.

51. He came, as we ſaid, to *Brunduſium*, but with an Army much leſſened with travel and ſickneſs, by reaſon of change from the good and wholeſom Air of *Gall* and *Spain*, into that of *Apulia*, and the Maritime Parts. And he found no more Shipping ready than would hardly tranſport twenty thouſand Legionary Soldiers, and five hundred Horſe; and this want of Ships he ſaith hindered him from diſpatching the War. On the other hand, *Pompey* having had a years ſpace to provide himſelf, without any trouble or moleſtation, had got together a great Navy out of *Aſia*, and all places where he could build Ships. He had raiſed great Sums of Money out of *Aſia* and *Syria*, and exacted Supplies thereof from all Princes and States. From ſeveral Quarters he had raiſed nine Legions of *Roman* Citizens, to which he added, as

Cæſar de bello civili lib. 3.

The great Preparations of *Pompey* againſt *Cæſars* weak Army.

a Supply, a great number out of ſome parts of *Greece* and *Epirus*. He mingled *Antonies* Soldiers amongſt them, and expected two other Legions to be brought by *Scipio* out of *Syria*. He had from *Crete*, *Lacedæmon*, *Pontus* and *Syria*, and the reſt of the Cities, three thouſand Archers, of Slingers ſix Cohorts, two others Mercenary, and of Horſe-men ſeven thouſand. Hereof *Deiotarus* brought ſix hundred *Galles*; *Ariobarzanes* five hundred out of *Cappadocia*; and *Cotus* out of *Thrace* had ſent the like number with his Son *Sadalis*. From *Macedonia* came two hundred commanded by *Raſcipolis*, a Perſon of much worth. From *Alexandria* five hundred *Galles* and *Germans*, which *A. Gabinius* had left as a Garriſon with King *Ptolomy*. *Pompey* the Son with the Navy had brought eight hundred of his own Slaves, and of thoſe belonging to his Cattel. *Tarcondarius*, *Caſtor*, and *Donilaus*, had ſent three hundred out of *Gallogræcia*; of whom one came in Perſon, and the other ſent his Son. Two hundred did *Antiochus Comagenus*, to whom *Pompey* had given great Gifts, ſend out of *Syria*, amongſt whom moſt were thoſe *Cæſar* called *Hippotoxotæ*, or Shooters on Horſe-back. To theſe he added *Dardani* and *Beſſi*, partly mercenary, and partly procured by his Power and Favour; beſides *Macedonians*, *Theſſalians*, and thoſe of other Nations and Cities, whereby he filled up the ſaid number. For Corn he provided great quantity out of *Theſſaly*, *Aſia*, *Crete*, *Cyrene*, and other Regions. He appointed the Winter Quarters at *Dyrrachium*, *Apollonia*, and all the Maritime Towns, to keep *Cæſar* from paſſing the Sea; and for that purpoſe diſpoſed of his Soldiers all along the Sea-Coaſt. Now of the *Ægyptian* Ships *Pompey* the Son was Admiral. Thoſe that came out of *Aſia* were commanded by *D. Lælius* and *C. Triarius*. *C. Caſſius* had the command of thoſe of *Syria*; and *C. Marcellus*, with *C. Pomponius*, of thoſe of *Rhodes*. Of the *Liburnian* and *Achaian* Navy, *Scribonius Libo*, and *M. Octavius*, had the Charge. But *M. Bibulus* was General for Maritime Affairs, with chief Command.

Who paſſeth over ſeven weak Legions to *Pharſalus*.

52. *Cæſar* at *Brunduſium* having perſwaded the Soldiers to leave all their Slaves and Baggage behind them in hope of Victory, and his liberality, ſhipped ſeven Legions, and in ſafety landed his Men at a place called *Pharſalus*, not daring to venture into any known Port, which he believed to be poſſeſſed by the Enemy. Being landed, he ſent back his Ships to *Brunduſium* to bring over the other Legions, but in their return thirty of them fell into the hands of *Bibulus*, who ſenſible of his neglect of guarding the Paſſage, and in wrath, ſet them all on fire, and therewith conſumed both owners and Mariners, hoping by this Example to terrifie the reſt. This done, with greater diligence than had been uſual, he poſſeſs'd all the Sea-Coaſt from *Salonæ* to *Oricum* with Men and Ships of War, he himſelf in the depth of Winter refuſing no labour, but watching on Ship-board, nor expecting any Supplies, if he could meet *Cæſar*. *M. Octavius*, with ſomething better ſucceſs by Sea, came and drew *Hiſſa* from *Cæſars* Party, and not being able to prevail with the Inhabitants of *Salonæ*, he beſieged the Town. The Place was indifferently well fortified by Nature, and their Induſtry, but the Inhabitants being wearied and ſpent with Wounds, fell at length to the laſt Refuge of infranchiſing all their Slaves above the Age of fourteen, and cutting the Hair of their Women to make Engines. Their Reſolution being known, *Octavius* begirt them with five Camps and Intrenchments, and they indured the want of Corn and other inconveniences. But the Siege continuing a long time, and this making the Beſiegers remiſs and negligent, they took the opportunity of the Noon-time, and placing their Women and Children on the Walls to make a ſhow, they themſelves, and ſuch as they had infranchiſed, made a Sally, and with violence broke through all the five Camps, and with great ſlaughter forced *Octavius*, and his Men remaining, to betake themſelves to their Ships, and leave the Place. He deſpairing of taking the Town, and Winter approaching, retir'd to *Pompey* at *Dyrrachium*.

The notable Valour and Induſtry of the Inhabitants of *Salonæ*.

53. Now did *Cæſar*, as he tells us, think fit to ſend to *Pompey* about a Peace, and the Party on which he pitched to carry the Meſſage was *Vibullius Rufus*, whom, being one of *Pompey*'s Lieutenants, *Cæſar* had twice taken, once at *Corfinium*, and a ſecond time in *Spain*. His Inſtructions were to let him know, that in his opinion it was time to give way to Fortune, and lay down Arms, either Party having had ſuch loſſes as might inſtruct it to prevent greater Inconveniences. That this was the only time to treat of Peace when both was confident of his own ſtrength, and ſeemed to be of equal Power. That for Conditions, ſeeing they could not agree of them themſelves, they ought to ſeek them from the Senate and People of *Rome*; and in the mean time it was convenient that both ſhould take an Oath before their Armies within three days next following, to lay down their Arms, ſend away their Auxiliaries, in which they confided, and conſequently ſubmit to the Decree of the People: And for aſſurance,

rance, on his ſide, he would preſently diſcharge his Forces, as well them in the Field, as in Garriſon. *Vibullius* haſted to *Pompey*; chiefly to let him know of *Cæſars* coming, and he, upon the News, with all ſpeed made towards *Apollonia*, leſt he ſhould poſſeſs himſelf of the Maritime Cities. In the mean time *Cæſar* took in *Oricum*, *Apollonia*, the Town of the *Bellidenſes*; and alſo *Epirus* ſubmitted to him; *Pompey* upon notice of theſe things haſted toward *Dyrrhachium*; but his Army was ſo affrighted with the News, that it ſeemed rather to fly than march, many of the Soldiers caſting away their Arms. When he came near the Town, he opened the Trenches, and incamped himſelf; but ſtill his Men were in ſuch fear, that *Labienus* ſtepped out firſt, and ſwore never to forſake him whatſoever ſhould happen. Then was the ſame Oath taken by the Legates, the Tribunes, Centurions, and all the Army.

Cæſar takes in ſeveral Towns.

54. *Cæſar* underſtanding his Paſſage to be ſtopped to *Dyrrhachium*, Incamped himſelf upon the River *Apſus*, in the Confines of *Apollonia*, and there determined to winter under Skinns, to expect the coming of his other Legions out of *Italy*, and protect ſuch Places as had well deſerved of him. And *Pompey* did the like, pitching his Camp on the other ſide of the River, whither he aſſembled all his Troops and Forreign Aids. Now did each Party mutually obſtruct the Deſigns of the other. For *Bibulus* lay with his Fleet at *Oricum*, and kept the Sea and the Ports, ſo as *Cæſars* Army could not land from *Brunduſium*; and then again, the Sea-Coaſt was all along ſo watched and guarded by *Cæſars* Men, that he could neither get Water nor Wood, nor his Ships to Land upon occaſion; inſomuch as he was brought into ſuch diſtreſs, that he fetch'd his Water and Wood from *Corcyra*; nay at one time, the Weather being very tempeſtuous, they were forced to content themſelves with the Dew which by night fell upon the Skins that covered the Decks of their Ships. All theſe extremities they patiently bore, and would not leave the Coaſts; and yet they ſought by a pretence of a Treaty to draw *Cæſar* to a Truce, who requiring that his Meſſengers might have ſafe conduct to *Pompey*, when that was denied, he ſaw that their drift only was to avoid preſent danger, and began to think of proſecuting the War. In the mean time *Bibulus*, having contracted a Sickneſs by extremity of Cold and Labour, reſolving never to be friends with *Cæſar* for the loſs of the *Ædility* and *Prætorſhip*, ended his days on Ship-board. Now, *Cæſar* tells us, he made again ſeveral offers for a Treaty, but the Conference was ſtill broke off; once *Pompey* ſaying, that in caſe it proceeded to an Iſſue, he ſhould be thought to enjoy his Life and the City by *Cæſars* favour; and at another time *Labienus* affirming, that no Compoſition could be made without *Cæſars* Head.

Bibulus vigorous at Sea.

Dies.

55. This made him the more to long for the Arrival of his other Forces from *Brunduſium*, and they ſeeming to him to have omitted ſeveral convenient Gales, he wrote to them, and required them to take the firſt opportunity, which the Soldiers willingly did by the conduct of *M. Antonius*, and *Fuſius Calenus*, for the love they bore to him. Three Legions of old Soldiers, one of new, and eight hundred Horſe, by favour of the Wind, ſafely arrived, though they were purſued by *Caponius*, Admiral of the *Rhodian* Navy, of which ſixteen Veſſels periſhed by the turning of the Wind, and the roughneſs of the Weather. Only two of *Cæſars* Ships lagged behind, whereof one yielded to *Otacilius Craſſus*, upon a Promiſe of Life, but the Men being unexperienced young Soldiers, were put to death before his face; thoſe of the other being old Soldiers, ſtoutly defended themſelves, and eſcaped. About this time *Scipio*, though he had received ſeveral loſſes about the Mount *Amanus*, which ſeperates *Syria* from *Cilicia*, yet had taken upon him the Title of *Imperator*. This done, he impoſed heavy Taxes upon the Cities and Potentates of theſe Tracts, and from the *Publicans* of his Province took all the Money in their hands for the two years paſt, and by way of Loan that of the following year; and from the whole Province he exacted a number of Horſe-men. He left then the *Parthians* behind his back, who had lately ſlain *M. Craſſus*, and beſieged *M. Bibulus*, and drew the Legions out of *Syria*. At his departure the Soldiers gave out Speeches, as if they would not march againſt a *Citizen* and *Conſul*; but however, he brought the Army to *Pergamus*, and quartered it about in Winter in divers rich Cities; and for the better aſſuring of his Men to him, gave them great Largeſſes and Gifts; nay, and beſides, ſome Cities to plunder. In the mean time he moſt heavily oppreſſed the Province with Impoſitions. Upon Slaves as well as Free-men he impoſed a Tax by Poll, and any Name or Pretence that could be invented for raiſing Money was moſt acceptable, they being eſteemed the worthieſt Men that would domineer, and cruelly exact moſt from ſuch Cities and Villages as they were ſet over. The poor Province beſides this was op-

Cæſars other Forces arrive from *Brunduſium*.

Scipio moves againſt him out of *Syria*.

preſſed

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preſſed with Exactors, who made their own Markets; moreover with hard and heavy Uſury, which oftentimes accompanied War; and yet they ſtuck not there to make Leavies, and to require Loans. Nay *Scipio* gave order, that the Treaſure of *Diana*'s Temple at *Epheſus* ſhould be taken out, with other Images of that their Goddeſs. Which had been done, but that he received *Pompey's* Letters, who thereby let him know, that *Cæſar* had paſſed the Sea with his Legions, and deſired, that, ſetting all things apart, he ſhould haſten to him with his Army. Hereupon he determined concerning his Journey into *Macedonia*, and ſet forward a few days after.

Cæſar ſends Forces into the Provinces.

56. *Cæſar* now being joyned with *Antony*, notwithſtanding the endeavours of *Pompey* to the contrary, reſolved to march further up into the Province. At the deſire of ſome of the Inhabitants of *Theſſaly*, he ſent thither that Legion called the *Seven and twentieth*, conſiſting of young Soldiers, with two hundred Horſe, and five Cohorts, and a few Horſe into *Ætolia* upon the ſame Invitation. Moreover two Legions called the *Eleventh* and *Twelfth*, he ordered into *Macedonia*, of which Province, that which was called the *Free* had profeſſed a great deal of forwardneſs to his Service. *Ætolia* was eaſily gained; but the *Theſſalians* ſtood divided in their opinions; and when *Cn. Domitius Calvinus*, who commanded the Legions, came into *Macedonia*, word was brought him that *Scipio* would ſpeedily be with him. And accordingly he marched with great fury toward him, but when he was come within twenty Miles, he ſuddenly turned his courſe toward *Caſſius Longinus* in *Theſſaly*, and with ſuch ſpeed, that fame did not prevent his Arrival. *Caſſius* thus ſurprized, made away towards the Hills which incloſe *Theſſaly* and *Ambracia*. *Scipio* as earneſtly purſued him; but in his heat he received News from *Favonius*, whom he had left at the River *Haliacmon*, (which divideth *Macedonia* from *Theſſaly*) with eight Cohorts to keep the Baggage, that *Domitius* would ſpeedily be upon him, and that he was not able of himſelf to hold the Place. Upon receit of the Letters he altered his purpoſe, and haſted back day and night to help *Favonius*, whereby it happened, (both *Scipio* and *Domitius* arriving together) that as the Induſtry of *Domitius* did help *Caſſius*, ſo did *Scipio* his ſpeed deliver *Favonius*.

57. *Scipio* after this paſſed the River *Haliacmon*, as to fight with *Domitius*, who embracing the occaſion with alacrity, he was diſcouraged, and pittifully retreated to his former Poſt, fearing that the following day he ſhould either be conſtrained to fight, or with ſhame keep himſelf within his Camp. After this *Domitius* drew him to a loſs by an Ambuſhment, wherein *M. Opimius*, who commanded his Horſe, was taken. *Cneius* the Son of *Pompey* in the mean time, who commanded the *Ægyptian* Fleet, by *Cæſars* confeſſion had good ſucceſs at Sea, where he broke into the Haven of *Noricum*, notwithſtanding all endeavours uſed to hinder him, and burnt his Enemies Ships both there and at *Liſſus*, and the Towns themſelves he endeavoured to maſter, but with no ſucceſs. At this time his Father lay at *Aſparagus*, a Place belonging to *Apollonia*, and thither *Cæſar* marched with his Forces, ſate down near him, and offered him Battel. This he thought not fit to accept of, which put *Cæſar* upon new Councils. He retreated toward *Dyrrhachium*, with deſign thereby either to conſtrain him to fight, to force the Town, or elſe cut from him all Proviſions which there were laid up for the whole War. This laſt he effected, though *Pompey* at firſt thinking he had retired for want of Proviſion; upon finding his error, laboured to get thither before him. Being thus cut off from this Town, *Pompey* incamped himſelf in a convenient place to receive Proviſions by Sea. *Cæſar* now doubted that the War would prove tedious, and therefore the Sea-Coaſts being blocked up by *Pompey's* Fleet, he took order for Grain to be imported out of the *Mediterranean* Tracts of *Epirus*. And theſe Regions being far off, he appointed Store-houſes in certain Countries, and impoſed carriage of Corn upon the Places adjoyning to them.

Pompey the Son his ſucceſs at Sea.

Cæſar beſieges the Father in a ſtrange manner.

58. This done, he entred into ſuch a courſe as the nature of the Place where *Pompey* was incamped did prompt him to. His Camp was incloſed with many high and ſteep Hills. Theſe Hills he took and built Forts upon them; then, as the condition of the Ground would bear, he drew Lines from one Hill to another, and ſo determined to incloſe *Pompey* with a Ditch and Rampire. This he did being ſtraitned for want of Corn, that he might now freely forage about without fear of *Pompey's* Horſe, in which he was ſtrong; but chiefly he hoped to abate the exceeding great reputation he had amongſt Forreign Nations, when it ſhould be noiſed about that he was beſieged by *Cæſar*, aud durſt not fight. Yet, for all this, *Pompey* reſolved to venture that, rather than quit the Commodity of the Sea, and *Dyrrhachium*, where all his Proviſion

ſion of War whatſoever was to land. He reſolved to poſſeſs himſelf of as many Hills as poſſible, and to keep as much of the Country with good and ſufficient Guards, thereby to diſtract *Cæſars* Forces, as it fell out, taking in no leſs than twenty five miles in Circuit, in which he foraged, and there cauſed many things to be ſet and planted by hand which ſerved for Food for his Horſes: Moreover, his Works excelled, for he abounded with Men, and had on the in-ſide a leſs compaſs to fortifie. He refuſed to fight, but he ſorely galled *Cæſars* Men with his Archers and Slingers, ſo that almoſt all of them made them Coats of Quilt, ſtiffening, or Leather, to keep them from danger. Mutual Contention gave occaſion to many Skirmiſhes and Encounters; to be ſure, in the opinion of *Cæſar* himſelf, the War was carried on in a ſtrange and unuſual manner. And this was not only in reſpect of the great number of Forts and Caſtles, but of the whole Siege and Conſequents thereof. For the weakeſt are wont to be beſieged, and Sieges are made to cut off the Enemy from Proviſions; but *Pompey* was the ſtronger of the two, and received Proviſions by Sea. *Cæſar* on the other hand was in great ſcarcity, and yet his Soldiers, he tells us, bore it with ſingular patience, remembring how, notwithſtanding ſuch great want endured both in *Gall* and *Spain*, they had gone away Conquerors of many great Nations. They were content with *Barly* and *Peaſe* inſtead of *Wheat*, and of a certain Root called *Chara*, which they made uſe of in the room of Bread. This, when *Pompey*'s Soldiers jeered them, and objected their ſcarcity and miſery, they would commonly throw at them, and ſcatter in divers places, to diſcourage them in their hopes.

59. But afterward the Caſe quite altered, Summer coming on. For *Pompey*'s Army could ſcarcely be kept alive, eſpecially for want of Water, *Cæſar* having either turned another way, or dammed up all the Rivers and Brooks of the Country. On the contrary, *Cæſars* Army was in extraordinary good health, having plenty of Water, and all Proviſions, except Wheat; of which there was good expectation, Harveſt being ſo near at hand. After this followed ſeveral Skirmiſhes, wherein *Pompey* had far the worſt, and was forced to quit a Mount he had ſeized, to ſuccour his Men, and return to his old Fortifications. *Cæſar* now by his Officers drew to his Party ſeveral Countries of *Greece*, and underſtanding that *Scipio* was come into *Macedonia*, ſent to him to procure a Peace, which he would have perſwaded him he might eaſily conſtrain *Pompey* to accept, having the Command of an Army. But this not ſucceeding, *Cæſar* applied himſelf more ſtraitly to block up *Pompey*, which brought him into ſuch diſtreſs, that his Horſes having conſumed all the Leaves of Trees, and all the Barley, there remained no more ſuſtenance for them, and now they were not able to go on their Legs. Hereupon he reſolved to break out, eſpecially after he had been informed of the condition of *Cæſars* Fortifications by two *Allobroges*, Brothers, who having cheated the Soldiers of their Pay, revolted to him. He gave order to his light Armed Soldiers and Archers to defend themſelves with Bavins and Faggots of Oſiers, and drawing out threeſcore Cohorts, Shipped them, and fell upon a Fortification of *Cæſars* by the Sea, which was not compleated. This was done with ſuch execution, that all the Centurions of the firſt Cohort were ſlain, except the firſt of the Maniple of the *Principes*; and though both *Cæſar* and his Officers endeavoured to put a ſtop to the Proceedings of the Enemy, yet the Iſſue of the Attempt was, that *Pompey* got out of the Fortifications, and Incamped upon the Sea, in ſuch ſort as he might freely go out to forage, and have no leſs acceſs to his Shipping, than he had formerly. *Cæſar* perceiving the loſs he had ſuſtained, and that this courſe of War had not ſucceeded according to his expectation, reſolved to change it, and ſate down cloſe by *Pompey*. He deſigned to cut off a Legion which had taken up a Poſt by a Wood; but in the Attempt his Men were intangled within the Fortifications of the old Camps lately deſerted, and therein ſo over-powered by the Supplies ſent in by *Pompey*, that he loſt, by his own confeſſion, nine hundred and threeſcore Soldiers, beſides Horſe-men of note, ten Tribunes, and thirty Centurions, beſides thirty two Military Enſigns. But the greateſt part periſhed in the Trenches, and on the River Banks, preſt to death, as driven by the fear and flight of their Fellows, without any Blow or Wound given them.

Pompey breaketh out.

And *Cæſar* loſeth.

60. *Pompey* hereupon was ſaluted *Imperator*, and ſo ſuffered himſelf to be ſtiled; though he uſed not the Title in any of his Miſſives, nor had any Lawrel in the Bundle of Rods carried before him. *Labienus* having begged the Priſoners, cauſed them all to be ſlain; and *Pompey*'s Party took ſuch aſſurance, that not thinking any more of the the Courſe of the War, they carried themſelves as already Victors, not at all conſidering the fewneſs of *Cæſars* Men to be the cauſe of their Succeſs, nor the diſadvan-

tage

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Who altereth the courſe of the War.

Retreats to *Apollonia.*

trage of the Place, nor that the Army was divided into two parts, in ſuch ſort, that neither of them was in a capacity to relieve the other. They did not remember the common chances and caſualties of War, wherein oftentimes very ſmall cauſes, either of falſe ſuſpition, or of ſudden fear, or ſcruple of Religion procure great and heavy loſſes, as often as, either by the negligence of the General, or the fault of a Tribune, an Army is diſordered. As if they had overcome by down-right Force and Valour, and no alteration could after happen, they magnified this days Victory by Letters and Report throughout the World. But *Cæſar* being driven from his former Purpoſes, reſolved to change the whole courſe of the War, to omit the Siege, and withdraw the Garriſons. He cheared up his Army as well as he could, by putting them in mind of their manifold Victories in *Italy* and *Spain*, and other Succeſſes, which, put together, over-ballanced by much the late diſaſter. Having diſgraced and diſplaced certain Enſign-bearers, the Soldiers were earneſtly deſirous, by a freſh Ingagement, to redeem their credit; but he thought it not fit to put it to the tryal, till their minds were ſetled, and he reſolved to make a fair Retreat to *Apollonia*. This he did with ſuch ſpeed, that *Pompey* could not overtake him, only ſome of his Horſe came up with the Reer, but with loſs were repulſed. *Pompey* followed a full Journey, but ſome of his Men riſing haſtily, had left a great part of their Baggage behind them, and induced by the nearneſs of their laſt nights lodging, left their Arms, and went back to fetch thoſe things that were behind. *Cæſar* took this Advantage which he had expected, and continued his diligence; ſo that *Pompey* being ſtaid the firſt day, and afterward ſtriving in vain, and making great Journeys, and yet not overtaking him, the fourth day gave over the Purſuit, and betook himſelf to another Reſolution.

Takes *Gomphi* in *Theſſalie.*

61. *Cæſar*, for accommodating his Wounded Men, for paying his Army, ſetling his Allies and Confederates, and leaving Garriſons in the Towns, was neceſſitated to go to *Apollonia*; but in performing theſe things, made all haſt imaginable. For he deſired to be with *Domitius* with all poſſible celerity, leſt he ſhould be ingaged by *Pompey*'s Arrival. If *Pompey* followed after him, he ſhould by this means draw him from the Sea-ſide, and from ſuch Proviſions of War as he had ſtored up at *Dyrrhachium*, and ſo ſhould compel him to equal Conditions. If he ſhould go over into *Italy*, then having joyned his Army with *Domitius*, he would go and ſuccour that Country by the way of *Illyricum*. And if he ſhould beſiege *Apollonia* or *Oricum*, and ſo exclude him from all the Sea-Coaſts, he would then beſiege *Scipio*, and force *Pompey* to relieve him. *Pompey* conjectured as *Cæſar* purpoſed, that he might attacque *Scipio*, and therefore thought it requiſite to haſt to his relief; but if he would not depart from the Sea-ſhore and *Corcyra*, as expecting more Forces out of *Italy*, he then reſolved to fall upon *Domitius*. Each haſted to relieve his Friends, and ſurprize his Enemies; but *Cæſar* had turned out of the way to go to *Apollonia*, whereas *Pompey* had a ready way into *Macedonia* by *Candavia*. The News of *Cæſar* being defeated at *Dyrrhachium*, did much incommode his Affairs; for thereupon ſeveral States drew off from his Party, and the Ways were ſo ſtopped, that no intercourſe could be had betwixt him and *Domitius*, till he met with him at *Æginium*, a Town ſituate upon the Frontiers of *Theſſalie*. The firſt Town of this Country by the Way leading out of *Epirus*, was *Gomphi*, the Inhabitants of which formerly had offered themſelves and all they had to be diſpoſed of at his pleaſure; but upon the Rumor of his overthrow, *Androſthenes*, *Prætor* of *Theſſalie*, had drawn the multitude of Servants and Children out of the Country into the Town, and ſent to *Scipio* and *Pompey* for Aid. *Cæſar* knowing of what conſequence this Town would be, and to ſtrike terror into the reſt, reſolved to ſtorm it, and making the Attacque after three of the Clock in the Afternoon, notwithſtanding the extraordinary height of the Walls, took it before Sun-ſet, and gave it to the Soldiers to be rifled. Then preſently removing, he went to *Metropolis*, by his haſt preventing all Meſſages and News. The Inhabitants at firſt Manned their Walls; but underſtanding by the Captives in *Cæſars* Camp what had happened to *Gomphi*, yielded, and ſaved themſelves. And this their happineſs being compared with the deſolation of *Gomphi*, had that effect, that there was not one State of *Theſſalie*, *Lariſſa* excepted, which was kept in by *Scipio*, but yielded obedience to *Cæſar*; who now being got into a Place plentiful in Corn, which was almoſt ripe, reſolved to attend *Pompey*'s coming, and there to proſecute the remainder of the War.

62. A few days after, *Pompey* came into *Theſſalie*, and taking the Legions all into one Camp, he made *Scipio*, with whom he had joyned, Partaker both of his Honour and Authority, commanding the Trumpets to attend his Pleaſure for matters

of

All Men give him for loſt.

of direction, and that he ſhould uſe a *Prætorian* Pavilion. *Pompey* being ſtrengthned thus with the addition of another Army, all Men gave *Cæſar* for loſt. His Enemies were in pain till their aſſured Victory was obtained, that they might return into *Italy*, and into heavy conteſts they fell, who ſhould be ſucceſſively Conſuls, concerning Rewards and Preferments, and eſpecially who ſhould have *Cæſars* Prieſthood; ſome begged the Houſes and Goods of ſuch as were with *Cæſar*; beſides, a great controverſie grew in open Council, whether *L. Hertius* ſhould not be regarded at the next Election of *Prætors*, being abſent, and imployed by *Pompey* againſt the *Parthians*. Other things they diſputed, as not thinking ſo much of the means how to overcome, as how to uſe the Victory. As for *Cæſar*, Proviſion of Corn being now made, and his Soldiers well reſolved after a ſufficient time paſſed from the Battel at *Dyrrhachium*, he thought fit to try what Will *Pompey* had to fight. Every day he drew out his Men farther and farther from their Trenches, to imbolden them; and becauſe he was much inferior to his Enemies in the number of Horſe, he commanded certain luſty young Men of them that ſtood before the Enſigns, being nimble and ſwift in running, to fight amongſt the Horſe-men. They by their daily practice had learnt the uſe of that ſort of fight; ſo that *Cæſar* tells us, one thouſand of his Cavalry, in open and Champion places, upon occaſion, would undergo the Charge of ſeven thouſand of theirs, and they were not much terrified with their Multitudes. Now they made a fortunate Incounter; but *Cæſar* thinking *Pompey* would not be drawn to Battel, reſolved to ſhift his Camp, and be always in moving, hoping by often removes to be better accommodated with Proviſions, and upon a March to find ſome good occaſion to fight; beſides, he thought he ſhould weary *Pompey*'s Army with continual Journeys, it being not accuſtomed to travel.

63. But when the Tents were taking down, it was diſcovered, that the Enemy was advanced from the Hill, where he was formerly Incamped, ſomewhat farther from his Trenches; ſo that it ſeemed they might fight in an equal and indifferent place. Thereupon *Cæſar* ſtopped his March, and drew out his Forces to fight, and *Pompey*, as afterwards it was known, was reſolved to give Battel, for all that were about him moved him to it; and ſome few days before he had given out in Council, that he would overthrow *Cæſars* Forces before the Armies came to joyn. He told them (who wondered at it) that the Cavalry had, upon his deſire, promiſed him, when they drew near, to attacque *Cæſars* right Cornet on the open ſide; ſo that the Army being circumvented behind, ſhould be amuſed and routed, before *Cæſars* Men ſhould caſt a Weapon, and thereby the War ſhould be ended without danger of the Legions, or almoſt without any Wound received. *Labienus* ſeconded his Speech, and further incouraged them by affirming, that this was not the Army wherewith *Cæſar* performed ſuch things in *Gall* and *Germany*, which was either dead, gone home, or a very ſmall piece of it was remaining; but was gathered from the Leavies made in the hither *Gall*, and moſt of them out of the Colonies beyond *Padus*, and yet all the flower and ſtrength of them was taken away in the laſt two overthrows at *Dyrrachium*. Affirming this, as not ſpeaking raſhly, but having been himſelf preſent at the Battels in *Gall* and *Germany*, he took a ſolemn Oath, not to return into his Camp, but with Victory, exhorting the reſt to do the like. *Pompey* commending him, took the ſame Oath, neither was there any that refuſed it, all being now cockſure, and conceiving Victory already in their minds, as not imagining that any thing ſhould be ſpoken vainly by ſo skilful a Commander, eſpecially in ſo important a matter.

The ordering of *Pompey*'s Army before the Battle of *Prhaſalum*.

64. In the left Cornet of *Pompey*'s Army ſtood the two Legions which had been in the beginning of the War, taken from *Cæſar* by decree of the Senate, the one being called the *Firſt*, and the other the *Third*, and with them ſtood *Pompey*. *Scipio* had the middle Squadron, with the Legions he brought out of *Syria*. The Legion of *Cilicia* joyned with the *Spaniſh* Cohorts, which *Afranius* brought, made up the right Wing. The reſt of the Troops were interlaced betwixt the Squadron and the Wings. In all they amounted to one hundred and ten Cohorts, and fifty five thouſand Men, beſides two thouſand old Soldiers, and Men of note, which *Pompey* had diſperſed over all the Army. The remaining ſeven Cohorts he left in the Camp, or diſpoſed about the Forts near adjoyning. The Right Wing was flanked with a River, having high and cumberſome Banks, and therefore he put all his Horſe together with his Archers and Slingers in the Left. *Cæſar* obſerving his former Cuſtom, placed the *Tenth* Legion in the Right Wing, and the *Ninth* in the Left, though they were much weakened in the Fights at *Dyrrachium*, but to the *Ninth* he joyned the *Eighth*, ſo as he ſeemed to make one of two, and commanded them to ſuccour each other. In all he had about Eighty Cohorts, which made up twenty and two

Sect. 7.

Of *Cæſars*.

thouſand Men; and two Cohorts he left to keep the Camp. The Left Wing he aſſigned to *Antonius*, the middle Battle to *Cn. Domitius*, and the Right Wing to *Pub. Sylla*, and ſtood himſelf againſt *Pompey*. Having well obſerved all things, and fearing leſt his Right Wing ſhould be incloſed by the Multitudes of the Enemies Horſe, he ſpeedily drew five Cohorts out of the Third Battle, and of them he made a Fourth to incounter their Cavalry; ſhewed them what he would have done, and admoniſhed them that the ſucceſs of that day reſted in the Valour of thoſe Cohorts. He put them all in mind of his favours and his carriage towards them from time to time, and eſpecially how they themſelves were Witneſſes, that he had ſeveral times ſought for Peace: Neither was he willing at any time to ſpend the Soldiers Blood, or deprive the Common-wealth of either of thoſe Armies.

The manner of the Fight.

65. There was ſo much ſpace left between both the Armies, as might ſerve either of them to meet upon the Charge. *Pompey* commanded his Men to receive the ſhock of *Cæſar*'s Soldiers without moving from the Place. This he did by the advice of *C. Triarius*, to the end that the firſt violence of the Soldiers being broken, and the Battel diſtended, they that ſtood in perfect order might have the advantage of them that were diſperſed. Beſides, it was hoped the Piles would not fall ſo forcibly upon the Army ſtanding ſtill, and that *Cæſars* Soldiers, having ſo far to run, would by that means be out of breath. This in *Cæſars* opinion was without reaſon, there being, he ſaith, a certain incitation and alacrity of Spirit planted in every Man naturally, which is inflamed with a deſire to fight; which no Commander ought to repreſs or reſtrain, but rather increaſe and ſet it forward. However his Soldiers, upon ſign of Battel, running out with their Piles ready to be caſt, and perceiving that *Pompey*'s Men did not make out to meet them, whom they looked upon as Men of experience, and exerciſed in former Fights, they ſtopt their courſe, and almoſt in the mid-way ſtood ſtill, that they might not come to Blows upon ſpending of their ſtrength: Then, after a little reſpit they ran on again, threw their Piles, and preſently drew their Swords, as *Cæſar* had commanded them. *Pompey*'s Soldiers were not now wanting on their part, but having received the ſhock, caſt alſo their Piles, and betook themſelves to their Swords, keeping their Ranks. His Horſe-men did not forget the Orders they received, but from his Left Wing, with the Multitude of Archers, made ſuch a Charge, that *Cæſar*'s Horſe was not able to ſuſtain it, and they put themſelves into Squadrons to incloſe the Army. Now did *Cæſar* give the Sign to the ſix Cohorts to advance, who came with ſuch fury upon *Pompey*'s Men, that none of them were able to ſtand before them, but fled as faſt as they could to the higheſt Hills, whereby the Archers and Slingers, being left naked, were put to the Sword; and now the Cohorts, notwithſtanding any reſiſtance, charged the Left Wing upon their Backs. At the ſame time *Cæſar* commanded his third Battel, which as yet ſtood ſtill, and was not removed, to advance forward; and theſe Men being freſh and ſound, and relieving ſuch as were faint and weary, and others charging them upon the Backs, *Pompey*'s Party was no longer able to endure it, but all turned their backs, and fled. Thus it fell out according to *Cæſars* opinion, and as he had ſpoken in his Incouragement to the Soldiers, that the Victory would grow from the ſix Cohorts placed in the fourth Battel againſt *Pompey*'s Horſe-men.

Pompey flyeth.

Cæſar taketh his Camp.

66. As ſoon as *Pompey* ſaw his Horſe were beaten, and perceived the Party he moſt confided in to be amuſed and affrighted, he diſtruſted the reſt, and forthwith left the Battel, conveying himſelf on Horſe-back into the Camp: With a loud voice he commanded the Centurions, which had the Watch at the *Prætorian* Gate, to defend it diligently, to prevent any hard caſualty that might happen, ſaying, That he would go about to the other Ports to ſettle the Guards; but into the *Prætorium* he went diſtruſting the main Point, and yet expecting the Event. And he was followed into the Camp by his Soldiers, to whom *Cæſar* would give no reſpit; but notwithſtanding the great heat, it being now mid-day, perſwaded his Men to force it, which they did without very much trouble, it being chiefly defended by *Thracians* and *Barbarians*, for the Soldiers were weary and wounded, and ſought how to ſhift for themſelves. Neither could they that ſtood upon the Rampire indure the multitude of Weapons, but, fainting with Wounds, forſook the Place, and fled to the high Mountains adjoyning, being led thither by the Centurions and Tribunes. In the Camp were found rich Furniture, and the Tents were ſtrowed with freſh Herbs and Ruſhes, and many other ſuperfluities there were, which diſcovered their extream luxury and aſſurance of Victory; and yet they upbraided *Cæſars* patient and miſerable Army with riot and exceſs, to which there was always wanting ſuch Requiſites as were expedient for neceſſa-

ry uſes. When *Cæſars* Men entred the Camp, *Pompey* having caſt off all Imperial Enſigns, got on Horſe-back, and from the *Decumane* Gate fled to *Lariſſa* with all the haſt he could make, whence with the ſame ſpeed he poſted night and day, till he got to the Sea-ſide, with a Troop of thirty Horſe. Then went he aboard a Ship of Burthen, complaining, that his opinion only deceived him, being as it were betrayed by thoſe that firſt fled, from whom he had chiefly hoped for Victory.

67. *Cæſar* having got the Camp, perſwaded his Soldiers not to look after Booty; but to finiſh the Work they had been about. Then began he to incloſe the Hills with a Fortification, which cauſed *Pompey's* Party to deſert the Place, being without Water, and take the way toward *Lariſſa*. With four Legions he followed them, and coming a nearer way, after ſix Miles, Imbatteled his Forces, whereupon they betook themſelves to an high Hill, under which ran a River. Now *Cæſars* Soldiers were ſpent with continual toil all this day, and night was at hand; yet for all this he prevailed with them to cut off the River from the Hill, by a Fortification, to keep them from watering that night. This being perfected, they began to ſend about, treating upon Conditions to yield themſelves, and ſome few of the Senators eſcaped away in the night. As ſoon as it was light *Cæſar* cauſed them all to come down into the Plain, and to caſt away their Arms, which done without refuſal, they caſt alſo themſelves upon the Earth, ſpread their hands abroad, and ſhedding many Tears, deſired mercy. He comforted, and commanded them to ſtand up, and having ſpoken ſomething of his clemency a little to eaſe them of their fear, gave them all their Lives with ſafety, commanding the Soldiers to hurt none of them, and that they ſhould want nothing which was their own. After ſuch wonderful diligence uſed, he ſent for other Legions which had reſted in the Camp, and that day went to *Lariſſa*. He tells us he loſt in the Battel not above two hundred Soldiers, but of Centurions, valiant Men, he loſt thirty. Of *Pompey's* Army were ſlain about fifteen thouſand, and twenty four thouſand yielded themſelves. Such Cohorts as were in the Forts yielded to *Sylla*, and many fled into the next Towns and Cities. Of Military Enſigns were brought out of the Battle to *Cæſar* one hundred and fourſcore, with nine Eagles. The News of this Victory arrived in good time in the Weſtern Parts, where, at Sea, *Cæſars* Affairs went down the wind. *Caſſius* in *Sicily* burnt his Ships in divers places, and if the Report had not come ſeaſonably, *Meſſana* had been taken.

Pompey's Soldiers ſubmit to him.

68. But *Cæſar* reſolved, that all other things he was to ſet aſide, and to purſue *Pompey*, leſt he ſhould leavy Forces and renew the War. He made forward every day as far as his Men were able to go, and the fame of his Victory flew before him, which cauſed the Cities to exclude *Pompey* and his Party as they went by Sea; and *Pompey* leaving off his purpoſe of going into *Syria*, directed his courſe toward *Peluſium*. There by chance was King *Ptolomy*, a Child within years, making War againſt his Siſter *Cleopatra* with great Forces, whom a few Months before, by means of his Allies and Friends, he had thruſt out of his Kingdom. *Pompey* ſent to him, that in regard of the ancient Hoſpitality, and the Amity he had with his Father, he would receive him into *Alexandria*, and by his Wealth and Power ſupport him, now fall'n into miſery and calamity. And they that were ſent, when they had done their Meſſage, began to ſpeak liberally to the Kings Soldiers, and to deſire them to ſtand by *Pompey*, not deſpiſing the lowe ebbe of Fortune to which he was brought. Their Speech was ſo properly applied, that amongſt theſe Men there were many that had been *Pompey's* Soldiers, whom *Gabinius* had received out of his Army in *Syria*, and brought to *Alexandria*; and upon ending of the War had left them with *Ptolomy*, the Father of this Boy. But theſe things being known, ſuch as were Protectors of the King, and Guardians of the Kingdom in his minority, either induced by fear that the Army ſhould be gained, (which afterward they affirmed) and thereby *Pompey* might ſeize upon the City and *Ægypt*, or deſpiſing his Fortune, (for the moſt part it happening, that a Mans Friends become his Enemies, when low) gave a good Anſwer openly to ſuch as were ſent, and willed him to come to the King; but ſecretly plotting among themſelves, ſent *Achillas*, a principal Commander, and a Man of great boldneſs, together with *L. Septimius*, a Tribune, to kill him. They gave him good words, and he himſelf knowing *Septimius* to have led a Company under him in the War againſt the Pirates, went aboard a little Bark with a few of his Soldiers, and there was ſlain by *Achillas* and *Septimius*. In like manner *L. Lentulus* was apprehended by commandment of the King, and killed in Priſon.

Pompey flies into *Ægypt*,

And there is killed.

69. *Cæſar* having ſtaid a few days in *Aſia*, and heard that *Pompey* was ſeen at *Cyprus*, conjectured, as it was, that for his friendſhip and correſpondency with the

Cæſar comes to *Alexandria*.

The *Alexandrian* War.

Kingdom of *Ægypt*, he was gone thither, where he might be furniſhed with other advantages. He proceeded therefore to *Alexandria* with two Legions, eight hundred Horſe, ten Gallies of *Rhodes*, and a few Ships of *Aſia*. In the Legions were not above three thouſand and two hundred Men, the reſt being either wounded in Fights, or ſpent with travel; yet truſting to the fame of his great Performances, he doubted not to go with theſe weak Forces, thinking every place would entertain him ſafely. But coming to *Alexandria*, where he heard of *Pompey's* Death, his having Bundles of Rods carried before him gave great offence to the Multitude, which at his landing, and afterward, was very tumultuous, crying out, that the Kings Authority was diminiſhed. Hereupon he gave order for other Legions, inrolled out of *Pompey's* Soldiers, to be brought him out of *Aſia*, he being ſtopped in *Ægypt*, as he ſaith, by the *Eteſian* Winds, which are againſt them that Sail from *Alexandria*. He now conceived, that the Controverſie between the King and his Siſter belonged to the Cogniſance of the People of *Rome*, and conſequently of himſelf as Conſul, and the rather, for that in his former Conſulſhip there was a League made by Decree of the Senate with *Ptolomy* the Father: In regard hereof he let them know his pleaſure, that they ſhould rather plead their Cauſe before him, than decide the Controverſie by Arms. At this time one *Photinus*, an Eunuch, had the Adminiſtration of the Kingdom, who diſdaining that the King ſhould be called to plead his Cauſe, drew the Army ſecretly from *Peluſium* to *Alexandria*, and made *Achillas* General, giving him Inſtructions what he would have done. Now old *Ptolomy* by his Will had left his eldeſt Son and his eldeſt Daughter his Heirs and Succeſſors in his Kingdom, and had charged the People of *Rome* by all things Sacred to ſee it duly obſerved. *Cæſar* was endeavouring to take up the Quarrel by a friendly and peaceable Arbitrement, when he was diſturbed by the coming down of the Kings Forces. His own were not ſuch as to hazard a Battle without the Town, but he ſtood upon his Guard, and commanded the Soldiers to Arm. He procured alſo, that *Dioſcorides* and *Serapion*, two Perſons eminent for their Embaſſies at *Rome*, as well as for other Imployments, to be ſent from the King to *Achillas* to know his Purpoſe, whom, as ſoon as he ſaw, he commanded to be put to death. Hereupon *Cæſar* endeavoured to get the King into his own Hands, to make uſe of the Authority of his Name and Title amongſt his People, and to make it appear, that this War was moved rather by the private Practices of ſome ſeditious and deſigning People, than by his Order and Commandment.

The *Alexandrian* Army.

70. *Achillas* his Forces were not to be deſpiſed, either for their number, or faſhion of Men, or experience in War. For of them he had twenty two thouſand in Arms. They conſiſted of the Soldiers of *Gabinius*, who by this time were grown into an habitual Cuſtom of the Life and Liberty of the *Ægyptians*; and having forgot the Name and Diſcipline of the People of *Rome*, had married Wives, and moſt of them had Children. To theſe were added ſuch as were gathered from the *Theives* and *Robbers* of *Syria*, and other neighbouring Countries, beſides many baniſhed Men, and others condemned to die. For *Alexandria* always afforded a receptacle for all the *Roman* Fugitives, and there they had a certain Condition of Life; for upon giving up his Name a Man was preſently inrolled a Soldier. And if a Slave chanced to be apprehended by his Lord, he was preſently reſcued by the concourſe of Soldiers, who being all in the ſame condition, did ſtrive and ſtruggle for him as for themſelves. Theſe Troops thus conſtituted, would when they pleaſed cauſe the Kings Friends to be ſlain, they would rob Rich Men of their Goods to enlarge their pay, beſiege the Kings Houſe to expel his Miniſters out of the Kingdom, and ſend for others home, and that according to an old Cuſtom and Priviledge of the *Alexandrian* Army. But beſide, there were two thouſand Horſe that had been of ancient continuance in many Wars, and had brought back *Ptolomy* the Father, and reſtored him to his Kingdom; had ſlain *Bibulus* his two Sons, and made War with the *Ægyptians*; ſuch experience they had in War.

The Iſland *Pharus*.

71. *Achillas* truſting to theſe Forces, and contemning them that belonged to *Cæſar*, attacqued that part of the Town where he lay, and endeavoured by all means to break into his Houſe. This cauſed a moſt fierce Encounter, and another as fierce happened at the *Port* where *Achillas* endeavoured to ſeize on all the Shipping, whereby he would have cut off all Supplies that might have been ſent to *Cæſar*. This cauſed *Cæſar* to beſtir himſelf, which he did to ſuch purpoſe, that the Veſſels he got into his Power, and burnt them all, not being able to keep ſo many things with ſo few Forces, and preſently landed ſome Soldiers at *Pharus*. This *Pharus*, he tells us, was a Tower which took its name from an Iſland wherein it ſtood; the Iſland was of a

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great height, and the Town built with ſtrange Workmanſhip. The Iſland lay over againſt *Alexandria*, and ſo made it an Haven. But former Kings had inlarged it nine hundred Paces in length, by raiſing great Moles in the Sea, and by that means brought it ſo near the Town, that they had joyned them both together with a Bridge. In the Iſland dwelt *Ægyptians*, who made up a Village reſembling a Town, and robbed all ſuch Ships as by Error or Tempeſt were caſt upon the Place, none being able to get into the Haven by reaſon of the narrowneſs of the Entry, without the leave of ſuch as held *Pharus*. *Cæſar* afraid of this, while the Enemy was ingaged in fight, landed his Men, and ſeized the Place by a Garriſon, ſo that Corn and all other Succours might come to him; for he had ſent to all the confining Regions for Aid. He cauſed alſo ſeveral Places near him to be fortified in the City, while in the mean time the younger Daughter of *Ptolomy*, out of hope to obtain the Crown, now in queſtion, conveyed her ſelf out of the Kings Houſe to *Achillas*, and both joyntly undertook the management of the War. But they preſently fell out about the chief Command, to the great advantage of the Soldiers, whom they both careſſed with Largeſſes. While they were thus buſied, *Photinus*, Governour of the young King, and Superintendent of the Kingdom, ſent Meſſengers to *Achillas*, deſiring him not to deſiſt, or be diſcouraged. Upon diſcovery and apprehenſion of ſuch Meſſengers, *Cæſar* cauſed him to be ſlain. And theſe were the beginnings of the *Alexandrian* War.

72. Thus long we have heard *Cæſar* himſelf relate his own Acts; for indeed we generally believe we hear or read him, when we peruſe thoſe Writings which bear his Name. Yet *Juſtus Lipſius* it ſeems thought theſe Commentaries not to have been written by him, ſaying, That *the raſon why moſt Eloquent Men eſteemed that Book as a Pattern of Eloquence, was, becauſe they preſumed it was* Cæſars, *and if it had not* Cæſars *Name, peradventure the Book would not be in ſuch requeſt.* Now there's nothing of this nature more certain, than that *Cæſar* left Commentaries of his Atchievements, both in the *Gallick*, and *Civil* War with *Pompey*; not only *Suetonius* affirming this, but *Plutarch*, *Pliny*, *Strabo*; and *Cicero* commends them for extraordinarily good. It's known ſufficiently, that *Cæſar* excelled or equalled in Language the moſt famous Orators of his time. But indeed the broken and looſe manner of the Compoſition of theſe Commentaries, as now we find them, hath given occaſion to Learned Men to queſtion, whether they be his true and genuine Worke the Author oftentimes rather endeavouring to ſpeak, than ſpeaking. They object, that they are obſure and intricate, here bare, and there ſuperfluous, and far different from that Terſe and *Attick* Style of *Cæſar*, which *Cicero* ſo exceedingly commends. Therefore *Lipſius* doubted, whether he ſhould not aſcribe theſe Books to *Julius Celſus*, having found in a certain Piece called *Margareta Poetica*, many fragments cited out of them, but always in the Name of *Julius Celſus*. Moreover, *Johannes Saliſberienſis*, in his *Policraticus*, or his Works *De Nugis Curialium*, produceth many Teſtimonies found in theſe Writings, but from *Julius Celſus* too. *Vincentius*, in his *Speculum*, deſcribing the Bridge of the *Rhine*, celebrated by *Cæſar* in his fourth Book, commends *Julius Celſus*, not *Cæſar*, for Author. And *Rodericus Sanctius*, in the third part of his Hiſtory of *Spain*, and the thirty third Chapter, commends the Authority of *Julius Celſus* for the Hiſtory of the *Alexandrian* War, in Paſſages now found in the Book commonly aſcribed to *Hirtius*.

In Poliorceticis lib. 1. *Dial.* 9.

Vide Giſſelini Hiſtor. Gallorum veterum Cap. 1.

Whether the Commentaries going under the Name of *Cæſar* were his.

73. It's therefore thought, that this *Celſus* tampered with the Commentaries of *Cæſar*; and if he did not wholly alter, yet he ſo interpolated them, that, as *Claudius Cæſar* ſaid, *The Author indeed appears, but the Raſure is evident.* In an ancient Copy of *Lævinus Torrentius*, at the end of the ſeventh Book, was found written *The Ephemeris or Journal of* C. Julius Cæſar, *concerning the* Gallick *War, here ends.* Julius Celſus *of* Conſtantinople, *a Man of the Rank of* Clariſſimus, read it. He cut off, and caſt away many things, and particularly the Hiſtory which *Servius*, in his ſecond Book upon *Virgil*, recites from *Cæſars* Journal, for now it no where appears. *Virgil* ſaying, That *having plucked the Enemy from his Horſe, he graſped him with his Right Hand*, *Servius* notes, That he had this out of the Hiſtory. *For.* C. Cæſar *being taken by the Enemy, and carried away armed as he was, one of the Enemies that knew him met him, and ſaid inſulting,* Cecos Cæſar, *which in the Language of the* Galles *ſignifieth Diſmiſs; and ſo it came to paſs that he was diſmiſſed. This* Cæſar *ſpeaks of in his Journal, where he commemorates his own felicity.* For theſe Reaſons, both *Lipſius* and others thought, that in thoſe Commentaries we now make uſe of, the Matter and Narration was *Cæſars*, but not the Words. If we conſider what formerly we have ſeen objected by *Monetus*, concerning the Errors either of *Cæſar*, or ſuch as medled

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with his Writings, it will induce to think they might have the more reaſon for their opinion, and it tends not to the diſrepute of *Cæſar*. Preſuming however at the leaſt, that the Matter and Story is his, it's convenient to examine what other Writers furniſh us with that may atteſt or qualifie his Narrations.

What other Writers ſay of this War.

74. What ever he ſpeaks concerning his deſire of Peace, and making means to obtain it, Writers cenſure as well him as *Pompey*, for deſigning high things, and out of ambition more than any other Principle, driving on the War to ſuch extremity. *Pompey* was not forward to purſue *Cæſar*, ſo as he might have done after the advantage he had got at *Dyrrhachium*, *Cæſar* ſaying to his Friends, that his Enemies had won the Victory, had they known how to overcome. And indeed *Pompey*'s Followers generally behaved themſelves as if the War was then at an end, in ſo much that ſome of them went to his Wife *Cornelia* to congratulate with her upon that account, and ſome took care about Poſſeſſions, and ſuing for Offices in *Italy*, crying out, that he ſhould return thither. But now when he had *Cæſar* in chaſe, he thought it not honourable to fly from him, eſpecially to deſert *Scipio* his Father-in-law, and other Senators diſperſed through *Greece*, who upon his retreat muſt fall into *Cæſars* Hands. Yet he did not purpoſe to fight him; only to beſiege, and cut him off from Victuals. *Plutarch* tells us plainly of a Report raiſed amongſt the *Equites*, that if *Cæſar* was overcome, they muſt alſo reduce *Pompey* to a private Man again; that this confirmed him in his reſolution, and was the cauſe why he would no more imploy *Cato* as one who intended to make him reſign his Authority. This was ſmelt out by his Companions, who ſeeing him loiter, ſaid, he made not War againſt *Cæſar*, but the Senate and his Country, that he might ever retain his Authority, and have them for a Guard, and his Servants about him, to rule and command the World. The Taunts of *Domitius Ænobarbus*, who called him *Agamemnon*, and *King of Kings*, raiſed him much envy, as alſo the Speeches of ſeveral others, amongſt whom *Afranius* ranted againſt him, impatient to have *Cæſars* Offices diſpoſed amongſt themſelves, with other Places of Dignity in the State. So, as *Plutarch* writes, they hurried him to a Battel, contrary to his Judgment of fighting *Cæſars* Army, which had taken a thouſand Towns by Aſſault, had ſubdued above three hundred ſeveral People, had won infinite Battels againſt the *Germans* and *Galles*, was never overcome, had taken a Million of Men Priſoners, and had ſlain as many in ſeveral Battels. This fatal one was fought on the Plains of *Pharſalum*, (not of *Philippi*, as *Florus* falſly relateth, and with him *Manilius* and *Virgil*) betwixt that Town and the River *Enipeus*. The word of *Pompey* was, *Unconquered Hercules*, and that of *Cæſar*, *Victorious Venus*. It's ſaid, that *Cæſar* gave order to his Horſe-men to caſt their Darts upwards into the Faces of their Enemies, which made the young Gallants not only ſmart, but being aſtoniſhed at the manner of Fight, to cover them with their Hands, and run away.

Cæſar raiſed to the higheſt pitch from a very low ebbe.

75. But thus, by the Valour of his Soldiers, as well as his own Conduct, was *Cæſar* raiſed from the extremity of his wants, and the diſgrace of his former loſſes, to the chiefeſt Height of Earthly Glory and Power; ſo that what was wont to be ſaid of his Country, that the Fortune of the People of *Rome* was great, but ſtill grew greater from troubles and difficulties, might be applied unto him. Now had *Pompey*, by his over great Power and Intereſt, brought the Common-wealth to that paſs, that it could not ſubſiſt but by the benefit of Servitude, as *Seneca* words it, or without being in the Hands of a ſingle Perſon, who cauſed Servitude or Liberty as he was inclined. It's ſaid, that at *Mytylene*, in his flight, he had much diſcourſe with *Cratippus* the Philoſopher, (the ſame to whom *Cicero* ſent his Son to ſtudy) who in their talk made it evident, that his courſe of Government had brought a neceſſity of changing the State from the condition of a Common-wealth, to that of a Juſt Monarchy. When he was come into *Ægypt*, and had ſent to the King to be received, a Council was called by the Governours to conſult what was to be done, during which he rode at Anchor, expecting their reſolution. Some would have him received, and ſome not; but *Theodotus* of *Chios*, who taught the King Rhetorick, to ſhew his Eloquence, affirmed, that neither the one nor the other was to be done; for by receiving him they ſhould make *Cæſar* their Enemy, and *Pompey* their Lord, and by denying him they ſhould diſoblige him, and diſpleaſe *Cæſar* for letting him eſcape. In concluſion, he perſwaded them to ſend to kill him, for thereby they ſhould win the favour of the one, and not fear the diſpleaſure of the other; and ſome ſay, that he added this Saying, That *a Dead Man bites not*. This being determined, they gave *Achillus* order to do it, who took with him *Septimius* and *Salvius*, another Centurion, with three or four Soldiers, and perſwaded him to come out of

his Ship into a Fiſhers Boat, the Shore being filled with Armed Men. None in the Boat ſpeaking friendly to him, he told *Septimius* he thought he ſhould know him, having ſerved formerly with him, at which the other nodded with his head, that it was true, but gave him no other anſwer, nor ſhewed him any courteſie. Seeing this, he took a little Book he had in his Hand, in which he had written a Speech he intended to make to *Ptolomy*, and began to read it. When they drew nigh the Shore, he took hold of the Hand of *Philip*, his infranchiſed Slave, to riſe more eaſily, and then *Septimius* coming behind him, thruſt him through with his Sword. Now *Salvius* and *Achillas* drew theirs. *Pompey* did no more, but took up his Gown with his Hands, and covered his Face, then patiently and manly he received the Wounds they gave him, only ſighing a little. Thus died he, fifty nine years old, the next day after that of his Birth. A great Man, as not only the Sir-name given him, but his Actions, in the Eaſtern Countries, and others, declared; but he was over-matched by his Rival, and was, however, too formal and ſlight to overcome *Cæſar* and his Fortune.

Pompey's Head brought to *Cæſar*.

76. Having ſtricken off his Head, they caſt his Body over-board, as a miſerable Spectacle for all that had a deſire to ſee him. *Philip* his Freedman remained by it till they had all gazed their full, and then with an old Fiſhers Boat he found on the Shoar ſcarcely burnt it, being aſſiſted by an old *Roman*, who had dwelt long in the Country, and prided himſelf in this Honour of doing to him this laſt Office. Not long after came *Cæſar* into *Ægypt*, and *Pompey*'s Head was preſented to him, but he turned aſide, and would not ſee it, abhorring him that brought it as a deteſtable Murderer. He took his Ring with which he ſealed his Letters, and, whereon was ingraven a Lyon holding a Sword, and burſt out a weeping. *Achillas* and *Pothinus* (*Plutarch* adds) he put to death. King *Ptolomy* was overcome in Battel, vaniſhed away, and was never heard of. *Theodotus* the Rhetoritian eſcaped *Cæſars* Hands, and wandered up and down *Ægypt* in great miſery, deſpiſed by every Man, till *Marcus Brutus*, who ſlew *Cæſar*, ſubduing *Aſia*, met with, and put him to death after cruel Torments. The Aſhes of *Pompey's* Body were afterward carried to *Cornelia* his Wife, who buried them in a Town of hers by the City of *Alba*. This is *Plutarch*'s Account, who blames this great Captain eſpecially for being hectored by his Officers into a Battel, and deceived by his Father-in-law *Scipio*, who, it is ſaid, intending to keep the greateſt part of the Money he had brought out of *Aſia* to himſelf, haſted and perſwaded him to fight, by telling him there was no Treaſure left.

77. *Dion Caſſius* relates the ſame Story as *Plutarch*, concerning *Cæſar* his weeping at the ſight of *Pompey*'s Head. He adds, that he lamented, called him his Son-in-law, and related what they two had done together. That he was ſo far from owning his Murderers to have done him any Service, that he blamed them for the Fact, and gave the Head to others to be honourably interred. As hereby he deſerved Praiſe, ſo in the opinion of the Writer he deſerved to be laugh'd at for his counterfeiting. For having above meaſure coveted Domination, hated *Pompey* always as his Adverſary upon that account, deviſed all manner of things againſt him, and undertaken this War for no other reaſon, than that having removed him out of the way, he might obtain the Sovereignty, and being for no other thing come into *Ægypt*, than to deſtroy him, if he was yet alive; he pretended a miſs of him, and to be troubled at his Death. He being ſo made away, *Cæſar* thinking there was nothing of Hoſtility now behind, ſpent his time in *Ægypt* in gathering up money, and deciding the Controverſie betwixt *Ptolomy* and his Siſter *Cleopatra*, and became intangled in the *Alexandrian* War, as we have ſhown in the Hiſtory of that Kingdom. In the mean time *Pharnaces* was at work in *Pontus*, where being incouraged by the late Civil War, he had attempted to ſeize on his Fathers Kingdom. And another, both *Civil*, and, as *Dio* terms it, *Forreign* War was begun by *Cato* and others in *Africk*. For he being left by *Pompey* at *Dyrrachium* to guard the Paſſage from *Italy*, upon his overthrow, betook himſelf from *Epirus* to *Corcyra*, with whom joyned ſuch as had fled from the Battel, or were of that Party; for though *Cicero*, and ſome other Senators, went ſtrait to *Rome*, yet moſt of them with *Labienus* and *Afranius* (who both deſpaired of pardon from *Cæſar*, the one becauſe he had revolted from him, and the other becauſe having once been pardoned he had again taken Arms againſt the Conqueror) went to *Cato*, and under him, as General, renewed the War. To them joyned *Octavius*, who had plyed about the *Ionian* Sea, had taken *C. Antonius*, and many Towns, but his Men, after the Battel of *Pharſalum*, fell off from him. So did *Cn. Pom-*

Cato General againſt *Cæſar*.

pey, who with the *Ægyptian* Fleet had made incurſions into *Epirus*, and attempted *Oricum*, as alſo *Brunduſium*, though without ſucceſs, after the defeat of his Father, and the departure of the *Ægyptians*; whereupon he betook himſelf to *Cato*, to whom alſo repaired *C. Caſſius*, who had vexed many Parts of *Italy* and *Sicily*, and fought often proſperouſly both by Sea and Land. *Cato* uſing theſe Perſons as his Councellors and Aſſiſtants, paſſed into *Peloponneſus*, with hopes of ſeizing on that Country, knowing yet nothing of the Death of *Pompey*. But *Q. Fuſius Calenus* marching againſt them, they ſet Sail, and went to *Cyrene*, where, hearing of *Pompey*'s Death, they then differed in opinion. *Cato*, who by no means would bear the Domination of *Cæſar*, reſolved for *Africk*, and was followed by ſuch as deſpaired of ſafety, where they omitted nothing they could deviſe againſt *Cæſar*. Moſt of the reſt were diſperſed, as it happened; and ſome went ſtrait to *Cæſar*, and obtained pardon, amongſt whom was *C. Caſſius*.

Honours decreed by the Senate to *Cæſar*.

78. *Calenus*, before the Battel of *Pharſalum*, being ſent into *Greece* by *Cæſar*, attacqued the City of *Athens*, but could not force them to yield, till News arrived of his Succeſs. Then they ſubmitted, and *Cæſar* forgave them without any injury offered to them, or any fine impoſed, ſaying, That they having grievouſly offended, were preſerved by the Dead; by which ſaying he hinted, that he ſpared them for the Glory and Vertue of their Anceſtors. After this moſt other Towns of *Greece* reconciled themſelves to him, and *Megara* paid dear to *Fuſius* for its contumacy. At *Rome*, before the Controverſie was determined, all openly ſpake well of *Cæſar*, for fear of his Soldiers there left, and of *Servilius* his Colleague. When they believed the defeat of *Pompey*, they cauſed the Statues of him and *Sylla* to be demoliſhed at the *Roſtra*; but fearing he might yet recruit himſelf, they thought they had done too much. But when they underſtood for certain of his death, then what was it they would not do for *Cæſar*, the principal Citizens ſtriving who ſhould exceed in flattery, and hoping to obtain Preferments for ſo doing, whereas it was known they were driven to it by the exigency of Affairs? They gave him Power to determine of thoſe of *Pompeys* Party as he pleaſed, and they made him Lord of Peace and War againſt all Men whatſoever, though he neither conſulted the People nor Senate. This Power he had taken to himſelf before in the management of the late Wars; but this is to be obſerved concerning theſe Times, and in reference to *Cæſar* and his adopted Son, that the *Romans* deſiring to ſeem ſtill Free Citizens, and their own Men decreed thoſe things in their behalf, which they were already poſſeſſed of, and gave ſuch things as they could not keep. Now was he voted *Conſul* for five years together, *Dictator* not for half, but an whole year, and to have Tribunitial Power for his Life; ſo as to ſit amongſt the Tribunes, and do their Work, which had not been granted to any before him. Having delivered the Provinces to the *Conſuls* by lot, yet they decreed, that *Cæſar* might grant them to *Prætors* without ſortitition, and ſo they returned both to *Conſuls* and *Prætors* again, contrary to their former reſolution. They ordered him a Triumph over *Juba*, and the *Romans* that ſerved him, as if the Victory was already obtained, when *Cæſar* knew not as yet whether there would be ſuch a War. Now though he was out of *Italy*, yet he preſently took the *Dictatorſhip*, and made *Antony* his *Magiſter Equitum*, who as yet had not been *Prætor*. And after this Magiſtracy, he was made *Conſul*, the *Augurs* making a clamour, that it was not lawful for a *Magiſter Equitum* to hold above ſix Months. For this they were laughed at to purpoſe, in that having, againſt all Precedent, made the Term of the *Dictatorſhip* to be Annual, they would be ſo accurate as to that of his *Magiſter Equitum*.

Diſorders at *Rome*, and in *Italy*.

79. While *Cæſar* was buſied in the *Alexandrian* War, great Tumults happened in *Italy*, and at *Rome*. In *Italy Milo* raiſed Commotions, being the only exil'd Perſon whom *Cæſar* did not reſtore; but he was ſuppreſſed and ſlain at *Apulia*, by the Arms of *Servilius* the Conſul. At *Rome M. Cæcilius* preſumed to contradict what *Cæſar* had ordained concerning Creditors, being diſpleaſed that he had not been made *Prætor* of the City formerly by him, which Office he now obtained. He raiſed alſo grievous Commotions, and at length was ſlain by thoſe of *Cæſars* Party. Yet with theſe Men did not the Diſturbances of the City receive an end; for *Antony* the *Magiſter Equitum* was burthenſome to them, wearing the *Prætexta*, and having ſix *Lictors*, when there was neither *Conſul* nor *Prætor* to be ſeen. Indeed he aſſembled the Senate, and thereby was repreſented a ſort of a Commonwealth; but when they ſaw him girt with a Sword, and Guarded by a great number of Attendants, they began to think what ſort of Perſon the *Dictator* himſelf

would prove, who though he had hitherto made no other ſhow, than that of clemency, yet they thought a Man in full poſſeſſion differed in humour from one who indeavoured to clear his way to his deſigns, by an obliging demeanour. But above all, they were plagued by the outragious carriage of *L. Trebellius*, and *P. Cornelius Dolabella*, the *Tribuni Plebis*, the latter of which being once a *Patritian*, had made himſelf a *Plebeian*, to obtain the Place. By publiſhing Laws, and making Slaughters to enact and confirm them, they harraſed the Citizens, *Dolabella* not expecting pardon from *Cæſar*, ſo great were his demerits, and therefore not caring what he did to be remembred after his death. Till *Cæſars* arrival in *Italy* they would not give over, but then when they expected puniſhment, he betook himſelf to his wonted clemency. Finding all things quiet, he not only forgave his Enemies, but preferred ſome of them, amongſt whom *Dolabella* himſelf, to the Dignity of *Conſul*, although he had never born the *Pretorſhip*.

Pharnaces invades ſome Countries of the Eaſt.

80. *Cæſar* might ſooner have come to *Rome*, if *Cleopatra* had not held him faſt in *Ægypt*, which hold ſhe was forced at length to let go after ſome nine Months, and give way to a greater violence, which hurried him out of her Imbracements. This proceeded from *Pharnaces* the Son of *Mithridates*, who was King of the *Boſporus Cimmerius*, but inflamed with an earneſt deſire of recovering his Fathers Dominions, having the opportunity of the *Civil* and *Ægyptian* Wars. He ſeized *Colchis* without any trouble, and all *Armenia* in the abſence of *Deiotarus*, beſides ſome Cities of *Cuppadocia* and *Pontus*, which were ſubject to the Juriſdiction of *Bithynia*. *Cæſar* having not yet ſetled matters in *Ægypt*, as he deſired, and hoping to reduce him into order by others, had ſent away *Cn. Domitius Calvinus* againſt him, with command to recover *Aſia*, and receive the Forces that were there. *Calvinus* joyned to himſelf *Deiotarus* and *Ariobarzanes*, and went ſtrait againſt *Pharnaces*, who had his abode at *Nicopolis*, on which he had ſeized. *Pharnaces* affrighted at his coming, deſired a Truce, that the matter might be compoſed by a Meſſage, but *Calvinus* contemned, and would not hear him, but reſolute to fight, was worſted in the Ingagement, and Winter now drawing on, returned into *Aſia*. *Pharnaces* elevated by this Succeſs, took in the reſt of the Cities of *Pontus*, ſtormed *Amiſus*, and marched for *Bithynia* and *Aſia*, with hope of having his Fathers Succeſs. But he was ſtopped in his career by the revolt of *Aſander*, to whom having committed the charge of *Boſporus*, the Man being in hope to have it granted to himſelf by the *Romans*, endeavoured to curry favour with them. He purpoſed to go againſt him, but was diverted by News that *Cæſar* himſelf was coming into *Armenia*, who, *Ptolomy* being now dead, and *Domitius* overthrown, thought it not honourable for him to make any longer ſtay in *Ægypt*. *Pharnaces* was more affrighted with his vigorous Spirit, than his Army, and before he drew near, ſent often to him about a Peace, labouring by all means to evade the preſent danger. He pleaded that he had given no aſſiſtance to *Pompey*, and hoped to pacifie *Cæſar*, who would haſt into *Italy* and *Africk*, not doubting but after his departure eaſily to renew the War. *Cæſar* ſufficiently apprehenſive of his Deſign, gave good words to the Meſſengers that came the firſt and the ſecond time, on purpoſe to deceive him; but to thoſe that were ſent the third on the ſame errand, he objected, amongſt other crimes, his ingratitude to *Pompey* his Benefactor. Uſing all expedition, on one and the ſame day he came and fought the Enemy, who diſtreſſed him at firſt with his Horſe and Chariots that bore Scythes. But the Legions obtained for him the Victory, and *Pharnaces* flying to the Sea, and indeavouring to break into *Boſporus*, was repulſed and ſlain by *Aſander*.

Cæſar overcometh him.

Prideth himſelf in his Victory.

81. In this Victory, though none of the moſt eminent, *Cæſar* ſo much prided himſelf, as in none more, and that for the celerity of his Expedition; ſo that writing to *Anitius* at *Rome* he expreſſed his Atchievment in three words, *Veni, Vidi, Vici, I came, I ſaw, I overcame*. He gave the Spoil, which was great, to his Soldiers; and whereas *Mithridates* had at this Hill *Scotius* overthrown *Triarius*, and erected a Trophy in the Place; becauſe it was eſteemed wickedneſs to demoliſh it, as conſecrated to the Gods of War, he oppoſed againſt it another over *Pharnaces* after a certain manner to deface it. He recovered all that *Pharnaces* had taken from the *Romans*, or their Friends, and reſtored them to the former owners, part of *Armenia* excepted, which he beſtowed on *Ariobarzanes*. He made ſome amends to thoſe of *Amiſus*, by making them free; to *Mithridates* of *Pergamus* he granted a *Tetrarchy*, with the Name of *King*, aud committed to him the War againſt *Aſander*, to revenge the treachery committed againſt his Friend; and that *Mithridates* might become Lord of *Boſporus*. He left *Domitius* to take order for other matters, and went into *Bithynia*, thence into *Greece*, and ſo ſailed into *Italy*; for, ſuch was his Expedition againſt *Pharnaces*, and

Returneth into *Italy*.

and his Return, as *Dion Caſſius* hath deſcribed it. But *Joſephus* further acquaints us, (which we muſt not paſs over) that taking *Syria* in his way from *Ægypt* he reſtored *Hyrcanus* to the Prieſthood in *Judæa*, though *Antigonus* the Son of *Ariſtobulus* (who being let out of Priſon by him, and ſent home, had been poiſoned by *Pompey*'s Party) ſued to him for the Government. He made alſo *Antipater* (whom *Hyrcanus* had ſent to joyn with *Mithridates* of *Pergamus* with three thouſand Horſe, and who did good Service in the *Alexandrian* War) Governour of *Judæa*. And he promoted his own Kinſman *Sextus Cæſar* from a *Quæſtorſhip* to the Government of *Syria*, which *Scipio* the Father-in-law of *Pompey* had enjoyed the year before.

Raiſeth Money all ways poſſible.

82. *Cæſar*, upon his return into *Italy*, by all means he could, raiſed Money, as formerly he had practiſed. What had been promiſed to *Pompey* he exacted, and impoſed new Leavies upon other pretended occaſions. At *Tyre* he took away all that was conſecrated to *Hercules*, becauſe they had received the Wife and Son of *Pompey* in their flight; and from many Princes and Kings he received Crowns of Gold, becauſe of the Victories he had obtained. And this he did, our Writer tells us, not out of any diſhoneſt humour, but becauſe he was at vaſt charge, and now muſt be at greater, for the paying of his Armies, ſetting forth his Triumph, and in other matters, wherein his Magnificence was to be ſhown. He was intent upon raiſing Treaſure, becauſe, as he was wont to ſay, there were two things whereby Power was obtained, preſerved, and increaſed, and theſe were *Soldiers* and *Money*, of which the one procured the other; for by Money Soldiers were maintained, and by Soldiers Money was raiſed. Sometimes he was wont to think and ſpeak after this manner. And when he came to *Rome* this was the only courſe he followed. He otherwiſe offended no Man, but ſuch Gifts as weſe given him in Gold, Images, or other things, he gladly received, and raiſed much Money by Loans, not only from private Perſons, but alſo from Cities, and exacted them no otherwiſe than as due to him, by conſtraint and force, though he never intended to make reſtitution, alledging, that he had ſpent his own Eſtate upon the Common-wealth, and now was upon neceſſity to be in debt. He not only herein offended Strangers, but his own Friends, who buying ſuch Goods and Eſtates as he had publiſhed, and hoping he would not exact the price, now found they were miſtaken; and he valued not their Indignation. For he pleaſed them again by Offices and Imployments, and the Multitude he obliged, by remitting all the Uſury which had been due from the time he undertook the Expedition againſt *Pompey*, as alſo Rent for the hire of Houſes, and other ways. That he might gratifie many Perſons, he deſigned ten *Prætors* for the following year, and increaſed the number of ſuch as ſerved about their Sacred things, above what was preſcribed by the Laws. The Colleges of the *Pontifices*, *Augurs*, and *Quindecemviri*, he increaſed by one added to each, though, as was decreed, he had reſolved to have all Offices of Prieſts in his own Hands. The Horſe-men and Centurions of his Army, and ſuch as held leſſer Commands, he honoured ſeveral ways, and ſome of them by bringing them into the Senate in the Places of ſuch as were dead.

His Soldiers mutiny.

83. But while theſe things he did, he was much diſturbed by his Soldiers, who though they had been rewarded as they had deſerved of him, yet were not contented, and their expectations not being anſwered, grew mutinous. The greater part of them lay in *Campania*, whence he purpoſed to tranſport them into *Africk*. They almoſt killed *Salluſt*, who was made *Prætor*, that he might obtain the *Senatorian* Dignity, and when he fled towards *Cæſar* to acquaint him with their diſorder, they purſued, and ſlew two Senators out-right, or two *Prætors*, as *Plutarch* names them, *Coſconius* and *Galba*. When *Cæſar* knew it, he thought firſt to have ſent his *Prætorian* Troops; but fearing that they alſo ſhould be drawn into the Mutiny, he ſtaid till the Soldiers came into the Suburbs. Then he ſent to know what they would have, and what the reaſon was of their coming. They anſwered, they would declare it to *Cæſar* himſelf; and it being the Cuſtom to wear their Swords in the City, he permitted them to come with them, without their other Arms. With many words they related what Labours they had undergone, what Dangers they had incurred, what Rewards they had both expected and deſerved, and now they required to be diſmiſſed, and vehemently urged it; not that they deſired to return to a Private Life, being uſed to War and Spoil, but to terrifie him, now involved in the *African* War. He only replyed, *Indeed* Quirites *you ſpeak the truth, for you are exhauſted with Labours and Wounds.* Without any other Anſwer he remitted to them all the Military Oath, as aſtanding in no further need of their aſſiſtance, and promiſed Pay and Rewards to thoſe that had ſerved their full time. Herewith they were ſtruck with great

Whom he reduceth by calling them *Quirites.*

amazement, eſpecially that he ſhould call them *Quirites*, and not *Soldiers*, and fearing ſome ill thing was determined againſt them, they deſponded, and earneſtly beſought him to receive them again, promiſing all obedience, and alone by themſelves to diſpatch the War. They making theſe Intreaties, and a certain Tribune, whether at their requeſt, or to gratifie *Cæſar*, is unknown, interceding in their behalf, he ſaid he diſmiſſed them all that were there, and moreover all others that had ſerved their time; for he had nothing for them to do. Yet he would reward them, that they ſhould not ſay he made uſe of them in his need, and afterwards was ingrateful, although they had refuſed his Service, and to diſpatch the remainder of the War, when they were neither deſtitute of ſtrength, nor of any other thing.

84. This he craftily ſpake, for he had great need of them, and to all he aſſigned Grounds, partly ſuch as were publick, and partly his own, but in a diſperſed manner, leſt being in one place they might diſturb their Neighbours, or attempt ſome ſeditious things. Such Money as he had promiſed for performance of ſome notable Facts, he undertook to pay down, or afterward with Intereſt; and by ſuch diſcourſe made them ſo obnoxious, that they not only not murmured, but gave him thanks. Now, ſaith he, you have all I owed you, neither will I for the time to come force any of you to the War; but if any of you will aſſiſt me in what is behind, I will willingly receive him. Having heard this, they were wonderous joyful, neither was there one who did not give his Name. He ſelected ſome he knew moſt turbulent that were able to live by Husbandry, and received the reſt, taking this courſe alſo with ſome other Troops. Such as were moſt fierce, amutinous, and fitteſt for miſchief, he took along with him out of *Italy*, and expoſed them to dangers in *Africk*, both thereby to promote his Service againſt the Enemy, and to rid himſelf of ill Men. For though he was of a moſt gentle humour, and deſirous to gratifie his Soldiers, above all other Mortals, yet he moſt grievouſly hated all Mutineers, and moſt ſeverely puniſhed them. Theſe things happened that year wherein he in effect again was *Dictator*, though *Calenus* and *Vatinius* at the latter end of the year bore the Name of *Conſuls*.

He goes into *Africk.*

85. In the middle of Winter he paſſed over into *Africk*, and thereby coming unexpected upon his Enemies, had the better ſucceſs. For in all his Affairs he uſed celerity, and gained much by his ſudden expeditions, which indeed was the cauſe why he excelled all Captains of his time in the Glory of Martial Actions. *Africk* had formerly been no great friend to him, and after the deſtruction of *Curio* he eſteemed it an Enemy. For *Varus* and *Juba* did there what they pleaſed, and now *Cato* and *Scipio* having joyned with them, they drew in *Sicily* and *Sardinia* to their aſſiſtance, and hearing there were ſtirs in *Spain*, ſent *Cn. Pompey* thither, that by the power of the love that People bore to his Father, he might make it their own, and then they might return with him into *Italy*. *Varus* at firſt, as moſt experienced in *Africk*, contended with *Scipio* for the chief Command, but *Cato* declined it, and it was devolved upon *Scipio* as the greateſt Perſon in Dignity, and one who for his very Name was acceptable in that Country, where it was thought a *Scipio* could not miſcarry. *Cæſar* perceiving his Soldiers alſo to be of this humour, carried over with him one *Scipio*, Sirnamed *Salatto*, and, they not expecting him in Winter, arrived at *Adrumetum*, not being able to reach *Utica* with his Ships. At his going aſhoar his feet ſlipped, and he fell flat upon his face, at which his Men were affrighted, as an ill Omen; but he, without any heſitation, ſtretch'd out his Hand upon the Ground, and graſped it, as having fall'n on purpoſe, and, kiſſing it, ſaid, *I hold thee, O Africk.* Attempting to take *Adrumetum*, he was repulſed, and driven to another Place called *Raſpina*, where he took up his Winter Quarters, and thence made War. For the following year he entred upon the *Conſulſhip* and *Dictatorſhip*, both the third time, having *Lepidus* for his Colleague. This Man, as ſoon as he was declared *Dictator* by him, he ſent from being *Prætor* into the hither *Spain*, and granted him a Triumph at his return, though he had overcome no Man, nor ſo much as fought, only it was pretended he was preſent at the Actions of *Longinus* and *Marcellus*. *Lepidus* in his Triumph brought in nothing but the Money, of which he had ſpoiled the Provinces. But *Cæſar* having thus requited him, now, as was ſaid, took him for his Colleague.

86. In *Africk* Fortune now ſeemed to change her aſpect upon his Affairs. His Men going out on forraging, before they had worn off the diſorder into which the Sea had brought them, were many of them cut off by *Petreius* and *Labienus*, who

Where he is diſtreſſed.

laying hold on the advantage, drove them to an Hill, where they might have been all taken or deſtroyed, but that their Enemies were diſcouraged by the many Wounds they had received. However, they reſolved to beſiege them, and periſh they muſt, if *Cæſar* did not relieve them, who now, as he had reaſon, was very melancholick, conſidering that *Scipio* and *Juba* were coming with all their Forces, that he had not ſtrength to grapple with them all, had not neceſſaries wherewith to ſubſiſt, neither could he get away, his Enemies ſtopping him both at Sea and Land. When he was in this perplexity, he was reſcued out of danger by one *P. Sittius*, who being driven out of *Italy*, joyned many baniſhed Perſons with him, and paſſing into *Mauritania*, having obtained of King *Bocchus* a Band of Men, reſolved to aſſiſt *Cæſar* in this War, though he never had been gratified by him, nor ſo much as known to him. Yet did he not think he could do him much Service, being at a great diſtance from him, and having but a ſmall Force; but obſerving the time when *Juba* led his Army out of his Kingdom, he brake into *Numidia*, and waſted it, together with *Gætulia*, (part of his Kingdom) which conſtrained *Juba* to return back when he had gone half his Journey. So far was *Cæſar* from being in condition to defend himſelf from both, that he was not able to grapple with *Scipio*, eſpecially becauſe his Horſes would not endure the ſight, and ſmell of his Elephants, which cauſed him to ſend not only for Soldiers out of *Italy*, but for Elephants too, to make them familiar to his Horſes. In the mean time the *Gætuli* imbraced his friendſhip, the Example of whom ſome Neighbouring People followed, induced by the requital he made them, and by remembrance of *Marius*, to whom *Cæſar* was akin. And now Succours came to him out of *Italy*, though with great difficulty and hazard, both by reaſon of Enemies, and tempeſtuous Weather.

Relieved by *Sittius*.

87. He reſolved now to fall upon *Scipio*, before *Juba* could come and joyn with him. He beat him from a Mount he had ſeized near the City *Uzitta*, and driving alſo *Labienus* from another Poſt, blocked up the Place. *Scipio* was fearful to ingage till the coming of *Juba*, whom, to draw on, he promiſed all *Africk* that was held by the *Romans*. This Promiſe ſo wrought upon him, that leaving a Party to oppoſe *Sittius*, he began his March againſt *Cæſar*, who in the mean time, by fair Promiſes, drew many, both *Romans* and *Africans*, to revolt from *Scipio*, but by all means he might uſe, he could not oblige him to fight. *Scipio* alſo attempted to draw off *Cæſars* Men, but without ſucceſs, not promiſing them any Rewards, but only moving them to preſerve the liberty of the *Roman* People. But the Arrival of *Juba* altered the Caſe. Now they reſolved to fight *Cæſar*, who declined all Ingagements till more Forces could arrive out of *Italy*, which was but by degrees, for they were raiſed without haſt, and Shipping was wanting for their tranſportation. At length, incouraged by their arrival, he drew out his Army to give Battel, and they alſo drew out and faced him; but yet they ingaged not, though they looked on one another ſeveral days, but then retired to their Camps. *Cæſar* ſeeing they were not to be drawn from their Fortifications, removed to *Thapſus*, thereby either to fight the Enemy, if he came to relieve it, or elſe to take it deſtitute of Succours. *Thapſus* was ſituate in a kind of a *Peninſula* made by the Sea, and a Fen, and a narrow neck of Land gave acceſs to it, wherein was a Lake, the Way lying narrow on each ſide. *Cæſar* made Fortifications in theſe Straits, and *Scipio* and *Juba* indeavoured to cut them off by other Works from the Continent, and where they could not at preſent do this, they placed Elephants to keep off *Cæſars* Soldiers, being wholly intent upon the Works. But *Cæſar* fell upon *Scipio*'s quarter, and drove the Elephants by Darts and Stones upon the Labourers, whom putting to flight, he purſued, and took the Camp. Herewith was *Juba* ſo ſtruck, that he would neither fight, nor take care to preſerve his own Camp, but fled amain into his Kingdom. There none would receive him, and the rather, becauſe they had been defeated by *Sittius*. Deſpairing then of ſafety, he fought a ſingle Combate with *Petreius*, who hoped alſo for no pardon, and they both died together. *Cæſar*, he being fled, became Maſter of their Fortifications, and made great ſlaughter of their Men, not ſparing thoſe who yielded themſelves. * Then took he the reſt of the Cities, with the *Numidians*, over whom he ſet *Salluſt*, not to govern, but pill them as it proved. That part of *Libya* lying about *Carthage*, and by the *Romans* called *Africa*, was now ſtiled *The Old Province*, having been formerly ſubdued; and *Numidia*, but now brought under, had the Name of *The New Province*. *Scipio* eſcaped to Sea, and purpoſed to go into *Spain* to *Pompey*, but being caſt upon *Mauritania*, for fear of *Sittius*, he killed himſelf.

His great ſucceſs againſt *Juba* and *Scipio*.

88. Of the Generals of the Party againſt *Cæſar*, now *Cato* only remained, who lay at *Utica*. This City they perſwaded him to be Governour of, and he could not but be acceptable to the Inhabitants, whom he ſaved from ruine, when *Scipio* would have had the Place deſtroyed, as having taken *Cæſars* part. He had given place to *Scipio*, as the greater Man in Dignity, but adviſed him to delay, and not to fight ſo

Cato Governour of *Utica*.

* *Plutarch* writes, That in a piece of one day he took three Camps, (reckoning that of *Afranius* with the other two) ſlew fifty thouſand of his Enemies, and loſt but fifty of his own Men.

ſo great a Commander as *Cæſar* was,for which he received ſeveral taunts from him by Letters,as well as when he offered to paſs into *Italy* with his Forces to draw *Cæſar* out of *Africk*. *Cato* repented then that he had made him General, becauſe he ſaw he would indiſcreetly proſecute the War, and if he overcame, would not moderately uſe the Victory againſt his Fellow-Citizens, and he declated, that if ſo it happened, he would not ſtay at *Rome*, but fly from his cruelty, who even now did proudly threaten many Perſons. But the news of *Scipio's* defeat arriving, put *Cato* upon other thoughts. He attempted to fortifie the City, and perſwaded three hundred *Roman* Merchants, who lived there, to ſtand upon their guard; but they again, out of fear of *Cæſar*, forſook him; ſo that reſolving to die, and not accept the mercy of the Conqueror, if it ſhould be offered, he laboured all he could to ſave ſuch Senators as were with him in the City. And by his Induſtry he got Ships for them all, and ſent them to Sea. When the three hundred Merchants told him they would ſend to *Cæſar* to crave pardon for him in an eſpecial manner, and if they could not obtain it, they would fight for him to the laſt breath in their bodies; he thanked them for their good will, but anſwered, that they ſhould ſend quickly to beg pardon for themſelves, but none for him. His reaſon he ſaid was, becauſe Men that be overcome, and have offended ought to make ſute and crave pardon; but for himſelf, he was never overcome in his life; had overcome others as much as he deſired, and in Juſtice had always excelled *Cæſar*, who was indeed the only Perſon that was now overcome and captivated; that thing now being evident to all the World, which he had always denied to have practiſed againſt his Country.

Plutarch in Catone minore.

89. The Perſon that was choſen by the three hundred to go and intercede with *Cæſar*, was *Lucius Cæſar* his Kinſman, who intreated *Cato* to help him to make the Speech he ſhould ſpeak in behalf of them all; but in *Cato's* behalf he ſaid he would kiſs his Hand, fall down on his Knees, and intercede for him. He told him he ſhould not; for if he would ſave his life by *Cæſars* favour, he could do it, if he would go to him, but he would not be obliged to a Tyrant for injuſtice. For he ſaid it was injuſtice in him to take upon him as a Lord and Sovereign to ſave a Mans life, when he had no real Authority to command: But he conſidered with him what to ſay in behalf of the three hundred. When *Lucius Cæſar* was gone, to whom he recommended his Son and his Friends, he charged his Son by no means to meddle with State-Affairs, becauſe to deal uprightly like *Cato's* Son, the corruption of the Time and State would not abide it, and if he obſerved the time, he could not do like an honeſt Man. At night he imbraced him and his Friends more lovingly than he was wont to do, whereby he made them ſuſpect as formerly what he deſigned. His Son at Supper took from him his Sword, which he miſſed not when he aroſe,but lying down in his Bed read *Plato's* Dialogue, called *Phædo*,concerning the Immortality of the Soul. Then, miſſing his Sword, he was very angry it was taken away, and would not be quiet till it was again reſtored to him. When he had it, and felt it to be ſharp, he ſaid he was now where he would be, and laying it down naked by him, took his Book again, and read it over, as was ſaid, twice together. Then ſlept he ſo ſoundly, that his Men in the Antichamber heard him ſnoar. When it grew day, and the Birds began to chirp, he took his Sword, and thruſt it into his Breaſt; but the Wound not diſpatching him quickly, by reaſon his Hand was ſwoll'n with a ſtroak he gave one of his Servants on the Face in his paſſion about his Sword, he fell down upon his Bed, and caſt to the ground a little Geometrical Table; with the noiſe of which, his Servants affrighted, cried out, and his Son and Friends coming in, found him all in Blood, and moſt of his Bowels coming out of his Body. Then did his Phyſitian endeavour to put in his Bowels again, and to ſow up his Wound; but he coming to himſelf, thruſt him from him, tore them with his own hand, and inlarging the Wound, immediately died.

Kills himſelf.

90. His death being known, the three hundred Merchants, and all the People of *Utica*, to whom he had reſtored all their Money in his Hands, were preſently at his Door, called him their *Benefactor* and *Reliever*, and ſaid, That he only was a Freeman, and had an invincible mind. This they did even when they heard that *Cæſar* was not far from *Utica*, and neither fear of the preſent danger, nor deſire to flatter the Conqueror, nor any private quarrel amongſt themſelves, could keep them from honouring his Funerals; for ſumptuouſly ſetting out his Body, they paid their laſt reſpects to him by the Sea-ſide, where in *Plutarch's* time was to be ſeen his Image, holding a Sword in his Hand. This done, they took the beſt courſe they could to ſave themſelves and the City. *Cæſar* having heard that *Cato* ſtaid at *Utica*, and ſent all others away, knew not what to think of his meaning; but in a little time, hearing he

had killed himſelf, it was reported he ſaid, O Cato! *I envy thee thy Death, becauſe thou haſt envied me the Honour of ſaving thy Life.* But Men doubted for all this what he would have done, and eſpecially by reaſon of a Book he afterwards wrote againſt *Cato*, wherein he heaped up a number of Accuſations againſt him. But ſome believed he wrote it not out of any malice to him, at leaſt that was deadly, but rather out of civil ambition upon this occaſion. *Cicero* had compoſed a Treatiſe in praiſe of this Perſon, and called it *Cato*, which Book was much eſteemed, both becauſe of the Eloquence of the Writer, and the excellent Subject which it handled. *Cæſar* was much offended at it, thinking, that to praiſe him of whoſe death he was the cauſe, was to accuſe himſelf; and therefore he took Pen in Hand, and compoſed another Treatiſe in anſwer to it, which he called *Anti-Cato.* Both theſe Books had favourers a long time after, ſome defending the one for the love they bare to *Cæſar*, and others the other for *Cato*'s ſake. But ſo died *Cato*, than whom none was more ſtudious of Popular Government, a Man of a moſt firm and conſtant mind, who by his death obtained great Renown with his Countrey-men, eſpecially thoſe of his own Party, and from the Place where he died, obtained the Sirname of *Uticenſis*, the rather to diſtinguiſh him from his Great-Grand-father, who was called *Cenſorius* from that Office which he bore.

Cæſar puniſhes ſome, and ſpares more.

Honours decreed him by the Senate.

91. *Cæſar* diſmiſſed his Son unhurt, as he did many more who betook themſelves unto him. *Afranius* and *Fauſtus Sylla* fled into *Mauritania*, deſpairing of pardon, and falling into *Sittius* his Hands, *Cæſar* put them to death as Captives. Though *L. Cæſar* was both his Kinſman, and came voluntarily in to him to beg his pardon, yet becauſe he had been againſt him all the War, he made him be called to his Tryal, and when he feared to give Judgment of death againſt him himſelf, cauſed the Proceſs to fall, but procured him to be ſlain privately. And it was his Cuſtom in Fight, or ſome other way, to bring about the deſtruction of ſuch as he liked not, or had ill deſerved of him, being not willing to puniſh them all openly. However, when he had taken *Scipio*'s Cabinet, he burnt all the Letters therein contained, without reading them, and pardoned many that had borne Arms againſt him, either for their own ſakes, or at the requeſt of ſuch as interceded for them, giving liberty to every of his Friends and Fellow-Soldiers to exempt one, whom they would name, from puniſhment. And though *Plutarch* writes concerning *Cato*, as we have ſeen, yet *Dio* thinks he ought not to doubt but he would have ſpared him. For he ſaith he had him in ſo great admiration, that when as afterward *Cicero* compoſed a Book in his praiſe, he took it not ill he had ſo done, though the Author had alſo been in the War againſt him, but ſatisfied himſelf in anſwering the Book in another Treatiſe, which was called *Anti-Cato*. Whatever they thought at *Rome* of theſe things, they of the Senate were fearful to be ſlow in expreſſing the ſence they had either of his Merit, or his Power. They decreed, That for his Victory Sacrifice ſhould be offered forty days; that in his Triumph already granted, he might uſe White Horſes, and the Apparitors he both now had with him, and which he uſed in his firſt and ſecond *Dictatorſhip*. They created him *Maſter of Manners*, as if the Name of *Cenſor* was too mean, for three years, and *Dictator* for ten. They ordered he ſhould ſit in the ſame Seat with the *Conſuls* in Senate, and always ſpeak his opinion firſt; that in all Horſe-races he ſhould diſtribute the Rewards, confer Places of Magiſtracy, and other Honours wont to be beſtowed by the People; that a Chariot ſhould be ſet up to him in the Capitol over againſt *Jupiter*; that he ſhould be placed upon a Globe of the World with this Inſcription, *He is a Demi-God*, and that the Name of *Catulus* being obliterated, his ſhould be ſet upon the Capitol, as if he had finiſhed that Temple for which he intended to call *Catulus* to account. Many other things they decreed, but theſe *Dio* mentions, becauſe he approved and received them, rejecting the reſt.

He labours to take off their Jealouſie.

92. He knew ſufficiently, that they were decreed more out of flattery than good will, and was ſenſible that they were fearful of him that he would abuſe his Power, and act with ſuch heat and inſolence as *Sylla*, *Marius*, and *Cinna* had done before him. Being returned to *Rome*, he indeavoured to take off their jealouſie by two Speeches he made, the one to the Senate, and the other to the People, promiſing to treat them no otherwiſe than as an Indulgent Father is wont to do his Children, and to uſe his Power for their protection, and not the deſtruction of ſuch as had fought againſt him. And as for his late Victory, he magnified it, declaring, that he had thereby laid ſo many Countries to the Empire of *Rome*, that he could furniſh them yearly with two hundred thouſand buſhels of Wheat, and twenty hundred thouſand Pound weight of Oyl. By his words they were a little eaſed of their fear, but they could not fully truſt him, till they ſaw them made good by his Actions. Now *Dio* tells us,

He Triumphs.

he triumphed four days together, and that with all poſſible ſhow of Magnificence, over the *Galles*, *Ægypt*, *Pharnaces*, and *Juba*, though others mention only three Triumphs, omitting that over the *Galles*. The Spectators were well pleaſed at the ſight, but it grieved them to ſee *Arſinoe*, once called *Queen of* Ægypt, led amongſt the Captives, and to behold the Spoils of the Citizens that had fall'n in *Africk*. Yet conſidering the greatneſs of the things performed, they had him in admiration, and he was not diſpleaſed, but bore well the inſolent liberty of the Soldiers, who jeered him for his familiarity with *Cleopatra*, and his having been abuſed by *Nicomedes*, and ſaid, That if he laid down his Power, he muſt periſh by the ſtrictneſs of the Laws; if he continued it, he muſt turn Tyrant. But he regarded nothing they ſaid, but touching the matter of *Nicomedes*. About it he was much concerned, and offered to purge it by Oath, for which he was derided. On the firſt day of his Triumph his Chariot broke as he paſſed by the Temple of *Fortune*, built by *Lucullus*, and he was forced to make uſe of another. But he mounted the ſteps of the Capitol upon his Knees, and he would neither have Chariot placed there, nor the Inſcription lately mentioned, of *Demi-God*. *Arſinoe* was diſmiſſed, but *Vercingetorix*, *Dio* tells us, with others, was put to death.

He feaſts the People.

Which is diſſatisfied.

93. He feaſted the People with great Magnificence, (*Plutarch* ſaith, at two and twenty thouſand Tables) adding Wheat and Oyl above the ordinary Cuſtom; to the three hundred *Nummi* he had promiſed them a Man, he added another hundred, and to the Soldiers he gave two *Seſtercia* apiece. He reformed the abuſe committed in giving Corn at the publick charge; for finding it to be procured in confuſion, and ſeditiouſly he cut off about one half of the Expence. The laſt night of the Triumph, after Supper, he went with his Shooes on, and his Head bedecked with all ſorts of Flowers, into his *Forum*, whither all the People in a manner accompanied him, many Elephants bearing Torches before them. For he had built a *Forum* which bore his Name, more beautiful than the *Roman*, though the *Roman* had this advantage by that new one that it was called the *Great*. This, with a Temple to *Venus*, his *Progenitrix*, as he reported, he dedicated, he ſet forth Shows, built an *Amphitheatre*; and in Honour of his Daughter, exhibited Huntings, and Games of *Gladiators*. Other ſorts of Sports there were, and the Sons of *Patritians*, according to the Cuſtom, played the Tragedy of *Troy*, and other real Tragedies were acted, many Perſons being killed, for which the People were angry with him, as alſo for the vaſt expence, wherewith the Soldiers were alſo ſo far moved, that angry that the Money was not beſtowed on themſelves, they had fall'n into a Mutiny, had not he himſelf laid hold on one of them, and delivered him to puniſhment. And *Dio* writes, That two other Men had their Throats cut in a way of Sacrifice by the *Pontifices* and the *Salius* in the *Campus Martius*, though neither *Sibylla* had commanded, nor any Oracle was extant concerning ſuch a thing.

He maketh Laws.

Reforms the Calendar.

94. Now did he make many Laws. He committed Judicature to the *Senators* and *Equites* alone, to have Juſtice daily adminiſtred; ſome *Plebeians* having been formerly imployed herein. Both by Laws and his own obſervation he repreſſed the profuſe way of living of Rich Perſons. And becauſe the City was manifeſtly exhauſted, by reaſon of multitudes quitting it, he propoſed Rewards to thoſe that had many Children. Finding that by his long Command in *Gall* he had had opportunity to aſpire after Domination, and to eſtabliſh his Power, by a Law he ordained, that no *Prætor* ſhould have command above a year, nor a *Conſul* above two years, from the execution of his Office. And whereas the form of the year was much now out of order, the Months being obſerved according to the Revolution of the Moon, he reduced it, *Dio* tells us, to that ſtate in which it ſtood in his time, intercalating ſixty and ſeven days, though others falſly ſpeak of more. This account he himſelf had learnt at *Alexandria*, although it varied ſo much from the form of a Year, that every *Alexandrian* Month conſiſted of thirty days, and they added five days to every year. Others have written, That in framing this Account, which after him hath been called *Julian*, he uſed the skill of *Soſigenes*, an excellent Mathematitian of *Alexandria*, for *Aſtronomical* Calculations, and of *Flavius* the Scribe, in rectifying the Calendar. Now thoſe five days, and two others beſides, which he took from one, he fitly added to the other Months; and that Day which ariſeth out of the parts of a Day, he added to every fourth Year, three Years being omitted; ſo that now, ſaith *Dio*, there can be no error as to the Hours of a Year, except very ſmall, ſo ſmall, that every one thouſand four hundred and ſixty one Year ſhall need the Intercalation. but of one Day. How true this is, let them that uſe the *Gregorian* Account, if they ſhould think it worth their while, conſider.

He goes into *Spain.*

95. *Cæſar*, though he did all theſe things, yet was ſo wiſe as to do nothing on his own Head, without communicating his Deſigns with the Principal of the Senate, and ſometimes with the whole Order. As hereby he declined ill will, ſo he procured it by relieving condemned Perſons, particularly ſuch as were found guilty of ambitious ſeeking for Offices, for making unworthy Men Senators, and eſpecially for harbouring *Cleopatra* in his own Houſe, who was come to *Rome* with her Husband; and he valued not the infamy, but entred them amongſt the Kings, that were the Friends and Allies of the *Romans*. But the pleaſure he took in ſuch Society was diſturbed by News out of *Spain*, where *Cn. Pompeius*, Son of *Pompey* the Great, ſwayed all as he pleaſed, having ingratiated himſelf with the Soldiers by his obliging demeanour. *Cæſar* hoping to diſpatch this War by his Officers, had ſent a Fleet thither from *Sardinia*, and after that an Army, but his Captains were diſcouraged, and ſtood at gaze, expecting and requiring his coming. And when he ſaw it was neceſſary, he was there before either they or the Enemy in the leaſt imagined it, hoping by ſuch expedition to terrify *Pompey*, who now had laid Siege to a Town called *Ulla*. *Cæſar* indeavoured to divert him by beſieging *Corduba*, but there fell ſick, and when he came to raiſe the Siege, durſt not abide his coming. Having recovered his Health, and received more Forces which followed him, he abode as well as he could the Incommodities of Winter, and want of Proviſions, being now, though *Dictator*, made *Conſul* again for the following year; for *Lepidus* aſſembled the People, being then *Magiſter Equitum*, which Title, being *Conſul*, he aſſumed contrary to the practice of their Fore-fathers.

Fights with *Pompey's* Sons.

Very hardly gets the Victory.

96. *Cæſar* having no hope of taking *Corduba*, it was ſo well Manned, removed, and laid ſiege to *Attegna*, which he heard was full of Corn; and *Pompey* thinking it ſtrong enough to hold out, and not willing to expoſe his Soldiers to the cold, came not to relieve it; ſo that the Townſ-men yielded. Being Maſter of this, other Cities ſubmitted themſelves to him; and *Pompey* wandering up and down, and fearing all the reſt would revolt, reſolved to come to a Battel. Both Armies had Auxiliaries of *Spaniards* and *Moors*, but the *Romans* alone ſuſtained the Charge; for thoſe on *Cæſars* ſide were excited to do their utmoſt by hope to put an end that day to all their labours; and they with *Pompey* fought out of deſperation, moſt of them expecting no pardon, as having had their Lives formerly given them when they were overthrown with *Afranius* and *Varro*. And with ſo great animoſity they fought, that had not *Bogud*, who ſtood with his Men without the Battel, turned himſelf to fall on the Camp of *Pompey*, they had either all died upon the Spot, or Night muſt have taken up the Controverſie. But *Labienus*, when he perceived the Deſign of *Bogud*, leaving his Place to go to oppoſe him, *Pompey's* Men thought he fled, and let fall their courage ſo much, that though afterward they ſaw their error, yet could they not recover their former condition, but fled into the City *Munda*, or into their Camp. Such as got into the Camp valiantly reſiſted the Enemy, and were not ſlain till they had killed as many of the Aſſailants. They that got into the Town held it long out, and it was not taken till they were all deſtroyed by frequent Sallies. So great ſlaughter was made of *Romans* in the Battel, that at night when *Cæſars* Soldiers were to raiſe a Wall to keep them in that none might eſcape, they made one of dead Bodies. How true ſoever this Story is, related by *Dio*, others affirm this the greateſt Battel that was fought in this Civil War. That *Cæſars* Men were ſo diſtreſſed, that he was glad to run himſelf into the Croud, and ask them if they were not aſhamed to be beaten and taken Priſoners, and to yield themſelves to the young Boys, meaning *Pompey's* two Sons. That with much ado, and not without all the Force he could make, he got the day, killing thirty thouſand of his Enemies, and loſing a thouſand of his own beſt Soldiers. When the Fight was over, being in his Tent, he told his Friends, that he had often before fought for Victory, but now for the ſaving of his own Life. Some ſay his Army had run, but that he ſnatching a Target out of a Soldiers Hand, went and ingaged the Enemy himſelf, and had two hundred Darts thrown at him; whereat his Officers being aſhamed, went on, and got the Victory.

All *Spain* ſubmits to him.

97. After this he had all the Cities of *Spain* given up to him, whence he raiſed as much Money as he could poſſible, not abſtaining from things conſecrated at *Gades* unto *Hercules*. *Cn. Pompey*, after a conflict with *Ceſennius Lento*, wherein he was worſted, got into the Woods, and there periſhed. And ſo ended this Civil War, by a Battel fought on the day of the *Bacchanalia*, as *Plutarch* writes, who adds, that ſome reported that it was on the ſame day four years that *Pompey* went out of *Rome* to begin it. A War ſo deſtructive to the *Roman* People, that *Cæſar* before his going

into *Spain*, making a Cenſus, found at the Luſtrum but one hundred and fifty thouſand Polls of Citizens; whereas at that before had been found three hundred and twenty thouſand. Whether the great danger he eſcaped made him over-joyed, and this exceſſive Joy tranſported him above his uſual and common temper; but whereas after his other Victories in the Civil War he neither ſent Meſſengers nor Letters, as rather concealing and grieving at the ruine of his Fellow-Citizens, now he did it as if he had overcome ſome barbarous King or Nation. More than this, he triumphed, and yet not content with this, and giving a Dinner again to the People, as in a common Feſtivity, he gave the Honour of Triumphing to *Fabius* and *Pedius* his Lieutenants, who had done nothing by their own Conduct. But the laughter they moved made ſome amends, for they made uſe not of Ivory, but Wooden Images and Veſſels in their Pomp. This gave extraordinary great offence, and more than any thing he had done before, when the Spectators conſidered that he made all this noiſe for having deſtroyed the Sons of the greateſt Man in *Rome*, who had been overcome by Fortune, and had plucked up his Race by the Roots. It was odious that he ſhould triumph for the Calamities of his Country, and rejoyce at a thing for which he had but one excuſe to God and Man, *viz.* That *he was compelled to do it.*

At his return he gives great offence.

98. But now again the Senate goes to work, and conſiders not what it was he deſerved, but what the ſtate of Affairs required they ſhould do for his further Honour. And many extraordinary things they voted. Amongſt others, that he ſhould have the Name of *Deliverer*, and ſo he was entered in the *Faſti*, That a Temple ſhould be erected to Liberty; And that he ſhould have and enjoy the Title of *Imperator*, not only in the ancient ſenſe, as it was common to him, with others who obtained it after Victories, nor as it gave *merum Imperium*, or an abſolute Command; but they conferred it on him now firſt of all, in that meaning as a Steward it belonged to ſuch as had Sovereign Authority, and as proper to himſelf. To that flattery they proceeded, that they commanded his Sons and Nephews to be named *Imperatores*, though he had no Son, and was old; although indeed from this *Julius* proceeded the Name of *Imperator*, as alſo that of *Cæſar*, and as a peculiar Name of Sovereign Authority was derived down to all *Imperatores*, (*Emperors*, as we call them) who enjoyed them both joyned together. Other things they decreed, which made him a Sovereign Prince or King in effect. They ſubjected all Magiſtrates, even *Plebeian*, to his Power; made him Conſul for ten years, and ordained that he alone ſhould command the Armies, and raiſe Money.

Honours,

And Sovereign Power given to him.

SECT. VIII.

From the Abſoluteneſs of Julius Cæſar, *to the end of the ſecond Triumvirate, and the Abſoluteneſs of* Octavius Cæſar, *or* Cæſar Octavianus.

The ſpace of fifteen Years.

Cæſar makes a great change in the Conſulſhip.

1. CÆSAR, before he came to the City, entred his fourth Conſulſhip alone, but did not bear it all the year, but after his return diveſted himſelf of it, and created Conſuls *Q. Fabius* and *C. Trebonius*, of whom it happened, that *Fabius* died the laſt day of his Magiſtracy, and *Cæſar* ſubſtituted *C. Canivius* for the remaining hours; whereupon *Cicero* jeſted, writing in one of his Epiſtles, That during this Conſulſhip of *Canivius* no Man dined; yet no harm was committed in it, for he was wonderfully vigilant, who in his whole Conſulſhip never ſlept. Thus bold did *Cæſar* make with the Laws and Cuſtoms of his Country, in abdicating the Conſulſhip of his own accord, without being commanded by an Edict ſo to do, and in the matter of *Canivius* he ſeemed to play with ſo ſerious and noble a Dignity. But from this time forward it grew cheaper, and yet few held it an whole year, and ſome more, ſome fewer Months and Days as it happened. This *Dio* obſerves, who adds, That in his time ſcarcely any was *Conſul* for an whole year, nor above two months, with a Colleague. But in other things they differed nothing from the ancient Cuſtom, and the number of years was reckoned by their Names who were Conſuls at the beginning.

Fourteen *Prætors* and forty *Quæſtors*.

Nine hundred Senators.

Ædiles made Treaſurers.

2. So he ordered the Conſulſhip. Other Magiſtrates he pretended he would not meddle with, but leave them to the People to be named according to the ancient Cuſtom, but it was but a pretence; for he made them, and without any ſortition they were ſent into the Provinces. In other Offices the ſame number was obſerved, but fourteen *Prætors* and forty *Quæſtors* were made. For he had no other way to gratifie thoſe to whom he had promiſed great matters, and this cauſed him to admit many into the Senate without any diſtinction, whether the Man was a *Soldier* or a *Libertine* by original; ſo that the number of Senators by this means aroſe to nine hundred. Many alſo he brought into the Ranks of *Patritians*, *Conſulares*, and of thoſe who had born other Offices; which became a Cuſtom with thoſe who were afterwards Emperors. Nay ſome that were called to Judgment for corruption, he abſolved not without ſuſpition of taking Money, which was increaſed in that he publickly ſold publick Places, as well Sacred as Prophane. To his Friends he gave away much both in Money and Lands, which was pleaſing to them that made their ends: Others took it very ill, and teſtified their reſentment, as they might, by word of Mouth, or by Libels. The management of publick Money was now tranſlated from the *Quæſtors* to the *Ædiles*, and afterwards returned no more unto them, but at length was committed to Perſons of *Prætorian* Dignity. Of theſe *Ædiles* of the Treaſury two were this year created.

Sixteen *Prætors*.

For what *Cæſar* was commended.

3. For the following year *Cæſar* was *Conſul* again with *Antonius*, and ſixteen *Prætors* were made, and ſo continued for many years. The Tribunal being taken out of the middle of the *Forum*, and put into another place, where it afterward continued, the Statues of *Sylla* and *Pompey* were reſtored and placed by it, which cauſed *Cæſar* to be very well ſpoken of, as alſo that he granted the Glory and Inſcription of the Work to *Antony*. He made ſome Laws, and extended the *Pomærium*, and yet in ſuch Actions ſeemed only to imitate *Sylla*; but in that he fully forgave them that had born Arms againſt him in the War, and granted part of their Eſtates to their Sons, he thereby greatly taxed the cruelty of *Sylla*, and obtained a Name not only for Valour, but for Clemency; it being a difficult thing indeed for one and the ſame Man to pleaſe the People, and be commended for his carriage both in Peace and War. He was praiſed alſo by ſome for reſtoring the two ancient Cities of *Corinth* and *Carthage*, which had miſcarried at the ſame time, by ſending *Roman* Colonies thither, and continuing to them their old Names. While *Cæſar* was doing theſe things, the People of *Rome* was earneſtly deſirous, that the death of *Craſſus*, and the loſs of that Army ſhould be revenged, and they had great hope to ſubdue the *Parthians*.

But that in *Cæſars* abſence the City might not be without Magiſtrates, nor if it choſe them it ſelf, fall by that means into ſeditions, they reſolved to name all ſorts of Officers for three years; for ſo long they reckoned the Expedition would hold. Of them *Cæſar*, by vertue of a Law, was to name half, but indeed the whole. This year ſix *Ædiles* were made; of whom two *Patritians* called *Cereales*, and four *Plebeians*; which number continued till the time of *Dio*. Sixteen *Prætors* were created, and all the Magiſtrates deſigned that were to ſerve the following year, and for the next the *Conſuls* and *Tribuni Plebis*, but none for the third as had been intended. For theſe two years, *Cæſar* being ſtill to be *Dictator*, named two that ſhould be his *Magiſtri Equitum*, whereof *Octavius* a Youth was one, and for himſelf he appointed *Dolabella* to be *Conſul*. *Antony* being Conſul to the end of the preſent year, and *Lepidus* having given him the Government of *Gallia Narbonenſis*, with the neighbouring part of *Spain*, he made other two *Magiſtri Equitum* in their room. For by this means he ſatisfied thoſe to whom he was obliged. Therefore to the Colledge of fifteen Prieſts he added one, and three to that which conſiſted of ſeven Perſons.

Six *Ædiles*.

Sixteen *Prætors*.

4. *Cæſar* being now Conſul the fifth time, with *M. Antonius* (whom he much favoured, and promoted, for that in his Tribuneſhip he ſo much ſtood for him) to ſhun (*a*) envy in the City, thought upon making War upon the *Getæ* and *Dacæ*, which had made inrodes into *Pontus* and *Thrace*. About this time young *Caſtor*, the Son of *Caſtor* (by (*b*) *Strabo* called *Saocondarius*) by the Daughter of *Deiotarus* the King or Tetrarch of *Galatia* (to whom *Pompey* gave *Armenia* the Leſs, which Gift the Senate having confirmed was taken away by *Cæſar*, becauſe he took part with *Pompey*) came to *Rome* to accuſe his Grand-father. He was ſent by his Father and Mother, together with *Phidippus* a Phyſitian, and *Deiotarus* his Slave, who was corrupted by their promiſes to feign an accuſation againſt his Lord, that he would have killed *Cæſar* when he entertained him in his Tetrarchy. *Deiotarus*, Father, and Son, who reigned together, had at that time four Ambaſſadors in the City, who offered their own Bodies to *Cæſar* for the ſafety of their Maſters. But *Cicero* being mindful of the friendſhip and familiarity he had had with the old Man, made an Oration for him in *Cæſars* Houſe, wherein he premiſeth, that it was ſo unuſual a thing for a King (a real King; for as for the Kings of *Lacedæmon*, who were called to account by the impudent *Ephori*, they were indeed no Kings, having nothing but the Title, and therefore this can make nothing againſt this truth) to be queſtioned for his Life, that before that time it was never heard of. *Deiotarus* being acquitted by *Cæſar*, put to death his Daughter as ſhe had deſerved, together with her Husband *Caſtor Saocondarius*, that noble Chronographer, concerning whom *Gerard John Voſſius* is to be conſulted, in his Treatiſe of *Greek* Hiſtorians. *Cæſar* in his laſt Conſulſhip, to (*c*) gratifie *Hyrcanus* the *High-Prieſt*, and *Ethnarcha* of the *Jews*, as alſo the Nation, granted to him to enjoy, and govern the City of *Jeruſalem* as he pleaſed, which he might alſo fortifie with Walls. To the *Jews* he granted alſo a freedom from the charge of Portage and Toll, with an abatement of the publick Revenue in the ſecond year of letting it out to Farm. In this ſecond *Julian* year his Colleague (*d*) *M. Antonius* procured by a Law, that the Month *Quintilis* ſhould in honour of his Name be after it called *July*.

(*a*) *Sueton in Julio.*
Appian belli civil. lib. 2.
(*b*) *Lib.* 12. *pag.* 568.
Suidas in voce Κάςωρ.
Vide Gerard. Voſſium de Hiſtoricis Græcis lib. 1. *ult.*

King *Deiotarus* defended by *Cicero*.

(*c*) *Joseph. Antiquit. lib.* 14. *cap.* 17.

(*d*) *Appian bell. civil. lib.* 2.
Dio lib. 44.
Cenſorin. de die Natali cap. 9.

The Month *Quintilis* called *July*.

Dio lib. 44.

Cæſar imprudently receives too many Honours.

5. *Cæſar* prepared himſelf to go againſt the *Parthians*, but was ſent to another World by the Fury of certain Perſons who envied him his Honours, and bore it ill that he was greater than themſelves; and thereby out of concord raiſed new Seditions, and procured more Civil Wars to the *Roman* State. Their pretence was by cutting him off to reſtore the People to liberty; whereas, in the opinion of our Hiſtorian, they both wickedly deſtroyed him, and caſt the Common-wealth again into Seditions, when it began to make uſe of the moſt proper ſort of Government; the Sovereignty of the People having a ſpecious Name and Repute, upon the account of equality, but having nothing elſe agreeable with the Name and Repute. On the other ſide he affirms, that the Name of Monarchy might be unpleaſant to the Ear, but that it is for the benefit of all to have the Government in the Hands of a ſingle Perſon; it being an eaſier matter to have one good than many, and leſs harmful to have but one, than many bad ones to command. But ſo matters went at this time; the great ones envied *Cæſar*, and he through their cunning drew more envy upon himſelf. They heaped Honours upon him to make him odious, and to appear over-big, and he was ſo imprudent as to receive them, when he had as much before as amounted to Sovereign and Abſolute Authority, imagining that he was eſteemd worthy of them, as is incident to all Perſons that receive flattery. They improved

this againſt him to the utmoſt, and ſtill added more and more by the weight of them to deſtroy him. They voted that he ſhould always wear even in the City a Triumphal Robe; that he ſhould always ſit in a Curule Chair, except at the celebration of Games; for then he ſhould ſit on the Bench with the *Tribuni Plebis*; that he ſhould hang up *Opima Spolia* in the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, as if he had killed ſome General of the Enemies with his own Hand; that his Lictors ſhould uſe Laurel; that having finiſhed the *Latin Feriæ*, he ſhould from the *Albanian* Mount enter the City in a Chariot. Beſides, they gave him the Name of *Pater Patriæ*, ſtamped Money with his Image, ordered publick Sacrifices on his Birth-day, and his Statue to be ſet up in all Cities, and in all Temples at *Rome*. At the *Roſtra* they erected to him two Statues, whereof one was adorned with a *Civick*, and the other with an *Obſidional* Crown, as if he had reſcued his Fellow-Citizens from deſtruction, and delivered the City from a Siege. Moreover they raiſed a Temple to new Concord, and therein commanded an Annual Feaſt to be kept, upon this account, that he had reſtored Peace unto them.

6. *Cæſar* having accepted of theſe Honours, they put him upon filling up the *Pontine Fenns*, and digging through the *Iſthmus* of *Peloponneſus*, and building a new *Curia*, which ſhould be called *Julia*, as was one Tribe, as well as the Month on which he was born named *Julius*, They made him *Cenſor* alone for his Life; and gave him the ſame priviledge as the *Tribuni Plebis* enjoyed, that who ever injured him either by word or deed, ſhould be eſteemed guilty of Sacriledge, and of a piacular crime; and if he ſhould have a Son he ſhould be made *Pontifex Maximus*. When he had received theſe things very willingly, they added to them, that he ſhould make uſe of a gilt Chair, and they erected to him ſuch a Statue, as had been formerly raiſed to the Kings. A Guard was appointed him of *Equites* and Senators; every year they ordained that Vows ſhould be made publickly for his Health, that an Oath of ſwearing by his Fortune ſhould be framed; that what ever he ſhould do ſhould be confirmed; that every five years ſhould Feaſts be celebrated in his Honour as to an *Heroe*. Moreover they decreed a third ſort of Colledge of Prieſts, who ſhould celebrate the *Lupercalia* to be inſtituted and called *Julii*; that one of the Days of the Shows of the *Gladiators* ſhould be conſecrated to him, whether held at *Rome*, or elſewhere in *Italy*. Theſe things alſo pleaſing him, they commanded his Golden Chair and Golden Crown ſet with Gems (which Honour was wont to be given to their Gods) to be brought upon the Theatres by the Multitude; nay, they openly gave to him the Sirname of *Jupiter*, and ordained a Temple to be built to his clemency, and made *Antonius* the Chief Prieſt in it to preſide as ſome *Flamen Dialis*. While they decreed theſe things, they permitted a Sepulchre to be built for him within the *Pomærium*, and theſe Decrees to be written in Pillars of Silver with Golden Letters, which they placed under the feet of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, by which they ſufficiently admoniſhed him, and that openly, to think himſelf but a Man. At firſt they decreed him Honours, which they thought he would bear with modeſty; but after that they found he rejoyced in them, though he refuſed ſome, they heaped them one upon another, ſome out of deſire to flatter him, and others out of deſign that they might expoſe him to cenſures. For there were found ſuch as would have it permitted to him to lie with what Women he would, for he made uſe of many, though now he was above fifty years of Age. But the greater part did it upon deſign that being brought into greater envy and reprehenſion, they might the more eaſily work his deſtruction, which the event did manifeſt. And yet was he altogether ſecure, not imagining they meant him any harm, and therefore he accepted not of the Guard of *Equites* and *Senators*, but removed the Armed Attendants upon his Perſon.

Cæſar ſtill more and more incurs *Odium*.

7. But having incurred odium by accepting of theſe Honours, another thing happened, either through his unadviſedneſs, or by accident, which made the Load inſupportable. On a certain day when in the Senate many other, and the greateſt Honours were decreed to him, and that by conſent of all, except *Caſſius* and his Party (the ill will of whom towards him was ſufficiently known, and yet his clemency was ſuch, that he bore with them) the Senators came in their Body to him, to tell him what they had decreed, as he ſate in the Porch of the Temple of *Venus*, (for they voted in his abſence, that it might appear that they were not compelled) and he roſe not up, but ſate ſtill when the Senate preſented it ſelf. *Dio* tells us, That this he did, either through ſome fatal error, or not minding what he did for joy, or how it's uncertain; but it raiſed exceeding great prejudice and indignation againſt him, not only in the Senators, but the reſt of the People alſo, and gave the moſt ground for excuſe to thoſe that murdered him. For as for that Excuſe, which

afterward was brought in his behalf, that he was then troubled with a Looſeneſs, and durſt not riſe for fear it ſhould come upon him, it was not believed, becauſe afterward he went to his Houſe on foot; but they concluded he ſo demeaned himſelf out of pride, and they hated him upon that account, when they themſelves had made him proud by heaping ſo many extravagant Honours upon him. There was another thing ſtill which increaſed that ſuſpition they had of him, which was, that he ſuffered himſelf to be created *Perpetual Dictator*; and this added ſo much to the fury of his Enemies, that now they conſpired againſt him. To puſh him further on, and to turn his very Friends againſt him, amongſt other devices, they gave him the Title of *King*, and ſo publiſhed him. This he indeed refuſed, and rebuked ſuch as ſaluted him by it; but for all that, doing nothing whereby he ſhewed that he took it ill, they privily put a Diadem upon his Image that ſtood by the *Roſtra*. This was removed from it by *C. Epidius* and *L. Ceſitius Flaccus* the *Tribuni Plebis*; and for that he was ſo far moved in choler againſt them, that though they ſaid nothing to his diſparagement, but praiſed him to the People as not deſiring ſuch Honours, he hardly contained himſelf from doing them miſchief. But when afterward, as he returned on Horſe-back, (in Ovation on the *Latin Feriæ*) ſome ſaluted him and called him *King*, and to which he ſaid, That *he was not King, but* Cæſar, and theſe ſame *Tribuni Plebis* ſetting the Man that firſt gave him the Title, a Day to anſwer it; he was greatly inraged againſt them, as deſigning ſomething againſt his Perſon, but yet he deferred the revenge. At length theſe ſame Perſons, by a publick Writing, complained that they were not ſuffered, neither was it ſafe for them to act freely in behalf of the Common-wealth. For this, in the greateſt diſpleaſure imaginable, he brought them into the Senate, accuſed them, and demanded Sentence againſt them, and there were not wanting who moved it ſhould be Capital; yet he ſpared their Lives, but by the aſſiſtance of *Helvius Cinna* their Collegue, deprived them of their Tribuneſhip, and turned them out of the Senate. Of which they pretended to be glad; for now being eaſed of the danger and burthen of their Office, they could in ſafety be lookers on.

8. This opened the Mouths of his Enemies wider than ever; that whereas he ought to have puniſhed them who called him *King*, he fell upon the *Tribuni Plebis*. And the ſuſpition of his affecting the Title was confirmed by another thing which ſhortly after happened. In the Solemnity of the *Lupercalia*, as he ſate at the *Roſtra* in his Golden Chair, adorned with a Royal Robe, and a Royal Crown, *Antony* with his Collegues the Prieſts, came and ſaluting him *King*, ſet a Diadem on his Head, and told him that the People by him preſented him with it. *Cæſar* only anſwered, That *Jupiter* alone was King of the *Romans*, and ſending the Diadem into the Capitol, did not blame them for ſo doing, but cauſed it to be regeſtred in the publick Acts, that he had refuſed the Kingdom offered him from the People by their Conſul. This cauſed a Belief, that the thing was done by agreement, and that *Cæſar* deſired the Title, but would be compelled to receive it. Such is the Account given us by *Dion Caſſius* concerning the hatred which he incurred, and thoſe things which procured his ſudden death, with whom other Writers agree. *Plutarch* attributes the main cauſe of his being mortally hated to his earneſt deſire after the Title of *King*, and thence, he ſaith, his Enemies took the Advantage, though it was pretended by ſome of his Friends, that it was written in the *Sibylline* Books how the *Romans* might overcome the *Parthians*, if they made War againſt them under a Kings Conduct, otherwiſe they were unconquerable. He adds, That when his Flatterers ſaluted him with that Title, as he returned from *Alba*, the People was offended, and he was angry, ſaying he was not *King, but* Cæſar, and every one keeping ſilence, he went home very ſorrowful. That many Honours being decreed to him in Senate, the *Conſuls* and *Prætors*, accompanied with the whole Body, went to him into the *Forum*, where he ſate at the *Roſtra*, to tell him what they had done, but he diſdained to riſe up to them, as if they had been private Men, ſaying, that his Honours had more need to be cut off than inlarged. That this did not only offend the Senate, but the People alſo, to ſee him ſlight the Magiſtracy of the Common-wealth; ſo that all that might depart went away very ſorrowfully. Thereupon he aroſe and went home to his Houſe, and tearing open his Boſome, made his Neck bare, and cried to his Friends, that he was ready to offer his Throat to any that would come and cut it. It was reported, that afterwards to excuſe his folly, he imputed it to his Diſeaſe, ſaying, That ſuch

The main cauſe of his being mortally hated.

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ſuch as had the Falling-ſickneſs were not themſelves, when ſtanding on their Feet they ſpake to the People, but were ſeized with a trembling of the Body, giddineſs, and a ſudden dimneſs of ſight. But this was not true; for he would have riſen up to the Senate, but *Cornelius Balbus*, one of his Flattering Friends, would not let him, bidding him remember he was *Cæſar*, and let them reverence him, and do their Duties.

9. Concerning the *Lupercalia*, *Plutarch* premiſeth, that in old time this Feaſt was ſaid to be the Feaſt of Shepherds or Herdſ-men, and that it was much like to that of the *Lyciæans* in *Arcadia*; That at this time in *Rome* it was celebrated by ſeveral young Noble-men, and ſome Magiſtrates that governed them, who ran naked through the City, ſtriking in ſport them they found in their paſſage, with Leathern Thongs, Hair and all on, to make them give way; That many Noble-women, as well as others, went on purpoſe to ſtand in their way, and put forth their Hands to be ſtrucken, perſwading themſelves, that being with Child, they ſhould have good Labour, or being barren, that it would cauſe them ſpeedily to conceive. *Cæſar* ſitting at the *Roſtra* to behold the ſport in a Golden Chair, and Triumphal Robes, *Antony* now Conſul being one of them that ran the Courſe, the People making him a Lane, came to *Cæſar*, and preſented him with a Diadem wreathed about with Laurel. Hereupon there aroſe a Cry of rejoycing, not very great, made only by a few appointed for the purpoſe. But *Cæſar* refuſing the Diadem, all the People ſhouted for Joy. Then did *Antony* offer it him again the ſecond time, and there was a ſecond ſhout of Joy; but ſtill by a few; but when he refuſed it again the ſecond time then all the whole People ſhouted. *Cæſar* having made this Experiment, found that the People did not like of it, and thereupon riſing, commanded the Diadem to be carried into the Capitol. *Plutarch* adds further, That when the Tribunes had pulled the Diadems from his Statues, and ſent to Priſon thoſe who firſt called him *King*, the People followed them, rejoycing at it, and called them *Bruti*, in memory of *Brutus*, who expelled *Tarquinius*. That *Cæſar* was herewith ſo offended, that he deprived them of their Tribuneſhips, and accuſing them, ſpake alſo againſt the People, calling them *Bruti* and *Cumani*; whereupon they betook themſelves to *M. Brutus*, who was deſcended from the former *Brutus*, was of as Noble a Family as any in *Rome*, and Son-in-law of *M. Cato*. *Dion Caſſius* writes, That he was not deſcended from that ancient *Brutus* the Enemy of *Tarquin*, who had no Children but the two Sons, Youths, whom he ſlew. *Plutarch* confeſſeth there was ſuch a Report; and it was ſaid that this *M. Brutus* was deſcended of a mean Family. But he cites the Authority of *Poſidonius* the Philoſopher, who wrote, that *Junius Brutus* ſlew indeed two of his Sons, who were Men grown, but that there was a third Son, but a little Child at that time, from whom the Family was derived; as alſo, that of this Family there were certain Famous Men in his time, who in Stature and Countenance much reſembled the Image of *Junius Brutus*.

The Conſpirators draw in to them *M. Brutus*.

10. However, the Enemies of *Cæſar* made uſe of the deſcent, as ſerving their purpoſe to excite him to an Act which might be ſuitable to that Original. To this purpoſe they wrote frequent Letters, ſometimes called him by Name, and ſaid they wanted another *Brutus*. Under the Statue of the ancient *Brutus* they wrote, *That they wiſhed he lived*; and upon the Tribunal of *Marcus*, where he exerciſed the Office of *Prætor*, Brutus *thou ſleepeſt, and art not* Brutus. *Cæſar* had been kind unto him as well as merciful, having not only pardoned him after the Battel of *Pharſalum*, but preferred him to the *Prætorſhip*, and deſigned him *Conſul* the fourth year after, being confident that he would not be tranſported by ambition, or any other paſſion, to do any thing ingrateful or diſhonourable. But theſe Papers and Speeches having moved him, *Caſſius*, who had married his Siſter, took the advantage to perſwade him againſt the Tyrant, as he termed him; not only being an Enemy to the Power of *Cæſar*, but alſo his Perſon. For he contended before him with *Brutus* for the *Prætorſhip*, and having heard them both, *Cæſar* confeſſed that *Caſſius* had the juſter Cauſe, but ſaid that *Brutus* ſhould have the Place. He hated him for denying him the firſt Place, and would not thank him for the ſecond, though he made him the ſecond *Prætor*. And it begat alſo a quarrel betwixt him and *Brutus*, though upon this occaſion, knowing how fit a Perſon one of his Reputation would be to patronize the Fact, he reconciled himſelf unto him; his Friends agreeing to the Conſpiracy, ſo as *Brutus* would become the chief. *Brutus* his thoughtfulneſs about this Affair did ſo diſturb him in the night, though he carried it wonderful cunningly

in the day, and did ſo diſtract him, that *Porcia* his Wife perceiving it was ſome extraordinary matter, and that he would not reveal it, becauſe he thought her not able to bear Tortures, if it ſhould come to it, gave her ſelf a Wound in the Thigh, and convincing him that ſhe could endure pain, got it out of him, and confirmed him in his reſolution, as the Daughter of *Cato*. Many of the Conſpirators, if not moſt, had been ſome way or other obliged by *Cæſar*. They were above ſixty in number, and generally of *Pompey*'s Party; but *Decimus Brutus*, one of his own Party, was drawn in, who had received from him extraordinary Kindneſſes, and ſhould have been *Conſul* the ſecond year following.

And *Decimus Brutus* one of his own Party.

11. The matter was in great danger of coming out, though the conſtancy of the Conſpirators was very wonderful, and *Cæſar* himſelf was ſo ſecure, that he would believe nothing, but puniſhed ſuch as went about to tell him any ſuch thing. They diſtruſted the Succeſs, and the greatneſs of the Enterprize cauſed them to defer it till they perceived that the *Qindecimviri*, who ſaid it was predicted in the Books of *Sibylla*, that a King was to ſubdue the *Parthians*, would make the report to the Senate, and require a Sentence which might be agreeable to the Prediction. This ſtartled them, eſpecially *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, and others who being Magiſtrates were to be for it, without either contradiction or ſilence, and cauſed them to put their Deſign in execution. It was reſolved it ſhould be done at an Aſſembly of the Senate, for thither *Cæſar* would not fail to come, and there they might alſo meet him without ſuſpition, all the Nobleſt and chiefeſt Perſons of the City being preſent. The Place was to be a *Porticus* joyning to the Theatre of *Pompey*, in which were Seats to ſit on, and wherein the City had dedicated the Statue of *Pompey* for his care and charge. The Time ſhould be on the *Ides*, or fifteenth of *March*, for luckily had the meeting of the Senate been on that day appointed; ſo that it ſeemed to be reſolved above, that *Cæſar* then ſhould die in revenge of *Pompey*'s death. When the Day was come the Conſpirators met at the Houſe of *Caſſius*, to bring his Son into the *Forum*, who that Day was to put on his *Toga Virilis*, and thence they came in a Troop to the Place, and expected the coming of *Cæſar*. But ſuch had been the Dreams of himſelf and his Wife *Calpurnia*, and ſuch Omens had happened with ill Preſages in Sacrifices, and the Geſtures of the Birds, that he thought not to go out of his Houſe, being alſo indiſpoſed, but to ſend *Antony* to adjourn the Senate. The Conſpirators fearing the Conſequence of this delay, ſent away to him *Decimus Brutus* his great Friend, as he was accounted, (and ſo great a Friend by *Cæſar* himſelf, that in his laſt Will and Teſtament he had appointed him to be his next Heir) to draw him into the Snare. He laughed the Sooth-ſayers to ſcorn, and told *Cæſar* he would affront the Senate, or make them believe he did ſo, conſidering that by his commandment they were aſſembled, ready to grant him all things, and to declare him King of all the Provinces out of *Italy*, in which he ſhould wear his Diadem in all Places both by Sea and Land. He asked him what the World would ſay, if the Senators ſhould be told, that they muſt depart, and come again when *Calpurnia* ſhould have better Dreams? He urged, that they would think and ſpeak of him as a Tyrant; and if he could not be reconciled to the Day, that he would go himſelf in Perſon, and diſmiſs the Senate. With this he took him by the Hand, and treacherouſly brought him out of his Houſe.

Who draws him into the Snare.

12. In his way ſome that met him indeavoured to reveal the Conſpiracy, and amongſt the reſt one put a Bill into his Hand, containing the whole Matter, which he had learnt being familiar with *Brutus* his Confederates. Perceiving him to give all the Petitions that were preſented him to his Men about him, he prayed him to read it himſelf, and that ſpeedily, for it contained things of weight, which concerned him nearly. He took it of him with much ado, (for he got near to him, notwithſtanding the Croud, which others could not) but could never read it for the Multitude of Perſons that ſaluted him, but held it ſtill in his Hand, till he came to the Place of the Aſſembly. However this happened, whether by reaſon of the diverſion he had by the Croud, or his own neglect; ſo ſecure and careleſs he was, that ſeeing one who had bid him beware of this Day, he jeſted at him, and asking him what was become of his Predictions, ſaid the Day was come, and he was ſafe; to which the Man replied, That indeed it was come, but not ended. Some of the Conſpirators would have had *Antony* and *Lepidus* alſo ſlain; but for *Antony*, *Brutus*, who indeed moſt generous of any of them, interceded, hoping, he ſaid, he would become a better Man, and joyn with them for Liberty, when he ſhould ſee *Cæſar*

taken

UMI

And diverts *Antony*.

taken away. And it was agreed, that leſt by killing many they ſhould give occaſion to ſay, that what they did was not out of love to the publick Liberty, but for Rule and Domination, that they ſhould not be killed, and they pretended they would be ſatisfied with *Cæſars* Death. Now *Lepidus* was with the Army in the adjoyning Country, but *Antony* was in Town, and they reſolved that he was by no means to be ſuffered to be preſent. Therefore when *Cæſar* went into the Houſe, *Decimus Brutus* (*Dio* ſaith *Trebonius*) took him aſide, and diverted him from going in with a long Story.

While *Cæſar* is murdered.

13. *Cæſar* coming in, all the Senators ſtood up to do him reverence. Being ſate, they came about his Chair, and *Cimber Tullius* firſt applied himſelf to him, pretending to petition him to call home his Brother from baniſhment. He denying his Suit, and putting him off till another time, they all came about him, and began to move him, but he rejecting them, and in diſpleaſure putting them away from him, *Cimber* took his Gown and pulled it from his Shoulders, which was the Sign given to his Companions. *Cæſar* cried out, that this was violence, and then *Caſca* ſtanding behind him, ſtruck him on the Neck with his Sword, but the Wound was not great nor mortal. *Cæſar* turning ſtraight, catcht hold of his Sword, and, ſome ſay, ſtruck him in the Arm with his Writing Inſtrument, and both cried out, *Cæſar* in *Latin*, *O vile Caſca, what doſt thou*, and *Caſca* in *Greek* to his Brother, *Brother help me*. Then did *Cæſar* indeavour to break from them, but was hindered by one ſtroak after another, for they compaſſed him in on every ſide, and he could turn him no where but he was ſtrucken at by ſome, and ſtill had naked Swords in his Face, and was hacked and mangled among them, as a Wild Beaſt taken by Hunters. Seeing this, and that *Brutus* amongſt the reſt made at him, who gave him a Wound under his Belly, he ſtrugled no more, but covered his Head with his Gown, and with his Left Hand drew his Skirts down to his Knees, that he might fall decently; and down he fell at the Baſe whereon *Pompey*'s Image ſtood, which all ran of gore Blood, till he was ſlain. The Report was, that he had three and twenty Wounds upon his Body, though none mortal but the ſecond on his Breaſt; for it was agreed amongſt them, that every one ſhould give him a Wound, becauſe all their Hands ſhould be in the Murder, and divers of the Conſpirators were hurt, ſo many ſtriking at one Body. But to ſo violent and bloody a Death came this great Man, one of the greateſt Spirit and Preſence of Mind that we can read of, and yet of a courteous and merciful Diſpoſition, in the fifty ſixth Year of his Age. He who had fought fifty Battels, and procured the Death of a Million and one hundred ninety two thouſand Perſons, as *Pliny* reckoneth, in that Senate which he himſelf for the moſt part had choſen, in the Court of *Pompey*, and at the Feet of *Pompey*'s Statue, ſo many of his Officers looking on, but not ſtirring, with ſuch confuſion were they ſtruck at the ſight, by the hands of moſt Noble Citizens, many of whom he had to his utmoſt gratified; and ſo lay he, the Tumult and Confuſion being ſo great, that for ſome time not a Friend nor Slave came near his Body, till at length it was by three of his meaneſt Slaves put into a Litter, and carried home, his Arm hanging out.

Lib. 7. *c.* 15.

14. So great a Man he was, that *Plutarch* * being judge, there was none of the greateſt, and moſt admired Captains, to whom the *Gallick* War alone did not demonſtrate him equal in Commendations, both as General, and as a Soldier. For, whether we conſider the *Fabii*, *Scipioes*, *Metelli*, his Contemporaries, or thoſe that went before him, as, *Sylla*, *Marius*, and both the *Luculli*, and even him whoſe Glory for all Warlike Abilities reacheth to the Skies, *Pompey* himſelf, the Actions of *Cæſar* excel all their Exploits. For, ſometimes he obtained greater Glory, for the inconvenience of the Places wherein he made War, ſometimes for the greatneſs of the Countries which he ſubdued, ſometimes for the multitude and ſtrength of his Enemies overthrown, ſometimes for the perfidiouſneſs and barbariſm of the Nations ſubdued, ſometimes for clemency ſhewed to the Conquered, or other-whiles for his Liberality towards his Fellow-Soldiers; but always in reſpect of the number of Battels, and of thoſe that were ſlain. For having carried on the War in *Gall* not fully ten years, he took above eight hundred Cities, ſubdued three hundred ſeveral ſorts of People, and having ingaged at ſeveral times with three Millions of Men, killed the third part, and took the other alive. So great was the affection of his Soldiers

* *In Cæſare.*

His Character.

diers to him, and their care to pleaſe him, that whereas otherwiſe they were nothing better than others, yet being invincible for his credit, they would not refuſe any danger. This diſpoſition in them he firſt bred, and then maintained, by conferring Honours and Rewards upon them, wherein he ſpared nothing; then by undertaking all dangers with them, and refuſing no labour. His boldneſs indeed, and courage, conſidering that it proceeded from incredible deſire of Glory, they admired not ſo much; but his labour and toil which he indured above his ſtrength did aſtoniſh them. For, he was of a thin habit of Body, pale and tender, had a ſickly Head, and was ſubject to the Falling-ſickneſs, or *Epilepſie*, which firſt took him at *Corduba*. But he took not an occaſion of lazineſs from his want of health, but by Expeditions, moſt difficult Journeys, ſlenderneſs of Diet, and by continuing abroad in the open Air, ſought to drive away his Diſeaſe, and keep his Body healthful. Moſt commonly he ſlept as he was carried in his Chariot or Litter, ſo that his ſleep was not idle. On the day time he was carried about the Forts, Cities and Camps, with a Boy ſitting by him, who wrote down what he dictated, and a Soldier with a Sword ſtanding at his Back. He made ſo great Journeys, that in his firſt Expedition from *Rome*, in eight Incampings he came to the River *Rhodanus*. From his Childhood he had learn'd and practiſed riding, ſo that putting his Hands behind him upon his Back, he would ſit an Horſe in his full ſpeed, which was very much for one that had his Diſeaſe. Moreover, in that Expedition he exerciſed himſelf ſo, that riding, he would dictate ſeveral Letters to two Secretaries or more. He was a Man ambitious of Power, and unſatisfied with any thing on this ſide Sovereignty, but Victory pleaſed him, not revenge nor cruelty, in which reſpect *Cicero*, to note his ambition, and yet acknowledge his goodneſs of Nature, compared him to *Piſiſtratus*.

Vide Appia. ut ſupra. Patercul. l. 2. c. 58. Dionem l. 44.

15. The Conſpirators conſcious of the greatneſs of the Fact, fearing the worſt, ſecured themſelves in the Capitol, it being in the Senate ſtrongly debated, how it ſhould look upon the thing, and conſequently upon them. But for *Antonius* the Conſul (who alſo reſolved when he ſhould be able, to puniſh it, though now he betrayed no ſuch intention) the Fact had been approved of, as done upon an Uſurper and a Tyrant, though they had not long before taken a Solemn Oath for his Preſervation, and decreed ſuch vaſt Honours to him. *Antonius* by putting them in mind, that if he were judged deſervedly ſlain, all his Acts were to be nulled, and conſequently the aſſignment of ſeveral Offices, which he had of late made to ſeveral of them, effected that no more was done than to decree an *Amneſtie* or Oblivion for all that was paſt, for which *Cicero* much laboured. The Offices were confirmed with this reaſon entered, *becauſe it was requiſite for the good of the Common-wealth*, and the day following the Senate meeting again, decreed Provinces to the Murderers, *viz.* to *M. Brutus Crete*, *Africk* to *Caſſius*, to *Trebonius Aſia*, to *Cimber Bithynia*, and *Gall* about *Padus* to *Decimus Brutus*. After this, *Cæſar*'s Teſtament was opened, wherein he made Heirs three Nephews of his Siſters, *C. Octavius* of three parts in four of his Eſtate, (not of half only, as it's found in *Livy*'s Epitome) and *L. Pinarius* and *Q. Pedius* of the other fourth part. *G. Octavius* he adopted into his Name and Family, and moſt of thoſe that killed him he named amongſt the *Guardians of his Son*, if one ſhould be born to him. As ſecond Heirs, if the former ſhould not poſſeſs the Inheritance, he named *Decimus Brutus* and *M. Antonius*. He alſo in his Will gave no ſmall matter to the *Romans*, to be divided Man by Man, as *Plutarch* writeth. This moved the People out of meaſure to indignation againſt the Conſpirators, *Antonius* the Conſul vehemently ſtirring up the multitude in his Funeral Oration. They were driven to that rage, that after the burning of the Corps they were hardly diſſwaded from firing their Houſes, and they tore in pieces one *Cinna*, whom they miſtook for another of that Name that was one of them.

An *Amneſtie* voted by the Senate.

Sueton. in Julio. Flor. l. 4. c. 4.

Cæſar's Teſtament.

16. Now the ſeries of Affairs bringeth us to *Cæſar Octavianus*, the adopted Son of *Julius*. He was Grand-ſon to his Siſter *Julia*, which Woman was Wife to *M. Attilius Balbus*, and by him had a Daughter that was married to *C. Octavius*. He was born in the Conſulſhip of *Cicero*, and loſt his Father (who governing *Macedonia*, died ſuddenly before he could ſtand for the Conſulſhip) when but four years old. He accompanied this his great Uncle in the laſt *Spaniſh* War, who ever kept him cloſe to him in their Travel, and was now ſent

Octavius his Heir.

Appian de bello civili l. 3. Sueton. in Auguſto. Dio l. 45.

Sect. 8.

by him to *Apollonia* to ſtudy, intending to take him along with him in the *Parthian* War. There he heard of his death, and the Inheritance left to him. His Mother and Father-in-law *Marcius Philippus*, were unwilling he ſhould take the Name of *Cæſar*, as ſubject to much envy; but after ſome pauſe he reſolved to the contrary, and aſſuming the Name of *Cæſar Octavianus*, made uſe of the good affections of his Uncles Friends in *Greece*, who accompanying him to the City, he was met by a vaſt number of others from *Rome*. Here, after he had accepted of the Adoption, and confirmed it by the Authority of the *Prætor* as the Cuſtom was, he went to *Antony*, whom he expected to have his Friend and Aſſiſtant in proſecuting his Uncles Enemies. But after ſome waiting, he entertained him with great contempt, and though he had got a great quantity of *Cæſar's* Money, yet he denied to let him have any, fearing he ſhould grow into too much eſteem. *Cæſar* hereupon ſold his own Inheritance to pay the Legacy given to the People, which procured him much love, his Uncles (or Fathers, as now he muſt be called) old Soldiers flocked to him, whom he accepted of out of fear of *Antony*, who now every day became more odious, both to him, to People and Senate.

Purchaſeth the love of the People.

Appian. Livii Epitom. lib. 117. *Dio l.* 45.

Antony practiſeth for his own advancement.

17. The Senate ſuſpected *Antony* as intending to ſet up himſelf, and he intended nothing more, for which cauſe he reſolved to have ſome Province aſſigned to him, wherein he might get Power. To curry favour then he propounded to be conſidered *Sextus Pompey*, who yet remained of the Sons of *Pompey* the Great, (that beloved Man) that in requital for his Fathers Eſtate confiſcated, he might have an allowance out of the Publick, and command of the Seas, with that Navy he formerly had. This being received with great applauſe, was enacted; and ſo *Pompey* was called back into *Sicily*, where he afterwards waged a great War againſt *Cæſar*. *Antony* perſwaded *Dolabella* his Collegue, (a young Man whom *Cæſar* having ordained to be Conſul after his departure out of the City, when he was dead, took the Office, and inveighing againſt his Benefactor, would have had the day of his death ſtiled the Birth-day of the City) though he loved him not, to ask *Syria*, not of the Senate, but the People, hoping that after him he ſhould not be denied ſuch a requeſt. The difference increaſing betwixt him and *Cæſar*, he deſired to have the ſix Legions which lay in *Macedonia*, and obtained them, deceiving the Senate by a falſe rumour, that the *Getes* hearing of *Cæſar's* death, had invaded that Province. He baited them, by preferring a Law againſt any one's being *Dictator*. It was his deſign to bring theſe Legions over into *Italy* to awe and command all, and that he might effect this, he preferred by force a Law for changing of Provinces, and thereby procured to his Brother *C. Antonius Macedonia*, which formerly had been aſſigned to *M. Brutus*, and to himſelf the nearer *Gall*, (or *Gallia Ciſalpina*) which before was given to *Decimus Brutus*.

18. The Senate would in no wiſe grant this, whereupon he betook himſelf to the People. When he had brought over his Legions, part of them revolted to *Cæſar*, who now out of fear went up and down *Italy*, gathering Soldiers out of the Colonies his Father had planted. With a conſiderable Army at length *Antony* marched into *Gall*, whence he commanded *Brutus* to be gone, who gave way to him then, but departed to *Mutina*, reſolving there to ſtay and endure a Siege, for that he had ſome conſiderable ſtrength, and expected Aſſiſtance. Here *Antony* ſtraightly beſieged him, which the Senate hearing of, by *Cicero's* working eſpecially, (who now began to ſpeak and write his fourteen Orations, in imitation of thoſe of *Demoſthenes*, called *Philipicks*) declared him an Enemy to the State, which proved a means for the bringing in and preferring of *Cæſar Octavianus*. For though the Senate cared not at all for him, as being generally of *Pompey's* Faction, yet they reſolved to make uſe of him for his Armies ſake, and therefore erected him a Statue, made him a Senator, though but nineteen years old, decreed, that he ſhould be conſidered towards preferment as ten years older, and gave him equal Power with *Hirtius* and *Pauſa* the Conſuls, whom now they ſent to relieve *Brutus*. They took *Bononia*; but *Antony* being bold, for that he had got the better in ſome Skirmiſhes, went and met *Pauſa*, whom he overthrew, but returning careleſly into his Camp, was worſted by *Hirtius*. A little after a great Battle was fought near *Mutina*, wherein *Antony* was quite defeated, and fled to *Lepidus* then *Proconſul* in the further *Gall*. Both the Conſuls died of Wounds; *Hirtius* in *Antony's*

The hatred of him procureth young *Cæſar's* preferment.

Appian ut ſupra. Dio l. 46. *Plutarch. in Antonio. Cicero Philip.* 5. *Sueton. in Octavio.*

A. M. 3962. *V. C.* 712.

tony's Camp, and *Pauſa* at *Bononia*. *Brutus* being at this time ſpared by *Cæſar*, thought of departing with his ten Legions to *M. Brutus* and *Caſſius*, now in *Greece*, but his Soldiers, moved by the difficulty of the Journey, revolted, the ſix new raiſed Legions to *Cæſar*, and the four of old Soldiers to *Antony*. He then purpoſing with a ſmall Attendance to paſs through *Gall*, was taken at *Aquilea*, and betrayed by *Capenus Sequanus*, Governour of the Country, who ſent his Head to *Antony*. Before this, *Trebonius*, another of his Complices in *Cæſar*'s death, excluding *Dolabella* (whom the Senate had judged an Enemy) from *Pergamus* and *Smyrna*, was taken by him in the latter Place, and after grievous torments, had his Head cut off, which the Soldiers kicking about as a Foot-ball, did ſo abuſe, as no Face was to be ſeen on it. Not long after the Death of *Decimus Brutus*, *Minutius Baſilius*, another of the Conſpirators, was ſlain by his Slaves, whom he had gelded in a great rage.

Appian.
Livius l. 120.
Cicero.
Philip. 11.

Yet having no need of *Cæſar*, the Senate again ſlighted him,

19. Now the Senate having no need of young *Cæſar*, ſlighted him exceedingly, decreeing the Honour due to him unto *Brutus*, whom he had relieved, giving him very bitter taunts, and denying him a Triumph. Being ſenſible hereof, and how moſt of them were of *Pompey*'s Faction, he began to tamper with *Antony* by Letters, as alſo with *Lepidus*, for a Conjunction, and ſent four hundred Soldiers into the City, in the Name of the Army, to demand the Conſulſhip for him. Hereat the Senate ſtraining hard, one *Cornelius* a Centurion laying his Hand upon his Sword, ſaid, *This ſhall do it, if you will not.* Then called he *Antony* and *Lepidus* into *Italy*, whereat the Senate much ſtartled, and too late blaming their own rigidity, decreed him Conſul, and whomſoever he would take to himſelf. So he invaded the Conſulſhip, a month and five days before he was twenty years old, and took *Q. Pedius* for his Collegue. Then by a Law was Fire and Water forbidden to all that had an Hand in the death of *Cæſar*, and their Goods were ſold. The Senate was now ſo changed, either through good advice or fear, that in ſtead of ſlighting, they advanced him above all example. They reſolved, that after his Conſulſhip he ſhould take place of all Conſuls, and though formerly they were diſpleaſed with his levying Forces, being a private Man; now they deſired him to add to his Army, and decreed to him the Legions of *Decimus Brutus*. The City was committed to his care, and Power given him to act what he pleaſed, though without the preſcript of the Laws, which he retained fifty ſix years till his death. Not long after came *Æmilius Lepidus* and *M. Antonius* into *Italy*, whom he met about *Bononia*, and after a three days conference entered into a Confederacy with them, which is famous by the Name of the *Triumvirate*.

Appian ut ſupra.
Livius l. 119.
Sueton. in Auguſto.
Patercul. l. 2. *c.* 62.
Livii Epitom. lib. 120.
Vide Dionem lib. 46.

Which procureth the *Triumvirate*.

Livii Epit. l. 120.
Appian bell. civil. l. 4.

The Terms of the Combination.

20. The terms of this Combination were, *That* Cæſar, *for the remainder of the Year, ſhould leave the Conſulſhip to* Ventidius, who formerly in the Social War, when a Boy, was led in Triumph, and after that rubbed the heels of * Mules for his living. *That a new Authority of three Men ſhould be erected to take away civil diſſentions; which they three ſhould execute for five years with Conſular Power,* (for, the *Dictatorſhip* was waved, becauſe of a Law lately preferred againſt it by *Antony*) *with Authority to diſpoſe of all Offices for that Term. That* Antony *ſhould have, as a Province, all* Gall, *except that of* Narbon, *which* Lepidus *was to have with* Spain; *and to* Cæſar *was* Africk, *with* Sardinia *and* Sicily, *aſſigned; other Places beyond the Seas being left to another time.* They agreed further, *That their Enemies ſhould be deſtroyed*, wherein the Caſe of *Cicero* moved the greateſt Controverſie. For *Antony* would not meddle, except he in the firſt place ſhould be ſlain; *Lepidus* was content, but *Cæſar* ſtood much againſt it, yet on the third day he aſſented, an exchange being made; for he yielding up *Cicero*, *Lepidus* permitted his Brother *Paulus*, and *Antony L. Cæſar*, his Uncle by the Mother's ſide, to be proſcribed. Laſtly, it was agreed, *That* Lepidus *ſhould be Conſul the following Year, in ſtead of* Decimus Brutus, *deſigned formerly by* Julius Cæſar. *He guarding* Rome *and* Italy, *the other two were to make War upon* Brutus *and Caſſius*, who now (though at firſt without any Decree of the Senate) had ſeized on *Macedonia* and *Syria*. *Caſſius* in *Laodicea* beſieged *Dolabella*, who being judged an Enemy by the Senate for the death of *Trebonius*, when the City was taken cauſed his Page to cut off his Head, and ſo ended his Life, being a Man of no great ſolidity. He was Son-in-law to *Cicero*; but after the divorcing of *Tullia* they fell into great enmity, whereupon the Orator proved a

Idem ibid.
Dio lib. 46.

* *Concurrite omnes Augures, Aruſpices. Portentum inuſitatum conflatum eſt recens, Nam mulos qui fricabat Conſul factus eſt.*

These Verſes were ſcattered up and down the City.

Gellius lib. 5. *cap.* 4.

back Friend to him in the Senate, reigning amongſt the Fathers and the People with his Eloquence.

The effects of it.

Appian.

21. The firſt effect of the *Triumvirate* was a *Proſcription* of ſome three hundred Perſons of *Equeſtrian* and *Senatorian* Ranks. Though the pretence was to revenge *Cæſar's* Death, yet many were murdered for their rich Eſtates, others out of malice, and ſome for their convenient Houſes and Gardens. Amongſt thoſe of greateſt note was *Varro*, who now living to ſee and feel a ſecond *Tricipitina*, yet eſcaped with his Life. *Cicero* the Man moſt aimed at by *Antony* for oppoſing him ſo vehemently in the Senate, upon the *Triumvirs* their coming went to Sea; but the Winds being contrary, and becauſe he could not endure the ſhaking of the Ship, he returned, ſaying, *He would die in his Country often preſerved by him.* Being weary both of his Flight and Life, he came to a Village a little more than a Mile diſtant from the Sea. Here his Servants, terrified by ſeveral Prodigies, partly by perſwaſion, and partly by Force, put him again in his Litter, and were carrying him back to the Sea, when hearing of thoſe that came to ſeek for him, he cauſed the Litter to be ſet down, and quietly ſtretched out his Neck to *Popilius Lænas*, whom formerly by his Oratory he had ſaved from Condemnation. He ill-favouredly enough cut off his Head and Hands, which he preſented to *Antony*, and for ſo doing received a great Reward. After the Head had been ſufficiently gazed on by him and his Wife *Fulvia*, (who ſet on her Knees, pulled out the Tongue, and pricking it with Needles, otherwiſe ſhamefully ſhewed her ſpite) it was to the grief of all Men ſet up in the Pleading Place, or *Roſtra*. To ſuch an end came this moſt Famous Man, the Father of *Roman* Eloquence. He was born at *Arpinum*, on the third of the *Nones* of *January*, in the 648 year of the City, *C. Atilius Serranus*, and *Q. Servilius Cæpio*, being Conſuls, the ſame wherein *Pompey* the Great was born, on the *Calends* of *October*. His Father was of *Equeſtrian* Rank, and iſſued, as ſome ſaid, from *Tullius Attius*, a Noble King of the *Volſci*. He firſt deſerved the Triumph of the Gown, and the Laurel of the Tongue. And as *Cæſar* the *Dictator* wrote of him, he obtained a Laurel greater than all Triumphs, (though he had one decreed to him for his good Service in the Field) by how much the more 'tis a greater and more excellent thing to inlarge the Bounds of *Roman* Wit, than of Empire. He died on the ſeventh of *December*, when he had lived ſixty three years, eleven months, and five days. His Brother *Quintus* and his Sons were ſlain, but his own eſcaped; for that he had ſent him before-hand unto *Athens*.

Plutarch in Cicerone.

Cicero ſlain,

Paterculus l. 2. cap. 66.
Plinius lib. 7. cap. 30.

And many others.

Idem.

22. All Places in the City were full of Slaughters. The ordinary rate of one Head brought to the *Triumvirs*, if by a Free-man, was one hundred thouſand *Seſterces*; if by a Slave, half ſo much, with the Liberty of the City. This corrupted many, ſo as forgetting both Duty and Natural Affection, they betrayed thoſe for whoſe preſervation they ought to have laboured. Yet now many rare, and admirable Examples, of the Love of Wives to their Husbands, and of Slaves to their Maſters, appeared; feweſt of Children towards their Parents. Yet *Oppius* his Act ſeemeth to ſtand for many, who, *Æneas* like, carried out his old and decrepit Father, and conveyed him to the Sea, ſometimes leading, and ſometimes carrying him on his Back, till they both eſcaped into *Sicily*, whence afterwards returning, the People, out of a ſenſe of his Piety, made him *Ædilis*, and for that he wanted Money to ſet out the uſual Games, the Artificers willingly wrought for him without Wages, and the Spectators by a Contribution made him rich. Of ſuch proſcribed Perſons as eſcaped, ſome fled to *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, who received them kindly; but moſt of them to *Sextus Pompey* now in *Sicily*, who ſent out Veſſels to hover upon the Coaſts for them, and furniſhed them, when came over, with Neceſſaries. But the *Triumvirs* wanting great Sums for carrying on the War againſt *Caſſius* and *Brutus*, by reaſon that few would buy Confiſcated Eſtates, condemned alſo, though not the Perſons, yet the Goods of many Rich Women, as well as Men.

The *Triumvirs* condemn the Eſtates of women to get Money.

Idem.

23. *Caſſius*, after he had got *Syria* into his Power, thought of making an Expedition into *Ægypt* againſt *Cleopatra*, (who now was going with a great Power to the Aid of *Cæſar*, and his Followers) but was recalled by *Brutus*; for that *Antony* and *Cæſar* (who having attempted ſomething againſt *Ptolomy* in *Sicily*, put it now off till another time) were coming againſt them with forty Legions, whereof eight had already paſſed the *Ionian* Sea. Therefore leaving

Plutarch. in M. Bruto.

And *Caſſius* and *Brutus* take extravagant courſes for Treaſure.

Syria to his Brothers Son with one Legion, he ſent ſome into *Cappadocia*, who killed *Ariobarzanes*, as one that had conſpired againſt him, and brought him a Maſſe of Money. Exacting Money with much rigour, he came into *Aſia*, and meeting *Brutus* at *Smyrna*, they conſulted about the War. *Brutus* moved that they ſhould paſs over into *Macedonia*, and there encounter their Enemies; but *Caſſius* prevailed that the *Rhodians* and *Lycians* ſhould firſt be reduced, who refuſed to contribute any thing, and were powerful at Sea. It ſeeming good not to leave any Enemy at their back, this was performed, and vaſt Sums of Money by that, and other means raiſed. The *Xanthians* ſtanding out, as they had done in former times againſt *Cyrus* and *Alexander*, were ſcarce any of them left alive; and the *Rhodians* had little beſides their Lives left unto them.

Oroſius lib. 6. cap. 18.

The two Parties meet at *Philippi*.

Appian belli civil. lib. 4. Plutarch. in Antonio. Florus l. 4. c. 7. Patercul. lib. 2. cap. 70. Livii Epitom. lib. 124.

24. After this, both the Armies met at *Philippi*, that City of *Macedonia*, to which, being built by *Philip* to reſtrain the *Thracians*, as we have formerly ſhewn, St. *Paul* wrote his Epiſtle. Here appeared on either ſide nineteen Legions. *Antony* and *Cæſar* brought into the Field thirteen thouſand Horſe; but *Brutus* and *Caſſius* twenty thouſand, who coming thither firſt, incamped on a high and convenient Ground near the Sea, whence they could have Proviſions in abundance. The other Party was exceedingly ſtraightned for Neceſſities, having only *Macedonia* and *Theſſaly* open to it, for that *Pompey* cut off all entercourſe from *Africk*, as *Marcus* and *Ænobarbus* from *Italy*, by their Navies. This made *Antony* deſirous to fight above meaſure, which the Enemy knowing well enough, refuſed to ingage, till *Antony* making a way through a Fen to intercept his Proviſions, and a Work being raiſed by *Caſſius* againſt him, this procured a Fight, wherein *Caſſius* had the worſt on his part, and his Camp was taken by *Antony*. On the other ſide *Cæſar*'s Wing was worſted, and his Camp alſo taken by *Brutus*. *Caſſius* departing to an Hill not far off, expected the event of the Fight on his Partners ſide, and becauſe, for the Duſt, he could not diſcern what Horſe it was that made towards him, ſent *Titinius* to diſcover. He being received with Joy by thoſe that were bringing Tidings of Victory, ſtayed ſo long, till *Caſſius*, fearing the worſt, and that the Meſſenger was intercepted, killed himſelf, or cauſed his *Libertus*, or *Freed-man*, to cut off his Head. Scarcely was it fal'n, when *Titinius* coming, followed him by his own Hands, whom, as he ſaid, he had killed by loitering.

Caſſius killeth himſelf out of miſapprehenſion.

Appian ut ſupra. Dio lib. 47. Plutarch. in M. Bruto. Patercul. ut prius. Livius l. 124.

25. *Brutus* preſently cauſed his Collegues Body to be buried out of ſight, leſt the Army ſhould be dejected; and then had no mind to fight, deſiring rather to ſtarve the Enemy, who now was in deſperate condition by want of Neceſſaries, till fearing a defection, for that ſome had revolted already, or till being forced by the earneſtneſs of his Soldiers he led them out to Battle. Both Parties, though Country-men, were ſo greedy of ingaging, that they neglected to uſe any miſſive Weapons, and betook themſelves to their Swords, fighting with great animoſity, till at length *Brutus* his ſide was born down, and put to the rout. He eſcaped to an Hill, where remaining all night, when in the morning he ſaw no way of eſcaping, (*Antony* having made him ſure, leſt he ſhould renew the War) he ſet his Swords point to his left Pap, where the motion of the Heart is felt, and forcing it into his Breaſt, expired. This was the end of theſe two Men, by the ſame Weapons, as ſome write, wherewith they killed *Cæſar*, who had given them their Lives, and received them into favour after the Battle of *Pharſalum*. While they ſought liberty by his death, by that very means they loſt that which they accounted ſuch, being indeed no other than a liberty for the common ſort to run into extravagancies, and for particular Men to abuſe their credulity, and by flattery to procure Power, which they then would improve (even *Pompey* himſelf, as well as *Sylla*, *Cinna*, *Marius* and *Cæſar*) further than their Commiſſions extended. With them periſhed the hopes of that called a Common-wealth, which thenceforth never was more ſeen. As for the ſucceeding Bickerings which the *Triumviri* had with young *Pompey*, they were but inconſiderable in compariſon of this War with *Caſſius* and *Brutus*, who having under their Power all the *Roman* Empire from *Macedonia* to the River *Euphrates*, with above twenty Legions, twenty thouſand Horſe, two hundred long Ships, and infinite Sums of Money, ſo long as they remained, the Common-wealth ſeemed (though not at *Rome*) as yet to be ſurviving.

And *Brutus* after a defeat.

A. M. 3963.
Ol. 185. *ann.* 3.
V. C. 712.
Hyrcani 22.
Ante Chriſt. 40.

Appian.

Sect. 8.

Cæſar returneth to *Rome*.

Appian belli civil. lib. 5. *Plutarch. in Antonio. Dio lib.* 48.

26. *Cæſar* being indiſpoſed, (for he had not his health this Expedition, and therefore was not in the firſt Fight) returned into *Italy*. *Antony* went into *Aſia* to gather up Money for the payment of Largeſſes promiſed to the Soldiers. Here he ſqueezed out of the poor Inhabitants that little which was left them by *Caſſius* and *Brutus*, the Followers of whom he alſo reſtored as he met with them, except ſuch as had an hand in *Cæſar*'s death. In *Cilicia* he met with *Cleopatra* Queen of *Ægypt*, on whom he preſently doated, having formerly had much affection for her when yet a Girl, at ſuch time as he accompanied *Gabinius* into that Kingdom. Thither he now followed her, having firſt ſent a Party of Horſe to plunder *Palmyra*, a Town ſituate near *Euphrates*, and laid moſt heavy Tributes and Impoſitions upon the Provinces. After *Cæſar* had recovered, according to their agreement at parting he ſet himſelf to divide Lands to the Army in *Italy*, which hereby was put into a great combuſtion, the number of Soldiers being ſo great, that multitudes of Inhabitants were turned out, and many Towns emptied to give place to thoſe new comers, who committed many outrages, and had not purchaſed thoſe Lands by any Service to the State, (as was complained) but by ſerving to inthrall it to the Dominion of three Men. *Fulvia*, the Wife of *Antony*, and *Lucius* his Brother, now Conſul, envied *Cæſar* this popularity with the Soldiers, and contended earneſtly that they ought to ſettle the Soldiers of *Antony*, which was granted. But herewith not contented, they reſolved to proſecute him with War. She, for that ſhe deſired her Husband might be recalled thereby from *Cleopatra*, concerning whom ſhe had too much cauſe to be jealous of him; and he, out of deſire to innovate, pretending an indeavour to ſuppreſs the *Triumvirate*, and to reduce the ancient form of Government, and truſting much to the ſtrength of his Brother.

Antony followeth *Cleopatra* into *Ægypt*.

A. M. 3964. *V. C.* 713.

The *Peruſian* War betwixt *Cæſar*, and the Brother and Wife of *Antony*.

Appian.

27. Much ado was made to reconcile them, but to no purpoſe. The ancient Poſſeſſors of the Grounds flocked to *Lucius*, and the new ones to *Cæſar*, to whom *Salvidienus* coming out of *Gall* with great ſtrength, *Lucius* went to oppoſe him, but was diverted by *Agrippa*, and reduced to ſuch ſtraights betwixt them two, (though *Ventidius* and *Aſinius*, two of *Antonie*'s Captains, were not far off) that glad he was to betake himſelf for ſecurity to *Peruſia* a ſtrong Town, where he was cloſely beſieged by *Cæſar* and his Party. He ſtood out very courageouſly, till forced by famine to yield to mercy; then coming out firſt, and caſting himſelf into *Cæſar*'s Hands, he interceded for his Soldiers, and deſired all the blame might be upon himſelf: He was received honourably, and his Soldiers were pardoned at the deſire of their Enemies. The Town was to be plundred, but by a mad-man, who ſet his own Houſe on fire, and therein periſhed, it was burnt down to the ground. About this time was the firſt Eclog of *Virgil* written (who now was ſome twenty eight years old) during the diviſion of thoſe Lands, as clearly appeareth from it: The above-mentioned *L. Antonius* and *P. Servilius Iſauricus* being Conſuls, in the 713*th* year of the City, and the third of the *Triumvirate*.

A. M. 3965. *V. C.* 714.

Vide Servium in locum.

Appian.

Cæſar provideth for the worſt.

28. After the *Peruſian* War (for ſo 'tis called) *Cæſar* ſuſpecting *Antonies* affection towards him; to ſtrengthen himſelf ſeized on *Spain* and *Gall*, though his Provinces, taking occaſion at the death of his Lieutenant, whereby being forty Legions ſtrong, he was able to grapple with him if need ſhould require. But having no Shipping, he was at a loſs as to Sea-matters, and therefore married *Scribonia* the Siſter of *Libo*, Father-in-law to *Sextus Pompey*, from whom he hoped by this alliance if need were to obtain Peace. *Antony* this Spring moved from *Alexandria*, where he had lived all Winter very looſely with *Cleopatra*, as againſt the *Parthians*, who now under conduct of *Labienus* had over-run *Syria* as far as *Tyre*. Though this Town was ſet upon by them, and he pretended he would relieve it, yet he did not, alledging a neceſſity of going to the War againſt *Pompey*, who now hindred all Proviſions from coming to the City, and thereby cauſed a great dearth: And he again excuſed himſelf why he came no ſooner to that againſt *Pompey*, becauſe he was retained by the *Parthian* War. Sailing then into *Aſia*, he had news of the event of the *Peruſian* War, and blamed much his Wife and Brother; whence paſſing into *Greece* he met with her, and his Mother *Julia*, whom *Pompey* having taken now ſent ſafe to him. Thence he ſailed over the *Ionian* Sea, where *Ænobarbus* delivered up all his Fleet and Forces to him; and ſo they came to *Brunduſium*, where they were kept out by a Garriſon placed there by *Cæſar*.

Antonies carriage in the Eaſt.

Dio lib. 48.

29. This

The *Triumvirs* fall out.

Appian.

Are reconciled, and a new agreement is made.

A great Famine cauſed by *Sextus Pompey.*

Procureth an agreement with him.

Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 14. *c.* 26.

29. This made ſuch a breach betwixt them, that *Antony* blocked up the Town, and procured *Pompey* from *Sicily* to invade *Italy*. *Cæſar* came to *Brunduſium*, where the old Soldiers being unwilling to fight againſt *Antony*, the Army laboured to reconcile the *Triumvirs*, which *Cocceius*, friend to both, at length effected with much labour; *Pollio* on *Antonie*'s ſide, and *Mæcenas* on *Cæſar*'s, as Delegates making up the breach. All offences were mutually to be forgiven, and for that *Marcellus*, Husband to *Octavia Cæſar*'s Siſter, was now dead, and alſo *Fulvia Antonie*'s Wife, for grief that he neglected her, *Antony* married *Octavia*. Then was the *Roman* Empire divided betwixt them, the Bounds of their Dominions being *Codropolis*, a Town of *Illyricum*, all from it Weſtward being to obey *Cæſar*, and all Eaſtward *Antony*. *Africk* was left to *Lepidus*, who now was even no body, and having offended *Cæſar*, had been confined by him to that Province. The War againſt the *Parthians* was judged to *Antony*, and that againſt *Pompey* (who muſt needs now be ſuppreſſed) unto *Cæſar*. *Antony* ſent *Ventidius* into *Aſia* to reſtrain the *Parthians*, who now had made an incurſion as far as *Ionia*. But out of *Sardinia* did *Menodorus Pompey*'s Admiral the ſecond time eject *Helenus Cæſar*'s Captain, whereupon *Cæſar* refuſed to hearken to *Antony*, when he moved him to be reconciled unto *Pompey*. Both the *Triumvirs* (or rather now the *Duumvirs*) being come to the City, were received with moſt lamentable complaints of Poor People, ready to ſtarve for want of Proviſions, which *Pompey* hindered from coming, from the Eaſt by *Sicily*, from the Weſt by *Sardinia* and *Corſica*, which he had in his Power, and from *Africk* by his Navy alſo, which then was moſt powerful at Sea. *Cæſar* could not be drawn to make Peace with him, notwithſtanding the loud Cries and Prayers of the Multitude, which obſtinacy drew him, and *Antony* (reſcuing him) into ſuch danger, as both of them were near ſtoning. At length being forced to it, and *Pompey* being perſwaded, they met, but *Pompey* expecting to be admitted into the Power and Place of *Lepidus*, the Treaty came to nothing. Yet the preſſure of the Famine brought them together again, and amongſt other things it was concluded, That *Pompey retaining all the Iſlands he had already, and* Peloponneſus *over and above, as long as they ſhould hold their Power; and having liberty to be* Conſul, *and to diſcharge the Office by any of his Friends, he was to leave the Sea open, and pay to the People what Corn was due out of* Sicily. *The proſcribed Perſons, except ſuch as were guilty of* Cæſar's *death, had now all liberty to return.* The day following, Conſuls were deſigned for four years. Firſt *Antonius* and *Libo*, then *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, next *Ænobarbus* and *Soſius*, and laſtly, *Cæſar* and *Antony*, who then (it might be hoped) might reſtore the Government to the People. Then did *Antony* and *Cæſar* return, and were moſt joyfully received. And this Year being the 714 of the City, did they procure *Herod* the Great to be declared King of *Judæa*, in the firſt year of the 184 *Olympiad*, *Cn. Domitius Calvinus* the ſecond time, and *C. Aſinius Pollio* being Conſuls.

Dio lib. 49. *Appian in Parthicis.*

Florus l. 4. *c.* 9.

Ventidius proſpereth againſt the *Parthians.*

(*a*) *Dio ut prius.*

(*b*) *Plutarch. in Antonio.*

(*c*) *Appian de bello civil. l.* 4.

30. *Antony* departed toward the Eaſt again for the *Parthian* War, which hitherto *Ventidius* his Lieutenant had managed with good ſucceſs, having got ſeveral Victories, wherein *Labienus*, who brought them into *Syria*, and *Pharnapates*, (or *Phraates*, or *Barzapharnes*, being called by ſeveral Names) the greateſt of their Captains, with *Pacorus* Son to *Orodes* the King, were ſlain. After this he repelled them in *Media* and *Meſopotamia*, and beſieged *Antiochus Comagenus* in *Samoſata*, whom he ſuffered, upon promiſe of one thouſand Talents, to ſend Ambaſſadors unto *Antony*, who now drew near, and for that the Siege was likely long to continue, by reaſon of the deſperate reſolution of the Defendants, granted him Peace for three hundred Talents, accepted but of two Hoſtages, and thoſe inconſiderable ones; and he gave him leave to put to death *Alexander*, who had formerly revolted to the *Romans*. This by (*a*) ſome he was thought to do for fear of the Army, which was angry at his ill uſage of *Ventidius*; though others ſay, he honoured him according to his deſerts, who though a Man of an obſcure extract, now firſt of all others triumphed over the *Parthians*. *Antony* having ſetled the Affairs of *Syria*, departed to *Athens*, where he ſpent the Winter with *Octavia*. But the (*c*) Peace with *Pompey* continued but a ſhort time. The cauſe of the breach (whatever ſecretly was aimed at) was pretended to be, for that *Antony* being to quit *Peloponneſus*, would do it but upon this condition, that *Pompey* ſhould give him ſatisfaction for ſuch Moneys

as was due to him from the Inhabitants. But *Pompey* liked not of any ſuch condition, and therefore rigged a new Fleet, and provided himſelf of Forces, perhaps giving credit to *Metrodorus*, who would tell him, that the preſent ſtate of Affairs was no true Peace, but rather a ceſſation of Arms. He then renewed his Piracy, which renewed the former grievances, and made the People cry out, that the matter was only altered from three Tyrants to four. But *Metrodorus* revolted to *Cæſar*, bringing in with him *Corſica*, *Sardinia*, and three Legions, and then *Antony* was called to *Brunduſium* to conſult about the War. Thither he came at the day appointed, but *Cæſar* keeping not his Word, he ſtayed not for him, either not liking the breach of the Peace, or for that he envied *Cæſar* all that Power he ſaw him have; for ſtill they ſuſpected and grudged each other. But *Cæſar* being provided, ſet out to Sea, as to invade *Sicily*, and was beaten back by *Pompey*, though he took him at unawares, who heard nothing of the Revolt of *Metrodorus*, till alſo of *Cæſars* coming. Afterward his Ships lying at Anchor, were extreamly battered, and moſt of the Men were caſt away.

The Peace with *Pompey* broken.

A. M. 3967. *V. C.* 716. *Herodis* 2.

31. *Cæſar* fortified the Coaſts of *Italy*, for fear leſt *Pompey* ſhould make an invaſion, which he, not knowing how to improve a Victory, was never wont to attempt. Then wanting all manner of Proviſions for the War, he ſent *Mæcenas* to *Antony*, who refuſing not to joyn with him, this cheared him, together with a Victory got by *Agrippa* in *Aquitaine*; many Cities, and private Perſons alſo promiſing aid. *Antony* came to *Tarentum* with three hundred Ships, but whether there was ſomething elſe betwixt them, or for that he was now furniſhed, he ſlighted his help, *Cæſar* excuſed himſelf that he met him not, which the other took in ill part, yet ſent for him again. For having laid out much upon the Fleet, he intended to exchange it for ſome *Italian* Legions, to be uſed in the *Parthian* War, it being difficult for him to raiſe Men in *Italy*, which was ſubject to *Cæſar*, though by their laſt agreement both were left free there to make their Levies. *Octavia* coming over to her Brother, agreed them, who then made the exchange, and becauſe the time of the *Triumvirate* ſet by the Senate was almoſt out, prorogued their Power for five years longer, without any conſideration had of the ſuffrages of the People. So *Antony* departed into *Syria*, *Cæſar* deferring his Expedition into *Sicily* until the following year.

Idem.

Antony and *Cæſar* make a new agreement, and prorogue their Power.

32. He determined to invade *Sicily* from three ſeveral Quarters: *Lepidus*, who now joyned with him, was to invade it from *Africk*, *Taurus* from *Tarentum*, and he himſelf from *Puteoli*. *Pompey* reſolved to oppoſe him ſo many ſeveral ways, but at this time it needed not; for *Cæſar's* Navy was the ſecond time wracked by a Tempeſt, which ſo puffed up *Pompey*, that he ſtiled himſelf *Neptune's Son*. But *Cæſar* gave not over the Enterprize; for the ſame Summer having recruited his Forces, and mended his Ships, he put forth to Sea, and then, though on *Lepidus* his part were loſt two Legions, overthrew *Pompey's* Fleet, but was again worſted, and yet landed twenty one Legions, and two thouſand Horſe, beſides five thouſand lightly Armed. No great or memorable Battel was there on Land; but *Pompey* ſent to his Enemy, to know if he would fight by Sea, fearing his Land-Forces. He accepted of his offer, and then finally defeated him, having ſunk twenty eight of his Veſſels. The reſt were either taken or broken, ſeventeen only eſcaped, and at the ſight of his overthrow his Land-Forces yielded to *Cæſar*, ſo that with his ſeventeen Veſſels he fled to *Antony*, from whom he expected protection, having reſtored formerly his Mother ſafe to him, when in ſuch a condition. *Meſſana* ſtill ſtood out, but the Garriſon at length yielded to *Lepidus*, who granted to the Soldiers, to draw them to his Party, the Plunder of the Town equal with his own. Having now by the addition of thoſe Forces twenty two Legions, and a ſtrong Body of Horſe under his Command, he pleaſed himſelf with thoughts of getting all *Sicily* into his Hands, to which he pretended a right, as firſt invaded by him; and he ſought to hinder *Cæſar* all he could from the poſſeſſion of it.

Idem.

Pompey overthrown by *Cæſar*.

A. M. 3969. *V. C.* 718.

33. *Cæſar* expoſtulated with him for his ingratitude; but to no purpoſe. Then found he means to draw away all his Army from him, which now was ſomething averſe to Civil Wars, and ſatisfied of the greater worth of *Cæſar*, being moreover incenſed againſt their General, for making *Pompey's* Soldiers partakers with them in the plunder of *Meſſana*. Yet though his Soldiers would have killed him, did he ſave them alive, but outed him of all Power, and baniſhed him; ſo

Appian ut ſupra. Plutarch. in Antonio. Dio lib. 49.

One Head of the *Tricipitina* broken off.

ſo that thus fell one head of this *Tricipitina*. *Pompey* not being purſued by *Cæſar*, craved protection from *Antony*; yet ſent to the *Parthian*, in caſe he ſhould not be received by him. Then thought he of ſeizing upon *Syria*, and the Parts adjacent, upon a rumor of *Antony*'s being overthrown; whereupon he was purſued by his Party, and at laſt taken and killed at *Midaius*, a Town of *Phrygia*, as *Dio* writeth, but as *Florus* and *Appian* at *Miletus*, in the fourtieth year of his Age, fourteen years after the death of his Father. *Cæſar* at his return reſtrained Roberies in the City, ſetting Watches therein, and adminiſtred things in the ancient way by annual Magiſtrates. He burnt all Letters written in time of War, promiſing he would reſtore the Common-wealth as ſoon as *Antony* ſhould return, who, he knew, would alſo lay down the Magiſtracy, all Civil Wars being ended. He was therefore received with lucky acclamations, and had a *Perpetual Tribuneſhip* beſtowed on him, as invited by this Honour to lay down his other Power. Concerning this he wrote privately to *Antony*, who, whilſt *Cæſar* was thus imployed about *Pompey*, had called *Cleopatra* into *Syria*, and there given her *Phœnicia*, *Cæleſyria*, *Cyprus*, a great part of *Cilicia*, with part of *Arabia Nabathæa*, and ſo much of *Judæa* as brought *Balſamum*. Then ſending her home, he marched into *Armenia*, where yet he could do nothing (for deſire of her) like himſelf; but ever thought of returning to her, which ſhortly after he did; but was much troubled in his Paſſage by the *Parthians*, to whom his Army had revolted, but that they killed ſuch as firſt paſſed over to them.

Pompey Killed.

Antony doateth on *Cleopatra*.

Plutarch. *Dio.*

34. The Year following, and that wherein *Pompey* was ſlain, he was ſolicited by the King of *Media* in conjunction with him to make War upon the *Parthian*; but was hindered by ſtirs which happened betwixt *Cleopatra* and *Octavia* his Wife, who now returning to him out of *Italy*, met with Letters at *Athens* to ſtop her there, he pretending neceſſary avocations by War. *Cæſar* then would have had her come to his Houſe, but ſhe would go to her Husbands, where ſhe educated both his Children and her own, as became her. Then did *Antony* return into *Armenia*, where he caught the King by a wile, and brought him in Triumph into *Ægypt*. Now would he be called *Father Bacchus*, as *Cleopatra Iſis*, who now was ſtiled by him *Queen of Ægypt*, *Cyprus*, *Africa*, and *Cæleſyria*, *Cæſario*, whom ſhe had by *Julius Cæſar*, being her Partner in theſe Principalities. But his own Sons by her, *Alexander* and *Ptolomy*, he named *Kings of Kings*; betwixt whom he did not only part what Provinces he himſelf had, but alſo *Armenia*, *Parthia*, and *Media*, and to *Cleopatra* their Daughter aſſigned *Cyrene*. Theſe things, together with the diſgrace of his Siſter, provoked *Cæſar*, who made report of them to the Senate and People. Hereby he incenſed Men's minds againſt *Antony*, who ſhortly after went into *Media*, and entered into League with the King thereof. *Cæſar* at the ſame time fought againſt ſeveral People of *Illyricum*, and the next year both provided for the Civil War betwixt themſelves.

His extravagancies in *Ægypt*.

35. *Antony* in way of recrimination to *Cæſar*, objected his putting *Lepidus* beſides the *Triumvirate*, and taking his Soldiers, as thoſe of *Pompey*, to himſelf, which ought to have been equally free for both; and he challenged his part of the Soldiers raiſed in *Italy*. For, *Cæſar*, beſides what we formerly mentioned, accuſed him of taking *Ægypt* as his Province, killing *Pompey*, abuſing *Artavaſdes* the *Armenian* King, to the great infamy of the *Roman* State; but above all, upbraided him with *Cleopatra*, and what he had aſſigned to their Children, as alſo for that he owned *Cæſario* as begotten by *Cæſar*, though to the Senate he had acknowledged him for his own Son. *Antony*, bewitched by *Cleopatra* ſo far as not to be able to rule himſelf, wrote to the Senate to have thoſe things confirmed, which he had ſetled upon her and her Children. The two Conſuls, *Cn. Domitius* and *C. Soſius*, being much for him, were forced to leave the City, and get over to him, who now alſo having raiſed great Forces, ſent to *Rome*, to drive *Octavia* out of his Houſe, and if taking his opportunity he had this Summer invaded *Italy*, he might in all probability have put an end to the Quarrel. For, *Cæſar* was not yet provided, wanting Money exceedingly, which he now exacted throughout *Italy*. But this delay herein helped him, that Men's minds were more and more bent againſt *Antony*, eſpecially after *Cæſar* had publiſhed his Teſtament, wherein he diſpoſed as formerly, to his and *Cleopatra*'s Children, and ordained, that though he ſhould die at *Rome*, his Body ſhould be ſent to her at *Alexandria*: It was alſo reported, that he meant, if his matters proſpered, to give

Cæſar and he fall out.

Dio lib. 50.
*Florus l.*4.*c.*12.

A. M. 3973.
Ol. 187. *an.* 1.
V. C. 722.
Herodis 8.

give

Sect. 8.

Vide Dionem ubi ſupra.

Their Preparations for War.

give her *Rome*, and transfer the Seat of the Empire into *Ægypt*. Hereupon the War was decreed againſt her, and he was deveſted of his *Triumvirate*, but not declared an Enemy, for fear of thoſe with him. For then muſt they neceſſarily have been included in the ſame capacity, and ſo driven upon deſperate Councils: To them therefore Rewards were promiſed, if they would forſake him; and hereby was he thought rendred more inexcuſable, in that being unhurt he ſhould make War for an *Ægyptian* woman againſt his Country. Then did the one draw all the Eaſt, and the other the Weſt to his Party. *Cæſar* had ready two hundred and fifty Ships of War, eighty thouſand Foot, and twelve thouſand Horſe. *Antony* had five hundred ſuch like Ships, very big and ſtately, with one hundred thouſand Foot, and alſo twelve thouſand Horſe. The King of the *Medes* alſo ſent him Aid, which being not ſent back, and *Antony* alſo re-calling his Forces he had left with him for the protection of that Country, the *Parthian* became Maſter of that Kingdom, and *Armenia* alſo was loſt.

Antony worſted.

Idem. Plutarch. in Antonio.

36. The following Year *Agrippa*, being ſent before by *Cæſar*, took divers Ships coming to *Antony* with Proviſions, and moleſted him exceedingly upon the Sea, wherewith *Cæſar* incouraged, paſſed from *Brunduſium* into *Epirus*, to a Promontory whereof, that lieth near the Bay of *Ambracia* ſending his Forces, he took in *Corcyra*; ſo did *Agrippa* the Iſland *Leucas* near to *Actium*, with *Patræ* and *Corinth*; *Titius* alſo and *Taurus* routed *Antony*'s Horſe. Then ſeveral Perſons of note fell off from *Antony*. *Soſius* was beaten, and loſt his Life at Sea, and *Antony* himſelf was alſo worſted by a Guard of *Cæſar*'s. Being much troubled hereat, *Canidius* would have perſwaded him to ſend away *Cleopatra*, and decide the Quarrel either in *Thrace* or *Macedonia*, for that he was ſtronger in Land-Forces. But though his Navy had been twice worſted, and he had loſt many Ships, yet ſhe obtained of him to fight at Sea, providing withal all things as for flight. For four days the Sea was ſo rough with Winds, that it hindered them from fighting; but on the fifth they joyned, and then *Cæſar*'s Ships being light could eaſily tack about and invade *Antony*'s, which were unwieldy, and of little uſe. *Cleopatra* wearied with long expectation, 'ere it could certainly be known how things would go, with her gilded Deck, Purple Sails, and ſixty light *Ægyptian* Gallies, fled away, which *Antony* ſeeing, preſently followed, forſaking his Men, and running away, who ought to have animadverted upon ſuch as did ſo. His Soldiers fought moſt valiantly, notwithſtanding the baſeneſs of their General, (who getting into *Cleopatra*'s Gally, went, and ſate by himſelf in a deep ſilence, holding his Head with both his Hands) till at the tenth hour they were partly perſwaded, and partly conſtrained to ſubmit, it being confeſſed, that in this Fight they behaved themſelves like to, and executed the Office of, the beſt General, and their General played the part of a run-away Soldier. From this Victory of *Cæſar* at *Actium*, a Promontory of *Epirus*, ſeveral * Authors date his Monarchy, which laſted from the ſecond of *September*, whereon the Battel was fought, to the 19*th* of *Auguſt*, on which he died, forty four years wanting thirteen days. Now was he himſelf the third time, and *M. Valerius Meſſala* Conſuls, in the 723*d* Year of the City, the ſecond of the 187 *Olympiad*, and the ſeventh of *Herod* King of *Judæa*, as *Joſephus* gathereth, the 29*th* before the *Æra* of *Chriſt*, A. M. 3974.

A. M. 3974.
V. C. 723.
Herodis 9.
Ante Chriſt. 29.

Overthrown at *Actium* in a Sea-fight.

Patercul. l. 2. *cap.* 85.

* *Dio. Suetonius. Aurelius Victor. Eutropius.*

Plutarch in Antonio.

Patercul. lib. 2. *cap.* 87.
Dio lib. 51.

His Land-forces yield to *Cæſar*.

37. His Land-forces could ſcarcely believe his flight, having ſuch an Army left to him intire, and for ſeven days were ſo conſtant to him, that though the thing was clearly known, they rejected *Cæſar*'s Meſſages, but being now overtaken by him, and forſaken of their Leader *Canidius*, who had poſted away after *Antony*, they yielded, and were taken into *Cæſar*'s Army. Then did *Cæſar* go to *Athens*, where he put to death *Caſſius Parmenſis*, one of thoſe that ſlew his Uncle, and ſetling the Affairs both of *Greece* and *Aſia*, determined to Winter in *Samus*; but was called into *Italy* by *Agrippa* to quiet his Soldiers who now mutinied. He ſailed then to *Brunduſium*, but the Senate meeting him there, he went no further, and having diſpatched his Buſineſs within thirty days returned into *Aſia*. *Antony* for ſome time lived diſconſolately by himſelf. *Cleopatra* conveyed Ships over into the Red-Sea, intending there to ſeek her Fortune, ſhe had thought alſo of flying into *Spain*. They both ſent to *Cæſar*, ſhe that her Children might have *Ægypt* granted them, and he that he might be permitted to live privately at *Athens*. She ſent him a Golden Crown and Scepter, with a Royal Seat, privily to curry favour, and he, though openly he threatned her, ſecretly promiſed

her ſafety and her Kingdom, if ſhe ſhould kill *Antony*, who was alſo adviſed by * *Herod* of *Judæa* to do as much by her.

* *Joſephus Antiq. l.* 15. *c.* 10.

38. They ſent again to him the firſt and ſecond time, and he gave up to him *Turullius* a Senator, and one of the Murderers of *Julius Cæſar*. He putting the Man to death returned no anſwer, neither the ſecond time, when he ſent *Antyllus* his Son to him with much Gold, which he received. But with her he ſtill dealt, ſending *Thyrſus* his Freed-man to her to make her believe that he was in love with her, hoping ſhe might kill *Antony*, and preſerve her Treaſures, which ſhe threatned to burn if ſhe came into any danger. Now going down into *Ægypt*, he ſent *Cornelius Gallus* before him, who ſeized on *Parætonium* the chief City on that part near *Africk*; and *Peluſium* the other ſtrongeſt Town towards *Syria* did *Cleopatra* betray to him, ſecretly forbidding the *Alexandrians* to go out againſt him. *Antony* once fought proſperouſly againſt his Horſe, and the ſecond time was beaten; then he ſent him a Challenge, which *Cæſar* refuſed, ſaying, That if *Antony* ſo pleaſed there were a thouſand ways lying open for his deſtruction. Wherefore bethinking himſelf that he could not die with more credit than in Battel, he reſolved to oppoſe *Cæſar* both by Sea and Land; but *Cleopatra* procured, that both his Navy, and Horſe revolted. Hereupon he returned into the City, crying out, That *he was betrayed by her for whoſe ſake he had taken up Arms*. She being afraid of him, departed to her Monument, and ſent ſome to tell him ſhe was dead, pretending fear of *Cæſar*. Upon which Meſſage, he reſolving to follow her, wounded himſelf in the Belly. The Wound not quickly diſpatching him, ſhe ſent for him up into her Monument, whither he was pulled up by her ſelf, and two Women, being willing to live now that ſhe was alive, and hoping he might poſſibly recover. But he ſhortly after died, willing her as well as ſhe could to provide for her ſelf, and not grieve for him, but rather rejoyce, in that he had been the moſt famous of Men, as alſo moſt powerful, and now being a *Roman*, was not through lazineſs overcome by a *Roman*. Such was the end of this Man, who through deſire of Fame became the Author of ſad Tragedies to his Country, who in the uſe of his Power greatly abuſed it, and was not only overcome by a *Roman*, but alſo by a *Woman*, and then ſo behaved himſelf, that he could not be excuſed from lazineſs, effeminateneſs, and luxury, all which things checked that goodneſs of diſpoſition ſuppoſed once to be in him, and left *Cleopatra* little cauſe to rejoyce for any real Glory that might accrue unto him.

Dio lib. 5. *Plutarch. in Antonio.*

Antony killeth himſelf.

39, *Cæſar* endeavoured to get *Cleopatra* into his Hands, that he might lead her in Triumph. He eaſily obtained *Alexandria*, the Inhabitants whereof he pardoned, but put to death *Antyllus* the Son of *Antony*, and ſome others. He viewed the Body of *Alexander* the Great, and out of Honour to his memory ſet on it a Golden Crown, and ſtrewed it with Flowers; but touching it, he broke off a little piece of the Noſe, and refuſed to ſee the Bodies of the *Ptolomies*, though the *Alexandrians* much deſired it, ſaying, *He had a mind to ſee the King, and not dead Men. Cleopatra* dealt with her Phyſician to diſpatch her, but being terrified by *Cæſar* upon the account of her Children, ſhe gave it over, and did all ſhe could, but in vain, to work upon his affections when he came to ſee her. Then did ſhe give him an Inventory of her Goods, and he promiſed her fair things, thinking thereby that he deceived her, though he himſelf was deceived. For ſhe underſtanding that ſhe was reſerved for a Triumph, prevented it by a voluntary death, as is in the Hiſtory of her Kingdom related. *Cæſar* made *Ægypt* a Tributary Province, and would have conferred the Government thereof upon *Arius* the Philoſopher, who formerly had taught him, but he refuſing the Imployment, he gave it to *Cornelius Gallus*, a Man of obſcure Birth. *Cæſario* the Son of *Cleopatra* by *Julius Cæſar*, had by his Mother been ſent towards *India* with a great Sum of Money, but at *Rhodes* his Governour perſwaded him to return, as now being to expect the Kingdom. *Cæſar* conſulting what to do with him, *Ariæus*, alluding to * that prudent Sentence of *Homer*, ſaid, 'Ουκ ἄγαθον πολυκαισαρίη. *To have many* Cæſars *is not good*; and ſo he was ſent after his Mother. Whil'ſt theſe things were doing at *Alexandria*, was *M. Tullius Cicero*, Son of the Orator, Conſul at *Rome* (taken in by *Cæſar* to blot out the ignominy of betraying his Father) in the room of *Licinius Craſſus*, where he publiſhed *Cæſar* his Collegue's Letters

Dio ut ſuprà. Sueton. in Octavio. Plutarch. in Antonio. Oroſius lib. 6. *Cap.* 19. *Patercul. l.* 2. *c.* 87. *Florus lib.* 4. *cap.* 11. *Livii Epitom. lib.* 133. *Julian ad Themiſtium.*

So doth *Cleopatra* her ſelf, and *Ægypt* is made a Province.

* 'Ουκ ἄγαθον πολυκοιρανίη εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω εἷς Βασιλὲυς.

A. M. 3975.
Ol. 187. *ann.* 3.
V. C. 724.
Herodis 10.
Ante Chriſtum 28.

Sect. 8. Letters concerning the overthrow of *Antony*, and put them up over the Pleading Place, where his Father's Head had formerly been ſet. But this overthrow and death of *Cleopatra* happened in the fourteenth Year after the death of *Julius Cæſar*, the third of the 187 *Olympiad*, the 724 of the City, twenty eight before the Birth of *Chriſt*, A. M. 3975. 294 after the death of *Alexander* the Great, under whom, as the *Macedonian* Empire began, ſo now in *Cleopatra* (and not till now) it was quite extinct; and here the Contemporaries with it receive their Period.

AN

AN
INSTITUTION
OF
General Hiſtory.

The First Part.

BOOK IV.

The *Roman* Empire.

CHAP. I.

From the Abſoluteneſs of Octavius, *to the Death of* Tiberius, *containing the ſpace of 66 Years.*

The Grandeur of the *Roman* Empire.

1 THE *Roman Empire* had now ſwallowed up the *Macedonian*, with ſuch Kingdoms and States as were at all conſiderable, and Contemporary with it (whereof though ſome might retain a ſhew of Liberty, yet were they but in a condition of Vaſſalage) except the *Parthian* Kingdom, which as yet acknowledged no ſubjection, and when it did, being forced thereto for the moſt part by Inteſtine Diviſions, not long continued in that acknowledgment.

It laboureth under its own weight.

2. This *Empire* now laboured under its own weight, and, like to ſome unwieldy thing, ſtaggered, by reaſon of the turgency of its inward burthen, without any extraneous violence: It was grown up to an Athletick habit, and had already ſufficiently manifeſted the Danger of this Conſtitution. For, being all Head and no Body, it wanted thoſe Limbs, which by direction from a ſuperior ſenſe, could ſecure its Progreſs; or indeed being all Body, and no head, it was void of that influence which effecteth an orderly motion, and is neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of life it ſelf. The proper fruits of *Popular Government* were now grown fully ripe. Every one would command, and none would be ruled, yet every man challenging a part in the Supreme Power, none enjoyed it much, and therefore but few were really ſolicitous for the upholding of it as *Popular*, any further than ſome private intereſts led them. The heady multitude indeed was violently carried on in its deſires after the chief command; but ſome deſired it rather that others might not enjoy it, holding this Principle, to oppoſe all riſing, though excellent Perſons whatſoever. Others tickled with an humor of ruling, and in intellectuals above their fellows, ſet themſelves to pleaſe the Rabble by maligning other men, crying up Liberty and Equality, extolling the juſtice of the *Agrarian*, and vaunting of great matters intended to be done by themſelves, when in a Capacity. Sometimes their boldneſs and cunning pro-

cured their riſe, moſt commonly ſome Capitulations, and otherwhiles Money diſtributed to the Rabble, when the ſtep was great. For after that the *Romans* paſſed the Seas, more luxury, avarice, and corruption, than of Victory was brought home. When they came abroad, notwithſtanding the repute of their abſtinence, they found the ſame temptations as other men, and made themſelves Maſters of the manners, as well as the poſſeſſions of the conquered. All things were now bought and ſold, from the meaneſt Office to the Conſulſhip, and the loweſt privilege to the right of Suffrages.

3. The daily ſight of theſe things corrupted ſuch, as elſe might have proved juſt. It ſeemed a prudent Principle, rather to command than to be commanded; rather to buy than to be ſold, and to get ſomething, rather than ſuffer all things to be loſt. The body of the People was now grown large, the *Italians* being received to the freedom of the City, and liberty of Suffrages. Hence ambitious men had advantage enough to make parties, and to carry things in the *Comitia* or Aſſemblies, having once by indirect practices ingratiated themſelves. Having obtained commands afar off, they had opportunity to increaſe their power, through the diſtance of place, the credit of their conqueſts, and the affections of their Armies. Power once obtained, is difficultly laid down, both by reaſon that man's nature is averſe to diminution, and for that ſomething may be committed in height of paſſion, or through convenience, or otherwiſe, whereof it might not be ſafe to give an account, as neither to lye open and naked to the malice of revengeful Enemies. The Empire being now vaſt, ſeveral men at the ſame time might be found in theſe capacities, ſo that jealouſies and emulations muſt thence be heightned, and one ſtrive to reduce the other into order. Further, the largeneſs of Empire afforded multiplicity of places, always of ſeveral, and ſometimes of contrary intereſts or humours, which would eſpouſe quarrels accordingly, whence never would be wanting ſufficient and convenient matter for publick combuſtions.

And under ſuch diſtempers

As Monarchy could only cure.

4. Such was the preſent State of *Roman* affairs, and ſuch had been their conſtitution before the preſent juncture, which loudly, in the underſtanding of all prudent men, called for the help of ſome ſingle Perſon duly qualified, whoſe Monarchy could only put an end to the civil diſſentions, by removing the looſe liberty of the multitude, which gave occaſion to thoſe diſtempers, by preventing ambitious indeavours of private perſons after Soveraignty, which fomented them, and by checking all exorbitant power of particular men, which effectually procured them. *Cæſar* on the one ſide conſidering theſe things, as alſo being ſenſible of the power he already enjoyed, and of the danger he might incur by removing himſelf to a private life; and on the other, weighing the envy and *odium* he ſhould contract by the eſtabliſhment of himſelf, after he had conquered *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, and (having entered his fourth Conſulſhip in the Iſle *Samus*) returned to *Rome*, he asked the advice of his two moſt inward Counſellors and boſom friends, *Agrippa* and *Mecænas*. *Vipſanius Agrippa*, a man of mean Parentage (which *Vipſanius* manifeſting, he changed into *Marcus*) and no great endowments, except in what concerned War, though of a well-meaning mind, and a great lover of *Cæſar*, anſwered him firſt, and earneſtly adviſed him *to lay down his power, and remit the Government into the hands of the Multitude.* ‘His arguments for the moſt part reſpected the danger of *Cæſar*'s perſon, being drawn from the averſneſs of the *Romans* to Monarchy, and inforced by examples of others, who had attempted to eſtabliſh themſelves. Againſt Monarchy it ſelf he could produce little of moment. He would prove that *Popular* Government was better for the *Greeks*, who, he ſaid, did nothing that was notable, till they put themſelves into that way. He ſaid, there were others alſo, the condition of whom pleaded for this Government, yet named none. But he eſpecially inſtanced in the *Romans* themſelves, who being averſe to *Monarchy*, had done all theſe great things under that form of rule and domination which was oppoſite to it.

Vid. Dionyſ. l. 52. *ad initium p.* 463, &c.

Agrippa his advice to *Cæſar* for Democracy.

Mecænas his plea for Monarchy.

5. But *Mecænas*, a man, though but of *Equeſtrian* rank, yet, of (*a*) high deſcent, and (*b*) extraordinary abilities, deſired *Cæſar*, that *if he loved his Country, he would alter, correct and reduce it into a better form of Government.* ‘He ſaid, he would not have him deceived with a ſpecious ſhew of names and words; but conſidering what ſhould follow, *to reſtrain the fury of the multitude, and take to himſelf, aſſiſted by excellent perſons, the Government; that the moſt prudent might conſult, the beſt Captains have the command of Armies, and*

the

(*a*) *Mecænas atavis edite regibus.* Horat. i. e. *Cui Menodorus pater, Menippus avus, Cecinna Rex Etruſcorum fuit atavus.*

(*b*) *Ingenioſus vir ille* (*Mecænas*) *fuit. Magnum exemplum Romanæ eloquentiæ daturus, niſi illum enervaſſet fælicitas, imo caſtraſſet.* Seneca *Epiſtol.* 19.

‘ *the moſt robuſt and poor ſerve in them.* Hereby every one minding his own buſi‘neſs, and one affording help to another, none would find any defect, and the ‘true power of the People with liberty and ſafety would be preſerved. For, *the* ‘*power of the multitude*, he ſaid, *being indeed the ſlavery of every worthy man, was moſt* ‘*grievous, and brought common deſtruction unto all: but this, wherein modeſty ſhould* ‘*ever be preferred, and mens deſerts conſidered, would make all alike to be happy.* ‘He would have him therefore aſſiſted and adviſed by worthy perſons, to *order* ‘*all things needful, to make War, create Magiſtrates, reward, puniſh, and make Laws*; ‘*all others being obedient*; *ſo that Wars might be made with ſecrecy, and upon occa*‘*ſion, ſuch as were preferred might be choſen, not by lot, or through the prevalence of* ‘*their ambition, but for their worth.* Thus good men might be honoured, and bad ‘puniſhed without diſturbance; and ſo at length things would be rightly car‘ried, when nothing ſhould be referred to the Vulgar, nor openly be conſul‘ted of, nor be committed to intruders, nor come into danger through their ‘ambition. In ſum, all would enjoy their own, no dangerous Wars nor wicked ‘Seditions being made.

The inſufferable inconveniencies of Popular Government.

6. ‘But theſe evils he proved to be common in a *Popular Government*, wherein ‘the *great ones aſpiring to the top, and with money or otherwiſe purchaſing the help of* ‘*the ordinary ſort, diſturbed all things.* He ſaid, they had now had large experience ‘of theſe things, and that by no other means could they be ended, than by that ‘whereof he ſpake; whereof this was an evident ſign, that for a long time they ‘had been vexed with Wars and Seditions, *by reaſon of the multitude of men, and* ‘*greatneſs of affairs; for that men were ſo various in Nature and Nations, and in*‘*dued with ſuch diverſity of affections and deſires: and becauſe things hereby were* ‘*brought to that paſs, that with difficulty could they be managed.* Now that he ſpake ‘true, he ſaid, the deeds themſelves bore mention; for, *as long as the multitude* ‘*of the* Roman *People was not great, nor much more conſiderable than their neigh*‘*bours, the State was in a good condition, and almoſt all* Italy *was ſubdued by them.* ‘*But after that paſſing out of* Italy, *they went abroad into all Countreys and Iſlands,* ‘*and filled all Seas and Lands with their name and power, no good got they by it: but* ‘*firſt of all, at home and within the walls, riots being made, they ſhook the Common*‘*wealth, and afterwards propagated the ſame miſchief into their Armies. Therefore* ‘*their City, like to ſome great ſhip of burthen, filled with a various multitude, and* ‘*deſtitute of a Pilot, having been for many ages beaten and toſſed with grievous* ‘*waves, now floted, and having no ſtay, was toſſed here and there.* He deſired him ‘therefore, that he would not ſtill neglect her thus conflicting with Tempeſts ‘(for he ſaw how much water ſhe had already taken in) nor ſuffer the ſtay to be ‘quite broken off (for ſhe was now battered, and could not long ſubſiſt) but ſee‘ing that the gods had preſented him as an Overſeer and Governour to his ‘Countrey, not to caſt her off; but as by his means ſhe had a little recovered her ‘ſpirits, ſo, for the ages to come, ſhe might remain in ſafety by the ſame means. ‘Having uſed theſe arguments drawn from the *Thing*, he took others from the ‘*Man*, and ſhewed him his imminent danger, in caſe he laid down his power. in the ‘ſeveral caſes of *Pompey*, *Marius* and *Sylla*. *Pompey*, he ſaid, having deveſted him‘ſelf of his power, was contemned, and being laid at by his Enemies periſhed, be‘cauſe he could not recover it. He told him, That his Father (meaning *Julius Cæ*‘*ſar*) going about the ſame miſcarried. The ſame had hapned to *Marius* and *Sylla*, ‘but that they were prevented by death; though ſome ſaid alſo that *Sylla* killed ‘himſelf to prevent his Enemies: 'tis certain, that many of his Laws began to be ‘repealed whilſt he yet lived. In concluſion, he told him, He muſt expect many ‘ſuch as *Lepidus*, *Sertorius*, *Brutus*, and *Caſſius*. This is the ſum of *Mecænas* his ſpeech ‘in behalf of Monarchy, whereof the beginning is loſt, as alſo the concluſion of ‘that of *Agrippa*.

Democratical Government impracticable in one or more Nations, conſiderable for wealth, and of various intereſts.

7. Theſe things ſufficiently evidence, that it was impoſſible in an humane way for the Empire to ſubſiſt in a Commonwealth ſo called; and not only that, but any one conſiderable Nation, or more (not to ſpeak of one, or a few Cities, or places at preſent) which muſt neceſſarily conſiſt of *multitudes of people, diverſly qualified, variouſly inclined, and very unequally poſſeſſed of wealth and honours.* Such having the Supream power in their own hands muſt needs foment ſeveral humours. The rich, and honourable, muſt either not medle, and ſo out of diſcontent watch for an advantage to alter things, or if they do, they will not be content with equal imployments. When any extraordinary power is obtained, ſuch inforcements as were formerly mentioned will happen, which being driven

on by that ambition which is but natural to all mankind, will drive either fear, or deſire, into Monarchy. A civil War eſpecially produceth this, and more eſpecially when the quarrel is betwixt ſingle perſons; and yet more eſpecially is it inforced by a religious pretence, under which Vizard the greateſt deceit hath triumphed, accompanied, or uſhered in by a ſacrilegious aſſerting of approving Providence, whereby *inviolable Majeſty, Order, Propriety, and all things excellent have been contaminated, overturned, and trampled on, and yet a ſtructure erected at length out of the materials of thoſe very things, which formerly were only by the intruders accounted bad, becauſe they ſtood upon another ground.* But not only in a *Democratical* way is it impoſſible for one, or more conſiderable Nations to be governed, but in an *Ariſtocratical* alſo. For if the wealth and propriety of a Nation be diffuſed, and not limited in the poſſeſſions of a few of the chiefeſt perſons, ſuch would find a continual repugnancy in their ſubjects, others thinking themſelves as capable of power as they. Hence quarrels and implacable enmities muſt ariſe, and he who ſhall be beſt able will at length command the reſt, though he ought to have been their fellow ſubject, and demonſtrate a neceſſity of Monarchical Government.

An anſwer to *Agrippa*'s Argument drawn from the *Greeks*.

8. The affairs of the *Græcians* urged by *Agrippa* to make againſt Monarchy do much plead for it, and evince the neceſſity of it. For after that the multitude in the ſeveral Cities had rebelliouſly withdrawn themſelves from that obedience, which both the Law of God, and juſt title of ſucceſſion challenged as due to their *Kings* (who as *Thucydides* acknowledgeth, governed them with Juſtice and Moderation) how miſerably were they inſlaved by their fellow Citizens (called by them *Tyranni* or *Tyrants*) and forced to ſubmit to Uſurpers, who puniſhed them for their diſobedience towards their rightful Soveraigns. Never were there ſuch *Tumults*, *Seditions*, *Civil Wars*, *Maſſacres*, and *Deſolations*, as in, and amongſt thoſe Cities which called themſelves Commonwealths. Such were the extravagancies of the multitude, that the beſt men were rejected, and bold, impudent, and ſawcy fellows domineered, who being corrupted with Money, bought and ſold all that was of conſequence, and by their cunning ſpeeches turned, and led the Rabble which way ſo ever they pleaſed. As for what *Agrippa* urged, *that they only did things of moment after that the power came into the peoples hands*, thoſe things of moment were *amongſt themſelves, and ſuch as made them miſerable, they tearing one another in pieces in the* Peloponneſian, *and other Wars, breathing nothing but rage, malice, and revenge againſt one another.* Nothing of conſequence did, or could they do againſt the Barbarians, as they accounted all beſides themſelves, till reduced under the Monarchy of *Alexander* they became inſtruments in his hands. Common danger ingaged them againſt *Xerxes*, whoſe multitudes deſtroyed themſelves; but had it not been for the meer wiſdom of *Themiſtocles, want of Order, of Government, and Diſcretion, had ruined them all in departing into* Peloponneſus, *and fooliſhly applying themſelves to the fortifying of the* Iſthmus. Though they ſeveral times aſſiſted the *Ionians* in their Rebellion, yet ſtill at length were their endeavours defeated. *Cimon* indeed got ſeveral Victories, and did notable exploits in a Piratical way, but what effects produced they? The moſt that was effected at Land was by *Ageſilaus*, but he having not done much, was recalled, for that many Cities having been allured with *Perſian* Gold (which never failed to corrupt the Councils, overthrow the projects, and diſturb the affairs of theſe petty States, by taking off the great Leaders of the Rabble) had conſpired againſt *Sparta*. But what great matters they could do againſt Monarchy appeared, in that, firſt *Philip*, then *Alexander* his Son, and their Succeſſors, eaſily ſubdued, and kept them under. As for their *Colonies*, each one uſually followed the fortune of its *Metropolis*, little but Tumults, Baniſhments, and Maſſacres do we hear of, or of private mens getting the power over them, for that wanting rightful, and ſucceſſive Princes, they lay open to the cheats of their fellow Citizens. The particular caſes of *Corcyra*, *Samus*, *Syracuſe*, and others demonſtrate this, and therewith the danger, and infirmity of *Antimonarchical Government*.

The conſtitutions of their ſeveral States were dangerous.

9. But in particular, ſuch were the ſeveral conſtitutions of theſe Cities, that *Ariſtotle* himſelf liked none of them, as appeareth in his Books of Politicks. The *Cretian* Commonwealth had its extravagancies, and if a Government may be judged from the carriage, and diſpoſition of the people, in the opinion of *Epimenides* one of their own Poets, it was moſt naught. *Lycurgus* by taking away the juſt, and Hereditary power of the Kings of *Sparta*, and contrary both

to Nature and Loyalty, diſſolving the Government of his Forefathers, made but way for many inconveniences in the too great power of the Senate, and otherwiſe, but eſpecially for the tyranny of the *Ephori*, five fellows choſen yearly out of the Rabble, who domineer'd with unparalleld inſolence over all. *Solon's* conſtitution, after ſo many changes and alterations wherein no reſt could be procured from the time they forſook Kingly Government, gave no ſuch ſettlement, but that *Piſiſtratus* preſently after cheating the Rabble over and over, very eaſily made himſelf Maſter of *Athens*. Their *Oſtraciſm* frighted all able perſons from medling with the Commonwealth, as alſo did the *Petaliſm* of *Syracuſe;* whereupon their affairs went down the wind, till they were forced to recall the baniſhed, and change ſtill from one conſtitution to another, never being at quiet, for that the multitude tyrannized in their Aſſemblies. As for the learning of the *Greeks*, whereof they ſo much boaſted, they had it either from the *Egyptians* or *Caldæans*, who were ſubject to, and from the beginning flouriſhed under *Monarchy:* and *Piſiſtratus* who was a Monarch (though of his own making) made the firſt Collection of Books, and thereby brought Learning into *Athens* and *Greece*. Finally, the *Greeks* in their Wars were forced to make uſe of ſingle perſons; and at home in their greateſt neceſſities did they fly to them, as *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* mentioneth the *Harmoſtes* of *Lacedæmon*, the *Archus* of the *Theſſalians*, and the *Æſymnetes* of the *Mitylenæans*, whom he compareth with the *Dictator* of the *Romans*.

An Anſwer to *Agrippa's* Argument taken from the *Romans*.

10. For the *Romans*, 'tis a meer miſtake of *Agrippa*. Their affairs never more proſpered than under Monarchy, if we conſider the ſmall beginnings of the City. *Romulus* did exceeding much for his time, and ſo did his Succeſſors in their ſeveral ways, with ſo ſmall a power as ſuch a Colony could produce, inſomuch as revengeful and furious *Brutus* acknowledged, that *no better way of Government could be found out than what they had chalked out to them.* The faults in it ſeem to have been his ſomething too much indulging at his firſt conſtitutions a popular humour which might bring him to his end afterwards. Then *Servius* to curry favour with the Rabble, that they might maintain him in his illegally procured power, diminiſhed the Regal authority, and that of the Senate, which gave the multitude ſuch a ſcope, as after could they not be reduced into any order. After him *Tarquinius* the Heir of *Priſcus* might go about to recover this power (for, a little charity may be allowed us, for one who lived in ſo dark and remote times, and whoſe Actions were only recorded by his Enemies, ſeeing we have formerly related his Story as we find it) and thereby might incur that prejudice which, together with the fault of his Son, and the implacable malice of *Brutus*, procured his Baniſhment. This may be added as an ill accident, that *Romulus* dying childleſs, the Kingdom came to be Elective, which thing muſt at length bring great inconveniences, ſo that Experience now hath taught ſuch Kingdoms to continue the Government to particular Families. But *Brutus* his giving to his *Conſuls* full regal power (though they were two, and Annual) and putting the Sword fully into their hands, together with his acknowledgment of the good Government of all the former Kings, do more than make us ſuſpect his ſpleen to have acted him moſt in the change of the power, eſpecially the conſequences conſidered. For, the power of the *Conſuls* being ſhortly after diminiſhed, or rather enervated by *Valerius* (who by flattering of the multitude got the name of *Poplicola*) the common ſort got head, and confounded all things, nothing but changes, and re-changes happening, till at length they quite outed the *Patricians* of their power, giving them leiſure to repent their joyning with *Brutus*, and brought things to that ruin and diſorder formerly mentioned, as compelled them to turn about, and by their *Lex Regia* (hereafter to be ſpoken of) to devolve all their power upon a ſingle Perſon.

The Diſorders and Tumults ariſing from their Antimonarchical Government.

11. Such and ſo many were theſe Seditions and Tumults, that thrice the common ſort departed from the *Patricians* out of the City. And no ſooner was the War againſt their King ended, but the ſtirs begun; and theſe very ſtirs have we proved from *Dionyſius*, to have procured immediately the ſetting up of another King in effect, for half a year's continuance, *viz.* the *Dictator*, to which Officer they were forced to fly in all difficulties. Now it ſufficiently appeared, that *the want of a King hindred the promotion of their affairs*, for, ever when any work was to be done abroad, nay when the Enemy was even at the gates, would the multitude mutiny, and with ſo much a-do at length could be drawn out, that buſineſs was retarded, and thereby their affairs not a little

impaired, the *Monarch* being wanting, who ſhould have kept both orders in ſubjection and awe. The weight of Uſury and Oppreſſion was the firſt pretended cauſe of theſe ſtirs; but from it the multitude paſſed on from one thing to another, never reſting till it had got all Offices of dignity, power, and profit, into its own hands, as hath been at large made out. To effect this, they would one while have *Conſuls*, and another while *Tribunes Military*, having formerly made *Decemviri* for the making of new Laws; ſo that within the ſpace of 134 years, they had 37 changes in the Government, whereof (to make it clear) fifteen were from *Conſuls* to *Tribunes Military*, and from *Tribunes* to *Conſuls*, the two grand ones from *Kings* to *Conſuls*, and from *Conſuls* to *Decemviri*, and twenty *Dictatorſhips*, beſides *Interregnums* many an one, whereby for five days the chief power was in the hands of their *Interreges*. Thus was the Government toſſed to and fro by the multitude, and little was done abroad, by reaſon of theſe confuſions, nay the City was taken by the *Gauls*, and razed, all but the *Capitol*, through the cowardiſe of their *Tribunes*, who alſo being in number three or more, by their ſeveral opinions confounded their Armies, and ſhewed the truth of that ſpeech of *Agamemnon* in *Homer*. And this is worthy obſervation, that when the contention aroſe about the *Conſulſhip*, which the Commons would have equally with the *Patritians*, ſo incredible were thoſe confuſions, that for five years the *Tribuni Plebis* (thoſe great incendiaries) ſuffered no ſupreme Magiſtrates at all to be created.

37 Changes of Government in 134 years.

Ουκ ἄγαθον πολυκοιρανίη, &c.

12. All the great conqueſts afterwards were made by ſingle perſons, who abroad had alone the command of Armies. And ſo far was this preſent kind of Government from being inſtrumental to them, that it manifeſtly hindred and obſtructed all good proceedings. For, when a *Conſul*'s year was out, then muſt he be recalled, and a Succeſſor ſent him, though he was in never ſo fair a way for the conquering of any Nation, which at length began to be underſtood, and then was their command continued to them, under the name of *Proconſuls*, after which time it was, that the great matters were performed; before this the Generals being glad to ſhuffle up a Peace, leſt they ſhould be defrauded of the credit of ending the Wars by their Succeſſors. The main cauſe of the growth of their Empire (under the all diſpoſing Providence of God) was the valour and virtue of their Captains and Senators, at that time when *Pyrrhus* ſet upon them; the courage alſo of the Soldiers was extraordinary, ſo that (as *Pyrrhus* ſpoke of himſelf) a *King*, whoſe command and conduct would have been conſtant and uncontroled, might have done greater wonders with ſuch men. But as for the Government, ſo far was it from contributing to juſtice or virtue, that, even in theſe times, which their Writers ſo celebrate for theſe things, the multitude having by the *Hortenſian* Law wreſted this power from the Senate, to oblige all whatſoever by their *Plebiſcita*, decreed aid to be ſent to the *Mamertines*, though againſt all equity and conſcience, the Senate having utterly refuſed to aſſiſt thoſe thieves, murderers, intruders. But the multitude was told of great profit which would accrue to all men in particular, and therefore profit muſt bear down right, and forces muſt be ſent into *Sicily* to get footing there, to inrich theſe vertuous & temperate men: and hence is to be fetched the riſe of the *Carthaginian* Wars (which with what injuſtice they were managed on the *Roman* part, hath been ſeen) and indeed this was the original of all their conqueſts. The main things performed were done by ſuch, as rather awed the people, than were awed by it, though to obtain their commands, they corrupted the multitude with Money. *Marius*, *Sylla*, *Pompey*, and *Cæſar*, after they had ſucceſſively ingroſſed the power, made the greateſt conqueſts. After the overthrow of *Carthage* eſpecially, ſcarcely any great command was obtained, but by ſome great promiſes under-hand, ſome new attempts of innovation, or Money diſtributed to the Tribes. So weak, imperfect, and vitious was the Government.

Great Conqueſts were made by ſingle Perſons.

13. Theſe things evidence the excellency of *Monarchical Government* above the reſt; a neceſſity of it in any conſiderable Nation or Nations, and in Cities which extend the freedom of Suffrages to their Subjects or Aſſociates, and are conſiderable, for number, power and intereſt. Single Cities have for ſome time ſubſiſted otherwiſe; but if we view thoſe that have been mentioned in this Work, ſome of them we ſhall find to have been kept in that way by ſuch ſtrange diſcipline, and principles of equality and levelling, as are even repugnant to Nature, and deſtroy that lawful uſe of ſuch things as were ordained for man's comfort and delight. Such was the conſtitution of that of *Sparta*, which yet ſecured it

Hence appeareth the excellency and neceſſity of Monarchy.

not

The Antiquity,

And Authority of it.

not from the tyranny of the *Ephori*, and when but the uſe of Gold, Silver, and other things, very lawful in themſelves, came up, the *Lacedæmonians* were ſenſible of their ſlavery to ſuch harſh conſtitutions, and the Government tottered. Again, in others that were left more to their liberty, we ſee how impoſſible it was for the People to uſe it, but for their own deſtruction; ſo that for any one place to ſubſiſt without ſuch miſeries and diſaſters, is near to a miracle. *Monarchy*, though it may have its defects (as all things managed by meer men) yet *in it ſelf* includes more order, certainty, and ſecurity, its force being commonly turned outward. It's that which is moſt agreable with primitive prudence, when men were not arrived at that ambition and wickedneſs, which later times have produced. All Nations at firſt had their Kings from the very firſt foundation, as is clear in the caſe of the *Greeks*, and others; ſo that they voluntarily ſubmitted to them, at the firſt leading out of Colonies from the *Eaſt*, being their Captains; and thence we may ſee that the Government is natural, flowing from paternal rule, and proceeding from that Superiority, which Maſters of Families, and Heads of Kindreds might well challenge over others. It's moſt ſuitable to the Government of the Univerſe, which is in God alone, who therefore acknowledgeth *Kings* for his *Vicegerents*, and calleth them *gods*, promiſing they ſhould be nurſing Fathers to his Church, and taking no notice herein of other Governments. Hence our Kings owe account to him alone, are *Sacroſanct* (which term the *Romans* gave to their very *Tribunes*, who were inviolable, it being death to injure them in the leaſt, and therefore we may well apply it to *Kings*) and that perpetually, and are intruſted by him with a Prerogative, which is neceſſary for the good of their Subjects. For all power flowing from them, it's contradictory for authority to challenge it ſelf, as unnatural and violent, for a derived ſtream, to oppoſe the current of the Fountain.

Mecænas his advice to *Cæſar* for the ordering of his affairs.

Conſule Dionem l. 12.p.476.D.

Magiſtrates of Senatorian dignity.

14. But (to return from this requiſite digreſſion, whereby an anſwer is given to *Agrippa*'s Arguments, and Students are directed to make the right and natural uſe of Hiſtory) after that *Mecænas* had preſſed *Cæſar* with theſe urgent reaſons, to take the Government upon him, he gave him directions for the management of his affairs. ‘Firſt, he adviſed him to regulate the Senate, placing and diſplacing according to the worth of perſons; and to have a ſpecial regard to Nobility and Gentry, to gratifie them with imployments. To admit none into the *Equeſtrian* rank before eighteen years of age, and none into the Senate till 25; before which time the *Romans* were never accounted of full age. When theſe had born the Offices of *Quæſtor*, *Ædilis*, and *Tribunus plebis*, then being thirty years old, he would have them made *Prætors*, all which at firſt were to be *Romans* alone, leſt he ſhould ſeem ſuddenly to change the cuſtoms of his Country. All theſe Magiſtrates he would have of *Cæſar*'s making, and not this power to be left in any caſe to the Senate, or People. He counſelled him by all means to diminiſh their antient power, which elſe might procure trouble and alteration; but leave them their whole honour and dignity. The way to this was to make them execute their Offices in the City, and not ſuffer them then, nor preſently after, to have any Military command, but for ſome time to live privately. He would have theſe Magiſtrates, to celebrate games, and exerciſe judicial power in all caſes, except that of Murther; for ſome Judges were to be choſen from amongſt the reſt of the Senators, but the chief power to remain in theſe. Then he ſaid, a certain Governour or *Mayor* of the City was to be made out of the moſt principal men, who had born theſe Offices, to joyn with the reſt in governing the City, to receive Appeals, and judge capital Cauſes, except ſome afterwards to be ſpoken of, both in the City, and 81 miles round about. Another of the ſame rank was to be choſen, who ſhould make inſpection into the Stock, Eſtates and Manners of Senators, and *Knights* or *Equites*, both thoſe of under age and others, and as well of women as the other Sex, to correct ſuch things, as being not worthy of puniſhment, yet being neglected might occaſion great inconveniences; and refer the greater matters to *Cæſar* himſelf, who was to bear the name of *Cenſor*, and the other being a *Patrician*, and the next in dignity to the *Mayor*, but that of *Subcenſor*. Theſe two Officers might be, for life, except they committed ſome fault, or by old Age or Sickneſs were rendred unſerviceable; for no dammage could thence ariſe, the one having no Soldiers, and the other but a few, and who ſhould execute his Office before *Cæſar*'s eyes, for the moſt part. The other Magiſtrates, would fear to do any unjuſt thing, being preſently to be reduced into a private con-

‘dition, and others to ſucceed them in their power. He added, that the ‘Provinces were only to be committed to men of *Prætorian* rank; the reſt being ‘*Proprætors* in order once and again, ſhould arrive at the *Conſulſhip*, (if they well ‘exerciſed their former Offices) and then be preferred to greater commands.

15. ‘He further adviſed him to divide *Italy*, for 94 miles round about the City, ‘and all the reſt of the conquered Countries after ſuch a manner, according to ‘People, Nations, and Cities, as if they were to be governed by ſingle men ‘with abſolute power. In each of theſe Soldiers were to be placed, over whom ‘was to be ſet one perſon of *Conſular* dignity, and two more of *Prætorian* rank, ‘from thoſe there lying appeal to the other, in all caſes, except when Officers ‘of the Army were to be animadverted on, who were to be puniſhed by none but ‘*Cæſar* himſelf, leſt they ſhould thereby be brought by fearing ſome one more, to ‘attempt ſomething againſt the Prince. All thoſe who had any command out ‘of the City, were to have their Salaries ſet as was ſuitable to the Imployment, ‘for that they could not live of their own, and it was not convenient they ſhould ‘ſpend what they liſt, as they did at preſent. They were not to hold their ‘imployments under the term of three years, nor longer than five, for in ſo ſhort ‘a ſpace they could but learn the intereſts of places, and how to behave ‘themſelves, and longer commands made men but proud, and provoked them to ‘attempt new matters. And one great command he ſaid, was not to be given them ‘preſently after another, for this would amount to as much, as if they had one ‘continued to them; but after they had been reduced to a private condition, and ‘therein lived at home. Thus much for Senators.

Of *Equeſtrian* rank.

16. ‘From amongſt the *Equites*, he would have him chuſe out two of the moſt ‘excellent, and make them Captains of his Guard. For to commit that truſt ‘to one would not be ſafe, and to more than two, would not want trouble. ‘Being two in number, if one ſhould be treacherous, the other would preſerve ‘him. They were to be ſuch as had been trained up in the Wars, and much ‘exerciſed in Offices, and to have the command not only of his Guard, but of all ‘Soldiers in *Italy*, ſo as to puniſh and reward them, except Centurions, and ‘ſuch as belonged to *Senatorian* Magiſtrates. Theſe Captains of the Guard ought ‘to have their *Deputies*, and hold their places for their lives, as alſo the *Mayor* ‘of the City, and the *Subcenſor*. Beſides, out of the next rank of *Equites*, one ‘ſhould be choſen for Captain of the Watch, and another to take care for ‘proviſion of Corn, but theſe for a limited time. The care of the Treaſury, ‘Exchequer, and other matters, as well at *Rome* as throughout *Italy*, was to be ‘committed to thoſe of *Equeſtrian* rank, who were to have Salaries ſuitable to their ‘condition, being poorer than *Senators*. He told him the reaſon why he would ‘have theſe Offices committed to them, was, for that it was inconvenient to ‘have both the Sword and Money in the ſame hands, and better that publick ‘buſineſs ſhould be managed by many, both that more might reap benefit from ‘it, and learn experience; and hereby his Subjects would love him more, and ‘he would have a ſufficient number fit for employment. One *Eques* would be ‘ſufficient at *Rome* for gathering Money, and one in each Province, who might ‘have aſſiſtants out of the *Equites*, and *Cæſar*'s *Liberti* or *Freed-men*. For he told ‘him it was convenient to joyn thoſe with them, that his Servants might get ‘ſomething, and he receive certain intelligence how matters ſhould go. Now ‘if any *Eques* (or *Knight*, if we may ſo call him) ſhould grow ſo famous by ‘buſineſs, as to be thought worthy to be received into the *Senatorian* rank, his age ‘ought not to be any obſtacle: and ſometimes ſome Officers of the Army were ‘to be received into the Senate, provided they had never been ordinary Soldiers, ‘but from the beginning *Centurions* at the leaſt.

Education of the Children of *Senators* and *Equites*.

17. ‘He further adviſed him to educate all of *Senatorian* and *Equeſtrian* rank, ‘whilſt they were boys, at School in humanity, and when grown up, in Fencing ‘and Riding, by Maſters hired publickly in both places. Foraſmuch as it is the ‘part of an excellent Prince, not only that he do well himſelf, but to take care ‘that all elſe do ſo. This would be effected, not by permitting them to do ill, ‘and then correcting them, but teaching them beforehand ſuch things. And ‘he added, That he needed not to fear, that ſuch as were ſo excellently ‘educated, would attempt innovation; foraſmuch as ſuch as were not cultivated ‘by any diſcipline, but diſſolute in breeding and carriage, were hereof to be ‘ſuſpected, who eaſily would commit the moſt wicked and abominable things, both ‘againſt themſelves and others.

The Militia and Money.

18. ‘Foraſmuch as by reaſon of the largeneſs of the *Empire*, and nearneſs of Enemies, it was neceſſary to have a ſtanding Army, he would have levies made out of the pooreſt and luſtieſt young men, who being continually exerciſed and trained up in Military Diſcipline, all others were to be forbidden the uſe of Arms. Then for Money, which he ſhewed to be neceſſary for carrying on of Affairs, in all Governments, as well as under *Monarchy*, he adviſed him to make it of all publick Things gotten in War, and let it out upon moderate intereſt: to look well to the Mines, and impoſe Tribute upon all Subjects, it being reaſonable that all ſhould contribute to the expence of that, which tended to the protection and good of all. But there was no danger he ſaid, but men would be willing to pay, ſeeing moſt of them ſhould receive it back with advantage; either, by bearing Offices of Magiſtracy or Government, or ſerving in the War, eſpecially when they underſtood that *Cæſar* himſelf lived ſoberly and frugally, not improving the publick expence to any private exceſs.

Rome to be adorned.

The Provinces curbed.

How ſcandalous words to be thought of.

How Traitors to be puniſhed.

19. ‘For the reſt, he would have him adorn *Rome* with all Magnificence, and ſet it out with all ſorts of Solemnities, to make it in great reverence and eſteem abroad. No Nation was to have any power in its own hands, nor meet in any publick Aſſemblies of Debate, for that would procure Diſturbance; for which reaſon neither was the *Roman* People, he ſaid, to be permitted either to come together for paſſing of Judgment, to the *Comitia*, or any other Council, for the enacting of any thing. No City or People was to be ſuffered to uſe any exceſs in Buildings or in Games: none to uſe any peculiar Coin, Weight, or Meaſure. None were to ſend any peculiar meſſage to him, except the matter required his inſpection, but have recourſe to the Governor of the place, who was therewith to acquaint *Cæſar*. Ambaſſadors either from Enemies or confederate Kings or States, were to have Audience from the Senate, that the power ſeeming to be in the Senate, they might ſee how many Enemies they ſhould have if the caſe ſo required, and Matters being diſpatched by conſent of the *Fathers*, the Majeſty of the Empire would be the more eſtabliſhed. All of *Senatorian* rank he would have impeached before, and judged by the Senate, that *Cæſar* might eſcape the envy of Condemnation, and others by ſo formal proceedings, might be kept in awe. As for any ſcandalous words againſt himſelf, he told him, he ſhould neither hear any accuſation, nor puniſh them. For it was not good, he ſaid, that he ſhould believe, that any one would injure him, who hurt no body, but did good to all; for, ſaith he, bad Princes only do this, whom their guilty Conſciences make credulous. Neither is it fitting to take thoſe things ill, which if true, ought not to have been done, and if falſe, ſhould be neglected and diſſembled: for that many by puniſhing them, miniſter greater occaſion of worſe diſcourſe. His ſence therefore of ſcandalous words was this: that he ought to be higher than all injury, and neither himſelf to fancy, nor make others believe, that any one durſt be ſo ſawcy, but that the ſame opinion of veneration was had of him, as of the eternal Gods. If any plotted his deſtruction, he would neither have him himſelf to judge, nor ſentence him, but refer him to the Senate, and if he were convicted, to puniſh him as lightly as might be, that his Crime might gain belief. But he here excepted ſuch, as having command of Armies, made open Inſurrections, who were not to be formally Arraigned, but puniſhed as Enemies.

The Senate to be made uſe of.

20. ‘Theſe things, and moſt of the reſt which concerned the Common-wealth, he would have him propound to the *Senate*, wherein all the Members ſhould have equal power of Voting, except any of them were accuſed. If the party indeed were not as yet a *Senator*, or but of the rank of a *Quæſtor*, all might have voices; but it was againſt reaſon that he, who never had been a *Tribune of the People*, or *Ædilis*, ſhould paſs Sentence upon him that had born theſe Offices, or that thoſe ſhould do it upon one of *Prætorian* rank, or ſuch an one upon a *Conſular* perſon: but it was fitting enough that thoſe of *Conſular* Dignity might judge all the ſeveral ſorts, and the reſt their Equals or Inferiors: *Cæſar* himſelf was to be Judge in all Appeals, made from the greater ſorts of Magiſtrates, his Procurators, the Governor of the City, Subcenſor, *Præfecti Prætorio*, Overſeers of Proviſions or Proveditors, and Maſters of the Watches: for *none ought to have ſo abſolute a power, but that appeal ought to lie from him.* Of theſe he ought to take Cognizance, as alſo of the cauſes of *Equites*, *Centurions*, or *prime Officers*, when the Controverſie was about Life or Reputation.

In what Caſes Appeals ought to lye to *Cæſar.*

'For theſe Caſes ought to be referred to him alone, and for the fore-mentioned cauſes none other ought to judge them. Yet to the hearing of them he might nominate ſome of the principal men of *Senatorian* or *Equeſtrian* rank, or of Conſular, or *Prætorian* Dignity, that he and they having had hereby experience one of another, he might imploy them in other matters abroad. In the Caſes of greateſt conſequence he would not have him ask their opinions openly, leſt favouring their friends they might not ſpeak freely their minds; but their opinions were to be written down, and then preſently blotted out, which ſecrecy would procure them to uſe all freedom. He adviſed him in his affairs of Cauſes, Letters, buſineſs of Cities, and Petitions of private men, and in other things of Government, to uſe the aſſiſtance of the *Equites*. To refuſe to hear no man's advice, and to look at the Will, and not at the Succeſs, both of Councellors and Soldiers; as, neither, to envy the glory of Military Men. For, many fearing the envy of Princes and States, have rather choſen to loſe than gain in the Wars, to provide for their own ſafety. Wherefore he would not have him (whom eſpecially the event, either as to profit or diſprofit would concern) in word others, and in deed, to envy himſelf.

Military men not to be envied.

Rules for *Cæſar*'s General carriage.

Deſerving perſons rather to be rewarded above than below their merits.

21. 'He deſired him to ſpeak and do ſuch things, as he would have his Officers to think and practice, for this would more eaſily teach them their duty, Men being led more by Example than Precept, and the Actions of Princes being eſpecially pried into, and more imitated than their threatnings feared. The lives of others he ſhould look into, but not greatly enquire: what Crimes by others were detected he ought to puniſh, but diſſemble ſuch as had no accuſer, and know how to correct mildly, which in ſome caſes doth more good than rigorous Proceedings. Then as for Rewards, he told him, he was to requite deſerving perſons rather above than below their merits; for this was the way to win upon them, and to make them virtuous. He then adviſed him not to admit of any extraordinary Honours from Senate or others: for this would be needleſs, chargeable, and dangerous. He bade him by virtue ſeek for immortality, not by Temples built unto his name. The gods he told him he was ever, and all over to worſhip, according to the cuſtom of his Countrey, and compel others ſo to do: and to puniſh Authors of ſtrange Religions, not only for reverence to his gods, but alſo becauſe ſuch things draw men to the uſe of foreign Cuſtoms, whence Conſpiracies, and Bandyings ariſe, which are no whit agreeable with the Government of a ſingle perſon. Neither was he to ſuffer any *Magicians*; and to have a care of *Philoſophers* alſo, who by their foretellings often raiſed Seditions. He was to be ſtudious of peace, content with preſent enjoyments, and yet to be ready for War upon all occaſions. Though he muſt uſe Intelligencers and Spies; yet he ought not to be too credulous, and not indulge his Servants or Dependents too much; for all their failings would be imputed to him. He was to right inferior and private men, incourage Arts, and profitable Occupations, as to puniſh idle, and vitious perſons; not to ſuffer contentions, or animoſities to grow, nor peculiar names to be aſſumed, nor any other thing whence diſcord might ariſe. He was to keep an equality in his granting requeſts as much as could be; and therefore not to ſuffer any to ask him what he ſhould not grant; but to indeavour that none ſhould petition for any thing forbidden. In ſum, he adviſed him never to abuſe his Power, and not to think this a Diminution of it, if he did not do all that he might: but by how much the more he could do what he would, by ſo much to take care to will all things that became him. He bade him always conſider whether he did well or ill: whether by ſuch an action he procured love or ill will, that he might do and forbear accordingly. He told him, That though he heard no body blame him, yet ought he not to conclude, that therefore he did well; nor to expect that any ſhould be ſo mad as openly to upbraid him. This no man would do, though moſt extremely injured. Nay, many, ſaith he, are conſtrained openly to commend thoſe by whom they have been wronged, leſt they ſhould be thought to blame them. But 'tis the duty of a Prince not to gueſs at the affections of others from their words; but from thoſe things which 'tis moſt probable that they think of.

22. 'Theſe, and other like things he would have him do; for many things he ſaid he paſſed over, becauſe all could not be ſpoken at the ſame time. One thing he would ſay, which was the ſum of all, either ſaid or to be ſaid. *If he would do all thoſe things, which if he were a ſubject he would have his Prince do*

The ſum of all *Mecænas* his advice.

‘*to him, he ſhould in nothing offend, proſper in all things, and lead both a ſafe,*
‘*and moſt happy life,* For how could not all but look upon him, and love him as
‘a Father, and Preſerver, when they ſhould ſee him modeſt, of unblameable life,
‘and excellent both in Peace and War; when he ſhould neither diſgrace nor in-
‘jure any one, but carry himſelf humbly: not exact Money from others, whilſt
‘he himſelf flowed with wealth; not afflicting others whilſt he was luxurious;
‘not puniſhing others whilſt he himſelf was looſe and licentious; but in all things
‘as it were ſharing with them? Therefore relying on that defence which would
‘be great in thy ſelf if thou hurteſt no man; Believe me, ſaith he, thou wilt have
‘no body, either hate thee, or deviſe any thing againſt thee, which being ſo,
‘thou muſt needs lead a pleaſant life. For, what can be more ſweet, what more
‘happy, than for one with virtue to enjoy all humane good things, and to be able
‘to confer them upon others? In concluſion, thoſe, and other things heretofore
‘ſpoken being conſidered, he bade him yield to him, and not contemn Fortune,
‘which had preferred him, picked out from amongſt all others, to be chief. Now,
‘if taking in reality to himſelf alone the Soveraign power, he feared the Name
‘of a Kingdom as odious, he might omit that, and order his matters under the
‘other of *Cæſar:* if he deſired other titles they would give him that of *Impe-*
‘*rator*, heretofore given to his Father: they would adorn him alſo with ſome
‘other venerable note of Honour, ſo that he might enjoy all the Privileges of
‘a Kingdom without the envied name thereof.

Cæſar followeth the advice of *Mecænas*.

23. *Mecænas* concluded with theſe words, whoſe advice *Cæſar* followed, though he greatly commended them both for wiſdom, copiouſneſs, and freedom of ſpeech: yet he did not preſently ſet upon all thoſe things which he offered, leſt if on a ſudden he ſhould attempt to change the conſtitution of the State, he might fail in his indeavours: therefore ſome things he changed out of hand, others afterwards: and ſome things he left to be perfected by his Succeſſors, which he thought might be better ſetled through the advantage of time and opportunity. He uſed alſo the induſtry of *Agrippa* in the proſecution of theſe deſigns no leſs than if he had adviſed him to this courſe. In this ſame year, and his fifth Conſulſhip, he took the name of *Imperator*; not in that ſence wherein anciently it was wont to be given for Victories obtained (for ſo he had it given him often both before this and after;) but in reſpect of chief Command, or Authority, as it had been decreed to his Father *Julius*, and his Sons and Poſterity. Then was he made *Cenſor* with *Agrippa*, and amongſt other things belonging to that Office, purged the Senate, into which many *Equites* and unworthy *Plebeians* had crept during the Civil Wars; and increaſed it to the number of a thouſand. Two perſons, *viz. C. Cluilius* and *C. Furnius* he put into the rank of *Conſulares*; becauſe being deſigned *Conſuls* they had been prevented by others. He alſo ranked certain Families amongſt the *Patricians*; becauſe moſt of thoſe had periſhed in the Wars. He commanded that no *Senator* without his leave ſhould paſs beyond *Italy*, which is at this day obſerved, ſaith *Dio*, It being unlawful for any of that rank to travel, except into *Sicily*, or *Gallia Narbonenſis*, whither any that had Eſtates in thoſe Provinces might go without leave; becauſe thoſe Countries were in quiet, and deſtitute of Arms. *Cæſar* alſo conſidering that many Senators and others truſted him not; leſt they ſhould attempt new matters, he gave out that he had burned all the Letters found in *Antony* his Coffers: and indeed ſome of them were loſt, but moſt of them he very carefully kept, and afterwards made uſe of them as he had occaſion. He ſent for *Antiochus Commagenus*, who had treacherouſly killed his Brother, ſent on an Embaſſy to *Rome*, and put him to Death, being condemned by the Senate.

Taketh the title of *Imperator*, and ordereth ſeveral Matters.

Maketh a *Luſtrum*.

24. *Cæſar* in his ſixth *Conſulſhip*, together with *M. Agrippa* his Collegue made a *Luſtrum* 41 years after the laſt Celebration of one (by *Cn. Lentulus* and *L. Gellius*) and herein were ceſſed 4063000 Polls of *Roman* Citizens. He celebrated Games alſo, which had been decreed in memory of his Victory at *Actium*, and it was ordered they ſhould be renewed every fifth year, four Colleges of Prieſts taking care of them, *viz.* the *Pontifices*, *Augurs*, *Septemviri*, and *Quindecimviri* by courſes. He cauſed other ſorts of Games and Exerciſes to be made at his own coſt, borrowing Money; ordered that two perſons of *Prætorian* rank ſhould yearly overſee the Treaſury, gave to the people four times as much Corn as they were wont to have, to ſome Senators he gave Money, ſome of this rank being ſo poor, that they could not bear Offices belonging to them. All Ingagements and Debts to the Excheque he made void that ſtood good before the Battel at *Actium*,

except what concerned Buildings. He ſuffered no Sacrifice to be offered to *Egyptian* gods within the *Pomærium*, took alſo care for repairing of Temples. And becauſe many unjuſt things had been ordained during the late Seditions and Civil Wars, eſpecially in the *Triumvirate*, he made them all void by one Edict, and cauſed them to ceaſe from his ſixth *Conſulſhip*. Being in the eyes and mouths of all for theſe things, he conſidered how he might increaſe his reputation, and confirm his ſingle power by the conſent, and without the conſtraint of the people. Being then *Conſul* the ſeventh time, when he had prepared every Senator before-hand, whom he knew to be well affected towards him, he came to the Senate-houſe, and there read a ſet Speech which he had written down fitly for this purpoſe.

Pretending in a ſet Speech to the Senate, a deſire to lay down his Power.

25. 'Herein he firſt exceedingly magnified with much affected Art, the things 'he was about to do, and then ſignified, That though he had ſuch opportunity to 'eſtabliſh himſelf as no man ever had more, yet did he now deveſt himſelf of all 'power, and *reſtore all unto them, Arms, Laws, and Provinces: and not only ſuch 'things as he had been intruſted with, but he gave them beſides what he himſelf had 'further acquired.* This then his gift he much illuſtrated by his ſelf-denial, ſhewn 'as well formerly as at preſent, being very ſorry that ever there had been occaſion 'for the Commonwealth to uſe him. He ſpake of the Juſtice and Prudence of 'this Reſignation, and boaſted of the glory of it, which he avowed to exceed 'the Conqueſts of *Gall*, *Myſia*, *Egypt*, or *Pannonia*, the Victories over *Pharnaces*, '*Juba*, or *Phraates*, the expedition into *Britain* or the paſſage of the *Rhine*, and 'all the difficulties of the Civil Wars. He demanded if any could be found that 'excelled him in greatneſs of mind, who had ſo many Cities, Nations, and Soldiers at his back, and whom none durſt oppoſe? *Horatius*, *Mucius*, *Curtius*, *Regulus*, and the *Decii*, who ventured their lives for glory, were not comparable 'to him, for as much as by this Reſignation he exceeded both them, and all others 'in glory. And ſhewed hence that the gallantry of Spirit found in the ancient '*Romans* was not extinct. Having diſcourſed much in this vein, he concluded 'with his advice to the Senate how to manage Publick Affairs, telling them, 'That if they followed it, they would be happy and thankful to him, who reſcuing them from Seditions, had brought them into that eſtate: but if they did not 'punctually obſerve it, they would make him repent of what he had done, and 'caſt themſelves again into manifold Wars, and great Dangers.

26. *Cæſar* having read his writing, the Minds of the *Senators* were marvelouſly affected. Some there were who knew his deſign, and therefore agreed with him; the reſt either ſuſpected his intent, or believed him. Of theſe ſome admired his craft in concealing his purpoſes; others were troubled at his deſign: ſome at his cunning; and others at his refuſal of the Government. For there were ſome who hated the *Popular* form as turbulent, and approving of the change, were well pleaſed with *Cæſar*'s adminiſtration. Yet the product of theſe ſeveral affections was the ſame; for neither they that believed he ſpake as he thought, could rejoyce; thoſe that wiſhed he were reduced to a private condition, being yet fearful how things would go; and they that deſired he might keep his power, being ſorry for the loſs of their hopes. Neither could they that believed him not reprehend him, becauſe to ſome will, and to others courage was wanting. No man yet, whether he believed him, or believed him not, durſt commend his Speech, for that ſome liked it not, and others feared to do it. Wherefore having often interrupted him whilſt ſpeaking, when he had done, they all beſought him with many words, that *he would alone undertake the Government*, and by many Arguments compelled him at length to accept of the Soveraignty. Then that his Perſon might be preſerved, they preſently decreed the pay of his Guard to be double to that of other Soldiers.

Thereby confirmeth it.

27. *Cæſar* by this Artifice pretending that he would lay down his Power, effected that it was confirmed to him, by Senate and People. Yet that he might ſeem to be Popular, he ſaid, He would not govern all the Provinces, nor obtain perpetual Power over ſuch as he ſhould take care of; therefore the weaker, becauſe they were more quiet, he left to others: the moſt powerful which had appearance of moſt danger (having an Enemy near at hand, or likely to be turbulent) he kept himſelf, under pretence that the Fathers might enjoy their Power ſafely, and he himſelf undergo labour and dangers; but by this device he rendred the Senate really helpleſs, and weak, and engroſſed to himſelf the Militia. To the Senate and People was left *Africk*, *Numidia*, *Aſia*, *Greece*, with *Epirus*, *Dalmatia*, *Macedonia*, *Sicily*, *Crete*, *Libya* called *Cyrenaica*, *Bithynia*, with the neighbouring *Pontus*, *Sardinia*,

Divideth the Provinces betwixt the Senate and himſelf.

dinia, and that part of *Spain* called *Hiſpania Bætica*. *Cæſar* kept the reſt of *Spain*, all *Gall* and *Germany*, as alſo *Cœleſyria*, *Phœnicia*, *Cyprus*, and *Ægypt*. Over theſe Provinces he aſſumed the Government but for ten years, within which time he undertook to reduce them into order, adding with a certain juvenile kind of boaſting, that *as ſoon as ever he could quiet them, he would quit his Power*. Then did he ſet over the Provinces of both ſorts, men of *Patrician* Dignity, but over *Ægypt* one of *Equeſtrian* rank only, for the cauſes above rehearſed. To *Senators* he allotted by themſelves *Africk* and *Aſia*, and the reſt of the Provinces to *Prætorians*. He forbad either to take this employment within five years after they had born Offices in the City. They held their Governments but for a year. And as ſoon as Succeſſors were ſent them, they were preſently to depart the Provinces, and not loiter in their return, but come to *Rome* within three months. The diſtribution of the Provinces was made on the *Ides* of *January*, as may be gathered from *Ovid*, who thought alſo that *Cæſar Octavianus* had the Sirname of *Auguſtus* given him the ſame day, which indeed was the fourth day after, as appeareth from *Cenſorinus*.

Sirnamed *Auguſtus*.

28. For, the Provinces being divided, and all things ſetled, it was debated in the Senate, whether he ought not to be called *Romulus*, becauſe he had founded the Empire; but the other more venerable name of *Auguſtus*, propounded by *Munacius Plancus*, at length ſeemed beſt; for, Sacred Places and Temples conſecrated by *Augurs*, the *Romans* termed *Auguſta*. *Cæſar* though he much deſired that of *Romulus* (ſaith *Dio*) yet perceiving he ſhould be ſuſpected of affecting the Kingdom, omitted it, and was ſirnamed *Auguſtus*, as greater than the Nature of Man could make him. For thoſe things are called *Auguſta*, which are moſt worthy of Honour, and moſt Sacred; wherefore the *Greeks* expreſs it by Σέϐαϛος, as if thou ſhouldeſt ſay *Venerable*. Thus *Cæſar* alone got the whole Power into his hands, having both Money (for though he had his own ſeparate from the Treaſury, yet did he uſe this at his pleaſure) and the Militia in his own hands. When his ten years were out other five, and when they were expired five more, and theſe ended, ten more, and ten more after them were added; ſo that he had his Authority ſtill continued for his life; for which cauſe his Succeſſors, though they had the Power ſetled on them for life, yet at the end of every ten years ſolemnized as it were the renewing of it. As ſoon as *Cæſar* had but made his Oration about reſigning his Command, and diſtributing the Provinces, many Honours were conferred on him, as that Laurel ſhould be planted before his Gates in the *Palatium*, and upon thoſe trees Oaken Garlands hung, as for him who was a perpetual Conqueror of Enemies, and Preſerver of Citizens. The Houſe of the *Emperor* alſo was wont afterwards to be called the *Palatium* or *Palace*; not for that it was ever ſo decreed; but becauſe *Cæſar* lived in the *Palatium* or *Palatine hill*, and there was his *Prætorium*; his Houſe alſo received ſome Dignity from the Mount it ſelf, becauſe *Romulus* there lived: therefore though the *Emperor*, ſaith the Hiſtorian, live elſewhere, yet is his Houſe called the *Palatium* or *Palace*. But after he had done thoſe things which he promiſed, then was he called *Auguſtus* by the Senate and People. *From this day forward began the ſoveraign Power and Authority to be in the hands of one man, which the* Greeks *called* Monarchy. Yet the *Romans* derived the *Epoche* of their *Auguſti* from the *Kalends* of *January* of this year, as *Cenſorinus* writeth, who compareth with the 265 year of this *Æra*, the 283 of the *Julian* ordination. This ſeventh Conſulſhip of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, and the beginning of his Monarchy, fell out in the 727 year of the City, the ſecond of the 188 *Olympiad*, the thirteenth of *Herod* the Great, 25 before the Birth of *Chriſt*, A. M. 3978, he himſelf, as it's ſaid, the ſeventh, and *M. Vipſanius Agrippa* the third time being *Conſuls*.

All Power of Senate and People transferred upon him.

Lib. 55. *p.* 517
A. M. 3978.
Ol. 188. *an.* 2.
V. C. 727.
Herodis 13.

29. *On this manner all the power of the People and Senate was transferred upon* Auguſtus, *ſaith* Dio. For this notable tranſlation and change in the Government there was a Law made, which is famous by the name of *Lex Regia*, after which it's convenient to make a little enquiry, for the better information of Students in this great affair. A Law may be ſo (and is ſo) called, either for that a *King made*, or *preferred it*, or becauſe it was *made and enacted concerning a King* or *Kingly power*. In the firſt ſence, ſuch Laws as were made by *Romulus* and his Succeſſors the ancient Kings of *Rome*, are by Lawyers called *Leges Regiæ*, whereof *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* hath recorded many, and of which ſeveral have been already mentioned in their due places; and in the (*a*) *Code* is yet extant a Law called *Lex Regia*, concerning the Burial of a woman with Child, ſo called, becauſe

(*a*) *Tit. de mortuo inferendo l.* 2.

enacted by ſome ancient King. But in the later acceptation is to be underſtood this Law, whereby *Regal* (and that abſolute) *Power was conferred upon* Auguſtus *by the* Roman *People.* The Law it ſelf is not now extant in terms, nor exemplified in any Author ſtill remaining, yet it is mentioned by *Juſtinian* in his (*b*) *Inſtitutions* of Law, who there writeth (ſpeaking of ſeveral ſorts of Law) that *what pleaſeth the Prince, hath the vigour of a Law; foraſmuch as by the* Lex Regia, *which was made concerning his Power, the People granted to him all its Command and Authority.* In the (*c*) *Pandects* he alſo mentioneth it, well-nigh in theſe very words; in a third (*d*) place alſo expreſſing it to the ſame purpoſe, that *by an ancient Law called* Lex Regia, *all the Right and all the Power of the* Roman *People was tranſlated into the Emperor's Authority:* therefore it is otherwiſe called *Lex Imperii,* and *Auguſtum privilegium.* As for Commentators upon both *Inſtitutions* and *Pandects,* with other parts of the Civil Law, nothing is more acknowledged by them all, as they have occaſion.

By a Law called *Lex Regia.*

(*b*) *Lib.* 1. *Tit.* 2. *de Jure Nat. &c.*

(*c*) *L.* 1. *Tit. de Conſtit. Principum.*

(*d*) *L.* 1. *ſect. cum itaque C. tit. de Vet. Jure Enucleando.*

30. But as for the interpretation of this Law, ſome difference there hath been amongſt Expoſitors, who lived ſince the Civil Law was reſtored in the Weſt. For ſome there have been ever ſince that time, who rightly underſtood all manner of Power and Authority, to be ſo by the *Roman* People transferred upon the Prince by that Law, that they affirmed the People thereby deprived and made deſtitute of all Power and Authority. Others thought Power and Authority indeed was given to the Prince to make Laws, but ſo that by this conceſſion the power of the People was in no ſort diminiſhed, and the force of *Plebiſcitum's* and *Senatuſconſultum's,* as well future as paſt, was the ſame as formerly; ſo that Prince, People, Senate, and Commons, had equal Authority in this Matter: both theſe Opinions being held, as appeareth from *Accurſius, Hoſtienſis,* and others. But the later of them ſeemeth thence to have riſen, that they miſtook this *Lex Regia* (called alſo corruptly *Lex Remnia*) for the *Hortenſian Law,* or rather thence, as a late (*a*) learned Man judgeth, that the Profeſſors and Students of the Civil Law, which was newly reſtored, were fearful, leſt by aſſerting the true Power of the Emperors, they ſhould give offence to ſuch People and Cities, as then lived in a courſe contrary to ſuch a Prerogative, and thereby injure their newly reſtored Profeſſion. And hence might that moſt known Controverſie ariſe, concerning the Power of the Prince, from this Law, betwixt the *Martinians* and *Bulgarians.* But as for that conceit about the *Hortenſian Law,* it was enacted by *Q. Hortenſius* the *Dictator,* in the 468 year of the City (not the 422, as that ſame learned Man hath it) and the 284 (not the 330) before the Birth of Chriſt, upon the third ſeparation of the Commons, and 259 before the enacting of the *Regal Law.* The purport of it was, that all *Quirites* or *Romans ſhould be bound by the* Plebiſcita, *or the Decrees of the People.* Hence, as we formerly obſerved out of *Pomponius,* concerning the Original of the *Roman* Laws, the Authority of making Laws was the ſame, though the faſhions differed, although the ſame thing in effect, was done long before the *Hortenſian* Law, *viz.* by *L. Valerius* and * *M. Horatius* the Conſuls, who got it enacted by a Law in the *Centuriata Comitia,* that what the Commons reſolved on in their Tribes, or *Tributa Comitia,* ſaith *Livy,* but in their *Curiæ* or *Curiata Comitia,* ſaith *Dionyſius,* ſhould bind the whole People; which thing we having formerly omitted in its own place, here ſupply, having yet * obſerved, that a Law was alſo preferred by *Q. Publius Philo* the *Dictator,* 111 years after the other, to the ſame purpoſe, and 211 before the *Lex Regia.*

A different manner of expounding it.

The Reaſon.

(*a*) *Joh. Seldenus in Fletam Diſſert. cap.* 3. *ſect.* 3.

* *V. C.* 305.

* *Lib.* 2. *c.* 4. *ſect.* 2. *par.* 46.

31. Now ſtrange it is, that *Accurſius* and others, ſhould wreſt any thing of the *Hortenſian* Law, and apply it to the *Lex Regia,* or rather make them all one, as he doth, expounding the *Regia* thus; *ſcil. lata ab Hortenſio mirabili Oratore,* although he acknowledgeth, as neceſſarily he muſt, that the *Hortenſian Law* made only expreſs mention of the Power of Senate and Commons. It's not eaſie to gueſs what he meant by ſo ſtrange a conceit; but this interpretation is made of it by * one as able to judge as any, that as the *Hortenſian Law* concerning *Regal Right,* that is, the *Right of Regiment or Government,* gave to the People and Senate (of which two orders or eſtates then the *Roman* Body politick conſiſted) equal Power and Authority; ſo when the *Prince* came to be joyned as a *third party,* in like manner an equal Power ſhould be granted to him, as to the other two, and that from the ſence of the ſame Law. And thoſe of this opinion interpret *Juſtinian* (who ſaith concerning the *Plebiſcita,* that *from the* Hortenſian *Law they began to be of no leſs value than Laws, and alſo the ſame of the* Senatuſconſulta, *that becauſe the People was ſo increaſed, that it could not eaſily meet together*

* *Seldenus ubi ſupra.*

The *Hortenſian* Law ſtrangely wreſted by ſome.

gether for making of Laws, that therefore the Senate was conſulted) as though the ſame Power remained to Senate and People ſtill under the Emperors as before. They ſtrangely diſputed alſo, whether the Power ſo granted by the People to the Emperor, might not be revoked, as that which is given to *Delegates* from the *Delegators*. And this is all that can be imagined, as meant by thoſe Men concerning the *Hortenſian Law*, as to the ſubject in hand, though it be ſtrangely wreſted to their deſign, and maketh nothing for their purpoſe.

But in vain.

32. For nothing is more certain than the former opinion, *viz.* that *the people by the* Lex Regia *were wholly deprived of all Power and Authority in making Laws*. This is clear from the words of *Juſtinian* formerly cited, which clearly ſignifie that the *whole Power and Authority of People and Senate was transferred upon, and yielded or granted to the Emperors by this Law*. And he (*a*) elſewhere declareth, that his ſentence ſtandeth for Law, and bindeth all under his command, which indeed the very compoſing of the body of Law, as from him it is tranſmitted to us, ſufficiently demonſtrateth, wherein he by his ſole Authority repealeth what he pleaſeth, and enacteth anew what ſeemeth good to him, without interpoſition of any other Authority; which he could not have done (nor his Predeceſſors) as to the *Plebiſcita* and *Senatuſconſulta*, though he might as to the *Principales Conſtitutiones*, except he had had that Power which formerly belonged to People and Senate, and they were deveſted of all. (*b*) *Conſtantine* challengeth to himſelf alone Authority to judge betwixt Law and Equity. *Ulpian* wrote, that all the Power and Authority which they had, the People placed upon, and in the Emperor, by the *Lex Regia*, and the moſt learned, and accurate (*c*) Expoſitors of more later times agree with him herein, rejecting the *Hortenſian Law* utterly, as having any thing to do in this matter of the *Regal Law*. In the *Lateran Palace* at *Rome*, or the *Capitol*, is extant (*d*) a Table of Braſs, wherein is to be ſeen a fragment of this Law renewed, as to *Veſpaſian*, confirming many things of Soveraign, and ſole Authority, as deſcending upon him from his Predeceſſors, and enacting, that *what he had done, decreed, or commanded, before this ratification, ſhould be held and taken for as good Law, as if the People it ſelf had done, decreed, or commanded it.* For, though he might make uſe of this Ratification, yet his right was as ſtrong before; there being no ſuch cuſtom as ſome have thought, that particular Princes had particular and ſeveral Laws made for their Authority, that one for *Auguſtus* reſpecting himſelf, and Succeſſors, as is clear from *Juſtinian*, who never mentioneth any other, nor ſpeaketh in the plural number.

For the whole power of people and Senate was given up by the *Lex Regia* to the Emperor.

33. If we fetch an explanation of the *Lex Regia* from Hiſtorians, we ſhall find that though they mention it not in words, yet they give that Supream and abſolute Power to *Auguſtus*, which deveſteth the Senate and People of all Legiſlative Authority, and ſheweth that his command (and that of his Succeſſors) was as large as could be transferred upon a Prince that was to govern perſons of free condition without Tyranny. *Suetonius* ſaith, that *he received perpetual Tribunitial power* (which could obſtruct all proceedings of Senate and People) *and perpetual regiment of Manners, and of the Laws.* *Dio* ſaith expreſly, that * *all the power of People and Senate was transferred upon him*; and that all *things were managed meerly as the Emperor pleaſed, though all other Magiſtrates, except the Cenſors were preſerved. And that the Emperors may appear to have ſo great Power,* ſaith he, *not by force but from the Laws; all things which under the Popular Government were of greateſt force (and that by Univerſal conſent) together with the names, they take upon them, except Dictatorſhip. For they are often* Conſuls, *and when without the* Pomærium, *are called* Proconſuls; *and they bear the name of* Imperator, (*not only ſuch as have obtained victories, but all of them*) *to ſignifie their plenary and abſolute power; in the room of King and Dictator, which being taken away they never aſſume, but confirm the force and matter of them by the title of Emperor. Accordingly they have the power of raiſing Men and Money, making War and Peace, commanding all things effectually, both at home and abroad, putting to death* Equites *and Senators, even within the* Pomærium, *and doing all other things, which a Conſul and other Magiſtrates, who had abſolute power, might do. As* Cenſors *alſo they have Authority to inquire into our life and Manners, to make the* Cenſus, *admit perſons into the Equeſtrian or Senatorian rank, and remove thence according to their pleaſure. And in as much as they are inaugurate in all Prieſthoods, admit Prieſts into the Colleges, and ever one of them (if there be two or three Emperors at one time) is Chief Prieſt, it is that they may have all religious things and ſacred in their own hands. As for the Tribunitial power, which every eminent Emperor was*

Hiſtorians ſhew it.

wont

(*a*) *L.* 12. *C. tit. de Legibus, &c.*

(*b*) *C. Tit. de Legib. l.* 1.

(*c*) *Conſule inter alios Franciſc. de Amaya obſ. l.* 1. *c.* 1.

(*d*) *Inſcript. Gruteri p.* 142. *& Urſinus Notis ad Leges & Senatusconſulta.*

* Οὕτω μὲν δὴ τό τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τὸ τῆς γερουσίας κράτος πᾶν ἐς τὸν Αὔγουστον μετέστη.

wont to have, it inableth them to interpoſe againſt any thing that may be done contrary to their pleaſure, and they are thereby Sacroſanct, *or* Inviolable, *ſo that if any one injure them by the leaſt, not only deed, but word, they may put him to death without proceſs as* Piacularly Criminal. *The Emperors count it unlawful to be Tribunes, becauſe they are Patricians, but they receive Tribunitial power as large as ever any enjoyed; and as renewing it yearly with the annual Tribunes, the years of their reign or power, are counted accordingly. Theſe things, as they were eſtabliſhed in the Popular Government, do the Emperors, together with the names, take unto them, that they may appear to have nothing but what was freely conferred on them.*

34. *But they have another privilege* (ſo *Dio* proceedeth) *which never was univerſally granted to any* Roman. *For the* Emperors *are looſed from the Laws; by which thing alone, liberty is given them to do thoſe which we have related, and all other things. After this manner, with theſe names which were uſed in the Popular State, they receive all the power of the whole Commonwealth, and the Kingly alſo, ſhunning only the name. For, the titles of* Cæſar *and* Auguſtus *add nothing of peculiar power unto them: but the one ſignifieth the ſucceſſion, and the other the ſplendor of their Dignity. As for the name of* Fathers, *though it giveth them ſuch right over their ſubjects, as Parents have over Children; yet at firſt it was given only for honour, and to admoniſh them to hold their Subjects as dear as Children, and theſe them as Parents. Theſe are the titles which the Emperors according to the Laws and Cuſtoms uſe even in our days and in our age, all theſe are at the ſame time given to them, except that of* Cenſor; *but in times paſt they were ſeverally according to the Laws decreed to them. The name alſo of* Cenſor, *ſome of them according to the ancient cuſtom have received, and* Domitian *bore it all his life; but now it is not ſo. For, the Emperors of our time having the thing it ſelf, are neither choſen to the Cenſorſhip, nor bear the name of the Office, except during the* Cenſus. *But * thus the Commonwealth was changed into a better form and order; for it was utterly impoſſible it ſhould ſubſiſt under the power of the people.* Thus far *Dio*, excellently, according to his cuſtom of relating the principal matters of State. It clearly appeareth from him, how abſolute the Power of the *Emperors* was, and how without any co-ordinate Power of People or Senate in any reſpect. The main of their Authority lay in the title of *Imperator*; aſſiſted by the *Tribunitial* Power, which two, (nay the former of them) make good our Expoſition of the *Lex Regia*, without the other titles which they might take upon them for popularity, and to prevent the pretences of others, though their Authority was large, and ſtrong enough without them. Our Author concludeth this diſcourſe with an Atteſtation to that Truth we formerly aſſerted againſt *Agrippa*.

* Ἡ μὲν οὖν πολιτεία οὕτω τότε πρός τε τὸ βέλτιον καὶ πρὸς τὸ σωτηριωδέστερον μετεκοσμήθη, καὶ γάρ που καὶ παντάπασιν ἀδύνατον ἦν δημοκρατουμένους αὐτοὺς σωθῆναι.

Dio lib. 53. *pag.* 510.

35. The ſame night that *Cæſar* received the ſirname of *Auguſtus*, a conſiderable ſign (as it was accounted) of his confirmation hapned. For *Tiber* ſo overflowed, that all the lower parts of *Rome* were Navigable, which the Fortune-tellers interpreted to ſignifie his great advancement, and that he ſhould have the whole City in his power. Now many ſought to flatter him, but the indeavours of *Sextus Pacuvius* (or *Apudius*) exceeded all, who being *Tribune of the People*, after the cuſtom of the *Spaniards*, conſecrated himſelf to him, and cauſed others to do ſo. Having now obtained the Government by conſent of the People, he ſet himſelf more effectually to look after it, and made ſeveral Laws. Yet did he not all on his own head, but propounded many things to be debated in publick, that if any were diſpleaſed he might amend them: he deſired all, freely, and openly, to deliver their opinions; and being moved by their reaſons changed ſomething: but he eſpecially deſired to be adviſed by the Conſuls, or his Collegue, if he himſelf bore that Office. Of the other Magiſtrates he made choice of one out of each ſort, and out of the Senate fifteen choſen by lot, who were for ſix Months to be his Counſellors; that hereby he might ſeem to communicate his deſigns to the reſt. Some things he brought down to the whole Senate; but he thought it fitter to conſult with a few perſons at leiſure about the greateſt affairs. He called alſo theſe men ſometimes to decide cauſes: although the Senate ſtill heard certain matters, and gave anſwer to the Ambaſſadors of Kings and States as formerly. Although the *Comitia*, or Aſſemblies of the People were ſometimes held, yet nothing was done but according to the pleaſure of *Auguſtus*. He partly named Magiſtrates, and left others to be created by the People; only taking care that no unworthy perſons by indirect practices advanced themſelves. This was the general courſe of *Auguſtus* his adminiſtration, ſaith *Dio*.

The general courſe of *Auguſtus* his adminiſtration.

36. The

Dio lib. 53. *p.* 511.

Auguſtus repaireth the *Via Flaminia.*

36. This ſame year, perceiving the High-ways lying out of the City to have been for ſome time neglected, and thereupon travelling to be very troubleſom, he left the reſt to be repaired by certain Senators at their own charge, and he himſelf took care of *Flaminia*; becauſe upon it he was to draw forth his Armies. And it was preſently repaired, and for that work performed, Statues were erected to him on the Bridge of *Tiber*, and at *Ariminum.* The reſt indeed were mended afterwards, but the Senators were not haſty to do it at their own coſt, and whether the Expence was defrayed by *Auguſtus* himſelf, or the Publick Treaſury, our Author cannot well tell; for he and his Succeſſors ſeemed to have had the ſame Treaſury with the State it ſelf; and therefore it could not eaſily be diſcerned; but ſometimes the one happened, and ſometimes the other. Alſo Debts and Donations ſeemed common to him and the People. Theſe things diſpatched, he led away his Army from the City, with purpoſe to transfer the War hither into *Britain*; but coming into *Gall*, there he was ſtopped by the fair words of the *Britiſh* Ambaſſadors, and the Diſorders he found in that Country, which were wont to be followed by Civil Wars. He made a *Cenſus* of the Inhabitants, took order for Matters of Publick concernment, and for reformation of Manners: And thence he paſſed into *Spain*, and ſetled that Province.

Auguſto 8. & *Statilio Tauro Coſs.*

Cornelius Gallus his folly and Ruin.

37. For the following year, *Auguſtus* the eighth time bore the Conſulſhip with *Statilius Taurus*. *Agrippa* by ſeveral publick Works got himſelf Reputation, and the love of the People; while *Cornelius Gallus* by a contrary courſe of Actions incurred *Odium*, and procured his own Deſtruction. He was ſo ingrateful to *Auguſtus*, that many things he tatled againſt him, and many horrid things he did; and yet he cauſed Statues to be erected to himſelf, almoſt through *Ægypt*, and his Acts to be inſcribed upon the Pyramids. Of theſe things being accuſed by *Largus*, who had been his Companion, he was noted with Infamy by *Auguſtus*, and prohibited to inhabit in his Provinces. After this, others alſo fell upon him, and laid ſuch Crimes to his charge, that the Senate condemned him to Baniſhment, his Eſtate to be forfeited to the Emperor, and for this, Sacrifice was offered by the Fathers; but he overcome with Sorrow, prevented the Condemnation by a voluntary Death: Such end had *Gallus* by his Folly, whom when thoſe that were formerly his Acquaintance and Flatterers ſaw falling, they contributed to his Ruin with all their might. As for *Largus*, *Dio* tells a Story how one *Proculeius* meeting him, ſtopped his Noſe and Mouth with his hand, thereby ſignifying to the byſtanders, that it was unſafe to breath in his preſence. Another went to him and took Witneſſes that he was utterly unknown to him, which *Largus* confeſſing, he cauſed it to be written down, as now ſecure, that being unknown to a Knave, he could not load him with any Calumnies. However the Example of *Gallus* gave not ſuch warning as to cauſe all men to abſtain from intemperate Speeches.

Nations of *Spain* Rebel, and are reduced.

38. This ſame year, *Polemo* King of *Pontus* was received amongſt the Allies and Confederates of the *Roman* People, and Senators had the firſt Seats in the Theatres alotted to them throughout his Kingdom. For all the good words lately given *Auguſtus* by the *Britiſh* Ambaſſadors, there was nothing yet agreed on, and therefore he now thought of an Expedition hither, but was ſtopped by the Rebellion of the *Salaſſi*, *Cantabri* and *Aſtures*, whereof the former lived under the *Alps*, and the other two Nations inhabited the Champian of *Spain*, as far as the *Pyreneans*, the moſt fortified places of which they held. *Auguſtus* now having entered his Ninth Conſulſhip with *M. Silanus*, ſent *Terentius Varro* againſt the *Salaſſi*, who eaſily overcame and forced them to receive Conditions. He required of them a certain Sum of Money, and pretended to nothing elſe, but ſending his Soldiers all over to Collect it, he ſeized by that means upon all the youth, and ſold them on theſe terms, that they ſhould none of them be free before the twentieth year. The beſt part of their Land was beſtowed on the *Prætorian* Cohorts, and a City new built, on which was impoſed the Name of *Auguſta Prætorianorum.* The War againſt the *Aſtures* and *Cantabri*, *Auguſtus* himſelf undertook, and they being inferior in Number and ſtrength, plaid leaſt in fight, and took their Advantages upon the Mountains, which ſo perplexed him, that he fell ſick upon it, and giving over the Proſecution of the War to *C. Antiſtius* betook himſelf to *Tarracon*. And *Antiſtius* well behaved himſelf, and brought the War to an iſſue, not for that he was himſelf a more able Soldier than *Auguſtus*; but becauſe they deſpiſed him, gave him Battel, and preſented him with Opportunities to overcome them. The War being ended, he diſmiſſed the *Emerit* Soldiers, and Commanded them to found a City in *Luſitania*, by the Name of *Auguſta Emerita*. And this we

muſt not forget, that while he lay at *Tarracon* diſcontented at his own ill ſucceſs, yet at the ſame time he received great Honor from the other Ends of the World. For having begun there his Ninth Conſulſhip, Ambaſſadors came to him out of *India*, ſent by King *Pandion*, to whom other Writers adde others from the *Scythians*, *Garamantes* and *Bactrians*.

Ambaſſadors out of *India* and other Parts.

39. To *Juba* in ſtead of his Father's Kingdom, he now gave certain Regions of *Getulia*, moſt of which were reduced to *Roman* Cuſtoms; as alſo certain Countries of *Bocchus* and *Bogudes*. *Amyntas* being dead, he did not deliver over his Kingdom to his Sons, but made it a Province, and thenceforth *Galatia*, together with *Lycaonia*, began to have a *Roman* Præfect; and the Towns of *Pamphilia* formerly ſubject to *Amyntas*, were reſtored to their liberty. About this time *M. Vinicius* by Defeating and Puniſhing ſome *Germans* who had killed certain *Romans* that came into their Country to Traffick, obtained alſo for *Auguſtus* the Title of *Imperator*; and for this and other Atchievments, Triumphs were decreed to him, which he refuſed. Yet upon the *Alps* was erected a Triumphal Arch, and Power was given to all to wear Garlands, and the Triumphal Garments. Having finiſhed theſe Wars after this manner, he ſhut again the Temple of *Janus*, which had been opened upon account of them. *Agrippa* at the ſame time adorned the City with ſeveral Works at his own proper charge, and amongſt the reſt he perfected the *Pantheon*. *Dio* tells us, that perhaps it was ſo called becauſe it received the Images of many gods in thoſe of *Mars* and *Venus*; but he rather thinks it took that Name from its arched Roof, whereby it reſembled Heaven. *Agrippa* would have placed in it the Statue of *Auguſtus*, and put his Name to the Work; but he refuſing as well the one as the other, he put that of *Cæſar* deceaſed within the *Pantheon*, and thoſe of *Auguſtus* and himſelf in the Porch or Entry. All this proceeding from kindneſs to him, and love to his Country, *Auguſtus* took well, and honored him upon occaſion for it. Being ſick, and not in a condition to celebrate the Marriage of his Daughter *Julia* with *Marcellus* his Siſter's Son, he procured him to do it at *Rome* in his Abſence. And the Houſe upon the *Palatine* Hill being burnt which formerly had belonged to *Antonius*; but ſince had been granted to *Meſſala* and *Agrippa*; he beſtowed Money on *Meſſala*, but received *Agrippa* into his own Houſe.

Galatia hath a *Roman* Governor.

The Temple of *Janus* ſhut again.

Pantheon whence ſo called.

40. *Auguſtus* being Conſul the tenth time with *Norbanus*, on the Calends of *January*, the Senate by Oath approved his Acts; and now being on his way to the City, whence he had been deteined long by Sickneſs, and having promiſed a Donative of an hundred *Denarii* to every man, but denied to pay it till the Senate ſhould conſent, and the Fathers freed him from the neceſſity of Laws, ſo as being of full Power, he might do all things according to his own will. After his return other things were done to honor him. It was decreed that *Marcellus* ſhould have place in the Senate amongſt thoſe of *Prætorian* Rank, and might ſtand for the Conſulſhip ten years ſooner than it was permitted by the Laws. And in favour of *Tiberius*, it was ordained that he might ſtand for any Office of Magiſtracy five years before the time; and ſhortly after the one was made *Quæſtor*, and the other *Ædilis*. Now for theſe two Perſons thus honoured, we have ſeen who this *Marcellus* was, and muſt inquire after *Tiberius*. We muſt know then that the firſt Wife of *Auguſtus* was *Scribonia*, which had been Married to two Perſons of *Conſular* Dignity, and by one was a Mother; for as for the Daughter of *Servilius Iſauricus*, he was only contracted to her when young; and *Claudia* the Daughter of *P. Clodius* by *Fulvia*, though he Married her, yet he diſmiſſed her untouched. By *Scribonia* he had a Daughter called *Julia*, and ſhortly after Divorced her for the perverſity of her Manners, as he wrote. Then did *Nero*, who had followed *L. Antonius* to *Peruſium*, but afterward was reconciled, freely yield unto him *Livia Druſilla*; though he had one Son already by her, which was this *Tiberius*, and ſhe was big with another; who being born three months after ſhe had Married *Cæſar*, was called *Druſus*. By *Livia* he had no Children but Abortive. His Daughter *Julia*, as we ſaid, he Married to *Marcellus*, the Son of his Siſter *Octavia*.

Auguſto 10. & *Norbano Coſs.*

Auguſtus honored by the Senate.

His Wives.

Sueton in *Octavio.* C. 62, 63.

His Daughter *Julia*.

41. The *Cantabri* and *Aſtures* preſently after the departure of *Auguſtus*, rebelled, and were preſently after reduced to obedience to their Coſt. And *Arabia* the Happy was invaded by *Ælius Gallus*, having then *Sabos* for its King, by order from *Auguſtus*, that if the *Arabians* let him paſs, he ſhould agree with them, but make War upon them if they uſed any force or violence. At firſt, none appeared to make any oppoſition; but it proved a very tedious and troubleſom Journey,

Arabia invaded by *Ælius Gallus*.

by

A grievous Diſeaſe waſtes the Army.

by the Treachery of *Syllæus* the chief Miniſter of *Obodes*, King of the *Nabatheans*, who had taken upon him to Conduct *Gallus*. Beſides, the Deſert, the heat of the Sun, and the badneſs of the Water, ſo afflicted the Soldiers, that the greateſt part of the Army miſcarried. This Diſeaſe being like to none of thoſe that were then known, lay in the Head; and, as *Dio* deſcribes it, that part being dried, deſtroyed many out of hand; and in ſuch as eſcaped Death, it ran through the whole Body into the Feet, and there ſo held them, that no Remedy would give them eaſe, except they drank Wine and Oil mingled together, and therewith anointed themſelves, which only very few could do, neither of the Ingredients growing there, nor being brought along by the *Romans*. By the Aſſiſtance of this Diſeaſe, the *Barbarians* recovered ſuch Towns as had been taken from them, and expelled ſuch as remained alive out of the Country. However in the Opinion of ſome, he did extraordinarily well, and had well ſucceded, but that he was betrayed by *Syllæus*. But *Dio* tells us, that theſe were the firſt, and he thinks the laſt of the *Romans* that proceeded ſo far in *Arabia* in an hoſtile manner, peircing as far as *Athlula* (or *Athrula*) a famous City.

Anno V.C. 731. *Auguſto* 11. & *Calpurnio Piſone Coss.*

Auguſtus recovers from a dangerous Sickneſs.

In which he named no Succeſſor.

Marcellus and *Agrippa* diſagree.

C. 66.

42. The following year, being the DCCXXXI of *Rome*, had for Conſuls, *Auguſtus* the eleventh time, and *Calpurnius Piſo*. *Auguſtus* fell ſo grievouſly Sick, that no hope there was of his Recovery, and therefore he diſpoſed of all things, as being to leave the World. Calling to him the Magiſtrates, and the chief of *Senators* and *Equites*, he named no man his Succeſſor, though all imagined it would have been *Marcellus*; but having ſpoken his Mind concerning ſome points, he delivered to *Piſo* a Book, wherein he had made a Catalogue of the Armies, and Publick Revenues; and his Ring to *Agrippa*. But when nothing he could uſe would relieve him, *Antonius Muſa*, by cooling Baths and Potions; reſtored him to Health; for which he had much Money given him, both by *Auguſtus*, and the Senate, as alſo the uſe of a Gold Ring (for he was but a *Libertus* or *Freedman*) and Immunity was granted not only to him, but to all of his Profeſſion for the time to come. But that it might appear that this *Muſa* arrogated to himſelf what was the work of fate and fortune, it happened not long after that *Marcellus* falling Sick, and ordered by him after the ſame manner, died under his hands, and had a publick Funeral, with other Honours. But *Cæſar* being recovered, brought the Teſtament he had made into the Senate, and would have ſhown it to the World, that he had deſigned no Succeſſor; but the whole Aſſembly was againſt the reading of it. However, it cauſed great wonder in all men, that he ſhould not name *Marcellus* his Nephew, and Son-in-law, whom he ſo tenderly loved, and honored, eſpecially in the diſcharge of his Office of *Ædilis*; but that before him he ſhould rather prefer *Agrippa*. But he could not truſt to the young years of *Marcellus*; and he had a mind either that the People ſhould recover its liberty, or to prefer *Agrippa* to the Supreme Power, whom, though he knew to be extraordinarily beloved; yet he himſelf would not advance him. Being recovered, he found that *Marcellus* was diſpleaſed with *Agrippa*, and therefore to prevent all quarrels and contentions betwixt them, he ſent away *Agrippa* for *Syria*. Yet he went not into *Syria* himſelf, but ſtill uſing more Moderation, ſent thither his Legates and ſtaid at *Lesbos*. Thus writes *Dio* of his Moderation; whereas *Suetonius* accuſeth him of Paſſion, and commends *Auguſtus* for bearing with him, in that being moved with a light ſuſpicion of Rigour, and becauſe *Marcellus* was preferred before him, he left all, and went to *Mitylene*, in the Iſle of *Lesbos*. By this it appears that the diſſatisfaction of theſe two Perſons was mutual, and that *Auguſtus* had much ado to pleaſe them both.

The generoſity of *Auguſtus*.

43. Now he made only ten *Prætors*, becauſe he had no need of more, and theſe to hold for ſeveral years. Then did he retire, and reſigned the Conſulſhip; for both he and others, having ſince the ſettlement of the State, held that Dignity an whole year, he would have the courſe altered, that many might injoy it; and therefore he went out of the City, that he might not be hindered from laying it down. This was very much commended in him, as alſo that he ſubrogated in his place *L. Seſtius*, a Perſon that had always favoured the cauſe of *Brutus*, had aſſiſted him throughout the War, ſtill reverenced his Memory, kept his Images, and was ſo bold as to commend him; but *Auguſtus* not only not hated, but honoured him for his Friendſhip and Fidelity. The Senate affected with theſe his Actions, in way of acknowledgment, decreed that he ſhould be *Tribunus Plebis* for life; that as often as the Senate met, he might report matters, though he was not *Conſul*; that he ſhould always enjoy *Pro-Conſular* Power, neither ſhould

More Honours decreed to him.

he lay it down when he came into the City, or have any need to renew it; nay, that he ſhould have greater Power in the Provinces, than the Governors themſelves. Thence came it to paſs that he and his Succeſſors, as by a certain Law, injoyed the Tribunitial, and the other Powers. For as to the Name it ſelf, neither *Auguſtus*, nor any other bore that of *Tribunus Plebis*. And *Dio* verily believed that the Fathers did not do this out of Flattery, but in Sincerity; for he dealt with them in all reſpects as free perſons. So when *Tiridates* himſelf, and Ambaſſadors, came from *Phraates* for compoſing their Differences, he introduced them into the Senate, and the hearing of the Cauſe being committed to him, he would not deliver up *Tiridates* to *Phraates*; yet the Son of *Phraates* whom he had formerly received, he ſent back, that in exchange he might have the Captives and Military Enſigns returned, which were taken in the Overthrows of *Craſſus* and *Antony*. This ſame year, a certain *Ædilis Plebis* dying, *C. Calpurnius* ſucceeded him, who had been *Ædilis Curulis*; ſuch a thing as never before had been heard of. In the *Feriæ*, there were every day two *Præfects* of the City, whereof one had not attained to ripeneſs of Age. The death of *Marcellus* by ſome was imputed to *Livia*, who could not endure he ſhould be preferred before her own Sons; yet the Sicklineſs of the year rendred it doubtful, by which a great multitude was ſwept away. This our Author thinks was betokened by a Wolf found in the City, by Fire, and Tempeſt, and the overflowing of *Tiber* to ſuch an height that the Bridge called *Pons Sublicius* was born down, and *Rome* continued Navigable for three days.

44. The next year, had for Conſuls *M. Marcellus*, and *L. Aruntius*, accompanied with ſo many diſcouraging Accidents, and ſo great a Plague, that the Grounds in *Italy* were left untilled. The *Romans* grieved with both Plague and Famine, imagined they proceeded from no other cauſe, than that they had not this year alſo *Auguſtus* for Conſul. Therefore they required that he ſhould be made *Dictator*, and kept the Senate ſo long in the Court, till they decreed it; threatning elſe to ſet it on fire. They repaired to *Auguſtus*, with four and twenty *Faſces*, beſeeching him to accept the *Dictatorſhip*, and to ſuffer himſelf to be made *Procurator* of Proviſions, as formerly *Pompey* had been. Though unwilling, he accepcepted of the laſt Imployment, and cauſed for every year two Perſons to be choſen, who had five years before diſcharged the *Prætorſhip*, to diſtribute the Corn. But he would by no means admit of the *Dictatorſhip*, and when he could no other way reſtrain the People, he tore his Robe, being ſo wiſe as to decline the *Odium* and Envy, when he had already both the Honour and Power that was larger than that which they offered to him. He made the ſame refuſal when they would needs create him perpetual *Cenſor*; for he would neither accept of that Honour, but named two *Cenſors*, which were *Paulus Æmilius Lepidus*, and *L. Munatius Plancus*. And theſe were the laſt *Cenſors* of private men, which now alſo *Dio* ſaith, was predicted to them. For, their Tribunal the firſt day they entred their Office, fell down, and was broken; and thenceforth were no *Cenſors* created like unto them. And though they bore the Office, yet did *Auguſtus* do many things belonging to it. Some Meetings he took quite away, and others he Reformed. He required the *Prætors* to take care of the Celebration of all Games; yet ſo that ſomthing ſhould be allowed them by the People. But by an Edict ordained that none ſhould in particular beſtow more upon them than others did; as alſo that without Command of the Senate, none ſhould exhibit the ſhow of *Gladiators*; nor oftner than twice in one year, nor more *Gladiators* than one hundred and twenty.

He ſtill refuſeth them.

The laſt *Cenſors* of private Men.

45. To the *Ædiles Curules* he committed the charge of Extinguiſhing Fires, allowing them ſix hundred Slaves for that Service. And becauſe that *Equites*, and many *Illuſtrious* Women danced in the *Orcheſtra*, he forbad not only that the Children of Senators, which already had been Prohibited, but their Grandchildren, and thoſe of the *Equeſtrian* Order, ſhould do it for the future. In theſe matters he carried himſelf like a Legiſlator, and an Emperor; but in other things he ſo far humbled himſelf, as even to plead for ſome of his Friends that were called to anſwer. So it happened, that a Day was aſſigned to one *M. Primus* to give an Accompt, who being Governor of *Macedonia*, had made War upon the *Odryſi*: He pleading ſomtimes that he did it by order from *Auguſtus*, and otherwhiles from *Marcellus*; *Auguſtus*, without ſending for, came into Court, and being asked by the *Prætor*, whether he had ordered him to make War, denyed it. Hereupon did *Licinius Murena*, who undertook the defence of *Primus*, revile

Auguſtus his Condeſcentions.

revile him, and demanded of him what he did there, and who called him thither; to which he anſwered, That it was the Commonwealth. This took ſo with thoſe of ſounder Judgments, that they commended him for it, and gave him leave to aſſemble the Senate as often as he pleaſed; but others had ill thoughts of him, and ſome there were who not only acquitted *Primus*, but conſpired againſt *Auguſtus*. The Ringleader of them was *Fannius Cæpio*, and *Murena* was, whether truly or falſly, accounted Guilty, who had indeed a very intemperate Tongue, and would uſe it againſt any one, even to the uneaſineſs of the Hearers. Theſe abſenting themſelves were Baniſhed, and a little after put to Death, *Murena* receiving no relief from *Proculius* his Brother, nor from *Mecænas* the Husband of his Siſter, though in great eſteem with *Auguſtus*. However, theſe Conſpirators were abſolved by the Votes of ſome of the Judges, which cauſed him to make a Law, that none ſhould ſecretly give Sentence in behalf of thoſe Criminals that did not appear, but that all ſuch ſhould be Condemned without hearing. And he ſhewed that he did it for the publick good, and not thereunto incited by Paſſion. The Father of *Cæpio* manumitted one of thoſe Slaves, who fled away with his Son, becauſe he aſſiſted him to his power when he was ſeized; and another for that he betrayed his Maſter, he cauſed to be led through the Town, with a Writing which expreſſed the cauſe of his Puniſhment, and to be nailed to a Croſs. This *Auguſtus* did not take in any evil part.

Conſpirators againſt him puniſhed.

46. At this ſame time he reſtored to the People *Cyprus*, and *Gallia Narbonenſis*, as not needing the Protection of his Arms, and thenceforth *Proconſuls* began to be ſent into thoſe Provinces. Now alſo did he Dedicate a Temple to *Jupiter the Thunderer*; and the *Cantabri* and *Aſtures* about this time Rebelled, the latter being provoked by the Inſolence and Cruelty of *Cariſius*, and the former by their Example. They were quickly reduced, the greateſt part of the *Cantabri* killing themſelves, as not enduring to outlive their Liberty. At the ſame time the *Æthiopians* that inhabited about *Ægypt*, under Conduct of their Queen *Candace*, waſted all Regions as far as the City *Elephantina*, where when they heard that *C. Petronius* the Governor of *Ægypt* was coming againſt them, they indeavoured to make a Retreat, but were found out and Defeated by him; and upon this occaſion he was drawn into their Country. There did he order his Affairs very well, taking, amongſt others, the Royal City *Tanape*, which having Demoliſhed, and a Garriſon left in another place, he retreated with the greateſt part of his Army; being not able to proceed for the heat and ſand, nor having convenience there to ſtay with all his Forces: yet hearing that the *Æthiopians*, whom he had left in Garriſon, were Attacqued, he returned and relieved them, and conſtrained *Candace* to receive terms of an Accomodation. While theſe things paſſed, *Auguſtus* went into *Sicily*, to ſettle Affairs there; and thence to paſs into all Provinces, as far as *Syria*, and do the like.

Petronius peirceth into *Æthiopia*.

47. He being abſent, the People of *Rome* fell into Tumult, upon Creation of the new *Conſuls*, and thereby ſhowed that the Commonwealth could not continue under Popular Government. One place of the Conſulſhip was reſerved for *Auguſtus*, and *M. Lœlius* bore alone the title at the beginning of the year. When he had declared his refuſal, *Q. Lepidus*, and *L. Silanus* became Candidates, and uſed ſuch means to compaſs their Ends, that wiſe men deſired that the Emperor would return to *Rome*. Yet did he not return, but ſending for the Candidates, rebuked them for their Extravagant ſeeking of Voices, and Commanded them both to be abſent from the Election. But this did little good, it procured not more orderly or quiet proceedings, ſo that very difficultly, at laſt was *Lepidus* created *Conſul*. Hereat *Auguſtus* was much diſturbed, and it not being poſſible that he ſhould always be at the City, he found a Neceſſity of making a Governor to prevent theſe Diſorders. *Agrippa* he thought the fitteſt man, and to gain him more awe and Authority, he cauſed him to Divorce his Wife, though ſhe was his Siſter's Daughter, and to Marry *Julia*, and he ſent him preſently thither to conſummate the Marriage, and take the Government. Amongſt other Arguments which ſuggeſted to him this courſe, the ſaying of *Mecænas*, moved him, who being conſulted about this Affair, gave this Anſwer, That he had already made *Agrippa* ſo great, that there was neceſſity he ſhould be his Son in Law, or be taken away by Death. *Agrippa* compoſed the Diſorders in the City, and baniſhed out of it the *Ægyptian* Rites and Ceremonies, which again had crept into it, forbidding by an Edict, that they ſhould be celebrated within half a Mile. But he could not appeaſe the Tumult about making a *Præfect* of the place for the Feſtivals; and ſo the year paſs'd over without that Officer.

The People of *Rome* fall into Sedition.

Agrippa is made Governor of *Rome*, and Marries *Julia*.

48. *Auguſtus*

Auguſtus Travelleth Eaſtward.

His Acts while abroad.

48. *Auguſtus* having ſetled Matters in *Sicily,* where he made *Syracuſe* and other Cities, *Roman* Colonies, paſſed over into *Greece.* There he beſtowed *Citheræ* on the *Lacedæmonians*, and honoured them with his Company, becauſe they had harboured *Livia* with her Husband and Son when they fled out of *Italy.* Some reported, that he took *Ægina* and *Eretria* from the *Athenians,* becauſe they had favoured the Cauſe of *Antony,* and Commanded them to admit of none to be Citizens for Money. From *Greece* he ſailed to *Samus*, and there wintered. In Spring, when *M. Apuleius* and *P. Silius* were Conſuls, he paſſed over into *Aſia,* and ſetled Matters in *Bithynia,* and other Provinces he paſſed through, with no leſs care, than if they had belonged to himſelf, and not to the People. Remarkable it is, that he condemned thoſe of *Cyzicus* to ſlavery, becauſe they had Whipped, and put to Death ſome *Roman* Citizens, and in *Syria* he inflicted the ſame Puniſhment upon the *Tyrians*, and *Sidonians* for their Faction. In the mean time, *Phraates* having performed nothing of what he was obliged to by Agreement, now fearing that *Auguſtus* would be upon him, ſent to him the Military Enſigns, and all Captives, ſome few excepted, who out of ſhame killed themſelves, or lurked about in *Parthia,* and he received them with the ſame apprehenſions, as if he had overthrown the *Parthians* in War. Having recovered theſe things without bloodſhed, upon that account he both cauſed Sacrifices to be offered, and Commanded that a Temple ſhould be decreed in the Capitol to *Mars the Avenger* (in imitation of that of *Jupiter Feretrius*) in which, Military Enſigns might be hung up. This he afterward finiſhed, and rode on Horſeback in way of Triumph into the City, and was honoured with a Triumphal Arch; Being conſtituted *Curator* of the ways about *Rome,* he cauſed to be made the *Milliarium Aureum,* and appointed Perſons of *Prætorian* Rank, Overſeers of the ways, who were attended with two *Lictors* apiece. At the ſame time *Julia* brought *Agrippa* a Son named *Caius,* on whoſe Birth-day a perpetual Sacrifice was decreed to be made with ſome other things: and privately the *Ædiles* added Games on Horſeback, and Hunting to the Birth-day Solemnities of *Auguſtus.*

He thinks the Empire large enough.

Tiberius his Performances, and Conceits.

Ambaſſadors to *Auguſtus* out of *India.*

49. While theſe things were doing at *Rome,* he ſetled the Affairs of the Provinces according to the Preſcript of the *Roman* Laws. He permitted the Confederates to uſe their own Cuſtoms, neither determined he to take any thing from them, or get more by War, being content with what already was gotten, and accordingly he wrote to the Senate, and at that time he undertook no War at all. Yet ſome Alterations as to Governors he made in ſome Countries, and the People of *Armenia* the Greater accuſing *Artabazes,* and deſiring to have his Brother *Tigranes* then at *Rome*; he ſent *Tiberius* to drive away the former, and bring the latter to be King amongſt them. Before *Tiberius arrived, Artabazes* was killed by the *Armenians,* and then did he perform nothing anſwerable to the preparation that had been made; yet he boaſted of this matter, as having ſomthing notably performed, eſpecially Sacrifices being upon this account decreed: and now began he to have Imaginations in his Head that he ſhould be Emperor, becauſe coming to *Philippi* noiſes were heard in that place where the Battel had been fought, as out of a Camp, and Fire was ſeen to break out from an Altar built formerly by *Antony*, where he was incamped. *Auguſtus* being returned into *Samus,* gave liberty to the Inhabitants, as a reward of his Entertainment, and diſpatched many other Affairs. Many Ambaſſadors came to him; and now the *Indians* confirmed by a League, that Peace which formerly they had deſired. Amongſt other Preſents, Tigers were ſent by them; which ſort of Beaſt, in the Opinion of *Dio,* was then firſt ſeen, both by *Greeks* and *Romans.* There was alſo a Man without Arms, who did all feats with his Feet and Toes, as if they had been Hands and Fingers. One of the Meſſengers, *Zarmar* by name, either weary of his life, or out of vain glory, mounted voluntarily the Funeral Pile, and thereon was Burnt.

He returns to *Rome.*

50. For the following year, *C. Sentius* was *Conſul,* and *Auguſtus* once more refuſed the reſerved Place. Thereupon again happened Tumults, and the ſlaughter of ſeveral Perſons at *Rome,* inſomuch that the Senate gave *Sentius* charge of the City. He being not willing to undertake it, they ſent Meſſengers to *Auguſtus* with two *Lictors,* who ſeeing that there would be no end of theſe miſchiefs, if he obſerved former Rules, deſigned Conſul *Q. Lucretius,* one of the Meſſengers, who had been a proſcribed Perſon, and then went for *Rome*: At his return, various things were voted by the Senate to honour him, of which he accepted nothing, ſaving that he permitted an Altar to be Erected to *Fortuna Redux,* and the Day of

his Return to be put amongſt the Feſtivals, and called *Auguſtalia*. The Magiſtrates and People however being reſolute to go out and receive him, he Entered by Night. Notwithſtanding, they decreed that he ſhould be *Magiſter Morum* for Five years, and for that term have the Dignity of *Cenſor*, but that of *Conſul* ~~for his life~~; that twelve *Faſces* ſhould ever be born before him, and that he ſhould ſit in a *Curule* chair betwixt the *Conſuls*. They earneſtly deſired him to make Laws, and amend all things as he ſhould think convenient, offering to ſwear to obey them. And this he did, but refuſed their Oath, knowing, that what was pleaſing to them, they would do without ſwearing, but nothing elſe, though obliged by never ſo many Oaths. *Agrippa*, now from the Government of the City, went into *Gall*, where the Invaſion of the *Germans* and other things cauſed a Diſturbance; which having quieted, he paſſed over into *Spain*, where was great need of his preſence. For, the *Cantabri* that there had been taken in War and ſold for Slaves, cut the Throats of their Maſters, and getting together, fortified ſeveral Places, and ſet upon the *Roman* Garriſons. Againſt them *Agrippa* marched, but e're he attaqued them, had a Contention with his own Army, wherein ſome *Veteran* Souldiers being haraſſed with Wars, and ſtanding in fear of that Martial Nation, refuſed to obey him. Attempting it by ſeveral means, he brought them again to obedience; which having done, he had a ſharp Conteſt with Men who had ſerved the *Romans*, and learnt their Skill, and deſpaired of Pardon if they came once more into their power. He ſuffered great Inconveniences; but at length having loſt many of his Soldiers, and fixed Ignominy upon many others of them for their ill demeanour, particularly forbidding the whole Legion called *Auguſta*, to uſe that Name, he deſtroyed almoſt all the *Cantabri* that were of Military Age; the reſt he diſarmed, and brought them down from the Mountainous places into the Champian. Yet of theſe things he neither gave account to the Senate; nor accepted of the Triumph decreed him by *Auguſtus*, governing himſelf by the wonted moderation of his Mind. *Auguſtus* took it in very good part, as alſo his bringing the Water formerly called *Virginalis*, into the City at his own proper Charge, to which he gave the name of *Auguſta*. On a time when there was ſcarcity of Wine, and the People thereof complained, the Emperor ſaid that *Agrippa* had ſufficiently provided that they ſhould not die of Thirſt.

Agrippa his Performances in *Spain* againſt the *Cantabri*.

His Moderation.

51. So modeſtly did *Agrippa* behave himſelf, when in the mean time certain other Perſons were of a quite contrary behaviour. For ſome there were who were ſo confident as to deſire a Triumph, though their Atchievements were no greater than the cutting off of ſome Robbers abroad, or ſuppreſſing ſome Seditions in the City, and they obtained what they ſued for, and therein prided themſelves; ſo facile was *Auguſtus* herein at the beginning of his Adminiſtration, as alſo in granting the honour of publick Sepulchre. But as for *Agrippa*, in a manner he promoted him to the Empire. For perceiving the Common-wealth in ſuch a condition as to require great Care and Vigilancy, and fearing Deſigns againſt his own Perſon, as there was ſome reaſon he ſhould, and againſt which, as he ſaid himſelf, there was little defence in that Breaſt-plate he wore when he went into the Senate; and frequently at other times, he prorogued his own Authority for five years more, his Tenth now drawing to a Concluſion, in the Conſulſhip of the two *Lentuli*, *Publius* and *Cneus*. Moreover, he conferred on *Agrippa* power almoſt equal to his own, in other reſpects, and that of a *Tribune* for five years. For ſo many years he ſaid were ſufficient for them; and yet long after he took more, that his Imperial Authority might Continue the other ten. Theſe things done, he began a ſcrutiny into the Senate, and to avoid the *Odium* of chuſing all the Members thereof himſelf, he ſelected certain Perſons who ſhould name five apiece, out of which number he elected one; and into the Places of ſuch as were abroad, he cauſed others to ſucceed by lot. But finding ſome deceit to be uſed in this way of *Sortion*, he would no further uſe that courſe, but made choice of the reſt himſelf, to the number of Six hundred. At firſt he had determined to have but Three hundred Senators according to the antient Cuſtom, being glad to find ſo many Perſons that deſerved that Dignity: but all of that Rank were diſpleaſed at it; for by this means it would come to paſs, that more would be removed than ſhould continue in the Senate, and thereupon every Individual perſon was more afraid to loſe than in hope to obtain the Dignity. He reſolved therefore upon the Number of Six hundred, but yet the matter did not end there.

Auguſtus prorogues his own Authority and that of *Agrippa*.

52. For ſeveral unworthy Perſons came to be Members, and one *Licinius Regulus* took it in ſo high diſdain, that he ſhould be ſtruck out of the Liſt, when his

He takes pains in modelling the Senate.

He diſgraceth *Lepidus*.

his own Son, and others he thought far more unworthy, were put in, that in open Senate he tore his Clothes, made himſelf naked, and reckoning up the Services he had performed, ſhowed the Skars of the Wounds he had received. One *Articuleius Petus* being choſen in, and his Father put out, made it his requeſt that he might ſurrender his Place to him. *Auguſtus* moved with theſe and other Circumſtances, made another Scrutiny; but neither did this remove Complaints, but ſeveral found themſelves ſtill aggrieved and unjuſtly dealt with: To them then he gave this Promiſe, That amongſt *Senators* they ſhould ſit at Feaſts, and behold the *Spectacula* in the ſame Habit; aud have liberty to ſue for Places of Magiſtracy; and moſt of them were afterward taken into the Senate again, only a few remained in a middle ſtate aud condition betwixt the Senate and the People. After this he puniſhed certain Perſons for Conſpiring againſt himſelf and *Agrippa*. He hated *Lepidus* for other reaſons as well as for that his Son had conſpired againſt his life, and had received puniſhment for it. Yet would he not put him to death, but put ſeveral diſgraces upon him. He cauſed him to come out of the Country into the City and be preſent at Aſſemblies, to expoſe him as a laughing-ſtock to the People, conſidering what Power he had formerly enjoyed; and he appointed him the loweſt place amongſt all the *Conſulares*. *Antiſtius Labeo*, to whom *Auguſtus* had given power of Chuſing the Senate, having taken him into that Order, he charged him with Perjury for ſo doing, and threatned to puniſh him. But *Labeo* anſwered, *That he thought he had done no unfitting thing to retain him in the Senate, whom he ſuffered ſtill to injoy the Dignity of* Pontifex Maximus: At which anſwer the Emperor remitted his Choler, having both privately and publickly made a ſhow of deſiring that Place, and yet he thought it was not to be invaded in the life-time of *Lepidus*. So ſeaſonable was the Reply of *Labeo*, as alſo was his Anſwer another time in the Senate, when it was moved as a fitting thing that Each of them ſhould attend *Auguſtus* in his turn to protect his Perſon. Not daring to contradict it, nor deigning to approve it, he ſaid He was ſleepy and ſnored, and was not fit to watch at his Chamber.

Is tacitely taxed for his familiarity with Women.

53. About this time he enacted ſeveral things in order to a Reformation of Cuſtoms and Manners. Such as by Bribery ſought after Offices, he barred from them for the ſpace of five years. He impoſed greater Mulcts upon ſuch of both Sexes as would not marry, and propoſed greater Encouragements for Procreation of legitimate Children. And becauſe the Males of the *Patrician* Rank exceeded far in number the Females of that Order, he gave leave to any, provided they were not Senators, to marty *Libertæ* or Freed Women, and made ſuch conjunctions legal. But great Complaint was now made to him of the Immodeſt Manners both of Young Men and Women, as the greateſt hindrance of Matrimony; and they Earneſtly deſired that he would alſo conſider how to redreſs this diſorder, thereby twitting tacitely himſelf for having to do with many Women. At firſt he anſwered, That he had taken care for things moſt neceſſary, and that other matters could not be ſo eaſily provided for; and ſome way or other he was brought to ſay, That they ought to Command their Wives, and uſe ſuch Admonitions as he did to his *Livia*. Then were the Senators much more importunate, and deſired to know what Admonitions they were. To whom replying very unwillingly, he inſtanced in ſome particulars concerning Clothes and other Ornaments of Women, about going to publick Meetings, and the Modeſty of himſelf and his Wife, little caring how ill his Actions ſuited with his Words. It was become a practice for Perſons to betroth to themſelves ſuch as were but Children, and after that to take the profits of their Eſtates though no Marriage followed thereupon. He Commanded, That No *Sponſalia* or Contracts ſhould be good, which were not Conſummated by a Marriage within Two years; that is, That ſuch as would receive the Profits of a Virgin's Eſtate, ſhould betroth her at Ten years of Age at leaſt, that of Twelve being the legitimate time of Marriage for Women, as then judged of Maturity. He further Ordained, That for Celebration of Games, but one *Præfect* of the City ſhould be made. And becauſe now the *Sibylline* Books were worn and decayed with Age, he imployed the *Pontifices* in Copying them out with their own Hands, that no others might have the opportunity of reading them. To all that were worth ten Myriads, and to whom it was lawful to ſtand for Offices, he gave liberty ſo to do. That was the firſt value he made of the Eſtates of Senators, which afterwards he inlarged to Five and twenty Myriads; and to ſome Perſons that lived well and wanted theſe ſums, he gave money to make them up. And he permitted *Prætors* to take the treble of what was allowed

Yet he pleaſeth generally.

lowed them for Games out of the Treaſury. This procured that although there were not ſome wanting who were diſpleaſed at the Rigor of his Laws; yet all Indignation ceaſed, becauſe he had done this, and recalled *Pylades* a Stage-Player, who had been driven away by the Factions in the City. This *Pylades* being chidden by *Auguſtus*, for brawling and contending with *Bathyllus*, of the ſame Profeſſion, and one that was familiar with *Mecænas*, is ſaid to have given him this wiſe Anſwer, *It conduceth to thine Intereſt, O* Cæſar, *that the People be diverted by being intent upon us.*

He goeth into *Gall*.

54. In the following year, being the DCCXXXVII of the City, *C. Furnius*, and *C. Silanus* were Conſuls, and a Son was born to *Agrippa*, and called *Lucius*, whom together with his Brother *Caius*, *Auguſtus* adopted before they came to Man's eſtate, that he might be more ſafe from Conſpiracies. Such as triumphed, he commanded that in memory of what they had done, they ſhould cauſe ſome work to be made of the ſpoils taken in War. He celebrated now the *Secular* Games the fifth time. He commanded that Orators ſhould receive no Reward for Pleading Cauſes, under pain of forfeiting fourfold of what they received. Such Judges as were yearly choſen by lot, he Prohibited in the year of their Adminiſtration to enter the Houſes of thoſe that had Cauſes depending before them. And becauſe *Senators* were negligent in coming to the Senate, on ſuch as were guilty of this neglect, without any reaſonable cauſe, he impoſed a greater Mulct than formerly had been uſual. Having ordained theſe things, and finding his preſence in the City troubleſom both to himſelf and others, while he ſometimes executed and ſomtimes neglected his own Laws, he reſolved, as *Solon* formerly had done to Travel, and the next year when *L. Domitius*, and *P. Scipio*, were Conſuls, he went into *Gall*, pretending thither to be called by Tumults and Wars. Some there were who ſuſpected that he went away, that without noiſe he might enjoy the Company of *Terentia*, the Wife of *Mecænas*, which Woman he ſo loved, that on a time he made her contend with *Livia* for handſomneſs. Before his departure, he dedicated the Temple of *Quirinus*, which had been re-edified, having adorned it with Seventy ſix Pillars, ſo many years as he lived, ſo that ſome believed he wittingly deſigned the number: The Government of *Rome* and *Italy*, he committed to *Taurus*; for he had ſent *Agrippa* into *Syria*, and *Mecænas* now was not ſo acceptable to him becauſe of his Wife.

Several Wars Compoſed.

The Impudence of *Licinnius*.

55. About the ſame time Commotions were raiſed by ſome Nations inhabiting the *Alps*, by the *Pannonians*, and thoſe of *Noricum*, all which were without much trouble compoſed, as others in *Dalmatia*, and *Macedonia*, and *Spain*. In *Thrace* *M. Lollius* giving aſſiſtance to *Rhymetalces*, the Uncle and Tutor of the Sons of *Cotys*, overcame the *Beſſi*, and after him *C. Lucius* upon the ſame account, making War againſt the *Sauromatæ*, overthrew them, and drove them beyond *Iſter*. But that War was of greateſt Conſequence, which drew *Auguſtus* from the City againſt the *Germans*; for the *Sicambri*, *Vſipetæ*, and *Tenchteri* having firſt nailed to Croſſes ſome *Roman* Citizens, then waſted *Gall*, circumvented a Party of Horſe ſent againſt them, and overthrew *Lollius* the Governor, upon whom they were drawn by thoſe that fled. Yet upon report of *Lollius* his further Preparations, and of the coming of *Auguſtus*, they returned home, and gave Hoſtages for their peaceable demeanor. Yet though he had no War to raiſe, did he ſpend the remaining of this year and the following, wherein *M. Druſus Libo*, and *L. Calpurnius Piſo* were Conſuls, in ſetling the Affairs of theſe Countries. For beſides the ſtirs raiſed by the *Germans*, great complaints were made againſt the Adminiſtration of *Licinnius*, who being a *Gall* by Original, and taken by the *Romans*, had become the Slave of *Julius Cæſar*, and being manumitted by him, been preferred by *Auguſtus*, to the overſight of that Country. He managed the *Roman* Dignity with *Barbarick* Avarice, and confounded all things, to make them ſubſervient to his humour. To that height of Impudence he arrived, that the *Galls* being to make Payments every Month, he would needs reckon fourteen Months to the year, affirming, that *December* according to its name, was really the tenth, and that there were two that followed called *Auguſti*, *viz.* an eleventh and twelfth, wherein Money muſt alſo be collected by the *Galls*. *Auguſtus* knew not how to carry himſelf, but ſometimes accuſed, and otherwhiles excuſed him, being aſhamed he had made choice of ſuch a Governor. But *Licinnius* by a Trick he uſed, came off, and deluded the *Galls*. Perceiving *Auguſtus* to be incenſed againſt him, and that he ſhould be puniſhed for his Villanies, he brought him to his Houſe, and there ſhowing him great Treaſure, called him *Lord*, and told him, That upon deſign he had gathered

it for the uſe of *him*, and the *Romans*, leſt the *Galls* furniſhed with it, ſhould have revolted; and having kept it for him, he now delivered it into his hands.

The *Rhæti* ſubdued.

The Cruelty of *Vedius*.

56. At the ſame time *Druſus* and *Tiberius*, with good Succeſs managed ſeveral Wars againſt ſuch as Rebelled againſt the Empire; Theſe were the *Rhæti*, who inhabiting the Country betwixt *Noricum* and *Gall*, at the *Tridentine Alps*, both infeſted the adjacent Territories of *Gall*, made Incurſions into *Italy*, and offered violence to ſuch *Romans* as paſſed through their Coaſts. Nay, ſuch was their Cuſtom, that they put to Death all Males they took for Captives, not only thoſe they found in view, but ſuch as were in their Mothers Bellies, whom they pretended they could diſcover by a certain Art they had of Divination. *Druſus* with no great difficulty, defeated them near *Trent*, and obtained *Prætorian* honours; but for all that they were ſo bold as to invade *Gall*, and thither *Tiberius* was ſent againſt them. Now both Brothers ſet on them at once, and broke into *Rhætia*, partly by the indeavours of their Legates, and their own Preſence; *Tiberius* paſſing the Lake by Boats, deſtroyed ſuch Forces as they had abroad, conſtrained them to ſubmit, and becauſe the Nation was populous, they carried away the greateſt part thereof that was fit for War, and left the reſt to Till the Land. Now it will not be amiſs to follow the Example of *Dio*, and from him to relate that in this year died *Vedius Pollio*, a man famous for nothing performed, being a *Libertinus* by Original, and of the *Equeſtrian* Order, but remarkable for his Wealth, and his Cruelty. He kept that ſort of Fiſh called *Mullets* in a Pond, and when his Slaves offended him, ſuch as he Condemned to Death, he was wont to caſt into the Pond to fat theſe Fiſhes, being learnt to feed upon that ſort of food. On a time he invited *Auguſtus* to a Feaſt, and it happened that one of his Slaves who waited at the Side-board, brake a Cryſtal Glaſs, for which Offence he Condemned him to the *Mullets*; not at all moved by the preſence of him he entertained. The Boy caſt himſelf at the Feet of *Auguſtus*, who interceded for him; and when *Vedius* would not yeild, deſired that he might ſee all his other Glaſſes which were of ſo great a value, which when brought, he cauſed them all to be broken. He left to *Auguſtus* a good part of his Eſtate, particularly a Village called *Panſilypas*, betwixt *Naples* and *Puteoli*. He required that ſome Publick Work might be erected for the uſe of the People, and upon this pretence, *Auguſtus* cauſed his Houſe to be pulled down, with deſign indeed, that no Monument of him might be left in the City. There he built a *Porticus*, but upon it ſet not the Name of *Vedius*, but of *Livia*; which was done afterward. Now did *Auguſtus* ſend many Colonies into *Gall* and *Spain*; reſtored the Inhabitants of *Cyzicus* to Liberty; was bountiful to them of *Paphus*, who had been ſorely diſtreſſed by an Earthquake, and permitted them to call their City by the Name of *Auguſta*. This indeed was ordinarily performed by *Auguſtus*, and the Senate; and the Senate it ſelf was wont in way of Honours, to give Sirnames to Cities; though afterwards they themſelves made choice of what, and as many, as they pleaſed.

The Example of *Agrippa* followed.

Auguſtus Returns to *Rome*.

57. The *Pannonians* much about this time Rebelling, were reduced to Obedience; the *Ligures Comati*, who hitherto had inhabited the Maritim *Alps*, in free condition, were reduced into Slavery, and Matters were ſetled in the *Cimmerian Boſphorus*, which tended to Defection. This was effected by the Conduct of *Agrippa*, in whoſe Name a Supplication was decreed; but though a Triumph was decreed him, he refuſed the Honour; neither at the beginning did he write any thing of it to the Senate. And in the Opinion of *Dio*, this Example of his was afterward taken, and obſerved as a Law, for, thoſe that came after did not by Letters certifie the Senate of what was done, neither did they Triumph, as formerly; no Triumph being indeed decreed to them, being only graced with Triumphal Honours. As for *Auguſtus*, he had by this time diſpatched the Affairs of *Gall*, *Germany*, and *Spain*. Much Money he had expended, and much he had received: Liberty and Freedom of the City from ſome he took, and to others gave it; and having left *Druſus* in *Germany*, he returned to *Rome*, when *Tiberius* and *Quintilius Varus* were Conſuls. The Senate having met, had ordered an Altar to be Conſecrated in the Court it ſelf for his return, and Voted that ſuch as became Supplicants to him, when he was within the *Pomœrium*, ſhould obtain Impunity. Neither of theſe Honours would he receive, neither would he permit the People to come out and meet him, but entred the City by Night, as he was wont to do moſt commonly, that he might not be troubleſom. The day after his Return, he ſaluted the People in the Palace; aſcending the Capitol, he took the Laurel from about the *Faſces*, and laid it at the Knees of *Jupiter*; and on the ſame Day, he

gave to the People *gratis* the uſe of Baths, and Barbers. After this, he cauſed the Senate to be Aſſembled, but having got a Cold, he ſpake nothing, but gave a Paper to the *Quæſtor* to be read, wherein was related what he had performed; the Term of the Militia was determined (or how many years Soldiers were to ſerve before diſmiſſion) and what Moneys they ſhould receive, when *Emeriti* for the Grounds they ſo earneſtly deſired. This he did to keep them from Mutining. The *Prætorian Cohorts* were to ſerve Twelve years; the reſt Sixteen; and more Pay was received by the former, than by the latter. At preſent by this courſe he took, the Soldiers were neither fully contented, nor yet moved by any Indignation, as not deſpairing of their Fortunes.

58. We have ſeen how careful *Auguſtus* was for Modelling and Reforming the Senate, but his indeavours therein did not anſwer Expectation. He thought he did well to raiſe the value of a *Senator*, and this had ſuch operation, that it ſo far kept out mean and inſolvent Perſons, that few could now be found that were able, at leaſt willing, to undertake the Imployment; and many ſwore themſelves off from it. There was now a want of Perſons to diſcharge the Offices of Judicature, and other Duties; and therefore the Fathers in his Abſence made a *Senatusconſultum*, that twenty Perſons ſhould be choſen out of the Body of the *Equites*, and not to be thereupon made *Senators*, except ſome Office afterwards diſcharged ſhould make them capable of that Dignity. That theſe twenty ſhould ſucceed into the room of the former twenty ſix; of them three ſhould judg in Capital Matters; other three look to the Coining of Money; four ſhould Overſee the Ways of the City; and ten more be imployed in ſuch Judicial Proceedings as formerly were devolved by lot upon the *Centumviri*; as for thoſe who took care of the Highways without the City, and four that were ſent into *Campania*, they were now abrogated. Beſides this *Senatuſconſultum*, they decreed that becauſe none would lightly ſue for the *Tribuneſhip* of the People, ſome ſhould be choſen by lot out of them that had been *Quæſtors*, and had not yet attained forty years of Age. *Auguſtus* now ſurveyed the whole *Senatorian* Order, and omitting ſuch as had paſſed their five and thirtieth year, compelled all the reſt that had Eſtates of value to receive the Dignity, if they were not maimed in their Bodies; which he himſelf viewed.

New Officers made.

59. For the value of Eſtates, he took the Oaths of the Parties; as alſo of ſuch as bore Teſtimony on their behalf, and required an account both of their Poverty, and of their Lives. As for private Matters, he rebuked *Tiberius* for placing *Caius* in a Seat next to himſelf, at the Votive Games he made for his ſafe Return, and chid the People for applauding him for ſo doing. *Lepidus* being now dead, he took the Office of *Pontifex Maximus*, and upon occaſion hereof, when the Senate was about to decree certain things in honour of him, he profeſſed he would receive none of them, and when they were importunate, he roſe and went out of the Court. Neither were their Decrees approved, neither did he receive a Publick Dwelling; but becauſe it was requiſite that the Habitation of the *Pontifex Maximus* ſhould be publick, he Commanded part of his own Houſe to be ſo accounted; and gave the Houſe of the *Rex Sacrorum* to the *Veſtal* Virgins, it being near their Dwellings. One *Cornelius Seſentius* being blamed for the evil Converſation of his Wife, ſaid in open Senate, that he had Married her, *Auguſtus* both knowing and adviſing him to it. Hereat he was moved with very great Paſſion, but without any more to do, haſted out of the Court, and ſhortly after again returned; and this he told his Friends he did it, leſt if he had ſtaid he ſhould have been provoked to ſome act that might have been inconvenient and ſevere.

Auguſtus is *Pontifex Maximus*.

60. *Agrippa* was returned out of *Syria*, and honoured with a Continuation of *Tribunitial* Power for other five years. Thus rewarded he ſent him into *Pannonia*, where now a War grew hot, with greater Power than any other employed out of *Italy*. He undertook the Expedition when Winter now came on, wherein were Conſuls *M. Valerius Meſſala Barbatus*, and *P. Sulpicius Quirinius*, and ſo affrighted the *Pannonians* with the very noiſe of his March, that they ceaſed to rebel. Hereby prevented as to Action, he returned, and in his way fell ſick in *Campania*. *Auguſtus* as ſoon as he heard it, made what haſte he could to come to him, but found him dead. He brought his Body into the City, and placing it in the *Forum*, commended him by a Funeral Oration, a Curtain being drawn betwixt him and the Beire: What the meaning of this ſhould be, our Author cannot tell us. Some thought it was, becauſe *Auguſtus* was *Pontifex Maximus*; and others,

Agrippa Dies.

becauſe he Executed the Office of *Cenſor*; but he affirms both the one and the other ſort to have erred therein; for neither was the *Pontifex Maximus* forbidden to look upon dead Bodies,nor the *Cenſor* any time, but when he made a *Luſtrum*, or concluded his Office: then indeed if he beheld the Body of a dead-man before the Solemnities of the *Luſtrum* were performed, all he had formerly done were reſcinded. Then did *Auguſtus* carry him out into the place whither he himſelf was afterward conveyed, and buried him in his own Sepulchre; although *Agrippa* had a Monument of his own granted him in the *Campus Martius*. But ſuch was the End of this Perſon, the beſt Man without Controverſie of his Age in the Opinion of *Dio*; the Friend of *Auguſtus*, and that to the great advantage both of Emperor and Empire. As he uſed his utmoſt Indeavour to ſerve him; ſo the Honours and Advantages he received as Rewards, he imployed in well deſerving of other men. Hereby it came to paſs, that he was neither troubleſome to *Auguſtus*, nor obnoxious to the Envy of others; ſo Confirming his Authority and Domination, as if he ſeemed chiefly to deſire that form of Government; and yet ſo obliging the People that he was eſteemed as moſt Popular of all others. At his Death he bequeathed them his Gardens and a Bath,which was called by his Name, giving certain Grounds to *Auguſtus* for this uſe. And he not only gave to the People theſe Grounds, but diſtributed to them Money man by man, as if *Agrippa* had left it to them. Indeed by his death a great Eſtate came to *Auguſtus*, and amongſt other things the *Cherſoneſus* at the *Helleſpont*, our Author wondering how *Agrippa* came by it. However, *Auguſtus* could not forget him of a long time, but honoured him amongſt the People, and cauſed his Son born after his death, after him to be called by the name of *Agrippa*. This Name, *Pliny* ſaith,was firſt given to them that were born with the Feet forward, as one ſhould ſay, *Born hardly, or with much ado*. And in this manner (he writes) as they ſay, *M. Agrippa* came forth of his Mother's Womb, the only Man, almoſt, known to have brought any good Fortune with him of all that were after that ſort born. Yet he was much pained with the Gout, and paſſed all his Youth and many a day after in Bloody Wars, and in danger of a thouſand deaths. He was unfortunate in his Children, and eſpecially in his two Daughters, the *Agrippinæ*, who brought forth two Sons pernicious to the whole Earth, namely, *C. Caligula*, and *Domitius Nero*, Emperors. He died in the One and fiftieth year of his Age, tormented with the Adulterie of his Wife, and oppreſſed with the Intolerable Servitude, in which he lived under her Father.

His Commendation.

61. *Auguſtus* mourned much for the death of *Agrippa*, yet would he not ſuffer any thing inſtituted by the Antients to be omitted; and though none of the Nobility would be preſent at Games, Yet he himſelf ſolemnized thoſe of the *Gladiators*, which were alſo often celebrated in his Abſence. Being now made the Corrector of Manners for other five years, (for this Office he alſo took, as the Imperial Power it ſelf, to a limited time) he commanded that Senators ſhould when they came to the Court, or to his preſence, burn Incenſe; both that they might carry themſelves religiouſly, and come together with leſs trouble, ſuch a Ceremony, as a Token of their Meetings, being uſed. The Province of *Aſia* ſtanding now in need of help, being much diſtreſſed with Earthquakes, he paid the Annual Tribute due from it, out of his own money, and aſſigned it a Preſident, not choſen by Suffrages, but by Lot, for two years. It happened that *Apuleius* and *Mecœnas* being blamed in a Court of Judicature, in a Caſe of Adultery, not that they were guilty of it themſelves, but becauſe they undertook the Defence of an accuſed Perſon, he came into the Court, and ſitting down on the Bench, only gave warning to the Accuſer, That he ſhould not traduce his Kindred, and his Friends, and then aroſe and departed. For theſe and Other things they gathered Money amongſt themſelves and honoured him with *Statues*, and permitted what never formerly had been lawful to any, That upon his Birth-day unmarried perſons, of both Sexes, might amongſt the reſt come to ſee, and be preſent at the Feaſt. Now *Agrippa* was dead, whom *Auguſtus* had loved for his Virtue, not any Relation he had to him, and it was neceſſary he ſhould have ſome one to aſſiſt him in the Government, Superior to all others in Power and Dignity, the better to avoid Conſpiracies: He was forced to make choice of *Tiberius*, his own Grandſons not being yet grown up. He cauſed him to quit his Wife, being the Daughter of *Agrippa*, by a former Marriage, though ſhe had a Child living by him, and another in her Belly, and to Marry *Julia*; which done, he ſent him againſt the *Pannonians*, who after the death of *Agrippa*, delivered of their fear, returned to

Other Honours conferred on *Auguſtus*.

He Marries his Daughter *Julia* to *Tiberius*.

their wonted Rebellious humour. He made uſe of the *Scordiſci* their Neighbors, who obſerved the ſame way of Fighting, and after much miſchief done both to Country and Inhabitant, ſubdued them, took away their Arms, and led away the younger ſort into other Regions. For theſe Performances, the Senate decreed him a Triumph, but *Cæſar* would not ſuffer him to make uſe of the Decree, but in room thereof conferred on him Triumphal Honours.

The Succeſs of the two Brothers, *Tiberius* and *Druſus*.

62. The ſame thing that befell him, happened to his Brother *Druſus*. The *Sicambri*, and their Aſſociates, incouraging themſelves upon the Abſence of *Auguſtus*, and for that the *Galls* bore the yoak of Servitude very unwillingly, had begun another War. *Druſus* under pretence of a Feſtival celebrated at *Lugdunum*, at the Altar of *Auguſtus*, ſecured the chiefeſt of the *Galls*, and thereby prevented the great miſchief that would have followed upon their Conjunction with the reſt. Then being intent upon the *Germans*, when they ſhould paſs the *Rhine*, he repulſed them, and invaded the Territories of the *Vſipetæ*, near the Iſland of the *Batavi*, as alſo the Country of the *Sicambri*, and waſted them to a great extent. After this, paſſing down the *Rhine* into the *Ocean*, he ſubdued the *Friſii*, and by a Lake paſſed the Borders of the *Chauci*. Here he was in Danger, by reaſon that upon fall of the Tide, his Veſſels were left upon dry ground, but by the Induſtry of the *Friſii*, who ſupplied him with foot, he eſcaped, and Winter approaching came to *Rome*, where he was made *Prætor* of the City, though he had already obtained *Prætorian* Honours, in the *Conſulſhip* of *Q. Ælius Tubero*, and *Paulus Fabius Maximus*. In the beginning of Spring he returned, paſſed the *Rhine*, ſubdued the *Vſipetæ*, and thence by a Bridge croſſing the River *Lupia*, invaded the *Sicambri*; and through their Country peirced into that of the *Cheruſci*, and as far as the River *Viſurgis*, which he might better do; becauſe the *Sicambri* had with all their force at this time fallen upon the *Chatti*, who of all their Neighbors had alone denied them aid. And he had alſo paſſed the *Viſurgis*, but that want of Proviſions, the approach of Winter, and a ſwarm of Bees ſeen in the Camp, deterred him. Returning into the Country of his Friends, he was near deſtruction by the Circumvention of his Enemies, who having done him much Damage, ſhut up him and his whole Army in a ſtrait and hollow place; and he was only delivered by their temerity, who contemning the *Romans* as already vanquiſhed, ruſhed upon them without any care or orders, and gave them advantage to Charge, and put them to Flight. After this they durſt not approach, and *Druſus* then contemning them, built a Caſtle to reſtrain them at the confluence of *Lupia*, and *Aliſo*; and another in the Country of the *Chatti* upon the *Rhine*. For theſe Atchievements it was decreed that he ſhould have Triumphal Honours, enter the City on Horſe-back, and his *Prætorſhip* ended, obtain *Proconſular* Power. He had been ſaluted by his Soldiers, as alſo his Brother *Tiberius*, with the title of *Imperator*, but it was not given them by *Auguſtus*. However the Games which *Druſus* exhibited as *Prætor*, were diſcharged with great Expence, and the Birth-day of *Auguſtus* was celebrated in the *Cirque*, and other places of the City with Huntings; for which, though there was no Decree, yet was it yearly done by the *Prætor*. But thoſe Solemnities called *Auguſtalia* were then firſt celebrated by virtue of a *Senatuſconſultum*, and continued till the time of *Dio*.

63. But as if there had been an Emulation betwixt the two Brothers, who ſhould do beſt, *Tiberius* now brought under, and forced to ſubmit the *Dalmatians* and *Pannonians*, who encouraged at his Abſence, had again Rebelled, invading them both together, and removing the War as occaſion offered. For this the ſame Honours were decreed to him as to *Druſus*, and thenceforth *Dalmatia*, as requiring careful Watch, and the Defence of Arms, both in reſpect of it ſelf, and the Neighbouring *Pannonia*, was committed to the charge of *Auguſtus*. Much about the ſame time *Vologæſus* a *Thracian*, of the Nation of the *Beſſi*, the Prieſt of *Bacchus*, who was worſhipped by them, by a vain ſhew of Religion, aſſociated many to himſelf, by their help raiſed a Rebellion, and killed *Rhaſciporis*, the Son of *Cotys*. Still uſing a Pretext of his Religion, without Battle, he deprived *Rhymetalces* of his Army, purſued him, brake into the *Cherroneſus*, and there did much miſchief; about the time that the *Sialetæ* alſo infeſted *Macedonia*. *L. Piſo*, who now governed *Pamphilia*, was commanded to make head againſt them, who firſt received loſs from the *Beſſi*, but ingaging with them again, obtained ſo conſiderable a Victory, that waſting the Country far and wide, moſt of all theſe Nations ſubmitted, and others that ſtood out by force of Arms, he conſtrained to undergo the yoak. For theſe things performed, a Supplication was decreed, and

The Succeſs of *Piſo*.

that he ſhould have Triumphal Honours. While Matters thus ſucceed in the Eaſt, *Auguſtus* imployed himſelf in making an Inventory of his whole Eſtate, as if he had been a private man. Again, he ſurveyed the Senate, and perceiving that the Members thereof were ſlow to meet, he ordained that for the future a *Senatusconſultum* might be made, by fewer than Four hundred; which Number formerly was required to be preſent.

Dion Caſſius his odd Story of *Auguſtus.*

Stirs in the Eaſt quieted by Tiberius.

64. Now again both Senate and People contributed Money for making of Statues; but none he would permit to be erected, but only to Publick *Safety, Concord,* and *Peace.* Yet ſtill would they go about it upon all occaſions, and at length on the Firſt of *January,* they repaired to *Auguſtus* himſelf, and every one gave him more or leſs, which he reſtored to them with advantage; not only to *Patricians,* but others alſo. Here *Dion Caſſius* tells an odd Story; How he had heard that being moved by ſome Oracle or Dream, every year on a certain Day, he received ſome Silver by way of Begging from ſuch as he met with; he adds, That whether we will believe it or no, ſo it was reported. This ſame year, to be ſure, he Married *Julia* his Daughter to *Tiberius,* and his Siſter *Octavia* being dead, he cauſed her Body to be laid publickly in State, in the Sacrary of *Julius,* where he made a Funeral Oration, a Curtain being drawn, as formerly. *Druſus* publickly changed his *Senatorian* Robe for a Mourning Gown, and then her Sons in Law carried her away; yet would not *Auguſtus* admit all things that were decreed in her Honour. Now firſt after *Merula,* the *Flamen Dialis,* or Prieſt of *Jupiter* was ordained. And for as much as the *Tribuni Plebis,* and *Ædiles,* who were to look to the keeping of the *Senatusconſulta,* were wont to truſt their Apparitors, and thence much Error and Confuſion happened, they were delivered into the Cuſtody of the *Quæſtors.* It was alſo decreed, that the Temple of *Janus* ſhould now be ſhut; but this was hindred by the *Daci,* who when *Iſter* was frozen, paſſed over the Ice, and made Depredations in *Pannonia*; beſides this, the *Dalmatians* not enduring the Exaction of Tribute, caſt off the yoak. Theſe Motions were quieted by *Tiberius,* who was gone with *Auguſtus* into *Gall.* And the *Germans,* and amongſt thoſe the *Chatti,* who not content with the Territories aſſigned them by the *Romans,* had joyned themſelves with the *Sicambri, Druſus* either infeſted or reduced to Obedience. Both the Brothers now returned with *Auguſtus,* who had ſpent moſt of his time in *Gallia Lugdunenſis,* to *Rome*; theſe things being performed in the *Conſulſhip* of *Julius,* and *Fabius Maximus.*

Dio lib. 55.

Druſus Dies.

65. In the following year, wherein *Druſus* and *T. Quintius Criſpinus* were *Conſuls, Druſus* having invaded the Territories of the *Chatti,* waſted them as he paſſed; and having defeated them in Battel, proceeded into the Country of the *Suevi,* and thence turning to the *Cheruſci,* croſſed *Viſurgis,* and waſted all as far as the River *Albis,* which falling from the *Vandalick* Mountains, flows in a great Stream into the Northern Ocean. Having in vain attempted to paſs this River, he erected Trophies, and retreated; For, a Woman (our Hiſtorian tells us) of greater Dimenſions than Humane, met him in the way, and calling him by Name, demanded of him, Whither his boundleſs Ambition would carry him; She told him, the Fates did not permit that he ſhould ſee all Quarters; and bade him be gone; for the Period both of his Life and Actions approached. The death of *Druſus* he will have uſher'd in by this and other Prodigies, which according to his Cuſtom, he particularly relates; for he died in his Return, before he reached the *Rhine. Livy,* who extended his Hiſtory juſt ſo far, wrote that he died of a fall from his Horſe. It ſeems he lay Sick ſo long, that *Auguſtus,* who was at no great diſtance from him, as *Dio* writes, ſent with all ſpeed for his Brother *Tiberius,* who at his coming found him alive, though drawing on: He conveyed his Body to *Rome, Centurions* and *Tribunes* carrying it at the beginning, and afterwards the chiefeſt of the Cities. It being placed in the *Forum,* there he was commended by *Tiberius* in a Funeral Oration, and again by *Auguſtus* in the *Flaminian Cirque*; becauſe it was not lawful for ſuch as had led forth Armies to enter the *Pomærium* of the City, before they had uſed ſuch Ceremonies as were required by virtue of the ancient Cuſtom. He was by the moſt conſiderable *Equites,* and others of *Senatorian* Rank, carried into the *Campus Martius,* where being Burnt, the Aſhes were laid up in the Sepulchre of *Auguſtus.* The Sirname of *Germanicus* was given to him and his Sons, beſides the Honours of Statues and Triumphal Arches, and of a Monument upon the River *Rhine.*

66. *Tiberius* alſo for having in the life-time of *Druſus* ſuppreſſed the *Dalmatians* and *Pannonians,* who had made ſome ſmall offers to ſtir, entred the City on

Horſe-back, in a ſort of Triumph, and gave a Collation to the People, in the *Capitol* and other places, and *Livia* and *Julia* entertained the Women. The ſame Solemnities were prepared for *Druſus*, and Holidays were again to be kept for his Triumph, when all theſe Expectations were blaſted by his Death. *Livia* his Mother, to comfort her, was alſo honoured with Statues, and reckoned amongſt ſuch as had thrice brought forth. For though Fortune was not ſo favourable as to give three Children to all Married Men or Women, yet the Law firſt made by the Senate, and afterward confirmed by the Emperor, gave the Privilege obtained by three Children to ſome of them, ſo that they ſhould not be liable to the Mulct impoſed upon Barren People, and a few things excepted, they might obtain all the Advantages due to them that had a numerous Iſſue. *Auguſtus* applying himſelf to Publick Affairs, ordained that on certain Days the Senate ſhould be aſſembled, whereas formerly nothing had been herein defined, and therefore many took the Advantage to be abſent. To prevent this, he appointed certain Days in every Month, on which it ſhould be neceſſary for all obliged by the Laws to be preſent. That no juſt excuſe might be pretended, he took order that no Judicial Proceedings, nor any other thing ſhould hinder them. Now alſo he determined what number ſhould be preſent at paſſing Decrees, according to the Nature of the *Senatuſconſulta*; and again he increaſed the Mulct, impoſed upon ſuch as abſented without a Cauſe. But, as uſually it happens, the multitude of Offenders ſeemed to plead for Remiſſion of the Mulct, and therefore he commanded, that when many offended, every fifth man, as it fell by lot, ſhould be certainly puniſhed. To be ſure he Publiſhed in a Liſt the Names of all the *Senators*; which Cuſtom continued till the time of *Dion Caſſius*.

Auguſtus **appoints certain Days for the Senate to meet on.**

66. Such Care was taken by *Auguſtus*, to conſtrain *Senators* to Aſſemble and give their Suffrages. If it happened that ſo many did not meet together, as was needful, (for when the Emperor came thither, the Liſt was always called over, and moſt commonly on other days) they that were preſent conſulted of Matters before them, and what they reſolved, was written down; but it did not obtain the force of a *Senatuſconſultum*, but was called the *Authority* of the *Senate*, ſhowing only what the Opinion was of thoſe that met. The ſame courſe was obſerved when they ſuddenly Aſſembled, either in a Place, or at a Time not uſual nor lawful, or called by ſome Edict that had no Authority to back it, or if the *Tribunes* of the People contradicted; for though in ſuch Caſes no *Senatuſconſultum* could be made, yet the Senate would not have its opinion to be concealed, which afterwards being in due form ratified, obtained the name and force of a *Senatuſconſultum*. This Cuſtom was obſerved in thoſe days, though in the time of *Dio*, he ſaith, it was in a manner aboliſhed, as alſo what *Auguſtus* ordained concerning *Prætors*, to whom he gave liberty of Voting in the Senate; becauſe they took it ill that in dignity preceding the *Tribuni Plebis*, they ſhould have no Voice. As he now gave it them, ſo time afterward took it away. But *Auguſtus* before he enacted theſe things, cauſed them to be written down and expoſed in the Senate, giving liberty to any two that came in to read them, to find what fault they could, and propound other Rules. Here it will not be amiſs to add what *Suetonius* hath written concerning this Subject. He tells us, that before *Auguſtus* his time, the Number of *Senators* was rude and deformed, being above a thouſand, ſome of them moſt unworthy, as being after the Death of *Cæſar*, taken in for favour or reward, and therefore by the vulgar they were called *Orcini*. Then *Auguſtus* by two Scrutinies, reſtored the Senate to its ancient luſtre, in one of which, one man choſe another amongſt themſelves, and the ſecond was made at the choice of himſelf and *Agrippa*, at which time it was thought he wore a Breaſtplate under his Robe, and had ten of the moſt Valiant *Senators*, all his Friends, ſtanding about his Chair. *Cordus Cremutius* wrote that at that time no *Senator* was admitted, but alone, and his Robe being firſt ſearched. Some he compelled to excuſe themſelves, but to ſuch he granted the *Senatorian* mark in their Habit, the right of ſitting to behold Sports in the *Orcheſtra*, and and of Feaſting publickly. That ſuch as were choſen and approved, might more Religiouſly, and with leſs trouble execute their Offices, he ordained before any ſate down in the Senate, he ſhould firſt Supplicate at the Altar of that God, in whoſe Temple they met, with Wine and Frankincenſe; as alſo that a legitimate Senate ſhould be held, but twice in one Month, *viz.* On the *Calends* and the *Ides*; that in the Months of *September* and *October* (Months of Vintage) it ſhould not be neceſſary that any ſhould be preſent, but ſuch as were choſen by lot, being

The Vote called the Authority of the Senate.

In Octavio. C.C. 35, 36.

being a ſufficient number to do the work. Moreover he procured that the Acts of the Senate ſhould not be Publiſhed.

67. As to what he writes concerning Feaſting in Publick, granted to ſuch *Senators* as excuſed themſelves, we muſt know that upon three Accounts the *Romans* uſed Publick Feaſts. One was at the Funeral of ſome Eminent Perſon. Another when they Sacrificed, and then there were Perſons called *Epulones*, ſomtimes three; and otherwhiles ſeven in number, who took care of thoſe *Epula* or Feaſts. The third was after ſome Victory, as was often practiſed by *Julius Cæſar*, and others; and at this ſort of Feaſts chiefly *Senators* were entertained. From what both *Dio* and *Suetonius* write concerning the Incenſe, we may obſerve that the Senate was not wont to Aſſemble but in ſome conſecrated place, as in the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, of *Jupiter Stator*, erected over againſt that of *Veſta* at the foot of the *Palatine* Mount; that of *Concord* near the *Capitol*; of *Tellus* or the Earth; of *Apollo*; and *Caſtor* and *Pollux*. To foreign Ambaſſadors the Senate was wont to give Audience in the Temple of *Bellona*, without the Walls; as alſo to ſuch Magiſtrates as returned from the Provinces, and were not yet to enter the City before ſomething was performed. Sometimes indeed the Senate Aſſembled in the *Campus Martius*, and in other places, but theſe were alſo Inaugurate and Conſecrated; at leaſt ordinarily it could not Aſſemble but in ſuch. For the time when the Senate met, of old it might meet on any days but the *Dies Comitiales*, becauſe then the *Comitia* of the People being held, the *Senators* could not be abſent from them; nor were not to be hindered from giving their Suffrages. Neither could the Senate meet on unlucky days, becauſe then no Sacrifices could be offered, which were requiſite as we ſee. Neither when it Thundered, or Winds and Tempeſts raged; nor when both *Conſuls* were abſent from the City, at leaſt till the ninth day from their Abſence. And ſome think, that becauſe the *Comitia* were diſſolved if any were taken with the *Comitial* Diſeaſe or *Epilepſie*, the ſame was obſerved in the meeting of the Senate. Seeing then that on all other days the Senate might lawfully meet, ſome there are that admire how *Auguſtus*, a man loving Buſineſs, ſhould be for its Aſſembling but twice in a Month, at the beginning and middle. But their wonder ceaſeth when they conſider, that having taken upon himſelf the whole Government, he did it with deſign that the greateſt Affairs might firſt be debated by himſelf and his Councellors, whom, as *Suetonius* in the ſame place affirms, he choſe by lot every ſix Months for this very purpoſe. The truth is, he had transferred all the Power to himſelf, both of Senate and People, and he would have them do nothing but what he pleaſed, though he pretended that he took this courſe that things might be tranſacted with more mature Conſideration and Advice. Indeed adventuring upon ſo high and dangerous an Enterprize, as the changing of the Government, he uſed all the Cunning he could to cover his Deſigns, and he was to pretend all Modeſty and Self-denial imaginable. This made him ſhun all needleſs and invidious Ceremonies and ſhadows of Reſpect, ſo long as he was poſſeſſed of the Subſtance; and even to make a ſhew of waving the Subſtance it ſelf, as a burthen too heavy for his no way ambitious Shoulders; at leaſt of a reſolution to be the publick Drudge, only for a certain and limited time. And yet he was content they ſhould pleaſe themſelves, ſometimes in fancying, that they honoured him in giving him Titles, and Voting he ſhould have ſuch and ſuch Powers, when he was already poſſeſſed of the Supreme. Let us hear what *Dion Caſſius* further writes of theſe matters.

Vide Donatum in l.

Where and when the Senate was wont to Aſſemble.

Auguſtus ſtudies to be *Popular.*

68. He deſired to appear ſo popular, that one of his fellow Soldiers praying he would undertake his Cauſe; and he ſaying that becauſe he was hindered by buſineſs, he would ſend him an Advocate; when the man replied in Anger, That he did not ſerve him in this faſhion when he wanted his help, not ſending one in his room to do it, but in his own Perſon undergoing all dangers for him, he went into the the *Forum* and pleaded his cauſe. In like manner he aſſiſted another Friend he had, at the Bar, having communicated the matter firſt to the Senate, and he ſaved him; and not only not proſecuted the man's Accuſer, though he had uſed great liberty in his diſcourſe, but being called to account for his ill manners, abſolved him. He appointed *Quæſtors* on the Sea Coaſt near *Rome*, and in other places of *Italy*, there to præſide; which courſe he obſerved many years: but he himſelf would not enter into the City becauſe of the death of *Druſus*. The Year that followed, wherein *C. Aſinius Gallus*, and *C. Marcius Cenſorinus* were *Conſuls*, he came to *Rome*, where he found both them and other Magiſtrates accuſed for

having procured their Places by Money. Yet did he diſſemble the matter,and made no Inquiſition, having reſolved to puniſh none by hearſay, nor to pardon any that was manifeſtly convicted. But of ſuch as would ſtand for any Office, he took money by way of pledge; and if they were found to uſe any Bribery, they made forfeit of it. This was commended as laudable, but ſo was not another thing by all ſorts of Perſons. The Laws forbad that a Slave ſhould be tortured to confeſs any thing againſt his Lord. He therefore commanded that ſuch Slaves ſhould be ſold to himſelf or the Publick when occaſion required, that the propriety being altered, they might be Examined againſt thoſe who were not now their Maſters. Some Complained that the Law was eluded by this changing of Lords; and others ſaid it was neceſſary to be done, for that many in confidence that their Slaves could not be queſtioned, were incouraged to conſpire againſt him and the preſent Power. Not long after he pretended he would lay down, and the ſecond Ten Years being over, was brought, unwilling, to receive the Government for other Ten.

War in *Germany.*

69. He undertook a War againſt the *Germans*, but ſtaying himſelf at home imploy'd *Tiberius*, who paſſing the *Rhine*, all the *Clanns* ſent their Ambaſſadors and begged Peace, except the *Cantabri*. *Auguſtus* refuſed to accept of their ſubmiſſion, except the *Cantabri* were concerned in it; and neither when they joyned would he grant them Peace, but diſpoſed through ſeveral Cities the Ambaſſadors of the *Cantabri*, who being many and moſt conſiderable amongſt them, would not endure the Uneaſineſs of it, but killed themſelves. So the Peace continued unmade, and the *Barbarians* were quiet, though to purpoſe afterward they avenged themſelves. *Auguſtus* gave money to the Soldiers, not upon the account of Victory, though he himſelf received and gave the Title of *Imperator* to *Tiberius*; but becauſe in this Action *Caius* was firſt trained up to Military Exerciſes, Promoting now *Tiberius* to the Imperial Power in the room of *Druſus*, and gracing him with the Name, he made him *Conſul* the ſecond time, and commanded him according to the antient Cuſtom to expoſe his Letters to view, and honoured him with a Triumph: For he himſelf would not Triumph, but rather choſe that on his Birth-day perpetual Games ſhould be ſolemnized with Horſes. He inlarged the Bounds of the *Pomærium*, and named the Month *Sextilis*, after himſelf *Auguſtus*. Others would have given this Name to *September*, becauſe in it he was born; but he preferred *Sextilis*, becauſe in it he was firſt made *Conſul*, and obtained many notable Victories: So writes *Dio*. And the ſame reaſon of his preferring *Sextilis* before *September*, is given by *Suetonius*, who mentions this paſſage as relating to his new modelling or reforming of the year. And this he did, he tells us, as *Pontifex Maximus*, which Place he reſolved never to take from *Lepidus* while living. When he was dead he took it, and for a firſt Eſſay, he cauſed all the Fortune-telling Books, both *Greek* and *Latin*, which either had no Authors known, or thoſe of no reputation, to be ſought out and burnt, above Two thouſand in number. The *Sibylline* Books he onely retained, and thoſe choicely ſelected,which he laid up in guilded Repoſitories under the Baſis of *Palatine Apollo*. Then he addes, That the Year being regulated by *Divus Julius*, but afterward through negligence diſordered and confuſed, he reſtored it to its former Courſe; and in this reformation choſe to give the Name of *Auguſt* to the Month *Sextilis*. After this he tells us what further he did about the Superſtition of the *Romans*, as his honouring the *Veſtal* Virgins, and reſtoring ſeveral Ceremoies in order to it, amongſt which were the *Sæcular* Games. But as to the reformation of the Year, *Pliny* and others relate, how in the ſpace of Thirty ſix years, twelve dayes were intercalated; whereas there ought to have been but nine. He therefore Commanded that Twelve years ſhould paſs without any Leap-year at all, that ſo theſe three dayes might be ſwallowed up, which increaſed by the over-haſtineſs of the Prieſts. For the naming of *Sextilis* after him *Auguſtus*, a Decree of the Senate paſſed; and alſo one of the People, *Pacuvius* one of the *Tribuni Plebis* propounding the Law; concerning which *Macrobius* in his *Saturnalia*, is to be conſulted.

The Month *Sextilis*, called *Auguſt*.

Auguſtus reformeth the year.

Vide uſſerium in Annal.

The Death of *Mecænas*.

70. *Auguſtus* was well enough pleaſed with theſe things, but grievouſly afflicted with the death of *Mecænas*, who was ſerviceable to him in ſeveral reſpects. He held him ſo faithful that he committed the Government of the City to him, though but of *Equeſtrian* Rank for a long time; and he found him uſeful to him when he was tranſported with immoderate Anger, to allay his Paſſion, and reduce him to a more quiet mind. Of this *Dion Caſſius* gives us one inſtance. It happened, that when *Auguſtus* ſate in Judgment upon accuſed Perſons, *Mecænas* himſelf was preſent in Court, and perceiving that He would condemn many of them, being not able

to come at him for the Croud, he wrote theſe words, *Riſe up at laſt Executioner*; and as if it had contained ſome other matter, caſt the Paper into his Lap; which having read, he preſently aroſe without ſentencing any of them. And he was not at all diſpleaſed, but rejoyced that his Friends would take the liberty to reprove him, when his own Nature or that of the Matter before him inclined him to Anger. His Commendation. This is taken as a great Evidence of his Virtue, that though he oppoſed the Extravagant deſires of *Auguſtus*, yet he was held by him amongſt his familiar Friends, and withal approved himſelf well to all other Perſons; and having ſuch Intereſt in the Emperor, that he obtained for many of his Friends, Honours and Places of Magiſtracy; yet was he not ſo ambitious as to accept any Dignity himſelf, being contented with the *Equeſtrian* Degree. But what *Dio* attributes to his Humility, Others do it to his deſire of Eaſe and love of Pleaſure, though indeed more that of a *Virtuoſo* than *Senſualiſt*. And herein he was much incouraged and humored by the Poets, of which he was a great Patron as of all Learned Men. Whoever reads the Poems of *Horace*, wherein he ſo much commends a retired life, and refuſeth troubleſom greatneſs, cannot but fancy them ſitting together, hugging themſelves, and laughing at the follies of ſuch as buſſle and make a ſtir a little while, and prefer not the real injoyment of a ſhort life, before being hurried out of the World in a Crowd of Cares and Buſineſs. It's agreed, that he loved to live within his Fortune. *Cillnius* was the antient Name of his Family, and *Arretium* in the *Tyrrhenian* Coaſts the place of it. *Pliny* tells ſtrange paſſages of him, as that he never was without an Ague; and for three years before his death never ſlept a quarter of an hour together. But *Dio* addes, That for the reaſons related *Auguſtus* was grievouſly afflicted for his death, and this made him love his Memory the more, that though *Mecænas* was angry with him about his Wife, yet he left him his Heir, and excepting Onely a few things, left it in his power to be kind to his Friends. *Mecænas* firſt made uſe of a ſwimming place furniſhed with warm Water, and invented certain Notes or Characters for ſpeedy writing, which he communicated to many by the means of *Aquila* his Freedman. *Horace* dies. This Year alſo wherein *Auguſtus* mended the Calendar, *Horace* the Poet died in the Fifty ſeventh year of his Age; His familiarity with *Cæſar* and *Mecænas* is ſufficiently known. His Life is written by *Suetonius*.

Mecænas Eques
Hetruſco de
ſanguine regum,
Intra fortunam
qui cupis eſſe
tuam.

71. *Tiberius* on the Calends of *January* of the DCCXLVII. Year of the City, wherein he himſelf and *Cn. Piſo* were *Conſuls*, called together the Senate into the Court or *Forum* of *Octavius*. He undertook the Repairing of the Temple of *Concord*, thereon he ſet his own Name and that of *Druſus*. After this he Triumphed, and this being over, he dedicated the Temple of *Livia* together with his Mother. Then did he Feaſt the Senate in the *Capitol*, and *Livia* the Ladies apart by themſelves. A little after he went into *Germany* where ſome Stirs were made, but nothing memorable was performed in that Country all this Year. A great Fire happened about the *Forum*, which conſuming many Buildings, was ſaid to have been procured by thoſe that were deeply in Debt: Who conceived themſelves much injured, as if this would eaſe them of their Burthens; though they were deceived, getting nothing thereby. But it produced this Effect, That from amongſt the *Plebeians* were conſtituted certain Officers called *Curatores Vicorum*, who were permitted on certain dayes within the Extent of their authority, to wear the Robe of a Magiſtrate, and to have two *Lictors* go before them; and to them were aſſigned the Slaves which formerly had attended the *Ædiles* for quenching of Fires. *Rome* divided into Fourteen Regions. And now was the City divided into Fourteen Regions, the Government of which was aſſigned to theſe *Curatores Vicorum*, the *Tribuni Plebis*, and the *Prætors* by Lot.

72. The following Year had *C. Antiſtius Vetus*, and *D. Lælius Balbus* for *Conſuls*. *Caius* and *Lucius* being Educated in an high condition, in no wiſe imitated the modeſty of *Auguſtus* their Father by Adoption. They not only lived more delicately, but grew inſolent upon their Fortune; inſomuch that *Lucius* on a time going to the Theatre, and there being received with Applauſe which ſome gave him with a willing mind, and others out of Flattery, was puffed up to that degree of Pride, as to ask that the Conſulſhip might be given to his Brother *Caius* though yet a Boy. Young *Lucius* and *Caius*. *Cæſar's* Inſolence. *Auguſtus* hearing of it was angry, and wiſhed that never any ſuch Neceſſity might lye upon him, as he had found formerly, that the Conſulſhip ſhould be given to one under Twenty years of Age; but for all this his Son's preſſing him to it, he anſwered, That the Office was to be diſcharged by a man, that could take care that he himſelf offended not, and could reſiſt the Extrava-

gant deſires of the People: At length he gave the Prieſthood to *Caius*, and leave to go into the Senate, and be preſent with *Senators* at Shows and Feaſts. However, *Tacitus* writes, that he earneſtly deſired that both of them not being yet Seventeen years old, ſhould be called *Princes of the Youth*, and *Deſigned Conſuls.* Yet *Dion* adds, that to make them ſomething more modeſt, he granted to *Tiberius* the *Tribunitial* Power for five years; and committed to his care *Armenia*, which had revolted. This he did to no purpoſe, for he offended both them and *Tiberius*; them, becauſe they thought themſelves undervalued; and him, becauſe he feared their Indignation; and therefore he betook himſelf to *Rhodes*, under colour of Study, and he took not all his Attendants with him, but did withdraw himſelf from their view and their Actions. Some ſay leſt his Glory ſhould dim the Luſtre of the two riſing young Men. Others thought that *Auguſtus* his Children being grown to man's eſtate, he quitted now, as it were, the Place and Poſſeſſion of the ſecond Degree, ſo long held by him after the Example of *Agrippa*, who when *Marcellus* was admitted to publick Offices, went to *Mitylene*; that being preſent, he might not ſeem either to withſtand or detract from them, and this Account he gave of his withdrawing; yet a long time after. Some yet there were who thought he did this becauſe of his Wife *Julia*, whom he could endure no longer; it's certain that he left her at *Rome*. Others imagined he took it ill that he was not adopted *Cæſar*; and ſome fancied he was ſent thither by *Auguſtus*; becauſe he uſed ſome Treachery toward his Sons.

Tiberius withdraws to *Rhodes.*

73. However we are further told, That diſſembling the Cauſe of his Reſolution, he asked leave of *Auguſtus* his Father-in-law, (both in reſpect of his Wife and himſelf) to depart. Neither would he yeild to his Mother, that humbly beſought him, nor to his Father-in-law, complaining that he alſo was forſaken by the Senate, and when they reſolutely detained him, he eat nothing in four days. At length having got leave, he went down preſently to *Oſtia*, not ſpeaking a word to them that went with him, and kiſſing very few at his departing; yet he opened his Will, and read it before his Mother and *Auguſtus*. As he ſailed along the Coaſt of *Campania*, hearing that *Auguſtus* was Sick, he ſtayed a little, but hereupon a Report being raiſed that he tarried upon occaſion of greater hope, he ſailed to *Rhodes* almoſt, in foul weather. He went and acted like a private man in all reſpects, except in this, that he compelled the *Pharians* to ſell him a Statue of *Veſta*, which he Dedicated in the Temple of *Concord*. He contented himſelf with no great Houſe, and as little a Country place, being much taken with the pleaſantneſs and healthfulneſs of the Iſland, ſince he Landed there, in his return from *Armenia*. He walked ſometimes into the places of Exerciſe, without either a *Lictor* or *Viator*, converſing with the *Greeks* almoſt on equal terms. Nevertheleſs *Paterculus*, his Flatterer, writes, That all *Proconſuls* and *Legati* going into the Provinces, coming thither to viſit him, always ſubmitted their *Faſces*, although in this privacy, and proteſted that this Retirement of his was more Honourable than his living in the Principality. And yet as *Suetonius* tells the Story, Sometimes, even in *Rhodes*, he exerciſed the Power of the Principality it ſelf; for, being a diligent Hearer of *Theodorus* the *Gædarean* (a *Rhetorician*, who deſired to be called the *Rhodian*) and of other Profeſſors, it happened that the Readers diſſented, and the Difference in Opinion procured a hot conteſt and quarrel in the School. Hereupon he interpoſed, and being thought to be Partial, was reviled by one of the contrary Faction, who uſed ſuch Language, that *Tiberius* provoked therewith, went home like a private man, but ſpeedily came abroad again like a Publick Magiſtrate with his *Apparitors*, and calling before him by voice of a Crier the Perſon that reviled him, commanded from the Tribunal that he ſhould be carried to Priſon.

Where he lives privately.

74. *Auguſtus* reduced the undetermined Number of them that were to receive Corn from the Publick to Two hundred thouſand, and ſome reported that he gave to every one Sixty Drachmes. When he exhibited the *Spectacula*, he brought the *Flaminian* Water into the *Cirque*, and in it Six and thirty Crocodiles were killed. Now firſt of all he inſtituted two *Præfects* of the *Prætorian* Guards. When he entered his twelfth *Conſulſhip* with *Lucius Sylla*, he brought *Caius*, being now come to man's eſtate, into the Court, and deſigned him *Princeps Iuventutis*, or *Prince of the Youth*, and made him *Præfect* of a Tribe. That this title of *Prince* was given him by the *Equites*, who gave him alſo Silver Spears, he himſelf ſhewed in the Breviary of his Acts, wherein he mentioned alſo

A. u. C. 749.

Auguſtus promotes *Caius* and *Lucius* Conſuls.

Baniſhed their Mother.

Vide Uſſer. in Annal.

that the Senate and People deſigned both *Caius* and *Lucius* Conſuls, to do him Honour, though they were but Fifteen years old, that they might enter upon that Office, after five years to be reckoned from the day that they were to be brought into the Court. In his Thirteenth *Conſulſhip* he brought his Son *Lucius* into the Court, and conferred the ſame Honours upon him, that he had done three years before upon his Brother *Caius*, which the Coins do teſtifie, in which are the Effigies of *Caius* and *Lucius* with Bucklers and Spears, and this Inſcription, *Caius and Lucius Cæſars, the Sons of* Auguſtus, *deſigned Conſuls, Princes of the Youth.* Thus he honoured the Sons, but found Cauſe to treat the Mother quite after another faſhion. He found their Mother, and his Daughter, *Julia* arrived at that Exceſs of wantonneſs and Prodigality, that even in the *Forum*, and at the *Roſtra* ſhe held her Meetings and Junkettings by Night, abuſing theſe Courts with Laſcivious Acts, in which her Father had made the Law againſt Adulteries. He had believed formerly that ſhe lived no ſtrict ſort of life, but did not think ſhe had been ſo wanton and Notorious, having the ſame misfortune with other Princes to be leaſt acquainted with his own moſt intimate Concernments. Now was he ſeized with ſo extraordinary a Paſſion upon full Diſcovery of her wickedneſs, that he could not contain his grief within his own dores, but Communicated his misfortune and the diſgrace of his Family with the Senate; not being there preſent himſelf, but by a Writing which was read by the *Quæſtor*. For he kept himſelf from Company a long time for very ſhame, and thought of putting his Daughter to Death. At laſt he Baniſhed her to *Pandataria*, an Iſland of *Campania*, whither her Mother *Scribonia* did voluntarily accompany her, who had been divorced from *Cæſar*, that day ſhe was Delivered of her, in the *Conſulſhip* of *L. Martius*, and *C. Sabinus*: So that *Julia* was Eight and thirty years old at this time, as ſome obſerve. Her Husband now at *Rhodes* was not ſorry to hear theſe things, and that a Divorce was ſent her in his Name by *Auguſtus* his Command; yet, as he thought it his duty, he begged of him by frequent Letters to Pardon her, and though ſhe deſerved very ill, yet that he would grant her whatſoever he had given her.

Armenia Revolts.

Reduced by *Caius.*

75. *Auguſtus* in this great misfortune was diverted by being neceſſitated to caſt his thoughts upon *Armenia*. *Pompey* had only laid this Servitude upon them of that Country, to receive their Governors from *Rome*, and *Auguſtus* had ſet over them *Artaraſdes* (or *Artabazes*) with this title. Him they now expelled, ſet up *Tigranes* in his room, and called in the *Parthians* to aſſiſt in maintaining what they had done, who leaving the Alliance of the *Romans*, laid hold on *Armenia*. *Auguſtus* hearing of the Revolt, and of the Conjunction, was much concerned, and doubted what courſe to take. He could not manage the War himſelf by reaſon of his old Age. *Tiberius* had withdrawn himſelf, neither durſt he truſt any of the more powerful Citizens of *Rome*. *Caius* and *Lucius* were young and unfit for ſuch an undertaking; but neceſſity urging, he made choice of *Caius*. He had indeed before this brought them, though young, into ſome charge in the Commonwealth, and being deſigned *Conſuls*, ſent them about the Provinces, and Armies. He made *Caius Proconſul*, and Married him, thereby to procure him more Eſteem and Friends to give him Councel. His Wives Name was *Lollia Paulina*, the Daughter, or Neice of *Marcus Lollius*, whom he appointed the Governor of his Youth. It's ſaid that *Caius* behaved himſelf variouſly in this Expedition, ſo as to afford matter both for commendation and diſpraiſe; but through the Greatneſs and Majeſty of the *Roman* Name, he quieted all things. At firſt *Phraates* King of *Parthia* was no whit terrified, although *Auguſtus* in his Letters had not called him *King*, but only by his Name; but proudly Writing back again, called himſelf *King*, and *Auguſtus* nothing but *Cæſar*. But when he knew that *Caius* was come into *Syria*, and ſuſpected that his Subjects out of the hatred they bore him, would not be quiet at home, he obtained a Peace from him, but upon this condition, that he ſhould leave off pretenſions to *Armenia*. And now *Artabazes* being dead of a Diſeaſe, *Tigranes* ſent Preſents to *Auguſtus*, and not Writing himſelf King, begged the Kingdom. *Auguſtus* moved herewith, and fearing the *Parthian* War, accepted of his Preſents, and Commanded him with ſome hope to go into *Syria* to *Caius*; and the *Armenians* thought it more profitable to be reconciled to the friendſhip of the *Romans*, and to live in their own Country, than to joyn with the *Parthians*, loſe their Country, and have the Enmity of the *Romans*.

The birth of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt.*

76. *Auguſtus* having again quieted all Nations, and ſhut the Temple of *Janus* the third time; having ordained a general Taxation throughout the *Empire*, that he might know the State and worth thereof;having alſo refuſed the name of *Dominus* or *Lord* with great earneſtneſs,which he forbad about this time even his Children and Nephews by an Edict to uſe towards him,the Lord and Heir of all things came into the World, in the fulneſs of time, revealed by the Angel *Gabriel* to the Prophet *Daniel*, for the fulfilling of the Promiſes made concerning the Seed of the Woman, which ſhould break the Serpents head. Great difference there is in aſſigning the Year of the World, wherein our Saviour was born, by reaſon of the difficulty of computation ariſing from the ſeveral Verſions of the Scriptures, the intricate and uncertain Succeſſions of the Judges, the variety of the forms of years, and the ſeveral reckonings as to parcels of ſuch as are related in Scripture. A great help for the regulation of theſe things, is afforded from Prophane Hiſtory. But it beginneth but with *Cyrus*, whoſe Hiſtory, as to the reſtauration of the *Jews*, preſenteth us with the firſt certain note of conjunction (he being ſo named both by holy and prophane Writers, but not *Nebuchadneſar*) and yet the duration of his Reign is alſo uncertain. Yet as from all theſe Opinions weighed together, a good account may be given in another place, more proper for the length of it, as to the Year of the World, ſo the *Evangeliſt* teaching us, that in the Fifteenth year of *Tiberius*, *Chriſt* was about Thirty years old, it muſt needs follow, that *Auguſtus* reigned Fifteen years after his Birth; ſo that if we count (as ſome do) the Reign of *Auguſtus* from the death of *Julius Cæſar*, it laſted fifty ſeven years, and then muſt *Chriſt* be born in the forty ſecond of it. But if we follow them (as the order of this Work doth) who with more reaſon fetch the beginning of his Empire from the death of *Antony*, and the Conqueſt of *Ægypt*, then *Chriſt*'s Birth fell into the twenty eighth year thereof, and according to the computation which we moſt approve, into the 4003 year of the World, the 752 of the City, and the third year of the 194 *Olympiad*, wherein *Cæſar Auguſtus* himſelf the thirteenth time, and *M. Plautius Silanus* were *Conſuls*. Although *Cyrenius* (who was *Conſul* ten years before, and is called elſewhere *P. Sulpicius Quirinus*) might not formally be *Preſident* of *Syria* (which Office, as others ſay, was now obtained by *Quintilius Varus*, the Succeſſor of *Saturninus*, who as yet was not departed out of the Province) yet being ſet over this Taxation by *Auguſtus* in that place, this Title might well be given him, though he then governed *Cilicia*, as *Herod* is by *Joſephus* ſaid to be conſtituted *Procurator* of all *Syria*, though it had its Officers, who were to act by his aſſiſtance and direction. *Herod* had now reigned 37 years and odd moneths, and being deluded by the Wiſe Men, (whom he willingly ſuffered to ſearch out *Chriſt*, that he might deſtroy him) killed all the Children in and about *Bethlehem* of two years and under; which Cruelty was but agreeable with his diſpoſition and conſtant practice. Here, that we may deſcribe his Affairs, we muſt make a little digreſſion, and take them where we formerly left them.

A. M. 4003.
Ol. 194. *an.* 3.
V. C. 752.
Cæſare Auguſto 13.
M. Plautio Silano Coſſ.

Joſephus Antiq. l. 17. *c.* 7.

De bello Judaic. l. 1. *c.* 15.

Matth. 2. 16.

A Digreſſion to the affairs of *Herod.*

Joſephus Antiq. l. 15. *c.* 1, &c.

77. After he had obtained the poſſeſſion of his Kingdom, he put to death forty five of *Antigonus* his Friends, having procured him to be beheaded, as we formerly ſhewed. Then did he prefer to the *High-Prieſthood* one *Ananel* an obſcure man, neglecting *Ariſtobulus* the Son of *Ariſtobulus* the King, and Brother to his own Wife *Mariamne*; and *Antony* deſiring to ſee this Youth, for the fame of his Beauty, he fearing the *Roman* might advance him, to ſtay him at home, gave him the *Prieſthood*, and excuſed his neglect to ſend him, by the inclination of the *Jews* to rebellion. Perceiving him then to be in extraordinary favour with the *Jews*, and that his Mother *Alexandra* (which he kept vevy cloſe becauſe of her reſtleſs ſpirit) plotted the eſcape of her ſelf and Son into *Ægypt*, a year after, as he was ſwimming, he cauſed him to be drownad, and though *Cleopatra* accuſed him hereof to *Antony*, yet by Preſents he made his Peace. In the Civil Wars he ſided with *Antony*, who having Forces ſufficient, deſired him to chaſtiſe the *Arabians*, that denied the Tribute impoſed on them. This he did, and though at firſt his attempts miſcarried, yet in another Battel he quite overthrew and brought them under. After the overthrow of *Antony*, he had little hope that his own matters would go well. He murdered *Hyrcanus*, who onely ſurvived of all the Males of the Royal Family, and whom he had recalled from *Babylon*, whither he was carried by the *Parthians*. He took the advantage of the Old man's intent to flye into *Arabia*, through the importunity of his Daughter *Alexandra*, who promiſed him great things, if *Herod* ſhould miſcarry under the power of *Auguſtus*. Then providing as well as he could for the worſt, in caſe it ſhould happen, he went

He maketh away *Ariſtobulus.*

Idem ibid. c. 9, &c.

Is reconciled to *Cæſar*, having ſided with *Antony*.

Killeth his Wife *Mariamne*.

went to *Rhodes* to viſit *Cæſar*, from whom he concealed not the love he bore to *Antony*, but with notable courage declaring it, withal ſignified that he was ready to ſerve him as faithfully; which ſo wrought upon the Magnificent Prince, that he liked him extremely, and confirmed him in his Eſtate. After *Cæſar's* return out of *Ægypt* into *Syria*, he entertained him, and as he thereby procured the reputation of a noble and heroick ſpirit, ſo alſo an addition to his Kingdom. Yet was he unfortunate at home, having commanded ſeveral times, That if any thing happened in his abſence, they ſhould make away his beloved Wife *Mariamne*. She hearing of it, uſed him frowardly, whereat being inraged, he was throughly perſuaded to put her to death, by his Siſter *Salome*; which envious Woman feigned ſome accuſations againſt her. But after the deed was done, having extraordinarily loved her, he fell even mad, and thereby into a great ſickneſs, ſo that caſting off all Government, he departed to *Samaria*, then called *Sebaſte*, in honour of *Auguſtus*.

Cap. 11, *&c.*

Groweth cruel.

78. *Alexandra* in the mean time endeavoured to get the ſtrong places of *Jeruſalem* into her hands; wherewith he being acquainted, ordered her to be put to death, and then returning to the City, grew exceeding cruel and diſtaſtful. The prejudice was increaſed by his making Games in honour of *Cæſar*, and hanging his Theatre with Trophies, which the People ſorely diſtaſted, as being by their Religion principled againſt Pictures. Ten men conſpired againſt him, but were diſcovered and put to death. Not long after he redeemed his credit by liberality in a great dearth, and married the Daughter of *Simon*, whom he preferred to the *Prieſthood*, having diſplaced *Jeſus* the Son of *Phabes*. Then did he imploy his time and Treaſure in Sumptuous and Royal Buildings, as that of *Cæſarea* amongſt the reſt, formerly called the *Tower of Straton*; and he built a Temple to the honour of *Auguſtus*, who had again inlarged his Dominions, and beſtowed a *Tetrarchy* at his deſire upon his Brother *Pheroras*. To the People, which was ready to mutiny, becauſe of his Idolatry, he releaſed the third part of their Tributes, to pleaſe them, forbad all their Meetings, puniſhed ſeverely ſuch as were obſtinate, and bound the reſt to him by an Oath. After this, taking down the Old Temple of *Jeruſalem*, he built another much more ſtately and magnificent (being a Work of moſt admirable Beauty) in the ſpace of Nine years and ſix months; during which time, it's ſaid, that it onely rained on Nights, leſt the Work ſhould be hindred. In the dedication he ſacrificed 300 Oxen, and the reſt of the People according to their abilities. He made a Law, That Thieves which broke Walls ſhould be ſold for Slaves, out of the Kingdom. This the People ill reſented, as againſt their Religion, which not onely provided otherwiſe concerning Thieves, but would be broken alſo by theſe men, who muſt neceſſarily ſerve Idolaters. Now he himſelf fetched from *Rome Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus* his Sons by *Mariamne*, whom having ſent thither to be bred, *Auguſtus* had kindly entertained. Theſe Youths were feared by *Salome* and *Pheroras*, as intending to revenge their Mother's death, and therefore they reſolved they muſt not live, eſpecially ſhe that was incouraged by the ſucceſs ſhe had had againſt their Mother. And they preſented her with an opportunity of accuſing them, ſeeming indeed not to be well-affected toward their Father, deſiring the Kingdom, and exclaiming greatly againſt the authors of their Mother's Ruine. *Herod* troubled hereat, called to Court *Antipater* his Son, begotten when he was a private man, that oppoſing him againſt them, he might make them more careful of their behaviour. But thereby were they more incenſed, and *Antipater* making uſe of his time, got more and more into his Father's affections, who commended him in eſpecial manner to *Cæſar*, (though he had not a thought at firſt of making him his Heir) and ſent him to *Rome* to procure the *Emperour's* favour.

Repaireth the Temple at *Jeruſalem*.

Joſephus Antiq. l. 16. *c.* 1, *&c.*

Idem ibid. cap. 7. *&c.*

Accuſeth his two ſons begotten of *Mariamne* unto *Cæſar*.

79. *Antipater* improving his Father's diſpleaſure againſt his Brothers, wrought ſo far, that he carried them to *Auguſtus* then at *Aquileia*, and grievouſly accuſed them of an intention to poyſon him. Yet the young men by their tears, and *Alexander's* refutation of the calumny, ſo moved *Cæſar*, that he reconciled them; and for that *Herod* had given him three hundred Talents, & been very liberal, as his cuſtom was to be in all places, unto the people of *Rome*, he beſtowed on him half of the profits of the Mines in *Cyprus*, and gave him liberty to leave which of his Sons he pleaſed his Succeſſor; or if he would, to diſtribute his Kingdom amongſt them all, which *Herod* preſently would have done, but *Cæſar* would not permit it. In his abſence the Inhabitants of *Trachonitis*, a conſiderable part of his Dominion rebelled, and were reduced by his Captains. After his return he made a Speech

After his rifling of *David*'s Sepulchre, his affairs decline.

Cap. 11. &c.

to the People, and named to ſucceed him firſt *Antipater*, and then his Sons by *Mariamne*; which naming a Succeſſor before-hand, when the Inheritance is uncertain, hath ever wrought great inconvenience to both parties. After he had opened *David*'s Sepulchre to ſearch for Treaſure, (as *John Hyrcanus* had done before him) where he found none except very coſtly attire, and Ornaments of Gold, 'tis obſerved, that his Family fell into a very ſad condition, nothing being heard but complaints and accuſations one againſt another. The greateſt part of *Antipater*'s malice fell upon *Alexander*, and the Court hereby was filled with tortures and ſlaughters. *Herod* ſuſpecting all, and truſting none, put many to death, and thoſe of his moſt intimate Friends, and committed *Alexander* to Priſon, being captivated by ſo great a fear of an untimely death, that he was almoſt ready to run mad. Theſe things were diverted by the rebellion of the Inhabitants of *Trachonitis* (which Countrey *Cæſar*, having taken it from *Zenodorus*, gave unto him) who again revolting, were protected by *Syllæus* an *Arabian*, that being to marry his Siſter *Salome* was rejected, becauſe he would not turn *Jew*. *Saturninus* and *Volumnius*, *Preſidents* of *Syria*, reſolved he might by force of Arms chaſtize theſe Rebels; whereupon he entred *Arabia*, and having formerly deſtroyed their Families, which they left in their Corn Countrey, took a Caſtle they held there. *Syllæus* now being at *Rome* accuſed *Herod* unto *Cæſar*, as having waſted all *Arabia*; and he ſo far believed it, that he twice denied his Ambaſſadors audience. The Rebels and *Arabians* hereupon did him much injury, which he was glad to put up for the preſent, but ſent *Nicholaus Damaſcenus* to plead his cauſe.

Cap. 16. &c.

Putteth his Sons to death.

Joſeph Antiq. lib. 17. cap. 1. &c.

80. He firſt joyned with the Ambaſſadors of *Aretas* King of *Arabia*, in accuſing *Syllæus*, thence came to lay open his Forgeries againſt *Herod*, to whom *Auguſtus* was throughly reconciled, and had given him *Arabia* too, but that he received from him other Letters, containing another complaint againſt his Sons. For whileſt he was thus out with *Cæſar*, the former ſtirs were renewed in his houſe by means of *Eurycles* a *Lacedæmonian*, who winding himſelf into *Alexander*'s acquaintance, betrayed him firſt to *Antipater*, and then to *Herod* himſelf. He denied all accuſations, except that he intended with his Wife to fly to *Archelaus* King of *Cappadocia*, her Father; but *Cæſar* being conſulted, as we ſaid, willed *Herod* to call a *Council* at *Berytus* with the *Roman* Preſidents, *Archelaus* of *Cappadocia*, and the reſt of his Friends and Nobility thereabout, and do as he ſhould be adviſed. He called all but *Archelaus*, and in an Aſſembly of 150 men declamed moſt furiouſly againſt his Sons, not producing any proof at all, further than that they intended to fly, and not ſuffering them to be preſent to anſwer for themſelves; He onely required the ſuffrages of the Aſſembly to countenance his private reſolution, which the major part giving (though *Saturninus* and his Sons gave an indifferent Sentence) he, acted by fury, and unnatural madneſs, cauſed them to be ſtrangled at *Sebaſte*. *Antipater*, after the death of his Brothers, quickly plotted the deſtruction of his Father, and for that he was hated by all men, procured ſome eſteem by his Gifts, and drew *Pheroras* into the Conſpiracy, to the iſſue of whom the *Phariſes* promiſed the Kingdom. For refuſing to take the Oath of Allegiance, they were fined by *Herod*, to whoſe Kingdom they propheſied deſtruction, and happineſs to the Family of *Pheroras*, becauſe his Wife payed their Fine. *Herod* getting out theſe things by the means of *Salome*, put the principal of the *Phariſes* to death, with others, and urged his Brother *Pheroras* to put away his Wife; which he refuſing to do, he baniſhed him his Kingdom. *Pheroras* then departing into his *Tetrarchy*, died ſhortly after, being viſited by *Herod*, who buried him honourably at *Jeruſalem*. *Antipater* ſtanding in fear of his Father, wrought by his Creatures at *Rome* to be ſent for by *Cæſar*. But this availed nothing; for in his abſence all came out, which confirmed *Salome*'s words (to which the King in this matter had given but little credit, knowing her to be too free in accuſations) and brought vengeance upon him, notwithſtanding all his craft, for the Murther of his Brethren.

Cap. 5. &c.

A grievous Conſpiracy againſt him.

81. *Pheroras* his Wife being accuſed of poyſoning her Husband, her Maids were tortured, and in their pain gave ſome ſuſpicion of the conſpiracy, which was more cleared by one *Antipater* that had the ordering of *Antipater*'s affairs, who confeſſed that his Maſter had compounded a poyſon, and delivered it to *Pheroras* to be given to the King in his abſence, and that it was kept by *Pheroras* his Wife: She confirmed the ſame, declaring that the Poiſon was bought in *Egypt* by *Antipater*'s procurement, that it was committed to her charge, and how, that when

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her Husband was Sick, and *Herod* came out of kindneſs to viſit him, being overcome with his love he forbad her to give it him. Amongſt the Acceſſaries was *Herod*'s own Wife, the Daughter of the *High-Prieſt*; ſhe was put away, her Father depoſed, and *Mathias* the Son of *Theophilus* preferred to his place; *Herod* alſo her Son was put out of the King's Teſtament, wherein he had bequeathed the Kingdom to him after his death. In the mean time *Bathillus* the *Freed-man* of *Antipater* returning from *Rome* was tortured, and confeſſed that he had brought with him a Poiſon to deliver to *Pheroras*, wherewith the King might be certainly and ſpeedily diſpatched in caſe the other ſhould fail. *Antipater* returned ignorant of theſe paſſages, for that almoſt every one was his Enemy, and before his Father and *Quintilius Varus*, though he ſought to cover his wickedneſs, all things were made plain againſt him, whereupon he was committed to cloſe Priſon. Shortly after *Herod* himſelf ſickned, and became exceeding teaſty and wrathful, as well for theſe things, as for that he thought the People was glad of his misfortunes, having at the inſtigation of the Doctors of their Law, cut down an Eagle of Gold of great value, that ſtood over the Portal of the Temple. But his Sickneſs more and more increaſed.

He ſickneth.

His ſtrange Diſeaſe.

Cap. 8. & 9.

82. His Diſeaſe was ſtrange and fearful. He burned with an inward heat, which pierced and tormented him in his Bowels. He was alſo vexed with a ravenous and inſatiable appetite, and an Ulcer in his Entrails, with a ſtrange and furious Colick. His feet were ſwoln with moiſture, and a ſhining kind of flegm, his Stomach being no leſs afflicted. His body rotted, and was full of crawling Worms, which afforded an intollerable ſtench; beſides, he was held with a filthy and troubleſom *Priapiſm*, a ſtrong Convulſion of his Nerves, and ſhortneſs of Breath, being generally judged thus to be puniſhed for his infinite Impieties and Sins committed againſt the Majeſty of God; and doubtleſs his intention to kill *Chriſt*, with the innocent blood of the Infants cried loud. He uſed all means for recovery, and went over *Jordan* to the hot Baths of *Callirhoe*. Thence returning to *Jericho*, a Melancholick humour ſeized on him, which rendred him unſociable, and diſpleaſed with all men. Perceiving now that he ſhould die, and ſuppoſing that the *Jews* would much rejoice in his death, he ſhut up many of the chiefeſt of them in the *Hippodrome*, and gave in charge to his Siſter *Salome*, and her Husband *Alexas*, that as ſoon as he was dead, they ſhould cauſe them all to be killed, that a Lamentation might accompany his Funeral. Before his death he received Letters from *Cæſar*, who gave him leave to deal with his Son as he ſaw occaſion. *Antipater* yet believing that he was dead, plotted how to eſcape and ſeize on the Kingdom, but his Jaylor with whom he dealt revealed it to *Herod*, who commanded one of his Guard inſtantly to kill him; and to ſuch an end came he for the Murther of his Brethren, and the ſad Tragedies he had raiſed in his Father's Houſe. *Herod* having attempted to kill himſelf, died ſome five days after his Son, in the ſeventy ſecond year of his Age, twenty ſeventh after his getting poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, and twenty ninth after he had been declared King by the *Romans*; 'tis uncertain how long after the Birth of *Chriſt*, but as is ſuppoſed not above two years, in the firſt of the 195 *Olympiad*, the 754 of the City, *Caius Cæſar*, and *L. Æmilius Paulus* being Conſuls. *Salome* and *Alexas*, before his death was throughly known, to their great honour diſcharged thoſe that were locked up in the *Hippodrome*.

He killeth his Son *Antipater*, who had procured the Death of his Brothers, and plotted againſt his Father's life.

And dieth.

A. D. 2.
Ol. 195. *ann.* 1.
V. C. 754

Cap. 10, 11, & 13.

Archelaus his Son being left his Succeſſor in *Judæa*,

83. *Herod* not long before his end renewed his Teſtament, wherein he ordained his Son *Antipas Tetrarch* of *Galile* and *Peræa*, having before this appointed him his Succeſſor in the Kingdom, for that he was incenſed againſt *Archelaus* and *Philip*, by the means of *Antipater*. Now he made *Archelaus* King, gave the Province *Gaulonitis*, *Trachonitis*, *Batanea*, and *Peneade* to *Philip*, left *Salome* very well, and gave great Legacies to *Cæſar* and *Livia* his Wife. *Archelaus* at firſt was much cried up by the People; but afterwards the multitude calling to mind the death of *Mathias*, and his Confederates whom *Herod* had ſlain for breaking down the Eagle, fell into a Sedition (many flocking out of the Countrey to the Paſſeover) and demanded juſtice againſt divers of his Officers; but this tumult was ſetled by the ſlaughter of Three thouſand men about the Temple. Then went *Archelaus* to *Rome*, not daring to take upon him the title without the leave of *Auguſtus*, to whoſe diſpoſal his Father had referred his Teſtament. Many followed, and ſpoke againſt him, being affected better towards *Antipas*, the *Jews* alſo ſent their Ambaſſadors, with whom joyned 8000 of their Countrey-men then living at *Rome*, in a Petition to *Cæſar*, that they might be joyned to *Syria*, and live under *Roman* Governors without

Auguſtus giveth him half of the Kingdom, and the other half to his two Brothers.

out any King. At length *Cæſar* came to this reſolution, to give half that Dominion, which *Herod* injoyed, unto *Archelaus, viz.* of *Idumæa, Judæa,* and *Samaria,* with *Cæſarea, Sebaſte, Joppe*, and *Jeruſalem:* the other half be divided betwixt *Antipas* and *Philip.* The former had the Countrey lying on the further ſide of *Jordan* and *Galile,* with 200 Talents of Annual Revenue. *Philip* obtained *Bathanea*, *Trachonitis*, and *Auranitis* with 100 Talents. *Archelaus* had 500 Talents of yearly Rent out of his Countrey. Whileſt theſe things were in hand at *Rome,* grievous Seditions tore the *Jews* in pieces at home; for they being now deſtitute of a King, ſeveral took upon them that title: *Sabinus,* who ſuperintended the affairs of *Cæſar* there, gave the occaſion, by pilling the people, which now at the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt* gathering together from all quarters, ſought to ſhake off that yoak. After great ſlaughters, at length all was quieted by the coming of *Varus* from *Antioch,* who left the firſt Legion in Garriſon at *Jeruſalem.*

Cap. 12.

Seditions in *Judæa.*

84. The Succeſſion being ſetled by *Auguſtus*; a young man, and a *Jew,* born at *Sidon,* counterfeited himſelf *Alexander* the Son of *Herod* by *Mariamne,* affirming, that both he and *Ariſtobulus* were delivered by a Friend, who had it in charge to ſee them Executed, others being killed in their rooms. He deluded thouſands of *Jews* inhabiting *Melus,* as alſo them at *Rome,* by whom he was received as their King. But he could not deceive *Cæſar*, who made him confeſs the forgery, and becauſe he had promiſed him pardon, if he would acknowledg the deceit, for that he had formerly laboured with his hands, he condemned him to the Gallies, and put the man to death who perſuaded him to turn counterfeit. As for *Archelaus,* he tyrannized for ten years, and then being accuſed by the *Jews, Auguſtus* ſent for him to *Rome,* where his Cauſe being heard, he baniſhed him to *Vienna* in *Gall,* and confiſcated his Goods. After this *Cyrenius* being ſent into *Syria* to ſucceed *Varus,* valued the Goods of each Inhabitants, and ſeized the Eſtate of *Archelaus.* This Ceſſe or Valuation of their Eſtates, gave occaſion to a great Sedition, by the means of one *Judas* a *Gaulonite*, *Sodoc* a *Phariſe*, and his Confederate, alleging that this Deſcription was no other than a manifeſt token of ſervitude, and exhorting all to maintain their liberty, to no purpoſe. For *Judæa* now having no more Princes of its own, was governed by *Deputies,* of which *Coponius* being the firſt, was ſhortly after ſucceeded by *M. Ambivius,* and he by *Annius Rufus.*

Cap. 14.

One counterfeits *Alexander* the Son of *Herod* by *Mariamne.*

And is detected by *Auguſtus.*

Cap. 15.

Joſephus Antiq. lib. 18. *c.* & 3. *Act.* 5. 37.

Judæa governed by Deputies.

85. Now that we may return to *Roman* Affairs, it will be convenient to inquire after *Tiberius,* and ſee how the former humour of Retirement holds him. The time of his *Tribuneſhip* being over, he fairly confeſſed, That he went away meerly to ſhun all ſuſpicion of Envy betwixt him and the two Brothers. And he requeſted that ſeeing there was no danger of that, now that they were grown Men, and next to the Emperor in Authority, he would give him leave to ſee again his Friends, with whom he had a very great deſire to be. This would not be granted, but inſtead of leave he was bid lay aſide all care of thoſe whom he had ſo reſolutely left. Againſt his will therefore he ſtaid at *Rhodes,* and by his Mother's Intreaties ſcarcely obtained to be there as *Legatus* to the Emperor to cover the Ignominy; in the mean time, living not only privately, but in danger and fear, lurking in the middle of the Iſland to ſhun the Compliments of them that ſailed by. When *Caius* went to the *Armenian* War, he croſſed over to *Chius,* to preſent his Service to him, and purge himſelf from all ſuſpicions, and he was very humble both to him and his Attendants. So writes *Dio*, though *Paterculus* a great Flatterer of *Tiberius* talks of *Caius* his giving all honour to him as his Superior. *Suetonius* ſpeaks of his going to meet him at *Samos,* and that there he found him much alienated from him, through the falſe Accuſations of *Marcus Lollius,* being alſo come into ſuſpicion by the means of ſome Centurions devoted to him, who going to the Camp, ſeemed to tempt the Soldiers to Innovations. *Auguſtus* dealt ſo freely with him as to tell him plainly of it, upon which he continually implored him to ſend one to him of what Rank or Quality ſoever he pleaſed to be an Obſerver of his Words and Actions. Now left he off his uſual riding, and other Martial Exerciſes, and laying aſide the Habit of his Country, reduced himſelf to the *Pallium* and *Crepidæ*; and in this condition he continued almoſt two years, every day more contemned and hated, inſomuch that the Inhabitants of *Nemauſus* defaced his Pictures and Statues, and in a familiar Banquet mention being made of him, one of the Company roſe up and promiſed *Caius,* that if he would but ſpeak the word, he would bring him the Head of that Baniſhed Man. Not ſo much through fear now, as manifeſt danger, he was moved

Tiberius denied to return to *Rome.*

both by his own, and his Mother's intereſt to ſolicit his Return. But *Auguſtus* reſolved to do nothing in this Affair, without the conſent of *Caius*.

86. It happened luckily for *Tiberius* that *Caius Cæſar* fell out with M. *Lollius*, about this time; and if the *Parthians* told true, juſt cauſe he had for ſo doing. They diſcovered his perfidious and ſubtle Councils, how he took Bribes of the Kings, and Robbed all the Countries of the Eaſt, whereupon he renounced Friendſhip with him, although his own Wife the Daughter or Neice of this *Lollius* is ſaid to have got a Gown in this Expedition ſo ſet with Pearl that it was valued at four hundred *Seſtertia*. The Death of *Lollius* happened not long after their falling out, and moſt ſay by Poiſon which he took, and he being dead *Quirinius* was made Governor to *Caius*, who ſerved *Tiberius* at *Rhodes*, being a good Friend to him, as *Lollius* was the Author of the ill will betwixt him and *Caius Cæſar*; if *Tiberius* himſelf was to be believed. Now then the caſe was ſo altered, that by *Caius* his Permiſſion *Tiberius* was recalled; but with condition that he ſhould bear no Office in the Commonwealth, and accordingly being come to *Rome*, he gave himſelf wholly to eaſe, doing ſome private Courteſies, but medling with no Publick Buſineſs. Not long after it happened, that *Lucius Cæſar* being appointed to go to the *Armies* in *Spain*, died at *Marſeilles* ſuddenly, being a man of no fame; after whoſe death, if we believe *Paterculus*, his Grandfather *Auguſtus* would have adopted *Tiberius*, but he fearing the Envy and Power of *Caius* vehemently reſiſted it. But *Caius* and his fear, were both ſhortly after removed out of the way. For he received a wound in *Armenia*, being inticed by Treachery to the Wall of a Town by one who pretended a Revolt, after which he performed no great matters. Then he began in Body to be leſs able, and in his Mind leſs diſpoſed to be profitable to the Commonwealth. And he wanted not the Company of ſuch Men as by their Flattery fomented his Vices, by which means he was come to be of that humour, that he had rather ſpend all his time in any corner of the World, than return to *Rome*, though his Grandfather courted him by Letters, and at laſt grieved at his Reſolution, adviſed him but to return into *Italy*, and he ſhould do what he pleaſed. With much Reluctancy then he complied, and put himſelf upon the way, but being brought by ſhipping into *Lycia*, he died at *Limyra*, a City of that Country, twenty two Months after his Brother *Lucius*. The Bodies of both Brothers were brought to *Rome* by the Tribunes of Armies, and the ſilver'd Bucklers and Spears they received from the *Equites* when they came to be Men, were hung up in the Senate-Houſe. But thus we ſee the end of both the Brothers, concerning whom this muſt be added, That they were taken out of the way, as a ſuſpicion went, by the Arts of *Livia* to make room for her Son *Tiberius*.

He is permitted to Return.

The Death of *Lucius*,

And of *Caius Cæſar*.

87. *Auguſtus* his third ten years being ended, undertook the Government, unwilling and by conſtraint, for ten more; and now being more gentle and unwilling to exaſperate the Senators againſt him, he would offend none of them any more. It happening that his Palace was burned, and many offering him much Money to Repair it, he accepted only an *Aureus* from a Body or Corporation, and a *Drachme* from a private man; and by an *Aureus* or golden Coin, *Dion Caſſius* tells us, he means the *Nomiſma*, that was twenty five Drachmes in value, as certain *Greek* Authors took it, whom he had read out of his love to the *Attick* Dialect. When his Houſe was Re-edified, he would have it be counted Publick, either becauſe the People contributed Money towards it, or becauſe he was *Pontifex Maximus*, and would live both in a Publick, and his own Dwelling. He made *Tiberius Nero* his Partner in the *Tribuneſhip*, which he alſo eagerly refuſed both at home and in the Senate Houſe; ſome ſay for five years, and others for ten. Another caſt of his Office he gave again as *Pontifex Maximus*, in ſetting right the *Roman* Calendar. The third Intercalary Day being ſuperfluous, which had increaſed by the Default of the *Roman* Prieſts, was in the Month of *February* omitted; but afterwards he commanded that one Day in the beginning of every fifth year ſhould be intercalated according to the Inſtitution of *Cæſar*, and for the perpetual obſervation of this Order, he cauſed it to be Ingraven in a Table of Braſs. And thence afterward the Accounts of Times took their riſe, this courſe being conſtantly obſerved till the change made in the Calendar by Pope *Gregory* the Thirteenth, in the year MDLXXIX, juſt an hundred years ago. But leſt the Fairs kept by the *Romans* every ninth Day, ſhould fall upon the Kalends of *January*, one Day was often added in the end of the precedent year, over and above the Cuſtom, and taken away again in the year following,

Auguſtus again regulates the year.

following, that the courſe might agree with the former Inſtitution of *Julius Cæſar*.

88. About this time the People, whether out of kindneſs to him or his Daughter, earneſtly requeſted him to reſtore her: He anſwered, That fire and water ſhould ſooner meet than that ſhe ſhould be reſtored. Yet after ſome five years Confinement, they forced him to let her come out of the Iſland into the Continent, but he could never be brought to recall her all together; and when the People ſtill intreated him for her, and were very urgent with him, he uſed this Imprecation openly, That *they might have ſuch Daughters, and ſuch Wives.* But he was very kind to her Husband, though the People affronted him for her ſake; ſo as *Ælius Catus*, and *Sentius Saturninus*, being *Conſuls* on the fifth of the Calends of *July*, he adopted him, ſwearing before the People, that he adopted him for the Commonwealth's ſake. But the ſame day he alſo adopted *M. Agrippa Poſthumus*, the Brother of *Caius* and *Lucius*, and fearing that *Tiberius* elevated with his condition, ſhould make diſturbance, before he adopted him, he cauſed him to adopt *Germanicus*, the Son of his Brother *Druſus*, although *Tiberius* had a Son of his own, of his Brother's Name. *Tiberius* upon his Adoption, was immediately ſent into *Germany*, where three years before, a War had broken out, and with him *Valeius Paterculus*, the Hiſtorian (formerly a *Tribunus Caſtrorum*) ſerved in quality of *Præfect* of Horſe, as ſucceeding his Father in his Places, and for eight years was, as he telleth us, the Spectator of *Tiberius* his Heavenly Actions, either in that place, or as *Legatus*, and as far as his meanneſs could reach, an Aſſiſtant in them. After this, he tells his Reader, or rather *Tiberius*, how gladly he was received by both Cities and Soldiers in *Germany*; how of the Soldiers one ſaid he had ſerved under him in *Armenia*; and another in *Rhætia*, and another had received from him a Donative in the *Vindelici*, another in *Pannonia*, and a third in *Germany*. Upon the firſt entrance into this Country, he ſaith, the *Caninefates*, *Attuati*, and *Bructeri* were ſubdued, the *Cheruſci* were received, and the River *Viſargis* afterward rendred famous by the overthrow of the *Romans*, paſſed over, *Cæſar* taking upon himſelf the moſt difficult part of the War, and leaving the more eaſie to *Sentius Saturninus*, who had been formerly in *Germany Legatus* to his Father. This year's Campagne continued till the Month of *December*, and thereby, as he words it, procured the Emolument of a vaſt Victory.

He adopteth *Tiberius*.

Who is ſent into *Germany*.

Vide lib. 2. *c.c.* 104, 105, 106.

89. Now if you believe him, the Piety of *Tiberius* drew him back to *Rome* for defence of the Empire, though the paſſages of the *Alps* were in a manner choaked up with ſnow, and the ſame at the beginning of Spring brought him back into *Germany*, in the middle whereof, at the Head of the River *Julia*, he had appointed the Winter Quarters. The Hiſtorian falls into a Rapture conſidering how great things, requiring how great a Volume, they did the following Summer under his Conduct. All *Germany* was over-run. Such Nations were ſubdued, as were almoſt unknown by any Names, and thoſe of the *Chauci* yielded themſelves in an humble poſture before the General's Tribunal. The *Longobardi* were diſtreſſed, being more fierce than the very *German* fierceneſs. In concluſion, he tells us, that from the *Rhine*, as far as to the River *Albis*, which flowed by the Borders of the *Senones* and *Hermundori*; the *Roman* Army paſſed with Enſigns diſplay'd, and thither alſo by wonderful good fortune, through the care of the General, and due obſervation had of the time, came the Fleet, out of the unheard of, and formerly unknown Sea, up the *Albis*, and after Victory obtained over many Nations, with great plenty of all things, joyned with the Army of *Cæſar*; a thing which never before had been conceived in hope, never before in fact attempted. The fawning of this Writer is indeed intollerable, neither can nor ought we to relate his extravagant flouriſhes; but he ſaith, that his *Cæſar* being Conqueror of all Nations and Places whither he came, with a Conquering and untouched Army (except at one time, and that to the great loſs of the Enemy, who did ſomething by fraud) reduced the Legions into their Winter Quarters, and went to *Rome* with as much ſpeed as he had done the preceding year. Indeed nothing now in *Germany* remained which could be overcome, except the People called *Marcomanni*, who by Perſuaſion and Conduct of *Maroboduus*, forſaking their former Seats, and retiring into the inner Countries, had taken up the Grounds of the *Hercynian* Wood, and through his management, had arrived at a conſiderable, nay, *æmulous* greatneſs. *Maroboduus* was now to be feared, having ſo placed himſelf as to have *Germany* on his left hand, and

Paterculus his Flatteries.

before him *Pannonia*; at his right, and behind him the *Norici*, at all which Coaſts he might make an Impreſſion. Neither could *Italy* be ſecure, the beginning of his Territories being not much diſtant above two hundred Miles from the *Alps*. This Man and this Country did *Tiberius* reſolve, to fall upon the following year from ſeveral Quarters. *Sentius Saturninus* had Orders, that through the Territories of the *Catti*, cutting down the *Hercynian* Woods, he ſhould bring the Legions to *Boiohæmus*; for ſo the Region was called, which *Maroboduus* inhabited; and *Tiberius* himſelf attempted to lead the Army that ſerved in *Illyricum*, from *Carnuntus*, a place bordering on the Kingdom of *Noricum* againſt the *Marcomanni*. But Fortune ſometimes breaks, ſometimes delays the purpoſes of Men. *Cæſar* had prepared the Winter quarters at the *Danube*, and the Deſign was to be executed when *Pannonia* grown inſolent with eaſe, and *Dalmatia* truſting to its ſtrength, by conſent Rebelled, drawing all the Nations of that Tract into the Conſpiracy, and making up eight hundred thouſand Men.

Pannonia and *Dalmatia* Rebel.

90. With part they determined to invade *Italy*, and with part *Macedonia*, under Conduct of two *Batones* and *Pinnetus*. In *Pannonia* both the *Roman* Diſcipline and Language was known, and alſo Learning was common, and there was a familiar Converſation. This gave them the Advantage, that no Nation managed ſuch a matter with more Diſcretion and Expedition. The *Roman* Citizens and Merchants were faln upon and ſlain, and many Soldiers cut off in places at greateſt diſtance from the Emperor. *Macedonia* was overrun and waſted with Fire and Sword, and ſo great a fear this ſtruck into the Minds of men, that *Auguſtus Cæſar* himſelf trembled at it: Levies therefore were made, the veterane Soldiers were recalled every where to their Colours, and both Men and Women were compelled to find Soldiers even though *Libertines*, the Prince being heard in Senate to ſay, That without much care was uſed, in ten days, the Enemy might face *Rome*: both *Senators* and *Equites* promiſed their utmoſt indeavours. *Tiberius* was appointed General. *Paterculus* was deſigned *Quæſtor*, and though not yet a *Senator*, made equal to *Senators*; and now being deſigned alſo *Tribunus Plebis*, he led part of the Army delivered by *Auguſtus*, to his Son. Being afterward *Legatus*, what wiſdom he then could not but obſerve in the Conduct of *Tiberius*, he declares in way of Rapture. After that, he relates how *Meſſala* Governor of *Illyricum*, with the twentieth Legion half full, though ſurprized with the Rebellion, defeated and put to flight the Enemy. How that part of their Forces, which oppoſed it ſelf to *Cæſar*, not daring to ingage, ſeized on the *Claudian* Hill, and there fortified it ſelf. Another that met with the Army which came from the Tranſmarine Provinces, under the leading of *A. Cæcina*, and *Sylvanus Plautius*, Men of *Conſular* Dignity, put the Auxiliaries of *Thrace* to flight, falling upon them e're the unwary Captains thought of an Ingagement; and had not the valour of the *Roman* Soldier exceeded the Courage and Abilities of their Officers, the whole Party had miſcarried; but when many Centurions and Tribunes were loſt, and much hurt received, the Legions exhorted one another to play the Men, and wreſted the Victory out of the Hands of the Rebels.

Reduced.

91. Thus this War was full of Difficulties at firſt, but was in three years concluded by *Tiberius*. *Pannonia* firſt asked Peace. *Bato* and *Pinetus* both came into the hands of the *Romans*, the one being taken, and the other yielding himſelf, and though the *Dalmatians* were hard to be overcome by reaſon of the difficult ſituation of their places, the fierceneſs of their Natures, and their great Abilities in Matters of War, yet they were not long after reduced, being almoſt ruined. While *Tiberius* was here in *Germany*, the Ambaſſadors of the *Parthians* having delivered their Meſſage at *Rome*, were ordered to repair to him; being ſent by the Nobility to deſire to have for King one of the three Sons of *Phraates*, that remained Hoſtages at *Rome*. Hereupon *Vonones* was preferred before the reſt, and being aided by *Cæſar*, was joyfully accepted by the *Parthians* for ſome time. In the mean while, that we may return into *Italy*, *Paterculus* tells us, That *Agrippa*, who had been adopted the ſame day that *Tiberius* was, by his natural Grandfather, and for two years before had given ſufficient notice how he would prove by his wonderful pravity of mind, being inclined to run headlong into miſchief, alienated from him the affections of his Father and Grandfather *Auguſtus*; and his Vices every day increaſing, he had ſuch an end as he deſerved. His end followed afterward, and was brought about by *Tiberius*, whom *Paterculus* flatters, as ſuch a virtuous and deſerving Perſon as ſcarcely ever the like, writing a Panegy-

rick to him, rather than an Hiſtory to another Reader. But we are told from other hands, that *Auguſtus* did proſcribe his only Nephew *M. Agrippa Poſthumus*, who was unlearned indeed and fooliſh, fierce out of a proud conceit of his ſtrength, but yet found Guilty of no Crime; and that confiſcating all his Goods to the Military Treaſury, he Baniſhed him into *Planaſia*, an Iſland near to *Corſica*.

A Conſpiracy againſt *Auguſtus*.

Livia procures Pardon for the Parties.

92. But *Auguſtus* after he had adopted *Tiberius* and *Agrippa*, thinking himſelf ſtrengthened by ſuch an Addition, went about another Purging and Modelling of the Senate. Few now quitted it of their own Accord as formerly, but ſome were caſt out whether they would or not. That he might not ſeem to do this as *Cenſor*, to do the work and ſolemnize the *Luſtrum*, he took *Proconſular* Power. Several Young men both of *Senatorian* and *Equeſtrian* Dignity, fallen to decay without any Crime, he recruited. Taking notice how many Slaves were now Manumitted, he ordained of what Age both the Lord and the Manumitted Perſon ſhould be, and other Rules to be obſerved both by Patrons and others toward Manumitted Perſons. In the mean time was diſcovered a Conſpiracy againſt him, the chief Author whereof was found to be *Cn. Cornelius Cinna Magnus*, the Nephew of *Pompey* the Great by his Daughter. He knew not what courſe to take; for if he put them to death, he feared he ſhould not thence free himſelf from the Plots of others; and if they were not puniſhed, it would incourage others to do the like. He was not able to reſt Night nor Day by reaſon of theſe anxious Cares, till *Livia* his Wife, took notice of his trouble, and got the matter out of him. *Dion Caſſius* relates, a Conference betwixt them, whether real or framed by himſelf, but the iſſue of it was this, that *Auguſtus* moved by her Arguments to methods of Clemency, only corrected the guilty Perſons by words, and ſo diſmiſſed them; nay, he deſigned *Cornelius* to be *Conſul*. And the Hiſtorian tells us, That by ſo doing, he ſo far obliged all men to him, that thenceforth not only no more Conſpiracies were made againſt him; but not the leaſt ſuſpicion was had of any; but ſo by the means of *Livia*, was *Cornelius* preſerved, though ſhe was ſuſpected afterward to have procured the Death of *Auguſtus* himſelf. In the *Conſulſhip* of the ſaid *Cornelius*, and *Valerius Meſſala*, horrible Earthquakes happened, and *Tiber* ſo ſwelled, that it brake down the Bridge, and made *Rome* Navigable for ſeven days; the Sun was Eclipſed, and there was a Famine. The *Senators* and *Equites* began to behold the *Circenſian* Games apart, which was afterward obſerved. And the Nobility being backward to give their Daughters to be *Veſtal* Virgins, a Law was made, that thoſe of *Libertine* condition might become Preiſts in that College, and a Diſpute being made about it by many, ſome were choſen by lot in the Senate, their Fathers being preſent; but not one was taken in to be a *Veſtal*.

The Legions of *Auguſtus* remaining in the time of *Dio*.

93. At this time the Soldiers grievouſly complained of the ſcantneſs of their Pay, and the rewards they received for their Service, and the more for being apprehenſive of impending Wars, and none would bear Arms beyond the term allotted to warfare. Hereupon it was Decreed that to the *Prætorian Cohorts* ſhould be given after they had ſerved ſixteen years, Five thouſand Drachmes, and to others after the ſervice of twenty years, Three thouſand, man by man. At this time were maintained three and twenty Legions of *Roman* Citizens, or as ſome affirmed, twenty five, whereas in the days of *Dion Caſſius*, when he wrote his Hiſtory, only nineteen remained, which he mentioneth in particular. Namely, the ſecond Legion *Auguſta*, which wintered here in the upper *Britain*, Three that bore the Name of *Tertia*, *viz.* One in *Phœnicia*, called *Gallica*; another in *Arabia*, called *Cyrenaica*; and a third called *Auguſta*. There was a fourth known by the name of *Scythica* in *Syria*; a fifth *Macedonica* in *Dacia*; two ſixths *viz.* one in Lower *Britain*, called *Victrix*, and another in *India*, named *Ferrea*; there was a ſeventh in Upper *Myſia*, and called *Claudia*. An eighth was *Auguſta* in the Upper *Germany*. Then two *Decimæ*; one called *Gemella* in the Upper *Pannonia*, and another in *Myſia*. An eleventh in the Upper *Myſia*, had the Name of *Claudia*, both it and the former having received the Name from *Claudius*, becauſe they did not Rebel againſt him in the Sedition of *Camillus*. A twelfth was *Fulminifera* in *Cappadocia*. A thirteenth *Gemella* in *Dacia*. A fourteenth *Gemella* in Upper *Pannonia*. A fifteenth was Sirnamed from *Apollo*, and lay in *Cappadocia*. A twentieth *Valeriana* and *Victrix* had their Stations in the Upper *Britain*. Theſe were the Legions of *Auguſtus* remaining when *Dio* wrote, the reſt being either Disbanded, or by him and other Emperors mixed with other Legions, whence the Names of *Gemellæ* are thought, to have been derived.

Such as were inſtituted by ſucceeding Princes.

Other Guards.

De Magnitudine Rom. lib. 1. *c.* 4. *c.* 10.

94. And becauſe he had undertaken to ſpeak of the Legions, he further tells us, He thinks fit to mention ſuch as were afterwards inſtituted by following Princes, that thoſe who deſired to know their Originals, might underſtand it better in one continued diſcourſe; Having the ſame Reaſon as he to inform the Reader, we ſhall follow him herein. *Nero* then inſtituted the firſt Legion called *Italica*, Wintering in the Lower *Myſia*: *Galba* the firſt *Auxiliary* in the Lower *Pannonia*; the Seventh in *Spain*. *Veſpaſian* the Second *Auxiliary* in the Lower *Pannonia*, and the fourth *Flavia* in *Syria*. *Domitian* the firſt *Minervia* (or *Athenienſis*) in Lower *Germany*. *Trajan* the Second *Ægyptia*, and the Thirtieth *Germanica*, to which he gave his Name. *Marcus Antoninus* the Second in *Noricum*, the Third in *Rhætia*, which were alſo called *Italica*. *Severus* the Firſt and Third *Parthia* in *Meſopotamia*, and the Second *Media* in *Italy*. So many Legions *Dio* took notice of, beſides that of the City and the *Prætorian* in his time. Under *Auguſtus* Twenty three or twenty five were maintained (he addes) and many other Auxiliary Companies of Horſe and Foot, and Sea-men, of which he knew not the certain number. The Guard (ſaith he) of the Emperor's Perſon, conſiſts of Ten thouſand divided into ten Parties. Six thouſand are appointed for a Guard to the City, divided into Four Companies. Then are there the Strangers, Horſemen, called *Batavi*, from *Batavia*, an Iſland in the *Rhine*, the Inhabitants of which excell in the Art of Riding; of them and of the *Evocati* he confeſſeth he knew not the Number. *Auguſtus* then began firſt to uſe them, when he called together the *Veteran* Soldiers of his Father againſt *Antony*, and ſo kept them; and they continued to be a peculiar Body, bearing Staves as the Centurions. Upon theſe Accounts wanting Money, he conſulted the Senate concerning the Eſtabliſhment of a perpetual Revenue, whence without injuring any Perſon he might maintain and reward his Soldiers. They buſying themſelves herein, and no man of his own accord ſeeking to be *Ædilis*, ſome were choſen by Lot from amongſt the *Queſtors* and *Tribuni Plebis*, and conſtrained to Execute the Office, as often at other times was practiſed. Thus much *Dio* writes concerning the Legions and other Forces of the Empire, which indeed grew and increaſed, and again decreaſed as the State had need they ſhould. Some reckon in *Galba*'s time One and thirty Legions. In the Court of the Capitol was found a Stone, having the ſame Number of them as *Dio*, with ſome variety in the Names. As for the *Evocati*, we ſcarcely know what they were; but *Lipſius* points us to a certain place in *Suetonius*, which he thinks to make out the ſignification of the word. Speaking of *Galba* his being ſaluted Emperour, and of his Liſting Supernumerary Soldiers above the former Army, and chuſing a Council reſembling a Senate, to which he would have things of conſequence referred, he addes, That he made choice of Young Men of the *Equeſtrian* Order, who retaining the uſe of Golden Rings, were called *Evocati*, and were to watch about his Bed-Chamber in the room of Soldiers.

Auguſtus Erects a Military Treaſury.

95. But ſuch were the Forces *Auguſtus* thought fit to raiſe and maintain; it was another thing to procure the Money. In the Conſulſhip of *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, and *L. Arruntius*, and the DCCLIX. of the City, no Revenue could be found out whereon to fix the Expence which ſhould be approved by all ſorts of perſons, who yet were vexed that there ſhould be ſuch need of inquiring after it. *Auguſtus* then for himſelf and *Tiberius* brought in Money to a Treaſury which he named *Military*, and committed the Charge thereof to three Perſons of *Prætorian* Rank choſen by Lot, and that for Three Years, who ſhould be attended with two *Lictors*, and other Servants; which Ceremony was obſerved for ſeveral years, but in *Dio*'s time they were choſen by the Emperour, and had no *Lictors*. But Money being thus paid in by him, and he promiſing to do it every Year, ſeveral Kings and People alſo ſubſcribed; for as for private perſons, though there were alſo that offered, he would receive nothing. For all this Revenue would not in the leaſt anſwer the Expence, and there being ſtill need of conſtant ſupply, he ingaged the Senators every one in particular to find out a way, and deliver it in Writing to be conſidered of by him; which he did not therefore do, becauſe he found out none himſelf; but that they might be brought to approve that courſe which he was reſolved to follow. Many being propounded, but none approved, he ordained that the Twentieth part of Inheritances and Legacies, thoſe excepted which were left to the near of Kin and to the Poor, ſhould be brought into this Military Treaſury; and he did it, as having found this ſort of Payment in the Commentaries of *Cæſar*. Indeed there had been formerly mention made of this thing,

it was put off till this time. But ſo was the Reveuue increaſed, and then *Auguſtus* ordered three Perſons from amongſt the *Conſulares* to be choſen by Lot, partly to Contract, and partly to take away Expences.

A great Famine at *Rome.*

96. But theſe things were no whit pleaſing to the *Romans*, who were beſides at this time afflicted with a grievous Famine: It was ſo urgent, that the *Gladiators* and ſaleable Slaves were ſent away to Eighty miles diſtance from the City, and as well *Auguſtus* himſelf, as many others ſent away their Servants; non-term was proclaimed; Senators were permitted to go whither they pleaſed: And leſt the *Senatuſconſulta* ſhould thereby be of leſs force, it was decreed, That ſuch as ſhould be made by thoſe that continued at *Rome*, ſhould be valid. Men of Conſular Dignity were appointed to Overſee the Corn and Bread, ſo that a certain quantity thereof ſhould be ſold to particular Perſons. *Auguſtus* gave as much Corn *gratis* to thoſe who were wont to receive it from the Publick, as they were wont to have; and yet all this being too little, he would not ſuffer them to Eat publickly on his Birth-day. And whereas the City was in ſeveral Quarters much defaced by Fires, he appointed a Watch of the *Libertini* in ſeven places to prevent them, and over this Watch ſet a Perſon of *Equeſtrian* Degree; and though he did not intend they ſhould Continue, yet finding them very ſerviceable, he thought fit to Continue their Imployment; and when *Dion Caſsius* lived, thoſe Night-Watchers were in being, but conſiſting as well of other Soldiers, as the *Libertini*, who had Charge alſo of the Walls, and received publike Wages. But the Common ſort now harraſſed with Famine, Tribute and Fires, was much inraged, and openly talk't many things Seditiouſly, and deſired a Change, and many Libels were thrown about by Night, one *P. Rufus* being reported to be chief Author of theſe Miſdemeanors. But the Suſpicion light upon others, and indeed *Rufus* himſelf was abſent, and not in Capacity to be Mover of ſuch matters, but others under his Name went abont to make an Alteration. An Inquiſiion was decreed to be made into the Offence; Judges were appointed, and had Salaries allotted, and ſome were accuſed as guilty. But the Tumults ceaſed not in the City till the Scarcity being over, *Germanicus Cæſar*, and *Tiberius Claudius Nero*, the Sons of *Druſus*, in honour of their Father, ſet forth a Show of the Gladiators. The People was pleaſed that this was done in memory of *Druſus*, as alſo that *Tiberius*, when he dedicated the Temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux* not onely ſet upon it the Name of *Claudianus*, (for ſo he called himſelf after he was adopted into the Family of *Auguſtus*, inſtead of *Claudius*) but of *Druſus* alſo; for it was his cuſtom, whileſt he managed Wars abroad, to come to the City as often as he might, partly to do ſome buſineſs, but chiefly out of fear leſt *Auguſtus* ſhould prefer any other in his Abſence. This Year the Governor of *Achaia* dying when but half of his time was out, one part of his Province lying within the *Iſthmus*, was aſſigned to his *Queſtor*, and the other part to his *Legatus*. *Herod* of *Paleſtine* being accuſed by his Brethren, was baniſhed beyond the *Alpes*, and part of his Dominions were made publick. Of this we ſhall hear from other Hands more fully than from *Dio*.

Stirs in the Provinces.

97. At this time he tells us thete were many Wars. Into many Countreys Invaſions were made by Rovers, inſomuch that *Sardinia* for ſeveral years had no *Senator* to govern it, but had Soldiers and Officers of the *Equeſtrian Rank*. Not a few Cities attempted to Revolt, ſo that the Provinces belonging to the People of *Rome*, for two years were governed not by ſuch as were choſen by Lot, but by Suffrages; whereas ſuch for many years were wont to præſide over the Provinces of *Cæſar*. The *Iſauri* began with Depredations, but proceeded to a War, and were overthrown. The *Gætuli* not enduring to be ſubject to *Juba*, roſe up againſt him, waſted his Borders, and killed many *Romans*, whom he imployed together with his own Army, and thereupon they were ſo Elevated and made ſuch work for *Cornelius Coſſus*, that for ſubduing them he obtained Triumphal Honours, and the Sirname of *Gætulicus*. Several Expeditions were made into *Germany*, and by *Tiberius* as well as others, who pierced as far as *Veſurgis* and *Albis*; and yet no very memorable thing was done, though both *Auguſtus* and he received the Name of *Imperator* from the *Germans*, and *C. Sentius* who governed that Province had Triumphal Honours; becauſe out of fear of them the *Germans* had twice made Peace with the Empire. They did not deſerve to have it granted, having violated their Faith, but the Affairs of *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia* were now ſo unſettled, and required ſuch ſpeedy Correction as wreſted it from the *Romans*. The *Dalmatians* not enduring the burthen of the Tributes laid upon them, having been formerly

The Rebellion of the *Dalmatians* and *Pannonians*.

formerly inclined to rebel, were now encouraged to perfect their Reſolution, becauſe that *Valerius Meſſalinus* (ſo he calls him) the Governour of both Countries, was gone to the War which *Tiberius* now the ſecond time made in *Germany*. At firſt ſome few rebelled, at the ſuggeſtion, eſpecially, of one *Bato Dyſidiatus*, and overthrew the *Romans* that went againſt them, by whoſe Example the reſt broke out into rebellion. Then the *Brenci*, a People of *Pannonia*, taking for their Leader another *Bato*, went to *Sirmium*, which was held by a Garriſon of the *Romans*; And might have taken it, but that *Cæcina Severus*, who governed the Neighbouring *Myſia*, hearing of their Motions, met with and defeated them at the River *Dranus*. Notwithſtanding the Victory, yet many of the *Romans* having faln in the Battel, the Rebels hoped they might recruit by the aſſiſtance of their Friends, to procure which, they bent their utmoſt endeavours. In the mean time, *Bato* the *Dalmatian*, made an Inroad as far as *Salonæ*, where he received a great Bruiſe by a Stone, and returning without having any thing performed, ſent others on the ſame Errand, who waſting all the Maritime Tracts as far as *Apollonia*, in ſeveral Encounters with the *Romans*, both gave and received Defeats.

98. *Tiberius* having notice of theſe Diſorders, and fearing the Rebels might Invade *Italy*, ſent before him *Meſſalinus*, and then followed with greater Forces out of *Germany*. *Bato* though not fully recovered of his Bruiſe, met and fought with *Meſſalinus*, and had the better of him; but afterwards was Circumvented and beaten, and then he betook himſelf to the other *Bato Breucus*, and they joyntly ſeized on the Hill *Alma*. There they were worſted by *Rhymetalces* the *Thracian*, whom *Severus* had ſent againſt them, and afterward ſuſtained the Violence of *Severus* himſelf; and when he was called away into *Myſia* by the *Daci* and *Sauromatæ*, there infeſting that Country, and *Tiberius* with *Meſſalinus* ſtayed at *Siſcia*, they took the advantage, and invading the Territories of the Allies of *Rome*, drew many into Rebellion with them. *Tiberius* came up with them; but they refuſed to give him Battel, and wandered up and down waſting all things in their paſſage with Celerity, to which their Skill in the Country and the lightneſs of their Habit did Contribute, Winter now drawing on. Some of them again invaded *Macedonia*, but were ſet upon and defeated by *Rhymetalces* and *Raſcupolis* his Brother, and the reſt having their Territories depopulated, when *Q. Cæcilius Creticus* and *A. Licinnius Nerva Silanus* were *Conſuls*, left them and retired to Places more fortified by Nature, whence they made Incurſions upon occaſion. *Auguſtus* having notice of theſe paſſages, ſuſpected *Tiberius* as out of deſign to have a Command, drawing out the War in length, when he might put an end to it. Thither he ſent *Germanicus*, now bearing the Office of *Quæſtor*, and with him Soldiers not only ingenuous, but Freedmen, many of whom he redeemed both from Men and Women with Victuals ſufficient for Six Months. As he made this Proviſion for the War, he put off the Choice of *Equites*, which was wont to be performed in the *Forum*, and vowed to Celebrate the *Ludi Magni* upon ſome Prophecies pretended to be uttered by a certain inſpired Woman. And though he knew well enough ſhe was a Counterfeit, and acted a part out of Deſign, yet the People being exceedingly perplexed both by reaſon of the Wars, and of a Dearth which again oppreſſed them, he made a ſhow as if he gave credit to what ſhe ſaid, and did all he could to give ſatisfaction to the Multitude.

Agrippa Poſthumus his Extravagancies.

99. The charge of Proviſions he again committed to two *Conſulares*, to whom he allowed *Lictors*. When there wanted Money for carrying on Wars, and maintaining of night-Watches, he ſetled a Tribute conſiſting of the fiftieth part of price given for ſlaves; and he forbad the Money which the *Quæſtors* were wont to lay out upon the ſhows of Gladiators to be expended. Now that he ſent *Germanicus*, and not *Agrippa* to the War, our Writer tells us; the ſervile Diſpoſition and Humour of *Agrippa* himſelf, was the cauſe, who ſpent his time in Fiſhing and at Sea, and thence took upon him the Name of *Neptune*, fell out into Extravagant Paſſions; railed at *Julia* as his Step-mother; and not ſeldom accuſed *Auguſtus* as guilty of retaining his Father's Eſtate: when he would not be reclaimed, he was proſcribed by *Auguſtus*, his Eſtate was confiſcated to the Military Treaſury, and he himſelf baniſhed into *Planaſia*, an Iſland near to *Corſica*. Now *Germanicus* was got into *Pannonia*, and all the Forces marched thither; but the two *Batones* obſerving the time when *Severus* came from *Myſia*, ſuddenly fell upon him as he incamped himſelf in the *Volcæan* Fens, and worſted him, after which the *Romans* were diſperſed to invade the Enemy in ſeveral Quarters. No

great matters were performed by other Parties; yet *Germanicus* overcame in fight, and much damnified the *Macæi*, a Nation of *Dalmatia*. The year following in the Conſulſhip of *M. Furius Camillus*, and *Sextus Nonius Quintilianus*, both *Pannonians* and *Dalmatians* deſired Peace, being diſtreſſed by Famine, and a Diſeaſe thence ariſing, from their feeding on Herbs and Roots, to which they were not accuſtomed. They deſired it by their Ambaſſadors, and yet ſtill made reſiſtance through the procurement of them who expected no Security from the *Romans*. As *Germanicus* was beſieging a certain ſtrong City, and could not take it, one *Pulio* an *Eques* and *German* by Nation, caſt a Stone at the Wall, which ſo broke and diſordered the Battlement, that a man leaning againſt it, it fell down; and this ſo affrighted the Defendants, that they fled into the Caſtle, which afterwards they yielded up with themſelves. *Bato* the *Dalmatian* treated with *Tiberius*, and the day after being brought before him, as he ſate on the Tribunal, *Tiberius* asked him, For what Reaſon they would revolt, and continue in Rebellion ſo long againſt the *Romans*? He anſwered him thus, *You your ſelves are in fault, who appoint to the keeping of your Flocks not Dogs nor Shepherds, but Wolves.* But ſo *Dalmatia*, partly by force of War, and partly by Compoſition returned into Obedience to the *Romans*.

100. At this time *Auguſtus* gave the Senate leave to take Cognizance of moſt things in his Abſence, and abſtained from appearing in Publick. And as in the preceding year, when Diſturbances were great, he himſelf made all the Magiſtrates: now ſuch as he would have advanced, he commended to the People. He was during the Wars in *Pannonia* and *Dalmatia* ſo intent upon them, that for better Correſpondence, and to give Directions, he betook himſelf to *Ariminum*, whither when he went, Vows were made, and at his return Sacrifice was offered, as if he had returned from the Field. About the ſame time, *Bato* the *Breucus*, having betray'd *Pinnes*, and for a reward received the the Kingdom of the *Breuci*, was taken by his Nameſake, the other *Bato* (who it ſeems for all his meeting with *Tiberius*, was ſtill his own Man) and put to Death as he went about the Garriſons to require Hoſtages: He had him delivered up by ſome that held a Caſtle whither he had entred, and carrying him to the Camp, condemned him. After this, ſtill many other *Pannonians* rebelled, but *Silvanus* had the better of them, and *Bato* ſeeing no hope to be remaining in *Pannonia*, fortified the Paſſages out of that into *Dalmatia* with Guards, and waſted this Country. The *Pannonians* ſeeing alſo their Territories harraſſed by *Sylvanus*, received terms, though they could not for ſome time be reſtrained from Robberies; to which theſe Nations were extremely addicted. *Tiberius* againſt Winter, wherein *Q. Sulpicius Camerinus*, and *C. Poppæus Sabinus* were *Conſuls*, came to *Rome*, and was met by *Auguſtus* in the Suburbs. He brought him into the *Septa*, and ſaluting the People from the Tribunal, performed what was wont to be done at celebrating Victories, and particularly exhibited the *Spectacula* by the aſſiſtance of the *Conſuls*. The *Equites* now were mightily concerned to have a Law abrogated, which had been made concerning unmarried Perſons, and ſuch as had no Children. He therefore called before him ſuch of them as were Batchellors, as alſo thoſe that were Married, and had Children, each ſort apart and by themſelves.

Pannonia ſubmits.

Dio lib. 56.

Auguſtus makes a Speech to incourage the Married *Equites*,

101. Finding the Married ſort to be far inferior in number to the unmarried, he was troubled thereat, and firſt ſpoke his mind unto them, if our Hiſtorian doth doth not make his Speeches for him, to this purpoſe. He applauded them both, for ſerving the ends of Nature, and of civil Society. Shewed how Mankind, was ordained, Male and Female, by Conjunction, as it were, to prevent Mortality; and how without Children, as the *Species* it ſelf could not ſubſiſt, ſo no Commonwealths could be ſupplied, either with Men for War, or Civil Imployments. He told them they alone deſerved the Name of Men and of Fathers, and as ſuch he both praiſed them, and would prefer them as occaſion ſhould ſerve, to ſuch Offices as they might tranſmit to their Children. And to ſome of them he preſently gave rewards; and promiſed to do the ſame to others of them. To the Batchellors, he made a Speech quite contrary, affirming, He was marvellouſly troubled becauſe of them, whom he knew not by what name to call. Not by that of men, for they performed no manly thing; not by that of Citizens, for the City might come to an end and periſh for all them; neither by that of *Romans*, for they intended to deſtroy the *Roman* Name. But by what Name ſoever they called themſelves, or whoever they were, he ſaid an unuſual thing had happened to him upon their Account. For he was wont to leave no-

And to the Batchellors in behalf of Marriage.

thing undon, whereby to make of them a great multitude, but now he was as ſorry to ſee them ſo many, and could have wiſhed the number of them to whom he ſpake before, to have been as great, and that they had either been joined with them, or not ſeen by him: foraſmuch as without having regard to the Providence of the Gods, or the forecaſt of their Anceſtors, they purpoſed to aboliſh their Nation, deſtroy the *Roman* Name, and put an abſolute end unto it. What ſeed or remainder, ſaith he, of Mankind would be left, if all People ſhould imitate you? and the beginning of miſchief proceeding from you, you were juſtly to ſuſtain the blame of Univerſal Ruine. And if none ſhall follow your example, for this very cauſe all muſt hate you, ſeeing you neglect that which none other do, and introduce ſuch Rules and Courſes of living, as if all would imitate them, Mankind muſt fail and be loſt; but if it hate and diſapprove them, you muſt be condemned. He affirmed, That all Crimes laid together, would not equal theirs. For they committed *Murther* in not ſuffering thoſe to be born, which ought to proceed from them; they were guilty of *Impiety*, in forcing the Names and Honours of their Anceſtors to ceaſe; they were *Sacrilegious* in aboliſhing their Kind, which proceeded from the Immortal gods, and deſtroying Humane Nature, the greateſt thing conſecrated to them; and in this reſpect they overturned their Temples, and their Altars; they diſſolved the City in not obeying its Laws; betrayed their Country by making it Barren and unfruitful; nay, utterly demoliſhed the City, in depriving it of Inhabitants. For a City conſiſts not in Houſes, *Porticus*'s or *Forums* void of Inhabitants; but in Men.

102. He farther bad them conſider what *Romulus* their Founder would think of them; and if he would not be angry to purpoſe, when he compared his Original with their courſe of life, who refuſed to beget Children even by lawful Marriage. And what thoſe *Romans* that were with him would think, recollecting that they raviſhed Virgins that were Strangers; whereas theſe their Poſterity would not love thoſe that were of the ſame ſtock with themſelves; that they entred into War to procure an Offspring, and theſe would not endeavour to have Children by their fellow Citizens. He urged the caſe of *Curtius*, who died that the *Romans* might not want Marriage, and of *Herſilia* that followed her Daughter, and ſhewed to the Citizens Nuptial Rites. In truth their Anceſtors, he ſaid, in behalf of Marriage, waged War with the *Sabines*, and that Peace was made, which they by their cœlibacy did break and diſſolve. And to what purpoſe, and with what deſign? to live in cœlibacy as the *Veſtal* Virgins? If ſo, they ought to be puniſhed as well as they, if they did not preſerve their Chaſtity. He told them, they ought not to be diſpleaſed, at what he ſaid, for if they were diſpleaſed with his words, he, and their fellow Citizens had much more reaſon to be diſpleaſed with their Actions. Therefore if they found themſelves touched, he adviſed them to repent, that in ſtead of reprehending, he might commend and thank them for the time to come, as owning what a good Legiſlator ought to eſtabliſh. He told them, That before his time it was not lawful for any to neglect Marriage and Poſterity; Laws having been made againſt it at the firſt founding of the Commonwealth, and the Senate and People having ſince that, ordained many things againſt it. That he had increaſed the Mulct of unmarried Perſons to render them Obedient, and appointed ſuch Rewards to the Obedient, as never formerly had been propoſed, as an Incouragement for any Virtue; that if nothing elſe, yet theſe Advantages might provoke them to Wedlock, and the Procreation of Children. But for their parts, they neither deſiring the Rewards, nor regarding the Penalties, but as if they lived in no Society or Commonwealth, gave out that they made choice of a Life that was free and void of trouble, without Matrimony or Children; whereas in ſo doing they were no better than Thieves and Robbers, and the moſt ſavage Beaſts. For really they were not ſo far taken with any ſolitary kind of life, as to live without Women, or not to have a Bedfellow or Companion at the Table, but by this courſe ſtudied how to gratifie their wanton Luſt and Appetite.

103. Yet he had permitted them to court ſuch Virgins as were not quite ripe for Marriage, that pretending to the title of *Sponſi*, who would ſhortly celebrate the Nuptials, they might the more look after their Families; and he had allowed the Marriage of *Libertinæ* to thoſe that were not Patricians. Neither had he put them upon any haſte, having given them firſt the ſpace of three years, and then of two. But neither by threatning, exhorting, deferring or intreating, had he gained any thing. They could not but perceive how many more they

were than the Married men, whereas they ought to have produced as many, nay, as many more in their Progeny. By what other courſe was the Nation to be continued? How could the Commonwealth be preſerved without Wives and Children, except they expected the Fable to be fulfilled of Perſons riſing out of the Earth? For ſhame he bad them eſteem it the greateſt wickedneſs after the Extinguiſhment of the *Roman* Stock and Name; to deliver over their City to Strangers, whether *Greeks* or *Barbarians*. Shall we, ſaith he, for this reaſon manumit our Slaves becauſe we would have many Citizens? Shall we give freedom of the City to our Aſſociates, that it may be filled with People, and you who from the firſt Original are *Romans*, having reckoned up the *Quinti*, *Valerii*, and *Julii*, reſolve together with your ſelves to deſtroy all ſuch Names and Families? I am aſhamed with words to ſet forth what it is that you practice. Therefore put a ſtop to your madneſs, and now at length conſider, that many of us being conſumed with Wars and Diſeaſes, the City cannot be ſafe, except it be ſupplied with a ſtock of Children. Yet let no body think I am ignorant that there are ſome difficult and troubleſom Occurrents in Marriage and Procreation of Children; but you ought to conſider, that there is nothing good that hath not ſome bitterneſs mixed with it; that the greateſt and moſt excellent injoyments have many ſad and harſh things joyned with them, which if you would decline, you muſt not deſire the good themſelves, ſeeing we cannot attain to ſincere Virtue or Pleaſure, except labour be uſed to attain them. Though Matrimony have its Inconveniences, yet compare the Advantages and them together, and you ſhall find them over-ballanced by far, not only as to the Conveniences which the thing in its own Nature affords, but as to the Rewards alſo propoſed by the Laws, of which a little part doth allure ſome men to undergo Death it ſelf; and theſe ought to induce you all to obey me. And it's a ſhameful thing, if for the ſame reaſon you will not marry Wives, and bring up Children, for which others will not ſtick to give their lives. I thought fit (*Citizens*, for I hope you are now perſuaded to retain this Name, and to accept of thoſe of *Husbands* and *Fathers*) thus to expoſtulate with you, unwillingly truly, but out of neceſſity; not as an Enemy, or one that hates you, but out of love, and deſire to have many like your ſelves; ſo that inhabiting lawful Houſes, and having our Habitations full of a *Roman* Offſpring, we may approach to the gods, with our Wives and Children, and Communicating with one another in all Publick things may converſe together in the injoyment of them. For how can I be ſaid to govern you, if I ſuffer always ſome part of you to be diminiſhed? How can I be called any more your Father, if you beget no Offſpring? Therefore if you really love me, and have given me the Name of Father, for Honour, and not out of Flattery, do your endeavour to become Husbands and Fathers; ſo that you may be partakers of it, and I my ſelf may not bear it in vain. Having ſpoken in this manner to both ſorts, he increaſed the Rewards of ſuch as had Children, and made a difference by ſetting a Mulct upon Batchellors, yet ſo, as he gave them the ſpace of a year to conſider; and ſuch as would obey him ſhould be free from the Mulct. Nay, he was ſo kind, that whereas by the Law called *Lex Voconia*, Women were Prohibited to come to any Inheritance above a certain Sum, he looſed ſome from that Obligation; and beſtowed upon ſuch as had vowed perpetual Virginity, the [illegible]me Rewards as upon Mothers. In order to theſe things, was framed the Law *Pappia Poppæa*, preferred by *M. Pappius Mutilus*, and *E. Poppæus Secundus*, who being *Conſuls* for part of the year, neither of them had either Wives or Children; by which very thing *Dio* ſuggeſts how neceſſary it was that that Law ſhould be made.

Tiberius ſent again into *Dalmatia*.

104. While theſe things were done at *Rome*, the *Romans* that with *Germanicus*, marched againſt *Rhætinum*, a City of *Dalmatia*, received loſs by Fire, wherewith the beſieged did ſurround them, and retired themſelves within the Caſtle. Several Towns were taken, yet many ſtill held out, and a Famine being by this means occaſioned in *Italy*, *Auguſtus* ſent *Tiberius* again into *Dalmatia*. He perceiving the Soldiers were impatient to finiſh the War, though it were with danger to the State, that being together, they might be able to plot new Matters, divided them into three Parties, whereof one he committed to *Silanus*, another to *M. Lepidus*, and with the third he and *Germanicus* went againſt *Bato*. *Silanus* and *Lepidus* without difficulty overcame their Adverſaries in Battel. *Tiberius* over-ran the Country, and ſtill purſued *Bato*, till he beſieged him in a Caſtle called *Anderium*, which was extraordinarily fortified by ſituation, and that Proviſion

viſion they had made within for ſuch extremity. Nay, they laid Ambuſcado's to ſtop the beſiegers from forage, ſo that *Tiberius* beſieging them, in a manner was beſieged. He knew not what to do, the Siege being troubleſom and dangerous, and yet he thought it would be very ignominious to raiſe it, and the Soldiers fell into a Mutiny, with ſuch a noiſe that the Enemy who watched under the Caſtle out of very fear retired from their Station. *Tiberius* being partly pleaſed and partly angry at what had paſſed, both rebuked and commended his Army, and yet not daring to ſtir, he kept himſelf quiet till ſuch time as *Bato* ſent and deſired Peace, and his Allies being not perſuaded to imbrace it, he forſook them, and refuſed to give them any relief upon demand. Hereupon *Tiberius* deſpiſed them that kept the Caſtle, and reſolving to Storm it, moved his Men by Arguments to mount the Precipice on which it ſtood, and by conſtant Supplies ſo incouraged them, that part of the Defendants having iſſued out and betaken themſelves to the Woods, were purſued and knock'd on the head like ſo many Sheep, and thoſe in the Caſtle yeilded it up upon Conditions, which *Tiberius* performed. After this *Germanicus* took a Fort called *Arduba*, and *Poſtumius* reduced other places. Now did *Bato* ſend his Son *Sceva* to *Tiberius*, and offered if he might be accepted to deliver up himſelf and all his into the Power of the *Romans*. Having received his Faith, he came by Night into the Camp, and being the day after brought before *Tiberius*, ſitting on the Tribunal, he did not at all deprecate his own Puniſhment, but ſtretching out his Head as to be cut off, uſed many words to excuſe his Companions, and being again asked by *Tiberius*, why they had Rebelled, and ſo long continued the War? He anſwered, That the *Romans* themſelves were the cauſe of it, who ſent not Dogs nor Shepherds, but Wolves to keep their Flocks. Thus *Dio* by degrees and order of time, what *Paterculus* tells in ſhort.

He compoſeth the War.

105. After this ſort was this War compoſed, with ſmall advantage on the *Roman* ſide, much Money being expended, many Legions being maintained, and but very little booty got. But *Germanicus* brought the News of the Victory, for which the Title of *Imperator* was added to *Auguſtus* and *Tiberius*, a Triumph decreed them, and two Triumphal Arches in *Pannonia*, on which Trophies were to be placed. To *Germanicus* were decreed Triumphal Ornaments, as to others of the Captains, and *Prætorian* Honours: they voted that firſt after the *Conſulares*, he ſhould give his Opinion, and being looſed from the Laws, might ſtand for the Conſulſhip ſooner than uſual. It was farther decreed, That *Druſus* the Son of *Tiberius*, though he had no part in the War, might before he was taken into the Order, come into the Senate, and having executed the *Quæſtorſhip*, ſpeak his Opinion before thoſe of *Prætorian* quality. Such things were decreed, but News brought out of *Germany*, ſpoiled all the Sport of the Triumphs. The *Romans* in that Country held ſeveral Places, but not altogether, but as they were brought into ſubjection by chance here and there, and therefore in Hiſtories, no mention is made of them. But however in thoſe places they had their Winter Quarters, and built Towns; the *Barbarians* admitted of their ways and Cuſtoms, and met with them at the *Forum*, yet ſo as not to forget their own Cuſtoms, and the liberty of their Country. Now was *Quintilius Varus* ſent to govern there, one born, if you will hear *Paterculus*, rather of an Illuſtrious than a Noble Family, a Man both as to Body and Mind addicted to reſt, and accuſtomed to the idleneſs of the Camp, rather than Action, but not a Contemner of Money, as *Syria* bore witneſs; which being Rich (as Preſident) he entered Poor, but left it Poor coming away Rich. He thought the *Germans* as tame as Sheep, and having nothing but the Voice and Members of Men, though they could not be conquered with the Sword, yet might be tamed by Laws. He therefore ſpent his time amongſt them in Careſſes, and deciding Controverſies, yet even then he would Command them as *Roman* Slaves, and exact Money of them as from Subjects. The *Germans* could not brook his management of Matters, and the rather becauſe the chiefeſt of them were ſenſible of the loſs of the Supreme Command, and impatient to have it reſtored to their Country. But ſeeing many *Romans* to live about the *Rhine*, and many amongſt themſelves, they durſt not break out into open Rebellion, but ſo humoured *Varus* as ready to obey him in all things. They pretended great Controverſies amongſt themſelves, and drew him from the *Rhine* to the Territories of the *Cherusci*, and the River *Viſurgis*.

Honours voted to him and others.

The Sport ſpoiled by News out of *Germany*.

Illuſtri magis quam nobili ortus familia.

106. There living ſecurely in perfect Peace, they perſuaded him that without the aſſiſtance of the Soldiers, he might hold them in that Subjection. And he was ſo ſilly as being in an Enemie's Country, not to keep together his Men, and in

one place,but diſtributed many of them to ſeveral weaker People of *Germany*, who deſired to have them upon pretence of ſecuring the Garriſons for ſeizing Highway-Men, and conveyance of Proviſions. There was a young Man, Noble in Birth, Valiant of his hand, of quick apprehenſion, and of a prompt Wit, for a *Barbarian*, by Name *Arminius*, the Son of *Sigimer*, Prince of that Nation, who by his very Eyes and Countenance diſcovering the ardour of his Mind, had formerly been a diligent Attendant in the *Roman* Wars, and had obtained the *Jus Civitatis*, and the *Equeſtrian* Degree: He well knowing, that no man can ſooner be ruined than he who hath no apprehenſion of danger, and that the moſt frequent beginning of Calamity is Security, abuſed the Sottiſh humour of the General,who converſing with him every day, and being told of Plots that were to be againſt his Perſon, would not believe the Informers, but bad them have a care of themſelves. Then by Conſpiracy did ſome of the furtheſt *Germans* make an Inſurrection, with deſign that *Varus* going to ſuppreſs it, might paſs through the Territories of thoſe he ſuppoſed his Friends, and be the more liable to Deſtruction. They had ſo orordered their Affairs, that he ſhould have no Forces at hand to reſcue him, and thoſe *Romans* that they had received in ſeveral places, as was ſaid, they put to Death. Then did they ſet upon him as he went through a Wood, which was very difficult to paſs, when he had not the leaſt apprehenſion of any miſchief, but marched in his Rear very diſorderly.

The Defeat of *Varus*, and the Legions.

107. Abundance of Rain falling, took away from the *Romans* the uſe of their Arms; ſo that more *Germans* pouring themſelves upon them, they were cut down and ſlain;*Varus* and other of the Principal Officers leſt they ſhould fall into the Enemies Hands, killed themſelves. This being underſtood, none of the Soldiers made any reſiſtance, but either followed their Example, or caſt away their Arms, and expoſed themſelves to the Sword. Now were both Men and Horſes killed without any oppoſition, and all the *Romans* had either been ſlain or taken this day,but that the *Germans* hurried away to take the Booty; whereby it came to paſs, that the moſt hardy eſcaped, and the Trumpeters ſounding, it being now dark, the Enemy believed that ſome Succours were ſent to them by *Aſprenas*. This belief reſtrained the *Germans* from purſuing, and *Aſprenas* indeed as ſoon as he had notice, haſted to their relief. But thus were cut off in a manner three *Legions*, as many *Alæ*, and ſix *Cohorts*; an overthrow the greateſt of all the *Romans* received ſince that of *Craſſus* from the *Parthians*. This was the moſt valiant Army they had, and the chiefeſt for Diſcipline, Strength and Experience, as *Paterculus*, who then lived aſſures us, who adds, that the General had a greater mind to die, than to fight, ſtabbing himſelf, as his Father and Grandfather had done before him. Of the two *Præfects* of the Camp, as *L. Eggius* gave a good example of Valour, ſo *Ceionius* afforded as bad, who after that moſt of the Soldiers were cut off, became the Author of yeilding, and choſe to die rather as a Malefactor by Puniſhment, than in Battel. But *Volumnius* the *Legatus* of *Varus*, being otherwiſe a quiet, and an honeſt man, deſerted the Foot, and ran away with the *Alæ* of Horſe to the *Rhine*, which fact fortune it ſelf revenged; for he did not ſurvive the deſerted; but himſelf periſhed a Deſertor: The Body of *Varus* when half burnt, the furious Enemies tore in pieces. His Head was cut off and carried to *Maroboduus*, who ſent it to *Cæſar*, and at length it was honoured with the Sepulture of his Family.

Auguſtus wonderfully concerned at it.

108. When *Auguſtus* had the News of the Defeat, he was afflicted in an extraordinary manner.He had in all his life-time, as *Suetonius* tells us, but two great overthrows, and they were both received in *Germany*, *viz.* that of *Lollius*, and this of *Varus*; that of *Lollius* brought more Infamy than loſs, but this of *Varus* he terms almoſt exitiable, three Legions with the General, the *Legati*, and all the *Auxilia* being cut off. Upon notice of it, he ſet Guards up and down the City, that no Tumults might be raiſed upon this occaſion, continued the Government to the *Præſidents* of Provinces, as by their experience moſt fit to keep the Aſſociates in order. To *Jupiter* he vowed the great Games if he reſtored the Commonwealth into a better condition,as had been done in the Wars of the *Cimbri* and *Marſi*.It was reported, That he was ſo far dejected with the loſs, that he let his Beard and the hair of his Head grow for ſeveral Months; ſomtimes would knock his Head againſt the Dores, and roar out, *Reſtore the Legions, Quintilius Varus*; and he obſerved the Day of the Defeat every year, as a Day of Mourning. *Dio* tells us, he feared the *Germans* and *Galls* would be in *Italy*, and was ſenſible that their *Roman* youth was inconſiderable, and the *Auxilia* of the Aſſociates were much diſtreſſed. Yet

Provides for prevention of farther miſchief.

he ſet himſelf all manner of ways he could, and as the preſent poſture of Affairs would permit, to prevent miſchief. For as much as ſuch as were of the Military Age would not give their Names to the Service. Some on whom the lot fell, he puniſhed by Confiſcation of their Eſtates, and branding them with Infamy; and this not being effectual, but that many yet diſobeyed, ſome he puniſhed with Death. Then gathering by lot from amongſt the *Veteran* Soldiers, and the *Libertini*, as great a Force as he could make, he diſpatched it away under Command of *Tiberius* into *Germany*. And there being many *Galls* and *Germans* at *Rome*, ſome upon the account of Travel, and others ſerving in the Guards, he diſarmed and ſent them out of the City. Theſe things he did, and the uſual Sports, and other things were omitted. But hearing afterwards that ſome Soldiers ſurvived the Defeat, that a Guard was put upon *Germany*, and the Enemy durſt not paſs the *Rhine*, he was freed from his terror, and began to examine the matter. He ſuſpected that ſo ſudden and great a miſchief came by the Anger of their gods, declared by Prodigies both before and after, which *Dio* relates.

Tiberius invades *Germany* to ſmall purpoſe.

809. *Tiberius* made an Invaſion into *Germany*, together with *Germanicus*, who had the Power of *Proconſul*. Some Parts of it they waſted, but ſabdued no Nation thereof; fighting not one Battel, nor ingaging with any Enemy, for, whatever *Paterculus* may talk in commendation of *Tiberius*, *Dio* writes, that they were in heavy fear of another overthrow, and ſtirred not far from the *Rhine*, but kept themſelves ſomewhere thereabouts till Autumn, at which time having celebrated the Birth-day of *Auguſtus* with Games, and by the help of the Centurions, having had the Exerciſes of Horſemen, they returned into *Italy*. Now at *Rome*, *Druſus Cæſar* the Son of *Tiberius* was *Quæſtor*, and ſixteen *Prætors* were made, for ſo many ſtood for the Office, and *Auguſtus* in this conjuncture of Affairs, would diſguſt no man, though in many years that followed there were but twelve. He forbad Fortune-tellers either privately or before others to prædict the Death of any man, not that he was ſolicitous concerning himſelf, for he publickly expoſed to view the Scheme of the Heavens, under which he was born. He alſo required of all that were ſubject to his Command, that they ſhould not give any Honour to any of the Governors in the time of their Adminiſtration, nor within ſixty days after their departure, becauſe many by virtue of the Honours and Applauſes they received in the Provinces bore themſelves high, and did very bad things. To Ambaſſadors at this time three *Senators* gave Anſwers. And, which was accounted wonderful, *Equites* were permitted to fight in the Exerciſes of the *Gladiators*, ſome of them counting it no Ignominy; and an Edict having been publiſhed to reſtrain them: notwithſtanding they were reſolute, and the more, becauſe their Combats were greedily beheld, and *Auguſtus* himſelf was preſent with the *Prætors* who diſtributed the Rewards.

Auguſtus Enacts divers things.

110. After this *Germanicus* bore the Office of *Conſul* together with *C. Capito*, though he had not yet executed the Office of *Prætor*, and did nothing worthy of Memory, but only over-ballanced his Colleague. But *Auguſtus* now grown very old, by Writing recommended *Germanicus* to the Senate, and the Senate to *Tiberius*. He himſelf being not in a condition, did not read the Writing, but *Germanicus*, as he was wont to do. Having made an excuſe about the *German* War, he deſired of the Senate that they would not ſalute him at his own Houſe, nor take it ill if for the time to come he did not publickly converſe with them, for it had been the Cuſtom frequently to ſalute him, eſpecially when the Senate was held, in the *Court*, and *Forum*, as he went in or out, and as he ſat or lay in the *Palace*, not only of *Senators*, but *Equites*, and ſome *Plebeians*; yet for all this did he not caſt off the care of the Commonwealth. For he granted to *Equites* a Right to ſtand to be *Tribuni Plebis*, and he commanded an Inquiſition to be made after Libels, which being found in the City ſhould be burnt by the *Ædiles*, and out of the City by the Governors of the ſeveral places; and he animadverted upon ſome of the Authors of them. And whereas it was found that of many Perſons that were Baniſhed, ſome lived out of the places to which they were confined, and others too delicately there where they were appointed to abide, he ordained, that none of thoſe to whom Water and Fire were forbidden, ſhould remain in the Continent, or in any Iſland which was not fifty miles diſtant from the Continent, *Coos*, *Rhodes*, *Sardinia*, and *Lesbus* excepted, though *Dion Caſſius* knows not for what reaſon. He forbad they ſhould paſs over any whither, or have any more Veſſels than one of Burthen, containing a Thouſand *Amphoræ*; and two for Sailing; neither above twenty Slaves or Freed-men; nor poſſeſs above fifty

thouſand *Nummi*; in caſe of Diſobedience, he both threatned to puniſh the Exiles, and ſuch as aſſiſted them in the breaking of theſe Laws.

111. When *L. Munatius*, and *C. Silius* were *Conſuls*, *Auguſtus* undertook, unwilling, the Government for ten years, now the fifth time. He Prorogued the Tribunitial Authority to *Tiberius*; he granted to *Druſus* his Son, Power to ſtand for the *Conſulſhip* in the third year, though he had not born the *Prætorſhip*; and not coming now into the Senate himſelf by reaſon of his old Age, he deſired to have twenty Councellors for a year aſſigned him, whereas formerly he was wont to have fifteen for ſix Months. It was Decreed that whatever he reſolved upon with thoſe, the *Conſuls*, and *Conſuls* deſigned, his adopted Nephews, and others he at any time aſſumed, after deliberation, ſhould be of the ſame force and virtue as if they had been Voted in the *Curia*. Theſe things were ordered by a *Senatuſconſultum*, though he had the Power before, and as he lay upon his Bed he would give Judgment. The Payment of a twentieth part of Inheritances lately mentioned, ſeemed generally a grievous burthen, and ſome ſtirs it was feared would happen upon it. Hereupon he ſent a Writing to the Senate, wherein he deſired they would conſider and find out ſome other ways of raiſing Money; and this he did not to abrogate that way of Tribute, but that they finding out no one more convenient, it might be eſtabliſhed by them, though unwilling, and the *Odium* be taken off from himſelf. But becauſe if *Germanicus* and *Druſus* ſhould ſpeak their Opinions, the Senate might think they ſpake as he directed them, and ſo might leave the matter undiſcuſſed, he forbad them to give any Vote at all. The Debate in the Senate was very high about it, and by Letters he was told, that ſome would indure any thing ſooner than the twentieth part, whereupon he transferred the Payment upon Lands and Houſes, and ſpeedily without ſhowing how it ſhould be paid, ſent Officers up and down to take an account of the Wealth both of Cities and private Men, that out of fear of greater expence they might ſubmit to the twentieth part. And his Deſign had its Succeſs. But now in the *Auguſtalia*, or Games celebrated upon *Auguſtus* his Birth-day, it happened that a Mad-man ſate down in the Seat of *Julius Cæſar*, and taking away his Crown, put it upon his own Head; and in the Opinion of *Dio*, it did really portend (as it was imagined) ſomthing to *Auguſtus*; for in the following year wherein *Sex. Apuleius*, and *Sex. Pompeius* were *Conſuls*, going into *Campania*, and having exhibited the *Spectacula* at *Naples*, he died at *Nola*. *Auguſtus* dies.

112. His Wife *Livia* was ſuſpected by ſome as having ſet him forward to another World. For not long before, he had gone without her knowledge into the Iſland to his Nephew *Agrippa*, and he ſeemed now to be reconciled to him, which ſhe fearing might amount to as much at length as to deliver up the Empire into his hands, was thought to poiſon ſome particular Figs, as they grew in the Garden, and to avoid ſuſpicion, to have her ſelf eaten the wholſom ones from the ſame tree. His Death is ſaid to have been foreſhewn by ſome tokens the year wherein he died. He made his third *Cenſus*, in the *Luſtrum* whereof were found Four Millions and one hundred thirty ſeven thouſand Polls of *Roman* Citizens. Celebrating the *Luſtrum* in the *Campus Martius*, with great concourſe of People, an Eagle they ſay flew about him ſeveral times, and directing her flight to a Chappel, ſat down over the Name of *Agrippa*, at the firſt letter. *Auguſtus* conſidering this, commanded *Tiberius* to make thoſe Vows, which it was the Cuſtom to make for the following *Luſtrum*. For though the Tables were written and ready, yet he refuſed to undertake that which he ſhould not perform. About the ſame time the firſt Letter of his Name on his Statue in the Capitol was ſtruck out by a Thunderbolt. Hereupon the Fortune-tellers ſaid, he ſhould live only One hundred days longer, which was ſignified by the letter *C.* and was to be reckoned amongſt the gods, *Æſar* the reſt of the Name in the *Hetruſcan* Language, ſignifying a *God*. In the mean time he wrote a Breviary of his Actions, which he commanded to be cut in Braſs and ſet before his *Mauſoleum*. His time being come, he ſent for his inward Acquaintance, and ſpoke what he had a mind to recommend to them, and told them this, That he received *Rome* made of Brick, but left it of Marble; by which expreſſion, *Dion Caſſius* tells us, he did not mean the Elegancy of the Structure, but the firmneſs of the Empire. Some ſay he called for a Looking-Glaſs, cauſed his hair to be Combed, and his wrinkled Cheeks ſmoothed up. Then like an Actor upon the Stage, he asked his Friends if he had performed his

Part well, and upon their anſwer yea, he ſaid *Plaudite*, and ſo died in the imbraces of his beloved Wife *Livia*, bidding her remember their Marriage, and farewel. He died in the ſame Room as did *Octavius* his Father, and on the ſame Day (*Auguſt* the Nineteenth) on which he entred upon his firſt *Conſulſhip*, having lived Seventy ſix years, all but thirty five days, having held the Monarchy from the Battel at *Actium*, as *Dio* computes, forty four years, wanting thirteen days, in the Seven hundred ſixty ſeventh year of the City, the ſecond of the One hundred ninety eighth *Olympiad*, the fifty ſeventh after the Death of *Julius Cæſar*, and the fifteenth after the Birth of Chriſt, *Sextus Pompeius*, and *Sextus Apuleius* being *Conſuls*.

His Character. 813. He was the Founder of the *Roman* Monarchy, his Uncle having been rather the chalker of it out. He obtained it with the Deſtruction of many Perſons, and ſpared none to make way for his Purpoſes. Faults he had. He deceived *Pompey* under colour of Peace, and *Lepidus* under a ſhow of Friendſhip, as ſome obſerved. He drew on *Antony* with the Treaties of *Tarentum* and *Brundiſium*, and with the marriage of his Siſter, which deceitful Alliance, they ſay, coſt the other his life. A Peace followed this, but a bloody one, as witneſs the Death of *Lollius* and *Varus*, and in *Rome* it ſelf of *Varro, Egnatius*, and *Julius*. It was objected againſt him, that he took *Nero*'s Wife from him, and asked the Opinion of the *Pontifex* in a Scoff; Whether there might be a lawful Marriage betwixt them, ſhe being ſtill with Child by her former Husband. They forgot not the laſciviouſneſs, and Riot (ſo *Tacitus* writes) of *L. Atedius* and *Vedius Pollio*, and to be ſure not the demeanour of *Livia*, whom they eſteemed a burthenſom, nay intollerable Mother to the Commonwealth; and to the Houſe of the *Cæſars*, a dangerous Stepdame. They added, that there was no honour left for the gods, ſeeing he would himſelf by the Prieſts and *Flamines* be worſhipped in the Temples, with all the Ornaments belonging to their Deities. They judged that *Tiberius* was deſigned Succeſſor, neither out of love to himſelf, nor care of the Commonwealth, but out of a deep inſight into his lofty and bloody diſpoſition and deſign, that being ſo unequally compared with him, he might win glory afterward to himſelf. For though not many years before, he had uttered Honourable Speeches in the Senate concerning *Tiberius*; yet when he moved for the Tribuneſhip to be again renewed to him, he interlaced in his Speech ſome things concerning his Attire and Behaviour, which in excuſing of him ſeemed to turn to his Reproach. But on the other ſide we have ſeen how kind and Popular he was. His Defects cannot be excuſed; but they muſt needs be heard, who in his Commendation alledge, that the Empire he bounded with the Ocean and other Rivers at a great diſtance, that the Legions, Provinces, and Navy were conjoyned in Peace and Unity, Juſtice was adminiſtred in the Cities, the Allies treated with Civility, the City beautified with ſumptuous Buildings, and if rigorous dealing had been uſed againſt ſome few, it was ſetling of Peace and quietneſs in the whole.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

From the Death of Auguſtus, *to that of* Tiberius.

The ſpace of Twenty and two years, ſeven Months, and odd Days.

1. THE Death of *Auguſtus* was not preſently known. For *Livia* fearing leſt *Tiberius* being as yet in *Dalmatia*, ſome ſtirs might happen to his diſadvantage, concealed it till his coming. So *Dio* tells us moſt Authors, and thoſe moſt worthy belief delivered; though there were not wanting, who wrote that *Tiberius* was with *Auguſtus* in his Sickneſs, and received ſomething in Command from him. *Tacitus* makes it a doubt, whether *Tiberius* found him alive or dead; For *Livia* had beſet the Houſe, and gave out words ſometimes as if he recovered, and having made all ſure as the time and occaſion required, the ſame rumour, which not long before gave hopes of *Auguſtus* his Amendment, now publiſhed his Death, and that *Nero* was in poſſeſſion of the Empire. The Body of *Auguſtus* was by the Principals of the ſeveral Cities born from *Nola* to *Rome* in Courſe; it was received by the *Equites*, and brought to *Rome* in the Night. The day after, the Senate aſſembled, to which the other Senators came onely in the *Equeſtrian* Habit, and the Magiſtrates in the *Senatorian*, except the *Prætexta*. *Tiberius* and his Son *Druſus* came in common Mourning, and offered Incenſe at their coming, omitting the Trumpeter. The Senators ſate in their uſual places, but the *Conſuls* lower, one on the Bench of the *Prætorians*, and the other on that of the *Tribuni Plebis.* Impunity was granted to *Tiberius*, for having touched, which was by Law forbidden, and accompanied the Body. Then did one *Polybius* a *Libertus* of *Cæſar*, read the Teſtament of *Auguſtus*, it not being thought fit that a Senator ſhould read it; wherein he left moſt he had to *Tiberius* and *Livia*: For he had deſired of the Senate, That he might have leave to give her more than was permitted by the Laws. He gave Legacies to many private perſons, to thoſe of the *Prætorian* Guards, and every Inhabitant of *Rome*. To the Sons of ſuch as had left him their Heir, he commanded that the Inheritances ſhould be reſtored; which indeed had been his practice all along. He was kind to the Children of other men, but his own Daughter he would not reduce into her Countrey; nay, he forbad ſhe ſhould be buried in his Sepulchre, though he left her ſomething by his Will.

The Body of *Auguſtus* brought to *Rome*.

His Will read in the Senate.

And four other Writings.

2. Beſides his Will, four Writings more were produced in the Senate. In one he had left Inſtructions concerning his Funeral. In another, an Enumeration was made of his Atchievements, which he Commanded ſhould be cut in Pillars of Braſs, and expoſed before his Sepulchre. The third Writing contained an Account of the Number of the Forces, of the Publick Revenues and Iſſues, of what Money was in the Treaſurie, and other things belonging to the Publick Government. In the fourth he gave advice to *Tiberius* and the Commonwealth. Amongſt other things it was his Opinion, That many Slaves ſhould not be manumitted, leſt the City ſhould be peſtered with a croud; nor many be made free of the City, that they might preſerve a difference betwixt themſelves and their Subjects. Then he would have them commit the Government to thoſe that were moſt qualified for it, and not to put too much upon one man, leſt he ſhould turn Tyrant, or in his Ruin the Commonwealth might receive danger. He charged them to be content with their preſent Fortune, and not to deſire to inlarge the Bounds of the Empire; for it being difficult to keep ſo much as they had already got, they would probably by indeavouring to get more, loſe what they had already. And that this was his Opinion, he teſtified not only by Words but Actions; for though he might have brought many *Barbarians* under, yet he never would. His Funeral was performed in great State, and an Eagle let looſe from the Pile as to carry his Soul to Heaven. *Livia*, and with her the chiefeſt of the *Equites* continued in the place five dayes, to gather up his Bones and put them into the Monument. Men mourned for him according to the Cuſtom not many dayes, but Women an whole Year, as had been decreed. Indeed few really mourned for him at preſent, but afterwards all found reaſon to do it, whilſt they had the ſad occaſion to compare him and his Succeſſor together: But now at preſent, Temples were erected to him, and a Summe of Money was given by

Livia to *Numerius Atticus* a Senator, and one of *Prætorian* Degree, for having ſworn that He ſaw him aſcending up into Heaven, as *Proculus* antiently had ſaid of *Romulus*.

3. *Tiberius* was by birth a *Patrician*, had liberal Education, and a Wit more than ordinary. He made no ſhow of aiming at ſuch things as he deſired, and would uſe diſcourſes contrary to his deſign; denying what he deſired, and ſeeming to conſent to what he diſliked. By the practice of him and his Mother, *Agrippa Poſthumus* was Murdered e're the death of *Auguſtus* was known. He had ſecured the Soveraignty ſufficiently by ſtrong Hand, though he played the Diſſembler moſt egregiouſly, refuſing the Government ſo long as till the Senators fell down at his feet, and beſought him to accept of it; whom he anſwered with ambiguous words, and at length complaining that a miſerable and intollerable Servitude was impoſed on him, received it as by conſtraint, and yet ſo as he ſeemed to ſignifie that he would again relinquiſh it. Indeed there was cauſe for him to ſay, as he did, that *he took a Wolf by the Ears.* For *Clemens* the Slave of *Agrippa* had got a conſiderable party together, under pretence of revenging his Lord's death: *Scribonius Libo* ſecretly plotted his own advancement, and the *Legions* both in *Germany* and *Illyricum* mutined, the former chuſing *Germanicus* for their *Prince*, who earneſtly refuſed to accept of their Offer, and at length quieted them with much ado, as *Druſus* did the other in *Pannonia*, they being frighted into obedience by a total Eclipſe of the Moon, which fell out on the 27th. of *September*, five hours after Midnight. *Clemens* was apprehended, and *Libo* not effecting any thing, was in the ſecond year accuſed to the Senate. *Tiberius* in the mean while looking carefully to himſelf, notwithſtanding theſe motions, obtained the Supream Power, betwixt which and his rule with *Auguſtus* for two years there was this difference; That his former Command extended onely to the Armies and Provinces ſubject to *Auguſtus*, but this to the City it ſelf Miſtreſs of all. Formerly he had *Tribunitial* and *Cenſorian* Power; but now he became *Monarch*, and was looſe or exempt from all power of Laws, as *Auguſtus* before him. For he had not together with him when living, ſo equal authority as afterwards *L. Verus* had with *M. Antoninus* the *Philoſopher*; which two firſt governed the Commonwealth upon equal terms; but ſuch like as *Antoninus Pius* had with *Adrian*, who alſo adopted him, and made him his Collegue in the *Proconſular* power as to Provinces, and in the *Tribunitial* power at home. And therefore *Suetonius* telleth us, that *Tiberius* firſt aſſembled the Senate by virtue of his *Tribunitial* Office onely.

In Tiberio cap. 23.

Tiberius at firſt diſſembleth his Vices.

Sueton in Tiberio Capp.26.27, 28,&c. Tacitus ut ſuprà.

4. *Tiberius* at firſt carried himſelf (as ever in ſome caſes) very cunningly, cloaking with marvelous diſſimulation thoſe enormities which afterwards appeared. For ſome time he counterfeited incredible patience, ſtooped too low in his complementing of Senators and Magiſtrates, rejected all high Titles and Honours (not enduring the name of *Dominus* or *Lord*) and conſulted the Senate continually, not doing little or much without its conſent; nay, ſuffering ſome things therein to be carried againſt his mind; he was alſo at firſt very temperate in his diet, and exact in reforming manners, by degrees falling into his natural humour. From the beginning he was much afflicted with the fame of *Germanicus*, his Brother *Druſus* his Son by Nature (begotten of *Antonia* the younger, Daughter of *Antony* the *Triumvir*, by *Octavia* the Siſter of *Auguſtus*, concerning which *Antonia*, *Pliny* reporteth that ſhe never ſpate) and his own by adoption; who now proſperouſly carried on the War in *Germany*. Within two or three years a very plauſible occaſion preſented it ſelf for the calling of him back from thoſe Legions which were ſo much at his devotion. For it hapned then that the *Parthians* were in great commotions about their Kings. *Phraates* had twenty ſeven years before for his own ſecurity ſent four of his Sons as Hoſtages to *Rome*, through the procurement of his Wife *Thermuſa* an *Italian* woman, which having been formerly his Concubine had then a Son by him, and that this her Son might obtain the Crown, got the reſt to be ſent out of the way, and then they two murdered the King. This Baſtard called *Phraataces* reigned; but being hated by the People for his Paricide, was not long after ſlain, and then was ſet up one *Orodes* of the Family of the *Arſacidæ*, who being alſo hated for his cruelty came to the ſame end. Then ſent the *Parthians* for one of the Hoſtages, and *Vonones* the eldeſt was diſmiſſed by *Tiberius*. But they counting it a diſgrace for any to reign over them, who (as they termed it) had been a ſlave to *Cæſar*, rebelliouſly caſt him off, and called in *Artabanus*, who then reigned in *Media*, and was alſo one of the *Arſacidæ* or

Envieth *Germanicus*.

Joſephus Antiquit. lib. 18. cap. 3.

Tacitus Annal. l. 2.

the Blood Royal of *Parthia*. He at his firſt entrance was repulſed by *Vonones*; but the ſecond time overthrew him, and got poſſeſſion of the Kingdom. *Vonones* retiring into *Armenia* ſent to *Tiberius* for aid, who, for that *Artabanus* threatned hard, and the principal of the *Armenians* were of his faction, did not think fit to make War upon him: therefore *Vonones* yielded himſelf to *Creticus Silanus*, who governed *Syria*, and *Artabanus* ſet *Orodes*, one of his own Sons over *Armenia*. At the ſame time *Antiochus* King of *Commagena* dying, a contention aroſe betwixt the Nobility and Commons; the former would have the Countrey reduced into the form of a *Roman* Province, but the people were for a King. Now alſo *Philopator* King of *Cilicia* being dead, his ſubjects were divided upon the very ſame grounds. *Syria* alſo, and *Judæa* being weary of their burthens, deſired a diminution of their Tributes.

Sueton in Tiberio cap. 49. Tacitus ut prius.

Idem cap. 43.

5. *Tiberius* now perſuaded the Senate that the abilities of *Germanicus* were requiſit for quieting the *Eaſt*, whereupon the Provinces beyond the Seas were decreed to him, with larger power than had been granted to any that governed them, either by lot or the gift of the Prince. *Germanicus* was often importuned by *Tiberius* upon this ground to return, yet intent upon his buſineſs he firſt ſubdued ſeveral Nations in *Germany*, and by the overthrow of *Arminius* obtained great glory, which was ſomthing obſcured at laſt by a Shipwrack. It was the deſign of *Tiberius* to expoſe him unto danger and treachery; therefore he removed *Silanus* his friend, and put *Cn. Piſo* a froward man into his room, to whom he gave in charge ſome ſecret thing as many believed. *Germanicus, being thus expelled to compoſe the affairs of the Eaſt*, as * one truly termeth it, placed *Zeno* the Son of *Polemo* King of *Pontus* over *Armenia*. *Q. Veranius* a Knight, had the overſight of *Cappadocia*, which was made a Province; for *Archelaus* the King thereof courted not *Tiberius* enough when he was at *Rhodes*, and therefore was called to *Rome*, and there kept till his Death. *Q. Servæus* alſo was ſet over *Commagena*. *Artabanus* ſent to *Germanicus* about renewing the league, and good correſpondence, deſiring that *Vonones* might not be kept in *Syria*, nor ſuffered by his Meſſengers to ſow diſcord amongſt the People, offering him alſo leave to come to the bank of *Euphrates*; to which he anſwered, as became the State and himſelf. This year died *Livy* the *Hiſtorian*, who was born at *Padua*; and alſo *Ovid* the Poet, having remained a baniſhed man in *Pontus* ſeveral years, whither the diſpleaſure of *Auguſtus* confined him, either for that he had ſeen him do ſome unſeemly thing which he would not have known, or for publiſhing his wanton books concerning *Love*, as he hints himſelf. This was the 771 year of the City, the nineteenth after the birth of *Chriſt*, *Tiberius Auguſtus* the third, and *Germanicus Cæſar* the ſecond time being *Conſuls*.

Under pretence of quieting the Eaſt expoſeth him to danger and treachery.

** Sueton in Caligula cap. 1. Tacitus ibid. cap. 56.*

Euſeb. in Chronico.

A. D. 19. V. C. 771.

Lib. 2. De Triſtibus.

6. *Germanicus* the year following made a Voyage into *Egypt*, to view it for the rarity of its Antiquities, for which he was chidden by *Tiberius*, as going without his leave. Thence returning into *Syria*, he was moſt ſhamefully, and without any meaſure affronted by *Piſo*, and at length died of a lingring Diſeaſe at *Antioch*, being thought to miſcarry by the fraud of *Tiberius*, and the Miniſtry of *Piſo*, who plainly ſaid, That *he muſt either diſpleaſe Father or Son*. But the fruit he reaped in pleaſing thus the Father, was but unpleaſing; for returning to *Rome* the year following, he eſcaped narrowly tearing in pieces by the People, and being condemned by the Senate, killed himſelf. For *Germanicus* there was an univerſal mourning, not only in *Rome* and the *Provinces*, but alſo amongſt *Barbarians* and Enemies themſelves. He was a Perſon excellently accompliſhed, and of a moſt ſweet diſpoſition, whereby he became the love and delight of the People, and *Auguſtus* long debating with himſelf whether he ſhould not leave him his Succeſſor, at length cauſed *Tiberius* to adopt him, who 'tis thought, being reſtrained by fear, and reverence of him, after his Death broke out into ſuch courſes as made the other more miſſed and glorious. By his Wife *Agrippina* (the Daughter of *Agrippa* and *Julia*) he died Father of three Sons, *viz. Nero, Druſus*, and *Caius*; and of as many Daughters. He died in the thirty fourth year of his Age, and that which followed his ſecond *Conſulſhip*, *M. Junius Solanus*, and *C. Norbanus Flaccus* being *Conſuls*.

Tacitus lib. 2. Capp. 59, 60. &c.

A. D. 20. V. C. 772.

Sueton in Caligula capp. 1, 2, 3, 4, &c. Joſephus Antiquit. l. 18. c. 8.

Who dieth of a lingring diſeaſe at *Antioch*.

His Iſſue.

7. Three or four years after was *Tiberius* puniſhed in his own kind by the poyſoning of his own Son *Druſus*, and that by his greateſt Favourite *Ælius Sejanus*. This man being the Son of *Seius Strabo* a *Roman* Knight, when very young, followed *Caius* the Nephew of *Auguſtus*, and afterwards by divers Arts wound himſelf into the Affections of *Tiberius*, who uſed him as his moſt inward Counſellor,

Tacitus Annal. lib. 4.

Tiberius puniſhed by the treachery of *Seianus*, who poyſoneth his Son *Druſus*.

Sueton in Tiberio cap. 52.

Tacitus ut ſuprà.

Sueton. in Tib. cap. 40.

or Miniſter of State, and erected to his honour his Statue of Braſs in the Theatre. Now he thought of no leſs than the Empire it ſelf, as a ſtep to which, he poyſoned *Druſus* the Son of *Tiberius*, having brought *Livia* the young man's Wife to a compliance with him by his filthy dalliance, and corrupted *Lygdus* the Eunuch to betray his Truſt. *Druſus* had the year before the *Tribunitial* Power conferred on him; but for that he was none of the moſt towardly, was little regarded by his Father, who as ſoon as his Funeral was over, returned to his wonted Employments, forbidding any longer vacation upon his accornt. The Inhabitants of *Ilium* ſending their Ambaſſadors ſomething too late to condole his death, he anſwered, that *He alſo was ſorry for the death of* Hector *their excellent Countreyman. Tiberius* after this commended the two Sons of *Germanicus*, *Nero* and *Druſus*, to the Senate; which done, *Sejanus* began to ſtrike at them, though at firſt through the ſides of their Mother, labouring to bring them all into ſuſpicion and hatred. The firſt advantage he took was from the Prayers of the Prieſts, who made Vows for their Health, as for that of *Tiberius*; for he took it hainouſly, that they herein ſhould be made equal to him. Then did he provoke them, and never ceaſed till he cauſed them to be declared Enemies by the Senate, after which he ſtarved them to death, uſing alſo their Mother moſt injuriouſly, for that ſhe was not ſparing of her Tongue in reprehending and upbraiding him. Now was *Tacfarinas*, who had maintained a tedious War in *Afric*, ſlain by *Dolabella*. As for *Tiberius*, by the perſuaſion of *Sejanus*, he withdrew into the Iſle *Capreæ*, and thence forward minding nothing, gave up himſelf to all ſorts of enormities.

Idem ibid. Capp. 41, 42. &c.

Tiberius returneth to his natural humour.

His Character given him by his School-maſter.

8. For, caſting off all care of the State, being out of ſight, he returned to his natural diſpoſition, not looking to the ſupply, either of Army or Provinces; ſuffering *Armenia* to be ſeized on by the *Parthians*, *Mæſia* by the *Dacians* and *Sarmatians*, and *Gall* to be waſted by the *Germans*. He inſtituted a new Office for the management of Pleaſures, unto which he preferred a Knight, *T. Cæſonius Priſcus*: He held ſuch in greateſt eſteem, and beſtowed Offices on men that were moſt for his turn that way, being given up to ſuch beaſtlineſs as is incredible, and not to be mentioned. He was exceſſively covetous, both as to getting, and keeping what was unjuſt. He was ſo undutiful to his Mother, as he refuſed to come at her, when living; and when dead, he neglected to bury her; neither would he perform her Will, but perſecuted her Friends; but ſhe was juſtly rewarded (though as to him unjuſtly) having over and above other wicked practices, being ſuſpected to have had an hand in the death of *Germanicus*. So cruel, and filthy he became, that he verified the Character given him, when but young, by *Theodorus Gadareus* his School-maſter, that he was πηλὸν αἵματι πεφυραμένον, or *Dirt mingled with blood*. Having choſen Twenty of the Principal Men of the City to be his Counſellors, he ſcarcely left two or three of them alive, *Sejanus* being found out, and puniſhed juſtly for his wickedneſs. Amongſt others that were innocent, he ſpared not the familiar Friends of his Mother, Nephews, *Agrippina* or *Sejanus*. No day either holy or prophane was free from ſlaughters. Every offence little or great was Capital. Many were condemned with their Wives and Children. Rewards were propoſed to Informers, and all Teſtimonies taken for true. Simple death he accounted nothing, and therefore invented painful waies; eſpecially after he knew how his Son *Druſus* died, he neither ſpared any perſon nor ſort of Torments. *Caius* the Son of *Germanicus* he cared not for, as ſuſpecting him; and *Tiberius* his Grandſon by *Druſus* he deſpiſed, as conceived in Adultery.

Pontius Pilate ſucceedeth *Gratus* in *Judæa*.

Joſeph. Antiq. l. 18. c. 3. & Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. l. 1. c. 9. Luc. 3.

John Baptiſt beginneth to Preach and Baptize.

A.D. 29. Ol. 201. an. 4. V. C. 781.

9. In the Twelfth year of *Tiberius* was *Pontius Pilate* ſent into *Judæa* to ſucceed *Valerius Gratus*, the fourth Governour after the baniſhment of *Archelaus* the Son of *Herod* to *Vienna*. *Coponius* was the firſt, *M. Ambivius* was the ſecond, *Annius Rufus* the third, and *Gratus* the fourth. *Pilate* at his firſl entrance ſet up the *Images* of *Cæſar* at *Jeruſalem*, which moved the *Jews* to Sedition; but overcome by their intreaties, he removed them to *Cæſarea*. He being now Governor of *Judæa*, *Herod Antipas* Tetrarch of *Galile*, his Brother *Philip* Tetrarch of *Ituræa* and *Trachonitis*, and *Lyſanias* of *Abilene*, *Annas* (who, formerly having had the Office, though diſplaced by *Gratus*, yet for his authority ſtill carried the name) and *Caiphas* (otherwiſe called *Joſeph*, whom lately *Gratus* had placed in the room of *Simon*, by him depoſed alſo) being *High-Prieſts*, in the Fifteenth year of *Tiberius* entering, *John Baptiſt* began to Preach and Baptize in the reſemblance and ſpirit of *Elias*. Amongſt others he Baptized *Chriſt* himſelf, of whom he was the fore-runner. His Miniſtry is thought to have commenced on the Tenth day of the Seventh Moneth, which was *Penitential*, and ſo great a *Faſt*, that the

ſoul which did not afflict it ſelf, was to be cut off from amongſt it's People; and was alſo *Expiatorie,* wherein the *High-Prieſt* (the Type of him before whoſe face *John* was ſent) entred into the *Holy* of *Holies* alone, with blood expiating the ſins of the People, this being alſo the ſame day wherein by Trumpet the *Jubile* was proclaimed.

A. D. 30. *Ol.* 202. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 782.

The Lord *Jeſus* executeth his Miniſtry.

10. *Jeſus* now about Thirty years of age, being baptized of *John* in *Jordan* (and owned for the *Meſſiah* and Son of God, by the deſcending of the Holy Ghoſt in the form of a Dove, and reſting upon him, as alſo by a Voice from Heaven) was led of the Spirit into the Wilderneſs to be tempted of the Devil. After his temptation he returned in the Power of the Spirit into *Galile.* Going into *Galile* he received *Andrew* and *Simon* his Brother, the day following called *Philip* of *Bethſaida* the City of *Andrew,* and *Simon* ſirnamed *Cephas* or *Peter* by the Lord. On the third day being invited to a Marriage in *Cana* of *Galile,* he turned Water into Wine, this being his firſt Miracle, and by it his glory was manifeſted, and his Diſciples believed in him. Afterward he went down to *Capernaum* with his Mother, his Brethren, (or Kinſmen) and Diſciples, where they abode not many days. Then came he to the exerciſe of his Miniſtry, the Acts whereof are diſtinguiſhed by four Paſſeovers. Amongſt the four Evangeliſts which deſcribe them, *Matthew* alone hath neglected the order of time, which is conſtantly obſerved by the reſt, except in the Hiſtory of *John*'s caſting into Priſon, as *Luke* hath recorded it.

The firſt Paſſeover thereof.

Ex Uſſerio Armachano, uti ille ex Richardſono Epiſcopo Ardachadenſi in provincia Armachana.

11. *Jeſus* having aſcended to *Jeruſalem* at the time of the *firſt Paſſeover,* caſt buyers and ſellers out of the Temple, wrought Miracles, and inſtructed *Nicodemus* in the myſtery of Regeneration, and Faith in himſelf. Leaving then *Jeruſalem,* he went into *Judæa* with his Diſciples, where abiding, he baptized by the Miniſtry of them; *John* then baptizing in *Ænon*; for he was not yet caſt in to Priſon. A certain queſtion aroſe about Purifying, betwixt ſome of *John's* Diſciples and the *Jews.* *John* inſtructed now his Diſciples concerning *Chriſt* the laſt time, as they told him of his acts with ſome emulation, and not long after he was caſt into Priſon, for reprehending *Herod* the *Tetrarch* his Inceſt with his Brother *Philip's* Wife. *Jeſus* hearing of his Captivity, and that the *Phariſees* took notice that he baptized more by the hands of his Diſciples, departed out of *Judæa* (where he had remained ſome Eight moneths) and came into *Galile.* In his paſſage through *Samaria* he diſcourſed with a Woman at a Well near unto the City *Sychar,* the Inhabitants of which by her means he brought to the acknowledgment of himſelf, four moneths before Harveſt, or the *Paſſeover,* about the middle of the Ninth Moneth called *Ab.* Having ſtayed two dayes at *Sychar,* he proceeded, and returned the ſecond time into *Galile* out of *Judæa* after his Baptiſm, being received with great reſpect by the *Galilæans,* who had ſeen what he did at *Jeruſalem.* Preaching in their Synagogues here, he alſo healed at *Cana,* the Son of the Nobleman that was ſick at *Capernaum,* which was his ſecond Miracle in *Galile.* Having wrought Miracles at *Capernaum,* he went to *Nazareth,* where he had been brought up, and expounding the Prophet *Eſay* concerning himſelf, they firſt admired, and then caſt him out, and would have thrown him down headlong, but he paſſed away through the midſt of them.

12. Leaving then *Nazareth,* he taught at *Capernaum,* where they were aſtoniſhed at his Doctrine, and caſt out an unclean ſpirit that was firſt commanded ſilence. Departing out of the Synagogue into the houſe of *Simon* and *Andrew,* he cured of a Feaver *Simon's* Wive's Mother. At Sun-ſet he healed ſick Folks brought to him, and caſt out Divels, firſt put to ſilence. In the Morning he went out into a deſert place to Pray, and the multitudes endeavouring to detain him, he anſwered, He muſt alſo Preach in other places; and coaſting through *Galile,* he Preached in their Synagogues, and caſt out Devils. Then taught he the People out of *Simon's* Ship on the Lake of *Geneſareth,* and helped them to a miraculous draught of Fiſhes; whereupon *Simon Peter, Andrew, James,* and *John,* being commanded to follow him, he maketh Fiſhers of men. Then going through all *Galile* healing and teaching, his Fame ſpread through *Syria,* and multitudes flocked to him. In a certain City he healed a Leper, which though forbidden, yet noiſed his Fame, and ſuch Companies now followed him that he could not enter the City, but taught without in deſert places, and prayed. After a few dayes he returned to *Capernaum,* and teaching in his own houſe he healed the *Paralitick,* who was let down in a Bed, and forgave him his ſins before the *Phariſees.* Thence going towards the Sea he taught, and paſſing by called *Levi* or *Matthew,* then ſitting at the receit of Cuſtom, by whom being feaſted, he defended his Diſciples againſt

the *Phariſees*, for eating with *Publicans* and Sinners, and for not faſting. And it came to paſs, that on the ſecond Sabbath after the firſt (that is, on the ſecond Sabbath of the new year, inſtituted after their return out of *Ægypt*, and beginning with the Moneth *Niſan* or *Abib*) *Jeſus* paſſing through the Corn-Fields, defended his Diſciples, who plucked and eat ears of Corn, againſt the *Phariſees*, and explained the Doctrine of the obſervation of the Sabbath.

The ſecond Paſſeover.

13. After theſe things there was a Feaſt of the *Jews*, (that is, the *ſecond Paſſeover* of his Miniſtry) and *Jeſus* went up to *Jeruſalem*, where on the Sabbath-day he healed one who had layn 38 years diſeaſed at the Pool of *Betheſda*, for which thing, and becauſe he had called God his Father, the *Jews* went about to kill him, and he oppoſed againſt them his moſt Divine Apology. Departing thence, in the Synagogue, on another Sabbath, he healed a man that had a withered hand, for which the *Phariſees* and *Herodians* preſently ſought to kill him. *Jeſus* knowing this, departed to the Sea, where teaching the People, he commanded a little Veſſel to wait on him, becauſe the multitude crouded him. In theſe days he ſpent a whole Night in Prayer upon a Mountain, and when it was day, made choice of Twelve, whom he called *Apoſtles*. Going down into the Plain he healed the Sick, and coming home, ſuch was the preſſe, that they could not eat, whereupon his Friends came to take him, ſuppoſing he had been beſides himſelf. When he had ſeen the multitude he aſcended into the Mountain, and his Diſciples coming to him, there he Preached his long Sermon, firſt ſpeaking to the *Apoſtles*, and then to the multitude. Having ended all his words in the audience of the People, he entred into *Capernaum*, and healed the *Centurion*'s Servant ready to die. The day following he raiſed from the dead the Widow's Son in the City *Naim*, whence his Fame was ſpread abroad. Then ſent *John* his Diſciples from Priſon to him, to ask *Whether he was the man, or they muſt look for another*; who being departed with an anſwer, Chriſt took occaſion to ſpeak of *John*, and upbraided the Cities, acquieſcing in the Will of his Father as to the revealing or hiding the things of Salvation. Then *Simon* the *Phariſee* inviting him to Dinner, a Woman that was a ſinner waſhed his feet with her tears, which defending againſt *Simon*, he forgave her her ſins. And it came to paſs afterward, that he Preached through every City and Village, his Diſciples being with him, and certain Women miniſtring to him, amongſt which was *Joanna* the Wife of *Chuſa*, *Herod*'s Steward. Then healed he a man poſſeſſed with a dumb and deaf Divel, and defended himſelf againſt the *Phariſees*, who ſaid, that he caſt out Devils by *Beelzebub* Prince of Divels. To the *Scribes* and *Phariſees* demanding a ſign, he onely giveth that of *Jonas*, and his Mother and Brethren aſking to ſpeak with him, he declareth who are his neareſt Relations. On that day going to the Sea, he taught the People from the Ship in the Parable of the Sower and others. On this ſame day when it was Evening, he would they ſhould paſs to the further ſide, and having diſmiſſed the multitude, when in their paſſage a great Tempeſt aroſe, he chiding the Winds ſtilled the Sea, and ſaved his Diſciples then in danger. Coming unto the further ſide into the Countrey of the *Gaderens*, or *Gergaſens*, which lyeth over againſt *Galile*, two *Dæmoniacs* met him, exceeding fierce, (whereof *Mark* and *Luke* mention but one) out of which he caſting the Divels, permitted them to enter into the Swine. The *Gaderens* hereupon deſiring him to depart out of their Coaſts, he (having diſmiſſed the man who deſired to be with him, and upon refuſal, Preached throughout *Decapolis* what things *Jeſus* had done for him) returned by Ship unto the further ſide, and ſo to *Capernaum* his own City.

Joh. 5.

14. And it came to paſs, that when *Jeſus* was returned, the People gladly received him; for they were all waiting for him. And being by the Sea-ſide, he anſwered the Diſciples of *John*, inquiring why his Diſciples faſted not, ſeeing they, and the Diſciples of the *Phariſees* faſted often. Whilſt he ſpake, he was beſought to heal the onely Daughter of *Jairus*; and as he was going down, a Woman that had had an iſſue of blood Twelve years, was by touching the hem of his Garment made whole. Paſſing thence, he cured two blind men, whom he charged with threatning to ſay nothing of him; but in vain. As they paſſed away, a man poſſeſſed with a dumb Devil was preſented unto him, whom he healed, the company admiring, and the *Phariſees* blaſpheming. Then going about to all the Towns, he Taught and healed, and coming into his own Country was contemned again by his Country-men, as he taught in the Synagogue on the Sabbath-day, they calling him *Carpenter*, though they admired him. Going about the Villages he taught, and pitying the multitude becauſe the Harveſt was great and the Labou-

rers few, he bade his Diſciples Pray for Labourers into the Harveſt. Then ſent he out his Twelve Diſciples two and two, commiſſionated with Power to preach and heal. Having made an end of commanding them, he went and Preached in their Cities: and the Twelve went about the Villages, teaching and healing every where. Now about this time was *John Baptiſt* beheaded, through the procurement of *Herodias*, which being told unto *Jeſus* by his Diſciples, who buried him, after the return of his own, he went with them by Ship into a deſert place called *Bethſaida*. The multitude hearing of it, got thither before him, where he taught and healed them. And *Jeſus* went up into a Mountain, and there ſate with his Diſciples, and the *Paſſeover* was nigh. It being late, he having Compaſſion on the multitude, fed the number of Five thouſand men (beſides Women and Children) with five Barly Loaves, and two ſmall Fiſhes, whereof twelve Baskets full of fragments were taken up. When they would come and take him by force to make him a King, he cauſed his Diſciples to paſs over to the other ſide oppoſite to *Bethſaida*, and towards *Capernaum*. Having Prayed in a Mountain apart, he came towards his Diſciples, walking upon the Sea, when they had now rowed Twenty five or Thirty Furlongs, and were troubled with a contrary Wind. They being affrighted at him, he made known himſelf, and ſaving *Peter* (who had deſired he would bid him come to him on the Water) when he was ſinking, he paſſed over with them. Coming into the Land of *Geneſaret*, they brought all ſorts of diſeaſed perſons to him, deſiring they might touch but the hem of his Garment, which as many as touched were made whole. The day after his paſſage came the People which he had left on the further ſide to *Capernaum* to ſeek him, where in the Synagogue he Preached concerning the *Bread of Life*, aſſerting himſelf to be it againſt the murmuring of the *Jews*. Many now of his Diſciples departed from, and walked no more with him. And though the Twelve refuſed to depart, yet he declared that one of them was a Devil, meaning *Judas Iſcariot*, who ſhould betray him, being one of the Twelve.

The third Paſſeover.

15. After the *Third Paſſeover* of his Miniſtery, the *Scribes* and *Phariſees* that were come from *Jeruſalem* came to him, and complained that his Diſciples eat with unwaſhed hands; To whom he anſwered concerning their aboliſhing God's Commands by their Traditions, and taught the multitude what he declared to his Diſciples, that *Not what entreth in, but what cometh out, defileth a man.* Departing into the Coaſts of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, he caſt the Devil out of the Daughter of the *Syrophœnician* Woman, becauſe of the greatneſs of her Faith. Paſſing thence to the Sea of *Galile* through the midſt of *Decapolis*, he healed a deaf man, who had an impediment in his ſpeech, and aſcending into a Mountain healed many. In thoſe dayes a great multitude having ſtayed with him three dayes, he fed them to the number of Four thouſand Men, beſides Women and Children, with ſeven Loaves, and a few little Fiſhes; and ſeven baskets full of fragments were taken up. Taking Ship preſently, he came into the Parts of *Dalmanutha*, or the Coaſts of *Magdala*. The *Phariſees* asking a ſign, he ſighed deeply in his Spirit, for that theſe Hypocrites could diſcern the face of the Sky, and not the ſigns of the times; and refuſing to give them any other ſign than that of *Jonas*, he left them, and returned by ſhip to the further ſide. His Diſciples having forgot to take Bread, and brought but one Loaf with them, he bids them beware of the Leaven of the *Phariſees* and of *Herod*; and expoundeth his meaning to be of the Leaven of Doctrine. Coming then to *Bethſaida*, he cureth a blind man by degrees without the Town. Paſſing thence into the Towns of *Cæſarea-Philippi*, he asked his Diſciples concerning the opinion which men had of him, and then what they themſelves thought; To which for themſelves *Peter* anſwered, That *he was the Chriſt*; which thing he forbad them to declare, foretold his Death and Reſurrection, called *Peter* Satan, for checking him about his Sufferings, and foretold his Transfiguration, which after ſome ſix dayes was fulfilled. The day following coming down, he caſt out a Devil out of the *Lunatick*, which his Diſciples could not eject. Paſſing thence, they journeyed through *Galile*, which he would not have known, and taught his Diſciples that he muſt die, and riſe again; which they underſtanding not were troubled, and afraid to ask him. Being arrived at *Capernaum*, the Lord paid Tribute-money, and taught his Diſciples Humility by the example of a little Child; ſpeaking alſo againſt offending one's weak Brother, and forgiving one another ſeventy ſeven times by the Parable of the King's two debtors. *John* telling him that they had ſeen one caſting out Devils in his Name, he ſaid he was not to be forbidden; and again ſpake againſt offending weak ones, and bade

them beware that no Member offended them. After theſe things *Jeſus* walked in *Galile*, for he would not walk in *Jury*, becauſe the *Jews* ſought to kill him. Now the *Jews* Feaſt of *Tabernacles* (the *Scenopagia*) was at hand. His Brethren, or Kinſmen, willed him to go up that his Diſciples might believe in him; but he refuſed to comply with them therein who themſelves believed not, and went up after them, not openly, but as it were in ſecret.

16. When the time was come that he ſhould be received up, he ſtedfaſtly ſet his face to go to *Jeruſalem*. The *Samaritans* not receiving him, he checked his Diſciples, who would have had fire called down from Heaven upon them. Several in his paſſage deſiring to follow him, he gave anſwer to them all. After theſe things he ſent out Seventy Diſciples before his face, two into every City and Place where he would come. And in the midſt of the Feaſt when the multitude was buſie in inquiring about him, he came, and taught in the Temple. Some were ſent to lay hold of him. On the laſt, and great day of the *Feaſt*, when he ſpake of Faith in himſelf, a great difference aroſe, and the Meſſengers that were ſent to apprehend him, with *Nicodemus*, defended him againſt the *Phariſees*. Departing into the *Mount of Olives*, he returned early in the morning, and refuſed as a Judge to condemn the Woman taken in Adultery. In the Treaſury he ſpake much concerning many Truths, concluding with *before Abraham was, I am*; whereupon the *Jews* took up ſtones to caſt at him; but he hid himſelf, and paſſed away through the midſt of them. Paſſing by, he ſaw, and cured a man that was born blind, who for vindicating him was caſt out of the Synagogue. He then Preached concerning the true Shepherd, Sheep, and Door, as alſo of Thieves and Mercenaries, which cauſed a diſſention amongſt his hearers. The Seventy then return with joy, and a certain Lawyer asking him what he ſhould *do to inherit eternal life*, he ſendeth him to the Law, and to declare who is our Neighbour, ſpeaketh the Parable of the man that fell among Thieves. After this he was entertained in the houſe of *Martha*, which miniſtred to him, while her Siſter *Mary* hearing his Word was preferred before her. And it came to paſs that after he had done praying in a certain place, one of his Diſciples deſired him to teach them to Pray, as *John* alſo taught his Diſciples; therefore he preſcribed the ſecond time the ſame *Lord's Prayer*, adding arguments for conſtancy and firmneſs of Faith. He caſt out a Devil which was dumb, and proved againſt the blaſphemers that he did it not by *Beelzebub*. While he ſaid theſe things, a certain Woman ſaid, *Bleſſed is the Womb that bare thee, and the Paps that gave thee ſuck*, to which he anſwered. The multitude gathering about him, he ſaid, that Generation ſought for a ſign, but no ſign, but that of *Jonas* the Prophet ſhould be given it, ſaying, that the *Queen* of the *South*, and the *Ninevites*, ſhould condemn it in judgment. Dining with a *Phariſee* who had invited him, and wondred that he waſhed not, he ſpoke againſt their Hypocriſie, and denounced alſo Woes againſt the Expoſitors of the Law. He bade his Diſciples beware of the Leaven of the *Phariſees* (Hypocriſie) and not fear thoſe that could kill the body. He refuſed to be a Judge betwixt a man and his Brother about the Inheritance, and thence took occaſion to ſpeak againſt anxious Cares of the World, bidding them be ready againſt the uncertain time of their Lord's coming.

17. There being ſome that told *Jeſus* of the *Galileans*, the bloud of whom *Pilate* mingled with their Sacrifice, he took thence occaſion to preſs repentance, and ſpake the Parable of the barren Fig-Tree. On a certain *Sabbath* he healed a Woman that had a ſpirit of infirmity Eighteen years, which act he defended againſt the Ruler of the Synagogue, and compared the Kingdom of God to a Grain of Muſtard-ſeed, and to Leaven. Journeying towards *Jeruſalem* to the *Feaſt* of the *Dedication*, he Taught through the Cities and Villages, and anſwered that Queſtion, Whether *few ſhall be ſaved?* To certain *Phariſees*, who bade him be gone for fear of *Herod*, he gave a couragious anſwer. Being invited to eat in the houſe of one of the chiefeſt *Phariſees*, he healed one of the Dropſie, defended it, and ſpake the Parable of thoſe that were invited to a Feaſt, inſtructing the *Phariſee* who had invited him. One of the Gueſts ſaying, that *Bleſſed is he that ſhall eat bread in the Kingdom of God*, he took occaſion to ſpeak the Parable of the *great Supper*, and the *excuſes of ſuch as were invited*. To the multitude following him he Preached concerning the denial of life it ſelf for his ſake, propounding the Parable of *one who was to build a Tower*, and the *King going to Battel*. Upon the *Publicans* and *Sinners* their coming to hear him, the *Phariſees* murmured, and he ſpake to them the Parables of the *loſt ſheep*, the *groat*, and *the Prodigal Son*. To his Diſciples he alſo ſpake that of the *Unjuſt Steward*, which applying, the *Phariſees*

who were covetous derided him, whereupon Preaching againſt them, amongſt other things he ſpake the Parable of the *Rich man* and *Lazarus*. Speaking to his Diſciples againſt offences, he alſo teacheth that we muſt forgive our offending brother. The Apoſtles deſiring him to increaſe their Faith, he ſpeaketh of the power of that Grace, and by the Parable of *the ſervant* ſheweth, that *when we have done all we can we are unprofitable ſervants,* having done but what we ought. Paſſing through *Samaria* and *Galilee*, towards *Jeruſalem*, he healed the *ten Lepers*, whereof one only returned and praiſed God. To the *Phariſees* asking him when the Kingdom of God ſhould come, he anſwereth, and declareth to his Diſciples, that the day of the Son of Man ſhould be like to thoſe of *Noah* and *Lot*, but he muſt firſt ſuffer many things. To incourage his Diſciples to Pray, he ſpake the Parable of the *unjuſt Judge*: and to ſome that thought themſelves righteous and deſpiſed others, that of the *Phariſee* and the *Publican*.

18. At the *Feaſt of Dedication*, when it was Winter, *Jeſus* walking in *Salomon's* Porch, to the *Jews*, who bad him tell them plainly whether he was Chriſt or not, he anſwered, that *He and his father are one*, whereupon they taking up ſtones to throw at him, he defended his Divinity by his works, and the Scriptures, and eſcaped when they ſought to take him. Paſſing beyond *Jordan* into that place where *John* baptized, he taught and healed, many believing on him, and anſwered the *Phariſees* tempting him, that *it is unlawful for a man to put away his wife, except for Adultery.* Now admitted he Infants, though his Diſciples rebuked ſuch as brought them, and as he was paſſing thence to come into the way, he anſwered the young Rich man that asked him what he ſhould do to inherit eternal life, and bad him ſell all he had, and give it to the poor, then to follow him. Hearing that *Lazarus* was ſick, he abode in the place where he was two days, and then coming to *Bethany*, after he had been dead four days, raiſed him from the dead. Hereupon *Caiphas* Propheſying that *he was to die for the people*, they reſolved to put him to death; which he underſtanding, went into the City *Ephraim*, and there taught. Aſcending towards *Jeruſalem*, he went before his Diſciples, who were amazed and afraid. He now told them of his Sufferings, which they did not at all underſtand; and the Sons of *Zebedee* asking to ſit on his right and left hand in his Kingdom, he gave them a repulſe, and improved it to the Teaching them all humility. Coming near to *Jericho* he healed a blind man. In *Jericho* he called, and was entertained by *Zachæus*, and paſſing thence reſtored ſight to two blind men, whereof one was *Bartimæus*; when they drew near to *Jeruſalem*, they thinking that the Kingdom of God was near, he ſpake the Parable of the *King, who going a journey committed ten Talents to his ſervants to be improved till his Return.* The Paſſeover being now at hand, many went up to *Jeruſalem*, to purifie themſelves, and *Jeſus*, ſix days before it, came to *Bethany*, where they made him a Supper. *Lazarus* ſate at Table with him, but *Mary* anointed his feet, and wiped them with her hair. Many of the *Jews* came, not only to ſee Him, but *Lazarus* alſo, upon which account, for that many believed on him, the *Chief Prieſts* conſulted alſo to kill *Lazarus*. Going towards *Jeruſalem*, when he was come nigh to *Bethphage* and *Bethany*, at the *Mount of Olives* (on the twenty ninth of *March*) he ſent his Diſciples for the Aſſe's Colt whereon he rode to *Jeruſalem*. When he came near the City he wept over it, foretelling its final deſtruction. Out of the Temple he caſt Buyers and Sellers, where the Children cried *Hoſanna*, and many believed on him, the great ones ſtudying how to kill him. Certain *Greeks* who were come to the *Feaſt* deſiring to ſee him, he Preached concerning his Paſſion, and had a voice from Heaven anſwering his Prayer, which ſome thought to be of an Angel, and others of Thunder. It being late, he went to *Bethany* with the Twelve. Notwithſtanding, the multitude had ſeen ſo many works, yet they believed not, that the Saying of *Eſaias* might be fulfilled. Yet many of the *Chief Prieſts* believed on him, but durſt not confeſs him, for the *Phariſees*. *Jeſus* cried, and ſpake concerning Faith in himſelf.

19. The next morning as he returned he hungred, and curſed the barren Fig-tree. He caſt Buyers and Sellers again out of the Temple, and ſuffered nothing to be carried through it. Whilſt he taught concerning Faith in himſelf, the *Chief-Prieſts* conſulted how to kill him, fearing the People. At evening he went out of the City, and returning in the morning, his Diſciples found the Fig-tree withered; whereupon he took occaſion to Preach concerning the power of Faith. As he taught in the Temple, the *Chief-Prieſts*, and *Phariſees*, and *Elders*, asked him by what Authority he did theſe things? to whom he anſwered with another queſtion concerning

John's Authority, ſpake the Parable of *the two ſons*, asking them, whether did the Will of his Father? and that of the *husbandmen, who killed the heir of the vinyard*, applying them to theſe men, who now ſtudied how to apprehend him, but feared the People. Again, he ſpake to them the Parable of the *marriage of the King's ſon, and the Excuſes of the invited, with the Want of the Wedding-garment.* Then the *Phariſees* ſent ſome to entrap him in his Talk, who asking him *whether it was lawful to give tribute to Cæſar?* admired his Anſwer, and left him. On that day the *Sadduces* asked him concerning the woman married to ſeven Husbands, whoſe ſhe ſhould be at the Reſurrection? to which having anſwered, and aſſerted the Reſurrection, a Lawyer tempted him, asking him, *which is the greateſt Commandment?* Having anſwered him, he asked the *Phariſees* whoſe Son Chriſt is? and no man could anſwer him any thing, nor durſt thenceforth ask him any more queſtions. Then ſpeaking of the *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, he pronounced eight Woes againſt them, and upbraiding *Jeruſalem* with her cruelty and obſtinacy, foretelleth her deſtruction. Sitting over againſt the Treaſury, he ſaw a poor Widow caſt in two mites; and going out to his Diſciples, who admired the Structure, he foretold its ruine. His Diſciples asked him on the *Mount of Olives*, when theſe things ſhould be, concerning the Sign of his coming, and the end of the World; he anſwered largely, adviſing them to watch, for they knew not what hour their Lord would come, illuſtrating his Doctrine by the Parable of the *Ten Virgins*, and the *talents committed to the ſervants, to traffick.* And he deſcribed the laſt Judgment by a *Severing of goats from the ſheep.* By day he taught, at night he went to the *Mount of Olives*, and all the People came in the morning to hear him in the Temple. When he had ended theſe Sayings, he ſaid to his Diſciples, *You know that after two days is the* Feaſt of the Paſſeover, *and the ſon of man is betrayed to be crucified.* The great ones aſſembling in the houſe of *Caiphas* the *High-Prieſt*, conſulted how to kill him; but they ſaid, *not on the Feaſt-day, leſt there be an uprore amongſt the People. Jeſus* being in *Bethany* in the houſe of *Simon the Leper*, a woman poured Oyntment upon his head, which he defended againſt his Diſciples, foretelling his Burial. Then entred *Satan* into *Judas*, who offered himſelf, and covenanted for Money to betray him.

The Fourth Paſſeover, wherein Chriſt the true Paſſeover himſelf was offered.

20. In the *Fourth Paſſeover Jeſus* himſelf, *Our Paſſeover*, was offered, and an end thereby was put to all Sacrifices, which were but types of this. Some think that he did not this time eat the *Paſchal Lamb*, but only unleavened Bread and bitter Herbs, ſuch as were uſed by thoſe that could not come up to the Sacrifice, being in another Country. For a (*a*) learned Man diſtinguiſheth betwixt πάσχα θύσιμον and μνημονευτικὸν, which later was performed by thoſe that were afar off, in memorial of the thing, it being unlawful to kill the Lamb any where out of *Judæa.* Now *Chriſt* would not ſacrifice, becauſe he himſelf was now to be offered. That he did not do it, appeareth, becauſe as ſoon as he came into the houſe he ſate down; and this many of the ancient *Greek Fathers* did believe. Theſe words of *Chriſt, with deſire I have deſired to eat this Paſſeover with you before I ſuffer*, the ſame learned Man expoundeth as meant, that *he haſted to that Supper becauſe the time of his death was at hand, which would take from him the liberty of celebrating the* πάσχα θύσιμον. It being granted that he kept the *Paſſeover* a day before the *Jews* obſerved it, (*b*) another contendeth that Chriſt kept it on the true day, and that the *Jews* receding from the Law, put it off till the following day, or the fifteenth of the Month *Niſan*, being the Sabbath, leſt they ſhould be debarred of working for two days together. But the other opinion is more probable, which holdeth that he anticipated it, being as the *true Paſſeover*, to be offered up on the true day of killing the *Paſſeover*, which fell out on the day preceding the Sabbath, and not on the Sabbath day. It clearly appeareth in Scripture, what things our Lord did and ſuffered for unworthy Sinners, after he had eaten this Supper, though the order of the former paſſages concerning his Preaching be obſcure, and therefore we have more largely deſcribed them. Being betrayed by *Judas* into the hands of the *Chief-Prieſts*, and by them delivered up to *Pilate* the *Governour*, he, convinced of his innocence and their malice, ſought how to deliver him, till they told him, that *if he did it he was not* Cæſar'*s friend*; whereupon fearing to be accuſed to *Tiberius*, of Protecting one who affected the Kingdom, he condemned him, and delivered him to the Soldiers to be Crucified. This was about the ſixth hour, or a little after Noon, at what time a great darkneſs aroſe, for the Sun was obſcured, and ſo continued till the ninth hour, or three of the clock. Then Chriſt to ſhew the bitterneſs of his torment cried (yet) with

A. D. 33. *Ol.* 202. *an.* 4. *V. C.* 787.

(*a*) *Grotius Annot. in Matth. c.* 26.

(*b*) *Voſſius de ſacræ cœnæ dominicæ Symbolis Diſp.* 1.

with a loud voice, *Eli Eli Lamaſabachtani*, and receiving the Vinegar, after he had commended his Soul into the hands of his Father, gave up the Ghoſt. Thus he who was in the form of God, and counted it no Robbery to be equal with God, made himſelf of no reputation, and ſuffered Death, even the (moſt ignominious) death of the Croſs for ingrateful men.

The miraculous Eclipſe at our Saviour's death.

21. Some think that the darkneſs which hapned at our Saviour's Paſſion, was only in the Land of *Judæa*. But others, finding that the Evangeliſts mention * the whole Earth, conclude that this Eclipſe was *Oecumenical* or *Univerſal*, *Luke* expreſly ſaying, That *the Sun it ſelf* (the eye of the whole World) *was darkned.* Some conceived that the Sun was darkened by the interpoſition of the Body of the Moon, whereof (a) *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite* (as he calleth himſelf) was an eye-witneſs, at what time he and *Apollophanes* the Philoſopher being at *Heliopolis*, obſerved the Moon ſuddenly to caſt her ſelf before the Sun (though it was not the time of Conjunction) and again from the ninth hour to the evening, oppoſing her ſelf to the middle line of the Sun. If ſo, it was an extraordinary miracle, the Moon being now at the full (as (b) St. *Auguſtine* obſerveth it to have been ever at the *Paſſeover*) and conſequently at the greateſt diſtance from the Sun, out of which reſpect others ſeem to have held, that the Sun was darkned, not by the interpoſition of that luminary, but the retention of his beams. That the darkneſs was Univerſal, appeareth from the Records of Heathen Writers, which, as (c) *Oroſius* ſaith, beſides the *Evangeliſts*, mentioned the greatneſs of the Eclipſe. And (d) *Tertullian* writing to *Pagans* ſaith, *You cannot make this wonder ſuſpected, ſeeing your own Calendars have remarked it, and your ſelves retain the teſtimonies thereof in your own regiſters.*

Recorded by the Heathen.

Amongſt *Greek Authors*, *Phlegon* (e) *Trallianus* the Freed-man of *Adrian* the *Emperour*, in his Work of *Olympiads* or Chronicle, which conſiſted of ſixteen Books, clearly ſpoke of this Eclipſe, writing in his thirteenth Book, that *in the fourth year of the 202 Olympiad, the greateſt Eclipſe hapned that ever was known; for, at the ſixth hour of the day it was night, ſo that the Stars were ſeen in the Heavens.*

22. That *Chriſt* was put to Death in the reign of *Tiberius* by *Pontius Pilate* (a) *Cornelius Tacitus* writeth, an Author guilty of Ethnick ignorance, and prejudice.

The teſtimony of *Joſephus* concerning Chriſt.

But (b) *Joſephus* the noble *Jewiſh* Hiſtorian giveth him an honourable teſtimony, writing, That *At the ſame time there was one* Jeſus *a wiſe man, if it be lawful to call him a man; For he was a worker of wonderful works, and a teacher of thoſe which willingly receive the truth. He had alſo many followers, not only* Jews *but* Gentiles*: and he was believed to be Chriſt. And whereas by the malice of our Princes,* Pilate *condemned him to be crucified, yet notwithſtanding they who firſt loved him have perſevered. For he appeared to them alive the third day; the Prophets having foretold in their writings, theſe, and many other wonderful things concerning him: and to this day the People from him called Chriſtians hath not ceaſed.* This he relateth, after he had ſpoken of that Sedition which hapned becauſe of *Pilate* his bringing in of *Cæſar*'s Images. Some from amongſt our ſelves have not given credit to this relation, thinking it to be foiſted in by ſome Chriſtians, for the greater honour of our Religion. But as the *piæ fraudes* ſuppoſed to have been uſed by the *Primitive Chriſtians*, are rather increaſed than otherwiſe, by ſome, who either pedantically, and out of oſtentation ſeek for applauſe from the prejudice of their own cauſe (as one hath done of late in reference to the matter in hand) or as out of a melancholick and diſtruſtful humour queſtion the evidence of the truth; ſo is there no reaſon that this teſtimony ſhould be condemned amongſt them. For *Joſephus* maketh mention of *John Baptiſt*, giving him large commendations, and relateth alſo that he was beheaded; though he aſſigneth the cauſe to have been out of jealouſie of him, and leſt he ſhould make ſome commotions through his popularity, which likely enough might be ſome cauſe, eſpecially the malice of *Herodias* conſidered, which woman would not be wanting to fill his head with ſuſpition, although the main reaſon was his reproving of the inceſt. He alſo maketh mention of *James* the Brother of *Alphæus*, whom he calleth *the brother of Jeſus Chriſt*, how he was put to death at *Jeruſalem*, ſaying, that all good men were ſorely troubled at it; and clearly expreſſeth himſelf diſſatisfied in it, writing, that *Ananus*, who commanded the Murder to be done, did ill, and this he ſaith not only becauſe the Judicial power was taken away from the *Jews*, as is evident from the courſe of his words.

23. It is hence clear enough, that *Joſephus* was not in the number of theſe whom *Herod Agrippa* could have pleaſed in the killing of the other *James, the*

* Ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, *Mat.* ἐφ᾽ ὅλην τὴν γῆν. *Marc. & Luc.*

(a) *Epiſt.* 7.

(b) *De Civitat. Dei l.* 3. *c.* 15.

(c) *Lib.* 7. *c.* 4.

(d) *Apologet. c.* 21.

(e) *Apud Euſeb. in Chronico, & Orig. contra Celſum. l.* 2. *& in Matth.*

(a) *Annal. l.* 15. *c.* 44.

(b) *Antiq. l.* 18. *c.* 4.

Defended to be true and not feigned by Chriſtians.

brother of John; and truly amongſt the *Jews*, ſuch as were not extremely malicious againſt Chriſt, were ſomething inclining to him, if we conſider the temper of that People. It cannot therefore be ſaid, that *Joſephus* was ſo inveterately deſpightful againſt *Chriſt* and *Chriſtians*, that, as ſome have thought, he utterly paſſed over the ſtory of *Chriſt* upon that account. This Principle would have induced him to rail rather than to be ſilent, to beſpatter the Chriſtian generation, rather than to ſay nothing, or eſpecially to ſeem diſpleaſed at their ſufferings. It's true, he was with the younger *Agrippa*, but almoſt a *Chriſtian*, and therefore we rather follow the tranſlation of *Jerome*, which rendereth his words *credebatur eſſe Chriſtus*, than to take them as *Euſebius* and *Rufinus* have them, and as they are found in the preſent copies, ὁ χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν, *Chriſtus hic erat.* But ſome there were amongſt the learneder ſort of *Jews*, who knew not really what to blame as to *Chriſt*, nay they believed in him, only they deſired ſtill to * keep the Law, ſuch was their tenaciouſneſs as to it. It's true, they ſtumbled at the meanneſs of his outward condition, and expected a *Meſſiah* to reign at *Jeruſalem*. But *Joſephus* lived to ſee *Jeruſalem* utterly deſtroyed, and thereby an occaſion for ſuch an advantage taken away; and affliction maketh men more ſeriouſly to conſider things; ſo that he might be favourable enough towards Chriſt himſelf, though as to the Law he might ſtill be pertinacious, as many of them were. *Euſebius* writeth, that the Verſes of *Sibylla* were accounted by ſome as feigned by the *Eccleſiaſticks*, but not a word of this matter.

* *Acts* 15. *Galat.* 1. 23. 4, 5.

24. The *Jews* had great expectations of the Coming of the *Meſſiah*, at that very time when the *Lord Jeſus* was upon Earth. They knew that the Prophecies of old reſpected that ſeaſon: they underſtood well enough the *weeks of Daniel*, and that the Scepter was departed from *Judah*, when they had no Judiciary Power as to life and death left amongſt them. This expectation was ſo great, that it poſſeſſed the whole Eaſtern part of the Empire, though it was underſtood in the ſame ſenſe only, as by the carnal ſort of *Jews*; amongſt whom how many counterfeits do we read of, which at that time preſumed upon it? Hereupon, though *Chriſt* came in an humble way, yet his Miracles cauſed a reverence and eſteem of his Perſon, nay they durſt not but think well of him as the *Meſſiah* (*how long doſt thou make us to doubt?*) till confounded by the ſpiritualneſs of his Preaching, offended at his oppoſition of their Traditions, and Phariſaical Tenents (as contrary to their Law, which they thought muſt neceſſarily indure for ever) and eſpecially moved (the greateſt of them) by their corrupt intereſts of profit and applauſe (which made them deny him, though they knew the Reſurrection, and to ſin againſt their own Conſciences, and the Holy Ghoſt) they rejected, and put him to death. That Saying amongſt the *Talmudiſts*, and aſcribed to the *houſe* of Elias (whom ſome will have to be *John Baptiſt*) is commonly known, *viz.* that *the World ſhould continue ſix thouſand years, whereof two thouſand belong to Tohu* or *Inane* (that is the void ſpace of time betwixt the Creation and the Law) *two thouſand to the Law, and two thouſand to the* Meſſiah; *that then it ſhould be deſtroyed.* Now as the firſt diviſion lighteth well, if the *Tohu* be taken as ending at the birth of *Abraham*, the Father of the Faithful (or thoſe in Covenant with God) ſo the ſecond endeth much about the Birth of our Saviour (reckoning as to both thoſe accounts the years of the *Patriarchs*, according to the *Hebrew* Text) and pointeth out the time of the *Meſſiah*. *Suidas* mentioned out of *Theodoſius* a noble *Jew*, that before *Chriſt* did rebuke the Scribes, they marvelling at his wiſe anſwers and queſtions made him one of the *Prieſts*, and entred his name, Ἰησοῦς ὁ υἱὸς θεοῦ καὶ Μαρίας, *Jeſus the Son of God and of Mary*, otherwiſe he being of the Tribe of *Judah* could not have been ſuffered to Preach at *Nazareth* and *Capernaum* as he did.

Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus & conſtans opinio, eſſe in fatis, ut eo tempore Judæa profecti rerum potirentur. Sueton. in *Veſpaſ.*

25. But (that we may improve thoſe things as to *Joſephus*) it doth appear, that not only before Chriſt gave them offence, and that before he died, ſome had honourable thoughts of him, but alſo after his death they accounted him the very *Meſſiah*, though they would not part with their old way of worſhip. Their * *Talmud*, like to *Augeas* his Stable, is full of filth, amongſt which but a few Granes of Corn do appear. It was not finiſhed in leſs time than a hundred years, being written with this deſign, to contain all the Sayings of their *Elders* which were not expreſſed in Scripture, and was compleated (ſuch a Fardel as it is) about five hundred years after Chriſt. Yet ſpeaking of that place of *Zechariah* (Chap. 12. verſ. 10.) *And they ſhall look upon me whom they have pierced*, after it hath reprehended a certain expoſition of it, addeth, *Peace be to him who hath ſaid that theſe things are to*

be

* Babylonian.

Cap. 5. *fol.* 52. *Vide ſis Jacobum Cappellum. In Hiſt. ſacra & exotic. ad* A. M. 3670.

be underſtood of Meſſiah *the ſon of* Joſeph, *who is ſlain.* There is nothing in the whole *Talmud* more worthy of obſervation. For ſo we have him whom both the Bleſſed Virgin her ſelf, and *Nathaniel* calleth the Son of *Joſeph,* and whom the *Jews* put to death, to be the true *Meſſiah,* and to have been born about the 4000 year of the World.

Teſtimonies from the Heathen.

26. There are not wanting Teſtimonies concerning the truth of Chriſt and his Doctrine, from the *Heathen. Rhodiginus* and *Volateran* deliver it as a matter of credit, that there was an Altar in *Egypt* Dedicated unto a Virgin that ſhould bring forth a Child: and *Poſtellus,* that there was another intituled *Primogenito Dei,* to the *firſt begotten of God.* Upon the Star which appeared at his Birth (which ſome think the ſame mentioned by *Pliny,* and called *Stella crinita ſine crine*) many meditating turned to the truth, as *Chæremon* amongſt the *Stoicks,* and *Challadius* amongſt the *Platoniſts,* who thereupon went into *Judæa,* and became *Jews.* It is alſo reported that the *Romans* called their Temple which they had built to *Bacchus* for Victory, *Templum pacis æternum,* the *everlaſting Temple of Peace,* becauſe the *Oracle* at *Delphi* told them it ſhould ſtand *dum peperit virgo, till a Virgin brought forth a Child;* but as ſoon as *Chriſt* was born it fell. The *Oracles* generally fell in the reign of *Tiberius,* when the time of *Chriſt* his Preaching was come, who was the eternal Word of his Father. *Plutarch* of this Subject wrote a Tract, ſearching much, as a Philoſopher, what the cauſe of this ſtrange change ſhould be. After his acute ſearch after ſundry cauſes, and accurate Philoſophical diſputes, he refers it partly to the *abſence of the Demoniacal ſpirits,* which he thinks might die, or remove from place to place, either baniſhed by others more potent, or upon ſome diſlike; and partly unto the *alteration of the ſoil* wherein *Oracles* were ſeated, which yielded not exhalations of ſuch Divine temper as in former times it had done; for, without a certain temperature of exhalations, or breathing of the earth, he thought that ſpirits could not give their Oracles, more than a Muſician can play without an Inſtrument. Accordingly he expected, that Oracles ſhould either come in Uſe again in *Greece,* or elſe burſt out in ſome convenient ſoil. But where have they thus burſt out? Chriſtianity chaſed them away wherever it came, and put thoſe ſpirits to ſilence, which were afraid of the Chriſtians in the Primitive times, ſo, as thoſe Holy Men could make them confeſs they were *Devils,* and chaſe them out of ſuch Bodies as they had poſſeſſed; for the truth whereof *Tertullian* in his *Apology* appealeth to the Conſciences of the Heathen themſelves, and therefore he would not in ſo publick a Defence produce an untruth, which muſt have been notoriouſly known. Therefore the ſilence of the Oracles was not from any of thoſe cauſes (which to one that hath opportunity are in themſelves eaſie to be confuted); the truth was, the time was come wherein the ſtrong man's houſe was to be entred, his goods ſpoiled, and himſelf bound; Now the *Prince of this world* was to be caſt out: Satan fell like lightning from Heaven upon the approach of that true light which lighteneth every man that cometh into the world.

The Oracles ſilenced.

Lib. de defectu Oraculorum.

The great *Pan* that died, was Chriſt the true ſhepherd.

27. That notable ſtory which *Plutarch* bringeth for confirmation of his Opinion, concerning the *Mortality of thoſe Dæmoniacal ſpirits,* maketh exceeding much for our purpoſe; if we conſider the time thereof. *Thamous* the *Egyptian* Maſter, as he ſailed, was requeſted by an uncouth voice uttered three times from Land, to proclaim the news of *Great* Pan*'s death* as he paſſed by *Palodes. Thamous,* whoſe name was unknown to his Paſſengers, till he anſwered to it at the third Call, was reſolved to have let all paſs as a fancy or idle meſſage, if the wind and tide ſhould grant him paſſage by the place appointed: but, the wind failing him on a ſudden, at his coming thither, he thought it but a little loſs of breath to cry out aloud unto the ſhoar, as he had been requeſted, *Great* Pan *is dead.* The words, as *Plutarch* relateth, were ſcarce out of his mouth, before they were anſwered with a huge noiſe, as it had been of a multitude, ſighing, and groaning at this wonderment. Now, if theſe Spirits had been by nature Mortal, as the Philoſopher thought they were, the death of their Chief Captain could not have ſeemed ſo ſtrange: but that a far greater than the greateſt of them, by whoſe power the firſt of them had his being, ſhould die to redeem his Enemies from their thraldom, might well ſeem a matter of aſtoniſhment, and deep ſorrow unto them. The circumſtance of the time will not permit us to doubt, but that under the known name of *Pan* was intimated the great Shepherd of our Souls, who had then laid down his life for his flock; not the feigned Son of *Mercury* and *Penelope,* as the *Wiſe-men* fooliſhly reſolved *Tiberius,* who having had the truth of the Story

confirmed to him by ear-witneſſes, called a Convocation of wiſe-men, to reſolve him who this great *Pan* lately deceaſed ſhould be. The Scriptures ſet forth unto us the true cauſe, why both the wild goatiſh *Pan*, and all the reſt of that Helliſh crew ſhould at that time howl and mourn, ſeeing by our great Shepherd's Death they were become *Dead in Law*; no more to breath in Oracles, but quite to be deprived of all ſuch ſtrange motions as they had ſeduced the ignorant World with before. All the Antick tricks of *Faunus*, the *Satyrs*, and ſuch like Creatures were now put down; God had reſolved to make a tranſlation of his Church; and for this cauſe the Devils were forced to diſſolve their old Chappels, and ſeek a new form of their Liturgy or Service. Theſe paſſages are pregnant enough, though we allege not what *Nicephorus* reporteth, that the Oracle at *Delphi* (perhaps not juſt then extinct) ſaid that this *Pan* was Πᾶις Ἑβραῖος, an *Hebrew Child*; and though we omit what *Suidas* writeth, that *Auguſtus* ſending to *Pythia* to inquire who ſhould ſucceed him, had anſwer, that an *Hebrew Child, Lord of the Gods, had commanded him to be gone down again to Hell, and therefore he muſt no more enquire there.* Whereupon *Auguſtus* erected an Altar in the Capitol *Primogenito Dei, To the firſt born of God.*

The Teſtimonies of the *Sibylls.*

28. But amongſt other teſtimonies of the *Heathen* concerning Chriſt, that of the *Sibyll*'s muſt not be omitted. Theſe Women were indued with extraordinary gifts of Prophecy, as certain previous pledges, that the Gentiles ſhould alſo drink of the true, heavenly, and eternal Fountain. Like to thoſe was *Balaam* the *Midianite*, an Idolater, yet called a *Prophet* by the Scriptures, who amongſt other things, foretold that *a Star ſhould riſe out of Jacob, and a Scepter from Iſrael.* There were many of theſe *Sibyll*'s as we have already ſhewn, and ſeveral of them Propheſied of *Chriſt*. Their Sayings were made much uſe of by ſuch ancient *Chriſtians* as had to do with Pagans, and Heathen Philoſophers. (*a*) *Juſtin Martyr* telleth ſuch, that the old, and very ancient *Sibylla*, of which *Plato, Ariſtophanes,* and others have made mention, *ſpake of one* God, and againſt Idolaters; as alſo of the Coming of our Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*, plainly, and manifeſtly, and of his works. (*b*) *Clemens* alſo writeth of *Hydaſpes* an ancient King of the *Medes*, who clearly foretold that the Son of God ſhould come. Concerning the Verſes of *Sibylla Erythræa* many have written, and many of them are produced by *Euſebius* in the Oration (*c*) of *Conſtantine* to the *Clergy*, the *Acroſticks* whereof make up theſe words. *Ἰησοῦς χρειστὸς θεοῦ, &c. *Jeſus Chriſtus Dei Filius, ſervator, crux*, and foretel the *laſt Judgment and Authority of Chriſt.* There are others alſo cited by (*d*) *Lactantius*, which ſpeak of *Chriſt his* * *coming into unjuſt hands, his being ſtricken on the head, and wearing a Crown of Thorns; the giving of him Vinegar, the renting of the veil of the Temple, and his being dead three days.* Now ſome were of opinion of old, that theſe were feigned by Chriſtians, as appeareth by what *Conſtantine* (or *Euſebius* for him) ſubjoyneth. *But there are many that give no credence,* ſaith he, *thereunto, although they confeſs that* Sibylla Erythræa *was a Propheteſs: yea, they ſuſpect that ſome of our Religion not ignorant in Poetry, made theſe Verſes; and that they are falſly inſcribed, and reckoned among the Oracles of* Sibylla: *ſeeing they contain very profitable ſentences, both to reſtrain the licentiouſneſs of immoderate pleaſure, and perſuade to a modeſt continency of life. But the truth of this matter doth manifeſtly appear, for our men have with great ſtudy ſo accurately compared the times, that none can ſuſpect that this Poem was made, and came forth after Chriſt's coming, and therefore they are convinced of falſhood, who blaze abroad that theſe Verſes were not made by this* Sibylla. *For it is manifeſt that* Cicero, *having read this Poem, did tranſlate it into* Latine, *and joyned it to his works, who was afterward put to death by the* Triumvir Antonius, *and* Antonius *was overcome by* Auguſtus, *who reigned ſix and fifty years:* Tiberius *ſucceeded* Auguſtus, *in whoſe reign our Saviour came into the World, and the myſtery of Religion began to flouriſh, and the people were changed. Of which I ſuppoſe the chief of the* Italian *Poets hath thus ſung.*

(*a*) *In Pareanet. p.* 16, *&c. ad* 37. *vide.*

(*b*) *Strom. l.* 6.

(*c*) *Cap.* 18.

(*d*) *L.*14.*c.*18.

* Ἱδρώσει γὰρ χθὼν κρίσεως σημεῖον, ὅς ἔσται. Ἥξει δ᾽ οὐρανόθεν βασιλεὺς, &c.

* Εἰς ἀνόμους χεῖρας, &c.

Conſtantine **confuteth ſuch as accounted them forged.**

29. He meaneth *Virgil*, whoſe Poem he reciteth concerning the *Golden days foretold by* Sibylla Cumæa (by which name the *Romans* called all the *Sibylls*, becauſe of the old *Cumana* or *Cumæa*, whoſe Verſes were burnt in the *Capitol*, in the 671 year of the City, and were ſupplied by other fetch't from *Erythræ*, and elſewhere) as alſo concerning a *Child that was to be born.* He aſcribeth to this Child ſuch Divine things, as none can doubt, but that he muſt be above a man, whom *Sibylla* deſcribed by ſuch expreſſions. Now that ſuch Verſes could be feigned by *Chriſtians* none can affirm, but the groſly ignorant, who know not that *Virgil* died

Eclog. 4.

died ſeveral years (*viz.* 18.) before *Chriſt* was born. Neither can it be thought he feigned it on his own head, although we cannot ſay with *Conſtantine* or *Euſebius*, that *he did thus myſtically involve, and cover the truth, leſt the Emperour ſhould be offended with him for writing that which was contrary to their Laws, and Statutes eſtabliſhed, concerning their gods*; or that we do believe that he *foreſaw the happy and glorious myſtery of our Saviour's Coming: but that he might avoid their cruelty, he ſpake his audience in the accuſtomed manner.* Some of late alſo have rejected the Poems aſcribed to theſe women, as feigned by *Chriſtians*, becauſe they ſeem to ſpeak more plainly of Chriſt, than the true Prophets do, and exhibit rather an Hiſtory of Chriſt already come, than a Prophecy of his Coming. They think it contrary to the Word of God, to think that theſe profound myſteries ſhould be more clearly propounded to the *Gentiles* than to the *Jews*. This alſo moveth them (for we will confeſs the utmoſt) that they perceive many of the Ancients in the moſt Primitive times, to have counted it the choiceſt work they could perform, to help the Heavenly truth by their fictions, whereby the new Doctrine might more eaſily be admitted by the *Pagan* wiſe men. And as they cannot but moſt grievouſly reprehend this thing, ſo not ſufficiently can they admire the judgment of thoſe *Fathers*, who with ſuch facility received theſe writings, and as doubt not to produce teſtimonies from them, to underprop the heavenly truth.

Some of late have alſo queſtioned them.

30. But it is anſwered by way of utter denial, that there were many in the Primitive Times, who ſought to eſtabliſh the truth by fictions and lies, and by Challenge made, for them to produce any one lie or fiction made or uſed by the moſt ancient Fathers, though for a good end. Certainly they who in their Diſputations with the *Pagans*, appeal to the teſtimony of the *Sibylls*, deſerve great commendations for their Prudence. And hence may it be proved, that thoſe teſtimonies were not forged, becauſe they in all Conflicts more willingly had recourſe to them than to any other. For, can we imagine them fools, with whom theſe Fathers had to do? They were as cunning and knowing as the beſt; they were *Philoſophers*, *Rhetors*, *Profeſſors of Arts*, *States-men*, and moſt commonly ſuch *as enjoyed the greateſt honours.* Where is it objected by any of theſe in the moſt Primitive times, that theſe teſtimonies were feigned by Chriſtians? This Anſwer would have been eaſie and ready, and ſuch as would inſtantly have ſtopped the mouths of Primitive Saints. But the wiſeſt and bittereſt of the Enemies of Chriſtians, do not make any ſuch Reply, in the moſt ancient times, knowing well enough theſe Oracles, to which the *Romans* had ever recourſe, and which were known ſufficiently to the whole World, through which it ran for current, that in the Books of the *Sibylls* was held forth, that *one ſhould reign who came out of the Eaſt.* The clearneſs of theſe teſtimonies concerning Chriſt, can make nothing againſt them; for *Eſaias* ſpake not more evidently of Chriſt than *Balaam*, who ſaid, that a *Star ſhould riſe out of Jacob.* Who dare preſcribe to God a manner of propheſying? as if it were not free to him to ſpeak plainly or obſcurely to *Jew* or *Gentile*, or as if there were not in the Scripture moſt clear Predictions concerning Chriſt. But grant that the *Sibylline Oracles* are clearer: Ought not thoſe things which are predicted to the *Gentiles* concerning Chriſt to be clearer, becauſe they wanted *Moſes*, and the reſt of that learning, which ſhould direct them unto him, that what here was wanting might be ſupplied by the perſpicuity of theſe Oracles? Although we ought not to judge of theſe Oracles, by that light which at preſent appeareth. *For what things are moſt evident to us after the accompliſhment, were moſt obſcure when they were predicted.* If any one had feigned them, he would have made them induſtriouſly more obſcure, that they might ſeem written before the things were done, and like to thoſe Prophecies which are contained in the Scriptures. Theſe Heathen Prophets ſpake ſome times clearly, according to the intention of God who overruled them; but often abruptly. It's thought they propheſied as of old *Balaam*'s Aſs ſpake, and not otherwiſe did *Hydaſpes* and the *Sibylls* ſpeak clearly of the Coming of Chriſt, the Holy Spirit moving them, and governing their tongues. It appeareth (*a*) from *Juſtin Martyr*, that it was forbidden upon pain of death to read *Hydaſpes*, *Sibylla*, or the *Prophets*, leſt the People ſhould attain to the knowledge of good things. To theſe (*b*) *Clemens* bringeth in *St. Paul* himſelf referring the *Greeks*: *Take ye alſo the Greek Books, acknowledge* Sibylla *that ſhe manifeſted one God, and things to come. Take ye alſo* Hydaſpes, *read him; and you ſhall find the Son of God more clearly and openly deſcribed.*

But in vain.

(*a*) *In Apolog.* 2. *p.* 82. *totius operis.*

(*b*) *Strom. l.* 6.

31. To omit what might be (and by others hath been) produced out of * Heathen Writers concerning the bleſſed Trinity (for we may eaſily admit, that God, who was ever the God of the whole World, and deſigned to do the *Gentiles* good alſo in the knowledge of himſelf, might give to them ſuch Hints of the truth, as afterwards might be improved for their welfare) we ſhall come to the laſt teſtimony concerning Chriſt, and that ſuch an one, as will reduce us to the courſe of our deſign. *After that Chriſt was riſen from the dead, and had ſent his Diſciples about to preach and work miracles for the converſion of the World,* Pilate *who then governed in* Judæa, *reported his Paſſion and Reſurrection to* Tiberius *and the Senate, with the miracles done by him, or by them in his name; and how the multitude of believers daily increaſing, he was accounted a God.* Tiberius *hereupon reported the matter to the Senate, with his favourable ſuffrage, that Chriſt might be accounted a God. But the Senate, becauſe they were diſpleaſed that They had not firſt moved it, refuſed to canonize him, and by an Edict commanded that Chriſtians ſhould be baniſhed the City; eſpecially by reaſon that* Sejanus, *the great Miniſter of State, moſt obſtinately contradicted this Religion. But* Tiberius *by another Edict threatned death to the accuſers of Chriſtians.* Theſe things thus related by (*a*) *Oroſius*, are alſo witneſſed by (*b*) *Euſebius*, *Tertullian*, and *Juſtin Martyr*, whereof, the teſtimonies of the two later are incontrolable; for in their *Apologies* they durſt not mention ſuch things, and cite ſuch teſtimonies as they muſt needs know would be eaſily confuted.

Pilate made report unto *Tiberius* of the Perſon and Works of Chriſt.

* *Vide Auguſt. de Civit. Dei. l.* 10. *c.* 23. *& Ludovicum vivem in Locum. Tertul. Apolog. c.* 21.

(*a*) *Lib.* 7. *c.* 4.
(*b*) *Ecc. Hiſt. l.* 2. *c.* 2.

32. (*a*) *Tertullian* writeth, that *Tiberius referred it to the Senate, with the prerogative of his own ſuffrage, but they having not approved the thing, refuſed it.* Cæſar *notwithſtanding remained firm in his reſolution, and threatned ſuch as ſhould accuſe the Chriſtians.* This he openly aſſerteth in his Apology to the *Pagans*, writing alſo in another (*b*) place of the ſame excellent Work, that *Pilate, who in his heart believed in Chriſt, at the ſame time wrote all the Hiſtory of him to the Emperour* Tiberius, *whereupon the* Cæſars *themſelves had worſhipped our Maſter, if their Government in ſo doing had been conſiſtent with the men of this World, and Chriſtians permitted to have been ſaluted* Cæſars. He giveth another reaſon, why Chriſt was not at firſt worſhipped as a God. *There was an ancient Law that forbad Introducing new Ceremonies into Religion, as worſhipping ſtrange Deities, unleſs approved by the Senate; and this was an inviolable and unalterable Law, to which the Prince himſelf was ſubject.* He inſtanceth, that *Marcus Æmilius would have had divine honours rendred to his Idol, called the god* Alburnus, *but could not obtain it.* As for *Juſtin Martyr*, he maketh it more evident, telling plainly the *Pagans* in his ſecond *Apology, that they may know theſe things thus to have been, in the* Acts *which were written under* Pontius Pilate; and again, that *they might know, that Chriſt wrought ſuch miracles, from the* Acta (or Acts) *made under* Pontius Pilate. Now the word *Acta* ſignifieth ſometimes the *Journal-Book of the Senate,* then called *Acta Senatus*, and otherwhiles the *Records of the People*, or *of the Publick*, then named *Acta Publica, Diurna*, and *Urbana*. In the former ſort was contained whatſoever was done or ſaid by the *Fathers*. In the latter, things concerning the People, as Publick Judgments, Puniſhments, Aſſemblies, Buildings, Nativities, the Death of Eminent Perſons, Marriages, and Divorces. Theſe afforded matter for Hiſtorians to digeſt and adorn. Now *Juſtin Martyr* either meaneth thoſe *Acta Publica*, wherein might be recorded what notable things hapned in the Provinces; and fell under the adminiſtration of the ſeveral *Deputies* or Governours: or rather thoſe *Acta* which *Pilate* himſelf compoſed in his Province. For we cannot but imagine, that care would be taken for the Recording of things memorable, as well in other places, as in the City it ſelf. The Provinces had their *Subcenſors* and their Tables. And the *Preſidents* and *Deputies* not only certified by Letters occaſionally what happened, but, as we may eaſily apprehend, did refer in *Acta* all memorable things; which were ſent to *Rome*, and there, it's probable, either tranſcribed into, or laid up with, the *Acta Publica*. But, thus much of the teſtimonies of *Jews* and *Heathens* concerning Chriſt.

(*a*) *Apologet. c.* 5.

(*b*) *Cap.* 21.

De Actis conſulant omnino Tirones Juſtum Lipſium in Comment. ad Taciti Annal. lib. 5.

33. The *Lord Jeſus* having riſen the third day from the dead, and after his Reſurrection given Commiſſion and Inſtructions to his Diſciples, whom he ordained his Ambaſſadors to the whole World; forty days after, he aroſe, aſcended into Heaven, and ſent down the Holy Ghoſt upon his Diſciples, according to his Promiſe, for the Furniſhing of them to the Work, ten days after his aſcenſion. Many being converted to the Faith, the Church increaſed, and living in Love and Unity together, they had all things common, none calling any thing his own which he

The Aſcenſion of Chriſt.

The ſeven Deacons made.

James the firſt Biſhop of *Jeruſalem.*

A. D. 33. *Ol.* 203. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 787.

Saul converted.

poſſeſſed. About the end of the year, as is rationally computed, the *Greeks* or *Helleniſts* (*Jews* which living out of *Judæa* ſpake *Greek* in a peculiar dialect, which is called *Helleniſtick*, and uſed the Scriptures in their Synagogues in that language) murmured againſt the *Hebrews* (or thoſe who both read and ſpoke *Hebrew*) for that their widdows were neglected in the daily miniſtration. Hereupon the Apoſtles committed it to the number of the faithful, to chuſe ſeven men who ſhould take care of what was gathered for the poor, and theſe *Eccleſiaſtical Writers* call *Deacons*. About this time *James* the *Apoſtle* the Son of *Alphæus* (who is alſo called *the brother of the Lord*, and was ſirnamed *Juſt*) was created the firſt *Biſhop* of *Jeruſalem*. For thus *Clemens* wrote in the ſixth Book of his *Hypotypoſeωn*, as he is cited by *Euſebius*. Peter, *and* James, *and* John, *though they were preferred, after the aſcenſion of the Lord, contended not amongſt themſelves for glory and honour; but with one conſent appointed* James *the* Juſt *Biſhop of* Jeruſalem. The ſame *Clemens* in his firſt Book, diſtinguiſhed thus concerning the two which bore the name of *James*. *There were two* James, *the one termed* Juſt, *who was thrown down headlong from the pinacle, and brained with a Fuller's club, the other beheaded. Of him that was called* Juſt, Paul *made mention, ſaying, I ſaw none of the Apoſtles ſave* James *the brother of the Lord.* In the year following Chriſt's reſurrection, a great Perſecution was raiſed by the *Jews* againſt the Church, wherein *Stephan* one of the ſeven *Deacons* and the *Protomartyr* was ſtoned to Death, by the procurement eſpecially of *Saul* a *Jew* of *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*. But in this ſame year as this *Saul* was journeying to *Damaſcus* to make havock of the Church, he was converted, and called to the *Apoſtleſhip*, after which he went from *Damaſcus* into *Arabia*, as he himſelf teſtifieth in his Epiſtle to the *Galatians*. *Euſebius* in his *Chronicon* placeth the converſion of *Saul* (afterwards called *Paul*) in the nineteenth year of *Tiberius*.

Pilate making a ſlaughter of the *Samaritans.*

Joſeph. Antiq. l. 18. *c.* 5.

Is ſent to *Rome* to give an account of it.

The *Jews* baniſhed *Rome.*

86. About this time it happened, that a certain man who ſought by all means the favour of the multitude, drew the *Samaritans* to *Mount Gerizim* (which they accounted holy above all other Mountains) promiſing to ſhew them there the holy Veſſels buried in a certain place by *Moſes*. Many had gathered themſelves to the foot of the Hill, where ſtaying for more company that they might aſcend all together, *Pilate* prevented them, and killing ſome, took many, diſperſed the reſt, and put to death the chief of thoſe he had taken. Hereof the Senate of *Samaria* complained to *Vitellius* Preſident of *Syria*, who ſent *Marcellus* his friend to take charge of *Judæa*, and commanded *Pilate* to go to *Rome*, there to anſwer before *Cæſar* what ſhould be laid to his charge. Hereupon he departed, after he had governed *Judæa* ten years, but e're he reached *Rome*, *Tiberius* was dead. About the ſame time that theſe things hapned in *Samaria*, the *Jews* were baniſhed *Rome* by the Emperor upon this occaſion: A certain *Jew* flying his Native Country for breaking of the Laws, came to the City, where he profeſſed himſelf an expounder of them, and drew to him two or three no leſs reprobate than himſelf. They made a Proſelyte *Fulvia* the wife of *Saturninus* an Honorable Perſon, and perſuading her to ſend ſome Purple and Gold to the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, converted it to their own Uſe. *Saturninus* complaining of this to *Tiberius*, he thereupon commanded all *Jews* to depart *Rome*. Of theſe the *Conſuls* choſe out and liſted four thouſand men, whom they ſent into *Sardinia*, and puniſhed many that refuſed to bear Arms, upon no other account, than becauſe they would not tranſgreſs the Ordinances of their Country.

Idem ibid. & *cap.* 6.

Philip the Tetrarch dieth.

Tacitus Annal. l. 6. *c.* 31.

The *Parthian* King reviletli and deſpiſeth *Tiberius.*

Sueton in Tiberio c. 60.

87. About two years after the death of *Chriſt*, died *Philip* the *Tetrarch*, Son to *Herod* the *Great*, a man of a modeſt and quiet diſpoſition, whoſe Principality, for that he died without iſſue, *Tiberius* laid unto the *Province* of *Syria*. By this time *Artabanus* King of *Parthia* proſpering againſt his neighbours, was much puffed up, and deſpiſing the old age of *Tiberius*, when his Son *Artamas* was dead made his other Son *Arſaces* King of *Armenia* in his ſtead. He alſo reviled *Tiberius* by Letters, objecting paricide, murthers, lazineſs, and luxury to him, and willed him by a voluntary death to ſatisfie the moſt juſt hatred of his ſubjects, as ſoon as poſſible. But many Noble men of *Parthia*, to eſcape his cruelty came to *Rome*, and deſired a King from *Tiberius*, who thereupon gladly named *Phraates* the Son of *Phraates*, that had been of a long time Hoſtage at *Rome*, and he dying in *Syria*, he commended to them *Tiridates*. *Mithridates* Brother to *Pharaſmenes* King of the *Hiberi* was alſo ordered to get *Armenia*, who breaking into it joyned the *Albanians* to him, and procured the death of *Arſaces*; for the *Parthians* were eaſily overthrown, being diſcouraged by a falſe rumour of the death of *Orodes* their

Captain, another of *Artabanus* his Sons. *Artabanus* having before this attempted *Cappadocia*, ſent alſo to demand the Treaſure which *Vonones* had left in *Syria* and *Cilicia*, and that had been ſeized by *Tiberius*, * who with great perfidiouſneſs killed the owner at *Antioch*; and he further demanded the ancient Borders of the *Perſians* and *Macedonians*, bragging that he would invade whatſoever had been poſſeſſed by *Cyrus* and *Alexander*. But *Vitellius* the Preſident of *Syria* having drawn many of his ſubjects from their Truſt, his mind ſo changed, that he fled away cowardly with a few to the confines of *Scythia*. *Vitellius* taking the opportunity carried *Tiridates* into the Kingdom, but he by delaying to ſeize on the chiefeſt places, and haſtning his Coronation, gave occaſion to ſome of the great ones again to fly unto *Artabanus*, who coming on, the other fled as faſt back into *Syria*; ſo that he recovered his Kingdom, with *Armenia*, and reſolved to ſet upon *Syria*.

** Idem in Tib. c.* 49.

Tacitus ut ſuprà cap. 41.
Dio l. 59.

88. *Tiberius* hereupon wrote to *Vitellius* to make a peace with him. *Vitellius* about this time was come to *Jeruſalem* after the expulſion of *Pilate*, where he celebrated the *Paſſeover*, remitted to the Citizens the Impoſt upon ſuch fruits as were ſold, and depoſed *Joſeph*, ſirnamed *Caiphas*, from the *High-Prieſthood*, to which he promoted *Jonathan* the Son of *Annas*. He met with *Artabanus* upon a Bridge built over the River *Euphrates*, where they concluded a Peace, and afterwards they were feaſted by *Herod* the *Tetrarch*. *Darius* the Son of *Artabanus* was ſent an Hoſtage to *Rome* with many preſents. But *Tiberius* died before, (*March* 16) having ſince the death of *Sejanus* cruelly raged againſt many, and lived diſſolutely from his retirement to the Iſland *Capreæ*, whence he never returned to the City, though he was twice on his way. The people ran up and down overcome with joy upon the report of his death. Some would have had his body caſt into *Tiber*, and others prayed that no other place might be aſſigned him now dead than amongſt the wicked. He reigned twenty two years, ſeven months and odd days, and died in the ſeventy eighth year of his age, and the 790 of the City, *Cn. Acerronius Proculus*, and *C. Pontius Nigrinus* being Conſuls.

Caiphas depoſed.

Joſephus Antiquit. lib. 18. *cap.* 6.

Tiberius dieth.

Sueton ut ſuprà cap. 73. *&c.*

Tacitus Annal. l. 6. *c.* 50.

A. D. 38.
*Ol.*204.*ann.*1.
V. C. 790.

CHAP. III.

From the Death of Tiberius *to that of* Nero, *the laſt Emperour of* Cæſar's *Family, containing the ſpace of Twenty years.*

1. TIBERIUS left behind him a Grand-ſon of his own name by his Son *Druſus*, yet he preferred before him *Caius* the Son of *Germanicus*, either for ſome reaſon fetcht (*a*) from Aſtrology to which he was much given, or through the means (*b*) of *Macro* his *Freed-man*, and greateſt favourite, who being a looſe and vile perſon, *Caius* inſinuated himſelf into his favour by the procurement of his Wife. With her *Caius* was wantonly familiar, and promiſed her Marriage by an Oath, and under his hand, if he could compaſs the Empire, wherwith *Macro* was well pleaſed, if ſo be he could but therewith purchaſe greater Preferment. 'Tis reported that he helped his Maſter forward by ſtifling him in the bed-cloths. Others have thought (*c*) that a ſlow-working poiſon was given him by *Caius*; ſome that meat was denied him, and others that when he demanded his Ring which they had pulled off from his finger, they choked him with the Pillow. However it came to paſs, *Caius* ſucceeded him, and ſome (*d*) judged him willing that ſo it ſhould be, becauſe he would prove a very bad man, and hoped that thereby the faults of his own reign might be ſomething covered. He was received with great applauſe by all men. By the Army, for that he had been brought up continually amongſt them. Some ſay he was born in the Camp; 'tis certain that the ſirname of *Caligula* he had for that reaſon, becauſe he was wont (*ƒ*) to wear that habit of the ordinary Soldiers. By the people he was gladly entertained out of their affection to *Germanicus*, and commiſeration of his family ſo groſly abuſed by *Tiberius*, whoſe cruelty he eſcaped meerly by his great diſſimulation, and taking

in.

Caius the Son of *Germanicus* ſucceedeth *Tiberius*.

(*a*) *Joſephus Antiquit. l.* 18 *c.* 8.

(*b*) *Sueton in Caligula c.* 12. *Tacitus Annal. l.* 6. *c.* 50.

(*c*) *Sueton ut priùs.*

(*d*) *Xiphilinus ex Dione.*

(*e*) *Joſephus ut ſuprà.*

(*ƒ*) *Sueton ut priùs.*

in good part every thing; ſo as it was ſaid truly of him, That *never was there a better Servant, nor a worſe Maſter than* Caligula.

Preferreth *Agrippa.*

Joſephus Antiq. l. 18. c. 8.

2. *Caius,* within a few days after the ſumptuous Funeral of *Tiberius,* made *Agrippa* King of that Countrey whereof *Philip* had been *Tetrarch.* This *Agrippa* was the Grand ſon of *Herod* the Great by his Son *Ariſtobulus,* whom he put to death, being begotten of *Berenice* the Daughter of *Salome.* Having run through many ſtraights for want of Money by reaſon of his great profuſeneſs, he became at length very dear to *Caius,* who reſtored him to liberty (being impriſoned by *Tiberius* for wiſhing his death, that *Caligula* might ſucceed him) and then ſet the Diadem on his head. He had a Siſter named *Herodias,* married to *Philip Herodes* (not *Philip* the *Tetrarch*) his and her Uncle, and Brother to *Philip Antipas* on the Father's ſide, his Mother being Daughter to *Simon* the *High-Prieſt.* This Woman *Herod Antipas* was ſo taken with, that though he had already to Wife the Daughter of *Aretas* King of *Arabia Petræa,* yet he Divorced this, and Married her, upon which account *Aretas* made War upon him, and defeated his Forces, which * was taken by the People as a Judgment of God upon him for putting to Death *John Baptiſt.* Now *Herodias* envying exceedingly the promotion of her Brother *Agrippa,* importuned her Husband to go to *Rome* and beg, or buy the title of *King.* *Agrippa* ſmelling out their Deſign before-hand, wrote to *Caius,* and accuſed him of having heretofore been of *Sejanus* his Conſpiracy, and of favouring at preſent the Party of *Artabanus* King of *Parthia,* whereof he ſaid his Magazines could teſtifie, being furniſhed with Proviſions for ſeventy thouſand men of War. This he could not deny, and therefore *Caius* Baniſhed him to *Lugdunum* (now *Lyons*) in *Gall* (whither *Herodias* would needs accompany him) and gave his Principality and Eſtate unto *Agrippa.* Thus were theſe two Puniſhed for the Death of *John Baptiſt*; and ſo was *Pilate* for that of *Chriſt.* For, being alſo Baniſhed by *Caius* to *Vienna,* two years after, he killed himſelf (whereof the *Græcians* are witneſſes, ſaith *Euſebius,* who commit to memory in their Hiſtories the *Olympiads* of times) and ſo became the revenger of his wickedneſs upon himſelf, as he who betrayed *Chriſt* into his hands had been before.

** Idem ibid. cap. 7.*

Idem ibid. cap. 9.

Herod Antipas Baniſhed to *Lyons.*

Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt l. 2. c. 7. & Oroſius l. 7. c. 5.

Pilate killeth himſelf.

Sueton in Calig. Capp. 15, 16, 17, &c. Joſephus Antiquit. lib. 18. cap. 9.

3. Though the diſpoſition of *Caligula* was from his Childhood tending to intemperance and cruelty, yet at his firſt coming to the Government he uſed much Moderation and Equity, as well towards publick as private Perſons. He would not hear any Accuſations, though ſaid to be for his own ſafety, permitted free and antient Juriſdiction to Magiſtrates, attempted to bring in again the *Comitia,* and reſtore the Privilege of Suffrages to the People, payed the Legacies given by *Tiberius,* though his Will was nulled, and thoſe given by *Livia* alſo, though her Son would never diſcharge them: he remitted part of the Taxes to *Italy,* relieved the neceſſities of ſuch as received loſſes by fire, and to ſuch Kings as he reſtored, he gave the Tributes collected in their abſence. At firſt he appeared a great Patron of virtue, but degenerated into a Monſter, ſo that as far as a man could go in luxury and cruelty, he ſeemed to proceed, which made *Seneca* * ſay, that *nature ſeemed to have brought him forth to ſhew what the greateſt vitiouſneſs backed with the greateſt power could be able to do.* We may be more favourable to this opinion, if we conſider that the greatneſs of his Eſtate made him ſo far ſurpaſs the limits of all modeſty, as, challenging to himſelf the title of Divinity, he governed all things in contempt of God.

Caligula beginneth well.

** De Conſolat. ad Albinam cap. 9.*

But turneth a Monſter of men.

Sueton ut ſuprà cap. 22. &c.

4. He thought at firſt to have taken a Diadem, and changed his Principality into a Kingdom, till by his Flatterers he was told, that he was above all ſuch titles. At length he began to take to himſelf Divine honour. For he cauſed the images of their Gods to be brought to *Rome,* whereof the heads being taken off, that of his own was placed upon each in their ſtead. He would offer himſelf to be adored amongſt his brother gods as he called them, and ordained Temples and Prieſts with Sacrifice of no commoner things than Peacocks, Turkies, and Pheaſants, which were to be offered every day; and he invited the Moon to his Imbraces. He could not endure to be accounted the off-ſpring of *Agrippa,* becauſe of his ignobility; but gave out that his Mother was conceived of the inceſt of *Auguſtus* with his Daughter *Julia.* He himſelf committed inceſt with all his Siſters, and ſpared not the chaſtity of either Sex. So imperious he was, that he would make Perſons of greateſt Rank run by his Chariot, and ſtand girt with Towels when he was at meat. So cruel, that he killed his Grand-mother *Antonia* by unkindneſs, he murdered his Brother *Tiberius,* though he had adopted him, with all his Kindred except his Uncle *Claudius,* whom he preſerved for a

Aſſumeth divine honours.

His Vices.

laughing-ſtock; and he forced *Macro* and *Ennia* to kill themſelves. As for others, he made havock of them, cauſing ſome to be knocked in the head with Clubs, if he were but diſturbed in the ſhows. He would caſt old men, or infirm, to wild Beaſts, and ſhutting up the Barns and Store-houſes proclaim a Famine. Many of Quality being firſt Stigmatized, he condemned to the Mines, or to repairing of High-ways, ſhut them up like Beaſts in a Den, or ſawed them aſunder; and that for no greater Matters than if they had not high thoughts of his gifts and ſhows, or had not ſworn by his Genius.

Idem ibid. capp. 27, 28, *&c.*

5. He forced Parents to be preſent at the Death of their Children. To one that excuſed himſelf by Sickneſs, he ſent a Litter to carry him. A certain Knight whom he caſt to wild Beaſts, crying out that he was innocent, he cauſed to be taken out, and his Tongue to be cut out of his Head, after this to be caſt in again. Demanding of one whom he had recalled out of Baniſhment *what he did all that time?* upon anſwer that he *prayed for the death of* Tiberius, *and that He might ſucceed him*, ſuppoſing that all whom he had Baniſhed prayed alſo for his Death, he gave command that they ſhould all be killed. He would ſuffer none to be put to Death but by degrees, that ſo as he ſaid *they might feel themſelves die.* He ſorely afflicted the order of *Knights*, and being incenſed againſt the multitude for favouring a Party againſt him, he wiſhed that the *People of* Rome *had but one neck.* He was wont openly to complain of the condition of his time, becauſe not ſignalized by any publick Calamity, and how by the Serenity thereof he ſhould be buried in oblivion (his being herein contrary to the diſpoſition of *Phalaris*) in ſo much as he would wiſh for ſome overthrow of the Armies, ſome Famine, Peſtilence, Fire, or Earth-quake. He purpoſed utterly to deſtroy the works of *Virgil* and *Livy*, and take away the Law. He took away honour from Families, and when he met with any beautiful perſon, made them as deformed as he could. He was ſo Prodigal that he would drink moſt precious Pearls diſſolved in Vinegar, and invent all ſorts of delicacies, by which courſe he ſpent infinite Sums in the ſpace of three years, which *Tiberius* had hoarded up; and to recruit his Coffers raiſed unheard-of Tributes. Amongſt other means for increaſing his Revenue he ſet up Stews in his Palace, and ſome were ſent about to invite all ſorts of men to them, ſuch as came being commended for increaſing *Cæſar's* Revenues. He purpoſed to depart to *Antium* and thence to *Alexandria*, but firſt to kill all the chief both of the *Senatorian* and *Equeſtrian* rank; and anſwerably hereunto were there found after his death two Books, whereof the title of one was *Gladius*, or *Sword*; and the other *Pugio*, or *Dagger*, wherein were written the names of ſuch as he intended to murder. A great cheſt alſo was found full of divers Poiſons, which being by *Claudius* his appointment caſt into the Sea, the water is reported to have been ſo infected, that the fiſh was therewith killed, and was caſt up by the tide upon the ſhoar. Theſe things are reported by *Suetonius*, concerning which Author yet it is obſerved by ſome, that he *wrote the lives of the Emperours with as great liberty as they lived them.*

Joſephus Antiq. l. 19. *c.* 1.

He is ſlain by *Caſſius Chæreas* the Captain of his Guard.

6. Many deſired to have an hand in removing him, yet durſt not attempt any thing. But *Caſſius Chæreas* the Captain of his Guard being grievouſly affronted by him (for ever when *Caius* gave him the watch-word, it ſhould be ſome effeminate or obſcene name, and he continually charged him with Cowardize) fully reſolved to kill him, and broke the buſineſs to others, whom he thought to have the ſame deſire with himſelf. They killed him as he returned from the Games of the Palace to refreſh himſelf, *Chæreas* giving him the firſt wound. His guard of *Germans* (which loved him exceedingly, becauſe of the profit they reaped from the execution of his cruel commands) in a great rage ſlew all they could meet in the Palace, and with much ado were kept from putting thouſands to death, that were now aſſembled in the Theatre. Nay the common People allured by his ſhows and largeſſes, endeavoured to find out the Authors of his death, to whom *Valerius Aſiaticus* (who had been *Conſul*) coming forth whilſt they were in an uproar, and every one inquired who had done the deed, O, ſaid he, *I wiſh I had done it.* Being once adviſed to beware of a *Caſſius*, he ſuſpected *Caſſius Longinus* the *Proconſul* of *Aſia* (of the ſame Family with *Caſſius* one of the Murtherers of *Julius Cæſar*) and ſending for him, put him to death, never thinking that *Chæreas* had alſo that name. Having reigned three years, ten months and eight days, and lived twenty nine, he thus died, on the ninth before the *Calends* of *February*, in the 794 year of the City, and the 42 after the Birth of Chriſt, he *himſelf* the fourth time, and *C. Sextius Saturninus* being *Conſuls*.

A. D. 42.
Ol. 205. *an.* 1.
V. C. 794.

7. The

Vide Joſeph. Antiq. l. 19 *c.* 2, *&* 3. *Sueton in Claudio. c.* 10.

Claudius his Uncle ſucceedeth him.

7. The Senate now, as *Joſephus* telleth us, thought of reſuming the ancient form of Government, though it was utterly impracticable, *Saturninus* the *Conſul* eſpecially ſtickling for it. But the Soldiers rightly judging, that ſuch an Empire could not be ruled in a *Popular* way, and eſpecially looking at their own advantage, reſolved the contrary. *Tiberius Claudius Druſus,* Brother to *Germanicus Cæſar*, and Son to *Druſus* (by *Antonia* the younger, the Daughter of *Antony* the *Triumvir* and of *Octavia* the Siſter of *Auguſtus*) was yet living. Him they judging moſt fit to ſucceed his Nephew, pulled him out of an hole where he had hid himſelf to ſave his life, and ſtraight-way declared him *Emperour*. He was at firſt diſcharged by the meſſages of the Senate, but again took heart, at the Counſel and directions of King *Agrippa*, ſo that the Senators deſpairing of Succeſs, gave over their Enterprize, but not without (ſome of them) ſeeking the Sovereignty for themſelves, which would have produced as great Slaughters and Deſolations as ever, had any of them obtained liberty to proſecute their deſires. The People were for *Claudius* his preferment, envying the Senate it's ancient Power, and making account by the Sovereignty of one to be ſheltred from it's avarice. Hereby alſo they thought to avoid ſuch Civil Wars as fell out amongſt the great ones in the time of *Pompey*. The wiſer ſort knew that it was impoſſible the Commonwealth ſhould ſubſiſt but under Monarchy: ſome one they were ſure would eſtabliſh himſelf, and that through Deſolations, Confuſions, and Slaughters, they muſt come to it at laſt. Self-preſervation therefore, and publick intereſt eaſily led them to the next Heir, who by his Birth could challenge an intereſt. For *hereditary Monarchies, by preſerving due Reverence, excluding Emulations and Conteſts amongſt equals, by preventing numerous pretentions, and the extravagant grandeur of divers Families, can only ſecure the Peace and Proſperity of their Subjects.*

Putteth to death *Chæreas*.

Idem c. 11.

Inlargeth the Dominions of *Agrippa*.

Joſephus ut ſupra c. 4, 5.

Acts 12.

Whom vengeance overtaketh for the death of *James*.

A. D. 45. *V. C.* 797.

8. *Claudius* promiſed the Soldiers a Donative upon their taking an Oath to defend his Perſon and Authority. Then put he to death *Chæreas* and others that killed *Caius*, as a means to ſecure his own Perſon; but in reference to the Senate buried all things in oblivion, and behaved himſelf moderately and civilly. He confirmed *Agrippa* in his Kingdom, and inlarged his Dominions by an addition of *Judæa* and *Samaria*, which heretofore belonged to his Grand-Father. And he further beſtowed on him *Abila*, and the Principality of *Libanus*, which had belonged to *Lyſanias*; moreover upon his deſire he granted to his Brother *Herod* the Kingdom of *Chalcis*, and at the requeſt of both, publiſhed favourable Edicts in behalf of the *Jews*, who groaned under the perſecution of *Caius*. This *Agrippa* (called alſo *Herod* by St. *Luke*) labouring all manner of ways to gratifie the *Jews*, killed *James* the Brother of *John*, and ſhut up *Peter* in Priſon, intending to bring him forth to the People after the *Paſſeover*, but he was miraculouſly delivered by an Angel. A juſt puniſhment from God overtook *Agrippa* not long after: For, having begun to build the Walls of *Jeruſalem*, when upon complaint of *Marſus Preſident* of *Syria*, he was forbidden by *Claudius*, he deſcended to *Cæſarea*, there to celebrate Games in honour of *Cæſar*. Being clothed with a Robe of Silver, which gliſtered exceedingly by the reflection of the Sunbeams, he rejected not the flatteries of thoſe who aſcribed to him divine honours, and was preſently ſeized by a pain in his Guts, and being eaten with Worms, gave up the Ghoſt within Five Days, after he had Reigned Seven Years in all, and Three over *Judæa*. His Kingdom was not committed to his Son, by reaſon of his Youth, (for he was but Seventeen Years Old) and therefore *Cuſpius Fadus* was ſent to Govern it.

Claudius reſtoreth ſeveral Princes.

The *Britains* tumultuous.

9. *Claudius* reſtored alſo *Mithridates* the *Iberian* to his Kingdom, whom *Caius* had impriſoned. On another *Mithridates* (deſcended from *Mithridates* the *Great* King of *Pontus*) he beſtowed the Kingdom of *Boſphorus* (giving one part of *Cilicia* to *Polemo* in requital) and another part of this Country to *Antiochus* with *Commagena*; for he had alſo been deprived of this his Kingdom by *Caius*. But the *Lycians* and *Rhodians* he deprived of their liberty. The former, for that they had raiſed a Sedition, wherein ſome *Romans* had been ſlain, and the later, becauſe they had Crucified ſome of them. About this time the *Britains* were very tumultuous, for the reducing of whom to obedience, he ſent *A. Plautius* in his Second Year, with an Army out of *Gall*.

Lege Cambdenum.

10. Since the time of *Julius Cæſar*, the *Romans* had attempted nothing upon *Britain*. *Auguſtus* ſeemeth of purpoſe to have neglected it, counting it policy to keep the *Roman Empire* with in its bounds; to wit, the *Ocean*, the Rivers *Iſter*

and

This Iſland from *Julius Cæſar* his Expeditions, untouched by the *Romans*.

Auguſtus was diverted from it.

and *Euphrates*, limits ſet by nature, to the end it might be a State *Adamantine* (for ſo he himſelf ſpeaketh in *Julian*) or *invincible*, and not miſcarry through its too great bulk and burthen. *Strabo* is of opinion, that he deſpiſed it, ſeeing no cauſe to fear, nor hope of much profit from, the *Britains*; and yet it ſeemed that no ſmall danger would be preſented from other Nations lying about the Iſland. But at length he departed from *Rome* with a purpoſe to transfer the War into *Britain*; but when he was come into *Gall*, the *Britains* pacified him by Ambaſſadors, and having obtained his amity, dedicated Preſents and Oblations in the Capitol. They brought the Iſland now familiar to the *Romans*, and endured Taxes and Impoſts, which ſaith *Strabo*, are now nothing grievous to them, being raiſed out of ſuch Merchandiſe and Commodities as are Shipped to and fro out of *Gall* and *Britain*: thoſe be Ivory Works, Bits and Bridles, Chains and Wreaths, Veſſels of Electrum and Glaſs, with other baſe and common Wares of like ſort. And therefore there needs no Garriſon for that Iſland. *For it would require one Legion at leaſt, and ſome Horſemen, if Tributes were to be Levied from thence, and the ſaid Tributes would but countervail the Charges of maintaining a Garriſon there, for of neceſſity, by impoſing a Tribute, the Revenues coming by Tollage and Poundage, and ſuch like Impoſts, would be leſs: and if any violent courſe were uſed, ſome Peril or other muſt be expected.* The Year following alſo, *Auguſtus* intended a ſecond Expedition into *Britain*, becauſe there was ſome variance about the Covenants: but by occaſion of ſome inſurrections made in *Spain* by the *Cantabri* and others, that Journey was ſtayed.

Tiberius neglect it.

Caius his rare exploits.

11. *Tiberius* nothing tranſported with an inordinate deſire of inlarging the Empire, ſeemeth to have reſted in that counſel of *Auguſtus*; For he produced a Book written with *Auguſtus* his own hand, wherein was contained the *whole Wealth and Eſtate of the Commonweal, what number as well of* Roman *Citizens as Allies were in Arms, how many Navies, Kingdoms, and Provinces, what Tributes and Impoſts belonged to the State, with a reſolution annexed thereto of containing the Empire within the ſame bounds.* Which advice and reſolution of *Auguſtus* contented him ſo well, that, as *Tacitus* reporteth, he would attempt nothing in *Britain*, nor maintain any Garriſon or Deputies here. For, whereas *Tacitus* reckoneth up the number of Legions, and what Coaſts and Countries they defended at that time, he maketh no mention at all of *Britain*. And yet it ſeemeth, that the *Britains* entertained amity with the *Romans*. For when as at the ſame time *Germanicus* ſailed the *Ocean*, ſome of his Company being by force of Tempeſt driven to this Iſland, were by the Princes thereof ſent back again. That *Caius Cæſar* caſt in his mind to enter this Iſland is certain: but by his ſhittle brain, ſudden repentance, and wonderful Attempts againſt *Germany* it came to nothing. For to the end that he might terrifie *Britain* and *Germany* (over which he hovered) with the fame of ſome mighty piece of work, he made a Bridg between *Baiæ* and the *Piles* of *Puteoli*, three Miles and Six Hundred Paces in length. But having atchieved no greater exploit, than received to grace *Adminius* the Son of *Cynobellinus* King of the *Britains* (who being by his Father Baniſhed, had fled over Sea with a ſmall Power and Train about him) he ſent magnificent and glorious Letters to *Rome*, as if the whole Iſle had been yielded up into his hands, warning and wiſhing the Poſts to ride forward directly into the *Forum* and *Curia*, and in no wiſe to deliver the ſaid miſſives unto the *Conſuls*, but in the *Temple* of *Mars*, and that in a frequent *Aſſembly* of the Senate.

And great atchievement.

Britenhuis.

12. After this, to the Ocean he marched, as if he minded to tranſlate the War over into *Britain*. There upon the ſhoar he embattelled his Soldiers: he himſelf took Sea in a *Gally*, and having lanched forth a little from the Land, returned again. Then mounting an high Scaffold, he ſate him down, and gave his Soldiers the Sign for Battel, and commanding the Trumpets to ſound, on a ſuddain charged them to gather Cockles, Muskles, and other ſmall Shel-fiſhes. Having gotten theſe ſpoils he waxed proud, as if he had Conquered the *Ocean*: and having rewarded his Soldiers, he brought ſome of theſe Shel-fiſhes to *Rome*, to ſhew the booty he had gotten. In token and memorial of this great atchievement, he cauſed to be built a brave high Turret, out of which as from a Watch-Tower, there might blaze all night long, Lights, and Fires, for the better direction of Sea-men. The ruines hereof are ſome times ſeen at a low-water on the ſhoar of *Holland*, by the People inhabiting thereabouts, called *Britenhuis*, that is, the *Britiſh houſe*, who alſo find oftentimes ſtones ingraven with letters:

of which one had theſe Characters, C. C. P. F. which they expound thus, *Caius Caligula Pharum Fecit*, that is, *Caius Caligula made this* Pharus (*or* Watch-Tower) ſo called, I ſuppoſe, from that notable one, and one of the Worlds wonders, built by *Ptolomy Philadelphus* in the Iſland *Pharus*, from which † ſome would have the ancient Kings of *Ægypt* called *Pharaohs*. It is probable, that this Watch-tower afterward being repaired by *Septimius Severus*, became a Granary for reception of Corn, which was brought out of *Britain*, whence it might take its name of *Britenhuis*. For *Zozimus* writeth, ſaith *Cambden*, that Corn was wont to be brought out of *Britain* by Ships to this place, and thence with Barges and Boats haled up the *Rhene* againſt the ſtream, to ſerve the *Roman* Garriſons : ſeeing that *Julian* the *Emperour* built Garriſons, as *Marcellinus* ſaith, wherein might be inned and kept the Corn, that the *Britains* uſually tranſported thither.

† *Vives in Aug. de civit. Dei l.*16.*c. ult.*

Claudius ſendeth *Plantius* into *Britain.*

Paſſing thither himſelf ſubdueth part of it.

Sueton ut ſuprà cap. 17.

13. But, afterwards the inland parts of *Britain* waſted, rather with Civil Wars and Factions than by the force of the *Romans*, came by little and little ſubjected to them. Some making choice of their protection ſwore allegiance to them, and practiſed by all means to ſubject their Native Countrey unto their Government. The principal of theſe Fugitives was one *Bericus*, who moved, and perſwaded *Claudius* to give the Attempt upon *Britain*, which none aſſayed to do ſince the time of *Julins Cæſar*, and which then was up in a broil and commotion, for that the ſaid Fugitives were not rendred again unto them. *Claudius* therefore in his Second Year Ordered *A. Plautius* the *Prætor* to paſs over out of *Gall*, who having by the means of *Narciſſus* quieted the Soldiers that refuſed to make War without the compaſs the World, overthrew ſeveral times the Sons of *Cynobellinus*. His Lieutenant was *Flavius Veſpaſian*, who behaved himſelf very gallantly in the Service. But *Claudius* in his Fourth Year being very ambitious of a Triumph (as not contenting himſelf with Triumphal Enſigns decreed to him by the Senate) without a juſt cauſe pitched upon *Britain* as yet Seditious, becauſe their Fugitives were not reſtored. Sailing from *Oſtia*, he was twice in danger of Shipwrack, once near *Liguria*, and again near the Iſlands *Stæchades* (four or five in the *French* Sea near *Languedoc* and *Provence*) where from *Maſſilia* (now *Marſeils* in *Provence*) he went by Land as far as *Geſſoriacum* (now *Bologne*) and thence paſſing into the Iſland ſubdued part of it, and amongſt other Towns *Camalodunum* (now *Maldon*) the Regal Seat of *Cynobellinus*, with the *Orcades* : *Dio* writeth, that at his firſt Landing he defeated the *Barbarians* in Battel. But *Suetonius* ſaith, he performed theſe Acts without a Battel, and the loſs of one drop of Blood. Having been divers times ſaluted *Imperator* (a thing directly ſaith *Dio* againſt the *Roman* Cuſtom ; for lawful it is not in one War to aſſume that Title oftner than once) he diſarmed the *Britains*, and committing as well the Government of theſe, as the War with the other (not yet ſubdued) to *Plautius*, he haſted to *Rome* in the ſixth Month, ſending before him *Pompey* and *Silanus* his Sons-in-Law with Tidings of the Victory.

Extraordinary expreſſions of joy at *Rome.*

14. So great a matter it was, and of ſuch conſequence to have Conquered even ſo ſmall a parcel of *Britain*, that the Senate thereupon decreed in honour of *Claudius*, *Yearly Games* with *Triumphal Arches*, both at *Rome*, and alſo *Geſſoriacum* in *Gall*, and a moſt honourable and ſtately Triumph. To the beholding hereof Governours of Provinces, and ſome baniſhed Perſons alſo were permitted to come to the City : a Naval Crown was fixed on the Loover of the Palace, as the Enſign of the *Britiſh* Sea ſubdued by him : the *Provinces* brought in Crowns of Gold, and *Gallia Comata* one above the reſt weighing nine pounds : and the hither part of *Spain*, another of ſeven pound weight. He mounted up into the *Capitol* by the ſtairs on his knees, ſupported, and heaved up by his Sons-in-Law on either ſide. He entred in Triumphing wiſe the *Adriatick* Sea, embarked in a Veſſel more like ſome exceeding great Houſe than a Ship. Unto his Wife *Meſſalina* was allowed the higheſt place to ſit in, as alſo to ride in a Caroach or hanging Coach. After this he ſet forth Triumphal Plays and Games, being made *Conſul* for that purpoſe. The Solemnities were exhibited at once in two Theatres, and many times when he was gone aſide from the fight, others had the charge hereof. Horſe-races for the Prize he promiſed as many as thoſe days would admit. Howbeit, above Ten there were not ; for between every courſe of Horſes Bears were killed, Champions performed their duties, and choice Boys ſent for out of *Aſia*, danced the Warlike dance in Armour. Upon *Valerius Aſiaticus*, *Julius Silanus*, *Sidius Geta*, and others, in regard of this

Conqueſt, he heaped Triumphal Ornaments. He ſuffered *Licinius Craſſus Frugi* to follow after himſelf in his Triumph, mounted upon a trapped Courier with a rich Capariſon, and arrayed in a Robe of Date-tree work. Upon *Poſidius* the Eunuch he beſtowed a Spear-ſtaff without a head: upon *C. Gavius* Chains, Bracelets, Horſe-trappings, and a Coronet of Gold; as is to be ſeen in an ancient Marble at *Taurinum*.

15. In the mean time *Aulus Plautius* went on with the remainders of the War in *Britain*, and ſped ſo well, that *Claudius* paſſed a Decree That he ſhould enter *Rome* in *Ovant Triumph*: and when he was entred into the City, he himſelf went to meet him, giving him the right hand all the way. *Veſpaſian*, partly under *Claudius*, and partly under *Plautius*, fought Thirty Battels with the Enemy; ſubdued alſo two moſt mighty Nations, and above twenty Towns, together with the Iſle of *Vectis* or *Wight*. For thoſe exploits he received triumphal Ornaments, and within a ſhort ſpace two Sacerdotal Dignities, with a *Conſulſhip* which he bore the two laſt Months of the Year. *Titus* alſo ſerved in quality of a *Tribune* under his Father with exceeding commendations for his induſtry and valour (for he valiantly delivered his Father when beſieged) and no leſs Repute of his modeſt carriage ſay ſome, as appeareth by a number of his Images and Titles to them annexed, throughout the *Provinces* of *Germany* and *Britain*. About this time a new Iſland appeared in the *Ægean* Sea named *Thia* near to *Hiera*, which One Hundred and Ten Years before it firſt alſo ſprung up: And both of them lay betwixt *Thera* and *Theraſia*, which in like manner One Hundred and Thirty Years before the Original of *Hiera* were firſt ſeen amongſt the *Cyclades*.

Plautius.

And *Veſpaſian* proſper in *Britain*.

Sueton in Veſpaſian.

Idem in Tito.

Oroſius lib. 7. cap. 6.
Plin. l. 2. c. 87.
A. D. 46.
V. C. 798.

16. Two or three Years after this, *Claudius* being certified that his Wife *Meſſalina* (the moſt unchaſt of all Women) had openly Married *C. Silius*, he animadverted upon her and her Minions. About the ſame time *Herod* the King of *Chalcis* dying, he beſtowed that Kingdom upon *Herod*'s Nephew *Agrippa* the younger, for *Judæa* his Fathers Kingdom was ſtill governed by Deputies. *Tiberius Alexander*, who ſucceeded *Fadus*, gave place to *Cumanus*, under whom the *Jews*, being affronted at the *Paſſeover* by impudent and ſawcy Soldiers, mutined, but now, as ever, came by the worſt: and not long after their Country-men who dwelt at *Rome* were expelled thence by *Claudius*, and under their name, as many think, the *Chriſtians* alſo. In the Nineteenth Year of his Reign he Married *Agrippina* his own Niece by his Brother *Germanicus* through the perſwaſion of *Pallas* his *Freedman*, which Woman preſently as ſoon as ſhe perceived her ſtrength procured his Daughter *Octavia* to be given in Marriage to *Domitius Nero* her Son by her former Husband *Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus*. The Maid was formerly contracted to *L. Silanus* an eminent young man, but he accuſed by *Vitellius* was put out of his *Prætorſhip*, and the match was broken betwixt him and the Princeſs, whereupon he ſhortly after killed himſelf. And a Year after was *Claudius* perſuaded by *Pallas* to adopt *Nero* his Wive's Son, though he had a Son of his own, by name *Britanicus*, but two Years younger. *Pallas* was ſo high flown in favour, that he procured his Brother *Felix* to be ſent Governour into *Samaria*, and afterwards got his power extended to *Judæa*, *Galilee*, and *Peræa*, where he acted the part of a Tyrant, and having married ſeveral great Ladies, obtained alſo *Druſilla* Siſter to *Agrippa*. The *Parthians* now again at variance amongſt themſelves, and wearied with the Tyranny of *Gotarzes*, asked a Prince from *Rome*. *Claudius* ſent them *Meherdates* the Son of *Vonones*, and Grandſon of *Phraates*; but he was preſently betrayed into the hands of *Gotarzes*. At this time alſo the *Britains* rebelled.

Claudius animadverteth upon his Wife *Meſſalina*.

Marrieth *Agrippina* his Niece.

Felix ſent Governour into *Samaria*.

Stirs in *Parthia*.

The *Britains* rebell.

Lege Tacit. Annal. l. 11. c. 26. &c.

Joſephus Antiquit. lib. 2. capp. 3, 4.
Oroſius lib. 7. cap. 6.
Sueton ut ſupra cap. 25.
Tacitus Annal. l. 12. c. 1. &c.

17. Now was *P. Oſtorius* Proprætor here, upon whoſe firſt coming the *Britains* grew confident, as contemning him for his want of experience. The Winter being begun they made excurſions into the Territories of the *Allies* of *Rome*. He knowing that the firſt event would either incourage or daunt them, ſet upon, and ſcattered them, then went about to diſarm all ſuch as he had reaſon to ſuſpect; but the *Iceni* (inhabiting thoſe parts now called *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridgſhire*, and *Huntingtonſhire*) a ſtrong Nation, refuſing to ſubmit, drew others in to them, and pitching upon a very convenient ground gave Battel to the *Romans*, who by reaſon that they deſpaired of Pardon, had much ado to overcome them. By this foil of the *Iceni*, others before unſettled were contained in obedience, and *Oſtorius* led his Army againſt the *Cangi* (a People living towards the *Iriſh* Sea) and waſting their grounds had paſſed on well nigh to the

Tacitus Annal. lib. 12. Capp. 31, 32. &c.

the *Iriſh* Sea, when he was recalled by the diſcord of the *Brigantes* (people inhabiting the North part of this now called *England*) the Ring-leaders of whom when he had taken off, the Rebellion was extinguiſhed. But the *Silures* (inhabiting *Southwales*) would by no means be either allured or diſcouraged from waging War, truſting to the ſtrength of *Charactacus* the greateſt Prince amongſt the *Britains*, who excelling as well in policy as the knowledge of the Countrey, transferred the War into the Territories of the *Ordovices* (now *Northwales*) as more convenient for him by reaſon of the Mountains and Rocks. Here he made a ſpeech to his Officers, putting them in mind how their Anceſtors had repulſed *Cæſar* the *Dictator*, and willing them to behave themſelves at this time, as the beginning of their liberty or eternal ſlavery. Till they came to ſtrokes the *Romans* had the worſt of it; but afterwards breaking into the Rampires they eaſily routed the *Britains*, and got a great Victory, wherein the Wife and Daughter of *Caractacus* being taken, his Brethren yielded themſelves.

Are reduced.

Caractacus betrayed is carried to *Rome*.

Idem ibid. cap. 36, *&c.*

18. *Caractacus* committing himſelf into the hands of *Cartiſmunda*, Queen of the *Brigantes*, was treacherouſly bound, and delivered up to the Conquerours in the Ninth Year of the War, wherein he had got himſelf an exceeding great name. Being carried to *Rome*, the people was called together as to ſome famous ſhow, and the *Prætorian* bands were placed along for the reception of him. The Prayers of the reſt were by reaſon of fear, baſe, and nothing ſavouring of Nobility: but *Caractacus*, neither hanging down his head, nor craving any mercy, when he ſtood before the *Emperour*'s Tribunal, ſpake to this purpoſe: *If my moderation in proſperity had been as great as my Nobility and Fortune, I had come rather as a Friend into this City, than a Captive: neither would you have diſdained to receive me with Covenants of Peace, being a Prince deſcended of Noble Progenitors, and a Commander over many Nations. My preſent ſtate is, as to me Diſhonourable, ſo to you Magnificent. I have had Horſes, Men, Armour, and Wealth: What marvel if againſt my will I have loſt them all? For if you will rule over all men, it followeth that all men muſt abide Servitude. If preſently I had yielded, and been delivered into your hands, neither had my Fortune nor your Glory been very remarkable: and oblivion would have followed my puniſhment. But if you ſave me alive, I ſhall be an example of your Clemency for ever.*

His ſpeech to the Emperour.

He is pardoned.

19. Upon thoſe words *Cæſar* pardoned him, his Wife and Brethren. And they being all unbound did their reverence likewiſe unto *Agrippina* (who ſat aloft not far off in an high ſeat to be ſeen) giving her the like praiſes, and in the ſame degrees of ſtyle as they did the *Emperour* himſelf. Surely a ſtrange precedent without any example, ſaith the Hiſtorian, that a Woman ſhould ſit and command the *Roman* Enſigns. But ſhe carried her ſelf as a fellow and aſſociate in th Empire gotten by her *Progenitors*. After this the Senate was called together, and the *Fathers* made long and glorious diſcourſes, as touching the Captivity of *Caractacus*. Neither was this leſs honourable, as they affirmed, than when *Pub. Scipio* ſhewed *Siphax*, *L. Paulus*, *Perſes*, or whoſoever elſe exhibited Conquered Kings to the view of the *People*. As for *Oſtorius*, it was Decreed that he ſhould be honoured with triumphal Ornaments. But his Fortune ſoon changed, either for that he grew ſecure upon the Captivity of ſo conſiderable a man, or the Enemy was highly moved to revenge it. For a Party left to awe the *Silures* was incompaſſed by the *Britains*, and if help had not preſently come in from the adjoining Villages and Fortreſſes, had been utterly cut off, beſides, that the Commander in Chief with Eight Centurions, and many others was ſlain. Not long after ſuch as went to gather Forrage, and ſeveral Companies ſent in to their aid, were alſo routed, and the Enemy was hardly reſtrained at length by the help of the Legions. After this hapned many Skirmiſhes, as they met by chance, or were deſirous of Booty, and two Auxiliary Cohorts were intercepted, with the Spoils of which other Nations were drawn to revolt, and not long after *Oſtorius* ſpent with care and penſiveneſs died. To his place *Claudius* preferred *A. Didius*, who found things but in a bad condition, through the boldneſs of the *Silures*. But the *Britains* falling out amongſt themſelves were ſeveral times overthrown, and then kept under.

The *Britains* again are up.

Subdued.

Joſeph. Antiquit. lib. 20. *cap.* 5. *Tacitus Annal. lib.* 12. *capp.* 64, 67, 68.

20. *Claudius*, the Twelfth Year of his Reign ending, beſtowed on *Agrippa* the Tetrarchy of *Philip*, as alſo that of *Lyſanias*, taking *Chalcis* from him after he had Governed it Four Years. After this he reſtored the *Rhodians* to their former liberty upon their repentance, and eaſed the Inhabitants of *Ilium* of all Charges and Tributes, as being the Authors of the *Roman* Race. *Nero* pleaded the

cauſes of both Cities, whoſe Mother *Agrippina* now began to be diſcovered to her Husband. He chanced in his drink to ſay that *it was Fatal to him firſt to endure, and then to puniſh the wickedneſs of his Wives*, and he repented of his folly in preferring her Son before his own. She bethinking her ſelf how to eſcape the danger, firſt gave him Poiſon in Muſhrooms his beloved meat, but it paſſing through him, ſhe uſed the skill of *Xenophon* the Phyſician, who as it were to help him to Vomit, put ſomething down his Throat dipped in a moſt violent Poiſon, and ſo he died, who within a ſmall time upon a very ſmall account had put to death Thirty Five *Senators*, and Three Hundred *Equites*. He was a man that before his coming to the Government was deſpiſed by his Relations as ſome imperfect thing, and afterwards was but counted blockiſh, and deſpicable by others, yet ſometimes he would judg very wiſely and circumſpectly, and ſo far profited in liberal ſtudies (which he very much plied) that he wrote divers things, and amongſt the reſt a learned *defence of Cicero* in anſwer to the Books of *Aſinius Pollio*. He was fearful above meaſure, ſo that (amongſt other demonſtrations) when *Camillus*, who attempted a Rebellion, ſent to him a reproachful, and menacing Letter, willing him to lay down the Government, he was in doubt, and ſeriouſly conſulted whether he ſhould not do it: and this made him put many to death upon idle and malicious accuſations. He was the very Slave of his *Freedmen* (whereof *Narciſſus* and *Pallas* were chief) who rather Reigned than he; for, they managed all things according to their Pleaſure or Luſt, beſtowing favours upon whom they pleaſed, and killing any, though never ſo worthy, or nearly allied to him. He excuſed his anger and peeviſhneſs by a publick Declaration. He was ſo forgetful that he would ſeveral times ask for ſuch as he had put to death. He would eat and drink at any time, or in any place: he was a great player at Dice, of which Art he ſet forth a Book. He died on the third before the *Ides* of *October*, in the 64 Year of his Age, when he had Reigned Thirteen Years, Eight Months, and Twenty Days, in the 807 Year of the City, the 55 after the birth of *Chriſt*, *M. Aſinius Marcellus* and *M. Acilius Aviola* being *Conſuls*.

Claudius poiſoned by *Agrippina* his Wife.

A.D. 55.
V.C. 807.

Sueton. in Claudio.

His Character.

21. Now that we may note briefly ſuch Eccleſiaſtical matters, as fell out in the Reign of *Claudius*. In his Firſt Year *James* the Brother of *John* was, as we ſaid, put to death by *Agrippa*, and *Peter* being caſt by him into Priſon was delivered by an Angel. In his Second, *Paul* returned out of *Arabia*, to *Damaſcus*, whence he came to *Jeruſalem* to ſee *Peter*. Hence he went to *Tarſus*, and not long after to *Antioch*, being called by *Barnabas*, who had been ſent thither by the *Apoſtles*. In his Third, *Paul* Preached for a whole Year at *Antioch*, together with *Barnabas*. In his Fourth, *Paul* carried the Almes of the faithful from *Antioch* to *Jeruſalem*, becauſe of the Famine foretold by *Agabus*. Thence returning to *Antioch*, he was ſent with *Barnabas* to Preach the Goſpel in *Aſia*. In this Fourth then, and the Fifth Year of *Claudius* he Preached Chriſt in *Cyprus*, *Pamphylia*, *Piſidia*, *Iconium*, *Lyſtra*, and *Derbe*, and returned to *Antioch*. In the Sixth he was ſent from *Antioch* to *Jeruſalem* to the Council with *Barnabas*, whence returning to *Antioch* he reprehended *Peter*, who came thither a little after him, for his diſſembling, and not long after went with *Silas* into *Aſia*, to confirm the Churches he had Founded, In the Seventh of *Claudius* he Preached Chriſt in *Crete*, and through *Piſidia*, *Pamphylia*, and *Phrygia*, viſited the Churches, and converted the *Galatians* to the Faith. In the Eighth he came to *Troas*, and thence into *Macedonia*, where at *Philippi*, as alſo at *Theſſalonica*, at *Beræa*, and then at *Athens* he Preached the Goſpel. About the end of the Ninth Year he came to *Corinth*, where he found *Aquila* and *Priſcilla*, with whom he ſtayed half a Year Preaching the Goſpel, and thence wrote both his Epiſtles to the *Theſſalonians*. In the Eleventh Year he came from *Corinth* to *Epheſus* with *Aquila* and *Priſcilla*. whom there leaving, he went to *Jeruſalem* to the *Feaſt*. Thence he returned to *Antioch* and *Epheſus* through *Phrygia*, *Galatia*, and the higher parts of *Aſia*. Being at *Epheſus* in the Twelfth Year, there he continued Two Years, till the Tumult raiſed by *Demetrius*. Hence he wrote his Epiſtle to the *Galatians*; the former alſo to the *Corinthians*, and to *Titus*, but about the end of the following Year; as alſo the firſt to *Timothy*. About the end alſo of the Thirteenth Year, or the beginning of the following, he came into *Macedonia* and *Achaia*, to receive the Collections to be carried to *Jeruſalem*. And hence (from *Corinth*) being to paſs into *Aſia*, he wrote his Epiſtle to the *Romans* about the end of the following Year. About the end alſo of the Fourteenth Year he was impriſoned at *Jeruſalem*. And being carried to *Cæſarea* was there kept Priſoner by *Felix* for two Years. Concerning the Chrono-

Eccleſiaſtical matters in his Reign.

logy of theſe accounts, *Ludovicus Cappellus* is by Students to be conſulted, in his *Hiſtoria Apoſtolica Illuſtrata*.

Of S. *Peter* his being at *Rome*.

22. St. *Peter* the *Apoſtle* is reported in the ſecond Year of *Claudius* to have come to *Rome*, having been formerly *Biſhop* of *Antioch*, in which See he was ſucceeded by *Evodius* one of the Seventy Diſciples, of whom alſo *Paul* maketh mention: ſome ſay that he continued *Biſhop* at *Rome* Twenty five Years, *viz.* Twelve under *Claudius*, and Thirteen under *Nero*. Perhaps he might come to *Rome* at this time, but that he ſtayed there Twenty five Years is but to be taken for a Fable. For we read that *Claudius* Baniſhed all *Jews* from *Rome*, and he being a *Jew*, muſt needs give place, or abide the danger. We do not find he had any trouble, and this was by reaſon of his abſence. It's probable that he went away when *Aquila* and *Priſcilla* departed *Rome*, and met St. *Paul* at *Corinth*. *Euſebius* indeed often mentioneth his being at *Rome*, and writeth, that he ſuffered Martyrdom together with *Paul* under *Nero*. This might be at his ſecond return unto *Rome*, ſo that we may count Twenty five Years from his firſt Coming under *Claudius* unto the end of his Martyrdom under *Nero*; it being, to ſay truth, better thus to reconcile Writers, than flatly to deny all, or to ſay, he never was at *Rome*. Here he met with *Simon Magus* again, and confounded him, as it's reported. This man being a *Samaritan*, of the Village *Gitton*, was Baptized by *Philip* the *Deacon* in *Samaria*. He would have bought of *Peter* the gift of the *Holy Ghoſt*; and thence of him aroſe the word *Simony*. He came to *Rome* in the time of *Claudius*, where calling himſelf a *God*, he was honoured with an Image, having this inſcription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*. He had to his yokemate one *Helene*, by *Irenæus* called *Selen*, a Witch and a common Harlot, whom he called the *Principal underſtanding*. He ſaid unto the *Samaritans* that he was the *Father*, unto the *Jews*, that he was the *Son* deſcended from Heaven, and unto the *Gentiles*, that he was the *Holy Ghoſt*. *Peter* foiled him in *Samaria*, whence for ſhame he fled; and leaving *Samaria* and *Judæa*, he ſailed from *Eaſt* to *Weſt*, and came to *Rome*, under *Claudius*, where *Peter* met him. *Peter* it's ſaid had much to do with him in the preſence of *Nero*. Some write that he had three Conflicts with him; and in the end *Simon* ſeeing himſelf foiled, and his Witchcraft not at all to prevail, told them he would leave their City, and flie up into the Heavens whence he came. Whereupon at a certain day appointed, he climbed up into the high Capitol, whence he took his flight by the means of Witchcraft, and the Spirits that bore him up in the Air. The People at the ſight hereof was amazed. But *Peter* fell down and prayed God that his Witchcraft might be revealed to the World. He had no ſooner ſpoke, but down came *Simon Magus*, and was broken to pieces, ſo that he there miſerably died. Now again to the courſe of our Hiſtory.

Acts 8.
Euſeb. l. 2. *c.* 1.
Idem c. 12, 13, 14.
Irenæus l. 1. *c.* 20.
Ephiphan. l. 1. *tom.* 2. *hæreſ.* 21.

23. The death of *Claudius* was kept private by *Agrippina*, till ſuch time as the Empire could be ſecured to *Nero* her Son, who then, at noon time of the day, the doors of the *Palace* being opened ſuddainly, accompanied with *Burrhus* Captain of the Guard, went to the Watch, by which at the inſtance of the Captain, he was received with lucky Acclamations. Being put into a Litter, he was thence carried to the Camp, where ſpeaking at the time required, and promiſing a Donative to the Soldiers, after the example of his Predeceſſors, he was ſaluted Emperour, and preſently owned by the Senate, and in the Provinces. *Claudius* his Teſtament he never publiſhed, leſt the People ſhould be moved by the injury offered to *Britanicus*, to whom his Father was ſo Superlatively unnatural, as to prefer his Wives Son before him. Indeed ſome of the Soldiers at firſt pauſed, and looking back, asked for *Britanicus*; but finding no body to ſtir in his behalf, joined themſelves to the multitude. *Nero* came to the Government, being Seventeen Years Old, Six Years after he had been adopted by *Claudius*.

Tacitus Annal. l. 12. *c. ult.*
Nero ſucceedeth *Claudius*.
Sueton in Nerone c. 7.
Idem c. 10.

24. *Nero* at firſt carried it exceedingly well towards People and Magiſtrates, Governing according to the Pattern of *Auguſtus*, whoſe preſcript he profeſſed he would obſerve. He omitted no occaſion of ſhewing liberality, clemency, and mildneſs, inſomuch that *Trajan* himſelf admiring his firſt Five Years, averred, that *All Princes came ſhort of them*. Heavy Tributes he either took off or leſſened, diſtributed money to the People, gave Annual Stipends to impoveriſhed Senators, and to the *Prætorian bands* Corn every Month freely. Being deſired to ſubſcribe to the execution of a condemned Perſon, *Oh*, ſaid he, *I wiſh I knew not letters*. But this good beginning is rather to be attributed to

All Princes came ſhort of his firſt Five Years.
Aurelius Victor.

Tacitus Annal. l. 13. c. 1, &c.

Burrhus and *Seneca* (the latter of whom, after his Adoption, was his Schoolmaſter) who being in power, mutually helped each other. *Agrippina* thought by virtue of his name to rule indeed; and at the beginning Poiſoned *Silanus* Proconſul of *Aſia*, and made away *Narciſſus*; without his knowledge the former, and the latter without his conſent; and had gone further, but that *Burrhus* and *Seneca* interpoſed. Not long after, jealouſies aroſe betwixt them, for he falling in love with *Acte* a *Freed-woman*, and diſtaſting ſuch as ſhe leaned upon, removed *Pallas* her Minion from publick imployment, which ſo far exaſperated her, that ſhe upbraided him with *Britanicus*, as moſt fit to enjoy his Fathers Seat. This Seat ſhe told her Son he now enjoyed by her means, and not ſparing to lay open all the evils, as ſhe ſaid, of their unhappy Family, her own Marriage and Sorcery; ſhe took it as happy for the gods and her, that *Britanicus* was living, and proteſted ſhe would go with him to the Camp.

His Mother and he fall at odds.

Idem ibid. c. 15.

25. This, together with *Britanicus* his frowardneſs (who being Fourteen Years old, began to be ſenſible of his condition, and to move compaſſion towards himſelf) made *Nero* reſolve to diſpatch him out of the way, and for that he could not do it openly to his Brother, he procured Poiſon to be given him, which working downwards firſt without any great incommodity, he cauſed to be boiled to that height, that it inſtantly killed him the ſecond time, whilſt he himſelf ſate at a Supper with him, as knowing nothing. He made him be buried the ſame, though a very rainy Night, his mean Funeral being provided beforehand. *Agrippina* very much troubled that her refuge was gone, was ſhortly after accuſed to her Son, as intending by a Marriage with *Rubellius Plautus* (who was as near to *Auguſtus* as *Nero* himſelf) to invade the Sovereignty. Being ſomething gone in drink when he heard of it, he would have had her killed out of hand, but being hindred by *Burrhus*, the next day ſhe ſtoutly denied any ſuch Deſign, and the wound of jealouſie for the time was ſkinned over. After two Years, *Nero* began to diſcover what his Nature prompted him to. Diſguiſing himſelf in a ſervile habit, he ran about the City by Night to Taverns and Stews, accompanied with ſuch as himſelf, where taking away things by force, as alſo cutting and ſlaſhing ſuch as they met, he himſelf came into danger of life.

He poiſoneth *Britanicus.*

Idem ibid. c. 25.

Beginneth to diſcover himſelf.

Joſephus Antiquit. l. 20. *c.* 7.

26. A little before thoſe things, he ſent *Porcius Feſtus* into *Judæa* to ſucceed *Felix*, who being out of his Office, was accuſed at *Rome* by ſuch *Jews* as dwelt at *Cæſarea*. *Nero* pardoned him through the interceſſion of his Brother *Pallas*, who was as yet in favour. About the ſame time happened a great diſſention betwixt the *Jews* of *Cæſarea* and the *Syrians*, which there inhabited with them, about the Right and privilege of the City. They pretended that *Herod* the founder of it was a *Jew*, and thoſe anſwered, that e're he named it *Cæſarea*, it was called the *Tower of Straton*, at what time none of the *Jews* inhabited it: and the *Syrians* by a great Sum of Money procured *Beryllus* (who had been *Nero*'s School-Maſter) to get them the Emperours Letters, whereby was abrogated that Privilege which the *Jews* had formerly enjoyed with the *Syrians*. Herewith the *Jews* incenſed, were ſtill ſeditious till the beginning of the War. Great motions at this time fell out in the *Eaſt*. The *Parthians* had ſet upon *Armenia*, having driven away *Rhadamiſtus* Nephew to *Mithridates*, whom *Claudius* had ſet over that Kingdom, and who was killed by the other, that he might ſucceed him. *Nero* ſent to preſerve that Countrey *Domitius Corbulo*, who for two or three Years had little to do, becauſe the *Parthians* deferred the War. But now *Tiridates* Brother to *Vologeſus* the *Parthian* being reſolved to fight for the Diadem, the *Armenians* alſo inclining to him, *Corbulo* took ſeveral Forts, and beſieged *Artaxata* the *Metropolis*, which, though the Inhabitants opened the Gates, and for this were ſpared, yet becauſe it could not be held for the greatneſs of it, was burnt and razed. *Nero* for theſe things was ſaluted *Imperator*, very great Honours were Decreed to him, and a far greater ſtir was made by the flattering *Fathers* than was convenient.

Feſtus ſucceedeth *Felix.*

Tacitus ut ſuprà c. 34, &c.

Corbulo proſpereth in the Eaſt.

27. The ſame Year that theſe things were done by *Corbulo*, being the Fifth of his Reign, *Nero* fell in love with *Poppæa Sabina*, the Daughter of *P. Ollius*, though ſhe named her ſelf after her Grand-Father by the Mother's ſide, becauſe more eminent. He came firſt acquainted with her by the commendations of *Otho* her Husband, who alſo had been too familiar with her in the days of her firſt Husband *Rufus Criſpinus*: She incenſed him more againſt his Mother, becauſe ſhe feared, that as long as ſhe lived, he would not diſmiſs *Octavia* and marry

Now falleth in love with *Poppæa*, which incenſeth him againſt his Mother.

marry her ſelf. Sometimes ſhe laid at him by divers Criminations, and otherwhiles jeered him as a Pupil, who not only wanted Command and Authority, but alſo Liberty. Some have ſuſpected, that *Agrippina* ſought to commit Inceſt with her Son. How true ſoever this was, he now began to be abſolutely weary of her, to ſhun her company, and within a while reſolved to make her away, though ſolicitous how to do it. At length *Anicetus* his *Freed-man* and General of the Fleet at *Miſenum*, acquainted him that a Ship might be ſo framed, as to break into peices and let her fall into the Sea. This Ship was thus made, and ſhe brought into it by her Son, under colour of doing her honour, but the upper part of the Ship falling, chanced to miſs her, though it killed one of her attendants. One of her Maids knowing nothing of the deſign, cried out, that ſhe was *Agrippina*, hoping thereby to ſave her ſelf, and was thereupon killed by the Oars; but ſhe her ſelf being ſilent, eſcaped them, and ſwom to Land. Her Eſcape ſtruck *Nero* with great conſternation, who called up *Burrhus* and *Seneca* to give their advice. Whether they knew of the thing before or no is uncertain. Some ſay, *Seneca* asking *Burrhus* whether the Soldiers ſhould not be commanded to kill her, he anſwered, they would do no ſuch thing to the Daughter of *Germanicus*, and that *Anicetus* rather ſhould perform his Promiſe of diſpatching her. This he readily undertaking, accompanied with two others, went to the Village where ſhe lay. One of them firſt bruiſed her Head with a Club, another drawing his Sword, ſhe ſtretched out her Belly and bad him ſtrike *that*, and ſo died of many wounds. Some report, that her Son viewed her dead Body exactly, and paſſed his Judgment upon every part. She had been a very leud and ambitious Woman, and now reaped the fruit thereof, according to her own deſire. For conſulting on a time about the Fortune of this her Son, the *Chaldæans* told her, that He *ſhould Reign, but kill his Mother*, to which ſhe anſwered, *Occidat modo imperet: Let him kill me, ſo he but Reign.* After this wicked Fact he was continually tormented in his Conſcience, confeſſing often, that he was haunted by the Furies, which did beat him with Firebrands.

Tacitus Annal. l.14 c.1,2,&c.

Sueton in Nerone c. 34.

He cauſeth his Mother to be made away.

A. D. 60.
V. C. 812.

The Senate and People flatter him.

Tacitus ut ſupra c. 12, 13.

28. He excuſed himſelf to the Senate, laying great loads of heavy accuſations upon her. But the *Fathers* not only excuſed but commended the deed; nay to ſuch ſordidneſs of Spirit was both Senate and People degenerated, that returning to the City, they met him with as great Pomp, as if he had come from ſome notable Victory; for the ſeveral Tribes, and the Senate received him, their Wives and Children being placed according to their Sex and Age. Hereupon he grew exceſſive Proud, as *Lord over ſo many Slaves*, and preſently unmasking himſelf, without any care of his actions, fell into ſuch diſorders, as he appeared rather a Devil incarnate than a man. He became a Stage-player, learning that Art, and exerciſing himſelf therein in publick continually. He ordained Games to be ſolemnized at *Rome* evety Fifth Year, in imitation of the *Greeks*, and called them *Neronia*; perſons of all ſorts, and degrees, being conſtrained to be Actors. Theſe being continued Night and Day, moſt horrid things were committed, *Prince*, *Senate*, and *People*, either through affection or fear, not only giving way, but compelling to ſuch filthineſs. *Corbulo* at this time proſpering in *Armenia* had *Tigranocerta* yielded to him, and then placed in that Kingdom *Tigranes*, Grand-ſon to *Archelaus* King of *Cappadocia*, with whom having left a Guard, and ſettled matters, he departed into *Syria* to ſucceed *Vinidius* the Governour. The Year following, being the 814 of the City, wherein *Cæſonius Pætus* and *Petronius Turpilianus* were *Conſuls*, the *Romans* received a ſad Defeat in *Britain*.

His enormities.

Corbulo proſpereth in *Armenia.*

Conſule Tacitum ubi ſuprà Capp. 29. 30, 31. *& Xiphilin. in Excerptis ex Dione.*

Suetonius in *Britain* ſubduing the *Silures.*

29. Of late the Lieutenants of this Province had made but ſmall progreſs in their Conqueſts; *A. Didius Avitus* the Succeſſor of *Plautius* contenting himſelf with what was done before, and *Verannius*, who followed him, making only ſome excurſions upon the *Silures*; for he was prevented by death from any further ſervice. But now *Paulinus Suetonius* the Æmulator of *Corbulo* for Military glory, had the chief Command, and ſought to equal the Acts of the other in *Armenia*, by chaſtizing and taming the *Britains*. He ſet upon the Iſle *Mona* (now called *Angleſey*) Peopled with ſtrong Inhabitants, and the receptacle of all Fugitives, where he was received with multitudes of men on the ſhore, and with Women running about like Furies with Fire-brands in their hands, having their hair ſpred about their ſhoulders; the *Druides* alſo, the ancient Seat of whom that Iſland was, pouring out plenty of Curſes. The Sol-

diers

His Province revolteth.

A. D. 62.
*Ol.*210.*ann.* 1.
V. C. 814.

diers ſomething terrified at firſt, being exhorted by their General, eaſily broke through, and diſſipated this furious Company: then placed he a Garriſon in the Iſland, and cut down the Groves where they were wont to offer man's blood, and conſult their Gods by the entrail of ſome Captive. But whilſt theſe things were adoing, news came to *Suetonius* of the Revolt of his Province. For, *Praſatagus* King of the *Iceni*, that his Kingdom and Family might be freed from moleſtation, left *Cæſar* his Heir, together with his two Daughters. But it happened far otherwiſe, his Kingdom being waſted by *Centurions*, and his Houſe by *Slaves*: his Wife *Boadicia* (otherwiſe called *Boodicia*, *Boudicia*, *Voudica*, and *Bunduica*) was whipped, his Daughters defloured, his chiefeſt Subjects ſpoiled of their Goods and Lands, and his Kindred counted no better than Bond-men. Provoked by theſe things, and Fear of worſe, when they ſhould be reduced into the form of a Province, the *Iceni* took Arms, ſtirring up the *Trinobantes* to Rebellion. Others alſo with joined them, having heretofore combined to recover their liberty out of hatred to the old ſuperannuated Soldiers, who being planted as a Colony at *Camalodunum*, committed grievous outrages againſt them, and theſe were rather cheriſhed by the Army than otherwiſe, in hope of the like liberty for the time to come. But this Colony not being fenced by any Fortifications, for the Founders rather looked at the pleaſantneſs of the ſituation than commodiouſneſs of the ground; the *Britains* accounted it no great matter to deſtroy it.

Tacitus ut ſupra Capp. 32, 33. *&c. & Sueton. in Nerone cap.* 39.

Camalodunum the Colony deſtroyed.

And *Verulamium*.

30. The *Camalodunians* being terrified by ſeveral Prodigies, deſired Aid of *Catus Decianus* the Governour in *Suetonius* his abſence. He ſent them but 200 men, and thoſe but meanly Armed, and they neglected ſtill to raiſe any Fortifications, their Counſels being confounded by ſuch as were ingaged in the Plot. Being then beſet round by the Natives, all things were burnt and deſtroyed, and *Petilius Cerealis* coming to their relief with the Ninth Legion was utterly defeated, all the Foot being cut in pieces, and the Horſe with himſelf glad to run away to the Camp; whereupon *Catus* paſſed over into *Gall*, having by his avarice been the great cauſe of this defection. The ſame Defeat was given to *Verulamium* (out of the ruins of which aroſe St. *Albans*) a Town free of the City of *Rome*; for the *Britains* paſſing by Caſtles and places of defence, ſet upon ſuch as were moſt obnoxious to their fury. At both places were Maſſacred 70000 perſons, none being taken or ſold after the cuſtom of War, but either put to the Sword, Hanged, Burnt, or Crucified as Malefactors. *Suetonius* paſſed through the midſt of his Enemies to *Londinum* (now *London*) a Town not then notable in reſpect of a Colony, but for multitude of Merchants, and plenty of Traffick very famous. Perceiving it but badly provided of Soldiers, although he once thought to make it the Seat of the War, he left it, being not prevailed with to ſtay either by the Prayers or Tears of the Inhabitants. For, reſolving with the loſs of one Town to preſerve the reſt, he took all along with him that could go; and all others, whom either Sex or Age, or the pleaſantneſs of the place detained, were deſtroyed by the Enemy. Having got together an Army of 10000 men, he reſolved to venture a Battel with all expedition; and for that purpoſe made his choice of convenient ground. *Boadicia* carrying her two Daughters in the Chariot with her about to the Companies, told them it had been uſual before for the *Britains* to fight under the conduct of Women, but ſhe was now in another capacity than her Anceſtors, being not to fight for a Kingdom, but as one of the ordinary ſort to revenge her loſt liberty, her own ſtripes, and the violence offered to her Daughters. As for her ſelf ſhe ſaid ſhe was reſolved to win the Field, or die; as for men, they might live if they pleaſed, and be Slaves. *Suetonius* on the other ſide conſidering the weight of the Enterprize, was not ſilent.

Tacitus ut prius Capp. 37, 38.

Suetonius defeateth the *Britains* in Battel.

31. The *Romans*, though far inferiour in number, yet in Military knowledg and Diſcipline far exceeding the *Britains*, put them to the worſt, and made of them great ſlaughter by reaſon of the difficulty of flight; for thoſe having brought their Wives to behold the Battel, and be Eye-witneſſes of their Valour, they had placed them in Waggons about the Army. Some reported that ſcarcely fewer then 80000 of the Conquered were ſlain, and of the Conquerors about 400. and *Boadicia* ended her life by Poiſon. Afterwards, the Army being increaſed by a great Supply ſent over by *Cæſar*, waſted the Countrey with Fire and Sword, which was ſorely oppreſſed by Famine; for being intent upon the War, the *Britains* had neglected the Sowing of Corn, hoping alſo to enjoy the

Proviſions of the Enemy. For all this they were not forward to ask Peace, being incouraged by *Julius Caſſilianus*, who being ſent to ſucceed *Caius*, diſagreed ſo far with *Suetonius*, and ſo illed him to thoſe at *Rome*, that he wrote they muſt not expect an end of the War till ſome one was ſent to ſucceed him, attributeing all miſhaps to his unfitneſs, and all ſucceſs to the good Fortune of the Commonwealth. To view then the condition of *Britain*, was *Polycletus* the *Freedman* of *Nero* ſent over, who coming in with a great Train ſeemed terrible to the *Roman* Soldiers, but ridiculous to the *Britains*, who burning with affection to liberty, and as yet ignorant of the power of ſuch, wondred that the General and Army (which had put an end to ſuch a War) would obey Slaves. *Suetonious* was commanded to deliver up his Army to *Turpilianus*, who was even now out of the Conſulſhip, and neither provoking nor being provoked coveted ſlothful idleneſs, as *Tacitus* telleth us, with the ſpecious, and comely name of Peace.

Turpilianus ſucceeding him is ſlothfull.

32. The Year after was *Albinus* ſent into *Judæa* to ſucceed *Feſtus*, who died in his Government. About the ſame time *Agrippa* (who had power after his Uncle of *Chalcis* to beſtow the *High-Prieſthood* on whomſoever he pleaſed) gave it to *Ananus* Son of that *Annas* or *Ananus*, who beyond example having himſelf enjoyed the Office, had five Sons, who every one of them executed the ſame. This young *Ananus* being a *Sadduce*, as alſo very bold and cruel, conceiving he had got a convenient opportunity (*Feſtus* being dead, and *Albinus* not yet arrived) called a Council, and condemned *James the Brother of Jeſus Chriſt*, as *Joſephus* writeth, with ſome others, as guilty of impiety, to be ſtoned. *This act diſpleaſed*, ſaith the Hiſtorian, *all good men, and eſpecially ſuch as were moſt ſtudious of the Law*, who deſired of *Agrippa* that he would command *Ananus* to forbear the like for the time to come: ſome going alſo to meet *Albinus*, told him that the *High-Prieſt* had no authority to call a Council, whereupon he wrote to him very angrily, and threatned him, upon which account *Agrippa* the King removed him from his Office after the Third Month. At this time died *Burrhus* at *Rome*, not without ſuſpicion of Poiſon, and *Seneca*'s power was weakned by the loſs of that conjunction, whereby they had mutually ſtrengthned the hands of each other. *Seneca* was now backbited, and by *Nero* ſlighted, of whom he deſired leave to withdraw himſelf, having been with him Fourteen Years, and he offered to give up his great Eſtate into his hands (for that had brought him ſo far into envy;) but *Nero* having learnt, and practiſed Diſſimulation, under colour of reſpect denied his Petition. Now did *Nero* marry *Poppæa*, whom all this while he had kept as his Concubine, and diſmiſſed *Octavia* loaded with Accuſations of Barrenneſs and greater Crimes; and when the people troubled at it grew ſeditious, he cauſed her to be put to death in that fatal Iſland *Pandateria*. The ſame Year alſo as 'tis believed he poiſoned the Chief of the *Liberti* or *Freed-men*, *Periphorus*, becauſe he was againſt his marrying *Poppæa*, and *Pallas*, for that living very long, he had ſcraped together a vaſt Sum of Money.

Albinus ſucceedeth *Feſtus*.

Joſephus Antiquit. lib. 20. *cap.* 8.

James the *Juſt* killed by the procurement of *Ananus* the High-Prieſt.

A. D. 63. *V. C.* 815.

Burrhus dieth.

Tacitus Annal. lib. 14. *Capp.* 51, 52, *&c.*

Nero marrieth *Poppæa*.

33. At this time were the Stirs renewed in *Armenia*. For *Vologeſes* ſeeing his Brother beaten off, and *Tigrantes* ſet up in his ſtead, had invaded the Countrey to revenge the injury offered to the line of the *Arſacidæ*. *Corbulo*, though very warily, yet reſiſted and repelled him, when *Ceſennius Pætus* was ſent to defend that Countrey, who by his ignorance in Military matters, and raſhneſs, undid all. Being beſieged, he was glad to Covenant for his preſervation to quit *Armenia*, and remove the Garriſons thence, which done, *Nero* was to be ſent to. Yet ſo ridiculous and degenerate were they at *Rome*, as to erect Trophies over the *Parthians*, though they knew nothing of the ſucceſs, either one way or other. The *Parthian* Ambaſſadors came to *Rome* to deſire that (as they hinted) which had been gotten by force, but without effect, for War was decreed againſt them to be managed by *Corbulo*; yet were they diſmiſſed with gifts, ſo as there might be hope, that, if *Tiridates* himſelf would intreat for the Diadem, it ſhould not be in vain. *Corbulo* again invaded *Armenia*, at which the *Parthians* affrighted came to a Treaty, wherein it was agreed that *Tiridates* laying down his Diadem at the feet of *Nero*'s Statue ſhould not receive it without his leave. *Nero* now growing worſe and worſe, broke out into moſt horrid impieties, well nigh beyond all belief.

Tacitus Annal. lib. 15. *Capp.* 1, 2, 3, *&c.*

The ſtirs in *Armenia* renewed.

34. The next Year being the 817 of the City, the 65*th* after the birth of *Chriſt*, and of his own Reign the 10*th*. *C. Lecanius Baſſus*, and *M. Licinius*

Idem ibid. Capp. 37, 38, *&c.*

Craſſus being *Conſuls*, acting the common Stage-player, and giving up himſelf to all Luxury, and unheard-of Pollutions, amongſt the reſt he married himſelf as a Woman to one of his filthy crue, called *Pythagoras*, all things being provided and celebrated as at a Marriage. He made himſelf alſo the Husband of *Sporus*, from whom he took as much of the Male as poſſible, and ordered him to be brought to him in a Veil as a Bride. Being offended at the deformity of the old Buildings, and the narrowneſs of the Streets, or elſe to feed his cruel Eye with ſo ſad a ſpectacle as he had read to have happened at the Siege of *Troy*, he cauſed the City to be ſet on Fire, which burning Six Days and Seven Nights, of the Fourteen Diviſions Four only remained whole, the other being waſted, or defaced, with the fury of the Flame. He beheld the Fire from the Tower of *Mæcenas*, and very merry at the beauty of it, as he termed it, in a Player's habit ſung *the deſtruction of* Illium. This calamity being generally attributed to him as the cauſe, he accuſed the *Chriſtians* thereof, and raiſed the *Firſt Perſecution*, torturing them with moſt exquiſite kinds of puniſhment. About this time he ſent *Geſſius Florus* into *Judæa* to ſucceed *Albinus*, who deſiring to gratifie them of *Jeruſalem*, for all the miſchief he had done, e're his departure, brought out all the Priſoners, whereof thoſe that were Committed for any Capital Offence he put to death, but the reſt he Fined only and diſmiſſed; whereby all the Gaols being thus emptied, the Countrey was filled with Thieves more than before. The Year following a Conſpiracy was diſcovered againſt *Nero*, which gave him occaſion further to indulge his cruel humour.

Sueton. in Nerone cap. 38.

Nero's wickedneſs.

A. D. 65. *V. C.* 817. *Idem ibid. cap.* 16.

Setting *Rome* on fire, he accuſeth and perſecuteth the Chriſtians.

Tacitus ut ſuprà cap. 44.

35. Who wat the Author of it is uncertain, as alſo upon what particular grounds it was hatched, though all the Perſons bore him malice, as they thought they had reaſon. But *Lucan* the Poet (who wrote the Civil Wars betwixt *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, and was Nephew to *Seneca* by his Brother *Annæus Mela*) was agrieved that *Nero* envied him the glory he had got by his Verſes; and ſeveral others joined with them out of love to *Cn. Piſo* the head of the party. It was diſcovered by *Milichus* the *Freed-man* of *Sceninus*, who had commanded him to ſcour his Dagger, and provide neceſſaries for wounds; whereupon ſome would have had *Piſo* to have gone to the *Roſtra*, and laid open the Tyrant to the People, to obtain their help; but he refuſed. The next after him that was put to death was *Annæus Seneca* the *Philoſopher*, and *Nero*'s School-maſter, not being convicted of any Treaſon, though accuſed by one *Natalis*, as it's thought, to pleaſe *Cæſar*, ſuch an earneſt deſire his Scholar had to diſpatch him, having formerly without effect attempted it by Poiſon. Being commanded to die, he did it very chearfully, though he was forced to ſeek for death ſeveral ways. For, he had ſo ſtarved himſelf with abſtinence, that he could not bleed, and Poiſon would not work upon him; but at length entering into a Bath he was ſtifled with the fume of it, having all this while diſcourſed, even to his laſt, according to his wonted Elegancy, ſuch excellent things, as being then taken from his mouth, came afterwards abroad. Such was the end of this excellent Philoſopher, concerning the character of whom, Students are rather to truſt to *Cornelius Tacitus* than to *Dio*, if *Juſtus Lipſius* be a competent Judg. *Dio* accuſeth him of Extortion, Adultery with *Agrippina*, and what not? He maketh him a *Sodomite*, and to have taught his Scholar that wickedneſs, as alſo the cauſe and procurer of the death of *Agrippina, and a Cart-load of other Calumnies*, ſaith * *Lipſius, doth the idle man heap upon him, contrary to the belief and mind of all men. What cauſe was there of this hatred? or what reward had he for lying? for* Seneca *lived ſo long before him, that he neither could injure him nor oblige him. I believe*, ſaith he, *it was a certain perverſity of judgment and manners, which alſo ſet him keen againſt* Cicero *and all good men. I deſire that Youth may take heed, and ſo to gather the flowers of Antiquity from theſe Fields, that they do not alſo gather Poiſon. But as for what concerneth the riches and galantry of* Seneca, *ſee Reader, and read his excellent Treatiſe* De vita beata, *which he wrote with no other deſign, than to ſtop the Mouths of theſe Calumniators, eſpecially from the Seventeenth Chapter.* Thus hath *Lipſius* prevented us in our Apology for this excellent Perſon, in whoſe vindication much might be ſaid.

Idem ibid. c. 49, &c.

A conſpiracy againſt him.

A. D. 66. *V. C.* 818.

Seneca his School-maſter put to death.

* *Quem conſule in Comment. ad Taciti Annal. l.* 14. & *omnino ad l.* 15.

Lipſius his Apology for him againſt *Dio*.

36. *Pompeia Paullina* the Wife of *Seneca* (*Dio* calleth her a moſt noble Woman, perhaps the Daughter of *Pompeius Paullinus*, to whom *Tacitus* giveth the Title of *Conſularis*, and who was ſet over the publick cuſtoms or impoſts) cut alſo her veins, that ſhe might die with him, but *Nero* bearing her no malice as it happened, ſent ſome to ſtop the bleeding, and recover her. *Seneca* had another

Nero killeth *Poppæa.*

ther brother beſides the father of *Lucan*, who was alſo put to death. This was *Annæus Novatus*, otherwiſe called *Junius Gallio* from his adoptive Father, being alſo mentioned in the *Acts* of the *Apoſtles*, and then Governour of *Achaia*. Their Father was *M. Annæus Seneca* a *Rhetorician* of *Coruba* in *Spain*, whoſe *Suaſories* and Controverſies are yet extant, joyned to his ſons Works. *Nero* proceeded in his madneſs and cruelties. Acting the Stage-player ſtill he was reviled at his Return home by *Poppæa* his wife, for which he kicked her great with child, and thereupon ſhe miſcarried. Then raged he againſt many of greateſt note, amongſt whom was *Mela* the father of *Lucan* (who had formerly periſhed for the conſpiracy) and this allayed the grief which was conceived for the death of many others, by the Peſtilence that now raged, becauſe they ſeemed thereby well delivered from the fury and rage of the Prince, who now neither uſed choice nor meaſure in his ſlaughters. Being puffed up with the ſucceſs of his cruelty, he ſaid, that *None of his Predeceſſors knew their power*, hinting alſo, that he meant to deſtory the remnant of the Senators. It was believed he had a great deſire to deliver up quick men to be devoured of an *Ægyptian*, a monſtrous eater of raw fleſh, or any other thing that was given him.

*Vid. Sueton. in Nerone c.*1,2,3,4,5.

The height of his wickedneſs.

*Idem ibid. c.*31, & 32. *Tacitus Annal. lib.*15. *c.* 42.

37. Neither was there wanting to him luxury and effeminateneſs, ſuitable to his cruelty, nor any other vice, whereby the truth of that ſaying of *Domitius* his father might appear, who hearing of his birth, ſaid, That *From himſelf and* Agrippina *could proceed nothing but accurſed, deteſtable, and to the dammage of the Commonwealth*. For in him ſeemed to meet and be conjoyned not only all the vices of his own family (which of late had been too pregnant of them) but all the corruption of his Country, from the beginning to his very time. He lengthened his feaſts from *Noon* to *Midnight*, accounting no Uſe of riches but in the Abuſe of them. Such he thought to be ſordid and baſe, as took account of their expenſes, and he extolled and admired his Uncle *Caius*, for ſpending in ſo ſhort a time ſo vaſt ſums, as had been hoarded up by *Tiberius*. To *Tiridates* that came to *Rome* to take a Diadem from his hands, he allowed an incredible ſum for his daily expenſes, and as profuſely gratified him at his departure. He put on no garment twice, plaid for vaſt ſums at dice, fiſhed with a golden net, when he journed any whither, he never had leſs than a thouſand Caroches in his train, and he cauſed his Mules to be ſhod with Silver. But his houſe exceeded all belief, he having built it out of the ruines of the City. For length, for pleaſantneſs of groves and fiſh-ponds it was admirable, garniſhed alſo with Gold and precious ſtones. To the madneſs of this expence he was incouraged by one that made him fair promiſes of diſcovering a vaſt treaſure in *Africk*, which *Dido* the *Queen* flying out of *Tyre* ſhould thence bring with her. But being deceived, as was likely, with ſo fooliſh a project, he took ſuch courſes as became *Nero* to recruit his Coffers.

The *Jews* rebel.

A. D. 67.
V. C. 819.

Vide Joſephum de bello Judaico l. 2. *c.* 13.

The occaſion thereof.

38. When *Tiridates* was departed into *Armenia*, he went into *Greece*, there to act *Tragedies*, to ſing, and run races in the Chariot. Running in the *Olympick Games*, although he fell from his Chariot, yet he was arewarded with a Crown as Victor. He took from *Appollo* the *Cyrrhæan* Territory, and defaced the place where they were wont to receive Oracles, killing men at the hole whence the blaſt came. He attempted to cut through the *Iſthmus* of *Peloponneſus*, digging firſt himſelf, and carying out the firſt basket of Earth upon his ſhoulders: but with the ſame ſucceſs as others had before him. When he was in *Achaia* news came from *Ceſtius Gallus* Preſident of *Syria*, concerning the Rebellion of the *Jews*. Being long vexed with the injuries of the *Deputies* and *Governours*, they could no longer contain themſelves. Chriſt's blood lying heavy upon them, and crying for vengeance, they themſelves executed part of it. For ſuch robberies in the Country, ſuch and ſo many murders in the City were committed, and ſuch deluſions by falſe Prophets prevailed amongſt them, as after a wonderful manner turned their eſtate upſide down, drew upon them the malice of their enemies, and demonſtrated the high diſpleaſure of Almighty God. The particular occaſion of their rebellion was taken from *Florus* their *Governour*, who through the inſinuations of his wife into *Poppæa* having procured that Office, carried himſelf as worthy of ſuch a Maſter. He flew to that height of impudence and wickedneſs, as by a publick Crier to give free leave to rob and ſteal through the whole Country, on condition that he might have part of the booty. It was his deſign to provoke them to rebel, that his impieties might thereby be covered. After he and the Townſmen of *Cæſarea* had grievouſly abuſed ſuch *Jews* as there lived, he came to *Jeruſalem* with an Army, rifled the *Forum*, plundred the houſes, killed the Inhabitants, whipped

and hung up ſeveral, who, though *Jews* born, were made *Eqnites of Rome*, and all under pretence that ſome had reviled him for cruelty. Not content herewith, he perſwaded the People of *Jeruſalem* to go out to meet, in a courteous manner, certain Soldiers that were coming thither, to whom he ſent, that they ſhould not return their civility, that ſo they might be offended, and give out words, which advantage he commanded them to take, and fall upon them. This was performed, and many periſhed, whom the *Chief-Prieſts* and others with lamentable intreaties had perſwaded to go forth, hoping thereby to pleaſe the Tyrant, and prevent miſchief. From this violence ſprung the War, in the Twelfth Year of *Nero*'s Reign, the Seventeenth of *Agrippa*, the Second of *Florus* his Government, the 819 of the City, and 67 after the birth of *Chriſt*, *C. Suetonus Paullinus* and *L. Pontius Teleſinus* being *Conſuls*.

Idem ibid. c. 17, 18.

39. Some of thoſe that were moſt eager after Rebellion, aſſaulted a Caſtle called *Maſſada*, killed the *Romans*, and placed therein a Garriſon of their own. And in the Temple *Eleazar* the Son of *Ananias* the *High-Prieſt* Captain of the Guard and a forward young man, perſwaded the People no more to offer the Sacrifices which were wont to be offered for the good of the *Romans*. The *Chief-Prieſt* and Nobility diſſwaded them all they could from Rebellion, but profiting nothing, beſought *Agrippa* and *Florus* to come and ſuppreſs the Sedition betimes. *Florus* glad to hear ſuch news, gave no anſwer. *Agrippa* ſent 3000 Horſe, which being received into the upper part of the City, the Rebels took the lower part with the Temple, and after ſome ado brake alſo into the upper Quarters, burnt divers Palaces and publick Houſes, and then beſieged the *Tower of Antony*, which having taken within two days, they put the Garriſon to the Sword. After this they laid ſiege to the *Kings Palace*, whither *Agrippa*'s Soldiers being retired, upon their deſire they were diſmiſſed. But the *Romans* yielding upon the Faith of *Eleazar*, were all cut in pieces contrary to his word, except *Mitilius* their Captain, who begging hard for his life, promiſed to be Circumcized and turn *Jew*: and this was done on the *Sabbath*-day, in *September*. On the ſame day were all the *Jews* of *Cæſarea* Maſſacred by the Inhabitants, to the number of above 200000, not one being left alive; for thoſe that eſcaped were taken by *Florus*, and brought out bound to the People. Throughout all *Syria* the ſlaughters of the *Jews* were renewed. At *Alexandria* alſo a ſedition being raiſed, 50000 *Jews* were ſlain in one day by two *Roman* Legions.

Great ſlaughters of them in ſeveral places.

40. *Ceſtius Gallus* as ſoon as he heard of theſe motions, came with an Army into *Judæa*, wherein taking ſome Towns he ſate down before *Jeruſalem*, at the *Feaſt of Tabernacles*. But though he might eaſily with a little patience have taken the City, yet raiſed he his Siege, having neglected many opportunities. He departed to *Antipatris*, loſing many of his men by the way, that were cut off by the *Jews* who followed him cloſe in the rear. With this ſucceſs the *Jews* being elevated, created two Commanders to govern the City, viz. *Joſeph* the Son of *Gorion*, and *Ananus* the *High-Prieſt*: and they ſent ſeveral Captains and Governours into the Country, amongſt whom was *Joſeph*, who wrote the Hiſtory of this War. He fortified the ſeveral Towns of *Galilee*, and indured as great a conflict as to his own Perſon, with divers, both there and at *Jeruſalem*, (who envying him the honour of his Command, would have had him turned out) as he did afterwards with the *Romans*. But *Ceſtius* ſent to *Nero* then in *Achaia*, as we ſaid, to let him underſtand the ſtate of affairs, laying all the blame of the Rebellion upon *Florus*.

They chuſe themſelves Captains.

41. *Nero* deliberating what Captain he ſhould ſend into *Judæa*, wanted *Corbulo* whom he had killed. At length he pitched on *Veſpaſian*, who having been trained up in Martial matters all his Youth, he thought him only capable of ſuch a Charge, though a little before he was grievouſly offended at him, for that he little regarded his ſinging (either departing from off the ſtage, or ſleeping if there) ſo that he forbad him not only his preſenee, but alſo publickly to ſalute him. Hereupon he withdrew himſelf, and lurked out of the way in fear of his life; but *Nero* having now need of him, and not fearing him, becauſe of the meanneſs of his birth and name, gave him this imployment. *Veſpaſian* diſpatched away his Son *Titus* to *Alexandria*, thence to bring Forces into *Judæa*, and he himſelf paſſing the *Helleſpont* into *Syria* gathered together the *Roman* Soldiers with ſupplies from the *Princes*, and came to *Ptolemais*, where *Titus* reached him ſooner than was expected for the Winter-ſeaſon. *Nero* returning towards *Rome* in Triumphant manner,

Veſpaſian ſent againſt them.

Vindex and *Galba* conſpire againſt *Nero.*

manner, after he had been two Years in *Greece*, *C. Julius Vindex* a *Gall* by birth, but of *Senatorian* degree amongſt the *Romans*, incenſed his Country-men againſt him, for that they groaned under his intolerable exactions, yet ſtriving not for the Principality himſelf, he offered it to *Ser. Sulpicius Galba* an old Soldier, and now Governour of the *Tarraconian Province* in *Spain*, who, as well for his own ſafety, as to gratifie ambition, accepted it. *Nero* being come to *Naples* heard of the conſpiracy on that day he had killed his Mother, and was then little moved at it; but ſeemed rather to rejoice for the occaſion that was thence offered to ſpoil the rich Provinces of *Gall*. For though the *Mathematicians* had told him that he ſhould be forſaken, yet he interpreted it of the loſſes ſuſtained in *Britain* and *Armenia*; and ſome alſo promiſed him, though in this condition, the Empire of the Eaſt, and ſome by name the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*; but moſt affirmed that things would go well at this time. He took nothing ſo ill in all the opprobrious ſpeeches of *Vindex*, as to be called an *unſkilful Muſician*, and, after the name of his Family, *Ænobarbus*; yet at length terrified by many meſſages he returned to *Rome*. Now had he moſt horrid projects in his head, as of killing the Captains and Governours of *Provinces*, with all the Exiles, and all of *Galliſk* Original at *Rome*; of poiſoning the whole Senate in Feaſting, burning the City, and letting looſe wild Beaſts upon the People, thereby to hinder the quenching of the Flames. From theſe things he was thought to be terrified more by deſpair of accompliſhing them, than out of any repentance concerning his purpoſe. In preparing for his expedition his ſpecial care was for the choice of carriages, wherein to convey his Concubines and inſtruments for the ſtage.

42. When he heard of the revolt of the reſt of the Armies, in a great rage taking ſome poiſon with him in a Golden Box, he left his Houſe, and ſending certain of his truſtieſt Servants to *Oſtia* to make ready ſome Ships, moved the *Tribunes* and *Centurions* of his Guard about flying with him; but ſome ſtaggering at it and hanging backwards, others flatly refuſed it. Then he conſidered whether he ſhould not fly to the *Parthian*, or in an humble manner to *Galba*; or whether going to the *Roſtra* in a mourning habit, he ſhould not there ask pardon in as doleful manner as he could for what was paſt? but he was fearful to to be pulled in pieces ere he could reach the publick meeting-place; and put off thoſe thoughts till the next day. At night finding his Guards withdrawn, he ſtarted out of his Bed, and ſending his Friends about to their Lodgings, went alſo himſelf; but none would anſwer; ſo that he returned to his Chamber, whence his Attendants alſo were now fled, having taken away the furniture, and removed out of the way the Box of Poiſon. Then deſired he that ſome one would kill him, but none attempting it, *Then*, ſaith he, *I have neither Friend nor Enemy*, and ran down as to throw himſelf into *Tiber*. But ſtopping ere he came there, he deſired ſome lurking hole wherein he might recover his Spirits, and *Phaon* his *Freedman* offering him his aſſiſtance, he went with him to a Village four Miles diſtant in a diſguiſe, hearing as he paſſed the Prayers of the People for his deſtruction. Here being called on to rid himſelf out of the way, and prevent the abuſes which elſe would fall upon him, he ordered things to be prepared for his dead Body, weeping, and adding, *Qualis Artifex pereo? How excellent an Artiſt do I die?* Underſtanding at length that he was declared an Enemy by the Senate, and how he was ſought for to be puniſhed *more majorum*, or *after the cuſtom of their Anceſtors*, and upon his enquiry hearing that this kind of death was, *to be ſtripped, and having his neck made faſt in a Pillory to be whipped to death*, he called for two Daggers, the points of which he only felt, and put them up again, pretending that his fatal hour was not yet come: He bad *Porus* lament and weep, and wiſhed that ſome would help him by their own example to kill himſelf, chiding alſo himſelf for his backwardneſs. Certain Horſe-men now drawing near to fetch him alive, he at length effected it, by the help of *Epaphroditus* his *Freed-man*, on the fourth of the *Ides* of *June*, having Reigned 13 Years, 7 Months, and 28 Days, in the 32 of his Age, and the 821 of the City, Anno Dom. 68. *C. Silius Italicus*, and *M. Valerius Trachalus* being *Conſuls*. *Veſpaſian* asked *Apollonius what was* Nero*'s overthrow*? He anſwered, *Nero could touch and tune the Harp well* (noting his exceſſive delight in that Inſtrument) *But in Government ſometimes he uſed to wind the Pins too high, ſometimes to let them down too low.* The unequal, and untimely Enterchange of power *Preſſed* too far, and *Relaxed* too much, deſtroyeth Authority above all things.

A. D. 69.
*Ol.*211.*ann.* 4.
V. C. 821.

He killeth himſelf.

Eccleſiaſtical matters in his time.

43. About the latter end of *Nero*'s Second Year St. *Paul* was ſent bound to *Rome* by *Feſtus*, where he continued in durance two Years. In his Third living at *Rome* in free cuſtody, he wrote to the *Epheſians*, *Philippians*, *Coloſſians*, and *Philemon*. About the end of the Fourth he ſeemeth to have been ſet at liberty, and thence to have returned into *Greece* and *Aſia*, where for five or ſix Years he Eſtabliſhed the Churches he had Founded. In the Eleventh Year of *Nero* he is ſaid to have ſuffered Martyrdom at *Rome*. For, *Nero* having ſet the City on fire, accuſed the *Chriſtians*, as *Tacitus* writeth; and expoſed them to ignominious deaths. Some he cauſed to be covered with the skins of wild Beaſts, that they might be devoured of Dogs, others to be Crucified, and others burnt alive, and that in the night, that they might give light to paſſengers. He offered his own Gardens for this ſhow, and celebrated the Circenſian Games amongſt the common ſort in the habit of a Chariot driver, who could not have raged againſt Chriſtianity as *Tertullian* obſerveth, but that ſome excellency was in it. In this *Firſt Perſecution*, beſides *Paul*, who was beheaded, and many others, *Peter* alſo was Crowned with Martyrdom; being Crucified as 'tis reported with his head downward, which kind of death he himſelf deſired, becauſe he would die in a more diſhonourable ſort than his Lord and Maſter. But ſome will have St. *Paul* and *Peter* to have ſuffered Martyrdom in the laſt Year of *Nero*'s Reign, and that on *June* the Twenty-ninth, inſomuch that *Chryſoſtome* ſaith, that the day of *Paul*'s death was more known than that of *Alexander*.

Conſule Lud. Cappellum in Hiſtor. Eccleſ. Illuſtrata.

Tacitum Annal. l. 15. *c.* 44. *Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. l.* 2. *c.* 25. *& l.* 3. *c.* 1.

44. After the Martyrdom of *James* ſirnamed *Juſt* the First *Biſhop* of *Jeruſalem* (whom *Euſebius* (a) from *Clemens* reporteth to have been thrown down from a Pinacle of the Temple, and brained with a Fuller's Club) who governed that See Thirty Years, *Simon* (b) *Cleopas* the Lords Couſin German, one of the 70 Diſciples, and who ſaw Chriſt with his eyes, was choſen into his place by the Apoſtles, and Diſciples themſelves, being gathered together for this purpoſe. After the Martyrdom of *Peter*, (c) *Linus* one of the 70 Diſciples, of whom *Paul* makes mention, ſucceeded him in the See of *Rome*, where he continued *Biſhop* Twelve Years, though ſome place his Martyrdom alſo in the laſt Year of *Nero*, and the Ninth before the Calends of *October*. *Evodius* one of the 70 Diſciples, whom St. *Paul* remembred in his Epiſtles, was *Biſhop* of *Antioch*, being by *Euſebius* ſaid to be the firſt known to govern that Church. Him ſucceeded *Ignatius* (d) the Diſciple of *John*, who wrote as they ſay to *Mary* the Mother of *Chriſt*, and *Mary* unto him again. He wrote unto *John* the *Evangeliſt*, and to *Polycarpus* his Diſciple. Beſides, he wrote ſundry other notable Epiſtles, yet extant, and in the Eleventh Year of *Trajan* was brought to *Rome*, and torn in pieces of wild Beaſts, as will be ſhewn. *Euſebius* writeth that he was the *Second Biſhop by Succeſſion* after *Peter* in the Church of *Antioch*. *When* Nero *had Reigned the ſpace of Eight Years,* ſaith the Hiſtorian, *firſt after* Mark *the Evangeliſt,* Anianus *took the Government of the Church of* Alexandria, *a man both virtuous, and renowned in all reſpects.*

(a) *Eccleſ. Hiſt. l.* 2. *c.* 23.

(b) *Idem l.* 3. *cap.* 11.

(c) *Idem l.* 3. *c.* 2, 13, 19. *& in Chron.*

(d) *Idem l.* 3. *c.* 19, 32. *& in Chron. Tritem.*

Lib. 2. 24.

CHAP. IV.

From the Death of Nero *to that of* Domitian, *the laſt of the Family of* Veſpaſian, *the ſpace of* 27 *Years.*

Galba ſucceedeth *Nero*.

GALBA after the Death of *Nero* obtained the Principality, yet not long; for being *Emperour*, he maintained not the opinion which had been conceived of him whilſt a private man; for he gave way to a cruel and covetous humour, acting all things according to the Will and Luſt of three men whom the People thence called his *School-maſters*. But his ſeverity towards the Soldiers, eſpecially that ſpeech *Legi à ſe militem non emi*, procured his ruin, who upon the revolt of the Armies in upper *Germany* betrayed him to *M. Salvius Otho*, notwithſtanding he had adopted *Piſo*. He was murdered by them in the Forum

Tacitus Hiſtor. lib. 1. *Sueton in Galba.*

Is murdered by his Soldiers.

Forum near the place where *Curtius* rode into the hole, and his head being cut off, for ſome time was carried up and down on a Spear, till his Enemies had with the ſight ſatisfied their flouting appetite, and then it was buried with the Body. He died on the 17*th.* of the *Calends* of *February*, in the 73. Year of his Age, having Reigned Seven Months.

Otho ſeizeth on the Empire.

Being oppoſed by *Vitellius.*

Idem ibid. Tacitus Hiſtor. lib. 2. *Plutarch. in Othone.*

2. *Otho* ſeized on the Empire by the help of his Soldiers, having reſolved it after he ſaw *Piſo* preferred before him. He was *Nero*'s great companion, and now refuſed not to be called by his very name, ſuffered his Images and Statues to be reſtored, as alſo his Officers and Freed-men to their ſeveral places, and the firſt thing he ſubſcribed to was for Money to finiſh his golden Houſe. But *A. Vitellius* was ſhortly after ſaluted *Emperour* in *Germany* by the Army there, being Son to *L. Vitellius*, who Governed *Syria*. Being ſent into *Germany* by *Galba*, he denied nothing to the Soldiers, but granted them their wills, with impunity in all things, and for that was rewarded with this Election. Hereupon *Otho* deſired the Senate that they would ſend to him, to acquaint him with his Election, and to perſwade him to be quiet; but he himſelf by Letters offered to be only Partner with him in the Sovereignty, and to be his Son-in-law. The Enemy drawing near, the *Prætorian* bands ſtood very faithfully to him, even ſo far, that with much ado, and with the ſlaughter of ſome of their Officers, were they kept from deſtroying the Senate, which they ſuſpected to be falſe to him. His intereſt was to draw out the War in length, having the Enemy at advantage, who was ſtraightned both for neceſſaries, and by reaſon of the narrowneſs of the paſſage: but he raſhly and imprudently reſolved on a Battel, either for that *Vitellius* was not yet come, or urged by the earneſtneſs of the Soldiers. They had four Ingagements; whereof in the firſt three he had the better, but in the laſt at *Bebriacum* (a Village in *Italy* betwixt *Cremona* and *Verona*, now called *Labemein*) was worſted; yet ſo as he might without difficulty have recovered himſelf, though taken at unawares, and deceived by pretence of a parley.

He killeth himſelf.

But being aſhamed to ſeek his own eſtabliſhment with the hazard of ſo many mens lives, rather than out of any deſperation, he killed himſelf. He was much extolled for his generous death (as it was accounted) which rendred him ſo much more deſirable than his life had done, that many thought him to have killed *Galba*, not ſo much out of the deſire to rule, as to reſtore liberty (ſo called) to the Common-wealth. He died on the 12*th.* before the *Calends* of *May*, in the 38*th.* Year of his Age, and the 95*th.* day of his Empire.

Tacitus Hiſtor. l. 2. *c.* 3. *Sueton in Vitellio.*

Vitellius owned as Emperour.

3. *Otho* being dead, though *Vitellius* was deteſted by thoſe at *Rome*, yet when they heard how things went they began to flatter, and gave him the Title of *Emperour.* The Army of upper *Germany* which firſt mutined againſt *Galba* turning to him, he gladly received the ſirname of *Germanicus*, but deferred the Title of *Auguſtus*, and utterly refuſed that of *Cæſar.* When yet in *Gall* he heard of the event of the Battel at *Bebriacum*, he preſently caſhiered the *Prætorian* bands, as giving a bad example of revolt, and 120 which had demanded a reward of *Otho* for killing *Galba*, he commanded to be ſought, and put to death. Hereby he much commended himſelf to the People, and gave hopes of an excellent Prince; but carrying on all things afterwards according to his natural inclination and former courſe of life, he deſerved to be ranked amongſt the worſt of Governours.

Is very vicious.

4. He returned to *Rome* in a triumphant manner, and gave up himſelf to Luxury and Exceſs, wherein he alſo tolerated his Family and Soldiers, as in all manner of wickedneſs. Coming through the Fields where the Armies fought, when many loathed the noiſomneſs of the Carkeiſes, he ſtuck not to ſay, *Optime olere occiſum hoſtem, & melius civem*: that *A ſlain Enemy ſmells well, but ſweeter a Citizen.* He drunk much Wine in the place before them all, to prevent any hurt that might proceed from the ſtench, and cauſed this Liquour to be diſtributed to the Soldiers, with the like vanity and inſolence. Entring the City as into a Field with Trumpets ſounding to the charge, with Colours flying, and in his Coat-armour, he fell more and more into the neglect of all Laws, divine and humane. He made himſelf *Perpetual Conſul*; and that it might be ſeen after whoſe Pattern he meant to Govern, in the *Campus Martius* attended by a number of *Prieſts* he Sacrifized for the Soul of *Nero*; and at a ſolemn Feaſt commanding a Muſician to ſing ſomething of *Domitius*, he leaped up and applauded the beginning of *Nero*'s Songs. He Governed State-matters at the will and diſcretion of the vileſt Player and Chariot-driver, eſpecially of *Aſiaticus* his *Freed-*

man. He gave himſelf over to ſuch Luxury as he had been accuſtomed to in the days of *Caius* and *Nero*; eſpecially to Gluttony, the abominable exceſs whereof turned him into a very Monſter. For, he would eat four or five Meals a day, which that he might be able to bear, he uſed frequent vomiting, and inviting himſelf to the Houſes of his friends, he would, as *Nero* did, put them to incredible expenſes. At his coming to *Rome* his Brother made him a Feaſt, wherein were ſerved up 2000 ſeveral Diſhes of Fiſh, the daintieſt that could be found, and 7000 ſorts of Fowl. But he far exceeded this preparation at the *Dedication* of the *Great Platter*, which he called *Minerva's Target*, in which were mixed together the Livers of *Guilt-heads*, Brains of *Pheſants* and *Peacocks*, with the Tongues of *Phœnicopters*, and the ſmall Guts of *Sea-Lampries* fetched as far as the *Carpathian* Sea and the Straights of *Gibraltar*. He would alſo eat meat taken from the Hearth in time of Sacrifice, and fetched from Victualling Houſes, either ſmoaking, made ready the day before, or half eaten.

And cruel.

5. He was prone to the killing of any perſon, and for any cauſe whatſoever: Noble-men, his School-fellows and contemporaries, he deceitfully made away by degrees. To one in a Fever, deſiring a draught of cold Water, he gave Poiſon in it with his own hands. He ſcarcely ever ſpared any of his Creditors or others that asked him the Money he ought. One of them ſaluting him, he ſent away to be put to death, and preſently again calling him back (for which the by-ſtanders commended his clemency) he cauſed him to be killed before his eyes, ſaying, that *he would ſatiate his eyes with the ſlaughter of him*; and another that interceded for him, he put to death with his two Sons. A certain Knight whom he commanded to be ſlain, to ſave his life, told him he had made him his Heir, whereupon he commanded his Will to be produced, in which finding that the man's *Freedman* was made coheir with him, he cauſed them both to be put to death. He was cruel to *Mathematicians*, becauſe they foretold his Reign ſhould be but ſhort. And to compleat all, he was ſuſpected to have killed his Mother. Theſe Vices only ſeemed to put him in mind of his condition, for elſe ſo great a ſtupidity had ſeized on him, that if others had not known him to be the Prince, he himſelf would quickly have forgot it. He accounted all ſharp that was wholeſome, liking of nothing but what was pleaſant; and fortifying himſelf only with mirth and ſottiſhneſs againſt all dangers, he forgot all things paſt, and regarded nothing preſent or to come: not a word of War proceeded from him, the rumour and talk of which was forbidden in the City. But he was within a ſhort time rouzed by the coming of the Forces of *Veſpaſian*, who was by others put upon ſeeking the Empire, being then in *Judæa*.

Veſpaſian put upon ſeeking the Empire. His acts in *Judæa.*

6. *Veſpaſian* (that we may now proſecute the Hiſtory of his actions in that Country) after *Titus* had brought the Army to *Ptolemais* out of *Ægypt*, with his Forces united ſet upon *Galilee*, and at the firſt onſet took *Gedara*, which was burnt and deſtroyed. Thence removing to *Jotapata*, on the 21 day of *May* he took it by ſtorm after 40 days, though ſtoutly defended by *Joſeph* the Hiſtorian. *Joſeph* was taken and kept to be ſent Priſoner to *Nero*; but deſiring to ſpeak with *Veſpaſian*, foretold him that he ſhould diſmiſs him out of Captivity, but as *Emperour*. After this, beſtowing his Army at *Cæſarea* and *Scythopolis*, to refreſh the Legions, he himſelf went to *Cæſarea Philippi*, where he was entertained by *Agrippa* the King for twenty days. Then went he about to ſubdue *Tiberias* and *Tarichæa*, whereof the former yielded, and was ſpared at the requeſt of the King, but the latter was taken by force and deſtroyed. After this were *Gamala*, *Giſcala*, and the Hill *Itaburium* taken; and all *Galilee* being reduced, *Veſpaſian* and *Titus* returned to *Cæſarea*.

Joſephus de bello lib. 3. *c.* 5. *&c.*

Idem l. 4. *c.* 1, 2, *&c.*

The *Jews* fall out amongſt themſelves.

7. The *Jews* were now imbroiled in civil diſſentions, whilſt ſome deſired Peace, and others would not hear a word of it. Parties were made and fought in every City, and raſh young men prevailed every where againſt grave the and elder ſort, who foreſaw the calamity. At firſt they robbed one another ſingly; but at length turned Thieves in whole Troops, committing ſuch Cruelties, as equalled the misfortune received from the *Romans*. At laſt the Thieves loaded with plunder brake into *Jeruſalem*, where they not only conſumed the proviſions of the People, but filled the City with Slaughters, Rapines, and Diſſentions. They caſt the principal Citizens into Priſon, and then put them to death unheard, pretending they intended to betray the City to the *Romans*; yet for all this wickedneſs they boaſted of *Zeal* for the Law of God, and Cuſtoms of their

Idem ibid. c. 5, 6.

Horrid outrages committed by the *Zealots.*

their Country, and thereupon were called *Zealots*. The People being about to riſe againſt them, they betook themſelves to the Temple, where they made one *Phanias* an ignorant fellow *High-Prieſt*, though he was not of the Order of *Prieſts*; but they were oppoſed by *Ananus*, who procured the People to riſe againſt them, and beat them into the inner part. Hereupon they ſent to the *Idumæans*, accuſing *Ananus* of an intention to betray their Country, and foraſmuch as they fought for the liberty thereof, and now were beſieged, they implored their aſſiſtance. Twenty Thouſand came, and being let into the City, together with the *Zealots*, committed horrid outrages againſt the Inhabitants. They ſlew 8000 the firſt Night, and afterwards other 1200 of the chiefeſt, (amongſt whom was *Ananus*) beſides an infinite number of the common ſort: then at length the *Idumæans* perceiving the wickedneſs of the *Zealots*, and that they had falſely accuſed the Nobility, ſet at liberto 2000 which they had impriſoned, and returned home. After their departure the *Zealots* renewed their ſlaughters, and raged more cruelly than ever, eſpecially againſt ſuch as they had found attempting to flie to the *Romans*.

Idem l. 5. *c.* 3, 4, 5, 6, *&c.*

All *Judæa* languiſheth in an unheard-of manner.

Veſpaſian ſubdueth all, except three Caſtles and *Jeruſalem*.

8. But they preſently after fell out amongſt themſelves by reaſon of one *John*, who with a ſeditious party holding *Giſcala*, pretended to receive the conditions given him by *Titus*, and ſtole away to *Jeruſalem*. There becoming the great Incendiary, he now affected ſovereign power; but he was withſtood by ſuch as before this had been equal to him. Though they thus diſagreed, yet herein they conſented, to ſpoile the People; and *Jeruſalem* being thus filled with Tumults, thoſe that were without the City had liberty to rob and ſpoil, and thoſe whoſe Towns were hereby deſtroyed, aſſembled together in the Wilderneſs, and uniting, brake into other Places and Towns; ſo that there was no place in *Judæa*, which did not languiſh in an unheard-of manner together with the Mother City. *Veſpaſian* excited by the ſeditious, and intreated by the Fugitives to ſave their Country, prepared for the Siege of *Jeruſalem*, and that he might not leave an Enemy at his back, took in *Gadara* (where 13000 were put to the Sword) and all other places beyond the River, except the Caſtle of *Macheron*. He built Caſtles at *Jericho* and *Adida*, and made all things ready for the Siege; but hearing of *Nero*'s death, and the ſucceſſion of *Galba*, he deferred the Expedition, and ſent *Titus* to know *Galba*'s pleaſure. But as *Titus* ſailed by *Achaia* he heard of his end, and *Otho*'s advancement, whereupon he returned to his Father. Uncertain what would enſue, and who ſhould be Emperour, they neglected the War againſt the *Jews*, for they feared their own Country, and therefore thought it an unfit time to aſſault ſtrangers. Yet he drew out his Army from *Cæſarea*, and ſubdued all the Forts of *Judæa* ſave three Caſtles, *Herodium*, *Maſſada*, and *Macheron*, which were kept by the Thieves. Beſides theſe *Jeruſalem* only remained to be Conquered.

Tacitus Hiſtor. lib. 3, *&* 4. *Sueton in Vitellio, & Joſephus de bello Judaico l.* 5. *c.* 10, 12, 13, 14.

The Armies in the Eaſt declare for *Veſpaſian*.

9. *Veſpaſian* hearing of *Otho*'s death, and having compaſſion on the State, thought of freeing the Commonwealth from the Tyranny of *Vitellius*; but for that it was now Winter, and he was at a great diſtance from *Rome*, he ſtrove to conceal that indignation which he had conceived. But *Mucianus* Preſident of *Syria* perſwaded him to it very earneſtly: certain Soldiers alſo who were removed out of *Syria* into *Mæſia*, giving him large commendations, the three Legions which proceeded as far as *Aquileia* to help *Otho*, reſolved to proceed, notwithſtanding his death, and put *Veſpaſian*'s name into their Colours. Firſt of all others, *Tiberius Alexander* Governour of *Ægypt*, on the firſt of *July* ſwore the Legions to him, and two days after the Army in *Judæa*, compelling him with Threats to take the Government upon him, took the Oath. The Armies then in ſeveral Provinces declaring for him, he ſent *Mucianus* with Forces into *Italy*, and went himſelf to *Alexandria*, to make ſure of *Ægypt*. The *Mæſian* Legions hearing of *Mucianus* his coming, choſe *Antonius Primus* an excellent Soldier (who had been baniſhed by *Nero*, and reſtored by *Galba*) for their Captain, and haſted for *Italy*, that they might have the plunder of the Country. *Cæcina* (otherwiſe called *Allienus*) the General of *Vitellius*, made haſt and got to *Cremona* before them; but conſidering the effeminateneſs of his Army, he hearkned to the friendly advice ſent him by *Antonius*, and perſwaded his Soldiers, by laying before them the weakneſs of *Vitellius*, and the force of his adverſary, to revolt. They accordingly ſware fealty to *Veſpaſian*, but preſently repenting, caſt bonds upon their General as a Traytor, and exhorted even *Antonius* to imbrace the quarrel of *Vitellius*; then coming to blows, though

they wanted a Leader, maintained a moſt ſharp fight, both parties being poſſeſſed with ſuch fury, that Night it ſelf could not ſever them. They knew and talked to one another, nay intermitting the fight for ſome time, gave Victuals one to another, and yet after their repaſts fell to it again. But in a morning the Soldiers of the Third Legion ſaluting according to the faſhion, the riſing Sun, *Vitellius* his men thought *Mucianus* was arrived, and thereupon betook themſelves to *Cremona*, where looſing *Cæcina*, they procured him to make their Peace, and the *Mæſian* Army entering the Town made great diſorder.

10. *Vitellius* hearing of this was amazed, and not knowing what to do, became ridiculous unto all men; for his affairs went down the wind in all places. He covenanted then with *Flavius Sabinus* the Brother of *Veſpaſian* for his own ſafety, and preſently after, at the ſtairs of the *Palace*, before many Soldiers, profeſſed he *would give up the Empire, which he had unwillingly taken upon him.* But the Soldiers crying out againſt it, he deferred the thing, and in the morning went to the *Roſtra* in a mourning habit, where with many tears out of a paper he uttered the ſame words he had before ſpoken to the Soldiers, who again interrupting him, the People bad him be of good chear, and promiſed him their aſſiſtance. Taking courage hereafter, he forced *Sabinus* (who was Governour of the City) with others into the *Capitol*, which ſetting on fire he ſuppreſſed them, *Sabinus* being put to death, whoſe Nephew *Domitian* (afterwards *Emperour*) was hid by the Prieſt of *Jupiter*'s Temple and eſcaped. Then would he have had the Senate ſend Ambaſſadors to the Enemy with the *Veſtal Nuns* to beg Peace, or at leaſt ſo much time as to conſider what was to be done. But *Veſpaſian*'s Soldiers inraged at the report of the beſieging of the *Capitol*, made haſt. *Petilius Cerealis* being ſent before with a Thouſand Horſe ſet upon the City, but was forced to retreat. *Antonius Primus* coming on with the reſt of the Army, many skirmiſhes happened, till ſuch time as the Guards being beaten from off the Bridg *Veſpaſian*'s men entred the City with great fury, wherein they committed grievous outrages. *Vitellius* was pulled out of an hole in the Palace where he lurked, at firſt unknown; but being diſcovered, he deſired he might be kept in Priſon, for that he had ſomething to reveal, which concerned the ſafety of *Veſpaſian.* But his hands being tied behind him, and an Halter caſt about his neck, he was dragged half naked into the Forum, and being abuſed in the way, both by many words and deeds, was killed with many blows, and caſt after the faſhion of Traitors into *Tiber.* This happened in the 57*th.* Year of his Age, after he had held the Government Eight Months, and Five Days. The day following *Mucianus* entred the City, and the Soldiers being hindred from any further ſlaughters, the Empire was by the Senate decreed to *Veſpaſian*, who hearing theſe things at *Alexandria*, receiving congratulatory Embaſſies from all quarters, and having ſettled affairs in *Ægypt* e're he ſet forward for *Rome*, ordered his Son *Titus* to fall upon *Jeruſalem*, and finiſh the War in *Judæa*.

Vitellius is to ſeek what to do.

Is killed.

A. D. 70. *Ol.* 212. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 822.

Veſpaſian e're his departure from *Ægypt* ordereth his Son *Titus* to beſiege *Jeruſalem*.

11. Whilſt *Veſpaſian* and *Vitellius* were yet diſputing the controverſie, great commotions happened in *Germany*, the *Batavians* (now Inhabitants of *Holland* in the Low-Countries) rebelling firſt at the inſtigation of *Claudius Civilis*, the moſt eminent amongſt them, who having been ſent Priſoner in Chains unto *Nero*, and diſmiſſed by *Galba*, came into danger again under *Vitellius*, the Army requiring that he ſhould be put to death. He drew into the Conſpiracy, beſides the *Caninæfates* (a more inconſiderable people inhabiting the ſame Iſland) by ſecret meſſages the Auxiliaries of *Britain*, and the *Batavian* Cohorts, which then quartered at *Mogontiacum*, now *Mentz*. They caſt out, or deſtroyed the *Roman* Garriſons, overthrew *Aquilius* Captain of the Vantguard, and after him *Mumius Lupercus* the Lieutenant. *Herennius Gallus* alſo, endeavouring to hinder the march of the *Batavian Cohorts*, was worſted by them. *Civilis* after the coming of the *Cohorts*, to colour the matter, ſware his Soldiers to *Veſpaſian*, and beſieged ſuch as refuſed in the old Camp. After this the *Romans* mutining againſt *Hordonius*, the command was given to *Vocula*, and *Herennius Gallus* was made his Lieutenant. *Vocula* in his firſt ingagement with *Civilis* had the worſt, but at length by good hap overthrew him, the Vizard of his friendſhip to *Veſpaſian* being drawn off.

Tacitus Hiſtor. lib. 4.

Commotions in *Germany.*

12. The report of *Vitellius* his death through **Germany** and **Gall** doubled the War. For now *Civilis*, without any pretence of friendſhip to *Veſpaſian*, carried himſelf as an Enemy to the *Romans*, and *Vitelliut* his Soldiers rather wiſhed for

Idem ibid.

external ſervitude than his Government: the *Galles* alſo took heart, interpreting the burning of the *Capitol* to preſage the deſtruction of the Empire. The *Treviri* therefore (now Inhabitants of *Triers*) and the *Lingones* (now of *Langres*) revolted, when all *Gall* was in a tottering condition, and what was worſe, and unheard of, the Legions proved unfaithful, and were corrupted. For *Vocula* being ſlain, they took an Oath for the Empire of *Gall*, and to them other Legions in ſeveral places joined themſelves, ſome being beſieged upon neceſſity, and afterwards cut in pieces by *Civilis* as they had deſerved. In the mean time *Julius Sabinus* one of the revolters taking on him the name of *Cæſar*, led a great and diſorderly Company againſt the *Sequani* (inhabiting the Country now called *La Franche Conte*) who not refuſing Battel routed the multitude, and put him to flight. Theſe things being reported at *Rome* rather with improvement, all things ſeemed there to be loſt, whereupon *Domitian* the Son of *Veſpaſian*, and *Mucianus*, addreſſed themſelves to the War, and four Legions were preſently diſpatched away towards *Germany*.

13. By this time the *Galles*, by the means eſpecially of *Julius Vindex*, began to conſider of the power of the *Romans*, and at length approved rather of a ſervile Peace than a dangerous War; *Petilius Cerealis* alſo gave the *Treviri* a great Overthrow, and moſt of the revolters returned to obedience. After this he accepted of Battel from *Civilis* and *Claſſicus* his companion, in the beginning whereof he had the worſt, for the Legions began to be broken, the Horſe was put to flight, and the Bridg over the River *Moſella* gained by the Enemy; but though he had now loſt even all for want of heed, yet he reſtored all by his diligence, ſo as, on the ſame day he took and deſtroyed the Enemie's Camp. *Domitian* and *Mucianus* heard of the ſucceſs ere they came to the *Alpes*, and *Mucianus* perſwaded *Domitian* againſt marching further, knowing his ambitious and haughty humour, which he had already betrayed whilſt at *Rome*; but his advice ſucceeding not, he went with him out of compliance to *Lyons*, whence, as 'tis ſaid, *Domitian* wrote privately to *Cerealis* to deliver up the Army to him, that he might therewith ſeize on the Empire. But perceiving he was deſpiſed for his Youth, he betook himſelf to ſuch courſes whereby he thought that his deſigns might beſt be covered. During theſe Stirs *Veſpaſian* was yet at *Alexandria*. Afterwards both *Civilis* recruited his Forces through *Germany*, and *Cerealis* alſo doubled his ſtrength, whereupon followed ſeveral fights, the effect of which was a Peace. For the *Batavians* were ſo chaſtized, as glad they were to accept of it, as *Civilis* of pardon, both of which were offered by the *Roman General*.

Compoſed by *Petilius Cerealis*.

The invaſion of the *Sarmatæ*.

14. With the aforeſaid revolt of the *Germans*, at the ſame time, ſaith * *Joſephus*, agreed the boldneſs of the *Scythians*. For thoſe that are called *Sarmatæ*, in great multitudes having privily paſſed over *Iſter*, being violent, and moſt cruel, through the ſuddenneſs of their invaſion killed many of the *Romans* whom they found in Garriſons, with *Fonteius Agrippa* the Lieutenant (who valiantly reſiſted them) and waſted all the adjacent Countreys with Fire and Sword. *Veſpaſian* hearing of this, and the waſting of *Mœſia*, ſent *Rubrius Gallus* to chaſtize them, by whom many being ſlain, ſuch as eſcaped returned home in great fear. The War being thus ended, the General taking more care for the future, fortified the places with ſtrong Garriſons, that the paſſage might be utterly impaſſable to the *Barbarians*. Theſe firſt eruptions of the *Barbarous* Northern Nations are therefore more to be noted, becauſe at length they over-ran and deſtroyed the *Roman* Empire. Now return we to the affairs of the *Jews*, and the War managed by *Titus*.

* *De Bello Judaico lib. 7. cap. 23.*

The *Zealots* fall out amongſt themſelves.

15. During the former tranſactions in the *Weſt*, a faction was raiſed againſt the *Zealots* by one *Simon* the Son of *Giora*, who getting together a company of Thieves and Murderers that were aſſembled on the Hilly Countrey, fell upon many Villages and Cities, brought all *Idumæa* into his power, waſted *Judæa*, pitched his Camp againſt *Jeruſalem* it ſelf, and became a great terror to the poor Inhabitants, who were moſt cruelly oppreſſed by the *Zealots* within. In the mean time ſuch *Idumæans* as had of late fled into the City, and were become of *John*'s party (whom the *Zealots* had now choſen their Captain) fell at odds with him, deteſting his cruelty, and killing many of his men, forced the Tyrant out of his *Palace* into the *Temple*; but Citizens fearing that by night he might fall out upon the City, let in *Simon*, and then ſet upon the Temple, but in vain. After this *Eleazar*, who once had been Chief amongſt the *Zealots*, envying *John* his power withdrew ſome Soldiers from him, and kept the inwardeſt part of the

Joſephus de bello Judaico, lib. 5. cap. 5. & l. 6. c. 1.

Temple, whereby *John* was forced to fight, both againſt *Simon* and him. Hereby all things about the Temple were burnt up, and Proviſions deſtroyed, which might have ſerved them a long time, and for want whereof they were oppreſſed with Famine in the Siege.

Titus beſiegeth the City.

15. But *Titus* in proſecution of his Fathers Orders came from *Alexandria* to *Cæſarea*, where gathering together ſome Forces with Aids from the Neighbouring Kings, he appointed the reſt to follow him, and marched towards *Jeruſalem*, accompanied with *Tiberius Alexander*, (who now began to be in principal favour) and *Joſeph* the *Jew*, he being for the truth of his prediction now releaſed out of bonds. He ſat down within ſix or ſeven furlongs of the City, a little before the *Feaſt of the Paſſeover*, and therein ſhut up an infinite multitude, which according to the cuſtom flocked to that ſolemnity; and hereby all Proviſions were conſumed in a ſhort time. The three Factions upon ſight of his great Army agreed to oppoſe it, and iſſuing out, made great diſorder, forcing the *Romans* to forſake their Camp, and flie to the Mountains; but they were repelled by the great care and induſtry of *Titus*. But on the day of *unleavened bread* (*April* the 14.) *Eleazar*, who kept the inward part of the Temple, opening the Gates to the people, which was deſirous to Sacrifize, *John* ſent many of his party in amongſt the reſt with Swords hid under their Cloaths, who killing *Eleazar*, and many of his faction, ſeized alſo on that part of the Temple, and thereby the number of the factions was reduced to that of two. That under *John* conſiſted of 8400. and the other under *Simon* of 10000 fighting men, beſides 5000 *Idumæans*. Notwithſtanding the Enemy was at the Walls, and to oppoſe him, they a little joined together: yet did they break out the one upon the other, and the poor people miſerably ſuffered under both.

Idem ibid. & Capp. 2,3,4.

Idem ibid. & Tacitus Hiſt. l. 5. *c.* 12.

16. The City being fortified with three Walls on every ſide, but where it was fenced with deep Vallies, *Titus* having with much oppoſition placed his Engines, battered the uttermoſt of them, and breaking, on the third of *May*, and the City, poſſeſſed all the North part as far as the *Tower of Antonius*, into the *Valley of Cedron*. Five days after, he brake within the ſecond Wall, though the beſieged made divers Sallies. They beat him out again, but the fourth day after he recovered the place, and prepared for the Battery of the third Wall. Yet he ſent *Joſeph* the *Hiſtorian* to them, who exhorting them with many words to yield, was entertained only with Scoffs and Reproaches. The people thinking to eſcape out of the City, *John* and *Simon* ſtopped up all paſſages, yet the Famine increaſing many came out, whom being taken *Titus* cauſed to be Crucified to ſuch a vaſt number, that room was wanting for Croſſes, and Croſſes for Perſons. On the 12*th* of *May* he began four Mounts whereon to place his Battering Rams: two near to the *Caſtle Antonia*, where he hoped he might take the Temple, and other two near the *Monument of John* the High-Prieſt, where he thought he ſhould with moſt eaſe break into the upper part of the City. But *John*, whoſe part it was to oppoſe the *Romans* in the former place, caſt down, and burnt two of them, and two days after *Simon* did as much by the other, though ſeventeen days had been ſpent in making them all. He deſtroyed alſo many Rams and Engines, and brake into the very Camp of the *Romans*; but was repelled by *Titus* from *Antonia*, who in a Council of Officers reſolved now to compaſs the whole City with a Trench, which with incredible diligence and celerity was finiſhed in three days, with thirteen Forts to hinder the flight of the beſieged, and hinder the conveyance of relief into the City.

Joſehpus de bello l. 6. *c.* 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.

Breaking into it.

17. The ſeditious were nothing herewith moved, though the Famine not only raged amongſt the common ſort, but themſelves alſo were preſſed by it. A certain Noble-woman ſod her Child to eat it, and ſuch a mortality enſued, that from the fourteenth of *April* to the firſt of *July* were carried out to be buried at the publick charge One Hundred and Fifteen Thouſand and Eighty Carkeiſes of the poorer ſort, as *Titus* was told by one *Mannaus*, who was appointed to pay the Money. Divers Noble-men that fled to him, certified him alſo that Six Hundred Thouſand of the ordinary ſort were caſt dead out of the Gates, and others that were dead beſides, were innumerable; for becauſe they could not carry all out, they laid them up in Houſes. A Buſhel of Corn was ſold for a Talent, ſinks and holes were raked to find old dung of Oxen to eat, which moved the *Romans* to compaſſion, but the ſeditious were hereby nothing changed. For *Simon* not abſtaining from Murders and Rapines, notwithſtanding this lamentable condition, killed *Matthias* the *High-Prieſt*, by whom he had been let into the

Famine rageth.

City, with his three Sons, and ſixteen others, pretending that they purpoſed to flie to the Enemy. *Judas* one of his own Officers hereupon weary of his cruelty, attempted to betray a certain Tower, whereof he had the charge, to the *Romans*; but being diſcovered, was put to death with ten others of his complices. *John* alſo being driven by neceſſity, converted the Golden Veſſels of the Temple with the Sacred Money to prophane uſes, and was conſtrained to divide the Wine and Oil, ordained for Sacrifices, to his Soldiers.

Idem l. 7. *c.* 1. *&c.*

Yet the deluded defendants refuſe to yield.

The Temple burnt.

18. *Titus* cut down all the Groves within a great diſtance of the City, and cauſing more Mounts or Scaffolds to be Erected within Twenty-one Days, on the firſt of *July* began to batter the Wall of *Antonia*, *John* that oppoſed him being beaten back, and on the fift day broke into the the Caſtle. At this time many many falſe Prophets ſuborned by the Seditious, told the multitude they muſt expect aſſiſtance from God, and therefore though *Titus* often exhorted them to yield, they flatly refuſed, boaſting that they would rather endure all miſeries. The conteſt was earneſt about the Temple. The Wall of the inward part thereof was too ſtrong for the battering Rams, and the Defendants valiantly reſiſted at the top: the foundation of the Gates could not be undermined, and therefore *Titus* was conſtrained to ſet them on fire. Yet was it his intention to ſave the Temple, but on the Tenth of *Auguſt*, a certain Soldier without any command, (nay againſt the command of his General) moved as by an inſtinct from above, caſt fire into the buildings on the North ſide, which catching the flame imparted it to the Temple it ſelf, notwithſtanding all that *Titus* could do to quench it, on the ſame day of the ſame Month that it was formerly ſet on fire by the command of *Nebuchadnezzar*. The Temple thus burning, *Titus* was ſaluted *Imperator* by his Soldiers, and the *Tyrants* with their Companions fled into the City. They now deſired a parly with the General himſelf, who checked them much for their obſtinacy, but promiſed them life if they would yield. But refuſing to commit themſelves to his fidelity, they required to depart the City with their Wives and Children, wherewith being greatly vexed, he commanded it to be proclaimed by a Crier, *That they ſhould not look any longer for Mercy.*

Idem ibid. c. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.

Titus commandeth the Temple and City to be utterly razed. *Idem* 7. *c.* 1. *&c.*

A. D. 71. *Ol* 212. *an.* 2. *V. C.* 823.

19. He permitted his Soldiers to plunder and burn the City, but the ſeditious wretches got to the *King's Houſe*, where many had depoſited their wealth, and thence repelled the *Romans*. They alſo killed of their own Country People to the number of Six Thouſand and Four Hundred, and rifling the money got them into the upper and ſtrongeſt part of the City, called *Sion*, where for all this danger they ſtill moſt cruelly Tyrannized. *Titus* having conſidered the ſtrength of the place, provided Engines to batter the Walls, and began ſo to do it on the Seventh day of *September*. Part of the Wall being broken down, the Tyrants were ſeized with great fear and amazement, not knowing what to do. Some ſaid the Eaſt part of it was broken down, others that the *Romans* were entred, and that they ſaw them out of the Towers; ſo that the power of God appeared in the overthrow of theſe wretches; for they forſook the Towers which were their only ſtrength, and in vain ſeeking to eſcape, hid themſelves in Caves and Privies. The *Romans* entering, put all to the Sword, and burnt the Houſes with all that fled to them for ſafeguard. *Titus* commanded both the Temple and City to be utterly razed by a plow brought over them, according to the cuſtom; only the Weſt part of the Wall with three Towers for their ſtrength and beauty he preſerved, to bear teſtimony of the ſtatelineſs of the City to poſterity. They would have crowned him as a Conquerour for this work, but he refuſed the honour, denying that he was the Author of it, for that he only ſerved God herein, who by it demonſtrated his wrath againſt the *Jews*. To ſuch an end came this famous City, on the Eighth day of *September*, in the Second Year of *Veſpaſian*, he and *Titus* his Son being *Conſuls*, Thirty Eight Years after the death of *Chriſt*, the Blood of whom now fell heavy upon them. It had been taken in all ſix times; by *Aſochæus* or *Shiſhack* King of *Ægypt*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Antiochus Epiphanes*, *Pompey*, *Herod* and *Soſius*, and now by *Titus*; but twice only was it deſtroyed, *viz.* by *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Titus*. It was firſt built, ſaith *Joſephus*, by *Melchiſedeck* King of *Salem*, and afterwards inlarged by *David*. It was burnt by the *Babylonians*, One Thouſand Four Hundred Sixty Eight Years and Six Months after the Founding of it, and Four Hundred Seventy Seven Yars and Six Months after it had been taken by *David* from the *Canaanites*. By *Titus Veſpaſian* it was deſtroyed One Thouſand One Hndred Seventy Nine Years after *David* took it, but from it's firſt Founding to it's laſt Deſtruction intervened Two Thouſand One Hundred Seventy Seven Years.

20. *John* and *Simon* having hid themſelves were taken, and the former being condemned to perpetual Priſon, the other was reſerved for a Triumph. The reſt of the Thieves and Seditious were diſcovered, one telling of another, and were all ſlain. Of thoſe which during the whole War were taken Captives the number amounted to 97000, and of thoſe that Periſhed in the Siege to 1100000. So heavy was the guilt which lay on them for the death of Chriſt, and ſuch were the horrid Enormities committed by them, that we have reaſon to agree with *Joſephus*, who thought, that if the *Romans* had delayed to come againſt them, the City would either have been ſwallowed up of the Earth, or have periſhed by ſome Deluge, or elſe by Thunderbolts and Lightning have undergone the puniſhments of *Sodom*, whoſe Inhabitants they exceeded in wickedneſs. A Year after was *Lucilius Baſſus* ſent Lieutenant into *Judæa*, who having the Army of *Cerealis Vitellianus*, took the Caſtle of *Herodian* and of *Machærun* beyond *Jordan*. Not long after *Veſpaſian* wrote to *Liberius Maximus* the Governour, to ſell all the Land of the *Jews*, upon whom whereſoever they lived he impoſed a Yearly Tribute to be paid into the *Capitol*, it being that they were wont to pay into the Temple at *Jeruſalem*. About a Year after *Publius Sylva* ſucceeded *Baſſus* then dead, and finiſhed the War, taking the ſtrong Caſtle of *Maſſada* from *Eleazar*, who held it with 960 Hackſters, ſuch as upon his motion ſet fire to the Caſtle and all their Goods, and then killed themſelves. Many like them flying out of the Country came to *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*, where they ſollicited the *Jews* to revolt, but were by them delivered up to the *Romans*, and thoſe of them that then eſcaped were afterwards taken. *Veſpaſian* hearing of their attempt, gave order to *Lupus* Governour of *Alexandria*, to demoliſh the Temple of the *Jews*, (built in *Ægypt* in times paſt by *Onias* Brother to the *High-Prieſt*) which he neglected to do, only ſpoiled it of ſome conſecrated things, and ſhut it up. But *Paulinus* his Succeſſor utterly bereaved it of all, and ſo ſhut it up, that he made it inacceſſible, and without any ſhew of Religion, 343 Years after it was firſt built by *Onias*.

Lib. 6. c. 16.

Idem l. 7. c. 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31.

The War finiſhed by *Sylva*.

The Temple of the *Jews* in *Ægypt* deſtroyed.

21. But the *Jews* of *Cyrene* were alſo infected with a diſtemper of madneſs. There one *Jonathan* a Weaver led many of the ſimple ſort into the Wilderneſs, promiſing to ſhew them ſigns and wonders; but by the chiefeſt of the *Jews* the matter being diſcovered to *Catullus* Governour of thoſe parts, he ſent Soldiers who ſlew moſt of them, and not long after *Jonathan* himſelf was taken. *Catullus* a covetous man procured him and others to accuſe many unjuſtly, whom having ſlain and ſeized on their Eſtates, he carried him to *Rome*, where following the ſame Trade, *Joſeph* the Hiſtorian was alſo accuſed; but *Veſpaſian* having found out the deceit, cauſed *Jonathan* firſt to be whipped, and then burnt alive. *Catullus* at preſent eſcaped through the mildneſs of the Emperour, but not long after fell into grievous anguiſh of mind, imagining he ſaw the Ghoſts of thoſe he had ſlain, and his bowels rotted away from him, that he died miſerably. Thus far hath *Joſephus* communicated to us the affairs of the *Jews*, who being kindly entertained by *Veſpaſian*, was honoured with a Statue, and his Books were thought worthy of the publick Library. For the truth of his Hiſtory concerning the Wars, he had the teſtimony of the *Emperours*, *King Agrippa*, and others. *Titus* would have the certain knowledge of theſe Wars delivered unto the World by his Books only, commanding them to be publiſhed with the privilege of his own hand. And *King Agrippa* wrote 62 Epiſtles, wherein he teſtified of the true Hiſtory delivered by him. But his *Jewiſh Antiquities* he finiſhed not till the Thirteenth of *Domitian*, when he himſelf was 56 Years old, as he teſtifieth at the end of that Work.

A Sedition of the *Jews* in *Cyrene*.

Vide Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. l. 3. c. 9, 16.

The end of *Joſephus* his Hiſtory.

Joſephus contra Apionem lib. 1. & Antihuit. l. ult. c. ult.

22. To *Veſpaſian* was renewed the *Lex Regia*, and the ſame power that *Auguſtus*, *Tiberius*, and the reſt enjoyed, was confirmed to him as Hæreditary. A fragment of this Law (which evinceth that abſolute power we formerly proved to have been in the Emperours) is yet extant after this manner. *Let it be lawful for him to make a League with whom he pleaſeth, as it was lawful to* Divus Auguſtus, Tiberius Julius Cæſar Auguſtus, *and* Tiberius Claudius Cæſar Auguſtus Germanicus, &c. *As alſo to hold the Senate, make report, diſmiſs, and make* Senatus Conſulta *by reporting and ſeparation, as it was lawful to* Divus Auguſtus, Tib. Julius Cæſar Auguſtus, Tib. Claudius Cæſar Auguſtus Germanicus. *Moreover, when as by his Will, Authority, Command, or Mandate, or he being preſent, the Senate ſhall be aſſembled, it ſhall be effectual to all ends and purpoſes, as if the Senate had been aſſembled or held by Law. Moreover, whatſoever he*

The *Lex Regia* renewed in behalf of *Veſpaſian*.

The *Lex Regia* renewed to *Veſpaſian*.

Ex tabula ænea in baſilica Lateranenſi alta palmos 9. lata 5, digitos 3. craſſa. in Inſcrip. Gruteri pag. 242.

he ſhall commend to the Roman *Senate and People that ſtand for any Magiſtracy, power, command, or charge, or to whomſoever he ſhall give or promiſe his Suffrage, let them be conſidered beyond the uſual form in the Comitia. As alſo it may be lawful for him to inlarge the Pomærium if he think it convenient for the Commonwealth, ſo as it was lawful for* Tib. Claudius Cæſar Germanicus. *Moreover, whatſoever he ſhall think uſeful for the Commonwealth, or agreeable to the Majeſty of all things divine or humane, publick or private, let him have right and authority to act and do, ſo as it was lawful for* Divus Auguſtus, *and* Tiberius Julius Cæſar Auguſtus, *and* Tiberius Claudius Cæſar Auguſtus Germanicus. *Moreover, from what Laws and Plebiſcita it was ordained, that* Divus Auguſtus, Tiberius Julius Cæſar Auguſtus, *and* Tiberius Claudius Cæſar Auguſtus Germanicus *ſhould be looſed, from thoſe Laws and Plebiſcita, let the* Emperor Cæſar Veſpaſian *be looſed. And what things ſoever, by what Law or asking ſoever* Divus Auguſtus, Tib. Julius Cæſar Auguſtus, *and* Tiberius Claudius Cæſar Auguſtus Germanicus *ought to do, let it be lawful for the* Emperor Cæſar Veſpaſian Auguſtus *to do them all. Moreover, what things ſoever before the asking of this Law were acted, done, decreed, or commanded by the* Emperor Cæſar Veſpaſian Auguſtus, *or by any other, by virtue of his Command or Mandate, let them be held as juſt and valid, as if they had been done by command of the People.*

Et ex Antiq. Epigrammatum libro apud Hotomannum l. de Legibus Romanis.

The Sanction.

If any one by virtue of this Law hath done or ſhall do any thing againſt the Laws, asking of Laws (rogationes) *Plebiſcita or Senatuſconſulta, or ſhall not do what he ought to have done according to any Law, asking, Plebiſcitum or Senatuſconſultum, and that by virtue of this Law, let no dammage thence light upon him; neither let him owe any thing to the People for this matter, neither let any have an action againſt him, neither let any one judge him, nor permit the matter to be debated before him.*

Joſephus de bello Judaico lib. 7. c. 27.

Pætus gaineth *Comagena.*

The Alani *invade* Media, *and* Armenia.

23. In the fourth year of *Veſpaſian*, *Cæſennius Pætus* Preſident of *Syria*, accuſed *Antiochus* King of *Comagena* and *Epiphanes* his Son, as holding correſpondence with the *Parthian*, whereupon order was given him to prevent what might enſue. *Pætus* then invaded *Comagena*, which *Antiochus* quitted, being loth to fight, and fled into *Cilicia*. His Sons alſo, after they had made ſome oppoſition, went to *Vologeſus* into *Parthia*. But *Pætus* procured *Antiochus* to be taken and ſent to him bound towards *Rome*, yet *Veſpaſian* cauſed him to be looſed, and ſtay at *Lacedæmon*, where he allowed him a revenue to live like himſelf, and he afterwards ſent for both him and his Sons to the City, where they were magnificently entertained. About this time the *Alani*, who being *Scythians* inhabited about *Tanais* and the Lake *Mæotis*, conſulted with the King of the *Hyrcanians* who was Maſter of the Straights to invade *Media*, which they entred and ſacked at their pleaſure, *Pacorus* the King being forced up into a ſtrong Hold, and glad to redeem his Wife and Concubines with an Hundred Talents. From *Media* they paſſed into *Armenia*, and waſted the Country. *Tiridates* the King oppoſed them, but was near being taken alive in Battel, for with his Sword he cut in pieces the Rope that was caſt about his neck, as they were therewith drawing him amongſt his Enemies, and eſcaped. But they inraged at his oppoſition waſted the Kingdom, and carrying great booty out of both Countreys returned home.

Several acts of *Veſpaſian.*

Sueton in Veſpaſiano.

Oroſius l. 7. c. 9.

His Character.

24. *Veſpaſian* took away liberty from *Achaia*, *Lycia*, *Rhodes*, *Byzantium*, and *Samus*, reducing them into *Provinces*, as alſo *Thrace*, *Cilicia*, and *Comagena*, the King whereof he ſent for to *Rome*, as we ſaid before. *Cappadocia* now began to be over-run with barbarous Nations, to reſtrain whom he added Legions, and placed one of *Conſular dignity* over it in room of an *Eques*. At length all Wars and Tumults being ſuppreſſed both at home and abroad, he ſhut the Temple of *Janus* the ſixth time from the foundation of the City. It was his principal care firſt to ſettle and eſtabliſh the afflicted and tottering condition of the Empire, and then to adorn it. Whereas the City was very deformed by reaſon of the burning of it, he permitted any to build upon old Plots, if the owners would relinquiſh them: He alſo re-edified the *Capitol*. As to his perſonal quality, he was of much temper and clemency, eaſily paſſing by and forgetting injuries. The meanneſs of his former condition he ſought not to hide, but ſometimes would profeſs it openly. He took not the *Tribunitial power*, nor

tle of *Father of his Country* for ſome time. If any innocent perſon were puniſhed, it was ſorely againſt his will, and for want of knowledge. He paſſed by the Treaſon of many that had plotted his Deſtruction, ſaying, *They were fools, and knew not what a weight and trouble the Empire was:* he wept and groand at the puniſhment of an offender. To *Vologeſes* King of *Parthia* who wrote to him thus: *Arſaces King of Kings to Fl. Veſpaſian*, without any reproof he directed his anſwer thus, *Fl. Veſpaſian to Arſaces King of Kings.* The only vice reprehended in him was covetouſneſs, and yet to that ſeeking earneſtly for Money, he was conſtrained through the neceſſities of the State. 'Tis certain he uſed it well however gotten, being very liberal in feaſting, relieving impoveriſhed Senators, and others of deſert. He incouraged Learning, and gave the firſt ſtipends out of the Exchequer to the Profeſſors thereof. He was *Conſul* eight times (beſides once before he was Emperour) and in his laſt *Conſulſhip* died of a Flux, in the Sixty ninth year of his Age, the Tenth of his reign being compleated; in the 832 of the City, A. D. 79, he *himſelf* the ninth time, and *Titus Cæſar* the ſeventh being *Conſuls.* He was the firſt Emperour whoſe Succeſſor was his own Son. In his time flouriſhed *Pliny* the Elder and Writer of the Natural Hiſtory. Who alſo the ſame year that he died, whilſt he went to ſee what might be the cauſe of the burning of the Hill *Veſuvius*, was ſtifled with the ſmoak thereof, and died, as *Pliny Junior* his Nephew writes in his Epiſtle * to *Trajan.* Now alſo *Quintilian* and other Learned Men were famous.

Xiphilinus ex Dione.

His death,

And that of *Pliny.*

Titus ſucceedeth him.

Sueton in Tito. Eutrop. l. 7. Oroſius l. 7. c. 9. alii.

A. D. 79. *V. C.* 832. *Titi* 1.

25. *Titus* his eldeſt Son ſucceeded him (by whom *Jeruſalem* had been taken, and deſtroyed) on the eighth of the *Calends* of *June.* He was born that year wherein *Caius* was ſlain, and brought up with *Britanicus* the Son of *Claudius*, being inſtructed in the ſame things by the ſame Maſters: he was thought alſo to have drunk ſome of the poyſon which *Nero* gave to that Prince, and that this was the cauſe of his want of health ſome conjectured. He performed the Office of Tribune both in the Wars of *Germany* and *Britain* with great Commendations, and after that, being *Quæſtor*, came to have the command of a Legion in *Judæa.* After his Father came to the Government he was ſuſpected by ſome, when he was yet in *Ægypt*, as intending to eſtabliſh himſelf, whereupon he haſted to *Rome* to cut off all jealouſies. Taking then part with his Father in the Publick Cares, he triumphed with him over *Judæa*, executed with him the *Cenſorſhip*, *Tribuneſhip*, and ſeven *Conſulſhips*; nay, taking as it were all upon him, he dictated Letters in his Fathers Name, publiſhed Edicts, ſpake in the Senate, and that in the room of the *Quæſtor*, and took on him the Government of the *Palace*, which never had formerly been diſcharged but by ſome *Roman Knight*; and this Office he executed with ſuch rigor, that he contracted much envy, and was accounted cruel. He was ſuſpected of Luxury, for feaſting with voluptuous perſons till midnight; of Incontinency alſo, being (amongſt other Arguments) too familiar with *Berenice* the Siſter of King *Agrippa*, to which Lady he is alſo ſaid to have promiſed Marriage, but performed it not, becauſe of the diſtaſte of the People. Moreover rapacity was laid to his charge. He was both accounted and openly talked of as another *Nero*, and ſcarcely did any ever come with more fear or leſs favour to the Government.

His admirable Virtues.

Several calamities in his time.

26. But ſo contrarily to expectation did he behave himſelf, that his former carriage did but ſet him off with the greater luſtre; and ſo free was he from all Vice, and adorned with ſo many Virtues, that he became the *Love and Delight of Mankind*, and by an happy exchange was ſo called. His temperance he ſhewed in the moderation of his Diet, the choice of his Companions, and putting away *Berenice*: His moderation by abſtaining utterly from other mens Goods, and refuſing often ordinary Benevolences, although no man ever exceeded him in Munificence. He was the *Mirrour of Courteſie*, being wont to ſay, That *no man ſhould go ſorrowful from the preſence of the Prince*; and on a day having done no courteſie for any man, he ſaid, *Amici diem perdidi, My friends I have loſt a day.* Several ſad Accidents hapned in his little time; ſo great a Peſtilence as ſeldom had been known. So great a fire there was in *Rome*, and kindled from Heaven, that it burnt three days together. *Veſuvius* alſo the Hill in *Campania* burſt forth with great flames, and deſtroyed all round about it; all which miſeries he leſſened as much as he could, neither ſparing coſt nor pains to relieve the diſtreſſed. At the ſame time another War aroſe in *Britain*,

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* *Lib. 6. ep. 16.*

Britain, wherein *Cn. Julius Agricola* haraſſed all the Country of the Enemies, and firſt of all the *Romans*, that we know of, ſaith *Dio* *, knew that *Britain* was compaſſed about by the Sea. For certain Soldiers in a Sedition having killed their *Centurions* and *Tribunes* fled to their Ships, and launching out, ſailed about that part of *Britain* which lieth toward the Weſt, being carried by waves and wind: when they had done this, and by chance light upon the other Camp of the *Romans* on the other ſide, *Agricola* ſent out others to hold the ſame courſe, from whom he alſo knew that it was an Iſland. Theſe things being done in *Britain*, *Titus* was ſaluted *Imperator* the fifteenth time. *Agricola* paſſed the reſt of his life in Ignominy and Poverty, becauſe he had done greater things than were ſuitable to a *Prætor*; and for that cauſe he was afterwards put to death by *Domitian*, though by the permiſſion of *Titus* he had triumphed. But concerning theſe things *Tacitus* is rather to be conſulted in the life of *Agricola*.

* *Apud Xiphil. in excerpt. l.66.*

He dieth.

27. *Titus* put down Informers, uſually tolerated before. His mercy was too great; for he vowed he had rather periſh than deſtroy another, as according to the judgment of ſome it came to paſs. Amongſt others that plotted his deſtruction, he not only ſpared his Brother *Domitian*, but had him in the ſame reſpect as from the beginning, and owned him as his Partner and Succeſſor; only betwixt them two he beſought him with tears at length to relent to Love and Unity. He was a man of excellent parts, both outward and inward accompliſhments; but to the great loſs of Man-kind, was preſently taken away, whether by the treachery of his Brother or no, is uncertain. In the beginning of his Sickneſs he is ſaid to have look'd up to Heaven, as taking it ill he ſhould dye ſo ſoon, being not conſcious to himſelf of any Sin, ſave one, which as he did not expreſs, ſo it is altogether unknown. He was with good reaſon ſadly lamented throughout the *Provinces*. He died in the ſame Village his Father had ended his days, near the Country of the *Sabines*, in the forty ſecond year of his Age, when he had reigned two years, as many months, and twenty days; in the 834 year of the City, A. D. 81. *M. Plautius Silvanus*, and *M. Annius Verus* being *Conſuls*.

Domitian his Brother ſucceedeth him.

28. *Domitian* (ſo called from *Domitilla* their Mother) ſucceeded *Titus*, being more like to *Nero*, *Caligula*, or *Tiberius*, than either Father or Brother. His youth he paſſed diſgracefully enough. Doubting upon the death of his Father, whether he ſhould not give a double donative to the Soldiers to obtain their good-will, he never feared to boaſt that he was left Partner in the Empire by his Father, but that his teſtament was corrupted. He never ceaſed to plot againſt his Brother ſecretly or openly, and e're he was quite dead, commanded him to be carried out as ſuch. In the beginning of his reign he reſtrained himſelf; for his cruelty was then imployed upon flies, which privately in a room he was wont to catch and prick with a Bodkin, ſo that one asking whether any body was within with *Cæſar?* it was not unfitly anſwered by *Vibius Criſpus*, *No not ſo much as a fly*. But though at preſent he ſtrove to allay the fury of his vices by ſome forced virtue, yet within a while he let fall alſo this vizard, and became in appearance what inwardly his indiſpoſition inclined him to be.

Sueton & Eutropius.

A. D. 81.
V. C. 834.
Titi 3.

At his beginning diſſembleth his Vices.

Great difficulties in his time,

29. He undertook ſeveral Expeditions, as againſt the *Catti* and *Sarmatians* (People inhabiting the Northern parts of *Europe*) who had cut off a whole Legion. The *Dacians* alſo put him to much trouble, and grievouſly afflicted the *Roman* State, under conduct of *Diurpaneus* their King; for they overthrew firſt *Oppius Sabinus* a man of *Conſular dignity*, and next *Cornelius Fuſcus* Captain of the Guards, in ſeveral ſore and bloody Battels, inſomuch that the Hiſtorians of thoſe times, have thought fitteſt to paſs over in ſilence the number of the ſlain; Yet at length he triumphed over them all. He was alſo ſtruck at by a Civil War raiſed by *L. Antonius* Preſident of upper *Germany*, whom he had incenſed by the odiouſneſs of his vices, and eſpecially by uncivil language. This he finiſhed though abſent with admirable felicity; for, that very hour the Fight was to be, the *Rhine* ſwelled ſo high, that it hindred the Auxiliaries which were ſent to *Antonius*, from joyning with him. In the ſecond year of his reign *Agricola* defeated the *Ordovices* in *Britain*, and took the Iſle *Mona* about Autumn, and that upon his firſt coming into the Iſland. So that the years of the Expeditions which *Tacitus* afterwards relateth, are rather to be reckoned from the *Kalends* of *January* of the former year, as *Jacobus Cappellus* hinteth. Though *Dion Caſſius*, as appeareth from *Xiphilin*, referred the diſcovery of *Britain* being an Iſland to the reign of *Titus*: Yet others unto the time of *Domitian*, who at length envying *Agricola* that great glory he had got in reducing *Britain*, recalled him,

Sueton in Domitiano.
Eutropius ut ſuprà.
Oroſius lib. 7. *c.* 16.

Which yet he overcometh.

Tacitus in vitâ Agricolæ.

under pretence of ſending him into *Aſia*; and he died two years after, on the tenth of the *Calends* of *September*, in the fifty ſixth year of his age, *Pompeius Collega* and *Cornelius Priſcus* being *Conſuls*. Whether he died of poyſon or not, though there wanted not ſuſpitions, *Tacitus* his Son-in-law dareth not affirm.

His cruelty.

30. *Domitian* having ſuppreſſed the Rebellion of *Antonius*, grew extraordinarily cruel, putting men to death upon ſmall and trivial accounts. Thoſe of any note that were of his party he tortured to death by ways unheard of, and confounded the cauſe of the innocent with that of the guilty, raging againſt the Chriſtians with a ſecond perſecution. He arrived at that horrid arrogance, that he ſticked not to ſay in the Senate, *That he gave the Empire to his Father and Brother*, who did but reſtore it to him; and (what was worſe than this) he would be called *our Lord and God*. Being hereby rendred terrible and hateful unto all, he wrought his own deſtruction, which fearing, and being foretold it by the *Chaldæans*, he grew timorous out of meaſure, and was moved with the leaſt ſuſpition. Hence did he cauſe the place where he was wont to abide, to be beſet with the ſtone *Phengites*, that he might ſee if any one came behind him; and though he was ſufficiently ambitious, yet did he refuſe an extraordinary honour offered him by the Senate, *viz.* that *when he bore the Conſulſhip, Equites ſhould go before him with ſpears amongſt the Sergeants.* Hence alſo he put *Epaphroditus* his Secretary to death, becauſe it was believed that he had helped *Nero* in diſpatching himſelf; and he killed *Flavius* his Uncle, though he had openly owned his two Sons as his Succeſſors, whereof the one he called *Veſpaſian*, and the other *Domitian*; which haſtened his deſtruction. Eight months after he was ſlain by his own ſervants, of whom *Parthenius* the chief of his Chamber was principal, *Domitia* his Wife being drawn in to the Conſpiracy, for that ſhe feared to be poyſoned for her kindneſs to *Paris*. *Longinus Proculus* then in *Germany* is ſaid to have foretold the very day of his death, and *Apollonius Tyanæus* a famous *Magitian* (who being convented before him vaniſhed out of his ſight) ſpoke of it that very hour, exhorting *Stephanus* as it were *to ſtrike him home*. The people took his death indifferently, the Soldiers heavily, which they ſhortly after revenged upon the Murtherers; but the Senate as it were triumphed, and ordered the memory of him to be aboliſhed. The beſt thing we find concerning him is, that though he was no Scholar himſelf, he took care for repairing of Libraries. He was murthered on the fourteenth before the Calends of *October*, in the forty fifth year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign, in the 849 year of the City: A.D. 96. *T. Fulvius Valens*, and *C. Antiſtius Vetus* being *Conſuls*. In his time flouriſhed *Statius Papinius*, who beginneth the fourth book of his *Sylvæ* with the celebration of his ſeventeenth Conſulſhip, which fell in with the fourteenth of his reign. *Juvenal* and *Martial* alſo flouriſhed at this time; whereof the latter was of *Equeſtrian Rank*, though ever poor, as * he himſelf witneſſeth.

His death.

A. D. 96.
V. C. 849.
Domitiani 15.

* *Sum fateor, ſemperque fui Calliſtrate pauper.*
Sed non obſcurus nec malè notus eques.

Eccleſiaſtical matters in his time.

31. Now muſt we give a ſhort account of Eccleſiaſtical affairs, according to the courſe of time and matter. (a) *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite* being by St. *Paul*, (who converted him to the faith) made *Biſhop* of *Athens*, governed that Church in the time of *Nero* and afterwards. There are extant ſeveral works under his name, but ſuſpected; and ſundry Epiſtles, whereof one to *John* the *Evangeliſt* then in the Iſle *Pathmos*, and another unto *Polycarpus*. *Linus* the Biſhop of *Rome*, being Crowned with Martyrdom on the ninth of the *Calends* of *October*, in the laſt year of *Nero*, according to *Damaſcus*, *Cletus* or *Anacletus* ſucceeded him in that See. Some next unto *Linus* do place *Clemens*, then *Cletus*, and then *Anacletus*. But *Irenæus*, *Euſebius*, and *Epiphanius* rank them thus: *Peter*, *Linus*, *Cletus*, or *Anacletus*, *Clemens*; for he whom *Irenæus* and *Euſebius* call *Anacletus*, is by *Epiphanius* and *Damaſus* called *Cletus*. This *Cletus* according to *Damaſus* died in the ſecond year of *Domitian*, on the ſixth before the *Calends* of *May*, and was ſucceeded by *Anacletus*. But (b) *Euſebius* maketh *Anacletus* to have been *Biſhop* twelve years, and in the twelfth of *Domitian* to have been ſucceeded by *Clemens*, whom St. *Paul* in his Epiſtle to the *Philippians*, calleth his *fellow-labourer*. In the fourth year of the reign of *Domitian* (c) *Anianus* the firſt Biſhop of *Alexandria* (having continued there thirty two years) died, to whom ſucceeded *Abilius*. As for the *Biſhops* of *Byzantium* afterwards called *Conſtantinople*, we have them in this order from (d) *Nicephorus* the *Patriarch*. The firſt was *Andrew* the Apoſtle, who having preached the Word at *Byzantium*, and built an Oratory in *Argyropolis* orained *Stachys* to be Biſhop, of whom (e) St. *Paul* maketh mention.

Biſhops.

(a) *Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. l.* 3. *c.* 4.
L. 4. *c.* 22.

(b) *Lib.* 3. *c.* 14.

(c) *Idem ibid. c.* 13.

(d) *Vide Joſeph. Scaliger in Euſebianis pag.* 313.

(e) *Rom.* 16. 9.

Stachys governed Sixteen years, after him ſucceeded in the year of our Lord 55 *Oneſimus*, who governed Fourteen; then *Polycarpus* ruled Seventeen, and *Eleutherius* Seven, who came to the Chair A. D. 85. in the ſecond of *Domitian*.

32. *Domitian* having raiſed the ſecond Perſecution againſt the Chriſtian faith, St. *John* the *Apoſtle*, who having continued at *Epheſus* Twenty ſeven years, was in the ninth of his Reign Baniſhed into the Iſland (*a*) *Pathmos*, one of the *Cyclades*, where he wrote his *Revelation*. In this work he ſheweth both *Chriſts* and his own hatred of the Doctrine of the *Nicolaitans*; for ſeveral Hereſies had by this time ſprung up, as St. *Paul* had forewarned. (*b*) *Euſebius* maketh *Simon Magus* the firſt Author of Hereſies, concerning whom we have already ſpoken; but, as to his Hereſies particularly: 1. He affirmed that he himſelf was Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, and that he was worſhipped of all people by divers names. 2. That Chriſt did ſuffer no hurt from the *Jews*; for he was Chriſt. 3. That any man might lye with any woman, for this was no ſin. 4. That the World was made by Angels, and that an Angel redeemed Mankind. 5. He denied the Reſurrection. 6. He thought that the gifts of the Holy Ghoſt might be bought with Money, and therefore that Sin of him is called *Simony*. (*c*) *Nicholas* the Patron of the *Nicholaitans* was one of the ſeven firſt *Deacons*. He having a fair wiſe, and being accuſed of Jealouſie, permitted any to Marry her, at which Fact others taking occaſion, thought it lawful for any man to have the company of any woman whom they themſelves could like. (*d*) *Epiphanius* writeth, that they taught Venery to be ſo neceſſary, that thoſe men who uſed it not every week on *Friday*, could not be ſaved. Beſides theſe Hereticks, about the year 69 ſprung up the Hereſie of the *Cerinthians*. (*e*) *Cerinthus* was a *Jew* by Birth. He taught that the World was made by Angels. 2. That *Jeſus* our Saviour had for his Parents indeed *Joſeph* and *Mary*, and that at his Baptiſm *Chriſt* deſcended on him, who (ſaith he) is called the Holy Ghoſt, by whom he did all his Miracles; when *Jeſus* was to be crucified of the *Jews*, then Chriſt left him, and returned into Heaven. 3. That Chriſt's Kingdom after the Reſurrection ſhould be an earthly Kingdom, and men then ſhould live in all fleſhly luſts and pleaſures together for a Thouſand years. 4. He denied the Divine Nature of Chriſt, and ſaid, that he had only an Humane Nature; and that he was not yet riſen from the dead, but ſhould riſe hereafter. 5. He affirmed that the old Law, and all the old Commandments and Precepts belonging to it were to be kept, together with the new Law or Goſpel, and that therefore Circumciſion was neceſſary for every one that would be ſaved. *Epiphanius* writeth, that certain *Hereticks* called *Alogi*, affirmed *Cerinthus* to have been the Author of the *Revelation*.

St. *John* baniſhed to *Pathmos*.

Hæreticks. 1 *Simon Magus.*

2 *Nicholaitans.*

3 *Cerinthians.*

(*a*) *Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. l.* 3. *c.* 18.

(*b*) *Lib.* 1. *c.* 13.

(*c*) *Clemens Alexandr. Strom. l.* 3. & *Euſeb. l.* 3. *c.* 29.

(*d*) *Lib.* 2. *Tom.* 2. *Hær.* 25.

(*e*) *Irenæus Epiphanius Euſeb. l.* 3. *c.* 28. *l.* 4. *c.* 14. *Philaſtrius.*

33. About the beginning of *Domitian* aroſe alſo the Hereſie of *Menander* a *Samaritan*, and the Scholar of *Simon Magus*. He taught firſt, that the World was made by Angels, and that theſe Angels could be overcome by no means but by Art Magick. 2. He denied Chriſt to be true man. 3. He affirmed himſelf the Saviour of the World, and that he came from Heaven to ſave Mankind, and that all who would be ſaved muſt be baptized in his name. Out of his Doctrine (that we may ſpeak of theſe Hereticks briefly) budded that of *Saturninus* of *Antioch*, who not long after in like manner taught, 1. That the World was made by ſeven Angels, without the knowledge of God the Father. 2. That Chriſt was but the ſhadow of a man, for he had neither the true Body nor ſoul of a man, and thus he fulfilled the myſterie of our Redemption. 3. He ſaid moreover, that Marriage and Procreation was of the Devil. *Baſilides*, of whom were named the *Baſilidiani*, agreed in ſeveral points with *Simon*, *Menander*, and *Saturninus*, He taught, that Chriſt did not ſuffer, but *Simon* of *Cyrene*; that Chriſt taking the form of *Simon* laughed them to ſcorn. 2. He turned men away from Martyrdom, affirming that it was no Sin to deny Chriſt in time of Perſecution. 3. That the Angels made Three hundred ſixty five Heavens, and that theſe Heavens made the World. He wrote Twenty four Books upon the Goſpel, and feigned to himſelf Prophets, whom he called *Barcabas* and *Barcoph*. He commanded ſilence to his Scholars for the ſpace of five years, after the manner of *Pythagoras*.

Menander.

Baſilides.

Euſeb. l. 3. *c.* 26. &*c.* *Irenæus*, *Epiphan. Auguſt. Philaſtr.*

Euſeb. l. 4. *c.* 7.

34. *Irenæus* writeth, that in the time of theſe two *Carpocrates* lived, the father of the Hereſie held by the *Gnoſticks*, who thought good not to make known the Sorcery of *Simon* privily, but openly, glorying of charmed love-drinks, of Deviliſh, and drunken dreams, of aſſiſtant and aſſociate ſpirits, with other like illuſions. They taught further, that who ſo would attain to the perfection of their myſteries, muſt work ſuch facts though never ſo filthy, otherwiſe could they

Carpocrates, and the *Gnoſticks* his Scholars.

not overcome (as they termed them) the ſecular Potentates, unleſs every one played his part after the ſame ſecret operation. Theſe were the moſt vile Hereticks in filthineſs of all others. They held 1. That the Soul was made of the ſubſtance of God, and that brute beaſts have reaſon as man hath. 2. That there are two Gods, a good and an evil one, and that this evil God was the Creator of all things. *Carpocrates* alſo taught 1. That Chriſt was a meer man born of *Joſeph*, and not of the bleſſed Virgin, that he was a good man, and therefore after he was Crucified, his Soul went up into Heaven, but his body is ſtill in the Grave. 2. That the World was made by Angels. 3. That there is no reſurrection. 4. He rejected the *Old Teſtament* as not *Canonical*. Beſides theſe, at this time aroſe the Hereſie of the *Ebionites*, ſo called from *Ebion*. He taught, that Chriſt was but a meer man. 2. That when *Jeſus* was 30 years old there deſcended on him, and dwelt in him another perſon called *Chriſt*, and thus *Jeſus* and *Chriſt* dwelt, and were united together. 3. He agreed with *Cerinthus* in the reſt of the Hereſies, touching Circumciſion, and keeping all the Law of *Moſes*. He denied the *Epiſtles of Paul*, accuſing him that he fell from the Law. The *Jewiſh Sabbath*, and other Ceremonies he obſerved together with the *Jews*, only the *Sunday* he celebrated as we do in remembrance of the Reſurrection. 'Tis reported that St. *John* hearing *Ebion* was in the Bath refrained his company, and having ſeen and allowed the three Goſpels publiſhed by the other *Evangeliſts*, wrote his own to confute the Hereſies of him, *Cerinthus* and *Menander*.

Ebionites.

Epiphan. Hæreſ. 30. *Euſeb. l.*3. *c.*21.

CHAP. V.

From the Death of Domitian *to that of* Pertinax, *and the expoſing of the Empire to publick ſale by the Soldiers, the ſpace of* 97 *years.*

Sueton in Domitian. Eutropius. Xiphilinus ex Dione.

Golden days after *Domitian.*

1. IT is reported of *Domitian*, that not long before his death he dreamed, *that a golden neck and head was grown up on his ſhoulders*, and that he was fully aſſured, that after him *were thereby portended golden days to the Commonwealth*. This truly came to paſs through the abſtinence, moderation, and excellent government of the ſix ſucceeding Princes, during the Reign of whom the *Roman Empire* (for temporal reſpects) enjoyed more happineſs, than ever before or after, Strangers affording that, which the Natives of *Italy* would not contribute to their own Country. *Cocceius Nerva*, an old man, and born in *Crete* (ſay ſome, though others make him a Native of *Narnia* in *Italy*) after the death of *Domitian* had the Empire put upon him, by the Legions which then quartered amongſt the *Sequani* in *Gall*. After his aſſuming the Government, a ſtrong rumour went abroad, that *Domitian* was yet living, which ſomewhat perplexed him, till by *Parthenius*, and *Petronius*, Captains of the Guards, he was put out of doubt; and afterwards his election was confirmed by the Senate.

Nerva ſucceedeth him.

Aurelius Victor.

2. Moſt of the Golden and Silver Statues of *Domitian*, who was hated by all men, he cauſed to be taken down, of which was raiſed a great Sum of Money. The Triumphal Arches, of which many had been erected to him, were alſo demoliſhed. He abſolved them who were held guilty of Impiety, and reſtored the Exiles. Slaves and Freedmen, who had been treacherous to their Lords, he commanded to be put to Death, taking care that they accuſed their Maſters of no Crime; neither did he ſuffer any to be be accuſed of Impiety, or the Jewiſh rites; for many had by Calumnies been condemned, and amongſt the reſt *Seras* the Philoſopher, which cauſed a great Tumult; (for all accuſed all) So that *Fronto* the Conſul was reported to ſay, That *It was a very bad thing to have an Emperor, under whom it was not lawful to do any thing; but much worſe when every one might do what he pleaſed. Nerva* was old, and had a weak Stomach, which cauſed him to Vomit what he took. Statues both of Gold and Silver he forbad to be erected to him, and he reſtored the Goods as were found in the Palace, to ſuch Owners as *Domitian* had unjuſtly deprived of them. To *Roman* Citizens that were poor, he gave Lands, to be divided by certain Perſons of *Senatorian* Rank. Wanting Money himſelf, he ſet to Sale abundance of rich Clothes and Furniture, both of his own, and what belonged to the Publick. Houſes alſo and Lands, and what things ſoever were not Neceſſaries; neither was he rigid

Dio lib. 68.

Nerva his good Government.

in Exacting the Price, but herein ſhewed himſelf liberal towards many Perſons. He took away many Sacrifices, Circenſian Games, and other Shows, to diminiſh Expences. He Swore in the Senate, that by his Order no Senator ſhould be put to Death; and his Oath he kept, although a Conſpiracy was hatched againſt him. Doing nothing without the Aſſiſtance of the Principal Senators, he enacted many Laws, of which was remarkable one, which forbad the making of Eunuches, and another which Prohibited the Marriage of a Niece.

He adopts *Trajan.*

He dies.

3. He ſtuck not at taking *Virginius Rufus* to be his Colleague in the Conſulſhip, though he had often the Title of Emperor given him; on whoſe Sepulchre was Ingraved, That having overthrown *Vindex*, he enſured the Empire not for himſelf, but his Country. *Nerva* indeed was ſo good a Prince, that he dared to ſay, That he had done nothing, but that quitting the Government, he might ſafely live a private life. When *Calpurnius Craſſus*, deſcended from that Noble Family, and others had conſpired againſt him, he placed them at the *Spectacula* near himſelf, before they knew that they were diſcovered, and delivered them Swords into their Hands, to try as he ſaid, whether they were ſharp; but his deſign was to let them ſee that he cared not though he were preſently killed in the place. *Caſperius Ælianus*, whom, following the Example of *Domitian*, he had ſet over the *Prætorian* Guards, ſtirred up the Soldiers againſt him to require certain Perſons to be puniſhed; and he ſo oppoſed himſelf againſt what was intended, that he offered his Neck naked to them, but profited nothing; they being killed whom *Ælian* had demanded to be ſlain. Perceiving that he was deſpiſed for his Age, he went up into the Capitol, and there with a loud voice praying that it might prove happy for himſelf, the Senate and the People of *Rome*, he adopted *M. Ulpius Trajanus Crinitus*, who now governed *Germany*, and afterward he deſigned him *Cæſar* in the Senate. This he did, though he wanted not Kindred of his own; for he would not prefer his own Relations before the Publick Good, neither did it affright him that *Trajan* was a *Spaniard*, and not an *Italian*, and that before him none of another Nation had held the *Roman* Empire, judging that the Virtue, and not the Country of a Man was to be eſteemed. This Account we have from *Dio*, who writing of the Perſecution raiſed againſt ſuch as followed the *Jewiſh* Rites, we have cauſe to believe that *Chriſtianity* was chiefly meant thereby; for our Eccleſiaſtical Writers ſay, *Nerva* recalled ſuch as were Confeſſors upon that account, and that St. *John* the Apoſtle by virtue of that Indulgence returned out of *Pathmos* to *Epheſus*. We are told from other Hands, that *Nerva* only baniſhed *Craſſus* the Conſpirator to *Tarentum*. That he eaſed the Commonwealth of grievous Impoſitions, and conjoyned two things in the times of ſome of his Predeceſſors inſociable, *viz. Sovereignty* and *Liberty*. He lived with *Trajan* but three Months; For falling out with one *Regulus* a Senator, he was in ſo great a Paſſion, that it drove his Natural heat into a Fever, whereof he died on the ſixth before the Calends of *February*, having, as *Dio* tells us, lived ſixty five Years, ten Months, and ten Days, and Reigned one year, four months, and nine days, in the DCCCLI year of the City. A. D. XCVIII, he himſelf the fourth, and *Trajanus Cæſar* the ſecond time, being Conſuls.

Trajan Succeeds.

4. *Trajan* was a *Spaniard* by Birth, of the City *Italica*, of an Ancient rather than an Eminent Family, and took the Enſigns of the Empire at *Agrippina* in *Gall.* As ſoon as he was Emperor he wrote much to the Senate, and amongſt other things, that he would never put to Death any good Man, nor mark ſuch with Infamy; and this he not only at preſent confirmed by Oath, but alſo afterward. He ſent for *Ælian* and the *Prætorian* Soldiers, who had moved Sedition againſt *Nerva*, as though to make Uſe of them, and cauſed them to be ſlain. He preſently reduced all *Germany* into its former condition, as well as brought under ſeveral Nations beyond the *Danube*. When he came to *Rome*, he did many things there for correcting the State of the Commonwealth, and in favour of good Men, of whom he took care, To the Cities of *Italy* he gave much, toward the Education of Children. When his Wife *Plotina* firſt of all entred the Palace, ſhe turned her ſelf upon the ſteps to the Multitude, and told them, That ſhe entred ſuch a ſort of Woman as ſhe deſired ſhe might come out again; and indeed, ſhe carried her ſelf ſo in her greatneſs, that nothing could be ſaid againſt her. When he had ſtaid ſometime in the City, he was provoked to undertake a War againſt the *Daci*, the King of whom, *Decebalus* (or *Decebalis*, *Diurpanes*, or *Diurpanis*, for he hath ſeveral Names) had forced *Domitian* to pay Tribute. *Trajan* found himſelf burthened with the Payment of the Money, beſides the Diſgrace, and he was netled with

the Reputation that people had got, with their confidence thereupon, and the daily increaſe of their Forces. *Decebalus* when he heard of his Deſign, was troubled at it, knowing that formerly he had not overcome the People of *Rome*, but *Domitian*; but now he ſhould have a War with the People of *Rome*, and *Trajan* the Emperor too; that *Trajan*, who for *Juſtice*, *Fortitude* and *Goodneſs* was excellent, and vigorous in Body as well as Mind, being in the Two and fortieth year of his Age. Theſe good qualities *Dion Caſſius* makes out in many Particulars, though to the Virtues lately mentioned, he adds not *Temperance*. But he writes that though he was given to the love of Boys and of Wine, yet did he nothing that might be reprehended; for though he drank largely, yet he was Sober, and as for what concerned Boys, he was troubleſome to no body. For thoſe his good qualities and his Skill in War, *Decebalus* feared him. *Trajan* gave him Battel, and therein made great ſlaughter of the Enemy, but had many of his own Men wounded, ſo many, that Linnen failed to bind up their wounds, the want of which to ſupply, he ſpared not his own Robe.

He makes War upon the *Daci*.

Returns Victorious.

5. After this Succeſs, he removed into the higher part of the Country, where ſeizing on divers Hills, he came, not without danger, to the Royal Seat of the *Daci*. Their King ſent ſeveral times, and at length obtained Peace, which he was to purchaſe by delivering up his Arms, his Engines, and them that made them; by giving up Fugitives, diſmantling his Forts, and having the ſame Friends and Enemies with the People of *Rome*, he laid aſide his Arms, and having faln at the Feet of *Trajan*, and done his Reverence, he ſent to the Senate to have the Peace confirmed by the Fathers. Theſe things performed, and theſe Agreements made *Trajan* left a Garriſon in *Zermizegethuſa*, and fortifying the reſt of the Country returned into *Italy*. At *Rome* the Ambaſſadors of *Decebalus* were admitted into the Senate, where they ſpake a few things, having laid aſide their Arms, and holding their hands joyned together like Slaves or Captives. The Peace being confirmed, they had their Arms reſtored, and *Trajan* triumphing over the *Daci*, obtained the Sirname of *Dacicus*. He preſented a Show of Gladiators, with which Sport he was delighted, and of Dancers in the Theatre. Yet in ſuch a noiſe of Arms, he caſt not away the care of other matters, but in the *Forum* of *Auguſtus*, the *Porticus* of *Livia*, and other places adminiſtred Juſtice from the Tribunal. But within a little while word was brought that *Decebolus* acted all things quite contrary to the League, receiving Fugitives, fortifying places, and ſolliciting the Neighbouring Nations to the War, whereupon he was by the Senate judged an Enemy, and *Trajan* again undertook the War in Perſon. When he was come into *Myſia Decebalus* ſent ſome to watch their time, and kill him, but this being diſcovered, he perſwaded *Longinus* one of his Officers to come to him about an Agreement, and then kept him, hoping to make his terms by him, till he killed himſelf.

Provoked again, he makes a ſecond Expedition.

He makes a Bridge over *Danubius*.

6. In the mean time *Trajan* cauſed a Stone Bridge to be laid over the River *Danubius*, ſuch a Bridge as *Dio*, or *Xiphilin*, could not ſufficiently admire. Though there were other works of his, very Magnificent, yet in his Opinion this excelled them all. It ſtood upon twenty Piles of fourſquare Stone, an hundred and fifty foot high from the Foundation, diſtant from each other an hundred and ſeventy feet, and conjoyned with Arches. It was built in a River full of whirlepits, having a muddy Channel, and in which the Stream could not be turned another way, rapid in its motion, and uncertain as to its breadth and depth. The Piles only remained in the time of *Dio*, ſerving for to ſhew that there is nothing but the wit of man can accompliſh it. *Trajan* built it with this Deſign, That if War was made upon the *Romans* that lived beyond the River in Winter when it was frozen, Succours might by it be ſent over to them. But *Adrian* on the contrary, fearing that the *Barbarians* ſhould kill the Guard, and break into *Myſia*, commanded the upper parts of it to be broken down. *Trajan* having finiſhed the Bridge, paſſed over, and waged War with the *Daci*, rather more ſecurely than ſpeedily; and hereby at length ſubdued them. Many things he performed both like an Expert Captain, and a Valiant Soldier, and his Men gave notable Teſtimonies of their Valour. At length *Decebalus* underſtanding that his Seat, and all the Country about it was taken, leſt he ſhould run the ſame riſque, killed himſelf. His head was ſent to *Rome*; *Dacia* became a Province of the *Roman* People, and into it *Trajan* led a Colony. *Bicilis* the Companion of *Decebalus* diſcovered that he had cauſed the Current of the River *Sargetia* to be turned another way, and in the Channel thereof had buried his Treaſure, and then ſuffered the Stream to return to its former courſe; after which, he killed ſuch Slaves as he

had imployed in the work. This Treaſure, and ſuch good things as he had hid in Caves, was ſecured as excellent booty.

Arabia joyned to *Petra* ſubdued.

Trajan his familiar converſe.

7. At the ſame time *Palma* the *Præfect* of *Syria*, ſubdued that Part of *Arabia* which joyned to *Petra*, and thereby increaſed the Dominion of the People of *Rome*. To *Trajan* when he was returned to *Rome*, Ambaſſadors from ſeveral Nations made their Addreſſes, and particularly from *India*. He Exhibited Shows for an hundred and twenty three Days together, in which ſometimes were killed a thouſand Beaſts tame and wild, and ſometimes ten thouſand; and a thouſand Gladiators fought. He converſed with his Friends with all freedom, and eſpecially with one *Licinius Sura*, of whom he was bidden to beware. This man was ſo rich, that he built at his own expence a *Gymnaſium* for the City, and on a time invited *Trajan* to Supper. The Emperor went, and diſmiſſing his Guard, firſt, called *Sura*'s Phyſitian, and bad him ſhave his Eyelids, then his Barber whom he permitted to do the ſame office upon his Chin; for this was the ancient Cuſtom both of the *Roman* Citizens and Princes, *Hadrian* being the firſt of the Emperors that let grow his Beard. Afterward being waſhed he went to Supper; and the day after told his Friends, who were wont to calumniate *Sura*, That if he would have murdered him, he had ſufficient opportunity to have done it. But he was ſo far void of fear, that when he delivered the Sword to one whom he had advanced to Command the *Prætorian Cohorts*, with which he was to be girt, he gave it him naked, and bad him draw it in his defence, if he governed as he ought to do; but if contrary, then to uſe it to his deſtruction: yet was he ſo prudent as to Animadvert upon ſome who had plotted his Death, in the number of whom was *Craſſus*, their Cauſe being firſt heard by the Senate. He built Libraries, and erected a vaſt Column in his own *Forum*, partly for a Sepulchre, and partly for a Monument to Poſterity, having digged away the hilly ground, and by that means levelled the *Forum*.

He makes War againſt the *Parthian* King.

A Dreadful Earthquake.

8. After this he made War againſt the *Armenians* and *Parthians*; finding himſelf concerned, as he ſaid, That the King of *Armenia* had not received a Diadem from himſelf, but the *Parthian* King; but his great Inducement was deſire of Glory. When he came to *Athens*, he was courted by Ambaſſadors ſent from *Choſroes*, who promiſed all fair things, but he would not be diverted from the Expedition. After he was come into the Enemie's Country, he was met by the *Satrapa*, and the neighbouring Kings, who preſented him richly; he took all *Armenia*, puniſhed *Paramaſites* the King thereof, and rewarded the King of the *Heniochi*. Having placed Garriſons as was convenient, he came to *Edeſſa*, where he received the ſubmiſſion of *Angarus*, who ruled *Oſroena*. When he arrived in *Meſopotamia*, *Choſroes* offered to quit that Country and *Armenia*, but he proceeded againſt his Captains *Manus* and *Maniſarus* into *Adiabene*. When theſe things were heard at *Rome*, many Decrees paſſed to honour him, and amongſt other marks, the Sirname of *Optimus* was conferred on him. He in his Expeditions travelled on foot; as he marched, Exerciſed his Soldiers, and tried their Courage and Fidelity by ſpreading abroad falſe Reports. *Niſibis* and *Barnæ* being taken, he was Sirnamed *Parthicus*; but he gloried moſt in that of *Optimus*, whereby his Nature and Diſpoſition was expreſſed, and not his Wars. Returning to *Antioch*, he there made ſome Stay, and was frighted with a moſt terrible Earthquake, which afflicted other Cities, but eſpecially this, in an unheard of manner. With the fall of Houſes and Rubbiſh, and by other means a vaſt number of People periſhed, ſo that the Town being full of Strangers, who came either for Law-Suits, upon Meſſages or other Buſineſs, the Court being there all the Winter, there was no Nation that received not loſs from ſo great a Calamity. *Trajan* himſelf eſcaped out of a Window, being, it's ſaid, drawn out by one of more than humane proportion, and though the Earthquake ceaſed, he continued many days in the open Air. The Hill *Coraſius* was ſo ſhaken, that its higher parts fell down, and it looked as if it would tumble upon the City. Other Mountains were levelled, waters broke out where formerly none appeared, and Fountains which formerly poured out water were ſtopped up.

9. When Spring came on he led his Army into the Enemies Country, reſolving to paſs the River *Tigris*, and knowing that thereabout was no Timber for building of Ships; the Veſſels he had made of Trees felled in the Woods about *Niſibis*, he cauſed to be conveyed thither in Carriages, being ſo framed as to be taken in pieces and ſet together again upon occaſion. With them he made a Bridge at the foot of the Mountain *Cardynus*, in deſpight of the Enemy, who was diſcouraged

by

Trajan takes in *Adiabene.*

by his multitudes of Men, and the ſight of Ships in that place, where they thought they had no reaſon to expect them. Then croſſing the River, he took in all *Adiabene*, being that part of *Aſſyria* belonging to *Ninus*, with *Arbela* and *Gaugamela*, where *Alexander* overthrew *Darius*; it was called *Attyria*, the letters S.S. being by the *Barbarians* changed into T.T. To *Babylon* he marched without controul, there being none left in his paſſage to oppoſe him; for the *Parthians* were weakened by Civil War, and this ſort of Diſcord was not yet taken up amongſt them. There he had opportunity to behold a Lake of *Bitumen*, of which the Walls of that City were built, being of that Nature, that mixed with Brick or ſmall Stones, it was more ſtrong and durable than any Stone or Iron. He beheld the mouth thereof, when ſo great a vapour proceeded out of it that no ſort of Terreſtrial Animal, nor Fowl was able to bear it, but died with the ſmell thereof; and had it proceeded far, the place had not been habitable; but it contained it ſelf in a narrow compaſs, to the bounds of which when it came, it returned back. The like to this *Dio* tells us he himſelf had found at *Hierapolis*, a Town of *Aſia*, the vapour of which, as he heard and ſaw, was pernicious to all living Creatures, Eunuchs or gelded Men excepted, the reaſon of which he confeſſeth he did not underſtand; no more do we.

He ſails to the Ocean.

His end not anſwerable to his beginning.

10. *Trajan* had a deſign to joyn *Euphrates* with *Tigris* by a Ditch, thereby to convey his Boats for making of a Bridge; but finding it was higher than *Tigris*, he changed his purpoſe, leſt it ſhould make *Euphrates* rapid and not Navigable. He conveyed then his Veſſels by Land over the narrow place betwixt them; for, *Euphrates* falling into a Fen, joyned it ſelf with *Tigris*. Having paſſed *Tigris*, he took *Cteſiphon*, and thereupon had the Title of *Imperator*, and that of *Parthicus* confirmed; and it being known, the Senate decreed many things in his honour, particularly, that he ſhould Triumph and keep as many Feſtivals as he pleaſed. Now had he a great deſire to Sail down into the *Red Sea*, being a *Sinus* of the Ocean, and called *Erythræan* from *Erythrus*, who there reigned. In his paſſage he was in danger, by reaſon of the rapid Stream of *Tigris*, the Winter Seaſon, and the Tide; but coming to the Sea, and taking notice of the paſſage into *India*, he affirmed, that had he been a young man he would have ſailed thither. He made curious Inquiries concerning that Nation, and would ſay, *Alexander* was an happy man, yet ſometimes affirm, That he had gone farther than he, and ſo he wrote to the Senate; although he could not defend what he had got. But he wrote ſo often of ſo many Nations ſubdued by him, that the Fathers not able to reckon them, voted him as many Triumphs as he pleaſed to accept of, ordered a Triumphal Arch to be erected in his *Forum*, and the Citizens would have gone far to meet him, had he ever returned. His latter end however did not anſwer his beginning; for while he ſpent his time in ſailing to the Ocean, all he had taken fell off again in the greateſt Tumult, each Nation either killing or caſting out the Garriſons he had left to bridle them, while his Journey anſwered not his expectation, for he ſaw and heard nothing beſides heaps, falls and ruins; only he made a parentation to *Alexander* in the Houſe wherein he died.

He makes a fruitleſs Expedition againſt the *Agareni.*

11. The News of the general defection being brought to him while ſtill on Shipboard, he ſent *Lucius* and *Maximus* againſt the Rebels, of whom *Maximus* was overthrown in Battel, but *Lucius* behaving himſelf very gallantly, recovered *Niſibis*, took *Edeſſa*, and after he had plundered it, ſet it on fire. Beſides this, *Seleucia* was taken and burnt by *Erycius*, *Clarus*, and *Julius Alexander*. But fearing that the *Parthians* would alſo revolt, he reſolved to give them a King, and when he was come to *Cteſiphon*, calling them and the *Romans* together in the Field, after he had from an high Tribunal boaſted of his Performances, he ſet a Diadem on the Head of *Parthamaſperes*. This done, he undertook an Expedition againſt the *Agareni* in *Arabia*, who had alſo revolted, poſſeſſing a City neither great nor rich. For, the adjoyning Region, for the moſt part, was Deſart, having no Water, or that unwholſom, and being deſtitute of Wood and Forage, ſo that no great multitude of Men could there long continue, and it was protected by the moſt violent Heats to which it was expoſed. Therefore neither *Trajan* now, nor afterwards *Severus* took it, though they caſt down part of the Wall. *Trajan* ſent his Horſe againſt them, and afterwards he followed in Perſon; but the Horſe received much loſs, and he himſelf narrowly eſcaped, one that rode near to him being ſhot dead; for though he diſguiſed himſelf, yet by the gravity of his Perſon they gueſſed him to be the Emperor. Now did the Heavens ſhake with Thunder, Rainbows were ſeen, Lightning, Tempeſt, Whirlwinds, Hail and

Thunderbolts fell upon the *Romans*, as often as they attacked them, and when they went to Supper, they were exceedingly plagued with Flies, both in their Meat and Drink. Therefore did *Trajan* diſlodge and get him gone, and not long after fell into his Mortal Diſtemper.

A furious Rebellion of the *Jews*.

12. In the mean time, while he was thus imployed, the *Jews* ſuppoſing him intangled in an inextricable War, perſwading themſelves alſo, that by the Earthquake was portended the ruine of the *Roman* Empire; moreover imagining that from the firſt year of *Cyrus*, to this preſent, had paſſed but Four hundred and eighty three years, and conſequently that but one of *Daniel*'s Weeks was unfulfilled, entred into a Conſpiracy, and made incredible Slaughter of the *Romans*, uſing in ſeveral Countreys, ſome ſay ſeveral Captains, whereof yet *Barcocab* was Chief. The fury of this Rebellion fell upon *Ægypt*, *Cyrene*, and *Cyprus*; and *Dio* tells us, That about *Cyrene* one *Andreas* was their Captain. The manner of their Outrages they committed, both upon *Greeks* and *Romans*, was as horrid as the Facts themſelves, though theſe horrid beyond all belief, if they had not been related by moſt credible and impartial Writers. From the head they ſawed them downwards, they caſt them to wild Beaſts, cauſed them to fight and kill one another; they eat their fleſh, beſmeared themſelves with their blood, and wore their skins. In and about *Cyrene* periſhed by this means Two hundred and twenty thouſand men, and in *Ægypt* and *Cyprus* Two hundred and forty thouſand; upon which account, in the time of *Dio*, it was not lawful for a *Jew* to come in *Cyprus*, if he entred there, he was preſently ſlain. *Trajan* reſolved to proſecute them throughout his Dominions, not as Enemies or Rebels, but as Creatures noxious to Humane Society, and that with revenge ſuitable to their Crimes; and for this purpoſe ſent *Marcus Tubero*, with a great Power, both by Sea and Land, who neither in a ſhort time, nor without cruel hoſtility finiſhed the War; but he ſlew many *Myriads* of the *Jews*. Their carriage in the Weſt made the Emperor ſuſpect their Brethren in *Meſopotamia*, whereupon he commanded *L. Quintius* to Baniſh them that Country, and he joyning Battel with them, ſlew alſo a great Number.

13. *Dio* writes, That *Trajan* thought of making in perſon another Expedition into *Meſopotamia*; but his Diſeaſe growing upon him, he took his Journey for *Italy*, leaving *P. Ælius Hadrianus* in *Syria* with an Army. Therefore though *Armenia* was taken, and a great part of *Meſopotamia*, and beſides, the *Parthians* were overcome; yet the *Romans* thought they had in vain been at ſuch pains, and undergone ſo many Dangers, for that the *Parthians* deteſting *Parthamaſpates* were reſolved to be governed according to their own Cuſtoms. As for *Trajan*, he ſuſpected that his Diſeaſe came by Poiſon; ſome thought it proceeded of Blood, which being wont to iſſue from his Interior Parts every year, had of late ſtopped; and indeed he was ſeized with an Apoplexy, ſo as he loſt his Senſe in ſome part of his Body; but he manifeſtly laboured of a Dropſie. Being brought to *Selinus* a City of *Cilicia*, called *Trajanople* in *Dio*'s time, he ſoon died, after he had Reigned Nineteen years, ſix months, and fifteen days. He extended the Empire farther than any of his Predeceſſors, ſo that now it reached from the *Iriſh* Ocean further than the River *Tigris*; from the *Atlantick* Sea to the *Perſian* Gulf; from Mount *Atlas* to the *Caledonian* Foreſt; as alſo as far as the River *Albis*, and beyond *Danubius*. His Moderation was exceeding great, he ſo uſing his Subjects as he himſelf, he ſaid, would deſire his Prince ſhould uſe him, were he a private Perſon. Though he was not learned, he much favoured Humane and Secular Learning, converſing very often and familiarly with the Profeſſors thereof, whom he alſo preferred to Publick Offices. But Humane and Secular Learning he only favoured; for he raiſed the third Perſecution againſt the Heavenly Doctrine and Church of Chriſt, which drew down its thought, the heavy Judgments we have mentioned, upon the Empire during his Government.

Trajan perſecuteth the Church.

14. Being puffed up with the Victory he had obtained over the *Daci* and *Thracians* (after the ending of the *ſecond Dacian War*, in the ninth year of his Reign, *Decebalus* having killed himſelf) as he was marching againſt *Oſroes* or *Choſdroes* the *Parthian* King, and the *Armenians*, having commanded all that would not worſhip his falſe gods to be put to death, *Ignatius* the Scholar of St. *John* the *Apoſtle*, and *Biſhop* now of *Antioch*, was brought before him, whilſt he lay (in his paſſage) in this

City.

His diſcourſe with *Ignatius* Biſhop of *Antioch*.

City. *Ignatius* ſtanding in his preſence, he ſaid, ***who art thou*** Devil (Cacodæmon) *who makeſt haſte to tranſgreſs our Commands, and perſwadeſt others to deſtroy themſelves?* *Ignatius* anſwered, *No body calleth* Theophorus *a* Cacodæmon, *for Devils flie from the Servants of God. But I know thou ſo calleſt me becauſe I moleſt them. For I confeſs I have Chriſt the heavenly King; and diſſolve their councils.* Trajan demanded, *who is* Theophorus? *Ignatius* replied, *He who hath Chriſt in his breaſt. Trajan* ſaid, *Doſt not thou think we have the Gods in our breaſt which aſſiſt us againſt our Enemies?* *Ignatius* anſwered, *In that thou eſteemeſt the Devils of the Gentiles to be gods, thou erreſt. For there is one God, who made Heaven, and Earth, and Sea, with all that are in them; and he hath one only begotten Son Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe friendſhip I have obtained. Trajan* then ſaid, *Thou ſpeakeſt of him that was crucified by* Pontius Pilate. *Ignatius* replied, *Of him who crucified ſin and the inventor of it; and who approveth not of him that ſerveth Idols, but who in his heart wiſely underſtandeth this. Trajan* added, *Doſt thou then carry Chriſt in thy ſelf? Ignatius* ſaid, *Yea, for it is written, I will dwell and walk in them. Trajan* concluded thus, *I award that* Ignatius, *who ſaith, he beareth in himſelf* the Crucified, *be conveyed in bonds by Soldiers to the great City* Rome, *there to be devoured of beaſts for a ſhow to the People.* This was accordingly executed upon the moſt holy Martyr, on the Twentieth of *December*, as it is recorded in his *Acta*, or the *Memorials* of him, collected by *Philo*, *Gaius*, and *Agathopes*, who followed him from *Syria* to *Rome*; concerning which, as alſo the Epiſtles which go under his name, the Diſſertations of the moſt Reverend and Learned Arch-Biſhop of *Armagh* are to be conſulted.

Whom he cauſeth to be caſt to wild Beaſts at *Rome*.

Conſule Uſſerium in notis ad Epiſt. Ignatii ad Philadelphenos.

15. *Ignatius* being vexed by a tedious journey, that his conſtancy might be ſhaken, when he came to *Troas* (or new *Troy*, built not far from the place where that of *Priamus* ſtood) underſtood that Peace was reſtored to his Church of *Antioch*. This came to paſs whilſt *Trajan* ſtill continued there, conſulting about the *Parthian* War, as appeareth from *Malela* the Hiſtorian of that City. For *Tiberianus* the *Preſident* of the chief Nation of *Paleſtine*, moved the Emperor to moderation by this Letter: *I am wearied with puniſhing and putting to death the* Galilæans (*who come before us under the name of Chriſtians*) *according to your Commands, yet they ceaſe not to reveal themſelves for the ſlaughter. And although I have laboured both by exhortation and threatnings, that they might not dare to make known themſelves to me as profeſſors of that doctrine; yet being proſecuted, they do not ceaſe. I deſire therefore that what your pleaſure is in this kind, your Majeſty would pleaſe to certifie me.* * *Suidas* mentioning alſo this meſſage of *Tiberianus* unto *Trajan*, addeth, that the Emperor forbad all his Subjects to puniſh the *Chriſtians*. Yet that this indulgence was not ſo univerſal, but that it moſt eſpecially concerned *Palæſtine*, *Syria*, and other parts of the *Eaſt*, where the Emperor then reſided, appeareth from *Ignatius* his deprecation, that the Perſecution might ceaſe, when he was even to be brought into the *Amphitheatre*; as the *Acta* or *Memorials* concerning him relate. But beſides this Letter of *Tiberianus*, there is extant another of *Pliny* the younger, who was moved to write to the *Emperor* upon the ſame occaſion, and for the ſame end.

Tiberianus his Letter to *Trajan*.

Mitigateth the Perſecution.

* *In voce* Τραϊανὸς.

As alſo the Letter of *Pliny Junior*.

Plin. Epiſt. 97. l. 10.

16. For being *Proprætor* of *Bithynia*, the *variety of caſes in thoſe that were accuſed, troubled him;* *although*, to comply with the iniquity of the times, he declareth, *that ſuch as ſtood out his threatnings thrice, he commanded to be led to puniſhment.* He ſignifieth, *that out of ſuch as had formerly been Chriſtians, but now worſhipped the Images of the Emperor, and the gods, and blaſphemed Chriſt, he could not get any confeſſion of any other fault or error, than that they were wont on a day appointed, before it was light, to meet together, and ſing an hymn to Chriſt; and bound themſelves by a* Sacramentum *or religious Oath, not for any wickedneſs, but that they ſhould not commit robbery, theft, or adultery, that they ſhould not break promiſe, nor cheat. Which being done, they were wont to depart, and meet again to eat, promiſcuouſly but innocently. To get out the truth he tortured two women ſervants, but could not find any thing juſtly chargeable, though* through his Ethnick pravity and deſire to pleaſe the Emperor, *he termeth the faith* Superſtitio prava & immodica, or a naughty and immoderate ſuperſtition. He addeth, that *it ſeemed to him a thing worthy of ſerious conſideration; eſpecially for the number of thoſe that were in danger: for many,* ſaith he, *of every age and order, and of both Sexes, are brought, and will be brought into danger. For not only hath the contagion of this ſuperſtition gone through Cities; but alſo Villages, and Fields, which, as it ſeemeth, might be ſtopped and corrected. To be ſure, it's clear enough, that the Temples which were almoſt deſolate, begin to be frequented, and the ſacrifices of long time*

intermitted to be reſtored, beaſts for that Uſe now going off, which till now ſcarcely any would buy. Whereby it is eaſie to gueſs, what a multitude of men might be reclaimed, if there were but place for repentance. Thus *Pliny*, to whom *Trajan* anſwereth (that we may only repeat the Summe) *that Chriſtians are not to be ſought for, but if accuſed and convicted, except they recant, to be puniſhed*; concerning the abſurdity and injuſtice of which Sentence, *Tertullian* excellently argueth in his * *Apology*, moſt worthy to be read of all Chriſtians.

* *Chap.* 2.

The death of St. *John* the Apoſtle.

17. In the Reign of *Trajan* died St. *John* the Apoſtle, the time and manner of his death being uncertain, though all agree as to the place, which was *Epheſus*. (*a*) *Jerome* referreth his death to the ſixty eighth year after the Paſſion of Chriſt, which fell in with the third of *Trajan*, and the twenty ſeventh of *December*, on the firſt *Feria*. (*b*) Others place it in the ſeventy firſt after Chriſt's Paſſion, and the ſixth of *Trajan*. *Dorothæus* Biſhop of *Tyre* (in his Tract written concerning the lives, ends, and Martyrdoms of the *Prophets*, *Apoſtles*, and ſeventy *Diſciples*) writeth, that being a hundred and twenty *years old, yet living* (*the Lord would ſo have it*) *he buried himſelf*. (*c*) *Jerome* alleged out of *Tertullian*, that in the time of *Nero* (though others ſay in the Reign of *Domitian*) he was thrown at *Rome* into a tun of hot boyling oil, yet thereby took no harm, but came out after this trial purer than he went in. (*d*) *Auguſtine* calleth him *a Martyr by will*: *Polycrates* Biſhop of *Epheſus* (as (*e*) *Euſebius* allegeth) ſticketh not to call him a *Prieſt*, a *Martyr*, and a *Doctor*. But that which (*f*) *Auguſtine* writeth of his end, is ſtrangeſt of all (and let the credit thereof reſt in the choice of the Reader,) how *John* cauſed at *Epheſus* his grave to be made, and in preſence of divers went in alive, and being no ſooner in, and to their ſeeming dead, they covered him. Which kind of reſt, ſaith he, is rather to be termed a ſleep than death, for that the earth of the grave bubleth or boyleth up after the manner of a Well, by reaſon of *John*'s reſting in it, and breathing: a ſign of his ſlumbring therein. Though he died at *Epheſus*, yet was not the ſucceeding *Biſhop*, much leſs any other, Heir of that Authority, which for ſo many years he had obtained in the Church, as having many outlived the reſt of the Apoſtles. For to the Apoſtles ſucceeded not Apoſtles nor univerſal Meſſengers of Chriſt, of which ſort *John* was for many years, and he alone; but Biſhops, every one circumſcribed within his own Limits. In the days of *Trajan*, and this third Perſecution was Crucified (*g*) *Simeon Cleophas* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, being an hundred and twenty years old. *Juſtus* a *Jew* ſucceeded him, after whom ſome place *Zachæus*, *Tobias*, *Benjamin*, and *John* in the nineteenth and laſt of *Trajan*. In the eleventh of his Reign was *Euariſtus* Biſhop of *Rome* Crowned with Martyrdom, on the ſixth of the Calends of *November*, and *Alexander* ſucceeded him, who alſo being Martyred in the nineteenth year, on the fifth before the *Nones* of *May*, (*h*) *Xiſtus* had his ſeat according to *Damaſus*. And we muſt not forget that *Heros* ſucceeded *Ignatius* in the Sea of *Antioch*.

(*a*) *In Jovinian. l.* 1.
(*b*) *Arabica Kirſtenii apud Jacob. Cappellum ad A. D.* 103.
(*c*) *ut ſuprà, & in Mat. c.* 20.
(*d*) *In John. tract.* 124.
(*e*) *Lib.* 3. *c.* 31.
(*f*) *ubi ſuprà.*
(*g*) *Euſeb. l.* 3. *cap.* 32.
(*h*) *Euſeb. l.* 3. *cap.* 35.

18. *Trajan*, that we may conclude his Story, was eſteemed a Prince of unuſul Civility and Fortitude, and *Aurelius Victor* tells us ſome reaſon, becauſe the Eſtate of the *Roman* Empire had been ſo afflicted and waſted by many and cruel Tyrants, that he was believed ſent by heaven, by deſignment to amend and repair it. He pleaſed the more becauſe he took order for ſupply of *Rome* with Proviſions, inſtituting a Company of Bakers; and it was thought a great Advantage to the State, that for ſpeedy Intelligence, he more vigorouſly managed the *Curſus Publicus*. *Pliny Junior*, who flouriſhed in his time, upon his being promoted to be *Conſul*, made a large Panegyrick in the Senate ſtill extant, wherein as he extols him for many things, ſo in an eſpecial manner for removing grievances, and heavy Impoſitions, particularly that of the *Viceſima*, or twentieth part of Eſtates, firſt required by *Auguſtus*, which his Succeſſor again rigorouſly exacted. That Inclination he had to Wine, of which alſo *Nerva* is ſaid to have been guilty, it's ſaid he moderated by Prudence, giving order, that after a full meal, no more ſhould be brought in, though called for. All the reſpect and love he had from the People, was cemented by his familiar converſe. For he would make viſits to his Friends, ſee them when Sick, eat at their Houſes, and often ride in their Chariots. He was liberal, and ſtudied to inrich thoſe with whom he had but ſmall acquaintance. In his time was but one Senator Condemned, and he by the Senate without his knowledge. Hereby he procured ſuch fame even after his death, that in the Acclamations of the Senate, the Fathers would wiſh that the ſucceeding Princes might be *happier than* Auguſtus, *and better than* Trajan. *Eutropius*

The Death of *Trajan.*

writes, that he died of a Flux at *Seleucia*, a City of *Iſauria* in his return from *Perſia*, in the ſixty ſecond year of his Age. He alone, he adds, was buried in the City. His Aſhes in a golden Urn were put in his own *Forum*, under his Column, which was an Hundred and forty four foot high. In his time flouriſhed, beſides *Pliny Junior*, *Plutarch*, *Lucian*, *Suetonius*, *L. Florus*, *Cornelius Tacitus*, and others. His Death fell in the fifth of the Two hundred twenty fourth *Olympiad*, the Eight hundred and ſeventieth of the City A. D. CXVII. *Quintus Niger*, and *T. Vipſanius Apronianus*, being Conſuls.

Hadrian Succeeds.

19. It was commonly believed, that the Deſign of *Trajan* was to leave *Neratius Priſcus* his Succeſſor; and his Friends were ſo much inclining to it, that one time he told him, He commended the Provinces to him, in caſe that any thing fatal ſhould happen; many ſaid, that he thought good to imitate the Example of *Alexander* the *Macedonian*, and dye without a certain Succeſſor; and that he intended to ſend an Oration to the Senate, wherein he would deſire, that if any thing happened to him otherwiſe than well; they would give a Prince to the Commonwealth, yet ſo, as he therewith added ſeveral Names, out of which they ſhould make choice. But the Succeſſion fell upon *Hadrian* his Kinſman, who was born at *Rome*, in the year that *Veſpaſian* the Seventh, and *Titus* the Fifth time were Conſuls, but had his Original alſo from *Italica*. It was given out that *Trajan* adopted him before his Death, and ſome name the day whereon he ſhould receive Letters which certified him of ſuch Adoption. But moſt agree that for it he was obliged to *Plotina* the Empreſs, and *Eutropius* writes, That *Trajan* refuſed to adopt him, though the Son of her that was his Couſin *German* by the Mothers ſide, whereas others ſay, That his Father *Ælius Adrianus*, Sirnamed *Aſer*, was his Couſin German, and ſo related. *Dio* writes, That he was joyned to *Trajan* in Affinity, as well as Conſanguinity, having Married his Brother's (ſome ſay his Siſter's) Daughter, and lived with him continually. He advanced him to ſeveral Offices in the State, and ſeveral Military Commands in the Wars, which he himſelf managed in perſon. Being ſent his *Prætorian* Legate into the lower *Pannonia*, he reſtrained the *Sarmatæ*, ſupported Military Diſcipline, bridled the Extravagancy of *Procurators*, and for this obtained the Dignity of Conſul. He was ſupported by *Sura* the Emperor's Favourite, and *Plotina* the Empreſs, who procured him, after *Sura*'s Death, his ſecond Conſulſhip, and to be deſigned *Legatus* in the *Parthian* Expedition.

Quits all beyond *Euphrates* and *Tigris*.

Is Popular.

20. When her Husband was dead, with the aſſiſtance of *Attianus* his Countryman, ſhe procured him to be Emperor, being in love with him, and incouraged, by reaſon he was not far off, and had great Forces. *Dio* tells us, He had it from *Apronianus* his Father, who governed *Cilicia*, who told him all the particulars, and that eſpecially how *Trajan*'s Death was concealed for ſome days, that the Adoption might proceed, which was diſcovered by her Subſcribing the Letters ſent in his Name to the Senate, which had never been practiſed before. *Spartianus* writes, That ſome reported how by *Plotina*'s means he was adopted after the Death of *Trajan*, one being ſuborned to counterfeit his weak voice. After his having obtained the Empire at *Antioch*, he ſet himſelf to govern it in a peaceable manner. Therefore the *Barbarians* rebelling, whom *Trajan* had ſubdued, and ſtirs happening in ſeveral other Provinces, he reſolved to quit all beyond *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, following therein the Example of *Cato*, as he ſaid, who declared the *Macedonians* to be free, becauſe they could not be held in ſubjection. At firſt he ſtudied to ſhew himſelf addicted to Clemency. He begged pardon of the Senate, that he had not made them Judges concerning his Succeſſion, and excuſed it by the ſuddenneſs of his being ſaluted by the Soldiers, becauſe the Commonwealth could not be without an Emperor. The Senate having decreed a Triumph to him, which was due to *Trajan*, he refuſed it, and cauſed *Trajan*'s Image to be drawn in a Triumphal Chariot. The Title of *Pater Patriæ* being given him, both at firſt and afterwards he refuſed, ſaying, That it was late before *Auguſtus* deſerved it. The *Aurum Coronarium* he remitted to *Italy*, and leſſened it in the Provinces, yet ſetting forth the difficulties at large under which the Treaſury laboured. A Conſpiracy was hatched againſt him by *Negrinus* whom he had deſigned for his Succeſſor, but being diſcovered he was put to Death, and ſo were his Complices, *Palma*, *Celſus*, and *Lucius*, by command of the Senate, but againſt his will, as he wrote in his own life. But he was ill ſpoken of for putting to Death theſe four Perſons of *Conſular* Dignity; and to cauſe it to be forgotten, he came to *Rome*, where he gave a double *Congiary* to the People, and in the

Senate he ſwore, having excuſed what was done, that he would never puniſh a Senator but by the Sentence of the Fathers themſelves.

21. That the Magiſtrates might not be charged with the *Curſus Publicus*, he laid the burthen upon the Treaſury, as ſoon as he came to the Government. To obtain a good name, he remitted to private Debtors dwelling in *Rome* and *Italy*, an infinite Sum of Money, and vaſt Arrears to others in the Provinces, cauſing the Bonds whereby they ſtood engaged, to be burned in the *Forum* of *Trajan*. The Eſtates of condemned Perſons he forbad to be brought into his private *Fiſcus*, but to be accounted for in the publick *Ærarium*. He increaſed the liberality of *Trajan*, to Boys and Girls that wanted maintenance. To Senators who were decayed, not by their own faults, according to their charge of Children, and their quality he gave allowances for life. Moſt of the Senators he admitted to familiarity. The *Circenſian* Games decreed to him, he refuſed, but only on his Birth-day, and ſaid often both in the Aſſembly of the People, and in the Senate, that he would ſo govern as the Intereſt in the State being that of the People, and not his. When he had entred his third Conſulſhip, he made many Conſuls the third time; but a vaſt number he honoured with the ſecond; and his third Conſulſhip he held only four months, during which time he often ſate in Judgment; when the Senate was legally aſſembled, either in the City or without, he was always preſent, and promoted the honour of it all he could, eſpecially taking care, that the Dignity ſhould not be cheap, for he difficultly admitted any into it. Yet would he venture to make himſelf rather cheap in viſiting ſick Perſons twice or thrice a day, though but *Equites*, or even *Libertini*; he would comfort, relieve, and adviſe men of ſuch quality, and take them to his Table, doing all things like a private man. Travelling into *Gall*, he was as liberal to all that had need of his liberality.

22. Thence he paſſed into *Germany*, and there, though he was more deſirous of Peace than War, ſo exerciſed his Soldiers, as if ſome War and Expedition had been at hand. He taught them to bear and endure hardſhip, and that by his own Example; for living himſelf like a Soldier amongſt the *Manipulares*, he publickly fed upon Military Fare, which was Lard, Cheeſe, and that they called *Poſca*, or Water & Vinegar, as did *Scipio Æmilianus*, *Metellus*, & *Trajan*. On ſome he beſtowed Rewards, on others Honours, to make them more willingly undergo what he ſeverely impoſed. Indeed *Spartianus* tells us, He reſtored the Diſcipline of the Camp, which had decayed by the careleſsneſs of other Princes, ordaining Offices and Allowances. That this is true, in part we have ſome reaſon to believe from what other Hiſtorians alſo write of *Trajan*; *Vegetius* mentions *Hadrian*'s Conſtitutions about Military Affairs; *Dion Caſſius* tells us, That his Rules and Orders were to his time obſerved for Laws; and *Caſaubon* mentions a Coin, on the Reverſe of which *Diſcipline* was ingraved. He was alſo ſo extraordinarily Skilled in the Art Military, that he wrote a Book of *Tacticks*, which lying long obſcure, at length ſaw the light in the days of *Aanſtaſius*, by means of *Urbicius*, who to his Obſervations, and the Experiences of the ancient Captains, added others of his own time, as *Salmaſius* hath obſerved. But what *Spartianus* writes of his reſtoring, we muſt not believe; as if he alone reſtored the Diſcipline which had been decaying from the time of *Auguſtus*; for, *Galba* was careful this way, though he had ſmall time to make reformation, it being a common word amongſt the Soldiers, That *They muſt mind their Duty, for it was* Galba, *not* Getulicus. *Veſpaſian* alſo was a good Soldier, and no doubt careful this way. To be ſure ſo was *Trajan*, who alſo, as appears from *Vegetius*, publiſhed many Conſtitutions upon this Subject.

***Hadrian* wrote a Book of *Tacticks*.**

Diſcemiles militare, Galba eſt non Getulicus.

23. But *Spartianus*, the better to make good his Aſſertion, proceedeth and telleth us, That he never ſuffered any Soldier, without warrantable Cauſe, to be abſent from his Colours; when this happened, uſually the *Tribunes* were in fault, by giving leave upon frivolous pretences; but, *Tribunes* in his days were commended for their worth, and not by the favour of the Soldiers, or their commendation to the General, as had been practiſed toward the end of the Commonwealth, when they were not choſen by the People in the *Comitia*. To excite them to Travel, he himſelf would march on foot, armed as he was, twenty miles; for it was the uſual and ordinary Cuſtom, for the Soldiers to Travel five hours every day, in which ſpace they got twenty or four and twenty miles; twenty miles in the Law being eſteemed a Journey, and called *Militaris gradus*; as twenty four, *gradus plenus*. He cauſed to be pulled down all arched

Gave his Soldiers good Examples.

He further reforms them.

Rooms, Galleries, and ſuch Coverings as the Soldiers made o're their Tents, for keeping off the heat of the Sun; The Army in Summer was Exerciſed in the Field; in Winter, if it rained or ſnew, under Coverings, and then only; and for this purpoſe they made Porticus's or Galleries, but theſe were more for Neceſſity; ſuch as *Hadrian* pulled down were rather the green Porticus's made againſt Heat, and for pleaſure, by them when Idle and Extravagant. Frequently he went meanly clad, which is to be underſtood when he was in the Camp; for that he uſed Gold in his Ornaments, and firſt of all Princes in that ſort called *Mantilia*, ſome Authors wrote, The Belt he wore was without Gold; whereas it was the cuſtom for the *Roman* Captains to have them ſparkling both with Gold and Gems. The Hilt of his Sword was ſcarcely of Ivory, though this was deſpiſed in thoſe days. Soldiers that were Sick, he viſited at their Lodgings. He himſelf would chuſe the ground where the Camp ſhould be, though this was the Duty of the *Metatores*. He choſe no *Centurions* but thoſe that were Robuſt, and of good Repute; neither made he a *Tribune* that had not a Beard, or was not of ſuch an Age as his Prudence and years might be equal to the Charge. Nothing did he permit the *Tribune* to receive from the Soldier, though there was an ill Cuſtom, for the Officers to ſell leave to the Soldiers of being abſent from their Colours, and to convert their Pay and Allowances to their own Uſe. All delicacies he removed, and reformed what was amiſs in their Arms and Furniture.

He comes into *Britain.*

Goes into *Gall.*

Into *Spain.*

24. He made inquiry into the Age of the Ordinary Soldiers, ſuffering none to ſerve who was of leſs than Valour required, nor of greater than Humanity would ſuffer, or the Ancient Cuſtom; and he made it his buſineſs to know them both as to their Perſons and their Number. He was alſo diligent to underſtand what Military Proviſions for Horſe and Man were laid up in the limitaneous Cities; he curiouſly inquired into the Revenues of the Provinces, that if any thing was wanting, he might ſupply it. No man ever took ſuch care not to buy or feed any idle thing. His Soldiers being thus brought to imitate their Emperor, he came into *Britain*, and here correcting many things out of order, he firſt of all others raiſed a Wall eighty miles long, to divide the *Barbarians* from the *Romans*. *Septicius Clarus* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, and *Suetonius Tranquillus* his *Epiſtolarum Magiſter*, he removed from their Places, for being more familiar with his Wife *Sabina*, than he commanded, or the reverence due to his Court required; and he ſaid, That had he been a private man he would have put away his Wife, as moroſe and froward. And he was not only curious as to matters of his own Houſe, but in ſuch as related to his Friends; ſo as by the *Frumentarii* he diſcovered all things; neither did they underſtand that the Emperor knew how they governed themſelves before he let them know how they did it. Having ſetled his Affairs in *Britain*, he returned into *Gall*, being troubled to hear of the Sedition at *Alexandria*, which was raiſed by occaſion of their God *Apis*, who having been found after many years, the People fell into a Tumult about the placing of him: At *Nemauſus* he raiſed a *Baſilica* of admirable work, in honour of *Plotina*. After this he went into *Spain*, and wintered at *Tarraco* (now *Arragon*) where at his own Expence he re-edified the Temple of *Auguſtus*; for the Inhabitants of that place raiſed Temples to him amongſt the reſt. He called a meeting of the *Spaniards* at this place, at which they of *Italian* Extraction endeavouring in jeſting wiſe to draw their Necks from Burthens, and the reſt in good earneſt, he ordered his matters very prudently.

His Travels.

25. In thoſe days in many places where the *Barbarians* were divided from the *Romans*, not by Rivers, but Limits made by Art, he raiſed a ſort of Rampart with pieces of Timber in the manner of an Hedge or Wall. Over the *Germans* he ſet a King; he appeaſed the motions of the *Mauri*, and had Supplications decreed him by the Senate; Afterward he compoſed the War of the *Parthians* by a Conference. He travelled out of *Spain* into *Africk*, and ſo into *Ægypt* and *Syria*, with the reſt of *Aſia*. Coming into *Achaia*, he was at *Athens* initiated in their Myſteries called *Eleuſinia*; after the Example of *Hercules* and *Philip*; many favours he beſtowed upon the Inhabitants, and having been formerly their *Archon* he preſided at their Solemnities, as *Agonotheta*; and in *Achaia* it was obſerved, that it being at their Sacred Solemnities, the Cuſtom for thoſe that were preſent to have Knives about them for fear of Treachery, none that were ſo armed entred with *Hadrian*. After this he went into *Sicily*, and there up to the Hill *Ætna*, to ſee the Sun riſe in form of a Bow. Thence he came to *Rome*, and from *Rome* paſſed again into *Africk*, where he conferred many benefits on the Provinces,

as the Coins ſtill bear witneſs, in ſome of which he is ſtyled the *Reſtorer of* Africk. *Spartianus* adds to theſe his Narrations, that ſcarcely any other Prince travelled with ſuch ſpeed through ſo many Countries. As to this, *Caſaubon* obſerves, that he was accounted another *Hercules*, for his travelling ſo aſſiduouſly through the *Roman* world, and doing good in his paſſage. For *Victor* tells us, That he had his Troops of Smiths, Architects, and other Artificers, not unlike the Military Legions diſtinguiſhed into *Cohorts*, for making or beautifying of Walls. *Caſaubon* ſaw a Coin in the poſſeſſion of *Thuanus*, whereon he was both called *Roman Hercules*, and accoutred like to that Hero. In others he found him ſtyled *Soter*, or Saviour, becauſe going about the Provinces, he ſeverely puniſhed Governors thereof, whom he found faulty, who were often more cruel than any Monſters. But whereas *Spartian* adds *ſcarcely*, this Learned man thinks he doth it, becauſe of *Julius Cæſar*, who like Lightning ran through the Provinces, and illuſtrated moſt of them by his Victories. Next to him was *Auguſtus*, who yet as *Suetonius* confeſſeth, came not in *Africk* nor *Sardinia*, though in all the other Provinces. All the other Princes, *Trajan* excepted, were in a manner Homelings. But as for *Hadrian*, *Dion Caſſius* in this reſpect prefers him before all the other Emperors without exception.

26. Having returned from *Africk* to *Rome*, he went again into the Eaſt, and took *Athens* in his way, where he perfected the works he had formerly begun, and dedicated the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius*, and an Altar to himſelf; and in the ſame manner paſſing through *Aſia*, he Conſecrated Temples of his own Name. Then did he receive from the *Cappadocians*, Slaves, for the Service of the Camp. Of old when the *Roman* Diſcipline was vigorous, the Soldiers were not permitted to have any Slaves to follow them, and when the Cuſtom was come up, yet ſuch Captains as were ſevere, would cauſe them to be diſmiſſed. But afterward it grew to that height, that every ordinary or Common Soldier would have his Slave. Theſe Slaves the Ancients called *Calones*, and the later *Romans Galearii* from carrying their Helmets, who were wont to dig alſo, to make Trenches, and labour at ſuch works as the Soldier himſelf formerly wrought. Now out of *Cappadocia* did *Hadrian* furniſh himſelf, for out of that Country the greateſt part of Slaves proceeded, that People being noted by the *Greeks* to be of a ſervile Diſpoſition, and ſo much alſo by the *Romans*, that *Cappadox* and *Mancipium* with them, ſignified the ſame. But to purſue our Story, *Toparchs* and *Kings* he invited into Friendſhip, and particularly, *Coſdroes* the *Parthian*, to whom he reſtored his Daughter taken by *Trajan*, and promiſed the golden Chair, which had alſo been taken; but performed not his word. Some Kings came to his preſence, whom he treated in ſuch ſort, that it repented the reſt that they did not come: In his Progreſs through the Provinces, he ſo ſeverely puniſhed the offending Officers and Governors, that he himſelf was believed to procure their Accuſers. The *Antiochians* he ſo much hated (for their lightneſs and prating it's moſt probable) that he determined to ſeparate *Syria* from *Phœnicia*, that *Antioch* might not be called the *Metropolis* of ſo many Cities. At this time the *Jews* raiſed a War, becauſe they were forbidden to Circumciſe themſelves. He aſcended the Mountain *Caſius*, where it is reported, the Sun might be ſeen to riſe at the fourth watch of the Night, to behold this ſight: Now there were two Mountains of this Name; one at *Peluſium*, at the entrance into *Ægypt*, and the other hanging over the City of *Antioch*, where we may perceive *Hadrian* was about this time. But next to this, *Spartian* ſubjoyns, that having paſſed *Arabia*, he came to *Peluſium*, and built more Magnificently the Monument of *Pompey*, which Monument was in the other Mountain *Caſius* adjoyning to *Peluſium*. As he ſailed through the *Nile*, he loſt *Antinous*, a beautiful Youth he had. Some believed that he devoted himſelf for *Hadrian*, it being a Cuſtom of old to kill one's Self, to prolong the life of a Friend, as they believed they thereby did, one live thing being given for another. Others thought he was killed by him, that by his Entrails he might diſcover future things, as there was alſo a Cuſtom amongſt the Pagans. However here he died, as *Spartianus* ſaith, *devoted to him*, the one way or the other; and he loved him exreamly; in ſuch a way it's thought by ſome, as is not to be named, for he was very beautiful, as his Image expreſſed in a Medal doth ſhew, which *Caſaubon* ſaw amongſt the Rarities of *Thuanus*, the Preſident. And the *Greeks*, to flatter *Hadrian*, Conſecrated him for a god. Having the Town named after him, where he was Buried, he had there, and in many places of *Greece* Temples and Prieſts, and they ſaid he gave out Oracles, as ſuch as flattered *Alexander*, ſaid of *Hæpheſtion*;

He hated the *Antiochians.*

Antinous.

ſtion, whom he made a god in the ſame manner. *Spartian* adds, That *Hadrian* himſelf was reported to compoſe the Oracles of *Antinous*.

Hadrian's various Humour.

27. For he was moſt ſtudious of Poeſy, and indeed of all ſorts of Learning; moſt Skilful in *Arithmetick*, *Geometry*, and *Painting*; to which ſome add, the *Art of Medicine*. He pretended alſo to have Skill in *Singing*, being too much given to his Pleaſure in this kind, for concerning ſuch as he loved, he Compoſed many amorous Verſes. As of Arms, and the Art Military he was moſt knowing, he could manage the Weapons of the Gladiators. He was ſevere and merry, fair-ſpoken and grave, wanton and yet ſlow; cloſe-handed, and counterfeiting liberality; cruel and yet merciful, and in all things ever various. He inriched his Friends, and even ſuch as asked nothing, denying nothing to thoſe that did; yet would he hear readily whatſoever was whiſpered againſt them, and there was ſcarcely any either of thoſe to whom he bore the greateſt Friendſhip, or favoured with the greateſt Honours, whom he did not afterwards treat as Enemies. Amongſt others, he compelled *Severianus*, his Siſters Husband, and one of Ninety years of Age, to die, that he might not over-live him. His Freed-men and ſome Soldiers he proſecuted. Being very ready in Compoſing both Proſe and Verſe, and moſt Skilful in all Sciences, yet, as more Learned, he derided all Profeſſors of Arts, contemned and oppreſſed them. With theſe Profeſſors and Philoſophers, he often would contend by Writing Books or Verſes. *Favorinus* a famous Learned Man of this Age, having made Uſe of a word which *Hadrian* reprehended, would not contend but yielded, and being reprehended by his Friends for ſo doing, the word being uſed by good Authors, he made them laugh, by telling them, that *They did not well in that they would not ſuffer him to believe him learneder than all others, who had at his Command thirty Legions.* He was ſo deſirous of fame, that he delivered Books of his own Life written by himſelf to thoſe of his Freed-men that were Scholars, commanding them to Publiſh them in their own Names. For the Books of *Phlegon* were ſaid to be of *Hadrian*'s making. He wrote moſt obſcure Books in imitation of *Antimachus*. He loved the ancient way of ſpeaking. He declaimed Controverſies. He preferred *Cato* before *Cicero*, *Ennius* before *Virgil*, *Cœlius* before *Salluſt*; and in the ſame boaſting manner he judged concerning *Homer* and *Plato*.

Amongſt other Sciences, he was skilful in *Aſtrology*.

28. He ſeemed ſo much to be Skilled in *Aſtrology*, (by our Hiſtorian called *Matheſis*) that on the firſt of *January* at Night, he would write down what would happen to him the whole year; and that year he died, he wrote what he ſhould do to the hour of his Death. But to ſhew more of the ſtrange contrariety of his humour, our Author telleth us, That he was inclined much to reprehend *Muſitians*, *Tragædians*, *Comœdians*, *Grammarians*, *Rhetoricians* and *Orators*; yet he both honoured and inriched all Profeſſors, though he ever vexed them with Queſtions. And notwithſtanding he himſelf was the cauſe that many went Melancholick from him, yet he would ſay, he could not endure to ſee any one ſad. He was very familiar with *Epictetus* and *Heliodorus* the Philoſophers, beſides other learned Men of all Profeſſions, but was reported moſt to prize *Favorinus*, concerning whom we read ſo much in *A. Gellius*. Such Teachers as ſeemed unable for their Profeſſions, he diſmiſſed both with Wealth and Honour. Them with whom he had been at Enmity whilſt a private Man, being Emperor he ſo far neglected, that to a Capital Enemy when made *Auguſtus*, he ſaid, *Thou haſt eſcaped.* Such as he himſelf called to the War, he furniſhed with Horſes, Mules, Clothes, Money, and all Conveniences. He often waſhed publickly, and withal, being a moſt boaſting Lover of the common People. He was ſo great a Lover of Travel, that he had a deſire to ſee all he had read of the ſeveral Places in the World. Cold and Tempeſtuous weather he ſo patiently endured, that he never covered his Head. To many Kings he was very kind, of moſt he bought Peace, and by ſome was deſpiſed: to many he gave great Gifts, but greater to none than him of the *Hiberi*, to whom he gave an Elephant, and a *Cohort* of Five hundred men, after many other things. He alſo having received from *Pharaſmenes* great Preſents, and amongſt them *Chlamydes* or Soldiers Coats made with Gold, he cauſed Three hundred Malefactors to be put to fight in the Theatre iſed with ſuch Coats, on purpoſe to deride his Preſents.

Aſſiſtants.

29. When he ſate in Judgment, he had in his Council not only his Friends and Companions (*Comites*) but Lawyers alſo, and eſpecially *Julius Celſus*, *Salvius Julianus*, *Neratius Priſcus*, and others, but ſuch as all the Senate approved. Amongſt other things, he ordained that in no City ſhould any Houſes be demo-

liſhed for conveying their Materials to another City. By this paſſage of *Spartian*, it ſhould ſeem that he made ſome Edict about this matter, but in our Books of Law, no ſuch Conſtitution of his we meet with, and therefore ſeveral Learned men are of opinion, That theſe words of the Hiſtorian relate to a *Senatuſconſultum*, made in the fifth year of his Reign, and the Conſulſhip of *Aviola* and *Panſa*. By this the Fathers ordained, that it ſhould not be lawful to remove ſuch things as joyned to Buildings, in way of Trade; to buy, ſell, or leave them in Legacy, nor to ſell or bequeath an Houſe to be demoliſhed; which thing was alſo forbidden in the days of *Veſpaſian*. Now this *Spartian* may mean, though his words do not expreſs the intent or purport of the *Senatuſconſultum*, a thing uſual in thoſe Writers of the *Hiſtoria Auguſta*, when they talk of Law Matters. He tells us farther, that to the Children of Condemned Perſons, he granted the twelfth part of their Eſtates. Of the ancient *Cornelian* Law concerning Proſcription one branch took away all Acceſs to Honours from the Children of proſcribed Perſons; by virtue of the other the Goods of the Father were to be ſold. The firſt branch was taken away by *Julius Cæſar*, and ſucceeding Princes, and the latter was mitigated by this Law of *Hadrian*, who yet was not ſo merciful herein as *Marcus*, who reigned after him. Crimes of Treaſon he admitted not. He refuſed to be Heir to unknown Perſons, neither received he the Inheritances of ſuch as were known to him, if they had Sons. Concerning Treaſure, he ordained that if one found it in his own Ground he ſhould enjoy it, if in that of another man, he ſhould give half to the owner; and if in publick Ground he ſhould divide it with the publick Treaſury. He forbad that Slaves ſhould be killed by their Lords, and Commanded that they ſhould be Condemned by the Judges, if they deſerved it. To a Brothel Houſe-keeper, and a Maſter of Defence, he forbad an He or She Slave to be ſold without a Judge, and the pleaſure of the Owner.

His Laws.

Vide Caſaubon. int. l.

30. Such as had waſted their Eſtates, if they were Men, and at Age when they did it, he Commanded to be diſgraced in the Amphitheatre, and diſmiſſed. But what diſgrace this was is difficult to be underſtood, the word that *Spartian* uſeth, being variouſly interpreted. *Caſaubon* will have it ſignifie, that ſuch were led through the Theatre, there to be ſcoffed at, and derided as Criminal Perſons uſually were, both word and Cuſtom being taken from the *Greeks*. But *Salmaſius* contends that the word imports a beating betwixt the Neck and Shoulders; a Puniſhment uſual for Malefactors. And a great Malefactor doubtleſs is he, who by waſting his Eſtate, Robs his Wife and Children of what was left them, as well as him, by their Anceſtors. But this puniſhment was to give Example to others, and prevent the like Crime in lookers on, of which there muſt have been Multitudes in the Amphitheatre. More mild and effectual was the other courſe the *Roman* Law took againſt the Extravagancy of a Spendthrift, by virtue of which the *Prætor* forbad him the Uſe and Government of his own Eſtate, and aſſigned him a Guardian no otherwiſe than as to a Mad-man. But *Spartian* in reference to the Laws made by *Hadrian*, farther tells us, That he took away the *Ergaſtula* of Slaves and *Liberti*, or thoſe that once had been ſuch. So now we read it; but in ſtead of *Freed-men*, *Salmaſius* will have *Freemen* to be read. *Ergaſtula* were places where Slaves or other Perſons were kept in Bonds, and ſet to hard labour for ſome Offence committed. Of theſe ſome were publick, as the Mines, and ſome belonged to private men, unto which, in the Days of *Auguſtus*, ſome free and ingenuous Perſons were by violence and ſtealth caſt; and in the time of *Tiberius*, others to ſhun being called to Arms, put themſelves; and therefore both theſe Emperors took care for the ſearching and purging of them. Now *Hadrian* commanded them to be taken away, whether furniſhed with Slaves or Freemen. Freedmen, indeed, were for their Ingratitude to their Patrons, reduced into the ſtate of Slavery, and afterward might be condemned to the *Ergaſtula*, but then it was as Slaves, and as he well obſerves, not as *Liberti* or Freedmen. *Spartian* adds, that *Hadrian* ſeparated the Baths according to the Sexes. In former times Men and Women waſhed together without any ſhame, as to nakedneſs; which filthy cuſtom, the *Greeks* took from the *Romans*, as *Plutarch* complaineth. *Caſaubon* thinks the Cuſtom began when *Agrippa* firſt of all others, opened publick Baths at *Rome*. Now *Hadrian* indeavoured to take it away, but his Endeavour ſucceeded not, or but for a little time. For *Marcus* after him, made a new Law for this purpoſe, which prevailed, till taken away by *Heliogabalus*; but *Alexander Severus* reſtored it by another Conſtitution. Yet *Alexander*'s care had but ſmall Effect; the

Catamidiari vel Catomidiari.

Catomis cadi.

Quandoquidem bona tua diſperdis & familiam tuam ducis ad inopiam tibi bonis tuis interdico.

Liberorum pro libertorum.

Ergaſtuli vox non tantum Origine ſed etiam formatione Græca, eamq; ut alias pleraſq; à Siculis Romani ſumpſere. Salm.

the ancient Chriſtians giving way to the Cuſtom, though Prohibited by the Conſtitutions of *Clemens*. The Fathers in their Synods alſo forbad it, but their Authority was long neglected after the Decree of the *Laodicean* Council. But at length the Canons got ground, as ſhould appear from a Novel of *Juſtinian*, by which amongſt others, this is made a lawful cauſe of Divorce, If a Woman without leave obtained from her Husband ſhall waſh with Men. Farther, *Hadrian* ordained, That if a Perſon was killed in his Houſe, the queſtion ſhould not be put to all his Slaves, but only ſuch as by their nearneſs might know of it. By Queſtion is meant Examination by Torture, as will largely appear in the ſecond Part of this Work.

Hadrian Studies to be Popular.

31. So Popular was *Hadrian*, that, though Emperor, he would take Inferior Titles, as of *Prætor* in *Hetruria*, in the *Latine* Towns of *Dictator*, *Ædilis* and *Duumvir*. At *Naples* he was *Demarchus*, in his own Country *Quinquennalis*, as alſo at *Adria*, which was eſteemed as his other Native place, and *Archon* at *Athens*. Almoſt in all Cities he built and celebrated Games. At *Rome* after other vaſt Divertiſements in honour of his Mother-in-law, amongſt other Species which were wont to be given to the People, he gave Spices. In honour of *Trajan*, he commanded water made of Balſam and Saffron to be ſprinkled on the People, through the Degrees of the Theatre. Though every where he erected infinite Structures, yet he put his Name to none but the Temple of his Father *Trajan*. At *Rome* he repaired the *Pantheum*, the *Septa*, the *Baſilica* of *Neptune*, many *Temples*, the *Forum* of *Auguſtus*, the Bath of *Agrippa*, and conſecrated them all to their own and ancient Names. All theſe, or moſt of them, had periſhed by Fire in the Reign of *Titus*, and had been begun to be repaired by *Trajan*, but were left imperfect. He made a Bridge of his own Name (called *Pons Ælius*, as appears from *Dio*) and a Sepulchre by the River *Tiber*. So writes *Spartian*, though others will have *Hadrian*'s Sepulchre, which *Procopius* terms a Tower and a Caſtle, to have been built after his Death by his Succeſſor *Pius*. *Marius Maximus* ſaid he was Cruel by Nature, and therefore did many things piouſly, that what was the lot of *Domitian* might not alſo happen to him. Though he rejected Titles, and would not have his Name ſet upon Buildings; He named, *Spartian* ſaith, many Cities after himſelf *Adrianople*, as *Carthage* it ſelf, and part of *Athens*; beſides an infinite number of *Aquæducts*, he diſtinguiſhed by the ſame Name. Yet *Salmaſius* tells us, That uſing his utmoſt diligence, he could find but Nine Cities of his Name, whereof two were moſt known, and by no other; to the reſt remained their other Names, though their Inhabitants boaſted themſelves for *Hadrianopolitæ*, and ſo would be called. One of theſe was in *Cyrenaica*; and the other in *Thrace*, Twenty four miles diſtant from *Plotinopolis*. Further, *Hadrian* firſt ordained the Officer called *Advocatus Fiſci*, whereas, as *Caſaubon* notes, the Affairs of the Treaſury were managed formerly by the Procurators of the *Cæſars*.

Many Cities called by his Name.

He made the *Advocatus Fiſci*.

Had a vaſt Memory.

32. He had a vaſt Memory, and a great readineſs of Speech; for, he dictated himſelf his Orations, and anſwered to all things when he was ſaluted by the Common ſort on certain Days, he would return their Names to many without a *Nomenclator*, though he had heard them but once, and ſpoken all together; ſo as he would correct the *Nomenclators* often when miſtaken. He could tell the Names of the *Veterane* Soldiers whom he had diſmiſſed from Service. Books which he had never ſeen before, and haſtily read, he would repeat by heart. At one and the ſame time he wrote, dictated, heard, and diſcourſed with his Friends. Of all the publick Accounts he was ſo much Maſter, as ſcarcely was a Diligent Father of a Family of thoſe of his own Houſe. Concerning the Judges or Governors of Provinces, he ſought what he could by Inquiry, and ſo long till he found out the Truth. His Freedmen he would neither have known in publick, nor be thought to have any power with him, being wont to impute to the preceding Princes the faults of all this ſort of men that ſerved them, and condemning all of his own that made their boaſts of him. Such Cities, and Perſons as were afflicted with Famine, Peſtilence, and Earthquakes, he relieved. He gave the Privilege of *Latium* to many Cities; whereby we may underſtand, that it was not he that made all the Subjects of the Empire free Citizens of *Rome*. Under him were no troubleſom Expeditions, and Wars were in a manner paſſed over in ſilence; yet was he beloved by the Soldiers for his extraordinary care of the Army, and for being moſt liberal to them. The *Parthians* he always had his Friends, becauſe he took away their King whom *Trajan* had impoſed on them. He permitted the *Armenians* to have a King, whereas under *Trajan* they had but a *Legatus*, or Lieutenant. From the *Meſopotamians* he exacted not the Tribute impoſed on them

The Friendſhip of his Neighbours how he obtained.

by *Trajan*; but why ſhould he meddle with *Armenia* or *Meſopotamia*, when theſe Provinces and *Aſſyria*, at the beginning of his Reign he had quitted and reſigned up to the *Parthian*, perceiving them not capable to be held by him. The *Albani* and *Hiberi* were his mighty Friends; becauſe he had been liberal to their Kings, though they would not come at him. The Kings of the *Bactrians* in an humble manner ſent Ambaſſadors to deſire his Friendſhip.

His care about Habits.

33. He himſelf often aſſigned Tutors. Enacting Civil as well as Military Diſcipline, he commanded *Senators* and *Equites*, ever to wear their Gowns in Publick, except they returned from Supper; and he himſelf always wore the Gown in *Italy*. It ſeems he re-enforced *Auguſtus* his Law, which took in the common People alſo, though by *Hadrian* they were left to their liberty. Before this Reſtraint of his, both *Senators* and *Equites* would uſe the *Penula* and *Lacerna* in Publick. But *Marcus* was ſo great a lover of the Gown, that he always uſed it himſelf in *Italy*, and commanded his Soldiers alſo to be Gowned, wherein his Son *Commodus* alſo was ſo much concerned, that ſome he cauſed to be killed who met him in a *Barbarian*'s Habit. But *Hadrian* required it not when they returned from Supper, becauſe then they wore their Garments proper to eating; ſo they had Clothes proper for the time of Bathing, and from the Baths they might return in ſuch. He received the Senators when they came to Feaſt with him, ſtanding; and always when he lay down to Meat, was either clothed with the *Pallium*, or Gown put from his right Arm toward the left Shoulder; which he did, by his Example, to Correct the Extravagancy of the *Romans*, who in thoſe days when they went to meat, were wont to change their Shoes for Sandals, and their Gowns for Senatorian Weeds, which were ſo large, that in nothing they more ſhewed their Luxury. But he either wore the *Pallium*, which left the Arms at liberty, or elſe had his Gown removed from his right Arm, which he muſt neceſſarily have looſe and free.

Againſt exceſſive Feaſts.

And he not only regulated the manner of Eating, but the Expence thereof, by direction from the Governors of Provinces, and reduced it to the ancient Cuſtom, by recalling the Sumptuary Laws; not the *Lex Faunia*, or *Licinia*, (ſo *Salmaſius* thinks;) which, were too ancient and unſuitable to thoſe times, but the *Julia*; by which it was ordained, that not above Two hundred *Seſtertii* ſhould be laid out upon a Supper; on the Kalends, Ides and Nones Three hundred and on other Feſtivals, and a Thouſand at Weddings, and the like.

34. Carriages with great Burthens, he ſuffered not to enter *Rome*, neither Horſes to be ridden in Cities; which Law *Caſaubon* tells us, was changed for a milder, which permitted one to Ride in Cities on Horſeback, but not in a Chariot, as our Neighbours of *Amſterdam*, lately Prohibited the Uſe of Coaches in theirs. Before the eighth hour of the Day, he ſuffered none except Sick Perſons to waſh in Publick. The ninth hour at *Rome* was the uſual time for Supping, and then were opened the Taverns, Baths, and Brothel Houſes; but it ſeems *Hadrian* would allow the Baths to be ſet open at the eighth. He firſt uſed the Miniſtery of the *Roman Equites*, for diſpatching Epiſtles and Petitions. He himſelf frequently heard Cauſes both at *Rome*, and in the Provinces, taking in to his Aſſiſtance, the *Conſuls*, *Prætors*, and the beſt of the *Senators*. He conſtituted four *Conſulares*, Judges through all *Italy*. When he went into *Africk* it rained, which it had not done for five years before, according to our Hiſtorian; and for this the *Africans* loved him. But it ſeems, his ordering of his Head in Rain was ſuch, that he

He contracts a lingring Diſeaſe.

loved not himſelf. For having travelled through all Parts uncovered, in the Showers and Colds, he fell into a lingring and Conſumptive Diſeaſe. Then being ſolicitous concerning a Succeſſor, he thought of *Severianus*, and others, but looking upon them as Emperors, he deteſted them, though he repreſſed the force of his natural cruelty, till by a flux of Blood he was almoſt brought to his end. Then did he command *Severianus* to die, as affecting the Empire; in that he ſent ſome Victuals from Supper to the Emperor's Slaves, had ſet him down in a Royal Seat, placed by the Bed, as the Cuſtom was, and though an old Man of Ninety

Shews his Cruelty.

years of Age, had gone bolt upright to the Stations of the Soldiers; many other being put to Death, either openly, or by cunning and ſecret means. Amongſt theſe, his Wife *Sabina* was alſo ſaid to have been taken away by Poiſon. *Victor* the Hiſtorian ſpeaks of her Death as cauſed by him; yet voluntary, writing that Being affronted by almoſt ſervile Injuries, ſhe was compelled to a voluntary Death; and that ſhe openly boaſted how inſufferable an humour ſhe had endured, and had laboured, that ſhe might not be with Child by him, to the Deſtruction of Mankind.

He Adopts *Verus.*

Who dying,

He adopts *Antoninus.*

35. He adopted *Ceionius Commodus Verus*, the Son-in-law of *Nigrinus*, who conſpired againſt him, whom formerly he had reſpected for his handſomneſs, and called him *Ælius Verus Cæſar.* In reſpect to this Adoption, he gave the *Circenſian* Games, and a Donative both to the People and Soldiers; he honoured him with the *Prætorſhip*, the Government of *Pannonia*, and two *Conſulſhips.* But he was very ſickly, inſomuch that he could not give him thanks in the Senate for his Adoption, which made him often ſay, that he had leaned to a rotten Wall, and had loſt a Thouſand *Seſtertia.* Having taken too ſtrong a Purge, or ſome other ſort of Phyſick, he died in the Night, through a great Iſſue of Blood which happened to him while he ſlept; *Hadrian* being wont to foretel his ſhort continuance. He died on the firſt of *January*, or the Calends, and therefore he forbad he ſhould be mourned for. Though on the third day after the Calends was the greateſt Solemnity for naming Vows for the health of the Emperor; yet the firſt day it ſelf was very Solemn, and ſuch Ceremonies they were generally unwilling ſhould be interrupted, or the Feſtivity leſſened by Mourning. *Ælius Verus Cæſar* being Dead, he adopted *Arrius Antoninus*, afterward Sirnamed *Pius*, but on condition that he ſhould adopt other two, which were *Arrius Verus*, and *Marcus Antoninus.* Many were vexed at the Adoption of *Antoninus*, particularly *Catilius Severus*, *Præfect* of the City, who aimed at the Sovereignty; which being diſcovered, he was put out of his place, and deprived of his Dignity. *Hadrian* weary of his life, commanded his Slave to run him through with his Sword; which being known, *Antoninus* and the *Præfects* came in, and deſired him to bear patiently the violence of his Diſeaſe; at which he was angry, and commanded him that had made it known to be killed, but *Antonimus* preſerved him, who affirmed, that being adopted, he ought not to ſuffer *Hadrian* to be ſlain; otherwiſe he ſhould be a Parricide. He made his Teſtament, and this done, endeavoured again to kill himſelf, but the Dagger was ſtoln away from him, after wich he grew more cruel; and he demanded Poiſon, of a Phyſician, who that he might not give it him, ſlew himſelf. At length he went to *Baiæ*, leaving *Antoninus* at *Rome*, to govern; where all endeavours for recovery being fruſtrate, having ſent for *Antoninus*, he died in his ſight on the ſixth day before the Ides of *July*; and being hated by all Men, was Buried in *Cicero*'s Village at *Puteoli.*

He made a great Alteration in the form of Government.

36. This is the Account we have from *Spartianus*, concerning the Reign and Character of *Hadrian*, and the largeſt we have from any Author now extant, being to our great loſs deprived of ſo great a part of *Dion Caſſius* his works. And we could have wiſhed *Spartianus* himſelf had been more copious; for the Reader muſt take notice, that though we have ſuch ſlender Intelligence of the manner of it; yet we are told, That *Hadrian* made a great alteration in the form of Government, ſo great that he obliterated moſt of that which was introduced by *Auguſtus*; nay, that the Model, as it ſtood in *Conſtantine*'s time, was moſt of it of his contrivance. Yet when we come to particulars, we find little in *Spartian*; but that *He made four* Conſulares *Judges, through all* Italy. Only *Sex. Aurelius Victor* tells us much in little, that *The Publick and Palatine Offices, as alſo of the Militia,* Hadrian *put into that form, which a few things being changed, remained in his days.* But we cannot be of this opinion, that they were but a few things; For from this time down to *Conſtantine*, an Alteration crept in by degrees, as all Sublunary things are ſubject to change. But it will not be amiſs to hear what a very great Man, *Onuphrius Panvinius* ſaith, concerning this Subject. He writes, that there were four Authors of a new form of the Commonwealth in the whole *Roman* Empire. Theſe were, *Romulus*, *Auguſtus*, *Hadrian* and *Conſtantine.* That *Hadrian* made this alteration firſt after *Auguſtus*; and he founds his Aſſertion on this Affirmation of *Victor.* Before he comes to demonſtrate it, he premiſeth a Deſcription of the whole Empire, taken out of *Appians* Proem to his Books of the Civil Wars. Then he renews his Aſſertion, that this Deſcription of the Empire falling chiefly into the Reign of *Hadrian*, he made a new diviſion of all Nations and Provinces therein mentioned, and ordered the Empire in a far differing manner from that wherein it was conſtituted by *Auguſtus.* Which diviſion of Provinces, and new Conſtitution of the Empire, he ſaith he will ſuggeſt chiefly out of *Sextus Rufus*, and begin with *Italy*, the Lady of all. *Italy*, and her three Iſlands were diſtinguiſhed into ſeventeen *Dioceſes*, or *Adminiſtrations*; The Governors of which were ſome *Conſulares*, ſome *Correctores*, and ſome *Præſides.* There were eight *Conſulares*, two *Correctores*, and ſeven *Præſides.* In *Gulls*, *Aquitaine* and *Brittain*, were eighteen Provinces; in *Illyricum* ſeventeen; in *Thrace* ſix, and in *Africk* as many. As for the diviſion of *Aſia*, it's wanting.

37. But

Conſulares of Provinces, when brought in.

37. But for *Italy*, eight Provinces, or *Dioceſes* as he calls them, had *Conſulares*, two had *Correctores*, and ſeven had *Præſidents*. For thoſe of *Spain*, *Gall* and *Britain*, he ſaith not which had which, ſo bold are ſome in following *Victor*; they knew not why, as to particulars. Generally Learned men have concluded that the *Conſulares*, who by that Name and Authority governed Provinces, were inſtituted partly by *Hadrian*, and partly by *Conſtantine*. But *Salmaſius* contends, that the Diviſion of Provinces into *Conſulares*, and *Pro-Conſulares*, was not only before *Conſtantine*, but alſo before *Hadrian*, he being *Conſularis* of a Province, who governed it by *Conſular* Authority. That *Hadrian* brought not firſt up the Adminiſtration of the *Conſulares*, but that *Italy* before his time not being governed by *Conſulares*, he appointed ſuch Judges to adminiſter Juſtice to all the Provinces of that Country. He fetcheth them from the Inſtitution of *Auguſtus*, who ſent ſuch Officers to govern ſome of his Provinces when the Partition was made betwixt him and the People. *Caſaubon* obſerves, that *Marcus* afterward to theſe *Conſulares*, ſubſtituted Lawyers, and ſo was *Italy* governed till the Reign of *Macrinus*, under whom theſe *Juridici* failed, as he gathers from the fragments of *Dio*. Afterwards we ſhall ſee in *Conſtantine*'s Model, that *Conſulares* were a ſort of Governors, and of the ordinary Governors of Provinces. *Hadrian* it ſeems did not firſt inſtitute them; but he might introduce ſome things circumſtantial as to their Office. No more did he inſtitute that of *Prætor*, which was very ancient; but in his time a great Accident happened in reference to the diſcharge of the *Prætor*'s Office, and that poſſibly by his Direction and Command.

The *Edictum Perpetuum* compoſed in his time.

38. For under him we are told by *Eutropius*, that the Edict called *Edictum Perpetuum*, was Compiled by *Salvius Julianus*. And the Emperor *Juſtinian* in his Preface before the Digeſts to the Great Senate, attributes this to *Hadrian* himſelf, ſaying, That what things were every year publiſhed by the *Prætors* in their Edicts, he comprized in one little Book, taking in excellent *Julian* to that Enterprize. During the Commonwealth, the *Prætors* had Power to Correct the Rigor of the Law, and the *Ædiles Curules* had in certain Caſes authority to make Laws alſo. But as their Offices, ſo their Edicts were but Annual before the *Cornelian* Law. Now *Salvius Julianus*, whom *Spartian* writes to have been one of *Hadrian*'s Councellors, reduced them by his Command into order, and framed out of them a perpetual Edict, to be as a certain Body of ſtanding Law, and to prevent the great Confuſion occaſioned by the New Edicts which each made at the Entrance into his Office. This Edict which was henceforth to be their guide and rule in Adminiſtration of Juſtice, conſiſted of One hundred and ninety Books or Chapters, and being confirmed both by Prince and Senate, was afterward illuſtrated by the Commentaries of two moſt Noble Lawyers, *Paulus*, and *Ulpian*, of whom the former Compoſed Eighty Books, and the later Eighty three. And well might they beſtow their pains upon it; for this was the Archetype of the *Pandects*, the moſt noble Body of the *Roman* Law, and the Sum of what is left unto us, moſt of the Books now remaining, referring unto it as a Fountain, and the greateſt part of the Digeſts being tranſcribed out of the Volumes written upon this Subject.

Commentators upon it.

Hinc illæ Inſcriptiones in Pandectis, Ulpianus ad Edictum. Paulus ad Edictum.

39. From this time forward it came to paſs, that whereas ſince the Monarchy introduced by *Auguſtus*, the *Prætors* had ſtill made their Laws or Edicts; the Lawyers alſo reigned in the *Forum*, with remarkable Authority, and moderate Princes very often conſulted the Senate upon any new Law to be made (whereupon their *Orations* in Senate are recited in Books, and have the Name alſo of *Senatuſconſulta*) after the Publication of this Volume of Edicts, the *Prætors* no more propoſed any of their own; but like other Magiſtrates, began upon occaſion to conſult the Prince, who ever had at his Hand the beſt Lawyers to adviſe with, as we ſee *Hadrian* had. And indeed by all of that Noble Profeſſion, the Reign of this Emperor deſerves much to be taken notice of, both in reſpect that the *Perpetual* Edict was made in his time, and not without good reaſon, *Juſtinian* in Compoſing his Code, begins with the Conſtitutions made by him, omitting thoſe of the former Emperors; as alſo that now the Power of making Laws remained in the Princes alone; in the Privy and Select Council of whom, all things neceſſary for the Government of the Commonwealth, the State of the Empire, and the Diſcuſſion of Cauſes and Controverſies were handled and debated. But this *Salvius Julianus*, that eminent Lawyer of *Milan*, the Scholar of *Jabolenus*, is thought Author alſo of that called *Interdictum Salvianum*; as alſo of the New Edict concerning the joyning of other Children with an Emancipated Son. For he was

Vide Menagium de Amœnitatibus Juris Civilis, c. 24.

Prætor; he was alſo twice Conſul, and Præfect of the City, beſides ſeveral Governments of Provinces; and which made him more Noble, ſaith *Spartian* (in the life of *Didius Julianus* the Emperor his great Gandſon) a Lawyer. He it was that compoſed the *perpetual* Edict, and not *Didius Julianus* the Emperor, as *Grotius* ſtrangely miſtook, being decieved as *Menagius* believes, by a moſt corrupt place of *Aurelius Victor*.

In Sparſione florum.

Hadrian concealed his Humour.

40. By all that has been ſaid, we may eaſily perceive that *Hadrian* was really a great Perſon, as to his Parts and Accompliſhments. But that his humour was compounded, and that he was various, appears from *Spartian*, who is moſt in his Commendation, and as is abundantly evident from other Writers. They agree that he indeavoured to conceal his Cruelty, and other Vices; but it would now and anon ſhew it ſelf, as it did even at the firſt, though he careſſed the People all he could, to make it have a good Opinion of him; and ſwore to the Senate that he would never puniſh a Senator, but by the Sentence of that Court. But he broke his word toward his latter end, when he put to Death many of that Order, which ſome may charitably attribute to his not being himſelf. He is charged with Envy, and that toward his very Benefactor *Trajan*. For to this both *Eutropius* and *Sext. Rufus* do attribute his quitting *Aſſyria*, *Meſopotamia*, and *Armenia* to the *Parthians*, and his reſolution to have *Euphrates* to be betwixt them and the *Romans*, yet this he might do being of the ſame Opinion as *Auguſtus*, that the former bounds of the Empire were large enough, and that *Trajan* did but indanger it by making it greater. This, together with deſire of Eaſe both of himſelf and People, might be the principal Cauſe of his quitting thoſe Countries; for though he underſtood the Art of War, as we have ſeen, very well, yet he had devices to keep it off; and would not fail upon occaſion to do it by underhand Gifts and Preſents he made to Neighbour Princes, and he would boaſt that he did more (this way) for the ſafety of the Empire, than others had done by their Arms. But whereas *Spartian* talks that there were no heavy Expeditions under him, and that Wars were in a manner tranſacted in ſilence, he wrote it without good Intelligence, or due Conſideration. For beſides that he is ſaid by ſome to have overthrown the *Sauromatæ* (or *Sarmatæ*, inhabiting the Countries now called *Ruſſia*, and *Tartary*) he had a bitter conteſt with the rebellious *Jews*.

The *Jews* again rebell.

41. The principal cauſe of their rebellion was, for that he built a new City, and therein a Temple to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, where *Jeruſalem* ſtood, and called the place after himſelf *Ælia Capitolina*, and he forbad them to be Circumciſed. They were confirmed in their Sedition by one who pretended he came down to them as a light from Heaven to ſave them from ſlavery and bondage, ſaying, he was the Star foretold by *Balaam*, whence being called *Barcocab*, he was firſt worſhipped as the *Meſſiah*, and anointed at *Bitter*, a City in *Africk*, but afterwards proving to be an Impoſtor, they called him *Barcozba*, or the ſon of a lye. *Dio* wrote, that the whole World was in a manner ſhaken with this Commotion of the *Jews*. *Hadrian* ſent the beſt Captains he had againſt them, whereof the chief was *Julius Severus*, who had at this time governed *Britain*. Albeit in the end he had the victory, yet would he not have wiſhed for many Triumphs at the ſame rate. For very many of the *Romans* fell; inſomuch that *Hadrian* writing to the Senate, uſed not that beginning which other Emperors were wont: *Si vos liberique veſtri valetis*, *Bene eſt*; *Ego quidem & exercitus valemus*. But the extraordinary ſtrength which now apeared in the *Jews* was given them for their deſtruction. The greater danger their mutiny had occaſioned to the Empire, the greater was the Emperors ſeverity in puniſhing their rebellion paſt, the greater his care to prevent the like in time to come. In Battels and Skirmiſhes were ſlain of them 580000. beſides an infinite number conſumed with Famine and Diſeaſes, during the time of this lingring War, protracted of purpoſe by the *Romans*, not willing to try it out in open field with ſuch a forlorn deſperate multitude. *Dio*, who lived not long after this time, emphatically notes, that they were left *few in number, their Land laid waſte, fifty of their ſtrongeſt Munitions utterly razed*, and Nine hundred eighty five of their Chief, and moſt populous Towns ſackt, and conſumed by Fire. *Hadrian* after this ſtrange deſolation, by Publick Decree ratified by the Senates conſent, prohibited any *Jew* to come within the view of *Judæa*. Before this overthrow they had manifeſt ſigns foreſhowing their Deſolation. *Solomon*'s Sepulchre, which they held in greateſt honour, ſaith *Dio*, a little before this War fell aſunder of its own accord; Wolves and Hyænaes howled throughout their ſtreets, and devoured them in the Fields. Such *Jews* as *Hadrian*

Lib. 69. *p.* 793.

took Captive, he baniſhed into *Spain* his own Countrey (this was their Tenth Captivity, ſaith *John* * *Vaſæus*) where they had their Synagogues, till the time of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabel*, and *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*.

* *Chron. Hiſp. A. D.* 137.

42. The State of the *Jews* from this time until the expiration of the *Roman Empire* cannot eaſily be gathered from any *Roman* Writers, who ſeldom vouchſafe the *Jews* or *Chriſtians* any mention, unleſs inforced thereto by ſome famous War or Mutiny, or by ſome other event redounding to the *Roman* glory. *Judæa* after this time was not famous for any tumult till the ruin of *Romes* greatneſs; the *Jews* wanted ſtrength, and the *Chriſtians* willing minds to procure the Emperor's glory by Seditions. Hereupon whatſoever calamity either of them ſuffered by the *Romans*, was paſſed over by *Roman* Writers, as private wrongs not worthy regiſtring in their *Annals*. Upon this account 'tis no wonder they took no notice of our Saviour, or his Acts, all tending to Peace and Loyalty. For as *Tacitus* notes, *Judæa* was moſt quiet in *Tiberius* his time, which was the beſt news the *Romans* cared to hear thence. Yet the general eſtate of the *Jews* between *Hadrian*'s and *Honorius*'s time, as * one obſerves, may be gathered out of the reverend *Fathers* of the Primitive Church; who uſually ſtopped the mouths of *Heathens*, or blaſphemous Atheiſts, by propoſing their condition, then known unto all the World, for ſuch as our Saviour had foretold it. Thus much of the *Jews* until the ſeries of time and affairs reduce us to them.

* *Dr. Jackſon B.* 1. *Chap.* 27. *pag.*114. upon the Creed.

Hadrian's Character.

43. *Hadrian*, if we look at his natural diſpoſition, was as it were compounded of vice and virtue, yet ſo as he ſeemed to have the command of them, and may be reckoned amongſt good Princes. He was much addicted to ſtudies, and well ſeen in moſt of the liberal Arts; here was his fault, that he deſired to comprehend all, and did not reſerve himſelf for the moſt worthy, being one of the moſt curious men that ever lived. And in him that Saying was ſufficiently demonſtrated, *Non eſt curioſus quin idem ſit malevolus.* For he was ſo envious that he mortally hated all better Scholars than himſelf, and conſequently the greateſt Profeſſors in all Sciences; but ſuch as were unable for their Profeſſion he would diſmiſs with great rewards, as was ſaid. He killed *Apollodorus* the Architect for ſhewing him ſomething freely the Errors in his Buildings. One of his Præfects was *Similis*, who as *Dio* writeth, getting leave to retire, and live quietly in the Countrey his laſt ſeven years, commanded this Inſcription to be ſet on his Tomb: *Here lieth* Similis, *whoſe life conſiſted of many (or ſixty ſeven) years, yet he lived but ſeven.* His cruelty toward his latter end we may in charity impute to his peeviſhneſs contracted by the Dropſie, with which he was ſore vexed in every part. In his time the Church was under ſome Perſecution; for *Xiſtus* Biſhop of *Rome* was Crowned with Martyrdom in the tenth year of his Reign, on the eighth of the *Ides* of *April*, to whom ſucceeded *Teleſphorus*, according to *Damaſus*; but this was rather from the malice of others, and the wicked cuſtom then on foot, than out of his inclination. Being ſomething ſatisfied with the Apologies of *Quadratus* and *Ariſtides*, two learned Men, he wrote a Letter to *Minutius Fundanus* Proconſul of *Aſia*, which *Juſtin Martyr* hath exemplified in his ſecond Apology, and from him as it ſeemeth, *Euſebius* in his Hiſtory, after this manner:

His Letter in behalf of the Chriſtians.

44. *The Emperor* Cæſar Ælius Adrianus *to* Minucius Fundanus. *I received a Letter from* Serenius Granianus, *that right worthy man thy Prædeceſſor, the occaſion whereof I cannot with ſilence paſs by, leſt thereby men be troubled, and a gap left open to the malice of Sycophants. Wherefore if your Provincials can prove ought againſt the Chriſtians whereof they charge them, and juſtifie it at the Bar, let them proceed, and not impeach them only for the name with making outcries againſt them. For it is very expedient that if any be diſpoſed to accuſe, the accuſation be throughly known of you and ſifted. Therefore if any accuſe the Chriſtians that they tranſgreſs the Laws, ſee that you judge, and puniſh according to the quality of the offence; But in plain terms, if any upon ſpite or malice in way of cavillation complain againſt them, ſee that by all means you chaſtiſe and puniſh him according to his malice.* *Hadrian* at length by vomiting blood in great quantity, contracted a Dropſie (if *Dio* writeth Phyſician like) which ſo tormented him, that he deſired death, but could not have it (according to the Prayer of *Severianus*, whom, though he judged him worthy of the Empire, of late he had put to death) but at length by an ill kind of diet accelerated it, yet ſaying, *Multi Medici Regem ſuſtulerunt*, and enquiring * of his Soul whither it meant to go. He died on the fourth of the *Ides* of *July*, having lived Sixty two years, and reigned twenty one, with eleven Months, in the 891 year of the City, A. D. 138, *Sulpitius Camerinus* and *Quintius*

He dieth.

* *Animula vagula blandula,*
hoſpes comeſque corporis,
Quæ nunc abibis in loca Pallidula, rigida, nudula. Nec ut ſoles dabis jocos?

Niger Magnus being *Conſuls*. In his time flouriſhed *Ptolomy* of *Alexandria*, that great Aſtronomer, *Aulus Gellius* or *Agellius*, *Juſtin* who epitomized *Trogus Pompeius*, and others.

Antoninus ſucceeds.
Why called Pius.

45. *Antoninus* ſucceeded his Adoptive Father *Hadrian*, and was Sirnamed *Pius*. Concerning the reaſon of this Sirname, ſome fetch it from his *Piety* to his Father-in-Law, whom *Hadrian* ſeeing him to lead when old and weak, into the Senate, and to ſuſtain him with his Arm, was ſo taken with him, that thence he was moved to adopt him, as the Senate was to give him this Sirname. But others derived it from his pious and grateful Memory of his Adoptive Father, to whom he not only built a Monument reſembling a Caſtle, at leaſt a Tower, as *Procopius* deſcribes it; but preſently after his Death, when the Senate was much incenſed againſt him by reaſon of his cruelty ſhewed to ſeveral Members thereof, and refuſed to canonize him for a *Divus*, or give him, as they worded it, divine Honours, he with much pains obtained it of them: Beſides this, he made him a Sepulchre at *Puteoli*, ordained Games every fifth year, with *Flamines* and *Sodales*, and many other things in honour of him as a Demy-God. Some thought him ſo called, becauſe he ſaved ſuch as *Hadrian* in his Extremity commanded to be killed; others, becauſe he would not ſuffer him to kill himſelf, and others derive the Sirname from his own innate Goodneſs and Clemency of his Nature. He is called by *Capitolinus*, who wrote his Life, *T. Aurelius Fulvius Boionius Antoninus Pius*, deriving his Pedigree by the Father's ſide, from *Gallia Tranſalpina*, and the City *Nemauſus*, or *Nimes*. His Grandfather was *Titus Aurelius Fulvius*, who through various Honours, arrived at the ſecond Conſulſhip, and the Præfectſhip of the City: his Father *Aurelius Fulvius* who alſo was Conſul, a temperate and honeſt Man. His Mothers Mother was *Boionia Procilla*, his Mother *Arria Fadilla*, and her Father *Arrius Antoninus*, who was twice Conſul, a Perſon by the Hiſtorian termed *Sanctus*, who told *Nerva* in the Senate, That he pitied him for being Emperor. This his Grandſon was born in *September*, when *Domitian* the twelfth time was Conſul, together with *Cornelius Dolabella*.

How he behaved himſelf awhile a private Man.
His Wars.

46. While he was a private man, he moſt commonly lived in the Countrey, but was Eminent where ever he came. He was made by *Hadrian* one of his four *Conſulares* over that Part of *Italy*, where he had moſt Eſtate. To the *Italians* he reſtored all that Gold called *Aurum Coronarium* given him upon the account of his Adoption, and half to the other Provincials. He was ſo conſtant, that good Governors of Provinces he kept in their Places ſeven, and nine years. He waged many Wars by his Legates. For he overcame the *Britains* by *Lollius Vrbicus*, raiſing another Wall made of Turffs, after the removing of the *Barbarians*: he compelled the *Moors* to deſire Peace: by his *Legati* and Præſidents he alſo reduced the *Germans*, *Daci*, *Jews*, and other Nations which rebelled. Moreover he repreſſed Rebellions in *Achaia* and *Ægypt*, and reſtrained the *Alani*, who often attempted to ſtir. He commanded his Procurators modeſtly to exact the Tributes, heard willingly ſuch as objected any thing againſt them; ſuch as exceeded, he commanded to give account of their Actions, neither ever rejoiced he in any gain, by which a Provincial was oppreſſed. The Imperial Height and Dignity he brought to the greateſt Civility. Being Emperor, he bore ſo much reſpect to the Senate, as when he was a private Man, he deſired ſhould be given to him by the Prince. He ordained nothing concerning the Provinces or other Matters, without the advice of his Friends, and according to their Opnions compoſed his forms. Whereas other Princes were never ſeen but in their Gowns, he would appear to his Friends at home in his ordinary Clothes (as the *Tunica* and *Penula*) and about ſome of his Domeſtick Buſineſs. He governed, yet, the Empire with ſuch diligence, that he took care of all Perſons, and all things, as of his own, and all the Provinces flouriſhed under him.

His Mercifulneſs.

47. Confiſcation of Eſtates in his time was more rare than ever, for though ſeveral were found guilty of Treaſon, yet one Perſon was only proſcribed for affecting the Sovereignty, *Attilius Tatianus*, and that by Decree of the Senate, and yet he would not have him forced to reveal his Complices, and he was ever ready to help his Son in all things. *Priſcianus* alſo periſhed who was guilty of the ſame Crime, but he killed himſelf, and he forbad the Conſpiracy to be inquired into. His manner of living was ſuch, as there was opulency without reprehenſion, parſimony without ſordidneſs, and his Table was furniſhed by his own Servants, Fowlers, Fiſhers, and Hunters. The Bath he had he let the People make Uſe of without Rent; neither did he change any thing from the quality of a

private life. But he took away Penſions from many whom he ſaw idle; affirming, That *Nothing was more ſordid, nay cruel, than for thoſe to gnaw upon the Commonwealth, who by their pains contributed nothing to it.* The Accounts of the Provinces, and the Revenue he underſtood very well. His private Patrimony he gave to his Daughter: but the Profits of it (but for ſome time ſurely) to the Commonwealth. He ſold things belonging to the Emperor which were ſuperfluous, and often lived on his own Lands, neither made he any Expeditions, but only travelled to his own Eſtate, and into *Campania*, ſaying, That *The Train and Attendance of a Prince, although too ſparing, was burthenſom to the Provincials*; and yet was he of great Authority amongſt all Nations; for he reſided in the City, that, as in the middle, he might with more ſpeed receive Meſſages from all quarters. He gave a *Congiary* to the People, and a *Donative* to the Soldiers. Beſides many works of his own, and the repairing of others, he aſſiſted many Cities with Money, either to raiſe new Fabricks, or reſtore the old; nay, he would help the Magiſtrates and the Senators of *Rome* in the diſcharge of their Functions.

Self-denial.

48. He refuſed to be left Heir by ſuch as had Sons. To a good Judge he gave no Succeſſor ſo long as he lived, except to *Orphitus* Præfect of the City, at his own deſire. For *Gnavius Maximus*, the *Præfectus Prætorio* arrived at his Twentieth year under him; a moſt ſevere Man, to whom *Tatius Maximus* ſucceeded, in whoſe Place, when dead, he ſubſtituted two Præfects, *Fabius Repentinus*, and *Cornelius Victorinus*; of whom *Repentinus* was libelled, as if he came to the place by means of the Prince his Concubine. The ſcarcity of Wine, Oyl, and Wheat he ſupplied out of his own Treaſury, by buying them up, and giving them *gratis* to the People. For, in his time there was a Famine, the Cirque fell down, and Earthquakes happened, which over-turn'd ſome Towns of *Aſia* and *Rhodes*; all which he wonderfully reſtored: There was alſo a Fire at *Rome*, which conſumed Three hundred and forty Iſlands, or Houſes, as our Hiſtorian explains himſelf, for the Houſes were Inſular, made at diſtance one from another. King *Pharaſmenes* came to him to *Rome*, and paid him more reſpect than to *Hadrian*. He made *Pacorus* King of the *Lazi*. He drew back the *Parthian* King from invading the *Armenians*, only by his Letters. He took up Controverſies betwixt Kings. The King of *Parthia*, who deſired to have back the Royal Chair taken by *Trajan*, he denied. He reſtored *Rimithalces* to the Kingdom of *Boſphorus*, having heard the Controverſie betwixt him and the Curator. He ſent aid into *Pontus* to the *Olbiopolitæ* againſt the *Tauroſcythæ*, whom he compelled to give them Hoſtages. Now *Caſaubon* tells us, that the *Olbiopolitæ* were *Greeks*, at leaſt mixt with *Greeks*; the *Tauroſcythæ* were *Barbarians*, either *Scythians* or *Goths*, called alſo *Getes*. The Senate decreed, that the Months of *September* and *October* ſhould be called the one *Antoninus* after him, and the other *Fauſtinus*, after his dearly beloved Wife *Fauſtina*; (who died in the third year of his Reign and was made a *Diva* by the Senate, with a Temple, and other things ſuitable to that Heatheniſh Honour) but he refuſed it. But the Marriage of his Daughter *Fauſtina* to *M. Antoninus*, he ſo highly ſolemnized, as to give a Donative to the Soldiers.

How he treated his Miniſters.

49. His Præfects he both inriched and honoured with Conſular Ornaments. If he condemned any of Extortion, he reſtored their Eſtates to their Children, but on condition, that they gave the Provincials back what their Fathers had taken from them. To Pardon he was moſt prone. He converſed with his Friends as a private man, living with them in the time of Vintage. He uſed his Freedmen very ſeverely. To Rhetoricians and Philoſophers throughout the Provinces he gave both Honours and Salaries; though other Writers aſcribe this, to *Hadrian* who went before, and *Marcus* who followed after him. He enacted many things, and made uſe of theſe Lawyers, *Vinidius Verus*, *Salvius Valens*, *Voluſius Metianus*, *Ulpius Marcellus*, and *Jabolenus*. All Seditions he repreſſed, not by Cruelty, but by Modeſty and Gravity. He forbad the Dead to be Buried within Cities. He ſtated the Charges of the Shows of Gladiators. The *Curſus Publicus*, or *Curſus Vehicularius* with great diligence he made leſs burthenſom. Of all things he did, he gave an account in the Senate, and by Edicts. He deceaſed in the Seventieth year of his Age, and yet he was miſſed as if he had been a young Man. He contracted his Diſeaſe by eating Cheeſe at Supper, which Vomiting in the Night, the next day he was ſeized by a Fever. The next day after finding himſelf very ill, he recommended the Commonwealth and his Daughter to *M. Antoninus*, his Præfects, or Officers being preſent, and commanded the Golden Fortune which was wont to be ſet in the Bed-Chamber of the Emperor to

How Learned Men.

He dies.

How Honoured after his Death.

be carried to him. The *Tribune* according to the Cuſtom coming for the Watchword, he gave him *Æquanimity*, and ſo turning himſelf as to ſleep, he died at *Lorium*. When in his Fever he was delirous, he talked nothing but concerning the Commonwealth, and the Kings with whom he was angry. His private Eſtate he left to his Daughter, and Legacies to all his Relations. He was comely and tall of Stature, and when he was old, becauſe he was weak, was ſwadled with ſmall pieces of wood, to make him go upright. In his old Age, before any came to ſalute him, he was wont to eat dry Bread to ſtrengthen his Spirits. He was called *Divus* by the Senate, every one ſtriving to pay him this reſpect, commending his Piety, Clemency, Ingenuity, Sanctimony; and all other Honours they gave him which were wont to be conferred on the beſt Princes. *Capitolinus* tells us, he deſerved a *Flamen*, Circenſian Games, a Temple, and thoſe they termed *Antoniani Sodales*, being almoſt of all Princes the only man that lived, ſo far as concerned himſelf, without civil and hoſtile Blood, and who might juſtly be compared with *Numa*, whoſe Felicity, Piety, Security and Ceremonies he always obtained. So much writes *Capitolinus* concerning this Prince, but whereas he ſaith he died in his Seventeenth year, *Caſaubon* ſaith it is moſt falſe; for if we reckon from the twelfth Conſulſhip of *Domitian*, wherein he was born, we ſhall find, he tells us, Seventy and four.

His Edict in behalf of the Chriſtians.

50. Others write, That this Emperor, for the Victories obtained here in this Iſland, had the Sirname of *Britannicus*, who as * *Pauſanias* telleth us, fined the *Brigantes* part of their grounds, becauſe they had fallen with War upon the *Genunii*, the Allies of the *Roman* People. And at this time ſaith *Cambden*, as we collect out of *Jabolenus*, *Seius Saturnius* was *Archigubernus* of the Navy in *Britain*. But whether by this title he was an Admiral of the ſaid Navy, or a principal Pilot, or the Maſter of a Ship, I would have the Lawyers to tell. *Antoninus* ruled with ſuch care, moderation, and humanity, that he was called another *Numa*, all things flouriſhing in calmneſs and tranquility. He repaired ſeveral Cities that had been overturned with Earthquakes, in which and other reſpects *Pauſanias* giveth him large commendations. He was excellently learned; a ſubtil and deep Philoſopher. He was rendered favourable to Chriſtianity by the Apologies of *Juſtin Martyr*, and the ſupplications of others in behalf of the faithful in *Aſia*, which were grieved with all ſorts of contumelies practiſed againſt them by their Provincials. He graciouſly ſent a conſtitution in their behalf unto the body of *Aſia*, which was read at *Epheſus* in the audience of this great Aſſembly, and yet is preſerved to our ſight in the end of *Juſtin Martyr* his ſecond Apology, and by *Euſebius* in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, according to this tenour. *The Emperor* Cæſar, Titus Ælius Adrianus Antoninus, Auguſtus Pius, Pontifex Maximus, *fifteen times enjoying the power of* Tribune, *four times* Conſul (*not thrice, as it is corruptly written in* Euſebius) *Father of the Country, to the People of* Aſia, *Health. I know the gods are careful to diſcloſe hurtful perſons. For they puniſh ſuch as will not worſhip them, more grievouſly than you do thoſe whom you bring in trouble, confirming that opinion which they have of you to be wicked and ungodly men. It's their deſire in Gods quarrel, rather to die than live. So that they become conquerors, yielding their lives unto the death, rather than to obey Edicts. It ſhall ſeem very neceſſary to admoniſh you of the Earthquakes, which have and do happen amongſt us, that being therewith moved, you may compare our eſtate with theirs. They have more confidence to Godward than you have, you during the time of your ignorance deſpiſe other gods, contemn the Religion of the immortal God, baniſh the Chriſtians which worſhip him, and perſecute them unto the death. In the behalf of theſe men many of the Principal Preſidents have written heretofore unto our Father of famous memory, whom he anſwered in writing again, that they were not to be longer moleſted, unleſs they had practiſed treaſon againſt the* Roman *Empire. And many have informed us of the ſame matter, whom we anſwered as our Father did before us. If any therefore hereafter be found thus buſied in other mens affairs, we command that the accuſed be abſolute and free, though he be found ſuch an one, I mean as faulty, and that the accuſer be grievouſly puniſhed.* That this Edict was proclaimed at *Epheſus* in the hearing of the great Aſſembly of *Aſia*, witneſs is *Meliton* (ſaith *Euſebius*) Biſhop of *Sardis* (who flouriſhed at that time) in his profitable *Apology* for our Doctrine, delivered unto the Emperor *Verus*. But *Antoninus* died on the *Nones* of *March*, after he had reigned Twenty two years, ſeven months, and Twenty ſix days, in the firſt year of the 235 *Olympiad*, the 914 of the City, A. D. 161. In his time flouriſhed beſides many excellent Lawyers, and *Juſtin* the Chriſtian Philoſopher (the Son of *Priſcus Bacchius*, and

* *In Arcadicis.*

and born in *Flavia*, a new City of *Palæſtine*, as he ſaith himſelf) *Polycarpus* Biſhop of *Smyrna*, *Galen* that excellent Phyſitian, and *Ælian* Writer of the Natural and Various Hiſtories.

Biſhops.

51. In the firſt year of *Pius* died *Teleſphorus* Biſhop of *Rome*, on the *Nones* of *January*; the See was vacant ſeven days (both the terms being excluded) and then *Hyginus* the ninth Biſhop ſucceeded on the *Ides* of *January*, and the firſt *feria*. In the fifth of *Pius* died *Hyginus*, on the third of the *Ides* of *January*, and *Pius* ſucceeded him, when *Sex. Erucius Clarus* and *Cn. Claudius Severus*, as *Damaſus* will have it, were Conſuls; which if it be true, the See was vacant four years. In the thirteenth of *Pius* died *Pius* the Biſhop, on the fifth of the *Ides* of *July*, and and his ſeat being vacant fourteen days, *Anicetus* the eleventh ſucceeded him on the twenty fifth of *July*, the firſt *feria*. (*a*) From the Paſſion of our Saviour till the eighteenth year of *Hadrian* there were fifteen Biſhops in the Church of *Jeruſalem*, all *Jews*. In the which year after the utter overthrow, the ſiege and conquering of the City under the ſaid *Ælius Adrianus*, *Jeruſalem* was called *Ælia*, and began to be inhabited of ſtrange Nations. Until (*b*) wellnigh this time, this Church was called a pure and uncorrupted Virgin; for till about the year 110 there was no falſe Doctrine ſown there. Of the Gentiles (*c*) *Marcus* was the firſt Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. After *Abilius*, (*d*) *Cerdo* was Biſhop of *Alexandria* in the firſt year of *Trajan*, where he continued thirteen years. Him ſucceeded *Primus*, who continued in the See twelve years. After *Primus* was (*e*) *Juſtus* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, where he continued eleven years. After *Juſtus* (*f*) *Eumenes* was Biſhop, and ſo continued thirteen years. He was ſucceeded by *Marcus*, who governed that Church ten years. Then followed (*g*) *Celadion*, who continued fourteen years. And in the See of *Antioch* (that we may ſtill continue the ſeries of Biſhops formerly began) after *Heros* (who ſucceeded *Ignatius*) (*h*) *Cornelius* was Biſhop about the twelfth of *Hadrian*.

Damaſus.
(*a*) *Euſeb. l.* 4. *c.* 5, 6.
(*b*) *Idem l.* 4. *c.* 22.
(*c*) *Idem l.* 4. *c.* 6. & *l.* 5. *c.* 11.
(*d*) *Idem l.* 3. *c.* 21.
(*e*) *Idem l.* 4. *c.* 4, 5.
(*f*) *Idem l.* 4. *c.* 5, 11.
(*g*) *Idem l.* 4. *c.* 11, 20.
(*h*) *Idem l.* 4. *c.* 20.

Hereticks.

52. After the *Biſhops* and Fathers of the Church, it's convenient to continue the ſeries of *Hereticks* formerly laid down, to diſtinguiſh the Tares from the Corn. About the year 110, (*a*) *Thebulis* was the firſt *Heretick* in the Church of *Jeruſalem*. It's ſaid, that he fell from the Faith becauſe they would not chuſe him Biſhop after *Simeon*. About the ſame time were certain Hereticks called *Ophitæ*, who worſhipped a Serpent, and thought that the Serpent which deceived *Adam* and *Eve* was Chriſt: they kept a living Serpent, which with opening of the cheſt and charming of the Prieſt came forth, licked the Bread upon the Altar, and wrapped it ſelf about it. Their manner was to kiſs the bread, and ſo to eat, believing verily that the Serpent had conſecrated it. They defended themſelves, ſaying, That the *Nicolaitans* and *Gnoſticks* delivered them this ſervice. About the ſame time there were certain *Jews*, which believing in Chriſt called themſelves *Nazaræi* of *Nazareth*. In confeſſing *Jeſus Chriſt* to be the Son of God they contraried the *Jews*. But they erred in Chriſtian Religion, in that they addicted themſelves wholly to the whole Law. There were other *Hereticks* which honoured *Cain*, and took him for their Father, whence they were called *Caini*. They highly eſteemed of *Eſau*, *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, with the *Sodomites*. They called *Judas* the Traitor their *Couſin*, honoured him for betraying of Chriſt, affirming that he foreſaw how great a benefit it would bring to Mankind. They read a certain Goſpel written, as they ſaid, by *Judas*: they reviled the Law, and denied the Reſurrection. There were others called *Sethiani*, who derived their Pedigree from *Seth* the ſon of *Adam*, whom they honoured, and called *Chriſt* and *Jeſus*; they held that in the beginning of the World he was called *Seth*, but in the latter days *Chriſt Jeſus*. *Epiphanius* ſaith, that he diſputed with ſome of them in *Ægypt*, and that the laſt of them were in his time. *Cerdon* the *Heretick* came from *Syria* to *Rome*, when *Hyginus* was Biſhop there. He taught that God preached by the Law and Prophets, was not the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. He ſaid, that Chriſt was known, the Father of Chriſt unknown. He denied the Reſurrection, and the Old Teſtament; he held other things with the *Manichies*; and *Marcion* was his Scholar.

(*a*) *Euſeb. l.* 4. *c.* 22.
Epiphan. hæreſ. 37.
Auguſt. l. de hæretib.
Epiphan. hæreſ. 29.
Idem hæreſ. 38.
Aug.
Epiphan. hæreſ. 39.
Aug.
Euſeb. l. 4. *c.* 10, 11.
Epiphan. hæreſ. 41.

53. In the time of *Hyginus*, *Valentinus* the Heretick came to *Rome*, lived under *Pius*, and continued till *Anicetus*. He taught 1. That Chriſt brought his fleſh with him from Heaven, and took no fleſh of the bleſſed Virgin, but paſſed through her as water through a Conduict-pipe. 2. That there are two beginnings of all things, *Profundum*, i. e. the *Deep*; and *Silentium*, i. e. *Silence*: theſe being married together, had iſſue *Underſtanding* and *Truth*, which brought forth Three hundred *Æona* or *Ages*, and of theſe were the Devil and others born, who made the

Tertullian contra Valentinianos.
Epiphan. hæreſ. 31.
Philaſtius.

the World. In the Reign of *Antoninus Pius*, *Marcion* alſo the Heretick began to teach, living in the time of *Juſtin Martyr*, who wrote againſt him. He was Native of *Pontus*, firſt a Stoick, then a Chriſtian; he followed *Baſilides*, *Cerdon*, and *Valentinus*, in their Hereſies. Meeting *Polycarpus*, he ſaid, *Knoweſt thou us? Polycarp* anſwered, *I know thee for the firſt born of Satan.* *Epiphanius* writeth, that being a Biſhop's Son, when he had defloured a Virgin, he was by his own Father excommunicated, and afterwards flying to *Rome*, becauſe they there admitted him not into the Church, he began to Preach deteſtable Doctrine. He taught, that there were three beginnings, *Good*, *Juſt*, and *Evil*: that the New-Teſtament was contrary to the Old. He denied the Reſurrection. He baptized ſuch as died without Baptiſm, ſaying, that *Paul* bad him do ſo. He taught that Marriage was unlawful, and that it was a great Sin to Marry. That *Cain*, the *Sodomites*, and all wicked men were ſaved, becauſe they met Chriſt when he deſcended into Hell, but the *Patriarchs* and *Prophets* are ſtill in Hell, for not meeting Chriſt; for they thought (ſaid he) that Chriſt came to tempt them. Under *Anicetus* alſo came to *Rome Marcellina*, a woman which infected many with the Hereſie of *Carpocrates*, who called himſelf γνωστικός. She is ſaid to have kept and offered incenſe to the Statues and Pictures of Chriſt (which the *Gnoſticks* ſaid, had been made by command of *Pilate*) as alſo to others of St. *Paul*.

Euſeb. l. 4. c. 11, 14.
Epiphan. hæreſ. 42.
Theophyl.
Hieron. cont. Jovinian.
Irenæus l. 3. c. 4, 29.

54. About the nineteenth year of *Antoninus Pius*, the beginning alſo of *Montanus* his Hereſie is placed by *Epiphanius*; but from *Euſebius*, *Cappellus* would gather, that the original of it was fifteen years before, becauſe the Hiſtorian writeth, that *Apollinaris* wrote againſt *Miltiades* and *Montanus* the Hereticks, under the Proconſulſhip of *Gratus*, who ſeemeth the ſame with him, whoſe Conſulſhip is by *Caſſiodorus* caſt into the fourth of *Pius*. He thinks therefore, that in the nineteenth year ſome new thing might be attempted by *Montanus*; as he might this year inſtitute his *Propheteſſes*. Theſe were his two Country-women, *Priſcilla* and *Maximilla*, born at *Pepuza* a City of *Phrygia*, upon which account he called *Hieruſalem* by that name. *Cappellus* further obſerveth, that of ſuch things as are attributed to *Montanus*, ſome were truly his, ſome after his death were added by the *Montaniſts*, and ſome falſely aſcribed to them. *Montanus* really held, that the Promiſe of ſending the Holy Ghoſt was deferred till his time, and in himſelf fulfilled, becauſe the Church heretofore could not bear the yoak of more ſevere and holy Diſcipline, which he indeavoured to bring in, by appointing the eating of *dried meats*, *faſting*, and *Monogamy*, or ſingle Marriage. The *Montaniſts*, after their number was increaſed, did thoſe things which *Hierome* mentioneth, *viz.* they appointed themſelves *Patriarchs*, two *Cenonæ*, which word ſeemeth of *Phrygian* Original, and three *Biſhops*. That is falſly imputed to them, which *Jerome* ſaith others did attribute, but he would not believe, *viz.* that they pricked an Infant, and with his blood made up the *Euchariſt*. If this opinion may be attributed to any Hæreſie, or if this prejudice did not ariſe from the imputation of this kind of cruelty by the *Heathen* to Chriſtianity it ſelf, the *Carpocratians* rather than the *Montaniſts* were guilty of it. But becauſe both ſorts were called *Gnoſticks* (as ſwelling with an opinion of knowledg) what was acted but by one, might eaſily be attributed to the other. So becauſe *Montanus*, as full of the Holy Ghoſt, called upon men in the name of the Father, he was believed to confound the Perſons of the *Trinity* into one, which was the invention of the *Sabellians* a hundred years after. 'Tis further ſaid of him, that he baptized the dead, and not allowing of ſecond Marriages, permitted Married Perſons to be ſeparated when they themſelves would. That he took away repentance, affirming, that Sinners could never have their Sins pardoned by repentance. And that the Apoſtles and Prophets underſtood not any thing they had written, but were *Arreptitii*. Now to return to civil matters.

Hæreſ. 48.

Ad Marcellam tom. 3. ep. 9.

Marcus Antoninus ſucceeds *Pius.*

55. *Marcus Antoninus*, the Succeſſor of *Antoninus Pius*, a Man who lived as a Philoſopher all his life, and who in Sanctity excelled all Princes in the Opinion of *Capitolinus*, was the Son of *Annius Verus*, who died in his Prætorſhip, and Grandſon of *Annius Verus*, who was both *Conſul* and *Præfect* of the City, and brought in amongſt the *Patricians* by *Veſpaſian* and *Titus*, the *Cenſors*. He was born at *Rome* in the Gardens on Mount *Cœlius*, the Six and twentieth of *April*, his Grandfather being the ſecond time *Conſul* with *Augur*, and was thought to derive his Pedigree from *Numa*. At firſt he had the Name of *Catilius Severus*, his Great Grandfather by the Mother's ſide. After the Death of his Father, he was called by *Hadrian Annius Veriſſimus*, to expreſs the veracity of his Nature, and

His Gratitude to his School-Maſters.

Moſt prizeth *Claudius Severus*.

was Adopted and Educated by his Grandfather on the Father's ſide, being called *Annius Verus*, after he had taken the Gown of a Man. He was grave from his firſt Infancy. And as ſoon as he was taken from Nurſes, was delivered to great Maſters to be taught Philoſophy, whom he much reſpected. He had thoſe that taught him *Muſick*, *Geometry*, *Grammar*, and *Rhetorick*, both *Greek* and *Latine*; amongſt whom, he chiefly reſpected *Fronto* a *Latine* Orator, to whom he deſired in the Senate a Statue to be erected; and *Proculus*, who inſtructed him in Latin Grammar, was ſo dear to him, that he promoted him to the Proconſulſhip, taking the Burthens thereof upon himſelf. Even while yet a Boy, he vehemently ſtudied Philoſophy. When twelve years old he took the Habit of a Philoſopher, and with it the Patient enduring of all things, inſomuch that he ſtudied in the *Pallium*, and lay on the ground, his Mother hardly prevailing to have him make Uſe of a Couch ſpread with Skins. When he was made Partaker of the Imperial Dignity, yet would he go to hear *Apollonius* the *Chalcedonian* a *Stoick* Philoſopher. He heard *Sextus* of *Chæronea* the Nephew of *Plutarch*, and others, Stoicks; and of Peripateticks *Claudius Severus*; but eſpecially *Junius Ruſticus*, a Stoick, he revered and chiefly followed, being very able for Civil Affairs and Matters of War, as well as moſt Skilful in the Stoick Diſcipline. With him he communicated all his Publick and Private Councils, whom he would kiſs even in the preſence of the *Præfecti Prætorio*, whom he honoured with a ſecond Conſulſhip, and after his Death required of the Senate that he ſhould have Statues. So great Honour he gave to thoſe that taught him, that he kept their Images of Gold in his *Lararium* or Houſhold Chappel, and always graced their Sepulchres with Porches, Sacrifices and Flowers. Beſides what is mentioned, he ſtudied the Law, and in ſuch labours took ſuch pains, that he diſordered thereby his Body; and in this alone was his Childhood to be reprehended. He frequented the Publick Schools of Declaimers, and his School fellows he ſo loved, that whom he could not prefer to Places in the State, he inriched other ways.

Mæcianus his Maſter for the Law.

Vide Menagium in Amœnitatibus Juris Civilis, c. 5.

56. For ſtudying the Law, the Hiſtorian tells us, That he had *L. Voluſius Mæcianus* for his Maſter. This is that *Mæcianus* whom he formerly named as Councellor to *Antoninus Pius*, who in the Treatiſe written by this *Marcus* concerning *himſelf*, and often in the *Pandects*, is falſely called *Marcianus*. Being a moſt Learned man, he compoſed many Books, as Sixteen *De Fideicommiſſis*, Fourteen *De Publicis Judiciis*, a Book in *Greek* upon the *Rhodian Law*, and which muſt eſpecially be mentioned, another *De Aſſe*, or Diſtribution of an Inheritance, which *Cujacius* formerly cauſed to be bound up with the *Code* of *Theodoſius*, and not long ſince *Fredericus Gronovius* publiſhed at the end of his Learned Commentary *De Seſtertiis*. *Cujacius*, and after him *Jacobus Gothofredus* commends this Book of *Mæcianus*, to all ſuch as intend to ſtudy the Law, to be read before *Juſtinian*'s Inſtitutions; for, in vain do ſuch apply themſelves to that labour, who do not underſtand the Diſtribution now mentioned.

He Married *Fauſtina* the Daughter of *Pius*.

57. *Marcus* took his *toga Virilis* in the Fifteenth year of his Age, and then was the Daughter of *L. Ceionius Commodus*, by the order of *Hadrian* contracted to him. Not long after he was made *Præfect* for the *Latine Feriæ*, and in that place carried himſelf very diſcreetly. He granted all his Fathers Patrimony to his Siſter, ſaying, when his Mother called him to a Diviſion, That he was content with his Grandfather's Eſtate, and that ſhe, if ſhe pleaſed, might give his Siſter hers too, that ſhe might not be inferior to her Husband. Notwithſtanding his gravity, contracted by the ſtudy of Philoſophy, he was ſo good natured, that he would be drawn to ſee the huntings of the Theatre, and behold the *Spectacula*, and naturally he loved ſuch Exerciſes. Though the ſtudy of Philoſopy diverted him from all, yet not ſo as to take away his Civility; for he was temperate without Contumacy, baſhful without lazineſs, and without ſadneſs grave. Being adopted by *Antoninus*, who had Married his Aunt, he was rather afraid than merry, and when his Domeſticks wondred at it, and asked him the reaſon, he argued with them concerning the Inconveniences which attended the Sovereign Command. Then for *Annius*, he began to be called *Aurelius*, becauſe of his paſſing into the *Aurelian* Family of the *Antonini*. *Hadrian* being dead, *Antoninus* reſolved to have him for his Son in-Law, the Contract being diſſolved betwixt his Daughter and *Verus*, who was not ripe enough for her, and he deſigned him *Quæſtor* and *Conſul* with himſelf. He conferred on him the Title of *Cæſar*, with other Honours, and the Conſulſhip the ſecond time, when he himſelf bore it the fourth. After this, Marrying *Fauſtina*, *Pius* his Daughter, and having a Daughter by her, he was

adorned with the *Tribunitial* Power, as alſo with the *Proconſular*, (which *Auguſtus* and his Succeſſors took to themſelves, though *Antoninus Pius* ſeems to be the firſt who uſed the Title of *Proconſul*) and the Privilege of making the fifth Report, being in ſuch credit with *Pius*, that he would promote no man without him, neither would give ear to any whiſpers againſt him. For twenty and three years he ſo demeaned himſelf in this his Father's Houſe, that the Old Man's love to him increaſed, neither in all that time did he lye from him above two Nights, at ſeveral times.

He joyns with himſelf *L. Commodus* in the Imperial Soveraignty.

58. After the Death of *Pius*, being conſtrained by the Senate to take the Publick Government upon him, he made his Brother *L. Commodus* Partner with him in the Empire; calling him *Lucius Aurelius Verus Commodus*; he gave him the Titles of *Cæſar* and *Auguſtus*, and thenceforth they began to govern the Commonwealth with equal Right, and the *Roman* Empire to have two Emperors, upon which account they are in Law-Books known by the Names of *Divi Fratres.* He himſelf preſently took the Name of *Antoninus*, and as the Father of *L. Commodus* called him *Verus*, and adding that alſo of *Antoninus*, betrothed to him his Daughter *Lucilla*, and upon this occaſion, whereas *Trajan* had given Maintenance to certain Boys and Girls, whoſe liberality had been increaſed by *Hadrian*; and *Pius*, in Honor of *Fauſtina*, had given Alms to Girles, which from her had the Name of *Fauſtinianæ*; now there were other both Boys and Girls taken in, and allowed Maintenance. Having diſpatched what was to be done in the Senate, and in the Camp with the Soldiers, to whom they promiſed Twenty thouſand *Nummi* a piece, and to the reſt proportionably (that is, as *Caſaubon* notes, as mech more to the *Centurions*, and treble to the *Tribunes* and *Præfects* of *Alæ*) they buried their Father magnificently in the Tomb of *Hadrian*, and both of them commended him by Funeral Orations, conferring on him the uſual Ceremonies of a *Divus*. After their poſſeſſion of the Empire, they both carried themſelves ſo civilly, that no man miſſed the lenity of *Pius*. Still did *Marcus* follow the ſtudy of his dear Philoſophy, but received ſome diſturbance therein by the riſing of *Tiber*, which overflowed to ſuch extremity, that it ſpoiled many Buildings, and other Things, drowned many Animals, and procured a moſt grievous Famine; all which miſchiefs they moderated by their preſence and care. The *Parthian* War alſo now broke out, which *Vologeſus* had deſigned in the Reign of *Pius*, but now he declared by driving away *Atidius Comelianus*, who governed *Syria*. A War was alſo ready to break out here in *Britain*, and the *Catti* made Irruptions into *Germany* near the *Rhine*, and into *Rhetia*. Againſt the *Britains* was ſent *Calphurnius Agricola*, and *Aufidius Victorinus* againſt the *Catti*. But againſt the *Parthian* by conſent of the Senate was *Verus* himſelf ſent, whom *Marcus* his Brother accompanied as far as *Capua*, and gave him a Train befitting his Perſon.

Stirs in the Provinces.

59. *Verus* being come into *Syria*, lived deliciouſly at *Antioch*, and *Daphne*, and exerciſed himſelf with the Arms of *Gladiators* and Hunting, carrying on the War againſt the *Parthians* by his Lieutenants; whereas *Marcus* was no hour free from buſineſs, and partly unwilling, partly content, bore with the voluptuous humour of his Brother. *Statius Priſcus* proſpered well in *Armenia*, taking the City *Artaxata*, whereupon the Sirname of *Armeniacus* was given to both the Emperors, and *Marcus* refuſed it at firſt, though he took it afterward, as alſo that of *Parthicus* upon the ending of that War; and that of *Pater Patriæ*, he put off till the Return of his Brother. He ordained that all Citizens ſhould within Thirty days enter their Children that were born at *Rome*, in the Regiſters of the Governors of the *Ærarium* of *Saturn*; and throughout the Provinces he brought up the Uſe of the Publick *Tabularii* (Slaves at preſent, though afterwards Freemen) who ſhould do the ſame there, as the Governors of the *Ærarium* did at *Rome*, keeping the Publick Records; ſo that if any one in the Province happened to be queſtioned concerning his Liberty (as whether he was not a Slave) thence he might bring proof, as alſo might any one concerning his Age. About the ſtate of the Dead, whether they were free Perſons, he forbad inquiry to be made after five years. No Prince ever ſhewed more reſpect to the Senate; when he could he was always preſent, though he had nothing to report, if he was at *Rome*; and if he had any thing to Communicate, he came out of *Campania* when he was there. And in other Aſſemblies, he would ſtay till Night, neither did he ever go out of the Senate-Houſe (or *Curia*) till the Conſul ſaid, *We ſhall trouble you no farther Conſcript Fathers.* He made the Senate to Judg of Appeals from the Conſuls. He uſed ſingular Diligence in Judicial Proceedings, and added Days of Judicature to the former, ſo as in all

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The Laws of *Marcus.*

Nihil vos moramur Patres Conſcripti. *Hæc erat formula dimittendi Senatum; at Conſcionem, Diſcedite.*

he appointed Two hundred and thirty every year for doing Buſineſs, and debating Cauſes. He firſt made the *Prætor Tutelaris*, or him who had the care of Tutors, that they might more eaſily be obtained, whereas formerly Tutors were wont to be demanded of the Conſuls.

60. The Guardians which governed the Perſons and Eſtates of Children under Puberty, the *Romans* called *Tutors*; and ſuch as governed the Eſtates and Perſons of thoſe that were Puberes, but under Five and twenty years of Age, they called *Curators*. Now as for *Curators*, whereas formerly they were not aſſigned for wantonneſs or madneſs, but by the Law called *Lex Lætoria*, he decreed that all that were once Adult ſhould receive *Curators* without rendring any cauſe why. This *Lex Lætoria* being alſo called *Quinavicenaria*, becauſe the Legitimate Age of Twenty five by [illegible]as determined, contained, as *Jacobus Gothofredus* hath obſerved, certain He[illegible] whereof this was the firſt, to provide *Curators* for *Minors*, that were wanton or Spendthrifts, and for thoſe that were Diſtracted: The ſecond ordained that *Minors* or thoſe under that Age, ſhould not ſtipulate, or oblige themſelves by making Bargains; whereupon it followed, that a Creditor who truſted one under that Age, ſhould loſe his Money, or that wherewith he truſted him. Further, *Marcus* had a care to leſſen the Publick Charges. He ſet himſelf againſt Calumnies, impoſing a mark upon falſe Accuſers. As for ſuch Accuſations as increaſed the Revenue, he deſpiſed them. For Publick Allowances, he invented many things. He aſſigned *Curators* out of the Senate to many Cities, that thereby he might extend the Senatorian Dignities; For not only Cities, but Regions and High-ways had their *Curators*, who took care of them. He provided for the *Italian* Cities in time of Famine, by Corn given them from *Rome*, being very careful that Grain ſhould not be wanting. He qualified every way the Shows of the Gladiators, as alſo the Charges of the Stage-Plays, commanding that the Players ſhould receive but five *Aurei*, and that no Setter of them forth ſhould exceed ten. Now for the Shows of the Gladiators, *Caſaubon* obſerves, that he qualified them three ways, eſpecially; Firſt, by diminiſhing the Expences of them. Then by commanding that they ſhould be without Blood, at leaſt when He was there, and without killing, their Swords being blunted, or ſo ordered that they could not deadly wound, as the *Athletæ* were wont to fight. And in the third place he took the Gladiators to ſerve in the Wars, making Soldiers of them, contrary to the old Cuſtom, whom he called *Obſequentes*, as *Capitolinus* alſo obſerves; which raiſed a Diſcourſe amongſt the People.

In l. 2. De Donationib. Cod. Th. lib. 8. tit. 22.

Marcus ſets himſelf againſt Accuſations.

Italy had ſeveral ſorts of Governors.

61. He took ſpecial care of the Ways both of the City, and of the Provinces. He provided for *Italy* by giving it *Juridici*, according as *Hadrian* had commanded thoſe of the Degree of *Conſulares*, to adminiſter Juſtice. *Appian* writes, That the *Conſulares* continued not long after *Hadrian*'s Death; and indeed the Juriſdiction in the Provinces of *Italy* was in various Hands, ſometimes adminiſtred by *Conſulares*, ſometimes by *Juridici*, ſometimes by *Correctors*, and in the time of *Conſtantine* and afterwards, by *Conſulares* again, who yet ſeem not to have been of the ſame Dignity with thoſe in the time of *Hadrian*, to whom *Capitolinus* gives the Appellation of *Conſulares viri*. The Hiſtorian farther writes, That *Spain* being exhauſted, he ſupplied it out of *Italy*, againſt the Command of *Trajan*; but he did it modeſtly. As to this, we muſt know, that *Italy* being much unpeopled by the Civil Wars, *Auguſtus* repleniſhed it with frequent Colonies, and from him the ſucceeding Princes took it for a Maxim of State, to be ſparing in raiſing Men out of *Italy*; which was ſo conſtantly obſerved, that the *Italians* withdrew their minds from War, and applied them to Arts of Peace and Agriculture, as we ſhall ſee more in the ſecond Volume of this Work. The Legions therefore being ever ſupplied with Soldiers out of the Provinces, and eſpecially out of *Spain*, later Princes were wont to fill up the Towns that were ſo exhauſted with *Italian* Colonies, which it ſeems *Trajan* forbad; but *Marcus* thought fit for all that to do it, but with much Modeſty and Reverence to his Memory.

Laws made by *Marcus*.

We are told further by *Capitolinus*, That *Marcus* added other Laws concerning the Twentieth part of Inheritances, already, and hereafter to be ſpoken of; concerning the Tutelage of *Liberti*; of the Eſtates of Mothers; of the Succeſſions of Sons for the Mothers part, and that Foreign Senators ſhould poſſeſs a fourth part in *Italy*. As for the Mothers Eſtate, *Marcus* introduced new Law, That Children ſhould ſucceed their Mothers which died Inteſtate; and this he did by that which ſometimes is called the *Oration of D. Marcus*, and ſometimes the *Senatuſconſultum Orphitianum*, because it was made when *Orphitus* and *Ruffus* were Conſuls, as

Juſtinian tells us in his Inſtitutions. This year of their Conſulſhip was the Twentieth from that of the Conſulſhip of *Fl. Tertyllus*, in which was made the *Senatuſconſultum Tertyllianum*, whereby the Mother was inabled to inherit the Eſtates of her Children, whereas by the Laws of the Twelve Tables, neither of theſe could be. Now this concerning the Succeſſion of Children, is attributed to *Marcus*, becauſe the Emperors were wont to ſend their Epiſtles or Orations, as they are termed, to the Senate, concerning ſuch or ſuch a matter; which being read, the *Senatuſconſulta* paſſed, and thereby it came to paſs, that the ſame things were aſcribed both to the *Orations* and *Senatuſconſulta*. At length the Emperors *Valentinian*, *Theodoſius*, and *Arcadius* called the Grandchildren alſo to ſucceed their Grandmothers; yet ſo as they ſhould receive one third part leſs than their Fathers or Mothers ſhould have received; but *Juſtinian* made them [illegible] equal in Right who ſucceeded to one dying Inteſtate. As for Senators having a fourth part of their Eſtates in *Italy*, there was ſomething of it before, as appears from *Pliny* Junior, who ſpeaks of a third part; that They which ſtood for Honours might take *Rome* and *Italy* for their Country, and not like Strangers for an Inn or Stable.

Scævola his chiefeſt Adviſer in Law-Matters.

62. To the *Curators* of Regions and Ways he gave Power, either to puniſh, or ſend to the *Præfect* of the City to be puniſhed, ſuch as exacted any thing from any man beſides the *Vectigalia*. He rather reſtored Old Law, than introduced New. He had his *Præfects* with him by the Authority and Præſcripts of whom he dictated always his Laws. Eſpecially he made Uſe of *Scævola* the Lawyer. This was *Cervidius Scævola* who flouriſhed at this time, and in all his Anſwers uſed extraordinary Caution to accommodate Law to the condition and quality of the Fact, and therefore was wont to uſe this Clauſe, *According as Matters are propounded. Modeſtinus* reckons him amongſt the Lawyers of the higheſt Form. But to return to our Hiſtorian, he adds, That *Marcus* treated the People no otherwiſe than it was wont to be uſed in the Commonwealth. He was in all things moſt Moderate, in deterring men from what was ill, in alluring them to goodneſs, in rewarding and indulging; and he made good of bad; and of good, exceeding good; and bore with Moderation the Reproaches of ſome Perſons. He was of ſo compaſſionate a Nature, that upon occaſion of the Fall of a Dancer on the Ropes, he commanded Mattreſſes to be laid under them when they Danced; whence it came to paſs, that in the time of *Capitolinus*, Nets were wont to be hung under the Ropes, to keep them from falling to the Ground.

His War with the *Marcomanni*.

While the *Parthian* War was carrying on, another aroſe with the *Marcomanni*, which the Officers upon the Borders for ſome time kept off, till the former could be made an end of. This War of the *Marcomanni* ſtruck them at *Rome* with ſo great terror, that he ſent for Prieſts from every place (by reaſon of Sacrifices, *Caſaubon* thinks) of which he procured ſo great a Number, that he was jeered by the People upon that account; as in caſe he returned Victor, Oxen would fail and be all deſtroyed. He filled up ſtrange Rites, he luſtrated or purged *Rome* all manner of (Superſtitious) ways; and being kept back from going to the War, he celebrated the *Lectiſternia*, according to the *Roman* Rite, for ſeven days. So great a Peſtilence happened, that dead Bodies were carried out in common Carriages. Then were the moſt ſevere Laws of the *Antonini* made, of Burying and Sepulchres; for they ordained, That every one that would ſhould not build a Sepulchre, as ſaith the Hiſtorian, is obſerved at this very day; poſſibly not with much Coſt and Labour. He was ſo kind, that ſuch as died poor, he commanded to be Buried at the Publick Charge.

Both Emperors undertake an Expedition againſt them.

63. The *Marcomanni* and *Victorali* making great diſturbance, both Emperors went out in their Coat-Armour; and time it was; for ſuch *Barbarians* as were driven out by others, except they were received, made alſo War. And this their Expedition did not a little Good; for being come as far as *Aquilcia* where they purpoſed to Winter, moſt of the Kings retired with their People, and killed the Authors of the Inſurrection. And the *Quadi* having loſt their King, ſaid they would not confirm him that was choſen in his room, without the conſent of the Emperors. But *Lucius* went unwillingly in this Expedition, moſt of the Mutineers ſending and begging Pardon for their Defection; and when *Furius Victorinus* and Part of the Army was loſt, he was of opinion that they ſhould return home. On the other ſide, *Marcus* imagining that the *Barbarians* did but Counterfeit, pretending to fly, that they might decline ſo great a War as they ſaw was coming upon them, was for going forward and puſhing on the Affair. Therefore

fore paſſing over the *Alps* they proceeded further, and ſetled all Matters that tended to the Defence of *Italy* and *Illyricum*. *Lucius* however urged, that having ſent Letters before to the Senate, he might return to *Rome*, and in the way as he was ſitting with his Brother in the Chariot, he died of an Apoplexy. *Capitolinus* aſcribes their Return to the deſire *Lucius* had to be at *Rome*, it ſeems to enjoy the Pleaſures of the City; but he urged it more after the loſs of the *Præfectus Prætorio*, and part of the Army. But *Galen* who was ſent for to *Aquileia*, gives another account of their Return, That it was by reaſon of the Plague mentioned by *Capitolinus*, which raged exceedingly both in Countrey and Army. It is written of *Lucius*, That he had always Learned and Eloquent Men about him, and that he loved his Maſters, and was beloved of them. He demeaned himſelf toward *Marcus* his Benefactor with indifferent reſpect till his Expedition into *Aſia*, but living there in a Luxurious manner, after his return he carried himſelf with no great agreeableneſs, and gave himſelf up to all manner of Debaucheries, ſpending his time in continual Feaſting, and other ſorts of voluptuouſneſs, and ordering himſelf according to the Government of his debauched and infamous Freedmen. Some ſuſpected he died by Poiſon; but he lay Speechleſs three days, and being carried to *Altinum* died there. *Marcus* having made him Emperor with equal Power, gave him the Name of *Verus*, transferring upon him his own; whereas before, he was called *Commodus*. But *Valeſius* obſerveth againſt *Joſeph Scaliger*, that of theſe two Brothers who firſt of all governed the *Roman* Empire with equal Right, him whom the *Latine* Writers name *Marcus*, the *Greeks* call *Verus*; and him whom the former call *Verus*, they ordinarily ſignifie by the Name of *Lucius*.

Lucius dies.

Vide Capitolinum in vita Veri.

*In Annat. Amm. p.*344.

64. But of ſuch Sanctity was *Marcus* the Surviver, that he concealed what he could, and if he could not, excuſed the Vices of *Verus*, though they exceedingly diſpleaſed him; and being dead, he conferred on him the title of *Divus*, with the Honours uſually given to ſuch, and both honoured and provided for his Relations. Now *Capitolinus* tells us, That there is no Prince, but is ſtruck at by evil Tongues, inſomuch that it was reported, That *Marcus* took *Verus* away either by Poiſoning one ſide of his Knife, and giving him a piece of Meat which touched that ſide, keeping to himſelf the other, or by the help of *Poſidippus* his Phyſitian, who Let him Blood unſeaſonably. But *Dion Caſſius* relates, that *Verus* laid in wait to take away the life of *Marcus*, and was himſelf taken off to prevent it: and not only *Dion*, but *Philoſtratus* alſo hints as much, as is obſerved by *Salmaſius*, writing that *Herodes* was alſo ſuſpected by *Marcus*, as being of the Conſpiracy, and that *Marcus* made choice of ſome of his *Athenians* to bring Complaints to him of his Tyrannical carriage; and therefore *Herodes* complained that this he had got by having *Lucius* for his Gueſt. However, *Marcus* after the death of *Verus*, being delivered from the trouble of ſo uneaſie a Partner, with more freedom and vigour applied himſelf to the courſe of Virtue and Philoſophy, being of the Stoick Profeſſion, which he ſo much was Maſter of, that he never changed his Countenance either for Joy or Sorrow; with great Moderation and Benignity he governed the Provinces. He warred proſperouſly againſt the *Germans*. In particular he himſelf diſpatched the War againſt the *Marcomanni* in ſuch a manner as had not been known, both in reſpect of Valour and Felicity, and at ſuch a time when the Peſtilence deſtroyed many Thouſands both of the Provincials and the Soldiers. By this means he delivered the *Pannonia's* from the *Marcomanni, Sarmatæ, Wandalls* and *Quadi*, and returned to *Rome*, with his Son *Commodus*, whom he had made *Cæſar*, and triumphed with him. Now in reference to this War with the *Marcomanni*, though *Capitolinus* relates ſeveral things betwixt the Death of *Lucius*, and it; as if *Marcus* had diſpatched it ſome large time intervening, *Salmaſius* blameth him for ſo doing; eſpecially for mentioning that *Commodus* did partake with his Father in his Triumph, before he ſpeaks of the finiſhing of this War. For from *Galen* he obſerves that *Lucius* dying, *Marcus* returned to *Rome* with his Reliques, which being Buried, and he made a *Divus*, he preſently undertook again the Expedition againſt the *Marcomanni* which had been interrupted by his Death. This War was of extraordinary conſequence, both in reſpect of the loſs of the *Romans*, and the great things performed by *Marcus*; which if they of this time were to be believed, in an Inſcription in a Stone erected to his Memory after his victorious return, advanced his glory above all the Performances of the greateſt Emperors. But what theſe Performances were we know not. *Ammianus Marcellinus* toucheth at them; but the place of his Book is ſo corrupted, that though *Caſaubon* and *Salmaſius* both have indea-

The War againſt the *Marcomanni* was of vaſt Conſequence.

vour

voured to amend it; yet *Valeſius* complains of their ill Succeſs, and plainly tells us, That as *Hippocrates* forbids Remedies to be applied to thoſe that are deſperately Sick, ſo he is of opinion, that one ought to abſtain from the deſperate places of Authors.

*Lib.*31.*p.* 445. *Edit. Valeſ.*

Marcus ſets to Sale his rich Furniture.

65. But this we know from *Capitolinus*, That having exhauſted his Treaſury in this War againſt the *Marcomanni*, and not being inclined to lay any extraordinary Impoſitions upon the People, he ſet to Sale in the *Forum* of *Trajan*, abundance of rich Furniture, Clothes, and Veſſels of Gold, Silver and other precious Materials which belonged to the Imperial Houſes. The Sale continued for two Months, and ſo much Gold he raiſed as to diſpatch the remainders of the War according to his deſire, and afterwards he gave leave to the Buyers, to bring in what they had bought, and to receive their Money again if they pleaſed; neither did he trouble any that brought the things again, or refuſed to do it. But as we ſaid, ſo great a ſhock he found coming upon him and the Empire, as put him upon very extraordinary Courſes, eſpecially a great Peſtilence raging at the ſame time. This made him call Slaves to take Arms as had been practiced in the *Punick* War, whom he named *Voluntarii*, after the example of *Volones*. He armed alſo the *Gladiators*, whom as we ſaid, he called *Obſequentes*. Nay, he made Soldiers of the Robbers of *Dalmatia* and *Dardania*. He armed alſo the *Diocmitæ*, or thoſe that purſued Robbers, the *Romans* having ſuch diſpoſed in all quarters where the caſe required. He purchaſed the Aſſiſtance of *Germans* againſt *Germans*, beſides the Legions, which he furniſhed out with all Diligence. For all Nations from the limit of *Illyricum* as far as *Gall*, had conſpired, of whom *Capitolinus* reckons up Fifteen hard Names, beſides the *Marcomanni*, whom *Marcus* overthrew in the Paſſage of the *Danube*, and reſtored the Plunder they had taken from the Provincials. But ſo with his great labour he overcame moſt fierce Nations, the Soldiers imitating him, the *Legati* and *Præfecti Prætorio* leading the Army; and the *Marcomanni* yielded themſelves to him, of whom he tranſlated many into *Italy*. He always was wont with the Senators and Great Men to Conſult, not only concerning Military but Civil Affairs, ſaying, That it was more fit that he ſhould follow the advice of ſo many and ſuch Friends, than that ſo many and ſuch ſhould follow his Will and Pleaſure. Many Noble Perſons were loſt in the War, to all whom he Erected Statues in the *Forum* of *Trajan*. His Friends often perſwaded him to deſiſt from Wars, and return to *Rome*, but he refuſed to comply with them, and ſtaid till he had finiſhed all. So that to thoſe that carped at him as by reaſon of his Philoſophy, and being a Scholar, not pliable enough to the labours of War and Government, he might eaſily anſwer by letters, or word of mouth, when as by his very Actions they were confuted.

He changeth the way of the Provinces.

66. Of the Provinces, ſome he changed from *Proconſular* to *Conſular*, others if *Conſular*, he made *Proconſular* or *Prætorian* according to the Neceſſity of War. This had been, and continued to be, the Cuſtom of all Princes after *Auguſtus*. who taking to himſelf at the Diviſion, the unquiet Provinces, made ſome *Conſular* by his *Conſular Legates* ſent into them, and gave the quiet to the People, ſome of which were called *Proconſular*, becauſe *Conſuls* after the going out of their Offices during the Commonwealth, took the Provinces by lot, and then governed them as *Proconſuls*. Therefore the Emperors having the Power over the Armies, if Provinces happened to be unquiet, they took them from the People, and from being *Proconſular*, made them *Conſular*, and in room of them gave them others, which then from *Conſular* were changed to be *Proconſular*. And though at firſt, as *Salmaſius* obſerves, in the Diviſion of the Provinces, there were but two amongſt thoſe which fell to the ſhare of the People that were *Proconſular*, and ten that were *Prætorian*, into which *Prætors* were ſent, yet afterwards thoſe *Prætores* and *Prætorii* were called *Proconſuls*, and governed them with *Proconſular* Authority; whereupon it happened, that ſo frequent mention is made of *Proconſuls*, who never had been *Conſuls* indeed. Now as the People had for their Governors *Proconſuls* and *Prætors*, ſo the Prince had for his, *Conſulares* and *Prætors*, which were all properly called his *Legati*, but the Provinces were ſtill ſtyled *Conſular* and *Prætorian*, and ſo *Capitolinus* is to be underſtood in this place. But *Marcus* had need to make ſome *Conſular* and *Prætorian*, and thereby to take care of them by what the Hiſtorian further tells us, that the *Moors* waſted almoſt all *Spain*, though by his *Legati* he reſtrained them; and that in *Ægypt* the Soldiers he calls *Milites Bucolici* did great miſchief, till they were vanquiſhed by *Avidius Caſſius*. There was alſo diſturbance amongſt the *Sequani*

Many Nations revolted.

in *Gall*, which by ſeaſonable ſeverity and his Authority he repreſſed. To his Son *Commodus*, having ſent for him to the Limit of *Germany*, he preſented the *Toga Virilis*, thereupon gave a *Congiary* to the People, and deſigned him *Conſul* before the time. If any one was proſcribed by the *Præfect* of the City, he did not willingly receive him. He was moſt ſparing in giving away publick Money, (to his praiſe rather than reprehenſion) but yet he was bountiful to good Men, and to decaying Towns, and even remitted Tributes and Cuſtoms, though the Commonwealth ſtood in need of them.

Marcus reſtrains the Extravagance of pretended Philoſophers.

His Mildneſs.

Chriſtian Soldiers by their Prayers obtain Rain.

Vide Euſeb. in Chron. & Hiſt. lib. 5. *c.* 5. *Tertul. Apol. c.* 5.

67. When he was abſent from the City, he took eſpecial care that the publick Shows and Divertiſements ſhould not be preſented but by the richeſt ſort of Men. When he took away the *Gladiators* to the Wars, there was a Talk went amongſt the People, as if he would take away their Recreations, and compell them to apply themſelves to Philoſophy; for on the Market-Days, he had commanded that *Pantomimus* ſhould not act till it was late, leſt Trade ſhould be hindered. And a report there was, That as in all times there are many who for Gain and Intereſt apply themſelves to ſuch courſes as they find Princes to be inclined to, ſo now there were many that under pretence of being Philoſophers, were burthenſom to the State, and were troubleſom to private Men; poſſibly by Intruding themſelves into their Houſes, and requiring Meat and Drink, and other Conveniences, which if they could not obtain, they loaded them with Reproaches, carrying themſelves big becauſe of the *Pallium* they wore, and it might be without the *Tunica*, as they of the Cynical Seat were wont to go. But *Capitolinus* ſaith, That *Marcus* removed this Inconvenience, which poſſibly, as to the Commonwealth, might have extended it ſelf to freedom from being *Tutors* and *Guardians*, and other Burthens in the State, to which true Philoſophers might plead ſome Title. It was his cuſtom to puniſh all ſorts of Crimes, more mildly than the Laws ordained, though ſometimes againſt Perſons notoriouſly guilty, and of grievous Crimes he was inexorable. The Capital Cauſes of Men of Reputation he heard himſelf, and that with all fairneſs imaginable; inſomuch that he reprehended a *Prætor* who quickly diſpatched Trials, and bad him hear them over again, ſaying, That the Dignity of the Perſons was concerned that they ſhould be heard by him who judged for the People: The *Prætors* were wont to delegate their Juriſdiction to *Decemviri* or others, to take Cognizance of the Cauſes of Men of Note, which *Marcus* here reforms; truly affirming, That it concerned their Dignity that they ſhould be judged by them who judged for the People, and not by ſuch Delegates. But ſhewed himſelf mild and civil towards ſuch Enemies as were taken; and of the ſubdued Nations, he planted an infinite number in the *Roman* Soil. To this *Capitolinus* ſubjoyns, that he extorted Thunder from Heaven by his Prayers againſt the Device of his Enemies, obtaining Rain for his Men when they were oppreſſed with thirſt. But we are told by *Chriſtian* Writers, that this was procured by the Soldiers of the Legion called *Melitina*, being *Chriſtians*, who fell upon their knees in preſence of their fellow-Soldiers, and in the Name of Chriſt, ſo far prevailed with Almighty God, that preſently abundance of Rain fell, and the Enemy was defeated by Thunder and Lightning. This Legion was thence called *Fulminatrix*, or Thundering, and obtained by this an honourable Edict in behalf of the Chriſtian Religion, although the Letters which go under Name of this Emperor in reference to this thing, be either counterfeit or interpolated. But what *Capitolinus* aſcribes to the Prayers of the Emperor, that do *Dio* and *Claudian* to the *Magi*.

68. *Marcus* intended to have made *Marcomannia* and *Sarmatia* both Provinces; but that he was hindered by the Rebellion of *Avidius Caſſius*, who took upon him the Imperial title in the Eaſt; ſome ſaid at the ſuggeſtion of *Fauſtina* the Empreſs, who deſpaired of her Husband's life, as others believed, becauſe he thought he would periſh, or had already, in the *Marcomannian* War. But *Marcus* was not much moved with the News of his Revolt, neither did he rage againſt his Relations; but he was declared an Enemy by the Senate, and his Eſtate was ſeiſed by the Publick *Ærarium*. Leaving then the purſuit of the War with the *Marcomanni*, he went againſt *Caſſius*; and at *Rome* there were Tumults, out of fear that the Rebels would come thither in his Abſence. But *Caſſius* was preſently Slain, and his Head brought to the Emperor, who commanded it to be Buried, not rejoycing at his Death. And *Mæcianus* the Son of *Caſſius*, to whoſe care *Alexandria* had been committed, was killed by the Army.

But *Marcus* forbad the Senate to proceed againſt any in Extremity, that were conſcious to the Defection; and he deſired, That in his Reign no Senator might be put to Death, leſt thereby it ſhould be polluted: Thoſe that were Condemned to Iſlands, or Deportation he commanded alſo to be recalled, only a very few Centurions being put to Death. He pardoned the Cities that had ſided with *Caſſius*; nay, he forgave the *Antiochians*, who prated much againſt him in *Caſſius* his behalf, from whom he had taken the *Spectacula*, publick Meetings, and all ſorts of publick Orations, and againſt whom he had ſent a moſt heavy Edict. Though he had refuſed to ſee *Antioch* when he went into *Syria*, as he did *Cyrrus*, the place where *Caſſius* was born; yet having been at *Alexandria*, he went thither. He tranſacted many things with Kings, and eſtabliſhed Peace; all the Kings and the Ambaſſadors of the *Perſian* meeting him. He was moſt dear to all the Eaſtern Provinces, with many of which he left footſteps of his Philoſophy; amongſt the *Ægyptians* in particular, he carried himſelf like a Citizen and a Philoſopher in all their Temples and publick Places; and whereas they of *Alexandria* had wiſhed well in ſeveral reſpects to *Caſſius*, yet he pardoned them all, and to ſhew that he was reconciled, left one of his Daughters with them. As for his carrying himſelf like a Philoſopher, others write, that when he was there, he propoſed his Queſtions to the Philoſophers, and anſwered theirs, as it was the cuſtom for Learned Men to meet in publick Places to confer concerning learned Points, and diſcuſs Queſtions. But well might he pardon them for ſiding with *Caſſius*, when he bore a mind full of Clemency even to him and his Relations. He ſuffered him to be killed, that is, did not revenge his Death, but commanded it not. *Heliodorus* his Son was Baniſhed into an Iſland, and others went away into ſore Baniſhment with part of their Eſtates. Other Sons of *Caſſius* received more than one half of their Father's Patrimony, and were aſſiſted with Gold and Silver; moreover, were the Women with Ornaments. Nay, he grieved that *Caſſius* was Slain, ſaying, That he would have had his Reign paſſed over without the blood of a Senator.

The Clemency of *Marcus*.

He loſeth his Wife *Fauſtina*.

69. In his Winter-Quarters, at the foot of the Mountain *Taurus*, and a Village called *Halala*, he left *Fauſtina* his Wife, who there died ſuddenly; he had had her with him in Summer too, and had given her the Title of *Mater Caſtrorum*. From *Dio* it appears, alſo from *Coines*, that after his Victory over the *Quadi*, he was himſelf ſaluted the ſeventh time *Imperator*, and ſhe by this Title of *Mater Caſtrorum*; for *Livia* having that given her of *Parens Patriæ*, afterward this flattery was drawn into Example. And it ſeems *Marcus* approved it, for *Capitolinus* tells us further, That having praiſed her, he deſired of the Senate that they would decree her Honours and a Temple, and took it kindly that they made her a *Diva*; and that he inſtituted a New Company of Girls, called *Fauſtinianæ*, in honour of her. He made the Village where ſhe died, a Colony (called thence *Fauſtinopolis*) and built her a Temple; and this he did, though ſhe had the fame of an unchaſt Woman, of which he was either ignorant, or diſſembled it. Indeed ſhe was accounted unchaſte, and *Commodus* was thought begotten by ſome other Man than *Marcus*, to whom *Julian* his Ape in his Tale of the *Caſar*'s objects both his reckoning his Wife amongſt the *Heroinæ*, and preferring ſo bad a Son; but he makes him excuſe the firſt by Cuſtom, and the ſecond both by Cuſtom, and the Natural Affection which Fathers (ſuch it ſeems he thought him, however he did of himſelf) bear to their Sons. He makes him alleadge, That he was not the firſt that honoured his Wife. To have began ſuch a thing would have been unreaſonable, but to deprive ones neareſt Relations of what is uſual, would come neareſt to Injuſtice. But to return to our Story; having ſettled the Affairs of the *Eaſt*, he came to *Athens*, and there was initiated in the Temple of *Ceres*, to prove himſelf Innocent, and above entered the *Sacrarium*. For it was the Cuſtom for the Pagan Prieſts when they celebrated their Myſteries, to command all that found not themſelves Innocent, even as far as Purpoſes and Intentions, to get them gone. And they were wont it ſeems, as *Caſaubon* obſerves from *Lucian*, to drive away three ſorts of Perſons, *Atheiſts*, *Chriſtians*, and *Epicureans*.

In Pſeudomanti.

70. Returning into *Italy*, he came by Sea to *Brunduſium* in a grievous Tempeſt. There he took the Gown, and commanded his Soldiers to do the ſame; neither ever under him were they ſeen to be without them (or *Legati*) in *Italy*. Having Triumphed at *Rome*, he made his Son *Commodus* his Colleague in the *Tribunitial* Power, gave a Congiary to the People, and preſented them with

He dies.

Extraordinary Shows. Many things then in the State he corrected. He moderated the Expence of the Shows of the Gladiators. That Saying of *Plato* was always in his mouth, That *States would flouriſh if either Philoſophers Reigned, or Princes would be Philoſophers.* He Married his Son to the Daughter of *Brutius Præſens*, Solemnized the Wedding no otherwiſe than as private Perſons were wont to do, but gave a Congiary to the People. Having formerly ſpent three years in the Wars againſt the *Marcomanni*, he undertook now another Expedition againſt theſe Northern Nations, and in it died at *Sirmium.* At the beginning of his Sickneſs, deſpairing it ſeems of Recovery, he adviſed his Son to ſtay and diſpatch the remainders of the War, which he was unwilling to do, pretending fear of the raging Peſtilence. He abſtained from Meat and Drink, deſiring to die, and increaſed his Diſeaſe. On the ſixth day he called his Friends to him, and laughing at the things of this life, and contemning Death, he asked them why they wept for him, and did not rather think of the Peſtilence and Common Death? and when they would be gone, he ſigh'd and ſaid, *If you leave me, I bid you farewel, as going before you.* The Army hearing he was Sick, grieved exceſſively, for they dearly loved him. On the ſeventh day he grew worſe, and only admitted his Son; whom again he preſently diſmiſſed leſt he ſhould catch the Diſeaſe. And yet we are told that in his Sickneſs he grieved that he ſhould leave ſuch a Son behind him, as ſhould be pernicious to the Empire, and that he wiſhed him dead. It ſeems his Natural Affection prevailed, as *Julian* makes him ſpeak for himſelf. His Son being gone, he covered his head as going to ſleep, but that Night he died; of the Plague it ſhould appear, by what *Capitolinus* writes, of ſending away his Son, leſt he ſhould be infected; yet *Dion* ſaith, that he died not of that Epidemical Sickneſs. Being asked by his Friends, to whom he would commend his Son, He anſwered, to them, if he ſhould deſerve it, and to the Immortal Gods.

Things objected againſt him.

Covetouſneſs.

Anſwered.

71. As for his Faults, it was objected againſt him, That he promoted thoſe that abuſed his Bed; namely, *Tertullus*, *Utilius*, *Orphitus*, and *Moderatus*, to various Honours; and as for *Tertullus*, he found him dining with his Wiſe, which the ſevere gravity of the Court would not permit, and for this Indulgence he was jeered upon the Stage by a Mimick, and various talks being raiſed, the People blamed him for his Eaſineſs. But he dreaded nothing more than to be accounted Covetous, which cauſed him by many Epiſtles to purge himſelf of this Vice. And yet he needed not have done it, if raſh and cenſorious Perſons, who think all men as bad as themſelves, or would have them ſo, had conſidered that he did not enrich himſelf by the Eſtates of proſcribed Perſons, as bad Princes were wont to do; yet they took occaſion to rail againſt him, poſſibly from a Law he firſt made, that the *Lex Julia Majeſtatis* ſhould extend alſo to dead Perſons. And he was very ſparing in Largeſſes, and giving away the publick Money, which opened the mouths of thoſe that were Indigent. But let what *Dio* writes be conſidered in his behalf, to ſtop the mouths of debauched Perſons, who think none are virtuous, as impure Men and Women believe none are Chaſt. He tells us (as *Xiphilin* hath Epitomized him) that when he was at *Athens*, he there hired with Annual ſtipends, Profeſſors of all ſorts to read for the benefit of all Nations. Being returned to *Rome* when he ſpake to the People, he uſed this Expreſſion, That he had been abſent many years, at which the People cried out *Eight*, and lift up their Hands to atteſt it, their meaning being that they were to receive ſo many *Aurei* to Feaſt with. At this he ſmiled, and ſaid alſo *Eight*, and afterwards gave ſo many to every man, ſo great a Sum as they never had before received. This done, he forgave to all what was due to the *Fiſcus* or Publick *Ærarium* within Forty and ſix years, the Sixteen of *Hadrian* excepted, and all Bills and Obligations relating to them, he commanded to be Burnt in the *Forum.* To many Cities he gave Money, and in particular to *Smyrna*, which had been diſtreſſed with a great Earthquake, and committed it to the Care of a Perſon of *Senatorian* Quality, who had been *Prætor*, to ſee it repaired. Wherefore, ſaith he, I wonder at thoſe who reprehend *Marcus*, and deny that he was of a generous Mind. For though he was very frugal, yet he was never wanting to lay out Money when it was requiſite, and in Exacting Money, he was never troubleſom to any, and was at vaſt Expence in other things, though not in what related to his own Family.

Diſſimulation.

72. But there were thoſe alſo that gave out that he diſſembled, and was not ſo plain and clear ſpirited as were *Pius* or *Verus*. But *Dion Caſſius* on the con-

Alſo anſwered.

Arrogancy alſo anſwered.

Lib. 1. *c.* 13.

Κοινονοημοσύνη.

Χρηστὸν τ' ὄντα ϗ φιλάνθρωπον.

trary affirms, That he did nothing by deſign, but from the Preſcript of Virtue, as appeared, in that though he lived Fifty and eight years, ten Months, and two and twenty Days; and was long a Prince with *Antoninus* his Father, and reigned himſelf Nineteen Years and eleven Days; yet in all his life he was of an equal and conſtant tenor; neither ever in any thing was he changed. He was truly a good Man therefore, there being nothing feigned or counterfeit in him. To what *Dio* writes, we can more eaſily aſſent, becauſe in the Book he wrote concerning himſelf, containing his Philoſophical Exerciſes and Meditations, he preſſes ſtill this virtue of Truth, Candor, and Sincerity. But there was another thing ſtill laid to his Charge, and that was, That he confirmed the Arrogancy of the Court, by removing his Friends from his common Society, and from his Feaſts. Indeed he writes in that Book now mentioned, that amongſt other things, he obſerved in, and learnt from his Father, *a Moderate condeſcending to other mens occaſions, as an ordinary man* (ſo *Caſaubon* the Son tranſlates that word into *Engliſh*, which *Caſaubon* the Father, ſaith is proper to *Marcus*) neither abſolutely requiring of his Friends that they ſhould wait upon him at ordinary Meals, nor that they ſhould of neceſſity accompany him in his Journies. And this is thought by worthy Men to have been only his fault: He did not require Attendance at his private Repaſts, both giving eaſe thereby to himſelf, and thoſe who were to Eat with him. For *Salmaſius* obſerves, that beſides at Publick Feaſts, there were thoſe who were compelled to be preſent at this Prince his private Meats, becauſe he could not well be without Company. And this Attendance *Marcus* remitted, as *Galen* writes of him, that he remitted him his Attendance, and following of him to the *German* War, which he attributes to his kindneſs and love to Mankind, agreeable to the other word which the Emperor uſes in expreſſing his Fathers Humanity. As he loved to be true himſelf, ſo, *Capitolinus* tells us, That he would not eaſily believe ſuch as moved him in buſineſſes, but always was long in ſearching out the truth. Accordingly he himſelf tells us, That this alſo he obſerved in his Father, an Accurate Examination of things in Conſultations, and patient hearing of others: that he would not haſtily give over the ſearch of the matter, as one eaſie to be ſatisfied with ſudden Notions, and Apprehenſions. He ſubjoyns his care to preſerve his Friends; how neither at any time he would carry himſelf towards them with diſdainful Neglect, and grow weary of them; nor yet at any time be much fond of them.

He was a good Husband.

Lib. 1. *c.* 14.

73. So good an Husband *Marcus* was, what wife ſoever *Fauſtina* proved, that ſhe being dead, *Fabia* (the Siſter of *Verus*) indeavoured to ſucceed her in his Bed; but *Capitolinus* tells us at parting, that he took for his Concubine the Daughter of his Wives *Procurator*, leſt he ſhould bring a Mother-in-law upon ſo many Children. Thus was it uſual we ſee for the Emperors to have Concubines, not only mention being made of this of *Marcus*, but alſo of the Concubine of *Antoninus Pius*. However his Wife *Fauſtina* deſerved it, yet when he wrote that Golden Book of his Meditations ſtill extant, it appears that he had a good opinion of her, for amongſt other things which he aſcribes to the Gods, as having received them from them, this is one, That he had ſuch a Wife, ſo Obedient, ſo Loving, ſo ingenuous. Theſe other things were, That he had good Grandfathers and Parents, a good Siſter, good Maſters, good Domeſticks, loving Kinſmen almoſt all he had, and that he never through haſt and raſhneſs tranſgreſſed againſt any of them. That he was not long brought up by the Concubine of his Father, and that he preſerved the flower of his Youth. That he took not upon him to be a man before his time, but rather put it off longer than he needed. That he lived under the Government of his Lord and Father, who would take away from him all Pride and Vain-glory, and reduce him to that conceit and opinion, that it was not impoſſible for a Prince to live in the Court without a Troop of Guards and Followers, extraordinary Apparel; ſuch and ſuch Torches and Statues, and other like particulars of State and Magnificence; but that one might reduce and contract himſelf almoſt to the ſtate of a private Man, and yet not become the more baſe and remiſs in publick Matters and Affairs, wherein Power and Authority are requiſite. But he had ſuch a Brother, who, by his own Example, might ſtir him up to think of himſelf, and by his reſpect and love, delight and pleaſe him. That he had ingenuous Children, not born diſtorted, nor with any other Natural nor Bodily Infirmity. That he was no great Proficient in the Study of Rhetorick and Poetry, nor of other Faculties, which perchance he might have dwelt upon, if he had found himſelf to proceed in them with Succeſs.

74. Moreover, He accounts it a gift of the Gods, that he ſhould have the Gratitude to prefer by times thoſe by whom he was brought up, to ſuch Places and Dignities as they ſeemed to him moſt to deſire; and that he did not put them off with Hope and Expectation. That he ever knew *Apollonius Ruſticus*, and *Maximus*. That he had occaſion often and effectually to conſider and meditate with himſelf concerning that life which is according to Nature; what the Nature and manner of it is. That his Body in ſuch a life had been able to hold out ſo long. That he never had to do with *Benedicta* and *Theodotus*, and afterwards when he fell into ſome fits of Love, was ſoon cured. That having been often diſpleaſed with *Ruſticus*, he never did any thing to him for which afterwards he had reaſon to repent. That it being ſo, that his Mother was to die young, yet ſhe lived with him all her later years. That as often as he had occaſion to relieve any that were poor or faln into ſome preſent neceſſity, he never was anſwered by his Officers, that there was not ready Money enough to do it, and that he himſelf never had occaſion to require the like ſuccour from any others. That he had choice of fit and able Men, to whom he might commit the bringing up of his Children. That by Dreams he had received help, as for other things ſo in particular, how he might ſtay his Caſting of Blood, and Cure his Dizzineſs. That when he firſt applied himſelf to Philoſophy, he did not fall into the hands of ſome Sophiſts, nor ſpent his time either in reading the manifold Volumes of ordinary Philoſophers, nor practiſing himſelf in the Solution of Arguments and Fallacies, nor dwelt upon the Studies of the Meteors, and other Natural Curioſities. All theſe things, he ſaith, without the Aſſiſtance of the Gods and Fortune, could not have been. As for the three Perſons he mentions here, he tells us alſo, for what he was beholding to them, all of them having Contributed to the forming of that excellent Virtuous life, whereby he was ſo Exemplary; but amongſt all the Perſons he mentions to have aſſiſted him, he ſeems chiefly obliged to *Ruſticus*, by whoſe indeavours amongſt other things; *He firſt*, he ſaith, *entred into the apprehenſion that his life wanted ſome redreſs of Cure.* This was a good ſtep to the Cure, that he was convinced of his Want of it, and neceſſary to amendment it was, That he ſhould know himſelf to be out of order.

He was chiefly obliged to *Ruſticus*.

75. As a Direction to arrive at this amendment and recovery, he propounded to himſelf not to do any even of the leaſt things without Relation unto the end; and the end of reaſonable Creatures he affirms to be this, to follow and obey him, who is the Reaſon, as it were, and the Law of this great City the World: Or as he ſaith in another place, the Providence of Almighty God is the Law, who over-rules all things in the World, and of his infinite Wiſdom diſperſeth all particular Events, to the general Good, and preſervation of the Univerſe. That he might have no Letts or Rubbs in his way to this Recovery, he had a true Senſe and Eſtimation of Sublunary things, and of Humane Affairs, though not to deride them, as *Capitolinus* writes. He was convinced of the Vanity of earthly Enjoyments, and thence came to know that the Happineſs of a Man muſt be in ſomething higher than in gratifying the ſenſual appetite. For he writes, That *The time of Man's life is a point; the ſubſtance of it ever flowing, the ſenſe obſcure, and the whole Compoſition of the Body tending to Corruption. His Soul is reſtleſs, Fortune uncertain, and Fame doubtful; to be brief, as a Current,* (or Stream) *ſo are all things belonging to the Body; as a dream or ſmoak, ſo are all that* (here) *belong to the Soul. Our life is a Warfare, and a meer Pilgrimage. Fame after life is no better than Oblivion. What is it then that will adhere and follow? One only thing, Philoſophy.* And pity it was that he was not acquainted with the true and only Philoſophy indeed, or the Chriſtian, which would have afforded him both better directions and Helps for to attain doing of Good, and ſhunning of Evil, and that without Vain-glory, the uſual attendant or Shadow of Pagan virtue; as to which, however *Marcus*, by the goodneſs of his Temper or his Indeavours, might be affected, one who ſucceeded him both in the Empire, and in pretence to Philoſophy, was guilty of it to a Prodigy.

Lib. 2. *c.* 14.

Lib. 10. *c.* 34.

Lib. 2. *c.* 13.

76. But, to *Lucius*, rather than unto him, is to be imputed the fourth Perſecution of Chriſtian Religion, which in their time, raged throughout the Provinces. Herein ſuffered *Polycarp*, that famous Biſhop of *Smyrna*, as is teſtified in the Epiſtle written by his Church to the Brethren in *Pontus*. He was ordained Biſhop by St. *John*, and other Apoſtles with whom he converſed, and his Scholar he was as *Tertullian*, *Irenæus*, and ſeveral of the Ancients do teſtifie, and had ſerved Chriſt eighty ſix years; for he was elder by much than thus, as the moſt

The fourth Perſecution.

Reverend *Vſher* * hath Evinced. He cauſed Meat to be ſet before thoſe that apprehended him, and with wonderful Alacrity and Reſolution underwent his Martyrdom by Fire, on the Seventh of the Calends of *April*, the Nineth year of this *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, and the CLXIX. of the ordinary *Æra* of *Chriſt*, the ſame wherein *Lucius* died, as ſome Inſcriptions of *Gruterus* do teſtifie. Now ſuffered alſo *Juſtin Martyr*, after he had publiſhed his ſecond Apology for Chriſtians, through the Malice of *Creſcens* the Cynick (whom railing againſt Chriſtianity, he had taxed for his filthy kind of life) as he even foretelleth in his Apology. The Churches of *Lugdunum* and *Vienna* in *Gall*, were eſpecially exerciſed in this Fiery Trial, as is to be ſeen in the Hiſtory of *Euſebius*. *Marcus* doth inſiſt upon nothing more in that Book of his new mentioned, than being ſociable and uſeful in this World, which he calls a great City, and in contriving how to contribute to the Good of the Whole, which he makes the duty and end of every particular Member. Now the Whole conſiſts of Parts, an Univerſal of Individuals; and as to ſuppoſe an Univerſal without Individuals is a conceit, and an act of the Imagination, ſo to contrive the Good of the Whole, without that of its ſeveral Parts is meer fancy; a leſs conſiderable part indeed is often in Policy cut off to preſerve the Whole; but the Body of Chriſtians was not in thoſe days inconſiderable, which filled the Court, the City, and all the Provinces, ſo that a Reſolution would have been made to root it out (if it had been poſſible) and the greateſt Perſecutors finding ſtill more and more to preſent themſelves to Tortures, were conſtrained to give over, without hope of Succeſs.

* *Enerva conſule de Polycarpo in Diſſert, de ſcriptii illius & Ignatis Euſeb. lib. 4. c. 15, 16, 17. & l. 1. c. 1.*

77. But however, as we ſaid, *Marcus* inſiſts in his Book upon nothing more than that the World is one Society, Commonwealth, and City, and that it's the Duty of every man to regard the Good of the Whole, and to be ſociable. Now *Aurelius Victor* writes, That in his time the Freedom of *Rome* was promiſcuouſly given to all, or that all the Subjects of the Empire were made free *Roman* Citizens. Others write, That this was done by an Ordinance of *Pius*, and ſome aſcribe it to *Hadrian*; but though I put no ſtreſs upon it as an Argument, yet it ſomething moves me to be of Opinion, That He might be the Author of this Indulgence, in that theſe ſociable Thoughts ſo much poſſeſſed him; for it's known ſufficiently that he ſquared his Life, and even his Actions relating to Government, by Rules and Principles of Philoſophy; affirming, That then States or Cities (*Civitates* the Hiſtorian hath it, as he termed the World, and eſteemed the Empire) would flouriſh, if Philoſophers reigned, or Emperors turned Philoſophers. Now for better underſtanding what this freedom of this City anciently was, we are to know, That it was wont to be given either with privilege of Suffrage or without. The firſt that had it without Suffrage, were the *Cærites*. *We underſtand*, ſaith *Gellius*, *that the* Cærites *were firſt made* Municipes *without the Right of ſuffrage: and that it was granted to them, that they ſhould receive the honour of the* Roman City, *but be freed from buſineſs, and burthens, for that they received, and kept the Sacra (or Idols) in the* Gallick *war*. *Paterculus* alſo telleth us, that in the Conſulſhip of *Sp. Poſthumius* and *Veturius Calvinus*, *Campanis data eſt civitas partique Samnitium ſine ſuffragio*, and in the ſame place, *M. Curio* & *Rufino Cornelio Coſs. Sabinis ſine ſuffragio data civitas*. What *Municipium* was, and who *Municipes*, is worthy of conſideration. In the time of *Gellius* it appears from him that thoſe words were much in Uſe, but nothing underſtood. For ſuch as were of Colonies would call both themſelves and their Countreymen *Municipes*, which, ſaith he, *is far diſtant from reaſon and truth. Even ſo what* Municipia *are, and how much they differ from a Colony, we are ignorant, and we think that Colonies are in a better condition than they.*

Freedom of the City given to all.

Data cunctis promiſcuè Civitas Romana.

Freedom of the City various.

Lib. 16. cap. 13.

78. Of this opinion ſo full of error *Hadrian* the Emperor learnedly diſcourſed in his Oration, which he made in the Senate concerning the *Italicenſes*, or Inhabitants of *Italica* in *Spain*, (as they were called) from whom he himſelf deſcended. He wondred that the *Italicenſes* and other antient *Municipia* (amongſt whom he named them of *Vtica*) when they might live according to their own Cuſtoms and Laws, were tickled with a deſire to be changed into the condition of Colonies. He ſaid that the *Præneſtines* earneſtly deſired of *Tiberius* to be altered from the ſtate of a Colony to that of a *Municipium*, and that the Emperor granted it, in conſideration that under the Walls of their Town he had recovered from a deadly Diſeaſe. *Municipes* therefore (ſo *Gellius* concludeth) are *Roman* Citizens of the *Municipia*, uſing their own freedom and Laws, only partakers of honourable imployment (*Muneris honorarii*) with the *Roman* people, from undertaking which

imployment (*à quo munere capeſſendo*) they ſeem to be named, being bound by no other neceſſities, nor by any Law of the *Roman* People, for as much as their Land never belonged to it. Then proceedeth he to diſtinguiſh in the matter of the *Cærites*, betwixt ſuch *Municipes* as had Right of ſuffrage, and not, for if there had been no ſuch diſtinction he would never have ſaid, *The firſt* Municipes *we underſtand to have been made without Right of ſuffrage were* Cærites. For a more clear diſcovery of the relations of other places unto *Rome*, we ſhall obſerve this four-fold diſtinction of privileges. There was 1 *Jus Civitatis*, 2 *Jus Municipii*, 3 *Jus Coloniæ*, 4 *Jus Latii. Jus Civitatis* was freedom of the City, and we find in *Paterculus* that it was *cum ſuffragio & ſine ſuffragio. Jus Municipii* we find in *Gellius* to have alſo been freedom of the City; for *Municipes* were alſo called *Cives Romani*, and were named *Municipes*, *a muneribus capiendis*, or *capeſſendis*; there was alſo, as appeareth from *Gellius*, *Jus Municipii cum, & ſine ſuffragio*, *Jus Civitatis* therefore & *Jus Municipii* ſeem to have differed little; the former was larger, reſpecting ſingle perſons ſometimes abſolutely conſidered without relation to any place that was related to *Rome* as a *Municipium.* For ſingle perſons (Ambaſſadors or others) have had the freedom of the City beſtowed on them primarily without reſpect to any place at all, who perhaps could not be called *Municipes*, becauſe ſuch ſeem to have been proper, and only Freemen of *Municipia*, and not otherwiſe than mediately to have been free of *Rome*. The power or Right of ſuffrage will not ſuffer us to imagine that, becauſe *Gellius* calleth the imployment of the *Municipes*, *munus honorarium*, therefore it was but titular. For by the Right of ſuffrage they had power to aſſemble in the *Comitia*, and Vote in their *Tribes*, *Centuries*, and *Curiæ*, as the occaſion required: and hence doubtleſs were capable of honourable Offices. And [illegible] word it ſelf, though ſometimes it may be expounded *Titular*, as the *Conſuls* [illegible] *Conſtantine*'s time (or rather *Conſulares*, as they are called in * *Caſſiodorus* [illegible] their Office *Conſularitas*) are termed *Conſules Honorarii*, being but *Titular Conſuls*; yet it alſo reſpecteth *authority* and *power* as well as meer *Title*, in that the Law of the *Prætor* (whereof we have formerly ſpoken) is called *Jus Honorarium.*

The ſeveral ſorts of Privileges.

Jus Civitatis & Jus Municipii.

* *Lib. 6. epiſt.* 20.

79. As for the *Jus Coloniæ*, it is ſo termed by *Tacitus* alſo in thoſe words: *At in Italia vetus oppidum Puteoli Jus Coloniæ & Cognomentum à Nerone adipiſcuntur. Gellius* diſtinguiſheth it from the *Jus Municipii*, after this manner. *But of Colonies there is another relation or alliance* (neceſſitudo.) *For they do come extrinſically into the City, neither do they ſtand on their own roots; but are as it were begotten by the State, and have Laws and Inſtitutions, not of their own, but thoſe of the* Roman *people. Yet this condition, although it be more obnoxious and leſs free, is accounted better and more excellent, for the amplitude and Majeſty of the* Roman *people; whereof theſe Colonies ſeem to be certain Images and reſemblances: and alſo becauſe the Rights of the* Municipia *are obſcure and obliturated, which by reaſon of ignorance the owners cannot uſe.* From this it appears, That *Colonies* were free of the City, in which reſpect *Paterculus*, giving us account of the ſeveral *Colonies* that were planted till the time of *Marius*, mixeth with them ſuch places as to which freedom was given, making it as it were the ſame thing. If it had been otherwiſe, there would not have been any compariſon as to privilege betwixt *Municipia* and *Colonies*, and it would have ſaved *Gellius* the labour of proving, againſt the common belief, that the *Jus Municipii* was greater. Now as for the *Jus Latii*, *Suetonius* diſtinguiſheth it from *Jus Civitatis*, for ſpeaking what *Auguſtus* did to ſeveral Cities, he hath this expreſſion amongſt the reſt: *Latinitate vel civitate donavit. Spartianus* in the life of *Hadrian* ſaith, *Latium multis civitatibus dedit.* And *Tacitus* (coming up to our Term) ſaith of *Nero*: *Eodem anno* Cæſar *nationes Alpium maritimarum in Jus Latii tranſtulit.* The *Latines* were ever counted of the kindred of *Rome*, the *Romans* having deſcended from them; and upon this account there was a ſtricter League and Alliance with them, than any other people, which injoyed not the freedom of the City.

Jus Coloniæ.

Lib. 1. c. 14, 15.

Cap. 47.

Annal. l. 15. c. 32.

Jus Latii.

80. The *Latines* envying the riſing fortune of *Rome* their Colony, laboured to ſuppreſs it, but ſtill were worſted, and ever forced to ſubmit. *Servius Tullius* the ſixth King of *Rome* breathing after glory in future times, in imitation of the Council of the *Amphyctiones* in *Greece*, and other publick conventions (as we have formerly ſaid) perſwaded both Nations to build at *Rome* a *Temple* or *Aſylum* out of the common expence, *where the Cities meeting yearly, ſhould ſacrifice, hold a fair at certain times, and if any contention hapned amongſt them, it*

Dionyſ. Halicarn. lib. 4.

might be compoſed in a religious manner by their fellow Cities. Gathering Money he built the Temple of *Diana* in the *Aventine* Mount (the moſt eminent in the City) and wrote down the conditions of the League, with the manner of obſerving the Feaſt and Mart. And that they might not be aboliſhed by the injury of Time, he ingraved the Decrees of the Council in a Pillar of Braſs, and the Cities which were partakers of this Society, which Pillar continueth till our Age, ſaith *Dionyſius*, dedicated in the Temple of *Diana*, inſcribed with ſuch Characters as *Greece* anciently uſed, which is no light Argument that *Rome* was not built by *Barbarians*. *Tarquinius* the laſt King, and Succeſſor of *Servius*, renewed this League, and taking in the *Hernici* and *Volſci*, appointed another place in the midſt of all thoſe Nations, *viz.* a Mount near to the *Albanians*, called alſo *Mons Albanus*, where yearly *Feriæ* (or a Feſtival) were to be celebrated; and for that time, in reſpect of the Religion of the place, and the Law made for that purpoſe, they were all to abſtain from all manner of violence, and, in common, ſacrifice to *Jupiter Latialis*, and Feaſt together; it being appointed how much each people ſhould contribute and receive. Of theſe *Feriæ*, and this Sacrifice were partakers forty ſeven people, and *in our age*, ſaith the Hiſtorian, *the* Romans *obſerve theſe Feriæ* (called *Feriæ Latinæ*) *and ſome contribute Lambs, ſome Cheeſe, ſome a certain quantity of Milk, and others* Cakes or *Wafers made up with Milk. The Sacrifice is one Bull for all, of whoſe inwards a certain portion is given to every people. They ſacrifice for all in general, and the* Romans *preſide at the Sacrifice.* Thoſe *Feriæ* at firſt conſiſted but of one day, which *Tarquinius* appointed. After his Baniſhment the people added another. And about ſix years after, when Peace was compoſed betwixt *Patritians* and *Plebeians*, after the Creation of t[illegible]*ribuni Plebis*, and *Ædiles*, a third was added; at what time the League was [illegible]enewed with the *Latines*, becauſe that after the Peace made with them at [illegible]nd of the War with *Tarquinius* (whoſe part they took) they had continued peaceable and faithful to the *Romans* during their confuſions and ſeditions.

The ſtrict League and Alliance betwixt the *Romans* and *Latines*.

81. * *Dionyſius* mentioning the Renewing of this League, giveth us the ſubſtance of it, by which deſcription our deſign is accompliſhed as to the *Jus Latii*. Theſe things were contained in the League; *Let there be mutual Peace betwixt the* Romans *and* Latines, *as long as the Heavens and Earth keep the ſame Station: and let neither make War upon the other, nor procure others to do it, nor give free paſſage to ſuch as would, but to the utmoſt help each other infeſted by War, and equally divide the Prey and Spoils. Concerning private Contracts, let the controverſie be judiciarily decided in the Forum of that People where the Contract was made. Let nothing be added to the conditions of the League, nor taken away, without the conſent of the* Romans, *and all the* Latine *People.* To this purpoſe a League was eſtabliſhed betwixt the parties, and ſworn to by all ſacred things. This near confederacy is to be taken as explanatory of the *Jus Latii*, including ſuch a ſtrong Alliance as was not made with any, but afterwards according to this Preſcript. In proceſs of time the *Latines* came to have the freedom of the City. When this freedom was given to them, is ſomething obſcure. *Dionyſius* ſo relateth the Story of *Caſſius* (in whoſe ſecond Conſulſhip, according to him, this League was renewed) as if at the ſame time was given to them the freedom of the City; for *Caſſius*, to curry favour with the *Hernici*, gave them the ſame league, and when he would have in his third Conſulſhip the *Agrarian* to paſs, he cauſed the *Latines* and *Hernici* to be preſent at the *Comitia*, to carry it by the greater Number of voices. But if any ſuch thing were, it was done rather by his overforwardneſs to gratifie them, and without the conſent of the State, as thoſe Privileges were which he beſtowed upon the *Hernici*. However, it appeareth that they had not the freedom till this time; for *Caſſius* in his flattering ſpeech to the multitude, concerning the excellent acts performed by them in his three Conſulſhips, ſaith, That in his third the ſedition being appeaſed, the Commons were reduced home: the *Latines* Kinſmen of the *Romans*, but emulators for Glory and Empire, *were received into friendſhip, and into the City*, that afterwards they might eſteem *Rome* as their Country, and not as an Adverſary. Though formerly there was a League with them, yet it ſeemeth they were not received into the City till now, and that rather by *Caſſius* his flattery; ſo that neither they nor the *Hernici* retained this privilege, and we do not find that they were admitted into any Tribe, or gave thenceforth their ſuffrages in the *Comitia*. This confirmeth what we ſay, That * *Florus* declareth the cauſe of their

* *Lib.* 6.

The Contents of the League.

Dionyſ. l. 8.

* *L.* 1. *c.* 14.

their Revolt afterwards, to have been an emulation for Empire and Magiſtrates, and that contemning the *Romans* after the burning of the City, they required *Jus civitatis* amongſt other things.

82. This they did not now obtain, being ſubdued and reduced by War to obedience, and puniſhed ſeveral ways. However the ancient League ſeemeth to have been renewed; at leaſt with moſt of them, who were ſtill called *Socii nominis Latini*. Often the *Jus Civitatis* was promiſed them, but ſtill deferred and put off by the *Fathers*, who alone knew the Secret of Empire, till at length they broke out into the *Social* War, and yet then were they ſubdued again, and brought under by force, and then was given to them conquered, what they could not obtain by ſtrong hand. After this, the hedge being broken down from about the *Roman* State, and through the variety of the intereſts of *Roman* Citizens parties and factions ariſing, Freedom came to be given to other places, one after another, though when, to whom, and by whom, we now muſt not inquire. *Auguſtus* was very ſparing in the grant thereof; but ſucceeding Princes ſpread this privilege far and wide, till at length *Antoninus Philoſophus* communicated it to the whole body of the Empire, it being now nothing material, ſeeing that the multitude met not together in the *Comitia*, to give their ſuffrages, which had by variety of Intereſts, humours and inclinations confounded all things. But to return to our Matter. *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Philoſophus* died when he had reigned Nineteen years, on the Seventeenth of *March*, in the Fifty eighth year of his Age, the Nine hundred thirty third of the City. A. D. CLXXX, *Arrius Præſens* the ſecond time, and *Ælius Gordianus* being Conſuls.

Commodus.

Herodianus l. 1. *Olymp.* 239. *an.* 4. *V. C.* 932. A. D. 180.

Commodus his Son (for whoſe ſake *Dio* maketh the Phyſicians to have killed him) ſucceeded him, having two years before been made a Conſul, through a Diſpenſation with the *Lex Annaria*, as *Lampridius* writeth, although it ſeemeth ſomething ſtrange, that this Law could take place upon thoſe, to whom the title of *Auguſtus* was not denied. Being owned by the Army, for ſome time he governed according to the direction of his Father's friends, but being obnoxious to flatterers by reaſon of his youth, who ſought to make their own ends out of him, he ſhortly after, contrary to the judgment of his beſt Counſellors, made a diſhonourable Peace with the Enemy, and away he went to enjoy the pleaſures of *Rome*, where he was joyfully received for his Father's ſake, his Beauty alſo much commending him to the eye. For a time he here alſo harkned to his Father's friends, but making one *Perennius* an old Soldier Captain of his Guards, he being exceſſively covetous, allured him at firſt by pleaſures to idleneſs and neglect of buſineſs, then governing all himſelf, he falſely accuſed them and others of the richer ſort, that he might ſeize on their Eſtates. This his deſign was furthered by *Lucilla* the Emperor's Siſter, who grudging that *Criſpina*, *Commodus* his wife, ſhould take place of her, entered into a Conſpiracy againſt her Brother, and ingaged one *Quadratus* a young Noble man therein, who perſwaded *Quintianus* to kill *Commodus*. But he meeting him, had no power to do the deed, only ſhewing the Dagger, ſaid, *The Senate ſends thee this*, and ſo was apprehended and put to Death with his Complices. Theſe words concerning the Senate thus fooliſhly ſpoken, never went out of the Emperor's mind, but made him ſuſpect all the Fathers, which advantage *Perennius* took, and perſwaded him to kill all the chiefeſt of them. This being performed, this man affected the Sovereignty, but was in good time diſcovered, both he and his Sons, whom he had ſent into *Illyricum* to draw the Legions to revolt, and received their reward.

His difficulties.

84. *Commodus*, to prevent the too great power of one man, put two into his place, *Cleander* and *Niger*, for the time to come; and yet preſently after had more Plots laid for his life. There was one *Maternus*, who practiſing the Trade of Robbery, got a great company of Highway-men together, and making himſelf Captain of a conſiderable Army, waſted *Gall* and *Spain*, and thence repelled, reſolved to venture for the Sovereignty it ſelf. Having but little hope to obtain it by force, becauſe of the People, and the *Prætorian* Bands, he betook him to his wits. At that time the Annual ſolemnity was kept in honour of the Mother of their gods, wherein it was lawful for Soldiers or any other to imitate Magiſtrates or their Officers. Taking this opportunity, he ſent ſome of his Soldiers privily armed to get amongſt the Sergeants and Officers of the Emperor, and ſo to kill him; but being betrayed by his own Party, he and his Plot both miſcarried. After this ſucceeded a terrible Peſtilence, accompanied with a Famine, which *Cleander* a *Phrygian*, one who from a Slave came into greateſt Power,

made an occaſion to advance himſelf. He bought up all the Corn, thinking by a largeſs thereof to purchaſe the Empire of the Soldiers and People, but theſe riſing againſt him, as the cauſe of the Dearth and Plague too, after that with great difficulty, by reaſon of his Power, the Matter was revealed to *Commodus*, he alſo received his reward. Theſe things cauſed the Emperor to be jealous of all men, to caſt off all care of State-affairs, and giving ear to every back-biter, to kill any. Hence alſo no perſons of worth being admitted into his preſence, he was ruled by diſſolute Companions, and fell more and more into diſorder.

Idem ibid.
Oroſius l. 7. c. 16.

85. He turned Chariot-driver, and ſpent his time in killing Beaſts with darts, and other unworthy exerciſes. He was the beſt marks-man that ever was known, ſcarcely ever miſſing any mark he aimed at. He publickly killed multitudes of wild beaſts upon the Theatre, amongſt the reſt a Panther, which juſt being about to devour a man, he hit and ſlew in the nick of time, as ſhe was about to ſeize on him. In ſtead of *Commodus the Son of Marcus*, he commanded himſelf to be called *Hercules the Son of Jupiter.* Caſting off the uſual Robe of Princes, in compliance with that name, he would lye on a Lions Skin, and have a Club in his hand; yet he would wear Purple Garments and Cloth of Gold. To his former title he added *Amazonian*, and *Conqueror*; *Rome* he ſtyled *Immortal* and *Fortunate*, and the World *His Colony*. A great fire happened in the City, which burned that excellent Library gathered by his Predeceſſors, with the Temple of *Peace*, and other Buildings, which accident as the People accounted an ill *Omen*, ſo they laid the guilt upon him, knowing well his Practices, which he never ſtrove to conceal. Though his throwing of Darts upon the Theatre much derogated from the Imperial Majeſty, they were indifferently pleaſed with it; but when he came Naked upon the Stage and acted the Common Fencer, it ſeemed intolerable. At length at the Feaſt of *Janus* reſolving not to proceed from his Palace as *Emperor*, but as *Fencer* from the Fencing-School, attended with ſuch like to the view of the People, this occaſioned his end.

His carriage.

86. For, this his reſolution being known to his Friends, *Martia* his beloved Concubine, *Lætus* his General, and *Electus* his Chamberlain, laboured with all intreaties to divert him from ſo ſhameful a thing. He herewith extreamly diſpleaſed, betook himſelf to his Chamber, where in a roll he wrote down the Names of ſuch as he would have killed, and amongſt them thoſe three in that order we mention them had the firſt places; then followed a great number of Senators, the Goods of whom he intended to diſtribute amongſt the Fencers and Soldiers, to purchaſe mirth and jollity from them, and defence from theſe. This writing he laid upon his Bed, where he did not ſuſpect that any would come at it. But a little Boy with whom he was wont to play, coming thither, took it up, and went out with it in his hand, whom *Martia* meeting, and taking up in her arms, fearing it might be ſomething of conſequence, read it, and thereby diſcovered the matter, which ſhe preſently imparted to the other two. They all concluding that haſte was to be made, *Martia* gave him Poiſon, and when that ſucceeded not, they hired one *Narciſſus* to ſtrangle him. So *Commodus* died, who by his Lieutenants overthrew the *Moors* and *Dacians*, and bridled *Pannonia*, *Germany*, and *Britain*, which would have thrown off the yoak. He died on the laſt day of the *Julian* year; the Thirty ſecond of his Age, when he had Reigned almoſt Thirteen years. A.V.C. 945. A.D. 192, he himſelf the ſeventh, and *Helvius Pertinax* the third time being *Conſuls*.

Lege Herod. ubi ſupra.
Eutrop. l. 8.
Xiphil. ex Dione.
Aurel. Victor.

He is murdered.

Herodian. l. 2.

87. The Conſpirators did not make known his death, till they had made means for a Succeſſor; and then gave out that he died of an Apoplexy, which was eaſily believed, becauſe of his voluptuous life. He upon whom they pitched was *Helvius Pertinax*, an old Soldier, who had done good Service in *Britain*, where he was near killing by his Soldiers, but ſeverely corrected their inſolence. He had been thrice *Conſul*, yet being thus delivered from the danger he was in by *Commodus*, conſidering the meanneſs of his Birth, he would have declined the burthen, but it was put upon him by the Senate, and the Army acknowledged him. He gave great hopes of an excellent Prince, behaving himſelf modeſtly and ſuitably towards all men. He reſtrained Promoters, took away divers Tolls and Gabels lately impoſed, and reſtrained the Rapines and Inſolence of the Soldiers. This troubled the Guards exceedingly, who being ſo much the more ſenſible of the change brought upon them by ſtrict diſcipline, as they remembred the liberty given them by *Commodus*, reſolved to make tryal of another, and an end of *Pertinax.*

Helvius Pertinax.

Olymp. 242. an. 4.
V. C. 445.
A. D. 192.

Pertinax. In the ſtrength of this reſolution they ſet upon and killed him, though he had, like ſo excellent a Perſon, gravely and ſtoutly admoniſhed them of their Duty. He died in the Eighty fifth day of his Reign; and the Sixty ninth year of his Age. *Q. Soſius Falco,* and *C. Julius Eructus Clarus* being *Conſuls.*

Biſhops.

88. Now, that we may briefly carry on the ſeries of Eccleſiaſtical matters, whence we left them. In the ſecond year of *M. Aurelius Philoſophus* died *Anicetus* the Biſhop of *Rome,* and *Soter* being the 13th. of this See ſucceeded him, according to *Damaſus.* In his 10th year *Soter* died, & was ſucceeded by *Eleutherius.* In the 6th of *Commodus* died *Eleutherius,* on the Seventh before the *Calends* of *June, Maternus* and *Bradua* being *Conſuls,* in which year *Commodus* and *Cleander* to overturn the Power of the Conſulſhip created Twenty five Conſuls, for which *Cleander* was afterwards puniſhed, being carried to *Rome* amongſt the worſt ſort of Slaves. In the following year *Eleutherius* was ſucceeded by *Victor* an *African, Commodus* the fifth time, and *Glabrio* being Conſuls. Touching the purity of the Church of *Rome* at this time *Ægeſippus* thus wrote. (*a*) *When I came to* Rome *I ſtayed there till* Anicetus *was choſen Biſhop, whoſe Deacon was* Eleutherius, *whom* Soter *ſucceeded, and after him* Eleutherius. *In all their ſucceſſions, and in every one of their Cities it's no otherwiſe than the Law and the Prophets, and the Lord himſelf preached. Irenæus* alſo wrote: Now (*b*) Eleutherius *was the Twelfth Biſhop from the Apoſtles, after the ſame order, the ſame Doctrine and Tradition of the Apoſtles truely taught in the Church, at this day continued in our time.* From *Marcus* the firſt Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* from amongſt the *Gentiles,* ſome reckon Thirteen Biſhops unto *Narciſſus,* of whom are many things reported. He (*c*) was accuſed of an heinous crime, and although he was innocent, yet left he his Church, and fled into the Wilderneſs, where he continued a long time. In the mean while his Accuſers were wonderfully plagued from above, to the example of all perjured perſons. After his departure *Dios* was Biſhop unto the Reign of *Severus,* as is gathered from *Epiphanius.* After *Cornelius* was (*d*) *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Antioch,* he wrote of Elemental Inſtitutions, and dedicated them to *Autolycus.* Alſo againſt the Hereſie of *Hermogenes* and *Marcion.* After him followed *Maximinus,* and then (*e*) *Serapion.* After *Celadion* in the Church of *Alexandria,* (*f*) *Agrippas* was Biſhop about the Eighth year of *Marcus,* and governed Twelve years. Him ſucceeded (*g*) *Julianus* in the firſt of *Commodus,* and governed Ten years. Then followed (*h*) *Demetrius,* who continued Forty three years.

(*a*) *Euſeb. Hiſt. lib* 4. *cap.* 22.
(*b*) *Euſeb. l.* 5. *cap.* 6.
(*c*) *Idem lib.* 5. *cap.* 11. *lib.* 6. *c.* 8, 9.
(*d*) *Idem lib.* 4. *c.* 20. 24.
(*e*) *Idem lib.* 5. *c.* 19 22.
(*f*) *L.* 4. *c.* 20. *l.* 5. *c.* 9.
(*g*) *L.* 5. *c.* 9. 20.
(*h*) *L.* 5. *c.* 22. *l.* 6. *c.* 26.

Councils.

89. During the Reign of *Commodus* were ſeveral *Synodes* or *Councils* held againſt the Hereſie of *Montanus,* and about the *Celebration* of *Eaſter.* Becauſe before this time *Councils* were but few, we would not give any account of them in a ſcattered manner; but now ſhall briefly recite from the firſt of all ſuch as happened until the end of *Commodus.* The (*a*) *Apoſtles* immediately after the Aſcenſion of our Saviour returned from Mount *Olivet* to *Jeruſalem,* and there aſſembled together for the election of one to ſucceed in the room of *Judas* the Traitor, where they choſe *Matthias.* This is the firſt Council. The (*b*) ſecond was ſummoned of the *Apoſtles* and Diſciples at *Jeruſalem,* about removing the Tumult riſen betwixt the *Græcians* and *Hebrews* about their Widows, wherein they choſe ſeven *Deacons,* as they are called by *Eccleſiaſtical* Writers. The (*c*) third was held by the *Apoſtles, Elders,* and *Brethren* at *Jeruſalem,* concerning Circumciſion and Obſervation of the Law, where it was reſolved, That the *faithful ſhould abſtain from blood, from that which is ſtrangled, and from fornication,* the which they publiſhed by their Letters unto the Churches of *Antioch, Syria,* and *Cilicia.* The fourth was held by *James* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem, Paul,* and the Elders at that City alſo, where for removing of Suſpition, and winning of the Brethren, it was decreed, that *Paul ſhould clear and purifie himſelf according to the Law, yielding for ſome time to the Ceremonies of it.* After the death of *James,* the *Apoſtles* from every quarter (*e*) gathered themſelves together at *Jeruſalem* for the Election of a *Biſhop,* and choſe *Simon Cleopas.* In an aſſembly of the *Apoſtles,* certain Canons were agreed on, and publiſhed by *Clemens,* as 'tis ſaid. But (*f*) thoſe that now go for them, are corrupt, the corruption of the *Apoſtolical conſtitutions,* and of *Ignatius* his Epiſtles having proceeded from the ſame hand, as Reverend *Uſher* ſheweth in his Diſſertation concerning the ſaid Epiſtles, who as to this matter is therein moſt worthy to be conſulted. About the time of *Nerva* the Emperor were two (*g*) Synods ſummoned in *Aſia,* for Reformation of the Churches, and Conſecration of Biſhops, where St. *John* the *Apoſtle,* being ſent for, was preſent. About the beginning of *Marcus Antoninus,* was a Synod at (*h*) *Ancyra* in *Galatia,* where the

(*a*) *Acts* 1.
(*b*) *Acts* 6.
(*c*) *Acts* 15.
(*d*) *Acts* 21.
(*e*) *Euſeb. l.* 3. *cap.* 11.
(*f*) *Concil. tom.* 1.
(*g*) *Euſeb. l.* 3. *c.* 23.
(*h*) *Idem l.* 5. *cap.* 16.

ſigments of *Montanus* were confuted by *Apollinarius*. And there were held in *Aſia* ſundry Synods in which *Montanns* was excommunicated, and his Hereſie condemned. The brethren in (*i*) *France* alſo aſſembled together, and cenſured the opinions of *Montanus*, writing to *Eleutherius* Biſhop of *Rome*, that he would maintain the Peace of the Church there againſt ſuch Hereticks. (*k*) *Serapion* alſo Biſhop of *Antioch* held a Synod there about the middle of *Commodus* his Reign, where together with many other Biſhops he condemned the *Montaniſts*, or their Hereſie called the *Phrygian* Hereſie, becauſe *Montanus* was of that Countrey. Not long after was held a Council at (*l*) *Rome* by *Victor* the Biſhop, about the Celebration of *Eaſter*; in *Palæſtine* alſo, in *Pontus* and *Gall* were Synods called about the ſame matter.

(i) *Lib.5.c.3.*
(k) *Lib.5.c.19.*
(l) *Idem l. 5. cap. 23.*

Controverſie concerning *Eaſter*.

90. This controverſie about *Eaſter*, is mentioned by *Euſebius* not till the laſt year of the 243 *Olympiad*, which fell in with the fourth of *Severus*; but *Cappellus* thinketh it firſt aroſe in the firſt of the 242 *Olympiad*, and the tenth of *Commodus*, wherein this Feaſt was Celebrated by the *Jews*, and the Churches of *Aſia Minor*, at a wrong time, as *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Cæſaræa* thought, *viz.* by the *Jews* on the fifteenth of *Niſan*, March 20. but by the Chriſtians of *Aſia* on the fourteenth of *Niſan*, March 19. on the fourth *Feria*, three days before the *Vernal Æquinox*. *Theophilus* ſuppoſing that the *Æquinox* happened on *March* the 25. and that ſo it ever did; and for this cauſe that the Sun was on that day created, and that Chriſt aroſe again the ſame day, as alſo that the Lord's Supper was inſtituted on the 22 of *March*, contended that it was utterly againſt reaſon to prevent the *Epoche* of the *Æquinox* ſo many days, and the day whereon the Lord's Supper was inſtituted. Wherefore he procured the Fathers of *Paleſtine* aſſembled in a Synod, to make theſe Canons: 1. *That never, except after* March 21. 2. *That never but after the fourteenth Moon.* 3. *That never after* April 24. 4. *That never except on the Lord's Day,* Eaſter *ſhould be celebrated; on that day which next followed the fourteenth Moon hapning next after* March 21. Hereby he hoped it would come to paſs, that *Eaſter* would ever be obſerved within the Month of *Aries*. In the Synode of *Palæſtine* where theſe Canons were made, the aforeſaid *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, and *Narciſſus* of *Jeruſalem* preſided. Of that at *Rome*, *Victor* the Biſhop was Preſident. In that of *Pontus*, *Palmas*, as the moſt ancient, did govern. In that of the Biſhops of *Gall*, *Irenæus* preſided. There was another of the Biſhops throughout *Oſtroena*, and the Cities therein contained; and eſpecially held by *Bauchillus* Biſhop of *Corinth*, with many others; all which, ſaith *Euſebius*, with one and the ſame Sentence and Judgment ordained the ſame Decree. With thoſe alſo conſented *Caſſius* Biſhop of *Tyre*, and *Clarus* Biſhop of *Ptolemais*. They affirmed that it was the Apoſtolick tradition and cuſtom as yet retained, that the faſting days ſhould be broken up on no other day than that wherein our Saviour aroſe from the dead. And the Church of *Alexandria* celebrated *Eaſter* on the ſelf-ſame day with them.

Beda de natura rerum cap. 28. 46. & de Æquinoctio.

91. But all the Churches throughout *Aſia*, as of an ancient Tradition thought good to obſerve the high-feaſt of *Eaſter* in the fourteenth Moon, on which day the *Jews* were commanded to offer their Paſchal Lamb. As much as to ſay, That upon what day ſoever in the week that Moon fell, the faſting days were finiſhed and ended. *Polycrates* of *Epheſus*, chief of theſe Biſhops, in his Epiſtle to the Church of *Rome*, ſheweth the cuſtom of *Aſia* obſerved unto his time, in theſe words: *We obſerve the unviolated day of* Eaſter, *neither adding any thing thereto, neither taking any thing from it. For notable pillars of Chriſtian Religion have reſted in* Aſia, *which ſhall ariſe at the laſt day when the Lord ſhall come home from Heaven with glory, and reſtore all the Saints to joy.* Philip, *one of the twelve Apoſtles now lying at* Hierapolis, *and his two daughters, who kept themſelves Virgins all the days of their lives, the third alſo after the end of her holy converſation reſted at* Epheſus. John *alſo, who lay on the Lord's breaſt, and wore the Prieſtly Attire, both a* Martyr *and a* Doctor *ſlept at* Epheſus. *Moreover,* Polycarpus *Biſhop of* Smyrna, *and a* Martyr. Thraſeas *an* Eumenian, *both a* Biſhop *and a* Martyr *ſlept at* Smyrna. *What ſhall I ſpeak of* Sagaris, *both a Biſhop and a* Martyr *lying at* Laodicea? *Alſo of bleſſed* Papirius *and* Melito *an Eunuch, who was led and guided in all things he did by the holy Ghoſt, and now reſteth at* Sardis, *waiting the meſſage from Heaven when he ſhall ariſe from the dead. All theſe celebrated the Feaſt of* Eaſter, *according to the Goſpel, in the fourteenth Moon, ſwerving no where, but obſerving the rule of faith. To be ſhort, and I* Polycrates *the meaneſt of you all do retain the tradition of my forefathers, of which alſo I have imitated ſome. For there were ſeven Biſhops before me, and I am the Eighth which always have celebrated the Feaſt of* Eaſter *on that day*

day in which the people remove the leaven from amongſt them. I therefore (my brethren) who now have lived ſixty five years in the Lord, have conferred with the brethren throughout the World, and have read, and over-read the holy Scriptures, yet will not be moved at all with thoſe things which are made to terrifie us. For my Anceſtors and Elders have ſaid, That we ought rather to obey God than men. Afterwards he ſpeaketh of the Biſhops that conſented, and ſubſcribed to his Epiſtle, after this manner: *I could repeat the Biſhops that were preſent, whom you requeſted me to aſſemble, whom alſo I have aſſembled together, whoſe names if I ſhould write would grow unto a great number; they have viſited me a ſimple Soul, and a man of ſmall account, and have conſented to this Letter. They alſo know that I bear not theſe gray hairs in vain, but always have had my converſation in* Chriſt Jeſus.

Victor Biſhop of *Rome* ſharply reprehended.

92. Immediately upon this, *Victor* Biſhop of *Rome* went about to ſever from the unity in the Communion all the Churches of *Aſia*, together with the adjoyning Congregations, as ſavoring not aright, and inveyed againſt them in his Epiſtles, and pronounced flatly all the Brethren there for excommunicated Perſons. But this not pleaſing all the Biſhops, they exhorted him to ſeek after thoſe things which concerned Peace, Unity, and Love between Brethren. Their words are at this day extant (ſaith *Euſebius*) that ſharply reprehended *Victor*. Of which number *Irenæus* in the name of all the Brethren in *Gall* that were under his charge, wrote, and allowed the ſame Sentence, *viz.* The *Myſtery of the reſurrection of our Saviour to be celebratod on the Sunday only.* Yet as it was very meet he put him in mind at large of his Duty, that he ſhould not eſtrange, or cut off all the Churches of God, which retained the Tradition of old Cuſtom. He told him, That there was not only a controverſie about the day, but alſo the kind or manner of Faſting, that this variety began long before their time; yet for all this they were at Unity one with another, *for this variety of faſting*, ſaith he, *commendeth the unity of Faith.* He told him, That his Predeceſſors in the See of *Rome*, *Anicetus*, *Dius*, *Hyginus*, *Teleſphorus*, and *Xiſtus*, neither did ſo obſerve it themſelves, neither left any ſuch Commandment unto Poſterity, and yet they were at unity with them which reſorted to them from other Churches, and did obſerve the ſame. *Polycarpus* being at *Rome* in the time of *Anicetus*, they varied between themſelves about trifling matters, yet were they ſoon reconciled, and not a word of this matter. Neither was *Anicetus* able to perſwade *Polycarpus* that he ſhould not retain that which he had always obſerved with *John* the Diſciple of our Lord, and the reſt of the Apoſtles with whom he had been converſant: neither did *Polycarpus* perſwade *Anicetus* to obſerve it, but told him he ought to keep the Antient Cuſtom of the Elders whom he ſucceeded. Theſe things being at this point, they communicated one with another. And in the Church *Anicetus* granted the Euchariſt unto *Polycarpus* (or as *Ruffinus* underſtandeth it, granted the Miniſtration of the Communion to him) for the reverence he owed him, and in the end they parted in peace; and all ſuch as retained contrary obſervations throughout the whole univerſal Church held faſt the bond of Love and Unity. Thus *Irenæus*, not degenerating from the Etymology of his name, and paſſing all others in the gift of reconciling the Brethren, practiſed for Eccleſiaſtical Peace. He wrote not only to *Victor*, but alſo to ſundry Governours of divers other Churches, in ſeveral Epiſtles concerning the ſaid Controverſie.

93. Thus do we ſee the firſt controverſies about this *Feaſt* of *Eaſter*. Although the Hypotheſes of *Theophilus* concerning the *Æquinoctial* will not abide tryal, yet doubtleſs, thoſe had more reaſon on their ſide, who intending to celebrate the Reſurrection of Chriſt, refuſed to do it, but on that day he roſe from the dead; the other practice ſeeming to have riſen from a Cuſtom of keeping the Paſſeover at that time, by ſuch as were originally of the *Jewiſh* Nation. Notwithſtanding they differed about time and manner, yet before the Government of *Victor*, we ſee they agreed in Brotherly love. And it appeareth that the Cuſtom of obſerving this *Feaſt*, was moſt ancient, even in the Apoſtles days, as appeareth from what is ſaid by *Polycrates*, and by *Irenæus*, in behalf of *Polycarpus*. Though they differed in the manner about keeping it, yet we do not find that any denied it was to be kept at all, although they were alſo for the true and ſpiritual obſervation of it, and againſt Abuſes, as all good Chriſtians have reaſon to be. But (that we may conclude this Controverſie) in proceſs of Time, both they of *Aſia*, and others, leaving their own Cuſtoms, admitted of the *Paſchal Canons*, made by the Orientals, eſpecially by thoſe of *Paleſtine* and *Alexandria*. At length few Diſſen-

ters remaining, a neceſſity of Obedience was impoſed by *Conſtantine*, who herein followed the Judgment of two Synods, *viz.* that of *Arelatum* or *Arles*, A.D. 314, and the other of *Nice*, A. D. 325. But (that we may note thus much by way of Anticipation) The ancient *Britiſh* Church, as it ſeemeth ſubmitted, not to thoſe Decrees, obſerving *Eaſter* from the fourteenth to the twentieth Moon, which computation, ſaith (*a*) *Beda*, is contained within the Circle of Eighty four years. And for this, when they would not comply with *Auguſtine* the Monk (who had been ſent from *Gregory* the Great Biſhop of *Rome* to convert the *Saxons*, and was made by him the firſt Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*) who ſought to draw them to Uniformity, twelve hundred Monks of *Bangor* were put to the Sword (whether through procurement of *Auguſtine* or no, I ſhall not now determine) by King *Ethelfrid*, A. D. 603, the *Scots* alſo then inhabiting *Ireland* obſerved *Eaſter* at the ſame time as the *Britans* did, to whom therefore *Laurentius* the Succeſſor of *Auguſtine* in the See of *Canterbury* wrote, to drive them from their ſingularities. *But how much he hereby profited, the preſent times do yet declare,* ſaith (*b*) *Beda*, who lived A. D. 700.

When *Britain* received the Chriſtian Faith.

94. And being thus occaſionally brought to *Britain*, we muſt obſerve in behalf of our Native Country, that the thick miſts of Superſtition being ſcattered, in the Reign of *Commodus* (not under *M. Aurelius* and *L. Verus*, as *Beda* writeth) when *Eleutherus* was Biſhop of *Rome*, the heavenly light and brightneſs of Chriſtianity, by the means of King *Lucius*, ſhone upon this Iſland. This Prince admiring the holy life of Chriſtians, made Petition unto *Eleutherus* by mediation of *Elvan* and *Meduan*, *Britans*, that both himſelf and his Subjects might be inſtructed in the Chriſtian Religion. He ſent forthwith *Fugatius* and *Donaitanus*, two holy Men, with Letters, which at this day, ſaith *Cambden*, be extant, and, as very many be perſwaded, not forged, but Authentical, as bearing date when *L. Aurelius Commodus* the ſecond time, and *Veſpronius* were Conſuls. This *Veſpronius* was *Veſpronius Candidus*, whom *Onuphrius* and *Baronius* make the Collegue of *Commodus* in the firſt year of his Father's Reign, though an Inſcription of *Gruterus* mentions *Aurelius Verus*; ſo that, to the very firſt beginning of *Commodus*, the Preaching of theſe Men is to be aſcribed. Theſe holy Men inſtructed the King and others in the myſteries of Chriſtian Religion. Hereupon *Ninnius* writeth: *King* Lucius *is ſirnamed* Lever Maur, *that is, a Prince of great glory, for the Faith which in his time came.* Now ſuch as call the Being of this King into queſtion, for that they think there was at this time no King in *Britain*, which was wholly and fully reduced into a Province before; *Cambden* wiſheth to remember, That the *Romans* had by ancient Cuſtom in their Provinces, Kings, as the Inſtruments of their Bondage, that the *Britans* even then refuſed to obey *Commodus*, and that they themſelves poſſeſſed and held freely thoſe Parts of the Iſland, which were beyond the aforeſaid wall, and had there Kings of their own, and that *Antoninus Pius* a few years before, having put an end to War, permitted Kingdoms to be ruled by their own *Kings*, and Provinces by their own *Comites*. He citeth *Tertullian*, who much about this time wrote, That *thoſe places amongſt the* Britains *which yielded the* Romans *no acceſs, are now ſubdued unto Chriſt.* Britain *is incloſed within the compaſs of the Ocean. The Nation of the* Mauri, *and the barbarous* Getulians *are beſet by the* Romans, *for fear they might paſs beyond the limits of their Countries. What ſhould I ſpeak of the* Romans, *who with Gariſons of their Legions fortifie their Empire? neither are they able to extend the power of their Dominion beyond theſe very Nations. But the Kingdom and Name of Chriſt reacheth further ſtill, it is believed in every place, and is worſhipped of all thoſe People above named,* &c.

95. But our *Eccleſiaſtical* Writers (thus *Cambden* proceedeth) who have imployed both time and diligence in the conſideration of this point, endeavour and labour to prove, and that out of ancient Fathers of credit, that before this time, in the very dawning and Infancy of the Church, *Britain* had received Chriſtian Religion: and namely, that *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, a Noble Senator, ſailed out of *Gall* into *Britain*, and that *Claudia Rufina* the Wife of *Aulus Pudens* (which woman, as is credibly thought, St. *Paul* nameth in his latter Epiſtle to *Timothy*) and whom the Poet *Martial* ſo highly commendeth, was a *Britain* born. They cite the teſtimony of *Dorotheus*, who commonly goeth under the name of the Biſhop of *Tyre*, who in his *Synopſis* hath recorded, That *Simon Zelotes* having travelled through *Mauritiana*, was at laſt ſlain and buried in *Britain*, as alſo that *Ariſtobulus*, whom St. *Paul* mentioneth in his Epiſtle to the *Romans*, was made Biſhop of

Britain

(*a*) *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Angl. l.* 2. *c.* 2.

(*b*) *ubi ſupra c.* 4.

Britain (to which *Nicephorus* inclineth) notwithſtanding he ſpeaketh of *Britiana*, and not of *Britania*. They report likewiſe upon the authority of *Simeon*, that great Metaphraſt, and of the *Menology* of the *Greeks*, that St. *Peter* came hither and ſpread abroad the Light of God's Word: out of *Sophronius* alſo and *Theodoret*, that St. *Paul* after his ſecond Impriſonment in *Rome*, viſited this our Country. Whereupon * *Venantius Fortunatus* wrote of him, (except he ſpeaketh of his Doctrine) if he may be believed as a Poet. But to this purpoſe, ſaith our Author, maketh eſpecially that which ere-while I alleged out of *Tertullian*, as alſo that which *Origen* recordeth, how, *The* Britains *with one conſent imbraced the Faith, and made way themſelves to God by means of the* Druidæ, *who did always beat upon this Article of Belief, That there is but one God.* And verily of great moment is that with me, which *Gildas* writeth, after he had mentioned the Rebellion of *Boodicia*, and treated of the revenge thereof. *In the mean while,* ſaith he, *Chriſt that true Sun ſhining with his moſt glittering brightneſs upon the univerſal World, not from the temporal skie and firmament, but even from the higheſt cope of Heaven, exceeding all times, vouchſafed firſt his beams, that is to ſay, his Precepts and Doctrine, in the time, as we know, of* Tiberius Cæſar, *unto this frozen Iſland full of ice, and lying out as it were in a long tract of earth remote from the viſible Sun. Chryſoſtome* likewiſe, to note ſo much by the way, writeth of the Chriſtian Religion in this Iſland as followeth. *The Britiſh Iſlands ſeated without this Sea, and within the very Ocean, have felt the power of the Word (for even there alſo be Churches founded, and Altars erected) of that Word I ſay, which is planted in the Souls, and now alſo in the Lips of all People.* And the ſame *Chryſoſtome* in another place: *How often have People in* Britain *fed of man's fleſh? but now with faſting they refreſh the Soul.* Likewiſe St. *Hierome: The* Britain *divided from our World, if he proceed in Religion, leaving the Weſtern Parts towards the Suns ſetting, will ſeek* Jeruſalem, *a City known to him by form only, and relation of Scriptures.*

* *Tranſiit Oceanum & qua facit inſula portum. Quaſque Britannus habet terras, quaſque ultima Thule.*

Hereticks.

96. As for *Hereticks* which lived in the time with the forementioned *Biſhops*, and the Reigns of *Marcus* and *Commodus*: There were the *Secundians*, called ſo from *Secundus*, who together with *Epiphanes* and *Iſidorus* taught the ſame with *Valentinus*. In life they were beaſtly, all Women among them were common: they denied the Reſurrection of the Fleſh. *Ptolomæus* of whom were named the *Ptolomæi*, taught the Heretical Opinions of the *Gnoſticks*, and of *Valentinus*, adding thereunto of his own, certain Heatheniſh doctrines out of *Homer*. *Marcus* of whom the *Marcoſii*, *Colorbaſus* of whom the *Colorbaſii*, and *Heracleon* of whom the *Hereticks* were called *Heracleonites*, ſacrificed with Witchcraft; to amaze their Auditory they pronounced Hebrew words. Many Women coming to Church, under colour of receiving the Power of Prophecy from them, confeſſed they were abuſed by them. *Marcus* ran away with another man's Wife. They poured oyl and water upon the head of the deceaſed, hoping ſo to redeem them. They ſaid, that the life and generation of man conſiſted in ſeven Stars: that Chriſt ſuffered not indeed, and that there was no reſurrection of the fleſh. *Alcibiades* refraining the Uſe of God's Creatures, was reformed by *Attalus* the Martyr. *Archonitici*, Hereticks in *Paleſtine*, referred all things unto man's Powers. They ſaid, the *Sabbath* was the God of the *Jews*, and the Devil the Son of the *Sabbath*. (*b*) *Tatianus* the Scholar of *Juſtin Martyr* gave original to the *Encratitæ*, ſo called from Continency. For they abhorred Marriage, forbad the Uſe of living Creatures, offered Water inſtead of Wine in the Sacrament, and denied that *Adam* was ſaved. *Severus*, of whom were named the *Severians*, added to the opinions of *Tatianus*, reviling *Paul*, rejecting his Epiſtles, and the Acts of the Apoſtles. He ſaid, That a Woman was of the Devil, that Man from the middle upwards was of God, and beneath of the Devil. *Apelles*, *Pontinus*, and other *Marcionites*; about this time alſo diſturbed the Peace of the Church.

Epiphan Auguſt. de hæreſibus. Euſeb.

Euſeb. l.5.c.3.

(*b*) *L.4.c.27.*

97. There were alſo certain Hereticks of *Galatia* and *Cappadocia* called *Pepuzians*, as alſo *Quintiliani* and *Priſcilliani*, becauſe they ſaid, that Chriſt in form of a Woman being the Bed fellow of *Quintilla* or *Priſcilla*, revealed unto her Divine Myſteries. Women were Prieſts amongſt them, and their ſacrifices were alike to the *Montaniſts*, of which Sect they ſeem to have been, ſeeing alſo his Propheteſſes were of the Town *Pepuza*. *Artotyritæ* were Hereticks which offered Bread and Cheeſe in the Sacrament. *Alogi* denied Chriſt to be the Word, condemned *John*'s Goſpel, and ſaid, that *Cerinthus* the Heretick wrote the *Revelations*. *Theodotus* a *Montaniſt* through Sorcery took his flight towards Heaven, but down he fell and died miſerably. *Adamites* deviſed a Church after the faſhion

Epiphan. Aug.

of an hot-houſe, to keep them from cold for the ſpace of an hour, or Service time: they were all naked, Men and Women: Virgins preached unto the reſt: their Church they called *Paradiſe*, and themſelves *Adam* and *Eve*. (*a*) *Florinus* and *Blaſtus* fell from the Church, and taught at *Rome*, That God was the Author of Evil, whom *Irenæus* confuted. (*b*) *Theodotus* a Tanner, denied the Divinity of Chriſt: He was the firſt Author of the Hereſy of *Artemon*, for which cauſe *Viator* Biſhop of *Rome* excommunicated him. *Artemon* his Diſciple accounted Chriſt but a bare and naked man. He lived in the time of *Victor* and *Zephyrinus*. His Companions were *Aſclepiodorus* and *Natalius*, who repented and fell at the feet of *Zephyrinus* Biſhop of *Rome*, for Abſolution. (*c*) *Marcianus* the Heretick maintained an Heterodox Opinion, out of the pretended Goſpel of *Peter*, whom *Serapion* Biſhop of *Antioch* confuted. (*d*) *Noetus* denied there were three Perſons, ſaying, All three were one. He called himſelf *Moſes*, and ſaid, *Aaron* was his *Brother*. He ſaid, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, ſuffered in the Fleſh.

(*a*) *Euſeb. Eccl. Hiſt. l.* 5. *c.* 14, 19.

(*b*) *L.* 5. *c.* 28.

(*c*) *Lib.* 6. *c.* 12.

(*d*) *Epiphan. Hæreſ.* 57.

CHAP. VI.

From the Death of Pertinax, *and the expoſing of the Empire to ſale, the Death of* Maximinus *the firſt elected Emperor without Conſent of the* Senate; *the ſpace of* 45 *years.*

Herodian. l. 2.

1. THE Soldiers having murdered *Pertinax*, got them to their Camp, and ſet the Empire to Sale, Proclaiming, That they would prefer him that ſhould offer moſt. Two there were found who bade Money for it: Firſt *Sulpicianus*, a man of *Conſular Dignity*, Governor of the City, and Father in Law to *Pertinax*, and *Didius Julianus* of the ſame Degree, a great Lawyer, and exceeding rich. The Soldiers being jealous leſt the former ſhould have an intention to puniſh them for the Murther of *Pertinax*, accepted the offer of *Julianus*, who promiſed what they would ask, having, as he ſaid, treaſures of Silver and Gold. Being by a Ladder received up to the Wall, and ſo into the Camp, he promiſed to reſtore the Honours and Statues of *Commodus*, to grant them what Liberty they enjoyed under that Prince, and to give them more than they could ask or expect; he was carried into the Palace, the people by the way curſing and upbraiding him with his purchaſe. Having thus invaded the Empire, he gave himſelf up to all Luxury, but being unable to perform his promiſe to the Soldiers, loſt their favour, and fell into the contempt of all men, the People deſiring another Prince. At this time *Peſcenninus Niger* was Governor of *Syria*, who as well for the greatneſs of his Place (his Province containing all from *Phœnicia* unto *Euphrates*) as for his Popularity, was moſt eminent: him did the People extol, and they implored his aſſiſtance. He being glad of this opportunity, eaſily perſwaded his Soldiers to accept of him for their Emperor, and entertained Ambaſſadors which now had recourſe to him as the lawful Prince. But then giving himſelf up to idleneſs, he neglected to ſettle and confirm his Eſtate by going to *Rome*, and (what was more) by drawing the Army in *Illyricum* to his ſide. and ſo loſt all.

Didius Julianus purchaſeth the Empire.

2. At this time governed both the *Pannoniaes L. Septimius Severus*, an *African* born, a man forward and crafty, who ſeeing the *Roman* Empire thus obnoxious to every man's Catch, reſolved to venture for it amongſt the reſt, eſpecially in regard that of thoſe two who had ſeized on it, the one was negligent and ſecure, the other hated and deſpiſed. Being alſo incouraged by ſome dreams, he firſt of all inveighed againſt the *Prætorian* Bands which had killed *Pertinax*, whom knowing to be much beloved by his Soldiers, he highly extolled him, and eaſily perſwaded them to revenge his Death, who once was Lieutenant of the Forces in *Illyricum*. Then preſently (though he pretended he ſought it not) was he ſaluted *Emperor*, and took upon him the name of *Pertinax*, which he knew was acceptable to all. After this he marched with great ſpeed to *Rome*, the *Italians* (who ever ſince the days of *Auguſtus* had not been uſed to War) receiving him in all places, and *Julianus* his Soldiers very ſlowly providing for reſiſtance, though he had

now diſtributed to them all the Money he could by any means compaſs. *Severus* conveyed his Soldiers in a diſguiſed manner into the City, which was full of them, privily armed, e're *Julianus* or the People were aware; whereupon *Julianus* wrote to him, to ſignifie he was willing to receive him into participation of the Empire, and afterwards deſired he might reſign it. For the Senate ſeeing him ſo timorous, and the other now at hand, being called together according to the ancient Cuſtom by the Conſuls, decreed death to him, and the Empire to *Severus*. *Julianus* held the Dignity ſeven Months, having purchaſed death at an exceſſive rate.

Severus obtaineth it.

3. *Severus* having thus obtained the Empire, that he might not at firſt crack his credit by falſifying his word, got thoſe Soldiers into his Power that had ſlain *Pertinax*, and making them be ſtripped of their Military Cloaths, baniſhed them a hundred Miles from the City. Then entring the Court, he promiſed great things to the Senate, profeſſing his intention was to govern after the Preſcript of *Marcus*, and not only to take the name, but alſo diſpoſition of *Pertinax*, although there were ſome who ſo well knew him, that they could not be deceived. After this he prepared for an Expedition againſt *Niger*, but fearing to leave an Æmulator at his back, he endeavoured to prevent him. This was *Clodius Albinus*, who at this time governed *Britain*, was of *Patrician rank*, and had a ſtrong Army at his Command. He flattered him with the title of *Cæſar*, beſeeching him, as the fitteſt perſon, to take care of the Empire, for that he himſelf grew old, and his Children were Infants. *Albinus* overjoyed that he ſhould obtain what he had deſired, without any trouble, fooled himſelf in his vain confidence, eſpecially for that *Severus* had written to the Senate in the ſame ſtrain, had ordered Money to be ſtamped with his Image, erected him ſome Statues, and did him Honour otherwiſe, to deceive him.

Olymp. 243. *ann.* 1. *V. C.* 946. *A. D.* 193.

4. *Niger* much troubled at his coming towards him, took care for ſecuring the paſſages into *Aſia*, gathered together all the Forces in thoſe Parts, obtained aid from the *Parthian* and *Atrenian* Kings, ſeized on *Byzantium*, and fortified the ſtraights of the Mountain *Taurus*. *Severus* therefore directed not his courſe towards *Byzantium*, but marched for *Cyzicus*, where *Æmilianus* General to *Niger* met him, and either for that he was over-matched, or deſirous to ſave his Children (whom *Severus*, as alſo others of his Adverſaries had got into his hands) betrayed his truſt, and loſt his Army. Then did *Severus* invade *Bithynia*, wherein they of *Nicomedia* revolted to him; but the Inhabitants of *Nice* ſtuck cloſe to *Niger*: thence he proceeded into *Galatia*, and ſo into *Cappadocia* to paſs over *Taurus*. The paſſage was ſo fortified and defended, that no hope there was of breaking through, till abundance of Rain-water falling down from the Mountains broke down the Wall, whereupon the Defendants fled. Then came *Niger* with an Army very numerous, but not to be compared with the Legions of *Illyricum* for Skill and Valour; and they met at *Iſſus*, where *Darius* was overthrown by *Alexander*. Here *Niger* had the ſame fortune in a great and bloody Battel, after which going back to *Antioch*, and being purſued by a Party of Horſe, his Head was cut off, having brought himſelf to this end by his delay and idleneſs. *Severus* having thus removed him, now caſt his Thoughts towards his friend in *Britain*.

Lege Herodian. lib. 3. *Eutrop. lib.* 9. *Aurelium Victorem. Xiphil. ex Dione. Oroſium lib.* 7. *cap.* 17.

Suppreſſeth *Niger*.

5. He now conſulted how he might ſecure the Empire to his Family, which could not be done as long as *Albinus* continuing *Cæſar* had ſome title to it, and to whom in his abſence the great ones had demonſtrated their affections, as to a man of great Nobility, and far more worthy of the Sovereignty than he who at preſent poſſeſſed it: He therefore reſolved to remove him out of the way. By open War he thought it not convenient to do it, and therefore at firſt attempted his Deſign by Treachery, ſending ſome, who under colour of bringing Letters, ſhould make him away. *Albinus* having warning to beware of him, this ſucceeded not, ſo that he betook himſelf to force, and with incredible expedition returned into the Weſt. *Albinus* terrified at his haſty retreat, made all poſſible Proviſion for reſiſtance, and paſſed over into *Gaul*, where after many Skirmiſhes they joyned in a pitcht Battel near *Lugdunum*. Victory at the firſt ſo far inclined towards *Albinus*, that *Severus* caſt off his Robe, and hid himſelf, but by the coming in of *Lætus*, who deſigned to deſtroy them both, and ſet up for himſelf, the fight was ſo changed, that *Albinus* was routed, and flying to the City, there had his Head ſtruck off. Then returned *Severus* to *Rome* with all his Army, which to reward, he not only beſtowed Money upon them, but alſo ſuch Privileges, which though to him they might procure reſpect and ſervice, yet proved the bane of the Commonwealth.

And *Albinus*.

For the Soldiers having formerly through the looſneſs and neglect of ſome Emperors, contracted ſloth and covetouſneſs, were thence more animated to violate the Sovereignty, to depoſe, and ſet up whom they pleaſed. Now he adding more fuel to this flame increaſed their allowance of Corn, gave them licenſe to wear Rings of Gold as Knights, and to Marry and maintain Wives, which broke in pieces the Reliques of the ancient Diſcipline, and effected, that we ſhall hear more of them upon very ſad occaſions.

His ſucceſs in the Eaſt.

His Vices.

The fifth Perſecution.

Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. l.6. c. 1, &c.

6. He made another expedition into the Eaſt, to be revenged upon ſuch as had aſſiſted *Niger.* Piercing into *Arabia* he beſieged *Atræ* the Metropolis of the *Atrevi*, but found ſuch entertainment as glad he was to retreat without any thing performed, and only by chance, as ſome ſay, ſaved his Reputation. For in his return being driven by Tempeſts into *Parthia*, he was conſtrained to Land near *Cteſiphon*, the chief City where *Artabanus* the King then reſided. *Artabanus* ſtruck with the ſuddenneſs of the thing, fled amain, and *Severus* taking the City with eaſe, got great Treaſures, with multitudes of Captives, and returned to *Rome* in a Triumphant manner, having more by good fortune than policy atchieved this Enterprize. When he had done theſe great things abroad, and (conſidering the Princes by him defeated, and the wonderful Expedition he uſed at all times) had approached near unto the greateſt Military glory of the moſt famous Captains, he lay idle at home, or, ſpending his time in judicial affairs, he let fall the vizard of goodneſs, which in the beginning he had put on. His extraordinary covetouſneſs increaſed his innate cruelty, ſo that under pretence of taking off his Enemies, he put to death unheard forty three Perſons of chiefeſt Rank. In deſpite of the Senate, he Canonized *Commodus* for a God, caſt *Narciſſus*, who ſtrangled him (as he had deſerved) to the Lions, called himſelf his Brother, and to his Son *Baſſianus*, whom he made Partner with him in the Empire, he gave the Sirname of *Antoninus*. His cruelty was alſo extended to the Church, againſt which he raiſed the fifth Perſecution in the Tenth year of his Reign, wherein periſhed many.

Coming into *Britain.*

Here he dieth.

7. *Severus* after the overthrow of *Albinus*, ſent firſt *Heraclianus* to ſeize upon *Britain*, and to rule it: then *Virius Lupus* as Proprætor and Lieutenant (whom *Ulpian* the Lawyer calleth *Preſident of Britain*) who being wearied with the Inrodes and Inſolences of the *Maata*, ſent for the Emperor himſelf over. He was glad of this occaſion, not only for deſire of glory, but alſo to draw away with him his two Sons from the City, where they gave up themſelves to licentious riotting, and exerciſed irreconcileable enmity betwixt themſelves. The *Britains* ſent Ambaſſadors to him to beg Peace, but he detained them till he had made ſufficient Proviſion for War, and then diſmiſſed them without granting their requeſts. Leaving his Son *Geta* (whom at his arrival he alſo created *Auguſtus*) in the hithermoſt part of the Province (which continued in obedience) for the civil Juriſdiction and Adminiſtration of affairs there; he himſelf with *Antoninus* went into the further parts, where being buſied in cutting down Woods, making Bridges, and drying up the Meers, he fought no Battel, but what with the Enemies Ambuſcadoes, and with Sickneſs, loſt Fifty thouſand Men, according to *Dio. Herodian* writeth, That the *Britans* found him work enough, being able to retreat where the *Romans* could not follow by reaſon of the Fens, which the Natives eaſily paſſed, being naked, very nimble and skilful in the places, ſo that by Ambuſcadoes laid in the *Caledonian* Foreſt, and through the unwholſomneſs of the Meeriſh Grounds he loſt many Thouſands of his Men; but he forced them to Peace with delivery of a good part of their Countrey and their Arms. For theſe Victories he ſtamped certain pieces of Money with this Inſcription, *Victoria Britanica*, aſſumed the Sirname of *Britanicus Maximus*, and his Son *Geta* was alſo Sirnamed *Britanicus*, as appeareth by his Coins, ſaith *Cambden.* But ſhortly after they revolted, whereupon he brake out into ſuch a rage, that he gave his Soldiers charge to make a general Maſſacre of them all, and returning, though much tormented with the Gout, againſt them raiſed a Wall a hundred and thirty miles in length croſs the Iſland, to ſeparate betwixt the *Barbarians* and *Romans*, which *Baſſianus* afterwards increaſed. When he had in ſome ſort repreſſed the Rebels, he ſickned, not ſo much out of any bodily Diſtemper, as for grief, and ſorrow of mind, by reaſon of the deſperate and unreclaimable demeanour of his Son *Antoninus*, who once or twice gave the attempt to kill him with his own hand. Theſe were his laſt words: *A troubled State of the Commonwealth I found in every place, but I leave it in*

peace and quietneſs even amongſt the Britains. He died at *Eboracum*, now called *York* (having tried as he * ſaid all ſorts of lives, and condemned all of vanity) on the day before the *Nones* of *February*, having Reigned Eighteen years, and almoſt lived Sixty ſix. *A.V.C.* 964. *A.D.* 211. *Q. Epidius Rufus* and *Pomponius Baſſus* being *Conſuls.*

* *Omnia fui & nihil expedit.*

8. *Severus* his Body was in a Military ſort carried forth by his Soldiers to the funeral fire, and honoured with a ſolemn Juſting and Running at Tilt, performed by his Sons and Soldiers. He was alſo Canonized a god after the ordinary manner of the *Apotheoſis* of the *Roman Emperors*, which being not formerly touched, it's convenient in this place to deſcribe, as we have it from *Herodian. A cuſtom* ſaith he, *the* Romans *have to conſecrate thoſe Emperors that die, their Sons or Succeſſors ſurviving. And whoſoever are thus honoured, be canonized, and regiſtred in the Roll of their* Divi, *or* gods. *During this Complement they hold a general mourning through the whole City, and the ſame mixed with a feſtival Solemnity. For the dead Body they Bury with a Sumptuous Funeral, according to the manner of other men. But they frame an Image of wax, reſembling in all points the Party deceaſed, and lay the ſame openly at the Entry of the Palace, upon a moſt ample and ſtately bed of Ivory erected on high, and covered with Cloth of Gold. And verily that Image lieth with a Pale colour like unto a ſick man. About the Bed there ſits a good part of the day the whole Body of the Senate, on the left hand, arrayed in their Blacks; and on the right hand certain Matrones honorable by the Dignity of their Husbands or Parents. And there is not one of them ſeen to wear any Gold about them, nor to be adorned with Jewels, but clad in white and ſlender Garments, they repreſent Mourners. This they do for ſeven days together: during which time the Phyſicians reſort daily to him to feel his pulſe, and conſider of his Diſeaſe, and thereupon as of their Patient judicially pronounce that he groweth worſe and worſe. Then when he ſeemeth to be dead, certain of the nobleſt, and moſt choice young men, as well of Senatorian as Equeſtrian Rank, take up the Bed, and carry it through the* Via Sacra *into the old Forum, where the* Roman *Magiſtrates were wont to lay down their Offices. Here on both ſides are certain Steps raiſed in manner of ſtairs; upon which on the one hand are placed a quire of Boys of nobleſt birth and Patritian dignity, and on the other a Company of Women of noble Parentage, Singing in commendation of the deceaſed Prince, Hymns and Sonnets turned to a ſolemn and mournful Note.*

Lib. 4. *ad initium.*

The manner of the *Apotheoſis* of the *Roman* Emperors.

9. *Theſe things done, they take up the Bed or Herſe again, and carry it out of the City into the* Campus Martius, *where in the broadeſt place thereof a frame or turret four-ſquare, with equal ſides, is raiſed, and made in manner of a Tabernacle, of no other matter than great pieces of Timber. Now this within is all filled with dry fuel: but without, adorned with rich Hangings interwoven with Gold-wire, with divers Ivory Portraicts of Imagery, and ſundry curious Pictures. Over this frame ſtood another ſomewhat leſs; but in form and furniture like unto the former, with Windows and Doors ſtanding open. And ſo a third, and fourth Turret, ſmaller every one than that next beneath it, and others like it ſtill one after another, till you come to the laſt, which is the leaſt of all the reſt. The manner of this Building you may compare to thoſe Lanthorns, or light Towers ſtanding by Haven-ſides, and commonly called* Phari, *which give light by fire in the night time, and direct Ships at Sea in their courſe to ſafe Harbours. The Herſe then being mounted up into the ſecond Tabernacle, they get together Spices, and Odours of all ſorts, as alſo all the ſweet ſmelling Fruits, Herbs, Juyces, and Liquors, that the whole World will afford, and thereon pour them by heaps. For there is no Nation, City, or State, nor any Perſon of Rank and Quality, but ſtrive every one to beſtow in honour of the Prince, theſe laſt Gifts and Preſents. Now when there's a mighty heap of Spices raiſed, and the whole Room is therewith filled, then all of Knight's degree firſt ride about the ædifice, marching in a certain meaſure: and therewith in their courſes and recourſes obſerve a Warlike kind of motion round, in juſt meaſure and number. Chariots are alſo driven about by ſuch, as ſitting in them are cloathed in Purple, and repreſent all the famous* Roman *Captains and Emperors. Theſe things thus performed, he that ſucceedeth in the Empire takes a Torch, and ſets it to the Tabernacle: then all the reſt on every ſide put fire under, and every place being filled with the dry fuel and Odours, inſtantly are taken with a vehement fire. Then preſently from the laſt and leaſt Tabernacle, as from ſome high Turret, when the fire is put underneath, an Eagle is let fly, which is believed to carry the Princes Soul up into Heaven. And ſo from that time forward the Emperor is adored amongſt the reſt of the gods.*

Lege Herodian. l. 4. Aurel. Vict. Spartian. Eutrop. l. 9. Dion. lib. 77. Oroſium l. 7. c. 8.

10. *Severus* left his two Sons *Antoninus Baſſianus* (called alſo *Caracalla*, from a barbarous habit he gave to the people, as *Spartianus* writeth) and *Geta* equal ſharers in the Empire. They after his death left not off their former contentions, but increaſed them to that height, that they could neither live nor reign together, but thought of parting the Empire betwixt them; but their Mother *Julia* (*Spartianus* maketh her the Step-Mother of *Antoninus*, and to have loved him better than her own Son *Geta*, nay filthily, inſomuch that ſhe Married him afterwards) by her paſſionate interpoſition hindred it. They then betook themſelves to ſecret Conſpiracies, which ſucceeding not, *Antoninus* reſolved, though it were by open force, to kill his Brother, whom he perceived to be far better beloved than himſelf, and either breaking into his Brother's Chamber, or getting in by his Mothers means, under pretence of Reconciliation to be made, killed him in her boſom. This done, he ſecured the Empire to him by bribing the Soldiers, to whom he was ſo profuſe, that in one day he beſtowed on them, what his Father had been unjuſtly ſcraping together for Eighteen years. Then falling like a ſavage Beaſt into cruel courſes, he cut off all *Geta*'s Friends and Acquaintance, all the Senators of any conſiderable rank or wealth, the Lieutenants and Governors of Provinces, with the Veſtal Nuns, and ſet the Soldiers to kill the People beholding the *Circenſian* Games. After this, going into *Germany*, to pleaſe his Army he lived an hard and laborious life; and thence paſſing into *Thrace*, he there imitated *Alexander* the Great, whom he ever much affected to talk of, and pretended to emulate. He went thence to *Ilium*, where he counterfeited *Achilles*, and ſo to *Alexandria*, where he made the Inhabitants dearly repent of their raſhneſs and folly.

Baſſianus having killed his brother, cruelly rageth against others.

Olymp. 247. *an.* 4. *V. C.* 965. *A. D.* 212. *Baſſiani* 2.

11. Being naturally given to much Tatling, they had formerly railed againſt him for his Cruelty towards his Brother, and deſpiſed him, for that being a man of ſo contemptible ſtature, he compared himſelf to their *Alexander*. Reſolving then to be revenged on them, he firſt entertained them very plauſibly, but afterwards drawing forth all the youth by a wile, he compaſſed them in with his Army, and killed them all. After this, deſirous to become famous by ſome great Exploit, he ſent to the *Parthian* for his Daughter, and pretended that he himſelf would come and Marry her, whereby that King being perſwaded to meet him with a great number of People, he fell upon them and made a great ſlaughter, for that they thought it needleſs to come armed to a Wedding; and *Artabanus* himſelf with difficulty eſcaped. Getting here much booty, and as he thought much glory, he returned into *Meſopotamia*, where he received puniſhment from above, for his manifold cruelty. There was one *Opilius Macrinus* an *African* born, and one of his Captains, whom he unworthily uſed. This *Macrinus* receiving a Letter from *Maternianus*, directed to the Emperor (who had commanded him to call together the Magicians, and conſult them about his end, and whether any lay in wait for the Empire) wherein *Antoninus* was adviſed to cut him off, as aiming at the Sovereignty, when he had ventured to open it, perceived that either he or his Maſter muſt die, and therefore procured one *Martialis* to kill him. This man being inraged againſt the Emperor, for that he had condemned his Brother without ſufficient Hearing, ſlew him as he was making water, on the ſixth of the *Ides* of *April*, after he had reigned ſix years, and two months, in the firſt year of the 249 *Olympiad*, A. V. C. 970. A. D. 217, *Brutius Præſens* and *Extricatus* being *Conſuls*. Amongſt many others *Caracallus* put to death *Papinianus* the great Lawyer, as it's ſaid, becauſe he would not defend his Paricide.

Nomen cum violis roſiſq; natum Hyblam quod ſapit Atticoſq; flores. Nomen Nectare dulcius beato. Nomen nobile, molle, delicatum. &c. Martial. lib. 9. c. 12. Hæc ad Papinian. applicat Martinus libergeus Cenomanus extaſia quadam affectus.

12. *Papinian!* A Name as fragrant as Violets, as Roſes, the *Sicilian* and *Africk* Flowers, ſweeter than Honey, or the moſt delicious Nectar; a Name ſo noble, ſo pleaſant, ſo delicate, as the moſt beauteous words and Flouriſhes of Rhetorick cannot reach it. How have all Ages been enamoured with it? How have all others envied the Happineſs of that which alone enjoyed him in his Perſon? A Lawyer who lived not fully ſeven and thirty years; but a Lawyer ſo learned and every way accompliſhed in his Profeſſion, as before him the world never ſaw the like; neither ever hereafter is like to ſee. He alone was of ſuch Authority, that in a difference of Opinions, his Judgment was moſt commonly preferred before that of any other Doctor. In the number of Sentences, his Voice, by order of *Juſtinian*, was to go for two; and in reſpect to his Eminency and the excellency of his Writings, as the Students in Arts with us of the third year are called *Sophiſtæ*, thoſe in Law of the third year bore the

The worth of *Papinian.*

Nemo unus unquam erit Papinianus. Papinianus *omnium qui ſunt, qui erunt, quiq; fuerunt Jurisperitiſſimus.* Cujacius.

the Name of *Papinianiſtæ*. And as the *Syracuſians* of old, in gratitude to *Marcellus*, ordained a Feaſt to his memory; by this Emperor's Command, the Name and Memory of *Papinian* was preſerved in the Schools, in the ſame manner every third year. *Spartian* the Hiſtorian calls him the *Sanctuary* and *Treaſury* of Law, and ſaith, he was *Præfectus Prætorio* under the Emperor *Severus*, who uſed him with all reſpect anſwerable to his Tranſcendent merit. But Sons more rarely imitate their Fathers in what is good. *Antoninus Baſſianus Caracalla* ſucceeding his Father, kills his Brother *Geta* in his Mothers Arms, and will have *Papinian* defend the Fact, who refuſing utterly to do it (anſwering, it's ſaid, That *It was Eaſier to commit Parricide, than defend it*) was by his Command, ſent after him whom he would not, contrary to Juſtice, accuſe. Such were the Heroick virtues of thoſe ancient Lawyers, who when they gave out their Anſwers ſpake as from the *Tripos*, and being preferred to Places of Truſt in the Commonwealth, by virtue of a more than ordinary Impulſe, and protected by the *Murus ahæneus* of their own Integrity, ſtood all the Storms of Difficulties and Dangers with undaunted Courage, and by their Virtue and Conſtancy either terrified Tyrants, or conquered them by ſuffering for Truth and Juſtice.

Scholars of *Papinian.*

13. Now upon this occaſion of mentioning *Papinian*, it's convenient here and altogether to obſerve further, That out of his School proceeded a little Army of excellent Lawyers, as *Paulus*, and *Ulpian*, *Antoninus Gordianus*, both an Emperor and Emperor's Son, *Claudius Venatus*, *Catilius Severus*; *Ælius Serenianus*, *Quintilius Marcellus*, and the two *Fabii Sabeni*, Father and Son. *Paulus* and *Ulpian* were the Aſſeſſors of *Papinian* when *Præfect*, and according to the Advice of *Peſcennius Niger*, were afterward *Præfects* themſelves. For *Niger* was of ſo great Authority, That he wrote firſt to *Marcus Antoninus*, and afterward to *Commodus*, when he ſaw that Provinces were ruined by frequent change of Governors, That a Succeſſor ſhould not be ſent to any *Preſident* of a Province, a *Legatus* or *Proconſul* before five years; becauſe they left their Imployment, before they knew how to manage them. In the next place, That no Upſtarts ſhould be imployed, except in Military Commands. And he adviſed that Aſſeſſors ſhould govern in ſuch Provinces as they had been Aſſeſſors in, which was afterwards obſerved by *Severus*, and many others, as, ſaith *Spartian*, the *Præfectſhips* of *Paulus* and *Ulpian* do prove, who were of Council to *Papinian*: and afterwards, when one had ſerved in the *Scrinium Memoriæ*, and the other as *Libellorum Magiſter*, they were both preſently made *Præfects*. He procured alſo, That none ſhould be Aſſeſſor in his own Province; but at *Rome*, that none ſhould govern but one whoſe Parents were anciently (or before *Antoninus* his Law) *Roman* Citizens. Beſides, he added Salaries to Councellors, leſt they ſhould be burthenſom to them to whom they were Aſſeſſors, ſaying, That a Judge ought neither to give nor receive. This it was convenient to do, becauſe *Auguſtus* who firſt appointed Salaries to the *Preſidents* of Provinces, provided nothing for their Councellors or Aſſeſſors. Theſe things though a little out of the way, it's not inconvenient to mention, becauſe relating to the Profeſſion of the Perſons of whom we write.

In Peſcennio Nigro.

Paulus.

Ulpian.

14. *Julius Paulus*, the Aſſeſſor of *Papinian*, and of Council to *Alexander Severus* the Emperor, wrote more Books concerning Law, than any other, of which five of Sentences or Aphoriſms written to his Son, or rather the Epitome of them, are yet extant. As for *Ulpian*, the other Aſſeſſor, *Alexander Severus* (that we may a little anticipate, to ſpeak altogether) calls him in a certain Conſtitution both his *Præfectus Prætorio*, and his Parent. For as *Lampridius* writes, he took him for his Tutor or Guardian ſorely againſt the will of his Mother, though afterwards he gave him Thanks for ſo doing, and the grateful Prince often defended him from the rage of the Soldiers, by covering him with his Purple Robe. He was born at *Syria Phœnice*, a famous Colony of the *Syrians*, as he ſaith himſelf, and having mended ſome things which *Heliogabalus* had put out of order, was ſlain by the *Prætorian* Guards, which ſet upon him in the Night, although he fled for refuge to the Emperor and his Mother. There was another great Lawyer, *Africanus*, whom ſome think to have been a Scholar alſo of *Papinian*. But they were deceived by a corrupt Place of *Lampridius* the Hiſtorian, which reckons up many other Lawyers amongſt the Councellors of *Alexander*, though they died before that Emperor was born, at leaſt e're the Purple came upon his Shoulders. Theſe were *Pomponius Alphæus*, *Macianus*, *Triphonius*, *Celſus*, *Proculus*, and others. Indeed there were two Lawyers who

had the Name of *Africanus*, viz. *Sextus Cæcilius Africanus*, commonly called *Sextus Cæcilius*, and another ſimply ſo called, both who lived before the time of *Alexander*. As for *Pomponius*, he reached (when ever he lived) the Seventy eighth year of his Age, and ſpent all his time in the ſtudy of the Law, and other Parts of good Literature, being much pleaſed with that Saying, That although he had one foot in the Grave, yet did he deſire ſtill to Learn.

The Excellency of the Writings of them and others, out of which the *Pandects* were taken.

15. Theſe and many more mentioned in the *Pandects*, were the great and Reverend Sages of the Law, out of the Writings of whom were Collected ſuch Books as are come to our Hands, and have the force and efficacy of Law from Imperial ſtamp and Authority. They were Perſons indued with all manner of good literature, and what ever could render them accompliſhed. Their Writings were not only words, nor only matter, but words and matter both; being ſolid and judicious in reſpect of the one, and elegant, ingenious, rhetorical, and copious in reference to the other. They did not circumſcribe the Law within the narrow bounds of Formes and Cautions; but as their buſineſs was to diſcern betwixt *Juſt* and *Unjuſt*, *Equitable* and not *Equitable*, *Lawful* and *Unlawful*; they took in all manner of knowledg whatſoever, conducing to that great and difficult Deſign, and thought it a point of Diſhoneſty as well as Ignorance, to be unſeen in any thing which tended to the Safety of Men, and the Profit of the Commonwealth. For the Elegancy of the Writings of thoſe who were more ancient, we have *Cicero* a Competent Judge; who uſually Joyns the Commendation of Eloquence, with that of the Knowledg of the Law. And as for theſe of later times, the Writings of whom Compoſe the *Pandects*, or *Digeſts*, *Laurentius Valla*, one as able to paſs his Cenſure in point of Elegancy and good Latine as any other, thus expreſſeth himſelf in their behalf. 'I lately read 'over and over Fifty Books of *Digeſts*, taken out of moſt of the Writings of 'Lawyers, and I did it both willingly, and with great Admiration. Firſt, Be'cauſe it's hard to ſay, whether they excel in Diligence or Gravity, Prudence 'or Equity, various Knowledg, or excellency of Language; In the next place, 'every one of theſe Perfections do ſo abound in all of them, that it's 'hard to ſay in whom they moſt prevail. And this increaſeth the Wonder, that 'they lived ſome of them ſome Ages diſtant, although all of them after *Cicero*, 'and therefore in ſome words they differ from him, as all do who wrote after '*Virgil* and *Livy*. Of *S. Sulpitius*, and *Mutius Scævola*, nothing is extant, al'though of a later *Scævola* there be ſomething. As for the moſt ancient Lawyers, 'therefore, how Eloquent they were, we cannot judge, having nothing left us to 'read of all they wrote. But to ſpeak of thoſe Writings which are come to 'our Hands, in mine Opinion, nothing can be added or taken from them, 'not only in reſpect of Eloquence, which yet that Subject doth not greatly bear; 'but alſo of the Purity and Elegancy of the Latin ſtyle, without which, all 'Learning is blind and Illiberal, eſpecially in the Civil Law. Thus much doth *Valla* write in behalf of their Language; as for their Matter, and the excellency of that reaſon contained in their Writings, the Practice of the Chriſtian World bears witneſs to it, almoſt all Kingdoms and States receiving them for Law at this very day.

Res & Verba Philippus, verba ſine rebus Eraſmus, Res ſine verbis Lutherus, Nec res, nec verba Caroloſtadius.

Sine qua cæca omnis Doctrina eſt, & illiberalis, præſertim in Jure Civili.

Biſhops.

16. In the firſt year of *Severus* (that we may continue our method concerning *Eccleſiaſtical* matters) died *Victor* Biſhop of *Rome*, on the fifth of the *Calends* of *Auguſt*, and *Zepherinus* ſucceeded; the fifteenth Biſhop of that See, according to *Damaſus*. In the laſt of *Antoninus Baſſianus*, *Zepherinus* died, on the ſeventh before the Calends of *September*. The See was vacant five days. Then ſucceeded *Calliſtus*, who therefore was elected the day before the Calends of *September*, on the firſt *feria*. After *Dios* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, whom the Biſhops of the neighbouring Churches had ordained after the departure of *Narciſſus*, *Germanion* ſucceeded; and after him *Gordius*, in whoſe time *Narciſſus* ſhewed himſelf again, as if he had been riſen from the dead, and was intreated by the Brethren to enjoy his Biſhoprick, being much marvelled at for his departure, for his Philoſophical courſe of life, and eſpecially for the Vengeance and Plagues of God poured upon his accuſers. And becauſe for his great age he was not able to ſupply the place, *Alexander* Biſhop of *Cappadocia* was joyned with him, and governed alone after his death. In the Church of *Antioch*, *Aſclepiades* was Biſhop after *Serapion*, about the firſt year of *Caracalla*, and was ſucceeded by *Philetus* about the laſt of that Prince's Reign.

Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. l. 6. c. 10.

Tertullian.

17. Upon *Zepherinus* Biſhop of *Rome* falleth very foul *Tertullian* a Presbyter or Prieſt of *Carthage* in *Africk*, for that he was more ſevere againſt ſuch, as through fear had ſacrificed to Idols, than againſt Whoremongers and Adulterers; wherein not without cauſe truly (ſaith *Cappellus*) but yet without meaſure he blameth *Zepherinus*, and the whole *Roman* Clergy, the manners of whom were even now very corrupt, if we may believe *Tertullian*. But really not ſo much out of hatred to their Vices, as out of prejudice to the truth he calleth the *Roman* Clergy *Pſychicus*, as well in his Book *de pudicitia*, as in that *de monogamia*, which he thus beginneth, *Hæretici nuptias auferunt, Pſychici ingerunt.* He pretendeth therein only to condemn ſecond Marriages, but indeed moſt of his Arguments reſpect both firſt and ſecond, although he himſelf had Married a Wife, and retained her in his Presbytery. But Marriage which he had learnt of the Orthodox to approve, he learnt of *Montanus* to deſpiſe, to whom he would have more revealed than to the Apoſtles, becauſe they as yet (or for certain the Church) could not bear the yoak of Faſtings and cœlibate which *Montanus* brought in, and he as a *Montaniſt* would inculcate. This humour at length ſo poſſeſſed him, that neither content with the title of *Chriſtian*, nor that of *Presbyter*, he put on the Philoſophick *Pallium*, as a token of a more auſtere life, wherein he would be eminent, not only amongſt *Chriſtians*, but alſo *Montaniſts*. The *Africans* either being amazed or laughing at this Novelty, he wrote an elegant but moſt obſcure Book *de pallio*, which before being miſerably lacerated, hath been of late days reſtored by the moſt learned *Salmaſius*. He wrote his Book *De præſcriptionibus* about the eighth year of *Commodus*, as *Cappellus* gathereth, becauſe in the end thereof making a Catalogue of Hereticks, he mentioneth *Theodotus* (who was cenſured by *Victor* Biſhop of *Rome*, for holding Chriſt to have been a meer man) but not *Artemon* the Heretick who appeared ſhortly after.

Clemens Alexandrinus.

Minutius Felix.

18. His Book *De corona Militis* acquainteth us with the occaſion of the Perſecution of the Chriſtians, in the Reign of *Severus*. The Emperor e're he marched into the Eaſt (in that Expedition wherein he overthrew the *Parthians*) made his elder Son his Partner in the *Tribunitial* Power, and by his liberality pleaſed the People formerly inraged by the many Puniſhments he inflicted. By occaſion of this liberality, as it ſeemeth, a Chriſtian Soldier holding a certain Garland or Crown in his hand, as if it were wickedneſs for him to ſet it on his head as the reſt did, was asked why he did ſo, and anſwered, That *he was a Chriſtian*. This was the occaſion of the Emperor's rage. About the fifteenth of *Severus*, he wrote againſt the *Marcionites*, whom he ſo impugneth, as yet underhand he inculcateth his *Montaniſm*. For ſaith he: *Amongſt us ſpiritual reaſon derived from the Comforter, perſwadeth in the Faith ſingle Matrimony.* But we muſt not forget, that about the fourth of *Severus*, he wrote a moſt excellent *Apology* for the Chriſtian Faith. At the ſame time with *Tertullian* flouriſhed *Clemens*, called *Alexandrinus*, becauſe a Philoſopher of *Alexandria*, the Scholar of *Pantenus*, and Maſter of *Origen*. *Euſebius* mentioneth him, and *Pantænus* in the ſecond of *Severus*, at which time it's probable he wrote his *Stromata*; for not intending his Chronology beyond the time of *Commodus*, he ſeemeth not long after his death to have begun that Work. At this time alſo lived *Minutius Felix* an eminent Lawyer, and the Author of that excellent Book, intituled *Octavius*, which, as *Lactantius* writeth, *doth declare how fit an aſſertor of the truth he might have been, had he applied himſelf wholly to that ſtudy.* This Book being intended as an Apology for Chriſtian Religion, acquainteth us what thoughts the Heathen at that time had thereof, as alſo do the Apologies of *Juſtin Martyr*, the Books of *Origen* againſt *Celſus*, and eſpecially that of *Tertullian*. We have already ſhewn the riſe and increaſe of Chriſtian Religion, we have delivered the ſeries of the moſt eminent *Biſhops* and *Fathers* thereof, as alſo of the ſeveral Hereticks which from within diſturbed the peace thereof. We have alſo given an account of the ſeveral fiery Trials the Faithful underwent. But what opinions the Infidels had of Chriſtians and Chriſtianity, of what crimes they accuſed them, whence their hatred proceeded, whereupon the Emperors grounded their bloody Edicts: what the Primitive Saints did in the mean time, how they behaved themſelves under theſe preſſures, how they carried it towards their Enemies, how they ſtood affected in duty towards their Princes; in ſum, what their converſations both as Men and Chriſtians were, is moſt worthy to be conſidered, and thoſe things in ſhort out of the Apologies aforenamed, and other Authors, we ſhall endeavour to diſcover.

19. The

An inquiry into the condition of Chriſtians.

19. The firſt thing that the Heathens cavilled at in Chriſtianity (beſides what occaſion was given by Hereticks whom the Church abominated) was the Newneſs of it. (*a*) St. *Paul* ſeemed to them to be a ſetter forth of new gods. And there was an ancient Law at (*b*) *Rome* which forbad introducing new Ceremonies into Religion, as worſhipping ſtrange Deities, unleſs approved by the Senate, and this was an inviolable Law, which binding Emperors as well as others, *Tiberius* could not, as he deſired, receive *Jeſus Chriſt* amongſt their gods; for the Senate would not approve of a God they did not know. This prejudice (which yet in Idolatry often effected nothing amongſt the *Romans*) was increaſed by a miſapprehenſion of our Lord and Saviour's Sufferings; his being Crucified, made them deſpiſe both him and his. Hence (*c*) *Tacitus* telling the original of the *Chriſtians*, will let the World know, that *Chriſt* from whom they derived their name, was *Tiberio imperitante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum ſupplicio affectus.* And hence *Trajan* (*d*) in his diſcourſe with *Ignatius*, when he would mean Chriſt, called him *Crucifixus*, the Crucified, in way of contempt. This contempt was increaſed into diſdain, by reaſon that Chriſt would have no other Gods (as they accounted them) ſharers with him in worſhip, and this diſdain was heightned into rage, when Chriſtians preaching this ſaving Doctrine, declaming againſt Idols, proving the Heathen gods to be devils, and ſtriking at the root of Paganiſm, endeavoured to draw even the whole World from Superſtition and Idolatry ſo ancient and univerſal. *You ſay, we do not worſhip the Gods*, ſaith (*e*) *Tertullian.* This was accounted a Crime of Sacrilege, and worthy of death; much more than to diſſwade others from doing it. *Quid, homines* (*ſuſtinebitis enim me impetum ſuſceptæ orationis liberius exerentem*) *homines* (*inquam*) *deploratæ, illicitæ ac deſperatæ factionis graſſari in Deos nonne ingemiſcendum eſt?* ſaith (*f*) *Cæcilius*, as he is brought in by *Minutius.* Hereupon the Chriſtians were accounted Ἄθεοι or *Atheiſts*, and it was a Cuſtom to cry out againſt them, where the *Greek* tongue was uſed (*g* Αἶρε τȣ̃ς ἀθέȣς, *Take off the Atheiſts*, which words they would have had *Polycarp* utter as a ſign of his Recantation. This by reaſon of the malice of Devils (who were worſhipped under the names of the ſeveral gods) did render them ſo highly impious in the opinion of the vulgar, and ſo inraged the multitude againſt them, that (*h*) if Tiber *over-flowed, if* Nile *watered not the plains, if Heaven ſtopped its courſe, and did not pour its rains here below, if there were Earthquake, Famine, or Plague; they would immediately cry out* Chriſtianos ad Leones, *Caſt the Chriſtians to the Lions, as the cauſe* (*in their opinion*) *of all the calamities that arrived in the World, and all the evils that people ſuffered.*

The reaſon of the prejudice of Heathens againſt them.

(*a*) *Acts* 17, 18.
(*b*) *Tertullian Apol. c.* 5.
(*c*) *Annal. l.* 15. *ſ.* 44.
(*d*) *Acta Ignatii.*
(*e*) *Apol. c.* 10.
(*f*) *Minuc. Fæl. Octav. p.* 22.
(*g*) *Smyrmenſ. Eccleſiæ epiſt. De S. Polycarpi Martyrio p.* 16. & 20.
(*h*) *Tertull. Apol. cap.* 40.

20. Prejudice and hatred being riſen thus high, invented falſe accuſations, and caught hold of idle Surmiſes, nothing ill ſeeming incredible concerning thoſe that are already odious. (*a*) *Athenagoras* ſaith, that three things they objected againſt Chriſtians: *Atheiſm, Thyeſtes his feaſts*, and the *Copulation of Oedipus.* The two latter (whereof as much as concerneth *Thyeſtes* and *Oedipus* we have ſpoken above in their due places) (*b*) *Tertullian* thus explaineth: 'The Crimes pretended againſt 'us (the horror of which makes us paſs for wicked in the opinion of the people) 'are, that we meet together to Sacrifice a Child; that after we have taken away 'his life by a barbarous ſuperſtition, we devour his body, and when we have eaten 'the fleſh of this innocent, we commit Inceſts. They add, that we have Dogs, 'which ſerve to overthrow the Candles, and doing the Office of thoſe infamous 'Merchants of Modeſty, make us loſe all ſhame in taking the lights from us; and 'covering our actions under the veil of darkneſs, embolden us to ſeek the Uſe of 'ungodly, and ſacrilegious pleaſures. *Cælicius* maketh beginners initiated by the Blood of an Infant, which they all licking up, and dividing his Members amongſt themſelves, by ſo horrid a Ceremony confirmed their league, and the Covenant of their mutual ſecrecy. 'Theſe *Sacra* (ſaith he) are more abominable than all 'Sacrilege. And as for their feaſting 'tis known ſufficiently, all ſpeak of it in all 'places; the Oration alſo of our *Certenſis* doth witneſs it: They meet together 'to eat on a ſet day with all their Children, Siſters, Mothers, Perſons of every Sex, 'and every age. There, after much eating, when the feaſt is now grown hot, and 'the heat of inceſtuous luſt is kindled by drunkenneſs, the Dog that is tied to the 'Candleſtick is provoked, by caſting a piece of meat beyond the length of the 'ſtring by which he is bound, to a violent leap. Thus the conſcious light being overthrown and put out, &c. ſo he proceedeth to the ſame purpoſe, but in worſe terms. And *Juſtin Martyr* in his Conference with (*c*) *Tryphon* the *Jew*, demandeth of him after this manner: 'Do you alſo believe concerning us that we devour 'men,

Malicious ſlanders concerning the manner of their worſhip.

(*a*) Ἐν πρεσβείᾳ περὶ τῶν Χριστιανῶν. *pag.* 4.
Ἀθεότητα, Θυέστεια δεῖπνα, Οἰδιποδείους μίξεις. *Apol. c.* 7.
(*c*) *Pag.* 227. B.

'men, and after meat the lights being put out, uſe wicked and promiſcuous Copulation? Laſtly, *Theophylus* Patriarch of *Antioch* in his third Book (*d*) to *Antolycus* againſt Calumniators of Chriſtian Religion, ſummeth up what we have already ſaid, in theſe words: 'They ſay that our Wives are common, and accuſe us that we uſe 'promiſcuous Copulation. Beſides, they lay to our charge that we do not abſtain 'from our own Siſters, but raſhly dare to violate thoſe with inceſtuous luſt. But this 'is moſt cruel and brutiſh of the Crimes they object againſt us, when with an impious mouth they prate, that we eat man's fleſh: neither do they ceaſe to traduce our 'Religion or Doctrine as of yeſterday, and deſtitute of all truth, which neither we 'our ſelves, if a controverſie ariſe, are able to defend with clear demonſtrations. 'Further, they ſay that our Doctrine is nothing but folly, and meer toys.

(*d*) *Pag.* 119. D.

(*d*) *Pag.* 119.

21. That malice which invented theſe impious adjuncts of Chriſtian Religion, found out a ſuitable object of worſhip; for the *Romans* had ſo far forgotten their own ancient Cuſtom of ſerving their Gods without Images, or reſemblances (for *Numa*, as *Plutarch* telleth us, and the ancient *Romans* for many years admitted no Images in their Temples, becauſe the Deity cannot be made out by any external reſemblance) that they thought it impoſſible for any Religion not to be guilty of Idolatry towards ſome viſible thing. Hence came that Fable related by (*a*) *Tacitus* (an Author guilty of malice againſt both *Jews* and *Chriſtians*) 'That the *Jews* conſecrated the Image of an Aſs, becauſe (forſooth) being preſſed 'ſorely with thirſt in the Deſerts of *Arabia*, certain wild Aſſes ſhewed them the 'Fountains where they were wont to drink; although this Author, who ſaith he 'lies not, writeth, that *Pompey* having taken *Jeruſalem*, and entred into the *Temple* to ſee the myſteries of the *Jewiſh* Religion, ſaw there no Image at all. (*b*) *Tertullian* conceiveth, that from this tale ſprung that conceit that *the Chriſtians* (the Religion of whom was drawn from that of the *Jews*, and ſucceeded it) *worſhipped the Effigies of an Aſs.* 'I hear, (ſaith *Cecilius*) that they worſhip a Conſecrated 'head of an Aſs, the moſt filthy of all ſorts of Cattel, I know not out of what 'fooliſh perſwaſion; a Religion worthy of, and deſcended from, ſuch manners. But he goeth further, and relateth a Report, that the very object of their worſhip was alſo obſcene. (*c*) *Tertullian* further writeth, that ſome were of opinion *they worſhipped the Croſs*, and *Cecilius*, from the ignominious Death of our Lord, and this inſtrument of it, argueth to the Infamy of Chriſtian Religion in an abominable manner. *Tertullian* in the ſame place telleth us, 'That ſome with more 'apparent reaſon believed the Sun to be their God, and ſent them to the Religion 'of the *Perſians*, herein ſuſpecting them for ſo doing, becauſe when they prayed, 'they turned themſelves toward the Eaſt. [And after an anſwer to this lye he addeth:] 'The Calumnies invented to cry down our Religion aroſe to ſuch exceſs 'of impiety, that not long ago in this City, a Picture of our God was ſhewed 'by a certain infamous Perſon that got his living by expoſing to the ſight of the 'people, wild beaſts: who by a ſtrange faculty gotten by him to avoid their bitings, making Uſe of his craft, ſhewed alſo the aforeſaid Picture to all Comers, 'with this Inſcription thereon, *This is* Onochoetes *the God of Chriſtians.* This 'ſuppoſed God of the Chriſtians pretended by him, had the Ears of an Aſs, an hoof 'on one of his feet; carried a Book, and was clothed with a Gown: we laugh at 'the barbarouſneſs of this name, and the extravagancy of this figure. Such were the Blaſphemies of Pagans againſt Chriſtian worſhip, and as an Argument for them, they produced the ſecrecy of Chriſtian meetings, which their own cruelty and rage had made neceſſary. 'They (*d*) talked of nothing more than the exceſs 'of the Tables of the Chriſtians. And after all this they (*e*) objected, that they 'were not any way profitable in the commerce of the World.

(*a*) *Hiſtor. lib.* 5.

(*b*) *Apoll. cap.* 16.

And the object of it.

(*c*) *ibid.*

(*d*) *Tertul. Apol. cap.* 39.

(*e*) *Idem ibid. cap.* 42.

22. As to their outward demeanour, they accuſed them of Sedition as well as Atheiſm. Let (*a*) *Tertullian* ſpeak upon what frivolous grounds: 'You ſay, we worſhip not the Gods; nor for the welfare of the Emperors, offer ſacrifices to them. 'The one of theſe two Crimes whereof you accuſe us, muſt neceſſarily follow upon 'the neck, or in conſequence of the other: for, being reſolved to render no manner of worſhip to your Deities, we muſt neceſſarily in like manner be reſolved 'not to ſacrifice at their Altars, whether for our ſelves, or for what perſon ſoever 'it be. Hereupon you conclude us guilty of Sacrilege and High Treaſon. *Pliny* was wont, as appeareth from his Epiſtle to *Trajan*, to try Chriſtians by Supplications made to the Images of the Gods, and amongſt theſe to the Emperor's Picture by Frankincenſe and Wine. This burning Incenſe was an ordinary tryal in all ages. They were alſo counted ſingular and factious, for that they would not ſwear

(*a*) *Apol. c.* 10.

They were accuſed of Sedition.

by the Fortune or Genius of the Emperors. This the holy Martyr (*b*) *Polycarp* was bidden to do by the *Proconſul* a little before his Suffering. Theſe prejudices and falſe opinions being heightned and irritated by the malice of Devils, who found themſelves neerly concerned therein, procured wonderful enmity and malice in the hearts of Pagans againſt the Faith.

23. ‘Is it not ſtrange (ſaith (*a*) *Tertullian*) that the hatred wherewith this name is purſued, in ſuch manner blinds the minds of moſt men, that when they witneſs the probity of a Chriſtian, they mix in their diſcourſe as a reproach, That he hath imbraced this Religion. One ſaith, truly, he of whom you ſpeak is an honeſt man, if he were not a Chriſtian, and his life would be free from blame. Another, Do you know ſuch a one, who had the reputation of a wiſe and diſcreet man? he is lately turned Chriſtian. [Again] “Theſe People by an extream blindneſs of hatred ſpeak to the advantage of the name Chriſtian, when they ſtrive to render it odious. For, ſay they, How pleaſant, and of what a good humour was that woman? How ſociable and jovial was that man? ’Tis pity they ſhould be Chriſtians. So they impute the amendment of their lives to the Profeſſion of Chriſtianity. Some of them alſo purchaſe the averſion they carry againſt the name Chriſtian, which we bear, with the price of what is moſt precious to them, rather deſiring to loſe the ſweetneſs of life, tranquillity of mind, and all ſorts of Commodities, than to ſee in their houſes that which they hate. A man who heretofore had his mind full of jealouſie, can no longer endure the company of his wife, what aſſurance ſoever he hath of her chaſtity, after once he perceives her to be turned Chriſtian, and parts from her now when her actions full of modeſty have extinguiſhed all ſuſpitions wherewith he was heretofore moved. A Father who of a long time time endured the diſobedience of his heatheniſh Son, reſolves to take from him the hope of ſucceeding him in his inheritance for turning Chriſtian, when at the ſame time executing his commands without murmuring. A Maſter that uſed his Slave gently when his carriage gave him ſome cauſe of diſtruſt, now puts him far from him for being a Chriſtian, when he hath moſt aſſurance of his Fidelity. ’Tis commiting of a Crime to correct the diſorders of a man’s life by the motions of an holy Converſion to the Chriſtian faith, and the good which is produced by ſo happy a change works not ſo powerfully in the minds of men, as the hatred they have conceived againſt us. Indeed this hatred is ſtrange; and when I conſider that the name of Chriſtian only makes it to be ſo, I would willingly know how a name can be Criminal, and how a ſimple word can be accuſed? Thus much (and enough I ſuppoſe) to diſcover hatred it ſelf.

Hence wonderful hatred.

The ſad effects thereof.

24. And the fruits of hatred abundantly manifeſted themſelves. 1 In faſtning Chriſtians to Croſſes and pieces of Wood. 2. Hanging them up as publick ſpectacles unto all men upon Gibbets. 3. Piercing their Bodies with Irons. 4. Cutting off their heads. 5. Expoſing them to the rage of wild Beaſts. 6. Throwing them into flames. 7. Condemning them to work in Mines; and 8. Confining them to Iſlands; “All which ſorts are expreſſed in one (*a*) Chapter of *Tertullian’s* Apology. In another (*b*) place he thus writeth, “How often do thoſe people being our Enemies, of their own accord, without your Authority, aſſault us with ſtones, or burn us? They are verily ſo inraged againſt us, that during the furies of the *Bacchanales*, they ſpare not even Chriſtians that are dead, but trouble the Reſt of their Graves, they violate their Sepulchres which are as Sanctuaries of the dead, they draw forth their Bodies not to be known whoſe Bodies they are, after mangled by them, which with extreme inhumanity they tear, and drag in the ſtreets. (*c*)[Elſewhere:] “How many are there among you, O ye People, that are this way greedy of the blood of Chriſtians? and alſo among you, O ye Magiſtrates, after you appear ſuch Juſticiers by the ſeverity you treat us with, whoſe Conſciences I would ſtrike with true reproaches of having procured the death of your own Children? Yet if you did but ſimply put them to death, it were ſomething; but by a ſtrange exceſs of cruelty you throw them into the water, you expoſe them to the rigour of cold and hunger, and the rage of Dogs; you will not take their lives away with the ſword, becauſe too gentle a death, and which men of the age of diſcretion had rather ſuffer, than any other that hath violence in it.

25. But, when the time of Perſecution drew towards an end, then eſpecially did the Devil rage with variety of torments againſt the Primitive Saints. For beſides thoſe formerly mentioned, (*d*) *Serapion* was thrown down, and had his neck

(*b*) *Epiſt. Eccleſiæ Smyrnenſ. de S. Polycarpi Martyrio Pag.* 20, 21.

(*a*) *Apol. c.* 3.

(*a*) *Cap.* 12.
(*b*) *Cap.* 37.

(*c*) *Cap.* 9.

(*d*) *Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib.* 6. *cap.* 41.

neck broken. Some having their fleſh rent in pieces with the laſh of the whip; ſome were broyled upon Gridirons; others having their skins razed, and ſcorched being tied by one leg were hanged on Trees with the head downwards. They pulled out the right eyes of others, ſearing the empty place, and ſawing off the left legs of others, ſeared their hams, and condemned them to the mines, which uſage was accounted Clemency. Some they ſcourged to death, cut out their tongues, and ſtrangled them. One *Apphianus*, being all disfigured with ſtripes, had his feet wrapped in flax oyled all over, which being ſet on fire, it ran over his fleſh and conſumed it, and pierced into the marrow within the bones, ſo that his whole body diſtilled like to melting wax. Three days he was ſuffered to remain in Priſon after this torture, and when by reaſon of his wounds he was ready to yield up the ghoſt, then was he thrown into the Sea. Others were forced by buckling, juſting, and buffeting, to kill one another. Others of mens eſtate were gelded and condemned to the quarries. Others were tormented grievouſly and chaſtiſed with impriſonment and fetters, of which number was *Pamphilus, of all my familiars my deareſt friend, a man who among all the Martyrs of our time*, ſaith *Euſebius, excelled in every kind of virtue.* He had his ſides mangled with ſharp razors, and then was ordered to be kept in the noiſom ſtench of the cloſe Priſon, where the reſt of the Confeſſors remained, till at length he was put to death, being a Presbyter of the Church of *Cæſarea*, concerning whoſe life *Euſebius* wrote three books, and for his familiarity with, and affection to him, had the ſirname of *Pamphilus*. This variety of the torments of Chriſtians, appeareth from ſeveral paſſages in the ſeventh and eighth Books of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, which ſo far exceedeth all inferiour Puniſhments, or (that I may ſpeak in the phraſe of Lawyers) the *diminutiones capitis*, that we need not mention how *Chriſtians were denied the title of* (*b*) Roman *Citizens*. But one kind of puniſhment far more grievous than the reſt there yet was, which more tormented Chriſtians than all other tortures put together: and that was *the loſs of their chaſtity*. This Engine battered the fort of *Origen's* conſtancy, who choſe rather to ſacrifice to Idols, than be abuſed by an *Æthiopian*, as *Suidas* writeth. (*c*) *Tertullian* giveth us another inſtance, that we may enquire no further. "And indeed a few days ſince, (ſaith 'he) you condemned a Chriſtian maid to be rather proſtituted to an infamous 'corrupter of her chaſtity, than to be expoſed to the rage of a Lyon; you acknow'ledg there is no puniſhment nor kind of death, which is ſo intolerable to Chri'ſtians, as the loſs of their chaſtity.

(*b*) *Tertul. Apol. l.* 36.

(*c*) *Apol. c. ult.*

26. Such was the entertainment Chriſtians found in this World; now let us ſee how far they deſerved it, as to their demeanour, and carriage; for there is no need to ſpeak here to the two firſt objections. "The Heathens (*a*) believe a man 'could not make profeſſion of Chriſtianity, without being tainted with all ſorts 'of Crimes, without being an Enemy to the gods, to Princes, to the Laws, to 'good Manners, and to Nature; and that a Chriſtian could not be acquitted, unleſs he denied himſelf to be ſuch an one. But their carriage was ſo quite contrary to all theſe ſurmiſes, except that concerning the worſhip of Heatheniſh vanities, or Devils, under the name of gods, that they only were the Servants of the true God, they only were free from all ſorts of Crimes, were the beſt friends and Subjects of Princes, of the Laws, good Manners, and Nature, and truly affirming themſelves Chriſtians, might juſtly in this reſpect have been acquitted from theſe accuſations. "They (*b*) aſſembled together by troops in their Prayers to 'to God, as if thereby they would carry by force the grant of whatſoever Prayers 'were preſented to him, this being a violence agreeable to him; they prayed to 'him for the Emperors, their Miniſters the Magiſtrates that had the exerciſe of 'their Power, for the State, the tranquillity of the Empire, and the retarding of 'the general diſſolution that muſt put an end to all things. They aſſembled together to read the Holy Scriptures, and they read them according to the condi'tion of the times; what ſerved either to admoniſh or confirm the faithful. 'In 'effect, the Scriptures nouriſhed their faith, liſted up, and aſſured the confidence 'they had in God, nevertheleſs they ceaſed not to confirm their diſcipline by the 'ſtrength of Precepts they continually repeated. In theſe Aſſemblies, (ſaith *Ter'tullian*, for the former are alſo his words) we make exhortations and threatnings, 'and exerciſe Divine cenſure, which baniſheth Sinners, and excludes them from 'our Communion: we judge them with very much circumſpection, becauſe we 'know that God is in the midſt of us, and ſees what we do; and certainly 'it is a great foretelling of the judgment that God will one day pronounce 'againſt

(*a*) *Tertul. ubi ſuprà c.* 2.

(*b*) *Idem ibid. c.* 39.

The unblameable demeanour of Chriſtians in their Aſſemblies.

‘ againſt the wicked, when the Church moved with the enormity of their Crimes, ‘ darts out upon wilful Sinners the Thunderbolts of Excommunication, and deprives them of the participation of it's Prayers, it's Society, and all ſorts of holy ‘ Commerce with it.

27. ‘ In our Aſſemblies there are Biſhops that preſide, and have Authority over ‘ all the faithful committed to their charge; they are approved by the Suffrages of ‘ them whom they ought to Conduct, and it is not Bribes that acquire them this ‘ honour, but Teſtimonies of their good life. For in the Church of God nothing ‘ is done by the allurement of Gifts; if there be among us any kind of Treaſure, ‘ the Money laid up makes our Religion not aſhamed. And every one contributes ‘ a little Sum at the end of the Month, or when he will; but it is if he will and ‘ can; for none are conſtrained to give. If we get any Alms it is of good will; ‘ riches gathered in this manner, are as the pledges of Piety; we do not confound ‘ them in eating and drinking with exceſs; we make not Uſe of them for the foul ‘ and loathſom exerciſe of Gluttony: but we employ them in feeding the poor, ‘ burying them, in comforting poor Orphans, in helping old men who have ſpent ‘ their beſt days in the ſervice of the Faithful, in helping the poor that have loſt ‘ by Shipwrack what they had, and in aſſiſting them that ſerve in the Mines, are ‘ Baniſhed into Iſlands, or ſhut up in Priſons, becauſe they profeſs the Religion of ‘ the true God, that during the time they ſuffer for the Confeſſion of his Name, ‘ they may be nouriſhed by the ſtock of the Church. But it's a ſtrange thing, that ‘ this charity among us gives occaſion to ſome to blame us. See, ſay they, how ‘ they love one another; this aſtoniſheth them, becauſe they hate one another. ‘ See ſay they, how they are ready to die one for another; but as for them they ‘ are ready to kill one another. [A little after:] As we live with the ſame intelligence, as if we had all but one Spirit and one Soul; we have nothing in particular but our Wives, of all things in the World there is nothing but Wives, ‘ whereof we reject Community; and on the contrary, among them of their Wives ‘ only there is a Community with other men. [Again:] Now ſeeing we live together with ſo much Charity, that all our Goods are common, why ſhould they ‘ wonder if we make good chear? for it's one of the exceſſes you reproach us with: ‘ beſides the infamous Crimes whereof you accuſe our Repaſts, you charge it with ‘ Prodigality.

28. In the ſame place: “But you need but conſider the name given to our ’Αγάπη. ‘ Repaſts, to know the quality thereof. They expreſs themſelves with the ſame ‘ word that ſignifies *Love* with the *Greeks*; whatſoever the coſt is that is made, it ‘ is profitable, for they gain always in this expence, becauſe it hath Piety for its ‘ foundation. It's a ſweetneſs wherewith we comfort the want of the poor, but ‘ we do not treat them as you thoſe infamous Gluttons, who glory in ſelling you ‘ their liberty for the price of their good bits, wherewith they fill their Bellies in ‘ the midſt of a thouſand indignities. But we will have the leaſt ſerved with our ‘ goods, becauſe they we know, amongſt all men, are the moſt acceptable unto ‘ God. Then ſeeing our Feaſts have ſo honeſt an end, conſider what our Diſcipline ‘ ſhould be in the reſt of our Actions, even thoſe which more concern the Duties ‘ of Religion; it permits nothing that is diſhonourable, nor far from Modeſty. ‘ Before we go to Table we are fed with Heavenly Meat, which is the Prayer we ‘ make to God; we eat as much as is neceſſary to ſatisfie one's appetite, we drink ‘ as much as is permitted to perſons that have a care of their Purity. They that ‘ ſit there, take their refection with ſo much Temperance, as they may remember ‘ they are obliged to worſhip God even at night. They entertain one another as ‘ People that know God hears what they ſay. After the Repaſt done, they have ‘ waſhed their hands, and lighted the Candles, they are invited to praiſe God, and ‘ ſing Pſalms taken out of the holy Scripture, or Hymns every one compoſeth according to the capacity of his mind. By this it may be known, if they have ‘ committed any exceſs at Table; as the Repaſt began with Prayer, ſo it ends; ‘ they go forth not in divers Troops to defile their hands with the Blood of Men, ‘ not in ſeveral Bands running in the Streets, not to do inſolencies; but with the ‘ ſame care they had in coming in, preſerve their Modeſty and Chaſtity.

29. ‘ Finally, Chriſtians retire with ſo much ſtaidneſs, that we may very well ‘ ſee they are not fed ſo much with corporal Meats, as the ſubſtance of Heavenly ‘ and Holy Diſcipline. Certainly, it were but reaſon that this Society of the ‘ Chriſtians ſhould be reputed unlawful, if it were like to that the Laws forbid; it ‘ were but good reaſon it ſhould be condemned, if it were not different to that

‘which deſerves to be condemned; if one would reproach it with the ſame things wherewith they accuſe factious Societies. But tell me, Did we ever aſſemble to procure the hurt of any one? we are the ſame in a body, as when ſeparated: as we are in particular, ſo we are in general: that is to ſay, in whatſoever eſtate we are found, we injure no body; when any Virtuous or Godly People are aſſociated, when any Pious or Chaſt Perſons aſſemble together, their Union ſhould not be called a Faction, but a lawful Society. Thus *Tertullian*, to whoſe words, as to the harmleſs carriage of the Chriſtians in their Aſſemblies, Apoſtates witneſſed, as appeareth from what *Pliny* the younger wrote to *Trajan*. As for the Crimes ſuppoſed to be committed by them, they ever challenged any witneſs to be produced of them, and ſufficiently confute the vain reports in their Apologies. They laughed at the fiction of the Aſſes head, and ſuch like ſtuff, and as for worſhiping Croſſes, *Octavius* in his anſwer to *Cecilius* ſaith, *Cruces etiam nec colimus nec optamus. Croſſes we neither worſhip nor wiſh for.* Neither did they meet for Seditious ends, as for the alteration of Governments, deſtruction of Princes, or changing of Magiſtrates. Though they, rather than any of late time, might pretend to Saintſhip, yet did they not make it an advantage to raiſe themſelves; whereby they laid no claim to the Riches, Power, or Dominion of the World; they did not hold, That temporal Dominion was founded in Grace, nor that the true and ſpiritual Kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt deſtroyed the Right and Intereſt of earthly Princes. They made no Inſurrections, covered on Rebellious Deſigns with the name of Religion, neither did by violence attempt a Reformation; although they were ſo many Thouſands, as in all probability they might have born down all before them; though they filled all Places, conſiſted of all Degrees, and hereby ſhared in all Intereſts, in Power and Intelligence, and by their Combinations might have taken their Opportunities, and eaſily by force of Arms made way for their Deſigns; yet obedience to their Princes, they ever held moſt inviolable by the Principles of their Religion, and made Uſe of no other weapons than Prayers and Tears, though for their own Safety and Preſervation. Hear to this purpoſe what Challenges *Tertullian* makes to ſuch, as if he had not had truth on his ſide, would have been ſufficiently ready to inſtance wherein the Chriſtians offended, which they yet never adventured to do.

They were good and Loyal Subjects.

30. ‘In the midſt of all theſe outrages have you obſerved that theſe People, who (as you think) have framed ſo ſtrange a Conſpiracy; and on the other ſide might be animated enough for revenge, by the Puniſhment wherewith you take away their lives, endeavoured any thing againſt you to reſent the evil treating they have received? Think you that they want an Occaſion? when in one Night only a ſmall number of Torches would be enough to ſatisfie their Revenge, if with us it were permitted to render evil for evil; but God forbid we ſhould do ſo. A Religion that is all divine, ought not to revenge by the Inſtigation of Men, and muſt not think it ſtrange to ſuffer that which is made Uſe of to prove them. If we would declare againſt you as open, rather than purſue you as ſecret Enemies, might we not have Forces and Troops enough? It may be the *Moors* and *Marcomanns*, the *Parthians*, or whatſoever People they are ſhut up in the bounds of the Country they Inhabit, make a greater number of Men, than they that are ſpread throughout all the Univerſe, and have no other Limits than that of the World. Our Religion is but of late, and we fill already all that your Power acknowledgeth, Cities, Fortreſſes, Iſles, Provinces, the Aſſemblies of the People, the Armies alſo, the Wards and Tenths of *Rome*, the Palace, the Senate, and the Publick places; Finally, we leave you but the Temples. What Wars were we not able to undertake? with what readineſs might we not arm our ſelves, although we ſhould be the weaker? we that ſuffer our ſelves ſo willingly to be killed, if in our Religion it were not rather lawful to let our ſelves be killed, than to kill others; we could alſo make War againſt you without taking up Arms, by caſting our ſelves into a revolt; it were enough not to live with you, and to ſeparate our ſelves, our Divorce would print Shame in your foreheads. For, if Chriſtians, who make ſo great a multitude of all ſorts of Perſons, ſhould abandon you, to retire unto ſome Country of the World diſperſed from all Society; truly the loſs of ſo many Citizens, of what condition ſoever, would diſparage your Government, and alſo our retreat would be a rude Puniſhment to you; without doubt this ſolitude that would remain with you, this ſilence of all things, this

Tertul. Apolog. c. 37.

‘general aſtoniſhment of Nature, even as if all the world were dead, would
‘ frighten you; you might go ſeek Subjects to Command, there would
‘ remain to you more Enemies than Citizens: now you have more Citi-
‘zens than Enemies, becauſe there are a greater number of Chriſtians
‘among you.

31. Thus we ſee their peaceable demeanour; how their minds ſtood affected
towards their Princes, let *Tertullian* alſo inform us: ‘As for us, in the Prayers *Apol. c.* 30.
‘ we make for the Emperors, we call upon the Eternal God, the true God, the
‘ living God, *&c.* [In the ſame place:] It is to him to whom we Chriſtians ad-
‘dreſs our Prayers, make them with hands opened and lifted up, becauſe Inno-
‘cent; the head bare, becauſe no cauſe to be aſhamed when we pray to God:
‘ There is none telleth us the words we are to ſay, becauſe it is our heart that
‘ acteth, rather than our Tongue. We Pray for all the Emperors, and ask of
‘ God that he would give them a long Life, that their Empire enjoy a profound
‘ Peace, their Houſe happy Concord, their Armies be innumerable, themſelves
‘ aſſiſted with good Councils, the People remain in their Duties, no trouble
‘ ariſe in the World againſt their Authority. In Concluſion, we forget nothing
‘ the Prince can wiſh for, either as a Man, or as an Emperor. [A little after:]
‘ Whil'ſt we implore the Grace of God for the Emperors with our hands lifted
‘ up, and ſtretched towards Heaven, let Irons pierce us, let us be put on Gib-
‘ bets and Croſſes, Fires conſume us, Knives cut our Throats, Beaſts devour us:
‘ A Chriſtian while in Prayer lifting up his hands to God, is in a condition fit
‘ to receive all ſorts of Puniſhment; and therefore continue, O Magiſtrates, ſo
‘ affected to Juſtice; raviſh our Souls whil'ſt they are in Prayers for the welfare
‘ of the Emperors, and make a Crime of Truth and the Service of God.
‘ [In the following Chapter:] We intreat them who believe our Religion takes
‘ no care of the preſervation of the Emperors, to examine the Laws of our
‘ God, to read our Books which we hide not, and which by divers accidents
‘ fall into other hands than ours. They will learn there, that it is commanded
‘ by a ſuperabundant Charity, to pray to God for our Enemies, and to wiſh Good *Chap.* 31.
‘ to them that perſecute us. Now, have we greater Enemies, and ruder Perſe-
‘cutors, than thoſe who make offended Majeſty the ground of the Crime they
‘ impute unto us? Holy Scriptures content not themſelves with this Com-
‘ mandment, they have another more preciſe and clearer. Pray, ſay they, for
‘ Kings, Princes, and Powers, that you may live in Peace in the midſt of Publick
‘ Tranquillity. [In another place:] But why ſhould I ſtay longer in making known
‘ with what ſenſe of Religion and Piety Chriſtians honour Emperors? It ſuffi-
‘ ceth to ſay, we are obliged to render them our Duties, as to whom our Maſter *Chap.* 32.
‘ hath commanded us ſo to do.

32. As theſe Primitive Saints were good Chriſtians in the exerciſe of their
Religion, and dutiful Subjects towards their Princes, ſo alſo good Men, free from
vice, and adorned with Virtues; or if any were noted to be of contrary pra-
ctice they were diſowned, and the Cenſures of the Church cut them off from *Chap.* 44.
its Society. “We ſpeak as boldly (ſaith *Tertullian*) of the Chriſtians you put
‘ to Death, for we have an unreproveable Teſtimony of their Integrity, which
‘ we take alſo from your Regiſters. You who are imployed every day in judg-
And good Men. ‘ing thoſe that are kept in Priſons, and who terminate their Proceſſes by the
‘ Sentences you give againſt them, of all the Malefactors accuſed before you
‘ of ſo many ſorts of Crimes, is there any of them charged with Murther, Rob-
‘ bery, Sacrilege, and other faults, to whom they impute alſo that he is a
‘ Chriſtian? either, when Chriſtians are preſented to be puniſhed as Criminals,
‘ becauſe they are Chriſtians, is there any amongſt them whoſe life is like that
‘ of other Priſoners? all the Malefactors wherewith your Priſons are ſo filled,
‘ that they are overcharged, are of your Religion; they are alſo of your Religion
‘ that make the Mines grone under the weight of their ſtroaks, they are the
‘ wretched Creatures of the ſame Religion you are, wherewith the wild Beaſts
‘ fill their Bellies. All thoſe poor Criminals which your Citizens keep to make
‘ them cruelly kill one another before a bloody People, have the ſame opinion
‘ you have of the Deity. Finally, among all thoſe wretched Creatures there's
‘ not one Chriſtian, unleſs he be charged by juſtice, becauſe of his name *Chri-*
‘ *ſtian*: Or if there be a Chriſtian found attainted of the ſame Crime, he hath
‘ no more the name *Chriſtian*, becauſe he hath loſt that divine quality in loſing
‘ his Innocency. [Elſewhere:] But ſome will ſay, even among us there are a *Chap.* 46.

‘ People

‘a People that give themſelves the liberty of doing evil, that free themſelves from ‘ſubjection to our Laws, from any whatever exact obſervation of what is legally ‘commanded by us. It is true there are ſome ſuch, but ſo ſoon as they fall into ‘this diſorder, we hold them no more for Chriſtians. The fear of God, and purity of his Precepts conſtrained them to this holy demeanour; for opinion of Men and their Rules, as this our Author obſerveth, cannot reach the heart, nor procure that Virtue which is truly good. “The admirable fruits their Doctrine pro‘duced (the knowledg whereof became Publick by the Commerce they had in the ‘World) made ſo down-right a Conflict with rude Incredulity, that to defend her ‘ſelf ſhe was forced to ſay, That their Profeſſion had no Divine matter in it, but ‘was only a Sect of Philoſophy, that obliged Chriſtians to rank themſelves there ‘in the exerciſe of Moral Virtues.

33. Though there was ſome diverſity of Opinions amongſt them, yet as we ſhewed before, they maintained mutual Love; and that herein they were highly eminent as to all Pious Effects, is already evident. *Origen* in his Work againſt *Celſus* (wherein he eſpecially anſwereth to Cavils raiſed againſt the Author and Doctrine of Chriſtian Religion) takes off that prejudice that might ariſe from diverſity of Opinions, by a Compariſon of this difference with the numerous (or rather innumerous) Sects of Heathen Philoſophers. *Tertullian* layeth the great guilt of Hereſie upon ſuch, who being animated with the Spirit of Philoſophy, infected the Purity of the Goſpel with the corruption of their own Opinions. In the ſame place he acquainteth us what was the Primitive touch-ſtone of Doctrines moſt worthy now to be conſidered. “Theſe People (ſaith he) that are ſeparated ‘from us, have violated the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt, and we beat down their errors ‘by this only exception, That the true rule of Truth is, that which hath been ‘taught by our Maſter, and tranſmitted to us by thoſe holy Perſons who had the ‘happineſs to hear his Word, and receive his Divine Inſtitutions; we ſhall ſhew in ‘another place, that all which is not conformable to this rule, hath been invented ‘by new Doctors, who came not till after the bleſſed Companions of the Son of ‘God.

They were Eminent for love and unity of Affection.

Apolog. c. 47.

34. All theſe excellent qualities in thoſe Holy Perſons, might have ſufficed to ſtop the mouths of Calumniators, and had weight ſufficient to have moved the minds of all Men to the Truth. But that Victory which Chriſtians obtained over Devils, might much more have convinced them of the Power which was Superiour to that of their falſe Gods. “Chriſtians were wont to drive away theſe ‘Devils from the Bodies of Men, forced them to confeſs that they were no other ‘than Devils, and that Jeſus Chriſt was the Son of God, and his way the true ‘Religion. [As to the former, firſt hear *Tertullian*:] But if we were not near ‘you, who would ſnatch you away from theſe ſecret Enemies, whoſe Malignant ‘Operations make ſo ſtrange a confuſion in your Minds, and ſo horrible an alte‘ration of your Healths? I have heard ſpeak of the poſſeſſion of Devils, where‘with you are tormented, from whence we deliver you freely, and without re‘ward; if we had the Spirit of Revenge, it were enough to ſatisfie us, that theſe ‘corrupted Spirits might at all times ſeize on your Bodies, and that entrance ‘therein were always open to them. But as you do not think of that you ought, ‘*viz.* ſo dear a Protection, you ceaſe not to declare a People to be your Enemies, ‘who do you no hurt, whoſe aſſiſtance is ſo abſolutely neceſſary for you. It is ‘true, we are Enemies, yet not of Men, but of their Errors. [In another place:] ‘As for Devils or Genies, we are wont to conjure them, to drive them away from ‘the Bodies of Men, whereof they are ſeized, and render them not the Honours ‘due to God only, by ſwearing by them. [*Juſtin Martyr* in his firſt * Apology: ‘Δαιμονιολήπτους γὰρ πολλοὺς, &c. For many poſſeſſed with Devils throughout the ‘World, and this your City, whom many Exorciſts, Inchanters, and Conjurers, ‘could not cure, Many of our Men through the Name of Jeſus Chriſt crucified un‘der *Pontius Pilate* have healed, and now alſo do heal, diſarming and driving out ‘of Men thoſe Devils that had poſſeſſed them. [In his Dialogue with *Tryphon* the ‘*Jew*:] Κατὰ γὰρ τοῦ ὀνόματος, &c. For in the Name of this the Son of God, the ‘firſt-born of every Creature, and born of a Virgin, and made a Man ſubject to ‘Suffering, and crucified by your People under *Pontius Pilate*, who died, aroſe, from ‘the dead, and aſcended into Heaven, every Devil adjured, is overcome and ſubdued. ‘[In another place of this Apology:] And now we who believe in Jeſus Chriſt our ‘Lord crucified under *Pontius Pilate*, adjuring all Devils and Malignant Spirits, ‘have them ſubject under our Power. He affirmeth the ſame thing in other places.

They forced Devils out of Bodies, and to confeſs the Truth.

Apolog. c. 37.

Chap. 31.

* *Pag.* 45. *totius operis.*

Pag. 311.

Pag. 302.

35. That

Apol. cap. 23.

35. That Chriſtians conſtrained Devils to confeſs themſelves ſuch, and to acknowledg the Truth of the Goſpel, in this matter hear alſo *Tertullian:* "If a man 'ſhould bring before your Tribunals one that were truly poſſeſs'd of a Devil, if a 'Chriſtian ſhould command him to ſpeak, this wicked Spirit will confeſs that he 'is a Devil, with as much Truth as he ſaith falſely at another time he is a god. 'let them preſent any one of theſe they believe to be wrought upon within by a 'Deity; that in the Ceremony of the Sacrafices they offer on the Altars have the 'Virtue of a God, in ſcenting the ſmell which goes out of the Sacrifices; who 'with force belch out words out of their ſtomachs; within breathing declare 'Oracles; if this Heavenly Virgin that promiſeth rain; if this *Æſculapius* who 'teacheth the Secrets of Phyſick, who preſerves the Lives of them that muſt loſe 'the ſame ſoon after, confeſs not by the mouths of theſe Impoſtors, the feigned 'Inſpirations of whom deceive the World that they are but but Devils, if the preſence of a Chriſtian takes not from them the boldneſs of lying, we are willing, 'that in the ſame place you ſhed the Blood of this Chriſtian, and puniſh him as 'a wicked Perſon. [In the ſame Chapter:] Now ſeeing by our means your gods 'diſcover to you that they are no gods, and that all the other to whom Men erect 'Altars, are none in like manner; but this at the ſame time they make you know, 'who the true God is, if it be this only God whom we that are Chriſtians worſhip, if we muſt believe of him what the Chriſtians believe, if he muſt be ſerved as their Laws ordain. When you conjure your gods in the Name of Jeſus 'Chriſt, Do they ask who is that Jeſus Chriſt? Do they call the Hiſtory 'of his Life a Fable? Do they ſay he is a Man of the ſame Education as 'other Men? That he was a Magician? That after he was dead, his Diſciples 'took away his Body privately from the Sepulchre? And that he is now in 'Hell? Say they not rather, he is in Heaven? That he muſt deſcend to the terror of all the World? with horror to the Univerſe? with the Lamentation of all 'Men but Chriſtians? and that he ſhall come down on the Earth full of Majeſty, 'as the Virtue of God, the Spirit of God, the Word, Wiſdom, Reaſon, and the Son 'of God?

Whence they had this ſtrength againſt them.

36. Whence Chriſtians came to be ſo ſtrong, as to wreſt theſe Confeſſions from them, hear him in the ſame place. "Now all the Power we have of them, 'is the Name of Jeſus Chriſt who gives it us, it is the threatning we give them 'of the evils God is ready to pour on their heads, and which one day Jeſus Chriſt 'muſt declare unto them. As they fear Jeſus Chriſt in God, and God in Jeſus 'Chriſt, they are under the Government of the Servants of God and of Jeſus 'Chriſt: ſo by the only touch of our hands, and breath of our mouths, the Devils ſeized with fear at the ſight of the Flames that environ them are forced to 'obey us, to come out of the Bodies they poſſeſs, in deſpite of them, and with 'murmuring to ſuffer this ſhame in our preſence. You that are wont to believe 'them when they lie, believe them when they ſpeak of themſelves. None will 'tell a lie to get ſhame by it, but rather to gain honour; one will ſooner believe 'them that confeſs againſt their own Intereſt, than thoſe that deny to their Advantage. Theſe Teſtimonies which we have of your gods make Men to be 'Chriſtians; for we cannot give a full Belief to what they ſay, without believing in Jeſus Chriſt our Maſter. Your gods kindle in our hearts the Faith which 'the Holy Scripture teacheth us, they ſtrengthen our Hope, and confirm us in 'the aſſurance we have of our Salvation. As for you, to honour them, you 'offer them alſo the Blood of Chriſtians; and if it were permitted them to lie 'when Chriſtians interrogate them, and labour to make you know the Truth by 'their Confeſſion, they would take good heed of diſcovering your Errors to you, 'as well for keeping the Profit they have of them, and the Honours you render 'them, as for the fear they might have, that in becomming your ſelves Chriſtians, you drive them away as we do, from the Bodies they torment with ſo 'much rage. [In the beginning of the following Chapter:] "We need nothing 'but the acknowledgment we have from your gods, when we make them confeſs 'they are no gods, and when they anſwer us, there is no other God than the 'only God we ſerve, to purge us from the Crimes of High-Treaſon and Impiety 'to the *Roman* Religion.

37. No wonder then that theſe impure Spirits inraged at Chriſtians, ſought all manner of ways to deſtroy them. But yet in their Deaths they overcame them, and in all ſorts of Indignities and Tortures triumphed over their implacable Adverſaries; for, *The Blood of the Martyrs was the Seed of the Church.* That this

was ſo indeed, *Tertullian* alſo informeth us, the veracity of whom, as to theſe things alleged is unqueſtionable, becauſe appealing to his Adverſaries, he muſt needs in behalf of his cauſe produce ſuch things as were moſt certain: the contrary whereof would have Apologized ſufficiently for what he laboured to confute. We ſhall with the laſt words of his excellent Apology conclude this moſt delightful Subject. "But do what you pleaſe, all Inventions the moſt
'exquiſite Cruelty can adviſe you unto, are to no purpoſe; ſo far are they from
'Profitting you, that contrarily they draw all the World to our Religion. The
'oftner you make an Harveſt of the Chriſtians, the oftner their Number in-
'creaſeth: their Blood is a Seed which dies not on the earth, but puts forth
'proſperouſly. Many among you have laboured to perſwade men to ſuffer
'conſtantly Pain and Death, (as *Cicero* in his *Tuſculans*, *Seneca* in his Treatiſe
'againſt caſual things, *Diogenes*, *Pyrrhon*, and *Callinicus*) but Chriſtians have
'better taught Conſtancy, by the Examples they have given, in ſupporting
'patiently ſo many Evils, than all the Philoſophers with all their Diſcourſes.
'This ſame obſtinacy, wherewith you reproach us, is an excellent Miſtreſs of
'Truth, which we believe: for who is there not that ſtriveth with Contem-
'plation to ſeek what it is, who, after his ſearch made, comes not on our ſide?
'who having imbraced the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt, deſires not to ſuffer for him,
'that by his ſufferings he may get the Infinite Treaſures of the grace of God, And
'that in the price of his Blood, they may obtain the Pardon of their Faults?
'for the Remiſſion of all our Sins, is the aſſured recompence of our Puniſh-
'ments. This is the reaſon that when they read your Sentences of Death
'unto us, we render you thanks; becauſe by an happy Emulation that meets
'between the Judgments of God, and the Judgment of Men, at the ſame inſtant
'when you condemn us here below, God pronounceth our Abſolution in
'Heaven.

They triumphed over their Enemies in their very Sufferings.

38. The Soldiers being at a Stand after the Murther of *Antoninus Baſſianus*, were without an Emperor for two days. Then hearing that *Artabanus*, the *Parthian*, was coming to revenge the injury offered to him, they made choice of *Ardentius* one of their Principal Officers, but he excuſed himſelf by his Age, and the Dignity was conferred on *Macrinus*, by the eſpecial indeavour of the Tribunes, who alone were conſcious of the fact towards *Antoninus*. He gave Battel to *Artabanus*, and made incredible ſlaughter of Men for two days, during which time, the *Parthian* knew nothing of his Enemies Death, but on the next day being certified thereof by *Macrinus*, he received the Captives with the Spoil taken in his Country, and making a League with the *Roman* Emperor, departed into his own Kingdom. *Macrinus* returning to *Antioch*, by Letters gave the Senate an account of his Succeſs, and endeavouring to remove all prejudice which might ariſe from the obſcurity of his Birth, promiſed to Rule with as much Moderation as any. He was chearfully owned, not ſo much out of reſpect to himſelf, as hatred towards his Predeceſſor. During the time he Reigned, things were well reformed; but lying idle at *Antioch*, he gave up himſelf to Pleaſures; and keeping there the Soldiers againſt their Inclination, thereby drew contempt and hatred upon himſelf, which wrought his Deſtruction.

Lege Herodian. l. 4.

Oroſium l. 7. *c.* 18.

Xiphilin. excerpt. ex Dione.

Macrinus ſucceedeth *Baſſianus.*

Olymp. 249. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 970. *A. D.* 217.

39. *Mæſa* a *Phœnician*, Siſter to *Julia* the Wife of *Severus*, had two Daughters, *Soæmis* and *Mammæa*. The former had a Son named *Baſſianus* fourteen years old, and the later one called *Alexianus* two years younger. Both theſe Boys were Prieſts of the Sun, in the *Phœnician* Language called *Heliogabalus*, and the elder being the Chief, was alſo a Youth of an excellent Beauty, and for it was very much admired by the *Roman* Soldiers. Their Grandmother *Mæſa* hereat took occaſion to affirm (whether truly or otherwiſe) that they were both the Sons of *Antoninus*, who had been familiar with both her Daughters, dwelling with her under the ſame roof. Having got great ſtore of Wealth by living at Court in her Siſter's time, ſhe promiſed large Sums to the Soldiers, in caſe the Empire could be devolved upon one of them. The Soldiers gladly cloſing with her Offer, received them into their Camp; which *Macrinus* hearing of, neglected it, only he ſent *Julianus* with a Party againſt the Revolters; but this Party allured with the ſight of the Boy and Money together, cut off their Captain's Head, and ſending it back to *Macrinus*, were alſo received into the Camp. After this a Battel was fought in the Confines of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, wherein *Macrinus* having the worſt, fled towards *Italy*, but was taken at

Chalcedon, where he fell Sick of his Journey, and his Head was ſtruck off after he had Reigned about fourteen Months. He was more ſharp towards his Soldiers than was ſuitable to his condition, being otherwiſe alſo very ſevere, ſo as he burnt Adulterers quick, with their Bodies joyned together. He was ſlain in the Fifty fourth year of his Age, together with his Son *Diadumenianus,* to whom he had given the title of *Cæſar.*

Heliogabalus.

40. *Antoninus Heliogabalus* ſucceeding *Macrinus,* continued ſtill in his Office of Prieſt, wearing the Ornaments belonging to it, and Dancing continually in that Antick Habit. He gave up himſelf to all filthineſs, luxury, and uncleanneſs, and killed many that talked againſt his courſes. He Married the Image of *Pallas* (which never had ſeen light, except when the City was burnt, ſince its bringing from *Troy*) unto his god, as alſo that of *Urania* (by which the *Africans* meant the Moon) reported to be brought out of *Phœnicia* by *Dido.* He built a ſumptuous Temple for his god, who was brought into it in a Chariot adorned with Gold and Precious Stones, the Prieſt himſelf leading the Horſes, and going backward all the way. He painted his Face though he had much Natural Beauty, wore Pearls in his Shooes, never Supped under the rate of Thirty pounds, was drawn by Dogs in a Chariot up and down the Palace, always ſate either amongſt Flowers or ſweet Odours, and when he Journeyed had no leſs than Six hundred Carriages in his Train. Being told by the *Syrian* Prieſts that he ſhould die a violent Death, he provided Silken Halters, Golden Knives, and a Turret floored with Gold and Pearl, ſaying, his Death ſhould be coſtly and luxurious, that it might be ſaid, *No man died in ſuch a ſort.* Of his Mother he was ſo fond, that he would do nothing without her, and carried her with him into the Senate-houſe. But theſe courſes occaſioned the Ruine of them both.

41. His Grand-mother fearing theſe courſes would bring him into contempt with the Soldiers, prevailed with him, though otherwiſe heady enough, to adopt *Alexianus* his Couſin German, that all might not miſcarry together with him. She perſwaded him to it, by ſhewing how thereby he might provide for his Pleaſures and attendance on his god, the other taking care of State-Affairs. He ſought to train up *Alexianus,* now called *Alexander,* in his own way, and *Mammæa* having provided him Tutors, able Men to bring him up in good literature, he either put to Death or Baniſhed the chief of them, as corrupting his Son. He preferred none but Players to Publick Dignities, and gave the Governments of Provinces to the filthieſt amongſt his Slaves. By theſe things he drew more and more upon him the hatred of the Soldiers, who all inclined to *Alexander* as a youth of good hope, who alſo had Money from his Mother for a bait, without which all had been nothing. *Antoninus* knowing this, endeavoured all ways to Poiſon him, and this ſucceeding not, he gave out he was dead, to ſee how the Soldiers would take it, who hereupon mutined. To appeaſe them, he took him along with him in a Chariot beautified with Pearl and Gold to the Camp. Here was *Alexander* ſaluted and honoured alone, no reſpect being given to *Heliogabalus,* who being incenſed thereat, went about to animadvert upon ſuch as made acclamations; but the Soldiers catching at this advantage, ſlew him, together with his Mother, and thoſe that accompanied him; their two Bodies being tumbled up and down the Streets were at length caſt into *Tiber.* He thus died, having lived Eighteen years, and reigned Five; *A.V.C.* 975. *A.D.* 222.

Alexander.

42. *Alexander* then was received as Emperor, and ruled with great Moderation and Clemency, being kept from ill Company by *Mammæa* his Mother, and otherwiſe of his own inclination abhorring Blood, ſo that in all his time not any one was put to death innocent and unheard. He carried himſelf with great courteſie towards all; nay, *Camillus* attempting new Matters, he only thanked that he was willing to receive that burthen which good Men refuſed. His Saying was, *Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris. What thou would'ſt not have done to thy ſelf, do not to another.* Although the Peace which *Macrinus* had made with the *Parthian* was diſgraceful to the *Roman* Empire, yet it pleaſed not the *Parthians,* who thought the perfidiouſneſs of *Baſſianus* deſerved much greater Puniſhment. Thence aroſe diſſatisfaction, contempt, and hatred amongſt the Subjects of *Artabanus;* the iſſue whereof was, that *Artaxares* or *Artaxerxes* ſtirred up the *Perſians* to the recovery of their ancient Honour, and tranſlated the Kingdom from *Artabanus,* and the *Parthians,* upon himſelf, in the fourth year

Olymp. 250.
ann. 2.
V.C. 975.
A. D. 222.
Conſule Herodian. ubi ſuprà.
Lamprid. in Alexand.
Eutropium l. 8.
Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. l. 6. *c.* 22.
Oroſium lib. 7. *cap.* 18.

year of this *Alexander*, Five hundred thirty eight years after *Alexander* the Great, or rather in the Five hundred thirty eighth year of the *Seleucidæ*. Not content herewith, he ſent to *Alexander* to demand whatſoever the *Romans* had taken from the *Perſians*, and having a great ambition to recover what ever had belonged to that Empire, invaded *Meſopotamia*, giving out he would reduce all *Aſia* unto his Power. *Alexander* was conſtrained to march againſt him, and ſo repelled and weakned him, though with great loſs of his own Men, that for divers years no more was heard of him. By his Lieutenants he proſpered in the Wars of *Mauritiana*, *Illyricum*, and *Armenia*, but being called for againſt the *Germans* who waſted *Gall*, either becauſe he was deſpiſed for want of Succeſs in this Expedition, for his Severity, or rather for that the Soldiers loved to fiſh in troubled waters, he was Traiterouſly Murdered, together with his Mother, and *Maximinus* was ſet up in his ſtead. *Mammæa* his Mother, was firſt inſtructed in Chriſtian Religion by *Origen*, whom ſhe called to her at *Antioch*, but afterwards learnt of the *Gnoſticks*, 1. Openly to deny what ſhe privately owned, and 2. to keep, and worſhip Images of Chriſt. She inſtructed her Son in the ſame Doctrine, who would have made a Temple for Chriſt, and was Prohibited, ſaith *Lampridius*; that is, would have made one, if he could have done it with the good will of the *Romans*. *Vlpian* the great Lawyer was his chief Juſtice, and was ſlain by the Soldiers. *Paulus* alſo, *Pomponius*, and *Modeſtinus* flouriſhed in his time, which abounded with able Men of this Profeſſion. *Alexander* was ſlain in *Gall* near *Moguntiacum*, on the fourth before the *Nones* of *October*, having lived Twenty nine years, and reigned Thirteen. *A.V.C.* 988. *A.D.* 235. *L. Catilius Severus*, and *L. Ragonius Quintianus* being *Conſuls*.

Maximinus made Emperor by the Soldiers.

Herod.lib.7,8.

Capitolinus Eutropius lib 9. Oroſius lib. 7. cap. 19.

43. *Maximinus*, by whoſe procurement *Alexander* was Murdered, was born in *Thrace*, his Father being a *Goth*, and his Mother an *Alane*. Being at firſt an Herdſman, he was for the vaſtneſs of his Body made a Soldier, and by degrees was preferred in the Army. He had been ſet over the new raiſed Soldiers, to Train, and Exerciſe them, and by his great Valour, and enduring all labour and toil together with them, procured their favour, and hereby his own Riſe. As he was a Man of ſtupendous Bulk, and proportionable Diet, ſo alſo of Avarice and Cruelty, to the later whereof he was the more provoked by a Conſpiracy or two; which were diſcovered e're they took effect. He overthrew the *Germans*, and waſted their Countrey, threatning alſo to ſubdue all the Northern Nations as far as the Ocean, and had his other carriage been anſwerable to his Valour, he might have enjoyed time and opportunity for the Performance of much. This occaſion of revolt from him was firſt given in *Africk*, by his Officer at *Carthage*, whoſe rapacity ſo far incenſed certain young Men, that they killed him, and compelled *Gordianus* the *Proconſul* to take upon him the Purple, who being of the Age of Eighty years, was joyfully owned both by Senate and People. But he going about to revenge private Injuries, deſtroyed himſelf, by conſtraining *Capellianus* who governed *Mauritiana* to come upon him with an Army, wherewith being worſted he hanged himſelf, his Son having periſhed in the Fight at the Age of Forty ſix. They ſcarcely enjoyed the Title Thirty ſix days.

Gordianus.

Maximus and *Balbinus.*

44. The Senate, that they might have ſome to oppoſe againſt *Maximinus*, choſe two Emperors, *Maximus* and *Balbinus*; but the People not being ſatisfied therewith, and being deſirous to have a Prince out of the ſtock of *Gordianus*, they gave the Title of *Cæſar* to *Gordianus* his Grandſon by his Daughter, a Boy of Thirteen years of Age. A little after it happened that two old Soldiers who had belonged to *Maximinus*, going to the Senate-houſe to hearken for News, were ſlain by two Senators, which thing raiſing a great Tumult, the Soldiers in Town ſet the City on fire, whereby a great part of it was burnt down, and got them to their Camp. *Balbinus* was appointed to take care of *Rome*, and *Maximus* went into *Italy* to raiſe Forces againſt *Maximinus*, who now marched for *Rome*. Finding no reſiſtance at the *Alps*, he accounted himſelf moſt ſure of Victory, but found ſo much at *Aquileia*, as ſtopped his Journey; for the Inhabitants furniſhed by the commodiouſneſs of the place with all ſorts of Proviſions moſt ſtoutly defended themſelves. They threw down ſo much ſcalding Pitch and Sulphur upon his Soldiers, that they were not able to continue the Storms, and the Women, 'tis ſaid, cut the hair from their heads to make Proviſion for Bow-ſtrings. This unexpected Oppoſition drove him to ſuch a rage, that having no Power to torment the Enemy,

Maximinus killed by his own Men.

Euſeb. Hiſt. l. 6. c. 29. & in Chron.

he exerciſed his fury upon divers of his Captains whom he put to Death, as if through their lazineſs and neglect the Town ſtood out. This Cruelty, together with the ſcarcity of Victuals in the Camp (for the Beſiegers were ſo Beſieged that all Proviſions were cut off from them) induced ſuch of the Soldiers, as had their Wives and Children at *Rome*, to conſpire againſt him. Together with him fell his Son, ſuch an one as himſelf, whom he had named *Cæſar*, the Soldiers crying out, That of *an ill Litter not a Whelp was to be preſerved.* He alſo perſecuted the Church by the ſixth Perſecution, commanding that Governors only, and the Principal Miniſters of our Saviour's Doctrine ſhould be put to Death. But to ſuch an end came he, being the firſt Emperor created only by the Army without conſent of the Senate, after he had reigned three years, A.V.C. 991, A.D. 238.

Biſhops.

Damaſus. Euſeb.

45. Now to our continuation of Eccleſiaſtical matters. In the firſt year of *Alexander*, or the laſt of *Heliogabalus*, the day preceding the *Ides* of *October*, *Calliſtus* Biſhop of *Rome* was crowned with Martyrdom. The See was vacant ſix days, and then ſucceeded *Urbanus* the Seventeenth Biſhop, according to *Damaſus*, on the Twentieth of *October*, and firſt *Feria.* In the Tenth of *Alexander*, on the Eighth before the *Calends* of *June* died *Urbanus.* The See was vacant Thirty days, and then *Pontianus* ſucceeded on the Eighth before the *Calends* of *July*, the ſixth *Feria.* In the firſt of *Maximinus*, *Pontianus*, being Baniſhed into the Iſland *Sardinia*, there died, on the Thirteenth of the *Calends* of *December*, and *Autherus* ſucceeded him, who in the year following, on the Third of the *Nones* of *January*, was crowned with Martyrdom, becauſe he had diligently gathered an Hiſtory of the Martyrs, and laid it up in the Church. The Seat was vacant Thirteen days, and then was *Fabianus* elected, on the Seventeenth of *January*, and the firſt *Feria*, being the Twentieth Biſhop of *Rome*, according to *Damaſus.* And about the * Eleventh year of *Alexander*, *Heraclas* who once was *Origen*'s Uſher in the School of *Alexandria*, was Biſhop of that See, where he continued Sixteen years.

* *Euſeb. Hiſt. l. 6. c. 15, 26, 35.*

CHAP. VII.

From the Death of Maximinus *the firſt created Emperor without Conſent of the Senate, to the Monarchy of* Conſtantine *the firſt Chriſtian Emperor, who reformed Religion, and tranſlated the Imperial Seat to* Byzantium, *the ſpace of Eighty ſix years.*

Herod. Capitol. Zoſimus l. 1. Eutrop. l. 9.

Gordianus.

1. THE news of *Maximinus* his Death being brought to *Rome*, filled the City with extraordinary joy, having taken *Maximus* as he was Liſting Men in *Italy*, who thereupon went to *Aquileia*, and received the Army, to which he pardoned all things paſt. Then returned he to *Rome*, where he and his Collegue managed Matters with Diſcretion enough, could they have agreed betwixt themſelves; but the one being jealous of the other, and both endeavouring to grapple all the Power into their own hands, thereby wrought to themſelves ſudden Deſtruction. The *Prætorian* Bands hated them both, as created by the Senate, and reſolved, for the removal of ſuch an Indignity offered to the Army, to make them away, which *Maximus* underſtanding, would have ſent for the Guard of *Germans*, which he knew both to be faithful to him, and able to reſiſt the Power of the other; but *Balbinus* ſuſpecting that he intended ſomething againſt himſelf, would not ſuffer it; and ſo the Soldiers entering the Palace haled them out, and after all ſorts of Indignities offered to their Perſons, upon report that the *Germans* were coming, ſlew them both. Now knowing no fit Perſon whom they might prefer, and being aſſured it would be very acceptable to the People, they made choice of *Gordianus*, who had been formerly made *Cæſar.* At his beginning ſo great an Eclipſe of the Sun happened (*April* 2. on the ſecond *Feria*, as *Cappellus* agreeth with *Mulierus*) that the Day ſeemed to be turned into Night, and nothing could

Olymp. 254. *an.* 2. *V. C.* 991. *A. D.* 238.

could be done in Houſes without Candles. *Sabinianus* in *Africk* attempted new Matters, but was Slain. *Gordianus* being yet very young, undertook an Expedition againſt the *Perſians*, over whom *Sapores* in his Third year began to Reign, having ſucceeded *Artaxerxes* their firſt King. By the good Conduct of *Miſitheus* his Father-in-Law he proſpered very well, but he being ſlain or made away, the Soldiers not enduring the rawneſs of *Gordianus*, tranſferred the Sovereignty unto *Philip*, and killed him, after he had Reigned ſix years. It's obſerved, that all thoſe Nine that ſlew him periſhed by their own hands, their own Swords, and the very ſame with which they deſtroyed him.

M. Julius Philippus.

Eutrop. l. 9. *Victor.* *Euſeb. Hiſt. l.* 6. *c.* 34. & *in Chron.*

2. *M. Julius Philippus* was by Birth an *Arabian* of *Trachonitis*, his Father being a notable Captain of Thieves in that Country. He made his Son partaker with him in the Imperial Dignity. In his fourth year fell out the 1000th of *Rome*, which was celebrated with great Pomp, and all manner of Games, from *April* 21 to *April* 21 of the following year. *Euſebius* reports of him, that he was the firſt Chriſtian Emperor, and that being deſirous to joyn with the multitude in the Eccleſiaſtical Prayers, he could not be admitted till he had firſt rendred an account of his Faith, and joyned himſelf with ſuch, as for their Sins were examined, and ſet in the place of Penitents; therefore becauſe he was faulty in many things, ſaith the Hiſtorian, he willingly obeyed, and declared by his works his ſincere and religious mind towards God. The Martyrologies will have him and his Son converted by occaſion of the Solemnity of the 1000th year, and being Baptized by *Fabianus* Biſhop of *Rome*, after confeſſion of his Sins, to have been admitted to the Communion. But ſaith *Cappellus*, if any of this had been true, would the Senate that was ſo ſet againſt the Chriſtians have reckoned him amongſt the gods? At leaſt would not *Decius* have objected this as a Crime againſt him? The *Scythians*, in his time infeſting the Empire, he repelled by his Lieutenants. *Marinus* raiſing a Commotion in *Pannonia*, he ſent *Decius* to quiet the Soldiers, who put the Purple upon him. *Philip* then led an Army againſt this Uſurper, and they met at *Verona*, where the old Emperor was defeated and ſlain, which News coming to *Rome*, his Son a Child of Twelve years of Age was Murdered by the *Prætorian* Bands, after they had reigned about five years.

Decius.

Olymp. 257. *an.* 1. *V. C.* 1002. *A. D.* 249. *Oroſius lib.* 7. *cap.* 21. *Euſeb. Hiſt. l.* 6. *c.* 39. *Lege item Zozimum lib.* 1. *Eutrop. l.* 9. *Pomponium Lætum.*

3. *Quinctus Trajanus Decius*, as *Oroſius* calleth him, was born in *Pannonia*. According to the Cuſtom he aſſumed his Son into participation of the Empire. He quieted at his beginning ſome motions in *Gaul*, but raiſed a great one againſt the Church, being Author of the ſeventh Perſecution, out of hatred to *Philip*, or as others ſay, having conſpired againſt *Philip*, out of hatred to Chriſtianity: by his Edicts many were put to moſt cruel Deaths. He received his reward after a ſhort time; for now the *Gothes* (originally Inhabitants of *Scanzia*) invaded *Thrace*, and other places, both by Land and Sea, becauſe ſuch of them as ſerved in the Wars had been defrauded of their pay. At the deſire of the Senate, to which he commended the Commonwealth in his abſence, he marched againſt and overthrew them in ſeveral Battels (notwithſtanding that he loſt his Son, and *Priſcus* Governor of *Philippi* revolted) and had perfected his Victory, but that he was betrayed by *Gallus Hoſtillianus* Governor of the lower *Mæſia*. He perſwaded him to fight in a Fenny Ground, and then revealed his intention to the Enemy, by whom he was beſet, and was ſwallowed up in a Bog, ſo as his Body could never be found. He was courteous enough to all but Chriſtians, and gave ſatisfaction to Senate and People. He reigned two years and an half.

Gallus.

Eutrop. l. 9. *Pompon. Lætus.* *Victor.*

Æmilianus.

4. *Vibius Gallus Hoſtilianus* ſucceeded him, both in his Empire, his malice towards Chriſtians, and his puniſhment. He clapped up an ignominious Peace with the *Gothes*, unto whom he promiſed Money, a thing ſcarcely heard of before amongſt the *Romans*; and this not being long kept, the *Gothes* and *Scythians* made Incurſions into *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, and *Theſſaly*, and alſo into *Aſia*, making great ſpoils in all places. Many other Nations after their example rebelled, and made havock of the Provinces: the *Parthians* alſo pierced into *Armenia*, and thence expelled *Tiridates* the King. The *Scythians* proceeded ſo furiouſly, that they ſeemed to carry all before them, till that *Æmilianus* a *Moor*, and who commanded the Legions in *Pannonia*, by promiſes drew on his Soldiers againſt them, and ſo repelled them, that he invaded their Country, for which Service he was ſaluted Emperor by this Army. *Gallus* hearing of this, went preſently againſt him, but was ſlain, together with *Voluſian* his Son and Partner in the Empire. Such was the end of him who perſecuted the Church of God, and chaſed away ſuch holy Men as prayed for his peaceable and proſperous Eſtate.

The Perſecutions of the Chriſtians in the dayes of *Decius* and *Gallus* were accompanied or followed with a moſt grievous Peſtilence, which ſo vehemently raged, that there was ſcarcely any Province, City or Houſe, but was almoſt waſted and ruined by it. *Gallus* and *Voluſian* his Son reigned little more than one year.

Euſeb. Hiſt. l. 7. c. 1.
Oroſius l. 7. c. 21.

5. *Æmilianus* enjoyed the Dignity not long, for another Army near the *Alpes* creating Emperor one *Valerianus*, a Man of noble deſcent, his Soldiers, leſt they ſhould incur any danger or trouble, killed him after three Months. *Valerianus* then taking the Government upon him in *Rhætia*, the Senate at *Rome* gave the title of *Cæſar* to *Gallienus* his Son. He was at firſt very courteous to the Chriſtians, and ſo familiarly imbraced them, that his Palace was filled with Profeſſors of the Faith; but afterward, he was perſwaded by the Maſter of the *Ægyptian* Sorcerers to ſlay them, as Enemies to their Art, and hinderers of its operation in their preſence; ſo that he raiſed the eighth Perſecution, wherein many periſhed. But God avenged the cauſe of his Saints upon him; for going againſt *Sapores* the King of the *Perſians*, he was taken Priſoner, and could not be releaſed, notwithſtanding the interceſſion of the *Perſian*'s Confederates, who alleged, that the *Romans* the more they were overcome, the more vehemently they ever reſiſted. *Sapores* kept and uſed him as a ſtool to tread on when he got on Horſe-back, and at length pulling his skin over his ears, tortured him to death. *Gallienus* his Son, who all this time had reigned with him, terrified hereat, ſtopped the Perſecution of the Chriſtians; but many of the *Romans* who had been the inſtruments of the Emperor's Cruelty, being to be puniſhed as well as he, many Nations fell like a flood upon the *Roman* Empire, *Gallienus* giving up himſelf to all wantonneſs and luxury. The *Germans* over-running *Rhætia* and part of *Italy*, came as far as *Ravenna*, the *Allemans* alſo waſting *Gall* pierced into *Italy*. *Greece*, *Macedonia*, *Pontus*, and *Aſia*, were overwhelmed with an Inundation of the *Gothes* and *Scythians*. *Dacia* beyond *Danubius* was perpetually loſt, the *Quadi* and *Sarmatæ* ſeized on *Pannonia*, and the *Parthians* having got into their hands *Meſopotamia*, made Incurſions into *Syria*.

Valerianus.
Olymp. 258. an. 1.
V. C. 1006.
A. D. 253.
Lætus.
Oroſius ubi ſuprà.
Euſeb. Hiſt. l. 7. c. 10.
Gallienus.
Oroſius l. 7. c. 22.
Eutrop. l. 9.

6. *Gallienus* neglected theſe motions, anſwering always concerning theſe matters, as if notwithſtanding them the Empire might flouriſh and do well enough. He thus little minding the Commonwealth, the Soldiers almoſt in all places choſe them Emperors; ſo that at this time there were no leſs than thirty Tyrants. The moſt notable of theſe upſtarts was *Poſthumus*, who reigned in *Gall* with great commendations ten years; he uſed much Moderation, expelled the Enemies, and recovered Provinces. All thoſe Thirty fell at length, either fighting with one another, or with the Emperor. But *Gallienus* at laſt, being contemned, was ſlain, having reigned ſix years together with his Father, and nine by himſelf, A.V.C. 1021. A.D. 268. His Succeſſor was *Flavius Claudius* a *Dalmatian* born, according to his own deſire, and the will of the Senate, who killing of the *Gothes* and other *Barbarians*, to the number of Three hundred and thirty thouſand Men, and ſinking Two thouſand Veſſels, the Senate decreed him a Golden Shield to be ſet up in the Court, and a Statue in the Capitol; but to the great loſs of the Commonwealth, he was ſlain at *Syrmium*, when he had ſcarcely reigned two years. Into his place was advanced *Aurelius Quintillus* his Brother, an excellent Perſon; but being too good, they that ſet him up pulled him down, becauſe they could not bear his gravity and ſtrictneſs, killing him the ſeventeenth day after, at *Aquileia*. Then reigned *Valerius Aurelianus*, born either at *Syrmium* or ſome place in *Dacia*, of mean Parentage. Being by *Claudius* appointed to drive the *Gothes* out of *Thrace*, he was after his death ſaluted Emperor. He was an excellent Soldier, and reſtored the Empire well nigh to its former bounds. He drove out the *Gothes* from about *Danubius*; then returning to *Rome*, and there puniſhing ſome Seditious Perſons, he marched into the Eaſt, to reduce thoſe parts to their former Obedience.

Aurelius Victor.
Pollio de 30. Tyrannis.
Oroſius ubi ſuprà.
Pomponius Lætus.
Claudius.
Quintillus.
Oroſius l. 7. c. 23.
Aurelianus.

7. In the days of *Gallienus*, the *Perſians* having ſubdued *Meſopotamia*, and invaded *Syria*, One *Odenatus* an Inhabitant of *Palmyra*, a City of this Countrey, gathering together a Company of Boors, fell upon them, and ſo ordered his affairs, that he beat them out of *Syria*, recovered *Meſopotamia*, and incamped before *Cteſiphon* the *Metropolis*. Being ſlain after this Conqueſt, *Zenobia* his Wife in right of her Children kept Poſſeſſion of the Eaſt, together with *Egypt*. *Aurelianus* now going againſt her, in his way, in *Illyricum*, *Thrace*, and other places, defeated ſuch Enemies as he met, and then entring *Syria*, after ſome trouble and danger,

Oroſius.
Euſeb. in Chron.
Zozimus lib. 1.

danger, overthrew, and took the Queen her ſelf near *Antioch*, and then recovered all her Dominions. But after his departure the Inhabitants of *Palmyra* killed his Garriſon and revolted, which calling him back, he deſtroyed both the City and them therein, ſparing neither Sex nor Age; and after this recovered *Egypt*. Then returning into the Weſt, he bent his endeavours againſt *Tetricus*, who reigned in *Gall*. *Tetricus* being vexed by his Seditious Soldiers, deſired him, whom he termed *Invincible*, to reſcue him from ſuch evils, and betrayed his Army into his hands. *Valerian*, growing proud upon ſuch ſucceſs, firſt of all *Romans* ſet a Diadem on his head, and adorned himſelf with Gold and Pearl. He began alſo to perſecute the Chriſtians; but undertaking a War againſt the *Perſians*, he was ſlain betwixt *Byzantium* and *Heraclea*, through the malice of his Secretary, in the ſixth year of his Reign. In his firſt year, *Hormiſda* the third *Perſian* King began his Reign, which laſted but one year. Him ſucceeded *Varane*, and Reigned three years, and him followed *Narſes*, who continued twenty eight. In his firſt year alſo died *Plotinus* the *Platoniſt*, who deriding all Religion, periſhed through the juſt Judgment of God by a filthy and painful Diſeaſe, although he had choſen a pleaſant and wholeſom place wherein to live in *Campania*. Now alſo flouriſhed *Porphyrius* his Scholar, who of a Chriſtian became a great Enemy to Chriſtianity, and wrote Fifteen Books againſt it, to which *Euſebius* anſwered in thirty, of which twenty were extant in the time of *Jerome*, but at this day not one.

Victor. Oroſius.

Euſeb. Hiſt. l. 7. cap. 30. & in Chron.

Agathias.

Firmicus lib. 1.

Tacitus.

8. There was an *inter-regnum* after the Death of *Valerian* for eight Months, the Senate and Army ſtraining courteſie the one with the other, at length the Senate made choice of *Tacitus*, a man of Conſular Dignity, who in his ſixth Month died of a Fever at *Tarſus*. The Senate deſired him, that in caſe he ſhould die preſently, he would not leave his Children his Succeſſors, but ſome man of approved worth and valour, as the neceſſity of the State required. This man was *Probus*; yet notwithſtanding, *Florianus* the Brother of *Tacitus* invaded the Empire, but was cut off by *Probus* near *Tarſus*, within the ſpace of two or three Months. *Probus* unwillingly receiving the burthen upon him, managed the Government with great commendation. He recovered *Gall* out of the hand of the *Francones*, a people of *Germany*, which now firſt ſeized on it, after many bloody Battels, and after this was ingaged in Civil Wars. For *Saturninus* was ſaluted Emperor in *Egypt*, who was overthrown alſo, and killed alſo againſt his mind, and the ſame ſucceſs he had againſt *Proculus* in *Gall* and *Bonoſus* a *Britain* born. He overthrew the *Sarmatians*, ſubdued ſeveral barbarous Nations about *Thrace*, by the terror of his name only, quieted all *Aſia*, and forced the *Parthian* King to deſire Peace, which he granted. Returning afterward ino *Thrace*, he planted ſeveral barbarous People within the *Roman* Empire, whereof ſome revolting, he chaſtized and reduced them. Now all things flouriſhed exceedingly through Peace and Security, which made him ſomething ſlight the Soldiers, who thereupon, as he was marching through *Illyricum* againſt the *Perſians*, murdered him at *Syrmium*, though he fled for ſafety into a fortified Tower. That Saying undid him, *Si vixero non opus erit amplius Romano Imperio militibus*, a ſpeech of great Deſpair for the Soldiers. Witty and ſharp ſpeeches fallen from Princes have often given fire to Seditions. *Surely*, ſaith the moſt Learned *Viſcount* of St. *Albans*, *Princes had need in tender matters, and tickliſh times, to beware what they ſay; eſpecially in thoſe ſhort ſpeeches, which fly abroad like Darts, and are thought to be ſhot out of their ſecret intentions. For as for large Diſcourſes, they are flat things, and not ſo much noted.*

Probus.

Oroſius lib. 7. cap. 24.
Eutrop. lib. 9.

Fl. Vopiſcus.

Zozimus.
Pomponius Lætus.

Carus.

9. *M. Aurelius Carus*, of the Province of *Narbon* in *Gall*, ſucceeded him, who, when he had created *Cæſars* his two Sons, *Carinus* and *Numerianus*, reſtrained the *Sarmatians*, that upon the death of *Probus* threatned *Italy*: But going againſt the *Perſians*, after he had recovered *Meſopotamia*, and taken the two noble Cities of *Parthia*, *Cteſiphon*, and *Cochis*, he was ſlain by a Thunder-bolt in his Tent near to the River *Tigris*. Of his two Sons, *Numerianus* was with him, and *Carinus* was left behind to look to *Gall*. *Numerianus* returning out of the Eaſt as Conqueror, and lying Sick in his Litter, was killed by *Arius Aper* his Father-in-Law, who gaped after the Empire. Scarcely after ſome days was this wickedneſs detected by the ſtench of the Carcaſs, and then the Author of it being alſo diſcovered, *Valerius Diocletianus*,

Olymp. 265. ann. 3.
V. C. 1036.
A. D. 283.

Oroſius. Eutrop. Vopiſcus.

Diocletian.

tianus, who governed the Family of *Carus*, was choſen Emperor, and rewarded *Aper* as he had deſerved. On the Fifteenth before the Calends of *December*, and ten days after, he entred *Nicomedia* in Purple. From the beginning of this *Diocletian* the *Egyptians* began a new *Æra*, fetching its Riſe from the new Moon of *Thoth* the preceding Month (*Auguſt* 29.) which they called the *Æra of Grace*, for ſome reaſon or other. *Cappellus* obſerveth, that the fluctuating and vitious Chronology of *Baronius* henceforth beginneth to be right. For thinking, ſaith he, that he exhibited the years both of the true, and received *Æra* of Chriſt, in truth, he exhibited neither the one ſort nor the other. Beginning the *Æra* of *Diocletian* from the 284 year of our Lord, it's true, and right, ſo that it be underſtood of the received, not of the true *Æra* of Chriſt: and the ſame is to be ſaid concerning the years of the following Emperors. But after this, *Carinus* and *Diocletian* fought for the Sovereignty, and *Carinus* after much ado was ſlain by his own Soldiers for his laſciviouſneſs, which made an end of a bloody and laborious War.

10. *Diocletian* then enjoyed the Dignity alone; but great ſtirs ariſing in *Gall*, *Carauſius* alſo, who was ſet to defend the Sea-Coaſts from the Invaſion of the *Franks* and *Saxons*, rather taking part with them than otherwiſe, he was conſtrained to create *Cæſar*, *Maximianus Herculeus*. He ſuppreſſed the motions in *Gall*, but commanding *Carauſius* to be killed, this man put on the Purple, though a man of mean condition, and ſeized upon *Britain*. *Achilleus* rebelled in *Egypt*, *Africk* was in trouble, and *Narſes* King of *Perſia* invaded the Eaſtern parts. *Diocletian*, awakened with theſe dangers, promoted *Maximianus* to be *Auguſtus*, and they two adopted for *Cæſars Maximianus Galerius*, and *Conſtantius Chlorus*, who Married *Theodora* the Wive's Daughter of *Herculeus*, and by her had ſix Sons, as the other, the Daughter of *Diocletian*. *Carauſius* valiantly held *Britain* for ſeven years, and then was ſlain by *Allectus*, who having kept poſſeſſion of the Iſland three years, was overthrown by *Aſclepiodorus*. *Conſtantius* fighting againſt the *Allemans* in *Gall*, at firſt was worſted, but afterwards got a great Victory, wherein Sixty thouſand of them are ſaid to have been ſlain. *Maximianus Herculeus* reduced *Africk*. *Diocletian* himſelf beſieging *Achilleus* in *Alexandria* eight Months, at length ſlew him therein, gave up the City to be plundred by the Soldiers, and vexed all *Egypt* with Proſcriptions and Slaughters. *Galerius* was overthrown by the *Perſian* King, and fled to *Diocletian*, who received him with great diſdain, and made him run in his Purple Robe for ſome miles before his Chariot. *Galerius* much moved by this diſgrace, recruited his Army throughout *Illyricum* and *Mæſia*, and returning againſt *Narſes*, routed his Army, took his Camp, his Wives, Siſters, and Children, many of his Nobles, and great Treaſure, wherewith returning into *Meſopotamia* unto *Diocletian*, he was then received moſt honourably; for he had taken *Cteſiphon*, ſubdued *Aſſyria*, and recovered thoſe five Provinces beyond *Tigris*, which revolted from *Trajan*.

Oroſius ubi ſupra cap 25. *Eutrop. lib.* 9. *Feſtus Rufus.*

The tenth Perſecution.

11. After this were the *Carpi*, *Baſtarnæ*, and *Sarmatians* overthrown, and divers other Nations quieted. *Diocletian* now ſuffered himſelf to be called *Lord*, and worſhipped as a God. He in the Eaſt, and his Collegue in the Weſt, raiſed againſt the Chriſtians the moſt heavy Perſecution that ever yet had hapned, both for length and cruelty. The Soldiers were firſt begun with, whereof all ſuch as would not ſacrifice to Devils, were caſhiered; but the Perſecutors proceeded to ſuch cruelty and rage that ſome were Crucified, others Burnt alive, others roaſted with ſlow Fires; and others pulled in pieces by having their Limbs made faſt to boughs of Trees, which being brought together for that purpoſe, were afterwards ſuffered to return to their natural Poſition. Some were ſtarved to death, many ſlain with the ſword, and many devoured of wild Beaſts. Some were flea'd alive, others beaten to death by hot burning Iron Rods, and ſome returned to Priſon after their Torments, there to languiſh away. Women were hung naked by one foot, and ſome had their Breaſts ſeared: no Sex, no Age, no condition was ſpared. A terrible Earthquake followed in *Syria*, which deſtroyed many Thouſands about *Tyre* and *Sidon*. But in the ſecond year of this Perſecution *Diocletian* perſwaded his Collegue, though unwilling, That they both might reſign the Empire to the two *Cæſars*; ſo that he being ſeized with a foul Diſeaſe, after he had almoſt reigned twenty years, put off the Purple at *Nicomedia*, and *Maximianus Herculius* the ſame day at *Milain*.

Oroſius ut ſupra. Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. 8. *c.* 3, *&c.*

The former withdrew to *Salenæ* into his own Countrey, and the later into *Lucania*.

The Reſcripts of *Diocletian* very numerous.

12. *Diocletian* was ſtill buſied and perplexed with Wars during his Reign, and well might be wearied and content to reſign the Empire, and yet he was alſo extraordinarily taken up with making Laws, being conſulted and Petitioned by multitudes of Perſons upon occaſion, whoſe Names are ſet to his Anſwers, ſtill extant in *Juſtinian*'s Code. And his Reſcripts are rather more numerous than thoſe of any Prince mentioned and recorded for Laws in that Code, except it be thoſe of *Juſtinian* himſelf. But they, and thoſe of other Princes till *Conſtantine*, generally concern the Rights of Private Perſons, and belong to the *Jus privatum*; and therefore are not by us to be handled or conſidered, who write an Hiſtory, not a Book of Law. And thoſe Anſwers are generally directed and Inſcribed to private Perſons conſulting; whereas thoſe made by *Conſtantine*, and his Succeſſors, as they much appertain to the *Jus publicum*, and conſequently are Hiſtorical, ſo are they directed to the *Præfecti Prætorio*, or other great Officers or Governors, either ſerving at Court, or in the Provinces.

Maximianus Galerius, and *Conſtantius Chlorus.*

Oroſius.

Eutropius l. 10.

13. The two *Cæſars*, *Maximianus Galerius*, and *Conſtantius Chlorus* became *Auguſti* after the reſignation of their Fathers-in-Law, and firſt of all others parted the Empire between them. To *Conſtantius* fell *Gall*, *Britain*, *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Africk*; to the other *Illyricum*, with *Greece*, and *Aſia*. *Galerius* created *Cæſars* his Siſter's two Sons, *Galerius Maximinus* and *Severus*. The Eaſt he appointed to *Maximinus*, and intended *Italy* for *Severus*, if he could but take it from *Conſtantius*. For this purpoſe he kept at *Rome*, as an Hoſtage, *Conſtantine* the Son of *Conſtantius* by *Helena* a *Britiſh* Woman, as ſome ſay, which he put away when he Married the Daughter of *Maximianus*. But *Conſtantine* made an eſcape to his Father, who died at *York* in *Britain* not long after, on the 25 of *July*, in the third year of his reign, he and his Collegue both the ſixth time being *Conſuls*, in the 1058 year of the City, the 306 of the ordinary *Æra* of Chriſt, the firſt year of the 271 *Olympiad* ending. His Son *Conſtantine* in *Britain* was now ſaluted Emperor.

Conſtantine.
Olymp. 271.
ann. 1.
V. C. 1058.
A. D. 306.

Zoſimus lib. 2.

Maxentius Uſurps.

14. The Image of *Conſtantine* was exhibited at *Rome*, according to the Cuſtom. But *Maxentius* the Son of *Maximianus Herculius*, as *Zoſimus* writes, thinking it intolerable that he who was born of a Concubine ſhould have his Matters ſucceed according to his Deſire, and he the Son of an Emperor ſhould lye neglected, and his Father's Dominion go to others, with the aſſiſtance of *Marcellianus* and *Marcellus* Tribunes of the Army, and *Lucianus* who provided Hog's Fleſh, allowed by the Treaſury to the *Roman* People, and of the *Prætorian* Soldiers, whom he obliged by great Promiſes, took the Title of Emperor upon him. *Abyllius Præfect* of the City endeavoured to hinder their Proceedings, but was killed by them. Againſt him did *Maximianus Galerius*, ſend his Nephew *Severus*; but *Maxentius* corrupted moſt of his Men, and drew to his ſide *Anullinus*, the *Præfectus Prætorio*, and thereby eaſily overthrew him, and forced him to fly to *Ravenna*. Theſe things coming to the ears of *Maximianus Herculius*, he was concerned for *Maxentius* his Son, and leaving *Lucania* came to *Ravenna*, whence perceiving that *Severus* could not be driven out, the place was ſo ſtrong and ſo well victualled, he circumvented him by Oaths, and perſwaded him to go to *Rome*; in the way whither, when he came to the *Tres Tabernæ*, he was ſeized by ſome whom *Maxentius* had ſent to intrap him, & ſtrangled. Now was *Maximianus Galerius* as much concerned in behalf of his Nephew, as *Maximianus Herculius* was for his Son, and he reſolved to move from the Eaſt, and revenge his Death upon *Maxentius*, but coming to the Coaſts of *Italy*, and finding his Soldiers not firm unto him, he returned into the Eaſt without a Battel. *Maximianus Herculius* being diſturbed with theſe diſorders, repaired to his old Collegue *Diocletian*, who then lay at *Carnutum* a Town of *Gall*, ſaith *Zoſimus*, for which *Sigonius* writes, *Carnuntum* a place of *Illyricum*, and endeavoured to perſwade him to reſume the Empire, and not ſuffer that which they with ſo great labours had preſerved, to be expoſed to the youth and madneſs of thoſe who had ſeized it. But *Diocletian* would not conſent, preferring his Quiet before buſineſs, and perhaps, *Zoſimus* tells you, foreſeeing how things would be diſordered; as he was a man moſt obſervant of Religion. Poor *Chriſtians*, indeed, found he was of Paganiſh Superſtition and Idolatry, to their coſt.

Diocletian refuſeth to reſume the Purple.

Maximianus Herculius doth it.

15. *Herculius* this way fruſtrated, went toward the *Alpes*, having taken *Ravenna* in his way, to meet with *Conſtantine:* And being naturally unquiet and unfaithful, thought to cheat him by giving him his Daughter in Marriage. Thereby he ingaged him to purſue *Maximianus Gallerius*, now quitting *Italy*, and to circumvent even *Maxentius* his own Son. Finding that he would obey him, he departed, and indeavoured to recover the Imperial Power, hoping to beget a quarrel betwixt his Son-in-law, and his Son. While he was indeavouring to bring this about, *Maximianus Gallerius* being much acquainted with one *Licinius*, created him Emperor, purpoſing by him to make War againſt *Maxentius*; but died in the mean time of a Wound which was incurable, and then *Licinius* managed his own Matters. All this while was *Herculius* imployed in drawing off the Soldiers from his own Son, and when by Largeſſes and miſerable requeſts he had got them over to himſelf, then began to deal in the ſame manner with his Son-in-law, and tampered alſo with his Soldiers. But he was prevented by his Daughter *Fauſtina*, who revealed all to *Conſtantine* her Husband; at which Diſcovery, falling into deſpair, he died at *Tarſus* of Sickneſs, as *Zoſimus* writes, but as *Sigonius* hath it from others, was ſtrangled at *Marſeilles* by Command of *Conſtantine: Maxentius* by his Death freed from former Inconveniences thought himſelf ſecure, and ſent ſome into *Africk*, and to *Carthage* to carry about his Pictures. The Soldiers in thoſe Parts out of love to the memory of *Gallerius*, would not permit this to be done, and afterward hearing that he was about to undertake an Expedition to chaſtize them, departed for *Alexandria*, but meeting with ſuch Forces as they were not able to over-power, returned to *Carthage*. Now did *Maxentius* reſolve to go into *Africk*, and be revenged on them, but the Haruſpices diſcouraging him from what they ſaw by their Birds, and he fearing that *Alexander*, who in *Africk* exerciſed the Office of *Præfectus Prætorio* might withſtand him, thought it ſafeſt to deal firſt with him, and demand of him his Son for an Hoſtage. *Alexander* ſuſpecting that he would deal perfidiouſly, denied to ſend his Son, whereupon *Maxentius* imployed ſome to take an advantage and make him away. This being diſcovered, the Soldiers were glad of the occaſion; and rebelling, delivered the Purple to *Alexander*.

And dies.

Alexander Uſurps in *Africk*.

16. This *Alexander* was a *Phrygian* by deſcent, a Coward, ſlow to all Buſineſs, and beſides, an old Man. At this time a Fire happened in *Rome*, it's uncertain, *Zoſimus* ſaith, whether from the Air or the Earth, and the Temple of Fortune was burnt. Great Concourſe being made to quench it, a certain Soldier ſpake ſome Blaſphemous words (Thus Writers term them) againſt the Divinity, and was killed by the multitude, out of Piety to it. Hereupon the Soldiers fell into a Mutiny, and were hardly kept from deſtroying the City, their fury being appeaſed by *Maxentius*. Now did he look for ſome pretence to make War upon *Conſtantine*, and pretending to grieve for the Death of his Father, of which he was the Cauſe, purpoſed to take the way leading to *Rhætia*, as neareſt to *Gall* and the *Illyrican* Regions; for he Dream't that he ſhould ſeize upon *Dalmatia* and *Illyricum*, by the aſſiſtance of the Military Officers of thoſe quarters, and of the Forces of *Licinius*. But he reſolved firſt to ſettle matters in *Africk*, and for this purpoſe he ſent over *Rufius Veluſianus* his *Præfectus Prætorio*, with whom he joyned *Zenas*, a Man moſt famous for his Skill in War, and his gentleneſs of diſpoſition. By them *Alexander* was eaſily maſtered, taken, and put to Death. The War being in this manner compoſed, a large opportunity was afforded to Calumniators; and all in a manner who were in *Africk*, conſiderable for Birth or Wealth, were accuſed as having ſided with him, and none were ſpared, ſome being killed, and others deprived of their Eſtates. And a Triumph there was at *Rome*, for thoſe miſchiefs that were done at *Carthage*; and *Maxentius* in *Italy*, and in the City carried all things on, as ſuited with his Luſt and Cruelty.

Βλάσφημα ῥήματα κατὰ τοῦ θείου τῶν στρατιωτῶν τις ἀφεὶς.

Is taken and put to Death.

17. *Conſtantine* having the man formerly ſuſpected, now found more reaſon to beware of him, and prepared to make War againſt him. At this time he had his Abode in *Gallia Belgica*, at *Collein*, where in his ſecond Conſulſhip, and that of *Licinius*, he compoſed matters about the Tributes of *Gall*, and granted Indulgence as to Arrears, particularly through *Lugdunenſis Prima* (for now there were two *Lugdunenſes*, though afterwards four) amongſt the Cities, of which was *Auguſtodunum*, an Inhabitant whereof *Eumenius* an Orator, gave him thanks in a Panegyrick ſtill extant. Having arrived at the ſeventh year of his Reign, he moved againſt *Maxentius*, who was in his ſixth, from *Gall* into *Italy*, in the Months of *Auguſt* and *September*, at the later end of which he there arrived.

Vide Chron. Hiſt. Cod. Theod. ad A.D. CCCXII.

Conſtantine from *Gall* moves againſt *Maxentius*.

From this Month, the eighth before the Calends of *October*, and his arrival and making War againſt *Maxentius* is the Original of the Indictions to be reckoned, of which mention is made in the Code of *Theodoſius*. The firſt Law of this Code concerning Tribute, and directed to *Antonius Marcellinus*, the Preſident of the Province of *Lugdunenſis Prima*, was made this year alſo, by *Conſtantine*, and dated at *Colein* on the firſt of *July*, as *Gothofred* ſhewes. *Zoſimus* writes, That having raiſed Forces out of ſuch barbarous People as he had ſubdued, as alſo from amongſt the *Germans*, other *Celtick* Nations, and the *Britans*, to the number of Ninety thouſand Foot, and Eight thouſand Horſe, he moved from the *Alpes* into *Italy*, where, ſuch Towns as yielded he hurt not at all, but ſuch as ſtood out he reduced by force. With *Maxentius* who was furniſhing himſelf with far more numerous Forces, Eighty thouſand *Romans* and *Italians* joyned, and as many of the *Tyrrhenians* as inhabited the Sea-Coaſt. The *Carthaginians* alſo ſent him an Army of Forty thouſand, and the *Sicilians* furniſhed him with Men; ſo that all his Forces conſiſted of an Hundred and ſeventy thouſand Foot, and Eighteen thouſand Horſe.

L. 1. *Sine Cenſu Cod. Th. lib.* 11. *tit.* 3.

18. Such were the Forces on both ſides, when *Maxentius*, the more to provide for his Security, cauſed a Bridge to be laid over the River *Tiber*, ſo divided in the middle that it might be drawn aſunder, and the ſides parted upon occaſion; and he commanded the Workmen, that when they ſhould ſee the Army of *Conſtantine* upon the Joynt of the Bridge, they ſhould draw back thoſe Irons that held it together, and diſſolve it, that as many as were thereon might fall and be Drowned. In the mean time, *Conſtantine* comes before *Rome*, and incamps himſelf in a large plain, very convenient for Horſe. *Maxentius* being Beſieged, ſacrificeth to his Gods, conſults the Extiſpices concerning the Event of the War, and ſearcheth the *Sybilline* Books, wherein he finds an Oracle, That he who ſhould deſign things tending to the detriment of the *Roman* People ſhould periſh by a miſerable Death. This he applied to himſelf, as fighting againſt thoſe who attempted to take *Rome*; and the Event ſhewed the truth. For when he had led his Forces out of the City, and paſſed the Bridge which he had Built, an infinite number of Owles flew and filled the Walls, which being ſeen by *Conſtantine*, he Commands his Men to be drawn out. The Armies facing each other, he ſent his Horſe to Engage the Cavalry of the Enemy, and then gave the Sign to his Footmen. A Bloody Engagement following, the *Romans* and *Italians* their Aſſociates, were ſlow in venturing their lives, hoping to be freed from a Cruel Tyranny; but of the reſt fell an innumerable Multitude, as well trodden down by the Horſe as killed by the Foot of *Conſtantine*. As long as the Horſe made reſiſtance, ſome hope remained to *Maxentius*; but it being beaten, he with the reſt thought it beſt to fly over the Bridge into the City. With the weight of them that fled the Bridge was forced aſunder, and *Maxentius* falling down with the reſt of the Multitude, periſhed in the River. The noiſe of the Victory being brought into the City, none of the Inhabitants durſt rejoyce, for fear it ſhould prove falſe; but when the Head of *Maxentius* was carried in upon a Pole, they changed their folly for gladneſs. *Conſtantine* after this Succeſs, puniſhed a few of thoſe that had been moſt familiar with *Maxentius*, but took off the *Prætorian* Soldiers, and demoliſhed the Holds where they were wont to lye. And when he had ſetled matters of the City, removed to the *Celtæ* and *Galles*. Thus writes *Zoſimus*.

Who is overthrown and drown'd.

19. Others confirm, that in the ſixth year of his *Tyranny*, the very day whereon he had Uſurped; the third after he had parted from *Rome*, he was overthrown near the Bridge called *Pons Milnius*, by *Conſtantine*, and by the fall of it was precipitated and drown'd. The day following *Conſtantine* entered *Rome*, where he ſtaid about two Months, *viz.* the later part of *October*, all *November*, and the better part of *December*. As for what he did while in the City, he reſtored *Aradius Rufinus* to be *Præfect*, who upon *Maxentius* his quitting it, had been put out, and *Annius Anulleanus* placed in his ſtead. And *Maxentius* being now ſubdued, as the Cuſtom had been of other good Princes his Predeceſſors, he took care for Suppreſſion of Informers, by Penalties inflicted on them which he had formerly ordained, which alſo he inforced the following year, according as *Victor* the Hiſtorian teſtifies of him, That he ſilenced Calumnies by moſt ſevere Laws. Having ſetled matters at *Rome*, he went to *Milan*, where he Married to *Licinius*, his Siſter *Conſtantia*, having formerly promiſed her to him when he had a mind to ingage him againſt *Maxentius*. The year following, we find *Conſtantine* alſo at

L. 1. *de petit. & Delatorib. Cod. Th. lib.* 10. *tit.* 10.

Licinius Marries the Siſter of *Conſtantine*.

Milan in the Month of *March*. This year he took care for the Affairs of *Africk*, both as to Religion by giving Incouragement, and granting Immunities to Chriſtian Clerks and Churches, and alſo by ſetling the Country after the great diſorder there raiſed, by means of *Maxentius*. Having ſetled matters in *Africk* and *Italy*, he departed from *Milan*, and went into the Lower *Germany*, where, returning to *Triers*, he repreſſed the *Franks*, and other *Barbarians*, who would have paſſed the *Rhine*, and continued there in the Months of *November* and *December*, making ſeveral Laws for Reformation of Abuſes.

20. In the mean time Diſorder aroſe betwixt *Licinius* and *Maximianus*, or *Maximinus Cæſar*, the Son of *Maximianus Gallerius* his Benefactor, and it grew ſo high, that it proceeded to a War, wherein at firſt *Licinius* had the worſt, but preſently again he recruited, and ingaging in another Battel, put *Maximinus* to flight, who taking his way for *Ægypt*, came to *Tarſus*, and there died. By this means came the Empire to be devolved on *Licinius* and *Conſtantine*, who alſo after a little time fell out, not for that *Licinius*, you muſt know, gave any juſt Cauſe, but becauſe *Conſtantine* ſeemed, according to his Cuſtom, to have obſerved Agreements with little Truth and Fidelity. So *Zoſimus* is pleaſed to write, and begin his Game of Calumnies againſt *Conſtantine*, with what Succeſs we ſhall ſee largely hereafter. But beſides this ſeeming or appearing to ſo break Covenants, he adds, That he would alſo have drawn ſome Nations ſubject to *Licinius*, from their Obedience. Therefore their Diſcord increaſing, they both provided to decide the Controverſie by the Sword. *Licinius* gathered his Forces together at *Cibalis*, a Town of *Pannonia*, ſeated on an Hill, to which lay a way up of the breadth of five Furlongs, but at the end of this paſſage was a vaſt Plain, where he incamped himſelf, near to which adjoyned a deep Fenn. *Licinius* drew out his Forces in length under the Hill, for the ſtrength of his Wings; and *Conſtantine* ordered his Battel at the Mountain, and placed his Horſe in the Front, leſt the Enemy ſhould fall on a ſudden on his Foot, which was ſlow in motion. Having this Advantage, he fell with violence upon *Licinius* his Men, and a Fight was fought, *Zoſimus* had almoſt ſaid, ſharper than any other. Both having ſpent their Miſſile Weapons, for a long time they diſputed it with their Swords and Pikes. When the Battel had continued from Morning to Night, the Right Wing wherein *Conſtantine* Commanded, had the better. Therefore *Licinius* his Legions ſeeing him leaping on Horſeback, and prepared for Flight, durſt not ſtay any longer in that place, nor Sup, but leaving their Sheep and Cattle, and all their Baggage; and taking only ſo much Meal along with them, as would ſerve to drive away hunger that Night, in all haſt they came with him to *Sirmium*, a City of *Pannonia*, waſhed on both Sides by a River, which empties it ſelf into *Iſter*. *Licinius* ſtaid not here, but broke down the Bridge, and made all the haſt he could to get into *Thrace*, and there to Reinforce his Troops.

They fall out.

Licinius is worſted at *Cibalis*.

21. *Conſtantine* having taken in *Cibalis*, *Sirmium*, and all other places in that Tract, which *Licinius* had forſaken, ſent to purſue him Five thouſand Legionary Soldiers; but they not knowing the ways through which he fled, could not reach him. He repaired then the Bridge over *Savus*, which *Licinius* had broken, and marched after him, and coming into *Thrace*, found him again incamped on a Plain. The ſame Night he arrived, he put his Men into order of Battel, and gave Orders they ſhould be ready againſt the Morning; and *Licinius* then drew out his Men alſo, being aſſiſted by *Valens*, to whom he had given the Title of *Cæſar*, after his Flight from *Cibalis*. The Armies upon facing each other, plied it with their Arrows, and thoſe and other Miſſile Weapons being ſpent, ingaged with their Pikes and Swords, which while they were doing, that Party which *Conſtantine* had ſent to purſue *Licinius*, appeared from an Hill, and were now ready to joyn with their Companions, and incompaſs their Enemies. But *Licinius* his Men valiantly received them, and bore up againſt them all, and after an innumerable Company was Slain on both Sides, and they were on equal terms, the Sign was given, and the Armies parted aſunder. The day following, they agreed to enter into a Mutual League and Society, the terms of which were, That *Conſtantine* ſhould hold *Illyricum*, and other Nations thereabouts; as, *Pannonia*, *Dacia*, *Mæſia*, *Macedonia*, all the Tract of the *Danube*, and *Greece* or *Achaia*. To *Licinius* were to remain *Thrace*, and the *Eaſt*, and other Provinces; as, *Mæſia Minor*, *Scythia*, *Aſia*, and the reſt. It was agreed that *Valens*, the lately created *Cæſar* being accounted Author of theſe Miſchiefs, ſhould

They make an Agreement.

ſhould be removed. This done, and the Agreement confirmed by Oaths, *Conſtantine* conferred the Dignity of *Cæſar* on *Criſpus* his Son, by *Minervina* his Concubine, who was grown up to be a youth, and on another called *Conſtantinus*, born not many days before at *Arles*; and to *Licinianus* alſo, the Son of *Licinius*, was given the ſame Dignity.

Conſtantine viſits ſeveral Countries.

22. This War and League following upon it, happened in the CCCXIIII year of our Lord, and the Conſulſhip of *Voluſianus*, and *Anianus*, as *Gothofred* proves from a certain Law, dated on the beginning of *March* at *Theſſalonica*, where *Conſtantine* then reſided, and therefore thoſe Parts muſt then have been in his Power, and the Diviſion been made. Having ſtaid here, and at *Heraclea* ſome time, he removed from *Macedonia* into *Myſia*, *Dacia*, and the Upper *Pannonia*, as appears by various Conſtitutions he made for the Advantage of Chriſtian Religion, and removing of Grievances and Abuſes. After this he Travelled into *Italy*, being found by a certain Law to have been at *Aquileia*, in the middle of *July*. From *Aquileia* he removed to *Rome*, where, how he imployed himſelf, is to be ſhown in another place; and thence he went to *Milan*, this being in the fourth Conſulſhip of himſelf, and the fourth alſo of *Licinius*. Into the following, wherein *Sabinus* and *Rufinus* were Conſuls, fell the Celebration of his *Decennalia*, it being the Tenth year of his Reign. At the beginning of it he had his Abode in *Gall*, at the City of *Triers*, and thence removed to *Vienna*, and *Arles*, where was born to him of his Wife *Fauſta* another Son called *Conſtantine*, who ſhortly after was alſo created *Cæſar*. This City of *Arles* being Demoliſhed, he Repaired, and ſome think that he gave to it the Name of *Conſtantina*. But now he removed out of *Gall*, whither he never returned, being found at the beginning of *December* at *Serdica*, in *Dacia*. He had much augmented his Diſtrict, which at firſt contained but *Gall*, *Spain*, and *Britain*; and now his Affairs called him Eaſtward. This year died *Diocletian*, at the beginning of *December*, at *Salonæ*. The next year in the Conſulſhip of *Gallicanus*, and *Baſſus*, *Criſpus*, young *Conſtantine* his Brother, and *Licinianus* were made *Cæſars* on the firſt of *March*; and in this year, in the month of *Auguſt*, *Conſtantius*, another Son of *Conſtantine* ſeems to have been born. The Father lay ſome time at *Serdica*, and at *Sirmium*, as appears by ſome Laws.

L. 1. De filiis Min. Apparit.

23. For the year next following, being of our Lord the CCCXVIII. *Criſpus Cæſar* was Conſul, together with *Licinius*, who bore that Title now the fifth time; and *Conſtantine* is found to have been at *Sirmium*. And for the four following years, he was either in *Pannonia*, at *Sirmium*, and *Sebaria*; or in *Dacia* at *Serdica*, and *Naiſſus*, except he pleaſed to make an Incurſion to *Aquileia*, which was near to *Pannonia*. For he was ingaged in War with the *Sarmatæ* for four years, at *Campona*, *Margus*, and *Bononia*. For this War he called the Sons of Veterane Soldiers into the Field, of whom many throughout *Italy* declined the Service. *Zoſimus* writes, That hearing how the *Sarmatæ*, who lived upon the Fen of *Mæotis*, paſſed over *Iſter*, and haraſſed his Dominions, he led his Forces againſt them, and the *Barbarians* met him under Conduct of *Rauſimodus* their King. In their way they fell upon a certain Town which was defended by a Garriſon ſtrong enough, and had Walls made of Stone at the botom, and Wood at the top. They thought they ſhould eaſily become Maſters of the place, if they could but burn what was at the top, and they caſt fire on it, and plied with Arrows thoſe that came to make defence. But they within by tumbling down Stones, and otherwiſe improving the advantage which the higher place afforded, killed many of them, and *Conſtantine* now came in View, fell upon their backs, killed many, took more, and put to flight the reſt. *Rauſimodus* having loſt the greateſt part of his Forces, took Boat, and paſſed the *Iſter*, with a reſolution again to invade the *Roman* Pale, which *Conſtantine* underſtanding, paſſed the River after him, and fell upon the *Barbarians*, who had fled to an Hill that was full of Wood, where he ſlew many, and amongſt the reſt, *Rauſimodus* himſelf. Many he took alive, and received to mercy the Multitude which yielded to him; which done, he returned to his Quarters, with a great number of Captives. Thoſe he diſtributed into the Cities, and came to *Theſſalonica*. Here he made an Haven, where formerly none had been, and again prepared to make War againſt *Licinius*. Thus *Zoſimus* writes of him.

He overthrows the *Sarmatæ*.

24. All this while he indeavoured to reform the Manners of the *Roman* People, and reduce them to Piety, Humanity, Peace, and Concord, as well by Edicts directed to the People, as by Conſtitutions ſent to *Baſſus* and *Maximus*, Præfects of

Takes care for Reformation of Abuſes.

of the City. He moderated the power of Maſters over their Slaves, made Poſſeſſors ſecure againſt violent Intruders, and prevented fraudulent Donations. He reſtrained the levity of Divorces, and gave ſtrength to lawful Contracts and Marriages, and was agreeable to the Sanctity of that Religion which he Profeſſed. He cut off from the Laws many Ambages, and Snares thereby, from the Necks of the Subject, by another moſt merciful Edict directed to the People, and expoſed to the View of all men at *Rome*. He publiſhed Laws againſt the raviſhing of Virgins, againſt the levity and temerity of Accuſations, and againſt the Uſe of Concubines, all which proceeding from his Zeal to propagate that Sanctity which Chriſtian Religion requireth, are to be treated of in that Part of this Work, which is ſolely appropriate to Eccleſiaſtical Affairs. But his great care for the Incouragement of Phyſitians, Grammarians, and other Profeſſors of Learning, we cannot in this place omit, whereby is made evident what *Victor* writeth concerning him, That he nouriſhed good Arts, and eſpecially the Studies of Learning, as on the contrary, it is written of *Licinius*, that he was an Enemy to Learning, which through his Ignorance he termed Poiſon, and the publick Plague, eſpecially the Induſtry of the Law; and no wonder it was when *Conſtantine* was very Learned himſelf as *Sext. Aurelius Victor* publiſhed by *Schottus* doth teſtifie; if now it be lawful to commend him, or ſay with that Author, that for this, and other Virtues, he was extolled. And as he was Learned himſelf, he took care that his Children ſhould be well ſeen in good Letters, for which purpoſe he provided them of the beſt Maſters that were to be found.

He is very favourable to Phyſitians and Profeſſors.

25. Now he that loveth Learning, loveth alſo the Learned, and ſuch as would have either themſelves or others inſtructed, will ſtudy to incourage and reward them that are to do, or have already done it. *Conſtantine* ſhewed himſelf of this mind by three ſeveral Conſtitutions made in favour of ſuch Perſons. He confirmed whatſoever Privileges had been granted by his Predeceſſors. For, *Veſpaſian* had firſt of all others allotted Salaries to Profeſſors, and gave them Immunity from Quarter and Perſonal Services, which *Hadrian* confirmed; But theſe were but Perſonal Services. *Conſtantine* now made them free not only from *Perſonal*, but *Patrimonial*; ſo as their Poſſeſſions ſhould not be liable to Charges in Cities where they inhabited, and yet if they pleaſed they ſhould obtain the Honours thereof, as to be *Duumviri*, *Ædiles*, *Reſenſores*, *Gyraſiarchæ*, *Prieſts*, *Flamines*, *Legati*; but ſo as to take or refuſe them, whether they pleaſed. More than this, he prohibits that they be incurred by any, or forced to appear by violence in Courts of Judicature, under a Penalty of an Hundred thouſand *Nummi* to be levied for the Treaſury by the Magiſtrates (as the *Decemviri*) and *Quinquennales* of the *Municipia*, or Cities, who upon default were to forfeit the like Sum. In caſe a Slave do them any Injury, he commands that he be whipped by his Lord, before him whom he injured; and if the Lord was conſenting, he ſhall Pay Twenty thouſand *Nummi*, and his Slave be left for a pledge till it be paid to the Treaſury. Afterwards he granted to the *Archiatri*, or the Phyſicians of the Palace, and the *Exarchiatri*, That they and their Sons ſhould be free from all Duties belonging to the *Curiales*, *Senatores*, *Comites*, and *Perfectiſſimi*; ſo as not to be forced to the Payment of Gold or Silver, Finding of Horſes, or other Services incumbent on theſe Perſons. And other Immunities he granted to Phyſitians and Profeſſors after the Founding of *Conſtantinople*; of which at that time we ſhall ſpeak.

L. 1. *de Medicis & Profeſſoribus Cod.Th.lib.* 13. *tit.* 3.

L. 2. *Ejuſd.tit.*

26. After the Finiſhing of the War with the *Sarmatæ*, for joy thereof Games were Celebrated, called *Ludi Sarmatici*, in the later end of *November*, and beginning of *December* following of the fourth year. At the beginning of the next, *Conſtantine* was at *Theſſalonica* in *Macedonia*. When there he lay, the *Goths*, breaking through the Limits which were neglected, waſted *Thrace*, and *Mæſia*, but for fear of him again retreated, having obtained Pardon by reſtoring Captives; and ſuch of them as were taken Priſoners, were diſtributed throughout the Cities. After this he returned to *Theſſalonica*, and in *February* following were Games Celebrated at *Rome*, called *Ludi Gothici*. But taking notice how by the Negligence of the Soldiers upon the Limits, thoſe of *Thrace* and *Mæſia* had been broken through by the *Barbarians*; to provide againſt their Incurſions and Depredations, he ſent out a ſevere Conſtitution in the Month of *April*, whereof we are hereafter to ſpeak. Now this War againſt the *Goths*,

Goths, gave occaſion to another War againſt *Licinius*. *Thrace* and *Myſia* had been waſted by them, and they had been repreſſed by *Conſtantine*. This *Licinius* complained of, as againſt the Agreement that the Quarters that were Subject to him ſhould be medled with by another Perſon: And ſometimes ſending ſubmiſſive Letters, but otherwhiles proud and haughty, he excited the Indignation of *Conſtantine*, who was alſo angry with him, for having lately Baniſhed all Chriſtians out of his Palace, as an Anonymous Author writes, formerly publiſhed by *Sirmondus*, and ſince by *Valeſius*, together with his Edition of *Ammianus Marcellinus*. He adds, That in the mean time while both prepared for another Civil War, *Licinius* raged in his Diſtrict againſt his Subjects with Wickedneſs, Covetouſneſs, Cruelty, and Luſt; Killing many for their Wealth, and corrupting their Wives. *Zoſimus* ſtill making *Conſtantine* the Aggreſſor, tells us, That he provided two hundred Gallies, which carried thirty Oars apiece; and of Ships of Burthen above two thouſand; of Foot-Soldiers an hundred and twenty thouſand; and of Horſe and other Forces belonging to his Navy, ten thouſand more.

Conſtantine and *Licinius* again prepare for War.

27. *Licinius* hearing of his Preparations, ſent Meſſengers about to divers Nations, to provide both a ſufficient Navy and Land-Forces. Accordingly were ſent him without delay from *Ægypt*, eighty *Triremes*, as many by the *Phœnicians*; by the *Jonians*, and the *Aſiatick Dorienſes* ſixty; thirty by the *Cyprians*, twenty by the *Carians*, thirty by the *Bithynians*; and the *Africans* furniſhed him with fifty. He had of foot almoſt an hundred and fifty thouſand; and of Horſe fifteen thouſand, ſent out of *Phrygia* and *Cappadocia*. The Navy of *Conſtantine* lay in the *Piræus*, and that of *Licinius* in the *Helleſpont*. *Licinius* lay at *Hadrianople* in *Thrace*. *Conſtantine* ſent away for his Fleet, which had been for the moſt part raiſed out of *Greece*, and marched with his Land-Army from *Theſſalonica*, and incamped himſelf on the Banks of the River *Hebrus*, which on the left hand watereth *Hadrianople*. The Author lately mentioned writes, That he ſent his Son *Criſpus* with a great Fleet to ſeize on *Aſia*, againſt whom *Amandus* was imployed by *Licinius*. That *Licinius* had ſeized the Roots of an high Mountain about *Hadrianople*, with a vaſt Army, and that thither marched *Conſtantine* with all his Forces. *Zoſimus* makes this Mountain two hundred Furlongs from *Hadrianople*, where the River *Tonus* joyns with *Hebrus*, and then for many days, he ſaith, the Armies faced each other. But *Conſtantine*, taking notice where the River was the narroweſt, had this Device: He commanded his Soldiers to cut Wood from the adjoyning Mountain, and joyned them with Ropes together, as if he intended to make a Bridge, and by it to paſs over his Forces. Having thus amuſed the Enemy, he aſcended the Mountain, and in the thick Woods where they could not be diſcovered, placed five thouſand Archers, with Eighty Horſemen. This done, he took with him twelve Horſe, and paſſing over *Hebrus* where it was narroweſt, fell ſuddainly upon his Enemies. Some now were Slain, ſome ran with all ſpeed, and others gaped and ſtared at this ſo unexpected an Onſet; for a mighty Slaughter followed after the reſt of the Horſe, and the whole Army had paſſed the River. Thirty and four thouſand Men were Slain, and at Evening *Conſtantine* took the Camp; *Licinius* being fled with as many as he could get together toward his Fleet. The next Morning, ſuch as had betaken themſelves into the Mountain, or Valleys, yielded to *Conſtantine*, together with ſuch as *Licinius* had left behind. Such an account *Zoſimus* gives of *Conſtantine* his Victory, ſomething odd. The other Writer ſaith in ſhort, That the War being drawn on, though his Men were put to difficulties, by his Military Diſcipline and Felicity, he overthrew the confuſed and diſordered Army of *Licinius*, receiving a ſlight Wound in his Thigh.

Conſtantine obtaineth a great Victory.

28. *Licinius* betook himſelf to *Byzantium*, and thither *Conſtantine* purſued him, and Beſieged the City. He ſent for his Fleet, which from the *Piræus* was come into *Macedonia*; of which his Officers adviſed to ingage in Fight only Eighty of the Swifteſt, which carried Thirty Oars apiece, becauſe of the ſtraitneſs of the *Helleſpont*. This ſmall number was deſpiſed by the Admiral of *Licinius*, whom *Zoſimus* calls *Abantus*, and *Sigonius Abas*; and he doubted not but eaſily to Maſter it with his Two hundred Galleys. But coming to Fight, the Commanders of *Conſtantine* joyntly ſet upon their Enemies, whereas he fell on without Order, and by reaſon of their multitude, his Ships fell foul one of another, and were expoſed to be eaſily Sunk and Deſtroyed by the Enemy. Many men being loſt, the Fight was broken off by the intervening of Night,

and the one Party took in to the Port of *Elæus* in *Thrace*, and the other into that of *Ajax*. The day following, when a vehement Wind blew from the North, *Abantus* got his Ships out of the Port of *Ajax*, and prepared himſelf for another Ingagement. But the other Galleys of thirty Oars which ſtaid behind, being now come to *Elæus*, he began to be afraid of the great number of *Conſtantine*'s Ships, and to doubt whether he ſhould ſet upon them. Now about Noon did the Wind turn about into the South, and ſo great a Tempeſt aroſe, that it drove the Fleet of *Licinius*, lying on the *Aſiatick* Coaſt, upon the Shoar, or upon Rocks, and with an hundred and thirty Veſſels periſhed five thouſand Men, *Licinius* in the Veſſels having Tranſported part of his Soldiers into *Aſia*; becauſe *Byzantium* was crowded with People. *Abantus* now being fled with four Ships into *Aſia*, and the Sea-Fight thus ended; when alſo the Veſſels were come into the *Helleſpont*, which brought Proviſions for *Conſtantine*'s Army, they all departed with the Fleet to *Byzantium*, to joyn with thoſe that Beſieged the City, to compaſs it in both by Sea and Land. As for the Forces of *Licinius*, they not daring ſo much as to look upon them, got Veſſels, and departed to *Elæus*.

Licinius flies from *Byzantium* to *Chalcedon*.

29. *Conſtantine* prepared Mounts and Turrets, and all things requiſite for inforcing the Siege; at which *Licinius* being affrighted, reſolved to quit the place, and with the beſt reſolved of his Men to go to *Chalcedon*, a City of *Bithynia*, where he hoped to raiſe more Forces, and renew the War. Going thither by Boat, he created *Cæſar Martinian* his *Magiſter Officiorum*, to have a Companion of his Fortune, and ſent him to *Lampſacus* to hinder the Enemy from paſſing from *Thrace* to the *Helleſpont*; he himſelf beſtowing his Men in the Hills and Straits about *Chalcedon*. In the mean time, *Conſtantine* having a multitude of Ships of all ſorts, but fearing that thoſe of Burthen would not be able to come near the Shoar of *Bithynia*, prepared light Veſſels and Boats, and paſſed over his Army to the *Sacred Promontory*, as it was called, at the Entrance of *Pontus*, and two hundred Furlongs diſtant from *Chalcedon*. There on certain Hills he incamped himſelf, whom though *Licinius* perceived to be Maſter of *Bithynia*, yet being a man exerciſed in all Dangers, he ſent for *Martinian* away from *Lampſacus*, and incouraging his Soldiers, drew out of the Town to give Battel. A cruel Battel was fought betwixt the Town and the *Fanum*, wherein *Conſtantine* had by far the better, who falling with violence on the Enemy, made ſuch Slaughter, that of an hundred and thirty thouſand Men, ſcarcely thirty thouſand eſcaped. This being done, they of *Byzantium* opened their Gates, and received him; which alſo did the Citizens of *Chalcedon*. *Licinius* thus beaten, with the remainders of his Horſe, and a few Foot fled to *Nicomedia*.

There receives another great Overthrow.

30. At this time a *Perſian*, *Hormiſda* by Name, of the Royal Family, fled over to *Conſtantine* upon this occaſion: When the *Perſian* King his Father, was Celebrating his Birth-day, this *Hormiſda* came to Court, bringing along with him great ſtore of Veniſon. But it ſo happened, that ſuch as were entertained at the Feaſt, neither roſe up to do him Reverence, nor ſhew'd him any other reſpect, at which being Angry, he threatned them with the Death of *Marſyas*. Moſt of them underſtood not that Speech, as foreign, but a certain *Perſian*, who had lived in *Phrygia*, and had heard the Story of *Marſyas*, told the reſt what it was that *Hormiſda* meant. They remembring his Threats, when his Father died, made his younger Brother King, contrary to the Law, and putting Chains upon *Hormiſda*, kept him Priſoner on a Hill near the City, till by the Invention of his Wife he was delivered. She opened the Belly of a large Fiſh, and therein put a File, and ſowing up the Belly again, gave the Fiſh to a Truſty Eunuch, and bad him charge her Husband not to eat the Fiſh when any one was by, that he might make uſe of what he ſhould find in it. This done, ſhe loaded ſome Camels with Wine and Proviſions, and therewith Feaſted thoſe that kept him. While they were buſie at making Merry, *Hormiſda* opening the Fiſh, found the File, wherewith he filed off his Fetters, and putting on the Habit of an Eunuch, paſſed through the middle of them being Drunk, and taking one of the Eunuchs along with him, eſcaped away to the King of the *Armenians*, his Friend, and by his aſſiſtance got ſafe to *Conſtantine*, who received him with all Honour and Reſpect imaginable.

Hormiſda flies to *Conſtantine*.

31. But *Conſtantine* purſued *Licinius* to *Nicomedia*, and there alſo Beſieged him. He now knowing he had not ſtrength to grapple with him, deſpaired of

any Succeſs in Arms, and coming out of the City, preſented himſelf as a Supplicant to *Conſtantine*, and offering him the Purple, called him *Emperor* and *Lord*, and begged his Pardon for what had paſſed. For he had promiſed his Life to his Siſter the Wife of *Licinius*, and that by Oath. As for *Martinian*, he delivered him to thoſe of his Guard to be ſlain. Thus much writeth *Zoſimus*, concerning this War betwixt *Conſtantine* and *Licinius*. The Anonymous Author, lately named, writes, That the day following the Victory at *Chalcedon*, the Wife of *Licinius* came to her Brother's Camp, and begged her Husband's Pardon, which was granted: That *Licinius*, now a private Man, was admitted to *Conſtantine*'s Table; and that *Mintinian* had his life granted him at this time, though afterwards he was put to Death. But ſo became *Conſtantine* Monarch of the *Roman* Empire, in (or toward) the Nineteenth year of his Reign, wherein his two Sons, *Criſpus* and *Conſtantius* were Conſuls; the third Conſulſhip of whom fell into the CCCXXIIII year of our Lord.

Biſhops. 32. In the ſecond year of *Decius*, was *Fabianus* Biſhop of *Rome* crowned with Martyrdom, on the fourteenth of the *Calends* of *February*. The See was vacant for one year, and then was choſen *Cornelius*, whoſe election diſpleaſing ſome, *Novatus* ordained againſt him *Novatianus*. The year following *Cornelius* was Martyred, on the eighteenth before the *Calends* of *October*, and *Lucius* ſucceeded him, who ſhortly after was baniſhed. In the ſecond of *Gallienus* was he Beheaded, and after a vacancy of thirty five days, *Stephen* ſucceeded on the Ninth of *April* the firſt *Feria*, who interceding for *Baſilides* condemned by the *Spaniards*, they defended their Right againſt him, and condemned his Uſurpation againſt the *Africans*, as appeareth from *Cyprian*'s Epiſtles, as alſo that the boldneſs of the *Roman* See, was now checked by all the Provinces. After three years *Stephen* was Beheaded by the command of *Valerian*, and *Sixtus* ſucceeded him, who being Beheaded when *Laurence* the *Deacon* was Fryed to death by the command of *Valerian*, *Dionyſius* ſucceeded. After him came *Felix*, and then *Eutychianus*, who being martyred in the firſt of *Carus*, after Nine days *Caius* ſucceeded, *December* 16. *Caius* was crowned with Martyrdom in the twelfth of *Diocletian*, and after eleven days *Marcellinus* ſucceeded, who through fear offering incenſe to Idols, when he denied it, was overborn by the teſtimony of a multitude of witneſſes, confeſſed his fault, and afterwards redeemed his credit by ſuffering Martyrdom. *Marcellus* ſucceeded him. After *Marcellus* ſucceeded *Euſebius*, and then *Miltiades*, then *Sylveſter*, who was Biſhop at the time of the Council of *Nice*, in the twentieth year of *Conſtantine*.

33. After *Alexander*, *Mazabanes* was Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* until the reign of *Gallus* and *Voluſianus*, after him *Hymeneus* till the time of *Aurelian*. Then followed *Zambdas* and *Hermon*, according to (a) *Euſebius*, who writeth, That the See of *Jeruſalem* was always honoured, and the Succeſſion continued unto his own days. After *Hermon*, *Macarius* was Biſhop, and was preſent at the Council of *Nice*. In the Church of *Antioch* after *Philetus* ſucceeded *Zebinus*, and then *Babylas*, who died in Priſon, in the Perſecution under *Decius*. Him followed *Fabius*, him *Demetrianus*, and him *Paulus Samoſatenus* the Heretick, who denying the Divinity of the Son of God, was excommunicated, and deprived by the ſecond Synod held againſt him at *Antioch* in the days of (c) *Aurelianus*. And when he would neither depart the Church, nor avoid the houſe, the Emperor was beſought (the firſt application to the Prince in this Nature by the Chriſtians) to interpoſe and command by Edict, that ſuch ſhould have the houſe as agreed in Doctrine with the followers of the Biſhop of *Rome* and *Italy*. *Domnus* was by the Synod appointed to ſucceed him, after whom followed *Timeus*, *Cyrillus*, *Dorotheus*, *Tyrannus*, *Vitalis*, *Philogonus* a Martyr, and (d) *Euſtathius*, who was at the Council of *Nice*. He fell into the Hereſie of *Sabellius*, who being the Scholar of *Noetus*, taught that the three Perſons of the Trinity were but one; but they differed, in that *Sabellius* ſaid not the Father to have ſuffered. He was depoſed by a Council held at *Antioch*. *Euſebius Pamphilius* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* confuted him. After his depoſition the See was vacant eight years. In the See of *Alexandria* after *Heraclas*, *Dionyſius* the Scholar of *Origen* was Biſhop, in the third year of *Philip*. He reporteth in (e) *Euſebius* the Peril he ſtood in, and the Perſecution he ſuffered under *Decius*. He wrote of the *Alexandrian* Martyrs to *Fabius* Biſhop of *Antioch*; and to *Novatus* the Heretick, who being a Prieſt of *Rome*, fell from his Order, and calling his Sect *Cathari*, would not admit unto the Church ſuch as fell after Repentance, and he abhorred ſecond Marriage. *Dionyſius* alſo wrote to *Hermanion*, to *Steven*, and *Xiſtus* Biſhops of *Rome*, unto

(a) *Lib.* 7. *c.* 19.

Socrat. Scholaſt. l. 1. *cap.* 9, 13.

(c) *Euſeb. l.* 5. *c.* 29, 30.

(d) *Socrat. l.* 1. *c.* 9, 23.

(e) *Quem vid. l.* 6, & 7. *paſſim*.

Philemon a Miniſter of *Rome*, and unto *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Rome*. He confuted the Book of *Nepos* the *Chiliaſt*, and confounded in open Diſputation *Coracion* his Diſciple. Hitherto this error of the *Millinaries* propagated by *Papias*, had many of the Fathers that adhered to it, who yet held, That Chriſt when he came was to do his own work, without any prejudice to Earthly Princes in the mean time. Some obſerve, That *Dionyſius* ſtriking at this error, traduceth the *Apocalypſe*, as alſo defending the diſtinction of Perſons againſt *Sabellius*, ſeemeth to make three Eſſences. Many betook themſelves to *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Rome*, that he would reclaim him, and obtained it. After he had governed the Church ſeventeen years he died, and *Maximinus* ſucceeded him, whom followed *Theonas*, and him *Peter*, who was martyred under *Diocletian*. Him ſucceeded *Achillas*, and then came *Alexander*, who was at the Council of *Nice*. He by preaching of the Trinity ſomewhat curiouſly, gave occaſion to *Arius* one of his Clergy to fall from the Faith, as * *Socrates* informeth us.

34. In the fifth year of *Philip* whil'ſt *Fabianus* was Biſhop of *Rome*, *Donatus* the Biſhop of *Carthage* died, and *Cyprian* ſucceeded him by conſent of all men except *Feliciſſimus*, who, whil'ſt the Heathens invaded his Patrimony, endeavoured to deprive him of his Biſhoprick. *Feliciſſimus* was ordained Biſhop by *Novatus*, who alſo ordained *Novatianus* againſt *Cornelius* Biſhop of *Rome*. Yet *Cornelius* favoured *Feliciſſimus* againſt *Cyprian*, and would have taken Cognizance of their buſineſs, whereupon *Cyprian* vehemently rebuketh him, and denies that any one beyond the See hath Right to paſs Judgment upon any Matters concerning *Africk*. And a little after, the Pride of the *Roman* See was reprehended by all thoſe of the Provinces, an occaſion being given about *Baſilides*, who being cenſured in *Spain*, complained to *Stephen* the Biſhop of *Rome*. *Cyprian* was ſeveral times driven into Exile. (a) *Euſebius* maketh him to have erred in Rebaptizing Hereticks. In the fourth of *Valerian* died *Origen* ſeventy years old, a man of admirable Parts, moſt auſtere life, indefatigable induſtry, and ſtupendious Learning, but of impure Doctrine. *Jerome* ſheweth how full of portentous Errors his Book περὶ ἀρχῶν is. (b) *Auguſtin* ſaith, he held the Devil at length ſhould be delivered from Hell, and aſſociated with the Holy Angels, and for this, and other things, eſpecially for holding alternate or ſucceſſive bleſſedneſs and miſery for ever, the Church did reject him. *Pamphilus* wrote an Apology for him. But his works are to be read with eſpecial care, and eſpecially his Commentaries upon the Scripture, concerning ſome of which *Theodore* (c) *Beza* paſſeth this cenſure: *Certe hoc auſim dicere ſi hæc ſunt Origenis cujus titulum præferunt, hunc hominem fuiſſe ſelectum Diaboli organum Apoſtolicæ Doctrinæ evertendæ deſtinatum*; for he evaporateth the ſolid and ſubſtantial Doctrine of the Goſpel, into Allegorical, and aery Notions.

35. But, God having exerciſed his People by many a fiery trial, was pleaſed to preſerve the buſh unburned, and at length to grant them Peace by *Conſtantine*, who proved a nurſing Father to the Church, taking away all Penal Laws againſt them, and enacting new ones, not only for their preſervation, but convenience and comfort.

Origen.

* *L. 1. c. 5.*

Vita & epiſtolæ Cypriani.

(a) *Lib. 7. c. 3.*

(b) *Quem conſule de Civitate Dei l. 21. c. 17.*

(c) *In Rom. cap. 3. verſ. 14.*

FINIS.

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A Ta-

UMI

A
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Æneas *arriveth with his wandring* Trojans *in* Italy, 128. 3. *ſucceedeth* Latinus *and Reigneth four years over the* Latines 129. 6. *is overthrown in a Battle with* Mezentius, *and never ſeen more, though Honoured with a Chappel dedicated to him under the Title of* Jupiter Indiges, ibid.

Ærarium, *or Treaſury at* Rome, 421. 13.

Ætna *breaketh out into flames,* 316. 19. *again in the time of* Hiero, 397. 14. *as alſo fifty years after,* ibid.

Ætolians *refuſe to make a Peace,* 587. 34. *forced to it by* Philip, 588. 36.

Africa, *a horrid Peſtilence there,* 723. 14. *how Affairs went in that Country,* 806. 40.

Agamemnon, *adopted by* Atreus, *his Vncle, who obtained* Mycenæ, &c. 87. 25

Agathocles, *his original,* 668. 1. *made a Colonel, and liveth in* Italy, ibid. *is endanger'd at* Gela, *ſuſpected to affect Tyranny, Baniſhed, recalled, and made General,* 669. 2. *cauſeth a Maſſacre of the* Syracuſians, ibid. 3. *taketh the Office of Captain General without a Collegue*, ibid. *is overthrown by the* Carthaginians, 671. 6. *reſolveth to Invade* Africk, ibid. 7. *being landed he burneth his Ships, which at firſt daunted the* Carthaginians, *whom he overthrew,* 672. 8. *proſpereth, to admiration in* Africk, 673. 10. *his Fortune changeth by a Mutiny of his Soldiers*, ibid. 12. *yet he quieteth them, and defeateth the* Carthaginians, 674. ibid. *obtaineth another Victory againſt them, and murdereth* Ophellas *treacherouſly,* ibid, 13. *taketh upon him the Title of King,* ibid. 15. *returning from* Sicily, *his Affairs go down the wind, both there, and in* Africk, 675. ibid. *maketh a Maſſacre in* Syracuſe, ibid. 16 *deſpairing of his ſucceſs in* Africk, *he intendeth to fly with his youngeſt Son,* Heraclides, 676. 17. *is bound in golden Fetters, but looſed, eſcapeth,* ibid. 18. *his horrid Cruelties towards* Ægeſta, ibid. 19. *he rageth againſt the* Italians. 677. 20. *entereth into ſociety with* Demetrius Poliorcetes, ibid. 22. *thinks of another Expedition into* Africk, *but is prevented by* Mænon, 678. 23. *who poiſoneth him,* ibid.

Agelas *ſucceedeth* Bacchis *in the* Corinthian *Kingdom,* 121. 3. *Governeth thirty years,* ibid.

Ageſilaus *ſucceedeth* Doriſſus *in* Lacedæmonia, 106. 5. *Invadeth* Aſia, 226. 59. *is called home through the means of* Tithrauſtes, 228. 66. *taketh part with* Nectanebus, *King of* Ægypt, 237. 96. *obtaineth a Victory againſt the Leaguers, overrunneth* Argia, 350. 17. *relieveth the* Achæans, 351. 81. *defendeth* Sphodrias, 356. 31. *undertaketh a fruitleſs Expedition againſt the* Bœotians ibid. 32. *dieth,* 367, 61.

Ageſilaus, *Brother to* Agis *carrieth the* Spartan *Kingdom by the* Aſſiſtance *of* Lyſander, 347. 8. *is ſent into* Aſia, ibid. 9. *is Eclipſed by* Lyſander, ibid. 10.

Ageſipolis, *King of* Lacedæmon, *is ſent againſt the* Argives, 351. 19. *againſt the* Olynthians, 354. 27. *dieth.* ibid.

Agilaus *ſucceedeth* Ixion *in the* Corinthian *Kingdom,* 121. 3. *Governeth thirty ſeven years,* ibid.

Agis *ſucceedeth* Euryſthenes, *from whom the Kings of this Family were called* Agidæ, 106. 4. *he dieth,* ibid.

Agis, *the* Spartan *King, invadeth the* Argives, *is deſervedly blamed,* 325. 46. *ſeverely ſentenced* 326. ibid. *redeemeth his Credit, according to his promiſe,* ibid. *is repulſed from* Athens, 338. 80. *and dieth,* 346. 8.

Agrarian *Law at* Rome, 442. 63. *republiſhed thirty years after its making with another,* 454. 90. *Tumults happen about them,* 455. 92. *but are diverted by War,* ibid. 93.

Agrigentum *is taken,* 691. 3. *and deſtroy'd,* 692. 5.

Agrippa (Vipſanius) *his Parentage,* 776. 4. *his Advice to* Octavius Cæſar, ibid. *an anſwer to his Arguments drawn from the* Greeks, 778. 8. *from the* Romans, 779. 10. *gaineth the love of the people,* 791. 37. *adorneth the City with ſeveral Works,* 792. 39. *among the reſt perfecteth the Pantheon,* ibid. *diſagreeth with* Marcellus, Auguſtus *his Son-in-law,* 793. 42. *is ſent into* Syria, ibid. *made Governour of* Rome, 795. 47. *and Marrieth* Julia, Auguſtus *his Daughter*, ibid. *his performances in* Spain *againſt the* Cantabri, 797. 50. *Moderation,* ibid. *Example follow'd by the* Romans, 800. 57. *returneth from* Syria, *and is ſent into* Pannonia 801. 60. *in his way falleth ſick at* Campania *and dieth,* ibid. *his Commendation*, 802. ibid.

Agrippa Poſthumus, *the Son of* Agrippa *by* Julia, 802. 60. *born after his death,* ibid. *his Extravagancies,* 822. 99. *would not be reclaim'd, therefore is proſcrib'd, his Eſtate confiſcated, and perſon baniſhed to* Placcaſia *near* Corſica, ibid.

Agrippa, *the Grand-ſon of* Herod *the Great, by his Son* Ariſtobulus, *King of the Country of* Philip *the Tetrach* 849. 2. *his Dominions are enlarged by* Claudius, 851. 8. *he dieth eaten up with Worms,* ibid.

Agrippa, *the Son of* Agrippa, *but ſeventeen years old, when his Father died,* 851. 8, *his youth hindred his enjoyment of the Kingdom of* Judæa, *and therefore* Cuſpius Fadus *was made Governour thereof,* ibid.

Agrippina, *Daughter of* Germanicus, *is married to her Vncle* Claudius, 854. 16. *whom ſhe poiſoneth* 856. 21. *falleth at odds with her Son* Nero 858. 24. *and is made away by him,* 859. 27.

Ahab, *King of* Iſrael, *receiveth his Death-wound,* *Wounds fighting againſt* Ramoth-Gilead, 50. 5.

Ahaz *ſucceedeth his Father* Jothan, 52. 12. *dieth having Reigned ſixteen years by himſelf,* ibid.

Ahaziah *ſucceedeth* Joram, *who ſcarce Reigned one year,* 51. 7. *was ſlain by* Jehu, ibid.

Alani, *Invade* Media *and* Armenia, 875. 23.

Alba *deſtroyed,* 141. 20.

Alcibiades, *when a Child, his Advice to his Uncle* Pericles, 309. 31. *marcheth into* Peloponneſus, 325. 45. *being ſuſpected, he is ſent away, and recalled,* 328. 53. *his Acts againſt his own Country,* 331. 62. *he flieth from the* Spartans, ibid. 63. *deſireth to return to his Country,* ibid. 64. *giveth the* Athenian *Ambaſſadors, of the four hundred, a croſs Anſwer,* 334. 71. *overthroweth* Mindarus, *the* Spartan, 337. 78. *Beſiegeth* Chalcedon *with an Army of* Athenians, 338. 82. *returneth to* Athens, 339. 84. *leaveth his Fleet to the Management of his Pilot, who, fighting contrary to his order is defeated, and ſlain,* 340. 85. *for which he is diſcarded,* ibid. *and made away by the Procurement of the thirty Tyrants,* 346.6.

Alcimus *made High-Prieſt by* Demetrius, 619. 63. *he dieth in great Torment,* ibid.

Aletes, *the Son of* Hippotes (*Son to* Antiochus, *and Nephew to* Hercules) *ſubdueth the Kingdom of* Corinth, *when* Doridas *aud* Hyanthidas *Governed together,* 121. 3.

Alexander, *the Son of* Philip *and* Olympias, *born at* Pella *ſucceedeth his Father* Philip *at the age of twenty,* 244. 20. *beginneth his Reign well,* 383. 36. *Invadeth* Aſia, ibid. *engageth with the* Perſians *at* Granicus, 245. 24. *ſetteth at liberty all* Greek *Cities,* ibid 26. *taketh, aud razeth* Halicarnaſſus, ibid. 27. *fighteth the Battle of* Iſſus *with* Darius Codomannus, 248. 35. *travelleth into* Syria, *and is met by moſt petty Kings,* 249. 37. *ſcorneth the Offers of* Darius, ibid. *marcheth to* Byblus, *which yieldeth, and then to* Sidon, 249. 38. *depriveth* Strato *of his Kingdom, and beſtoweth it on his beloved* Hephæſtion, ibid. *admitteth* Abdalmon, *King of* Sidon (*or* Abdalominus) *a poor Gardner,* ibid. *the* Syrians *ſend him a Crown of Gold,* ibid. 39. *his great Attempt to Conquer* Tyre, 250. 40. *which is taken by him,* ibid. 42. *Invadeth* Judæa, *reſolving to bring all* Palæſtine *under his Subjection,* 251. 45. & 252: 46. *is appeaſed,* ibid. *Beſiegeth* Gaza, ibid. 47. *marcheth for* Ægypt, 253. 49. *foundeth* Alexandria. ibid. 50. *goeth to the Temple of* Jupiter Hammon, ibid 51. *cometh to* Memphis, *and ordaineth his new City to be the* Metropolis *of* Ægypt, ibid. 52. *moveth toward* Syria, *to revenge the death of* Andromachus, 254. 53. *paſſeth* Euphrates *and* Tygris, ibid. 54. *his Soldiers are diſcouraged by an Eclipſe of the Moon,* 257. 55. *he ſheddeth Tears at the death of* Statira, *the Wife of* Darius, ibid. 56. *is declared King of* Aſia, ibid. 62. *defeateth* Darius *at* Gaugamela, 257. 60. *entreth* Babylon, ibid. *committeth the Caſtle to* Agathon, *and goeth to* Suſa, 258. 63, 64. *is oppoſed by* Ariobarzanes, ibid. 65. *cometh to* Perſepolis, 259. 66. *cauſeth it to be plundered,* ibid. *Harraſſeth* Perſia *and burneth, in a Frollick, the Palace of* Perſepolis. ibid. 67. *cometh to* Paſargadæ, 259. 68. *to* Ecbatane, 260. 69. *purſueth* Darius, ibid. 70. *upon notice of the Conſpiracy againſt* Darius, *he maketh haſte,* ibid. 72. *but upon his approach he was mortally wounded,* 261. 73. *marcheth toward* India, 549. 13. *croſſeth the River* Indus, 550. 15. *and* Hydaſpes, ibid. 16. *overthroweth and taketh King* Porus 551. 17. Sopithes *yieldeth to him,* ibid. 18. *travelleth Eaſtward, and how far,* ibid. 19. *retreateth and ſaileth down the River* Hydaſpes. 552. 19. *Combateth the* Malli, *and* Oxydracæ, ibid. 22. *caſteth himſelf into extreme danger, through his great Courage,* 554. 24. *Saileth into* Indus, ibid. *where he buildeth another* Alexandria, *and ſubdueth the Country of* Muſcanus, 554. ibid. *as alſo that of* Oxycanus, *King of the* Præſti, ibid. 26. *killeth a Lion in the Forreſt of* Bazaria, 547. 9. *ran* Clytus *through,* ibid. *Saileth to the Iſle* Patalena, ibid. 27. *paſſeth into the Ocean,* 559. 29. *and through the Country of the* Gedroſians *with incredible difficulty,* ibid. 31. *cometh to* Paſargadæ, 556. 32. *to* Perſepolis, ibid. *Marrieth* Statira, *the Daughter of* Darius, ibid. 33. *as alſo* Roxane *the Danghter of* Oxyartes, 549. 10. *his Soldiers Mutiny,* 557. 34. *but he is reconciled, upon their Submiſſion,* ibid. 35. *arriveth at* Ecbatane *in* Media, ibid. 36. *at* Babylon, 558. 37. *falleth into a Fever with exceſſive drinking, whereof he dieth on the eleventh day,* ibid. 38. *his Iſſue, and Lineage,* 559. 1.

Alexander, *the Couſin-Germain of* Heliogabalus, *is received Emperour,* 941. 42. *he and his Mother are traiterouſly murdered, by the procurement of* Maximinus, 945. 43.

Alexander *ſucceedeth* Algemon *in* Corinth, *and Governeth twenty five years,* 121. 3. *but is ſlain by* Teleſtes, ibid.

Alexander, *the Son of* Ariſtobulus, *is beheaded by order of* Pompey, 660. 19.

Alexander, Præfectus Prætorio, *in* Africk, *uſurpeth* 952. 15, *is taken, and put to death,* ibid. 16.

Alexander Balas, vide Balas.

Alexander, *King of* Epirus, *is ſlain in* Italy, 681. 2.

Alexander (Jannæus) *the Son of* Ptolomy Phyſcon, *King of the Jews*; *beſiegeth* Ptolomais, 941. 30. & 654. 7. *but being known to have murdered his Mother, is expelled his Kingdom,* ibid. 31. *is defeated by the* Arabians, 654. 8. *hath Wars with his Rebellious Subjects,* ibid. *his Conqueſts abroad,* 655. 9. *his death,* ibid. *Advice to his Wife near his end,* ibid. 10.

Alexander, *the Brother of* Lathurus, *ſucceedeth him,* 641. 32, *but is expell'd by the* Alexandrians, 642. 33.

Alexandra, *the Wife of* Ariſtobulus, *the Son of* Hyrcanus, *obſerveth his Advice in her Reign,* 656. 10. *ſhe dieth,* 657. 12. *her Character,* ibid.

Alexandria, *when built,* 681, 2. *its State and Condition,* 629. 2. *the* Pharos *there, when built,* ibid. 3. *the* Serapeum *what, and whence ſo named,* 629. 4. *the Libraries there,* ibid. *Healthfulneſs of the place,* 630. 5. *Form of the City and* Muſæum, *or College,* ibid. 6. *the* Soma, *or place of Sepulture, deſcribed,* ibid. 7. Timonium, *what,* ibid. *Arts there profeſſed,* 631. 12. *a War there,* 818. 69.

Algemon, *Brother of* Ariſtomedes, *and Guardian to his Son, depoſeth him,* 121. 3. *and holdeth the* Corinthian *Kingdom ſixteen years,* ibid.

Almus,

A Table.

Almus, *the youngeſt Son of* Siſyphus, (*call'd otherwiſe* Halmus *and* Olmus, *from* Almon *or* Olmon, *a place in* Bœotia *took its denomination*) *hath part of the Country of* Orchomenians *beſtowed on him by* Eteocles, *the King, who ruled there,* 120. 1.

Ambiorix *is defeated by* Lucius Minutius Baſilius, 779. 90.

Amilcar, *the youngeſt Son of* Mago, *General in* Carthage, 396. 13. *ſlain in the* Sicilian *War,* ibid.

Amilcar, *the* Carthaginian, *maketh up a Peace,* 670. 4. *breaketh it,* ibid. 5. *a great Army is ſhipped for* Sicily, *under his Conduct,* ibid. 6. *he overthroweth* Agathocles 671. ibid. *raiſeth his Siege before* Syracuſe, 672. 10. *beſiegeth it a ſecond time,* 673. 11. *is taken, and miſerably tortur'd to death,* ibid.

Amilcar (Barcas) *troubleth* Italy *with his Inroads and Depredations,* 693. 7. *defeateth the* Mercenaries, 695. 11. *uniteth the* Carthaginian *Forces,* ibid. 13. *compelleth* Spendius *and* Mathos *to break up the Siege of* Carthage, ibid. *and utterly defeateth them,* 696. 15. *his Acts after the end of the firſt* Punick *War,* 701. 30. *he is put to flight by* Oriſſon, *King of the* Iberi, *and drowned in a River,* ibid.

Amnon *raviſheth* Thamar, 46. 39.

Amon, *King of* Iſrael, *an Idolatrous Prince,* 53. 16. *after two years Reign is ſlain by his Servants in his own Houſe,* 53. 16.

Amphion *and* Zethus *obtain the Kingdom of* Thebes, 125. 6. Amphion, *an excellent Muſician dieth of the Peſtilence,* 125. 6. *and* Zethus *having his young Son kill'd unawares, pineth away for Grief,* ibid.

Amphyctiones, *the General Council aſſembled firſt, in* Theſſaly, *and why ſo called,* 81. 11. *and thence carried by* Acriſius *to* Delphos *in* Phocis, ibid. *they puniſh the* Phocians, 379. 26.

Amyclas, *the Son and Succeſſor of* Lacedæm, *King of* Lacedæmonia, 105. 2.

Anactorium, *a Town ſituate in the Bay of* Ambracia *taken by the* Corcyræans, *after the Sea-fight with the* Corinthians, *betwixt the Iſland* Corcyra, *and the Continent of* Epirus, 305. 21.

Ancus Martius, *Elected King of* Rome, *after an* Inter-regnum, 141. 22.

Andromachus, *Governour of* Syria *under* Alexander, 254. 53. *was burnt alive by the* Samaritans, ibid.

Audriſcus, *the Counterfeit Son of* Perſeus, *taken flying to* Byzus *a petty King of* Thrace, 716. 17.

Annibal, *the Son of* Geſco, 599 20. &c.

Annibal, *the* Carthaginian *General tampereth very deceitfully with the* Syracuſians, 680. 29. *and is Crucified by his Soldiers after he had received a conſiderable loſs at Sea,* 691. 3.

Annibal *the Son of* Amilcar Barcas, *created General by the* Carthaginians, 701. 30. *ſubdueth the* Oleades, ibid. 31. *taketh* Saguntus, *a Town in* Spain, *Confederate with* Rome, 702. ibid. *whereupon the ſecond* Punick *War begun,* ibid. 33. *Conquer'd all* Spain, *as far as the* Pyrenæan *Hills,* ibid. *paſſeth over the Alps into* Italy, 703. ibid. *defeateth* Scipio *the Conſul, and* Sempronius, *his Collegue,* ibid. 34. *as alſo* Flaminius *at the Lake* Thraſymene, 704. 36. *notwithſtanding* Fabius *his delays, he gave the* Romans *a moſt grievous Overthrow at* Cannæ, 705. 38. *enervateth his Army by wintering at* Capua, ibid. 39. *goeth down the wind in* Italy *and* Spain, ibid. 4. *in* Sardinia, 706. 41. *gaineth* Tarentum, *but Beſiegeth the Caſtle in vain,* 707. 43. *marcheth for* Rome, *but is hindred from fighting by Tempeſts, and departeth for* Rhegium, ibid. 44. *dieth,* 714. 11.

Andria, *what kind of Feaſts they are,* 110. 15.

Antalcidas *is ſent from the* Spartans *to* Artaxerxes, 229. 70. *concludeth a Peace with him,* 230. 74.

Antander *the Brother of* Agathocles *Governour of* Syracuſe, 671. 7. *murdereth the* Syracuſians, 676. 19.

Antigonus *his ſhare in the Provinces after* Alexander's *death,* 560. 3. *is made General againſt* Eumenes, 562. 9. *thinketh of getting all into his Power,* ibid. 11. *putteth* Pithon *the Governour of* Media *to death,* 565. 21. *the Captains combine againſt him.* 566. 22. *he, and the reſt take upon them the Title of Kings,* 568. 27. *his fruitleſs Expedition againſt* Ptolomy, 569. 1. *againſt* Rhodes, ibid. 2. *a Combination againſt him,* ibid. *he is ſlain,* 570. 4.

Antigonus Gonatus, *the Son of* Demetrius Poliorcetes, *obtaineth his Fathers Kingdom,* 575. 3. *is expell'd by* Pyrrhus, 575. 4. *recovereth* Macedonia *and loſeth it again,* 576. 6. *dieth,* ibid.

Antigonus Doſon, *King of* Macedonia, 577. 9. *why ſo called,* ibid. *is victorious,* 579. 14. *taketh* Mantinea, ibid. 15. *defeateth* Cleomenes, 580. 16. *dieth of a Conſumption,* ibid. 17.

Antigonus, *the Son of* Echecrates, *deſtined by* Philip *to the Kingdom,* 592. 51. *is killed,* ibid. 52.

Antigonus *the Son of* John Hyrcanus, *returneth victorious from the Wars,* 652. 4. *is murdered by the Command of his Brother* Ariſtobulus, 653. ibid.

Antigonus, *the Son of* Ariſtobulus, *Invadeth* Judæa, *by the procurement of the* Parthians, 664. 24. *croppeth the Ears of* Hyrcanus *his Uncle,* 665. 30. *is taken in* Jeruſalem, *and Beheaded,* 667. 35.

Antinous, *the Beautiful Youth of the Emperour* Adrian, *is loſt, as he ſailed through the Cule,* 891. 26.

Antiochus, *the Son of* Seleucus *falleth in Love with* Stratonice *and hath her,* 594. 1. *Sirnamed* Soter, 595. 2. *ſucceedeth his Father, and why ſirnamed* Soter, ibid. *his Wars,* ibid. *buildeth a City in* Syria, 595. 4. *and another,* 596. ibid. *dieth,* ibid.

Antiochus, *ſirnamed* Theus, *and why,* 596. 5. *ſucceedeth his Father* Antiochus Soter, *from whom the* Parthians *and Eaſtern Provinces revolt, and he is poiſoned by his Wife* Laodice,

Antiochus Hierax *why ſo called,* 596. 7. *Rebelleth againſt his Brother* Seleucus Callinicus 597. ibid. *is ſlain by Thieves in his flight,* ibid. 8.

Antiochus, *the Great, ſucceedeth his Brother* Seleucus Cerannus, 597. 9. *falleth into great Troubles,* 598. 10. *maketh War on* Ptolomy *for* Coeloſyria, *and getteth into* Seleucia, 599. 14. *with ſeveral other places,* 600. 15. *is beaten by* Ptolomy, 601. 19. *maketh an Expedition into the Eaſt,* 603. 24. *the fruits*

thereof,

thereof, ibid. *he, and the* Romans *grow jealous one of the other*, 604. 7. *he marrieth an obſcure Girl at* Chalcis, *Daughter to* Cleoptolemus, *his Hoſt*, 606. 30. *is overthrown at the Straights of* Thermopylæ, ibid. 31. *his Acts in* Aſia, ibid. 32. *is ſlain in* Elymais *in a drunken fit*, 609. 38.

Antiochus Epiphanes, *why, and by whom ſo called*, 610. 40. *ſucceedeth his Brother* Seleucus Philopater, ibid. *ſeizeth on* Ægypt *a firſt and ſecond time*, ibid. 41. *his Cruelty and Prophaneneſs againſt the Jews and their Temple*, ibid. 42. *getteth all* Ægypt *except* Alexandria, *into his hands* 611. 43. *retreateth*, ibid. *returneth into* Ægypt, *but is taken off by the* Romans *from farther Attempts*, ibid. 44. *perſecuteth the Jews upon the account of their Religion*, 612. 45. *is enraged at the oppoſition of* Mattathias, *and* Judas, 613. 48. *ordereth* Lyſias *to deſtroy the Jews, and ſendeth ſeveral Captains into* Judæa, *who are deſtroy'd, as well as* Lyſias *himſelf*, ibid. 49. *he, in the interim proſpereth in the upper Countries*, ibid. 50. *returning breatheth Revenge, but is ſtruck with a foul Diſeaſe, and dieth*, 614. ibid.

Antiochus, Eupator, *his Son being a Child but nine years old, ſucceedeth his Father*, 614. 51. *why, and by whom ſirnamed* Eupator, ibid. *he beſiegeth* Bethſhura, *and that taken* Jeruſalem, 616. 55. *but is called away by the motions of* Philip, ibid.

Antiochus Sidetes, *ſecond Son of* Demetrius Soter, *enjoyeth his Brother's Kingdom*, 623. 72. *marrieth* Cleopatra, ibid. *diſpoſeſſeth* Tryphon, *her former Husband*, ibid. 73. *ſendeth* Cendebæus *againſt the Jews, who is defeated by* John, *the Son of* Simon, 624. ibid. *beſiegeth* Jeruſalem, ibid. 74. *is ſlain by the* Parthians, 625. 76.

Antiochus Grypus, *Son to* Demetrius, *defeateth and killeth* Alexander Balas, *the uſurping Counterfeit*, 626. 78. *is emulated, and expell'd* Syria, ibid. 79. *ſirnamed* Aſpendius, *and why*, 626. 80. *ſlain by Treachery*, 627. 80.

Antiochus, *the young Son of* Balas, *is ſet up againſt* Demetrius, *for his Father's Kingdom*, 622. 69. *is kill'd by* Tryphon, 623. 71.

Antiochus Cyzicenus, *half-Brother and Couſin-Germain to* Grypus, *after his Expulſion, they divide the kingdom, and both Reign together*, 626. 80. *he killeth himſelf*, 627. ibid.

Antiochus Pius, *or* Euſebes, *the Son of* Cizycenus *avoideth his ſnares by the help of a Courtiſan*, 627. 80. *goeth to* Aradus, *and taketh upon him the Diadem* ibid. *there is no certainty in Hiſtory concerning his end*, ibid. 81. *he is outed of all* Syria, *by* Tigranes, ibid. 82.

Antiochus Aſiaticus, *the Son of* Antiochus Pius *recovereth* Syria *from* Tigranes, *King of* Armenia, 627. 82. *is ſpoiled of it by* Pompey *the Great, and confined to* Comagena, *whence he, and his Poſterity never ſtirred, which prov'd the Fall of the Kingdom of* Syria, 628. ibid.

Antiochus, *ſirnamed* Dionyſius, *the Brother of* Philip, *getteth* Damaſcus *into his hands, and warreth againſt the* Arabians, 627. 81. *is ſlain in a Battle with* Aretas, *their King*, ibid.

Antiochus Comagenus, *is reſtored to his Kingdom, and part of* Cilicia *given him by* Claudius, 851. 9.

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Antoninus (Pius *why ſo called*) *ſucceedeth* Adrian *the Emperor*, 900. 45. *his Behaviour as a private man, Wars, and Mercifulneſs*, ibid. 46. & 47. *his ſelfdenial and power with his Neighbours*, 901. 48. *how he Treated his Miniſters of State, and learned Men*, ibid. 49. *dieth, the Honours confer'd upon him after his Death*, 902. ibid. *his Edict on behalf of the Chriſtians*, ibid. 50.

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Arbaces *made King of* Aſſyria, *granteth* Babylon *to* Beleſis, 14. 12. *leaveth the Dominion of* Aſia *to the* Medes, *and the Soveraignty of them to his Son* Mandauces, *after he had Reigned eighteen years,*

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Ariſtomedes *ſucceedeth* Eudemus *in* Corinth, *and Ruleth thirty five years,* 121. 3. *but is depoſed by* Algemon. ibid.

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Aſdrubal, *Son-in-law to* Amilcar Barcas, *ſucceedeth him as Commander of the* Carthaginian *Forces in* Spain, 701. 30. *is ſlain*, ibid.

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XAnthus, *the laſt King of* Thebes, *ſlain by* Melanthus *the* Meſſenian *in a ſingle Combat*, 127. 12. *after whoſe death the* Thebans *ruled in a Democratical way*, ibid.

Xenophon's Cyropœdia *ſumm'd up*, 25. 43. *Marcheth with* Cyrus *the younger againſt his Brother*, 220. 44. *is choſen Captain in* Proxenus *his room, his antient Friend and Gueſt*, ibid. *the Excellency of his Conduct in the Retreet of the* Greeks, 223. 50. *more of him, and his Commendation*, 369. 66.

Xerxes *the Son of* Darius *by* Atoſſa, *ſucceedeth his Father in the* Perſian *Empire*, 190. 28. *recovereth* Ægypt, 191. ibid. *Conſulteth about renewing the War with* Greece, ibid. 29. &c. *Wintereth at* Sardis, 191. 30. *paſſeth over into* Europe, 192. 32. *the prodigious number of his men*, 192. 34. *invadeth* Greece, 194. 38. *flieth, and he and his Army are totally routed*, 199. 53. *his incontinence*, 204. 69. *the length of his Reign*, 205. 74. *is ſtrangled in his Bed*, ibid.

Xerxes, *the Son of* Artaxerxes Longimanus, *ſucceedeth his Father, and is murdered by his Baſe Brother*, Secundianus, 212. 21.

Z.

ZAbinas, (*or* Zabinæus) *ſuborned by* Ptolomy Phyſcon, *getteth the Kingdom of* Syria, 625. 77.

Zaleucus, *the Lawgiver of* Locri, *his Model of Government*, 410. 47. *the form thereof*, ib. 48. &c.

Zamolxis, *the* Getan *Lawgiver*, 35. 4.

Zathrauſtes, *a Lawgiver among the* Arimaſpians, ibid.

Zealots, horrid outrages committed by them in Jeruſalem, 869. 7. *they fall out among themſelves*, 872. 15.

Zedekiah *made King over the* Jews *by* Nebuchadnezar, 55. 23. *dieth miſerably*, 56. ibid.

Zeno, *the* Sitiean, *the Father of the* Stoicks, *when born*, 369. 66.

Zethus, *vide* Amphion.

Zeuxippus, *Son of* Apollo *by the Nymph* Syllis, *King of* Sicyonia, *reigned four years*, 78. 4.

Zopyrus, *Son of* Megabyzus, *one of the chief Commanders in* Darius *his Army, by mangling his face, and cutting off his ears and noſe, recovereth* Babylon, 184. 10.

Zoroaſtres, (*or rather* Oxyartes) *King of the* Bactrians, 12. 5.

Zoroaſtres *the Magician*, ibid.

Zorobabel *layeth the Foundation of the Second Temple at* Jeruſalem, 178. 2.

FINIS.

AN INSTITUTION OF General Hiſtory, OR THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

The ſecond Part.

v. 2, part 1

CONTAINING

That of the *Roman* Empire, its flouriſhing Condition, its Middle or Neutral State, and its Ruine and Downfal in the Weſt.

FROM

The Monarchy of *Conſtantine* the Great to the taking of *Rome* by *Odoacer* King of the *Heruli*, and the Erecting of a Kingdom of *Barbarians* in *Italy*.

WITH

An Account of the Polity of the Empire, and of the ſeveral Laws of Moment made, during the Reigns of the Emperors, both in Eaſt and Weſt to this Period.

By **WILLIAM HOWEL**, LL. D. ſometimes Fellow of *Magdalen* College in *Cambridge*.

LONDON,
Printed for Thomas Baſſett, at the *George* in *Fleetſtreet*, William Crook, at the *Green Dragon* without *Temple-Bar*, and William Cademan at the *Pope's Head* in the *New Exchange*. 1680.

UMI

Whitehal,

THis Second Part of Doctor *William Howel's* Inſtitution of General Hiſtory, or Hiſtory of the World, beginning from the Monarchy of *Conſtantine* the Great, and continued to the taking of *Rome* by *Odoacer* King of the *Heruli* and the Deſtruction of the Empire of the *Weſt* :

Is Licenced to be Printed by the Conſent and Direction of the Right Honourable *Henry Coventry* Eſquire, His MAJESTIE'S Principal Secretary of State.

Jo. COOK.

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TO THE
KING.

May it Pleaſe Your Majeſty,

I Here moſt humbly Preſent to Your Majeſties Patronage a Second Volume, or Continuation, of that Hiſtory which Your Majeſty was Pleaſed formerly to Accept, and to Incourage. The Extent of it is not ſo large as that of the former, as to Time; but it is rather Superior to it, in reſpect of the Matter which it handles. Here is preſented to View, the greateſt Empire, or the Roman, *in its full Latitude and Proportion; as to its Polity, and manner of Government, both Military and Civil. And here is Vindicated one of the greateſt Monarchs it ever produced, Conſider him in all Circumſtances; ſo much Your Majeſties Predeceſſor, that in this Your Kingdom he had his Original, not only of Empire, but Life alſo, as is moſt Probable, and was the firſt Defender of the Faith; the true Reaſon of all the Calumnies raiſed againſt him. This Volume alſo Contains that great Revolution of the Ruine of the* Roman *Empire in the Weſt; by what means and methods it was accompliſhed. All which the Author lays at Your Majeſties Feet, being*

Your Majeſties

most Loyal Subject

William Howel.

¶

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PREFACE.

THE Author having already given an Account of the Occaſion of his Undertaking this Work, as alſo of the Uſefulneſs of the Subject; yet finds himſelf obliged here to have ſomething ſaid which may contribute to the Reader's benefit in the Peruſal of this Second Volume, and that Reader who is utterly unacquainted with the State and Condition of the Times on which it inſiſts.

In his Preface to his Elements of Hiſtory in *Latin*.

Such an one having Peruſed the Firſt Part of this Work, and conſidered the Method of its Books and Chapters, the Diſpoſition thereof, the Synchroniſms and Conjunction of the Empires and Contemporaries, will be prompted thence to look for the ſame in this, and, perhaps, tax the Author for want of Skill or Diligence; when the want is only in his own Head, of due Knowledg and Conſideration.

For upon ſearch, he will diſcover the then known World, poſſeſſed and governed in a manner by one Empire; and ſuch Kingdoms as were at the ſame time in Being, to have had little obſervable, and upon Record, but in relation to this Empire, as ingaged in War or otherwiſe concerned, with it. From the Monarchy of *Auguſtus*, till the Taking of *Rome* by the *Heruli*, and the Diſſolution of the Empire in the Weſt, there are otherwiſe no Contemporaries conſiderable. Perhaps the Names and Succeſſion of ſome *Perſian*, or of other barbarous Princes may be found, mentioned by the way, of which it would be imprudent ſeparately to Treat, till theſe Northern barbarous Nations be found fixed and grown to ſome conſiderableneſs, by their Eſtabliſhing of Kingdoms in the *Roman* Soil. Then the Reader will have them (being the Beginnings of theſe Modern Powers he ſees in Chriſtendom and elſewhere) deſcribed as to their Original, Progreſs and Polity, in the ſame Method as he beholds the firſt Volume; as Contemporary with the *Roman* Empire ſtill ſubſiſting, though under a new and ſecond Head, in the Eaſt.

Farther, the Author upon ſome Intelligence of late received, doth fancy he ſees ſuch a Reader, taking his Proſpect of this Book from the laſt Page thereof, inſtead of that of the Title, and turning to the End inſtead of looking at the Beginning, with a Queſtion, *How far down doth it come?* and poſſibly concluding his Survey with this Expreſſion of Diſappointment, *What no further?* And his haſte to make the Diſcovery, he imagines, may be ſo great, as not to conſult this Preface in his way, and thence to take his Meaſures, whereby his Queſtions and Wonder might be prevented.

But the Author thinks it the beſt ſort of Remedy in this caſe, to drive out a leſſer Wonder by a greater, by telling him, That he is very ſorry for his Miſtakes; but exceeding ſorry that this Second, and the other Volumes now in a manner ready to come forth, reach ſo far as they do. His Reaſons are, becauſe the Civil State of theſe Times, whereof now he writes, is exceeding Dark. That in the next place, few have undertaken to make them lighter with any great Succeſs. And yet they are ſuch as afforded rather more Copious Matter for Hiſtories, than any other before or ſince. Never ſo ſpacious and Potent an Empire as that of the *Romans*. Never ſuch Revolutions as in the Cantonizing of this Empire into particular Barbarous Kingdoms; in the Motions of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, and other Northern Nations, and their various Attempts often fruſtrated, and at laſt prevailing. What Battels! What Stratagems in War! What Conſultations! What Policies did they procure! How would our Annals have ſwelled with ſuch Paſſages, had the Particulars happened in our days?

How great a Pleaſure would it have been to any that deſire to underſtand the ſtate of former Ages, and the Original of their own Nation, to have had diſcovered how by degrees the poor *Britans* were Conquered by the *Engliſh Saxons*, and others, Invaders of this Iſland? Numerous muſt have been the Battels, and various the Arts or Acts which muſt have rooted them out, and driven them out of theſe Parts, into the Mountainous Coaſts, or beyond the Seas. How delightful would it have been to know the Diſtribution of the Conquered Countries, the planting of Colonies, the modelling of theſe petty Kingdoms, the Deſtruction of the ancient Cities and Towns where ſuch quantities of *Roman* Coins are now digged up, the Building of new, and the way of Governing all?

The Author profeſſeth he cannot travel the Countrey about *Salisbury* or other Plains, where thoſe *Tumuli* are preſented to his View (by which he imagines a Battel may be traced, and the Places and Greatneſs of ſlaughter diſcovered, though they be but blind Monuments of the Slain) but he muſt needs ſigh, and apply *Horace* his *Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona*, &c. to this and other unhappy Occaſions.

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona Multi, ſed omnes illachrymabiles urgentur, ignotiq; longa Nocte, carent quia vate ſacro. Carm. lib. 4. Od. 9.

Reader, thou can'ſt afford, That the Hiſtory of a few years of Modern Paſſages, (perhaps a Civil War) make up an entire Volume, and not grudge that the Writers dwell upon ſuch things as have in ſome reaſonable manner been handled alſo by others; and is thy Curioſity ſo ſmall, as to be content with ſome Scraps of former Ages, not Barren of great and glorious Things, but rather Barren of ſuch Writers as were able to tranſmit them to Poſterity? Would'ſt thou be content, as to them, with a few Names? a few inſignificant Hints? Deſireſt thou a rough Draught, or rather preferreſt ſome touches, before a Picture? Do'ſt thou covet a Rhapſodie? and art thou in Love with Meagerneſs and Skeletons? Conſider what thou would'ſt have: This ſecond Volume, perhaps, drawn down to the Conqueſt, or thou cared'ſt not if even to our preſent Times. Thou knoweſt not, then, what numerous Kingdoms, States, and Principalities are contained in theſe Centuries. Alas! thou wouldſt be little or nothing bettered in the Knowledge of Times, of Succeſſions, of Myſteries of War and Peace. Such a Book would ſcarcely exceed the worth of the Since's of a Two penny Almanack; perhaps more right in its Chronology, but little more conſiderable for its Materials.

But to give thee ſome Satisfaction in the room of the pleaſing variety of Contemporaries, which here are not to be had; and to quiet thine

Imagination, the Author hath done his Indeavour to preſent thee as it were with a Proſpect of a new World. Other ſorts of Perſons, Magiſtrates, Offices and Imployments, thou wilt poſſibly here meet with than thou takeſt notice of in *Livy*, *Florus*, *Suetonius*, or *Tacitus*. The Author finding thee a Stranger, hath reſolved to take ſuch pains, as a good Governor or Guide, who hath Intereſt and Acquaintance, is wont to do with young Travellers. He will carry thee to Court, and there ſhew thee the Greateſt Monarch in the World, his Perſon, Power, State, and Magnificence. He will labour to acquaint thee with all his Miniſters, and let thee know the Nature and Extent of their Authority and Juriſdictions; lead thee into all their Offices, and ſhew thee the manner of their Proceeding, and expediting their Buſineſs; how they, and thoſe under them, were choſen and admitted to, and how deveſted of their Imployments. From the Court, he will Conduct thee into the Country, and there make known to thee, the Government of the Provinces, how ſubordinate, with the manner and limitations of their Adminiſtration. He would be ſorry to leave thee unacquainted with the Cities and Corporations, their Courts, their Chief Magiſtrates, and Inferior Officers, and that in the Execution of their Powers. He is Ambitious alſo to inſtruct thee in the Diſcipline of the Camp, the Power, Variety, and Subordination of Commanders; in Sum to give thee a full View of the whole Polity, both *Military* and *Civil*. This he hath propoſed to himſelf, being of Opinion, That an Hiſtorian's Task, as to Times paſt, is much the ſame with that of a faithful and able Governor of Travellers, as to the preſent.

Not only to ſhow thee a pleaſant City or Country, to give thee opportunity of knowing ſome Stratagems of a Battel, and the manner of Beſieging a Town; but alſo as much apprehenſion, as can be with Conveniency, of the Cuſtoms and Laws of the Country; ſuch Laws as reſpect the *Jus Publicum*, the Polity, ſtate and manner of Government, not ſo much the *Jus Privatum*, or that betwixt man and man concerning Contracts, Actions, and manners of Proceedings in Courts, for that would be to ſuppoſe thee rather a Native of the Country, where ſuch Laws are in force, not a Stranger; and for him to write a Book of Law, and not of Hiſtory.

It is to be acknowledged, That he hath not many to imitate in this kind, and that moſt Writers have been ſo ſtrait laced, as if a principal Law of an Hiſtory were to have no Laws mentioned in it. But conſider whether Profit or Pleaſure be the chief end of Hiſtory; if Profit, whether it conſiſt in underſtanding things of leſſer or greateſt Conſequence and Uſe for Humane life. Certainly thoſe of greateſt Conſequence are thoſe which relate to the Publick, which are in the hands and management of Princes, Magiſtrates, and publick Perſons. If Hiſtories be uſeful, becauſe they ſet before us good Patterns and Examples, and ſhew us what Errors and Miſtakes have been committed, and how to prevent or redreſs them, certainly this is moſt deſirable as to the grand Intereſt of a State or Government it ſelf. Now this Law Hiſtory doth perform above all others. Fundamental Laws ſhew the Wiſdom of firſt Settlements, and other Laws occaſionally made, direct how to ſupply ſuch Defects, and Cure ſuch Diſtempers as, through the naughtineſs and frailty of Men, and the viciſſitude of Times and Affairs are incident to all Governments. And as Law-Hiſtory acquaints us with things of moſt Publick and general concernment; ſo of all others it is moſt certain, and leſs liable to Miſtakes. By the Medicine, we may well judg of the Diſeaſe; the Legiſlative Authority being preſumed to underſtand more than a private Man, concerning the Conſtitution and Craſis of a State; as, in a Diſeaſe, the Skill of a practiſed Phyſitian exceeds that of a Perſon whoſe breeding hath not fitted him for ſuch Obſervations.

And however the Practice of Law-Hiſtory hath been generally omitted, and thoſe of a War, or more ordinary things been followed; yet ſome Writers have been ſo far convinced of the Uſefulneſs of it, as, leſs or more, they have made relation of ſuch Laws as have been Enacted in the Times whereof they wrote.

For, the moſt ancient Writings now extant in the World, and which bear the ſtamp of Divine Authority, are of this Nature; even the *Pentateuch* of *Moſes*, which is purely *Hiſtorical*, and in way of *Hiſtory* delivers the Laws and Conſtitutions made by *God* himſelf; who was Legiſlator and King of the *Jewiſh* Nation in its firſt Eſtabliſhment.

As *Moſes* was learned in all the Learning of the *Ægyptians*, and mighty in Words and in Deeds; ſo are his Hiſtories of ſuch a Compoſure as none in the following Ages could imitate. Great things performed in the Heathen world were Sung by *Bards* and *Poets*, the Deſign of whom being, by relation of ſuch Actions, to excite their youth to imitation, they added Fictions to them; ſuch Lineaments and Colours they gave to their Pictures, as might repreſent them moſt lively: and by contrary Repreſentations, they put more Deformity upon ſuch Perſons and Paſſages as they intended to make odious; and ſo *Fiction* and *Hiſtory* continued a long time together.

At length they parted though ſtill they ſhewed ſome Kindneſs for each other; and ſuch as betook themſelves to the Compoſing of Hiſtories, made choice of a pleaſant way of Writing, pleaſant to themſelves, and to ſuch as ſhould read, or rather hear them; ſo as, however their Narrations might be true, yet they produced them in ſuch a dreſs, and ſo ordered them, as to gain Applauſe from popular Aſſemblies; as at the *Olympick Games*, and other ſolemn Meetings. They left out ſuch things as would trouble both themſelves and others to underſtand. The Story of a War; a Battel; perhaps, of a Truce or League, would take; tickling their Fancies by variety of Stratagems, Devices, and particular Accidents. Whereas the Reaſon and Severity of Laws, would make the Auditors gaze, and ſhrug their Shoulders, neither caring to reach the one, nor loving to meditate on the other. But ſuch was the Cuſtom, at the *Olympicks*, not only to have exhibited Labours and Dexterities of the Body, but alſo of the Brain; as appears by what is related concerning *Herodotus* his Hiſtory there recited, and the Æmulation of *Thucydides* thence contracted, not to mention *Dionyſius* his ſending his bald Poems there to receive approbation. And that it continued to be the Cuſtom in other Aſſemblies, even to the time of *Ammianus Marcellinus*, the Reader will perceive by what he finds in this Volume concerning the Perſon and Hiſtory of that Writer.

Sometimes yet, as was ſaid, they would mention Cuſtoms and Uſes, and now and then a Law; in ſhort and by the way, as is the practice of *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and others concerning the *Chaldæans*, *Ægyptians*, and other Nations; but this was towards Strangers; a Cuſtom obſerved generally by Hiſtorians, to relate the Polity, Government, and ſome Laws of Foreigners, but ſcarcely thoſe of their own Countries except *Plutarch*, as a *Græcian*, may be ſaid to have done it in the Lives of *Solon* and *Lycurgus*. The reaſon was, they wrote not ſo much to benefit Poſterity, as to gratifie the Age in which they lived; to which they thought it would be nothing pleaſing to read ſuch things as they already knew.

Therefore are we more beholding to *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, *Plutarch*, *Dion Caſſius*, and other *Greeks*, for giving us an account of the *Roman Polity*, ſuch as it was under the Kings, and the Change made by *Julius Cæſar* and *Octavius*; rather than to *Livy*, or other of the *Roman* Writers. To ſome it became commendable to write conciſely and finely as it was then eſteemed, and to make ſome Flouriſhes and Deſcants upon things, rather than penetrate into the depth of Affairs, and explain the Original and Iſſue of Actions; ſo as to give light and aſſiſtance to Humane life. If this way, even then as well as in later times, gratified not Readers more than Truth it ſelf; *Florus*, or he that wrote that Book, was vilely miſtaken, who cared not what he wrote, ſo it was *Florid*, as is evident from the groſs miſtakes he commits, even in moſt known and famous Paſſages, of which the Author hath taken notice upon occaſion; becauſe his Errors are baited by pleaſing Language.

Others were more Grave and Serious, and their Names are never to be mentioned without Honour, for their Skill and Diligence in relating the great Affairs both of Peace and War. But, a very learned Man in the laſt Age complains, that when they touch at Laws, they do it *tanquam Canis ad Nilum*, as afraid of ſome Rock, of which they clear themſelves as ſoon as poſſible; eſpecially ſuch of them as had not been Educated in matters relating to the *Forum*; chuſing rather to deſcribe an Army, the form of the Camp, the kind and manner of a Fight, and the number of the Slain, or other matters in a copious and pleaſant ſtyle, than to ſhew the occaſions and fitneſs of Laws. But, ſaith he, ſhall a certain Speech and Aphoriſm be mentioned, and a Noble Law relating to Reformation of Manners, Regulation of Officers, or Mode of Government be neglected? Some notable Deciſion long and often debated, and that publickly, be paſſed by?

Fr. Balduinus De Inſtitutione Hiſtoriæ univerſæ, & ejus cum Juriſprudentia Conjunctione.

Dionyſius and *Livy*, he adds, deliver the Hiſtory of the change of Government introduced by the *Decemviri*, copiouſly enough. Being created for the very making of Laws, they tell us, That of Laws they ordained twelve Tables. But what theſe Laws were, or what was written in theſe Tables, they tell us not; which, he affirms, they certainly ought to have done. One Law or two, perhaps, they mention; but why not the reſt, being of ſo vaſt concernment? both as they were the Foundation of the Civil Law, and made ſo great a change in the Adminiſtration of the Commonwealth? Some make mention of the Laws called *Voconia*, *Falcidia*, *Papia Poppæa*, and others; but they explain not one Sentence of them, he tells us, as they ought, nor recite the words without Miſtakes. He proceeds in lamenting, that though *Plutarch* writes the Lives of *Sulla* and *Cæſar*, yet he explaineth not the *Cornelian* nor *Julian* Laws. *Suetonius*, *Lampridius*, *Spartian*, *Capitolinus*, and others undertook the ſame for the ſucceeding Emperors, and they ſo relate their Acts, Sentences, Apothegms and Practices, as pretending alſo to recite their Judgments, and Conſtitutions. But he bewails that their Relations are confuſed, jejune and mutilated; that what they deliver is lame and miſtaken, being unskilfully delivered by thoſe who underſtood not that whereof they wrote, which is to be amended and ſupplied out of the very Books of Laws themſelves.

But he acknowledgeth that one Perſon, and he an extraordinary one, there was, who is ſaid to have been exact in the way of writing Hiſtories. This was *Atticus* that dear Friend of *Cicero*, concerning whom *Corn. Nepos* in his Life reports, That being a Lover of Antiquity, he ſo exactly underſtood it, that he expoſed it all to View, in a Volume he wrote of this Subject, *wherein there was no Law, no Peace, no War, nor any other memorable thing of the* Roman *People, but he took notice of it*; being herein, it ſeems, moſt Conformable to *Moſes*, of all others. And ſo the lately mentioned Writer affirms, every one ought to do, who pretends to Compoſe an Exact Hiſtory, not only to take notice of ſuch Laws as reſpect the Government and Polity, but even of thoſe alſo which belong to the *Jus Privatum*, when by reaſon of the want of knowing them, Hiſtory it ſelf; That is, ſaith he, the State and Condition of the Commonwealth at that time, the form of Judgments and Cuſtoms cannot be known. This courſe the Author hath indeavoured to imitate in this Second Volume, ſo far as was convenient, and to ſupply in large Additions, what time and his Health would permit, during the Reprinting of the firſt, which he wrote at ſuch an Age, as the Laws could not be well known unto him, as neither the World ſo well, as now, though of the World he wrote; but what otherwiſe might be wanting, he indeavoured to ſupply with Care and Induſtry.

As the Method thereof was wholly his own, without the leaſt hint or ſuggeſtion from any others, except he could receive any inconſiderable one from reading St. *Auguſtine De Civitate Dei*, where he joyns together in time the Kingdoms of the ancient *Greeks*, and the ſtate of the *Iſraelites*; ſo there are few of the Claſſical Authors but he diligently read, and as occaſion required, abbreviated them ſo as to ſerve his purpoſe. And as he omitted not conſulting Modern Writers, the neglect of whom would have argued both great Imprudence and Arrogance; that he may acknowledge from whom he received moſt aſſiſtance; as to pointing to Matter, and Matter it ſelf, he had much help from the Annals of Biſhop *Uſher*, but eſpecially from the *Chronicon* of Dr. *Simſon*, an Excellent Book, though written in that way of Annals. And as to this ſecond Volume for Illuſtration of the Laws, and often of Hiſtory, he acknowledgeth the great Information and Aſſiſtance he hath had from the Commentaries of *James Gothofred*, an extraordinary Perſon, for ſo far as the Code of *Theodoſius* doth extend.

And the Author being now in the way of giving every man his due, is joyful of this opportunity long look'd for, to diſcharge a Debt, wherein the Reader himſelf is concerned, if he receive any benefit, by the inlargement and continuation of this Work. This is to the Memory of that truly Honourable and Learned Perſon Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, late Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*. Of all ſorts of Injuſtice, that of Ingratitude is moſt black and ugly, being by the *Perſians* eſteemed the greateſt Crime of all others. Indeed they and all other Nations have accounted *Undutifulneſs to Parents*, and *Neglect of Maſters*, or thoſe that brought us up, who ſpent much time and pains upon us, and indeavoured to make us both good and knowing, the worſt ſort of Ingratitude, ſuch being never too much requited, in the Opinion of good and generous Perſons. Yet though to them we owe our Beings, and what is more, our truly well Beings; yet a third degree of Reſpect and Acknowledgment is due to thoſe, who by ſome extraordinary Acts in the Turnes, and Occurrences of our Lives, contribute to the prevention or removal of ſome notable Impediments to the comfortable injoyment of them, or elſe conſiderably to the addition of our Conveniences. Such Favours he muſt ever acknowledge to have received from that worthy Perſon, whoſe Kindneſs had that Advantage which gives the greateſt Relliſh to all Acts of Generoſity that it was ſeaſonable. So ſeaſonable it was in reference to this Work, that it muſt have miſcarried, had it not had his aſſiſting hand. The Effects of his Kindneſs were very conſiderable to the Author; and that they were not more, the fault was in ſome other Men. May theſe Papers, if they ſhould have the good Fortune to Survive, contitinue to be the Monument of Sir *Orlando Bridgman*'s Merit, and the Acknowledgment of the Author, who ſtill ſhall ſay, as that Noble Emperor *Gratian* wrote, when out of Gratitude to *Auſonius* his School-Maſter, (after many Acts of Bounty to him) he conferred on him the Conſulſhip, the higheſt Dignity of which a Subject was capable; *I have Paid what I ought, and I ſtill owe what I have Paid.*

The Author having made his due Acknowledgments, is now much at Eaſe, notwithſtanding the Riſque he runs even by his Indeavours to ſerve the Publick. He is now a little acquainted with the World. He is ſenſible how an inferior ſort of Men, big with Buſineſs, indeavour to render as unſerviceable thoſe that are given to Books; and would have the Study of good Letters to be Uſeleſs. And it is to be expected that in the next *Ragguagli di Parnaſſo*, we ſhall hear that *Apollo* hath found a blot in the Eſcocheons of *Xenophon*, *Epaminondas*, *Alexander*, *Cæſar*, *Julian*, and other Perſons of greateſt Eminency in all Ages; for management both of Civil and Martial Affairs, for being Scholars, and very many of them, Writers too.

But beſides the Danger he incurrs *ipſo facto*, by being Bookiſhly affected, and that as far as Authoriſm it ſelf, though not given to Play, he has heard of the Game of Hot-cockles, how he lyes down that Writes a Book, and whoever pleaſes takes the liberty of Striking. He is ſenſible of the great Diſadvantage of Expectation, and that ſecond Attempts often prove unſucceſsful, in point of Reputation; not but that the Authors are the ſame, or more able than before; but the Reader himſelf is in fault, as well in unadviſedly raiſing his Expectation, as not at all conſidering the Subject or Matter handled, but expecting the ſame Copiouſneſs and Variety in barren, as in fruitful

Grounds, being of the ſame humour with ſome ſtrangely conceited People, who being to chooſe a Chaplain, pick out the moſt abſtruſe Text they can find in the whole Bible, the moſt obſcure and leaſt ſignificant place, and expect he ſhould be as ready, diſcourſe as Learnedly, Copiouſly, and Profitably upon it, as upon any the moſt Pregnant in Holy Writ. In Concluſion, he is not unacquainted with the Paſſions of thoſe, who in ſome Countries have Traded in Books, who overgrown with Wealth, or Angry that they were not imployed; imagining they carried the Life and Death of a Book upon the Tip of their Tongue or Pen, have upon asking for a Treatiſe newly Publiſhed, turned the Face aſide, look'd Grave, and dropt this Expreſſion, *It doth not anſwer Expectation*; or ſuch others, as Avarice or Envy have Extorted.

Such Accidents as theſe, and other things conſidered, have ſometimes put the Author into a fit of Muſing; and he hath often complained, That the ſame Fortune hath befallen him in this long and laborious Work, as uſually attends Builders. Such, ſeldom or never come off with the Double or Treble of that Trouble, Coſt, and Expenſe which they firſt deſigned. At firſt they propoſe to themſelves a Conveniency; but are farther drawn in, either by their own Fancy, or the Tricks of Artificers; ſo far, as not ſeldom to complain, That they can neither go back, nor well proceed; but are driven into ſuch Inconveniences, that the Family is often indangered to Erect the Houſe. At firſt, the Author deſigned only a Convenience for a ſingle Perſon; but the Structure is grown a burthen inſupportable to him, as any who know him in all Circumſtances of Health, and other Abilities, and the Nature and Condition of the Charge, will eaſily judge.

However, as to what is paſt, there is no way but to be animated both againſt the former uſual Accidents, and even his own Defects. Of the later, he is very ſenſible, and is more apt than any other to think meanly of his own Performances, in which he can never ſatisfie himſelf; and yet without ſome ſtock of Confidence, no work beneficial to Mankind can ever be begun or carried on. He prays thee at parting to take theſe few hints along with thee. Firſt, That his way and Method in this Work is new, and not formerly practiſed, and therefore, if it be not ſo exact, but have ſome Miſtakes, good natur'd Perſons will Eaſily excuſe his well-meaning Deſign, who may ſhew the way to others to do better, and from his Experience could eaſily amend what in the firſt Attempt cannot but be more Defective. Therefore if thou find'ſt in this Volume, a greater number of Conſtitutions or Edicts mentioned than was intended, and poſſibly concerning the ſame Subject, conſider that in ſuch a multitude as he ran through, his firſt Choice and Survey, could not be ſo regular and exact. But though they may ſeem many upon the ſame Subject, and often relating to Officers about the Court and Country; yet there is ſcarcely any one but hath ſomething new, ſomething obſervable more than that preceding it; and the ſubject is *Roman*, belonging to the *Roman Empire*; The Laws, Language, Cuſtoms, Antiquities, and even particular Remarques of which, the World hath thought fit to value as Learned, and to be had (eſpecially by all Scholars) in great Eſteem.

The Reader muſt alſo know, That the Author at firſt deſigned to add Eccleſiaſtical Affairs to thoſe of the State, and to joyn them in one Volume; but upon ſecond Thoughts concerning due Method, hath found it neceſſary to reſerve his Collections to a Volume by themſelves, to which this ſecond will afford great, and even neceſſary, Light to the underſtanding of the Eccleſiaſtical Polity; Church and State having been as Twins, and imbraced the ſame Modes of Government. But it will be moſt profitable to have them treated of apart, eſpecially after *Conſtantine's* time, when the Polity was grown up, and plentiful matter was afforded for Hiſtory from the Actions of Chriſtians amongſt themſelves, and eſpecially from the Struggling of Chriſtianity with Paganiſm, its great Endeavours to ſuppreſs it, the manifold Edicts and Conſtitutions of Emperors, publiſhed to this end and purpoſe. Theſe afford noble Matter for a Treatiſe, chiefly to be wrought out of the Body of the *Theodoſian* and *Juſtinianæan* Codes.

Something at laſt ſhould be ſpoken concerning the Language and Style of this Volume; but the Reader cannot be ſuppoſed ſo Ignorant, as not to diſtinguiſh Habits; what is fit for an Hiſtory, and what for a Poem or Romantick Story. Each Subject hath its proper dreſs; as to which, though the Author poſſibly hath not been ſo exact as he ſhould, or poſſibly could have been, and even to hit the humour of the Times, which ſtill will be making Modes and Dreſſes, yet he deſpairs not of Excuſe from thoſe that are more underſtanding and learned. Such Perſons will remember, That the Ancients accounted *Perſpicuity* to be the greateſt Virtue of Speech.

T. P. T. A. H. M.

THE
ROMAN EMPIRE,
From the MONARCHY OF
Conſtantine The Great,
TO THE
Taking of *ROME* by *ODOACER*, and the Ruin of the *EMPIRE* in the WEST.

CHAP. I.

The Vigorous Eſtate or Condition of the Empire, during the Government of Conſtantine *and his Family. From his Monarchy to the Death of* Julian; *With an Account of the Polity of the Empire.*

Sect. I.

From the Monarchy of Conſtantine *to his Death; the ſpace of Thirteen Years and odd Months.*

Conſtantine now Monarch.

A. D. 323.

1. Conſtantine having overthrown and wholly ſubdued *Licinius*, his Enemy, (both as *Chriſtian* and *Emperour*) obtain'd the Sovereignty of the whole *Roman* World, in the *Eighteenth* year of his Reign, the fourth of the two hundred ſeventy fifth Olympiad, the thouſand ſeventy ſeventh of *Rome*, and the twelfth Indiction, *A.D.* CCCXXIII; his two Sons *Criſpus* and *Conſtantine* (*Cæſars*) both of them the third time being Conſuls.

Criſpo & Conſtantino (Cæſaribus) 3 Coſs.

Comes to *Theſſalonica* with his Priſoner *Licinius*, and makes ſeveral good Laws.

Repeals thoſe of *Licinius*.

2. Having Compleated his Victory at *Nicomedia*, (the moſt Eminent City of *Bithynia*, and all thoſe quarters) he there continued near five Months, as well for the re-ſettlement of his Affairs, as the Love he bore to the Place; and then return'd with *Licinius*, his Priſoner, into *Macedonia*; and came to (*a*) *Theſſalonica*, where he made ſeveral Laws, both for the Security of his Eſtate, and the general Welfare of his Subjects. The Army he obliged, by ordering the Privileges of the (*b*) *Veterans*, or old Emerit Souldiers, to be Recorded in that they called *Encauſtum*, or *Ceruſſe*, after the moſt durable manner. The burthen, which during the Tyranny of *Licinius*, had lain upon the Inhabitants of *Chalcedon* and *Nicomedia* by unequal Impoſitions of (*c*) extraordinary Charges, he took off, by referring things of this nature to the Diſcretion of the Governours of the Cities. Then did he by another (*d*) Edict repeal all the Laws and Conſtitutions of *Licinius*, which were contrary to the antient Laws, or his own Decrees, as it was the conſtant cuſtome of Emperours to reverſe all things that had been Enacted by thoſe they called Uſurpers or Tyrants, either preſently after their Fall, or as ſoon as a fit opportunity preſented it ſelf; and as he formerly had dealt about the Ordinances of *Maxentius*. Now for our Underſtanding

(*a*) *l. 4. de Navicularìis C. un. de his qui veniam ætatis.*

(*b*) *l. 1. de* Veteranis *Cod. Th.*

(*c*) *l. 4. de extraordinariis, ſive ſordidis, Cod. Theod. Tit. 16. lib. 11.*

(*d*) *Remotis Licinii Tyranni Conſuetudinibus l. 1. de infirmandis &c. l. 5. Tit. 14. l. 1.*

A. D. 324.

ing what theſe Illegal Edicts of *Licinius* were, (*a*) *Euſebius*, the Author of *Conſtantine*'s Life, tells us of three or four ſeveral unjuſt Conſtitutions made by him. As that none of their Friends or Kindred ſhould relieve ſuch as were Committed to Priſon, upon pain of having the like Puniſhment inflicted upon them. Another whereby he diſanull'd the old *Roman* Laws concerning Marriages, in the room whereof he made barbarous and bloody Statutes. A Third, by which he Innovated in Matters relating to the Dead. Moreover, he laid moſt grievous Taxes on all his Subjects, ordaining new ways of Oppreſſion, by Surveying of Lands, and Penalties impoſed upon the Eſtates of thoſe who were long before deceaſed.

(*a*) *Eccleſ. Hiſt. l.* 10. *C. penult. vitæ Conſtantini. l.* 1. *C. C.* 47, 48.

3. *Licinius*, for the ſake of *Conſtantia* his Wife, was permitted to live a private Life, and for the ſecurity thereof, had the Oath of *Conſtantine* her Brother: but this cannot but be ſuppoſed to be conditional; if he received Protection, his quitting all hoſtile Deſigns muſt at leaſt virtually have been included in the Agreement; none being obliged to cheriſh a Viper in his Boſome, or preſumed to bind himſelf by Oath to Preſerve another to Deſtroy himſelf. Therefore, when he could not forbear his wonted Practices againſt the Perſon and Government of *Conſtantine*, but, as ſome Writers affirm, again endeavoured to raiſe War, and to procure the barbarous Nations to Invade the Empire, having from long Experience of his turbulent Humour and implacable Malice, ſufficient reaſon to deſpair of his Amendment, *he cauſed him to be put to Death*. That this is not incredible, nor any ſevere Cenſure upon the memory of *Licinius*, the Character given him by *Aurelius Victor* may perſuade the Reader, who calls him *the moſt Covetous of all Men, a Leacherous Perſon, Fierce, and very Impatient, and an Enemy to all Learning, which out of his groſs Ignorance he termed the Poiſon and Plague of the Commonwealth, but eſpecially the Practice of the Law.* He adds, *That he was a Clown, and by reaſon of his Clowniſh Birth and Breeding, a Friend to ſuch; but a moſt Severe Exactor of Military Diſcipline, and an Enemy to Eunuchs and Courtiers, whom he called the Moths and Rats of the Palace.* He being gone, *Conſtantine*, to aboliſh all he had done, having formerly Repealed his Laws and Conſtitutions, now by another Edict makes null all the Publick Acts both of him and his Judges. This was no new thing, nor practiſed only by the *Roman Emperours*; the *Athenians* after the deſtruction of the thirty Tyrants, adjudged null and void whatſoever had been done and determined under them, in relation either to publick or private Matters. But whereas the nulling of all private and voluntary Contracts, with Legal Proceedings, during Uſurpations, muſt neceſſarily tend to Confuſion and Diſorder, by unravelling of all things belonging to Propriety, he repreſſeth ſuch as would thence take occaſion to renounce Legally determined, or their own not forced Acts; making a difference between ſuch things as had been ſo Tranſacted by the Subject under *Licinius*, (as *Emancipations*, *Manumiſſions*, *Donations*, *Bargains*, and the like) and other matters tyrannically practiſed by him or his Judges. Now ſome have been miſtaken in confounding this Edict of *Conſtantine* with his former, and affirming him, as better adviſed, to have Mitigated the firſt by the Second: for the firſt is only concerning the Conſtitutions and Laws of *Licinius*, not medling with the Acts of him or his Judges, or with things freely and voluntarily tranſacted by the Subject, and here Excepted.

Puts him to death.

His Character.

The publick Acts of him and his Judges nulled.

Tyranni & Judicum ejus Geſtis infirmatis, nemo per calumniam, vel id quod ſponte fecit, evertere, nec quod legitimè geſtum eſt. Dat. Prid. Id. Febr. Paulino & Juliano Coss. Cod. Th. lib. 15. *Tit.* 14. *l.* 2. *De infirmandis his quæ ſub Tyrannis, aut Barbaris geſta ſunt. Vide Jacobum Gothofredum in Legem.*

Conſtantine reformeth matters in the Eaſt.

4. *Conſtantine*, by the overthrow and Death of *Licinius*, remaining Lord of the Eaſt, as well as other parts of the Empire, ſet himſelf to Amend the State thereof, and Correct the depraved Manners of the People by ſeveral Conſtitutions, as in another place we muſt largely ſhew. No practice at this time was more Extravagant and Burthenſom, than that of Uſury, which extended, not only to Moneys, but alſo to Corn, and other Fruits of the Earth, eſpecially in *Paleſtine*; the Cities of which, and principally *Cæſarea*, abounded with Wheat, Wine and Oyl. By the Law, for Money the hundredth part could only be taken for Intereſt; yet the Cuſtoms of Places bore down the Authority of the Law. And as for Fruits, the Uſury of them exceeded the other of Money, which had this Effect upon Covetous and Griping People, that though they Lent out Money, yet they would make it their bargain to receive the Intereſt of Fruits, which being unlimited, gave occaſion of Intolerable Oppreſſion. Now therefore *Conſtantine* by an Edict, both ſetled the old Cuſtom of the hundredth part for Money, and firſt ſet bounds to the Intereſt of Fruits; Ordaining that it ſhould not exceed one half of the Principal. So as if one lent two Buſhels of Corn, he ſhould receive back but three; which was afterward altered by *Juſtinian*, ſo as this Conſtitution is not put into his Code, he reducing the Intereſt of Fruits to that of Money; and though St. *Jerome* utterly condemns it, yet in reſpect of the former uſual Extortion, it procured great Eaſe to the Subject, and was as great a Reformation as could be wrought on a ſudden. And

Reſtrains Uſury.

Centeſima uſura fuit quæ in nummos centenos ſingulos nummos, ſingulis Menſibus præſtaret. Uſuræ quippe olim, ut apud Græcos, ita & apud Romanos menſtruæ. Gothofred. l. 1. *de uſuris. C. Th. Lib.* 2. *Tit.* 33. *Hæ ſunt omninò uſuræ illæ ἡμιολίας quæ Clericis nominatim interdicuntur hoc ipſo anno* 325. *Conc. Nic. Can.* 17. *ut innuit Gothofredus, quem conſule in has Leges.*

Invites any to Accuſe his Courtiers.

L.4. de Accuſationibus & Inſcriptionibus. C.Th.l.9.Tit.1.

Ita mihi ſumma Divinitas ſemper propitia ſit, & me incolumem præſtet, ut cupio fœliciſſima & florente Republica, &c.

whereas great Complaints were made againſt his *Favourites*, and thoſe that were about him, which kind of Men do often great Miſchief, and cauſe a good Prince (otherwiſe) to be ill ſpoken of, and his Government to be traduced by the People; that he might not alwayes be diſquieted with Clamours, and to provide againſt the Ambition and Covetouſneſs of his Courtiers, he Publiſhed another Edict this year (the ſame wherein the Council was held at *Nice*) from *Nicomedia*, whereby he gives leave, nay invites any one, freely and without fear, to come forth and Accuſe any of his Friends or Favourites, promiſing Rewards to ſuch as could make good their Accuſations; and concluding his Edict with a moſt Religious Proteſtation. Having made this Law at *Nicomedia*, where he remained ſome time after his coming from *Nice*, he took a Progreſs into *Thrace*, *Dacia* and *Myſia*, to *Aquæ*, or the Waters, whence another Law of his bears Date, concerning the *Annonæ*, or Proviſions for the Army. What Waters theſe were is not certain, though ſuch a place there was, not far from the City *Naiſſus* in *Dacia* (where another of his Laws concerning Witneſſes bears alſo date this ſame year) as appears from *Antonine*'s *Itinerary*; And there were other hot Waters in *Thrace*.

Aquæ calidæ.

Makes *Conſtantius* his Son *Cæſar*.

Vide Chronicon Legum in Edit. Gothofred. Cod.Th.

L. Lex quæ Tutores 22. Cod. Iuſt. de Adminiſtrat. Tutorum.

Reſtrains Coyners.

L. 3. de falſa Moneta. C.Th. lib. 9. Tit.21. Vide Gothofr. in l.

What Cities had publick Mints.

5. About this time he Conferred the Dignity of *Cæſar* upon his Son *Conſtantius*, and ſent him into *Gall*, to defend that Province againſt the Barbarous Nations. In the beginning of the following year, his Reſidence was either in *Thrace*, or in *Macedonia*, (at *Heraclea*,) whence he removed Weſtward to *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*, and by a large Edict to the People of *Rome*, made proviſion for ſuch as were under Age, againſt the Frauds and ill Adminiſtration of their Guardians, better than was afforded them by former Laws. From *Pannonia* he moved towards *Italy*, and in his way took *Aquileia* and *Milain*, in both which Cities he made Edicts. In the latter he publiſhed a Conſtitution againſt private Coyners, Confiſcating the Eſtates of ſuch as ſhould procure any Money to be made, but in the publick Mints; in all places Coynage being reckoned amongſt Royalties. Now it will not be amiſs to let the Reader know what Cities of the Empire were privileged with the uſe of Mints. In the Eaſt were *Antioch*, *Alexandria*, *Cyzicus* in *Bithynia*, and afterward *Conſtantinople*. In the Weſt, the *Notitia* of the Empire reckons up ſix ſeveral Mints in the time of *Theodoſius Junior*, and *Valentinian* the *Third*; *viz.* thoſe of *Siſſia* in *Pannonia*, *Aquileia*, *Rome*, *Lyons*, *Arles* and *Triers*, every of which had its ſeveral Procurator there mentioned. Theſe were the moſt known and ordinary Places; but that Money was alſo ſtamped here at *London*, at *Verulam*, and in other Towns, appears by ſeveral Coins yet Extant.

See *Cambden*'s *Brit.* and *Burton*'s Comment upon *Antonine*'s *Itinerary.*

Zoſimus lib.2.

Conſtantine putteth to Death his Son *Criſpus*,

and *Fauſta* his own Wife.

6. Hitherto we hear no ill of *Conſtantine* in Particulars, and yet he was a Mortal, and being poſſeſſed of the higheſt Power upon Earth, muſt needs be liable to various Temptations ariſing from the Grandeur of his Eſtate. But now we are told of ſome Acts both Unnatural and Cruel, which ſuppoſed muſt have fallen out about this very time, *viz.* the putting to death of his Son *Criſpus*, and other Relations. We ſay ſuppoſed; for, that he put his Son to death ſome Authors utterly deny, although, to ſpeak indifferently, they be over-ruled by the Teſtimony of a far greater number: He that tells the Story firſt with Circumſtance, is indeed a bitter Enemy to *Conſtantine*, upon the account of Religion, and ſubjoyns a moſt lewd Lye to it, making this the occaſion of his Converſion to Chriſtianity, as we ſhall ſee in a more proper place. He writes, *That coming to* Rome, *being full of Arrogance, he thought he was to begin his Impiety at his own Houſe: for he put to death his Son* Criſpus, *who was dignified with the Title of* Cæſar, *becauſe he was ſuſpected to have to do with his Step-mother* Fauſta, *without having any reſpect to the Law of Nature. And whenas* Helena, *the Mother of Conſtantine, took it exceedingly to heart, and ſorrowed above meaſure for the death of the Young Man, He, as to Comfort her Salved one Miſchief by another that was greater, cauſing* Fauſta *to be ſtifled in a Bath heated on purpoſe above the ordinary Cuſtom.* Thoſe that moſt oppoſe this Relation are *Sozomen* and *Evagrius*, both Writers of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. *Evagrius* Declaims rather than Argues. *Sozomen* urges, that *Criſpus* could not be put to Death, becauſe he lived till the twentieth year of his Father's Reign, and in the mean time made many Laws on behalf of Chriſtians and Chriſtianity; as, both the Dates and Names which thoſe Laws do bear, ſufficiently evince. This Reaſon is rejected as very frivolous by ſome, who, to make way for the Baptiſm of *Conſtantine* at this time, would have him Guilty of the Death of his Son, or any other thing; but yet there is more in it than they will own: for *Zoſimus* makes the Death of *Criſpus* the occaſion of *Conſtantine*'s forſaking Paganiſm, becauſe, forſooth, that could not afford him any Expiation for ſuch Crimes, and of turning to Chriſtianity upon promiſe of Pardon, which its Principles, upon ſincere Repentance, do allow. Now how could the

death of *Criſpus* give occaſion to his Father's Converſion, when by all account of Times, and by the many Laws yet extant, as Learned Men obſerve, it evidently appears, that long before the twentieth year of the Emperours Reign, wherein, or the year preceding, *Criſpus* was Conſul, both Father and Son were Chriſtians, and vigorouſly by their Edicts promoted this Religion? *Conſtantine*'s Converſion was long before, and it's certain, *Criſpus* was alive in or about his twentieth year.

7. That which *Zoſimus* therefore makes the Effect of the death of *Criſpus*, hence appearing abſurd and ridiculous; the thing it ſelf might well be thought alſo forged, if there were not other Teſtimonies which affirm the Fact, though they are utterly ſilent as to any ſuch thing produced by it. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who lived in, or about theſe times, mentions his putting to death, and alſo the Place, which was *Pola*, a Town of *Iſtria*. And though the Hiſtory of *Euſebius* be ſilent as to this matter, which *Evagrius* urgeth as an Argument againſt *Zoſimus*, yet to this it is anſwered, that into his *Chronicon* it is inſerted, if not by himſelf, by St. *Hierome*, or ſome who publiſhed it near theſe Times. And that not only other Heathen Writers, but Chriſtians alſo, who for the contrary reaſon bore as much reſpect to the memory of *Conſtantine*, as *Zoſimus* did Malice, mention it as a Matter they ſufficiently believed. It muſt not be denied, but that at this time *Conſtantine* was taxed for ſome Severities, and particularly twitted for Cruelty, by a Libel fixed on the Palace-Gate, by procurement of *Ablavius*, who was afterward Conſul, and at preſent the *Præfectus Prætorio.* Therefore, granting that *Criſpus* was put to death, the Cauſe is to be inquired after; for, Puniſhment, except either there be no Cauſe, or a ſlender one, is not to be eſteemed Cruelty. *Zoſimus* tells us, he was ſuſpected to have to do with his Step-mother *Fauſta*, thereby poſſibly, both caſting upon him ſome Imputation of Inceſt, and making out the Cruelty of his Father, in that it was but a Suſpicion: for, had it been true and evident, ſuch a Provocation as that of having one's Bed defiled by one's own Son, might have inraged a Man of far more Phlegmatick Conſtitution than was *Conſtantine.* That his Death hapned by occaſion of *Fauſta*, is affirmed by all; and the general Opinion is, that it was procured by her ſeeking. But this was not for forcing her, or having to do with her; but as we in charity believe, becauſe he refuſed to do what both Religion, and his Duty to his Father forbad, but ſhe moſt ardently required. When afterward *Julian* objected this Death of *Criſpus*, and of other Relations againſt *Conſtantine* to *Artemius* the *Præfectus Auguſtalis*, and *Martyr*, he is ſaid to have excuſed him in this manner: "As for his Wife *Fauſta*, he juſtly put her to death, for that "ſhe imitated the antient *Phœdra*, in calumniating his Son *Criſpus* for being in love "with her, and offering her violence, as ſhe of old did *Hippolitus* the ſon of *The*"*ſeus*. Firſt, he puniſhed his Son as one who had raged with Luſt towards his "Mother, and he did it like a Husband. Afterwards, when her deceit was diſco"vered, he cauſed to be executed upon her a Sentence the moſt juſt of all others. To the ſame purpoſe, as is farther urged, writes *Zonaras*, and other later Hiſtorians, though *Gregory* of *Tours*, the Hiſtorian of the *Francks*, will have them both Executed as Traitors: Very probably, it is conjectured, that *Fauſta* procured the Prince to be put to Death, to make way for the Preferment of her own Iſſue; that ſeveral Courtiers and ſome Relations joyned with her in practiſing thus upon the Credulity of the Emperour, and that he finding how he had been abuſed, at length puniſhed both her and them. For *Eutropius* writes, that very many of his Friends he put to death, amongſt whom was young *Licinius*, his Nephew by his Siſter; although it ſeemeth alſo, that the Law we lately mentioned, whereby he invites all men to Accuſe and Convict any of his Friends, or thoſe about him, is hither to be referred; and that there was ſome great Miſcarriage among the Courtiers, ſome Notable thing which he ſuſpected, and endeavoured to diſcover.

Li. 4. *ad Iſtriam duxit prope oppidum Polam, ubi quondam peremptum Conſtantini Filium accepimus Criſpum.*

Oroſius, Sidonius.

Saturni aurea ſæcla quis requirat? ſunt hæc gemmea, ſed Neroniana. Sidon. Apollinaris. lib. 5. *epiſt.* 8.

Ut mihi non figuratiùs Conſtantini domum vitamque videatur vel pupugiſſe verſu gemello Conſul Ablavius, vel momordiſſe diſticho tali clam Palatinis foribus penſo. Quia ſcil. prædictus Auguſtus iiſdem fere temporibus extinxerat Conjugem Fauſtam calore balnei, filium Criſpum frigore veneni.

Ex Metaphraſte apud Surium. Vide Baronium ad An. 324. *num.* 11.

and why.

Gothofred.

8. From *Aquileia* (not far diſtant from *Pola*, where we hear *Criſpus* was put to death, ſaith *Ammianus*) and *Milain*, *Conſtantine* went to *Rome*, and there continued nigh three Months, *viz. July*, *Auguſt*, and *September*. During his abode in the City, he celebrated his *Vicennalia*, or Solemn Feaſts and Paſtimes for joy he was arrived at the twentieth year of his Reign, and which he had at the beginning of the year celebrated at *Nicomedia*, with great Magnificence. But if we may believe *Zoſimus*, he derided the Proceſſion of the *Equites* or Knights, which was wont to be made up to the Capitol, at the time of Electing or Approving them, which procured him the hatred and Curſes of the *Roman* People: and probable enough it is, that there ariſing Diſcontents between him and them upon the account of Religion, and his endeavouring to exterminate Paganiſm, thereupon he took a Reſolution to fix his Reſidence at ſome other convenient place of the Empire. And whereas

Goeth to *Rome.*

There celebrateth his *Vicennalia*, and diſguſteth the Citizens.

Chron. Legum.

Gothofred.

A.D. 325.

Idem.

Repealeth the Laws of *Licinius.*

lib. 3. & 4. *de infirmandis his quæ ſub Tyrannis &c. ubi* Gothofred.

The *Navicularii* who.

Dicuntur etiam Navarchi, Naucleri, Nautici, Proſecutores.

Vide Paratitlon.

as *Licinius* in his time had ſubtilly changed ſeveral matters in the City, ſo as to oppoſe the growth of Chriſtianity; now *Conſtantine*, to hinder the progreſs of Paganiſm, (as we may eaſily gueſs on both ſides without preſumption) made alſo bold to repeal them. The Diſcontent about the Proceſſion hapned, as *Gothofred* gathers, about the *Ides* of *July*; and about the ſame time he publiſhed two Laws for nulling what Illegal things had been ordained by *Licinius*, and regulated what he had diſordered concerning both *Senators* and *Equites*, directing one to the *Senate* and *Præfect* of the City, who was Chief of *Senators*, and the other to the *Præfectus Vigilum*, who was Principal of the *Equites*; ſo that this latter Law ſeems to be deſigned againſt the Proceſſion, which on the *Ides* was to follow. By the other Law, (both of them ſeem to the Commentator to have made up one and the ſame Edict) it appears that *Licinius* had debaſed Senators, and forced them down to the Employment of *Navicularii*. Theſe *Navicularii* were a Body of Sea-faring men, ordained for Tranſportation of Corn and publick Proviſions in ſeveral Quarters of the Empire, being a Set Number, and that at their own Expence, ſucceeding by turns in the Charge and Burthen; their Sons and Heirs were liable to the Burthen, and if any number of the Body fail'd, a ſupply was made by the *Præfectus Prætorio* uſually, and few were exempted or privileged, not *Jews*, if they had ſufficient Eſtates. Such as they called *Curiales*, or bore Office in Cities, were liable, but not Senators ordinarily; yet ſuch as poſſeſſed their Lands or Eſtates, were liable according to what they poſſeſſed. To this Function they were alwayes obnoxious, ſo that ſcarcely could they be Excuſed by any greater Honour obtain'd. They were conſtrain'd to build Ships and Veſſels of certain burthen; yet ſo as the Countrey ſupply'd them with Materials. As their Charge was great, ſo had they very great Privileges conferred on them by *Conſtantine* (who this very year, for the better ſupply of *Rome*, encouraged them) and moſt of his Succeſſors, till after *Theodoſius* the younger, in whoſe Code ſixteen Laws are Extant concerning their Immunities; and by various Conſtitutions on the other ſide, Proviſion was made againſt their Frauds and Negligence, as we ſhall largely find.

Chron. Legum.

Conſtantine removeth to *Theſſalonica.*

A. D. 327.

Chronic. Alexand. apud Chron. Legum.

Makes a Stone Bridge over *Danubius.*

Vanquiſheth the *Scythians.*

9. Such Senators as had been by *Licinius* debaſed to this Employment, *Conſtantine* (upon their Petition, and in Conformity to what he granted alſo to Chriſtians, whom *Licinius* had burthened by other publick Charges) leaves to the Senate it ſelf to be conſidered and reſtored, if their Birth, Manners and Eſtates were Suitable, and ſuch as they ſhould pitch on, were by the *Præfect* of the *City* to be preſented to him for his Confirmation, it being the *Præfect's* Duty of courſe to give in the Names of all New, or Exempt Senators, to the Prince, and that every three Months. But *Conſtantine*, having ſtaid at *Rome* the time lately mentioned, took his laſt Farewel of it, and removed at the latter end of *September*, by the way of *Spaletum* and *Milain* to *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*, in all which Places he made Edicts, which for urgent reaſons reſpecting Religion, we muſt largely inſiſt on in another place, and therefore in this Volume muſt omit them. From *Pannonia* he took his way into *Macedonia*, and there made ſome ſtay at *Theſſalonica*, the beginning of the following year, which was partly the twenty ſixth and part of the twenty ſeventh of his Reign. *A. D.* CCCXXVII *Conſtantine Cæſar* the fifth time, and *Maximus* being Conſuls. From *Macedonia* he went into *Dacia*, and for ſome time reſided at *Serdica*, whither for ſeveral years following he often had recourſe, having at this time War with the *Goths* and *Taifali*, a People inhabited beyond the Rivers *Oeſce* and *Danow*, the later of which he often paſſed, and for his Eaſe and better Expedition, cauſed a Stone-bridge to be made over it. *Zoſimus* inſinuates, according to his Cuſtom of Defaming him, as if lying careleſly and negligent, indulging his Voluptuous Humour, he gave Encouragement to the *Thaifali*, a *Scythian* Nation, to Invade the Empire; and that he would, or durſt not fight, but loſt the greater part of his Army, and was forced by flight to provide for the ſafety of his Perſon. Now that this is a great Calumny, theſe things muſt make us believe. For his Sloth and Eaſe, we may be ſatisfied to the contrary by the Laws he made at this time, the Dates whereof, and ſeveral Places where they were made, plainly ſhew, that for theſe two or three years he reſted very little, but was ever moving to and fro upon the Borders, and was much at *Serdica*. For his Succeſs, other Writers affirm, that he had the better of the *Scythians*, and not only freed the *Roman* Empire from being Tributary to them, but forc'd them to ſubmit to that Burthen, which none had done before him. For confirmation of this, there is a Coyn ſtill extant, ſtamped in memory of his Victory over the

A. D. 330.

Goths, which the Reader may ſee Exemplified in *Baronius* his Annals. But of this more hereafter.

New *Rome*, or *Conſtantinople* founded.

(*a*) *Ad an.* 330. *num.* 4.

Upon what Inducements.

Lib. 2. *l.* 2.

10. The only truth in *Zoſimus* his Relation is the Circumſtance of time that this War hapned, when New *Rome*, or *Conſtantinople* was founded. For now it was that a ſecond Head began to ariſe out of the Neck of the *Roman* Eagle. We can ſafely believe that Writer as to this Matter, that he might take offence at the Senate and People of *Rome* for their being averſe to his Religion, and that this was a Motive to his Reſolution of chuſing out ſome other Place wherein to fix his Imperial Seat. But this might not be the only Inducement. Another urgent Reaſon may be fetch'd from the preſent State and Condition of the Empire. The great Dangers that now threatned it, were the Inroads made by the Barbarous Nations inhabiting toward the North-Eaſtern parts of *Europe*, towards *Macedonia* and *Thrace*. Hence it was, that thoſe dreadful, thoſe ravenous Swarms of Locuſts took their flight, which at length over-power'd the Eagle, ſpoiled him of ſome of his beſt Weſtern Plumes, and neſted themſelves in his very Throne. The Provinces lying about *Italy* and *Rome*, were at preſent in Repoſe, and what Miſchief hapned afterwards came moſt out of the Quarters but now mentioned. This made the Prince his Preſence very neceſſary in the North-Eaſtern Parts, it not being ſafe, either for the Empire or himſelf, conſtantly to Manage Wars at a great diſtance by Lieutenants, who having got the Command of Armies, commonly uſurped. *Conſtantine* ſeems to have born greateſt reſpect to *Nicomedia*, whither often he repair'd, and there drew his very laſt breath. But though being a City of *Bithynia*, which lies over againſt *Thrace*, it was not far diſtant from thoſe Quarters; yet being ſituate in *Aſia*, and over the Sea, a more convenient Place there might be found, the danger lying chiefly on this ſide the Water. Therefore having refuſed *Nicomedia*, for the ſame reaſon he might reject the Place which *Zoſimus* tells us he firſt pitch'd upon, betwixt *Troas* and old *Ilium*, though already part of the Wall was built, which was ſtill to be ſeen in this Writer's dayes by thoſe that ſailed toward the *Helleſpont*. *Sozomen* alſo writes, that in his time the Gates were to be ſeen on an Hill not far from the *Helleſpont*, and a little above the Tomb of *Ajax*, where the *Greeks* were reported to have had their Camp at the Siege of *Troy*. This might have been one reaſon for fixing his Seat in *Thrace*. To which may be added, (which is alſo thought) that the Eaſtern Provinces of *Aſia* being far more diſtant from *Rome*, and lyable to the frequent Incurſions of the *Perſians* and others, it was the more requiſite, that for their Supply and Safeguard the Emperour ſhould have his Reſidence nearer hand; and, in reſpect of the Weſtern and the Eaſtern Borders, toward the middle of the Empire.

At what place.

Tom. 3. *in Conſtantino Magno.*

Vide Excerpta Dionis in Severo & Zonar.

The State of *Byzantium.*

11. *Sozomen* tells us, that while he was about building in the Place near to *Ilium*, God appeared to him by night, and Commanding him to ſeek out ſome other Seat, put him in mind of *Byzantium*, to fill it with Inhabitants, and call it by his own Name. *Zonaras* writes, that he firſt had thoughts to build in *Serdica*, then in *Sigæum*, a Promontory of *Troas*, where he was reported to have laid the Foundation, and after that began a Work at *Chalcedon*; but Eagles were ſaid to have taken up the Ropes or Lines uſed by the Workmen, and carried them over the Streights to *Byzantium*; which being often done, he concluding it was not without a Providence, went thither, viewed, and approved of the Place. *Byzantium* was formerly a very eminent City, of great Strength, very well Inhabited, and rendred famous by many Hoſtile Actions, related by us in the firſt Tome of this Work. But nothing more Memorable hapned concerning it, than that ſiding with *Niger*, it ſuſtain'd a Siege from the Emperour *Severus* for three years together, who Disfranchized it, as *Veſpaſian* formerly had done, made it ſubject to *Heraclea*, and pull'd down the Walls; but after, He, or his Son being reconcil'd, not only reſtored it to its former Privileges, but by Magnificent Works greatly Adorned it, and called it by the Name of *Antonina* (after the Son) which Name it retained no longer than that Family held the Sovereignty, but received its former of *Byzantium*. When *Gallienus* was Emperour, it ran a more dangerous Riſque than ever, being made ſo deſolate by his Army, that ſcarcely any of the Antient Inhabitants remained; yet by the ſame Emperours Law it revived, and Siding with *Licinius* in the late Civil War, was grown to ſuch Strength, that it could not be Conquered, till after his Overthrow it yielded of its own accord. It was very large, as *Zoſimus* deſcribes it, and fenced with ſeven Towers, beſides moſt ſtrong Walls; but above all things, for its Situation to be commended: for it ſtood upon an *Iſthmus*, or neck of Land, formed by that they called *Ceras* or the *Horn*, and

the *Propontis*, a Place ſo Convenient, as well as Pleaſant, that without leave from it obtain'd, none could well paſs into *Europe*, or *Aſia*, it being as it were the Bridge and the Haven of the two Worlds.

The time of Founding *Conſtantinople.*

Vide Jacob. Gothofred. Chronicon Hiſtoricum in L.L. An. 328. & 330.

12. *Conſtantine*, ſatisfied in his Choice, for theſe Reaſons, gave order for the New Work, to enlarge and make of it a New City, the Foundations whereof were laid on the twenty ſixth of *November*, in the Conſulſhip of *Januarinus* and *Juſtus*, in the year of our Lord Cccxxviii; and in the Conſulſhip of *Gallicanus* and *Symmachus*, on the eleventh of *May*, in the third Indiction, *A. D.* Cccxxx, being the twenty fifth year of his Reign, it was Dedicated, and called by the Name of *New Rome*, and after him, *Conſtantinople.* And that it might not bear the empty Name of *Rome*, he provided both by the Number and Luſtre of the Buildings, and by Imperial Privileges Conferred upon it. As for the former, *Zoſimus* gives us this Account; “That in the Place where formerly was the Gate of the Old City, he Erected a *Forum* of a round Figure, which he incloſed with large *Porticus's* or *Galleries* and raiſed two mighty Arches each over againſt the other of *Proconneſian* Marble, through which a Paſſage lay into the *Porticus* of *Severus*, and out of the old Town: and to make the Place far larger than it was before, he drew a Wall fifteen furlongs beyond the former, which took in the whole *Iſthmus* from Sea to Sea. Having thus enlarged it he built a *Palace* not much inferiour to that at *Rome*, as alſo a Cirque with all Elegancy imaginable, part of which he made of the Temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, and he reckons up other Places wherein he cauſed to be ſet the Statues of the *Heathen* Gods (which the Author of his Life tells us, was out of Deriſion) and he adds that he built Houſes for certain Senators which followed him from *Rome.* To ſpeak more Compendiouſly, and yet more to the Purpoſe than *Zoſimus*, he divided his new City into fourteen Regions, he built a Capitol, fixed a golden *Miliarium* or a Mark in the middle, whence all Miles were to be meaſured and counted. He made a *Circus Maximus*, an *Amphitheatre*, ſeveral *Forums*, *Porticus's* and other publick Works, and adorned the City with ſo many *Columns*, *Pyramids*, and things of Rarity and Antiquity, that indeed as St. *Hierome* obſerved as well as others, he ſpoiled all other Places, eſpecially *Rome*, of their Ornaments to ennoble this; beſides the many Churches, which upon a Religious account he cauſed to be built, which added much to the Luſtre of the City. Above other Curioſities a Column of *Porphyry* he brought from *Rome* is moſt valued, which he cauſed to be erected in the *Forum*, with an admirable Statue of Braſs upon it; that of *Apollo* as was reported, and firſt fetcht from *Ilium*; but he Commanded his own Name to be put upon it, and it ſtood in that poſture till the days of *Alexius Comnenus*, in whoſe Reign it was blown down, and Killed many Perſons that were under it. Hither he is alſo reported to have brought the *Palladium* from *Troy*, and many more Rarities which the Reader, if he pleaſe, may find in the Book which *Codinus* hath written concerning the Originals of *Conſtantinople.* In concluſion as to this Point *Zoſimus* further tells us, “That He ſo happily enlarged it, even to the extent of the greateſt City, that the ſucceeding Princes here fixed their Abode, and hither drew a greater multitude of Men than was neceſſary, which flocked to it, either as Souldiers, or Merchants, or for ſome other Courſe of Employment. In ſo much that they enlarged its Bounds, and compaſſed it with far larger Walls than *Conſtantine* had done before them, and ſuffered the Buildings to be ſo many and ſo thick, that the Inhabitants whether in or out of doores were ſtraitned by reaſon of the vaſt number of Men, and other Animals were perpetually in danger, and no ſmall Portion of the adjoyning Sea became joyned to the Land by Buildings raiſed upon Piles, which of themſelves were ſufficient to make up a large City.

The Buildings

Lib. 3. *c.* 52.

13. Thus might this City be called *New Rome* in reference to the Buildings and Ornaments, wherein it fully reſembled the old; but theſe were but as the Carcaſs, which without great Privileges and Encouragements could not long ſubſiſt. Power and Authority, Sovereignty and Dominion muſt give Imperial Life unto it. As to this a very Learned Man obſerves, that at its very Dedication it was made partaker of Empire, and Aſſociate with the other; yet is perſwaded that at the firſt it was not adorned with all the Privileges of old *Rome*, becauſe by a Conſtitution of *Valens* (not *Valentinian* and *Valens*, as he and others miſtake) long after, the *Jus Italicum* or Privilege of *Italy* was reſtored to it. Now if it had been before this poſſeſſed of all Imperial Authority; what could this *Jus Italicum* have ſignified? what needed it a Pittance of Immunity which was already ſeized of all Rights of Majeſty? Therefore he would fetch the Riſe of its Grandeur from a Law of *Theodoſius* the Firſt, confirmed afterward by *Honorius* and *Theodoſius* the Second. Yet is there

Berterius Pithanon Diatriba, 1.

Whether at firſt it was Adorned with all the Privileges of old *Rome*.

De Jure Italico urbis Conſtantinop. Cod. Theod. lib. 4. *Tit.* 13.

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no ſuch Law of *Theodoſius* the Elder extant; he gheſſes only there was, becauſe that *Sozomen* plainly affirms, that at the time of the firſt Council of *Conſtantinople*, which was in the very days of *Theodoſius* the Firſt, *this City had not only obtained the Name of New* Rome, *and in like manner had a Senate, together with the ſame Ranks or Orders of Perſons and Magiſtrates; but uſed the ſame Enſigns or Badges of Authority as the other* Rome *did, and in both, the Privileges and Honours fully agreed.* Now from *Themiſtius*, it is Evident, that *Conſtantinople* owed much to *Theodoſius* the Elder; nay he makes it a Queſtion, whether not as much as to *Conſtantine* himſelf. But as for what *Themiſtius* ſpeaks of *Theodoſius*, he ſpeaks in way of Panegyrick, and it relates to the Buildings of the City. All others generally uſe ſuch Expreſſions as aſcribe the Rights and Privileges to *Conſtantine* as the Author, who having given Original and Name to the City, muſt have been thought to have had as much kindneſs for it as any other could. Therefore *Sozomen* (that we may Interpret one place of that Writer by another) having told us how he had beautified it by publick Buildings, adds, that he called it *New Rome*, and (which Explaines the other) *Queen or Miſtreſs of all Roman Subjects Inhabiting in the North, South, the Sun-riſing and the Mediterranean Sea, from the Citie's ſtanding upon Iſter,* and *Epidamnus* with others, *ſeated upon the Ionian* Bay, *as far as Cyrene*, and that part of *Libya adjoyning to the Place called* Borium. *He appointed* (ſo he proceeds) *a great Council, which they call a Senate, and aſſigned to the Senators the ſame Rank, Honours and Feſtivals as belonged to the ancient Romans. In concluſion he endeavoured to make this City called after himſelf, in all things equal to* Rome *in* Italy, *neither did his Succeſs fail him, it Increaſing ſo much, as by Conſent of all Men it ſurpaſſed* Rome, *both in the multitude of its Inhabitants, and in Riches.* To this Equality ſo many Authors bear Witneſs, that it would be tedious to produce their Teſtimonies, ſo that when others write he made *Conſtantinople* equal to *Rome* in Honour, it was not in empty Honour and Fame, and it was not to no purpoſe that he enacted a Law whereby he gave it the Name of *New Rome*, and as *Socrates* tells us cauſed it to be Engraven in a Pillar of Stone placed at the *Prætorium* near to his own Statue on Horſeback.

Lib. 7. *C.* 9. ἤδη γὰρ οὐ μόνον εἶχε ταύτην τὴν προσηγορίαν ἡ πόλις &c.

Lib. 2. *C.* 2. καὶ βασιλίδα κατέστησε

ἐφάμιλλον μείζονα συνομολογεῖσθαι.

Lib. 1. *C.* 12.

14. As for the Law of *Valens* concerning the *Jus Italicum*, it gives no new Privilege to the City, but reſtores what it formerly had enjoyned, and was, it ſeems, taken away, as by the words of it expreſly appears. This *Jus*, Privilege or Immunity of *Italy* conſiſted in two things eſpecially: *viz.* a peculiar, eaſie Courſe of tranſacting buſineſs relating to Law Matters, as in Alienations, Mancipations, Uſuscapio and the like, and in Freedom from ſome Tributes, which extended both to the Perſons, and the Soil or Ground, granted long ago to *Rome* and *Italy* by a Law preferred by *Metellus Nepos*, the *Prætor.* Amongſt the other Privileges of Old *Rome* this had been Conferred on *Conſtantinople* by *Conſtantine*, and taken away lately by *Procopius* the Tyrant, or Uſurper, who as *Themiſtius* teſtifies haraſſed, during his Tyranny there, both the Senate and People with Tributes and Exactions, and therefore *Valens* by this Law puts it but into the State it formerly was in, renewed but its Privilege, and reſtores one of the Flowers of its Imperial Crown; which that it might be faſter ſet, and hold for the time to come, as *Conſtantine* cauſed the Law of Univerſal Privilege to be Engraven in a Stone-Pillar, he ordaines, that this his Law of Reſtitution, not only be Regiſtred amongſt the Publick Acts, but cut alſo in Brazen Tables with all due Solemnity. This would content the minds of the Citizens, eſpecially thoſe of the inferiour ſort, who would be more ſenſible of the Violation of their Immunity from Taxes than any other, who would little care for the Grandeur of the City in point of Majeſty and Authority, if they were forced to empty their Purſes, and were burthened with Contributions. And this Burthen could not but be more uneaſie to them, becauſe unuſual; and eſpecially for that the Multitude had been drawn to Inhabit this New City, not only by Freedom from Taxes, but by the great Munificence of the Founder, whoſe Deſign it was, that they ſhould, not only ſave their own Money, but receive part of their Maintenance at his Expence. For in the Second Year after the Dedication of the City, for the Encouragement of Builders and Inhabitants, he diſtributed Bread amongſt them of free Gift, amounting to forty thouſand meaſures of Corn daily, which was brought out of *Ægypt*, and the Allowance was not only continued during his Time, but long after his Death, and was increaſed by ſome of his Succeſſors. Beſides this way of Encouragement he gave great Sums of Money to ſuch as built to defray their Charges, and to his new Citizens great Intereſt in his Demeſne-Lands lying in the Eaſt, in the Dioceſes of *Aſia* and *Pontus*; ſo that none but ſuch could hold or Alienate the ſaid Lands; and this he granted by

Italici Juris auxilium arbitra æquitate renovamus.

Vid. Gothofred *in* Leg.

Dio. lib. 37.

Conceſſi igitur gratia beneficii publicis Actibus intimetur, & inciſa Tabulis debita Solennitate permaneat.

Chronic. Alexand.

Zoſimus lib. 2. διένειμε τῷ Βυζαντίων δήμῳ σίτησιν δημοσίαν ἣν ἄχρι τοῦδε διέμενεν ἔχων.

Vide Cod. Th. lib. 14. *Tit.* 16. *lib.* 2. & *Tit.* 17. L.L. *Varias. Evagrius lib.* 3. *c.* 41. *Novel. Theodoſii Tit.* 12. *l.* 1.

Diſtributes amongſt his Citizens great quantity of Bread.

by a Law, which *Theodoſius* afterward repealed: the Deſign of *Conſtantine*, as he ſaith, being already accompliſhed as to the Building of the City, and the Publick Revenue being much leſſened by that and other Practices, which he alſo thereby redreſſeth.

15. But to provide for the Pleaſure and Convenience of the Inhabitants, as well as their Profit, in the ſame Month wherein the City was Dedicated, he opened the Bath of *Leucippus*, adjoyning to the *Cirque* and the *Palace*, made long before by the Emperour *Severus*; a Great and moſt Magnificent Work. For the better ſerving of this Bath and other parts of the City with Water: the fourth day after the Dedication he publiſhed an Edict, for the cleanſing of the Aquæducts, which Burthen he impoſeth upon thoſe through whoſe Grounds they paſs; requiring that no Trees grow within fifteen Foot of them, leſt they ſhould Mine the Works; and for this in the way of Recompence he grants Immunity from *extraordinary Burthens*, confiſcating their Lands in caſe of Negligence. Having thus conſulted for the Profit and Pleaſure of his new Citizens, he could not be wanting in what tended to the Inſtruction and Ornament of their Minds; but for this Purpoſe, as alſo to fill the Place by a greater concurſe of People, he provided for the publick Profeſſion of Learning in the City. Three Years after the Dedication, by an Edict directed to the People, and bearing Date from *Conſtantinople*, he confirms all the Privileges granted by his Predeceſſors to Phyſicians and Profeſſours, and frees both them, their Wives, and Children, from all Employment and publick Service: ordaining that they neither be compelled to ſerve as Souldiers, nor to Quarter any whatſoever, or give Entertainment without their free Conſent; giving this for a Reaſon, that they may the better inſtruct many in the Liberal Studies, and their ſeveral Arts. In like manner did *Julius Cæſar*, that he might draw People to *Rome*, then much emptied, make all that profeſſed Phyſick, or the Liberal Arts, free of the City. So did *Auguſtus*, as *Dion Caſſius* witneſſeth, Grant Immunity from Employments to Phyſicians. But he that firſt provided for the Privilege and Immunity of Profeſſors, was *Veſpaſian*, the ſame who firſt allowed Salaries to ſuch as taught Rhetorick, out of the Publick Treaſury; which Grace of his was afterward Confirmed by *Hadrian* at the beginning of his Reign, as alſo by *Antoninus Pius*, *Severus*, and *Antoninus*, *Philip*, *Diocleſian* and *Maximilian*, all who were favourable to them, as were the Lawyers, who wrote much in their behalf. But all this hitherto done, extended only to their Perſons, not to their Patrimony, their Eſtates and Families, the Immunity of which was reſerved to *Conſtantine*, to be by him beſtowed.

Opens the Bath of *Leucippus*.

Encourages Phyſicians and Profeſſors.

Chron. Alexand.

Cod. Th. *lib.* 15. Tit. 2. & *Cod.* Juſtin. *lib.* 1. *eodem.* Tit.

Beneficia Divorum retrò Principum confirmantes, Medicos & Profeſſores literarum, Uxores etiam & Filios eorum ab omni functione, & ab omnibus muneribus publicis vacare præcipimus, nec ad militiam comprehendi, neque hoſpites recipere, nec ullo fungi munere, quo faciliùs Liberalibus ſtudiis & memoratis Artibus multos inſtituant. Cod. Theod. *Lib.* 13. Tit. 3. *l.* 3. *ex qua Lege pars Legis 6. Cod.* Juſtiniani. *eodem* Tit. *deſumpta eſt. Vide Gothofred. in Leg.*

16. For, before this Edict (the occaſion of our preſent Diſcourſe) he had Publiſhed two ſeveral Conſtitutions for the Encouragement of Phyſicians, Grammarians, and other Profeſſors of Learning, giving in the firſt, not only Immunity to their Perſons, but to their Eſtates, ſecuring them from violent Arreſts and Injuries, with a great Penalty to thoſe that ſhould moleſt them, whether Bond or Free. Their Salaries due from the Cities he commands to be paid, and as for ſuch Offices as were counted Dignities, he permits them either to accept or refuſe them, as they ſhould ſee occaſion; however diſcharging them from common Offices and ordinary Services; becauſe their Attendance upon their Patients and Scholars might require their whole time, he would not have them forced from their Employments: and yet leſt it ſhould be imagined in the leaſt, that they were barred from Honours, or Honourable Offices, it's left free for them to take or leave them, as they find convenient. Therefore they might be, if they pleaſed, in the Cities where they lived *Duumviri*, *Defenſores*, *Gymnaſiarchæ*, *Ædiles*, *Prieſts*, *Flamines* and *Legati*, which were both Perſonal Employments and Honours; and if they pleaſed they might refuſe them, as *Phavorinus* did that of Prieſt, under *Adrian*, appealing to the Laws made in his behalf as a Philoſopher. By his ſecond Conſtitution he diſcharges the *Archiatri & Ex Archiatris*, or the Phyſicians of the Court and of the City, of all Duties and Employments belonging to ſuch Ranks and Orders as they might chance to be of; or the payment of Gold or Silver, or the furniſhing of Horſes; and extends the Privilege unto their Sons. “ All thoſe Immunities and Privileges he “ Confirms by this Edict made in favour of his new City, adding two more con- “ cerning the *Militia*, and Quartering of Souldiers. And now after four or five years, by reaſon of theſe Encouragements, ſo great Confluence was made to *Conſtantinople*, that there was want both of Architects for Building Houſes and Churches, and of Proviſions; ſo that the Founder was obliged by new Laws in both reſpects to provide for the Multitude. He directs an Edict to *Felix*, the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Italy*, wherein after Signification, that there was need of very many

Lex. 1. *hujus Tituli.*

L. 2. *hujus Tituli.*

Takes care for Architects.

Architectis quamplurimis opus eſt, ſed quia non ſunt, Sublimitas tua in Provinciis Africanis, &c. Cod. Th. lib. 13. *Tit.* 4. *l.* 1. *Abeſt hæc* Lex *à Cod. Juſt. velut* κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἀναγκαῖα *obſervante Gothofr. quem Conſule.*

ny Architects, he orders him to draw thoſe in his Provinces of *Africk* to undertake that Study, who were about eighteen years of Age, and had ſome taſte of the Liberal Arts; for the Encouragement of whom, he grants Immunity from ordinary Burthens and Employments, both to them and their Parents, and affirms, he had appointed competent Salaries to ſuch as ſhould inſtruct them.

And increaſes the Privileges of the *Navicularii.*

L.6. *de Navicularis Cod. Th. Lib.* 13. *Tit.* 5. *abeſt hæc Lex à Cod. Juſtin. Lib.*7. *eod. Tit. Pro Commoditate urbis quam æterno nomine jubente Deo donavimus, hæc urbis Privilegia credidimus deferenda, &c.*

17. One great Advantage this City received by its Situation; that as by Land it ſtood very well for Proviſions, ſo by Sea might be imported whatever the World could afford, both for Pleaſure and Convenience. Now all things of this Nature being conveyed by the *Navicularii*, who (as we ſaid) were a Corporation: By one Edict he redreſſed ſuch Diſorders among them as were obſerved to hinder the vigorous Proſecution of their Work, the greateſt Burthen often lying upon thoſe who were the leaſt able to bear it, and others avoiding their Proportions, how equal ſoever. This was publiſhed at *Carthage* on the ſeventh of *September*; and at the beginning of *December* following, we find another Conſtitution directed to the *Navicularii* of the *Eaſt*, wherein he tells them, "That for the Commodity of this City, to which by God's Command he had given an Everlaſting Name, he thought fit to beſtow upon them the following Privileges: As that all *Navicularii* ſhould be free from Civil Burthens, Offices and Services: That they ſhould not be bound to undertake any Honourable Employment in Cities to their Detriment, nor be Compelled to be Tutors or Guardians. That they ſhould not be bound by the Laws *Julia* and *Papia*, which allowed to Huſbands and Wives but ten parts in certain Caſes, though left them by the Teſtaments of their Wives or Huſbands; ſo that they might leave their whole Eſtates to one another, as they deſired; nor by the Reſcript of the Prince himſelf, be forced to appear before any extraordinary Judge; but in Conteſts about Inheritances, or any other Civil Matter be convened in that Court, in the Juriſdiction of which they then abode. That as the Cuſtom was to the Fleet of *Alexandria*, four Quarts in a hundred ſhould be allowed them toward the repairing the loſs or waſte which muſt neceſſarily be made in the Tranſportation of Corn: and that for every thouſand Meaſures, they ſhould receive for Freight one *Solidus*; that ſo by theſe Immunities and Rewards, being encouraged, and ſcarcely being at any Expence themſelves, they might lawfully go about their buſineſs. By this Conſtitution he eſtabliſhed a new Body or Society of *Navicularii*, for the Benefit and Advantage of *Conſtantinople*, in the *Eaſt*; and gives them as great Privileges, nay in ſome reſpects greater than what belonged to thoſe of *Africk* and *Alexandria*, who being formerly allotted to the Service of *Rome* only, now were ſo divided by him, that (regularly) the Fleet of *Africk* was left to its former Service; but that of *Alexandria* appointed to the Supply of *Conſtantinople*. But thus much concerning the Building and Peopling of this City from moſt Authentick Writings, not to mention other idle Reports: and we ſhall diſmiſs the Hiſtory of its Founding with this little Account further; that *Valens* a great Aſtronomer of that Time, caſting as it were its Nativity, upon Conſideration of the Scheme, gave out, that its Empire would continue ſix hundred ninety ſix years. Had he ſaid one thouſand one hundred twenty two, ſome obſerve he had gueſſed nearer to Truth. And yet though its preſent Condition as to Religion may ſeem to have aboliſhed the Foundation and Name (it being at firſt Deſigned and Dedicated in a manner to Chriſtianity) yet having ſet up upon a new, though Apoſtate Account, it ſeems yet after two hundred and twenty more very vigorous, and ſo vivacious, that whoever (of what Religion or Nation ſoever) ſhall be Lord of thoſe *European* and *Aſian* Provinces, it promiſes to it ſelf, from its Situation, a Fortune little Inferiour to what formerly it did, and at preſent doth enjoy. So that howſoever *Valens* Calculated, it was Founded under a wonderful Lucky Planet.

Valens his Prognoſtication of the Duration of *Conſtantinople.*

Cedrenus Zonaras in Conſtantinop.

Conſtantine Publiſheth an Edict concerning Judicature.

ut L. 2. *Cod. Juſt. ubi in rem actio.* L. 3. *finium regendorum. l. unde* Litigioſis *l. l.* 16. 17. *de appellationibus. Et l.* 1. *de his qui per metum Judicis. Et vide Gothofred. in l. l. Hieron. in Chronic. Conſularia Daciana.*

18. *Conſtantine* after the Founding of his new City, either out of Fondneſs to it (as Parents are wont to be indulgent to their Young and Tender Off-ſprings) or to encourage and further the Buildings by his Preſence, was much there, as appears by the Dates of his Edicts, and now, as habituated to be kind to all his Subjects, from the frequent Acts of Indulgence to his new Citizens, in the year following, in the Dedication he publiſheth a large Edict to all the Provincials through the *Eaſt*, bearing Date from this City, concerning the Order and Inviolability of Judicature, againſt the Corruption of Judges and Inferiour Officers, and the Knavery of Private Perſons in Poſſeſſion; of which there are ſix parts at leaſt, as now they are divided in our Law-Books. For theſe two or three years he had been diſintangled from Wars, and ſo more at leiſure to proſecute his other Deſigns; but now the next that follows, we find him Engaged by the *Sarmatians*, in War with

Conſtantine his Son over-throws the *Sarmatæ.*

His Edicts in reference to that War.

A. D. 332.

Pacatiano & Hilariano Coſs.

Lex 4. *de ſponſalibus Cod. Th. lib.* 3. *Tit.* 5. *& Cod. Juſtin. eod. Tit. ſed mirè interpolata.*

Sulp. Severus. in vita Martin. C. 1.

Inde Murci dicti ſunt jocula-riter.

De filiis Militarium Apparitorum & Veteranorum. Cod. Theod. lib. 6. *tit.* 22. *&* 12. *Cod. Juſtin. tit.* 48.

Anonymus apud Sirmondum nunc editus à Valeſio, unà cum Ammiano Marcellino.

the *Goths*, which was managed by *Conſtantine Cæſar* his Son, who obtained a Victory over them in the Territories of the *Sarmatæ*, on the twentieth of *April* in the Conſulſhip of *Pacatianus* and *Hilarianus A. D.* cccxxxii. Though the Son had the Honour to have the name of General, and the Repute of a Conquerour; yet we find that the Father was not far off: for by the Date of another Edict this Month, it appears he was at *Martianopolis*, a City of *Myſia* in the Confines of the *Goths* and *Sarmatians*. And whether he had reſpect therein to this Expedition, in that Edict he gives Encouragement to Souldiers. For whereas Formerly a Woman that was Contracted, was not compelled by the Laws to ſtay any time for the Man, but might again refuſe him, though preſent, much leſs bound to expect one that was abſent and at a diſtance: "By that new Law he excepts a Soldier, though a Volunteer in the Service, his abſence being for the publick Concernments, and Ordaines, that a Woman Contracted to ſuch an one ſhall ſtay two years for him; condemning him to an Iſland that ſhould contract or marry her to another within that time; but in Caſe he returned not within two years, which time was thought ſufficient for one Expedition, ſhe might freely Marry to any other. That this Law had reſpect to this Expedition againſt the *Goths* by way of Encouragement, we may be induced to believe from another, which this ſame Month of *April* he made in way of Puniſhment and Compulſion for the ſame Service. The *Veterani* or old Souldiers had ſo great Privileges by the Laws, that it was thought but reaſonable, that when there hapned any urgent occaſions, their Sons ſhould be compelled to ſerve in the Armies; but many of them were ſo backward, eſpecially in *Italy* (where ſince the time that *Auguſtus* began to ſpare the *Italians*, they had applyed themſelves much to Huſbandry, and been averſe to War) that to make themſelves uncapable, they would cut off their Thumbs, and Parents were wont to make their Children unfit to bear Arms. *Conſtantine* had formerly, when he had War with the *Sarmatæ*, Publiſhed ſeveral Edicts for reſtraining of this Humour, and forcing them into the Field; and having the ſame occaſion, he now commands "That ſuch of them as entred at ſixteen years of Age, and are not fit for Military Service, be condemned to Offices and Services in the Towns and Cities, thereby cutting off the Privileges, which elſe they enjoyed." And ſucceeding Princes puniſhed them with greater Severity, as we ſhall ſee in due time and place. But as for this War, it was finiſhed with that Succeſs by *Conſtantine* the Son, that about one hundred thouſand of the *Goths* periſhed by Hunger and Cold, beſides thoſe that fell by the Sword, and they were conſtrained to give up Hoſtages, amongſt whom the Son of *Ararich* their King.

Sarmatæ beaten out by their Slaves.

received into the Empire.

Conſtantine his Law concerning Teſtaments of Souldiers.

Hieron. in Chronico.

*Author vitæ Conſt. lib.*4.*c.*6.

Anonymus Sirmondi.

A. D. 334.

L. 2. *de Advocat. Fiſci dat. Singinduno.*

l. 3. *de fide teſtium dat. Naiſſo Cod. Theod.*

L. 15. *Cod. Juſtin. lib.* 6. *tit.* 21. *qui Teſtamenta facere poſſint, &c.*

19. Thus were the *Sarmatæ* delivered from the Inroads and Oppreſſion of the *Goths*, but within two years were more roughly handled by their own Servants called *Limigantes* (and afterwards *Arcaragentes*) by whom they were beaten out of their own Countrey. They have been forced to Arm them againſt the *Goths*, and theſe Slaves thereby coming to know their ſtrength, would not own any more Subjection, but turned their Arms againſt thoſe for the defence of whom they had taken them up; who thus outed of their Dwelling, betook themſelves to the Emperor, and by his order were beſtowed through *Thrace*, *Scythia*, *Macedonia* and *Italy*, to the number of three hundred thouſand of both Sexes, all Ages and Conditions; but ſuch as were fit for Service, he took into his Armies. By the Subſcriptions of the Edicts of the year, wherein *Optatus* and *Paulinus* were Conſuls, it appears that he was in *Myſia* and *Dacia* in the Months of *July* and *Auguſt*, probably to take order in this Affair. One bears Date of the ſeventh of *July*, and on the thirteenth of *Auguſt* following we find another Famous Law Dated from *Nicomedia*, concerning the Teſtaments of Souldiers in Expedition, or in preſent Service, by which they are diſcharged from the Obligation of ſuch Solemnities as the Law makes neceſſary in the Wills of other Perſons; and theirs made good, if but written on the Scabberd of their Swords or their Targets with their Blood, or with their Swords in the Duſt ſuch time as they died in Battle. now this bearing Date on the Ides or thirteenth of *Auguſt*: The next that follows, is that made at *Naiſus* in *Dacia*, and bears Date but eighteen days after; ſo that *Conſtantine* muſt have poſted up and down in the ſpace of two Months and leſs from *Singindunum* in *Myſia*, back to *Nicomedia*, and from *Nicomedia* to the Borders of *Naiſſus*; which is agreeable enough to his Practice, and to the pains he took, but the time was ſo ſhort, that with our learned Lawyer, we may be content to caſt back this Edict concerning the Teſtaments of Souldiers, nine years, to the year ccxxv, and acknowledge it here to have been miſplaced.

Sect. I.

A. D. 335.

20. By the Edicts of the following year, it appears, that for ſome time he reſided in *Myſia*, but was paſſing to and fro, and for the moſt part was at *Conſtantinople*; and now being arrived at the thirtieth of his Reign, here he Celebrated it with great Magnificence. About this time (ſome ſay this very year, though others place it two years backward) he conferred the Dignity of *Cæſar* upon *Conſtans*, his third Son, and (as *Zoſimus* writes, *Dalmatius* the Son of his Brother *Dalmatius*, had the ſame Title, together with *Conſtantine* his Brother, and *Annibalianus*, being in ſome ſort alſo made Partakers of that Imperial Dignity, adorned with Purple, and other Robes ſet off with Gold, and ſtyled *Nobiliſſimi*, becauſe they were of his Kindred. The thirtieth of his Reign being over, the Author of his Life farther tells us, that having long before Married his Eldeſt Son, he procured a Wife for *Conſtantius* his Second, and ſolemnized the Marriage with all Splendor imaginable, feaſting the Men and Women apart by themſelves, and in honour hereof, beſtowing Gifts upon all Nations and Cities. Much about the ſame time Ambaſſadours came to him out of *India*, bringing Preſents of great Value, and greater Rarity; not only Gemmes, but certain Animals, unknown before to the Weſtern parts of the World: and he adds that this they did to ſignify, that his Empire and Dominion extended as far as the utmoſt Shore of the Ocean; and obſerves, that as at his firſt Promotion, the *Britans* in the moſt Weſtern Parts of the World, firſt ſubmitted to him; ſo now at the laſt the *Indians* in the moſt Eaſtern acknowledged his Sovereign Authority. Having receiv'd this Acknowledgment, he divided his Empire amongſt his three Sons, aſſigning to *Conſtantine*, his Eldeſt, the Grand-father's ſhare, the Eaſt to *Conſtantius*, and that Part lying betwixt them unto *Conſtans*; but above all things deſirous that they might be fitted for Government, he appointed them Tutors and Inſtructors, the beſt that could be had, to teach them the Arts of Peace and War, the Liberal Sciences, and eſpecially to ground them well in their Religion. Thus the Author of his Life in his Panegyrical way, who muſt not be underſtood as if *Conſtantine* reſigned the Empire to his Sons and put off his Cloathes before he went to bed; but about this time, when he promoted his youngeſt Son and Kindred, we find that the Empire was Govern'd in this manner: *Conſtantine*, the Eldeſt Commanded in *Gall*, and ſome Weſtern Provinces; *Conſtantius*, when a Boy (as *Julian* teſtifies) had had the Name of Commander in *Gall*, but now Govern'd *Aſrick* and *Illyricum*, and *Italy* was ruled by *Conſtans*. *Dalmatius* was appointed to defend thoſe Parts that bordered upon the *Goths*, and, as ſome ſay, *Meſopotamia*; and *Annibalianus* had Charge of *Cappadocia* and *Armenia* the leſs.

He makes *Conſtans*, his Son, *Cæſar*.

L. 21. decurionibus dat. Vineinacio pr. Non. Aug. & l. 4. Cod. Juſtin. de Offic. Rector. Provinc. dat Nicopoli. 1 Kal. Novembr.

Vita Conſtantini li. 4. & 49, 50. &c.

His Felicities.

Orat. 1.

Chron. Alexand.

Anonym. Syrmondi, Vide Chron. L.L.

21. This Diviſion as we ſaid, was not made by *Conſtantine* in order to the deveſting himſelf of his Sovereignty; but to the better Government of the Empire, and the Breeding of his Sons; yet this ſeemed a Preparatory or Ominous to what within little more than a year enſued. He was now above ſixty Years old, a great Age for Princes as uſually it happens. All this while he had continued in perfect Health and Vigour, ſo as to endure Exerciſe, Riding and Travel. His Underſtanding he had perfect, ſo as ſtill he would compoſe Prayers and Orations, Converſe and Diſcourſe with his Friends, and aſſiſt with much Dexterity at the Framing of his Laws and Edicts, both relating to matters Civil and Military. Not long before his Death, he made a Funeral Oration in the Place where he was wont to ſpeak, and therein diſcourſed of the Immortality of the Soul, of the Rewards in the future Life, which attend thoſe that live well here, and the Puniſhments appointed for wicked Perſons. By this and other Courſes he took, he endeavoured to prepare himſelf for another World, and make his Paſſage into it more eaſie and quiet: but his Meditations were interrupted by News from the Eaſt, where the *Perſians* made Diſturbance; which when he received, intending (as he ſaid) to make this his laſt Victory, he rais'd an Army with all Expedition: of this the Enemy having Notice, and fearing to be engaged in a War with him, ſent their Ambaſſadors, who upon their humble deſire of his Friendſhip, and Promiſe to give Satisfaction required, obtained Peace. *Conſtantine*, about this time, entring into another Journey; for now he began to be diſtempered, which when he found, and that his Diſeaſe increaſed, he made uſe of the warm Baths of the City, and afterward went to *Helenopolis* (a City built by him in Memory of his Mother) to perform his Devotions in the Martyrs Church. Hence he remov'd to *Nicomedia*, and there in the Suburbs thereof call'd *Achyrona*, having received Baptiſm, departed this Life on the two and twentieth Day of *May*, being *Whit-ſunday*, as ſome affirm, in the ſixty ſecond Year of his Age, and the thirty ſecond of his Reign, (though others write ſomewhat variouſly, as to the punctual time) the firſt year

Author Vitæ Conſtantini, lib. 4. c. c. 53, 55, 56. &c.

He dies.

of the two hundred ſeventy ninth Olympiad, the thouſand and ninetieth year of *Rome*, *A. D.* CCCXXXVII. *T. Fabius*, *Titianus*, *Maximinus* and *Felicianus* being Conſuls, ſome reported that he was poyſon'd by his Brothers and Nephew; but he that firſt reported it deſerves no Credit, and they that received it from him were too remote from the time of his Death, to gain any better Reputation as to this matter. None of the Antients, be they Chriſtians or Heathens, making mention of any ſuch thing. But of the latter ſort, what Practices ſoever were made againſt his Body) ſome are conceiv'd to have offered great Violence to his Memory; which Wound, moſt of the former ſort endeavour to bind up and heal, yet ſome gladly would keep it open, and make it bleed afreſh, and that out of kindneſs to the other Party, however they veil themſelves under the Chriſtian Name. Here, for very weighty reaſons, it highly concerns us, the Reader, and the Truth to interpoſe, but with a cautious and wary hand: if Incurable, ſuch we ſhall confeſs and leave it; but if it may be healed up, though not without ſome Cicatrice or Fear remaining, no good-natured Men will blame us for endeavouring to cauſe others to think and ſpeak well of the Dead.

Titiano & Feliciano Coss. Philoſtorgius. Recentiores, ut Zonaras & Cedrenus. c *Non Socrates, Theodoretus, Sozomenus, &c, non Victor Eutropius, Zoſimus.*

And, in order to an indifferent Procedure, we ſhall (without mincing the matter) produce thoſe Characters which are given him by Writers that are eſteemed to have born him no good Will, and which indeed ſpeak the worſt of him: nay, we ſhall take it for granted, that ſuch Chriſtians as ſpeak largely in his Commendation, ſpeak out of Affection; and not producing their Denial againſt the Affirmation of the other (though there be as much Reaſon to believe Affection, as Malice and Hatred) Condemn him in all things his Adverſaries alledge, without all benefit of Compurgators, except Reaſon and unqueſtionable Records, ſuch as cannot be judged partial, do acquit him.

His Character by *Eutropius.*

First then *Eutropius*, a Writer of the Pagan Perſwaſion, lays this to his Charge, "That by Proſperity being ſomething altered from his goodneſs of Diſpoſition, he firſt began to perſecute his own Relations; as his Siſters Son, an excellent Young Man, of great hope, his Wife and very many of his Friends: for this Character he gives him, that at firſt he was a man to be compared with the beſt; and toward his latter end with the Indifferent or Middle ſort of Princes. Innumerable Excellencies, he ſaith, both of Body and Mind were eminent in him. He was moſt deſirous of Military Glory, Fortunate in War, yet ſo as his Fortune did not exceed his Induſtry; for after the Civil Broils, he ſeveral times Defeated the *Goths*, and at length granted them Peace, and gave the Barbarous Nations occaſion to have a deep Senſe and Memory of his Grace and Clemency. He was given to Civil Arts and Liberal Studies, was an Affector of Juſtice, and the love of his People, which he altogether endeavoured to procure by *Liberality* and *Courteſie*. As toward ſome of his Friends he was *uncertain*, yet extraordinarily kind, whom to enrich ſtill and advance, he would omit no occaſion. Many Laws he made, ſome Good and Equitable, more Superfluous, and ſome ſevere. And firſt of all others, adventured to advance a City of his own Name to that height, as to make it æmulous to *Rome* it ſelf. Going about to make War upon the *Perſians*, who now haraſſed *Meſopotamia*, in the one and thirtieth year of his Reign, and the ſixty ſixth of his Age, he died in the publick Suburbe at *Nicomedia*. His Death was foretold by a Blazing Star of an unuſual Bigneſs, which the *Greeks* call a *Comet*, and he deſerved to be reckon'd amongſt the *Divi*. So much *Eutropius*, as near as we can Tranſlate him, who lived when the *Latin* Tongue was much altered.

Verum inſolentia rerum ſecundarum aliquantulum Conſtantinum ex illa favorabili animi docilitate mutavit. Innumeræ in eo animi corporiſque virtutes claruerunt.

Civilibus Artibus & Liberalibus Studiis deditus, affectator Juſtitiæ & Amoris, quem omnino ſibi & Liberalitate *& docilitate quæſivit.*

By *Victor.*

23. The next we ſhall produce, is *Aurelius Victor*, one as little addicted to him, as the former. He having given us an account of his War and Dealing with *Licinius*, adds, "That having by admirable ſucceſs obtained the Monarchy of the *Roman* Empire; at the ſuggeſtion of his Wife *Fauſta*, as was thought, he cauſed his Son *Criſpus* to be put to death: afterward he procured his ſaid Wife to be ſtifled in a Bath; being reproved by *Helena* his Mother, which took moſt heavily the death of her Grand-ſon. Then for his Character, he tells us, that he was greedy of Praiſe or Fame above Imagination, and yet he ſaith, he was wont to call *Trajan Herba parietaria*, for having his name upon ſo many Walls in *Rome*. He built a Bridge over the *Danube*: his Royal Apparell he adorned with Gems, and always wore a Diadem; yet was he moſt profitable to the State in ſeveral reſpects: By moſt ſevere Laws, he repreſſed Calumnies; He cheriſhed Good Arts, and eſpecially the Studies of Learning; He himſelf was given to read, to write, to meditate; was wont to give Audience to Ambaſſadors, and hear the Complaints of the Provinces. Having made *Cæſars* his own Sons, together with *Delmatius* his Brothers Sons, having lived ſixty and three years, and thereof Reigned half

Fuit verò ultrà quam æſtimari poteſt laudis avidus. Hic Trajanum Herbam Parietariam ob titulos multos ædibus inſcriptos appellare ſolitus erat. Commodiſſimus tamen rebus multis fuit.

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(ſo as thirteen by himſelf) He died of Sickneſs. A *Giber* rather than fair-ſpoken; “ whereupon by a common Proverb he was ſaid for ten years to have been a moſt excellent Prince, for the twelve following a Robber, and for the ten laſt a Pupil, or Child by reaſon of his Immoderate Expenſes. His body was buried in *Byzantium*, call'd *Conſtantinople*. Theſe two give ſome Blows to the Memory of *Conſtantine*, and upon account of their Religion cannot but be eſteemed Adverſaries to him, and of the other Party; but theſe are but Velites, their ſlight Weapons, weak or blunt; or if they wound they ſeem to carry a Balſom along with them, for they Praiſe more than Diſpraiſe him; but he that follows lays on Stroaks indeed, and that with invenomed Steel. His Pen makes him ſo black and ugly, that ſcarcely any of thoſe fair Lines can appear, which they both diſcern and own in him. And by what hath been already ſaid, the Reader may eaſily gueſs, that it is *Zoſimus*, ſome part of whoſe Accuſation we have had already occaſion to mention; and now ſhall be faithful in producing what remains.

Irriſor potiùs quàm blandus; unde Proverbio vulgari Thracata decem annis præſtantiſſimus, duodecim ſequentibus Latro, decem noviſſimis Pupillus ob Profuſiones immodicas nominatus.

24. Scarely is there any thing he ever did, or ſaid, but this Writer if he can, makes an ill Conſtruction of it. Having firſt raiſed what Prejudice he may concerning his Birth; his Endeavours after Preferment he aſcribes to the heat of his Ambition. In the Quarrel betwixt him and *Licinius*, he will have him the Aggreſſor, as being accuſtomed to break his Word; yet all this while he makes him to have conceal'd the Naughtineſs of his Diſpoſition. But *Licinius* being removed out of the Way, and all the Power being left in his own hands, he tells you he no longer diſſembled, but acted according to his Luſt and Pleaſure. Then he gives us the Narration of the Death of *Criſpus*, and how he began his Impiety at his own Houſe; his changing his Religion thereupon, and his founding of his new City, upon the Quarrel betwixt him and his Subjects of *Rome*. After this he tells us how he was beaten by the *Scythians*, and giving up himſelf to a voluptuous Life, ordain'd the Allowance of Corn to the Inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*, and profuſely ſpent the publick Revenue in uſeleſs Structures. But theſe are more general, and ſpeak him a Bad Man: now follows more particularly what declares him a Fool, an ill Stateſman, and a Tyrant altogether. He alſo (ſaith he) made a diſturbance in the Offices of “ Magiſtracy formerly Inſtituted. For whereas there were before two *Præfecti* “ *Prætorio*, who ordinarily executed that Charge; not only thoſe that ſerved in the “ Court were under their Command; but alſo ſuch Souldiers as kept the City, and “ all they that lay upon the Borders, the *Præfectus Prætorio*, who was Eſteemed “ the Second after the Emperour himſelf in Dignity, had the Charge of Proviſions “ for the Army, and Power to puniſh ſuch as offended againſt the Diſcipline there- “ of: but *Conſtantine* altering ſuch things as had been well ſettled, divided this one “ Magiſtrate into four; for to the one of them he aſſigned all *Ægypt* with *Pentapolis* “ in *Libya*; the Eaſt as far as *Meſopotamia*, beſides *Cilicia*, *Cappadocia*, *Armenia*, “ and all the Maritime Tract from *Pamphilia* as far as *Trapezond*, and the Caſtles Si- “ tuate upon *Phaſis*; and moreover *Thrace* and *Myſia* (bounded by the Borders of “ *Aſemus*, *Rhodope* and *Topecus*) beſides *Cyprus* and the Iſlands *Cyclades*, *Lemnos*, *Imbrus* “ and *Samothracia* excepted. To the ſecond he Aſſigned *Macedonia*, *Theſſaly*, “ *Crete*, *Greece*, with the adjacent Iſlands *Epirus*, *Illyrium*, the *Dacians*, *Triballi* “ and *Pannonians*, as far as *Valeria*, with the upper *Myſia*. To the third all *Italy* “ and *Sicily*, with the adjacent Iſlands; as alſo *Sardinia*, *Corſica* and *Africk* from the “ *Syrtes*, as far as *Cyrene*. And to the fourth the *Celtæ* or *Galls* beyond the *Alpes*, “ with *Spain* and the *Britiſh* Iſland.

By Zoſimus.

Κωνσταντῖνος δὲ τὰ καλῶς καθεστῶτα κινῶν.

25. By this means having thus divided their Office, by other ways, he alſo “ ſtudiouſly endeavour'd to deſtroy their Power; for whereas in all places, not “ only Centurions and Tribunes, but alſo thoſe they called *Duces*, who ſerved in “ the place of Generals, had Command of Souldiers; he by inſtituting *Magiſtri Militum*, “ whereof one commanded the Horſe, and the other the Foot, with Power “ to order and puniſh them, much more infringed the Power of the *Præfecti Prætorio*. “ That this, both in time of Peace and War did endamage the State, he aſſures us “ he will make appear: For the *Præfecti Prætorio* in all Countries collecting the “ publick Revenue by their Officers, and paying the Souldiers had all Military men “ at their Devotion, who conſidered it was they, that both paid them their Wages, “ and had Power to puniſh them, if there was occaſion. But now there being “ one that pay's them, and another that puniſhes them, they do what they liſt, “ although one might alſo alleage, that the greateſt part of their Proviſions are devoured “ by the Captain and his Officers. *Conſtantine* did another thing, which “ made free Paſſage for the Barbarous Nations into the *Roman* Provinces: for all “ the Borders of the Empire being by the good Forecaſt of *Diocleſian* fortified with “ Garri- “

Gariſons and Caſtles, and therein the Militia lying, the Barbarians were thereby barred of all Acceſs. This Security *Conſtantine* aboliſhed by removing the greateſt part of the Souldiers from the Borders, and placing them in Towns where there was no need of them; whereby he deprived them of their Defence, which were lyable to the Inroads of the Barbarians, and plagued thoſe Places with Souldiers, which were in Repoſe; and by this means many of them were utterly depopulated, beſides the enervating of the Souldiers by the Pleaſures of the Theatre, and other voluptuous Courſes; and to ſpeak ſimply, he laid the Foundation of thoſe Miſchiefs, which to this time have followed. Then after an Account given of the greatneſs of *Conſtantinople*, he ſubjoyns, that all this being done he ceaſed not to burthen the publick Revenue with Penſions, which were not aſſigned according to Reaſon, but to perſons unworthy and unſerviceable. To ſuch as paid Tribute he was burthenſom; but enriched ſuch as were utterly uſeleſs: for, Profuſeneſs he eſteemed Munificence. He laid a Tax of Gold and Silver upon all that exerciſed any Trade in all Countries, even the very meaneſt, ſo that Strumpets were not excuſed from it. Hence came it to paſs, that upon the Approach of every fourth year, when this was to be paid, there was nothing but weeping and Lamentation throughout the City; and when it came, great were the Tortures which thoſe Miſerable Creatures endured on their Bodies, the Purſes of whom could not reach to the Impoſition; ſo that Mothers ſold their Children, and Fathers Proſtituted their Daughters to make up the Payment of this Tax, which they called *Chryſargyrum.* He deviſed alſo another Courſe to Torment thoſe that had conſiderable Eſtates; for ſuch he would call to the Dignity of the Prætorſhip, and under pretence of this Honour, make them pay a great ſum of Mony. So that when the Officers came to ſee this executed in the Cities, all would run away into Forreign parts, as unwilling to purchaſe Honour at ſo dear Rates. All the Eſtates of thoſe of greateſt Quality he kept Recorded, and Impoſed a Tribute upon them, called *Follis*; by which Impoſitions he exhauſted the Cities; and the payment of them being exacted long after his death, very many of them were rendred Deſolate without Inhabitants. *That Conſtantine* having all theſe ways endamaged the Common-wealth, at length died of Sickneſs. And time it was.

26. Now, for *Juſtice* her ſake, let us Pauſe a little; and to Conſider of theſe grand Accuſations, it will be convenient to Reflect upon the Condition and Qualifications of Accuſers or Witneſſes, and their Teſtimonies, ſo as to diſcover their Knowledge and Faithfulneſs, without which their Witneſſings ſignifie nothing, but rather make for the Party accuſed. There are ſome Witneſſes then that are called Certain, and others Uncertain. The certain Witneſs is he that was preſent, or ſaw the thing done; the uncertain, is he that only had it upon Hearſay; and as to this matter *Plautus* ſays well, that one of the former is worth ten of the latter ſort. There are alſo indifferent Witneſſes, and Witneſſes Partial; either upon the account of Favour, or Enmity, or Malice. Partiality requires Abatement on both ſides; but as all Laws have ever been more favourable to Charity than the contrary Extream, the Enemy-Witneſs is in equal diſeſteem with him that ſpeaks for Gain, that's bribed to give a Teſtimony, is rejected as well as he; and for this Reaſon it is, that we know accuſed Perſons to have the Privilege, in our own Country, to except againſt a conſiderable number of Perſons of thoſe that are Judges of Fact, and in the Power of whom it is, to accept or reject the Teſtimonies of ſuch as ſhall but witneſs againſt them. We further know it to be the Duty of a Witneſs, and conſtantly given him in Charge, to ſpeak the Whole Truth, as well as nothing but the Truth; eſpecially it's behoveful, when the Reputation and Fame of a Perſon is call'd in Queſtion. As the Commendation of a Friend, or the Accuſation of an Enemy is not to be regarded much; ſo if they ſpeak quite contrary, they are of Weight and Moment; of all others, that being the faireſt Teſtimonial, which a known or profeſſed Enemy makes. In the next place, if two Adverſaries joyn in the Commendation; a third, who alone gives an ill Character of the ſame Perſon, muſt needs be eſteemed partial, and if he make him Guilty of what they acquit him, he is in no caſe to be credited as to the reſt; nay this would hold (it being a matter of dubious, and therefore of Charitable Conſtruction) though there were but one that teſtified contrary to the other. In concluſion, a Witneſs that is convicted of Forgery or Contumely, is infamous, and barred of all Credit: for Witneſſes, not Witneſſings, are to be believed.

An Anſwer to *Zoſimus* his Calumnies.

Teſtis Certus, Incertus. vide Calvini Lexicon.

Pluris eſt Teſtis oculatus unus, quàm auriti decem.

Teſtis idoneus Pater Filio, aut Filius Patri non eſt. L. 9. ff. de Teſtibus lib. 22. Tit. 5. & vide l. 3. Cod. Tit.

Pulchrum eſt Teſtimonium quod ab Hoſtibus petitur.

Jure dubio benigniorem Interpretationem ſequi, non minus Juſtum eſt quam tutum. l. 192. ff. de Regulis Juris.

Hadrianus Junio Rufino Proconſuli Macedoniæ reſcripſit, Teſtibus ſe, non Teſtimoniis crediturum l. 3. ff. de Teſtibus, & vide L. 3. *Cod. Tit. Vide Calvini Lexicon in V. Teſtis.*

27. Now all theſe Rules, if to Witneſſes in private Cauſes and Accuſations, much more are Applicable to Hiſtorians; for Hiſtory is by *Cicero* termed, the Witneſs

neſs of Times; ſo that if an Hiſtorian fail, either in Knowledge, or Veracity; the injury he does extends to Poſterity: not like that done by a private to a private Perſon in a Court of Juſtice, in which uſually the preſent Age (nay ſeldom that) is only concern'd, and dyes with the Party injured; whereas the wound given by an Hiſtory bleeds ſtill, as long as Hiſtory and Time will laſt. In other falſe Teſtimonies a few perſons are prejudiced, in this all future Ages abuſed. Now then, to deal impartially, of theſe three Writers laſt mentioned, the two former can only pretend to the Repute of Certain Witneſſes, or to what bears ſome Proportion to this Qualification. *Eutropius* ſerved under *Julian* in his Expedition againſt the *Perſians*, and ſo might be an Eye-Witneſs of many of the Acts and Performances of *Conſtantine*; could not but know, both what he practiſed, and what the general Senſe and Opinion was concerning him; how much beloved, or hated: for what he was commended, and for what condemned, and writing at the time when all this was freſh in every mans Memory, could not for Shame contradict the Senſe of the Age; eſpecially all Fear being paſt, the Family of *Conſtantine* having already fail'd, and another poſſeſſed of the Imperial Power. *Victor*, though not altogether ſo ancient as he, might alſo live in the time of *Conſtantine*; but as for *Zoſimus*, who was in Employment as *Comes* and *Advocate* of the Treaſury under *Theodoſius Junior*, he could not reach his Days, who died about or nigh an hundred years before he could write his Hiſtory; and therefore he might be a *Teſtis auritus*, but not *Oculatus*, an Ear-Witneſs, but not an Eye-Witneſs; except at the ſecond hand, as he might ſee what they had written of him, and take it upon Truſt from them. As for the ſecond thing, they were all *Pagans*, and upon that account lye, at leaſt, under a Vehement Suſpition of Partiality: for of all Prejudices nothing like that of Religion: ill Livers indeed, or Atheiſtical Perſons, on all ſides, may be little concern'd what Opinion prevails; but thoſe that have a Senſe of things above them, and eſpecially, if Zealous, entertain no Concernment like to this. Above all, ſuch as conceive themſelves of the old Religion, and diſturbed by thoſe they account Innovators, vehemently reſent the alteration. Nothing in the World hath raiſed ſuch Paſſions, and conſequently procur'd ſuch Extravagance in Speaking, Writing, and Acting, as a Religious Zeal.

From the Conditions requiſite to a Time. Teſtimony.

Tantum Religio potuit ſuadere malorum.

28. For *Eutropius* and *Victor* there is not ſo much to be ſaid, but that *Zoſimus* was moſt Zealous for the old *Ethnick* Religion, is ſo evident, that none can deny it; not his friend *Leunclauius*, who owns his ſpleen againſt *Conſtantine* hereupon, and excuſes it, as againſt one, who, firſt of the Emperours, deſerted the Religion of their Anceſtors. This ſo overruled his hand, that he could put nothing but Gall into his Ink; whereas the Duty of an Hiſtorian in delivering the Character of a Perſon is, to ſpeak the whole Truth, as well as it is the Charge of every private Witneſs. The uſual fault indeed of thoſe who write the Lives of men, is agreeable to the common Practice of Painters, who generally make mens Pictures with better Lines and Colours, far more graceful, than they are themſelves; and you ſhall hear ſome ſay, it's no matter, though it be not ſo like, ſo it be good Work; as if that could be called *Titius* his Picture which reſembles *Sempronius*, and hath little, or nothing of the other's Face: but *Zoſimus* hath not offended on this hand, being afraid, that the Pourtraiture of *Conſtantine* ſhould be miſtaken for his Couſin *Julian*'s, becauſe they were ſo near a Kin. We have heard and read for certain, that Religious Phancy hath been ſo powerful in ſome, as to clean the Feet of the moſt Eminent of their Adverſaries; and as to particular Perſons more lately abroad; ſo long ago in our own Country, to have affixed long Tailes to an whole Country, which ſome ſilly People of a neighbouring State, will ſcarcely believe, but are appropriate to the whole Nation; and thereupon, when they reproach us, uſually they call us *Steorts* or Tailes. Little better Conſtruction can be put upon *Zoſimus* his Deſign, or any mans elſe who writes nothing but ill, and that to all Exceſs, againſt a Perſon, who it cannot be denied but had very good Qualities, and did as great things to ſet him off with Luſtre. For whereas *Leunclavius* takes it for granted, from the Allegations of others, that he gives him Commendations, there is little or nothing of this to be found. If he can put an ill interpretation upon any thing, he puts it: but if ſometimes he relates ſome Actions, which Malice it ſelf cannot blemiſh, and which he is conſtrain'd to mention, no good uſe to his Advantage makes he of it; but leaves the thing it ſelf to ſpeak, or rather forces it not to ſpeak (which he cannot do) contrary to the very Nature and Drift of it. And this is all the Right he doth him, if ſometimes not to do Wrong be ſaid to do Right to any Perſon. How oft doth he Inſinuate concerning his breach of Faith, without any excuſable occaſion? And layes the War againſt *Licinius* upon him, without any

Kent, becauſe of the Murder of *Becket*.

any Reflections againſt his Enemy, whom others confeſs to have been as bad a Man as could be. *Eutropius* affirms innumerable Excellencies both of Body and Mind to have been Eminent in him. He meddles not with his Body, except implicitly, when he tells us, that he died of a Diſeaſe, and his Mind he repreſents far from being Sound, though it was in a ſound Body. So far *Eutropius* and *Victor* may ſeem to Countenance his Accuſation concerning Ambition, that they ſay he was covetous of Military Glory (a *Conſtantinian* Vice ſometimes incident to Generous Spirits) but *Eutropius* further writes, he was Fortunate in War, and yet ſo as his Fortune did not exceed his Induſtry, than which nothing can be ſaid more of a Souldier, of ſo Great a Conquerour. His Succeſs and Fortune was great, all muſt yield, that know what things he brought to paſs before he arriv'd at the Monarchy, If his Induſtry was as great, he muſt have been a moſt Aſſiduous, Vigilant, and Laborious Warriour.

29. As an Effect both of his good Fortune and his Induſtry (which, it ſeems, quitted him not after he had Triumphed over all his Æmulators) *Eutropius* inſtanceth, that the Civil War being over, he ſeveral times defeated the *Goths*, and obtain'd a Reputation of Clemency among the Barbarous Nations. But *Zoſimus* quite contrary ſaith, he gave up himſelf to Idleneſs, would not Fight, was Beaten, and loſt the greateſt part of his Army. *Eutropius* acknowledges a Good Nature, Towardlineſs, or Inclination in him, though it was ſomething altered by Proſperity (as we often ſee in the Beſt of Men.) This *Zoſimus*, if you will have his Gloſs upon it, interprets a Natural Pravity or Malignity of Diſpoſition, which he formerly conceal'd, (but he forgets that he ſaid before, that he betray'd his Faithleſneſs or breach of Truſt, and Ambition) but when he arriv'd at the height of his Good Fortune, then Diſcovered it ; and Acted, not a little, or in ſome things according to his Will and Power, but (to Explain the *Aliquantulum* of *Eutropius*,) even *in all things*. *Victor* and *Eutropius* both witneſs of him, that he was himſelf addicted to, and Cheriſhed Learning and all Good Arts. Doth *Zoſimus* but hint any ſuch thing concerning him ? *Victor* further adds, that he was wont to Hear and Receive the Complaints of the Provinces, which Complaints, if you allow *Zoſimus* an Expoſitor, can be of nothing but the moſt Grievous and Inſupportable Burthens wherewith he haraſſed all his Subjects. So that when you read in *Eutropius* that he affected *Juſtice*, and the *Love* of his People, and altogether endeavoured to procure it by *Liberality* and *Courteſie*, peruſe but what *Zoſimus* writes of him, and you will find, this was but Drollery in *Eutropius*, as that alſo in *Victor*, when he ſaith, That *he was moſt profitable to the Commonwealth in ſeveral reſpects*, or elſe all is perverted, and falſe Printed ; and as before, for *Favourable Docility*, or Good Inclination, is to be read, Malignity of Nature ; ſo here inſtead of Juſtice, the moſt horrid Injuſtice in the World ; of Liberality, Rapacity ; for Courteſie, by way of *Errata* read Cruelty ; and for moſt Profitable, moſt Pernicious or Plaguy. And then take notice of a Grand Miſtake that the World hath hitherto lain under, as to Politicks, and that if any Prince will endeavour to purchaſe the Love of his Subjects, he muſt do it by Injuſtice, Rapacity, Cruelty, and being a Plague to his Country. So it muſt be, if you make theſe Writers accord ; and perhaps the particular Diſpoſition of the Age did marvellouſly hit the Malignity of *Conſtantine's* Nature : perhaps he found his Subjects of the humour of Spaniels, that the more he beat them, the more they lov'd him.

Favorabilis Docilitas.

Περιστάσης δὲ τῆς πάσης εἰς μόνον Κωνσταντῖνον ἀρχῆς, οὐκ ἔτι λοιπὸν τὴν κατὰ φύσιν ἐνοῦσαν αὐτῷ κακοήθειαν ἔκρυπτεν, ἀλλὰ ἐνεδίδου τῷ καθ᾽ ἐξουσίαν ἅπαντα πράττειν.

τούτοις ἅπασι τοῖς τρόποις ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος τῷ πολιτεύματι λυμηνάμενος ἐτελεύτησε νόσῳ.

The major and better number acquit *Conſtantine* of thoſe heavy Accuſations.

Calumniare fortiter ut aliquid hæreat.

30. To be ſerious, Reader, thou ſeeſt what Contradiction there is amongſt thoſe Accuſers of *Conſtantine* ; and how the major part, and that which had reaſon to know beſt, Diſchargeth him of that Load of Calumnies heaped upon him by one Single, but Bitter Adverſary, who ſeems to have had that Cunning, as to do it to ſome purpoſe, that ſomething might ſtick : For he knew, that Serious Conſiderers there are very few ; that the World is Governed by Prejudice and Opinion ; that there's more Affection than Reaſon in the Judgments of moſt ; ſo that the way is, by a great Exaggeration of Horrid Crimes, firſt to raiſe Paſſion and Indignation, and the Work is done. If Indifferency and Juſtice have any place with thee, thou can'ſt not but give credit to two rather than one, and to ſuſpect this one, as to all the reſt, who by a larger Teſtimony is already convinced of Falſhood in ſome particulars. But neither do we think he was free from Faults ; this would be to offend well nigh as much on the other hand ; and therefore from theſe general Reflexions, come to what is ſaid particularly againſt him ; weigh it without Partiality, and take in what *Julian*, his Succeſſor, in a jeering manner objected, as bitter againſt him as the reſt, upon the Account of Religion and other things. As for his putting his Son *Criſpus* and others to death, we have already ſaid, that if there

was either a ſufficient Cauſe, or he was abuſed by his Wife, Cruelty for this cannot be laid to his charge; and we might inſtance in Kings, that have through Miſtake, and by Inſtigation of others, both long ago, and of late put to death their Sons, and yet have not incurred ſo grievous Cenſures of Cruelty and Unnaturalneſs. A Moral Man would think, that what *Victor* ſayes of his greedineſs of Praiſe or Fame, above imagination, ſeems ſomething inconſiſtent with what he ſubjoyns concerning *Trajan*. The Humour of that Prince was not unlike to that of our Church-wardens at preſent in our Pariſh-works. There could not any Publick Building be erected, but he muſt have his Name ſet upon it, which Vanity *Conſtantine* taxed, both by a Jeſt, and his own Practice. He called him *Herba Parietaria*, or Parſley, becauſe his Name grew, as it were, upon Walls; but as for himſelf, though he Erected ſo many ſumptuous Structures, (eſpecially Churches, *& hinc illæ lachrymæ* to our *Zoſimus* and others) yet it's obſerved, that ſeldome or never could his Name be found upon them: ſo that this Deſire of Praiſe muſt rather, as *Eutropius* explains it, be taken for Thirſt after Military Glory.

Philip of Macedon, his Son Demetrius; and Philip of Spain, his Son Charles.

31. His wearing of a Diadem, and Gems in his Cloaths can argue little more, than that he was of a Gay Humour, and lov'd to appear Neat and Splendid; which alſo he betrayed in his Diet and his manner of living, with which *Julian* ſo twits him. And yet as to his Diadem and Feaſting, there might be ſomewhat of a Religious Concernment: for probably he refuſed to wear the uſual Laurel about his Head, as ſuperſtitiouſly dedicated to *Apollo*; and his Feaſts were the many and great Entertainments he made for the Biſhops and other Chriſtians, eſpecially at the Feſtivals appointed by the Church. This ſo moved the Stomach of *Julian*, that in his Tale of the *Cæſars*, becauſe of his voluptuous Life, he feigns him to have choſen to live with the Goddeſs of Pleaſure, and by her to have been put in womens Clothes. You muſt know the man was wonderfully taken with the Conceit of womens Clothes, and therefore, as his Friend *Zoſimus* acquaints us, was wont to puniſh ſuch Souldiers as fled from their Colours, by habiting them therewith. Now think you, that judging it a fine Device ſo to diſgrace thoſe that forſook the Camp, he would not think fit alſo, in the ſame manner, to make ridiculous him that had forſaken the Gods, and deſerted the *Pagan* Religion? How could he poſſibly diſpenſe with ſo witty a Conceit? And he jeers him for being curious about his Hair; in revenge, as we may judge, for being himſelf derided by the *Antiochians* for affecting to wear a long Beard, and that (as his Friends confeſs) very ridiculouſly. However he might be pleaſed to be neat and ſplendid, that he was no effeminate Perſon, both the Teſtimonies lately produced, and the great things atchieved by him ſufficiently ſpeak: amongſt which, that is not the leaſt which *Julian* himſelf hints in his Tale, concerning his Recovery of a Country, which *Trajan* formerly had ſubdued. This was *Dacia*, which after *Trajan* had with vaſt Labour and many Battels laid to the Dominion of the Empire, it again ſhook off the Yoak, and being more troubleſome and harder to Manage than before, after ſo many Emperours, was again reduced to Obedience by *Conſtantine*.

In Cæſaribus

Mihi Delphica Lauro *Cinge volens Melpomene comam. Horat. Carmin. lib.* 3. *od. ult. &* Laurea *donandus Apollinari. Carm. lib.* 4. *od.* 2.

'Οψοποιοῦ καὶ κομμωτρίας βίον ἔχων.

32. But we come to thoſe Matters wherein he is ſaid more eſpecially to have done amiſs, as a Stateſman, and a Prince. Theſe are, changing the Politie of the State, drawing the Garriſons from the Borders, and the cruel Oppoſition of his People. *Zoſimus* charges him for having made four of two *Præfecti Prætorio*, and giving much of their Power to the new Officers call'd *Magiſtri Militum*. As to which we muſt take leave to conſider, whether it was He who firſt made the four *Præfects*, and then whether he did amiſs. Suppoſe he made them, and gave away their Power. Firſt then, upon Inquiry it appears, that he made them not; but found four, and ſo left them: for there being then a *Tetrarchy* in the Empire, each of the Emperours and *Cæſars* in their ſeveral Diſtricts had his *Præfectus Prætorio*, as *Gothofred* well obſerves, which at laſt (when he had ſubdued all his Adverſaries) coming under his Dominion, he let remain ſtill, as many as they were; but whenas their Power was too great (which by reaſon of the Obligations, or Puniſhments they might put upon Souldiers brought the Armies to be at their Devotion) or for other Reaſons reſpecting the Perſons who were now employ'd, whom he might not have cauſe to truſt with ſo great a Command, he inſtituted a new ſort of Officers call'd *Magiſtri Militum*, who ſhould Govern both Horſe and Foot, but the Nature and Reaſon of the Employments of theſe and others Officers will more appear ſhortly, when we come to deſcribe the whole Politie of the Empire. As little Truth is there in the other thing laid to his Charge; that he drew off the Souldiers from the Borders, and leaving them naked, thereby gave the *Barbarians* free Acceſs into the *Roman* Territories. The Empire had ſeveral Borders or Limits,

It anſwers to Particulars.

He made not four *Præfecti Prætorio.*

He drew not the Souldiers off from the Borders.

mits, which according to the ſeveral Exigencies of Times, it behooved Princes to look to: but in the time of *Conſtantine*, and long after, they were eſpecially concern'd to have a care of the *Myſian and Scythian* Limit, as it was called, which lay upon the River *Danubius*, through which many Incurſions were made of *Sarmatians*, *Scythians*, *Goths*, and other Barbarous Nations, which at length bore down all before them. Now all manner of ways, it is moſt evident, that *Conſtantine* laboured to ſtrengthen theſe Borders, and keep faſt ſhut theſe doors, through which, after his Death, Ruine and Deſtruction entred into the Provinces.

33. For firſt, it is univerſally granted, that theſe People he often defeated and conquer'd; and brought *Dacia* under the Yoak, which had not been reduced ſince the time of *Trajan*. Then again, from the Dates of his Laws it is evident, as we have hinted before, that he was, even to his laſt, perpetually travelling to and fro, and moving upon theſe Borders. Next to this, *Victor* the Hiſtorian, beſides others, atteſts, that he made a Bridge over *Danubius*; and for what end did he make it, but that his Army might have Egreſs and Regreſs, for repreſſing the Inſolencies of theſe Nations; like as *Trajan* had done before him? Further, beſides this Bridge, he built a Caſtle or Fort in the ſecond *Mæſia* upon *Danubius* over againſt *Transmariſca*, for ſecuring both the Banks of the River, and reſtraining the Incurſions of the *Goths* (as *Procopius* informs us) which had the Name of *Daphne*, and from him the Diſtinction of *Conſtantiniana Daphne* in ancient Coins. All theſe Courſes he took cannot but ſatisfy an indifferent Perſon what care he had of the Borders, and that he himſelf neglected not the Building of Caſtles and Forts, no more than *Zoſimus* his beloved *Diocleſian*, where there was occaſion. But to give the Reader further Diverſion in beholding the malicious Partiality of this Writer, it happens ſo well, that there is ſtill extant a Conſtitution of his (divided in the Code into two ſeveral Laws) whereof the one adjudges him to be burnt alive, that ſhould procure to the *Barbarians* Liberty of making Deprædations in the *Roman* Territories (by deſerting their Stations and neglecting their Watches) or divide the Booty ſo acquired with the *Barbarians*. The other forbids the Officers of the Armies to give leave to Souldiers to be abſent from their Caſtles, or Colours, or thoſe Places where they lay to watch the Motions of the Enemy. If any gave ſuch leave, and in the Souldiers abſence no Eruption of the Enemy hapned; the Officer was to be puniſhed with Deportation, and the loſs of his Eſtate. But if at the ſame time an Incurſion of the *Barbarians* fell out, he was to forfeit his Head. If this doth not ſhew how careful he was, that the *Barbarians* ſhould make no Incurſions, and in order to this, that the Souldiers ſhould not by any means quit their Stations and Watches upon the Borders, then is there nothing in this World which can afford Arguments to our Relief. But let us further take Notice of the occaſion of theſe Laws. The ſame year they were made we are told, that *Conſtantine* lying at *Theſſalonica*, the *Goths* broke through the Borders, that were then neglected; and waſted the parts of *Thrace* and *Mæſia*, whom he repreſſed, and forced " to beg Peace, and reſtore the Captives. This *Licinius* complain'd was againſt " the Agreement betwixt them two; that he ſhould be ſo buſie as to reſcue his Ter- " ritories, or the Borders which lay within his Government, from the Enemy; and thereupon Hatred ariſing betwixt them, a War at length enſued. Here we may ſee who it was that neglected the Borders, even he, whom, though *Julian* and other Pagans deſcribe as both odious to God and Men, yet deſerves no Cenſure at *Zoſimus* his hands. It was *Licinius* in whoſe Diſtrict theſe Borders lay, and who would neither look to them himſelf, nor ſuffer others to do it. On the contrary *Conſtantine* conceiv'd ſuch Indignation at theſe Irruptions, which brought ſo much Damage and Diſgrace to the Empire, that he could neither forbear by Arms to repreſs the *Barbarians*, nor by Laws inflicting no leſs than Death, to prevent their Incurſions for the time to come; and that by fixing the Souldier to his Station on the Borders. That he continued in this Mind and Practice to the laſt, his conſtant Journeys into theſe Parts, and other things here mentioned, declare. And now, Reader, paſs thy Cenſure where it's deſerv'd.

De Ædif. Juſtiniani, lib. 4. *& Ammianus Macellinus l.* 27. *vide Valeſii annot. ad p.* 340.

Cod. Theod. lib. 7. *Tit.* 1. *de re Militari. Vide* Gothofred *in* L.L.

Cod. Theod. Lib. 7. *Tit.* 12. *de commeatu L.* 1. *& Cod. Juſtin. eod. Tit.* L. 1.

Anonymus apud Sirmondum poſtea editus à Valeſio unà cum Ammiano.

34. But to come to thoſe Cruel Oppreſſions of his People. And firſt, to conſider of the *Chryſargyrum*, or Tax of Gold and Silver, what it was, and whether he firſt Impoſed it upon the Subjects, from Tradeſmen and Merchants to the moſt mean and vile of all others, even to Harlots; and that with ſuch Cruelty, as Mothers were forced to ſell their Children, and Fathers to proſtitute their Daughters. It's Notorious then, that Gold was Exacted from Merchants, and ſuch as Trafficked, long before the time of *Conſtantine*. *Alexander Severus*, amongſt other Infirmities, that he might draw Trade to *Rome*, remitted to them, both the Gold called *Au-*

He brought not up the Chryſargyrum.

Lampridius in Alexandro.

A. D 337.

rum Negotiatorium, and *Coronarium*, of which the firſt is the ſame whereon we now Inſiſt. This is affirmed by *Lampridius*, who lived in the dayes of *Conſtantine*, and dedicated to him the Life of that Emperour, ſo that he could not be the firſt that brought it up. But if we demand of *Zoſimus*, at what time of his Reign *Conſtantine* impoſed this Tax, he and *Leunclavius* his Apologizer, and ſuch like, will tell us that it was after the Founding of *Conſtantinople*, toward the end of his Reign, when they talk ſo much of his Prodigality. But if we view the Laws made by him, and conſider them well, we ſhall find in the middle of his Reign, ten years before the Building of that City, mention made of this very (*a*) Tax, as of a thing that had been in uſe of a long time; Money being then paid into the Publick Treaſury by Merchants. So faithful is *Zoſimus*, as to this Tax upon Merchants; and we ſhall find him full as worthy of Credit, as to that which concerneth Harlots. For amongſt all thoſe Extravagant Courſes *Caligula* took to maintain his moſt laviſh Expences, he raiſed a (*a*) Revenue both from Whores and Pandars, and that by a Law made for this purpoſe: and how ſcandalous ſoever, the Impoſition, it ſeems, continued to the time of *Alexander Severus*, who forbad the Money to be paid into the Treaſury, but aſſigned it to publick Works, as the Repairing the *Theatre*, the *Cirque*, the *Amphitheatre*, and the *Ærarium*. Therefore was neither the one ſort nor the other firſt Impoſed by *Conſtantine*, who, if he had any hand in contriving any thing of the former, made it to be *Luſtralis Collatio*, or to be paid in four years, whereas formerly it was annual, or paid at ſome other ſet and conſtant time. This new Courſe might be more profitable for the Prince, who ſhould receive a rounder ſum together; and more eaſie for the Subject, who would have the Uſe and Improvement of his Money, the four years. Here was no Injuſtice. If the Collectors made it more burthenſom, it was their Fault, not his Deſign.

Nor the Tax upon Harlots.

(*a*) L.L.2 & 3. *Cod. Theod. de Veteranis, & vide Comment. Gothofred. in* L. 1. *de Luſtrali Collatione, eod. Cod. lib.* 13. *Tit.* 1.

(*b*) *Ex Gerulorum diurnis Quæſtibus pars octava, ex capturis Proſtitutarum quantum quæque uno Concubitu mereret; additumque ad caput* Legis *ut tenerentur Publico, & quæ Meretricium, & quæ Lenocinium feciſſent. Sueton. in Calig. c.* 40.

35. The Impoſition upon Pandars was taken away afterward by *Theodoſius* the younger; and that upon Strumpets, by *Anaſtaſius*. Of all Authors that write about it, not one layes it upon *Conſtantine*, *Zoſimus* excepted. And though in the Code of *Theodoſius* ſo many Conſtitutions we find concerning the *Luſtralis Collatio*, or Gold and Silver impoſed upon Merchants, yet not one word concerning any laid upon this ſort of Women; therefore we may ſafely enough conclude, that *Zoſimus* belyes him in making him the Author, either of the one or the other ſort. If he continued, or by reaſon of his great need of Money, ſuffered this *Chryſargyrum* ſtill to be exacted, by *Leunclavius* his good Favour, he is not ſo much to be blamed, as if he firſt had impoſed it. But this Calumny is ſo groſs, that ſome Learned men would gladly ſeek for an Evaſion to acquit *Zoſimus* of ſo much Malice and Falſeneſs: inſtead of *Wenches*, it's thought *Work-men* ſhould be read, the word that ſignifies the one kind being eaſily miſtaken and falſe written for the other; ſuch were Porters, Smiths and others, at this time lyable to the *Chryſargyrum*, whom afterward *Valentinian* the elder diſcharged of the Burthen; or elſe the Hiſtorian, they think, was miſtaken, and took the *Tabernarii Negotiatorii*, who were obnoxious to this Payment, for the *Tabernariæ Meretrices*; according as the ſame Honeſt, good man, having heard or read that *Conſtantine*'s Mother was a *Tabernaria*, very carefully and kindly wrote, that ſhe was an Harlot; ſuch Impartiality is there, and much more in our *Zoſimus*. But upon further Examination, we cannot but find the Conſequences of this terrible Oppreſſion juſt as true, as the thing it ſelf; *viz.* The Cries and Lamentations that were to be heard throughout every City; and when the fourth year came, the Stripes and Torments uſed towards the Bodies of thoſe miſerable People, who could not reach to the Payment of the Money; ſo that Mothers ſold their Children, and Fathers proſtituted their Daughters. If in *Conſtantine*'s time any ſuch thing hapned at *Conſtantinople*, which was a City as well as the reſt, how could this cruel Exaction and Oppreſſion of poor People conſiſt with that great Care he took for them, even by *Zoſimus* his Confeſſion, that they ſhould not want Bread? would he feed them becauſe they were in want, with one hand, and beat them becauſe they were in want, with the other hand: Give them Bread to ſupply their Neceſſities, and put them to Torture, becauſe they were neceſſitous, and had neither Money to buy Bread nor pay him his Tax? He muſt have been a pretty humorous Prince at this rate, or *Zoſimus* pretty confident to dare thus to impoſe upon Poſterity, and think all Fools that ſhould come after him: for this Allowance of Bread was both given to the Old *Rome*, and the New; not to every City; his Revenue would not afford it. But though he could not ſupply all Poor with Bread, he took eſpecial Care, that neither Poor nor Rich ſhould be Impriſoned or Tortured for what was owing to the Treaſury, declaring, that a Priſon was for Malefactors, and ſuch as deſerv'd Puniſhment, not for them.

ἑταίρας pro ἑταίρους, i. e. Συνεργοὺς, Operarios.

L. 8. *de Luſtrali Collatione. Cod. Th. Vide Gothofr. ubi ſupra.*

He tortured not his Subjects.

Nemo Carcerem, Plumbatarumque *verbera, aut Pondera, aliaque ab Inſolentia Judicum reperta ſupplicia, in Debitorum ſolutionibus, vel à perverſis, vel ab iratis Judicibus expaveſcat.*

In

A. D. 337.

In caſe any abuſed this his Clemency, then indeed he ordains they be kept by a Guard in ſtrict Cuſtody; and if they perſevere in their Diſobedience, that then their Neighbours ſhall make diſtreſs; profeſſing it to be his Judgment, that this mild way is the beſt to procure the Payment of the publick Money. In general, by another Law he commands that all Exactions be made without Concuſſion or ſevere Diſturbance of the Debtors to the Publick, under great Penalties to be inflicted upon the Exactors.

Carcer Pœnalium, Carcer hominum Noxiorum eſt, &c. Cod. Th. Lib. 11. Tit. 7. *de Exactionibus L.* 3. *& vide L.* 2. *de Cohortalibus* Lib. 8. *Tit.* 4. *L.* 1. *eod. Tit.* 1. *Lib.* 11.

36. The poor then were not by any Contrivance of his, Beaten or Impriſoned, and much leſs were they forced to ſell their Children, or to proſtitute their Daughters. So far was he from forcing them to any ſuch thing, that whereas before, and in his time, in *Italy* and other places, it was too ordinary for Parents, when Poor and Neceſſitous, to Kill, Expoſe, Sell and Pawn their Children, by an Edict (which being written ſo as to remain moſt Durable, he commands to be made publick in all Cities of *Italy*) "for prevention (as he ſaith) of that *Parricide*; he orders *Ablavius*, the *Vicar* of the *Præfectus Prætorio*, to take care for the Maintenance of ſuch Children as ſhould be brought to him by Parents under that Qualification; and to the Expence aſſigns indifferently both his Publick Treaſury, and his own private Eſtate. *Foraſmuch* (ſo he notes) *as the Education of Infancy can admit of no Delay.* Taking notice afterward of the practice of Parents in *Africk*, who by reaſon of Want did ſell, and pawn their Children; by another Edict, directed to *Menander*, the *Præfectus Prætorio*, he commands, that ſuch as have no Eſtate, and hardly and difficultly maintain their Children, be relieved by the Treaſury, before they be driven to ſuch Neceſſity. To this end he impowers all *Proconſuls*, *Præſidents & Rationales*, throughout that Province, to give maintenance to all that were in ſuch Diſtreſs, and Proviſions out of the publick Granaries; concluding, that *it was utterly contrary to his Inclinations or Manners to ſuffer any to periſh with Famine, or proceed to ſo horrid a Fact.* The next thing *Zoſimus* mentions, amounts to this: that having in ſo great a Compaſs as the *Roman* Empire, many Perſons Richer and more able to bear Offices than others, who ordinarily were forced to undergo them; he conſtrained them to diſcharge theſe Offices; or elſe, where he perceived it might be ſpared, there he exacted Money, for defraying of the publick charge, as at this day the City of *London* is wont to do. And an horrid thing that is which follows, that he would have the greateſt Perſons, as well as thoſe of inferior Condition (for perhaps they were as able) to contribute toward the publick Expence. Beſides, he tells us, that he was ſo truly prudent, as a Prince, and ſo well skill'd in his Trade, as there were none of his greateſt Officers, but He underſtood their Eſtates; at leaſt all their Lands (ſuch might be known) he kept regiſtred in his Books; and upon them he laid a Tax called *Follis*, which was not oppreſſing, or difficult to be paid. For having largely courted Senators (upon whom this Tax chiefly lay) and by building Houſes for them, encouraged them to inhabit his new City: it's not to be imagined, that by any great Exactions he would deterr them from continuing and diſcharging their Truſt; which was with one hand to build, and with another to pull down; as in other Matters *Zoſimus* forceth him to Act. But if we conſider our Author well, he dares not ſay, that in *Conſtantine*'s time any Miſchief ſucceeded upon this Impoſition; but that this continuing long after his Reign, the Riches of Cities were by Degrees exhauſted, and very many were left without Inhabitants. Now we have known a thing prudently inſtituted, which coming through ill hands hath been diverted from it's firſt and innocent Deſign.

Vide Lactantium divin. Juſt. l. 6. *C.* 20.

Æreis Tabulis aut Ceruſſatis aut linteis Mappis ſcripta per omnes Civitates Italiæ præponatur Lex, quæ Parentum manus à Parricidio arceat, votumque vertat in melius, officiumque tuum hæc Cura perſtringat &c. Cod. Th. lib. 1. Tit. 27. *l. de Alimentis quæ inopes &c.* L. 2. *Cod.* Tit. *Provinciales victus atque Alimoniæ inopiâ Laborantes* Liberos *ſuos vendere, vel oppignorare Cognovimus. Quiſquis igitur &c.*

Abhorret enim noſtris moribus ut quemquam fame confici, vel ad indignum facinus prorumpere concedamus.

Other Objections of Zoſimus frivolous.

ἐπιμεινάσης γὰρ καὶ μετὰ Κωνσταντῖνον τῆς ἐπαιρήσεως ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἐξαντλουμένου κατὰ βραχὺ τοῦ πλούτου τῶν πόλεων, ἔρημοι τῶν οἰκούντων αἱ πλεῖσται γεγόνασι.

37. But whatever the thing in it's own Nature ſpeaks, *Zoſimus* his Deſign was to render *Conſtantine* odious; as we know it to be the Practice in all Reformations, of thoſe who are addicted to the old way, to render infamous ſuch as have been Inſtruments in the Alteration; and by a prejudice raiſed againſt the Perſons moſt ridiculouſly to inſinuate an ill Opinion of the Cauſe, or Thing it ſelf. Although the Reader may by what he has already ſeen and read, be ſufficiently ſatisfyed as to this matter, yet is there one Remarck ſtill remaining, which ſo much ſhews the humour of the Man, that it will be for the Reader's Diverſion to mention it. He tels us he often wondered how it came to paſs that the City of *Byzantium*, being grown to that extraordinary height, ſo that no other, either in reſpect of Felicity or Greatneſs could be compared to it, yet this ſhould by no Prophecy be foreknown to their Anceſtors. Meditating much about ſo weighty a Buſineſs (you muſt know) and turning over many Hiſtories and Collections of Oracles, after ſome time of Doubting, with much adoe he light upon a certain Oracle of *Sibylla Erythræa*, or *Phaello* of *Epirus*, which Woman poſſeſſed by a

propheſying Spirit, was reported to have made ſome Predictions, on which *Nicomedes* relying, and interpreting them as favouring his Deſign, by the advice of *Attalus*, made War upon ***Pruſias***, his Father. Now the main Drift of this Oracle is to declare, that a **Wolf** ſhould have Dominion, and Wolves ſhould inhabit the Parts of *Bithynia*, **about** ſuch time (or a little before) as thoſe that inhabited old *Byzantium*, ſhould enjoy Regal Power. You may eaſily gueſs whom he will have meant by **the Wolf**, *viz. Conſtantine*, and by the Wolves, his Succeſſors; and that becauſe of **the** grievous Burthens and Impoſitions laid upon thoſe Parts, ſo as though that **Town**, or the ***Helleſpont*** ſhould be happy in this reſpect, that it was raiſed to ſuch height **of Dignity**, yet ***that** grievous Wolfe ſhould ſore affright it.* Now good Reader, conſider but what this Interpreter himſelf hath writ concerning *Byzantium*; and how it was affrighted or afflicted by *Conſtantine*, even ſo much, Poor City! that it was enlarged, called *New Rome*, adorned with Imperial Privileges, and it's Citizens munificently provided for. In Concluſion, if he would interpret it *Aſtoniſhed*, ſo it might well be at the Change of it's Fortune to ſo high a Decree for the better, that he himſelf was (as he confeſſes) ſeized with Admiration to behold it ſo advanced, that none could be compared to it, either in reſpect of it's Felicity, or Magnitude. It's a Queſtion whether the man's Wit or Integrity were greater. Other gueſſes, if it were worth the while, might be made at this obſcure Oracle (as they call it) and if, as ſome modern Authors do, we ſhould ſay, that the *Turks* and their Tyranny better have expreſſed the Senſe and Meaning of it, we ſhould ſeem to any Wiſe and indifferent man, to have as much Reaſon on our ſide: but let *Zoſimus* and his Oracle paſs together with ſuch Cenſure, as the Reader will find himſelf obliged to make, while we return to *Conſtantine*, and diſpatch what is at preſent further to be ſaid, in reference to this oppreſſing and haraſſing the People.

Τρισμάκαρ Ἑλλήσποντε θεόκτιτα τείχεα τ' ἀνδρῶν θείαισιν ἐφετμαῖς Ἧν Λυκὸς αἰνόλυκος πλήξει κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης.

38. Who ever conſiders the Laws he made, views the univerſal Tenour of them, their Occaſions and Drift with all Impartiality, muſt confeſs, that he was a great Reformer of Manners, took extraordinary Care for redreſſing Grievances, (though to his own Loſs and Abatement of his Revenue) and by all Opportunities provided for the Convenience, Eaſe and Emolument of his Subjects. Any Learned man in things of this Nature will ſay, that he almoſt made as great Alterations, to theſe Purpoſes, in the Laws (both as to the ***Jus Publicum & Privatum***) as he did (*a*) in Religion it ſelf; and that ***Nazarius*** his Panegyrick cited by Learned *Gothofred*, is no Fable, although, as we formerly ſaid, we ſhall neither produce it, nor any Elogiums given him by Chriſtian Writers, to avoid the Exception that might be made upon the account of their Intereſt and Affection. It were too tedious a Work, and not proper for us here, to inſiſt upon that, which would deſerve a particular Treatiſe of it ſelf, and in ſome little meaſure by (*b*) others hath been performed; and beſides what we have already inſtanced, we muſt ſpeak largely of this Perſon upon another occaſion. If the Reader will but peruſe the firſt Conſtitutions of the ſeveral Titles of *Theodoſius* his Code; eſpecially with the Commentaries of the moſt Learned *Gothofred*, he will herein receive abundant Satisfaction. That the Law, which ſhould afford Relief, might not be burthenſome in the Practice of it; let him take Notice how ſeverely he puniſheth the (*c*) Avarice of Advocates. That his Subjects might not injure one another in Word, no more than Deed, what ſharp Laws he made againſt (*d*) Libels, for repairing the Credits of ſuch as were ſlandered in that way. How Innocent and Juſt his Mind in Reference to his (*e*) Revenue and private Men, appears by the Care he took for the Ability and Integrity of the Advocates of the Treaſury; and how he preferred the Cauſe of private Perſons before his own Gain in that particular; which, as he profeſſeth himſelf in one of his Edicts, ſo it is the Opinion of the beſt Lawyers, that many more of his Conſtitutions do evidently atteſt and Confirm it. How cautious he was, that the Poor and Innocent ſhould not be oppreſſed, nothing can be more evident, than that by one Edict he diſcharged the former Sort of the burthen of Taxes, and provides for the ſafety of the other by puniſhing Promoters and Informers with no leſs than Death. Farther how

Conſtant. M. 22. Conſtitutiones hic occurrunt ordine, de Decurionibus, ex quibus apparet quis tum Curiarum Status fuerit, quo item, quantoque ſtudio Princeps hic, tum Curiarum tum Curialium. Seu Decurionum atque adeò ſingularum Rerump. ſeu Municipiarum utilitati conſultum voluit. Gothofr. ad L. 1. *Lib.* 12 *Cod. Theod. Tit.* 1. *de Decurionibus.*

(a) *Nonæ Leges regendis moribus, & frangendis Vitiis conſtitutæ.*

(b) *Baldwinus de Leg. Conſt. de quo tamen ſic Gothofr. de Conſtitutionibus hujus Imperii loquens. quarum omnium Sententiam exhibere oportuit eos, qui Conſtantini M. Genium ex ejus potiſſimùm Conſtitutionibus efferre voluerunt; at non etiam unius tantùm aut alterius, quod Baldwinus fecit; cujus, ut ſemel dicam, Commentarii de Conſtantino M.* σκιαγραφίαν *potiùs juſti alicujus operis continent quàm* ἀποτέλεσμα *aliquod.* (c) *Tit de poſtulando. Cod. Th. lib.* 2. *Tit.* 10. (d) *Tit. de famoſis Libellis ejuſd. Cod.* Lib. 9. *Tit.* 34. (c) *Tit. de Advocato Fiſci* Lib. 10. *Tit.* 15. *Quod itaque arguit quis, quámque Innocens & Juſtus Conſtant. M. animus erga privatos fuerit, imò ex proximo L. apparebit quàm potior apud eum privatorum cauſa fuerit. Gothofred. in* Leg. 1. *Idem in Leg.* 2. *hujus Tit. ſic Primo loco occurrit optimi Principis dictum illud de Moribus ſuis, quod,* Potior apud eum Privatorum Cauſa ſit, quàm Fiſci Tutela. *Quod de ſe dictum aliæ complures Conſtant. M. Conſtitutiones conteſtantur, & confirmant. Tit. de Conſul. Lib.* 13. Tit. 10. *Tit. de Petitionibus* L. 10. T. 10.

great a Lover of Juſtice and exact Cenſor of Manners he ſhewed himſelf in the point of Contracts in reference to Marriage, in the caſe of Liberty, Donations, and other things, Perſons who are truly Learned in the Laws, with Paſſion ſhew us. Theſe and many other things being by him introduced, as Preparatives and Concomitants to true Religion, we ſhall in that place more properly diſcover, and Treat of particularly. But by this it ſufficiently appears, that *Eutropius* did not miſtake him, when he wrote, that he was an Affector of Juſtice. As for what he ſays concerning his Laws, that many were Superfluous; we muſt conſider the Man's Religion, and then we ſhall not wonder that his many Laws reſpecting Reformation and Chriſtianity, are eſteem'd Superfluous by a Pagan, as his Pious Magnificence in Building of Churches, accounted Childiſh Profuſeneſs by ſuch; although he was too kind alſo to thoſe about him. A Great Man, and one as able to judge of things of this Nature, as any whatſoever, propounds to us the Excellent Goodneſs of his Laws, as that which beſt makes out to us his Life and Character; and although the Author of his Life (as all that Read it know) was a Panegyriſt, and gives him great *Encomiums*, yet in compariſon of what his Laws ſpeak of his Tenderneſs and Charity toward the Poor, he is bound to affirm him Jejune and Empty. From all laid together, both Affection and Malice being Silenced, he appears a Man of great Parts, and as great Performances; and deſerves, in reſpect of thoſe moſt Eminent Qualifications of his Reign, that Sirname, which Poſterity, and that early, thought fit to beſtow upon him. As all men have their Faults, his greateſt ſeems to have been a too ſplendid manner of Living, both as to his Attendance, Diet or Apparel; the thing his Bitter Enemy twits him with in his Tale of the *Cæſars*, who would not have omitted other Crimes to which the Age he liv'd in could have atteſted.

Ex hac verò Conſtantini M. in Pauperes Munificentia; atque adeo ex Conſtant. M. ſuper eo Legibus, apparet, quàm ſterilis præ iis Relatio ſit Authoris Vitæ Conſtantini. lib.4. c.28. Et certè non aliundè meliùs, certiùs, & Vitam & Characterem Conſtantini colligas, vel aliorum Imperatorum, quàm ex eorum Conſtitutionibus ſingulari ἐπιστάσει *facio. Gothofred. ad L. 1. de Alimentis, ut ſuprá.*

The Polity of the Empire in or about the time of *Conſtantine*.

39. But, though *Zoſimus* maliciouſly charges him for thus Innovating in the Government, and Introducing new Officers, which tended to the Ruin of the Empire, yet muſt it be ſaid, that in and about his time there was made a conſiderable Change in the Politie thereof. And now being arrived, at this Diſtance, from the Monarchy of *Auguſtus*, though the Sovereign Power was ſtill the ſame, we find a new Face of Subordinate Government, each Prince having Contributed to it, as either Convenience directed, or his own Will and Pleaſure inclined him. Therefore judge we it requiſite to the Nature of our preſent Deſign, to give the Reader a Proſpect of the whole Politie, ſuch as it was in or about this time of *Conſtantine*. For amongſt the manifold Advantages he reaps by the knowledge of Antient Times, that of the Nature of Governments, with the Power of Magiſtrates, is one of the greateſt; and without this, he will not be able to underſtand and make uſe of the following Hiſtory, with near ſo much Benefit and Improvement.

Sect. II.

An Appendix *to the Hiſtory of* Conſtantine, *neceſſary for the underſtanding of the following Hiſtory, containing the Polity of the Empire, or the Form of Government, either introduced by him, or in force in and about his time.*

The Emperour Head.

1. THE Head then of the State, or the Emperour, was ſuch at this time as we formerly deſcrib'd him, poſſeſſed of as great and abſolute Power over his Subjects as was conſiſtent with Liberty. For he had all the Authority which long before had been conferred upon *Octavius Cæſar* by the *Lex Regia*, and continued to *Veſpaſian* by renewing of that Law. In what manner ſoever he obtained the Sovereignty (for almoſt as long as Emperor and Empire continued, the Souldiers, when the fit was on them, would make the Choice) it was in his power to aſſociate one or more to him; and it began now to be a Cuſtom, for more ſecurity, to make Emperours before their death, whom they deſigned for their Succeſſors. Their Promotion was by Nomination or Declaration; and the Enſigns of their Dignity was Purple, and of later times a Diadem; which, after that Chriſtianity had well nigh obliterated Paganiſm, was ſolemnly ſet on their Heads, with Prayers, by the Patriarch or Biſhop, which Ceremony We call a Coronation. For though ſome former Emperors ſometimes put on a Diadem, yet before *Diocleſian* there was nothing ſingular as an Enſign of the Imperial Monarchy, but the Purple Robe onely; whereupon *Purpuram ſumere* ſignified as much as to take the Imperial Power, and *Purpurâ indui*, as much as to be made Emperor. But *Diocleſian* commanded himſelf to be adored, the Emperors before having onely been ſaluted as the Judges; and to his Cloaths and Shooes he added the Ornament of Gems. This being now the Cuſtom, it was more confirmed by *Conſtantine*, who out of Averſeneſs to the Laurel, as conſecrated to *Apollo*, whoſe Temples and Worſhip he deſtroyed, conſtantly wore the Fillet or Diadem ſet with Gold and Precious Stones, and ſometimes joyned with a Helm or Cap; which ſort was generally worn by his Succeſſors.

The Enſignes of his Majeſty.

Corona oſtentat Regem, non facit.

Eutropius de Diocleſiano, qui Imperio Romano primus Regiæ conſuetudinis formam magis, quàm Romanæ libertatis invenit; adorarique ſe juſſit, cùm ante eum cuncti ſalutarentur: ornamenta Gemmarum veſtibus, Calceamentisque indidit. Nam prius Imperii Inſigne in Chlamyde purpurea tantum erat; reliqua communia. Vide Seldenum noſtrum in Titles of Honour.

Cæſar, or Heir of the Empire.

2. The next in Degree and Dignity to the Emperour, was he who bore the Title of *Cæſar*, by which he was deſigned Heir to the Empire. Before this of *Cæſar*, that of *Princeps Juventutis* was uſed in this ſenſe, firſt given by *Auguſtus* to *Caius* and *Lucius*, his Grand-ſons; for by retaining Names which were uſed in times of popular Liberty, as *Princeps* taken from the *Princeps Senatûs*, and *Imperator*, which had been the Title of a General, he ſought to cover that ſtricter Government which he introduced. Till the time of *Adrian*, *Princeps Juventutis* continued to be the Title of the Heir Apparent; and *Cæſar*, together with *Auguſtus*, was uſed in the Style of the Emperours themſelves; and if ſometimes it be found given to, or aſſumed by the next Heirs or Sons, during the Lives of their Fathers, it was but as if whoever was a Son of him that was called *Cæſar Auguſtus*, ſhould have the Name of *Cæſar*, (not Title) to denote the Honour and Bloud received from ſuch a Father. But *Adrian*, adopting *Ælius Verus*, gave him the Title and Style of *Cæſar*, as ſingularly denoting him his Apparent Succeſſor: after which it ceaſed to be uſed as a Name of the Imperial Family and Bloud, and became Honourary in the Emperours, joyned with *Auguſtus*, and in their deſigned Succeſſors ſingle by it ſelf. The *Cæſar* was created ſometimes by the Emperours Verbal Deſignation, ſometimes by Letters Patents, or otherwiſe. The Enſign of their Dignity was a Purple Robe with Gold, to which a Coronet was after added, and then alſo put on by the Hands of the Patriarch in a ſolemn and religious manner. Sometimes one, ſometimes more were created, as it pleaſed the Emperours. Sometimes they had parts of the Empire aſſigned them to govern, and were often joyned in Reſcripts with the Emperours themſelves, as is to be ſeen in the Imperial Conſtitutions. Yet, though they were partners in the Government, were they Subjects, not equal in Dignity and Power, and might be degraded by the Sovereign Authority. They are frequently ſtyled in Coins and Laws *Principes Juventutis*, and more ordinarily *Nobiliſſimi Cæſares*. Yet was there another Rank or Dignity next to them in place, which had the Style and Title of *Nobiliſſimus*, and gave expectation of the Title of *Cæſar*, as *Cæſar* did of *Auguſtus* or Emperour.

The Enſign of his Dignity.

rour. The firſt we meet with that had this Honour were *Conſtantius* and *Anaballianus*, the Kinſmen of *Conſtantine*, who conferred it upon them, as lately was obſerv'd out of *Zoſimus*.

The Senate.

3. That which held the next place in the State was the Senate, not in reſpect of the particular men which conſtituted it, but of the whole Body. Its Authority continued (for the moſt part) ſuch as in the ſettlement of *Auguſtus*, but was ſometimes ſtreightned, and otherwhiles enlarged, (eſpecially by the Emperour *Arcadius*) as the humour of the Reigning Prince inclin'd, who being Abſolute, and having all the Authority both of Senate and People in his hands, their power was in effect but precarious. In an *Interregnum* indeed the Senate ſeemed again poſſeſſed of its ancient and paramount Privileges, and as the Supreme Power diſpoſed of the Empire; and ſuch perſons as had ill managed it, when the Sword was on its ſide, it would cenſure. Now at this time of which we write, it appears from the Laws (the beſt Teſtimony) that it was in great eſteem and reputation with the Emperours. In their Conſtitutions they ſtyle it, *Ampliſſimus Senatus*, *Egregius Senatus*, *Florentiſſimus Cœtus*, *Venerandus Cœtus Senatûs*, *Concilium Ampliſſimorum Virorum*, *Nobilior Curia*, *Nobiliſſima Curia*, *Splendidiſſima Curia*, *Senatûs Orbis Inclytus*, and the like; and the Senators themſelves they call *Proceres*, *Ampliſſimi Viri*, *Clariſſimi*, & *Nobiles*. In their Conſtitutions or Orations the Compellation is, *Patres Conſcripti*, & *Veſtra Sanctitas*. And though *Nero* formerly ſo much diſdained it, they reckoned themſelves of their number, and the Senate to be part of their own Body; though the Sovereign and Abſolute Authority reſided in the perſon of the Prince, and he by virtue thereof might do matters without it; yet it made for the Dignity and Grandeur of the *Roman* Empire, that he ſhould have ſo great and ample a Council to aſſiſt him, eſpecially at the Reception and Audience of Ambaſſadors and Strangers. *Arcadius* was ſo indulgent to it, that under him the Senate of *Conſtantinople* exerciſed the ſame power as in the Commonwealth, declared publick Enemies, denounced War, and the like; but this was extraordinary, and fully in the *Prince's* power: otherwiſe he ſent his Conſtitutions often to them, which were abſolutely concluſive, and as it were to be regiſtred in their Court. In other matters the Senate ſuggeſted, decreed, and framed an Order or *Senatuſconſultum*, but the Emperour by his *ſanction* confirmed what was done. At this time we find by the Laws, that the Nomination of *Prætors* was in the power of the Senate. It regulated the payments made by its own Members, and the expences of Games, yet ſo, as what it reſolved was referred to the Prince, who confirmed it. Sometimes alſo the Emperours would allow it to purge it ſelf, and make choice of ſuch as were worthy to be its Members; yet ſo, as the Names of thoſe they made choice of were by the *Præfect* of the City to be brought to the *Prince*, and receive his Approbation. Moreover, Profeſſors were choſen by the *Senate*, and when any Gift or Preſent was to be made to the Emperour by it, it was by Intervention of its own Decree. Its Officers who managed the buſineſs handled in it, were thoſe called *Cenſuales* (from the *Cenſus* or Tax they managed alſo) except in caſe of Citations, which belonged to the other Officer called *Princeps Officii*. But here it will not be amiſs to mention what *Capitolinus* writes in the Life of *Gordian*, That it was the Cuſtom, if the Commonwealth was in ſuch danger, as conſtrained the Fathers to take ſuch Counſels as were not fit to be divulged, then a ſecret *Senatuſconſultum* was made; at the making and entering whereof, neither *Scribes*, publick Slaves, nor the *Cenſuales*, were ſuffered to be preſent, but the *Senators* themſelves diſcharged all their Employments.

Its Dignity.

Vide Paratit. *Tit.* 2. *lib.* 6. *Cod. Theod. de Senatoribus*, & *de Glebali, vel Follium, ſeptemve Solidorum Conlatione*, & *de Auro oblatitio.*

Power.

Vid. Tit. Cod. Theod. *de Prætoribus L. L.* 8, 9, 10, 12. &c.

Its Officers.

Several ſorts of Senators.

4. Of *Senators*, ſome by reaſon of the greatneſs of their Birth were fitted for the Employment; others merited it by having paſſed through the ſeveral Offices of the Palace and State; others were preferred by the Favour of the Prince. Some Senators were naked, neither of the rank of *Illuſtres*, *Spectabiles*, nor *Clariſſimi*, not furniſhed with any privileges of Dignity. Some lived at *Rome* or *Conſtantinople*, and others in the Countrey. The *Præfectus Urbi* was their Head, and by him alone could they ordinarily be judged in Civil Cauſes; from whom in ſome caſes they might appeal, in others not. The Uſe of publick Horſes and Waggons was allowed Them, which privileges were denied to moſt others. In Cauſes Criminal the Judge or Governour of the Province where a Senator lived, might take cognizance of the matter, yet not proceed to Sentence, but certifie the *Prince*, the *Præfectus Urbi* or the *Præfectus Prætorio*. The *Præfect* of the City in the Suburbian Provinces, in this caſe was to take to his aſſiſtance five Senators, not at his diſcretion, but choſen by lot. Senators were privileged from ſeveral payments, to which others were obnoxious, as from that called *Aurum Coronarium*, from Quartering of Souldiers, and paying Toll in ſeveral caſes. They were not to be rigorouſly examined, nor

Their Privileges.

Their Burthens.

put to Torture, but in caſe of Treaſon and the greater ſort of Crimes: but ſeveral Duties they paid, and were obnoxious to divers Burthens, except diſcharged by ſpecial Privilege, ſo as they were forbidden to make any long Travel without Licence and Approbation, leſt the Revenue thence ariſing ſhould be diminiſhed: and ſo great was the Expence this way, that ſome got leave to reſign the Dignity, although not in the days of *Conſtantine*, who made it his buſineſs to encourage ſuch as he brought to *Conſtantinople*. (a) Among thoſe payments was the *Follis* lately mentioned, called alſo *Glebalis Collatio*, and by many other Names. This was a Burthen of the Eſtate or Soil, not the Perſon; and therefore all their Lands and Eſtates were regiſtred in the *Senate*. All ſuch as received profit out of their Lands paid it, but very few being exempt, not the Emperours Houſe it ſelf, becauſe he alſo went for a Senator, except he thought fit to renounce the Dignity. But ſuch as had no Lands were not ſubject to it; they onely paid two *Folles*, or an inconſiderable ſumme: for of the Coin called *Follis* there were ſeveral ſorts. Some alſo were exempt from this payment, as alſo from another lying upon the poorer ſort, of ſeven *Solidi*. Beſides theſe there was a fourth kind in Gold paid by Senators, called *Aurum Oblatitium*; yet to this they were not conſtrained; but it was freely given to the Emperour upon ſome notable occaſion; as after his Victory and Overthrow of ſome Tyrant, in way of an Acknowledgment. And from this was different another ſort of Preſent they made, which is called *Oblatio Votorum*. But the three former ſorts of payments, *viz.* the *Glebalis Collatio*, the two *Folles*, and the ſeven *Solidi*, remained till the time of *Juſtinian*, and then by him were quite aboliſhed; ſo that the Laws concerning them, or the ſecond Title of the ſixth Book of *Theodoſius* his Code, is omitted in that of *Juſtinian*.

The Conſiſtory.

The Members of it.

5. This was the great Council of the Emperour, who beſides it had his (b) Conſiſtory, or Privy Council, as we may term it, wherein were handled and determined all State-Affairs, and ſuch private matters as by way of Petition or otherwiſe came before the *Prince*. The Members of it were of great Rank and Employments, Illuſtrious perſons, who had the privilege of ſpeaking and debating before the Emperour; ſuch as were the *Præfecti Prætorio*, the *Quæſtors*, the *Magiſter Officiorum*, the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum*, and *Comes Rei Privatæ*, properly called *Comites Conſiſtorii*, or *Conſiſtoriani*. There were others which had the Name alſo of *Comites Conſiſtoriani*, but in an inferiour Rank, who were not ſtyled *Illuſtres*, but *Spectabiles*; and were not admitted to ſpeak and debate in Conſiſtory, but onely (c) permitted to be preſent at Debates, and hear the Emperour's Determination. Theſe were alſo of the firſt Rank of *Comites*, or *Comites Primi Ordinis*, but here of the ſecond ſort of Dignity. For to make our way to what we muſt ſhortly ſpeak of the ſeveral ſorts of the publick Miniſters and Officers, the Reader muſt know, that under the *Roman Princes* are to be obſerv'd five ſeveral Degrees or Ranks of Dignities, *viz. Illuſtris*, *Spectabilis*, *Clariſſimus*, *Perfectiſſimus*, and *Egregius*; theſe were not in uſe during the Republick, but were afterwards introduced for diſtinction of perſons, which is ever greater under Monarchy than in a Commonwealth. The firſt ſaid to have been in Uſe, was that of (d) *Clariſſimus*, given to Senators in the time of *Tiberius*; though from *Tacitus* it appears that ſome of the *Roman Knights* or *Equites* had the diſtinction of *Illuſtres* or *Inluſtres*, much about the ſame time or in the days of *Auguſtus*. At firſt *Clariſſimus* ſeems to have been more Honourable; but now about the Reign of *Conſtantine*, when they were made more diſtinct Attributes of Dignities, *Illuſtris* became ſuperior, as is evident from the Laws. And ſuch was the fortune of *Clariſſimus*, that not onely *Illuſtris* gave it the go-by, but afterward *Spectabilis* juſtled in betwixt them. *Illuſtris* at length became the Attribute of eleven ſeveral ſorts of perſons: The firſt were the *Patricii*, the higheſt Rank in the Affection of the *Prince*, next the *Nobiliſſimi*, and inſtituted (e) by *Conſtantine* the Great; I ſay, in the Affection of the *Prince*, to whom they were accounted as Fathers, but not as to the Dignity of State, for ſo they were inferiour to the *Conſuls*, being rather to be eſteemed a Rank or Order, than a Dignity; and having no Juriſdiction, being no Magiſtrates, were ever Subjects; whereas the Emperours themſelves diſdained not to bear the Office of *Conſul*. The Rank of *Patricii* was joyned with ſeveral of the Dignities, and when ſo found, gave the perſon precedence above all others, except the *Conſul*, the ancient and moſt ſublime Miniſter in the State.

The ſeveral Degrees of Perſons in the Empire.

Patricii, who.

6. To defer a little the enumeration of the reſt that had the Style of *Illuſtres*, as of the other Degrees of Dignities, till we come to deſcribe the Nature of their particular Offices and Employments, and firſt ſpeak of the more general Ranks and Qualifications. The Author of the (f) Life of *Conſtantine* tells us, that to prefer the more perſons, he invented new Honours. There were three Ranks of *Comites*; which whe-

Three Ranks of *Comites*.

(a) *Vide* Paratitlon *ubi ſuprà. & Juretum in Miſcellaneis, ad Symmachi Lib.* 4. *Epiſt.* 62.

(b) *Conſiſtorium Suidâ* θεῖον συνέδριον. *Forſan ab hoc differebat Auditorium, in quo Cauſas privatas tantùm tractari conſueviſſe exiſtimat Gutherius* Lib. *de Offic. Domûs Auguſtæ* 1. *c.* 17. *At vide omninò Gothofr. in L.* 5. *de Fide Teſtium &c. Cod. Theod.* Lib. 11. *Tit.* 39. *& quod Conſiliarii* Principis *dicti fuerunt Monitores, vide Juretum in Miſcellaneis ad Symmachi Epiſt.* 7. Lib. 4.

(c) *De eorum* Privilegiis *vide Gothofredum ad* L. *un. qui Conductores. Cod. Th. lib.* 10. Tit. 5.

(d) *Pancirolus in Notitiam Imperii C.* 2. *De Centenarii Dignitate Perfectiſſimatu, inferiori, Egregiatu verò ſuperiori, ſi qua talis fuerit. Vide Comment. Jacobi Gothofredi in* L. 7. *de Agentibus in Rebus. Cod. Th.* Lib. 6. *Tit.* 27.

(e) *Zoſimus. De iſta Controverſia, utrùm Patricius an Conſul præceſſerit, Vide Jacob. Gothofred. in* Tit. 6. *Lib.* 6. *Cod. Theod.*

(f) Lib. 4. C. 1.

whether firſt inſtituted by him, or not, began about his time to be remarkable. The Emperours at the beginning of the Monarchy had ſuch about them as they called their *Comites*, or *Companions*; as alſo *Amici*, or *Friends*; as had of old the *Eaſtern* Kings, from whom ſome think this Cuſtom transferred. For King *David* had his *Friend* or *Companion*, *Daniel* was the Companion of the *Babylonian* King, and honoured above all his Friends; and in the Kingdom of *Syria*, *Ptolomy*, *Nicanor* and *Gorgias* were the Kings Friends. At firſt *Comes* and *Amicus*, Companion and Friend, were in effect the ſame; and according to their Intereſt and Endearment with the Prince, they were diſtinguiſhed into ſeveral Ranks; as there is no man but hath thoſe Friends that are more intimate with him than others are. Afterward they became diſtinct, (though Friends ſtill were often called Companions, and Companions Friends) the *Amici* or Friends being taken for the Intimates or Privadoes of the Prince, his Favourites and inward Boſom-friends, who knew his heart; as *Epheſtion* was the friend of *Alexander*. The *Comites* were the Companions and Aſſiſtants in his Expeditions and Labours, as was *Parmenio* to the King; and in all Encampings had the next place to his Pavilion. Both of theſe ſorts were admitted to his Conſultations, and afterwards known by the joynt and common name of *Conſiſtorians*. Of both before the time of *Conſtantine* there is frequent mention. The Emperours Attendance and his Council was called *Comitatus*; and in ſome years the name of *Comes* grew ſo common, that it was in a manner given to all Officers and Magiſtrates that gave attendance at the ſaid Sacred or Privy Council, and thence afterward extended to all that were Overſeers in any matters of State. So that *Suidas* defineth *Comes* to be the Ruler of the people, as *Cujacius* obſerves, whoſe Opinion alſo it is, that before the time of *Conſtantine* the Great, it did not ſignifie any Title of Honour or Dignity; but he, when he had altered many things in the Empire, and endeavoured to oblige many perſons, erected the *Comes* into a Dignity, and made the threefold diſtinction, or three Ranks of *Comites* lately mentioned. He grounds his Opinion upon the relation of the Author of *Conſtantines* Life, who having ſaid, that no man was denied that asked any thing of that Prince, nor any mans Expectation fruſtrated that expected any thing of him (for ſome he enriched with Money, others with Lands, many he dignified with the *Senatorian*, many with *Conſular* Honour, and many he preferred to be *Duces*:) adds, *Some were made* Comites *of the firſt Rank, ſome of the ſecond, and others of the third.*

Selden, Titles of Honour. Part 2. Ch. 1.

Maccab. Ch. 3. 38. *&c.*

Vide Suetonium in vitâ Tiberii C. 46. *& Lampridium in vitâ Alexand. Severi*

al I. un. de Comitibus. Cod. Juſtin. Lib. 12. *Tit.* 11.

Whether firſt introduced by *Conſtantine*.

Lib. 4 *C.* 2.

Κομίτων δὲ οἱ μὲν πρώτȣ τάγματος ἠξιȣ̃ντο, οἱ δὲ δευτέρȣ, οἱ δὲ τρίτȣ.

7. Moſt Learned Men follow *Cujacius* herein, but ſome there are who will not have theſe words interpreted, as if he (*Conſtantine*) had then begun the diviſion by diſtinguiſhing his *Comites* into theſe Ranks; urging that theſe words no more enforce this Concluſion, than thoſe that go before do infer that he inſtituted the Dignity of *Senators*, *Conſuls*, and *Duces*. But that which follows ſeems ſufficiently to confirm *Cujacius* his Interpretation: For that Writer further tells us, that *Numbers by this means obtained to be* Clariſſimi, *and other Honours*: for, *that he might confer Honours upon many, he invented various Dignities.* They cannot inſtance in any Author wherein certain mention is made of this Dignity, before *Conſtantines* time. As for what a very Learned man of our own cites of St. *George*, being called a *Comes* by Dignity out of the Rituals of the *Greek* Church; as alſo of one *Patricius* a *Comes*, out of the Life of St. *Actemon* in that Church. The ſame exception lies againſt theſe *Greek* Rituals and Lives, that he himſelf brings and preſſes againſt *Zonaras*, and other *Greek* Hiſtorians in other caſes, *viz.* That living in later times, they wrote in the Phraſe and Language of their own Ages, and uſed Terms of more modern times to expreſs things ancient, which they conceived like to thoſe with which they themſelves were acquainted. That before *Conſtantines* time theſe three Ranks or Degrees came to be ſettled and diſtinct, it's no way probable: for he (as the Author of his Life writes) invented ſeveral ways to dignifie thoſe that were of different Merits. Although there are ſaid to be but three Ranks of theſe *Comites* or Counts; yet this is to be obſerved, that the ſame Rank according to the Qualitie of the Office to which it was applied, had different Degrees. Of the firſt Rank were the *Comites Conſiſtoriani*, but not they onely, for Inſcriptions are found *Comes Ordinis primi*, and *Comes Ordinis primi intra Conſiſtorium*, given at once to the ſame perſon, as Titles received at ſeveral times. The grand Officers of the Empire were alſo of this firſt Rank, as the *Magiſtri Sacrarum Largitionum*, *Equitum*, *Domeſticorum*, to whom thereupon the Titles of

Selden ubi ſuprá.

Διασημοτάτων δὲ ὡσαύτως κ̀ ἑτέρων πλείστων ἄλλων ἀξιωμάτων μύριοι ἄλλοι μετεῖχον, εἰς γὰρ τὸ πλείονας τιμᾶν διαφόρȣς ἐπενόει βασιλεὺς ἀξίας.

As, whether by *Cæſar* was meant the Heir Apparent before *Adrian* his Adopting of *Ælius Verus.*

Several ſorts of the firſt Rank.

Vide Seldenum ubi ſuprá. Gothofred. ad Cod. Th. Lib. 6. *Tit.* 13. *Gutherium de officio Domus Aug. Lib.* 1. *C.* 17. *Tres fuerunt ſpecies Comitum primi ordinis. Prima, quæ una cum Adminiſtratione competebat, ipſique Dignitati tempore Adminiſtrationis competebat. Secunda, quæ vacantibus conferebatur pro præmio: i. e. poſtquam Adminiſtratione vel Officio, aut Profeſſione quis functus fuiſſet. Tertia, quæ ab otioſis & inertibus Pretio, vel Gratiâ impetrabatur. Vide Gothofr. in Cod. Th. Lib.* 6. *Tit.* 18.

Magiſtri & *Comites* were promiſcuouſly given; theſe ſame being alſo ſtyled *Comites Sacrarum Largitionum, Equitum & Domeſticorum.* Of this firſt Rank was alſo the Emperour's Chief Phyſician, known by the Title of *Comes Archiatrorum*, and ſo were alſo ſometimes thoſe that were under him: ſo that being a *Comes* of the firſt Rank, did not equal one in Place and Degree, with all others of that Rank; for of them ſome were *Illuſtres*, ſome *Spectabiles*, and others Lower, according to the Dignity in which their Offices placed them. Of the ſecond Rank of *Comites* were ſome Governours of Provinces, and ſuch as had the Government of Cities only, and with the former are thoſe ſometimes the ſame, who are ſtyled *Duces*; which Name being firſt taken from Employment, and not ſo Titular as this, we ſhall more properly ſpeak to anon. As for the loweſt or third Rank, it took in all the reſt that bore the Title of *Comites*; which, as ſome have obſerv'd out of *Suidas*, was of ſo large extent, that any Governour was ſignified by it; as alſo they take Notice that it is interpreted in *Heſychius*. This was the moſt comprehenſive and uſual Title, and the loweſt Rank, as trite and thridbare, as ours of *Eſquire*, or the *Sieur* amongſt the *French.* Theſe general Dignities and Styles premiſed, as was neceſſary (which will be more evident and cleared from the Confuſion in which moſt Authors involve them, by that which follows) we come from the ſhadows to the Subſtance, to the Deſcription of the ſeveral Offices of Magiſtracy, and Military Employments which, with what went before, compoſed the whole frame of Government.

Κόμης interpretatur Ἄρχων.

The Conſul.

8. Here we muſt begin with the *Conſuls*, that Ancient Officer, and, as we ſaid, the moſt ſublime Miniſter of the State; the greateſt Dignity ſtill at this time, next the *Nobiliſſimus.* And what we have formerly obſerv'd concerning *Conſuls* ordinary and extraordinary, *Suffecti*, or *Honorary*, muſt be remembred here. And that whereas formerly the Office of *Conſuls* was Annual, *Julius Cæſar* made ſeveral in one year, for three, two, or one Moneth; which gave occaſion to that Diſtinction. The ſame Diſtinction continued after *Conſtantine* his Days, as is evident by a Law of his Son *Conſtantius*, wherein mention is made of ordinary *Conſuls*, beſides ſeveral other Conſtitutions. By the Code of *Theodoſius* it appears, it was Annual at this time, though not that it was ſo made again by *Conſtantine*, as *Lipſius* hath written. All the ancient Honours were ſtill allowed it. It's termed no leſs than *Divinum Præmium* by the Emperour, and by Writers ordinarily *Faſtigium*, and He *Potiſſimus Magiſter.* When *Conſuls* were created, their Names were ſtill publiſhed abroad by Meſſengers ſent on purpoſe throughout the Provinces. From their Names the Characteriſtical Note of Years was taken, as formerly; and with them the Edicts and Conſtitutions of Princes were ſubſcrib'd, ſo that without them, by a Law of *Conſtantine*, they are declared null and of none Authority. When their Names were read, the Readers, at the mentioning of them, ſhewed Reverence. To them it was lawful to give the *Sportula Aurea*, and the *Diptycha* made of Ivory, by a Law of *Theodoſius* the Firſt, and to none other. The *Sportula* was a Preſent wont to be made by ſuch as entred into Magiſtracy, to their Friends, which might be in Silver to others, but to none but the ordinary *Conſuls* in Gold. And *Diptychs* were Tables to write in, conſiſting of two Leaves, in which being of Ivory, as appears from *Claudian*, the Names of Conſuls were wont to be written and ſent abroad; ſo that only to them it was lawful to make a Preſent of that Matter; *Diptychs* of other Materials it being permitted to give to any. They wore ſtill the *Trabea*, or Robe woven with Gold and Purple. And as for their Place and Precedence, *Gratian* by a (*a*) Law declares, that the other higheſt Dignities give Place to them in the *Senate*, whatever Matter be handled therein: ſo as the *Conſul* ſhould ſit in the firſt Place, and firſt give his Vote; although the *Præfect* of the City, he who was the chief and the Head of the *Senate* were preſent, who preceded, and Voted before all beſides him, and at length by a *Novel* of *Juſtinian*, had Place given him before *Conſuls* and *Patricians.* That the *Conſul* preceded the *Patrician* is evident from *Caſſiodorus*, beſides the Law now mention'd, who in his Forms of Charters placeth that of the *Patrician* next after that of the *Conſul.* And in his Patent or Charter it is told the *Patrician*, *that he* (*b*) *precedes the Prefects, and all other dignified Perſons, giving only Place to that Luſtre, which the Prince himſelf ſometimes aſſumes*, which was no other than the *Conſulſhip.* This ſeems to be contradicted by a (*c*) Law of the Emperour Zeno, wherein it is ſaid, that the Honour of the *Patriciate* is placed before all others; and order is taken that *none be Preferred to it, but ſuch as have before paſſed through the Dignities and Offices of Conſul, Præfectus Prætorio, Præfectſhip of the City, Magiſter Militum, or Magiſter Officiorum.* But this doth not Evince, that in the Dignity of the Common-wealth it preceded the *Conſulſhip*, but only in the private Affection of the Prince, to

whom &c.

His great Dignity.

Part 1. B. 2.

De Prætoribus &c. Cod. Th. Lib. 6. Tit. 4. L. 12. *ita ut adſint decem è Procerum numero, qui ordinarii Conſules fuerint. De Magiſtratibus Populi Romani c. 9.*

Vide Paratitlon Tit. 6. Lib. 6. Cod. Th. & LL. *ibi notatas.*

de Conſtit. Principum. L. 1.

L. 1. de Expenſis Ludorum. *Cod. Th.* L. 15. *Tit. 9.*

(*a*) *Cod. Th. l. 6. Tit. 6. l. 1. Diverſa Culmina Dignitatum Conſulatui cedere evidenti auctoritate decernimus &c.*

(*b*) *Præfectorios & aliarum Dignitatum viros præcedit, uni tantum cedens fulgori, quem interdum etiam à nobis conſtat aſſumi. Caſſiodor. variarum lib. 6. C. 2.*

(c) *Neminem ad ſublimem Patriciatûs Honorem (qui cæteris omnibus anteponitur) aſcendere liceat, niſi priùs, aut conſulatûs Honore potiatur, aut Præfecturâ Prætorio &c. Cod. Juſtin. lib.* 12. *Tit.* 3. L. 3. *de Conſulibus &c.*

whom they that were *Patricii* being ſo intimate, as to have the Reputation of his Parents, he would have none obtain this Honour, but ſuch as had paſſed through the higheſt Employments; For the contrary, beſides other Teſtimonies, is moſt evident from *Caſſiodorus*, who was contemporary with *Zeno* himſelf.

Ex Libanio Sidonio Apollinari, quæ vide apud Gothofred. ubi ſuprà.

His Place merely Titular.

The Honorary Conſul.

9. Thus great was the *Conſulſhip*; but after all, it's Greatneſs conſiſted in Noiſe, in Name, in Place and Cloaths, ſo that in *Caſſiodorus* his *Formula* it may very well be termed *Fulgor*; it's Luſtre lay more in the Feet than the Hands or Head, for which Members there was very little occaſion: The great and weighty Burthen ſuſtained by the *Conſul's* vaſt Shoulders was the Gown and coloured Robe he wore; little Employment for his Eyes, but to behold with Contentment the twelve *Lictors* going before him, and bearing the *Faſces* and Axes very gracefully; eſpecially ſince of late Laurel was added to them, which commonly was uſed only in Triumphs: For his Hands, but to carry Majeſtically the Ivory Rod: For his Head, but to conſider how beſt to fill and become his *Curule* Chair, and to have his Robes and Ornaments ſit well upon him. The Emperours ſince the Monarchy, by aſſuming, both his Power and that of all other Magiſtrates in a manner, had permitted him to take his Eaſe. Inſtead of Commanding Armies, and having the great Management of Affairs, both at home, and in the Provinces, how do we find him now ſpending his time? Even at home in his own Houſe, entertaining himſelf and his Friends, except he would pleaſe to go in State and ſhew himſelf in the *Senate-Houſe*. Only you might ſee him buſied a little (eſpecially at his firſt Promotion) in (*a*) Manumiſſions, or ſetting Slaves at Liberty, a Privilege ſtill indulged him, and that as it were his Solemnity and peculiar Employment: perhaps in exhibiting the publick Games and *Spectacula*; and then as a Reward of his (*b*) Merits, it was lawful to preſent him, and him alone with Gold; and Reaſon too, conſidering that he found the Horſes in the *Curule Races*. Very little more do we find the *Conſuls* did at this time, ſcarcely ſo much as to ſit as Judges, and decide Cauſes, aſſign Tutors, or to let out the Cuſtomes and publick Revenues; which though they might do under (*c*) former Emperours, yet we ſhall now find in other hands. And whereas formerly they preſided and regulated the Proceedings in the *Senate*, now that Work ſeems to be diſcharged by the *Præfect of the City*, who was at this time the *Præſul*, or Head of that Body. Though conſidering what manner of man formerly the Conſul was, and as his Vicegerent, out of good Manners he might give him Place. In Concluſion: however for the Ceremony and Pageantry of the Empire, the *Conſul* was ſtill preſerv'd in Being, yet by Degrees he dwindled to nothing, and about *Juſtinian's* time ceaſed to be; ſo little Notice was taken of him in the Reign of *Theodoſius* the Younger, that when the *Notitia*, or Survey of all the Dignities, as well Civil as Military was compoſed, he was not ſo much as mentioned therein; having nothing of Buſineſs or Employment worth the mentioning. As for the *Honorary Conſul*; he was alſo in Being in the time of *Zeno*, as appears from the (*d*) Law of that Prince, but now mentioned; and was bound for his Honour to give an hundred Pounds of Gold toward the Repairing of the *Aquæduct* of the *City*, as the Annual, or *ordinary Conſul*, by the next preceding Law of *Valentinian* was bound to do, inſtead of the Largeſſes they formerly (to no purpoſe) gave to the People. Amongſt the Tomes of *Caſſiodorus* there is extant a Charter beſides that of a *Conſul*, for creating a *Conſularis*, whoſe Office is not termed *Conſulatus*, but *Conſularitas*. This *Lipſius* concludes to have ſucceeded in the room of the *Suffectus* or extraordinary, introduced by *Julius Cæſar*, and muſt have been merely Titular, or Honorary: but enough of the *Conſul* little more than a Name; now we come to both Name and Thing.

Pinge vaſtos humeros vario colore Palmatæ, validam manum, victoriali ſcipione nobilitatam, Lares proprios etiam Calceis Aureis egredere. Sellam Curulem pro ſua magnitudine multis gradibus eniſus aſcende, ut in otio ſubjectus merearis, quod nos per maximos Labores aſſumimus Imperantes. Rem victoriarum agitis, qui bella neſcitis; nos juvante Deo Regimus, nos Conſulimus, & veſtrûm nomen annum deſignat.

The Præfectus Pretorio.

His Original.

10. The chief Magiſtrate and Miniſter of the State, and which had the firſt Place amongſt the *Illuſtres* (next to the *Patrician*, who was no Magiſtrate as ſuch) was the *Præfectus Pretorio*. He took his firſt Denomination from the *Prætors*: for all Magiſtrates (as we have already (*e*) ſhewn) eſpecially Military, were called *Prætores*; and the General's Tent, or Pavilion, *Prætorium*; as alſo the Guard that watch'd before it, *Prætoria Cohors*; and the Admiral's Ship *Prætoria Navis*; hence he that had the Charge of the *Prætorium*, or lodging of the Prince, and commanding the Prætorian Bands that guarded it, was named *Præfectus Prætorio*. The *Prætorian* Souldiers had firſt their Pay augmented by *Scipio Africanus*, who gave them half as much more as others receiv'd; but *Auguſtus* by virtue of a *Senatusconſultum*, ordered them double Pay, and five hundred *Drachms* after they had ſerved ſixteen Years. Their number was ten thouſand, divided into ten Companies or *Cohorts*, under ſo many *Tribunes*. They were Men of more than ordinary Stature, and diſtinguiſhed by better Arms and Habit from the ordinary Souldiers. Theſe were after-

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(*a*) L. 13 *de infirm. his quæ ſub Tyrannis. Hæc Conſulatûs ſolennitas dicitur. Officium celebrabant cum id celebrabatur.*

(*b*) Li. 2. *de ſpectaculis. Cod. Theod.* Lib. 15. *Tit* 5.

(*c*) *Spartianus in Antonino. Ovid.* 4. *de* Ponto.

(*d*) *Quoniam verò Glorioſiſſimæ huic urbi, quæ caput Orbis Terrarum eſt, omnifariàm credimus conſulendum. Univerſos qui poſthac Honorarii Conſulatûs Inſignibus principali Munificentiâ decorantur* 100 Libras *Auri ad reficiendum Aquæductum Publicum miniſtrare cenſemus, ad ſimilitudinem eorum, qui per Annale tempus Conſularium Editione Munerum gloriantur.*

(*e*) Part. 1. *Lib.* 2. *C.* 4. *Paragr.* 40.

afterward ſucceeded by three thouſand and five hundred of the moſt choiſe *Armenians*, divided into nine *Scholes* (as they termed them) or Parties. Over them the *Præfectus Prætorio* had abſolute Command, and by his Advice the Prince managed all his Matters: for he was that to him which to *Romulus* was the *Tribunus Celerum*, the *Legatus*, to the *Conſul*; the *Quæſtor*, to the *Prætor*; and the *Magiſter Equitum* to the *Dictator*. They obtained by degrees ſuch Authority, that not only had they the Adminiſtration of Arms and War, but receiv'd Appeals, and handled all Affairs of the Empire.

11. *Auguſtus* being Author of this Magiſtracy created firſt one, and afterward two *Præfecti Prætorio*, according to *Mecænas* his Model; that if need were the one might withſtand the Traiterous Deſigns and Attempts of the other; and they were to be of *Equeſtrian* Rank; but *Tiberius* gave the whole Command to *Sejanus*, who perſwaded him to unite the *Prætorian* Souldiers, formerly quartered up and down the City, in one Camp; that they might be weaned from the Luxury of the Place, be readier upon all Occaſions, and by their Union in one Body ſtrike the greater Awe into the People. Hereby this Office, moderate before, received great Advantage. In the Camp the *Præfects*, at firſt, handled no Cauſes; but only took Care of what concern'd War; for *Auguſtus* committed Appeals in Law-Suits of Citizens, to the *Prætor* of the City, and of ſuch as lived in the Provinces, to Perſons of *Conſular* Dignity; of which Rank he ſet one over the Affairs of each Province. *Nero* ordered Appeals to be made from Judges to the *Senate*. *Adrian* was wont, when he took Cogniſance of any Proceſs, to call to him both *Senators* and *Equites*; and according to the Reſult of their Debate, gave Sentence, no mention being made of the *Præfects*. *Marcus Antoninus* was the firſt that uſed their Advice and Authority in Law-Matters. *Commodus* then, that he might more freely follow his Pleaſures, committed the Care and Management of all to *Perennius*, his *Præfect*; and ſo by Degrees Judgments and Appeals were tranſlated to them. Some Princes, following the Example of *Auguſtus*, made two *Præfecti Prætorio*. (*a*) *Commodus* had as many after the Death of *Perennius*, and ſometimes three, finding it neceſſary to leſſen ſo great a Power by putting it into more hands. When the *Barbarians* made ſo frequent Incurſions, ſucceeding Princes aſſigned *Præfects* to certain Regions. For under *Decius*, *Vectius Aquilius* was *Præfectus Prætorio* of the Eaſt; under *Valerian*, 2, *Vicarius* and *Ragonius Clarus*, of *Illyricum* and *Gall*; but theſe were not certain, nor perpetual, but according to the Neceſſity of the Times, and the State of War, receiv'd and exerciſed their Power. And the Power of the *ordinary Præfects* (the common number whereof towards *Conſtantine*'s time was two, as it ſeems from *Zoſimus*) was exceeding great; even ſo great that (*b*) (as one well obſerves) through the Negligence of ſome Princes, they made, and might be made Emperours, as they pleaſed. For having Authority, both over Military men, and in all things Civil, they obliged and conſequently, had all ſorts of Perſons at their Devotion; the *Præfect* was eſteemed a ſort of Prince, without Purple; in this Reſpect only to differ from the Emperour himſelf.

Conſtantine abridged their Power;

12. *Conſtantine* therefore had reaſon to be jealous of their extravagant Power, and to correct ſo great an Error in Politie, as the former Princes had committed. This he did by taking away their Authority in Military Matters, which he tranſferred upon his *Magiſtri Militum*, and by continuing the number of four, as he found them under the four Princes that preceded him, whereof each (as he ſaid) had his *Præfect*. Notwithſtanding this, they ever retained great Authority. They publiſhed their Edicts, which were perpetually to be obſerv'd, except the Prince repealed them. They commanded the Governours and Judges of ſuch Provinces as were under their Care; puniſhed them, if faulty; removed them, if unfit; paid them their Salaries due out of the publick Treaſury, and received Appeals made from them; but from the *Præfects* lay no Appeal. Some things the Judges of the Provinces could not do without their Order, and (*c*) *Caſſiodorus* (who in his *Formulæ* deſcribes their Office) hints ſomething, as if afterward they received Authority over Souldiers alſo in part, and had Power of fining, as far as the Sum of fifty Pounds of Gold. They had the Charge of the *Annona*, or Proviſions for the Army; took Care of the Ways, and of the Tents. The chief Management of the Revenue was in them; and in the collecting and exacting thereof, this Courſe was afterward obſerved, which is preſcribed by (*d*) *Juſtinian*. The Prince having conſulted and ſignified how much Money, or what Supply he ſhould want for the follow-

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he manner heir raiſing oney.

Tacit. Annal. 4.

(*a*) Ὁ δὲ Κόμμοδος δύο τοὺς ἐπάρχους καταστήσας ἀσφαλέστερον ᾠήθη μὴ ἑνὶ πιστεύειν τοσαύτην ἐξουσίαν, μερισθεῖσαν δὲ αὐτὴν ἀσθενεστέραν ἔσεσθαι ἤλπισε πρὸς τὴν βασίλειον ἐπιθυμίαν. *Herodianus. Lib.* 1.

(*b*) *Atque eo progreſſus, ut Negligentiâ & Adulatione Principum, Principes fecerit, atque ita Militares animos devinxerit, ut ſibi aſſereret Imperium, nam Præfectos Prætorio omnes ſuſpiciebant, cum Caſtrenſem omnem & Civilem, Poteſtatem exercerent. Gutherius De Offic. Dom. Aug. lib.* 2. *C.* 1.

(*c*) *Præfectura Prætoriana quidam Principatus quondam Imperii erat, attamen ſine Purpurâ; & in eo diſcrimen Principis & Præfecti ſtatuebatur, quod ſacram Purpuram & Imperatorias Infulas non geſtaret. Braſſeus in Caſſiodori variarum* L. 6. *C.* 3. *quod* P.P. *Edicta fecerint vide L.* 31. *de Naviculariis, Cod. Th. Lib.* 13. *Tit.* 5.

(*d*) *Nullus ei Miles de fori ſui Authoritate præſcribit, excepto officiali Magiſtri Militum. Credo & vel illis aliquid Antiquitus cederet, qui videbantur pro Republ. bella tractare.* (*e*) *Novel.* 128; *quam Conſule omninò de modo Collationis.*

ing year, the *Præfecti Prætorio* made the Diſtribution thereof in the Month of *July, or Auguſt*, according to the Value and Wealth of the ſeveral Provinces, and in their ſeveral Offices or Courſes it was Regiſtred, what Proportion each Country or City ſhould pay, either *in Specie*, or in Gold; and of this how much was to be brought into the Treaſury, and how much expended in the Province. An equal Ceſs being thus made, Copies were ſent from the Offices of the *Præfects* to the Governours of the Provinces, at the beginning of every *Indiction*, and by them publiſhed in the Cities under their Authority, within the Months of *September* and *October*, in which the *Indictions* or Impoſitions of Taxes ordinarily began. In caſe they obſerved not the Rule præſcrib'd, they made good to the publick ſo much as it was thereby endamaged. Now the Burthens of the Subject, or *Provincials* were, either ordinary, or extraordinary: and uſually they upon whom the former ſort lay any thing heavy, were excuſed from the latter: uſually, I ſay, but not always; when by Reaſon of a great War, or for other Reaſons the Emperours were at exceeding great Expence, as is evident from the Laws.

Tribute, what properly.

13. One conſtant Charge conſiſted in Tribute, properly ſo called; another in payment of Cloths, or Gold and Silver. By Tribute the Laws mean the ſeveral ſorts of the *Annona*, as Corn, Wine, Oyle, Fodder, and the like, ſuch as we may term *Eſculenta* and *Poculenta*, which are alſo called *Fiſcale Debitum*, and ſometimes might be redeem'd by Money. This being an Annual payment, the *Præfects* had the Charge thereof, and took Care, that the ſeveral things ſhould be diſpoſed in their peculiar Storehouſes, to be reſerv'd for the Maintenance of the Army, or other Uſes. For it's eaſie to obſerve in ſeveral Ages and Countries, that Tributes and Rents were formerly wont to be paid in kind; and here in *England*, amongſt the reſt, even for a conſiderable time after the *Norman* Conqueſt. Therefore as ſome Princes have heaped up great Treaſures of Coin, ſo others vaſt Quantities of Proviſions. (*a*) *Meſitheus* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, and Father in Law of the Emperour *Gordian*, was ſo induſtrious for his Maſter this way, that in the greater Cities upon the Borders, he cauſed to be laid up ſo much Wheat, Vinegar, Barley, Lard, and Straw, as would maintain the Army an whole year; and in the leſſer, Proviſion of this kind for forty, thirty, and at leaſt fifteen days, but in ſome of them for two Months. (*b*) *Severus* when he died, left ſuch a ſtock of Corn, that for ſeven years together, every day ſeventy five thouſand *Modii* might be ſpent, and ſo much Oyl as was ſufficient for the ſpace of five Years, both to ſerve the City, and all *Italy*, *Trajan* alſo took Care, that there ſhould always be a Stock of Corn at *Rome* to ſerve, if need were, for eight years. Now for this ſupply ſeveral Provinces of Courſe contribute ſeveral Things. The *Leptitani* in *Mauritania* furniſhed Oyl, the *Galls* Horſes, and the *Spaniards* alſo, eſpecially they of *Bœtica*, of which in thoſe times they had an excellent Breed, beſides Cloths, Oyl, Fat and Lard. In *Italy* the *Lucani* found Hogs, and the *Brutii* Oxen; the *Sicilians*, as *Pancirolus* obſerves, paid the tenth part of their Wheat, which amounted yearly to eight hundred thouſand *Modii*, and if need was, were bound to add another tenth, for which they receiv'd Satisfaction out of the Treaſury; as alſo a fourth, if Neceſſity urged; for *Sicily* of old was eſteemed the Granary of *Rome*, till ſuch time as *Ægypt* was ſubdued, which in after times paid the fifth part of their Fruits, for which *Conſtantinople* receiv'd eight Millions of *Medimni* of Wheat yearly: but yet what here is ſaid concerning ſuch Nations and People their furniſhing ſuch and ſuch particular things, hath rather Relation to the beginning of the Empire; for as appears by *Theodoſius* his Code, the Princes that ſucceeded *Conſtantine* much regulated and altered theſe Payments, whereof ſome were ordinary, and ſome extraordinary, as the Occaſions and Wants of the State were urgent.

What ſeveral Countries furniſhed.

Vide L. 2. *Cod. Theod. de diſtrabend. pignoribus, lib.* 11. *tit.* 9. & L. *ult. C. Juſtin. lib.* 4. *T.* 46.

(*a*) *Cujus viri tanta in Repub. diſpoſitio fuit, ut nulla eſſet unqnam Civitas limitanea potior, quæ non poſſet Exercitum Pop. Rom. ac Principem ferre; quæ totius Anni in Aceto, Frumento & Larido atque Hordeo & Paleis condita non haberet: majores verò urbes, aliæ* 30 *dieram, aliæ* 40, *nonnullæ* 2 *menſium, quæ minimum* 15 *Dierum. Capitolinus in Gordiano tertio.*

Sportianus in Severo Rei frumentariæ quam minimam repererat; ita conſuluit, ut excedens ipſe vitâ 7 *annorum Canonem* P. *R. relinqueret.*

In Notitiam *Imperii Orientalis, cap.* 5.

De hac re, vide illius Cod. lib. 11. *tit.* 9. L. 1. & *Tit.* 17, 18.

14. However, they were all under the Care and Management of the *Præfects*, who alſo had the Charge of receiving Clothes for Souldiers; the manner of furniſhing which, was various in the ſeveral Countries; but generally one was Exacted for every twenty or thirty Acres, or ſometimes according to the Poll; or elſe Gold in the room of it. Beſides theſe, they not only look'd to the Collection of the Extraordinary Impoſitions (as we ſaid) as alſo of Tolls, Impoſts, and other things too tedious here to relate, but could Impoſe Extraordinary Charges and Services in ſome Caſes; and the *Navicularii*, or thoſe who Tranſported the Proviſions, were by them Governed. They granted leave to make uſe of the *Curſus Publicus*, which none of the Greater Officers, except the *Magiſtri Officiorum*, could do. At their Creation, the Prince of old Girded them with a Sword, as the Enſign of their Office. At their firſt Inſtitution they could not be *Senators*, being only of the *Equeſtrian* Rank, leſt they ſhould grow too Great. *Alexander*, the Emperour, firſt

L. L. 7, 8. *de extraordin.* & *Ammian.* Lib. 17.

firſt added that Dignity, leſt *Senators* ſhould be judged by thoſe that were below their Order; and ſo they came to be ſtyled *Clariſſimi*, and afterwards *Illuſtres*. They rode in Gilded Chariots, drawn by four Horſes, accompanied with the ſhouts of the Publick Cryers, and Lucky Acclamations of the People, who ſtyled them Fathers of the Empire, and Exhorted them to demonſtrate themſelves really ſuch.

Titles given to the *Præfects.*

The Princes honoured them alſo with the Title of *Fathers*, as with thoſe of *Magnitudo*, *Culmen*, *Amplitudo*, *Præcelſa Magnificentia*, *Celſitudo*, *Excellentia*, *Sublimitas*, and the like, beginning their Letters, *Fave Hypate Chariſſime nobis*, and concluding, *Divinitas te ſervet permultos annos Incolumem*, *Parens Chariſſime*. Anſwerably, their Seat was called *Sublimiſſima* and *Excelſa*. Their Privileges were great, and their Stipends large; for *Juſtinian* allowed the *Præfect* of *Africk* an hundred pounds of Gold yearly, which ſome compute to have been about nine thouſand Sterling. Theſe things abundantly are Evident from the various Conſtitutions of Princes. And thus much in general of their *Præfecti Prætorio*.

He of the Eaſt was moſt Eminent.

15. In particular, He of the Eaſt was moſt Eminent, both for number of Provinces, and Authority. Now we muſt know, that the Diſtrict of every *Præfectus Prætorio* ordinarily included ſeveral *Diœceſes*, and each *Diœceſe* ſeveral *Provinces*. We ſay, Ordinarily; for ſeveral (*a*) Examples Convince us, that ſometimes a *Præfect* had but one *Diœceſe*, which was no other than an (*b*) Union or Collection of ſeveral Provinces under one Adminiſtration, or Government.

His five Diœceſes.

But the *Præfect* of the Eaſt had under him (*c*) five Diœceſes, *viz.* that of the *Eaſt*, ſtrictly ſo called, *Ægypt*, *Aſia*, *Pontus*, and *Thrace*. Over which, as his Deputies, were ſet ſo many of the Greater Provincial Officers. Of theſe, the *Comes* of the *Eaſt* Commanded fifteen Provinces; the *Præfect* of *Ægypt* ſix, the *Vicar* of *Aſia* ſeven, the *Proconſul* of *Aſia* other three, the *Vicar* of *Pontica* eleven, and of *Thracia* ſix; all which made up eight and forty Provinces, as in the *Notitia* of the Empire is expreſſed.

The Fleets under his Command.

Under his (*d*) Command were the ſeveral Fleets of the *Eaſt*, which (as in the other Parts of the Empire) ſerved for conveying Proviſions for Defence of the Borders, and clearing of the Seas and greater Rivers of Pirates, and by ſome are reckoned eleven in number. Amongſt theſe were Eminent that called *Claſſis Seleuca*, Inſtituted (as ſome think) by *Conſtantius*, after he had fixed his Seat at *Antioch*, and with great Charge had made an Haven on the Shore of the *Syrian* Sea, called *Portus Seleucenus*; though others think it the ſame with that of *Seleucia*, in the River *Orontes*. There was one alſo in the *Euxine* Sea, conſiſting of forty Veſſels: a Third was ordained by *Trajan* in the Red Sea: a Fourth belonged to *Alexandria*: a Fifth Cruiſed on the *Carpathian* Sea. The *Notitia* reckons up ſix more in *Danubius*, beſides one belonging to thoſe that ſerved in the Treaſury, or the *Theſaurenſes*. This *Præfect* was Reſident at Court in the time of *Juſtinian*; the Imperial Seat, or *Conſtantinople* being within his Diſtrict. Of his Arms, or the Enſigns of his Authority, the *Notitia* makes not mention; but doubtleſs they were near the ſame with thoſe belonging to the *Præfect* of *Illyrium*, *viz.* a Book of *Mandates* erected on a Table covered with a Carpet, betwixt four burning Wax-lights; on one ſide the Images of the Princes (which they as well as other Civil Magiſtrates of Provinces, but not Military, had born before them) and on the other ſide, of five Women holding Veſſels full of Gold, and repreſenting his five Diœceſes.

He of *Illyricum.*

16. The ſecond *Præfectus Prætorio* mentioned in the *Notitia*, was he of *Illyricum*, placed by *Conſtantine* in the Northern Parts.

What meant by that Name.

In Ancient Times, all the Tract reaching from *Danubius* to *Italy*, and now called *Sclavonia*, was taken for *Illyricum*. (*g*) *Zonaras* writes, that the name of *Illyricum* being formerly given to various Places, became afterwards peculiar to the upper Continent above *Macedonia* and *Thrace*, between *Hæmus* and *Rhodope*, and after paſſing theſe Bounds, was extended beyond thoſe Mountains, as far as the *Euxine* Sea. In the time of *Claudius* the Second, it contained the *Thracians*, *Myſians*, *Dalmatians*, *Pannonians*, and *Dacians*. What Countries *Conſtantine*, after the new Diviſion laid to it, we have already ſeen out of *Zoſimus*. *Jornandes* divideth it into eighteen Provinces; *Sextus Rufus* into Seventeen; but the Empire coming to be divided amongſt ſucceeding Princes,

Illyricum Eaſtern and Weſtern.

Illyricum alſo became twofold, *viz.* (*h*) *Eaſtern*, which contained two Diœceſes, *Macedonia* and *Dacia*, whereof the former conſiſted of ſix, and the latter of five Provinces; and *Weſtern*, which being under the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Italy* included *Dalmatia*, the two *Pannonia's*, *Noricum Ripenſe*, and *Savia*. *Illyricum* divided in the middle by the Mountain *Adruis*, as *Italy*, by the *Apennine*, amongſt other things, paid Wine and Horſes for the Uſe of the Army, having of the latter an excellent Breed, and for every thirty Acres the Value of a *Solidus* toward the cloathing of the Souldiers.

17. Each

(*a*) *Vide* L. 4. *Cod. Th. lib.* 6. *Tit.* 4. & *quæ ibi notantur à Gothofredo*, & L. 11. *ejuſd. Cod. lib.* 13. *Tit.* 3.

(*b*) Διοίκησις ἐςὶν ἡ πολλὰς ἐπαρχιὰς ἔχουσα ἐν ἑαυτῇ.

(*c*) *Vide Notitiam Imperii. L.* 3. *de Militari Veſt. Cod.* Th. & L. *ult. de fide Cathol.*

(*d*) *Lege ſcil. lata à Valente, quæ extat Cod. Th. de Claſſicis lib.* 10. *tit.* 23. & *Cod. Juſtini L. un. eod.* Tit.

(*e*) *Gothofred. in d. l.*

(*f*) *Pancirolus in Notit. orient. C.* 7. *quem vide de his Claſſibus.*

(*g*) *De Illyrico multa Appianus Capitolinus*, *Spartianus*, *Pollio*, *Vopiſcus Sext. Rufus*, *Zoſimus. Apud hos memorantur Præfectus*, *Dux*, *Curator Illyrici*, *Munimenta*, *Exercitus Illyrici*; *ſeparaturque à Rhætia*, *Thracia*, *Dalmatia nonnunquam*; *ſic* Pancirol. *ſed vide Hiſtoriam hanc infrà.*

(*h*) *Notitia Imperii orientalis.*

The Diœceſes and Provinces of the Eaſtern.

17. Each of the Diœceſes under the *Præfectus Prætorio* was Governed by it's *Vicar.* He of *Macedonia* Ruled theſe ſix Provinces, *Achaia*, *Macedonia*, *Crete*, *Theſſaly*, old *Epirus*, new *Epirus*, with part of *Macedonia Salutaris.* Under the *Vicar* of *Dacia* were, *Dacia Mediterranea* and *Dacia Ripenſis*, *Mœſia Prima*, *Dardania Prævallitana*, and part of *Macedonia Salutaris*, divided betwixt him and his Brother *Vicar.* Theſe two halves put together, make up twelve Provinces, which being added to the Provinces of the Eaſt, fill up the number of ſixty Provinces of the Eaſtern Empire. The Seat of this *Præfect* was firſt at *Sirmium*; but when *Attila*, the *Goth* had miſerably waſted *Illyricum*, *Pennius*, or rather *Ærius* the *Præfect*, removed to *Theſſalonica*, a City of *Mygdonia* (which was part of *Macedonia*, betwixt the Rivers *Ethedon* and *Dhabrius*, not far from the Sea, formerly called *Halis*, and built ſay ſome by *Caſſander*, ſay others by *Philip* of *Macedon*. Upon this account many Privileges were conferred on the Church of *Theſſalonica*. Afterward *Juſtinian* having overcome the *Sclavi*, and recovered both the *Dacia's* and *Pannonia*; made the Town where he himſelf was born *Metropolis*, enlarging and adorning it with Walls, Buildings and great Immunities. Some ſay this was *Sclavonia*, a City of *Dalmatia*, near to *Dacia* and the ſecond *Pannonia*: ſome will have it *Bederina*, others *Acrido*, and ſome none of them all; but of this Matter we ſhall diſcourſe in another Place: but he called it *Juſtiniana Prima*, having founded another City, not far from it, which he alſo called by his own Name. The Chief Enſign of this *Præfect* was an Iron-Chariot guilded, drawn by four Horſes. To this were added the Images of the Princes, and one Table covered with a white Cloth, with golden Fringe, betwixt four Lights, the Emperours Picture upon a Book of Mandates; wherein were ſuppoſed to be contain'd the Duty and Office of the *Præfect*, and wont to be preſented to them by the Emperour. And laſtly, are to be ſeen two Women repreſenting the two Diœceſes, *Macedonia* and *Dacia*, having their Heads crown'd, and Baskets in their Hands full of Gold. Theſe Enſigns are mentioned, or ſtamped in the *Notitia*, as peculiar to the *Præfects*, not but that they uſed alſo ſuch as belonged of old to the *Roman* chiefeſt Magiſtrates: for they had the *Faſces* with gilt Axes carried before them, as had alſo the *Prætors*; the *Trabea*, or Robe enbroydered with Gold and Purple, the Ivory Rod; they had a golden Collar about their Necks, and were girt with a Purple Girdle.

The Enſignes of this *Præfect.*

He of *Italy.*

18. The third *Præfectus Prætorio* was he of *Italy*, who (as *Zoſimus* writes) had under his Juriſdiction, both that Country, and *Africk*, together with the Iſlands of *Sicily*, *Sardinia* and *Corſica*. But we find, that in the Reign of *Julian*, *Mamertinus* was *Præfect* of *Italy*, *Africk*, and alſo *Illyricum*; therefore ſome contend, that the laſt in thoſe times had not conſtantly it's *Præfect*, but the Empire being divided after *Valentinian*, and *Valens*, the *Præfect* of *Italy* had only of *Illyricum* the Weſtern part. This *Præfect*, as he of the *Eaſt* at *Conſtantinople*, lived at Court, and therefore both theſe were termed *Præfecti Prætorio Comitatus.* In the Code of *Juſtinian* no mention is made of him, nor of the *Præfect* of Gall; but only of him of the *Eaſt*, and of *Eaſtern Illyricum*, becauſe then the Empire had failed in the *Weſt.* *Africk* being recovered from the *Vandals* by his Arms, he made a *Præfect* of his new Conqueſts, and to it joyn'd *Sardinia.* But though he alſo recovered *Italy*, yet it doth not appear, that he reſtored it's *Præfect* alſo, it being Governed by *Narſes*, the *Eunuch*, of whoſe Magiſtracy no Title appears in our Law-Books; and for ſuch Governours as ſucceeded him in ſuch parts of *Italy*, as continued under the Empire in following times, they had the Title of *Exarchs* of *Ravenna*, whereas that of *Eparch* was proper for the *Præfect*; but to return to the times whereof we write, and the Age wherein the *Notitia* of the Empire was compoſed. The *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Italy* had in his Diſtrict three Diœceſes, *Italy* it ſelf, *Illyricum* (the Weſtern) and *Africk.* That of *Italy* contained ſeventeen Provinces, that of *Illyricum* Six, and that of *Africk* Seven, as in the *Notitia* they are expreſſed, which we do not here ſet down, leſt we perplex the Reader's Memory with too many Names.

Ἔπαρχοι *dicuntur.*

His three Diœceſes.

The *Præfect* of *Gall.*

19. To the fourth *Præfectus Prætorio* was, as *Zoſimus* informs us, committed the *Celtæ*, or *Galls* beyond the Alpes, together with *Spain*, and the *Britiſh* Iſlands. Though he governed ſeveral Countries, yet becauſe *Gall* was Richer, and nearer to *Italy* he took his Denomination from it, and was called *Præfectus Prætorio Galliarum*, in the plural Number. He had three Diœceſes in theſe Countries now mentioned; *Gall*, *Spain* and *Britain*, which under ſo many *Vicars* contained twenty nine Provinces, *viz.* *Spain* ſeven, *Gall* ſeventeen, and *Britain* five, whereof the Names were *Maxima Cæſarienſis*, *Valentia*, *Britannia Prima*, *Britannia Secunda*, and *Flavia Cæſarienſis*; of which hereafter. But long it was not e're all theſe three

Diœceſes were overrun and poſſeſſed by *Barbarians*, and the *Præfect* failed. Therefore in the *Notitia* he hath no Enſigns mentioned, only his Diœceſes and Provinces; and his Officers, the ſame with thoſe of the *Præfect* of *Italy*: and probable it is, that *Mutatis Mutandis*, his Enſigns were the ſame; ſo that it might ſeem ſuperfluous to mention them. As for *Juſtinian*, he neither mentions any Officers of thoſe Provinces, becauſe in his time they owned not the *Roman* Empire. And thus much of the *Præfects* themſelves. Something muſt be added of their Officers, that this Polity, not obſerved hitherto by many Hiſtorians, may more fully appear.

The Officers belonging to the *Præfecti Prætorio.*

Vide Pancirol. de Aſſeſſoribus ad Notitiam Orient. Imp. l. 8. & Gutherium ubi ſuprà, Tit. 2. C. 4.

20. Firſt then it muſt be known, that all Magiſtrates of Provinces, and eſpecially the *Præfects*, had one or more Lawyers to aſſiſt them, whom they termed *Aſſeſſores*, and *Conſiliarii*. By their Council and Advice they Decided Cauſes; it being the part of the *Aſſeſſor* to Inform himſelf fully of the Matter in Controverſie, hear Advocates Plead, read Petitions, and Anſwer them; as alſo, to take care of ſuch Edicts as were to be framed, or of Letters to be written, and to Interpret Decrees according to Law. They heard Criminal Cauſes, but left Judgment or Sentence to be paſſed by the *Præfects*, to whom they gave Directions therein: and what could not be by the *Præfects*, otherwiſe employ'd, was Diſpatched by them. Of other Officers, which attended the *Præfects*, no certain number can be Aſſigned. *Juſtinian* ordained, that the Retinue of the *Præfect* of *Africk* ſhould conſiſt of three hundred ninety and eight Perſons; but thoſe of other Places were doubtleſs more Numerous; whenas the *Comes* of the *Eaſt* had belonging to him, as ſuch, ſix hundred Men.

Their general Names,

The Body of their Officers is in the Laws termed *Officium* and *Apparitio*, the Officers themſelves *Officiales*, *Apparitores*, *Cohortales*, becauſe they had the Form, and Privileges of a *Cohort*: (and *Pancirolus* thinks, that that *Cohort* or Band, which by the *Evangeliſts* is ſaid to have been gathered together at our Saviour's Paſſion, was of this nature) *Beneficiarii*, becauſe promoted by the *Beneficium*, or kindneſs of the *Tribune*, to ſome Office or Employment; and *Scriniarii*, becauſe they kept the Papers which concern'd themſelves, in Desks or Coffers. Theſe Officers, both of the *Præfects*, and other Illuſtrious Magiſtrates, as alſo thoſe that had the Title of *Spectabiles*, were made ſuch by the Prince his Codicils, or Letters. Every *Chriſtmas* day there was a Promotion of them to be *Cornicularii*, or *Commentarienſes*, as they had deſerved.

And Employment in general.

Their Work was to Execute the Commands of the *Præfects*, Introduce ſuch as had Suits, make Records, and read them; enter Judgments and Execute them, and do other things Requiſite, as in Courts of Judicature. They were ſent to Adminiſter Oaths to ſuch as were ſick, or Noble Perſons. They went before the *Præfects*, as *Lictors* before them and other Magiſtrates; took care of the publick Poſts; gathered Tributes; hunted out High-way-men, diſcovered to them by the *Stationary* Souldiers; who, by the Ordinance of *Auguſtus*, were appointed to lye in wait for Robbers. They had large Fees, beſides Proviſions allowed them out of the Provinces; and theſe lay about the Houſes of the *Præfects*. There were others that liv'd with them, and were call'd *Domeſticks*; whereof there were ſome that were call'd *Chancellors*; who wrote Letters from them (as from the *Preſidents*) to Private men; and ſo named, as appeareth from *Caſſiodorus*, becauſe they ſate within *Cancelli*, or Lattices, through which might be ſeen what they did.

In Particular, theſe were

21. But the *Notitia* reckons up in the Office of the *Præfecti Prætorio*, theſe by Name, *viz.* the *Princeps*, *Cornicularius*, *Adjutor*, *Commentarienſis*, *Abactis*, four *Numerarii*, *Subadjuva*, *Curator Epiſtolarum*, *Regerendarius*, *Exceptores*, *Adjutores*, & *Singularii*; whereof moſt are frequently mention'd in Law-books.

Princeps.

The Firſt was Principal of the Office, directing and commanding the reſt of the Officials, without whoſe Order nothing could be done; being herein like the *Princeps*, or Principal of the firſt *Cohort*. He had, beſides other Clerks in his own Office, a Domeſtick *Chancellor*, who wrote his moſt ſecret buſineſs; and, beſides other Honours, had the Title of *Clariſſimus*.

Cornicularius.

The next to him was the *Cornicularius*, whom *Accurſius* takes only for a ſimple *Prætorian Apparitor*; *Alciat*, for a Miniſter of the Principal; but *Pancirolus*, according to the *Notitia* and the Laws, for one of the Chief of the Office; and thinks him to have been the Writer and Publiſher of the Commands, Judgments, and Decrees of the *Præfect*, or the *Preſident*. Sometimes he is called *Chancellor*, but ordinarily *Cornicularius*, which Name is Antient, being given to the *Scribe* of the *Tribuni Plebis* of old, and ſeems taken from an Horn, which he might uſe as the Enſign of his Employment, or by it to command Silence in the Court. They were preſent, as appeareth from the Acts of Martyrs, at the Examination of Criminals, and took charge of ſuch as were Condemned. It's thought they Commanded the *Præcones*, or Publick Criers. They continued in their Office but one year, until *Chriſtmas*. They were Rewarded with the Dignity of *Comes*, and Immunity from Extraordinary Charges. They, as the other Apparitors of the *Præfecti Prætorio*, had their peculiar *Scrinia*, or Offices, wherein ſeveral Clerks wrote, and kept the Commands, Judgments, and Decrees of the Judges. In the Office of the *Cornicularius* belonging to the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Africk*, wrote ten Clerks, to whom were allowed Proviſions from the Publick.

Adjutor.

22. The *Adjutor* ſupplied the Places of others, and Aſſiſted them, being by the Emperour *Gratian* termed the Adjutant of the Office, or Company. He was alſo called *Optio*, from the *Optiones* of the *Legions*, ſo Named from the Wiſhes of ſuch as being ſick and weak, unable to Diſcharge their Office, deſired their Help and Aſſiſtance: He moſt commonly Apprehended Delinquents, and Committed them to Priſon; Tortured them to make them Confeſs, and perhaps had charge of the Execution. It's thought the *Speculator* was under him, ſuch an one as Beheaded St. *John Baptiſt*, whom we Tranſlate an Executioner. He alſo had his particular Office, wherein, under the *Præfect* of *Africk*, ten men wrote the Names, Conditions, and Ends of Delinquents. But, to avoid Confuſion, we muſt take notice, that ſometimes by *Adjutors* are meant Miniſters of the *Quæſtor*, taken out of ſeveral Offices.

Commentarienſis.

Next to the *Adjutor* the *Commentarienſis* is mention'd in the *Notitia*, and had charge of Priſons. He allowed Priſoners, if poor, out of the publick Proviſions, two or three *Libellæ* a day, whereof one was the tenth part of a *Denarius* in Value. He took care that Men and Women were not put together; and every thirty dayes was to give an account of the number of Priſoners, their Crimes and Age to the *Præfect*, or Judge, that they might not be Ruined in Priſon. He had under him ſeveral Inferior Officers called *Stratores*. He entred the Caſes of Delinquents, and their Bail; and from Digeſting theſe things into Memorials or Commentaries had the Name; for a *Commentary* is a Book, wherein ſummarily Matters are Deſcribed, as by Heads. Sometimes they Tortured Criminals, themſelves, and took care of their Execution, bidding the *Speculators* Execute the Sentence of the Judges. The *Commentarienſis* had a peculiar Adjutant or Deputy, who in his Abſence ſupplied his Place. In his Office wrote twelve Clerks, allowed him at the Publick Charge.

Rectè Aſconius in Verr. 3. Notat hæc Nomina Princeps, Commentarienſis & Cornicularius de Legionaria Militia ſumpta eſſe. Vide de his Valeſii Annot. in Ammian. Marcellini Lib. 15. *p. 67.*

Abactis.

23. But the moſt Important Officer in the whole Office of the *Præfectus Prætorio*, or other Magiſtrates, was the *Actuary*, called *Actuarius* and *Abactis*. He Recorded Contracts, and other Matters before the Judge, Faith thereof being publickly made: ſo that without further Examination or Scrutiny, Credit was given to this Record; ſo, as at this day, to the Acts of Publick Notaries. In making their *Acta* or *Records*, this was the Form. It was neceſſary to write down the name of the Contractor, Witneſs, or the like: the Time, and the whole Contract of Buſineſs was to be Deſcrib'd in Order: All this was to be done, at leaſt read, before a Judge; at *Conſtantinople*, before the Maſter of the *Cenſus*; in the Provinces, before the *Preſidents*, or *Municipal Magiſtrates*: for the *Præfecti Prætorio*, the *Preſidents* and their *Actuaries* being not able to diſpatch all Buſineſſes, nor ſuch as were at a great diſtance to attend them; Power of making theſe Publick Acts was given to the *Duumviri*, and Governours of Cities. To enter them, or read them falſe, was a Crime, no leſs than High Treaſon, becauſe they were of ſuch Importance. By reaſon of multitude of Matters coming before them, they had Aſſiſtants. In their particular Offices they had ten men maintain'd at the Publick Charge. Now again, to avoid Confuſion, take notice, that ſometimes an *Actuary* (as in *Suetonius* and *Seneca*) ſignifies one that took and noted what was ſaid and Dictated in general; ſometimes one that wrote down the names of Souldiers, what Pay, and what Reward was due to them; but theſe belong not to our preſent Cogniſance.

Acta eorum aliquando Geſta, Publica *Monumenta, Inſtrumenta forenſia* Publica, Publica *Teſtificatio,* Publicæ *Chartæ, & Tabulæ. Hinc* Publicare *dicuntur, Inſinuare & Intimare; ac ipſa Actio dicitur, Inſinuatio & Intimatio. Acta ipſa Græcis ὑπομνήματα, & Actuarius ὑπομνηματάριος.*

Pan.irolus.

Four *Numerarii.*

24. Next in the *Notitia* follow the *Numerarii*, who were four in number, in the *Præfects* Office. In the Provinces there were two called *Tabularii*, whereof one took Account of Eſtates, Goods or Money, which by Forfeiture or Succeſſion fell to the Treaſury, or to the Cheſt of the *Comes Rerum Privatarum*; another of ſuch Tributes as belonged to the *Largitiones*, or publick Expenſes: for the Emperours had two Cheſts, or Receits, over which were ſet ſo many *Comites Illuſtres*, *viz.* the *Comes Largitionum*, and *Comes Rerum Privatarum*. To the Expenſe of the former were Aſſigned out of the Tributes and Cuſtomes a certain Quantity of Gold and Silver, with other things *in ſpecie*, contained in the *Canones Largitionum*. The Accounts hereof were eſpecially Managed by the *Numerarii*, living with the *Preſidents* in the Provinces; but the *Numerarii* of the *Præfect* of the *Eaſt*, Reviewed, and Examined them, being for that purpoſe tranſmitted to them. They took care that no-

nothing ſhould be wanting of the due Sum of Money, and of that Gold which belonged to the Treaſures of the Provinces, and part they aſſigned to the *Prætorian* Cheſt, and the reſt to be tranſmitted to the *Comes Largitionum*: the other *Comes* was over the private Patrimony of the Prince, *viz.* his Lands and Houſes; and beſides this, gathered ſome few things; what herein belonged to him, ariſing out of Cauſes handled in the Treaſury, Confiſcated Goods, and ſome other wayes. Theſe Accounts were made up by the *Numerarii* in the Provinces, who entred the Kinds and Quantities of the ſaid Goods, and what Profits were made of the Prince his Lands. All which the *Numerarii* of the *Præfect* of the *Eaſt* diligently Reviewed and Collected. *Iſidore* will have the *Numerarii* ſo called, becauſe they brought the Publick Money into the Treaſury; but St. *Auguſtine* ſeems to derive their Name from Numbering or Accounting; and moſt probably they were much the ſame for Employment, as our *Auditors.* But theſe two belonging to the *Præfect*, (as the other alſo of the Provinces) were employed in Accounts and Writings. A third was called *Numerarius Auri*, who received the Gold levied out of the Provinces, and belonging to the Cheſt of Publick Iſſues; exchanged Silver for Gold, and managed the golden Mines. The fourth was *Numerarius operum Publicorum*, of publick Works, as the Palace, publick Houſes, Gates, Aquæducts, Walls and Baths. For the *Præfectus Prætorio* had the Charge of the Building or repairing of them, as this Officer kept the Accounts, as alſo he ſeems to have done of certain kinds of Mines. The Pains of the *Numerarii* being great, they were allowed Aſſiſtants, provided they choſe them out of the thirty Principals called *Primores*; who might not execute the Office of Aſſiſtants twice, without the Interval of two years, leſt their long Continuance ſhould miniſter Occaſion of Fraud. The *Numerarii* being diſcharged, were free from Perſonal Offices, and requited with the Dignity of *Comites* of the firſt Rank.

à Nummo.
à Numerando.

Subadjuva.

25. To the *Numerarii* is adjoyned the *Subadjuva*, who yet was not their Miniſter, but Adjutant to the Adjutants, and thence had his Name. In the Office of the *Magiſtri Militum*, he is by the *Notitia* called *Primiſcrinius.* He that belonged to the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Africk* had ten Clerks writing in his under Office, maintained at the publick Charge. After the *Subadjuva*, or rather the *Subadjuvæ* (for there were ſeveral of them) he is reckoned that had the Care of Letters, or Epiſtles, which the *Præfect* had occaſion often to write, both to the Prince and others. Thoſe that were written in behalf of ſuch as had well diſcharged their Employments, were termed *Epiſtolæ Teſtimoniales*; thoſe that concerned the *Canones* or Rates of the Tributes, *Canonicæ*. They that wrote them were alſo called *Epiſtolares*, who moreover in Caſe of Appeals to the *Præfect*, took account of what had been done by the former Judge, and recorded the ſucceeding Proceſs. He that follows, *viz.* the *Regerendarius* was doubtleſs the Maſter of Requeſts to the *Præfect*; ſo called, becauſe he did *Regerere*, or *Referre in Codicem*, Book ſuch Petitions as he received: in the Eaſt he was termed *Subſcribendarius*, for that he ſubſcribed the Petitions; thence a Book into which things were tranſcribed was called *Regiſtrum. Pancirolus* thinks *Regerendarius* the ſame with *Referendarius*, who as *Procopius* writes, preſented Petitions to the Prince, and returned Anſwer from him. In the Office of the *Magiſtri Militum* of the *Eaſt*, he is called *Scriniarius*, and by *Theodoſius*, *Libellenſis*, as by others *à Libellis*. The Office of Petitions belonging to the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Africk*, had ſix Writers in it, paid by the Publick. The *Præfectus Auguſtalis*, the *Vicars*, *Correctores* and *Præſidents* had none of theſe Officers, becauſe bound to ſubſcribe Petitions themſelves; yet the *Conſulares* of the *Eaſt* (though not thoſe of the *Weſt*) had ſuch under them, that they might preſerve ſome Shadow of the *Conſular* Dignity. In the Office of the *Præfectus Prætorio* were alſo the *Exceptores*, who in the Cauſes of Appeals, Recorded the Judgments given before him. They kept the Records called *Memoria*; though ſome think the Place where they were depoſited to have been ſo called. Moreover they were wont to draw the Edicts of Princes. They were governed by one *Primicerius*, who had Aſſiſtants, when Abſent, or otherwiſe employed. Of this ſort of Officers there were ſixty belonging to the *Præfect* of *Africk*; and what Wealth Sons, their Fathers yet living, got in the Employment, was accounted as much *Caſtrenſe Peculium*, as if they had ſerved in the firſt Legion: which Privilege Lawyers alſo have obſerv'd to have belonged to all Apparitors, or thoſe Officers of whom we have now Treated. But theſe were the *Scriniarii*, who dealt in Writing. There were other Officers and Attendants of the *Præfects*, not ſo conſiderable, which therefore we ſhall omit. And thus much of the *Præfecti Prætorio*, and their Office; and ſo much, becauſe the

Cura Epiſtolarum.

Regerendarius.

Lib. 2. de Bello Perſico, de Theodoro ſcribens.

Exceptores.

Exceptores, ab Acta excipiendo.

Filiiſamilias quicquid acquirebant, Patribus ſuis acquirebant, excepto Peculio Caſtrenſi, & quaſi Caſtrenſi.

the Underſtanding of their Place and Employment in the State gives the greateſt Light to the Tome of that Government we endeavour to deſcribe, and to the Underſtanding of the Imperial Laws.

Beſides the *Præfecti Prætorio*, there was the *Præfect* of *Rome*.

His Power.

26. Beſides the *Præfecti Prætorio*, there were other *Præfects* and civil Magiſtrates, not Subject to them (nay two which in the two great Cities took place of them) of whom ſomething is to be ſaid, and then we come to the Magiſtrates of the Provinces; theſe were the *Præfects* of both *Romes*, and other Officers belonging to theſe Cities under their Command. *Auguſtus*, as we have elſewhere noted, ordained a *Præfect* of *Rome*, but he ſeems rather to have Reſtored the Office, than to have firſt inſtituted it: for the Kings in their Abſence left ſuch a Magiſtrate to govern the People. *Romulius* was ſo deputed by *Romulus*; *Martius* by *Tullus Hoſtilius*, and *Sp. Lucretius* by *Tarquinius Superbus*. Long after, *Auguſtus* being buſied by his Wars, ſet *Mecænas* over the City; a man of *Equeſtrian* Rank: then by Reaſon of the Multitude of People, and the ſlow Proceedings of Law, he took ſome of *Conſular* Dignity to reſtrain the Inſolence of Slaves, which was at that time very great. The firſt of theſe was *Meſſala Corvinus*, who continued in but a ſhort time, as not knowing how to govern; and ſome ſaid he laid down on his own accord within ſix days, proteſting it was an Arbitrary Office; to which *Auguſtus* had granted abſolute Power; not only within the City, but an hundred Miles round about. At firſt the *Præfect* received Appeals from all the Provinces, but afterward this was reſtrained to thoſe call'd *Suburbane*, or *Suburbicarian*, becauſe (if *Pancirolus* ſay right) they reached to the *Suburbs* of *Rome*. *Alexander* the Emperour leſſened his Power, joyning with him fourteen Perſons of *Conſular* Rank, termed *Curators*, as *Lampridius* writes. From the *Prætors* of *Rome*, which in the time of *Conſtantine* were two, he alſo receiv'd Appeals; and when the *Vicar* of *Africk* ceaſed, *Valentinian* ordered Appeals to be made to him out of thoſe Tranſmarine Provinces. Of a Senator's Life he was to Judge, aſſiſted with five *Patrician* Senator's choſen by Lot; whence this Proceſs was called *Quinquevirale Judicium.* But Appeal lay from him to the Prince, in which reſpect he was inferiour to the *Præfectus Prætorio*, from whom none lay, though in certain Caſes he was obliged to conſult the Emperour. Both of them might baniſh into Iſlands, and deprive Criminals of their Liberty. He had under his Command Souldiers diſpoſed into certain Stations in the City, to be ready for the ſuppreſſing of Tumults. Under his Care were the *Spectacula*, or publick Shows, the ſelling of Meat at Juſt Prices, and all Trades; for which were choſen inferiour Officers, at the Prince his Diſcretion. He had the overſight alſo of publick Buildings; and as the *Præſul* of *Senators*, præſided in the *Senate*.

De Præfecto urbis Romæ vide Leges varias allegatas à Gothofredo in Notitia Præfectorum urbis Romæ; & Pancirolum in Comment. ad Notitiam Imp. occident. cap. 4. Hiſtoriam hanc noſtram paſſim.

Majores Capitis Diminutiones, Deportatio, & in Servitutem Reductio.

Officers under him.

27. Under him were theſe ſeveral Officers in the City for diſpatching the Buſineſſes aboveſaid: The *Præfectus Annonæ*, to whom belonged the Care of Proviſions; *Præfectus Vigilum*, who governed the Watches appointed for Prevention of Fires and Robberies: The *Comes Formarum*, who looked to the repairing of *Aquæducts*, or Vaults call'd *Formæ*: The *Comes Riparum alvei Tiberis, & Cloacarum*, who had Charge of the River *Tiber*, and the common Sewers: The *Comes Portûs*, who governed the Port or Heaven of *Hoſtia* made by *Claudius*: The *Magiſter Cenſûs*, whoſe Charge it was to ſee that Taxes and Impoſitions were truly, and equally laid: The *Rationalis Vinorum*, who took account of the Wines imported, and of the Cuſtomes thence ariſing: The *Tribunus Fori Suarii* or Over-ſeer of the Hog-Market: The *Conſularis Aquarum*, who had the overſight of the nineteen, or as others ſay, twenty four Waters conveyed by *Aquæducts* into the City: The *Curator Operum Maximorum*, to whom was committed the Care of the great Cirque, the Walls, the *Amphitheatrum Caſtrenſe*, and other great Works: The *Curator Operum Publicorum*, who had Charge of the publick Houſes, and other Works. The *Curator Statuarum*, to whom was committed the Safe-guard of the Statues, whereof at *Rome* was a great number: The *Curator Horreorum Galbanorum*, or of the Publick Storehouſes: The *Centenarius Portus*, who ſaw that Strangers and Citizens quarrel'd not at the Haven, and provided for Apprehenſion of Thieves and Malefactors: And laſtly, the (*a*) *Tribunus Rerum Nitentium*; whoſe Buſineſs it was to ſee that the ſacred Houſes, Palaces, Courts, Baths, Cirques, Theatres, Amphitheatres, Highways, Libraries, Fields and other Publick Places were kept ſweet, Neat and Cleanly.

(a) Primò Centurio Rerum Nitentium dictus eſt, poſtea Tribunus, & tandem Comes huic Officio Præfectus. Vide Valeſium in Ammian. Marcel. lib. 16. p. 64.

28. ***Conſtantinople*, as we ſaid, being made another Seat of the Empire of *Conſtantine*, and named *New Rome*, with the Name received all the Privileges of the Old. Emulating therefore *Rome* in all things, it was alſo divided into fourteen Regions; had it's *Capitol*, and other publick Places and Ornaments; and alſo its**

The Præfect of *Conſtantinople.*

(a) *Præfect* who Judged and Determined, as well Civil, as criminal Cauſes, and thoſe of *Senators* alſo within a certain Compaſs; and to him Appeals lay, as to the other out of the Provinces, from the *Præſidents* and *Proconſuls*. *Conſtantine* ordained no *Præfect* for its Government, but three *Prætors*; whereof the firſt he called *Flavius*, the ſecond *Conſtantinianus*, and the third *Triumphalis*, from the Victories he had obtained; all which he would have ſpend large Sums of Money upon the People in the Theatres. Theſe were to be of *Senatorian* Rank, and by ſuch to be choſen. *Conſtantius*, his Son, to theſe three added two *Prætors* more,but in the laſt year but one, of his Reign, made one ſingle Governour of the City, *Honoratus* by name, who had been *Præfect* of *Gall*, with the Title of *Conſularis* of *Byzantium*, as *Pancirolus* imagined, by a Miſtake of *Byzantium*, for *Byzacium* in *Africk*, as (b) *Gothofred* tells us in his Diſcourſe concerning this Subject. For this chief Officer had the very Title of *Præfect*, and this Title continued, as may be ſeen by the Imperial Conſtitutions. And now had he Power over the (c) *Prætors* of the City, the number of whom under *Valentinian* was leſſened to four, who entred their Office on the firſt of *January*. *Gratian* added other Four. At length *Valentinian* the Third, and *Martian*, commanded only three to be created out of the *Senators* dwelling at *Conſtantinople*, who had ſome Cogniſance of the Affairs of Children and Minors. The *Notitia* takes no Notice of them, as perhaps at that time laid aſide, or of ſmall Account. Their Office in thoſe Days was dwindled to little more, than to ſet forth Plays and publick Shows, wherein they were at great Charges. In the time of *Juſtinian* there ſeemeth one only to have been at *Conſtantinople*, called *Prætor Plebis*, whom he ſtyleth *Magnificentiſſimus*, who had an Apparitor.

(a) *De Præfecto Conſtantin. vide eund.* Pancirolum in *Comment. ad Notit. Imp. Orient. C.* 25. & *Notitiam Præfectorum urbis Conſtant. Gothofred. in Notitia Dignitatum. Et Hiſtoriam hanc noſtram.*

(b) *Vide Comment. Gothofr. ad L.* 16.

(c) *de* Præto*ribus & Quæſtoribus, Cod.* Th. *lib.* 6. *Tit.* 4.

From whence to him lay Appeals.

29. *Conſtantius*, that he might give greater Authority to the Governour of this City, Ordained, that from the two Governours of the Diœceſe of *Pontica*, *viz. Bithynia* and *Paphlagonia*; and ſo many of *Aſiana*, *viz. Lydia* and *Phrygia Salutaris*, and from the two Proconſuls of *Aſia*, the *Helleſpont*, and Iſlands, and from the three *Proconſuls* of the Diœceſe of *Thrace*, to him ſhould lye Appeals. This *Præfect* had Souldiers under him. He had Power over Tradeſmen, as had the other of *Rome*, and took care that the Liberal Sciences ſhould there be profeſſed; employing at *Conſtantinople*, as the other at *Rome*, three Rhetoricians, ten Grammarians of both Languages, five Sophiſts, one Philoſopher, and two Interpreters of the Laws. He overſaw the eleven hundred Shops given by *Conſtantine* and *Anaſtaſius* to the Great Church in *Conſtantinople*. He had the ſame Officers, as the other of *Rome*; only it doth not appear that he had a *Vicar*. Amongſt thoſe the *Præfectus Annonæ* took Care of the *Palatine* Bread, which we formerly mentioned to have been by *Conſtantine's* Bounty beſtowed upon the People, out of the *Palace*. As the *Præfectus Vigilum* at *Rome* commanded ſeven Cohorts or Companies for prevention of Fires; ſo this at *Conſtantinople*, five hundred and ſixty three Perſons choſen out of the Bodies of Artificers, and Diſpoſed as need required, through the fourteen Regions. But this Office being in proceſs of time beſtowed on mean Perſons, who inſtead of ſuppreſſing, conſpired with Thieves, by degrees it became of no Repute. wherefore *Juſtinian* in the *Præfect's* room Created the *Prætor Plebis*, to whom he gave Power of the Sword over ſuch as by Whoring, Stealing, or other ſuch Courſes, offended in the Night. The *Præfect* of *Conſtantinople* alſo nominated the *Lecticarii*, or *Decanarii*, a Company founded by *Conſtantine*, for Burying of the Dead, maintained by Rents he aſſigned them out of the Shops lately mentioned. They were called *Lecticarii* from the Beds or Bieres; and *Decanarii*, it's probable, becauſe divided into Companies conſiſting of ten apiece. And, as at *Rome*, it's not to be doubted but here alſo were *Curatores Operum*; for here were alſo ſeveral Great and Conſiderable Works, which requir'd the Overſight of ſome careful Perſons. Here were four *Forum's*, two Theatres, one Cirque, eight Baths, two Palaces, five Store-houſes, two Houſes for Playes or Shows, four Ciſterns, four Stews or Bains, fifty two *Porticus's*, twenty publick Priſons, like *Bridewell*, an hundred and ſeventy Degrees or Stairs whereon the Poor received the Bread given by Princes, one *Porphyry* Column, two others Hollow, one Coloſs, beſides ſeveral other things of Curioſity. Both *Præfects* had the Offices of *Princeps*, *Cornicularius*, *Adjutor*, *Commentarienſis*, and the reſt. Both were Equal in Dignity, and Illuſtrious. Both had the ſame Enſigns of Authority common to them and the *Præfecti Prætorio*, or with very little difference. In a gilt Chariot drawn by four Horſes, they rode through the City, with the ſame Acclamations of Criers and People. *Alexander* the Emperour calleth the *Præfect* of the City, *Urbis Amicum*. Other Princes in their Conſtitutions give them the Titles of *Tua Sublimitas*, *Magnitudo*, *Sinceritas*, *Illuſtris Auctoritas*, and others given to the

Officers under his Command.

Præfecti Prætorio. He was ſtyled alſo *Glorioſiſſimus*, and his Seat *Ampliſſima.* In his Court he had Eighty Advocates, whereof fifteen were Eminent, and called *Primates.* The firſt was made Advocate of the Treaſury, with a publick Salary; and all the reſt had the ſame Privileges with other Advocates, and the Title of *Clariſſimus.*

Provincial Magiſtrates.

During the Republick.

In the time of *Auguſtus.*

Conſule Strabonis Geographiam ad finem lib. ſcil. 17. & ult.

30. The ſeveral Offices of the *Præfects* being Diſpatched, who were the Higheſt ſort of Magiſtrates; True Method brings us to the *Provincial* Officers under their Command; which courſe is fitteſt for underſtanding the Government, rather than to ſpeak to all, as they were Ranked by their Dignities. Theſe *Provincial* Officers, at this time, were ſuch as under the *Præfects* Governed the ſeveral Diœceſes, or ſuch as Ruled the ſeveral Provinces under them; the firſt Riſe and Original of whom to Diſcover, it will be worth our while to fetch things higher. Know then, that the *Romans*, when they had Conquered *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *Corſica* firſt, and afterward *Spain*, and *Gallia Narbonenſis*, appointed to each Province a *Prætor*, as we have in our firſt Tome already ſhewed; for that both *Spains* being ſubdued in the Dxx year of the City, four *Prætors* were ſent abroad. Afterward, *Africk* having receiv'd the Yoke, and the Power of the People of *Rome* being further ſpread, (whereas *Prætors* had only hitherto governed Provinces) it pleaſed the *Fathers*, that ſuch as had been *Conſuls* the foregoing years, ſhould, their time being out, ſtill have the Command, as *Pro-Conſuls* for the years following. *Provincial* Officers therefore were only *Prætors*, *Proconſuls* and *Quæſtors*, till the Change and new Model made by *Auguſtus*; who dividing the Provinces betwixt himſelf and the People, aſſigned to them the peaceable and ſetled, and reteined the unſetled and unquiet, that lay upon the Borders, in his own Hands, under pretence of eaſing them of ſo great a Burthen; but indeed thereby to have the Armies at his own Command, and prevent their turning the force of the Empire againſt himſelf. The Magiſtrates now of Provinces belonging to the People, he called *Proconſuls*; being choſen by Lot out of the *Senators*, though they were not of *Conſular* Dignity. They held their Office only a year, and once out of the *Pomærium* had ſome *Faſces*, or *Conſular* Enſignes born before them, till their return; but had no Authority over Souldiers, neither wore the Sword, nor *Chlamys*, or Souldiers Habit. But thoſe he ſent into his own Provinces ordinarily he called *Legati*; though perſons of *Conſular* Dignity and *Proprætores*; but theſe were afterwards called *Præſides*, and all, *Legati*; or Lieutenants of *Cæſar.* They had five *Faſces*, or Bundles of Rods carried before them; had one Aſſeſſor to aſſiſt them; commanded the Soldiers; wore Swords, and the Habit; and continued in their Office as long as it pleaſed the Emperour. To the *Præſidents* of *Italy* that commanded Souldiers, he gave the Name of *Prætors*, becauſe the ancient Commanders of Armies were ſo called. Theſe were afterwards ſtyled *Conſulares*; therefore the Name of *Prætor* and *Conſul*, ſaith *Dio*, remained only in *Italy*; the Governours of which were ſtyled *Prætors* and *Conſulares.*

What a Province was.

What is a City.

31. To ſuch as had been *Conſuls*, he only Aſſigned two Provinces, *viz.* *Aſia* and *Africk*, with three *Aſſeſſors*, and thoſe alſo of *Conſular* Dignity. Into the Inferiour Provinces were alſo ſent *Quæſtors*, who afterwards got the Name of *Cæſar's Procurators*; ſuch was *Pontius Pilate* in *Judæa*; but *Strabo* writes, (which it ſeems was afterward) that *Auguſtus* appointed Ten *Prætorian* Provinces to the Ordering of the *Senate*, into which *Prætors* were ſent, and two *Conſular*, which were Governed by *Proconſuls.* He being dead, *Tiberius* would not permit the Magiſtrates, that were to be ſent into the Provinces, to be choſen by the People, but by the *Senate*; and ſo all things, by degrees were transferred into the Power of the Prince. Now a Province was that Country, or Region of the *Roman* Empire, which was not Governed by Kings, but Magiſtrates. For *Strabo* tells us, (*a*) That of all that Ground which was under the Obedience of the *Romans*, Part was held by Kings, (as Tributaries and Vaſſals) and Part they held themſelves by the Name of a Province, and thither ſent Governours and *Quæſtors*, or ſuch as were Employed in Levying their Tributes. The Provinces (as we ſaid) were divided betwixt *Cæſar* and the People; but ſuch Regions as (*b*) Tributary Kings and *Reguli* held, were accounted to belong to *Cæſar's* ſhare. Provinces moſt commonly were bounded by Seas, Rivers, or Mountains; but in Deſcribing a Province Conceits are various. Some will have that a Province, which contained Ten or Eleven Cities; and more Queſtion there is what thing it was which Conſtituted a City, or could give that Title to a Town. Some take a City (*Vrbs*) of old to be meant by a place which had Courts of Juſtice Adminiſtred by the *Duumviri*; others require a *Prætorium*, a *Gymnaſium*, a *Theatre*, a *Forum*, a *Bath* and *Porticus*, which indeed Lawyers ge-

(*a*) Ταύτης δὲ τῆς συμπάσης χώρας τῆς ὑπὸ Ρωμαίοις ἡ μὲν βασιλεύεται, ἣν δὲ ἔχουσιν αὐτοὶ καλέσαντες ἐπαρχίαν, καὶ πέμπουσιν ἡγεμόνας, καὶ φορολόγους *quò ſuprà.*

(*b*) Καὶ βασιλεῖς δὲ, καὶ δεκαρχίαι, καὶ δυνάσται τῆς ἐκείνου μερίδος, καὶ εἰσὶ, καὶ ὑπῆρξαν ἀεί. *His verbis Strabo Geographiam ſuam claudit.*

generally eſteem as Enſigns and Marks of Cities. The *Prætorium* was the place where the Preſident or Chief Governour Adminiſtred Juſtice. The *Gymnaſium* or *Palæſtra*, was a Four-ſquare, encompaſſed with a *Periſtyllium*, or four Galleries (as the *Exchange* in *London*, or Cloiſters in Monaſteries) whereof that toward the South was double, having an *Exedra*, or place with Seats, like to a Chapter-Houſe in Monaſteries, where Philoſophers ſate and Diſputed. On the *Theatre* were Plays and Shows preſented. In the *Forum* the *Duumviri*, or *Defenſores Civitatum*, Magiſtrates of the Cities, Adminiſtred Juſtice in leſſer Matters. The *Porticus*, or *Baſilicæ* were Arched Buildings, ſupported by Pillars, where Buſineſſes were Tranſacted, as the Exchange, having about them Shops, whereof mention is often made in Law-books. The Chriſtian Churches reſembling theſe, were alſo termed *Baſilicæ*. Afterwards, Biſhops being ſet over the more Eminent Towns, ſuch are not eſteemed Cities as are not Epiſcopal Seats, eſpecially in *Italy*; yet is not this univerſally obſerv'd, and Lawyers confeſs it to be no neceſſary Mark.

What Governours of Provinces in the time of *Conſtantine*.

32. But before the time of *Conſtantine*, whereas Provinces were of various ſorts; as firſt, *Prætorian*, then *Conſular*, and *Proconſular*; ſometimes *Proprætorian*, and ſometimes *Quæſtorian*, (as *Cyprus*, to which were ſent *Quæſtors*, who Raiſed Money, and Adminiſtred Juſtice without Military Power.) About this time this Cuſtom was changed by the Inſtitution of the four *Præfecti Prætorio*, their *Diœceſes* and *Provinces*. Over their *Diœceſes* certain Officers and the *Vicars* had Command, and under them, over the ſeveral Provinces into which the Diœceſes were ſubdivided, other Governours called *Proconſuls*, *Conſulares*, *Correctores*, and *Preſidents*. The Diœceſe of the *Eaſt* was committed to a *Comes*, and that of *Ægypt* to one that bore the Title of *Præfectus Auguſtalis*, and under them the *Vicars*; as there were three ſeveral ſorts of *Magiſtrates*, ſo of Provinces, ſome were of the greater, ſome of the middle, and ſome of the leſſer ſort. The firſt were Governed by *Proconſuls*, the ſecond by *Conſulares* or *Correctores*, and the third by *Preſidents*; for the *Præſides* were the lower ſort of Governours, although ſometimes all Provincial Magiſtrates (by reaſon of the Latitude of the words) go under that Name or Appellation; and no more kinds of *Provincial* Magiſtrates are found in the *Notitia*. Further, it muſt be known, that theſe Provinces were often made greater or leſſer, *viz. Proconſulares*, *Conſulares*, or *Præſidial*, according to the Exigency of Affairs, or the Pleaſure of Princes; as alſo their Limits altered and changed for the ſame Reaſons. The *Comes* of the *Eaſt* (who ſometimes goes under the Name of *Præfect* of the *Eaſt*, ſometimes of *Vicar*, and otherwhiles of *Preſident*, in the general ſenſe now mentioned) had great Authority, receiving Appeals from all the Inferiour Magiſtrates of his fifteen Provinces. He had Power to Fine as far as ſix Ounces of Gold, whereas that of other Magiſtrates, that were only *Spectabiles*, extended but to three. To his Court belonged forty Advocates, who had ſtudied the Law at leaſt five years. In his Office he had ſix hundred Apparitors; and reſided at *Antioch*, the Metropolis of *Syria*; yet from him there lay Appeals to the *Præfectus Prætorio*, and the *Quæſtor* of the Palace; and his vaſt Juriſdiction over fifteen Provinces, was at length cut ſhort by *Juſtinian*, who confined it to *Syria Prima*, and *Cyrrheſtia* adjoyning to it.

The *Comes* of the *Eaſt*.

The *Præfectus Auguſtalis* of *Ægypt*.

33. The *Præfectus Auguſtalis* was inſtituted by *Auguſtus*, by him appointed to the Government of *Ægypt*, and thence had his Name. He was no *Senator*, nor ſo much as *Conſularis* till the time of *Severus*, but only of *Equeſtrian* Rank. His great Charge was to ſee conveyed away for *Conſtantinople* the *Felix Embola*, or the conſtant annual quantity of Corn. For in the days of *Auguſtus*, *Ægypt* ſupplied *Rome* with two Millions of *Modii* of Wheat; and indeed for four Months of the year alone furniſhed that City. The Imperial Seat being Tranſlated to *Conſtantinople*, Corn was alſo from *Ægypt* tranſported thither, and thither only, after that the Weſt was overrun by the Barbarous Nations; and hence came all that Grain, which *Conſtantine* turned into Bread, and cauſed to be Diſtributed to the Inhabitants of his new City; which Allowance, though diminiſhed to one half by his Son *Conſtantius*, yet afterward was made up and increaſed by his Succeſſors. In *Juſtinian*'s time eight Millions of *Medimni* yearly were ſent to *Conſtantinople*, bought with ſix hundred and eleven pounds of Gold, given by the Liberality of the *Senate*, or others, into the hands of the *Præfect* of the City, or the *Præfectus Annonæ*. Neither is it any wonder, that *Ægypt* ſhould afford ſo much Corn, conſidering it's vaſt Fruitfulneſs and Riches; for it yielded to *Auletes* a Revenue of twelve thouſand and five hundred Talents, and as much more to *Auguſtus*. Nay, ſome affirm, that *Ptolomy Philadelphus* raiſed out of it three Millions and five hundred thouſand

Of our Money, 2343750 *l.* as Mr. *Brierwood* reckons.

Modii of Corn, and fourteen thouſand eight hundred Talents. And yet the Inhabitants in *Nero*'s time, beſides the *Alexandrians*, were ſeven Millions and fifty thouſand Perſons: but, for the Power of the *Præfect*, he inquired into the Miſdemeanours of the *Preſidents* Subject to his Juriſdiction (for only *Præſidents* they were, no *Proconſuls*, or *Conſulares*, becauſe he himſelf was ſometimes but of *Equeſtrian* Degree) and, their Crimes firſt made known to the Prince, puniſhed or removed them. His Reſidence was at *Alexandria*, the great *Emporium*, not only of the *Roman* Empire, but of all the *Eaſt*. For hither Merchandiſe from *India* was convey'd. *Juſtinian* reduced his Power alſo into narrow Bounds, confining it to *Alexandria*, and the two Provinces called both the *Ægypts*, or all *Delta*; *Mareotis*, and the City of *Menelaus* excepted, which he laid to *Libyæ*. The *Præſidents* of theſe two Provinces alone he ſubjected to his Command; allowing him an Office of ſix hundred men, and a Revenue proportionable to ſo ſtraitned a Power. He was bound yearly to exhibit the Courſes of thirty ſix Horſes before the People, and was at further Expenſes in Publick Baths, and other things. The *Comes* of the Eaſt, and he had the ſame Enſigns of their Authority; *viz.* the Faces of the Princes on the top of a Gilded Pillar; on a Table covered with a white Carpet, a Book overlaid with Silver: below, the Pictures of the ſix Provinces ſubject to him, holding in their hands Veſſels full of Gold, in token of Tribute; having about their Necks Golden Chains, on their Heads Crowns; and ſome of them appear, as having caſt off their Mantles from about their Shoulders. The *Comes* of the *Eaſt*, this *Præfect*, and the *Vicars*, were of the Rank of *Spectabilis*, and ſo was the *Proconſul*.

The Enſigns of their Authority.

The Proconſul.

34. The *Proconſul* of *Aſia* had under him three Provinces, and being Governour of a kind of Diœceſe, was of the ſame Rank and Power with the *Comes*, *Præfect* and *Vicars*. Any other *Proconſuls* that were but Governours of ſingle Provinces, yet had greater Privileges than other Provincial Officers, as the *Proconſul* of *Achaia*, to whom the *Notitia* gives alſo the Title of *Spectabilis*, with his Officers, as the *Princeps*, *Cornicularius*, *Commentarienſis*, *Quæſtor*, *Adjutor*, and the reſt, whom we find belonging to the Governours of Diœceſes. There were many other particulars wherein the *Proconſul* Excelled the Ordinary Magiſtrates of Provinces; this Reſpect being continued to him by Poſterity, out of acknowledgment of that great Dignity and Power whereof he was poſſeſſed. He had ſix Bundles of Rods and Axes carried before him, whereas a *Preſident* had but five. It's probable indeed, that the *Conſularis* had the ſame Ornaments with him, but not the *Correctores*, nor *Preſidents*. From his firſt Departure out of the City he uſed theſe Ornaments, till his Return; and exerciſed in the way voluntary Juriſdiction (as we call it) *viz.* of *Manumiſſion* and *Adoption*, which things were not permitted to other Magiſtrates. He could fine in ſix Ounces of Gold, as could the *Comes* of the *Eaſt*, and the *Præfectus Auguſtalis*; *Preſidents*, but in two. He had his *Legatus* or Lieutenant to whom he could delegate his Juriſdiction, whereas the *Preſident* contented with one *Aſſeſſor*, delegated Cauſes to inferior Judges. A *Proconſul*, though he continued in his Office but a year, yet ſtill adminiſtred Juſtice till the Arrival of his Succeſſour; a *Preſident*, only ſo long as pleaſed the Prince. Some think that to him alone was proper the Power of Deportation, not to the *Preſident*. He had the ſame Privilege of old, as the *Prætor* at *Rome*, of publiſhing Edicts to moderate the Law, which were termed thence *Jus Provinciale*, a Power never granted to *Preſidents*, nor other Magiſtrates, ſtyled *Clariſſimi*, till the Reign of *Probus*. *Preſidents* were under Command of the *Comes* of the *Eaſt*, or of *Vicars*. The *Proconſul* was Subject to the Orders of the *Præfectus Prætorio* alone. From the *Preſident* though Delegated by the Prince, Appeal lay to the next *Proconſul* in Matters not exceeding ten pounds of Gold; but from the *Proconſul*, to the *P. P.* or the *Quæſtor* of the Palace. The *Proconſul* had his *Libellenſes*, not the reſt. He rode in a Silver'd Chariot drawn by four Horſes. He had for Enſigns of his Authority the Picture of his Provinces, or Province, together with the Images of the Princes on a Pillar, and a Book of Mandates ſtanding on a Table covered with a white Carpet, with a golden Fringe. Neither he, nor any other Magiſtrate could ſtir out of his Province, nor make War without the Authority of the *Senate*, or the *Prince*: Neither could any of them in his Province build a Ship; leſt by a Liberty, and Study of Gain, they ſhould be diverted from the publick Buſineſs, or intercept the Profits and Encouragements of Merchants.

How much more Honourable than other Ordinary Magiſtrates.

F. de Jure Fiſci l. 4. §. 2. *Joh. Loccenius de Jure Maritimo*, lib. I. C. 2. ſ. 1.

Other Provincial Magiſtrates of the Degree of *Clariſſimi*.

35. Now after theſe, who bore the Title of *Spectabilis*, a little of the other *Provincial* Magiſtrates ſtyled *Clariſſimi*; ſuch were *Conſulares*, *Correctores*, and *Preſidents*, to whom, under the *Vicars*, the Provinces ordinarily were divided. Here

as, *Conſulares.*

the *Conſulares* are not to be underſtood, as ſuch who had born the Office of *Conſul*, but as were Dignified with *Conſular* Ornaments only, being firſt Inſtituted by *Auguſtus*, and ſet over the Provinces of *Italy*, whence they paſſed into other Countries. Sometimes Commanders of Armies have been called *Conſulares*; either by Reaſon of the ſame Ornaments, or becauſe they were created out of this ſort of Magiſtrates, and there was a *Conſularis* of Waters under the *Præfect* of *Rome.* Their Enſigns of Authority were ſix *Faſces* and Axes, a *Curule-Chair*, and the Faces of the Princes, with the Image of a Woman repreſenting the Province; whereas *Correctores* and *Preſidents* had that of a Town, and a Book of Mandates, not marked, as was that of theirs. Their Office or Attendance was Conſtituted, as that of *Preſidents* and other *Clariſſimi.* They had of old two *Numerarii*, but afterward were allowed but one apiece. There were in the *Eaſt* fifteen *Conſulares*, and ſometimes in the *Weſt* two and twenty; and the Name and Employment continued till the times of *Juſtinian*, who mentions the *Conſularian* Provinces.

Correctores.

36. *Correctores* held the middle Place betwixt *Conſulares* and *Preſidents.* This ſort of Officer is found in the Reigns of *Severus* and *Caracalla*, and afterward was created a *Corrector* of all *Italy*, who continued long in uſe, till *Conſtantine*'s time, and then this Emperour ordained two for that Country. At length they got into other Provinces, as *Auguſtanica* and *Paphlagonia* in the *Eaſt*, and in the *Weſt*, *Savia.* They had ſome Command over Souldiers, whom they puniſhed with the Knowledge of the *Magiſtri Militum.* They wore the *Chlamys*, and had as Enſignes of their Authority the Faces of the Princes, with Books of Mandates, and the Image of a Town, and the ſame Office, or Apparitors, as the *Conſulares* and *Preſidents.* To add ſomething, though not much, to what we have already frequently hinted concerning the *Præſes* or *Preſident*: Of thoſe *Prætorian* Provinces made by *Auguſtus*, *Alexander* the Emperour made many *Præſidial*: and afterwards *Prætors* being taken away, all the reſt became ſuch, till the Reign of *Juſtinian*, who reſtored the Office and Authority of *Prætors.* The *Preſidents*, as others of the *Clariſſimi* were termed *Ordinarii*, their Provinces *Ordinariæ*, and alſo their *Seats*; generally they had the Style of *Clariſſimi*, but not all: for the *Præſes Arabiæ* under the *Comes* of the *Eaſt*, and he of *Iſauria* were but of the Degree of *Perfectiſſimus.* The Prince honoured them, as the *Correctores*, with the Titles of Brothers, of *Juſtiſſimi*, *Vigilantiſſimi*, *Optimi* and *Præſtantiſſimi*; as *Claudius Lyſias* ſaluted *Felix*, and St. *Paul* worded it to *Feſtus.* They continued in Power but a year, except the Prince thought fit to continue them longer. Their Office and Attendance was very little different from thoſe of the *Conſulares* and *Correctores*: and the Enſigns of ſuch of them who were but *Perfectiſſimi*, were well nigh the ſame with thoſe of the other.

The *Præſes*, or *Preſident.*

Military Officers.

37. We have Diſpatched the Civil Magiſtrates of the Provinces, and now come to the Military, being of as great Concernment, ſuch as were placed on the Limits of the Empire. *Auguſtus* (as we ſaid) retaining thoſe Provinces that were Troubleſom, and furniſhed with Souldiers, in his own hands; appointed nine Regions, or Limits, on the Borders to be kept by the Legions. One in *Spain*, with three Legions; one in the Lower *Germany* upon the *Rhine*, with four; another in the upper *Germany*, upon the *Danubius*, with other four; a fourth in *Dalmatia*, with two; a fifth in *Pannonia* with three; a ſixth Limit in *Syria*, with four Legions; a ſeventh in *Ægypt*, with two; an eighth in *Africk*, with one; and a ninth in *Mœſia*, upon *Danubius*, with two. All which make up twenty five Legions. But to theſe *Claudius* added a tenth Limit in *Britain*, with three Legions; *Veſpaſian* an eleventh in *Cappadocia*, with two; *Trajan* a twelfth in *Dacia*, with two; a thirteenth in *Armenia* and *Meſopotamia*, upon the River *Tigris*, with other two; and a fourteenth in *Arabia*, with one. All which make up the number of thirty five Legions. Afterwards, new Enemies continually falling upon the *Roman* Empire, ſometimes new Limits were added to the old, and otherwhiles their Number was leſſened, as the ſtate of Affairs required. *Dio* mentions thirteen in *Alexander's* time, and the *Notitia* fifteen in the *Eaſt* alone. Afterward, when the Empire of the *Weſt* was over-run, the Emperour *Leo*, for the better Defence of the *Eaſt*, added three Limits, with ſo many *Comites*, and one *Dux* of the Weſtern *Pannonia.* And whereas *Paleſtine* and *Meſopotamia* had formerly had each its *Dux*, this Charge of thoſe Countries was given to a ſingle Perſon; there being now five *Comites* that Commanded in the *Eaſt.* For the better underſtanding of theſe Limits, or *Prætexturæ*, as they were alſo called, *Theodoſius* (a) tells us in his *Novels*, that whatſoever belonged to the *Roman* Empire, was in old time fenced with a *Vallum Limitis*, a Wall or Rampier of a Limit, from the Incurſions of *Barbarians.*

Nine Limits appointed by *Auguſtus.*

How many afterward.

Vide Pancirolum in Notitiam Imp. Orient. C. 139.

38. Yet

(a) *Majorum diſpoſitione vallo* Limitis *ab Incurſione Barbarica defenſatur, quicquid intra Romani nominis concluditur poteſtatem.*

Sect. 2.

A. D. 337.

38. Yet is not this old time to be extended beyond that of the Emperour *Adrian*, before whoſe Reign, the *Romans* in their Limits made uſe of Camps and Stations, rather than Walls: but *Adrian* found it more convenient to raiſe Walls in ſuch Places (*a*) as were not by Rivers ſeparated and fenced from *Barbarians*; of which that is moſt celebrated, which he here in *Britain* cauſed to be drawn betwixt the mouths of the Rivers *Tine* and *Esk*, though the Materials were no better than Turf. Afterwards were added for the further ſecurity of the *Limits*, *Towns*, *Gariſons*, *Caſtles* and *Forts*, ſuch as (*b*) *Zoſimus* writes *Diocleſian* to have raiſed out of his great fore-ſight, for the ſafety of the Empire. Theſe Towns are called *Towns of View* or *Diſcovery*, by *Ariſtides* (*c*) the Orator; for upon the Borders were of old appointed Select Companies of Spies, or Scouts, call'd *Speculatores*, or *Exploratores*, whoſe Duty it was, as (*d*) *Ammianus* deſcribes it, to go far and near to Diſcover the Motions of the Neighbouring Nations to the *Duces*, or Captains. But it was grown a great piece of Policy with the *Romans*, and that we can eaſily believe, before the time of *Diocleſian*, for hindrance of the Irruptions of Barbarous Nations, to build Towns upon the Borders; not only where there was no Natural Fence by Mountains or Waters, but upon Rivers alſo, as hath often been obſerv'd. For inſtance, *Strasburg*, *Spire*, *Mentz*, *Confluentz*, and others upon the *Rhine*, to reſtrain the Incurſions of the *Germans* into *Gall*; and it was alſo practiſed by them here in *Britain*; where *Bravonium*, or *Brannonium* was built upon the Eaſtern Bank of the *Severn*, the better to curb the *Tranſabrine* Natives, beſides *Deva* (now *Cheſter*) and other Cities upon the River *Dee*. As for the other ſorts of Works, the greater Munitions were called *Caſtra*, from the Camps of the Souldiers, and theſe, not ſeldom, grew into great Towns or Cities throughout *Europe*; which we find evident here in *Britain*, where almoſt all our great Cities and Towns had their beginning from the *Roman Caſtra*, (whether on the Borders or elſewhere) though not alwayes planted in the very ſame ſite, yet at no great diſtance. And eſpecially this obſervation holds in thoſe, the Names of which were in the *Saxon* times faſhion'd ſo as to end in *Cheſter*. For which reaſon alſo it is, that the Ancient Stations about the *Picts* Wall, the Carkaſſes of many whereof do at this day appear, are ſtill called *Cheſters* by the Country People. The leſſer ſort of Munitions were not termed *Caſtra*, but diminutively *Caſtella*, and *Burgi*; which Name, as *Vegetius* writes, was under the later Emperours given to ſmall Caſtles, or Forts convenient for War, and well ſtored with Corn; and the *Burgundians* from living in ſuch, received theirs; to which *Oroſius* alſo witneſſeth. *Procopius* writes, as if theſe ſmall Forts were firſt built upon *Danubius*, being not ſtrong in themſelves, but in the Souldiers who lodged in them. That *Attila* eaſily Demoliſhed them in his Paſſage, and that *Juſtinian* re-edified them; not ſuch as they had been formerly, but very ſtrong, and able to endure a Siege. But of all theſe Towns, Camps, or Caſtles, there were in the *Eaſt* alone above three hundred Gariſons, and ſcarcely any Province but had fifteen, or thereabouts.

Fenced by *Adrian* firſt with Walls; and afterwards with Cities, Towns and Caſtles.

as here in *Britain*.

39. Now, to come cloſer to our buſineſs; every one of theſe Towns had its Governour, or *Præpoſitus*, and the ſeveral Limits or Frontiers had their ſeveral *Duces Limitanei*. Here we muſt take notice, that the Commanders of Armies were Anciently called *Duces*, though moſt commonly *Imperatores*. Afterward the Sovereign Power being transferr'd from the People to the Prince, and the Title of *Imperator* being aſſumed by him as Peculiar; Generals were only called *Duces*. At length the Name was in an eminent way conferred on ſuch as Commanded the Souldiers lying upon the Frontiers, which being ordinarily Infeſted by the *Barbarians*, ſtood in need of perpetual Guards. And of theſe *Euſebius*, or the Author of *Conſtantine's* Life, is to be underſtood, where he writes, that that Emperour made many *Duces*; although the *Duces* of the Borders were much Ancienter than in his time. Our Learned *Cambden* will have thoſe that Govern'd the Limits firſt ſtyled *Duces*, about the time of *Ælius Verus*; but *Pancirolus* more Antiently than this; no later than the firſt Emperours. Their Name and Office was older, but their great Encouragement, and the ſupport of their Employment they received from *Alexander Severus*, the Emperour, who, as *Lampridius* tells us, gave ſuch Grounds and Territories, as were gained from the Enemy upon the Borders, to thoſe *Duces Limitanei*, and ſuch Souldiers as ſerved under them; to paſs from them to their Heirs, on condition that they continued in Service, and never to come into private hands. He concluded, that they would hereby be provoked more induſtriouſly to mind their Buſineſs, while they fought for the Defence of their own Poſſeſſions: and for their further Encouragement, he beſtowed upon them Cattel and Slaves, that they might Till their Lands, and thereby, the forſaking of theſe Territories ſo near the Enemy, through

Duces Limitanei

Had the Lands upon the Borders aſſigned to them.

(*a*) *Vide Spartianum in vitâ Adriani.*

(*b*) Πόλεσι καὶ φρερίοις, καὶ πύργοις, *Opidis & Caſtellis, atque Burgis Interprete* Leunclavio.

(*c*) Πόλεις ἐφορεία.

(*d*) *Id illis erat Officium, ut ultrà, citráque perlonga ſpatia diſcurrentes, vicinarum Gentium ſtrepitus noſtris Ducibus intimarent.*

Hinc apud Antonini Itinerarium Caſtra Exploratorum in Britannia noſtra; item Præfectus Numeri Exploratorum Lavatre juxta murum, & Præpoſitus Numeri Expl. Portu *Adurni, apud Notitiam.*

(*e*) *De his Limitibus, Oppidis, Caſtris & Caſtellis vide Burtoni Noſtratis Comment. in Antonini Itinerarium.*

(*f*) *Ceſtria de Caſtris nomen quaſi Caſtria ſumpſit.*

(*g*) *Lib.* 4. *c.* 10.

(*h*) *Lib.* 7. *c.* 22.

(*i*) *De Ædificiis Juſtiniani* L. 4.

through the Poverty or Age of the Poſſeſſors, might be prevented. In like manner did *Probus* give much Land in *Iſauria* to his old Souldiers, on theſe terms, that their Sons being eighteen years old, ſhould be ſent to the Wars. Of this kind, as one obſerves, were the *Agri Militibus aſſignati* mentioned by *Ulpian*; and hence, as well as for other Privileges enjoy'd by the *Veterani*, an Account is given us, that ſo ſevere Laws were juſtly made by ſeveral Emperours in after times, to compell the Sons of theſe old Souldiers to undertake that Service, from which the Fathers were excuſed.

And by *Conſtantine* were made *Comites* of the firſt Rank.

40. But thus we ſee the *Duces* of the Limits holding Places both of very great Honour and Profit. Several of them were by *Conſtantine* advanced to be *Comites* of the firſt Rank, and were by him ſtyled *Comites per Provincias*: and thoſe of this Degree ſeem rather Superiour to others that enjoyed but the Title of *Spectabiles*, though Inferiour to *Illuſtrious* Perſons, and therefore ſuch as had arrived at this Quality of *Comites*, were in place above other *Duces*, although afterwards, when theſe Titles came to the *Feudal*, (as we ſhall ſee hereafter) the *Duke* became more Honourable than the *Count*. At what time the *Notitia* of the Empire was Compoſed, there were only two of theſe *Comitates Rei Militaris* in the *Eaſt*; *viz.* of *Ægypt* and *Iſauria*; the reſt were called *Duces*, and were thirteen in number. In the times a little before the *Notitia*, here ſeems to have been in this Iſland but one, who Executed the Offices of both, with the Title of *Dux Britanniarum*, beſides one ſtyled *Comes Tractûs Maritimi*; the ſame with him who afterwards was called *Comes Littoris Saxonici*. But in the *Notitia* are expreſſed beſides this *Comes Littoris Saxonici*, (who was Admiral at that time, and ordained againſt the Maritime Incurſions of the *Saxons*) both a *Comes* and a *Dux* of *Britain*. From the Enſigns of the *Dux* his Authority (Images and Names of Towns ſituate toward the North) it appears, that his Juriſdiction lay toward the Inner parts of the Iſland, and upon the Northern Frontiers of the *Roman* pale; and conſequently the Government of the *Comes Britanniarum* was chiefly in the *Southern* Parts: I ſay Chiefly, for that indeed it appears from his Enſigns (which was the whole Iſland, and a Building repreſenting the Capital City) and the placing of the whole Province in the *Notitia* under his Diſpoſition; That all that part of *Britain* which the *Romans* held, was generally under his Care; and the Government of the *Dux* was rather added for Aſſiſtance to him. As for the Forces here maintain'd by the *Romans* under theſe Officers, the *Comes Britanniarum* had under his Command MMM Foot, and DC Horſe: The *Comes Littoris Saxonici* MMCC Foot, and CC Horſe, and the *Dux* XIVM Foot and DCCCC Horſe, which reckoned with thoſe of the two *Comites*, make up XIXMCC Foot, and MDCC Horſe. This in particular of our own Iſland. As for the other Provinces of the *Weſt*, we muſt adde, that there were four other Military *Comites*, and X *Duces*, appointed for Defence of their Frontiers. The *Comites* were of *Italy*, *Africk*, *Tingitana*, and *Tractus Argentoratenſis*, or the Parts about *Straſburg*. The *Duces* were of *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*, the *Tripolitani*, *Pannonia Secunda*, *Valeria Ripenſis*, *Pannonia Prima*, *Noricum Ripenſe*, *Rœtia Prima & Secunda* (the form of whoſe Commiſſion *Caſſiodorus* hath Exemplified amongſt his *Formulæ*) *Sequanicum Armoricanum*, *Belgica Secunda*, *Germania Prima*, and of the Parts about *Mentz*.

In ſo many Provinces, *viz.* *Libya*, *Thebais*, *Phœnicia*, *Euphratenſis*, *Palæſtina*, *Oſrhoena*, *Meſopotamia*, *Arabia*, *Armenia*, *Mœſia ſecunda*, *Scythia*, *Dacia Ripenſis*, and *Mœſia Prima*.

Dux Britanniarum in this Iſland.

Comes Britanniarum.

See *Selden Titles of Honour*, Part 2. Ch. 1.

Other *Comites* and *Duces* of the Weſt.

Their Power.

41. The Powers Exerciſed by *Comes* and *Dux* were of the ſame nature; though, as it ſeems from what we have lately hinted concerning *Britain*, with ſome Subordination. Both of them had Cognizance of the Matters of Souldiers, having the ſame Command throughout their Diſtricts, as the *Tribunes* of *Legions* were wont to have over Military Men: and if *Comites*, they animadverted upon them in the room of the *Magiſtri Militum*. In the time of the *Notitia* they had the liberty of Liſting their own Souldiers; but *Zeno* the Emperour afterward would have this Privilege nulled, and the Admiſſion of their Souldiers belong to the Prince alone, and perhaps with very good reaſon. Theſe *Duces* were not made for a time, as other Officers and Magiſtrates, their Offices being *in perpetuum*. They wore red or purple Coats, were Girt with the Military Girdle, and they alone had Armed Men ſtanding at their backs, when at Meals. For their Expenſe they had large Allowance. The Prince, when he wrote to them, uſed theſe Expreſſions: *Experientia tua*, *Laudabilitas*, or *Gravitas veſtra*. Though the *Comites*, as we ſaid, were higher in place, yet both were of the Degree of *Spectabilis*. Their Enſigns and Officers were almoſt in every thing proportionably alike. The Officers of both (as the *Princeps*, *Commentarienſis*, *Cornicularius*, *Regerendarius*, and the reſt formerly mentioned, as belonging to other Powers) had

Vide Pancirolum in Not. Imp. orient. C. 139.

By whom Judged.

had their Places beſtowed on them by the Prince, taking their Patents out of the Office called *Scrinium Libellorum.* At firſt there lay Appeals from theſe *Duces* and *Comites* to the *Præfecti Prætorio*, and the *Quæſtor* of the Palace; but *Juſtinian*, by a Conſtitution, Ordain'd, that thenceforth it ſhould be to the *Magiſter Officiorum*, and the ſaid *Quæſtor*. And by the *Magiſter Officiorum* they themſelves were Judged, except where Cuſtom otherwiſe prevail'd; as in the Limits of the *Eaſt*, *Illyricum*, and the *Thraces*, where they were Convented before the *Magiſter Militum*; as alſo in the *Weſt*, where the *Duces* and *Comites Limitanei* were ſubject to the *Magiſtri Militum Præſentales*, concerning whom, and other *Magiſtri*, it's neceſſary that we now ſpeak.

Magiſtri Militum.

42. *Auguſtus*, as we formerly related, wrote a Breviary of the Empire with his own hand; in the firſt part whereof he deſcribed the *Militia*; as what Forces were on Foot, and what Fleets were to be found in every place. Theſe Matters being Recorded in certain Tables called *Latercula*, were afterward Tranſcrib'd into the *Notitia* of the Empire; as by theſe Tables appear'd, at firſt were ſent to the Government of the Souldiers certain Lieutenants of the Prince, called *Conſulares*, either from *Conſular* Ornaments, or becauſe they were Choſen from amongſt ſuch as had born that Office and Dignity. To theſe Lieutenants Succeeded others by the Names of *Magiſtri Militum*, though uncertain by whoſe Ordination, but ſuch were called *Magiſtri*, as to whom the Care of ſome Buſineſs of Conſequence was eſpecially committed, and their Authority was termed *Magiſteria Poteſtas.* But whereas the *Præfecti Prætorio* had this included in their Extravagant Power, to Order, Cenſure, and Puniſh Souldiers and their Officers; *Conſtantine* taking away moſt of their Command, Ordained two *Magiſtri Militum*, the one of Horſe and the other of Foot, to have full Authority over Military Men, as *Zoſimus* writes; which in the *Weſt* was conſtantly obſerv'd. Indeed in the *Eaſt*, for the more vigorous Reſiſtance of the Inroads of the Barbarous Nations, *Theodoſius* the Elder Created more of theſe Officers, who were preſently reduced to the number of five; but in the *Weſt* two ſtill remained, the one of Horſe, the other of Foot; who living in the Court, or Preſence of the Prince, were called *Magiſtri Militum in Præſenti*, or *Præſentales.* Theſe *Magiſtri* had well nigh the ſame Power over Souldiers, as the *Præfecti Prætorio* over the Provincials. They Heard and Determined both their Civil and Criminal Matters. Such as Commanded Arms in their ſtead could only Sentence Common Souldiers, not *Tribunes* nor *Centurions.* The Emperours in their Letters uſually ſaluted them with *Inſignis Autoritas tua*, or *Præclara*, or *Illuſtris Magnificentia tua*, or *Magnitudo, Gloria tua*, or the like. The Enſigns of a *Magiſter Militum Præſentalis* in the *Eaſt*, were, a Book of Mandates ſet on a Table covered with a white Carpet (ſeveral Copies have different colours of Book and Carpet) and on a Golden Plate the Faces of the Princes; underneath the Arms and Names of ſeveral Regiments Commanded by him. The five *Magiſtri Militum* in the *Eaſt* mentioned by the *Notitia*, Commanded both Horſe and Foot, though it was otherwiſe in the *Weſt.* Of them, two were in *Præſenti*, or Reſided at *Court*; another in the *Eaſt*, ſtrictly ſo called; a fourth in *Thrace*, and a fifth in *Illyricum*; all who Commanded LXX Legions XLI Companies (*Vexillationes*) of Horſe, XLI Auxiliary Bands (*Auxilia*) and XII Fleets. How many of each ſeverally, the Reader, if he pleaſes, may ſee in the *Notitia*: for to make particular Enumerations would be too tedious.

Præſentales.

Sic Magiſtratus qui ſunt in urbe, Arcadius Jureconſultus in præſenti eſſe dixit, & præſentes eos vocant Arcadius & Honorius. Hinc Prætorium in quo hi Magiſtri Militum Controverſias, aut Delicta cognoſcebant, Præſentum Juſtinianus vocat; denique Domeſtici, qui ſemper Principem comitabantur quandoque Præſentales nominabantur. Vide Pancirolum in Comment. in Not. utramque C. 31.

Legions, what.

43. But to the *Militia* it ſelf it's very convenient that we ſay ſomething: and firſt of a *Legion*, which had the greateſt both Name and Number of all thoſe ſeveral Bands or Parties of which it conſiſted. A *Legion* was ſo called, as *Varro* and *Nonnius* tell us, *à legendo Milites*, from gathering up the Souldiers Man by Man, as they were Liſted; and contained ſix thouſand Foot, and DCCXXXVI Horſe, as *Vegetius* obſerves, though indeed we may find ſometimes a greater, and ſometimes a leſſer number. It was divided into ten *Cohorts*, of which the firſt was called *Milliaria*, excelling the reſt in Riches, Birth, Skill and Valour, and was accompanied by the Eagle (the Standard of the *Romans*) and the Faces of the Princes. Of Footmen it contained MCV, beſides CXXXVI Horſemen Arm'd, the reſt had each CLV Foot, and LXVI Horſe, arm'd with Corſlets in the ſame manner. Hereupon they were all called *Quingenariæ Cohortes*; except the Fourth and Seventh which contained DC Foot: but the *Legions* thus framed were ſo ordered by *Marius*; whereas before his time, they conſiſted of MMMM apiece, and thence were Termed *Quadratæ.* The *Conſuls* of old were wont with two *Legions* to wage War, and with ſuch *Auxiliaries* as were found requiſite

Legio, quòd leguntur Milites in delectu. Varro de Ling. Lat. lib. 4.

to be added to them. He that gave both ſuch Names and Number to the *Legions* as ſtuck by them, was *Julius Cæſar*, who with ten *Legions* in nine years ſubdued *Gall*, and according to the Order and Time of their raiſing, named them Firſt, Second, Third, *&c.* which cuſtom continued; but his beſt beloved was the *Decimana*, or Tenth, which had ſhewn moſt Affection to him. To other *Legions* Names were added upon Occaſion; as, that which with the Fourth revolted from *Pompey* to *Cæſar* was by him called *Martia*, for the Reputation it had of Courage. To another he gave the Name of (*a*) *Alauda*, becauſe the Souldiers thereof wore Helmets creſted, like the head of a Lark, or from the *Auſpicium* of that Bird, as *Cicero* will have it. *Auguſtus* having obtained the Monarchy, kept in Pay twenty three *Legions*, or as ſome ſay twenty five, as (*b*) *Dion Caſſius* tells us; adding withal, that in his time but nineteen remained; the Names of which he ſets down, and obſerves, that the reſt were either diſbanded, or by *Auguſtus* himſelf or other ſucceeding Emperours mixed with other *Legions*; whence the name of *Gemellæ*, given to ſome of them was thought to proceed. If the Reader pleaſe to know the Names of all the reſt, which by other Emperours were raiſed till the time of *Dio*; he may further have a view of them in that Hiſtorian: but the Number of the *Legions*, as the Names, were changed according to the Pleaſure of Princes, or Exigency of Affairs.

Dio. lib. 38. P. 90. Ἐξαίρετον δὲ δὴ τὸ δέκατον στράτευμα ἐποιήσατο, ὅτι εὔνοιαν πῶς ἀεὶ αὐτοῦ εἶχεν. οὕτω δὲ δὴ τὰ πολιτικὰ στρατόπεδα πρὸς τὴν τῶν καταλόγων τάξιν ὠνομάζετο, *&c.*

(*a*) *Alauda Gallicè* a Lark.

(*b*) *Lib.* 55. P. 564. *Edit. Hannoviæ*, MDCVI.

44. Some of the *Legionary* Souldiers were ancient men, and bare heavy Armour, as of old the *Macedonians*, *viz.* round Targets, and *Sariſſæ*, or long Lances. Others were young Men called *Velites*, who neither uſing Breaſt-plates, nor Bows, nor Targets, caſt Miſſile Weapons afar off, or Stones, either with their Hands, or Slings, in *Legions* called *Pilani*, and out of Legions, *Auxilia*; being then procur'd by the *Romans* from their Friends and neighbouring Nations; and leaſt reckoning being made of them, they were moſt expoſed to Danger, and placed in the Front. There were a third ſort amongſt the Legionary Souldiers, they called *Peltati*, of greater Age than the *Velites*, and ſo called from a light and ſmall Shield, which they uſed in Fight, together with a ſhorter ſort of Lance, from which the *Romans* more Ancient named them *Haſtati*, and thoſe ſtill more modern *Lancearii*. Laſtly, there were others, which being moſt remarkable both for Age, Strength, and Experience, had the Honour to be call'd *Principes*; of which the firſt was called *Primus Princeps*, the next *Secundus Princeps*, *Tertius*, *Quartus*, *&c.* accordingly, as there were *Primus*, *Secundus*, and *Tertius Haſtatus*, and *Centurio Primipili*, and *Centurio Primi Haſtati*; and amongſt the *Triarii*, *Primipilus*, *Secundus*, *Tertius*: and from thoſe who were termed *Principes*, were the Heads, or Chief of the Officials, or Officers belonging to the *Preſidents*, and other Magiſtrates, which we have already mentioned, ſtyled alſo *Principes*, for that there was amongſt the ſaid Officers or Attendants, a ſhew or likeneſs of the *Militia*. In general, it is to be noted that Anciently none could be admitted a Souldier, that was not of the ſtature of five Foot and ſeven Inches, which *Valentinian* in a Conſtitution (which ſhall be mentioned in its place) affirms to have been the Cuſtom obſerv'd from the Founding of the City. And therefore, when *Lampridius* writes, that *Alexander* the Emperour was of the Military ſize, he is to be underſtood according to this Meaſure. For what more might be ſaid of the *Legions*, as to their Number or Names, the Reader may conſult *Pancirolus*, who has Exhibited them as he found them Engraven in an old Marble Stone at *Rome*; to which Catalogue he hath added another Table, whence it appears, both at what time, and by whom each of them was raiſed.

Velites.

Auxilia.

Peltati.

Principes.

Numero DC, *Triarii dicti, quia in ultimæ acie & tertio ordine locati.*

Numero MC.

45. From them we ſhall paſs to their Officers; and firſt take notice, that of old he that had the Command of a *Legion* was called a *Tribune*, and the Principal Officers of the Wings of Horſe, a *Præfect*. To which Places *Auguſtus* preferr'd young Senators. But in the time of the *Notitia*, and afterwards, we ordinarily meet with *Præfects* of *Legions* and Fleets, and *Tribunes* of *Cohorts*; yet ſo as that Name of *Tribune* did ſtill alſo continue in the former ſenſe, and by *Præfects* of *Legions* are principally to be underſtood the Greater ſort of *Tribunes*, ſo named to Diſtinguiſh them from ſuch as Commanded but a *Cohort* of the *Legion*, or D Foot, and by degrees were Promoted. Theſe Greater Officers heard and determined the civil Controverſies of their Souldiers, and did lightly alſo puniſh them, ſo far as to Beating, (as one of them commanded St. *Paul* to be uſed) but could not paſs any Capital Sentence, except in the abſence of the *Magiſter Militum*, or other Superiour Officer, whoſe *Vicars* they were called for this reaſon, and might Puniſh as well as they, if they were *Comites* of the firſt Rank. The Care of Arms and Cloaths for the Souldiers, as well as Diſcipline, belonged unto them. Other *Tribunes*, which

Tribune.

Præfect.

Tribunus dictus à Tribu, *inquit Vegetius, tribuendoque Jure; præeſt enim Militibus quos ex Tribu primus Romulus legit.*

which had not arrived at that Honour, might Determine the Matters of their Men, and Puniſh them moderately; but their Authority extended not to Life. The *Tribunes* could give leave to their Souldiers to be abſent, but not in time of Expedition or Service, upon Pain of Death. The Higher Sort received their Commiſſions from the Prince. The Inferiour ſort of *Tribunes*, being Ten in number, becauſe ſo many *Cohorts* in a Legion, were promoted by Succeſſion, as others died, or were removed to Higher Places. After their Example, the Ten *Notaries*, who, under the *Primicerius*, handled the Matters of the greater *Laterculum*, were called *Tribunes*; for they had under them Inferiour Clerks or *Scrinarii*, as theſe *Tribunes* other Inferiour Officers: whereupon this was termed the *Literata Militia*, becauſe it imitated the *Armata*.

Vexillatio.

What Images the *Romans* uſed in their Standard or Colours.

46. Next after a *Legion* follows that, which, in thoſe dayes they called *Vexillatio*, and it received its name from the Banner or *Vexillum*, the Diminutive of *Velum*, a ſquare Banner-Roll, uſed by Emperours and other Generals. Theſe *Vexilla* belonged both to Horſe and Foot, being uſed by the *Romans* as well as the Enſigns, or *Signa*: But to fetch theſe things higher, *Romulus* for his Enſign or Colour, uſed only Bundles of Hay tied to the tops of Spears; ſo humble in all reſpects were the Beginnings of the *Roman Greatneſs*. Afterward they had the *Eagle*, *Wolf*, *Minotaur*, and *Boar*, which were borne before, and in the Army, till ſuch time as *Marius* in his ſecond *Conſulſhip* appointed the *Eagle* for the whole *Legion*, and then the Images of other Creatures became the *Signa* of *Cohorts*, to which were added a *Dragon*, and an Hand, and at length a Ball or Globe, by *Auguſtus*, to ſignifie that the World was ſubject to the *Roman* Empire. The *Eagle* at firſt was of Silver, and being ſet in a kind of Box or Caſe, was fixed to a long Spear or Pole, but afterward, when *Rome* had got the Wealth, as well as the Sovereignty of the World, it turned to Gold, and, as the Armour-bearer of *Jupiter*, held a Thunder-bolt in it's Feet; ſo that it may ſeem ſomething Strange, that the *Romans* appointing this Bird to ſo maſculine an Employment, ſhould in their Language ſubject both Sexes of it to the Fœminine Gender. But to our Buſineſs, *Vexillatio* is here taken for a Troop, *Turma*, or *Cuneus* of Horſe-men fighting under one *Vexillum*, whereon was expreſſed what Troop it was, of what *Cohort* or *Century*, together with the Prince his Name, and probably his Image: but *Conſtantine* cauſed therein to be inſerted a Repreſentation of the Croſs, which at the time of his Converſion, he ſaw in the Air, and now came up the word *Labarum*. A *Vexillatio* in a *Legion* contained thirty two Horſe, commanded by a *Decurio*, out of a *Legion*, ſometimes three hundred, leſs or more. An *Ala* of Horſe contained alſo about three hundred men, and ſeems divided into thoſe Parties called *Turmæ*, as *Vexillatio* into the other they named *Cunei*. Now of Horſe-men ſome were *Cataphracti*, who being armed themſelves throughout, uſed alſo armed Horſes; others were of light Armour, as *Haſtati* or *Contati*, who fought *Cominus*, with Pikes, or Lances; and ſuch as beſides Launces made uſe of Targets, and were called *Scutati*; and others went under the Name of *Ferentarii*, who fought *Eminus*; and theſe were, either the *Scythæ* or *Sagittarii*, who fought with Bows and Arrows, as our Archers or *Tarentini*, that uſed Darts. And ſuch of them as having diſcharged all their *Miſſilia*, came afterwards to Hand-ſtroakes, were called *Jaculatores*. The whole *Ala* was commanded by a *Tribune*, who as appears from *Capitolinus*, had ſometime alſo the Name of *Sevir*; and ſo much of the *Vexillatio*.

Vide Panciro*lum in Notit. utramque* C. 32. & Jacobi *Gothofredi Com. in* L. 22. *de Erogatione Militaris Annonæ. Cod. Th. lib.* 7. *Tit.* 4.

De Labaro *Vide Comm. Gothofredi in* L. *un. de* Præpo*ſiti s Laborum. Cod. Th. lib.* 6. *Tit.* 25.

In M. Antonino.

Ala of Horſe.

Cataphracti.

Haſtati.

Ferentarii.

Jaculatores.

Auxilia.

47. To add a little concerning the *Auxilia*; there was this difference betwixt them and the *Legions* at firſt, that *Legions* conſiſted of *Roman* Citizens only, *Auxilia* of Friends or Allies, and were joyned as *leves Armaturæ* to the *Legions*. But after that the Sovereign Power was transferred upon the Prince, *Legions* were alſo raiſed out of Allies and Confederates. A Legion had its ſeveral Officers, Superior and Subordinate, together with its ſeveral Companies and Enſigns. An *Auxilium* was Commanded by one *Tribune*, or *Phylarcha*, alone; and conſiſted of M, or more, ordinary *Gregarious* Souldiers, and was (as it ſeemeth) from his Conſtitutions by *Juſtinian* called *Optio*, though *Optiones* were alſo particular Perſons. But thus much of theſe ſeveral ſorts of Souldiers; of whom the Reader muſt farther obſerve, that at what time *Conſtantine* Conſtituted three Ranks of *Comites*, there were alſo Ordained three Orders or Ranks of Souldiers, with new Names or Titles. For all ſtanding Companies, as well of Horſe as Foot, were diſtinguiſhed into *Palatini*, *Comitatenſes*, and *Pſeudo-Comitatenſes*. The *Palatini* were ſuch as had obtained the Honour to be of the Guard to the Prince his Palace, and in this reſpect were in greater Eſteem than the reſt. The *Comitatenſes* were ſo named from the *Comitatus*, or Company of the Prince, and having ſucceeded the Prætorians, were

After the time of *Conſtantine*, all were diſtinguiſhed into *Palatini*, *Comitatenſes*, and *Pſeudo-Comitatenſes*.

De his vide Panc*irolum in Notitiam utramque Imp. ſed præcipuè* Pa*ratit. Tit. de re Militari, Gothofredi Cod. Theod.*

were in his Court, and waited on him whitherſoever he went. The *Pſeudo-Comitatenſes* were the reſt, imitating them, as it were, in their Officers, Companies and Symbols, but not graced with the ſame Privileges and Immunities: for both their Allowance was leſs, and in Caſe a *Comitatenſis* died inteſtate, and without any apparent Heir, his Company, or Troop was Heir at Law, but the Prince or Treaſury ſucceeded to the *Pſeudo-Comitatenſis.* To prevent Fraud herein, none could paſs from one Order to another without the Prince his ſpecial Warrant. In the *Notitia* are reckoned up under the *Magiſtri Militum Præſentales*, only *Palatina Auxilia*, *Vexillations* of Horſe, both *Palatine* and *Comitatenſes*; but *Legions*, both *Palatine*, *Comitatenſes* and *Pſeudo-Comitatenſes.* And thus much concerning the Office and Commands of the *Magiſtri Militum*, who were by Dignity *Illuſtres*, as reckoned amongſt thoſe of Higheſt Rank, and eſteemed equal with the *Præfecti Prætorio*, and the *Præfects* of both Cities.

Vide omninò Comment. Jacobi Gothofredi in L. ult de re Militari.

Officers that ſerved the Emperour in his Court.

48. And ſo we have diſpatched what the Deſign of this preſent Work requires, concerning ſuch Officers as conſtituted the Polity, and carried on the Government abroad, and in the Provinces. We muſt of neceſſity ſee who they were further, that ſerved the Prince at home, or in his own Court. Of theſe ſome took Care of the Buſineſs, ſome of the Perſon, and the Bed-Chamber of the *Præfectus* and *Primicerius Sacri Cubiculi*; under whom waited the *Comes Sacræ Veſtis*, and ſeveral inferiour Officers and Attendants, who had the Name of *Decani.* Some ſerved him at Table, and attended on him in the Palace of Courſe; as the *Comes Caſtrenſis*, under whoſe Inſpection waited the *Primicerius Menſarum*, the *Primicerius Cellariorum*, the *Primicerius Pædagogiorum*, and the *Primicerius Lampadiorum* of the firſt, ſecond and third Rank. Some wrote the Secrets of the Prince, *viz.* three Perſons called *Cartularii Cubiculi*, and by ſome the Palace was kept and attended, *viz.* three *Decuriones Silentiariorum*, and the *Comes Domorum per Cappadociam.* Of all thoſe the *Præpoſitus Sacri Cubiculi* was the higheſt in Place and Degree, for his great Charge of the Emperour's Perſon, and his Nearneſs to him, which Relation rais'd him to the higheſt Dignity of *Illuſtris.* This he enjoyed before the time of *Theodoſius* the younger; yet ſo as to take place after the *P. P.* the *Præfects* of the Cities, the *Magiſtri Militum*, and the *Comites Conſiſtoriani*, or the *Comes Sacrorum Largitionum*, *Comes rei Privatæ*, the *Quæſtor* and *Magiſter Officiorum*, of whom hereafter. But by a Conſtitution of that Prince, he was made equal in Degree with the *Præfects* of both ſorts, and the *Magiſtri Militum*; ſo as he and they ſhould take Place according to the time and order of their Promotion. And here it will not be amiſs to hint to the Reader, that from the Laws are to be obſerved three Degrees of Illuſtrious Perſons; the firſt was of the *Conſuls* and *Patricians*, who took not their Place according to their Promotion, but preceded others, however of the Degree of *Illuſtris* before them. The ſecond was of ſuch, as amongſt whom the time, and order of Promotion was obſerv'd, and they took place accordingly, being otherwiſe equal, and theſe were the (*a*) *Præfects* of both ſorts; the *Magiſtri Militum*, and the *Præpoſitus Sacri Cubiculi* now under Conſideration. The third Rank comprized the *Quæſtor*, *Magiſter Officiorum*, the *Comes S. Largitionum*, and *Comes Rerum Privatarum*, which four, though they were of the Degree of *Illuſtris* as well as the reſt, yet held, as it were an inferiour Rank by themſelves; ſo as by the time of Promotion they were not privileged to take place of the other, but had only Precedence amongſt themſelves; of whom we ſhall write after we have added ſomething concerning the Attendance of the Prince his Bed-Chamber, leaving the reſt of the Court to be ſpoken of according to their Dignity.

Notitia Imperii.

Præpoſitus Sacri Cubiculi.

Three Degrees of Illuſtrious Perſons.

Cod. Th. lib. 6 Tit. 8. de Præpoſitis ſacri Cubiculi & Cod. Juſtin. lib. 12. Tit. 5. Hiſtoria hæc noſtra.

(*a*) *Vide Comment. Gothofredi in D. L. 6.*

The *Cubicularii.*

Decani.

49. Thoſe that there waited were called *Cubicularii* and *Miniſteriani* from their Services, and this was the general Name; but amongſt them ſome were known by that of (*b*) *Decani*, perhaps becauſe they were ten in number, as *Pancirolus* gueſſeth, or elſe they had under them that number of inferiour Waiters, for the word *Decanus* we know ſignifies one who preſides, or commands ten Perſons, and thence hath been transferred in a more general Signification, to ſuch as precede other Clerks in Churches, and at this day ſignifies a *Preſident*, as in the Faculty of *Medicine* at *Paris*, where the *Preſident* of the College they call *Decanus* (in *French le Doyen*,) and they have an Officer, who looks to the Phyſick Schools, the Senior Batchellor of Phyſick, whom they term *Archidiaconus* (or *Achidiacre*;) ſuch Correſpondence in Names, as well as other things, hath there been betwixt the *Militia Armata*, *Palatina*, and *Togata.* But theſe *Decani* dreſſed the Emperour, made his Bed, kept the Doors, and did other Services there, as *Pancirolus* gueſſeth; or rather were a ſort of Serjeants at Arms, the chief of them, and who commanded next the *Præpoſitus*,

(*b*) *Decanos vocant, eo quòd ſint Denis præpoſiti. Aug. Decani ſunt qui 10 Viris præſunt. Vegetius. At verò Gothofred.* δεκανᾶσθαι *pro* δεξιοῦσθαι *excipere, apprehendere derivat. Homin. enim munus peculiare fuiſſe vult quod in Rep. fuit Lictorum; ſed de his vide L. un. de Decanis Cod. Th. lib. 6. Tit. 33 & Gothofr. in L. qui quatuor genera Decanorum memorat;*

poſitus. Being him they called *Primicerius.* The next in order to him was the *Secundocerius*, then the *Tertiocerius* and *Quartocerius*: as to which Terms *Suidas* writes, that *Primicerius* is the firſt of an Order or Rank, and that the Addition of *Cerius* is only a lengthening of the word, and further ſignifies nothing. The *Primicerius Sacri Cubiculi*, was by his place of the Dignity of *Spectabilis*, which very Title the *Notitia* gives him. Of the *Comes Caſtrenſis*, and other Officers out of the Chamber, we ſhall ſpeak anon. Thoſe of the Chamber enjoyed many Priviledges. They were exempted from finding Men and Horſes for War, and from Quartering Souldiers. They were convented, upon occaſion before the *Magiſter Officiorum* (the Supreme Judge of all Courtiers) and needed not put in Bail or give Security, but were committed to the *Primicerius*, who was charged with them, and had reaſon to be good in his Office, for it laſted but two years, at the end whereof, he was ſucceeded by the *Secundocerius*, or him that was next to him. From all ſordid Services they were free, and from Contributions to the Repairing of Bridges, High-wayes, or the like. As all thoſe Officers belonging to the Bed-Chamber enjoyed theſe Priviledges, ſo much more the *Præpoſitus Sacri Cubiculi*, who, beſides his Command over theſe and other Perſons, had the overſight of many Houſes and Lands in *Capadocia*, (where a great part of the Prince his Patrimony lay) and ſent his Officers called *Canonicarii* to collect the Rents, which being brought to Court were expended in the Maintenance of the Houſhold.

Their Priviledges.

Inde Tamiaca Prædia dicta, ſed vide infra hujus. Cap. §. 4. Par. 51.

The *Magiſter Officiorum.*

50. He that held the next place in Court after the *Præpoſitus Sacri Cubiculi*, was the *Magiſter Officiorum.* Under *Conſtantine* the Great he was both called *Tribunus* and *Magiſter Officiorum*; ſometimes in the Laws *Comes Officiorum*; for he was in *Comitatu Principis*, and ſtood by him in the *Conſiſtory* with other Perſons of the Greateſt Quality. He had his Name from his Command over the Officers or Servants of the Prince; for *Officia* here is to be taken for the ſame as *Miniſteria. Zoſimus* and *Procopius* call him the Captain or Governour of the *Palatine* Ranks or Orders. And he had not only Authority over the Courtiers and Attendants of the Prince, and ſuch Companies about the Palace as were in Arms, but had the overſight alſo of *Fabricks* or Forges, and power over the *Limitaneous Duces* and *Comites*, from whom appeal lay to the *Quæſtor* and Him. His Duty it was to preſent fit *Senators* to the Prince in the Provinces (as appears from *Caſſiodorus*, who in the Forme of his Patent ſets forth the Nature of his Employment) none could be made Judges without his Approbation; and in the City he had an hand in the making of ſuch Officers as took care of Proviſions. By his means Audience was procured from the Emperor, both to his own Subjects and Strangers, whom it was his duty to entertain. He alſo had the Power of the *Curſus Publicus* or Poſtage, which was permitted to no Subjects, but the *Præfectus Prætorio*, and himſelf. They could grant in the Prince his Name, Liberty of this *Curſus* to others; and if any offended in this kind, it was incumbent upon him to preſent their names to the Prince. But to come more Particularly to Perſons, or things over which this *Magiſter* had Power or Juriſdiction: He of the *Eaſt* overſaw Eight Colleges, Bodies, or Companies of Armed Men about the Court, which in thoſe days they termed *Scholæ.* Of theſe, Two were called *Scutarii*; the Third *Gentiles Seniores*; the Fourth *Scrutarii Sagittarii*; the Fifth *Scutarii Clibanarii*; the Sixth *Armatura Juniorum*; the Seventh *Gentiles Juniores*; and the Eighth *Agentes in Rebus*, and the Deputies of this *Schole.* Beſides theſe, were under his Command the *Menſores* and *Lampadii*; Four *Scrinia* or Offices, *viz. Memoriæ, Epiſtolarum, Libellorum & Diſpoſitionum*; the Office of *Admiſſions*; Fifteen Fabricks or Forges; whereof of the *Eaſt* five, *Pontica* three, *Aſia* one, *Thrace* two, and *Illyricum* four; And laſtly, two *Comites* of the Limits, and thirteen *Duces.* The Command of him of the *Weſt* (when the Empire came to be divided, was, if the State thereof admitted it, the ſame; though as to Numbers it might differ: For here were Nineteen Fabricks, whereas in the Eaſt were but Fifteen.

Nomen officia etſi multa ſignificat hic pro miniſterio accipitur, ut apud Martianum, vide Pancirolum in Not. Orient. C. 63.

His Employment.

Variarum. Lib. 6. C. 6.

Perſons under his Juriſdiction, as ſeveral Scholes.

Sect. 2.

A. D. 337.

Scholæ what.

51. Of the *Scholæ* or Companies about the Court, it's requiſite we ſay ſomething; for a diſtinct Knowledge of thoſe ſeveral ſorts which bore Arms under the Emperor. This word *Schola* (more frequently it's *Scholæ* in the Plural Number, as *Feſtus* only hath it) was much uſed in thoſe Times to ſignifie a Body, Company or Society. And *Gregory* of *Tours*, the Biſhop and Hiſtorian, by it ſignifies an whole Houſhold; but here it is taken for a whole Rank, Order or Company of the Emperor's Guards, who (moſt of them) bore Arms for his Defence: but were neither *Legions*, *Cohorts*, *Vexillations*, nor *Auxilia*. There were of theſe *Scholares*, ſometimes divided into nine *Scholes*, about MMMD Choiſe Men, *Armenians* at firſt, to which afterward MM more were added by *Juſtinian*, and called *Supernumeraries*, who (beſides the *Agentes in Rebus* here reckoned, who were not Fighting Men, no more than another Company called *Silentiarii*) were for Protection of the Prince his Perſon. Great Care was had, who were admitted into theſe Scholes, till *Zeno* the Emperor firſt broke the Cuſtom, by giving way to Idle and Effeminate Perſons. Afterward *Juſtinian* (if we give credit to that ſecret Hiſtory, which goes under the name of *Procopius*) ſold theſe Places, and having filled up the number, added the two thouſand *Supernumeraries*, to whom he gave no Pay. To be ſure none could be admitted without the Emperor's Approbation; and therefore their Names were Inrolled in the Offices belonging to the Greater *Laterculum*; and the Liſt called over, and renewed every four Months, at what time ſuch as came in, received their Patents from thoſe Notaries, written by them, and ſubſcribed by the Prince. They were not permitted to hire any Grounds, leſt they ſhould be diverted from their Attendance. Each *Schola* had its *Comes* for its Chiefeſt Officer, of the Dignity of *Spectabilis*, and under him others Inferior, as the *Primicerius*, who had alſo the Title of a *Tribune*, and was *Spectabilis* too; The *Secundocerius* and other Nine, who ſucceeded by times, and with him were of the Degree of *Clariſſimi*. As for the Names of the Eight particular Scholes, the *Scutarii* ſeem ſo named from their Targets, which they eſpecially uſed in Defence of the Emperor's Perſon; and to have been firſt Raiſed by *Conſtantine*, who aſſigned Bread, both to them and the *Clibanarii*. The *Gentiles* were raiſed out of Barbarous Nations, not yet converted to Chriſtianity. The *Scutarii Sagittarii* were Armed *Cap à pie*, and uſed Bows and Arrows. The *Scutarii Clibanarii* were *Cataphracti*, both they and their Horſes being Armed, and ſeem alſo firſt Inſtituted by *Conſtantine*. The *Armaturæ* were ſuch as uſed ſolid Armour. For *Ælian* diſtinguiſheth Footmen into the three ſeveral ſorts of *Armaturæ*, *Velites* and *Peltati*. Here is well added *Juniorum*; for the *Armatura Seniorum* ſerved in the *Weſt*, in the *Notitia* whereof only ſix *Scholæ* are mentioned.

Itaque accepto Epiſcopatu omnem Scholam Deceſſoris ſui abjiciens, Syros de genere ſuo Eccleſiaſticæ Domui Miniſtros ſtatuit. Hiſt. Lib. 10. C. 26.

Eight ſeveral *Scholæ*.

Scutarii, Equites. Scutati Pedites.

That of the *Agentes in Rebus*.

Their Name and Duty.

But the Eighth and laſt *Schola*, was that of the *Agentes in Rebus*, of which more is to be ſaid, as of that which is more remarkable, and of a different Nature from the reſt. Theſe *Agentes* were, till the time of *Conſtantine* called *Frumentarii*, and were the Meſſengers of the Prince ſent, as occaſion ſerved, upon ſeveral Errands into the Provinces. Probable it is, that they took their former Name from the Reſemblance that their Employment bore to that of the *Frumentarii* of the *Legions*: for as they went up and down to gather Corn or Forage for the Army; ſo they beſtirred themſelves thoughout the Provinces, to give an account to the Emperor how matters ſtood therein, and to ſignifie his Pleaſure and Commmands to ſuch, as to whom they were directed. Afterwards from Executing the Prince his Orders they got that of *Agentes in Rebus*: For upon many Errands were they ſent: as to haſten the Payment of the Publick Revenue, to cauſe Armies to March, to fetch any Publick Records, to carry Letters from the Emperor to the Magiſtrates, and Anſwers from the Magiſtrates to him. So great were their Labours and Watches in this, and other kinds, that they alone ſeemed to undergo the Toil of the Publick Service; and as ſuch, and ſo neceſſary and ſerviceable they are owned in ſeveral Laws. Amongſt them there were five Degrees; the Scope and Reward whereof was, that of thoſe they called *Principes* or *Primates* of the Officers of the *Præfecti Prætorio*, of the Governour of a Province, or the Greater ſort of Magiſtrates; to

De Agentibus in Rebus Vide Tit. 27, & 28. Lib. 6. Cod. Th. & Tit. 20, & 21. Lib. 12. Cod. Juſtin. & omnino Paratit. *Gothofredi d. Tit. 27. Cod. Th. De his etiam ſextus Aurelius Victor in Diocleſiano, & Ammianus paſſim; ſed Hiſtoria hæc noſtra plenè. In Rebus, id eſt, in negotiis Publicis exequendis.*

which they arrived, as the reward of their Labours, after great *Fatigue* and *Trouble*, and often not without great peril of their Lives: But having obtained this Honour, their Dignity and Privileges were great and many. For they were *Senators*, and having formerly had precedence allow'd them before *Rationales*, and with *Conſulares*; they were joyned with Vicars, and at length made equal to *Proconſuls*. Yet, being reckoned amongſt Senators, they were free from the Duties of ſuch, as the *Glebalis Functio*, and at their Promotion might put their Sons or Brothers into their places of *Agentes*. The firſt Degree, and from which they aroſe, was that of the *Ducenarii*; the ſecond were the *Centenarii*; the third the *Biarchæ*; the fourth the *Circitores*; and the fifth the *Equites*, which was the firſt ſtep to preferment; all the ordinary ſort being known by the general term of *Tyrones*; as the other diſtinctions were taken from the ſeveral diſtinct Titles and Offices of the *Milliaria*, or firſt *Cohort* of a *Legion*. They all enjoyed various Privileges. As it was a part of their care to ſee that none made uſe of the *Curſus Publicus* without leave obtained; ſo becauſe of their continual Travel, the convenience thereof was allowed them, by the Prince or *Magiſter Officiorum*: They were free from Burthens and Employments in Cities, if they had ſerved a certain number of years. They were not forced to be *Navicularii*, except their Birth compelled them, or that they had Lands that were burthened with that ſervice. And the Privileges of Souldiers they alſo enjoyed, as they uſed the Military Habit; if found Criminal, they were judged according to their deſert, by the *Magiſter Officiorum*.

Their Privileges.

The Schole of the *Silentiarii*.

53. There was beſides theſe another *Schole*, which though ſet by the *Notitia* under the Direction of the *Præpoſitus Cubiculi*; yet was alſo judged by this *Magiſter*; and therefore having purpoſely omitted it, we ſhall here take notice of it with ſome remarques. And this is that of the *Silentiarii*. They were ſo called, not becauſe they were *Secretaries* to the Prince, as ſome imagined, but from *Silence*, which it was their Task to procure in the Court: and for this end they waited before the Emperor's Chamber, when he was in *Conſiſtory*, or ſate in *Council*; and that before the ſecond *Velum*, or Hanging. for there were two of theſe Hangings or Curtains, at the firſt whereof Petitioners, or ſuch as had any Buſineſs at the *Conſiſtory*, gave their Attendance; and the ſecond was before the Prince his Chamber, and near the *Conſiſtory* which from this Silence got to be called *Silentium*, or *Silentiarium*, and not only it, but the Debate it ſelf which therein was held. Watching before the Emperor's Chamber, it's ſuppoſed, they bore Arms, and ſo were a ſort of the Armed *Palatine Militia*; in which reſpect they enjoyed the Priviledge of the *Caſtrenſe Peculium*; and being ſo near to his Perſon, they were by him ſent and Employed upon ſundry Affairs. Particularly its found, that when Perſons of Note, upon Notable occaſions have been ſent for up to Court, they were the Meſſengers: though ſometimes it might exceed, yet the ſet and appointed Number of them was *Thirty*, which being divided into three Parties, each of theſe Parties had its *Decurio* or Officer; who as he preſided over them, ſo it was his Charge to look to the Marſhalling of the Train of the Emperor or Empreſs, when they went abroad. Theſe *Decuriones* had Great Privileges conferred on them by ſeveral Princes. By *Theodoſius* the Elder they had place given them with *Exduces*, becauſe indeed they were a kind of ſuch, and reckoned among the *Senatores Adlecti*, or ſuch as had the Honour and Dignity of *Senators*, but were free from the Burthens and Impoſitions laid upon that Order; which Privilege *Theodoſius* his Grandſon afterward extended to the *Silentiarii*, after they had ſerved diligently their full time, or thirteen years. Theſe Burthens were the *Glebalis Collatio* formerly ſpoken to, and that of the *Prætorſhip*; and beſides, they were alſo excuſed from the *Metatus*, as it was called, or Quartering of Souldiers, or others upon publick Employment, though *Illuſtrious* Perſons, who in this reſpect had more indulged to them, than was permitted to their Inferiours. But the Emperor appropriates theſe Privileges to the Thirty *Silentiarii*, and their three *Decuriones*, denying them to *Supernumeraries*, in caſe there ſhould be any. Long after *Juſtinian* (or rather *Tribonian*) increaſed the Dignity of the *Decuriones*, when their Term was expired, by conferring on them the Dignity of a *Magiſter Officiorum*, or *Comes Domeſticorum*, ſo that whereas formerly they were of the Degree of *Clariſſimi*, and then *Spectabiles*, by this means they became *Illuſtres*.

De Silentiariis vide Tit. 23. Lib. 6. Cod. Theodoſ. de Decurionibus & Silentiariis, & quæ notantur ad varias LL. *& Pancirolum in Notit. orient. cap. 61. Eorum multi ſcriptores paſſim meminere, inter quos* Pro*copius. Agathias* τῆς ἀμφὶ τὸν βασιλέα σιγῆς ἐπιϛάται.

Their Privileges.

Adlecti ſunt immunes, & παραλλήλως *ponuntur Adlecti & immunes ut ex* LL. *edocet* Gothofri*dus.*

54. Now to come to ſuch other Officers as were more directly under the Command of the *Magiſter Officiorum*, & leave the reſt to their more proper places. The *Notitia* preſents us vvith the *Menſores* and *Lampadarii*; the *Menſores*, often alſo called *Metatores*,

Menſores their work.

were ſuch as provided Quarters or Lodging for the Emperor, or his Army upon any Journey or Expedition, in Towns or Cities; and in the Field choſe out and prepared the Ground for incamping. As to quartering or lodging in Towns, it was the manner of theſe *Menſores*, as of Harbingers at this day, to fix upon the Doors the names of ſuch perſons as were there to be received. The Landlords or Owners of the Houſes were obliged only to afford them the third part of their Lodgings, except the perſons entertain'd were *Illuſtrious*, and then they were to allow them one half. And if it hapned that ſuch as were to find Quarter were of the Dignity of *Illuſtrious*, and had ſeveral Houſes, they were allowed to keep their own dwelling Houſes to themſelves, but leave the other to be diſpoſed of for Quarters. Neither were any excuſed, except ſome few privileged perſons, from this Duty, but as well the private Houſes and Grounds of ordinary men in the Country, as the Lodgings of Citizens were obnoxious to it. Now when the Emperour was to travel, his *Geſts* were publiſhed two Months before, and therein every days Journey appointed and limitted, with the hour of his ſetting forth, the Manſions where he would bait or lie, and where the Proviſions of the Army were to be received; theſe were the *Menſores* of moſt account in Law-Books. Others there are mentioned under this Name, who ſerved at Court, and are thought to have provided Dyet for the Courtiers, and, as Aveners, Hay and Provender for their Horſes. Theſe alſo were to be approved of by the Prince in the *Scrinium Libellorum*; and their *Primicerius*, or Chief of them, after two years ſervice, was permitted to enter himſelf as a *Tyro*, or the loweſt of all in the *Schole* of the *Agentes in Rebus*. And beſides theſe the *Magiſtri Militum* had their own *Menſores* or Quarter-Maſters, who provided Quarters for the Souldiers under their Command; but they are not of this ſort under preſent conſideration.

De modo Metatorum, Vide Paratitlon, *Tit.* 1. *Lib.* 7. *Cod. Th.* & *L. L. ibi citatas.*

Hiſtoriam hanc noſtram.

Vide Pancirolum *ad Notit. Imp. Orient. c.* 65.

Lampadarii.

55. The *Lampadarii*, mentioned in the *Notitia* with the *Menſores*, were thoſe that took care of providing Lamps or Lights, not only for the Court or Palace, but for the ſeveral Offices hereafter to be ſpoken of: the Clerks of which often ſitting up very late, had occaſion to uſe many of them. The Principal, or *Primicerius* of them held his place three years, and then others ſucceeded him in order. Beſides theſe Officers under the inſpection of the *Magiſter Officiorum*, and the four *Scrinia* (of which it's more proper to ſpeak hereafter, becauſe, though they were under his inſpection, yet they had Maſters alſo of their own, of three of whom the *Notitia* treats, amongſt thoſe of the Palace, that were of the degree of *Spectabilis*) the Office of *Admiſſions* was, as appears both from the *Notitia* and *Caſſiodorus*, under his Command. Thoſe that belonged to this Office were called *Admiſſionales*, and had alſo a Maſter of their own by the name of *Admiſſionum Magiſter*; becauſe it was their duty to admit and introduce ſuch as came before the Emperour, and thoſe that had the Honour to do their obeiſance, ſalute, or as the *Latine* word is, *Adore him*. But this Adoration was little more than what we uſe to our Princes at this day, *viz.* a kneeling to them, and bowing the Head; which being in uſe with the Subjects of *Perſia*, and others, at length was required by the *Roman* Emperours. But long it was e're it became ſolemn and conſtant at *Rome*: for though *Caligula*, *Domitian*, and *Heliogabalus* would be ſo worſhipped, yet other Princes either neglected it, or forbade it (as *Alexander Severus*, who would have no ſuch Honour paid to him) till *Diocleſian*, who admitted it again, and thenceforth it became a conſtant Ceremony, and was received by the Chriſtian Emperors; whereas his Predeceſſors, as *Ammianus* tells us, were wont to be ſaluted no otherwiſe than the Judges. But as modern Princes (more condeſcending) are wont to give their Hands, the border of the Emperors Robe or Purple was uſually held and offered (in *Procopius* his time by two perſons) up to be touched and kiſſed, whence theſe manners of Speech often occur in the Books of Law, and others; not only *Adorare Imperium*, *Adorare Principem*, and the like; but *Adorare Purpuram*, *Purpuram attingere*, and *Muricem adorare*. Of this Ceremony, as is evident from the *Notitia* and the *Code* of *Theodoſius*, there were ſeveral Methods, according to the Quality of the perſons that were received and introduced by theſe *Admiſſionales*, who, as we ſaid, were under the Juriſdiction of the *Magiſter Officiorum*, together vvith another ſort called *Invitatores*, vvhoſe Duty it vvas to invite ſuch as ſhould eat vvith the Emperour, or fetch others to him upon other occaſions. Of theſe the *Notitia* maketh no mention; but being joyned together vvith the *Admiſſionales* in a Conſtitution of the Emperour *Leo*, vve think it (vvith *Pancirolus*) convenient enough here to ſay, that there vvere ſuch men.

Admiſſionales.

How the Emperour was ſaluted.

Lib. 15.

Lib. 6. *Tit.* 8. *L. unic. de Præpoſitis ſacri Cubiculi: ubi vide quæ* Gothofredus *Comment.*

56. But the next and eſpecial charge of the *Magiſter Officium* vvere the ſeveral

Forges, or places for making of Armour.

Fabricæ in quibus Arma fabricabantur.

De his Conſule Cod. Th. lib. 10. *tit.* 22. *de Fabricenſibus. Novellam Theod.* 43. *de Bonis Fabricenſium, & Cod. Iuſtin. l.* 11. *tit.* 10. *Adde Comment. Gothofr. in* L.L. *item Paratitlon Cod. Theod. l.* 7. *tit.* 1. *& Pancirolum in Not. Imp. orient. C.C.* 66, 67, *&c.*

(a) *Clibanaria voce* Perſicâ *dicta.*

Fabricæ, or Forges, and of theſe the *Notitia* makes ample mention, reckoning up thoſe that belonged to the ſeveral Countries. Theſe *Fabricæ* were places wherein Arms were made and provided for the Army, uſually in the Provinces not far diſtant from the Borders; for there was of them the greateſt need. In every of them all ſorts of Arms or Weapons were not made, or that but rarely; but each *Fabrick* was appropriate to ſome particular kind, as that called *Scutaria*, to the making of Armour for Defence and Protection of the Body, as Targets, Back and Breaſt, Helmets, and the like; and (*a*) *Clibanaria* to thoſe that were proper to the *Cataphracti*, of whom we lately ſpake. When the Arms were perfected, they were then remitted to the publick Magazine, and there reſerved for uſe, it being unlawful for any to buy or ſell them, or make any elſewhere: ſuch as wrought them had the name of *Fabricenſes*, being men choſen out of ſuch as were not obnoxious to any Duties, or Employments in Corporations, which being made out before the *Preſident* of the Province, or the Magiſtrate of the Town, they were admitted into the Company, and to publick Salary; For each Fabrick had its Company or Body apart, wherein, after the manner of the Offices at Court, there were four or five more Eminent, who received greater Wages than the reſt; and of theſe the firſt had the Title of *Primicerius*; who at the end of two years was diſcharged of his Office (the next ſucceeding him) and the Employment alſo; and was admitted amongſt thoſe they called *Protectores*, to ſalute or adore the Emperour after the manner we e're while deſcribed; but all of them were ſubject to a *Tribune*; he who preſided over every Forge, being called by this Name, as appears from *Ammianus Marcellinus.* The Materials for making theſe Arms the Provincials brought in, both the Ore of Iron and Braſs, and alſo Coals; and in ſome parts of the Eaſt, Money, inſtead of the Materials themſelves, till notice was taken by *Theodoſius* the Great, and how by this means there was much abuſe committed (the Workmen receiving the money, and for their own gain, buying what was cheapeſt) he commanded expreſly, that the payment of theſe Materials ſhould thenceforth ever be made in Kind. And as hereby he obviated the covetous practices of theſe *Fabricenſes*, *Arcadius* his Son by another Law prevented their Idleneſs, and deſerting the Publick Works; commanding that they ſhould have *Stigmata*, or marks ſet upon their Arms, as *Tyrones*, or new Souldiers were wont to have, that thereby, if they concealed themſelves, they might be diſcovered: for the Employment they could not leave, till ſuch time as they had paſſed through all Degrees, and had diſcharged the Office of *Primicerius*, neither could their Children be excuſed from it. If any of them fled or made away what he had, the reſt of the Body were anſwerable for him: and upon this account, if any of them died without Heirs, his Eſtate fell to the Company. To encourage them, beſides the Honour they obtained after their diſcharge, they enjoyed other Privileges, being free from the burthen of Quarter, lately mentioned, and having the *Magiſter Officiorum* alone for their Judge. We ſhall add further concerning theſe *Fabricenſes*, that amongſt them there were a ſort of men called *Barbaricarii*, the buſineſs of whom it was to cover or adorn Helmets, their Beavers or Creſts with Braſs, Gold or Silver, reſembling men, and various ſorts of other Animals, after the faſhion of *Barbarians*. Theſe, in reſpect of the Weapons they dealt with, are ſometimes by the *Notitia*, and the Laws, placed under the Juriſdiction of the *Magiſter Officiorum*, and by reaſon of the Metals with which they covered or adorned them, under that of the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum*. And beſides in every Forge there was another kind of perſons, whom they called *Deputati*, thought to be Slaves condemned to Drudgery, or hired Servants, who brought in Wood and Coales, if they were not the Clerks of the Works rather, as ſome of the Emperours ſeem to make them.

De Stigmatis Pœnæ hic non eſt locus, ſed de Stigmatis Notæ, ſeu Notitiæ. Vide infra Hiſtoriam hanc noſtram.

The Privileges of thoſe that ſerved in them

Barbaricarii dicti ſunt ex Barbarico opere, & ornamento. Vide de his l. 1. *D. Tit. de Fabricenſibus, cum Comment.*

De Deputatis Conſule Pancirolum uti ſupra. C. 70.

The Office of the *Magiſter Officiorum* furniſhed out of the *Agentes in Rebus.*

Adjutor.

Notitia Imp. Vide Leges *citatas in Notit. Dignitatum Cod. Theod. ad hujus Magiſtri officium ſpectant. Pancirolum in Notitiam Imp. orient. C.* 71.

57. Such being the Employment of the *Magiſter Officiorum*, ſo various, and at ſuch a diſtance thoſe Things and Perſons that were under his charge, it was neceſſary he ſhould be furniſhed with plenty of Under-Officers, Meſſengers eſpecially; and for this cauſe it was fit, that the *Agentes in Rebus* ſhould be under his Command, and out of their Company it was, that his Office was furniſhed. The firſt of theſe was he that gave both the Name and Office of *Adjutor*; for his Adjutant he was, or rather his Deputy in diſpatching all his buſineſs. This perſon was preſented by the *Magiſter* to the Prince, and by word of his mouth received Authority to act. Such Pleas or Trials as were to be held before the *Magiſter* he managed, as the *Recorder* now before the *Mayor* of a Corporation, and was of that Eſteem as to have the Title given him of *Clariſſimus*, and ſometimes of *Spectabilis*; and having diſcharged his Office was of equal Dignity with ſuch as had been

Subadjuvæ.

Curioſus.

Vicars, or the *Principes* of the *Agentes in Rebus*. The Adjutor alſo, for his Aſſiſtance in ſo weighty an employment, had two *Subadjuvæ*. Beſides, from amongſt the ſaid *Agentes in Rebus*, this *Magiſter* of the *Eaſt* had three *Auditors*, who received the Accounts of the *Fabricks*, as many, who received them of the *Barbaricarii* lately mentioned; and five others, who looked to the Works in the ſo many Provinces within his Juriſdiction of the *Eaſt*, *Aſia*, *Pontus*, *Thrace* and *Illyricum*, and took exact notice of, and recorded what number of Arms, and of what ſort were every day made; how many removed to the Magazine; of the Wages due to Workmen, and other Expences. In the time when the *Notitia* was written there were ſo many; but the Emperour *Leo* much encreaſed the Number of the *Subadjuvæ* for the Fabricks. But further, for Intelligence, and Communication betwixt him and thoſe in the Provinces, and that the *Curſus Publicus*, or Poſtage might not be abuſed, out of the ſame Company one attended him by the Name of *Curioſus*, who making his abode at *Conſtantinople*, and being ever in waiting, was called *Præſentalis*; and beſides him in each Province was one of theſe *Curioſi*, under the care and over-ſight of the *Magiſtri Officiorum*, both in *Eaſt* and *Weſt*, when the Empire came to be divided. Their employment much reſembled that of the *Agentes in Rebus*, from the *Schola*, or Company of whom, by a Law of *Conſtantine's*, they might only be created. They gave Intelligence of whatſoever was done in the Provinces, and from their Care hereof, and of the *Curſus*, were alſo termed *Curagendarii*, and by ſome *the Eyes of the Prince*, but put no man to Death, nor carried any to Priſon, nor collected any Tributes, as the *Frumentarii* or *Agentes* ſeem to have done. Their principal care was of the *Curſus Publicus*, or Poſtage, which they managed ſo, as they were to ſuffer none, without leave, to uſe it. Concerning them there is an whole Title in the *Code* of *Theodoſius*, out of which more hereafter upon occaſion.

Lib.6.Tit.29.

Interpretes diverſarum Gentium.

The *Curſus Publicus* under the *Magiſter Officiorum*.

By whom firſt inſtituted.

58. The laſt Officers or Attendants of the *Magiſter Officiorum* mentioned by the *Notitia* are the Interpreters of divers Nations, by which the Emperour and he converſed with Strangers, heard the Propoſals of Ambaſſadours, and returned them Anſwers. And at laſt it concludes what's to be ſaid of him at preſent (for ſeveral other inferiour Court-Officers, and under his Juriſdiction, come after, which it medles not with till it hath diſpatched the Greater or Illuſtrious) with telling us, that he grants out Licenſes for the publick *Curſus*, or Carriage, which as we have ſeveral times hinted, no Subject but the *Præfectus Prætorio* and himſelf could do; none of the Judges, not the *Præfecti* of the Cities, not the *Magiſtri Militum*, *Duces* or *Vicars*, as *Gratian* the Emperour expreſſeth it. Of this *Curſus Publicus* therefore, having not done it under the *Præfecti Prætorio*, here it's convenient that we ſay ſomething. The uſe of the *Curſus* amongſt the *Perſians* is very evident; and if credit may be given to *Herodotus*, firſt by them invented. *Xenophon* particularly aſcribes it unto *Cyrus*; who, as he ſaith, conſidering how far an Horſe could run in one day, took order for the building of Inns and Stables at ſuch a diſtance; and in them placed ſuch Horſes of Courſe, and men to manage them, taking care that there ſhould be a ſufficient number to receive Letters, to deliver them to the next Poſt, and entertaining ſuch Horſes and Riders as were wearied and ſpent, ſend freſh Horſes on the ſame errand. This (a) Courſe being uſed both night and day, ſeemed to exceed the ſwiftneſs of Cranes, at leaſt was of all Journeys the moſt ſpeedy. (b) *Herodotus* ſaith the ſame thing, and deſcribes it in the ſame manner; adds that the Perſians called it *Angareion*; others call theſe ſwift Meſſengers of theirs *Angari*, who in the ſame Language were alſo known by the name of *Aſtandæ*, and held no ignoble or mean place in the Commonwealth; as is concluded (c) by ſome from the practice of *Darius* the laſt King, who as *Plutarch* reports more than once, executed this Office (poſſibly of Overſeer, or Manager of it) in the Reigns of his Predeceſſors *Ochus* and *Arſes*. Thus much concerning the *Perſians* is evident, but when, and by whom this practiſe was entertained by the *Romans*, is not ſo clear. The Writers of the Imperial Hiſtory herein not well agreeing amongſt themſelves. For *Suetonius* attributes the *Curſus*, both by men and carriages to *Auguſtus*. *Sextus Aurelius Victor* makes *Trajan* Author of the *Curſus*. *Spartianus* writes, that *Trajan* inſtituted the *Curſus Fiſcalis*, or that belonging to the Treaſury, and how *Severus* altered that by Carriages from the hands of private men into the Exchequer. But thus this difference may ſeem to be reconciled: *Auguſtus* ordained the *Curſus* by *Vehicula* or Carriages; ſo as when ſuch came on a ſudden, as had Licenſe to make uſe of them, the Municipal Magiſtrates furniſhed them at the charge of the Country. This was found ſuch a burthen, that *Nerva*, when he came to the Government remitted it to *Italy*, as appears by his Coins; and either *Trajan* or *Adrian*, not

(a) Τούτων δὲ οὕτω γιγνομένων φασὶ τινὲς θᾶσσον τῶν γεράνων ταύτην τὴν πορείαν ἀνύτειν· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο ψεύδονται ἀλλ' ὅτι γε τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πεζῇ πορειῶν ταχίστη, τοῦτο εὔδηλον. *Cyropæd. l.* 8. *c.* 43.

(b) τοῦτο τὸ δράμημα τῶν ἵππων καλέουσι Πέρσαι ἀγγαρήϊον. *Lib.*8.*c.* 98.

(c) *Vide Briſſonii de Regno Perſarum, l.* 1. *Vide Comment. Jacobi Gothofred. in l.* 1. *tit.* 5. *Lib.*8. *Cod. Theodoſii & in l.* 5. *lib.*6.*tit.* 29. *de Curioſis.*

not long after made this *Curſus* ſetled, Conſtant, and Publick or *Fiſcal, viz.* at the Publick Disburſement; ſo as upon any ſudden occaſion publick Carriages and Cattel were at hand, and the Magiſtrates were no more put to that charge and trouble. Now was the *Curſus* become ſetled and conſtant; yet ſtill did the Country by a Tax maintain the charge thereof; which burthen was ſo heavy, that *Antoninus Pius*, out of his commiſeration, gave eaſe herein to the oppreſſed; and at laſt *Severus*, that he might make himſelf acceptable to his Subjects, removed it from private hands to the Treaſury, or remitted the Tax laid upon the people, & transferred the charge from the private to the publick Purſe. But much more hereafter concerning the *Curſus Publicus*.

Poſthæc cùm ſe vellet commendare hominibus, vehicularium munus à Privatis *ad Fiſcum traduxit.*

The *Quæſtor Palatii.*

59. The next Officer was the *Quæſtor* of the Palace. The ancient *Queſtors*, being by *Auguſtus* truſted with the Decrees of the Senate, afterwards had the Office of reciting the Prince his Letters, and what was tranſacted in the Senate: and under the later Emperours their power ſtill encreaſed; for they adminiſtred Juſtice in their ſtead; To them and the *Præfectus Prætorio*, ſometimes to them alone, ſuch Cauſes being committed. In ſhort, executing all things in a manner under their Name, they became *Illuſtrious* in Title, and under the Reign of *Conſtantine* received that of *Quæſtores Palatii*, being little inferiour to the *Præfecti Prætorio*: For they compoſed Laws and Edicts that were to be publiſhed, and Mandates that iſſued out to the Preſidents, with the Reſcripts of the Emperours, which were not held valid, except They ſubſcribed them. Now Laws and Edicts thus confirmed were ſent to the *Comes Diſpoſitionum* to be tranſcribed and kept in his Office, and then were by an Edict of the *Præfectus Prætorio* expoſed to view in ſome *Forum* or publick Place; otherwiſe no man was bound to the obſervance of them. They were laid alſo to be publiſhed when they were read in the Senate by the *Primicerius* of the *Notaries*, or the *Proconſul*. At *Conſtantinople* they were uſually read in the Suburb *Septimus*, called alſo *Secundianus*, for which *Pancirolus* obſerves, that *Septies recitata* by a miſtake is often read in Law-Books, and accordingly to be amended. At *Rome* they were publiſhed in the *Pantheon*, in the *Forum* of *Trajan*, that of *Apronianus*, or the *Atrium* of *Minerva*. For their longer duration they were written in Braſs, or in Tables of Ceruſs called *Tabulæ Ceruſſatæ*, or in Linnen Cloth called *Linteæ Mappæ*, or by *Encauſtum* or burning of Letters; which four ſorts were in Uſe in the time of *Conſtantine*, who alſo, as *Gothofred* obſerves, makes mention of Marble-Tables in Uſe in the ſame Age. Yet were not Edicts written in Braſs, but ſome of the other ways recorded, according to the Cuſtom of the *Prætors*. They were ſent into all Cities, and expoſed there to be read, for 30 days, as *Pancirolus* obſerves particularly, that *Joſephus* takes notice in the Edict of *Claudius*.

De hoc officio & omnibus aliis conſule Pancirolum *& Gothofredum.*

His Employment.

The manner of framing Edicts.

Quàm variis locis Romæ conſtitutiones Principum recitatæ fuerint, vel lectæ, vel propoſitæ; Vide omnino Gothofredum in l. 3. de bonis vacantibus. Cod. Th. lib. 10. *tit.* 8.

Vide Comment. ejuſdem Gothofred. in l. 1. *Cod. Th. lib.* 11. *tit.* 27. *Panſirolus.*

60. At the framing of them the Emperours were wont to conſult with Lawyers, ſometimes thirty, ſometimes more; but the *Quæſtor's* duty was to adviſe them, both in matters of Law and other things, ſo that if there were any over-ſight committed, the fault was laid on him. He overſaw the Leſſer *Laterculum*, wherein were Regiſtred *Tribuneſhips*, the Commands of Caſtles and the Borders, and, together with the *Præfectus Prætorio in Comitatu*, received Appeals made from the Judges, called *Spectabiles*, to the Prince. *Caſſiodorus* (to whom *Gothofred* refers us for the deſcription of this Office) hath a *Formula* of the *Quæſtorſhip*, which ſeems to us to excell all ſuch of his others, as we have read, in Elegancy. Herein eſpecially are required knowledge of the Laws, and Eloquence; but the main buſineſs is to expreſs well the meaning or intention of the Prince; to be his Mouth to the People, or, as it wordeth it, the Voice of his Tongue, which yet to be, it eſteems a piece of great difficulty. If the Prince was in doubt of any matter, it was expected the *Quæſtor* ſhould reſolve it; he being the Treaſury of the publick Fame, the Magazine of Laws, and prepared for any ſudden occaſion. Nothing being more excellent, as *Tully*, the Maſter of Eloquence ſaid, than to be able by Language to lay hold of the minds of men, to allure their Wills, and to move and draw them whither and whence one pleaſeth. The *Quæſtorſhip* is termed by this Patent, the Glory of Learning, the Temple of Civility, the Mother of all Dignities, the Habitation of Continency, and the ſeat of all Vertues. To him that exerciſed the place, the Provinces ſent up their Requeſts, the Senate ſought for Reſolution in Law-Matters, and ſuch as were themſelves Learned, expected to find what they knew before. To come towards a period of what concerns the *Quæſtor*. From the beginning, and under *Valentinian* the Elder, his place was before *Proconſuls*, yet was not then of the Dignity of *Illuſtris*, though afterward he obtained this Honour. Suitably he was in Acclamations as the *P. Pr.* ſtyled *Father of the Empire*, *Magnificus* and *Glorioſiſſimus*, and from Princes received that of *Sublimitas tua*, and others wont to be given to Illuſtrious Perſons. His Arms were on a Table covered with a Carpet down to the ground, a Book with a Golden Cover, whereon, in a Square, was ſeen the Picture of the Prince, and toward the left hand a Roll of

How *Caſſiodorus* deſcribes the Office of the *Quæſtor.*

*Variar. l.*6.*c.*5.

Quæſturam toto corde recipimus, quam noſtræ linguæ vocem eſſe Cenſemus. O quàm arduum eſt ſubjectum verba dominantis aſſumere, loqui poſſe quod noſtrum credatur!

Claudianus Poeta de Mallio Theodoro qui hoc officio functus eſt.

——Terris
Edicta daturus, Supplicibus reſponſa venis. Oracula Regis Eloquio crevere tuo, nec digniùs unquàm Majeſtas meminit ſeſe Romanâ locutam.

His Place.

His Enſigns.

of Papers ſuppoſed to contain the Edicts of Laws publiſhed by him in the Emperours name. And this, as the Great Seal or Purſe with our *Chancellors* or *Keepers* ſtood by him when he ſate in Court, and, perhaps, was borne before him, as *Pancirolus* gueſſeth: and now it was, that the Acclamations was made of his being the Father of his Country as was uſual to the *P. Prætorio*. The *Notitia* ſaith expreſly, that he had no *Officium*, but Aſſiſtants out of the *Scrinia*, or Offices, as he pleaſed; which *Pancirolus* interprets to have been Twelve *Notaries* out of the *Scrinium Memoriæ*; Seven out of the *Scrinium Epiſtolarum*, and as many out of the *Scrinium Libellorum*; which being Twenty ſix in number, he uſed in the writing of Reſcripts, his Proceedings and Laws; and they had the Title of *Viri Devoti*. Laſtly, it's obſervable, that *Juſtinian* inſtituted another ſort of *Quæſtors*, to inquire into the Cauſe of the coming of Countrymen into the City to decide their Matters, and ſend them home in the twelfth year of his Reign. But indeed, he rather reſtored than firſt introduced theſe Officers, who alſo took care, that Sollicitors of Law-Suits received not immoderate Fees; and for that purpoſe had their Apparitors and Aſſeſſors.

Idem obſervat. Gothofred. ex l.17.de Proximis.

Another ſort of *Quæſtors.*

The *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum.*

61. But to the moſt ancient *Quæſtors* ſucceeded, in time, the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum*. *Auguſtus* in room of them ſent certain *Procurators* choſen out of the *Libertini*, or *Equites* into the Provinces; who, gathering the publick Revenue, received a Salary from him, and were ſtyled *Procuratores Auguſtales*. They decided Cauſes belonging to the Revenue, and ſometimes governed Provinces, if not very large; and of this ſort was *Pontius Pilate* in *Judæa*, where a *Procurator* was in the room of a *Preſident*. But for management of the publick Treaſury at *Rome*, from the time of *Auguſtus*, down to *Conſtantine*, there were ſometimes *Quæſtors*, moſt commonly others, who had the Name of *Præfecti Ærarii*; *Conſtantine*, when he came to the Government, changed the management of the Treaſury, by introducing two new ſorts of Magiſtrates, who ſhould order the whole income; whereof the one was called *Comes Largitionum*, and the other *Comes Rerum Privatarum*. This *Pancirolus* aſcribes to *Conſtantine*, although by gueſs, as we may judge; for the moſt Learned *Gothofred* affirms, that by all the Laws he cannot find any of theſe Officers under that Emperor. However, probable enough it is, that he brought them up: for by the *Judiculus* which *Gothofred* gives us of the *Comites Largitionum* mentioned in the *Code* of *Theodoſius*, there is one who executed this Office in the time of his Son *Conſtans*, and another during the Reign of *Julian*; as about the ſame time, others, who bore the place of *Comes Rerum Privatarum*. The *Comes Largitionum* had firſt his name *à Largitionibus*, from the free gifts of the Prince; and held it, when his work was quite altered, as much from what it was then, as the Chief *Treaſurer* of a Nation differs from an *Almoner*. Though indeed the Gifts of the *Roman* Emperours were ſo great and frequent, that the management of them may ſeem far to ſurpaſs the care and trouble of the Revenue of any Nation now in being, which formerly was but a Member of that Empire. And ſo neceſſary they were, that *Auguſtus* in his *Rationarium* of the Empire, or Book which he compoſed with his own Hand, together with the publick Treaſure and other things, wherein the ſtrength of the State conſiſted; the Fleets, Kingdoms, Provinces, Tributes and Tolls; therein made mention of the *Neceſſitates* and *Largitiones*; by the former meaning his *neceſſary*, by the later his *free* and *voluntary* Expenſes.

When inſtituted.

Whence ſo called.

Vide Pancirolum in Not. Imp. orient. c. 73.

62. At firſt the Emperours made uſe of a *Candidate* of the Queſtorſhip, or ſome other Courtier, who paid ſuch Aſſignments of Bounty, as they made out of their Privie Purſe, till *Alexander Severus* brought in thoſe they called *Ærarii*. Theſe Acts of Bounty were chiefly upon occaſion of ſome publick Rejoycing, and were called *Congiaria*; probably from the carrying of the Money in *Congiis* (that ſort of Veſſels) into the *Forum*. This courſe to pleaſe the People, was much practiſed by *Auguſtus*, and after by his Succeſſors imitated, till *Conſtantine*, as was ſaid, for the diſtribution of his Bounty, brought in this Officer, who from the *Largitiones* or Gifts, had his name. Before his time the *Congiaria* and Feaſtings were the uſual ways, whereby the Princes carreſſed the people. In and after his time, they uſed ſeveral other Courſes. *Pancirolus* takes notice, that a pound of Gold was wont to be given to the *Alitarcha*, that he might not cut down the Cypreſs Trees, as he was wont, in the Grove of *Daphne*. Ten pounds of Gold were given by *Juſtinian* out of the Revenue of *Phœnicia* to the *Primicerius Notariorum*: but a ſet and ſolemn ſort of Bounty they uſed on *New-years-Day*, on which it was the Cuſtom for them to give New-years-Gifts to the *Comites* of the *Conſiſtory*, and others; as with the late Emperours, to preſent the *Senate* and *Officers* of the Army on *Eaſter-Day*. Beſides theſe, this *Comes* paid Souldiers and others their Wages; and thence had the Name, not only of *Largitionum*, but *Remunerationum Comes*. To theſe were added *Comes Sacri Ærarii*, *Theſaurorum Curator*, or *Præfectus Imperialium Pecuniarum*, *Quæſtor*, and the like; for to him was alſo committed the care of collecting and keeping the Publick Revenue ariſing by tributes and cuſtoms.

His work.

63. The Revenue by Cuſtoms was either greater, or leſſer, according to the Covetouſneſs, Occaſions, or Humours of the Princes. In the Reign of *Heliogabalus*, the tenth part of the value of Wares was exacted, which *Alexander* reduced to the thirtieth, or little more than three in a hundred; and this gave Occaſion to the ſtamping of *half Aurei*, and the third part of an *Aureus*; all Payments of this Nature being in thoſe days made in Gold. But ſucceeding Princes would have the eighth part of the Value, or little more than twelve in the hundred. And for Tribute the Subject paid what the Emperour, or *Præfectus Prætorio* demanded, or as the cuſtom of the Countreys was,(as was formerly ſaid) which being in kind was laid up in the publick Store-houſes, for the Maintenance of the Armies, and relief of the Poor: but the Money ariſing from the Cuſtoms and Tributes was the charge of the *Comes Largitionum*. The *Jews* paid a *Didrachm* for every Head, which being impoſed in the room of that, which was wont to be paid to the Temple, *Theodoſius* commanded to be alſo received by him, as that Impoſt called *Capitatio* upon Country-men, was wont to be. Now that this *Comes* might the better diſcharge ſo vaſt an Office, for procurement of the Payment of the Revenue, he ſent ſome of thoſe Officers, or Notaries that attended him, called *Imitendarii*, into all the Provinces, to conſtrain the *Præſidents*, or Governours to gather, and pay the Money; who for this purpoſe named one, or two of their own Office, as *Procurators* to attend. Beſides there were others called *Tractatores*, who as *Auditors* took their Accounts, and every four Months ſent them up with the Money to the *Comes*.

Officers under him.

Other inferiour *Comites Largitionum.*

Comites Commerciorum.

Stationarii.

Præfecti Theſaurorum.

Suſceptor.

Tabularius.

64. But there were many Officers in the Provinces, which the *Notitia* placeth under his Diſpoſition, or Command. As firſt, in the five Diœceſes of the *Eaſt*, ſo many; who were alſo ſtyled *Comites Largitionum*, though but of the third Degree or Rank of *Comites*; for they were but *Perfectiſſimi*. The Diœceſes are in the *Notitia* ſet down in general, without any Enumeration, or certain Number; but *Pancirolus* will have them ſix, *viz.* the known ones; the *Eaſt* ſtrictly ſo called, *Ægypt*, *Aſiana*, *Pontica*, *Thracia*, and *Macedonia*. Beſides theſe the *Notitia* mentions others called *Comites Commerciorum*, through the *Eaſt* and *Ægypt*, through *Mœſia*, *Scythia*, *Pontus* and *Illyricum*. being four in Number, as he computes. Theſe were tradeſmen, or Overſeers of ſuch, who bought up Materials for the Emperour's or Empreſs her wearing, as Silk, Wool, Flax, Purple, Skins, or other Materials, and provided Jewels and Pearl, Ointments and Silver. It was their Work alſo to ſee, that all Duties were paid by Merchants, for which purpoſe they had Officers under them, called *Stationarii*, in Places of Traffick: for out of the Cuſtoms it was, that Gift-Money and Wages were paid. Moreover, they look'd that no forbidden Commodities, as Gold, Iron, Grinding Stones, Armes, Salt, Corne, Wine, Oyl, or other things were carried out of the Empire to *Barbarians*; whom they neither permitted to traffick in the Empire, nor the Emperour's Subjects in their Territories. Next after theſe *Comites*, the *Notitia* mentions the *Præfecti Theſaurorum* under Command of the *Comes Largitionum*. Theſe were the Treaſurers of every Province, who kept the Money of each *Diſtrict*, and ſeparate from the reſt, till it was ſent up to him, having received it from the *Decuriones*; for in each City this was the Courſe of raiſing Money impoſed by way of Tax: There was one *Decurio*, or Alderman choſen out to be Receiver, and accordingly had the name of *Suſceptor*, who received what was required by way of Tax of every one after it was gathered, and paid in to him by the *Ducenarii* and *Sexegenarii* Apparitors, to whom the *Tabularius*, or Clerk ſo called, gave out the Rolls. The *Suſceptor* gave an *Apocha*, or Acquittance to him that paid him, wherein was expreſſed the name of the Payer, the ſum, the Cauſe of the Payment, the Day, Moneth and *Conſul*; as in like manner did the *Stationarii*, to thoſe of whom they received the Cuſtom, and then ſent away the Money to the *Præſident*, by whom it was conveyed to the *Theſaurenſes*. Theſe *Præfects* being in Places of ſo great Truſt, were not admitted, no more than the other *Theſaurenſes*, but in the *Scrinium Epiſtolarum*, by Commiſſion ſigned with the Prince his own Hand; nor without having firſt given ſufficient Caution for their honeſt Deportment.

Comes Metallorum per Illyricum.

Vide Goth. in L. L. 3. 4. de Metallis & Metallariis Cod. Th. lib. 10. Tit. 19.

65. Next after theſe *Præfecti Theſaurorum*, is reckoned the *Comes Metallorum* through *Illyricum*, who exacted the Portion of Gold due to the Emperour, from ſuch as gathered it, either in Rivers, or Mines, according to the Cuſtoms of Places; eight or ſeven Scruples, or Caracts by the year, not in melted Gold, but in the Oar. He is named of *Illyricum*, becauſe there, as in *Macedonia* and the neighbouring Countries, was great plenty of Metals, and there the Emperout had alſo Mines of his own; the Overſeers of which were choſen out of the *Curiales*, or beſt

Comes & Rationalis Summarum.

men of the Cities under Command of this *Comes*. After him follows one termed the *Comes*, or *Rationalis Summarum* of *Ægypt*. He was ſent into that Country to inquire after thoſe they called *Bona caduca*, *Eſcheats* or Goods which any other way fell to the Exchequer, having at firſt no Juriſdiction; but afterwards, there being found Reaſon to employ him in buſineſs of very great Moment, his Dignity increaſed ſo, that he obtained the Title of *Comes*, and of *Rationalis Summarum*. For in thoſe days, and long after, till the finding out of the way into the *Eaſt-Indies* by Sea, there being a vaſt Trade driven in *Ægypt* out of *India* and *Arabia*, for Silks, Pretious Stones, Pearl and Spices, and thereupon vaſt Cuſtoms ariſing; it was thought fit to employ ſuch an Officer, and to gain him Reſpect by ſuch a Title and Character of *Comes*, *Rationalis*, and *Procurator*. It was the Cuſtom for a *Rationalis* to go very well habited, as appears by a Story out of *Ammianus*; how a Barber being ſent for, to cut the Hair of *Julian* the Emperour, one came to him ſo ſpruce and fine, that he was amazed, and ſaid, I did not ſend for a *Rationalis*, but for a Barber. In the *Weſt* there were eleven *Rationales* made in ſeveral Provinces; but in the *Eaſt* this of *Ægypt* is only mentioned, ſo that *Pancirolus* concludes, that either ſomething is wanting in the *Notitia*, or elſe the under-*Comites Largitionum* in the other Provinces ſupplied their Places.

Magiſtri Linteæ Veſtis.

Their Employment.

Magiſtri privatæ Veſtis.

Procuratores Gynæciorum.

Procuratores Baphiorum.

Procuratores Monetarum.

Præpoſitus etiam Monetæ, & Magiſtratus Æris.

66. Next follow in the Catalogue of Officers Subject to the Command of the *Comes*, they who went under the Name of *Magiſtri Lineæ* (or *Linteæ*) *Veſtis*; theſe were the Overſeers of ſuch as wrought in Linnen, for the furniſhing of the Court with Neceſſaries made of that Stuff, which Workmen were of the Quality of thoſe they called *Conditionales*; that is, *they and their Children were perpetually obnoxious to this Work and Service.* Theſe *Magiſtri*, both took Care for preparing the ſeveral ſorts of Linnen, and when made kept a Wardrobe of them, of which the Inventory was preſerved in the *Scrinium Sacri Veſtiarii*, written by the *Primicerius* of that Office. In the *Weſt*, inſtead of theſe *Magiſtri Lineæ Veſtis*, there was one that bore the Title of *Comes Veſtiarii*, who provided and kept the Linnen as the other did; and by ſome is reckoned amongſt the *Cubicularii*, or thoſe of the Bed-Chamber. After theſe *Magiſtri* come the *Magiſtri Privatæ Veſtis*, or Maſters of the Privy Robes, who had the charge of providing thoſe that were made of other things than Linnen, as of Silk and Woollen, for the Prince his uſe. They are alſo by *Conſtantine* termed *Procuratores*; and by Reaſon of the great things in their Charge, were to give Caution before their Admittance. Next follow the *Procuratores Gynæciorum*, ſo called from the *Gynæcia*, or inward Rooms, where Women as well as others wove Hangings, and other things of Silk, or Gold and Silk together; of which Works theſe *Procuratores* had the Charge, and gave Caution alſo at their firſt Admittance. Thoſe that ſewed under them being ſometimes Slaves, but however otherwiſe free Perſons, yet condemned (both they and their Poſterity,) to this Service. The *Procuratores Baphiorum*, or of thoſe Work-houſes where Wool or Silk was died, follow next. The Work-houſes were many throughout the Empire; but thoſe of moſt eſteem were in *Phœnicia*, for the dying of Purple, the Sale of which was forbidden, it being unlawful for any but the Prince to buy it; and thoſe Dyers were of the ſort of *Conditionales* alſo, being condemned with their Poſterity to this Drudgery. Then doth the *Notitia* mention the *Procuratores Monetarum*, or thoſe who under our *Comes Largitionum* took Care of the Mints, or coining of Money. In the *Weſt*, as we formerly ſaid, it reckons up ſix Places that had publick Mints, of which each had it's *Procurator*; but how many were in the *Eaſt* it doth not expreſs; though we have formerly taken notice of ſome Cities, that had this Privilege.

The *Roman* Money.

Brerewood de antiquis Romanorum Nummis.

The Stamp of the Braſs.

When Silver came in uſe.

67. Here it will not be inconvenient to ſay ſomething of the value of the *Roman* Coin: And firſt of the loweſt ſort, or that of Braſs. Their *Æs* therefore, or moſt Antient Money, was firſt ſtamped by *Servius Tullius*, whereas formerly it was diſtinguiſhed only by Weight, and not by any Image. And firſt the Image was that of Cattle or *Pecus*, whence it was called *Pecunia*. Afterward, it had on one ſide the Beak of a Ship, on the other a *Janus*, or double Body, and ſuch were the ſtamps of the *As*: for as for the *Triens*, *Quadrans*, and *Sextans*, they had the Impreſſion of a Boat upon them. A long time did the *Romans* uſe this kind, and no other Money, till after the War with *Pyrrhus*, in the CCCCLXXXIIII year of the City, and five before the firſt *Punick* War, Silver began to be Coined. The Stamps upon the Silver *Denarii*, or Pennies, are, for the moſt part Waggons, with two or four Cattle in them, on the one ſide, and on the other the Head of *Rome*, with an Helmet. The *Victoriati* have the Image of Victory ſitting: the *Seſtertii* uſually *Caſtor* and *Pollux* on the one ſide, and both ſorts, on the other part, the Image of the Ci-

When Gold.

ty; ſo the Cuſtom continued during the Commonwealth. *Auguſtus* cauſed *Capricorn* to be ſet upon his Coin; and the Succeeding Emperours ordinarily their own Images. Laſt of all came up Coin of Gold, which was firſt ſtamped ſixty two years after that of Silver, in the *Conſulſhip* of *Claudius Nero*, and *M. Livius Salinator*, with the ſame Stamp and Images; which to our Learned Countryman *Brerewood* ſeems to have been the Reaſon, why Golden Coines are alſo ſometimes termed *Denarii* by the *Romans*. So much for the Original of the ſeveral ſorts of Coins; now, more particularly, of the ſeveral kinds. Firſt, of the Braſs, from this named Author, to whoſe Diſcourſe nothing is now to be added, except it be this; that the *Romans* had a greater ſort of Money mix'd of Braſs and Silver, called *Majorina*, as is obſervable out of the Code of *Theodoſius*.

Several ſorts of Braſs-Coin.

68. The *As* was ſo named, *quaſi Æs*, or Braſs, being of that Metal, and at firſt conſiſted of a Pound-weight, till in the firſt *Punick* War, the People being ſorely oppreſſed by Debt, cauſed of one, ſix to be made, and yet to be of the ſame value. In the ſecond *Punick* War, *Annibal* ſorely preſſing upon them, in the *Dictatorſhip* of *Fabius Maximus*, they were reduced to one half, or to conſiſt of an ounce apiece; and in concluſion, by the Law of *Papyrius*, brought down to half an Ounce, and ſo continued. Now the *As* contained the tenth part of the *Denarius*; and was in value of our Money *ob.* q^{a}. The *Semiſſis*, or *Semiæs*, half as much. The *Triens* was the third part of the *As*, and the *Quadrans* the fourth, by ſome called *Triuncis* and *Teruntius*, becauſe it contained three ounces before the value was diminiſhed. The *Sextans*, or ſixth part was that which every Head contributed to the Funeral of *Menenius Agrippa*, but theſe were not thought ſufficient for uſe, and therefore there were other Pieces made, as the *Uncia*, or twelfth part of the Pound, the *Semuncia*, of the weight of four *Drachms*, and the *Sextula*, or ſixth part of an ounce. Theſe were the Coins leſſer than the *As*, anciently uſed by the *Romans* in their Traffick; but there are greater than the *As* mentioned, (he tells us) by *Varro*, as the *Decuſſis*, which was of the value of *Ten*, or of a *Denarius*; the *Viceſſis*, of two *Denarii*; the *Treceſſis*, of three; and they aroſe as high as *Centuſſis*, than which there was no word that contained more of Braſs Money. This contained an hundred *Aſſes*, was worth ten Silver *Denarii*, and of our Money 6 *s.* 3 *d.*

Of Silver.

The old *Denarius.*

The new.

Bigatus & *Quadrigatus.*

Seſtertius.

Nummus.

Obolus.

Libella.

Sembella.

Teruntius.

69. For the Silver Money, the old *Denarius* was ſo named, becauſe it contained *denos æris* or *aſſes*, *viz.* ten *Aſſes*, though its Weight and value was not at all times alike. For the old *Roman Denarius*, during the Commonwealth, weighed the ſeventh part of an ounce; and was in value of our Money 8 *d. ob. c.* with $\frac{3}{7}$ *c*; but the new *Denarius*, which came up in the time of *Claudius*, or a little before, weighed exactly an Attick Drachm; ſo that the *Greek* Writers, when they ſpeak of it, for every *Denarius* mention a Drachm; which of our Money was of the Value of 7 *d. ob.* Now, with reference to this new ſort of *Denarius*, are computations made generally; and if reſpect be had to the Ancienter Times, when the old, and true one was in uſe, then are all Reckonings to be increaſed one ſeventh part; for, ſo much did the Old exceed the New. Now know, that when you meet with *Bigatus* and *Quadrigatus*, they are the ſame with a *Denarius*, ſo called, becauſe it had the *Bigæ* and *Quadrigæ* ſtamped upon it. There was another Coin called *Victoriatus*, from the Image of Victory ſeen upon it, firſt ſtamped at *Rome*, by a Law of *Clodius*, which was in value half a *Denarius*; and therefore it was alſo called *Quinarius*, as containing the value of five *Aſſes*, and was worth 3 *d. ob. q.* The next that follows, and which makes moſt Noiſe in Books is, the *Seſtertius*, ſo called *quaſi Seſquitertius*, becauſe it contained two *Aſſes* and an half, being the half of a *Victoriatus*, and the fourth of a *Denarius*. In Writers it's often called abſolutely by the name of *Nummus*, becauſe it was in moſt frequent uſe, as alſo *Seſtertius Nummus*, being worth of our preſent Money but 1 *d. ob.* q^{a}. *q.* The *Obolus* was the ſixth part of a *Denarius* (equal to the Attick *Obolus*) and therefore by *Celſus* is called *Sextans*, as *Brerewood* quotes him, being as much as 1 *d.* q^{a}. The *Libella* was the tenth part of *Denarius*, and equal in value to the *As*, ſo called as a little Pound, becauſe ſuppoſed to equal a pound of Braſs. It was but of our Money worth *ob.* q^{a}. The *Sembella*, as if written *Semilibella*, was half this. And laſtly, the *Teruntius* was the fortieth part of a *Denarius*; ſo named, becauſe it was worth three ounces of Braſs. It was the leaſt Silver-Coin in uſe with the *Romans*, at leaſt, that is met with in Books, being as inconſiderable in value, as next to nothing.

Golden Coins.

70. To come at laſt to the Golden Coins; thoſe moſt Remarkable were the *Aurei Denarii*; ſo ſtyled, becauſe either the ſame Images were ſtamped upon them as

upon the *Denarii*, or becauſe in bulk they do much reſemble them. From ſuch of them as Time hath not Conſumed, it appears, that the old *Aureus*, ſtamped during the Commonwealth, weighed two Silver *Denarii*; ſo as forty two were made of one Pound of Gold. It weighed two *Drachms* with $\frac{2}{7}$ and was worth of our Money 17 *s.* 1 *d. ob. qa.* The Newer *Aureus*, ſtamped about the beginning of the Emperours, was lighter than the former, one ſeventh part, weighing two *Drachms*, ſo as forty eight were made of one Pound of Gold; ſo that in Weight they equalled one of our Roſe-Nobles, being worth about as much, or 15 *s* of our preſent Money. Thus they continued *Didrachmi* for the time of the five firſt *Cæſars*, till *Nero's* Reign, and then by the Fraud and Avarice of Princes were made lighter, at firſt, in *Nero's* time, but two or three Granes; then under *Galba* they wanted a little more; and thoſe of *Nerva*, *Trajan* and *Adrian* want no fewer than eight. But the *Aurei* that *Veſpaſian* ſtamped, want ten Granes in Weight; as alſo thoſe of *Antoninus Pius*, *M. Aurelius*, *Severus*, and others. And for *Domitian* it may be ſaid, that he reſtored to theſe *Aurei* in his time the full Weight of two *Drachms*. But ſo the *Roman Aurei* continued, either *Didrachmi* or thereabouts, till the Reign of *Alexander Severus*; and he cauſed to be Coined the *Semiſſis*, or *Half-Aureus*, conſiſting of one *Drachm*, as alſo the *Tremiſſis*, or *Triens*, or Third Part; the one being worth 7 *s.* 6 *d.* and the other 5 *s.* of our Money: and ſo the Mint went till *Aurelian* Reigned; who again returned to the *Aureus* two Drachms; and ſo this Coin continued as long as *Rome* continued to be the Seat of the Empire.

The New *Aureus*.

How it varied under ſeveral Emperours.

71. *Conſtantine* the Great brought the Weight of the *Aureus* down in his Mints from two Drachms to one, and a ſeventh part; ſo that it weighed exactly the weight of the old Silver *Roman Denarius*; for he cauſed ſeven to be made of one Ounce, or Eighty four of a Pound; yet Ordering each to conſiſt of four Scruples, as he ſaith in his Edict, by a new way of Reckoning twenty Granes and a half to a Scruple. This new *Aureus* was after his time, by *Greek* Writers, called *Nomiſma*, (as *Solidus* by the *Romans*, being of our Money in value 8 *s.* 6 *d. ob. qa.* & $\frac{6}{7}$ *q.*) Such *Aurei* continued in uſe till the Reign of *Valentinian*, who cauſed others to be ſtamped, that were ſomething more heavy; for he Ordered that Six ſhould be made of one Ounce of Gold, whereupon by the *Greeks* it was called *Hexagion*, and by others *Sextula*. Theſe contained four Scruples, or one Drachm and $\frac{1}{3}$ apiece; ſo as ſeventy two were made of an Ounce of Gold. And ſuch were the *Aurei Solidi* in the time of *Juſtinian*; and ſo they ſeem to have continued till the laſt; except, when by the Avarice of Princes they have been made lighter, as *Brierwood* upon Trial found in the Coins of ſeveral Emperours; but the juſt Weight was four Scruples, and ſo they were of the value of our 10 *s.* There being alſo ſtamped by *Valentinian* the *Semiſſis*, or half of the *Aureus*, the *Triens*, or Third part, and the *Scrupulum*, or fourth part of this *Aureus Solidus*, which abated proportionably in value.

Nomiſma. Aureus Solidus.

Sed Conſule quæ ſcripſit Jacobus Gothofredus in L. un. de Oblatione. Votorum Cod. Th. l. 7. tit. 24. Hic aliter Valentiniani Factum interpretatur, adeò ut, non Aureorum pondus imminutum ſit, verum numerus tantùm Solidorum imminutus in Libram, & ſic Libra ipſa imminuta. Vide Hiſt. hunc noſtram infrà.

72. To make this Matter compleat, we muſt add what Silver and Braſs-Coins were in uſe at *Conſtantinople*, after the Tranſlation of the Empire thither. There was that they called *Miliariſium*, which weighed two Drachms, being worth the eighth part of an *Aureus Solidus*, and of our preſent Money 1 *s.* 3 *d.* The greater *Siliqua*, or *Cerates*, contained half of the value of this, or 7 *d. ob.* The *Siliqua*, or *Ceratium Simplex*, being the twenty fourth part in value of the *Solidus Aureus*, was worth of our preſent Coin 5 *d.* Theſe were Silver. Then was there of Braſs or Iron-Coin, the *Follis*, ſo called, becauſe it was beaten out like a Leaf. It was worth the twelfth part of a *Siliqua*. Such were the *Roman* Coins, the Names of which our *Brierwood* could diſcover in Antiquity. It remains, that ſomething be ſaid of the Marks of certain Coins, by which they may be known in Antient Writers, and the Sums by which they uſually reckoned. Becauſe the *As* was at firſt (as hath been ſaid) of a Pound weight, it is thus expreſſed **Ł**, and the *Seſtertius*, becauſe it contained in value two pounds of Braſs and a half, thus **ŁŁS**, or **ĦS**. The mark of the *Quinarius*, or *Victoriatus* was Λ, and of the *Denarius* X or ✱.

Silver and Braſs-Coins at *Conſtantinople*.

73. Now for the Sums, there were three in uſe amongſt the *Romans*. Firſt, *Seſtertium*, in the Neuter Gender, according to the Vulgar Opinion, which contained a thouſand *Seſtertii*; ſo much as in the time of *Auguſtus* it was lawful to ſpend at a Wedding-Feaſt. The next was the *Libra*, or Pound, which contained of Silver twelve Ounces, or ninety ſix Drachms, or later *Denarii*, and was worth of our Money 3 *l.* The third was the *Talent*, which contained twenty four *Seſtertia*, and ſix thouſand later *Denarii*, being the ſame with the *Attique Talent*. For, the Names of

Sums of Money.

Λίτρα Οὔγγία.

of *Talent*, *Mina*, and *Drachm*, the *Romans* took from the *Greeks*, as thoſe from them the other of *Libra* and *Uncia*. This was worth of our preſent Money 187 *l.* 10 *s.* There often occurs alſo the mention of *Sportula*, which was of the value of ten *Seſterces*, and 1 *s.* 6 *d. ob. q*ª. Theſe were the Sums by which they reckoned. But, as for the *Seſtertium* in the Neuter Gender, Mr. *Brierwood* obſerves, that it's not to be found in any Antient Author in the Singular Number, as now it is uſed. And the reaſon brought why it ſhould be termed *Seſtertium*, becauſe it contained two Pounds of Silver and a half, is not good: for a thouſand *Seſterces* make up 7 *l.* 16 *s.* 3 *d.* whereas the two Pounds and a half amount but to 7 *l.* 10 *s.* But the Plural Number *Seſtertia* is often met with, and in this ſenſe, as containing a thouſand *Seſtertii*. However, in reckoning by *Seſterces*, the *Romans* had an Art, which may be known by theſe three Rules. The firſt is, that if a Numeral Noun agree in Caſe, Number and Gender with *Seſtertius*, then it denotes preciſely ſo many *Seſtertii*, as *Decem Seſtertii*, juſt ſo many. The ſecond is this; If a Numeral Noun of another Caſe be joyned with the Genitive Plural of *Seſtertius*, as *Seſtertiûm*, it denotes ſo many thouſand; as for Example, *Decem Seſtertiûm* ſignifies ten thouſand *Seſtertii*. Laſtly, If the Adverb Numeral be joyned, it denotes ſo many hundred thouſand, as *Decies Seſtertiûm* ſignifies ten hundred thouſand *Seſterces*; or if the Adverb Numeral be put by it ſelf, it is of the ſame ſignification, as *Decies*, or *Vigeſies*, ſo many hundred thouſand *Seſtertii*, or, as they ſay, an hundred *Seſtertia*. It's eaſie to ſee here in Reading Authors very Learned Men have been miſtaken, for want either of Knowing or Obſerving theſe Rules. But thus much of the *Roman* Coins, from the Learned *Brierwood*, to which, upon occaſion ſomething may be added. Now to return.

Three Rules about *Seſterces*.

74. Next to the *Procuratores Monetarum* (under whom ſuch as wrought were alſo, with their Wives and Children obnoxious ever to that Service.) The *Notitia* mentions the *Præpoſiti Baſtagarum*, as alſo obedient to the *Comes Largitionum*. By *Baſtaga*, or *Baſtagma* is meant a Duty of Conveyance, or carriage of things belonging to the Publick, or to the Prince. Of ſuch as were obnoxious to this Service, ſome Diſcharged it by Water, as the *Navicularii*, of whom heretofore; and ſome by Land, by Mules or Horſes. The *Tertiocerius* of the Office of this *Magiſter*, gave order for the *Baſtagæ*, of which each had its *Præpoſitus*, or Overſeer. The laſt ſort of Officers under Command of the *Comes Largitionum*, mentioned by the *Notitia*, are the *Procuratores Linificiorum*, whoſe Duty it was to procure Flax for the Service of the Prince and Court, as it was the Task of the *Magiſtri Lineæ Veſtis*, to get it Cleanſed, Wrought, and made up into ſuch Cloths or other things as uſe required. All thoſe Officers were obedient to the Command of the *Comes*, but had diſtinct Charges of their own, not being his Attendants, or his Servants. But he had an *Officium*, or number of Attendants, being Secretaries or Clerks, who took the Accounts of thoſe forementioned Perſons. Thoſe wrote in ten ſeveral *Scrinia* or Offices, and were termed the *Militia Literata*, and *Palatini*, becauſe they lived in the Prince his Palace, being Excuſed from Sordid Employments, and the finding of Souldiers. The which *Officium*, or Attendance had its *Primicerius*; there were alſo the *Secundocerius*, *Tertiocerius*, and *Quartocerius*; and each *Scrinium*, or particular Chamber, had its *Primicerius* alſo. The *Primicerius* of the whole Attendance, and the three next under him, enjoyed the Dignity of the *Prætorian Tribunes*, being permitted to Salute the Prince, and adore the Purple, as they phraſed it; nay the *Primicerii* afterwards had the Honour of *Enconſulares*.

A Βαστάζω, Porto.

Præpoſiti Baſtagarum.

75. To omit the Deſcription of the Nature of theſe ſeveral *Scrinia*, as alſo the Arms of this *Comes*, as too tedious, which the Reader, if he pleaſe, may find in *Pancirolus*. The next Great Officer, and of the Dignity of *Illuſtris*, was the *Comes Rerum Privatarum*. The Emperours, very anciently, had ſuch as took care of their Private Eſtates, or Patrimonies, eſpecially the *Rationalis* of *Alexandria*; but *Severus*, after the Overthrow of *Albinus*, Confiſcating the Eſtates of an infinite number of Perſons that had taken his part, gave original to this Officer, ſetling one more certain; who in Books goes under many Names and Titles: as *Cæſaris Procurator*, or *Curator*; *Rationalis*, *Procurator Privatæ Rationis*, *Magiſter Rei Privatæ*, *Rationalis Summæ Rei*, *Domûs Procurator*, *Comes Rei Dominicæ*, *Imperatoris Domûs Præfectus*, *Comes Rerum Privatarum*, *Imperialium Theſaurorum Curator*, *Imperialium Pecuniarum Privatarum Quæſtor*, *Comes Illuſtris Ærarii Privati*, and others. He of the *Eaſt* had the Charge and Government of all the Prince his Patrimony, or Demeſne, eſpecially his Lands in *Aſia*, *Pontica*, *Cappadocia*, *Meſopotamia*, *Oſrhoena* and other

The *Comes* Rerum Privatarum.

(a) *Vide etiàm Notitiam Dignitatum Codicis Theodoſiani.*

(b) *Comitiva Privatarum, ſicut Nominis ipſius ſentitur Vocabulum; per Rationalium Curam quondàm Principûm privatam fertur Gubernaſſe ſubſtantiam.*

(c) *Caſſiodorus var. lib. 6. c. 8. Vide Pancirolum in Not. & Notit. Cod. Theodoſiani in hoc Comite.*

His Employment before he came to be *Comes.*

Afterward.

Vide de hac re luculentam formulam Caſſiodori.

Primùm tibi contra nefarias Libidines, & Humani generis improbos Appetitus, quaſi Parenti Publico decreta Cuſtodia eſt &c. Vide quæ tibi Commiſſa ſunt. Caſtitas Viventium & ſecuritas Mortuorum.

other Regions; together with the Parks, thoſe Lands called *Emphyteutica Prædia*, the Huſbandmen, the Flocks, Herds, and other things. For the better Diſcharge whereof, he had Command over the *Preſidents* of the Provinces, and ordered all the private Accounts. Moſt anciently he that diſcharged this Employment was but of *Equeſtrian* Dignity; ſometimes but a *Libertus*. Before they arrived at the Dignity of *Comites*, they judged only Slaves, Vilains, and ſuch as belonged to the Lands of the Emperour, with his *Bona Emphyteutica*, or ſuch things as were brought to the Treaſury, and had Power over their own Train or Attendants. But after theſe *Procurators* came to be *Comites*, they had Cogniſance of Inceſt; and took Care, that Sepulchres were not violated, as *Caſſiodorus* in the *Formula* of this Office gives us to underſtand. In this Commiſſion the King further tells this *Comes*, that it is his part to direct the *Canonicarii*, or ſuch as gathered the *Canones*, or Payments due from Lands, to call upon the Tenants, and take Cogniſance of thoſe Goods, or Eſtates called *Bona Caduca*. Moreover, that it was his part to recover to the Treaſury ſuch Money as was caſually found, and owned no private Maſter. Though the Laws, as *Broſſeus* obſerves, gave ſuch Treaſure to the Finder.

Officers under him.

76. Farther, from Corrupted Judges he recovered the Triple value in Pecuniary Matters, in Capitals their whole Eſtates. From the *Cohortales*, or Officers of Courts, four-fold the Sum they had Exacted of ſuch as went to Law. Publick and Navigable Rivers alſo ſeem to have been under his Inſpection, becauſe ſaid to be in the Patrimony of the Prince. He paid Artificers their Wages, and for the Family of the Emperour and Empreſs, he found Proviſions; without his knowledge nothing belonging to the Private Eſtate of the Prince could be Alienated, not ſo much as by the *Præfect* of the City. Before him were Tryed ſuch Gifts, as were ſaid to be given by the Prince out of Publick Debts, and without him nothing could by Petition be obtain'd. He had under him *Rationales* or *Procuratores*, for gathering of Moneys, from whom there lay Appeal to him: and if the Buſineſs was not worth ſo great a Journey, he might Delegate the Governour of the Province to Hear and Determine the Matter. The Treaſury which belonged to the *Comes Largitionum* was properly called *Ærarium*; and that wherein this *Comes Rerum Privatarum* kept his Money, was termed his *Arca* or Coffer, and alſo *Fiſcus*: although the Terms of *Ærarium* and *Fiſcus* be often Confounded, and one taken for the other: Neither doth *Fiſcus* ſignifie all Private Matters belonging to the Prince, not extending to his Lands, but relating to forfeited Eſtates, or ſuch as fell for want of Heirs, and certain Tolls or Cuſtoms. This *Comes* had in his Court a certain number of Advocates, who obtain'd from the Emperour *Anaſtaſius* the Privilege when they left Pleading, to be ſtyled *Clariſſimi*, and to be eſteemed *Comites* of the firſt Rank.

Paſſim Hiſtoriâ hæc noſtrâ.

77. He alſo, as we hinted, like as the *Comes Largitionum*, had his *Rationales* or *Procuratores* in all Provinces, to receive all the Eſtates Confiſcate, or any other way appertaining to his Office. In order hereunto, this Courſe was obſerv'd: Firſt, He in whoſe hands ſuch Goods or Eſtates at preſent were, was Cited to Appear, which if he did within thirty dayes, he was heard; paying to the *Primicerius* of the Office, and to the Advocates, four *Solidi*. In caſe no man appear'd, the Goods were ſeized, yet the Intereſt of the Poſſeſſor ſtill ſaved; ſo as if he yet came he might ſtill be heard. The *Comes* firſt declaring, that he challenged the Eſtate. Then did the *Rationales* Inventory the Goods, and ſeized on them in the Emperour's behalf, which Action they termed *Incorporatio*: and laſtly, fixed Bills or Titles on his Lands, which ſhould give notice of the ſame. To theſe *Rationales* alſo belonged the Care of the Emperour's Houſes, the Lands *Patrimonial* and *Emphyteutical*, the Recovery of Treaſure found; and if any one ſued for any thing belonging to the Prince before any Judge, it ought not to be without the Knowledge and Preſence of a *Rationalis*. Next to the *Rationalis*, the *Notitia* placeth the *Baſtagæ Privatæ* under the Diſpoſition of this *Comes*: for he commanded thoſe Carriages which conveyed the Private or Patrimonial Matters of the Prince; over which, *Pancirolus* thinks, that as in the *Weſt*, ſo in the *Eaſt* there were two Overſeers. There were alſo under him Overſeers of Stables, or places where Cattel were kept; of Flocks and Herds preſerved for Breed: as to which *Pancirolus* takes notice, how *Arcadius* the Emperour celebrates two of *Mares*; the one ſort called *Hermogeniæ*, and the other *Palmatiæ*, of which in our following Hiſtory. There were alſo the *Procuratores Saltuum*, or of Parks or Paſtures, into which theſe Cattel were ſent to feed; theſe are the Officers mentioned by the *Notitia*, as under the Command of the *Comes*, to which *Pancirolus* and *Gothofred* add others out of the Laws: as the *Comes Sacri Patrimonii*, ſaid by the *Greeks* to have been firſt

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firſt brought up by *Anaſtaſius*, who had a peculiar Charge of the Lands of the Prince, and medled with nothing elſe.

De Comite Stabuli, vel Sacri Stabuli, Vide etiam Notitiam. Dignitatum Cod. Theod. ubi etiam de Gradu ejus agitur.

His Officers.

Vide L. *ult. de Palatinis &c. Cod. Th. lib. 6. Tit. 30.*

78. There was alſo a *Comes Stabuli*, who had the Charge of the Emperour's Horſes, and of conveying Horſes out of *Africk*, and the other Provinces for the Service of the Army; which Cuſtom was at length left off; and Money being more wanting, began, in lieu of Horſes to be exacted of thoſe *Africans* at firſt three and twenty *Aurei*; afterwards twenty only, and after that eighteen, and then fifteen for every Horſe; other two *Aurei* were paid to the *Comes Stabuli*, as his Fee, which Cuſtom was abrogated by a Law. There was alſo under Command of this *Comes Rei Privatæ*, the *Comes Domorum per Cappadociam*, or the *Comes* that had the Charge of the Emperour's Houſes in *Cappadocia*; and beſides the *Rationales*, others called *Magiſtri Rei Privatæ*, and the *Præpoſiti Gynæcio*. Beſides theſe Officers ſubordinate and commanded by him, he had, as other great Magiſtrates, an *Officium*, or Attendance of his own Servants, and more directly under him, who had the various Names of *Apparitores* and *Palatini*, becauſe they wrote in the Palace, beſides of *Cæſariani*, *Privatiani* or *Privati*, and *Catholiciani*, to whoſe Miniſtry or Under-Service the *Demeſne* or *Patrimony* of the Prince, and Eſtates falling to the *Fiſcus* did belong. For of the Revenues that aroſe from his Lands, and the Charges upon them, and the Sales made of them they took an Account, as alſo of forfeited Eſtates, and other Matters relating the ſame way. Therefore in Caſe any Cloths, Gold, Silver or Slaves belonged to the Emperour after this manner, theſe *Palatini* could not buy them, nor chaffer among themſelves, leſt by the Familiarity ſuppoſed to be amongſt them, and the Friendſhip thereby contracted, any Partiality might ariſe, and by that, Detriment to the Prince. And this *Officium* had its *Primicerius* and its *Secundocerius*, who had the Charge of the Writings and Accounts. The whole *Officium* was divided into four ſeveral *Scrinia*; each of which had its *Primiſcrinius* or *Primicerius*, to whom *Theodoſius* the Younger, gave the ſame Privileges, as thoſe belonging to the *Comes Largitionum* enjoy'd; that they ſhould have the Dignity and Honour of *Exconſulares*. Concerning them, as alſo the Enſigns of the Office of this *Comes*, which, as of the other *Comes Largitionum*, were, beſides the Faces of Princes, Baskets of Coin, and other things ſuitable to his Office; the Reader may conſult, if he pleaſe *Pancirolus*, and from *Gothofred* may have an account of ſuch Perſons, as from the Laws of *Theodoſius* his *Code*, appear to have executed this Place, as other Catalogues of the great Officers of the Empire.

Domeſtick Protectors, and their *Comites*.

Domeſtici Protectores Domeſtici dicti fuerunt; attamen Domeſtici à nudis Protecto*ribus diſtincti: nam Domeſtici digniori loco habiti, & Protectoribus præpoſiti; familiariùs enim Principi Militabant. vide Comm. Gothofredi in* L. *uni de* Præpoſitis *Laborum, Cod. Th. Lib. 6. Tit. 25. Sed ſufficit. cum Com. l. 9. de Domeſticis &* Protectoribus *lib. 6. Tit. 24. Vide Auctor. Vitæ Conſtantini lib. 2. C. 8. Hi forſan dicti* Præpoſiti *Laborum pro Præpoſiti* Labororum.

79. We have at length done with the *Illuſtrious* Officers of the Court, as well as the Country; if we but diſpatch two remaining, which were, the *Comes Domeſticorum Equitum*, and *Comes Domeſticorum Peditum*. Beſides the *Vexillations* of Horſe, the *Legions* and *Auxilia* of *Palatine* Foot, anciently called *Prætorian*, there were yet alſo certain Horſe and Foot which had as well as they, the Style and Title of *Prætorian*; but more properly and peculiarly were called *Domeſtick Protectors*, firſt brought up by *Gordian* the Younger, and by the later *Greek* Emperours called *Spatarii*. They received more pay than others, but never went to the Wars, the Deſign of them being only to protect the Prince his Perſon, and be near about him. They were elected out of the ſeven *Scholæ* of the *Armenians*; one of this Number was *Ammianus Marcellinus*, the Hiſtorian, being *Protector* to the Emperour *Conſtantius*; and ſome write, that *Diocleſian* was *Comes Domeſticorum*, at the time of his Election. Amongſt theſe *Domeſticks*, the firſt ten, after the *Primicerius*, were more eminent in Dignity, and received greater Pay than the reſt, being of the Title of *Clariſſimi*. After the *Comes*, the next was called *Tribunus*, and was of the Degree of *Spectabilis*, whom followed the *Primicerius*, and then the *Secundocerius*; who dying within the year, his Heirs, not only received the Profits of that year, but alſo, if before his Death he had ſucceeded as *Primicerius* of that year, they were permitted alſo to receive that Revenue. Moreover, ſuch as dyed of theſe *Protectors*, were ſucceeded by their Sons; who, though not of Age to bear Arms, were admitted to the Pay of four ordinary men. Thoſe fifty that moſt deſerved for their Strength and Piety, next the ten, carried the *Labarum*, or Banner of our *Saviour*, each in his Turn, and in the Title or Dignity of *Clariſſimus* were equal to them, being alſo ſtyled *Præpoſiti Laborum*. They were daily in waiting, and every day permitted to ſalute the Emperour, or as the Phraſe was, to *Adore the Purple*; which being their conſtant Practice, to *Adore the Purple* came to ſignify as much as to be admitted into their Number; and beſides, they were allowed to kiſs the Cheek of the *Vicars* of the *Præfecti Prætorio*, which to all was not indulged. The Advocates of the *Fiſcus* might every year preſent two to ſucceed ſuch of theſe *Domeſtick* Horſe, or Footmen as died, on certain Conditions: for this *Comes* had Fees from

them in larger meaſure, and from others that were admitted into theſe Places. Theſe *Comites Domeſticorum* ſometimes ſupplied the places of the *Magiſtri Militum*, and were ſent againſt the *Barbarians*. We had almoſt ſet them at the Degree of *Spectabilis*, becauſe in the *Notitia* of the Dignities of the *Code* of *Theodoſius*, they are ſo placed: but in the *Notitia* of the Empire they have the Title of *Illuſtris*; and that of the *Code*, though at firſt it expreſſeth that this *Comes* is ſtyled *Clariſſimus*, yet adds, that in other Laws he is joyned with *Illuſtrious* perſons, as the *Præfects* and *Magiſtri Militum*, and is ſet before the *Præpoſitus Cubiculi*, the *Magiſter Officiorum*, the *Quæſtor*, *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum*, and *Rei Privatæ*. But in the *Notitia* of the Empire, he is placed after all theſe; although, as the other tells us, he was with them privileged from finding Souldiers to the Wars. And ſo now we have done (to be ſure) with the *Illuſtrious* Perſons, of which *Pancirolus* gives you this Catalogue, as to the *Eaſtern* Empire, *viz.* three *Præfects*, two *Prætorio*, and one of the City; ſix *Magiſtri*, *viz.* five *Magiſtri Militum*, and one *Magiſter Officiorum*; four *Comites*; viz. *Largitionum*, *Rei Privatæ*, *Domeſticorum Equitum*, & *Peditum*; one *Præpoſitus Cubiculi*, and one *Quæſtor*; in all fifteen Perſons.

Fifteen Illuſtrious Perſons in the Eaſt.

Perſons of the Rank of *Spectabilis*; as,

The *Caſtrenſis.*

Caſtrenſiani.

Pædagogia.

80. Of thoſe of the Rank of *Spectabilis*, which follows that of *Illuſtris*, the *Primicerius Sacri Cubiculi* is firſt named in the *Notitia* of the Empire; concerning whom, and the *Decani* under him, who Dreſſed the Emperour, and ſerved much in the ſame manner as our preſent *Grooms* of the *Bed-Chamber*, we have already ſpoken. The next in order to him was the *Caſtrenſis*, as the ſaid *Notitia* calls him, or the *Comes & Caſtrenſis*, or *Comes & Caſtrenſis Sacri Palatii*, as the *Notitia* in the *Code* finds him Cited in the Laws. This Perſon had the overſight of ſuch as Waited on the Prince out of his Chamber in the Palace; ſuch as belonged to his Pantry, Cellar, or his Table. In the dayes of *Alexander Severus* the Emperour, and before, one of the *Liberti* had the Management of the Prince his Table, by the Name and Title of *Tricliniarcha*, to whom at length ſucceeded this *Comes Caſtrenſis*. Such as under him belonged to the Table, were called *Menſores*, *Menſæ Miniſtri*, *Miniſteriani*, and, as he, *Caſtrenſiani*; either becauſe they were wont to live in the Camp with the Emperour, or, as the Souldiers had a ſort of Service in the Camp, ſo thoſe a kind of Attendance, like to that of Camp, in the Court; for thoſe that Attended in the Palace were alſo termed a *Militia*; and more Perſons were ſaid *Militare*, than thoſe that ſerved in the Camp; the word being in a ſenſe transferred both to Palatine and Religious Services. At firſt, they had Diet and other Neceſſaries found them, but this at length was turn'd into Money. The *Pædagogia*, or Pages, Boyes who wore Purple *Caligæ*, or Hoſen, the *Notitia* ſets under the Command of this *Comes*. It was his Duty alſo to look to the Buildings, Statues, and Ornaments about the Court; and by his Direction Walls of Cities were Repair'd, Caſtles built, as alſo Places for Adminiſtration of Juſtice: Bearing in his hand a Golden Rod, as the Badge of his Office. He, as Chief *Gentleman-Uſher*, walked before the Emperour. He might be preſent at Meals, and had the privilege to Adore the Purple. This is the Office, whom the Authors of the *Byzantine* Story commonly call *Curopalata*; and thoſe of later, or the laſt dayes of the Empire, *Overſeer of the Table*; who uſed the ſame Cap and Veſtments with the *Logotheta Generalis*, the Succeſſor of the *Comes Largitionum*. He had a ſmall *Officium*, or Attendance for keeping Accounts of Diet, and of the Utenſils and Plate belonging to the Tables. Concerning which, ſee *Pancirolus*, as alſo his Conjectures concerning the Enſigns of his Office; which yet are not called *Inſignia* in the *Notitia* of the Empire, (as he obſerves) having not this Word ſet above them, as neither above thoſe of *Spectabilis*, nor *Clariſſimi*, who follow (as the other of the *Illuſtrious* Perſons have) although their Arms be alſo placed in the Book. The Reaſon (as he thinks) might be this, that when they went abroad, they had them not borne before them, as the *Illuſtrious* had, but only drawn in their Commiſſions, or painted in their Court, to put them in mind of their Duty; as the Book of Mandates (or Inſtructions) which was alwayes near the Bench.

The *Primicerius Notariorum.*

The greater *Laterculum*, of which he had the Overſight.

81. After him, now next in the *Notitia*, follows he who had the Charge of Regiſtring all the Dignities and Offices in the Book, and this was the *Primicerius Notariorum*. Formerly a Catalogue of all Magiſtrates, Souldiers and Governours was written and kept by one of the Emperour's Free'd men, call'd *Procurator ab Ephemeride, & à Mandatis*, who moreover gave out Orders to them. Afterwards this Employment was given to *Notaries*, dignifyed with the Title of *Tribunes*, who regiſtred all that were prefer'd by the Prince to Dignities, in the greater *Laterculum*, which was a Volume that contained the Names of all that enjoyed any civil,

Under him *Tribune-Notaries.*

or Military Dignity. The Arms of their Offices, and their Salaries; with the Commiſſions granted to Magiſtrates, and the Mandates, or Inſtructions of the Prince, as alſo the ſeveral *Scholes*, and ſuch as ſerved in the *Numeri*; with their Symbols. It had it's Name from the reſemblance which in Shape and Figure it bore to a Brick, and indeed, together with the leſſer *Laterculum*, comprehended well nigh all the Dignities mentioned in the *Notitia*; thoſe of the *Largitiones & Rei Privatæ* excepted; and certain Places of Magiſtracy regiſtred in the ſeveral Offices of *Memoriæ, Epiſtolarum & Libellorum*. This Book was managed by the *Primicerius Notariorum*, and his Scribes, or Clerks called *Tribuni Notarii*; becauſe they equal'd *Tribunes* in Dignity, and from the Notes they uſed in their Writings. Some write they were firſt inſtituted by *Gordian* the Younger. The Fees they receiv'd from Officers for their Commiſſions were very conſiderable, forty or fifty *Aurei*, accordding to the Rank and Quality of the Place.

Their Employment.

82. For they made out Commiſſions to the Magiſtrates of Provinces, and the Cities, and regiſtred their Names, with their Stipends and Allowances; of the *Magiſtri Militum*, together with the *Legions*, *Cohorts*, *Auxilia* and *Vexillationes*; as alſo their Commanders and Pay; thoſe of the *Caſtra* and the Souldiers of the Limits excepted, who belonged to the leſſer *Laterculum*, and the *Scrinium Memoriæ*. And beſides theſe, they kept the Names of ſuch as ſerv'd in the ten *Scholæ*, of whom many continually going in and out, they were bound, every four Months, to make new Liſts, or Maſter-Rolls; yet the eleventh, or that of the *Agentes in Rebus* was Regiſtred by thoſe of the *Scrinium Memoriæ*. The *Primicerius*, who by ſome is ſtyled *Protonotarius*, continued two years in his Office, and was then ſucceeded by his Aſſiſtant, or the *Secundocerius*, as this by the *Tertiocerius*, and the *Tertiocerius* by him they called *Quartocerius*. The *Primocerius* read, as did the *Proconſul* in the *Senate*, ſuch Edicts as the Emperours had made, which by a Law of *Theodoſius* appears; and being out of his Office, was graced with the *Senatorian* Dignity, and the Honorary one of *Magiſter Officiorum*, being equal in Place to a *Proconſul*, if he never roſe to the Honorary one of *Magiſter*. Of the Notaries under him there were three Ranks: ſome being called *Tribunes* and *Notaries*; others *Domeſticks*, being *Secretaries* to the Emperour, whoſe Secrets they wrote; and below theſe was an inferiour ſort, though called *Tribune-Notaries*; yet it ſeems not equal to the other, who had the ſame Place and Reſpect, as *Palatine-Tribunes*. The firſt ten, after the *Primicerius*, were privileged from Quarter at *Conſtantinople*, and enjoyed the Dignity of *Vicars*, and the *Domeſticks*, or Secretaries were the Fellows of *Conſulares*. Laſtly, it appears that none were received among the *Tribune-Notaries*, but ſuch as had before received the Title of *Egregius*, and that they were made of the *Primiſcriniarii*. They went girt with a Girdle, as Souldiers were wont to do.

L.33.de Petitionibus, & Cod. Th. lib. 11. *Tit.* 10.

Three Ranks of them.

The three *Magiſtri* of ſo many *Scrinia*.

83. Now, at length follow the Maſters of the three *Scrinia*, or Offices, for by *Scrinia* are meant Offices, Cabinets, or Rooms, wherein ſhort Records, Edicts, Letters, Papers, and other Matters relating to Records were kept. Theſe in particular were, the *Scrinium Memoriæ*, *Epiſtolarum*, & *Libellorum*: the chief Officers whereof were, in Contradiſtinction to him of the *Laterculum*, ſtyled *Magiſtri*, not *Primicerii*; as thoſe that were next them, at this time, were termed *Proximi*, and not *Secundocerius*, nor *Tertiocerius*. To theſe Offices *Auguſtus* gave Original, who by the Advice of *Mecænas*, out of the Rank or Dignity of *Equites*, by Reaſon of Multiplicity of Buſineſs, choſe certain Perſons to take Records of ſuch Judgments as paſſed, ſuch Letters as were written, and other Matters. Afterwards ſucceeded others by the Title of *Magiſtri Scriniorum*, in Dignity of the Rank of *Spectabilis*; and in place equal to *Vicars*: as to their Immunities, freed from all Burthens, both Civil and Perſonal, together with their *Proximi*, and as to Profeſſions, ordinarily Lawyers. At firſt they continued three years, then two, afterward but one, in their Office; and quitting them were made *Comites* of the *Conſiſtory*. For in all Employments it was a Rule, to ſuffer none to continue long in place; both that Room might be made for other deſerving Perſons; and ſuch as were employ'd might not by long Continuance in any Office, be more inſtructed, and tempted to do amiſs. Next to them were the *Melloproximi*, or *Futuroproximi*, who ſucceeded the *Proximi*, and were of the Style and Dignity of *Clariſſimi*, with all the reſt that followed, as far as the *Exceptores*. They ſupplied the Place of the *Proximus*, and were in the Room of the *Tertiocerius*; of whom he that next followed bore the Name of *Adjutant*. The Number of theſe *Scriniarii* was ſetled, and Conſtant: for in the *Scrinium Memoriæ* were ſixty odd Perſons, and in the reſt thirty four a piece. Of theſe ſome were *Exceptores*, ſo called from taking Notes, and recording ſuch things

Scrinia diximus vocari Pluteos, vel Annaria, in quibus Commentarii breves, Edicta, Epiſtolæ, Libelli, aliave literaria monumenta claudebantur. Panſirolus.

Sed de his Scriniis & Scriniariis, item Proximis, *vide plura in* Paratit. *lib.* 6. *Cod. Theod. Tit.* 26. *de Proximis, Comitibus, &c.*

as paſſed before the Prince, the *Præfecti Prætorio*, or *Quæſtor*. Under theſe was another ſort, which wrote, and were Candidates for the next Place in Ordinary which fell, into which when they came, they paid two hundred and fifty *Solidi* for their Admiſſion, to the *Proximus*, and twenty, or fifteen more to the *Melloproximus*; which afterward by a Conſtitution of *Anaſtaſius* was transferred upon their Heirs, for this is obſerved concerning all the *Palatine Militia*, or thoſe that ſerved in the Court, that generally ſuch as came in, at their Entrance paid certain Fees to the Seniors, or Principal of the Office. The firſt fifteen, in eſteem greater than the reſt, received alſo great Allowance from the Emperour; and at firſt in Kind, but it was afterward turned into Money. The *Scriniarii*, if in the Provinces, were exempted from the Burthen of Quartering, and as a Mark of their Employment, they wore a Girdle. For the Caſſock and Girdle at firſt ſeem to have been taken from the Souldier, and ſo to have paſſed into uſe, both with *Civil* Officers, and *Eccleſiaſtical* Perſons; as in other Countries, though not in *England*, the Cuſtom is ſtill obſerved, both by Lawyers, and others. *Pancirolus* obſerves, that St. *Ambroſe* calls theſe *Scriniarii*, *Officia Palatina*. In *Civil* and *Criminal* Matters they were judged, as all their Relations, by the *Magiſter Officiorum*, and paid leſſer Fees than others. Although they of the *Scrinium Memoriæ* be properly called *Memoriales*, yet ſometimes the reſt alſo go under that Name. The places of the Principal in thoſe Offices were ſo good, that *Procopius* writes them to have been better than an hundred *Centenaries* of Gold yearly.

The *Scrinium Memoriæ*.

84. But that we may touch a little upon the Particular Offices; and firſt, as they lye in the *Notitia*, upon the *Scrinium Memoriæ*. Princes of old, were wont to have ſuch about them, as took Notice of thoſe, who in War did gallantly demean themſelves. Theſe writing down their Names, and putting the Prince in mind of them, to Reward their good Service, had from the Effect of their Office, the Name of *Memoriales*. But theſe by Degrees grew out of Requeſt, and others came in their Rooms, whoſe ſpecial Charge it was to look to the leſſer *Laterculum*, wherein were Recorded the ſeveral *Præfectſhips*, *Tribuneſhips*, and Command of the Forts lying upon the Borders. We ſay, it was their ſpecial and principal Care; for beſides the leſſer *Laterculum*, there were other Records alſo kept in this Office, wherein the Memory of many other Matters was preſerved. Thoſe that dealt in the *Laterculum*, under the Inſpection of the *Quæſtor* of the Palace, are called *Laterculenſes*; the reſt *Memoriales*. The *Notitia* tells us, that the *Magiſter Memoriæ* (beſides the Charge of the *Laterculum*) did dictate Annotations, grant Commiſſions for Poſtage, and anſwer Petitions. Theſe Annotations were, as *Pancirolus* interprets the Word, ſhort Notes of ſuch things as were ordered or confirmed in the Prince his Name; who when he anſwered any thing by word of Mouth, the *Magiſter* dictated the Subſtance of what he ſaid, to the *Proximus*, who took ſhort Notes of it; or elſe the *Memoriales*, who from this taking or receiving had the Name of *Exceptores*, being in Quality ſomething above the reſt. In this *Scrinium* or Office were alſo kept thoſe Writings which the Prince ſubſcribed, for Approbation and Admittance of the *Agentes in Rebus*, and *Palatine* Officers under Command of the *Comites Largitionum*, and *Rerum Privatarum*; and probable it is, that by thoſe *Memoriales* were Recorded and kept the Names of the Places, Towns, or Stages of the Poſtage, or *Curſus Publicus*. That Catalogue, which goes under the Name of *Antonine* his Itinerary, wherein are reckoned up the Manſions, Towns, or Villages in which the Horſes were kept, being of this Nature, and probably kept in this Office; out of which the Licenſes to uſe it Iſſued. And as likely it is, that the Roll and Deſcription of the Engines of War, and the Pinaces and Veſſels, which ſerv'd on the ſeveral Limits was here alſo preſerv'd to perpetual Memory: upon which Accounts the Officers were not unfitly termed *Memoriales*. Of the ſixty four Perſons, which ſerved in this Office, twelve were Aſſiſtants of the *Quæſtor* of the Palace, and ſeven were called *Antiquaries*; four *Greek*, and three *Latin*; who looked to the Records, and copied out fair ſuch as Age had begun to deface. The reſt were *Exceptores*, or more ordinary Clerks.

Annotationis omnes dictat.

The *Scrinium Epiſtolarum*.

85. The Second *Scrinium* or Office, was that of the *Magiſter Epiſtolarum*. In the time of *Auguſtus* there ſeems to have been no ſuch Officer; for he wrote or dictated his own Letters, which afterward he left to *Agrippa*, and *Mecænas*, to be mended, or altered, as they ſhould find expedient. But not long after was brought up this ſort of Secretary, called *Magiſter Epiſtolarum*, who receiving from the Prince his Mouth the Subſtance of what was to be written, dictated the Letters unto Clerks. For *Nero* had this ſort of Office; and *Suetonius*, who wrote the Lives of the *Cæſars*, was *Magiſter Epiſtolarum* to the Emperour *Adrian*. The *Notitia* tells us,

that this *Magiſter* dealt in the Embaſſies of Cities, Conſultations, and Petitions. At the Audience and Conference with Ambaſſadours of Kings or Cities he was preſent, that he might fit the Anſwers he wrote according to the occaſion. But theſe Meſſages were firſt Debated in the Auditory of the *Præfectus Prætorio*, without any Determination; and being Reported by thoſe of this Office in the Conſiſtory, they then wrote Anſwers according to the Emperour's Reſolution. To ſuch Preſidents, or Governours of Provinces alſo, as Conſulted the Prince concerning any doubtful Matter of Fact, they wrote Anſwers as he directed. In Appeals from *Illuſtrious* Perſons, or *Spectabiles*, they wrote the *Acta*, or what paſſed; as alſo in Appeals made from *Duces*; and from the Records they wrote, got the Name of *Practicarii*. This *Magiſter* alſo Anſwered to the Petitions of Cities, as the *Magiſter Libellorum* to thoſe of Private Perſons. The *Tribuneſhips* of *Legions*, which were Diſpatched by way of Epiſtle, went through his hands: The Commiſſions of Perſons *Illuſtrious*, and of the Dignity of *Spectabilis* alſo. In concluſion, all Letters of the Prince written of courſe (as for Secret Matters, it might be otherwiſe) he Diſpatched, and thence he and the Under-Officers reaped no ſmall Gain and Advantage. After him, next in order were the *Proximus*, and the *Melloproximus*, as in the *Scrinium Memoriæ* was obſerv'd. Thirty four ſerved in the Office, of whom Seven waited on the *Quæſtor*, with the Title of *Aſſiſtants*; and thence paſſing to the Places of *Laterculenſes* in the *Scrinium Memoriæ*, had liberty to ſell their former of *Aſſiſtants*. Beſides this *Magiſter*, the *Notitia* mentions another of *Greek Epiſtles*, whoſe Work it was to Dictate ſuch in *Greek* as in that Language were to be ſent abroad, or being written in *Latine*, to Tranſlate them into that Tongue.

Legationes Civitatum, Conſultationes, & Preces tractat.

The *Scrinium Libellorum.*

86. Next follows the *Magiſter Libellorum*, or *Maſter* of *Requeſts*; for *Libellus* here ſignifies a Petition. *Auguſtus* himſelf Diſpatched and Signed Petitions; but his Succeſſors, to eaſe themſelves of the burthen, brought up this Officer; yet ſo, as that a long time they ſubſcribed them themſelves; till growing weary of it, this their Secretary had ſeveral *Scriniarii*, or Clerks, who took from the Prince his Mouth (or from the *Magiſter*) and wrote his Anſwers. But the *Notitia* tells us, this *Magiſter Cognitiones & Preces tractat. Cognitio* ſignifies the Debating and Examining of the Cauſe when Councel was heard. For when an Appeal lay to the Prince, from one he had Delegated to Hear a Cauſe; the *Præfectus Prætorio in Comitatu* (he in Waiting) or the *Quæſtor* of the Palace heard the Matter, which was managed by this *Magiſter*, and his *Libellenſes*, or thoſe of the Office, which in the time of the *Notitia* were Thirty four in Number, who took the Proceſs in Writing, as the *Epiſtolares* did, when Appeals came from Judges of the Degree of *Spectabilis*. They alſo were Regiſters of the Court, at the Tryal of any *Illuſtrious* Perſon before the Emperour: as alſo, when any Matter in the City was referred by him unto Delegates. Whereupon *Juſtinian* (as *Pancirolus* obſerves) calls this *Magiſter* by the Title of *Magiſter Cognitionum*, and *Antigrapharius*, (the ſame with *Referendarius* in the *Notitia*) and this Office *Scrinium Libellorum & Cognitionum*. Beſides this, they of this Office gave out the Approbatory Letters or Commiſſions, by which (being ſubſcribed by the *Magiſter*) the Prince Approved of the *Magiſtri Militum*, the *Comites* and *Duces* of the *Limits*, and ſeveral of the *Palatine*, or Court-Officers; ſo that their Places muſt needs have been very Profitable. Of the Thirty four, Seven alſo Attended as *Aſſiſtants* upon the *Quæſtor*, of his own Choice; and afterward came to be *Proximi*, and *Melloproximi*. The *Maſter* was moſt commonly a Lawyer, and often roſe to the Dignity of *Præfectus Prætorio*. Such were *Papinian*, *Aurelius*, *Arcadius*, *Chariſius*, *Paulus*, *Ulpian*; and in *Juſtinian's* time, *Conſtantine* the Compiler of the *Pandects*, who had been Advocate in the *Præfect's* Court, who alſo Exerciſed the Office of *Magiſter Largitionum*. Theſe *Libellenſes* were girt with a Girdle, as the Badge of their Office, and were judged as the other *Scriniarii*, by the *Magiſter Officiorum*. As for the *Magiſter*, neither he, nor either of the other two preceding *Maſters*, had an *Officium* of their own, or *Attendants* allowed them; but, out of the Office it ſelf, took ſuch *Aſſiſtants* as they pleaſed.

The *Scrinium* of the *Comes Diſpoſitionum.*

87. Now, laſt of all, beſides theſe three of the *Maſters*, there was a fourth *Scrinium*, or Office under a *Comes Diſpoſitionum*, as he is called; of which, though the *Notitia* makes no mention, yet *Pancirolus* thinks fit to add it, as being (he tells us) frequently mention'd in other Books, though at the time when the *Notitia* was written, the *Magiſter Epiſtolarum* might do the Work; and from the Prince his Diſpoſing many things by him, might be called *Magiſter Diſpoſitionum*. But

Pancirolus his Opinion.

this *Scrinium*, at other times, had neither a *Magiſter*, nor *Proximi*, but inſtead of them, a *Comes*; and ſuch as Managed it under him were termed *Referendarii*, as *Pancirolus* thought. They repreſented the Deſires of Suppliants, and Conſultations of Judges (as he believed) to the Emperour, which Repreſentation was called *Relatio*, and returned Anſwers to the Conſultors, which were termed *Mandata*, as well as *Reſponſa*, and alſo *Diſpoſitiones*. Being few at the firſt, their number increaſed to Eighteen, by permiſſion of *Juſtinian*, who yet reduced them at length to Eight. Their *Comes* had his *Aſſiſtants*, and they were all obliged, as all other *Scriniarii*, to ſerve twenty years, and at the end of their Service, they were Adorned with the Honour of a *Conſularis*; and the *Comes* himſelf Preferred to be one of the Prince his *Conſiſtory*, or *Council*. This is the Sum of what *Pancirolus* hath written concerning the *Scrinium Diſpoſitionum*, and thoſe that Served in it, whom yet *Gothofred* accuſeth of Errour herein, that he Confounds them with the *Referendarii*. And he Affirms, that by *Diſpoſitiones* here are not meant Conſtitutions, Sanctions, Pragmaticks, Edicts, though theſe elſewhere come under the general Name of *Diſpoſitions*, but other Acts of the Prince reſpecting the Commonwealth, beſides the Sanctions of Laws, Adnotations, Anſwers to Meſſages, Embaſſies, Conſultations, Petitions, or Cognitions, all which were Diſpatched by the other three *Scrinia*, or Offices, *viz.* *Memoriæ*, *Epiſtolarum*, & *Libellorum*. What then? Why in theſe Diſpoſitions were moſt commonly the Proviſions of the *Annona*, Diſpoſitions of the Emperours Journeys and Expeditions, concerning the Creation of Magiſtrates and Publick Officers, and Matters which the Prince had propoſed to himſelf to be done. That Diſpoſitions are taken in this ſenſe, he proves out of *Lampridius*, *Capitolinus* and others.

Rejected by *Gothofred.*

Ad L. 1. *lib.*6. *Cod.Th. Tit.*26. *de Proximis,Comitibus,Diſpoſ. &c.*

88. He concludes, that (as a Law expreſly ſpeaks) in this *Scrinium* was kept the *Norma* and *Series* of the Emperour's Diſpoſitions; or what was Diſpoſed in the State by him, according to the Emergency of Affairs; ſo as what in a manner he daily Acted, Deſigned and Diſpoſed, were therein contained, their number ariſing to ſo great a multitude, that it was requiſite there ſhould be a peculiar Office for them; as alſo a peculiar *Comes* or *Magiſter*. But he proves that the *Scriniarii* of this Office or *Scrinium*, were of a lower Degree than thoſe of the other three; becauſe in the other, Learning was required to Form the Conſtitutions, Anſwers and Letters of the Prince; but in theſe, only Integrity and Induſtry; and therefore, as it is evident by a Law of *Gratian*, that the Chief Officers of this *Scrinium* were alſo called *Magiſtri*, which ſome have denied; ſo as plain is that which he obſerves from the ſame Law, and others, that theſe *Comites*, or *Magiſtri Diſpoſitionum*, though in Name they might agree with the Maſters of the other *Scrinia*, yet in Degree were inferiour to them, being joyned, not with Them, but their *Proximi*, with whom they received, when they went out of their Offices, the Honorary Dignity of *Vicars*. And thus we have run through the ſeveral Offices of the *State*, and thereby done ſo ſerviceable a part to the Reader, as to give him a Proſpect of the Polity of the Empire; by which means he may better underſtand not only the Government, but the Hiſtories, Laws and Cuſtoms of theſe Ages. But he muſt know, that what has been ſaid of theſe ſeveral Magiſtrates, hath relation chiefly to the *Eaſtern* Empire, which in the time of the *Notitia*, and eſpecially afterward, was moſt conſiderable; That of the *Weſt* ſhortly after failing, which was a good reaſon why *Pancirolus* chiefly inſiſted upon that of the *Eaſt*. I muſt confeſs, ſome may judge this too tedious a courſe we take; but yet, methinks, there is more ſtill to be added; one Subject yet remaining, without which, neither this Deſign, nor the Reader's knowledge of theſe Matters, can ſeem to look toward Perfection. And that is, a ſhort Account of the Municipal Magiſtrates, or the Government of the Cities and Towns Corporate; which we ſhall alſo Diſpatch with what Brevity and Clearneſs we can.

Clariſſimos viros, Proximos *Scriniorum & Magiſtros Diſpoſitionum, Vicariorum Ordini copulamus, &c.*

Pancirolus in Epiſt. Dedicatoria.

Municipal Magiſtrates.

89. The *Roman* Prince his Task and Employment being to look to the Government of the Provinces, by placing therein ſuch Magiſtrates as he thought convenient, and to take care of the ſtate thereof, left the Matters of the particular Cities to the Management of their own Officers; contenting himſelf with the Juriſdiction and Empire over the People, and the Tributes he received from them. Therefore had each Corporation a Court, or *Senate* of its own for their Government, and Proviſion of all Neceſſary Things; Creation of Magiſtrates, due Management of Publick Lands or Moneys, looking to their Publick *Houſes*,

All Cities had their Senates.

ſes, *Baths*, and *Forums*; Repairing of Ways, equal payment of Tribute, and other Matters relating to the Common good. All Cities within the *Roman* Pale had their peculiar *Senates*, the two Capital Cities *Rome* and *Conſtantinople* excepted, which the Preſence of the Prince eaſed of that Trouble, they having *Præfects* (as we have ſeen) of their own, who Diſcharged the Offices of other Inferiour Magiſtrates, or *Curators*; and the great *Senates* of the Empire there ſitting, there was no need of the other leſſer and lower Courts. Theſe two were therefore Paramount, and of condition ſurpaſſing the nature of theſe Inferiour Corporations. All other Cities looked upon themſelves as Graced and Privileged by having theſe Courts and Governments; and ſome there were, which, for their Revolting to *Annibal*, after his coming into *Italy*, were deprived of them, and Diſfranchized, as *Capua*, *Puteoli*, *Attala*, *Fundi*, *Formiæ* and others, which thereupon ceaſed to have their *Municipal* Officers, but received Governours from the People of *Rome*, or the *Prætor*, for many Ages; till by the Emperour they were Reſtored to their Courts, Judges, and Magiſtrates. But not only Cities (*Civitates & Urbes*) had their *Senates*, or Courts, but alſo Towns (*Oppida*) *Free Burroughs*, (*Municipia*) nay Villages (*Vici*) certain Manſions (*Manſiones*) and Forts or Caſtles (*Caſtella*) have had theirs too.

Quemadmodum urbs Roma ſuos habuit Tribunos Plebis, ſuos Regionum Curatores, ſuos Conſules, ſuum Senatum, ità quoque & Municipia pro Tribunis Plebis habuere Defenſores, habuere & ſuos Curatores: Item pro Conſulibus Magiſtratus, id eſt Duumviros, pro Senatu Ordines, ſive Curias. Vide Gothofred. in L. 5. *de Exhibend. & tranſmittend. reis. Cod. Th. lib. 9. tit. 2. Paratitlon Tit. 1. Lib. 12. Cod. Theod. de Decurionibus.*

90. The Senators of theſe Courts are ſometimes called *Curiales*, *Municipes*, and otherwiſe, but eſpecially *Decuriones*; in reſpect of their Care of the Publick, they were termed *Fathers*, the *Nerves* and Strength of the Cities, ſtyled Eminent, and joyned in Degree and Repute with the *Honorati*; the other Inhabitants being, in Diſtinction from them called *Plebeians*. For they in many things reſembled the *Roman* Senate, by the Example of which, the Sons of theſe *Decuriones* follow'd the Condition of their Fathers, and their Names were written in the Table called *Album*, as thoſe of the Senators were. Firſt were written thoſe that Excelled in Dignity, and then others, according to their Seniority in the Place; and ſuch as had Sons were preferred before ſuch as wanted. Further, as at *Rome* he was made *Prince*, or Chief of the *Senate*, who was more Eminent than the reſt, in reſpect of his more Honourable Atchievements; ſo was he that had paſſed through all Offices in the City, made Chief of the Court. And as at *Rome* once there were two Orders or Diſtinctions of *Senators*, *viz.* of *Illuſtrious* Perſons, and thoſe ſtyled *Clariſſimi*; ſo amongſt theſe *Decuriones*, ſuch as had paſſed through all Employments, were of a Principal Rank, and were termed *Principales*. They were more or fewer according to the Quantity of the Place they Inhabited; ſometimes Seven, Ten, or Twenty, and called *Icoſoproti* in *Greek*, as the Honour it ſelf *Icoſoprotia*. At *Alexandria* indeed there were but five *Summates*, and ſcarcely fewer any where elſe. Every one of them, according to his Place, was firſt asked his Opinion, as was obſerved in the *Roman Senate*.

which in many things reſembled that of *Rome*.

How the *Decuriones* came to be ſuch.

91. But for a more diſtinct Knowledge, how they came to the Dignity of *Decuriones*, we muſt know, that they were either ſuch from their Fathers, or Promoted. The Sons of ſuch Perſons, as we ſaid, followed the Condition of their Fathers, whether Adopted, or born of Lawful Matrimony; for as for the Spurious Brood, it neither enjoyed any ſuch Privilege in this, nor any other Matters. And only by the Father's ſide had they a Title to this Degree, not by the Mother's, except in the Court of *Antioch*; in which City this Right, by the Indulgence of Princes, was allowed to ſuch as were born of a Daughter of a *Decurio*, though their own Fathers never aroſe ſo high. Here *Pancirolus* tells us from *Ulpian*, that they could not come to any Government till the five and twentieth year of their Age; which, though but begun, was to be taken and eſteemed Compleat; though as to other Offices, the twenty fifth ought to be fully ended; according to which opinion of *Ulpian*, *Michael Hoſpitalius*, Chancellor of *France*, in the Year MDLXIII at *Roüen*, proved *Charles* the Ninth, the *French* King, at the entrance of his Fourteenth Year, to be of Age or Puberty. But it appears from a Law cited by *Gothofred*, that the Sons of theſe *Decuriones*, though but of Eighteen years of Age, and as yet not Emancipated or Looſed from the Paternal Power, were obliged to undergo the Offices or Employments of the Cities: and ſuch as were thus born, as *Pancirolus* himſelf Notes, were, though under pretence of Religion they had choſen the *Monaſtical* Life, drawn back again, and forced to Publick Service. So much for them whoſe Deſcent caſt both this Honour and Burthen upon them. Others were, upon Vacancy of Places, choſen by the Court; and the *Plebeians* or Citizens were, though unwilling, compell'd to Accept of the Charge, if they had not a reaſonable Ex-

None ſuffred to quit.

Few excepted.

Vide Paratitlon.

Excuſe, as old Souldiers, and ſome others; and if they were not yet arrived at eighteen years, if they were in Orders; but *Jews* were not excepted; provided they bore not any Office belonging to their Synagogues. And if once in this Relation, by the Laws they were ſeverely prohibited to deſert their Station, which many, tired out with the Trouble they met with, were wont to do, or by Employments inconſiſtent with their City-Duties to divert themſelves from the. By Degrees, they were to run through all the Offices of the Court, and not till then arrive at any Service, or Dignity, which if they undertook, they were to be forced back again. Yet, if they had taken Orders, the Conſtitutions, as the Affections and Inclinations of Princes were various, in that Particular. Generally they obliged them, either to return back, or find Subſtitutes, or leave their Patrimonies to the Courts. Several Exceptions there were in Favour of ſome, eſpecially ſuch as ſerved in the Palace. Alſo they could not be excuſed though by Connivance of the Court it ſelf, neither by the Favour of the Prince, but for a certain time, nor by the Sentence of a Judge, neither by a Subſtitute (except Clerks promoted to Dignity) without they had paſſed all the Offices, or could be excuſed for their Age.

When and how elected.

Their Employment.

To Phyſitians and Profeſſors they paid Salaries.

92. On the firſt of *March* the Promotion of theſe *Senators* or *Curiales* was wont to be made. The Court being ſummon'd by the *Duumviri*, by a publick Meſſenger, according to the Cuſtom of the City. Two Parts of the Court, at leaſt, were to be preſent, and the *Preſident* of the Province at all Elections. The *Duumviri*, or *Cenſors* named whom they thought fit, and thereupon the Suffrages being gathered, the Election was perfected by the Voices of the Major part, and the Approbation of the *Preſident*, who ſignified it to the Perſon by a Publick Meſſenger. If he pretended an Excuſe, he appealed to the *Preſident*, and if upon Tryal his Excuſe was found good, he that nominated him was condemned as to Coſts. To this grinning Honour ſuch were prefer'd, as had moſt Voices, or were Fathers of more Children, and for a Concluſion their Names were entred into the *Album*, or Liſt of the Court. From one newly admitted, certain Gifts, or Fees were due to the old *Curiales*, and divided amongſt them, which they called *Sportulæ*. Now having entred upon their Offices, their uſual Tasks, and Employments were, both various and troubleſome, which often provoked them (as we ſaid) by ſeveral Courſes to evade them. To them in general the whole Care of the Publick was committed. They were employed in Proſecutions. They managed the Revenue of the place, of which the third part was laid out for repairing the Walls, and publick Baths, the reſt for maintaining of Profeſſors, and other publick Uſes. For they alſo maintained Phyſitians to take Care of their Sick, with a certain Salary. Neither did the *Preſident* of the Province herein meddle; but the *Curiales* themſelves made choice of ſuch, to whom for their Honeſty and Skill, they thought fit to commit themſelves and their Relations. And theſe are termed *Archiatri*, or principal Phyſitians. *Grammarians* alſo, *Rhetoricians* and *Sophiſts*, or Philoſophers they had under Pay for inſtructing of their Youth. The leſſer ſort of Towns had uſually but five Phyſitians, and three Profeſſors. The middle ſort ſeven of the firſt, and four only of the latter ſort; but the greateſt ten Phyſitians, and five *Grammarians*, or *Rhetoricians*. Except to ſuch as theſe, no Salary could be allowed by the Publick; and in Caſe any ſuch were decreed, the Decree, as partial was accounted Null and Void. As for Profeſſors of Law, no ſuch were permitted to teach, except at *Rome* in the *Capitol*, at *Conſtantinople*, or *Berytus*. But to ſpeak further to the Duties of the *Decuriones*. Sometimes they had the Care of the publick Poſtage, or *Curſus Publicus*, and ſeveral other Services from the State were impoſed on them. For Example, they were made *Suſceptores* in other Provinces, *Procurators* of Mines and other Charges, and in the Corporation exerciſed that Power we lately mentioned, the whole Intereſt thereof being their Concern. The ten Principal of them gathered the Tributes, and if any was wanting, made it up themſelves. In Reſpect to which Duties they were not permitted to live in the Country. Though they managed the publick Revenue, and by *Curators* let out the Lands; yet without a Decree they could not alienate them, nor ſend a Meſſage to the *Prince* without Conſent of the *Preſident*. In caſe any of them died without Iſſue, he was bound to leave the fourth part of his Eſtate to the Court; which Cuſtom made moſt of them ſo deſperate as to be Spend-thrifts, and chuſe rather to waſte their Eſtates, than ſo to leave them: and ſome abſtained from Marriage, that they might not leave their Sons obnoxious to the Court, or Body; very few concerning themſelves for it more than Neceſſity conſtrained. It was fit therefore, they ſhould have many Privileges, to invite them to undertake ſo troubleſome a Task.

Their Privileges.

93. The chief of all their Privileges was this, that neither they, nor their Sons by the Governours of the Provinces could be put to the Rack, or have any ſuch Extremity uſed to them as was wont to be inflicted on ordinary Perſons ſuſpected; except they were found to have defrauded the Corporation of it's Money, or Revenue; in which caſe they might be beaten on the Back with leaden Bullets. They were alſo lyable to a ſevere Examination in the Caſe of Counterfeiting Writings. But further, if they fell into Poverty, they were to be maintain'd by the Publick, eſpecially if that had hapned to them by their Liberality to the Corporation. If any one entred into any Office of Magiſtracy, took the *Toga Virilis*, or married, it was the Cuſtom, that they ſhould be invited by them, and receive one, or two *Denarii* of the Party. Some of them, that had paſſed through all Offices, and arrived at the higheſt Place of the Court, were honoured with the Dignity of *Comites* of the firſt Rank. A Baſtard-Son by his Father offered to the Court, became Legitimate, and a Baſtard-Woman, if married to a *Decurio*. As *Senators* at *Rome* by the *Laticlavium*, ſo little doubt it is, but they by a peculiar Habit (though not known what it was) as well as by other Enſigns of Magiſtracy were diſtinguiſhed from the inferiour Sort. On Feſtival days, as upon News of ſome Victory, or the *Prince* his Birth-day, they wore Garlands. Without the ſpecial Command of the Emperour, they could neither be ſummoned upon any Law-matter to *Rome*, nor *Conſtantinople*, nor into any other Province. In ſome Countreys it was alſo the Cuſtom to have certain Courts, or Colleges, which they termed *Synedria*, out of which Cauſes could not be determined.

The Manner of their Proceeding in Buſineſs was after that of the *Senate* at *Rome*.

94. Now the manner of their Proceedings in Buſineſs, much reſembled that of the *Roman Senate*. As the *Senate* was called together at *Rome* by order of the *Conſuls*, or *Prætor*; ſo theirs by that of their *Duumviri*: That was ſummoned by a *Præco*, or publick Cryer, and ſo was theirs. In both they took Place according to their Quality. Two parts of three it was neceſſary ſhould be preſent at the Court, and if any Matter of Difficulty occurred, one of the *Duumviri*, who propounded the Buſineſs, asked the Opinions of the *Curiales*, Man by Man, beginning with him that was of beſt Quality. Precedence was uſually given to him that had moſt Children, except at *Syracuſe*, where no man was asked by Name, but, as now in our Parliament, ſpake of his own Accord; though it was the Cuſtom there alſo for thoſe that in Age or otherwiſe excelled, to begin: but if all held their Peace, by Lot they were compelled to deliver their Opinions. Of old the *Decuriones* gave their Suffrages by word of Mouth, or written on ſmall pieces of wood, as at *Rome* the *Senators*, and the *Summates* only ſpake; as in the City the *Illuſtrious Senators*; the reſt ſhewed their Opinions by Diſceſſion, each going over to that Party he approv'd; and what pleaſed the Major part was received, and called *Decretum Ordinis*, or the Decree of the Order, or Body. This Courſe was obſerved, till by the *Tabellarian* Law this Diſceſſion was forbidden, and Votes ordered to be paſſed ſilently by Writing, of which *Pliny* (as *Pancirolus* obſerves) doth complain. As the Reſolves of the *Senate* of *Rome* were wont to be Noted by thoſe Letters, S. C. ſo the Decrees of the *Decuriones* by D. D. Such was the Work, Honour and Employment of the *Decuriones*, while they continued in that Place or Relation; and Difficultly, if they would, could they leave it. Indeed by Deportation or Relegation, as a Puniſhment, they were Degraded. On the other ſide, ſcarcely could they get off except they had paſſed through all the Offices. Sometimes yet they were Excuſed by certain Privileges, as of Merit, Age, Number of Children, Service at Court, and in the Camp, publick Adminiſtration or Dignity; if by Merit, not Favour they had obtained it; alſo by being publick Meſſengers or Ambaſſadors, and having ſerved as an *Official* the ſpace of five and twenty years. If they aroſe to the Sublime Honours of *Patrician*, or ordinary *Conſul*, but not Honorary, or only by Patent of that Dignity. Moreover, the *Præfecti Prætorio*, *Magiſtri Militum*, the Advocates of the *Fiſcus*, the *Principes* of the *Agentes in Rebus*, and the *Proximi* of the *Scrinia* were diſcharged of the Trouble.

Who might be diſcharged of the Trouble.

Magiſtrates in Cities, as, *Duumviri*.

95. We have mentioned the paſſing of the *Decuriones* through ſeveral Offices; now what theſe were we muſt alſo tell the Reader. The higheſt Place of Magiſtracy was that of the *Duumviri*, or *Duumviratus*, ſo called, becauſe exerciſed by two Perſons, as the *Conſulſhip* was at *Rome*; though ſometimes, according to the Cuſtoms of the Cities, or Towns, there might be four, or five, who held the chief Magiſtracy, and be called alſo by other Names; as *Ædilis*, *Prætor*, and *Dictator*. The (*a*) *Duumviri* could only be made of the *Decuriones*, and the chiefeſt of them: and conſequently, the City of *Alexandria*, being wont to be Subject to Kings, as

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Magiſtratus pro Duumviro ſumitur in toto Tit. Cod. Th. de Decurionibus; & alibi.

it had no *Decuriones*, ſo none of the other ſort, but from *Cæſar* received a Judge, who was called the *Juridicus* of *Alexandria*, and exerciſed all the Powers belonging to the *Duumviri*, with whom he is often compared; to him, and alſo to them Power of aſſigning Tutors being granted: but herein his Authority exceeded theirs, that he had Cogniſance of the greateſt civil Cauſes, whereas the leſſer ſort were only triable before them. This ſeems to have been a Reaſon, becauſe He was created by the Emperour, and they only by the Corporation; but *Severus* put an end to this Difference, by introducing *Decuriones* alſo into this City. The *Duumviri*, by way of Eminency, are in the Laws termed *Magiſtratus Municipales*, and ſimply *Magiſtratus*. The ſame Form was obſerved in creating them, as in chuſing the *Decuriones*, only they were nominated two or three Months before they entred their Office; that in caſe they had juſt Cauſes to excuſe themſelves, others might be choſen in convenient time. If no fit Excuſe could be alleaged, though unwilling, they were compelled to undertake the Charge, and to give Caution for their juſt Adminiſtration. In old time they had *Lictors*, or Beadles, that went before them, but bore no *Faſces*, but only a Rod or Staff, as Virgers now. But this Cuſtom was afterwards changed, and at length every where the *Faſces* came to be uſed. They wore alſo the *Prætexta*, or Robe with a Purple Border.

Their Authority.

96. But now in Reference to their Power; they might be Judges in Cauſes to a certain Sum; but could not exerciſe thoſe Authorities, which belonged more to *Merum Imperium*, than *Juriſdiction*; as to reſtore one in *Integrum*, and other Matters: but they might take Caution of the Parties to traverſe greater Matters before other Magiſtrates. They had Power alſo of making Records, or *Acta*, by which are meant the Entries of ſuch things as were made before a Judge, either in pleading, or Matter of Proof, wont to be made in the Preſence of three *Curiales*; but this *Juſtinian* would not have inſerted into his *Code*; and they might cauſe Diſtreſs to be made for Payment of Coſts: they could chaſtize Slaves, and ſend away Fugitives to be puniſhed by the Governour of the Province. Some ſay they had no Authority to convict free Perſons; but others alleage the Caſe of St. *Paul* and *Silas* to the contrary, who by the Magiſtrates of the *Philippians* were, both impriſoned, and beaten, and diſmiſſed the Day following; as in the Acts of the Martyrs, many *Chriſtians* are ſaid to have been caſt into Bonds by the *Municipal* Magiſtrates. They might aſſign Tutors, provided the Eſtate of the Pupil did not exceed five hundred *Solidi*; the Richer being reſerved to the Juriſdiction of the Governours of Provinces. They took Caution for Pupils alſo at their own Peril; for if the Sureties failed, They were to make it good. In ſome Cities they Manumitted, ſo as to make the Parties *Roman* Citizens; whereas others were but *Liberti*, or free'd men of *Latium*, or *Latines*. They contracted for, and in the Name of the Corporation, and recovered Moneys left to it, at their own Peril. Theſe Troubles might well excuſe them from being *Tutors*, or *Curators* to Perſons under Age; and while they were Magiſtrates, they could neither ſue, nor be ſued. In ſome Cities, as is alleaged, they might hold for five years together; but generally, as of other Officers, their Employment was but annual.

Pancirolus de Magiſtrat. Municipal. C. 8.

Defenſor Civitatis.

97. Next after the *Duumviri* was the *Defenſor Civitatis*, or Defender of the City, by the *Greeks* called *Syndick*; which was a ſingle Employment reſembling much the Office of the old *Roman Tribunes*, as that of the *Duumviri* did the other of *Conſuls*. For of the *Duumviri* none could be made a *Defenſor*, but he was created of ſome fitting and able Man amongſt the other Citizens, being ſometimes alſo ſtyled *Defenſor Plebis*. For his Work was, as his Title imported, to defend the common ſort, and ſo alſo the whole Corporation from Injuries and Oppreſſions. In his Election the *Biſhop*, *Clerks* and *Curiales* of the Place were concern'd; upon whom, by a Conſtitution of *Theodoſius* it was incumbent, to make choice of the Perſon, who was afterward to be confirmed by the *Præfectus Prætorio*; having taken his Oath to Act in all things, according to Law: and the City for his Commiſſion, if he was of the better ſort, paid four, if of the inferiour, three *Solidi*; for he himſelf was at no Expence, receiving no Reward, or Salary, except ſuch was the particular Cuſtom. His great Work was, to decide pecuniary Cauſes amongſt his Countrymen, and to be Judge of the ordinary ſort in their Suits and Quarrels; though in old time his Authority in ſuch Caſes reached, as high as fifty *Aurei*, wherein the Parties were bound to come before him, and not before the *Preſident* of the Province, except by way of Appeal. Lighter criminal Cauſes he might hear, but his Animadverſion upon the greateſt Offender could only extend to Impriſonment, and then ſending him, in the Name of the Accuſer, to the *Preſident*, to be puniſhed. Teſtaments, Inſtruments of Contracts and Donations were regiſtred with him; and the

Nonnullis Agoræi, apud Aſianos.

How Elected.

His Work.

the Acts of ſuch Proceſſes, as were under his Cogniſance, being taken by an *Exceptor*, that was ſent from amongſt the *Officium* or Attendants of the *Preſident*, and afterwards tranſmitted to a publick Office called *Archivum*, of which there was a *Præfect*, or Overſeer, to take Care they were not ſpoiled by Duſt, or any other way obliterated. To this *Defenſor* the Care of keeping the Multitude in order was committed, as alſo of protecting it, and the Price of vendible things. He aſſiſted ſuch as collected Tributes, againſt thoſe who neglected to pay them, and executed, as it were, the Place of the *Preſident* of the Province in the Town. It was his Task to purſue and find out fugitive Slaves, belonging either to the Publick, or to private Perſons. At firſt theſe *Defenſores* continued in their Places for five years, but afterward the Term was limited to two, which expir'd, other Citizens ſucceeded for the ſame time.

98. One of the moſt incumbent and Preſſing Duties upon the *Decuriones* was, to ſee the Tributes duely collected; for which Purpoſe they made Choice of ſome one Citizen to collect or receive them, who thence had the Name of *Suſceptor*. He was choſen in the Court, much what after the ſame manner as the *Decuriones* themſelves. One, or more named him at their Peril (for they were reſponſible for him in Caſe he failed) and the Record thereof being taken by the Clerk of the Court; he certified therein, both the Name of the Receiver, and Undertaker for him to the *Preſident* of the Province. The *Suſceptor* of the Corporation (for there were, as we have formerly touched, other *Suſceptores* of the publick Revenue in the Countreys) might be choſen, either out of the Body of the *Decuriones*, or from amongſt the *Plebeians*, (ſo they were termed) or inferiour ſort; but the Office was not reckoned amongſt thoſe they accounted Sordid. His main Work was, in the Preſence of the *Defenſor Civitatis*, to take an Account of every Mans Land, and what was owing, and then to demand and receive from every one the fiftieth part of Wheat, the fortieth of Barley, and the twentieth of Wine and Lard, which was ſent to the publick Storehouſes, and there kept by the *Præpoſiti*, or Overſeers of them. He alſo gathered what Poll-money was due, or Money uſually rais'd otherwiſe from Lands, and ſuch yearly Sums as were impoſed by the Prince after this manner. The Town-Clerk gave in an Account from his Office, what was due from each Perſon; and ſuch as were behind, or negligent to pay, the Apparitors of the Court were ſent to take it, and then they brought it to the *Suſceptor*, who gave a Note to him that paid it, wherein the Sum, the Cauſe of Payment, the name of the Party, the *Conſul*, Month and Day were expreſſed. This was termed *Securitas*, and *Apocha*, as the Payment of Tribute it ſelf *Collatio*, which though variouſly made, according to the ſeveral Nature and Cuſtoms of the ſeveral Provinces; yet all agreed in three certain Portions enjoyn'd by the Prince, at the firſt of *January*, firſt of *May*, and about the beginning of *September*; at which time the *Indictions* began. The Grounds of ſuch as deferred Payment were forfeited to the Emperour, and ſold. The Money gathered was committed to the *Arcarius*, or Under-Treaſurer, (ſuch **Pancirolus** thinks to have been *Eraſtus*, whom St. *Paul* mentioneth from *Corinth*, though Lawyers tranſlate him *Adminiſtrator*, or *Curator*) who was choſen after the ſame manner as the *Suſceptor*. He kept it not long in his hands, but ſpeedily tranſmitted it to the *Præfectus Theſaurorum*, or Treaſurer of the Province, who ſent it up to Court with all convenient Expedition. Such was the Employment of the *Suſceptor*, or Receiver, who only medled with ſuch things as we have named, or Money (not with Cloaths) paid by the *Provincials* for every twenty, or thirty Acres of Land; for theſe were received by others. He held his Office for a year, except the Cuſtom of the Place, or the Scarcity of men prolonged his Term unto two; neither could he undertake it again, till he had given Account of his former Adminiſtration. Every *Suſceptor* was bound to gather up, not only what was due within his own Year, but all Arrears; till at length, *Anaſtaſius* eaſed the *Decuriones* of this Trouble, by ordaining in every City other Collectors of Tributes, called *Vindices*, who continued in Being till the Reign of *Juſtinian*.

The *Suſceptor*.

Quòd Debita Publica ſuſciperet.

Vide Gothofred. Comm. in L. 54. lib. 12. *Cod. Th. Tit.* 1. *de Decurionibus.*

His Office.

The *Arcarius* or under-Treaſurer.

Ad Rom. ult.

Ἔραστος ὁ οἰκονόμος τῆς πόλεως.

Vindices.

99. As the Prince had theſe his Officers in the Cities or Places corporate, for Collection of his Revenue; ſo the Corporations alſo, having Lands uſually, Money, or Houſes of their own belonging to their Body, had a peculiar Officer called *Curator*, or *Procurator*, *Logiſta*, and *Actor Publicus*, who took the Charge of them, and let them out, as was thought convenient; the uſual Term not exceeding five Years. Such Money or Goods as lay in private Hands, he recovered, and procur'd the publick Buildings to be repair'd, being obliged to make good, out of his own Eſtate, whatever Detriment the Corporation receiv'd. He ſet a Price of Vi-

The *Procurator*.

of Victuals; ſaw that the Army had Proviſions, and Compelled ſuch as ſuffered their Houſes to Decay, and to be an .Eye-ſore to the City, to Repair them. That Publick Places were not poſſeſſed by Private Perſons, he took care; and in ſuch Caſes ſo Repreſented the whole Corporation, that if any went about to Build there, and he gave warning to him, it was the ſame as if he had done it to the whole Body; for what, in ſuch Matters, was forbidden him, was forbidden to the City it ſelf; but in moſt places a peculiar Officer was choſen for this Affair, whom *Papinian* calls *Ædilis*. The *Curator* paid alſo the Publick Debts, and Let out the Publick Money, but not to Intereſt, which was the Task of the *Præfect* of the *Calendar*. He, and other *Curators* were obliged every year to clear the Accounts. Sometimes there were more than one of them. *Alexander* the Emperour, made at *Rome* (as *Lampridius* writes) fourteen *Curators* of the City, to Hear and Determine Matters with the *Præfect*.

The *Curator Annonæ*.

100. But nothing being of greater Concernment in all Places, than that Proviſions, or Victuals ſhould not be wanting; in Old time an Officer was Created by the *Decuriones*, for the conſtant Supply thereof, by the Name of *Curator Annonæ*. He bought up, at the beſt hand, Corn, when need required, to be Diſtributed amongſt the Poor at a Moderate Rate, by *Ædiles*, choſen by the *Duumviri* for this purpoſe. Theſe *Curators* had an *Officium*, or Company of Officers and Serjeants Commanded by a *Centurion*, who had the charge of Conveying and Laying up Corn; and if Sacks were wanting, might take them from any of the Inhabitants, and uſe them for the preſent time. Of this nature was the Office of the *Præfectus Annonæ* at *Rome*; who, though at firſt he was no Magiſtrate, yet afterwards had Juriſdiction given him over ſuch as Traded in Wheat, Barley, and the like; which Authority is preſumed alſo to have been Exerciſed by theſe *Curators* of other Places. It was a Perſonal Employment, wherein they were not bound to be at any Expence themſelves, but only their Perſonal Labour was requir'd. The Corn was not to be ſold dearer nor cheaper than the Time requir'd; and if any City was in Want, the Emperour uſually compelled other Places to ſupply it at a Reaſonable Price. One, under twenty five years, was not to be compelled to this Office, except the Cuſtom and Orders of the Places were otherwiſe. It's uſually in Books, after the *Greeks*, called *Sitonia*; for which, for a long time, the *Decuriones* being wont to chuſe this *Curator*, afterwards one of the Officers or Apparitors of the *Preſident*, with the Conſent of the Biſhop and the *Primates* of the City, was appointed to Diſcharge it.

Epiſcopus, or *Inſpector*.

Curator Calendarii.

101. That there might be a ſufficient proviſion of Corn, the *Curator* was to take care; but this was not enough; the People or Inhabitants being wont not to buy it unbaked, but in Bread; and therefore that Bread and other ſorts of Victuals might not be Adulterated, but ſold in due Weight and Meaſure, yet a more Peculiar Officer than the *Curator* was wont to be choſen, whom they called *Epiſcopus*, or *Inſpector*, being taken out from the Body of the *Decuriones*. He had his Name from his Overſight or Inſpection, which cauſed the *Athenians* to give the ſame to an Officer of theirs, whom they ſent to obſerve the Actions of ſuch Cities and Places as were under their Command. At *Rome* this Task was Incumbent vpon the *Ædiles*, who had the Care not only of Vendible things, but of other Matters. But to come to the other Officers. As it often hapned, that Cities or Places Corporate had Money to ſpare, beſides ſuch as was laid out on Neceſſary Expences, there was another Choſen by the *Prætor*, for putting out to Intereſt ſuch, as elſe would lye idle, who bore the Title of *Curator Calendarii*, for a Book of Debts or Accounts of that nature was called *Calendarium*, becauſe in thoſe Times Intereſt was uſually paid on the *Calends*, or firſt dayes of every Month, their Bonds being uſually payable in one Month. Beſides theſe already mentioned, Corporations were wont to Create other *Curators* upon occaſion: as if any Debtor's Eſtate, by Decree of the *Prætor* was ſeized on, a *Curator* was appointed for the Management of it by the *Duumviri*. If any Publick Building was to be made, or Repaired, ſome were alſo wont to be Named by the *Prætor*, called *Curatores Operum*. Others were Aſſigned for looking to the Baths, and Walls of Towns, to the Repairing of which, the third part of the Revenue was wont to be appointed. Others to Publick Bake-houſes. Some to proſecute Debtors to the Publick, and others to make or Repair High-wayes, *Aquæducts*, or Publick Works, which the *Ædiles*, or *Curators* of the Place had not leiſure to Attend. And in ſome places a peculiar Treaſurer for keeping Publick Money was Ordain'd, whom, after the Example of the *Romans*, they called *Quæſtor*.

De Curatore Urbis, vide Annotat. Valeſii in Ammiani Marcellini, lib. 14. P. 18.

Curator eſt is, qui pecuniam Reipub. & generaliter quicquid ad Civitatis rem pertinet, adminiſtrat; Græcè Logiſta, & nonnunquam ab Imperatore dari ſolitus.

102. There

Zygoſtates.

Procuratores Metallorum.

Actor or *Syndicus.*

Stationarii, or, *Irenarchæ.*

102. There being wont to be much Controverſie about the Goodneſs and Weight of Gold, for deciding thereof in each City, one skilful in that way, was appointed, whom the *Greeks* called *Zygoſtates.* In *Macedonia* or other Countreys adjoyning, after the finding out of Mines, from among the *Decuriones* certain were appointed to ſee that the Eight Scruples of Oare were duely paid to the *Prince*, and theſe were Termed *Procuratores Metallorum*, who were under the *Comes Metallorum*, and he and they Reſponſible to the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum.* And whereas Places Corporate might Sue and be Sued, they made choice of ſome one, who, if unwilling, was conſtrain'd to accept of the Duty, to be their Sollicitor General, who by the *Latins* was called *Actor*, and by the *Greeks Syndicus* : although it was a thing not out of uſe, for the *Decuriones* to leave it to the Diſcretion of the *Duumviri*, to find out ſome fitting Perſon to ſollicit ſome particular Cauſe. It was a Cuſtom alſo in old time, for prevention of Tumults, Suppreſſion of Thieves and Troubleſome Perſons, to have Souldiers or Armed Men placed at certain Poſts in a City or Country, who gave notice of ſuch Crimes as were committed in theſe kinds, to the *Preſident* of the Province; and from the ſeveral Stations they held, they were called *Stationarii*, being firſt appointed to this Service by *Auguſtus*. Their Duty was to give Notice of ſuch Perſons, but ſcarcely to commit them to Priſon, except they were Fugitives; and it was at their Peril, if they Accuſed Innocent Perſons. As in the *Weſtern* Parts of the Empire they were called *Stationarii*, ſo in the *Eaſtern*, *Irenarchæ*, or Keepers of the Peace; which Name, in a peculiar Manner, ſeems given to their Officers, or Commanders. Theſe *Stationarii*, or *Irenarchæ* had Allowance from the Publick, both for Man and Horſe; having, beſides the Employment but now mentioned, another of taking Cuſtom of ſuch Merchandize as was imported. But whether, as often we ſee in Military men, their Idleneſs corrupted their Manners, and their Debaucheries caſt them into ſuch Want, as provoked them, for Supply, to take ſuch Courſes as tended to the Diſturbance of thoſe Countries and Places, to which they were appointed for a Defence and Security; in time they grew ſo ſcandalous, that *Theodoſius* the Younger, thought fit by a Conſtitution now extant in his *Code*, to aboliſh them, and give order to the *Præfectus Prætorio* to commit their Employment to others of the richer ſort of the Towns, or Country, who from any Want, as it ſeems, might not have ſuch Temptation to Rapacity. Afterwards, when *Juſtinian*'s *Code* was compoſed, *Tribonian* utterly prevented this Conſtitution of *Theodoſius*, and by one interpolated, or patcht up together, ordains the *Irenarchæ* (whom contrary to what *Theodoſius* ſaith, that they hindred the Concord of the Provinces, ſaith, that they were the Procurers of Concord, Peace and Quietneſs;) to be choſen by the *Decuriones*, and appointed by the *Preſident* of the Province. And indeed otherwiſe it appears, that the *Decuriones* themſelves were employed about the Apprehenſion of Thieves and Robbers; and therefore the Title of *Irenarchæ* is placed in *Theodoſius* his *Code*, as *Gothofred* obſerves, amongſt ſuch as belong to *Decuriones*; becauſe this Task of Diligence was impoſed upon the Wealthier ſort, and conſequently upon the *Decuriones*; who moſt commonly, were the richeſt Perſons in the Corporations.

Vide Gothofred. Comment. in L. unic. Cod. Theod. lib. 12. *tit.* 14. *de Irenarchis.*

Pancirol. de Magiſtrat. Municipalibus, C. 18.

Limenarchæ.

Archeota, or, *Antiquarii.*

103. But as in moſt Cities and Places adjoyning to them, through which the ordinary Roads did lye, theſe *Stationary* Souldiers were appointed to keep Watch; ſo in the Havens, where Ships were wont frequently to arrive, were other Officers ordained to take Care againſt the Invaſion of Enemies or Pyrates, for Security of Ships, Apprehenſion of Thieves, Prevention of Tumults, and of conveying any Oyl, Wine, Lard or Iron to *Barbarians*, who were Enemies to the Empire. Theſe were called *Limenarchæ*, and created out of the Body of the *Decuriones*, where there were Havens: of which the moſt Famous were theſe of *Capua* in *Campania*, *Dyrrachium* in *Epyrus*; and *Brunduſium* in *Calabria*; Beſides theſe *Aquileia* whence they ſailed to *Cyrene*, and *Berytus* in *Syria*, whence they paſſed to *Brunduſium.* But thoſe that excelled were that of *Alexandria*, then the *Emporium* of the World; and *Hoſtia*, or the Haven of *Rome*, to which the whole Empire had Recourſe. In ſome Places were created *Ædiles*, for diſcharging thoſe things incumbent upon the *Curators* of the Cities, who looked to the Rivers, Bridges, Walls and High-ways, eſpecially having Power of Fining, and of deſtroying any thing that annoyed Travellers. Further there was another Officer, whom they termed *Archeota*, becauſe he had the overſight of the Place where the Records of the Town were kept; in *Greek* called *Archeum*; as alſo *Chartophylacium*, and *Grammatophylacium*, in *Latin Tabularium*, and *Antiquarium*, as thoſe that had the Care of them *Antiquarii.* There were

Limenarcha, Græcè, Portûs Præfectus.

Tabularii.

De Tabulariis vide omnino Comment. Gothofr. in L. 1. *de Tabulariis, Logographis & Cenſualibus, Cod. Th. lib.* 8. *tit.* 2. *Cave Tabularios cum Tabellionibus commiſceas.*

others that went by the General Names of *Tabularii*, and *Scribes*: ſuch were properly *Tabularii*, that kept Books of Accounts, and therein Entred ſuch as paid Tributes; being, both they and their Sons obnoxious to this Service. Such as kept the Accounts of Tributes were alſo called *Logographi*: Thoſe that were properly termed *Scribes*, and their Office or Employment *Scribatus*, were the Clerks of Courts, who wrote down what paſſed before the Magiſtrates and the *Duumviri*, or *Defenſores Civitatum*. There were others known by the Name of *Cenſuales*, who under the *Magiſter Cenſûs* wrote, and kept the Publick Records wherein Teſtaments were proved; but eſpecially was kept an Account of the Patrimony of each Citizen. The *Decuriones* were not to be compelled to this Employment, but having willingly taken it up, had not the liberty to lay it down at pleaſure. At firſt the *Tabularii* were Publick Slaves, but afterwards it was ordained, that Free Perſons only ſhould be Elected.

Gymnaſiarchæ.

Xenoparochus.

Camelarii.

Nyctoſtrategi.

Agonothetæ.

Maſtigophori.

Legati, or Meſſengers Employed to the Emperour.

104. The *Greeks* were wont in Large places compaſſed with Galleries, to Exerciſe themſelves; in Inner Chambers adjoyning, to Waſh and be Anointed; and near to thoſe Rooms were the *Exhedræ*, where Philoſophers met and Diſputed; the Overſeers of which Places had the Name of *Gymnaſiarchæ*. It was a Cuſtom, that when Ambaſſadours came into Cities, they ſhould be preſented with Neceſſaries at the Publick Expenſe, for which a peculiar Officer was appointed, with the Name of *Xenoparochus*. There were *Camelarii*, who had the care of Camels, which carried the Baggage of the Army in Expeditions; as alſo others, who looked to the Conveying of Proviſions and Souldiers clothes, which the Towns were bound to find. All which were Perſonal Employments, not obliging to any Expenſe, but only Perſonal Labour. For prevention of Fires, which ordinarily happen by Night, there were the *Nyctoſtrategi*. And for the Regulating of Publick Paſtimes, Exerciſes, or Races, the *Agonothetæ*, who had thoſe that went with Rods before them, to beat away, and remove the Crowd, and thence had the Name of *Maſtigophori*, though unwilling, compelled to this Perſonal Service. And laſtly, from out of the Body of the *Decuriones*, were certain choſen, and termed *Legati*, being conſtrained to go as Meſſengers from the Corporation to the Prince, if the number of three Sons alive, or a Meſſage ſent on within two years before, could not Excuſe them. At firſt, upon very ſlight Errands theſe *Legati* were wont to be ſent, as, merely to ſalute the Emperour, which put the Cities to great Charge; but afterwards it was Ordained, that none ſhould be ſent but upon Neceſſary Buſineſs, and that to be, as ſuch, approved by the *Preſident* of the Province, who was obliged to Accompany them with his Letters, as the *Præfectus Prætorio* was to Approve the Meſſage of the whole Province. None was compelled to undertake the Journey and Employment at his own Charge, but received a *Viaticum*, or Allowance termed *Legativum*; being firſt choſen by the City, and thereupon a Decree made and Signed by the *Decuriones*, which they called *Pſephiſma*.

How choſen.

105. The Cuſtom was, for ſuch to be employed according to his Place and Degree, the more ancient and honourable firſt, and then the reſt in order downward, except the Greatneſs of the Affair required ſome of the better ſort to be ſtill employed. At the time of Legation they were not to embroil themſelves with Buſineſs, either their own, or of other Perſons; and had the Privilege not to be ſued, but in caſe they committed any Offence, they, or their Servants were puniſhable at *Rome*. They were allowed Carriages; and the *Legates* of the Provinces, publick Horſes. The number of the Meſſengers was not to exceed that of three. The Employment was perſonal, and could not be diſcharged by any Deputy, except a Son. Debtors to the Publick, and Infamous Perſons, were not permitted to manage it. When the whole Diœceſe reſolved to ſend to the Emperour, it was determined by the major Part of the *Primates* or Chief of the Cities. If the Province determined to ſend, the *Primates* of the Courts met in the *Metropolis*, at the Place where they were wont to aſſemble, and the Major part carried it, the Aſſent of the *Præfectus Prætorio* being obtain'd. When the *Legati* came to the Court, they were firſt heard in the Auditory of the *Præfectus Prætorio* then in waiting, and their Petitions were examined, but without any Determination; for afterwards their Requeſts were reported in Conſiſtory by the *Epiſtolares*, and received ſuch Anſwer as the Prince directed.

106. Theſe were the Officers, and ſuch was the Government of the Cities and Places corporate; which beſides their Courts and Bodies for Government, had alſo ſeveral Bodies, and Companies of Artificers, as we here at *London*, which were privileged with Immunity from Perſonal Burthens. Of them ſome have reckoned up two and thirty, and others thirty five. The Names and Deſcriptions of which,

the Reader if he pleaſe, may find in *Pancirolus*, and elſewhere. For we ſeem in this Deſcription of the Polity of the Empire to have been too tedious already; but the Profit, and Improvement of the Reader ſeems alſo to have required it: theſe things being not commonly known, and few making it their Buſineſs to underſtand the State and Condition of thoſe Ages whereof we write; chiefly becauſe they imagine them Jejune and Barren, and that little can be ſaid, or known of them. Without a moderate Underſtanding of the Nature of theſe ſeveral Officers, he can little benefit by peruſal of the Writers of theſe Times, and much leſs Profit in the Study of the Imperial Conſtitutions. And ſo we return to our *Hiſtory*; which will both give to, and receive from this *Apparatus* very much Illuſtration. For what we have ſaid briefly, and altogether concerning the *Polity* of the Empire, will for the moſt part be particularly explained, and amplified, when we come to ſpeak of the ſeveral Laws, as in time they were enacted.

Some Knowledge of the Polity of the Empire neceſſary, for underſtanding the Writers of theſe Ages, and this following Hiſtory.

Vide L. 2. de Excuſationibus Artificum lib. 13. Cod. Th. Tit. 4. & Comment. Gothofredi.

Sect. III.

The Joynt Government of the Sons of Conſtantine;

From his Death to that of his Son Conſtans, *and the Uſurpation of* Magnentius: *The Space of Thirteen Years.*

The Iſſue of *Conſtantine.*

1. CONSTANTINE the Great had four Sons, and two Daughters. The Eldeſt Son was *Criſpus*, and he begotten of *Minervina* his Concubine. By *Fl. Maximiana Fauſta*, the Daughter of *Maximianus Herculius*, he had three other Sons, *Conſtantine*, *Conſtantius*, *Conſtans*, and his two Daughters, *Conſtantina* and *Helena*. Now *Conſtantine* had a Wife married to him in his Father's time. Afterward, being Emperour, by an Embaſſy he procured another, of a moſt Noble Family out of *Spain*. For *Conſtantius*, he firſt married the Daughter of his Uncle *Conſtantius*, the Siſter of *Gallus*, Betrothed to him alſo by his Father. After her, he wedded *Euſebia*, and at laſt *Fauſtina*, the Mother of *Conſtantia*, born after his Deceaſe, and afterward married to *Gratian*. To *Conſtans* was given in Marriage *Olympias* the Daughter of *Ablabius*. Of his Daughters, *Conſtantina* was firſt married to *Hanniballianus*, the Son of *Dalmatius*, the Brother of *Conſtantine*, who by his Uncle was made King of *Pontus*, *Cappadocia*, and *Armenia* the leſs, being inveſted with a Purple Robe; and after his Death to *Gallus Cæſar*. Of *Helena*, his Brother *Julian* was the Husband.

Vide Annot. Valeſii in lib. 14. Ammiani Marcellini.

The Grief which all men expreſſed at his Death.

2. None of the Sons were preſent when he died, though *Conſtantius* arrived not long after: but there was no need of their Preſence to make a Reſentment of the Loſs the Empire ſuſtained by their Father's Death: for the Souldiers that then waited, upon Knowlege of it, tore their Cloaths, caſt themſelves proſtrate on the Ground, knock'd their Heads againſt the Walls, and otherwiſe expreſſed ſuch Sorrow, as was agreeable to ſo publick a Calamity. And their Officers were no whit behind them in teſtifying their Grief with mournful and paſſionate Expreſſions; calling him their *Preſerver*, *Deliverer*, and *Common Parent*. Neither were the Townſmen backward herein, to follow the Example of the Court, and Camp, running like mad men about the Streets, and bewailing their Loſs, or ſitting at Home dejected and oppreſſed with Sorrow. When Grief would give them leave, the Souldiers took up the Body, and carried it to *Conſtantinople* in a golden Coffin covered with Purple, where it was expoſed in the Palace to be ſeen of all, with Lights burning round about it, and Attendants to watch it. Here Court was kept, as if he had been ſtill living. The ſeveral *Comites*, and other Perſons that were wont to adore, or ſalute, now doing their Duty to him as formerly. The *Senate* alſo paid him the ſame Reſpect, together with all the Magiſtrates; and the Citizens were not wanting to teſtifie their deep Senſe of his Loſs, who had been ſo noble a Founder and Benefactor to their City. Neither did old *Rome* forget to ſympathize

Vide Diſſert. Gothofredi in Philoſtorgii lib. 2. C. 17. Sigonius.

with her Daughter, the new: for as ſoon as the Report of his Death there arriv'd, they ſhut up their Shops, and publick Baths; abſtained from the *Forum*, and their uſual Sports, and intermitted all thoſe Recreations, which in Times of Proſperity were wont to be uſed. It's ſaid alſo, that they pictur'd him ſitting in Heaven, and deſired to have his Body ſent to them to be buried in their City.

Conſtantius makes away his Uncle and Kinſmen.

Vide Gothofred. ut prius, & Cod. Theodoſii Chronic. Hiſtoricum ad Annum 337.

The Sons of *Conſtantine* ſhare the Empire.

How often Partition of the Empire hapned.

3. But this was not agreed to by *Conſtantius* his Son, who being not ſo far diſtant as the reſt, upon Notice given, haſted to Court, and thought it moſt fit he ſhould reſt in that City, to which he himſelf had given Original. *Conſtantius*, either for that his Father had left ſuch Command in his Teſtament becauſe they attempted to poiſon him (as ſome improbably have reported) or rather to prevent more Competition, (for three Brothers might ſeem to ſuffice for the Government of the Empire) put to Death, or permitted to be put, his Uncle and Kinſmen; *viz.* *Conſtantius Dalmatius*, and his Sons, *Dalmatius Cæſar*, and *Anaballianus*. *Zoſimus* relates this, as done after the Diviſion of the Empire amongſt the Brothers; of which he will have the Uncle, and Kinſmen in a certain manner to have been Sharers. But the Brothers were by the Souldiers declared *Auguſti*, or Emperours, not till the fifth of the *Ides* of *September*; which was more than three Months after their Fathers Death; ſo that if the other Princes were killed by *Conſtantius*, preſently after the Deceaſe of *Conſtantine*, as ſome write, it muſt rather have been done before the Diviſion, and moſt probably to prevent, as was ſaid, more Competition. *Conſtantius*, and *Conſtans*, for ſome time, continued together. Firſt in *Macedonia*, at *Theſſalonica*, then at *Naiſſus* and *Viminacium* in *Myſia*, and thence removed to *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*; in which Country, the Diviſion of the Empire was made. In this Diviſion, *Gall*, *Spain*, *Britain*, and part of *Africa Proconſularis* fell to *Conſtantine*, the Eldeſt: to *Conſtans* the youngeſt, *Italy*, with the reſt of *Africk*, *Illyricum*, *Macedonia*, and *Greece*, with what bordered upon the *Euxine* Sea; and to *Conſtantius*, *Myſia*, *Thrace*, with *Conſtantinople*, *Aſia*, *Ægypt*, and the *Eaſtern* Empire, as far as from *Illyricum* to *Niſibis*. This Partition was not made without ſome Diſſatisfaction and Diſturbance, which was compoſed by *Conſtantius*, for ſome time; but broke out afreſh betwixt the other two, and after three years proved Fatal to the Eldeſt. The Diviſion of the Empire was firſt made by *Probus*, and *Florianus*, and this Example followed by *Maximinus*, *Conſtantius*, *Conſtantine*, and *Galerius*. Theſe firſt divided the Empire into ſeveral Appropriate Parts, or Portions; for although formerly *M. Antoninus* Reigned with his Brother *Verus*, and *Severus*, with his Son *Antoninus*; yet they Reigned as one man, and there was no Partition made of the *Roman* World. The next Diviſion was this of the Sons of *Conſtantine*, whereof *Conſtantius*, the Survivor, reunited the Empire, and ſo it continued, till *Valentinian* parted it again, betwixt himſelf and his Brother *Valens*, to whom he granted the Eaſt, for his Share, with part of the Forces. But they after a few years, and the Sons of *Valentinian* dying Childleſs, it returned to *Theodoſius* alone, who again parted it at his Death, aſſigning to his Son *Arcadius*, the Eaſt, and to *Honorius* the *Weſt*; yet were all things done joyntly, as in one and the ſame Empire. This Diviſion continued till *Valentinian* the third, and *Martian*, about which time the *Barbarians* began to ſeize on all parts of the Weſt; ſubduing *Britain*, *Spain* and *Gall*, and at length *Italy*, with *Illyricum* and *Africk*, and ſo fell the Empire of the *Weſt*; to which Fall and Ruine many conceive this Partition of it to have conduced. And it is eaſie to imagine, that hence might be multiplied Wars and Diſſenſions, whilſt ſeveral Princes were not contented with their Shares, but each one ſtrived to be Lord of all. But indeed we may conclude, that it was neither capable of bearing many, nor of one alone. More than one procured it's Ruin by Diviſion, and one alone was not able to manage it; therefore muſt it decay by Degrees, as all Kingdoms and Principalities of too great Extent and Burthen; for which the Life, Force, Authority and Underſtanding of Man are altogether Inſufficient.

Quicquid exceſſit modum Pendet inſtabili loco. Seneca in Oedip.

The Brothers fall out about the Partition of the Empire.

Chronicon Hiſtoric. Gothofredi.

4. That *Conſtantine* himſelf by his Teſtament, or otherwiſe before his Death, divided his Empire amongſt his Sons, hath been believed; yet it is not certain, whether, he or they, after his Deceaſe made the Partition. For what *Euſebius*, or the Author of his Life writes concerning his aſſigning them ſeveral Countries, might be underſtood of his giving them Governments, at ſuch time as he made them *Cæſars*. However long it was not, before they fell out about their Shares, it being a rare thing for Partners in Sovereignty to agree. And whether from Confidence in their Diſſenſions, or by Reaſon of the Death of their Kinſmen, or other Reaſons; the Diviſion was ſcarcely made, when Tumults and Seditions hapned in the Empire. Before *Conſtantius* and *Conſtans* parted aſunder, and ſtill reſided at *Vimina-*

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cum in the lower *Mæſia*, they ſent out an Edict againſt Informers, or Accuſers, which is thought to have had Reſpect to thoſe, who were falſly accuſed, as being of the Party of the Princes that were put to Death, or of *Ablavius* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, or *Optatus*, the *Patrician*, whom *Zoſimus* writes to have been alſo ſlain by Command of *Conſtantius*. It bears Date of the twelfth of *June*, and on the eighteenth of the ſame Month, another Conſtitution was given forth from *Conſtantine* their Brother againſt Libels; wherein telling the *Africans*, that his Father took “ Care for the ſuppreſſing of ſuch ſcandalous Writings; and Commanding, *That they* “ *ſhould neither be made known to him, nor publickly ſeen*, leſt by ſuch Devices “ the Life or Dignity of any one ſhould be endanger'd; he alſo commands, that “ they be all committed to the Fire. It ſeems the Provincials of *Africk* had by their Meſſengers to him (whoſe Subjects they were by the Partition) complained of their Sufferings in this kind, and prayed to be relieved; and not unlikely it is that the Occaſion alſo aroſe from the Tumults and Seditions, which about this time had been in the Empire. *Conſtans* continued ſtill in *Pannonia*, as appears by another Edict of his which bears Date at *Sirmium* on the twenty ſeventh of *July*, concerning publick Works, commanding the Judges to give Diſpenſations to none that ought to contribute towards them; for from the Indulgence of the Prince alone ſuch Immunity was to be ſought for, which was wont to be granted in reſpect to ſome Dignity, or Service, as to *Senators* of Courſe, with ſome others; and *Veterani*, or old Souldiers enjoyed it. Now theſe publick Works were the Bridges, Walls, and publick Buildings, wherein the Splendor and Ornament of the Cities and Towns conſiſted.

An Edict againſt Informers.

L. 4. Cod. Theod. lib. 10. *Tit.* 10. *de Petitionibus &c. & Comment. Gothofr.*

Lib. 5. de famoſis Libellis *Cod.* Theod.*lib.* 9. *tit.* 34. *Comment. Gothofred.*

L. 5. de operibus publicis Cod. Th. *lib.* 15 *tit.* 1. *Vide* Gothofred. *in L. L. & Paratitlon hujus tit. de operibus Publicis.*

5. *Conſtantius* from *Pannonia*, after the Diviſion of the Empire, departed for *Syria*, to go againſt the *Perſians*, whoſe King, *Sapor* by Name, encourageing himſelf by the Death of *Conſtantine*, and deſpiſing his Sons, now waſted *Meſopotamia*, and ſate down before *Niſibis*, which near two Months he beſieged. Upon Notice hereof *Conſtantius* removed to *Antioch*, where, on the eleventh of *October*, in the Conſulſhip of *Urſus* and *Polemius*, he made an Edict concerning the *Decuriones*, lately ſpoken of. This Edict is followed by twenty ſix more publiſhed by this Emperour concerning the ſame Subject; from which appears what the State and Condition of the *Curiales* was at this time, and how he conſulted for their Advantage. Theſe Laws having reſpect to four things eſpecially; theſe are The Form and Order of their Nomination. That the Courts might be ſupplied againſt the Pretences of ſuch as would be excuſed. That by Puniſhment inflicted on ſuch as failed, the Magiſtrates and *Decuriones* might diligently diſcharge their places. And in the laſt place, he confirms to them their Privileges. The other precedeing twenty two Conſtitutions in the *Code* were made by *Conſtantine* the Great, his Father, by which as the State and Condition of the Places corporate, as they ſtood in his time do appear, ſo *Gothofred* tells you, that it's evident with what, and how great Study and Endeavour that Prince laboured to promote the Intereſt of all ſuch Places. The Scope and Deſign of all which, it behooved thoſe to exhibit, who endeavour to expreſs the Humour, and Genius of that Prince by his Conſtitutions, eſpecially; and not that of one, or two only, as *Baldwin* hath done, whoſe Commentaries, ſaith he, concerning *Conſtantine* the great, that I may ſay it once for all, contain rather a Shadow or Pourtract of a full Work, than a compleat Treatiſe, as ſome eminent men have before obſerved.

Conſtantius goeth againſt *Sapor* the *Perſian* King. His Edicts concerning the *Decuriones*.

Chronicon Hiſtor. & Chronol. Legum. *Hieronymus in Chron.*

L. 23. *de Decurionibus Cod.* Th. *lib.* 12. Tit. 1. *& vide Comm.*

ad L. primam hujus Tit.

6. Ere *Conſtantius* could reach *Niſibis*, his Work was done to his Hand; for *Sapor* deſpairing of any Succeſs, had quitted the Place, which is aſcribed to the Prayers and Sanctity of *James*, the Biſhop; during whoſe Life and Preſence there, none of his Deſigns could ſucceed againſt the City. *Conſtantius* to divert the *Perſians* by giving them ſomething to do, procured by his Ambaſſadors the pilfring *Arabians*, to fall upon them, while he attending this Buſineſs, made ſome ſtay in thoſe Parts of the *Phœnician Syria*, bordering upon *Arabia*; as at *Emeſa*, *Laodicea*, and *Heliopolis*, Cities of that Tract. Having given ſuch order to his Affairs, as he thought convenient in thoſe Parts, he returned to *Antioch*: but the following year, (wherein he himſelf the ſecond time, bore the Title of *Conſul*, with his Brother *Conſtans*) came back again into theſe Quarters, as appears by the Dates of ſeveral Edicts now made by him. For being at *Laodicea*, and there inſtructed, as is probable, by the Lawyers of *Berytus* (the Univerſity for that Science) he reformed many things of old Cuſtom, but very ill Conſequence, and particularly took away captious Expreſſions uſed in Forms and Words of Law by a Conſtitution directed to *Marcellinus*, the *Preſident* of *Phœnicia*, and to the People of that Province. From *Laodicea* he removed again to *Antioch*, whither carrying an Obſervation he had made

He ſtirs up the *Arabians* againſt *Sapor*.

By ſeveral Edicts endeavours Reformation.

Quam nonnulli Antiochiam Mygdoniæ appellant.

Chronic. Hiſtoric. ad Ann. CCCXXXIX.

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of the ill Practices of his Subjects of *Phœnicia*, or being put in mind by others of a ſcandalous Cuſtom in thoſe parts, by a ſevere Edict he endeavour'd a Reformation. The Matter this: By the moſt ancient Laws and Cuſtoms of the *Romans*, it was unlawful to marry, as well the Daughter of a Brother as of a Siſter: but afterwards, when Licentiouſneſs increaſed, a Difference was made, and it was permitted the Uncle to marry the firſt, but not the ſecond, this being occaſioned by the extravagant Affection of *Claudius* to his Niece *Agrippina*; for the ſake of whom the Fathers, by a *Senatuſconſultum*, made it lawful to marry the Brother's Daughter, which before was accounted Inceſtuous. By this Example and Permiſſion encouraged, *Domitian* married the Daughter of his Brother *Titus*; but not long after, the old Law was reſtored, and this diſtinction betwixt the Daughter of a Brother and a Siſter was taken away by *Nerva*, who ordained, that the Uncle ſhould no more marry his Niece by the one, than by the other. Yet after *Nerva*'s Death, what order he took herein proved ineffectual; for the Diſtinction again returned, it being as appears, by ſeveral Laws of the Digeſt, and by *Ulpian*, lawful in his time (who lived in the Reign of *Caracalla*) to marry the Daughter of the Brother, though not of the Siſter. And this Cuſtom was in uſe in the days of *Diocleſian* and *Maximian*; but taken away by *Conſtantine* the Great, as ſhould ſeem from *Sozomen* the Hiſtorian, who relates, that he reſtrained ſuch profane and licentious Marriages, as formerly were not prohibited, although, no ſuch Conſtitution of that Prince be now extant. To be ſure his Son *Conſtantius* by an Edict did now reſtore the moſt ancient Law and Cuſtom, prohibited not only the Marriage of the Siſters but the Brothers Daughter, and not only Marriage, but any Carnal Knowledge or inceſtuous Copulation betwixt them, and this under no leſs a penalty, than that of Death. Now the People of *Phœnicia* were they to whom the Conſtitution was directed; becauſe they, and the Inhabitants of the other Provinces, bordering upon the *Perſians*, from them received ſeveral corrupt Principles, which were much contrary to the *Roman* Laws; as appears both from ſeveral Laws, that are yet extant, and were made to bridle their Extravagance; as alſo, by what the Author of *Conſtantine* his Life, and *Socrates*, do write of the *Heliopolitans*, their uſing Wives promiſcuouſly, till *Conſtantine* reduced them into Order, by the Propagation of *Chriſtian* Religion amongſt them.

Siquis filiam Fratris, ſororisve faciendam crediderit abominanter uxorem, aut in ejus complexum, non ut Patruus, aut Avunculus convolaverit, Capitalis Sententiæ pœna teneatur.

L. 1. *de Inceſtis nuptiis Cod. Theod. lib.* 3. *tit.* 12. *vide Com.*

7. *Conſtantius* ſpent much of this year, in thoſe Parts of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, being intent upon the War with *Perſia*, for which he made more than ordinary Preparations: for he raiſed a Tax, or Sum of Money from his Subjects upon this Account, which being not in the common Courſe of Payments, many Perſons might by their Privileges pretend Excuſe; but to obviate all ſuch Pretences, he publiſhed an Edict, whereby all Perſons were compelled to contribute, and none per- “ mitted to inſiſt upon their Immunity from extraordinary Services in a time, when “ the extraordinary State and Condition of the Empire called for an univerſal Sup- “ ply; which was counted good Reaſon alſo in after-times, to diſpenſe with ſuch Privileges, as we may ſee in due Place. But to leave *Conſtantius* for a ſpace and to enquire how his two Brothers managed their matters in the *Weſt*. By the Dates of ſeveral Laws we find *Conſtans* about this time at *Naiſſus* in *Dacia*, and at *Aquileia*, at both which Places he publiſhed Edicts. By one directed to the City of the *Cirtenſes* in *Numidia*, which had lately got the Name of *Conſtantina*; he reſtrains the “ Liberty which *Duumviri*, or Magiſtrates of Cities took to deſert their Offices; for “ being obliged to be at the Expenſe of Games and Showes, they were wont to get “ themſelves to be made *Senators*, and otherwiſe to decline theſe Services, which “ to prevent (as his Brother *Conſtantius* much about the ſame time dealt, much what in the ſame manner with *Prætors*) he Commands the Corporation to lay out the “ Money upon the wonted Recreations, and to conſtrain the *Duumviri* afterward “ to pay it, by deſtraining their Goods, if need ſhould ſo require. By another Law “ he took Care for Cauſes relating to the Treaſury, that thoſe depending therein, ſhould be ſpeedily, and juſtly determined. But while he buſied himſelf with making Laws, the noiſe of Arms diſturbed and diverted him; the Diſpute between him, and his Elder Brother being now come to that height, that *Conſtantine* made War upon him; the Controverſie being no leſs, than concerning *Africk*, that belonged to *Carthage*, and alſo *Italy*. *Zoſimus* tells us, that *Conſtans* deſirous to fall upon and deſtroy his Brother at unawares, diſſembled his Diſpleaſure for three years together, and watching his opportunity, when he came into a Country, that was kind and faithful to him, ſent a Party of Souldiers with Show and Pretence of aſſiſting *Conſtantius* againſt the *Perſians*, to make him away; which, when he thought of nothing leſs, they effected. But the general opinion is, that *Conſtantine*

For Maintenance of the War, he raiſes an extraordinary Supply.

L. 5. *de Annona & Tributis Cod. Th. lib.* 11. *tit.* 1.

Conſtans publiſheth ſeveral Edicts.

L. 29. *de Decurionibus.*

Vide Chronic. Hiſtor. ad Ann. CCCXL. *Acindino & Proculo Coſſ.*

Conſtantine his Brother makes War upon him for *Africk* and *Italy*.

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And is ſlain.

ſtantine was the Aggreſſor in this War; and that invading the Territories of his Brother *Conſtans*, he was ſlain by his men, near *Aquileia*, in the third year of his Reign; and that before the ninth of *April*, at what time, as appears from the Dates of ſeveral Laws, *Conſtans* was Maſter of all *Africk*, which was not till after the other's Death. On the twenty ninth of the ſame Month he publiſhed another Edict, whereby he took away Immunities and Privileges from Tribute granted by his, and the publick Enemie, as it is worded. Now by a publick Enemy, whoſe Acts are hereby reſcinded, can be no other than an Emperour meant, and conſidering, the time, none but *Conſtantine*, by whoſe Death *Africk*, as well as his other Provinces, falling into the hands of *Conſtans*, he thought it incumbent upon him, to take Care of the publick Revenue by repealing thoſe Immunities through which it had been diminiſhed.

Chronic. Hiſtoric. adject. Chronol. Legum Cod. Theodoſii.

Publicus, ac noſter Inimicus diverſis Immunitatem dederat, jugorum Capitationibus & Profeſſionibus amputatis. Jubemus ergò, ut omnibus omninò hæc Privilegia derogentur.

L. 1. *de Immuditate conceſſâ lib.* 11. *Cod. Theod. Tit.* 12. *& vide Gothofred in L. Annal. Tom.* 3.

Zonaras his Story of his Death.

8. But as to the Death of *Conſtantine*, *Zonaras* tells the Story with ſome further Circumſtances. He writes, that he firſt expoſtulated with his Brother *Conſtans* about the late Partition of the Provinces, requiring him, either to ſurrender him part of his Share, or elſe to come to a new, and more equal Diviſion. This he flatly refuſed to do, not yielding in the leaſt to what he demanded; whereupon *Conſtantine* took up Arms, and invaded the Countries of *Conſtans*, who being in *Dacia*, and underſtanding what he attempted, ſent away ſome of his Captains againſt him, reſolving to follow in Perſon with the reſt of his Forces. Theſe Officers being come near to the place, where *Conſtantine* was poſted, a party of men lying in Ambuſh, roſe up, and then counterfeiting Fear and Flight, drew him into the Snare, wherein being beſet, he periſhed with moſt of his Followers; for his Horſe, vexed by the Wounds he had received, threw him; and his Enemies taking the Advantage of the Fall, killed him in the Place. Others add, that they caſt his Body into the River *Alſa*, which runs near to *Aquileia*, whether his Brother *Conſtans* coming, celebrated his Funeral, and cauſed him to be reckoned amongſt the *Divi*; though this ill ſuits with the Character given in the Edict lately mentioned of his and the publick Enemy. But thus was the Empire of the *Weſt* devolved upon *Conſtans* alone, who from *Aquileia* travelled into other Parts, to ſettle his Matters in his newly gotten Poſſeſſions. Coming to *Milan*, he gave out there an Edict againſt ſuch as Violated Sepulchres, concerning which it will be more proper for us to ſpeak in another Place. From *Italy*, the following year, he paſſed into *Gall*, and came to *Lauriacum*, a place, as is probably conjectur'd, Situate in *Batavia* over againſt the ancient Country of the *Franks*. Before his Departure out of *Italy*, at *Capua* he publiſhed an Edict, whereby he much gratified his Subjects of theſe Parts; forbidding Souldiers in their Quarters, to take any thing by Violence from their Landlords. At *Lauriacum* he made other two Laws, for Prevention of Municipal *Officers* (as the *Tabularii*, *Scribes*, and *Decuriones*,) their forſaking their Charges in the Corporations, forbidding it upon Pretence of other Service, or Employment (*Militia*) although it was in the Court it ſelf, except they had ſerved already in the Office, the ſpace of five years. Now as to the Place whence theſe Laws bear Date, on the twenty fourth of *June*, in the *Conſulſhip* of *Marcellinus* and *Probinus*; there were in thoſe Times three ſeveral Towns, that bore the Name of *Lauriacum*; the one in *Noricum* and the *Weſtern Illyricum*, where the ſecond *Legion* and Navy lay; where was a Fabrick, or Forge for Targets, the principal Place on the Road betwixt *Italy* and *Pannonia*, at this Day *Lorch*, but in an ancient Inſcription called *Colonia Aurelania Laureacenſis*. Another in *Italy*, between *Cremona* and *Mantua*. And a third in *Batavia*, over againſt the *Franks*, perhaps now the ſame with *Larens* a Town lying betwixt *Utrecht*, and the River *Flevio*; and hence, probable it is, that theſe Laws were dated.

Sigonius uti ſuprâ.

Thereby the Empire of the Weſt being devolved upon *Conſtans*, he removes into *Gall*.

L. 1. *de Salgamo Hoſpitibus non præbendo.*

L. 1. *de Tabulariis*, Logographis *& Cenſualibus Cod. Th.* L. 8. *Tit.* 2. *&* L. 31. *de Decurionibus.* Lib. 12. *Tit.* 1.

Vide Gothofredum in D. L. 1. *de Tabulariis.*

Comes over into *Britain*.

9. For in this year, which was the CCCXLI of our Lord, *Conſtans* reſided, neither in *Noricum*, nor in *Italy*, but in *Gall*, where he had to do with the *Franks*, with whom for this year he fought with ſucceſs, but in that following overcame, and quieted them; it being in his ſecond *Conſulſhip*, which Office his Brother *Conſtantius* alſo bore now the third time. After his Conqueſt of the *Franks*, the Winter following he came over from *Gall*, hither into *Britain*, in very hard Weather, againſt the *Scots* and *Picts*, who it ſeems, at this time were tumultuous, even to Rebellion. Of what paſſed here in particular, as of moſt other Matters relating to War, at this time we have but very ſlender Intelligence; upon which account we have great Reaſon to bewail the Loſs of the former part of *Ammianus Marcellinus* his Hiſtory. But from a Law, which he paſſed at the Sea-ſide, before he embarqued, it is probably conjectur'd, that for this Expedition he laid a Tax, or extraordinary Payment upon his Subjects; as alſo certain baſe Services, termed by

Idem ibid. & in Chronic. Hiſtoric. ad Ann. CCCXLI. *Conſtantio* 3. *& Conſtante* 2. *Coſſ.*

L. 5. *de Extraordinariis ſive Sordidis Muneribus Cod. Theod. lib.* 11. Tit. 16. *Gothofr.*

them *Sordida munera*) from which by this Law, he frees his own private Eſtate, “ and the Tenants of his Lands. Theſe Services ſeem to have been no other, than the Building of Ships, and others neceſſary for Tranſportation of his Army, now lying at *Bononia*, from which the Edict bears Date, and which is not to be underſtood of *Bononia* in *Italy*, as ſome have miſtaken it; but of that Maritime Town in *Gall*, which now is known by the Name of *Bulloigne*, in old time of *Geſſoriacum*, and from which the ordinary Paſſages lay then into *Britain*. To return into the *Eaſt*, and make Inquiry after *Conſtantius*: while his Brother was yet in *Italy*, we find him in *Beſſa*, a Town in *Thrace*, whence in the Moneth of *Auguſt*, he publiſhed another Edict concerning *Decuriones*. The Moneth following he departed to *Antioch*, and thence gave out other Laws to the *Senate*, concerning *Prætors*, their uſual ſetting forth of Publick Games and Paſtimes, by the firſt of them moderating the extravagant Expenſe they were at therein; and by the other providing, that by Reaſon of their Abſence they ſhould not be omitted. For the Charge was wont to be ſo great, that to ſhun the Burthen, they would ſhift out of Town, and abſent themſelves: therefore he moderates their Expenſe by confining the firſt *Prætor* ‘ of *Conſtantinople*, who bore the Title of *Flavialis*, to that of twenty five thou- ‘ ſand *Folles*, and fifty pounds of Silver; him that had the Name of *Conſtantinianus* to ‘ twenty thouſand *Folles*, and forty pounds of Silver; and the third, known by the Title ‘ of *Triumphalis*, to fifteen thouſand of the former, and thirty pounds of the latter ſort. ‘ Having ſettled the Expenſe thus moderately; by his ſecond Law he commands, that ‘ if any one abſented himſelf, the Games ſhould be ſolemnized at the Publick ‘ Charge, and refunded by the *Prætor*, at his Return. Now the *Folles* (no Silver Money) ſeem to be mentioned for the Expenſe of the Games, and the Silver for the *Sportula*, or Preſents they were wont to make. Hence alſo we may learn, that at the making of the former Law, there were but three *Prætors* at *Conſtantinople*; but otherwiſe it appears, that even in the Reign of this Prince, there were ſometimes five; four under the Emperour *Valens*, and no fewer than eight under *Theodoſius* the Great. Of theſe ſome received Names from the Families and Names of Emperours; as *Flavialis*, *Conſtantinianus*, *Theodoſianus* and *Arcadianus*; and ſome from other things; whereby the Glory of the *Roman* Empire was expreſſed; as *Triumphalis*, *Auguſtalis*, *Romanus*, *Laureatus*.

Conſtantius makes a Law concerning *Prætors*.

L. L. 5. & 6. *de Prætoribus & Quæſtoribus lib.* 6. *Cod. Theodoſ. tit.* 4.

10. The two following years *Conſtantius* reſided ſtill at *Antioch*, the Court, or Body Politick of which City ſeems to have been much exhauſted at this time, eſpecially, for that moſt that could find any Evaſions, ſhunned the Offices and Employments thereof. To prevent the Excuſe of Poverty, and to ſettle ſome conſtant Rule therein; by an Edict he ordained, That he that poſſeſſed above twenty five “ Acres of Land, ſhould be thought of ſufficient Wealth to qualifie him for Em- “ ployments, but not under that Quantity. But though he had it not all of his “ own; yet if he held in his Hand ſo much belonging to the Prince his Patrimony “ as to make up the number of Acres, he ſhould be bound to hold. And if any “ ſhould fraudulently ſell their Lands, all ſuch Lands are hereby declared confiſ- “ cate, and all ſuch puniſhed in the ſame ſort, as ſhould obtain captiouſly under “ hand, any Reſcript for Diſpenſation from theſe Employments, having ſuch Eſtates “ as now mentioned. This bears Date of the fifth of *April*, and is directed to *Rufinus*, *Comes* of the *Eaſt*. And on the eighth of the ſame Moneth another Law was directed to *Auxentius*, *Preſident* of *Auguſtamnica* (in *Ægypt*, and now firſt mentioned, as a Province) whereby Order is taken, that none by pretence of any Ho- “ norary Dignity ſhould evade the Burthen of theſe Offices; ſo great Care had Emperours for Corporations. Part alſo of the following year *Conſtantius* ſpent at this City of *Antioch*; as is evident by a Law dated hence, on the firſt of *March*, concerning falſe Coin. For in his Time, as appears otherwiſe, beſides what we have from the Laws, there were many guilty of that treaſonable Crime. But it had not it's Riſe in his own Reign; being very common alſo in the Days of his Father, who took very much Care for Redreſs of this Miſchief, by the ſeveral Laws he publiſhed, wherein he encouraged all ſuch as would diſcover the Offenders, and ordained other things very remarkable: Baniſhment, and Confiſcation of Eſtates (he making the Offence capital only to Slaves) proved not ſufficient for Prevention of coining Braſs Money, or Silver. As to Gold, *Conſtantius* now by a new Edict propoſing Rewards to the Diſcoverers, ordains, that ſuch as counterfeited the “ *Aureus*, or Golden Coins ſhould be burnt alive, as his Father formerly had done “ in the like Caſe, and as even by ancient Laws, a greater penalty was wont to be inflicted upon ſuch as counterfeited this ſort of Money. And this Puniſhment he “ will have undergone, all Delay and Appeal removed.

Takes Care for ſupplying the Corporation of *Antioch*;

L. 33. *de Decurionibus.*

L. 34. *ejuſdem tit.*

For preventing falſe Coin.

L. 5, *de falſa Moneta lib.* 9. *Cod. Th. tit.* 21.

& *in L.* 5.

Sect. 3.

A. D. 343.

11. From *Antioch* he removed to *Hierapolis*, where we find him this ſame year in the Moneths of *June* and *July*, and as is probably conjectur'd, upon the Account of the *Perſian* War, wherein he was again at this time engaged; although we have little Light concerning the Methods, or Management thereof. But for this purpoſe he ſeems hence to have publiſhed an Edict, to conſtrain the Sons of the *Veterani*, or old *Emerit* Souldiers, to ſerve in the Armies; thereby on the twenty ſeventh of *June* commanding, that if after the Age of ſixteen years, they either refuſed, or were unable to bear Arms, they ſhould then be condemned to the Offices and Services of the *Curiæ*, or Corporations, from which otherwiſe they were excuſed. And this he did, as he hints, in Imitation of what his Father had enacted in the like Caſe, when he was alſo embroil'd in the *Gothick* War. And for the like Reaſon we muſt believe, that the year alſo that followed, he was ſtill engaged with the *Perſian*, againſt whom, as the Army marched, or lay encamped, leſt the Subject ſhould be haraſſed by free-Quarter; he publiſhed an Edict, bearing Date of the eleventh of *October*, whereby he prohibits, not only common Souldiers, but all *Comites*, *Tribunes*, or Officers, not only to exact Wood and Oyl, but even Mattreſſes, Pallets, Quilts, (*Culcitas*) or ſuch like Stuff from their Landlords, under great Penalty; if without their Conſents, or the Allowance of the Magiſtrates, they took any ſuch thing. Now by Magiſtrates here may be meant thoſe called *Magiſtri Pagorum*, whoſe Employment it was amongſt other Matters, to gather up Proviſions for the Army, and therewith to ſupply the Souldier in his Paſſage, without the Orders of whom, no Proviſions could be taken up; therefore they are ſtyled *Patroni Vicorum*, becauſe they protected the Villages, and common People, from all Inſolencies of this Nature. But while *Conſtantius* exerciſed himſelf and his men in Preparations and Skirmiſhes againſt the *Perſians*; thoſe he left behind, and his Subjects in other Places were not idle, but buſied by him in ſeveral publick Works, For at this time he cauſed to be made, at vaſt Expenſe, a commodious Haven at *Seleucia*, cutting down a part of the adjoyning Mountain, and repaired the City. He alſo built *Antaradus* in *Phœnicia*, which he named after himſelf, *Conſtantia*, and cauſed to be erected publick and magnificent Baths, which alſo bore his Name. Moreover, at the ſame time *Antioch* was repaired, and beautified with many and great publick and private Buildings. Therefore there being great need of Architects and Artificers, as his Father formerly had done, when by reaſon of the Building of *Conſtantinople*, and his Churches, there was great occaſion for Workmen. He alſo publiſhed an Edict, this ſame Summer, on the ſixth of *July*, for their Encouragement, both to work themſelves, and to teach others their Myſteries. *Conſtantine* in his ſecond Law (if indeed it be his) whereby he frees thoſe Workmen from perſonal Employments, reckons up five and thirty ſorts of Artificers; but *Conſtantius* in this Edict, only four, under the Names of *Mechanici*, *Geometræ*, *Architecti*, and ſuch as taught how to lay Pipes in *Aquæducts*, and to convey Water; concerning the Nature of whoſe ſeveral Employments, it's not proper for us here to enquire.

He ſummons the Sons of the *Veterani* into the Field.

L. 35. de Decurionibus.

Forbids Souldiers to exact any thing of their Landlords.

L. 2. de Salgamo Militibus non præbendo. Cod. Th. lib. 7. Tit. 9.

Makes an Haven at *Seleucia*, and other Works.

Hieronymus in Chronico. Cedrenus ad Ann. Conſtantii 10. *Gothofred. in Chronico. Hiſtor. ad Ann. 344. & in Comm. ad* L. 3. *de Excuſationibus Artificum. lib. 13. Cod. Th. tit. 4.*

12. But this we muſt needs obſerve; that not only by reaſon of his new and ſumptuous Works, *Conſtantius* might be induced to renew the Privileges granted to Artificers, but conſtrained alſo by a Senſe of publick Calamities. For during this War with *Perſia*, and about theſe times, great Miſchiefs had proceeded from many and moſt terrible Earth-quakes. St. *Jerom* in his *Chronicon* tells us; that the year following the Death of *Conſtans* the Younger, many Cities of the *Eaſt* fell to the Ground by an horrible Motion of the Earth, and ſome three years after this, that *Neo Cæſarea* in *Pontus* was overturned, and all it's Inhabitants periſhed, except ſuch as were ſaved with the Biſhop in the Church. As alſo, that the year following this, and preceeding the building of the Haven in *Seleucia*, *Dyrrachium* was by an Earth quake demoliſhed; *Rome* trembled for three dayes, and as many Nights; and many Towns of *Campania* were ſorely troubled. To theſe *Cedrenus* adds, that in the fourth, or ſifth year of *Conſtantius*, *Antioch* was endangered by an Earth quake of three Days continuance; that in his eighth, *Rhodes* was much diſtreſſed by the ſame Accident; that when *Dyrrachium*, the City of *Dalmatia*, periſhed, and *Rome* was in ſuch Danger, twelve Cities of *Campania* were deſtroy'd; and that in the twelfth of *Conſtantius* the greater part of *Berytus*, the City of *Phœnicia* alſo miſcarried. This hapned in the ſecond year after the making of the Haven at *Seleucia*, or the Building of *Conſtantia*; or *Antaradus*; in which year alſo hapned an Eclipſe of the Sun, on the ſixth day of the Moneth *Dæſius*. *Cedrenus* further writes, that the year that followed the Miſfortune of *Berytus*, *Sapor* the *Perſian* King, with all the Force he could make, fell upon *Niſibis*, againſt which

Terrible Earth-Quakes.

he turned the River, and by all ſorts of Engines attacqued it, but with ſuch ill Succeſs, that having loſt the greateſt part of his Army, he was forced to fly. This he placeth at the thirteenth year of *Conſtantius*, how truly, as to matter of Fact, or Time, we cannot ſay: but whatever Succeſs of *Sapor* was in this Siege, that of *Conſtantius* by the Agreement of Writers was generally bad in all this *Perſian* War; which the more *Orthodox Chriſtians*, according to the Judgement of Parties, concluded to have hapned to him, becauſe of his adhering to, and countenancing the *Arrian* Hereſie.

Sapor flyes from *Niſibis*.

13. To be ſure in the year following the publiſhing of the Edict lately mentioned, for Encouragement of Artificers, by the Date and Subſcription of another Law, we find, though not the *Perſian Sapor*, yet the *Roman Conſtantius* at *Niſibis* in the Moneth of *May*. In this very year ſeveral teſtifie, that he fought a Battel with the *Perſians*, not far from that City, at a Place called *Singara*, and that by Night, and with no good Succeſs; but this hapned ſeveral years before the Defeat of *Sapor*, as *Cedrenus* placeth it. But the *May* following, we find him returned to *Conſtantinople*, where he reſided the whole year, or the greateſt part of it. For on the *Nones*, or ſeventh of *May*, out of his tender Affection to this City, and to cheriſh that, which his Father had founded, he excuſed by an Edict the “ Citizens thereof, as well as his own Courtiers, from extraordinary Services, and “ Payment of Money for finding of Souldiers, willing that they ſhould only pay for “ their Heads and Lands. Thus did he, as to this Privilege, make *New Rome* equal to the Old; providing in many other Reſpects beſides, for the Peopling, and Adorning of it. But here he took Notice of a great Miſcarriage, at this time, in the Payment of the ordinary Taxes and Revenue, which was, that if one had Lands in two ſeveral Cities or Provinces, they would get the Payment due in one to be removed to the other Place, and ſo both to be diſcharged in one together, which was termed *Tranſlatio Conlationis*. Now the Advantage aimed at by obtaining a Privilege to do this, was not ſo much, for that they were any whit eaſed thereby, in finding the Payments leſs in one Place, than another; but becauſe one Town might be more convenient than another, for Conveyance of the Money, by Reaſon of Diſtance, or the Badneſs of Ways; or when one had ſeveral Payments to make, he found it leſs inconvenient to be anſwerable to one Collector, than many. For theſe Reaſons, one or more, it was ſometimes indulged; but by manifold Experience, both formerly, now, and afterward, it was found to tend to the defrauding of the Publick, and leſſening the Revenue. Upon which Account, it was ſeverely prohibited under heavy Puniſhments inflicted, both upon ſuch as obtain'd the Privilege, and the Officers of the *Præfectus Prætorio*, by Means of whom it was procured. For under this Pretence many might withdraw themſelves from publick Burthens; the Collectors might well be ignorant what, and how much was due in another Place, and the Town from which the Tranſlation was made, was but more burthened by it, no leſs a Sum being ſtill Exacted, than what was before the Subtraction of the mans Share thus privileged. Beſides the Order and Courſe of the *Fiſcale*, Accounts were hereby much perplexed. “ Therefore “ did *Conſtantius* by this Edict reduce it into the former and uſual Channel, and by “ the ſame Law, at the ſame time, grant Immunity from extraordinary, and ſordid “ Employments to *Senators*, and their Dependants. And this was but an Abridge- “ ment as it were of a larger Conſtitution of *Conſtantine* the Great, whereby he diſtinguiſhed betwixt Privileges granted to Perſons, in Matters relating to the *Collatio*, or Tax; defining, that ſuch as reſpected a certain *Order* and *Dignity* ſhould ſtand; but thoſe that were given to particular Men, to the leſſening of the publick Revenue, ſhould be aboliſhed.

Chron. Hiſtor. Gothofr. ad Ann. 345. L. 5. *de Exactionibus, lib.* 11. *Cod. Th. Tit.* 5. *Dat.* 4. *Idibus Maii, Niſibi. Amantio & Albino Conſs. i. e.* A. D. 345.

L. 6. *de Extraordinariis, ſive ſordidis, vide Gothofredum.*

A. D. 346. *Conſtantio & Conſtante* 3. *A. A. Conſs.*

L. 1. *Ne Conlationis Tranſlatio poſtuletur. lib.* 11. *Cod. Th. tit.* 22. *Vide Comment.*

Conſtantius excuſeth the Citizens of *Conſtantinople* from finding of Souldiers.

He removes a Miſchief in his Revenue.

Grants to Senators Immunity from Extraordinary & Sordid Employments.

14. The next year, into which fell the *Conſulſhip* of *Euſebius* and *Rufinus*, being of our Lord the CCCXLVII, *Conſtantius* had his Reſidence ſome time in *Galatia*. For from *Ancyra*, a City of this Country, he gave forth an Edict to *Theodorus*, the *Conſularis* of *Cœlo-Syria*, bearing Date of the fifteenth of *March*, and forbidding any Appeal to lye in Debts evidently due to the Treaſury; which by another “ Law afterward he reinforces; by no means permitting theſe Appeals, either for “ Debts belonging properly to the publick Treaſury, or that of the Patrimony of “ the Prince, leſt the Commonwealth ſhould be endamaged by ſuch Delays. From “ *Ancyra* he removed, not long after: for in *May* following he was at *Hierapolis* in *Syria*, whence another Conſtitution of his bears Date, which renewed the old “ Law, whereby the Eſtate of ſuch Souldier, as died inteſtate, and without lawful “ Heirs, is adjudged, not to the Treaſury, but to the Company wherein he ſerved; “ it being preſumed that by the Aſſiſtance of the Company, or *Legion*, he had gotten “

A. D. 347. *Euſebio & Rufino Conſs.*

L. 8. *Quorum Appellationes non recipiuntur, lib.* 11. *Cod. Th. tit.* 36.

L. *unic. de Bonis Militum, Cod.* Th. *lib.* 5. *tit.* 4.

He Prohibits Appeals for Debts due to the Treaſury.

By another Law further encourages Souldiers.

ten ſuch Eſtate: and this is thought now reinforced, for the Encouragement of Souldiers, that ſtill ſerved in the *Perſian* War. For in this War *Conſtantius* was ſtill exerciſed, making often Expeditions, and viſiting the Borders of his Empire. The year following, though not from any Dates of his Laws, yet otherwiſe it appears, that he ſpent ſome time at *Edeſſa*, and at the beginning of the next, he ſeems alſo buſily employ'd in the ſame Country of *Meſopotamia*; to the *Dux* whereof, *Antonius* by name, he gave out a Conſtitution (now divided into two Laws) whereby he prohibits, both ſuch as ſerved the *Preſidents* or Magiſtrates of Provinces to be forced to go to War: and alſo, that the Sons of *Veterani*, or old Souldiers be admitted into the Service, or Attendance of the ſaid Magiſtrates; which it was the Cuſtom for them to look after, thereby to ſhun the bearing of Arms: and therefore in times of Danger (as in this time) and in great Exigency of Affairs, they are by the Laws of ſeveral Princes drawn back into the Field. But by the beginning of *April* following, he was back at *Antioch*. “For thence he gave forth another Edict for the freeing of *Curiales*, or Officers of Corporations from corporal Puniſhments; it being too ordinary for the publick Miniſters of the Provinces, to whom they were often ſubſervient in publick Buſineſs, to beat and handle them too ignominiouſly; and this had been taken Notice of and forbidden by former Emperours, as alſo it was by others that followed: But this Immunity ſometimes extended to all, ſometimes was limited to the Principal among them; and other whiles Exceptions were made as to ſeveral Caſes, according as the Occaſions, or the Pleaſure of Princes were different. The year that next followed *Conſtantius* made another Expedition into *Meſopotamia*, and there continued ſome time at *Edeſſa*, being called by freſh Provocations from the *Perſians*, with whom he had a tedious and Unfortunate War, though we be ignorant of the Particulars, being no ſeldomer than nine, or ten times worſted in Fight. But the Brunt being over for this Turn, he came back to *Conſtantinople*; whence after ſome Stay, he removed into *Pannonia*, having new Work made for him by this time in the *Weſt*. For there his Brother *Conſtans* was Overpower'd by a Rebellion, and ſlain in *Gall*, in the Streights of the *Pyrenæans*; which how it hapned, we muſt, as we have Intelligence, declare, after we have drawn down his Story from that place, where laſt we left it.

Publiſheth ſeveral other Edicts.

One whereby he frees *Curiales* from Corporal Puniſhments.

Vide Chronic. Hiſtor. ſæpius citatum ad An.D. 348. *CCCXLVIII.*

L. 4. *de Cohortalibus, Cod. Th. lib.*8.*tit.*4. & *L.*6. *de Filiis Militarium, Apparitorum & Veteranorum, Cod.* Th. *l.* 6. *tit.* 22. *Dat.*4. *Nonas Febr.* Limenio *& Catullino Conſs.*

L.39. *de Decurionibus.*

Variè admodum hoc Jus habitum ſub quadruplici Diſcrimine. Vide Comment. in L.L.

15. And his Story we muſt fetch from the ſame Fountains of the Laws, out of which that of his Brother is alſo derived, little of other Concernment being found written till after his Death. We find him, as well as the other, much concern'd for Corporations. For whereas other Laws forbad any to forſake the Duties and Offices thereof, upon Pretence of bearing Arms, he extended the Prohibition to the three ſeveral Companies or Bodies of the *Calcarienſes*, *Fabricenſes*, and *Argentarii*; commanding, that if any were found obnoxious to the aforeſaid Duties, they ſhould be forced back to their ſeveral Courts, without Benefit to be obtain'd by any Reſcript or Diſpenſation. The Reader, by what has been already ſaid, may ſufficiently underſtand what the *Fabricenſes* were, *viz.* ſuch as made Arms; and the *Argentarii*, thoſe that adorned them with Silver and Gold; amongſt whom were reckoned the *Barbaricarii*; to which we ſhall here add, that the *Calcarienſes* were others, whoſe Task and Employment it was to Burn and Prepare Lime, for Publick Works; for preparing of which, there were, not only certain Perſons appointed, but certain Countreys bound to find the Stone, and particular Lands charged with this Service for the City of *Rome*, as appears from ſeveral Laws. This Edict bears Date of the twenty ſeventh of *June*, and on the twenty ninth of the ſame Month he ſent out another Conſtitution to *Eubulides* Vicar of *Africk*; whereby he both gives an Hiſtorical Account of ſome Diſorders and Oppreſſions of his Subjects of *Africk*, and endeavours to prevent the like for the time to come. He tells us, that beſides the Solemn and Set Payments, much more was required of the *Provincial Africans*; and that moſt Unworthily by thoſe called *Officiales*, and *Scholaſtici*; not only in the ſeveral Cities, but in Manſions alſo: Proviſions being Extorted without Money, both for themſelves and their Horſes or Animals. And he adds, that he is not ignorant how theſe *Scholaſtici* very often, beſides Fees, received for Pleading Cauſes, Proviſions and Expence for their Journeys, by ſo great Incomes to Gratifie their Avarice. Therefore he gives Command to all Judges to protect the People of their Provinces, and not to ſuffer theſe Injuries to go unpuniſhed. Here are mentioned two ſorts of Oppreſſors, and two ſorts of Oppreſſions. The firſt is that of the *Officiales*, and their Crime is Superexaction, beſides what was due to the Publick, for the ordinary Tributes of which they were the Gatherers, requiring their Charges over and above,

Conſtans alſo concern'd for Corporations.

And for the Provincials of *Africk*.

L.37. *de Decurionibus.*

Gothofred. in L.

L. 2. *de Concuſſionibus Advocatorum ſive Apparitorum. Cod.* Th.*lib.*8. *tit.*10.

Præter Solennes & Canonicas Penſitationes, multa à Provincialibus *Afris indigniſſimè poſtulantur ab Officialibus & Scholaſticis, &c.*

*Dat.*3. *Cal. Jul.* Leontio *& Salluſtio Conſs. A.D.*344.

above, which the Law did not allow them. By *Scholaſtici* are to be underſtood, as is evident from the Law it ſelf, no other than Advocates or Counſellors, by which Title *Agathias*, an Eminent Hiſtorian of this Profeſſion, of whom hereafter we make much uſe, is alſo known. But being Accuſed, together with the *Officiales*, for the Exaction of Proviſions, for themſelves and their Horſes, they ſeem not to have had Private Perſons, but Towns Corporate, and Churches for their Clients.

Preſcribes Rules for diſcovering forfeited Eſtates.

and for *Senators.*

L. 7. *De Petitionibus &c. Cod. Th. lib.* 10. *tit.* 10. *Dat. Trev. Id. Maii Amantio & Albino Conſs. A. D.* 345.

Dudum meminimus ſancientibus nobis eſſe Decretum, ut Juris veteris Autoritate ſubmotâ nullus Clariſſimus &c. P. P. *Rom. Sext. Non. Jul. Amantio & Albino Conſs. vide Comment.*

16. In the following year, happened the unſucceſsful Engagement of *Conſtantius* at *Singara*, near to *Niſibis*; and at that very time *Conſtans* lay at *Treviri* (or *Triers*) whence he gave out an Edict to *Euſtathius*, at this time his *Comes Rei Privatæ*, preſcribing Rules, how Diſcovery of any Goods or Eſtates belonging to his Patrimony ſhould be made. As that firſt, the Informer ſhould go to the *Preſident*, or Governour of the Province, before whom, if the Information was found Good, and Approved, this Judge was to make Report thereof to the *Comes Rei Privatæ*; and then at length the Papers of the Information might be brought up to the Officers at Court; whither, or to the ſaid *Comes*, leave was then given to the Informer to repair. By another Law dated not long after, on the ſecond of *July*, he repealed a former Conſtitution made by him; and that at the Requeſt, as it ſeems, of the *Roman Senate*. It had been the Law and Cuſtom of old, that Appeal might lye from the *Præfect* of the City, and that by what Perſon ſoever made. But *Conſtans*, ſome years before, had abrogated this Law; ſo far as it concerned *Senators* at leaſt, whoſe *Præſul* and Judge of Courſe the *Præfect* of the City was, and therefore he forbad them to betake themſelves to any other. But this Conſtitution ſtanding as Probationer for ſome time, was found at length to be very inconvenient, and unreaſonable in this Reſpect, that what was firſt introduced for the Benefit of *Senators* (as this of the *Præfect* being their Judge) ſhould be wreſted to their Diſadvantage, for a ſtrange thing it was indeed, that privileged Perſons, as thoſe of that Order were, ſhould be barred of any Relief that the *Jus commune* afforded them, eſpecially this of Appeal. And probable it is, that *Ruſticus*, who at preſent bore the Office of *Præfect* of the City, abuſed his Power, and therefore to him this new Edict for repealing the former Conſtitution, and Reſtoring the Old Law and Cuſtom to its Antient Vigor, was directed: for within three dayes after, he was out of his Place, and one *Probinus* made *Præfect* in his Room. Some two years after this, we find him reſtraining a ſevere courſe of Proceeding in *Sardinia*, againſt ſuch as delayed the Payment of Tribute. It had been the Cuſtom to put ſuch as denied it to Torture, or to beat them with Bullets of Lead; which, as Cruel and Servile, *Conſtantine* had forbidden, and given this Reaſon for it, that ſuch Puniſhment was to be inflicted, not upon Innocent, but Criminal Perſons. This Law *Conſtans*; his Son, now Reinforced by a New Conſtitution, by which alſo, as here, he provided for the Quiet of his Subjects, ſo he took care that his Revenue ſhould not be Leſſened, and that by removal of another Cuſtom, which much tended to it. It happened, that when Perſons were Owners of Ground, whereof ſome were good and fertile, but others barren, or good for little; upon all which, taken one with another, a certain Charge of Tribute lay; rich men catching Advantage ordinarily of the Neceſſities, or Poverty of ſuch as ought theſe Lands, would buy of them good and fertile Grounds, then pay for them only according to their Quantity, and leave the other Share to be diſcharged by thoſe that were poor, and whoſe Lands, Barren as they were, could not ſuſtain the Charge. To obviate this Practice he ordains, that the Barren be added to thoſe that were Good; and that ſuch as had purchaſed the fertile ſhould pay the whole Tax ariſing from all when laid and counted together. This was called an *Epibole*, concerning which ſome have been egregiouſly miſtaken, and thence raiſed ſlanderous Reports againſt *Juſtinian*, as in due time and place will be diſcovered.

For ſuch as paid Tribute,

and yet for his own Revenue.

L. 7. *de Exactionibus. Cod. Th. L.* 11. *tit.* 7.

L. 4. *de Annona & Tributis Cod. Th. lib.* 11. *Tit.* 1. *Quæ Conjicitur fuiſſe Pars ejuſdem Conſtit. Vide Gothofr. in L. L.*

17. About this time there were great Complaints againſt the intolerable Inſolence of the Officers of the *Prince* his Patrimony; ſuch as the Accountants, Solicitors, Farmers, and Huſbandmen belonging to his Lands; who bearing themſelves high upon their Relation to him, imagined they might uſe greater Liberty than other Subjects; and becauſe of the Privileges they enjoy'd, no Officer, or Judge dared to meddle with, or correct them; the *Rationales*, as is probable, to ſhew their Authority bearing them out in what they did. *Conſtantine* ſenſible how malepert they were, had by an Edict given Power to the ordinary Judge of the Province, where they committed any Crime, to puniſh them no otherwiſe than any other unprivileged Perſons; but their Confidence, either overpower'd the Modeſty

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ſty of the Judges, or overawed the People, ſo that either no Complaints were made againſt them, or elſe the Governours of Provinces dared not to exert that Authority which was given them by the Law. By a new Conſtitution therefore “ *Conſtans* puts the Judges in mind of, and encourages them to their Duty, willing “ them to animadvert upon theſe Men no otherwiſe, or leſs than upon the Provin- “ cials; whether by Impriſonment, Torture, or Death it ſelf, which Remedy he hopes may prove effectual againſt this Inveterate Diſtemper. And indeed ſuch wholeſome and ſevere Laws were found neceſſary againſt theſe Officers belonging to the Prince his private Eſtate, againſt the Inſolence of Souldiers, and the *Agentes in Rebus*; which three ſorts of men preſuming upon their Relation, lived, as if obnoxious to no coercive Laws; yet had *Conſtantine* thought fit to have them more ſeverely puniſhed than others, as ſuch, who ought themſelves to preſerve good Rule, and give good Example: and they have been judged to be burnt alive, all Encouragement being given to the People to come in, and inform againſt them. And whereas their Inſolence made them as peremptory to refuſe the Payment of Tribute, or publick Duties, as bold to commit greater Offences; by the ſame Conſtitution (divided into theſe two Laws) he commands, that they be forced to diſcharge theſe publick Debts. This ſame “ year being at *Sirmium*, he directed another Conſtitution to *Silvanus*, the “ *Comes*, and *Magiſter Equitum* and *Peditum* for the Reinforcement of Military “ Diſcipline; forbidding any *Tribune*, or Officer to give leave (*Commeatus* the “ word is) to any to depart from his Colours, or connive at his Departure, un- “ der pain of forfeiting five pounds of Gold. And as hereby he provided againſt Souldiers their quitting of Service; ſo alſo by the ſame Edict (divided, as “ the former, into two Laws) againſt the Attendants, Officers, or Servants of the “ Magiſtrates, their forſaking their Attendance upon other Pretexts. This Conſtitu- “ tion was ſigned on the 27th of *May*; and on the thirtieth of the ſame Moneth, followed another Edict directed to *Titianus*, the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Gall*, and therefore muſt have been of *Conſtans* his making, within whoſe Diſtrict or Share of the Empire that Country then lay. It was not lawful for Souldiers to take Families with them, when they went upon Service; and if they did, they muſt have Warrant and Leave expreſly granted for it. Now it hapned, that many getting Licenſe to convey their Families; the *Curſus Publicus*, of which in ſuch caſe they were permitted to make uſe, was much burthened, and ſeveral Inconveniences hapned from theſe Impediments in the Camp; therefore there was need to have it explained, what was meant by a Family, that ſo it might be known what Company they might be allow'd to take with them. “And this *Conſtans* by this Edict performs, interpreting by Families, their Children and “ Slaves; not all, but ſuch as had been purchaſed by their *Caſtrenſe Peculium*; “ whereas otherwiſe, the word *Family* was of a far larger Significa- “ tion.

He provides againſt the Inſolence of the Officers of his Revenue.

L. 1. de Juriſdictione Cod. Th. lib. 2. tit. 11. Dat. 5. Id. Mar. Limenio & Catulino Conſ. A. D. CCCXLIX.

L. 6. de Exactionibus Cod. ejuſdem lib. 11. tit 5.

Againſt Souldiers deſerting the Service.

Eſt enim Commeatus Epiſtola Miſſionis.

L. 2. de re Militari Cod. Theod. lib. 7. tit. 1. & L. 3 de diverſis Officiis. Dat. 6. Calen. Jun.

For the *Curſus Publicus*.

L. 3. de re Militari vide Comment.

18. But, it is probably conjectured, that for the making of this Law, a Matter of far greater Conſequence gave the occaſion, and That no leſs than his own Safety and Preſervation. For now about this time, ſo great a Faction aroſe, that at length he was overpowered, and deſtroyed by it. The Riſe of this Faction was in *Gall*, to the *Præfect* of which, this Edict is directed; the Army whereof he might have juſt Cauſe to fear, would, under Pretext of Souldiers having their Families with them, be filled with a Confluence of *Barbarians*, and particularly the Nation of the *Franks*, now hovering upon theſe Parts, and ſerving in the Armies. To be ſure ſhortly after, if not at this time, brake out the Rebellion of *Magnentius*, who himſelf was deſcended of the *Læti Franci*, was ſupported by that People, and to whom this *Titianus* the *Præfect* did adhere. *Zoſimus*, no Friend to *Conſtantine*, and his Sons, fetches the Original of the Revolt from the great Extravagancy of *Conſtans* his Life, who after the Death of his Brother, as he writes, carried himſelf like a Tyrant, and haraſſed his Subjects with all ſorts of Cruelty; whom he permitted to be oppreſſed by ſuch *Barbarians*, as he had bought for the gratifying of his Luſt, and by ſuch as were Hoſtages in his Court. This his Followers taking to Heart, and ſeeing him wholly given up to the Pleaſure of Hunting, began to contrive his Deſtruction, under the Guidance, and Encouragement of two conſiderable men; whereof the one was ***Marcellinus***, *Præfect* of his Treaſury; and the other ***Magnentius***, who commanded the *Joviani*, and *Herculiani*; two *Legions* ſo called. The Device to bring about their Deſign was this: ***Marcellinus*** gave out, that he would celebrate the Birth-day of his Son, and invited to the Feaſt, both ***Magnentius***, and

Magnentius Rebelleth.

Hiſt. lib. 2.

Sigonius de Occid. Imperio l. 5.

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and many other of the moſt eminent Commanders. The Entertainment laſted till Midnight, at which time *Magnentius* withdraws himſelf, as upon ſome neceſſary Occaſion, and within a little time returns to the Company, dreſſed in *Imperial* Robes, and attended by his *Satellites*, or Guard. Some of the Company were doubtleſs provided and prepared before hand; but moſt, as it ſeems from *Zoſimus*, looked upon it but as a Play, or a Jeſt; and probable it is, that if the Plot had not taken, for ſuch it would have been owned, and might have paſſed. But thoſe that were of the Conſpiracy ſaluted him with the Title of Emperour; and the reſt, whether ſurprized with the thing, and for want of Recollection, or affrighted at ſo ſtrange a Paſſage, did like their Fellows; there being among them alſo ſeveral of the chief Citizens of *Auguſtodunum* (or *Autun*,) where this part was acted; by means of whom all the Inhabitants were induced to ſalute, and own him, as *Auguſtus*; ſuch as had any mind to oppoſe, wanting Strength, and Aſſiſtance, ſo that he ſeized on the Palace, and diſtributed Money amongſt the Rable.

Ἐφαίνετο τοῖς συμπόταις ὥσπερ ἐν σκηνῇ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἠμφιεσμένος στολήν.

Procures *Conſtans* to be murdred.

19. Having thus far proceeded, he cauſed the Gates to be carefully watched, admitting every one in, but ſuffering none to go out, and give Intelligence what was done. And now having got the Approbation of certain *Illyrian* Troops, who were newly arrived for a Supply, as well as that of the *Gallick* Forces, he ſent away one *Gaiſo*, with a Party of Men, to make ſure of *Conſtans*. He having got ſome Notice of what had paſſed, had caſt off the Robe, and endeavouring to make his Eſcape, came to a place called *Helena*, a Village adjoyning to the *Pyrenæans*, where *Gaiſo* having made Inquiry for him about the *Rhoſne*, at length found him, and murdred him with his own hands; fulfilling, as is ſaid, what was foretold him, that he ſhould dye in his Grand-Mother's Lap, becauſe this Village bore her Name. And ſo periſhed *Conſtans* in the tenth year, after the Death of *Conſtantine*, his Brother, in the *Conſulſhip* of *Sergius* and *Nigrinianus*. *A. D.* CCCL. This Prince was much Subject to the Gout, which Diſeaſe is to be aſcribed to his intemperate Courſe of Life; for of this, moſt Authors do make him Guilty. Being not able to look much after Buſineſs himſelf, it behooved him to get able Miniſters; but he is accuſed to have made no good Choice; and not have preferred men for Merit, but for Money; which neceſſarily hurried him into great Inconveniences: For ſuch Perſons by their oppreſſing the People, brought great *Odium* upon his Government; while they laboured, not only to reimburſe, but enrich themſelves. And whereas his Infirmity of Body rendred him unfit for Action, he was no way acceptable to Military Men, in whom that inveterate Humour of making, and unmaking Emperours was ſtill Predominant, and ſo continued for many Ages. Yet did he keep the neighbouring Nations in Peace; which he effected, rather by procuring Hoſtages, than any Awe or Terrour of his Arms. He was alſo fortunate herein, that no publick Calamity hapned in his Time, but the Provinces under his Juriſdiction rejoyced in conſtant good Weather, and plenty of all things. Nay *Eutropius*, one of the beſt Writers, aſſures us, that at firſt his Government was both Vigorous and Juſt, and that he had atchieved very noble Enterprizes by his Arms, and was through all his Life-time feared by the Souldiers, yet without any great matter of Cruelty. However, (*a*) another wiſhes that his Vices had continued; for by reaſon of the Diſaſters which afterward hapned, and the Wickedneſs of ſuch as followed him, they were all utterly forgotten; and that Reign of his deſervedly wiſhed for, to have returned, if it had been poſſible.

Conſtans his Character.

A. D. CCCL.

Aurelius Victor.

(*a*) *Victor de Cæſaribus. Quæ tamen Vitia, utinam manſiſſent; namque Magnentii, utpote Gentis Barbaræ, diro atroque Ingenio, ſimul his quæ poſt accidêre, adeò extincta omnia ſunt, ut illud Imperium haud injuria deſideraretur.*

Sect.

Sect. IV.

From the Death of Conſtans, *to that of* Conſtantius.

The Space of Eleven Years.

Magnentius cauſeth the Magiſtrates in the Countrey to be Murdered.

Nepotianus ſets up for himſelf.

Is Defeated and Slain.

1. FOR, the Diſpoſition of *Magnentius*, was very Naught, which the *Romans* much attributed to this, that he came of a *Barbarous* Nation. Elevated by his Succeſs, before he heard of the Death of *Conſtans*, he ſent, in his Name, for ſuch Magiſtrates in the Country as were moſt Eminent, and cauſed them to be Way-laid and Murdered; in which point he ſpared not ſome of his own Conſpirators. His two Brothers, *Decentius* and *Deſiderius*, he declared *Cæſars*, and ſent them to make ſure of *Gall* and *Spain*; as he alſo Diſpatched others into *Italy*, to ſecure that Country; that after he had killed, he might take poſſeſſion of the whole Inheritance. But, as ſoon as the Death of *Conſtans* was heard of in *Italy*, one *Nepotianus*, the Nephew of *Conſtantine* the Great, by his Siſter *Eutropia*, had taken the Purple; and having got the Aſſiſtance of a Company of *Gladiators*, and Perſons of Deſperate Fortunes, went to *Rome*; which when he found ſeized by thoſe that *Magnentius* had ſent (the People being betray'd by *Heraclides*, a Senator) he laid Siege to the City. Upon ſight hereof, *Anicius*, who had been by *Magnentius* made *Præfectus Prætorio*, brought ſome of the ordinary ſort of *Romans* out againſt him, and engaged in Fight; but finding them to be Worſted, he Retired into the City, ſhut the Gates, and left them all to be ſlaughtered by him. But the Encouragement which *Nepotianus* receiv'd by this Succeſs, was ſhortly turned into the other Extreme, by the coming of *Marcellinus*, now the *Magiſter Officiorum*, who being ſent by *Magnentius* with an Army, Engaged, and Defeated him in Battel, took him Priſoner, and cut his Head from his Shoulders; which he cauſed, with Inſolence enough, to be carried in Triumph, and ſhewn about the City. Such was the end of *Nepotianus*, who having on the third of *June* aſſumed the Name of Emperour, periſhed in this manner, the twenty eighth day after. But though he was Dead, *Magnentius* was not freed from the fear of Competition, over and above the Apprehenſions he had of what *Conſtantius* from the *Eaſt* might attempt againſt him. For, this year was fruitful in Tyranny and Uſurpation. He began the Tragedy on the firſt of *February*, and on the firſt of *May* following, one *Veteranio*, who Commanded the Army in *Pannonia*, hearing thereof, reſolved to Act his Part too, having as much Right and Encouragement as the other; and being alſo ſaluted *Auguſtus* by his Souldiers, placed his Scene at *Murſa*, a Town of that Province. We have ſeen already how *Nepotianus* made his *Exit*, and now muſt fetch *Conſtantius* out of the *Eaſt*, before we can ſee the finiſhing of the reſt.

Sapor beſieges *Niſibis*.

Sigonius.

And departs with loſs.

L.4. de Re Militari, Dat. 5 Kal. Jul. Sergio & Negriniano Coſs. A.D. 350. Abeſt hæc Lex à Cod. Juſtiniani.

2. *Conſtantius* had received news of his Brother's Death, and the Uſurpation of *Magnentius* with ſuch Regret, as was ſuitable to Natural Affection, and the Intereſt of his Family; and deſired above all things to Chaſtize the Treaſon. But at this time he was deeply Engaged in the *Perſian* War, with *Sapor*, who having news of theſe Diſturbances in the *Weſt*, with a great Army Invaded, and Haraſſed *Meſopotamia*. He laid Siege to *Niſibis*, Attacqued it with his Battering Engines; and finding ſtout Reſiſtance from thoſe within, by a Ditch drew the River away from them, that the want of Water might conſtrain them to yield. But the Towneſmen, by digging of Wells, and the Fountains in the City, made ſhift good enough to ſupply this want: which he perceiving, by a ſudden ſtoppage of the Stream, forced the River againſt the Town, and it broke down part of the Walls, which yet the Defendants again, by their extraordinary Induſtry Repaired. So that having in vain betaken himſelf to other ſhifts, but none ſucceeding, he deſpaired of Succeſs; and word being brought him, that the *Maſſagetes* had Invaded his Dominions, he returned home, having loſt a great part of his Army. *Conſtantius*, glad of the Leiſure hereby afforded him to attend his Affairs in the *Weſt*, and ſenſible in what danger they ſtood, bent all his Endeavours for the Ruducing the Provinces Revolted. In the firſt place, he took care for the Reinforcing of his Armies, and that by an Edict directed to *Cretio*, one of his *Comites* of the *Militia* upon this occaſion. It was not lawful for Officers at any time, no not in Peace, to diſmiſs any Souldier,

or give him leave to lay down Arms, except he was either *Emeritus*, (had ſerved his whole time) or elſe want of Health and of Ability required it. Yet this had been practiſed, and Commanders adventured to do it at ſuch time when there was no danger of any Irruption from the Enemy, and the Borders ſeemed to ſtand in no need of Defence. *Cretio* appears to have been guilty of this Indulgence, as well as his Brethren, and to have preſented an Excuſe of this nature to the Emperour, pleading, that in his Diſtrict there had been no occaſion for the Uſe of his Men. Of this *Conſtantius* ſo takes notice, as ſeeming to remit what was “ paſt to him and his Fellow-Officers, he yet enjoyns them, upon this Occaſion, “ to force back to their Arms, all that without Legal Cauſe had been Diſcharged. “

The year 351 had neither Laws, nor Conſuls.

Chronic. Hiſtor. ad An.D. 351.

3. From *Meſopotamia* he removed into *Pannonia*, the following year, which was very Notable in this reſpect, that there were no Laws made in it, (however that appear to us) neither any *Conſuls*; at leaſt, for ſuch acknowledged. For though *Magnentius* and *Gaiſo* were ſo made in the *Weſtern* Parts; yet being in the Uſurpation, they are not named; and therefore the Year is thus Characteriz'd: *After the Conſulſhip of Sergius* and *Negrinianus*. *Conſtantius*, in his March from *Conſtantinople*, met with Meſſengers ſent from *Magnentius*, to deſire, that with his Approbation he might Reign in the *Weſt*; which he thought he might with the more Confidence ask, becauſe he ſhould be content, that the other might have the Precedence in the Dignity. While *Conſtantius* conſidered what to return in Anſwer, they report that his Father appeared to him the Night following, in a Dream, and holding *Conſtans* in his hand, ſhould bid him look upon his Brother, whom, deſcended from ſo many Emperours, a Tyrant had Murdered. That therefore he ought to revenge his Death, and not ſuffer the Imperial Throne to be ſo much Abuſed. Awaking in the Morning, he committed the Meſſengers to Cuſtody, and marching away with all ſpeed, came to *Sardica*, a Town in *Dacia*. But conſidering the Importance of the Affair, that he might not have two Enemies to deal with at once, he reſolved, if poſſible, by ſome Art or other, to gain over to him *Veteranio*, that with his Forces he might joyntly make War againſt *Magnentius*, and ſo Deſtroy one Uſurper by means of another. Neither was *Magnentius* ſo dull, as not to apprehend, the like Advantage would make alſo for his Intereſt; and therefore each of them endeavoured to make him his own. But *Conſtantius* came ſo ſuddenly upon the Old Man, that the Surprize gave Perfection to his former Inclinations already bent towards him, as moſt fit for his Friendſhip and Alliance; would, as the Lawful and Undoubted Emperour, bring ſufficient Repute to his Enterprize, and give him an Undoubted Title. Therefore he went out to receive him upon his Approach; who, when they met, embraced him, and called him Father, in reſpect to his Age; carried him along with him to *Sirmium*, ſet him at his Table, and conſulted with him how to carry on the War.

Poſt Conſulatum Sergii & Nigriniani.

Sigonius.

Conſtantius goes againſt *Magnentius.*

Zoſimus ubi ſuprà.

Brings over *Veteranio* to his Party.

4. Matters being accorded betwixt them, they both aſcended the Tribunal, to ſpeak to the Souldiers; where the Dignity of *Conſtantius* his Original requiring that he ſhould have Precedence in Speech, as well as in Place; by all the moving words he was able, he put them in mind of his Father's Liberality to them, and how many Oaths they had taken to bear intire Affection and Allegiance to his Sons; and therefore he laid before them, how inexcuſable a thing it would appear, if they ſuffered *Magnentius* to go unpuniſhed, who had laid Violent hands upon a Son of *Conſtantine*, that had been to them ſo great a Patron and Benefactor. The Souldiers were ſo much herewith affected, that (being alſo Bribed luſtily beforehand, if you will believe *Zoſimus*) they Cried out, Away with all Counterfeit Emperours, and pulling *Veteranio* down from the Bench, drew the Purple over his Ears, and Voted him to a Private Life. Who thereupon caſt himſelf at *Conſtantius* his Feet, and he, moved by the extreme Age of the man, eaſily pardoned him his Uſurpation; and Confining him to *Pruſias*, a City of *Bithynia*, aſſigned him a ſufficient Revenue, and befitting his Quality, where he ſpent the Remainder of his dayes: A man of a rough and ungentile Humour, and very ſilly. *Conſtantius* thus rid of one of the Uſurpers, and ſtrengthned by the Acceſſion of his Forces, was much encouraged to proceed in his Enterprize, and to March for *Italy*: But ſeriouſly conſidering further of his Affairs, he found the Eſtate of his own Family but very Uncertain and Ticklish; which, though ſecur'd from the Uſurpations of Strangers, yet was like to fall to Nothing of it ſelf. His Brothers were both Dead, and he himſelf having no Iſſue by his Wife, there remained only of his Family, *Gallus* and *Julian*, the Sons of *Conſtantius*, his Uncle, the Brother of *Conſtantine* the Great; after whoſe Death he miſcarried, as was before ſaid. Now ſo

The Souldiers, moved by his Speech, Depoſe *Veteranio.*

Propè ad Stultitiam ſimpliciſſimus Victor.

long

Sect. 4.

A. D. 351.

Baronius ad A. D. 350.

Conſtantius confers on his Coſin *Gallus* the Title of *Cæſar.*

long as he himſelf had hopes of Iſſue, leſt they ſhould ambitiouſly Attempt any thing, he held a ſtrict hand and eye over them, and put them not into any manner of Employment; no not ſo much, as one obſerves, as amongſt the *Suffecti*, or Honorary *Conſuls*. But now perceiving, that by means of theſe Uſurpations, there would be a conteſt, not only betwixt particular Perſons, but Families too, it was in vain to Conteſt for that, which was likely of it ſelf to fail, if the Succeſſion were not ſettled in it. He therefore conferred on *Gallus* the Title of *Cæſar*, and gave him for Wiſe his Daughter *Conſtantina*. Whether more for this Reaſon let the Reader judge, than that which *Zoſimus* out of his palpable Malice to *Conſtantine* and his Poſterity aſſignes, *viz.* That he might thereby have an Occaſion to deſtroy him. For after his Death he did the ſame to his Brother *Julian*, as we ſhall ſee. But there was alſo need, which *Zoſimus* and others hint, of having ſome one in his abſence to watch the *Perſians*, and ſecure the Provinces of the *Eaſt*. The Care and Endeavour, as we have formerly ſaid, of one Man, not ſufficeing for the Adminiſtration of Authority and Power in all Countries, at ſo great a Diſtance.

He proceeds againſt *Magnentius.*

Is ſtopped at the Streights of *Adranæ.*

Zoſimus. Sigonius.

5. *Gallus* therefore having then received the new Name of *Conſtans*, and being made *Cæſar* on the fifteenth of *March*, was ſent away to *Antioch*, there to attend the Motions of the *Perſians*. *Conſtantius* was wholly intent upon the War againſt *Magnentius*, and reſolved to find him out; but he prevented him, thinking it more prudent to begin elſewhere, than to expect any Action in thoſe he called his own Dominions; and from *Gall*, and *Italy* departed unto *Noricum*, and thence into *Pannonia*. In his March he ſent to *Conſtantius*, to let him know, that he would expect him in the Plains lying near to *Sciſcia*, which the Emperor liked well enough, that Ground being very Convenient for the Fighting of Horſe; but was ſtopped at the Streights of *Adranæ* by an Ambuſh laid for him by *Magnentius*; who much Elevated by the Succeſs, endeavoured to break into the Inner *Pannonia*, deſirous to fight near the City *Sirmium*. While he was conſulting how to paſs his Army over the River *Savus*; one *Philip* came to him on a Meſſage from *Conſtantius*, under pretence of making a Peace and Alliance; but indeed to make a Diſcovery of his Strength and Deſigns. *Magnentius* calling his men together, gave him Audience. To which admitted, he declared his Errand was, to make known to the Army how unſeemly a thing it appear'd, that they who were Subject to *Romans*, ſhould againſt *Romans* bear Arms; eſpecially having *Conſtantius*, the Son of *Conſtantine* the great, for Emperour; *that Conſtantine*, under whoſe Conduct they had obtained ſo many Victories over the *Barbarians*. As for *Magnentius*, he was to be admoniſhed to Reverence the Memory of *Conſtantine*, and call to mind the ſeveral good Offices done by that deceaſed Prince, both to him and his Parents; to quit *Italy* out of a Senſe of his Obligations to the Family, and content himſelf with being Emperour over the *Tranſalpine* Provinces. This Speech of *Philip* ſo moved the Souldiers, that they would ſcarcely give *Magnentius* leave to anſwer. Who in ſhort replied, that he gladly embraced Peace, and would give in his final Determination, the Day following. Then did he invite the principal Officers of the Army to Dinner, and having brought them fully over to his Intereſt, conſulted what to do. The next day he again called the Souldiers together; and to obliterate the Senſe they had of what *Philip* had ſaid concerning *Conſtantine*, he much inculcated the ſeveral Affronts they had received from *Conſtans*, his Son; and how to avoid theſe Injuries and Indignities, they had promoted him to the Imperial Dignity; with which or the like Words, they were again ſo poſſeſſed, as to cry out, that the War was to be proſecuted; and reſolved it was, that they ſhould paſs the *Savus*. This being known to thoſe that lay in Garriſon in *Sciſcia*, on the oppoſite Shore, they reſolved to hinder their Paſſage, and repulſed ſuch as endeavoured to land from off the River, or from the Bridge, with ſuch Succeſs, that they routed, and put them to flight, to a great Diſtance. *Magnentius* ſeeing into what Danger he was brought, made a ſignal for a Treaty; and gave Notice, that without the Emperour's leave he would not paſs the River. To which *Philip* anſwered; that if he quitted *Italy* and *Noricum*, and departed into *Illyricum*, then would the Emperour conſent to a Treaty.

Magnentius attempting to paſs the *Savus*, is repulſed.

Conſtantius ſuffers him to come into the Plains of *Pannonia.*

6. He pretending to Acquieſce herein, *Conſtantius* cauſed his men to leave the Purſuit, and ſuffered afterward *Magnentius* to enter into the middle of the Plains of *Pannonia*, becauſe his own Strength lay moſt in Horſe, and if he came to an Engagement with him, that Place would be moſt convenient, which lay near *Cibalæ*, where *Conſtantine* had formerly defeated *Licinius*. Part of his Army lying now in the Town, he drew a line from the adjoyning Hill, all a long the ſpace of Ground

Magnentius takes and razeth *Sciſcia.*

Repulſed from other Places.

Conſtantius goes to the Relief of *Murſa.*

which at the Foot of it, lay towards the River: by which means he fortified all that Side which the River did not touch; and over the River he laid a Bridge of Boats, which he might remove at his Pleaſure. Here entertaining his Officers at a Feaſt, one *Titian* a *Roman Senator*, had the Boldneſs to come from *Magnentius*, and in his Name reviling *Conſtantine*, and his Sons, to command *Conſtantius* to quit the Purple, if he would ſave his Life. With whoſe Language, though the Emperour was very much moved, yet he ſuffered him to return unpuniſhed; although *Philip* his own Ambaſſador, was retained in the Enemies Camp all this while. Shortly after, *Magnentius* ſet upon *Sciſcia*, took it by Aſſault, and laid it even with the Ground; and having waſted all the Country lying upon *Savus*, went to *Sirmium* to ſeize on that too, but was repulſed and defeated in his Councils by the vigorous Oppoſition made, both by the Townſmen and the Garriſon. Thence he departed, and haſted to have better Succeſs at *Murſa*, where yet he was more deceived in his Expectations. For the Inhabitants ſo ſtrenuouſly demeaned themſelves, and ſo plied him with Darts and Arrows, that not having with him any Engines of Battery, or other means to approach the Walls, he was very much diſtreſſed. And now *Conſtantius* having Intelligence hereof, quitted *Cibalæ*, and the Country lying upon *Savus*, and haſted to relieve the Place. *Magnentius* endeavoured by Fire to make his way through the Gates, and this Attempt being alſo defeated by the great quantity of Water, which the Defendants poured down from the Walls, he then heard of the Approach of the Emperour, and reſolved to ſurprize him by an Ambuſcade, laid in a Place adjoyning, which was very full of Trees. There he beſtowed four thouſand *Galls*, with Command, that when the Fight ſhould begin before the Town, they ſhould fall upon the Back of the Enemy; that being on all ſides beſet, he might not Eſcape. But Notice hereof being given to *Conſtantius*, by thoſe that obſerved it from the Walls; he ſent away *Scolidoas* and *Manadus*, two *Tribunes*, with the choiceſt Souldiers they could take out of the *Legions*; who ſtopping up all the Avenues to the Place, that none might get out, cut off the whole Party.

Zoſimus.

Overthrows *Magnentius* in Battel

who flies into *Italy.*

Sigonius.

7. *Magnentius* ſeeing his cunning Devices to take no Effect, then reſolved to try what plain and open Force would do, and gave Battel to *Conſtantius* in the Champian lying before *Murſa*; and ſo fierce a Battel was fought, with that Reſolution and Pertinacy, as in the Opinion of *Zoſimus*, none in all this War was like it; which much afflicted *Conſtantius*, though he himſelf ſhould get the Better, foreſeeing how exceedingly the Empire would be weakned thereby (ſo many Brave men falling) and expoſed to the Attempts of the Barbarous Nations. This made him, while the Fight yet continued, to caſt in his mind how to end the Controverſie by a Treaty; but the Animoſity of both ſides was ſo great, that the Darkneſs of Night it ſelf could not part them; but they ſtill with their Swords and Spears laid at one another; as eſteeming it their Happineſs all to dye together upon the Spot. The Officers omitted nothing becoming them, either as Souldiers, or Commanders, and many of them loſt their Lives; whereof two or three deſerved to be recorded to Poſterity. One of theſe was *Arcadius*, *Tribune* of the *Abulci*; and another *Menelaus*, who was Captain of the *Armenian Archers*, that fought on Horſeback. *Zoſimus* tells us how it was reported, that this *Menelaus* with one and the ſame Bow would ſhoot three Arrows all at once, and therewith kill three ſeveral men; by which Means he deſtroyed great Numbers of the Enemy, and in a manner was the Author of their Defeat: but being on *Conſtantius* his ſide, he was killed by *Romulus*, the General of *Magnentius* his Army, who yet had no great Cauſe to boaſt of his Succeſs; except in this, that he killed his Killer; for he firſt received a Wound from his Hands, which notwithſtanding he gave not over till he had revenged it; but of it he died. At length *Magnentius* his men began to give Ground, and a great Slaughter followed; of the Event whereof he being ſenſible, and fearful that he ſhould be given up by them into the Emperour's Hands, reſolved to abandon theſe Places of *Pannonia*, and get into *Italy*, there to recruit, and try his Fortune another time. And for this Purpoſe he quitted his Horſe, adorned, as he was, with the Imperial Ornaments, and let him go looſe, that the Enemy might imagine the Rider to be ſlain. *Conſtantius* as ſoon as it was light, from an adjoyning Hill viewing the Plain, and ſeeing the River, which run by it, full of dead Bodies, wept at the Sight; and being more troubled at the Slaughter of ſo many men, than joyed at the Victory, commanded, all that died to be buried without Diſtinction, and ſuch as were wounded to be carefully look'd to. Some ſay, that thirty thouſand of *Magnentius* his ſide fell in this Fight. But in few Battels was the Strength of the Empire more impaired than in this, which was fought on the twenty ninth of *Auguſt*.

8. *Con-*

Conſtantius ſtays in *Pannonia.*

Makes a Law in favour of Eunuchs.

Confirms what his Father had Granted out of the *Res Privata.*

8. *Conſtantius* ſtaid the Remainder of this Year at *Sirmium*, and the greateſt part of the next alſo, as appears by the Dates of ſeveral of his Conſtitutions, made, when he himſelf was *Conſul* the fifth time, together with *Conſtans Cæſar*, although *Decentius* and *Paulus* were Named in *Italy* by *Magnentius*. Into *Italy Conſtantius* ſent ſome to purſue the Uſurper, but without any Good Succeſs, their former Proſperity Engaging them too far in Proſecution. He himſelf in *Pannonia* attended as well the Civil Affairs of the Empire, as Preparations for a Vigorous Reinforcement of the War, which is Evident from ſeveral Laws he made, while he had his Reſidence in theſe Quarters. He was a great Favourer of *Eunuchs*, being much Governed by them; and whether at the deſire of any of them or no, now Directed an Edict to *Rufinus*, the *Præfectus Prætorio*, whereby he Granted them liberty to make Teſtaments, or Declared them to have Power ſo to do. For whether they could do it, or not, there was cauſe of Doubt, for that this Liberty was granted only to thoſe who had arrived at Puberty, whereas *Eunuchs* do not *pubeſcere* at all; they being, as the Emperour *Alexander Severus* termed them, a Third Kind of Men; and for that reaſon *Mamercus* the Conſul, denied to *Genuſius* the poſſeſſion of an Eſtate, according to the uſual way. And though formerly ſuch had Power to make Wills, yet it was not till the Eighteenth year of their Age, at what time Puberty ordinarily is found with all men. But *Conſtantius* gives them by this Law the ſame Privilege as others enjoyed, both as to the making of Wills and Codicils, provided the uſual Solemnities were ſtrictly obſerved. But it was his Intereſt to Oblige other ſorts of Perſons, beſides *Eunuchs*. Removing to *Sabaria*, another City of *Pannonia*, by another Edict he removed the Fears of ſuch as were in danger to be caſt out of Poſſeſſion of what had been given them by *Conſtantine* his Father; That Prince had been the moſt Bountiful of all others, eſpecially to Churches; and that out of the *Res Privata*, or his own Private Patrimony; which Gifts, while he yet lived, ſome Perſons went about to make Void and Null: and this moved him by ſeveral Conſtitutions to provide for the Eſtabliſhment and Enſuring of them. Now, being Dead, ſeveral Courtiers and *Eunuchs* eſpecially, to have the greater opportunity of getting, endeavoured alſo to Reduce theſe Grants to their Fountain, and Reſtore them to the Emperour's Eſtate, which he obviates by this Conſtitution. Being again returned to *Sirmium*, he did a thing Grateful to the Souldiers *Emerit*, or *Veterani*, by a Decree directed unto *Helpidius*, the *Conſularis* of *Pannonia*, whereby he Confirmed the Privileges formerly Granted to them; and particularly, Immunity from Perſonal Services.

Cod. Juſtin. lib.6. tit. 22. L.5. (*& vide Notas*) 5 *Kal. Martii. Dat.Sirmio.*

L.6. *de Petitionibus,&c. Cod.Th. lib.*10. *tit.* 10. *Dat. Sabariæ* 8 *Id. April.*

L. 6. *de Veteranis, Cod. Th. lib.* 7. *tit.* 20. *Dat.* 8. *Kal. Jul. Sirmio.*

Purſues *Magnentius* into *Italy.*

Publiſhes an Act of Oblivion to draw away his men.

And another Edict about the choice of new Souldiers.

9. But *Magnentius*, as we ſaid, being Beaten out of *Pannonia*, went into *Italy*, and betook himſelf to *Rome*, whom *Conſtantius*, when all things were ready for his Expedition, purſued in Perſon. His Captains, though at firſt they ſeemed to have had no good Succeſs, yet now, Animated, as it were, by the Emperour's Preſence, had the better of the Tyrant; and *Conſtantius* himſelf breaking into *Aquileia*, he was driven from the City, and out of the Country about *Autumn*, or the Month of *September*, and fled into *Gall*. About this very time, to remove Deſperation from all that had taken part with him, or been drawn into his Party, *Conſtantius* publiſhed an Edict, whereby he granted free and full Indemnity and Pardon to them, ſuch only excepted, as had together with him, been guilty of the many Murders committed ſince the Revolt. And the more to inhaunce the juſt Repute of the *Military* Profeſſion, by an Edict he forbad, that any ſhould obtain Privileges granted to the *Veterani*, or thoſe that had ſerved up their full time in the Camp: But for a vigorous Proſecution of this and other Wars, all Encouragements would little prevale, if there were not had an eſpecial Care of the Choice of *Tirones*, or new Souldiers; concerning which we muſt acquaint the Reader with a matter of Importance, relating to this very Age whereof we write. They were wont, in old time, to raiſe *Tirones*, or new Souldiers, for Supply of the Armies; but this was nothing comparable to the Invention of theſe Ages. For now (as is at this day practiſed here in *England*, in forming the *Militia* of the Counties) Perſons were charged with finding men to ſerve in the Armies, according to the value of their Lands, or other Eſtates; which Inſtitution was good and laudable, tending in it ſelf, to the increaſe of the Power Imperial, and the Defence of the Provinces: but ſo it was managed, that it proved rather the Deſtruction of them. For ſome furniſhed out, either ſuch as were either unfit for Service, or elſe Cowards, which abſented themſelves, and often ran away. Therefore to obviate the Fraud of the Provincials in this Matter, *Conſtantius* now publiſhed another (*a*) Conſtitution, for the Proof of the Original, Age, Stature and Condition of ſuch as were ſent to ſerve. Their Original was to be approved, and that before the

*Chronic.Hiſtor. ad A.D.*352.

L.2.*de Teſtim. ex Tribun. & Protect. Cod. Th.lib.*7.*tit.*21. *Abeſt hæc Lex à Cod. Juſtin.*

L.1.*de Tironibus. Cod. Th. lib.*7.*tit.*13. *Dat.prid. Non.Jul. Conſtantio Aug.*6. *& Conſtante Cæſare* 2. *Conſs. A.D.*353. *Vide Notas & Comment.*

Decuriones; leſt that any by betaking himſelf to the Army, ſhould deſert the “ Service of Corporations, or any other ſhould quit the Army, and ſhelter himſelf “ in their Employments. To prevent which, ſeveral Laws were made, as we have already hinted. Now the Service which *Legions* performed, was very hard and ſevere, in Compariſon, eſpecially, of the *Auxiliary Troops*; ſo that in them there was no Fear, that any would liſt themſelves to ſhun the Services of Corporations; but that of the *Auxiliaries*, being mild and eaſie, he ordains, that into them none “ ſhould be admitted without a Certificate obtain'd from the Judge of the Pro- “ vince, that the Perſon was no *Decurio*. And laſtly, whereas the Age of ſuch as “ were ſent into the Armies was wont to be raw, (and indeed it differed, both ac- “ cording to the Cuſtoms of Countries, of ſeveral times, and the Laws) he “ limits it at perfect Puberty (Puberty being always the General Rule, but “ ordinarily the Firſt, and Beginning) when they had paſſed their nineteenth “ Year.

Magnentius again Defeated.

Chronicon. Hiſtor.

Once more Defeated; and

Killeth himſelf.

*Vide Chronic. Hiſtoric. ad A.D.*353.

10. This Law, we may Rationally enough conclude, was made, on purpoſe for the more Vigorous carrying on of the War againſt *Magnentius* in *Gall*; for now was it Proſecuted with all Induſtry imaginable; and the Succeſs was ſuch, that in the very following Month, after the Date of it, *Conſtantius* reaped the Fruit of his Labours, and the other received the Reward of his three Years and ſix Months Uſurpation. But the Oppoſition he made was ſo Reſolute and Pertinacious, that ſeveral Fights happened betwixt them, with various Succeſs. At length being Worſted in a place not far from *Lugdunum* (or *Lions*) he betook himſelf to an adjoyning Hill, where, ſeeing his Men diſcouraged, even as almoſt to Deſpair of any Safety, he made a Speech to them, to cheer their Spirits; to which, when they Acclamed, as the manner was; by a ſtrange Miſtake, they ſaluted him by the Name of *Conſtantius Auguſtus*, inſtead of *Magnentius*. Herewith, as an ill *Omen*, exceedingly dejected, he departed to a Village call'd the Hill of *Severus*, belonging to the *Cottian Alps*, and thence ſent to the Emperour a Meſſenger a Perſon of *Senatorian* Rank, about a Peace, whom *Conſtantius* did not admit to his Preſence, ſuppoſing him but to be a Spy, as neither ſeveral Biſhops employed on the ſame Errand; but, many of his Souldiers falling off to him, haſted to find him out, and put an End to the Controverſie. *Magnentius* perceiving there was no Place left for Pardon, reſolved then to do his Worſt, and reinforcing his Army, as well as he could, that he might give a Diverſion to the Enemy, he ſent one away to *Antioch* to murder *Gallus Cæſar*, who afterward was diſcovered, and ſuffered as a Traitor. Then followed, at the Place laſt mentioned, whither *Magnentius* had betaken himſelf, another Engagement, wherein he was again Worſted, and thence fled to *Lions*. Thoſe that eſcaped with him, now utterly deſpairing of their Cauſe, reſolved to give him up to the Conqueror, and for that Purpoſe watched the Houſe where he lay; which obſerved, drove him into ſuch Fury; that his Friends and Relations that were about him, he firſt ſlew with his own hand, and having mortally wounded his Brother *Deſiderius*, amongſt the reſt, at laſt diſpatched himſelf, leſt he ſhould fall alive into the Power of *Conſtantius*, and be put to a lingring Death. Having ſet his Sword-Hilt to the Wall, he ran againſt it, and ſo with a great Iſſue of Blood at his Noſtrils and Mouth, as well as the Wound, he let out his Life, about the beginning of *Auguſt*: For as to the preciſe Day, Writers differ. *Decentius*, his Brother, haſting to his Relief, when he heard of his End, hanged himſelf, at *Senonæ*, on the eighteenth of *Auguſt*. *Magnentius* was a man of a vaſt Body, and as extravagant Morals; and thus having reaped the Fruites of his Uſurpation, and Tyranny (for he firſt by murdring his Sovereign, caſt dirt upon the *Chriſtian* Name, if a *Chriſtian* he was) the Monarchy of the *Roman* Empire was again devolved upon *Conſtantius*, in the ſeventeenth year of his Reign, the eleventh Indiction. *A. D.* CCCLIII; he himſelf the ſixth, and *Conſtans* (*Gallus*) the ſecond time being *Conſuls*.

A Statue Erected at *Rome* to *Conſtantius*.

Reſtitutori Urbis Romæ, atque Orbis, & Extinctori Peſtiferæ Tyrannidis Dn. N. Fl. Jul. Conſtantio Victori ac Triumphatori ſemper Auguſto, Neratius Cerealis. V.C. Præfectus *urbi vice ſacra judicans D. N. M. que ejus.*

11. The Report of *Magnentius* his Defeat and Death, being arriv'd at *Rome*, *Neratius Cerealis*, who had been *Præfect* of that City ſince the twenty ſixth of *September* of the preceding Year, Erected a Statue to *Conſtantius*, with an Inſcription, Declaring him to be the Reſtorer both of the City and the World, and the Extinguiſher of the late peſtiferous Tyranny, as he terms it; which Inſcription, as *Baronius* tells us, by the Miſtake of him that Copied it out, was judged to have related to the Times of *Conſtantine*; but he now reſtores it to its proper Place, which indeed, had been already done to his hand, whether the Cardinal knew it or not, by *Sigonius*. But *Conſtantius* coming to *Lions*, that he might take away the Fears of ſuch as had been guilty of the late Defection, and ſo ſettle theſe Parts in their

former Obedience to him and his Family, made an Edict bearing Date of the ſixth of *September*, from this City, and Directed to this *Cerealis*, whereby he Grants, as all Wiſe Princes have been wont, Indemnity and Pardon to all Perſons concern'd, except ſuch as had committed any of the five Crimes to which Death, as a Puniſhment, was Adjudged, and amongſt which Murder is ſuppoſed to have been one, and hereby he made good, what by another Edict he had promiſed to the Followers of *Magnentius*, to bring them off. And to Quiet their Minds, there was great need of ſuch an *Amneſty*, or General Pardon and Oblivion; ſo many having been drawn into Offices and Employments under him, and thoſe not of the Meaneſt, but often of the Greateſt Quality: for not only in *Gall*, but in *Italy*, and the City of *Rome*, *Magnentius* ordained Judges and *Præfects* of the City; he beſtowed the Dignity of *Comites*, and the Supreme one of *Conſul*. But, leſt the Unjuſt Acts, either of him or his Judges, ſhould have any Force to the Oppreſſion of the Innocent, or ſuch as had ſtood to their Integrity and Fidelity; by another Neceſſary Law, he Commanded all ſuch Acts to be Null and Void; which Law, although the Date of it Aſſigns it to the preceding Year; yet all things conſidered, we cannot, but, with *Gothofred*, be of Opinion, that it was not made till after the Death and the Deſtruction of the Uſurper; and ſome Errour was committed as to the Numerical Letters, and Aſſignation of the *Conſulſhip* of the ſame Perſons. For *Conſtantius* the Emperour, and *Conſtans* the *Cæſar*, were *Conſuls* for three years together. *Chriſtians* do tell us, that ſeveral Acts of Cruelty were exerciſed by the *Tyrant* towards *Chriſtians*. *Heathen* Writers ſpeak alſo of the moſt grievous Proſcriptions made by him, beſides ſeveral heavy and unjuſt Laws. Hereof one required half of the Eſtates of his Subjects, and another permitted Slaves to accuſe their Maſters. He conſtrained whom he thought fit to buy Lands, or Things belonging to the Imperial Dignity, and ſpoiled many of what they had; which whether Lands, or other Matters, were reſtored by *Conſtantius* to the right Owners by this Edict; as indeed the Cuſtom was in all well ordered Commonwealths, after the end of any Rebellion or Uſurpation; but as we have already ſaid upon another Occaſion; Spontaneous Acts, ſuch as Emancipations, Manumiſſions, Bargains and Tranſactions betwixt man and man were to be held good, elſe all would have been unravelled, and put out of Order; therefore by this ſame Edict he declares them Valid.

Who publiſhes another *Amneſty*.

L. 2. *de Indulgent. Crim. ubi ſuprà. Vide Comment.*

L. 5. *de Infirmandis his quæ ſub Tyrannis Cod. Th. lib.* 15. *Tit.* 14.

12. But foreſeeing how upon the Diſbanding of ſo many men, as, being old Souldiers, might now receive their Miſſion, or Eaſe, great Robberies poſſibly might enſue, to the great Damage and Regret of the Countries; by an Edict he commanded ſuch (as his Father before him had done) either to apply themſelves to Tillage, or to Traffick, and Merchandize under pain of Death: Aſſigning this Reaſon, that ſuch ought to loſe all Privilege as diſturbed the publick Peace; ſo as if they offended in the leaſt, no Puniſhment ſhould be thought too great for them. Being rid of the Uſurper, to ſecure the *Weſtern* Parts; he ſeized and fortified the Mouth of the *Rhone*, and the Paſſage of the *Pyrenæan* Hills. Then he removed to *Arelatum*, or *Arles*; where for Joy, he celebrated the *Circenſian* Games, and obviated an Abuſe which was committed by occaſion of the Privileges granted to the *Veterani*. For when Letters teſtimonial were given to them concerning their Service perform'd, the Dignity of *Protectors* (of which formerly) was uſually alſo conferred on them, which was both great in it ſelf, and had great Immunities accompanying it: As, Excuſe from ſordid and extraordinary Employments, and from ignominious Beating, to which others were Subject; Enjoyment of great Privileges in Traffick; Allowance of the Preſcription of the *Prætor's* Court; freedom from finding of *Tirones* (or new Souldiers) and the like. Therefore well was he that could attain to this Dignity of *Protector*; and not only the *Veterani* required it, as they might, but *Tirones* alſo, and other ſorts of Perſons ſought for it; even thoſe that were obnoxious to, as members of, Bodies Corporate; as *Decuriones*, thoſe that were of Companies, as Tradeſmen, and the *Officiales* or Attendants of Magiſtrates. Now all theſe, to prevent ſuch defrauding of the ſeveral Bodies, and Magiſtrates concerned, the Emperours by ſeveral Laws, did before prohibit the Enjoyment of the forenamed Dignity and Privileges, and *Conſtantius* now in particular, forbids them to the *Curiales* (as did his Brother *Conſtans* in the like Caſe) this being a Rule, both with him, and other Princes; as to hinder the leſſening of their Armies by Pretences of Souldiers their Relations to Magiſtrates, or Corporations; ſo alſo to prevent the deſerting of Duties and Services of Places corporate, under Pretext of Relation to, or Privileges received from, the Military Employment.

And upon pain of Death commands the Rebellious Army to apply themſelves to ſome courſe of Life.

L. L. 2. & 3. *de diverſis Officiis &c. Cod. Th. lib.* 8. *tit.* 7.

13. The

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*A.D.*354. *Conſtantio A.*7. & *Gallo Cæſare* 3. *Coſs.*

Gallus acts like a Madman.

Ammianus Marcellinus rerum Geſtarum lib. 14. *initio.*

13. The former part of the following Year, which was the eighteenth of his Reign, when he himſelf the ſeventh, and *Conſtans* (or *Gallus*) *Cæſar* the third time were *Conſuls*, he continued at *Arles*; but thence removed in the Spring to *Valentia*, undertaking an Expedition againſt *Gundomadus*, and *Vadomarius*, two Brothers, and Kings of the *Almans*; who with their frequent Incurſions waſted the Borders of *Gall*, and the Provinces thereto adjoyning. At *Valentia* he made ſome ſtay for the Proviſions of the Army, of which the great Floods now abroad hindred the Conveyance out of *Aquitain*. And here he was entertained with unwelcome News out of the *Eaſt*; where his Nephew *Gallus* acted the Tyrant and Madman, to ſuch a Degree, that his Government of thoſe Provinces was utterly intolerable. So mightily was he puffed up with the height of his Place, to which from the depth of Miſery and Deſpair, he had been unexpectedly advanced; that, as one who from long Impriſonment in a dark Dungeon, is brought ſuddenly into the Light, growes giddy and diſturb'd in his Phancie, not knowing well what he ſaid, or did, he brake out into all Acts of Extravagance; to which would have been added Violence againſt him that raiſed him, had he had as much Power and Opportunity, as Ambition. And if ever his Paſſions a little cool'd, they were ſuddenly blown again into a Flame by the as reſtleſs and extravagant Spirit of his Wife; a Woman above Meaſure puffed up with the Conceit of the Greatneſs of her Birth, having been formerly married by *Conſtantine*, to King *Anniballianus* (ſo our Author calls him) his Brother's Son; a very Mortal *Megara*, ſaith *Ammianus*, a daily Inflamer of one, who of himſelf continually raged; and as greedy of Man's Blood, as her Huſband. For the more effectual Shedding hereof, lying at *Antioch*; they made uſe of cunning Spies and Tale-bearers, who inſinuating themſelves into Company, reported back, not only all, but more than they had heard, and accuſed ſeveral innocent Perſons of Treaſon, and other feigned and heavy Crimes. Under theſe Pretexts, if any one deſired to be rid of a Perſon againſt whom they bore Malice; it was eaſie to procure for a good Reward, the party to be made away. There was one *Clematius*, a noble man of *Alexandria*, whoſe Wife's Mother burning in Luſt towards him, and not able to prevail, turned her Love into ſo great Hatred, that getting Admittance to *Conſtantina*, by a Preſent of a Rich Bracelet, ſhe procured a Warrant to *Honoratus*, *Comes* of the *Eaſt*, to put him to Death; which was done accordingly. Some upon mere Suſpicion were murdred, and others turn'd out of their Eſtates to beg their Bread; no Accuſer being ſeen, no not ſo much as a Slave, which the greateſt Tyrants moſt commonly were wont to make uſe of, to put ſome Colour of Juſtice upon their Proceedings. But leſt there ſhould be wanting Informers, *Gallus* himſelf would take the Pains to make Diſcoveries in his own Perſon, walking *Incognito* by Night through the City, and in the *Greek* Tongue, inquiring what People ſaid of *Cæſar*, till he became notoriouſly known. *Thalaſſius*, the *Præfectus Prætorio*, who was with him, might have much obviated theſe Miſchiefs, if he had prudently gone about it. But being a man alſo of an arrogant Humour, he contradicted and oppoſed him with too much Heat, and at unſeaſonable times; and ſent Informations of all his Actions to the Emperour; not covertly, but (none can tell out of what Deſign) with Purpoſe that it ſhould be known.

And by the Indiſcretion of *Thalaſſius*.

Is hurried into all Acts of Deſperation.

14. This drove him into all Acts of Fury and Deſperation, and hurried him into outragious Proceedings, without any Hope of being reclamed: at what time the Eaſtern Provinces received ſufficient Damage otherwiſe, without the Miſchiefs ariſing from his ill Adminiſtration. For the *Iſauri*, a people addicted to a ravenous and pilfring ſort of Life, by their ſudden and ſecret Invaſions much diſtreſſed the neighbouring Countries; to be revenged (as they pretended) for the Injury and Affront offred to their Nation at *Iconium*, a Town of *Piſidia*; where ſome of their Countrymen were, contrary to Cuſtom (now in times of *Chriſtianity*) expoſed to Wild Beaſts upon the Theatre. They firſt applied themſelves to rifling of Merchants Ships that lay upon the Coaſts; ſtealing by Night out of their lurking Holes, and when their Booty there failed them, betook themſelves into the Inland Countries; where killing and ſtealing all they could; at laſt they laid Siege to *Seleucia*, *the Mother of Cities*, as *Ammianus* ſtyles it. Hereof many Complaints having arrived, *Gallus* therewith moved, for that the *Magiſter Equitum* was then employed elſewhere; commanded *Nebridius*, now *Comes* of the *Eaſt*, to relieve the Place: who with as great Forces as he could, haſted to raiſe the Siege; but was prevented by the Rovers; who upon Notice of his coming, forſook their Ground, and without any thing more performed, diſperſed themſelves throughout the adjoyning Mountains. At the ſame time an Attempt was made by the *Perſians*, but with-

The *Iſauri*-Rovers diſperſed.

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without any better Succeſs, upon *Batne*, a *Municipium* in *Anthemuſia*, a Province of *Oſdruena*. *Nohodares*, the General, had Orders to fall upon *Meſopotamia*, as that which lay moſt conveniently for their Incurſions; but the Danger it was expoſed to was a means of its Safety; all the Gariſons and ordinary places of the Souldiers Reſidence upon the Borders, *Prætenturæ & Stationes Agrariæ*, being ſo well Furniſhed, that he could not with the leaſt hope Attacque any of them. Therefore he Aimed at this *Batne*, a Town Famous for a Mart held there yearly, about the beginning of *September*, for Wares of no ſmaller Conſequence than thoſe of *India*, the *Seres*, and others Imported both by Sea and Land from other Places. And by the Wilderneſs adjoyning, and the Paſtures, he endeavoured to ſteal upon the Town; but was timely diſcovered, and all his Endeavours that way rendred Ineffectual. The *Saracens* in the mean while had better fortune, who neither being ſuch as the Empire could wiſh its Friends nor Enemies, Roving far and wide, Deſtroyed on a ſudden all they met with; therein reſembling much the nature of the *Kite*, ſaith our Hiſtorian, who, if from on high he eſpy his prey, with a ſpeedy Wing inſtantly ſnatcheth it; and if he be Maſter of it, ſtayes not ſo long as to afford any opportunity to the Injur'd Party of Recompenſation, or Revenge.

De Prætenturis & Stationibus Agrariis vide Annot. Valeſii in hunc locum Marcellini. Prætenturæ ſunt Præſidia Militum, quæ pro Caſtris ſecuritatis cauſâ prætendebantur; hoc eſt, ante tendebantur. Stationes Agrariæ ſunt Præſidia Militum, quæ in Caſtellis, aut Aggeribus Publicis Explorandi gratiâ Conſtituuntur, cùm Hoſtis non procul abſit; vel Pacis tempore circa limitem. Prætenturæ ferè de Peditibus tantùm dicuntur.

Conſtantius his Severity.

15. *Conſtantius*, in the mean time Wintering at *Arles*, though he had celebrated the *Circenſian* Games at the entrance of his *Tricennalia*, with great Magnificence; yet therewith could not be ſo diverted, as to ſatisfie his Melancholick and Suſpitious Humour. So Fearful he was made of Plots againſt his Life, by the late Treaſon of *Magnentius*, that Diſtruſting all men, he interpreted whatever they did or thought, to be intended againſt himſelf; and by the Death of ſeveral Perſons, rendred the late Victory no way acceptable, notwithſtanding the Law of Indemnity we not long ſince mentioned. For, if Credit may be given to our Hiſtorian, ſuch of the Army, or Nobility, or the Middle ſort, called *Honorati*, (or ſuch as had born Offices,) who were but Accuſed, or Slightly mentioned to have been of the Tyrant's ſide, were firſt fettered like Beaſts, and then either put to Death, deprived of their Eſtates, or Condemned to Iſlands, without any Accuſer appearing. And this increaſed the Hatred of the People, hence conceived, that he was Inexorable, and Pardoned none that were once Sentenced; being provoked by thoſe about him, who would not ceaſe to inculcate, that the Safety of the whole World depended upon the ſlender Thread of their Emperour's Life. He that moſt inſiſted hereon, and filled the Emperour's Jealous Head with Suſpicions was *Paul*, a *Notary*, born in *Spain*; one who being like a Thief, crafty in finding out and taking ſuch like as himſelf, was ſent hither into *Britain*, to reduce ſuch Souldiers as had fallen off to *Magnentius*: and having made his Ends of them, and taſted the bewitching Sweetneſs of Money, was now by his greedy Appetite driven headlong into all vilanous Practices againſt the Lives and Liberties of all ſorts of Perſons, how innocent ſoever, that he might go Sharer in their Eſtates. This procured a diſmal Tragedy, which in our Writers Opinion, and that deſervedly, caſt a great Blot upon the Reign of *Conſtantius*. One *Martin*, at this time governed theſe Provinces, as *Vicar*; who often endeavoured by his Interceſſion to ſtop the Career of this Vilany, and procure Reſt for thoſe, who had not given any Occaſion for Diſturbance; and the Conteſt betwixt him and *Paul* came to that height, that he threatned to be gone, and quit his Place, rather than torment his Senſes by a continual Apprehenſion of ſuch Outrages, as he committed. *Paul* ſeeing how this would put an end to his Trade, reſolved to put him amongſt ſuch as he had yet reſerved to his falſe Accuſations, and importuned them at Court, that he might be brought up as well as the reſt, of which *Martin* having Intelligence, made an Attempt to kill the Vilain, and when he failed therein, puniſhed himſelf for his Failure in the ſame kind. *Paul* having thus eſcaped, purſued his Enterprize, and carried up his Priſoners in Chains (from which he received the Sirname of *Catena*) to Court; where ſome were committed to a tedious and irkſome Priſon; others delivered into the Hangman's hands to be tortured; ſome proſcribed and ſent into Baniſhment, and others put to Death. This being obſerved for a Rule in *Conſtantius* his Days, that none eſcaped Condemnation in ſome of theſe Kinds, of whom it had been but whiſpered, that they were guilty Perſons.

Paul, a Notary, a covetous and malicious Backbiter.

Agens illas Provincias pro Præfectis. Aliud eſt agere pro Præfectis, aliud agere pro Præfecto. Agere pro Præfectis dicitur, qui ordine Codicillorum Vicariam poteſtatem Exercet: Agere pro Præfecto, cui Præfectus Urbi, vel Prætorio in ſpeciali quodam Negotio vices ſuas mandavit. Vide Valeſii Annotationes.

16. At this time *Memmius Vitraſius Orfitus* was *Præfect* of *Rome* (from the tenth of *December* of the preceeding year) a man prudent enough, and underſtanding in the Practice of Courts; but not ſo learned in the Liberal Arts, as became a man of his Nobility and Rank; and inſolently proud upon this his Preferment. Through his careleſs Adminiſtration great Tumults were occaſion'd in the City, for want of

Splendore liberalium doctrinarum minùs quàm nobilem decuerat inſtitutus.

Gallus Cæſar a Plague to all Good men under his Power.

Conſtantius endeavours to Maſter him.

Domitian the *Præfect* indiſcreetly demeans himſelf.

Wine, which the *Præfect*, of courſe, was to provide; all ſorts and Degrees of Men being Degenerated, and nothing Serious or Memorable acted there, as *Ammianus* ſhews at large, in divers particulars. And at *Antioch* things were more out of Order, where *Gallus Cæſar* was a Plague and Burthen to all good men, as well the *Honorati* and *Primates* of Cities, as *Plebeians* (ſo our Author diſtinguiſheth;) and upon a Trivial Occaſion had put to Death the Principal *Senators*, if *Honoratus*, the *Comes* of the *Eaſt*, had not with a moſt conſtant Reſolution oppoſed it. With Bloody, and for that reaſon Prohibited, Shows upon the Theatre, he was wonderfully delighted. Being on his way to *Hierapolis*, and on a pretended Expedition, the Citizens of *Antioch* put up a Petition to him, to find out ſome courſe to prevent the great Scarcity of Victuals, of which they were apprehenſive; in anſwer to which, he did not enter into any Conſultation, or make Uſe of ſuch Means, as other Princes were wont in the like caſes; but delivered up into their hands *Theophilus*, the *Conſularis* of *Syria*; often proteſting that it was the Governour's Fault, if any Inhabitant wanted Neceſſaries: and this his Encouragement drove the Rabble into that Rage, when it wanted Bread, that they ſet fire to his Houſe, and ſo Beat and Abuſed him, that thereof he died; leaving a Warning to other Magiſtrates, what they muſt expect from ſo Worthy a Prince. This, and other Matters being brought to *Conſtantius* his knowledge by *Thalaſſius*, or others, he Reſolved, in order to the Maſtering of him, firſt to withdraw his Strength, and under pretence of Danger, which he ſaw might ariſe to his Perſon from the Conſpiracy of ſo many idle Souldiers, as ſerved under him, he removed ſuch Forces as there lay under his Command; bidding him be content with the *Palatine Scholes*, and of the *Protectors*, with the *Scutarii* and *Gentiles*; and enjoyned *Domitian*, (now from *Comes Largitionum* made *Præfect*) that when he came into *Syria*, he ſhould by Gentle means labour to reclame him from theſe Extravagant Courſes. But he being with great ſpeed arrived at *Antioch*, took a quite contrary courſe; for he did not ſo much as go to Wait on him, as his Duty was, but with great Pomp paſſed on to the *Prætorium*; and after this, pretending Indiſpoſition, neither came at Court, nor appeared abroad; but keeping himſelf up, plotted how to deſtroy *Cæſar*: and for that purpoſe, amongſt the Accuſations he ſent to the Emperour, ſhuffled in ſome things, which might better have been omitted. Being, with much intreaty, at laſt brought into the *Conſiſtory*, without any Complement, or any other expreſſion of Civility, he raſhly and indiſcreetly bade him be gone, as he was Commanded; and told him, he would have him to know, that in caſe he did not Obey, he would order both his own Allowances, and thoſe belonging to his Court to be ſtopped; He, as *Præfect*, having the Charge of Proviſions, which to *Cæſar* were allowed, and Diſtributed to his Attendants from the Emperour, as well as to Apparitors, or any other Miniſters. Having arrogantly ſpoken ſo much, he departed Frowning, being, as he was Born, a Clown; and though often ſent for, would come no more into *Gallus* his Preſence.

He and *Montius* the *Quæſtor* murdered by *Gallus* his men.

17. *Gallus* hereat vehemently moved, as one who formerly did but pretend, but now in earneſt did ſuffer, and was rudely dealt with; ordered the *Præfect* to be ſafely Watched, by ſuch of his *Protectors* as he could truſt. This being known, one *Montius*, at this time *Quæſtor*, a man by Nature ſevere enough, but yet more inclining to Gentleneſs than the other, as one Concerned by Common Intereſt: firſt, Tampered with the Advocates of the *Palatine Scholes*, to whom he inculcated, that theſe things ought not to be, neither would any Good come of them; and in an upbraiding manner he added, that if ſuch Courſes were purſued, they would firſt Demoliſh the Statues of *Conſtantius*, (the uſual way of beginning a Rebellion) and then proceed to conſider about the Life of the *Præfect*, which was to be taken away. *Cæſar* having notice hereof, found his Affairs in a deſperate Condition, and therefore Reſolving to Fence for his Life and Security, as well as he could cauſed all the Souldiers to be drawn together, told them, that he and they ran, the ſame hazard; and that by means of *Montius*, who Accuſed them all as Rebels and Traitors, for no other reaſon, but becauſe he had Committed to Cuſtody the Wilful and peeviſh *Præfect*, who would not know his Duty and Place; out of juſt Apprehenſion of the Danger that might ariſe from his Contumacious Humour. The Souldiers, who were not given much to Conſider, but alwayes greedy of Trouble and Innovation, ran furiouſly to *Montius*, who lay near at hand, and ſeizing on him, a feeble, old Man, and ſickly, bound him, and dragged him ſtraight to the *Prætorium* of the *Præfect*, whom, throwing headlong down the Stairs, they bound them both together with cords, and ſo drew them with haſte through the

ſtreets, till they had torn them Limb from Limb; which done, and having trampled upon their Carkaſſes, and mangled them as they liſted, then they caſt them into the River. Being ſufficiently moved to this outragious Act by *Gallus*, they were further Animated by two Turbulent Fellows; whereof one was *Luſcus*, who had been ſuddenly Advanced to be *Curator* of the City, and another called *Sthenelaus*, the Head of the *Bajuli*, or *Veſpillones*, who carried out the Dead (as is thought) or of the Porters, or ſuch as carried Burthens; who often roared out, that they ſhould make quick Diſpatch, and perfect what they had begun; for which he was burnt alive not long after. But becauſe *Montius*, as he was about to Expire, amongſt his Tortures had blamed *Epigonius* and *Euſebius*, only mentioning theſe Names, and neither their Dignity nor Profeſſion, there was wonderful Inquiry made, who theſe ſhould be; and before the Matter ſhould grow cold, *Epigonius* the Philoſopher was fetcht from *Lycia*, and *Euſebius* Sirnamed *Pictacas*, an Eloquent Orator, out of *Myſia* from *Emiſſa*; whereas the *Quæſtor* meant neither of them; but exclaimed againſt two *Tribunes* of the Fabricks or Forges (it ſeems of theſe Names,) who had promiſed him a Supply of Arms, in caſe any ſuch Diſturbance ſhould happen.

18. At the ſame time *Apollinaris*, the Son-in-Law of *Domitian* the *Præfect*, and who had lately the Charge of *Cæſar*'s Palace, having been ſent about ſome Affairs into *Meſopotamia*, was narrowly ſearched, by the Souldiers there for Papers, which might manifeſt the great Deſign which *Gallus* now had in his Head. Having received News of what had hapned at *Antioch*, and ſuſpecting his own Safety, he withdrew himſelf, through the leſſer *Armenia* to *Conſtantinople*; but was fetcht back by thoſe called *Protectors*, and committed to cloſe Priſon. Not long after a Diſcovery was made at *Tyre*, of an *Imperial* Robe, which by whoſe order made, or how it came there could not be known. Whereupon *Apollinaris* the Father, who then governed that Province, was laid hold of, and together with many others, burthened with moſt heavy, but idle Accuſations, and haled to Cuſtody. For now *Cæſar* did not at all conceal himſelf, nor pretended to any Excuſe, but with the greateſt Impudence ran through thick and thin, making no diſtinction between Right or Wrong, Juſt or Unjuſt, but what his Will and Luſt procured. A mock-Court of Juſtice was erected, a mock-Judge, the *Magiſter Equitum*, and as mock-Notaries appointed, who carried Intelligence to *Gallus* of all that was ſaid by the Parties. The firſt that was thus tried was *Epigonius* the Philoſopher; who knowing little of the World, could not endure the Tortures; and without pleading any thing of Law, confeſſed he knew not what, and accuſed thoſe as complices, who knew no more than himſelf of the Matter; but *Euſebius*, as one well verſed in the Law, demanded that his Accuſer ſhould be produced to his Face, denied ſtoutly what was objected, and plainly called thoſe Proceedings no courſe of Judgement, but of Robbery and Murder; for which Liberty as an inſolent and audacious Slanderour he was, by *Cæſar*'s command tortured to Death, together with his Fellow-Sufferer, calling to Heaven for Vengeance; yet altogether as unconcern'd as *Zeno* is ſaid to have been; who in the midſt of his Torments bit off his Tongue, and ſpit it into the Face of the *Cyprian Tyrant*, if our Author do not miſtake. As for the Robe that was found at *Tyre*; the Workmen there confeſſed that one *Maras* a *Deacon*, had written a Letter to procure the haſtening of it; but he being apprehended choſe rather a painful Death, than to confeſs any thing. Hereupon great Stir was made about it; and after that many upon ſlight Preſumptions, had been made away: at length the *Apollinares*, both Father and Son, were ſent into Baniſhment, as was pretended; but being come as far as *Crateræ*, a Town of their own, twenty four Miles diſtant from *Antioch*, they had there their Thighes broken, and were murdred according to Order. Yet with their Blood *Gallus* was not glutted; but like a greedy Lyon ſtill ranged about for more, the Effects whereof were ſo various, as *Ammianus* profeſſes, that the Inſiſting upon Particulars would be too tedious for his Deſign.

Several others put to Death by a mock ſort of Juſtice.

Vide Annotationes Valeſii in hunc locum.

Others plainly murdred by his Order.

Conſtantius prepares againſt the *Almans.*

19. Thus groaned the *Eaſtern* Provinces under the tyrannical Government of *Gallus*; when, as we hinted, *Conſtantius* had removed from *Arles* to *Valentia*, undertaking an Expedition againſt the *Almans*. There ſtaying for the Proviſions of the Army, he was fully acquainted with his Nephews Demeanour, by *Herculanus*, a *Protector Domeſticus*, Son of *Hermogenes*, who had been a *Magiſter Militum*, and was killed in a popular Tumult at *Conſtantinople*. His Vexation and ſollicitous Thoughts how to redreſs the Miſchief, was diverted for ſome time, by the Diſcontents of his Army, which lying at *Cabillon*, was ready to Mutiny for Proviſions. This brought *Rufinus*, now *Præfectus Prætorio* of theſe Parts,

His Deſign againſt them is betrayed.

He makes Peace with them.

into great peril of his Life, being required to give the Souldiers an account how their Neceſſaries were ſo long kept from them; and this was done of purpoſe, it's thought, that he being the Uncle of *Gallus* by the Mother's ſide, might Miſcarry, and Periſh by their Rage; who, beſides their uſual Fierceneſs and Animoſity againſt Men of High Place and Truſt, were now Irritated by their want of Victuals: but thoſe Concerned, ſo beſtirred themſelves, that *Euſebius* the *Præpoſitus Cubiculi*, being ſent with Gold to *Cabillon*, therewith underhand Quieted thoſe that were moſt Turbulent, and in capacity to do Miſchief; and ſo the Army was kept in Peace, and the Life of the *Præfect* preſerved; the Proviſions arriving in Abundance, not long after. The Day following they marched, and having paſſed many Difficulties, beſides thoſe Hills that were all covered with Snow, they came at length to *Rauracum* on the Bank of the *Rhine*, where the *Almans* vigorouſly oppoſed them. It was thought fit to lay a Bridge over the River; but the Enemy ſo plied it with Darts and Arrows, that there was no Appearance for Workmen upon the Water, which caſt the Emperour into a great Conflict what Courſe to take, when unexpectedly, one that knew the Place very well, offered himſelf a Guide, and for a good Reward to conduct them over, where it was Fordable: and this had by Night been effected, but that the *Almans*, had privately the Deſign diſcovered to them by ſome of their own Country-men, that ſerved in eminent Places in the Army: the Suſpition lighting on *Latinus* the *Comes Domeſticorum*, *Agilo* the *Tribunus Stabuli*, and *Scudilo*, who commanded the *Scutarii*: Men, who were in thoſe Days accounted the Pillars of the Commonwealth. Yet notwithſtanding the *Almans*, whether diſcouraged by their unlucky *Auſpicia*, as our Author will have it, or for that they deſpaired of good Succeſs by Reſiſtance, ſent ſome of their principal Officers or Nobility, to beg Pardon, and a Peace. Their Overtures were not unkindly received; but being long conſidered of and debated, were at length approved of by the Emperour, and his Council; yet to ſeem to do nothing without the Knowledge and Approbation of the Army, he reſolved to make the Souldiers acquainted with what he little doubted but they would approve. Aſcending the Tribunal, and attended by all his great Miniſters, after a ſhort Preamble ſuited to the Occaſion, he told them, That if they would but conſent, his Opinion “ was to grant the Requeſts of thoſe, who ſought Peace with ſo great Submiſſion. “ His Reaſons were; firſt by a certain Treaty to prevent the Uncertainties of “ War; that of the *Almans*, inſtead of Enemies, they might have Aſſiſtants and Allies, “ as they had engaged. The next was, to prevent the Miſchiefs, which from “ their frequent Incurſions, fell upon the neighbouring Provinces, and he added, “ that he only was not to be eſteemed an Enemy conquered, who being overpower'd “ by the Weight of Arms, or number of men, was ſlain in the Field; but much “ more he, who was ſubdued by an unbloody Victory, who voluntarily turned to “ Obedience out of a Senſe, that neither Valour was wanting to the *Romans* againſt “ the rebelliouſly Contumacious, nor Lenity towards ſuch as did ſeriouſly deſire it. “ In concluſion, he was minded to uſe temperately the preſent Advantage, but left “ it to them wholly, to conſider what was to be done, with this Aſſurance, that it “ was not any Sloth or Cowardize that engaged him to ſuch Sentiments, but merely “ Principles of Modeſty and Humanity. He had no ſooner ſpoken, but the Multitude, prone enough to whatſoever he inclined, commended his Councils, and conſented to the Peace, taking eſpecial Notice, that little or no Good, but rather much Evil hapned by theſe frequent Expeditions; for when Wars were managed abroad, great Miſchiefs fell out alſo at home, not uſual in Governments united, and of moderate Extent, but in the Empire too frequent by Reaſon of it's too great Bulk, and the Variety if notuſual Diſagreement of it's Princes, who often were not virtuouſly inclin'd, even as at the preſent time.

The *Eunuchs* plot againſt *Urſicinus*.

20. The Peace being fully accorded, and all ſolemn Acts, relating thereunto performed, *Conſtantius* departed for *Milan*, where being now eaſed of other Cares, he made it his Buſineſs with his moſt intimate Councellors and that ſecretly, and by Night, to conſult how to ſuppreſs, and ruine his Couſin. And it was agree'd to prevent any further Acts of Deſperation and Pertinacy, that it ſhould by good Words, and fair Promiſes be effected, under the Pretext of a publick Treaty; that ſo without any Difficulty or obſtacle, being deſtitute of Aſſiſtance, he might be circumvented. Theſe Councils were not approved by ſeveral Courtiers, and the *Eunuchs* that attended him, who bearing Malice to *Urſicinus*, the *Magiſter Equitum* in the *Eaſt*, contended that he was by no Means to be ſuffered to continue in thoſe Provinces, if none were there left to over-aw him; who having Sons both in reſpect of their Perſons, and Age very acceptable, as well as for their Military

Skill, to which they were continually Exerciſed and Trained up; they whiſpered, that this ſeem'd to look towards Uſurpation, and that *Gallus*, of his own Nature, being Fierce and Cruel, was by ſome, on purpoſe ſet on, and Animated to theſe Extravagant Courſes; that he being brought into Univerſal Ignominy and Hatred, the Empire might at length be Transferred upon the Sons of *Urſicinus*. Theſe things thus inſinuated, could not but exceedingly perplex *Conſtantius*, who never had his Ears ſhut to Arguments of this nature; yet he reſolved on the beſt courſe, as it hapned, Commanding *Urſicinus*, with the Equipage and Honour belonging to his Degree, to come to Court, under pretence, that they might take Advice what was to be done in this Juncture of time, when the Arms of the *Parthian* Nations threatned the Safety of the Empire. And that there might be no ſuſpition of any Evil intended him, *Proſper*, a *Comes*, was ſent to ſerve as his Deputy, till his Return; with which way of Procedure ſatisfied, and having the Advantage of the *Vehicula*, or *Curſus Publicus*, he haſtened with great Journeys to *Milan*. To get *Cæſar* to Court, no leſs care was taken; and that he might neither Suſpect any thing, his Wife *Conſtantina* received from the Emperour, her Brother, many kind Letters, wherein he expreſſed an earneſt Deſire to ſee her, which ſhe was cunning enough to Suſpect, and Apprehend the worſt; but ſhe hoped by the Intreaties and Inſinuations of a Siſter to charm him. They began then their Journey, but it ſo fell out, that ſhe was ſuddenly ſnatcht away by a Fever, at a Place called *Cæni Galliciani* in *Bithynia*, as ſhe was on her way; which caſt her Huſband into a great Perplexity, not knowing what to do: For now ſhe was gone, on whoſe Intereſt alone he could rely. And as for her Brother, conſidering his Nature, he could not but conclude, that he would be peremptory in his own Opinion; receive no Satisfaction, nor pardon what was paſt, (being ſufficiently inclined to the Deſtruction of his Kindred) but, if he could compaſs it, having entrapped him by ſome Secreet Wile, take him at the Diſadvantage, and put him to Death. Being now driven to ſo great Neceſſities, and expecting nothing but the utmoſt Extremity, if he ſtood not ſufficiently upon his Guard, he was deſirous enough to take the Title of Emperour, if he had had any Encouragement; but he was deſerted by thoſe about him; partly for his bloody and fickle Humour, and eſpecially, becauſe they feared the Greatneſs of *Conſtantius*, which appeared abundantly able to cruſh and bring to nought all his Deſigns.

Gallus, having loſt his Wife, is exceedingly perplex'd.

21. Thus perplexed in his Mind, he received frequent Diſpatches from the Emperour, requiring, nay, intreating him, to haſten to his Preſence; for that the Empire, neither could, nor ought to be divided, but each of them to ſuccour it, when in a Tottering Condition, as the Provinces of *Gall* at preſent were. And for an Example of no very old Date, he added, that *Diocleſian* and his Colleague were ſerved by their *Cæſars*, even as by Apparitors, who continued not in any place, but moved to and fro upon occaſion; and how in *Syria*, *Galerius*, though in Purple, as he was, walked well nigh a Mile before the Litter of the angry Emperour. Many Meſſengers were ſent, and after all came *Scudilo*, the *Tribune* of the *Scutarii*, a crafty, inſinuating Man, under the vizard of a downright, blunt Fellow; who, by Flattering, and ſerious Diſcourſe mixed together, was alone able to prevail with him to take the Journey; for he made him partly believe, that his Brother and Couſin (as he termed him) moſt paſſionately deſired to ſee him; That he had Meekneſs and Clemency enough to Remit what hitherto had been Committed through Imprudence; and that having made him his Companion in the Empire, he deſired he ſhould ſhare alſo in the Toil thereof; the Northern Provinces now exceedingly requiring his Aſſiſtance. As the Apprehenſions of ſuch as are near to Deſtruction, are wont to be Darkned and Perverted, by theſe vain Flatteries he was brought into vain Hope; and departing from *Antioch*, went out of the Smoak into the Flame, (as our Author tells us the old Proverb was.) And coming to *Conſtantinople*, as if all things had been well and ſecure with him, Celebrated there the Horſe-Games, and put the Garland upon one *Corax* a Chariot-driver, who had won the Prize. *Conſtantius* grew more ſuſpitious when he heard of his Confidence, and was exceedingly provoked to deſtroy him. And that in his Journey he might not, out of Deſperation, attempt any way to provide for his Security, cauſed all the Souldiers to be removed out of the Towns, through which he was to paſs. Several Great Officers alſo, under pretence of other Buſineſs, were ſent to Watch him. After a Tedious Journey, when he was come to *Hadrianople*, (a City ſtanding on the Mountain *Hæmus*, formerly called *Uſcuduma*) where he Refreſhed himſelf for twelve dayes together; the *Thebæan* Legions which Quartered in the Neighbouring Parts, ſent ſome to Adviſe him to ſtay, and offered

Is perſuaded by *Scudilo* to move towards the Emperour.

Prorſus ire tendebat de fumo (ut Proverbium loquitur vetus) ad flammam.

ed him their utmoſt Aſſiſtance: but the Meſſengers were ſo narrowly watcht, that they could not get any opportunity to ſpeak with him.

22. Now came Letters after Letters to haſten him away, and for his Journey ten Publick Carriages were provided, but all the Attendants of his Court were left behind, except ſome few that waited in his Chamber, and at his Table; and ſo he was hurried away, a miſerable Spectacle to look on, Weeping, and bewailing his Raſhneſs, that he ſhould Betray himſelf in this manner into the Hands and Power of his Enemies; and otherwhiles Affrighted by the Terrour of his Conſcience, and Dreams, ariſing from the Guilt he had contracted by the baſe Murder of *Domitian*, *Montius*, and many others; at length he arrived at *Petovio*, a Town of *Noricum*, where he had occaſion fully to diſcover the Snares laid to Entrap him. For now, on a ſudden, appeared to him one *Barbatio*, who had under him borne the Office of *Comes Domeſticorum*, with *Apodemius*, one of the *Agentes in Rebus*, attended by a Company of ſuch Souldiers as the Emperour had ſufficiently obliged, and was well aſſured, that neither for Pity nor Reward, would they be drawn from Proſecuting ſuch Orders as they received from him. Now without any Diſſimulation of what was to be Acted, the Houſe was beſet with Armed Men; and *Barbatio* entring his Chamber, when it was ſcarcely light, took away his Royal Apparel, and put on him an ordinary and common Habit; yet, by frequent Oaths, aſſuring him, as from the Emperour, that now he had ſeen and felt the worſt. But he bade him riſe inſtantly, and all on a ſudden clapping him into a cloſe Litter, carried him away into *Iſtria*, to a Place near to *Pola*, where *Criſpus*, the Son of *Conſtantius*, was reported to have been made away. There being cloſe ſhut up and expecting nothing but Death; *Euſebius*, now the *Præpoſitus Cubiculi*, *Pendatius*, a *Notary*, and *Mellobandes*, a *Tribune*, by order of *Conſtantius*, came and examined him about thoſe he had put to Death at *Antioch*. To this he anſwered with a pale and gaſtly Countenance, that moſt of them were ſo handled at the Inſtigation of his Wife *Conſtantina*. Upon Report of this Anſwer, as thinking it ſeems it reflected upon his Siſter, and conſequently on himſelf too much, *Conſtantius* fell into greater Indignation than ever, and placing all his Security in the Deſtruction of *Gallus*, reſolved to put an end to his own Fears, and the others Life both together. And for this purpoſe ſent away *Serenianus* (who having been accuſed of Treaſon, was odly acquitted) *Pentadius*, the *Notary*, and *Apodemius*, the *Agens in Rebus*, to put him to Death, which was executed upon him, as if he had been a Thief, by cutting off his Head, his Hands being bound together; after which, his Body lay a miſerable Spectacle, which had lately been ſo terrible to Cities and Provinces. But to ſuch an End came *Gallus Cæſar*, in the Iſland *Flavona*, near to *Pola*, (as others write) in the twenty ninth year of his Age, and the fourth (begun) after his Promotion. He was born in *Tuſcia*, at a place called *Maſſa Veternenſis*, of *Conſtantius*, Brother to the Emperour *Conſtantine*, and *Galla*, the Siſter of *Rufinus* and *Cerealis*, Perſons, both of them of *Conſular* Dignity, and who had borne alſo that of *Præfect*. A man comely enough, and well-proportion'd, of yellow Hair, and a thin Beard; but in Morals differing as much from his Brother *Julian* (of whom hereafter) as *Domitian*, the Son of *Veſpaſian*, came ſhort of his Brother *Titus*, in the Opinion of *Ammianus*. He ended his Life after ſuch a manner as he had deſerved, and that by Command of his Couſin; though there were that wrote, how he, repenting of what he had ordered herein, ſent other Meſſengers to ſtay the Execution; but *Euſebius* the *Eunuch*, his bitter Enemy, cauſed them to be ſtopped, till all was paſt, For this Treachery, if ſo it was, *Euſebius* paid dear afterwards, being put to Death by *Julian*, for having been ſo inſtrumental in his Deſtruction. And *Ammianus* obſerves, how other two, who under the Covert of Perjury and deep Diſſimulation laid Snares to entrap him, came to untimely Ends. For *Scudilo* vomited up his Lungs, and died; and *Barbatio*, who accuſed him of more Crimes than he committed, being ſuſpected to aſpire to greater things than the Office of *Magiſter Peditum*, to which he had attained, was condemned, and ſent out of the World, as we ſhall ſee.

His Attendants removed.

He is carried into *Iſtria*;

Juxta Flavonam maritimam Civitatem in ora Liburniæ, non procul à Neſactio. Unde Italiæ finem, alii Polam eſſe dicunt, alii Nefactium. Valeſius in Locum.

And made away.

Philoſtorgius L. 4. *c.* 1. & *vide Diſſert. Gothofredi.*

23. The News of *Gallus* his Death was brought to *Conſtantius*, now lying at *Milan*, by *Apodemius*, who having been a notable Incendiary betwixt them, now caſt the ſhoes of *Cæſar* (of Purple they were wont to be) down at his Feet; as if it had been the Spoiles of the *Parthian* King. The Emperour by his Flatterers was exceedingly elevated, who extolling his Power, and magnifying his Felicity; put him in mind, how he had brought to nothing the high Thoughts, and Ambition of two Princes, meaning *Gallus*, and *Veteranio*; which had ſuch Operation upon his unwary Phancy, that eſteeming himſelf rather more than a Mortal, he aſſumed

Ammianus lib. 15.

Conſtantius thereupon exceedingly elevated.

med the Title of *Lord of the whole World*; though all this while he pretended an Earneſt Endeavour to equal the Morality of the very beſt Princes. But ſo open were his ſuſpitious Ears to all Accuſations, that his *Eunuchs*, and other fawning Courtiers, procured the Ruin of many Good Men; and numbers were brought out of the *Eaſt* in Chains, to *Aquileia*, who were ſaid to have been Inſtruments to *Gallus* his Cruelties and other Diſorders. And thither were ſent to ſit upon them as Judges, one *Arbora*, and *Euſebius*, lately mentioned, the *Præpoſitus Cubiculi*, both of them very bad bad Men; both Unjuſt and Cruel; who, without any ſufficient Evidence, or Diſcrimination betwixt Innocence and Guilt, Sentenced them; ſome, after Torture, to be ſent into Baniſhment, others to ſerve in the Armies, in the meaneſt Capacity, and the reſt to Death it ſelf. After the ſlaughter of whom, they returned, as in Triumph, to their Prince. *Conſtantius* ſtaid ſome time at *Milan*, for we find him by Subſcription of his Edicts there, in the Months of *May* and *June*. Some other Laws he made before theſe, Dated from this Place, but where he then Reſided, is not Expreſſed; though probably in ſome part of *Italy*. The firſt of theſe, which are proper to our preſent Cogniſance, is, the very firſt Law now Extant in the *Code*, concerning the *Agentes in Rebus*, of whom we have already ſpoken. In this Age, it was a Cuſtom for thoſe who were Members of Corporations, and obnoxious to the Services thereof, to get themſelves Entred, as into other ſeveral ſorts of Employments, and the Armies, ſo amongſt them alſo, hereby to ſhun the Duties and Charges incumbent upon them, as we have already hinted. Now, to prevent this for the time to come, *Conſtantius*, by this Law (which was Part or Title of a larger Conſtitution) Defines; That none, by his Service, " amongſt the *Agentes in Rebus*, ſhould be freed or diſcharged from his Relation to " Corporations, except he had ſerved the term of Twenty years, which he ordains " ſhall alſo be obſerved as a Rule, and Bind the *Scriniarii* of his Palace, " the *Cancellarii*, *Largitionales*, and *Officiales* of the *Comes Rerum Privatarum*. "

Many cruelly handled upon the account of *Gallus*.

Regradatio, ſive Gradûs Dejectio, quæ inter Pœnas Militares fuit.

Cod. Th. lib. 6. Tit. 27. Dat. 8. Id. Mart. Conſtantio Auguſto 7. & Conſtante Cæſare Coſs. A. D. 354.

Conſtantius publiſheth an Edict in favour of Corporations.

24. By another Edict directed to *Orphitus*, the *Præfect* of *Rome*, and Dated ſeven dayes after the other, it appears; That not only the Officers of Corporations, but even Senators, were wont to skulk and keep themſelves out of the way, to ſhun thoſe Charges and Duties which lay upon them. To prevent this, he now ſignifies, " that he had formerly ſent his Orders to *Hilarianus*, the *Præfectus Prætorio*, " to Compell Senators to return to the City, that they might be conſtrained to " Diſcharge thoſe Duties that there lay upon them; and that ſuch of them as continued " their Abſence, ſhould, according to the Laws made by his Father, be condemned " to bring Fifty thouſand *Modii* of Wheat into the Publick Granaries of " *Rome*. Now what theſe Duties were, we have already touched, as, to make known to the Senate the worth of their Eſtates, that accordingly they might Contribute to the *Glebalis Collatio*; as alſo to pay what was due toward the Charges of Publick Shows and Paſtimes; an uſual Duty incumbent upon *Prætors*, to the Title of whom (and *Quæſtors*) this Law is aſſigned in the *Code*. This Fine impoſed upon Abſence was very great: for at this time the ordinary rate of Wheat was an *Aureus*, or Golden *Solidus* for every ten *Modii*; ſo that the whole amounted to five thouſand *Solidi*. Indeed ſome years after, in the Reign of *Valentinian*, that Emperour by a Law (as *Suidas* writes) took Order, that no fewer than twelve *Modii* ſhould be ſold for a *Solidus*; but then had he Enhaunced the Value of a *Solidus*, as we have already ſaid. For whereas from *Conſtantine's*, till his Time, Eighty four of them went to the Pound of Gold; he cauſed out of the Pound but Seventy two to be ſtamped. This was an heavy Fine for all ſorts of Senators; but by the Law of *Conſtantine* all were not liable to it; but according to their Quality and Degree, Condemned as to the Quantity of Wheat. Probable it is, that this of Fifty thouſand *Modii* was impoſed upon *Prætors*, but a leſſer upon *Quæſtors*; who, as appears by the firſt Law of this Title in the Code, were diſtinguiſhed both from them and *Conſuls* in theſe *Frumentary* Mulcts. But by this it is evident what great Charges the *Prætors* were at in Solemnizing theſe Publick Games and Paſtimes, to which the People of *Rome* had been ſo accuſtomed, from the time that the Riches of the World flowing into that City, had, to pleaſe them, found ſuch Iſſues as theſe; that when the Reaſon ceaſed, they would not be ſatisfied that the Effects ſhould ceaſe: And Chriſtianity it ſelf could not, but by degrees, and after much time, wean them from thoſe Exceſſes in Cruelty, and other parts of Immorality, which ordinarily accompanied theſe Divertiſements.

L. 7. de Prætoribus & Quæſtoribus. Dat. pridie Id. Mart. vide Comment.

Another to compell *Senators* to diſcharge their Duties in the City.

25. Theſe (and ſome other Laws) were made this year, though uncertain at what place; but from *Milan* bore Date two others, which ſeem to have made up

A. D 354.

Another for providing Wines for his Cellar.

L. 6. de Annona & Tributis Cod. Th. lib. 11. *tit.* 1.

but one Conſtitution. The firſt is, concerning the Furniſhing of his Cellar with Wines; which, though it may appear a thing of no great Concernment, yet hath been Ennobled by the Diſquiſitions of ſuch Learned Men, as have Diſputed concerning the *Suburbicarian* Provinces. It ordains, *That the Wine*, which was wont to be ſerved in for the Uſe of his own Cellar, *ſhall be provided by all the Poſſeſſors of Italy*, according to the Appointment of his Brother *Conſtans*; *which, that it may more eaſily be done*, ſaith he, *let that Quantity of Money be contributed by all our* Italians, *which the Moderation of* Rufinus (to whom he gives the Attributes of *Clariſſimus* and *Illuſtris*) *the Præfectus Prætorio, our Parent and Friend, thought fit to be Allowed.* So runs the Law, which is directed to the Order or Body of the *Cæſenates.* As to which the Reader muſt know, that the Provinces were wont as we formerly hinted, to contribute ſeveral ſorts of Proviſions and Materials, termed in thoſe Days, and by the Laws, *Species Annonariæ* and *Cellarienſes.* The *Annonariæ* were (when ſtrictly taken; for in a large ſenſe *Annona* ſignifies all ſorts) Wood, Straw, Fodder and other Neceſſaries; the *Cellarienſes* were the *Eſculenta, & Poculenta*, Meat and Drink; and not only Drink, as the Word now in *Engliſh* ſeems to denote. Now both the kinds were contributed for the Uſe of the Army, the Service of Expeditions, the Maintenance of the *Comites*, and other Governours of Provinces, and to the Prince his own uſe in his Houſe, which laſt is that here intended. But the great Queſtion is, what here ſhould be meant by *Italy* or *Italians*; whether all that, which vulgarly went under that Name, or only ſome Part, or Portion of it. As to this we muſt know, that of old time, all *Italy* was Subject to a moderate Tax, or Contribution. But when the Empire was embroiled in manifold Wars, and divided betwixt *Diocleſian*, *Maximian*, *Conſtantius* and *Galerius*; *Maximian* having obtained *Africk* and *Italy* for his ſhare, brought up a new ſort of Tax or Tribute of Proviſions, which he impoſed upon part of *Italy* (and being then but ſmall, afterwards grew very heavy and burthenſome) upon that part, as appears from *Aurelius Victor*, where he lay moſt commonly with his Army. Now to find out what part of *Italy* this was, we muſt know where he had his uſual Reſidence, which was at *Aquileia*, *Milan* and *Ravenna*, where uſually his Succeſſors, as *Conſtantine* the great, this preſent *Conſtantius*, *Valentinian*, and others afterwards made their ordinary Abode, when they came into theſe Quarters. The Countries adjoyning to theſe Cities carried the Title of *Regiones Annonariæ*, or the Regions of Proviſions, being theſe: *Tuſcia*, *Picenum*, *Flaminia*, *Æmilia*, *Liguria*, *Venetia* and *Hiſtria*; and theſe *Conſtantine* freed from all Extraordinary Services by an Edict publiſhed in their Behalf, in Conſideration of thoſe Supplies of Proviſions with which they were taxed, to the Uſe of his own Houſe. In like manner as *Africk*, becauſe it afforded in theſe Days Proviſions to *Rome*, enjoyed the ſame Immunity. Therefore it is to be obſerved, that the Word *Italy* is taken in four ſeveral Significations. Firſt, for whole *Italy*, wherein *Rome* is alſo included, and the *Suburbicarian* Regions. Secondly, ſometimes *Sicily*, *Sardinia* and *Corſica* come under the Name and Acceptation of *Italy*. In the third Place is to be underſtood by *Italy* what was not taken up by the City, and the *Suburbicarian* Regions, or an hundred Miles about. And in the laſt place, as in this Law, by *Italy* is meant *Italia Annonaria*, or the Provinces lately mentioned. Now the Law is directed to the Order or Body of the *Cæſenates*; moſt probably, becauſe, in their Territory which lay near to *Ravenna*, in the Country called *Flaminia*, there being Abundance of the moſt excellent Wine, that theſe parts afforded; as formerly *Conſtans*, his Brother, ſo now *Conſtantius* himſelf would have his *Italians* (as he calls them) there to buy the Proviſion for his Cellar.

Takes Care for ſupplying the Body of the *Cæſenates.*

L. 43. *de Decurionibus. Dat.* 11. *Cal. Junii Med.*

L. 41. *de Decurionibus.*

26. But by the ſame Conſtitution (now divided in the *Code* into two Laws) he farther gratified this Corporation of *Cæſena*; which being at this time much emptied, by Reaſon that the *Curiales* thereof, under Pretenſe of other Employments and Privileges, withdrew themſelves from the publick Service; he took Order for the calling back of three ſorts of Perſons to their former Duty and Employment. The firſt was of thoſe, who by Letters had obtained *Honorary* Dignities without any Government; as thoſe of *Ex Præſes*, and of the Title of *Perfectiſſimus*; yet ſo as they ſhould enjoy the ſaid Titles and Præeminences, provided they diſcharged the Offices in the Corporation, which about this time he ordered in an Edict concerning this Subject, directed to the Citizens of *Carthage*. The ſecond ſort of Perſons whom he will have drawn back, is thoſe, who pretending to the Dignity of *Senators*, could not ſhew any Letters Patents, granted from the Prince; for there were two ways whereby the Emperours conferred theſe Titular Honours, *viz.* one by Letters obtained for this Purpoſe, and another by word of Mouth. Now ſuch as had obtained the Letters, he would have enjoy

the Immunity from Services in Corporations; though other Emperours would not indulge them that favour, and the Law as to this Particular was various and Ambulatory. The third ſort which he commands to be drawn back to their Employment is, of ſuch as had got themſelves admitted amongſt the *Officiales*, whom he will not have this new Relation to profit, if originally they belonged to the Body of the *Cæſenates*. And yet, if we compare this Law with ſome others he made, this very year, concerning the ſame Subject, we ſhall find, that what he here ſaith of calling back the *Curiales* to their Charges in Corporations, muſt be admitted with this Exception, provided they had not ſerved as *Officiales* the ſpace of five and twenty years, in which Caſe he forbids that they be forced back to ſuch Employments. But as for them that attended on the Emperour in his Court, as theſe termed *Miniſteriales*, who waited at Table, or in the Pantry, *Pages*, the *Silentiarii* and *Decuriones* were to be excuſed, if they had ſerved but fifteen Years. Nay the *Primipilares*, who ſerved in the *Curſus Publicus* were excuſed, if thereon they had attended but ten years. And here it will not be amiſs to obſerve other Privileges at this time granted to the *Officiales* by other Laws, which with theſe now mentioned, and that of the *Agentes in Rebus* ſeem to have made up one and the ſame Conſtitution. The firſt is, that they were permitted to adore the Purple; which Ceremony heretofore we have touched. At firſt this was only granted to the *Officiales* of the higher Dignities, as to thoſe of the *Præfecti Prætorio* (who in this Age were properly called *Cohortales*, though this Name afterward, and that of *Cohortalini* was alſo given to them that belonged to the Governours of Provinces) the *Præfects* of the Cities, thoſe of the *Magiſtri Equitum* and *Peditum*; but here *Conſtantius* limits it to thoſe of them only who had done Service, and been preſent in all Expeditions. This Privilege was alſo given to the *Numerarii* of the *Præfecti Prætorio*, after they had ſerved up their three years; to the *Cornicularii* alſo, as well as the *Principales* of the Office, after their Term was out. Theſe belonged to the higheſt Dignities, or to thoſe ſtyled *Illuſtrious*; and to ſome others alſo it was indulged to adore the Purple once a year; as to the Officials of the *Vicars*, and to other Officers of ſuch Magiſtrates, as bore the Title of *Spectabilis*, as *Proconſuls*, the *Comites Rei Militaris*, the *Præfectus Auguſtalis*; and ſome *Duces*, as thoſe of *Scythia*, *Mæſia Prima*, *Mæſia Secunda*, and *Dacia*. The *Principals* of their Attendants were permitted to Adore, at the going out of their Offices; but ſome did it with thoſe that were of *Proconſular* Dignity, *viz.* they that belonged to the *Proconſul* of *Achaia*, *Comes* of the *Eaſt*, the *Præfectus Auguſtalis*, the *Vicars*, and the *Comes* of the *Ægyptian* Limit. Others only were permitted to do it amongſt the *Protectors*, as thoſe that appertained to the *Duces* of *Scythia*, *Mæſia*, and *Dacia Ripenſis*. But this Honour was utterly denied to the *Officials*, though they were the Principal of thoſe Governours of Provinces, who had but the ſtyle of *Clariſſimi*: which Honour this Privilege accompanied amongſt others, that being admitted once to it, they could not be forced away to any other Employment, as in Corporations.

What Officials were permitted to adore the Purple.

Vide L. L. 4, 5, 6. *de Diverſis Officiis &c.* & *Comment.*

27. But to Proſecute the Acts of *Conſtantius* of another nature. While he employed himſelf at *Milan* in making Laws, and in too ſtrict Inquiſition after Offenders, word was brought how the *Lentienſes*, a People that inhabited ſome Villages upon the Borders of *Germany*, made frequent Incurſions into the *Roman* Pale; and it ſo appearing, War thereupon was denounced againſt them. The Emperour in Perſon undertook the Expedition, and came into *Rhætia*, and the Plains called *Campi Canini*; where a Council of War being held, after a long Conſultation it was Reſolved, that *Arbetio*, the *Magiſter Equitum*, with the Choiceſt part of the Army, ſhould, by the ſide of the Lake called *Lacus Brigantiæ*, through which the *Rhine* paſſed, march away, and fall upon them. *Arbetio* did as his Orders Enjoyned, but the *Almans* having timely Notice of his coming, lay in wait for him, and ſo Diſtreſſed him, that his Men ran away, and moſt of them, by the Darkneſs of the Night, eſcaped, and got back to their Fellows; although a great number of them was loſt, and with them no fewer than ten *Tribunes*. With this Succeſs the *Almans* exceedingly animated, renewed their Excurſions, and made frequent Sallies before it was light, well nigh as far as the *Roman* Camp. The *Scutarii*, provoked by their Inſolence, made ſome Oppoſition, but finding themſelves too weak to withſtand their Violence, did what they could to Animate the whole Army to joyn with them; yet had the Memory of the late Defeat made ſuch an Impreſſion on their Phancies, that only three *Tribunes* went in to their Relief, by name *Arintheus*, *Seniauchus*, and *Bappo*, who taking their Advantages as they could, without any ſet Form of Battel, did ſo great Execution, that they put the Enemy to a ſhameful

War denounced againſt the *Lentienſes*.

Who defeat *Arbetio*.

Yet are they humbled.

Sect. 4.

A. D. 355.

and the Emperour returns to *Milan.*

Flight, and made great Slaughter of them, while one hindred another from getting away; which the reſt of the Army eſpying from the Camp, was then ſo hardy as to give the Chace, and kill thoſe that were Conquered to their hands. This done, and great multitudes left dead upon the place, the Emperour returned Merrily, and as in Triumph, to *Milan*, and there took up his Winter-Quarters.

A. D. 355. *Arbetione & Lolliano Coſs.*

A ſtrange Device againſt *Sylvanus.*

28. There he had not made any long Continuance, when his Jealouſie and Credulity brought upon him ſuch an Inconvenience, as under it he might eaſily have Miſcarried. At this time *Gall* was very much haraſſed by the Inroads of the Neighbouring Barbarous Nations, whom, waſting it at their Pleaſure, with Fire and Sword, *Sylvanus*, then the *Magiſter Peditum*, oppoſed ſo Effectually, as to Reſtrain their Violence, being ſent away upon this Service by *Arbetio*, who, for this year bore the *Conſulſhip* with *Lollianus*; and that by the uſual trick of Emulating Courtiers, who are wont to put their Rivals in favour, upon ſome tickliſh and dangerous Employment. *Dynamius*, that overſaw the Emperour's Carriage-Beaſts, had deſired Commendatory Letters from *Sylvanus*, as his Intimate Acquaintance, which he Simply and Honeſtly, as not imagining the leaſt Inconvenience would follow, Granted under his Hand. Theſe Letters *Dynamius* kept, till he could find an opportunity to do him miſchief; and at length, his Envy being further provok'd, when he ſaw him buſily employ'd againſt the *Barbarians* in *Gall*, he took in the Advice and Aſſiſtance of *Lampadius*, *Præfectus Prætorio*, *Euſebius*, formerly *Comes Rei Privatæ*, who had the Sirname of *Mattiocopa*, and *Ædeſius* the *Ex Magiſter Memoriæ*, then *Præfect*. They raze out all he had written in the Letters, only leaving the Subſcription intire; and in the room thereof, deviſe an Exhortation to his Friends at Court, and others, amongſt whom was one *Fuſcus Albinus*, to Aſſiſt him in his Deſign, which was no leſs than to take the Purple, and Uſurp. This Paper is produced, and *Dynamius* appointed to make Inquiſition after the Treaſon. Such as were named in the Letter, and they could then come by, were taken into Cuſtody, and Officers ſent to Apprehend others that were in the Provinces. This making a great Noiſe, as well at the Court, as elſewhere; *Malarich*, who then Commanded the Souldiers called *Gentiles*, and was appointed to go and fetch *Sylvanus*, Exclamed ſore againſt it; affirming, that thoſe Perſons were Innocent, and merely, by the Tricks and Inventions of their Enemies, Circumvented and brought into Danger. Yet notwithſtanding, at the ſollicitation of *Arbetio*, was *Apodemius* ſent with Orders to him, that he ſhould come up; that *Apodemius*, who was an inveterate Enemy to all Good men, who coming into *Gall*, never ſent him the Orders, nor let him know on what Errand he was ſent; but Aſſociating himſelf with the *Rationalis* of thoſe Parts, began to Vex and Diſturb the Friends and Clients of the *Magiſter Peditum*, as one already Proſcribed, and to be put to Death. While the Arrival of *Sylvanus* was expected, and *Apodemius* thus behaved himſelf in *Gall*, *Dynamius*, to gain Credit to what he had already done, reſolved to add one Cheat to another. He frames another Letter in the Name of *Sylvanus* and *Malarich*, to the *Tribune* of the Fabrick at *Cremona*, whom, as Conſcious to their Plot, it Adviſes to have all things in readineſs, and that ſpeedily. The Man was Exceedingly Diſturbed at what he had read, not knowing what it ſhould mean, nor remembring, that ever he had any Intercourſe with theſe Perſons concerning any Matter of Secreſie or Concernment: therefore he ſent away the Letter to *Malarich*, beſeeching him to tell him plainly what the meaning was; for he was, for his part, ſo Simple and Ignorant, that he could not underſtand it.

A notable Cheat diſcovered.

29. *Malarich* hereat as much concern'd, as one whoſe Safety was brought into ſo great Hazard, bewailed his own Condition, and that of *Sylvanus* his Countryman, and opened it to the *Franks*, of whom a great Company in thoſe Days flouriſhed in the Palace; and now more openly than before inveighed againſt them by whoſe ſubtile Devices they were ſo much endanger'd. The Emperour acquainted therewith, by Advice of thoſe of his *Conſiſtory*, and the Military Officers, gave Order for a ſtrict Inquiry into the Matter; and the ordinary Judges evading the Buſineſs, *Florentius*, who then executed the Place of *Magiſter Officiorum*, more narrowly ſearched into it; and ſeriouſly viewing the Letter pretended to be writ by *Sylvanus*, diſcovered evidently ſome Remains of the Character, wherewith the Commendatory Epiſtle had been written, and a maniſeſt Interpolation. Hereupon the Emperour abrogated the Authority of the *Præfect*, and ſubjected him to Examination; but by the Conſpiracy of many together, whom he had made his Friends, he eſcaped as well as the reſt, and *Dynamius* was honoured with the Dignity of *Corrector* of *Tuſcia*. In the mean time *Sylvanus* being advertiſed by his Friends how his Affairs ſtood, conſidering how induſtrious his Enemy *Arbetio* was

to

A. D. 355.

Sylvanus forced for his own Preſervation to uſurp.

Tunc Dux prudentiſſimus, & Conſtantini Magni fuerat Commilito.

to deſtroy him, and how ticklish and credulous the Humour of the Emperour was wont to be in ſuch Caſes, was very apprehenſive, that he ſhould be condemned Abſent, and Unhear'd; and as one exceedingly perplexed, and not knowing what to do, had ſome thoughts of committing himſelf to the Fidelity of the *Barbarous* Nations; but *Laniogaiſus*, a *Tribune*, telleth him that there was little Doubt, but the *Franks*, from whom he was deſcended, would betray him for a Reward, or elſe kill him; he then after ſome ſecret Conſultations with his Officers, and great Promiſes made them, aſſumed the *Imperial* Habit (taking the Purple which was upon the Engines or Standards, as the Cuſtom of Uſurpers was, till they could provide themſelves of Robes) as thereto forced for his own Preſervation. The News thereof flies faſt to *Milan*, and arrives there in the Evening, bringing ſuch Aſtoniſhment and Fear to *Conſtantius*, that in the ſecond Watch of the Night, all his Councel was ſummoned to the *Conſiſtory*; whither being come, every one's Courage and Tongue failed him; but at length, upon Inquiry, who ſhould be ſent againſt the Uſurper, mention was made, yet coldly, of *Urſicinus*, as a man exceedingly skill'd in Military Affairs, though of late diſgraced. Him they ſent for by the *Magiſter* of *Admiſſions*, to do him the more Honour; and being entred the *Conſiſtory*, the Purple was given him to kiſs; and ſo he who not long before, through the malicious Inſinuations of the Court-Backbiters, was termed the *Whirlpit* of the *Eaſt*, and ſaid, by means of his Sons, to aime at no leſs than the Sovereignty; now was called a moſt prudent Captain, and ſpoken of with ſuch Reſpect; as was due to a Fellow-Souldier of the great *Conſtantine*, as one alone fit to extinguiſh the Rebellion by Honeſt, though cunning and crafty Means. By his Endeavour they concluded, that *Sylvanus* would be brought to Ruin; or elſe he, whom they ſuſpected as Angry ſtill, and revengeful for the Injuries he had receiv'd, would miſcarry in the Attempt. In both or either of theſe things, they thought they could not but be Gainers.

30. Conſultation then being had of haſtening his Journey, he thought it convenient, before his Departure, to clear himſelf of thoſe things formerly laid to his Charge, and began to refell the Accuſations. But the Emperour interrupted him, ſaying; that now it was needleſs, and unſeaſonable, when ſuch danger impended. A Debate was then held about the method wherewith *Sylvanus* ſhould be attacqued. And it was reſolv'd; that, as if *Conſtantius* knew nothing of his aſſuming the Title, Letters ſhould be writ to him to accept of *Urſicinus* for his Succeſſor, and return to Court, with the Dignity and Place he formerly enjoyed. Then was he diſpatched away, and took with him (for he had deſired that he might have that Liberty) ten domeſtick *Protectors*, amongſt whom was *Ammianus Marcellinus* himſelf, who wrote the Hiſtory; and *Verinianus*, his Colleague. They uſed all the Speed they poſſibly could to prevent the Fame of their coming; but notwithſtanding all their Diligence, the News flew before them to *Collein*, where they found a great Multitude, and many Forces met; and therefore they reſolved by all fair Means poſſible to addreſs themſelves, and colour their Deſigns, by the ſpecious Show of Obſequiouſneſs; conſidering alſo how near they were to moſt certain Deſtruction. *Urſicinus* therefore taking this courſe, was kindly receiv'd, and kiſſed his Purple, as the manner was of ſaluting Emperours, for which he was Admitted into Inward Familiarity, to his Table, and into the moſt ſecret Conſultation what was now to be done for their Joynt-Concernments. *Sylvanus* would ever and anon be complaining, with much Indignation, how moſt unworthy Perſons being preferr'd to the *Conſulſhip*, neither he nor *Urſicinus* ſhould be thought worthy of any ſuch Honour, but on the contrary, moſt unhandſomly Treated; the one by Falſe Accuſations and Surmiſes of Treaſon, and the other by being hurried away out of the *Eaſt*, and Expoſed to the Crafts and ſubtil Practices of his Enemies. This Security and Confidence of his, gave good Encouragement to *Urſicinus* and his Companions; but the Army now wanting Pay, began to talk of paſſing the *Cottian Alps*, which Terrified, and forced them to venture upon the Execution of what they came about. They therefore tampered under hand, by fit Inſtruments, with thoſe Companies called *Braccati*, and *Cornuti*; knowing them of an inconſtant Humour, and eaſily to be moved by the Temptations of Gain and Advantage; and ſo throughly wrought with them, that early in the morning they ſet upon thoſe that Guarded the Palace, and having killed them, drew *Sylvanus* out of a Chappel whither he had fled, and cut him in pieces. So periſhed a Captain of no mean Merits, whom the Craft of his Enemies, joyned with the Emperour's Credulity, had forced to this Uſurpation, merely for his own Security; for though he knew he had ſufficiently obliged *Conſtantius*, by delivering over the *Armaturæ* (of which he was *Tribune*) to him before the Battel of *Murſa*, and beſides his

Urſicinus ſent againſt him,

who entraps and procures him to be ſlain.

own Deſerts, could plead the Services of his Father (*Bonitus* by Name, and a *Franck* by Nation) performed to *Conſtantine* in his Wars againſt *Licinius*; yet he aſſured himſelf all theſe would not over-power the Natural Jealouſie and Credulity of the Prince. *Ammianus* relates, that before his Death hapned in *Gall*, the People in the Great Cirque at *Rome*, uncertain upon what ground, or whence moved thereto, cryed out, that *Sylvanus* was overthrown.

Conſtantius makes bad Uſe of the Deliverance.

31. *Sylvanus* thus having Periſhed, *Conſtantius*, as delivered from a Dangerous Rival, thence conceived extraordinary Joy, but made no good Uſe of ſo great a Deliverance: for he grew, as more Confident, ſo more Inſolent and Proud; and, like to *Domitian*, as he hated all that Gallantly Demean'd themſelves, he was ſo far from Commending what was done, that he pick'd a Quarrel about ſome Publick Money, that he pretended *Urſicinus* and his Followers intercepted in *Gall*, and ſent Orders to have a ſtrict inquiry made about it, whereas there was never any ſuch matter. It was in a manner his whole Employment to brag of his own Power and Greatneſs; to which Vanity he was much incited by the egregious Flattery of thoſe about him; and indeed he would not endure any, but ſuch as were endued with that Faculty: for as a Prince is, ſo is his Council and Attendants. Bad Princes are uſually ſerved with ſuch like as themſelves, which pleaſe them beſt; neither are Wiſe Councellors choſen, but by thoſe that have good Underſtanding. It cannot be, but the next thing we hear of *Conſtantius* is, that he is buſily induſtrious to make Inquiſition, and frame Proceſſes againſt thoſe of *Sylvanus* his Party, uſing the Diligence of *Paul*, that Flagitious Accuſer and Incendiary. To begin the work, *Proculus*, the Domeſtick of *Sylvanus*, is put to the Rack; a man lean and ſickly, who not able to endure the Torture, would accuſe, right or wrong, and bring Numbers into Trouble, as all men feared; but it fell out quite contrary. For, being warned in a Dream, as he affirmed, that he ſhould not name any Innocent Perſon, he endured the Pains, almoſt to Death, with wonderful Conſtancy, and without Accuſing, or Mentioning one man; ever affirming, that what *Sylvanus* did was meerly out of Neceſſity, and not Ambition; which he evidently Demonſtrated by this paſſage. That having paid his Army five dayes before he Aſſumed the Imperial Title, he then uſed the Name and Authority of *Conſtantius*, and Exhorted them all to be conſtant in their Fidelity to him; which he would not have done, if he had had then any ſuch Deſign; but certainly have employ'd that Treaſure for his own Advantage. This, as Matter of Fact, there were many that could Atteſt. Yet notwithſtanding was he put to Death, and after him *Pœncenius*, as alſo *Aſclepiodotus*, *Lutto*, and *Mandio*, of the Degree of *Comites*, with many others.

Domeſticks were the Privados of great Officers.

And rages againſt *Sylvanus* his Friends.

Yet makes ſome Juſt and Gratious Laws.

32. This, we muſt believe from our Grave Hiſtorian, was the Humour and Behaviour of *Conſtantius*; although, if from him, and others, we were not aſſured thereof, an Edict made by him about this very time, and Directed to the People, would induce us to think him rather of a contrary Diſpoſition. For herein he Ordains, That no man whatſoever receive any prejudice from Libels, which neither
“ with himſelf, he ſaith, nor with the Judges, have any place; and he gives this
“ Reaſon, He is eſteemed Innocent who wants an Accuſer, though he want not an
“ Enemy. By the Date of this Law it appears, that it was made at *Milan*, and after that he had there taken up his Winter-Quarters. *Gothofred* thinks it made in relation to what paſſed after the Death of *Gallus*, when the Emperours Ears were ſo open to the Inſinuations and Flatteries of his Backbiting Courtiers. But from the late Date it bears of the laſt of *October*, I ſhould rather judge it to have had reſpect to what hapned after the Death of *Sylvanus*; and that when he was wearied, if that was poſſible, with the many Accuſations and Inquiſitions. But as that learned man obſerves, he who was credulous otherwiſe enough, yet thought fit to put a ſtop to ſcandalous Libels; and he gives a very good Reaſon, *viz.* that *he ought to be eſteemed Innocent whom no man*, with a free Intention, or by courſe of Law, *doth accuſe*, but endeavours only to wound by invenom'd and ſecret Darts of Accuſations. This was therefore an Act of Juſtice if duely obſerv'd. And another Edict of Grace he made this ſame year, and dated from the ſame Place, though three Moneths before the other; by which he gives free Liberty to the Provincials of *Africk*, freely to meet in Councils, to deliberate therein, make Decrees or Reſo-
“ lutions, and ſend up their Meſſengers, with their Petitions or Deſires then and
“ there reſolved on, to the Prince. We have already ſpoken of ſuch *Legati* or Meſſengers, as were wont to be ſent up to Court from the Cities, or Corporations: But beſides theſe, there were others employed by the Provinces on ſuch Errands, which were agreed on, or approved in their Provincial Meetings or Aſſemblies. Theſe

Nemo prorſus de famoſis Libellis, qui neque apud me, neque in Judiciis ullum obtinent locum, Calumniam patiatur: nam & Innocens creditur, cui defuit Accuſator, cùm non defuerit Inimicus. Dat. Prid. Kal. Nov. Med. Arbetione & Lolliano Coſs. A. D. 355. Abeſt hæc Lex à Cod. Juſt. Invenitur in Cod. Th. lib. 9. Tit. 34. & L. 6. ejuſd. Tit. de Famoſis Libellis

(b) *L. 1. de Legatis & Decretis &c. Dat. Kal. Aug. Med. Cod. Th. lib. 12. tit. 12. Abeſt hæc Lex à Cod. Juſtin. Vide Gothofredi Comment. & in Paratit.*

Theſe Meetings which were termed *Concilia*, and conſiſted of the *Primates* of Cities, were either ordinary, or extraordinary. The ordinary were held once a year, the extraordinary upon the like Occaſions, called together by the *Præfectus Prætorio.* If any Neceſſity urged, if they were oppreſſed, or any publick Grievance required their Complaint, they ſent it up to the Emperour by their Meſſengers; of old, not without leave firſt obtained from the Magiſtrate of the Province. But it ſeems at this time, there were ſome that ſpake againſt theſe Meſſages, as uſeleſs, ſuch as derogated from their Authority, or fearful they ſhould therein be accuſed, as ſome way or other abuſing their Power. Therefore *Conſtantius*, upon the Complaint of thoſe concerned, gives them, by this Edict directed to *Taurus* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, full Licenſe and Authority to make known their Grievances: forbidding the Magiſtrates to Interpoſe or Hinder them. In like manner as this very ſame year, he alſo encourages Appeals to be made to him, which for fear of the Judges were forborne. In the Law concerning the Aſſemblies, he uſes this Expreſſion: *Let no Dictator hinder the Meetings; let none ſpeak againſt the Councils.* By which word *Dictator* may either be meant Figuratively, ſuch as imperiouſly interpoſed in this Caſe, or properly ſome Magiſtrates of certain Cities, who bore this Title. But to our Hiſtory.

L. 2. de his qui per metum Judicis.

Nullus igitur obſiſtat Cœtibus Dictator, Nemo Conciliis obloquatur.

33. At this time *Leontius* govern'd *Rome* with great Equity and Moderation, and by his extraordinary Courage and Prudence quieted the People, which was falne into Sedition, for want of Wine. But in the mean time *Conſtantius*, at *Milan*, was much diſquieted by continual Reports of the Diſturbances that hapned in *Gall*, where the *Barbarous* Nations waſted the Country without Controle. He was very doubtful what in this Caſe to do; for he himſelf had no mind to ſtir out of *Italy* into any remote parts, and therefore muſt have ſome other, to repreſs the *Barbarians*, who ſhould be furniſhed with ſufficient Authority for ſo great a Command. He thought therefore of promoting *Julian*, the Brother of *Gallus*, to the Dignity of *Cæſar*; and when one difficulty preſſed upon another, communicated his Deſign to thoſe about him; proteſting, that he alone was not able to undergo ſo weighty a Burthen, as that of the Empire. Theſe Flatterers manifeſted a great Deſire to draw him from his Purpoſe; affirming, that nothing was ſo difficult, but his moſt powerful Courage, and Conduct was able to manage it: and they ſuggeſted (perhaps their own Conſciences provoking them) that he ought to beware of the Name of *Cæſar*, putting him in mind of what had hapned in Relation to *Gallus*. So obſtinately they behaved themſelves in the Matter, that they had diverted him, if the Empreſs had not concerned her ſelf: and, whether out of an Averſion to Tedious Expeditions, or her own Native Prudence, fully perſwaded her Husband to purſue his Intentions. *Julian* had lately been ſent for out of *Achaia*, and wore the *Pallium* ſtill, as a Philoſopher, having all this while applied himſelf to Study. But now *Conſtantius*, having called the Army together, mounted the Tribunal, for this purpoſe made higher, and more Conſpicuous than ordinary; and taking him by the hand, Addreſſed himſelf unto the Souldiers. In fair words he told them, That after the Overthrow of ſeveral Tyrants and Uſurpers, that had ſet up for “ themſelves, the *Barbarous* Nations had broken the Peace, and Invaded *Gall*; and “ this begat their Confidence, and encouraged them ſo to do, that he many times was neceſſarily employed in other remote Parts of the Empire. That if they “ would approve thereof (for the *Roman* Emperours were wont ſo far to condeſcend “ in Matters of greateſt Moment, as to make their Souldiers their Councellors) he had found out a way for repreſſing their Inſolence, and preſerving “ the Borders; which was to dignifie with the Title and Authority of *Cæſar*, his “ Couſin *Julian* a young man, as they knew, notable for his Modeſty; and one who “ gave hope, that he would prove induſtrious. As he was going on, the Aſſembly “ interrupted him, telling him, it was the Will of *God*, that ſo it ſhould be. To which he anſwer'd, that in Compliance with his and their Deſires, he would give him the Robe, and therewith put the Purple upon him, and declared him *Cæſar*. Then, with a grave and ſober Countenance, giving him the Title of *Moſt Loving Brother*, he told him, he eſteemed it the greateſt part of his Glory, that he had “ Opportunity to confer this Dignity, in a manner hereditary, to ſo near a Relation. “ That now he was to be Aſſiſtant, and Partaker of his Labours and Perils, “ and he committed to him the Care and Protection of *Gall*; wherein, if there “ ſhould be need of Fighting, he muſt himſelf be preſent in the Front of the Battel; “ by his Example and Advice to encourage the ordinary Souldiers, and make his “ own Eyes the Diſcoverers of the Merits, or Demerits, of his Men. He added, “ That he being himſelf Courageous, was now to undertake the Command of a “ Stout

He has Thoughts of promoting his Couſin *Julian*.

Notwithſtanding the Oppoſition of his Courtiers, he declares him *Cæſar* to the Army.

Stout and Valiant Army. That he ſhould find him ever Loving, and Aſſiſtant “ to him; and he hoped by God's Aſſiſtance, they ſhould Govern the *Roman* “ World with equal Piety and Moderation. What he had ſaid and done, the Souldiers Approved by their uſual Sign, which was, to make a noiſe with their Targets upon their Knees; whereas they were wont, on the contrary, to teſtifie their Anger, or Sorrow, by beating their Shields with their Lances; and few there were but exceedingly Rejoyced; and (as our Author tells us) Admired the Perſon of the New *Cæſar*, as preſaging Wonderful Things to be Atchieved by him. This paſſed at *Milan*, on the ſixth of *November*, in the *Conſulſhip* of *Arbetio* and *Lollianus*, as *Ammianus* expreſly writes.

Julian marries *Helena*, the Siſter of *Conſtantius*, and goes into *Gall.*

34. *Julian*, a few dayes after, received in Marriage *Helena*, the Siſter of *Conſtantius*; and, all things prepared for his Journey, ſet forward for *Gall* on the firſt of *December*, with a ſmall Train, which *Zoſimus* writes to have conſiſted but of three hundred and ſixty Perſons, having been brought on his way by the Emperour, as far as a Place (thought to be *Duriis*) famous for two Pillars Erected betwixt *Laumellum* and *Ticinum*, or *Pavia*. He came to *Taurinum* (or *Trent*) where he firſt received the ſad News of *Collein*, then a Famous City in the Second *Germany*, its being taken and razed by the *Barbarians*; which the Emperour had notice of before, but concealed it, leſt he ſhould be Diſcouraged. With this he was much Diſmayed, as Ominous to him at his firſt Undertaking, and was often heard to Complain, and ſay, that he got no more by his Preferment, than to Periſh with greater Turmoil and Buſineſs. Being arriv'd at *Vienna*, he was received there with great Applauſe by all ſorts of People, who Rejoyced, as upon the Riſing of ſome Lucky Planet, and at the ſight of their Deliverer. And an old blind Woman, asking who it was that made his Entrance, upon Anſwer that it was *Julian*, Replied, and cryed out, that He ſhould Reſtore the Temples of the Gods. Having here entred his firſt Conſulſhip, which the Emperour bore (together with him) now the eighth time, and paſſed over the Winter in Anxious Cares and Conſultations, he received Intelligence, that *Auguſtodunum* was Beſieged by the *Barbarians*; a City of great Antiquity, and Large; but ſo Antient, that with Age the Walls were well nigh Conſumed. To its Succour he moved, and Arrived there on the Twenty fourth of *June*, where he found not the Enemy, who, it ſeems, durſt not abide his Coming; and therefore he Reſolved to purſue him; and for that purpoſe taking only the *Cataphracti*, and *Baliſtarii* along with him, though but a ſlender Guard for his Perſon, Marched with ſpeed to *Autoſidorum*; where having made a ſhort ſtay for Refreſhing himſelf and his Army, he haſted away to the *Tricaſſini*, and there ſo entertain'd thoſe Rovers, who in great multitudes Engaged him, that ſome he Took, more he Kill'd, and the reſt he put to Flight; though far he could not purſue them, by reaſon of the heavy Armour which his Souldiers wore. After this Action he departed to *Rheims*, and ordered the Army to be in a readineſs, and ſtay for him; *Marcellus*, the Succeſſor of *Urſicinus*, then Commanding, though *Urſicinus* himſelf was Ordered alſo to ſtay in thoſe Parts till the end of the Expedition. Thence, after Serious Deliberation, did he march againſt the *Almans*; who, taking the Advantage of a wet and dark Night, fell upon his Rear, through places which they themſelves alone knew; and had cut off two *Legions*, if upon a ſudden noiſe made, the beſt of the Army had not gone in to the Reſcue. Perceiving hence, that there was no proceeding without being endangered every day, by reaſon of their Knowledge of the Countrey, and his own Ignorance; he reſolved to make himſelf Maſter of the Cities upon the Borders, wherein he might lye ſecurely, and thence make Excurſions, as he ſaw convenient.

A.D. 356. *Conſtantio Aug.* 8. & *Juliano Cæſare Coſs.*

Ammian. Marcel. lib. 16.

Puts to flight the *Almans.*

Seizes on Places lying upon the Borders of *Germany.*

35. After a proſperous Fight againſt the *Germans*, who endeavoured to hinder what he had Deſigned; he got poſſeſſion of *Brotomagum*, and thence made for *Collein* (*Agrippina*, our Author calls it;) which had been Razed before his coming into *Gall*, in the Country adjoyning to which, there was no City to be ſeen, nor ſo much as a Caſtle; only at the Place called *Confluents*, where the *Moſelle* and the *Rhine* do meet, there was a Village, by name *Rigodulum*, and one Tower or Fort, near to *Collein*; for it's reported, that to give Diſturbance to *Magnentius*, the Emperour *Conſtantius* procured the *Barbarians* to break into the *Roman* Pale, where they deſtroyed above forty Towns. In *Colein* he abode ſo long, till he had made a Peace with the Kings of the *Francks* (the Fury of whom now Abated;) and received of them a ſtrong Town. With which Proſperous beginnings Encouraged, he Reſolved to take up his Winter-Quarters about *Triers*. Here he found himſelf Involv'd in various Difficulties. The Garriſon-Souldiers had forſaken their Poſts,

Sect. 4.

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and were to be brought back to the Places moſt Expoſed. The Neighbouring Nations had Conſpir'd together againſt the *Romans*; In their Councils they were to be Diſunited, if poſſible, and the Army wanted Proviſions, which in the chiefeſt place was to be conſidered. But, as Cares for the future are wont to be forgotten, when preſent Neceſſities fall upon us; he had Diverſion given him by the Enemy; who, having learned from ſome Fugitives, that thoſe of the Army, called *Scutarii*, were abſent; and that the *Gentiles* were Diſperſed through the Country for convenience of Quarter, laid Siege to *Senonæ*, where he now lay. He himſelf, with his Officers, watched Day and Night upon the Walls, having a great deſire to make a Sally: but his Numbers being too ſcant for ſuch an Attempt, he yet Manfully held it out, till the Beſiegers, being tired, and having no hope to prevail, went their Ways. All this while *Marcellus*, the *Magiſter Equitum*, quartered not far off, neither was he ignorant what Danger *Cæſar* was in; yet never ſtirred to his Relief, notwithſtanding his Duty had been to ſuccour and preſerve the Place, though *Julian* had not been in it. But he thus delivered, applies his Care to the Refreſhment of his men, though the Country, ſo haraſſed with the Wars, afforded little Advantage. However by his Induſtry he procur'd Supplies elſewhere; and as to himſelf, though his Allowance was good from the Emperour, he was contented with the Diet of an ordinary Souldier; and ſo lived as if he had governed himſelf, according to the ſumptuary Laws, or after the Rules preſcribed by the *Rhetræ* of *Lycurgus*, for ſo our Author writes; who further adds, that as *Alexander* of old, ſo he now appointed the very Nights, not only to ſleep and reſt; but to two other Employments, of publick Buſineſs, and his private Studies; yet, he more ſtrenuouſly than the other: for *Alexander* held in his Hand a Silver Ball out of the Bed, under which was ſet a Baſon of Braſs, that when, through Sleep, he let it fall, it might make a Noiſe, and thereby admoniſh him of his Drowzineſs. But *Julian* had no need of any ſuch *Monitor*, waking as often as he pleaſed himſelf, and was wont to riſe at Midnight; not out of any ſoft or ſumptuous Bed, but his mean and ordinary Couch, ſecretly to make his Prayers to *Mercury*, whom he imagined to be, according to his, and our Hiſtorian's Divinity, the more quick and vigorous Senſe of the World, and was wont to excite the Motions of the minds of men. This in ſo great Defects of things, he endeavoured to ſearch out and diſcover; which Diſquiſition, both difficult and ſerious (you muſt know) being finiſhed, he then applied himſelf to the whetting of his Wit. And incredible it is with what and how great Ardour, making Inquiry after the high Knowledge of the greateſt things, and ſeeking out, as it were, Food for his Mind, ſtill climing up to higher Matters in his Diſputations, he ran through all the parts of Philoſophy.

Ammianus the Hiſtorian his extraordinary Commendations of him.

36. Theſe Matters (for we ſhall ſtill follow *Ammianus*) he effectually and fully furniſhed himſelf with, and yet did he not deſpiſe thoſe of lower Concernment. For he was reaſonably well skill'd in Rhetorick and Poetry, as his handſom, though grave Orations and Epiſtles manifeſted; to which was added a manifold Knowledge of *Roman* Hiſtory, as well as that of other Nations, and a ſufficient Readineſs in the *Latin* Tongue. If that therefore be true, which ſeveral Writers relate (thus he proceedeth) of King *Cyrus*, of *Simonides* the *Lyrick* Poet, of *Hippias* the *Elean*, (the moſt Acute of all *Sophiſts*) their having ſo great Memories by Virtue of ſome ſmall Quantities of Potions and Receits which they uſed; it is to be believed, that he now Adult, drank off the whole Barrel of Memory, if any where it could be found. And theſe are the Evidences by Night of his Modeſty and Vertues. As for his handſom and Facetious Speeches, and how he behaved himſelf, either before his Advancement, or in Battles, or with what Magnanimity and Freedom he reformed Matters in the State; they ſhall all (he tells us) in their proper Places be demonſtrated. When he, being a Philoſopher, was, as a Prince, conſtrained to exerciſe and train his Souldiers, he would often make mention of *Plato*; and add, that this was a Pack, or Fardel, fit for an Oxe to bear, and not a Burthen for his Shoulders. The *Agentes in Rebus*, being brought into the *Conſiſtory* to receive their Gold, one of them amongſt the reſt, did not as they were wont, receive it in his Coat, but took it away in both his hands, at the ſight of which he uſed this Expreſſion; The *Agentes in Rebus* are skilful in taking, not in receiving, alluding to that rapacious Humour of theſe Officers, which heretofore we have obſerved. Having condemned a man to Baniſhment, who had raviſhed ſome Virgins; when he heard it was taken ill, that he had not put him to Death, he ſaid; hitherto the Laws may blame Clemency; but it becomes a Prince *of a moſt mild Diſpoſition*, to excell the Laws. As he was on his March, he referred the Complaints of Petitioners

Credendum eſt hunc etiam tum adultum totum Memoriæ Dolium, ſi uſquam reperiri potuit, exhauſiſſe.

Rapere, non accipere ſciunt Agentes in Rebus.

oners to the Governours of the Provinces; and at his return in Perſon Examined each particular, and Mitigated, by his Genuine Mildneſs, the Rigor of the Puniſhments. Not to ſpeak of his Victories, whereby he often overthrew the *Barbarians*, how further he Relieved *Gall*, almoſt utterly ſpent by the Miſery and Poverty under which it Groaned; hence appears, that when he firſt entred that Province, he found an Exaction for every *Caput* *, or *Capitum* (that is, ſuch a quantity of Land) of twenty five *Aurei* by way of Tribute; but at his Departure he had reduced it to Seven, for which the Inhabitants Rejoyced in him, as a Bright, Irradiant Sun riſen upon them, after ſo groſs and palpable Fogs of Darkneſs. And this he conſtantly obſerv'd, till his Death; To grant no Indulgences or Pardons relating to Payments of Tribute, unto any particular men; knowing well, that by ſo doing he ſhould add to the Wealth of thoſe that were Rich, whereas the poorer ſort were at the very beginning compelled to pay all their Dues. But while he thus Exerciſed himſelf in ſuch moderate Methods of Government, (ſaith he) as ought to be imitated by Good Princes; the *Barbarians* renewed and increaſed their Fury, Roving up and down the Country, and like to Starved and Ravenous Beaſts ſeized upon all things that Gratified their Appetite. And ſo went Matters this year in *Gall*, Doubtfully at firſt, but the Concluſion was proſperous, as ſaith *Ammianus*, notwithſtanding he concludes his Narration with a Furious Depopulation of the Province.

The *Almans* again furiouſly Depopulate the Province.

Arbetio ſuſpected at Court.

37. In the mean time *Arbetio* was looked on with Envy and Jealouſie in the Emperour's Court, as having no lower thoughts than Aiming at the Sovereignty; to which the Splendor of his Living did contribute. There was one *Veriſſimus*, of the Degree of *Comes*, who openly ſtuck not to ſay, that having from an ordinary, or Common Souldier, riſen to ſo great Command, he therewith contented not himſelf, but Aſpired after the very Empire. But he was eſpecially Perſecuted by *Dorus*, who had been Phyſician to the *Scutarii* (for every *Legion* and *Schola* had its Phyſitian) and under *Magnentius* Executing the Place of the *Centurio Rerum nitentium*, at *Rome*, had formerly Accuſed *Adelphius*, *Præfect* of the City, as Guilty of the ſame Crime of Uſurpation Deviſed. But now, when the Matter was Inquired into, and an Expectation was raiſed, that the Fact ſhould be proved; both the Perſons, who, as Conſcious, had been committed to Priſon, were Diſcharged; and that by Approbation of the Privy-Councellors, or thoſe of the *Conſiſtory*, as the Report went; *Dorus* vaniſhed, and *Veriſſimus* held his peace, the Curtain of the Play being as it were let fall. Much about the ſame time, *Conſtantius*, being given to underſtand by ſuch as came out of *Gall*, how *Marcellus* had omitted to Relieve *Julian*, put him out of Commiſſion, and confined him to his own Houſe; who thereupon conceiving himſelf highly Injur'd, thought to be Reveng'd upon *Cæſar*, by whiſpering into the Credulous Ears of the Emperour ſuch things as would make him Jealous of him to the utmoſt Extremity. *Julian* was ſufficiently aware hereof, knowing well the Malice of the one, and the Supine Credulity of the other; and therefore, upon the Departure of *Marcellus*, ſent away *Eutherius*, his *Præpoſitus Cubiculi*, to Anſwer to ſuch things as ſhould be Objected againſt him. *Marcellus*, not aware hereof, haſted to *Milan*, and in a great Chaſe and Diſorder (being an Idle Tatler, and almoſt a Mad man) when he was admitted into *Conſiſtory*, Accuſed *Julian*, as a forward Deſigner, and one who was preparing and ſhaping himſelf Wings wherewith to ſoar to an Higher Fortune. He uſing all liberty in Diſcourſe of this Nature; *Eutherius*, upon his Deſire, was admitted, and having leave to ſpeak, Modeſtly and Mildly affirmed, that by Lies and Fictions he had concealed the Truth; told the Story how *Marcellus* having failed him, *Julian*, by his own Induſtry and Valour had removed the *Barbarians* from the Siege; and he offered to engage his Neck, that he would remain a Faithful Servant to him that had been the Author of his Promotion. *Ammianus* ſpends many words in Commendation of this *Eutherius*, and finds none of the *Eunuchs* amongſt the Antients (for an *Eunuch* he was) worthy to be compared to him. Some kind of Reſemblance indeed, but not proportionable, he owns in *Menophilus*, who ſerved *Mithridates*, the Famous King of *Pontus*. This King, having committed to him the Cuſtody of his Daughter, after he was Defeated by *Pompey*, and the Place where the Lady was kept being Beſieged by *Manlius Priſcus*; when *Menophilus* perceived the Garriſon-Souldiers talked of Yielding; he, fearing ſhe ſhould ſuffer Violence or Indignity, killed her firſt, and then ſheathed his bloody Sword in his own Bowels.

Marcellus accuſeth *Julian*.

His objections refelled by *Eutherius*.

38. But ſo *Julian* Evaded the malicious Accuſations of his Adverſary; but others found far greater difficulty to get off. For if any Perſon conſulted any ſuch as were accounted ſkilful (in ſuch profound Myſteries) about the Squeeking of a Rat,

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* *Caput ibi non accipiendum eſt pro Capitis perſonæ Tributo, ſeu Cenſu, ſed pro Jugo vel poſſeſſione; unde Capitatio & Jugatio adeo frequentes in* L. L. *ut mirum ſit Valeſium hic adeo graviter erraſſe, & de Plebeiis tam multa dixiſſe, quaſi Pauperes pro ſe, uxoribus, &* Liberis *Adultis (ſingulis ſcil.) aureos viginti quinque ſolvere potuerint. Vide de hac re Com. Gothof. in* L. 15. *de Annona & Tributis Cod. Th. lib.* 11. *tit.* 1.

Sect. 4.

A. D. 356.

Many Perſons put to Death upon frivolous Pretenſes.

Rat, or the Sight of a Weeſel, or any ſuch like Sign of ill Luck, or took an Inchantment from any old Womam to prevent ſo impending a Miſchief, (which ſaith our Author the Authority of Phyſick doth admit) he was beyond Expectation, Apprehended, Arraigned, Sentenced, and Capitally puniſhed. There was one *Danus*, betwixt whom and his Wiſe a Quarrel hapning, ſhe accuſed him of ſome ſlight Matters, to which *Rufinus*, the Principal of the Apparitors belonging to the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Africk*, and who lived in Adultery with the Woman, perſwaded her to add; that he was guilty of Treaſon, and namely had ſtolen the Purple Covering from off the Sepulchre of *Diocleſian*, and ſome few knowing of it, kept it hid for ſome dangerous Deſign. This Fellow himſelf came to Court, and framed a Story, which would have brought many to certain Deſtruction, if it had not found Honeſt and Reſolute Judges. The matter was committed to be examined and heard, to *Mavortius*, then *Præfectus Prætorio*, a man of the greateſt Conſtancy imaginable; with whom was joyned *Urſulus* the *Comes Largitionum*, a Perſon of commendable Severity. The Crime was aggravated, as ſuited with the Humour of the Times, but by Torture of many Perſons nothing could be diſcovered, and the Judges were very doubtful what to determine; when the mans Wife, urged by her Conſcience, and the Neceſſity wherein her Huſband and others were involved, confeſſed *Rufinus* to be the Contriver of the whole Device, and concealed not how Familiar they had been together. After Mature Deliberation had hereupon, they were both Sentenced, and put to Death. At which *Conſtantius* was very angry, and in a menacing manner ſent Command to *Urſulus* to come up to Court; as having executed him, who had been the Preſerver of his Perſon. He was adviſed, not to commit himſelf to ſo great Hazard; but up he came with great Courage and Reſolution; and being call'd into the *Conſiſtory*, with open Heart and Mouth, both declared all that had paſſed, and therewith ſo daunted his Adverſaries that they held their Peace; and ſo he free'd both himſelf and the *Præfect* from a manifeſt and imminent Danger. Others there were, who were not ſo happy as to evade the ſnares laid for them, but miſcarried, through the great Jealouſie of *Conſtantius*, which his Miniſters fomented out of a greedy Deſire of Wealth, wherewith all ſorts of men at this time were wonderfully inflamed, without any Diſtinction of Right or Wrong, Juſtice, or Injuſtice. Amongſt thoſe of the ordinary Magiſtrates there was *Rufinus*, the firſt *Præfectus Prætorio*; of Military men *Arbetio* the *Magiſter Equitum*, and *Euſebius*, the *Præpoſitus Cubiculi*, beſides the *Quæſtor*; and in the City, the *Anitii*, of whom the Poſterity imitating their Grandfathers could never be contented with an Eſtate far greater.

Some ſaved by the Conſtancy and Courage of the Judges.

39. But we hear too much of *Conſtantius* his jealous and credulous Humour, and the ſad Effects thereof; let us divert our thoughts by a view of what elſe he acted this year, in Reference to Civil Matters; for as to War, he himſelf in Perſon was not now Engaged. Lying ſtill at *Milan*, in the beginning of the year, he took Notice of a great Abuſe committed in the Coin, by melting it down, and ſelling of it, as other Merchandize; through which Practices ſo great Detriment came to the Publick, that by an Edict he forbids them both, upon Pain of Death; and that for this Reaſon, becauſe the End and Deſign of Money is to be the Price of Things, and not like Wares to be bought and ſold. For Prevention hereof, he not only inflicts Capital Puniſhment upon the Offenders, but provides againſt the Crime ſeveral other ways preſcribed in the ſame Law. He appoints Searchers in the Ports, Havens and Highwayes, for Diſcovery of ſuch Money to be Tranſported by any Merchant, Travellor, or Navigator. In the next Place he limits Merchants to a Sum, which they ought not to exceed in their Voyages; *viz.* a thouſand *Folles*, which is not to be underſtood of the leſſer ſort of *Folles* already ſpoken of, but the greater, whereof in the Age of *Conſtantine*, an hundred were of the value of a *Solidus*; ſo that for their Expenſe in their Journeys, he will not allow them above ten *Solidi*. A third way he preſcribes, that the very Merchants Ships of Burthen, at their Return, be ſearched, and that thoſe concerned produce all their Coin, for Diſcovery of any ſuch prohibited Money. To theſe he adds, that if any Money forbidden or not current, be found with any Merchant, both it, and his whole Eſtate beſides ſhall be confiſcated; charging all, that no Merchants, either buy or ſell Money like as other Commodities or Merchandize.

Conſtantius prohibits the Melting and Selling of Coin.

L. 1. Siquis pecunias conflaverit &c. Cod. Th. lib. 9. tit. 22. Accept. 8. Id. Mart. Conſtantinop. Conſtantio Aug. 8. & Juliano Cæſare Coſs. A. D. 356. Abeſt hæc Lex *à Cod. Juſtin.*

40. About the ſame time he ſent a (*a*) Conſtitution, or (as the Word is in the *Latin* of thoſe Times) an Oration to the *Senate*, divided in the *Code* into three ſeveral Laws, concerning *Pretors*, the Nomination of them, and other Matters relating to theſe Officers. It had been a Cuſtom for the Judges in *Rome* to aſſume to themſelves the Nomination

(*a*) L. L. 8, 9, 10. *de Prætoribus. Dat. 3. Id. April. Med. Nominatio diſtinguenda eſt à Deſignatione. Nominatio erat, cùm ad certum* Præturæ *genus quis antea deſignatus Prætor nominabatur. Vide Gothof. Comment.*

Regulates the Election of *Prætors.*

mination of ſome ſorts of *Prætors*, and this was alſo ſometimes practiſed by the *Cenſuales*. But in the firſt place, *Conſtantius* Abrogates all ſuch Cuſtoms, and will “ have theſe Nominations only made by the *Senate*. And, whereas, before the “ time of *Auguſtus*, at the making of a *Senatuſconſultum*, no ſmaller number of Sena- “ tors was to be preſent than Forty, and this being leſſened by that Prince, was “ afterward various, either according to the Humour of the Times, or the Weight “ of the Matter therein Determined; in this Buſineſs of the Nomination of “ *Prætors*, he will have no fewer preſent than Fifty. In the third place (by “ the third Law) he Appoints the Time for this Nomination to be on his own “ Birth-day, or on the *Ides* (the thirteenth) of *Auguſt*, and the dayes following, “ if that alone be not ſufficient; it being a Cuſtom for the Birth-dayes of “ Princes to be Aſſigned to the beginning of other Offices alſo. Next after “ this, he Declares, he will have none to Purchaſe of the Senate by Money or Reward, “ Immunity from the Service and Charge of the *Prætorſhip*, but only ſuch “ obtain that Privilege, whoſe Merits ſhall deſerve that they be taken into the “ number of *Adlecti* by the Emperour himſelf; by which *Adlecti*, we have already “ obſerv'd, that thoſe are to be meant, who, having never diſcharged an “ Office, were, by the Favour of the Prince, or his Letters, Admitted into the “ Dignity and Honour of that Employment. He Declares alſo, that ſuch as by “ their Merits had deſerved to be *Præfecti Prætorio*, or of other Dignity, ſhall enjoy “ this Immunity. And laſtly, he Ordains, that none ſhall Diſcharge the Office of “ *Prætor* by a Subſtitute, *viz.* his Son, Grand-ſon, or any other, but in his own Perſon; “ this being the reaſon, as *Gothofred* concludes, becauſe this Son, or Grand-ſon, if he lived, being a Senator, was to be *Prætor* himſelf; and ſo having Diſcharged the Office both for himſelf, his Father, and Grand-father, his Patrimony might be too much Exhauſted. We ſhall only further obſerve, that this Oration is ſaid to be read in the Senate by *Praxius* the *Proconſul*, on the Ninth day, or Seventh of the *Ides* of *May*, whereas by the Rule of *Auguſtus*, the *Senate* could only be held on the *Calends*, and the *Ides* themſelves.

A. D. 357. *Conſtantio A. 9. & Juliano Cæſare 2 Coſs.*

41. The Year following, into which fell the one and twentieth of his Reign, and the CCCLVII of our Lord, according to vulgar Computation, he himſelf the Ninth, and *Julian Cæſar* the ſecond time bearing the Title of *Conſul*; he continued ſtill at *Milan*, till about the end of *April*. And at this time however his Jealouſie might prevail with him againſt the Lives and Fortunes of Innocent Perſons; yet he publiſhed ſome Edicts, which made well for the Eaſe of his Subjects. It was a thing ſometimes practiſed by the Magiſtrates of this Age, in certain Caſes, to lay extraordinary Taxes or Impoſitions upon the People Subject to their Juriſdictions; and namely, they that carried the Title of *Spectabilis*, as the *Proconſuls* and *Vicars*; but they eſpecially, who in theſe Dayes took too much upon them in other Matters, as that of Appeals. This bringing, both great Damage and Inconvenience to the *Provincials*, and thence as great Scandal to the Government; by two ſeveral Laws he obviates the Practice; whereof the firſt is directed to the People to give them therein Satisfaction, and the other to *Taurus*, the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Italy*, to whom belonged, as the Care and Overſight of *Tributes*, ſo an Inſpection over the Governours of Provinces, and alſo the Levying of Extraordinary Taxes or Impoſitions. By theſe Laws he prohibits any ordinary Judge “ or Magiſtrate of the Dignity of *Spectabilis*, or *Clariſſimus*, to lay any extraordinary “ Charge upon the Subject, under Pain of paying himſelf the Double “ of the Sum, and his *Officium*, or Officers, twice as much as the Double, or fourfold. “ But thinking it not reaſonable to force the ſame Inhibition upon the *Præfecti Prætorio*, “ he makes a Diſtinction betwixt ſudden and urgent Neceſſities, and “ ſuch as were not at hand, but might be foreſeen, and at Diſtance. In the latter “ Caſe, when there was Leiſure enough, the *Præfect* ought to impoſe nothing, “ but at the time to certifie the Prince, that according to the Cuſtom, ſuch Tax “ was to be impoſed; that he might Conſider of his own Occaſions, and Rate the “ Provinces accordingly. But when there was urgent and inexcuſable Neceſſity, ſo “ as the publick Safety would not diſpenſe with Delay, then might the *Præfectus* “ *Prætorio* Impoſe an extraordinary Tax, (not Extraordinary as to the Quantity “ of the Sum is to be meant, but in Oppoſition to the ordinary or Common “ Tributes) and this done, he was therewith to acquaint the Emperour, “ that by his Authority the thing might be confirmed, or receive Alteration before “ the Gathering of it. Other ſucceeding Princes, as we may ſee hereafter, denied this Power to the *Præfects*; the ordinary, and extraordinary Indiction of Tributes, both alike, belonging to the Sovereign Authority. But

L. 7. & 8. de Extraordinariis &c. Cod. Th. lib. 11. Tit. 16. Dat. 4. Non. April. & Dat. Kal. April. Conſtantio A. 9. & Juliano Cæſare 2 Coſs. A. D. 357.

Leſſens the Power of the Governours in raiſing Money.

But here *Conſtantius* Grants it with two Reſtrictions. The one in caſe only of Inſuperable Neceſſity, which admits of no Delay; and the other, ſo as it be Approved and Confirmed by the Prince, who before the full Exaction or Collection might be Certified of the Occaſion, and both of that, and the Sum Impoſed, ſend his Approbation, or Diſlike.

Publiſhes an Edict for regulating the *Curſus Publicus.*

42. Some fifteen dayes after, he Publiſhed another Edict to the ſame *Taurus*, concerning the Management of the *Curſus Publicus*, Determining of what ſort of Men the *Curioſi*, or thoſe that had the Charge of it, ſhould be Choſen; how many in number, and what their Duty ſhould be. Hitherto out of the *Officium*, or Attendance of the *Præfecti Prætorio*, and oftentimes from amongſt thoſe of their *Vicars* Perſons were wont often to be Deputed to this Charge, nay, from amongſt the *Memoriales*, and other *Palatines*. But by this Law “he Forbids this to be Practiſed for the time to come; Commanding that the *Agentes in Rebus* alone be appointed to this Employment. Their number he will have to be two in every Province, which he thinks ſufficient for the Publick Charge of the *Curſus*. As to the Duty of the *Curioſi*; he firſt Requires, that they take Care, leſt any make Uſe of it but ſuch as have Licenſe ſo to do, obtained from the Prince himſelf, or from other Magiſtrates who had Power to Grant it, as the *Magiſter Officiorum*. As alſo, that none exceed the Liberty Granted to them; as if they have only Permiſſion to make Uſe of one Chariot or Carriage, that they have not two, or inſtead of a Leſſer, a greater Waggon. Here, as to the uſual Carriages, mention is made of theſe four ſeveral ſorts, *viz.* of *Rheda*, *Birotum*, *Veredus*, and *Clabula*. That called *Rheda* was drawn by no fewer than Eight or Ten Mules; the *Birotum* with three: *Veredus* was a ſingle Horſe, and the *Clabula* was drawn by four Oxen. He further requires, that ſuch as pretend Licence from the Prince, do produce it, and make it appear to theſe *Curioſi*, of what Condition or Degree ſoever they are; whether *Tribunes*, *Notaries*, or ſuch as bear the Title of *Comites*.

L. 2. de Curioſis Cod. Th. lib. 6. tit. 29. Dat. 15. Cal. Maii Med. L. 2. Cod. Juſtin. hinc interpolata eſt.

The *Perſians* infeſt the Eaſtern Provinces.

43. In the mean time, the *Perſians* Infeſted the *Eaſtern* Provinces; not Fighting, as they were wont, but like Thieves and Robbers, ſnatching away what they could get; in which courſe of Hoſtility they ſometimes Fared well, and other whiles came by the Worſt, and ſhort home. *Muſonianus*, the *Præfectus Prætorio* of the *Eaſt*, being a Man of Good Parts, but, as the Humour of the Times was, Mercenary, and eaſie to be drawn aſide by Money, by certain Cunning Emiſſaries he employed, diſcovered their Deſigns, having taken in to his Aſſiſtance *Caſſianus*, the *Dux* of *Meſopotamia*; one who was Hardy enough, as an old Souldier. Although by their Spies they knew ſufficiently that *Sapor* the King was Employed in a Bloody War againſt ſome Neighbouring Nations; yet did they ſollicit *Tam Sapor*, one who Commanded the Forces which lay neareſt to the Empire, to perſwade his Prince by Letter to make Peace with the Emperour, that being thereby rendred Secure on this ſide, he might with the more Eaſe and Security Grapple with his other Enemies. This he undertook, and ſignified to his Maſter, that *Conſtantius*, being Involved in moſt Difficult Wars, earneſtly begg'd Peace; but in the paſſage of the Meſſengers to the Countries of the *Chionitæ* and *Alani*, where the *Perſians* Wintred, much time was ſpent. While Matters went thus in the *Eaſt*, *Conſtantius* lying ſtill at *Milan*, and having little to do, reſolved to take a Journey to *Rome*; there, as our Author Cenſures him, without any good Pretence, to Triumph over the *Roman* Subjects whom he had kill'd; the firſt that did thus after the Deſtruction of *Magnentius*: as if he had now ſhut the Temple of *Janus*, although neither he in Perſon had Conquer'd any Nation, nor by the Valour of his Captains had Subdued any, nor added New Provinces to the Empire. So far was he from this, that he was never ſeen in the greateſt Dangers, nor to go on with the Forwardeſt; but loving to make a great Show, that the People, who little cared for it, or at all deſired it, might behold his Banners Gliſtering with Gold, and his Guards with Silver. He was pleaſed to be ſeen abroad, not knowing, perhaps, that ſome Princes of old would in times of Peace be content with a few *Lictors*; but when the Caſe required it, venture their Lives with all Alacrity, and refuſe no Dangers, that they might leave the Memory of their glorious Actions behind them. By the Greatneſs and Splendour of his Train, as well as the great Dignity which he enjoyed, he drew the Eyes of all Men upon him, and, as with a Complete Army, purſued his Journey towards the City.

Conſtantius having nothing to do, makes a Journey to *Rome*.

The manner of his Entry.

44. When he came nigh to it, he was met by the *Senate*, and all the People, and ſo great was the Confluence, that he thought all the World was met at *Rome*. In his Golden Chariot he made his Entry, ſhining like the Sun, through the Quantity and Luſtre of its Gems. The Dragons Embroydered upon Purple, fluttered in the Air about him from the ends of their Staves, which Gliſtered with Pearl and pretious Stones; and while they were toſſed in the Wind, by their Length and Wavings, they ſeemed to imitate the True and Living ones, in Hiſſing, and in the Tortuoſity of their Tails. He was Encompaſſed with double Ranks of Armed men, who wore Targets and Helmets, as alſo Corſlets bright and ſhining; and amongſt them rode here and there the *Cataphracti*, (whom the *Perſians* called *Clibanarii*) ſo Fenced about their Bodies and Limbs with Iron, that one would have imagined them to have been Images, poliſhed by the Skilful hand of *Praxiteles*, and not Men; their mour being ſo wrought with Joynts, that what Part ſoever they moved, it gave way. The Emperour now being Saluted on every ſide with lucky Acclamations, and the Noiſe, both of Voices and Inſtruments, ſate as it were Aſtoniſhed, and kept himſelf as Immoveable, as he was wont to do in the Provinces. For as he entred the High Gates, he ſtooped with his very low Body; but kept his Eyes ſtill fixed before him, and as if they were ſet in his Head; looking neither on the one ſide nor the other, neither when the Chariot ſhaked, at all moving; not ſo much as Spitting, wiping his Face, or blowing his Noſe, or in the leaſt ſeen to ſtir an Hand: which poſture of an Image, though he did affect, yet (ſaith our Hiſtorian) this, and ſome other paſſages of his Life, were ſigns of no ſmall Patience; and as one would have thought, to him alone granted. But again, he ſeemed as rigidly Supercilious, on the other ſide, that during his whole Reign, he never took any man up to him in his Chariot, nor uſed other marks of Civility wont to be beſtowed, upon Diſcretion, by other Princes. When he was come to the *Roſtra*, he was amazed at the Sight of the *Forum* (that Demonſtration of the ancient Power of the Inhabitants) and when looking on every ſide, he could behold nothing but Miracles, he ſpake to the Nobility in the *Curia*, or *Senate-Houſe*, and made a Speech to the People from the Tribunal. He was wonderfully delighted with the Place, and was thereby moved to ſo good Humour, that when the *Equeſtrian* Games were celebrated, he was well pleaſed with the uſual Tatling of the Multitude, which carried it ſelf towards him, neither ſawcily, nor yet abating any thing of it's wonted Liberty at ſuch Solemnities; and he accordingly kept his Mean, neither bearing himſelf haughtily, nor deſcending from his grave Deportment. In the view of the City theſe Rarities he moſt admired: the *Temple* of *Jupiter Tarpeius*, excelling, if you believe *Ammianus*, as much other Buildings, as Divine things are wont to ſurpaſs thoſe that are but humane; the *Baths* built in manner of Provinces, he means as large. The *Amphitheatre*, to the Top whereof the Sight of man could hardly reach. The *Pantheon*, famous for it's Arches and Pillars, having the Trophies and Statues of *Conſuls*, and ancient Emperours on the Top; the Temple of the City, the *Forum* of Peace, the *Theatre* of *Pompey*, the *Odeum* or Place of Muſick, the *Stadium* or Courſe, and other Ornaments of this *Eternal City*; the ordinary Epithet our Author gives it, as do the Emperours in their Laws.

He greatly admires the City.

But what in it chiefly.

Urbis Templum primus condidit Hadrianus Anno U. C. 874.

45. But when he came to the *Forum* of *Trajan* (that Structure of all Structures, under Heaven, as we ſuppoſe (ſaith he) and by Aſſent of the Divine Powers, Wonderful) and conſidered the Gigantick Workmanſhip, neither by words to be ſet forth, nor to be imitated by Mortals, he ſtood aſtoniſhed. But ſome Emulation the ſight thereof wrought in him, though he Deſpaired of doing what might equal any thing in it, except the Statue of *Trajan* on Horſeback, which, he ſaid, he both could and would Imitate. To which *Hormiſda*, one of the Blood Royal of *Perſia*, ſtanding by, Replied, that he firſt ſhould do well to Build ſuch a Stable, and then bring a like Horſe into it; who being alſo Demanded what he thought of *Rome*, made Anſwer, That *He was only Pleaſed* (Diſpleaſed *Sigonius* reads it) in this one thing, *that Men died there as well as in other Places*. The Emperour Amazed with what he Daily ſaw, Complained of Fame, for her either Weakneſs, or Malignity, that uſually Enhancing the Repute of other things, was Deficient in what concerned *Rome*; and Deliberating much what to do, he reſolved to add to the Ornaments of the City, and to Erect an *Obeliſk* in the *Great Cirque*. In the mean time, *Euſebia* the Empreſs practiſed too much her skill upon *Helena*, the Siſter of her Husband, and Wife of *Julian*; which Lady, having in ſhew of kindneſs brought along with them to *Rome*, ſhe perſwaded her to take ſomething which made her Miſcarry; for, being Barren her ſelf, ſhe could not endure that She ſhould be a Mother; and therefore, when ſhe had formerly in *Gall* been brought to bed of a Boy, ſhe

Geſtu Gentili, vel Aſtu Gentili, ut Valeſius legere mavult.

Sect. 4.

A.D. 357.

He is called away by the Invaſions of the Northern Nations.

ſhe Bribed the Midwife to Deſtroy him, by cutting off too much of his Navel: ſo great endeavour was uſed to prevent that moſt Valiant man his having any Iſſue, ſaith our Writer. As for *Conſtantius*, he had a great deſire to ſtay ſtill at *Rome*; but was called away by frequent Meſſages; that the *Suevi* had invaded *Rhætia*; the *Quadi*, *Valeria*; and the *Sarmatæ*, a People ſkilful in pilfring above others, had made their Incurſions into the Upper *Mæſia*, and *Pannonia* the Second. He therefore Departed the City, the Twenty ninth of *May*, the Thirtieth day after his coming thither. *Sigonius*, *Baronius*, and others, place this his Journey to *Rome* in the preceding year, *viz.* the CCCLVI of our Lord, and the Twentieth of his Reign, but that it happened in this following, we are induced to believe, from the Dates and Subſcriptions of ſome Laws, which Declare him to have been at *Rome* this year, and at this very time of the year; whereas in Laws of the preceding, of *Rome* there is no mention. There were certain Accomptants, or Clerks, belonging to the Armies, though no Souldiers, yet under Command of the *Magiſtri Militum*; their work being to keep Books of what Proviſions were due, and paid to every Company, and of every man that ſerved in them. Theſe men, to prevent the Auditing of their Accounts, in which they were often found Careleſs or Diſhoneſt, were wont to procure themſelves to be raiſed to Places of Dignity, of which *Conſtantine* the Great taking notice, had prohibited that practice; yet notwithſtanding was it grown again to ſuch a Grievance, that by an Edict “ Directed to *Taurus*, the *Præfectus Prætorio*, *Conſtantius* Reinforces what was Ordained “ by his Father, and Orders him to write to the *Magiſtri Militum*, that the “ Law be put in effectual Execution. This Edict bears Date from *Rome*, on the ſixth of *May*, in the Ninth *Conſulſhip* of *Conſtantius*, and the Second of *Julian*. There is another Edict, Dated alſo at the ſame Place, and directed to *Olybrius*, (rather *Orphitus* ſhould be read) the *Præfect* of this City, in Favour to which the Edict is made, Prohibiting any Perſons to Injure or Moleſt the *Navicularii*, who brought “ thither Proviſions, either in their Coming or Return, under pain of Forfeiting “ Ten Pounds of Gold. Indeed the Date of this Law is on the firſt of *June*, whereas *Ammianus* writes, that *Conſtantius* departed three dayes ſooner; but a Miſtake of three dayes is eaſie; or inſtead of *Dated*, is rather to be read *Received*; they being both uſually ſet to the Conſtitutions of Princes.

Vide Chronic. Hiſtoric. ad A.D.CCCLVII.

Some Laws he made at *Rome*.

L. 5. *de Numerariis. Cod. Theod. lib.* 8. *tit.* 1. *Dat.* Pr*id. Non. Maii. Abeſt à Cod. Juſtin.*

L. 9. *de Naviculariis Cod.* T*h. lib.* 13. *tit.* 5. *Dat. Romæ, Kal. Junii.*

Data pro Accepta.

He comes to *Milan*.

46. *Conſtantius* departing from *Rome*, came to *Milan*, and there made his ſtay till toward the middle of *December*. Here he received Complaints, how the *Agentes in Rebus* abuſed the Favour he had ſhewed largely to them; by which Encouraged, and preſuming, they Committed many outragious Acts, both of Violence, Rapine, and Adultery. For they were under the Diſpoſition, as the *Notitia* of the Empire ſets them, of the *Magiſter Officiorum*, and from his Office, or Attendance, were ſent abroad into the Provinces, as occaſion ſerved. Now *Conſtantius*, forced to it by the many Complaints of the People, by an Edict bearing Date of the Twenty “ fourth of *September* to *Taurus*, the *Præfectus Prætorio* (or at that time Received) “ takes away all benefit they had from ſuch Relation or Dependance, and ſubjects “ them and all other *Palatine* Officers whatſoever, in caſe of any Crime committed, “ to the Juriſdiction of the Ordinary Judges of the Provinces; in like manner, as by “ another Law he Enacts, That the *Curioſi*, whom he Ordered, as we have ſeen, to “ be Choſen out of their Body, be Judged by the *Præfecti Prætorio*. In caſe of “ Violation of Chaſtity, he Commands, that they be puniſhed according to the uſual “ manner. But in caſe of Rapine, or taking away any man's Goods, that they “ Reſtore Double; as he alſo the ſame year, by another Edict, threatens the *Curioſi*, “ with payment of Four-fold the Value of what they unjuſtly took away. We lately mention'd how, in a Law made concerning theſe *Curioſi*, he took care of the *Curſus Publicus*, or Poſtage. But beſides that, by two other Edicts made this very “ year, and Directed to the ſame *Taurus*, the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Italy*, did he “ further provide for the due Management of that Publick Service; which, as “ thence appears, was of extraordinary Concernment at this time, and ſcarcely ſufficed “ to ſerve Publick Ends: of which this might be one reaſon, that there were many *Synods* to which Biſhops poſted up and down in thoſe dayes, (touched at by *Ammianus*) and they had the Uſe thereof Granted them in their Travels: but beſides the Expreſs Charge, that none of what Quality ſoever (the *Præfecti Prætorio*, “ and the *Magiſter Officiorum* excepted) might make Uſe thereof, without “ having produced a Licence (if they did, their Names were to be Certified, either “ to the *Præfect* or the *Magiſter*;) ſeveral other wayes he preſcribes for prevention “ of Abuſes. Leſt the Beaſts ſhould be over-wrought and ſpoiled, he ſettles “ what Weight the three ſorts ſhould carry: as the *Rheda*, not above one thouſand “

Where he reſtrains the Extravagances of the *Agentes in Rebus*.

L. 3. *de Juriſdictione, & ubi quis Conven. Deb. Cod.* Th. *lib.* 2. *tit.* 1. *Data & Accepta* 8. *Kal. Octob. Abeſt hæc* Lex *à Cod. Juſtin. quia* T*emporaria & Hiſtorica eſt. Vide Comment.*

L. L. 8, *&* 9. *de Curſu publico Cod.* T*h. lib.* 8. *tit.* 5.

And further provides for the *Curſus Publicus*.

ſand pound Weight; the *Birotum*, not above two Hundred; and a ſingle Horſe, or *Veredus*, no more than Thirty. He will have the *Rheda*, which had four wheels, in Summer to be drawn by eight, and in Winter by ten Mules; but thinks three ſufficient for the *Birotum*, which from its two wheels had its Name. Then doth he Reſtrain and Limit the Power of the *Præfectus Prætorio*, as to Granting Licenſes, as not to give leave to any to make ſtay upon the Road, and have Allowances or Proviſions, at the Manſions or publick Inns. Which Indulgence the Prince Reſerves to himſelf. That he ſhall not Lightly Grant the Uſe of the *Rheda* and *Birotum*; but as to the *Veredus*, he being a ſingle Horſe, was not of that Importance, and he muſt not Grant any Licenſes at all to the *Agentes in Rebus*, when ſent on a Meſſage into the Provinces; becauſe they were to receive them, either from the *Magiſter Officiorum*, or the Emperour himſelf.

How Matters in the mean time went in *Gall*.

47. While the Emperour Employed himſelf in making of Laws, let us ſee how *Cæſar* behaved himſelf in *Gall*. He was much pleaſed that *Conſtantius* had ſent *Severus* to Command under him in the room of *Marcellus*; a Man of a Facil and Compliant Humour, and of a very good Experience. *Barbatio*, who after the Death of *Sylvanus* was alſo Promoted to be *Magiſter Peditum*, was ſent out of *Italy* with a Supply of Twenty five thouſand men, by doubled Forces, if it were poſſible, to Curb the *Almans*, and Force them up into their Bounds. Yet herewith were they not ſo Terrified, but that paſſing betwixt the two Camps, in their pilfring manner, they Roved as far as *Lugdunum*, or *Lions*, and little miſſed, but that they had Sacked and Burnt it; but being timely ſhut out, and Repulſed, they Waſted the Countrey round about *Julian* having notice hereof, ſent away three ſtrong Parties of Horſe to lye in wait for the *Barbarians* in three ſeveral places, by which he concluded they would return, and his Deſign wanted not good Succeſs; for they were all cut off, and the Booty Recovered, except ſuch as eſcaped, where *Barbatio* had his Poſt Aſſigned him. There *Bainobaudes* and *Valentinian* (who afterward was Emperour) being with their Troops Commanded to keep the Guard, were forbidden by one *Cella*, the *Tribune* of the *Scutarii*, who Accompanied *Barbatio* in the Expedition, to watch and keep ſuch Ways as they had learn'd the *Germans* were to return by. This, as *Cella* afterward confeſſed, was done by order of the *Magiſter Peditum*; but he being a Coward, and Envying the Fame of *Julian*, to Excuſe himſelf, and make the other Suſpected, told another Tale to *Conſtantius*; as if theſe two *Tribunes*, under pretence of Publick Service, came to withdraw from their Obedience the Souldiers he Commanded; upon which Accuſation they were turn'd out of their Places, and ſent home. However, this Defeat, and the noiſe of the Approach of the Armies ſo terrifyed the *Barbarians* that lived on this ſide the *Rhine*, that ſuch ways as were difficult of themſelves to paſs, they endeavoured to make utterly impaſſable, by the cutting down of great Trees: others betook themſelves into the Iſlands, with which that River is beſpread, here and there, reviling and curſing *Cæſar* and the *Romans*. *Cæſar* demanded of *Barbatio* ſeven Boats with which he intended to make Bridges over into theſe Iſlands; but he, having Notice of his Deſign, burnt them all; ſo that being herein fruſtrated, he reſolved to ſend over ſome *Auxiliary Velites*, under Command of *Bainobaudes*, the *Tribune* of the *Cornuti*, at a place, where he underſtood from Priſoners, the River was fordable. Theſe men ſometimes wading, and ſometimes ſwimming by help of their Targets, got into the neareſt Iſland, where they ſlaughtered, like ſo many Sheep, all thoſe they met with, and there getting ſome ſmall Boats, paſſed over to the other Iſle; where having wearied themſelves with killing, they returned laden with Booty, but loſt part of it in the River. The other *Germans* finding in the Iſland but little Security, removed with all they had into places more remote.

Alii de 30000 ſcribunt atque nunc quidem Juliano Cæſari à Conſtantio eſſe conceſſum, ut ſuo Jure ageret, & Exercitus pro Imperio regeret. Nam antea ſub Marcello, nihil niſi Cæſaris Nomen atque Inſignia circumtulerat: idq; precibus Euſebiæ Auguſtæ Exoratum, Conſtantium conceſſiſſe ſcribit Zoſimus lib. 3. *Vide Valeſium in* L.

48. After this *Julian* bent his Study to fortifie the *Three Tabernæ*, a Fort ſo called, which having been lately demoliſhed by the Enemy, was now thought to be of that Conſequence, as to hinder the Irruptions of the *Germans* into *Gall*; and he finiſhed the Work ſooner than could be hoped, and laid in Proviſion for an whole year, which with much Hazard he got out of the Enemies Country. Beſides, he victualled his own Army for twenty Dayes: for of ſuch Corn as had been of Courſe provided, *Barbatio*, as it came that way, took half, and burnt the reſt; either of his own Head, as he was a vain and a ſick-brain'd man, or by private Hints from the Emperour how to behave himſelf toward *Julian*; who, as was whiſpered up and down, was not ſent on Purpoſe to Relieve the Province of *Gall*, but to be expoſed to the Wars, that he might miſcarry, being look'd upon as raw, and unexperienced, and one that would not endure ſo much as the claſhing of Weapons together. But while he buſied himſelf in building this Fort and other Works, the *Barbarians*

Tabernas intelligit quæ ſunt in Alſatia prope Argentoratum & Saliſonem, non verò Tabernas Rhenanas, quæ ad Rhenum ſunt in Nemetibus.

barians ſet upon *Barbatio*, and beating him as far as the *Rauraci*, took the greateſt part of his Baggage, and return'd; which paſt, as if this Summer's Expedition had been very well over, he ſent his Men into their Winter-Quarters, and got to the Emperour's Court, there to do ill Offices to *Cæſar*, as he was ever wont, in *Ammianus* his Opinion. However, ſuch ill Effect his Rout and Departure had, that ſeveral Kings of the *Almans* joyned their Forces together, and ſate down near to *Argentoratum*, verily thinking, that *Cæſar* himſelf had, out of fear, run away, whereas he was ſtill buſied about the Fort but now mentioned. Though they found it otherwiſe, yet being told by a Souldier that ran away to them to eſcape Puniſhment; that he had with him only thirteen thouſand men, they had the Confidence to ſend to him, and in a Menacing, Imperious manner to Command him to be gone, and quit the Country, which he had Invaded: with which Meſſage he was not at all moved, but Laughing at the Inſolence of the *Barbarians*, kept the Meſſengers with him, till he had finiſhed the Work. Yet found he reaſon ſeriouſly to conſider, that he was intangled in no ſmall Difficulties, being Expoſed with a ſmall number of men, though very Valiant, againſt ſo Numerous an Enemy; who had ſome reaſon to be more Confident upon the departure of Vanquiſhed *Barbatio*, and were Animated by *Chnodomarius*, one of their own Kings, much Elevated by his good Succeſs; for he had formerly beaten *Decentius Cæſar*, the Brother of *Magnentius*, though Fighting on equal terms, had Waſted and Deſtroyed many Places, and ranged up and down *Gall* without Controul.

Rauraci, Rauraquois Peuple du Terroir de Bale Galliæ Celticæ.

49. Notwithſtanding, *Julian* thought fit to Engage them now, lying at one and twenty miles diſtance, and this Reſolution was approved by the Principal Officers, and amongſt others, by *Florentius* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, then preſent. By a Speech fitted to the occaſion, he Encouraged his Men, though they were by their own Inclination forward enough, ſo as they cried out to be led on to find out the Enemy. And the Enemy having notice of their March, ſtood ready to receive them in this manner. Having by the Fugitive Souldier underſtood, that the *Roman* Cavalry was placed in the Right Wing, they ſet oppoſite to them the beſt Horſe they had, but with them ſome Foot mixed here and there, with very good reaſon. For they knew very well, that the *Clibanarii* being ſo Armed as they were, the Horſemen holding the Bridle in one hand, could, with the Lance in the other, do little Execution upon men that were Incloſed, and, as it were, hid in Armour, but the Footmen Creeping and Inſinuating themſelves here and there, according to occaſion, could eaſily ſtab the Horſes, who then tumbling down with their Burthens, the Riders kept under by the weight of their Arms, without much ado might be Diſpatched. *Chnodomarius* and *Serapio*, more Famous than any other Kings, Commanded in Chief, being Aſſiſted by five others, and ten more of the Royal Families, beſides a great number of their Nobility, who altogether had brought into the Field thirty five thouſand men of ſeveral Nations, whereof ſome were Hired, and others were Obliged to it by an Offenſive and Defenſive League. When the Battel came on, the Foot began to Mutiny, and cry out, that their Leaders ſhould not fight on Horſeback; for they apprehended, that they purpoſed, if Danger ſhould threaten, to ſhift for themſelves by the Swiftneſs of their Steeds, and leave them as a Prey to the Swords of their Enemies; which *Chnodomarius* no ſooner heard, but he leap'd from off his Horſe, as did all the reſt, not doubting but they ſhould be Victorious. And they Fought very ſtoutly, ſome of them upon their Knees, Labouring to Gall and Diſcourage the *Romans*, who found their Matches in this Fight, now the one ſide, and then the other ſeeming to have the day.

The Battel of *Argentoratum.* or *Strasburgh.*

50. The Right Wing of the *Roman* Army gave ground, and began to run in much Diſorder, till one hindring another in the Flight, Shame ſo wrought upon them, as to make them ſtop their Career: but then again the *Cataphracti* perceiving their Commander to be wounded, and another by the Weight of his Armour fallen from his Horſe, thereat diſcouraged, turned their Backs, and ſhifted for themſelves; which ill Example ſo moved the Foot, that they had run too, if one had not alſo hindred another. *Julian* ſeeing the Horſe thus ſhamefully running away, by all the Rhetorick he had, laboured to ſtop them; and his Language ſo much prevailed with one of the *Tribunes*, who knew him by his Purple Banner, whereon was wrought a Dragon fixed to a longer Spear than ordinary, that he made an Alt, and endeavoured to perſuade his Companions to Rally. In the mean time the *Almans* having Routed the Horſe, were fallen with Violence upon the Foot; but found more Reſiſtance, after they came to Handſtroaks, from the Valour and Experience of the *Cornuti* and *Braccati*: yet was the Fury of the *Germans* ſo

great, that it prevailed againſt the ſedate Cautiouſneſs of the *Roman Legions* ſo far, as that cutting themſelves a Paſſage through their Ranks, they pierced as far as the Body of thoſe called *Primani*, who being the choiceſt *Legion* of all, received them with ſtill more Care and Circumſpection; and taking Advantage at their Raſhneſs, did ſo great Execution upon them, that the Purſuers at length, after a great Slaughter, deſpaired of Succeſs, and were themſelves put to flight. The *Roman* confeſſed the Succeſs was more according to his Wiſh and Deſire, than Expectation; and giving the Chaſe, when his own Weapons were blunted with hacking and killing, ſheathed the Enemy's Sword in the Bowels of the owner. The *Germans*, not able to flie faſt enough for the Heaps of dead Bodies lying in their Way, many of them ventured to take the *Rhine*, which was near to the Place of Fight, and therein were moſt of them, either drown'd or killed by the *Romans*, whom *Cæſar* (with much adoe) reſtrained from entring the River, though the Rapacity thereof threatned them with preſent Deſtruction. *Chnodomarius* endeavouring to paſs the Water, was known by the great Bulk of his Body (as all his Countrymen were ordinarily Large and Tall) and being purſued was forced to yield, together with his Followers, two hundred in number, and three of his moſt intimate Friends. Of the *Germans* were ſix thouſand found dead in the Field, beſides vaſt numbers which periſhed in the River. Of the *Romans* fell but two hundred, and three and forty; and of theſe four Commanders, amongſt whom was *Bainobaudes Tribune* of the *Cornuti*. The Army ſaluted their General with the Title of *Auguſtus*; but he flatly refuſed it, Swearing, that he neither expected, nor deſired that Honour. *Chnodomarius* being brought before him and his Council, humbled himſelf upon the Ground, and beg'd Pardon, which was granted him; and being ſent afterward to the Emperour's Court, he ordered him to be conveyed to *Rome*, where he died at length in the Place called *Caſtra Peregrina*, on Mont *Cælius*. The News of the Succeſs being brought to the Emperour; they about him aſcribed it to his Felicity alone; and he was ſo much puffed up with their Flatteries, as in his publick Edicts to aſcribe this and other Victories to his own Valour, as if he had fought at the Head of his Army. Inſomuch, that when he was in *Italy*, if any of his Captains fought proſperouſly againſt the *Perſians*, by his Laureat Letters ſent into the Provinces, he would pretend to have engaged amongſt the Chiefeſt, making no mention at all of him that had wone the Battel. This prodigious Story *Ammianus* tells of him; though amongſt his Laws now extant, we find no ſuch Edicts; and *Aurelius Victor* attributes the Succeſs of his Officers to his Councils.

Wherein *Julian* beats the *Germans*.

Zoſimus plus æquo Juliani Gloriæ ſtudens (niſi Error in Textum irrepſerit) ſexaginta Millia Alamannorum dicit in Campo conſtrata, totidemque vi Fluminis Conſumpta, quod eſt Falſiſſimum. Valeſius in L. Libanius 30000. *tantum in Exercitu Germanorum eſſe dicit & in his* 8000. *fuiſſe occiſa.*

Ammianus Marcellinus lib. 17.

51. *Julian*, after the Battel, Commanded all the Bodies to be buried; and then ſetting at Liberty the Ambaſſadors of the *Almains*, who had brought that Imperious Meſſage, returned to the *Three Tabernæ*, the Fort he had lately repaired; whence ſending the Priſoners, and all the Booty to the *Mediomatrici*, there to be kept, till his Return; he reſolved to go to *Maguntiacum* (now *Mentz*) and by a Bridge to fall upon the *Germans* in their own Country. Surprized by ſo unexpected a thing, and to divert him, they ſent and beg'd a Peace; but then ſuddenly changing their Minds (upon what Grounds it's not eaſie to ſay) by other Meſſengers they threatned him with War, in Caſe he would not depart out of their Territories. *Cæſar*, to begin firſt, ſent over a Party into their Country, which waſted all with Fire and Sword, and reſolved to repair a Fort, that *Trajan* formerly had called after his own Name; which ſo exceedingly diſcouraged them, that they ſent and again beg'd Peace, and a Truce he granted them for ten Moneths, reſolving in that time to finiſh thoſe Fortifications that he had begun. But returning to his Winter-Quarters, he found other Work cut out for him. For ſix hundred *Franks*, encouraged by his Abſence in *Germany*, and finding none to make any Reſiſtance, had rifled all the Country about *Rheims*; and when they heard of the Return of the Army, ſeized on two Forts which had been diſmantled, and therein fortifyed themſelves as well as they could. *Julian* very much ſtartled at the News, concluded that they were not to be ſuffered to eſcape without Chaſtiſement, and laid Siege to one of the Caſtles, ſtanding upon the *Moſa* (or *Meuſe*) which held out three and fifty Days, almoſt all *December* and *January*; ſo pertinacious and obſtinate were the Defenders. But reſolving to ſtarve them out, leſt by night they ſhould eſcape over the River, that was then Frozen, and bring in Proviſions; he cauſed the Ice to be broken, and Boats all the Day long to ply to and again, on Purpoſe to keep the Water open: with which, and other Courſes, they were ſo diſcouraged, as to yield themſelves; and were by him ſent away to the Emperour. A multitude of their Countrymen were coming to their Relief; but underſtanding how they had Fared, and were diſpoſed of, returned to their own Homes. All Coaſts being now clear, *Julian* went to

He hath the better of the *Franks*, who waſted the Parts about *Rheims*.

He goes to *Paris*.

He goes to *Paris.*

Provides for the Eaſe of the Provinces.

to *Paris*, there to ſpend the remaining part of the Winter, and to Conſult how to Improve the ſmall time of the Truce, to the Eaſe and Refreſhment of the Exhauſted Provinces: and about this Matter hapned a Conteſt betwixt him and *Florentius*, the *Præfectus Prætorio.* For the *Præfect*, whoſe Duty it was to take care of the Tributes, finding ſo much behind of the Sum, would have it made up by greater Burthens laid upon thoſe that were able to pay, after the manner we have already related, how in caſe the Grounds or Eſtates of ſome failed, the Sum was to be Compleated by the Neighbours. But *Julian* oppoſed it, ſaying, he would loſe his Life before he would ſuffer ſuch a thing to be done; knowing well, that this way of Proviſions Ruined the Provinces, and particularly, had brought *Illyricum* into a ſad condition. The *Præfect* exclaming, and urging, that he muſt not betray his Truſt to the Emperour, who had committed to his Management things of this nature; he endeavoured to Pacifie, by gentle words, and caſting up the Accounts, ſhewed him, that the Tribute, as now Collected, would ſuffice, over and above, for the Publick Expence. Notwithſtanding, afterwards, there was offered to him a Bill for an Additional Tax, which he would not ſo much as read, nor ſubſcribe, but caſt it to the Ground. And when the Emperour, by Letters, admoniſhed him not to be ſo *Nice*, nor Detract from the Repute of his Miniſter; he wrote back, that the Provincials paid what was ſufficient, and more could not be got, where it was not to be had. His Conſtancy and Reſolution herein ſo far prevailed, that no greater Burthen than uſual was laid upon *Gall*: and, which thing otherwiſe was not heard of; he prevailed with the *Præfect*, to have the Management himſelf of the Revenue of *Belgica Secunda*, which was grievouſly haraſſed; ſo that no Officer or Apparitor belonging either to *Præfect* or *Preſident*, ſhould meddle with the Collection; which proved a very great Eaſe to the Inhabitants, who paid their ſhares rather ſooner than they became due.

He ſubdues the *Salii Franci*, and the *Chamavi.*

His Army wants Proviſions, and Mutinies.

52. Having ſettled theſe and other Matters, as he thought convenient, he made all proviſion he could to prevent the *Almans*, and be upon them e're they could be united. He had not the Patience to ſtay for the Month of *July*, at what time the *Gallicean* Armies were wont to take the Field; for, being ſupplied with Corn out of *Aquitain*, they could not March till they had the Proviſions with them, which coming, both ſo far, and ſo ſlowly, by reaſon of the Weather, could not be ready before that time. But, as Reaſon and Diligence are wont to Conquer Difficulties, that he might come upon the *Barbarians* unexpected; he reſolved to take with him twenty dayes Proviſion, and went his way; hoping, at this rate, to Finiſh two Expeditions in the ſpace of five or ſix Months. He firſt Attacqued the *Franks*, called *Franci Salii*, who in former time had taken the boldneſs to plant themſelves in *Toxandria* *, (now *Brabant*) within the *Roman* Pale. Being come as far as *Tongres*, their Ambaſſadours met him, deſiring, that living Quietly, and Inoffenſively, they might find ſutable Uſage from him; whom he ſent back rewarded, with a doubtful and perplexed Anſwer, and, as if he intended to ſtay in the ſame Place till their return; but meaning nothing leſs, he was well-nigh with thoſe that ſent them, as ſoon as they; and ſending *Severus* with a Party on before him, fell upon them like a Tempeſt, and by the Surprize forced them to give up themſelves, and all they had into his Hands. After this, the *Chamavi*, who had Deſerved juſt as much as they, he Treated not after the ſame manner, though he uſed the ſame circumſtance of Haſte and Surprize; for they made very ſtout Reſiſtance, and ſome he killed, others he took alive, and caſt them into Bonds, and the reſt he ſuffered to eſcape; and when their Meſſengers, proſtrate on the ground, begged Pardon, he granted it to them. Things thus far ſucceeding according to his wiſh; he thought fit to deferr his further March till ſuch time as he had Reinforced three Caſtles upon the *Meuſe*, that by the *Barbarians* had been then Diſmantled. This Effected with great Celerity, and having ſeventy dayes Proviſion ſtill with him, he thought fit to ſupply thoſe that he left therein, with part of it, in hope to make it up, with advantage, out of the Fields of the *Chamavi*; though it happened otherwiſe. For the Corn was not yet Ripe; and the Army, now wanting what had been left in the Caſtles, when the Countrey afforded no Recruit, began to Mutiny, and to Threaten their General; calling him in deriſion, *Aſianus*, *Græculus*, *Cheat*, and a Coxcomb under the Vizard of Wiſdom. They complained, that they had formerly endured the Snow and Froſts, and now were to be expoſed to Extremities of Famine, which cauſed the moſt Lazy kind of Death of all others. That they only in what they ſaid Pleaded for their Lives, neither for Gold nor Silver, things, they had not the happineſs, either to Handle or See; as if they had undertaken ſo many Labours and Dangers, not for, but againſt the Commonwealth. Neither wanted the Souldier juſt reaſon for theſe Complaints: for though the *Gallican* Army had un-

* *Ita dicta à Toxiandris, ſive Toxandris, quos in Belgica locat Plinius. lib.* 4. *c.* 17. *non longè à Scaldi fluvio. Hoc in loco ſedes fixerant* Salii, *tunc cùm à Saxonibus Patriâ pulſi Bataviam Inſulam, & vicina loca occupaverunt, ut refert Zoſimus lib.* 3. *Valeſ.*

dergone ſo much Toil, and was ſo much Exhauſted, it had never receiv'd a *Donative*[*], nor ſo much as the ordinary Pay. For *Julian*, ſince his Arrival, had not wherewith to do it, and *Conſtantius* would not permit the Money to be raiſed the uſual way; which *Ammianus* interprets to have proceeded, rather from Deſign than Covetouſneſs. For when a Common Souldier, on a time, asked *Julian* ſomething, as the Cuſtom was, to cut his Beard, and he gave him ſome Inconſiderable Matter, he was moſt Contumeliouſly traduced for ſo doing, by *Gaudentius*, then a Notary, who lay a long time in *Gall*, to pry into his Actions, and whom (to be even it ſeems with him) when he came to be Emperour, he Commanded to be put to Death.

He diverts them, by an Invaſion, into *Germany*.

53. But with various Arts, and much ado, he Appeaſed the Tumult; and to Divert them by Action, laid a Bridge of Boats over the *Rhine*, and Invaded the Territories of the *Almans*. In this Expedition, *Severus*, the *Magiſter Equitum*, having formerly had the Reputation of a Valiant and Induſtrious Man, now turned Coward; and he, who was wont to Exhort others to demean themſelves Gallantly, now ſtood in need to be ſpurred on to Action. Yet were the *Almans* ſo Diſcouraged at the Invaſion, that *Suomarius*, one of their Kings, who had formerly been ready enough to Fight againſt the *Romans*; thinking it a great Atchievement, if he could but ſave himſelf, on his bended Knees, came and yielded his Perſon and all he had, to the Diſcretion of *Cæſar*, who granted him Pardon, on this Condition, that he ſhould Releaſe his Priſoners, and, upon occaſion, ſupply ſuch *Romans* as Marched that way, with Proviſions. The Country of another petty King, *Hortarius* by Name, being by their Guides led through difficult and tedious Courſes, out of Anger, they waſted all they could; and when he made what means he might to prevent the Deſtruction of himſelf and Dependants, by Fighting and Taking of Priſoners, being Worſted, he was not only enjoyn'd to ſet at Liberty all the Captives, but to find Materials and Carriages, for Rebuilding thoſe Caſtles which his Countrymen had Deſtroyed. For, to Impoſe finding of Proviſions upon him, as upon *Suomarius*, would have been in vain, his ſmall Territory (*Pagus*, our Author, more properly calls it) being ſo Exhauſted, that nothing of that kind was to be found therein. And in this manner (ſaith *Ammianus*) thoſe vaſtly Swelling Kings (and great reaſon they had to Swell, if we knew of what vaſt Extent their Kingdoms were) who were wont to grow Rich by the Robberies they committed againſt the *Romans* (as little Matter then would make them Rich as Great) were conſtrained to ſubmit their Necks to the *Roman* yoke, and did it as quietly, as if they had been Born and Bred amongſt Tributary Vaſſals. Which things being Atchieved, and the Souldiers diſperſed into their Quarters, *Cæſar* returned to his wonted Place to Winter; having done as great Matters, if the Reader will believe it, againſt theſe Kings of *Collein*, as was performed by the Antient Captains, even againſt the *Carthaginians*, or *Cimbrians*; ſo great is the force of Favour to one, and Prejudice to another, that Poſterity muſt be defrauded of ſincere Relations, even by thoſe that moſt pretend to the Hiſtorical Vertue of Veracity.

Two Kings ſubmit themſelves.

He is envied at Court.

54. But when the Report of theſe things came to Court (for *Cæſar* was bound to give an Account to the Emperour of what paſſed, as much as any Ordinary *Apparitor*) thoſe men that were Learned Profeſſors in the Science of Flattery, turned all, that was both Prudently undertaken, and happily concluded, into Ridicule. They called him *Goat*, becauſe of his long Beard; a *Pratling Mole, an Ape clad in Purple*, the *Greek Schollard*, and other Terms they uſed fully as obliging, thereby endeavouring with impudent Language to transform all his Glorious Actions into Folly and Cowardiſe, before *Conſtantius*; to whom this Noiſe was very pleaſing Muſick. But this was no new thing. The greateſt Glory is moſt expoſed to Envy, which of old time, feigned Crimes, and fixed Diſgrace upon the moſt Illuſtrious Captains. So *Cimon* the Son of *Miltiades* was accuſed of Inceſt; that *Cimon*, who near to *Eurymodon*, the River of *Pamphilia*, cut off an innumerable company of *Perſians*, and compelled that Nation, before Elevated through the Inſolency of their King, to ask Peace in an humble manner. *Scipio Æmilianus* was alſo by his Malevolent Æmulators, taxed with Sloth; even he, by whoſe conſtant Vigilancy, two Cities of the *Carthaginians*, obſtinately bent for the Deſtruction of *Rome*, were themſelves Deſtroyed. Neither did *Pompey* eſcape ſuch Tongues; whoſe Detractors, after much Inquiry, not being able to find any thing Material againſt him, had the confidence to lay two Heavy Crimes to his Charge; whereof the one was, That he had a Cuſtom to ſcratch his Head with one Finger; and the other, that he bound his Leg with a white Garter: the one, they ſaid, was the ſign of Idle Affectation, and the other, that he was greedy of Innovation, though he did it only to hide a Scar received by a Wound. But they Argued, with great Wit, that it matter'd not on what part of his Body he wore the Badge of Royalty (the Fillet or Diadem) laying the height

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[*] *Hæc falſa ſunt, ſi verum eſt quod narrat Sulpitius Severus in Principio. lib.* 1. *de vita B. Martini. Julianus, inquit, Cæſar, coacto in unum Exercitu, Donativum cœpit erogare Militibus apud Vangionum Civitatem, ut eſt conſuetudinis. Singuli Citabantur, donec ad Martinum ventum eſt. Tam rem, quàm locum diſertè nominat. Vide Valeſium.*

of Ambition to the Charge of him, than whom, as is evident from good Authority, none was, either more Couragious or Cautious for the Good of his Countrey. So *Ammianus*.

55. But let us, leaving *Cæſar* a while, ſee how *Conſtantius* all this while behaved himſelf at *Sirmium*; whether he went from *Rome*, as we ſaid before, upon News, that the *Suevi*, *Quadi*, and *Sarmatæ* had Invaded the Empire; and whether he had no other Employment than to receive the ſatisfaction from his Flatterers, of hearing his Couſin *Julian* made Ridiculous. Being arrived in *Illyricum*, he ſent *Severus* to ſucceed *Marcellus*, and ordered *Urſicinus* to come to Court, who, gladly obeying him, haſted to *Sirmium*; where long Conſultation being had concerning a Peace, which *Muſonianus* had reported might eaſily be had from the *Perſians*, he was ſent away into the *Eaſt*, with the Title of *Magiſter*, and took along with him the eldeſt of thoſe called *Domeſtick Protectors*, to Command under him, and ſome of the younger ſort to Execute other Orders, amongſt whom was *Ammianus* the Hiſtorian himſelf; as from his very bad *Latin* we gheſs. But to fetch the *Perſian* Matters whence we left them. That King having received Letters from *Tam Sapor*, importing, that the Emperour being intangled with other Difficulties, deſired to be at Peace with him, as we formerly ſaid, and having now made a League with the *Chionitæ* and *Alani*, his Troubleſome and Warlike Neighbours on that ſide, he conſidered what to Anſwer. He concluded, that the Empire was in a Weak and Tottering Condition, and therefore Reſolv'd to make Uſe of his time, to Accept of a Peace, but upon very extraordinary Conditions. He ſent an Ambaſſadour to *Conſtantius*, one *Narſeus*, with Preſents, and a Letter ſtuffed, both after the Humour of the Man, and of thoſe Eaſtern *Princes*, from the Time of *Arſaces* (which ſtill the *Turk* and others imitate) with ſwelling Titles and lofty words: as, I *Sapor*, King of Kings, Partner of the Stars, Brother of the Sun “ and Moon, wiſh much Health to my Brother *Conſtantius Cæſar*; for by this word “ *Cæſar*, however at this time, whereof we write, the *Romans* by it denoted, in a proper and peculiar ſenſe, the Second Perſon of the Empire, yet Foreign Nations uſually ſo called the Emperour himſelf, and ſo do ſtill at this day, except thoſe, the Body of whoſe Language is *Latin* corrupt, or who have mixed and ſpoiled their own True and Antient Speech with it, as we have done. King nor *Kæſar* is an uſual ſaying, and the *Germans* call their Emperour by that Title. He tells him, he is glad that at length he begins to uſe Conſideration, and to Acknowledge Equity and Juſtice, being ſenſible what great Miſchiefs a greedy Coveting of what belongs to other Men, hath uſually procured. He Appeals to the *Roman* Records, whether his Anceſtors had not been Maſters of all, as far as the River *Strymon*, and the Borders of *Macedonia*: and, foraſmuch as He himſelf (without Arrogance ſure it was ſpoken) Excelled, by a large Series of Vertues, all Antient Kings, and had, from his Infancy, done nothing he found cauſe to Repent of, he could not but Require and Demand what had been Poſſeſſed by his Predeceſſors, and Affirm, that he ought to have Reſtored to him *Armenia* and *Meſopotamia*, of which his * Grand-father had been cheated. In concluſion, he Adviſes him, as a Friend, to Quit ſome part of his Empire, which always was bringing him Trouble and Sorrow, that he might with Quiet and Eaſe Retain the reſt: even as cunning Chirurgeons are wont to cut off ſome corrupt Member, which endangers the whole Body; and as brute Beaſts themſelves, of their own Accord, part with that for which their Lives are purſued. And in caſe he comply not with what he Demands, he profeſſes he will, with all the Power he can, haſte, by Force to obtain it, as ſoon as the Seaſon will permit.

The *Perſian* King ſends a Letter with lofty Titles to *Conſtantius*.

* *Narſeus Saporis Avus à Maximiano Galerio ingenti prœlio victus, A.D. 297, Meſopotamiam, cum quinque Regionibus Tranſtigritanis, reddere Romanis coactus eſt, ut uxorem & Filias captas reciperet. Vide Valeſium in L.*

56. *Conſtantius* thought fit to Anſwer this Braggadocio by Letters thus directed: I *Conſtantius*, always *Auguſtus*, a Conquerour both by Sea and Land, to King *Sapor*, “ my Brother, wiſh much health. Then he tells him, he Congratulates his Proſperity, as a Friend, if ſo he pleaſe; but that he much condemns his Extravagant Ambition. As to what he ſtrangely Mentions concerning *Armenia* and *Meſopotamia*, he bids him receive for Anſwer, that he perceived his *Præfectus Prætorio* had, out of good Intentions, as he thought, by Interpoſition of ſome inconſiderable Perſons, mentioned ſomething about a Peace, without his Knowledge or Approbation; yet was he not againſt it, provided it might be ſuch an one as would be Safe and Honourable; but neither the one or the other he was ſure it would be, after having Defeated all Uſurpers, and Recovered all the *Roman* World to his Obedience, to part with thoſe his Provinces in the *Eaſt*. He Adviſes him to forbear his Threats, or to think to ſcare him with words, who, more out of Moderation than want of Courage, had hitherto rather Defended himſelf, than otherwiſe, as he ſhould do for the time to come; foraſmuch as he well knew, both by Reading and Experience, that the *Romans* were ſeldom worſted in Battels; to be ſure, as to the Main, were never wont to be Loſers in War. Without any good Effect was the *Perſian* Ambaſſadour ſent back; and, after a few dayes, followed

Conſtantius his Anſwer.

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By Meſſengers of his own.

Proſper, a *Comes*, and *Spectatus*; a *Tribune*, and *Notary*, with one *Euſtachius* (at the Suggeſtion of *Muſonianus*) a Philoſopher, and eſteemed an able Artiſt in Perſuaſion, carrying with them this Letter and Preſents to *Sapor*, if poſſible, to preſerve the *Eaſtern* Countries in Quiet. While they were on their Journey, the *Juthungi*, a *German* People, broke the League and Peace, which, by much Intreaty they themſelves had procured; and waſting *Rhætia*, laid Siege to ſeveral Towns; but were ſo handled by *Barbatio*, lately promoted to be *Magiſter Peditum*, in Place of *Sylvanus*, that few of them eſcaped home; which hapned, as *Ammianus* will have us believe, not by any Care, or Valour of the General, who was a Coward in all things, except his Tongue, but through the Alacrity of the Souldier. At the ſame time moſt dreadful Earthquakes diſtreſſed *Macedonia*, *Aſia* and *Pontus*, which not only overthrew many Towns, but levell'd Mountains; and killed, and Maimed great Numbers of miſerable People.

Conſtantius Erects an Obeliſk at *Rome*.

57. *Conſtantius* now, who by various Laws, and otherwiſe, took Care of the State of the City of *Rome*; to increaſe it's Ornaments, cauſed an Obeliſk to be conveyed out of *Ægypt*, from *Thebes*, where had been plenty of them, and erected in the great Cirque. Wintring at *Sirmium*, he was perpetually vexed with freſh Alarms of the *Sarmatæ* and *Quadi*; who very much agreeing, both in their Cuſtoms and way of Fighting, infeſted both *Pannonia's* and *Mæſia*. Being accuſtomed rather to Robberies, than open War, they uſed Lances longer than thoſe of the ordinary Siſe; wore Corſlets made of poliſhed Horn, placed upon Linnen, as if it had been Feathers, and rode upon Geldings, as thoſe that would be quiet, though with Mares, and as tame in all other Reſpects, as one would deſire; withal ſo ſwift, and diſciplined, that they would fetch off ſometimes one, and ſometimes two, or more Priſoners, if they had careful Riders. At the Vernal Æquinoctial *Conſtantius* prepared to be in the Field; but, in the mean while, ſpent ſome time in Conſideration of Civil Affairs, as well as for things relating to his Arms. One Miſcarriage he took Notice of in the Province of *Africk*, which redounded to the Burthen of the Subject. The Reader cannot but remember, how we have formerly told him, that there were Proviſions for the Army, called *Species Annonariæ*, wont to be gathered and laid up by the *Præfectus Prætorio*, or his *Vicar*, in the publick Storehouſes. Now as by theſe great Officers, the Proviſions were raiſed from the People, ſo without their Knowledge and Authority, they could not legally be taken thence; otherwiſe, the Publick Stores might be imbezelled, the Souldiers want when there might be urgent Occaſion, and the People oppreſſed by new Exactions. But the *Comes Rei Militaris* throughout *Africk*, either not knowing his Duty, or preſuming too much upon Impunity, had on his own Head, and without Conſent of the *Vicar* of that Province, made Uſe of the Proviſions there depoſited. Of this, by an Edict, Dated this Winter from *Sirmium*, on the eighteenth of *December*, and directed to *Taurus*, *Præfect* of *Italy*, *Conſtantius* takes particular Notice, and forbids the Practice “ for the time to come; ordaining, That the *Comes* aforeſaid ſhould in ſuch Caſes “ write to the *Vicar*, what Quantity of Proviſions, and for whom it was wanting; “ which done, and the *Vicar* thereof approving; ſo much ſhould be taken out, and “ accordingly employed.

L. 3. de Erogatione Militaris Annonæ, Dat. 15 Kal. Jan. Sirmio; Conſtantio Aug. 9. & Juliano Cæſ. Coſs. A. D. 357. Abeſt à Cod. Juſtin.

By Laws provides for the Authority of the greateſt Magiſtrates.

58. By another Law made at this ſame Place, and as ſeems, in this ſame Moneth, directed as the former, to the ſame *Taurus*, he determines ſomething conſiderable in behalf of his Juriſdiction, as *Præfectus Prætorio* of that Diſtrict. He tells him, That he ſhall hear and determine Appeals made out of *Sardinia*, *Sicily*, *Campania*, *Calabria*, *Brutii* and *Picenum*; as alſo *Æmilia*, *Venetia*, and the reſt. Neither can any “ Confuſion happen betwixt his Juriſdiction herein, and that of the *Præfect* of the “ City, to whom he had given order, not to meddle with, or take Cogniſance of “ the ſaid Appeals. As to the Interpretation of this Law, great Diſpute there hath “ been, whether now firſt of all, the Right of receiving Appeals was granted to the *Præfectus Prætorio*, which formerly had belonged to the *Præfect* of the City, or only by it that Authority and Right, which before he had enjoyed, be ſettled and eſtabliſhed in him. And rather we are to think, that this was given him *de novo*; which formerly did belong to the *Præfect* of the City, an antient Officer, and of great Authority in thoſe Parts. But we muſt not conclude, that all Authority in theſe Provinces was taken away from *him* by this Law, which plainly Hints the contrary, in that it ſaith, No Confuſion ſhould happen, nor Interfering, betwixt “ their Juriſdictions. For other Acts of Authority he might there exerciſe; although the *Præfectus Prætorio* received Appeals. However this Law did not, as to all thoſe Provinces, continue long in force; for that, from ſome of them, namely, *Campania*, it's evident, that the *Præfect* of the City receiv'd Appeals; to whom alſo *Valenti-*

L. 27. de Appellat. & Conſultation. Cod. Th. lib. 11. tit. 30. Abeſt à Cod. Juſtin. velut Hiſtorica & Localis.

Vide Gothofredi Comment.

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nian ordain'd, when many of the Provinces of *Africk* were fallen into the Hands of *Barbarians*, and the Power of former Magiſtrates ceaſed there; that Appeals ſhould lye from all the Judges, of ſuch Parts as continued in Obedience to the Empire. Whereas, beſides the Provinces expreſsly mentioned, this Edict points at others by that Word, *the Reſt*; by theſe are to be underſtood *Lucania*, *Apuleia*, *Flaminia* and *Tuſcia*. Neither are any of them to be thought to have been of the Number of the *Suburbicarian* Provinces, as ſome have thought, which were Included within an hundred Miles Compaſs from the City; and being the proper Diœceſe of the *Præfect* thereof, are conſtantly, in the *Code*, both diſtinguiſhed from theſe, and from *Italy*, taken in a peculiar Senſe. But hence it's rationally conjectured, that the original of theſe *Urbicarian*, or *Suburbicarian* Regions, is to be fetched, as oppoſed to the Regions, or Provinces of *Italy*; whereof the firſt expreſs Mention ſeems to have been made two years after; of which in it's Place.

59. Some few dayes paſſed, we find him Employed in making another Edict, which rather more than any other gains Credit to what *Ammianus Marcellinus* writes, of his great Propenſeneſs to the Confiſcation of Eſtates, and Puniſhing of Offenders; but eſpecially of the Inſatiable Avarice of his Begging Courtiers, which ſeldome is wanting in any Prince his Palace: but theſe Leeches more abounded in his time than any other, and expoſed him to more *Odium* by thoſe Courſes they put him upon, than the double of what was got thereby amounted to. Two years before, being very moderately inclined, by an Edict directed to the People from *Milan*, he rather relaxated the Severity of former Laws, againſt the Children, or Poſterity of ſuch Criminals as were put to Death. For as to the Eſtates of ſuch Perſons, to whom they ſhould fall, the Law was very various in this Point, according to the Diſcretion and Pleaſure of Princes. Before the time of *Conſtantine*, the Eſtates of their Wives and emancipated Children were not at all Diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of ſuch proſcribed, or criminal Perſons, but all were without any Diſtinction Confiſcated; neither was there any Reſpect had to the Iſſue, but all forfeited by Force of the *Cornelian* Law. This that Good Emperour by a New Law did correct, as moſt cruel and unequal; but yet ſuch Proviſion was not made for the Children in general, as *Conſtantius* his Son thought afterwards fit to make. Therefore did he ordain, That the Eſtates of Condemned Perſons ſhould fall to their Parents, or Children, as far as the third Degree; ſo as the Treaſury ſhould not at all intermeddle; but it ſhould be free for any Perſon, with that Limitation, to enter upon them, to whom by the Civil or Prætorian Law they became due of Courſe, except in the Caſes of High Treaſon and Magick; concerning which he leaves the Law in force, as it ſtood before. By Sentence whereof the Eſtates of ſuch as committed theſe Offences were all confiſcated, and at all times, except afterward, when a ſixth part was allowed to their Children, by a Conſtitution of *Theodoſius* the Great. As now by the common Conſent of Princes, ſo by the eſpecial Humour and Inclination of *Conſtantius*, that of Magick is joyned to the other Crime of Treaſon. For, of this he was continually in Fear, and hated it ſo much, that not only by ſeveral Laws he teſtified his Hatred; but as we have already in the Hiſtory of that year obſerved from *Ammianus*; if upon the Squeeking of a Rat, the ſight of a Weeſel, or other Fooleries, any one conſulted the Wizards of thoſe Times; he was apprehended and Sentenced, as a dangerous Perſon; which Jealouſie of his was fomented by ſuch about him, as gaped after the Eſtates of Condemned Perſons.

L. 1. de Bonis Proſcriptorum, Cod. Th. lib. 9. tit. 42.

L. 2. ejuſdem. Tit.

60. And they Gaped not in vain, for he was apt enough to ſtop their Mouths. But whereas ſuch as had begg'd thoſe Eſtates were wont to Conceal, as much as they could, the true Value of them; by another Law made the following year, he preſcribed Rules for Prevention of ſuch Craft; and that he might underſtand what he gave for the time to come, He would have an Inventory made thereof, and ſent to him: for, the ordinary Judge, who paſſed the Sentence of Forfeiture, was thereof to Certifie the *Officials* of the *Procurator* of the *Patrimony*; that they, in the Name of the Emperour, and for the Publick Uſe, might make a Record of all ſuch Goods or Lands. He would not truſt therewith the Officers of the Ordinary Judge, but thoſe of the *Procurator* of the *Patrimony*; which courſe *Valentinian* afterward Altered; Reſolving to Truſt neither the one nor the other ſort; but Ordained, That firſt thoſe of the Ordinary Judge ſhould make an Inventory, and then this Inventory ſhould be Tranſmitted to the *Officiales* of the *Rationalis Rei Privatæ*; to whom a Second Inquiſition was then enjoyned, that ſo all fraud in making Inventories might be prevented, which ordinarily happened in favour of the Parties, whom moſt People are wont to pity. But by both theſe Courſes Com-

A.D. 358. Datiano & Cereale Coſs.

L. 3. ejuſd. Tit. Abeſt & hæc à Cod. Juſtin. Datur Celeſtino Conſulari Bæticæ. Meminit Procuratoris Patrimonii per Hiſpaniam Bæticam, cujus hoc Nomine, nulla alibi mentio oscurrit; etſi in Notitia Imp. poſteà memoretur, ejus loco, Rationalis Rei Privatæ per Hiſpanias.

Command is given, that a Copy be ſent up to the Emperour. By this Second Law he took order, that he might know what he gave away; but by a Third, which gave occaſion to this Diſcourſe, he made way for a greater opportunity of giving, though we ſcarcely call it Charity, which to be ſure muſt proceed from well-gotten Goods. For now, this year, whereof we write, wherein *Datianus* and *Cerealis* were Conſuls, being the CCCLVIII of our *Lord*, and the two and twentieth of his Reign, by another Edict Directed to *Taurus*, of whom we have made often mention, he Repeals that Moderate and Favourable Law, made two years before, “ Commanding the Eſtates of all Perſons Condemned, to be Confiſcated, without “ any Account given why; but that the former Law he had made under a certain Condition, we know not what, except he mean, if his Pleaſure ſtood to have it continue in Force, to which Condition, all other Conſtitutions are obnoxious; For, thoſe that Make, may both Explain and Abrogate. But his Timorous Humour Betrayed him to the Crafty Inſinuations and Flatteries of his Favourites; yet ſcarcely to any further degree of Severity than what was Legal before the dayes of his Father, and Emperours became *Chriſtian*, as we have ſeen.

He makes a ſevere Edict about the Eſtates of Criminals.

L. 4. ejuſd. Tit. Abrogata eſt hæc Lex, etiam poſtea, à Valentiniano. Vide Comment.

He overthrows the *Sarmatæ* and *Quadi*.

61. But the *Vernal Æquinoctial* being paſt, provoked by the Inſolence of the *Sarmatæ* and *Quadi*, he ſet forward from *Sirmium* with a very good Army, and by a Bridge of Boats paſſed the River *Iſter*, at this time much ſwolne by reaſon of a Thaw. The *Barbarians* expected nothing leſs, than that he ſhould be ſo early with them; and being utterly unprepared to receive him, or make any Reſiſtance, by ſhifting for themſelves, as they could, they endeavour'd to ſhun thoſe Miſchiefs that impended; although ſuch as eſcaped, as ordinarily it happens, might have prevented the Deſtruction of their Friends and Relations, and ſaved their Country from being overrun, if they had made Oppoſition, and fought with as much Reſolution and Earneſtneſs, as they ran away. But thus was that part of *Sarmatia* waſted, which lay neareſt to *Pannonia Secunda*, and that Country called *Valeria*, fared no better. But the Inhabitants being moved with Shame and Indignation, to ſee ſo great Havock made of their Country; at laſt laid their Heads together, and the Reſult of their Debates was, that they would ſet upon the *Romans* in no leſs than three ſeveral Bodies, under Pretence of coming to beg Peace, hoping under that Diſguiſe abſolutely to ſurprize them. And for the better effecting of this Device, the *Quadi* aſſiſted their Friends the *Sarmatæ*, but with ſo ill Succeſs, that all were put to Flight, and miſerably ſlaughter'd, if their Heels did not befriend them. After this, it was thought by the Emperour and his Council, as Juſt, as Prudent, to invade the Territories of the *Quadi* themſelves, and that with the Army reinforced; but they being taught from Experience abroad what they were to expect at Home, made timely Applications to *Conſtantius*, and beg'd Peace. Matters being agree'd on, and a Day appointed for Performance of the Conditions; *Zizais*, one of Royal Blood amongſt the *Sarmatæ*, a young man of no ſmall Bulk, perſwaded his Countrymen to enter into the ſame Courſe; and coming to the Emperour, upon ſight of him, caſt away his Arms, and fell proſtrate with his Face upon the Ground, where he lay Speechleſs out of Fear, and moved more Compaſſion, than if he had uſed many Entreaties. After many Sighs, coming by Degrees to himſelf, and being bidden to riſe, when he had got the Uſe of his Tongue, upon his Knees he beg'd Pardon for his Offences, and when raiſed up, gave the Sign to thoſe that followed him, who with Fearful Looks alſo caſt down their Arms, and with their Hands teſtified their Joyning with him; and by whatſoever other Signs they could, they further expreſſed their Deſires; ſo joyful were they at the Hope of Pardon, that to make ſome Satisfaction for their former Offence, they were content to deliver themſelves, their Wives, Children and Territories into the Emperour's Hands. But his Benignity, as *Ammianus* himſelf affirms, prevailed above Equity, and they were bid to be of good Chear, and ſtill to hold their Lands. So, being only Commanded to reſtore thoſe Priſoners they had taken, they returned back with them they purpoſed to have left as Hoſtages, promiſing for the time to come, moſt readily to ſubmit to his Commands.

Divers of the Petty Princes and Captains Submit themſelves, with their People.

62. This Act of Clemency towards *Zizais*, and other *Subreguli* (as our Writer terms them) had ſuch operation upon their Neighbours, that *Arabarius* and *Uſafer* ſpeedily came in; two of the moſt notable Commanders of theſe Nations, whereof the one Governed the *Quadi* beyond the Mountains; and the other part of the *Sarmatians* next adjoyning to them; ſuch Multitudes they brought along with them that the Emperour thought fit, not to admit them all together to his Preſence, leſt under Pretenſe of making a League they ſhould break Peace, fall to their Arms, and offer him Violence; but, parting them aſunder, commanded that ſuch as ſup-

plicated in behalf of the *Quadi*, ſhould firſt approach. They ſtood there with their bended Bodies, like to humble Supplicants, as their manner was; but were not able to make Excuſe for the Outrages they had committed; but apprehenſive of the worſt thing that could befal them; when unexpectedly they were only commanded to deliver up their Hoſtages, which they freely did, having never done ſo much before. After *Arabarius* and his Company, was *Uſaſer* and his Followers admitted to their Submiſſion, at which *Arabarius* cried out, that he ought to have the Benefit of thoſe Terms he had obtained, as his Aſſociate; though an inferiour, and one that was obnoxious to his Commands. But upon Debate of the Matter, it was thought fit to declare the *Sarmatians* exempt from Obedience to others, as ſuch as had been always the Clients of the *Romans*, and they alſo were ordered to deliver up their Hoſtages, which they moſt readily performed. After this flocked vaſt numbers of the *Barbarous* People, and their Kings; perceiving how well *Arabarius* was come off, they alſo obtain'd the Pardon they beg'd, and gave up their Hoſtages, being choſen by Lot, out of the Sons of their choiſeſt Nobility; and with them ſuch Priſoners as they had taken, whom they parted as ſorrowfully with, as their own Relations. But this hapned well for theſe *Sarmatæ*, and brought them into their antient State of Liberty. For, as we have formerly hinted, they had been outed of their Country by their own Slaves, for whom riſen up in Rebellion, finding themſelves too weak, they fled, and betook themſelves to the *Victobuli*, living at ſome Diſtance, and chuſing rather to ſubmit to them, as their Protectors, than become Vaſſals to their own Servants. Now, being received into Favour by the Emperour, they deſired their Liberties might be ſecured, whom pitying, he gave them gentle Words, and ordered they ſhould be Subject to the Commands of none but himſelf, and his Captains. And to gain him more Reputation, he promoted *Zizais* to be their King, a man, both worthy in himſelf, and faithful to the Empire; which done, he diſmiſſed them all, but not till ſuch time as all the Priſoners were returned.

Conſtantius receives into Protection the *Sarmatæ*, that had been Expelled by their own Slaves.

The Remainder of the *Quadi* ſubmit.

63. From theſe Quarters the Army removed to *Bregetio*, there to finiſh the Controverſie with the Remainders of the *Quadi*, that lived in thoſe Parts; the Princes and Magiſtrates of whom, ſeeing ſo great a Force in the Bowels of their own Territories, followed the Example of the reſt, and begging Peace, delivered up their Hoſtages; then drawing out their Swords, which they worſhipped for Deities, thereon they ſwore, that they would continue in Fidelity. There remained yet the *Sarmatæ Limigantes*, or thoſe that had been Slaves to the other, who having committed ſuch Outrageous Villanies, Juſtice, and the publick Utility required that they ſhould be puniſhed. For, imagining their former Condition, and what they had acted to be quite forgotten; now when they had Children alſo grown up, to make good what they had unjuſtly got, they as well as others had entred the *Roman* Pale, in this thing only agreeing with their former Lords, and now Enemies; yet it was reſolved they ſhould be more gently dealt with, than they had deſerv'd, only be removed farther off, that they might not have ſo good Occaſion to Infeſt the Empire, which it was feared they would ſtill do, as doubting of Pardon for what they had formerly committed. They were not ſo inconſiderable but to expect the whole Brunt of the War would be turned upon them, and therefore reſolved they would Treat and Intreat both, but with their Weapons in their Hands. And at firſt they made Show, as if they had been ſtruck with Fear, at the Sight of the Army, and expected nothing but Deſtruction; they beg'd Pardon, promiſed a yearly Tribute, both of Money and Souldiers, to remain the Servants of the Empire; and ſeemed further to be willing to leave the Places they now held, and go further off; for they truſted to the Strength of the Country, out of which they had beaten their Maſters. This Country is watered with the River *Parthiſcus*, which after many Turnings and Windings, poures forth it ſelf into *Iſter*; but before it comes thither, by degrees it haſtens nearer and nearer: and both together they form the Land into a Strait, to the great Security of the Inhabitants. For, on one Hand *Iſter* ſecured them from the *Roman* Coaſts, and on the other, *Parthiſcus* defended them from the Incurſions of other *Barbarians*: The Ground thereto adjoyning being alſo ſo Fenny, and perpetually Wateriſh, what by Reaſon of the Nature of the Soil, and what by the overflowing of the Rivers, that together with an Iſland lying as a Rampart, almoſt in the Mouth of *Parthiſcus*, theſe Obſtacles barred all men of eaſie Acceſs.

64. But to proſecute the Story of our *Limigantes*. Upon the Emperour his Call, who it ſeems, gave too much Credit to their humble Deportment, they came over to the hither Bank of the River, not to receive Commands, but, at length, to ſhow,

that they were not afraid to face his Army; and there they ſtood ſo Surly and Humourſom, as having come on purpoſe to refuſe what ſhould be enjoyn'd them. The Emperour perceiving their Temper, by degrees ſo diſpoſed of his men, as to encompaſs them, and then ſtanding on a Place on purpoſe to be ſeen and heard, waited on by ſome of his Principal Attendants, and his Guards, he gently admoniſhed them to be Quiet. But they fell into Diſorder, not well agreeing amongſt themſelves, and joyning Craft with their Fury, mixed their Deſires of Peace with a ſort of Stratagem; for preparing for an Onſet againſt the Emperour's Men, they caſt their Targets at a great Diſtance from them, as it were in Jeſt, that going to take them up, they might gain ſo much ground. The Day drawing to an End, the Army, with Banners diſplayed, fell upon them; and they uniting themſelves, with grinning Countenances, and menacing words made toward the Emperour, ſtanding ſtill in that Place we mentioned. This the Army not enduring to ſee, put it ſelf into the form of a Wedge, or, as the ordinary Souldiers in thoſe Days termed it, of an Hog's Snout, and then with great Violence removed them; and *Conſtantius* his Guard (or the *Prætorian Cohorts*) as they turned themſelves to Fight, ſo belaboured them on their Backs, that they ſlaughtered them like ſo many Beaſts; but they fell with inſuperable Conſtancy and Reſolution, ſhowing by the horrible Noiſe they made, that they did not ſo much Bemone their own Death, as they were tormented to ſee their Enemies rejoyce therein; and ſome of them lying with their Hams or Legs mangled, and ſo unable to Fly, others having loſt their Hands, and ſome not at all hurt by the Sword, but Bruiſed and Maimed by the Weight of thoſe that fell on them, and ran over them; yet endured their Pains, and concealed them in Silence; not one of them, in all the Torments they endured, asked Pardon, caſt away his Sword, or intreated to be diſpatched; but holding faſt their Arms, though in ſo much Miſery, they eſteemed it a leſſer Crime to be condemned by the Strength of an Enemy, than the Dictates of their own Conſcience; and were now and then heard to mutter, that what hapned to them was by Courſe of Fortune, and not for their own Deſert. Thus in the Space of half an hour paſſed a briſk Conflict, and that there had been a Fight, the Victory alone declared. But ſcarcely was it over, when the Relations of thoſe that were ſlain, of both Sexes, and all Ages, were drawn out of their Huts, and with another ſort of Countenance and Demeanour, beg'd that what was paſt might be forgotten. But the Souldier now Heated, and provoked to Fight, neither ſpared thoſe he found in this Poſture, nor ſuch as eſcaped from the Engagement; but ſetting fire to all before him, either burnt ſuch as fled for Shelter to their Houſes, or if they fled from ſuch weak Refuges, received them on the Points of their Swords, and Lances. Some that eſcaped ventured to take the River, but were either drown'd, for the moſt part, or killed by the Miſſile Weapons of the Purſuers, and now it was reſolved, that this ſort of People ſhould be rooted out.

The ſtrange Pertinacy of the *Sarmatæ Limigantes*, formerly their Slaves.

And the Deſtruction of thoſe called *Amicenſes*.

65. This being effected againſt thoſe they called *Amicenſes*, with all Expedition the Army was ſent againſt the other, which, from the Country they poſſeſſed, had the Name of *Picenſes*, and from the Miſery of their Neighbours, took warning to look to themſelves. It being difficult to find them out, or come at them by ſuch as knew not the Place, the *Taifali* were taken in as Aſſiſtants, and ſo were the *Free Sarmatæ*, their Maſters. That they might be ſure to catch them in one Place, or other, the *Roman* Souldiers choſe to range that part of the Country lying next to *Mœſia*, the *Taifali*, that which bordered upon themſelves; and the *Free Sarmatæ* what was moſt convenient for them, as lying over againſt their Seats. The *Limigantes*, or Slaves, ſeeing their Danger, conſulted whether they ſhould dye, or yield up themſelves, not wanting Arguments on either ſide; but the Opinion of the elder ſort prevailed, that they ſhould ſubmit. Having received then the Publick Faith for their Security, they came down from the Mountains, and flocked with all their Relations to the *Roman* Camp; and there they conſented to remove into other Places, where they might live in Peace and Security, and willingly they ſeemed to accept of theſe Terms, though, as the ſequel proved, they could not forſake their Natural Humour, with the Country; but fell again to their former Fierceneſs, and mad kind of Life. Matters ſo well ſucceeding, the Emperour provided well for the Security of ***Illyricum***, and Reſtored an Injur'd Nation to their former Seats; which done, he ſet over them as King, ***Zizais***, ſuch an one alſo, as they themſelves had made Choice of; hoping, that though they were Fickle enough, yet this would be a Means to oblige them to continue Quiet. The Victorious Army for theſe Atchievments, gave to their Emperour, the ſecond time, the Sirname of *Sarmaticus*, who by a gentle Speech as his manner was, much pleaſed them, and they return-

The other ſort, called *Picenſes*, ſubmit.

Conſtantius returns to *Sirmium.*

turned to their Tents with theſe words in their Mouths, that *Conſtantius could not be overcome.* Had *Julian* been the Man, we ſhould poſſibly have heard more of it from *Ammianus.* But, Matters thus ſettled, *Conſtantius* returned back to *Sirmium* in Triumph, for which he was afterward Jeered by his Couſin *Julian.*

L.L. 44, & 45. *de Decurionibus Datæ Sirmio* 11 *Cal. Jun.* & 10 *Cal. Jul. Abſunt à Cod. Juſtin.*

A.D. 359. *Euſebio* & *Hypatio Coſs.*

Ammianus Hiſt. lib. 18.

How *Julian* behaved himſelf in his Winter-Quarters.

66. And there we find him about the beginning of *June*, by ſeveral Edicts made at that City in this Month. Two of theſe have relation to Corporations; eſpecially thoſe of *Africk*, to the *Vicar* whereof, *Martinianus*, they are Directed. The one Deprives ſuch as had obtain'd in the Emperour's Court, the Honorary Dignity of " *Perfectiſſimus*, or *Comes*, and Orders them to be returned back to their Duties in " ſuch Places; and the ſecond ſo much denies any Privilege from ſuch Services to " Souldiers in the Armies, that the very *Veterani*, or thoſe who had obtained Letters " of Diſmiſſion, it alſo Remands back again. About the latter end of *June*, from *Sirmium* he went to *Murſa*, another Town of *Pannonia*, where he made another Law concerning the ſame Subject, but to be ſpoken of in another place; and thence returned to *Sirmium* in a ſhort time; where, by other Edicts, it appears, that he continued the remaining part of all this year. The next following, being the Twenty third of his Reign, and of our Lord the CCCLIX, into which fell the *Conſulſhip* of two Brothers, *Euſebius* and *Hypatius*; he remained at the ſame place, or thereabout, till near the Month of *June*, where we ſhall leave him for a while, and viſit *Julian* in *Gall*, and ſee how he there Employed himſelf in his Winter-Quarters. And there you may be ſure, that this Perſon, Famous for his continued Succeſſes, (for *Ammianus* and *Zoſimus* cannot ſpeak of him without ſuch Parentheſes and Flouriſhes) though at preſent he was freed from the Burthen of War, yet was no leſs Thoughtful for the Safety and Proſperity of the Provinces, diligently obſerving whether any one was Overcharged in the Publick Taxes; whether Oppreſſed by Great Men; whether any grew Rich by Publick Calamities; or any Judge was Corrupt or Partial. And yet, as to the laſt point, there was the leſs occaſion for him to ſhew his zeal, becauſe he himſelf Heard and Determined Cauſes with all Exactneſs poſſible, in reſpect to Juſtice; whereof, though many Teſtimonies were at hand, yet our Author thinks fit to Mention one Paſſage, by that to make an eſtimate of his other Acts in this very kind. *Numerius*, who a little before had Governed the Province of *Narbon*, was Accuſed of Rapine before him; and he was ſo Severe as to hear all that would object any thing; but he Anſwered, and ſo well Defended himſelf, that nothing would ſtick; at which, one *Delphidius*, a bitter Orator, who was Employed againſt him, thus Applied himſelf to *Julian*; *Who can ever be Guilty, if it be ſufficient to deny?* To whom he Replied prudently *extempore*, *Who can be Innocent, if it be ſufficient to have Accuſed?*

He marcheth.

67. This, and many other things of the like nature he did, but being now to take the Field, and knowing there were ſome of the *Almans*, who, having not yet felt the Smart of the War, would in all probability make him more Work, if they were not alſo Chaſtiſed, He conſidered how he might beſt come upon them on a ſudden. He Diſpatched one *Hariobaudes*, a *Vacant Tribune*, as they called him, a man of Approved Fidelity and Valour, upon a Meſſage, as was pretended, to *Hortarius*, a *German* King, with whom he had Peace; that under that Pretenſe, the Meſſenger might ſtep into the Countrey of thoſe he intended to Invade, which was near at hand; and being well skill'd in their Language, Diſcover their Intentions and Practices in order thereto. While he was about this Work, *Julian*, having Rendevouz'd his Army, marched firſt to ſuch places upon the Borders as had been Demoliſhed in the Wars, to take care for Rebuilding the Towns, and eſpecially Repairing the Publick Granaries, therein to lay up the Corn that he ſent for out of *Britain*; and this was vigorouſly proſecuted, and in good time well Effected; the Store-houſes being both Repaired and Repleniſhed, and theſe ſeven Towns Reinforced, *viz. Caſtra Herculis*, *Quadriburgum*, *Triceſimæ*, *Niveſio*, *Bonna*, *Antennacum*, and *Bingio*. For, the *Barbarians* themſelves, according to the Agreement of the preceding year, though more out of Fear than Love to the Commander, ſent Plenty of Materials; and the Auxiliary Souldiers, who were wont to ſcorn ſuch Employments, were yet ſo won upon, by the obliging carriage of *Cæſar*, that they willingly put their ſhoulders and hands to the Work, both bearing Burthens, and ſerving otherwiſe in the Building. *Hariobaudes* having fully informed himſelf, return'd, and gave an Account how Matters ſtood: whereupon *Julian*, further ſtrengthened ſince his Departure, by the coming of *Florentius*, the *Præfectus Prætorio*, who brought both a good Party of Men with him, and Proviſions enough for a long time; ſet forward, and came to *Moguntiacum*, or *Mentz*, where *Florentius* and *Lupicinus*, the Succeſſor of *Severus*, the one after the other, contended, that there

there he ſhould paſs the River by the Bridge: but *Cæſar* by no means would be brought to it; alleaging, that the Territories of thoſe that were now their Friends, they ought not to enter; leſt the Souldiers, as their Manner is, ſhould commit any Diſorders, and thereby the Peace be broken. And all the *Germans* (or *Almans*) thereabout were ſo concerned at the Approach of the Army, that they came to King *Suomarius*, who had made his Peace before, and in a Menacing manner Commanded him to hinder the *Romans* from paſſing the River, for they were his Territories that lay next to the Bridge, on the *German* ſide.

68. He proteſted, that of himſelf he was not able to do it; whereupon they all gathered together, and in great Multitudes ſtood over againſt *Mentz*, with all their Power to hinder *Cæſar's* Paſſage, whoſe Council now appeared to be very ſeaſonable. As he marched from *Mentz*, they alſo obſerved his Motions near the *Rhine*, and where they perceived he incamped himſelf, there ſate down over againſt him; taking no Reſt, but ſtill obſerving him, leſt he ſhould get over. But when he was come to the Place reſolved on, conſulting with *Lupicinus*, he gave order to certain *Tribunes* to make Choice of three hundred men with Stakes, without acquainting them what they ſhould do, or whether they ſhould go; but being put aboard the forty publick Veſſels, which lay in the *Rhine*, called *Naves Luſoriæ*; they were Commanded, without making the leaſt Noiſe, with Oars to get to the further Bank, and there Land, while the *Germans* ſtill watched the Fires that burnt at the Camp. In the mean time *Hortarius*, both Friend to the *Romans*, and to his Neighbours, without any Deſign, had invited all the Kings and petty Princes to a Feaſt, which according to the manner of the Nation (at this time pretty well inclined that way) they continued till the third Watch of the Night. The *Romans* being Landed, by chance fell upon them, as they departed; but could not Kill, or take any one, they making their Eſcape by the Darkneſs of the Night and the Swiftneſs of their Horſes, but ſlew ſome of their Servants that followed on Foot, whom the want of Light did not Conceal. But upon the Noiſe now that the *Romans* were Landed; they that ſo unanimouſly reſolved to hinder the making of a Bridge, as well Kings as People, all ran away, and endeavoured to remove their Goods and Relations further into the Country, giving the *Roman* Army free Paſſage. Through the Territories of *Hortarius* they paſſed without giving the leaſt Offence: but coming once to touch thoſe of the Kings, that ſtill continued Enemies, they burnt, and kill'd all before them paſſing without Oppoſition through the Countryes. After much Miſchief done in both kinds, they came to a Place called *Capellatium*, or *Palas*, at the Confines of the *Almans* and *Burgundians*, and there incamped, to receive *Macrianus* and *Hariobaudus*, two Kings, and Brothers; who perceiving Deſtruction to draw very near them and theirs; in great Anxiety came to be reconciled, whom followed *Vadomarius*, another King, formerly received as a Friend and Client of the *Roman Empire*. The Matter was debated in a Council of War, and *Macrianus*, with *Hariobaudus*, his Brother, was admitted to make his Peace: but whereas *Vadomarius* came to intercede for *Vrius*, *Vrſicinus* and *Verſalpus*, three of his Neighbour Princes, it was not thought fit at preſent, to ſhew them the ſame Favour; leſt, being according to the Humour of the *Barbarous* Nations, Fickle; after the *Romans* were departed, they ſhould make little Account of what was obtained by the Interceſſion of another. Yet when after their Corn, and Houſes were burnt, and many of their People ſlain; they again ſent, and owned themſelves to be in Fault. Peace was Granted upon Terms; whereof the moſt Important, and preſſing was, that they ſhould reſtore alſo thoſe Captives, which they had taken in their frequent Incurſions.

By a Stratagem Invades *Germany*.

Which conſtrains ſeveral Princes to ſubmit.

69. While the heavenly Providence thus corrected what was amiſs in *Gall*, as our Writer obſerves, new Diſturbances hapned in the Emperour's Court; which from ſmall Beginnings ſo far proceeded, as to end in Sadneſs and Lamentation. There hapned at the Houſe of *Barbatio*, then *Magiſter Peditum*, a Swarm of Bees; at which Prodigie, you muſt know, much concern'd, he ſollicitouſly conſulted ſuch as were skilful in ſo great Myſteries, and had for Anſwer, that it portended ſome great Danger, becauſe that ſort of Creature is driven from it's Habitation, and Wealth it hath heaped together, by Smoak, and the Tinkling of Metals. He went his way to the Field in great Anxiety and Fear; but left behind him his Wife, *Aſſyria* by Name, a Tattling and Imprudent Woman; who taking the Matter in good Senſe for her Huſband, but a bad one for her ſelf, wrote to him a Letter by the hand of her Maid, in a weeping Style; beſeeching him, that after the Death of *Conſtantius* now approaching, when he ſhould be advanced to his Place, (as ſhe hoped) he would not deſpiſe her, and marry *Euſebia*, the Empreſs, for her extraordinary Beauty, wherein ſhe excel-

Barbatio, and his Wiſe put to Death through her Folly.

excelled moſt other Women. The Letter was as Secretly conveyed to him, as could be, but the Maid that wrote it, cunningly kept a Copy; and when all were returned to their Winter-Quarters, ran away with it by Night to *Arbetio*, to whom it was not a little Welcome. He, who was ever greedy of ſuch kind of Work, brought it to the Emperour; and thereupon the Parties were examined, who both confeſſed; he, that he received it, and ſhe, that ſhe wrote it; for which Crimes they were both Beheaded. But the Inquiſition did not here reſt: many, as well Innocent, as Guilty Perſons, being brought into Trouble: amongſt whom was one *Valentine*, that had been a *Primicerius* of the *Præfects*, now a *Tribune*; who being much tortured would not, becauſe truly he could not, confeſs any thing; for he was an abſolute Stranger to the thing, as to which *Conſtantius*, at length ſatisfied, made him amends, by preferring him to the Dignity of a *Dux* in *Illyricum*. As for *Barbatio*, there was ſcarcely any one that pittied him, being a man of a Surly and Arrogant Behaviour, and upon that Account hated by many. Having the Overſight of the *Domeſtick Protectors* under *Gallus Cæſar*, he was to him Falſe and Perfidious; and after his Death, when preferred to ſo eminent Place in the Army, he feigned the like Crimes againſt *Julian*; and to the Regret of all Good men, frequently ſuggeſted to the Emperour, whoſe Ears were open to all ſuch Matters, cruel things, not knowing that wiſe Saying of *Ariſtotle* to his Diſciple, and Kinſman *Calliſthenes*, when he ſent him to *Alexander*, that he ſhould converſe as ſeldome as he could; and when he did it acceptably, with him, who carried the Power of Life and Death on the Tip of his Tongue. To this Story of *Calliſthenes* thus applied, *Ammianus* adds another Obſervation; that not only men, the minds of whom may be believed, to be akin to Heavenly Bodies; but even other Animals, though they want Reaſon, yet are taught by Nature to keep Silence, when their Safety is thereby preſerved; as it appears, ſaith he, by one well known Example. The Geeſe leaving the Eaſtern Parts, becauſe of the Heat, and flying to the *Northern*; when they come to the Mountain *Taurus*, which abounds with Eagles, being in fear of thoſe valiant Birds, they ſtop their Beaks with Stones, on Purpoſe, that the greateſt Neceſſity may not draw from them any Noiſe, which might Diſcover them; but when they are over, and paſt the Mountain, they immediately let them fall again, and ſo ſecurely proſecute their Journey.

L. L. 1, 2. *de Extraordinariis. Cod. Th. ubi ſuprà.*

L. 9. *de Extraordinariis &c. Abeſt hæc Lex à Cod. Juſtin.*

Conſtantius makes a Law about the Exemption of his Lands from extraordinary Services.

70. But, beſides theſe Matters of Jealouſie and Puniſhment, we find *Conſtantius* employed at this time about other Affairs. And firſt, we muſt take Notice of an Edict made now by him, than which ſcarcely any one Law hath given greater Occaſion to learned men of late time, to exerciſe their Critical Wits. *Conſtantine* the Great, had formerly thought fit to exempt his Patrimonial Lands, and thoſe called *Fundi Emphyteutici*, which lay in *Italy*, from extraordinary Services, as well as thoſe that lay in *Africk*, and that they ſhould be only Subject to the ordinary Payments of Tributes, or of the *Species Annonariæ*, and *Cellarienſes*, formerly mentioned. Now by another Edict directed to *Taurus*, the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Italy*, and propoſed at *Rome*, on the ſeventh before the Calends of *March*: *Conſtantius* his Son ordains, That this Privilege, after the Examples of *Africk*, and *Italy*, be alſo extended to “ thoſe kinds of Lands lying in the *Urbicarian* Regions, and in *Sicily*. “ What the Prince his Patrimonial Lands were, the Reader may underſtand, by what we have formerly ſaid of his Patrimony, and the Officers belonging to it, as the *Rationales*, and *Procurators*. As for the *Emphyteutici*, or *Emphyteuticarii*, they were thoſe of them, that were granted out to private Perſons by way of an *Emphyteuſis*; that is, for ſuch to hold them for ever, provided they paid ſo much as was requir'd (*Canon* they termed it) for an Acknowledgement; and they were uſually Barren Lands, which theſe Perſons were to Cultivate and Manure. But this Matter the preſent Nature of our Work allows us not to inquire further into; but to take Notice of ſeral other things very notable in this Law, and proper for our Hiſtory. As firſt, at this time there were theſe four remarkable Provinces in the Diœceſe of the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Italy*, diſtinct, and ſeveral, *viz. Africk*, *Italy*, the *Urbicarian* Provinces and *Sicily*; agreeable to what *Zoſimus* writes, though not with ſuch Diſtinction, concerning the firſt Inſtitution of this *Præfecture* in the Time of *Conſtantine*; although neither doth that Prince appear to have been Author of the four *Præfects*. In the ſecond Place, and eſpecially, are to be taken Notice of, the *Urbicarian* Regions, Separate and Diſtinct, as from *Africk*, ſo from *Italy*, and from *Sicily*. Now the *Urbicarian* Regions were thoſe Countries lying within an hundred Miles of *Rome*; and *Italy*, (when no more is added) ſignifies in the Conſtitutions of Princes, all the remaining Parts of *Italy* lying beyond them. And it is as important (almoſt) to take Notice, that in this Law is the firſt and moſt antient Mention made of theſe

Vide Gothofredum in Legem.

The *urbicarian* Regions, which.

Urbicarian Regions, which occurrs no where before in the time of *Conſtantine*; whereof this may well be taken for a Reaſon, that about this time *Conſtantius* brought up this Diviſion and Diſtinction, for ſettling the ſeveral Juriſdictions of the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Italy*, and the *Præfect* of the City in the Point of Appeal, as was noted a while ago; whereas formerly the *Præfect* of the City received Appeals, or challenged them out of all the Regions of *Italy*. But now *Conſtantius* confined him within his peculiar Diœceſe, and brought up this new Appellation of the *Urbicarian* Regions, as being the Diœceſe of the City it ſelf, whoſe *Præfect* ſhould only within it, by his Order, have this kind of Juriſdiction. And indeed at this time, as *Gothofred* further obſerves, peculiar Governours ſeem to have been given to the *Urbicarian Regions*, or Provinces, as namely to *Tuſcia*, and *Picenum*; though afterward, they became again united with the *Provinciæ Annonariæ*, of which heretofore. This Law was propoſed to view at *Rome*, becauſe it belonged to it's Diœceſe. Further, *Sicily*, *Sardinia* and *Corſica* are mentioned by *Zoſimus*, as in equal Right under the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Italy*. But here *Sicily* is ſeparated from them, as alone enjoying this Immunity, though all three had but one *Rationalis*. And neither is it reckoned here as United to the *Urbicarian Regions*, nor yet to *Italy*, which afterward it was.

71. On the fourteenth of *March* he made another Edict, directed to *Helpidius*, the *Præfectus Prætorio* of the *Eaſt*, relating, as we may eaſily gheſs, to the War now again drawing on againſt the *Perſian* (of which ſhortly;) and Commanding that “ the Souldiers ſhould carry with them Proviſion for twenty dayes March, out of the “ Publick Store-houſes. This Quantity of Victuals for juſt ſo many dayes, we lately obſerved *Julian* to have Ordered his Souldiers to take along with them in their Expedition againſt the *Germans*, and that from *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who calls it *Buccellatum*, which was Bisket, or a kind of Bread, but lighter than the ordinary ſort, and which would keep a longer time. The Souldiers were wont in Expeditions to take this *Expeditionalis Annona*, as the Law calls it, along with them, (yet the old cuſtom was but for ſeventeen dayes) and *Ammianus* ſaith, they carried it on their Backs. But, beſides this Edict, he Directed two others, concerning this ſame Subject, and to the ſame Perſon, *Helpidius*; and therefore we may well conclude, upon the ſame occaſion of the *Perſian* War, which we ſhall here add, though the one was made the year going before this whereof we write, and the other in that which followed it, becauſe it will not be unprofitable to the Reader to know the Uſages of the *Romans* in theſe particulars. The firſt was Dated not three Months before that of which we now ſpeak, and but four dayes before the beginning of the very year; and Commands, That when the Souldier is in Expe-“ dition, he have allowed him two dayes together the *Expeditionalis Annona*, and “ on the third day Bread and Wine. By *Annona*, the ſame with *Buccellatum*, or the Ammunition-Bisket, is meant, to which is to be added Vinegar; for, as the one is oppoſed to their common and ordinary Bread, ſo the other to Wine, which they had uſually in their Quarters, but not ſo in their Marches, becauſe of the convenience of Travel, as is moſt probable, the one ſort being much lighter than the other; but as for Vinegar, it ſeems added for Drink, being mingled with Water, and alſo perhaps to give a grateful Taſte to the Bisket, and make it go down; which kind of Fare, the *Turks* at this day, out of their great Humanity, afford to their poor Gally-Slaves, to whom, when they Row very long, they give every man in his Woodden Bowl, that ſtands by his Chain, ſome Vinegar, wherein to ſop his courſe Bisket, as a great and cheering Dainty. But in ſuch manner did *Conſtantius* order the Fare of the Souldiers by this Law, as gave him no great Encouragement for ſo long and tedious an Expedition; for inſtead of Encouraging, he cut him ſhort of the uſual Allowance, which ſtipend afterward he found reaſon to alter, and by another Edict to preſcribe another courſe of Allowance, thereby Repealing that ſcant and uneaſie Law. In this he tells *Helpidius*, That frequent Cuſtom ſhewed, “ how the Souldiers were wont in the times of Expeditions, to have allowed them, “ both the Bisket (or *Buccellatum*) and Bread, as alſo both Wine and Vinegar; “ and moreover, both Lard and Mutton, all in this Order: For two dayes together the Bisket, on the third day Bread; one day Wine, another day Vinegar; one day Lard, and Mutton for two dayes together. Theſe Laws were Enacted in reference to the *Perſian* Expedition: Now for the War it ſelf.

L. 5. de Erogatione Militaris Annonæ Cod. Th. Lib. 7. Tit. 4. Abeſt à Cod. Juſtin.

Other Edicts in Reference to the *Perſian* War.

L. 4. ejuſd. Tit. Dat. Doridæ. 4. Kal. Jan. Abeſt à Cod. Juſtin.

L. 6. ejuſd. Tit. Dat. 16. Kal. Jun. Hierapoli Conſtantio 10, & Juliano Cæſ. 3. Coſs. A. D. 360. Lex 1. Cod. Juſt. eod. Tit.

72. *Proſper*, *Spectatus* and *Euſtachius* being ſent Ambaſſadors, as formerly was ſaid, to the *Perſian* King, preſented the Emperour's Letters to him, now returned to *Cteſiphon*, and urged him, thereupon to make a Peace; though they kept themſelves ſo cloſe to their Inſtructions, and were ſo careful for the Honour of him that ſent

them,

Sect. 4.

A. D. 359.

The *Perſian* King reſolute to have *Armenia* and *Meſopotamia*.

Euſebius, the *Præpoſitus Cubiculi*, Plots againſt *Urſicinus*.

Domitian his Law.

them, that they offered no unworthy or mean Terms; but required, that he would Engage in no Courſe that ſhould tend to the Diſturbance of *Armenia*, and *Meſopotamia*. But they found *Sapor* ſo obſtinate in that point, that except he might have thoſe Countreys ſurrendred to him, he would yield to nothing: and therefore having long ſtay'd, and preſſed the Matter, but in vain; they returned, and to ſee if they could ſpeed any better in their Errand, two others were ſent in their Room, which were *Lucilianus*, a *Comes*, and *Procopius*, a *Notary*, at this time; but who was afterward by Neceſſity driven upon ſuch High Undertakings, that we ſhall then hear too much of him. Neither were their Endeavours ſo effectual as to prevail upon that Reſolute King; who burning with a vehement Deſire of enlarging his Dominions, made all Preparations he could againſt the Spring; and, as if he deſired to fight againſt *Conſtantius* his Humour, as well as his Perſon and Territories, conſulted Wizards about the Succeſs, and what would after happen, than which nothing was wont more to diſcompoſe and vex the Emperour. What Diſturbance was wrought upon him by hearing of this Practice of *Sapor*, we know not; but his Jealouſie was ſupplied, and fed at that time by other Suggeſtions. For when the News of the *Perſian* Preparations was come to Court, and all were in Suſpenſe and Fear; the Fabrick, called the *Comitenſis Fabrica* (*viz.* they that were Chief in *Comitatu*, or about the Emperour) which always, both Night and Day, as our Hiſtorian breaks the Jeſt, hammered upon the Anvil what *Eunuchs* pleaſed, accuſed *Urſicinus*, the *Magiſter Equitum*, to him; as one, who after the Death of *Sylvanus*, when there was none left to take Care of the *Eaſtern* Provinces, deſigned no leſs than to ſet up for himſelf. This they did to gratifie *Euſebius*, the *Præpoſitus Cubiculi*, the only man with *Conſtantius*, and who plotted the Deſtruction of *Urſicinus*, both becauſe he alone was Independent of him, and needed not his Support, as the reſt did; and alſo becauſe he would not part with his Houſe at *Antioch*, which he moſt earneſtly Coveted. For theſe Reaſons he cauſed the *Cubicularii* (as thoſe that were under his Charge, and by their nearneſs to the Emperour, had full Opportunity to inflame his Jealouſie) to inſtill Suſpitions continually into his Ears againſt that valiant Man. Here *Ammianus* tells us, he cannot but commend *Domitian* himſelf, who, though by a Demeanour ſo unlike to thoſe of his Father and Brother, he blemiſhed his own Memory, and contracted an inexpiable Deteſtation of his Name; yet was Famous for one moſt received Law he made; *Whereby he forbad, that any Boy ſhould be Gelded within the Bounds of the Juriſdiction of Rome*; which if it had not hapned, ſaith he, how could the Swarmes of thoſe Creatures have been endured, the very ſmall number of which cannot be borne.

One *Antoninus* injured by the Great Officers.

Flies to the *Perſian* King.

73. But *Euſebius*, and his Complices were ſo cunning, that for Fear *Urſicinus* being again ſent for, out of Apprehenſion of Danger, might do really, what they but feigned he had a Deſign to do; they thought the Matter was to be kept Secret, till a convenient Opportunity could be preſented of puting him to Death, which while with ſome Impatience they expected, another Miſchief of no ſmall Conſequence befel the Empire. There was one *Antoninus*, formerly a Rich Merchant, afterwards an *Apparitor Rationarius*, but at preſent a *Protector* belonging to the *Dux* of *Meſopotamia*; a cunning Man, and very well verſed in Buſineſs, who by ſeveral of the great ones being oppreſſed, could obtain no Juſtice againſt them; the Judges being ſtill inclining to favour thoſe in Power, ſo that perceiving there could nothing be done, he confeſſed a Debt, which his knaviſh Creditor transferred to the Treaſury. But now deſigning in his head a profound Revenge, he began to ſearch out all the Intrigues of the Empire, and being ſkill'd as well in one as the other Language, he inquired into the whole State of the Army; of what Numbers the ſeveral Parties conſiſted; of what Strength they were; where they Quartered, and who Commanded them in times of Expedition: as alſo about Arms, and Proviſions, whence, where and how they were furniſhed. Having fully informed himſelf, when the Day of Payment of the Debt drew near, which the *Comes Largitionum* very rigorouſly exacted, he reſolved with all his Family to fly to the *Perſians*. And that ſo doing, he might eſcape the *Stationary* Souldiers, he bought a piece of Land, of no great Value, in a place called *Hiaſpis*, lying upon the River *Tigris*; which being known, he was not at all ſuſpected, or queſtion'd, for going to his own Eſtate. On the other ſide of the River lay thoſe *Perſian* Territories, which were governed by *Tam Sapor*, one of the *Satrapa's* formerly mention'd; with whom, being formerly known to him, he held now Intelligence by ſome skilful in Swimming, being ſuch as he could Truſt, who in the Dead time of the Night, ſent Boats, and fetch'd him over, with his Wife, and Children. Being conveyed to the King; as formerly *Maherbal* Blamed *Hannibal*, he often told him, that he knew how to get, but not how

to uſe a Victory; inſtancing within the Memory of Forty years, in ſeveral Paſſages; as after the Battels of *Hilcia* and *Singara*, eſpecially in that bloody Battel fought by Night; ſo great a Slaughter having been made, he neither fell upon *Edeſſa*, nor ſeized on the Bridges of *Euphrates*, as the Conquerours in Prudence ought to have done; eſpecially the *Romans*, at that time, being embroyl'd in Civil Diſcords. Theſe, and many other things he Diſcourſed at Meals, while the *Perſians*, after the manner of the *Greeks*, conſulted of War and other Serious Matters; and thereby Inflamed the *Perſian* King with an Earneſt Reſolution to do his utmoſt the following year: and he made all ſutable Preparations, being Encouraged by the Skill and Promiſes of ſo underſtanding a Fugitive.

Urſicinus ſent for to Court, and an unfit Perſon ſent in his room.

74. In the mean time the Deſign againſt *Urſicinus* went on at Court, where the Emperour's Followers, by the eſpecial Aſſiſtance of *Eunuchs*, brought the Plot againſt him to ſome Perfection, *&c.* that ſort of Creature being over-greedy and Ravenous, and themſelves capable of no Children, moſt Fervently, (as *Ammianus* obſerves) embraced Riches as their Darling-Daughters. And it was Reſolved, that *Sabinianus*, a Decrepit, Old man, well-money'd, but Lazy and Feeble, hitherto thought too obſcure for ſuch a Dignity as that of *Magiſter Militum*, ſhould, in his room, be ſent to Govern the *Eaſtern* Parts; he being called to Court under pretenſe of Succeeding *Barbatio*, in the Command of the Foot; that ſo being greedy of Innovation (as they affirmed) he might be Expoſed to the Obſervations, and Arts of his greateſt Enemies. *Sabinianus*, Elevated by his New and Unexpected Dignity, went to his Charge; and being come to *Cilicia*, gave the Emperour's Letters to his Predeceſſor; the purport of which was, that he ſhould haſten to Court to receive a greater Preferment, at that Juncture of time, when, although he had been abſent, as far as *Thule*, there was great need of his Return, who had had ſo great Experience in the Conduct of Military Matters; and eſpecially in what concerned the *Perſian* War, which was now preſſed upon the Empire. The Rumour being ſpread abroad, that he was Recalled, the ſeveral Cities and Countreys concerned, by their Unanimous Deſires, and Cries, would needs ſtop him, beholding him no otherwiſe than as their Guardian: for they called to mind, how, though he entred upon his Charge with Forces of no value at all; yet had he preſerved his Diſtrict, and loſt nothing for Ten years together; and they very much ſuſpected their own Safety, being now to be Protected by a very Coward, and that in ſo Critical a Time as now was coming. But ſtrange it is, that the Report of this Deſigned Alteration ſhould ſo ſpeedily fly into *Perſia*, (our Writer tells us he doth not doubt but ſwift Fame flies through the aëry paths) where a great and ſerious Conſideration being held thereupon, by the Advice of *Antoninus* it was Reſolved, That ſeeing ſo unfit a Perſon was to Succeed *Urſicinus*, they ſhould take the fair Opportunity now offered, and paſſing by the Towns ſtanding upon the Borders, march with all convenient ſpeed into thoſe Countries under his Conduct, and ſeize upon them, the greateſt Atchievement of all others; they having never been touched ſince the Dayes of *Gallienus*, and by reaſon of the long Peace they had enjoyed, abounding with all things.

Hence the *Perſian* takes heart.

Urſicinus ordered to return into *Meſopotamia*, without a Guard.

75. In the mean time, *Urſicinus* and his Followers, (amongſt whom was *Ammianus* the Hiſtorian) having ſtaid a little on this ſide the Mountain *Taurus*, haſted, according to the Orders receiv'd, towards *Italy*, and were come as far as *Hebrus*, a River falling down from the Mountains of the *Odryſæ*. There he received other Letters from *Conſtantius*, requiring him without Delay to return into *Meſopotamia* without any Guard, for that the Power was put into another man's hands; which his Enemies contrived for this Reaſon; that in caſe the *Perſian* returned without any thing done, the Honour of the Defeat might be Aſcribed to the New Officer; but if he proſpered, the Miſcarriage on the *Roman* ſide might be imputed to *Urſicinus*, as a Betrayer of his Countrey. Being thus toſſed up and down, without any good reaſon, yet he obeyed after ſome Diſpute; and being returned, found his Succeſſor very ſcornful, a man of mean Stature, and as narrow a Soul; ſo far from being fit to manage a Battel, that without Fear and Trembling he could ſcarcely hear the Contentions, which occaſionally happened at the Table. One Meſſenger ſtill Confirming what another brought concerning the great Preparations of the *Perſians*; it was Reſolved to march to *Niſibis*, leſt the Enemy, however looking another way, ſhould make an unexpected Attacque upon it. Whilſt they were Fortifying the Place, the great Fire and Smoke ſeen from the Walls through the Countreys lying near to *Caſtra Maurorum* and *Siſera*, which grew greater and greater, as they nearer approached, gave warning evident enough, that the *Perſians* had paſſed

The *Perſians* paſs *Tygris*.

paſſed *Tigris*. *Urſicinus* then with ſome Forces went to Coaſt about the Country, and give ſuch Order as he ſaw convenient, for Prevention of ſo great Miſchiefs as impended: and it was thought fit, that the Inhabitants ſhould be compelled to quit the Country of *Meſopotamia*, and Retire, with all they could, into the ſtrong Holds; to leave *Carræ*, a City not tenable, the Walls were ſo much decayed; to ſet all the Corn and Graſs on Fire, and fortifie the hither Bank of *Euphrates*; ſo as the Enemy might find no eaſie Paſſage; and the Autumn being ſo far come on, that the Corn was now turned white, the Fire took and burnt up all; ſo that the *Perſians* could find no Forage, nor any Ford to paſs the River; till by *Antoninus* the Fugitive, they were led more unto the Right Hand, where there was Graſs and Corn enough, and the River near it's Head, was not ſo ſwoln with the melted Snow, which lower down in abundance fell upon it. The *Roman* Troops light amongſt thoſe of the *Perſian*, and *Urſicinus* had the Fortune to ſee *Antoninus*, whom, having eſpied, he Reviled as a Villain and a Traytor; but he not endeavouring to conceal himſelf, Leaping from his Horſe, took the *Tiara* from his Head, which had been given him as a Badg of the greateſt Honour, bowed himſelf near to the Ground, and giving him the Titles of Patron and Lord, holding his hands behind him, as the Cuſtom for Supplicants was in *Aſſyria*, prayed him to pardon him; for that he was engaged in a Courſe he knew to be naught, not by Choice but Neceſſity, through the Avarice of ſome Rapacious Perſons, againſt whom he himſelf could not but remember, that his high Place and Power was not able to protect him. Which ſaid, he withdrew himſelf, not turning his Back, but going backward, till out of Sight; as the Cuſtom was in thoſe times, and ſince hath been practiſed by the *Eaſtern* and *Northern* Nations.

Id erat Ornamentum ex Auro & Margaritis contextum, quo Perſarum Magnates, Regis permiſſu, Capita redimibant.

76. *Sapor*, the *Perſian* King, attended by *Grumbates*, King of the *Chionitæ*, beſides the King of the *Albani*, and followed by a vaſt Number of men, took two *Roman* Caſtles, called *Reman* and *Buſan* by Surrender, and to thoſe he found therein, ſhewed himſelf very merciful, to obliterate the prejudice which his former Cruelties had procured againſt him. Thence purſuing his Deſign, on the third Day, he came to *Amida*, where he did not think of making any Stay; but reſolved to purſue thoſe Councils that *Antoninus* had ſuggeſted. For he concluded, that thoſe within, at the firſt Sight of him would not dare to hold out; and he in Perſon rode to the Gates, on Purpoſe to be ſeen, having his Guard about him, and wearing on his Head an Ornament of Gold, reſembling the Head of a Ram, all gliſtering with Gems, for a Diadem. But with this Sight the Defendents were not ſo diſmayed, but that while he preſſed on, they had the Courage to let flie at him, and there he had periſhed in his Gaiety, if the Duſt had not intercepted their Sight; ſo that he eſcaped with Loſs of part of his Robe cut from him by a Javelin; though ſufficiently enraged: for he exclaimed againſt them, as equally Criminals, with thoſe that had Sacrilegiouſly robbed ſome Temple, in that they had offered Violence to the Majeſty of him that was Lord of ſo many Kings and Nations; and moſt earneſtly was bent to deſtroy the City, as contaminated by ſo great guilt, till by the gentle Inſinuations and Petitions of his Captains, he was mollified, who beſought him, that together with that Town, he would not Sacrifice the Hopes of ſo great an Enterprize, as he had undertaken, to his Anger. Next day therefore he reſolves to ſummon the Place, and for that Purpoſe *Grumbates*, King of the *Chionitæ*, goes with a Company that offered themſelves, towards the Walls, whom as a skillful Engineer ſaw approaching, he levelled, and let flie at him, and though he miſt his Perſon, yet he killed his Son; a Goodly, Proper Youth, that went cloſe by him. With this Accident ſuch as were preſent were ſo ſtruck, that they all ran away; but conceiving themſelves obliged to fetch off the Body, again returned, and by their great Cries and Lamentations, provoked thoſe other ſorts of People that were with them to do the like. Now followed a moſt deadly Conteſt, the Darts and other miſſile Weapons flying like Hail, and till Night it continued, by the Darkneſs whereof covered, at length they got off the Body, drawing it over Heaps of other Carcaſſes, and through Rivulets of Blood, and celebrated the Funeral, according to the Rites of his own Country, in this manner. He was placed armed, as he was wont to be, on an high and large Scaffold, and about him ten Beds, whereon lay ſo many Images, ſo well ordered, that they repreſented Bodies already buried; and for ſeven Dayes together, all the men that lay at their Quarter Feaſted, and Danced, and Chanted certain Songs, whereby they bewailed the deceaſed Prince, while the Women in the mean time, with miſerable Lamentations complained, that the Hope of their Nation was cut off in the Flower of his Age. This Solemnity finiſhed, the Body was burnt, and the Bones put into a Silver Urne, which the Father had intended

Take two *Roman* Caſtles, and proceed to *Amida*.

Ammianus lib. 19.

Which, *Sapor*, conceiving himſelf affronted, reſolves to Deſtroy.

Grumbates, King of the *Chionitæ* diſſuading, goes to Summon the Town, and hath his Son kill'd.

His Funeral, after his own Country manner.

tended to be ſent to be buried in his own Country: but it was reſolved, upon a Conſultation, that by a Funeral Pile of this City it ſelf, a Parentation ſhould be further made to his Ghoſt; neither would *Grumbates* ſuffer the Death of his only Son to go unpuniſhed.

It's reſolv'd to Sacrifice the City to his Ghoſt.

The manner of the Siege.

A violent Attacque,

Renewed without Succeſs.

Urſicinus willing, but not able to Relieve it.

77. After a Repoſe of two Days, wherein yet a Party was ſent out to waſte that Fertile Country, round about, they began their Work; when early in the Morning from the Walls no Proſpect could be had, but that of Armed men, diſpoſed to ſeveral Quarters of the Town. The *Perſians* lay round about it. The *Chionitæ* had their Poſt toward the Eaſt, where the Prince was kill'd; the *Vertæ* lay toward the South, the *Albani* to the North; and to the Guard of the Weſtern Coaſts were Aſſigned the *Segeſtani*, of all others the moſt Warlike, and further ſtrengthned by a Company of Elephants, terrible to behold. Now did they within think of nothing, but how to dye with moſt Honour, the beſt thing they could hope or wiſh for. From Sun riſing to it's ſetting, the Army ſtood in that Poſture of facing the Town, not in the leaſt ſtirring, nor ſo much Noiſe, as that of the Neighing of an Horſe being heard; and their time once out, they retreated again to their Camps, where they refreſhed themſelves with Meat, and Sleep. But when it was almoſt Day, the Trumpets ſounded, and they again begirt the Place, which looked as if it would have been ſhouted down to the Ground by ſo great a Multitude; and when *Grumbates* caſt up his Lance, beſmeared with Blood, as the Manner of his Country was, they inſtantly attacqued the Walls; and a dreadful Fight enſued; the Beſiegers with all Alacrity giving the Onſet, and the Defendants with as much Reſolution receiving them, and defending themſelves with Engines, Arrows, and as otherwiſe they beſt could; ſo that on both ſides vaſt Slaughter was made, and all the Day it continued; neither could Night it ſelf force them to give over, ſo eager were they and obſtinate in the Proſecution of what they deſired, continuing in their Arms all the Night. The Hills echoed again with the Noiſe, while the *Romans* extolled the Virtues of their Emperour *Conſtantius*, as the Lord of the World; and the *Perſians* roared out, that *Sapor* was *Saanſaan*, and *Pyroſes*, whereof the one ſignifies King of Kings, and the other Conquerour in Wars. Before it was light the Alarme was again ſounded to renew the Storm, and Innumerable Companies flocked together; ſo that at Day-Break nothing could be ſeen throughout the Plains and Vallies, but the gliſtering Arms of theſe ſavage Nations. With a great Shout they gave the Onſet, and the whole day this ſecond Diſpute alſo continued; when the Numbers of Wounded on both ſides were ſo great; that the enſuing Night had now that Operation upon them, which the preceding could not effect; for the Beſiegers drew off, and they all applied themſelves, as well as they could, to cure their Wounds, of which there was a ſad Spectacle in the City. *Urſicinus*, though much diſdaining, that he was ſubjected to the Command of another Perſon, eſpecially ſuch an one as was *Sabinianus*; yet ſent to him, and adviſed him to bring his *Velites* into the Field, that they might take ſuch Advantages, as were preſented, and fall in upon the Enemies Trenches on a ſudden, or intercept him by Stratagems, as he removed from Place to Place. But he refuſed to do this; pretending publickly, that his Inſtructions were to act only in ſuch Wayes and Methods, wherein the Army could not be endangered; but indeed, he remembred what ſecretly had been agree'd on, betwixt himſelf, and thoſe that procured him the Command, to cut off all Occaſions whereby his Predeceſſor, who ever burned with Deſire of Glory, might do any thing that would procure him Honour; though the Provinces lay at the Stake. Therefore could he doe no more, than often to ſend abroad his Eſpials, to know the Condition of *Amida*; though they could not come near the Town; and other things he attempted, but, being without Power, to no Effect; and ſo fretted and tired himſelf, as a Lion, how Big and Grim ſoever, ſeeing his Whelps caught in a Net, Fomes and Rages; but dares not go in to their Relief, being deprived, both of his Claws and Teeth, as *Ammianus* frames the Compariſon.

A notable Attempt of the *Perſians* miſcarries.

78. But, to other great Difficulties wherewith the beſieged ſtrugled, this alſo was added; that by reaſon of the great Multitude of dead Carcaſſes lying in the Streets and Paſſages, greater than could preſently be buried; ſuch a Stench aroſe, as joyning with the Heat of the Seaſon, and the Infirmity under which the People laboured upon other Accounts, it bred a Peſtilence; but this again was aſſwaged, the Air being tempered by ſome Rain, which fell on the Night that followed the tenth Day of the Siege. Now with more Vigour than ever, to attacque the Place the *Perſians* raiſe many, and great Mounts and Turrets, on which they ſet their Engines to batter the Walls, and there being a Deſcent from a Tower down a ſteep Rock, by Staires; ſome ſeventy Archers of the King's Guard, and bolder than their

Fel-

Two Legions of *Galls* troubleſome in the City, and will needs make a Sally.

Fellows, upon Diſcovery thereof, made by a Fugitive, got up into the Tower, and thence ſhewing themſelves, put the Beſieged into great Fear; all the Army at the ſame time, as had been deſigned, giving a freſh Onſet; but five of the ſmalleſt Battering Rams being levelled againſt theſe Adventurers, did ſuch Execution upon them, that ſome were killed, and the reſt, wounded or ſcared, fell down the Precipice, and miſerably periſhed. This Succeſs much Animated the Beſieged, who now removing the Engines to their former places, with much more Alacrity and Eaſe defended the Walls: but they had hereby the more leiſure to ſee that which very much Afflicted them, *viz.* a great multitude of People miſerably led into Slavery, out of ſeveral Forts in the Countrey; into which, for ſecurity, they had flocked at this time of Danger; many of whom, of both Sexes, being ſpent with Travel, and not able to hold out, they cut their Hamſtrings, and left them behind in the Roads. There were in *Amida* two Legions of *Galls*, which formerly had belonged to *Magnentius*, very ſtout, and ſwift of Foot, and therefore fit for any Combat on plain ground, but for Defence of a Town very improper; nay, they did more Harm than Good: for giving no Aſſiſtance, either in the raiſing of Engines, or other Works upon the Walls, they hindred others; but they would make Sallies, without either Fear or Wit; and, though Fighting with all Confidence and Courage imaginable, often came ſhort home; and when the Gates were to be kept ſhut, and the *Tribunes* deſired them to Forbear, they would rage exceedingly: But now beholding the Droves of Miſerable People, they were more earneſt than ever, to be out, and threatned with Death the Officers and others, if they would not ſuffer them to Iſſue forth upon the Enemy; and they cut the Gates with their Swords, as eſteeming it the higheſt point of Indecency, for them to periſh in a Conquered City, without having ſomething Notably performed, and ſutable to the Magnanimity of their Nation. The Commanders knew not what courſe to take, and at length conſented, that if they ſtaid but a little, till the Beſiegers were further drawn off, they ſhould fall upon their Guards, and breaking through them, proceed further, as they ſaw convenient; for they knew they would do great Execution upon them.

79. In the mean time, the Walls were Defended all wayes poſſible, and the *Perſians* having raiſed two very high Batteries, to annoy the Town; the Beſieged raiſed other two higher than they over againſt them. Now came a Dark and Miſty Night, and the *Galls* would be kept in no longer, but out they went at a Poſtern, Armed with their Swords and Battle-Axes, and they Fortified themſelves by their Prayers. They endeavoured ſo much to ſurprize the Enemy, that they would ſcarcely breathe for fear of making a Noiſe, and, killing ſome of the Sentinels, came to the Fore-Guard, which eaſily cutting in pieces, as having not the leaſt Apprehenſion of any ſuch Matter, they purpoſed, and hoped to reach to the King's Quarter, e're they ſhould be much Diſcovered; but the Cries of the Wounded, and the Noiſe of ſuch as ſhifted away, gave the Alarm timely enough to his Guards, and the Souldiers were ſo ſoon on their Legs, and ran ſuch multitudes together, that the Daring *Galls* were preſently at a ſtand, finding themſelves fruſtrated of what they had Principally Deſigned, and without turning their Backs, retired by degrees out of the Lines, as utterly unable to ſuſtain the Violence of thoſe that came upon them. Now were the Gates cautiouſly opened to receive them, and in they were taken, with the loſs of four hundred of their Company, beſides ſome that were mortally Wounded, having narrowly miſſed of killing the *Perſian* King, though encompaſſed with an Army of an hundred thouſand men; for which, and other Bold, and ſometimes more Succeſsful Attempts, the Emperour cauſed the Statues of the chief Leaders of them to be Erected in a place of Concourſe, at *Edeſſa*. When the Light came and diſcovered what Miſchief had been done, much Lamentation there was heard of the Kings and Nobility, for the great Loſs they had ſuſtained of their Friends and Relations; for, many *Satrapa's* and other Great Perſons were kill'd, and a Truce was agreed on for three dayes; the Beſieged being glad to have ſo much time wherein to take ſome Breath. But the Enemy Enraged now more than ever, reſolved, either by the Deſtruction of the City to Appeaſe the Ghoſts of the Slain, or Periſh in that Glorious Attempt; and all ſorts of Engines and Devices they prepared, againſt the time the Truce ſhould be expired; reſolving to take that courſe, ſeeing that down-right Force could not prevail. By break of Day they came on, not as formerly, but in great Order, covered with their Machines; yet did the Arrows and Darts of the Beſieged great Execution, none of them falling in vain; and the *Perſians* were forced to ſeparate, though they ſorely annoyed the *Romans* by their Engines of Battery placed upon Turrets covered with Iron, which being much higher than thoſe of the Defendants, killed them many men. In this manner was all this Day ſpent; and the moſt of the next Night the Beſieged paſſed, in conſidering how

Fail of a great Deſign.

A Truce for three dayes.

Another Onſet.

they might beſt Obviate this Annoyance. After much Debate it was Reſolved againſt thoſe Turrets, whereon were Mounted thoſe Engines called *Baliſtæ*, to plant four of that kind, which had the name of *Scorpions*, and all Haſte was uſed to get them planted, e're the Light could diſcover them; which, though it could not fully be Effected, yet, when they came to play with round Stones caſt out of them, the *Baliſtæ* were Diſmounted, the Turrets broken down, and the Fall of them drove back the Elephants with Violence upon their Maſters; which Violence was driven into Fury by Fire caſt upon their Backs.

80. Thus were the Batteries broken down, but the Fight, for all that, did not intermit. The *Perſian* King himſelf, though not obliged to be preſent in Battel, thruſting amongſt the thickeſt, like an ordinary Souldier, and Encouraging his Men; neither was he daunted by the ſhowers of Arrows that fell near him (being ſufficiently known by his Equipage to thoſe on the Wall) till many of his Guard falling about him, at length he retired, when Night came on. And the Night having given but ſmall Reſt to the Beſieged, the ſucceeding Day renewed their Sorrows, and Advanced them to the greateſt Extremity. For, whenas the Turrets were broken, and rendred Uſeleſs; the *Perſians* applied themſelves to Fight upon theſe Mounts they had raiſed near the Walls; to which, when they within oppoſed others, that ſo they might fight on even ground; one of theſe Mounts, as if it had been with an Earthquake, removed, and fell upon the Wall, bearing it down, and filling up the Ditch without, ſo that it lay in the poſture of a Bridge, or Cauſey, giving large Entrance to the *Perſians*. By this time was the greateſt part of the Gariſon Souldiers either kill'd or diſabled; yet without all fear of Death, Numbers flocked to make good the Breach, inſomuch that one hindred another; but the Alacrity and Vigour of the *Perſian* King, being more whetted by ſo notable an Advantage, he cauſed all his whole Force to Improve it; and now coming to dint of Sword, the Ditch was filled with dead Bodies, and thereby larger Acceſs made to the Town. No longer could any Reſiſtance be made, but the poor Defendants having done as gallantly as any in ſuch a condition could do, running here and there, were ſlaughtered like Sheep, without diſtinction of Sex or Age. Some of them getting together, made what Oppoſition they could, and reſolved to ſell their Lives as dear as poſſible: but *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who was in Town all this while, and wrote the Story, with two others, aſſiſted by the obſcurity of the Night, eſcaped through a Poſtern, which was not obſerved; and uſing as much Speed as ſuch a caſe required, got to a Place ten Miles diſtant, and thence overcoming many Difficulties, paſſed over the Countrey to *Euphrates*, which croſſing by a Ferry-Boat, they found out *Urſicinus*, who was now Travelling to *Antioch*. But, to return to *Amida*. *Ælian*, a *Comes*, and thoſe *Tribunes* by whoſe Valour and Conduct the Town ſo long held out, were Nailed to Croſſes. *Jacobus* and *Ceſius*, two of thoſe Officers belonging to the *Magiſter Equitum*, called *Numerarii*, were led away together with the reſt of the Multitude into Captivity, with their Hands bound behind them; and as for them that lived beyond *Tigris*, being carefully ſought out, they were put to the Sword, as well great as little. And now the City being Razed; for that Autumn was ſomething advanced, *Sapor* reſolved to return homeward, outwardly rejoycing, and making a ſhew of Triumph; but inwardly and ſecretly Fretting, for that he had loſt more men himſelf, than he had either taken alive, or killed in any of the late Engagements, as formerly it hapned at *Niſibis* and *Singara*; for, before this Town periſhed on his ſide Thirty thouſand; as was diſcovered by *Diſcenes*, a *Tribune-Notary*, who diſcerned them from thoſe of the other by this Token; that the Carkaſſes of the *Romans* ſpeedily putrified, ſo that after four dayes they could not be known by the Face; whereas thoſe of the *Perſians*, dried like ſo many pieces of Wood, without any Moiſture or Corruption appearing, by reaſon of their ſpare Diet, and the great Heat of the Countreys where they had lived.

Renewed the following day.

In which, the Wall being broken by the fall of a Mount, the City is taken.

Ammianus the Hiſtorian eſcapes.

The City Razed.

Sapor having loſt before it 30000 men.

81. Leaving now *Sapor* to proſecute his Retreat, we muſt return alſo into the *Weſtern* Parts, and inquire what becomes all this while of *Conſtantius*. As we left, ſo we find him at *Sirmium*, all the laſt Winter, till called again into the Field by the Motions of the *Sarmatæ Limigantes*, or Slaves, whom the Summer before he had cauſed to change their Dwellings, and remove into other Parts, at a greater diſtance: and *Ammianus* writes, that he was forced to march, e're Spring was full Ripe, or, as he words it, *Adult*: which, if we Conſult the Dates of ſome Laws made by him at this Time and Place, we muſt interpret at the later end of *May*. For on the five and twentieth of *March* we find an Edict by him Directed to *Orfitus*, the *Præfect* of *Rome*, which is more to be taken notice of, for the Mention it makes of the *Urbicarian* Regions, than out of reſpect to the Subject and occaſion of it; although thoſe Matters of ſuch Antiquity, and concerning that City, be not to be Neglected. There were, as we formerly hinted, Bodies or Companies of Lime-burners, called *Calcarienſes*, & *Calcis Coctores*, who prepared Lime for the

L. 1. *de Calcis Coctoribus. Cod. Theod. lib.* 14. *tit.*6. *Abeſt hic Titulus à Cod. Juſtin. Vide Paratitlon.*

Conſtantius takes Order about the Burners, and conveyers of Lime:

the uſe of *Rome* and *Conſtantinople*, and another ſort known by the Names of *Vectuarii* and *Vectores*, who Conveyed it thither. To the Maintenance of both theſe ſorts of Workmen, certain Lands belonged, as by Service, to find them Maintenance: and *Conſtantius* by this Edict Ordains; That (to clear all Diſputes, which “ in this caſe might happen) from all ſuch Lands ſhall be allowed to the Lime-makers, “ for every three *Vehes*, or Wain-Load of Lime, an *Amphora* of Wine, and “ to the *Vecturarii* the like Quantity, for the Conveyance of two thouſand and nine “ hundred Pounds weight of it. And he declares, that not the Perſons, or the “ Poſſeſſors, but the Grounds themſelves ſhall be lyable to this Payment, and moreover “ Wills, that three hundred Oxen be given, or allowed to the *Vecturarii*, out “ of the four Regions. An *Amphora* here is to be taken for a Meaſure, which contained eight and forty *Sextarii*, each of which held about as much as a *Paris-Pint*, or above our Wine-Quart. We ſee by this Law, that theſe Workmen were paid in kind, and not in Money, which was much in Faſhion before Gold and Silver came to be ſo common as now it is. But whereas it is ſaid, that ſo much Wine ſhould be afforded to them out of theſe Lands, it is not to be underſtood, that the Poſſeſſors thereof paid it immediately to thoſe Workmen; but there was a publick Office for Receit of this Wine, called *Arca Vinaria*, which was under the Charge of the *Præfect* of the City, and particularly under this *Orfitus*, who now held the Place, as *Symmachus*, one of his Succeſſors, and his Son in Law ſignifies, upon no pleaſing Occaſion. For, after *Orfitus* his Death, his Children were by the Treaſury troubled about the Accounts of this Receit, as *Symmachus* grievouſly Complains, though all had been Iſſued out that he had received; and what was behind was in Solvent hands. And as for his two Daughters, they had not medled at all with what he left; ſo poor he died. Under the ſame *Præfect* there was another Officer or Accountant called *Rationalis Vinorum*: but as for what *Lampridius* writes of a Body or Company of *Vinarii*, inſtituted by the Emperour *Alexander Severus*, and the *Tribuneſhip* of the *Forum Vinarium*, of which *Symmachus* alſo makes Mention, and cited by *Juretus*, I rather think them to have relation to the publick Sale of Wines, and not to theſe that were paid in kind; except the *Præfect* or under-Officers ſold theſe Wines, and gave the Price to the Workmen. This Law being directed to the *Præfect* of *Rome*, by the four Regions can nothing be underſtood, but the four *Vrbicarian* Regions, of which firſt mention is made in this *Conſulſhip*, of *Euſebius* and *Hypatius*, (upon what Occaſion we have already ſaid) and firſt obſerved by the Learned *Gothofred*.

Symmach. lib. 9. Epiſt. 121. & lib. 10. Ep. 42. 47. & vide Jureti Miſcel. in Ep.

And regulates Matters about *Prætors.*

82. At this time further Conteſts happened about the Office of *Prætor*, which being ſo Troubleſome, and eſpecially Chargeable, as we have often ſaid, all ſorts of Perſons endeavoured to ſhift it off, both from themſelves and their Friends. And upon this Account Diſputes aroſe about the manner of Elections; and ſuch as had been *Pro-conſuls* and *Vicars*, pretended, that they were above the Office. To Determine theſe and other Points, *Conſtantius* Directed his Reſolution to the Senate (divided now in the *Code* into two Laws) bearing Date from *Sirmium*, on the two and twentieth of *May*, whereby he declares his Pleaſure, That only ſuch have Voices in the Election of *Prætors*, as had been *Prætors* themſelves; ſuch being beſt “ Judges (from their own Experience of the Office) who were fit, and rich enough “ to manage it. In the next Place he will have the common Courſe in all ſuch matter “ to take Effect; *viz.* That the major part ſhould have the deciſive Power. “ Then in a pompous kind of ſtile, he uſes ſeveral Arguments to convince them, that “ the Employment was no whit below ſuch as had been, either *Proconſuls* or *Vicars*; “ telling them, that they could not but remember, nay, he believes, never could “ forget, how *Facundus* the *Ex-Proconſul*, and *Arſenius* the *Ex-Vicar*, had flouriſhed with the Enſignes of the *Prætorſhip*; neither of them having thought it too “ mean, or an Eclipſe to his former Dignity. By this it appears, that theſe two “ Perſons were very eminent for their Worth, at this time, though otherwiſe we hear nothing of them; he demanding what can be more Illuſtrious than their Examples? “ and ſaying that others ought by them to be admoniſhed, though indeed *Proconſuls* “ and *Vicars* were reckoned of great Dignity, as being the firſt in the Rank of *Spectabilis*: “ But in the laſt Place, he, who ever much favoured the *Senate*, gives it “ full and abſolute Power of *Nomination* and *Election*, according to theſe Rules, “ without any Recourſe had to himſelf, or the *Præfectus Prætorio*, as was wont to “ be practiſed in Matters of great Moment; and that ſo much toward the *Præfect*, “ that it was ſeaſonable to put ſome Reſtraint to his Power. And indeed the Cuſtom “ was, that the *Præfect* of the City (who as hath been often ſaid) was the *Præſul* of the *Senate* (the word *Præſul* was very proper, though applied to Lay-Perſons

L. L. 14, 15. de Prætoribus, &c. Cod. Th. lib. 6. Tit. 4.

Quid enim illuſtrius his reperitur Exemplis? Debuerat profecto res iſta, debuerat alios etiam commovere &c.

ſons in thoſe Times) had recourſe to the Emperour, about the choice of *Prætors*. We ſhall only, as to this Law, further add, that therein he gives but the Title of *Clariſſimus* to the *Præfectus Prætorio*. For, in *Conſtantius* his Time, that of *Illuſtris* was not received yet, in that diſtinct and proper Senſe, as we find it applied in the *Notitia*; though about this time *Illuſtris* and *Clariſſimus*, as by ſeveral Inſtances might be proved, were joyned together in the Title of one and the ſame Perſon.

He removes from *Sirmium* to *Singidunum*, and ſo againſt the *Sarmatæ*;

*L.*28. *de Appellationibus. Cod. Th.*

83. From *Sirmium*, *Conſtantius* removed to *Singidunum*, a City of the *Firſt Mœſia*; for there we find him by the Subſcription and Date of another Edict, of the Eighteenth of *June*, with which we think not fit to trouble the Reader. For, he was perpetually Alarm'd at *Sirmium*, with freſh Reports, how the *Limigantes*, not Content with the Territories Aſſigned them, began to make Excurſions into thoſe next the Borders, and would create him more work if not prevented. Gathering therefore his Men together, he Reſolved to make as much ſpeed as he could, and the rather, becauſe he doubted not but the Army would think it, the ſooner they were in the Field, the better, they Fared ſo well the laſt Summer. And *Anatolius*, being *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Illyricum*, was before-hand with them in Proviſions, without any Diſadvantage to any Man. He Marched firſt into *Valeria*, (formerly counted part of *Pannonia*, but ſo diſtinguiſhed and named in Honour of *Valeria*, the Daughter of *Diocleſian*) and from the Banks of *Iſter*, obſerving the Motions of the *Barbarians*, ſent, and demanded of them the Reaſon why they kept not themſelves Quiet at home, but Roved up and down the Borders, contrary to what had been injoyned them. Not knowing what to ſay, Fear made them Lye, and after Frivolous Excuſes, they begg'd that he would give them leave to come over the River to him, and that he would pleaſe to Aſſign them ſome place to Inhabit within the *Roman* Pale; that they might betake themſelves to Reſt, and be able to pay him Tribute. At this he was exceeding Glad, as hoping he had gone through a Buſineſs of ſo much Difficulty without Blood or Sweat, and readily admitted them; being Flattered in his Expectation by his Attendants, who told him, how, by this means, all thoſe Quarters being in Repoſe, he would have a Supply of Freſh Souldiers conſtantly from that People; for the Provincials, they ſaid, would willingly Exchange Gold for *Tirones*; which ſort of Hope ſometimes Endamaged the Affairs of the Empire. A Line is drawn near a place called *Acunincum*, and a Mount raiſed inſtead of a Tribunal; near to which ſome *Legionary* Souldiers were placed in Boats upon the River, to come upon the Backs of the *Limigantes*, in caſe they ſhould prove Tumultuous. For a time, they ſtood with bended Bodies, in an Humble Poſture, but bearing another kind of Mind than they made ſhew of: for, when the Emperour from the Mount was about to ſpeak mildly to them, as thoſe that for the time to come would be Tractable and Obedient; one of them, in a Furious Mood, threw his ſhooe at him, and cried *Marha, Marha*, which with them was the Watch-word for Battel; and with that, they all made, with a great Noiſe, and in a Menacing manner, towards him. He ſeeing Darts fly, and Swords drawn, in great fear leaped down, and preſſing amongſt the *Barbarians*, and his own men now Thronging together, got on Horſeback, and made his Eſcape; ſome of thoſe about him, who laboured to keep off the Multitude, being trodden to Death in the Croud; and his Imperial Chair, with the Cloth of Gold Cuſhion, became fair Booty to thoſe that could firſt catch them, though it coſt them dear.

Whom he admits to his Speech, and thereby endangers his Perſon.

For which the *Limigantes* pay dear.

84. For, the Army hearing the Prince was in Danger, in great Indignation and Rage, though but half Arm'd, ruſhed into the Place, to revenge a thing ſo Ignominious both to the Empire and themſelves; and breaking with Violence into the Croud, they hewed and bore down all before them, without any Difference. There was no place now left for Intreaties; but thoſe that begg'd Pardon, as well as ſuch as were pertinaciouſly reſolv'd, periſhed alike; and when they were all either kill'd or diſperſed, (which were but few) ſome of the *Romans* were found Dead amongſt them, either trodden to death, or ſlain by the Enemy, at their firſt Onſet; as was *Cella*, *Tribune* of the *Scutarii*, who had caſt himſelf into the thickeſt of them. The Inſolence of theſe *Limigantes* thus puniſhed, and all things ſettled upon the Limits, as Convenience required, *Conſtantius* returned to *Sirmium*, where, getting all things in readineſs, as the time would permit, he ſet forward for *Conſtantinople*, Reſolving for the *Eaſt*, there to Heal the Wound lately received at *Amida*, and by a new Supply of larger Forces, to give a check to the Ambition of *Sapor*, who was reſolved to leave *Meſopotamia* at his back, and pierce further into the Upper Provinces. But while he prepared to wage War with an outward Enemy, he

forgot not to raiſe Civil Storms, as it were, at Home (ſo *Ammianus* terms it) againſt ſuch, as the Inſinuations of *Paul* the *Notary*, that moſt covetous, and cruel Informer, and his own Jealouſie repreſented as Criminals in an higher degree of Enmity. There was a Fam'd Oracle at *Abydus*, a Town of *Thebais*, of an *Idol* called *Beſas*; to which, many flocking from the *Eaſtern* Parts, for Anſwers to their ſeveral Queſtions, it ſometimes happened, that both the Queſtion and Anſwer were left in Writing in the Idol's Temple. Some of theſe were maliciouſly ſent to him, which preſently Diſcompoſed him, and in this Fit of Jealouſie, *Paul* is ſent away into the *Eaſt*, with whom is joyned *Modeſtus*, the *Comes* there, a man fit for the purpoſe: whereas *Hermogenes Ponticus*, the *Præfectus Prætorio*, was far of another Temper, and no whit proper for ſuch an Employment. *Paul* ſo diligently plied his Buſineſs, that ſome were condemned to Baniſhment, and others to Death, he making his Markets out of their Eſtates, for which reaſon he ſo belaboured himſelf, that, if any Perſon had any Charms againſt a Quartan Ague, or any other Diſtemper, hung about his Neck, or by Night paſſed through the Monuments of the Dead, he was preſently Accuſed, and Condemned as a *Necromancer* and *Enchanter*, as if he had Conſulted *Dodona's* Grove, or the once fam'd Oracle at *Delphos*, againſt the Life of the Emperour. But, while Innocent Perſons were thus Tormented, as deſirous to know what the iſſue of things preſent would be, a Real portentous Prodigy happenned at *Daphne*, that Pleaſant and Renowned Suburb of *Antioch*, which *Ammianus* concludes, did ſignifie, that the Commonwealth was going to fall into an Ugly condition or ſtate, which, however, perceiving his Meaning to aim at a year or two hence, we are apt to believe was ſhortly to be fulfilled; A Monſter was there born with two Mouths, two Teeth, and a Beard, four Eyes, and two very ſhort Ears. We will not ſay, that this fore-ſhewed one to Succeed next in the Empire, that had two Mouthes, in a very ſhort time, being a Reader in a Church, firſt, a Profeſſor of our Religion, and then an earneſt Declamer againſt it, and a Perſecutor of it; one, that in a ſhort time look'd two ſeveral wayes, as if he had two Stories of Eyes, and began to purpoſe to ſhew another ſort of Teeth too, and, had he Lived, would have ſore bitten; withall wearing ſuch a Beard, that *Ammianus* himſelf, though no ſmall Friend, confeſſes it was Deformed, that it rendred him Ridiculous, and juſtly Expoſed him to the Jeers and Affronts, even of thoſe in *Antioch*, and about *Daphne*, where this Monſter was born (as we ſhall ſhortly ſee) and where this Perſon was as much Gazed at, as it, for that Deformity, and other ſtrange Sights he there procured to be ſeen, but had no Ears to receive any Advice, eſpecially as to Religion. We put no ſtreſs upon theſe things, but to Comply with our Hiſtorian, whoſe own Relation, for the moſt part, or altogether makes good our ſcarcely ſerious, Interpretation.

Conſtantius, out of Jealouſie, Cruel againſt ſeveral Perſons.

Præmonebat Rempublicam in ſtatum verti deformem.

The *Iſauri* make Depredations, and are Quieted by *Lauritius*.

85. About this time, the *Iſauri*, (a People of *Aſia Minor*, Bordering upon *Cilicia*, (of whom heretofore) having been long Quiet, began to return to their wonted, Reſtleſs courſes; and falling down from the Mountains, Rocks and Thickets (which ſo ſheltered them, that the Souldiers that lay thereabouts in Gariſon, or in the *Prætenturæ*, could do little Execution upon them) much Diſtreſſed the Neighbouring Provinces by their Thefts and Depredations. To Reſtrain them, either by Fair means, or by Force, was ſent one *Lauritius*, with the Dignity of *Comes*, a Prudent, and Civil Perſon, who, with ſuch Diſcretion managed his Matters, that he wrought upon them, rather by Threats, than any harſher Effects; and continuing there ſome time, reduced the ſtate of thoſe Parts into ſo much Quiet and Order, that nothing juſtly could be Blamed. But by this time *Urſicinus*, after the Deſtruction of *Amida*, was come to Court, whither he had been ſent for (as we ſaid) to Succeed *Barbatio*, as *Magiſter Peditum Præſentalis*; for ſo it was pretended. He was no ſooner Arrived, but his Adverſaries began to whiſper, and then to ſpeak out, of Heinous things done by him; to which *Conſtantius*, giving too much credit, committed the Hearing of the Matter to *Arbetio*, and *Florentius*, the *Magiſter Officiorum*, with Charge to inquire how *Amida* came to be deſtroyed. They could not for ſhame but reject ſuch Allegations, as carried ſufficient marks of Falſhood with them; neither, for fear of offending *Euſebius*, the *Præpoſitus Cubiculi*, durſt they lay the Load, as they ought to have done, upon the Baſe Cowardiſe of *Sabinianus*; but purſued trifling Matters, and foreign to the Buſineſs. Hereat he, who was moſt concerned, was ſo Enraged, that he openly ſaid, Though the Emperour was pleaſed to ſlight it, yet the Weight and Conſequence of the thing before them was ſuch, that it could not but be Heard and Puniſhed by the Prince himſelf, to whom he could eaſily foretell, that though he concerned himſelf ſo much about what had happened at *Amida*, after that manner which he truly related; ſo long as he was governed by *Eunuchs*, in the manner he was at preſent, though he himſelf went in Perſon with an Army the next Spring, yet

Ammianus lib. 20.

Urſicinus, through the Malicious practiſes of *Euſebius*, turned out of his Place.

yet ſhould he not be able to Protect *Meſopotamia*. This was told to *Conſtantius*, and many things more added, with a Malicious Interpretation; wherewith he was ſo extraordinarily incenſed, that, breaking off the Inquiſition, and not permitting ſuch things to be laid open, as had been kept from his knowledge, he put him out of his Place, and Commanded him to Retire, preferring to it one *Agilo*, by a great Leap from being *Tribune* of thoſe called *Gentiles Scutarii*. About the ſame time hapned a great Eclipſe of the Sun, ſeen in the Eaſt, where, from Morning till Noon, it was ſo dark that many Stars appeared.

Conſtantius ſends for part of the Army from *Julian*.

86. But while *Conſtantius* was preparing to go againſt the *Perſians*, he was, as we have it, from the two *Pagan* Writers, *Ammianus* and *Zoſimus*, much Troubled in his Mind, to hear the Fame of his Couſin *Julian* ſpread ſo far and wide, who had done ſuch wonderful things in *Gall*, and againſt the *Almans*. Grievouſly netled, you muſt know, and fearing his Renown would increaſe, at the Inſtigation of *Florentius*, the *Præfect*, he diſpatched away *Decentius* the *Tribune* and *Notary*, to bring from him the *Auxiliary Heruli*, and *Batavi*, the *Petulantes*, and *Celtæ*, with three hundred more to be picked out of the other *Legions*, and that with all Speed, that they might be ready by the Spring, to ſet forward with the Army againſt the *Perſians*. *Julian*, not perceiving the Deſign, or diſſembling it (as knowing it his Duty to obey) made no Oppoſition; yet could not forbear to ſay, that it was hard, that thoſe ſhould be ſent Eaſtward, who had left their Dwellings beyond the *Rhine*, on Condition that they ſhould not be removed further than the *Alpes*; for it was to be feared, that the *Barbarians* coming in hitherto chearfully to the Service, upon hearing of this, would, for the time to come, be very backward. But his Complaint was in vain, for the *Tribune* not at all regarding what he ſaid, but, following fully his Inſtructions, with a Choiſe Party he had pickt out here and there, reſolved to go his way. *Cæſar* was much troubled about the reſt that were to be ſent; on the one ſide, conſidering how much the Enemy might be thereupon encouraged in his Natural, and wonted Ferity; and on the other, that the Emperour's Orders muſt be obeyed, and the Abſence of the *Magiſter Equitum* making him to diſtruſt ſomething, he wrote to the *Præfect* to come to him, who was gone away to *Vienna* (now *Vienne* in *Dauphiné*) under Pretence of purſuing his Charge, as to Proviſions for the Army; but indeed, on Purpoſe to withdraw himſelf from it, having given Advice, that theſe Forces ſhould be removed from the Defence of *Gall*, which had done ſuch Service, and were ſo terrible to the *Barbarians*. *Julian* preſſed him to make haſte to Aſſiſt the State, which now wanted his Advice; urging, that the *Præfect*, in doubtful Junctures of time, ought not to be abſent from the *General*, and that if he would not aſſiſt him, he would deveſt himſelf of the Purple; concluding, it was more glorious for him to venture being put to Death, than that the Ruin of the Provinces ſhould be aſcribed to him. However, the *Præfect* obſtinately refuſed to come, and *Lupicinus* the *Magiſter Equitum*, being ſent away with ſome of the Forces, *Julian* knew not what Courſe to take; but at laſt reſolved, it was beſt to withdraw the Remainder out of their Quarters, and put them into the

A Libel hereupon ſpred abroad.

Road. This being once known abroad, a Libel was dropped near the Standard of the *Petulantes*, amongſt other Seditions Paſſages containing; that *they were as Criminals, to be Baniſhed to the utmoſt Parts of the Earth*; and now their Relations ſhould again become Slaves to the *Almans*, from whom they had delivered them by ſo many bloody Battels.

87. Word hereof being brought to *Cæſar's* Court; when he conſidered the ground of their Complaint, he ordered them to carry their Families with them into the *Eaſt*, (in what Senſe a Family is to be taken in ſuch Caſes, we have told the Reader already out of the Laws) permitting them the uſe of that ſort of the *Curſus Publicus*, called *Clabularis*, for that Purpoſe. And when it was doubted what way they ſhould go, at the Suggeſtion of *Decentius*, it was reſolved it ſhould be by *Paris* (which *Zoſimus* calls a little Town of *Germany*) where *Julian* ſtill lay, being not yet removed out of his Winter-Quarters. Upon their Approach he met them in the *Suburbs*, and according to his Cuſtom, fell on commending ſuch of them as he knew, and putting them in mind of thoſe gallant Things they had formerly done, gently admoniſhed them to go chearfully to the Emperour, where they ſhould each be preferr'd, according to what they had deſerved. Beſides this, he invited the Principal Officers to a Feaſt, and asked them what he could do for them, who being wonderfully taken with ſo great Kindneſs, were very melancholy to think of their Journey, as well becauſe thereby, through their hard Fortune they muſt be deprived of ſo ſweet a Commander, as baniſhed from the Places of their Nativity; and ſo in great Grief they went to their Lodgings. And now the Reader may eaſily gueſs

Ἰουλιανοῦ δὲ ἐν τῷ Παρισίῳ (Γερμαμανίας δὲ αὕτη πολίχνη) διατρίβοντος. *Hiſt. l.* 3.

The Souldiers mutiny, and Salute *Julian* Emperour.

Ille mente fundatâ univerſis reſiſtebat, & ſingulis.

gueſs what this great Dearneſs, on both ſides, would come to. Their Sorrow would not let them reſt, till Morning, but in the Night they fell into great and heavy Lamentations, each as his particular Concernments preſſed him; beſides that General and Paramount one, of leaving ſo gracious a Prince; and making their Caſes known one to another, their Anger, as Coales, when laid together, into a Flame, brake forth into open Rage: Their Tongues now have the ſtrength to move their hands, and their Hands to graſp and brandiſh their Swords. To the Palace they march in a menacing manner, and beſetting it round, ſo that none could eſcape; with a horrid Noiſe ſalute *Julian* by the Title of *Auguſtus*, and vehemently urge him to come forth to them. For all their Haſte he made them ſtay till it was Light, but then he was forced to come down. At the Sight of him, with a Reiterated Shout, and an Unanimous and Reſolute Conſent, they again called him *Auguſtus*; to whom he anſwered, *Nolo Imperare*, as Seriouſly and Cordially, as ever any ſaid *Nolo Epiſcopare* in another Caſe. Nay our Author tells us, that All, Some, and every One (and ſurely they were a good many) of them, he reſolutely Opposed; one while ſhewing that he was diſpleaſed, another while ſtretching out his Hands, intreating, nay beſeeching them, that after ſo many and happy Victories, they would not do any unhandſome thing, nor by their unſeaſonable Raſhneſs give Occaſion to further Troubles.

He would decline it, but they compell him to accept the Title.

88. Having brought them to ſome Quiet, he then gently praid them to content themſelves, and without any Innovation or Diſturbance, they ſhould have what they ſo much deſired: for ſeeing they were ſo unwilling to leave their own Country, and go into remote Parts, they ſhould return to it again, and he would take upon him to argue it with the Emperour, who was a moſt prudent Perſon, and capable of Reaſon. Now can we imagine theſe men of *Mars* and *Metal* to have Hearts, as hard and invulnerable, as the Steel, or Iron they wore; that ſo ſweet ſo obliging Words could have no Impreſſion on them, but to leave them merely ſelfiſh and ingrateful? for one good Turn, doubtleſs, requires another. No, they would not endure he ſhould caſt ſuch a Blot upon them; but unanimouſly, and with the greateſt Earneſtneſs imaginable, nay with reproachful Language, mixt, as if they would not be ſo uſed, they compelled him to receive the *Imperial Title*, Then being lift on high, upon the Target of a Foot-Souldier, and Silence being made, he was declared *Auguſtus*, and now was bid to produce his Diadem, but he denied that ever he had any; whereupon they asked for that which his Wife wore about her Head, or Neck. For the Reader muſt know, that generally a Diadem in thoſe Times, was but a thing like a Fillet, or a Bracelet ſtudded with Gold, or Pearl, or ſome ſuch like things. But he told them, that it was neither ſeemly, nor lucky, to have his Beginnings graced with any thing belonging to a Woman's Ornaments (he would not for Manners take that Dreſs, which in his Tale of the *Cæſars* he ſo lovingly beſtowed upon his Uncle *Conſtantine*) and therefore they betook themſelves to his Horſe, to ſee if amongſt his Trappings and Furniture they might find ſomething to reſemble that Enſign of Sovereign Authority. But he as earneſtly affirmed this to be alſo unſeemly, and ſo without any more to do, one *Maurus*, who was afterward preferred to the Dignity of *Comes*, and ill behaved himſelf in a Matter of War, though at preſent but one of the *Haſtati*, took a Bracelet, or Chain he wore, and confidently put it about his Head. And thus *Julian*, driven to it by utmoſt Neceſſity, and conſidering, that he had no way to ſhun the preſent Danger if he had perſevered in his Refuſal, was forced to ſubmit, and promiſed them all five *Aurei*, and a pound of Silver.

89. The thing being over, he was Diſtracted with no leſs Care than formerly, ſo that he neither wore the Diadem, nor ventured abroad, nor minded any of the Publick Concernments, however preſſing; but mewed himſelf up cloſe in his Lodgings, frighted by the Variety of theſe ſad Accidents. Hereupon a certain *Decurio* of the Palace (a Place of Dignity *Ammianus* tells us,) ran ſuddenly to the Camps of the *Petulantes*, and *Celtæ*, and roared out; that a dreadful thing had hapned; for he, who by their Will and Reſolution had been declared *Auguſtus* the day before, was now privily murdered. The Souldiers enraged at that Word, (as, true Stories, or Falſe are apt equally to move them) with their Swords drawn, or other Arms, ran furiouſly to the Court, and with the Noiſe, the *Guard*, *Tribunes* and the *Comes Domeſticorum* himſelf was frighted away, as from preſent Death, not being able to imagine what they ſhould mean. At length, ſeeing no Body to oppoſe them, they ſtopt both their Courſe, and Fury; and being then demanded what the Matter was, would ſcarcely be ſatisfied concerning the Safety of their Emperour, till, admitted into the Conſiſtory they ſaw him glorioully ſet out with the *Imperial*

Habit. But upon Report of what had paſſed at *Paris*; ſome of thoſe that had been ſent away toward the Emperour, under Conduct of *Sintula*, the *Tribune* of *Julian's* Stable, returned thither; and now it being time to ſhow himſelf publickly, like an Emperour indeed, all were ordered to meet together in the Field, the following Day. Againſt the time a more ſtately Tribunal was erected, which he mounted with greater Pomp, Encompaſſed, with the Eagles and Banners, and incircled with multitudes of armed men. After a little Pauſe, to take a view of their Countenances, and accordingly to Frame his Speech, when he ſaw them chearful and pleas'd, He put them in mind, how from the time that being very young, he had in ſhow worne the Purple, and by Heavenly direction been committed to their Protection, he never had been driven from his Purpoſe of a good Life, being preſent with them in all their Labours, and aſſiſting them to humble ſuch proud *Barbarians*, as were left, and ſurvived the Slaughters of innumerable Thouſands of their Companions, and the Deſtruction of their Cities. He added, that it was needleſs to relate, how often in the Cold and hard Winter, when Wars are wont to ceaſe, both by Sea and Land; they and he together had defeated thoſe *Almans*, which at other times had been invincible. But that was by no means to be paſſed over in Silence, that moſt Bleſſed Day, which brought in a manner perpetual Liberty to the *Galls*, when near *Argentoratum*, while he ran up and down where the Darts flew the thickeſt, they by the Srength of their Valour, and Military Experience, when whole Torrents of Enemies, as it were, fell with Violence upon them, either deſtroyed them with the Sword, or forced them into the River, there to Periſh, few of themſelves being left, whoſe Exequies they performed, rather by Praiſe and Commendation than by Mourning. Having done ſo many, and ſo great things, he believed that Poſterity (and that through all Nations) would talk of their wel-deſerving of the Common-wealth, if they would but defend to the utmoſt, him whom they had advanced to an higher Degree of Majeſty, if any thing otherwiſe than well ſhould happen. And for preſerving of good Order, that valiant Men might not go unrewarded, nor Secret Ambition ſeize upon the Honour that was due to Merit, with their Council, and Approbation, he was reſolved that neither any Civil, nor Military Officer, otherwiſe than as Deſert required, ſhould riſe to any higher Preferment; but ſuch be diſgraced, as ſhould but move in behalf of any that was not deſerving. This was much applauded by the ordinary Souldier; who having for all his Service hitherto received, neither Preferment, nor any other Reward; was encouraged to hope for better things, and teſtified the ſame by ſtriking his Lance upon his Target. And now the *Celtæ* and *Petulantes* intreated for ſome *Actuaries*, that they might be ſent upon ſome Employments deſigned them; which he would not grant, and they went away neither offended nor ſorry. But in Reference to what *Julian* had accepted, *Ammianus* further tells us that he told ſome of his intimate Friends, how that the Night before he was declared Emperour, ſomething appeared to him, in ſhape like the Publick *Genius*, and in a chiding manner told him; that formerly, though privately, he had watch'd at his Door, having a great deſire to increaſe his Dignity, and had ſometimes gone away, as being rejected; and if now he would not entertain him, the Multitude concurring in their Opinion, he would depart ſorrowfully, as one put away: but bid him think ſeriouſly of it, that he would dwell no longer with him.

His Speech to them in Commendation of himſelf.

90. Thus merrily went on Matters in *Gall*, when in the mean time the *Eaſtern* Provinces were in a far different Humour. For there the Cruel *Sapor*, being encouraged by the Advice and Aſſiſtance of two Fugitives (*Antoninus*, whom we ſpake of before, and one *Craugaſius*, who had fled to his Wife, that was taken Priſoner in a Caſtle) burnt ſtill with a vehement deſire of Conquering *Meſopotamia*, while *Conſtantius* was far diſtant with his Army; and paſſing over *Tigris*, began his Work, by laying Siege to *Singara*, a City on an Hill of that Name, and near that River. Thoſe that were in it were very Couragious, eſteeming it every way very well provided, and upon knowledge of his coming, ſtood ready to receive him on the Walls. At firſt he Attacqued them with fair words, in which he ſpent one whole day, to give them time to conſider; but that not prevailing, by that time it was light the next Morning, he ſet up his Bloody Flag, and began the Aſſault; they as valiantly Defended it, and ſeveral dayes paſſed in this manner, many being Kill'd and Wounded on both ſides; till at laſt, by a Tryal of many Engines, one Ram did ſuch Execution againſt a ſquare Tower, that it made a great Breach therein; and though they wrought very induſtriouſly to make up the place again; yet the Mortar being Green, and the Stones as yet looſe, it again continually Battered

Sapor again paſſeth *Tigris*, and Beſieges *Singara*.

Takes it by Aſſault.

and lays Siege to *Bezabde.*

down their Work, and at laſt made ſuch a Paſſage as gave the *Perſians* a large Entrance into the Town; which being taken, a very few were kill'd in the Hurry, and the reſt were ſent away, by the Command of *Sapor*, to the fartheſt Parts of *Perſia*. The Gariſon conſiſted of two *Legions*, *viz.* the *Prima Flavia*, and the *Prima Parthica*, beſides numerous Inhabitants, and a Party of Horſe, taken in upon the ſudden Occaſion, who all, with their hands bound behind them, were led away into Captivity, there being none to reſcue them. For the greater part of the Army lay, for the Defence of *Niſibis*, at a great diſtance, and neither in old time could any Relieve *Singara*, when in danger, there was ſuch want of Water in the Countrey about it; ſo that though it was at firſt Built to curb the ſudden Motions of the Enemy, yet it brought more Damage than Advantage to the *Romans*, being ſeveral times taken, with the Loſs of them that kept it. This Town being Razed, *Sapor* very prudently ſhunned *Niſibis*, remembring how ill he had fared formerly there, but turned to the right hand toward *Bezabde* (more anciently called *Phœnicha*) a ſtrong Fort placed on an Hill, indifferent high, and bending towards the Banks of *Tigris*, where the Ground was low, and leſs Defenſible, Fortified by a double Work, and Manned by three *Legions*, *viz.* the *Secunda Flavia*, the *Secunda Armeniaca*, and *Parthica Secunda*, beſides many Archers of the *Zabdiceti*; in the Territories of whom, then living in Obedience to the *Roman* Empire, this *Municipium* ſtood.

And takes it in like manner.

But is repulſed at *Urta.*

91. *Sapor*, after his manner, firſt Summoning it, adviſed them to be Prudent, and come forth, and ſubmit to him, the Conquerour of Nations; and a Day and a Night being given them to conſider, when this would not do, by that time it was light the next day, he fell with all Violence upon the Wall; but found ſuch Reſiſtance, that on the third he, as well as the Beſieged, was glad to think of one day's Reſpit. Now came to him out of the Town the Biſhop of that *Diœceſe*, who, by all the Rhetorick he had, could not perſwade him to Raiſe his Siege; but on the contrary, rather the more encouraged, he ſware he would not depart, till he had taken it. A Slander was raiſed on the Biſhop, as if he ſhould diſcover to him the Weakneſs of the Town, becauſe afterward he ſet his Engines to the moſt rotten Place in all the Wall. But here was again ſuch vigorous Oppoſition, both by thoſe Engines called *Baliſtæ*, and alſo by the other termed Scorpions, whereof the one caſt Arrows, and the other Stones; Moreover by the tumbling down of Stones, ſcalding Pitch, and *Bitumen* by the Hand, that nothing could have prevailed with the *Perſians* to perſiſt in the Enterprize, but the violent Reſolution of their King, who they knew would be enraged, if the City was not his before Winter. This drove them on without any Regard had to Death, or Torment, which in ſo diverſe Shapes preſented themſelves to their View; and it hapned that one Ram, which was covered with a Raw Hide, ſo as no Fire could hurt it, creeping by Degrees, battered the Wall with ſuch Violence, that down it fell, and in it's Fall killed many of thoſe within. At this Breach did the *Perſians* enter; and now great Slaughter was made on both ſides: for the Defendants ſtill fought, and held out, till, borne down by Numbers, they fell merely by the Sword of the too powerful Enemy. *Sapor*, overjoyed at the taking of this Place, which was of ſuch Moment for his Deſign, repaired the Wall, and put in a ſtrong Garriſon, well victualled, leſt the *Romans* learning of what Importance 'twas, ſhould attempt to retake it. Then went he to a *Fort* called *Urta*, very ancient, as imagined to be built by *Alexander* the Great, in the utmoſt Quarter of *Meſopotamia*, of great Strength, and Inacceſſible. This by all Art imaginable he endeavoured to be maſter of, but neither words of both ſorts, nor Force prevailing, he broke up his Siege and departed.

Conſtantius Prepares againſt him for the following year.

92. So went Matters betwixt *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, the News whereof were brought to *Conſtantius*, then lying at *Conſtantinople*, or thereabout; for thither he was come out of *Myſia*, from the Expedition againſt the *Limigantes*; having in the Month of *October* reached the City of *Nicæa* in *Thrace*, as he travelled thither. Being now much concerned about the Progreſs made by the *Perſian* in the *Eaſtern* Parts, with all Induſtry he ſpent the Winter in Preparations for a vigorous Reſiſtance. He raiſed new Forces; filled up the Vacancies in the *Legions*; abundantly furniſhed them wirh Arms; and for a further Supply, procured as many *Scythians* as he could for Love, or Money. For Conveyance of all theſe men, and Arms, there muſt needs be great Need of the *Curſus Publicus*, or Publick Carriage; and therefore about this time we find a Conſtitution (now parted in the *Code* of *Theodoſius* into three ſeveral Laws) directed to the *Agentes in Rebus*, out of the Body or Company of whom, as we ſaid, only, he would have the *Curioſi*, or thoſe that managed it to be choſen. Now although *Gothofred* would

have this Conſtitution to relate to *Illyricum*, the *Præfectus Prætorio* of which Diſtrict, *Ammianus* tells us, was very careful of getting Proviſions; from which Paſſage, and another cited out of *Victor*, that learned Man proves what Care *Conſtantius* took to provide for the well Management of this *Curſus*, and for the Eaſe of the Subject, againſt the Avarice and inſolence of thoſe that managed it. Yet ſeeing he was now come further Eaſtward, was moving towards thoſe Provinces which were infeſted by the *Perſian*, and, as *Gothofred* himſelf proves in his *Chronicon* (added to the Chronologie of the Laws) that in *October* he was got as far as *Nice* in *Thrace*; whereas on the laſt day of *October* this Conſtitution bears Date, or was propoſed; we cannot but conclude it to reſpect *Thrace* it ſelf, through which the Army, and Arms muſt paſs, and whence, as *Ammianus* writes, he Purpoſed to march, as ſoon as Spring ſhould be adult, or, as he means, the Seaſon would permit. But as to the Conſtitution it ſelf, *Conſtantius* had been indulgent to the *Agentes in Rebus*, thinking them fitteſt for this Charge, as we ſaid formerly, and they were often guilty of Inſolence, and Rapine; and the rather, becauſe they were Subject to the Juriſdiction properly of the *Magiſter Officiorum*, who being at a great Diſtance, when they were in the Provinces about their Buſineſs, hope of Impunity made them more bold to commit Diſorders. Therefore bad Princes, who intended to make Uſe of ſuch men as Spunges, would not have them under the Eye, or Awe of any other, but reſerved the Power of animadverting upon them to themſelves alone: as *Caracalla* ordered it towards the *Frumentarii*, to whom theſe *Agentes in Rebus* ſucceeded: but for Reſtrainment of all ſorts of Crimes, the moſt effectual Courſe is, that the Offenders be puniſhable in thoſe Juriſdictions, where they commit the Faults; becauſe the Apprehenſion of preſent Danger hath greater Force to reſtrain Enormities; and Eſcape, which often happens in removal of Priſoners, is prevented; and Satisfaction by a Sight of the Puniſhment is given to the Country, or Parties injur'd, who are diſcouraged from Proſecution by the Toil, and Charge of tedious Journeys. Therefore, in the firſt Place, *Conſtantius* gives Power to the *Præfectus Prætorio* over the “ *Agentes in Rebus*, and *Curioſi*, at ſuch time as they are employed about the *Curſus Publicus*; for two years before, he had in general given to the *Præfect*, and Governours “ of Provinces, Authority over them; yet they complain'd, and alleged, that the *Præfect* had nothing to do with them, and that they were puniſhable only by the *Magiſter Officiorum*. And he ſignifies himſelf to be ſo far from revoking any Sentence “ given againſt them by the *Præfect*, or any way encouraging them, if they “ had Recourſe to his own Perſon, that he aſſures them, he would animadvert upon “ them with more Severity; wherein he was imitated by ſome of his Succeſſors; although *Tribonianus* hath minced this Threatning in his *Code*, or that which goes under the Name of *Juſtinian*.

Prid. Kal. Nov. Euſebio & Hypatio Coſs. A.D. 359.

Auxilia ſuper his Scytharum poſcebat mercede, vel gratiâ, ut adulto vere, profectus è Thraciis loca ſuſpecta protinus occuparet.

Gives Power to the *Præfectus Prætorio* **to reſtrain the** *Agentes in Rebus* **and** *Curioſi.*

L. 3. de Curioſis Cod. Th. ubi ſuprà.

L. 3. Cod. Juſtin. eod. Tit.

93. But to prevent Abuſes in any Office, or Employment, the ſecureſt Courſe is, to make Choice of Honeſt and Fit Perſons to diſcharge it; for though Opportunities tempt men, yet the Impreſſions are made according to the Temper and Inclinations of the Parties. Now at this time, as well otherwiſe, as from this Law, it appears, that the worſt of men, and moſt covetous aſpired after the Office of *Curioſus*, to have the greater Opportunity to commit Rapine, and Diſorder. To prevent ſuch Avarice, and ſelf-ſeeking, *Conſtantius*, in the Second Place ordains; That none be preferred for his Ambition by Suffrage, or Favour, but according to his “ Courſe, and his Merits in Service, by the Judgment of the *Schole*, that is, the Body “ or Company; ſo that (through Knavery) *nothing be kept from the Knowledge of the* “ *Prince of all that they had Learnt, or Diſcovered.* For there were two Things the “ *Curioſi* were in thoſe times, employed in, *viz.* the Management of the *Curſus Publicus*, and alſo that of Intelligence; whereupon they had the Titles of the *Eyes of the Prince*, of *Exploratores*, and were ſaid *Curas Reip. agere*, whence they were alſo called *Curagendarii*. But further; that they might have no Pretence to Burthen the “ Country, he will have them know what they ſhould demand, and no more; *viz.* “ for every *Rheda* one *Solidus*, in ſuch Provinces only, wherein the Country was “ at the Charge of the *Curſus*; for in ſome the Country was to be at the Expenſe, “ and in others it was managed by Money Iſſued out of the Treaſury at this time. “ And laſtly, for to huſband well the *Curſus Publicus*; as alſo, perhaps out of Reſpect “ to the High-wayes, he tells them; that no Traveller muſt expect or hope “ for any more than one of that ſort call'd *Clabularis*, or *Angaria*, which was a great “ Waggon drawn with a Teme of Oxen, for Conveyance of Families, (as we “ have noted *Julian* to have granted the Uſe of it to the Souldiers, who were then deſtined to march into the *Eaſt*) it carrying fifteen hundred Pound-weight. Not long after, *viz.* the laſt day but one of the Year, he gave out another “

Con-

Vide Gothofred. in L. 5. de Curioſis Cod. Th. Abeſt hæc Lex à Cod. Juſtiniani.

And Enacts ſeveral other things about the *Curioſi.*

Ita ut nihil veſtri Principis, ex his quæ geri in Rep. videritis, notitiæ ſubtrahatis.

L. 5. *ejuſd. Tit. Cod. Th. Abeſt etiam à Cod.* Juſtin.

Rhedas i. e. inquit, quas Quadrigas, vel Flagella appellant. Flagella, quòd uno Flagello, vel Aurigâ regeretur. Vide Com.

Conſtitution to the Senate of *Conſtantinople* concerning the *Prætorſhip*; not in reference to the ſetting forth of Games, or Publick Works, which all his former reſpected; but to Juriſdiction, whereof he names five points, which, becauſe they belong rather to the *Jus Privatum*, than the Politie or Government, are not proper here to be inſiſted on. But beſides this Buſineſs of the *Prætorſhip*, by this Conſtitution (divided now into ſeveral parts) he provides that Appeals ſhould lye out of *Bithynia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Lydia*, the *Helleſpont*, the *Iſlands*, *Phrygia Salutaris*, *Europe*, *Rhodope*, and *Hæmimont*, that is, the nine *Suburbicarian* Provinces, to the *Præfect* of this City. For now, firſt of all, he removing the *Duumviri*, ordained a *Præfect* of *Conſtantinople*, in the latter end of this year, *viz. Honoratus*, who had been *Præfect* of *Gall*; and therefore ſent this Oration, as it's term'd (or Conſtitution) to the Senate, for limiting the ſeveral Juriſdictions of him and the *Prætors*. In Name, and other Privileges, *Conſtantine* had made this his new City equal to *Rome*, but it was not yet like it, as to Government: therefore *Conſtantius*, his Son, who had a great kindneſs for it, and perhaps ſome more, becauſe it was Founded at the ſame time that he was made *Cæſar*, gave it a Single Governour, that in this reſpect it might be equal with *Rome* and *Alexandria*; and for the more Honour, beſtowed on him the Title of *Præfect*, the ſame that he of old *Rome* enjoyed; for why he ſhould be firſt *Conſularis* of *Byzantium*, when the Laws Extant give him the Title of *Præfect*, there is no Colour, but a Miſtake of *Pancirolus*.

Makes a *Præfect of Conſtantinople.*

L. 16. de Prætoribus, &c. Cod. Th. unica hæc Lex ex hoc Tit. in Cod. Juſtin. relata eſt, interpolata. Vide omnino Com. Gothofr. in L. & Chronic. Hiſtoric. ad hunc Annum.

A.D. 359. C nſtantii 22. Euſebio & Hypatio Coſs.

94. Some ſix weeks after the Date of this Law, *viz.* the day before the *Nones* of *February* of the following Year; when *Conſtantius* himſelf, the Tenth, and *Julian*, the Third time, were Conſuls; by another Edict he obviated an Abuſe, frequently committed in thoſe Times; upon Complaint of *Helpidius*, who was now *Præfect* of the *Eaſt*, and conſequently, had the Diœceſe of *Ægypt* within his Diſtrict. It was the Cuſtom for the Inferiour ſort of People, as Husbandmen, when they found themſelves burthened by Tribute and Impoſitions, for ſhelter to betake themſelves to the Protection of Great Men, under whoſe Wings, or in whoſe Houſes, having Refuge, they often eſcaped Scot-free; not only to the great Defrauding of the Treaſury, but the loſs of their Neighbours, whoſe Lands adjoyned to theirs, and who were bound to make up the Sum required of the Village, if from the true Proprietors it could not be had. But this was not all. From an Eaſe, this Cuſtom grew to be a greater Burthen to theſe poor Men: for the Great ones, whom they choſe for their Patrons, would, for greedineſs of Gain, make their Ends and Markets out of their Neceſſities; and ſo much, that it often proved their Undoing, and became a mighty Grievance to Miſerable People. Now *Helpidius* obſerving how in *Ægypt* the Publick Revenue riſing by Tributes, was hereby Diminiſhed, or poſſibly that quantity of Corn, which of late years had been impoſed upon that Fertile Countrey (as we have already hinted) for the Maintenance of *Conſtantinople*, the raiſing of which was under his Charge, acquainted *Conſtantius*, how the Husbandmen (Free-holders, not Farmers) ſheltered themſelves under the Patronage of the Great ones of that Country; and particularly under the *Duces* themſelves, *viz.* thoſe called *Duces Rei Militaris per Ægyptum*, as of *Lybia* and *Thebais*, of whom heretofore. Now by an Edict directed back to him by way of Anſwer, to ſave harmleſs the Treaſury, and the Neighbours of ſuch as plaid leaſt in ſight, he Commands, That ſuch Perſons as afford ſuch ſhelter to Obnoxious men, be conſtrained to pay what was due to the Publick from them: and alſo that the Perſons ſo received be taken utterly, or ſeparated, from them. And ſo much doth *Conſtantius* to reſtrain this Cuſtom, againſt which, ſucceeding Emperours did more Severely provide, as we may ſee hereafter. Towards the latter end of the ſame Month of *February*, he made another Law for the Encouragement of *Scholars*; Ordaining, That none ſhould be admitted into the Chiefeſt Place of any *Decuria* in *Rome*, except he was well ſeen in the Liberal Studies, and in Eloquence. And for this purpoſe he will have *Julian*, the *Præfect* of that City, to whom he gives the Title of *Sublimitas* (who was, as the Head of the People and Senate of *Rome*, ſo alſo chief Commander of the *Decuriæ*) to preſent the Names of ſuch Perſons to Himſelf, that he might have the Preferring of them. Now by *Decuriæ* are meant certain Companies or Bodies of Men, who were Employed in Matters relating to the Conſultations and Decrees of the *Senate*, of whom the chief Scribes were in great Repute. For they framed the Acts and Decrees; and to them the Publick Records were of old committed; ſo that being skill'd in the Laws, they were Aſſiſtant, and gave Directions to the Magiſtrates in the Management of their Offices.

A.D. 360. Conſtantio A. 10. & Juliano Cæſ. 3. Coſs.

Provides by an Edict, againſt an Abuſe committed by the Husbandmen in *Ægypt*.

L. 1. de Patrociniis Vicorum Cod. Th. lib. 11. tit. 24. Dat. Prid. Non. Febr. Conſtantinop. Conſtantio A. 10. & Jul. Cæſ. 4 Coſs. A.D. 360. Abeſt hic Tit. à Cod. Juſtin.

Vide Gothofr. in L. Ne autem Literaturæ (quæ omnium Virtutum maxima eſt) Præmia denegentur, &c. L. 1. de Decuriis urbis Romæ, Cod. Th. lib. 14. tit. 1. Dat. 6. Cal. Mart. Conſtantinop. Accepta Id. Mart. Rom. 8 1. poſt die. Abeſt à Cod Juſtin.

95. In the mean time, *Julian*, ſtill lying at *Paris*, had his Thoughts at work; for he could not but imagine how well the News of his late Preferment would be

Publickly *Julian* writes, to Pacifie the Emperour, a Letter concerning his own Praiſes.

Privately others, in Biting Language.

be taken by *Conſtantius*, by conſidering what he himſelf ſhould have thought of it, if one that he had Advanced ſhould have been made Emperour by a handful of Souldiers, without his conſent or knowledge. He thought it beſt to ſend ſome to him whom he could truſt, with Letters ſo worded, as if poſſible, to aſſwage his Indignation. Theſe Letters, Humble, and yet Stout enough (if *Ammianus* word them not for him (as often Hiſtorians make bold with Letters and Speeches) expreſſed in the firſt place, what great Labours and Dangers he had undergone in that hard Service he had thruſt him upon, wherein he was the firſt that went on, and the laſt that came off. That what had lately happened, the Souldiers had partly done, in reference to his Deſerts, and eſpecially Enraged at the thought of Quitting their Country and Families, and being forced into ſo Remote Parts. That, as for him, he had Reſiſted them in what they went about, with his utmoſt Will and Power, and ſo long, till they Threatned him with Death; and when he did yield, it was not without a Conflict within himſelf, and an Apprehenſion, that had he Died in his Reſolution, the Honour might have been put upon ſome other, who Gladly would have received it. Then he prayes him to pardon him, and accept this Excuſe in good part, promiſing by his Demeanour to ſhew himſelf not Ingrateful. He tells him he will find *Curule Spaniſh* Horſes, alſo ſome Choiſe young men, born of *Barbarians* on this ſide the *Rhine*, or elſe of ſuch as had yielded up themſelves, to mix amongſt the *Gentiles* and *Scutarii*. For his Officers, he would receive ſuch *Præfecti Prætorio* as were known to be Honeſt and Able, as he ſhould direct; but as for the Ordinary Judges, or Magiſtrates, Commanders in the Army, and his Guard, he thought it reaſonable, that he himſelf ſhould make choice of them, ſeeing they were to be truſted ſo near about him. He adds, that out of *Gall* there were no thoughts of having any Supply for Diſtant Places, that Countrey had ſo much work within it ſelf; neither was it at all convenient to ſend any Natives of it, at this time, againſt the *Perſians*, when it was ſo Haraſſed by continual Diſorders, that it ſtood in need of Aſſiſtance from other Provinces. And concludes with putting him in mind, how great Advantages Concord and good Underſtanding betwixt Princes have procured. This was the Tenor of the Letters, he openly owned; but *Ammianus* tells us, that together with them, he ſent others more ſecret, privily to be preſented to him, which contained chiding and biting Language; the Contents whereof it was, neither lawful for him to Inquire after, nor decent to make Publick. Out of reſpect to whom? I am afraid, not to *Conſtantius* (we find no ſuch ſqueamiſhneſs when he talks of him, but over and over a Rehearſal of every minute particular almoſt, that can make againſt him) but to *Julian* himſelf. For this Employment certain Grave Perſons were made choice of, *viz.* *Pentadius*, his *Magiſter Officiorum*, and *Eutherius*, the *Præpoſitus Cubiculi*, who, after the delivery of the Letters, were to tell what they themſelves with their own Eyes had ſeen, in reference to his late Preferment; and were of Underſtanding how to carry themſelves ſo, as might moſt ſute his Intereſt.

Conſtantius rages thereat.

96. But they went upon an unacceptable Errand. It hapned the worſe, that *Florentius*, the *Præfect* of *Gall*, was gone away before; who, upon hearing that the Forces were ſent for, out of Apprehenſion of ſome Diſturbance thence likely to ariſe, went to *Vienna* under Pretence of Purveyance for the Army. But it was indeed out of Fear of *Julian*, whom he had diſobliged; and when he had the News of his being ſaluted Emperour; deſpairing of Life, he left his Family, and got him away to *Conſtantius*, to whom, that he might excuſe himſelf, he accuſed him as a Traytor in an high Meaſure. Yet *Julian*, after his Departure, did not at all moleſt his Relations; but on the contrary, allowed them the Uſe of the *Curſus Publicus*, for removal of themſelves in Safety into the *Eaſt*. The Ambaſſadours after a tedious Journey through *Italy* and *Illyricum*, at length got over the *Boſphorus*, and found *Conſtantius* at *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, formerly known by the Name of *Mazaca*, a famous City conveniently ſeated at the Foot of the Mountain *Argæus*. Being admitted to Audience, the Emperour, upon peruſal of the Letters, fell into a very great Paſſion, and with a menacing Countenance, which ſeemed to threaten no leſs than Death, commanded them to be gone out of his Preſence, refuſing to hear any more of the Buſineſs they came about. And now did he fluctuate much in his Thoughts, whether he ſhould proceed in his Journey againſt the *Perſians*, or turn back to Chaſtiſe his ambitious Kinſman, as he eſteemed him; but the Advice of the Wiſer ſort prevailed, and he gave out Orders for the Expedition into the *Eaſt*. Upon further Conſideration he preſently diſmiſſed the Meſſengers, and ſent away *Leonas* his *Quæſtor*, into *Gall*, with Letters to *Julian*, wherein he Signified, that he had preferred him as one, who he thought would not make any Innovation; and

he

But, upon further Conſideration, adviſes him to content himſelf with the Dignity of *Cæſar.*

he adviſed him, if he had a regard to his own Security, and that of his Friends, to humble himſelf, and be content with his former Dignity of *Cæſar*, to which he had in a Legal manner attained. And to ſtrike the more Awe into him, and to let him ſee his Power and Reſolution, he promoted *Nebridius*, who was *Quæſtor* to *Julian*, into the Place of *Florentius*, the *Præfect* of *Gall*, *Fœlix* the *Notary* to be *Magiſter Officiorum*, and ſome others he named to other Places; having, before any thing was known of *Cæſar's* Innovation, nominated *Gumoharius* the Succeſſour of *Lupicinus*, to be *Magiſter Militum*. *Leonas* coming to *Paris* was well received, as an Honourable, and Prudent Perſon, and the day following *Julian* went to the Camp, where he had cauſed to be aſſembled all the Souldiers, and a great Multitude of the Place. There, ſtanding upon his Tribunal, he commanded the Emperour's Letters to be read, and when thoſe words came to be Rehearſed; that *Conſtantius* diſapproving of all that had paſſed, thought it was very fair for him to content himſelf with the Dignity of *Cæſar*; they all cried out, with a terrible Noiſe; *Julian Auguſtus, as both the Countryman and Souldier, and the Authority of the Commonwealth hath decreed, which hath indeed been relieved; but ſtill apprehends the Danger of new Invaſions to be made by the Barbarians.* With a Report hereof, and other Letters from *Julian* importing the ſame was *Leonas* ſent back (and in Safety too *Ammianus* tells you) and of all thoſe nominated by *Conſtantius*, *Nebridius* was alone admitted to the Place of *Præfect*, according as *Julian* had formerly written, that he would receive ſuch as he ſhould recommend into that Office. But he had already ordained *Anatolius* to be *Magiſter Officiorum*, from being his *Libellorum Magiſter*; and others he advanced, as he thought it moſt conducing to his own Safety, and Intereſt. And whereas he ſtood in Fear of *Lupicinus*, though now abſent here in *Britain*, being a man haughty, and Stomachful: ſo that if he came to know any thing that had paſſed, in Probability he would raiſe Commotions in the Iſland, where he might have Opportunity enough to Levy men. He ſent a certain *Notary* to *Bononia* or *Bulloigne*, with Orders to look carefully, that none paſſed the Sea; whereby it came to paſs, that he had not the leaſt word of any Alteration, till he went back into *Gall*, and could make no Diſturbance; and ſo all Danger from his Authority and Intereſt was prevented.

The Army will have him retain his Title, and he writes back accordingly.

Callidè excuſat factum Juliani, qui Lupicinum ex Britannia reverſum comprehendi juſſit, & in Libera cuſtodia habuit cum aliquot aliis, quod Conſtantius objiciebat Juliano. Vide Valeſium in locum.

97. So did *Julian* carry himſelf in Relation to this new Honour, which was forced upon him, ſore againſt his Will; at leaſt, as he pretended, according to the Relation given us by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who living in thoſe Times, being himſelf employed in Buſineſs, and a great Friend to him, as any may eaſily perceive, ſcarcely can be thought to paſs by any thing material, eſpecially what would make for his Reputation. With him agrees fully, in things of this Nature, *Zoſimus*, of whom we have ſo much ſpoken, and much more muſt. He having told the ſame Story concerning the Envy of *Conſtantius* toward *Julian*; and how he ſent away for the Souldiers out of *Gall*, adds further, that *Julian* having herein obeyed him, he was not content with the Numbers he firſt wrote for, but required four Regiments more to be ſent. Then relating, how hereupon the Souldiers Mutinied, and how he was made Emperour by them againſt his will; whereas *Ammianus*, from his very Letters Acquaints us, how he deſired only to be Excuſed for accepting the Title of *Auguſtus*, as put upon him againſt his Conſent; but ſtill that with his good Leave, he might retain it. He tells us another Tale, that he, of his own Accord, *offered to* (*a*) *Quit it, and Content himſelf with that of CÆSAR*: and though *Ammianus* ſayes, that *Conſtantius*, writing back, Adviſed him to ſatisfie himſelf with the Dignity of *Cæſar*; *Zoſimus* tells us, far another Story, as that he Commanded him to Quit (*b*) that of *Emperour* and *Cæſar* too; and being ſatisfied with a Private Life, Reſign himſelf wholly to his Diſpoſal; if he regarded his Safety. Hereupon, *Julian* openly Declared his Opinion, as to Religion, in the hearing of all; affirming, that he would rather truſt the Gods with his Life, than rely upon the Words of *Conſtantius*. And *Conſtantius* now made Preparations for a Civil War, but as for *Julian*, he was much troubled to think that he ſhould Fight againſt him who had raiſed him to the Dignity of *Cæſar*, and thereby, with many, incurr the Cenſure of an Ingrateful man. A Probable Matter! that *Ammianus*, who was, as it were an Eye-witneſs, ſhould not better underſtand the Affairs of thoſe Times, and of the greateſt Concernment, than *Zoſimus*, who was ſcarcely born many years after. *Julian* wrote two ſorts of Letters to *Conſtantius*, when he Excuſed himſelf; the one Publickly owned, and the other Secret. Of thoſe known, *Ammianus* gives us the Draught, and therefore might and durſt pry into them, though not into the other. And can we believe *Zoſimus* got a ſight of the Secret ones? or can any man imagine, if he had, that in them which *Ammianus* affirms to have been Objurgatory and Biting, he would

Zoſimus his falſe Relation about this matter.

(*a*) ἕτοιμος ἔφασκεν εἶναι τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔχειν ἀξίαν ἀποθέμενος τὸ διάδημα. (*b*) ἀποθέσθαι πρὸς τῇ Βασιλείᾳ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος σχῆμα καταστάντα δὲ ἰδιώτην ἑαυτὸν τῇ προαιρέσει τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκδοῦναι.

would more compliment with the Emperour, and gratifie him therein, with an Offer to lay down that Title of *Auguſtus*, which in the other, that were neither objurgatory, nor biting, he endeavoured to have his Conſent, that he might Retain. But this Man, whom they would have ſo perfect in Vertue, he endeavours to clear of Ambition; not only in that he was unwilling to have admitted the Honour, being merely paſſive in it; but alſo that he was content to have laid it down again, ſo idely improbable, that he himſelf confutes it, allowing *Julian's* Principles, and him to have been ſo diſcreet as they will have him. For, conſidering the inconſtant and perfidious Humour of *Conſtantius*, as *Zoſimus* paints it out, it would have no way been ſafe for him to do it; for very few eſcape with their Lives, when reduced to a Private Condition, who have once acted the part of a Sovereign.

98. And partly upon this Account, what they talk ſo much of, his Unwillingneſs to Accept the Title of Emperour, I muſt confeſs ſomething ſticks with me, though there be other Arguments ſtill againſt it. For, *Conſtantius*, being a man ſo Jealous and Severe as they make him, *Julian* had a very great Temptation to admit gladly of ſuch an opportunity of Securing himſelf againſt the Practices which the malicious Whiſperings and Inſinuations of his Courtiers had procured againſt ſo many other Perſons. His Brother *Gallus* had, though Criminal enough, Miſcarried under the weight of this Suſpitious Humour: and though his Carriage and Demeanour was quite of another ſort; yet, if *Conſtantius* was made to believe otherwiſe, and that he Diſſembled, could there be any Fence againſt his Fear; who had taken out of the way, moved by that Paſſion, all his other Relations? And doth not the whole carriage of *Julian* towards the Army much inforce this Belief? What would have been ſaid to him at *Rome*, had he lived there, and ſo careſſed the People, when the *Tribuni Plebis* were ſo Quick-ſighted? Verily he would hardly have eſcaped the *Tarpeian Rock*; but been eſteemed as guilty, as thoſe who for their ſeeking after Popularity, by courting the Rabble, were condemned, as evidently affecting Sovereign Power. Did ever any Tyrant in *Greece*, by a more fawning or endearing Carriage, wind himſelf into the Supreme Authority, than he uſed that very Night before he was declared Emperour by the Souldiers? Firſt they muſt take *Paris* in their way, where he Quartered; at what time they were to go for the *Eaſt*. But we are told this was at the Suggeſtion of *Decentius*, the *Tribune-Notary*, who had been ſent by *Conſtantius* to fetch them: be it ſo, though perhaps one leſs ſuſpitious than *Conſtantius*, would hardly believe it (weighing all Circumſtances) yet a Perſon, who was utterly unwilling to accept of the Title; and who had it once, by the Bye, partly offered him before, upon the Borders of *Gall*, as *Ammianus* writes he had, would ſcarcely have admitted that Suggeſtion: for he could not but imagine, how unwilling they would be to quit their own Country (which in his Letters he ſo much inculcated to have ſtood in need of their Preſence) how thereupon they might be prone to Mutiny; and having formerly had an Inclination to put upon him that unwelcome Honour, would now by Indignation and Diſdain againſt *Conſtantius*, and Love toward himſelf (which longer Knowledge, and fighting together had confirmed) be hurried into a firm Reſolution of doing it. But ſo far was he from having them march another way, and being afraid of the Temptation; that as if Fearful they ſhould take another Road than that leading to the Place where he lay; whereas he might have made many Excuſes, he goes out to meet them, and as his Cuſtom was, falls on praiſing ſuch of them as he knew, and putting them in mind of their former brave Atchievments; and with gentle Words exhorts them to go, and receive their Rewards from the Emperour. After this he invites their Officers to Supper; and not only kindly entertains them with Meat and Drink, but will needs know what he can do for them. Good Meat and Drink, when ſauced, eſpecially with fair Words and Promiſes, have their Operation, as well as good Medicines. This it ſeems wrought upon them. *Ammianus* tells you, that being ſo nobly entertain'd they went away; ſurely Frolick and Merry, after ſo much good Chear; no; very ſad, and in Suſpenſe. Why? Upon a double Account; not only becauſe they were to be ſent out of their own Country, but have the Ill Fortune alſo to be deprived of ſo gentle a Commander; and burthened with this Grief, they went away to their Quarters. Now Grief muſt have vent, or worſe will come of it. In ſuch pain they were, to return one good Turn for another, as well as to ſecure their own Concernments, that they could not ſtay till next morning; but this very Night, nay at the beginning of the Night, they mutiny, and as *Zoſimus* tells us, with the very Cups in their hands, having by Papers diſperſed, irritated the Common Souldiers; therein telling them, that *Cæſar*, who by his Stratagems had pro-

Reaſons why it is not to be credited.

Qui liberaliter ità ſuſcepti, dolore duplici ſuſpenſi diſceſſerunt & mæſti, quòd eos Fortuna quædam inclemens & moderato Rectore, & Terris Genitalibus diſpararet.

procured to them in a manner all the Victories they had got againſt the *Barbarians*, and who in Fight could not be diſtinguiſhed from an ordinary Souldier, was now brought into a dangerous Condition; the Emperour by Degrees ſtealing away all his Forces, except they all would agree to hinder their Going. Hereupon, with the Cups ſtill in their Hands, they ran to the Palace, and taking him up upon a Target, made him Emperour.

99. Theſe Paſſages vehemently inſinuate how great a Deſire he had, either to obtain or eſcape the Honour; the one of them; but let the Reader himſelf Judge which of the two. And this he will the more eaſily do when he conſiders, yet other Circumſtances. Had the Honour been a Burthen to him, and he had ſo unwillingly admitted it; then indeed, as *Zoſimus* fables, he would probably have been content to lay it down; but now, beſides what his Letters ſignified concerning his Care and Endeavour this way; ſee how he labours to induce the Souldier to give way to it. Do not you expect he ſhould fall into a Rapture, in Commendation of his dear Philoſophy, from which he had been ſo unwillingly divorced, and of the Satisfaction of a ſtudious and retired Life? On the other hand recount the Toil, and Danger, to which he ſhould be expoſed by admitting of their Kindneſs; and above all the Ingratitude, which he having both the Repute and Conſcience of a vertuous man, could not but abhor (as *Zoſimus* tells us it troubled him above all things) of which he ſhould be at leaſt thought Guilty, by accepting of the Title without his Conſent, who only could legally Beſtow it, and who had advanced him to that Degree already, which had been the Step or Stair to mount to this? No; the very next Morning (and poſſibly ſeaſonable it was, leſt that Averſeneſs and Chagrin he had ſhewed, ſhould make any Impreſſion upon the Souldier) he calls his Patrons together; and inſtead of excuſing himſelf by Diſability, falls into a Panegyrick of himſelf, of his own glorious Atchievments, than which no flattering Orator of thoſe times, his *Libanius*, or any other could have ſaid more. He praiſed himſelf contrary to the Rule; for his Friends were not ſlow. He rubbs up their Memories in telling them, that ſince his Preferment to be *Cæſar*, he never was diverted from a purpoſe of doing well: How at the Deſtruction of Cities, and Slaughter of Enemies in the Field, he ever was preſent; and when Arrows flew the thickeſt, at the Battel of *Argentoratum*: And this, he ſays, its neither Fit nor Juſt, that he ſhould ſay nothing of it. Now whither tends all this, and the Inculcating ſo much, that they had ſo Fought, and ventured their Lives together? By theſe Endearments, and by this Love, which ſuch Common Labours and Dangers had procured, to oblige them to grant him the Favour, that they would permit him to diveſt himſelf of that Purple which ſate ſo uneaſie upon his Shoulders? Indeed he makes Uſe of this to preſs them to ſomething, by which they ſhould get *Immortal Fame*, in ſhewing Kindneſs to their General: But how? Even by fully Defending him, whom they had lately Adorned with an higher Degree of Majeſty, by their Valour and Gravity, if any adverſe thing ſhould happen. Now ſurely this was not, that in Caſe *Conſtantius* would not permit him to quit the Title of Emperour, that they would Compell him ſo to do. Then it follows, that he promiſed them for their Encouragement, to be careful of beſtowing Preferments, and with Hope hence conceived, the ordinary Souldier was much animated; having before experienced little as to Preferments or Rewards. And, what confirms all this, and Demonſtrates how willing he was to part with the Title of Emperour (as *Zoſimus* belies him) is the Anſwer he returned to *Conſtantius*, upon his bidding him ſatisfie himſelf with his former Condition. Had be been ſo averſe to the Preferment, he would certainly have quitted his troubleſom Army, and never have let them known, how much the Emperour's welcome Advice cloſed with his Inclination. But he calls them together, cauſeth the Letters to be read to them, and returns for Anſwer what they expreſſed concerning his Holding the Honour they had conferred upon him, with ſo much Stoutneſs and Indignation.

Poſt quæ opinor tanta & talia nec Poſteritatem tacituram de veſtris in Remp. Meritis in Gentibus cunctis, ſi plenè quem altiore faſtigio Majeſtatis ornaſtis, virtute gravitateque, ſi quid adverſum ingruerit, defendatis.

100. But enough, and too much of this Subject; concerning which, thou wilt, I ſuppoſe, Reader, receive more Satisfaction one way or other, before we have done with *Julian*. I have no Prejudice againſt him, but am bound and provoked to diſcover the Partiality of *Zoſimus*, who to cry up him, becauſe a *Pagan*, and to beſpatter other Princes upon the Account of *Chriſtianity*, generally runs croſs to other Hiſtorians, both of his own Perſwaſion, and ſuch as having been Eye-Witneſſes, or as Good, relate Matters with all Circumſtances in ſuch manner, as *Ammianus* doth theſe: ſo as they cannot but gain Belief. We have ſeen from this Writer what things *Conſtantius* did againſt the *Sarmatæ*, and the Northern Nations, in-

habiting beyond the *Danube*, or *Iſter*, (for theſe two are the ſame River, though farther off called *Iſter*, and near to the Sea, *Danubius*) how he Conquered them, made many of their Kings ſubmit, and receive Conditions; cauſed them to remove into other places; And a man of ordinary Underſtanding would think and ſay, that for ſeveral years thus Haraſſing their Countrey, and lying ſo long in *Pannonia*, at *Sirmium*, or other Places to watch them, it was He that Curbed them, and the Awe of Him that Reſtrained them, and kept them within their Bounds; ſo as he was the more Encouraged to undertake an Expedition againſt the *Perſians*. No; *Zoſimus* will better inform you. It was *Julian*, even *Julian*, that they were afraid of. Why? was he near them? No. But theſe *Barbarians* inhabiting beyond *Iſter*, out of Fear that he ſhould preſs through *Gall*, and come over the River, and ſet upon them, contained themſelves within the Bounds of Modeſty. Upon this Account he tells you it was, that all *Italy*, nay *Illyricum* it ſelf, ſo nigh to *Conſtantius* his Quarters were out of Danger. Thus muſt we argue if we admit of the Opinion, Chronologie, and Order of things given us by *Zoſimus*; who tels us alſo further News, *viz.* of *Julian*'s rare Succeſs, not only amongſt the *Celtæ* but the *Spaniards* too, and how herewith *Conſtantius* was netled, and caſt in his mind how to pull him down. And News this is indeed, for in that Account we have from *Ammianus*, he tels us all the Journeys of *Julian*, to what Places he ſtill marched; where he fought, and where he quartered in Winter; whereby it's evident that he could not, ſince the time of his being *Cæſar*, ſtep into *Spain*, except *Spain* leapt over the *Pyrenæans* into *Gall*, and the River *Iberus* ran through the Ocean into the *Rhine*, near to which his Buſineſs chiefly lay againſt the *Germans*. But it was almoſt as eaſie for this Hiſtorian, by his *Magical Geography*, to tranſport *Spain* into *Gall*, as he doth the City of *Paris* into *Germany*. And who ever would have thought, that what he wrote could have travelled ſo far Weſtward? He wrote about *Conſtantinople* of things far diſtant, both in Place and Time. Then, and there it was Manners to believe him; and though in reſpect of Time and Place both, by comparing other Writers, he might come to be diſcovered, yet few would be at the Trouble; however, as to the Places, there was Hope they would rather believe him, than go and ſee.

Καὶ Ἰταλία πᾶσα, καὶ Ἰλλυριοὶ κίνδυνον εἶχον οὐδένα τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἴςρον Βαρβάρων δέει τοῦ μὴ διὰ Γαλατίας τὸν Καίσαρα διαβάντα τὸν Ἴςρον αὐτοῖς ἐπελθεῖν σωφρονούντων.

Τῇ δὲ τῶν ἐν Κελτοῖς τε καὶ Ἴβηρσι πραγμάτων εὐημερίᾳ δακνόμενος.

Other Extravagancies in *Zoſimus* his Hiſtory.

101. But that we may betake our ſelves to our beſt Guide *Ammianus Marcellinus* again, and follow *Julian* in his Atchievements. Being now more encouraged by his Advancement, and the Truſt he repoſed in his Army; leſt he ſhould cool in his Spirit, or be cenſured as Remiſs, and lazy thereupon; after the ſending away of the Ambaſſadours to *Conſtantius*, he marched away to the Borders of *Germania Secunda*, and having paſſed the *Rhine*, ſuddenly fell upon the *Franks*, call'd *Atthuarii*; a Reſtleſs People, that had lately waſted the Limits of *Gall*. He ſurprized them little thinking of any ſuch Matter; and truſting to the Country they inhabited, which was ſo difficult of Acceſs, that they had not remembred any Prince to have reached ſo far as their Villages; but ſurprized at this Diſadvantage he eaſily maſter'd them; and having kill'd and taken many, conſtrain'd the reſt to ſubmit to ſuch Conditions as he himſelf pleaſed to Impoſe. Hereby he concluded he had provided ſufficiently for the Quiet of their Neighbours within the *Roman* Pale; and then paſſing the River with as much Speed, as he came over, he reinforced the Garriſons upon the Borders; and having ſettled Matters in them as he thought convenient, came to the *Rauraci*, where he recovered ſome Places formerly got by the Enemy, and having fortified them ſufficiently; by the way of *Beſantio* went to *Vienna*, there to Winter. While he ſo cautiouſly and proſperouſly ordered his Matters in *Gall*; *Conſtantius* had Notice how the *Perſian* King laboured to withdraw *Arſaces*, King of *Armenia*, from his Alliance with the *Romans*; neither omitting any Threats, nor other Means he thought would conduce to his End. Therefore he moſt kindly Treated *Arſaces*, being come to his Preſence, and laboured to perſuade him to entertain no Overtures, which ſhould be made in any kind, tending to the Breach of that good Underſtanding which hitherto had been betwixt them two. He in return, by many Oathes affirmed, he would rather loſe his Life than falſifie his Word, and returned with great Gifts into his Kingdom, where he kept his Promiſe, being indeed obliged to *Conſtantius* upon ſeveral Accounts, and particularly, ſo he thought himſelf, for his having given him in Marriage *Olympias*, the Daughter of *Ablabius*, once *Præfectus Prætorio*, a Lady that had been eſpouſed to his Brother *Conſtans*. *Arſaces* being gone, the Emperour departed out of *Cappadocia*, and by the way of *Melitina*, a City of *Armenia* the leſs, by *Laeotena* and *Samoſata*, came to *Euphrates*, and paſſing that River, at length to *Edeſſa*; where he ſtaid a long time, expecting his Forces and Proviſions for the Army, and not till after the Autumnal Æquinoctial, departed for *Amida*.

Julian falls upon the *Franks* call'd *Atthuarii*.

Reduces, with them, the *Rauraci* into order.

Conſtantius courts *Arſaces* King of *Armenia*.

Marches Eaſtward.

102. Be-

Sect. 4.

A. D. 360.

Layes Siege to *Bezabde*.

102. Being come near the Walls, and beholding the great quantity of Aſhes that lay about them, he both Sighed and Wept; conſidering what Slaughter of men had been made before, and in that City. And it hapned that *Urſulus*, who at this time had Charge of the Treaſury, being preſent, fell into a Great Exclamation, though upon another Account. Behold, ſaith he, *how Courageouſly Cities are Defended by the Souldier, whom the Wealth of the whole Empire is ſcarcely able to pay his Wages*. Which Speech being afterwards remembred by theſe Forces at *Chalcedon*, it coſt him his Life. Thence did *Conſtantius* with a great Army march to *Bezabde*; before which, having encamped himſelf, he underſtood that the place was much more Fortified than it had been in times paſt. He ſent and offered to the Gariſon, either free leave to depart to their own Countreys, or elſe to Accept of kind Entertainment in the Empire; but they looked upon themſelves as too high born, and eſteemed it unworthy of their Quality to accept of his Offers, and addreſſed themſelves to a vigorous Reſiſtance; which they performed with that height of Reſolution and Conſtancy, that after ſeveral Attempts made to no Purpoſe, the beſiegers deſpaired of Succeſs, and were much dejected. On the tenth day of the Siege, a greater Ram than ordinary was moved to the Walls, which ſtruck Terror into thoſe that were within; but they ſo much Diſabled it, partly by caſting down Pitch upon them that wrought at it, and by ſeveral Sallies they made; that though they were forced ſtill in again, yet did they burn at length all the reſt, that endangered the Wall, and this great one was ſaved, and drawn off, ſo as it was half conſumed. This made the Beſiegers betake themſelves to the Mounts they had raiſed at more diſtance, on each of which were planted two *Baliſtæ*: and now they brought their Scaling Ladders, and all other Materials, for the moſt effectual Attacque that could be made: The Defendants perceived they were now in the greateſt danger their condition could caſt them into; and therefore, not regarding Life, out they iſſue at a Poſtern; ſome with their Swords, and others following them, carrying Fire, who with it did ſuch Execution, and ſo Pertinacious they continued, that it much diſturbed *Conſtantius*, not knowing what courſe to take. For, on the one ſide, it grieved him to think of Quitting this Place, both for his own Reputation, and for that it lay ſo convenient for the *Perſians*, for Annoying of the Adjacent Countrey: but on the other ſide, Winter came on, and his men were utterly diſcouraged; which Inconveniences ſeemed greateſt in his opinion, and moved him to break up his Siege, and return to *Antioch*, after having ſpent the Summer with ſo much Detriment to his Affairs. But this *Perſian* War was ever Fatal to him, when he Managed it in Perſon, which cauſed him, now and then, to proſecute it by his Captains, and that, ſometimes, with no ill Succeſs.

Is conſtrained to raiſe his Siege, and returns to *Antioch*.

103. By it the Empire was not only Exhauſted of Men, but the Provinces burthened with the payment of the *Luſtralis Collatio*, which was added to the Publick or Military payment, by reaſon of the extraordinary Charge, which the neceſſity of the Times required, without the Fault of the Emperour, who made no other Defence than what he was bound to make, for the Preſervation of his Territories againſt the Inſolence of the *Perſians*; and when in the Field, omitted not what was Incumbent upon him in relation to his Place. For the Souldiers fought under his Eye, as *Ammianus* tells us, though ſcantly enough any thing tending to the Reputation of his Maſter, to whom he belonged as Domeſtick Protector. When the Army came to be Diſperſed into its Winter-Quarters, it ſeems the number of the Sick, or Maimed Souldiers, was ſo great, that the *Curſus Publicus* was much burthened with the Conveyance of them. And therefore, when they took too great liberty in Preſſing the Waggons, he Directed an Edict to *Helpidius*, *Præfectus Prætorio* of the *Eaſt*, Dated on the Sixteenth of *November*, in the fourth *Indiction*, whereby he Prohibits any one to make Uſe of above two Waggons (called *Angariæ* and *Clabulæ*) in his way home, and each of which was to be drawn by four Oxen only, and this, but in caſe of his being ſick. Now although in this Law there be no expreſs mention of Souldiers, yet muſt I take leave to Diſſent ſo far from *Gothofred*, as to think Them Principally Concerned in it; however, I deny not, but the Uſe of Waggons was granted to others beſides Them. But if we conſider the Time, and the Circumſtances thereof, when there muſt neceſſarily be, after ſo Dangerous an Expedition, ſo Tedious a Journey, and in that Seaſon of the Year, ſo many Sick and Wounded Men amongſt ſo Numerous Forces, how can we imagine, but there muſt be very great need of Carriages, for Removal of them; not to ſpeak of that Hurry which muſt neceſſarily follow the Separating of an Army, the Conveyance of Arms and Baggage? Therefore, as Hiſtory brings the greateſt Light to Laws, and Laws afford the greateſt Certainty to Hiſtory; we cannot but

L. 11. de Luſtrali Collatione, Accepta 6 Id. Junii Carthagine. Conſtantio A. 10. & Jul. Cæſ. 3. Coſſ. A. D. 360.

L. 11. de Curſu Publico. Dat. 16 Kal. Decemb. Indictione 4. Abeſt à Cod. Juſtin.

He publiſhes Edicts in reference to the *Curſus Publicus.*

Conclude this Edict to have been occaſioned by the Removal of Souldiers, and not to be underſtood concerning thoſe, who having Diſcharged the Employment call'd *Munia Caſtrenſia*, within the Palace, returned home after their time of Attendance was Expired, as *Gothofred* underſtands it. And to this we cannot but Adhere; *although* afterwards, by another Law of *Valentinian*, it appears, that theſe Perſons, without the Solemn Licenſe (called *Evectio*, and *Tractoria*) otherwiſe required, might, by ſhewing the Prince his *Dimiſſory Letters* alone, make Uſe of the *Curſus Clabularis*, for Removal of themſelves and Families, for which it was proper, being drawn by a Teme of four Oxen, and carrying fifteen hundred pound weight. Here, in the Date of this Law, is the firſt mention made of Indictions in this *Code*; this was the fourth, the beginning of which is to be fetch'd from the latter end of this Year.

Ammianus lib. 21.

104. While *Conſtantius* was engaged beyond *Euphrates* againſt the *Perſians*, *Julian* ſtill lying at *Vienne* in *Gall*, beat his Head, Night and Day, with conſidering what he ſhould do, whether by all means poſſible to try, if he could bring him to admit and own him, as his Colleague; or by open Force to wreſt a Compliance, and begin firſt; that he might carry the more Terror along with him. And on both ſides he found himſelf preſſed with Doubts. For how to truſt him as a Friend, he knew not; and when an Enemy, he was wont to be Succeſsful againſt ſuch as ſet up for themſelves; and eſpecially, the Fortune of his Brother *Gallus* afflicted him, and made him hang in Suſpenſe; when he remembred, how he periſhed partly through his own Neglect and Sloth, and partly, through the Frauds and Perjuries of thoſe about the Emperour. But at length he reſolved, it would be more ſafe to ſtand upon his Guard, and bid Defiance to him; his Humour being much more elevated, upon his Preferment. Therefore had he no Regard to any other nominated to Places, except *Nebridius*. He celebrated his *Quinquennalia*, or Games for his fifth year; and now put on his Head a ſtately Diadem gliſtering with Gems, whereas hitherto he had worn an ordinary Fillet, like to a Maſter of a wreſtling School, clad in Purple. Having ſent the Body of (*a*) *Helena*, his Wife to *Rome*, to be buried in the Suburb of the *Via Nomentana*, where *Conſtantina*, the Wife of *Gallus* had been interr'd, he ſet himſelf more firmly to march againſt *Conſtantius*, whom by the Art of Divining, wherein he was well skill'd, and by Dreams, he conjectured to be near his End. He laboured to make ſuitable Preparations, but without any Noiſe, that he might not be diſcovered: and to curry Favour with all ſorts of men, he pretended ſtill to adhere to the *Chriſtian Religion*, from which he had ſecretly apoſtatiz'd; applying himſelf to the *Aruſpicina* and *Auguria* diligently, and other Ceremonies alwayes obſerved by Idolaters. But to colour this, he went to Church, particularly on the Feaſt of *Epiphany*, and there ſolemnly did his Devotions. Thus much we are told by *Ammianus*, who not only affirms him ſtill, at this time, to have made an open Profeſſion of Chriſtianity; but inſtances in the very Day, whereon he was preſent at the publick Worſhip; *viz.* the *Epiphany* celebrated, as he ſaith, truly, by *Chriſtians*, in the Moneth of *January*. Yet doth *Zoſimus* tell us a Tale, that before this he had declared his Judgement openly for *Paganiſm*, when he received the Meſſage from *Conſtantius*; affirming in the Hearing of all; that he would rather truſt the Gods, than commit himſelf, and his Life into the Hands of *Conſtantius*.

Julian doubting what Courſe to take, at length reſolves to ſtand upon his Guard, and bid Defiance to him.

Ita ipſe Julianus ad Julianum Avunculum ſcribens: Dii ita juſſerant, ut ei bellum inferrem; ſalutem quidem polliciti, ſi parerem, cunctanti verò perniciem.

(*a*) *Alii eam in Puerperii doloribus interiiſſe in Palatio Juliani; alii Expulſam è Palatio ſcripſere; fuerunt & quidam, qui Veneno à Juliano necatam eſſe dicerent, ut docet Libanius. Vide Valeſium.*

Ταῦτα ἀκηκοὼς Ἰουλιανὸς παρὰ τῶν Πρέσβεων, εἰς τὸ ἐμφανὲς ἔδειξεν ἣν εἶχε περὶ τὸ θεῖον προαίρεσιν.

105. But while he pleaſed himſelf with the Hopes of good Succeſs, and the Fruits he ſhould reap by this Diſſimulation and Cunning; his Thoughts were again diſcompoſed by News he received from the Borders, when Spring was at hand, how the *Almans* from the Quarter of *Vadomarius* (which was not in the leaſt apprehended, becauſe of the League) waſted the Countries adjoyning to *Rhætia*; and that with ſuch Violence, that they left nothing in their way, but what was Pillaged and Defaced, and that far and wide. *Julian*, to prevent greater Miſchiefs, which might ariſe from ſuch a Beginning, ſent away one *Libino*, a *Comes*, with the *Celtæ* and *Petulantes*, which wintered with him, to take order for repreſſing them, as ſhould be moſt convenient; who ſetting unadviſedly upon them, was killed in the beginning of the Engagement; and his men overpower'd by Numbers were put to the Rout. Here *Ammianus* tells a Story, upon Hearſay, how *Conſtantius* having made a Peace with the two Kings and Brothers *Vadomarius* and *Gundomadus*, after the Death of the latter, ſent to *Vadomarius* under Hand, and willed him, as one he eſteemed faithful to him, to waſt the Borders; that *Julian* intangled with Cares of defending them, might thereby be kept in *Gall*; which he readily obeyed, being from his Youth, very expert in the Craft of Diſſimulation; as afterward he abundantly ſhewed, when he Commanded as *Dux* in *Phœnicia*. But being diſcovered, he

The *Almans* waſte the Borders.

Si Famæ ſolius admittenda eſt Fides.

he left off this Trade; for the *Notary*, he had ſent back to *Conſtantius*, was ſeized by the *Stationary* Souldiers; and being ſearched, a Letter was found about him, wherein this was expreſſed amongſt many other things; that his *Cæſar* had no Diſcipline; although continually in the Diſpatches he ſent to *Julian*, he gave him the Title of *Lord*, of *Auguſtus*, and of *God*. *Julian* concluding with himſelf, that great Miſchief would enſue, if he was not by ſome means or other taken off, at length reſolved upon this Courſe to effect it. He made Choice of one *Philagrius*, at preſent a *Notary*, but afterwards preferred to be *Comes* of the *Eaſt*; of whoſe great Prudence he had had good Experience; and amongſt other Inſtructions gave him a ſealed Paper, which he commanded him not to open, till he ſhould ſee *Vadomarius* on this ſide the *Rhine*. He departed to the Borders, and purſuing what elſe he had in Command, *Vadomarius* came over the River, pretending to be in firm Friendſhip with the *Romans*, and utter Ignorance of the late Breach of Peace; to work a Belief of which, he promiſed to take a Meal with him that there commanded in Chief, to which *Philagrius* alſo was invited. When he came there, and ſaw the King, he preſently remembred his Paper; and pretending ſome earneſt Buſineſs, went to his Lodging, and breaking it open, after he had peruſed it, returned, and ſate down amongſt the reſt. After Dinner he laid Hands upon *Vadomarius*, and committed him to the Cuſtody of the Commander, to be ſafely kept at the Court of Guard; whence being afterwards ſent to *Julian*, and made to know, how his Underhand-dealing with *Conſtantius* was brought to Light, he was conveyed away into *Spain*, leſt he ſhould make Diſturbance in theſe Provinces, when *Julian* was gone into the *Eaſt*. For, very much elevated by ſo unexpected a ſurprizal of this King, he reſolved now to break out into an open Revolt from *Conſtantius*; and that he might leave all in Security behind him, with Secrecy paſſing the *Rhine*, ſo unexpectedly fell upon the *Barbarians*; that he conſtrained them to ask Pardon, reſtore the Booty they had lately taken, and promiſe all dutiful Behaviour for the time to come.

Profeſſâ palàm Defectione ſe tutiorem fore; exiſtimavit.

Julian chaſtiſes them.

And reſolves to march againſt *Conſtantius*.

106. Now reſolving to uſe all Expedition imaginable,as that which would moſt conduce
to his Deſign; and being encouraged by ſome Dreams,which he thought portended
the imminent Death of the Emperour, for a better and more lucky Beginning, he
ſacrificed to *Bellona*. Then called he the Army together; and from his Tribunal with
more open Confidence than formerly harangu'd to them. After a flattering and ſelf-commending
Entrance; he fell into a more large Commendation of himſelf, relating his “
Exploits againſt the *Germans*, to them that knew them already: how he had reſtrained “
their Invaſions; made the *Rhine* paſſable to the *Roman* Armies,ſtanding immoveable “
againſt the Excurſions of thoſe Powerful Nations: and truſting to the “
conſtant Valour of them, his *Great Fellow-Souldiers*. And the Provinces of *Gall*,he “ *Magni Commilitones.*
ſaid, being Eye-witneſſes of theſe vaſt Labours, and refreſhed after ſuch Slaughters “
of their Inhabitants, ſuch continual and heavy Loſſes; would tranſmit them “
to Poſterity, through Swarms of Ages. Now being compelled by the Authority “ *Per Ætatum Examina.*
of their Judgement, and the Neceſſity of Affairs, thereunto; for that he was exalted “
to the height of Majeſty, by the help of *God*, and their Aſſiſtance, if Fortune “
but favoured him, he would attempt higher and greater things ſtill; for that “
he would pretend ſo far, as to have approv'd himſelf to that Army, the Æquity “
and Valour whereof was Great and Famous; he being both moderate and Peaceable “
at Home, and in thoſe frequent Wars he had waged, Conſiderate and Wary. “
After this *Encomium*; he told them it was his Opinion, and Advice, that they “
ſhould make Haſt, while yet the Provinces of *Illyricum* were not fenced by Garriſons, “
to ſeize upon the Limits of *Dacia*, and afterwards govern themſelves, as “
Opportunity ſhould direct. And ſeeing, he ſaid, it was the Cuſtom, though of “
confiding Captains; he deſired them to confirm their Concord and Fidelity by a “
Military Oath. For his Part, he would, as hitherto he had behaved himſelf, be “
very Diligent, and watch that nothing ſhould be done Raſhly or Lazily; and be “
able, if any ſhould pry into his Actions, to diſcharge a good Conſcience; attempting “
nothing willingly, but what ſhould be for the common Good. And in the “
laſt Place, He beſought them to take heed they injur'd no private Men, nor “
thereby blemiſhed the Fame they had got by preſerving the Provinces from *Rapine*, “
as well as by innumerable Slaughters of their Enemies. The Multitude was “
moved with this Speech, not otherwiſe than if it had proceeded from ſome Oracle;
and being greedy of Innovation unanimouſly approved of what he ſaid, by the
horrible Noiſe they made, both by their Acclamations, and beating their Targets;
calling him *a Great and Famous Captain*; and as they found by Experience, a *Fortunate
Conquerour of Nations and Kings*. For indeed there were many Nations and

To which purpoſe, he courts the Army after his uſual manner.

Kings upon the Borders of *Germany*, where all theſe Exploits, his and theirs, were done. Then were they all commanded to take the Oath of Fidelity to him; which they did, putting their Swords to their Necks, in words conceived with direful Execrations, thereby engaging to endure all Extremities for him, if need ſhould be, even to Death it ſelf. And this was followed by all the Officers, except *Nebridius*, whom, being prefer'd to be *Præfectus Prætorio* by *Conſtantius*, he had admitted to the Diſcharge of that Employment. He alone refuſed, both ſtoutly and conſtantly; affirming, that he could not have the Conſcience to bind himſelf by any Oath againſt the Emperour, to whom he was obliged by many Kindneſſes. The Souldiers perceiving this, would have killed him; but *Julian*, conſcious poſſibly of the gallant Fidelity and Reſolution of the man, was ſo Juſt, as by caſting over him his Coat, to protect him from their Violence. And afterward, when in the Palace, as he came by, he lay proſtrate, and deſired him to give him his hand, as a Pledge of his Security; he asked him what he ſhould reſerve for his Friends, if he ſuffered him to touch it; but bid him go in Safety whither he pleaſed. Whereupon he went away to his own Houſe in *Tuſcia*, and *Julian* gave the Signal for marching into *Pannonia*, raſhly committing himſelf to doubtful Fortune, as his Friend *Ammianus* makes bold to ſay.

And gives the Signal for marching.

107. But let us ſee how *Conſtantius*, this Winter, behaves himſelf at *Antioch*, whether he have reaſon to ſay ſo much of his own Prudence and other Vertues. It's to be fear'd, he neither was Guilty of ſo Famous Exploits, nor ſo Wiſe, if he had done any thing (as perhaps he could ſay ſome little he had performed againſt the *Sarmatians*) as to make it ſo Evident and known by his Rhetorick. He had not been ſo great a Proficient in Study, nor ſo long worn the *Pallium*, as to ſay, *What's our Power, except Men know it? And Knowledge what? unleſs we ſhow it.* Yet he had, at this time, the Hap to ſtumble upon ſomething, which *Ammianus* cannot Reprehend. Though he was no Famous Captain, nor Conquerour of Nations and Kings, (for indeed upon the Borders of the *Rhine*, within *Germany*, there appears, within a little ſpace, to have been more Kings, and conſequently more Nations than beyond the *Danube:* all the Sons of Kings being Kings, as ſhould ſeem by *Vadomarius* and his Brother, as at this day, with them all the Sons of Princes are Princes, and all the Sons of Dukes are Dukes, though not all the Sons of Emperours are Emperours) yet amongſt many very Honourable Perſons, ſeveral *Tribunes* came to Adore him, at his Return out of *Meſopotamia*. There was alſo *Amphilochius*, who had formerly that Command, and therein ſerving *Conſtans*, was more than Suſpected to have made Miſchief betwixt the two Brothers. He crowded in to be admitted to Kiſs the Robe amongſt the reſt; but being known, was rejected and put by. Hereat the Company cried out, that he ought not any longer to Live, for that he was an obſtinate Traytor; to which *Conſtantius* replied, (being milder, *Ammianus* tells you, than he was wont) *Do not ſo preſs upon a man, whom I believe to be Guilty, but not manifeſtly Convicted; but if he be, take notice, that under mine obſervation he ſhall be puniſhed by the Doom of his own Conſcience, which he will no way be able to deceive*; and ſo the Matter ended. The day after, were celebrated the *Circenſian* Games, and this ſame *Amphilochius*, as well as others, became a Spectator, juſt oppoſite to the Emperour, at a Raile, which upon a great ſhout, when the Company preſſed forward to gaze, brake down, and with the fall, though the reſt were only ſlightly hurt, yet he was found dead, with the Rim of his Belly burſten; whereupon *Conſtantius* as having ſkill alſo in Predictions, much rejoyced. About this time he buried his Wife *Euſebia*, a Lady very beautiful; and humble, conſidering her high Quality. *Ammianus* tells us ſhe excelled, both in the Beauty of her Body, and Manners; in that ſhe reſcued *Julian* by her moſt juſt Favour, out of Danger, and procured him to be declared *Cæſar*, as he had before related, who I am afraid had forgot what elſe where he has written concerning her procuring *Julian*'s Child to be made away, by the Nurſe, and tampering with his Wiſe to make her miſcarry. Now did he take care of *Florentius*, who upon *Julian*'s Uſurpation had fled out of *Gall*, preferring him to be *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Illyricum*, in the Place of *Anatolius* lately dead. And with *Taurus*, who at the ſame time executed this great Office of *Præfect* in *Italy*, he entred upon the *Conſulſhip* for the enſuing year.

Ammianus obſerves one mild action of *Conſtantius*.

His Wiſe *Euſebia* dies.

Cumque Tauro itidem Præfecto Prætorio per Italiam, Ampliſſimi ſuſcepit Inſignia Magiſtratus.

108. Neither was *Conſtantius* behind hand in Preparations, both againſt a Foreign, and Domeſtick Enemy. To this End a Supply was added, both to the *Legions*, and the *Cavalry*, out of the men newly raiſed throughout the Provinces; and all ſorts of Perſons were burthened by the finding, not only of Men, but of Money, Clothes, Arms, Victuals, Carriage-Beaſts and Engines, as our Writer tells us, which is ſtrange, that the Provinces ſhould furniſh all theſe things in kind; as to which we

He makes great Preparations againſt the *Perſians*.

we muſt crave leave here to conſult our Law-Books, wherein we find ſeveral of theſe Neceſſaries impoſed upon the Countries, but others never ſo much as mention'd, but only as they were ſupplied out of the publick Fabricks. And whereas the *Perſian* King could hardly be kept beyond *Tigris*, in the Extremities of Winter; it was imagin'd, as ſoon as the Weather gave leave he would again make bold with *Meſopotamia*, or the adjoyning Provinces. Therefore were Ambaſſadours ſent away to the Kings and Princes, beyond that River, with great Gifts; eſpecially to *Arſaces* and *Meribanes*, Kings of *Armenia* and *Iberia*, who were careſſed with more than ordinary Preſents, that they might not give any Aſſiſtance to the *Perſian*. During theſe Diſturbances *Hermogenes* died, and *Helpidius* was made *Præfect* in his Room; a *Paphlagonian* by Birth, of a mean Aſpect, and proportionable Elocution; but ſimple of Diſpoſition, and without any Touch of Cruelty in ſo high a Degree; ſo that when *Conſtantius* commanded him once to put an innocent Perſon to the Rack, he gently deſired him to take away his Power, and brought him to conſent, that things of this Nature ſhould be done by other Perſons. Now was *Conſtantius* in a very great Strait, not knowing whether he ſhould go to chaſtiſe *Julian*, or march againſt the *Perſians*, who were expected on this ſide *Euphrates*: but after ſerious Debate with his Friends, he was adviſed to put a Period firſt, either by a League or Victory to the War near at hand, and then march againſt *Julian*, whom they and he both concluded they ſhould conquer with as much Eaſe, as any Hunter what he is in chaſe of. Yet he endeavoured to ſtrike an univerſal Terror, where ever he might have Occaſion to move his Arms, and in Particular, leſt *Africk* ſhould be tumultuous, which, upon all occaſions afforded great Conveniences to Princes, he ſent thither *Gaudentius* the *Notary*, who had been formerly the Spy upon *Julian* in *Gall*, and who upon the account of Enmity to the Adverſe Party, would, he knew, do what he could; as well as to Approve himſelf to the Emperour, who, as all Men concluded, would prove Victorious. Being Arrived there, and having communicated ſome of his Inſtructions to *Cretio* the *Comes*, and the reſt of the Commanders; he made Levies of the beſt men he could raiſe out of the two *Mauritania's*, and therewith Defended ſtoutly the Coaſts lying over againſt *Gall*, and the Parts of *Aquitain*. And herein *Conſtantius* was not miſtaken; for ſo long as he lived, none of his Enemies touched that Countrey, although Forces lay about the Promontory of *Lilybæum*, to paſs over thither, upon occaſion. Taking Order for theſe and other Matters, he received Advice from his Officers in the *Eaſt*, that the Forces of the *Perſians* were United, and their King in the Head of them, drew near to the River *Tigris*, it being utterly uncertain, what Courſe he would take. Alarm'd with the News, he quitted his *Winter*-Quarters; and taking along the Horſe and the Foot, which he could truſt to, by a Bridge of Boats he paſſed *Euphrates*, and went to *Edeſſa*, a City well fortified, and abounding with Neceſſaries, where he ſtaid till by his Scouts, he could diſcover which way the Enemy moved.

Fuit hic Chriſtiano Cultui deditus; quare non mirandum, ſi eum Marcellinus noſter acerbius perſtrinxit; cui uxor Ariſtanote fuit, Mulier ob Pietatem Eximiam celebranda; eundem Helpidium proſcripſit Libanius in orat. adverſus Polyclem. Valeſius in Loc.

Takes care to ſecure *Africk*.

109. In the mean time *Julian* departing from the *Rauraci*, ſent *Salluſt*, whom he had advanced to the Dignity of *Præfect*, into *Gall*; and he ordered *Germanianus* to diſcharge the Office of *Nebridius*. Moreover, ſuſpecting *Gnomarius*, as an old Traytor, who had formerly betrayed *Veteranio*, his Princely Maſter, he promoted *Nevita* to be *Magiſter Armorum*, and *Jovius* to the *Quæſtorſhip*; *Mamertinus* he made his *Magiſter Largitionum*, and *Dagalaiphus*, his *Comes Domeſticorum*, and on others he beſtowed Places, as he ſaw convenient. Being now to paſs through the *Martian* Woods, and near the Banks of *Iſter*, amongſt other things he was afraid, leſt for his ſmall Numbers he ſhould be contemptible, and therefore took this Courſe: He diſtributed his Army into ſeveral Parties; ſending ſome with *Jovinus* and *Jovius* by the Common Roades of *Italy*, and others, under Conduct of *Nevita*, through the middle of *Rhætia*, that being ſo ſpred, they might ſeem more numerous, and ſtrike a greater Terror: a Courſe practiſed by *Alexander* the Great, and other skilful and famous Captains. But he gave them ſeriouſly in Charge to be very cautious in their March; and by Night to look well to their Watches, leſt they ſhould be ſurprized by the Enemy. And he himſelf paſſing the *Iſter*, and taking another Courſe, upon Rumours ſpred abroad of theſe ſeveral Armies; all *Illyricum* was poſſeſſed with a Belief, that he was at hand, with all the Kings, and Nations of *Gall*, being elevated by his many Succeſſes in thoſe Provinces. Whereupon *Taurus*, the *Præfectus Prætorio*, got him away betimes, and by the Uſe of the *Curſus Publicus*, paſſing with Speed the *Julian Alps*, took along with him *Florentius*, his Brother-*Præfect*. But *Lucillianus*, who then commanded the Army in theſe Quarters, lying at *Sirmium*, upon Report of *Julian*'s coming, was reſolved to get his Men together, and make Head againſt him. He apprehenſive hereof, made all the haſte he could, and coming by

Julian makes his great Officers.

His Stratagem in his March.

The Effects thereof.

Boat to *Bononia*, a Place diſtant nineteen Miles from *Sirmium*, diſpatched away *Dagalaiphus* with a choiſe Party of men in the Night (which now was dark, the Moon being in her laſt Quarter) with Orders to bring him away to him by Force, if he made Reſiſtance. Being ſurprized in Bed by a Company of Strangers, upon Mention made of *Julian*, as Emperour, he conceived what they meant, and ſubmitted to them, though very unwillingly; and then being ſet on an Horſe that came next to Hand, but juſt before ſwelling with the Dignity and Command of *Magiſter Militum*, was preſented to *Julian*, as ſome mean Priſoner, being ſcarcely able to recollect himſelf in ſo great a Surprize and Terror. But when he ſaw the Purple offered him to kiſs, he took Heart, and giving him the Title of Emperour, told him, he was not well adviſed, with ſo ſmall Forces to truſt himſelf in ſtrange Countries; to which the Uſurper replied bitterly, that he ſhould keep this prudent Advice for *Conſtantius*; being admitted to this Favour of the Purple, not as a Councellor, but that he might be put out of his Fear.

He comes to *Sirmium*, having ſurprized *Lucillianus*, who Commanded the Forces there.

110. But he was ſo far apprehenſive, as to underſtand there was great Need of uſing Speed in what he was about, the better to ſupply the other Diſadvantage; and away he haſted to *Sirmium*, to which as he approached, multitude of all Sorts came out, as well Souldiers as others, to receive him; and with Lights, Flowers, Lucky Acclamations, and the Titles of *Auguſtus* and *Lord*, brought him to the Palace. He was much encouraged with ſo proſperous a Beginning, as that which promiſed greater things; and hoped, that moved by the Example of this ſo populous and famous a City, the reſt would be induced to ſubmit. The day following he pleaſed the People by the *Curule-Games*; and on the third, being impatient of further Delay, he took in *Succi*, a Place famous for its Situation betwixt the Mountains *Hæmus* and *Rhodope*, whereof the one riſeth from the Banks of *Iſter*, and the other from the hithermoſt ſide of the River *Axius*. Having placed *Nevita* Governour here, he returned to *Neſſus*, a Town of good Note, there to take further Order for his Affairs. Having met at *Sirmium* with one *Victor*, an eminent *Hiſtoriographer*, he prefered him to be *Conſularis* of *Pannonia Secunda*, and honoured him, for his Learning and Sobriety, with a Statue of Braſs; who, a good while after, roſe to be *Præfect* of the City. Now bearing himſelf more high than ever, and concluing that *Conſtantius* would never be brought to any agreement, he wrote to the *Senate*, a bitter invective againſt him, wherein he ripped up his Faults, and laboured to bring him in Diſgrace with that ſort of men. And now he took Confidence further to fall foul upon the Memory of *Conſtantine*, his Uncle, whom, like a *Pagan*, he traduced as an Innovator and Diſturber of the ancient Laws and Cuſtoms. He openly accuſed him, as being the firſt that preferred *Barbarians* to the Dignity of the *Conſulſhip*. But of this he accuſed him (*Ammianus*, though his good Friend, tells us) both abſurdly, and without Conſideration. For whereas he ſhould have himſelf ſhunned what he reprehended in others; within a little while he advanced to be *Conſul*, one *Mamertinus*, neither in reſpect of his Life, Splendor, Experience, nor Fame comparable to any, whom *Conſtantine* had graced with that moſt eminent Magiſtracy; but on the contrary a man ſhallow, a Clown, and (what was leaſt to be borne) cruel in his Office.

Falls foul upon *Conſtantius*, and the Memory of his Uncle.

Inſulsè nimirum, & leviter.

Nec Vita, nec Splendore, nec Uſu, nec Gloria horum cujuſquam ſimilem, quibus Magiſtratum detulerat ampliſſimum Conſtantinus; contra &c.

111. While he pleas'd himſelf in driving on his Deſigns after this ſort, he received a Meſſage, which a little interrupted the Contentment he took, in the Conſideration of his own Wiſdom, and other Endowments. Two of *Conſtantius* his *Legions*, and a *Cohort* of Archers, which he found at *Sirmium*, he had ſent away for *Gall*, under pretenſe of publick Neceſſity, but indeed becauſe he could not truſt them. Theſe marching ſlowly, and being utterly out of Humour, upon thoughts of the great way they had to march, and the Fierceneſs of the *Germans*, to which they muſt be expoſed, fell to mutiny, at the Inſtigation of one *Nigrinus*, a *Tribune* of Horſe, and born in *Meſopotamia*; and yet they carried the matter very cloſe, till they came to *Aquileia*; but there ſhewed their Inclinations, ſeizing on that City, which for it's Situation, Wealth, and the Strength of it's Walls was very conſiderable; and the Inhabitants, to whom the Name of *Conſtantius* was very grateful, readily aſſiſted them, ſo that they fortified the Place all the wayes they could, and prepared for Reſiſtance of any Violence which ſhould be offered them; further exciting the Provincials of *Italy*, to follow their Example in ſtanding up for their Emperour as not yet dead, though his Kinſman had made bold already with his Shooes. *Julian* ſtill lying at *Neſſus*, having not in the leaſt feared any Enemy at his Back, and hearing this City to have been often attacqued, but never demoliſhed, nor ſo much as yielded, was reſolved to omit nothing of Fraud or Flattery, to draw

Two *Legions* and a *Cohort* of Archers ſeize on *Aquileia*.

In the Name of *Conſtantius*.

Ut Superſtitis.

draw it over to him, before any greater Miſchief ſhould follow. Therefore he ordered *Jovinus*, the *Magiſter Equitum*, who over the *Alps* was come into *Noricum*, to return with all Speed thither; and that there might be a ſufficient Supply of men, he commanded all the Troops that came that way, in their March Eaſtward, there to be ſtopped. Not long after it was, that he received the welcome News of *Conſtantius* his Death, and thereupon paſſing through *Thrace*, he removed to *Conſtantinople*; and being often told, that what had hapned at *Aquileia*, was not much now to be fear'd; he removed *Jovinus* from that Service, to another, he thought more proper; and ordered *Immo* with other Captains to perform it in his Room. Now was Siege laid to *Aquileia*, which it was in Council reſolv'd ſhould firſt be ſummoned, but the Garriſon was too obſtinate to be won with fair Words, or Threats either. Hereupon they endeavoured to undermine the Wall, and vigorouſly attacqued the City; but at this firſt Onſet were beaten off, and foiled. This not Succeeding, and there being none found skilful enough to manage Rams, or other Engines of Battery, they betook themſelves to this Device, of planting wooden Turrets upon Boats, joyned together, which lay on the River *Natiſo*, running by the City, which being higher than the Fortifications of the Town, they hoped that thence with their miſſile Weapons, they ſhould do great Execution; and beſides the Men they placed on the Top, others they beſtowed within the Body of theſe Towers; who Iſſuing forth, as they ſaw Occaſion, by the Bridges they made for this Purpoſe, might eaſily Land, and while the Defendants were diverted by them above, attacque and ſcale the Walls; but the Device, though comparable to thoſe of the Ancients, in the Opinion of *Ammianus*, could not take any Effect, by Reaſon that the Beſieged ſo plied theſe Turrets with Fire and Combuſtible Matter, that they diſabled the Engines, killed thoſe that ſtood on the Top of them, for the moſt Part, and cauſed the other below to ſhift for themſelves; but moſt Periſhed by the great Stones caſt upon them.

Which *Julian* his men beſiege.

112. This done, they gave themſelves to reſt on both ſides, for ſome time; but afterwards, though the Beſiegers had moſt Reaſon to be diſcouraged, yet renewed they the Aſſault. Some made their Approaches with their Targets on their Heads, others carried ſcaling Ladders on their Shoulders, and haſted to come to the Walls; which e're they could do, many of them miſcarried in the Showers of Arrows that flew from the Town. Some laboured to break in Pieces the Iron Hinges of the Gates, and were either ſcalded by burning Pich, or knocked on the head with Stones; and others, endeavouring to paſs the Trenches, were killed, or wounded by ſuch as ſallied out through the Poſterns, to whom the Line drawn before the Walls, gave good Convenience, both for lying in Ambuſh, and ſafe Retreat. Though the Defendants excelled them in the Arts of War; yet did the Beſiegers, who were men choſen out of many Companies for this Purpoſe, fret exceedingly, that they ſhould be ſo long about their Work; and often coaſted the Town, to ſee if any Force or Device would prevail. But at length they were convinced, that the Difficulties were ſuch, as they were not able to overcome, and therefore they began to ſlacken their Siege, and waſt the adjacent Countrey. Yet they thought they might, by want of Water, bring them to ſuch Extremity as to force them to yield. And for that Purpoſe they firſt cut all the *Aquæducts* that ſerved the City, which not having that Effect they imagined, by great Labour they drew the River away from the Walls, though ſtill to little Purpoſe; for they within contented themſelves with the Water they found in Wells, and lived very ſparingly, as reſolv'd to hold out. And ſo long they held, till *Agilo*, the *Magiſter Peditum*, was ſent by *Julian* from *Conſtantinople* to acquaint them with the Death of *Conſtantius*. At firſt they would not believe, but rejected him with reproachful Words; but upon Promiſe of Safety, being alone permitted to approach the City; he ſo far ſatisfied them, that they opened their Gates, came out, and received him; and purging themſelves, laid all the Blame upon *Nigrinus*, whom with a few others they delivered up; deſiring that by the Puniſhment of them, might be expiated the Crime of High Treaſon. A few dayes after by *Mamertinus*, the *Præfectus Prætorio*, who ſate as Judge, *Nigrinus*, as the Author of this War, was ſentenced to be burnt alive; which was executed upon him for his Gallant Fidelity to his Prince, which they called Treaſon againſt him he couted an Uſurper. After him *Romulus* and *Sabeſtius*, two *Curiales*, or *Decuriones*, of the Town, were for having been great Actors againſt *Julian*'s Party, put alſo to Death; and all the reſt were pardoned; for ſo *Ammianus* tells you, it pleaſed the mild and gentle Emperour to ordain in Æquity, in their Behalf, whom Neceſſity, and not any Deſign, had thruſt forward into the Danger. But it ſeems he would not truſt *Nigrinus*, nor have any Reſpect to his Fidelity and Conſtancy, although gal-

Where they find notable Oppoſition.

The Defendants holding out, till ſatisfied that *Conſtantius* was dead.

gallant Princes have been wont to admire and love thoſe whom they found faithful to their Maſters, to whom they were bound by the Ties, either of an Oath, or Conſcience; and when once advanced into the Place of the deceaſed, have found themſelves obliged, rather to deſpiſe thoſe, who formerly neglected the ſetting Sun, and adored the Riſing, becauſe now the Caſe was altered, and become their own.

Julian in great Fear of himſelf.

How he laboured to ſecure his Intereſt.

Injuſtè plures muneribus publicis adnectebat.

Qui nuper ut primum augendæ Barbaricæ Vilitatis Auctorem immoderatè notaverat Conſtantinum.

Conſtantius manageth his Matters in *Meſopotamia* as prudently as they would bear.

113. But theſe things happened ſome time after. We muſt ſee the Setting of *Conſtantius*, and the Mounting of *Julian*, who ſeemed but a *Meteor*, in that he aroſe before the other was down; and after he had alone appeared in another Colour, again ſuddenly vaniſhed. While *Julian* ſtill lay at *Neſſus*, he was extremely perplexed wirh various Cares and Fears. He expected to hear, that the Gariſon in *Aquileia* had broken forth, and drawn the Provinces of the *Julian Alps* from their Obedience to him. He alſo ſtood much in fear of the *Eaſtern* Armies, being told, that the Forces diſperſed through *Thrace*, to give him a Stop, were drawing down under Command of *Narcotianus*, a *Comes*, towards the Streights of *Succi*. To obviate theſe Difficulties, he gathered together the Army of *Illyricum*, which was well-Diſciplin'd, and heartened by Succeſs; and to gain the Affections of the People, refuſed not to receive the Complaints of Private Perſons, ſpending ſome time in Hearing their Cauſes; but eſpecially he endeavoured to purchaſe the Favour of the Corporations, and that Unjuſtly, by Condemning many Perſons to Publick Services there. Two *Senators* of good Note he much courted, *viz.* *Symmachus* and *Maximus*, who were lately returned from a Meſſage they were ſent on to *Conſtantius*, and paſſing by the better, he promoted the latter to be *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Rome*, in the place of *Tertullus*, and that for the ſake of *Rufinus Vulcatius*, whoſe Siſter's Son he was: And he ordered his Affairs ſo well, in reference to Proviſions, that the People, which was wont to be very Tumultuous, made little or no ſtir during his Government. Further to Secure the Fidelity of thoſe who now pretended Fair to him, he deſigned *Conſuls Mamertinus*, the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Illyricum*, and *Nevita*, who had lately wonderfully pleas'd him, by Railing upon *Conſtantine*, as the firſt Prince that had Promoted *Barbarians*. While thus betwixt Hope and Fear he Ordered his Matters as well as he could at *Neſſus*, *Conſtantius*, ſtill lying at *Edeſſa*, was often Diſturbed by the Reports which his Scouts brought to him, and thereupon was very doubtful what to do, whether to Fight the *Perſians*, as he could light on them, upon occaſion, or with double Force Attacque *Bezabde*. And though his Inclinations were to move Weſtward, yet it troubled him to think of leaving *Meſopotamia* Expoſed to the Violence of the Enemy. For the *Perſian* King hover'd beyond *Tigris*, which, if he paſſed, and found none to Reſiſt him, he might eaſily croſs *Euphrates* alſo, and do further Miſchief to the Adjacent Provinces. However, *Conſtantius*, purpoſing to preſerve his Army as intire as he could, for a Civil War, was Reſolved not to make Havock of his Men by thruſting them upon Deſtruction in Attacquing the *Perſian* Gariſons, which he found by Experience to be ſtrongly Fortified; but, leſt he ſhould be blamed for Negligence or Cowardiſe, he gave order to *Arbetio*, *Agilo*, and other Officers of Horſe, to Fortifie, as well as they could, the Banks of *Tigris*, and, obſerving the King's Motions, to retire *, in caſe he ſhould venture over. They received Intelligence by their Spies and ſome Fugitives, but ſuch as was altogether Repugnant to it ſelf, and contradictory: for the *Perſians*, of all men, kept their Councils the moſt ſecret, which were communicated to none, but ſome of the moſt cloſe and Truſty among their Nobility; and of Divulging any thing they were ſo cautious, that they Worſhipped *Silence* as a Deity. For this, or other Reaſons, the Officers ordered to the Borders were ſo Diſtruſtful of themſelves, that they often ſent for the Emperour, Proteſting that with all the Force they could make, if the King ſhould come, they could not be able to make Head againſt him.

Id Concilium Conſtantii laudat Libanius in Βασιλικῷ aſſentans Conſtantio; ſed in orat. Funebri Juliani, valde illud idem reprehendit. ut Notat Valeſius in Locum.

Receives the News of *Julian*'s Practices in *Italy*, and other Weſtern Countries.

114. Though of the *Perſian* King nothing could certainly be known out of the *Eaſt*, yet from the *Weſt* now came News certain enough, that *Julian* had over-run *Italy* and *Illyricum*; and having Secured the Streights of *Succi*, there ſtaid for the meeting of greater Forces, wherewith he was reſolved to Invade *Thrace*. Hereat *Conſtantius* was very Melancholick, and his Grief would only admit of Eaſe from this Conſideration, that he had ever been Happy in ſuppreſſing Uſurpers. He thought it the ſafeſt Courſe, by degrees to ſend away the Souldiers in the Publick Carriages, that they might be ready to make timely Reſiſtance; for which as he was preparing, word was brought the next morning, that the *Perſian* King, for certain, was returned Home; upon which good News, he took all away, but ſuch as of courſe were left to the Defence of *Meſopotamia*, and departed to *Hierapolis*. Here, conſider-

Sect. 4.

A. D. 361.

dering the Danger he was to undergo, he cauſed all his Army to draw up in the Camp; and to animate them, from a lofty Tribunal, with a ſerene and pleaſant Countenance, made a Speech to them. He told them, “That being ever ſolicitous to carry himſelf, both in Word and Deed as comported with Honeſty, and as a prudent Pilot, having Steered, according as he found the Wind and Weather to require; he was now conſtrain'd to confeſs ſome Errors before them, or rather accuſe himſelf, as guilty of too much Humanity, which he thought would have conduced to the publick Good. He advanced *Gallus*, his Couſin-German to the Dignity of *Cæſar*, and ſent him to the Defence of the *Eaſt*, at ſuch time as *Magnentius* had made Diſturbance in the *Weſtern* Parts, whom their Valour at length ſuppreſſed; but he (*Gallus*) declining from all the Tracts of Juſtice and Moderation, committed many Enormities no way fit to be related, and had received ſuch Puniſhment as he had deſerved. And he wiſh'd, that his Miſfortune would therewith have ſatisfied it ſelf; but now had followed a Miſchief greater than all that was paſt. For *Julian*, whom he had appointed to Watch for the Defence of *Gall*, againſt the Invaſions of the *Germans*, while he himſelf was imbroil'd in the Motions of the Nations bordering upon *Illyricum*, madly puffed up by the Succeſs of ſome ſlight Engagements with an half-naked Enemy, having cajoled an inconſiderable Number of men, fierce, and deſperate for any pernicious Deſign; had ſet up for himſelf, and entred into Rebellion againſt the Commonwealth, contrary to Juſtice, which had ever been both the Parent and Nurſe of the *Roman* Empire. It muſt be therefore their Part, to cruſh ſo monſtrous a Deſign in the Beginning, before it ſhould grow to any Maturity. Neither was it to be doubted, but that God himſelf would be aſſiſting to their Endeavours, by whoſe Sentence ungrateful Perſons are ever condemned; ſo that their Swords ſhould be turned upon themſelves to their Deſtruction; who without any Provocation, but on the contrary many wayes obliged, had entred into a Courſe pernicious to ſuch as were Innocent; and he concluded, that he was of the Opinion, nay very confident, that if once they came to engage, they would be ſo overpower'd with Fear; that they would neither be able to look them in the Face, nor endure the Noiſe of their Shouting to Battel.

He accuſeth him in a Speech to his Army.

115. His Harangue had that Operation upon the Souldiers, which he deſired; for, conſenting fully to what he required; of Anger, they made the uſual Sign with their Lances, and deſired to be led away againſt the Rebel. Herewith exceedingly encouraged, he ſent away *Arbetio*, whom he had found very lucky in the Suppreſſion of civil Broils, with the *Lancearii*, the *Martiarii*, and the reſt of the light-Armed, and *Goamarius* with the *Læti* toward the Streights of *Succi*, knowing him to bear ill Will to *Julian*, for being diſgraced by him in *Gall*. But now did his Fortune, in the Opinion of our Hiſtorian, clearly preſage his End to be near. For he was often frighted in his Sleep, and dreamt, that his Father put a beautiful Child into his Lap, which daſhed, and caſt to the Ground, the Globe or Sphear that he bore in his Right Hand. Now *Ammianus* tells us, that this did ſignifie a Change of Times, though his Flatterers made him believe other things; but if this beautiful Child was that *Julian*, who, if any, was ſet in his Lap, when he made him *Cæſar* (upon his Father's Accompt, he being *Conſtantine*'s Brother's Son) this Babe of Grace was but little grateful to his Uncles Memory. But *Conſtantius*, he ſaith, confeſſed to his moſt cloſe Attendants, that now he ceaſed to ſee any Apparition, as one forſaken; but ſometimes he beheld it in a more ugly Shape; and this was thought to be the *Genius* appointed to his Safe-keeping, which now had quitted him, as one about to leave the World: For as much as Divines, He addes, do report, that all men, as ſoon as born, have ſome Deities allotted them, to govern their Actions; (the Stability of Fate alwayes preſerved) but ſeen by very few, as theſe alone, whom their manifold Vertues render famous; ſo that by this Doctrine *Conſtantius*, who was wont formerly it ſeems to ſee his *Genius*, was a man Famous for his Vertues. However, he was not ſo far diſcouraged, but being come with Speed to *Antioch*, he haſted thence with all Alacrity, as he was ever wont, when he went about to chaſtiſe Rebellions; at which though many murmured, yet durſt none ſpeak openly againſt it. Marching thence, when Autumn now declined, as he came to a Place called *Hippocephalus*, three Miles diſtant from that City; he was preſented with the Spectacle of a dead man, having the Head cut from the Shoulders, lying on his Right hand toward the *Weſt*, wherewith being ſtruck, as apprehending it ominous, he went forward, and came to *Tarſus*. Here he was ſeized with a gentle Fever; but believing that Motion and Exerciſe might do him Good, he reſolved to proceed in his Expedition, and through difficult wayes reached *Mopſueſtia*,

Sends ſome Forces againſt him.

Quos multiplices auxere Virtutes.

He comes to *Antioch*.

Proceeding, dies at *Mopſueſtia* in *Cilicia.*

Situate at the Foot of the Mountain *Taurus*, and the laſt Station of *Cilicia* on that Road. Hence he had alſo determined to move, on the following day; but was detained by the Force of his Diſeaſe; which by Degrees, was grown to that Height, that he burnt like Fire, and could for Heat ſcarcely be touched. All means uſed for his Recovery proving unſucceſsful, he bewailed his End; and having, as the Report went, named *Julian* his Succeſſor, at laſt, after long ſtrugling with Death, he departed this Life. Such was the End of *Conſtantius*, at *Mopſueſtia*, or *Mopſuerenæ* on the fifth of *October*, as writes *Ammianus*, or rather on the third of the *Nones* of *November*, as ſome date it, in the thirty eighth year of his Reign, and the forty fourth of his Age, in the *Conſulſhip* of *Taurus* and *Florentius A. D.* CCCLXI.

Laws made by him in his laſt year.

His great kindneſs to *Themiſtius* the Philoſopher.

116. Before we had brought *Conſtantius* to his End, we ſhould have taken a view of the Laws he made in the laſt year of his Reign; but that it would have broken the *Series* of thoſe Actions which he proſecuted in order to his marching Weſtward, and therefore we referred it hither, where ſomething more ought to be ſpoken of his Character. And in order to this, we may firſt call to mind what we have already obſerved; That he was very Studious to Preſerve and Increaſe the Dignity and Privileges of *Senators*. To this end, principally, he Directed his Fifth Oration, or Conſtitution, to the *Senate* of *Conſtantinople*, diſtinguiſhed at preſent into Nine ſeveral Laws, according to the ſeveral parts of which it conſiſts; bearing Date on that third day of *May* which preceded his Death, from *Gephyra*, a City of *Syria*, diſtant two and twenty Miles from *Antioch*. The firſt Direction it gives, is,
for the better Election of *Prætors*, concerning which he had formerly made ſeveral “
Laws, as we have already ſeen. But now further He Ordains, That at the making “
of the *Senatuſconſultum* (for the Choice, as we ſhewed before, he left wholly to
the *Senate*, which muſt conſiſt at leaſt of thirty Perſons) ſhould be preſent Ten “
of the Principal *Senators*, or thoſe they called *Summates*, *viz.* ſuch as had been or- “
dinary *Conſuls*, had born the Dignity of *Præfects*, *Proconſuls*, and *Prætors*; and, “
what is more to be taken notice of, *Themiſtius* the Philoſopher, he will have in par- “
ticular to be there. This Perſon Flouriſhed at this time, with great Reputation for Learning, which appeared herein, as well as otherwiſe, that with excellent Commentaries he Illuſtrated the Works of *Ariſtotle*. *Conſtantius*, to Encourage Learning, and reward ſo Deſerving a Man, for whom he had Extraordinary Kindneſs, had, almoſt ſix years before, by a peculiar Oration (ſo theſe Imperial Conſtitutions Directed to the Senate, are termed) Promoted him to the Dignity of *Senator*; and
now, to do him ſtill *Greater Honour*, will not have any choſen *Prætors* without “
his Preſence and Aſſiſtance at the Election, amongſt theſe *Summates* or *Proceres*, “
the Perſons of the Higheſt Quality; and that further, with this *Elogium* of him, “
as a Learned Man, *That his Learning Ennobled his Dignity of Senator*. But fur- “
ther, as to the making of the *Senatuſconſultum*, he will have them give their “
Voices in order, and not by the way of Exclamation, or Acclamation, to what was “
ſaid by the firſt that ſpake; when they all cried together *Yea*, or *Nay*, or went “
out to ſhew their Opinions; as was uſual then, and now continues to be the Cu- “
ſtom in caſes of ſmaller conſequence in Publick Aſſemblies of that nature. And “
if any *Prætor* died in his Office before he had Celebrated the uſual Games, he En- “
acted, That after the ſame, one be choſen to ſucceed him, as ſhould in courſe have “
been *Prætor* the following year.

L. 12. de Prætoribus & Quæſtoribus, Cod. Th.

Themiſtius quoque Philoſophus; cujus auget Scientia Dignitatem.

Hanc ſubrogationem Imp. Subſortitionem vocat; quod vetus & proprium hac in re verbum fuit. Vide Comment.

He provides for the Publick Buildings of *Conſtantinople.*

117. The ſecond Head, or Segment, of *Conſtantine* his Oration, hath relation to the Publick Works of the City of *Conſtantinople*, for which, by occaſion of the *Prætorſhip* he Amply provides. For, in the firſt place, whereas all the five *Prætors*, which in his time we have ſaid to have been in this City, were obliged to be at the Expence of Publick Games, or Paſtimes; he very laudably changes the Cuſtom,
Ordaining, That, for the time to come, only Three of them be at this kind of “
Expence, and that the other two, in room thereof, contribute a Sum of Money “
to the Publick Fabricks, or Works of the City; and to each he limits the Expence, “
requiring, that he who bore the Title of *Prætor Conſtantinianus*, ſhould pay one “
thouſand Pounds of Silver, and the other, called *Flavialis*, five hundred. But, in caſe any of them ſhould be conſtrain'd to be Abſent, by reaſon of Sickneſs, Age,
or the like; then he Ordains, That they ſend their *Procurator* to the *Cenſuales*, “
or Officers of the *Præfect* of the City, with the Sum of Money which they were “
obliged to Expend; and which *Cenſuales* were to ſee the Works carried on and “
Finiſhed; yet ſo as the Names of the *Prætors* were to be ſet upon them: But in caſe any wilfully and contumaciouſly Abſented himſelf, then, as a Mulct, he Or-
dains, He ſhall pay half as much more as his ſhare came to; which Mulct ſhall be “

L. 13. de Prætoribus, &c.

Ludorum Editio.

Levied by the Governours of the Provinces, after Warning received from the “ *Præfect*, into whoſe Office they were to pay it, whence it ſhould be laid out in “ ſome Publick Work, whereon the Name of the Contumacious *Prætor* was not to “ be ſet: and in caſe Money could not be had, the Governours were to proceed by “ way of Diſtreſs, which alſo was to be brought into the Office of the *Præfect*. “ Now the Ordinary Judges or Governours of Provinces are commanded to take this Pains, for that by other Laws it was incumbent upon them, to find out ſuch *Prætors* as ſculked or concealed themſelves, and to force them into the City, there to Diſcharge their Duties. And if thoſe Judges failed therein, they were alſo Finable for their Omiſſion, and the Fine was, in like manner, to be Employed upon Publick Works; being Levied and Expended by the Officers of the Citie's *Præfect*, the Dignity of whom, *Conſtantius* hereby Advances, as he himſelf Declares his Intention to be, who but two years before had given Beginning to the *Præfect* himſelf. And very much indeed his Authority, and conſequently his Dignity, was hereby Advanced; he having Power to ſend his Officers through all the Provinces of the *Eaſtern* Empire, to Levy this Mulct inflicted upon the Governours; Beſides that great Privilege he granted to the *Senate*, and conſequently to him, who was Head of it, that Appeals ſhould lye to them out of *Bithynia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Lydia*, the *Helleſpont*, the *Iſlands*, *Phrygia Salutaris*, and other Parts, by another Law. From the great Care of Publick Works he here manifeſts, it's probably concluded that at this time there were ſome Notable Buildings he had in hand; as poſſibly, the *Baths*, *Aquæducts*, and *Forum Regium*, which ſome mention to have been raiſed by him. The Deſire of carrying on theſe Works in this his City, as he calls it, was ſo great, that whereas formerly he had abſolutely refuſed to give leave to ſuch as had been *Vicars*, to Excuſe themſelves from the *Prætorſhip*; now he is content they be Excuſed, “ provided they bring to the Bank, or Chamber, of *Conſtantinople*, ſo much Money, “ as the two *Prætors*, lately mentioned, were obliged to pay toward the “ Works.

Noſtræ urbis.

His Indulgence to *Senators.*

118. But further, as to the Privileges of his *Senators*, for ſo he terms them, he Ordains; That they be freed from the Burthen of the *Metatus*, ſo as without “ their conſent none ſhould Lodge or Quarter in their Houſes; a Privilege which “ afterward would not be permitted them, and therefore this Law, or branch of this Oration, is not put into *Juſtinian's Code*. And whereas they were wont to be Sued by the Treaſury, when Husbandmen fled and abſented themſelves, he Commands, That if they received no Profit from the Lands of ſuch Husbandmen, they ſhould “ not be obliged to pay for ſuch Fugitives. Now this *Gothofred* Expounds to be meant of ſome ſmall Lands which their *Coloni* or Husbandmen had of their own, beſides thoſe of their Lord's, which they Tilled: but I ſee no reaſon why we may not underſtand it of thoſe who plaid leaſt in ſight, and betook themſelves to the ſhelter of Great men, when a Tax came out, and therefore their next Neighbours were bound to make up the Sum Impoſed, as formerly hath been ſhewed, from which Burthen he will have his *Senators* Excuſed. It was a Cuſtom, that when there was any danger of Famine, as in this City of *Conſtantinople*, or great want of Corn, or Proviſions for War, or upon any other urgent occaſion, the Provincials were bound, at a Market-price, to find, and Sequeſter Corn for Publick Uſes, from which very few were Excuſed; but *Conſtantius* beſtows this Immunity upon the “ *Procurators*, or *Stewards* of *Senators* throughout the Provinces. As to the Payment called *Luſtralis Collatio*, of which we have already ſpoken, to which Merchants, or ſuch as Trafficked with Wares, or with Money, were principally and eſpecially obnoxious; he declares, by another part of this Oration, That the Ruſticks, or “ Husbandmen of *Senators*, who only ſell the Growths of the Lands they till, are “ not to be Comprized amongſt ſuch men, or taken for ſuch; there being indeed “ two Contracts required to make a Merchant or Trafficker; the one, of buying firſt a Commodity, and the next, of ſelling it again for Profit or Advantage. Further, at this time, it being lawful for the Governours of Provinces to raiſe within their Juriſdictions certain publick Works, as of *Baths* or the like, when and where they thought fit, without conſulting the Prince or the *Præfectus Prætorio* (which yet afterwards was forbidden) they were wont to ceſs the Eſtates of *Senators* amongſt others. But this *Conſtantius* in another Part of his Oration forbids; and for that “ there were throughout the Provinces, certain *Senators* impowered to look to, “ and preſerve the Privileges of thoſe of that Order within their Diſtricts, (in like “ manner as the common People had alſo their *Defenſores*, the Church it's *Protectors*, “ and the Poor their *Overſeers*) he impowers them to make, conſtant Oppoſition “ againſt the incroachment on their Immunities; which if they, being of ſo “

L. 1. de Metatis, Cod. Th. lib. 7. tit. 6.

L. 7. de Annona & Tributis, Cod. Th.
Abeſt à Cod. Juſtin.

Publica Comparatio vocatur & Synoneton.
L. 1. de publica Comparatione, Cod. Th. lib. 11. tit. 15.
Abeſt. à Cod. Juſtin.
L. 3. de Luſtrali Collatione. Cod. Th.

L. 7. de operibus Publicis, Cod. Th.
L. 7. Cod. Juſtin. de Dignit. hinc decurtata eſt.

great Quality, and Intereſt, could not obviate without having Recourſe to the “ Emperour; no wonder that the *Curiales* (or *Senators* of Corporations) were much vexed alſo at this time, upon the ſame Account.

In what Caſes he will not excuſe them.

119. Theſe are the Privileges which he Ordains, and Confirms to his *Senators*; but leſt they ſhould ſeem to be ſet free from all Services and Obligations, beſides what, at the beginning, is ſaid concerning their Obnoxiouſneſs to the *Prætorſhip*, and Expenſe of Publick Paſtimes; he Inſtances in other two things, wherein they muſt plead no Immunity or Excuſe. By reaſon of his Indulgence to Perſons of this Rank, or to ſhun the Charge and Trouble in Corporations, many of the *Curiales* had obtained an Admiſſion into the *Senate*, as others betaken themſelves to the Army, or to Holy Orders, as a Refuge; but now, though formerly he was content, that being admitted to this Dignity, they ſhould be freed from their Obligations to Bodies Corporate, He Commands, That ſuch be ſtruck out of the Liſt of the *Senate*, “ and be returned back to their own Towns. But this is to be underſtood of “ thoſe only who had not born the Office of *Prætor*, or been at the Expenſe of the “ Publick Paſtimes; for if they had undergone this Charge, he will not have “ them forced back to their Towns; yet with this Proviſo, that if they had any “ Money in their hands belonging to the Publick Treaſury, or that of their City, “ they ſhould be bound to make Reſtitution; for, out of theſe *Decuriones* were choſen the *Exactores*, *Suſceptores*, and *Curatores*, of whom heretofore. The next Duty “ from which he will not permit them to be Excuſed, is, that of the *Protoſtaſia*, “ than which nothing is more obſcure in the whole *Code*: but from all laid together, it appears (though the word in general ſignifies Principality, or Preeminence) to have been the chief Inſpection or Care of Contributing and Collecting Tributes in each *Municipium* and Territory throughout the *Eaſt*; and this to have been Incumbent upon Perſons, according to the Quantity and Value of their Lands. But this he will have them tied to, ſo far as their own Grounds make “ them lyable only, and not by way of *Epibole*, or Contribution for the barren “ Lands of others; although, to ſpeak indifferently, the *Senators* that lived in the Countrey were too guilty of getting all the beſt Lands into their own poſſeſſion.

L. 48. de Decurionibus Cod. Th. Abeſt à Cod. Juſtin.

L. 1. de Protoſtaſia Cod. Th. lib. 11. Tit. 22. Vide Comment.

120. But thus we ſee how Indulgent *Conſtantius* was to *Senators*; and this is further to be ſaid of him, that he cheriſhed the Nobility and Senate as much as his Succeſſor did the Corporations. For evidence of this, there is Extant a Law of his, though not in the *Code* of *Theodoſius*, (out of which ſeveral have been loſt) yet in that of *Juſtinian*; for that his it was, though it be by error Aſcribed to his Father, appears from the Direction of it to *Orſitus*, who was *Præfectus Prætorio* in his time. This forbids any mean Trafficquers, as the *Monetarii*, or any of abject and vile “ Office or Employment, as the *Stationaries*; or ſuch as lived by any filthy courſe of “ Life, to attempt, or aim at any Dignity: or if they did, it Commands they be repulſed, “ and returned back to their former Trade, or meanneſs of living. For his other Qualities, thoſe who do not Flatter him, confeſs, that he ever preſerved the grandeur of Majeſty and Authority; that with a great and lofty Mind he contemned Popularity; was careful and ſparing in conferring Honours, and eſpecially the greateſt; which, as a Maxim, Princes that deſigned to uphold the Reputation of Nobility, and prevent Popular Tyranny, have ever obſerved, as much as they could. Neither did he ſuffer (or but rarely) either thoſe in Civil or Military Commands to grow greater, through any new Acceſſion of Power or Honour, which would ſtill give others that came after, encouragement to expect the like; ſo that, under him, no Commander was Advanced to the Degree of *Clariſſimus*, having been only of the Rank called *Perfectiſſimatus*. In his time, no Governour of a Province went forth to meet a *Magiſter Equitum*; neither did he ſuffer a *Magiſter* to meddle with any Civil Buſineſs; but all, both Military and Civil Officers, according to the antient Cuſtom, bore Reverence to the *Præfecti Prætorio*, as thoſe that were Advanced to the higheſt pitch of Honour. In preſerving Military Diſcipline, he was rather too exact; ſometimes too ſcrupulouſly examining the Merits of his Souldiers. The *Palatine* Dignities, or his Court-Employments, he beſtowed, as it were, by a Plumb-line and Level; and during his Reign, no Upſtart or Unknown Perſon came to bear any Sway; but it was certainly known, who, of courſe, having paſſed ten years of Tryal in an Inferiour Station, would be promoted to be *Magiſter Officiorum*, *Largitionum*, or the like. As it was rarely known that any who had been bred a Souldier was tranſlated into a Civil Employment, ſo none were preferred to Command in the Armies, but ſuch as had undergone the Toil of War, and learn'd Experience. Preferment did not in his dayes court all ſorts of men indifferently,

L. 6. de Dignitatibus. Cod. Juſtin. lib. 12. Tit. 1.

Otherwiſe indulgent to the Nobility.

His Virtues.

ut honorum omnium apicem.

He prefer'd none but fit Perſons.

differently, or rather thoſe who were moſt unfit; Perſons did not riſe to thoſe Places, as inſpired, without any Breeding or Study to fit them for the Diſcharge; as in later Enthuſiaſtick Ages, wherein, not only in Spiritual Miniſteries, but even in Civil Employments, little or no Study and Preparation hath been thought requiſite to any Place. The Light within us, or Natural Wild-fire, whether Canting or Drolling, was not eſteemed for its Cracks. Study and Induſtry were not accounted Formal Foppery, nor what diſtinguiſhes us from Beaſts, turn'd into Ridicule: Perſons might then, as of old, perhaps think themſelves born Poets; but not Orators (either Religious or Secular) not Lawyers nor Judges in either kind; Commanders Military, or the like.

121. But, *Ammianus* further tells us, that he was a Diligent Affector of Learning, but by reaſon of his blunt Wit, no good or tolerable Orator; and yet, if that be the beſt Oratory that accompliſheth its End, he was not unhappy in his Military Eloquence, and could as effectually cajole the Souldiers, as his Learned Couſin *Julian*; for he ſtill perſwaded them to what he pleaſed, and this by a gentle and pleaſing way he had, which this Writer upon occaſion aſſerts, though not where he gives us his Character. Having no ſucceſs in Rhetorick, he further writes, he betook himſelf to Poetry, wherein he did nothing to any purpoſe. As to his manner of Living, he was ſpare and ſober both in Eating and Drinking, whereby, (Temperance being, as a Prince that Reigned in *England* an hundred years ago, and ſince, was wont to ſay from good Experience, the beſt part of Phyſick) he retained ſo perfect Health, that he ſeldome contracted any Diſeaſe; but when he did, he was ſick to Death. He was content with little ſleep, when Buſineſs and Time required it; and ſo Eminent for Chaſtity, during his long Reign, that he could not be ſo much as ſuſpected toward any Male he had about him, which Crime, Envy, though without any real ground, is wont, ſaith our Hiſtorian, to fix upon Perſons placed in greateſt Power. He was an Excellent Horſeman; and in caſting a Dart very Expert, but eſpecially skilled in Archery; and alſo moſt knowing in the Arts of Training and Commanding Foot. As for things of more ſlight conſequence, as that in Publick he was never ſeen to blow his Noſe, to Spit, to turn his Head aſide, or in all his Life to have taſted any ſort of Apples; our Author tells us, he omits to ſpeak further of them, as being often before mentioned by him, and ſo having but ſummarily, as he ſaith himſelf, mentioned his Virtues, or ſuch of them as he could know, he comes to explain, or lay open his Vices. In other matters, he was to be compared to the middle ſort of Princes; but if there was but any Appearance of Deſigned Uſurpation, true or falſe, he knew no end of making Inquiſitions, and neither having reſpect to Right nor Wrong therein, exceeded *Caligula*, *Domitian*, and *Commodus* in Cruelty, whom imitating in this Exceſs, at the beginning of his Reign, he utterly cut off all that were near him in Blood or Kindred. In ſuch caſes his Suſpitions were ſtrained to the utmoſt, and his Inquiſitions were ſo Severe, that he appointed moſt cruel Perſons to Examine and Judge the Accuſed, and was deſirous, in Puniſhing thoſe that they Condemned, to extend their Torment even farther than Nature her ſelf could hold out, herein far more Rigid than *Gallienus*. *Ammianus* inſtanceth in this Emperour's milder Puniſhment of ſuch as he found really guilty of Treaſon; takes occaſion to ſhew how unlike *Conſtantius* was to *Marcus*, who, when *Caſſius* had Uſurped in *Syria*, burnt a Packet of his Letters, which had been intercepted. And after this, he cites paſſages out of *Cicero* and *Heraclitus* the Philoſopher, to ſhew the baſeneſs of Cruelty; to which we muſt needs Aſſent, but not Imitate, nor tranſcribe him in ſuch like Sallies.

He was Temperate,

Perque ſpatia ita longiſſima impendio caſtus.

An excellent Horſeman, &c.

Equitandi & jaculandi, artiumque armaturæ pedeſtris perquam ſcientiſſimus.

De numeratis carptim bonis quæ ſcire potuimus, nunc ad explananda ejus vitia veniamus.

His Vices.

His Cruelty, according to the Character given him by *Ammianus*.

122. But to the purpoſe; he adds, that thus Cruel he was, under a ſpecious Pretence to Juſtice and Clemency: that, as in Forein Wars, he was broken and dejected, ſo in Civil Conteſts, wherein he had uſually Succeſs, he was puffed up, and, as he words it, ſprinkled with horrid filth from out of the Inteſtine Ulcers of the Commonwealth; ſo that through a depraved purpoſe, rather than what was Right and Uſual, he Erected in *Gall* and *Pannonia* Triumphal Arches, at a great Expence out of the Calamities of the Provinces, with the Narration of his Acts thereto affixed. To his Wives, his whining Eunuchs, and certain of his Courtiers, who Applauded all he ſaid, and obſerved how his Inclinations ſtood, that they might accommodate themſelves to his Humour, he was too too much addicted. And the Badneſs of the Times was rendred worſe by the inſatiable Rapacity of his Officers, who thereby procured him much more *Odium* than Money; and this yet ſeemed more intolerable, that He himſelf would never hear a Cauſe, nor take any care for the Eaſe of the Provinces, at ſuch time as they were burthened by multiplied Tributes and Impoſitions. He was, to conclude this Character, of his mind, (for what our Au-

Et inteſtinis ulceribus Reip. ſanie perfuſus horrendâ.

Too much given to be led by his Eunuchs.

thor ſpeaks of him in reference to Chriſtian Religion, will be more proper for another place) eaſily inclined to take away what he had formerly beſtowed. As for that of his Body; His Complexion was brown, his Looks lofty, and his Sight quick; the Hair of his Head was ſoft, his Face, which he conſtantly ſhaved, very comely; from his Neck to his Groin he was tall, but his Legs were very ſhort and bowed, which made him very excellent in running and Leaping. Such is the Character given him by *Ammianus*, to which it will be requiſite that we adde what others, as to this point, have written of him, and one that lived in his Time, though of a Pagan perſwaſion; for, to avoid partiality from Affection, we ſhall not have reſpect to what Chriſtians have written, but rather conſider what they ſay of him upon another occaſion.

The Character given him by *Eutropius*, and other Pagan Writers.

123. *Eutropius*, who lived alſo in his dayes, having told us, that he died as he was going againſt *Julian*, betwixt *Cilicia* and *Cappadocia*, in the forty fifth year of his Age; adds, that he deſerved to be reckoned amongſt the *Divi*, or Deified Emperours. Then, that he was a man of egregious Tranquillity, of a pleaſing Diſpoſition, that he gave too much credit to his Friends and Familiars, and was ſomething too Uxorious; yet, in the firſt years of his Reign, he demeaned himſelf with great Modeſty, was an Inricher of his Familiars, and ſuffered not thoſe which he had found Induſtrious to go unrewarded. But he was more than ordinary inclined to Severity, upon ſuſpicion of Treaſon, otherwiſe mild; and one whoſe Fortune was to be more eſteemed in Civil than in Foreign Wars. With *Eutropius* agree others of the ſame way, commending this Emperour, as to the Main, and laying the great fault upon his Eunuchs and Miniſters. But, although all men, and eſpecially the greateſt, be obnoxious to Flattery, and thoſe that ſee with the Eyes, and hear with the Ears of others, are too ſubject to falſe Repreſentations; yet *Conſtantius* cannot hereby be Excuſed, nothing ſo much declaring the Wiſdom and Diſpoſition of a Prince, as the choice of his Miniſters. For, they all therein ſuit their own Inclinations; not but that the moſt Prudent may be miſtaken in Men as well as Things; but we ſpeak of the conſtant Practice, as that of this Emperour, who was generally thus impoſed on all his Life. At parting yet we cannot but obſerve ſomething in his behalf, in reference to the odious compariſons *Ammianus* makes of him for his Cruelty. He tells us, that he rooted out utterly his Kindred at the beginning, which all muſt needs acknowledge an Expreſſion Hyperbolical. For to be ſure, *Gallus* and *Julian* he left alive, and they and He were as near a Kin as Brothers Sons are wont to be. Then *Eutropius* tells us, that *Dalmatius Cæſar*, another Couſin, was indeed killed, but by a *Military Faction*, and ſo as *Conſtantius* rather ſuffered, than commanded it.

Verum Dalmatius Cæſar proſperimâ indole, neque Patruo abſimilis, haud multo poſt oppreſſus eſt à factione Militari, & Conſtantio patruele ſuo ſinente potiùs quàm jubente.

Sect.

Sect. V.

From the Death of Conſtantius, *to that of* Julian.

The Space of a Year and ſome Eight Months.

Conſtantius being dead, his Officers ſend and invite *Julian* to take poſſeſſion.

1. THE Body of *Conſtantius*, being duely prepar'd and Coffin'd, was committed to the care of *Jovian*, his *Protector Domeſticus*, to be convey'd with Royal Pomp to *Conſtantinople*, there to be Buried with his Relations. While in the way, *Jovian* was ſitting in the Chariot that carried the Corps, there were offered to him, as was wont to be to Emperours in their Journeys, the Eſſayes of Corn, or Military Proviſions; and the Publick Beaſts of Carriage and Burthen belonging to the *Curſus Publicus*, were produced ſo often, that, together with Officious Meetings upon the Road, and other things of like nature, they portended Empire to *Jovian*, but ſuch as was empty, and rather a ſhadow of Sovereignty, than otherwiſe, as to one who was the Chief Actor in a Funeral Solemnity. But to leave him with his Charge, and return to the Place whence he ſet forward with the Body. After the Chief Officers, Military and Civil, had, by their Tears and Lamentations, teſtified their due Reſpect to the dead Emperour, they began to lay their Heads together, and conſider what was to be done in reference to a Living Prince; for ſuch an one now there muſt be made, or owned. After ſome ſmall Attempts in another way, at the motion of *Euſebius*, as was reported, whoſe Conſcience now flew in his Face, *Julian*, who ſeemed near at hand, and well provided, was reſolved on for the Man; and *Theolaiphus* and *Aligildus*, both Counts, were ſent unto him, to inform him of the Death of his Kinſman, and to deſire that he would without delay come into the *Eaſt*, which was very ready to receive his Commands. But the Report went, that *Conſtantins* made a Will, and therein, as was formerly ſaid, named *Julian* his Heir; bequeathing Legacies and Eſtates in truſt to other his Relations; for as for Children he left none, except one in the Belly of his Wife, which, proving a Daughter, and after him named *Conſtantia*, was afterward married unto *Gratian*. In the mean time, *Julian*, being variouſly employed in *Illyricum*, yet principally intended his Divinations, by a continual prying into the Entrails of Beaſts, and viewing of Birds; yet were the Anſwers ſo Ambiguous and Obſcure, that he remained ſtill in Suſpence, and altogether Uncertain about future Events. At length one *Aprunculus*, an Orator in *Gall*, afterward promoted to the Government of the Province of *Narbon*, a man mighty ſkilful in the *Aruſpicina*, made to him a full diſcovery from the Liver of a Beaſt, as he ſaid, which was covered with a double Call. Yet was he ſtill afraid that theſe things were but feigned, which were thought to be acceptable to him; and this made him Melancholick, Good Man, till he himſelf perceived by a good Token, that *Conſtantius* his Death was portended. At the very ſame inſtant, *Ammianus* tells you, that the Emperour died in *Cilicia*, a Souldier, who lifted him up upon his Horſe, he being ſet, fell down to the ground; whereupon he ſuddenly cryed out, in the hearing of all the Company, that He, *who had raiſed him up on High, was fallen himſelf.* He knew that this boded well towards him, yet he was reſolved ſtill to continue in *Dacia*, as ſtill apprehending ſeveral Dangers. For he thought it not ſafe to truſt to Conjectures, which perhaps might fall out quite contrary to what they ſuggeſted.

Julian hears of his Death.

2. Theſe Doubts were at laſt all diſcuſſed by the Arrival of *Theolaiphus* and *Aligildus*, who brought him News both that *Conſtantius* was dead, and that he had declared him his Succeſſor, as our Pagan Hiſtorians write; though Chriſtians have believed, that this was feigned by them, to take off the *Odium* of *Julian's* Uſurpation. For, it's reported of *Conſtantius*, that when he lay on his Death-bed, amongſt other Reflections upon his Life, he repented that he had Promoted *Julian* to be *Cæſar*; but if he ſo Ordained him his Heir, the more Gratitude he owed to his Memory, and ſo vertuous and gallant a man as he, doubtleſs, could not but pay ſo juſt a Debt. However, now delivered from all Fears and Incumbrances, he was exceedingly Elevated with his good Fortune, and gave credit to Divinations; but, knowing how much Expedition had contributed to the Advancement of his Affairs, he gave Orders to march away into *Thrace*; and paſſing down the Mountains

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of *Succi* came to *Philippopolis*, which by the Ancients was called *Eumolpias*, his Army following very chearfully, now they found that what they were going to take by Force, and that with the hazard of all their Lives, was devolved upon him by ordinary Right. When the Report of his Approach was brought to *Conſtantinople*, all ſorts came out to receive him as one dropp'd from Heaven; and there he entred with great Applauſe, and the Admiration of all that beheld him, on the eleventh of *December*. For they conſidered how a young man, as he was, of a little Body indeed, but renowned for very great Actions, after bloody Tragedies made by him, both of Kings and Nations, was ſuddenly paſſed from City to City, eaſily conquered all Oppoſition where he came, and in Concluſion arrived at the Poſſeſſion of the Empire, as by Divine Appointment without any Expenſe of Blood, or Treaſure, to the Commonwealth. But though he came ſo eaſily to the Supream Power, he thought fit not to forgive ſuch as had been his Enemies formerly, though now they readily ſubmitted themſelves, and cloſed with his Intereſt. For within a ſhort time, as a Foundation of what was to follow, and to have a Judge whom he could truſt, he made *Salluſtius* his *Præfectus Prætorio*, and with him joyned *Mamertinus*, *Arbetio*, *Agilo*, *Nevita*, and *Jovinus*, whom he had lately promoted to be *Magiſter Equitum* through *Illyricum*. Thoſe Commiſſioners paſſed over to *Chalcedon*, where being protected and aſſiſted by the *Tribunes* and others the Principal of the *Joviani* and *Herculiani*, they made more ſevere Inquiſition after Criminals than Juſtice would bear them out in, though their Emperour did; ſome few Caſes only excepted, wherein they could ſcarcely exceed the Merits of ſuch, as they had Reaſon to condemn.

Goes to *Conſtantinople.*

Flammæ inſtar cuncta facilius occupaſſe.

Severely animadverts upon his late Enemies.

Cauſas veehmentiùs æquo bonoque Spectaverunt.

3. They began with *Palladius*, whom they baniſhed hither into *Brittain*, merely becauſe he was ſuſpected to have plotted ſomething againſt *Gallus*, while under him he executed the Place of *Magiſter Officiorum*. Next after him they puniſhed *Taurus*, who had born the Office of *Præfectus Prætorio*, in the like ſort; though his Crime, in the Opinion of indifferent Judges was very ſlight, as having, when he apprehended a Storm approaching, betaken himſelf to the Court, and Protection of the Emperour his Maſter: And the Record made at his Tryal, was not read without great Horror, it beginning in this manner: *In the Conſulſhip of* Taurus *and* Florentius, Taurus *being brought to the Bar.* In like manner was *Pentadius* indangered, it being objected that he took in Short-Hand the Anſwers of *Gallus* to ſuch Interrogatories as were put to him a little before his Death; but he made ſo clear a Defence, that he eſcap'd unpuniſhed. By the Force of the like Injuſtice was *Florentius* the Son of *Nigrinianus*, and then *Magiſter Officiorum*, confined to *Boas*, an Iſland of *Dalmatia*; as for the other *Florentius* who had been *Præfectus Prætorio*, and at preſent was dignified by the Title of *Conſul*; he retired with his Wife, and, though condemned to Death in his Abſence, lay concealed all the time that *Julian* lived. But *Evagrius* the *Comes Rei Privatæ*, and *Saturninus*, who had had Charge of the Palace, together with *Cyrinus*, lately a *Notary*, could not eſcape being driven into Exile. And yet the Caſes of theſe Perſons ſeemed very Juſt and Reaſonable, in Compariſon of what *Urſulus* the *Comes Largitionum* ſuffered, whoſe Death *Ammianus* tells us that Juſtice her ſelf ſeemed with Tears to have bewailed, and taxed *Julian* as ingrateful, however *Libanius* hath minced the Matter. For, this Perſon when he was made *Cæſar*, and ſent into the Weſt, perceiving there was a Deſign to ſtraighten him of Money, that he might have nothing to give to the Souldiers, and thereupon they might be ungovernable; wrote Letters to the Treaſurer of *Gall*, to furniſh him, as he ſhould have Occaſion. After he was put to Death, when *Julian* perceived he was thereupon revil'd and curſed as a moſt ingrateful Wretch; he thought to ſalve the Sore by a Falſitie, and excuſe the Crime which could not be expiated; affirming that the man was killed without his Knowledge, and pretended that the Souldiers made him away in a Rage, for having ſpoken thoſe Words at *Amida* ſo long before; which we related upon Occaſion of *Conſtantius* his coming “ before that City. Therefore in the Opinion of *Ammianus* he was fearful and unadviſed, when he made *Arbetio* a man of an uncertain humour, and very proud, to be Judge of theſe Matters, (for the Officers of the *Legions* and the reſt that were joyned with him were but only for Show) to him whom he knew firſt of all to have been ſet againſt his Life and Safety. Though thoſe Proceedings were deſervedly blamed, even by his Followers, yet other Examples of Severity he ſhewed, wherein he did not at all deviate from the Paths of Juſtice. *Apodemius* the *Agens in Rebus*, who had been ſo buſie in the Death of *Gallus* and *Sylvanus*, as alſo *Paul* Sirnam'd *Catena* the *Notary*, not to be named without Grones for thoſe that were murdered through his violent Proſecution, were burnt alive. *Euſebius* the *Præpoſitus Cubiculi*

Several unjuſtly put to Death;

Vide Valeſii Annot. in Ammian. lib. 22. p. 206.

Quum maledictis execrationibus multorum ſe Julianus ſentiret expoſitum, impurgabile Crimen excuſari poſſe Exiſtimans &c.

Some juſtly.

culi to *Conſtantius*, that Execrable and intolerable Eunuch, who from a contemptible Original, arrived at ſo great Impudence as even to command the Emperour, rather than to receive Orders from him, was alſo put to Death.

He too ſeverely handles the *Palatines*, or Courtiers, though generally bad men.

Non ut Philoſophus indagandæ veritatis Profeſſor.

Socrates hæc à nonnullis laudata, à pleriſque autem ait improbata fuiſſe. Remotis enim tot Palatii Miniſtris, qui ſi non aliud, certè ornamentum ac pompam aulæ afferebant, vilem & contemptum Principis Comitatum videri neceſſe eſt. Cæterùm Gregorius Nazianz. in odium Conſtantii à Juliano factum eſſe dicit, & Chriſtianis: Simum quemque à Palatio pulſum. Vide Valeſ.

4. From ſuch animadverſion upon theſe men, *Julian* fell on all the *Palatines* or Courtiers; though not like a Philoſopher or one that profeſſed to find out the Truth. He had deſerved Commendation, had he retained ſuch as were honeſt amongſt them; though indeed of theſe there were but very few. For it muſt not be denied, but that moſt of them were very vitious, and did much hurt to others, chiefly by their ill Examples. Some by the Spoiles of Temples, our Writer informs us, and the reſt by ſome other Occaſions of gratifying their rapacious Minds, from the greateſt Poverty raiſed themſelves to vaſt Eſtates, and knew no Mean, neither in giving, taking, nor ſpending; being ſo habituated to invade the Rights of other men, that all Shame laid aſide they ſtuck neither at Perjury nor any other Crime. Hence came up Feaſts and Entertainments as luxurious as thoſe uſed at Triumphs; Silk alſo began to be ordinarily worn, which hitherto was of vaſt Price and Scarcity; the Art of Weaving increaſed: and eſpecially that of the Kitchin; and of ſplendid Furniture. Neither was the Diſcipline of the Camp leſs corrupted than that of the Court, the Souldier now only exerciſing his Voice in Songs; not contenting himſelf, as formerly, with a Stone in his Tent whereon to reſt himſelf, but carrying about his Feather Beds, and drinking out of Cups, whereof each was heavier than the Sword he wore: he ſhamed now to drink out of an earthen Pot, and by his good Will, no Houſe would ſerve him but one of Marble, whereas a *Spartan* Souldier is ſaid to have been puniſhed for being ſeen but within doors at the time of an Expedition. But ſo ſurly and rapacious the Military man was in thoſe Dayes, toward his Fellow Subjects, and on the contrary ſo cowardly towards an Enemy, that being arrived at Wealth through ambitious Courſes, and in a way of Lazineſs, he was become very expert and knowing in the Vanity and Worth of Jewels; a thing certainly wherein thoſe of but little later times were but meanly practiſed; for the Story was now commonly known of a Souldier, who in the Reign of *Maximian*, at the Plunder of the King of *Perſia* his Camp, having light of a Bag wherein were pretious Stones, caſt out the Gemms, as things of no Value, and went away very well pleaſed with the fineneſs of the Bag. But now Luxury had ſo infected all ſorts of People, that on a time when a Barber was ſent for, to cut *Julian*'s Hair, there was one brought to him who had on a very gay Suite of Cloths, at the Sight of whom *Julian* was aſtoniſhed, and ſaid, *I commanded not a* Rationalis, (of which ſort of Perſons, formerly;) *but a Barber to be called.* This Fellow being asked what Income he had by his Trade, made Anſwer, that he had twenty *Annonæ* (or ſo many Loaves) by the Day, and as great an Allowance for Horſes, (an Allowance for an Horſe they called in thoſe times *Capitum*) beſides a large yearly Salary, and many other advantages he had of begging Boones. Hereat the Emperour was ſo moved, that he turned him and all his Companions away, (together with *Cookes* and others, Profeſſors of like Myſteries that received the ſame Advantages) to ſhift for themſelves, as they could. Thus much *Ammianus* tells us of the Corruption of the Court, and the Reformation made by *Julian.* Now let us ſee how the Reformer, in all Relations, ordered his own Affairs.

As the Souldier, alſo was very degenerate in theſe dayes.

Vicenas diurnas reſpondit annonas, totidemque pabula Jumentorum quæ vulgò dictitant capita.

Julian profeſſes himſelf a *Pagan.*

5. And firſt for his Religion, although from his very Childhood, he was much inclined to Paganiſme, and as he grew up, his Inclination that way ſtill more increaſed, yet not daring to ſhew it, with as great Secreſie as he could, he had medled with Matters relating thereunto. But now that his Fears were removed; and he had Liberty to do what he liſted, he revealed the Secrets of his Heart, and in Plain and downright words commanded by his Edicts, both that Temples ſhould be opened, Sacrifices be offered as formerly, and the Worſhip of the Heathen Deities reſtored. And that his Deſign might take fuller Effect, having ſent for the Diſſenting *Chriſtian* Biſhops with their Followers to the Court, he told them, he would have them bury all Diſſentions amongſt themſelves, and, without all Fear or Controul, every one live after his own way; and this he did with great earneſtneſs and Cunning, that this Liberty procuring great Diſagreement, he might not be indangered by that mighty Advantage which their Unity would have procured to them. For he knew very well from Experience, that no wild Beaſts are ſo fierce and violent againſt men, as *Chriſtians* commonly one againſt another. And he would often cry out, *Hear me whom the* Allemans *and the* Franks *have heard*, therein thinking he imitated the Saying of *Marcus Aurelius*; though not a little differing. For that Prince when paſſing through *Paleſtine*, toward *Ægypt*, he was

Cunningly divides *Chriſtians.*

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much peſtered by the ſtinking and tumultuous *Jews*, cried out with grief, *O Marcomanni, O Quadi, O Sarmatæ, At laſt I have found out more troubleſome People than your ſelves.* About this time he was much troubled by the importunate Addreſſes of many that came out of *Ægypt*, being, as naturally that Nation then was, very much addicted to Suits and Troubles; and ſo Covetous as well as Impertinent, that if they had given any Money for doing Buſineſs, as either to procure the mitigation of a Fine, or longer time of payment, they would earneſtly contend to have it reſtored. They ſo plagued with their noiſe, both *Julian* and the *Præfecti Prætorio*, (not being ſatisfied except they could recover money which had been ſo employed, though ſeventy years before) that they could do no other Buſineſs for them; and therefore the Emperour, for his own Quiet, and the Repoſe of his Miniſters, by an Edict commanded, that they ſhould all paſs over to *Chalcedon*, whither he promiſed that he himſelf would ſhortly follow. But there when he had them, Command was given to all Boat-men, that they ſhould not dare to bring over again ſo much as one *Ægyptian*, which being carefully obſerved, this their Deſign of Informing fell to nothing, and they were all forced to return home as they came. But this gave occaſion to the Promulgation of a Law, as *Ammianus* tells us, whereby no Perſon that had legally received any Money for doing any Buſineſs, ſhould be moleſted.

Provoked by the troubleſome and impertinent *Ægyptians*,

He Publiſheth a Law.

Valeſius potiùs eum Auguſtum fuiſſe imitatum exiſtimat, qui cum legibus Juliis juventutem coerceret dicere ſolebat, Audite me, Juvenes, Senem, quem Senes Juvenem audierunt ut refert Plutarch.

Homines autem Ægyptii plerunque ſubfuſculi ſunt & atrati, magiſque mœſtiores, gracilenti & aridi, ad ſingulos motus excandeſcentes, Controverſi & Repoſcones acerrimi, Amm. ad finem, lib. 22.

6. This Law is ſtill Extant in the *Code* of *Theodoſius*, and the very firſt that therein we find made by *Julian*. But, beſides what *Ammianus* writes concerning the particulars for which the *Ægyptians* made ſo troubleſome an Addreſs, it principally aims at ſuch as had given Money for Places or Offices in the Commonwealth. For, amongſt other means of getting Money, the *Palatines*, or Courtiers of *Conſtantius* underſtood this very well; it being a Trade ſeldome unlearn'd by bad men about Princes, to make money of the Employments of which they have the beſtowing; the great Cauſe of ill Management of Affairs, when Preferment goes not according to Deſert, when men are not ſought for that are fit for Places, but ſuch Places as may be fit to advance and enrich, are ſought for men. Yet by what this ſame Author *Ammianus* writes it is evident that this corrupt courſe of giving and receiving Money for Honours did not in *Conſtantius* his time extend to the filling of any eminent Offices either in Court or Camp with new upſtarts or unexperienced Perſons, he being wonderfully cautious to prevent all ſuch Abuſes. However, *Julian* ſignifies in this his Edict, that ſome there were who through baſe Fictions or Lies had thruſt themſelves into Places, which ought to have been conferred upon good and deſerving Perſons; and others have written that Offices in the time of *Conſtantius* were ſet to Sale, which muſt have been then meant of the inferiour ſort, and ſuch as were removed from his own Obſervation; for indeed it was impoſſible but that one who was ſo ſerved by Eunuchs and other Flatterers, ſhould be ſometimes over-reached in beſtowing inferiour Places of Magiſtracy. But however as to the Law, it was neither allowed to give nor to receive any Gifts of this Nature. Yet if ſuch a thing had hapned, he that had received, and was in Poſſeſſion was ever eſteemed to have both the more legal and more plauſible Title; and for as much as the *Roman* Laws (ſo *Julian* tells us in this Edict) are utterly Strangers to ſuch Contracts, he takes away all Power of recovering Money ſo diſhoneſtly imployed. But in caſe any ſhould endeavour to recover ſuch Money, or get it back into his Hands, he ſhould not only loſe it, or return it to the Party, but forfeit as much more to the Publick Treaſury. Now this Conſtitution reſpects only the time paſt, and gives order in ſuch caſes as were then in Controverſie; but afterwards ſeveral other Laws were made by ſucceeding Princes, both for puniſhing in the ſame ſort ſuch as had uſed Bribery for the obtaining of Preferment, and for prevention of the Sale of Honours and Offices, even by way of Oaths, as we may ſee in due time. For this practice ſtill returned, as Princes became obnoxious to their *Freed-men*, *Eunuchs* and *Courtiers*; and hard it was utterly to prevent it; for, though the Emperours, as we ſee by *Conſtantius*, might be ſeverely careful, that in Places near them and under their Eyes, none but fit and experienc'd men ſhould be preferred; yet they could not know all Perſons, nor out of their own Acquaintance make proviſion for the Supply of thoſe Numerous Employments and Charges through this vaſt Empire. Such they muſt take as thoſe about them recommended, ſo that (as was formerly ſaid) the work of a Prince, eſpecially lyes in chuſing ſuch Eyes and Ears about him as he may truſt, in what he cannot ſee and hear himſelf: Ill management when it happens begins moſt commonly here, and Government is hereby rendred as Culpable and Infirm, as the Growth and Nouriſhment of the Body perverted, when the firſt Concoction thereof is vitiated.

Unde velut æquitate ipſa dictante, Lex *eſt promulgata quâ cavetur nullum interpellari ſuffragatorem ſuper his quæ eum rectè conſtiterit accepiſſe. Amm.*

L. 1. *Si certum petatur de Suffragiis, Cod. Th. lib.*2. *tit.*29.

Abeſt à Cod. J*uſtin.*

Examinator meritorum nonnunquam ſcrupuloſus P*alatinas Dignitates velut ex quodam tribuens perpendiculo; & ſub eo nemo celſum aliqnid acturus in Regia, repentinus adhibitus eſt vel incognitus: ſed qui poſt decennium, &c.--- non niſi pulvere bellico indurati præficiebantur armatis. lib.* 21.

Sed quia leges Romanæ hujuſmodi contractus, penitùs ignorant, &c.

7. When

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He ſhowes much Affectation in all his Wayes.

7. When the firſt day of the year was come (on which this Law beareth Date) which gave beginning to the *Conſulſhip* of *Mamertinus* and *Nevitta*, the Emperour himſelf condeſcended ſo far as to walk on Foot with the reſt, at the (a) Solemnity, which ſome commended as the Effect of his Humility, but others condemned as below him and proceeding from Affectation. But this Affectation he began every day more and more to ſhew. He himſelf would manumitt the Slaves, they being introduced forſooth by the *Proximus Admiſſionum*, till he was told, that that Juriſdiction now belonged to another, Being acquainted that *Maximus* the Philoſopher was come to ſee him out of *Aſia*, in an unſeemly ſort he leaped up, and forgetting what Perſon he was, ran as faſt as his Legs would carry him a great way out of Doors, fell upon him and kiſſed him, and then brought him in with great Ceremony; which rendred him (*b*) ridiculous for his unſeaſonable Oſtentation, and immoderate thirſt after vain Glory. And in the Opinion of *Ammianus* herein he forgot that Saying of *Tully*, by which he and ſuch like are cenſured. *viz. Thoſe very Philoſophers even to thoſe Books which they write againſt Vain Glory, prefix their own Names, with Deſign, that by that very Act whereby they deſpiſe Honour and Fame, they themſelves may be ſpoken of and commended.* Not long after, two of thoſe *Agentes in Rebus*, who had been turned out, came confidently to him, and offered, on Condition they might be reſtored, to diſcover to him *Florentius* the late *Præfect*; but he reviled them and worthily called them Informers, adding withal that it was not the part of an Emperour by any indirect Diſcoveries, to find out a man who concealed himſelf for Fear of Death, and who perhaps would not long be ſuffered to lye concealed without Hope of Pardon. But he not only endeavoured a Reformation in civil Matters; into the Affairs of the Camp he alſo made diligent Inſpection. He preferred ſuch to Commands as he knew well experienc'd, reinforced the Cities of *Thrace*, and was very careful that neither Arms, Clothes, Proviſions, nor Pay ſhould be wanting to thoſe Souldiers whom he underſtood to have gallantly demeaned themſelves upon the Limits of *Iſter*, againſt the Incurſions of the Barbarous Nations. In Reference to what *Ammianus* thus diſcourſeth, concerning his Care about the Proviſions of Souldiers; there is a Law of his extant in the *Code*, and dated on the ſixth of this ſame month of *January*. When they were in their March, their Proviſions both for Horſe and Men were all found them and brought to their hand; but when in Garriſon or their Quarters, the Provincials were not bound to bring it, but they themſelves looked out, as for other things, for Straw and Provender. Now leſt they ſhould range too far, or be too much ſtraitned, by this Edict directed to *Salluſt* the *Præfectus Prætorio* of the *Eaſt*, he ordains that their Purveyance ſhall extend twenty Miles.

(a) *Ludos intellige quos menſe Jan. Coſs. edere conſueverant ex ante diem 3. Non. Jan. in Urbe per continuum triduum Per Provincias in majoribus Civitatibus Circenſes iſti quoque à die 3. Non. Jan. à Magiſtratibus edebantur ut ex Libanio notat. Valeſius.*

(b) *At id factum prædicat.* Libanius.

He reforms Matters relating to the Camp.

L. 7. de Erogatione militaris Annonæ. Milites ad viceſimum lapidem capitum petere juſſimus Dat. 8. *Id. Jan. Mamertino & Nevita Coſs.*

8. Having ſetled Matters relating to the Army as he thought convenient, he was adviſed by his Followers to fall upon the *Goths*, a fallacious and perfidious People; but he anſwered that he look'd for a more noble Enemy; and as for them, the *Galatian* Merchants would do their Buſineſs, by whom they were ſold up and down; and yet, notwithſtanding his Preſumption and ſlighting of them, this deſpiſed People afterward made bold to purchaſe by their Blood, and poſſeſs by their Sword a great Part of the *Roman* Empire. But *Ammianus* further tells us, that thus carefully demeaning himſelf, he became famous to Foreign Nations, and by Degrees filled the World with the Renown of his Fortitude, Sobriety, Military Skill, and eminency in all other Virtues. And the Dread of him being ſpred to the ſame Extent, Ambaſſdours were now ſent to him from all Quarters. Here he gives us an Enumeration, as if he repeated the Epigram concerning the *Spectacula* commonly aſcribed to *Martial.* The *Armenians* and thoſe beyond *Tigris* now begged Peace, and the *Indians*, from Countries yet more Eaſtward, by the hands of their Noble men made him Preſents. From the Southern Parts of the World, the *Moores* offered him their Service. From the *Northern*, and where the River *Phaſis* falls into the Sea, the *Boſphorani* and other Nations till that time unknown became humble Suppliants; that, for a yearly Acknowledgment, they might be permitted to live quietly in their own Countries. Thoſe Addreſſes cauſed no ſmall Joy at Court, which was farther increaſed by News out of *Italy*, that the *Weſt* might alſo contribute her Share. For now News was brought that they within *Aquileia*, convinced that *Conſtantius* was dead, had ſurrendred the Place. *Julian* with theſe Felicities was much elevated, and began now to entertain Fancies and Deſigns, which exceeded the Bounds of humane Nature. He look'd upon himſelf as one, whom governing the *Roman* World in Peace and Tranquillity, *Fortune* preſented with a *Cornucopia* of all good things, and to his former Trophies, he added this great Favour, that while he reigned alone (how long it was we ſhall ſhortly ſee) he was neither diſturb-

Galatæ venaliciarii erant & ſervitia vendebant.

He is courted by all Nations.

Quæ tam ſepoſita eſt, quæ gens tam barbara Cæſar. Ex qua &c.

And wonderfully elevated.

ed by any Inteſtine Diſorders, nor any of the Barbarous Nations adventured out of their own Bounds; but all ſorts of People, being ever violently bent to diſcommend what is paſt, as very bad, wonderfully admired and commended him. Having diſpoſed of all things, as Time and Place required, and by frequent Speeches, as well as by Pay, animated the Souldier to ſuch Undertakings as he ſhould put him upon, he reſolved to remove from *Conſtantinople*; which City he very much favoured, as the Place of his Nativity, though elſe it had doubtleſs been unacceptable to him, by reaſon of its Founder, and the Name from him received. *Zoſimus* writes, that he continued ten Months in this City, but from the Dates of ſuch Laws as he made this Year, it is evident, that the time is to be contracted within Eight, or thereabouts. For, during his Reſidence here, ſeveral other Edicts he Publiſhed upon various Occaſions, of which we muſt take notice, at leaſt, ſuch of them as moſt lead to the Illuſtration of the Hiſtory or Polity of theſe Times, before we follow him hence to *Antioch*.

Aviditate ſemper inſectandi præterita ut damnoſa & noxia.

Ll. 6, 7. de Numerariis, actuariis, &c. Cod. Th. lib. 8. tit. 1.

Makes a Law for reſtraining the Avarice of *Numerarii*.

9. Two of theſe Laws he made for reſtraining the Avarice and Corruption of the *Numerarii*, Officers of whom we have formerly ſpoken, who, amongſt other Matters, having the Accounts of Corporations in their hands, often play'd the Knaves either with them or the Publick. He therefore makes them lyable to Examination by Torture, for the better Diſcovery of their Cheats: Ordains, that " having been employed five years in the Publick Accounts, they be out of Service " and all Employment the ſixth, that ſo they may be more liable to Accuſations; " but after ſeven years, in caſe they have well demeaned themſelves, and either have " been burthened with none, or anſwered all Accuſations, he then will have them " enjoy the Dignity of the *Perfectiſſimatus*. We have lately ſeen how at his firſt coming to the Monarchy he employed *Salluſt* his *Præfect* and others, in the Tryal of ſuch as had the Repute of being Enemies to him and his Brother *Gallus*. While they were at this Work, and might have occaſion to Examine and Cenſure ſeveral that bore the Dignity of *Senators*, he directed an Edict to *Salluſt*, bearing Date of the Nones of *February*, for moderating the Rigour of ſuch Proceedings againſt Perſons of that Quality. Although by the Cuſtom of the *Roman* Empire, ſome ſorts of Perſons, when accuſed of Crimes, were not ſhut up in cloſe Priſon, yet, till they were tryed, and either acquitted or condemned, they were wont to be held in a ſort of Cuſtody by the *Apparitor*, *Agens* in *Rebus*, or Meſſenger that had been ſent to fetch them up. Now *Julian* by this Edict, not only Ordains, in ſuch caſes, that the Antient Right of Senators, and Authority of that Order, be preſerved inviolable from " all Injury in general, but particularly Commands, that ſuch being Accuſed, be- " fore their Tryal, have no cauſe of Terrour offered to them, but be void of all Ca- " lumny and Suſpition; and (what is moſt) be abſolutely free and at liberty till " ſuch time as they be either Convicted, or confeſs the Crime; in which caſe, he ac- " knowledges them to have incurred Deprivation. Indeed ſuch as were only accuſed, though of Capital Crimes, though they could not be admitted to new Honours, or Preferments, their Cauſe depending, yet, till their Tryal retained their former Dignity; in like manner, as by the *Canon* Law, a Biſhop, before he be heard and condemned, ought not to be deprived of his Biſhoprick. And, as to Senators, they were wont to be kept in free and honourable Cuſtody, neither at their Tryal were they bound to ſtand, but they might ſit, though upon a Seat inferiour to the Bench of their Judges. As a Senator retained his Dignity till Tryed, ſo was it agreeable enough that he ſuffered no Injury, Reproach or Moleſtation, as Guilty, before ſuch time as he ſo appeared; but in point of Liberty, that he ſhould be abſolutely free, and in no Cuſtody at all; this was ſuch a Privilege as could not comport with the Publick Safety, giving leave to Offenders, how Criminal and Dangerous ſoever, to make their Eſcapes, and avoid their being made Examples; which ought to be the end of all Puniſhments. Therefore was this Indulgence to Senators afterward taken away, and when *Juſtinian's* Code came to be compoſed, the former Part of this Law, which ſpeakes of the Preſervation of their Rights and Authority, only was inſerted into it; the latter part concerning this new Privilege granted by *Julian* being left out. But the reaſon he gives, is, becauſe he reckons himſelf alſo one of their Order or Rank, as ſeveral Princes both before and after him, have alſo expreſſed themſelves, though without the Grant of ſo dangerous a Privilege. Hence was the Emperours own Houſe ſubject to that Charge which was called *Onus Glebale*, and was proper to *Senators*. And the Daughter of a *Senator* could not marry to one whoſe Father had been a Slave.

Another in behalf of *Senators*.

L. 1. de exhibendis vel tranſmittendis Reis Cod. Th. lib. 9. tit. 2.

Lex 8. Cod. Juſtin. de Dignitatibus hinc deſumpta eſt.

Vide Gothofred. in L.

Jus Senatorum & auctoritatem ejus ordinis in quo nos quoque ipſos eſſe numeramus, neceſſe eſt ab omni injuria defendere.

Another for Confiſcation of their Eſtates if Traitors.

10. But, though *Julian* was thus indulgent to *Senators* before Conviction; yet when condemned or proſcribed he was as ſevere in the Point of the Confiſcation of their

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their Eſtates. For, having been informed that ſome there were that concealed their Goods; by an Edict directed to *Felix* the *Comes Largitionum*, he commands, that ſuch Concealers if they be Rich, be alſo proſcribed; and if they be Poor, and thereby as he phraſeth it, be abject as far as the Dreggs, and baſeneſs of *Plebeians*, that then they be put to Death. This Law is ſaid to have been publiſhed at *Rome*, on the ninth of *March*, where the Habitations of ſeveral *Senators* proſcribed by *Julian* upon the Account of him and his Brother, were. But whereas this *Felix* his *Comes Largitionum* was an Apoſtate as well as himſelf, this Direction of the Edict to him hath induced *Baronius* to believe, that he intended it againſt ſuch as concealed the goods of proſcribed *Chriſtians*; it ordinarily hapning that none are ſo zealous and furious in their Way as Apoſtates. Indeed the Penalty is ſevere to all Extremity; and might become as an Apoſtate to enact, ſo alſo a Fugitive from his Religion to execute. But, beſides that there were thoſe that he proſcribed upon the Account of him and his Brother, and as *Zonaras* writes, he baniſhed many, and confiſcated their Goods, ſo *Chriſtians* he did not now proſcribe as *Chriſtians*, neither in the Beginning of his Reign did he perſecute them, but cunningly and underhand endeavour to undermine them and their Religion. He was now rather acted by the pleaſant Paſſion of Revenge which when backed by Supream Power ſeldom knows moderate Bounds. There were ſeveral that had done ill Offices with *Conſtantius*; that had helped on his Brother to his deſerved end, and eſteeming him perhaps an Uſurper, as well as fearing him, had tampered about promoting others to the Imperial Dignity. Of the Proceſs framed againſt theſe Perſons he himſelf makes mention in a Letter written by him at this time to *Hermogenes* the *Præfectus Auguſtalis* of *Ægypt*, and beginning with a Rapture. He prayes him to permit him with the Poets to ſay *Oh how beyond Hope am I preſerved! Oh Meſſage beyond all Expectation that I have eſcaped, not ſo much that Hydra with many heads my Brother* Conſtantius (*he was as he was*) *but the wild Beaſts his Attendants, who endeavoured to murther one with their very Eyes, and made him more cruel than he had been elſe, who was not very merciful neither of himſelf*, though to many he appeared ſo to be. But ſeeing he is dead let him go as the Proverb is; as for them, *Jupiter* knows I would not have them ſuffer unjuſtly, but becauſe they have many Accuſers they are called to their Tryal. As for thee my Friend, endeavour, even above thy Power, to be with me, for I proteſt to the Gods I deſire to ſee thee, and rejoycing to hear thou art in good Health, command thee to come. Thus he writes to his dear *Hermogenes*, whoſe Preſence poſſibly he requires at the Tryal of thoſe Criminals. As for his Proteſtation that he would not have them to be puniſhed unjuſtly, compare it with what *Ammianus* writes concerning *Urſulus*, *Taurus* and others.

Quidam ſcelerate proſcriptorum Facultates occultant. Hos præcipimus, ſi locupletes ſint, proſcriptione puniri: ſi per Egeſtatem abjecti ſunt in fæcem vilitatemque plebeiam, damnatione capitali debita luere detrimenta. P. P. Rom. 7. Id Mart. Mamertino & Nevitta Coſs. 362. Abeſt à Cod. Juſtin. Vide Goth.

Juliani Imp. Epiſtola. 23. *p.* 141.

He makes good Laws about the management of the *Curſus Publicus*.

11. Whether or no as to this Point he conſulted his Paſſion, we determine not; but another Law he made about this time which tended much to the publick Service. *Conſtantius*, as we have ſeen, by ſeveral Edicts took great Care of the *Curſus Publicus*, both as to the reſtraint of the too common Uſe made of it, and reforming other Abuſes in it's management. But the Remedies were not potent enough to conquer the Diſeaſe. What by reaſon of the too much hagling them about through perpetual Imployment, (much occaſion'd by the Travel of Biſhops to ſo many Synods as were held during his Reign) and the Neglect of them by their Keepers, the Beaſts that drew the Waggons were moſt of them tired out, and not able to travel, toward the latter end of his Days, if we may believe *Libanius* in an Oration compoſed in Honour of *Julian*. *Conſtantius* to prevent their too frequent Uſe had taken away the Power of granting Licenſes, from the Governours of Provinces; but they had reaſſumed the Privilege either by his particular Command, or of their own Heades, and by Connivence. Of this, *Julian* by an Edict directed to *Mamertinus* the *Præfectus Prætorio* taking Notice, abrogates fully the Power of granting Licenſe, to all Perſons except him and his Brethren the *Præfects*. But that publick Affairs may not be hindred, he tells him that he himſelf will with his own Hands give to *Vicars* ten or twelve Courſes, and they the *Præfects* ſhould grant to *Præſidents* two yearly, that thereby they may upon urgent Occaſions ſend their Officers into the moſt remote Parts of their Provinces: and beſides when there was any need of conſulting him or referring to him; upon ſuch Emergencies he himſelf would grant them particular Licenſes. Hence it is that ſome write how *Julian* taught his Subjects either to keep Horſes and carriage-Beaſts of their own, or to hire when they had Occaſion, and not to burthen the Publick Courſe deſtined only to publick Service; as for ſending down the Emperours Commands, Conveyance of Ambaſſadours * or Meſſengers to him, and of the publick Revenue to the Court: in a Word, as *Caſſiodorus* expreſſeth it, whatſoever almoſt was tranſacted

L. 12. de Curſu Publico &c. Acc. 8. Kal. Mart. Syracuſis Mamertino & Nevitta Coſs. Abeſt à Cod. Juſtin.

* *ut pene quicquid in Rep. geritur, Curſuali Miniſterio Compleatur. Var. lib.* 5. *Ep.* 5.

ed in the Commonwealth, was performed by the Service and Convenience of the *Curſus*. Now to *Vicars*, as being Officers of greater Dignity, by their Place *Spectabiles*, and the Juriſdiction of whom extended to a whole Diœceſe; he gives more Courſes and that by his own Hand than he allows by the *Præfects* to be granted to the *Præſidents* and *Conſulares*, who were but *Perfectiſſimi* or *Clariſſimi* by Degree; and governed but particular Provinces. But this law was, too ſtrictly worded at leaſt; and that in Reference to the Conveyance of the publick Money to the Treaſury, and of the Souldiers Clothes (both which are ſignified by *Species Largitionales*) without which nothing could be done either at Home or abroad. For, the *Vicars* were not alwayes preſent to give out Licenſes upon theſe Occaſions; and therefore by another Edict, directed to the ſame *Mamertinus*, he explains and mendes his former; giving Power to all Governours of Provinces in their Abſence to grant them; but this upon Suggeſtion of the *Comes Largitionum* and the *Præpoſiti*, or Officers belonging to the Revenue, which *Valentinian* afterwards confirming calls a moſt prudent or adviſed Law. Yet did not *Julian* think it ſo prudent as fully to provide againſt Abuſes of a thing of ſo vaſt Conſequence to the Empire. For within three Moneths after he found it requiſite, by another Conſtitution ſtill directed to the ſame *Præfect*, to inflict no leſs than capital Puniſhment upon him that ſhould uſe more Horſes or Beaſts than his Warrant or Licenſe expreſſed. There are two more Laws aſcribed to *Julian* concerning this Subject, whereof the former will be more conveniently mentioned upon another Occaſion, and the other though it bears his Name, yet by the Subſcription it ſhould rather belong to his Succeſſor. However, here it will be convenient to take Notice that it hath relation to the publick Courſe of the Province of *Sardinia*, and the eaſe of the Inhabitants of that Iſland. For, *Sardinia* lying out of the way, there being no Road through it into any other Province, *Julian* (or *Jovian*) thinks fit that the People be not put to any Expenſe for the finding of Horſes; or if there was any Occaſion to go Poſt, the Officers of the *Præſident* he declares ſhall find themſelves Horſes upon ſuch neceſſary Occaſions. But whereas there was great Uſe of the *Angariæ* or Carriages drawn by Oxen for Conveyance of Corn (for this Iſland as well as the adjacent *Sicily*, was a Nurſe of the City of *Rome*) to the ſeveral Ports, of which there were ſeven in number; he ordains that the Uſe of them continue; and that *Mamertinus* under whoſe Juriſdiction this Iſland lay, ſhould ſettle ſuch Order about them, as he thought moſt convenient.

L. 13. eod. Acc. 12. Kal. Jul. eod. An. Abeſt à Cod. Juſtin.

Conſultiſſimam legem.

L. 14. eod. Dat. 5. Id. Sept. eod. An. Prior pars H. L. abeſt à Cod. Juſtin.

L. 16. eod. Dat. 7. Kal. Septemb. Antiochiæ Julian. *A. & Salluſtio Coſs. A.D 363.*

Veredi & Paraveredi.

12. There is another Law made by him, while he ſtill reſided at *Conſtantinople*, which is not ſo remarkable of it ſelf, as for the manner and circumſtances of the making of it. For, the Title of it ſhews plainly the manner of the Emperour's proceeding in Conſiſtory, or when he ſate in *Council*, in theſe words: *Part of the Acts had before the Emperour* Julian Auguſtus, *when* Mamertinus *and* Nevita *were Conſuls, on the three and twentieth of* March *at* Conſtantinople, *in Conſiſtory; there ſtanding by* Jovius, *of the Dignity of* Clariſſimus, *the* Quæſtor; Anatolius *the* Magiſter Officiorum; Felix *the* Comes Sacrarum Largitionum, *&c. The Emperour* Julian Auguſtus *ſaid*: after which follows a Sentence given by him in *Greek* concerning the Validity of Writings, that Credit be afforded to ſuch, as by others are not proved to be counterfeit or invalid. Now this Law, which is very ſingular and remarkable in divers reſpects, is one of that ſort called *Cognitionales*, or which the Emperour, having cogniſance of a Cauſe debated before him in Council, pronounced and Enacted thereupon; of which kind there are others in the Code of *Theodoſius*. It's called Part of the *Acts* or Records, becauſe a Book or Record was kept of all done or tranſacted in *Conſiſtory*, as from the time of *Henry* the Eighth it hath been the conſtant cuſtom in the Privy Council of *England*, which, in ſeveral reſpects, reſembles that of the Emperour. In whatſoever place he conſulted with his Council, that Place was called the *Conſiſtory*, be it where he would. Here is expreſſed the compoſition of his Conſiſtory or Council, of whom it conſiſted, and though only three be mentioned, *viz.* the *Quæſtor*, *Magiſter Officiorum*, and *Comes S. L.*; yet by the *&c.* others are underſtood to have been preſent, compriſed, as well as theſe, amongſt the *Comites Conſiſtoriani*, of whom heretofore. In the next place may be obſerved, the Place and Precedence of theſe Great Officers, in the time of *Julian*, what it was. Again, we may take notice of the Ceremony of theſe Dayes, and what reſpect the Councellors bare to ſo great a Majeſty as that of the Emperour; for while he ſate, they ſtood by him, and much more did the Parties and Advocates concerned in the Cauſe: a Poſture very fit to ſhew their Diſtance; the Ceremony of being uncovered not being then in faſhion, as in after-Ages: And yet there are ſeveral Inſtances in Hiſtories, of the ſitting of theſe *Conſiſtorians* with the Emperour. Further, we may ſee how

Another Law which ſhews us the manner of the Conſiſtory.

Pars Actorum habitorum apud Imp. Julianum Aug. Mamertino & Nevitta Coſs. 10 Kal. April. Conſtantinop. in Conſiſtorio. adſtante viro cl. Jovio *Quæſtore; Anatolio Magiſtro Officiorum; Felice. Com. S.* L. *&* *Imp.* Julianus *A. dixit.* Τηνικαῦτα γϱαμμάτια *&c.*

L. 5. *de fide Teſtium & Inſtrument. Cod. Th. lib.* 11. *Tit.* 39. *Abeſt à Cod. Juſtin.*

Sect. 5.

A. D. 362.

how the Rule of Entring things down in the Conſiſtory, was, to prefix the Names of ſuch Councellors as were preſent (at leaſt ſome, and the choiſe of them) as our Clerks of the Council practiſe at this day. And in the laſt place, we cannot but take notice of a Novelty, which expreſſes the Humour and Affectation of the preſent Emperour. It was the Cuſtom before his time, that the Emperours, when in Conſiſtory, gave their Sentence, or pronounced their Decree in *Latin*, as the Language of the Empire, to preſerve the Grandeur and Majeſty of *Rome*, from which, all muſt needs be acknowledged to have proceeded; though Neceſſity of Affairs might urge Princes to have their Reſidence,at leaſt ſometimes,at another Place more conveniently ſituate for Defence and Succour of the Provinces. But *Julian* his Vanity now broke the Courſe, who, as appears from *Ammianus*, was, not without occaſion, (ſaith *Gothofred*) derided with the Names of *Loquax Talpa*, and *Literio Græculus*, and out of this Affected Humour he inſerted *Greek* words into his Conſtitutions. As for other Laws, *viz.* Reſcripts or Edicts, ſometimes they were Publiſhed in both Languages; and for this reaſon, as *Juſtinian* renders it, that being in *Greek*, they might be underſtood by more, and in *Latin*, to obſerve the Form and Decorum of the Empire. In Publick Aſſemblies they ſpake in *Latin*, and had an Interpreter, as *Conſtantine* the Great in the Council of *Nice*: But ſome time after, eſpecially when the Weſtern Provinces were over-run, and there was not ſo much Uſe of *Latin*, *Greek* was generally ſpoken by them, as beſt underſtood both by Speaker and Hearers, and the *Roman* Tongue by degrees began to be diſuſed, till *Juſtinian* reſtored to the Empire its Weſtern Provinces; and preſented it with a new Model of its Laws, dreſſed up in its own Language. But after his time all went to wreck again.

Illud igitur Juliani Imp. vanitati adſcribendum fuerit, quem olim meritò Loquacem Talpam & literionem Græculum carpebant, teſte Amm. Marcellino, lib. 17. *Vide Gothofr. in L.*

13. This Law, made in Conſiſtory, as we ſaid, was of little Concernment, the Preamble being only of Uſe; but about a Month after, he made another Conſtitution, wherein his Subjects, whether of *Conſtantinople* (for whom poſſibly he principally intended it, being ſaid to have done ſo many things for that City) or other Places, were much concerned, at leaſt, as he believed: the thing was this. It was the cuſtome of old time, that, when the *Roman* Generals had performed ſome notable Matter, the Provinces, the aſſociate States and Kings preſented them with Golden Crowns, or a quantity of Gold it ſelf, therewith to grace their Tri- and this was called *Aurum Coronarium*, being a thing of courſe, not only amongſt the *Romans*, but the *Greeks* alſo. When *Claudius* triumphed over our Country of *Britain*, amongſt other Golden Crowns, the hithermoſt *Spain* preſented him with one of ſeven pounds weight, and *Gallia Comata* with another weighing nine. To *Titus*, for his Conqueſt of *Judæa*, were Crowns ſent by *Vologeſus* King of the *Parthians*,and to ſucceeding Princes the ſame, by others, upon like occaſions; for, Hiſtories other Books afford many other Examples; which from Victories were drawn at laſt to other Emergencies, ſo that the Provincials preſented this Gold alſo, and that by Cuſtome, as good as Law, when any remarkable matter of Joy hapned, as at the coming of a Prince to the Government, upon his Adoption, or any Pardon or Indulgence granted the Subject. But *Julian*, now, by an Edict, declares, That " it is a free Gift, and depends meerly upon the Will, without any Neceſſity, " (to which Cuſtome, and the Greedineſs of ſome Emperours, had brought it) ly- " ing either upon Senators or any other ſort of People. Not but that he himſelf received theſe Crowns, or Gold that was preſented him by Cities and Provinces at his Arrival there, or in ſome other gratulatory Addreſs; as particularly from the Inhabitants of *Edeſſa*, and from the *Saracens*; but herein he alſo practiſed Moderation, commanding that no Crown ſhould exceed ſeventy *Solidi* in value. Yet doth he acknowledge, that ſometimes Neceſſity of Affairs may require the Exaction of this Gold, but in ſuch caſe he will not have others to be Judges (as the *Præfecti Prætorio*) but reſerves the Power of Determining when it is fit to accept of this voluntary Preſent (or require it) to himſelf. This Law bears Date on the twenty ninth of *April*, and on the day following another there we find though not concerning the ſame matter, yet of the ſame Nature, *viz.* of Indulgence toward the Subject; ſo that *Gothofred* rationally concludes them but ſeveral Parts of one and the ſame Conſtitution. Sometimes there had been Indulgences granted to particular Perſons or Places, whereby they were diſcharged, by ſingular Privilege, from the Duty and Burthen of the *Capitatio* heretofore mentioned; but it ſeems betwixt them and the Officers that collected that part of the Revenue, Diſputes were at this time wont to ariſe, how far or to what thoſe Privileges did extend. Now he follows that Rule in Law which directs us in ambiguous things to the moſt favourable Interpretation, explaining by ſuch Indulgence and Immunity a full Diſcharge not only

By another Edict he declares the *Aurum Coronarium* to be a meer free gift.

L. 1. *de Auro Coronario, Cod. Th. l.*12.*tit.*13. *Dat.* 3 *Kal. Maii, Mamertino & Nevitta Coſs. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt. Vide Com.*

L. 2. *de Immunitate Conceſſa, Cod. Th. lib.*11. *tit.* 12. *Abeſt & hæc à Cod. Juſt.*

In ambiguis favorabilior ſententia eſt ſequenda.

from the Payment of the Grain called *Species Annonaria*, but the other *Species* wont to be paid in by the Provincials, as Cloaths for Souldiers, Gold, Silver, Braſs or the like. And yet could there not be ſo great Difficulty in what was meant by *Capitatio*; by it being ſignified all thoſe Payments made in reſpect of Lands, and for Heads in what *Species* ſoever, as *Gothofred* obſerves; but *Julian* ſubjoyns a Reaſon, not taken at all from Law, but for oſtentation of his own Humanity or Indulgence, of which, many Examples may be produced out of the Laws, and from elſewhere.

Et rationem addit non Juris vel ἔνταχνον, verum ἄτεχνον & oſtendandæ tantum Humanitatis & Indulgentiæ ſuæ.

He takes care of Phyſitians.

L. 4. de Medicis, Cod. Th. lib. 13. tit. 3. Dat. 4 Id. Maii Conſt. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

14. Of this Indulgence, about this very time, part he extended to the Profeſſors of Phyſick by another Edict, dated alſo at *Conſtantinople*, on the twelfth of *May*. What Privileges and Immunities had been granted by former Princes, and Confirmed with Enlargement by *Conſtantine*, we have already ſeen; but it ſhould ſeem that *Conſtantius*, his Son, had ſome way or other infringed their Liberties, or elſe *Julian* gave another proof of his vanity and oſtentation in this particular. For, beginning with a Preface, how the Art of Medicine is by Uſe it ſelf demon“ſtrated to be healthful to Mankind, upon which Account the Philoſophers not “improperly affirm it to have come down from Heaven, the Infirmity of our Nature, “and the Impairments of our Health, which daily happen, being hereby relieved; “thereupon he Ordains, by his Humanity, as Reaſon requires, therein following the “Authority and determination of former Emperours, that for the time to come, “they the Phyſitians, ſhall be free'd from all publick Services. The Edict only, or *Sanction* is now inſerted into the *Code* of *Theodoſius*, but all the whole Law both Preface and Sanction is ſtill extant amongſt his Epiſtles, with this Difference from the other, that what the Edict in the *Code* expreſſeth concerning publick Services, this other ſpeakes of thoſe belonging to the *Curiæ* or publick Councils of Corporations, to which a former Conſtitution of *Conſtantine* hath a particular Reſpect. Now this Edict is directed to the *Archiatri* in the *Code*; though amongſt the Epiſtles, the Title expreſſeth it to be *Julian*'s Law concerning Phyſitians in general. But by *Archiatri* are meant thoſe who practiſed, though to private Perſons, within the two Cities of *Rome*, and *Conſtantinople*, whence the Law bears Date, and where ſtill *Julian* reſided. For by this Appellation were not meant anciently thoſe who were the principal Phyſitians, but they were ſo called who were either Phyſitians to the Prince himſelf in his Palace, or Phyſitians to the two *principal* Cities; wherein they alſo had Publick Allowances, that they might take care of the Poor as well as the Rich; neither had they only this Title which were Principals, or preſided in the College, as ſome have imagined, but all of them were indifferently ſo called. But thus we have given Account of ſuch Laws as *Julian* made, whilſt at *Conſtantinople*, and are proper for us here to mention. Now let us follow him in his Progreſs Eaſtward.

Ep. 26. p. 154. ἡμετέρα φιλανθρωπία κελεύομεν τῶν βȣλευτικῶν λειτȣργημάτων ἀνενοχλήτȣς ὑμᾶς τοῖς λοιποῖς χρόνοις διάγειν. Ἰȣλιανȣ͂ νόμος περὶ τῶν Ἰατρῶν.

He removes to *Nicomedia*.

15. Having croſſed over into *Aſia*, he paſſed through *Chalcedon*, and *Libyſſa*, (where *Hannibal* was buried) and thence came to *Nicomedia*, at preſent a famous City (though much more famous, had it not been for *Conſtantinople*;) a City ſo inlarged and beautified by the Care and Expence of former Princes, that in reſpect of the multitude both of Publick and Private Buildings, to thoſe that knew it well, it ſeemed one of the Regions of the *Eternal City*, ſaith *Ammianus*, meaning *Rome*. When he ſaw how her Walls were now reduced to Aſhes, he bewailed with tears her Condition, and with a ſlow and mournful pace paſſed on towards the Palace, but eſpecially when he beheld how ragged and deſpicable the Inhabitants were that met him, though heretofore in ſo flouriſhing a Condition; and ſome he remembred that were akin to *Euſebius* the Biſhop, by whom he had been brought up. Being now moving toward the Eaſt, and deſigning in his Head to attempt ſomething againſt the *Perſian*, for which End he made all the preparations *Ammianus* ſpeaks of; one Law he paſſed, while he ſtaid in this City, for the Eaſe of the Countreys, through which his Armies were to march. The Provinces were bound to find the Souldier Proviſions for Man and Horſe as we have ſeen, which Burthen it concerned the Emperours to render as light as might be, and that no needleſs thing ſhould be required. Therefore were they wont to ſet certain times to the Payment of the ſeveral Duties, as might be moſt for the Eaſe of the Provinces: the Provincials were allowed to ſerve the Army with new Wine, from the Moneth of *November*; it being cheaper than the old; and now by an Edict *Julian* commands that Meat for “Horſes ſhall not be furniſhed by them till the firſt of *Auguſt*, for this Reaſon, as “is conceived, becauſe in the Summer-time there was graſs enough to be had, and they might eaſily put them out to feed in all Places. Having enacted this Law, and taken order for repairing thoſe Breaches which the Earthquake had made upon the Place, he removed from *Nicomedia*, and, by *Nice*, came to the Borders of *Galatia*, where

Nicomedienſis Euſebius Arianæ factionis columen, primò Beryti, deinde Nicomediæ Epiſcopus, tandemque Paulo pulſo Conſtantinop. ſedem tenuit.

Prepares for a War againſt the *Perſians*.

L. 8. de Erogatione Militaris Annonæ, Dat. Nicomediæ.

And marches toward the Eaſt.

where he turned on the Right hand toward *Paſſinus*, there to ſee the old Temple of the Mother of the Gods, whence in the ſecond *Punick* War *Scipio Naſica*, conveyed her Image to *Rome*, by reaſon of an Hint thereof given by the Verſes of *Sibylla Cumana*.

16. Having here done his Devotions, at no leſs Expence than of Sacrifices and Vowes, he returned to *Ancyra*; and in his Progreſs was ever importun'd by a Multitude of Suitors, of whom ſome deſir'd they might be reſtor'd to ſuch Poſſeſſions as had been violently taken from them, others complained that they were unjuſtly forced to the Service of Corporations, and ſome without Regard to any *Decorum*, ſo that they might gratifie their Malice, accuſed their Adverſaries of high Treaſon. But he being, as his Friend the Hiſtorian tells us, more ſevere than *Caſſius* or *Lycurgus* themſelves, fully weighed the Circumſtances of every mans Cauſe, and diſtributed Juſtice with all impartiality, but with a great Averſion towards Informers, whom he had Cauſe to hate, for having himſelf been indangered by them heretofore, whilſt a private Man. Of his Moderation in this point, he gives us one Example inſtead of many others. There was a certain Perſon who moſt vehemently accuſed another, to whom he bore a mortal Grudge, of no leſs than Treaſon; and when the Emperour took no Notice of it, he ſtill came, and every day renewed his Accuſation with much Clamour. At length he was asked who it was that he accuſed. He anſwered a Rich man in a Corporation; whereupon *Julian* demanded with a Smile, what Proof he had of the Crime, to which he replied, that *He had made him a Garment of Purple Silk*. Upon this he was bid be gone as frivolous and troubleſome; but ſtill he would not be quiet; whereupon *Julian* turning to the *Comes Largitionum*, bade him give this dangerous prating Fellow a pair of purple Shooes to carry to the man who he ſaid had got him a Veſt of the ſame Colour, that it might be known of what Value and Force ſuch Trifles as Hoſe and Shooes were, without being accompanied by ſufficient Power. But as theſe things are to be commended, ſaith our Writer, and to be emulated by good Governors, ſo another thing there was which was notably ſevere or bitter; for ſcarcely was there any one challenged by the *Curiales*, or thoſe of the Corporations, as lyable to their Burthens and Services, however enfranchiſed by Privileges, by long Service in the Warrs, or by an Original or Deſcent utterly eſtranged from them, who ever could obtain any Right at his Hands. Being come as far as *Pylæ*, or the Streights which divide *Cappadocia* from *Cilicia*, he received the Governour of the Province, whom he had known when he ſtudied at *Athens*, with a Kiſs; as the manner was; and taking him up into his Chariot carried him to *Tarſus*. And now drawing nigh to *Antioch*, that beautiful Head of the *Eaſt*, he was met and received with Vows, as if it had been ſome Deity; ſo that he could not but admire the Acclamations of the People which were made to him as a lucky Star now riſen upon the *Eaſtern* Parts. He entred the City at the time of the Celebration of the *Adonia*, or of the Lamentation of *Venus* for *Adonis* his being killed by a Boar; which was eſteemed to portend no good, that he ſhould make his Entry at ſuch time as the Place was full of ſorrowful Noiſes and Groans. This was toward the latter end of *June*, or after the Summer Solſtice, when Corn is fully ripe; for by *Adonis* is meant the Sun, which being in Winter kept under the Earth for the moſt part; our Hemiſphere, by the Ancients called *Venus*, is ſaid to lament him as killed by a Boar. The Boar repreſenting Winter as a Creature ruggid, fierce, and loving dirty Places.

An Inſtance of his Juſtice.

Ita illud amarum & notabile fuit.

Another of his rigid Severity.

He comes to *Antioch*.

Vide Macrobium in Saturn. lib. 1. c. 21.

17. The firſt thing done by *Julian* after his coming to *Antioch*, and related by *Ammianus*, is, an Example of his Patience and Mildneſs, a matter of light Moment he tells you to Appearance; but for all that to be admired, or wonderful. There was one *Thalaſſius* that had born the Office of *Proximus Libellorum*, whom he hated becauſe he had been an Enemy to his Brother *Gallus*; and upon this account he was prohibited to adore the Purple, or be in the Company of the *Honorati* at that Ceremony. This being taken Notice of by ſome that were at Law with him; the next day after, they came to the Emperour and clamour'd, that *Thalaſſius* his Enemy, by Force had taken away their Goods, which he knowing to be deſigned for the Ruine of the man, anſwered that he acknowledg'd that with him whom they ſpake of he was offended, and that for juſt Reaſon; but for as much as he himſelf was the more conſiderable Enemy they ought to ſit ſtill and be quiet till he had firſt received Satisfaction; and therewith he commanded the *Præfect*, who ſate by him, not to hear their Cauſe till he was reconciled to *Thalaſſius*, which ſhortly after came to paſs. While here he winter'd and ſpent his time according to his Wiſh, he indulged not himſelf in any of thoſe Pleaſures with which *Syria* abounded; but under a Show of Quiet, being intent upon hearing Cauſes judiciarily, no leſs difficult than matters concerning War, (*b*) was diſtracted by manifold Cares, with exquiſite dexterity weighing with himſelf how he might give every one his Due, and how beſt, by his juſt Decrees, Offenders might be puniſhed with

Hic patientiæ ejus & lenitudinis documentum leve quidem apparuit ſed mirandum.

How he behaved himſelf there.

(*a*) *Thalaſſius quippe relicto Chriſti cultu ad Deornm cultum tranſiit, & ita cum Juliano in gratiam rediit Plerique eo tempore idem factitarunt muneribus & hujuſmodi aſſentationibus à Juliano deliniti. Vide Valeſium in locum.*

(*b*) *Longo diverſa Gregor. Nazianz. in Julian. Orat. 4. p. 305.*

Moderation, and the Innocent protected. For though our Hiſtorian confeſſeth he was otherwhiles impertinent or unſeaſonable in the Debates, by demanding at ſuch a time as was no whit proper, of what Religion each of them was that were at Law; yet were none of his Sentences or Determinations faulty, neither could it be proved that out of reſpect to Religion or any other thing, he deviated from the Courſe of Juſtice, to that of Partiality, which he ſhunned as ſome dangerous Rock. And this he could the better do, for that acknowledging the Levity and Heat of his Nature, he permitted the *Præfects* and thoſe about him, to reſtrain his Impetuoſity by ſeaſonable Hints; and he ſhewed that he was troubled at his Faults, and rejoyced in being corrected. When the *Advocates* that pleaded before him would applaud him, as one that perfectly underſtood what Reaſon was, he is reported to have ſaid in Anger, that he ſhould have rejoyced and been proud had he been commended by ſuch as durſt have reprehended him, had he done otherwiſe than well. Another Example *Ammianus* will give you, which yet alſo may ſtand for many, of his Clemency in hearing and deciding Cauſes; and this we ſhall alſo relate that we may not ſeem to omit any thing brought in his Commendation. There was a Woman had a Cauſe depending before him, and that againſt a Courtier, whom when ſhe ſaw amongſt the *Protectors* and girt with the uſual Girdle, being ſtruck with ſo unexpected a Sight, ſhe began to complain and make Diſturbance; but he bade her follow her Buſineſs, if ſhe found her ſelf concerned: for as for her Adverſary he was ſo girt that he might go more readily through the Dirt, and was not able to do her any Harm. In reſpect of theſe and other things (and he himſelf you muſt know daily ſaid it) old Juſtice, which being offended with the wickedneſs of mankind was by *Aratus* lifted up into Heaven, in his Reign returned back to Earth; if he had not done ſome things by his meer Will and Pleaſure and from no warrant of the Laws; and ſometimes by Errors clouded the manifold Courſes of his Glory, as his Hiſtorian wordeth it. Yet after many other things, he alſo amended certain Laws, cutting off their Ambuigities, and explaining fully what was commanded or forbidden by them. But that, ſaith he, was unmercifully and with perpetual Silence to be overwhelmed, that he prohibited Profeſſors of Rhetorick and Grammar to teach, if they were of the Chriſtian Religion. This, whereof *Ammianus* ſo much and juſtly complains, we ſhall further examine, and diſcover amongſt Matters peculiar to Religion. At preſent we ſhall take a View of the Laws themſelves made by him at this Time and Place, and ſee how far they diſcover ſuch Amendment as that Author writes of.

Ammianus his Relations concerning his Ju-ice and other tues,

ut ipſe dicebat aſſiduè.

Ex Chryſoſtomo monet nos Valeſius hanc Juliani legem non ad ſolos Grammaticæ ac Rhetoricæ ſed etiam ad Medicinæ profeſſores pertinuiſſe.

19. The firſt which bears Date from this City of *Antioch*, is an Edict lately reſtored by *Jacobus Gothofred*, out of certain Manuſcripts, to the Code of *Theodoſius*, for impowering Governous of Provinces to aſſign inferior Judges, called *Judices Pedanei* for deciding ſmaller Cauſes. For better underſtanding hereof, it will not be amiſs to tell the Reader, that there were three ſorts of Cauſes in Reference to the Cogniſance of Judges. Some were of an inferior Sort, for determining whereof the Governors of Provinces were compelled to aſſign Pedaneous Judges, they being thought too much below their own Examination. The ſecond was that Sort which thoſe Governours were bound *Ex Officio* to hear in Perſon, neither could they aſſign any other to do it. And the third was ſuch as they might either hear themſelves, or appoint others to hear them. But in the time of the Tetrarchy of *Diocleſian*, *Maximian*, *Galerius* and *Conſtantius*, by whom the *Vicars* of the *Præfecti Prætorio* were conſtituted, the Power of the Governours of Provinces was much leſſened, Neceſſity being put upon them of hearing all Cauſes in Perſon, and the Power of aſſigning lower Judges utterly taken away, except in certain Caſes; as when they were ſo imployed in Buſineſs of an higher Nature, that they could not attend; or the Number of Cauſes was ſo great that they could not diſpatch them. But now by this Edict *Julian* gives them Power to aſſign other Judges “ promiſcuouſly in Matters of leſſer Moment, and for it this Reaſon, that there be “ ſome Cauſes wherein it is ſuperfluous for the Governour of the Province his Pre- “ ſence to be expected. Therefore are there three ſorts of Times and alſo of Laws to be diſtinguiſhed in Reference to the hearing and determining of ſmaller Matters. The firſt before the Reign of *Diocleſian*, when theſe Governours as *Preſidents*, *Proconſuls*, and the like, could not take Cogniſance of them, but referred them to other Judges. The ſecond in which they were conſtrained to hear them themſelves alone, which being a very great Burthen to them; the third was introduced by this Law, whereby they had Liberty either to hear them or cauſe others to do it at their Pleaſure. But as for theſe *Pedaneous* Judges, they were ſo called becauſe they judged on the Ground, or ſtanding on their Feet (as below the ordinary Governours, or Judges, who ſate upon Tribunalls or Judgment-Seats) and they only had the Hearing of inferiour Cauſes, but not

Laws made by him at *Antioch*.

L. quædam, vel quæ primæ & ſecundæ interponitur in Editione poſtrema Gothofredi. de Officio Rectoris Provinciæ. lib. 1. *Tit.* 7. & Lex *ult. Cod Juſt. de pedaneis Judicibus. Dat.* 5. *Kal. Aug. Antiochiæ Mamertino & Nevitta Coſs. A.D.* 362. *Lege* 2. *Cod. Juſt. de pedaneis Judicibus.*

Vid. Notas in tit. 3. *lib.* 3. *Cod. Juſt. de pedaneis Judic.*

not any Juriſdiction. So that our Courts of *Piepoudres* ſomething reſembled theirs, both in Etymology, having their name alſo from *Feet*, and in the ſmallneſs of Matters therein determined.

A pied pes *Gallicè, vide Cowelli Interpr. in voce.*

He endeavours to make things cheaper than they could be.

Inter præcipua tamen & ſeria illud agere ſuperfluum videbatur, quod nulla probabili ratione, Suſceptæ popularitatis amore &c.

20. But *Julian* now lying at *Antioch*, and conſidering as he himſelf ſaith, what Multitudes of People flocked thither, both upon his own account, and of the Magiſtrates which attended him, thought with himſelf how he might provide againſt the Scarcity and Dearneſs of Proviſions thereupon like to follow. But herein he was acted by his Humour of Affectation, and Study of Popularity, which tranſported him into Courſes ſuperfluous; and founded upon no probable Reaſon, as *Ammianus* affirms, with this Obſervation, that a Cheapneſs forced in an inconvenient way is wont to beget Scarcity and Famine. And the Magiſtrates of the City openly demonſtrated to him that the thing could not be effected, yet would he not deſiſt from his Purpoſe, being of the ſame Diſpoſition, ſaith he, as his Brother *Gallus*, though not in point of Cruelty; yet for this Reaſon, he raged againſt them, though not by his Sword, by his pen, as Slanderers and contumacious Perſons; and other Miſchiefs followed hereupon, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. But to maintain this Popularity; whatever theſe Courſes were wherein the Citizens and he differed about bringing down the price of Proviſions (of which *Ammianus* is ſilent) he had full Liberty to order his own Houſe and Attendance as he pleaſed, ſo as to reduce them to a ſmaller Number, that leſs might ſuffice them. He began with his *Protectores Domeſtici*, of whom, ſome ever attending on his Perſon at Court, and others being allotted to other Quarters in the Provinces, as their Defence required; to the former ſort, *viz.* thoſe that were called *Præſentales*, or in waiting, he commanded by an Edict directed to *Secundus* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, the uſual Allowance both for “ Man and Horſe to be given; but ordered the reſt away to their ſeveral Limits or “ Stations. Obliging the *Antiochians* in this point, whether they would or not, he took another Courſe wherein he alſo thought he gratified them, and that was in filling up their Court, or Senate, by forcing Perſons to the Service thereof, a matter wherein he was very troubleſome if not tyrannical (as *Ammianus* complains very much of him) that right or wrong, he would ſubject them to that kind of Slavery. Yet to ſay Truth, as to this particular relating to *Antioch*, he rather followed the Example of other Princes, than went on his own Head; as his Friend *Zoſimus* would have him. The Eminence of this City, as being the Head and Glory of the *Eaſt*, had procured it divers Privileges from ancient Emperours; and amongſt the reſt, that if any one by the Mothers ſide was deſcended from thoſe of the *Curia*, he ſhould be obliged to the Services of the ſaid *Curia*. This now *Julian*, by an Edict directed “ to *Julian* (his Uncle by his Mother and *Comes* of the Eaſt) both relates and “ confirms, but with this Reſtriction: In caſe the Father of the Party did not belong “ to the *Curia* of ſome other City; for if he did, the Son was obliged unto that; “ it being a general Rule in this as well as other Caſes (Slavery of the Mother excepted) “ that the Son followed the Condition of the Father: but in Caſe the Father “ was not obliged to any *Curia*, but the Grand-Father by the Mother was to “ this of *Antioch*, the Son was alſo to be obliged, and that by this ſpecial Privilege. “ So of old there were Privileges granted to the Inhabitants of *Ilium*, whence the *Romans* were ſaid to be deſcended; to thoſe of *Delphi* the Place of the famed Oracle, as alſo to the Inhabitants of *Pontus*, by procurement of *Pompey*, that the Mothers Deſcent ſhould there qualifie Perſons for Citizens.

L. 1. *de Domeſticis & Protectoribus. Cod. Th. lib. 6. Tit.* 24. *Dat.* 15. *Kal. Septemb. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.*

Forces Perſons to the Service of the Corporation.

L. 51. *de Decurionibus Cod.* Th. *Dat.* 5. *Kal. Septemb. Antiochiæ &* L. *Eos indulſerunt.* 22. *Cod. Juſt. eod. tit.*

21. But yet a little to explain *Ammianus* his meaning concerning his unjuſt forcing of Perſons to theſe Services, there's another Law Extant concerning this Subject, Dated but ſix dayes after the former, and directed to *Julian*, not his Uncle, but one who was now *Conſularis* of *Phœnicia*; except there be ſome Errour in the Inſcription. By this it appears, how little Equity ſuch could find at his hands, (as he writes of him) whom theſe Corporations ſought to oblige to their Services, “ though, as to Original, they were utterly ſtrangers to them; that if they “ were but Inhabitants in thoſe Places, although they were *Decuriones* in other “ Corporations, yet the Claim, or Petition of the *Curiales* againſt them ſhould be “ good; and conſequently, a man might be *Decurio* in two places at the ſame time; “ in one by reaſon of his Original, and in the other becauſe of his Habitation. Yet “ he limits it thus far, that one who had only Lands or Poſſeſſions in a Town ſhould “ not be eſteemed an *Incola* or Inhabitant; although this Privilege was granted to “ ſome Corporations alſo that the very having Eſtates in them ſhould binde to thoſe “ kind of Services. Again in caſe they renounced their Habitation before they “ were named to the Court, they were not conſtrained to ſerve, though ſuch renunciation “ after Nomination was utterly null. And laſtly, their Habitation “

L. 52. *de Decurionibus Cod. Th. Abeſt à Cod.* Juſt.

Dat. 3. *Non. Septemb. Antiochiæ. Acc. Id. Octob. Tyro.*

And that very rigorouſly.

ſhould not ſubject them to this Charge, if they had borne Arms and been Captains “ in an Expedition, or elſe with the Title of *Senators* had alſo ſome Employment “ belonging to Perſons of that Quality. Thus we ſee part of what *Ammianus* “ writes of him, in Reference to Corporations, illuſtrated by the *Code*. Now as for what he is ſaid to have done in the Point of reforming the Laws, in taking off their Ambiguity, and removing thoſe Delays that were found in the Execution of them. As to this Matter we are furniſhed with another Edict, dated the very ſame day with this but now mentioned, and therefore thought to have been joyned to it, though it carries with it now another Inſcription to *Secundus Salluſt* the *Præfectus Prætorio* of the *Eaſt*. It had been of old held and obſerved for Law, that Copartners in Inheritances or any other thing might either ſue or be ſued altogether, or, though Iſſue had already been joyned one of them might proſecute or defend himſelf unto Judgment or final Deciſion, without the Concurrence or Aſſiſtance of the Reſt. Now this, in the time of *Conſtantine*, ſeemed hard; for otherwiſe it was generally received, That what concerned All was by All to be tranſacted: and it was taken for Law, that (*a*) every Buſineſs was to be decided, all being preſent to whom it belonged. Otherwiſe the Sentence ſhould only take Effect amongſt ſuch as were there, how evident and plain ſoever the Matter was. But although Sentence was given only for or againſt, ſuch as were preſent, yet might thoſe that were abſent ſuſtain great Damage thereby; for however erroneous the Sentence was, if the Abſent ſhould bring the Matter about again, as concerning themſelves, the Exception might lye againſt them that it was *Res Judicata* an adjudged Caſe, and poſſibly thoſe that were abſent might be able better to inſtruct Council to make out ſomething more than the other, which might be of great Moment in the Deciſion. For theſe and other Reaſons, it ſeems, *Conſtantine* the Great had been adviſed ſo far to abrogate the old Law in this Point, that if the *Conſortes*, as the Law terms them, were in diverſe Provinces, or under the Juriſdiction of ſeveral Judges, a ſtop ſhould be put to the Suite, till all that were concerned could be preſent. “ But *Julian* now thought fit to repeal what his Uncle had therein done as giving advantage “ to thoſe that deſired Delay and would not come to Tryal. But whether “ to this and other Alterations moved alwayes by Reaſon, or ſometimes by his great Hatred to *Chi* and *Kappa* (this we ſhall tell the meaning of ſhortly) will perhaps more evidently appear hereafter.

What he did toward reforming the Laws.

In Law-ſuites.

Quod omnes tangit ab omnibus tractari debet.

(a) *Dig. lib.* 42. *Tit.* 1. *L.* 47.

L. unic. de Dominio rei quæ poſcitur &c. Cod. Th. lib. 2. *Tit.* 5. & *L.* 1. *Cod. Juſt. de Conſortib. ejuſdem litis.*

22. Further, to prevent Delays in Suits, by another Law he Commanded all “ Appeals legally made, to be admitted, and all the Acts concerning the Tryal “ to be tranſmitted to the Office at Court, by one of the Officers of the *Vicar* of “ *Rome* (to whom the Edict is directed) within the ſpace of thirty dayes, that “ they might be recorded; and this under the Penalty of Ten pounds of Gold, “ to be levied upon the Office of the ſaid *Vicar*. Now *Conſtantine* the Great had allowed but twenty dayes for this tranſmiſſion, but *Julian* thought good to enlarge the time, and herein was followed by other Princes. But as for ſuch as did not Appeal within due time, and that upon pretence of Fear, againſt the *Præfects* of the City, the *Pro-conſuls*, the *Comes* of the *Eaſt*, or *Vicars*, by another Law made afterwards, he commands, that they be utterly barred: for he tells them, That *as* “ *long as he Reigns no Judge ſhall dare to deny lawful Appeal to any that deſire it*: and “ in caſe he do, He gives further Direction for the Relief of the Parties. And whereas it was the Cuſtom, that when any Judge, or Governour of a Province, met with ſuch Difficulties in the Deciding of a Cauſe, that he could not of himſelf overcome, that then he made Report thereof to the Emperour, and conſulted him for Explication of any Doubt, or removal of ſuch Difficulties in Law, or otherwiſe; *Julian* now found, that the Judges were wont to ſuppreſs or deferr the ſaid Reports. For prevention hereof, he requires *Mamertinus*, the *Præfectus Prætorio*, to Summon “ them within his Diſtrict, and let them know, that, Under penalty of Ten pounds “ of Gold, to be paid by themſelves, and Twenty by their Office, they ſhould “ cauſe the Report to be tranſmitted within thirty dayes expreſly. But, foraſmuch as thoſe that carry ſuch Reports, might be hindred by ſome Accident from making ſuch haſte as was requiſite for fulfilling of this Order, to ſave harmleſs the Judge and his Officers, he will have it to be entred in the Regiſter of the Court, what day it was that the Report was delivered to the Meſſenger. Further, in purſuance of the ſame Deſign, of cutting off Delayes in Suits, by another Edict he declared, with reaſon, That after Iſſue joyned, the *Mandatum*, or Power given to the *Proctor*, “ was not extinguiſhed by the death of the Party; that there might be no need of “ beginning again. And in like manner he impoſed a Mulct of a pound of Gold upon “ any

In Appeals.

L. 29. *de Appellationibus & Conſultat. Cod. Th. lib.* 11. *Tit.* 30. *Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.*

Cod. Th. L. 30. *eod. tit. & L.* 2. *Cod. Juſt. de his qui per metum &c. Nobis enim moderantibus Remp. nullum audebit Judex Provocationis perfugium purgantibus denegare.*

L. 3. *Cod. Th. eod. tit. abeſt à Cod Juſt.*

L. 1 *de Cognitor. & Procurator. Cod. Th. lib.* 2 *Tit.* 12. &

L. nulla 23. *Cod. Juſt. de Procurator.*

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any Advocate, that ſhould, after Iſſue joyned, uſe a Dilatory Exception, which “ ſhould have been uſed at the beginning.

In matters relating to Women.

L. 12. *Cod. Juſt. de Exceptionibus ſeu Præſcript. lib.* 8. *Tit.* 36.

23. He alſo amended the Law, or he would be thought ſo to have done, in ſome matters relating to Women. Of old time, the Lands and Houſes of *Minors*, or thoſe under five and twenty (for, by the Law of the *Romans*, Perſons are not of full Age till then) could not be ſold or alienated without a Decree in that behalf obtained, if they lay in the Country; and this *Conſtantine* the Great extended alſo to ſuch as were within Cities. And for prevention of Miſchiefs that ariſe to ſuch *Minors* from the Fraud or Careleſneſs of their Guardians, he forbade Moveable things alſo to be alienated without a Decree, three Caſes only excepted; as when things by keeping became worſe, or there were Cattel belonging to *Minors*, that were uſeleſs; and if a Woman was married, though not twenty five complete, yet he permitted her Goods or Eſtate to be ſold without obtaining a Decree, provided the Conſent of her Huſband thereunto was had, and that certified by ſome Inſtrument or Writing: which is held good Law in *France* at this day. By this Conſtitution did *Conſtantine* intend more fully to conſult for the Security of *Minors*, than had been provided by the old Law, againſt the raſh and heedleſs Sales of their Eſtates made by their Guardians: and herein was his Edict more ſingular and expreſs, that in thoſe Sales an Inſtrument was required, whereas ordinarily, in Buying and Selling, no ſuch thing was neceſſary; and moreover, by this Edict, he gave the Woman remedy againſt her Huſband, in caſe ſhe received Detriment, yet ſo as the Sale ſhould be aſſured to the Purchaſer or Buyer. But *Julian*, being vehemently inflamed with a Zeal to the old Laws and Cuſtomes, not only relating to Religion but other matters, and burning with greater Hatred, if poſſible, to *Chi* and *Kappa*,(as ſome conceive)did, by a new Edict, Abrogate this part of his Uncle's Con- “ ſtitution (calling him both in this, and another, his Uncle *Conſtantine*) reſpecting “ Women, and would have the Old Law to be of force, that the Sale of any *Minor's* “ Goods whatſoever, whether of Male or Female, without the Authority of a De- “ cree, ſhould be null; giving this reaſon for it, That it was more abſurd for “ Wives to have their Huſbands reſponſible for ſuch Sales, who poſſibly ſhould be “ poor, and not able to make ſatisfaction, than recover their own from theſe who “ had made ſuch illegal Contracts.

L. 3. *de Contrahenda Emptione Cod. Th. lib.* 3. *Tit.* 1. *Abeſt à Cod. Juſt. ideò quia hac L. vetus jus reducitur, quod retinere ſatis habuit Tribonianus. Vide Goth. in L.*

24. In another matter relating to Women, he changed alſo what had been done either by *Conſtantine* or his Son *Conſtantius*. It had been a practice too frequent amongſt thoſe of that Sex, for ſuch as were of free Condition, to joyn themſelves to Slaves, out of indulgence to their carnal Appetite, and without any reſpect to their Honour, and ingenuous Condition. For prevention hereof, Order was taken by a *Senatuſconſultum*, called *Senatuſconſultum Claudianum*, that if, after they had been thrice admoniſhed to forbear the Company of ſuch as were of Servile Condition, they again offended in that kind, they ſhould loſe their liberty, be Slaves to the Lords of thoſe of whom they had uſed the Company, and their Children alſo remain Slaves to them; according to the Rule in this Caſe, that if the Mother was a Slave, the Children ſhould alſo remain in Servitude. Now this Law aimed at the prevention of two ſorts of Miſchiefs; both of Women, they offending againſt Modeſty and Chaſtity, aggravated by the circumſtance of the Slavery of them with whom they had to do; and alſo of the Damage the Lords of ſuch Slaves often received thereby; for they might pilfer from their Lords the better to maintain, or gratifie ſuch Wantons, and neglect the Buſineſs of their Maſters, in ſpending time to do that of their Miſtreſſes. And this Damage was the greater, by how much the Employment to which the Servants were put, was of greater concernment. For, although Servitude did not, as Logicians ſay of Quality, receive *magis* or *minus*, but each Slave, in a ſtrict ſenſe, in what Employment ſoever, was as much in Servitude as another; yet betwixt an *Agent*, *Factor*, or he that drove the whole Trade of his Maſter, and a mean Scullion, or ſome idle Fellow, there was a vaſt difference, as to the Concernments of their Lords; and therefore ſhe that inveigled ſuch an one, and made him miſpend his Maſter's Time or Money, was guilty of a greater Crime, and deſerved more Puniſhment; neither was there need of warning to be given in a thing of ſo palpable inconvenience. For thoſe *Agents* or *Factors*, by them called *Actores*, and *Procuratores*, had often the whole Eſtates, and Concernments of whole Families in their hands; and thence it came that the Law was very cautious in points relating to them, for the Sake of thoſe that ought them. If a Legacy of a Slave was left to any one in general Terms, this *Actor* or *Agent* muſt not be underſtood to have been bequeathed; and in Caſe of an Injury done

L. 4. *ad S. C. Claudianum. Cod. Th. lib.* 4. *Tit.* 9. *Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.*

Partus ſequitur ventrem.

Vide Com.

to a Maſter in the hurting of his Slaves, diſtinction was made by the Law betwixt ſuch an one, and others of meaner Abilities or Employments. In like manner did the Emperour *Conſtantine*, or his Son, think fit to make a Difference, and as appears from *Julian*'s Edict, ordain, either that leſs Warning, or none at all, might be given to a Woman that accompanied with Slaves of this Nature. “ But *Julian* by “ another Edict repeals all Conſtitutions made to this Purpoſe, and requires that the “ Denuntiations be made to a Woman ſo joyned to any of ſervile Condition what- “ ſoever, if Slaves to private Perſons. Further, as *Conſtantine* thought fit to be more rigorous in this point ſo in another to be more moderate, and abate the Severity of former Laws towards Women, in what more nearly concerned himſelf, his own Profit and Revenue; though as to the Intereſt of Subjects he was ſevere. For in caſe any Woman accompanied with a Slave belonging to his Treaſury, or his Lands, he ordained in a large Edict moſt full of Clemency (wherein he caſt ſeveral Burthens from off the Shoulders of his Subjects, both in Reference to the Laws and Debts owing to him) that ſuch ſhould not loſe her Freedom; yet that ſome ſort of Puniſhment there might be, He declared, that though her Children ſhould not be Slaves, yet they ſhould not enjoy ſo full and ample a Liberty as other Perſons, but be in a middle State betwixt Slavery and Freedom; as were thoſe who were called *Latini*, or *Spurious*; being as it were free amongſt Slaves, and Slaves amongſt Freemen, and the Lords of their Fathers ſhould have a Right of Patronage over them, as Maſters were wont to have over thoſe that had been infranchiſed, on which here we muſt not inſiſt. But this *Julian* thinks fit alſo, by the ſame Edict, to repeal; ſo “ great was his Love to the old Law, or Hatred to ſomething elſe.

L. 3. *ad Sc. Claudianum. Vide Comm.*

About the *Scriniarii*,

25. Again, *Conſtantius* had appointed the *Scriniarii* of the four *Scrinia* of the Palace by twenty years Service to be freed from Obligation to the Charges of Corporations: but *Julian*, though croſs alſo in the Matter of Corporations to the other Extreme, will have this Term contracted to the Space of Fifteen, by a Law which “ *Arcadius* the Emperour afterward confirmed. Other Laws he made for the Eaſe of the People; and in this kind alſo is remarkable a large Conſtitution for the Benefit of thoſe of *Africk*, who were haraſſed with heavy Impoſitions. The firſt part of it hath Relation to the High-wayes, which being repaired after ſeveral Methods proved a great Grievance to ſome ſorts of men, and were for want of a certain and ſettled Courſe far worſe maintained. In ſome Places, the Officers called *Magiſtri Pagorum* were wont to force thoſe that were Inhabitants in their Villages to worke at them: In others, certain Parts, preſcribed within certain Bounds, were allotted to be kept in Repair, to thoſe whoſe Lands lay near to them: and this Courſe *Julian* approves of as moſt equal, being founded upon ancient Cuſtom, a thing of which he was ſo inamoured. There was another great Abuſe in the *Curſus Publicus*, of which the Officers named *Mancipes*, plaid many Pranks with the Provincials; being thoſe who managed the Courſe, that none ſhould exceed what the Laws allowed in the Uſe of it, who took Care that Horſes and other ſorts of Beaſts ſhould not be wanting to the Courſe, nor Fodder and Provender to the Cattel. Endeavours were uſed formerly by ſundry Laws to keep them from oppreſſing the Subject; and now for the time to come, he ordains that they be under the Command of the *Proconſul* of *Africk*. Moreover it was the Cuſtom for great men, and Governours of Provinces, both to burthen the Courſe it ſelf, and miſerably to afflict the Countrey by preſſing of Carriages to convey Marbles for the ſumptuous Building or Ornament of their Houſes, though not ſeated upon the *Roman* Cawſyes or publick Streets, but at good Diſtances, which he condemns and forbids as a moſt audacious Pra- “ ctice; and prohibits the Removal of Pillars or Statues of what Materials ſoe- “ ver made, that Places may not be deprived of their Ornaments. But the beſt “ comes laſt, or that wherewith the Provincials of *Africk* were moſt pleaſed. This was, a Pardon or Remiſſion of all Dues to the Treaſury: yet with the Exception “ of what was wont to be paid in Gold or Silver. It was the Cuſtom for Princes “ to paſs ſuch Acts of Grace for weighty Reaſons; as, if Lands had been deſerted; if overrun by Enemies, or been too much burthened and exhauſted by publick Payments. And though *Julian* was ſparing in granting ſuch Indulgence, as what was wont to ſerve for Eaſement to the Rich, and little to the Relief of the Poor; yet herein he alſo imitated his Predeceſſors, but with Limitation, both as to the Things and Places indulged; for, his Grants of this Nature were commonly partial as to the Dues behind, and granted only to particular Countries or Places, which yet other Princes alſo ſometimes practiſed. Some other Laws he made here at *Antioch*, for the filling of Corporations, to which Work he was with ſo much Af-

And other matters relating to *Africk*.

L. 1 *de Proximis, Comitibus Diſpoſitionum &c. Cod. Th. lib. 6. tit. 26. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.*

Dat. 7. Kal. Nov. Antiochiæ, ad Avitianum vicarium Africæ. A.D. 362. Acc. 15. Kal. April. Karthag. Juliano *& Salluſtio Coſs. A.D. 363.* L. 2. *de Itinere muniendo Cod. Th. lib.* 15. *Tit.* 3.

L. 15. *de Curſu Publico Cod. Th. Abeſt à Cod.* Juſt.

L. 7. *de ædificiis privatis Cod. Juſt. lib. 6. Tit.* 10.

L. 1. *de Indulgentiis Debitorum Cod. Th. lib.* 11. *Tit.* 28. *Abeſt à Cod. Juſt. Velut temporaria.*

L. 53. *de Decurionibus Cod. Th.*

fecta-

A. D. 362.

L.54.eod.Tit.& L.providendum eſt 23.Cod.Juſt. eod.tit.

fectation inclined, directed them to nominate the Sons of the *Decuriones*, and “ ſuch amongſt the ordinary ſort as had ſufficient Eſtates; for want whereof, he “ nulles the Choice of ſome that were lately elected. And for better Encouragement “ of all, who to comply with his Humour, had joyned themſelves to them, he declares “ that they ſhall not anſwer for the failings of ſuch as were made Receivers “ of the publick Revenue amongſt the *Decuriones* before their Admiſſion, but “ only thoſe to whoſe Overſight or Negligence it was to be imputed, that ſuch unfitting “ Perſons were intruſted with an Imployment of that Conſequence.

26. Thus have we illuſtrated out of the Laws themſelves, ſo far as concerns this Year, what *Ammianus* writes concerning *Julian*'s Endeavours in this Kind, and that in Reference to civil Matters while he ſtaid at *Antioch*. Concerning his Complaint of his Rigor towards the Profeſſors of Chriſtian Religion, both in that he mentions and other Particulars much more will in due Time and Place God willing, be produced alſo out of his Laws, and his other Writings, Now to take up the Story of that Author where we left it, while he ſtaid at *Antioch*, *Gaudentius* the *Notary*, who had been ſent into *Africk*, to ſecure that Country againſt him, by *Conſtantius*, as alſo *Julian* who had been *Vicar*, and was eſteemed too much a Favourer of the ſame Party, were apprehended and put to Death, as was *Artemius* who had been *Dux* of *Ægypt*, upon Accuſations of the Citizens of *Alexandria*; but how juſtly, and what thereupon followed about *George* the Biſhop muſt be examined in a more proper Place. But now began he to be much inflamed with a Deſire of proſecuting the *Perſian* War, conſidering how that Nation had for ſixty years laſt paſt miſerably haraſſed the Eaſtern Provinces, and defeated ſeveral Armies that were ſent to reſtrain them, which raiſed up a Deſire in him of Revenge and this was farther heightned by an earneſt Ambition to grace his former Atchievments with the glorious Sirname of *Parthicus*. There wanted not thoſe, who perceiving what vaſt Deſignes he had in his Head, and what great Preparations were requiſite for bringing them to paſs, much blamed his Ambition, and taxed it as dangerous and abſurd, to caſt the Empire into ſuch Difficulties and Dangers, only for the Humour of one Man, that he might domineer over more Animals; and that murmured to the Appetite of one ſingle Mortal, ſo many Perſons muſt be ſacrificed; which however *Ammianus* blames in them as ſpoken out of Malice and Sloth, yet is agreeable to the Sentiments of any who bear a Regard to the Preſervation of Mankind; for though ſome Wars be neceſſary, and the Duty of a Prince, yet boundleſs Ambition and Deſire of Conqueſt are Paſſions which humane Nature cannot but abhor, as producing Effects contrary to its beſt Preſervers, which are Peace and Union; and ſtrangely unequal ſo as to gratifie and tickle the Fancy of one ſmall Creature (conſidered in himſelf) with a conceit of it's greatneſs, multitudes of men or a great Part of the world muſt be diſturbed and brought to Miſery. Theſe Perſons though they durſt not ſpeak themſelves, yet by ſuggeſting divers Objections to others who they knew would tell him, endeavoured to divert him from his Purpoſe, urging this eſpecially, that if he would not find Bounds to his Heat this way, he would miſcarry as the luxuriant Corn is wont, through immoderate Proſperity. But all their Endeavours proved unſucceſsful, or they barked in vain (againſt a man *Ammianus* tells us, who was not to be moved by ſecret Injuries) even as Pigmies or *Thiodamas* of *Lindus*, that Clown, againſt *Hercules*.

He reſolves for the *Perſian* War whatever is ſaid againſt it.

27. For he ſlackned not at all either of his Zeal for the proſecution of the War, or his Preparations in order to it: But, our Hiſtorian confeſſes, he ſhed too much Blood, and too often upon the Altars, in order thereunto, ſometimes ſacrificing hundreds of Bulls, and innumerable Droves of other Beaſts, and white Birds, all he could compaſs both by Sea and Land: inſomuch, that (notwithſtanding all his Labours for the Diſcipline of his Army, ſo much talked of, amongſt other things) almoſt every Souldier, and that almoſt every day, glutting himſelf with meat, and drinking with as much greedineſs and Exceſs, was carried upon the ſhoulders of ſuch as caſually met him, from the Temple wherein they Feaſted, through the Streets, to his Quarters; and eſpecially the *Petulantes* and *Celtæ*, who, having come along with him out of the Weſt, were grown confident above meaſure. The Rites and Ceremonies of this his Religion, were increaſed alſo beyond all Moderation, and conſequently the Expenſe thereof to Sums unuſual and burthenſome; and every man that would make profeſſion of the Art of Divination, how skilful or ignorant ſoever, without any Bounds or Rules preſcribed, was permitted to ſeek for Anſwers, and conſult the Entrails, which ſometimes afforded Predictions of all ſorts; and theſe were every where ſought after, and that all manner of wayes, with affected variety. And, out of his great

And in order to Divinations is extravagant in Sacrifices.

Adeo ut indies pene ſingulos milites carnis diſtentione ſagina victitantes incultius, potuſque aviditate Correpti humeris impoſiti tranſeuntium &c.

Curioſity, he had a Project in his Head, of opening the *Caſtalian* Fountain, ſo Famed for its Power in Fortune-telling, which had been long ago choked up with a great Heap of Stones, by commandment of *Adrian* the Emperour, who, having found that the Empire was predicted to him by virtue thereof, was unwilling that any other ſhould have from it the ſame Encouragement: and he commanded the Dead Bodies, buried thereabout, to be removed, according to the Rite whereby the *Athenians* formerly had purged *Delos*. But, while he pleaſed himſelf with the Exerciſe of thoſe Superſtitious Vanities, an Accident there was, which relating to the ſame, gave him no ſmall Diſturbance. On the two and twentieth of *October*, the Spatious Temple of *Apollo* at *Daphne*, the Suburb of *Antioch*, built by * *Antiochus Epiphanes*, wherein he placed an Image as big as that of *Jupiter Olympius*, took fire, and was ſuddenly burnt; with which Diſaſter being extraordinarily moved, he cauſed more ſevere Inquiſition than was uſual to be made about it, and commanded the greater Church at *Antioch* to be ſhut up, imagining the Chriſtians had ſet it on fire, out of Envy to ſee it incompaſſed with ſtately Galleries, or a *Periſtylium*. But, privately, *Ammianus* tells us, it was reported to have been burnt upon occaſion that *Aſclepiades*, a Philoſopher, being come to viſit *Julian*, and having ever about him a little Silver Image of the *Carthaginian* Goddeſs, termed by them *Dea Cœleſtis*, placed this Image at the feet of the Statue, and lighting up Wax Candles, according to the Cuſtome, then departed. From theſe Candles ſome ſparks caught hold of ſome old and combuſtible things thereabout, in the dead time of the Night, when there were none to prevent it; and by degrees the Fire ſeized and conſumed that lofty Fabrick.

Potius à Seleuco Nicatore ut ex Libanio oſtendit Valeſius.

Πρόσθεν μὲν ὀλιγωσία τῶν φυλακῶν, ταῖς δὲ τῶν ἀθέων ἀνδρῶν τόλμαις ἀφανισθέν.

Hic Aſclepiades Cynicæ Sectæ Philoſophus ad Conſtantii Comitatum venerat tempore Magnentiani belli.

28. And this the more eaſily it might do, by occaſion of the great Drought which now was ſo remarkable, that, though the Winter-Solſtice was at hand, yet ſeveral Rivolets and Fountains alſo failed of Water, wherewith they had formerly abounded. Though the Seaſon of the Year would not permit it long to hold, it was accompanied with a terrible Earthquake, wherewith, on the ſecond of *December*, the remaining part of *Nicomedia* was overturned, and with it no ſmall portion of the City of *Nice*. Though thoſe Accidents perplexed *Julian*, yet his mind was no leſs intent upon the War, and Matters conducing to it; but, amongſt ſuch ſerious things, he, to no purpoſe, employed himſelf in bringing down the price of Vendible Commodities at *Antioch*, as we have before related, out of an Affection to Popularity, though ſuch improper Conſtraint of Cheapneſs, be wont to cauſe great Scarcity, as *Ammianus* obſerves. Thoſe of the Corporation demonſtrated it could not be done, yet was he pertinacious in his Purpoſe, being of the Humour of *Gallus* his Brother, except in the point of Blood; and raging againſt them as Slanderers and contumacious Perſons, he compoſed (this year following) an Invective, which he called *Meſopogon*, *Beard-Hater*, or the *Antiochian*, wherein he maliciouſly ripped up the Faults and Defects of the Citizens, adding to Truth very many things. So the Hiſtorian, but yet an *Antiochian* himſelf cenſures the Invective; which being ſtill extant amongſt others of his Workes, we muſt do both him and others that Right, as to take Notice of it. “He terms it a Poem in Proſe, and for as much as it was neither fit for him nor “ any others to return ill to them by whom they had been injured, therewith “ he pretends not to play upon ſuch, but himſelf the Poet; for as much as no “ Law forbids one to write either Commendations or Diſpraiſes of his own “ Perſon. To commend himſelf he tells you he could not, but if to diſcommend “ he was able infinitely to do it, and he will begin with his Face. Whereas to “ this Face, Nature her ſelf had not been over kind, he through a certain Moroſe “ Humour had added to it a long Beard, as it were to puniſh it, and this for “ no other Fault, but becauſe Nature had been no kinder to it. For this “ Reaſon he ſuffered Lice to run in it as Deer do in a Park; neither, for Fear of choaking by Haires, could he either eat or drink plentifully; for as for what concerned kiſſing, he did not on that much inſiſt, knowing that his Beard would not ſuffer his Lips to be joyned to others more delicious. And whereas “ they, the *Antiochians*, had ſaid that Ropes were to be made of it, he was very “ willing they ſhould do it, if the roughneſs of his Hairs would not hurt “ their tender and delicate Hands. But leſt any ſhould think him to be moved “ by all theſe Reproaches (for herein he recites what they ſaid of him) he would “ render an Account why he went ſo like a Goat; whereas he could ſhave himſelf “ and be as ſmooth as beautiful Boyes or Women, on whom Nature her ſelf had “ beſtowed much Beauty and Comelineſs. For they in their Age imitated their “ Chil-

He and the Citizens of *Antioch* falling out.

Ex qua aquarum inopia Caritas Annonæ Conſecuta eſt, in qua quidem penuria Julianus 13000 modiorum tritici Antiochenſibus Largitus eſt, ut ipſe & Libanius aſſerunt.

He compoſes his *Miſopogon* or Invective againſt them.

Τὸ δ' ᾆσμα πεζῇ μὲν λέξει πεποίηται.

Ταῦτά τοι διαθεόντων ἀνέχομαι τῶν φθειρῶν, ὥσπερ ἐν λόχμῃ τῶν θηρίων.

The Subſtance of it.

Children, and according to their delicate manner of living, and perhaps for the Simplicity of their manners, they ſhaved all off, and ſhewed themſelves to be men, not as he did, by their Cheeks, but from their Foreheads.

29. But not content with the length of his Beard, his Head was to boot out of Order, the Hair whereof he ſeldome cut; and as ſeldom he pared the Nayles of his Fingers, which were moſt commonly alſo black with Ink. And if they would needs know a Secret, his Breaſt was moreover rough with Hair, as briſtly as were thoſe of Lyons the King of Beaſts; and if he had any Mole about him, he would tell them of it. But further he had to ſay, that he had not only ſuch a kind of Body, but alſo he led a very auſtere Life, and very troubleſom. The Theatre out of his great Folly, he frequented not; neither ſuffered a Play to be acted at Court, but at the Beginning of the Year; (ſuch was the Stupidity of his Mind, (like a poor Huſbandman that paid his Rent to ſome hard Landlord) and when he did that, he gave but little heed to what was acted; for he had no Poſſeſſions, though he had the Name of a great King throughout the World, not ſo much as a *Præfect* or Captain who commanded *Comedians* or Chariot-Drivers. All which, though they were ſignes ſufficient of his moroſe Humour, yet he had one thing to tell them that was more new and wonderful. He hated the *Circenſian* Games, as much as Debtors did Courts of Juſtice, therefore ſeldom came he at them but in the Dayes that were holy to his Gods, neither then did he there ſpend the whole day, as his Couſin, Uncle, and Brother were wont to do; but was glad to be gone after he had ſeen the ſixth Courſe ran, and that with little Delight, nay on the contrary with much Trouble and Uneaſineſs. So much it ſufficed to ſpeak of external things, and yet in further Drollery he tells them, that this was nothing to the Injuries he did them over and beſides, for as to his Domeſtick Life, he ſlept little by Night; and the ſmall reſt he took was upon a Pallet, and in eating he did not ſatiſfie even Hunger, which way of Living made him Moroſe, and of an Humour quite contrary to the Effeminacy of *Antioch*. Yet would not he have them think, (the Poem he mixeth with ſerious Matter) that he did it to torment them; for a grievous and fooliſh Miſtake, (you muſt know) and that from a very Boy, had induced him to wage War with his Belly. Hereupon it was that he would not ſuffer it to be ſatiated with Meat,and therefore very rarely did he vomit, to his Remembrance but once ſince he was made *Cæſar*, and that not from any Repletion, but it came by Chance. Upon this hung a Tale, which he would tell them, not out of Conceit that it would be pleaſant to them, but wonderfully ſuited his Condition, and the Scene of this Comedy lay at his dear *Lutetia* or *Paris*, while there he abode in his Winter-Quarters. This Town he tells them is a River-Iſland of no great Capacity. On both ſides they paſſed to it by wooden Bridges; and as for the River it did not increaſe nor decreaſe; but as it was in Summer, in Winter it was found in the very ſame Condition. Water is afforded very pleaſant and clear to the Eye of the Drinker, for it being an Iſland, there upon Neceſſity the Inhabitants were to get Water for the moſt part. The Winter was very gentle, by reaſon of the warmth of the Ocean (as was ſuppoſed) which was diſtant from it but nine hundred Furlongs, ſo that a mild Vapor thence ſeemed to be diffuſed, for the Water of the Sea is much more warm than the ſweet, or that which ariſeth out of Springs, or is taken from Rivers. Hereupon it was that the beſt ſort of Vines there grew, and through their Induſtry they alſo had great Quantity of Figgs, which in Winter they covered with Wheat-Straw,or ſuch like Stuff, as they were wont to defend Trees againſt the Weather.

A deſcription of *Paris*.

30. But when he lay there, the Winter was more ſharp than ordinary, and the Froſt laid as it were, a Bridge, over the River, of Ice much reſembling the *Phrygian* Stone. There was he more ſtubborne and humourſome than ever before; for he would not ſuffer a Fire to be made in his Chamber, according to the Cuſtom of the Place, though it was very convenient for it: and thus it came to paſs, through his Stubborneſs, and, to ſpeak truly, *Inhumanity* toward himſelf, out of a Reſolution to uſe himſelf to that Air, ſo that though it grew colder and colder, he would not permit his Servants to make any Fire, for Fear he ſhould ſtir the Moiſture that was in the Walls; only he let them bring a little Charcoal or ſome Wood throughly kindled, with which, though very ſmall was the Quantity, a Damp was raiſed from the Walls, which filled his Head with Vapours ſo as to make him drouſie; and indeed he was, in great Fear he ſhould be ſuffocated. Thereupon he was taken ſud-

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ſuddenly out of his Chamber, and his Phyſitians adviſed him to vomit up “
his Supper, which he did, but no great Quantity; for much he had not eat- “
en; but he was better after it, had a reaſonable good Night, and was fit for “
any Buſineſs the day following. After this Pariſian Story, he falls in direct “
terms, though in a jeering and drolling Vein, upon the *Antiochians*, telling them “
that the Ruſticity of the *Galls* could eaſily bear his Humour, but a rich flou- “
riſhing and populous City as was theirs, in which there were more Dancers, Fid- “
lers and Players than Citizens, but no reſpect nor Modeſty ſhewn toward Prin- “
ces, would not endure it. Lazy and luxurious Perſons might be aſhamed to “
do, what it was lawful for them, being ſo gallant and valiant Perſons, to “
practiſe; as to ſpend both Morning and Night in Revellings, and by Deeds, “
not words, to demonſtrate that they had ſmall Regard to the Laws: although “
Laws are made for the Sake of Princes, and he that injures a Prince doth ſtill “
much more offer violence to the Laws. But this was their Practice, (both of “
Magiſtrates and People) in the *Forum* and Theatre, and all agreed together “
in being ſpruce and neat, and ſetting more by their Bathes, their gay Cloaths “
and rich Beds, than by Juſtice and Honeſty. And matters thus ſtanding he “
makes them ask the Queſtion of himſelf, whether he thinks that that his Ru- “
ſticity, Inhumanity and Rigidneſs can well agree with theſe Pleaſures and De- “
lights, of the Place, and whether he be ſo ſilly as to imagine that his little Soul “
can be adorn'd and accompliſhed by Temperance? For, firſt for Temperance “
what it was they knew not, only they had heard of the Name. Indeed if it “
was that which he endeavour'd after, it conſiſted in Obedience to the Gods “
and the Laws, in living in equal Right with ones Equals, if a man was excel- “
lent in any thing yet to carry it humbly, in taking care to provide that the “
Poor ſhould not be oppreſſed by the Rich, in bearing all ſorts of Troubles “
patiently, as Enmities and Reproaches; without indulging ones Anger or Re- “
venge; in governing and correcting ones Paſſions; and (if that may be ac- “
counted a ſort of Temperance) in abſtaining openly from all pleaſure though “
otherwiſe neither diſhoneſt nor ſcandalous; for as for him, he was of Opinion, “
that *No man ought to be eſteemed as Temperate at home, who was diſſolute abroad* “
and took Pleaſure in the Theatres. If this be Temperance, then he ruines both “
himſelf and them, who cannot endure ſo much as to hear the name of *Subje-* “
ction, neither towards the Gods nor towards the Laws; Liberty being ſweet “
in all Caſes.

31. After this he feigns them ſtill railing upon him for his Diſſimulation, “
in that he denyed himſelf to be their Lord; would not endure that Name, “
nay, was angry if he had it, inſomuch that many through his Procurement had “
left that word out of all Matters relating to the Empire; however formerly “
accuſtom'd to it; and yet he compelled them to be Slaves to the Magiſtrates “
and the Laws: how much better would it be for him to admit the Name of “
Lord, and indeed and in Reallity ſuffer them to be Free-men. But this he “
was ſo far from, that he undid them, by conſtraining the Rich in Courts of “
Juſtice, to uſe moderate Courſes; by depriving the Poor of the Liberty of “
calumniating their Betters, and by putting away Stage-Players, Dancers and “
the like, ſo that they received no good at his Hands, except it was this, that
having indured this odious Severity now ſeven Moneths, they had commit- “
ted Vows and Prayers, to be freed from ſuch Miſchiefs, to the Management of “
old Women that were converſant about the Tombes of dead men. And “
further had the Satisfaction of their Jeſts and Taunts to wound him no leſs, “
than with ſo many Darts. What Follows is to the ſame Purpoſe, driving at “
this by manifold Variety of drolling, to repreſent himſelf as a moſt virtuous “
Perſon, one practiſed in the higheſt Degree of Philoſophy, and the Citizens “
of *Antioch*, as Enemies to him upon this Account, and eſteeming it ſlavery to “
be Subject to the Gods (as he calls them) to the Laws, or him; and as ſo “
governing their Wives and Children, as to give them Liberty to do what “
they liſted, and train them up even to Rebellion. Further having received “
ſome Taunts not only in Reference to his Beard and affected Clowniſhneſs, “
but his Oppoſition to Chriſtian Religion, he endeavours in the ſame way to “
anſwer ſuch Matters as were objected upon that Account. It was a common “
Saying amongſt them, that *Chi* and *Kappa* had done no Hurt to the City “
though he had injured both the City and them. He tells them it was hard “
to unfold this Riddle, but having got ſome Interpreters of their own, he had “
learnt the beginning of ſome Names to be ſignified by theſe Letters; as by “
the

Τὸ χῖ φησὶν οὐδὲν ἠδίκησε τὴν πόλιν, οὐδὲ τὸ Καππα. Χριςὸς *incipit cum* χ. Κωνςάντιος & Κωνςαντῖνος *cum* K.

the one that of *Chriſt*, and the other that of *Conſtantius*. To this he replies that in one thing only *Conſtantius* had done them an Injury, that when he made him *Cæſar* he had not put him to Death. And as for other Matters, he wiſhes that to them only of all *Roman* Subjects the Gods would give many *Conſtantii*, or rather to be made lyable to the Rapines of his Favorites. In Reference to what had paſſed betwixt them two, *Conſtantius* was his Kinſman and his Friend, and after he choſe to be his Enemy, and the Gods had decided the Quarrel very favourably on his Side, he was a more faithful Friend to him than before they fell out he could have expected to find him. And therefore he demands why they ſhould think he was ill pleaſed to hear him well ſpoken of, when as he was angry with any one that diſcommended him. He perceives they had choſen *Chriſt* for their Tutelary Deity, in the room of *Jupiter Daphnæus* and *Calliope*: gives thoſe that profeſſed his Religion the Title of *Galilæans* (in which he prides himſelf and thinks he meets with them in all his Writings) moſt impiouſly calls it the Sect of Impiety, and adds that the greateſt part of the People, nay indeed all, imbracing that Sect was angry with him for owning the Religion of their Fore-fathers, and adhering to it. That the Rich were diſpleaſed, for being prohibited the Sale of their Commodities at too dear a Rate, and all in General out of Reſpect to the Dancers and Stageplayers; not for that he had wholly deprived them of the Uſe of ſuch, but regarded them leſs than the Froggs that croaked in the Fenns.

32. But he comforts himſelf with a Story of *Cato*, who had been formerly offended with the Idleneſs and Luxury of the *Antiochians*, and exclaimed againſt the Place as a miſerable City upon that Account. Now he tells them, like a pleaſant Droll, that they muſt not wonder at him if he had the Misfortune, being of a more rough Humour than *Cato* himſelf, and one that exceeded him as much in blunt Boldneſs as the *Galls* did the *Romans*. For *Cato* being born at *Rome*, converſe with his own Fellow Citizens all his Life; whereas he, as ſoon as ever he could write man, was ſent away to the *Galls*, *Germans* and into the *Hercynian* Forreſt, where he ſpent his Time as it were in hunting and waging War with wild Beaſts; and thence contracted an Humour which very ill befitted a Courtier; could not flatter, but was only skilled in living plainly and freely with all men. Before that he had ſuch Education as was fit for Childhood, he had been trained up in the Books of *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, at ſuch years as were more proper for a delicious kind of Life, and he inſiſts very much upon it to declare how his Maſter laboured to ſhow him the Vanity as off of all Pleaſure in general, ſo of the Sports and Plays which were uſually ſeen on the Theatre. When a full man grown and preferred, he had lived according to his own Way and Rule with moſt fierce and Warlike Nations who knew *Venus* and *Bacchus* no further, than for the Sake of Marriage and Procreation; And drinking only ſo much Wine as was agreeable, and might lawfully be uſed; where no Obſcenity was practiſed on Theatres, nor Mimicks trode upon the Stage. But theſe Nations (the *Galls* he means) ſo loved him for his agreeable Diſpoſition, that not only they took up Arms in his Behalf; but gave him Money, and often forced him to receive it, and what was beſt of all, they were obedient to him in all things. Thence, ſaith he, it came to paſs, that my Name with great Glory and Renown ſounded in your Ears, and they all proclaimed me to be a Valiant, Prudent and Juſt Perſon, who knew not only how to governe in War, but in Peace alſo; and moreover they ſaid: I was eaſie of Acceſs and Gentle. But you, the *Antiochians* have treated me in a quite contrary Manner. You ſay I have overturned the World, whereas I know nothing one way or other ſubverted by me: then, that Ropes may be made of my Beard; and laſtly, that I have denounced War againſt *Chi* and wiſh I may do it againſt *Kappa* too. To what he acted againſt *Chriſtianity*, he oppoſeth what they had practiſed againſt *Paganiſme*, and relates ſome Paſſages, which, in the Place proper to them, muſt not be omitted. In the latter End of his Poem, from drolling he deſcends to down right and moſt earneſt Expoſtulation, and ſhews himſelf moſt grievouſly nettled with the ſtinging Libels that were caſt abroad.

33. Yet this he tells them they might freely do, for he would neither cauſe them to be killed beaten, nor impriſoned for ſo doing. But to continue his Expoſtulation, he further urges the Mildneſs and Modeſty both of himſelf and his moſt familiar Officers. Neither he nor they had medled with their Lands or

Eſtates, nor been at all taken with thoſe they eſteemed very fine things amongſt “
them; they had neither abuſed their Magiſtrates, nor ſuffered them to abuſe “
the Citizens, but to the City been the Authors of Immunity and great Plenty “
and thereby afforded Leiſure even to ſuch as had Libelled againſt them. “
No Silver nor Gold had been exacted, nor Tributes increaſed, but beſides “
Arreares, a fifth part of the uſual Cuſtoms and Impoſts had been remitted; “
for, not thinking it ſufficient to be indulgent this way himſelf, he had got “
an Officer that managed ſuch Matters, the moſt moderate and abſtinent of all “
others, though they abuſed him for the Hair of his Head, as well as they “
did his Maſter for his Beard. Moreover, he had five more, that were near “
him, fully as virtuous as he, whereof the one was his Uncle of the ſame “
Name with himſelf, who had, with great Juſtice and Moderation, formerly governed “
them of *Antioch*, and, though with no great Prudence, ordered the Affairs “
of the City. By ſuch Courſes as thoſe he thought he might ſufficiently “
approve himſelf, and ſeem lovely enough to their Eyes; but ſeeing at length “
the Neglect of his Hair, his Hatred to the *Spectacula*, his Endeavour to preſerve “
Gravity and Decorum in Temples, his Care to maintain Juſtice in Courts, “
and his Deſire thence to baniſh Avarice, had ſo much ſet them againſt him, he “
would very willingly be gone from them; for as much as he could ſcarcely “
expect that with Age and Continuance his Humour would be ſweetned. And “
here he tells them a Fable of the Kite, who having once had a Voice like “
other Birds, would not therewith be contented, but muſt needs endeavour to “
neigh like an Horſe, and by endeavouring after the latter, loſt the former Faculty, “
and became inferiour to all his winged Brethren; which caſe would be “
his; for, endeavouring to be courtly, if he ſhould miſs of his *Courtſhip* he might “
alſo poſſibly fail of down right dealing.

34. And now he turns down right indeed, conjuring them by his Immortal
Gods, by *Jove* the *Preſident* of the *Forum*, and Keeper of the City, to tell him
what Cauſe they had to ſhow themſelves ſo ingrateful and bitter againſt him.
He demands what Injury either publickly or privately he had done them, that “
not otherwiſe able to hurt him they daily ſo reviled him in the *Forum*, whom “
though it was in his Power ſufficiently to hurt, in a larger way of retaliation, “
yet he choſe to return them their own, in their own way of Invective, though formerly
he had been ſo far from any ſuch thing that he had ſtudied their Commendation, “
ſo far as ſtood with the Prudence of an Emperour. He had laboured “
to deſerve well of all; though it was impoſſible to pleaſe every individual “
man, or the City it ſelf in every individual thing. For, to ſuch as paid Cuſtomes, “
all Duties of that kind could not be remitted; nor all given, to thoſe “
Officers that were imployed to receive them; but he had kept a Mean, ſo as to “
require what was neceſſary for the Publick Expenſe, and alſo been very bountiful “
in remitting of Tributes where he ſaw convenient. Out of his great “
Kindneſs and deſire to deſerve well of them, though they were the laſt of “
Cities that ſent to congratulate him, yet had he forgiven them far more Money “
than to any other; and, beſides, had increaſed the number of their *Senators* “
or *Decuriones* to two hundred; and not ſpared his own Officers, but given “
up thoſe that were imployed in his Revenue, to undergo the Burthens of “
their Corporation. But whereas out of his Deſign to make their Corporation “
greater and richer, he had endeavoured to fill their Court with able men, “
they had taken another Courſe, which indeed better ſuited with an ill tempered “
City and their own univerſal Demeanour: and he inſtances in a pittiful “
beggarly Fellow they had choſen, but ſuch an one, as through the great Prudence “
of them, the City Governours, made merchandize for them, of the miſerable “
ordinary People. Now becauſe he would not ſuffer them thus ſillily “
and knaviſhly to manage their Elections, he had loſt utterly all thanks for his “
former Favours, and they were angry with him. But yet this was not the “
thing that rendred them ſo implacable; there was another Matter of greater “
Concernment. When he came firſt to Town the ordinary ſort being oppreſſed “
by the Rich, received him with Clamours againſt the Dearneſs of Victuals. “
The day following he diſcourſed with ſome of the better ſort and endeavoured “
to perſwade them, that omitting their univerſal Exactions they would conſult “
the Good of their own People and Strangers both, which they promiſed “
ſhould be done. Hereupon he made no more ſtir about it; but for three Moneths “
expected the Performance of their Promiſe; but then perceiving the Complaint “
of the Poor not to have been without Reaſon, and that indeed there “

was not ſuch Scarcity of Proviſions as was pretended, but the Avarice of the “
Rich was the greateſt Cauſe of the Miſchief, he ſet a moderate Price upon “
Commodities by a publick Edict.

35. And whereas the Grain of which there was any real Want, was Wheat, “
cauſed by the great Drought of the preceding year, he ſent and procured a “
Supply from *Chalcis*, *Hierapolis* and other neighbouring Cities, to the Value of four “
thouſand Meaſures; which being ſpent, he furniſhed them firſt with five, then with “
ſeven, and afterward with ten thouſand *Modii*, out of his own Granaries which “
had been ſent him from *Ægypt*, and took for every fifteen Meaſures but the “
Rate they were wont to pay for ten, *viz.* one *Aureus*. Hereupon enſued Plenty “
of Bread; not only for thoſe in the Town, but Country too, who flocked “
to buy it, with which the richer ſort were ſo ill pleaſed that their Trade “
failing them at home, they ſold their Corn into Foreign Parts, and hence “
muſt neceſſarily follow a Famine in Winter, and the ſame Price muſt be paid “
for five as now were for fifteen Meaſures. However he thought he had done “
very well; and further, as ſhould appear from the latter End of his Invective, “
which is ſomething difficult to be underſtood, as he had by his Care made “
Plenty of Wheat, ſo by an Edict he had leſſened the Prices of other Commodities, “
as Wine, Oyl, and other things; whereupon the rich Merchant who “
traffiqued in ſuch Matters, kept them up and would not ſell them; which “
again cauſed the Emperour to be rail'd on, though he had done it for Relief “
of the Poor, and for the Eaſe of thoſe Strangers which flocked to the City “
upon his Account, as alſo of the Magiſtrates and Judges that attended him. “
But now he tells the *Antiochians* that ſince thoſe Perſons were returned home, “
and all the City had bandied againſt him, ſome out of Hatred, and others “
whom he had provided for, out of Ingratitude, he would commit all to Fate, “
and get him gone to ſome other People; not upbraiding them with what “
had hapned ten years before, when in a Tumult the People had offered Violence “
to the Magiſtrate. Yet he cannot but again ask the Queſtion, for what “
Reaſon they were ſo violently bent againſt him? If it was becauſe he had “
fed them at his own houſe, which hitherto had not been indulged to any “
City, and that ſo plentifully and magnificently? If it was becauſe he had increaſed “
the Number of their Corporation? Or for that he had puniſhed ſuch “
Thieves as he had found amongſt them, according to their Merits? There were “
three thouſand Acres of Lands, it ſeems of that ſort called *Caduca*, or for “
want of Heirs fallen to him; and theſe Grounds being, as they ſaid Barren, “
they had begged of him. When they had got them, the richer ſort juſtled “
out the Poor, and kept them to their own Uſe, which he having underſtood, “
took them from thoſe that had no Right to them, and appropriated the beſt “
of them to thoſe common Expenſes of the City which were of greateſt Burthen “
and Concernment. And now, ſaith he, you that keep Horſes all the year, “
have the Common of almoſt three thouſand Acres partly through the Prudence “
and Diligence of mine Uncle *Julian* and partly by the Bounty of my “
ſelf, who having in this Manner chaſtiſed Thieves and Cheates, may very well be “
ſaid by you to overturn the World; for Lenity and Clemency toward ſuch “
as theſe, believe me, do cauſe the Naughtineſs of men to increaſe. Wherefore “
now I come to what I would be at. I my ſelf am Author of all theſe “
Miſchiefs, in being bountiful to ingrateful Perſons. And therefore all is to “
be attributed to mine own Folly, and not your Freedom. And therefore for “
the time to come, I will endeavour to be more prudent and cautious in my “
Carriage toward you: and I pray the Gods will requite you ſuitably, for the “
Honour and Good Will, which I have publickly found at your hands.

Hic Juliani Præfecti Præt. filius, Baſilinæ frater antea Præfectus Ægypti fuerat, Poſtea Comes Orientis, Mamertino & Nevitta Coſs. Vide Valeſium in Ann. ad p.237. Ammiani.

Conſiderations upon his Invective.

36. Thus doth *Julian* end in earneſt, however he began in Jeſt, his bitter but moſt elegant Invective. The Pluck the *Antiochians* gave him by the Beard, did ſo much twitch him, that it made the Tears ſtand in his Eyes, however he thought to put it off with Laughter. The Subſtance of the whole Invective we have given, though the Length thereof be ſomewhat improper, becauſe it gives Light to the Laws and Hiſtory of this Prince, and poſſibly diſcovers ſomething of his Humour, which this Paſſage betwixt him and the *Antiochians*, if you will believe a Native of this Place, *Ammianus*, ſeems well to make out, in that he ſaith he was willful and not to be diverted from his Purpoſe, being like to his Brother *Gallus*, although not bloody. That he did not indulge his Paſſion in Killing, Beating or Impriſoning his Subjects (as he tells them he would not) for libelling againſt him, and reviling him in the *Forum*, he is really, nay much to be commended for his Clemency; for the

Laws was very ſevere in ſuch kind of Offences, though committed againſt private men. But as to the Merits of the Cauſe, and Controverſie betwixt him and the City, although his deſerving well of them as to ſeveral Indulgences ought to be acknowledged, yet an indifferent Judge is rather to hear others, than either of the Parties concerned. The great Matter of Offence and Enmity betwixt them was that of the Proviſions, or his bringing down the Price of Commodities, which, however he ſaith he did it out of a good Intention, yet *Ammianus* tells us it was out of Love to Popularity; and that unſeaſonable or forced Cheapneſs, is often the Cauſe of great Want: As alſo that the Corporation openly ſhewed to him, that the thing could not be effected; and yet he perſevered in his Humour. Another matter about which they differed was the Filling of the Court; and though they might be in the Error as to that particular Perſon he mentions, yet if we give Credit to the ſame *Ammianus*, who was alſo his no ſmall Friend, we muſt believe him in this point to have been much to blame, and guilty of the greateſt Error (in civil Matters) committed during his Government; for however he boaſts of his filling up the Number of the *Decuriones* to two hundred, this Writer tells us, that right or wrong he compelled Perſons to theſe Services, and therefore herein he overdid, and they that underſtood them and were upon the Place, and had been exerciſed themſelves in them, were the ableſt to diſtinguiſh of fit Perſons. So ſtood the Caſe, and the Cauſe of the miſunderſtanding; as to the Effects thereof, *viz.* Invectives, Libels and Railing on both ſides, there is no Excuſe to be made, if we conſult the Equity as well as the Rigour of the Laws, as we ſaid, on their part. But that his Affectation made him ridiculous is evident enough from the Teſtimonies of his Friends: his Affectation as to Philoſophy and Eloquence was vehement, and this cauſed him both to wear ſo great a Beard (though an Emperour and a profeſſed Philoſopher vaſtly differed) to pride himſelf in it, and write this Invective as an Apology for it; for conſidering his Humour, this gratified his Affectation and this way of Revenge pleaſed him ten times more than Cruelty could have done; for there did not lye his Temptation at this time. As for what he returns upon them; which is their Luxury, and that the Hatred they bore him proceeded from the Averſeneſs they had to his Virtue, or the Strictneſs of his Life; if ſuch it was, as he ſets it forth, the Love and Reſpect they bore to *Chi* and *Kappa* will not bear them out in it; the Principles of *Chriſtian* Religion more than of any other, (more than thoſe of his Superſtition) contradicting all Exceſs in any kind. But *Ammianus* an *Antiochian* gives us an heavier Cenſure of his *Miſopogon*, (yet poſſibly ſomething concerned for his Country, though an Eye-witneſs it may eaſily be granted of all thoſe Paſſages) that reckoning up with malicious minde the Faults of the City, *He added many things to the Truth.* However, leſt we ſhould be ſuſpected of this other Extreme, in not relating the beſt, he ſayeth for his own Advantage, we have choſen to treſpaſs in being tedious upon this Subject.

Apertè monſtrante.

(a) *Quocirca in eos deinceps Sæviens ut obtrectatores & contumaces volumen compoſuit invectivum, quod Antiochenſe vel Miſopogonem appellavit, probra Civitatis infenſa mente dinumerans, adenſque veritati complura.*

35. Notwithſtanding, he ſtill found many things facetiouſly ſaid againſt him, which though he was conſtrained to diſſemble, inwardly he ſwelled with Anger. For they laught at him as a *Cercops*, a kind of Dwarf, ſtretching out his Shoulders, thruſting forth his Goats Beard, and yet ſtrutting like ſome Brother of *Otus* and *Ephialtes*, the Tallneſs of whom *Homer* vaſtly extolleth. They termed him *Victimarius* in Reference to the Multitudes of his Sacrifices; and that deſervedly; for out of Oſtentation he prided himſelf in carrying Oblations or ſuch like things, as the Prieſts uſed to do, attended on by ſilly Women. Though he inwardly fretted for being twitted for this Vanity, yet he concealed his Indignation ſo far as to finiſh the Solemnities. On a certain Feſtival he aſcended the Woody and ſteep Mountain *Caſius*, whereon at the ſecond Cocks Crow, the Sun was to be ſeen; and there, as he was ſacrificing to *Jupiter*, he eſpied a Man lying proſtrate on the Ground, who begged his Life and Pardon at his Hands. Upon Enquiry he found it was one *Theodotus* of *Hierapolis*, who having amongſt the *Honorati*, or thoſe who had borne Civil Offices, brought *Conſtantius* on his way from the City, baſely flattered him, and with feigned Teares and Grones beſought him, as one who without any Doubt would prove Victorious, to ſend them the Head of *Julian* that ingrateful Traytor, in the ſame manner as he remembred that of *Magnentius* to have been carried about in Triumph. To this Requeſt, he anſwered that he had heard from many how guilty he had been as to this Matter, but bade him go in ſafety to his own Houſe, and live free from all Fear, through the Clemency of the Prince,

Poſt quæ multa in ſe facetè dicta comperiens &c.

Et culpabatur hinc opportunè, cum Oſtentationis gratiâ vehens licenter pro ſacerdotibus ſacra, ſtipatusque mulieribus lætabatur.

who as a prudent Man, had determined and was very ready to diminiſh the number of his Enemies and increaſe that of his Friends. Having finiſhed his Devotions and departed thence, he received Letters from the *Præfect* of *Ægypt* wherein was ſignified the joyful News, that *Apis* the Ox having been ſought for with great Labour and Diligence, was found; which the Inhabitants of the Country reputed a lucky Sign of a fruitful Year, and diverſe other Advantages. But the preſent year thus ended, or that of the *Conſulſhip* of *Mamertinus* and *Nevita*. In that which followed, he took the Title the fourth time, and for his Colleague aſſumed *Salluſt* the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Gall*, which had not been known of a long time that the Emperour ſhould be joyned with a meer Subject, *viz.* ſince the *Conſulſhip* of *Diocleſian*, and *Ariſtobulus*, as *Ammianus* writes, but by a Miſtake. And this his fourth *Conſulſhip*, he reſolved to render famous to Poſterity by Acts of no ſmall Moment. Beſides his Preparations for the *Perſian* War, he forgot not his Enemies *Chi* and *Kappa*, though in a more clandeſtine and cunning way as yet he acted againſt the Followers of the Former. If he could reſtore the Temple of *Hieruſalem*, the old Services and Sacrifices of the Religion once practiſed there, it would be a great means and Argument againſt the Growth and Truth of Chriſtianity, which was ſuppoſed to ſucceed it, and ariſe upon the Ruines thereof. This he was reſolved to do whatever it coſt him, and committed the Care of rebuilding the Temple there, to *Alypius* an *Antiochian*, who had formerly commanded here in *Britain*. And *Alypius* earneſtly proſecuted the Work, and was therein aſſiſted by the Governour of that Province; but (it is *Ammianus* that tells you) dreadful Balls of Fire broke out from the Ground where the Foundations were laid, and conſuming the Works made the Place inacceſſable, and ſo the Element making vigorous Reſiſtance, the Deſign miſcarried. Of which more hereafter.

A.D. 363.
*Juliano A.*4.
& Salluſtio Coſs.

Julian enters his fourth *Conſulſhip* with *Salluſt* the *Præfect.*

Endeavours in Vain to rebuild the Temple at *Hieruſalem.*

Inſtaurare ſumptibus cogitabat immodicis.

38. Now was he complemented from the *Senate* of *Rome*, by Perſons of conſiderable Nobility and Merit, whom he accordingly rewarded. *Apronianus* he preferred to be *Præfect* of that City, *Octavianus* to be *Proconſul* of *Africk*; and *Venuſtus* he made *Vicar* of *Spain*, as alſo *Rufinus Arabius* he promoted to be *Comes* of the *Eaſt*, in the room of his Uncle *Julian* lately deceaſed. But being ſo wonderfully ſuperſtitious he was now terrified by divers unlucky Signs, as he and his eſteemed them. *Fœlix*, you muſt know, the *Comes Largitionum* ſuddainly died of Bleeding, and him *Julian*, *Comes* of the *Eaſt*, not long after followed. Now the Common People looking upon the Titles of the Emperour, on Purpoſe or unwittingly, or it's not material how, read and ſpake thus: *Julianus, Fœlix, Auguſtus*; for amongſt the ordinary Titles *Fœlix* came in and uſually preceded *Auguſtus* immediately; ſo that it was taken as ominous, that he who was *Auguſtus* ſhould be reckon'd with *Fœlix*, and with *Julian* too, both who were dead. Beſides, when he entred the Temple of the *Genius*, one of the elder Prieſts ſuddenly fell down dead, which his Flatterers near him interpreted to portend the Death of the elder *Conſul*, but it rather ſignified that *Conſul* who excelled in Power more than Age, as the Event ſhowed: moreover *Conſtantinople* was ſhaken with an Earthquake, and the Books of *Sybylla* at *Rome* forbade the Emperour to go beyond his own Territories this year, all which were accounted unlucky, and uſed as Arguments to diſwade him from the Expedition; but in Vain. As he could not be utterly diſcouraged by thoſe Paſſages ſo neither receive any greater Incouragement from the Offers now made him of Aſſiſtance by many Nations; the Ambaſſadours of whom he ſent back with this Anſwer, that it did not become the *Roman* Empire to thrive by the Acceſſion of Forreign Aid; but to aſſiſt its Friends and Allies in their Neceſſity. Only *Arſaces*, King of *Armenia*, he commanded with a ſufficient Power to attend his Motions, and expect ſuch Orders as he ſhould ſhortly ſend him. Then did he, ere Spring was advanced to the Height, ſend the Command for his Forces to paſs *Euphrates*; which accordingly they did, and being quartered about as Convenience directed expected the coming of their Emperour from *Antioch*.

Makes ſeveral Promotions.

Fœlix defertor Fidei ob nefarium ſacrilegium in Sacro-Sancta Vaſa Commiſſum una cum Juliano comite Orientis miſerè periit, ut narrat Theodoritus lib. 3. *Vide Valeſium in Annot.*

He refuſes Aid offered him againſt the *Perſians.*

39. Before we fetch him thence, we muſt enquire what he did farther there the Beginning of this year, ſuppoſing him imployed in more Affairs that what related to the Impoſition of his *Miſopogon*. But ſeveral Matters therein contained, whether ſaid by the *Antiochian* or himſelf, we find ſtill explained, limited or confirmed by other Laws he made before his Departure. Though he was ſo Indulgent to that City, as he ſaith himſelf in Relation to Tributes remitted to them, and Grounds given them; yet it concerned him to have a Care of the publick Revenue, and that this he had, we find by two Laws made for Prevention of Abuſes in this kind; for when Grounds were ſold; ſometimes the Vendor or Giver

What he did before he left *Antioch.*

ver would take upon him to diſcharge the publick Duties belonging to them, and afterward they being not to be found, the Treaſury was thereby defrauded. But it being reaſonable, that all Burthens ſhould follow the Soile it ſelf, and the Ground be anſwerable for all Dues ariſing from it, he ordains, That thoſe in preſent Poſſeſſion be forced to pay them. Other old Cuſtomes he laboured to reduce, which relating to that ſort of War, made by him againſt *Chi* and *Kappa*, will in a fit Place be fully conſidered. But one thing we meet with wherein he ſeems to have acted againſt his own Principles, and general Courſe of the Laws, and that in the matter of Corporations too. So ſtudious was he, that he was rather unjuſt as to conſtraining of men to undergo their Imployments, and he had a great Averſion to the *Agentes in Rebus*, and eſpecially the *Curioſi* taken out of their Body, ſo that (as much as in him lay) he took away their very Name and Being. Yet is there an Edict of his, Publiſhed at *Berytus* in the Moneth of *February* of this year, wherein he excuſes thoſe *Agentes* from ſuch Charges, if they had ſerved but three years, whereas his immediate Predeceſſor required ſeventy years for ſuch Immunity; and his immediate Succeſſor no fewer than ten; and in this Caſe, the Privileges of the *Militia*, *Palatina* and *Armata* were wont to be equal; ſo that it's thought that there's ſome Error in the Text of the Law, as perhaps the Word ſignifying ten more, hath been omitted. But he gives the ſame Privilege to ſuch of them as had received their Miſſion, or been diſcharged in this his fourth *Conſulſhip*. And by another Edict grants Immunity from thoſe Services of the Courts of Corporations to ſuch as had thirteen Children living, ſo as they might plead it if they were called on to ſerve, or if they were at preſent under the Burthen, they might obtain an honourable Diſcharge from them, yet ſo as ſtill to retain the Advantages accruing from them. That we may diſcharge our ſelves of the Laws made by him reſpecting the State properly, and fit here to be remembred; another Conſtitution he made, if not at this Place, about this time, and that for the Benefit of Cities and Bodies politick, in which he appointed certain Offices, called in Greek, *Zygoſtates* to decide all Controverſies happening now in Bargaines and Sales about Gold Coin, which from the Dayes of *Conſtantine* had begun to be ſcarcer than formerly, to be clipped, and otherwiſe much abuſed. In this Law as well as ſeveral others, *Gothofred* obſerves that he ſhows much of that *Greek* Pedantry with which he was but juſtly upbraided. Another there is yet of his making, but without the Addition of Day or *Conſuls*, as theſe we have mentioned; whereby he declares that the Sons of *Libertini*, or of ſuch who had once been Slaves, but after were manumitted, might obtain the Dignity of the *Senatorian* Order.

L. L. 3. 4. *Sine Cenſu vel Reliquis fundum. Cod. Th. lib.* 11. *tit.* 3. & L. 2. *Cod. Juſt. eod. Tit.*

L. 2. *de Agentibus in rebus. Cod. Th. lib.* 6. *tit.* 27. *Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.*

L. 55. *de Decurionibus Cod. Th.* & L. 24. *Cod. Juſt. eod. Tit.*

L. 2. *de Ponderatoribus. Cod. Th. lib.* 12 *Tit.* 6. & L. 2. *Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. hinc interpolata eſt.*

Vide Goth. in L.

L. 9. *de Dignitatibus. Cod. Juſt. lib.* 12. *tit.* 1.

He leaves the City.

His Letter to *Libanius.*

40. When he was about to leave *Antioch*, he committed the Juriſdiction of *Syria*, to one *Alexander* of *Hierapolis*, a turbulent and cruel Man; whom he confeſſed not to deſerve the Place, but that ſuch a kind of Judge was proper for the covetous and contumelious *Antiochians*. When he departed, he was brought on his way by a mixt Multitude of the Citizens, who wiſhed him a proſperous Journey, and a glorious Return, and prayed him for the time to come that he would be more mild and gentle to them, but he being ſtill angry, for the Jeers and Affronts he had received, gave them a ſharp Anſwer, and affirmed that he would never ſee them more, as it came to paſs. For he ſaid he would return by a nearer way, and Winter at *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, and accordingly had written to *Nemoris* the *Præſident* to get all things ready for him; and Winter and Summer there he did, his Body being privately buried in a Suburb of that City, as he had himſelf ordained, leaving *Antioch*, on the fifth of *March*, to come to *Hierapolis*, where, at his Entry, fifty Souldiers were killed by the Fall of ſome Buildings, beſides many hurt. Here he continued three dayes; and in this time wrote a letter to *Libanius* the *Sophiſt* and *Quæſtor*; wherein, after he had given him an Account of his Travel and Entertainment in his Journey, he tells them in ſhort the State of his Military and Civil Affairs, for as to the Bulk of them it was larger (he ſaith) than to be comprehended in three Epiſtles of the fulleſt ciſe. In the firſt place he had ſent to the *Saracens*, and willed them to come if they pleaſed and joyn with him, having alſo imployed moſt vigilant Spies to ſee that none ſhould give them Intelligence of his Motions. He addes, that he had decided Controverſies amongſt his Souldiers, with the greateſt Lenity and Equity imaginable, as he perſwaded himſelf; that he had provided himſelf of excellent Horſes and Mules: rendevouz'd his Army, had laden his Veſſels upon the River with Corn, or rather with Bisket and Vinegar: of all which to deſcribe the manner how they were done, and what Speeches were made about them, he knew how tedious it would be, and it was trou-

Id reſponſum curialibus Antiochenis à Juliano datum eſt in manſione prima quæ Litharbis *dicebatur, viculus in Chalcide.* Juliani *Ep.* 27. p. 160.

troubleſome to relate in how many Letters and Books he had ordered all things “ (which happened well to him) to be Recorded, and carried about with him. Having here, as both he and others tell us, united his Forces, he march'd with all ſpeed for *Meſopotamia*, that he might prevent the fame of his coming (which courſe he ever obſerved) and ſet upon the *Aſſyrians* unawares. Having paſſed *Euphrates* with his own Army, and the Auxiliary * *Scythians*, by a Bridge made of Boats, he came to *Batnæ*, a Municipal Town of *Oſdroëna*, where he received another ill *Omen*, (for of this name we find two places mentioned in this Expedition, one on this ſide, and the other beyond) fifty Soldiers more being overwhelmed with a Stack of Straw, while they were careleſly pulling at it. Departing ſorrowful from this place, he haſted to *Carhæ*, an antient Town, famous for the overthrow of *Craſſus* and the *Rom an* Army, being the Frontier toward *Aſſyria*, whence lay two Roads for *Perſia*, one on the left hand by *Adiabene* and the River *Tygris*, and another on the right, by *Aſſyria* and *Euphrates*. Here making ſome ſtay to furniſh the Army with Neceſſaries, he ſacrificed to the Moon, according to the Cuſtom of the Country, (which was very much at her Moonſhips Devotion) and here, he is ſaid, before the Altar, no body being near, ſecretly to have delivered his Purple Military Coat to *Procopius*, his Kinſman, with order, courageouſly to ſeize upon the Empire, upon Intelligence that he had miſcarried amongſt the *Parthians*.

He paſſeth *Euphrates.*

* *Inter hos Gothorum meminit Zoſimus.*

41. Being now troubled with ill Dreams, he preſaged ſome Miſchief to be at hand, and both he and his Wizards declared, that the Day following, which was the nineteenth of *March*, was to be regarded. Yet, as afterward was diſcovered, the matter lay afar off; for, (as *Ammianus* obſerves) this very ſame night was the Temple of *Apollo Palatinus* burnt at *Rome*, of which *Apronianus* was then *Præfect*; and, if great help had not been at hand, the Verſes of *Sibylla Cumana* had periſhed in the Flames. While he was buſied in ordering the March of his Army, in which he muſtered ſixty thouſand men and five, and regulating the matters relating to Proviſions, News was brought poſt haſte, that a Party of the Enemies Horſe had broken into the Pale of the Empire, and made Depredations; wherewith being much moved, he purſued the Deſign he had before in his Head of committing a Party of thirty thouſand (ſaith *Ammianus*, but eighteen ſaith *Zoſimus*) choice men to *Procopius*; and with him joyning *Sebaſtian* a *Comes*, who had been *Dux* of *Ægypt*, he commanded them to keep a ſtrict Watch within *Tigris*, leſt any ſudden and unexpected Accident ſhould happen; as often had done before; and if poſſible to joyn *Arſaces*, and with him, by the way of *Corduena* and *Moxoena*, having waſted *Chilocomus* that fruitful Tract of *Media*, and other Parts, to meet him, if they could, in *Aſſyria*. He pretended then, that he would paſs the *Tigris*, and for the Diſguiſe, had cauſed Preparations to be made for him on that Road; but took the Right hand, and having ſlept quietly that Night, in the Morning called for his Horſe. They brought him one that was named *Babylonius*, who being ſtruck with a Blow from an Engine, and not enduring the Pain, tumbled himſelf and ſpoiled the Furniture, which was richly ſet out with Gold and Gemms. *Julian* herewith was very much pleaſed, as taking it for a good Omen, and cryed out with the Applauſe of thoſe that attended him, that *Babylon was fall'n to the Ground, deſpoiled of it's Ornaments.* Here he thought it worth his time to ſtay a little and confirm the Omen by Sacrifice; which having endeavoured, he came to a Caſtle called *Davana*, where the River *Belias* taking his Riſe, afterward powreth himſelf into *Euphrates*. Having here refreſhed his men; the day after he proceeded as far as *Callinicus*, a Fort very ſtrong and Opportune for Commerce, where, on the ſix and twentieth day of the Moneth, he celebrated the Annual Feaſt of the Mother of the Gods, as it was wont to be obſerv'd at *Rome*; and took his Eaſe the Night following with much Courage and Gayety. The day following he marched by the Rivers ſide, and in a certain Station pitched his Tent; and here he was ſaluted by the petty Princes of the *Saracens* upon their Knees, who preſented him with a golden Crown, as Lord not only of their People, but of the World; and he gave them a kind Reception, intending to ſerve himſelf of them in the War. And before they were diſmiſſed, a Fleet like that of *Xerxes* preſented it ſelf to his View, under Conduct of *Conſtantianus* a *Tribune*, and *Lucillianus* a *Comes*, which ſeemed to overſpread the broad River *Euphrates*. In it were a thouſand Veſſels of Burthen laden with Proviſions, Arms and Engines, beſides fifty others fitted for Fight, and as many wherewith to make Bridges, if need ſhould require.

ὀκτακισχιλίους καὶ μυρίους, ſolùm ait Zoſimus.

Dabana in Notitia Imperii ſub Duce Oſdroënæ unà cum Callinico.

He is preſented with a golden Crown by the *Saracens.*

Paulò aliter Zoſimus.

42. About this time, he aſcended the Tribunal and by a Speech fitted to the Occaſion, animated his Souldiers to the War, to which he added the more powerful Motive, of a Congiary or Donative, of an hundred and thirty *Nomiſmata* of Sil-

Zoſimus lib. 3.

ver to every man. The Foot he committed to the leading of *Victor*; and the Horſe to the Conduct of *Hormiſda* a *Perſian*, whom the King his Brother having very injuriouſly treated, he had fled to *Conſtantine*, and after ſeveral ample Teſtimonies of his Fidelity, been preferred to great Commands; but yet with him he thought fit to joyn *Arintheus*. Having accepted the Aid which the *Saracens* willingly offered, he marched for *Cercuſium* (in the Scripture *Carchemiſh*) which he entred in the Beginning of *April*. This was now a very ſtrong and neat Town, the Walls whereof were ſtrengthened by the Rivers *Abora* and *Euphrates*, which circled it in the Faſhion of an Iſland: for formerly being little and weak, *Diocleſian* had fortified it with Walls and Turrets at ſuch time, as he ordained more inward Limits upon the Confines, to prevent the Incurſions of the *Perſians*, who had lately done very great Damage to the Provinces. While *Julian* here lay and imployed himſelf in paſſing his Army over *Avora*, he received ſad Letters from *Salluſt* the *Præfect* of *Gall*, who intreated him thereby to ſuſpend his Expedition againſt the *Parthians*; nay moſt earneſtly beſought him, that he would not ſo prepoſterouſly thruſt himſelf upon certain Deſtruction, the Divine Powers not being yet pacified. But he neglected this wholſome Advice, and preſſed forward rather with more Confidence; for that *Ammianus* tells us, no humane Power or Virtue ever yet could merit, that what Fate had ordained, ſhould not come to paſs; and being got over, he cauſed the Bridge to be broken down, that his men might perceive all Hope of Flight to be cut off. He paſſed on (as *Ammianus*, who himſelf was preſent in this Expedition, and therefore is our beſt and ſufficient Guide in the Hiſtory of it, writes) and came to a Place called *Zaita*, which ſignifieth an Olive-Tree, where they ſaw the *Tumulus* or Hill raiſed in Memory of the Emperour *Gordian*, to whom being conſecrated, out of his innate Piety, as this Writer words it, he made a Parentation; and ſo proceeded to *Dura* a Town depopulated. Here beholding afar off as he thought, a Band of Men, he made an Alt, and ſtanding in a Muſe to think how he ſhould order his Matters, a Lion of a vaſt Bigneſs preſented himſelf to the Army, and by it was quickly diſpatched. Hereat he conceived greater Hope and Courage, though the Event ſhewed it was without ſufficient Ground. Our Writer tells you, that indeed, by this Accident the Death of a King was foreſhewn, but of which, it was utterly uncertain. That the Oracles themſelves in ſuch Caſes were doubtful, he declares; as in the matter of *Crœſus*, the *Athenians* when they fought againſt the *Perſians*, and of *Pyrrhus* in his War againſt the *Romans*. The *Hetruſcan Aruſpices* produced their Books, and thence ſhewed ſuch a Token to be fatal to him that invaded the Territories of others, though upon never ſo juſt Grounds, but were run down by the Philoſophers, who had the greater Authority with him, and were peremptory in thoſe things they did not underſtand. They urged indeed that when *Maximian*, while yet *Cæſar*, was about to ingage with *Narſes* King of *Perſia*, a Lion in like Manner and a great Boar appeared, and were killed; and he went away with the Victory; but the Caſe differed; for Deſtruction was portended to (marke) him that unjuſtly made the Invaſion; which was *Narſes* who firſt invaded *Armenia*, ſubject at that time to the *Romans*.

Salluſt writes to him, to diſſwade him from the *Parthian* War.

He is amuſed by ſeveral Accidents.

43. The day following, being the ſeventh day of *April*, by intervention of a Cloud, hapned great Darkneſs, Thunder and Lightning, and therewith a Souldier named *Jovian*, was ſtruck dead, as he was leading two Horſes from watering. This confirmed the Wizards in their former Opinion, who, by Books of Thunder, ſhewed, that Thunder it ſelf was to be taken for a Councellor, and when a man, of ſo great a Name, was ſo killed with Horſes, which are the great Helps for carrying on War, it evidently ſignified that the Place and Country where ſuch a thing hapened, was, as dangerous, to be quitted. On the contrary the Philoſophers affirmed that the Lightning ſignified nothing at all; but was a fierce Vapour by ſome Force or other thruſt down from the Clouds; or if any thing was meant by it, it muſt be *Brightneſs* and *Glory*, ſignified thereby as accruing to the Emperour from the Enterprize he had undertaken, flame of it's own Nature ever tending upward. The Profeſſion of the Philoſophers and their Opinion moſt ſuiting *Julian*'s Humour, he eaſily cloſed with them therein, and now made an Oration to the Army, furniſhed with ſeveral ancient Stories of the greateſt Commanders who had atchieved as well againſt the *Perſians* as others, by their Valour and Affection to their Country, eſpecially through the good Will and Reſolution of their Souldiers, very great things; which now by their Aſſiſtance he was reſolved to imitate in this Affair; wherein he had this preſent Advantage of Juſtice on his ſide, that as they were prompted to what they did, by martial Glory; he was compelled to repair thoſe

By a Speech he encourages his Men.

Loſſes, and revenge thoſe Injuries which the *Roman* Provinces had of late years ſuſtained. With his Diſcourſe they were ſo animated, that conſidering both his former Services in *Gall*, and his preſent Alacrity to endure all hardſhip, even as far as the Condition of a private Souldier required, they embraced his Advice with all chearfulneſs, and reſolved to obey his Commands to the utmoſt. The undaunted Reſolution of Emperour and Army thus manifeſted and mutually applauded, he entred the *Aſſyrian* Borders, where fearing to fall into ſome Ambuſh, he drew his men into fourſquare Bodies, and appointed fifteen hundred as a Forlorn; to march both before and on both ſides; to give warning upon all Occaſions. He himſelf led the main Body of Foot, being the Strength of the Army. On the right Hand he commanded certain Legions to march by the River *Euphrates*, under Conduct of *Nevita*. The left Wing he committed, with ſome Troops of Horſe, to *Arintheus* and *Hormiſda*, to be led through the Plains and Mariſhes: And the Rere was commanded by *Dagalaiphus*, *Victor*, and *Secundinus*, the *Dux* of *Oſdruena*. To ſtrike a greater Terror into the Enemy, he enlarged his Ranks, and cauſed his Army to appear much more numerous than it was; ſo that the Front was well nigh diſtant from the Rere, the Space of ten Miles, in which Art both of inlarging and contracting an Army when the Stratagem required, *Pyrrhus* King of *Epyrus* was moſt excellent. And the Baggage he placed ſo within the Wings, that all Danger by ſudden Incurſions, might be prevented. As for his Fleet, he ordered it to keep as near as could be, that the Army and it might afford mutual Aſſiſtance and Protection to each other.

Being entred *Aſſyria*, the manner of his March.

44. Proceeding after this manner for three dayes, they approached *Dura*, a deſolate City upon the River; whence journeying, after four dayes more, they attacqued a Fort called *Anathan*, ſtanding in an Iſlette in *Euphrates*; and ſtormed it meerly by Language; for thoſe within were perſwaded to yield, which they did by driving out before them an Oxe with a Garland on his Head, with them the uſual Signal of Peace. The Emperour cauſed the Fort to be burnt. *Puſeus* the Governour was rewarded with the Place of a Tribune, and afterward was preferred to be *Dux* of *Ægypt*; the reſt were ſent away with their Moveables to *Chalcis*, a City of *Syria*. Amongſt them was found a *Roman* Souldier, who, when *Maximian* made an Inroad into theſe Countries, had been left behind by reaſon of Sickneſs, then a very young man. But afterwards he took ſeveral Wives, according to the Cuſtom of the Place, and now very Aged, with a Numerous Iſſue, to his great joy was carried homewards; affirming with the teſtimony of ſeveral Hearers, that he had foretold, how near to an hundred years old, he ſhould at length be buried in the *Roman* Territories. After this, the Scouts of the *Saracens* brought ſome Priſoners to the Emperour, who, glad at the ſight, ſent them back again upon the like Errand. The day following much Damage happened to the Army by a furious Tempeſt, and ſhortly after, by the breaking out of the River, which, whether it proceeded from ſome Natural Cauſe, or the Deſign of the Enemy, was uncertain. The further they paſſed, the greater danger they being to meet with, the Emperour in Perſon rode before, to ſee that all was clear; and ſometimes came behind, as there was occaſion, and ſome Forts they took in their paſſage, and others refuſed to ſubmit, about which he thought it not worth his labour to ſpend much time; but he commanded the fruitful Country to be waſted. One Town they took, called *Ozogardana*, which, upon their approach, the Inhabitants had forſaken, and here was a Tribunal of *Trajan* ſtill to be ſeen. Admiring that all this while he ſhould meet with no oppoſition, his Wonder now preſently ceaſed; for, having ſent out *Hormiſda*, who beſt knew the Country, to make a diſcovery how matters ſtood, the *Surenas* (for this, *Zoſimus* tell us, was the Name of Magiſtracy, not of a man) the higheſt in Power next to the King, and *Malechus Podoſaces*, the *Philarchus* of thoſe *Sarazens* called *Aſſanitæ*, watched the opportunity of intrapping him; and had done it, but that a branch of the River, ſwoln above the uſual proportion, hindred their paſſage. Being diſcovered, a Party turned head againſt them, and, after ſome ſkirmiſhing, forced them to retire.

Ἀρχῆς δὲ τοῦτο παρὰ Πέρσαις ὄνομα.

45. The Souldiers, incouraged with this Succeſs, marched more chearfully to a Place called *Macepracta*, where were ſeen the Ruins of Walls, formerly of great length, and built for the Defence of *Aſſyria* from Foreign Invaſions. And here, the River being divided, a branch of it running up into the more inward Tracts lying about *Babylon*, the Army with ſome difficulty got over; the Enemy making oppoſition on the farther Bank, till diverted by *Victor*, whom *Julian* cauſed to croſs it for that purpoſe. This Difficulty conquer'd, they met with a greater, at a City (called by *Ammianus*, *Pyriſabora*, by *Zoſimus Berſabora*) very ſtrongly fortified by Na-

ture, and the Reſolution of the Inhabitants. Here no Language would do the work, for, all the Arguments of *Hormiſda* they rejected, reviling him as a Traytor to his Country. Neither would downright Force prevail; though the Emperour in Perſon ventured to break open a Gate, with as much Danger and Courage, as *Ammianus* had read *Scipio Æmilianus* to have undergone and practiſed at the taking of *Carthage*; till at laſt he gave order for that ſort of Engine to be mounted, which, having the name of *Helepolis*, obtained, by the great Execution it did, the Title of *Poliorcetes* for *Demetrius*. Affrighted at the ſight of ſo great a Machine, which both by its height and ſtrength, they perceived would ſurmount their ſtrongeſt Turrets, they cried out for pardon, and obtained it, being in number two thouſand and five hundred; for the reſt, apprehending the ſtorm, had removed themſelves into a ſafer Place by Water. The taking of it, after two dayes Siege, being a City, and the greateſt in *Aſſyria*, next *Cteſiphon*, brought Repute, and was very ſeaſonable; for there was found plenty of Victuals and Arms, which being taken away, Fire was then ſet to it. The following day, as the Emperour ſate at Meat, word was brought him that the *Surenas* had fallen upon three Companies of the Scouts, and having ſlain ſome few, amongſt whom, one Tribune, had taken a Banner or Enſign. Hereupon, in a great rage, he aroſe; went thither with his Guard, and having eaſily conſtrained the Enemy to retire, caſhiered the other two Tribunes as Cowards; and ten of the Souldiers that had fled, he cauſed to be put to death, according to the antient Martial Law in ſuch caſes practiſed. Then did he aſcend the Tribunal, and gave thanks to the Army for what was already well performed, exhorting them to be conſtant in the like Atchievements, and promiſed them for a Donative an hundred *Nummi* a man. But they diſdained the Sum, as contemptible, and began to grow tumultuous; which perceiving, he ſhewed both his Indignation and Gravity, in another Speech, to this purpoſe:

His Army, growing mutinous,

He reduceth by a Speech.

46. Conſider, ſaith he, that the *Perſians* abound with all things, and therefore "
the Wealth of this Nation will ſufficiently inrich us if we unite in Affection, and "
valiantly demean our ſelves. Believe me, the *Roman* Commonwealth, from vaſtly "
rich, is become exceeding poor, by the means of thoſe, who to increaſe their own "
private Wealth, have inſtructed Princes, how, by Gold, to purchaſe Eaſe and Qui- "
et from the *Barbarians*; and ſo to return home. The Treaſury is emptied, the Ci- "
ties exhauſted, and the Provinces haraſſed. I have neither any Treaſure of mine "
own, nor Kindred to ſupply me, though Nobly deſcended; only a Breaſt that's "
void of all fear; neither ſhall an Emperour, who placeth all that's Excellent in the "
Ornament of the Mind, be aſhamed to own honeſt Poverty. For the *Fabritii*, "
poor in Eſtate, managed very great Wars, and were rich in Glory. We ſhall alſo "
abound with all good things, if you carry your ſelves courageouſly and modeſtly, "
under the Conduct of God and my ſelf, who ſhall Govern you with as great cir- "
cumſpection, as Humane Reaſon will allow of; but if you will be Mutinous, pro- "
ceed in your way, I, for my part, as becomes an Emperour, having alone finiſhed "
a courſe of ſo great things incumbent on me, will dye ſtanding, and contemning "
that Life which ſome pitiful Fever, however, may take from me: Or, truly, I can "
quit my Place: For I have not ſo lived, but I can eaſily return to a Private Con- "
dition: And, I may boaſt, that here are preſent moſt excellent Commanders, of "
perfect Experience and Skill in all matters relating to War. With this mild, yet reſolute Speech, the Souldiers were ſatisfied for the time, and, being encouraged by pectation of better things, promiſed Obedience, and, with univerſal conſent, extolled his Authority and greatneſs of Spirit to the Skies. And he animated them daily by theſe kinds of Sayings; *So let me ſubdue the* Perſians. *So let me repair the tottering Condition of the* Roman *State*; in like manner as *Trajan* was wont to ſwear, *So let me ſee once* Dacia *brought into the form of a Province*; *ſo let me lay Bridges over* Iſter *and* Euphrates. Thence, after a march of fourteen miles, they came to a low ground, which, the *Perſians* having notice they would paſs, drowned, by opening the Sluces, ſo that with great difficulty they got over, by many little Bridges, Bladders, and light Boats. Then, being way-laid by the Enemy, who diſcharged many ſhowers of Arrows upon the Flancks, the Army came near a Place where *Euphrates* divides it ſelf into many Rivolets; and here they found a City forſaken of its Inhabitants the *Jews*, who would not truſt to the weakneſs of the Walls, and the Souldiers out of Anger burnt it. Arriving at length at *Maiozamalcha*, a great City, fortified by ſtrong Walls; before it they encamped; and the Emperour, knowing the Enemies Horſe to be accounted terrible in theſe Champian Countreys, took all care poſſible to prevent its ſudden Incurſions.

47. This

Sect. 5.

A. D. 363.

47. This done, with a few *Velites* in his Company, he went on Foot to view the Town and thereby caſt himſelf into extreme Danger; for, ten *Perſians*, armed at all Points, iſſuing out at a Poſtern, fell on him and his Company, and two of them, knowing him by his Habit, made it their Buſineſs to diſpatch him; but he received the Blows upon his Target, ran one of them into the ſide, and the other was killed by his Followers. Of the reſt ſome were wounded, and all fled; after which he led back his Attendants with Spoiles of him he had ſlain, being a golden Collar; and herein *Ammianus* compares him with *Torquatus* and *Corvinus*, thoſe ancient Captains. Having paſſed his men over the River, and fortified his Camp by a double Trench for fear of the *Perſian* Horſe, he beſieged the Place; for that he thought it dangerous to leave ſo conſiderable Enemies, as thoſe that held it, at his Back. While he made Preparations for the Siege, the *Surenas* fell upon ſuch Carriage-Beaſts as were left beyond the River, but was repulſed by ſome Cohorts, with the Loſs of a few men. Now alſo were two Cities ſtanding in Iſlands deſerted by their Inhabitants; whereof ſome flying to *Cteſiphon*, and others getting away in little Boats, many of them were intercepted by the *Roman* Horſe, which was ever exerciſed in foraging, and got good Booty, while the Foot was buſie at the Siege. The Emperour drew a double Line about the Town, but the Siege proved troubleſome, both by reaſon of the natural Strength of the Place, and the firm Reſolution of the Beſieged, No attempt would prevail that was known and open, not the utmoſt Reſolution of the Legions, not the force of battering Engines, although they broke down a Tower, and together with it fell part of the Wall. At length the Deſign was effected by Mines, through which the Souldiers got into the City, and, the Governour with ſome few others excepted, all found within were put to the Sword. But as for himſelf, *Julian* touched none of the Booty, only accepted of a dumb Boy which could ſhew Tricks, and of three golden Coins. As for the Women, which if any where, were beautiful in *Perſia*, he would not ſo much as ſee one of them, imitating therein the Continence of *Alexander* the Great, and *Africanus*, who declined ſuch Temptations; leſt being invincible, as to Labours and Performances of great things, they ſhould have been conquered by Pleaſure, and pittiful momentary Satisfactions.

48. This City being burnt, and ſuch as lay hid in Caves and Holes, wherewith theſe Tracts abounded, on Purpoſe to do Miſchief, being either choaked with Smoak which the Souldiers on purpoſe fired in the Mouths of them, or killed when by it forced out; by many Bridges laid over the little Rivulets, they paſſed further, and came to two Forts, where *Victor* leading the forlorn was oppoſed by the King of *Perſia*'s Son, who with many Noblemen and a power of Souldiers endeavoured to hinder his croſſing the River. Yet upon Sight of the Body of the Army, they retired, and ſo the *Romans* arrived at that pleaſant Country, ſo delightful for its Groves and all ſorts of Fruits, but chiefly acceptable to them in this Reſpect, that it preſented them with an Houſe of the Kings, built after the *Roman* Faſhion, which upon that very Account they left untouched. Here was alſo a Foreſt abounding with Lyons, Bears, Boares, and other ſorts of Beaſts, wild to Extremity, and kept for the Kings Pleaſure when he pleaſed to hunt, which now became good Game to the Souldiers. Not far diſtant ſtood *Coche*, or *Seleucia*, where the Army reſting two Dayes, the Emperour as he went abroad to view the Place eſpied the Carcaſſes of the Relations of him that betrayed *Pyriſabora* nailed to the Gallows: And here *Nabdates*, the Governour, who with eighty more had been taken at the Surrender of *Maiozamalcha*, was burnt alive; for that, having at the Beginning of the Siege promiſed to deliver up, or betray, as *Ammianus* terms it, the City, he had moſt earneſtly defended it, and having notwithſtanding obtained Pardon beyond all he could hope for, now was grown ſo inſolent as to affront *Hormiſda* with all ſorts of Indignities. Proceeding a little farther they loſt ſome of their Baggage, carriage-Beaſts and thoſe that attended them, by a party which ſurprized the Rear while the Front was amuſed by another Body, that gave it a Diverſion another way. *Julian* hereat fretting in vain, and now drawing nigh to the Regions of *Cteſiphon*, while he went to view another ſtrong Fort he found in his Paſſage, again caſt himſelf into extreme Hazard, whereat being very angry, as if Fortune ought to have exempted him from uſual, nay courted Dangers, he reſolved to be revenged, and for that Purpoſe laid Siege to the Place, which they within as vigorouſly defended, truſting to the extraordinary Strength of the Fort; it being eſteemed by them inacceſſible; and not doubting of ſpeedy Succour from the King, who now lay at no great Diſtance from them.

49. His Choler was ſtill further moved by another ſudden Onſet made by the *Perſians*; who took and killed ſeveral of his Men, and the reſt apprehending that greater Numbers of them were arrived than indeed there were, their Courage began to fail them, and they were ſlow to Action. But afterward, by their Prince his Endeavours, and their own Diſdain being again excited, they forced thoſe in, which had made a Sally at this time, when their Friends beyond the Water gave the Onſet, and had cut off a great Part of a *Cohort* with the *Tribune*. But the Emperour inraged at this Diſgrace, took away the Horſes from the reſt of the *Cohort*, whom he accuſed of coldly receiving the Enemy; and cauſed them to ſerve as Foot Souldiers; which done, he burnt ſtill with a vehement Deſire of taking the Fort, for the Danger he underwent of his Perſon, and for that Purpoſe ſtill thruſt himſelf forward into more Difficulties, fighting at the head of his men, incouraging them by his Example, and awing them by his Preſence and Obſervation. By theſe and other Means he obtained his Deſire; and having burnt the Fort, it was neceſſary now to give ſome Refreſhment to his Army; which that it might receive without danger or diſturbance, he ſtrongly fortified his Camp, to prevent any ſudden Incurſions, or ſecret Attempts that might be made from *Cteſiphon*. After this Refreſhment, they came to a Foſſe-Dike, or Artificial River, which had the Name of *Naarmalcha* (the River of Kings) being digged firſt by order of the Emperour *Trajan*, and afterward ſcowred up by *Severus*, for the paſſage of Veſſels out of *Euphrates* into *Tigris*. But now it was dry, and the *Perſians*, to prevent any ſuch Deſign, had choaked it up with Stones; which *Julian* having found, thought fit to cleanſe, and reſtore it to its former Uſe; and this, by the Induſtry of his men, he effected, ſo as through this Cutt, his Fleet paſſed out of *Euphrates* into the other River, and the Army having croſſed it on Bridges, proceeded in its March toward *Cocke*, through a Countrey that even raviſhed it with the beauty of what it afforded, and in the middle preſented them with an Houſe of the King's Retirement, in a ſhady * Place, the Rooms of which were furniſhed with Landſkips, and therein repreſented their manner of Hunting; for the *Perſians* uſed no other Pictures than what concerned War, or repreſented fighting and killing, in ſome or other ſort.

* *Zoſimus* παράδισον βασιλικὸν *appellat.* A Park.

50. Hitherto his Attempts had well ſucceeded (though ſometimes he ſuffered his calm Soul to be ruffled by very little Blaſts of not ever conſtant Fortune) which cauſed him now to deſpiſe all Difficulties whatſoever, and he often proceeded to Acts which bordered upon Temerity. He commanded eight hundred men to be put aboard the ſtrongeſt Veſſels of Burthen, and dividing his Fleet into three parts; with one he ordered *Victor* to paſs the River, and to ſeize on the farther Bank in the Night-time; which all the Officers concluded was a deſperate Attempt, and unanimouſly beſought him to deſiſt, but in vain: Being violently then bent upon it, five Veſſels adventured over, and when they approached the ſhoar, had caſt into them Firebrands, and other combuſtible matter, wherewith they, and all within them had periſhed, if the Emperour had not cauſed them to be relieved with the whole Fleet; which done, after a moſt violent Conteſt, the Souldiers landed, and kept their Poſt on the further Bank. Now did the whole Force of the *Perſians* preſent it ſelf to view, and in the firſt place, their *Cataphracti*, all arm'd *cap à pie*, with their barded Horſes, which were followed by the Foot, remarkable for their oval and crooked Targets, made of ſticks, that were covered with raw Hides: and in the Rere came up the Elephants, terrible to behold. The Emperour made Head againſt them with his Foot, placed, according to the Order deſcribed by *Homer*, betwixt the Troops; leſt, being firſt expoſed in the Front, they might be borne down, and diſcourage all behind them, or being placed in the Rere, they might have opportunity to run away; he himſelf, with thoſe lightly armed, was ready to fly up and down, and ſuccour all, as need ſhould require. But there was no very great need of his labour in this kind, though he ſpared it not; for the *Romans*, having once broken the Front of their Enemies, drove them back with all violence imaginable; and, notwithſtanding the contrary Endeavours of *Pigranes*, the *Surenas*, and *Narſes*, their moſt able Captains, purſued them as far as the Walls of *Cteſiphon*, which alſo they had entred with them, had not *Victor*, with Hands lift up to Heaven, and as earneſt words as he could utter, being now himſelf wounded in the Shoulder, beſought them to forbear; leſt being got in, they ſhould have been ſlaughtered by the numerous Enemy. Here *Ammianus* falling into a fit of Boaſting, compares the Performance of this day with thoſe of *Hector*, or the Antient *Greeks*, in the *Perſian* War. The Souldier, all bloody as he was, made haſte to the Emperour's Pavilion, and there was not ſparing in congratulatory Expreſſions, for that he had truly ſo demeaned himſelf in the Action, that it could not be diſcerned whether he was a Captain or an ordinary Souldier, and had fought

He grows raſh in his Actions.

Quod cum acri metu territi duces concordi precatu fieri prohibere tentarent, &c.

The *Perſian* Army faceth him,

Aliam ejus rei cauſam Rufus Feſtus, & Libanius produnt, nempe, intraſſet miles niſi major prædarum occaſio fuiſſet quam cura victoriæ.

And is put to flight.

fought with that Succeſs, that about two thouſand and five hundred *Perſians* being left dead upon the Place, only ſeventy of his men had miſcarried. He, in Return of their kindneſs, called ſuch by their Names as he had obſerved to have ſignalized their Valour; and, according to their deſerts, conferred on them *Naval*, *Civick*, and *Caſtrenſian* Garlands.

Sex autem millia Perſarum in hoc prælio occubuiſſe prodit Libanius.

51. Now abundantly concluding with himſelf, that Fate would ſtill continue propitious to him, he prepared for his God *Mars* many Sacrifices. But for all this, ſo skittiſh Fortune would have it, that of ten moſt beautiful Bulls on which was to be conferred this grinning Honour, before ever they came to the Altar, nine, of their own accord, laid themſelves down in great ſadneſs; and the tenth, having broken looſe, though with much ado he was got back, yet being ſacrific'd, reveng'd his Death by ominous Signs. Hereat *Julian*, with violent Indignation, cried out, and call'd *Jove* to witneſs, that he would never ſacrifice more to *Mars*; and ſo verily it came to paſs, and he never recalled his Vow. But calling then a Council of War, ſome propounded that they ſhould fall upon *Cteſiphon*, though they knew it was a moſt Difficult Enterprize, both by reaſon of the vaſt ſtrength of the Place, and for that the King was expected with a very great multitude to come to relieve it. The better way was reſolved on; to ſend *Arintheus* with a ſtrong Party of Foot to waſte the Countrey, and intercept ſuch as lay lurking up and down to watch occaſions for incommoding the Army. He himſelf would now follow his own fancies, ſuggeſted to him by the great Ambition he had of proceeding further, and not liſtening to any Advice given him to the contrary, upbraided his Officers therewith, as thoſe, who out of love to their Eaſe, would perſwade him to loſe the Kingdom of *Perſia*, which was now, in a manner, in his hands. Having furniſhed himſelf with Guides little fit for his Turn, he would needs take the way leading into the mid-land Countreys, and leave the River on his left hand; and, cheated by ſome pretended Fugitives, he moſt unluckily commanded all the Ships to be ſet on fire, exceptt welve of the leſſer ſize; which, being to be taken in pieces, he ordered to be conveyed in Waggons for the making of Bridges, as occaſion ſhould require. That which induc'd him ſo to do, was an unwillingneſs that the Enemy ſhould become Maſters of his Fleet; or elſe, as from the beginning of the Expedition had happened, no fewer than twenty thouſand men muſt be employed in haling and governing theſe Veſſels. But theſe Reaſons were over-ruled by the juſt Fears of every man in the Army, though never ſo valiant, who evidently ſhewed, that, though perhaps the Drought, or height of the Mountains might render the Country unpaſſable, and force them back, yet there could be no Retreat, as he had ordered the matter, and that their Fears were not without ground, the Guides themſelves atteſted, who, being put to torture, ſore againſt his will, as *Zonaras* writes, confeſſed, that they had offered themſelves to the ſervice on ſet purpoſe to deceive him. Late Repentance is better than none at all. The Flames are now ordered to be quenched, and the utmoſt endeavour of the whole Army is uſed to that end; but ſo great progreſs had been made, that moſt of the Veſſels were conſumed, and only twelve could be found that had not been touched by the Fire.

Complures hoſtias Marti parabat ultori.

He reſolves never more to ſacrifice to *Mars*.

He is ambitious and wilful.

Zonaras 700 *triremes cum* 400 *onerariis incenſas eſſe dicit.* Libanius, 15 *naves ad compingendos pontes ait eſſe ſervatas qui quidem eo loci, ut notat Valeſius, multum laborat, ut hoc inconſultum & imprudens Achillis ſui facinus excuſet. Adde Auguſtinum de Civitate* Dei, *lib.* 5. *c.* 29.

He burns his Fleet.

52. The *Perſians* perceiving this his diſadvantage, laid waſte the Countrey as much as poſſible; and ſometimes in one poſture, another while in another, began to inſult over their Enemies, now beſieged in a manner. Both Emperour and Souldier was highly ſenſible of the want of their Boats for making Bridges, and more than that, knew not well how to reſiſt the *Perſians* now preſſing upon them; for the additional Aids expected with *Arſaces*, and the other Captains, could not come at them for want of conveyance, by reaſon of the burning of the Fleet. *Julian*, a little to comfort his Men, cauſed ſome of the Priſoners to be brought forth, who being very lean, and thinne as moſt *Perſians* naturally were, he thence took occaſion to droll upon them and for the naſtineſs of their Hair, and their Cowardiſe, affirming them wont to turn Tail before ever they came to blows. This being eaſily ſaid, and the Captives removed, a Council was held to conſult of what was to be done. Much being alleaged, the ordinary ſort cried out to be led back the ſame way they came, which he and many others oppoſed with reaſon, ſhewing how impoſſible ſuch a Retreat muſt be, all Forage and Proviſions being utterly deſtroyed by waſting of the Countrey; and the Waters every where out; beſides, theſe Tracts ſwarmed ſo with Flies and Gnats, that the trouble of them was intolerable, the Skies being darkened with their vaſt multitudes. All Humane Reaſon failing, they betook themſelves to the Entrails of Beaſts, and thereby conſulted their gods, whether they ſhould return by the way of *Aſſyria*, or gently paſſing by the Feet of the Mountains, fall on *Chiliocomus*, lying near *Corduena*, on a ſudden, and waſte it; neither which were portended to be lucky.

UMI

He marches for *Corduena.*

lucky. It was reſolved then, ſeeing they could do no better, to march for *Corduena*, and on the ſixteenth of *June*, by Break of Day, they ſet forward; when preſently a great Duſt was diſcovered, which ſome imagined to proceed from an infinite number of Aſſes feeding not far off, who were wont to go in a Body together to prevent the Attempts of Lyons upon them. Others thought the Enemy at hand, and therefore the Army united, and in a graſſy Plain, by a Rivers ſide, incamped it ſelf as ſtrongly as might be; for the matter could not be diſcovered all this day. And the Night dark of it ſelf, was ſpent in great Anxiety, none daring ſo much as to ſit down or cloſe his Eyes. But as ſoon as it was light, the gliſtering Armour ſhewed the Kings Forces to be at hand; whereupon, the Emperour reſtrained his Men from making any ſudden Onſet: but the Fore-guards met and skirmiſhed; and *Machameus*, a *Roman* Leader, was killed; whoſe Death, *Maurus*, his Brother, afterward *Dux* of *Phœnicia*, revenged upon him that ſlew him, by ſending him the ſame way; and, with a Wound received in his ſhoulder, brought off the dead Body. The *Perſians* at length were forced to retire; and ſo were the *Saracens* that hovered about to fall upon the Baggage.

Ammianus, lib. 25.

53. The Emperour then held on his courſe, and came to a Village called *Hucumbra*, where they reſted for two dayes; and beyond expectation, had plenty of all things. The day following, having ſet fire to all they could not carry away, they proceeded ſlowly, and the *Perſians* fell in upon their Rear, but were repulſed by the Horſe, with loſs of a Noble *Satrapa*, one *Adaces*, who had been Ambaſſadour to *Conſtantius*, and was very well received: he that kill'd him, preſented what he took from him to *Julian*, and received a Reward ſuitable to the Action. The ſame day, a Party, or Regiment of Horſe, called *Tertiaci*, was accuſed by the Legions of deſerting them, and ſlipping away in an Engagement; by which Cowardiſe the whole Army had been well nigh diſcouraged. The Emperour hereat inraged, took the Enſignes from ſuch as were Convicted of the Crime, and breaking their Spears, cauſed them to march behind with the Baggage, and Priſoners; their Leader, who was found to have valiantly demeaned himſelf, being appointed to Command another Party, the Tribune whereof was alſo found to have run away. And four other Tribunes were alſo caſhier'd for the ſame fault: *Julian* contenting himſelf with this more moderate ſort of Puniſhment, in conſideration of the hardneſs of the Service. Having proceeded ſome miles further, to a place called *Marangæ*, a great multitude of *Perſians* appeared, who were Commanded by *Merenes* the General of the Horſe, accompanied by two of the Kings Sons, and very many of the Nobility. All theſe men were armed *cap à pie*, ſo as an Arrow could find no entrance, except in the little holes of their Armour, through which they ſaw or breathed; they uſed the Bow very dextrouſly; ſome fought with Lances, and they were all guarded by Elephants; with the ſmell, Noiſe and Sight of which Beaſts the Horſes of the *Romans* were much terrified. Their Riders who govern'd them, ever ſince the Overthrow they received at *Niſibis*, had large Knives hung at their Arms; that if they grew head-ſtrong and ungovernable, they might therewith wound them in the *Vertebra* of the Neck (for there alone they were mortally vulnerable, as was experimented once by *Aſdrubal* the Brother of *Annibal*) and by their death the miſchief might be prevented of raging and treading down thoſe of their own ſide, as fell out at the ſaid Battel of *Niſibis*, to the loſs of ten thouſand men, as ſome have written. *Julian*, putting on ſuch a countenance as might beſt diſſemble the Terrour into which they were all caſt at the ſight, drew his Battel into the form of an half Moon, and fell with ſuch violence upon the *Perſians*, that they broke their Ranks, after great ſlaughter. The *Romans* had much the advantage, but the Souldier on both ſides was ſo tired, as well by the great heat, as the fatigue of the Battel, and his Wounds, that three dayes Truce was willingly agreed on. Yet, this notwithſtanding, the *Roman* was little at his eaſe, having Reſt, but a very hungry Belly; for no Proviſions were to be had, the Corn and Graſs, and every other thing conducing to the ſuſtenance both of Man and Beaſt, being burnt up. There was no other Relief, but for the ordinary Souldier to be ſupplied as far as it would go, with what the great Officers had provided for themſelves, and what had been got for the Table of the Emperour, who contented himſelf with the fare of the very meaneſt, being indeed abſtemious to a wonder.

Is met by a great Power of the *Perſians.*

A Truce for three days.

54. After a ſhort and troubleſome ſleep, having, in imitation of *Julius Cæſar*, applied himſelf to the Writing of the opinion of ſome Philoſopher; when the dark and ſilent Night conduced much to his privacy, the Publick *Genius* which he ſaw when he came to be Emperour, in *Gall*, now again appeared to him, as he confeſſed to his Friends, in a ſorrowful Habit and Poſture, having the Head covered with a *Cornucopia*, and ſo in ſadneſs went its way. At the Sight he was aſtoniſhed at the preſent, but being above all fear, he commended the Iſſue of all things to what was De-

Sect. 5.

A. D. 363.

creed above, and riſing from his Pallet on the Ground, went to his Devotions, and then ſaw an Exhalation in the Skies in the ſhape of a Torch, falling down, which, having paſſed a good part of the Air, ſuddenly vaniſhed. He was terribly afraid that it was the Star of *Mars*, which menaced him in this manner; and e're it was yet day, cauſed the *Hetruſcan Aruſpices* to be ſent for, who being conſulted about the meaning of it, affirmed out of the *Tarquitian* Books, in the Title concerning Divine Matters, that upon the appearance of ſuch a Meteor, all Fighting was to be forborn; and when *Julian* contemned it, they entreated him that he would deferr his March ſome few hours; But he hardned himſelf againſt all things of this nature; and when it was light, gave order for the Army to diſlodge. The *Perſians* not daring to come to a formal Engagement, diſtreſſed them upon the Flank, as they ſaw opportunity, and fell in upon the Reare; of which, word being brought to the Emperour, he forgot to put on his Armour, and only ſnatching up a Target in the Tumult, ran to their Relief; when again he was recalled by a freſh Alarm, that the Foot was attacqued in the ſame manner. Labouring to repell this Violence, without any regard had to his own Perſon, a Party of the *Perſians*, being thoſe called *Cataphracti*, ſet upon the middle Battel, and diſtreſſed the left Wing, the *Romans* not being able to endure the Noiſe and Smell of the Elephants. Notwithſtanding this, the Emperour ſo beſtirr'd himſelf, that he reſtor'd the Battel to an hopeful Poſture; and now the *Perſians* giving Ground, with hands lifted up, he urged his men to the Purſuit, without any Care of himſelf, though thoſe that were near him, adviſed him not to purſue the numerous and powerful Enemy too far. Neglecting all Counſel he was ſtruck through the Arm into the ſide, and the lower lobe of his Liver, with an Horſe-mans Javelin, it's uncertain how, which endeavouring to pull out he cut his Fingers; and falling upon the Neck of his Horſe was brought into his Tent and dreſſed. The Pain being ſomething abated; he called for his Arms and Horſe, that by his Preſence he might animate his men, and reinforce the Fight; but his ſtrength would not anſwer his Inclination, ſo much was he weakned by a Flux of Blood. Now he deſpaired of Life, when he underſtood the place where he was hurt to be called *Phrygia*; for in *Phrygia* it had been told him that he muſt dye.

Tarquitius libros de Etruſca diſciplina & Oſtentarium Thuſcum conſcripſerat, ut ex Plinio & Macrobio notat Val.

The *Perſians* fall upon the *Roman* Army.

Idem alii.

At vero Libanius ait inermem tunc fuiſſe Julianum quod Perſas ubique vicerat quæ nimia ſui fiducia in tanto Duce nequaquam ferenda eſt.

Itaque meritò in victoris Epitome reprehenditur.

He receives a Wound in his ſide.

Is carried into his Tent.

55. The Emperour being conveyed into his Tent, incredible it is with what Rage his Souldiers breathed after Revenge, which they teſtified, by the beating of their Targets with their Lances, and obſtinately reſolved to dye with him, if it ſhould ſo happen. Though they were even blind with Duſt, and melted with Heat, yet did they, as having now no Governour, ruſh on upon the Enemy, who on the other ſide, ſore galled them with his Arrows, and reſtrained their Violence by the Interpoſition of his Elephants. The noiſe and ſhouting of armed men, Grones of ſuch as fell, ſnorting of Horſes, and claſhing of Weapons was heard afar off, and continued even till dark Night put an End to them. Fifty *Satrapa*'s and noble *Perſians* were killed; beſides a vaſt number of the ordinary ſort. Of the *Romans* fell *Anatolius* the *Magiſter Officiorum*; the right Wing of the Army being worſted after the Diſaſter which hapned to the Emperour. *Salluſtius* the *Præfect* was reſcued from Deſtruction by one of his *Apparitors*; but *Phoſphorius* his Councellor, or Aſſiſtant, was ſlain, and ſome Souldiers having paſſed through very great Dangers, ſeized on a neighbouring Caſtle, and therein ſecuring themſelves, joyned the Army after three dayes. But, while the Fight continued, *Julian* lay languiſhing in his Tent, and finding thoſe about him very ſorrowful and dejected to ſee him in that Caſe, comforted himſelf and them after this manner. The time of departing " this Life, is, my Companions, now arrived, which as an honeſt and well meaning " Debtor, I gladly repay to Nature; and not, as ſome believe, with Reluctancy " and Sorrow; for by the common Opinion of Philoſophers I am ſufficiently in- " ſtructed, in how much more bleſſed Condition the Soul is than the Body; and " am ſatisfied that when one paſſes out of a worſe into a better Eſtate, he ought to " rejoyce rather than be troubled, conſidering alſo that the cœleſtial Gods reward " the moſt pious men with Death, as the greateſt Reward of all others. I alſo am " aſſured that it happens to me after the ſame manner, leſt I ſhould fall under ſo " heavy Burthens as I undergoe, or do any thing unworthy of my ſelf, having yet " ever found by Experience, that Sorrows and Pains, as they domineer over Cow- " ards, ſo are eaſily overcome by valiant Perſons. Neither doth it repent me of " mine Actions, nor the Remembrance of any Wickedneſs afflict me; either com- " mitted at ſuch time as I lay in the Shade and in Corners as I could, and ſtudied " Virtue; or ſince I came to the Government. I think I have kept my ſelf blame- " leſs and without Blemiſh, as one deſcended from the Gods above, in times of Peace " governing with Moderation; and not without good Conſideration, making ei- "

Caſtellum vaccatum.

Makes a Speech to thoſe about him.

ther offenſive or defenſive Wars, though the Iſſue was not alwayes anſwerable; for the celeſtial Powers alone have the Sovereignty of Events. Concluding with my ſelf that the end of Government is the Advantage and Safety of good Subjects, I have ever been, as you know, more inclined to Peace and Tranquillity; by the whole Courſe of mine actions oppoſing Licentiouſneſs, as that which corrupts both Things and Manners, and whitherſoever my Mother, the Commonwealth, how imperiouſly ſoever, called me, though to never ſo dangerous a Poſt; there have I ſtood immoveable, being accuſtomed to deſpiſe all fortuitous Events. I will not be aſhamed to confeſs that I have heretofore underſtood that I ſhould dye in War. And therefore I adore and praiſe the eternal Divinity, that I periſh not by any Conſpiracy, nor languiſh through the Force of a Diſeaſe; nor am I condemned to Death (he thought, it's probable, upon his Brothers End) but in the middle Courſe of my flouriſhing Glories, I have deſerved ſo famous a Paſſage out of this World. He is equally to be eſteemed a Coward who deſires to dye, when he ought to live; as he who ſhuns Death when it comes conveniently. Thus much it may ſuffice to have ſpoken; my Strength now failing me. Concerning my Succeſſour I wittingly ſay nothing, leſt through Imprudence I ſhould paſs by a worthy Perſon; or by naming one I conceive fitly qualified, if another ſhould chance to be preferred, bring him into imminent Danger. But as a dutiful Son of the Commonwealth, I wiſh her a good Governour in my room.

Non itaque Chriſtianorum ſublatus eſt inſidiis, qui à Juliano depreſſi & vexati tandem oblatâ occaſione facinus peregerunt, ut vult Libanius. Eutropius, Feſtus Rufus, ac Victoris Epitome eum ab hoſtium equite & quidem fugiente Conto percuſſum eſſe memorant. Et quidem Eutropius, ut Marcellinus, etiam huic Expeditioni interfuit.

56. Having mildly ſpoken thus much, he diſpoſed his private Eſtate to ſuch as were neareſt in Kindred to him, and inquired after *Anatolius* the *Magiſter Officiorum. Salluſt* the *Præfect* made anſwer, that he *was happy*; by which uſual Phraſe of Speech underſtanding that he was dead, he much bewailed his Misfortune. Obſerving thoſe that were near him to weep, he gravely rebuked them, affirming it a pitiful mean thing to bemoan a Prince that was a Friend to Heaven and the Stars. They being thus ſilenc'd, he entred into a Subtile Diſcourſe with *Maximus* and *Priſcus* two Philoſophers, concerning the Sublimity of Souls, till ſuch time as the Wound gaping and the Tumour of the Veſſels intercepting his Breath, having called for a draught of cold Water, about midnight he the more eaſily expired; in the two and thirtieth year of his Age. He was born at *Conſtantinople*, of *Conſtantius* the Brother of *Conſtantine* the Great, (who was made away by his Nephews, while this his Son was yet a Child) and of *Baſilina* a woman of very noble Deſcent. A man truly to be reckoned amongſt Heroick Wits, and otherwiſe conſiderable for the Eminence of his Actions; and his Majeſtick Comportment. For whereas, as wiſe men define, there are four Cardinal Vertues, *viz. Temperance*, *Prudence*, *Juſtice* and *Fortitude*, beſides others contributing to perfect Accompliſhments, as Knowledge in Military Matters, Authority, Felicity and Liberality, he intently ſtudied the Practice of them all. As for the firſt he was ſo invincibly chaſte, that after the Death of his Wife, he never had to do with any woman, remembring that Paſſage in *Plato*, how *Sophocles* the Tragœdian, when grown old, being asked whether he made Uſe of that Sex, denied that he did, adding withal, that he rejoyced to think how he was freed from that cruel and domineering Paſſion. And to ſtrengthen him in this Reſolution, he often called to mind the Saying of *Bachilides* the Lyrick Poet (in whoſe Writings he much delighted) that as an excellent Limner lively expreſſeth the Beauty of a good Face, ſo Chaſtity ſets off with Luſtre the Perfections of a good Life. But even in his youth he could never be ſuſpected as guilty of any Intemperance this way, by thoſe who had the greateſt Reaſon to know him. And to obtain this Power over himſelf, he took the true and natural Courſe, of Moderation in Eating, Drinking and Sleep; wherein he was conſtant and exact at all times. For, in time of Peace the ſlenderneſs of his Fare was to be admired, even as of one who was ſpeedily to return to the *Pallium*, or the Contemplative Life; and often was he ſeen in his Expeditions to eate ſome ſlight and ordinary thing, walking upon his Feet. Having a little refreſhed his weary Body, hardned by Labours, he would riſe and viſit the Guards and Sentinels himſelf. And if the Lights, by which he ſtudied could have born Witneſs, they would in earneſt have diſcovered a great Difference betwixt him and ſome other Princes; knowing that he indulged not his Pleaſures, no not ſo far as the very Neceſſities of Nature required.

And dies.

The Character given him by *Ammianus.*

His Virtues.

57. Of his Prudence theſe were ſufficient Evidences amongſt many more: He was excellently ſeen in martial Affairs, and moſt ſtudious he was of Matters relating to Peace and civil Government; aſcribing ſo much to himſelf as to preſerve him from Contempts, with Prevention of Inſolence. In Virtue he was older than in years, was deſirous of all ſorts of Knowledge, a Judge not to be biaſſed to one ſide or other; a moſt ſharp Cenſurer of Manners; one who eaſily contemned Riches,

and deſpiſed all Mortal things: and had often this ſaying in his Mouth, That *it was unſeemly for a Wiſe man that was poſſeſſed of a Soul, to ſeek for commendation from any thing relating to his Body.* As to his Juſtice, that no leſs was Eminent in ſeveral particulars. He was, according to the different nature of Matters brought before him, awful, but without Cruelty. By the puniſhment of ſome few, he reſtrained the ſpreading of Vice, and rather ſhook the Rod than ſtruck with it: and (to omit many other inſtances) to open Enemies and Traitors he was ſo Merciful, that he mitigated the ſharpneſs of their Puniſhment by that Mildneſs which was Natural to him. His Fortitude ſufficiently appeared in the frequency of his Fights, and the Uſe of his Arms; beſides his enduring the extremity both of Cold and Heat. The Duty of a Souldier is diſcharged by the Body; that of a General by the Mind: Yet did he, with his own hand, kill ſeveral ſtout and terrible Enemies; and by oppoſing himſelf to manifeſt dangers, he ſometimes ſtopped his Men when running away. The Kingdoms of the furious *Germans* he overturned, and now, in the War of *Perſia*, by venturing himſelf with the firſt, very much encouraged his Souldiers. The manner of his Attacquing Cities and Caſtles, the various forms of his Battels, as occaſion urged, his cautious Encampings, and his ordering matters relating to the *Prætenturæ* and Stations upon the Borders, diſcovered what his skill was in things relating to the Field. His Authority was of that weight, that he was both beloved and feared; as a Companion in Labours and Dangers; and yet as one who was ready to animadvert upon Cowards, and other ſorts of Offenders; inſomuch, that when he was yet but *Cæſar*, he governed an Army that was not paid, and that oppoſed againſt fierce and daring Enemies; he appeaſed them, when mutinous, by threatning, that except they would be quiet, he would depart, and return to a private Life; and, which may ſerve for many evidences of this nature, by his Entreaty he drew the *Gallican* Souldier, inured to cold Froſts and blaſts upon the *Rhine*, through long and tedious wayes, into ſcorching *Aſſyria*, and the Confines of the *Medes*. His Felicity was ſo eminent, that he ſeemed to be borne up aloft upon the ſhoulders of Fortune, through all Difficulties. Though he removed from the Weſt to a vaſt diſtance, yet, ſo long as he lived, all Nations continued ſtedfaſt in their Obedience. Of his Liberality he gave manifeſt proofs, in that his Tributes were very eaſie, the *Aurum Coronarium* he remitted, and forgave Arrears that had been long owing; indifferently judged betwixt the Treaſury and private Perſons; reſtored Tolls and Lands to Cities from which they had been taken; except ſuch as had been ſold by ſufficient Authority: In concluſion, he never coveted to be Rich, concluding that Money would be moſt cautiouſly preſerved in the hands of the Owners, and commending the Anſwer of *Alexander* the Great, to ſuch as demanded where he kept his Treaſure: that it was in the Coffers of his Friends.

His Vices.

58. His Vices were, a light Humour; wherein yet he would be adviſed and corrected: Talkativeneſs, to ſuch Exceſs that his Tongue never lay ſtill: Immoderate ſearching after Divinations, wherein he ſeemeth to have been as extravagant as his Predeceſſor *Adrian*. Superſtitious he was, rather than any due Obſerver of ſuch Rites; for he would ſacrifice an Innumerable Company of Beaſts; inſomuch that had he returned out of *Perſia*, it's thought that Bullocks would have failed him, as formerly *Marcus Cæſar* was twitted by a Libel upon that account. Vainglorious he was, and intemperately hunted for Praiſe and Fame in matters the moſt trivial that could be; and through a Thirſt of Popularity often affected to talk with contemptible Perſons. Yet for all this it might be well thought, that, as he himſelf ſaid (if he ſhould have done it) old *Juſtice*, which being offended by the Vices of Men, was by *Aratus* lifted up into Heaven, returned down to the Earth in his Reign; if doing ſome things according to his arbitrary Will, he had not acted unlike himſelf. He made ſome moderate and good Laws, both abſolutely commanding and forbidding things to be done; but a few of another nature; amongſt which, that unmerciful one whereby he forbade Rhetoricians and Grammarians, that were Chriſtians, to teach, leſt they ſhould convert their Scholars from the worſhip of the Gods. In like manner that was intollerable, that he ſuffered many unjuſtly to be obliged to ſervices of Corporations, being either Strangers, or by reaſon of Privilege, or Original, far eſtranged from thoſe Bodies. His Stature was of the middle ſize, his Hair hanging down without curling, his Beard rough and picked, his Eyes ſparkling, his Forehead comely, his Noſe ſtraight, his Mouth ſomething large, his nether Lip hanging down. Broad Shouldred he was, and his Arms and Hands of ſuitable Proportion, his Limbs very well ſet both for Strength and Nimbleneſs. And becauſe his Detractors accuſe him as having cauſed Wars and Commotions to the Detriment of the Commonwealth, ſuch ought to know for certain, that

οἱ λευκοὶ βόες Μάρκῳ τῷ καισαρι Ἂν συ-νικήσῃς, ἡμεῖς ἀπωλόμεθα.

that it was not *Julian*, but *Conſtantius* that kindled the Flames of the *Parthian* War, out of deſire of Revenge (having been cheated by the Lies of *Metrodorus*) for that many Armies were loſt, Cities ſeized, Forts taken or deſtroyed, the Provinces exhauſted, and all things tended to Ruine; the *Perſians* having pierced as far as *Bithynia* and the Shore of *Propontis*. In *Gall*, the *Germans* were ſo bold, that having haraſſed all that Country, they were about to paſs into *Italy* over the *Alpes*; and ſuch were the Miſeries of the Provincials that they had nothing they could account certain, but Tears and Terrors; the Memory of things paſt being grievous, and the Expectation of what was to come ſtill more troubleſom. All theſe Diſorders this young man, being thither ſent under the Vizard of *Cæſar*, redreſſed, and dealing with Kings no otherwiſe than ſo many ignoble ſlaves, with wonderful Celerity diſpatched. That he might in the ſame manner reſtore matters in the Eaſt, he ſet upon the *Perſians*; and from that Attempt had brought back both matter for a Triumph, and a Sirname (of *Parthicus* after which he ſorely thirſted) had the heavenly Decrees been anſwerable to his illuſtrious Councils and Exploits. Some there are indeed, who though often beaten will yet unadviſedly fight again; and others who though they have ſuffered ſeveral Shipwracks, will ſtill Court the ſame Dangers they formerly underwent; but who is he that can affirm this Prince, who was ever victorious, to have done the like?

Vide Valeſii Annot. de Metrodoro.

59. Reader, all this while thou peruſeſt *Ammianus* in another Language, who having been preſent in this Expedition, and an Eye-witneſs of what paſſed, is rather to be made Uſe of in this matter than any other, eſpecially than *Zoſimus*, who tells another ſort of Story concerning this Journey, differing not only in Circumſtances, but in Names. Others relate ſome other Circumſtances of his Death, which are not much to be heeded, nor of Conſequence whether they were true or not. Concerning his Character, *Pagan* writers fully agree with *Ammianus*, whoſe great Affection to him is moſt evident, and that for ſuch Reaſons, as the contrary Arguments have, poſſibly, cauſed others to be as ſevere, as he is indulgent to his Memory. That we might ſhun this dangerous Rock of Partiality we have not omitted any thing remarkable alleaged by himſelf or his Friends in his Commendation, but to make it more expreſſive, given it in their own terms, or manner of Speech, though often harſh; and therefore may be excuſed, if in another place, wherein his Actions in reference to Religion are to be ſcanned, we make a ſevere Scrutiny into his Virtue, ſo much celebrated by one ſort of men. Here we ſhall only ſay in ſhort, That it cannot be denied, but that he was a man of Excellent Parts, and that ſuch as ſay the contrary incur the other Extreme, and deſerve part of that Cenſure which ſo juſtly falls heavy upon lying *Zoſimus*. His Atchievements againſt the Germans were extraordinary, conſidering his young years, and that he had been Educated in the Study of Letters, not of Arms, and was accuſtomed to the *Pallium*, not the *Chlamys*. His abſtinence, as to Corporal Pleaſures, was to be admired, and other things were very commendable in him, if he did not abſtain and act on purpoſe to be ſeen of men. But, whereas his Admirers are wont to aggrandize his Actions againſt the *Germans* by the number of the Kings of ſuch Nations as there he maſtered; they ſeem very impertinent in ſo doing, to ſuch as very well underſtand, that theſe Nations were but *Tribes* or *Clanns* of the ſame Countrey, and theſe Kings but *Reguli*, and the ſeveral Sons of the ſame *Reguli*, whoſe Kingdoms may be more truly termed *Pagi* than Realms. And, in my poor judgment, all Partiality and Prejudice put aſide, they cannot conceal theſe Flyes which appear ſo noxious in the ſweet Ointment of his Virtues; *viz.* that extraordinary Vain-glory and Oſtentation with which he appears more to have ſwelled, than any man that ever we read of, if his Hiſtorian hath given us a true Account of his Speeches, and the general and conſtant manner of his Demeanour. But the Efficacy of his Pagan Religion could not reach ſo inward and potent a Vice, which makes its fortification in the Heart; nothing could do it but that from which he thought fit to Apoſtatize. However, Scholars are to rejoyce, that the great Honour procured to Learning, from the Conduct of Armies, and Succeſs of Arms, by *Epaminondas* and *Xenophon*, was really continued and augmented by him. And yet poſſibly, he was in the number of thoſe Princes, who had the more of Fame, becauſe they had ſo little of Life; Time and Temptations diſcovering the frailties of glorious, but not well-founded beginnings: to be ſure he altered much from that Clemency he firſt pretended toward Chriſtians, and ſhewed the virulency of his Humour. But now we find him dead; and, as he himſelf ſaid of *Conſtantius*, Let the Earth, according to the *Greek* Proverb, lye light upon him. We ſhall only add, that he died on the twenty ſixth of *June*, in the ſecond Year of his Reign, and the two and thirtieth of his Age; in his fourth Conſulſhip, which he bore with *Salluſt*, *A. D.* CCCLXIII.

CHAP.

THE
ROMAN EMPIRE.

CHAP. II.
The Middle State or Condition of the Empire. From the Death of *Julian* to that of *Theodoſius* the Great.

SECT. I.
From the Death of Julian, *the laſt of the Family of* Conſtantine, *to that of* Jovian; *the ſpace of Seven Moneths and odd Days.*

Great Contention about a new Emperour.

A.D. 363.

1. JULIAN being dead, the next day early in the morning the Officers, with the Principals of the Legions and Troops, met in Council, the Enemy now lying round about them. Great and turbulent Diſſention there was about the Election of an Emperor, whileſt *Arintheus* and *Victor*, who remained of *Conſtantine* his Courtiers, laboured to have one of their own Faction: and on the other ſide, *Nevita* and *Dagalaiphus*, with the Commanders of the *Galls*, endeavoured to prefer a Man of their own Acquaintance and Intereſt. At length they all pitch'd upon *Saluſt* the *Prefect*, a very Worthy Perſon; but he excuſing himſelf by Infirmity and Old Age, when they were at a ſtand not knowing what to do, ſome few made mention of *Jovian*, and in ſo deſperate a caſe he was elected. He was the Principal *Premicerius*, or chief of the *Domeſtick Protectors*, the Son of *Varronian*, who was of the Rank of *Comites*, and very Eminent, being a Native of *Singidunum* in *Pannonia*, who having loſt many Children, was commanded in a Dream to call his next Son by the Name of *Jovian*, and had lately retired to a Private Life. The Army lying abroad, to the extent of four miles, upon the Acclamation and Shout of *Jovianus Auguſtus*, thoſe that were in the Front miſtook the Name, and thinking *Julian* to be recovered, out of an ill-grounded Joy much more augmented the Solemn Cry; though finding afterward their miſtake, they turned it into Tears and Lamentations. *Jovian* thus promoted, an Enſign-bearer of thoſe Souldiers called *Joviani*, who had been commanded by *Varronian*, and maligned his Officer, fearing that he who had detracted from the Father ſhould now be puniſhed by the Son, fled over to the *Perſians*, and getting ſpeech of the King, acquainted him with the Death of his Enemy, and how by a company of contentious Fellows, in a tumultuous manner, one *Jovian* was choſen a kind of Emperour, who formerly had been but a *Protector*, and was now no better than a Coward. *Sapor* gladly hearing the News he had ſo long wiſhed for, and elevated by freſh hopes, gathered his Men together for a freſh Onſet, with reſolution to fall on the Rear of the *Roman* Army. The Entrals of Beaſts being conſulted for *Jovian*, as *Ammianus* tells us (though ſurely not by his Command) he being of a Religion oppoſite to all ſuch Superſtition, promiſed Security if he removed, but deſtruction if he continued within the Trenches.

Jovian is choſen.

At Zoſimus & Zonaras poſt Joviani tandem mortem, Imperium omnium conſenſu delatum eſſe Saluſtio narrant, quod quidem ipſe ſenectutem cauſatus conſtanti animo recuſavit: filio verò quod adhuc is junior eſſet, deferri noluit.

The Army marcheth,

2. Iſſuing out of the Camp he was preſently attacqued by the *Perſians* with their Elephants placed in the Front. By them both Men and Horſes were much diſturbed, till the *Joviani* and *Herculiani* killed ſome, and opened their way to the Horſe; and then being ſuccoured by the Legions of the *Jovii* and *Victores*, did great Execution, with the loſs of *Julianus*, *Macrobius*, and *Maximus*, three valiant Tribunes and principal Officers of the Army. They being buried as the time and urgency of Affairs would permit, *Jovian* proceeded to a Caſtle called *Sumerſe*, when it was now almoſt Night; but there the Body of *Anatolius* was found and committed to the Earth alſo in a tumultuous manner, and ſixty Souldiers, who (together with the *Palatine* Guards) had betaken themſelves to a neighbouring Caſtle after the Fight, recovered the Army. The day following they encamped as they could in a Valley, and drew a Line for their defence, which they ſecured by ſharp Stakes, and left but one Paſſage out of ſufficient capacity. Hereupon the Enemy infeſted them both by

A Diocletiano, cui Jovii; A Maximiano, cui Herculei cognomen acceſſit.

Arms and Words, reviling them as Traitors and the Murderers of an Excellent Prince, for they had heard that *Julian* fell by the Hand of a *Roman*; and a Party of their Horſe had the confidence to break into the Camp well nigh as far as the Emperors Pavilion, but were beaten back with great loſs. Diſcamping thence the night following they came to *Charcha*, a place ſafe enough, where the Enemy did not at all infeſt them; and on the fifth of *July* reached a City called *Dura*, the Carriage Beaſts being now ſo tired, that they that governed them marching on foot, had been cut off by the *Saracens*, but that they were relieved by ſome of the Light Horſe-men. The *Saracens* had been lately offended by *Julian*, to whom having recourſe for the Penſions formerly allowed them, they had this Anſwer returned, That a warlike and vigilant Emperor was wont to have Steel, but no Gold. About this place they were forced to ſtay four days, for the *Perſians* ſtill dogged them at the heels; and when they turned head to give them Battel, again retreated, and ſo forced them to ſpend the time in Delays. But now they were told by ſome buſier than the reſt, that they were near their own Confines, and thereupon the whole Army required, and that in a multuous manner, that they might paſs over the River *Tigris*. The Emperor and the Officers earneſtly oppoſed it, ſhewing that now upon riſing of the Dog Star, the Waters were exceedingly increaſed; and further urging, that moſt of them could not ſwim, and that the Enemy had ſeized the further Bank, they deſired them not to precipitate themſelves into ſo manifeſt danger. But they were impatient of Contradiction, and proceeded as far as to Threats: whereupon he commanded the *Galls*, who were accuſtomed to ſwimming, firſt to take the Water, that if they periſhed in the Attempt, the reſt might be taught by their Deſtruction to learn Obedience; but if they came to Shore, the Paſſage might be proſecuted with the greater confidence.

Differt à Dura Meſopotamiæ, cùm civitas eſſet trans Tigrim ſita.

Mutinies, and will needs paſs over *Tigris.*

3. Some of theſe *Galls* entering the River in the night ſooner recovered the further Bank than was imagined, and killing the *Perſian* Guards whom they found aſleep, thereof gave notice to the Army. The Souldiers having underſtood their ſucceſs by their Signal, were hereby violently moved to take Water, where ſome Undertakers engaged by the uſe of Bladders to frame a ſufficient Bridge for their Tranſportation. Whileſt this they endeavoured to accompliſh to ſmall effect, *Sapor* the King of *Perſia* was not a little perplexed in his mind. He being abſent of late had underſtood how matters had paſſed ſince his departure, that ſo many Men were ſlain, and ſo many Elephants killed, as he had not been accuſtomed to hear of, and conſidered that by theſe continual Exerciſes and Labours the *Romans* were rendered more hardy and ſerviceable, and after the fall of their late Emperor would not have reſpect ſo much to their own ſafety, as meditate Revenge even to ſuch extremity, as either to overthrow the Difficulties wherewith they were ſurrounded by a notable Victory, or elſe finiſh the courſe of their toil and hardſhip by death it ſelf. Moreover, he knew that further Supplies might ſpeedily be gathered out of the neighbouring Provinces, and indeed that another Army lay in *Meſopotamia*, not much inferiour to this. He was ſenſible that his own People was much haraſſed and diſcompoſed by frequent loſſes, and waſting of the Country, and began to apprehend ſeveral diſadvantages, and that the iſſue might be pernicious on his own ſide; but hearing of this bold Attempt of five hundred *Galls*, he reſolved to offer *Jovian* Conditions in a time ſo critical, when the Bridge could not be completed by reaſon of the ſtrong Current, and all Proviſions being ſpent two days before, the Souldier was enraged with Anger and Famine, and deſired to end his days rather by the Sword, than by ſo pitiful a death as that of Starving. But the Conditions he propounded by the *Surenas* and another Nobleman, were hard and perplexed, and four days were ſpent in the Treaty, managed on the *Roman* part by *Saluſt* the *Prefect*, and *Arintheus*, the Army in the mean time languiſhing with Famine. He pretended he was moved by Humane Compaſſion, to permit the Retreat of the Remainders of *Julians* Army; in conſideration whereof he would ask but his own, which the Emperor *Maximian* had ſo unjuſtly taken from him. He demanded the five Regions beyond *Tigris*, *viz.* *Arzanena*, *Moxoena*, *Zabdicena*, *Rhehimena*, and *Corduena*, together with fifteen Caſtles, beſides *Niſibis*, *Singara*, and *Caſtra Maurorum*, a Fort of very great conſequence. *Ammianus* tells us, that it had been better to have fought ten times over, than to have yielded to the leaſt of theſe things, but the fearful Prince was perſuaded to grant them by a company of Flatterers, who terrified him with the Name of *Procopius*, as who undoubtedly npon the report of *Julians* Death would ſet up for himſelf, having an Army at his devotion for that very purpoſe. He hardly obtained, that the Inhabitants of *Niſibis* and *Singara* might be removed into the *Roman* Territories; and conſented to a thing which our Hiſtorian terms pernicious and impious, which was, that he ſhould not aſſiſt *Arſaces* King of *Armenia* againſt the *Perſians*, though

Sapor inclines to give them good Conditions.

A Truce for 30 years upon what terms.

though a conſtant and faithful Friend of the Empire. This *Sapor* preſſed upon two accounts; that he might be revenged on *Arſaces* for having waſted *Chiliocomus* at the Emperors inſtance; and be capable of invading *Armenia* at his pleaſure. And hereupon it happened afterwards, both that *Arſaces* was taken Priſoner, and that part of *Armenia* bordering on the *Medes*, with *Artaxata*, was during theſe Diſturbances ſeized by the *Parthians*. For performance of the Conditions Hoſtages were exchanged; on the *Roman* part *Nevita*, *Victor*, and *Mellobaudes*, Eminent Tribunes of the Army; on the *Perſian*, *Bineſes*, one of the chiefeſt of the Nobility, and three other *Satrapa's* of note and quality.

Various Reflections by Writers upon it.

4. This Peace thus concluded for thirty years, and religiouſly ſworn to, is as remarkable as any Paſſage of theſe Times; and various are the Reflections which Writers make upon it, according to the diverſity of their Inclinations. That it was very ignominious all agree, the *Romans* having not been accuſtomed to part with their Territories, though ſometimes they received notable Defeats. Some held there was no neceſſity of making it, as *Ammianus* by conſequence; for if what he writes be not a groundleſs Conjecture, *Jovian* might eaſily have marched away before the Treaty began, and while the *Perſians* were making the Overture, into *Corduena*, a Country fertile within his own Dominions, and diſtant but an hundred miles. Others ſay, that the Agreement was neceſſary, but blame him for not breaking it ſo ſoon as he was in a capacity to do it: and *Eutropius* inſtanceth in War made notwithſtanding ſuch Accords, upon the *Samnites*, *Numantines*, and *Numidians*; adding that this Peace was not ratified, but that *Jovian* fearing an Æmulator, therein little conſulted his Glory. If the Peace was neceſſary, *Jovian* can neither be blamed that he made it, nor that he did not break it. It was *Julian* who was the Author of the neceſſity, whom not onely Chriſtian Writers accuſe of raſh Ambition and Wilfulneſs as to this point; but *Ammianus* too, as we have lately ſeen, for he was little better than fool-hardy in the matter of burning of his Ships; for although this courſe hath been taken otherwhiles, as might be inſtanced in ſeveral, who did it to cauſe their men to fight, by ſeeing all hope of Eſcape cut off from them; yet hath it been practiſed either by thoſe, whoſe great Temerity hath overtopped their Prudence, or in caſe of ſome extraordinary matter to be obtained by the fortune of one Battel, when the meanneſs of the preſent Condition of the Perſon, in reſpect of that great Fortune he ſhould arrive at by the ſucceſs of ſo hazardous an Enterprize, hath prudently excited him to venture Life and all. Such young, ambitious, and raſh Perſons as *Alexander* the Great, and others, the Conqueſts of whom are to be aſcribed to Fortune, not to Conduct, might well have been by Juvenile Heat excited to ſuch an act of Deſperation: or the Kingdom of *England* might eaſily have tempted a Duke of *Normandy* to burn his Ships, and lay Life and all things at the ſtake. To which we may adde, that if ſometimes ſuch Extremities have been imbraced by thoſe who have been excluded from their Rights, or caſt out of Poſſeſſion, the juſt indignation thence conceived, and the miſerable eſtate to which they have been reduced, have afforded ſufficient Arguments, not onely for their Excuſe, but Commendation. But all ſeem to be wanting to *Julian*, upon an exact ſcrutiny into this matter: For to conſider the Ends of his entering upon this War, the Reputation and Safety of the Empire, could onely be ſufficient Motives to the Undertaking. But Reputation was through his natural vain glorious Temper, as his Friends confeſs, turned into Ambition and ſtubborn Opiniaſtrity, while to purchaſe the Title of *Parthius*, he would as in other particulars, ſo in this eſpecially of burning his Ships, ſacrifice not onely his own ſafety, but that of his whole Army, contrary to the Counſel and Prayers of all his Officers. That ſafety which he ought in reaſon to propoſe to himſelf, could be no other than that of the bordering Provinces of the Empire, to preſerve them from Conqueſt or Devaſtation. But by this raſh Attempt he endangered more to preſerve the reſt, not onely in expoſing to ruine his own Perſon, upon the ſafety of which much more might have depended than poſſibly did at this time, but that of the Army alſo, which being deſtroyed, the Deſtruction of the Provinces muſt needs follow, and probably ſome other Attendant on ſuch a Diſaſter. Indeed had the Empire of *Rome*, or his Condition as Lord thereof, been contemptible in compariſon of what he was about to obtain, the venture might have had advantage; but in this caſe the ſtake was much greater than what he could rationally expect to win. And yet the Kingdom of *Perſia*, though not to be named in the ſame day with the Empire of *Rome*, was too great a Priſe to be won at one caſt, or with ſuch a lucky hit as was that of *Alexander*. One Battel would not do it, nor many more: many Armies he could not but expect out of the Overthrows and Ruines of ſome, which poſſibly he might have defeated. And he found it was a thing

Of the neceſſity of the Retreat *Julian* was Author.

practicable to waſte the Countrey, and caſt him and his Forces into ſuch neceſſities as he could not ſupply; eſpecially having, by the unadviſed burning of his Fleet, cut off Succours both of Proviſions and Men.

For *Jovian* could not have proſecuted the War as he left it.

Nor ought he to have broken the Truce once made.

5. Such was the Conduct of *Julian* in this Action; the courſe of which had *Jovian* proſecuted, and carried on the War where he left it, with the ſame Deſigns, whatever great Arguments *Ammianus* tells us that *Sapor* had to treat with the *Romans*, he might poſſibly have been guilty of a greater overſight than that Error was he committed in making the Peace; and ten times over he might have fought, and twenty to them, ere *Julians* Project could have been accompliſhed. Whether he could have gentilely run away, or made a Retreat without a Truce, ſaved his Men by flight, and the Provinces by his Protection, is more difficult to be reſolved, than to take the bare word of *Ammianus*, whoſe ſtory concerning the danger of paſſing the River, a man will think little conſiſtent with this Affirmation, that he might have eſcaped into *Corduene*, but an hundred miles off: and had this Retreat been eaſie, or ſo poſſible, why doth this Hiſtorian, as well as others, ſo tax *Julian* for burning his Ships, and thereby cutting off all ſecurity for a Return into his own Dominions? To be ſure the danger the Army was now in was extreme, as well by the Multitudes of *Perſians*, which on all ſides preſſed upon them, as by Famine: and this *Zoſimus* affirms, whom we have reaſon enough to credit in this point, though the *ſeries* of his ſtory in reference to this Expedition be obſcure and inſignificant, in compariſon of that of *Ammianus*, an Eye-witneſs. And he adds, that notwithſtanding the Peace, and that they had leave to return at their eaſe, yet ſcarcely at laſt with great toil and loſs they arrived at *Niſibis*. What then would in probability have been the iſſue, had the Multitudes of *Perſians* every where way-laid them, and cut them off, while they alſo ſtrugled with Famine? As for the Aſſertion of thoſe who held he was to have broken the Peace when out of danger, it is not worth taking notice of; for much more ignominious had been ſo great a breach of Faith, and violation of the Law of Nations. If ſuch Covenants be not performed, though diſadvantageous, what Truſt will be given by Men one to another? If no Truſt, no Entercourſe amongſt Nations: all things muſt run to extremity. He that keeps no Faith, no Faith will be kept with him. All men will ſtand aloof from ſuch a Prince, and behold him not as a Creature fit for Humane Society, but an Animal of a more ſavage nature, deſtined onely for the Affliction of Mankind.

The Army paſſeth the River *Tigris*.

And proſecutes its Retreat.

Meſſengers ſent by *Jovian* to eſtabliſh his Intereſt in the Weſt.

6. The Peace (moſt ignominious however) being religiouſly ſworn to on both ſides, *Ammianus Marcellinus* further tells us, that the *Romans* retreated to find a more convenient place for paſſing the River, being ſorely diſtreſſed both with Hunger and Thirſt, which conſtrained ſome to venture over by ſtealth, who were either drowned, or being got to Land were knock'd on the head by the *Perſians* and *Saracens*, or elſe taken and ſold for Slaves. But being arrived at the deſigned place, and the Word once given for taking the water, incredible it is with what alacrity each one ſtrove to prevent his Fellow, ſome making uſe of Bladders, and others of other means and helps. The Emperor, and ſome few about him, ſerved themſelves of thoſe few Boats that were remaining of the burnt Fleet, and afterward cauſed them ſo often to croſs the River, till all were got over. In the mean time the *Perſians* began a Bridge at a good diſtance, with a deſign to fetch off all Straglers, and Cattel that ſhould come behind; but their Plot being diſcovered, they deſiſted. The *Romans* freed from this fear began their Retreat, and by great Journies came to *Hatra*, an old Town ſituate in the middle of the Deſart, and long before deſerted, which *Trajan* and *Severus*, though both great Warriours, labouring to raze, were well nigh deſtroyed with their Armies. It being here known, that for ſeventy miles in this dry and barren Countrey no Water was to be had, but ſuch as was ſalt and ſtinking; neither any thing to feed on except *Abrotanum*, *Wormwood* and *Dracontium*, with other ſuch unſavoury Herbs; ſweet water was provided, and Camels killed to mak as good Proviſion as was poſſible. After a March of ſix days, wherein not ſo much as a little Graſs could be found, *Caſſianus* the *Dux* of *Meſopotamia*, and *Mauritius* a Tribune, having been ſent before upon this Errand, met them at *Ur* a *Perſian* Caſtle, and that very ſeaſonably with Proviſions, which the Army under Conduct of *Procopius* and *Sebaſtian* living very frugally had ſpared. From this place another *Procopius* a Notary, and *Memorius* a Tribune, were diſpatched away for *Illyricum* and *Gall*, to give notice of *Julians* Death, and the Promotion of *Jovian*. They had Inſtructions to perſuade *Lucillianus*, the preſent Emperors Father in Law, who had given over all Imployment, and retired to a private life at *Sirmium*, to accept of the Codicils or Commiſſion they carried with

them of a *Magiſter Militum* of both ſorts; and to haſten to *Milan*, there to order matters as ſhould moſt ſuit with his Intereſt. By more ſecret Letters he deſired him to get ſuch Attendants about him as he could certainly truſt, to put in Execution his Orders: And one *Malarich*, who was his familiar Friend, and lay then in *Italy*, he very prudently conſtituted *Magiſter Militum* in *Gall*, in the room of *Jovinus*; for hereby he both removed a man very powerful, and whom he had reaſon to ſuſpect; and obliged one of ſo mean Condition, by preferring him to ſuch a Command. The Meſſengers were further enjoyned, to report all things that had lately happened with advantage; and having ſifted all mens Inclinations, to return with the beſt Intelligence they could, upon which future Councils might be founded. Yet made they not ſuch haſte, but the news of the late Diſaſters had flown to ſeveral places before their Arrival.

The Army diſtreſſed by Famine.

7. In the mean time all Proviſions again failed, and the Army was ſo grievouſly diſtreſſed with Famine, that a little ſupply they had of a very few Carriage Beaſts, preſerved Mans Fleſh from being offered up to the ravenous Tyrant; and one *Modius* of Flower was ſold for no leſs than Ten *Aurei*. At length they came within ſight of *Niſibis*, and pitched their Tents without the City; for the Emperor, though earneſtly intreated by the Inhabitants to enter and lodge in the Palace, as his Predeceſſors had done, pertinaciouſly refuſed, as aſhamed that a City ſo impregnable whileſt he was in it, ſhould be delivered up to a revengeful Enemy. Now was one *Jovian* (the chief of the Notaries) ſuddenly taken away as he ſate at Supper, and being caſt headlong into a deep Pit, was overwhelmed with an Heap of Stones; for that having after the Death of *Julian* been mention'd as worthy of the Empire, he had not ſince that time demeaned himſelf modeſtly, but was often taken notice of to whiſper matters relating to that Affair, and frequently to entertain the Officers. The day following *Bineſes*, a Noble *Perſian*, zealous to perform with all expedition what his King had enjoyned, earneſtly preſſed the Emperor for Performance of the Conditions of the Peace, and he accordingly permitted him to enter *Niſibis*, and take Poſſeſſion. Being ſeized of the place, by a Signal given from the Caſtle, he required all the Inhabitants to be gone, who now earneſtly beſought *Jovian*, that they might not be compelled to quit their Native Seat, affirming that they of themſelves were able, without any publick Charge, to defend the place: but he was not to be moved in the point, leſt he ſhould incur the Crime of Perjury, as he pretended, but indeed fearing other things, if we believe *Ammianus* and others. This cauſed *Sabinus*, a Townſman of chiefeſt Eminency both for Birth and Riches, to ſay openly, That *Conſtantius*, though ſometimes beaten by the *Perſian* in ſo heavy a War as lay upon him, and driven to ſo great neceſſity, as in his flight to feed on a Cruſt of Bread, which he begged of an old Countrey Woman; yet to his dying day had loſt nothing of his Territories: Whereas *Jovian* in the very beginning of his Reign had parted with the very Bulwark of his Provinces; which in former times had ſtill been protected by the vigorous Oppoſition of this Town. But the Emperor was deaf to all that could be ſaid, ſtill urging his Oath, and the Inviolability of it. And now he was preſented with a Crown, which after earneſt refuſal, when he had at length accepted, one *Sylvanus*, an Advocate, with great confidence cried out, *So maiſt thou, O Emperor, be crowned by the reſt of the Cities.*

Niſibis according to Agreement is put into the hands of the *Perſian*.

A miſerable ſight of the Inhabitants quitting the City.

8. Exaſperated herewith he commanded all within three days to leave the Town, and appointed a Party of Souldiers to turn them out, who threatning all that refuſed with Death, the Walls and all the Streets were crouded with a Multitude, which by Tears and other ſigns ſhewed all Paſſion imaginable, and imbraced the very Doors and Poſts of the Houſes at their Farewel. As every one could moſt commodiouſly diſpoſe of himſelf and his, forth they paſſed; but being turned out in haſte, they hurried away ſome of their beſt things, and the reſt of their ſtuff, though much in quantity and of great value, they left behind for want of Beaſts to convey it. Here our Hiſtorian falls into an Expoſtulation with the Fortune of *Rome*, not ſo much for the Qualification of the perſon to whom ſhe had committed the Reins of Government, as for the Circumſtances under which he lay in reference to a Rival, the fear of which cauſed him, out of a deſire to come into the Weſtern parts to neglect *Niſibis*, and eaſily give up that City, which ever ſince the days of *Mithridates* had preſerved the Eaſt from being overrun by the *Perſians*. He repeats his Obſervation, how the *Romans* never from the Foundation of the City parted with their Territories; and approves of their ever breaking an Ignominious Peace.

An hoc verum fuerit vide Valeſii Annot. in locum.

9. The Inhabitants being driven out, the City was delivered up, and together with it all the Forts in the Countrey, by *Conſtantius* the Tribune. Now was *Procopius* ſent with the Body of *Julian* to be buried in the Suburbs of *Tarſus*, as he had ordained;

Sect. I.

A.D. 363.

How matters went in *Gall* upon the Negotiation of the Meſſengers.

dained; which having performed he went away, hid himſelf, and never was diſcovered though diligently ſought for; till long after he ſuddenly appeared in Purple at *Conſtantinople*. Theſe things thus appointed, after a March of ſeveral days, at length they reached *Antioch*, where after a very little ſtay *Jovian*, now diſtracted with various Cares deſired to be gone, and ſparing neither Man nor Beaſt came in a very cold ſeaſon, and hardeſt Winter weather to *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*. Having given order for the beautifying of *Julians* Tomb, (whence his Body, as ſome write, was afterward removed to *Conſtantinople*) he proceeded thence by great Journies as far as *Tyana*, a Town of *Cappadocia*, and there *Procopius* the Notary, and *Memorinus* the Tribune, met him, and gave him an account of their Negotiation; though *Lucillianus* (through procurement of a corrupt Officer) was killed by the Souldiers. For, having entered *Milan* with *Seniauchus* and *Valentinian*, two Tribunes, when he underſtood that *Malarich* refuſed to accept of the place of *Magiſter Militum*, he haſted away to *Rheims*, where applying himſelf unſeaſonably, while matters were not yet ſettled, to examine the Accounts of one that had been an *Actuary*, this man conſcious of his Frauds, ran away to the Souldiers, and making them believe, that *Julian* was ſtill alive, ſo incenſed them againſt him as a Traitor, that in a Tumult they killed him and *Seniauchus* too; but *Valentinian*, who was afterward Emperor, eſcaped by the care and direction of him with whom he lodged. This ill News was ſomething ſweetned by better out of *Gall*, where the Souldiers willingly owned the new Emperor. To *Valentinian*, who came along with the Meſſengers, was given the Command of the ſecond *Schole* of the *Scutarii*. *Vitalianus*, one of the Company called *Heruli*, who long after was honoured with the Dignity of *Comes*, and managed matters badly in *Illyricum*, was made one of the *Domeſtick Protectors*. And *Arintheus* was ſent away with all ſpeed to ſucceed *Jovinus* in *Gall*, upon refuſal of *Malarich*, with Orders to animadvert ſeverely upon ſuch as ſhould be Tumultuous, and ſend up in Chains to the Court thoſe that ſhould be Authors of any Seditious Attempt.

Jovian is Conſul with *Varronian* his Son.

And dies ſuddenly.

A.D. 364. *Joviano & Varroniano Coſs.*

10. Being arrived at *Ancyra*, and providing for the Solemnity as the Time would permit, he there entered his Conſulſhip, wherein he aſſumed as Collegue *Varronian* his Son, (for his Father whom he intended was dead whileſt he was upon the way) a very young Child, who cried and ſtrugled when he came to be carried in the Curule Chair, according to the Cuſtom; and being by no means to be kept in it, thereby was portended in the Opinion of our Author, what followed very ſoon after. For, *Jovian* ſtill travelling weſtward, and coming to *Badaſtana*, a Town ſituate upon the Borders of *Bithynia* and *Galatia*, was there found dead in the night, and afforded matter for various Diſcourſe: Some ſaid he was ſtifled by the Dampneſs of his Chamber, which had been newly plaſtered; others by the Smoke of Coles, of which Hiſtories indeed and the Books of Phyſicians afford us many Examples, nothing being more ſuffocating than the Vapour of Charcole, eſpecially joyned with the ſteam of freſh Lime or Plaſter) and ſome conceived it might come from a Surfeit. But there were not wanting, who thought him ſpent by the tedeouſneſs of the Journey; and *Socrates* writes, that it was by a ſtoppage in the Lungs, which might be occaſioned by the former external cauſes. He adds, that at this place he was met by many Senators of thoſe of the greateſt Nobility, amongſt whom was *Themiſtius* the Philoſopher, who then ſpake before him his Oration intituled *Conſul*, which afterward he rehearſed at *Conſtantinople* in the Audience of the whole Multitude. *Ammianus* obſerves, that *Jovian* and * *Scipio Æmilianus* had one and the ſame kind of End, and that no Inquiſition was made after the Death of either of them. As for his Character he adds, that in doing buſineſs after Dinner, and in jeſting merrily and freely with thoſe about him, he choſe to imitate *Conſtantius*. That he was ſtudious of the *Chriſtian* Religion, ſometimes Magnificent, indifferently well Learned, very good natur'd, and probably (had he lived) would have had a careful regard to the making of Officers, as might be judged by thoſe few he had onely time to promote. As to Vice, that he was given to Gluttony, Wine, and Women, which Faults he thinks might have been corrected by a ſenſe of his preſent high Condition. *Eutropius* writes, that ſetting aſide the Peace he made with the *Perſian*, he was otherwiſe neither a Coward nor Imprudent; that he was courteous, and naturally liberal: and with his Death he concludes his Ten Books, being an Abridgment of the *Roman* Hiſtory, having himſelf been alſo preſent in this Expedition. *Victor* deſcribes him as beautiful in Body, pleaſant in Converſation, and ſtudious of Learning. *Ammianus* ſaith, he was very tall, and his Limbs of a proportionable largeneſs, ſo that ſcarcely could an Imperial Habit be found fit for him; of grave Geſture, pleaſant Countenance, and gray-ey'd.

Alii ſcripſerunt, eum comeſtis fungis recentibus venenatis necatum fuiſſe. Chryſoſtomus affirmat, venenata potione extinctum, ejuſdemq; filio Varroniano præ imminentium diſcriminum metu, alterum oculum erutum eſſe.

* *Hic non obſcurè innuit, eum proximorum inſidiis ſtrangulatum fuiſſe. Vide Valeſ.*

His Character.

11. So died *Jovian* in the eighth Moneth of his Reign; and ſuch is the Character given of him, which can amount to little on any account, none being able to ſay how he might have proved, as neither his Predeceſſor himſelf, had they had thoſe Opportunities and Temptations, for practice of good and evil, which are wont to be plentifully afforded in long Governments. Some Laws there are extant in *Theodoſius* his Code, which are wont to be aſcribed to *Julian*; but the Dates of them (if true) evidently ſhewing, that they were made after his Death, they are to be reſtored to *Jovian* as their Author, with an account of what they principally concerned. *Julian* died as we have ſeen in the Moneth of *June*, and yet there are ſeveral Edicts ſaid to be his, though dated in that of *October* and after. By the firſt of them, what Writers tell us concerning the Luxury of this Age, and that particularly as to Building, is ſomewhat illuſtrated. *Ammianus* taxes the Souldiers, amongſt other things, for not being ſatisfied without they lived in Marble Houſes; and by a Law of *Julian*, which we have already mentioned, concerning *Africa*, it appears how the *Curſus publicus* was wont to be burthened by conveyance of this kind of Stone in that Province for private Buildings. Moſt commonly it hath been found, that Hoſpitality and other good qualities have gone down moſt, when ſtately Houſes have gone faſteſt up; yet however this tending to the Ornament and Beauty of the Empire, whether *Julian* or *Jovian* was the Author, an Edict was made, by which for prevention “ of the ſcarcity and dearneſs of Marble, Licence was granted to every one that “ pleaſed to dig for it, that by that means many good Veins might be diſcovered. “ But if the Date would permit it, it might eaſily be gueſſed that *Julian* made this Edict, and thereby aimed at the rebuilding and ornament of the *Pagan* Temples, more than the luſtre of other Buildings. Whether he made this Law or not, that he was no Author of the next which follows, there are more than one convincing Arguments. As it was the Cuſtom of bountiful Princes to give or aſſign Lands or Eſtates to private perſons, as they ſaw occaſion; ſo was it uſual, and with very good reaſon, that when the Treaſury was exhauſted, and there was preſſing occaſion for Money, an Impoſition of Gold or Silver was laid upon thoſe Eſtates, which having been received in free gift, it was much more reaſonable that they ſhould be charged than the Inheritances of other perſons, or ſuch Poſſeſſions as they had purchaſed by their Care and Labour. Now hereupon aroſe a Caſe, whether if ſuch Impoſitions were to be laid upon ſuch Lands thus freely given, they were not alſo to be extended to others, that had been confiſcated, and for ſuch Reaſons as pleaſed the Prince, had been again reſtored to the former Owners or their Children. This queſtion by an Edict directed to *Aginatius* the *Conſularis* of *Byzacena* from *Mopſueſtia*, on the twelveth of *November* the Emperor decides in behalf of thoſe to whom ſuch Lands were reſtored. He affirms “ it abſurd and not agreeable with the Tranquillity of his time, that ſuch as had been “ proſcribed ſhould be rendred obnoxious to the Collations of Gold and Silver, which “ had been impoſed by *Conſtantius*, of Bleſſed Memory; for as much as there “ is a vaſt difference betwixt thoſe that enjoyed what they had by the Munificence of “ the Prince, and ſuch as had deſerved to have their own reſtored to them. Indeed the Law is ſo favourable in this caſe generally, that reſtored Eſtates ſeem as if they had never been taken away; and Reſtitution doth not create any new Title, but cauſeth the old one to return, and to be in force, as the Interpreters of the *Feudal* Laws affirm, when a Vaſſal is pardoned by his Lord, that no new Grant is to be made of his Fee, but the old Tenure onely renewed; and a Fee which hath been forfeited and reſtored, is not to be accounted to have belonged to the Lords Domain, or by any ſuch Forfeiture incorporated with it. Obſervable it is, that to *Conſtantius* is attributed the laying of the Impoſitions upon Lands freely given by the Prince, and reaſon he had to lay them, he and his Father having granted many Poſſeſſions and Goods, formerly belonging to the Temples of Idols, as the *Pagans* in vain complained. For this reaſon we may be aſſured *Julian* would never have ſaid he was *Divæ Memoria*, or of Memory ſuitable to that of their *Divi*, being ſo far from it, that having an inveterate grudge to *Chi* and *Chappa*, he ever upon occaſion makes mention of him and his Father without any note of Honour, as other Princes of what Religion ſoever, are wont to do toward their Predeceſſors. Nay, ſometimes when he abrogates their Conſtitutions, he will not deign ſo much as to name them. This is a ſufficient proof that he was not Author of this Edict, which bearing Date from *Mopſueſtia*, further evinceth its Original to have been from *Jovian*. For we ſee that *Jovian* from *Antioch* travelled into *Cilicia*, a Town of which Region was this *Mopſueſtia*, ſo called from being the Habitation of *Mopſus*, an old Poet or *Vates* of thoſe Quarters.

Laws by their Dates ſeeming to have been made by him.

L.2.de Metallis & Metallariis Cod. Th.l. 10. tit.19. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt. ut temporaria.

L.1. de Collatione Donatarum, &c. Cod.Th.lib.11. tit. 20. Abſunt hujus tit. L.L. omnes à Cod. Juſt. earum loco unica lex poſita ex Novella Theodoſii 33. Vide Gothofr. in l.

Sect. I.

One againſt the Frauds of the *Numerarii.*

A.D. 364.

12. On the twenty ſeventh of *November* following was publiſhed at *Viminacium*, a City of *Illyricum*, and directed to *Mamertinus*, *Præfectus Prætorio* of that Diſtrict, an Edict againſt the Frauds of the *Numerarii*, who had the management of Tributes in their hands, and thence opportunity to do very great miſchief. As *Julian* formerly, ſo now he ſubjects them to torture in Examinations, a courſe taken onely with vile or mean perſons, and not onely thoſe that were meaneſt in condition, but even ſuch as belonged to the *Præfectus Prætorio*, and this reaſon is given for it, that they were wont to have *Auditores* or Aſſiſtants, who were not to be endangered or prejudiced by their Accounts, but each one was to ſtand upon his own Legs. On the nineth of *December* another Edict bears Date made in behalf of the *Suarii*: Theſe were a Body, Company, or Society of men, whoſe Imployment it was to provide Hogs Fleſh for the ſervice of the People of *Rome*, or of *Conſtantinople*, and that it ſeems from the time of *Aurelian* the Emperor, to whom is aſcribed the firſt and free Allowance of this ſort of Fleſh to the *Romans*, being divided and diſtributed man by man. For there were certain Provinces of *Italy*, in which the Poſſeſſors of the Lands paid an annual quantity of *Lard* or Hogs Fleſh in way of Tribute; as *Campania*, *Lucania*, *Brutium*, and *Samnium*. And though at laſt it was paid *in ſpecie*, yet afterward *Conſtantine* left it to the diſcretion of the Countreymen themſelves, whether they would pay it ſo, or the value of it in Money, to prevent Abuſes frequently committed by the *Suarii*, in reference to the Weight thereof; for it was ever to be weighed, and they were not to truſt their Eyes alone in this matter. When Money was paid, it was to be at Market-rates, or at ſuch prices as then were uſually paid in the ſeveral places. Such order did *Conſtantine* take; who alſo to ſupply the Number of thoſe *Suarii*, which in his days was very much leſſened, forbade any to be excuſed from the Charge, either by pretence of any Dignity, or any Reſcript of the Prince himſelf. And as for thoſe who had already deſerted their ſtation, he commanded they ſhould either be forced back to the Service, or hire others to diſcharge it for them. But ſtill it was in the power of the Tenants to pay *in ſpecie* or in Money, as was ſaid. Now by another Conſtitution belonging to *Jovian* or *Julian*, and directed to *Apronianus*, *Præfect* of the City, Money is ordered to be paid in *Campania*, in lieu of all ſuch Fleſh; and a Method and Standard is declared as to the Payment: wherein could be no ſuch miſcarriage, as in the weight and conveyance of it *in ſpecie*. A Market-rate was to be allowed by the Tenants to the *Suarii*, (who at their own peril ſhould therewith provide Fleſh it ſelf for the People) not exceeding ſix *Folles* for every Pound, (the Silver ſort of *Folles* are here to be underſtood;) which whoſoever exacted above, ſhould be bound to pay ſo much to the Treaſury. But whereas it was found by experience, that the Officials of the greater Officers were wont to be burthenſom to the Provincials, and make uſe of their power to harraſe and fright them out of their Money; Order now is hereby taken, that neither thoſe belonging to the *Præfect* of the City gather this Money, nor the *Suarii* themſelves, but the Officers of the ordinary Governor, or the *Conſularis* of *Campania*, who at his own peril was to ſee to the due management of the Levy, and Return of the Money which was to be paid, as the Market went in *Campania* it ſelf, and not as the Price held at *Rome*. And *Campania* here ſeems eſpecially to be mentioned, both becauſe it ſerved *Rome*, as a mighty Storehouſe, with Hogs Fleſh, (as alſo it did with Wine and other things;) and for that it was under the Juriſdiction of the *Præfect* of the City, being part of the *Urbicarian Dioceſe*. This Law might well enough be *Julian's*, and a miſtake made in the Date thereof. But another follows, which is rather to be aſcribed to his Succeſſors, as contrary to his Humour ſo violently bent to force perſons to the Services of Corporations. “For this Edict dated at *Antioch* on the one and twentieth of *December*, excuſeth from ſuch Services ſuch as had ſerved as Souldiers upon the Limits, for the ſpace of ten years, being intended as an Encouragement to them that had ventured their Lives againſt the *Perſian*. In favour of theſe Souldiers *Jovian* made another Law concerning their gathering of Forage; for as *Julian*, to enure them to Labour, had yielded they might fetch it at twenty miles diſtance, that they might not be too much put to it, and be too long from their Colours, he ordains, that they be not forced to fetch it any further.

Vide Paratitlon & L.L. tit. 4. Cod. Th. l. 14. de Suariis, Pecuariis, &c.

L. 5, 6. de Decurionibus. Cod. Th. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

L. 9. de Erogatione militaris annonæ. Cod. Th. l. 7. tit. 4. & Cod. Juſt. L. 2. eod. tit.

SECT.

SECT. II.

From the Death of Jovian *to that of* Valentinian, *preceding the Irruption of the Barbarous Nations into the Empire. The ſpace of Eleven Years and ſome Ten Moneths.*

A.D. 364.

Valentinian choſen Emperor.

1. THE Body of the deceaſed Emperor being with due Rites prepared and ſent to *Conſtantinople*, to be interred with his Predeceſſors; the Army diſlodged and came to *Nice*, the *Metropolis* of *Bithynia*. There the Officers falling into a ſerious Debate about the Election of a new Prince; one *Equitius*, an odd-humoured man, Tribune of the firſt *Schole* of the *Scutarii*, was named by ſome few of the meaner ſort, but quickly rejected; and after him *Januarius*, one joyned in Affinity with *Jovian*, and then commanding in *Illyricum*; but he being being neither approved becauſe ſo far off, *Valentinian* was choſen by univerſal conſent, at this time Tribune of the ſecond *Schole* of the *Scutarii*, and left at *Ancyra*, with Orders to follow after *Jovian*. He was the Son of one *Gratian* a *Pannonian* of the City *Cibale*, and ſirnamed *Funacius*, for that five Souldiers were not able to wreſt from him a Rope he carried in his hands: and upon this account being taken into the Army, afterwards aroſe to great Preferment. Meſſengers were diſpatched away for *Valentinian*, but being at ſuch a diſtance, for ten days ſpace there was none that ſate at the Helm of the Commonwealth; onely *Equitius* and *Leo*, who ſerved under *Dagalaiphus* the *Magiſter Equitum*, in the Accounts of the Army, took as much care as they could for ſecuring his Intereſt till his Arrival. Coming to *Nice* he would not ſtir out nor be ſeen on the *Biſſextile* Day, as unluky to the *Romans*. Towards Evening, by the Advice of *Saluſt* the *Præfect*, command was given, that under Pain of Death none of the greateſt Quality, or ſuſpected to affect the Empire, ſhould ſtir out the next morning: But as ſoon as it was Light all the Army was drawn together in the Camp, and *Valentinian* aſcending a lofty Tribunal was declared Emperour, adorned with the Imperial Habit, and ſaluted *Auguſtus*, on the fifth before the Calends of *March*. Preparing to make a Speech, when he ſtretched out his Arms to gain Affection, a Seditious Noiſe aroſe amongſt the ordinary Souldiers, who required that another or ſecond Emperor might be choſen. This at firſt was looked on as a matter of no moment, and procured by ſome of the Malecontents: but the Stir continuing, and growing more violent, there was juſt reaſon to apprehend an univerſal Tumult. Which *Valentinian* having more cauſe to fear than any other, yet courageouſly again lifting up his right hand, adventured to check ſome he perceived to be more peremptory and unquiet, and after a little diſturbance got the liberty of going thorough his Harangue to this purpoſe.

Ammian.l.26.

Repreſſeth by a Speech ſuch as would have him had a Collegue out of hand.

> 2. I exceedingly applaud my ſelf, and ever ſhall, you moſt Valiant Defenders of the Provinces, in the favour you have conferred upon me, by devolving on me the Government of the *Roman* World, when I neither expected nor deſired it. What was in your own power, while the Choice was not yet made, you have (I hope) laudably beſtowed, having preferred to the higheſt Pitch of Honour a Perſon, whom from his Youth hitherto you have experimentally known to have lived as unblameably, ſo not without Splendour. Attend therefore quietly, I beſeech you, to what (though with mean Expreſſions) I ſhall propound to you for the Publick Good. Conſidering and weighing with my ſelf as a Man, what the heavy Burthen of Empire is, and the Multiplicity of Accidents ever attending ſo great a Charge, I nothing doubt or contradict, but that having a Collegue is very proper for all Events. But we are eſpecially concerned to aim at Concord, by virtue whereof even mean and contemptible Beginnings receive ſtrength and growth. And this will eaſily be compaſſed, if you will have but a little patience, and permit me to buckle to mine Implement. I hope Fortune, that is wont to aſſiſt good Counſels, will give me Temper and Moderation, after which I aſſure you I ſhall moſt earneſtly aſpire. For as wiſe men ſay, Not onely in Government, wherein Dangers are both greater and more imminent; but alſo in private and ordinary Affairs, it may behove a man to unite with one, whom he formerly judged his Enemy, but not eſteem him as ſuch, after he is once united with him. On my part I promiſe you all good Offices, and require that, continuing conſtant and loyal, you refreſh

your ſelves in your Quarters, where you ſhall ſpeedily receive what is wont to be“ given after a Promotion of this nature.

3. Having ended his Speech, an unanimous Conſent was given to what he had ſaid, even by thoſe who had endeavoured the contrary with very much earneſtneſs; and now with Enſigns diſplayed and a numerous Train he is brought to his Palace. There calling together the Officers as one reſolved to follow their Advice, he asked them whom they thought fit to be joyned with him in the Empire. Whereat when all others kept ſilence, *Dagalaiphus* anſwered with confidence, That if he bare reſpect to his Friends and Relations, he had a Brother; if to the Commonwealth, it were convenient that ſome other ſhould be found out. He was inwardly moved with the liberty of this Speech, but ſuppreſſed his Anger, and the ſecond day after his Promotion he ſet forward, and with ſpeed marched to *Nicomedia*, which he entered on the firſt of *March*. Here he ſet over his Stable his Brother *Valens*, with the Dignity of *Tribune*; but departing to *Conſtantinople*, there conſidering the weight of his Affairs, as an eaſe to his Burthens he reſolved no longer to defer it, but on the twenty ſeventh of *March* bringing him forth into the Suburb *Septimus*, (ſo called from being ſeven miles from the City, where *Valens* adorned the Tribunal with Marble Stairs and Tables, and generally it was uſed thenceforth by ſucceeding Princes as the place of their Coronation;) he declared him *Auguſtus* with univerſal conſent, for none dared to oppoſe it. Thus promoted he carried him back with him in his Chariot, habited with the Imperial Robes and Diadem, which ſignified him to be equal with him in Power, though he obeyed him more like ſome *Apparitor* in the Judgment of *Ammianus*. The Solemnity being over, both Emperors were ſeized with violent Fevers, which held them long, but both recovered; and then, as they were far more dextrous at making Inquiſition, than at compoſing of matters, they gave in charge to *Urſatius* the *Magiſter Officiorum*, a cruel *Dalmatian*, and *Juventius Siſcianus* the *Quæſtor*, to make inquiry into the Cauſe of their Diſtempers; out of deſign (as *Ammianus* and *Zoſimus* will have it) to caſt dirt on the Memory of *Julian*, as having been bewitched by his Friends; but the thing came to nothing, no Diſcovery at all being made. Now at this time it was, that as if an univerſal Alarm had been ſounded throughout the Empire, the fierce and barbarous Nations round about aroſe, and invaded the neighbouring Limits. The *Allemans* at the ſame time waſted *Gall* and *Rhætia*, the *Sarmatæ* and *Quadi* infeſt *Pannonia*, the *Picts*, *Saxons*, *Scots*, and *Attacots*, with continual Miſeries afflicted *Britain*; the *Auſtoriani* and other *Mooriſh* Nations troubled *Africk* more than ever; roving Companies of *Goths* made Depredations in *Thrace*; and the *Perſian* King began to lay hold on *Armenia*, pretending that after the Death of *Jovian*, with whom it was that he had entered into a League and concluded a Peace, nothing ought to hinder him from recovering what had belonged to his Predeceſſors.

He aſſumes his Brother *Valens* for his Collegue.

The Barbarous Nations up on all ſides

4. The two Brothers and Emperours ſpent thirty days in *Conſtantinople*, and therein applied themſelves to the Reformation of ſuch Abuſes as were repreſented to them. We formerly ſignified how *Conſtantine* the Great, to encourage ſuch as built and inhabited his new City, aſſigned a large quantity of Bread to be diſtributed to the Inhabitants. Hence is this Bread termed in the Edicts of Princes, *Bread of Houſes*, *Bread of Buildings*, and the like, to the Houſes it being fixed and appropriate for their Maintainance and Repair. This was the ſence of *Valentinian*; and ſuch, by a Conſtitution bearing Date of the twenty ſeventh of *March*, he declares it and ordains, that it be lawful to none to ſell their Houſes, and yet reſerve the Bread to“ themſelves. In caſe any Houſes were depopulated, or by any means fell to ruine,“ and this Bread came to have no Owner, he declares that it falls to the Treaſury.“ Partly from this, but eſpecially from many other Laws, it appears how great the care and endeavour of *Valentinian* was, for the due ordering of this Charity of *Conſtantine*, and alſo for ſupply of both *Conſtantinople* and *Rome* with Proviſions. For ſupply of theſe Cities much Corn was yearly brought from *Sicily*, *Ægypt*, and elſewhere, as we have already ſaid, and laid up in the publick Granaries: the Overſeer whereof was the *Præfectus Annonæ*, who was under the diſpoſition of the *Præfect* of the City, as the *Notitia* ſets him. Now for the better ordering of theſe Proviſions *Valentinian*, by another Edict of the eighth of *April*, directed to *Voluſianus* the *Præfect* of *Rome*, commands that his Officers ſhould have nothing to do with the“ ſaid Proviſions. In the next place, that he the *Præfect* ſhould do nothing with-“ out the advice and conſent of the *Præfectus Annonæ*. Next, that the old Proviſi-“ ons, or ſuch as had been laid up in the foregoing *Præfectſhip*, ſhould be ſpent be-“ fore the new were touched. Again, if the old Corn was ſo ſpoiled, that it would“ not ſell without complaint and diſturbance, new ſhould be mixed with it. And for“ the

The Emperours lying at *Conſtantinople*, take care for the victualling of that City and *Rome*.

Panes Ædium, *Panes Ædificiorum*.

*L.*1. *de Annonis Civicis, Cod.Th.*

Panes caduci.

Publica Horrea.

*L.*1. *de Conditis in publicis Horreis,Cod. Th.l.*11.*tit.*14. & *l.* 1. *Cod. Juſt.eod. tit. hinc deſumpta eſt reciſa hujus l. prima ſententia velut temporalid.*

the better performance of all that was enjoyned; he wil have the *Præfect* himſelf make“ choice of a Keeper and Meaſurer, who in reſpect of his honeſty and prudence may“ be fit for ſuch a Truſt. Some Interpreters have been miſtaken in ſeveral reſpects about this Law; in taking this Bread to be the ſame with the *Panis Gradilis* or that which was beſtowed freely by the Emperours upon the People; whereas it is to be underſtood of ſuch Corn and Proviſions as were provided only for ſupply of the City, but ſold out at reaſonable Rates. And they think this mixing new with old Corn, to be againſt the Rules of honeſty, whereas it is ſtill practiſed in other States, and then the grain is ſold to the Bakers. And whereas this Law is dated with the Conſulſhip of *Divus Jovianus* and *Varronianus*, and yet bears in its Front, for Authors, *Valentinian* and *Valens*, there's one that goes about to reconcile this great difficulty, by this ſalvo, that *Jovian* firſt made the Law, but his ſodain death hindred the publication of it; and therefore the following Emperours now effected it. But though *Jovian* and *Varronian* were both dead; yet was it the cuſtome to have the Conſulſhip of the year, ſtill noted by their Names; only with diſtinction of the word *Divus*, to ſhew them deceaſed.

Amaya quem refutatum vide a Goth. in Com. ad h. l.

They make a Partition of their Officers, and march,

5. From *Conſtantinople* the Emperours paſſed through *Thrace* to *Naiſſus*, and in a neighbouring Village called *Mediana*, diſtant ſome three miles from the City, being now quickly to part aſunder, made a Diviſion of their Officers. *Valentinian* took to himſelf *Jovinus*, who not long ſince had been by *Julian* advanced to be *Magiſter Armorum*, in *Gall*, as alſo *Dagalaiphus*, who had been preferred by the late Emperour to the like Command. To follow *Valens* into the *Eaſt*, was *Victor* appointed, one whom he had alſo promoted, and with him was joyned *Arintheus*; as for *Lupicinus* he had been alſo by *Jovian* already made *Magiſter Equitum*, for defence of the Eaſtern Parts. To *Equitius* was given the Command of the Forces in *Illyricum*, and *Seronianus* though out of Service, was again taken in, and girt with the Military Girdle, becauſe a *Pannonian*; and being appointed to wait on *Valens*, was ſet over the *Schole* of the *Domeſticks*. They alſo divided the Forces of the Empire, and being come to *Sirmium*, each now furniſhed and attended as pleaſed *Valentinian*, he departed toward *Milan*; and *Valens* the contrary way, toward *Conſtantinople* and the *Eaſt*. Thus much *Ammianus* tells us in ſhort, not mentioning in expreſs terms the Diviſion of the Empire, which yet is eaſily to be concluded from this Relation. It's evident enough from that and other paſſages, that *Valentinian* reſerved all the Weſt (which had fallen to the ſhare of *Conſtantine* the younger, and *Conſtans*) to himſelf, *viz.* all *Illyricum*, with *Macedonia*, *Italy*, *Africa*, *Gall*, *Spain* and *Britain*; and to *Valens* his Brother, left all the *Eaſt*, with *Thrace* and *Egypt*; which Diviſion is to be reteined in mind, as for other Reaſons, ſo eſpecially, for a diſtinct knowledge what Laws after their parting aſunder, had *Valentinian*, and what had *Valens* for their Author; for according to the Cuſtome, though a Conſtitution was made by one Prince, without the knowledge or concurrence of the other, yet it bears the Names of both, and his in the firſt place who was Senior in the Government. But, before we come to ſpeak either of the Laws, or other Acts of them when parted, we muſt acquaint the Reader with other Edicts made by them while ſtill together in their Progreſs through *Thrace*, and the quarters adjoyning.

Valentinian Weſtward toward *Milan*, and *Valens* toward *Conſtantinople* Eaſtward.

How the Empire was divided betwixt them.

6. The firſt in the *Code* which bears date after thoſe made at *Conſtantinople*, is an Edict ſaid by the Subſcription to have been dated at *Antioch*, which is not to be underſtood of the great City of *Syria*, but an Iſland of this Name near the City of *Conſtantinople*. This relates to the Proviſions of the Army (in the care whereof it appears not only from the Laws, but Hiſtory, that *Valentinian* was very accurate) and ordains that the *Domeſtick Protectors*, who not only waited on the“ Prince, but ſerved alſo in the defence of Places in the Provinces, and in this reſpect“ were under the diſpoſition of the *Magiſtri Militum*, ſhould have theirs allowed“ them according to the Market Rate, in money by the *Præfect* of the City of“ *Rome*, to whome the care of ſuch matters belonged. As he was very careful that ſuch as were in ſervice ſhould be duly ſupplied, ſo by conſent of all Hiſtorians, he was a moſt ſevere Exactor of Military Diſcipline, and that appears alſo by his ſeveral Laws concerning this Subject, wherein he imitated the prudence and juſtice of a Maſter toward his Servants; who as he is careful they want nothing, but have Wages duly paid them, ſo ſtrictly requires that his work be not neglected. His firſt Edict of this nature, bears date from *Hadrianople* on the twenty ninth of *April*, and ſeems to have been occaſioned by what *Ammianus Marcellinus* writes concerning the Barbarous Nations; at this very time infeſting the Empire on all quarters, and particularly the *Goths* their troubling of *Thrace*, where now the Emperours

l. 10. de Erogatione militaris Annonæ Cod. Th. lib. 7. Tit. 4. Dat. x. Kal. Maii. Antiochiæ Divo Joviano & Varroniano Coſs. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

A Law made by them, while together, for the better proviſion for Souldiers.

Sect.3.

A. D. 364.

rours were in motion. The *Veterani*, or *Emerite* Souldiers, as we formerly hinted, enjoyed ſuch great Privileges, that when there was any vehement occaſion which preſſed the Empire to a greater, and more ſodain ſupply than ordinary; their Sons were called out to ſervice, and that as is thought, firſt by an Edict of *Conſtantine* the Great, upon occaſion of the *Sarmatian* War; whoſe Example his Succeſſors followed, by publiſhing their Letters of Summons throughout the Cities, upon ſuch emergencies. This now doth *Valentinian*; and to encourage them, declares,“ that they ſhall have the Pay, not uſually given to *Tirones*, or new raiſed“ men, but ſuch as was due to thoſe that had ſerved a longer time; which was“ larger than the other: If theſe Sons of the *Veterani* were unfit for the Wars,“ by reaſon of their want of health, the inability of their Bodies, or the unproportionableneſs“ of their ſtature or limbs, that then they ſhould be beſtowed in other“ Imployments, as amongſt the Officiales of the *Proconſuls*, *Conſulares*, *Correctores* and“ *Preſidents*; in caſe they refuſed to ſerve in the Wars, having none of theſe defects“ nor excuſes, he ſubjects them to the ſervices of Corporations; but not ſuch as“ were utterly rendred unfit by any diſeaſe, or other neceſſary Impediment.

By another they call the Sons of *Veterani* into the Field.

L.5.de re militari cod.Th.lib.7. Tit. 1. Dat. 3. Kal. Mai. Hadrianopoli Divo Joviano & Varroniano Coſs.

19. For the ſervice of Corporations, he ſhewed alſo much Zeal, the Splendour of them, as he himſelf ſaith, being a thing very acceptable to him; and in order to this, the very next Edict, now mentioned in the *Code*, was ordained by him. But he proceeded in a middle way, without thoſe extravagancies committed by *Julian*. For the nomination of the *Curiales*, he thought fit afterwards, that none ſhould be made ſuch, but thoſe that were choſen by the *Curiæ* themſelves; inſomuch, that by way of puniſhment he would have none condemned to thoſe Offices, no not the *Tabularii*, who in due time had not given up their Accounts. But even Merchants themſelves, if they were owners of any Lands, he permits to be nominated to theſe Services, and commands the Sons of the *Veterani*, who had been *Curiales*, to be appointed to theſe Imployments. The Imployments, or Burthens, he will have by degrees impoſed on the *Curiales*, and not for them to begin with the greateſt. From them none ſhould be excuſed by any Dignity: namely, that no *Curialis* ſhould be admitted a *Senator*, or enjoy the privileges of that Order, till ſuch time as he had paſſed through all the Offices, nor be received to the Government of a Province, except he had obtained both *Senatorian* Dignity, and the Government together, or been priviledged by ſome *Palatine* ſervice; and even then he muſt ſubſtitute his Sons in his room. By warfare none ſhould excuſe himſelf, except he had therein ſerved five years, and yet, in ſuch caſe his Sons muſt alſo attend the ſervice of the Corporation for him. Not by being in Orders, without paſſing away his Eſtate to one that ſhould ſucceed him; or to the *Curia* it ſelf. Neither by betaking ones ſelf to the Body or Company of thoſe belonging to the *Fabricks*. The Privileges of the *Curiales* this Emperour alſo Confirms; and eſpecially of thoſe that Exerciſed amongſt them the Pagan Prieſthood, or were Principals, ſaving them harmleſs from all injuries, and diſpenſing with them from being forced to appear any where beyond the bounds of their own Corporation. Theſe and other particulars appear in thoſe eighteen ſeveral Conſtitutions made by *Valentinian* concerning this Subject, and ſtill extant; from conſideration of which *Gothofred* juſtly wonders both at *Libanius*, and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who with ſo many words complain of the deſolation of Corporations, after the death of *Julian*; which they will have to have been ſo great, that in ſome of them but one *Curialis*, or three at the moſt, were remaining, What Accidents might happen in ſome certain places, in ſo vaſt a Compaſs as that of the *Roman* World, none can determine; but in general, we are to believe the Laws ſtill extant, rather than heed their great Zeal to the memory of their *Julian*, who alſo was out, as to this point of Government, and that by the confeſſion of the moſt ingenuous of thoſe two Perſons.

Much zeal they ſhew for the ſervices of the *Curiæ*.

L.. 57.de Decurionibus vide Gothofr. in L.h.& in L.8. de Cohortalibus. Cod. Th. lib. 8. Tit. 4.

20. And many other things there were innovated by him, which *Valentinian* now found reaſon to repeal; and, at the beginning of his Reign, to put them into their former courſe. From another Law made at *Hadrianople*, in the thirteenth of *March* it ſhould ſeem, that He had leſſened the Privileges of ſome of the Companies appertaining to the City of *Rome*, and particularly of the *Navicularii*, of whom ſome belonged to *Africa*. It was their work to bring wood for the ſupply of the Bathes, and other publick ſervices of that City, which not being in capacity to be well furniſhed, but by incouragement of thoſe whoſe duty it was to convey ſuch neceſſaries, *Valentinian* now renews the Privileges formerly granted to“ them, as not long after by another Edict, all Immunities whatſoever which had“ been given to any Bodies or Companies of *Rome* by the old Laws, or any of his“ Predeceſſors. As moſt Emperours, who expreſſed zeal for the Publick Service, were

vide quæ affert Goth. in L.10. de Naviculariis.

Incourage the *Navicularii*.

L.1.de Privil. Corporatorum urb. Romæ.Cod. Th.L.14.Tit.2.

Sect. 2.

A.D. 364.

Regulate the *Curſus publicus.*

L.L. 17, 18, &c. de Curſu publico, Cod. Th. l. 8. tit. 5. L. 19.

The Power of the *Præfecti Prætorio* increaſeth.

L.L. 3, 4. de Legatis & Decretis, &c. Cod. Th. l. 12. tit. 12.

were wont to have a ſpecial regard to the *Curſus publicus*, to direct the uſe thereof, and prevent the too great Burthen of it. So he by eighteen ſeveral Conſtitutions demonſtrated his care as to this particular, of which eighteen no fewer than eleven he made within the bounds of very little more than one and his firſt year. By one directed to *Symmachus*, *Præfect* of *Rome*, he abridges the Liberty formerly uſed by him or his Predeceſſors, in granting the uſe thereof, reſtraining it onely to neceſſary caſes, wherein Power was alſo wont to be given to Governours of Provinces, to grant the ſame Licence. But from this as well as other Inſtances may be ſeen, how contracted the Power of the *Præfects* of the City was at this time, when that of the *Præfecti Prætorio* daily increaſed. Had not *Conſtantine* leſſened their Authority, how dangerous it would have been to thoſe who bore the Title of Emperours, evidently hence appears; that notwithſtanding the Diminution, yet again they got very much ground in the Advancement of their Power. About this very time by ſeveral Laws *Valentinian* confirms the Cuſtom of their examining ſuch Petitions or Complaints, as were to be ſent to himſelf from the Cities or Provinces, requiring that firſt they ſhould be brought to the Governours of the Countries or ordinary Judges, and there be entered in their Offices; but thence tranſmitted, without any alteration or diminution, to the *Præfectus Prætorio*, who examining the matter, ſhould therein take order of his own Authority, if it might be done; or elſe, tranſmit them to the Emperour himſelf, if he thought them fit for his notice. If ſo he doth, he will have but one Meſſenger of the City or Province to come along with the Miſſive, both for ſaving Expence, and to prevent the Burthening of the *Curſus publicus*. Yet ſometimes, as appears by Hiſtory, more Perſons were wont to be ſent on thoſe Errands.

Valentinian takes care for providing *Rome* of Neceſſaries.

L.L. 3, 4. de Piſtoribus. L. 2. de calcis Coctoribus. Vide Chronol. legum ad An. 364.

Canon Frumentarius.

L. 1. de Canone Frumentario urbis Romæ, Cod. Th. l. 14. tit. 15.

L.L. 5, 6, 7. de Pœnis, Cod. Th. l. 9. tit. 40.

L. 8. de Annona & Tributis, Cod. Th. l. 11. tit. 1.

L. 11. de Operibus publicis, Cod. Th.

21. But amongſt the Laws he made at this time, very remarkable is one large Conſtitution, whereby he demonſtrated his extraordinary care for ſupplying with Victuals the City of *Rome*, which now, as we may therefore collect, was under ſome preſſure in reference to Proviſions. “ Therein he takes order that the People ſhall be ſerved with good Bread, regulates matters belonging to the publick Bakers, who were a Company obliged (both they and their Children) to this Service; provides for the ſupply of Corn, the Repair of the publick Granaries, and the Privileges of thoſe who burnt the Lime for ſuch publick uſes. There was yearly a great quantity of Grain brought to *Rome* out of *Africa*, *Sicily*, and *Sardinia* eſpecially; of which ſome (as we have already hinted) was made into Bread, and *gratis* beſtowed on the People by the Emperours, called *Panis Gradilis*, and the reſt was ſold by the Bakers, and with it made that ſtyled *Panis Oſtienſis*, who had their Store-houſes in the City for the keeping of it, (at this time about three hundred.) “ And of this *Valentinian* orders two hundred thouſand *Modii*, and no more, of the very beſt, to be ſold them at reaſonable rates, that they might not obtrude ill Bread upon the Citizens. Further, leſt any Deceit ſhould be uſed in the Conveyance, he will have the Corn to be carried by the ordinary Porters belonging to the Wharf, and that there might not want Aſſiſtance at the Bakehouſes, as *Conſtantine* the Great had ordained; That ſuch as were condemned for leſſer Crimes ſhould be ſent to thoſe Houſes, he renews or reinforces the Law in this particular. And this ſame year upon his travelling Weſtward, when he granted a General Pardon and Indemnity, he yet excepted out of it ſuch as had been condemned to this Drudgery. And laſtly, leſt any of the Corn wont to be brought to *Rome* ſhould be interverted, he abſolutely forbids any Money to be received in the room thereof. All this Endeavour of his for ſupply of *Rome* was promoted by *Symmachus*, who was now *Præfect* of that City, to whom theſe Laws are directed, and of whom *Ammianus* gives this Teſtimony, That having ſucceeded *Apronianus*, he made all things more plentiful there than uſual, and built a ſtrong and moſt beautiful Bridge, to the great contentment of the People. This we muſt conclude was with the knowledge and conſent of the Emperor, becauſe this very year, by another Edict directed to him, he forbids any new Work to be raiſed in that City without his Order, although he gives free leave to repair any Building that was decayed.

22. But though ſuch was his Reſolution in relation to *Rome*, which being too great already, there was reaſon to reſtrain the Extravagancy of Building, he made ſhortly after another Law, importing a quite contrary Command, becauſe relating to another place, and for a quite different reaſon. He and his Brother now lay at *Naiſſus* or *Mediana*, three miles diſtant from it, and near to that part of *Dacia* called *Dacia Ripenſis*; but now they were ready to part, the Barbarous Nations were all up round about, and theſe Quarters were threatned with the Inrodes of the *Goths* amongſt others. For the ſafety of them therefore he directs an Edict to *Tautomedes*,

the

For repairing and raiſing Forts upon the Borders.

L. 13. *de operibus publicis, Cod.Th. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt. quia temporaria & hiſtorica eſt. Vide Gothofr. in L.*

the *Dux* of this ſame *Dacia*, bearing Date of the nineteenth of *June* from *Mediana*, and therein commands him both to repair the old Towers or *Burgi* that were“ in his Limit, if any there were that needed it; and further to build new ones in all“ convenient places: which if he neglected to do, he tells him, that when the time of his Command ſhall be expired, he ſhall be compelled to raiſe up ſuch at his own Charge, as he neglected to build by the Labours of his Souldiers, and at the pub-“ lick Charge, during his Government. That theſe Towers or *Burgi* were wont to be built upon the Limits, hath already been ſaid; and this may be added, that uſually it was by the Manual Labour of the Souldiers, who at idle times were imployed upon ſuch like Works as fortifying of places, or making common Cauſeys or High Ways into the Provinces. And about this very time from Inſcriptions it appears, that ſuch Towers were raiſed in ſeveral places by the ſame means. *Saluſt* was now *Præfectus Prætorio* of the Eaſt, *Mamertinus* governed in the ſame manner *Italy*, *Africa*, and *Illyricum*; and *Germanus* had the overſight of *Gall*. *Valentinian* being gone to *Milan*, and *Valens* to *Conſtantinople*, both of them took Conſular Ornaments: but all this year the *Roman* Empire was grievouſly diſtreſſed: For the *Allemans* brake thorough the Limits of *Germany*, enraged for that their Embaſſadours ſent to the Court had brought back far leſs Gifts and Preſents than had been uſual; which therefore they caſt away, and in ſcorn and indignation trode upon them. *Urſatius* the *Magiſter Officiorum* dealt ſomething roughly with them, being an angry ſevere man, which they returning home aggravated as a mighty Affront, and irritated thereby theſe moſt fierce Nations. And about the ſame time *Procopius* in the Eaſt endeavoured to uſurp. The knowledge of all which was brought to *Valentinian* as he was travelling toward *Paris* about the beginning of *November*.

The *Allemans* break into the Empire.

Procopius uſurps in the Eaſt.

23. Againſt the *Allemans* he ſent *Dagalaiphus*, who had but little work at preſent, they being timely retreated after they had done what miſchief they could. But as for the Rebellion of *Procopius*, he knew not what to do in that matter, not being certain whether he had uſurped upon the Death of his Brother *Valens*; ſo lame was the Intelligence he had received from *Equitius*, to whom the Information was ſent by one *Antony* a Tribune, who commanded in the Midland *Dacia*. He conferred on *Equitius* the Dignity of *Magiſter*, and deſigned to march preſently into *Illyricum*, leſt the Uſurper ſhould ſeize upon *Pannonia*; for he remembred with what ſpeed *Julian* overran all thoſe Parts, when he ſet up for himſelf againſt *Conſtantius*. But thoſe about him remonſtrated, how by leaving the Weſt he muſt neceſſarily expoſe *Gall* to the Inrodes of the Northern Nations; and the Cities ſent their Meſſengers to pray, that he would not forſake them in this their neceſſity, when his very Preſence and Name would be ſufficient to awe and reſtrain the Fury of the Barbarians. And he yielded to their Requeſt, being convinced by their Reaſons, often ſaying, That *Procopius* was but Enemy to him and his Brother, whereas the *Allemans* made War upon the Empire. Reſolving then not to ſtir out of *Gall* he went to *Rheims*, and now being ſollicitous about *Africk*, leſt any Attempt ſhould be made upon it, he ſent away *Neotherius*, who at preſent was no more than a *Notary*, (though afterwards he arrived at the Dignity of *Conſul*,) with one *Maſaucio*, a *Domeſtick Protector*, who was well acquainted with all the dangerous places of that Province; and *Gaudentius*, one of the *Scutarii*, whom he had long known to be faithful to him. Now *Ammianus* finds himſelf even haraſſed betwixt the Affairs of the Weſt and the Eaſt, which happening at the ſame time, he is at ſome ſtand in what method to relate them. But we muſt needs take notice, that of the Journey of *Valentinian* into *Gall*, he ſaith as good as nothing, nor of the long ſtay he made in *Italy* before he came thither, which we find by the Dates of many Laws; and by theſe Laws we can trace his ſteps whitherſoever he moved. For though nothing paſſed all this while, of which *Ammianus* thought fit to take notice; yet in many things, and of moment, he took order, which related to the Civil Government, and provided for the Safety and Intereſt of the ſeveral parts of the Empire by various Edicts, out of which we muſt obſerve ſo much as is material for our purpoſe: As great advantage coming to the Reader from the knowledge of ſuch Paſſages, as from the Relations of Wars and Commotions, with which moſt Hiſtorians ſatisfie themſelves.

Valentinian thinks to go againſt him.

But is diverted by his Attendants and the Cities.

24. As he proceeded in his Journey toward *Italy*, he took *Arelape* and *Emona*, two Cities of *Noricum*, in his way; and being arrived at the later, he reſolved not to omit the Acknowledgment uſually made of a Prince at his firſt coming to the Empire, by the payment of that Gold called *Aurum Coronarium*, of which we have already ſpoken. By an Edict directed from this place, on the twenty eighth of *Auguſt*,

Sect. 2.

He requires the Gold called *Aurum Coronarium.*

A.D. 364.

l. 2. de Auro Coronario Cod. Th. lib. 12. Tit. 13. Dat. 5. Kal. Septemb. Emonæ Divo Joviano & Varroniano vv. c. c. Coſs. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt. l. l. 5. 6. de luſtrali Conlatione. Cod. Th. lib. 13. Tit. 1.

to *Mamertinus* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, he requires that payment of this Gold“ be made by all; *Senators* and ſome few others excepted, who had been privileged“ by a Law he mentions, not now extant. For it being a mark of ſubjection,“ the *Decuriones* were only ſubject to it, not *Senators*; for the honour of whom Princes had a great reſpect, as accounting them part of their Body, and who had a payment of their own peculiar to them, *viz.* that called *Glebalis Collatio*, and another ſort of Gold known by the name of *Aurum Oblatitium.* Indeed the ſtate of the Empire was ſuch at this time, by reaſon of the motions of Barbarians, that it had required all Supplies that fairly might be procured. Therefore in this year ſo dangerous, were publiſhed two ſeveral Edicts for the payment alſo of the *Luſtralis Collatio*, or the *Chryſargyrum*, ſometimes exacted from Traders or Merchants, falſly by *Zoſimus* ſaid to have been invented by *Conſtantine* the Great. There were, it ſeems, three ſorts of Perſons that traded, which held themſelves excuſed from this payment, *viz.* the *Palatines*, or ſuch as belonged to the Emperours Houſe, *Clerks*, or *Eccleſiaſticks*; and others that bore themſelves *high* upon their Places and Dignities. But the Emperour *Valens*, by one Edict commands that none of them all ſhould“ be favoured; not the firſt, becauſe this money did not concern their ſervice or attendance“ at Court, but their Traffick, which was the thing obnoxious to it;“ not the ſecond ſort, becauſe if they were good men, they did not traffick for themſelves,“ but to aſſiſt the poor and needy; and as for the great ones, they ought“ not to play the Merchants, or, if they did, they were beſt able to pay, and ought“ to do it in the firſt place: This firſt Edict was made at *Conſtantinople*, on the ſeventeenth“ of *April*, but there was need to re-inforce it again by another dated“ on the eighth of *September*, wherein the Emperours ſignifying, that they had“ made an Indiction, as the Phraſe was, or laid ſuch an Impoſition of Gold and Silver“ upon Traffickers, they expreſly declare that, none ſhall plead any privilege“ from it; for as much as they had commanded all perſons whatſoever, of what Degree“ ſoever, to undergo this burthen for the aſſiſtance of the Commonwealth,“ none being to be admitted with their Exceptions, but thoſe who ſold only their“ own growths, ſuch as they had upon their own Lands, without buying on purpoſe“ to ſell again. For here as we formerly ſaid, lies the difference; none being“ to be eſteemed Traders or Merchants, but ſuch as buy and ſell the ſame Commodity.

And other ways raiſes money, for which now there was great occaſion.

l. l. 9, 10. de Petitionibus &c. Cod. Th. lib. 10. Tit. 10. l. 3. de Conlatione fundorum. Cod. Th. lib. 11. Tit. 19.

He provides for the Relief of *Africk*,

25. Much about this ſame time he variouſly provided for the Relief of the Province of *Byzacena* in *Africk*; by reſtraining of Informers, (whom a year after he ordered“ as Enemies of Mankind, to be puniſhed with death) and of thoſe that quitted“ the ſervices of their Corporations; and whereas ſuch as held that ſort of Lands“ called *Emphyteuticarii*, were liable to a double Payment, *viz.* of *Corn*, and of“ *Gold*; that of Corn he would have paid at three ſeveral times in the year, becauſe“ they were ſuppoſed to have it ready by them, but Gold at what time in“ the whole year they could beſt do it; for it was not to be ſuppoſed they were“ provided of it; but when they had ſold off their Corn. As he took care for the eaſe and relief of the Provincials of *Africk*, ſo being come to *Aquileia*, much more for them of *Italy*; for the benefit of whom he publiſhed, the remainder of this year, many Conſtitutions, whereof the firſt to *Artemius* now *Corrector* of *Lucania*, whom he taxeth for having neglected the actings of ſome things according to the Rules he had preſcribed. In this large Conſtitution, divided now into ſeveral Laws, he gives order for the maintenance of the Privileges of his *Palatines*, or Courtiers,“ as that they ſhould not be forced to be *Suſceptores* or Receivers of Tributes;“ as neither ſuch as ſerved in the Offices of the *Magiſtri Militum*, whom he declares“ to be of the nature of Souldiers. He forbids the Exactions uſually made“ upon the People, by theſe whoſe work it was to look to the Waggons, and Beaſts“ belonging to the *Curſus Publicus*, but eſpecially concerns himſelf, for the due“ Adminiſtration of Juſtice. To this end he commands that a Judge have a ſpecial“ care that He hear no Cauſes, either *Civil* or *Criminal*, in any By-place, or private“ Room; but when he gives Sentence, it ſhall be upon the Bench, the doors of the“ *Secretarium* being open, and Acceſs given to all Perſons. For the place where the“ Judge or Governour of a Province heard Cauſes, was called by the Name of *Secretarium*, as that of the Emperour, *Conſiſtorium*; It being by a Velum or Hanging cloſed, for keeping out the multitude when there was occaſion for Conſultation, or any other Act that required privacy after the Debate of the matter was over. He further reprehends a fault which was common in thoſe daies, and from which“ the gravity of Judges was not a ſufficient Bar, and that was haunting of the Theatres,“ to gaze upon the *Spectacula*, or publick Shows, whether when made at the“ charge“

And publiſhes ſeveral Laws for the benefit of *Italy*.

vide Chronol. legum hujus Anni.

l. 2. de Officio Rectoris Provinciæ Haue Anthemi Cariſſime nobis. Dat. Cal. Octob. Aquileiæ Divo Joviano & Varroniano Coſs. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt. vide Goth. in h. l. & præcedentem.

charge of others, or afforded to the People by the Judges themſelves. Moreover there was great Robbing practiſed at this time in *Italy*, which indeed never was, nor at this preſent is free from *Banditi*; for prevention whereof, when other means failed, *Valentinian* reſolved to forbid even the Uſe of Horſes, as that which eſpecially conduced to the motions of thoſe ſodain Incurſions, and the ſpeedy retiring of the Thieves to their lurking places. The Uſe and having of Horſes he prohibits “ to all the Inhabitants of theſe Provinces, *viz.* *Piconum*, *Flaminia*, *Apulia*, *Calabria*, “ *Brittii*, *Lucania* and *Samnium*, five ſorts of Perſons excepted, theſe were *Senators*, “ the *Honorati*, the *Governours* of Provinces, the *Veterani*, or *Emerite* Souldiers, “ and *Decuriones*, the ſeveral ranks and conditions of whom he concluded “ would put them upon higher deſigns than thoſe of Robbing. Particularly, the *Honorati* “ were ſuch as had born Honourable Offices, whether Military or Civil, were not of the *Curiæ* or Corporations, as ſome have miſtaken; but others, to whom were equal in Dignity the Principals or *Primates* in the Cities, though ſometimes the *Honorati* be alſo compared with *Senators*. For thoſe in the Country, or the *Provincials* as they are ordinarily called, were uſually diſtinguiſhed into the three Ranks of *Honorati*, *Decuriones*, *Poſſeſſors*, or Freeholders, and *Coloni* or Tenants. But beſides the true and Original ſort of the *Honorati*, who had born Offices, there was another which obtained this Degree, by the Letters Patents of the Prince. Both ſorts had many Privileges, as of entring the Towns and Cities in their Chariots, Leave to come to the Senate-Houſe, and ſitting on the Bench with Judges, except they themſelves had Cauſes to be heard. In this Caſe, *Zeno* the Emperour appointed them a place below the Judges, but above the common Croud; as is now practiſed in *France* towards Princes themſelves, when their matters are heard in the Chambers of Juſtice. But as to this Law againſt the Uſe of Horſes, it ſeems to have been chiefly occaſioned by the great Droves of Cattel, with which ſome of theſe Countries, to which it hath relation, very much abounded. And for this Reaſon, five days after the Date of it, by another Conſtitution, he provided for the ſecurity of *Campania*, which pleaſant and fruitful Countrey was alſo full of Cattel, and ſerved *Rome* with Proviſions. To prevent the ſtealing and driving of them “ away, he forbids the Uſe of Horſes, both to thoſe that looked to his own Herds “ there, and to the Stewards and Officers of *Senators*, who were apt to bear themſelves “ high upon the Grandeur of their Maſters, and prohibits the travelling abroad “ with any ſort of Weapon to all in general; ſuch only excepted as ſhould obtain “ Leave of wearing them from himſelf.

L.1.Equibus equorum uſus conceſſus eſt, &c.Cod.Th.lib. 9.Tit.30.Abeſt à Cod. Juſt. ut cæteræ omnes leges hujus Tituli.

Honorati, who they were.

De Honoratis vide fuſius diſſerentem Gothof. ad L. un. de Officio Judic. Civilium Cod. Th. lib.1.Tit.8.

L.2.Quibus Equorum uſus &c. & L. unic. Quorum uſus interdictus eſt. lex unica.Cod. Juſt.eod.tit.

The Uſe of Horſes forbidden.

26. But ever muſt it be ſuppoſed that Souldiers were alſo to be excepted from this Inhibition, who were not bound to lay down Arms, till diſmiſſed by Authority, or that they had ſerved up their time, and were become *Emerite* or *Veterane*. To theſe either he or his Brother had now an eſpecial regard; and as they deſerved maintenance and due Incouragement, to fix and aſcertain it, they publiſhed another “ Conſtitution, at the latter end of this year, whereby to all their Subjects, “ or Provincials in general, they made known the Confirmation of ſix ſeveral Priviledges, “ or Inſtances of their Munificence unto them. The firſt is that they may “ chuſe their Habitation where they pleaſe; which to all it was unlawful to do “ without the Indulgence or Leave of the Prince. In the ſecond place they give “ them Immunity from all Civil and Perſonal Charges or Services, or rather confirm “ that which had been granted by former Laws. In the next they permit them to “ ſeize to their own Uſe any Vacant Lands as they were termed, or ſuch as were “ derelict or owned no Maſters, which, within ſo vaſt a compaſs as that of the “ *Roman* Empire, muſt often fall to the Publick, and for theſe Lands, or others they “ poſſeſſed, they ſhould pay no Rent, or yearly acknowledgement. And fifthly, “ for the improvement of thoſe grounds, they ſhall receive at the publick expence, “ from the Governours of Provinces, both Cattel to till, and Seed wherewith to “ ſow them, which proviſion *Conſtantine* the Great, had formerly made, but not in “ the ſame proportion. For whereas he, without any diſtinction, had ordered to each *Veterane* one yoak of Oxen, and an hundred *Modii* of Corn; they by this “ Edict both increaſe the Allowance in ſome ſort, and make a difference of Perſons, “ allotting to ſuch as had the Dignity of *Protectors*, two pair of Oxen, and an hundred “ *Modii* of Grain, and to the reſt one pair a piece, and fifty *Modii*. For “ ſuch as enjoyed the honour of *Protectors*, were in ſeveral reſpects more privileged than the reſt: In criminal Cauſes they were not judged by the ordinary Magiſtrates, but by the *Præfectus Prætorio*, and had larger Immunites both from that called *Luſtralis Collatio*, and the ordinary *Cenſe*. And in the laſt place, they grant them “ Immunities for their Slaves, and Families, which they ſhould bring upon ſuch “ Lands “

Except to Souldiers.

L.8.de Veteranis Cod.Th.lib. 7.Tit.20. Dat. 15.Kal.Decemb. Divo Joviano & Varroniano Coſs. vide Com.

Great Priviledges and Immunities to *Veterane* or *Emerite* Souldiers.

Lands. This Conſtitution containing a more full Enumeration of the Privileges of thoſe old Souldiers, of whom and of which we often make mention, is more than ordinarily to be taken notice of.

L.6. de Bonis Proſcriptorum, &c. Cod. Th. l. 9. tit. 42.

Dat. 7 Cal. Decemb. Mediol. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

He is kind to the Children of condemned perſons, by an Edict in their behalf.

15. As *Valentinian* hereby took care for the Reward of ſuch as had well deſerved of the publick; ſo by another Edict dated a few days after, he provided againſt the immoderate puniſhment of ſuch as had been offenders againſt the Laws. *Conſtantius* had formerly granted the Eſtates of condemned perſons, the Crime of Treaſon onely excepted, to their Children if any could be found within three Degrees or Deſcents; but he by this Edict extends it to all their Poſterity without exception; “ ſo as not onely *Poſthumi* are thereby included, but even all Deſcendents *in infinitum*. “ And now this year, which ſtill bore the Names of *Jovian* and *Varronian* his Son, drew to an end, and gave way to the firſt Conſulſhip of the two Brothers. It was the Cuſtom, that upon the Deſignation of new Conſuls Meſſengers were wont to be ſent into the Provinces with the News; as alſo upon any other occaſion of publick Joy, as of a Victory, the Triumphs of the Emperours, making of Peace, and other matters. Theſe Meſſengers were alſo wont to exact Money as a Reward from the poor and mean, as well as from the rich, which was termed *Sportula*; and this was alſo wont to be taxed or levied by the Governours of the Provinces, which proved a great Vexation and Burthen to poor people, as *Ammianus* complains of it in the time of *Conſtantius*. If Credit may be given to the Flouriſhes of *Libanius*, *Julian* had reformed this Abuſe, although no Laws we find of his made upon this ſubject: However it was now become ſo grievous and intolerable, that *Valens* lying at *Conſtantinople*, ſixteen days before he entered upon the Conſulſhip, thought fit by an Edict to obviate this impending Miſchief. Thereby he commands, that “ when upon occaſion of any new Conſuls ſuch Meſſengers were ſent abroad, upon “ their behalf no Impoſition ſhould be laid, nor any one dare to exact or require any “ Contribution. Indeed if any of the *Honorati* or *Curiales* would of their own accord “ give any thing, they might freely do it. In caſe any Governour of a Province “ laid any ſuch Impoſition, ſuffered it to be exacted, or connived at any perſon “ offending againſt this Law, he fines him in twenty pounds of Gold, and his Officers “ in forty. Now this might have its deſired effect upon the Eaſtern Parts, and “ in the Diſtrict of *Valens*: But it ſeems it reached not that of *Valentinian*, nor had that Operation to prevent another Edict of his, which bears date on the eleventh of *January* following, and conſequently of his aſſumed Conſulſhip. By this Law, “ to the Meſſage about new Conſuls he adds Victory, which probably at this time “ he had obtained over the *Allemans* in *Gall*, and other publick Rejoycings: and “ as to the Penalty, will have the Governours pay the double of what was given, and “ their Officers four fold. And this by a ſecond Conſtitution dated from the ſame “ place, after four years he reinforces; but neither in it, in this whereof we now “ ſpeak, nor that preceding of *Valens*, is there any Penalty laid upon the Meſſengers “ themſelves: Which Defect being juſtly to be wondered at, *Theodoſius* the Great afterward ſupplied. Obſervable it is, that to thoſe *Apoſtles* or Meſſengers of good tidings, the word *Euangile* or Meſſage of good tidings in the Goſpel alludeth, and many things contained in the Scripture, wherein S. *Paul*, in the Prefaces to his Epiſtles, ſhews how far that of our Saviour excels all other *Euangiles* whatſoever, it proceeding not from any mortal man, as was the *Roman* Emperour, but from God himſelf; not concerning any ſudden Accident lately befallen, but what was long expected, not concerning any Earthly Kingdom, or the Birth of an Emperours Son, but an Heavenly one, and the Son of God, with other Inſtances noted by Learned *Gothofred*, out of that Apoſtles Writings.

Valenp reforms an ill Cuſtom of Oppreſſion uſed by the Meſſengers of good News.

L.L. 1,2,3. Ne quid publicæ lætitiæ nuntii, &c. Cod. Th. lib. 8. tit. 11.

16. About this time ſome Entercourſe paſſed betwixt *Valens* and the Nations bordering upon *Ægypt*, without the Pale of the *Roman* Empire. For, four days before his Entrance into the Conſulſhip, or the twenty eighth of *December*, he ſigned an Edict to *Victor* the *Dux* of *Ægypt*, importing an Order to ſeal up the Pacquets “ of ſuch Embaſſadors as ſhould come from them, that they might be brought “ ſafe to his preſence, and opportunity of adding or inſerting any thing into their Letters “ or Inſtructions of the *Reguli* which they brought, might be prevented. By “ theſe Nations or *Gentiles*, as the Law calls them, muſt be meant the *Axumitæ*, *Homeritæ*, *Saracens*, and other People inhabiting near that Countrey, which were under the Government of *Reguli* in thoſe days, as is evident from ſeveral Teſtimonies; it being now the Cuſtom to call all Nations, that were not ſubject to the Empire, by the Name of *Gentiles*. As ſoon as they ſet foot upon *Roman* Ground, or arrived in *Ægypt*, their Pacquets were to be ſealed up, to prevent their falſifying their Letters they brought, which they might be induced to do at this time, ſeeing the Empire

Entercourſe betwixt *Valens* and the Nations bordering upon *Ægypt*.

Cùm Legati Gentilium venerint obſignari eorum tabulas, oportet, &c. L. 5. de Legatis & Decretis, &c. Cod. Th. lib. 12. tit. 12. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

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embroiled in Wars, which at ſetting forth neither they nor their Superiors had expected; or animated by ſome Malecontenes, who out of hatred to thoſe that at preſent reigned, might be deſirous to embroil them in further Troubles. But beſides the truth of the Letters, he expreſſes his Deſign to be, that the number of them might be preſerved, poſſibly to ſee if any were directed to private hands, to ſuch as held correſpondence with thoſe Nations, that thereby their Intrigues and Plots might be diſcovered: A thing often practiſed by other Princes. So *Arcadius* afterward, when the Barbarous Nations raged in the Empire, commanded all Carriers or Conveyers of Letters to be ſtopt, and their Pacquets ſealed up and brought to his Preſence. And the Cuſtom is in *France*, that when the Popes Legates arrive there, their Faculties (as they call them) or Mandates, are to be carried to the Parliament. Concerning theſe Forein Embaſſadors we ſhall onely further ſuggeſt, that they had granted them by the Laws the uſe of the *Curſus publicus*.

A.D. 365. *Valentiniano & Valente A.A. Coſs.*

Vide Chron. Hiſt.Cod.Th.ad An.365.

17. *Valens* paſſed moſt of his Conſulſhip at *Conſtantinople*, and *Valentinian* made his abode at *Milan*, till the Moneth of *September* of the ſame year. During this their firſt Conſulſhip *Symmachus* was the *Præfect* of *Rome*, to whom were directed this very Year thirteen Conſtitutions, whereby *Valentinian* provided for the Maintenance and further Convenience of that City. *Severus* of that City was *Vicar*, and *Mamertinus* was *Præfectus Prætorio* over *Italy*, *Illyricum*, and *Africk*; *Saluſt* of the Eaſt, and *Germanianus* of *Gall*. *Faventius* was *Vicar* of *Italy*, and *Clearchus* of *Aſia*. *Valentinian* amongſt other matters provided for, by ſeveral Conſtitutions, in the beginning of the Year, which tended to the ſecurity and emolument of the Subject, thought fit alſo to take care of the publick Revenue, without which neither he nor his People could be preſerved in ſafety: And this he did by revoking all Privileges and Immunities granted to any perſons, thoſe to Souldiers“ onely excepted. But about a Moneth after his Brother *Valens* from *Conſtantinople*,“ by another Conſtitution provided, That without his knowledge no extraor-“ dinary Charge ſhould be impoſed by any Officer, not the *Præfect* upon the Pro-“ vincials of his Diſtrict; according to the Teſtimony of *Ammianus* concerning him, that the Eaſt never had a Prince which more hated Oppreſſions, he taking care for its ſafety and conveniences no otherwiſe than of his own Houſe; and being a moſt grievous Proſecutor as well of Oppreſſors as Thieves and Robbers. And as he by an Edict at this time provided againſt the former ſort, ſo *Valentinian* by two others“ publiſhed through *Italy* and the *Alpes*, which now ſtood in great need of Relief“ againſt High-way Men, took care for ſuppreſſion of the other. For as from other Laws lately ſpoken to it appears, what Diſorders of this nature were committed in ſeveral Provinces of *Italy*, to which for this reaſon he thought fit to forbid the uſe of Horſes; ſo from thoſe of which now we write, it is evident that the *Alpes* ſwarmed with ſuch as had forſaken their Colours, and betaken themſelves to thoſe Mountainous and inacceſſible places; the *Italians*, who for ſeveral Ages had alienated their Minds from Warfare, not well enduring the Service. For prevention of which Miſchiefs he now condemns to the Mines ſuch as ſhould harbour any that had deſerted their Colours, if of mean Condition; if of higher Degree, he deprives them of half of their Eſtates: and in this Puniſhment involves the Officers of all Governours of Provinces, who ſhould relieve ſuch in their Company, and not diſcover them. By the Direction of theſe Edicts it appears, that the *Alpes* were ſeparate, and not eſteemed in thoſe days as part of *Italy*; for though ſome of them were reckoned to belong to it, others appertained as *Appendices* unto *Gall*: and indeed the *Alpes Cottiæ* alone belonged to *Italy*, but the *Maritime Alpes*, as *Peninæ* and *Graiæ* unto *Gall*.

Valentinian revokes Privileges againſt paying of Money.

L 3.de Immunitate conceſſa, Cod.Th.

Valens forbids the raiſing of any without his knowledge.

L.11. de Extraordinariis, Cod. Th.l.11. tit.16.

L.1.de Deſertoribus, &c. Cod. Th.l.7. tit.18.

An Edict of *Valentinian* againſt High-way men.

Impp. Valentinianus & Valens. Edict. duo per Italiam & Alpes. Vide Gothofr. in L.

18. About the ſame time that *Valentinian* ſhewed ſo much indignation againſt ſuch as fled from their Colours, *Valens* was as much concerned about ſuch as refuſed to come firſt to them. Being now making Preparations againſt the *Perſian*, or rather in fear of the *Goths* their Incurſions into the parts near *Conſtantinople*; by an Edict directed to *Petronius Patritius*, his Father in Law, of whom we ſhall hear more ſhortly, he declares to all Veterane or Emerite Souldiers, that they ought to“ preſent ſuch of their Sons as were able and fit for Service to be liſted. And further“ ordains, That if any of them had, to conceal themſelves and ſhun the Service, got to“ be Officers or Attendants to the Governours of Provinces, they ſhall be forced“ thence, and obliged to the Burthens of Corporations, though old and weak as they“ are. For the better Encouragement of all, both that were actually in Service, and to be liſted, *Valentinian* ſhortly after took care for the more certain furniſhing of them with Clothes, which in this Age were provided for Souldiers at the Publick Charge. He will have the *Suſceptores*, or ſuch as got them together, to be made“ either

Valens ſummons the Sons of *Veterani* into the Field.

L.7. de filiis militar. apparit. & Veteranorum, Cod. Th. l.7.tit.22.

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Both of them take care about the Clothing of Souldiers.

L. 1. de Militari veſte Cod. To. lib. 7. Tit. 6.

either out of the *Principals* of Cities, or elſe out of theſe *Honorati* who had obtain-“ ed this Degree, not for their former ſervices, but by Patents, or Codicils. For “ prevention of Frauds, to which long Employment gives opportunity, he will have “ this of theirs to be but Annual; and in *Africk*, if any fault ſhould be committed in “ the choice, the blame ſhould lie upon the Officer or Attendants of the *Proconſul* “ of that Province, who had the Election in his Hands. By this we find that at this time the Souldier was ſerved with clothes in kind, though afterward he uſually received money in lieu thereof. And for the time when they ſhould be furniſhed “ and brought in, *Valens* provided at the latter end of this ſame year, by another Con-“ ſtitution; requiring that it ſhould be from the firſt of *September*, to the firſt of “ *April*, which if the Governours of the Provinces ſhould neglect to ſee performed, “ (for to their care it belonged) they and their Officers were to be puniſhed at the “ diſcretion of the *Præfectus Prætorio*, under whoſe diſpoſition they were. But this “ Conſtitution was made ſome time after, when *Valens* lay at *Marcianopolis* againſt the *Goths*, whom while he watched, that no miſchief might befal the Provinces from their Inroads, a dangerous flame brake out within the Borders of the Empire.

L. 2. eod. tit.

Ammianus lib. 26.

19. We have formerly made mention of one *Procopius* a Kinſman of *Conſtantius*, and *Julian*, to whom the latter was reported, when he invaded *Perſia*, to have left order, that if he heard of his death, he ſhould inſtantly aſſume the Purple. He was born and educated in *Cilicia*, a man cloſe, and of few words; but being of good Morals, he was preferred, and long continued a *Notary* and *Tribune*. After the death of *Conſtantius*, he began to look higher, was prefered to the dignity of *Comes*, and now appeared to ſome, who more narrowly obſerved him, a Perſon, that if opportunity ſhould ſerve, would be ready to diſturb the publick Peace. *Julian* when about to invade *Perſia*, left him in joint Power with *Sebaſtian*, in *Meſopotamia*, with a ſtrong party of men; and as was ſaid, the report went, that if he himſelf miſcarried, he bade him declare himſelf Emperour; but hearing of the promotion of *Jovian*, and how one of the ſame Name, and chief of the Notaries having been propounded by ſome few Souldiers as worthy of the Empire, was put to death, he had not now the courage to make any ſtir, but withdrew himſelf into places far remote. Underſtanding there that he was diligently ſought after by *Jovian*, and weary of that retired and deſolate condition, joyned with Penury and Obſcurity, he ſtole ſecretly into the Country about *Chalcedon*, where concealing himſelf in the houſe of a Friend, one *Strategius* a *Palatine*, he often came to *Conſtantinople*, and being unknown by reaſon of the meaneſs of his Habit, and his meagre countenance, diligently hunted after News. He had the contentment to hear *Valens* rail'd on, for oppreſſions, and invading the Rights of other men; but eſpecially for his conniving at his Father in Law, *Petronius*, a man deformed both in Body and mind, who had been ſodainly preferred from the Command of the Souldiers called *Martenſes*, to the Dignity of a Patritian, and with all ſorts of exquiſite Torments raged both againſt innocent, and guilty Perſons to find out debts owing to the publick of no ſmaller ſtanding, than ſince the time of *Aurelian*. So cruel, inexorable and raging an Inquiſitor had never been known, with whom *Cleander* under *Commodus*, and *Plautianus* the *Præfect* under *Severus*, were not to be compared. Many Families he ruined as well of Military men, as others, who ſorely diſpleaſed with the preſent poſture of Affairs, deſired an Alteration above all things. This fully gratified the Humour of *Procopius*, who waited an opportunity, how by this means to prefer himſelf to the higheſt Dignity.

Procopius the Kinſman of *Julian* & *Conſtantius* incouraged by hearing *Valens* rail'd on.

Hæc aliter Zoſimus ſuo more, nempe Juliano mortuo Procopium ad Jovianum veniſſe eique Chlamydem purpuream tradidiſſe at rogaſſe ut militiæ ſacramento ſolutus domum reverti ſineretur. Quo impetrato Cæſaream Cappadociæ ſe Contulit. Poſtea ſuſpectus à Valentiniano & Valente comprehendi eſt juſſus ſed milites miſſos fruſtratus in Euxinum portum aufugit, &c.

Zoſimus lib. 4.

20. Winter being over, *Valens* haſted for *Syria*, to make head againſt the *Perſian* King, who was tampering to get *Armenia* into his Hands; and being come into *Bithynia*, received Intelligence how a certain Nation of the *Goths*, as yet untouched, had deſigned to invade *Thrace*. However he reſolved to keep on his Journey, but ordered a ſtrong party both of Horſe and Foot, to defend the places where the Incurſions of the Barbarians was moſt feared; and upon this occaſion, as is moſt probably conjectured, he directed his Edict concerning the bringing of the Sons of the *Veterani* into the Field, to *Petronius* his Father in Law, who ſeems in his abſence to have been left in *Thrace*, and the parts near *Conſtantinople*. The Emperour being thus removed to a great diſtance, *Procopius* tired out with his private neceſſities; and reſolving that a death how grievous ſoever, was to be preferred before ſo miſerable a life, caſt the Die of his Fortunes very raſhly, and entred upon a moſt bold and adventurous Enterprize: Having acquaintance with ſome of thoſe Souldiers that were to march for *Thrace*, by great promiſes he laboured to

draw

Courts ſome Souldiers.

draw them over to his Deſign, and with them that whole Army. Diſtracted with various thoughts of Hope and Fear, he met them at a place about *Conſtantinople*, called the *Baths* of *Anaſtaſia*, from a ſiſter of *Conſtantine*, where by thoſe mercinary Souldiers, he was received with promiſe of ſafety, and a ſhow of Honour, though indeed, but in the nature of a Priſoner, or in ſuch manner as the *Prætorian* Bands, having ſet the Empire to Sale, received *Julian* after the death of *Pertinax*. There ſtood he amongſt them like a Ghoſt, or one newly riſen out of the Grave, without the Habit of a Souldier, but cloathed like a Courtier, with a Coat imbroidered, and from the groin downwards, being after the faſhion of a Page, yet with a Pike in his right Hand, and a Purple Coat thrown upon his left Arm; he appeared indeed like ſome Player upon the Stage. In this ridiculous manner having fawningly implored their aſſiſtance, and promiſed them great matters, he was carried by the Souldiers who incompaſſed him, and ſhewed publickly in the City; though in their paſſage through the Streets, in great fear they were to be knocked on the head with ſtones, or tyles caſt down upon them from the houſes.

21. Yet the people made no oppoſition, nor yet ſhewed him any countenance, though deſirous of change; eſpecially by reaſon of *Petronius*. Having aſcended the Tribunal, a ſtrange amazement ſeized on all men, which was accompanied with what is uſual, a deep ſilence: Hereat he was ſtrangely diſmayed, and imagining that now the means for bringing him to a ſpeedy end, for which he had often wiſhed, rather than the continuance in his former condition, was at hand, he was ſeized with a trembling in all his limbs, and therewith ſtruck dumb for a long time. At length he ſo far recovered his ſpirits as to ſpeak ſomething with an interrupted and faint voice, concerning his Deſcent from the Imperial Family of *Conſtantine*, and this was followed by the applauſe of a few perſons hired before hand, and then by the Acclamations of the ordinary ſort in a tumultuous manner, giving him the Title of Emperour. Thus cheared, in an hudling manner, they haſted with him to the Palace, accompanied with none but thoſe of baſe condition. Afterward many came to him, either perſwaded, or on their own accords, and others, not hearing this ſtrange and ſodain alteration, ſlipped away and haſted to the Emperour, amongſt whom he that uſed moſt ſpeed was *Sophronius*, at preſent a *Notary*, but afterwards *Præfect* of *Conſtantinople*; who overtook *Valens*, at *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, as he was ready to march through *Cilicia*, for *Antioch*. The knowledge of matters how they ſtood at *Conſtantinople* diverted the thoughts of *Valens*, and he reſolved to return by the way of *Galatia*, and by a ſpeedy retreat to cruſh the Rebellion as it were in the egg. While he haſted back by great Journeys, *Procopius* procured ſome Perſons impudently to affirm, that they came out of *Gall*, and that *Valentinian* was dead in that Province, where all men would willingly ſubmit to the new Prince. And that ſo audacious a deſign, might not want anſwerable proſecution, *Nebridius*, who through the Faction of *Petronius*, had been made *Præfectus Prætorio*, in the room of *Salluſt*, and *Cæſarius* the *Præfect* of *Conſtantinople*, were both caſt into Priſon. The Government of the City was committed to *Phronemius*, and *Euphraſius* was made *Magiſter Officiorum*, two Learned *Galls*; and matters belonging to the Camp, were intruſted with *Gomoarius* and *Agilo*, recalled to the Military Girdle, indiſcreetly as the Event ſhewed. And, becauſe *Julius* a *Comes* who Commanded the Forces now in *Thrace*, was feared, leſt he ſhould come ſodainly upon the Rebels, *Nebridius* was forced to write to him in *Valens* his name, to haſten to *Conſtantinople*, where he was alſo ſecured. All things thus ſeeming to favour them, *Araxius* was by procurement of *Agilo* his Son in Law, made *Præfectus Prætorio*; and on many others, Offices and Imployments at Court were conferred. For ſo did Ambition and Covetouſneſs ſway, that though this to wiſe men could appear little more than Pageantry, and ſome were conſtrained to accept of theſe fine things, yet others made friends and that by money, to come at them.

Upon the Emperours Abſence Uſurpes.

Upon News thereof *Valens* returns Weſtward.

In the mean time *Procopius* diſpoſeth of Places.

And his Affairs ſeem to be in a good poſture.

22. *Procopius* his Eſtate now ſeemed reaſonably well ſettled, and for the preſerving of it in this poſture, a ſufficient Army was to be raiſed, which was eaſily enough done, thoſe Troops which were to march for *Thrace*, being by great promiſes allured to ſwear Allegiance to him, and that with bitter Execrations; who had alſo the advantage of ſhewing them the little Daughter of *Conſtantius*, which he carried in his lap, and thereby his nearneſs in Blood both to him, and *Julian*. And it made a greater Impreſſion that *Fauſtina* the Childs Mother had that day upon ſome other occaſion put on the Habit of Empreſs. Now were certain Perſons ſent to draw *Illyricum* to his party, but armed, beſides blindneſs and madneſs, with no other materials, than Medals ſtamped with this new Emperours Image, and other

ſimple allurements, whom *Equitius* that Commanded in thoſe parts ſeized, and put to death with much torture; but fearing he might himſelf be ſo treated, he Fortified the Paſſages toward the North, *viz.* that of *Dacia Ripenſis*, the moſt Famous one of *Succi*, and the other in *Macedonia*, known in Greek by the Name of *Acontiſma.* By this means was the Uſurper hindred of his Deſign upon *Illyricum*, and thereby miſſed of a notable Advantage; while in the mean time *Valens* travelling through *Galatia*, upon notice how far matters were gone at *Conſtantinople*; was ſtruck with ſuch conſternation, that he thought of caſting off the Purple, and had certainly done it, if thoſe about him had not plyed him with powerful motives to the contrary; by the advice of whom, he ſent before the *Jovii* and *Victores* to break into the Camp of the Rebels. While they were on their way, *Procopius*, lately returned from *Nice*, in five days ſpace having gathered together thoſe called the *Divitenſes*, and a promiſcuous number of ſuch as had forſaken their Standards, went as far as *Mygdus*, a Town of *Phrygia*, ſcituate on the River *Sangarius*. There the Legions met, and being ready to join, when now the Arrows flew very thick, he boldly ſteped forth alone, as to provoke ſome enemy to fight, but eſpying one *Vitalianus*, whom its uncertain whether or no he knew, he gently ſaluted him in Latin, kiſſed his hand, and gave it him; and when all wondred what he was about, he mildly upbraided him and his fellow Souldiers, for taking the part of a miſerable *Pannonian*, who robbed and ſpoiled all men, and ſo far he inſinuated himſelf, that though they were come thither animated with Anger and Reſolution to fight, they were by his ſpeech and behaviour mollified, nay, quite changed, and vailing their Enſigns to him, which was the uſual ſign of Defection, paſſed over to his Party. Inſtead of the warlike ſhout to Battel, which the Barbarians termed *Barritus*, they ſaluted him Emperour with loud voices, and lucky acclamations, and with univerſal Conſent accompanied him to his Pavilion, affirming, after the manner of Soldiers in ſuch caſes, that *Procopius* was invincible.

23. This Acceſſion ſo ſeaſonably made to the ſtrength of *Procopius*, one *Rumitalca* a *Tribune*, who, after his coming over, had received the charge of the Palace, upon mature advice, haſted with ſome Souldiers by Sea, to that City of old called *Drepanum*, at this time *Helenopolis*, and thence with all ſpeed, went and ſeized upon *Nice*. To beſiege it *Valens* had ſent *Vadomarius*, who had exerciſed the Command of *Dux*, and was one of the *Alleman* Kings, while he himſelf went on to *Nicomedia*. Thence he paſſed, and with all his might laid ſiege to *Chalcedon*, from the Walls whereof, many railing ſpeeches were caſt againſt him, and amongſt the reſt they called him *Sabaiarius* or *Beer-drinker*, *Sabaia* being a ſort of ſmall Drink made in *Illyricum*, of Barley or Wheat, as at preſent our Beer or Ale, and in *Pannonia*, where in the Town *Cibalis* *Valens* was born. Being tired out by ſcarcity of Proviſions, and the pertinacious reſolution of the Defendants, he reſolved to diſcamp and be gone, when thoſe that lay in *Nice*, ſodainly making a Sally bore down all before them, and under Conduct of their ſtout Captain *Rumitalca*, deſigned to ſurprize *Valens*, which had been effected, but that he had notice of their coming in the very nick of time, and ſlipped away by the Lake of *Sunona*, and the every way winding River *Gallus*. By this means *Bithynia* came into the hands of *Procopius*, and *Valens* returning with all the ſpeed he could make, to *Ancyra*, there was revived by the welcome news of the coming of *Lupicinus* with conſiderable Forces out of the Eaſt; wherewith now entertaining new hopes, he ſent *Arintheus* an excellent Commander, againſt the Rebels. He being come as far as *Dadaſtana*, where *Jovian* died, found there to ſtop him one *Hyperechius*, formerly an Apparitor to the *Caſtrenſis* of the Palace, with whom as a deſpicable fellow, diſdaining to fight, he ſent to his men to lay hold on their Leader and bind him, which they preſently did. In the mean time one *Venuſtus* an Apparitor belonging to the *Comes Largitionum*, under *Valens*, having been formerly ſent to *Nicomedia*, to fetch gold to pay the Souldiers that ſerved in the Eaſt, upon what had lately hapned, betook himſelf ſpeedily to *Cyzicus* with what he had collected. There he met with *Serenianus* the *Comes Domeſticorum*, who being ſent to ſee to the Treaſure there, defended the City with a tumultuous ſort of men; and this City, that to *Bithynia* he might joyn the *Helleſpont*, *Procopius* had reſolved to attaeque.

Valens lays Siege to *Nicomedia.*

In danger of being Surprized.

Mira de Arinthæo tradit Baſilius M. in Epiſt. c.186.) qui illius viduam de morte viri Conſolatur. vide Vales. in locum.

24. The accompliſhment of his Deſign was deferred, by reaſon that the Defendants had Chained up the Haven, and thereby barred all beaked Ships of acceſs, and beſides highly plied their buſineſs from the Walls. After that the Iuduſtry of all the Captains in Council, and of the Souldiers in fight, was rendred uſeleſs, one *Aliſo* a Tribune, a cunning Warrior, found means to cut the Chain, which done, the place was eaſily taken, and *Procopius* coming thither, pardoned all he found therein,

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therein, except *Serenianus*, whom he ſent Priſoner to *Nice*, with order that he ſhould be carefully look'd to. Now did he beſtow on *Hormiſda*, the Son of that *Hormiſda* of the Royal Bloud, who came out of *Perſia* to *Conſtantius*, the Dignity of *Proconſul*, with Power both in Civil matters, and thoſe relating to War; as in old time was the Cuſtom. He had demeaned himſelf with great Moderation and Humanity hitherto, and being ſought for by a Party which *Valens* had ſent through By-ways into *Phrygia* to entrap him, he eſcaped through his ſingular diligence, and reſcued his Wife that followed him, when near being taken; a Lady rich and noble, by whoſe Modeſty and Reſolution he afterward eſcaped imminent dangers. But *Procopius* now puffed up with his ſucceſs, and not conſidering the Viciſſitude of Human Affairs, commanded the Houſe of *Arbetio* to be rifled, (which as belonging to his Friend he had formerly ſpared) out of indignation, that being ſeveral times ſent for he had deferred his coming, pretending the Incommodities of Sickneſs and Old Age. He could not but apprehend, that from this act great Inconveniences would ariſe, yet imagining that at his pleaſure he could paſs into the Eaſtern Provinces, he neglected his Affairs, and grew remiſs. Onely he attempted to draw the Cities of *Aſia* to his Party, and gave greateſt heed to ſuch as could beſt adviſe him how to ſcrape up Money, for the better ſuſtaining of that great Shock which muſt neceſſarily come upon him. Theſe things thus fell out toward the middle of Winter, in the ſame year that the two Emperours bore the firſt time the Title of *Conſuls*.

Procopius grows Tyrannical.

Gratian and *Dagalaiphus* Conſuls.

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25. The following year, which was known by the Conſulſhip of *Gratian* the Son of *Valentinian* and of *Dagalaiphus*, when Spring was well advanced, *Valens* having joyned *Lupicinus*, with a ſtrong Army marched to *Peſſinus*, a Town formerly belonging to *Phrygia*, but now to *Galatia*, which having reinforced ſo as to withſtand the Impreſſion of any ſudden Accident, by the foot of the high Mountain *Olympus* he proceeded into *Lycia*, with purpoſe to fall upon *Goamarius*, who was ſupine and careleſs in the Management of his buſineſs. But it much incommoded his Affairs, that the little Daughter of *Conſtantius* with *Fauſtina* her Mother, was by *Procopius* his order carried up and down, and ſhewed to the Souldiers, whom he enraged by the ſight, and provoked to fight for that tender Branch of that Imperial Stock, to which he himſelf was related; As the *Macedonians* (it's ſaid) being to fight with the *Illyrians*, placed their Infant King in his Cradle, even in the Field before their faces. Therefore to obviate this miſchief he ſtudied all manner of ways, and drew off from *Procopius* his lately diſobliged Friend *Arbetio*, that by the intereſt and favour of one of *Conſtantius* his Captains, the Minds of the Souldiers might be mollified. Neither did he fail of Succeſs; for *Arbetio* being reverenced for his high place and venerable Age, quite turned their Hearts. He told them *Procopius* was no better than an High-way man; called them his Sons, and Partakers in his former Labours, though now miſled by the Tricks of this deſperate and obſcure Fellow, whom he adviſed them to quit, as one who muſt at length neceſſarily be ruined and forſaken by all men. And this had ſuch Influence upon *Goamarius*, that though he might eaſily have eſcaped, he went over to the Emperour, who quickned by this ſucceſs haſted into *Phrygia*, and there near to *Nacolia* preſented Battel to the Rebels. Now did *Agilo*, moved by the danger wherein he ſtood, revolt alſo from *Procopius*, and moſt of his Men (for he was General) followed his example, carrying their Targets under their Arms, or upon their Heads, and their Banners or Standards not erect, but in a negligent poſture, which was the manifeſt ſign of Defection. *Procopius* amazed at ſo unexpected an accident, quitted his Horſe, and betook himſelf into the adjoyning Woods, and was followed by *Florentius* and *Barchalbas* a Tribune, whom Neceſſity and no good will had drawn to ſide with him. Having wandered the greateſt part of the night, when the Moon ſhone ſo bright that they feared they ſhould be diſcovered, they bound *Procopius*, and preſented him to the Emperour, who both commanded his Head to be ſtruck off, and them two alſo to be put to death, without any right conſideration in the Judgment of *Ammianus*. For, had they betrayed a lawful Prince, Juſtice it ſelf would have pronounced them duly puniſhed; but if a Rebel and Diſturber of the publick Peace, for ſo ſignal a Service they rather ought to have been highly rewarded. But ſuch was the end of *Procopius* and his Uſurpation, at the Age of forty years and ten moneths; a man not uncomely of Body, nor of mean ſtature, but who went always ſtooping, and look'd ever upon the Ground, by reaſon of his Melancholick Diſpoſition: Not unlike that *Craſſus*, whom *Lucilius* and *Tully* reported, but once in his whole life to have laughed. Yet was he not cruel, but abſtained from Bloud; a thing to be wondered at in the Hiſtorians Opinion; whereas indeed it is not known what he might have proved.

Valens draws off *Arbetio* whom *Procopius* had diſobliged, and thereby doth his buſineſs.

For by the perſuaſion of *Arbetio* the Army revolts from *Procopius*.

Who is delivered up and put to death, together with Deliverers.

25. So went matters in *Phrygia Salutaris*, the Report whereof coming to *Marcellus* the *Protector*, the Kinſman of *Procopius*, and Governour of *Nice*, he there in the dead time of the night cauſed *Serenianus*, who was kept cloſe priſoner in the Palace, to be ſlain: Which happened luckily for ſeveral perſons; for being a moroſe cruel man, and much favoured by *Valens*, both as his Countryman, and for the ſuitableneſs of his Diſpoſition, had he overlived the Defeat of *Procopius* his Party, in all probability he would have procured the Deſtruction of many, as well innocent as other perſons. This done, *Marcellus* ſeized ſpeedily on *Chalcedon*, and with the Countenance of a few, whom Poverty and Deſperation had driven, and now kept, in Rebellion, put on the Purple, being deceived in two particulars whereon he relied. He had heard, that a Power of *Goths* was coming to the aid of *Procopius*, and theſe he believed he might eaſily draw over to his own Aſſiſtance. And he was utterly a ſtranger to what paſſed in *Illyricum*, where *Equitius* perceiving that the whole ſhock of the War would be turned upon *Aſia*, for that he heard nothing of what had happened near *Nocolia*, reſolved if he could, to become Maſter of *Philippopolis*, as very commodious for Aſſiſtance of *Valens*; but a little after, when this preſumptuous act of *Marcellus* was heard of, a Party of ſtout Souldiers was ſent, who ſurprized and committed him like a Slave to Chains and Priſon, whence he was brought out the next day and tortured to death, together with his Complices, having onely one good thing performed, if we believe *Ammianus*, that he made away *Serenianus*, than whom (in his Opinion) *Phalaris* himſelf was not more cruel. However, there followed a ſevere Inquiſition after Offenders, and a moſt horrible Slaughter, as well of innocent as guilty perſons; *Valens* his Ears being open to all Complaints and Informations, though never ſo unjuſt or ill grounded, and made by thoſe who having had ſome relation to the Court, were merely induced to this practice by a vehement Thirſt after the Wealth of their Neighbours. Many were baniſhed to Iſlands, and many were turned on begging, no Moderation being had, till the Emperour had glutted himſelf with Bloud, and both his Coffers and thoſe of his Followers were filled by Confiſcations and Rapines.

Marcellus his Kinſman ſeizes *Chalcedon*, and puts on the Purple.

Is taken and tortured to death.

Valens very ſevere in puniſhing this Rebellion.

Tnemiſtius & Libanius humanitatem ejus in hac re contrà prædicant. Valeſ.

26. So were the Remainders of this Civil Tempeſt diſſipated in the Eaſtern parts of the Empire; and all thoſe Concuſſions ceaſed, which were accompanied if not ſignified by ſtrange preternatural Motions of both Land and Sea. For while *Procopius* his Rebellion was yet but little advanced, on the one and twentieth of *July*, in the Conſulſhip of the two Emperours, there happened ſuch horrible Earthquakes throughout the World, as neither true Hiſtorians have related, nor ever Fables themſelves repreſented to us. A little after the day dawned, there was a great Tempeſt of Thunder and Lightning, which was followed by ſo dreadful a Trembling of the Earth, that the Sea alſo, ſhaken therewith, deſerted the Shore and its ancient bounds for a great ſpace, and the depths of its Chanel were diſcovered; multitudes of Fiſh were ſeen to ſtick in the Mud, and the unequalneſs of its bottom appeared, here Hills and there Valleys, which never had before ſeen the Sun, ſince at the original of all things they were firſt overwhelmed with the Flouds. Many Ships were left on the dry ground, and ſwarms of people flew thither to catch Fiſh; when ſuddenly the Sea, as diſdaining to be impriſoned, returned to its former place with ſuch fury, that not containing it ſelf therein, but tranſported beyond its bounds, by the violence of its Rage and Motion; it overturned Houſes and other Buildings innumerable, drowned many thouſands of Men, and overwhelmed numbers of Ships; great Veſſels were by the violence of theſe Guſts blown upon the tops of Houſes, as it happened at *Alexandria*; and ſome near two miles from the Shore, as *Ammianus* (who relates theſe things) ſaw one himſelf near *Methone* a Town of *Laconia*. This Prodigy we cannot take to have ſignified any thing relating to *Procopius* his Rebellion, ſo much as that dreadful Inundation made into the *Roman* Empire by the Northern Nations, which ſhortly after happened, and the Ruine of the Weſtern Provinces, which followed thereupon.

Such Earthquakes as never were heard of in any Age.

Ammian. ad calcem l. 26. Socrat. l. 4. c. 3. Hieron. in Chr.

27. In ſuch eſtate we muſt leave matters in the Eaſtern Parts, while we inquire how *Valentinian* managed his Affairs in the Weſt. He had forbidden the uſe of Horſes in the Provinces about *Rome*, as was lately ſaid, for prevention of Robberies ſo much practiſed in theſe Countreys; but the Prohibition being ſo general, that Publick Buſineſs was thereby much obſtructed, as he had diſpenſed before with *Senators*, the *Honorati*, *Governours* of Provinces, and the *Veterane* Souldiers as to this matter, as alſo with thoſe called *Suarii*; ſo now with the *Palatine* Officers, through the Province of *Picenum*, by an Edict directed to one " *Valentine* the *Conſularis* of this Province, which is to be underſtood of that called " *Picenum Aunonarium*, and not of the *Suburbicarian Picenum*, which at this time had

L. L. 2, 3, 4. Quibus equorum uſus conceſſus eſt, &c. Cod. Th. l. 9. tit. 30.

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had not its peculiar Governour; all the *Suburbicarian* Provinces having now one *Conſularis* ſet over them. At this time great Complaints there were in *Africk*, concerning the Inequality of Taxes laid upon Lands. It was the Cuſtome that the Emperours ſent into the Provinces certain Officers called *Inſpectors*, to view and conſider what barren grounds there were, what were fit to be exempted from Payment; and accordingly the Owners of them were wont to be relieved. But hereupon an Inconveniency was diſcovered to ariſe to the Publick Revenue, for ſeveral rich men that poſſeſſed other fertile grounds, were obſerved to take the advantage and get off; which *Valentinian* judging not at all requiſite from any Rules of Charity, forbad it ſhould be practiſed for the future, commanding “ that ſuch as poſſeſſed both good and bad, ſhould pay for them all together, “ the fertile making Compenſation for the barren. And whereas there were further heavy Complaints in this Province of *Africk*, that the Subject was burthened by an unequal charge of Carriages, for the conveyance of the Proviſions belonging to the Army, (in which ſort thoſe of *Britain*, were in former time much haraſſed, as appears by *Tacitus*, and other Provincials in other places much agrieved) which Diſorder proceeded from the Knavery of the *Tabularii*, or the Officers that managed the Conveyance; this Emperour by another Edict Commands, that by Tortures they be deterred from all ſuch Practices for the time to come, and that the burthen of Conveyance be impoſed on ſuch as lay neareſt to the *Manſions*, or limits where the Army lay, and not on thoſe at great diſtances. The occaſion of this Law ſeems to have proceeded from what *Ammianus* Writes of the *Auſtoriani*, and other *Mooriſh* Nations, their more than ordinary infeſting the Limit of *Africk* in theſe days.

*L.L.*10,11.*de Annona & Tributis. Cod.Th. lib.* 11.*Tit.*10.

He brings up the Defenders of the Cities or People.

28. Theſe were Inſtances of *Valentinian* his care for the Eaſe of the Provinces, as to theſe particular Caſes; but he provided for their Emolument in a more general way. For about this time it was, that thoſe Officers were created by him, whom they called *Defenſores Civitatum*, now being made the firſt mention of them in the Laws. They were Perſons Choſen by the general Conſent of Cities, and Townſmen; of approved wiſdom and fidelity, out of the *Municipes*, *Pleibeians*, or thoſe they called *Honorati*, and their work was to defend the Places, as their Name imported; in which reſpect, they were further termed, *Locorum Defenſores*, *Defenſores Diſciplinæ*, *Parentes Plebis*, and *Defenſores Plebis*, reſembling in ſome meaſure the old *Tribuni Plebis* of the City of *Rome*. “The poor they preſerved and reſcued “ from the Violence of the rich Merchants, from the Inſolence of the Governours “ of Provinces, as alſo from Inferiour Officers belonging to the Ports, and Cuſtomes; “ all other Perſons that were to Pay Taxes, from the capacity of Collectors; and in “ Concluſion, from the Inſolence of Thieves, Murderers, Adulterers, and other Criminals. “ To this end, the People had recourſe to them, and they had power to make full Inquiſition “ into ſuch Offences. Yet could they neither puniſh by Fine, or Impriſonment; but “ ſent away the Offenders with their Examinations, and their Caſes ſtated, to the Ordinary “ Judges, or to the Prince himſelf. To their care alſo it appertained that “ the *Curiæ* of Corporations, or other Bodies in Companies, ſhould be conſtantly “ ſupplied; that none ſhould make uſe of the *Curſus Publicus*, without Licence duly “ obtained. Inventaries of the Eſtates of Pupils, or thoſe under Age, were “ made before them, and Actions might be entred, for they had power of ſearching “ Records, if the Governour of the Province was abſent. But by an Edict “ now directed to one *Seneca*, by this Title of *Defenſor*, he is forbidden to intermeddle “ in any Cauſes, exceeding the ſumm of fifty *Solidi*. They continued in “ their Office for the ſpace of five years, and *Majorianus* Ordained, that for their Confirmation therein, the Emperours Conſent ſhould be neceſſary.

*L.*1.*de Defenſorib. civitatum Cod. Juſtin. lib.*1.*Tit.*55. *& Cod.Th. lib.* 8.*Tit.*15.*L.*4. *Vide Paratitlon. de Defenſoribus Civitatum. Cod. Th. lib.*1.*Tit.* 11.

29. But this is chiefly remarkable, as to thoſe Officers, thus newly made, that *Valentinian* gives it in ſpecial Charge to this *Seneca*, lately mentioned, that he “ ſhould take notice of, and carefully obey that Law, whereby was Commanded, “ that thoſe that bore any publick Office, ſhould buy nothing in the place ſubject “ to their Juriſdiction, during the time of their Power. For ſuch indeed was the “ Law of the Empire, that they ſhould not only not buy, but neither receive or accept by way of gift, any thing during their Adminiſtration; leſt they ſhould make uſe of their Power, to wrong or oppreſs any of thoſe that were ſubject to their Authority. And by reaſon of frequent miſcarriages in this kind, doubtleſs this ſeverity was firſt introduced, which ſometime extended ſo far, that it reached to places even beyond the Juriſdiction of thoſe Imployed, whither the awe of their Power might reach, though the proper effects thereof could not; but this as extravagant was afterward Contracted, and the Prohibition as to

Vim illius legis aſpicito eiq; parito qua proinde Conſticutum eſt ut publicum Munus agitantes nihil in ſuſcepto mercarentur Officio. Dat. v. Kal. Jul. Vide Paratitlon de iis quæ adminiſtrantib. &c. Cod. Th. lib. 8. *Tit.* 15.

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Obviates abuſes Committed by the Governours of Provinces.

Place, was confined within the Diſtrict of the Magiſtrate; who within thoſe his own Bounds, could not make any Bargains or Purchaſe; though he was Native of a place remote, and whether he did it publickly, or privately. He might only purchaſe what had belonged to his Father, leſt his Family ſhould be wronged; but in any other Circumſtances if he was found trucking, all his Contracts were abſolutely Null, and the thing ſo bought or given, returned to the Seller, or Giver, from him that poſſeſſed it, whoſoever he was, if within five years, after the Magiſtrate returned to a private life, he challenged it: Otherwiſe it was Confiſcate, and in both Caſes the Purchaſer loſt his money, or the Price, in whatſoever it conſiſted. “This by another Conſtitution of this ſame Year, *Valentinian* inforces,“ and will have none of what Dignity ſoever excepted, whether they were“ *Illuſtrious*, of the Rank of *Spectabilis*, or *Clariſſimi:* and he enumerates thirteen“ ſeveral ſorts of Inferior Officers, aſſiſtant or ſubſervient to the Magiſtrates. By“ an other Conſtitution of this ſame year, he forbids all the Magiſtrates or Judges“ to receive any Petitions or Letters concerning any Buſineſs, when they are retired“ at Home, but only in Court, and that they Commit none to Priſon, till the Accuſer“ of the Party had Entred into the Record, or Book, kept for this purpoſe, his“ Accuſation relating to the nature and manner of the Crime Committed.

L.5. de iis quæ adminiſtr. vide Goth. in L.

L.3. de Officio Rectoris Provinciæ Cod. Th. lib.1. Tit.7.

L.4. de Cuſtodia R orum Cod. Th. lib.9. Tit.3.

And variouſly provides for the Convenience of *Rome*.

30. By various other Laws he ſtill provided for the conveniences of the City of *Rome*, both in relation to its Buildings, and ſupplying of it with Proviſions,“ which he would have imported in kind, and no mony taken in lieu of them, as“ had been practiſed by the Officers, who had the care of them, to ſee them“ brought in and laid up. That there might be nothing omitted, which would conduce to plenty; for the regulating of Bakers, and ſetling their Concerns, he provided in ſeveral Edicts; and not only took order in their matters, but went as far as to Ordain what was requiſite for the carriage of Corn, or other Neceſſaries, from one place to another, wherein yet he ſtill ſerved another Publick End. There were a ſort of men called *Catabolenſes*, we may term them *Loaders* or *Carriers*, whoſe imployment it was to load the Corn Landed at the Haven, upon Carriage-Beaſts, and ſo to convey it to the Publick Granaries, or thence to the Bake-Houſes, as there was occaſion. “For ſupply of their“ Number, he Ordains, that *Libertini* (or ſuch as had been ſlaves, but had obtained“ their Freedom) ſhould be forced to this Imployment, in caſe they were“ worth thirty pounds of ſilver, or had received Eſtates from their Maſters, either“ by their Teſtments, or by way of gift in their life time; provided it was nothing“ belonging to the Body or Company of the Bakers; for then they ſhould“ be forced to the Services, and burthens of that ſort of men, who being alſo no“ better than Publick Servants, this very year, he utterly forbad any one of them“ ever to be freed from that Service, or permitted to paſs from one Bake-Houſe“ to another. But it muſt be known, that in this Age whereof we Write, it's found that Princes bore ſome ſpleen to the *Libertini*, or thoſe that had been Slaves, as we may have further occaſion to diſcover, chiefly becauſe they abounded with Wealth, through the bounty of their Maſters, who were inclined to an extraordinary kindneſs, nay, profuſeneſs to them. To put ſome ſtop to this humour, *Valentinian* ſubjected them to this almoſt another kind of Slavery; although if they had received any Lands from their Lords, that were *Senators*, they ſhould notwithſtanding, be Subject to the uſual Payments relating to *Senatorian* Lands. This Edict bears date on the ſeventh of *July*, and is ſaid to have been read in *November* following, in the *Pantheon* at *Rome*. The *Pantheon* was that Famous Temple built by *Agrippa*, which being burnt, was ſoon after repaired, and dedicated to all the Gods; but afterwards, by permiſſion of *Phocas*, and procurement of *Boniface* the Fourth, Biſhop of *Rome*, was turned into the Church of our Lady, and all Saints. This Law ſeems to have been publiſhed in it; not only becauſe of the confluence of *Pagans* to it in thoſe days, of which perſwaſion moſt of thoſe Publick Bakers, and *Catabolenſes* might be, but for that it was near to their Work-Houſes, and Stables, being in the Ninth Region of the City.

L.1. Tributa in ipſis ſpeciebus.

Vide L.L. 8, 9, 10. de Piſtoribus & Catabolenſibus. Cod. Th. lib.14. Tit.3. & Goth. in Comm. dicti ſunt Catabolenſes à καταβάλλειν quod eſt onerare atq; hinc forſan Caballum à καβάλλειν, pro καταβάλλειν Doribus.

Dat. Non. Jul. Lecta in Pantheo Non. Nov.

31. Having diſcovered great Frauds to be often committed by thoſe that managed the Publick Revenue; and chiefly how they were wont to let out the money to Intereſt; or make other Bargains, to their own advantage, and his loſs; and chiefly in the Dioceſs of *Africk*; by an Edict, directed to *Dracontius* the *Vicar* thereof, (which was received at *Adrumetum*, the uſual place where the Vicar reſided, on the ſeventeenth of *November*) he Condemns thoſe that make“ ſuch Contracts with theſe Officers, in a fine amounting to the four fold value“ of the ſumm. But as the Revenue was diminiſhed by ſuch Frauds, ſo was both it and the Eſtates of private Perſons very much abated, by reaſon of the ſcarcity

L.10. de Jure Fiſci. Cod. Th. lib.10. Tit.1.

city of Coyn, and eſpecially of the Golden, which cauſed him ſome years after to raiſe the value of it ſomething higher than it had been in the Reign of *Conſtantine*. At preſent he conſidered how he might increaſe the Metal, which if it could be done, there would be no need that the other courſe ſhould be taken; and this was by giving encouragement to ſuch as had an inclination to fetch it out of the Bowels of the Earth. It was the Cuſtom generally allowed, as at this day, That Mines of Silver and Gold appertained to the Sovereign Authority; and as to the Commonwealth or Empire of *Rome*, the Mines belonging to it were wont to be digged and wrought by ſuch as were condemned to that Drudgery, who being maintained no otherwiſe than as Slaves at the publick charge, all the Profits accrued to the Treaſury: Particularly at *Carthage*, in Mines of Silver were imployed in old time no fewer than four thouſand men, the effect of whoſe Labours was a daily Product of twenty five thouſand Drachms. But ſuch was the Condition of this Age in reference to Coin, that *Valentinian* it ſeems found himſelf obliged to an extraordinary courſe of permitting private perſons to ſearch for Oar, under certain Limitations and Conditions. Being now come to *Paris*, whither (as we ſaid) he travelled out of *Italy*, by an Edict directed to *Creſconius* the *Comes Metallorum*, he took order herein, com“manding him to require by way of Tribute or Impoſition Eight Scruples from eve“ry ſuch Undertaker, but this in Oar * or Powder of Gold, not in what was through“ly melted and refined, whereof twelve Ounces || were to be eſteemed of equal va“lue to fourteen of the other. The reſt they ſhould take to themſelves, yet ſo as the“ Treaſury muſt have the Right of Preemption at a competent and indifferent rate.“ The *Comes Metallorum*, to whom this Law is directed, was a peculiar Officer under *Valentinian*. Of this *Comes* we have ſpoken heretofore from the *Notitia* of the Empire, which mentions ſuch an Officer in *Illyricum*, under the diſpoſition of the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum*; but in the Weſt no ſuch *Comes* is mentioned, for the *Comes Auri* his Office was of another nature, relating to the Payment of Gold in what ſort ſoever made.

He permits private perſons to ſearch for Oar upon terms.

L.3. de Metallis & Metallariis, Cod.Th. l. 10. tit. 19. Dat. 4 Id. Decemb. Pariſiis.

** Balluca dicitur. Vide Goth. Com.*

† *L.4. eod. tit.*

32. *Valentinian* being come to *Paris* about the beginning of *November*, and the later end of his Conſulſhip which he bore with his Brother, continued there the laſt two Moneths of the Year, and ſome part alſo of the following, till he was called further Northward by the Motions of the Barbarians upon the Borders. For while *Procopius* was driving on his Deſign in the Eaſtern Parts, the *Allemans* having recruited themſelves, and reſumed their former Courage, which had been ſo greatly abated, *Ammianus* tells you, by the Courage and Conduct of *Julian*, renewed their Incurſions into *Gall*, and cut off two *Comites*, *Carietto* and *Severianus*, who oppoſed their Motions. This Defeat being underſtood, *Dagalaiphus* was ſent from *Paris* to redeem the Credit of the *Roman* Arms; but he delayed his March, pretending that he alone was not of ſufficient ability to graple with ſo powerful an Enemy; and he being afterwards ſent for back to receive the Conſular Ornaments, with *Gratian*, *Jovinus* the *Magiſter Equitum* was fitly furniſhed and diſpatched away in his room; who marching with great warineſs and circumſpection, near a place called *Scarponna*, twelve miles from *Mets*, came ſuddenly upon a great number of Barbarians, and cut them off before ſuch time as they could arm themſelves. Having deſtroyed this, he went to ſeek another Party, which with the ſame caution having alſo ſurpriſed at the ſide of a River, while they were drinking, combing, and waſhing themſelves, he treated them in the ſame manner. There remained a third Body, which animated by his good fortune, he hoped to attacque with the ſame ſucceſs, but found them not in the ſame poſture, but prepared fully for an Engagement in the *Catalaunian* Plains. Here he was obliged to entrench himſelf, and in the morning drew out his Men in a larger compaſs than uſual, that he might not encourage the Enemy by a view of the ſmalneſs of his Numbers in compariſon of theirs; and though his Men were inferiour in Numbers, yet in Reſolution they far exceeded, all but *Balchobaudes*, a Tribune of the *Armatura*, a great Braggadocio, but (as uſually ſuch are) of ſmall performance; who (the Fight continuing till the evening) ran away, and endangered the Defeat of the whole Army. Yet by the Generals care and endeavour the Souldiers were not ſo diſcouraged, but that preſſing ſtill upon the *Germans*, at laſt they had the better, and killed ſix thouſand, with the loſs but of two hundred men, and as many wounded. The Night having put an end to the Diſpute, early in the morning *Jovinus* ſhewed himſelf in the Field; but the Barbarians, of whom four thouſand were wounded, would have no further to do with him, but ſhifted away. At his return from the Purſuit he found that their King, who had been taken Priſoner with a few others, was hanged by a Party of the *Haſtarii* or *Aſcarii*, whom he had ſent to plunder the Camp. Being enraged at ſo baſe an act, ſo impudently committed without order from their Superiours, he reſolved to ani-

Ammian. l.27.

Jovinus defeats the *Allemans* near *Metz*.

Sect. 2. A.D. 366.

animadvert upon the Tribune, and had condemned him, but that the Fact was evidently found to have been done by the violence and rage of the Souldiers. Then marched he back to *Paris*, on his way whither the Emperour met him to do him Honour, and afterward deſigned him *Conſul*; the Joy being increaſed by a ſight of *Procopius* his Head, which *Valens* ſent much about the ſame time to his Brother. This is the Account we have of the War againſt the *Allemans*, and the Battel fought by *Jovinus* againſt them, from *Ammianus*. *Zoſimus* (according to his cuſtom) tells us another ſort of Story: That the Emperour himſelf met the Enemy, and giving them Battel, the *Romans* were beaten and put to flight. That the Legion of the *Batavians* being found guilty of ſo much Cowardiſe, he condemned to be diſarmed and ſold for Slaves; but all the Army proſtrate before him beſought him, that he would not put ſo great a Diſgrace upon them, and promiſed him for the time to come they ſhould behave themſelves like Men, and as became *Romans*: To which he yielded, requiring them onely to make good their words by ſome evident act. Hereupon the *Batavi* reſumed their Arms, and engaging a ſecond time againſt the *Germans*, the Barbarians paid for their former ſucceſs at a very dear rate, an infinite Multitude being ſlain, and very few returning home with the News. Thus he, without any mention of *Jovinus*.

ὑπαντήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῖς τοῦ Βασιλέως, &c. *Lib.* 4.

33. But to return to our more certain Guide: *Ammianus* tells us further, That after this Battel ſeveral other Skirmiſhes happened in *Gall*, which he thinks it not worth the while to relate. And though what he adds next after this, he judges not to be of that nature, yet we can hardly put more value upon it. About this time a kind of Prodigy there was ſeen in that part of *Tuſcia* called *Tuſcia Annonaria*, (for thoſe Reaſons formerly alledged) where in a Town called *Piſtoria*, about nine of of the Clock, in the view of many Spectators, an Aſs mounted the Tribunal or Judgment-ſeat, and there brayed very loud and long, to the Aſtoniſhment both of thoſe who heard it, and heard of it. Great wonderment there was what it ſhould ſignifie; and at length the Riddle was unfolded, when one *Terentius*, a mean Man born in *Rome*, and a Baker, (*Piſtor* in Latine) as a Reward for having accuſed *Orphitus* (who had been *Præfect*) of Oppreſſion, was preferred to be *Corrector* of that Province; but bearing himſelf as ignorant perſons are wont, very arrogantly, and being found guilty in ſome matters belonging to the Company of the *Navicularii*, he ended his Life (as was reported) by the hands of the Hangman, at ſuch time as *Claudius* was *Præfect* of *Rome*. But this happened ſome years after, for during the late Motions that City was governed by *Symmachus*, who had ſucceeded *Apronianus* in that Command, a Perſon Eminent for Learning and Modeſty, by whoſe procurement it abounded with all Conveniences more than ever it had wont: Which Teſtimony of the Hiſtorian is largely confirmed by the many Laws concerning this ſubject. He alſo built them a moſt beautiful Bridge, with which the Multitude was very much pleaſed for the preſent, but ſhortly after made him too ſenſible of its fickleneſs and ingratitude; for upon a meer Rumour raiſed by an obſcure Fellow, without any witneſs or ground, that he ſhould ſay, He had rather caſt his Wine upon the Lime-kilns, than ſell it at the rate which they hoped for; they burnt a beautiful Houſe that he had beyond *Tiber*. After him to *Lampadius*, who had been *Præfectus Prætorio*, was committed the Government of the City; a man of that humour, that he would take it heinouſly if he was not commended for his graceful Spitting; as if he did that alſo with greater wiſdom than his Neighbours: but otherwhiles he was ſevere and well enough managed his matters. When he was *Prætor*, and made his Magnificent Shews according to the cuſtom, though he was free above the ordinary rate; yet not able to bear up againſt the Petulancy of the Rabble, which ſtill importuned him with its noiſe to beſtow more upon unworthy perſons, to manifeſt that he was Liberal, and yet a Deſpiſer of the Multitude, he ſent for ſome poor men out of the *Vatican*, and with great Gifts enriched them. But yet to ſhew his vain humour, one thing our Author ſaith will ſuffice, which though of ſmall reckoning in it ſelf, yet may be a Warning unto Governours: In all parts of the City, which had been adorned at the Expences of ſundry Emperours, he cauſed to be engraven his own Name, not as a Repairer but a Founder: With which Diſeaſe (though he might better do it) *Trajan* the Emperour alſo laboured. *Lampadius* too was much moleſted by the tumultuous Citizens, eſpecially at one time when the Rabble had certainly fired his Houſe adjoyning to the Bath of *Conſtantine*, had they not been beaten off by Stones and other things, caſt from the tops of Houſes by his Servants and Friends; and he himſelf was forc'd to run as far as the Bridge *Milvius*, before he could ſecure his Perſon. The cauſe of this Diſorder was, for that in raiſing his new Buildings, and repairing the old, he made not proviſion for the Expence in the ordinary way

Several *Præfects* of *Rome*, and their Actions.

out of the Tributes or Revenues; but as there was need of Iron, Lead, Braſs, or any ſuch Materials, he ſent out his Apparitors, who took them away from the Owners without any price or recompence. His Succeſſor was *Juventius*, from *Quæſtor* of the Palace, a *Pannonian* by birth, a Perſon of Prudence and Integrity, who made it his buſineſs to render his Government peaceable, as well as acceptable for plenty of all things. But he was alſo plagued by the Seditious Humour of the People, and that by reaſon of a Contention of two perſons for the Biſhoprick, which we ſhall abundantly hear of in its more proper place.

Valens invades the Territories of the *Goths* to no purpoſe.

34. While matters proceeded thus diſorderly in *Gall* and *Italy*, *Thrace* enjoyed as little quiet. *Valens* thought he had juſt cauſe to make War againſt the *Goths*, for having aſſiſted *Procopius* in his Uſurpation, and he had the conſent of his Brother therein, according to whoſe pleaſure and direction he ordered his Affairs. But firſt was ſent to them *Victor* the *Magiſter Equitum*, to know the reaſon why they, being a Nation at peace and in League with the *Romans*, would joyn with a Rebel, who had raiſed War againſt his Lawful Sovereign. In anſwer to his Demands they produced the Letters of *Procopius*, wherein he affirmed that the Empire belonged to him as the Kinſman of *Conſtantius*; and thence they argued, that it was but an Error they had committed, and ſuch as was very capable of Excuſe. But *Valens* judged it quite contrary, and declaring their Anſwer to be frivolous, when Spring was well advanced marched againſt them, and having rendezvous'd his Forces near a Fort called *Daphne*, paſſed them over the River *Iſter* by Bridges, as *Darius* formerly had done, beyond which (as that *Perſian* King of old time) he could find no Enemy to engage, for out of fear they all fled to the Mountains of the *Serri*, which could not be paſſed but by ſuch as were ſkilful in the ways. That he might not yet return without having ſomething performed, nor be ſaid to have miſ-ſpent a whole Somer, he ſent *Arintheus*, the *Magiſter Equitum*, to ſurprize certain Families wandering in the Plain, which had not reached their Companions, and ſo he returned, having neither done nor received any great harm. The year following he made Preparations for another Invaſion with the ſame alacrity, but was ſtopped in his Career by the immoderate overflowing of the *Danow*, and conſtrained to ſtay near a Village called *Carporus* till Autum was already paſt, whence he retreated, and took up his Winter Quarters at *Marcianopolis*, as he had done the year before, being not able to enterprize any thing by reaſon of the greatneſs of the Inundation.

He orders Money to be paid in the room of furniſhing Horſes for the War.

Colonis obnoxiis & adſcriptis terræ.

Stratores.

L. 1. de Equorum collatione, Cod.Th. l.11. tit.16.

L.2. de Tironibus, Cod. Th. lib. 7. Tit. 13.

L. 2. de Militari Veſte, Cod. Th.l.7.tit.6.

35. That both theſe years he reſided ſome time at *Marcianopolis*, a City of *Myſia inferior*, and belonging to the Dioceſe of *Thrace*, is evident by the Subſcriptions of ſeveral Laws, and of thoſe ſome relating to Martial matters. Amongſt other Burthens impoſed on the Subjects of the Empire, as we have already hinted, was that of finding Horſes for the Wars or other publick ſervice; ſometimes on one ſort of People, otherwhiles on another, but eſpecially on ſuch who as Villains were bound and appropriate to certain Lands. Ordinarily they had been wont to diſcharge this Duty in kind, and furniſh Horſes as there was occaſion; but now did *Valens* think fit to require Money in the room of them, either for that he found much fraud to be practiſed the other way, they often proving lame and unſound when to be uſed, (to prevent which Abuſe yet there were ſeveral Officers wont to be imployed;) or rather becauſe under this pretence of Publick Service the Husbandmen were overburthened and diſfurniſhed, to the great hinderance and decay of Tillage. Therefore that he might be ſufficiently provided for this preſent War to the beſt eaſe of the People; he now by an Edict required, that three and twenty *Solidi* ſhould be paid for every “ Horſe; which Rate (however to him it ſeemed reaſonable) was by following Prin- “ ces thought Exceſſive, and brought down; who had in this ſubject great occaſion to exerciſe their Indulgence, the poor Provincials being often much harraſed by this Payment. But, as *Valens* thought fit there ſhould be made an Exchange of Horſes for Money, ſo by another Edict made the following year in this very place, and in relation to this very War, we find that there was the ſame courſe taken ſometimes for Men or Souldiers. For hereby he declares his own Eſtate or Poſſeſſions to be free from “ finding of *Tirones* or new Souldiers, if Men themſelves were to be provided; but “ otherwiſe chargeable, if Gold or Money in the room of them. For the Cuſtom herein varied, not onely according to the variety of Times, but of Places alſo, ſome Countries and Provinces exceeding others in the ſtrength and agility of their Inhabitants; the reaſon why the *Thracians* were eſpecially made choice of for the Wars, and other Nations low of ſtature, and of ſlender Limbs, uſually rejected, and Money taken in their place. But further, while *Valens* lay in Quarters at *Marcianople*, to provide for his Souldiers againſt the Winter in that cold Climate, by another Edict directed to *Auxonius* the *Præfect*, he cauſed a ſufficient Supply of Clothes to be brought

in betwixt the beginning of *September*, (whence at this time Indictions commenced) and that of *April*, being indeed as other Writers obſerve) exactly careful to ſupply his Armies with all Neceſſaries.

36. Three years he ſpent in this War againſt the *Goths*, and in the third Somer re-invaded their Countrey, by a Bridge of Boats laid over the River at *Novidunum*. He fell upon the *Gruthungi*, a moſt Warlike Nation, the chief Magiſtrate of whom, *Athanarich* by Name, a very powerful man in that Tract, oppoſed him with ſuch Force as he could make; but the Emperour forced him to ſeek for ſafety by flight; and having nothing of greater moment performed, retreated to his wonted ſtation of *Marcianople*, the moſt convenient place to winter in, in all theſe parts. The ſeaſon for Arms being over, the time proper to Conſultation ſucceeded, and ſome Accidents there were which gave both ſides occaſion to think of Peace. By reaſon of the Prince his Abſence the Eaſt was expoſed to great danger; and the Barbarians were much diſtreſſed by the diſcontinuance of Commerce for ſo long a time, which conſtrained them to ſend Embaſſadours, and beg a Ceſſation in a ſubmiſſive manner. The Emperour as yet bearing an affection to Juſtice, and the Conveniences of his People, ſent away *Victor* and *Arintheus*, who agreed on the Place and Preliminaries of a Treaty. *Athanarich* affirmed, That his Father had made him ſwear never to tread on *Roman* Ground, and it was no whit becoming the Majeſty of the Emperour to go to him, and therefore they met in Boats in the middle of the River, where a Peace was ratified, and Hoſtages delivered on both ſides. This done *Valens* returned to *Conſtantinople*, where *Athanarich* afterwards alſo died, being baniſhed his Country by the oppoſite and moſt prevalent Faction, and was very ſumptuouſly buried after the *Roman* manner.

A Peace made betwixt him and the *Gruthungi*.

49. While *Valens* was thus imbroiled with Wars in *Thrace*, *Valentinian* and the *Allemans* ſeem to have better underſtood one another, though this their Friendſhip not long continued. The year following after the Defeat given them by *Jovinus*, we find a Conſtitution directed to the ſame perſon, by name, as *Magiſter Militum*, whom therein he charges to take order with the *Duces* and *Comites*, and ſuch as “ to whom the Cuſtody of the *Rhine* was committed, that they ſhould not permit “ the Souldiers upon the Borders to furniſh thoſe of the Bloud Royal of thoſe Nations, “ nor their Embaſſadours, with Horſes. But he enjoyns that they make uſe of “ their own, till they came to the place where the *Curſus publicus* begins, of which “ they are allowed to make uſe as well as the Meſſengers of the Provinces; and till “ they there arrived ſufficient Proviſion ſhould be made for rheir Cattel at the ſeveral “ Manſions. This Law bearing date from *Rheims* a City of *Belgica ſecunda*, where *Valentinian* then lay; to whom thoſe Nations having ſuch recourſe, it argues, that for the preſent there was Peace betwixt them. But as the Law doth inſinuate this, ſo on the other ſide, that it ſtood on ſuch terms as obliged him to be watchful, and not to truſt to his new Allies. For this Prohibition concerning the Horſes of Souldiers was founded upon this Reaſon; Leſt by lending or letting them out they ſhould be themſelves disfurniſhed, end thereby the Limits expoſed unto danger. For by reaſon of the *Allemans* and *Francks*, their conſtantly feared Incurſions, there were, as is evident both from this Law and Hiſtories, both *Duces* and *Comites* placed on the Borders of *Gall*, who lived after the manner we have formerly deſcribed; and beſides them ſuch as to whom the Cuſtody of the *Rhine* was committed, *viz.* particular *Præfects* or Governours of the ſeveral *Prætenturæ* or Garriſons upon or near the River. But how little truſt the Emperour gave to the Friendſhip of theſe Nations, further appears by another Edict within leſs than one Moneth, directed to the ſame perſon, and dated at the ſame City of *Rheims*; where in thoſe days the *Magiſtri Militum* of *Gall* held their uſual Reſidence. Therein he declares his Reſolution to “ have his Troops commpletely filled, and for this purpoſe takes notice of and reforms “ another great Abuſe practiſed at this time: It was the ordinary Cuſtom for the Souldiers “ to take a long with them Youths of free and ingenuous condition, and with “ deſign to keep them free as to obligation to Service, to entertain them as Kinſmen, “ Peedees, or Attendants; and thus were ſuch concealed, as intended to avoid the “ publick Service, or liſting themſelves in the Armies: To remove which Inconvenience “ he commands, that the Souldiers produce all ſuch Retainers to their Officers, “ who are enjoyned to preſent them before *Jovinus* the *Magiſter Militum*, under “ pain of being put down from their preſent ſtations to more inferiour places in the “ Army. And to ſuch as detect any ſuch Concealers he decrees Advancement. For, “ as there were ſeveral Degrees of Service in the Amy, one more creditable than the other, the Souldiers were often either preferred higher, or diſgraced according to their Deſerts. As ſometimes an Officer from the Degree of *Tribune* put down to that

of

In the mean time the *Allemans* keep quiet.

But not to be truſted.

L.9. de re militari, Cod. Th. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

Regales.

L.10. eod. tit.

Regradatio, militiæ mutatio, gradus dejectio.

A.D. 366.

of *Primicerius*, *Biarchus*, *Circitor*, or the like. Sometimes reduced to a *Tiro*, or the meaneſt ſtate and condition. Otherwhile from an Horſeman condemned to ſerve on foot, or reduced from an higher to a lower Degree of the Infantry.

38. Having taken this and other courſes for ſupply of men, it was not his intention that all ſhould be indifferently admitted to the Employment; but by another Law he ſhortly after declared, That the Stature of *Tirones* ſhould be *five Feet and ſeven ordinary or uſual Inches*, to be obſerved at all Liſtings under the *Vicar* of *Rome*, to whom (*Magnus* by name) this Conſtitution is directed. Formerly the Stature of Souldiers had been exacted to be of ſix Feet, but this moſt rarely, and uſually it ſtood betwixt five and ſix, ſometimes ſeven, and otherwhiles more, Inches being required. There ſtill wanted for the ſupply of Souldiers, a Law againſt ſuch as by their own procurement were rendered incapable of Military Service: Some cut off their Fingers to prevent it, and ſuch being in thoſe times termed *Murci*, *Conſtantine* the Great had thought fit to condemn to the Service of Corporations; which Edict of his *Valentinian* judged convenient to mention and to eſtabliſh; and further ordaining, that all who ſhould in that manner be obnoxious for the time to come, ſhould be burnt alive; and if he was a Slave, his Lord ſhould, if he knew of it, be very ſeverely puniſhed. But it is to be noted, that theſe ſevere Laws had relation to *Italy*, where it was a Cuſtom for the Inhabitants to draw their Necks out of the Yoke, and put other perſons in their rooms, having been much of this humour ever ſince the days of *Auguſtus*. But while *Valentinian* ſtill lay at *Rheims*, he not onely acted for the reinforcement and convenience of his Army; ſomething he did for the relief of the Inhabitants of thoſe parts. To ſuch as being abſent upon publick buſineſs had been too heavily taxed, he granted liberty of one whole year to appeal and right themſelves: Whereas to ſuch as were preſent or at home, five moneths were onely allowed. It had been of a long time the manner of Princes, to prevent the counterfeiting of their Inſtruments, to uſe peculiar Characters or a ſelect Form of Writing, which none were to imitate, none were to write but ſuch as ſerved in the *Scrinia* of the Emperour. But of late the *Proconſuls* of *Africa* or *Aſia*, in their Relations or Conſultations, had began in their Diſpatches made to Court, to make bold with the ſame Characters, which others had dared to practiſe, drawn thereto by their example; and thence came it to paſs, that the Emperours Hand and Letters were counterfeited, and thereby the Provincials cheated of their Money, and otherwiſe abuſed. To obviate ſuch miſchiefs by an Edict, he expreſly forbids theſe Characters to be uſed any where either publickly or privately, but in his own *Scrinia*, or by the *Proconſul* or his Office; whoſe Authority otherwiſe was very great. This peculiar way of the Emperours Writing was with the *Sacrum Encauſtum* or Purple Ink, which was ever forbidden to all ſorts of perſons, even the *Proconſuls* and *Præfecti Prætorio*. Yet did the *Quæſtor* and *Præfect* make uſe of certain Majeſtick Forms of Speech or Titles, which the Emperours took to themſelves, as *Noſtra Serenitas*, *Noſtra Manſuetudo*; but *Juſtinian* afterwards removed that Cuſtom alſo.

Valentinian determines of what ſtature a Souldier ſhould be.

L.3. de Tironibus, Cod.Th.

L.L.4,5. eod. tit.

Condemns the *Murci* to be burnt alive.

L. 5. de Cenſu, Cod. Th.l.13. Tit.10.

Forbids Magiſtrates to uſe his Ink or Characters.

L.3. ad legem Corneliam de falſo, Cod.Th.l. 9.Tit.19. Vide Com.

39. From *Rheims Valentinian* removed further toward *Britain*, where now the *Picts* and *Scots* committed great Outrages; and by the way of *Nemaſia* (now *Nemay*, where he ſigned another Conſtitution for the eaſe of the Subject in reference to Publick Payments) came to *Ambiani* or *Amiens*. Though ſo far diſtant from *Rome*, he caſt not off his wonted care for the Concernments of that Place and Country; but being conſulted by the *Præfect* of the City, by his Reſcript gave order for putting the old Laws into execution, againſt ingrateful and diſobedient Children. Whether by virtue of the Law of the Twelve Tables or otherwiſe, as Ingrateful *Liberti*, or ſuch as had been ſet at Liberty by their Lords, and afterward demeaned themſelves ingratefully towards them, were again to be reduced into Slavery: So alſo ſuch Sons, as had been emancipated or ſet at liberty, from that Paternal Power which the *Roman* Laws gave their Fathers, (both over their Perſons and their Eſtates) if they bare themſelves contumaciouſly towards them, if they reviled or unjuſtly handled them, they were again to be reduced under their Authority and Command. But, as we judge from this Conſultation of the *Præfect* of the City, (whoſe proper Office it was to determine matters belonging to Emancipated Sons and of Freedmen) ſuch had been the Conſequence and Fruit of the *Roman* Government, or elſe the natural Duty and Obedience of Children, that this Law had ſeldom been put in practice, elſe there would have been no occaſion for the *Præfect* to have doubted, or any need for him to conſult the Emperour, as he now did, being put upon it by ſome accident, of which we have not any account. *Valentinian*, as the Father of his Country, thought fit to ſhake off, and ſet forth to their view again, that Rod which had been caſt into a corner, and by laſhing of one to terrifie the reſt, though to

L.3. de Ponderatoribus, Cod. Th.

Makes a Law to puniſh Ingrateful Sons.

l. unic. de ingratis Liberis, Cod.Th.l.8.tit. 14.Dat.15Cal. Sept. Ambianis Lupicino & Jovino Coſs.

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to his own Son, at this time for other great and weighty Reaſons, he ſhewed himſelf very indulgent, the ſixth day after the Date of this very Law.

40. *Ammianus* writes, that about this time he had fallen dangerouſly ſick, and when both he and others expected nothing but Death, at a private meeting of ſuch *Galls* as ſerved him, one *Ruſticus Julianus* had been mentioned for his Succeſſor, one who had born the Office of *Magiſter Memoriæ*, but in the Opinion of the Hiſtorian a Perſon as greedy of Mans Bloud as a ſavage Beaſt, which he abundantly ſhewed when he governed *Africk* with Proconſular Power. This was with greater reaſon oppoſed by others, who with better pretence contended for *Severus*, then *Magiſter Peditum*, a man indeed very auſtere, but in all reſpects to be preferred before him. But the Recovery of *Valentinian* put an end to the Hopes and Diſputes of both Parties; for he reſolved when but in the way of Recovery, to give the Title of *Auguſtus* to his Son *Gratian*, though at this time but twelve years old, a Youth very handſom, and well enough inclin'd of himſelf, had he not been afterwards perverted by thoſe about him. Having prepared the Minds of the Souldiers, when he came to aſcend the Tribunal, he found no difficult work; for though he could alleage nothing of moment concerning him that was to be preferr'd; yet with the ſight of his own perſon, he inculcated the Merits of his Family, and being himſelf now recovered, and eſtabliſhed, eaſily induced them to conſent, and to proclaim *Gratian* Emperour in equal power. *Eupraxius* of *Cæſarea*, a *Moor*, and at this time *Magiſter Memoriæ*, firſt of all others acclaimed *The Family of Gratian deſerves as much*; and being made *Quæſtor* out of hand, continued a moſt juſt and painful Judge, never deviating from thoſe Rules, which by Juſtice and univerſal Indifferency were preſcribed him. Upon this new Promotion many perſons exerciſed their Wits, and chiefly in commendation of his Perſon. But his Father is noted by the Hiſtorian for having exceeded the former Rule, in nominating his Brother and Son not *Cæſars* but *Auguſti*. For in ancient times (you hear *Ammianus*) no man took to himſelf a Colleague with equal Authority, except the Emperour *Marcus*, who made *Verus* his Adoptive Brother Partner with him on equal terms.

But *Gratian* his own Son he makes *Auguſtus*.

Huic non contradicunt exempla Severi & Diocleſiani, qui non Collegas ſibi primum Auguſtos, ſed initio Cæſares tantum adſciverunt.

41. Matters having thus ſucceeded both according to the will of the Prince and Souldier, *Mamertinus* the *Præfectus Prætorio* was accuſed by *Avitianus*, formerly *Vicar*, of Extortion, and upon that account was *Vulcatius Rufinus* preferred to his place; a man very fit for the Imployment, and to be reverenced for his gray Hairs; but ever ſeeking occaſion to indulge his covetous humour. By his procurement *Orfitus*, who from *Præfect* of the City had been ſent into Baniſhment, was reſtored to his own Countrey and Eſtate. And now the Humour of the Emperour, however cruel, yet hitherto for his own ends covered and with violence ſuppreſſed, could not but diſcover it ſelf. *Diocles*, who had been *Comes Largitionum* in *Illyricum*, he commanded to be burnt alive, for very ſlender faults by him committed; as alſo *Diodorus*, who had been *Agens in rebus*, he ordered to be put to death, together with three *Apparitors* of the *Vicar* of *Italy*, for no other reaſon but becauſe *Diodorus* commenced a Suit againſt a certain *Comes*, who was going to Court, and the *Apparitors* of the *Vicar* (according to their Office) admoniſhed him to appear. And of thoſe perſons the Chriſtians at *Milan* ſolemnized the Memory, calling the place where they were buried *At the Innocents.* Many in Corporations he commanded to be ſlain, who were preſerved by the ſeaſonable Interpoſition of *Euphraxius* the *Quæſtor*, and *Florentius* the *Præfect*. If any declined the Juriſdiction of a Judge, as bearing him capital malice, to be ſure he would (notwithſtanding all Exception made) remit him and his Cauſe to the Award of the ſame perſon. And if any Debtor was found unable to give ſatiſfaction to the Publick, he would pronounce that he ought to be put to death. Returning from *Amiens* towards *Triers*, he received News out of *Britain*, of great Slaughters and Waſte made by the *Barbarians* in this Iſland; that *Nectaridus* Count of the Maritime Tract, or as the *Notitia* terms him of the *Saxon* Shore, was ſlain; and *Fullofaudes* a *Dux* was alſo circumvented by the Enemy. In great haſte and conſternation he diſpatched away *Severus*, at that time bearing the Title of *Comes Domeſticorum*, to put ſome ſtop to their Progreſs; but him he ſoon after recalled, and in his ſtead ſent *Jovinus* with all ſpeed to reinforce the Armies in the Iſland; for ſo the conditions of Time and Place did require. But ſtill worſe News arriving, in what danger theſe Provinces were, he made choice of *Theodoſius*, a man of eminent note for Military matters, who with a courageous Army both of Horſe and Foot, chearfully undertook what was enjoyned him. Several years before this divers Alarms had been given, as in the tenth Conſulſhip of *Conſtantius*, and in the third of *Julian*, who then lying at *Paris*, and diſtracted by various Cares, thought not

He now diſcovers the cruelty of his Nature.

The Barbarous Nations rage here in *Britain*.

not fit to come over himſelf, leſt he ſhould have expoſed *Gall* to the cruel Rapines of the *Allemans*; but ſent *Lupicinus*, then a *Magiſter Militum*, both a good Souldier and very skilful, but proud as far as Inſolence, and concerning whom it might juſtly be doubted, whether he was more covetous or cruel. He brought over with him the *Heruli* and *Batavi* bearing Light Armour, together with two Troops of the *Mæſiaci*, and landed at *Rutupiæ*, at this day *Ribcheſter* or *Richborow* by *Sandwich*.

Theodoſius ſent to repreſs them.

42. What particular Actions paſſed betwixt him and the Barbarians we do not know; but whatever he did to reſtrain them, by this time they were grown again outragiouſly inſolent. *Ammianus* tells us, that in that place of his Hiſtory where he had given Account of the Acts of *Conſtans Cæſar*, he had alſo deſcribed both the Nature of the Ocean, and the Iſland of *Britain*, according to his Capacity; and therefore he would not repeat any thing thereof to our great loſs and ſorrow, as it happened: For that part of his Hiſtory hath miſcarried, as alſo that of *Polybius*, wherein this more ancient Writer had deſcribed this Iſland ſo far as it was known in his days. He adds, That it ſhall ſuffice onely to ſay, that at this time the *Picts* were divided into two Nations, *Dicalidonæ* or *Caledonii*, and *Vecturiones*, beſides whom there were the *Attacotti*, and the *Scots*, who roved up and down, and did very great Miſchief; while in the mean time the neighbouring Tracts of *Gall* were grievouſly infeſted by the *Franks* and *Saxons*; and each People ſtrove as it were, which ſhould exceed the other in Rapine, Burnings, and Leading away of Captives. *Theodoſius* being ſent to put a ſtop to thoſe who harraſed *Britain*, took Sea at *Banonia* or *Bulloign*, and ſafely landed at *Rutupiæ*; whence, after that the *Batavi*, *Heruli*, *Jovii*, and *Victores* were arrived, he marched toward *Lundonium*, an old Town, which Poſterity called *Auguſta*; and dividing his Forces into ſeveral Parties fell upon the Rovers, while ſcattered up and down and loaded with Booty. The Plunder and Captives he recovered; and having reſtored all to the Owners, except ſome ſmall portion beſtowed on the weary Souldiers, he returned to the City in a triumphant manner, which exceedingly incumbered before with Difficulties, he had hereby reſtored to its ancient, Freedom. Now entering into a ſerious conſideration what was further to be done he found by what he got out of Priſoners and Fugitives, that his numerous and fierce Enemy conſiſting of divers Nations, was not to be maſtered but by Stratagems and ſudden Attacques. Firſt therefore by Promiſes of Impunity he reduced moſt of thoſe who had forſaken their Colours, or ſtragled abroad, to their Arms; and to uſe ſtill greater caution he ſent for *Civilis*, to govern *Britain* as *Vice-Præfect*, a man of an haſty nature, but very juſt; as alſo *Dulcitius*, one of the Dignity of *Dux*, and famous for his Military Skill.

Africk alſo in a ſad condition.

43. So went matters in *Britain*, while *Africk* ever ſince the beginning of *Valentinian* had groaned under the Rage and Cruelty of the Barbarians, in no leſs degree; the Incurſions of whom had been furthered by the negligence, ſloth, and greedineſs of the Army. Moſt remarkable was the Rapacity of *Romanus* the *Comes*, who ſtrove as it were to exceed the diligence of the Enemy in pilling the Provinces; yet being ſo cunning as to decline the *Odium*, he made uſe of his Affinity with *Remigius*, the *Magiſter Officiorum*, who ever told a fair Tale to the Emperour, and thereby kept him utterly ignorant of the ſad eſtate of that Countrey, what warineſs ſoever he pretended to. And indeed *Ammianus* writes in plain terms, That *Valentinian* was the firſt who encouraged and promoted the Inſolence of Military Men, againſt the common good of the Empire; and how it is a matter to be lamented, that puniſhing with all cruelty the ordinary and common Souldier, he connived at the Crimes of the great Officers, who taking courage at this Impunity proceeded in thoſe courſes, as having the Fortunes of all men in their power; whereas of old time there was ſo great care taken, that the Commonwealth might not be oppreſſed through their Inſolence, and too well known Ambition, that ancient Lawmakers choſe rather to have ſome ſuffer innocently, than their Faults to go unpuniſhed. But, at the ſame time the Barbarians brake into *Iſauria*, where depopulating the Countrey they invaded *Pamphylia* and *Cilicia*, which they treated in the ſame manner, proceeding in their Rapines without any oppoſition: At length *Muſonius* the *Vicar* of *Aſia*, who had formerly profeſſed Rhetorick at *Athens*, fell upon a Party of them, but ſo ill diſciplined were his Troops, that he was circumvented, and cut off with all his Men. The Rovers encouraged by this Succeſs purſued their courſe, till more Forces coming upon them, drove them into the Straits near the Mountains, where being cloſely ſhut up, and finding no means to eſcape, they begg'd Peace by the Perſwaſions of the *Germanicopolitans*, a People of great Authority amongſt them, whoſe City *Germanicopolis* was the Chief and Head

Together with *Iſauria*, and other Provinces.

The Barbarians reſtrain'd.

of

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of all that part of *Iſauria* they poſſeſſed, as *Seleucia* the *Metropolis* of what of that Countrey belonged to the *Roman* Empire. Peace being granted them, and their Hoſtages received, they kept themſelves quiet for a good ſpace, attempting nothing of Hoſtility.

Valeſius in notis ad Am. hiſt. l.27.

Prætextatus Præfect of *Rome* his Acts.

44. At this time *Prætextatus* exerciſed the Office of *Præfect* of *Rome*, and that with ſuch Integrity and Courage, that he might juſtly be reckoned amongſt thoſe few who were both feared and beloved. By his Authority was appeaſed a great Tumult and Diſorder, which had been raiſed about the Election of a Biſhop. He took away *Balconies*, or Galleries made on the ſides of Houſes, which had been forbidden in the City by ancient Laws, being called *Mæniana* from one *Mænius*, who having ſold his Houſe to *Cato* and *Flaccus*, then *Cenſors*, for the building of the *Baſilica Porcia*, excepted out of the Sale one Pillar, on which he laid Timber that jutted forth, and built a Balcony or Scaffold, whereon he and his Family might behold the Fights of the *Gladiators*; which Act was imitated by others, till reſtrained by the Laws. *Prætextatus* further cauſed a Diſtance to be made betwixt publick Buildings and private Houſes; and in every Region appointed certain Weights, obſerving that unjuſt and covetous perſons changed and counterfeited them at their pleaſure. In point of Judicature he had that advantage of others, which *Cicero* aſcribes to *Brutus*, that although for favour he did nothing, yet on whatever he did, a favourable Interpretation was put. About this time one *Rando* an *Alleman* of Royal Deſcent, having long caſt in his Head how he might do it, fell ſuddenly upon *Moguntiacum*, not fortified by any Garriſon; and by reaſon that the Inhabitants were buſied by the Celebration of a Chriſtian Solemnity, (as *Ammianus* writes) eaſily made himſelf Maſter of it, and departed with Plunder, and ſo many Priſoners as he thought convenient. After this *Vithicabius*, the Son of *Valdomarius* their King, was murdered by one of his own Servants, that held Intelligence with the *Romans*, a cunning man, who could be removed by no other means than that of Treachery. *Valentinian* thought fit to make more than ordinary Preparations to prevent that Hoſtility which thereupon he could not but expect; and taking his Son *Gratian* along with him, paſſed the *Rhine*, and invaded their Territories, where for a good ſpace he could light of no Enemy; but at length diſcovered them encamped on an Hill, whence he beat them down, and got a notable Victory. This done, the Souldiers went into their Winter Quarters, and the Emperours to *Triers*.

Idem.

Itaque efficis, ut cum gratiæ causâ nihil facias, omnia tamen ſint grata quæ facis.

Valentinian defeats the *Allemans*.

Reſerves to himſelf the Cogniſance of the Crimes of Senators.

45. To *Prætextatus* the *Præfect* of *Rome Valentinian* directed an Edict, by which he demonſtrated how ſtudious he was of the Reputation and Safety of *Senators*. This *Præfect*, as we have ſeveral times hinted, was the proper Judge of perſons of that Dignity, ſo as in thoſe days no Judge of a Province could cenſure them for any Crime. However now *Valentinian* commands, that before the *Præfect* ſhould“ come to ſentence, the whole Proceſs be tranſmitted to himſelf, to whom he reſerves“ the cognizance of the Cauſe, and the appointment of the Puniſhment: ſo great“ ſeemed his care for men of their Rank and Quality. Yet nine years after his Son *Gratian* thought fit to alter the form of their Trials, and indeed to abrogate this Law: For by a new Conſtitution he permitted the ordinary Judges or Governours“ of Provinces to have Cognizance of theſe matters. But then again withall he gave“ leave to the *Præfect* of the City to determine the matter, and alſo to inflict what“ Puniſhment he thought fit; which *Valentinian* by no means ſuffered. Then whereas formerly it belonged to this *Præfect*, to hear and determine theſe Criminal Cauſes, in what Province ſoever the *Senator* lived; *Gratian* limited his Authority to the *Suburban* Provinces, giving to the *Præfecti Prætorio* Juriſdiction over the reſt; and when the *Præfect* of the City judged them, it ſhould be by the aſſiſtance and concurrence of five other perſons. And ſo did *Gratian* partly enlarge, and partly diminiſh the Power of the *Præfect* of the City, whoſe Juriſdiction became in thoſe times more appropriate to the *Suburbicarian* Provinces, and that of the *Præfecti Prætorio* more and more increaſed. As *Valentinian* concerned himſelf for the Privileges of Senators really ſuch; ſo by another Conſtitution, directed ſhortly after to the ſame *Prætextatus*, for ſuch as obtained the Honourary Title thereof, without the Burthens thereunto belonging. Theſe were they who had diſcharged duly the *Palatine* or Court Imployments, particularly *Notaries*, and ſuch as ſerved in the *Scrinia*, *Agentes in rebus*, *Admiſſionales*, and the reſt. When they went out of their Services they were advanced to the Degree of *Perfectiſſimi*, or, if *Comites* or *Tribunes*, to an higher rank of Honour; receiving commonly Letters Teſtimonial from the Prince, directed to the *Præfect* of the City, being the Judge or Keeper of Dignities. But *Valentinian* obſerved, that by ſo great Indulgence to all ſorts of perſons, the

L.10. de Pœnis. Cod. Th. l.9. tit.40.

L.13. de Accuſation.

Literæ proſecutoriæ.

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L.7.de Privil. eor. qui in ſacro palatio militant, Cod.Th. l.6.tit.35.

the Duties incumbent upon *Senators* were badly performed; and therefore he reſolved to make a diſtinction, which was, that the Privilege of *Adlection* (as it was called) or of meerly enjoying the Dignity and Privilege of Senators, without being acceſſary to Duties and Implyments, ſhould accrue to ſuch as from the firſt and loweſt degree had arrived at that of *Perfectiſſimatus*, though without the Prince his Letters Commendatory; but as for theſe of higher Rank, as *Comites* and *Tribunes*, they ſhould no otherwiſe obtain Freedom from ſuch Burthens, than by Letters from the Emperour to the Prefect, wherein their Service and courſe of Life ſhould be approved. For ſuch as proceeded to the Rank of *Perfectiſſimatus*, arrived at it by degrees, paſſing through all inferiour ſtations; but ſuch as were made *Comites* and *Tribunes* ordinarily attained it *per ſaltum*, and for favour: And therefore theſe Letters Teſtimonial in their behalf ſeemed to him to be requiſite. Thoſe that obtained Letters Teſtimonial had alſo other Letters called *Tractoriæ*, granted by the *Præfectus Prætorio*, for the furniſhing them with the *Curſus publicus*, and Proviſions in their Travel homewards. But ſuch were wont to ſell and make Merchandize of them, having no need of them themſelves; which practice this ſame Emperour forbids in his firſt Conſtitution now extant of the following Year.

L.1. de Tractoriis, Cod.Th.l. 8.tit.5. Et de variis Tractoriarum acceptionibus. Vide Gothofr. *in L.*

Regulates the Phyſicians of the City of *Rome*.

46. Having otherwiſe well provided for the Suſtenance and Conveniences of the Citizens of *Rome*, this ſame Year being of our Lord the CCCLXVIII. by another Edict he made as good proviſion as he could for their Health, thereby regulating the number and maintenance of their Phyſicians. Theſe were the *Archiatri populares*, as they were called, of whom he ordains that each Region of the City have one, beſides thoſe that belonged to the *Porticus Xyſti*, where the Fencers exerciſed, and to the Veſtal Virgins. Not that we are to imagine, there were but fourteen Phyſicians in all *Rome*, becauſe there were but ſo many Regions; for many more doubtleſs practiſed in that City, called by the richer and nobler ſort as their Judgments or Fancies directed; but the *Archiatri* were ſuch as were hired on the publick charge, to viſit the poor and take care of thoſe who could not fee the others as they expected. They had Allowance aſſigned them out of the *Annona publica* or *civica*, for out of that Revenue were not onely ſuſtained the Citizens, but Allowances made to ſeveral Officers beſides, as to the publick Phyſicians, to the Veſtal Virgins, to certain called Antiquaries at *Conſtantinople*, who looked to the publick Library. As *Valentinian* by this Law allows of their Salaries, ſo he obviates their Avarice, requiring them not to accept of what ſick men and ſuch as were in danger promiſed them; but onely what thoſe who had recovered by their Aſſiſtance would willingly confer on them; according to the Oath of honeſt *Hippocrates*, who ſwore he would do his beſt endeavour for all ſick perſons, of what ſort, degree, or condition, without expectation of Reward or any Contract. Indeed the Anxiety and Diſtreſs of ſuch perſons in pain hath ſo much pity and regard from the Laws, that immoderate Donations, Obligations, Promiſes, and Sales made by any at ſuch time, and in that condition, have onely the Preſcription of thirty years. And the immoderate Fees of a Phyſician are to be regulated after the Rule of Indifferency by the Judge; this ſame being to be obſerved by thoſe that receive no publick Stipends, as is enjoyned by this Conſtitution. In the laſt place he enacts, That in caſe of the Death of any of the number, the defect ſhould be ſupplied not out of favour to any Great Man his Interceſſion, or the Power of any Magiſtrate, how great ſoever; but by the Choice of the *Archiatri* themſelves, who having made it with all care and circumſpection, ſhould thereof certifie the Emperour. He ſeems to have been conſulted upon this ſubject by that memorable Prefect of the City *Prætextatus*, to whom this Edict is directed, as many more.

L.8. de Medicis & Profeſſoribus, Cod.Th.l. 13.tit.3.

Ἄνευ μισθοῦ ϗ συγγραφῆς. Vide Gothofr. *in l.*

Takes care that the People ſhould not be oppreſſed by Officers and Magiſtrates.

47. While he lay at *Coloine* to provide againſt the Inrodes of the *Franks*, he conſidered, that his Subjects of the Northern Quarters might be harraſed even by Friends (though not in ſo great a meaſure) as well as by the Enemy, the Inſolence of Officers as well Civil as Military, in thoſe days being very great. He directed an Edict to *Probus* the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Illyricum*, to provide againſt thoſe who under pretence of publick Service, would impoſe Burthens or Trouble upon Countreymen. He prohibits the compelling of them to any Service in their own perſons, or by their Slaves or Cattel; or the receiving of any Gifts or Penſions from them. Which later had been ſo ordinarily practiſed, that it became as it were a lawful (or, as the term of the times was, a *canonical*) Payment: In like manner as Souldiers in this Age were wont to require Suppers, Junkets, and Baths, nay Free Quarter from thoſe that harboured them; and the *Tribunes* themſelves exacted Gratuities for their Souldiers, beſides what was wont to be ſcrewed out of the People by ſuch as carried joyful News into the Provinces. As the other Practices were forbidden by other

L.un. Ne Damna provincialibus, Cod.Th. l.11.tit.11. Dat. Agrippinæ prid. Cal. Octobris.

Laws,

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Laws, ſo in this whereof we now ſpeak, *Valentinian* ſhewed his ſeverity againſt the *Officials* of Governours of Provinces, in three particulars. Firſt, he Prohibits not only ſuch things to be Exacted by Officers; but the Country man himſelf, he forbids “ to Pay them, leſt any excuſe might thereby be pretended for the Crime! “ In the ſecond place he inflicts Confiſcation of Eſtate, and death it ſelf, upon ſuch “ as either ſhould Exact, or receive ſuch Preſents or Services; in the room of which “ Puniſhment, *Tribonian* in his Law, which he interpolated from this, impoſeth perpetual “ Baniſhment. But, what ſhewes the heavieſt Severity imaginable, In the “ laſt place, he ſubjects thoſe that Voluntarily Pay ſuch Services, or give ſuch Preſents, “ to the ſame puniſhment, as the Exactors and Receivers; It ſeems the Condition “ of the Times requiredit.

L.2.Cod.Juſtin Ne Ruſticani, lib.11.Tit.55.

Valens at the ſame time Confirms the Privileges of ſuch Officers.

48. About the ſame time, *Valens* in the *Eaſt*, as if had been on purpoſe to give Incouragement to thoſe *Cohortales* or *Officials* of the Provinces, whom his Brother diſcompoſed by ſo Severe a Conſtitution, Reſolved to maintain them of his Diſtirct, eſpecially of *Syria*, in their wonted Privileges. By an Edict directed to *Feſtus* the *Conſularis* of *Syria*, He Confirms to them all Immunities, which had “ formerly been Granted them by *Diocleſian*. Theſe were freedom from the *Baſtaga*, or Carriage by Beaſts, impoſed on ſome ſorts of People; from the Charge of the *Navicularii*, and from being forced againſt their Wills, to the Services of *Corporations*, which things had formerly been Indulged by *Conſtantine*, who Abrogated the Law made by *Maxentius* to a contrary purpoſe. “In Caſe they “ had paſſed their Determined Time and Courſes, and Namely, that of providing “ Neceſſaries for the Souldiers, which was their main Work, then ſhould they be “ excuſed from any ſuch Services. And as *Valens* Incouraged hereby the Officers of the Ordinary Magiſtrates, for all that he was rather more kind to the *Provincials* or Countrey men themſelves, as both ſeveral Laws do teſtifie, and as Hiſtorians and Orators do Witneſs for him. “ About this very time, by a Law, he took “ care that ſuch ſhould have their *Defenſores*, even as the Cities had theirs; under “ whom they ſhould have their Cauſes in Pecuniary Matters Decided. But it ſeems, “ his Indulgence was abuſed by ſuch kind of Men, who, as we have already ſeen, in the dayes of *Conſtantius*, when they had their own proper *Defenders*; yet to ſhun the heavy burthens of Taxes, were wont to flie to the Protection of Great Perſons; and give up all they had into their Hands, oftentimes to ſhun one Evil incurring a far greater Miſchief. To prevent the loſs of the Treaſury, and their own miſery; he directed a ſevere Edict to *Auxonius* the *Præfectus Prætorio* of the *Eaſt*, Commanding upon pain of death, all Husbandmen, or Tillers of the Land, “ to abſtain from ſuch Applications. And all ſuch as ſhould receive them into their “ Patronage, as often as they could be found upon the Grounds, ſhould pay “ a Fine of ſixty five pounds of Gold, and beſides, half of the Land ſo received “ into Patronage, ſhould be Confiſcate; which he hints to have been leſs than ſuch Patrons were wont to take from their miſerable Clients, for their Protection.

L.11.de Cohortalibus Cod.Th. lib.8.Tit.4.

L.1.eod.Tit.

Paſtus primipili dicitur in L.

Yet Incourages the Provincials.

L.3.De Defenſor.Cevitatum. Cod.Juſtin.lib.1.Tit.55.

Rut puniſhes ſuch as defrauded the publick Revenue, by applying themſelves to Great Men.

L.2. De Patrociniis Vicorum. Cod.Th. lib.11. Tit. 24.

Et non quantum Patroni ſuſcipere conſueverant, ſed dimidium ejus fiſcsm ad ſumat.

A.D. 369. *Valentiniano Nb. P. & Victore Coſs.*

The Conſulſhip of *Valentinian*, the Son of *Valens*, and *Victor*.

49. The following Year, which was the laſt of the *Gothick* War, managed by *Valens*, being of our Lord the CCCLXIX. had for Conſuls, *Valentinian*, the Son of *Valens*, with the Style of *Nobiliſſimus Puer*, and *Victor*; wherein *Olybrius* was *Præfect* of *Rome*, *Auxonius* ſtill *Præfectus Prætorio* of the Eaſt; *Probus* of *Illyricum*, *Italy*, and *Africk*; and *Viventius* of *Gall*. *Valentinian* the Emperour continued at *Triers* till the Month of *June*, as ſeveral Conſtitutions do teſtifie, imploying himſelf well nigh the whole year in Fortifying the River *Rhine*; from the begining of *Rhetia* as far as the Ocean, with great Rampires, Caſtles and Towers all along the Coaſt of *Gall*; And in ſome places, he raiſed Fortifications beyond the River, in the Enemies Countrey, to hinder the Excurſions of the *Francks* and *Allemans*. For this purpoſe he removed from *Triers*, and by the Date of ſeveral Laws, we find him at *Complatum*, *Martiaticum*, *Altæ Ripæ*, and *Briſiacum*, at which Places, what Laws of Concernment, and proper for the Readers knowledge he made, it will behove us to mention. Towards all the preparations, in order to his Securing the Provinces, and Reinforcing his Armies, it was neceſſary there ſhould be continual Supplies of Horſes and Materials. Now throughout the Provinces there were certain Companies, or Bodies of Men, deſtined to the Conveyance of the Publick Proviſions, and Neceſſaries for War, or the Prince his Uſe; but often it happened that their work was too great; and for ſupply the Country Man was Preſſed to put to his helping hand, to the great hindrance of Tillage: ſo it hapned at this time, and the Provincials were therewith ſo much oppreſſed, that by an

Vide Chron. Hiſtoric. Cod. Th. ad Ann. 369.

Valentinian indeavours to reform ſeveral Abuſes for the Eaſe of the People.

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Edict to *Viventius*, the Emperour takes notice of it, as an unlawful Practice; and yet that his Occaſions might be ſerved, he Commands that for the time to come, ſuch as kept Victualling, or Tipling-Houſes, ſhould be compelled, as idle Perſons, to ſupply the places of thoſe whom the Countries could by no means ſpare. He took notice of another great Abuſe committed againſt miſerable People, under pretence of Treaſon, or of Eſtates, by other Courſes of Law, falling to the Emperour, as where no Heirs were to be found; for Rapacious Officers, or Malicious Neighbours would affix Titles to Houſes, or Lands, denoting them to belong to the Prince, which by a Law directed to *Florentinus* the *Comes Rei Privatæ*, he indeavours to prevent. “He Ordains that upon any ſuch Occaſion, there be Solemn Proceeding had, both by the ſaid *Comes*, and the *Rationales*, (under his Diſpoſition) in all the Provinces; that an Account be taken of all perticulars; and the Titles affixed to any ſuch Eſtates, be not made without ſufficient Teſtimony.

L. 1. Ne operæ à Conlatoribus exigantur. Cod. Th. lib. 11. Tit. 10. & L. Un. Cod. Juſt. eod. Tit. primam tantum habet ſententiam.

L. 1. de Incorporatione. Cod. Th. lib. 10. Tit. 9. & L. 3. Cod. Juſtin. de bonis vacant. & incorporat.

50. But, to proſecute further the Reformation he intended, he reſolved to go to work with the Governours of Provinces themſelves, of whom ſeveral he put to death, for their Avarice and Oppreſſion, amongſt whom one *Rhodanus* the Maſter of his Palace. And lying now at *Triers* in Spring time, he conſidered that the Governours, or Judges, would ſoon begin their Annual Progreſs, or Viſitation. For it was the Cuſtome for them to lie in Winter in the Chief Cities, or *Metropoles* of the *Provinces*, and there Adminiſter Juſtice, and Determine Cauſes; but in Summer, the better to underſtand the Wants and Complaints of the People, to provide for the plenty and cheapneſs of Proviſions, for the Payment of the Publick Revenue, and the like, they were wont to Viſit other Cities and Places within their Diſtricts, and make a Progreſs, or take a Circuit throughout the Provinces; which that they might the better do, they were allowed the Uſe of the *Curſus Publicus*, and in each City, were entertained for three days by the *Curiales*, and Merchants. But inſtead of making their abode in the moſt Publick places, where the People might have beſt Acceſs, ſome were wont to betake themſelves to places of Retirement and Pleaſure, where they might ſolace themſelves with ſuch Company and Divertiſements, as they beſt liked. Of this he takes notice, and by a ſevere Edict, directed to *Viventius* the *Præfect*, on the firſt of *April*, Commands, that each of theſe Judges there make his abode where the People may beſt come at him, and not chuſe out any place for Delight; adding further that whoſoever ſhall in a Progreſs entertain any Governour of a Province at his Houſe, ſhall Forfeit the Land whereon it ſtands, to the Publick Treaſury. And by this means he ſaith, theſe Governours may be induced to repair or build up the *Manſions*, by which are meant either thoſe properly ſo called (wherein the Emperour and the Souldiers repoſed themſelves in their marches, that were furniſhed with Granaries, and Houſes for Proviſions; of which, together with the Manſions themſelves, theſe Governours had the Charge) or elſe Houſes of Judicature, which ſometimes are alſo termed the *Manſions* of Judges. This Severity *Valentinian* uſed, to reſtore to the People the ancient Advantage received by theſe Circuits, which to Reinforce, as he by this Law requires the Judges to make choice of ſuch places, as wherein they might give eaſieſt Acceſs; ſo on the other ſide, by *Majoranus*, afterward were the *Agents* and *Procurators* of the Emperours Lands, of the Lands of Senators and Great Men, ordered to give their Attendance upon them ſo long as they continued in thoſe places, for the better Payment of the Publick Duties, wherein often thoſe Officers would be behind. But yet *Valentinian* his Care for the Uſe of thoſe Circuits, was not ſatisfied by this Law directed to *Viventius*, for on the ſame day, he gave out another on the ſame Subject, to *Probus* the other *Præfect*. In this he requires that thoſe Judges, paſs through all the Villages, and Towns, as ſpeedily and often as they can, and there diligently learn of private Perſons, what Inſolent or Rapacious Act had been Committed by any *Compulſor*; who, if thereof detected, and his Matter Preſented to the Emperour, ſhould be put to death. This *Compulſor* was an Officer who Collected the Publick Tributes, or who after the Collector, was appointed to be earneſt with the People, and Compell them to Pay, by whom they were often very cruely handled.

Particularly ſome Committed by the Judges in their Circuits.

L. 4. de Officio Rectoris Provinciæ. Cod. Th. lib. 1. Tit. 7. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt. vide Com.

L. Prox. eod. Tit.

51. Several other Edicts *Probus* received at this time, ſome of which we ſhall not trouble the Reader with, as not ſo proper for his knowledge. But *Valentinian* having lately Publiſhed one for the aſcertaining of Confiſcate Eſtates, yet found it not ſufficient; but ſo that he was cheated, either by thoſe that ſeized

them, and concealed part of what they found, or by ſuch as begged the Eſtates, and kept him ignorant of the true Value; ſo that he underſtood not the meaſures of his own Bounty. To *Probus* therefore he directed another Conſtitution, which is eſpecially taken notice of, and by Lawyers eſteemed as moſt Elegant. "That there might remain no place for Fraud, he orders a double Inquiſition to be made: The firſt by the Officers of the Ordinary Judge, or Governour of the Province, who ſhould make a moſt full and Comprehenſive Inventary, and tranſmit it to the *Rationalis*, belonging to the *Comes Rei privatæ*, which before this had never been done. Then were the Officers of the *Rationalis* to take another Account, and ſend up the firſt Survey to the Emperour, that in caſe thoſe belonging to the Ordinary Judge, had concealed any thing, they might be Condemned in the double Value of it. The form of the Inventary, becauſe ſaid to be the moſt exact Pattern of all others, was this: What the quantity of the Ground was, and what its Nature or Quality. How much was Tilled, and what was untilled. How much in Vine-yard, Olive-yard, Arable Paſture, or Wood. What Conveniency belonged to the Place, and how pleaſant or delightful it was. With what Buildings or other Contrivance it was furniſhed. How many Slaves belonged to the Place, whether they were Countrey, or City Slaves, and what were their Qualities, or Indowments? What Husbandmen there were, and what Tenants that held portions of Land; as here in *England*, by Hides. What numbers of Oxen for the Plough. What and how Diſtinct Herds of Sheep, or Cattel. How much Gold or Silver, Cloaths, or Jewels in *ſpecie* or in Weight; and of what ſorts. And laſtly, what Furniture, either for a City Houſe, or a Countrey Farm. By this may be ſeen how exact *Valentinian*, or the Lawyers about him, was in things of this Nature; that as well Moveables, as Immoveables, were Confiſcate to the Treaſury of the *Res privata*, or annexed to the Patrimony of the Prince; and that this Silver and Gold were not wont to be brought into the Treaſury of the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum*; (the Lands being united to the very Patrimony, as ſome have held) for the Law Declares it otherwiſe in expreſs Words.

He takes a ſurer Courſe for aſcertaining Confiſcated Eſtates.

L.7. de bonis proſcriptorum Cod. Th. lib. 9. Tit. 42. & L. 7. Cod. Juſt. eod. Tit.

Quot Caſarii.

Noſtro nectenda Patrimonio.

52. To the ſame *Probus*, he iſſued out another Edict, which was received at *Sirmium*, on the ſixth of *June*, Concerning the finding of Horſes for the War, by ſuch as by *Codicils*, or Leters Pattents, had obtained Dignities. Thoſe Perſons were obnoxious to various and Extraordinary Services, or Payments, and upon that account, were wont often to be much vexed by the Emperours Officers, who would ſtill be upon them upon all occaſions, and make them pay for their Aery Honours, particularly for Horſes, as well as other matters. Whether now, at the Petition of ſome of them, or induced by other Motives, for their future eaſe, he ſetled this matter ſo, as that "He who had by ſuch Honorary Codicils or Letters obtained the Dignity of *Comes*, ſhould every fifth year find three Horſes, and He that had procured that of *Præſes*, only two; the former Honor being eſteemed the greater of them. Having ever a great care, for the ſuſtenance of the Citizens of *Rome*, by another Edict directed to the People themſelves there, he removed an Abuſe Committed againſt the Publick Charity. Out of the Proviſion made for the poorer ſort, which they termed *Annona Popularis*, and *Civica*, twenty loaves of Brown or Courſe Bread, was wont to be ſold to poor people at a ſmall price, or eaſie rate, wherein the Benefit, or Advantage conſiſted. But what was intended for the benefit of the poor, was fraudulently drawn to the uſe of other Perſons, who came in with the poor, and made the ſame Market of this courſe ſort of Bread. As firſt the *Officials*, or *Apparitors* of the Ordinary Judges, who had other Allowances belonging to them as ſuch. Then ſome ſent amongſt them their Slaves, who under a Covert of Freedom, laid hold of this occaſion to cheat Indigent Citizens; and beſides theſe, ſuch as had Bread diſtributed to them by reaſon of, or belonging to their Houſes, pretended, and made bold to challenge this Privilege alſo. *Valentinian* to reduce things to the deſign of their firſt Inſtitution, by this Edict directed to the People, "alters quite the Cuſtom; for inſtead of their twenty courſe Loaves, which containing fifty ounces, were ſold to them at an eaſie rate, he Ordaines they ſhall have *gratis*, or on free Gift, ſix Biskets of clear Flour, whereof each ſhould weigh ſix Ounces. All Officials Slaves, or any who obtained Bread by right of his Houſe, he forbids to pretend to this Privilege, upon pain of loſing ſuch Allowance, as otherwiſe belonged to him; or of Corporal Puniſhment. If any ſhall ſell his Right to this Bread; to ſuch as Accuſeth and detecteth him, he grants the Allowance, both of Buyer and Seller; if it was received upon other Stairs, or Degrees,

Orders how ſuch as had obtained titular Dignities ſhould find Horſes.

L. un. de Oblatione Equorum. Cod. Th. lib. 7. Tit. 23. Abeſt hic tit. à Cod. Juſtin.

Pannis ſordidus.

Reſtores the Advantage received by Bread, to the Uſe of Poor Citizens.

L. de annonis Civicis & pane gradili. Cod. T. lib. 14. Tit. 17. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſtin.

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Degrees, than belonged no the Seller Originally. To this end he Decrees,“ that upon theſe Stairs, ſhould a Table of Braſs be fixed, whereon both the ſort“ and quantity of Bread, ſhould be Ingraven, and the Name of the Perſon that“ was to receive it. And if any cauſed theſe Tables to be falſified, by putting therein“ their own Names, they ſhould be obnoxious to Puniſhments lately recited.“ This Law was Publiſhed at *Rome*, on the firſt of *Auguſt*.

Sapor Invades *Armenia*.

And Murders *Arſaces*.

Paras the Son of *Arſaces* ſent by the Emperour to Govern *Armenia*.

Valeſius ubi ſuprà.

53. But thus ſtood Matters in the *Weſt*, when *Sapor* the old King of *Perſia*, who from the beginning of his Reign, was accuſtomed to Rapines, having for ſome time concealed his Deſign, openly broke that Infamous Peace made with *Jovian*, by laying hold on *Armenia*; which, after tampering to allure the Nobility and terrifie the Ordinary ſort, he now openly Invaded. Then having by horrible Perjury drawn *Arſaces* into his hands, he put out his eyes, and ſent him away to a Caſtle called *Agabana*, where he was Murdered, and driving out *Sauromaces*, whom the Emperour had ſet over *Iberia*, he put in his Place one, *Aſpacuras*, and Honoured him with a Diadem. Theſe Devices ſo well ſucceeding, he Committed *Armenia* to *Cylax* the Eunuch, and *Artabanes* two Fugitives, whereof one had been formerly *Præfect*, and the other *Magiſter Armorum* of that Countrey, with Orders to take and Raze *Artogeraſſa* a very ſtrong Town, wherein as yet were preſerved the Wife, Son, and Treaſure of *Arſaces*. They made means to get into the Place, and endeavoured to perſwade the Queen to yield; but were ſo wrought upon by her Lamentations, that they agreed to ſuffer the Beſieged to Iſſue out and ſurprize their Enemies, which being effected, the Queen ſent away her Son *Paras* into the *Roman* Dominions, where he was kindly received by Command of *Valens*, and appointed to reſide at *Neocæſarea*, a noted City of *Pontus Polemoniacus*, part of *Pontus Euxinus*, which according to the variety of Nations, it paſſed by, received ſeveral Names, as, beſides *Pontus* properly ſo called, *Pontus Galaticus*, *Polemoniacus*, and *Cappadocicus*, for ſo were the Provinces Called. With this kindneſs of the Emperour, *Cylax* and *Artabanes* incouraged, ſent to him to deſire Aid, and that Young *Paras* might be their King. No Aſſiſtance was granted preſently, but *Terentius* a *Dux* of thoſe Quarters, was Ordered to bring *Paras* into *Armenia*, to Rule, yet without Enſigns of Majeſty; which was Cautiouſly obſerved, leſt *Sapor* being much irritated, by what had formerly paſſed, ſhould have juſt Cauſe to Object to the *Romans*, the breach of the Peace.

Sapor Drives him out.

And inveigles him.

Iberia Divided contrary to his mind.

Whereupon he prepares for War.

54. But hereat being above all meaſure inraged, he invaded *Armenia*, and laid all waſte before him, and therewith were *Paras* and his two Governours ſo terrified, that without thoughts of any Oppoſition, they betook themſelves to the Mountains, which lay betwixt the *Roman* Borders, and *Lazica*, beginning at *Rhiſæum*, and Inhabited by Free People, which was neither Subject to the Emperour nor the *Lazi*. The King hunted after them, but to no purpoſe, and therefore having waſted the Country, he laid ſiege to *Artogeraſſa*, which he took and burnt, and carried away the Wife and Treaſure of *Arſaces*. There being now ſufficient Advantage given to begin a War, *Arintheus* was ſent with an Army to aſſiſt the *Armenians*, in Caſe the *Perſian* ſhould Invade them, and this *Sapor* underſtanding, betook himſelf to his Craft; which but ſeldom failed him. He now fell on Courting *Paras*, and by fair Language inveigled him, repreſenting to him how diſhonourable his preſent Condition was, which he termed no better than Slavery; ſo that the fooliſh Young Man, Cut off the Heads of his Maſters (as *Sapor* cunningly called them) and ſent them to him. By this means he had aſſuredly been Maſter of *Armenia*, but that his Men were diſcouraged by the coming of *Arintheus*, ſo that he only required of the Emperour, that according to the Articles of Peace made with *Jovian*, no Aid might be granted to that People. This was abſolutely denied; and further *Terentius* was Commanded, with twelve Legions, to Convey *Sauromaces* into *Iberia*, whom, when he now drew near the River *Cyrus*, *Aſpacuras* deſired that being Kinſmen, they might Reign together; alleging that he could not yield, nor joyn himſelf to the *Roman* Side, becauſe his Son was an Hoſtage with the *Perſian*. The Emperour being hereof informed, was content to Compoſe the Affairs of *Iberia* in as gentle terms as could be; and Agreed, that whereas the River *Cyrus* divided the Country, *Sauromaces* ſhould have for his Share, that Part that lay next to *Armenia* and *Lazica*; and *Aſpacures* receive the other half adjoining to *Albania* and *Perſia*, *Sapor* was vehemently diſturbed at this Agreement; Exclaiming, that, contrary to the League, *Armenia* was Relieved, his Embaſſy ſlighted, and *Iberia* Divided without his Concurrence or Knowledge: and he made all poſſible Preparations, both at Home and Abroad, to undo what had been done againſt his Mind.

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Maximinus the *Præfectus Annonæ* at *Rome* plays horrible pranks.

Ammian. l.28.

55. In the mean time *Valens* the Emperour was not negligent of his Affairs; but having time enough vacant from ſuch Imployments, by ſeveral Laws amended the State of the Eaſt as he ſaw convenient himſelf, or by the Lawyers was ſuggeſted to him; which Laws relate to ſuch matters as we judge not altogether proper for us here to take notice of. But at *Rome* horrible Murders were committed at this time by procurement of *Maximinus* the *Præfectus Annonæ*, a man of prodigious Covetouſneſs and Cruelty. Being but of mean Birth, as the Son of one of the *Tabularii* belonging to the Preſident, and meanly Learned, he put himſelf ſo much forward as he got the Government of *Corſica* and *Sardinia*, and afterward came to be *Corrector* of *Tuſcia*, whence he was preferred to have the care of the *Annonæ* or Proviſions of the City: And as Impudence and Flattery commonly ſucceed, at length arrived at the Dignity of *Præfectus Prætorio* it ſelf. Occaſion was given to his enormous Proceedings by one *Chilo*, who had been a *Vicar*, and his Wife *Maxima*. They complained to *Olybrius* the *Præfect* of the City, that their Lives were in danger to be taken away by Poiſon, through the Practices of *Sericus*, *Asbolius*, and *Campenſis*, three Perſons of mean Condition. It happened that *Olybrius* at this time was ſick, and the Complainants impatient of Delay, petitioned that the matter might be referred to the *Præfectus Annonæ*. The Reference was made, by which opportunity *Maximinus* ſhewed the Cruelty of his Nature, no more capable of pity or moderation, in the Judgment of *Ammianus*, than that of a wilde Beaſt upon the Theatre let looſe from its Den upon the Prey. Much ado he made, many Examinations, and by Whipping or other Tortures having furrowed the Sides of ſuch as were ſuſpected, they accuſed ſome Noble Perſons, as having by their Clients managed this Clandeſtine Practice; with whom not able to deal as he did with them of low condition, he moſt wickedly affirmed by way of Conſultation to the Emperour, that ſo great were theſe Miſdemeanours in *Rome*, that they could not be reformed but by ſevere Proceedings. *Valentinian* was enraged at this Miſreport; and being by his own inclination (as the Hiſtorian terms him) rather a bitter than a ſevere Enemy to Vices, by one Edict in reference to Cauſes of this nature, which out of deſign he confounded with matters of Treaſon, he ordained, that thoſe perſons ſhould be ſubject to Tortures, whom the Juſtice of ancient Laws, and the Wiſdom of Princes, had thought fit to exempt from bloudy Inquiſitions.

Valentinian ſtrengthens his hands.

Particular perſons cruelly handled.

56. And to ſtrengthen the Hands of *Maximinus*, he conferred on him the Title of *Vice-Præfect*, and joyned with him one *Leo* a *Notary*, a *Pannonian Hackster*, who breathed nothing but fury, and was moſt thirſty after Mans Bloud. *Maximinus* wonderfully pleaſed with the Humour of his Colleague, and tickled by his new Honour, now ſeemed to fly, and not to walk after his Game. Innumerable were the Outragious Acts he committed, amongſt which the Caſe of *Marinus* was very remarkable, who being a Pleader of Cauſes was accuſed by ill arts to have attempted Marriage with one *Hiſpanilla*, and for this after a ſlight hearing was ſentenced to death. Beſides him *Cethegus* a Senator, upon pretence of Adultery was beheaded: *Alypius* a young Nobleman, for a very ſlender fault ſent into Baniſhment: and other obſcure perſons openly executed, with the ſight of whom every Citizen was ſo affected, that therein beholding his own danger, which he knew not how near his door it might be, he dreamed of nothing but Tortures, Fetters, and Priſons. At the ſame time *Hymetius*, a man of great worth, governing *Africk* as *Proconſul*, being overcome by the grievous Complaints of thoſe of *Carthage*, who were almoſt ſtarved, gave them Corn out of the Granaries, which were furniſhed for Maintenance of the People of *Rome*, which yet he ſupplied ſhortly after, there happening a very fruitful ſeaſon. Having ſold then for one *Solidus* but ten *Modii* of Corn, and afterwards for the ſame price bought thirty, what gains thence had accrued he accounted for to the Treaſury; but *Valentinian* ſuſpecting he had ſent leſs than he had gained, puniſhed him by taking away part of his Eſtate. It happened ill, that one *Amantius*, an *Auruſpex*, was accuſed to have been hired to appeaſe the *Genius* of the Emperour, in whoſe Houſe ſome Papers were found, which railed againſt *Valentinian* as covetous and cruel: He being hereupon conſulted, ſtill gave order for ſevere Inquiſitions. And *Frontinus*, who had been aſſiſtant upon the Bench to *Hymetius*, as he who was ſent betwixt them, was cruelly beaten with Rods, and baniſhed hither into *Britain*; and *Amantius* himſelf was afterward put to death. *Hymetius* was conveyed to the Town called *Ocriculam*, there to be convocated before *Amplius* the *Præfect* of the City, and *Maximinus* the *Vicar*, in all appearance deſtined to deſtruction, but he appealed to the Emperour, and his Appeal was admitted, by which means he ſtrangly eſcaped ſo imminent danger: For *Valentinian* referred the matter to the Senate,

Sect.2. which after a full hearing of the Cauſe, confined him to *Boæ* a place in *Dalmatia*, and by ſo gentle a Sentence incurred the diſpleaſure of the Emperour, who had appointed him to no leſs a puniſhment than that of Death. A.D. 369.

57. The City was wonderfully allarmed by ſo frequent acts of Cruelty, and every one making the Caſe his own, by Decree of the Nobility a Meſſage was ſent unto the Emperour. *Prætextatus*, who had been *Præfect* of the City; *Venuſtus*, who had been *Vicar*; and *Minervius* having exerciſed the Power of *Conſularis*, were the men; inſtructed in ſuch manner, as to deſire that ſo great Puniſhments might not be awarded to Offences, and that none of *Senatorian* Degree might (contrary to all Law and Cuſtom) be ſubjected to Examination by Torture. When they were admitted into the Conſiſtory, *Valentinian* denied he had given any ſuch ſevere Orders, and cried out that he was abuſed; but *Eupraxius* the *Quæſtor* gently refelled what he ſaid, and by his ſeaſonable liberty of Speech a ſtop was put to ſo direful Proceedings. Yet about the ſame time *Lollianus* a Youth, the Son of *Lampadius*, who had been *Præfect*, was convicted before *Maximinus* of having copied out a Book of Evil Arts, notwithſtanding his green years, and by direction of his Father, appealed to the Prince; but being ſent for to Court, was delivered into the Hands of *Phalangius* the *Conſularis* of *Bœtica*, and periſhed by thoſe of the Hangman. Moreover, *Baſſus*, who afterwards came to be *Præfect* of the City, his Brother *Camenius* with two others, all of them of the Degree of *Clariſſimi*, as guilty of ſuch a Crime, had periſhed in like manner, had they not been ſaved by the Intereſt of *Victorinus*, who was eſteemed the moſt inward Friend of *Maximinus*. Neither was the other Sex exempt from theſe Calamities, very many of Noble Birth being put to death under pretence of Incontinency. Amongſt theſe were moſt eminent *Claritas* and *Flaviana*, who being led to death was ſtripped ſtark naked, ſo as ſhe had nothing to cover thoſe Parts which Nature would conceal; of which Villany the Executioner being convict was burnt alive. Beſides theſe *Paphius* and *Cornelius*, both Senators, having confeſſed that they had tampered with Poiſons; were executed, and the *Procurator Monetæ* in like manner was put to death by his Award. *Sericus* and *Asbolius*, formerly mentioned, by all means he endeavoured to induce to accuſe other perſons, and for this purpoſe he ſwore he would neither deſtroy any by the Sword or by Fire; and therefore to keep his Oath he killed them by meer ſtrokes of Plummets: and lying under no ſuch Obligation to *Campenſis* the *Aruſpex*, he cauſed him to be burnt alive. Growing confident upon his Succeſs, and ſtrutting in the huff of his Pride, he began to deſpiſe even *Probus* himſelf, the chief of all the Nobility, who juſtly ſeemed to deſerve that high place he now bore of *Præfectus Prætorio*. This was perceived by *Aginatius* the *Vicar* of *Rome*, who taking it very diſdainfully that *Maximinus* was by *Olybrius* preferred before himſelf in the Examination of Cauſes, ſecretly advertiſed *Probus* thereof; and added, that if he ſo pleaſed the Coxcomb might eaſily be brought down.

58. Some ſaid that *Probus* fearing *Maximinus*, as one now practiſed in Villany, and in great favour with the Emperour, ſent him the Letter of *Aginatius*, at the ſight whereof he was inflamed with an impatient deſire of Revenge. Another thing happened, which miniſtred further matter for *Aginatius* his Trouble: He ſpake againſt *Victorinus*, who by this time was dead, as one that had been aſſiſtant to *Maximinus* in his unwarrantable practices, and was further ſo inconſiderate, as to threaten to ſue and moleſt *Anepſia* his Widow, though he had left him a very large Legacy. She being afraid of him, for her ſecurity applied her ſelf to *Maximinus*, and to make him her ſure Friend, pretended her Husband had left him in his Will three thouſand pounds of Silver. He ſwallowed all ſhe thought to bait him with, and having got this Advantage challenged one half of the Inheritance, and not therewith content invented a way whereby he might devour the whole Patrimony; and this was by marrying his Son to the Daughter of *Anepſia*, though ſhe was onely the Step-daughter of *Victorinus*. This done, and having more firmly ſecured his Intereſt, he acted ſtill with more rigour and violence, and ſo extravagant were his Proceedings both againſt poor and rich; as what *Ammianus* tells us in particular thereof, ſeems almoſt incredible to thoſe that read him. But when he was out of his Office, called to Court, and advanced to be *Præfectus Prætorio*, he was no whit mended by this better fortune, but did miſchief (ſo *Ammianus* obſerves) as Baſilisks are wont to do at a diſtance. At this time the Brooms wherewith the Senate Houſe was ſwept were ſeen to bloſſom, which in the opinion of thoſe that took notice of it portended, that ſome of vile Extract ſhould arrive at the greateſt Dignities. And indeed moſt of thoſe that executed the place of the *Vicar* of *Rome* being no others than the Creatures of *Maximinus*

ximinus, moſt horridly abuſed their Power. But of theſe *Urſicinus* ſhewing more favour than was uſual, yet left his Power of *Vicar* without the uſual Approbation: For he was deſpiſed as Cowardly deferring of buſineſs, and indeed being cautious he informed the Emperour, and referred to him the Caſe of one *Eſaias* and others, that were kept in hold for committing Adultery with *Rufina*, one that accuſed of Treaſon her Husband *Marcellus*, who had formerly been an *Agens in rebus*. After him ſucceeded *Simplicius Homonenſis*, who had been a Profeſſor in Grammar, and from that calling became a Counſellour to *Maximinus*, and was very fit for his turn, by a civil and obliging Carriage concealing the inward cruelty of his Nature. And firſt he put to death *Rufina*, with all that had either committed Adultery with her, or been privy to the Crime; after whom were puniſhed many as well innocent as guilty. For if you will believe the Hiſtorian, in this bloudy buſineſs he ſeemed to contend even with *Maximinus*, and endeavoured to demonſtrate himſelf moſt active in deſtroying the Nobility; ſo as to the other Acts of *Buſiris*, *Antæus*, and *Phalaris*, there appeared nothing wanting but the Bull of *Agrigentum*.

59. Several ſuch Acts of Cruelty happened; but the Caſe of *Eumenius* and *Abienus* are mentioned as moſt remarkable: Theſe two had been under *Maximinus* accuſed, as having had too familiarly to do with *Fauſiana*, a Woman of Quality, and as long as *Victorinus* lived had ſecured themſelves ſufficiently; but when *Simplicius* came to the place, for fear they betook themſelves into ſecret corners, eſpecially after the Condemnation of *Fauſiana*, and particularly *Abienus* hid himſelf with *Anepſia*. Now as unfortunate perſons never want matter of Wo, it happened that one *Apaudulius*, a Slave of *Anepſia* being enraged that (according to the cuſtom of Slaves) his Wife had been ſcourged, went by night and acquainted *Simplicius* how matters ſtood; who preſently ſent his *Apparitors*, and forced thoſe that concealed themſelves from their Retirements. And *Abienus* was put to death, as having abuſed the Body of *Anepſia*, which ſilly Woman cried out with purpoſe to ſave her Life, that in the Houſe of *Aginatius* ſhe had been practiſed upon by Magical Arts. *Simplicius* hereof advertiſed the Emperour, upon whom *Maximinus* at that time waiting, and bearing *Aginatius* malice for the reaſon we have heretofore related, earneſtly ſollicited *Valentinian* by a Reſcript to order he ſhould be put to death; but being aware of that Load of Infamy which would fall upon him, in caſe *Simplicius*, who was known to be his Friend and Counſellour, ſhould execute the Sentence upon a perſon of *Patrician* Degree, he kept the Precept by him for ſome time, conſidering whom he ſhould truſt with ſo great a piece of Service. At length (as evil Inſtruments are never wanting to wicked purpoſes) one *Doryphorianus* a *Gall*, a Fellow impudent even to madneſs it ſelf, he found out and procured him the Place and Authority of *Vicar*, to whom he gave the Reſcript of the Emperour, and therewith Inſtructions how he might beſt put it in execution; which was by uſing all expedition, for if the leaſt delay happened, he affirmed the man would moſt certainly eſcape. He making all haſte to *Rome* imaginable, when all perſons came to pay him their Viſits, little minded them, being ſolely intent upon the way and means how to compaſs the death of *Aginatius*. Having notice that he was at his Houſe in the Countrey, he cauſed him there to be apprehended, and together with him *Anepſia*, to be brought before him by night, as to hear the Cauſe; but upon his entry he was laid in Chains, and his Slaves, who had been for this purpoſe ſtarved in priſon, were brought forth to accuſe him, and by Stripes even torn in pieces, to conſtrain them to do it, contrary to what the Laws indulged in this caſe of Incontinency. Saying what he would have them, in ſuch Agonies, as ſeemed to uſher in no leſs than very Death, upon theſe words was *Aginatius* condemned, and without being heard ſentenced and executed, though he appealed to the Emperours; and at the ſame time *Anepſia* received the like Award. And ſo proſpered for a time the Villainous Projects of *Maximinus* and his Complices; but Vengeance though often ſlow, yet commonly overtakes ſuch mercileſs perſons: For *Maximinus* afterward under *Gratian* bearing himſelf with anſwerable Inſolence, had his Throat cut by the Hand of Juſtice. *Simplicius* had the like end in *Illyricum*, and *Doryphorianus* being condemned and caſt into priſon, the Emperour ſent back into his own Countrey in *Gall*, and there commanded him to be tortured to death.

The ill Ends afterwards of *Maximinus* and his Complices.

60. This *Maximinus* by ſeveral Laws, as well as ſome Hiſtorians, is called by the Name of *Maximus*; and from the Laws this Story of *Ammianus*, relating to his Cruelties, receives Confirmation; as it on the other ſide affords light to ſome thing enacted by *Valentinian*, of which otherwiſe ſo fit an Interpretation could not be given. *Ammianus* tells us of Reſcripts made by the Emperour upon the malicious Re-

Vide Proſopograph. Cod. Th.

ports of *Maximinus*; and how the firſt occaſion was given to theſe cruel Acts by the bringing of certain Perſons into queſtion by *Chilo* and his Wife before *Olybrius*. And to *Olybrius* there is ſtill extant an Edict directed under the Title of *Præfect* of the City, whereby may be too eaſily evinced the facile humour of *Valentinian*, in reference to thoſe ſevere Courſes. All Perſons of what Quality ſoever, were ſubjected to Tortures, and ſo great a ſence the Nobility had of this practice, that they ſent to the Emperour their Meſſengers with a Petition to put a ſtop to it. “He writes to *Olybrius* that None ſhould be ſubject to Torture, whom either former Service in the War, or their Birth, or Dignity protected, without his Conſent firſt obtained; except in Caſe of Treaſon, wherein all Perſons he ſaith are of equal Condition. But if any was Convicted to have Forged the Emperours Hand there needed no Conſultation of the Prince in that Caſe, except the perſon were one of the *Palatines* or a Courtier. Here he declares particularly exempt from Torture the *Veterani* or old Souldiers, the *Curiales*, and Perſons of *Senatorian* Rank, beſides others at preſent Dignified by their Imployments, or the Prince his favour. But he excepts the higheſt Criminals or thoſe that were Guilty of High Treaſon, who indeed by all Law formerly in Force, forfeited all Privileges granted to other Offenders, as alſo did they who were found guilty of Magical Arts, in the Emperours Palace, a Crime which theſe times equalled with High Treaſon it ſelf; in like manner as in this Law, *Valentinian* conjoins the Counterfeiting of his Hand. And to ſpeak indifferently, by an Edict penned with ſo many exceptions, this Emperour ſeems to have ſo gratified the Nobility upon their Petition, as yet to have left open a door for the indulging of his cruelty upon all occaſions. If any one was accuſed to have Counterfeited his Hand; againſt him *Maximinus* or any other might proceed without any moleſtation, and if any perſons privileged by former Service, Birth or Dignity were accuſed, he reſerved to himſelf power of Subjecting them to Torture, upon Conſultation; beſides that vaſt latitude given to Accuſations of Treaſon, which he or his Miniſters might eaſily Forge. This our veracity obliges us to obſerve both concerning the humour of this Emperour, and the Privileges granted by former Laws to ſeveral ſorts of perſons, againſt Examination by Torture, of which more hereafter.

A Cunning Law made by *Valentinian*, whereby he ſeems to have further ſtrengthened the Hands of *Maximinus*.

L.1. de quæſtionibus Cod. Th. lib. 9. Tit. 35. L. nullus omnino 4 Cod. Juſt. ad leg. Jul. Majeſt. hinc deſumpta eſt; poſteriore tamen ſententia omiſſa, ſed & priori immutata.

61. But *Valentinian*, at the ſame time, driving on high Deſigns againſt the Enemies of the Empire, thought fit, for prevention of the Excurſions of Barbarians, to Fortifie the *Rhine*, from *Rhætia* as far as the Ocean, with great Ramparts, Forts, and Caſtles, where he ſaw convenient, all along the Coaſt of *Gall*, and by vaſt labour and Charge, (his Men wading up to the Neck while about their work) brought one of them to perfection upon the River *Nicer*. But indeavouring to raiſe a Fortification in the Enemies Country, when he would not be diverted from his purpoſe by the Fathers of the Hoſtages which had been given up into his Hands, his Men were all Cut off, not one returning with the News of the Defeat, beſides *Syagrius*, then a Notary, but afterwards *Præfect* and *Conſul*, whom in a Rage he Caſhiered and Confined to his own Houſe, for that alone he had eſcaped. In the mean time great Robberies and Murders were committed in *Gall*, by which, amongſt others periſhed *Conſtantianus* the *Tribunus Stabuli*, an Ally of the Emperour, Brother to *Cerealis*, and *Juſtina*. But the Audaciouſneſs and Induſtry of the *Maratocupreni*, Inhabitants of a Town in *Syria* of ſuch a Name, near to *Apamia*, is moſt remarkable, who in the Habits of Merchants or *Honorati*, invaded and rifled whole Towns and Villages. None could be provided for their coming, ſo uncertain was their time and way; for as inconſtant herein they were as the wind, in reference to which ſudden and unexpected Onſets, *Ammianus* tells us that the *Saxons*, of all Enemies were in thoſe days moſt dreaded. In like manner, as when a Condemned Criminal was to be put to death, the *Rationalis* of the Treaſury, with his *Apparitors* came to the Houſe with their *Præco* before them, ſounding a diſmal Note, and having Executed the party, ſeized on what was found in the Houſe; ſo theſe Robbers by Companies having found out their prey, imitated the Courſe of Juſtice. But having in this manner inriched themſelves, by the Emperours Forces, they were utterly deſtroyed, not one being left alive; and together with them all their Children, leſt having once attained ripeneſs of Age, they might drive the trade of their Fathers.

Valentinian indeavouring to raiſe a Fort in the Country of the *Allemans*, loſeth his men.

The *Maratocupreni* ſtrange Robbers.

Utterly rooted out.

62. About the ſame time *Theodoſius* here in *Britain* marched from *Auguſta*, which the Antients, (our Author tells you) called *Lundonium*; and with a ſtout Army he had carefully provided, repaired much the weak and tottering Eſtate of the Provincials. Diſcharging as well all the Offices of an active and hardy Souldier, as

Theodoſius from *London*, ſettles matters here in *Britain*.

Sect.2.

A.D. 370.

of a ſagacious and vigilant Captain, he defeated ſeveral People, whom Pride and Inſolence had thruſt forward to their own ruine, and laid the Foundations of quiet and ſecurity for a long time, reſtoring both the Cities and Garriſons, though in never ſo great diſorder, to as good a condition as ever they had been in. But while he performed this ſignal Service to the State, and ſecured the Countrey, he himſelf was in very great danger: For one *Valentine* of *Valeria*, (part of *Pannonia*) an inſolent Fellow, Brother to the Wife of *Maximinus* the Horſleach lately mentioned, being for a great Offence baniſhed into this Iſland, impatient of reſt plotted how to deſtroy him, as the onely perſon that was in a condition to withſtand other miſchievous Deſigns he had in his Head. As opportunity preſented it ſelf, by great Promiſes he allured both baniſhed perſons and Souldiers, and prepared them for an Attempt; but ere the Deſign was put in execution, it was diſcovered to the General, who thereupon committed *Valentine*, with ſome few of his moſt intimate Complices, to *Dulcitius* a *Dux* in theſe parts, with Orders to put them to death. But having reaſon to be cautious, as he was a man in Military Skill ſurpaſſing all others of his time, he would not permit any further Inquiſition to be made into the Conſpiracy, leſt by terrour ſtruck into ſo many guilty perſons, the tempeſtuous Troubles of the Provinces at preſent well appeaſed, ſhould again revive. He turned himſelf from this buſineſs, to the ſettling of matters as yet out of order, and chiefly to the fortifying of the Borders; and having recovered a Province which the Enemies had overrun, and reſtored it to its former condition, upon his motion it had a Governour of its own appointed, and by the Prince his command received the Name of *Valentia*. Theſe Enemies muſt be the ſame with thoſe *Ammianus* formerly mentioned, *viz.* the *Picts* and *Scots*, whom *Claudian* the Poet, in his Panegyrick to *Honorius*, the Grandſon of this *Theodoſius*, mentions alſo as beaten, and reſtrained by him. The *Areans*, a ſort of men inſtituted by the Ancients, being by little and little degenerated, he removed from their Stations, it being apparent that (induced thereto by great Rewards) they had diſcovered ſeveral times to the Barbarians what was done or debated by the *Roman* Officers, quite contrary to the deſign of their Inſtitution: For their charge was to run to and fro, and having made Diſcovery of what the Enemy was about, thereof to advertiſe the Commanders. After he had with much commendation performed this Service, he was ſent for to Court, and (if the Hiſtorian flatter not his Son) left his Charge with no leſs Honour, than formerly had waited on the Induſtry and Fortunes of *Furius Camillus*, or *Papirius Curſor*. Indeed *Symmachus* tells his Grandſon, that for theſe Atchievements both in *Britain* and *Africk* he had Statues erected to his Memory; but this may be conceived done after the Advancement of his Family. *Cambden* alſo brings in *Pacatus Drepanus*, telling amongſt other things how the *Scot* was driven by him into his Fens and Bogs, and the *Saxon* conſumed by Battels at Sea.

Ille leves Mauros, nec falſo nomine Pictos Edomuit, Scotúmq; vago mucrone ſecutus. De tertio Honorii Conſulatu.

Lib.10. ep.22.

The third Conſulſhip of *Valentinian* and *Valens.*

A. D. 370. *Valentiniano & Valente A.A.3 Coſ.*

63. The Year following being the CCCLXX of our Lord, had for Conſuls the two Emperours *Valentinian* and *Valens* the third time, *Olybrius* ſtill continuing *Præfect* of the City, to whom ſucceeded *Ampelius* ere the Year was out. *Olybrius* his Government was too milde and gentle, eſpecially conſidering the great Luxury and Effeminateneſs both of Senators and the ordinary ſort, which *Ammianus* deſcribes in many words. His onely ſtudy was how to be Complaiſant; he was a bitter Enemy to Calumniators, (yet imployed *Maximinus*) and to the Rapacity of the Treaſury, and very upright of himſelf in all matters of Judicature; but in his declining years he was given alſo to Luxury, pleaſing himſelf with Stage-Plays, and addicted to Women, though in no forbidden way; and his Succeſſour was much of his humour, for though now and then he made ſhew of Severity, and to reform ſome particulars relating to Taverns and Victualling Houſes; yet again he grew remiſs, and ſo did the more harm by his Inconſtancy. As ſeldom ever did Ruine and Deſolation fall upon any State or Nation, but Vice and Debauchery uſhered them in: So this very Year the *Saxons* from the Sea in great multitudes fell upon the Borders of the Empire, where they raged with Fire and Sword, and committed grievous Outrages. Againſt them *Naunenus* a *Comes*, a good Souldier, who commanded in thoſe Parts, made head, but finding himſelf too weak to ſuſtain the ſhock, therewith acquainted the Emperour, who ſent *Severus* a *Magiſter Militum* to his aſſiſtance; and he having the Command of a good Army, ſo diſtreſſed and terrified the Enemy before they came to fight, that they begged peace, which after much debate being found convenient for the Empire, as matters ſtood, was at length granted them; but as they were returning to their own Seats, they were all cut off by thoſe that were ſent to

The *Saxons* infeſt the Coaſts.

After Peace granted are perfidiouſly cut off.

way-lay them, moſt perfidiouſly doubtleſs; although *Ammianus* not able to excuſe the Crime in the whole, would do it in part by terming them no better than a Company of Thieves and Robbers.

64. This Treachery thus well ſucceeding, *Valentinian,* who all this Year lay at *Triers,* ſeriouſly conſidered how he might beſt curb the Inſolence of the *Allemans*; and *Macrianus* their King, who ever and anon affronted him by their Inrodes, and notwithſtanding they were frequently defeated, and returned with great loſs, yet were as numerous as if they had not been touched for many Ages together. At length he reſolved to make uſe of the *Burgundians* againſt them, a warlike Nation, very populous and terrible to all their Neighbours. He held private Intelligence with their Kings, and by Letters promiſed to paſs the *Rhine* with his own Forces, and aſſiſt them in that work they thought was too much for themſelves alone. They willingly accepted of his Alliance, both becauſe they imagined they were deſcended of old time from the *Romans,* and becauſe they had bitter Conteſts with the *Allemans,* about Salt Pits and the Limits of their Countrey. And they were ready at the appointed time; but the Emperour being imployed in building Forts, failed of his word, and they ſent to him that he would come and fetch them off; but as to this, Delays were alſo made, whereat enraged as finding themſelves abuſed, in great wrath they put to the Sword all the Priſoners they had taken, and returned into their own Countrey. A King amongſt theſe *Burgundians* was by a general Name called *Hendinos,* and was wont to be depoſed, if under him they had had ill ſucceſs in War, or the Earth had not brought forth Fruits in a plentiful manner: Like as the *Ægyptians* of old aſcribed ſuch Accidents to their Governours. Their Chief Prieſt they called *Siniſtus,* being for Life, and obnoxious to no ſuch ſevere Laws as their Kings were. *Theodoſius* then *Magiſter Equitum* made war upon ſuch of the *Allemans,* as for fear of that Nation were diſperſed through *Rhætia,* of whom ſo many as he took, he ſent by the Emperours Order into *Italy,* where receiving a fertile Countrey about the *Po,* they continued Tributaries to the Empire.

The *Burgundians* abuſed by *Valentinian.*

The Province of *Tripolis* in a ſad condition.

65. About this time miſerable was the Condition of the Province of *Tripolis* in *Africk,* partly by reaſon of the Incurſions of Enemies, and chiefly through the Deceit and Villany of pretended Friends. The next neighbouring Nation to them were the *Aſturiani,* a ſort of Barbarians exceedingly addicted to Rapine, who made frequent Inrodes; but being perſwaded or compelled to be quiet for ſome time, more vigorouſly than ever renewed their Hoſtilities upon this occaſion. There was one of their Countrymen, *Stachao* by Name, who coming within the *Roman* Pale plaid there ſeveral pranks, and ventured ſo far as to tamper about betraying of the Province, for which he was apprehended, convicted, and burnt alive. Hereat they exclaimed as a moſt cruel and perfidious Act, and like to wilde Beaſts all ran out of their Dens to revenge the death of their Friend and Kinſman; which thing happened when the Emperour *Jovian* was ſtill living. They were not ſo bold as to attacque *Leptis,* a City ſtrong both in its Walls and number of Inhabitants; but for three days continued in that fruitful Countrey about it, where they killed all they met with, burnt what ſtuff they could not carry away and took priſoner *Silva,* one of the *Primates* of the Town, who by chance was then with his Family in the Countrey. Thoſe of *Leptis* concerned (as they had reaſon) at ſuch an Accident, deſired Protection of *Romanus,* who then was newly promoted to be *Comes* of *Africk*; but he refuſed utterly to ſtir, except they would make very large Proviſion for him, and beſides furniſh him with four thouſand Camels for his Expedition. The poor people were amazed at his demand, and declared, that after ſo much loſs ſuſtained by the Barbarians, they were in no condition to make ſuch Preparations, which he having heard, after forty days ſhuffling and diſſimulation roſe up and went his way. All their hopes as to aſſiſtance from him being gone, and the time of the General Council of the Province, which with them was Annual, being now at hand, they made choice of *Severus* and *Flaccianus* for their Meſſengers, who with certain Golden Images of Victory, which they ſent to *Valentinian,* as Congratulatory upon his Aſſumption of the Government, as we have ſaid the Cuſtom was, ſhould alſo preſent him with an account of their diſtreſſed Condition. *Romanus* the *Comes,* the Council being publick, could not but have notice of the Meſſage deſigned, and he ſent away in Poſt to *Remigius,* the *Magiſter Officiorum,* his Couſin (by Craft as well as Kindred) to deſire that he would perſuade the Emperour to refer the buſineſs to the *Vicar* of *Africk* and himſelf. The Meſſengers preſented their Petition, and offered to prove the Contents thereof, which *Remigius* in behalf of his Friend denied. And the Emperour not knowing which Party to believe, the whole matter was

Romanus the *Comes* of *Africk* refuſes to relieve the People invaded by the Barbarians.

And by his Intereſt in *Remigius* at Court their Petition comes to nothing.

was put off to conſideration and a further hearing; as is uſual in Courts, where there is an hurry of buſineſs.

66. But, while the diſtreſſed People of *Tripolis* expected Relief from Court, the Barbarians encouraged by the ſame Motives as put them out of heart, came down again, and made miſerable waſte in all the Tract belonging to *Leptis*, and *Oea*, a City placed betwixt it and *Sabrata*, from which three the Province of *Tripolis* had its Name. They killed ſeveral *Decuriones*, and amongſt others *Ruſticianus*, who had born the Dignity of Prieſthood, and *Nicaſius* an eminent *Ædilis*; and no way could there be found of Reſiſtance, becauſe the Charge of the *Militia*, which at the prayers of the Meſſengers had been committed to *Ruricius* the Preſident, was lately transferred to *Romanus*. The noiſe of this Devaſtation flew as far as the Emperour into *Gall*, and ſo ſtartled him, that he ſent away *Palladius* a Tribune and Notary, both to pay the Army of *Africk* their Arrears, and to bring him a true Information concerning the ſtate of *Tripolis*. But ſtill the *Auſturiani*, as ravenous Creatures which had got a taſte of Bloud, encouraged by all theſe Delays, renewed their Incurſions, and killing thoſe that could not by flight avoid them, plundered and burnt as formerly; and neither would leave ſtanding any Vines nor other Trees. *Mychon*, a Citizen of principal note, was caught near the Town, and made his Eſcape before he was bound; but to hide himſelf he fell down into a Pit, and breaking one of his Ribs was taken up again by the Barbarians, and led to the Gates, where he was ranſomed by his Wife, and being drawn up by a Cord to the top of the Wall, died of his Bruiſe after two days. Grown ſtill more and more inſolent upon the liberty they had got to do what they liſted, they attacqued *Leptis*, and for eight days together continued their Siege; but having ſome of their number wounded, without any effect they went away ſomething diſcouraged. The Townſmen at their wits end, and not hearing what was become of their former Meſſengers, ſent now other two, *Jovinus* and *Pancratius*, to inform the Emperour of what they had both ſeen and ſuffered, who coming to *Carthage*, and there finding *Severus* and *Flaccianus*, underſtood from them that their buſineſs was referred to the *Vicar* and the *Comes*: And *Severus* died preſently after, but the other haſtened to the Court with as great Journies as poſſibly they could make.

The Barbarians attempt *Leptis*, but in vain.

67. But *Romanus* having heard of the coming of *Palladius* the Tribune and Notary, whom (as we ſaid) the Emperour ſent with the Souldiers Pay, and to give him Intelligence how matters ſtood in *Africk*, to ſecure himſelf dealt privately with the Principals of the Army, that the greateſt ſhare of what he brought ſhould be given to him, which he readily enough accepted, and went on his way to *Leptis*. There he received the miſerable Complaints of the Inhabitants, and by *Erechthius* and *Ariſtomenes* (the chief of the Town) was conducted to ſee the lamentable Deſolations of the Countrey, which having beheld he reviled *Romanus*, and threatned fully to inform the Emperour how matters had gone, who thereupon in great fear and wrath affirmed, that he alſo would turn Informer, and certifie the Prince how he being ſent as a *Notary* of approved Fidelity, had converted the greateſt ſhare of the Souldiers Donative to his own private uſe; wherewith the *Notary* being frighted, agreed with *Romanus* to conceal all from *Valentinian*, whom at his Return he falſly informed, that they had complained without juſt cauſe. Hereupon was he ſent back with *Jovinus*, the onely Meſſenger left of the two, for *Pancratius* was dead at *Triers*, that together with the *Vicar* he might hear the Caſe of the *Tripolitans*; and *Valentinian* ordered, that *Erecthius* and *Ariſtomenes* ſhould have their Tongues cut out of their Heads, for having uſed too free Diſcourſe, as *Palladius* had informed. The *Notary* came back to *Tripolis* in order to the Affair with the *Vicar*, which *Romanus* underſtanding, ſent his own Domeſtick, and *Cæcilius* his Counſellour born in the Province, who ſo wrought upon the Townſmen either by cheating Language or Bribes, (it's uncertain whether) that they utterly denied they had given order to *Jovinus* to ſay any ſuch thing as he had done to the Emperour; by which the man affrighted, to ſave his Life as he thought, yielded and ſaid he had lied to him. *Valentinian* hearing thus much from *Palladius* at his Return, and being naturally inclined to Severity, commanded *Jovinus* as principal Contriver, and three others as Acceſſaries to Falſhood, as alſo *Ruricius* the Preſident as a Lyar, to be put to death. *Ruricius*, who in his Relation was accuſed alſo to have uſed ſome biting Expreſſions, was executed at *Sitifis*, and the other at *Utica*, by Sentence of *Creſcens* the *Vicar*. *Flaccianus* having hardly eſcaped the Fury of the Souldiers, when he was heard by the *Vicar* and *Comes*, who cried out that the *Tripolitans* might thank themſelves for not being at firſt relieved, was thrown into priſon, and made his Eſcape to *Rome*, where he died.

Villanous Practices betwixt *Romanus* and *Palladius*.

68. So continued miſerable *Tripolis* under its cruel Oppreſſions, both from Forein and Domeſtick Enemies; though Juſtice it ſelf, which ſeemed to bewail its Condition, kept its Eternal Eye (as our Author words it) ſtill waking, and the Bloud of the Meſſengers and the Preſident continued their cries for Revenge, which long after came to paſs, according to the uſual Saying, that *Murder will out at laſt:* For when *Palladius* was diſmiſſed from his Attendance, and deſtitute of his former Supports of Pride and Confidence, was retired to a Private Life, and *Theodoſius* was come into *Africk* to ſuppreſs *Firmus*, who was there attempting to ſet up for Sovereign; as he was taking a view of *Romanus* his Moveables, which he was ordered to do, he found a Letter amongſt his Papers of one *Meterius* with this Inſcription, *To his Lord and Patron Romanus*; and after ſeveral other matters nothing to the purpoſe theſe words were added, *Palladius the forlorn ſalutes you, who ſaith he is diſmiſſed for no other cauſe, than for having lied to the Emperour in the cauſe of the Tripolitans.* The Letter was ſent to Court, and *Meterius* with all ſpeed apprehended, who confeſſed he wrote it, and thereupon *Palladius* was alſo ſent for, who conſidering of how great a Villany he was guilty, eſcaped his Keepers by night, as they were celebrating a Chriſtian Vigil, and hanged himſelf. Encouraged at the Report hereof *Erecthius* and *Ariſtomenes*, who for fear of having their Tongues cut out had eſcaped and hid themſelves, came forth, and gave an account of the whole matter to *Gratian*, who (*Valentinian* being now dead) referred them to *Heſperius* the *Proconſul*, (the Son of *Auſonius* his Schoolmaſter) and *Flavianus* the Vicar, who afterward ſided with *Eugenius* the Uſurper. They heard the matter with all indifference, and ſubjecting *Cæcilius* to Torture, he confeſſed how by his Arts the Citizens were perſuaded to belie their Meſſengers; and *Remigius* afterward died by the Halter, as may be ſhewn in its proper place. This ſtory ſo eminent for the Variety, acquaints us with the corrupt Inclinations of the great ones of thoſe days; and how careful Princes, who ſee by other mens Eyes, and hear by their Ears, ought to be, eſpecially in matters relating nearly to the Safety of their People, and to Bloud: So miſerably was *Valentinian* gulled through the Treachery of thoſe about him, that by the Tricks of *Romanus*, and the falſe Suggeſtions of his *Magiſter Officiorum*, this very year he ſeems to have made an ill-grounded Law upon this very occaſion: For, there is extant an Edict directed to *Claudius* the *Proconſul* of *Africk*, on the ſecond of *February*, in the Conſulſhip of *Valentinianus nobiliſſimus puer* and of *Victor*, whereby it is ordained, That if any Meſſengers come to Court with improbable or ſuperfluous Requeſts, that at their own charge they be ſent back with their own Horſes or Carriage-Beaſts. For, as we have before obſerved, the Meſſengers of the Province were allowed the uſe of the *Curſus publicus*, and Princes ever pretended to have their Ears open, by free Acceſs to their Complaints. To prevent all idle Addreſſes, *Valentinian* by other Laws had formerly taken care, as having the Decrees they brought with them firſt entered amongſt the Records of the ordinary Judges of Provinces then, examined, and reported to the Prince by the *Præfectus Prætorio*. But this further Severity with all probability proceeded from the Arts of the Perſons lately mentioned, and their poſſeſſing of him with Prejudice againſt the Meſſengers ſent from the *Tripolitans*, the Edict being directed to the *Proconſul* of that Province.

L.6. de Legatis & Decretis, &c. Cod.Th.l. 12.tit.12.

69. But while they of *Tripolis* would gladly have tilled their Lands and could not, or reaped the Fruits of their own Labours, there were ſome in *Gall* who might have done both the one and the other, and would not, as appears by an Edict directed to *Jovinus*, who was now *Magiſter Militum* in that Countrey: By this he encourages the *Veterani*, or old Souldiers diſmiſſed, to till and improve the Lands of ſuch as were abſent and neglected them, aſſuring them they ſhould enjoy the Profits of their Labours, or the Fruits of their own Improvement, without any Rent or Allowance made to the Owners, from whom the Law doth not take away the Inheritance or Dominion of the Grounds themſelves. Two days after the Date of this Law he directed another to *Olybrius* the *Præfect* of the City, for Explanation of an Edict made by *Conſtantine* the Great, (to whom he gives the Title of his Divine Parent) in favour of the Daughters of ſuch as had been nominated to the *Prætorſhip*, and died before the ſetting forth of their Games, that they ſhould be excuſed from any Charge, if ſo be they had no Brothers. Indeed if ſuch a Candidate for the *Prætorſhip* left any Sons, there was no doubt but receiving their Fathers Inheritance therewith, they were obnoxious to this Charge of the Games; although generally the Law favoured the Children of ſuch as being onely named to a Place,

died

L.11. de Veteranis, Cod.Th.l. 6.tit.20.

L.17. de Prætoribus, Cod.Th. l.6.tit.4.

Valentinian explains a Law of *Conſtantine* the Great, which he made in favour of Women.

Other Laws he makes for Incouragement of Learned Men.

As Phyſicians.

L. 9. de Medicis & Profeſſoribus. Cod. Th. & L. Si quis in Archiatri. Cod. Juſt. lib. 10. eod. tit.

died before they came to Execute the Office; but here remained a queſtion, whether in caſe both Sons and Daughters were left Heirs together, the burthen ſhould deſcend upon the Daughters too, according to their ſhare in the Inheritance; which *Valentinian*, by this Conſtitution, determines againſt the Women, contrary to the general Rule of Law, that thoſe who ſhould not have the Advantage or Honour of a thing, ſhould not be Subject to the Burthen or Inconvenience, for Sons might execute and enjoy the Honour and Dignity of the *Prætorſhip*, but Daughters could not. But ſuch was the Burthen of this Office, that he thought fit thus to order it, and Ordain the ſame to be practiſed in other Services of this Nature. But to the ſame *Olybrius*, at this very time, he directed other Edicts of greater Conſequence, for the Incouragement and Advancement of Learning, and the Liberal Profeſſions in that City. We mentioned a Law made by him two years before, Inſcribed to *Prætextatus* the Predeceſſor of *Olybrius* for Regulating and Incouraging the *Archiatri*, or Ordinary Phyſicians of *Rome*. This now by another he Confirms, both as to the Maintenance, number, and Election of them; but requires greater Caution in the ſupply of every Vacancy, in three reſpects. For, whereas by the former he required the Election to be made by all the Number; by this he will have it perfected by the Conſent or Votes of the Major part, as is more agreeable to Law, and the Cuſtom of all Corporations, or Societies. And whereas in that to *Prætextatus* he had ſaid only in general, that another was to be Choſen into the Place of the deceaſed, thence a Queſtion aroſe, whether if a Senior died, his Succeſſour ſhould not Succeed in his Seniority; which now he Determines in the Negative, ordering him that came in laſt to take the laſt or inferiour place, the Courſe generally uſed; although a Queſtion happened ſome years after concerning one *John*, who being a *Palatine*, or the Emperours Phyſician, challenged the place next to the Chief or Preſident, and ſome were of Opinion, that he ought to have ſuch Seniority as he might have had, had he been Elected at ſuch time as he was entertained in the Prince his Service; but it was determined againſt him. In the laſt place is obſervable that this Law doth not require, as did the former, that the Prince ſhould be conſulted upon the ſupply of a vacant place.

L. 1. de Studiis liberalibus urbis Romæ Cod. Th. lib. 14. tit. 9.

70. This Law ſeems but a part of one large Conſtitution made now, as we ſaid, for the Incouragement of Learned men, whereof another relates to the Liberal Studies of *Rome* in general, and a third to *Advocates*. That concerning Liberal Studies is ſtill extant in the *Code of Theodoſius*, thought not tranſcribed into that of *Juſtinian*, becauſe Relating to thoſe times, and contains ſeveral Academical Statutes, for Regulating the manners and Converſation of ſuch as Studied at *Rome*, and the time allotted to them. For in this Age whereof we write, *Rome* was a Famous Univerſity, abounding with moſt excellent Profeſſors, to hear whom the Youth flocked from all Parts, eſpecially out of *Africk*, although that Countrey had been formerly the Nurſe of Lawyers, and there, particularly at *Carthage*, were Schools wherein the Liberal Arts were Profeſſed. But to *Rome* they came chiefly for obtaining the knowledge of the Law, and of Eloquence; which were taught here for a long time after, even in the dayes of the *Gothick* Kings. But great was alſo the Corruption of Manners in this City, as *Ammianus Marcellinus* largely complains, in this very Age; ſcandalous was it grown by conſtant Revellings, and Drunkenneſs, Gaming, Whoring, and perpetual running to the Theatres. Therefore it highly concerned *Valentinian*, for the Publick good, to provide as much as might be, that the Youth that came thither to Study, might not be corrupted in ſo flexible an Age, and a place of ſo ill Example; and this he did by ſeveral Orders or Rules, than which for accompliſhing ſuch an End, nothing can be more exact. The firſt is that when they came, they ſhould bring with them Letters Dimiſſory and Teſtimonial from the Judges or Governours of the Provinces where they lived; wherein ſhould be expreſt what was their Country, where they were born, and the Quality of their Parents. In the next place, when they arrived they ſhould produce theſe Letters before the *Magiſter Cenſus*, whoſe duty it was, as alſo of his Officers or *Cenſuales*, amongſt other things to ſee good order kept; and eſpecially that Strangers demeaned themſelves ſoberly and as became them. Then were they (doubtleſs before this *Magiſter*) to declare what they would Study, or make Profeſſion of; whether of *Greek* or *Roman* Eloquence, Law, Philoſophy, or the like; and ſo underwent a kind of Matriculation at preſent practiſed in Modern Univerſities. But beſides this, the *Cenſuales* were to know where they lodged, that it might not be in any ſuſpicious Place, or where they might be diverted from their Studies. And they were further to take care that they kept no bad company, nor were preſent at any unlawful or dangerous Meetings.

He regulates the manners of the Students of the Liberal Arts.

71.

Sect. 2. A.D. 370.

71. It was one of the Crimes of this Age and City, that the Theatres were too much haunted, and as *Ammianus* tells us, *Olybrius* the *Præfect* himſelf, to whom this Law is directed, was guilty of the ſame fault; therefore as it was a blemiſh to all that Studied, or were imployed in grave or ſerious Matters, as Eccleſiaſticks, Judges, and Souldiers, to frequent the *Spectacula*; ſo as pernicious to Learning, he forbids it here to his Scholars; and moreover all unſeaſonable Feaſtings, which either by their length, or the time wherein they were uſed, would hinder them from their Studies, and create in them ill Habits. If theſe Rules and Cautions would not prevail, in ſuch a Caſe the Student that demeaned himſelf unworthily, was publickly to be beaten, or whipped, expelled the City, and being put on Shipboard, carried back into *Africk*, if that was his Country; which though ſevere, yet was eſteemed no more than requiſite, to reſtrain the Corrupt Humour of the Times. After this he preſcribes the time they were there to Study, which he Limits to the twentieth year of their Age; for this was the uſual period of Studies: a Boy from the twelfth year to the fourteenth, being ſuppoſed to Study Grammar and Geometry, and afterwards in the Univerſity, Rhetorick, Philoſophy, Mathematicks, and the Law; for they Learnt in thoſe dayes the two Languages with eaſe in their Infancy, which we now toil at a long time; and yet *Diocleſian* formerly permitted the Youth of *Arabia*, to Study in the Univerſity of *Berytus*, till the twenty fifth year of their Age, a longer ſpace he would not permit them to avoid the Imployments of their Countries. In the tenth place, he orders the *Præfect* of the City, to admoniſh the *Cenſuales*, to whom the Charge of theſe Scholars did belong, every Month to exhibit a Catalogue, and Account of them, as what they were, and whence they came, and who were to be ſent back into *Africk*, or other Provinces, their term being already expired; except they were ſuch as belonged to any Body, Company, or Society in *Rome*, which injoyed this amongſt many other Privileges, that their Students could not be forced to quit the place. The laſt Rule is, that the Catalogues, or Accounts of what Students were in *Rome*, and what were ready to depart, ſhould every year be ſent up to the Prince himſelf, that He finding out the Merits and Qualifications of each, might make uſe of them for Publick Service, as he ſaw convenient. So did a Lady that Reigned here in *England*, in the laſt Century, require every three years an Account from the Chancelors of the two Univerſities, of what eminent Scholars there were in every Profeſſion, whom as ſhe had occaſion ſhe noted down, and marked for Imployment, to ſend them abroad, or prefer them at home, as their Inclinations and her Service required. This is the ſecond Branch of the large Conſtitution whereof we ſpake. The laſt commands Judges, that in hearing of Cauſes they aſſign Council to the Parties as indifferently as may be, that ſo neither the moſt knowing, nor moſt ignorant, may be all on one ſide. If any Advocate ſhould deny his Aſſiſtance to any party, after the Judge his Aſſignation, he ſhould loſe his place without any Hope of Reſtitution; and if any of the Parties had procured a Combination of Advocates againſt his Adverſary; ſo as to deprive him of equal Defence, he ſhould be eſteemed as one who by indirect Courſes went about to Bolſter up an unjuſt and tottering Cauſe.

L.7. de poſtulando. Cod. Juſt. lib. 2. tit 6.

Gives order about Aſſignation of Advocates.

72. About this time *Valens* in the Eaſt found his Revenue impaired, by the neglect of thoſe that wrought in his Mines of *Thrace*, who, it ſeems, not enduring the burthen impoſed upon them, ran away from their work. He had ſent Orders through his own Diſtrict, that wherever they ſhould be found, the owners of the Grounds in which they now imployed themſelves, ſhould ſend them back; and whereas many of them had betaken themſelves into the Neighbouring Countries of *Illyricum* and *Macedonia*, he had prayed Aſſiſtance of his Brother, to drive them thence. This *Valentinian* endeavoured by an Edict directed on the nineteenth of *March* to *Probus Præfectus Prætorio*, Remarkable for other hints it affoards, beſides the main buſineſs intended by it. Therein he gives the Title of *Dominus noſter* to *Valens*, though his younger Brother, and one Advanced by himſelf. From this Law it is evident, that *Illyricum* and the *Dioceſs* of *Macedonia*, in the Diviſion of the Empire, belonged to him. And hereby we ſee that *Illyricum* and *Macedonia* were at this time under the Diſpoſition of *Probus*, as alſo *Italy* and *Africk*, as appears by other Laws. We may alſo obſerve that, at this time *Macedonia* was diſtinct from *Illyricum*, as in the Breviary of *Feſtus Rufus*, which (the year preceding this) he dedicated to the Emperour *Valens*, though in its general Name *Illyricum* alſo included *Macedonia*; and *Macedonia* and *Dacia*, (theſe two *Dioceſes*) afterwards conſtituted the Præfectſhip of the Eaſtern *Illyricum*, at what time *Illyricum* was divided, and the

Miners Commanded to return into *Thrace*.

L.7. de Metallis Cod. Th. lib. 10. tit. 19.

Weſtern belonged to the Weſtern Empire, though now when this Law was made, both Weſtern and Eaſtern, as far as *Thrace*, appertained to the ſhare of *Valentinian*. Hence comes it that *Ammianus* makes mention but of three *Præfecti Prætorio*, under theſe two Princes, and ſignifies *Epirus* to have alſo been Subject to this *Probus*, which certainly afterward belonged to the Eaſtern *Illyricum*. But *Valentinian* was willing enough to Comply with his Brother, as in other matters ſo eſpecially where any Rigour or Severity could be ſhewed, to which he was very much inclined, as not only Hiſtorians teſtifie, but may ſufficiently appear from the Laws. He had the year before publiſhed a Conſtitution againſt ſuch as ſhould Uſurp the Right of the *Panis Gradilis*, or the Bread belonging to the poor Citizens of *Rome*; but the Penalty he thought was not ſharp enough, as depriving only the Maſters of Slaves, *Officials* and *Apparitors*, of the uſe thereof. But now, by the Inſtigation, as we may eaſily gueſs, of *Maximinus* or *Maximus*. that cruel Blood-Sucker, lately mentioned, who at this time bore the Office of *Præfectus Annonæ*, he directed another Edict to him, which bears date on the ſame day, as that concerning Miners; and diſcovers the Diſpoſition of both Prince and Officer. Notice was taken that the Agents and Slaves of Senators, and others intruded themſelves amongſt the poor, and, under the Vizard of ſuch, by Favour or Connivance of the Scribe belonging to the *Præfect* (who was to keep an Account or Catalogue of the Perſons concerned) were admitted to the Allowance; ſuch Agents or Servants as ſhould ſo do, he Commands to be put to the Rack, to know whether they did it without, or with the Conſent and knowledge of their Lords. If without, he Condemns them to ſerve in Chains, in the Bake-Houſe they had ſo defrauded. If their Lords were privy and Conſenting, He Confiſcates their Houſes; though a very ſevere thing it was indeed, that Slaves ſhould be examined by torture againſt their Maſters. As for others who without Right or Title had ſhared in the Allowance, if they had Eſtates, both them and their Eſtates he Condemns to be annexed to the Body, or Company of the Bakers; and if poor, to ſerve in the Houſe with manual Labour. And as for the Scribe, if it hapned through his Corruption or Favour, no leſs a puniſhment he inflicts on him than death.

L. 6. de Annonis Civicis. Cod. Th.

A Severe Law againſt ſuch as intruded amongſt the Poor, and got their Bread.

Valentinian is Indulgent to Widows and Orphans.

L. 6. de Cenſu. Cod. Th. lib. 13. tit. 10.

As alſo to Phyſicians and Profeſſion.

L. 10. de Medicis Profeſſor. Cod Th. lib. 13. tit. 3.

L. L. 71, 72, 73. de Decurioribus.

73. More favourable he was to Widows, and Orphans, at this time, whom he Exempted from Impoſitions uſually laid upon *Plebeians*, beſides ſuch as entred into Religion, of which we are to ſpeak in another place. As great favour he extended to the Phyſicians, and Profeſſors of the City of *Rome*, to whom as alſo to their Wives he grants Immunity from all Publick Services, and Burthens, and namely, from the finding of Souldiers; for, having as well as other Citizens Eſtates in the Provinces, upon occaſion of the War with the *Allemans*, they might be called on to ſet out their Men, as alſo to afford quarter, as well as their Neighbours, from which Burthen he alſo declares them free, to the great Incouragement of Learning. Several other Laws he made alſo at this time, for the better Regulating of Corporations, as that no Promotions *per ſaltum* ſhould be permitted of any therein, but to be nulled by the Governour of the Province, without any power left in the Court of the Corporation it ſelf, therein to intermeddle. And, whereas thoſe that were Merchants, and payed the uſual Impoſt upon Wares called *Luſtralis Collatio*, in caſe they Purchaſed Lands belonging to a Corporation, becauſe of the ſaid Impoſt, thought themſelves freed from all Burthens lying upon the Poſſeſſors of ſuch Lands, he declares on the contrary, that by reaſon of the ſaid Lands, they ſhall be obnoxious to all the Duties relating to the Corporation. Nay further, it appearing upon Complaint, that ſeveral Perſons in *Africk*, with Deſign to evade the ſaid Duties, had aſpired after the *Senatorian* Dignity, he Commands that they be forced back to them, except they had been made Governours of Provinces (which yet afterwards he would not allow them to be, except they had paſſed through all the Imployments of the *Curia*) or except they had ſerved in the Palace; for ſuch having diſcharged all Duties there, might be of the Senatorian Rank, and were freed from theſe Burthens; or Laſtly, except ſuch an one had paſſed the Services of the Field, or after finiſhing his Military Courſe, arrived at that Quality. Now there were ſo many of the *Gentiles*, as this Age called them, or ſuch as were deſcended of the Barbarous Nations, which were no Members of the Empire, ſpread abroad both in the Armies, and elſwhere, that they gave cauſe of Jealouſie, leſt they ſhould Attempt ſomething againſt the Publick Safety; to prevent which, by a very ſevere Law, he forbids Marriage with them, to all Perſons of what Condition ſoever, and that under no leſs a Penalty, than death it ſelf. Hereby he may ſeem to have been ſenſible

L. Unica de Nuptiis Gentilium Cod. Th. lib. 3. tit. 14.

He Prohibits Marriage with Barbarians.

ſible of thoſe Miſchiefs that followed upon Preferment of thoſe men, who not onely being commanded, but commanding Armies, they had great opportunity to involve the Empire in Troubles, which they vigorouſly improved. For, this Law of *Valentinian* was afterward ſo far nulled, that by Reſcript of the Prince Licence was indulged to make ſuch Marriages; and *Ammianus* complains, that in his time the Commanders of thoſe *Gentiles* (of which there were Numbers or Regiments in the Army) were not *Romans*, but of the ſame original with their Souldiers. They conquered the Provinces by degrees, and in *Juſtinians* time had ſo far embodied themſelves with the People, that this Law, to which the temper of the times would by no means ſubmit, was (as antiquated) by *Tribonian* omitted to be put into his Code. It was directed to *Theodoſius* with the Character of *Magiſter Equitum*, wherein he had ſucceeded *Jovinus* at his Return out of *Britain*.

74. But we may return for ſome time into the Eaſt, when the Winter of this year was over, *Sapor* King of *Perſia* having ſufficiently provided himſelf, ſent an Army which brake into the *Roman* Territories. Againſt it was oppoſed *Trajan* a Count and *Vadomarius*, who had been a King of the *Allemans*, with a conſiderable Force, but with Orders rather to make a Defenſive than an Offenſive War. They governed themſelves according to their Inſtructions, declining an Engagement as much as poſſible, that they might not be reputed Breakers of the Peace, but by neceſſity were forced to make uſe of their Arms, and thereby obtained the Victory. Yet was it not ſo great but the Enemy ſtill kept the Field, and ſeveral Skirmiſhes afterward happened with various ſucceſs, wherewith the Somer was ſpent, and then a Truce was made by conſent of both Parties. Though theſe two Captains were (as we have it from *Ammianus*) imployed againſt the *Perſians*; yet *Zoſimus* tells us, that *Valens* himſelf moved Eaſtward, but by ſlow Journies, being imployed as he went along in hearing the Meſſages and Complaints of the Cities, which he gratified by granting all juſt things they deſired; that when he came to *Antioch* he ordered his matters relating to the War with good caution; that having wintered in that City, when the Spring would permit his March, he removed to *Hierapolis*, whence leading his Army againſt the Enemy, upon the approach of Winter he returned again to the ſame Quarters. Now that he marched into the Eaſtern parts appears ſufficiently from the Dates of ſeveral Laws, which alſo in Winter fix him at *Conſtantinople*, whatever *Zoſimus* writes of *Antioch*, at which City yet he might reſide ſome time during his Expedition. From *Conſtantinople* he firſt removed to *Nicomedia*, and thence to *Cyzicus*, where he ſettled a matter in controverſie betwixt the ordinary Judges of Provinces and their Officials, or Apparitors, *viz.* the *Principes*, *Cornicularii*, *Commentarienſes*, *Adjutores*, *Numerarii*, *ab Actis*, *a Libellis*, *Exceptores*, and the reſt formerly mentioned. It had been a great Queſtion whether they might appeal from their Judges whom they ſerved, who being but Annual might impoſe very harſh Conditions upon them; and yet without ſome Awe there could be no good Goverment of theſe men, who having their Places for Life, would little regard the Menaces of that perſon, who they knew would be out of his Office ſhortly, and conſequently out of capacity to puniſh their Miſdemeanours. *Valens* therefore took a middle courſe, declaring that in Civil matters Appeal ſhould lie, but not in Criminal Cauſes; for if they neglected their Duty, and their Magiſtrate whom they ſerved had no power of Puniſhment, how precarious muſt his Imployment neceſſarily be?

Ammian. l.29.

L.4.p.742.

A Truce made with the *Perſians.*

L.17. quorum appellationes non recip. Cod. Th.l.11.tit.36

Valens will not have the Officers belonging to vernours of Provinces appeal from them in Criminal Cauſes.

75. From *Cyzicus* he removed to *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, thence to *Antioch*, and his next Stage was at *Hierapolis*, where he created ſeveral Laws! The firſt of them is that famous one, whereby he reſtored to the City of *Conſtantinople* the old Privilege called *Jus Italicum*, of which we have already ſpoken upon occaſion of the founding of that City. Being now intent upon the War for the filling up of his Troops, he iſſued out an Edict to *Modeſtus* the *Præfectus Prætorio* of the Eaſt: Therein for encouragement to *Tirones* or new Souldiers, and they that ſet them forth, he declares, That as ſoon as they were liſted in the Army, if formerly ſubject to the *Cenſus* or Tax, they ſhould thereupon be diſcharged *ipſo facto*, and their Wives alſo after they had ſerved five years; *Provided they had brought them home to their own houſes:* For although Marriage by the *Roman* Law was accompliſhed by the conſent and affection of the Parties; yet foraſmuch as there was to be ſome evident ſign and declaration thereof, moſt commonly the leading or conveying of the Woman to the Mans Houſe was taken as concluding, and in ſome caſes it was neceſſarily required; ſufficient Proof being otherwiſe wanting, and for prevention of Fraudulent Practices, it being eaſie to pretend Affection and Con-

L.un. de Italico Jure urbis Conſtantinop. Cod. Th.l.14.tit.13

L.6. de Tironibus, Cod. Th. l.7.tit.13.

Gives Rules about *Tirones* or young Souldiers.

Inde phraſis Uxorem ducere.

Conſent. As for the publick Benediction of Marriage in the Church by the hands of Prieſts, it was not as yet introduced by any publick Law. In the ſecond place he declares what ſort of men ſhall be preſented for *Tirones*, not any Stragler or old Souldier, but one born and brought up in the Province, one ſubject to the *Cenſus*, or one of thoſe they called *Adcreſcentes* or *Supernumeraries*; for as both in the Field and in the Palace there were thoſe that were in actual Service, and thoſe who were near unto it, kept as Probationers from amongſt whom Vacancies were ſupplied; ſo in like manner in the Provinces, ſome were actually inrolled in the Ceſſe Books, and there were others who were to ſucceed them upon occaſion. Laſtly, he preſcribes the manner of filling up his Troops to be firſt out of the *Adcreſcentes* of the Army, and if Supply ſufficient could not be had thence, out of the *Tirones*, or thoſe newly raiſed or to be raiſed for this purpoſe, or elſe out of the *Cenſiti*, or ſuch as were ceſſed, to whom recourſe ſhould be had in the laſt place, leſt the publick Revenue might be leſſened by freeing ſo many that were obnoxious to the ordinary Tax.

Qui dum ibi moratur, ſecurus interim hoſtium externorum, inteſtinis penè perierat fraudibus, &c. Am.l.29.

76. The Truce being made betwixt the Empire and *Perſia*, that King returned to *Cteſiphon*, there to winter; and the Emperour came back to *Antioch*, where being out of danger of any Forein Enemy, he was not altogether ſo ſecure from domeſtick Treaſon. There was one *Procopius* a turbulent and reſtleſs Man, who accuſed *Anatolius* and *Spudaſius*, two of the Emperours Servants in the Revenue, of conſpiring againſt the Life of *Fortunatianus* the *Comes rei privatæ*, a troubleſom exacting perſon in his Office: He brings the matter before *Modeſtus* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, who had ſucceeded *Auxonius*, and procures one *Palladius*, an obſcure Fellow, as a Sorcerer hired by them, and *Heliodorus* a Caſter of Nativities, to be put to the Rack. *Palladius* to avoid the Torture cried out, That theſe were ſlight matters, and not worth the while in compariſon of ſome other clandeſtine Practices, which if they proceeded would put all things into confuſion; and being encouraged to make the Diſcovery, that one *Fiduſtius*, who had born the Office of Preſident, with one *Irenæus* and *Pergamius*, had by ſecret and deteſtable Arts learnt the Name of him who was to ſucceed after *Valens*. *Fiduſtius* being controlled by the Accuſer, confeſſed all, and how he with *Hilarius* and *Patritius*, two excellent Artiſts in Divination, had conſulted about that matter, and found out, that an Excellent Prince ſhould ſucceed, and they themſelves come to untimely ends for their Curioſity. That when they conſidered who was beſt able to diſcharge the Sovereign Command, *Theodorus* ſeemed beſt to deſerve it, who had already obtained the ſecond Degree amongſt the *Notaries*; and indeed the Man was very remarkable, as deſcended of an ancient and noble Family in *Gall*, though born in *Sicily*, exceedingly well educated, and for his Modeſty, Prudence, Humanity, and Learning, acceptable to all men both high and low, and ſeeming to deſerve a much higher place than that he at preſent poſſeſſed. *Fiduſtius* almoſt tortured to death, declared, that what he had predicted was made known to *Theodorus* from himſelf, by intervention of one *Euſerius*, a perſon of great Learning and Quality, as having formerly governed *Aſia* as *Vicar*. Hereupon was *Euſerius* committed to priſon, and the Emperour being acquainted with the whole ſtory, breathed nothing but death and horror againſt thoſe that were conſcious of this Practice, exaſperated by the Flatteries of many about him, particularly of *Modeſtus*, who (to ſecure himſelf againſt the fears of a Succeſſor) omitted nothing of that nature but made him believe himſelf a clowniſh and ill bred man, though he was as quaint in his Expreſſions as ever was *Cicero*, and that the Stars at his beck would deſcend into his lap. Now was *Theodorus* apprehended at *Conſtantinople*, whither he was gone upon ſome private buſineſs; and from the moſt remote parts many were haled away Eminent for their Nobility and Imployments; the Emperour and his Miniſters giving themſelves reſt neither day nor night from bloudy Inquiſitions. The publick Priſons could not contain the Multitudes they endeavoured to croud into them, neither were private Houſes enough found fit for their receipt. And now *Theodorus* being detained priſoner in a remote quarter of the Territory, the Trumpets began to ſound (as *Ammianus* phraſeth it) to Bloud and Slaughters.

Certain perſons by Magical Arts endeavour to know who ſhall ſucceed *Valens*.

Whereupon he breaths nothing but Torture and Death.

77. But he adds, that as an Hiſtorian, who knowingly omits what had been really done, is as much to blame as he that feigns what was never done: So he muſt not deny, neither could it be doubted, but that the Life of *Valens* was often endangered by ſecret Conſpiracies of ſome Military Men, whom he had purpoſed to expoſe to imminent perils in *Thrace*. As he took his reſt once in the Park betwixt *Antioch* and *Seleucia*, he narrowly eſcaped being murdered by *Saluſt* one of the *Scutarii*.

To which we may adde, that *Zoſimus* accuſeth this *Theodorus* of Ambition and Tampering about his future imaginary Preferment. Therefore *Ammianus* concludes, that he had reaſon to defend himſelf by all means to which Prudence could direct; but in this he could never be excuſed, that in the heat of his Pride and Anger he made no diſtinction betwixt the innocent and the guilty; but while there was reaſon to doubt of the Crime, he was fully reſolved as to the Puniſhment; and to thoſe miſerable people word was brought, that they were condemned before they thought themſelves ſuſpected: So reſolute was he in his bloudy humour, which was exſtimulated by his own Avarice, and of thoſe about him, that if there were but any ſhew of Moderation, they branded it as Dulneſs, and procured the Ruine of many wealthy Families. To thoſe Paraſites he gave conſtant Acceſs, but was not to be come at by others of more conſcionable Principles, and was moſt angry in a caſe wherein he ſhould have been moſt void of paſſion; and therefore what they whiſpered he preſently concluded and took all for granted, his Pride not permitting him any ſober Inquiry. Hence it came to paſs under ſhew of Mercy that many were ſent into Baniſhment, and their Eſtates being confiſcated, forc'd all their Lives after to beg their bread.

78. The *Præfect* and thoſe *Summates*, to whom, with him, the Cognizance of the Crime was committed, being convened, the Racks, the Plummets, the Cords, and Rods, were brought forth, and amongſt the ratlings of Chains and Fetters, the noiſe of Hold him, Bind him, and Away with him, was heard, which the Serjeants echoed one to another. After a little Prelude to the Tragedy, *Pergamius*, whom (as we ſaid) *Palladius* accuſed, when the Judges knew not well in what method to proceed, in a large Diſcourſe accuſed many thouſands as Acceſſory, and required ſeveral to be ſent for from the utmoſt bounds of the Empire. But it being impoſſible to proſecute according to his Allegations, he was put to death, and many in Companies after him; which done, the main part of *Theodorus* came upon the ſtage. On the ſame day it happened, that one *Salia*, who was *Comes Theſaurorum* in *Thrace* a little before, and had been caſt into priſon, being to be brought forth to his Examination, as he was putting on his Shooes, out of a ſenſe of the great Tryal he was now to undergo, became ſtupified and fell down dead amongſt thoſe that had their Hands upon him. *Patricius* and *Hilarius*, when they were produced, differed in their Relations, and for that had their ſides ſufficiently lanced with Stripes: and the *Tripos* or three footed Engine they uſed, was produced before them, whereby brought to the utmoſt extremity, they confeſſed the whole matter. *Hilarius* firſt acknowledged, that in reſemblance of that at *Delphi*, they framed the *Tripos* of Laurel Twigs; that by Imprecations of ſecret Verſes, and by many and daily Dances being ritually conſecrated, they moved it; the manner of which Motion, when it was to be conſulted upon any ſecret Affair, was this: It was placed in the middle of an Houſe, which was throughout perfumed with *Arabian* Odours, and thereon was neatly ſet a Charger, every way round and made of divers Metalls. In the utmoſt Ring or Compaſs thereof were engraven skilfully the four and twenty Letters, ſet at a diſtance from each other, ſo that certain Spaces betwixt them were preciſely ſet out: Then one arrayed in white Linen Veſtments, having on Linen Stockings, a Wreath upon his Head, and a Branch in his Hand, having by certain formal Charms obtained the favour of that Divine Power, which was the Author and Director of Divination and Foretelling, ſtood above the ſaid *Tripos*, ſhaking a Magical Ring hanging at a Curtain; which Ring lighting by jumps and leaps, with diſtant pauſes between, on certain Letters one after another, which ſeemed to ſtay and hold it, made Heroick Verſes anſwerable to the Queſtions demanded, and fully compoſed according to Rythmical Numbers and Meaſures, like the Verſes of *Pythia*, or thoſe of the Oracle of *Branchidæ*. There then as they inquired who was to ſucceed the preſent Emperour, for that it was ſaid he ſhould be every way an Accompliſhed Perſon, the Ring as it skipped here and there, quickly made up two Syllables with another Letter, at which one preſent cried out, that thereby *Theodorus* was portended; neither was there any further Inquiry made into the buſineſs, for they were very well ſatisfied that he was the Man. When he had laid open thus the whole matter to the Judges, he added therewithall, that *Theodorus* knew nothing of it. Then were they demanded, whether by ſignification of the ſame Oracle they foreknew what Trouble they ſhould come to; and they replied in thoſe moſt known Verſes, which declared deſtruction to thoſe who ſhould ſearch into ſo ſublime matters; and yet withall that the Furies threatened both the Prince himſelf and his Miniſters with Plagues, for the avenging of their Bloud. The Verſes being

De Branchidis, qui loco nomen dedêre, vide Valeſii Annot. in p. 388.

Alii Divinationis hujus alium modum narrant, quidam ἀλεκτρομαντείαν non nemo Necromantiam. Vide eund. ibid. Sed fides potiùs Ammiano, qui hoc vixit tempore, adhibenda eſt.

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ing produced and read, they were ordered to withdraw, by this time almoſt dead with tortures.

79. Then to clear further the evidence, were produced a great Company of the *Honorati*, in the number of whom, lay the depth of the Conſpiracy; but every one indeavoured to devolve the burthen from his own ſhoulders, to the back of another. At length *Theodorus* was Commanded to ſpeak, who firſt applied himſelf altogether to Intreaties. that the Inquiſitors would intercede for his Pardon; but afterward being conſtrained to ſpeak further to the point, profeſſed that the Reaſon why he did not diſcover the whole Practice to the Emperour, was, for that *Euſerius*, who firſt diſcloſed the matter to him, expreſly forbad him, declaring that what ſhould come to paſs, was not to be effected through the prevalence of any Ambitious Paſſion, but by the abſolute neceſſity of Fate. And *Euſerius*, being tortur'd Confeſſed as much; yet however, *Theodorus* was Convicted by the Evidence of his own Letters, written, though cunningly, to *Hilarius*, whereby he ſignified that he did not doubt of the Succeſs, but was at a loſs how to find out a convenient opportunity, to put the Deſign in Execution. They being ſet aſide, *Eutropius* who then Governed *Aſia* with *Proconſular* Power, and probably was Authour of the Breviary of *Roman* Hiſtory Dedicated to *Valens*, was accuſed as Acceſſary to the Crime, but was diſmiſſed, after that *Paſiphilus* the Philoſopher, though all indeavours were uſed, could by no torture be forced to Accuſe him. But *Simonides* a young man, who Profeſſed alſo Philoſophy, could not deny but that from *Fiduſtius* he had been made acquainted with their Practices, and out of a firm Reſolution of mind would not reveal it. Now the whole Diſcovery being made, the Emperour Conſulted, with one Breath Commanded that all ſhould be put to death; which was Executed upon them, to the Horrour of Multitudes that beheld the Spectacle, all having their Throats Cut, except *Simonides*, whom becauſe of his extraordinary Reſolution, he Commanded to be burnt alive. After him many of all Sorts and Conditions, like ſo many Sheep were Butchered, Execution being firſt done, and then the Merits of the Cauſe enquired into, ſo that the Hangmen were quite ſpent with their labours, firſt of Torturing, and then Killing theſe miſerable Creatures. Not long after, *Maximus* the Philoſopher, the greatneſs of whoſe Reputation equalled his Name in thoſe dayes, having Confeſſed that he heard what had been predicted by the Oracle, but out of Reſpect to his Profeſſion, had concealed it, though he alſo fore-told that the Conſultors would loſe their lives, was brought home to the City of *Epheſus* where he was Born, and there Beheaded, when he was now ſick of an Incurable Diſtemper; the Great Maſter of *Julian*, the late Emperour. Before this, to allay the Envy and Diſpleaſure of the People, for ſuch Carnage as was made, an infinite Number of Books were got together, and burnt in the ſight of the Judges, as dangerous, and Prohibited, whereas indeed they were ſuch as Treated of various profitable Subjects, as the Liberal Sciences, or the Civil Law.

Horrible ſlaughters thereupon.

80. And together with the Books, periſhed a great man of Law, one *Diogenes*, eminent for his Noble Birth, Wit, Eloquence, and mild Diſpoſition, whoſe only Crime it was that he had a great Eſtate, having not long before governed *Bithynia*. *Alypius*, who had diſcharged the Office of *Vicar* here in *Britain*, was outed of his Eſtate, and ſent into Baniſhment, his Son *Hierocles* having been maimed by tortures, and hardly eſcaped Execution. *Palladius* the Contriver of all theſe Villanies, in the mean time purſued his courſe; and by his Tricks brought ſo many into trouble, that he filled all the Provinces with Lamentations. To the end that the very Wives might not have time to bewail the miſeries of their Husbands, when an Account was taken of the Houſhouldſtuff of the Dead, by theſe Officers who did it, there were caſt in, amongſt the writings, ſome Charms or ridiculous Enchantments, which brought into Court before thoſe Judges, who had neither Regard to Law, Religion, nor Conſcience, thereupon they were ſeized, and as well young, as old, without any Defence made, were deprived of their Eſtates, and after all their limbs had been broken by torture, carried out in Chairs to Execution. Hereupon, throughout the Eaſtern Provinces, ſo great a Terror ſeized upon all ſorts of Perſons, that they burnt their Libraries, for they eſteemed themſelves in no better a Condition, than were the Gueſts of *Dionyſius* the *Sicilian* Tyrant, over whoſe Heads, as they ſate at meat, he cauſed Swords to be hanged by ſingle hairs of Horſes. The great Manager of all thoſe Intrigues, together with *Palladius*, was *Heliodorus*, a Pleader of Cauſes, whom they called the *Mathematician*, a diſſolute inſolent fellow, who preſcribed to *Valens* all his Methods, and after other manifold Forgeries, at length informed a-

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gainſt that excellent Couple of *Conſuls*, *Euſebius*, and *Hypatius*, two Brothers, and nearly Allyed to the Emperour *Conſtantius*, as if they aſpired after the Empire; and withal he added this lie, that *Euſebius* had already provided himſelf of Imperial Robes. *Valens* was glad of the Occaſion, and however by no means could their Innocence be overborn, it ſo evidently appeared; yet ſtill did he make much of the Accuſer, and they were both ſent into Exile, and heavy mulcts impoſed on them, which they paid; but ſhortly were they recalled, the money returned, and they reſtored to their former Dignities. Yet for all this, the Emperour would ſtill proceed, and by many ſad Inſtances ſhewed how it fares with a People, when the pride of a Soveraign Prince is joyned with ſowerneſs and ſeverity of Nature.

81. *Heliodorus*, how its uncertain, chanced to die; and being to be buried, many Perſons of Quality were Commanded to precede the Corpſe; and amongſt others the two late *Conſuls*, and Brothers but now mentioned. Neither could he himſelf for ſome time, by any means be perſwaded from being preſent, but at length being prevailed with, he Commanded the Nobility to go before (as the Cuſtom was; not to follow, as the uſe is at this day) on foot, with their Heads bare, and ſome with their hands folded together: a fit poſture for ſuch as had been formerly Graced with Conſular Ornaments, wherewith to Honour the Carkaſs of a Raſcal, who having firſt come to *Corinth* to ſell Fiſh, when it happened that the Man of the Houſe was ſick, and could not attend a Cauſe he had to be heard in Court, he adventured to appear for him. Having heard the Pleadings of thoſe at the Bar, he was tickled with a great deſire of becoming Advocate himſelf, and joyning this practice to his other Trade, grew ſo Famous, that, as Confidence uſually procures Clients more than skill, he was more imployed than any man, and though laught at, and ſcorned by ſober and underſtanding Perſons, yet he derided them again, and putting on ſuch a Countenance as not to be daſhed, he got great Wealth, became Advocate of the Treaſury, and obtained further Preferment. Here *Ammianus* cannot abſtain from exclaiming, and falling very foul upon *Valens*, for expoſing ſo many Perſons of Honour to ſo much Contempt; and further he tells us, that one thing elſe there happened, that made up the Roll of his Virtues. Generally he was ſo ſavage and unmerciful, that he was unwilling that death it ſelf ſhould put an end to the torments of Condemned Perſons; yet there being one *Pollentianus* a Tribune, a fellow of a naughty life, Convict of ripping up a Womans Belly alive, and by taking out the untimely Birth, as he words it, of Conſulting therewith, the Infernal *Manes*, concerning the Change of the Imperial Government: out of reſpect to their acquaintance and Familiarity, though to the Regret of Men of all Ranks and Conditions, he cauſed this Criminal to be diſmiſſed, both with ſecurity of his life, and enjoyment of his Eſtate and Preferment. But Juſtice ſtill watched how, and when, to Revenge the death of theſe Innocents, and the Furies as he ſaith, inraged by their death, kindled the Flames of *Bellona*. Yet in the mean time, miſchiefs befell the Provinces of *Aſia* upon another occaſion.

The Cruelty of *Feſtus* Proconſul of *Aſia*.

82. There was one *Feſtus*, Born at *Trent*, a man of very mean Parentage, and a ſworn Brother of that bloody *Maximinus* formerly mentioned, who, as Fate would have it, going into the *Eaſt*, firſt had the Government of *Syria* Committed to him, and thence was preferred to be *Magiſter Memoriæ*, which Office having Diſcharged with ſuch mildneſs as became him, he arrived at the high Truſt and Imployment of *Proconſul* of *Aſia*. All this while, when he heard of the Cruel and inſufferable demeanour of *Maximinus*, he made a ſhew of great diſlike, but when he underſtood how a man ſo undeſerving, meerly for ſuch Services, was Prefered to the *Præfectſhip*, he was inflamed with a deſire of Compaſſing the like Honour by the ſame means; and like to a Player, having changed his Habit, preſently began to act another ſort of Perſon, ſtill imagining he ſhould be *Præfect* in a very ſhort time. And ſo he beſtirred himſelf, as to imitate what his Friend had done at *Rome*. A Philoſopher called *Cæronius*, one of no ſmall deſert, he killed with exceſſive and cruel torments; for that in a Familiar Letter written by him to his own Wife, he uſed a form of ſpeech which was but proverbial, and tending to cauſe the Reader or Hearer to give greater Attention, and receive a greater Impreſſion of what was written or ſaid. A ſilly old Woman that pretended to Cure Agues by a Charm, he put to death, though ſhe had lately Cured his own Daughter, and was ſent for to it with his own Knowledge and Conſent. There was an Eminent Burgeſs of a Town, amongſt whoſe Papers was found the Nativity of one *Valens* Cal-

Valeſius eundem fuiſſe exiſtimat cum Rufo Feſto, qui etiam Breviarium Imperii Scripſit ad Valentem, non ad Valentinianum.

σὺ δὲ νόει, καὶ στέφε τὴν πύλην.

Calculated; whereupon he was Examined, upon what account he had pried into the Fortune of the Emperour. He affirmed that his own Brother of that Name, was the man, and he was already dead, which, though he offered to prove, yet could he not be heard; but being before mangled with tortures, was put to death A certain young man was obſerved in the Bath, to touch a Marble ſtone by the Fingers of both his hands, one after another, to put them to his Breaſt, and to ſay over the ſeven Vowels, which he imagined was a Remedy againſt the Pain of the Stomach; but for ſo doing he was judicially convented, tortured, and then beheaded. So ſad was the Condition of the *Roman* Subject in the Eaſtern Parts; while in the Weſtern our Author tells us, he finds all things confuſed or out of order. For now was *Maximinus* (ſo much ſpoken of) become *Præfect*; and by reaſon of his Power and Authority had opportunity of doing miſchief himſelf, and of exciting the Emperour to Acts of Severity, who with the greatneſs of his Fortune too often intermingled his Licencious Will; and being naturally very cruel, when there was none other to adviſe him but *Maximinus*, would fall into ſuch Fits of Paſſion, that not onely his Countenance, but his Voice, his Colour, and his wonted manner of walking would change.

Maximinus made *Præfect*, and governs *Valentinian*.

The cruel effects thereof.

83. One of his Pages, a well-grown Youth, being appointed in Hunting to hold in a Slip a *Spartan* Hound, becauſe he let him go ſooner than the Game required, the Dog falling upon him and biting him, was beaten to death, and buried the ſame day. The Maſter of one of the Fabricks or Forges, having made him a Currate exquiſitely poliſhed, when for his Workmanſhip he expected a Reward, he commanded to be put to death, becauſe it was ſomewhat leſs in weight than he ordained. *Epirates* a Prieſt he commanded to be ſlain, becauſe he would not diſcover *Octavianus*, who had been *Proconſul* of *Aſia*, and having been accuſed of ſome miſdemeanour, had concealed himſelf in his Houſe. *Conſtantianus*, one of the *Stratores*, or thoſe that had the charge of providing Horſes, for venturing to exchange ſome of thoſe he was ſent into *Sardinia* to make choice of, was by his command ſtoned to death. One *Athanaſius* a Charottier, being forewarned by him to forbear ſomething of no conſiderable conſequence upon pain of being burnt, when found to have committed the crime, notwithſtanding he had taken great pleaſure in his Sports, was by his order reduced to Aſhes. *Africanus*, an induſtrious Pleader of Cauſes, having (as the manner was with Advocates) governed a Province, when he deſired to be removed to a better Imployment, and *Theodoſius* the *Magiſter Equitum* moved him in his behalf, his Anſwer was, *Go, Comes, and change his Head, who deſires to have his Province changed:* And ſo the poor man loſt his Life for but endeavouring that which was commonly practiſed. A certain obſcure Fellow accuſed *Claudius* and *Saluſt*, two Officers in the Army, who from the number of *Joviani* had been advanced to the Command of Tribune, for that when *Procopius* uſurped, they had ſpoken kindly of him. The matter was diligently inquired into, but nothing could be made of it; which when *Valentinian* perceived, he ordered the *Magiſter Militum*, who had the hearing of the Cauſe, to baniſh *Claudius*, and condemn *Saluſt* to death, promiſing that when he ſhould be led as to Execution he would ſend him a Reprieve; but this being done, *Saluſt* neither eſcaped death, nor was *Claudius* (or *Cladius*, as ſome Copies have it) freed from his Baniſhment till the death of the Emperour. Other matters *Ammianus* lays to his charge, but the particulars are not to be made out, the Copies of his Hiſtory, which now are extant, being in thoſe places ſo marred and imperfect. However he tells us, he was afraid to recount all he could ſay, leſt he ſhould be thought out of deſign to ſearch into the Vices of him, who otherwiſe was a good Prince, and moſt ſtudious of the Publick Safety. But one thing he thinks ought not to be concealed, which was, that he kept two She Bears, that were wont to feed upon Mans Fleſh; the one he called *Mica aurea*, and the other *Innocentia*, and was very careful that they ſhould lie near his own Bedchamber, and want nothing to maintain their Fierceneſs. And *Innocentia*, after he had ſeen many Carcaſes devoured by her, as one that had well deſerved Liberty, he let go looſe into the Woods. Theſe are evident Proofs of the Cruelty of his Nature; yet was he moſt watchful and ſagacious for the ſafety of the Empire, neither can any of his Detractors ſay, that he ever failed in that point.

84. Such is the Account we have from *Ammianus* concerning the Cruelties of both the Brothers. That raging of *Valens* in the Eaſt upon the matter of a Succeſſor is atteſted by the generality of Writers, though with ſome difference of Circumſtances. *Socrates* the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian writes, That the Devil procured ſome that

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Socrates bears witneſs as to the Cruelty of *Valens* upon the buſineſs of a Succeſſor.

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Lib.4.c.15.

were given to thoſe Arts, by Necromancy to enquire, who it was that ſhould ſucceed him in the Empire: That after his manner he gave no plain and direct Anſwer, but one very obſcure and doubtful, as that the Mans Name began with four Letters, ΘΕΟΔ, and that it was compounded. The Fame hereof ſo far ſpread, that it came to the Emperours Ears, who neither attributing things we call Caſualties, nor referring the knowledge of things to come, nor the beſtowing of Sceptres, to the Power of God, whoſe Providence ruleth all things; but forſaking the Precepts of Chriſtian Religion, which he colourably pretended, put divers perſons to death, who he imagined might be capable of the Imperial Dignity. He diſpatched out of the way ſuch as were called *Theodorus*, *Theodotus*, *Theodoſius*, *Theodulus*, or the like; in the number of which was one *Theodoſiolus* a Nobleman, whom he ſent for out of *Spain*, and commanded to be killed. Hereupon many out of fear of their Lives changed their Names, which at their Birth had been given them by their Parents. That *Valens* was very ſevere againſt Diviners, Fortune-tellers, or ſuch as caſt Nativities, we are aſſured by a Law made by him about this time, to the enacting of which we may well enough conclude, that the Diſcovery lately mentioned gave occaſion. It is directed to *Modeſtus* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, who (as we ſee by *Ammianus*) was imployed in the Tryal of Offenders; and it ſeems to have been no other than the Anſwer to the Conſultation of him and his Fellow Judges, in the matter of *Theodorus*, *Euſerius*, *Eutropius*, and *Simonides* the Philoſopher, whereby the Hiſtorian tells us he commanded, that they ſhould all be put to death. The Edict forbids the Practice of Mathematicians, by which is to be underſtood, the Art of Divination univerſal, and not as confined to Genitures. It inflicts no leſs than Death upon any who ſhould be found to exerciſe it publickly or privately by day or by night, and as well upon the Learner as the Teacher, for this reaſon, becauſe the fault of learning Prohibited matters is full as great as that of teaching. Yet the Severity of this Edict conſiſts in the large extent of it; otherwiſe it was ever accounted High Treaſon by the *Romans*, to pry into the Nativity or Fate of the Emperour. *Tacitus* writes, that this amongſt other Crimes was laid to the charge of *Lepida*, that ſhe conſulted the *Chaldæans* concerning the Family of *Cæſar*; and *Paulus* delivers it for Law, that whoſoever conſults concerning the Safety of the Prince, or deep State-Myſteries, any Mathematicians, theſe they called *Arioli*, *Aruſpices*, or *Vaticinatores*, ſhould die for it, together with him that gave the Anſwer.

A Law of his extant againſt Mathematicians.

L.8. de Maleficis & Mathemat. Cod. Th.l.9.tit.16.

Neque enim diſſimilis culpa eſt prohibita diſcere quam docere.

Vide Lindenbrogii Obſervat.in Ammian.l.29.p.423.

Gratian the ſecond time and *Probus* are Conſuls.

A.D. 371. *Gratiano A.2. & Probo Coſs.*

85. The following Year, which was the **CCCLXXI** of our Lord, wherein *Gratian* the ſecond time and *Probus* were Conſuls, *Valentinian* ſpent in *Gall*, and the moſt part at *Triers*; *Valens* moſt at *Conſtantinople*, and ſome part at *Ancyra*. The *Præfect* of *Rome* was *Ampelius*, who had ſucceeded *Olybrius*; *Modeſtus* was *Præfectus Prætorio* of the Eaſt, *Probus* of *Italy*, *Illyricum*, and *Africk*; and *Viventius* of *Gall*. *Maximinus* was ſtill the *Præfectus Annonæ* and *Vicar* of the City of *Rome*; and thoſe cruel Practices there againſt the Lives of Senators upon the account of Sorcery, carried on by him and his Agents, extended to this time, as may be collected from certain Laws. *Ammianus* writes, that the Nobility tired out with thoſe perpetual Inquiſitions, when every man conceived his own Life in danger, ſent a Meſſage to *Valentinian*, which was carried by *Prætextatus*, who had been *Præfect* of the City, aſſiſted by *Venuſtus* and *Minervius*, to intreat that Puniſhments might not exceed the quality of Offences, and Senators might not be expoſed to Torture contrary to the Law. When the Meſſengers were admitted into Conſiſtory, the Emperour (as we have ſeen) pretended ignorance of any ſuch Practice, and ſaid he was abuſed; till *Eupraxius* the *Quæſtor* by his gentle way of Speech convinced him of other things. Amongſt other matters whereof the Senate complained, it ſeems one was, that they were forbidden the uſe of the *Aruſpicina*, and that they were generally involved in the crime of Sorcery; and they prayed for a general Act of Indulgence and Oblivion to the whole Senate. In anſwer to this he tells them, he cannot grant Indulgence to the whole Senate, leſt he ſhould accuſe the whole; foraſmuch as Indulgence takes off the Penalty, but not the Infamy of the Crime; but if it was deſired for one or two Criminal Perſons of that Order, it ſhould not be denied. As for the *Aruſpicina*, he denies that he reckons either that or ſome other ancient Rites, amongſt the unlawful Magical Arts; and for this he appeals to the Laws made by him in the beginning of his Reign, of granting free Exerciſe of Religion to all his Subjects; neither doth he diſallow of the uſe of the *Aruſpician*, ſo it were innocent. But whereas many perſons of Senatorian Rank were accuſed as guilty of Magick, and they deſired to decline the Juriſdiction of *Maximinus*, as we

Other Laws atteſt the cruel Practices of *Maximinus*.

L.5. de Indulg. Criminum.Cod. Th.l.9. tit.38.

L.9.de Maleficiis,&c. Cod. Th. ubi ſupra.

L.10. de Maleficis,&c. ibid.

we may well conjecture; he declares the *Præfect* of the City (in conformity to other Laws) to be the true and proper Judge of ſuch perſons. And in caſe the matter could not be decided by him, he requires that the Parties concerned, with the whole Proceſs, be tranſmitted to Court to his own hearing; by which Reſerve he cuts off the uſual cuſtom of Conſultation in ſuch difficult caſes, and all hope of the Priſoner to eſcape Condemnation, if he himſelf was ſo reſolved. This Edict concerning the *Præfect* of the City his being Judge, is directed to *Ampelius*, who was then *Præfect*, and of whom *Ammianus* makes mention, in that *Hymetius* was heard by him, and *Maximinus* the *Vicar*, and appealing to the Emperour was referred back to the Senate, which incurred his Diſpleaſure, by inflicting upon him no greater puniſhment than that of Exile. In the laſt place *Valentinian* forbids *Ampelius* to ſend for any man out of his own Juriſdiction, or that was abroad in the Provinces, which yet the *Præfectus Prætorio* had liberty to do.

L. 2. de Officio Præfecti Urbis, Cod. Juſt. l. 1. tit. 28.

86. To this *Ampelius* are directed ſeveral other Conſtitutions of this ſame year, to be taken notice of either here or in another place. *Valentinian* continued at *Triers* till about the end of *June*, and then by Subſcriptions of other Laws we find him at a place called *Contionacum*, thought to have been the ſame with *Gentzingen*: For *Ammianus* aſſures us, that he had a great care of the Limits of the Empire; inſomuch that if any Enemy was diſcovered from the Watch Towers once to ſtir, he was quickly apprehended. But his principal deſire and aim was, either ſecretly or by open force to get into his hands *Macrianus* King of the *Allemans*, one who exceedingly incommoded the *Roman* Affairs, as *Julian* had formerly intercepted *Vadomarius*. The place of his Abode being diſcovered by ſome Fugitives, leſt making a Bridge might cauſe an Alarm, he paſſed his men over the *Rhine* by Boats, and *Severus* (who had the command of the Infantry) being ſent before, when he was come at the place called *Aquæ Mattiacæ*, out of juſt fear he ſhould be overpowered by the numbers of the Enemy, made an Alt: The other Troops being all come up, they proceeded together, when the Moon was riſen, and poſſibly might have executed the Deſign they were ſent on, but that the Officers were no way able to keep the common Souldiers in order, but contrary to their expreſs Command they would burn and ſpoil what they met in their way, and by Fire and Noiſe, diſcovered their Approach to the Kings Guards, who ſuſpecting what was intended, put him into a Chariot, and conveyed him into a place difficult of Acceſs amongſt the Mountains. The Emperour then diſappointed of his hopes, neither by default of himſelf nor of his Captains, but the Intemperance of his Souldiers; (which often coſt the *Romans* very dear) after he had waſted the Enemies Countrey for fifty miles upward, returned melancholy to *Triers*. There he bore his Misfortune (to uſe the Compariſon of our Writer) as a Lion would do whoſe Prey had eſcaped his hungry Jaws. But while the *Allemans* were yet in terror, (for they were frighted though not much hurt) he appointed *Fraomarius* to reign over the *Bucinobantes*, a People inhabiting juſt over againſt *Mentz*. But *Fraomarius* found it not worth his while, his ſmall Kingdom being quickly overrun, (or his *Pagus*, as *Ammianus* truly terms it) and therefore the Emperour ſent His Majeſty over into *Britain* with the Power of Tribune, over the Regiment of the *Allemans*, which at that time here flouriſhed, both in reſpect of the Number of Men and their Courage. Moreover, to *Bitkendus* and *Hortarius*, two principal men of the ſame Nation, he gave Commands, of whom *Hortarius* was by *Florentius* the *Dux* of *Germany* convicted, to have held Intelligence with *Macrianus* and others of the Barbarians, and the truth being found out by Torture, was burnt alive.

Valentinian his Attempts npon the *Allemans.*

Regem Fraomarium ordinavit.

Quoniam recens excurſus eundem penitus vaſtaverat pagum.

87. Such was the Succeſs of *Valentinian* in the Field, when he endeavoured to make thoſe Priſoners he could not catch. We ſuppoſe his Deſign more proſperous which he now had, for the ſafe-keeping of his own Subjects when committed to Priſon. From *Contionacum*, which lay ſomewhere betwixt *Triers* and *Mentz*, he directed an Edict to *Probus* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, wherein he declared, that the ſafe Cuſtody of Priſoners belonged to the *Commentarienſis*, one of the Officials of the ordinary Judge, who had his name from writing the Commentaries, or keeping the publick Books concerning Malefactors and condemned perſons, which in old time was wont to be preſerved in the *Ærarium* amongſt other Records. The *Optio* was principal Maſter of the Gaol, but under him the *Commentarienſis* looked to the Priſoners, provided them Neceſſaries, and gave an account of their Number and the Qualities of their Perſons and Crimes to the Judge upon occaſion; and he had under him inconſiderable mean People, whom as we at this day call *Keepers* and *Turnkeys*, ſo they in thoſe days termed them *Cuſtodes*, and afterward *Clavicularii*, who

He makes a Law for the ſafe keeping of Priſoners.

L. 5. de Cuſtodia reorum, Cod. Th. l. 9. tit. 3.

who afterward became a Proverb for their Vileneſs. Sometimes the *Commentarienſis* was imployed to apprehend Priſoners, when tried he brought them to the Bar; and (as our Clerks of Aſſize) recorded all that happened at their Trial: For all which Services he had his *Adjutant* when the caſe required. But great Miſchief was taken notice to have followed from theſe deputed to this charge, as Eſcape of Priſoners, becauſe they judging themſelves not to be principally concerned, were negligent in their buſineſs, which provoked *Valentinian* by an Edict, to require the Priſoner ſo eſcaping of the *Commentarienſis* himſelf, and forbidding his Excuſe, or laying the blame upon ſuch obſcure Fellows, and that by no leſs than his ſuffering the ſame Pain and Forfeiture which the Criminal himſelf ſhould have undergone. But in caſe he was forced by ſome neceſſary occaſions from his charge, he ſubjects the *Adjutant* or Deputy, to the ſame Penalty, in caſe a Priſoner was miſſing. At this time there was a Practice taken notice of in *Africk*, that much tended to the leſſening of the Publick Revenue, which was, that ſuch as had been made Heirs by the Teſtaments of their Relations or others, would enter upon thoſe Lands that were good, but refuſe to receive the barren or more unfruitful, becauſe they would not pay the Tribute or Impoſitions due from them. To reform it, *Valentinian* by his Reſcript directed to *Creſcens* the *Vicar* of that Dioceſe, commands, that ſuch as had by Teſtament left them Lands both good and bad, ſhould either take to the whole Inheritance, or quit it all.

Reforms an Abuſe in *Africk*.

L. 17. de Annona & Tributis, Cod. Th. l. 11. tit. 1.

And in the unequal Marriages of Women of Senatorian Rank.

88. He was alſo about this time informed, that the Nobility or Senatorian Rank at *Rome* was very much diſhonoured by Clandeſtine Marriages; eſpecially by the younger ſort of Widows, who being emancipated or diſmiſſed from the Power or Authority of their Fathers, were wont to be wrought upon and enticed to Bargains of this nature by ſeveral perſons, who made a Living of making Matches; by whom they were cheated, and joyned with mean, beggarly, and every way unfit and unequal men. To prevent this for the time to come, he wrote to the Senate, and gave expreſs order, that no Widow of a Senatorian Family, under the Age of five and twenty, although ſhe were emancipated, ſhould marry again without her Fathers conſent firſt obtained, if he was living. If her Father was dead, the Approbation of her next Kindred he required, as *Severus* his Predeceſſor had formerly done in the Marriage of Pupils, or thoſe who had not arrived at Puberty. But whereas it might happen, that the Humour of the Kindred might be unreaſonably averſe to that of the Woman, or perhaps being to ſucceed her in her Inheritance, in caſe ſhe died without Children, they might out of deſign oppoſe her Marriage; therefore when any difference ſo happened betwixt her and her Kindred about her Choice, the matter ſhould be determined by the ordinary Judge, who in caſe there was an Equality in Merit and Fitneſs in the men contended for, was to determine in favour of the Widow. This was in conformity to other Laws, which, when the Mother and Kindred cannot agree about the choice of an Husband for a young Maid, refer it to the Cognizance of the ordinary Judge or Governour of the Province. As to that prevalent Objection, That the next Kindred might hinder the Marriage out of deſign, he ordains, That ſuch as were to gain by her death, if ſhe died without Children, ſhould not intermeddle, but the matter referred to thoſe at further diſtance, who had no ſuch Expectation. But beſides this Cuſtom at *Rome*, there was another thing relating to Marriage, which about this ſame time he thought fit to reform: *Conſtantine* the Great, to work ſuch Reformation in Manners as was ſuitable to the ſtrictneſs of the Chriſtian Profeſſion, amongſt other things earneſtly deſired to take away the uſe of Concubines; which that he might the more eaſily effect, he encouraged ſuch as made uſe of them and had no lawful Wives, to change them into Wives by lawful Marriage, and making ſuch Children as they had by them before Marriage completely Legitimate. But as he would encourage them by this Privilege to marry the Mothers, ſo on the other ſide he could not but think it Policy to deter them from living in that diſſolute condition, by taking from their Natural Children (for ſo were they called) in caſe they would not marry their Mothers, certain Privileges allowed them by the Law; as that in caſe there was neither Legitimate Children, Father, Mother, Brother, Siſter, Uncles, or other Kindred, they were allowed to inherit. This rigour now *Valentinian* thought fit to mitigate, not reſtoring the former Privilege in full, which he did by an Edict directed to *Ampelius Præfect* of the City, ordaining, That if ſo be a man had Legitimate Children, or left a Father or Mother, and had alſo a Concubine and Natural Children by her, he might leave them or her a twelveth part of his Eſtate; and in caſe he had none of the ſaid Legitimate Relations, of his whole Eſtate divided into twelve he might leave them three.

L. 1. de Nuptiis, Cod. Th. l. 3. tit. 7.

L. 1. de Naturalibus liberis, &c. Cod. Th. l. 4. tit. 6. Vide Com. Gothofr.

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three. This his Brother *Valens* at firſt did not approve of, but afterward confirmed for the ſake of *Libanius* the Sophiſt, who having never been married, but had a Son by a Concubine, when he was now about ſixty years old and like to die, was ſollicitous for this his Natural Son, that he might have wherewithall to live.

89. Another Law there's extant of this year, in like manner directed to this *Ampelius*, which acquaints us that the Inquiſitions about Sorcery, and the Proſecution of Senators upon that account, of which too largely we have heard from *Ammianus* were not yet ceaſed. Whether it was upon deſire of the Senate, and complaint againſt the Cruelties of *Maximinus*, by one Law before mentioned *Valentinian* declared the *Præfect* of the City to be the proper Judge of Senators, but ſtill (as may be gueſſed) to have a reſerve for his own Severity, he ordered him in caſe any difficulty occurred which he could not determine, not to conſult him, but to ſend both the accuſed Party and his Proceſs to the Court, as we have already recited. But with this was joyned another Reſcript, by which appears the Diſſimulation either of the *Præfect*, or the Emperour himſelf, or both. It declares, that the Senate ought to have the liberty of the *Curſus publicus* whenſoever they have occaſion of ſending their Meſſengers to him, which he proves by Reaſons drawn from the Practice both of the People of *Rome*, and of the Provincials; for if they had the Privilege of making uſe of it upon ſuch occaſions, much more ought the Senate to have it, the Members of which he deſires often to ſee as his Colleagues. We find elſewhere, that they ſent their Meſſengers to him with Complaints, to which *Ampelius* might give his Aſſiſtance by obtaining this Edict, or hereby the Emperour was deſirous to cover his Rigour to them, as by the obliging term of Colleagues, it being not unuſual ſtill for Princes to profeſs themſelves of their Body. By the Date of this Law we find him at the later end of the Year returned again to *Triers* from his Expedition; during which we muſt ſee what was done by his Brother *Valens* in the Eaſt.

Declares that the uſe of the *Curſus* belongs to the Senate.

L.22. de Curſu publico,Cod.Th. Dat.Treviris 8 *Id.Dec. quam miſerè eam interpolavit Tribonianus vide apud Gothofr. in Com.*

90. The firſt thing we find him imployed in at *Conſtantinople* was about the Publick Revenue, for ſupply of the Rolls, when any died that was obliged to the *Cenſus* or Impoſition. In ſuch a caſe by a Conſtitution inſcribed to *Modeſtus* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, bearing Date on the fifteenth of *January*, he orders, that the Number be made up out of the *Adcreſcentes*, or ſuch as were to be next inrolled, living in the ſame or ſome neighbouring Countrey. His pleaſure is, that none but Governours of Provinces make this Supply, and for this end that the Plebeians, whom it concerned that they ſhould not be burthened, and their *Defenſors* ſhould appear before them, and produce the Names of ſuch as were fit to be inſerted; and they were to hear all Allegations and Complaints, and determine the matter. Which was much better than to leave it to the partial Affections and Intereſt of the ſeveral *Defenſors*, or Plebeians themſelves. This was to be practiſed in caſe of Mortality; but if any had deſerted their Habitations, and withdrawn themſelves, then was no ſuch ſupply required: but the Fugitives were to be ſought for and brought back. And this it behoved him to take care of, for there were ſeveral perſons, whom their Dignity and Imployments privileged from theſe Payments, amongſt whom were the Sons of thoſe that ſerved in the Palace or *Palatini*, and ſuch of their Slaves as they had purchaſed by Money gotten in the publick Service. By a ſecond Conſtitution directed this year to the ſame *Præfect*, and from this place, appears how mean the Dignity of Senators was there at this time; and on the contrary, to how great a degree the Repute of the *Navicularii* was advanced. Thereby he takes care for ſupply of the Body of theſe men through the Eaſt and the Dioceſe of *Ægypt*: For their Encouragement, he allows them for every ten thouſand *Modii* of Corn they ſhould tranſport freedom from the Impoſition of Wine, Corn, and the like for every fifty Acres of Land, though not from that of Horſes and Clothes. For the making of their Ships he will have Materials afforded by the Provincials; but the charge of repairing them muſt lie at their own doors. In the next place he will have tranſmitted to himſelf the Names of them all in two ſeveral Liſts, whereof the one to repreſent thoſe that were of the old ſtanding, and the other of ſuch as were newly admitted. And he gives them of the Eaſt all the Privileges which belonged to their Brethren of *Africk*, on condition that they and their Eſtates remained for ever obnoxious to the Charge and Office. In the laſt place he himſelf gives a Liſt of ſuch perſons, as out of whom the choice of *Navicularii* might be made; as firſt out of the Adminiſtrators and others of the *Honorati*, who had obtained this Dignity by Codicils or Letters Patents, (to whom in common, notice was wont to be given, if there happened any extraordinary occaſion) thoſe of them excepted which ſerved in the Palace, who were

Valens in the mean time takes care of his Revenue.

*L.7. de Cenſu, Cod.Th.l.*13. *tit.*10.

*L.*14.*de Navicularii*s, *Cod. Th. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.*

And indulges the *Navicularii.*

A.D. 372.

L. 74. de Decurionibus, Cod. Th. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

Inanes verò umbras & caſſas Imagines Dignitatum Codicillis ſectantes, nihil adjuvari præcipimus.

And the *Curiales*.

L. 76. eod. tit. ibid. Lex omnibus 31. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit.

not tied to this Duty. Alſo from amongſt the *Decuriones*, and ſuch as anciently had ſerved in the Imployment; out of the *Primipilares*; and even from amongſt the Senators themſelves, if any of them deſired with their Eſtates to be joyned to the Company. Yet by another Law did he provide for the Honour and Eaſe of the Senators of *Conſtantinople*, (whence theſe three bear Date) in diſcharging them from the Duties of Corporations, if they had by their Merits aſcended to Places of Dignity; otherwiſe if they had only obtained Honorary Titles by Codicils, (againſt which he inveighs) he exempts them from all ſuch Privileges, except they had got the Honorary Dignity of the greater ſort of Magiſtrates, as far as the *Conſularitas*. And alſo taking care that Corporations might not be unſerved, by another bearing date on the thirteenth of *July* from *Ancyra*, to the ſame *Modeſtus*, he prohibits *Curiales* their concealing themſelves in the Houſes, and under the Protection of their Patrons the great men, impoſing Infamy upon ſuch as ſhould harbour them. For there were great Abuſes committed by theſe Patronages in all Ages, as well in that as other reſpects; yet ſtill they continued from the time of *Romulus*. The firſt uſe of them we have obſerved out of *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus*, in the Hiſtory of the Foundation of *Rome*.

The Conſulſhip of *Modeſtus* and *Arintheus*.

A.D. 372. Modeſto & Arintheo Coſs.

L. 8. de filiis militar. apparit. & veteran. Cod. Th. l. 7. tit. 22. L. 78. de Decurionibus ib. & L. 12. de Cohortalibus ib. l. 8. tit. 4.

Valentinian calls the Sons of the *Veterani* into the Field.

Firmus uſurps in *Africk*.

91. For the Year next enſuing, which was the **CCCLXXII** of our Lord, and the fifteenth Indiction, *Modeſtus* and *Arintheus* were Conſuls, *Ampelius* was *Præfect* of *Rome* till the Moneth of *Auguſt*, and then was ſucceeded by *Bapo*; *Clearchus* executed the like Office at *Conſtantinople*; the *Præfectus Prætorio* of the Eaſt was *Auxonius*, and *Probus* ſtill of *Italy* and the other Dioceſes. *Valentinian* for the moſt part reſided at *Triers*, and ſometime at *Naſſonacum*, thought to be a place in the Foreſt of *Ardenne*; and *Valens* either at *Antioch* or *Seleucia*. *Valentinian* lying in *Gall* took care for ſtrengthening the Northern Parts againſt the Attempts of the *Allemans*, *Quadi*, and *Marcomanni*, and that by ſeveral Laws. The Sons of the *Veterani* he ordered to be forced to Service, wherever they had beſtowed themſelves, though in the publick Offices of Cities, or thoſe of the Governours of Provinces, onely ſuch as were obnoxious to Civil Imployments, or the Duties of the *Curiæ*, he ſignifies he had given order to the Illuſtrious *Comites*, and the *Magiſtri Equitum* and *Peditum*, that they ſhould not meddle with; or if they had forced them into the Field, they were to remit them to their ſeveral Concernments. That he was juſtly moved to reinforce his Troops, for the carrying on of his Deſigns, we ſhall ſee preſently, when firſt we have given the Reader an account of grievous Commotions which now happened in *Africk*, becauſe we would willingly follow the order which *Ammianus* in his particular Narrations hath taken without breaking them off. One *Nubel*, a petit King, but the moſt potent in *Mauritania*, dying, left behind him Sons both legitimate and begotten of Concubines, whereof one called *Zamma* being murdered by his Brother *Firmus*, this act gave original to great contention: For *Zamma* was much beloved by *Romanus* the *Comes* of thoſe Quarters, who reſolved to omit nothing that might conduce to a full Revenge of his Death, but very much ſollicited the matter in the Emperours Court, where his Relations endeavoured to render *Firmus* every way odious to *Valentinian*. He willingly ſuffered all the Complaints againſt him to be read; but on the contrary, whatſoever his Friends alleaged in his behalf was coldly received; for when they urged that his Anſwers might be peruſed, *Remigius* the *Magiſter Officiorum*, the Ally and Friend of *Romanus*, would affirm, that amongſt ſo many great and weighty Affairs of the Empire, thoſe frivolous and ſuperfluous matters ought not to interpoſe. This being made known to the *Moor*, he thereupon apprehended that his Defence being caſt aſide, he might be condemned as an Enemy or Contumacious Perſon, and ſo at length be ſurprized and ſlain: To prevent which if poſſible he revolted, and with a Diadem aſſumed the Title of King.

Theodoſius ſent againſt him.

92. It was thought convenient to ſuppreſs him before he ſhould grow too ſtrong; and to this work was *Theodoſius* appointed, with no great Force taken out of the Souldiers called *Comitatenſes*, bearing ſtill the Dignity of *Magiſter Militum*; a Man (*Ammianus* tells us) of greateſt Eminency in thoſe days, and to be compared with *Domitius Corbulo* and *Luſius*, whereof the one in the days of *Nero*, and the other under *Trajan*, were famous for many gallant Actions. Departing from *Arles* he paſſed the Sea, preventing all noiſe of his coming, and landed at a place called *Igilgitanum*, belonging to that Province known by the name of *Mauritania Sitifenſis*. There by accident he found *Romanus*, whom, without taxing him with any Miſdemeanour, he ſent away to put in order the Foreguards, and he being gone into that part of *Mauritania* called *Cæſarienſis*, he diſpatched away *Gildo* the Brother

of *Firmus*, who yet continued in obedience to the *Romans*, together with one *Maximus*, to apprehend *Vincentius*, who having ſerved as the Deputy of *Romanus*, had been Partaker with him in his Villanies and Rapines. But when all his men were come over, he haſted to *Sitifis*, and gave order that *Romanus* ſhould be taken into cuſtody by the *Protectors*. While he lay in the Town he was ſomething perplexed in his thoughts what courſe to take for his men, that had been accuſtomed to cold Climates, and were now come into an hot Countrey, as alſo what way he ſhould lead them; and he knew not well how to manage his buſineſs with the Enemy, or any way entrap him, who was uſed to flie to and fro, and not engage but in ſudden Onſets. However *Firmus* was ſore diſmayed at the coming of ſo eminent a Captain, and betook himſelf to Intreaties both by Meſſengers and Letters, craving pardon for what was paſt; which he would not take upon him to defend, but was driven to it by intolerable Injuries, the truth of which he would engage to make good. *Theodoſius* thought fit to comply with him, and promiſed him pardon upon receipt of Hoſtages, which having declared he went to the Muſter of the Forces belonging to the Dioceſe of *Africk* at *Panchariana*, where he had appointed the Rendezvouz: There he cheared the Minds of the Souldiers by good words accommodated to the Exigency of Affairs, and then returned to *Sitifis*, now deſirous of ſome Action. For he had wrought a good Correſpondence betwixt the Souldiers of the Dioceſe and thoſe he brought over; and he had got the love of the Countrey by his obliging Carriage; and this thing in particular, that he would not ſuffer it to be burthened with the Maintenance of the Army, uſing this Expreſſion, that *The Harveſts and Stores of an Enemy are the Granaries of Valiant men.* But beſides his Civil Demeanour, the Emperour himſelf at this time ſeems to have courted in ſome meaſure the Military Men of this Countrey. For there's an Edict extant directed about this time to theſe *Moors* of *Sitifis*, of whom *Ammianus* ſo often ſpeaks, whereby he declares, that if any one was found to have ſerved five years in the Army, and had well demeaned himſelf, though his Grandfather and Father both had been *Decuriones*, yet he ſhould be himſelf free from the *Nexus Curialis*, as it was termed, or Service of Corporations, but not his Children; and the diligence of twenty five years in the attendance of the Judges of Provinces, ſhould onely capacitate a man to obtain that Privilege. Reaſon there was indeed that *Valentinian* ſhould pleaſe the Souldiers in ſo critical a time, rather than any other ſort of perſons; but much more there was to reconcile all Parties to him, if what *Zoſimus* writes be true, that the *Moors* themſelves revolted, and put the Purple upon *Firmus*, out of Impatience that they were haraſſed by the Rapines of *Romanus*. He adds, that the Report hereof diſturbing *Valentinian*, with all ſpeed he cauſed certain Troops, which lay in *Pannonia* and the upper *Myſia*, to quit their Poſts, and paſs over into *Africk*.

L.6. de re militari, Cod.Th. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

Lib.4.p.744.

He defeats two Nations of *Africk*.

93. *Theodoſius* from *Sitifis* marched to a place called *Tubuſuptius*, adjoyning to the Mountain *Ferratus*, and there he diſcovered the Treachery of *Firmus*, who thither ſent to him other Meſſengers, but without any Hoſtages, as had been agreed. Refuſing to hearken to what they delivered, after full deliberation he reſolved to fall with ſpeed upon the Nations of the *Tyndenſes* and *Maſiniſſenſes*, who were but meanly armed, and commanded by *Maſcizel* and *Dius*, two other Brothers of *Firmus*. He eaſily worſted and made great Slaughter of them; which done, he waſted the Countrey, and razed the Borough of *Petra*, built lately by *Salmaces* another Brother, in the Shew of a City. Encouraged by this Succeſs, with wonderful Celerity he went and poſſeſſed himſelf of another conſiderable Town, where he cauſed to be laid up Plenty of Proviſions, that in caſe he made further progreſs into the Inland Countries, he might have a Store much nearer at hand. In the mean time *Maſcizel* rallied his broken Forces, and venturing a ſecond time to engage, received another Defeat, hardly eſcaping with his Life by the ſwiftneſs of his Horſe; which *Firmus* hearing, and conſidering with himſelf how he had now loſt two Battels, ſent ſome Chriſtian Biſhops to intercede for him, accompanied with the Hoſtages he had formerly promiſed. The General courteouſly received them, eſpecially upon promiſe that his Men ſhould be ſupplied with Proviſions, and gave them ſo good an Anſwer, that the *Moor* having ſent ſome Preſents before him ventured to give him a Viſit, but upon an Horſe he thought might bring him off, if he liked not the Prelude of his Entertainment: Yet amazed at the Majeſty of the *Roman* Empire, which appeared in the glittering of the Enſigns, and eſpecially in the face and demeanour of *Theodoſius*, he alighted from his Horſe, and bowing himſelf near to the ground, with tears bewailed his Folly and Raſhneſs, and begged pardon for his

Firmus comes in perſon and begs pardon.

Offence. Becauſe it behooved the State of Affairs that it ſhould be ſo, he received him with a Kiſs, as the Emperours were wont to do Governours of Provinces; and now being full of hope, he procured Neceſſaries to be brought to the Army, and leaving his Hoſtages departed, promiſing alſo to ſend back the Priſoners he had taken when he firſt revolted. And within two days he ſurrendred *Icoſium*, together with the Military Enſigns, and other things he had taken, amongſt which was a Sacerdotal Crown, for the Pagan Prieſts were wont to wear ſuch Golden Ornaments. The General proceeded to a place called *Tipaſa*, where the Embaſſadors of the *Mazices* met him, who had joyned with *Firmus* in his Revolt; to whom when they begged pardon, he gave no more comfortable Anſwer than this, that he would make War upon them, and with that comfortable Meſſage bid them return into their own Countrey.

Hearing that *Firmus* meant deceitfully, he marches to ſecure himſelf and the Army.

94. Thence marched he to *Cæſarea*, a wealthy and noble City in former times, which now finding waſte and deſolate, he therein beſtowed the Firſt and Second Legions, to put it into order, and fence it againſt any freſh Attempt of the Barbarians. While yet he continued in this Town, he had ſo good Intelligence, as fully to diſcover that *Firmus* meant nothing leſs than Peace, and onely watched for an opportunity by an unexpected Attacque to deſtroy him and his Army, whereupon he proceeded and took up his Quarters at *Sugabarri*, a Town of *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*, where he ſeized on the fourth Cohort of the *Sagittarii*, that had revolted to the Rebels, whom (to ſhew himſelf no way cruel) he onely puniſhed by depoſing them to the loweſt Service in the Field, (a courſe of Diſcipline we formerly obſerved uſual with the *Romans*) and commanded them with part of the Regiment of Foot called *Conſtantiani* to come to *Tigaviæ*, (another Town of the ſame *Mauritania*) together with the Tribunes, of whom one had put a Wreath inſtead of a Diadem about the Head of *Firmus*. He animadverted upon them, as alſo on *Bellenes* and *Fericius*, two principal men amongſt the *Mazices*, whom being brought Priſoners by *Gildo* and *Maximus*, he cauſed to be put to death. This wholeſom Severity ſhewn, he took and razed a Fort named *Gaionatis*, which having a ſtrong Wall about it, was the ſecureſt Refuge of the *Moors*; and this done, he went forward to the Caſtle of *Tingitanum*, and by way of the Mountain *Ancorarius* fell upon the *Mazices*, who were gathered together in one Body; and being indeed an hardy People, made at firſt a vigorous Reſiſtance, but were overthrown and all put to the Sword, except ſuch as cried for Quarter after they had made a Retreat, which (the time requiring it) was granted them. But for all this ſo great Multitudes of the *Moors* from other Quarters poured themſelves down upon him, that being but three thouſand five hundred ſtrong, he thought not fit to hazard the Emperours Army againſt ſuch Numbers, and therefore keeping a mean betwixt a Fight and a Flight, he gave ground, and by degrees retired. Hereat the Enemy took ſuch heart, that they purſued and ſtopt up the Paſſages ſo, that all the *Romans* had been loſt; but that by an happy miſtake the *Moors* took ſome of their own Countrey-men for a freſh Supply come in to *Theodoſius*, becauſe they ſaw ſome *Romans* at the Head of them. Affrighted hereat they fled, and opened the Paſſages in ſuch manner that his Men eſcaped.

Is in danger of being deſtroyed.

Being overpowered by Numbers he betakes himſelf to craft, and breaks the Enemy by delaying.

95. *Theodoſius* made a ſafe Retreat to a place called *Muzucanum*, where perceiving on what terms the matter ſtood, he reſolved his buſineſs lay not in the Field at preſent, but that he muſt betake himſelf to the Arts and Stratagems of *Fabius Maximus*. He ſent ſome that were expert in the Art of Perſuaſion, to draw the Neighbouring Nations into an Aſſociation, partly by good words and partly by threatnings; and herewith drew out the time in length, and broke them by delays, as *Pompey* overcame *Mithridates*. For *Firmus* ſenſible hereof, though he was ſufficiently provided of Guards, yet quitted the Field, together with thoſe Multitudes he had with charge and pains brought together; and taking opportunity of a ſtill and dark night retired toward the Mountains *Caprarienſes*, at a great diſtance, and by reaſon of the craggy Rocks and Precipices, for the moſt part inacceſſible. The Multitude amazed at his departure, and now without an Head, ſoon was ſcattered, by which means *Theodoſius* ſeized upon his Camp, and when he had waſted the Countrey at his pleaſure, ſet over the ſeveral parts thereof ſuch Governours as he could truſt. *Firmus* heard that he purſued him, and to eſcape his hands, with a few Servants made all the haſte he could to be out of danger; for which purpoſe he caſt away his moſt precious things he had brought along with him, that they might not hinder his Flight. But for all this the *Moors* rallied again, and

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and having poſſeſſed the Hills, took advantage of a Truce they had obtained of the General in his Return, to provide themſelves of a great Supply of the neighbouring *Æthiopians*, who in ſuch heaps ruſhed upon him, that he was again glad to retire, though his men ſtruck their Bucklers againſt their Knees, and earneſtly deſired to try their Fortune with them. He went and took a Fort, where *Firmus* had beſtowed the *Roman* Priſoners, whom ſetting at liberty, he puniſhed thoſe that had been the Betrayers and Keepers of them. Now he had Intelligence, that *Firmus* himſelf was fled into the Country of the *Iſaflenſes*, whither therefore he reſolved to purſue him, and he demanded him, together with his Brother *Mazaca* and others, to be given up into his hands. This they ſtoutly refuſed, and not onely ſo, but very malapertly inſulted with their numerous Forces, whom yet he ventured to engage, and that with ſuch Succeſs, that after a total Rout, though *Firmus* eſcaped very difficultly, yet was his Brother *Mazaca* taken Priſoner, and ſo dangerouſly wounded, that he died as ſoon as he was dreſſed. The General after this Victory thought fit to animadvert upon the *Iſaflenſes*, whom he puniſhed ſeveral ways. *Euaſius* an Eminent Perſon amongſt them, with *Florus* his Son, and ſome others openly convicted to have ſided with the Rebels, he cauſed to be burnt alive.

96. Yet did not this ſo much diſcourage *Firmus*, but being again ſore pinched by *Theodoſius*, he fled unto them for ſuccour a ſecond time; and *Igmazen* a King of thoſe Tracts, very rich and potent, when the *Roman* General purſued him, bore himſelf very high and ſawcily againſt him in his behalf: For he made ſo far bold as to confront him, and demand what he was, and what his buſineſs was there. He anſwered, That he was an Officer of *Valentinian* the Lord of the World, ſent thither by him to ſuppreſs a Robber or Thief, whom except he would ſpeedily deliver up into his hands, he ſhould utterly periſh together with the Nation he ruled. *Igmazen* yet could not forbear Reviling him; and away he went in very great wrath. The next morning betimes he preſented him with the ſight of near twenty thouſand men in a Front, behind whom ſtood great numbers of Auxiliaries, and amongſt them were the *Jeſſaleni*, though they had promiſed the *Romans* a ſupply both of Men and Victuals. The *Romans* were a ſmall Company in compariſon of them, but encouraged by former ſucceſs, took good heart, and placing their Flanks cloſe together, fitted their Targets in the ſame manner one to another and therewith making a kind of Rampart, ſtood their ground, and defended themſelves. From morning to night the Fight laſted, and when it grew towards the evening *Firmus* appeared upon a tall Courſer, and with a loud voice endeavoured to perſuade the *Romans* to deliver up their General, who, he affirmed, ought to be abhorred by them as a Bloudy Man. And though his words upon ſome had no other effect than to provoke them the more to fight, yet others thereupon left the Field. Therefore when it was dark, and there was no fighting, did *Theodoſius* draw off to a Caſtle not far diſtant, where he muſtered his Men, and ſuch of them as Fear and the Words of *Firmus* had cauſed to quit their Stations, he puniſhed ſeveral ways, ſome by cutting off their right hands, and others by burning them alive. Very careful he was all the night to ſecure himſelf againſt the Attempts of the Enemy, of whom thoſe who adventured to ſet upon the Camp, he either forced to retreat, or took them Priſoners.

97. Thence with haſte he departed, and fell upon the *Jeſſalenſes* by ſuch ways as they little expected, and having utterly waſted their Country, by the way of *Mauritania Cæſarienſis* he returned to *Sitifis*, where after great Tortures almoſt to death, he cauſed to be burnt *Caſtor* and *Martinianus*, who had been great Aſſiſtants to *Romanus* in his Rapines. Not long after he turned his Arms again upon the *Iſaflenſes*, and at the very firſt made great ſlaughter of them, which ſo diſordered *Igmazen* the King, who had not been wont to be beaten, that conſidering in what danger his Affairs ſtood, and into what miſchief he ſhould force them if he continued obſtinate, he ſecretly withdrew himſelf out of the Army, and humbly beſought *Theodoſius*, that *Maſilla*, a principal man amongſt the *Mazices*, might come to him. By him he held Correſpondence with him, and adviſed him by frequent Skirmiſhes to tire out his *Iſaflenſes*, ſo that he might more eaſily draw them off from the Intereſt of *Firmus*, to which they were very much inclined. The General obſerved his Directions, and by frequent Alarms ſo wearied them, that they ran away man by man, and *Firmus* having lurked here and there, when he conſidered how and whither to make his Eſcape, was ſtopt and ſecured by *Igmazen*. He now underſtood how matters had been carried by *Maſilla*, and perceiving there was no hope of better

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Firmus driven to ſuch ſtraits, that he hangs himſelf.

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ter Fortune, he reſolved to deſpiſe that Life which he could not ſecure, and therefore having drunk plenty of Wine, (a courſe often uſed by ſuch as were reſolved to lay violent hands upon themſelves) when his Keepers were faſt aſleep, by reaſon they had taken as great a doſe, he roſe from his bed, and creeping on all four found a Cord, which happened to be ready for his purpoſe, and putting it upon a Nail that ſtuck in the Wall, therewith he hanged himſelf, to the great grief of *Igmazen:* For he ſorrowed much, that he was deprived of the glory of carrying him alive to the *Roman* Camp; but however reſolving to make as much advantage as the occaſion would permit, he laid the Body upon a Camel, and having got ſafe Conduct by means of *Maſilla*, went and preſented it to *Theodoſius*, having ſhifted it to a Pack Horſe. The General joyfully received it, and in a Triumphant manner returned to *Sitifis*, where he was ſolemnly and joyfully received by all ſorts of People.

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Vide Valeſii Annot. in Ammian. l. 29.

Theodoſius after all his Services was put to death.

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98. Such is the Account *Ammianus* gives us of the Arms of *Theodoſius*, but what became of the General himſelf after his Victories he tells us not; either out of reſpect to his Son the Emperour, in whoſe time he wrote; or out of forgetfulneſs, or elſe the Copies we now uſe are defective. But what is omitted by him, or obliterated in his Books, we muſt by no means paſs by, that this *Theodoſius*, after all his brave Atchievments in *Africk*, was upon the malicious Suggeſtions of certain Courtiers put to death, which he generouſly underwent, after he had (according to his own earneſt deſire) been baptized at *Carthage*. But this happened four or five years after, according to the courſe of the Hiſtory we purſue, which, having in an uninterrupted Method delivered what we can ſay of *Firmus* his Rebellion, brings us back to the Motions of the Northern Nations, upon account of which we ſaid ſeveral Laws had been made. For whileſt *Theodoſius* was ſo Imployed in *Africk*, the *Quadi* ſuddenly took Arms, a People at this time not much to be feared, but very formidable in former Ages; witneſs the Seige of *Aquileia*, carried on by them and the *Marcomanni*, the razing of *Opitergium*, and many other Bloudy Actions performed by them, to which with great difficulty a ſtop was put in *Diocleſians* days by *Maricus*, who to meet them brake through the *Julian Alpes*. But at this time whereof we write, they had too great cauſe of complaint and quarrel. *Valentinian* from his very firſt coming to the Government, had burnt with a generous indeed, but extravagant deſire of fortifying the Limits of the Empire. To this purpoſe he built Caſtles and Forts, as in other places, ſo beyond the River *Iſter*, upon the very Lands of the *Quadi*, as if they had been under his own Dominion; at which they were very much diſcontented, and to remove the Eye-ſore did what they could by Meſſages to hinder the Proſecution of his Deſign. But *Maximinus* that cruel Incendiary, of whom we have already too much ſpoken, being now advanced to the *Præfectſhip*, and tranſported partly by his Pride thereupon, and his natural humour of Domineering, by Letters rebuked *Æquitius*, who was then *Magiſter Militum* in *Illyricum*, as a careleſs and improvident perſon, that the work was not performed; and he bragged, that if his little Son *Marcellianus* was but made a *Dux* in *Valeria*, the Fort would in a ſhort time be finiſhed. And his Son *Marcellianus* was accordingly advanced to that Command, and not at all degenerating from his Fathers high-flown Humour, renewed the Work, which for ſome time had been intermitted. Hereat *Gabinius* their King much concerned himſelf, and in modeſt terms deſired, that no cauſe might be given of Jealouſie and Diſcontent betwixt his People and the Subjects of the Empire. *Marcellianus* ſeemed to like well of what he urged and invited him with others to a Feaſt; but breaking all the Laws of Hoſpitality cauſed him to be made away ere he departed.

Valentinian diſobliges the *Quadi*.

Quod ſi parvo ſuo Marcelliano deferretur poteſtas, &c.

Gabinius their King perfidiouſly murdered.

Thereupon they and other Nations break into the *Roman* Territories.

99. This put not onely the *Quadi*, but all the neighbouring Nations into a mighty rage, who bewailing the Kings death fell ſpeedily into the *Roman* Pale in the time of Harveſt, and ſo unexpectedly attacqued the Reapers, that they made great Slaughter of them; which done, they repaſſed the *Danube* with very large Booty. And it miſſed but little, that the Daughter of *Conſtantius*, as ſhe was at Dinner in thoſe Quarters, being on her way in order to be married to *Gratian*, had been ſurprized by them; but *Meſſala* Governour of the Province attending her, in good time put her into a Chariot, and with all ſpeed imaginable conveyed her to *Sirmium*, twenty ſix miles diſtant from that place. Here was now reſident *Probus* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, ſo much talked of, a man ſo little acquainted with the Attendants of War, that he was out of meaſure affrighted at the Slaughters and Rapines he now heard committed, and ſcarcely able to look up, prepared him ſwift Horſes to make an Eſcape: But he was (though with much difficulty) prevailed with to ſtay;

for

Probus the *Præfectus Prætorio* aſhamed to fly fortifies *Sirmium*.

for they laid before him how upon his departure the whole Garriſon would quit the place, which muſt thence neceſſarily fall into the Enemies hands. Since he could not without ſhame remove, he reſolved to ſecure himſelf as well as he could by Fortifying the City. He ſcoured the Ditches that were choked up, and being naturally given to Building, he repaired the Walls, which in ſo long a time of Peace, had been utterly neglected, and were run to ruine, defraying the Charges thereof out of the Money laid up for building of a Theatre. Beſides this he ſeaſonably ſent for a Cohort of the *Sagittarii*, which lay in the very next Station, to aſſiſt in caſe of a Siege; which, the Barbarians duly conſidering all Circumſtances, thought not fit to lay to the City. Their intent was to hunt and proſecute *Æquitius*, who (as their Intelligence gave them to underſtand) was the Contriver of *Gabinius* his Death; and they reſolved to purſue him into the far diſtant Parts of *Valeria*. In their way they were encountered by the two Legions *Pannonia* and *Mæſiaca*, both which made up a conſiderable Army, and ſuch as had they been unanimous, would have proved invincible. But whereas Conſent and Union were the onely means to make them Victorious, they fell into contention about Honour and Precedence, which the *Sarmatæ* were not ſo dull but ſpeedily to apprehend; and therefore without ſtaying for the ſolemn ſign of Battel, they firſt ſet upon the *Mæſiacan* Legion, which ſo little expected any ſuch matter, that very many of them were killed before they could buckle on their Armour. Animated by ſo great ſucceſs, they then attacqued the *Pannonian*, and putting it to the rout, deſtroyed all whom ſpeedy flight had not conveyed beyond danger.

The Enemy cuts off two Legions.

Young *Theodoſius*, Son to him lately mentioned, notably defeats the free *Sarmatæ*.

100. Whileſt theſe Legions had through their own folly ſo ill ſucceſs againſt ſome of the *Sarmatians*, the Army that fought under *Theodoſius* the *Dux* of *Mæſia*, a very young man, (who afterward arrived at the Imperial Dignity) by the good Conduct of their General, whoſe Wiſdom and Courage exceeded his Years, got notable Advantages againſt ſuch of that Nation as were termed Free Men, (in oppoſition to the Slaves of whom we ſpake formerly) who having invaded the *Roman* Pale, were often worſted by him; and though Numbers of them flocked about him, and imagined they ſhould overpower him, yet ſtill had he the better; and if you will have the Expreſſion of *Ammianus*, ſo great a Slaughter he made, as therewith to ſatisfie the ravenous Appetites both of Birds and Beaſts. The Barbarians then finding that no good was to be done, but that notwithſtanding all their Attempts they were ſtill beaten back, deſired Peace; which having obtained, they for ſome time obſerved, being kept in awe by a great ſupply of *Gallican* Souldiers, which were ſent for defence of *Illyricum*. While theſe Diſorders happened in the Northern Quarters, in the Southern little Diſturbance was made, but by the River *Tiber*, which by reaſon of exceſſive Rains ſwelled to an extravagant proportion. All the lower parts of *Rome* it overwhelmed, while the Hills themſelves ſeemed to apprehend a danger; to which the Inhabitants having fled, were thither purſued by Famine, and late enough reſcued from its Violence by Proviſions carried to them in Boats from the neighbouring Parts. This ſeaſonable Supply doubtleſs they ought in a good meaſure to the care and vigilance of *Claudius* their *Præfect*, who carried himſelf in his place with great temper and ſerenity, and reſtored many things which had been by the force of Time brought into diſuſe. Amongſt others he raiſed the *Porticus*, which had its name from *Good Event*, adjoyning to a Temple ſo called in the North Region of the City, near to the Baths of *Agrippa*. Such is the continued *ſeries* of theſe Affairs, as they are related by *Ammianus*, who hath herein tranſported us too far; for when the Commotions began in *Africk* about the Revolt of *Firmus*, *Ampelius* (as we ſaid) or elſe *Bapo* was *Præfect* of *Rome*, and not *Claudius*, whoſe Government happened ſometime after.

Tiber overflows to an extraordinary proportion.

Bonum Eventum præcipuè colebant Agricolæ.

Valentinian reforms an Abuſe in the Army concerning the *Adcreſcentes*.

L. 11. de re Militari, Cod. Tr. l. 7. tit. 1. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

101. To reaſſume therefore Civil Matters where we left them, when we began to ſpeak of the *African* Wars, ſeveral other matters of conſequence we find done this Year, as well by the one Brother as the other. *Valentinian* having a conſtant Eye upon the Northern Enemies, and for that purpoſe having imployed *Severus* the *Magiſter Peditum* againſt *Macrianus* King of the *Allemans*, found reaſon to reform an Abuſe he perceived in his Army. There were thoſe they called *Adcreſcentes* in every Regiment, who (as we have already ſaid) were Supernumerary Souldiers; or rather being liſted in the Army never fought, but were in readineſs to ſucceed ſuch Souldiers as died or were diſmiſſed. Some of theſe were not as yet fully grown or fit to bear Arms, but were exerciſed by the Officers of the Camp, though others of them were able enough for Service, and both ſorts were wont to be provided for at the Publick Charge. But the Emperour now, to ſave Char-

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*l.*1.*de Præfect. Præt. ſive Urbis*,*Cod.Th.l.*6.*tit.*7.

*L.*1.*Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. hinc deſumpta.*

Publiſhes a Conſtitution about the Place and Precedence of his great Officers.

ges ſo ill beſtowed upon unſerviceable perſons, by an Edict directed to *Severus* commands, That no Maintenance be allowed to the firſt or younger ſort out of“ the Publick Stores, but that till they be able to bear Arms they be ſupplied with“ Neceſſaries by their Parents. While he lay at *Naſonacum* he directed a large Conſtitution to *Ampelius* the *Præfect* of *Rome*, concerning the Rank and Place of the greateſt Officers. Thereby he declares the *Præfect* of the City, the *Præfectus*“ *Prætorio*, and a *Magiſter Militum* to be equal in Degree and Dignity; for as“ yet there were onely theſe three which were *Illuſtrious* by peculiar Title, neither“ till now was the *Magiſter Militum* equal with the other two. But he now“ thought fit to confer on all the like Degree with this Caution, That after the Diſcharge“ of their Offices, and their returning to a Private Life, they ſhould take“ place of one another according to their Seniority in their Imployments, or the“ Dates of their Patents, like as they had done when they were in Power. This“ Rule he would have obſerved when they met upon the Bench of any Judge,“ when they ſaluted the Governour of a Province, or at any ordinary Aſſemblies;“ but not in the Senate Houſe, or at his Privy Council, where he would have the“ ancient Laws about Precedence to be in force. For, the *Honorati*, or thoſe who“ had born Offices, were permitted to ſit with the Judges of Provinces in their *Secretaria*,“ or places of Judicature, and to be preſent in the Senate and other Publick“ Meetings. And whereas *Valentinian* makes mention of other Rules of Precedence of ancient Date in the Senate Houſe, but tells us not what they were; we may well believe that the Cuſtom was for the *Præfect* of the City, and the *Præfectus Prætorio*, to take place in a Civil Aſſembly (as Civil Magiſtrates) of the *Magiſter Militum*; the *Præfect* of the City firſt, as the Head of the Senate in thoſe days.

*L.*1. *de Quæſtoribus*,&c. *Cod. Th.l.*6. *tit.* 9. *Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.*

L.un.de Magiſtris Scriniorum,*Cod.Th.l. eod.tit.* 11.

*L.*1.*de Comitibus Rei Militaris*,*Cod.Th.l.* 6.*tit.*14.

*L.*4. *de Honorariis Codicillis*, *Cod.Th.l.*6. *tit.*22.

102. Such was the Order he would have obſerved amongſt thoſe great Officers of the City and Provinces. By another part of this Conſtitution he ſettles the matter“ of Precedence betwixt ſuch as gave him their conſtant Attendance in the Palace,“ declaring that the *Quæſtor*, the *Magiſter Officiorum*, and the two *Comites*“ *Largitionum*, ſhould take place of *Proconſuls*, which till the making of this Law“ they had not done. In the third place he provides, that the *Magiſtri Scriniorum*“ (*viz.* the *Magiſter Memoriæ*, *Epiſtolarum*, and *Libellorum*, to whom afterward“ was added the *Magiſter Diſpoſitionum*) ſhould precede all *Vicars* of *Præfects*, a“ Privilege which had not formerly belonged to them, which equalled them with“ *Proconſuls* and Governours of Provinces, above whom ſhortly after they were alſo“ advanced. And whereas there were many deſerving Commanders in his Armies,“ who being as it were the Deputies of the *Magiſtri Militum*, were termed“ *Comites Rei Militaris*, and appointed to defend ſome particular Provinces of the“ Empire. Such of theſe Perſons as had been ſo imployed in Parts beyond the Seas,“ (by which are to be underſtood in this Age the Provinces of *Africk* in reſpect to“ *Italy* and *Rome* eſpecially; and alſo theſe Provinces of *Britain*) and had already obtained“ to be *Comites* of the firſt Rank, ſhould take place next to or near *Proconſuls*.“ It was thought to be a matter of greateſt Merit to have commanded Armies in places that were barren, dry, difficult of Acceſs, and far ſeparated from any Succour; for even ſuch as had been ſent on a Meſſage to the Emperour from beyond the Seas, were excuſed from Duties for two years ſpace. Theſe *Comites* in particular were he of *Africk*, as lately *Romanus*, the other of *Tingitana*, of *Britain*, and of the *Littus Saxonicum*, or Saxon Shore here in this Iſland. Theſe often were advanced to be *Magiſtri Militum*, but by no means are to be confounded with them, who by Dignity were *Illuſtrious*; for they were ſubject to their Command as well as the other *Comites Rei Militaris* of the Provinces, whom they onely excelled in having ſome of them obtained to be *Comites* of the firſt Rank, but ſtill by Dignity were but *Spectabiles*. In the laſt place the Emperour Ordains, That ſuch“ as by Codicils or Letters had obtained the Titular Dignity of *Magiſtri Equitum*,“ ſhould in like manner be inferiour to ſuch as were practically, or by Office *Proconſuls*,“ the Dignity of whom was very great. Theſe are the ſeveral parts of this Conſtitution directed to *Ampelius*, at whoſe inſtance it ſeems to have been made, for he himſelf paſſed through moſt of theſe Imployments.

Valens provides for the Citizens of *Conſtantinople* in ſeveral reſpects.

103. As *Valentinian* provided for the Dignity and Precedence of his principal Officers, ſo this ſame year did his Brother *Valens* much conſult the Encouragement and Advantage of the Citizens of *Conſtantinople*, and that various ways by one and the ſame Conſtitution, (though divided now into ſeveral Laws) directed to *Clearchus* the *Præfect* of that City. In the firſt part thereof he provides, That none“ ſhould

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ſhould ſell the *Annona Civica*, or the ſhare of the Publick Bread, but it ſhould become“ void by ſuch Sale, and ſome other of the ſame Rank be capable of having“ that Allowance, not thoſe of any other Rank: For whereas there were three ſeveral“ ſorts of Men that had this Allowance, *viz.* thoſe called *Populares*, or of the“ People, *Militares* or Souldiers, and *Palatini* or ſuch as ſerved the Emperour in his“ Palace, he forbids that any Confuſion be made by the Aſſignation of what belonged“ to one ſort to another. Hereby he conſulted for the Maintenance of the Inhabitants, that the Publick Allowance ſhould not be appropriated to unfit or undeſerving Perſons: And he further took care for the Improvement of their Knowledge and Ornament of their Minds. Near twenty years before, *Conſtantius* had erected a Publick Library in this City, and appointed a Keeper or *Curator* of it, with ſome under-Officers and a Publick Stipend; for which he is much commended by *Themiſtius*. But further by this Conſtitution *Valens* appoints to the well ordering“ and management of it ſeven others by the name of *Antiquaries*, for the making“ up of new Books, and mending of the old. Of theſe four were to be *Greeks*,“ and three that ſpake and wrote in the *Latin* Tongue; the greater number of“ the firſt kind, becauſe *Greek* was the Language of the place, and there were more“ Books compoſed in that than in the other. And for their Maintenance he aſſigns“ them a Portion of the *Popularis Annona*, which was taken back to the publick Granaries“ by the death of the former Poſſeſſors, or any other voidance; foraſmuch as“ he ſays that they alſo had Title to it, being of the Body of the People. Further, for the better keeping of the ſaid Library he Ordains, That there be appointed to that Charge other under-Officers by the name of *Conditionales*, ſo called as others were, for that by reaſon of their *Condition* they were ſubject to Queſtions and Tortures. In the laſt place, as for the Maintenance and Studies of the Inhabitants of this City, ſo he provides for their Pleaſure and Recreation: Whereas heretofore the *Prætors* had obſerved no certain day for entering their Office, and celebrating the uſual Games, but were wont to ſhift it off from one time to another; he ordains expreſly,“ That New Years Day, or the *Calends* of *January*, ſhall be the Day to be obſerved“ by them all four, upon pain of forfeiting half as much more as the Charge of“ the Paſtimes they were to be at. He might think them the more obliged to do“ this, becauſe ſcarcely a moneth before for their Encouragement he had ordered,“ That out of his own Stables four and twenty Horſes ſhould be lent to thoſe two of“ them, who were at the greateſt Expence for exhibiting their *Curule* Games.“ About four moneths after in this ſame Year his Brother *Valentinian* publiſhed an“ Edict, for the ſearch after ſuch as abſented themſelves by reaſon of the Expence,“ and the leſſening of the Charge; requiring that the Senate, which had petitioned“ him in this matter, ſhould report to him the Wealth and Sufficiency of each perſon“ choſen to that Office, that he might determine of it according to the Ability of“ the Party.

L.7. de Annonis Civicis, &c. Cod.Th. l. 14.tit.17. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

L.2. de Studiis liberalibus urbis Romæ, Cod. Th. l.14.tit.9. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

L.20. de Prætoribus, Cod.Th. Dat. 8 Id. Maii

L.19. de Prætorib. Dat. Id. April. ad Senatum.

L.21. de Prætorib. Dat. 11 Cal. Sept. Naſonaci ad Bapponem. P. V.

Is indulgent to the *Navicularii.*

104. As *Valens* found reaſon to be indulgent towards the Inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*, ſo alſo to give relief to the Body of the *Navicularii*, who brought them their Proviſions, in caſe a Shipwreck happened without their fault: In ſuch a caſe the *Navicularius* is required to betake himſelf immediately to the Judge of the“ Province, where the matter was in Controverſie, and there prove the Shipwreck“ before him by Witneſſes, whether Strangers that ſaw the Misfortune, or by Mariners,“ who were ſubject to Examination. Then was a Report thereof to be made“ to the *Præfectus Prætorio*, particularly to *Modeſtus* of the Eaſt, to whom this“ Law is directed; but the buſineſs to be tranſacted within the ſpace of one Year,“ which was thought large enough for Ships that ſailed from *Syria Phœnice* or *Syria*“ *Cœle*. For, this Law was publiſhed at *Berytus*, a moſt Eminent City of the former in other reſpects, and for that a very rich Trade was driven from hence of very choice Merchandize ſent to the Court, as of Purple, Silks, and other things; ſo that though *Tyre* was now the chief City and Seat of the *Conſularis*, yet were Laws ſent thither to be publiſhed: And at this time *Valens* lay at *Antioch* in *Syria Cœle*, or at *Seleucia*, not far diſtant from it. Thus we ſee how indulgent *Valens* was at this time to ſeveral ſorts of his Subjects, but in the mean time he forgot not the publick Revenue, and Service due to the Commonwealth. For not long after was another Edict publiſhed at *Berytus*, from him directed to *Leontius* the *Conſularis* of *Phœnice*, requiring that all Merchants whatſoever ſhould pay the Gold or *Luſtralis*“ *Collatio*, as well ſuch as traded in Purple as others; giving this reaſon, that Immunities“ granted to ſome perſons were injurious to the People in general. Now ſo great was the eſteem of Purple, and thoſe other ſorts of Wares, that it procured to the Mer-

L.1. de Navicularis, Cod. Th. l.13. tit.9. & L.2. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. ubi quàm hallucinatus eſt Tribonianus, vide in Com.

Requires the *Luſtralis Collatio* of all Merchants.

L.9. de Luſtrali Collatione, Cod.Th. l.13. tit.1. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

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L.L.6,7. de Murilegulis, Cod. Th.l. 10. tit. 20. & Cod. Juſt.l. 5. eod. tit.

Merchants as conſiderable Privileges; which now *Valens* thought fit to recall, and by two other Laws under ſevere Penalties he forbade at the ſame time private per-“ſons to entertain or conceal ſuch as wove or made up the Clothes that were provided“ for his Souldiers.

The fourth Conſulſhip of *Valentinian* and *Valens.*

A.D. 373. *Valentiniano & Valente A.A.4 Coſs.*

Ammian. l.30.

105. The next Year, which was the CCCLXXIII of our Lord, had for Conſuls *Valentinian* and *Valens* the fourth time; it being the tenth of their Reign. *Valentinian* ſeems to have reſided at *Milan*, and *Valens* at *Conſtantinople.* While ſuch Miſchiefs happened as followed the Death of the King of *Quadi*, ſlain by the Treachery of the *Roman* Captain, another Diſaſter fell out in the Eaſt, occaſioned by the Treacherous Murder alſo of *Paras* the King of *Armenia.* There were ſome turbulent Perſons, amongſt whom one *Terentius*, a *Dux* of the neighbouring Parts, who never ceaſed to write to the Court ſtrange things againſt him, though he was now arrived at Mans Eſtate, and ſtill inculcating the Death of *Cylax* and *Artabannes*, affirmed him inſolent and a great Oppreſſor of the People. Hereupon, as deſigning ſtrange matters in his Head, he was invited to *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, and being there received in an Honourable manner befitting his Dignity, was kept no otherwiſe than a Priſoner. When he perceived he was neither permitted to go to *Valens*, nor could learn from any the cauſe of his Reſtraint, it made him very ſolicitous and inquiſitive; and at length he diſcovered by ſome ſecret Intelligence, that *Terentius* had written to the *Roman* Commander to diſpatch away ſome other perſon into *Armenia*, to be King in his ſtead; leſt he going back into his Countrey, ſhould out of indignation conceived for his ill uſage, withdraw himſelf and that Countrey, from the Empire to the Alliance of the *Perſian*. Hereupon concluding with himſelf that his Deſtruction was near at hand, except he evaded it by ſudden flight, he reſolved with three hundred truſty men, who had attended him out of *Armenia*, to force his paſſage and be gone; and having very ſwift Horſes, when the day was almoſt ſpent they made their Attempt, with more Courage than Conſideration. The Governour of the Province, ſtirred up by his *Apparitor* that had Charge of the Gate, overtook him in the Suburbs, and would have perſwaded him to return; but out of fear of his own life, was glad to break off his Diſcourſe, ſo vehemently was *Paras* bent upon it. Neither had a Legion better ſucceſs that was ſent after him, againſt which he turned and made head, and ſo terrified both Tribune and Souldiers, that they made more haſte back than they had uſed in the purſuit. He was now much delivered of his Fears, but for all that made what ſpeed he could, and in two days and as many nights reached *Euphrates*; which being at a great loſs how to paſs, at length he and ſome few made a ſhift by Barrels joyned together to get to the other Bank, and the reſt ſwom over as well as they could, and after endeavoured to reach the place they deſigned. In the mean time *Valens* had notice of his Eſcape, and taking it for granted that he would renounce the Alliance, diſpatched with a thouſand Archers and other light armed men, *Daniel* and *Barzimeres*, whereof the firſt bore the Dignity of *Comes*, and the other held the place of Tribune of the *Scutarii*. They knew the Countrey very well, through which he paſſed altogether a ſtranger, and by more compendious ways overtook him, and dividing their Forces ſeized upon two Paths lying at three miles diſtance, by one of which he was to paſs: But a Traveller, who coming this way had diſcovered the Ambuſhes laid to intrap him, taking another croſs way, made known to him the danger, and lead him through that woody place to the common Road, by which he got ſafe to *Armenia*, where he was not a little joyfully received. But *Daniel* and *Barzimeres*, who had been ſent to hunt him, were as much ſcorned and derided for having thus miſſed of their Prey; which ſo greatly affected them, that to make ſome amends for their ſuppoſed Sottiſhneſs or Treachery, they caſt about how they might ſome other way deſtroy *Paras*; and to this purpoſe thought beſt to make uſe of the Credulous Humour of the Emperour, whom they made to believe that he was very expert in Inchantments, and knew thereby how to waſte and debilitate a mans Body inſenſibly, which he eaſily applied to his own Perſon. And hereupon he conceived implacable malice towards him, and conſulted daily with them or others how his Deſtruction might be brought about, either in a publick or private manner. At laſt, private Orders were ſent to *Trajan*, who in *Armenia* commanded the *Roman* Forces, to accompliſh it as well as he could; and he managed the matter with ſuch cunning, by inſinuating himſelf into his Company, frequenting his Table, and by preſenting him with kind Letters from *Valens*, that he prevailed with him to accept of a Dinner at his Houſe. An extraordinary Entertainment there was made, no want of any thing that might provoke him to eat and drink to ſuch a pitch, as would

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Paras King of *Armenia* baſely murdered.

give the Entertainer moſt fit Opportunity to bring about his Deſign, who withdrawing from the Table as forced by ſome neceſſary occaſion, ſent in a Fellow provided for the purpoſe, who cut the poor Prince in pieces, as he vainly endeavoured to defend himſelf. Thus the Table which (as our Writer obſerves) was ſacred and intaminate upon the very *Euxine* Sea, was made a Snare to him; which thing *Fabricius Luſcinus* (he who rejected the Offers of *Timochares*, or (as ſome wrote) of *Nicias* the Servant of King *Pyrrhus*, who offered to poiſon his Maſter) if dead men have any ſenſe of Humane Affairs, could not but bewail.

For which *Valens* deſervedly ſuffered in his Reputation.

106. *Valens* with all good men ſuffered loſs of Reputation by ſo unworthy an act; and yet *Sapor* the King of *Perſia* was very much afflicted upon the Report of it, conceiving he had loſt a great Opportunity of ſtrengthening his Intereſt by the Acceſſion of ſo conſiderable a Friend, as before this he doubted not but *Paras* would prove. But the *Roman* Army in theſe Quarters taking more Courage at what had happened, he thought it beſt to ſend one *Arſaces* on a Meſſage to the Emperour, to perſuade him to ruine that *Armenia*, which had been the cauſe of ſo much miſchief, or elſe to give way that the Diviſion of *Hiberia* might not be obſerved hereafter; but the *Roman* Garriſons removed, and that *Aſpacures*, whom he had preferred, might be ſuffered to reign over the *Armenians*. To this *Valens* anſwered, that he was reſolved to ſtand to the laſt Agreement, and maintain that Treaty to the utmoſt. And *Sapor* made a Reply, but when Winter was now almoſt ſpent, and that founded upon light and frivolous pretences; for he affirmed the Controverſie could not fully be decided, but by the Intervention of thoſe who were imployed by *Jovian* at that Treaty, ſome of whom he certainly knew to be dead. The Emperour upon this Meſſage thought fit to ſend away *Victor* the *Magiſter Equitum*, and *Urbicius* the *Dux* of *Meſopotamia*, towards *Perſia*, to deſire, that, as he pretended he would be content with his own Dominions, and ſuffer *Armenia* to be at its own liberty; and to aſſure him, that except he would ſuffer his men to paſs up and down as they ought, he would enter into ſuch a courſe as he was very unwilling to be forced to do. Theſe Inſtructions were good enough, had the Embaſſadours kept cloſe to them; but herein they were overſeen, that they accepted of ſome ſmall Territories in *Armenia*, which were offered to them, without any Warrant ſo to do; and not having any other thing effected, they returned home. After them was ſent the *Surenas*, the ſecond in place from the King, whoſe Offers were rejected though he himſelf was magnificently entertained; and then were great Preparations made, that *Valens* in Spring might with three Armies invade *Perſia*; to which end he ſent to purchaſe the Aſſiſtance of the Northern Nations. *Sapor* thus fruſtrated of his hope, was exaſperated above meaſure; but concealing his Indignation, when he perceived the Emperour to be Arming, he ordered the *Surenas* to reduce what had been gotten by *Victor* the *Comes*, and *Urbicius*; and to cut off if poſſible thoſe Souldiers which were appointed to the Defence of a place called *Sauromaces*, which things took effect and were not to be cured; the *Goths* at this time ſtriking a terror into thoſe who ſteered the Helm of the Empire. While theſe things happened in the Eaſt, Vindicative Juſtice (as *Ammianus* obſerves) concerned it ſelf for what Villanies had been committed in *Africk*, in relation to the Affairs of *Tripolis* lately related. Now was *Remigius*, who ſo favoured and aſſiſted *Romanus* in his extravagant acts committed in that Province, reduced to a private life, after that *Leo* was made *Magiſter Officiorum* in his ſtead, and was intent upon his Countrey Concernments about *Mogontiacum* or *Mentz*, where he was born. Being thus reduced, *Maximinus* now advanced to be *Præfectus Prætorio* deſpiſed him, and making it his buſineſs to do miſchief, laid hold on one *Cæſarius* who had been his Domeſtick, and afterward came to be Notary to the Prince, and tortured him to make him confeſs what *Remigius* did, or how much he received to be aſſiſtant to *Romanus* in his cruel Practices. *Remigius* having notice hereof, being purſued by an evil Conſcience, or overcome by fear, to prevent all other Inconveniences hanged himſelf.

Valens makes great Preparations for war with *Perſia*.

Remigius the wicked Inſtrument of *Romanus* hangs himſelf.

Valens takes care to ſecure the Lives and Fortunes of his Subjects.

107. *Valens*, however he dealt with the *Armenian Paras*, yet by ſeveral Laws at this very time, took care that his Subjects ſhould not, by any ſlight, or other indirect courſe, be deprived of their Lives or Eſtates. Therefore in caſe of Appeal “ he required that the whole Proceſs containing Evidences or Inſtruments, Acts of “ Court, Teſtimonies, Confeſſions, and all other things tranſacted in Judgment, “ ſhould be tranſmitted to him, when he himſelf was the *Judex ad quem*. More- “ over he ordained, that none ſhould be convened or judged out of his own Pro- “ vince, which muſt be underſtood when there he was to be had; otherwiſe the “

L.35. de Appellation. & Conſultation. Cod. Th. l.11. tit.30.

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Judge of one Province might ſend to another to ſeize and remit a Criminal, which had fled out of his Juriſdiction, as is evident by many Laws. But whereas by the old Law had been provided, That when one perſon accuſed another of any Crime, he was to write down his own Name, and at his peril undertake to proſecute or make good his Charge; this either through the Negligence or Cruelty of the ordinary Judges was at this time much neglected. He thought therefore to reinforce that Law by another Edict, by which he declares, That whoſoever brings into queſtion and danger, the Fame, Fortunes, Life, and Bloud of another Perſon, muſt expect the Puniſhment due to the Crime which he cannot prove. And yet further againſt Defamations he declares to be in force not onely the old Laws, (as the *Edictum perpetuum de Calumniatoribus*, the *Lex Cornelia de Injuriis*, and others) but alſo later Conſtitutions of Princes. In this ſame Edict he provides againſt raſh Accuſations, by preſſing that no Accuſer is to be heard without entring his Name, and taking the thing upon himſelf, as was lately ſaid: But eſpecially he condemns *Libels*, or Accuſations having no Name of Author affixed to them. Whatever his Practice was, ſuch were his Laws, and agreeable to them his Profeſſion made to the Senate of *Conſtantinople*, and mentioned by *Themiſtius*, that the Commonwealth laboured under a greater Burthen when oppreſſed by Calumniators, than when overpowered by Barbarians. In reference to the renewing of Appeals he alſo ordained, That the Party ſhould do it within three moneths, and thereof give notice to his Adverſary.

L.L. 10, 11. *de Accuſationibus & Inſcriptionibus, Cod. Th. l.*9. *tit.* 1.

*L.*8. *de famoſis libellis, Cod. Th. l.*9. *tit.* 34. *Vide Com.*

108. *Valentinian* this Year further concerned himſelf about the *Prætorſhip*, that chargeable and troubleſom Office incumbent upon Senators. He commands the *Prætor* to be named ten years before he ſhould come to the Charge, as the Cuſtom formerly had been; and that within five moneths after he ſhould be informed of his Nomination by the Officers of the *Præfect* of the City, under pain of their forfeiting ten Pounds of Gold. Having had notice he allows him ſeven moneths to deliberate whether he ſhall accept of the Burthen or make his Excuſe; ſo that from the Deſignation to the Notification and Excuſe an whole year ſhould intervene, the uſual fatal term (as it is ſtyled) of Excuſes in Civil Matters. Of ſuch Excuſes the *Præfect* of the City muſt have Cognizance, and a ſelect number of Senators, in which none muſt be reckoned who had given their Vote for the Election of the Party, it being preſumed that they might deſire and endeavour to confirm what they themſelves had done. Theſe Judges he ſeverely charges to admit no frivolous Excuſes, nor any unreaſonable Propoſals on either ſide, on pain of being eſteemed and declared publick Enemies, for having thereby diſhonoured that ſublime Body of the Senate. Him that unjuſtly excuſed himſelf he will have, as unworthy of the Honour, to be incapable of the *Prætorſhip*, beſides a Mulct impoſed upon him if his fault was great; otherwiſe if but ſmall, he ſhall be conſtrained to accept the Charge. If he had a juſt and fair Plea, he excuſes him from the Burthen; as by another Law, (which ſeems but a part of one and the ſame Conſtitution) all thoſe who for their Merit had obtained the Dignity of *Conſul* or *Præfectus Prætorio* by Codicils or Letters Patents. This very Year *Gothofred* thinks *Voluſianus* to have been *Præfect* of *Rome*, and therefore draws back thoſe Laws, which in the old Chronology of *Theodoſius* his Code are ſaid to have been directed to him in the CCCLXV Year of our Lord, and the ſecond of *Valentinian*, to that whereof we now write. For in that Year was *Symmachus Præfect* of the City; and *Ammianus Marcellinus* writing of the *Præfects* which were in the time of *Valentinian*, after *Apronianus*, reckons them in this order, *Symmachus*, *Lampadius*, *Juventius*, *Prætextatus*, *Olybrius*, and then *Ampelius*; ſo that *Voluſianus* muſt have born the Office after all the reſt. The firſt of the Laws drawn back to this Year, and directed to him, is concerning the *Prætors* alſo, for renewing one formerly made by *Conſtantine*, whereby was ordained, That if ſuch as were to celebrate the uſual Games abſented themſelves, according to the Degree of their Dignity, they ſhould be condemned to pay a certain quantity of Wheat. This he declares ſhall continue fixed and inviolable, although it was often changed, aboliſhed, and reſtored. The Mulct impoſed by *Conſtantine* was the Payment of Fifty thouſand *Modii*, from which he excepted thoſe that were under the Age of ſixteen years; and ſometimes diſtinguiſhed *Quæſtors* from *Conſuls* and *Prætors*, as *Valentinian* by this his Confirmation excepts thoſe to whom he himſelf had given Licence to be abſent; as by another Law thought to be part of this very Conſtitution, the *Palatini* or principal Officers in his Palace.

*L.*22. *de Prætoribus, &c. Cod. Th.*

Terminus fatalis.

*L.*23. *ejuſd. tit.*

In Chron. Hiſtorico ad An. 373.

*L.*18. *de Prætoribus.*

*L.*67. *de Decurionibus, Cod. Th. Vide Com.*

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109. Other Laws there are ſtill extant directed to this *Voluſianus*, whereof ſome appertain to the *Jus privatum*, and regulate the way of Proceedings in Suits, and are not ſo proper for our Cognizance. Another there is which aſſigns the manner and meaſure of finding Lime both to the Inhabitants of *Campania* and *Tuſcia*. *Conſtantius* had formerly by his Edict allowed to the Burners of Lime a certain quantity of Wine, *viz.* an *Amphora* for every three *Vehes*, and as much to the Carriers or Conveyers of it for every nine hundred pounds weight, paid by the Poſſeſſors of ſuch Grounds, as were obnoxious to this Impoſition. But *Valentinian* now thought fit to change this Wine for Money, allowing for every *Vehis* one *Solidus*, and that not all to be born by the Poſſeſſors of the Lands, but a third part by them, and a fourth by the *Arca Vinaria*, of which we have ſpoken heretofore. Such Provinces of *Italy* as abounded in good Wines were obliged to afford Wine to the City of *Rome*, and *Campania* with the chief, which is much celebrated by Poets in that reſpect, as well as by other Writers. And *Tuſcia* alſo was compriſed in the number. But whereas heretofore thoſe Poſſeſſors of ſuch obnoxious Lands were very much oppreſſed by the ordinary Judges and their Officers, who aſſumed the Power of Exacting of them Wine for as great a quantity of Lime as they pleaſed; the Emperour oppoſeth this Grievance by limiting what they were to find to three thouſand of the leſſer ſort of *Vehes*. And in the third place he allots this Allowance to its ſeveral Iſſues or Receipts, *viz.* to the maintenance of the Aqueducts one half or fifteen hundred *Vehes*, (ſo great care there was at this time and ever had of them) and the other half to the publick Works of the City. But out of this Allowance he excepts that which was wont to be made by *Terracina*, or that which the Ancients called *Anxur*, the Hill whereof, on which it ſtood, had a great Quarry of that Stone, of which Lime was wont to be made, and appropriated to the repairing of the Haven and Watch-Tower or *Pharus* of *Hoſtia*. For the Emperour *Claudius*, to encourage Navigation, built there a moſt ſtately Tower, in imitation of that of *Alexandria*, on which he ordained Lights to be conſtantly kept by night; beſides a moſt large Haven for the Reception of all ſorts of Veſſels, which *Pharus* was afterward repaired by *Antoninus Pius*, and both of them had not onely ſuch a quantity of Lime appointed to the Repairing of them, but a Company or Body of Artificers, and an *Apparitor* or Overſeer ſent from the *Præfect* of the City, as is rationally conjectured. In the next place he pardons to the *Decuriones* of *Tuſcia* no leſs than nine hundred *Vehes* of Lime which they were wont yearly to pay; for this Burthen had lain upon them as ſeveral others did upon the *Curiales*, or the Senators of Cities or Corporations. But with this condition he remits it, that if afterward there happen to be any neceſſity for raiſing ſome publick Work, upon notice given to him thereof by the *Conſulares*, he ſhall determine how much Lime they ſhall find for the effecting of it; from which is collected, that *Tuſcia* of old did not contribute this Stone for the uſe of the City, but for the Works which were raiſed within its own Towns, at the diſcretion of its peculiar Governours called *Conſulares Tuſciæ*. Another Edict we find inſcribed in like manner to this *Voluſianus*, out of reſpect to the *Præfectus Prætorio*, by which Title he is ſtyled in the ſame Inſcription: It declares, That if any one having been caſt by the Sentence and Judgment of the *Præfect*, had thought fit to ſupplicate the Prince, in caſe he was then alſo overthrown, there ſhould be no more place for Supplication for the ſame matter or cauſe. For ſuch was the Dignity of this great Officer, that out of reſpect to his high Condition no Appeal lay from him, but for Honours ſake it was called a *Supplication*. The laſt Law that bears his Name is by Title of *Præfect of the City*, as indeed he was, occaſioned it ſeems by a Difference betwixt him and the *Præfectus Annonæ*, concerning the Management of Corn. The Emperour declares, That the Care thereof be incumbent on them both, that ſo the one *Præfect* be not defrauded of his due; nor yet the Power of the other be abridged, but to that end that the Inferiour acknowledge the Preheminence of the Superiour, and the Superiour own what belongs to the others Imployment.

l. 3. *de Calcis coctoribus, Cod. Th. l.* 14. *tit.* 6. *Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.*

Valentinian changes the Wine allowed to Burners of Lime into Money.

Arma Chalybs, Frumenta Libes, Campanus Iacchum. Sidonius. Vide Com.

L. 5. *de Precibus Imperatori offerendis, Cod. Juſt. l.* 1. *tit.* 19.

Provides for the Honour of the *Præfectus Prætorio*.

L. 1. *de Officio Præfecti urbis, &c. Cod. Juſt. l.* 1. *tit.* 28.

A.D. 374. *Gratiano A.* 3. *& Equitio Coſs.*

The third Conſulſhip of *Gratian* with *Equitius*.

110. For the CCCLXXIV Year of our Lord, *Gratian* the young Emperour, the third time, with *Equitius* bore the Name of *Conſul*. *Maximinus* from *Præfectus Annonæ* had ere this been advanced to be *Præfectus Prætorio*; *Eupraxius* was at this time *Præfect* of *Rome*, having formerly executed the ſeveral Offices of *Magiſter Memoriæ* and of *Quæſtor*, and toward the later end of the Year was ſucceeded by *Claudius*; and of the ſame City *Simplicius* was Vicar. *Valentinian* was now buſied in raiſing a Fort near *Baſil*, (by the Inhabitants of thoſe Parts called *Robur*) after

The Barbarians invade *Illyricum*.

after he had waſted the Territories of the *Allemans*, when News was brought from *Probus* the *Præfect*, that the Barbarians had invaded *Illyricum*. This he would not eaſily believe, but to fetch a true account of the buſineſs, he diſpatched away one *Paternianus* a Notary, by whom being informed that the Barbarians had indeed broken into the *Roman* Pale, he fully reſolved by all means, and all ſpeed he could make, to chaſtize their Inſolence, not doubting but to drive them back by the very appearance of his Army. But ere all this was known and reſolved, Autumn was already ſpent, and beſides the ſeaſon of the Year, ſeveral other Reaſons there were to perſuade him to ſtop his Journey; which thoſe about him (though with extraordinary difficulty) did ſo much improve, that overcome therewith he put off his Expedition to the following Year. The greateſt Argument uſed was the neceſſity of oppoſing *Macrianus* the King, who added ſo much Courage and Reſolution to the innate Ferity of his Nation, that nothing ſeemed ſtrong enough to withſtand his Attempts. Therefore did the Emperour remove from *Milan* near to *Mentz*, whither the proud King alſo came to an Enterview with him upon the River *Rhine*, and it had ſo good ſucceſs, that a Peace was agreed and ſworn to, which *Macrianus* kept inviolable to his Death, and died at laſt in *France*; for having invaded it with all ſorts of Hoſtility, he was circumvented by the Wiles of *Mellobaudes*, a warlike King of that Countrey, and ſlain. This Peace thus eſtabliſhed, *Ammianus* brings *Valentinian* into his Winter Quarters at *Triers*, and there leaving him viſits the Court of his Brother *Valens* in the Eaſt, where he finds all out of order. This Prince, as he was by nature very rigid, delighted in hearing Cauſes, that he might ſhew his Severity upon ſuch as he ſhould find to be in the wrong. But his Courtiers concluding that their Trade would be ſpoiled, through that light he would receive by the Advocates, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to diſſuade him from that practice, as a thing infinitely below him. And they found *Modeſtus* his *Præfectus Prætorio*, a Clown nothing vers'd in Antiquity, but perfectly a Slave to the Court Eunuchs, to be fully compliant with them, who would always tell him, that it was below His Majeſty to condeſcend to hear ſuch frivolous matters. This *Modeſtus* was that *Domitius Modeſtus*, who had formerly in the Reign of *Conſtantius* been *Comes* of the Eaſt, and when *Julian* came to the Government, was accuſed as having too much defended his Cauſe. But this Emperour being come into the Eaſtern Provinces, he feigned himſelf a Pagan, and thereby not onely appeaſed his Anger, but obtained to be *Præfect* of *Conſtantinople*, which Office he again executed when *Valentinianus Nobiliſſimus Puer* and *Victor* were Conſuls, in the ſixth year of this Emperour *Valentinian*, wherein he finiſhed a moſt magnificent Ciſtern in that City, which he had begun in his firſt *Præfectſhip*, and from him being placed in the eleventh Region thereof, it had the Name of *Modeſtiaca*. We have already ſpoken of his egregious Flatteries, and not likely to hear more of him, we further adde, that he had a Son by name *Inſtantius*, who alſo attained to be *Comes* of the Eaſt.

A Peace made upon the *Rhine*.

Periit autem in Francia poſtea, &c. Ammian. ubi prius.

Vide Valeſium in Annot.. ad Ammian. l.30.

Great Corruption in the Courts at *Conſtantinople*.

III. Hereby it came to paſs, that both Judges and Advocates did what they liſted, and made a Market of all mens buſineſſes, delegating them to unfit perſons, as their Intereſt and Profit ſuggeſted to them. And here our Hiſtorian falls into a great and long Invective againſt the Advocates or Orators of this time, for their Rapacity, Ignorance, and Impudence thereupon commonly following; and the more to ſet them out he compares them with thoſe of the *Greeks* and *Romans* in former Ages: And though he makes them as bad as bad can be, yet that he is not therein very extravagant, or acted wholly by Malice and Prejudice, ſome Laws made at this time ſufficiently convince us, which by preſcribing the Remedy, do to underſtanding perſons ſufficiently make out the Diſtemper. For theſe very Emperours by ſeveral Edicts thought fit to ordain, That no man ſhould be Judge and Advocate, both, in the ſame Cauſe, that they ſhould not break forth into opprobrious Language, for which they are ſo ſeverely taxed by *Ammianus*; neither make any Contract before hand with their Clients, nor refuſe ſuch Fees as they thought fit freely to give them; that they ſhould not induſtriouſly protract Juſtice; that the *Honorati*, or ſuch as had born Offices, exerciſing the Function of Advocates at *Rome*, ſhould thereby receive no Benefit or Reward, nor ſit on the Bench with the Judges, but in the place we have formerly ſaid to belong to them, or ſtand as Advocates were wont to do. But *Valentinian* concerned himſelf not onely in matters relating to Civil, but to Military Concernments alſo; for at the Suggeſtion of *Probus* the *Præfectus Prætorio* he ordered, That when there was neceſſity for ſome new Work to be raiſed, if the third part belonging to the City con-

Vide L. 2. de poſtulando Cod. Th.l.1. tit.10. Cum Com. Gothofr. & L. 6. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit.

L. 18. de Operibus publicis, Cod.Th.l. 15. tit. 1. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

concerned could do it, it ſhould be lawful to make up the Summe out of the Revenue of other Cities. For Cities or Corporations had certain Revenues appropriate to them, and particularly Tributes or Tolls; and of theſe Revenues part was ordained for Maintenance of publick Works, as a third by *Valentinian* in this Law whereof now we ſpeak; to which Service certain Lands were deſtined or appropriate. In like manner by the ancient Canons and Eccleſiaſtical Laws, of the Revenues belonging to Churches, four parts or portions were made; whereof one was aſſigned to the Biſhop for ſupport of his Dignity; a ſecond to the Prieſts, Deacons, and Clergy; a third to the Reparation of Churches; and a fourth to the Relief of the Poor, Infirm, or Strangers. Which Aſſignations were alſo made by the Laws of the *Lombards*.

Valentinian orders one City to aſſiſt another.

112. To *Probus* he gave out another Edict not long after, for clearing a Doubt concerning the Puniſhment of a notorious Crime, but too frequent in thoſe days. It had been the Opinion generally both of Heathen and Chriſtian Writers, That it was a Sin to kill Infants, although by reaſon of a depraved Cuſtom in ſome places they were ſcarcely reckoned amongſt Mankind, before they were delivered to Nurſes. But however the Puniſhment due to the Offence was uncertain, the Offenders being moſt commonly but baniſhed; till *Valentinian* now thought fit by this Edict to make it no leſs than Capital, as eſteeming it altogether a Piacular Crime. The Law was propoſed at *Rome*, and is rationally thought intended chiefly againſt the Practice of Strumpets, which too ordinarily made away their Baſtard Children, both then and in all Ages beſides. But as our Emperour thought fit to prohibit the Murdering of Children, ſo alſo the Expoſing of them, by another Conſtitution, which commands each Parent to take care of his own Iſſue, under pain of undergoing what the Law impoſeth in that caſe; and if the Lords or Patrons of any Children did ſo expoſe them, he declares them thereby freed from the Dominion of ſuch Lords, and to belong to thoſe who had taken Compaſſion of them in ſo great miſery. So frequently were Robberies now committed about *Rome*, and chiefly by reaſon of the harbour and retreat they had to ſeveral places in the Countrey, that upon the Relation of the matter by *Simplicius* the *Vicar* of the City, *Valentinian* by his Reſcript thought fit to declare, That whoſoever received and concealed a Malefactor, ſhould be liable to the ſame Pains and Forfeitures, as the Criminal himſelf ought by the Law to undergo. As he was ſevere againſt Malefactors, ſo this Somer as indulgent towards Painters, to the Art of whom he naturally bore a great Affection, and which had in all Ages indeed, wherein Barbariſm did not prevail, been much prized; ſo that the former *Roman* Laws gave to men of this Profeſſion Immunity from all Services. But their Privileges he ſo enlarged now by a Conſtitution directed to *Chilo* the *Proconſul* of *Africa*, That no fewer than nine ſeveral Immunities he conferred on them, whereof the firſt freed them from the *Capitatio*, or Paying for the Heads both of themſelves, their Wives, and Children. And whereas in the ordinary *Cenſus* or Tax, Lords were wont to pay for their Slaves, but eſpecially for ſuch as were Barbarians, or not born within the *Roman* Pale; he alſo diſcharges Painters of that Burthen, as to this particular.

Forbids the Killing,

L. 1. *ad legem Corneliam de Sicariis, Cod. Th.l.*9. *tit.*14. & *L.*8. *Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Canonizata etiam eſt de pœnis, diſt.*1.

And the Expoſing of Infants.

*L.*2. *de Infantibus expoſitis, Cod. Juſt.*

Severe againſt ſuch as harboured Thieves.

*L.*1. *de his qui latrones,*&c. *Cod.Th.l.*9. *tit.* 28.

Indulgent to Painters in an high meaſure.

*L. ult. de Excuſationibus Artificum, Cod. Th.l.*13. *tit.* 4. *Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.*

113. Moreover for ſuch Pictures as they made themſelves, though they trafiqued with them, he would not have them pay the *Luſtralis Collatio* or Impoſition on Merchandize, as they were obliged for what they bought to ſell again. And whereas there were certain *Pergulæ* or Shops belonging to the Publick, where Wares were expoſed to ſale, and Profeſſors of the Liberal Arts were wont alſo to teach for Reward, (till *Theodoſius* the Younger took away the Cuſtom, that the Publick Profeſſors in the Capitol might have more Encouragement) he ordains, That Painters ſhould have the uſe of them Rent-free. Neither will he have them obnoxious to the *Metatus*, or harbouring any Souldiers or others againſt their will, which Privilege was alſo allowed to Phyſicians and Profeſſors; but he alſo exempts them from the Juriſdiction of the *Pedanei Judices*, or inferiour Judges, thereby granting Authority over them onely to the Governours of Provinces or *Vicars*, which Immunity is ſingular, and not to be found granted to any other ſort of men. In like manner was it not indulged to others, to remove and change their Habitations when, and as oft as they pleaſed; which yet he permits his Painters to do. He alſo diſcharges them from Services by Horſes and otherwiſe. And in the laſt place he permits not the Judges to conſtrain them to draw the Pictures of the Emperours themſelves without Wages or Reward: From which we may learn, that the Governours of Provinces were wont unjuſtly to exact, as

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other ſervices for nothing, ſo this alſo of painting the Emperors, when their“ Pictures were to be placed ſomewhere in publick, or given to the Inhabitants of“ ſome City or Town. But this Edict concerns the *Africans*, who otherwiſe were alſo very ingenious; and particularly in Architecture: And it has this limitation, that theſe Painters were to be of ingenuous or free condition; otherwiſe, if Slaves, they ſhould not enjoy any of theſe Immunities; and this was in conformity to the ancient Cuſtoms of *Rome*, which at firſt forbad any of ſervile condition to exerciſe this Art, though afterwards they intruded into it. “But, as much as any other, is that part of this Conſtitution remarkable, which inflicts no leſſer puniſhment on the Infringer of“ theſe Priviledges than what belonged to *Sacrilegde*, or violation of the Laws. So ſevere he was in this particular, out of a peculiar Inclination he had to Painting; wherein, as thoſe affirm, who wrote his life, he himſelf was very skilful, as well as in writing a very Good Hand, and to theſe he added the Art of Emboſſing, in which alſo he was very well ſeen. “Another Law he Enacted this year whereby he allowed five years time to proſecute a man that had ſtoln his Neighbours Wife, but no longer; leſt Mariages well ſetled, to the content of both“ Parties, ſhould be diſturbed, or Children born of ſuch Marriages ſo well ſucceeding,“ ſhould be injured. By the laſt Law extant in the Code, and bearing his Name this year from *Triers* (where he was now returned from *Robur*, whence the former Edict was dated) he ſignifies That he had formerly in more general words“ given order, that all Judges whatſoever when they gave Sentence, ſhould read“ it out of a Writing; to which he now further adds, that if the Sentence was not“ ſo reduced into Writing, it ſhould not deſerve that Name, neither ſhould there“ be any need to appeal from it. This was agreeable to what the *Civil* Law of *Rome* had formerly determined in this matter; though there was this Difference as to Judges; that the *Clariſſimi* and *Spectabiles* were bound to read their Sentences, themſelves; but the *Illuſtres*, as the *Præfecti Prætorio*, might have them read by one of their Officers.

He allows but five years to proſecute him that had ſtoln his Neighbours Wife.

L. I. *de Raptu. Virginum & viduarum Cod. Th. lib.* 9. *tit.* 24. *Abeſt à Cod. Juſt. unà cum cæteris Legibus hujus tit.*

L. I. *de Sententiis ex periculo recitatis. Cod. Th. lib.* 64. *tit.* 17. *& L. ult. Cod. Juſt. eod. Tit.*

114. *Valens* all this year made his Abode at *Antioch*, where he took care for preſerving Gold, and its value within the Empire; “by forbidding that any of that metal ſhould be given to the Barbarous Nations in exchange for Merchandize;“ and by prohibiting any Coin to be made of that which private Perſons brought“ into the Mint. If a Judge to whom diſcovery was made did not puniſh a Merchant“ ſo offending, he ſubjects him by that Law to Animadverſion himſelf; and“ ſo great an eſteem was there of Gold in this Age, that not only he forbids it to“ be alienated to *Barbarians*; but what they had of it already, by ſome cunning“ device he would have got out of their Hands. But after this manner paſſed the two Brothers this year; and entred upon the following or the CCCLXXV of our Lord, which in ſome Books hath no *Conſuls* aſſigned, but only marked thus: *After the third Conſulſhip of* Gratian Auguſtus, *and of* Equitius; but in others, *Pontius Paulinus* is noted, though alone, to have born this Office. The Spring being now well advanced, *Valentinian* removed from *Triers*, and haſted into *Illyricum*, which, the foregoing year, had been waſted by the *Sarmatæ* and *Quadi*. In his way he met with Ambaſſadors from the former, who caſting themſelves down at his Feet, deſired he would put a favourable conſtruction upon all he had heard concerning thoſe that ſent them; for he ſhould find them guilty of no ſuch crimes as were laid to their charge. This they often repeated; and his Anſwer was, that in that place he would determine nothing, but judge as he found when he came into the Country which was ſaid to have been injured by them. Being come to *Carnutum* or *Carnuntum*, on old decayed Town of *Illyricum*, but conveniently ſeated for defence of the Country, he took care for the effectual preſervation of the Borders; but when it was expected that, as a ſevere Prince, he would animadverte upon thoſe Governors, by the negligence or treachery of whom the Provinces had been expoſed to the violence of the Barbarians; therein he utterly fruſtrated the expectation of the people, neither made any Inquiry into the death of *Gabinius* the King, nor other moſt conſiderable miſdemeanours; his humour inclining him to rigidity againſt inferiour Perſons, but towards theſe of high condition to ſo much eaſineſs, that he would ſcarcely give them an angry word. *Probus* was the only man he purſued with hatred, whom he never ceaſed to taxe and threaten after he ſaw him, and that for very plain and urgent Reaſons. For this man, having arrived at the *Præfectſhip*, and continued long time in his Office, (as by the many Laws of ſeveral years directed to him is moſt evident, beſides the teſtimony of Hiſtory) conſulted not the Dignity of his Place, nor the Nobility of his Houſe, but acted more according

Valens takes care for keeping Gold within the Empire.

L. 2. *de Commerciis Cod. Juſt. lib.* 4. *tit.* 63. *L.* 8. *de falſa moneta. Cod. Th. lib.* 9. *tit.* 21.

After the third Conſulſhip of *Gratian* and *Equitius*.

A.D. 375. *Poſt Conſ. Gratiani. A.* III. *& Equitii V. C.*

Valentinian goes into *Illyricum*.

Yet puniſhes not the great Offendors.

according to what his own appetite and the flatteries of theſe about him ſuggeſted, than the principles of moderation could ſuffer.

Probus the Præfect very much to blame.

Clamours out of *Epirus*, againſt him; as well as *Pannonia*.

115. Perceiving the Emperor to be very much inclined to the getting of money, he did not, as often other conſcientious Miniſters, divert him from ſuch courſes as he was bent to purſue; but followed and humoured him in his way, how pernicious ſoever; whereby came it to paſs that both Rich and Poor were often moſt miſerably oppreſſed, and turned out of all they had. So great were the publick Burthens, and the Tributes increaſed to ſo unſufferable a proportion, that for fear of undergoing the extremity of puniſhment for what they were not able to perform, many perſons of good Quality fled their Countries, and others were perpetually kept in Priſon, from which they were freed by offering violence to themſelves, their preſſure and deſperation were ſo great, while *Valentinian*, greedy of gain, gave no great heed to Accuſations of that Nature, not conſidering or imagining them to be of near ſo great importance as indeed they were, and too late he found it. But beſides, for what the *Pannonians* had ſuffered, clamours were now made out of *Epirus* upon this occaſion. It had been an ancient cuſtom during the Commonwealth, for the *Provincials*, by their publick Meſſengers, to praiſe and extoll thoſe in the Senate, by whom they had been governed; which cuſtom firſt had its riſe from the *Greeks*, who were wont to flatter their Magiſtrates. Afterwards the Senate gave no heed to, but diſcouraged ſuch formal and forced commendations; and in the time of *Nero* a *Senatuſconſultum* was made, forbidding the Governours of Provinces to propoſe any ſuch matter in the publick Councils of their Diſtricts, and all Perſons to undertake ſuch meſſages. Yet was the cuſtom renewed, as is evident from ſeveral Authors; and not only did the *Provincials* of their own accord, give this Teſtimony, concerning their Governours; but by this time it was come to that paſs, that they were of courſe conſtreined to do it. In this number were the People of *Epirus*, and they compelled one *Iphicles*, a Philoſopher, to undertake the meſſage, who being a Couragious man, when the Emperor took notice of him, and demanded whether his Country-men thought well of their *Præfect*, he anſwered him in *Greek*, that they commended him, but ſore againſt their Wills. With this Anſwer *Valentinian* was put into diſorder, and began to ſearch narrowly into his Actions; and inquiring after the Perſons of Quality of that Province, when he heard that one was hang'd, another was fled beyond Sea, another had made away himſelf, and a fourth had been tortured to death, he fell into a mighty rage, being exaſperated by the ſuggeſtions of *Leo*, the *Magiſter Officiorum*, who gaped after his place; but had he come to be *Præfect*, would ſo have demeaned himſelf, that when compared with his, the Government of *Probus* would have been extolled to the skies. However, this is that great and famous *Probus* who had Lands throughout the *Roman* Provinces; who by his great gifts and Intereſt procured the greateſt Imployments, and gaped as a Fiſh out of the Water, when he was not ſwimming in the Current of ſome Prefectſhip, as *Ammianus* ſpeaks of him, Indeed he bore ſo many Offices that he may ſeem never to have been without ſome Command or Magiſtracy. For he was firſt *Proconſul* of *Africk* in the Conſulſhip of *Datianus* and *Cerealis*. After that, four times *Præfectus Prætorio*, and laſt of all *Conſul* with *Gratian*, *A. D.* CCCLXXI. He was the Son of *Cælius Probinus*, the Grandſon of *Petronius Probianus*, who had both been Conſuls, and from his Grandfather had the name of *Sextus Petronius Probus*.

Vide Valeſ. in Annot. ad Amm. lib. 30. p. 424.

Lib. 27.

Vide Valeſ. in locum.

116. In reference to the Complaints of the People of *Epirus*, there are two Laws ſtill extant; which, though they be aſſigned, according to their Date, to the preceding year in the Chronology, yet are rationally thought by *Gothofred* to have been occaſioned by theſe very Grievances and Complaints. They are both directed to *Zoſimus* the *Præſident* of New *Epirus*, in which Office he had ſucceeded *Paulinus*, and ſaid to have been delivered at *Apollonia*, a City of that Country, in which was an excellent breed of Horſes. The firſt of theſe Laws ſignifies to the ſaid *Zoſimus*, “That *Valentinian* had ſent a general Edict throughout the Provinces, that only one *Solidus* ſhould be demanded by thoſe they called *Stratores* for the trial and approbation of an Horſe; and that the *Provincials* ſhould obſerve no other than one certain Shape, Stature and Age in ſuch as they were bound to find for publick ſervice. For we muſt know, that, as the *Romans* in thoſe days called any one by the name of *Strator* who ſadled the Horſe, and aſſiſted his Maſter in mounting him; ſo of theſe ſorts of *Grooms*, there was in the Palace of the Emperour a certain *Schole* or Company, all young men, over whom was ſet the *Tribunus Stabuli*; yet under the Diſpoſition of the *Magiſter Officiorum*. It being preſumed, that by reaſon

L. unic de Stratorib. Cod. Th. lib. 6. tit. 31.

L. unic. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit.

Valentinian indeavours to reform Abuſes committed by the *Stratores.*

of their Imployment they had ſkill in Horſes, from amongſt them were conſtantly the fitteſt Perſons choſen out, and ſent into the Provinces, to try and approve ſuch as were found by the Subject by way of Tribute; and as in reſpect of their Imployment abroad, they were joyned in Reputation with *Domeſtick Protectors*, the *Agentes* in *Rebus* and others; ſo often did they commit Extravagancies and burthen the People; eſpecially if the Superior Officers connived at them, as probably did *Probus* the *Præfect*. Therefore for Reformation of this Abuſe *Valentinian*“ writes to *Zoſimus*, who being nearer at hand, as having his Reſidence at *Apollonia*,“ was capable both to know and correct it; which he injoyns him, under“ pain of his Office being fined for every ſuch Neglect an hundred pounds of Silver.“ Amongſt other Complaints put up by the *Epirotes*, this alſo it ſeems was“ alleaged, that the *Præfectiani*, or Apparitors of the *Præfectus Prætorio*, did grievouſly haraſſe the Country by their Exactions and greedineſs of Gain, for ſo *Valentinian* in another Edict tells this ſame *Zoſimus*, though by Imperial Authority all ſuch Oppreſſion had been ſtrictly forbidden. For, they depending upon the Higheſt Dignity next the Emperour, and not ſubject to the Ordinary Governours of Provinces, in Collecting Tributes, and otherwiſe, made Uſe of their power to terrify the poor People, for which Reaſon they had formerly been forbidden to have any thing to do in the raiſing of Tributes. Now he expreſly“ Commands, that none of them be permitted to Execute the Office of *Exactor*,“ neither have the Charge of the publick *Granaries*, leſt they ſhould imbezel the“ Corn or other Proviſions, which it would be difficult to Recover out of their“ Hands; nor have as much as the Imployment of a *Curioſus* or *Stationary*, who“ had Care of the *Curſus Publicus*, and was wont to diſcover Criminal Perſons to“ the Judges. If any ſhould diſobey this Order, he wills him to be put down to the“ Imployment of *Suſceptor* (which was inferior to his Quality, as belonging to the“ Officers of the ordinary Judges of Provinces) and that his Name be tranſmitted“ to his own Perſon.

L.un 1.*Ne Præfectianus* &c. *Cod. Th. lib.* 12. *tit.* 10. *l.* 2.*Cod. Juſt. de Apparitorib. Præfect Præt. hinc interpolata eſt.*

Fauſtinus ſtrangely put to Death.

Valentinian invades the Country of the *Quadi.*

117. But to proſecute our Story; *Valentinian* lying at *Carnutum* three Months together in the Summer time, *viz. June, July*, and *Auguſt*, made preparation of all Neceſſaries, if occaſion ſhould ſerve, for Chaſtiſing the *Quadi*, who had cauſed very great diſturbances in thoſe Quarters. There in the preſence and ſight of *Probus*, *Fauſtinus* the Siſters Son of *Juventius* the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Gall*, after Torture, periſhed by the hands of the Hangman, having been accuſed of killing an Aſſe for the Exerciſe of ſome ſecret Arts, though he denied he had any ſuch Intention; and it was further laid to his Charge, that when one *Nigrinus* in a jeſting manner deſired Him to make him a *Notary*, he ſhould laugh, and bid him firſt make him Emperour, if he would be ſo preferred; but this Drolling coſt both of them their Lives, and was the Deſtruction of more beſides them. Now was *Merobaudes* with a Party of Foot, and with him *Sebaſtian a Comes* ſent to waſte the Borders of the Enemy; and *Valentinian* departed with Speed to a place called *Acincum*, whence paſſing over his Men on a Bridg of Boates, he Invaded the Territories of the *Quadi* in another quarter. They hearing of his coming, from the Mountains obſerved his Motions; and when he appeared, fled into the remoter parts of the Country, with their Wives and Children; where when they found themſelves alſo Attacqued by *Merobaudes* and his Party, they were amazed, and more eaſily overpowered; of whom many being killed, and their Houſes burnt, the Emperor returned in ſafety with all his Army. He ſtaid at *Acincum* till the year was allmoſt ſpent, deſirous to find out ſome convenient place in thoſe Frozen Tracts, wherein to Winter; but could light of none ſo fit as *Sabaria*, although that too was far from convenient. Paſſing therefore on by the Rivers ſide which he fortified all along as he ſaw need to require, with Caſtles and Garriſons, he came to *Bregetio*, where he was admoniſhed of his approaching Fate, by ſeveral Signes, as our Writer gathereth. For, a few days before, Blazing Stars appeared, and at *Sirmium*, the Palace, Court-houſe and Forum were all ſtruck with Thunder; while he continued at *Sabaria* an Owle pearched upon the top of his Bath, and there making an unpleaſing noiſe, could not be driven away by all the Stones and Arrowes the multitude could caſt. Being to march from that place, he reſolved to paſs out at the ſame Gate he came in, as thereby to ſignify that he ſhould return back into *Gall*, but the Gate having been neglected a long time, was now choked up, and by no means could the Port-Cullis be raiſed, though there was all endeavour poſſible uſed; ſo that the time being much ſpent, he was forc'd to take his way through another Gate. The night before he died, he

thought

Sect.2.

A.D. 375.

thought he ſaw his Wife ſit by him in a ſorrowful Poſture, in an ill Habit, and with her Hair hanging upon her Shoulders, which *Ammianus* believes to have been his Fortune, or *Genius*, now ready in that rueful manner to depart. When in the morning he came out with a ſad and dejected Countenance to mount, the Horſe would not admit him, but reared; and while his *Strator miles* as *Marcellinus* calls him, ſtrugled to put him into his Saddle, againſt his Will his Hand gave him a Blow, which thereupon he commanded to be Cut off. And the Innocent Young Man had periſhed, but that *Cerealis* the *Tribunus Stabuli* with danger of his own ſafety, deferred the Execution.

They ſend their Ambaſſadours and beg Peace.

118. After this came the Ambaſſadors of the *Quadi*, and with all Signes of Humility, begged pardon for paſt Offences, which the ſooner to obtain, they offered a Supply of Soldiers and other things, whereof it was convenient enough for the Emperor to accept: For he was not ſufficiently furniſhed with Proviſions, neither would the Seaſon of the Year permit that he ſhould attempt any thing more againſt them at this time; and therefore, it being reſolved that they ſhould be heard, they were admitted into the Conſiſtory. There, while they ſtood with Body and Mind both dejected, and were commanded to declare what they had to ſay, they made the uſual Excuſes, and confirmed them by Oath, that what of late happened, was not by any Deſigne or common Conſent of the beſt of their Nation, but committed by a Ravenous ſort of Borderers living upon the River, whom they affirmed to have been provoked by building the Fort we lately ſpoke of, contrary to all Juſtice and the Roman Intereſt. With this their Diſcourſe, *Valentinian* was inraged above meaſure, and with a great noiſe upbraided their whole Nation as ingrateful. Being a little pacified, he ſunck down, as if he had been ſtruck from Heaven, and ſeemed deprived of Life and Voice altogether: his Blood ſtopped, and he was ſeized with cold Sweat, which thoſe about him perceiving, that he might not die in a Croud, conveyed him into his Chamber. There, being laid on his Bed, though drawing on, he had his Underſtanding perfect, and knew all that were with him, whom they of his Chamber had importuned to come in, leſt it ſhould be imagined that he was made away. The heat he felt inwardly was ſo great, that a Vein neceſſarily was to be opened, (as our Hiſtorian deſcribes his Diſeaſe) but no Phyſitian could be found; he having diſpatched them all away, to take care of the Army which was now ſeized with the Plague. At laſt they light upon one, who pricked him ſeveral times, but could not make him bleed, his moiſture being either conſumed by the violence of his Fever, or his Veins dried up by the coldneſs of the Climate where he Reſided. Being ſufficiently ſenſible that nothing but Death was to be expected, he would have ſpoken and given order in ſome Matters; but was hindred by Convulſions which ſhewed themſelves in a moſt violent Hickough, and various Contorſions of his Limbs; ſo that, fully overcome by the Fury of his Diſtemper, which betrayed its Malignity by the Blew Spots wherewith it beſpred his Skin, after long ſtrugling he breathed out his Laſt, in the five and fiftieth year of his Age and of his Reign the twelfth, which to compleat he wanted an hundred days.

To whom giving Audience, he falls into a Rage and Fit.

Of which he dies.

119. Such is the Account which *Ammianus* gives us of his paſſage out of this World, according to the Printed Copy of his Hiſtory now moſt in Uſe, though the Text ſeems neither well to agree with it ſelf, nor with other Writers who ſpeak of the ſame Subject. For they generally ſay that he died Bleeding, or rather of Bleeding, and ſome, by voiding it from the Stomach, and others out of the Lungs; ſo that inſtead of *ſtopping of the Blood*, in *Ammianus*, is rather to be read *Blood ſuddainly guſhing forth*. In ſuch Malignant Fevers as the Spots betrayed His to be (and probably as Malignant as the Peſtilence wherewith his Army was at this very time afflicted) ſuch Symptomes as theſe whereof the Hiſtorian diſcourſeth, are frequent enough, extravaſation of Blood, ſymptomatical Sweats, Hickough, Convulſions and the like; although *Ammianus*, amongſt other ſorts of knowledge to which he affectedly pretends in his Book, ſeems little to have underſtood that of Phyſick. And yet leſs reaſon had a far later Author than he to pretend to it, who ſpeaking of his End, ſaith he died of a ſudden Effuſion of Blood, which he makes the ſame Diſeaſe with an Apoplexy; and in this Apoplexy, he adds, that though he loſt his Voice, yet he Expired in his perfect Senſe or Underſtanding. He further writes that moſt Authors affirmed him to have Contracted this Diſeaſe by his great Intemperance in Diet, and yet it is commonly reported that his Veins were opened by his extraordinary Paſſion, at the Audience given to the Ambaſſadors of the *Quadi*; in particular, *Socrates* relates, that he fell into

Pro repente cohibito ſanguine legend. erumpente ſubito ſanguine.

that Exclamation and Fury, upon ſeeing the ſaid Ambaſſadours to be of vile and abject Condition, and that he demanded whether the reſt of the *Sarmatæ* were ſuch men as they. They anſwered that they were; for he had now before him thoſe of higheſt Quality of that Nation; whereat he was wonderfully incenſed and brake out into a vehement Indignation, that the Empire of *Rome* ſhould have ſo ill luck as to fall into his Hands; during whoſe Government ſo beggarly and baſe a ſort of Barbarians could not content themſelves to live quietly within their own Bounds; but muſt Rebell, take Armes, and ſo boldly make War againſt it. He ſtrained himſelf ſo much in declaiming againſt them that, as he ſays, he opened every Vein in his Body, and brake the Arteries aſunder, out of which iſſued ſo large a Stream of Blood that he died in the Caſtle commonly called *Bergitium.*

120. His Fathers Name (as we hinted before) was one *Gratian*, who had the Sirname of *Funarius*, becauſe he was ſo ſtrong in his Arms that five Souldiers could not wreſt a Rope from him. This *Gratian* being for his ſtrength taken notice of, was preferred, and by degrees aroſe to the Dignity of *Protector* and of *Tribune*, and at laſt came to be *Comes rei Caſtrenſis* in *Africk*; where being ſuſpected of Rapine he gave over his Employment, and long after had the ſame Command over the *Britiſh* Army. At length being diſmiſſed without any thing laid to his charge, he returned to a Private Life, and was afterward heavily fined by *Conſtantius*, for that during the Civil War he was ſaid to have entertained *Magnentius* in his Paſſage. *Valentinian* his Son having the advantage of his Intereſt and Repute in the world, improved it ſufficiently by his own Merits till he arrived at the higheſt Dignity upon Earth; and thereto had the opportunity alſo of raiſing his Brother, with whom he reigned in perfect Concord. In his Government the firſt thing he applied himſelf to was the care and defence of the Borders, of the Forts and Caſtles ſtanding upon Rivers, (which he principally attended all his life;) and to protect *Gall* from the *Allemans*, who had grown confident and daring upon the death of *Julian*, the Prince whom alone they feared after the Emperour *Conſtans*. And his Felicity was ſuch, that he reinforced the Army with a very great Supply; and ſuch was his ſucceſs in building new Forts where there was want, as well as repairing the old, that not an Enemy could paſs into the *Roman* Pale undiſcovered. He made uſe of induſtrious Captains, whom he rendered ſuch by his own Induſtry; and where the Lions Skin was too ſcant, he enlarged it by that of the Fox. For having aſſumed his Son *Gratian*, to the Dignity of *Auguſtus*, to prevent Competition he cauſed to be made away *Vithigabius* the Son of *Vadomarius* King of the *Allemans*, a young Man in the flower of his Age, who ceaſed not to animate his Countrymen againſt the *Romans*; after which he gave them a notable Defeat at *Solicinium*, having narrowly eſcaped being circumvented, and being deſtroyed by them. Having thus cautiouſly managed his matters againſt them, he turned his Arms againſt the rage of the furious *Saxons*, who ever ruſhed on in all deſperate Enterprizes without fear or wit; and though by ſomething fraudulent, yet a convenient Stratagem, eaſed them of that Burthen of Booty which they had pilfred from the Maritime Tracts. In like manner he reſcued the *Britans* from the Violence and Inroads of their Enemies, of whom having made ſuch Slaughter, as ſcarcely any were permitted to eſcape alive, he ſettled them in their former Security and Repoſe. By the ſame vigorous courſe of Proceeding he ſuppreſſed *Valentine* the *Pannonian* Exile, before it was well known what he was attempting; delivered *Africk* from thoſe Miſchiefs wherewith it was ſuddenly ſeized, when *Firmus* drew the *Mooriſh* Nations to revolt; and had done the ſame by *Illyricum*, if he had not been prevented by death from perfecting what he was in a fair way to accompliſh. In concluſion it may be ſaid of him, That though he did great things by his Captains, yet many things he did himſelf, that he was of a quick Wit; and by his Experience in Military matters fit to manage the greateſt Concernments of War, which would have more appeared, could he have taken *Macrianus* King of the *Allemans*, as with great induſtry he endeavoured to do, after he had eſcaped the hand of the *Burgundians*, (whom he had ſtirred up againſt that People;) which with great ſorrow he underſtood. This is the ſummary Account *Ammianus* gives us of his Actions, to which he ſubjoyns a Character leſs neceſſary than the other; for from the general Carriage of this Prince, ſuch as we have related it, he draws the Character; but in the ſummary Account of his Actions he gives us hints of ſuch things as he had not deſcribed formerly at large.

A ſhort Account of his Government.

His Vices.

121. For his Vices; although he counterfeited a ſhew of Clemency, yet was he cruel by his very nature, delighting in Inquiſitions after Offences, condemning many

to death upon ſlight occaſions, and never being known to have ſaved any once condemned, contrary to all Example even amongſt the ſevereſt Princes. He was taxed for Covetouſneſs, as to which yet ſome endeavoured to excuſe him, as prompted to ſome Actions harſh and violent, by the great Loſs and Charge ſuſtained by the Empire in the Wars againſt the *Perſians*, whereby the Treaſury had been much exhauſted. This made him both juſtly and unjuſtly fly upon the Fortunes of his Subjects, and ſeize their Eſtates into his hands right or wrong; in like manner as *Aurelian* is ſaid to have done, to recruit the publick Coffers, which had been dreined dry by *Gallienus*, and the Calamities of his time. He was envious above meaſure, hating all that were Eminent for Learning, Riches, Nobility, Valour, and Gayety in Apparel; as *Hadrian* his Predeceſſor is ſaid to have done. Againſt Cowards he would moſt bitterly inveigh, and yet ſhew too much fear and dejectedneſs himſelf upon ſlight occaſions; which Humour being obſerved by *Remigius* the *Magiſter Officiorum*, when he perceived him diſturbed and angry for trivial things, he was wont to pretend Intelligence from the Borders ſignifying that the Barbarians were up in Arms, whereat he would grow as cool, milde, and ſerene as ever was *Antoninus Pius*. When he made choice of Judges, he never wittingly promoted any cruel or ill-principled men; but when it ſo happened, he boaſted of them as ſo many *Lycurgus's* and *Caſſii*, termed them the Pillars of Juſtice, and by Letters ſtirred them up to the greateſt ſeverity againſt the ſmalleſt Offenders; but never relieved any, though overpowered by never ſo unjuſt a Sentence: Whereas (ſaith our Author) the very end of Government, as wiſe men have accounted it, is the Profit and Safety of obedient Subjects.

His Virtues.

122. Theſe were his Vices according to the Character *Ammianus* giveth of him, who alſo alloweth him large Commendations for ſuch Virtues, as (if all had been anſwerable) would have rendered him not inferiour to *Trajan* nor *Marcus Aurelius* himſelf. Theſe were great Indulgence, to the Provinces, both in eaſing them as much as in him lay of the Burthen of Tributes, and providing for their Safety by the building of Towns, and raiſing of Forts and Caſtles in places, where was danger of Invaſions. A great Exactor he was of Military Diſcipline, and as to that herein onely he erred, that he was exceſſively ſevere to common Souldiers, but indulgent to great Officers, againſt whom he would not hear any Complaints; and hence proceeded the Commotions both of *Britain*, *Africk*, and *Illyricum*. As to his Body he was exemplarily chaſte, and by his own Example propagated that Virtue both in his Court, and where ever elſe he came, there being no Complaints of Rapes, or any other Miſdemeanors in that kind. To his Kindred he was not indulgent beyond the publick Intereſt, either not at all preferring them, or if he did, to inconſiderable Places, *Valens* his Brother excepted, whom in a dangerous poſture of Affairs he raiſed to the higheſt Dignity. He was even ſcrupulous in beſtowing the greateſt Offices; neither in his time did any man belonging to Money govern a Province, nor were any of theſe Imployments ſold except it was at the beginning of his Reign, when many extravagant things were wont to be done, out of hope that a new promoted Prince was either too buſie to take notice, or elſe that he was generous, as ſuch perſons called him, that is, careleſs and negligent of his Buſineſs. As to Military matters he was very ſagacious; for having been accuſtomed to hardſhip, he knew when and where to direct his Souldiers, in ordering of whom he was very exact. He wrote very handſomly, and could both paint and emboſs very well; ſo that we need not wonder he was ſo indulgent to Artiſts of this Profeſſion, as by an Edict he made not long before his Death we underſtand he was. He was very ingenious in finding out new ſorts of Arms, had an excellent Memory, and Readineſs of Speech nigh to Eloquence; a great Lover of Neatneſs, and in his Feaſts and Entertainments loved to be ſplendid, but not profuſe. And *Ammianus* placeth this as the laſt, though not the leaſt of his Commendations, that in the diverſity of Religions and Perſuaſions he ſtood as betwixt both Extremes, neither moleſting thoſe of the one ſide nor the other, nor by any terrible Edicts forcing thoſe of other Perſuaſions to what he eſteemed beſt, but left all Parties free as he found them. Which is to be dered in another place.

123. With *Ammianus* other Hiſtorians agree in the main of his Commendations. *Victor* writes, that he was of a comely Countenance, ſubtile Wit, grave Deportment, and moſt elegant Speech, though of few words; ſevere by nature, and vehement in his Severity; yet an Enemy to Vice, and eſpecially Covetouſneſs, upon which he animadverted with all rigidity, reſembling *Adrian* in all theſe things. He adds, that he was mindful of Ancient Nobility, ingenious in the Invention of new Arms,

and in making of Statues; knew how to ſerve himſelf of Time, Place, and Speech: And in a word, had he eſcaped the hands of a Company of unfaithful perſons, to whom he delivered up his Underſtanding, to be governed as to faithful Councellors and wiſe, and had he been ſerved by Perſons of Fidelity and Learning, he had been without doubt a complete and excellent Prince. In concluſion, all agree that he was of a preſent Countenance and proportionable Symmetry of his Limbs compoſed unto Majeſty. He died in the Fifty fifth year of his Age, having reigned twelve years wanting an hundred days, on the fifteenth before the Calends of *December*, in the third year of the two hundred eighty and eighth Olympiad, of the City the MCXXVIII, the third Indiction, in the CCCLXXV year of our Lord, *Paulinus* being Conſul, as ſome have written; though S. *Hierom* tells us, that for this year no Conſuls were created, becauſe of the Irruption of the *Sarmatæ* into *Pannonia* in the preceding. And therefore (as we formerly ſaid) in the *Faſti* it is reſcribed, *After the third Conſulſhip of Gratian and of Equitius.*

SECT. III.

From the Death of Valentinian *the Firſt, to the Murder of his Eldeſt Son* Gratian.

The ſpace of Seven Years and Eight Moneths.

Valentinian's Iſſue.

1. VALENTINIAN left two Sons, *Gratian* and *Valentinian*; with three Daughters, *Juſta*, *Grata*, and *Galla*. *Gratian* he had by his firſt Wife *Severa*, and the reſt of his Children by *Juſtina*, a Lady he married (as *Socrates* writes) while his former was living, upon this occaſion: *Juſtus* her Father, who in the Reign of *Conſtantius* for a good while governed *Picenum*, dream'd that his Right Side was delivered of the Imperial Robe, and this Dream he told to ſo many, that at length it came to that Jealous Emperours Ears; who conjecturing that one born of him might arrive, or aim at the Sovereignty, procured him to be made away. *Juſtina* thus bereaved of her Father continued a Virgin, and in time came to be acquainted with the Empreſs *Severa*, and with her often converſed, and grew ſo familiar, that ſhe permitted her to uſe the ſame Bath with her ſelf, by occaſion whereof *Severa* ſaw and admired her Beauty to ſuch a degree, that ſhe could not forbear telling her Husband of it; affirming, that in that ſort of Perfection ſhe excelled all other Women. That ſunk deep into the Heart of the Emperour, which ſeemed onely to pierce his Ear; and he deviſed how he might compaſs this beautiful *Juſtina* for his Wife, without divorcing *Severa* the Mother of *Gratian*, whom he had aſſumed to a Participation of the Imperial Dignity but a little before. To this purpoſe he made a Law, That all that were ſo pleaſed might have two Wives apiece, and this he cauſed to be proclaimed throughout every City; which done, he took *Juſtina* for a ſecond Wife, and by her had *Valentinian* and his three Daughters, whereof two died Virgins, and *Galla* was after married to *Theodoſius* the Great. But this is juſtly ſuſpected for a mere Tale, nay there's little doubt of its Falſhood, that Law appearing no where, and the Teſtimony of Hiſtory being ſo clear againſt it, that it affirms him exceeding chaſte; neither would other Writers have omitted ſo ſtrange and extraordinary a Paſſage. But this may ſuffice, that this *Juſtina* was no Virgin when he married her, but the Widow of *Magnentius* the Tyrant; if *Zoſimus* may be believed.

A ſtrange Tale of his making a Law for, and having two Wives together.

2. The Emperours Body being duly prepared to be ſent to *Conſtantinople*, and buried amongſt the *Auguſti*, Trouble ſeized on all mens Spirits, in expectation what ſo great an Accident might produce; and the rather becauſe the *Gallican* Souldiers were ſuſpected, as thoſe that never had kept their Fidelity to the deceaſed Prince, but were ever ready to raiſe Commotions upon ſuch occaſions. The Officers therefore in ſuch ſtraits proceeding in a wary courſe, ſent for *Merobaudes* their Commander in the Emperours Name, and as yet alive, to come to them; who either ſuſpecting the matter of himſelf, or ſifting it out of the Meſſenger, pretended to his Souldiers, that he had Orders to lead them to the *Rhine*, there to oppoſe the Incurſions

Valentinian his Son declared Emperour by the Officers of the Army.

ſions of the Barbarians, and, according to his Inſtructions, he ſent out of the way *Sebaſtian*, a man by his own nature quiet and milde enough, but in great favour with the Military men, and thereupon much to be feared. When he came to Court it was reſolved in Council, that *Valentinian* the Son of the Deceaſed, a Child of four years old, (if not rather nine) and at the diſtance of an hundred miles, living with his Mother *Juſtina* in a Village called *Murocincta*, ſhould be made Emperour. Accordingly *Cerealis*, the Boy's Uncle by the Mothers ſide, was ſent to fetch him, who bringing him in a Litter into the Camp, he was there legally declared for Emperour (ſo ſaith *Ammianus*) on the ſixth day after his Fathers Death, and named *Auguſtus*, in the ſolemn manner. All men concluded that *Gratian* would take it heinouſly (as well he might) that any one ſhould be advanced to the Imperial Dignity without his Conſent or Knowledge; but they lived very peaceably and lovingly together, and in this matter he carried himſelf both like a prudent and good-natur'd perſon, nay rather educated this his young Brother with too much fondneſs and reſpect.

Ammian lib. 31. *& ult.*

Lib. 4.

3. In the mean time a great Tempeſt began to gather to an head in the Eaſt, which occaſioning the Death of *Valens* was foretold by many Prodigies, as our Author believeth. Amongſt them (if any) is remarkable the Oracle found written in a four-ſquare Stone in the Walls of *Chalcedon*, which were pulled down (as he ſaith) for the building of a Bath at *Conſtantinople*; as others write, becauſe the *Chalcedonians* had reviled *Valens* during the Commotions raiſed by *Procopius*; wherein was in *Greek* Verſe ſignified, that when thoſe Stones ſhould be ſo imployed, a ſtout People through the River *Danubius*, the *Scythian* Countreys and *Myſia*, ſhould invade *Thrace*. Now *Socrates* hints, that theſe Walls were broken down ſeveral years before, by Command of *Valens*, who ſware, That if he overcame *Procopius* the Tyrant, he would do it, becauſe the Inhabitants of that City took his part, ſhut their Gates againſt himſelf, and reviled him as he paſſed by the ſaid Walls, the Stones whereof were indeed carried to the Common Baths of *Conſtantinople*, called *Conſtantianæ*. Then were found certain Verſes (he adds) ſignifying, That the Walls ſhould be taken to the uſe of the Baths, at what time great Plenty of Waters was to be ſeen in the City; and that then infinite Numbers of the Barbarous Nations, invading the *Roman* Dominions, ſhould wonderfully diſtreſs the Empire; but in the Concluſion be deſtroyed themſelves. Accordingly not long after, the Conduit made by *Valens* yielded great Plenty of Water to the City, and at the ſame time ſeveral of thoſe Nations took up Arms againſt the State. Yet ſuch as will trouble their Heads with things of this nature affirm, that the Oracle might be otherwiſe interpreted, from *Clearchus* the *Præfect* his making a great Pipe from this Conduit into the *Forum* of *Theodoſius*, called *The Plentiful Pipe*, the flocking together of the People, and the Feaſt held thereupon; but theſe Circumſtances and the Knowledge of this ſuppoſed Oracle fell out afterwards. We are further told, that when the Walls of *Chalcedon* were going to be demoliſhed, the Citizens of *Conſtantinople* made humble ſuit to the Emperour, that he would not ſo deface that City; and the like did ſuch *Bithynians*, *Nicomedians*, and *Nicæans*, as by chance were at *Conſtantinople* at the ſame time: but he remitting nothing of his Choler, took their Suit in very evil part, and that he might (as he alleaged) keep his Oath, commanded both the Wall to be pulled down, and the Foundation filled up with Pebble Stones; whence came it to paſs, that a ſlender and contemptible Structure was afterward raiſed upon ſo ancient and ſubſtantial a Foundation.

The *Hunns* invade the Empire.

Their manner of living.

4. But the Tempeſt which fell upon the Eaſt was raiſed by the *Hunns*, who out of greedineſs after Booty invaded the Empire, and raging with great Cruelty and Rapine, pierced at length as far as *Achaia*. This was a fierce and ſavage People, inhabiting that part of *Scythia* which lay upon the Ocean, beyond the Fenns of *Mæotis*. As ſoon as born they had their Cheeks cut and mangled, to prevent the growing of Hair, and therefore were as Beardleſs as Eunuchs, and ugly to behold. But their Conſtitution was firm and robuſt, as were their Limbs, and their Shoulders ſo large and fleſhed, that they looked rather like two-footed Beaſts, or rude and unpoliſhed Images of Men. So hardy were they that they never uſed Fire, nor dreſſed any Meat, but lived on the Roots of Herbs, and ſuch Fleſh as was chafed betwixt their Thighs and the Sides of their Horſes. For Houſes they never had any, but were as averſe to them as to Sepulchres ſeparated from common uſe; they wandered from place to place through Mountains and Valleys, as from their Infancy accuſtomed to bear the Incommodities of Cold and Hunger; which had ſuch Influences upon their Fancies, that when they came into other Countries, they would not willingly enter

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within the Walls of any Houſe, as thinking themſelves not ſafe when ſhut up and covered. Their Clothes were either Linnen, or the Skins of a ſort of Mice ſtitched together, knowing no diſtinction of Time or Place, or any Change, ſo long as they could hang on. They wore a crooked ſort of Cap; with Goats Skins they covered their Legs; and their Shoos were without any ſhape or faſhion, which hindered their pace, and rendered them unſerviceable on Foot; but on Horſe-back they fought nimbly, though in an unſeemly poſture. Day and night was indifferent to them as to Buying, Selling, Eating, and Drinking; and their Sleep they took upon the Necks of their Horſes. As to their Publick Affairs, thereof they conſulted in common, having no King, but living in a tumultuary confuſed manner. They fought in Parties formed like to Wedges. They begun the Battel with an hideous Noiſe; and as in Onſets they were quick and ſurpriſing, ſo when put to flight their Retreat was diſorderly, and void of all prudence; their Purſuit being alſo violent, furious, and diſcompoſed, wherein was obſerved that they never attacqued the Camp of their Enemy. Their Miſſile Weapons were made of Bones joyned together and ſharpned very artificially; hand to hand they made uſe of the Sword, and made it a great part of their buſineſs to entangle the Legs of their Adverſaries both on Foot and Horſe-back. They were never to be truſted in time of Truce, breaking all Laws of Nations, of Peace and War, as the fit and fury would come upon them, for they had no greater ſenſe of Right and Wrong than wilde Beaſts; and were of ſo inconſtant a humour, that without any Provocation they would fall out with their Friends, and again be reconciled without any Application made to them. To no ties of Religion or Superſtition were they bound. They were greedy of Gold, though they never pierced into the Earth ſo far as a Plough: For they wandered about as if they fled from an Enemy, without any Habitation, conſtant Law, Rule, or Order, in their Waggons, where they dwelt with their Wives and Children, whom they therein brought up till time of Puberty; ſo that none could anſwer if demanded of him, which was the place of his Conception, Birth, or Education.

The *Alani* their Neighbours.

5. Neighbours to the *Hunns* were the *Alani*, who alſo inhabited *Scythia* beyond *Tanais*, which River ſeparated *Europe* from *Aſia*. If we credit *Ammianus*, this People poſſeſſed a vaſt Deſert, and from the Mountains had their Name; which by their continual Conqueſts they communicated to the bordering Nations, as the *Perſians* formerly had done; ſo that thoſe who went under this common Appellation, extended toward the Eaſt their Habitations as far as the *Amazons*, and into *Aſia* to the River *Ganges*, which taking its courſe through *India*, pours forth its Streams into the Southern Sea. Like the *Scythian Nomades* they alſo wandered up and down without Houſes or Agriculture, living on raw Fleſh and Milk, and carrying their Families in Waggons covered over with the Bark of Trees, and ranged together in a Figure reſembling that of a City. They were chiefly addicted to the breeding of Horſes, and drove before them great Herds of Cattel. And the Soil they inhabited was very convenient for this ſort of Life, abounding with good Paſture, and here and there beſet with fruitful Trees. On foot to be ſeen they accounted ignoble, as being from their Youth accuſtomed to ride, and being trained up in War were in the management of it more prudent; and thence came it to paſs, that the *Perſians* being originally *Scythians*, were more skilful in fighting. In other reſpects they were much like the *Hunns*; for generally they were tall and goodly Perſons, of a terrible Aſpect, their Hair inclining to a Yellow, their Eyes quick; they were ſwift in Battel becauſe of the Lightneſs of their Armour; yet were they of a more cultivated and civil Converſation than they. Impatient above all things they were of Reſt, taking no pleaſure but in Wars and Dangers, inſomuch that they eſteemed thoſe happy who died in the Field, but ſuch as were extinguiſhed by Old Age or other accidents, they reproached as degenerate and ſluggiſh Perſons. Nothing accounted they ſo glorious as to have killed an Enemy; and they were wont to trap their Horſes with the Skins taken off from the Heads of the ſlain. As for Religion, not a Temple nor Chapel was ſeen amongſt them, as indeed no Roofed Houſe; but a naked Sword after an odd kind of faſhion ſtuck in the Ground they worſhipped as *Mars*, and the Protector of the Regions they inhabited. They had a ſtrange way of foretelling things to come by Rods, on which their Women practiſed certain ſecret Inchantments. They knew not what Servitude meant, (yet we read that the ancient *Scythians* had Slaves) all of them being reputed as nobly deſcended, and in matter of Judicature they made choice of ſuch Judges and Officers as were moſt Eminent for Ability in War.

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The *Hunns* fall into the Territories of the *Alans*, and then upon the *Goths*.

6. Into the Territories of theſe *Alani*, who were called *Tanaites*, and were Neighbours to the *Greuthungi*, did the *Hunns* break; they ſpoiled the Countrey, made great havock of all things; and entering into Alliance with ſuch as remained alive, joyned them to their Body, and with great Confidence and Celerity fell into the Dominions of *Ermenrich* a moſt Martial King, who for his great Performances was become terrible to the Nations adjoyning, but, ſtruck with Conſternation at ſo ſtrange and unexpected an Attempt, prevented his further trouble by a voluntary death. *Vithimires* being advanced into his place, by the Aſſiſtance of ſome other *Hunns* he had hired, made reſiſtance for ſome time, but after many Loſſes received was ſlain in fight. Then *Alatheus* and *Safrax*, two valiant and experienc'd Captains, undertook the Guardianſhip of his Son *Viderich*, who yet being ſtraitned in time, caſt off all hopes of Reſiſtance, and warily came down to *Danaſtus*, a River running through large Champain Countries betwixt *Iſter* and *Boryſthenes*. This being underſtood by *Athanarich*, Judge or Magiſtrate of the *Thervingi*, him againſt whom *Valens* moved war for having aſſiſted *Procopius*, he reſolved to ſtand upon his Guard, and vigorouſly to defend himſelf in caſe he were invaded, ſending out his Scouts to diſcover the Motions of thoſe Rovers. The *Hunns* ſuſpected there was a great Number of Men, and paſſing by the Scouts, fell upon him all on a ſudden, who having loſt ſome of his Souldiers, fled to the Mountains, and afterward paſſing from the River *Geraſus*, the Country of the *Taifali*, unto *Danubius*, there he raiſed a Fortification for his own Defence, when he had eſcaped the *Hunns*, who were overcharged with Booty, and thereby rendered incapable of an haſty Purſuit. However, the Report of this ſtrange and ſudden Invaſion running throughout the other Regions of the *Gothick* Nations, they reſolved by ſeeking out new Seats, to evade the Rage and Fury of ſo Barbarous an Enemy; and reſolving upon *Thrace*, both for that it was a fruitful Countrey, and from the Tracts which theſe Rovers moleſted, ſeparated by the large Streams of the River *Iſter*, under Conduct of *Alavivus* they ſeized on the Banks of the *Danube*, and by their Orators humbly beſought *Valens* they might be received, promiſing to live quietly, and to ſend him Aid upon any occaſion.

The *Goths* frighted from their own Countrey reſolve for *Thrace*.

7. The firſt Rumour of theſe ſtrange Commotions in the Northern Parts ſtruck all men with Admiration as well as Terror, to hear that ſo vaſt Multitudes of Barbarous People ſhould hover about the Banks of *Iſter*, driven out of their Seats by greater Barbarians than themſelves: And indeed this ſeemed, as by ſome later Chriſtians it is held, to be one of the Soundings of the Trumpet to the Diſſolution of the Weſtern Empire. Yet ſome flattering Courtiers took even hence occaſion to extoll the good Fortune of the Emperour, who would now be ſo furniſhed with Souldiers out of *Thrace*, that he might by that Eaſment treaſure up abundance of Gold, ſpent before this in the making of new Levies; and their Perſuaſions were ſo effectual, that Order was given for Tranſporting theſe *Goths* into that Country, who night and day without any intermiſſion came over in ſuch Multitudes, that ſuch as were appointed to ſurvey them could never attain to any certainty of their Number. *Ammianus* compares them to the Troops of *Xerxes*, and the Companies that muſtered at *Doriſcus*, and affirms them far more noxious than they, in that they brought Ruine to the Empire along with them, and far exceeded the Malignity of the *Perſian* Armies, which *Greece* in a manner overcame before ſhe ſaw. Theſe Swarms of the Northern Barbarous People he further likens to the thick Clouds of burning Coals, which were wont formerly to iſſue out of the Mountain *Ætna*, and at this very ſame time intercepted the Light of the Sun; and beſides what it belched forth out of its own Bowels, kindled other new and unnatural Fires, by burning all things combuſtible within the Limits of the adjoyning and obnoxious Countrey. And it ſo further happened at this very time of danger and moſt preſſing difficulties, when there was greateſt need of skilful and prudent Governours, that the Provinces were ſerved by moſt unworthy men, amongſt whom of moſt Eminence were *Lupicinus* and *Maximus*, he a *Comes* through *Thrace*, and this exercizing the Office of a *Dux*; both equally guilty of Raſhneſs and the Ruine of their Countrey through their Covetouſneſs, whereby they ſeveral ways irritated this People, till then ſufficiently quiet and peaceable. Amongſt other diſhonourable Practices, when theſe Multitudes were ſorely pinched with want of Proviſions, and diſtreſſed by Hunger, they got all the Dogs they could together, and exchanged them for ſo many Men, whom they took for Slaves, and amongſt them ſome of the Sons of the chiefeſt Perſons. However, ſuch was the occaſion of the Admiſſion of theſe Barbarous Nations into the Bowels of the Empire, a thing of ſo per-

Order is given by *Valens* for their Tranſportation.

They are provoked by *Lupicinus* and *Maximus*.

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nicious a Conſequence, as nothing more; and the Circumſtances of their Admiſſion were ſuch, as *Ammianus Marcellinus* delivers them. A moſt groſs act of Imprudence, whether of *Valens* or others, to receive ſuch Multitudes without diſarming them. Some Writers ſay, it was the Emperours Command that they ſhould deliver up their Arms before they came over; but the Officers who had the charge of their Paſſage never had any regard unto it, being intent upon their own Gain and private Advantages, which they made of the moſt beautiful Women, the goodlieſt Boys, and ſtrongeſt Slaves and Labourers they could chuſe. And ſome were bribed by Linen Clothes and other Preſents, to connive at their having their Weapons. Nay, ſome tell us, that *Valens* his Deſign was prudent, if it could have been proſecuted, which was, to beſtow the Children of both Sexes through divers Provinces of the Empire, to have them as ſo many Hoſtages for the Truth and Fidelity of their Parents. This memorable Paſſage of the *Goths* happened, when *Valens* the fifth time and *Valentinian* the Younger were Conſuls, in the CCCLXXVI Year of our Lord, and not in the following Year, as it is erroneouſly placed in the Chronicle of S.*Hierom.* Their Captains were *Alavivus* and *Fritigern.*

Their Admiſſion miſchievous to the Empire.

Vide Valeſium in Amm. lib. 31. p. 442.

Which happened when *Valens* the fifth time and *Valentinian* the younger were Conſuls.

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The *Greuthungi*, though forbidden,

8. Theſe Captains with their Followers being thus received within the *Roman* Pale, not long after *Vithrich* King of the *Greuthungi*, by the Advice of *Alatheus* and *Saphrax* who governed him, accompanied by them and *Farnobius*, came down to the Bank of *Iſter*, and by Meſſengers diſpatcht away in all haſte beſought the Emperour that they might alſo be received, with the ſame Courteſy. This for weighty reaſon was denied them; and when they conſulted what to do upon this Repulſe, *Athanarich* well remembring how he had affronted *Valens*, by pretending he had ſworn never to ſet Foot on *Roman* Ground, and for that Reaſon had forced him to come by Boat into the middle of the River to make the Peace, concluding that the Emperour reteined ſtill the grudge in his Mind, drew off his Men to a place that was almoſt inacceſſible by reaſon of Mountains and Woods, and thence expelled the *Sarmatæ* who had there ſeated themthemſelves. In the mean time ſuch of the *Thervingi* as were permitted to paſs the River, wandred upon the Coaſts, almoſt ſtarved, by reaſon of the Cheating tricks practiſed againſt them by the *Roman* Officers for Gain, and *Lupicinus* perceiving their juſt ſence and indignation, for fear they ſhould Mutiny, ſent a Party of Soldiers to drive them on faſter. The *Greuthungi* perceiving this to be a convenient time, when the Soldiers were thus imployed, and that the Veſſels wont to ply to and again to hinder their Paſſage, were removed, took the opportunity, and got over by Boats patched together as well as they could out of hand, and ſate down at a good diſtance from *Fritigern*, who being a Cunning Man, that he might not give any Cauſe of ſuſpition to the *Romans*, and yet not want the Aſſiſtance of the other Kings upon occaſion, marched ſlowly towards *Marcianople.* There fell out a miſchance which added Oyle to the former Flame. *Lupicinus* having invited *Alavivus* and *Fritigern* to Dinner; leſt the ordinary ſort of Barbarians ſhould preſs upon him for Victuals, he ordered a Guard of Soldiers to keep them off from the Gates of the Town, whither they deſired they might be admitted as Friends, to provide them Neceſſaries. Being thus Repulſed, they came to outragious words with the Inhabitants, and from words to Blowes, ſo that the *Goths* fell upon the Party that was appointed to watch the Gates, killed them, and ſtripped them when ſlain. *Lupicinus* herewith acquainted, in the midſt of their merriment, cauſed all the Attendants which waited on the two Gueſts to be ſtraightway knocked on the Head; the Report whereof flying to thoſe without the Walls, drove them into a Rage, as concluding that their Kings ſhould be detained Priſoners. This *Fritigern* earneſtly preſſing, and fearing indeed that he ſhould be detained as an Hoſtage, alleaged it was neceſſary he ſhould go, to quiet their mindes and allay their Fury. Both he and his Companion got away, the *Roman* General being now beſotted with Wine, and were received with great Joy, as utterly unexpected; and to improve the Advantage thence obtained, they fell into Conſultation how they might beſt raiſe a War and Revenge themſelves.

Take their opportunity and paſs over.

And all agree together to waſte the Country and defeat *Lupicinus.*

9. The whole Nation of the *Thervingi* upon information of what had happened, were vehemently bent the ſame way, and with Banners diſplayed, fell preſently upon the Countries, which they Pillaged and waſted with Fire and Sword. *Lupicinus* in a Tumultuary manner marched out, to withſtand ſo dangerous a beginning, but with ſo ill Succeſs, that Incamping himſelf at twelve Miles diſtance from the City, he was by a ſudden Attacque of the Enemy defeated, and forced to flye for

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his Life, moſt of his Men being Cut off together with their Tribunes, which Accident, carried this greater miſchief along with it, that the Barbarians were hereby furniſhed with *Roman* Armes, and made now havock of all things without Controll. When *Valens* had notice of theſe dangerous Motions of the *Goths*, he was much diſtracted in his Thoughts what Courſe to take. He ſent away with ſpeed *Victor* the *Magiſter Equitum*, to Compoſe Matters as he could with the *Perſians*, about *Armenia*. Reſolving then to quit *Antioch*, where he had made his Abode about a year, and go to *Conſtantinople* to be nearer at Hand; he ſent before, two of his Captains, *Profuturus* and *Trajan*, Men more Ambitious than able for Buſineſs, who coming to the place, whereas the Caſe required, that they ſhould by way of Stratagem and Surprize, Cut off and diminiſh ſo great Multitudes as now filled both the Mountains and Champion; they oppoſed againſt them the Legions drawn out of *Armenia*, which indeed were Valiant enough, but utterly unable to grapple with ſuch vaſt numbers of Men. They forced the Enemy beyond the Mountain *Hæmus*, and there ſeizing on the Straits and cragged Rocks, reſolved to ſhut them up, and deſtroy them by Famine; or at leaſt ſo long to keep them pen't up, till *Frigeride* could Arrive with the *Pannonian* and *Tranſalpine* Auxiliaries, which, at the requeſt of *Valens*, *Gratian* ordered to their Aſſiſtance. And *Richomeres*, who at that time was his *Comes Domeſticorum*, he commanded to haſten out of *Gall* into *Thrace*, upon the ſame Errand. But by the Endeavours, as was reported, of *Merobaudes*, *Richomeres* his Troops forſook him for the moſt part, that the Borders of *Gall* might not be deſtitute and expoſed; ſo that he joyned indeed, with *Profuturus* and *Trajan*, but to little Effect, for *Frigeride* was ſeized with the Gout; or elſe, as his Ill-willers talked, Counterfeited himſelf ſick, and ſtaid behind.

10. Such were the Diſappointments, as to Relief out of the *Weſt*; and for the *Eaſtern* Parts, we muſt not forget, that at the very firſt when the Rumour of the motions of the *Thervingi*, came to the Eares of *Valens*, he ordered a Party of *Goths* which under Conduct of *Sueridus* and *Colias* had been long before received and appointed to Quarter about *Adrianople*, ſpeedily to remove toward the *Helleſpont*. But they conſidering what would make moſt for their Intereſt, required Proviſions for their Journey, and two days Reſpite, whereat the Magiſtrate or *Duumvir* of that City was very much moved, as incenſed againſt them for having waſted the Country adjoyning, and he ſtirred up the Common ſort ſo much, together with the *Fabricenſes* or thoſe belonging to the Forges, of which, there was there a great Multitude, that they all gathered together, threatning to deſtroy them upon Refuſal to depart. The *Goths* at firſt were amazed, and ſtirred not, till provoked both by opprobrious Language and the Miſſile Weapons; they then fell upon them, killed many, put the reſt to Flight, and in the *Roman* Habit (having ſtripped the ſlain) went and joyned themſelves with *Fritigern*, and with him laid Siege to the City. But *Fritigern*, knowing his People unexperienced as to Sieges, perſwaded them to remove (alleaging that he had no Quarel with Walls) and to Plunder the wealthy and fruitful Province; for there they ſhould find no Oppoſition. Leaving a ſufficient power to block up the Town, they ranged all over *Thrace*, where they could get moſt Booty, their numbers being daily increaſed by thoſe of their Nation, who having been formerly ſold by Merchants, or others, for morſels of Bread, now flocked in to them. Many alſo who had Skill in Mines, of which there were plenty in *Thrace*, accompanied them for getting of Gold, not able, or not willing, to bear the uſual Impoſitions, and the *Goths* gladly entertained them for the Diſcovery of the ſecret places in the Country whither Men of Wealth had retired. Now, without any difference of Sex or Age, did theſe Barbarians rage againſt the Perſons, as well as Goods of the miſerable Inhabitants; the ſucking Children were ſnatched from the Breaſts of their Mothers, the Infants killed, and the Mothers abuſed, after they had ſeen their Husbands Butchered before their faces; thoſe of puberty were haled over the dead Bodies of their Parents into Slavery, and the old Men, in vain complaining, that they had already lived too long, were compelled to quit their flaming Houſes, and follow with their Hands bound behind them.

Græcè στρατηγὸς *dictus.*

They block up *Adrianople.*

And cruelly rage throughout *Thrace.*

11. But *Profuturus* and *Trajan* to whom *Richomeres* had joyned himſelf, that it might not be ſaid they would do nothing, moved toward a place called *Salices* near to which, lay a vaſt Body of the *Goths*, the poſture of whom they obſerved, as they were incloſed with their Waggons, and expected when they would ſtir, that they might fall upon their Rear, promiſing themſelves much Succeſs in

ſuch an Attempt. But the Deſigne was diſcovered either by Fugitives or ſome other way, ſo that the Barbarians kept their Poſt, and by Signes gave notice to all their Straglers to return to the Camp; where being Arrived, like ſo many Wilde Beaſts upon the Prey, they raged to be led out againſt the *Romans*, who well enough perceived the diſadvantage they were in, both in reſpect of their Numbers and the Folly of their Commanders; however, animated by the goodneſs of their Cauſe, That Night they paſſed without Sleep on both Sides, and the Day following came to a Bloudy Battel. The Barbarians, having firſt taken the Oath after their manner, indeavoured to become Maſters of the upper Ground; but in this matter the *Romans* were as cunning as they, and ſo Reſolute and Couragious, that Night alone could put an end to the Controverſy, in which many of them fell, as overpowered by Numbers. The better ſort, as they could, they gathered up and Buried; and all the reſt were left to be devoured by Fowles, which then had but too plentiful Fare, as appeared by the Bones they left, with which theſe Fields were covered a long time after. The *Romans* drew off towards *Marcianople.* The *Goths* for ſeven days following, kept themſelves amongſt their Cariages, not daring to look out, which opportunity the other taking, Blocked up another Party of them in the Straits of *Hæmus*, where they hoped they might periſh with hunger; for on the other ſide they were cloſed by the *Iſter* and Deſerts, within a Country deſtitute of Neceſſaries; all Proviſions being removed into ſtrong Townes and fenced places, which how to Attacque or become Maſters of, they knew them to have neither Skill nor Power. Theſe things thus performed, *Richomeres* went back into *Gall*, to fetch, as was hoped, greater Supplies of Men, for ſo mighty a work as evidently now was Cut out for them. But this was when *Gratian* the fourth time was *Conſul*, together with *Merobaudes*, and *Autumn* now approached, as *Ammianus* tells us in ſo many words.

A Bloody Battel.

Honoratos Ammianus eos vocat.

When *Gratian* the fourth time and *Merobaudes* were Conſuls.

Hæc Gratiano quater & Merobaude Conſulibus agebantur, Anno in Autumnum vergente.

12. *Valens* his Eares being perpetually filled with the Noiſe of Slaughters, Pillagings and Burnings, ſent away *Saturninus* with the Horſe, to the Relief of *Profuturus* and *Trajan.* But at the ſame time it hapned that all things neceſſary for Suſtenance being conſumed, through the Tracts of *Scythia* and *Mæſia*, the Barbarians of thoſe parts allſo were in great Diſorder. Often they endeavoured to break their Bounds, but ſtill by the Reſolution of the *Roman* Forces were Repulſed, till driven by extream Neceſſity, they allured by promiſes of vaſt Booty, a number of *Hunns* and *Alans* to joyn with them. *Saturninus* was now at Hand, imploying himſelf in diſpoſing matters relating to the Garriſons and Stations of theſe Borders; but perceiving the vaſt Swarmes of theſe People could not be diverted by him and the few he had with him; but that they muſt be overwhelmed, as by a more violent Inundation of Waters, the more they endeavoured to ſtop the Current, he made a fair Retreat. And now upon Removal of the Soldiers, a Vent being given, ſtraitway like a mighty Flood, they bore down all before them, and ſpreading themſelves throughout the Coaſts of *Thrace*, as far as from *Iſter* to *Rhodope* and the Streights; with Rapines, Slaughters, Blood, and Fire, the inſlaving of all they thought fit not to diſmiſs out of their miſerable thraldome, and ſpoyling of all things, they gratified their Ravenous Appetites. In this manner they proceeded as far as a place called *Dibaltum*, where they found *Barzimeres* Tribune of the *Scutarij* encamped with his Legion, together with the *Cornuti* and ſeveral other Parties of Foot; a Perſon very well skilled in matters of War. He well enough knowing the Danger he was in, reſolved with his Men wedged as cloſe together as could be, to brake through them; and in the Attempt ſo well behaved himſelf, that he had eſcaped, but that, when he was now wearied and diſabled any more to maintain the Fight, he was ſurrounded with Horſe, and Cut in pieces, yet not without a great Slaughter firſt made of the Enemy, which by the vaſtneſs of their Numbers was Concealed. Incouraged by this Succeſs, more than they had reaſon, they went on hunting after *Frigeride*, who by Order of *Gratian* was come into *Thrace*, and had taken up a Poſt near to *Beræa.* But he who was ſufficiently knowing how to avoid dangers and preſerve an Army, withdrew himſelf out of the way into *Illyricum* through Mountainous and Woody places, and in his Retreat was much Elevated by a notable Adventure. He light upon *Farnobius*, one of the Captains of the *Goths*, who then Headed the People called *Taifali* which had joyned themſelves alſo to his Nation, having paſſed the River, when the *Roman* Guards out of Fear were diſperſed, as deſirous to Share in the Adventure made now by all theſe Northern People. Perceiving he could make his Party good if he grapled with theſe Rovers; he ſet upon them, killed *Farno-*

The Barbarians of *Scythia* and *Mæſia* break alſo into *Thrace.*

They cut off *Barzimeres.*

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Frigeride kills *Farnobius* and takes his *Taifali.*

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bius, and with him had ſo treated all the reſt, but that he was induced to Mercy, by the miſerable Cries they made for Quarter. He took them all alive, none eſcaping, and beſtowed them in *Italy*, about *Mutina*, *Regium* and *Parma*, to Till the Grounds. This Nation, as the Hiſtorian tells us, was Infamous for *Sodomy*; it being their Cuſtome to abuſe Boys that were Arrived at Puberty, who had no way to Redeem themſelves from that filthy ſort of Slavery, but by killing a Wilde Boar, or elſe a Bear, with their own Hands; a Service performed to the Publick.

In the mean time the *Lentienſes* a People of the *Allemans* invade alſo the Empire.

13. In this manner was miſerable *Thrace* afflicted, when it grew towards Winter; and about the ſame time, other Northern Parts of the Empire had their ſhare in the publick Calamity, occaſioned by the *Lentienſes*, a Nation of the *Allemans* neighbouring to *Rhætia*, which broke the League, and invaded the *Roman* Territories upon this Occaſion. There was one of their Countrymen, who being of the Emperours Guard, and having occaſion to return home, when ſeveral aſked him what Newes at Court? Told them, that *Gratian* was ſent for by his Uncle *Valens*, to help him to repell thoſe Northern People, which had conſpired againſt the Peace of the Empire; and that ſpeedily he would ſet forward to the Eaſt. They were Joyful Men at the Report, being as greedy of Booty and Spoil, as any of the reſt; and in the Month of *February*, when the *Rhine* was Frozen, took the Opportunity, and fell of ſpoiling the Country, till ſtopped by the *Petulantes* and *Celtæ*, who making Head againſt them, drove them back; not without conſiderable loſs on the *Roman* ſide. They were forced to Return; but not at all diſmayed by this Repulſe, they encouraged their Friends and Relations to venture forth another time; and now generally the *German* Nation knowing that the Imperial Forces were drawn into *Illyricum* and that *Gratian* was to follow, roſe up from all their Villages, and to the Number of forty thouſand, or as ſome who endeavoured to inhance the Reputation of the Emperour alleaged, to that of ſeventy, confidently poured themſelves into the Neighbouring Province. *Gratian* herewith very much ſtartled, recalled the Troops he had ſent toward *Pannonia*, and muſtering ſuch as were in a Readineſs in *Gall*, committed them to the Conduct of *Nannienus* a Sober and Expert Captain, and with him joyned *Mellobaudes* his *Comes Domeſticorum*, yet a King of the *Franks*, and a Valiant and Martial Perſon. Theſe two, though of different Tempers, the one being very Wary and Circumſpect, the other greedy of Fighting and impatient of Delay; at a place called *Argentaria*, gave theſe Rovers a notable Defeat; though at firſt their Men were affrighted at the Number of their Enemies and began to ſhift for themſelves. Of the Barbarians (ſo many in number as we have ſaid) no more than five thouſand eſcaped, through their knowledge of the Woody Country; and ſuch as died in the Field, were accompanied to another World by *Priarius* their King, who had been the principal Incendiary and procurer of the War.

After this the *Germans* generally do the ſame.

Argentaria opidmm Germaniæ in Triboccis.

Maximinus and *Mellobaudes* give them a great defeat.

14. With ſo great ſucceſs was *Gratian* ſufficiently elevated, and bent now toward the *Eaſt*. Yet encouraged by the Victory, he could not but in his way turn to the Left Hand; and with all Secrecy imaginable paſſing the *Rhine*, hoped by Surprize wholly to Conquer or deſtroy this inconſtant and unfaithful People. The *Lentienſes* having received frequent Alarms of his Approach, as utterly deſpairing of any other Courſe, and too too ſenſible of the miſerable reiterated Slaughter of their Nation, fled with all they could carry away to the Neighbouring Mountains, where they little doubted but to defend themſelves by the ſteepneſs of the Rocks. But *Gratian* choſe out of the Army ſeveral Parties, whereof each conſiſted of five hundred Men, and ſent them as it were on Hunting after the Enemy, and though in Skill and Valour theſe might have the Advantage, yet the other were ſo Aſſiſted by the inacceſſible Precipices, that they maintained the Fight on even Terms, till Night put an end to the Contention. The Emperour ſo unexpectedly miſſing of his Aim, called his Officers together, and it was reſolved in Council, no more to follow the former Courſe, but Block them up and ſubdue them by Famine. But this could not ſo far Affright or Diſcourage the *Germans*, but that ſufficiently knowing the Country, they removed their Station from this place to other Mountains, leſs Acceſſible than the former. For all this, he ſtill purſued them, and laboured to diſcover the Paſſages whereby they had Arrived at the Top of the Hills; which Pertinacious purpoſe of his, had ſo great Operation now at laſt upon them, that perceiving nothing would ſatisfie him, but their Deſtruction, and that by no Difficulties, could he be deterred

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Gratian forces the *Lentienſes* to beg Peace.

Which gains him much Reputation.

Ammianus.

from his Reſolution, they begged Peace and obtained it on Condition, to ſend their Youth to ſerve in the *Roman* Armies. This ſo ſeaſonable and otherwiſe conſiderable a Victory, incredible it is, how much it advanced the Intereſt of *Gratian*, who hereby kept in Awe the Weſtern Nations, and facilitated his Deſignes, as to his Eaſtern Expedition. And indeed he gained much upon the People by his towardly Diſpoſition, being a Youth well Inclined, Eloquent in Speech, Soldier enough for his time, yet moderate and merciful; though to blame in a fond humour he had of imitating the Emperour *Commodus*, yet ſo as not to be Bloody. For as that Prince Prided himſelf in the Dexterity of Caſting Darts, ſo as in the View of the People, he would kill whole Droves of Wilde Beaſts upon the Theatre, nay, an hundred Lyons let go all together, he ſingled out ſeverally, and killed each with one Shaft alone; ſo *Gratian* ſpent too much time in his Parks, in Exerciſe of the like Nature, and neglected his great and Important Affairs, at ſuch a time, when, if *Marcus Antoninus* himſelf had Sate at the Helm, he could ſcarcely have recovered the State out of the miſerable Condition wherein it now lay; without great Warineſs and ſome Colleagues choſen of equal temper with himſelf.

15. But having ſettled the Affairs of *Gall*, as the time would give leave, and the Caſes of the ſeveral Nations required, and withal, having puniſhed that Soldier who had betrayed his Deſignes to the Enemy, he took his way by the Fort at the *Happy Tree*, as it was called, and by *Lauriacum* haſted to the Aſſiſtance of them, in whoſe Quarrel he was ingaged. In the mean time, when *Frigeride* ordered all his matters with great Prudence and Caution, and now was about to fortify the Streights of *Succi*, ſo wiſe a Man though he was, and ſuch an one, as if he had not been imployed, ſhould have been by all means drawn out of Retirement and preferred, was diſcharged his place, and *Maurus* a *Comes* appointed his Succeſſor, one of a quite contrary Diſpoſition, raſh and uncertain; he who took a wreath from about his own Neck, and put it as a Diadem upon the Head of *Julian*, at his Promotion. In thoſe days *Valens* departed at length from *Antioch*, and came to *Conſtantinople*, where having ſtaid a little time, he found the People tumultuous, and having given the Command of the Foot belonging to *Trajan*, to *Sebaſtian*, a very expert Commander, whom he had lately ſent for out of *Italy*, he departed to *Melanthias*, a Village belonging to the Emperour, where, by Money, good Victuals, and fair words he careſſed the Soldiers. Thence he gave Orders for the Army to March to *Nice*, a Station ſo called, where he underſtood from his Scouts that the Barbarians having waſted the Coaſts of *Rhodope* were returned with great Booty as far as *Adrianople*, and for fear of him, having heard he was at hand, with a powerful Army, haſted to joyn their Countrymen that lay about *Beræa* and *Nicopolis*. Againſt them was *Sebaſtian* ſpeedily ſent away with three hundred choſen Men out of Each Band or *Numerus*, and uſing great Expedition, ſoon arrived at *Adrianople*, to the walls of which when he approached, he was unexpectedly forbidden by the Inhabitants to proceed any farther; for they were fearful that he was ſuborned, and ſent by the Enemy to entrap them; but at length, perſwaded to be of another Opinion, they opened the Gates. Having refreſhed his Men with what Conveniences the Town would afford, the day following he iſſued out, with Intention to cut off certain Parties of the Barbarians, which were roving about the River *Hebrus*, and covering himſelf with the thickneſs of the Woods and obſcurity of the night, he fell upon them undiſcovered, killed all that could not make a ſpeedy Eſcape, and recovered ſo much of their Plunder, that if you will believe our Writer, neither the City nor the adjacent Plain it ſelf could contain it. At this ſo conſiderable a Defeat was *Fritigern* much diſturbed; and fearing that the reſt of his Country men, that were diſperſed, and riſling the Country, ſhould be intrapped by ſo expert a Commander, he gathered them together from all Quarters, and departed into the Coaſts of *Cabyle*.

Frigeride moſt ſtrangely turned out of Power.

Sebaſtian, ſent by *Valens*, cuts off very many of the *Barbarians*.

16. While matters thus ſucceeded in *Thrace*, *Gratian* having by Letter informed his Uncle how his Arms had proſpered againſt the *Allemans*, ſent his Baggage away by Land, with his Army paſſed the *Danube*, and by the way of *Bononja* (a Town in *Pannonia*) came to *Sirmium*, where having ſtaid four days he removed, and by the ſaid River proceeded as far as the Fort called *Caſtra Martis*, though all the while afflicted by an Ague, having by the way loſt ſome few of his Followers, intercepted by the ſudden Incurſions of the *Alans*. *Valens* was not ſo dull, but that he conceived

Febribus intervallatis afflictas.

Valens envying his Nephew goes in perſon againſt the *Goths*.

ceived matter of Æmulation upon a double account, both that the *Lentienſes* were quite ſubdued, and that *Sebaſtian* had got ſo much Reputation by the late Action about *Hebrus*. Inwardly nettled at the Fame of his young Nephew, he removed from *Melanthias*, out of a Reſolution to do ſomething by the repute of which he might equal his Renown; and for this purpoſe having already in the Field a very good Army, he rendered it yet more formidable, by getting into the Service many Veterane Souldiers, and amongſt others of more notable Rank he again imployed *Trajan*, who had not long before been *Magiſter Armorum*. Now was made a Diſcovery, that the Barbarians intended by ſeizing on the Straits to intercept the Proviſions he had made for his Men; but this he prevented in good time, by diſpatching away with all ſpeed a ſtrong Party of Archers, and a convenient Body of Horſe. They, thus diſappointed, proceeded ſlowly and cautiouſly, for fear of being ſurprized; and *Valens* by his Scouts being miſinformed concerning their Number, longed to be at them. Drawing his Army into the form of a Square he marched toward *Adrianople*, and near the Town intrenched himſelf, where with impatience expecting his Nephew, he was preſently informed by *Richomeres* his *Comes Domeſticorum*, whom he had ſent before with Letters, that he was at hand. *Gratian* by theſe Letters earneſtly beſought him that he would ſtay for him, and not by hazarding a Battel thruſt himſelf into ſo great danger; and upon reading of them he called together his Council of War. *Sebaſtian* and others importuned him not to delay fighting. *Victor* a *Magiſter Equitum*, a prudent and wary Captain, adviſed him by all means to ſtay for his Colleague, and not hazard that Victory by too much haſte, which by the aſſiſtance of the *Gallican* Troops, there was little doubt but he might obtain.

Gratian by Letters deſires him not to fight till he ſhould come to his Aſſiſtance.

But he is perſwaded to the contrary.

17. He, as it happens in ſuch caſes, when Princes are adviſed to various courſes, took that which moſt ſuited his own Inclination, being by ſome Flatterers perſuaded to prevent the Honour which might accrue to his Nephew by the Engagement, and to wear the Laurel alone. While matters were preparing to put in execution what he had reſolved; a Chriſtian Prieſt (*Presbyter*, *Ammianus* tells us they called ſuch) and ſome others arrived with a Meſſage from *Fritigern*, by which in an humble manner he deſired, that he and his Countrymen, who had been driven from their own Seats by fierce and Barbarous Nations, might be permitted to inhabit *Thrace*, and enjoy the Cattel and Fruits there found, which if granted he promiſed Peace and all good Offices on their part. This the Chriſtian (ſo he terms him) openly delivered with the reſt; but he had other ſecret Inſtructions and private Letters from his King, who therein in ambiguous terms ſeemed to deſire of *Valens*, that he would bring his Army into the Field, and awe the *Goths* by the terror of his Imperial Name, without which they were not to be kept in any *decorum*. The Meſſengers were diſmiſſed as perſons not to be underſtood; but not long after on the fifth of the *Ides of Auguſt*, in all haſte Orders were given for the Army to march, all the Baggage being ſent into *Adrianople*, there to be kept with the Governour and Conſiſtorian Counſellors. By noon they diſcovered the Barbarians making an hideous Noiſe, as their Cuſtom was, to Battel, and the *Roman* Captains put their Army into a poſture of fighting. The right Wing of the Horſe they placed in the Van, for the left was not yet come up, and as it marched with all vigour and ſpeed ſome of the Barbarians were affrighted with the Noiſe, and ſome of them that lay further off with *Alatheus* and *Safraces* ſent to the Emperour, and in a ſhow deſired Peace. He deſpiſed them as an abject and baſe People, and required thoſe of the chiefeſt of them to be delivered up for Hoſtages; but they by feigned Excuſes drew out the time in length, and delayed till their own Horſe could arrive, which hourly they expected, with a further deſign, that the *Roman* Souldiers might be ſpent with the Heat of the Seaſon, now increaſed by the multitude of Fires which they had induſtriouſly kindled throughout the Countrey, as well as ſtarved for want of Victuals.

18. But *Fritigern* further to amuſe the Emperour, ſent and promiſed to bring all his Forces over to him, together with all things neceſſary for the Army, onely he required that ſome Noblemen might ſpeedily be ſent as Hoſtages to him. The Meſſage being acceptable, *Equitius* a Tribune, a Kinſman of *Valens*, and who had the Charge of his Palace, was deſigned for one, but he refuſed the Imployment, as having had too much Experience of the Extravagancy of the Barbarians when Priſoner with them, for he had made his Eſcape from *Dibaltum*. Upon his refuſal *Richomeres* freely offered himſelf to it, as becoming a man of Courage and Reſolution, who as he was going to the Enemies Camp, certain Archers and others, com-

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Certain Archers raſhly begin the Battel.

manded by *Bacurius* an *Iberian* and one *Caſſio*, out of a too earneſt deſire of fighting fell in upon the *Goths*,and through their raſhneſs gave an ominous beginning to the War. For hereby was fruſtrated the worthy Deſign of *Richomeres*, who was not now permitted to paſs, and the *Gothick* Horſe being come up under Command of *Alatheus* and *Sarfraces*, together with a Party of *Alans*, with great violence fell from the Mountains, and bore all down that ſtood in its way. The *Romans* at the firſt Onſet were overpowered, and great ſlaughter followed of them, though they made as manful Reſiſtance as could be expected; which procured a Battel of that violence and reſolution, that the Hiſtorian compares it to a raging and increaſing Flame of Fire, as alſo to a Fight of Beaked Gallies, agitated both by the voluntary Truſion of each other, and the motion of the Sea. The left Wing broke through as far as the Enemies Carriages, and had done more if any Aſſiſtance had come; but forſaken by the reſt of the Horſe, was oppreſſed utterly by the Numbers of the Barbarians, which ſo crouded upon them, that ſcarcely could one of them draw his Sword, or pull in his hand again when once ſtretched out. The Duſt was ſo great, that it intercepted all proſpect, ſo that none could be aware of or prevent his being killed or maimed by the Enemies Darts, and by ſo vaſt multitudes were the *Romans* hemmed in on all ſides, that there was no opportunity of flight, which made them out of deſperation to contemn Death, and to ſell their Lives at a very dear rate, though the *Goths* ſeemed fully as reſolute as they. For If one of them had his Hand cut off, ſo that he could not uſe a Weapon, or had his Legs ſo mangled that he could not ſtand upright, yet when conflicting even with Death, would he with rolling Eyes and a grim angry Countenance, ſhew with how great fury and deſire of Revenge he was poſſeſſed. Through this mutual Contention, and pertinacious Humour, the Ground was all covered with heaps of dead Bodies, and the ſhouts of thoſe that fought were not heard, by reaſon of the loud cries and lamentations of the dying. The *Roman* Foot, utterly ſpent by the toil and heat of the day, having now neither ſtrength, hope, nor diſcretion left them, and having broken their Pikes betook themſelves to their Swords, and like mad men ruſhed amongſt the Multitudes of the Barbarians, till ſuch time as they could not hold their Feet, (ſo ſlippery was the Earth rendered by the Streams of Bloud that now ran every way) but fell upon dead Carcaſes, which by this time they trampled on without horrour; ſo familiar had Cuſtom made the ſight, how diſmal ſoever. The Sun was upon his entrance of *Virgo*, and therefore his Heat, added to the weight of their Weapons, rendered their Thirſt, as well as their Arms,inſupportable.

The moſt dreadful, and bloudy of all others.

19. In concluſion, the *Romans* were overpowered, and forced to fly as they could; which *Valens* perceiving, while every one ſhifted away as privily as he could, he betook himſelf in great fear and anxiety to the *Lancearii* and thoſe called *Mattiarii*, who had endured the ſhock without giving the leaſt ground; at which *Trajan* cried out, that the Emperour deſerted by his Guards would be utterly loſt if not ſpeedily reſcued. Hereupon *Victor* with all ſpeed haſted away to fetch ſome *Batavians*, who had been placed as a Reſerve to the relief of the Prince; but by this time there were no ſuch men to be found: So that diſappointed he went his way, as in like manner *Richomeres* ſaved himſelf by flight, together with *Saturninus*, whom *Valens* had preferred to the Dignity of *Magiſter Armorum*. The Purſuit was vigorouſly proſecuted by the Barbarians, who ſpared none that yielded, but quitted thoſe that made reſiſtance; and the flight of the purſued was hindered by the multitude of dead Bodies filling the ways, yet indifferently ſecured by the darkneſs of the following Night, at the beginning whereof in the twilight its thought the Emperour himſelf fell amongſt the common Souldiers, by the ſhot of an Arrow: But in what way he miſcarried there's no certainty, for his Body was never found, neither was there one alive that could ſay he ſaw him, the Enemy hovering long upon the place, as intent upon the Spoil, ſo that none durſt approach it to make any diſcovery. In like manner *Decius*, one of his Predeceſſors, in a Battel fought with Barbarians, was caſt from his Horſe into a Bog, and never could be recovered nor found. Yet was it reported, that *Valens* died not upon the very ſpot, but was conveyed to a Countrymans Houſe near at hand, which being very defenſible by reaſon of its large Roof, when the Barbarians for ſome time repulſed knew not the Quality of the Perſon, and were diverted by thoughts of greater Booty, they ſet * fire to it, and burnt him and it both together. That one of his Attendants leaping out of a Window, and being taken, told the unwelcom News to the *Goths*, (who were much troubled they had not got into their hands the *Roman* Emperour alive

Wherein *Valens* miſcarries, it's uncertain how.

* *Purpureos cultus, abſumptiq; igne Valentis Exuvias, &c. Claudian. de Bello Getico, v. 610.*

alive) and afterward eſcaped with it to his Fellow Subjects. After the ſame manner came one of the *Scipio's* to his end in *Spain*, being burnt in a Turret to which he had fled, by the Enemy: And it's certain, that neither he nor *Valens* obtained Sepulture, the laſt mark of Honour and Reſpect. Amongſt many other Eminent Perſons that periſhed in this Action, *Trajan* and *Sebaſtian* were very Famous, and with them fell five and thirty of thoſe they called *Tribuni Vacantes*, beſides other Officers; and *Valerian* and *Equitius*, whereof the one being his Kinſman overſaw the Stable, and the other the Palace of the Emperour. *Potentius* the Tribune of the *Promoti* was greatly lamented, being a perſon very acceptable, a young man in the flower of his Age, of ſingular hope, and recommended not onely by his own, but alſo by the Merits of *Urſicinus* his Father, who with approbation of all good men had executed the Place of *Magiſter Armorum*.

Others of note ſlain.

20. It's certain that the third part of the Army hardly eſcaped, neither did any other Defeat (except that of *Cannæ*) equal this Overthrow, in the Opinion of *Ammianus*, with whoſe Relation concerning this War, the Original and Iſſue of it, moſt Writers do agree. But as to what he writes concerning *Valens* his envying the Vertues of his Nephew *Gratian*, other Reaſons of his ſudden fighting may be added. He was diſpleaſed that *Valentinian* being made Emperour without the Knowledge of either of them, *Gratian* had confirmed his Election without his Advice, and had ſhared the Empire with him, as *Eunapius* related in his Hiſtory; who alſo alleaged this as the principal Motive to his receiving the *Goths* into the *Roman* Pale; and poſſibly a diſagreement about matters of Religion, (*Valens* being a great Favourer of the *Arians*, and *Gratian* eſteemed a moſt Chriſtian Prince by the Orthodox Party) might increaſe his diſpleaſure. The Defeat is by *Oroſius* attributed to the flight of the *Roman* Horſe, which by deſerting the Legions expoſed them to the fury of thoſe Multitudes that overpowered them by their Numbers. What *Ammianus* writes concerning *Valens* his periſhing by the ſhot of an Arrow, is affirmed alſo by *Libanius*, who makes him to have fallen in the throng of his Souldiers, though he wanted not Horſes ſwift enough to convey him ſpeedily out of the danger, and his Captains preſſed him earneſtly by a ſeaſonable flight to eſcape and preſerve himſelf for better times, and the good of the Commonwealth. But he thought it a thing not by him to be practiſed, to endeavour to overlive ſo great an Overthrow, and for a Tomb obtained an heap of ſuch Souldiers as fell with him. Yet moſt other Hiſtorians conſent to that other Relation, of his betaking himſelf to the Cottage, and there being burnt together with his Followers. However it was, at this time and place, *viz.* about eight or twelve miles from *Hadrianople*, he died, now drawing near the fiftieth year of his Age, when he had reigned fourteen Years, four Moneths, and ſome Days, on the third or fifth of the *Ides* of *Auguſt*.

With two thirds of the Army.

Vide Annot. Valeſii in Amm. lib. 31

21. This muſt be ſaid in his Commendation, that he was a faſt and faithful Friend, a ſevere Puniſher of Ambitious Practices, a rigorous Exactor of both Civil and Military Diſcipline, moſt careful always and vigilant, leſt any through pretence of Relation or Kindred to him, ſhould procure Preferment; both as to beſtowing and removing from Imployments he was rather too ſlow, a moſt juſt and watchful Guardian of the Provinces, for each of which he took as much care as if it had been his own Family; for he induſtriouſly ſet himſelf to eaſe them of the Burthen of their Tributes already impoſed, and as for new ones he ſuffered none to be laid. Moreover, if for Tributes *in ſpecie* Money was to be paid, he was no whit rigorous as to the Summe. To Thieves and Corrupt Judges he was a ſharp and vehement Adverſary, and in this reſpect the Eaſt was more happy in him, than it had been in any other Prince before him. He was Liberal with a ſort of Moderation, as in many other matters appeared, ſo alſo in this, that when his Courtiers begged any thing, he would give him that had a title to the Eſtate time enough to defend himſelf, and in caſe it proved his own and he might beſtow it, with him that begged it he would joyn ſome others that were abſent, by ſuch diſappointment to repreſs the confidence of thoſe that gaped after the Wealth of other men. Many Cities and Towns he beautified both by raiſing new Buildings, and repairing ſuch as were fallen to decay. Such were his Vertues, which received on the other ſide great Allays. He coveted Wealth very intemperately, was impatient of Labour, was harſh as far as Cruelty it ſelf, of a clowniſh Humour, as neither cultivated by any Liberal Studies nor skill of Arms. He cared not who ſmarted, were but his Deſigns accompliſhed; and if he could but faſten Treaſon, or the Contempt of His Majeſty upon any, he far exceeded all Moderation both as to Bloud and Confiſcations. In this reſpect his Government ſeemed

Valens his Character.

moſt intolerable, as alſo in another Effect of the ſame Cauſe; for though he pretended to refer all Cauſes and Queſtions to the deciſion of the Laws themſelves, and would delegate particular Judges to certain Affairs, yet never ſuffered he any thing to be done contrary to his own luſt and will. He was cholerick and abuſive, received all Accuſations readily, whether right or wrong. He was ſlow and unactive, of a ſwarthy Complexion, and the Pupil of one of his Eyes covered, yet ſo as it was not much to be perceived. His Limbs were compact and firm, indifferent was his Stature, his Legs bowed, and his Belly ſomething prominent.

22. This Character of *Valens* his Mind, the Reader may remember to have been ſufficiently confirmed by the precedent Account of his Laws, which ſhew his Humour and Diſpoſition much as it is deſcribed to us by *Ammianus*. By conduct of this Author we have traced his Actions ſo far as related to War, from the death of his Brother to his own deceaſe; but as to the Civil State we muſt take a further View of what was done by him and his two Nephews and Colleagues. They after their Fathers Death ſo divided the Empire of the Weſt betwixt them, that to *Gratian* fell *Gall*, *Spain*, and *Britain*; and to *Valentinian*, *Italy*, *Illyricum*, and *Africk*. Yet was not this Diviſion made at firſt, and it muſt be known, that whereas there are extant in the Codes ſeven and thirty Conſtitutions, bearing Date from the CCCLXXV Year of our Lord, or that wherein their Father died, to the Year CCCLXXIX, or that wherein *Theodoſius* was received as Emperour, there are none which bear the Name of *Valentinian* the Younger, but onely of *Valens* and *Gratian*. The mighty Care which *Valens* had for the Provinces, to protect them from Spoil and Rapine, as well of his own Officers as of the publick Enemy, may further appear from the Laws which we have not yet mentioned, and confer much to the fuller underſtanding of the ſtate of thoſe Times. The very Year his Brother died he directed from *Antioch* a notable Edict to *Modeſtus* “ the *Præfect*, concerning the furniſhing of *Tirones* or new Souldiers. Herein he “ declares, that the Burthen ought to lie upon Poſſeſſions or Lands, and not perſonal “ Eſtates, although certain ſorts and ranks of Men were liable thereunto, as *Senators*, “ *Honorati*, *Principales*, *Decuriones*, the *Officers* of Magiſtrates, or the like. “ And whereas there was an Imployment called *Prototypia*, which who ſo executed, it was their work to hire or buy theſe Souldiers, and ſet them at ſuch a rate, or make the Provincials pay ſuch a Summe of Money for each, he aboliſhes this “ Office as grievous and vexatious to the People, when it happened that thoſe whom “ it concerned had no Sons of their own to put into the Service. In the next “ place he nulls all Privileges granted to any perſons to excuſe them from this “ Charge, that ſo it might lie wholly upon Poſſeſſions; as to which, ſuch as had “ loſt them ſhould not bear the Burthen when the Emolument was gone; and if “ they had but ſmall Eſtates, or not amounting to the value of the Expence, as “ here it is the Cuſtom with us in the *Militia*, two or more ſhould joyn together “ in the furniſhing of one Souldier out, one being at the Charge this Year and the “ other the next; or if Money was to be paid, inſtead of the Souldier, each of “ them was to contribute his ſhare. Then doth he ſettle and eſtabliſh the Price or “ Rate of a Souldier to be ſix and thirty *Solidi*, and ſix over and above towards “ his Clothes and Expences; which Rate at ſeveral times varied according “ to the pleaſure of Princes, or the ſcarcity or cheapneſs of things. And for the “ Encouragement of theſe *Tirones* and thoſe that ſent them, he declares, That when “ they were liſted in the Army, if they well demeaned themſelves they ſhould receive “ the firſt Year Immunity from the ordinary *Cenſus*, and having ſerved ſeven, “ obtain the ſame Indulgence for their Fathers, their Mothers and Wives; “ if ſo be they ſerved amongſt thoſe called *Comitatenſes*; but if they lay upon the “ Borders, or were liſted among the *Ripenſes*, then they ſhould have onely this Privilege “ for their Wives. For the *Comitatenſes*, as we have ſaid heretofore, were reckoned in place before the *Ripenſes*, and greater Strength and Stature was required in one than in the other. And as ſoon as *Tirones* or new Men were levied, they were not preſently put into the Army, or mixed with the reſt; but to ſupply the Numbers of ſuch as were miſſing, he ordains the Army be reinforced with the *Adcreſcentes* or *Incenſiti*.

Vide Chron. Theodoſian. ad An. 375.

Laws made by him after his Brothers Death.

L. 7. *de Tironibus, Cod. Th. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.*

A 2 Edict concerning raiſing new Men or *Tirones*.

23. He had Miniſters (as we have ſeen) rapacious and cruel, yet however he himſelf might be extravagant this way towards particular perſons, yet would he reſtrain his Officers in any courſes tending to the detriment of the Provinces. Therefore did he repreſs *Fortunatianus* his *Comes Rei Privatæ*, whom *Ammianus* brands with the Name of a Troubleſom Exactor, even in a matter which tended brands

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He repreſſeth the Avarice of his Officers in a thing wherein his own Gain was concerned.

A.D. 376.

Moleſto illi flagitatori.

L. 3. de Fiſci Debitoribus, Cod. Th. l. 10. tit. 16. & Cod. Juſt. l. 5. eod. tit.

A.D. 377.

A juſt Edict concerning the furniſhing of Souldiers Clothes.

L. 3. de Militari veſte, Cod. Th. & l. 2. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Vide Gothofr. in loc.

An indulgent one concerning Children of Senators.

L. 1. de Senatoribus & de Glebali, &c. Cod. Th. l. 6. tit. 2.

Againſt Abuſes committed by Under-Treaſurers.

L. 14. de diverſis Officiis, &c. Cod. Th. l. 8. tit. 7. & l. 2. Cod. Juſt. de Palatinis S. L.

For the Ornament of Cities.

L. 8. de Ædificiis privatis, Cod. Juſt. l. 8. tit. 10. Modeſt.

to the filling of his own Coffers. It happened ſometime, that amongſt the Papers of perſons condemned, or whoſe Eſtates were confiſcate, ſome Writings were found which mentioned Debts due to them from other men, though no Bills nor Bonds were to be ſeen, nor any Witneſs there was of any ſuch Obligation. By an Edict directed to him he declares all ſuch Notes to be Null in Law, it being eaſie (as he ſaith) by ſuch means to make any man ones Debtor. Which Edict is tranſcribed by *Tribonian* into *Juſtinians* Code, and being by him ſomething interpolated and altered, is accommodated alſo to the Cauſes of private perſons, no ſuch ſingle Note deſerving any Credit to be given to it, no not where the Emperour or his Treaſury were concerned. This Conſtitution bears Date from *Hierapolis* in the Province of *Euphrates*, on the fifth of the *Ides* of *Auguſt*, of which ſame Date from the ſame place he directed another to *Modeſtus* the *Præfect* of the Eaſt, concerning the annual furniſhing of the Souldiers Clothes through his five Dioceſes; theſe were *Thrace*, *Ægypt*, the *Eaſt* ſtrictly taken, *Aſiana*, and *Pontica*; in all which he ordains, that every thirty *Juga* or *Capitations* of Land ſhall find one Suit of Apparel, except in four Provinces of *Thrace*, viz. *Europe*, *Thrace*, *Hæmimons*, and *Rhodope*, in which every twenty ſhould find the like. Herein he ſhewed himſelf very juſt and equal, which the Hiſtories of the Times ſufficiently make out unto us. For, the other two Provinces of *Thrace*, in particular wherein he declares the number of Thirty is to be obſerved, were now overrun by the *Goths* and *Hunns*, as we have ſeen. He obſerves a difference betwixt the Cuſtoms of the Provinces of the Eaſt; properly ſo called; for two of them (*Oſroene* and *Iſauria*) found Souldiers Clothes in kind, but the reſt paid Money in the room of them; as *Paleſtine* amongſt the reſt, which ſhortly after was divided into three Provinces. Now we may take notice that theſe five Dioceſſes took up the whole Diſtrict or Share of the Empire belonging to *Valens*, *Valentinian* having in the Diviſion reteined all the reſidue to himſelf, and therein all *Illyricum*. And hence poſſibly aroſe the Diſagreement betwixt *Valens* and his two Nephews mentioned by *Eunapius*, which provoked him to receive the *Goths* or *Scythians*, as they are alſo termed, into the *Roman* Pale. At this ſame City he was further ſo indulgent, as to enact by another Conſtitution this ſame Year, That the Children of Senators (Male or Female) ſhould not, if born before they arrived at that Dignity, be liable to the *Glebalis Collatio*, although in matters of Privilege they were eſteemed Children of Senators, both as to Honour and other Emoluments. Further to diſcourage Abuſes in matters of Money, wherein the Provincials were ſo very much concerned, he ordained alſo this Year at *Antioch*, That ſuch *Theſaurenſes*, or thoſe that ſerved under the Treaſurers of Provinces, as ſhould be found faulty in their Accounts, ſhould never be ſuffered to ſerve in that nature again, nor yet admitted to any other Service; neither thoſe that were ſtill in the Service be permitted to paſs over to any higher Imployment, leſt having ſuch refuge they might be encouraged to betray their Truſt. For there were three ſorts of Treaſurers having the title of *Comites:* The firſt was *Illuſtrious*, viz. the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum* of the Weſt or the Eaſt, as *Titian*, to whom this Law is directed; the ſecond was *Comes Theſaurorum*; *Comes Largitionum*, or *Largitionalium Titulorum*, who was Treaſurer over the whole Dioceſe, as that of *Thrace*, *Italy*, or the like; and then the *Præfectus* or *Præpoſitus Theſaurorum* in each ſingle Province, whoſe care it was to receive, keep ſafe, and tranſmit the Revenue. Of his great care for the Ornaments and Luſtre of Cities, there is further another Law made by him this Year, and extant, though not in that of *Theodoſius*, yet in the Code of *Juſtinian*. It commands, That all *Curiales* of Cities be conſtrained either to repair their old Houſes, or to build new ones, and therein dwell and attend the Services of their Corporations, as well as contribute toward the Populouſneſs and Opulency of the Towns. And if the Inhabitants were not of the *Curiales* or Corporation, he obliges them yet to repair ſuch Houſes as as they dwell in, if decayed, and rebuild them if fallen down.

24. To bid Farewell to *Valens*, after his Reign of fourteen Years, four Moneths, and odd Days; and come to the Adminiſtration of *Gratian*. He (as we ſaid before) during his Uncles Life, although his Brother *Valentinian* was declared Emperour, yet governed the Weſtern Parts thereof alone; as appears from the Laws dated for the ſpace of three Years from *Triers* and *Magontiacum* or *Mentz*; whereas there are not any that own the other for their Author. After his Fathers Death he continued long at *Triers*, and for about a Years ſpace had *Maximinus* or *Maximus* for his *Præfectus Prætorio*; but to expiate all his Villanies he was

then

Laws made by *Gratian* after his Fathers Death.

One concerning the Tryal of Senators in Criminal matters.

L. 13. *de Accuſationibus & Inſcript. Cod. Th. lib.* 9. *tit.* 1. *Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.*

Quinquevirale Judicium.

then put to death, when by no other Courſe, not by Edicts themſelves, his Cruelty could be reſtrained. For, *Gratian* made divers Laws, as is rationally Concluded, for this purpoſe, that he might Comfort and encourage the *Senate*, which had, as we have abundantly ſeen, been grievouſly haraſſed by his unheard of practices. To this end he directed ſeveral of his Conſtitutions or Laws (called, when to the Senate, *Orations*) which with great Joy and Applauſe were read in the Houſe. By the firſt of theſe we meet with, he gives powerto the ordinary Judge of the Province, to hear the Criminal Cauſes of *Senators*; though he were but of the Degree of *Spectabilis*, whether *Præſes*, *Corrector*, *Conſularis*, *Vicar*, or *Proconſuls*, (all which ſorts of Provincial Magiſtrates he reckons up) but Condemn them he could not, but was to report the Matter to the Higher Powers, as either to the Prince himſelf, or his greateſt Officers, *viz.* The *Præfect* of the City, if the Party inhabited in the *Suburbicarian* Provinces; and the *Præfectus Prætorio*, if in the reſt. Herein he Acted otherwiſe, than had done either *Conſtantine* the Great, or his own Father, For *Conſtantine* had made a *Senator* puniſhable in the Province where he committed the Crime, without any Reference to be made to any other: and *Valentinian* ran ſo contrary a Courſe, that he would not have any ordinary Judge to have Cognizance of the Crimes of Senators, and curbed even the *Præfect* of the City as to this point. Indeed antiently none could judg *Senators*, but thoſe of that Rank, and the *Præfecti Prætorio*, as ſuch, had no Juriſdiction over them. When the *Senate* came to have the Power of judging its Members, it was committed to the *Præfect* of the City, and he continued their Judge till thoſe days wherein the Power of the *Præfecti Prætorio* became ſo extravagant, and that of the *Præfect* of the City ſo much decayed; For now within the *Suburbicarian* Provinces, or the Country an hundred Miles round, was included his Authority. The Cauſes of ſuch as dwelt within this Diſtrict, *Gratian* will have referred unto him; but withall joynes with him the *Quinquevirale Judicium*, or five other *Senators*, bearing Office at preſent, or ſuch as had borne Office, who were to be choſen by Lot, and not called at his Pleaſure, or Diſcretion.

And in Civil Cauſes.

*L.*2. *Cod. Juſt. ubi Senatores. lib.* 3. *tit.* 24.

Another concerning Quarries and Buildings in *Rome*.

L. 8. *de Metallis Cod. Th. lib.* 10. *tit.* 19. *Abeſt à Cod. Juſt. ubi hiſtoria & temporaria.*

*L.*19. *de operibus publicis Cod. Th. lib.* 15. *tit.*1. *Abeſt à Cod. Juſtin.*

Two more againſt Freed men accuſing their Patrons, and Slaves their Lords.

L.L. 1, 2. *Ne Præter Crimen Majeſtatis Cod. Th. lib.*9.*tit.*6. *Dat. Id. Mart. Valente* 5. & *Valentiniano A. A. Coſs A. D.* 376.

25. In ſuch Manner were Senators to be judged in Criminal matters, but as to Civil Cauſes, by another Branch of this Oration, he put a difference betwixt the one ſort and the other; determining, that in the City and *Suburbicarian* Provinces they ſhould ſtand to the award of the *Præfectus Pætorio*, the *Præfect* of the City, and of the *Magiſter Officiorum* when the Emperour commanded it, and in the Provinces to the determination of the ordinary Judg. Having indulged ſo the Senators in a matter ſo near relating to their own Perſons, he farther obliged them and the whole City by his care of the Buildings, for in another Law, thought to be part alſo of the ſame Oration, having told them that he had formerly given them leave upon a certain condition, to cut ſtone out of private Quarries throughout *Macedonia* and *Illyricum*, he now adds, that if they pleaſed to do it, they ſhould neither be burdened with the Expence of Tribute nor Toll, remitting thereby what was due to himſelf,though not what belongled to the Party that owed the Land. Hereby we learn that at the making of this Law, on the Ides of *Auguſt A. D.* CCCLXXVI. *Gratian* had ſtill Command over *Macedonia* and *Illyricum*, whatſoever *Zoſimus* ſaith to the contrary; though he had taken his Brother *Valentinian* for his Colleague; but indeed, when *Theodoſius*, three years after, was alſo choſen Emperour, then was *Illyricum*, formerly undivided, parted into *Eaſtern* and *Weſtern*. Having hereby ſufficiently encouraged them to fetch Materials elſewhere, by another Law,thought alſo to have been part of the ſame Oration, he forbade all manner of perſons, as well the *Præfect* of the City as other Judges, to raiſe any new works in *Rome*, except at his own Charge, and without injury to other Buildings, digging up any old Foundations, or making uſe of the Stones or pieces of Marble belonging to decayed Works. This ſame year, finding it was a Cuſtome, and practiſed, we may little doubt, by *Maximinus*, to have Patrons accuſed of Capital Crimes by their Freed Men, and Lords alſo by their Slaves, by two ſeveral Conſtitutions as now we find them directed to this very *Maximinus*, or *Maximus*, he forbids the Practice for the time to come, except only in Caſes of Treaſon, wherein the Emperours themſelves are Concerned, and that under pain of Death, to be inflicted on ſuch Accuſers by the Sword or by Fire. As to the Emperours themſelves an exception might juſtly be made; for if Slaves might be heard and Examined, againſt others, in behalf of their own Lords, much

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much more ought they to be againſt any whatſoever in behalf of the Common Lords or Fathers of their Country. By theſe Conſtitutions we find in ſuch Caſes, the puniſhment of Freedmen and Slaves, the ſame; for though the former were now Free, yet their Ingratitude was the greater. So much was this falſeneſs abhorred by the *Romans*, That Slaves could not be ſo much as heard againſt their Lords, but preſently were hurried away to Puniſhment, which formerly was the Opinion and Practice of *Conſtantine*, as afterward of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, though *Theodoſius* was of another mind; for he admitted them to Proof, and yet, after their Evidence ſubjected them to the moſt ſevere Sentence, admitting the Treachery, but hating and puniſhing the Traitor. The moſt antient Emperours abhorred both of them in ſuch a meaſure, that though they produced Writings, and had prepared Evidence for Tryal, yet they denied Slaves all Credit, Audience and Acceſs. But *Maximinus*, as *Ammianus* tells us, in his enormous Cruelties, was wont to torture Slaves, to make them teſtify againſt their Maſters, ſo that theſe Laws ſeem directly intended to give a ſtop to his proceedings; which, when neither they, nor any other Courſes could effect, the Sword upon his Throat at laſt put a ſtop to his Career, after he had been *Præfectus Prætorio* full four years.

Olim florente Rep. de ſervis nulla quæſtio erat in Dominum niſi de Inceſtu. Poſtea Julius & Octavianus cum leges de adulteriis coercendis ferrent, ut in adulterii quæſtione ſervi in caput Dominorum torquerentur ſanxere ſed in quæſtione ſtupri ſervi adverſus dominos tormentis interrogari non poterant ut diſtinctè ait Papinianus in L. 17. D. de quæſtionib. vide Valeſ. in Amm. p. 365.

l. ult Ad legem Corneliam de falſo. P. P. Romæ 16. Kal. Maij. Cod. Th. lib. 9. tit. 19. L. penult. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. hinc deformata eſt. Vide Notas & Comm. Gothofr. in L.

An Edict about falſe Accuſations.

26. By another Edict directed to *Maximinus*, this Tartareous Inquiſitor (ſo they ſtyle him) *Gratian* took Care to prevent the frequent and raſh Accuſations of Forgery; by a Courſe much more full of mildneſs and Humanity, than had been practiſed, at leaſt as he thought, in former times. By the more antient Law for prevention of ſuch malicious or raſh Accuſations; it was provi-“ded, that after a convenient ſpace granted to the Accuſer to deliberate what“ he was about, if he would enter a Criminal Action, he ſhould by Writing ob-“lige himſelf to make good his Accuſation, or undergo the *Lex Talionis*, and“ ſuffer the Puniſhment himſelf, due to the Crime he had objected. So the Law ſtood before the time of the Emperour *Antoninus*, who took another Courſe by remitting the matter to the Office and Diſcretion of the Judge, to conſider whether the Accuſer laid his Accuſation with an undaunted and reſolute mind, in which Caſe he might remit the Neceſſity of the Obligation; or with a raſh and diſturbed Spirit, which if he perceived, he might give him ſpace to conſider, and then require the Obligation. But in after-times, the Judges unmindful of their Duties in this point, out of a negligent and ſevere humour, neglected both the one Direction and the other preſcribed by Law, and neither requiring the Obligation, nor granting ſpace to deliberate, as ſoon as an Accuſation was laid on any, they hurried on the Accuſer, and gave no time for Paſſion to vent it ſelf; but made advantage of it to the deſtruction of the Party. *Conſtantine*, by a moſt Elegant Law, took away this Abuſe, by retroducing a neceſſity of the Obligation though formerly he had been of another mind, and ſo the Matter ſtood till it came down to *Gratian*, who by a new way yet more accommodated to the antient Laws, endeavoured to put a ſtop to this miſchief. “When firſt mention is made of Forgery, he ordains, that“ the Judge give the Accuſer his Choice, whether he will proceed againſt his Adverſary by the way of a *Civil*, or of a *Criminal* Action, and to grant him a competent time to conſider (which *Tribonian* in tranſcribing this Law hath omitted in *Juſtinian's Code*) and this not only to him whoſe only deſigne it was to“ accuſe of Forgery, but to him alſo that in another Cauſe did this by the by,“ as when they were upon Tryal of another matter, which being offered to be“ proved by Writing, the Party ſhould ſay, that the Writing was forged, and“ ſuch he would prove it to be. If the Accuſer thought good to proceed in a“ Criminal Action, he takes away the neceſſity of the Obligation to the *Lex Ta-“lionis*, as too ſevere, and fit only to be required in certain Caſes, in this as“ all other Diſputes, both Words and Deeds being to be valued and eſteemed ac-“cording to the quality of the perſons concerned. He gives this Reaſon, that it is more agreeable to the Authority of the Judge to puniſh a Party offending according to the antient Laws, than to take his Meaſures from any Obligation, or Convention of the Parties; and he Confirms it by two Examples. The firſt is taken from the *Cornelian* and *Julian* Laws, concerning publick Judgments which require Criminals to be accuſed, and Forgeries puniſhed without any mention made of ſuch an Obligation; and the ſecond is the Reſcript or Law made by *Antoninus* and lately mentioned; both which Examples had never been known, had he not made mention of them in this Edict. In the laſt place

he ordains, that if ſo be the Accuſer would reſolve to proſecute the Accuſed in a Civil Action, the Duty of the Judg ſhould be, not to Condemn the Party caſt, in more than the Victor was endamaged, but yet when the Tryal was paſt, then to exert his Authority in puniſhing either Forgery or falſe Accuſation, as the Nature of the Cauſe ſhould require.

He takes care that *Gall* be furniſhed with fit Profeſſors.

27. *Gratian* lying at this time at the City of *Triers*, took Care that the Cities of *Gall* ſhould be furniſhed with fit Profeſſors, by a notable Edict directed to *Antoninus* the *Præfectus Prætorio* of that Dioceſs. "He commands that Rhetoricians and Grammarians, both of the *Attick* and *Roman* way and Learning, be inſtituted in every *Metropolis*; by *Attick*, as afterward he explains himſelf, meaning *Greek*; for *Athens* as in former Ages, ſo alſo in this whereof we write flouriſhed with the Profeſſion of good letters, as appears by many Teſtimonies. Here Studied *Julian* the Apoſtate, *Proæreſius*, *Muſonius*, *Hemerius Libanius*, and others of Pagan Perſwaſion; and of Chriſtians, *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Baſil* of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, and *John Chryſoſtome*; and indeed, the Youth was ſent from all quarters to this ſtill flouriſhing Univerſity, as I may term it. But, Perſons that are of *Franco-Gallick* Original here move a queſtion, what need there was, that *Gratian* ſhould take this Care? ſeeing Learning already flouriſhed in *Gall*, which Antiently was furniſhed with many Academies and Profeſſors. They Cite what *Cato* ſaid of old, concerning the Acute manner of Speech of this Country, with whom St. *Hierome* Accorded, when he wrote, that it always abounded with moſt Eloquent Men. They urge the old Conteſt concerning *Greek* and *Latine* Eloquence before the Altar at *Lyons*, and hint to us the Account of Learned Men, and eſpecially of Rhetoricians given by *Pithæus* in his Preface to *Quintilian*. They tell us, the Deſigne of *Conſtantius Chlorus* is ſufficiently known concerning the School of *Auguſtodunum*, over which he ſet *Eumenius*, whoſe Oration concerning the Erecting of Schooles, is ſtill extant, when before this, there was an Antient Academy at *Maſſilia*, and another at *Adua* under *Tiberius*. Moreover, *Symmachus* acknowledgeth, that he received the Rudiments of Rhetorick from an old Man that Inhabited, or was borne near the *Garumna* or *Garonne*, and how much he was beholden to that Countrey, upon this Account. Nay, from the ſame *Symmachus*, who lived at this time, it is evident, that under *Gratian* himſelf, the Studies of *Gall* exceedingly flouriſhed, and that thence, Rhetoricians were ſent for to *Rome*, as *Palladius* amongſt others. The Profeſſors of *Bourdeaux* are moreover known, as commemorated by *Auſonius*, who ſpeaks alſo of *Tolouſe* and the Schoole of *Narbone*, as alſo of *Veſontio* and *Lyons*, all which, ſay they, were famous before this Conſtitution of *Gratian*. They themſelves anſwer for him, that though there were many Schooles in *Gall*, yet being much taken with the *Gallick* Eloquence, which alſo he had himſelf imbibed, and dayly, where he lived, Converſing with Learned Men of this Country, he reſolved yet farther to Promote it, as much as poſſible, firſt by Ordaining Profeſſors in all notable or moſt Populous Cities; for by Metropoles in this Law they will have them meant, and not the word ſtrictly taken for the Principal in all Provinces; the number of which, yet at this time they ſay increaſed. But the principal Reaſon they aſſigne is, becauſe *Gratian* now reſolved to appoint fixed and conſtant Salaries to the Profeſſors out of the *Fiſcus* or Treaſury, as *Conſtantius Chlorus* appointed an Allowance to *Eumenius* out of the Revenue of *Auguſtodunum*.

L. 11. de Medicis & Profeſſoribus dat. 10. Cal. Jun. Cod. Th. lib. 13. tit. 3. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

Vide Gothofr. in d. L.

28. And indeed, the Cities in the Provinces were wont to pay Profeſſors their Wages themſelves, and *Gothofred* tells us, that by *Fiſcus* may well enough be meant the Revenues of them, ſo as this Law may be thus interpreted, that *Gratian* would have them to maintain their Profeſſors; but by a certain Allowance now preſcribed by him, not left at random to their own Diſcretions, who, he might preſume, would make the beſt market they could one way, as *Auſonius* complained, and *Libanius* particularly, concerning the Rhetoricians of *Antioch*. He thinks the Deſigne of the Emperour was to leave the Election free to the Citizens: but to aſſure the Profeſſors a conſtant and certain Maintenance by his own appointment, as *Conſtantius* before him ordaind the Corporation ſhould give Salary to none, but whom he appointed. Now the Allowance ſetled by this Law, is, to the *Orators* twenty-four *Annonæ*, or dayly Proviſions for ſo many Men, and to the *Grammarians* twelve, being a ſmaller Number; but to a *Rhetorician* of the City of *Triers* (at this time of *Gratian*, the Metropolis of *Gall*, and the Seat of the Emperours and of the *Præfecti*

Prætorio in that Country) he aſſigned thirty, to a *Latine Grammarian* twenty and to one of *Greece*, twelve; and that out of reſpect to the eminency of the place. But here we muſt needs take notice that but two ſorts of Profeſſors are mentioned in this Law, *viz. Rhetoricians* or *Orators*, and *Grammarians*; for as yet in *Gall* there were none that profeſſed Philoſophy, or the laws, to learn which the Youth travelled to *Rome*. But we are not by *Grammarians* to underſtand ſuch as taught the firſt Rudiments of language only; their Province extending much farther, as including almoſt whatſoever there was of more Polite literature; and to be ſure *Philology*; although in this Edict they be ſet after and allowed leſs ſalary than *Orators*. So much for the Edict it ſelf which we find directed to *Antonius Præfectus Prætorio* of *Gall*, as ſeveral others are, who two years after was preferred to the ſame dignity in *Italy*, and was in *Gall* ſucceeded by *Auſonius*, whom *Joſeph Scaliger* by a miſtake would ſubſtitute for him, and, erroneouſly, have the Name of *Antonius* to be blotted out. “The Emperor tells him he will have the former Rules obſerved *throughout all the Dioceſs committed to his Magnificence*; whence is obſerved that to the *Præfect* of *Gall* at this time did only one *Dioceſs* belong, though the *Præfecti Prætorio* otherwiſe had ſeveral under their juriſdiction, as we have ſeen heretofore, and three ſometimes under the diſpoſition of him of *Gall*, *viz. Gall* it ſelf, *Spain*, and this Iſland of *Britain*. But *Spain* at this time was governed by a *Proconſul* of its own, and was ſubject to no *Vicar*, and not under any *Præfect* (as the very name of *Vicar* doth import) though ſhortly after it returned to that form of Government, as appears both from *Eunapius* and *Sulpicius Severus* his Hiſtory. And *Britain* probably was from the time of the General *Theodoſius* under the ſame ſort of Officers, which may be gueſſed partly from the Example of *Spain*, and partly from this Law, which gives to the *Præfect* of *Gall* but one *Dioceſs*. So that they are much deceived who think the Adminiſtration of one *Dioceſs* below the Dignity of *Illuſtrious* Perſons. For the *Præfect* of the City of *Rome* had but one *Dioceſs*, *viz.* the *Suburbicarian* Regions lying within an hundred Miles; and after theſe times no doubt there is but that *Præfecti Prætorio* were content with one *Dioceſs*, as under *Juſtinian* he of *Africk*.

L. 3. de Offic. Præfect. Urbi Cod. Juſt. l. 1. tit. 28. Dat. 6. Cal. Jul.

He gives the Prefect of *Rome* place above others in the City.

29. At this time was *Rufinus* Prefect of *Rome*, to whom *Gratian* directed another Edict of this year, whereby he gave him precedence over all other Dignitaries in the City. He ſtaid not much longer in his Office, being in the latter end of the year ſucceeded by *Gracchus*, who continued *Præfect* alſo the year following. To this *Gracchus* is directed a Law, ſaid to be had in *Seldens* Copy, dated in the firſt of *December*, which forbids “That any man be judge in his own Cauſe, for the ſame reaſon that no man can bear witneſs in his own behalf. The Emperor decrees it generally ſo, as no ſort of Perſon excepted, not *Maximinus* himſelf who is thought to have been principally aimed at in this Conſtitution alſo, upon report or conſultation of *Gracchus*, now *Præfect* of that City, wherein ſeveral ill things were at this time reformed, and particularly relating to Religion. Now indeed there ſeems to have been much inſolence and ſeverity uſed by Judges; and poſſibly by the Example or Procurement of *Maximinus*. For, *Gratian* not long before this in the ſame year found reaſon to proceed further for the liberty and honour of *Curiales*, or the Officers of Corporations, invaded doubtleſs by ſome who executed authority over them; which were no other than the Governours of Provinces. He ſent an Edict to the ſame *Antonius Præfectus Prætorio* of *Gall*, whereby he commands “That all *Decuriones* be free and exempt from the *Fidiculæ* and *Tormenta*, although any of “ them had ſpent the publick money, or had demeaned himſelf fraudulently and “ extravagantly in a publick Office; for although great care ought to be had of “ Tribute or publick Money, as alſo of the publick Diſcipline, yet might they be “ eſtabliſhed by others, beſides bloody means. But from this Immunity he excepts Perſons guilty of two ſorts of Crimes, whereof the one he expreſly declares to be *Treaſon*, and the other not to be ſpoken of, but thought to be in degree and importance next unto it, as namely the crime of *Magick*. He alſo diſtinguiſhes betwixt *Fidiculæ* and *Tormenta*, and theſe they called *Plumbatæ*, from the ſtroaks of which he will not have guilty or criminal *Decuriones* to be exempt, which Priviledge yet was afterward indulged them in the Eaſt, but again not long after revoked, and the old Law introduced afreſh. Yet by this Conſtitution he grants this Immunity to ten of the chief of them, and he wills alſo that it be moderately uſed towards the reſt that were ſubject to this pain, as not to be inflicted but upon highly criminal perſons and Publick Debtors. Thoſe *Plumbatæ* however were leaden Bullets tied to Whips or Thonges, wherewith ſome were corrected for amendment, and others puniſhed, ſo far, as often death inſued thereupon.

L. Unic. Ne in ſua cauſa quis judicet. Cod. Th. l. 2. tit. 2. Divulſa hæc L. in Cod. Juſt. in L. un. eod. tit. & L. 10. de teſtibus.

Is kind to the *Decuriones.*

L. 2. de quæſtionibus Dat. 15. Cal. Octob. Trev. Cod. Th. lib. 9. tit. 35.

Sect. 3.

A.D. 377.

30. The year following, which was the CCCLXXVII of our Lord, wherein *Gratian* the fouth time, and *Merobaudes* were Conſuls, that Emperor abode for the moſt part at *Triers*, though one time by a Subſcription of a Law we find him at *Mentz*. *Heſperius* the Son of *Auſonius* was, for this and the three following, *Præfectus Prætorio*, and beſides him *Modeſtus* was Prefect of the *Eaſt*, and *Antonius* ſtill of *Gall*. *Gracchus*, as we ſaid, ſtill continued *Præfect* of the City; for, the firſt Edict of this year, made by *Gratian*, we find directed unto him. Whereby He forbids "the examining Senators by Tortures, a thing practiſed as we have ſeen by that cruel *Maximinus*, to the aboliſhing of which Cuſtom introduced by him, this Conſtitution ſeems intended, as ſeveral other Laws againſt his practices, and that at the Petition of the Senate, though the Monſter himſelf, whoſe nature could not be ſweetned, probably had had his Throat cut the preceeding year. On the twenty ſeventh day of *July*, we find *Gratian* at *Mogontiacum* or *Mentz*, perhaps in order to his expedition againſt the *Alamans*; for it was now that he got ſo notable a victory over them at *Argentuaria*, a Town of *Gall*, wherein was killed *Priarius* their King. From *Mentz* a Conſtitution bears that date, directed to *Antonius*, and forbids "That in the afternoon any Perſon of the ſame Province be admitted to the preſence of the ordinary Judge, whether known or unknown to him, nay of what " degree or quality ſoever. For in the morning it was ſuppoſed that they heard Cauſes in the *Secretarium*, and attended buſineſs in publick, and, but in publick he would not have them to receive any Impreſſion at all, not by the Information or motion of any perſon in private, leſt they ſhould be corrupted, or for fear or favour be biaſſed contrary to their own Judgement, or the juſtice of Cauſes depending before them. That ſometimes this hapned, eſpecially in *Gall*, we may well believe if we judge of the Diſeaſe from the Nature and Efficacy of the Remedy, and give credit to *Libanius* the *Sophiſt*, who wrote two Orations concerning this Subject, wherein with all earneſtneſs and Rhetorick he could uſe, he deſired the Emperor to make ſuch a Law as this before us, which Orations *James Gothofred* partly firſt publiſhed, and partly illuſtrated with Commentaries. By the middle of *September* we find the Emperor returned to *Triers*; for, thence he ſent another Edict to *Probianus* now *Præfect* of *Rome*, wherein he takes care "That the Wine which was furniſhed by the Provinces, or the *Urbicarian* Regions, for the Uſe of that City, ſhould be received as ſoon as it was brought or preſented; and ſuch as would not endure Age, preſently diſpoſed of to the Uſe of the Citizens. Such ordinarily were the *Italian* Wines, herein of a different Nature from thoſe of *Syria*.

He forbids examining Senators by torture.

L. 3. de quæſtionibus Cod. Eod. Dat. Prid. Non. Januar. Trev. L 10. Cod. Juſt. de Dignitat.

Vide Chron. Theodoſian. L. 6. de Officio Rectoris Provinciæ Cod. Th. lib. 1. tit. 7. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

Vide eum in L.

L. 3. Tributa in ipſis ſpeciebus, &c. Cod. Th. lib. 11. tit. 3. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

31. Part of the next year, which was the laſt of his Unkle *Valens*, *Gratian* paſſed alſo at *Triers* well nigh to the month of *May*, as appears from eight Laws made by him at this place; and then marched to the Aſſiſtance of his Uncle. The two former of theſe Laws bearing the ſame date, and directed to the ſame Perſon, *viz.* *Antonius*, now *Præfect* of *Italy*, ſeem to have made one and the ſame Conſtitution though of ſomething different Subjects. In the former he declares to be Law what had been formerly held as a Rule by moſt underſtanding men in that faculty, "That when both a civil and criminal Action lay, the Party concerned in any thing reſpecting his Profit might try the Cauſe both ways, neither could the criminal " Action be extinguiſht by the Civil. He explains it by ſeveral inſtances, as if a man were violently diſſeiſed of any thing, he might not only have the Inderdict or Writ called *unde vi*, but by the *Julian* Law concerning this Subject, might put in an Accuſation againſt the Deſſeiſor. In like manner, if a Teſtament was concealed, not only the ordinary Writ for exhibiting it, did lie, but alſo an Information by virtue of the *Cornelian* Law concerning Teſtaments. The like was to be obſerved, If a Freed-man pretended himſelf to be free born, in matters of Theft, and other Offences. One only exception he allows to his Law, *viz.* the Civil Action concerning Manners, as in caſe a man brought it againſt his Wife, for her naughty behaviour, he could not for the ſame fault bring a Criminal Action of Adultery, becauſe by the very Civil Action concerning manners he proſecuted her to puniſhment, and not to any pecuniary mulct, and this being for abuſing his Bed, one and the ſame Crime ought not to receive two puniſhments; the reaſon why this Action deſcended neither to nor againſt an Heir. But amongſt other Offences he declares Forgery alſo to be ſubject to Actions of both ſorts, and by the ſecond part of this Conſtitution, or the ſecond Law, explains what Forgery he means, which was ſuch as was too frequently uſed; in the time of *Valentinian* and *Valens* eſpecially. We have ſeen out of *Amminnus Marcellinus* how the Arts of Magick and Inchantments were laid to the charge of many eminent perſons, and thoſe of the Senate

He declares that both a civil and criminal Action may lye.

L. un. victum civiliter agere & criminaliter poſſe. Cod. Th. lib. 9. tit. 2. Dat. prid. id. Jan. L. un. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Lege Julia de vi. De tabulis Exhibendis. lege Cornelia teſtamentaria.

L. 7. de fide teſtium & inſtrument. Cod. Th. lib. 11. tit. 39.

L. penult. Cod. Juſt. de probat.

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Puniſhes ſuch as raſhly accuſe any of Magick or Inchantments.

eſcaped not in this point, the malicious Deſigns of ſuch as deſired to have them removed out of the way. This was another of *Maximinus* his Tricks, which *Gratian*, having done ſo much already, to reform the cruel Cuſtoms introduced by him, reſolved to make null by this Conſtitution. Thereby he expreſly commands, “That ſuch as ſhould pretend to know of any ſuch wicked Magical or Inchanting Writings, whereby it might be ſaid that the Life of the Prince or others was in “ danger, and promiſed to make good their Charge, if they failed therein, ſhould be “ puniſhed no otherwiſe than as perſons guilty of Forgery, without any formal accuſation, “ by the meer Office of the Judge. And ſuch are the Laws certain as to time and place, which *Gratian* after his Fathers death, and his Governing the reſt by himſelf, made, yet during the life of his Unkle, and which we thought proper to be mentioned in this Work; for others that relate ſolely to the *Jus privatum*, we think fit to be omitted. Some there are which go under the Names of his Father, his Unkle and himſelf, but without day or Conſul now extant in the *Code* of *Juſtinian*. One of them ſettles the matter of precedence betwixt the *Vicars* of *Præfects* and the *Comites* or *Magiſtri Militum*, ſo that in military Affairs theſe “ ſhould be preferred before the former; but if they hapned to ſit together in Judgement, “ the *Vicar* ſhould have precedence out of reſpect to the *Prefect* whom he re- “ preſented. By another Law they declare, that they will receive and hear the Re- “ ports and conſultations of theſe *Vicars*, as well as of other Judges.

L. 1. de Officio Vicarii Cod. Juſt. lib. 1. tit. 38.

L. 2. eod. tit.

The *Goths* beſiege *Adrianople*.

Ammian. lib. 31. ad calcem.

32. But to return from our Law-Hiſtory, to that of the War. When the Night following the great Overthrow and death of *Valens* was paſt, and it was now light, the victorious *Goths*, like ſo many Wild-beaſts inraged to farther attempts by the taſt of blood, having underſtood by ſome Fugitives, that many Perſons of eminent quality with *Valens* his Treaſure had ſtaid behind in *Adrianople*, haſted thither and beſieged the City. They moſt vigorouſly aſſaulted it, but it was as reſolutely defended, and it hapned that many who had fled from the Battel, for want of time, having not been received into the Town, three hundred of them went over to the *Barbarians*, who cut them all in pieces, and by ſo ſevere an Act prevented the like Treachery for the time to come. In the heat of the Fight a violent ſhoure of Rain chanced to fall, which drove them to their Carriages and Rampart; whence by threatning Letters they moved the Defendants to yield to quarter. The Meſſenger was not admitted, but the Letters were carried by a Chriſtian, as our Hiſtorian calls him, and being read, were ſlighted, as reaſon required; and thereupon the remainder of the Day and the Night following were ſpent in preparing for a freſh Attack. They within blocked up the Gates with maſſy Stones, and placed their Engines where need required, with plenty of Water, for want of which many had well nigh periſhed by thirſt the day before. Without, the *Goths* began to be ſenſible how difficult the enterprize was on which they had entred, and that their power was much diminiſhed by the loſs and unſerviceableneſs of their ſtouteſt men. They betook themſelves therefore to a crafty Device, which by juſtice it ſelf *Ammianus* tells you was diſcovered. They perſwaded certain Fugitives to counterfeit flight back into the Town, with deſign to ſet it in ſome convenient place on fire, that the Defendants thereby diverted, the Walls might be ſcaled with greater eaſe. Theſe men whom he calls *Candidates*, came to the Trench, and ſtretching out their hands, deſired that as *Romans* they might be admitted; and as ſuch they were, no ſuſpicion being had of them. But when they came to be examined about the Enemies Deſign, they could not agree in their Anſwers, which hinted ſo much to thoſe concerned, that being put to torture, they confeſſed on what Errand they were ſent, and loſt their Heads. The *Goths* fruſtrated of their aim, with all preparations they could make, and minds hardned againſt Death and Danger, gave another Onſet, about the third watch; and by their Numbers thought to do the work; but ſuch was the Valour and Conſtancy of the Beſieged ſtill, that they failed of ſucceſs, and this diſadvantage they had by their multitudes, that whatever the *Romans* let flie at them, did ſome execution. But eſpecially a *Scorpion*, or ſort of Engine, called the *Wild Aſs*, by caſting at them a very great Stone, though it broke in the fall, did ſo affright them, that they fairly betook themſelves to their Heels.

Their device diſcovered.

33. Yet by the earneſt endeavours of their Officers the Fight was renewed, wherein ſtill the *Romans* had the ſame advantage which the Multitudes of their Enemies formerly afforded; yet did the *Goths* couragiouſly maintain the fight till it grew dark, and then they retired, fretting in vain, and upbraiding one another that they had not taken the Advice of *Fritigern*, who by all means deſired they would decline Sieges. Applying themſelves all Night to the dreſſing of their

Often repulſed, they raiſe the Siege.

They approach *Perinthus.*

They face *Conſtantinople.*

wounds; when Day came they were much diſtracted in their Counſels what to do, but at laſt reſolved to ſeize upon *Perinthus*, and breaking up their Camp laid all waſte in their Paſſage; which as ſoon as they within *Hadrianople* perceived, by thoſe they could truſt, with all diligence they haſted away with their Wealth as they could, not by the Common Roads, but by-ways to ſeveral Quarters. Some towards *Philippopolis* and ſo to *Serdica*, and others towards *Macedonia*, thinking about thoſe parts to find out *Valens*, of whoſe Death they had not received the leaſt intimation. In the mean time the *Goths* with the *Hunns* and *Alans* their Confederates, two ſtout and Warlike Nations, which *Fritigern* by great promiſes of Booty had cunningly drawn into their Party, encamped themſelves before *Perinthus*, yet ſmarting with what they had felt before *Adrianople*, they dreaded ſo much as to approach the City; but waſted that fertile Country far and wide, the Inhabitants whereof they either took or killed. This done, they paſſed on towards *Conſtantinople* in four ſquare Bodies, for fear of being ſurprized, hoping to be Maſters of the great wealth they knew to be in that City. But ſo Providence ordered it, that when now they began to preſs toward the Gates, a Party of *Saracens* lately ſent for thither (as that People was more dextrous in ſudden Attacques, than in ſet and pitcht Battels) fell out on a ſudden upon them, and after an Earneſt Diſpute came off on equal Termes, though by a ſtrange Fact committed by one of their Number, they ſeemed to have the better of it. A man with long hair hanging about him and all naked, but his Privy parts, with an hideous noiſe, and a Dagger in his Hand, ran into the midſt of the *Goths*, killed one of them, and ſetting his Mouth to the Wound, ſucked his Blood; with which ſo Prodigious a Spectacle the Barbarians were quite daunted and in a far different humour than formerly, began to conſider the State they were in, and marched very warily. For, perceiving the great Compaſs of the Walls, (by reaſon of ſo many Iſlands taken in) the ſtrength of that beautiful Place, and the vaſt Number of its Inhabitants, they razed the Fortifications they had made upon the Streight, and having loſt more Men than they had killed, they departed through the Northern Parts as far as the Foot of the *Alpes* then called *Juliæ*, but to Antiquity known by the Name of *Venetæ*.

Julius in the Eaſtern Parts out of fear of their joyning with them puts their Country men to the Sword.

Ammianus Marcellinus concludes his Hiſtory.

34. Yet by this their bold Attempt, they brought more miſchief upon others their Country men, than upon themſelves. For when it was noiſed up and down how miſerably *Thrace* had ſuffered by them; the Eaſtern Provinces began to quake and tremble, as expecting the Storm would preſently be at their own Doors, which cauſed *Julius*, a *Magiſter Militum*, beyond the Mountain *Taurus*, to venture upon a ſafe and wholeſom, though ſharp and ſevere Courſe, to prevent ſo great a miſchief as might happen. There were multitudes of *Goths* diſperſed alſo through divers Cities and Caſtles of theſe Quarters, though headed by *Roman* Officers; a rare thing, *Ammianus* writes, in thoſe times. For fear they ſhoule riſe and ſide with their Countrymen if they came that way, he thought it ſafeſt by ſecret Letters to their Officers, to Order that they ſhould all be put to the Sword on one and the ſame day, when under colour of receiving their Pay, they were drawn out into the adjacent Fields; by which Prudent Council, Executed without either Noiſe or Delay, the Eaſtern Provinces were delivered from very great Dangers. So *Ammianus Marcellinus* ends his Hiſtory, which being a Soldier by Profeſſion, and a *Greek* by Deſcent, from the Principality of *Nerva*, he had, according to his Ability, he ſaith continued till the Death of *Valens*, a worke which ſhould pretend to tell Truth, as never to his knowledge, ſuppreſſing any thing by Silence, or inlarging Narration by any “ Lies. He ends it with Advice, to ſuch as flouriſhed with Learning, and whoſe “ Age rendred them more proper for it, to write what remained; and if they “ thought fit to undertake the Task, he deſires them *to whet their Tongues*, (ſo “ his Expreſſion is) *to a greater Style*.

His Birth and Breeding.

35. This is all at parting, he ſaith of himſelf; but ſenſible of the Aſſiſtance he affords us to the Hiſtory of the Age, whereof we write, we cannot, out of gratitude to his Memory, ſo take our Leave of him. He was born at *Antioch*, and, we have ground to believe, of Noble Parentage, ſerving the Emperour in his Youth, as *Domeſtick Protector*, to which Imployment few or none but the Sons of *Duces* and *Comites* were admitted; and we are told, that *Conſtantius Chlorus* and *Jovian*, who were afterward Emperours, as alſo *Gaudentius* the Father of *Ætius* took thence the Riſe of their Military Imployments

His Imployment.

ments and Preferment. It was the Ambition, as we have ſeen by the Laws, of all other Soldiers, even of the *Veterane* or *Emerite* to be advanced to the place of *Protector*, which *Ammianus* arrived at, even in his Youth. Now, whereas it was the Cuſtome for ſome of theſe *Domeſtick Protectors*, to Attend for the Security of the Princes Perſon, and others were ſent with the *Magiſtri Militum* into the Provinces; *Marcellinus* was by *Conſtantius*, as he writes himſelf, ordered to Attend *Urſicinus*, the *Magiſter Equitum* in the Eaſt, with whom he returned to *Milan* and followed him into *Gall*, to ſuppreſs the Tyranny of *Silvanus* which happened in the year CCCLV. And when *Urſicinus* was ſent back again into the Eaſt, our Hiſtorian did not forſake him; where, in what Battels he was preſent, at what Seiges, what Dangers he incurred, and how otherwiſe imployed; He himſelf Relates, and we from him have already ſhown. After the Death of *Conſtantius*, he went in the Expedition of *Julian*, againſt the *Perſians*, and therefore being an Eye-witneſs of what paſſed, we have much more reaſon to follow him in our Narration of that War, than *Zoſimus*, or any other. During the Reigns of *Valentinian* and *Valens*, what Courſe of Life he followed, cannot well be told; but when the Empire was devolved upon *Gratian*, *Valentinian* the ſecond, and *Theodoſius*, he left the Eaſt, and went to *Rome*; whether or no called by the Emperour, is uncertain. However, he made no Advantage of the Place, for indulging a Luxurious or Idle Life, as moſt Perſons did, that there choſe to Sojourn; but applied himſelf to Study, and the Converſation of moſt knowing Perſons; as ſufficiently is known from the one and thirty Books of Hiſtory which he wrote.

Vide Valeſium in Præſ. ad lectorem Ammiani Hiſtor. Præmiſſa.

He writes his Hiſtory at *Rome*.

36. That he wrote this Hiſtory at *Rome* appears from ſeveral Evidences; as from his ſevere Invectives he makes againſt the Behaviour of the Citizens; of which he takes notice, and not that of other places, however vitious enough. He refuſeth to ſet forth the Calamities of that City, leſt what happened to *Phrynichus* ſhould fall to his Lot, who taking for the Plot of a Tragedy, the Siege and loſs of *Miletus*, which was a Colony of the *Athenians*, was by Decree of the People of *Athens* heavily Cenſur'd. But to evince his living at *Rome*, *Valeſius* who has made very learned Annotations upon him, produces a Letter out of the *French* Kings Library; written to him thither by *Libanius* (that eminent Sophiſt of this Age) which becauſe it contains matter tending to the Renoun of our Author, he thought fit to exemplify, and we cannot but take notice of what's therein contained. “He begins with congratulating with him that he was at *Rome*, and with *Rome*, that ſhe was poſſeſſed of him; him, for that he dwelt in that City, the like to which the world could not ſhew, and her, becauſe ſhe had him, ſuch an Inhabitant as was nothing inferiour to her own Citizens, however deſcended from no leſs than *Heroes*. He tells him it would be very much, if he, there hearing others recite their works, as the Cuſtome was, ſhould in ſo great a City himſelf keep Silence; for as much as, *Rome*, even at that time, had alſo her Orators, who not at all degenerated from their Fore-fathers. But, he ſaith he had heard from ſuch as came from *Rome*, that He alſo had publiſhed, or recited ſome of his Hiſtory, which was divided into ſeveral Parts; and he perceived that the Applauſe he had got by that, invited him to the publication of the reſt. Moreover, that *Rome* it ſelf Crowned his Labours, and the Judgment of the whole City was, that as He excelled ſome, ſo he was not out-done by others. He adds, that things of this Nature, did not only grace a Writer of Hiſtories, but gave Repute alſo to the Country that brought him forth. And he bids him proceed, to recite what was behinde, and receive that Admiration and Applauſe which he deſerved, and not be wanting to what redounded to the Commendation both of himſelf, and of *Libanius*, and others of the ſame Original with him. At laſt, with Wiſhes for the continuance of his good Fortune, he bewailes his own miſhap in looſing his only ſon, no ill Childe of a good Mother; although ſhe was not of free Condition.

Libanius his Letter to him.

37. This notable Letter of *Libanius*, not only proves *Ammianus* to have lived at *Rome*, but alſo, that by Birth he was an *Antiochian*, to which City, how kind he was, ſufficiently appears, in his defending the Inhabitants from the Invectives even of his Beloved *Julian*, and the Crimes faſtened upon them, in his *Miſopogon*. His Hiſtory we ſee by *Libanus*, was publiſhed in Parts; and, indeed, the twenty ſeventh Book not till after the Death of *Gratian*, and the Deſtruction of *Maximus* the Tyrant; and he mentions *Neotherius* the Conſul, who bore not

His Hiſtory was publiſhed in parts.

not this Office till the Year CCCXC. But in his two and twentieth, he ſpeaks of *Serapis* his Image as yet ſtanding, which was, by an Edict of *Theodoſius*, demoliſhed in the year following *Neotherius* his Conſulſhip. Of the worth and Uſe of his Hiſtory, too much cannot be ſpoken. For the Matter thereof, both as to the Argument, Choice and Diſpoſition, and his Judgment and Fidelity therein, it yields to none whatſoever. His words (however) are moſt of them *Latin*, but the Phraſe is *Greek*; and it muſt not be denied, but it is harſh, and his Style affected, not ſuitable to that of an Hiſtory, which ſhould ever be gentle, plain, and ſimple. But moſt to blame, is his Affectation of a *fame* of Learning, a Vice as *Valeſius* well obſerves, incident to thoſe who betake themſelves late to Study; which makes him break out of the Path of his Narrations, into idle vain and needleſs Excurſions, about the Cauſes of Earthquakes, Comets and the like, ſo as to nauſeate the Palate of any one, but meanly skilled in the Delivery of Truth. However, the Faults of his work, are far overmatched by the great Virtues thereof; which commend him, not only to thoſe who deſire to know the *Civil*, but even the *Eccleſiaſtical* Affairs of the time wherein he lived and wrote. For though by Religion, he was a *Pagan*, with ſuch Candor, Modeſty and Fidelity, he ſpeaks of matters relating to *Chriſtianity*, that were it not moſt evident from many paſſages, that ſuch he was, one might take him for a Man of our own Belief. The Antiquities of the *Franks*, *Burgundians*, *Alamans* and other Nations, he alone in a manner hath delivered; and if his thirteen former Books had been preſerved, though they handled matters much more Conciſely, (as therein delivering the Hiſtory of near thirty Emperours) yet they had afforded us much more light to the knowledge of thoſe dark times. And as thoſe thirteen are loſt, the eighteen remaining, though they eſcaped the Shipwrack, yet underwent ſo great damage, became ſo ſhatter'd and imperfect, that they deterred many from peruſing of them, not only through the Imperfection of the Copies, but the fault of the Publiſher, till they fell into the hands of *Lindenbrogius*, and afterward of *Valeſius*; by whoſe learned Amendments and Annotations, they have been well reſtored to their native Luſtre.

The Excellency of it.

38. With *Ammianus*, agreeth *Socrates* the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian, that the *Emperour Valens* being diſpatched out of the way in ſuch ſort, as no man was certain of, the Barbarians marched toward the Walls of *Conſtantinople*, and began to deſtroy the Suburbs thereof. That the People, moved thereat, went out on their own Accord to withſtand the Enemy, and every one took what Weapon came firſt to hand. *Dominica* the Empreſs, now Widdow of *Valens*, gave Rewards to every one that went forth to Battel, out of the publick Treaſury, according to the cuſtome of paying the Soldiers; *Mavia* alſo, the Queen of the *Saracens*, being in League with the Empire, ſent a Party of her Subjects to Aid them, whereupon, the People gave them Battel, and drove back the Barbarians from the City. But *Gratian* receiving word of his Uncles death, and of ſuch things as followed thereupon, as well as the occaſion thereof, (and the power and practices of the *Goths*, who dayly committed ſome outragious Act againſt the *Roman* Intereſt, and by their Example, drew on the *Hunns*, *Alans*, and other Barbarous Nations into the Quarrel) marched into *Pannonia*, with as ſtrong an Army as he could raiſe, to give ſome check to their preſumptuous boldneſs. But for that He alone could not be ſufficient to grapple with ſo great difficulties and Neceſſities as at preſent the Empire ſtruggled with, he began to conſider of whom he ſhould make Choice to be Sharer with him in the Care and Burthen, as well as in the Power and Dignity of the Throne.

Lib. 5.

The Narration of *Socrates* the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian Concerning the Siege of *Conſtantinople.*

39. *Gratian* indeed, having received the Newes of his Uncles Defeat and Death, from *Victor* the *Magiſter Equitum*, who with a few more had eſcaped out of the Battel, went preſently to *Sirmium*, there to Conſult what Courſe to take to preſerve the Weſtern Provinces. Before well he could have the Report, five or ſix days after his Uncles Death, he ſent an Edict to *Vindicianus* a *Comes Archiatrorum*, and a *Vicar* in ſome Dioceſs of *Gall* (for it was the Fortune ſometimes of theſe Principal Phyſitians to be intruſted with Governments and riſe to high Dignities) whereby he ſignifies, that He had repealed by “ his Letters directed to the *Præfects* of theſe Diſtricts of *Gall* and *Italy*, a former “ Conſtitution which gave leave to *Aurileguli* or thoſe that ſought for Gold-Oare, “ to paſs as many as pleaſed into *Sardinia*. It ſeems there was ſome particular “ Reaſon relating to that Iſland, which occaſioned this Iudulgence, poſſibly ſome

Zoſimus lib. 4. *p.* 751.

l. 9. *de Metallis Cod. Th. Dnt.* 18. *Cal. Sept. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt. quia localis & temporaria* ſome new Mine diſcovered, and thereupon greater encouragement given than uſual. But probable it is allſo, that this Permiſſion was found inconvenient, and that by Reaſon thereof, the other Mines within the Prefectſhip of *Gall* were neglected; for ſuch there were there, and alſo moſt famous Gold-Mines in *Spain*, as all affirm that write of that Country; beſides what they ſay particularly of the River *Tagus*. In *Gall* this Metal was digged, as in the Mountain *Cemmenus* under the *Pyrenæans*, in the Country of the *Tarbelli*, and alſo in the *Alpes*, as *Pliny* and *Strabo* have delivered; however now, and in theſe latter Ages, *Europe* hath neglected what ſhe hath of her own, and cared only for what hath been far ſought, if not dear bought, out of the *Indies*. At the latter end of this ſame year *Gratian* alſo thought fit to decide a Controverſie betwixt the *Præfect* of *Rome*, and the *Conſularis* or ordinary Governor of *Campania*. That part of the Country called *Latium*, and lying near to *Rome*, properly belonged to the Government of the *Præfect*; but either for that he could not be at leiſure when need required, or for other Reaſons, it had been united to *Campania*, yet ſo, as to own, and acknowledge ſtill the Authority of the *Præfect*, who, as he received Appeals out of *Campania*, ſo in things of greater Conſequence, was to hear and to determine matters belonging to *Latium* in the firſt Inſtance. But the *Conſularis* exceeded his Bounds, and ſo far uſurped upon the Right of the *Præfect* of the City, within whoſe *Dioceſs Latium* lay, that by an Edict directed to *Antonius*, *Præfectus Prætorio* now of *Italy*, the Emperour thought fit to declare, that the *Conſulares* of *Campania*, ought not to exceed that Power "which was given them in a Place "under certain Rules and Reſtrictions; neither Baniſh any Perſons out of their "own Province. By virtue hereof, theſe *Conſulares* could neither Baniſh into, nor out of *Latium*, the general Rule being, that no Governour of a Province could relegate or Baniſh any one into any place that was not fully in his own Juriſdiction, nor any perſon any whither, but who was fully ſubject to his own Authority.

Vide Gothofr. in l.

Gratian decides a Controverſy betwixt the *Præfect* of *Rome* and the *Conſularis* of *Campania*.

L. 12. de Pœnis Cod. Th. lib. 9. tit. 40. Dat. pridie Cal. Decemb. Trev. Abeſt à Cod Juſt. ut hiſtorica & temporaria.

40. *Gratian* being come to *Sirmium*, gathered together all the Force he could make, and therewith having paſſed through *Pannonia*, viſited *Myſia* and *Thrace*, as far as *Conſtantinople*, where he took Care for the quiet of the *Eaſt*, and the Limit of the *Danube*. But now ſtanding in need of a good Commander, there had been ſo many loſt in the late War againſt the *Goths*, he pitcht upon *Theodoſius*, the Son of that *Theodoſius*, by *Thermantia*, who Commanded as General, with ſo great Succeſs both in *Africk* and here in *Britain*, a Perſon who for his skill in War, might well be taken for the Son of ſuch a Father, and whoſe Dexterity in matters Civil, and relating to Peace, was no whit Inferiour to the other; for he had already given ſufficient Teſtimonies of his Ability, though for the preſent, by reaſon of a Faction in *Spain* his own Country, he ſeemed to be laid aſide, or rather underwent a voluntary Retirement. Having ſent for *Theodoſius* from *Spain*, when the time now for deſigning Conſuls for the following year was come, out of generous Gratitude to his Tutor, or Shoolmaſter *Auſonius* of *Burdegala*, or *Bourdeaux*, an Eminent Poet of this Age, he declared him *Conſul* with *Olybrius*, and gave him notice of it by this Letter,

He pitches upon *Theodoſius* for his General.

Out of Gratitude to his Tutor *Auſonius*, he declares him *Conſul* with *Olybrius*.

When I conſidered with my ſelf alone, whom I ſhould name Conſuls for the enſuing year; as you know my manner is, as is my Duty, and I am certain your deſire, I asked Counſel, (or referred it unto) God, in Obedience to whoſe Authority *I have deſigned and declared you* Conſul *in the firſt place, and have ſent you the Robe* (Trabea Palmata) *which* Divus Conſtantius *our Father himſelf wore. I have paid what I ought, and I yet ſtill owe what I have paid.*

Vide Auſonii Orationem Panegyricam.

When *Theodoſius* was arrived, he ordered him to command in the Eaſtern parts, and, ſome there have been who wrote, that after he had received his Command, he Ingaged againſt the Barbarians, and got a notable Victory over them, which if true, it had not been forgotten by thoſe more antient Writers who have endeavoured to ſet off with Luſtre the Life and Performances of this Perſon. But for certain it is, that *Gratian* finding the Emperour oppreſſed with manifold Dangers and Inconveniences even near to miſcarriage, by reaſon eſpecially of the Barbarous, Nations their pouring themſelves into the Provinces; conſidering that he himſelf had enough to do in *Gall* with the *Germans*, being but twenty years old; and his Brother *Valentinian* not above thirteen, and there-

A.D. 378.

therefore unable to manage any publick Buſineſs; he cloſed with the Advice of thoſe who perſwaded him to take *Theodoſius* in as a Partner in the ſupream Power. For this purpoſe being now at *Sirmium*, he called the Nobility together, and directing his Speech to him in particular, told him he was reſolved to commit the *Eaſt* to his Charge. He gave him thanks for the great Honour he intended him, but by words, endeavoured what he might to decline the burthen, which he declared too great for him to undergo. However, *Gratian* would not contend with him in Modeſty, but whatever the other might do, ſpake what he thought, and required him to take Patience and accept of it. So was *Theodoſius* advanced to Share in the higheſt Dignity and Power upon Earth, on the ſixteenth day of *January*, being thirty three years old, *A. D.* CCCLXXIX, in the Conſulſhip of the lately mentioned *Auſonius* and *Olybrius*.

Makes *Theodoſius* Emperor.

41. *Gratian* having taken this good Order for the Settlement and Security of the *Eaſt*, and had Intelligence that the *Allemans* had again paſſed their Bounds, and fallen into *Gall*, left *Theodoſius* at *Sirmium*, and returned with ſpeed into that Country. For ſtill did he keep to himſelf, in the threefold Diviſion that was now made of the Empire, *Gall*, *Spain*, and *Britain*. To his Brother *Valentinian* fell *Italy*, *Illyricum* and *Affrick*, and to the Share of the New Emperour, The *Eaſt* with *Thrace*; but not *Illyricum* as *Sozomen* miſtaketh. Before he quitted *Sirmium* he took notice of the Differences which were wont to ariſe betwixt the *Palatines*, or Officers belonging to the *Comites* of the Conſiſtory, who were often ſent into the Provinces upon Errands relating to the publick Revenue and other matters of great Concernement, and the Governors of Provinces themſelves. “He declares that doing their Duties in ſuch manner “ they were not to be diſcouraged by the Ordinary Judges or Governours, who “ were often very ſevere to them, as thoſe they found to be Spies upon their “ Actions, and on the other ſide, not ſtanding now in any fear of them, he “ yet requires, that if they have any occaſion to deal with them, they ſhall “ pay them all the uſual Reſpect and Reverence. *Hypatius* was at this time *Præfect* of the City of *Rome*, of whom *Ammianus Marcellinus* gives this Character, That he was a meek and milde Perſon and given to Quiet, and he ſeems to have been ſo milde, that *Gratian* by an Edict directed to him, rebukes him for it, with a Penalty to be inflicted for the future. Againſt any Sentence whereby the opening of a Teſtament was enjoyned, or for putting the Heir into Poſſeſſion of the Eſtate of the Decaſed, there ought by Law to lye no Appeal, becauſe thoſe things admitted of no Delay. To this purpoſe *Adrian* the Emperour made a Law, that whoſoever was found an Heir by Teſtament, ſhould within a year after the opening of it, be put into poſſeſſion, and that upon occaſion of the twentieth part of Inheritances; leſt there ſhould be any Delay in the Payment of that Impoſition. Now it appears, there was ſome Default in Judges, in admitting Appeals in thoſe Caſes, which meek and good natured Perſons were more apt to do than others; to prevent this miſcarriage “ for the time to come, he impoſeth a Muct of twenty pounds of Gold both “ upon the Party that ſhould make ſuch Appeal, and upon the Judge who “ ſhould admit it. By virtue of *Adrian's* Edict the Heir needed not to ſue for his Eſtate according to the Teſtament, which if he did, he loſt the Benefit of the Edict; but *Juſtinian* afterward repealed the Edict, and gave Liberty to the Heir to obtain poſſeſſion, though the year were out; againſt whom he would not have Preſcription, though of a long time, to take place.

Vide Chron. Theod. ad Ann. 379.

L. I. *de Palatinis S. L. & R. P. Cod. Th. lib.* 6. *tit.* 30. *Dat.* 6. *Cal. Mart. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.*

Composeth the difference betwixt *Palatines* and Governors of Provinces.

Forbids Appeals againſt the opening of Teſtaments.

L. 26. *Quorum Appellat. non recipiuntur. Cod. Th. & L.* 6. *Cod. Juſt. eod. tit.*

42. By the Date of this Law it appears, the Emperour was back at *Triers* before the middle of *Auguſt*; where being arrived, *Auſonius* in many words returned him thanks for making him Ordinary *Conſul*, by an Oration, which, in many reſpects, *Sigonius* thinks fit to be peruſed. But in his way back to *Gall*, he paſſed through *Venetia* and *Liguria*; for, in the Month of *July*, and beginning of *Auguſt* we finde him at *Aquileia*, a City of the one, and at *Mediolanum*, or *Milan*, the now beginning to be the moſt frequented of all Places belonging to the other. Being come to *Aquileia*, he found that the *Tirones*, or New-rais'd Soldiers, abſented themſelves, and ſought to Deſert the Service, and that thoſe they called *Actores*, or Managers of Lands in the Country, were wont to harbour and Conceal them ſo offending. This by a Law made at this place “ and directed to *Heſperius* the *Præfect* of *Italy*, he prohibits upon pain to the Concealer “ of being burnt alive, which Puniſhment was ſometimes inflicted upon the “ Deſertors themſelves (ſo the Law terms them) as appears from *Ammianus*. And

for

Publiſhes a ſevere Edict againſt the Harbrouers of new Soldiers that fled from their Colours.

L. 2. *de Deſertoribus & occultatoribus eorum Cod. Th. lib.* 7. *tit.* 18. *Dat.* 6. *Non. Jul. Aquileia.*

for the time to come, he threatens the Lords of the Grounds ſhall undergo the ſame, if theſe their Officers continue ſtill to offend in the ſame ſort. But as theſe Souldiers endeavoured to withdraw themſelves from ſerving the publick with their bodies; ſo at the ſame time there were others who would gladly have been excuſed from contributing with their Purſes to the finding of Horſes. Theſe were the *Navicularii*, of whom we have often ſpoken, and particularly of the great height to which they were riſen through the Indulgence of ſome late Princes, ſo as they were not only made partakers of the *Equeſtrian* dignity by *Conſtantius* and *Julian*, but ſome Senators would joyn themſelves to their Body, and now there were ſome found amongſt them who obtained from the Emperors honorary Codicils or Letters, whereby the greater Codicillary Dignities were conferred on them. Now ſuch as obtained theſe Titular Honours were wont to be ſubject to extraordinary charges, as of Souldiers, and Horſes for the Wars; though ſome of them, as thoſe that had diſcharged Imployments in the Prince his Palace, were priviledged from them; and to theſe charges ſtill *Grati-* “ *an* reſolves that the *Navicularii* ſhall be ſubject, for all their obtaining the “ Codicillary or Titular Dignities.

L. 15. *de Nomiculariis Cod. Th. Accept.* 12. *Cal. Aug. Conſtantinæ Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt.*

Abates the rigour of the Paternal Power.

43. About the ſame time *Gratian* thought fit to abate the rigour of the Paternal Power, which had been already attempted, ſince the Sovereign Authority was become Chriſtian. This Power at firſt was ſo extravagant as to extend to life over Children, which though the Law at length thought fit to leſſen, even as to the Perſons of thoſe not Emancipated, yet as to their eſtates, except what they got by ſerving their Country, all was wholly in the power and propriety of their Fathers. *Conſtantine*, the great, thinking it very unjuſt that obedient Children ſhould be ſo ſeverely dealt with, took order that their Mothers Eſtates ſhould be ſo aſcertained to them, that it ſhould not be in the power of their Fathers to alienate them, who ſhould have only the *Uſusfructus* during the time of their continuing under their Paternal Authority. But, as Laws are wont to gather force by degrees, ſo the Law in this point got ground, together with the Chriſtian Diſcipline, which mollified the Rigour of the former Cuſtoms. *Conſtantius* confirmed what his Father had done, as to the Mothers Goods, and afterwards added certain Caſes, wherein the Eſtates of Grandfathers by the Mothers ſide, being left to the Children, ſhould not be acquired either by the Father, or his Heirs. But now *Gratian* by an Edict directed to *Heſperius*, made what was but to be obſerved in certain Caſes to hold good purely and ſimply, enacting “That not only the Goods of Mothers, but of Mothers Fathers, and Mothers Mothers ſhould be out of the Power of Fathers “ as to alienation, and that they ſhould only have the *Uſusfructus* of them; But “ as for Eſtates coming from Strangers, and from Relations in a tranſverſe Line, he “ left them, as formerly, to be acquired by Fathers. After this, *Valentinian* carried the matter on farther, forbidding Eſtates got by marriage to be acquired by the Father, and that by an Argument drawn from the Grandfather and Grandmother lately mentioned; as the caſes of theſe are by this Law derived from the Example of the Mothers Goods. At length *Juſtinian*, by Example drawn from all theſe Rules, extended the Law to all ſorts of Caſual or Adventitious Eſtates, and there it ſtood at the higheſt pitch of Indulgence. But *Gratian*, as we ſaid, having paſſed through *Venetia* and *Liguria*; made a Progreſs alſo through the ancient *Gall*, through *Rhætia*; and viſited thoſe that inhabited near the *Rhine*, the *Sequani*, and *Germania Prima*; by his Appearance in thoſe Parts he reſtrained the motions of the *Suevi* and *Alamans*; and leaving theſe Countrys in a ſettled Eſtate returned to *Triers*, where for ſome time we muſt leave him, and attend the Motions and Actions of our New Emperor.

L. 6. *de maternis bonis. Dat. prid. Cal. Aug. Acc.* 4. *Kal. Sept. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt.*

Theodoſius at Theſſalonica.

44. *Theodoſius*, after the departure of *Gratian* for *Gall*, removed to *Theſſalonica* in *Macedonia*. Here we find him on the ſixteenth of *June*, by the date of a certain Conſtitution directed to *Pancratius* his *Comes Rei Privatæ*, of which we muſt ſpeak upon another occaſion. *Zoſimus* tells us, that he ſhowed himſelf eaſie of Acceſs at this place, and that ſuch as came to him upon buſineſs from all quarters returned with ſuch Anſwers to their demands, whether reſpecting the publick or their own private concernments, as were fit and convenient. But at this time vaſt numbers of the *Tranſiſtrian* Nations, *viz. Scythians*, *Goths*, *Taifali* and others having paſſed the River, and being become troubleſome to the Provinces, he made all preparations to drive them out. All *Thrace* they had over-run, and ſuch Garriſons as were there beſtowed in Caſtles up and down dared not ſo much

L. 12. *de Jure Fiſci. Cod. Th.*

Quo priùs, p. 751.

Modares cuts off a Party of *Barbarians.*

as peep forth; much leſs to come to any Ingagement in the open field. There was now one *Modares*, a man of Royal Blood amongſt the *Scythians*, who not long ſince had come over to the *Roman* Party, and having performed ſome faithful ſervices was preferred to a Command in the Army. He having led his men up to an Hill, whence he had a fair Proſpect of the adjoyning Country, by his Scouts diſcovered that the *Barbarians* abuſed the advantage which the fruitful Plain afforded, and were moſt of them overcome already with Wine; whereupon he gave order to his Troops, to leave behind their heavy Armour, and only with their Swords and Targets to ſurpriſe theſe diſſolute men; which they did, and eaſily put them all to the Sword, many of them never being ſenſible who it was that hurt them. Having plundred their Camp, they found and took four thouſand Waggons full of Women and Children, beſides Slaves anſwerable to ſuch a Company, and ſuch as followed on foot, being to ride when their turns came; for, they had not Carriages enough to take them all in at one time.

A ſtory of *Zoſimus* concerning *Julius* his putting the Sons of the *Barbarians* to the Sword.

45. In this manner *Zoſimus* writes that *Thrace* was preſerved from imminent ruine; when at the ſame time he adds, that the *Eaſt* was manifeſtly near to deſtruction upon this occaſion. When *Valens* received the *Goths* into *Thrace*, he did it with this caution, that for their Fidelity he would have ſuch of their Children as were under Puberty to be delivered up as Hoſtages, and thoſe he ſent to be educated in the *Eaſt*, under the Care and Inſpection of one *Julius*, whom he knew to be ſufficiently able, both for their ſafe Cuſtody and Education. *Julius* ſo diſperſed them through the Towns of theſe Tracts, that they might have as little advantage as might be to meet and conſpire againſt the Empire; but the news of the Defeat of their Countrymen in *Thrace* could not be concealed; and ſo diſturbed them, that as many as were in one Town, laid their Heads together, and privily ſent to thoſe that dwelt in other places, to let them know that they deſigned to fall upon the *Roman* Cities, and revenge the death of their Parents and Friends, being now arrived at ripeneſs of years. *Julius*, how private ſoever they were, diſcovered the Plot; and not knowing well how to prevent the ſuddaineſs of the blow, yet ſent not to *Theodoſius* to acquaint him with it, partly becauſe he was at a diſtance in *Macedonia*, and partly for that the charge had been committed to him by *Valens*, and not by the new Emperor, unto whom alſo he was ſcarcely known. He wrote ſecret Letters to the *Senate* at *Conſtantinople*, and from it received Power to act what he ſhould think fit and convenient for the State; which obtained, he ſent for all the Officers of the Army, and having taken an Oath of ſecrecy, imparted to them his reſolution. Hereupon, they being ſufficiently inſtructed, cauſed it to be given out throughout all places where the *Barbarians* lived, that the Emperor was reſolved to be very liberal to them, not only by giving them money, but Lands alſo, therewith to deſerve their friendſhip and adherance to the Intereſt of the *Roman* Empire. For this purpoſe they were admoniſhed to aſſemble together at a day appointed, within the *Metropolis* where they lived, and not fearing any thing gladly expected the Day, remitting now much of their Anger and Zeal for avenging the death of their Parents; and when the time came, they all appeared. Then did the Souldiers who were brought together for this purpoſe, ſeize on the Houſes round about the *Forum*, where they ſtood, and what with Stones, Darts and other Weapons deſtroyed them all, and thereby delivered the Eaſtern Cities from imminent danger.

46. This is the account *Zoſimus* gives us of the Succeſs againſt the Barbarians, both in *Thrace* and the Eaſtern Provinces. Herein he takes no notice of the Perſon of *Theodoſius*, but makes all to have been performed by the Officers; one of which, *Julius* by Name, he ſays, refuſed to ſend to him, but deſired a Commiſſion from the *Senate* of *Conſtantinople*; a probable matter, that an Emperor already ſo declared, and in poſſeſſion, ſhould be ſo ſlighted; but indeed this Writer deals as fairly with him, as with other Chriſtian Emperors. According to his cuſtom he tells all his ſtories in a way, and with circumſtances far different from the general concurrence of other Hiſtorians, and particularly of *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who lived in theſe times, and had great reaſon to know the true ſtate of Affairs; and this amongſt the reſt, which he relates at the end of his work, as done before the preferment of *Theodoſius*. Indeed theſe actions performed againſt the Barbarous Nations, after the time at which *Ammianus* left writing, are obſcure; both as to the time and manner thereof. For ſome will have *Theodoſius* to have performed great things againſt them, while yet but General, and before he had the Purple given him;

Various Reports concerning the Actions performed againſt the *Barbarians.*

Vide Sigonium ubi ſupra. p. 184.

him; and other Authors ſay, that the *Alans*, *Hunns*, *Goths* and *Scythians* were this year overthrown and defeated in many Ingagements; but how the War was carried on they do not add. Some ſay the *Goths* upon giving up of Hoſtages were received into friendſhip, and others, that after being ſufficiently beaten, they begged peace in an humble manner, and that thereupon he received them to mercy, and not only ſo, but made them his Aſſociates in War, free of the Empire, beſtowed Honours upon them, and gave them Lands to inhabit. But if we may believe *Claudian* the Poet, He was the man that prevented the deſtruction of the Provinces by Fire and Sword, reſtored the Grounds to the former Proprietors, ſnatched the Cities out of the Jaws of Death: that if he had not been, no ſhadow of the *Roman* Name had been left in theſe quarters: aud that this was done when *Rhodope* groand with the weight of Barbarians that ruſhed in upon it; when the *North* now was become deſert, having poured out all its People upon the *Roman* Empire; when the Banks of the *Danube* vomited forth Battels; and when *Myſia* and other Parts were covered with the ſwarms of the *Gothick* Troops and Waggons.

Nam cum Barbaries penitus commota gementem Irrueret Rhodopen, &c.
De 4. *Conſolatu Honorii in princ.*

47. That theſe are Poetical expreſſions, and directed to hisS on we muſt not deny, and yet we are afraid that *Zoſimus* has more offended on the other Hand. To his former Relation he adds, that *Theodoſius*, lying ſtill at *Theſſalonica*, did indeed ſeem eaſie of acceſs to ſuch as made their addreſſes to him: but beginning his Reign with Luxury and negligence of publick Affairs, made a diſturbance in Offices, and ordained more Commanders in the Armies than formerly there had been. For whereas there were anciently but one *Magiſter Equitum*, and alſo one *Magiſter Peditum*, he made more than five; and thereby burthened the Revenue, each of the five having now as much allowance as formerly was given to one of the two. Hereby he alſo expoſed the Souldiers to the Avarice of many Officers, every one of whom made it his buſineſs, as much as either of the two formerly, to inrich himſelf out of the Souldiers Pay. But not herewith content he made alſo ſo many inferior Officers, as *Tribunes* and the like, that he left double the Number of thoſe he found, and by this means the Souldiers got nothing of what was allowed them out of the Treaſury. And ſo matters went, ſaith he, by reaſon of the enormous Negligence and Avarice of the Emperor. But farther, he firſt cauſed ſo great expence to be made for his Table, that for preparation of ſuch variety of coſtly Diſhes, multitudes of Cooks, Cup-bearers, and other Officers were ordained, and not to be mentioned but in a long Diſcourſe. Neither is there any need of telling what abundance of Eunuchs he had to ſerve him, moſt of whom, eſpecially ſuch as were handſomeſt, made ſuch Magiſtrates as they pleaſed, having all the Power of the Empire in their Hands, and being able to perſwade the Emperor to whatſoever they thought fit; ſeeing the cauſes of the Ruine which followed thereupon muſt be declared. For, being profuſe to undeſerving Perſons, and therefore as neceſſarily he muſt, wanting much money, he ſold the government of Provinces to thoſe that came next, without any diſtinction of worth or honeſty, but judging him the fitteſt man who brought along with him moſt money; inſomuch as one might ſee Bankers, and thoſe that dealt in Coin, and others of baſe profeſſions wearing the Enſigns of Magiſtracy, and delivering the Provinces in Sale to thoſe that were able to give moſt.

Zoſimus **his complaints againſt *Theodoſius.***

τοῖς μὲν ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἐδόκει πῶς εὐπρόσιτος εἶναι, τρυφὴν δὲ καὶ ἐκμέλειαν, &c. p. 754, 755.

48. This alteration being ſuch at the beginning, grew ſtill worſe and worſe, and thereby came it to paſs that the Forces of the Empire were diminiſhed in a little time, and money failed the Cities thereof, which were exhauſted, partly by exceſſive Taxes, and partly by Avarice of the Magiſtrates; for, ſuch as would not comply with their inſatiable deſires they ruined by Calumnies, as good as ſaying that they muſt get up the money that they had payed for their Places. Hence came it to paſs that Inhabitants through their oppreſſion, and otherwiſe, undone, led miſerable lives, and prayed to God to be freed from ſo great Calamities; for as yet they were ſuffered to frequent their Pagan Temples, and appeaſe the Deities, after the Rites and Cuſtoms of their Fathers. But *Theodoſius*, having by theſe courſes diminiſhed his Forces, gave leave to the Barbarians that lived beyond *Iſter* to come over to him, promiſing with theſe Fugitives to fill up his Troops, which Offer they accepted, and were accordingly received into the Army, with hope that if their Number increaſed they ſhould be able to attack the *Roman* State, and reduce all under their own obedience. The Emperor perceiving now how things ſtood, and that the number of theſe Fugitives exceeded that of his own men, and conſidering what was the beſt way to prevent them in caſe they ſhould attempt any thing con-

trary to what they had ingaged, he thought it beſt to mix part of them with the Army that was in *Egypt*, and ſend for ſome Forces out of the Legions of that *Dioceſs*. According to the Emperors Orders they marched; and in their way, the *Romans* behaved themſelves very civily, paying honeſtly for what they called; but the *Barbarians* quite contrary, offering violence to thoſe that ſold Proviſions. At *Philadelphia*, a place of *Lydia*, they met, where the *Egyptians*, inferior in number to the *Barbarians*, obeyed the orders of their Officers, but the others preſuming in their own ſtrength took much upon them. One of them being demanded money in the Market for what he pretended to buy, drew his Sword and cut the Seller and his Neighbour that came in to aſſiſt him; upon which accident the *Egyptians* gently admoniſhed the *Barbarians* to abſtain from ſuch unjuſt oppreſſions, which did not at all become Perſons that pretented to live after the *Roman* Laws. But they being too good to be adviſed aſſerted, what their fellow had done, by drawing their Swords at the Reprovers, who not able to contain their indignation, fell in with them, and killed of them above two hundred men. Having thus chaſtiſed them that remained, and perſwaded them to carry themſelves more civily toward ſuch as would take no Affront at their Hands, they proceeded in their March, and the Barbarians kept on their way to *Egypt*, under conduct of *Hormiſda* the *Perſian*, ſon of that *Hormiſda* who ſerved under *Julian* in his War againſt that Nation.

49. The *Egyptians* being come into *Macedonia* and taken in amongſt the Legions there, no order at all appeared in the Camp; no diſtinction betwixt *Roman* and *Barbarian*; but all went promiſcuouſly together, without any certainty in the Muſter-Rolls. And as for the Fugitives it was permitted them, though liſted in the Army, to return home, and to ſend others to ſerve in their rooms, and yet when the fit took them, to return again to their Colours. But this liberty they injoyed not without ſuch effects as any one in prudence might juſtly foretell. For they held intelligence with their Countrymen, and letting them underſtand how negligently all things were managed on the *Roman* part, they reſolved to make Uſe of that opportunity which the great confuſion in the Army did afford them. Having without difficulty paſſed the River, (for none there was to oppoſe them, and thoſe that pretended to have forſaken them, rather farthered their deſign) they entred *Macedonia*, whither the Emperor came with all his forces. At Midnight they perceived a great Fire to be kindled, which they concluded to be for the Uſe of *Theodoſius* and his Followers; and therein being confirmed by the relation they received from Fugitives, they haſted ſtrait to his Pavilion, taking their direction from the Fire. Now did moſt of the Fugitives joyn themſelves to their Countrymen, and far more in number thus united they were, than the *Romans* and ſuch as ſtill remained with them. Yet did they find ſtout reſiſtance, which ſerved to this purpoſe, that the Emperor had time to ſhift for himſelf and get away; and though his men that he left behind, were all cut off, yet they fell not without an infinite number of *Barbarians* accompanying them to another world. Had the Northern men uſed the advantage given them, and purſued *Theodoſius*, as they might have done, they had eaſily taken him and all the reſt; but being rendred Maſters of *Macedonia* and *Theſſaly* by this Victory, they contented themſelves with it; neither Impoſed they any Tribute upon the Towns; but left them as free as they found them. The Emperor, after their departure into their own Country, fortified with Garriſons all the Caſtles and ſuch Towns as were walled; and then went to *Conſtantinople*, where he wrote to *Gratian* concerning what had hapned, and how ſome ſpeedy courſe was to be taken to prevent that ruine which impended. Having ſent away the Meſſengers, he then fell upon the *Macedonian* and *Theſſalian* Cities, which, as if they had received no damage from the late Incurſion, he burthened with the uſual Tributes, and ſo ſeverely exacted the payment, that in a manner he took away what the humanity of the *Barbarians* had left. For not only were they conſtrained to pay money; but even the Ornaments of their Women, and all their Clothes, ſo as our Writer had almoſt ſaid they had nothing left to cover their nakedneſs, and all this under the notion of Tribute; inſomuch that every Town and Village rung again with Cries and Lamentations of thoſe, who univerſally extolled the Barbarians, and called upon them for their help. Such was the eſtate of *Theſſaly* and *Macedonia* in theſe dayes.

50. However, our Emperor ſplendidly and as in triumph entred *Conſtantinople*, without any reſpect had to the publick Calamity; and being thither come, made

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immoderate Uſe of the Delights and Pleaſures of that great City. On the other ſide *Gratian* was much diſturbed at the news he had received from him, and, with as much expedition as might be, ſent away conſiderable Forces under the Command of *Baudo* and *Arbogaſtes*, both *Franks* by Nation, great Friends to the *Ramon* Intereſt, free from Covetouſneſs and Bribery; and both very ſtout and expert Captains. They being come into *Macedonia* and *Thrace*, the *Scythians* who ſufficiently underſtood their Worth, and ſtill remained in theſe quarters, haſted away into *Thrace*, which formerly they had waſted, and doubting what further courſe they ſhould take, betook themſelves to a Trick (not much unlike to the former) whereby they cheated *Theodoſius*. They ſent to him certain Fugitives, of moſt baſe condition, to promiſe him Friendſhip and obedience in whatſoever he would require. And he very eaſily admitted, and gave them Credit, not at all inſtructed by his former Experience of their fidelity; and hereupon more followed, and he received them all. By the Sottiſhneſs of this Prince were matters again reduced under the Power of theſe Fugitives, which Sottiſhneſs he Increaſed by his voluptuous courſe of life. For whatever tended to the corruption of manners and humane converſation, received ſuch incouragement and increaſe during the Government of this Emperor, that all thoſe that imitated him in his way of living, ſeemed therein to place all that could make them happy in this World. Ridiculous Mimicks and peſtilent Dancers were now in requeſt, and if any thing could contribute toward obſcenity, and this wicked and diſſolute Muſick, it was practiſed both in and after his time; for to ſo great depravity of Manners was the Generality now inclined, that ſuch as came after, imitated thoſe that went before them in this ſort of madneſs. And beſides all this, the ſervice of the Gods was everted thoughout all Cities and Countries, inſomuch that all who believed there were Gods, were in danger, together with thoſe that looked intentively to Heaven, and worſhipped ſuch things as they there ſaw.

The Objections examined by conſidering what the Laws and other Authors ſpeak of his Actions.

51. The laſt thing related by *Zoſimus* we may eaſily grant to be true, and whether prejudice raiſed from this proceeding of *Theodoſius* did not exaſperate our Hiſtorian and thoſe of his Perſwaſion, we ſhall not now enquire; but to make a true judgement of this diſmal character he beſtows upon him, take in what the Laws and other Writers generally afford us of his Actions, which are the trueſt teſtimony that can be given to humane Life. By his Conſtitutions we find, that from *Theſſalonica*, whither we ſaid he removed after the departure of *Gratian*, he went to a place called *Scopi*, whence he directed another Edict to *Pancratius*, concerning the chuſing of the Principal of the Office of *Comes Domorum per Cappadociam*, commanding, "That it ſhould be every year out of the *Palatine* Officers, as of old it was wont, and not from amongſt the *Agentes in Rebus*. This *Comes* of the Emperors Houſes in *Capadocia* was once under the Command of the *Comes Rei Privatæ*, although, as we have already ſeen, in the time of *Theodoſius* the Younger, when his Breviary or *Notitia* of the Empire was made, he was ſubject to the *Præpoſitus ſacri Cubiculi:* But why *Cappadocia* ſhould have its peculiar *Comes* for Houſes and Lands there, appertaining to the Emperor, might well be conſidered. *Juſtinian* ſayes that the ground was ſo excellent, that it pleaſed exceedingly the foregoing Princes, who therefore beſtowed on it a Magiſtrate of its own, who was nothing inferiour to the Civil Magiſtrate, or *Proconſul*. But yet, how theſe Poſſeſſions came to the Emperors, and particularly why they ſo pleaſed them, he doth not expreſs. It's therefore thought, that when *Conſtantine* confiſcated the Revenues belonging to the Prieſts, and Pagan Temples (which made ſeveral Writers, as *Libanius*, *Eunapius* and others diſcontented and raile as well as *Zoſimus*) he appropriated to his own Uſe alſo thoſe that he found in that Province. And how large theſe Reveneus were in this very Country appears, from *Strabo* his deſcription but of one City and Temple, *viz.* the City of *Comana*, and the Temple of *Bellona*. *Comana* was a memorable City, in a Valley of that Mountain called *Antitaurus*, wherein was a great multitude of thoſe they accounted poſſeſſed Perſons, and ſuch as laboured in the buſineſs of Sacrifices. The Inhabitants, being of that ſort of *Cappadocians* called *Cataonians*, were otherwiſe ſubject to the King; but chiefly obedient to the Chief Prieſt, who was eſteemed as Lord both of the Temple and of thoſe which miniſtred therein, who when *Strabo* was at the place, exceeded in number ſix thouſand Perſons, reckoning both Women and Children. Beſides, there was much Land belonging to the Temple, of which the Prieſt received the Revenue; for amongſt that People, in Dignity he was next to the King, and moſt commonly of the ſame Family. We ſee then the Emperor, having ſecured

L. 2. de Palatinis, S. L. & R. P. Cod. Th. vide Com.

Lib. 12. p. 535. Edit. Cauſab.

ſecured theſe Revenues belonging to thoſe ſuperſtitious Uſes, might well have large poſſeſſions in *Cappadocia*, which alſo was a Country ſo good and fertile, that the Prince had a great Breed of excellent Horſes there.

He makes an Edict about the Gold called *Aurum Coronarium*.

L. 4. de Auro Coronario. Cod. Th.

52. The next place we find *Theodoſius* at, is *Vicus Auguſti*, a Place of *Dacia Ripenſis*; for, thence he gave forth another Edict to the ſame *Pancratius*, which in the opinion of Lawyers ſhewed his Clemency and Moderation. It was concerning that Gold called *Aurum Coronarium* wont, as he expreſſes in this Conſtitution, to be given to Princes by the *Curiales* upon three ſeveral occaſionss. The firſt was out of their love and reſpect to the Perſons of the Emperors, as upon their firſt promotion, (ſo they preſented *Julian*) or when they were Adopted, (ſo *Antoninus Pius*) or when they hapned to come to their City, or when Meſſengers were ſent to them upon ſome Requeſts, or the like. But the ſecond occaſion mentioned in this Law is, that of Indulgence or Remiſſion of Tributes or Debts due to the Treaſury; ſuch as *Gratian* granted at this time, to which we might imagine his Law to have reference, had it not *Teodoſius* for its Author. The third and laſt was upon occaſion of Victory or good Succeſs, which was the moſt ancient and eſpecial occaſion; for it was given them in Crowns already made, or for the making of ſuch Triumphal Ornaments; and thence came it to paſs, that covetous Generals would catch at all opportunities to Triumph, in expectation of this Gold, which extorted a Law of old, that it ſhould not be given them except a Triumph had been deſired. “ Upon whatſoever of theſe occaſions it was given, he would have it received in whatſoever form it was brought, whether in “ Crowns or Images, (as ſometimes Images of *Victory* were preſented) and “ though it had not received the greateſt purification by fire; becauſe it ought to “ come, not from conſtraint, but a willing mind. Theſe were remarkable Laws made by *Theodoſius* in his firſt year relating to civil matters. *Gratian*, as we ſaid, being returned to *Triers*, amongſt other Edicts of ſmaller concernment, publiſhed another directed to *Vindicianus*, his *Comes Archiatrorum*, in behalf of the Phyſitians of his Houſhold, whereby he confirmed to them two Privileges or Immunities. “ The firſt was that of the *Senatores Adlecti* who enjoyed the Dignity and Prerogative of *Senators*; but were not ſubject to the Burthens “ belonging to that Order, as thoſe of *Glebalis Collatio*, and the *Prætorſhip*; and “ this Immunity he extends alſo to their Heirs; as on the contrary, if ſuch *Senators* “ as were obliged to be *Prætors* died before the exhibition of the publick “ Games, their Heirs were bound to be at the Expence. The ſecond Privilege was “ That if theſe *Palatine Archiatri* arrived at the Dignity of *Comites*, which uſually they did, that then they ſhould be excuſed from thoſe they called *ſordid* “ *Offices*, or Imployments, as were ſome others of the ſame Degree. This *Vindicianus* to whom the Edict is directed, is the ſame we ſpoke of before, who arrived at the Dignity of *Vicar*, having written a Book of Medicinal Obſervations for the Uſe of *Valentinian* and his Sons.

Gratian is Indulgent to Phyſitians.

L. 12. de Medicis & Profeſ. Cod. Th. Dat. 18. Kal. Octob.

Severe againſt Debtors to the Publick.

53. But though he was Indulgent to Phyſitians, he was ſevere enough to ſuch as were Debtors to the Publick, for the preſervation of his Revenue. Moſt miſerable in old time had been the condition of all that were in Debt, whom, as we learn from *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* and others, the Creditors had ſo much in their power, as to ſubject them to Drudgery, Impriſonment and Torture; which Cuſtom, though introduced by reaſon of the careleſneſs and knavery of ſome, who made no Conſcience of retaining or ſpending what belonged to other men, yet produced ſuch Acts of cruelty and oppreſſion that by the *Julian* Law a *Ceſſion* of Goods or Eſtates was introduced; ſo that thoſe who quitted all they had, were not to be Impriſoned nor Tortured for what it was not in their power to diſcharge. But this, on the other Hand, was in ſome ſpace of time found to give occaſion alſo to great Inconveniences; for thereof crafty and cheating Knaves made advantage to defraud honeſt men, by concealing part of what they had; and luxurious Spendthrifts, knowing they could come but to this at laſt, incouraged themſelves in their laviſhment and debaucheries. Now as to torturing of Debtors, *Conſtantine* the Great, and his Son *Conſtantius* did not approve of it. But *Valentinian*, as *Ammianus* tells us, adjudged ſuch to death as were not able to pay what they ought to the Treaſury. “ His Son *Gratian* now took a middle courſe, admitting the practice of *Ceſſion* ſtill; but only allowing it to ſuch Debtors “ as by Providence were reduced to Poverty; as by Robbery, Shipwrack, “ Fire, or ſome other Calamity, which they were to prove; otherwiſe all Diſſolute “ or Malicious Spendthirſts he will have ſtill by ſeverity of Puniſhment for- “

L. 1. Qui Bonis ex lege Julia cedere poſſunt. Cod. Th. lib. 4. tit. 20.

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ced to the payment of their Debts; which yet *Juſtinian* afterward did not “ approve, but being of the opinion herein of *Conſtantine* and *Conſtantius*, left this Conſtitution out of his Code; requiring in caſe of *Ceſſion* a full proof, or any Oath, that the man was unable to pay; which was agreeable to the ancient Law. And the laſt remedy remedy left to Creditors is, that if they can find out any Goods or Eſtate belonging to their Debtors, they may ſue for it, and recover ſuch moneys as are due to them from other men.

The fifth Conſulſhip of *Gratian*, and firſt of *Theodoſius*.

A.D. 380. *Gratiano A.* 5. & *Theodoſio A Coſ.*

54. The year which followed, being of our Lord the CCCLXXX, had for Conſuls *Gratian Auguſtus* the fifth, and *Theodoſius* the firſt time. In this Conſulſhip mention is made of ſeven ſeveral *Præfecti Prætorio*, *viz.* four under *Theodoſius*, (to whom Laws are directed from *Theſſalonica*, *Adrianople* and *Conſtantinople*, and publiſhed at *Antioch*) as, *Eutropius*, *Neotherius*, *Florus* and *Tatianus*, and three others, *viz.* *Probus*, *Heſperius* and *Syagrius*, the Diſtricts of whom lay in the *Weſt*; the Conſtitutions directed to them being dated from *Aquileia* or ſaid to be publiſhed at *Rome* or *Hadrumetum*. To *Eutropius* we find a Law directed this year, whereby liberty is given to the *Illuſtrious*, the *Præfecti Prætorio*, to impoſe fines as far as fifty pounds of Gold, in caſe of heinous Offences. Theſe Fines ordinarily were returned into the Treaſury; yet was it in the Power of the Judges to appoint them to ſome ſpecial Uſe, as to the *Curſus Publicus*, publick Buildings, the relief of the Poor, or other neceſſary charges, as ſtill the Parliaments of *France* do practiſe. Hereby *Theodoſius* inlarged the power of the *Præfects*, and about the ſame time extended it even to the depriving of the Governours of Provinces, or inferior Judges; and degrading them ſo far, as to the vileſt condition of men, if found corrupt and abuſing their Power. By removing from the Senate to the ſtate of the vulgar had been uſually puniſhed *Senators* guilty of Falſhood, eſpecially during the Government of that moſt excellent Prince *Alexander Severus*; neither was *Theodoſius* the firſt man that brought up this of degrading Judges to the ſame condition. Before the *Julian* Law, the puniſhment of corruption in them was that of Exile, and the Value of the Loſs ſuſtained by the injured party; but that Law contracted it within theſe limits of removal from the Senate, and the Value of the damage: yet afterward according to the merit of the cauſe was the penalty increaſed. This new Conſtitution being made at *Conſtantinople*, ſeems to have taken its original from ſome complaint made to *Theodoſius* there, who after his Promotion (by confeſſion of *Zoſimus* himſelf) while he lay in that City, had application made to him by many from all places, according to their particular wants, who received ſuch diſpatch as was agreeable to their ſeveral caſes.

Theodoſius inlarges the power of the *Præfecti Prætorio*.

L.4. Cod. Juſt. de modo multarum. lib. 1. tit. 54.

A Law of his againſt corrupt Judges.

L.1. Ad Legem Juliam repetundarum Cod. Th. lib. 9. tit. 27. Dat 18. Kal. Feb.

L. 12. Cod. Juſt. de Dignitatibus.

55. But, how great a calumny this ſame Hiſtorian raiſed againſt this Emperor, or elſe how ſlender his judgement was, in that he charges him with weakning the Army and rendring inconſiderable the force of the Empire, *Gothofred* tells you ſufficiently appears by other Laws he made about this time, from which it is evident how careful and ſolicitous he was to reſtore it to its wonted ſtrength and luſtre. About a fortnight after the Date of the late mentioned Edict, he publiſhed another, to the Provincials of his Territories, whereby he ſignified out of what ſorts of men he would not have Choice made of Souldiers; and this, as is concluded, in order to the carrying on of the *Gothick* War. It being one of the main points to receive ſuch as are fit, and reject others; he declares “He will have in the firſt place no Slaves, whom the continual practice of the *Romans* forbade to take Arms; nor any out of the meaneſt Victualling Houſes, or “ infamous Drinking Houſes, which ſort of Perſons were looked upon as ſo vile, “ that it was not accounted Adultery which was committed with the Miſtreſs of “ ſuch Houſes: Nor out of the Companies of Cooks or Bakers; nor ſuch as belonged “ to the *Gynæcia*, or had pitiful effeminate Imployments, or were taken out “ of the *Ergaſtula* or working Houſes, where thoſe were kept in labour, who either “ were condemned thither as a puniſhment for crimes, or elſe for their Subſiſtance, as not able otherwiſe to live, had condemned themſelves to that drudgery. For, there were *Ergaſtula* not only of Slaves but of thoſe alſo which were born, or made free, in thoſe Days, notwithſtanding the Conſtitution made by the Emperor *Adrian* for taking them away. Now all theſe ſorts were forbidden to afford *Tirones* or New-ſouldiers, and that under penalty of finding three duly “ qualified for one ſo unfit, and that by Award of the *Magiſtri Militum*, and according “ to their Diſcretion, if intimated to them. Of theſe *Magiſtri*, if *Theodoſius* now made five, or more, in room of two; for the better management of this great Concern, and other reaſons; he might do it, without ſuch diſmal effects as

In Com. ad l. 8. de Tironibus Cod. Th. Dat. 4. Kal. Feb. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt.

He declares out of what ſort of men he will not have Souldiers choſen.

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are ſuggeſted by *Zoſimus*, whoſe ſtory concerning his ſupine Neglect of Affairs,his exceſſive Rapacity, Selling of Offices, and Luxurious life, its poſſible, will be very much ſuſpected before we have done with the Hiſtory of his Laws. To be ſure he proteſted his extream hatred againſt Informers at this time; and by his Acts declared it, thoſe ſometimes neceſſary but generally Evils of a State, who found holes in mens Coats, and by Accuſations, right or wrong, promoted the Intereſt of the Treaſury, or rather of begging Courtiers. He found them growing miſchiefs when he came to the Government; and therefore by a Conſtitution (divided now, its thought, into two Laws and directed to *Pancratius* his *Comes Rei Privatæ*, and to the *Provincials*) he ordained “That before ſuch Beggar could enjoy any fruit of the Prince his liberality, he ſhould cauſe the Informer to be “ produced in open Court, not only when an whole Eſtate or inheritance was “ begged, but any particular thing or piece of Land. And that he ſhould not “ only thus be produced when the Emperors Reſcript or Grant was ſhewed in “ the Court of the *Comes* lately mentioned; but alſo ſent down to the Province “ where the Eſtate or thing begged lay; there to make good his Charge where “ the matter might beſt be determined one way or other; and if it proved a “ calumny, the *Provincials* might have the ſatiſfaction to ſee the puniſhment (by “ death) of the Falſe Accuſer. In the laſt Place he inflicts the pains of Death “ upon any who ſhall have informed thrice, nay, although he had made the “ charges good; and this as he ſaith out of hatred, whereby he exſecrates all Informations “ of this Nature.

Publiſheth a ſevere Act againſt Informers.

L. L. 12. 13. de Petitionib. &c. Cod. Th. Abſunt à Cod. Juſt.

Illud etiam ad profeſſionem odii quo univerſas Delationes exſecramur adjungimus, &c.

He further ſhews his averſion to the begging of Eſtates.

56. Further, this ſame year, he ſhowed his hatred, not only againſt Informers, but the begging of mens eſtates, by other Laws; which here we ſhall mention, becauſe relating to the ſame Subject. He commands the ſame *Pancratius*, that a Grant obtained ſhall be of no Force till it appeare from the matter heard “ and examined in his Court, what particularly the Eſtate was, which was ſo begged, and Certificate be made thereupon. This would, by a full Information, let the Emperor know what he had given, and prevent his being ſurprized and cheated by the uſual diminiſhing and undervaluing of ſuch things by thoſe that begged them. But by another Edict directed to *Eutropius* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, he puts a greater Stop to their Greedineſs, by an incapacity laid upon ſome things confiſcate to be ſo imployed; plainly declaring “That the Eſtates of ſuch as were proſcribed for Treaſon, ſhall not be begged; and if granted, the “ Grant ſhall be of no force. And whereas he ſaith, the ſhameleſneſs of ſome “ ſuch Petitioners many times by their importunity wreſted from Princes what “ was not to be granted, he declares his own Reſcript in ſuch caſes, as made “ contrary to Law, to be of no Force at all. But if he ſhould think fit, of “ his ſpecial grace, certain knowledge, and meer motion, that is, without the Deſire, “ Requeſt or Begging of the Party, to give or grant any ſuch Eſtates, ſuch “ Grants ſo made ſhould be of full effect. Now why he ſhould make this exception in the caſes of Treaſon, it being lawful to beg any other Eſtates, was either, for that Accuſations of this Nature were often made, and of the moſt rich and conſiderable Perſons, by ſuch as gaped after their Patrimonies; or, as *Gothofred* believes, out of a certain peculiar and too great mildneſs and benignity towards Offendors in that kind, which made him often eaſily pardon both Words and Deeds againſt his own Perſon, which both *Libanius* and *Themiſtius* in their Orations do teſtifie and otherwiſe will appear. Therefore would he keep open ſome Door to Clemency, which was innate to him, by ſhutting it againſt the importunate voracity of his Courtiers, who preſently after condemnation of the Party flew upon him; for which Reaſon alſo, as it ſeems, his Son *Arcadius* afterward ordained, that the Eſtates of proſcribed or condemned Perſons ſhould not be begged within two years. But whereas *Theodoſius* forbade this as to the Eſtates of Traitors only; we muſt not omit that this Law by *Juſtinian* is extended to all other Crimes, who would not have any thing begged at all, whether it fell to the Treaſury by Proſcription, or any other ways for want of Heirs. “As to our preſent Account of *Theodoſius*, he ſubjects to extraordinary or Arbitrary puniſhment, ſuch as ſhould Beg contrary to the Import and “ meaning of this Law; and by another, made two years after, extends this “ Prohibition to ſuch Houſes or Dwellings as were fitter to be made Palaces, “ and for the Emperors own Uſe, than dwellings for Subjects. If any ſhould be “ ſo bold as to beg any ſuch Places, when Confiſcate, he pronounces him puniſhable “ as for Sacriledge, nay, although he did it out of ignorance, or being “ deceived “

L. 14. eod. tit. Abeſt. à Juſt.

L. 15. Eod. tit. & l. Cod. Juſt. de petitionib. bon. Subl.

L. 16. eod. tit. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt.

deceived; and for this Reaſon, that *He who is curious and buſie upon the matter of begging, ought to be careful what he askes.* And he commands *Nebridius*, in that year the *Comes Rei Privatæ* to whom this Conſtitution is directed, to puniſh his own Office, if they make any falſe certificate, or conſent by colluſion to one that ſo begged, from whom he requires, that any thing ſo obtained ſhall be taken away.

57. But being now imployed in the War againſt the *Goths*, he ſtill took all care poſſible for the reinforcement of his Troops, by ſeveral Edicts iſſued out to *Neoterius.* “He propoſed rewards to ſuch as ſhould diſcover any that had forſaken his Colours; required thoſe whoſe imployment it was to take up new Souldiers, to do it out of the Regions that lay moſt convenient, and with careful choice; and threatens with puniſhment both them if they neglected, and the Judges themſelves if they connive at their neglect; and the Provincials too if they conſpire with them therein. He commands that the Sons of the *Primipilares* follow the condition of their Fathers; and be obliged to that ſervice they were bound to. But in caſe they were not called on in their legitimate or twenty fifth year, but become obnoxious to ſervices of Corporations, he ordains that they continue in the number of *Curiales*; and in caſe the *Primipilares* had ſeveral Sons, and left a fair Eſtate, one of them he will have obliged to the ſervices of theſe Courts, and the reſt to their Fathers Imployment. For he had a great regard to Corporations, that their Courts and Offices might be ſupplied, from which ſeveral now withdrew themſelves, and, upon occaſion of the Wars with the *Goths*, and the care he took to ſupply his Army, deſerted their Charges and went into the Field. “This in another Edict directed to the ſame *Neoterius*, he tells him he had diſcovered; in particular that *Scribes* and *Logographi* of Cities had thither withdrawn themſelves, probably to be Actuaries in the Army; but he prohibits ſuch practice for the time to come, telling him, that he purpoſed to ſupply his Troops out of ſuch as ſtraggled abroad, out of the Sons of *Veterani* and ſuch as had been diſmiſſed, and now minded their own private Affairs, whom he commands to the Military ſervice, and forbids all occaſion of Excuſe. So even an Hand he reſolved to keep betwixt his own Concernment of the Army, and the intereſt of Corporations. But further ſo careful he ſhewed himſelf that the Courts ſhould not be deſerted, that by other Laws made this year, and directed alſo to *Neotherius*, he commanded, “That if any by birth obliged to be *Curiales* had betaken themſelves to the uſeful Body of the *Fabricenſes*, nay had got to be admitted into the Order of *Senators*, or to any *Palatine* or Court-Imployment, they ſhould thence be forced back to the Duties, to which they were obliged by their original. And ſtill, as I ſaid, to ſhow his care both of his Army and the Corporations, if any Sons of the *Veterane* Souldiers had put themſelves into the ſervice of the Governours of Provinces, however ſuch might pretend old Age, if he was able enough for military ſervice he ſhould be compelled into the Field; but if he was found unable to diſcharge that Duty, then to the ſervice of the *Curiæ*; however, in one of them to be (if poſſible) ſerviceable to the Common-wealth.

Takes farther care for the reinforcement of his Troops.

L. 3. de Deſertorio. Cod. Th.

L. 9. de Tironib. Eod. Cod.

L. 11. de Filiis Militar. Apparit. & veteran. Cod. Th.

And for the ſervices of the *Curiæ.*

L. 3. de Tabulariis, &c. Cod. Th.

Lib. 8. tit. 2. & l. 9, 10. de Filiis milit. apparit.

L. l. 81, 82, 83. de Decurionibus.

58. Nothing appears from the Laws to confirm what *Zoſimus* writes concerning this Emperors making ſo many *Magiſtri Militum*, yet that he had a ſpecial regard to thoſe Military men, thence ſufficiently is evident. For in this very year, did he publiſh a new Conſtitution or *Notitia* of Dignities, of place and precedence, whereby he makes equal ſuch as had born theſe Offices, with thoſe that had been *Præfecti Prætorio.* And the ſame place he aſſigns to them, not only in the *Secretaria* or Courts of the Provinces, and in Extraordinary meetings, as *Valentinian* had done before, but every where, indiſtinctly, even in the *Senate* of *Conſtantinople*, to the *Præfect* of which City, *Reſtitutus*, he directs his Edict. No other precedence he gives to either ſort, but ſuch as time it ſelf afforded; ſo that he who was firſt advanced ſhould take place, ſpeak and deliver firſt his Opinion; and this he found himſelf obliged to do from reaſon of State, thereby to oblige Military men, of whom at this time he ſtood in great need, having ſo much work cut out for them by the *Goths*, *Hunns* and *Alans*; and the more becauſe many of his great Officers were by original themſelves Barbarians. But by ſo doing, he might ſeem to leſſen the dignity of the *Præfecti Prætorio*, the Power of whom was in this Age ſo exceeding great; and therefore to make them ſome amends, he ſeems to have inlarged it by granting

Incourages Military men.

L. 2. de Præfectis Prætorio ſive urbis Cod. Th. & L. 2. Cod. Juſt. eodem tit.

ting them leave to Fine Criminals as far as fifty pounds of Gold, by the Edict lately “ mentioned, which is rationaly thought to have been part of this very Conſtitution, “ however the Date of it hath happened to be altered. However, there is extant another “ Law which is concluded to have been a Parcel of it, whereby thoſe that had “ borne any of four other great Offices, *viz.* that of *Quæſtor*, the *Magiſter Officiorum*, “ and the two *Comites Sacrarum Largitionum* and *Rei privatæ*, are in ſome ſort “ made equal to thoſe that had been *Præfecti Prætorio.* They had formerly been “ by *Valentinian* preferred before *Proconſuls*, and ſo by Dignity were only *Spectabiles*; but now by this Law they were taken into the Rank and Number of *Illuſtres.* But he doth not hereby make them fully equal with the *Præfectorians*, as he had done them that had been *Magiſtri Militum*, ſo as if they ſhould make any advantage of Time, or be preferred before them, if they had been firſt advanced; but certain particulars he mentions wherein they ſhould equal them, as in Acclamations, and being received with the ſame Honour and Reſpect in all Companies and Aſſemblies. The Reaſon he gives for this Advancement is, that though they had not yet born the Office of *Præfect*, yet they were near it, and it was due to them, ſuch being uſually preferred to that Dignity; as might be made evident by infinite Examples.

L. 2. de Quæſtorib. Magiſtris Officiorum, &c. & L. 1. Cod. Juſt. Eod. tit.

His Reſpect for the Notaries:

L. 1. de Primicerio & Notariis Cod. Th. lib. 6. tit. 10. Dat. Theſſ. 18. Cal. Jul. & L. 1. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit.

59. But amongſt other more inferiour Imployments, *Theodoſius* at this time profeſſes the great Reſpect he bore to the *Notaries*, of whom has been already ſpoken, as alſo of their various Imployments, out of *Ammianus.* For theſe were the Clerks that took Notes of what paſſed in the Emperours Conſiſtory; his Decrees were often by their *Primicerius* recited in the Senate; and they were ſent often into the Provinces upon extraordinary and urgent occaſions, being uſually bred Scholars; and thereupon it is thought they were recommended to the Emperour by *Eutropius* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, to whom this Edict is directed; he being a Perſon of great Learning and Eloquence. When they had left their Imployments either for Age, to take their Eaſe, or other Reſpects, the *Numerarij* belonging to the Magiſtrates, would put them upon Duties relating to the Revenue, as thoſe of *Collectors* and the like, to their great Inconvenience and Moleſtation. Now as the Rule in Law generally held “ that the ſame Privileges belonged to thoſe that were in actual Imployment, “ and thoſe that were out, but had ſerved in that Relation. *Theodoſius* in this “ Edict extends this Privilege which already belonged to other *Honorati*, “ to thoſe that ſerved in the Palace: and in Caſe any *Numerarius* were ſo “ troubleſome to them, he threatens him with an heavy Fine, and the loſs of his “ Office. But amongſt his Concernes, for thoſe that ſerved him in the Palace, he forgot not them who by their Labour contributed to the Subſiſtance of himſelf and them, *viz.* the Farmers of the publick Lands. He revived now a “ Law made by *Valentinian*, for ſaving harmleſs ſuch Perſons; and he declares, “ no Farmer in Poſſeſſion, ſhall be turned out through the Importunity of another, “ having given that Security which of Courſe ſuch Tenants were to give, “ by joynt Obligation of other Perſons. And at this time his Hand being in, and, as any one looks upon the Laws would judge, being ſet to do good to his People; by his ſeveral Conſtitutions ſent to the *Præfecti Prætorio* throughout his whole Diſtrict, eſpecially to *Eutropius*, he endeavoured to ſuppreſs the great Thefts that were common in the Provinces; and not only them, but ſuch as were as certain, though in a more plauſible way, as the unjuſt Exactions and Violences uſed by the Governors or Judges of Provinces, and the greater Officers, nay, of the Treaſury it ſelf. To this purpoſe, he made a famous Conſtitution ſtill extant, and divided into ſeveral Laws.

His Care for the Farmers of his Lands.

L. 3. de Locatione Fund. Jur. Emphyt. Cod. Th. lib. 10. tit. 3. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

60. By one of theſe he ſhewed great Clemency to ſuch as underwent the Puniſhment of being Baniſhed into Iſlands, called *Deportation*, by the *Romans.* For whereas by the Law, the whole Eſtates of ſuch Condemned Perſons, were “ Confiſcated, ſome Portion thereof, he permitted to be allowed for the ſubſiſtance “ of the Offender and of his Children, and Parents (were there no “ Children) *viz.* one ſixth part, except in Caſe of Treaſon, of which, whoſoever “ was Convict, and thus baniſhed, he would alſo have him puniſhed with Want, “ as was wont to be Practiſed in all places; that Crime being ever excluded from “ all Privilege and Benefit of Law. Both hence and from other Laws it's evident, that Death was not always inflicted for Treaſon it ſelf, but ſometimes Deportation ſatisfied. As to the Children of ſuch Perſons, by this ſame Conſtitution he allows them a ſixth part of the Eſtate, of what Sex, Degree or Condition

L. 8. de bonis Proſcriptorum. Cod. To.

His Clemency to ſuch as underwent Deportation, and to their Children.

on ſoever they are, although Emancipated, and Grandchildren by a Daughter; the Crime of Treaſon again excepted; and yet ſo, as even in that Caſe as much ſhould be allowed them, as to their Father, had he offended in another ſort, and for that been ſo Baniſhed, *viz.* a ſixth part; a ſigne of the wonderful Clemency of this Emperour; wherein his Sons refuſed to imitate him; the horridneſs of that Crime, as one of them ſaith, regularly leaving nothing to Poſterity; and not only his Succeſſours, but generally his Predeceſſors were of the contrary Opinion. But indeed this was the natural temper of this Prince, whoſe Mercy uſually ſhewed in the point of Treaſon, *Themiſtius*, about this time, extolled in an Oration he made in the *Senate*; and of his wonderful Clemency towards the *Antiochians*, we may hear hereafter. But in that manner he provided for them whoſe Goods or Eſtates were Confiſcated. By another, he ſetled the ſucceſſion of ſuch, whoſe Eſtates were not ſeized by the Exchequer, although they were put to Death for ſome offence, and that as he profeſſes according to the Direction of the Civil (twelve Tables, and the *Lex Papia*) and of the *Prætorian* Law; for the *Romans* had a double way of conveighing the Inheritances of ſuch as died Inteſtate, the one by the *Civil* Law it ſelf, and the other by the *Edict* of the *Prætor*, when Reaſon required that Equity ſhould interpoſe and regulate the Rigour of the Law. By this his Conſtitution he ordained the Eſtates of ſuch as were put to Death, to deſcend to the Children of the firſt and ſecond Degrees entirely, but only half to thoſe of the third, or Great Grand-Children. If there were no Children, a third part of ſuch Condemned perſons Eſtates, ſhould go to their Parents, and the other two be Confiſcate. And to the Grandfather and Grandmother by the Fathers ſide; if the Party had no Father nor Mother, one fourth part; and all theſe failing, as much to the Brothers and Siſters of the Party, who if of whole Blood, and not Emancipated were to exclude the Grandfather and Grandmother as by the Antient Law they ought to do.

L. 2. eod. tit. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt.

His further Severity againſt Judges that had been deprived for Corruption.

61. By another part of this Conſtitution, he farther provided againſt the Corruption of Judges; for, having as we have ſeen already, this ſame year, deprived ſuch of all Honour, and degraded them as low as the meaneſt Condition of the Vulgar, he now took away the Stairs by which they might hope to mount again to their former Dignity, by declaring, that they ſhould for ever be debarred from all, both Real and Titular Honours. And he Commands *Eutropius*, that if any Perſon formerly Convicted ſhould obtain any ſuch Power or Imployment, as might happen through the Emperours not being acquainted with what had formerly paſſed, and his being impoſed on; that in ſuch Caſe, he ſhould not ſuffer him to Act or intermeddle; but ſend and acquaint himſelf with the matter. This he did, conſidering that Men of ſuch baſe and corrupt Principles, ſeldom grow better if they have any oportunity; however are to be preſumed ſtill the ſame, except there be any Evidence to the contrary, of which it was fit the Prince ſhould be Judge, without having his Hands tied up, if he were pleaſed to reſtore any, as ſatisfied of their Amendment. But we ſee the power of the *Præfects* was very great, as even in this Caſe it appears, of Prohibiting a Perſon to meddle with the Government, though producing the Emperours Commiſſion, as they had Authority given them of puniſhing ſuch Judges as they found to be Thieves without any neceſſity of making Report to the Emperour. By this ſame Conſtitution he reformed ſeveral Abuſes perceived to be growing about Contracts of Mariage, Prohibiting that Liberty which ſome took of ingaging the Affections of Perſons, of putting them to trouble and Charge, and then deſerting them; ſuch Women as were Guilty of this Inconſtancy by the *Roman* Laws being to reſtore fourfold of the Tokens that they had been preſented with. The Law in this point he now regulated, according to the Age and other Circumſtances of the Woman; but vigorouſly reinforced that part of it which related to the Governours of Provinces, or ſuch as had Command, or Authority therein; who thereby were Expreſly forbidden to marry, during their Government, any that lived in the parts ſubject, to their Juriſdiction; becauſe of that Fear, Awe, or Terror which it was ſuppoſed they might ſtrike into them. He declares that if any woman under ſuch Circumſtances had received any Tokens or Preſents; whereas by the Antient Law ſhe might renounce any Contract thereby made, but was of neceſſity to return the Preſents back; that now it ſhould be in her free Choice, whether ſhe would or not return them. And this he extends, not only to the Governour himſelf, but

L. 2. Ad legem Juliam. Repetundar. Cod. Th. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſtin.

He Reforms Abuſes in order to Marriage.

L 6. de Sponſalibus &c. Cod. Th. lib. 3. tit. 5. & L. 1. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Arrhæ.

Eſpecially of Governours of Provinces.

L. un. ſi Provinciæ Rector. Cod. Th. lib. eod. tit. 6. & L. un. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit.

his Sons, Grandſons, Kinſmen, Aſſeſſors and Domeſticks, if he interpoſed in their“ behalfs. But in Caſe, after his Government ended, the Party would agree to it,“ the Mariage might be conſummated, but as now by a new Conſent, which during“ his Power was reputed and taken to be null and ineffectual.

L. un. de uſuris Rei judicatæ. Cod. Th. lib. 14. tit 19.

L. un. Si quacunq; preditus poteſtate nuptias petat in vitæ. Cod. Th. lib. 3. tit. 11. & L. un. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit.

62. By this ſame Conſtitution, he endeavoured to prevent the Fraud of Debtors, and the Rapacity of Creditors, appointing what Intereſt ſhould be paid, and when, for ſuch ſums as any by courſe of Law had been Caſt in; but ſtill had his Eye upon Governours of Provinces, by whom he thought the People more oppreſſed than by one another; and that eſpecially at this time, and he thought he had not yet done enough in the point of Mariage. He further ſeverely Prohibits“ all having Authority in any Province or place, not only by Threats or Awe, to“ Compel any Woman to Marry themſelves or Domeſticks, but any other Perſon“ whatſoever, and that under a double Penalty, of fining in ten pounds of Gold,“ and loſing the Dignity belonging to ſuch as had borne their Offices, when out of“ their Imployment; which if they ſhould preſume to take upon them, or Challenge,“ he forbids them coming into, or abiding in the Province they Governed for the ſpace of two years. Such puniſhment was the Offender to undergo if Marriage followed upon his Attempt; and for prevention yet further, the Emperour preſcribes a remedy againſt ſuch violence, giving the Party ſo Awed or threatned, Liberty“ to renounce the Juriſdiction of the Tyrant, if he were the ordinary Judge or“ Governour of the Province, and betake himſelf to thoſe of the Degree of *Spectabilis*,“ as the *Vicar* of the Dioceſs, the *Proconſul*, *Comes* or *Præfectus Auguſtalis*, according“ to the place where it ſhould happen; and there demand Relief. And if“ the *Vicar* or other ſuch officer made the Attempt, the Ordinary Judge ſhould have“ the Hearing of the matter; but if both were faulty, then ſhould the *Illuſtrious*“ Perſons or *Præfecti Prætorio*, undertake the Protection of the attempted party. In concluſion, the *Defenſores* of Cities, formerly ſpoken of, are required to take care that“ the matter be proſecuted in this ſort, as alſo the *Apparitors* of the Ordinary Judge.“

Prohibits Donations to be made to them.

L. quicunque de iis quæ Adminiſtrantibus Cod. Th. lib. 8. tit. 15. Abeſt à Cod Juſt.

63. Yet ſtill farther did his Care extend, to protect the Inferiour ſort of People from the Awe and Terror they might ſtand in, in order to their Provincial Magiſtrates, and the ill Effects following thereupon. By another Law, part alſo of this“ Conſtitution, he permits all Donations to ſuch Perſons to be revoked, within the“ ſpace of five years, whether theſe Magiſtrates were Governors of Provinces, of Dioceſſes,“ or *Præfecti Prætorio* themſelves as formerly had been ordained in caſe of“ purchaſes; nay though they were made but to their Wives, their Children indiſtinctly“ of what Degree, Sex or Condition whatſoever, their Parents, Brothers,“ Siſters, Fathers in Law, Mothers in Law, or Domeſtick Aſſeſſors; for he will“ not have them themſelves only incorrupt, but their Houſes and Families alſo“ untainted. The five years, within the ſpace of which he gives leave to revoke“ the Donation, he will have reckoned from the going of ſuch a Magiſtrate out of“ his Office, and he permits it to be done without any *Denuntiation* (as the term“ of Law is) or warning, which was neceſſary before other Suites or Actions were“ commenced; it ſufficing to prove before the Judge the time when the *Donation*“ was made. And yet further to this Suite or Proſecution he adds ſuch Efficacy,“ that the Poſſeſſion of the things given, ſhould reverte to the Donor in ſuch ſort“ as if it had never gone out of his Hands; in like manner as thoſe that had poſſeſſed“ any thing by fraud were compelled to reſtore it together with all Fruits or“ Emoluments thence ariſing. In Caſe the *Donor* die before the Term be out, he“ declares that his Heirs ſhall have Cauſe of Action againſt the *Donee*, except the“ *Donor*, while living, had by his ſilence confirmed the Donation, by ſuffering the“ matter to reſt ſo long till the Heir became emancipated, or out of his Paternal“ Authority. But we are to underſtand, that what *Theodoſius* here Enacts, and other“ Laws determin. againſt Donations made to Magiſtrates, muſt be underſtood concerning“ ſuch as were made and had effect betwixt the living; for by Teſtament or laſt Will any thing might be given or bequeathed to thoſe in Dignity, or Power, as well as to the Emperours themſelves, which by another Branch of this large Conſtitution he doth declare, which inſtanceth in an Inheritance in a Legacy, and a thing left in truſt with another Perſon for their Benefit and Advantage. By another part of this ſame Law he declares, that if ſo be, one that was left Heir, or as we ſay Executor, or ſucceded to an Inteſtate, did once approve of the Will“ of the deceaſed, all things therein bequeathed ſhould hold good, although the“ Teſtament were not ſolemn, or ſo Conſtituted as the Law required.

L. 16. Cod. Juſt. de Teſtam. lib. 6. tit. 23.

64. What *Zoſimus* writes concerning ſo many flocking to him with their Complaints,

plaints, when he lay at *Theſſalonica*, we may well believe to be true, from what we find in another Edict made by him this year, although not at that City, but at *Conſtantinople*; if *Hadrianople* be not rather to be read. When places in the Countries had any Requeſts to make, they were wont in thoſe times confuſedly to ſend their Meſſengers to the Emperour, and more in number than was convenient; to the great Charge of the People and the burthening of the *Curſus Publicus*, which provoked other Princes as well before, as after, to put a Reſtraint upon this Diſorder: Cities of one and the ſame Province would ſend up their Requeſts particularly and “ by themſelves; and this *Theodoſius* doth not diſapprove, at leaſt not forbid; but “ how many in Number ſoever thoſe Cities of the Provinces were, at the general “ meeting three Meſſengers only, ſhould be choſen to repreſent their (particular) “ Complaints; which was thought ſufficient; nay, *Valentinian* the younger afterward “ would have but two Meſſengers Choſen for an entire Dioceſs or a Province, although in former times three might have been ſent from one City alone, but no more; by an Edict of *Veſpaſian*, whatſoever place it was. Now all the Meſſengers go under the Name of *Legati*, and ſo are termed in a peculiar Title of *Theodoſius* his *Code*, as well as they who were ſent on Errands to Foreign Princes or Nations, which we now more peculiarly call *Ambaſſadors*; for ſuch more properly are they who are ſent from one Sovereign Authority to another, although now Commiſſioners ſent to a Treaty go under this Name alſo; and this more lately; though (mediately) they alſo tranſact with Sovereign Powers. As for Ambaſſadors ſent from the *Romans* to Foreign Nations, their Number often was wont to be three. But to return to *Theodoſius*; as by this Law he ſeems chiefly to have aimed at the Eaſe of the *Citizens* ſo by others of this ſame year, to have conſulted the Beauty and Luſtre of the Cities. And ſome need there was, of his ſo doing; for it's obſerved, that from this year of which now we write, for ſeventeen together, till the Reign of *Arcadius* his Son, the Governours of Provinces through the *Eaſt*, caſt off all Care of repairing publick works or Buildings. This made him both now and afterwards quicken them to it by ſeveral Edicts; and this year, when one *Julian* was going to be *Præfect* of *Ægypt*, he made this Charge part of his Inſtructions, declaring that every Judg “ that was to be ſent into his Province, ſhould repair and reſtore to their antient “ Luſtre two Parts of three of ſuch Structures as were decayed, either through neglect “ or Age; and if they would to theſe add the third part alſo, they ſhould thereby “ procure Fame and Reputation, though at the publick Charge. They were greedy enough of Fame and Repute, but they loved to procure it by ſome new Work, ſome new Device, which ſhould call them Author, at leaſt Founder; and were wont to neglect what was begun but left unperfect by their Predeceſſors; To obviate which miſchief, this ſame year by another Edict directed to *Entropius*, he “ commands that they begin no new Work till the old ones be repaired, and ſuch “ as were left unfiniſhed by thoſe that ſerved in the Province before them.

Reſtrains the Number of Meſſengers ſent up to him upon Buſineſs.

L. 7. de Legatis & Decretis &c. Cod. Th. lib. 12. *Tit.* 12. *Abeſt à Cod Juſt.*

Takes care of repairing antient Buildings.

L. L. 20, 21. *de operibus publ. Cod. Th. Abſunt à Cod. Juſt.*

65. This Charge concerning the Repairs of Antient Structures, was indeed one of thoſe which of Courſe were given to Governors that were going to undertake their Provincial Imployments; and ſo was that concerning the Immunity of *Curiales* or Senators of Cities from Tortures, or beating with Plummets, as ſhould ſeem from another Law directed to the ſame *Julian* Prefect of *Ægypt*, and to be joyned with the former. By this he excepts from the aforeſaid Tortures, being due to “ Criminal Perſons, the whole Rank or Order of the *Curia*, and will have every “ Judg or Governor know, that if either He himſelf, or his Officers Act contrary “ to this Injunction, they ſhall be moſt ſeverely puniſhed. Therefore he requires Him “ in particular, that the greatneſs of the Command conſidered, he will abſtain from “ corporal Injuries, as he terms them, of the *Curiales*; and to be ſure to puniſh with “ the heavieſt Cenſure, any of his Officers that ſhall tranſgreſs in this ſort. Yet for all this, from an Oration of *Libanius* it appears, that ſome Governours themſelves tranſgreſſed in this kinde, and were puniſhed for it; as for inſtance, *Flavianus* the Proconſul of *Aſia* (of whom we may hear afterward) who was turned out of his Place, and another Prefect of *Ægypt*, who was caſt into Bonds for the violation of this Law, a Law ſo acceptable and welcome, that *Libanius* prays him to eſtabliſh Juſtice by the puniſhment of ſuch as ſhould infringe it, by which Courſe many would be incouraged to give themſelves to the Service of the Cities, whereas, if he neglected to do it, he would in a manner command them to run away from their Imployments. But ſo kind, we ſee, was *Theodoſius* to Corporations; the Senators whereof could not but be pleaſed to have their Perſons thus ſecured from the Inſolence of Governors, and eſpecially of their Officers; and, if publick

Forbids the torturing of the *Curiales*.

L. 80. *de Decurionibus Cod. Th. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt.*

Vide Gothofr. in Com.

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ſpirited, to ſee their Towns beautified by repairing of ſuch Structures as were gone to decay. And the Emperours indeed were wont ſo far herein to concern themſelves, that in their uſual Inſtructions or Mandates given to theſe Magiſtrates, they uſually ordered the Accounts concernnig theſe publick Works to be allowed. For each City had its peculiar Revenues, part whereof was wont to be aſſigned to the maintenance of publick works, the Accounts of which they would have allowed, but Prohibit any Salary to be aſſigned by the *Decuriones*, or greater Magiſtrates, to any Perſon, without their Command therein eſpecially ſignified; whereas, in ſome Caſes the *Decuriones* were wont to allow Salaries, as to a Municipal Profeſſor or Phyſitian; to Meſſengers ſent to Court, and to the maintenance of ſuch of their own Members as were fallen to Decay. But *Conſtantius* forbade any Salary to be given, peremptorily, without the Prince his Command, as his Grandfather *Conſtantius Chlorus*, himſelf, aſſigned to *Eumenius* the *Rhetorician* his Penſion from the City of *Augustodunum*; and *Gratian* when he gave the *Gallican* Cities leave to chuſe their Profeſſors, yet would not yield them the liberty of aſſigning them Allowances at their own Diſcretion. Yet *Libanius* in an Oration to the Senators of *Antioch* importunes them of that City to increaſe the Salaries of their four *Rhetoricians* or *Sophiſts*, by aſſigning them certain Lands; ſo that probably the Prohibition of *Conſtantius* extends to unuſual and Extraordinary ſtipends; not to the wonted and neceſſary ones.

L. de operibus publicis Cod. Th.

L. unic. de præbend. ſalari Cod. Th. lib. 12. tit. 2. & Cod. Juſt. l. unic. eod. tit.

66. *Theodoſius*, at the latter end of the year, ſetting himſelf to the Correction of manners, took notice of the Immodeſty of Widdows (amongſt other Faults) which were wont to Marry again before the time of Mourning due to their former Husbands was expired. He confirms what the Law formerly had declared againſt ſuch, that they ſhould be eſteemed infamous Perſons; and to this adds, that “ they ſhould not bring as Dower to their ſecond Husbands above a third part of their “ Eſtates nor leave them more than juſt ſo much by their Teſtaments. That they “ ſhall be Incapable of any Inheritances, Legacies or Benefits from Truſts left by “ Will, which muſt fall to the Heirs, and no Benefit thereby Accrue to his Treaſury, “ to which he will have no reſpect in the buſineſs of Reformation of Manners. Further, “ ſuch a Woman ſhall looſe whatſoever was left to her by the Will of the firſt “ Husband, which muſt fall to them to whom the *Prætorian* Law aſſigned it; and “ the Treaſury ſucceed in the laſt place. And as for ſuch Inheritances as fall to her by “ Succeſſion, She ſhall not ſucceed to any ſuch, or thoſe called Honorary, beyond the “ third Degree. By another part of this ſame Conſtitution, directed to *Eutropius* the “ *Præfectus Prætorio*, though now ſeparated and put into another Title in the *Code*, “ he pronounces ſuch a woman notoriouſly infamous by the Law, except the Prince “ be pleaſed by his Indulgence to wipe off the Blott, whether ſhe had Children or not “ by her Husband. In Caſe She had Children, and obtained from the Emperour “ an Abolition of Infamy, he is willing She ſhall injoy it, together with an Exemption “ from all other puniſhments, provided She part with half that Eſtate ſhe had “ at the time of Marriage, to thoſe Children ſhe had by her former Husband, by a pure and ſolemn Donation, ſo as no Profits thereof ſhall be Exempted; and if “ one or more of them ſhould dye, thoſe remaining ſhall ſucceed the deceaſed; but “ in Caſe all of them die Inteſtate, then, for Conſolation of her miſery Contracted “ by the loſs, She her ſelf ſhall be the Heir.

Puniſhes the haſty Marriages of Widdows.

L. 1. de ſecundis Nuptiis Cod. Juſt. lib. 5. tit. 9.

L. 15. ex quibus cauſis Infamia irrogatur. Cod. Juſt. lib. 2. tit. 12.

L. 4. Ad ſenatus conſultum. Tertullianum Cod. Juſt. lib. 6. tit. 56.

67. This Conſtitution bearing Date on the fifteenth before New-years Day, we ſuppoſe was not made at *Conſtantinople*; whither *Theodoſius* by this time, was ſcarcely returned from *Theſſalonica*. The ſecond day after there, we think we find him by another Law which here we ſhall not further mention. But to beſure at *Conſtantinople* he was on the twenty-ninth of *December*, on which we have another Edict directed to *Eutropius*, and full of Clemency, concerning the Apprehenſion and Cuſtody of Priſoners. “ Hereby he Commands, that none be caſt into “ Priſon without ſufficient Ground: That none be ſent for from far, without the Accu- “ ſer have firſt ingaged himſelf ſolemnly to undergo the puniſhment due to the Of- “ fence if he do not prove it. That thirty Days time ſhall be allowed ſuch an one “ to diſpoſe of his Buſineſs, and to comfort and ſettle his Family before he under- “ took his Journey, by the ordinary Judg of the Province, or the Municipal Ma- “ giſtrates, to be reckoned from the entring of the Decree; that ſo there may be no “ opportunity left to the Meſſenger to make his Markets out of him, for any Re- “ ſpite. And when he is produced before the Judg, before whom he muſt receive “ his Tryal, he ſhall have the Aſſiſtance of an Advocate, be examined, and under- “ ſtand what is laid to his Charge; which done, in a condition equal with that of “ his “

Vide Chonic. Cod. Theod.

He makes a favourable Law in behalf of Priſoners.

L. 3. de exhibendis & transmittendis Reis & L. 2. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit.

Nulla remanente aput eum qui ad exhibendum miſſus eſt copia nundinandi.

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his Accuſer, he ſhall abide his Tryal. Being now in Priſon, he commands that he be not there long kept, nor his Tryal protracted, but thereby all occaſion be cut off from Jailors, and Keepers, of making their Markets by procuring to Priſoners a ſpeedy Hearing. To this purpoſe he requires, that the *Commentarienſis*, every thirtieth day, preſent to the Judg an Account of the Number, Variety of Crimes, Order, and Age of the Priſoners; as *Conſtantius* formerly had ordained that they be fully heard within one Month. This he will have done, or the Office Fined in twenty pounds of Gold: And a lazy, proud and careleſs Judg Baniſhed the Province, and Fined alſo In the ſum of ten pounds. Theſe are the ſeveral Laws made this year by *Theodoſius*, whom leaving at *Conſtantinople*, we muſt ſee what was done, in the mean time, by *Gratian* and *Valentinian* in the Weſt.

L.6. de Cuſtodia Reorum Cod. Th. & L. 5. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit.

68. The firſt thing we meet with, is an heavy Complaint made to *Gratian* by the *Navicularij* of *Africk*, concerning the Breach of their Privileges granted by former Princes. To put them into heart again, and that *Rome* might not ſuffer by want of Proviſions, in Anſwer to their Petition, he Confirms what Immunities they had received from his Predeceſſors. In the firſt place, he eſtabliſhes upon them the *Equeſtrian* Dignity, which had been conferred on them, both by *Conſtantine* the Great, and *Julian*, by Laws made for that purpoſe; which are not now extant. And as this, amongſt many other Privileges belonged to that Dignity, that ſuch as enjoyed it were exempt from Corporal Injuries, as they were termed, that is, from Examinations by Stripes and Tortures, *Gratian* confirms it alſo to them, threatning all Judges with grievous puniſhment, in caſe they treated any *Navicularius* in ſo ſevere a ſort; and alſo their *Apparitors*, whoſe duty it was to put them in mind of their Office, when they ſaw them tranſported with any paſſion, In the third place, he delivers them of the Fear they were in, of being forced to the Services of Corporations; agreeing with them in what they urged in their Petition, that in preſſing neceſſities, ſuch as already had been bound to the Services of the *Curiæ*, were wont to be diſcharged, and added to the Body of the *Navicularij*. Beſides this, he eſtabliſhes their Antient Immunity from the Burthen of the *Luſtralis Collatio*, and Cuſtom for their Goods; which favour was granted but to few Perſons; but whereas ſome of them might abuſe this their Liberty, and defraud the Publick, by concealing the Goods of other Men, and giving opportunity to Merchants to ſteal the Cuſtomes of their Wares, he charges the Judges concerned in ſuch matters, to take eſpecial Care, that no ſuch ill Uſe be made of his Indulgence.

Gratian in the mean time favours the *Navicularii.*

L. 16. de Navicularиis Cod. Th. Dat. Treviris 8. Id. Febr.

69. In the ſame Conſtitution, he abates the Rigour of a Law made by his Father, which required, that half the Number of the Mariners of a Ship, ſhould be ſubjected to Examination, in Caſe of Shipwrack, and the Death of Paſſengers cauſed thereby. Moved by their Report, he permits that but two or three be examined. But in Caſe the Maſter of the Veſſel were living, the truth ſhould firſt be inquired of from him, as ſuppoſed the beſt to underſtand all matters of ſuch Concernment. If ſo be he had miſcarried, Choice was to be made of other Mariners; and if all were loſt, Inquiry was to be made among the Relations of the *Navicularii*, and he appoints a very large time, in which this Tryal ſhall be terminated, *viz.* five years; one, or two having been the uſual Term for ſuch Buſineſs. Beſides theſe Acts of Grace, he takes Order alſo, that what had by the Laws been allowed them for loſs of the Grain by Leakage, or other Accidents, ſhould not be diminiſhed by thoſe Officers, whoſe work it was to overſee the Tranſportation of Corn. He declares at what time of the year they ſhall begin to tranſport the publick (or Fiſcale) Grain, and when they ſhall leave off their Navigation. For of old, before the Invention of the Compaſs, there was wont to be ſome definite time, for opening the Sea, and, as it were, for the ſhutting of it; for ſo both were termed by the Antients, who were wont to Celebrate both theſe times by ſolemn Sports and Merriments. In Spring, you muſt know, they were ſo bold, as to adventure forth; and yet they accounted it but doubtful and dangerous to ſtir out before Mid-*May*. Now *Gratian* will have the *Navicularii* take a middle Courſe; *viz.* to begin the firſt of *April*, being it was not ſo late as *May*, and nearer to Summer than was *March*. And whereas the Seas were not ſaid ordinarily to be ſhut up till the eleventh of *November*, he will have Navigation (with the Fiſcale ſpecies) to ceaſe all this Month, and part of *October* alſo; for he appoints the time of freighting the Ships to extend to the firſt of *October*, and thenceforth Navigation to continue till the Ides or fifteenth of the ſame Month incluſive, thereby allowing fifteen

L. 3. de Naufragiis Cod. Th. lib. 13. tit. 9.

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teen days for Sailing from *Africk*, and unlading in the Port of *Rome*; five thou- “ ſand Furlongs being reckoned for the Breadth of the Streight betwixt this Port and “ that of *Carthage*. But afterward, this time of Navigation was enlarged, as we may ſee in convenient time. In the laſt place, *Gratian* will have the Number of the *Navicularii* increaſed, by calling all men to the Function (if need be) that “ are not imployed in publick Buſineſs.

He makes ſome Laws in order to War.

Memiuit in L. 12. de Extraordinariis &c. Cod. Th. ad Theodorum Com. R. P. Dat. 15. Kal. Apr. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt. Emphyteuticarii.

70. We do not Read of any Expedition made by *Gratian* this Year; but that he apprehended the Occaſion of one, and probably feared the motions of the Barbarians towards the *North*, we cannot but believe from the Preparations he made this very Spring. For being now at *Triers* in *Gall*, he iſſued out Orders to the *Præfect* of *Italy* (to whom he gives the Attributes both of *Vir Clariſſimus*, and *Illuſtris*) for an Impoſition of extraordinary Services and Payments, and amongſt the reſt, “ for levying of men, and proviſion of Corn and Horſes in *Italy*, and the *Suburbicarian* “ parts. But from theſe extraordinary Services he will have ſecured the Tenants “ of his *Patrimonial* Lands, their Actors or Stewards, and ſuch as poſſeſſed them “ in perpetual Right. And from the finding of *Tirones* or New Soldiers, he alſo pri- “ vilegeth the *Suburbicarian* Parts, as he terms them, which were often befriended, and “ as we may believe, for the ſake of *Rome*, the Dioceſs of which they were accounted. The Corn and Horſes he commands to be haſtened in ſuch manner, as having “ Authority over theſe parts of *Italy*, and the *Suburbicarian* Provinces; for although *Italy* and *Rome* it ſelf had fallen to the ſhare of *Valentinian* his Brother (who himſelf made Laws alſo this Year, though hitherto not of that Conſequence ſo as we think fit to trouble the Reader with them) yet he being ſtill very young, he governed both thoſe quarters, and in *Gall* alſo. As this Law provides for the raiſing of Soldiers; there's another as neceſſary, which bears Date ſome four Months after, “ made againſt their running from their Colours; inflicting puniſhment on ſuch as “ ſhould conceal ſuch Fugitives, and propoſal of Rewards to thoſe that would diſco- “ ver them ſo offending. The Stewards or Managers of Lands offending in this “ point, it Condemns to no milder a Death than that of Fire; and the Lords of ſuch “ Eſtates it deprives of ſuch Grounds, as by their Deſign afforded them Lurking- “ holes, according to the ordinary Cuſtom of forfeiting Lands by procuring, or ad- “ mitting unlawful things to be done upon them. As for the Diſcoverers, if Slaves, “ it rewards them with freedome; if free, and of ordinary Condition, with Immu- “ nity from Civil Imployments; nay the very Offender, if he make himſelf known, “ it requites with Impunity; but inflicts Death upon him that lies concealed; and “ ſevere Puniſhment upon Governours of Provinces and their Officers, if Conniving. “ Now this Edict is as much to be aſcribed to one that has already raiſed an Army, as the other immediately preceding to him that is about making of Leavies; ſo that we can ſee no Reaſon why Learnd *Gothofred* ſhould imagine *Gratian* to have been Author of that, but *Valentinian* of this. The Propoſing of it at *Rome*, can no way evince it; for the Reaſon he himſelf alleages, why the Eldeſt Brother exerciſed his Authority in *Italy* and in that City.

Actores poſſeſſionum. L. 4. de Deſertor. Cod. Th. lib. 7. tit. 18. P. P. Id. Jul. Romæ. Et L. 1. Cod. Juſtin. eod. tit.

A.D. 381. *Fl. Siagrio Fl. Annio Eucherio Coſs.*

71. The following year, being the **CCCLXXXI** of our Lord, and the ſixth of *Valentinian* the ſecond, had for Conſuls *Fl. Siagrius* and *Fl. Annius Eucherius*. The *Præfecti Prætorio* mentioned under *Theodoſius* were *Eutropius*, *Neotherius* and *Florus*; and *Syagrius* under *Valentinian*. *Gratian* and *Valentinian* made their Abode at *Milan*, or *Aquileia*, and *Theodoſius* at *Conſtantinople*, till near the middle of *July*; toward the end of the year he removed from *Heraclea* to *Adrianople*, but returned back to *Conſtantinople* in the ſame Month of *September*, and there continuad all the reſt. “About this time it is that *Zoſimus* tells us how “ *Gratian* ſent one *Vitalianus* to Command the Legions of *Illyricum*, a man no whit “ able to ſuſtain any difficult or dangerous Enterprize. While he there lay, two “ Parties conſiſting of ſo many *German* Nations, beyond the *Rhine*, of which one “ was headed by *Fritigern*, and the other ſerved under *Allothus* and *Safraces*, ſo “ preſſed upon the *Galls*, that they conſtrained *Gratian* to give leave, that on con- “ dition they would quit the *Gallick* Regions, they might paſs the *Iſter*, and beſtow “ themſelves in *Pannonia*, and the upper *Myſia*; and this he granted out of his earneſt “ deſire to be rid of them, by reaſon of their continual Irruptions. They, to im- “ prove the opportunity croſſed the River, and through *Pannonia*, reſolved for *Epi-* “ *rus*; and paſſing over *Achelous*, to fall upon the *Greek* Cities; but, in order to “ this, *Athanarich* the chief of all the Royal Bloud of *Scythia*, they concluded was “ to be removed out of the way, that they might not leave an Enemy at their Back. “ Upon him they fell, and eaſily drove him out of thoſe places which he held, who “

Athanarich driven by the Germans out of his Country.

neſs. “

Dies and is Buried at *Conſtantinople.*

ſpeedily betook himſelf to *Theodoſius*, but lately recovered of a dangerous Sickneſs. The Emperour kindly received him, with all the Barbarians that accompanied him, going out of the City to meet him; at a good diſtance: And the Man dying not long after, he Buried him with Royal Pomp, and ſo great Magnificence, that all the Barbarians being aſtoniſhed at the Statelineſs of the Funeral, the *Scythians* returned home, reſolving no more to moleſt the *Romans*, ſo greatly did they admire the goodneſs of the Prince; and ſuch as came over with *Athanarich* ſet themſelves diligently to keep the Bank of the River, and a long time hindred all Incurſions from being made into the *Roman* Territories. Thus much writes *Zoſimus* concerning that *Athanarich*; who though he pretended his Father had made him ſwear, that he would never ſet Foot on *Roman* Ground; yet afterward laid his Bones on *Roman* Earth, coming to *Conſtantinople* on the thirteenth of *January*, and there dying on the twenty-fifth of the ſame Month. We ſee by this Story of *Zoſimus*, how the *Germans* preſſed upon the *Gallick* Nations, and about the ſame time that the two Laws lately mentioned concerning the Raiſing of Men and Proviſions, and againſt the concealing of Fugitives, were made; ſo that we need not ſeek for any other occaſion than this, nor any other Author than *Gratian* himſelf.

Theodoſius ſucceſsful by Confeſſion of *Zoſimus* and the Atteſtation of other Hiſtorians.

72. But, *Zoſimus*, proceeding in a reaſonable good humour, tells us, that at the ſame time ſome other things happened luckily to *Theodoſius*. For he overthrew in Battel the *Scyri* and *Carpadocæ*, which were mixed with the *Hunns*, and compelled them to repaſs the *Iſter* into their own Countries. Now again the Soldiers began to reaſſume their former Courage, and ſeemed to receive hope, notwithſtanding the miſchiefs that had formerly happened; the Husbandmen were incouraged to renew their Labours; there being free indiſturbed Paſture afforded to Flocks and Herds. And now the Hiſtorian condeſcends ſo far as to tell us that in this manner *Theodoſius ſeemed to heal the former maladies of the State.* And he adds, that *Promotus* at this time commanding the Army which conſiſted of Foot in the Province of *Thrace*, fell upon *Oedotheus* who had gathered together a vaſt Army, not only out of ſuch Nations as Bordered upon *Iſter*, but others moſt remote and unknown; and by this time was paſſing the River. But *Promotus* met him in his Paſſage both with his Foot on Land, and Boats upon the Water, and made ſo great Slaughter of his Men, that he filled the River with dead Bodies; and the ſlain that lay on dry Ground could not be numbred. What *Zoſimus* tell us of the ſucceſs of *Theodoſius*, is by others in general terms atteſted, and eſpecially what he writes of the Clemency and goodneſs of his Nature, concerning which we hear enough on all Hands. By the force and efficacy of this Weapon it was, not by *Garriſons*, *Archers*, or Armed Men, as *Themiſtius* tells him, not by *Armenians* or *Spaniards*, or by multitudes of Armed *Horſes* that he extinguiſhed the *Scythian* Flame; for it went out of it ſelf, by reaſon of his Prudence and good Advice. This is a Teſtimony given by one *Pagan* to another, to which if we may add what is further ſaid by an *Hiſtorian* of theſe ſame times, of our own Profeſſion; He writes further, that all the Nations of the *Goths*, by *Zoſimus* termed *Scythians*, after their Kings Death, beholding the Vertue and Mildneſs of *Theodoſius*, gave up themſelves to the *Roman* Empire. That in thoſe days alſo, the *Perſians*, who had ſufficiently inſulted for their Victory over *Julian* and other Emperours, and their late putting of *Valens* to flight, ſent Ambaſſadours on their own Accord to *Conſtantinople*, and in a ſuppliant manner deſired Peace. *whereupon that League was made of which all the Eaſt*, ſaith he, *to this day, with ſo much Tranquillity, reaps the advantage.* So he protected the Empire from its foreign Enemies. Now let us ſee how by Enacting wholſome Laws, this year, he contributed to this Protection, and further corrected the inward Diſtempers thereof.

Orat. 6.

Oraſius lib. 7. *c.* 34.

73. To the protection of the Province he contributed by publiſhing an Edict of the ſame import with that of *Gratian*, lately mentioned, againſt ſuch as harboured the Soldiers that ran from their Colours, impoſing the ſame puniſhment upon the Stewards and Agents, as alſo the ſame penalty upon the Owners of the Lands; and this we may gueſs was done in Order to the *Scythian* or *Gothick* War, which, for theſe three years, continued, notwithſtanding the induſtry uſed by the followers of *Athanarich* upon the Banks of *Iſter*, which *Zoſimus* mentions. The Imperial Authority could not ſupport the State except it was likewiſe ſupported by the Revenue; but this was leſſened by ſome Covetous perſons, who, poſſibly incouraged themſelves in their fraudulent practices, by hope of Impunity conceived from the Emperours Clemency. For we find that at this time it was become too frequent to cheat the pub-

L. 5. de deſertoribus Cod. Th. Dat. 16. Kal. Febr.

He makes ſevere Laws for vindicating his Revenue from groſs Abuſes.

lick, even by cutting down Trees and Vines, thereby to pretend Poverty and evade the Tax, in the Books whereof was uſually regiſtred what Trees were in a Field and what or how many Vines in a Vineyard. “ This Fraud he thought fit now to puniſh by no leſs a Cenſure than of death and confiſcation of Eſtate; with “ a caution not to trouble any Perſon that uſed that courſe meerly for the improvement “ of his Grounds; which ſeverity, however proper for the cheats of “ this preſent time, yet was thought too great to be continued, and therefore though the Law be taken into *Juſtinians* Code, yet the penalty is changed from Death and Confiſcation, to ſuch puniſhment as the Judge, having cogniſance of the cauſe, ſhould think fit. There was another Abuſe committed betwixt ſuch as managed the Publick money; and other perſons who were wont to borrow it of ſuch Officers; which proving very inconvenient in draining the Treaſury, ſo as it could not ſuffice for the publick charge, he forbids his Money either to be lent or borrowed. “ Such as ſhould borrow it either upon Bond or word of mouth, he puniſheth with confiſcation of Eſtate and perpetual Deportation; and thoſe “ who under Notion of publick Creditors ſhould either lend or give it, with no “ leſs than Death. This bears date on the one and twentieth of *July*, from *Heraclea*, whither he removed from *Conſtantinople* upon occaſion, as it's thought, of the War with the *Scyri* and *Carpodacæ* mentioned by *Zoſimus*. He took further notice this year, that the miſerable Provincials were haraſſed and compelled ſpeedily to pay their Taxes; and yet notwithſtanding, nothing or but little, often time came to the Treaſury, by reaſon that the Officers belonging to the Revenue trafiked and made their own Markets of it. “He inflicts death upon ſuch as ſhould ſo intervert the money, and upon Judges or Governors of Provinces; except “ after the receit of it, by their Officials they ſignified that it was committed to “ the publick Cuſtody at ſuch a diſtance as was uſual. And if the money were “ kept ten days longer by the Officers of the *Comes Largitionum*, or thoſe “ whoſe work it was to convey it, they ſhould fine in two hundred Parts of the “ value of the Summe.

L. 1. de Cenſitoribus Cod. Th. lib. 13. tit. 11. & L. 1. de Cenſibus & Cenſitoribus Cod. Juſt. plurimum interpolata.

L. 2. de His qui cum Diſpenſatore, &c. Cod. Th. lib. 10. tit. 24. Dat 12. Kal. Aug. ad Palladium Com. S. L. & L. 2. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit.

L 3. Cod. Th. eod. tit. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt. Nundinatione conſumitur.

74. Being removed from *Heraclea* to *Adrianople*, he could not, but, in his preparations againſt the *Scythian* Nations, take notice, that it was a thing ſo common in *Illyricum* and theſe Tracts for the Thumbs of men to be cut off (whence as we ſaid before, they had the name of *Murci*) that, almoſt incredible though it be, the Provincials could ſcarcely find any to ſerve in the Wars, but thoſe Fellows that were ſo mutilated. This he obſerves in an Edict directed to *Eutropius* the Prefect, to whom he gives order “ That ſuch *Murci* ſhould not thereby eſcape what they thought to avoid; but that it ſhould be free for the “ Provincials at the time of finding new Souldiers to preſent him with two of “ them in the room of one unmaimed, for he will force them to ſuſtain the burthens and labours of warfare; but be kept from the Dignities and Emoluments “ thereof. While *Theodoſius*, in this manner, imployed his time in the Eaſt, *Valentinian* in the Weſt, concerned himſelf for the Corporations in *Africk*, by a Law directed to *Camenius* or *Carterius*, the *Vicar* of that *Dioceſs*. There were ſome Diſputes raiſed about the manner of chuſing the *Duumviri*, and other Officers; as to which he declares “ That the uſual Cuſtom in the firſt place be obſerved, of having two parts of three of the *Curiales* preſent at ſuch Elections. “ But it was objected that four ſorts of men poſſibly might not be preſent at ſuch “ times; as ſome by reaſon of ſickneſs, others of old age; ſome were Clerks or in Orders, and others were abſent, and perhaps had deſerted their Stations: in Anſwer to all which he reſolves “ That in the reckoning of two parts of three “ thoſe that were abſent ſhould not be compriſed; but it ſhould be underſtood “ of two thirds of thoſe who were not letted by any of the four reaſons. Not long after the date of this Law we find *Gratian* ſetling the matter of Precedence betwixt thoſe that had obtained Honorary or Titular Dignities by Codicils, or Letters Patents, and ſuch as had really executed the Offices to which ſuch Honour of due belonged. He diſtinguiſheth betwixt thoſe that ſerved in his Court or Palace, and them that having had no employment there, had by begging, by making Intereſt, or otherwiſe obtained ſuch Letters, whereby the place of a *Proconſul*, a *Vicar* or *Conſularis* was conferred upon them. Now in reference to thoſe that were out of the Palace, he confirms that otherwiſe known “ and notorious Rule, that meerly Titular, or Honorary Dignities ſhould, though “ ſeniors in time, give place to thoſe, that had really been poſſeſſed of ſuch Offices.

Againſt the *Murci*.

Valentinian or *Gratian* makes a Law about Elections in Corporations.

About Precedence.

L. 10. de Tironibus Cod. Th. Dat. Non. Sept.

L. 84. de Decurionibus Cod. Th. P. P. Karthagine 15. Kal. Mart. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt.

L. 5. de Honorariis Codicilliis Cod. Th. lib. 6. tit. 22. Dat. 3. Kal. April. L. 2. de Proximus, &c. Cod. Th. l. 2. de Primicerio & Notariis Cod. Th. Honorarios ἐμπρακτοις, licet tempore poſterioribus cedere debere.

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75. But as for his own Palatine Officers, if they, as for Example a *Primicerius* of the *Notaries*, ſhould part from the Conſiſtory, or he who immediately followed him, as the *Tribune* or *Notary*, or other *Notaries* and *Tribunes*, or *Domeſticks* and *Notaries*, and obtain by Codicils the Dignities aforeſaid, they ſhould be preferred before ſuch as had exerciſed ſuch places, if ſo be they were of more ancient ſtanding. In like manner he reſolves that the *Proximi* of the *Scrinia*, and the *Magiſtri Diſpoſitionum* ſhall be ſo equalled with thoſe of the order of *Vicars*, that if they firſt were diſmiſſed out of the Palace, with this honorary Dignity, they ſhall precede others who had really diſcharged this place and Truſt. But, as to the *Notaries*, we are to know further, that the *Primicerius* and *Secundocerius*, at their diſmiſſion, were preferred before *Vicars*, and made equal to *Proconſuls*; the other *Tribunes* and *Notaries* were made of the ſame Rank with *Vicars*; and the *Domeſticks* and *Notaries* (for there were theſe three Ranks amongſt them) with *Conſulares*. This ſame year *Theodoſius*, as by conſent, made two Edicts concerning the ſame Subjecte, one whereof being next in order in the Code to that made by *Gratian* concerning the *Notaries*, differs little from it, but only in this "That he will have the Dignity of the *Primicerii* to have its original from the very time of their entring the Office of *Primicerius* and *Tribune*. As alſo that he will not have the *Prætorian Tribunes* and *Notaries* to be taken for Perſons of the ſame Rank and Quality, as to be ranked with *Proconſuls*, but in the next Degree with the *Comites* of the *Eaſt*, or *Egypt*; for theſe two were next in Degree to the *Proconſuls*, as alſo the *Comes* of *Pontica*, but ſuperior to all other *Comites*, *Duces*, *Vicars* and *Conſulares*. Now the *Tribune* of the *Prætorian Notaries* was the ſame thing amongſt the *Notaries* of the *Præfecti Prætorio*, as the *Primicerius* now ſpoken of amongſt the *Notaries* of the Prince. In like manner next in the Code to the Edict of *Gratian* concerning the place of ſuch as had without the Palace by Letters obtained Dignities, we find one of *Theodoſius* immediately following, and concerning the ſame matter to the ſame purpoſe. "For he will by no means ſuffer ſuch as lie in the ſhade, and rather by favour than any good deſert, have obtained Honorary and Titular Dignities (ſo did not they that ſerved in the Palace) to be ranked in the ſame degree and quality with Perſons who by their Actions or worthy diſcharging of their Imployments had commended their memories to Immortality. The laſt Edict which the Code preſents us with this year is another of *Valentinian*, to conſtrain ſuch as were bound to make an Annual payment of or for Proviſions to the City of *Rome*, to diſcharge their Duty; ordaining "That if they paid it not within the year, they ſhould forfeit as much more, and if afterward they delayed, fourfold as much. For it is to be known that certain Provinces paid a yearly Tribute to the Treaſury or Chamber of *Rome*, with which Corn was bought in *Spain* and *Ægypt*. The Tribute was wont to be behind, and therefore, the Poſſeſſors of the grounds were intended to be quickned up by this Conſtitution.

L. 3. de Primicerio & Notariis Cod. Th. Dat. Conſtantinop.

L. 6. de Honorariis Codicillis Cod. Th.

Valentinian concerns himſelf for furniſhing *Rome* with Neceſſaries.

L. 18. de Annona & Tributis Cod. Th. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt.

Chron. Cod. Th. ad h. An.

A.D. 382.

Fl. Antonio & Fl. Siagrio Coſs.

76. The CCCLXXXII year of our Lord had for Conſuls *Fl. Antonius*, and *Fl. Siagrius* the ſecond time; it being the ſeventh of *Valentinian* the ſecond, and the tenth Indiction. The *Præfectus Prætorio* under *Theodoſius* was *Florus*; and under *Gratian* and *Valentinian*, were *Severus*, *Siagrius* and *Hypatius*: *Proculus* was both this, and the former year, *Comes* of the *Eaſt*, and *Palladius* was *Præfectus Auguſtalis* of *Ægypt*. *Theodoſius* the Emperor continued this year at *Conſtantinople*, and there, on the one and twentieth day of *February* intombed the Body of *Valentinian* his Predeceſſor. In the beginning of the year he conſidered of an uſeful and material point for the keeping of good Order and Decorum amongſt the People, *viz.* what ſorts of Clothes were fit to be worn in this City; particularly by *Senators*, *Officiales* and *Slaves*, who were wont, by promiſcuous and common Uſe of Garments, to make themſelves little differ in appearance both from other Perſons, and amongſt themſelves. This laudable Reformation had been formerly and ſeriouſly thought of by *Alexander Severus*, who purpoſed to aſſign to all Ranks and Degrees their ſeveral Habits, that they might thereby be known and diſtinguiſhed; eſpecially to put a mark of diſtinction upon Slaves, to prevent all Sedition by reaſon of them; and that they might be diſcerned from Perſons of Quality and of ingenuous condition. But the Project did not pleaſe *Ulpian* and *Paulus*, the great Lawyers of that Age, who alleaged that it would give occaſion to quarrels, if men were, by ſuch marks, made liable to Affronts; whereupon, that Emperor contented himſelf with cauſing thoſe of Equeſtrian Rank to be diſtinguiſhed by the kinds of their *Clavus* or Studds; and per-

Theodoſius reſtrains liberty in Apparel in three ſorts of men.

mitting old men to make Uſe of *Penulæ* or Cloaks, Mantles, or a kind of Garment only proper for a Journey and bad Weather, but forbade Women to wear them in the City, though in Travelling they might do it with Allowance. But, whatever *Ulpian* and *Paulus* might think, moſt indecorous both it was and is, that all Perſons ſhould confuſedly wear the ſame Apparel, that a Slave or Footman ſhould not be known from his Lord or Maſter, nor a Kitchin-wench from her Lady. In the beſt times Governours have been careful to reſtrain extravagancy in this kind; neither hath ſuch great Inconvenience followed by Affronts offered from one ſort of Perſons to another; for Slaves and inferiour Perſons may be known by other tokens; as by following their Maſters, and by ſervile works about the Streets, if any have ſuch deſire to quarrel with them.

Senators.

L. de Habitu quo uti oportet. intra Urbem Cod. Th. lib. 14. tit. 10. Abeſt. hic tit. à Cod. Juſt.

A κολοβὸς *Curtax mutilus, truncus.*

77. Therefore both in *Old Rome* and in the *New*, or *Conſtantinople*, certain Perſons were diſtinguiſhed by their Apparel; ſo as they might be known when one met them; which was by commanding or permitting certain ſorts of Cloaths to be worn by certain Perſons, and prohibiting the Uſe of them unto others. Both of theſe are injoyned by *Theodoſius* in his new Law to the three ſorts of men before mentioned. As for *Senators*, the wearing of ſome Apparel is forbid them; the Uſe of another ſort is permitted them; and in a certain Caſe neceſſity of one kind of Habit is injoyned them. It was grown a faſhion now for *Senators* and *Gentlemen* to wear the *Chlamys* , or Souldiers Coat in the City, either for that they thought it more gentile or leſs cumberſom than the Gown; “but for as much as it is was the Military Habit, he commands it to be left off, and that in the City, which was the Metropolis or Head of the Eaſtern Empire, in a time of peace, the Robe of Peace and Civil Habit, *viz.* the Gown or other civil Garment ſhould be worn, as well in the Morning as other times of the day, though the Senators thought they might, when they went to give the Emperor good Morrow, appear in that ſort of Garb. “But hereby he doth not infringe their liberty of wearing the *Chalmys* out of the Town, and neither forbid it the *Palatine* Dignities or Officers which had been long wont to wear it in the City. Together with the Gown he will have *Senators* known by the *Colobium* and *Penula*. *Colobium* was a ſhort Coat without Sleeves, or elſe ſuch as reached not to their Elbows, which as well as Shoes, it was not lawful for Slaves to wear; and beſides it was ſtudded or wrought with Purple. *Penula* was a ſort of Cloak, Mantle or great Coat, with an Hood or Capouche made of coarſer Cloath, and fit only for cold and rainy Weather, as the *Colobium* for fair and ſerene, and therefore within the City the Emperor permits them the Uſe of it, which came firſt out of *Greece*, where it was uſed in theſe Caſes as well as in Travel. In *Rome* it was firſt worn in wet weather by the *Tribuni Plebis*, and from them came ſhortly to be taken up by other Perſons, at the ſight of Plays and at Funerals, and as warm and convenient by old men; to whom *Alexander Severus*, as we ſaid, permitted the Uſe of it; but forbade it women except in a Journey. Then at length came it to be the common Wear of all that ſo pleaſed; eſpecially of Senators, who, as their *Colobia*, had alſo their *Penulæ* diſtinguiſhed by Purple. Theſe two kinds of Cloaths they might wear in the City without the Gown; but he expreſly commands “that in the Senate and in places of Judicature the Gown ſhall be uſed, and the other thrown off, when Senators were thither ſummoned or have any Cauſe to be tryed. In former Ages all *Romans* were known by the Gown, it was a *Gens togata*. But they became weary of it by degrees, and *Senators* would often appear in the Senate-Houſe in their Purple *Penulæ*. *Adrian* indeavoured to bring both *Senators* and *Equites* to appear always in publick in their Gowns, except they came from Supper; but foreign Faſhions and new Dreſſes got ſuch ground, that *Theodoſius* was well content, if in the Senate-Houſe and Courts, he could but reſtore this grave and ancient Habit.

Officials of Judges.

78. The next ſort of men he endeavours to reform are the *Apparitors*, or the *Officials* of Judges, or publick Miniſters; to whom he aſſigns three ſorts of Garments. The firſt is an Inward Caſſock or Coat, which he will ever have girt with a Girdle, as was wont of old to be the faſhion for ſuch men, and indeed all others; eſpecially when they went about any ſerious buſineſs. Provided they were but thus habited underneath, he allows them the Uſe of the *Penula* above; but then they muſt alſo wear upon their Breaſt a *Pallium* or Breaſt-cloth of divers colours, thereby to make known their Condition. For in Garments of divers colours, publick Servants and Officers were wont of old time to go, and not much above an hundred years ſince, by an Arreſt of the Parliament of *Paris*, it was decreed that

Sect. 4.

Slaves.

Bailiffs ſhould ſerve no Proceſſes, or Writs, except ſo cloathed; a ſhow of which we retain ſtill in *England*, in the Coats of the Officers, or Servants belonging to our *Serjeants* at Law, who attend them firſt to *Weſtminſter*-Hall in their ſolemn paſſage through the ſtreets; and afterwards alſo for ſome time, in party coloured Coats. In the laſt place he regulates the Habit of *Slaves*, which was uſually wont to be diſtinguiſhed from that of other Perſons. “He forbids them the Uſe of other Clothes wont to be worn by perſons of free Condition, only permits “ them the Uſe of thoſe called *Byrrhi* and *Cuculli*; which though not properly be“longing to them, yet were, it ſeems, accounted the meaneſt, and vileſt ſort of Wears. The *Byrrhus* was a ſort of Cloſe Coat, for its ſtraitneſs and uneaſineſs much deſpiſed; and the *Cucullus* was not that Covering of the Head, Cowl or Capouche, which hath more lately gone under that Name, but a mean and coarſe covering, though with ſuch a Capouch ſet to the Neck of it. Now for the penalty (without which a Law is without a ſting) he will have ſuch Senators “ as neglect to obſerve it, deprived of their Senatorian Dignity, and of power to “ ſit in the Senate; and foraſmuch as he thinks the Condition of Officials, and “ Slaves not capable of ſhame, he ſubjects them to the pain of baniſhment. And “ whereas the *Cenſuales* of the City, or the Officers under the *Magiſter Cenſus*, as “ we have ſeen already in the Caſe of Students, were the Keepers of publick “ Decorum and Demeanour; he impoſeth a Fine of Twenty pounds of Gold upon “ their Company; if knowing any to tranſgreſs this ſtatute, they reveal it not, “ whither out of connivance, or by money bribed to hold their peace.

L. 6. de Diverſis Reſceptis Cod. Th. lib. 1. tit. 2. Dat. Conſt. 7. Kal. Mart. ad Florum, P. P.

He becomes more ſevere,

L. 90. de Decurionibus Cod Th. Dat. Conſt. 8. Id. Martis Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

Againſt Senators that had been *Curiales*.

Againſt *Agentes in Rebus*.

L. 4. de Agentibus in Rebus Cod. Th. Dat. Conſt. 12. Kal. April. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

And *Numerarii*.

L. 13. de Numerriis Actuariis &c. Cod. Th. Dat. ad Florum, P. P. Conſt. 18. Kal. Octobr. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

L. 12. Eod. tit. Cod. Th. Dat. Conſt. 3. Kal. April. Omnibus Rectoribus Provinciarum & L. 2. Cod. Juſt. Eod. tit.

79. But for all this, ſo mildly did *Theodoſius* behave himſelf, that thence ill diſpoſed people ſtill took occaſion to defraud the Publick, and abuſe his Clemency. When they owed Money or Tribute to the Treaſury, they procured from him Receipts to the Officers, whereby reſpite was granted for payment of the Debt; of which inconvenience, he became now ſo far convinced, that by an Edict he declared all ſuch Receipts to be Void and Null. And now, whether he reſolved to be more ſevere, or was put upon it by *Proculus*, the *Comes* of the Eaſt, againſt whoſe Cruel and Tyranical Diſpoſition *Libanius* inveighs; or elſe induced thereto by the great Regard he had to the good and emolument of the *Curiæ*; he declared by another Edict, directed to the ſaid *Proculus*, that all ſuch as had within Twenty years, from the tenth Conſulſhip of *Conſtantius*, and the third of *Julian*, been advanced from *Curiales* to the *Senatorian* Degree; ſhould either be compelled to perform the Services due to the *Curiæ*, or if they had already diſcharged them, to ſubſtitute ſome in their Rooms, to repreſent them to the ſaid Courts; which Law was purpoſely deſigned for the Corporation of *Antioch*. About this time, he ſeems to have received ſome complaints againſt the *Agentes in Rebus*, the Rapines and adulteries of which ſort of men, as we have formerly ſeen, were frequent; which cauſed him to give directions to *Palladius*, the *Magiſter Officiorum*, for the careful choice of them, and great caution in their promotion. For their firſt Reception he will have none admitted, though he come with the Prince his Recommendation, without due Inquiſition firſt made into his Manners, and Original; and that in the preſence of the major part of the *Schole*, or Com“pany. Then for their Promotion, that ſuch as are received be not promoted to “ the firſt ſtep of Preferment, or that of Horſemen, till after five years ſervice, “ wherein they have been imployed in frequent Miſſions. And the Promotion to “ each Degree as they fall in Order, muſt not be *per ſaltum*, as neither without “ the approbation, and conſent of good and honeſt men. His hand being in, this year for Reformation, he extended it from that of the *Agentes in Rebus*, againſt the Inſolence, Covetouſneſs, and Rapacity of the *Numerarii*, whom he permits “ not to adore the People, or to come out of their Offices, till they have ſpent “ full three years therein; whereas before, two years ſufficed to that ſervice. But “ when they were out, they aſpired to Higher Dignities, and thereby eſcaped that ſtrict Examination, and Inquiry, which even by tortures there was need to be made into their Manners and Deportments, which were often ſo bad, that inſtead of theſe three, five years were afterward required of them, within which they could not forſake that ſtation, nor make a ſtep into that of *Domeſticks*, which they ſo much deſired. This he did for the Quiet of the people; having for their caſe, before this, Ordained that of theſe *Numerarii* (or *Tabularii*, as they are al“ſo called) ſhould be Ordained two in every Province; whereof one ſhould “ take the Accounts of ſuch matters as fell, or belonged to the Cheſt of the “ *Comes Rei privatæ*, and the other, thoſe appertaining to the other Treaſurer, or “

Comes Largitionum, that all Confuſion might be removed, and this under a great penalty he enjoyned all Governours of Provinces to ſee obſerved, the Edict being to them directed. In Concluſion, to prevent any miſchief, while they were in the Provinces, he forbade their buying any thing, or making any other contract.

L. 7. de iis quæ Adminiſtrantibus. Cod. Th. Conjungend. cum 18. de Numerariis, Abeſt à Cod Juſt.

Forbids *Paragandæ* of Gold

L. L. 1. 2. de veſtibus Oloveris & Auratis Cod. Th. lib. 10. tit. 21. & L. L. 1. 2. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit.

80. Another extravagant faſhion in Apparel he reformed about this time, wherewith whole Patrimonies were exhauſted, both by Men and Women. There was a ſort of Lace, or Border called *Paraganda*, ſometime made of Linnen, ſometime of Silk, or of Golden Twiſt; which by former Emperors had been permitted to be worn by Tribunes, and Officers of the Army; and afterwards was uſed by Chariot-drivers at the *Circenſian* Games in the time of *Conſtantius*: Women delighting alſo much to be ſeen in this kind of Dreſs. But *Valens* taking notice of the Abuſe, had forbidden the Uſe both of thoſe of Gold and Silk, as well to Women as to Men, and would have them made only in his own *Gynæcia* or Work-houſes: And now *Theodoſius* renewed the Prohibition, as to theſe golden *Paragaudæ*, both in Coats, (*tunicis*) and in Linnen Garments; ſo expenſive and *Gaudy* they were. For we may with as much reaſon, derive our word *Gaudy* from the *Parthian Paragauda*, as the *Spaniards* do their *Brocado*, and the *French* their *Broche d'or*; and with much more. Thus our Emperor laboured to Correct the Diſorders of the times; but ſtill had his Eye upon the Governors of Provinces, upon whoſe Demeanour the good of the People ſubject to their Juriſdiction did chiefly depend, as to the Adminiſtration of Juſtice and other matters. To make their Sentences in Judicature more ſolemn and conſiderate; he renewed the order made by *Valentinian*, or brought it into the Eaſt, that they ſhould ever be written, and out of writing read, or pronounced, though given by the greateſt Perſons, the Illuſtrious *Præfects* themſelves, to one of whom, *Clearchus*, he directs his Mandate; telling him, *it is fitting that his Highneſs obey his Imperial Laws.* But at this time was diſcovered to him how one *Natalis*, formerly *Dux* of *Sardinia*, had (probably during the Reign of *Valens*) wronged and ſpoiled the People of that Province, and it ſeems, was got away before the complaints of the oppreſſed could reach the Ears of thoſe to whom it belonged to redreſs ſuch grievances. *Theodoſius* conſidering of the matter, reſolved it was the beſt courſe to ſend him back into the Iſland; the complaints of the miſerable Provincials, either never, or ſeldom, coming to the knowledge of the Prince, at leaſt very late; and ſuch as were appointed to hear them, often miſcarrying in their Intelligence, as well as he, by reaſon that witneſſes, or poſſibly the parties themſelves, were unable to travel. For this cauſe it was afterward ordained that the *Chancellors*, and *Domeſticks* of the Judges, ſhould for ſome time, ſtay in the Provinces, after their time was expired; nay, afterwards the Governors themſelves, ſometimes three moneths, ſometimes thirty days; and that in the *Metropoles*, or Towns of greateſt concourſe, that there they might receive either the applauſe of their good Government, or be liable to the objections of Rapine, or other faults of their male Adminiſtration; and if they were got away, and endeavoured to conceal the guilt of which they were conſcious, they ſhould be apprehended, and ſent back into the Province, there to continue for four months together.

Ordains that the Sentences of Judges be Written.

L. 2. de Sententiis ex periculo recitandis. Cod. Th. Dat. Conſt. 16. Kal. Jun. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt. Parere Sublimitatem tuam noſtris legibus convenit.

Sends back *Natalis* who had been *Dux* of *Sardinia* into his Province.

L. 3. ad Legem Juliam Repetundarum Cod. Th. Dat. Prid. Id. Jun. Conſt. & L. 1. Cod. Juſt. Eod. tit.

81. The firſt indeed that began this wholeſome courſe, was the Emperor *Valens*; but with the *Numerarii* or *Tabularii* only, not medling with Governors of Provinces, or their Domeſticks. Them he ordered to ſtay a year or two in the Province, to give account of their ſloth and neglect, and this at length was drawn into example, and applied to the Judges themſelves. *Theodoſius* now, as to the Caſe in hand, as well provided for the Relief of the Provincials, by cauſing the Offender to be conveyed back, and that under Cuſtody of the *Protectors*, (to whom often was committed the Proſecution and charge of Criminal Perſons) and there to be puniſhed two ſeveral ways. For he will not only have him anſwer what Injury he had done himſelf, but the inſolences committed by his Officers and meaner followers, a thing not heard of before, that a Judge ſhould anſwer the Thefts and Rapines of his Miniſters, (who themſelves might be called to account) though what his Wife did amiſs, was wont to be required at his Hands. But whereas by means of their Attendants, they were wont to Haraſs the People, or at leaſt to Connive at their Inſolence and Oppreſſions; he makes this Man lyable to the miſcarriages, not only of his Domeſticks, who were choſen by the publick, but of his very meaneſt menial ſervants. The Fine it ſelf he appoints to be the fourfold value of the loſs ſuſtained by the Party, who it ſeems alſo was to

have the benefit of it; that being the ordinary Fine for Theft and Rapine, as alſo of Bribery and Cheating. This Edict is directed to one of the Succeſſors of this *Natalis*, by the Name of *Matronianus*, *Dux* and *Præſes* of *Sardinia*; for ſome (of the ſmaller) Provinces had the ſame Perſons, ſometimes both *Duces* and *Præſides*; that is, both Civil and Military Officers. And whereas *Sardinia* was the Province; we may take notice, that at this time this Iſland belonged to *Theodoſius*, his Diſtrict, or to the Eaſtern Empire; though afterward it appertained to the Weſtern: Firſt, to the Dioceſs of *Italy*, and at length of *Africk*. One might imagine that this Law, which though made upon the occaſion of *Natalis* his Miſdemeanors, yet was to ſtand good againſt others, for the time to come, (and accordingly it was put into the Code of *Juſtinian*) might have ſeemed ſufficient to the Law-maker to reſtrain this Rapacity. Yet three months had not paſſed, e're he, not ſatisfied with what he had done, declared by another, directed to *Florus* his *Præfectus Prætorio*, that the Heirs of ſuch Offenders dying, ſhould incur the ſame penalty, though they themſelves had neither been condemned nor called to Account. This indeed had been formerly Law as to this Crime; but the Suit was to be commenced againſt the Heir, within the term of one year, whereas he will have the Action lye indefinitely.

L. 4. Cod. Th. Eod. tit. & L. 2. Cod. Juſt. Dat. 10. Kal. Sept.

He ſhows great care for Corporations.

L.L. 91. 92. 93. de Decurionibus Cod. Th. latæ hoc Anno.

82. Great care he ſhewed at this time of the Corporations, from the ſervice of which he would have none excuſed, but they muſt diſcharge what already was “ Incumbent on them, and ſubſtitute fit Perſons in their places. Nay, all Senators “ that from *Curiales* had obtained that Dignity; he will have *Clearchus* Præfect of “ *Conſtantinople* to remand to their ſeveral Courts, and not them only, but all their “ Sons, although begotten during their Senatorian qualities. And, as if they retained ſtill as much Dignity by being Members of the Senates of theſe Ordinary Cities, as if they had been Senators ſtill of the two Imperial Seats, he commands that none of them diſgrace their liberty and quality by being Bailiffs, or by managing “ the Lands of other men, a matter in thoſe days appertaining to thoſe of “ Servile condition; and this under no leſs penalty than that of Deportation to “ him that undertakes the Service, and to the owner of the Eſtate, the loſs of his “ whole Patrimony. So ſevere was he to thoſe who made themſelves a kind of ſlaves, and got new Lords for Profit or Advantage: And as ſharp he ſhewed himſelf againſt ſuch as were ſlaves indeed, but would be rid of their Service, and their Lords together. In the Province of *Lydia*, ſome accuſed their Maſters and that out of Hope of Impunity upon proof of what they objected. But upon Conſultation of *Panellinus* the *Conſularis*, he appoints that ſuch Traitors be put to death, notwithſtanding they made good their Charge, which muſt be underſtood, except the crime was of the Nature of High Treaſon; for then the leſſer was obſcured by the greater. But as *Theodoſius* ſhewed himſelf ſharp againſt ſlaves that betrayed private men, *Valentinian* exerciſed wholeſome ſeverity againſt ſuch Perſons as offered thoſe that were Knaves, or Cowards, to publick Military ſervice; which was become ſo common, that, of them he required the value of ſuch a Tiro or “ new Soldier, as ſhould run away within one year after their liſting; ſuch as “ ſhould conceal them, in conformity to former Laws, he will have, if Stewards, “ to be burnt alive; and if Maſters, to forfeit the Lands in which they were “ concealed. And whereas the Sons of *Primipilares* were obnoxious to the Service of Officials, as well as their Fathers, as the Emperors in other Caſes of deſerted “ Military imployments require money to be given, ſo alſo in this civil one, to “ make amends for that injury otherwiſe offered to the Common-wealth. At this “ time alſo, ſo notable for Deſertions; complaint was made that many of the *Curiales* had forſaken their Stations at *Carthage*. Such as had already done it he excuſeth, if ſo be they had ſerved in the *Militia Armata* four years, and thirty in that “ called *Militia Palatina*, as *Protectors*, or *Domeſticks*; but for the time to come “ he forbids either ſort of imployment to afford them matter of excuſe, and that “ by an Edict ſent to *Syagrius* his *Præfectus Prætorio*, who was a Perſon taken “ notice of for his favour to all *Palatines*, or Courtiers: To him this year by another “ Law he gave Order that the Sons of *Curiales* ſhould follow the Condition “ of their Father; though their Grand-fathers, and Anceſtors were free from any “ ſuch Obligation. And that the Sons of veteran Soldiers, if unfit for War, “ given to idleneſs, or rendered unexcuſable by debility of body, ſhould not eſcape “ the ſervices of the Courts.

Great ſeverity againſt Slaves that betrayed their Maſters.

L. 17. de Petitionibus &c. Cod. Th. & L. 6. Cod. Juſt. de Delatoribus Dat. 17. Kal. Nov. Conſt.

Valentinian alſo ſevere againſt ſuch as ſent in unfit men for War.

L. 6. de Deſertoribus, Cod. Th. P. P. Romæ 4 Non. April.

L. 13. de Cohortalibus, &c. Dat. ad Severũ P. v. 3. Non. April. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

And againſt ſuch *Curiales* as deſerted their Stations.

L. 88. de Decurion. Cod. Th. P. P. 5. Id. April. Carthag. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

L. 89. Eod. tit.

83. The Provincials of *Africk* he further pleaſed this year, as by other Edicts, ſo eſpecially by one directed to *Proconſuls*, *Vicars*, and other Governours, whereby he

Orders of the *Præfecti Prætorio*, for Taxes to be confirmed by the Emperors.

L. un. deſuper indicto Cod. Th. lib. 11. *tit.* 6. *Dat.* 7. *Kal. Jun. Med. & L. unic. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit.*

A Law againſt ſturdy Beggars in *Rome*.

L. un. de Mendicantibus non Invalidis. Cod. Th. lib. 14. *tit.* 18. *Dat.* 12. *Kal. Jul. Patavi. & L. unic. Cod. Juſt. Eod. tit.*

he forbad them to obey the Letters of the *Præfecti Prætorio*, when they laid “ new or extraordinary Impoſitions upon the Provinces; except they were confirmed “ by Warrant of the Prince himſelf. And as acceptable a Law he ſent to “ *Rome* not long after, directed to *Severus* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, (or of that “ City) for baniſhing thence all Luſty and Sturdy Beggars. The greatneſs of the Place afforded now ſuch reception, and concealment to multitudes of People, that ſlaves, and labourers, who were weary of ſervice, reſorted thither out of the Provinces, hoping to find ſhelter for their ſloth; which thing, very inconvenient at all times, was now the more intolerable; for that in thoſe days, this City was often pinched with Want, and this conſtrained the Magiſtrates to expel the Town all vagrants and uſeleſs Perſons. He commands that thoſe Beggars be diſcovered, “ apprehended and ſearched, whether they were healthful and able to work; “ if ſuch they were found, and diſcovered to be of ſervile condition, they ſhould “ be forced back to ſlavery; if found to be free, but in ſervice they ſhould be “ remanded to that (perpetual) ſervice or labour at Husbandry, called *Colonatus*; “ and ſo both ſorts remain either ſlaves, or ſervants to the diſcoverers; which was an effectual courſe to have the City ſwept of ſuch Vermine. We may add that the Chriſtian Religion by its Principles, and Precepts inclining the Profeſſors thereof to more than common Charity; ſuch Rogues abuſed the opportunity which the truly poor and indigent thence had for Relief, and beſieged thoſe places about the Vatican, and the Church of the Apoſtles eſpecially; where they wrought by their hypocritical complaints upon thoſe that were compaſſionately inclin'd, whether Eccleſiaſticks or others. And St. *Ambroſe*, Biſhop of *Milan*, writing hereof at this very time, adviſes Clergy-men not to imploy their Charity upon ſuch undeſerving perſons, but to be careful and circumſpect upon whom it was they beſtowed their Alms.

Extraordinary Taxes, and ſordid Imployments impoſed in *Italy*.

L. 13. *de extraordinariis ſive ſordidis Cod. Th. Id. Apr. P. P. Carthagine, & L. Perpetuæ,* 10 *Cod. Juſt. de excuſ. muner.*

L. 14. *Cod. Th. eod. tit. Lecta* 3. *Kal. Sept. Capuæ, & L. eos qui.* 11. *Cod Juſt. de excuſation. muner.*

84. What we have lately obſerved out of *Zoſimus* concerning the Motions in *Illyricum*, and *Vitalianus* being ſent to command there, ſome think to have fallen out about this time. For throughout the Provinces of *Italy*, as well as in other places, were new extraordinary Taxes, and ſordid Imployments impoſed upon the people; which, as *Valentinian* took care that they might not be without his knowledge and conſent, and thence occaſion given to the Rapacity of his Officers; So he took ſome pains to diſtinguiſh betwixt Things and Things, Perſons and Perſons; that all alike, and confuſedly might not be obliged to the ſame ſervices. Therefore in the firſt place, he gives order to *Hypatius* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, “ that his Lands in *Africk*, particularly thoſe called *Emphyteuticæ*, or held by Tenants “ in perpetual Right, ſhould not be ſubject to extraordinary ſervices; becauſe “ in way of exchange, and to be excuſed from theſe impoſitions, beſides “ the ordinary finding of Corn and other things, they paid a conſtant and certain “ Rent in Gold. And whereas the ſetting out of Men and Horſes was now uſed and preſſed upon the Provincials, for the expedition of *Illyricum*, or for that Relief which *Theodoſius* had required of him and *Gratian*; theſe belonging to the Court were, it ſeems, alſo named to contribute towards the Supply, which cauſed them to betake themſelves to him by Petition, that they might enjoy their wonted Priviledges. This he grants them Commanding by an Edict directed to *Syagrius* “ the *Præfectus Prætorio*, that the *Comites*, or *Magiſtri Memoriæ*, *Epiſtolarum* “ and *Libellorum*; as alſo thoſe who wrote in their ſeveral Offices, and diſpatched the “ Anſwers of the Prince, ſhould be free from all vile and ſordid Services, and alſo “ from finding of Men, and money in lieu of them as in former times. This Priviledge “ he alſo extends to them when gone from their Imployments, or raiſed to “ higher Dignities; who by other Conſtitutions were excuſed from the ſetting “ out of Horſes alſo for publick Service. “

None to be excuſed from extraordinary Payments.

But from ſordid Services, eight ſorts of Perſons.

Culmina dignitatum.

L. 15. *de extraordinariis ſive ſordidis Cod. Th. Dat. ad Hypatium* 5. *Id. Decemb. & L. maximam* 12. *Cod. Juſt. de excuſation. munerum.*

85. But ſo preſſing ſtill continued the Affairs of *Illyricum*, that by another Law publiſhed toward the end of the year; he expreſly forbad *Hypatius* to excuſe any Perſons, of any condition whatſoever, from extraordinary Payments or Preſtations, ſo as no Petition or Pretence ſhould by any be made Uſe of. But as for baſe “ or ſordid Services, or Imployments; he thinks fit to excuſe no leſs than eight “ ſorts of men. Such he terms the *Heights of Dignities*, *viz.* the Illuſtrious Perſons, “ whether Civil or Military, ſo often enumerated by us, the Prefects of both ſorts, “ *Magiſtri Militum*, the two *Comites Largitionum*, & *Rerum Privatarum*, the *Quæſtor*, “ & *Magiſter Officiorum*. In the next place the *Conſiſtorian Comites*; next, the *Notaries*; “ thoſe belonging to his Chamber, as *Cubicularii* and *Excubicularii* alſo; “ and all the *Palatines*, and *Military* Men in the Palace; provided they could ſhow “ that

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that ſuch Immunity did formerly belong to their Body, Company, or Dignity. “ This Immunity he alſo extends to Churches, or rather leaves part of what he “ found unto them; for they were wont to be excuſed both from baſe, and extraordinary “ Services, by the Conſtitutions of preceding Princes; but as from the “ one he now quits them, ſo he leaves them ſubject unto the other by this Law. “ And in the laſt place he mentions *Rhetoricians* and *Grammarians*, both in the “ *Greek* and *Latine* Tongues. Having told what Perſons he will have excuſed, “ he then declares the Particulars from what he excuſes them, and enumerates “ ſome fourteen which he calls by the name of ſordid Services. Theſe were Imployments “ about Meal, Baking of Bread, and others relating to the publick “ Bake-houſe: The finding of Carriage Beaſts, and of labouring at the conveyance of “ Materials, or other publick works; burning of Lime; furniſhing of Timber for “ Ships, Wood for Spears and Arrows, and Boards or Planks, all for the Service “ of the Army; finding of Coals for the Mints or publick Forges, or other extraordinary “ works; labouring at the raiſing or repairing of publick Buildings; “ the charge of Hoſpitals; the care of High-wayes and Bridges; ſetting out *Tirones* “ or Men to the War, or elſe paying the uſual ſum of money in room thereof; “ and laſtly, contributing to the expence of Meſſengers ſent to the Court, and “ thoſe that Collected and Conveyed the Tributes to the Treaſury. From all “ theſe he excuſeth the Perſons before named, with theſe Reſtrictions, that when “ there is need of ſupplying the Army, lying upon the Limit of *Rhætia*, Excuſe ſhall not be admitted from lading of Horſes and Carriages; for it was expoſed to the Incurſions of the *Allemans*; and for that reaſon had its peculiar *Dux* to look to the ſecurity of it, who at this very time had Imployment enough, though aſſiſted by whole Legions, the work of which it was to be Convoys to ſuch Proviſions as were ſent to theſe diſtant and dangerous places. Then he declares that “ the Immunity hereby granted ſhall be underſtood to be Perſonal, ſo as only to “ continue for life, and not extend to their Wives or Heirs. And he excepts from “ this Immunity ſuch as were obnoxious to finding Coals, provided it were for “ the Mints and making of Arms.

Sordid Services what.

86. We ſhall further obſerve in reference to theſe three Laws, that they are directed to two ſeveral *Præfecti Prætorio*, viz. *Hypatius* and *Syagrius*. *Syagrius* ſeems to have been Præfect of *Italy*; for, the Edict which to him is directed, is ſaid to have been read at *Capua*. Now, what was ſaid concerning the Plurality of Emperors before *Conſtantine*, may here be applied to this time; That it cauſed more *Præfecti Prætorio* in number to be made; to which this may be added that *Gratian* alſo having governed in the Diſtrict of *Valentinian* his Brother, by reaſon of his Non-age, ſeems even ſtill to have had a ſhare in the publick Adminiſtration of *Italy*; the *Præfectſhip* whereof at this time is obſerved to have been cut and divided into ſeveral parts, though formerly one and the ſame intirely. Therefore *Syagrius* is thought to have commanded only in that part of *Italy* lying to the Right Hand of *Rome*, as *Campania*, (of which *Capua* was the Metropolis) *Apulia*, *Calabria*, *Lucania* and *Brutii*. As for *Hypatius*, to whom the firſt and the laſt Conſtitutions about theſe Services are directed; the former being ſaid to have been publiſhed at *Carthage*, he ſeems to have had *Africk* for his ſhare. And this muſt be that *Hypatius* of whom *Ammianus Marcellinus* makes mention, Commending him for the ſweetneſs of his Diſpoſition, and affirming him to have brought both Glory to his Anceſtors, and Dignity to his Poſterity, by the Acts of his Twofold *Præfectſhip*. Whereas he ſpeaks of two *Præfectſhips*, the one of the City he executed two years ago, *viz.* in the year CCCLXXIX. and the laſt of the *Prætorium* in that whereof we now write; of which *Ammianus* ſpeaking as but lately paſt, and calling him *Noſter Hypatius*, as a familiar and intimate Friend; it is rationally concluded that he wrote his Hiſtory about this very time. To this ſame *Hypatius*, this Emperour *Valentinian* directed another Edict five days after the Date of the laſt; in behalf of thoſe that belonged to the four *Scrinia*, or Offices in the Palace ſo often ſpoken of. “ Thereby he ſignifies that he had cauſed a Levy “ of Horſes to be made for the War, at the Expence of the *Honorati*; but from “ that Burthen he diſcharges them, both for the preſent, and the time to come. “ The occaſion of this Levy of Horſes was for the *Illyrican* Expedition, or elſe for the defenſe of *Valentinian* his own Territories, from the Inrode of the *Marcomanni*, *Quadi*, and *Juthungi*; which in thoſe days moleſted the Borders of *Rhætia*, and of *Illyricum*. The Law it ſelf is ſo full of barbarous words and expreſſions, that it ſeems compoſed by ſome *Gall*, or one of Barbarous Original.

Several *Præfecti Prætorio* of *Italy* at the ſame time, and why.

L. 3. de Proximis Comitibus &c. Cod. Th. Dat. 16. Kal. Jan. Patavi. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

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Gratian makes a Law concerning precedence of great Officers.

L. unic de Conſulibus, Præfectis &c. Cod. Th. lib.6.tit.6. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt.

87. It's ſomething ſtrange, that having ſo many Laws made by *Theodoſius* and *Valentinian* this year, we ſhould hear ſo little of the Emperour *Gratian* in this kind; for not one can we find which probably may call him Author, except it be a famous Conſtitutio nconcerning Precedence, which by *Valentinian* the third, ſome years after is ſaid to have been of his making. Herein in the firſt place he ſuppoſeth and taketh for granted, that all others Dignities muſt give place to that of the Conſulſhip, ſo as thoſe poſſeſſed of it, ſhould ſit firſt in the Senate-Houſe, and firſt give their Votes or ſpeak their Opinions, even before the *Præfect* of the City, who by *Gratian* ſome years ago was declared to have place before other Dignities of *Rome*, nay, before ſuch as had obtained the Dignity of *Patritians*, much more the *Præfecti Prætorio* and *Magiſtri Militum*; for theſe four, *viz.* the *Conſulſhip*, *Patritiate*, *Præfectſhip* (whether of the *Prætorium* or *City*) and the Office of *Magiſter Militum*, Conſtitute the firſt Degree of Illuſtrious Dignities. Yet was the *Patritiate*, which was Inſtituted by *Conſtantine* the Great, rather an Addition of Honour to another Perſon, than any peculiar Dignity, it being added uſually to other Titles, as, *Præfectus Prætorio* and *Patritian*, *Patritian* and *Magiſter Officiorum*; *Patritian* and *Magiſter Militum*, like as *Conſul* was the (only) Addition to the Imperial Dignity. To this the Law made afterward by *Zeno*, might much give occaſion, by which he Decreed that the Honour of the *Patritian* (whereby Perſons had the privilege to be ſtyled *Parents of the Prince*) ſhould be given to none, but ſuch as had been Conſuls, *Præfects*, *Magiſtri Militum* or *Officiorum*. But *Gratian* as to the point of Precedence further determines, That if any Perſon ſhould have been both *Conſul* and *Præfect*, or *Magiſter Militum*, in ſuch Caſe this twofold “ Dignity ſhould give him place above the reſt, that have only injoyed a ſingle “ one, though it were of the Conſulſhip it ſelf; for, the greater Cumulation of ſeveral Dignities carries the preheminence, although a Repetition of the ſame Honour (as being twice Conſul) cannot; which yet *Valentinian* the third thought as reaſonable as the other. But if one that had been *Conſul* had left his place to another who obtained two other Dignities, in Caſe he obtained a ſecond Dignity he ſhould recover his wonted Station, and that out of the great Reſpect given to the Conſulſhip, even in theſe Days.

A.D. 383. *Fl. Merobaudez & Fl. Saturnino Coſſ.*

88. In the CCCLXXXIII year of our Lord, and the eleventh Indiction, being the eighth of *Valentinian* the Second, *Fl. Merobaudes* the ſecond time, and *Fl. Saturninus* were advanced to the Dignity of Conſuls. For this year *Florus* and *Poſthumianus* were *Præfecti Prætorio* under *Theodoſius*; and under *Valentinian*, *Flavianus* and *Hypatius*. *Proculus* was *Comes* of the *Eaſt*, and another *Hypatius* was *Præfectus Auguſtalis* of *Ægypt*. *Theodoſius* made his Abode all this year at *Conſtantinople*, and *Valentinian* continued at *Milan*, till about *May*, and then removed to *Padua*, or *Verona*. As for *Gratian* we find little of him, till the declining of the year, at what time we ſhall hear of him upon too ſad an occaſion. In the mean while, to take things in the moſt orderly manner, and as they lye in time; before us, *Theodoſius* thought it beſt to begin the year with the ſettlement of his own Family, to which he could no better way Contribute than by giving the Title of *Auguſtus* to *Arcadius* his Eldeſt Son, a Boy, now in the ſixth year of his Age, which was performed on the ſixteenth day of *January*. Having made him Emperour, he took great Care that he might have Education, and be inſtructed as became ſo high a place; and for that purpoſe, he had written to *Gratian* his Collegue, that he would ſend him ſome Pious and Learned Man, that might be fit for ſuch an Undertaking. *Gratian* hereupon ſent to *Damaſus* the Biſhop of *Rome*, to recommend a Man, who pitcht upon *Arſenius*, a Deacon of the *Roman* Church, a Perſon Eminent for Piety and Learning. When he was come to *Conſtantinople* he Committed his Sons to his Charge, and put them fully into his Hands, both for Knowledg and Morals, with theſe words; *Hence are you their Father more than my ſelf.* On a time coming into the School, he found *Arſenius* the Maſter ſtanding, and *Arcadius* the Scholar ſitting as he was taught; at which ſight he was angry, and expoſtulated with *Arſenius* for not preſerving the Authority of his Office, to which, when he replyed, that it *did not become him to ſit while he taught an Emperour*, out of Indignation he took the Diadem from the Head of the Boy, made *Arſenius* ſit down in the Chair, and *Arcadius* to ſtand, as became a Scholar, adding, that *His Children would no otherwiſe be worthy of the Empire, than if to Knowledg they added Goodneſs.* Yet did *Arcadius* ſo far forget that Gratitude which all wiſe and good Men have ever acknowledged due from thoſe that receive their Education and a better Birth, to their ſecond ſort of Parents;

Theodoſius advances his Son *Arcadius* to the Imperial Dignity.

Socrates lib.5. c. 10. Sozom. lib. 7. c.12. vide Chron. Hiſtor. ad hunc Annum & Baronii Annal.

that being Corrected for his Faults, he would herein, alſo have made himſelf the Succeſſor of *Nero*, by plotting againſt his Maſters Life, from which Danger he eſcaped, departing ſecretly from the Court into *Ægypt*, where he afterwards lived and became famous for Sanctity. How baſe and ungrateful ſoever the Demeanour of *Arcadius* was while a Child, his Coſin-German and School-fellow *Nebridius* made better uſe of his time, being admired by St. *Jerome*, for that being brought up in the Palace, as the School-fellow of the Young Emperours, (whoſe Table the whole World furniſhed, and both Sea and Land did ſerve in the affluence of all things) and that in the firſt flour of his Age, he was of ſo modeſt Diſpoſition as even exceeded that of Virgins; and though the Companion and Kinſman of the Prince, and Educated in the ſame way (which things are wont to breed ſuitable Diſpoſitions) yet could he not be diſcovered to be puft up with the leaſt Pride, or Contempt of other Perſons.

L. 4. de locatione Fundi Jur. Emphyteutici. &c. Cod. Th. lib. 10. tit. 3. & L. 6. Cod. Juſt. de omni agro deſerto. Dat. ad Nebridium Com. R. P. 15. Kal. Feb. Conſt.

Makes an Order about the Farming of his Lands.

89. How *Theodoſius* by this Promotion of his Son might pleaſe his Subjects of the Eaſtern Province, we know not; but the ſecond day after, he Enacted a certain Law which doubtleſs would diſpleaſe one ſort of Men. The old Cuſtome was, that the Lands belonging to the Emperour or Common-wealth were in the Hands of the *Decuriones* or *Municipes*, *viz.* held and farmed by Bodies Politick, or Corporations, and ſo were thoſe belonging to the Temples, who paid their conſtant Rents, either to the Uſe of the Publick, or ſome of the *Pagan* Religion then obtaining. But after the diſſolution of that falſe Worſhip, and that the Lands came to be laid to the Patrimony of the Prince, Both kinds had been taken out of their Hands, and put into thoſe of private Men, probably to raiſe the greater Revenue; but it had not been done with ſuch Care, but that the beſt or fertile were taken to Farm by thoſe who underſtood their Trade, and the worſt or unfruitful ſtill remained on the Hands of the Emperour, and thus ſeparated brought ſmall or no Advantage to him. Now though we muſt needs ſay, that generally Emperours did not incline their Ears to New Chapmen, or ſuch as would offer more, and turn out old Tenants; yet either for that the publick Occaſions required it, or the leſs Fertile Lands lay generally neglected, whereas formerly they were wont to be let together with the better ſort, *Theodoſius* ordained, That in the like manner they ſhould be added by way of *Epibole* (as it was called) or *Adjection* to the better; and if ſuch“ as now held the moſt Fertile, would not take them with the Increaſe of a third part“ of the Rent, then New Tenants were to be admitted. If none of theſe could be“ found, he will have the Lands reverte to the Antient Poſſeſſors, *viz.* the *Decuriones*“ or Bodies Politick, and that without any Augmentation or Addition of a third Part“ required of the other, provided, they gave ſufficient Bond or Caution for payment“ of the Rent. But thus were the Emperours often conſtrained to make this *Epibole* when barren Grounds were left upon their Hands. As for ſuch as hold them by perpetual Right, he forbids that they be turned out of Poſſeſſion, having by their Induſtry in Tillage brought them into a better Condition, notwithſtanding any“ Decree obtained ſurreptitiouſly from himſelf to that purpoſe; and contrary to“ what the Antient Laws provided in that behalf; yet ſo as once it might be lawful“ to impoſe the *Epibole* or Adjection.

The Epibole.

L. 2. de Locatione Prædiorum. Civilium Cod. Juſt. lib. 11. tit. 70. Dat. ad eund. Nebridium.

90. But whatever private Perſons might think of this, or other Matters, now was the publick Joy by Meſſengers to be excited according to the Cuſtome, for the Creation of a New Emperour, and Images of him were to be diſperſed amongſt the Provincials, who upon ſuch occaſions, out of Novelty were greedy to Contemplate the Countenances of their Governours. To prevent the Rapine which at theſe times was wont to be exerciſed by thoſe that were imployed upon ſuch Errands; he publiſhed an Edict as his Predeceſſors had done. Prohibiting any thing“ or Reward to be Exacted of the People, for any Joyful News, either upon this“ occaſion of New Promotion, ending a War, or that of a Victory; when the“ Emperours themſelves received Conſular Ornaments, or of a Peace. The Edict bears Date of the ſecond day of *February*, a Fortnight after his Promotion, when all over the Provinces the People were running and gazing after thoſe Pictures which were carried aloft, to be ſeen by Men richly Clad, and Adorned with Gold, before whom went a Trumpetter and gave notice to the Multitude, which, if pleaſed at the Sight, might beſtow freely upon the *Gerulus*, or Bearer, what they thought fit, but nothing was to be Exacted or forced from them; if it were, by a“ Sacrilegious diſſimulation, as the Emperour terms it, both the Receiver and Compulſor ſhould incur Infamy and loſs of Eſtate, and the Office of *Florus* the *Præfect*,“ to whom the Law is directed, a Fine of thirty pounds of Gold. The Emperours

L. 4. Ne quid publicæ lætitiæ Nuntii &c. Cod. Th. lib. 8. tit. 11. Dat. 4. Non Febr. Conſtant. & L. unic. Cod. Juſt. hoc tit.

He prohibits any money to be exacted by the Meſſengers of good News.

then Receiving Conſular Ornaments is here expreſſed by *Honour of the Royal Trabea given to the Faſti or Regiſter of the Conſuls.* The *Trabea* was the Robe proper to *Conſuls*; and by giving the Honour of it to the *Faſti* is meant Inſerting the Emperours Name into the Regiſter, or publiſhing him to be *Conſul* for the following Year, to which he gave, together with his Collegue, the Characteriſtical Note. But in this Law *Theodoſius* makes no mention of the Conſulſhip of Subjects or private Men. For the Cuſtom of declaring them Conſuls, though formerly obſerved Solemnly, was now either grown out of Uſe, or at leaſt nothing was now exacted for the Meſſage, which though known ſufficiently, as to them, might yet be doubted as to what concerned the Emperours.

Vide Leges varias de Decurion. Cod. Th. hoc Anno datas ſcil. à L. 94.

Further gratifies Corporations.

91. *Theodoſius* further proceeded at this time to gratify the Corporations by recalling ſeveral back to their Services whom ſome Laws had excuſed, and obliging their Children, though ſet at liberty by former Princes. Yet would not he permit the *Decuriones* to hire or receive to Farm any Cuſtomes whatſoever, becauſe excuſed from ſuch Severities as were exerciſed againſt other ſorts of Perſons offending in ſuch Offices: but here he excepts the *Dioceſs* of *Ægypt*, partly becauſe of the great Trade driven there at *Alexandria*, for which other ſorts of people could not furniſh a ſufficient Number. In other places he will not have them receive in Farm the leaſt ſort of Cuſtom with which the Senators of *Rome* were alſo Prohibited in former times to meddle in any ſuch way. He would have them intent upon the buſineſs of their Corporations, from which he ordains that they receive no Immunity by Warfare; no not by Virtue of the Prince his Reſcript; for, the Emperours uſually forbade their own Decrees to take place when againſt the publick Good. As to Warfare, whereas both he and his Predeceſſors were wont to play an after-Game by an ingrateful forcing back ſuch as had already ſerved in the Wars, he reſolved to prevent the Liſting and Entertainment of ſuch Perſons into Service, and for that purpoſe ſtrictly required, that when any one offered himſelf to be Liſted, full Inquiry ſhould be made into his Birth and the whole State and Condition of his Life, ſo as he was to prove himſelf free, both from Servitude, the Relations to Corporations, and other Conditions, which might render him unfit for Military Imployment. The like Inquiries alſo were made into thoſe who were admitted into the *Palatine Militia*, or the Emperours Court-Imployments: as for ſuch of them as had already continued therein for the ſpace of ten years he yields, that they be diſcharged from any Obligations to the Courts of theſe Towns and Cities Corporate; in the ſtating of which time he differs from other Princes; for, ſome required more, and ſome leſs for the diſcharging of theſe Curcial Ties, which gave Princes ſo much trouble. But *Theodoſius* was ſo kind to his People, that as he would not preferr, the Sons of ſuch as had Relation to Corporations before the Intereſt of them; but though the Fathers were excuſed (as Profeſſors and others) yet they ſhould be bound to diſcharge the ſeveral Duties to them belonging; yet he would prefer the Intereſts of Sons before that of his own Exchequer. For, whereas *Valentinian* eighteen years ago, had made a Law, in favour of the Children of ſuch Criminals as were Condemned and put to Death, he was now pleaſed to extend the ſame Mercy to their *Poſthumous* Iſſue, or thoſe that were begot, but not already Born; the Crime of High-Treaſon ever excepted, which excludes all the Children of Traitors from the Benefit of their Eſtates, that they may not have wherewith to Arm themſelves againſt their Prince or Country. But that the Exchequer might not be defrauded, and to prevent ſuppoſititious Children, he Commands the Old Edict of the *Prætor*, in a manner, to be obſerved. He will have the Wife of the Condemned Perſon, after his Death, to ſend and certifie the Governour of the Province, of her being with Child; and her ſelf to go to the Municipal Magiſtrate, and Depoſite in his Hands the Certificates or Teſtimonies concerning her Condition; and laſt of all, that ſhe be ſo kept and lookt to, that all opportunity of Cheating may be prevented.

Exceptâ Dioceſi Ægyptiacâ.

L. Quid probare debeant. Cod. Th. lib. 7. tit. 2.

L. 12. de Privil. eorum qui in S. Pal. mil. Cod. Th.

L. 10. de Bonis Proſcript. Cod. Th.

Yet he inforces the old Edict of the Prætor.

He prevents Abuſes in the Exaction of Tributes.

I. L. L. 17, 18, 19. de Suſceptoribus Præpoſitis &c. Cod. Th.

92. To prevent another ſort of Cheating, but of the Subject, he publiſhed about the ſame time ſeveral other Laws. Whereas the poor Provincials were compelled to take great Journeys to pay their Tributes, and get rid of their Money; and that by reaſon that there was for a whole Dioceſs but one Receiver, who was wont to reſide in the Metropolis or Chief City; For the time to come he Commands this great Abuſe to be rectified, by making, as need ſhould be, more Receivers or Collectors in the ſame Dioceſs. And that the People may not be conſtrained to pay the ſame thing twice, he Orders, that theſe Receivers for

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for every ſum received give an Acquittance, wherein ſhall be expreſſed both“ what, in what kinds, upon what Account, and in what *Indiction* it was done. And yet farther, becauſe, in receiving Tributes in kind, they were wont to“ make their own Meaſures, and Conſtrain thoſe that paid to give more than their“ due Proportion; he ordains That in every Station, that is, every Place where“ they were wont to be paid, certain Weights and Meaſures ſhould be eſtabiſhed.“ So, long ago, to prevent the the Frauds of Tradeſmen, it was not only the Duty of *Ædiles* to ſee that due Meaſures were allowed, but publick Meaſures and Weights were kept in the *Capitol*, by which all thoſe of private Men were to be meaſured, according to a Standard, if any Controverſie aroſe thereupon; which the Emperours in ſucceeding times alſo took Care of, as occaſion was; and *Prætextatus* the *Præfect* of *Rome*, cauſed it to be practiſed in all the Regions of the City, as we have ſeen from *Ammianus*. But this Law is directed to *Poſthumianus* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, and that concerning Acquittances to *Flavianus* the *Proconſul* of *Aſia*. This is he who, contrary to *Theodoſius* his Law lately mentioned, cauſed ſome *Decuriones* to be beaten or examined with Torture, for which Offence, while the Emperour Conſulted how to puniſh him, he took Boat and conveyed himſelf away; and therefore, he turn'd him out of Office. But, for ſuch as were behind in their Payments of Tributes; that no Violence or Rigour might be uſed; if the Debtor was a great Man, he ordered that the Exactor,“ or he that was ſent to require the Arrears, ſhould be one of the Officials of the“ Judg of the Province; if a *Decurio* then a *Decurio*; but if a mean Perſon, then“ one of their Protectors called *Defenſor Civitatis* ſhould with all Juſtice or fidelity“ Compel him to the payment of his Dues.

L. 12. de Exactionibus Cod. Th. lib. 11.tit. 7. Dat. ad Conſtantianum Vicarium Ponticæ. Abeſt à à Cod. Juſt.

93. So much ſtill was the Emperour inclined to yield to any thing wherein the“ publick benefit was concerned, that in another Caſe he declared that no Preſcription“ of Time, no, nor his own Reſcripts ought to obſtruct it. But Complaint“ had been made by *Proculus* now *Comes* of the *Eaſt*, that in *Antioch* the Metropolis and Eye of theſe Parts, the *Forum* or publick places were obſtructed, to the great deformation of the City; with which this *Proculus* was the more concerned, for that at his own Charge, he beautified the place with ſpacious and convenient Streets, *Porticus*'s, Baths and *Forums*. For this he is commended by *Libanius* the Sophiſt, who had reaſon to do it from his own Experience, having been once in danger of his Life as he paſſed from the Senate-Houſe, by reaſon of the former ſtraitneſs of the ways. “But to incourage *Proculus* in ſo laudable an Undertaking,“ *Theodoſius* declares in an Edict directed to him, what we ſaid concerning Preſcription“ of time, and his own Reſcripts, and Commands, that in all Cities ſuch Buildings“ be pull'd down as were erected on publick Ground. And herein he did better in“ gratifying him, than in other matters which he alſo deſired. For, if credit may be given to *Libanius*; though *Proculus* was to be commended for publick works he made at *Antioch*, yet was he Tyrannical in his Government, and left it in diſgrace, as the Sophiſt relates in his Oration to *Icarius* his Succeſſor. Therefore to his ſuggeſtions is aſcribed the Rigorous forcing back to the Court of *Antioch*, or other places, ſuch as had aſpired to Senatorian Dignity, which this Emperour by an Edict to him directed doth enjoyn. But this is nothing ſo ſharp as what he ordered concerning the Principals of the Officials belonging, to him or other Governours of Provinces. “For he not only Commands that they be returned back to their former“ Imployments; but alſo be Chaſtiſed with Plummets: a puniſhment Cruel and“ Servile, but ſuch as through the Cruelty of Judges was in this Age grown too Common, and gratified the Tyrannical and pitiful Humour of *Proculus* towards thoſe, who were the Officers belonging to his place, and, during his Government, ſubject to his Command.

Forbids the ſtraitning of Streets and *Forums* in Cities.

L. 22. de de operibus publicis Cod. Th. Dat. 3. Id. Jun. Have Procul. K. N. B. & L. 6. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit.

L. 90. de Decuronibus. Cod. Th. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt.

L. 14. de Cohortatibus Cod. Th. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt.

94. But let us leave *Theodoſius*, and ſee what we find of *Valentinian* in the Weſt, before we come to tell the ſad Story of his Brother. We find him in the firſt place concerned for his Revenue, that no Senator might eſcape the Payment called *Glebalis Collatio* due from his Lands, whether he was borne to that Dignity, or had been preferred to it only through the Bounty of the Prince. “To this end he requires“ that every one of that Order, give into the Senate a true and full Particular of his“ Lands, upon pain of forfeiting whatſoever he Concealed, which was the uſual courſe taken with Concealed Goods in point of Cuſtoms. And whoever attains to the“ Dignity of *Conſularis*, either as Governour of a Province, or by Codicills, before“ he enjoy or execute his Place, he will have him under his hand to own the Payment“ due from Senators; to declare where his Habitation is, that there the Payment may“

be

***Valentinian* Concerns himſelf for his Revenue.**

L. 2. de Senatoribus & de glebali Corlatione Cod. Th. lib. 6. tit. 2. Dat. ad Hypatium 4. Id. Jan. Abeſt. b. L. pariter ut reliquæ leges hujus Tituli à Cod. Juſt. propter glebalem Collationem ſublatam.

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be Exacted; to give alſo a full Account of his Poſſeſſions, and thereof to ſend in“ a Schedule to the Office of the *Comes Longitionum*, that thereby may be known“ what Acceſſion is made to the Emperour's Revenue. Theſe Rules he will have“ obſerved by thoſe Senators that had Poſſeſſions. As for thoſe that had none, he“ will yet have them pay the two Folles formerly mentioned, which alſo, whoſoever“ is admited to the Dignity of *Conſularis*, or to any of the higher ſorts of“ Offices is bound to acknowledg, and promiſe to pay. But from this Obligation he“ excepts ſuch as had been made Senators for having faithfully diſcharged the *Palatine*“ Militia, or Offices in the Court. But though he allowed this Privilege“ to thoſe Perſons in a matter wherein his own Profit only is concerned,“ yet will he not approve of Immunities, obtained by particular Men from the“ uſual Impoſition or Tax upon Lands, becauſe what thereby would be granted“ to a few, would tend as he ſaith to the Detriment of many. Therefore will he“ have them all taken off; and to ſhew an Example himſelf, he renounces all ſuch“ as had been granted to his own Poſſeſſions; hoping thereby all others concern'd“ would be ſufficiently ſatisfied. And he commands *Probus*, to whom the Edict“ is directed, that he eſtabliſh this Order, through all *Italy*, as alſo through the *Urbicarian* and *African* Regions, and through all *Illyricum*. By ſeveral others mentioned“ as *Præfects* at this time, we may perceive the *Præfectſhip* of Italy, lately broken, and beſtowed into ſo many Hands, was not yet again united in the Perſon of this *Probus*, of whoſe long and reiterated Power in this Nature *Claudian* the Poet might well ſing, as he doth to his Relations; ſo often did he enjoy the Prefectſhip and ſo long a time, as we have ſeen in the Reign of *Valentinian* the Elder. But yet now he was *Præfect* over no leſs than four Diſtricts, and we ſee that *Italy*, the *Urbicarian Provinces*, *Africk* and *Illyricum* were all really diſtinct one from another, and not one in another comprehended. By *Illyricum* is all that Tract of Ground to be underſtood which was divided afterward into Eaſtern and Weſtern. “In the laſt place, the Emperour Commands *Probus* to eſtabliſh this“ Law, or confirm it, by which is only meant publiſhing it with an Edict or Order of“ his own. For in thoſe times the manner was for Magiſtrates to publiſh or expoſe to View, the Conſtitutions of Princes, in ſuch manner, as firſt the Conſtitution ſhould be recited, and then the Edict of the Magiſtrate follow, like as the Parliaments of *France* declare or publiſh the Edicts of that King, which they term *Verifying*; not that the Royal Decrees there receive Authority from their Arreſts, but that there muſt be ſome way of Solemnity to eſtabliſh the Truth and Certainty of the Thing.

He takes off Immunities as to Taxes granted to particular Men.

L. ut Si per Obreptionem fuerint Impetrata Cod. Th. Lib. 11. tit. 13. Dat. 4. Kal. Febr. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt.

Sinceritas tua id ipſum per omnem Italiam tum etiam per urbicarias Africanaſq; Regiones, ac per omne Illyricum, Prælatâ Oraculi hujus auctoritate, firmabit.

95. At this time there were ſuch frequent Robberies Committed, and ſuch ſwarming of Thieves in the Countries about *Rome*, that even Perſons of Quality durſt not Travel; particularly *Symmachus*, an Eminent Man in thoſe Days, choſe rather, as he ſaith, to Macerate himſelf in the City, of which he was ſufficiently weary, than expoſe himſelf to ſo great Hazard. “This drew from *Valentinian*“ an Edict againſt the Harbourers and Concealers of Robbers; and becauſe ſuch“ Soldiers as had fled from their Colours, uſually took up that Courſe of Life, in“ the former Part thereof he declares how ſuch as give them Shelter, ſhall be puniſhed.“ If the Offendor was of mean Condition, he Condemns him to be“ beaten with Rods, to the Mines, or Deportation; if within two Months (*Theodoſius*“ this year allowed ſix) he did not diſcover ſuch a Fugitive to the Ordinary“ Judg of the Province; if of higher Condition, he impoſes on him the Penalty“ of finding ten Souldiers for the War, or elſe paying fifty pounds of Silver, which“ was juſt the ſame Value. Such puniſhment were the Maſters themſelves to undergo;“ but if their Stewards or Agents herein offended, they were to Anſwer it“ with their Lives; but this was to be underſtood of ſuch Fugitive Soldiers for whom ſatisfaction had not been made. But in the Diſcovery this Courſe was to be obſerved, That firſt they were to be preſented to the Governours of Provinces where they were taken, who after Examination, was to ſend them away to the *Præfect*, by whom they were to be puniſhed, except the *Præfect* or *Magiſter Militum*, or others who had Authority over Soldiers in matters Capital, were at hand. But againſt the Harbourers of Thieves or Highway-men he ſhewed himſelf ſtill more ſevere. “For if any one knowingly entertained them, or refuſed to diſcover“ them, he ordains he receive the Corporal puniſhment, or forfeit his whole“ Eſtate at the Diſcretion of the Judg, if he be Maſter of the Houſe; if a Servant“ or Officer, that he be burnt alive.

Frequent Robberies about *Rome*.

Lib. 2. Ep.22.

L. 8. de Deſert. Cod. Th.

Valentinian endeavours to prevent them.

L. ult. de His qui latrones &c. Cod. Th. lib. 9. Tit. 29.

96. But yet ſtill did the poor Provincials miſerably complain of the Inequality of

Taxes, that ſome eſcaped Scot-free, through pretended Privilege, while others bore the Burthen that were leſs able to pay; and the matter grew ſo high, that though little more than a Month had paſſed ſince *Valentinian*, as we have ſeen made a Law againſt all ſuch Privileges, yet was he now forced to add a ſecond, more large and efficacious than the former. For in this, directed to the People, having found that the *Tabularii* of Cities, whoſe Imployment it was to keep the Ceſs Books, and give out Copies to the Collectors, were very faulty in adding or diminiſhing as they pleaſed, he Commands they be burnt alive, if, moved or overcome by the “ Fraud, Entreaties or power of any whatſoever, they admitted of any pretended “ Immunity. But he directs that the Ceſs be equally laid, by Conſent of the Provinces “ confirmed by the Prince, having firſt been equally taxed and adjuſted by “ the *Cenſitores*, aſſiſted thereunto by the Authority of the Ordinary Judges, and “ the *Præfecti Prætorio*. And whereas Notice was taken that ſeveral Perſons “ newly come from Court, and eminent for their Power and Dignity, often injuriouſly “ treated the Provincials, ſometime ſpoiling them of their Goods, and otherwhiles of their Liberty, nay, perhaps of their very Lives; and this under pretence that they had Warrant from the Emperours for their Actions, *Valentinian* by a Law ſent to *Euſignius* the *Proconſul* of *Africk*, Ordains, that No Perſon ſhall be credited, be he *Tribune*, *Notary*, or of the Degree of *Comes*, when he “ alleages the Prince his Orders, except he produce the ſame in writing: And “ hereby he lets the People know that they ſhould not be frighted by their big “ words or Looks. He inſtances in thoſe who were (as we have ſeen out of “ *Ammianus*) Extraordinarily ſent upon various Errands from the Court. Theſe were wont to receive their Inſtructions in a certain form of words fitted to the occaſion, and poſſibly ſometimes ſecret Orders (*ſecreta Mandata*) and by word of Mouth; but it being eaſy to pretend ſuch, and great miſchief thereon enſuing, “ he Commands, that no Credit be given to them. And indeed where “ the Parties concerned were Couragious, they would not obey ſuch Orders, “ and therefore it behoved the Meſſengers themſelves to have a certain Rule of Direction, that it might not be ſaid to them, that they exceeded the Limits of their Commiſſions. Therefore when ſuch Tribunes and Notaries were ſent into the Provinces upon publick Buſineſs, ſometimes they would publickly expoſe their Commiſſions, that their Authority might not be queſtioned. And as no Meſſengers from the Prince were to be credited, except they produced their Warrants; in like manner to the Meſſages ſent from the Countries to the Emperour, no heed was to be given, except they produced their Inſtructions in Writing; ſo that, that called *Libera Legatio*, whereby Power is given to thoſe Imployed, to Act as they ſhall ſee Cauſe, and what they think fit, is hereby diſowned.

And the Frauds of *Tabularij*.

L. ult. de Cenſu Cod. Th. Dat. ad Populum Non Mart.

L. un. de Mandatis Principum Cod. Th. lib. 1 *tit.* 3. *Dat.* 15. *Kal. Jul. Veronæ & L.* 1. *Cod. Juſt. eod. tit.*

He forbids pretended Meſſengers from Court to be believed, except they produce their Inſtructions in Writing.

97. By a Letter written from *Symmachus* to this *Euſignius*, Proconſul of *Africk* this year, and afterward advanced to be *Præfectus Prætorio*, it appears, that the City of *Rome* was threatned with Famine, by reaſon that the *African* Provinces, whence it was wont to have its Supply, afforded not Corn ſufficient for the bare Suſtenance of their own Inhabitants, and for the year following were to be ſupplied with Seed from other Places. This Condition of *Africk*, *Euſignius* had before made known to *Symmachus*, who thereupon adviſes, that Recourſe be had to the Princes, and that in the mean time, he would Relieve, as well as he might, thoſe that were committed to his Charge. We find not any Edict made in any ſort with reference to this Occaſion; but as *Theodoſius* this year very much concerned himſelf with the Intereſt of Corporations in the *Eaſt*, ſo by a Conſtitution directed to *Euſignius*, as well as by others to other perſons, we perceive *Valentinian* at the ſame time, no leſs Zealous for thoſe within his Diſtrict. “He “ alſo Commands, that ſuch as were born to the Services of the *Curiæ*, ſhall not “ be excuſed under pretence of the Military Imployment, except they have continued “ in the Wars fifteen years, whereby he ſeems to Repeal what he had “ Ordained the year preceding, as to this ſame Dioceſs of *Africk*, That none ſhould be excuſed, without he could alleage he had ſerved five yeas; and, that for the time to come, the *Curiales* ſhould be excluded from Military Service. But from the wording of this Law, we learn, that to fifteen years, are counted three *Luſtra* ſo that it need not be doubted, how much time the later *Luſtrum* of the *Romans* did contain, *viz.* juſt five years. And whereas the Emperour here inſiſts upon fifteen years, *Gothofred* conjectures, it is for that in the Reign of his Father ſo many years ago and more, from the beginning thereof, theſe Provinces, as we have ſeen, were dreadfully haraſſed by the Barbarians, provoked there-

Symmachi Ep. ult. lib. 4.

Africk and *Rome* threatned with Famine.

L. 95. *de Decurionib. Cod. Th. Dat.* 4. *Kal. Mart. Med. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt.*

Valentinian Indulgent alſo to Corporations.

Poſt quindecim vero Stipendia, vinculo prioris Ordinis liberetur, qui ſe tribus luſtris aſſidue militaſſe, et neq; bellicis neceſſitatibus neque muneribus militaribus oſtenderit defuiſſe.

UMI

to by the miſerable negligence of the Officers of the Army, and the Villany of *Romanus*, which provoked, or incouraged many of the *Curiales* to go into the Field for defence of their Country; and as this might be a Reaſon why *Valentinian* would be a little Indulgent to ſuch Perſons, ſo might it be an Inducement to his Father, fifteen years before, to grant, that five years Warfare in *Mauritania* ſhould excuſe from the Service of Corporations. But as to this Indulgence, granted both to Souldiers and the Palatine Officers, Emperours have differed, and the ſame Prince ordained ſeveral things as to the Term which ſhould excuſe them, according as Circumſtances of Time and Place have differed. But to be ſure, there was much Stir made by ſome Perſons at this time, to eſcape the Burthens of theſe Bodies Politick; and ſome attempted it, by Pleading, that by the Mothers ſide, they belonged to other Corporations, which being leſs, and conſequently, the Charge of them below that of others, they would needs remove themſelves to them. Indeed in the *Eaſt*, in the Diſtrict of *Theodoſius*, ſuch Privilege had been granted to the Inhabitants of *Ilium*, *Delphi* and *Pontus*, that if a Man by both Parents was obnoxious to theſe Courts, he might uſe the Benefit of his Mothers Relation; and probably ſome other places in the *Weſt*, and under the Juriſdiction of *Valentinian*, had obtained the like Immunity; but he abrogates “ all ſuch by another Law, and whatever Cuſtome there might be for it in the Pro- “ vince, founded upon ſome ſuch antient Grant: He propounds the Example of the “ *Senatorian* Order at *Rome*, wherein the Son followed the Condition of the Father, “ were the Mother of any other Rank.

Vide legem 100 illius tit. Dat. 13. Kal. Maii ad Hypatium P. F. P.

L. 101. Dat. ad Baſilium Com. S. L. 16. Kal. Jul. Cod. Th. & L. 36. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit.

98. The Courſe of matters now brings us at length to *Gratian*, of whom it's a wonder we have nothing all this while; that the Countries ſubject to his Command, ſhould afford no work for his *Quæſtor*. But this we are willing to Attribute to his former Care and Vigilance, for the more Laws any Nation wants, the more are Griefs and Neceſſities; for it cannot be ſuppoſed, that if Healthful and free from Diſtempers, the Prince its Phyſitian, would be ever and anon tampering with it. But notwithſtanding, let none out of Ignorance, becauſe he Reads of ſo many Laws now made by the Roman Emperours, for this one Reaſon, conclude the Empire to have been of a very ſickly Temper; if ſo, the Diſeaſe lies in his own Head, which will be Cured by a Receit of *Geography*, when he views the vaſt Tracts and Circumference of the Roman Pale. I ſuppoſe the Reader an Inhabitant of what was once ſome ſmall pittance of the Empire, where he cannot but take notice, how many Edicts or Acts of State paſs for the Government of even that ſmall Plot of Ground. But when he ſurveys all the Provinces of this flouriſhing Dominion, from Mount *Atlas*, and the Streights of *Gibraltar*, paſſes as far as the utmoſt Extent of *Meſopotamia* and *Oſdroena*, and from the Banks of *Danubius* Croſſes to the Southern Borders of *Ægypt* and *Mauritania*, he will not at all wonder that we make mention yearly of ſo many Laws. But to come to *Gratian*, though he publiſhed no Edicts at this time for particular Direction in any point of Government, yet herein he ſeemed beſt to provide for his People, and take his Leave, by ordaining ſomething for the Government of thoſe who were ſubordinately to Govern them in their ſeveral Provinces; to prevent their Rapacious Preying upon them. Of their boldneſs in this point, ſome Complaint was made to him, not long before his Death, how beſides their ordinary Allowances they were wont to exact of the Provincials, Money or Proviſions for maintenance of their Houſes. Upon hearing and deliberating hereof, he declared in Conſiſtory, that every Judg or every Governour of a Province ſhould himſelf furniſh his *Prætorium* with Conveniences, and that neither to him nor any *Comes* “ ſhould be more allowed, than by Imperial Authority, was granted in thoſe Al- “ lowances they called *Annonæ* and *Cellaria*. By theſe two, generally are meant “ all Neceſſaries for Expence, and the Salaries of the Judges; which were alſo allowed to all, whom the Emperour ſent for to Court, or diſpatched elſewhere upon publick Buſineſs, both in the Manſions upon the way, and in the Places where they ſtaid. But, as we have formerly ſaid, by *Cellaria* are properly meant, Wine and Corn, or Neceſſaries for eating and drinking: by *Annonæ* all other ſorts of things, as Gold, Silver, Clothes, Proviſions for Horſes, Attendance, Firing and the like. The Houſes wherein they lived and adminiſtred Juſtice, were called *Prætoria*, uſually placed in Cities that ſtood upon the High-ways or Streets, and furniſhed at the publick Charge, by a Set Allowance; But they were wont to live high, and exceed their Bounds, both the ordinary Governours and the Military Officers, or *Comites Rei Militaris* here

Gratians laſt Edict againſt the Rapacity of Governours of Provinces.

Vide L. 8. de fundis Patrimonialibus &c. Cod. Juſt. lib. 11. tit. 61. & Notas.

L. ult. de Officio Judicum omnium

Pars Actorum habitorum in Conſiſtorio Gratiani Aug. Gratianus Auguſtus dixit &c. Cod. Th. lib. 1. tit. 10. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

Sect.3. here mentioned. This Abuſe now *Gratian* endeavoured to prevent by this his Farewel to his People, it being the laſt Law we find that was made by him, as it is placed in the Code, although it bears no Date of Month or Day. A.D. 383.

99. For in the month of *Auguſt* of this year he periſhed by the treaſon, ſome ſay of *Merobaudes* (or *Mellobaudes*) a *Magiſter Militum*, to be ſure by the ambition of *Maximus* a Commander here in *Britain*. That *Maximus* was a *Britan* born, ſome will gather from the words of *Socrates* the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian; and ſo *Chriſtopherſon* our own Country man tranſlates them; but being narrowly lookt into they will ſcarcely be found to aſcertain any thing more, than that he roſe and fell upon the Roman Empire from the parts of *Britain*. It matters little what Country it was that brought him forth; but *Zoſimus*, who ſeldom agrees with other Writers, ſaith expreſly, that by birth he was a *Spaniard*, and tells another ſort of ſtory concerning the occaſion of this Rebellion, and the death of *Gratian*. Fetching his Narration from the Motions lately ſpoken of in *Illyricum*, he writes, that, during thoſe Stirs, this Emperor was imbroiled in no ſmall diſadvantages. For, yielding to thoſe who in Courts are wont to corrupt the manners of Princes, he kindly entertained ſome fugitive *Alans* which were liſted in the Army, conferred on them great gifts, and ſo highly eſteemed them, that in the mean time he ſeemed to make no reckoning of his own Soldiers. This brought him into no little *odium* amongſt his own men, which daily increaſing, at length drove into a ſeditious humour, amongſt others, ſuch as ſerved here in the *Britiſh* Iſles, who more indulged themſelves in contumacy and peeviſhneſs than the reſt. And they were further inraged, he ſaith, by *Maximus*, a *Spaniard* by Nation, who had been fellow-ſouldier with *Theodoſius* in *Britain*, and took it in diſdain that He ſhould be accounted worthy of the Diadem, and himſelf of no honourable Place or Office. They being eaſie enough to be wrought on, conferred on him the Title of Emperor, gave him both a Diadem and Purple, which he had ſo long deſired, and without delay ſhipped themſelves and paſſed even to the mouth of the *Rhine*. The Armies that lay in that quarter were not difficult to be won, and joyn with them; but then *Gratian* came and offered them Battel, while no ſmall number of the Souldiers ſtill continued in their Fidelity. And when the Armies approached nearer, for five days they skirmiſhed one with another, till the *Moors* all of themſelves revolted, and gave to *Maximus* the Title of *Auguſtus*, while the reſt alſo followed by little and little; which *Gratian* perceiving, and that his Affairs here were deſperate, with three hundred Horſe fled towards the *Alpes*, where when he found no ſecurity, he turned off toward *Rhætia*, *Noricum*, *Pannonia* and the upper *Myſia*. *Maximus*, though glad of the advantage, thought he was not to be ſuffered ſo to eſcape; but diſpatched after him one *Andragathius*, his *Magiſter Equitum*, born near the *Euxine* Sea, who ſeemed to be faſt and faithful to him, with ſuch Horſe as he thought would beſt hold out. He following on the Purſuit with all diligence, overtook him as he was going to paſs the Bridge at *Singidunum*, and there killed him; by which Act he more eſtabliſhed *Maximus* in his newly acquired Empire.

Maximus rebells againſt him.

Μάξιμος ἐκ τῶν περὶ τῆς Βρεττανίας μερῶν ἐπανέστη τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ. *Maximus ex partibus Britanniæ oriundus.*

Zoſimus his ſtory thereof.

Ἴβηρ τὸ γένος.

100. Here *Zoſimus* acquaints his Country-men, the *Græcians*, that it will not be amiſs, but worth the while to tell them a ſtory, which being commonly committed to memory is no whit impertinent to the preſent Purpoſe. In the Colleges of the Prieſts at *Rome* thoſe called *Pontifices* held the chiefeſt place, which word, if tranſlated into Greek, muſt be termed *Gephyræi* from Bridges, which name they got upon this occaſion. At ſuch time as Mortals were ignorant of that worſhip which afterward was rendred by Images; thoſe of the Gods were firſt made in *Theſſaly*; but whereas (you muſt know) there were neither yet any Places to put them in (for the Uſe of ſuch Houſes were alſo unknown) they placed thoſe Repreſentations upon the Bridge of the River *Peneus*, and from the Bridge thoſe who preſided at the worſhip thereof were termed *Gephyræi*. Thence took the *Romans* their Title of *Pontifices*, and beſtowed it upon their chief Prieſts, and withal ordained that their very Kings ſhould be reckoned in their number, for the excellency of their Dignity. The firſt that obtained this Honour was *Numa*; after him all that went under the Name of Kings, and long after them *Octavianus* himſelf, and ſuch as ſucceeded him in the *Roman* Empire. For as ſoon as any one came to be Emperor, he was preſented by the *Pontifices* with the Sacerdotal Robe, and upon receipt thereof ſaluted with the Title of *Pontifex Maximus*. And all other Princes with a moſt willing mind received the Honour, and uſed the Title, and even *Conſtantine* himſelf, though (ſaith the *Pagan*)

Pagan) he forſook the right Path in Religious matters, and imbraced the Faith of the Chriſtians; and after him the reſt in order, as far as *Valentinian* and *Valens*. But now when as, according to the Cuſtom, the *Pontifices* preſented *Gratian* with the Robe, he would by no means accept of what they offered, being of opinion that it was unlawful for a Chriſtian to uſe the Habit. The Robe then being returned to the Prieſts, it was reported that He who was the chief amongſt them ſaid, that if the Emperor would not be *Pontifex Maximus*, in a ſhort time a *Pontifex* ſhould be made of a *Maximus*. And ſuch end had the Empire of *Gratian*, ſaith this Hiſtorian, whoſe Tale concerning the *Pontifices* being ſo named from that Bridge of *Peneus* is very pretty; and more pretty indeed than the ſtory *Plutarch* relates concerning their being ſo named from the Bridge called *Pons Sublicius*, however ridiculous this Grave Writer eſteems it; for it is eaſier to imagine them to have received their Name from a Bridge of their own, where Sacrifices alſo were offered, than from one diſtant ſo many hundred miles, at ſuch a time when Travelling and Geography were not much in Uſe. As for his ſtory concerning *Gratian* his being the firſt that renounced the Title of *Pontifex Maximus*, and refuſed the Robe, it's ſaid by him, and deſerves no credit, as we ſhall ſee in its proper place. But for his being killed at *Singidunum*, and as he was to go over the Bridge there, it deſerves leaſt belief at all; the concurrent Teſtimony of all Writers beſides himſelf, being that he was ſlain at *Lugdunum* or *Lyons*. And *Baronius* would have the one miſtaken or falſe copied for the other; but this is becauſe he never conſidered what the man ſo idly talks of his flying to *Rhætiæ*, *Noricum*, *Pannonia* and *Myſſia*, for in this Tract it was, that *Singidunum* and not *Lugdunum* is to be found. *Zoſimus* this once was a better Geographer, we muſt acknowledge, than to look for *Lugdunum* here; but he was vilely miſtaken in his Countries, and his Arithmetick.

Quem vide in Numa.

His Tales thereupon.

101. For all other Writers, as we ſaid, agree that *Lugdunum* in *Gall*, was the place where he was killed, which was accompanied with theſe circumſtances. That the Traitor might render himſelf more acceptable to the Souldiers, he pretended he was joyned in Affinity with *Theodoſius*, and that as it were by his Conſent and Allowance he ſet up for himſelf; nay he gave out, that he was deſcended of the Blood of *Conſtantine* the Great, of which this is ſome evidence, that he took the Cognomen of *Flavius*, for he called himſelf *Fl. Clemens Maximus*. But if he was thus deſcended, probably it was by the Mothers ſide, for ſo, if a *Britan* born, he might proceed from the Parents of *Helena*, the Mother of *Conſtantine*, which ſome reckon of *Britiſh* Blood. When firſt he roſe up in Rebellion, *Gratian* deſpiſed him as a mean Man, and of no Intereſt; and therefore he only ſet the *Alans* againſt him, whom he had procured for money to ſerve in his wars. The old *Roman* Souldiers took this very ill, looking upon it as an Affront, that he ſhould prefer Barbarians before them, in the point of Fidelity and Courage, and in anger revolted to *Maximus*, who promiſed them all kind things Imaginable. Hereat the Emperor affrighted, left *Triers*, where he had continued the month of *April* (as ſome pretend to find) and retired to *Paris*. The Uſurper having notice hereof, and eaſily repulſed the *Alans*, followed him with all the haſte he could make, and for five Days, being incamped near to one another, they skirmiſhed in Parties, till firſt the *Moors* and then the reſt deſerted their Prince. Hereat more diſmaied, with three hundred Horſe he fled Southward, and, being denied admittance in other Cities, came to *Lyons*, and was, not long after, followed by *Maximus* and all his Forces, who firſt endeavoured by plain force to deſtroy him; but, when that would not do, betook himſelf to crafty Devices, wherewith he hoped, and that not in vain, to intrap him. He cauſed it to be given forth, that his Wife was coming to him, and intended to meet him on the hither ſide of the River *Rhoſne* which runs by the City. Then did he place in a Wagon made like a Litter, carried by Mules, not any Lady but a Ruffian, *Andragathius*, though he made the Report to go that it was the Empreſs her ſelf; and the Plot took effect. For the poor Prince overjoyed to hear that his Wife was at hand, went forth to meet the Litter, with a few Perſons, whom *Andragathius* perceiving near at Hand, leaped out with his Companions, and ſlew him in the Place: ſome ſay he was betrayed by *Merobaudes* the Conſul; but ſo he periſhed when he had been *Auguſtus* full ſixteen years, and lived about eight and twenty; on the twenty fifth of *Auguſt*.

Socrates l. 5. c. 11. Alii vide Sigonium, lib. 8. de Occidentali Imperio & Baronium ad An. 383. Chronic. Hiſtoric. in Cod. Theod.

The true Account.

102. A Prince, on whom Envy and Prejudice themſelves can faſten no ill Character. Malice himſelf, or *Zoſimus*, tells us, indeed, that he gave heed to ſuch as

are wont to corrupt Princes, but nothing in particular as to his ill Moralls: no doubt but he ſtood in great need of materials whereof to raiſe a Calumny. But *Ammianus* to tell us of his being drawn aſide by Flatterers, yet not wherein; only he inſtances in his imitating *Commodus* in the killing of wild Beaſts. A very great matter! an heinous crime for a young man of his years to delight in Hunting, and in ſo dextrous a way of killing; this is ſo idle an Objection, that though we prize *Marcellinus* very much; yet when we conſider how vaſtly this Prince his humour differed from that of *Commodus*, nay how nothing he had ſuitable to that Monſters diſpoſition, except what was harmleſs, we muſt needs excuſe the wonder that *Baronius* juſtly conceives of this Authors meaning, that when he praiſes him, he ſhould alſo blame him for following *Commodus* his courſe of life. And we muſt with him needs eſteem him Partial and harſh againſt Chriſtian Princes, and be of the Opinion, that had he known any thing ill by him, he would not have concealed it; eſpecially *Zoſimus*, who believing him to have been the firſt that refuſed the Title and Robe of *Pontifex Maximus*, could he have done it, would have caſt all the Dirt upon him imaginable. In that he followed his Sports, and minded not the Affairs of the Empire ſo much as he ſhould have done, as theſe Writers alleage, he ſhewed himſelf young in years and guilty of that Neglect which many Princes of that Age are to Anſwer for; but which yet thoſe amongſt them that are well inclined uſually make Amends for, when they come to riper years. But why may we not conſider what great Commendations are given, and amongſt the reſt what Encomiums, by *Auſonius* his Schoolmaſter, who had better reaſon than any other to know his Humour and Natural Inclination. It's true, what he ſaith is in a Panegyrical Oration, wherein he gives him thanks for the Honour of the Conſulſhip he had put upon him; but yet the Oration being to be made publick he cannot lightly be preſumed to have affirmed what he knew would be contradicted and laught at by all that ſaw or heard it; the matters thereof being freſh in memory.

The Character given him by *Pagan* Writers.

Auſonii ad Gratianum Imp. diſcipulum gratiarum actio pro Conſulatu. Panegyric. 12.

103. And the firſt thing he commends him for, we may eaſily believe, *viz.* “ That
the Palace or Emperors Houſe which was terrible before, (in his Fathers time) “
he by his Clemency and Mildneſs had rendred pleaſant and acceptable; the Courts “
of Juſtice formerly full of miſerable complaints he by his favourable Decrees had “
made full of Acclamations and good Wiſhes. And the Bed it ſelf, which was or- “
dained for Reſt and Quiet, was become more full of Repoſe through that tranquil- “
lity he had procured to troubled and deſpairing Perſons. All this is ſufficiently
atteſted by what we have already written concerning his giving a ſtop to thoſe
bloody proſecutions that were ſet on foot in his Fathers Reign. “ But he further
ſaith, that he was a valiant and warlike Prince, and for this he produces the Te- “
ſtimony of the limits of the *Danube* and the *Rhine*, they being freed from all “
Hoſtility in one year; that he was moſt Munificent, he alleages the Experience “
of a Rich Army: for his great Wiſdom he inſtances in the ſettlement of the Eaſt “
in ſo good a poſture, meaning the promotion of *Theodoſius*; and for his Piety “
or Dutifulneſs, the conſecrating of his Father with Divine Honours (as he terms “
it, which was by reckoning him among the *Divi*) the preferring (or rather “
receiving) his Brother, as he did, to be his Colleague in the Sovereign Power; “
his vindicating his Uncles Fame when dead in War, by revenging his Death “
upon the *Goths*; his making *Auſonius* and his Son both *Præfects*, and at laſt ad- “
vancing him, his Schoolmaſter, to the higheſt Dignity of *Conſul*, having alſo for- “
merly procured him the place of *Quæſtor*. As the cuſtom of other Emperors “
was; he affirms that he might well aſſume the Sirname of *Germanicus*, from the “
ſubmiſſion of the *Germans*, *Allemanicus*, from the Number of Captives; and “
Sarmaticus alſo, for his Conquering and Pardoning of that People. Now that
he defeated an Army of the *Allemans*, conſiſting of thirty thouſand men at *Ar-
gentarium*, a place in *Gall*, Writers affirm, and probably enough, he perfected the
Deſign of reducing the *Sarmatians*, of which his Father was fruſtrated by Death.
But theſe things were memorable in *Gratian*, as a publick Perſon. As for his pri-
vate Inclinations, Demeanour, and Qualities both of Mind and Body, “ He affirms
him, in the firſt place, to have paſſed no one day from his Youth without Prayer “
to God; without making ſome Vow, and diſcharging himſelf of it with an im- “
maculate Conſcience and a Pure Mind; nay, with thoughts true and upright; “
and to be ſure with clean Hands. In Eating, no Prieſt could ſhew himſelf more “
ceremoniouſly abſtinent; in Drinking, the Table of no old Man whatſoever “
could be found more frugal and ſparing, as to Wine: the Altar of a Veſtal “

Quod tu quum terribile acceperis, amabile præſtitiſti, &c.

By *Auſonius* his Schoolmaſter.

Heſperius. Tunc primum videntur duo ſimul fuiſſe Præf. Præt. per Gallias. Vide Valeſium in Ammian. p.382.

Vide Notas in Panegyric. Auſonii.

Sect. 3. A. D. 383.

Nun was not more pure than his cloſed Bedchamber; the Couch of no *Pontifex* more unſpotted; not the Pillow of any *Flamen* more chaſt.

104. As to his Converſe with his Friends; he did not come eaven, but prevent them in all Offices of kindneſs; and if it ſo chanced that any of them firſt ſhewed him Reſpect, he bluſhed as much as a Private Man had reaſon, when prevented in Civility by an Emperor. His Conſiſtory he compares to ſome *Sacrarium* or Chapel; wherein none had ſate before him, who either more warily conſidered what he was to ſpeak, more prudently dilated on what he had conſidered, or more maturely diſpatched that whereon he had dilated. In the next place he tells him, He could diſcourſe of his Abilities in Rhetorick, but that therein he ſhould ſeem to gratifie himſelf. For in his Publick Speeches, *Sulpicius* himſelf was not more ſharpe; *Gracchus* the elder more commendably modeſt; nor did his Father himſelf carry more Authority with his Gravity: So ſteddy was his voice when he ſpake more warmly; ſo exact in its Cadence when more remiſly; and ſo temperately did he manage it in both caſes. Proceeding to declare the virtues of his Oratory in this manner, at length he turns his Speech to *Xenophon* the *Athenian*, and tells him, “That, if Nature would permit it, he could wiſh he might return to life again; he who in declaring the virtues of *Cyrus* rather accommodated his Pen to his own Wiſhes, than the truth of an Hiſtory; ſetting forth not what indeed he was, but what in reality he ſhould have been. He tells him, that had he lived in theſe Days; in *Gratian* he might have perceived, what in *Cyrus* he did not find, but deſired; and he inſtanceth thus: It's the part of a man moſt perfect not to do things of which he may have cauſe to repent; as for *Gratian* he never did any ſuch things, and always pardoned them that did. It's an excellent thing to ſhew indulgence to thoſe that are in fear; but he by his Edicts, perpetually to be had in remembrance for their Clemency, had put all men beſides the very occaſion of fearing. It's Magnificent to beſtow Honours; but he had inriched the *Honorati*: It's Laudable for an Emperor to give eaſie Acceſs, and not to pretend buſineſs; but he incouraged ſuch as were ſlow to make known their Requeſts, and when they had opened their griefs, would ask them if they had nothing yet more to ſay. That Speech of the Emperor *Titus* is very famous, that he had loſt that Day wherein he had done no man good; but it became famous becauſe it was the Son of *Veſpaſian* that ſpake it, whoſe overmuch Parſimony, and ſuch Auſterity as was ſcarcely to be born, made the Lenity of his Son to be admired. Whereas *Gratian* the Son of *Valentinian* (whoſe Goodneſs was great, his Gentleneſs ever ready upon occaſion, and his ſeverity well tempered) in a well acquired and fitly ordered State knew well enough that he might uſe the greateſt mildneſs imaginable, without any detriment unto Diſcipline. Neither did he (he tells him) do one ſingle good thing in one Day, but multiplied every moment ſuch favours as would laſt for Ages; and this he makes out by his remitting the Tributes which were remaining due to the Treaſury. He demands what Emperor did ever more largely indulge his Provinces in this kind, more certainly provide for their ſecurity, or more prudently conſult for their Defence? *Trajan* indeed, in old time, did ſomething this way; but doing it by halves, that part which he remitted did not ſo much gratifie the concerned Perſons, as the remainder afflicted them which they were to pay. *Antoninus*, in like manner, was kind to the People; but he that ſucceeded him in his Authority, though not in his Goodneſs (*Commodus*) required after his Death what his Father had forgiven, according as he found each one was behind in the Rolls. But *Gratian* had cauſed all the Records of theſe publick Debts to be publickly burnt; thereby to cut off all occaſion of further vexing of his Subjects upon this Account. A joyful Sight it was in the *Forum* of every City, to ſee theſe Advantageous Fires which were made with the Piles of theſe Papers, wherein were reduced to Aſhes the Originals of antient Frauds, together with the materials of future Oppreſſions. Now he again triumphingly asks the queſtion, what could poſſibly be more Indulgent than his Scholar, or in Indulgence more adviſed? who took care that all the Benefits he beſtowed ſhould not be forfeited, and that the grievances he took away, might not come into a poſſibility of relapſe.

Explained.

105. What he ſpeaks here concerning the remitting of Tributes in part by *Trajan*; if we conſider the Panegyrical Oration ſpoken to that Prince by *Pliny* the Younger, upon the ſame occaſion that this of *Auſonius* was uttered, we muſt interpret concerning the *Vigeſima* or twentieth part of Eſtates, which was firſt

exacted

Sect.3.

A.D. 383.

Vide Notas Catanai & Rayani in Paneg. Plinij.

exacted upon this occaſion. *Auguſtus* when he conſidered what vaſt expence the State muſt needs be at, by Reaſon of ſo many Legions, and Bodies of Horſe as neceſſarily were to be maintained; for defraying the Charge, required the twentieth part to be paid into the Treaſury, of all Eſtates and Legacies that were left to Perſons that were not very poor, or nearly related in Blood. But much oppreſſion being hereby occaſioned, *Nero* firſt, as *Pliny* tells *Trajan*, abated ſomething the Rigour of the Exaction; but ſo, as it was rather to point at the Sore, and direct him to the Cure of it, than to heal the Diſtemper; which he effected ſo far as he intended, adding much to the Liberality of him that Adopted him. After him, it ſeems *Antoninus* alſo attempted ſomething in this kind, which proved ineffectual; and the greateſt Act of Grace and total Aboliſhing of the thing was reſerved for *Gratian* his Bounty and Munificence. “And “ this his Maſter farther tells him, did not only extend to the Provincials, but “ the Senate and the Army alſo. *Trajan*, it's true, viſited his ſick Friends, and “ for that his gentleneſs was to be commended; but he both viſited and healed “ them, found them Attendants, Victuals and Phyſick at his own charge, comforting “ them when ſick, and rejoycing with them when recovered. If any Diſaſter “ had happened to the Army, he had ſeen him viſit the Tents of the wounded, “ asking them how they fared, handling their wounds, and ſeeing them Dreſſed, “ or fit Applications ſpeedily made to their ſeveral neceſſities. Some he had ob- “ ſerved, who refuſed Meat, to receive it at his Recommendation; others to Re- “ cover upon his Chearing and incouraging them. The Baggage of ſome he “ would cauſe to be carried by his own Mules; to others he would appoint par- “ ticular Carriage-Beaſts; ſome ſupply with Servants, relieve the wants and cover “ the Nakedneſs of others; and this he did indefatigably, bountifully, with the “ greateſt Piety imaginable, and without the leaſt Oſtentation. In Concluſion, he “ provided all things for the Sick, and upbraided none when reſtored to Health.

His gratitude to his Schoolmaſter.

106. Thus he Illuſtrates his Goodneſs, and the Effects thereof towards all his Subjects; but, as became him, with much more Care and Paſſion he deſcants upon his Kindneſs to himſelf, and the occaſion of his Diſcourſe. “ He joyned “ him in the Conſulſhip, with a famous Perſon (*viz. Anicius Hermogenianus Olybrius*) “ and ſo joyned him, as to give him the Precedence, by preferring him in “ the Nomination. And this he did of his own Accord, when he never ſought “ for it, never thought on it, nay, when there were many deſerving Men elſe “ to be had, and no Merit could be pleaded on his part, except what was in the “ Opinion of the Emperor. But ſo it was, becauſe what he might aſcribe to his “ own Natural Parts, he attributed to the Induſtry of him his Maſter; for to “ this purpoſe in this manner he wrote to him. *I pay what I owe, and ſtill I owe* “ *what I have paid.* If therefore, any demanded of him how he came to this “ Honour, his Anſwer was ready: *None but God, or he that is next to him, can* “ *give Account of any Mans felicity.* If ſtill ſuch an one inſiſted on Merit, “ he replied, he could pretend none at all; only he could ſay, that *The Empe-* “ *rour himſelf ſaid he ought it to him*; but this word was of a large acceptation, “ for he might mean thereby, either that this was the reward of the Inſtruction “ he received from him, or without that, he might find an Obligation meerly “ from his own Liberality towards an agreeable Object, or elſe he had tacitely “ obliged himſelf to it, or had received ſome Command from his Father to be “ kind to him that brought him up; or elſe by this Magnanimity he reſolved to “ imitate the goodneſs of God himſelf. On the other ſide, *Auſonius* thinks him- “ ſelf obliged, that he had taught him, becauſe He was the man pitched upon, “ when many other Perſons excellent for Learning were paſſed by; but ſo it “ happened, leſt He, who for this his Imployment of Inſtructing him, had paſſed “ through all other Degrees of Honours by a ſtrange Celerity of his reiterated good “ Offices ſhould dye, before ſuch time as the Scholar had Compleated his Gratitude to “ the higheſt Degree his Maſter was capable to receive. But for all this it might ſtill be “ objected, that in former times there had been others that had taught the Emperours; and why ſhould He carry away the Honour of having been in, a “ manner, ſole Tutor to the Prince. As to this he replies modeſtly that he “ will not accuſe thoſe that were Collegues in the time of *Conſtantine* (meaning “ his Sons) but he would a little reflect upon the manners of former times. “ *Seneca* indeed was rich; but not *Conſul* as He was, and ſome thought him ra- “ ther to have Armed his Pupil for Cruelty, than inſtructed him againſt it. “ *Quintilian* alſo obtained *Conſular* Ornaments, by means and procurement of *Cle-* “ *mens*, “

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mens, who was in great grace for a time with the Emperour *Domitian*; but “
he rather thereby procured ſome addition of Honour to his Name, than any Enſignes “
of Authority, being it ſeems, not made Ordinary but Titular or Honorary “
Conſul; for his Name is not to be found in the *Faſti* or Catalogue of Conſuls.
As for this *Clemens*, by whoſe Interceſſion that learned *Spaniard* the Author
of the Oratorian Inſtitutions, got his Honour, there were two of that
Name, *viz. M. Aricinius Clemens*, and *T. Flavius Clemens* his Couſin German,
who for ſome time could do much with *Domitian*, under whom *Quinctilian* flouriſhed;
but having been alſo Conſuls, he who was conſtant to nothing that was
good, cauſed them both to be put to death.

107. In the next place he inſtanceth in *Titian*, who being alſo Tutor to “
an Emperour, and an excellent Perſon, yet taught afterward a Municipal School “
at *Veſontio* (now *Bezanſon*) and died in Obſcurity; which muſt have been *Julius* “
Titianus a Citizen of *Veſontio*, and afterward Schoolmaſter at *Lyons*, who “
was Preceptor to *Maximinus* the younger; and by his Scholar, when *Cæſar*, and “
his Father the Emperour, was promoted to the Conſulſhip; but both they “
continuing not long in power, he deſtitute of Support, betook himſelf to the School “
of the *Municipium* of Lyons, wherein the Sons of all the Corporation were “
Taught. “ At length, he ſaith, he can only allow of *Fronto*, to be compared “
with him in his Imployment and Reward; which Perſon being a ſingular Orator “
was the Inſtructer of the two Emperours *Antonini*, *viz. Marcus* the Philoſopher, “
and *Verus* his Collegue. And yet had not he been honoured with “
the *Præfectſhip*, before he arrived at that of *Conſul*; and for his Conſulſhip it “
was but of thoſe called *Suffecti*, who were ſubſtituted in the Room of the Dead “
to make up the year, as *Fronto* was but for two Months remaining; ſo that “
he might very well have left Recorded, in the Conſulſhip of whom it was, “
that he was Conſul. If any now ſhould upbraid him with his mean Deſerts, “
and demand of him (if he durſt Compare himſelf with ſo great an Orator as “
Fronto was, he ſaith, he would only reply in brief, that he did not compare “
himſelf with him; but yet would prefer *Gratian* before *Antoninus*, even that “
Gratian who as to Power, was *Emperour*, as to Valour was a *Conquerour*; “
for Sanctity was *Auguſtus*; for his Religion a *Pontifex*; a *Father* as to Indulgence; “
in Age a *Son*; and in Piety or Duty *Both* of them together. For “
when he was imbroiled in a moſt difficult War, at ſuch time as he was “
menaced by many Thouſands of Barbarians, wherewith the Tract of the “
Danube was confronted, even then, Armed as he was, and in the Field, he “
held the *Comitia*, for Creating him *Conſul*; and wrote to him that moſt obliging “
Letter, which we have already related at that year, and upon every “
word whereof, the obliged Maſter now boaſtingly deſcants, reflecting the “
glory back upon the grateful Scholar. He exceedingly glories in that he was “
pleaſed to ſend him as a Mark of his Honour, that *Trabea*, (or *Palmata*) *viz.* “
the *Conſular* Robe which was worne by the Emperour *Conſtantius* himſelf, “
whom he calls his Parent, as being indeed the Father of his Wife. And he “
no leſs admires his Wiſdome, in the Anſwer he gave to ſuch as demanded “
of him to which of the Conſuls he deſigned the firſt place, or Nomination; “
He told them there was no reaſon they ſhould queſtion who it was he intended “
to prefer, neither could any good, generous Perſons about him doubt of the “
matter. They that asked, hereat conceived hope, believing that that eminent “
Perſon, his Collegue, who was alſo at hand, muſt be the man.

108. Yet deſiring to be put out of all pain and doubt, they made a ſecond Demand, “
who ſhould be the Man? At that he pauſed a little, and bluſhed with “
ſome diſdain, that they ſhould make a Doubt; and then replied, *Why do you ask* “
who of the two deſigned Conſuls ſhould be firſt named? Who ſhould have the firſt “
Nomination but he whom the Præfectſhip doth Capacitate for it? He admires his “
wiſdome, that by ſo ſudden and diſcreet an Anſwer he ſhould prevent that “
Envy which his Affection might have raiſed; and he applauds himſelf in that “
glory, whereby he was rendred no leſs than equal to *Cicero*. For *Cicero* gloried “
much herein, that the People of *Rome* had made him the Firſt of the *Prætors*
and the former of the *Conſuls*; thereby hinting, that it was more glorious “
to be preferred before one, than many; for though it be no Diſgrace to be a “
Second, yet it is great Renown when but two in the World can be thought “
fit, to be reckoned in the firſt place. It's reported of *Alexander* the great, that “
Reading thoſe Verſes in *Homer*, wherein, upon a Challenge made by *Hector*, “
out

Sect.3. out of nine Captains, one Champion was to be choſen, and thereupon the Army prayed to *Jupiter*, that when it came to the Lot, one of theſe three, *viz.* *Ajax* the Son of *Tydeus*, or elſe *Agamemnon*, might be the Man, he profeſſed, that *He for his part, would have killed any that ſhould have named him in the third place.* If this Couragious Prince would not amongſt no fewer than nine Perſons have been named in the third place, wherein he ſhould have been preferred before the greater number, how would he have been troubled, if of two, he had been made the ſecond in order? For when only two are deſigned, the Choice muſt needs be very difficult. As when two Perſons are preferred, before all other Mortals to be made Conſuls, he who hath the preheminence over the other, is preferred not only before one, but all mankind beſides. So great was the Favour, and high was the Honour he acknowledges to have been conferred on him, which yet was more tranſcendent by the reſpect he ſhewed to him, in gracing him with his Preſence at his firſt Promotion. For when he named him *Conſul*, the Emperour was then at *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*, and *Auſonius* was in *Gall*, of which he had borne the Prefectſhip; and yet it ſeems he took ſo long a Journey to ſee him aſſume the Enſignes of his Authority, that therein he rather flew than rode, there being he ſaith no ſtory of ſuch ſpeed told, no not in the Audacious Fables of the *Greeks*. He dares the Fable of *Pegaſus*, deſpiſes the Stories of *Cyllarus* and *Arion*. For the Horſes of *Caſtor* and *Pollux* performed their Journey with the Change of their Riders, and ſome Reſt. But *Gratian* flew over ſo many Limits of the Roman Empire, ſo many Rivers, ſo many Lakes, and the Bounds of ſo many antient Kingdoms; from *Thrace*, through all the Tract of *Illyricum* (how large ſoever) through *Venetia*, *Liguria*, Old *Gall* (as he terms *Gallia Ciſalpina*) the inſuperable places of *Rætia*, the Borders of *Rhine*, the unpaſſable Coaſts of the *Seine*, and the ſpacious Parts of the lower *Germany*, with greater expedition than he could write it, without any Repoſe ſo much as taking any moderate Sleep, or kind of Suſtenance. And all this was to grace or put ſome Honour upon his *Gall*, that he might anticipate his new *Conſul*; and make Fame, which was wont to be ſwifter than the wind, to appear ſlow, by his preventing it; ſo much did he allow to the old Age, and the Reputation of his Maſter; whoſe *Curule* Chaire, whoſe *Prætexta*, tinſed by his Purple, whoſe *Trabea*, (rendred more Illuſtrious by the kindneſs of him that ſent it, than conſpicuous for the Gold it had in it) which he made his, by what he had done in *Illyricum*, he had rendred much more Celebrious by what he had performed in *Gall*. But ſo he delighted to honour him, who could ſay that he was his *Quæſtor*, next boaſt that he was his *Præfectus Prætorio*, after that, glory that he was his *Conſul*, but above all (and which the Emperour prized above every thing) that he was his *Præceptor*, and as ſuch piouſly had declared him, juſtly had preferred him before his Collegue, liberally had inriched him; and by his Imperial grace and favour, through all good Offices had ſo Conſecrated him.

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109. Now in way of Gratitude and Return for all his Kindneſſes, he confeſſed, that though *Cicero* having arrived at the Conſulſhip, denied that there was any other thing which he thirſted after; yet he profeſſes, that though he was both *Conſul*, and an old Man, yet he was ſtill greedy after ſomething elſe. You may well imagine what this was, *viz.* often to ſee him his Pupil, Cloathed with the Enſignes of that Magiſtracy, that he alone might equal the ſixth Conſulſhip of *Valerius Coronus*, the ſeventh, of *Caius Marius*, nay, the thirteenth of his Nameſake *Auguſtus*, meaning *Octavianus* or him that firſt obtained that Sirname. He tells him, that for his wonderful Charity and Goodneſs (formerly related) he had rendred himſelf more deare to all men than their own ſafety; all his friends he had made obnoxious; and ſuch as for ever would remain ready, devout and faithful to do him Service; being ſuch friends, as his own Inducements had procured him, and not Fortune. And from this more juſt than well grounded Confidence, he turns his Speech to him that would be more Righteous than thoſe he had obliged; even the Eternal-Maker of the World himſelf, who Chuſeth to inhabit, as he ſaith, in the Minds of thoſe who have Cordially given up themſelves to his Service, and therein makes Temples and Altars for his own Worſhip; acknowledging him to have ſo firmly planted the Love of him in the Emperours Heart, that Abſence had not made him at all more Cool therein but he had remembred him though at a diſtance, had conferred Honour on him when Abſent, and had preferd him before

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before thoſe that were preſent and in his Sight. Such was the ſence that“ *Auſonius* had of this favour, expreſſed in very Oratorical and Poetical words,“ which though not convenient to be here rendred as they are in his Oration;“ yet we thought fit to give the Reader an Account thereof. Both for that Learn-“ ed men think it fit, that Youth ſhould be acquainted with his *Panegyrick*,“ and for that it acquaints us very much with the humour and Diſpoſition of“ *Gratian.* For although the Phraſe be very Poetical, and the Expreſſions hyper“ bolical, yet it repreſents to us in a Table, finely painted out and imbelliſhed,“ what *Ammianus* himſelf in a rough and courſe draught had done toward the“ Characteriſing of this Prince, when he tells us, that *By his towardly Inclination*“ *he gained much upon the People, being a Youth well diſpoſed, Eloquent in Speech,*“ *and Soldier enough for his time.* As for thoſe rough Lines he draws to make“ him have a Caſt of *Commodus* his eye towards ſomething on one ſide; when“ upon better View, this Object appears but a Herd of Deer or Wild-Beaſts;“ it rather directs us to a Foreſt or Land-skip, than any ill Features, glance or“ ſquinting of this Perſon, eſpecially if in an harmleſs Exerciſe, he behaved him-“ ſelf ſo gallantly, and demeaned himſelf with that Manlineſs and Dexterity, as“ the Panegyriſt tells us. But firſt, if you will, let us take a View of him as he“ deſcribes him on Foot, and then ſee how he performed his Exerciſes on“ Horſeback.

110. Having after the performing of his Devotions brought him out of his“ Cloſet with a mind as well as Body altogether waſhed and pure, as he walks“ he thus points unto him. Whoſe Coming forth did ever portend better things?“ Whoſe Gate was more modeſt? Whoſe Behaviour more weighed? Whoſe familiar“ Converſation more Decent? Or whoſe Military Behaviour more to purpoſe, or,“ as our Neighbours would ſay, more a *droit*? In exerciſing his Body, who ever“ ran more ſwiftly? Who Wreſtled, or did any other ſort of Activity more cle-“ verly (as now we ſpeak?) who ever Leaped higher or more nimbly? No man“ ever could throw any thing to a greater diſtance, no man caſt his Darts more“ thick, or more certainly hit the Mark. We wonder, ſaith he, at the Poet“ (meaning *Virgil*) for terming the *Numidians*, *Infrænos*, or thoſe that need not“ to uſe any Bridle on their Horſes, which were wont to be governed with a Rod“ alone; and at another Writer who talks of a Stroak of a Switch being a ſuffi-“ cient hint either to go or ſtay. All this was a Riddle to them that read it, till“ they beheld him when Mounted, bending his Bow, laying the Reins on the“ Horſe his Neck, when he pleaſed, meerly with a Switch putting him on, and“ with one ſtreak of the ſame, giving a ſtop to his higheſt Cariere. They who“ pretended to teach him this, could not do it themſelves; nay, they were now“ content to learn of him. Thus we ſee the Horſemanſhip and other Parts of“ a Cavalier deſcribed by him that was his Maſter in a more Noble Academy“ of the two, and we could wiſh he had been as happy in his Predictions as“ in his Inſtructions and Obſervations; the only thing we lament in his *Panegy-*“*rick*, as not having ſuch ground for it's Truth, is, that by his wonderful good-“ neſs he had rendred himſelf more dear to all men, than their own ſafety; that“ all his Friends he had made obnoxious, and ſuch as for ever would remain rea-“ dy, devout, and faithful at his Service. The Event did not prove it, however“ ſuch was the Deſire and Prayer of *Auſonius*, who if he wiſhed to him accord-“ ing to what he believed him to deſerve, he was equitable, though not ſucceſ-“ full in his deſires of the proſperity of ſo excellent a Perſon, however it ſeemed“ not good to the All-wiſe Creator of the World (to whom he addreſſed him-“ ſelf) to give him his Portion and Reward in this Life. As herein he is to be“ commended, ſo excuſed, in his Poetical Flouriſhes, and poſſibly more Luxuri-“ ant Expreſſions than the nicety of ſimple and plain Truth would bear. For the Honour and profit he himſelf reaped from ſo grateful a Scholar could not give him near ſo much Satisfaction as the contentment and Joy he received in being delivered from a vexatious tormenting diſappointment. When after a Melancholick Reflexion upon his former hopes conceived of doing Service to the Publick, from the Quality and Parts of the Youth; after many years ſpent, and much Labour loſt, he ſhould have been forced to quit the unpleaſant Object with no more returnable a Sentiment than that of *Operam & oleum perdidi.*

Cujus autem unquam egreſſus auſpicatior fuit, aut inceſſus modeſtior &c.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

From the Murder of Gratian, *to the Murder of* Valentinian *the Second, his Brother, and the laſt of the Family.*

The Space of eight Years, and about ten Months.

After *Gratian's* death, *Maximus* rages againſt his followers.

1. GRatian being dead, the fury and Rage of *Maximus* the Tyrant died not with him; but extended to ſeveral of his Friends in *Gall*, amongſt whom none more eminent than *Merobaudes* and *Ballio. Merobaudes* bore the Title of *Conſul* this year; but after thoſe Illuſtrious Offices he diſcharged, and his Conſular Purple, was put to death; and the other, (by *Pacatus* in his Panegyrical Oration to *Theodoſius* called *Vallio*) was driven to that Deſperation, that for fear of Cruel Torments he killed himſelf, as St. *Ambroſe* writes, who tells *Valentinian* what paſſed betwixt himſelf and the Tyrant upon this occaſion. For, when he went on an Embaſſy to him, being upbraided it ſeems, with the Death of *Gratian's* followers; the Tyrant anſwered, Whom have I cauſed to be ſlain? The Biſhop anſwered, *Ballio*; and *how excellent a Perſon?* how great a Souldier? was that any Juſt Cauſe for his Baniſhment that he kept himſelf faithful to his Prince? To this he replied, I did not command him to be kill'd. But, ſaith the Biſhop, we heard there was Order given for his Death. And the Uſurper acknowledged, that if he had not offered violence to himſelf, he had ordered him to be conveyed to *Cabillonum*, and there burnt alive. Whereupon, the Biſhop ended that Diſcourſe, telling him, that therefore it was believed, he was made away by his Command, complaining, that no Man could expect to be ſafe, if ſo great a Commander, ſo valiant a Soldier, and ſo deſerving a Perſon could not be ſpared. And he writes that *Bauto*, who in the ſeventh year of *Theodoſius* his Reign, was *Conſul*, and before whom St. *Auguſtine* then read a Lecture for the place of Profeſſor of Rhetorick at *Milan*, was alſo in Danger to have been ſentenced to dye, as if he had been another *Ballio. Pacatus* ſaith he might have more ſpecious pretence for his Cruelty againſt them, becauſe both of them had ſerved in the Army under *Gratian*, and that this Prince lov'd them both. Therefore it's juſtly wondred, that *Proſper* in his *Chronicon*, ſhould ſay, that *Gratian* was overthrown and ſlain through the Treachery of *Merobaudes* the *Magiſter Militum*; though by ſome, this *Merobaudes* is thought to have been ſome other Perſon, and not *Merobaudes* the *Conſul* of the preſent year. Now if you will know how farther the Uſurper behaved himſelf after his Succeſs againſt his lawful Sovereign, and thoſe of his Friends that could do him moſt prejudice, and diſturb him in his unjuſt got Poſſeſſions, you may hear *Pacatus* how he bemoans to *Theodoſius* his Country of *Gall* after this manner.

Vide Baron. ad hunc Annum 12. & Balduini Notas in Panegyric. Pacati.

Pacatus his Deſcription of his Extravagancies in *Gall.*

2. And whence ſhall I begin to make a Relation of thoſe Miſchiefs, which this Tyrant *Maximus* brought upon the Weſtern Provinces, but at the Calamities ſuſtained by thee my dear Country, which of all the Countries infeſted “ by this Plague, may'ſt truly Challenge to thy ſelf, the Privilege of Miſeries, be- “ ing conſtrained, not only with thine Ears, (the Senſe of which is more obtuſe) “ but with thine Eyes alſo to behold his Victory, and the Deſtruction of *Grati-* “ *an*. It's true; our next Neighbour the *Italian*, and the *Spaniard* alſo, had great “ reaſon to feel the wound; yet both of them in their grief may receive ſome “ Comfort, in that one of them ſaw nothing of the Tyranny it ſelf, and the “ other beheld the down-fall of the Tyrant. We firſt of all ſuſteined the Fury “ of that Savage-Beaſt, we firſt glutted his ravenous Appetite with the Blood of “ Innocents, and his Covetous, by our publick Deſolation. His Cruelty, now ſe- “ cure and at Eaſe, had it's full ſcope amongſt us; and his Avarice as yet beggar- “ ly and more craving. In other places this publick Miſchief, either began or “

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ended, in *Gall* it repoſed it ſelf and continued. Who can compare himſelf for Miſery with us; when we bore the burthen of the Tyranny both with others and alone by our ſelves? Why ſhould I make menntion of the Cities emptied of their beſt Inhabitants, the Deſerts even filled with Noble Perſons that fled their Countries; the Eſtates of thoſe Perſons ſet to Sale, who had once enjoyed the greateſt Honours; their Perſons proſcribed, and their very Lives valued at a ſum of money? In our days we have ſeen Dignities reduced, Men of Conſular Degree ſtripped of their Robes, we have beheld old Men who outlived their Fortunes, and Infants ſecurely and innocently playing under the Eye of thoſe Officers who were ſelling their Patrimonies. Yet thus miſerable though we were were we forbidden to demean our ſelves as miſerable Perſons; nay, on the contrary, forced to Act the part of happy Men, and only at home and in our own Houſes having but permitted our Wives and Children to be Witneſſes of our grief, we went abroad with a Vizarded Countenance not at all agreeing with our Fortune. For you might hear ſome Informer talk after this Rate: *Why looks he ſo Melancholick? Becauſe, of a Rich Man he is become Poor? May he not be glad he lives? Why hath this other put on Black? I believe he mourns for his Brother, but he has yet a Son.* Therefore we durſt not bewail thoſe we loſt, for fear of loſing thoſe that remained. But we put on Serene Countenances over heavy and Cloudy Mindes, in like manner as they that taſte of the Juice of ſome Herbes in *Sardinia*, are reported to dye Laughing. We mourned, and yet made our ſelves merry. It's ſome alleviation to Sorrow, when one may weep it out; and the Breaſt is eaſed with Sighing. And there can be no greater pain than to be miſerable, but one muſt not ſeem ſo. There was no hope of ſatiating this publick Robber; for, Satiety which is natural in other Caſes, was not produced in him by plenty and Abundance; his Hunger of Having daily increaſed, and what he had already, did but irritate his Appetite after more. As Drink kindles the Thirſt of ſick Perſons; as Fire is not extinguiſht by dry Fuel, but it's Rage increaſed, ſo was his greedy and hungry Mind ſtill whetted by the devouring of that Wealth which he heaped up by impoveriſhing all other Men.

3. He himſelf, in Purple as he was, ſtood by the weigh-Scales, and with a pale and gaping Face, obſerved every motion and Inclination of the Balance, not abating one ſingle Grain. The ſpoils of Provinces, what was left by the Exiled, and the goods of ſuch as were Murdered, were brought in on heaps. Here lay Gold pull'd violently from off the Arms and Fingers of Matrons, there Necklaces torne from about the Necks of Orphans, and hard by might be ſeen Silver, ready for the Ballance all beſmeared with the Blood of the Owners. Every where was to be perceived telling of Mony, carrying and lugging of Baggs into the Treaſury, laying heaps upon heaps, and the breaking and cracking of Tables and Veſſels to be heard, ſo that any one who ſaw the Sight would have imagined the place to have been ſome Den and Receptacle of a Thief, and not the Habitation of an Emperour: But a Thief uſes (or rather abuſes) what he has got, and what he takes from others as it were reſtores to himſelf; neither doth he obſerve and lye in wait to hoard up and bury Wealth, and at the ſame time to be wicked and wretched; but that he may gratify his Palate and his Belly, and not want ſupply for his laviſh Expences: for he is careleſs, and profuſe with the ſame eaſineſs, both as to getting and ſpending. But that Pirate of ours, amaſſed up together in that *Charybdis* of his Den, whatever he had got from all Quarters, where it ſhould be utterly loſt, without doing us or himſelf any good. *Charybdis* do I call it? This Gulf is reported, though it ſwallow up whole and intire Veſſels, yet to ſlight and reject Shipwracks, and caſt them up upon the Oppoſite Shoars. But our Goods went in one certain and conſtant Road, to the Treaſury, which common Whirlpit, not at all glutted with what it devoured, Vomitted up nothing at all it had once ſwallowed down. It's the uſual and laſt Excuſe that Bad Princes make; that they *take* on purpoſe that they may *give*, and they deprecate the Injury of their Rapines and Oppreſſions by the greatneſs of their Bounty. But what think you of one who takes from all on purpoſe that none may have what he takes? The Covetouſneſs alſo of private Perſons, though ill in it ſelf, yet hath this to ſay, that there was fear of Poverty, that one muſt lay up for old Age, and provide for Poſterity; but what Cauſe doth He alleage for his Covetouſneſs, who hath at his Command what ever in any place is to be had? I for my part (if a Mor-

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Mortal Man may dare to make a Judgment of what is Cœleſtial (he ſpeaks to“
an Emperour) do believe that Princes have no greater felicity in this world than“
to make other perſons as happy as they can, to relieve thoſe that are oppreſ-“
ſed by Poverty and want; to overcome Fortune, and confer a New Fate upon“
a Miſerable Man. And therefore an Emperour who well conſiders the great-“
neſs of his Condition, ſhould not call his own ſo much what he has taken away, as“
that which he hath given. For all things being in his Power, and as the Ocean,“
comprizing every thing within its own Circuit, what Waters it gives to ſeveral“
Parts of the Earth, from the Earth it receives them; ſo whatſoever out of Boun-“
ty is contributed from the Prince to his Subjects, returns again into the Prince“
his Coffers. So that a munificent Prince conſults both his own Fame and his“
Advantage; for he both purchaſeth Fame by what he doth, and he but lays out“
Money, which will again reverte into his own Purſe.

4. But what's to be ſaid to one, to whom every thing praiſe-worthy ſeemeth“
fooliſh, who both, as every wicked Man doth, hateth all good Examples, and“
placing his chiefeſt felicity in a power of having and hurting, bent his endeavour“
not only how to get, but how to leave nothing remaining to thoſe from whom“
he took it? For he did not practiſe what Princes are wont to do, in digging“
and improving of Mines, thereby to draw into publick Profit, what Nature had“
concealed within her own Womb; and find out a Treaſure there, where none“
ſhould be the poorer for its Diſcovery. He did not reckon that Gold of any va-“
lue, which was digged out of the Veins of the Earth, or taken from the Gravel of“
Rivers; but eſteemed that moſt pure and refined which was extorted from thoſe who“
wept when they parted from it; which was waſhed with the Tears of Men, not“
with the water of Rivers; not digged out of the Cavities of the Earth, but“
torne from the Necks and Throats of ſuch as were Slain. Therefore upon fear-“
ful apprehenſion of the Pen (for proſcription) as well as the Sword of the Tyrant,“
Poverty became a thing vowed, and, ſo that the Hangman might be avoided,“
the Officer of Confiſcations was willingly ſubmitted to. Then having related“
what we have ſaid concerning the Death of *Merobaudes*, and *Ballio*, he adds, that“
beſides this, he can ſpeak of Blood drawn from the Female Sex, and of Cruelty againſt them whom Wars are wont to ſpare, however otherwiſe Cruelly Managed. And he inſtanceth, in a certain Matron which he put to Death for her Religion; and inveighs againſt the Cruelty and Bloodthirſtineſs of ſome Prieſts. Hereby probably he means ſome Woman he thus puniſhed for the Hereſy of *Priſcillian*, as he did ſeveral others, being the firſt that ever inflicted Death for Religion, which Courſe (ſince that time too common amongſt Chriſtians) St. *Martin* the Biſhop of *Tours* earneſtly oppoſed; but it was urged and proſecuted by *Idacius* and *Ithacius* two other Biſhops, for which they were removed from Communion by the reſt of their Brethren. But of this more largely in its proper place. We ſee how *Pacatus* deſcribes the Demeanour of *Maximus* toward his Country-men the *Galls*, but we muſt read him with ſome allowance to his Paſſion and Panegyrical ſtrain, others (but poſſibly ſuch as never ſmarted) allowing *Maximus* tollerable qualities, had he not obtained his Power by Rebellion and the Murther of his Sovereign. But to ſecure his Dominion however got, rather than believing himſelf ſufficiently and ſafely ſetled therein, as *Zoſimus* writes, he ſent as Ambaſſador to *Theodoſius*, the *Præfect* of his Bedchamber, no Eunuch (which ſort of Men he could not endure) but a grave Man, and one of his moſt Antient Acquaintance. He asked no Pardon for what had been done againſt *Gratian*; but offered Peace, and to enter into a League and Society againſt any Enemies of the *Roman* Empire, or, if he was otherwiſe inclined, he denounced War. *Theodoſius* ſeemed to be willing to admit him Emperour, and that his Statues ſhould be erected with his own, reſolving with himſelf to make War upon him, when it ſhould be convenient, and in the mean time to circumvent him with a Show of all manner of obſervance. Therefore when he ſent away *Cynegius* the *Præfect* into *Ægypt*, with Order to prohibit the Worſhip of the Gods, and ſhut up the Temples, he alſo Commanded him to expoſe at *Alexandria* to publick view the Image of *Maximus*; and in an Oration to the People, to declare him his Conſort in the Empire. This *Cynegius* performed, and withal, ſhut up all Acceſs to the Temples through the *Eaſt*, all *Ægypt* and *Alexandria*; and prohibited the Sacrifices which in all Ages had been uſed, with the Worſhip belonging to the place. But what things from that time to this have hapned to the *Roman* Empire, ſhall particularly hereafter be related. Thus writes *Zoſimus* the *Pagan* Writer, and great Back-Friend to *Theodoſius* upon this account,

Allowance is to be made to his Panegyrical ſtrain.

Maximus ſends to offer a League to *Theodoſius*.

Who ſeems to be willing to admit him his Colleague.

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whoſe Falſities have been already laid open, and hereafter his Malice and blind Zeal may be more diſcovered.

His end therein.

5. The End and Deſign of *Theodoſius* his pleaſing the Tyrant, for the time, ſeems to have been his care for the preſervation of *Valentinian*; and his fear, leſt proceeding in his fury, he ſhould, after having brought *Brittain*, *Gall* and *Spain* under his Yoak, paſs alſo the *Alpes*, and, with as much eaſe, deſtroy that young and helpleſs Prince. And in *Italy* they were all ſeized with a mighty conſternation, expecting nothing but that the Tempeſt would ſpeedily be at their Door; and not knowing what courſe to take, at length *Ambroſe* the Biſhop of *Milau* was ſent upon a diſperate Imployment, to ſee if by the repute of his Gravity and Sanctity he could work upon the ambitious humour of the man, and reaſon him out of his extravagant heat and thirſt of Domineering over ſo many Mortals. And he ſeems to have wrought ſo far with him, that he gave ſome ſtop to his Careir, and for this year we ſhall hear no further of him. As for *Valentinian*, he could not be but very ſolicitous, ſeeing his Neighbours Houſe not only on fire, but burnt to the ground; and for that he ſeems at this time to have born no good will to ſome that were near about him, we are afraid he doubted ſomething of their Integrity. Theſe were his two *Comites*, *Rei Privatæ*, and *Largitionum*, from whom he took the Power of hearing Fiſcal Cauſes in Appeals about this very time, when “ made from the under-Officers of the Revenue, called *Rationales*, and ordered them to lye in private Cauſes, to the Judges of the Provinces, who had this “ cogniſance, *viz.* to *Proconſuls*, the *Comites* of *Dioceſes* and the *Vicars*. If from theſe alſo Appeal ſhould be fit to be made, he wills that the Parties concerned have “ recourſe to the Prince himſelf, who is to be informed of the ſtate of matters “ and the true merits of the Cauſes, by the *Comes Largitionum* and *Rei Privatæ*, “ as they have relation to each of their Imployments. This Law is directed to *Ammianus*, his *Comes Rei Privatæ*; and about this time *Symmachus*, who ſhortly after was *Præfect* of the City, in an Epiſtle to *Theodoſius* the Emperor, makes mention of one *Ammianus* and one *Macedonius*, both who had deſerved ill of the Commonwealth, and the hearing of whom had been referred to himſelf. *Ammianus*, died as he was brought by the Protectors towards *Rome*; and as for *Macedonius* he could not tell what was become of him, and he deſires the Emperor that the delay may not be laid to his Charge, and that he would ſend him more particular Inſtructions for his tryal. Now there is one *Macedonius* in the *Code* of *Theodoſius*, to whom a Law is inſcribed concerning Appeals, but two years before, by the Title of *Comes S. Largitionum*.

Valentinian leſſens the Power of two of his great Officers.

L. 41. de Appellation. & Cod. Th. vide Com.

Lib. 10. *Ep.* 49.

L. 39. ſup. tit.

Theodoſius incourages his Judges.

6. *Theodoſius*, after the death of *Gratian* continued all the remaining part of the year at *Conſtantinople*, where he made two or three Laws, of which it will not be amiſs to take notice. He took care for maintaining the juſt Revenue due to his Judges, by declaring, that for Mulcts impoſed meerly for Contumacy, ſhould “ lye no Appeal; for if a Magiſtrate cannot this way maintain his juriſdiction, his “ Power muſt needs be vain and precarious. But he found at this time in moſt ſorts of perſons a vaſt Ambition and deſire of precedence, which tranſported many ſo far, that by one means or other they procured Letters or Codicils of the greateſt Dignities, that they might leap over the Heads of deſerving Perſons, and ſuch as with commendation had diſcharged Offices of a middle Nature. This cauſed great Animoſities, and put all things out of due order and decorum; inſomuch that by a publick Conſtitution he thought himſelf obliged to take notice of it, and provide for a redreſs of a matter of ſo ill conſequence. “ He delivers therein his ſenſe of it as a thing, than which nothing could be more injurious, and a- “ gainſt preſerving Degrees of Dignities; for how could Merit be rewarded where, “ without any conſideration of ſervices performed, men intruded into places of Ho- “ nour, whereby beſt deſerving perſons were deprived of their due, and thoſe of “ inferiour Merit obtained what belonged not unto them. After this Preface he declares what courſe he will have obſerved, as to Honorary Codicils, that ſuch as have been preferred by them, or by the meer favour of the Prince, ſhall come “ below them that have been advanced for their ſervices, or have obtained Codicils “ alſo by the prerogative of their Merits. He preſcribes a Rule alſo to be obſerved “ in the beſtowing of Codicils; that ſuch as had diſcharged Offices, ſhould “ not only be preferred before ſuch as had meerly titular; but amongſt thoſe that “ obtained Meer titular Codicils alſo a reſpect ſhould be had to them that were “ of moſt deſert. So far he preferrs merit before theſe Letters, that to thoſe that “ obtain them he aſſigns Place and degree inferiour to what otherwiſe the Title of “ the “

L. 2. Quorum Appell. non Recip. Cod. Th. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt.

Reſtrains the Ambition of thoſe that aſpired after Honours.

L. 1. Ut Dignitatum Ordo ſervetur. Cod. Th. lib. 6. tit. 5. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt.

L. 7. de Honorariis Codicillis Cod. Th.

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the Dignity was wont to obtain. So that in caſe a *Vicar* of a *Præfect*, after the Office of *Vicar* diſcharged, obtained honorary Letters of a *Præfectſhip*, he ſhould not only not have place amongſt the *Præfects* themſelves, but take his place amongſt *Proconſulares*, or thoſe of the next Degree or Rank, as it ſhould fall to him; but ſo as to preceed ſuch as were of this Rank meerly by Codicils. In like manner if an ordinary Judge or Governour of a Province (*viz.* a *Conſularis* or *Preſident*) ſhould procure Letters for the place of a *Præfect* or *Proconſularis*, ſuch an one ſhould come behind a Vicar, one who had really diſcharged the Office; and if a *Præſident* procured theſe Codicils, if a *Conſularis* alſo procured the like, he ſhould be preferred. This was new Law and unknown to former Princes, except what *Valentinian* the Elder did ordain in a ſpecial Caſe. But ſo extraordinary was the Ambition of this Age, that it required a remedy ſuitable to the Diſtemper.

7. Nay farther than this, he ordains that no Perſon ſhall obtain Honorary Codicils of any Dignity, but the very next preceeding the place he bears, and thereby abſolutely Prohibits all promotions *per ſaltum*, by virtue of any ſuch unſeaſonable Letters; as preferments in Military Imployments were prohibited to be made. The puniſhment he inflicts upon ſuch as violate this Law, is double; for he wills both that they be deprived of the Honours obtained contrary to the meaning of it, and moreover be fined in no leſs a ſum than twenty pounds of Gold. This is further from this Law to be obſerved, that the Rank of Dignities at this time was thus Conſtituted, *viz. Præfects*, *Proconſuls*, *Vicars*, *Conſulares*, and then *Præſidents*; for *Proconſuls* had the ſecond place. And we may alſo take notice that by *Ordinary Powers* it means Governors of Provinces; and theſe two, namely *Correctors* and *Præſidents* were diſtinguiſhed not only from the *Illuſtrious*, as the *Præfecti Prætorio*; but thoſe that had no more than the Title of *Spectabilis*, as the *Proconſuls* and *Vicars*, being alſo by other Laws diſtinguiſhed from them that were termed the *Greater Powers*; although when *Ammianus* the Hiſtorian writes of *Ordinary Judges* and *Ordinary Powers*, he means ſuch Magiſtrates as they were, contradiſtinct to the Military. But ſuch was the Ambition of this Age which cauſed *Theodoſius* to be ſo peremptory and effectual in the cure of the Diſtemper, a Diſeaſe which ſo far prevailed, that in the Senate Houſe alſo it infected thoſe that were richer than their Neighbours, inſomuch that they would ſpeak their Opinions firſt, contrary to the antient cuſtom which gave priority of Speech according to Offices and Imployments, and not according to the greatneſs of Eſtates. The old cuſtom *Theodoſius* ordered the Senate to recall, and *Symmachus* gave him thanks for ſo doing, as alſo for the power he gave them to leſſen the charge of Games, which the *Prætors* were wont to be at. And he deſires him by his Decree to confirm what the Fathers by his order had reſolved on as to theſe or other matters, and give them force by a penalty inflicted upon Tranſgreſſors. By theſe Reformations he ſaith, they believed vertue was again returned to its Dominion and Sway that it had in old time. And indeed the way to have Vertue return, was, to fright away Vice by the ſeverity of Laws; which this Emperor yet further attempted now at the cloſing of the year. This was by publiſhing an Edict againſt Calumniators or falſe Accuſers, requiring that ſuch ſhould be puniſhed as Law required after their conviction, or clearing of the Party accuſed, without being admitted to any new Accuſation upon pretence of having now other matter, or having found out new proofs, which theſe men often pretended, thereby to evade the Cenſure they were for their Malice and Falſeneſs to undergo. This Edict is directed to one *Hellebicus* as *Comes* and *Magiſter* of both ſorts of the Militia; or both of Horſe and Foot.

Lib. 10. *Ep.* 21.

Credimus igitur his remotis ad regnum ſuum rediiſſe virtutes.

He reſtrains falſe Accuſers.

L. 1. *de Calumniatoribus. Cod. Th. lib.* 9. *tit.* 39. *Dat.* 3. *Kal. Jan. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt.*

A.D. 384. *Fl. Ricimere & Fl. Clearcho Coſs.*

8. The year next enſuing or the CCCLXXXIV of our Lord, the twelfth Indiction, and the ninth of *Valentinian* the Second, had for Conſuls *Fl. Ricimeres* and *Fl. Clearchus*. *Cynegius* for this and five years following was *Præfectus Prætorio* of the *Eaſt*. *Prætextatus* was *Præfect* of *Italy*, and ſo was *Probus*, as appears from other teſtimonies beſides the Laws, who ſeems to have ſucceeded upon the death of the other. For much what about this time it was that *Symmachus*, who was *Præfect* of *Rome*, by an Epiſtle ſignified the death of *Vettius Prætextatus* to *Valentinian* the Emperor. “He tells him that though he ſuppoſed Fame, than which nothing is ſwifter, would prevent his Narration, yet he cannot be ſilent, but compelled thereto by the Neceſſity of his publick Office, muſt acquaint him with the departure of this *Illuſtrious* Perſon, to the great regret of his Country, of which he was a ſingular Ornament. Whoſe commendations however

Prætextatus the *Præfect* of *Italy* dies.

Lib. 10. *Ep.* 24.

Ep. 25.

Symmachus the *Præfect* of the City, deſires of the Emperors that Statues may be erected to his Memory.

juſt he ſhould in this conſternation of mind paſs over, there being no need to inlarge in his praiſe, ſeeing the Emperor himſelf could well atteſt the glory of his life, and his death was rendred famous by the grief of all men. In another Epiſtle directed to the other Emperors, *Theodoſius* and *Arcadius*, he writes, that though *Vettius Prætextatus* was by the Law of Nature diſſolved, yet ſtill he lived in the memory and love of all men, and in this thing puniſhed Envy it ſelf, that even Death ſo much contributed to his glory, that herein alſo ſhe ought to grudge him his good fortune. For beſides the grief of the whole *Roman* people conceived for the loſs of him, the Senate alſo being impatient upon the ſame account, deſires, ſaith he, ſome comfort from that Honour which is due to virtue; and beſeeches you that a man to be wondred at in our Age, may by the Diuturnity of Statues be delivered over to the Eyes of poſterity; not that he covets any earthly Rewards, who when he was living trampled upon corporal pleaſures as contemptible things; but becauſe Imitation is incited by honour given to good men; and emulous virtue receives ſtrength from the pattern of Reſpect that's given to another Perſon. Hence came it to paſs that even in leſs poliſht, or in ruſtick ages (as he terms them) the beſt Commonwealths-men were by Hand and Art committed to memory. And I wiſh that in after-times the facility of ſome Flatterers had not derogated from this decent cuſtom; although neither are ſuch things to be eſteemed equal, which by unſuitable ways are procured.

9. It's very fitting therefore that he who remains in the Breaſts of all men, ſhould alſo ſtand in the Eyes of moſt: He who was always greater than the Offices of Magiſtracy which he bore, was moderate towards other Perſons, but ſevere towards himſelf, eaſie without contempt, and of reverend Demeanour without terror. To whom if any profit came by ſucceſſion, it reverted to the kindred of the Teſtator. He whom Proſperity could not alter, never rejoyced in the Adverſity of other men, and knew not how to be indecently liberal: He whom Honour alway found unwilling though it courted him, to whoſe Juſtice and Equity every of his Neighbours would willingly truſt the meaſuring and limiting out their adjacent Grounds. He adds that he would ſay more, and ought more to ſay, but that all things are to be referred to them to whom he writes; whom he beſeeches, that as Patrons of Honeſty and Goodneſs, they would ſet forth what goodneſs was in their times to be ſeen to ſuch as ſhould come after. For this was that *Prætextatus*, whom juſtly they had made *Conſul*, that the Regiſter at leſt might tranſmit his famous Name. He prays them that they would by repairing fatal loſſes, do good to thoſe that were left behind. Though the man departed with a Reward, yet he intreats that their judgement of him might ſtill continue; that they would make it appear, that Accidents can do no prejudice to glory: for what he merited from his Country was altogether ſingular; but what he had now loſt was common to many, or indeed to all. In this manner doth the *Præfect* bewail the death of his Friend; which though it be a little tedious here to inſert, yet the Reader may hereby take notice of this Cuſtom of erecting Statues by order of the Emperors to Deſerving Perſons, as it was done to this *Prætextatus*; as alſo that the Senate ſometimes requeſted it, and that by the mouth or Pen of the *Præfect*. But whereas he tells the Emperors that they had made him *Conſul*, that the *Faſti* or Regiſters might tranſmit his Name to Poſterity; it ought to be known that he was only deſigned *Conſul*, and died before he came to receive the Enſigns of that Honour. But this is that *Vettius Agorius Prætextatus*, as an old Inſcription in a Stone calls him, of whom, being *Præfect* of the City, we have heard formerly from *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who gives him great commendations, and mentions his being made *Proconſul* of *Achaia* by *Julian*; in which Dignity he continued the firſt years of *Valentinian*, as *Zoſimus* writes, who alſo gives him a great Character.

Vide Proſopographiam. Cod. Theod. & Mureti Notas in Symm. Ep.

Ambaſſadors out of *Perſia* deſire Peace.

Chron. Hiſt. Cod. Th.

L. 5. *de Auro coron. Cod. Th. & L. Un. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit.*

10. *Theodoſius* this year made his abode at *Conſtantinople* till the Month of *June*, about which time Ambaſſadors came to him out of *Perſia*, and deſired Peace. Either upon this occaſion, and by way of congratulation, or ſome other, was the uſual Gold paid into the Treaſury, which they called *Aurum Coronarium*; which leſt it ſhould fall upon thoſe that were not concerned to pay it, by an Edict directed to *Cynegius*, and dated on the eighteenth of *January*, he commands “That none ſhall be compelled to pay it unleſs Cuſtom could be alleaged for it. But though he was careful and indulgent to thoſe Perſons that they might retain what Immunity they had injoyed; yet having ſet himſelf at this

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this time to the beautifying of *Conſtantinople* by ſeveral new Works, he ordains in the ſame Conſtitution “That no Perſon whatſoever by his Dignity be priviledged from contributing to the Haven, and Aquæduct which now were making or repairing. Therefore much leſs could the Judges priviledge any Perſon; but this holds only in ſuch Sodain, Extraordinary and Noble caſes as this; for otherwiſe Senators were free from ſuch Contributions, and ſo were alſo the *Veterans* or Emerite Souldiers. But at this time *Theodoſius* began to make a Port at *Conſtantinople* (which at this day when *Turks* and others ordinarily ſpeak of that place they call by this very Name) which was called *Portus Theodoſianus*; as alſo an Aqueduct which had the Name of *Valentiacus*; but to this afterward he added antoher, which bore, as did the *Port* or Haven, his own Name. Of this his inlarging *Conſtantinople*, *Themiſtius* the Philoſopher makes ample mention in an Oration he made this year in Commendation of this Emperor. “For, having extolled him as the moſt happy and wealthy Prince that had been, for maintaining ſo great an Army as never had been on foot, ſince“ the *Romans* had their power; eſpecially in the Country about *Tigris* (which“ gives us ſome hint of the Advantage he had at this time againſt the *Perſians*,“ and his compelling them to a Peace) he inſtanceth alſo in the ſupport of this“ vaſt City, and the great multitude contained in it: He adds, that he not only“ nouriſhed them, but repayed what was detained by the Fraud and Iniquity“ of former times; for he increaſed the Proviſions and the Gifts formerly beſtowed;“ whereas before they thought themſelves well dealt with if nothing was taken“ from them, of what they formerly had poſſeſſed: ſo that there was no need“ they ſhould cauſe all Stangers to depart the City (as ſometimes it hapned in“ *Rome* and other places) for want of Neceſſaries.

Theodoſius beautifies *Conſtantinople*.

L. 23. de Operibus publicis Cod. Th. & L. 7. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit.

Orat. 6. p. 161. &c.

The Teſtimony of *Themiſtius* the Philoſopher thereto.

11. On the contrary, ſtill greater numbers flocked thither, and lived in“ abundance of all good things. The Emperors Magnificence in the Buildings he“ would have his Auditors conſider, in that the City from a rude and unperfect“ thing was become ſo pleaſant and beautiful as could not be expreſſed; no Corn“ being now ſown within the *Pomœrium*, neither any void ſpaces left, but all being“ fitted with delightful Objects, it repreſented as it were a Garment interwoven“ to the very Borders with Gold and Purple; for ſuch a ſhow did the“ Palace called by the Emperors Name, the Baths, the Porticus's, and the *Gymnaſia*“ (or places for Exerciſe) make, and ſo largely extended it, that what“ ſeemed formerly the Edge and Hem, now appeared in the middle. Neither while“ the publick Works were carried on, were the private Buildings neglected; but“ the whole City grew and increaſed like to ſome Animal, through the contrivance“ of the Emperor and the aſſiſtance of the Magiſtrate, who ſo far excited the Inhabitants,“ that they built their own Houſes very ſtately and capacious, of which“ they lined the Walls, and paved the Floors with *Laconick*, *Lybian* and *Egyptian*“ Marble; and convinced *Menelaus* of much folly, who is ſaid to have covered“ his Walls with Braſs and Silver. But in the Suburbs alſo the Statelineſs and“ Magnificence of the City, ſaith he, is remarkably eminent; the Sea therein now“ brought within the Land, and an Haven lately made, afford a noble proſpect of“ Ships. The Town abounds with Artificers and curious Workmen of all ſorts,“ and looks like a very ſhop of Magnificence. And indeed if the Affection and“ Deſign of the Emperor proceed in this way, there will be the next year need of“ a Plot for another City. And it will henceforth remain doubtful whether of“ the two Cities be greater or more Illuſtrious; that which *Theodoſius* adds to“ *Conſtantinople*, or that which *Conſtantine* adjoyned to *Byzantium*. Thus much“ *Themiſtius* concerning the great zeal *Theodoſius* had for the inlarging and beautifying of this City; a City of which as *Conſtantine* was the Parent, *Conſtantius*, *Julian* and *Valens* were very tender in its Infancy; and now in its fuller Age was it as much indulged by *Theodoſius*, his Son *Arcadius* and *Theodoſius* his Grandſon; ſo that as we ſaid upon its Nativity, it was founded under a very lucky Planet.

12. But as *Theodoſius* had opportunity to ſhew his Magnificence; ſo alſo his Clemency and Fatherly affection to the Provinces at this time. For in the *Eaſt*, and particularly in *Syria*, was there great want of Corn for three years together, under ſo many *Comites* of the *Eaſt*, *viz. Philagrius*, *Proculus* and *Icarius*. The People alſo complained, that, what Tribute was due in Specie they were forced to change for Money, at a greater Rate than the things would bear, to their great loſs and Inconvenience. To redreſs this grievance and give all the eaſe he could to the Provincials, he publiſhed a Conſtitution, now divided into three ſeveral Laws, in one of which he commands “That the Tributes of Corn and Proviſions be

Theodoſius eaſeth his People in reference to the ſale of Proviſions for publick Service.

L. 4. Tributa in ipſis ſpeciebus inferri. Cod. Th. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt.

be paid in Specie. And whereas, in caſe of neceſſity, when Corn and Proviſions were wanting, for the publick Service, or to ſupply the Poor in time of Famine, the Officers were wont to buy where they ſaw convenient, and often conſtrained the People, to part with what they could ill ſpare, or at unreaſonable Rates; by another Branch of this Conſtitution he commands “That no man be forced to ſell his Goods, but that the Sale be voluntary and free. That ready money be “ paid down for what was ſo bought, by the care and ordination of the *Præ-* “ *fectus Prætorio*, and that, at the ordinary Market-price; and in the laſt place, “ that the *Plebeian* or lower ſort of People ſhall not be conſtrained to ſell their “ Proviſions, which ſhould only be purchaſed from the wealthier Poſſeſſors of “ Lands. So would he provide againſt the common Calamity in behalf of the Poor, ſo as not to force one poor man to relieve another, but to lay this burthen on the richer ſort; though *Anaſtaſius*, one of his Succeſſors, thought this too gentle; and in ſuch caſes would have no man excuſed from this *Coemption* (as it's called) whoſe Law alſo *Juſtinian* preferred, and for this reaſon would not inſert this, nor another made by *Conſtantine* upon this ſubject, into his *Code*. But ſuch was the tender care of *Theodoſius*, to prevent oppreſſions, to which he might be excited the more, by ſome clamours made at this time. For, little better is a Relation made by *Libanius*, the Sophiſt, in an Epiſtle to *Modeſtus* the *Comes* of the *Eaſt*; to whom he complains, that one *Dulcitius* who was owner but of a ſmall parcel of ground about *Beroea*, betwixt *Antioch* and *Hierapolis*, was compelled to ſell a great quantity of Wheat by the Officers appointed to look to theſe matters, who oppreſſed, and favoured whom they pleaſed: and againſt them he craves his Juſtice and Aſſiſtance. Further, becauſe in the payment of Tributes a more peculiar reſpect was had to that of Gold, that the *Suſceptors*, or Receivers of it, might not imbezel it; nor the miſerable Provincials be oppreſſed by their frauds, he will have it be paid in the preſence of the *Defenſores* of the Cities, who, as “ we ſaid, were ordained for the eaſe of the People, to protect them from injuries, “ and were to be preſent for this end, at the publick tranſactions. And for the “ aſcertaining of the payments, he confirms what he had formerly ordained in ano- “ ther Law concerning the form of Acquittances given by theſe *Suſceptors*. This Conſtitution was publiſhed at *Berytus*, a City flouriſhing exceedingly in this Age in the profeſſion of the liberal Arts, and eſpecially the Civil Laws. Here alſo the *Comes* of the *Eaſt* and the *Conſularis* of *Phœnicia* (at leaſt ſometimes) had their reſidence. Moreover multitudes of Merchants flocked hither, for the Trade of Purple Cloaths here died, and for other ſorts of Traffick; beſides, it was frequented by *Gladiators*, and the *Curſus Publicus* was directed to it. Being in this Degree of Eminency, it eclypſed the ancient glory of *Tyre*, the Metropolis of *Phœnice*, and here uſually were the Edicts, relating to it, propoſed to view; yet with reſpect to that ancient City which had been advanced to the Honour of Metropolis by *Adrian* (who divided the Province of *Phœnicia* from *Syria*) it being a Colony that had *Jus Italicum*, at the interceſſion of one *Paul*, an Orator and Inhabitant of it. For it was the cuſtom, that if in any Province, there were a City of greater Reſort than the Metropolis it ſelf, the Laws were there publiſhed, yet ſo as to preſerve the eſteem of the Mother City, they were firſt directed thither. But at laſt there was no need of this labour, when *Berytus* it ſelf became a Metropolis by the Indulgence of *Theodoſius* the Younger.

L. 2. de publica comparatione. Cod. Th. lib. 11. tit. 15. vide Com.

L. 19. de Annona & Tributis. Cod. Th. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt.

The Eminency of *Berytus* in theſe days.

De Beryto vide Com. Gothof. ad h. L. & Ejuſd. Notas in 11. L. de Tironibus. Cod. Th. lib. 7. tit. 13.

13. We have formerly obſerved, though not with thoſe Reflections which the Malice of *Zoſimus* ſuggeſted, that *Theodoſius* was very Indulgent to the *Magiſtri Militum*. Thereupon, as it ſeems, rather than from any priviledge they had by Law, they preſumed to grant Licence for Uſe of the *Curſus Publicus*, or made Uſe of it themſelves without any lawful Authority. This Boldneſs of theirs by a Law he checks, and forbids the practice, declaring “That none ought to have the liberty of the *Curſus*, but thoſe to whom it was granted in former times; and there- “ fore they who formerly wanted it, will, for the time to come, more patiently “ endure the loſs of it; and he courts them to it, by telling them, that he takes “ them to be lovers of the Commonwealth, and in matters reſpecting the Common “ Utility, that he expects they will behave themſelves according to the Laws and “ Cuſtoms of the Empire. Thus juſt was *Theodoſius* to the Laws and Cuſtoms, and yet indulgent enough to his *Magiſtri Militum*, whom he courts as well as commands, and, whereas he expects they ſhould live according, as he expreſſeth it, to *our Cuſtom*, thereby he ſuppoſeth them Strangers, and ſuch indeed were the *Magiſtri Militum* at this time, their very names pronouncing them Barbarous; as *Richomeres*,

He reſtrains the Abuſe of the *Curſus Publicus*.

L. 43. de Curſu publico. Cod. Th. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt.

chomeres, *Arbogaſtes*, *Stilicho*, *Banto*, *Hellebicus* and others. But that we may joyn together what hapned this year about the ſame Subject; provoked, we muſt gueſs, by the great miſcarriages of this *Curſus*, which was intended for the publick ſervice; by another Edict he declares “ that no private perſons ſhall have the liberty of making Uſe of it, however the Licence be obtained, except they be ſuch as have exerciſed the Office of *Præfectus Prætorio*, or been *Magiſtri Militum*; not by Codicils having arrived to ſuch Degrees, but having really diſcharged the Imployments in their own Perſons. But neither ſhould theſe make bold with the privilege always as they deſired; but having once had the benefit of it, and thereby reached their Homes, or Places which they deſigned to come to, they ſhould thenceforth ſerve themſelves of it no more; except they obtained a Licence from the Emperor himſelf for ſo doing. Being ever and anon caſting his Eye upon the Carriage of the Magiſtrates; to prevent the oppreſſions of the People, he ordained, that a Judge might admit even of a ſuperfluous Appeal, and ſuch as had no warrant from Law, if he ſaw occaſion to tranſmit the matter to ſome other Court; and whereas of old time Caution was wont to be given to pay ſo much mony in way of Mulct, or depoſite it in Court, in caſe the Appeal were rejected; but Princes had taken this away and provided what Penalties in particular ſhould be impoſed upon idle and frivolous Appellants, he now forbids any other Mulcts to be impoſed in ſuch caſes, but what had been decreed by him or his Predeceſſors.

Grants great liberty of Appeal.

L. 42. de Appellat. Cod. Th. Dat. prid. Calend. Apr. ad Agreſtium Procon. Paleſtinæ. L. 43. Ejuſd. tit. Dat. 13. Cal. Nov. Merobaudi Duci Ægypti Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt.

13. The Law whereby this is injoyned is directed to *Merobaudes*, a *Franck*, and *Dux* of *Egypt*, who being as well a Stranger as a Souldier, might be leſs inſtructed, and more apt to be Excentrical in his Judicature than other Military Judges that were originally Subjects of the Empire. “But one diſorder he found in Souldiers at this time, which he would not have puniſhed by any of theſe their Great Officers, but reported and referred to his own Perſon, and that was their ſtragling from the Manſions where they were Quartered, and from their Colours, whether Tribunes or inferiour Souldiers. He expreſly commands that no leave be given them, for their wandring through the Countries, to prevent that Rapine and Violence they were wont to commit upon the Provincials; and if any ſhould tranſgreſs this ſo neceſſary Order, he requires that thereof Report be made to himſelf, both of the Souldier and his Tribune, by the Governour of the Province, or the *Defenſores* of the Cities, who being appointed for defence and eaſe of the People, he requires many things of them in order thereunto about this very time. And for the Cities and places Corporate, he ſhewed himſelf further careful, and particularly for thoſe of *Ædeſſa* in the Province of *Oſdroena*, where there was ſuch ſcarcity of *Curiales*, that by an Edict directed to *Cynegius*, *Præfectus Prætorio* of the *Eaſt*, he confirmed a Law formerly made by *Valens*, whereby, if a *Principal* or *Primipilaris* belonging to the *Præſident* of that Province, had a Son, he ſhould be addicted to the Court of that City; or if he had two, the one ſhould go to the Court, and the other remain in his Fathers Relation to the Præſidents Office. Nay ſuch he will have drawne back to the Service of the Corporation as were born before their Fathers came to be *Primipilares*; for they were indeed accounted ſuch though born before; in like manner as the Sons of Senators were received to the Honour of ſuch, though born before the Dignity of their Fathers. Further, being removed from *Conſtantinople* to *Heraclea* in *Thrace*, at the beginning of *June*, (Whence he again returned in *September*) by another Law inſcribed in *July* to the ſame *Cynegius*, he declared “ that even ſuch Perſons as had ſerved in the Government of Provinces, if belonging to theſe Courts, ſhould be forced back to ſich Services thereof as they had not diſcharged, agreeable with what he had before determined in two other Conſtitutions, it being his general reſolution, that Perſons, though Dignified, ſhould be recalled to theſe Imployments. Though this, to ſome of his Succeſſors ſometimes ſeemed fit, yet ſeveral of his Prædeceſſors were of other Opinions. But hence we ſee that they varied therein as occaſion ſerved, and the times would bear, and that the want of theſe *Curiales* grew greater every day, when ſuch as had been Governours of Provinces muſt again be forced back to ſuch charges; or in Concluſion, that the Governments of Provinces grew to be of leſs Eſteem, which formerly were wont to afford protection to thoſe that had diſcharged them.

Reſtrains the ſtragling of Souldiers.

Indulgeth Corporations.

L. 12. de Re Militari Cod. Th. & L. 11. Cod. Juſt. Eod. tit.

L. 105. de Decurion. Cod. Th. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt. Ut Hiſtorica & temporanea. Dat. prid. Non. Maij.

I. 106. Ejuſd. tit. Dat. 8. Id. Julii Heracleæ Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt.

14. However, Luxury and vaſt Expence for Oſtentation, was as great at this time as ever, which drove ſome Perſons in Place to that Exceſs, that they would give ſuch Gifts and beſtow ſuch Largeſſes upon their Friends, or the Players, as

the Purſes of Princes were only full enough to bear. This compelled *Theodoſius* to publiſh a Conſtitution for regulating this Abuſe; both that ſome Difference might be put between the Largeſſes of Private Perſons and the Emperors themſelves upon ſuchoccaſions; and that amongſt private men there might be ſome Diſtinction of Dignity; and they might alſo be reſtrained from this immoderate effuſion of their wealth, which often extended as far as the waſting of their Patrimonies, and the ſpending of their Eſtates, that they might exceed one another in this ſort of Vain-glory. The Senate it ſelf being principally concerned had taken notice of this miſchief, as tending to the Deſtruction of its own Order; and thereupon had framed a *Senatuſconſultum*, as well againſt the immoderate expence in ſetting out the uſual Games and Paſtimes, as other matters, by the recommendation of *Theodoſius* himſelf, as *Symmachus* tells him, who thereupon prayed in the Name of the Fathers a confirmation of that which they had reſolved. In anſwer to his Epiſtle and to ſeveral particulars of it, this Emperor ſent his Oration or Edict directed to the Senate, wherein he premiſeth “That although a *Senatuſconſultum* doth obtain perpetual ſtrength and eſtabliſhment of it ſelf, yet they (the Emperors) thereto are wont to give a corroboration; that is, to ſuch Decrees of the Senate as reſpected it ſelf, its own Orders and Regulation; for as for other *Senatuſconſultums* made for declaring or enacting ſome points of Law (as *Tertullianum*, *Velleianum* and the like) there were no ſuch now made, nor had been for many Ages; the Prince having ſwallowed up all ſuch Legiſlative Authority. But therefore he ordains, that, “If any particular Perſons ſhould by way of petition endeavour to procure a Reſcript for excuſing himſelf from what was generally con- “ cluded and eſtabliſhed, he ſhould forfeit the third part of his Eſtate, and be “ rendred Infamous, as a perſon convict of Ambitious Purpoſes. Now for the Retrenchment of the Charges of ſuch as preſented the Games; amongſt other Expences upon Stageplayers and other Perſons they were wont to be profuſe towards them in Cloaths, which ſometimes were ſilken, either all; or in part, woven with other materials. “But whereas the Emperors themſelves were wont in their own Largeſſes to beſtow ſuch as were all of Silk, he forbids the Setters forth of the Plays to do it.

Checks Luxury and too great Expence.

L. Un. de Senatuſconſultis. Cod. Juſt. lib. 1. tit. 16.

L. 1. de Expenſis ludorum. Cod. Th. lib. 15. tit. 9. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt.

15. Of all the Emperors and Romans, *Heliogabalus* was the firſt that wore any Garment that was all of Silk; when as before that time Cloaths that were mingled of that and Linnen were only in uſe. But he both wore them, and gave to his drunken Companions thoſe of the later ſort; which courſe his worthy Succeſſor, *Alexander Severus* altogether rejecting with his other Extravagancies, neither wore any of Silk himſelf, nor gave any that had Silk in them to any Perſon: nay *Aurelian* never wore any of the former ſort, neither made any Preſent of the later; and when his Wife deſired ſhe might have but one Mantle of purple Silk, he told her it was a ſhame that Yarn and Gold ſhould be of the ſame value; for then a a pound of each was ſold at the ſame rate. Yet for all this, Private Perſons were ſometimes ſo arrogant as to wear whole ſilk; for elſe *Tacitus* the Emperor had not forbidden the practice, and notwithſtanding his Command to the contrary, they would ſtill be bold; yet ſo as they did not give ſuch Cloaths to Players; but thoſe only in which Silk was mingled, in the time of *Conſtantius*, which alſo was much complained of. However, after his time they took up the practice, and ſo much Silk came to be prized, that none could think themſelves Fine or Gay enough without it, though it was not the growth or product of the *Roman* Empire; but was brought out of *Perſia* or thoſe Eaſtern Countries; for (to give ſome ſtop alſo to this Extravagancy,) *Gratian* not long before the Law we are ſpeaking of, by his Edict directed to *Toriobaudus*, the *Dux* of *Meſopotamia*, forbade that any Perſon ſhould procure any Silk from the Barbarians, but only the *Comes* of Traffick or Commerce. “But now *Theodoſius* expreſly forbids the careſſing of Players with ſuch Cloaths, and by the ſame Conſtitution thinks fit to give a check to “ the Cuſtom for Magiſtrates their making exceſſive Preſents to their Friends at “ the entring of their Offices. For at ſuch times, their Acquaintance and Perſons of Quality, were wont to flock to them to grace them with their preſence, or to ſee the Shows, and then they muſt be preſented with ſomething whereby to remember them, nay ſuch as were in great Eſteem with them, though abſent, were wont to receive this mark of their kindneſs. Theſe were either Pieces of money (or Medals;) or elſe Diptycha or Tables to write on, conſiſting of two Leaves apiece. The Largeſs made by mony was called *Sportula* (from the Baſkets in which they were carried) both given upon theſe Promotions, at Weddings

Particularly in the wearing of Silks.

L. 2. Quæres venire non poſſunt, &c. Cod. Juſt. lib. 4. tit. 40.

dings alſo, and upon other occaſions: and as well at Entrings into Offices, as at the Marriages of Noble Perſons, they were now wont to be made of Gold. “But *Theodoſius* prohibits any Setters forth of Games to make them in Gold, except “ the ordinary *Conſuls*, who did it in one piece called an *Aureus*, as *Symmachus* “ tells his Friend, to whom he ſent one in his Conſulſhip. All others were to make “ them in Silver, and not put ſo much as they pleaſed into every piece, but to “ form them ſo, as out of one pound of Silver might be made ſixty in number, and “ no heavier; but as many more as they pleaſed. And as for the *Diptytha*, he will “ have them, which the Conſuls preſented only, made of Ivory, whereas they were “ wont to be made of other Materials. Thus careful was he for reſtraining of Luxury; but his Law, however ſtrengthned both by a Penalty and Infamy, was broken not long after.

L. 9. *Ep. ult.*

Takes care for the Senate of *Conſtantinople.*

16. As careful he was for filling up and keeping in credit the *Senate* of *Conſtantinople*; to which end, whereas Immunity from the *Glebalis Collatio*, or ordinary Tax upon Senators, was wont to be granted to ſome certain Perſons, and had for this purpoſe been extended to ſuch *Roman* Senators as lived in *Thrace*; he now communicate it to ſuch as lived in the Dioceſs of *Macedonia*, and would be “ made Members of that Body. About this time, or the ninth Day of *September*, he had a Son born to him by *Flaccilla* his Wife, to whom he gave the Name of *Honorius*, And he ſtill continued his Indulgence to Corporations, by ordaining “That if the Eſtate of any *Curialis* came freely by way of Legacy, Truſt, or free Gift to any “ Perſon that was not of that Condition, ſuch Perſon ſhould be yearly bound to pay “ a certain ſum of Money (as the twelfth part of a *Solidus*) according to the pro- “ portion of the Patrimony which he received. And whereas the Governors of “ Provinces were now adays wont to puniſh their Officials for their miſdemeanors, “ by condemning them to the Services of the *Curiæ*, he forbids this as a thing in- “ decent, and below the Eminency of theſe Bodies. Indeed if any *Decurio* had forſaken his Station, and ſheltred himſelf amongſt the Officials, they might ſend him back to his former Charge; but he requires *Cynegius* the *Præfectus Prætorio* to admoniſh all Judges ſubject to his cenſure, that they ſhould not look upon the Services of Corporations as Puniſhments, by forcing any to them; and he gives this reaſon; *For that Puniſhment, really ſuch, and not any Dignity ought to follow an Offendor.* And indeed it's held for a Rule, that Puniſhment ought not to make the condition of the puniſhed party to be equal to what it was before, much leſs ought it to render it better than it was formerly. So careful was he to ſave that vaſt Expence, which, in theſe days, wherein Chriſtianity could not yet put an end to the former *Pagan* Extravagancies, was made by *Prætors* in their Games and ſhows, which they were bound to ſet forth to the People, that inſtead of four this year, he cauſed eight to be created, and appointed the Charge they were to be at, by another Edict directed to the Senate. One of the *Prætors* was once from *Conſtantius Chlorus* called *Flavialis*, and was the firſt in order; but afterward was put out of Place, and he that from his Son was named *Conſtantinianus* was the firſt in Rank, and *Flavialis* at length was quite aboliſhed. But to him, who from *Conſtantine* the Great had the Name of *Conſtantinianus*, another was added, who from his Son was ſtyled *Conſtantianus*. There was moreover one called *Triumphalis*, from the old Triumphs during the Commonwealth, and a fifth known by the name of *Romanus*, from the City of *Rome*, which *Conſtantinople* owned for her Mother. All theſe five were in the days of *Conſtantius*. In the Reign of *Valens* were but four; and ſo many continued till this very year, but not with the ſame Names. *Conſtantinianus* and *Conſtantianus* continued only in being, and in the room of the reſt the Senate had introduced lately two others, from the Names of the preſent Princes termed *Theodoſianus* and *Arcadianus*. But now of the old ones *Theodoſius* reſtored two, *viz. Triumphalis* and *Romanus*, and two he added a-new, *viz. Auguſtalis* and *Laureatus*, and ſo made them eight, or four pair in all, though under the Government of his Son *Arcadius* they ſeem reduced to that of ſeaven. Having thus made them Pairs, he will have each Pair to pay ſo much towards “ the expence of the Games, as one Perſon was formerly wont to do. Namely, “ That of *Conſtantine* and *Conſtantius* a thouſand pounds of Silver. That of *Theodoſius* and *Arcadius*, a thouſand (or rather leſs, for ſome fault ſeems to be in “ the Text, his words plainly ſhewing that he meant a Declenſion in the ſums:) “ then that of *Triumphalis* and *Auguſtalis* four hundred and fifty: and that of “ *Romanus* and *Laureatus* two hundred and fifty pounds.

Honorius born.

L. 3. *de Senatoribus & de glebali &c. Cod. Th. l.* 6. *tit.* 2.

And again for Corporations.

L. L. 107, 108. *de Decurion. Cod. Th.*

L. 25. *de Prætoribus, &c. Cod. Th. Dat.* 10. *Kal. Nov.*

He increaſeth the number of *Prætors.*

17. The

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The Conſulſhip of *Arcadius* and *Bauto.*

A.D. 385. *Arcadio A. et. Bautone Coſs.*

17. The CCCLXXXV year of our Lord had for Conſuls *Fl. Arcadius Auguſtus* and *Fl. Bauto,* being the tenth of *Valentinian* the ſecond, and the thirteenth Indiction. *Theodoſius* this Year made his Abode at *Conſtantinople*, and *Valentinian* continued at *Milan* till nigh the Month of *September*, when he removed to *Aquileia*, and there ſtaid till the beginning of the next, but that he was at *Verona* ſome little ſpace. For there he reſided upon the account of the *Juthungi* as it's thought, who at this time made Incurſions into *Rhætia*, and againſt whom the *Hunns* were called in for Aſſiſtance. Under him this year *Neotherius* and *Principius* were *Præfecti Prætorio* in the *Weſt*, and under *Theodoſius*, in the *Eaſt*, was *Cynegius*; for this and the following. *Paulinus* was *Præfectus Auguſtalis*, having ſucceeded to the place of *Optatus*, and *Meſſianus* was *Proconſul* of *Affrick.* The firſt Law we meet with in this, as agreeable to other years, is one of *Theodoſius* whereby he preſcribes the Duty and Work of a *Defenſor* of a City to one *Theodorus*, who bore that Office at this time, and therefore ſeems to have conſulted him about his Imployment. He tells him, the time he ſhall Exerciſe his Office ſhall be five“ years (afterward contracted to two) wherein he expects he ſhall carry himſelf“ as a Parent of the Common People. For he muſt not ſuffer either thoſe in Towns“ or Country to be oppreſſed by any Surveys; but protect them both from the Inſolence of Officials, and the daring boldneſs of Judges themſelves; yet ſo far as is Conſiſtent with modeſt Reſpect to their Perſons. He gives him leave to“ have recourſe to the Judg of the Province, when he pleaſeth. He chargeth“ him to prevent the Damage or Spoile of ſuch as he now holds as Children, un-“ der his Charge, from all ſuch Officers as ſhall demand more than publick“ Dues, and by no means permit more to be exacted than the wonted Tax;“ foraſmuch as there is no other way of Remedy for ſuch miſchiefs but what“ his Place and Function affords. So careful was *Theodoſius* to mind this officer“ of his Duty, who received little gain or no emolument from the diſcharging of it; but more ſevere he was againſt another ſort, to whom the Care of publick works was committed, or in whoſe hands mony for that purpoſe was depoſited. For there were thoſe they called *Curators* of publick works, or certain Maſters of Architecture (*Mechanicks* they termed them) who undertook the building or Reparation of publick Structures, received from the ſeveral Cities, Mony for carrying them on, and managed the Accounts of the Expences. Under them were thoſe that took the Work by great, called *Ergolabi*, who were anſwerable to the *Curators*, as they to the Publick. Now becauſe of the great Frauds and Neglects committed in this kind, *Theodoſius* ordained, that all ſuch *Curators*,“ or thoſe to whom the Charge of Building, or Mony was committed, ſhould“ for fifteen years from the finiſhing of the work if living, or their Heirs after them,“ be reſponſible for any fault committed in the Building. If any ſuch Defect appeared,“ they muſt anſwer it out of their own Patrimonies, except it happened by ſome Ac-“ cident, and was the effect of meer Chance, not any Neglect on their part.

L. 4. de Defenſorib. Civitatum. Cod. Juſt. lib. 1. tit. 55.

Theodoſius. Declares the Duty of a *Defenſor* of a City.

L. 24. de Operibus publicis Cod. Th. & L. 8. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Dat. 3. Non. Febr.

Gives a check to the frauds of *Curators* of publick works.

18. We have ſufficiently ſeen how ſevere *Theodoſius* was to all the *Curiales*, that they ſhould diſcharge their Duties to the Corporations to whom they belonged; now at laſt we meet with the Reward he appoints them for their ſo long and troubleſome Services. By an Edict inſcribed to *Cynegius*, he obviates the Deſign of ſome who indeavoured to compel ſuch of them as had paſſed through all Imployments of the *Curiæ* and diſcharged all other Duties, to undergo the Charge of the *Agonotheſia*, as they called it; (which was a kind of Prieſthood amongſt the Pagans, or a Task of preſiding at, or governing their Exerciſes) and put them beſides the Honours they might juſtly challenge as *Emeritæ* or *Veteranæ*. In oppoſition hereto he poſitively declares, “That ſuch as had diſcharged“ in this manner all other Offices due to their Country, ſhall not be put upon the“ *Agonotheſia* againſt their minds: In the next place, that they ſhall receive the re-“ ſpect that was due to ſuch Perſons, and enjoy the Honour and Dignity of *Comites*,“ which in this Age was conferred on them, as, in others, other Honourable Qualifi-“ cations. And this Dignity he will have to ſtick by them, although they never ſtood“ for it, never deſired it, nay, though they refuſed it, and by all means ſought to de-“ cline it: for this Splendour he would have accompany the Quality of the Perſon, and that during Life; whereas ſometimes this Honour laſted only for ſome ſhorter Term. Thus where a Reſpect was had to the publick Concern, that other Men might by a Proſpect of Reward be incouraged to ſerve their Countries, were Perſons ever conſtrained to accept of Honour; as here, not only of the Degree of *Comites*, but alſo of receiving a Kiſs from the Governours of Provinces,“ and“

And the privileges of the *Curiales.*

L. 109. de Decurion. Cod. Th. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt. Dat. 6. Kal. Maij.

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and ſitting with them upon the Bench; for this *Theodoſius* ordains in their Favour, as well as the other. But whereas the Governours of Provinces had great Inſpection over theſe Corporations, and right or wrong, were wont to beat the *Curiales*, or Senators thereof with Plummets; foraſmuch as Injury was thereby thought to be offered to the whole Body, the Court it ſelf upon the ſollicitation of the Party was wont to be concerned, and accuſe the Judg, as they thought with greater Load, becauſe with larger Intereſt and Reputation. But for that this Accuſation was made without any Solemnity, and the Parties thus accuſed, by Decrees of the Courts, often were thereby born down and injured, being taken for no better than Convicted Perſons; *Theodoſius* thought fit that this Accuſation ſhould be made in the Name of the *Decurio* himſelf who pretended to be injured; but notwithſtanding, the *Præfectus Prætorio*, to whom the Complaint was made, ſhould puniſh the Offender, as having been Injurious to the whole Court. This Law he directs to *Cynegius* his *Præfect*, to whom he gives the Titles of *Illuſtrious* and *Magnificent Highneſs*; and telling him that foraſmuch as no Accuſation ought to be made by a ſecond Perſon, he will have him, with that Juſtice and Equity by which he was known or taken notice of, to puniſh a Judg who ſhould beat in that manner any Innocent *Decuriones*; or his Officers if they were Silent upon ſuch an occaſion. The *Præfecti Prætorio* we have ſufficiently ſeen had Juriſdiction over the Judges or Governours of Provinces. And great is this Teſtimony the Emperour gives to this *Præfect*, while yet in Office, that he was Renowned for Juſtice and Equity. But he Charges him only to puniſh a Judg, as ſhould ſo beat an Innocent *Decurio*; whereas by ſome former Laws he forbids any of that Condition to be beaten with Plummets, how Guilty ſoever. He changed the Courſe and Rigour of his Laws, as he found the Condition and Circumſtance of the Perſons to Change.

L. 15. de Accuſation. & Inſcription. Cod. Th. & L. 14.

19. Further, about this time the Number and boldneſs of Informers and falſe Accuſers did ſo increaſe, that to ſatisfie their Malice, or bring about their ends, and yet avoid the puniſhment due to Calumniators, they were wont more than formerly to uſe the Names of other Men therein, and pretend to do it upon the Account of others. Yet there was one Caſe which in this matter of Accuſation deſerved that a Diſtinction ſhould be made, and that was of Guardians or Tutors, who in managing the Eſtates and Concerns of their Pupils, were often by Exigency of their Affairs put upon it, to accuſe their Adverſaries of Falſhood, Forgery or other matters. Now it being not their own Buſineſs, it ſeemed hard they ſhould make the uſual Inſcription required by the Laws, or ſubmit to the puniſhment due to the offence, if not proved; and yet it often ſo happened, that ſeveral ſuch Guardians might make uſe of the Advantage their Truſt afforded, to loaden with Calumnies thoſe to whom they bore Malice. Therefore a middle way was found, that thoſe who exerciſed ſuch Charges, ſhould make the uſual Inſcription, but not with that Danger which hung over them that accuſed in their own concernments; for if it proved not an evident Calumny, and plain, that wittingly and willingly with a malitious Intention they made the Accuſation, no Penalty was to fall upon them. But there was another ſort of Men, who would not ſeem to do it in the Name of another; but only to aſſiſt the Accuſer in way of Duty, Officiouſneſs, or Friendſhip. In this manner *Apuleius* complains to *Maximus Claudius* the Judg, or Proconſul, that one *Æmilianus* Craftily went about to accuſe him of Magick, by way of aſſiſting *Sicinius Pudens* a Boy, of adult Age; which the ſaid Judg refuſed to admit, and would have him do it in his own Name, as the Law required in the Caſe of Tutors and Curators when their Pupils or Minors were admitted to accuſe. There were others who to ſatisfy their Malice would not Commence the Accuſation in another mans Name, but yet make uſe of his Name who they pretended was injured; as by ſaying that the party killed was their Father, thereby to evade the puniſhment due to a Calumniator, which he eſcapes, whoever revenges his Fathers Death. But they were not ſo properly ſaid to do it in anothers Name, as thoſe who being ſuborned for the ſame purpoſe, either at the beginning of the Accuſation openly named him from whom they had Inſtructions to do it, or elſe did it without mention of him, though at his furtherance and deſire; but both of them were puniſhable by the Antient Law, as well the Accuſer, as he from whom he had it in Charge. What the Law formerly had determined againſt Accuſations, made in the Names of others, *Theodoſius* now confirms, ſeeming to aim at thoſe who had ſome Authority and power, and therefore were made uſe of, by ſuch as imagined they had not ſufficient Intereſt to carry them through, to Impeach thoſe to

He bridles the boldneſs of Calumniators.

L. 2. de Calumniatorib. Cod. Th. & L. 8. eod. tit. Cod. Juſt. Dat. 8. Id. Maij Conſtantinop.

to whom they bore Malice, as having committed ſomething againſt the Prince himſelf.“ Though the Emperour or his Treaſury might hence reap Advantage, yet ſuch“ an Accuſer failing of Proof, he declares ſhall be puniſhed with Deportation as“ a Calumniator and Infamous Perſon; that all manner of Perſons may take Notice,“ that they muſt not raiſe the Choler or Indignation of Princes in any thing“ they cannot prove.

20. But, whereas to prevent the vexation of Accuſed Perſons, that their Innocency might be either cleared, or their guilt the ſooner diſcovered and puniſhed, the antient Laws ordained, That the Proſecution ſhould be terminated within the ſpace of one year, to be reckoned of old from the time of the Inſcription, if the caſe required it, or, more lately, from the conteſting of the Suit, and that under penalty of incurring Infamy by the Proſecutor; this *Theodoſius*, by an Edict directed“ to *Deſiderius* the *Vicar* of *Aſia*, confirms, and further adds Confiſcation of a“ fourth part of his whole Eſtate. And indeed, great Cauſe there was that ſome diſpatch ſhould be made in ſuch Criminal matters; ſuch Perſons as were in Bonds, and anſwering for themſelves lying under great diſadvantages, as being put out of Capacity of manumitting, making any Deeds of Gift, of giving Teſtimony, impeaching others, or obtaining any Honours. But as *Theodoſius* ſhewed himſelf a great Enemy to raſh and Malicious Accuſations, ſo where he thought the Caſe required it, he gave way for effectual Proſecution. The Cuſtome amongſt the *Romans*, was, that Slaves could not ordinarily be examined by torture againſt their Owners; But by a Law inſcribed to *Cynegius*, this year, he declared that it might be in two Caſes. Of old time it was permitted in Caſe of Inceſt, and in that only, till the making of the *Julian* Law, by which it was alſo allowed in that of Adultery.“ “Now *Theodoſius* declares, that if a Man accuſe his Wife of Adultery; not“ only his, but her Slaves alſo, ſhall be by Torture examined; none excepted“ but thoſe that were abſent at the time when the Crime was Committed, who yet“ were not excepted by more antient Laws. And he further allows this ſeverity in“ examination of Slaves, both againſt Maſter and Miſtreſs, in Caſe each attempt the“ Life of the other, having the ſame reſpect to this ſort of Fault in them both, becauſe equal on both ſides, whereas that of Adultery is greater if Committed by the Wife. This was directed to *Cynegius* at the latter end of the year, who after it received one more in behalf of the Countrymen that were oppreſſed in the Carriage of Proviſions for the Army to the ſeveral Manſions. He will have the“ conveyance to be made by thoſe that lie moſt conveniently for it, and not by them“ that lie at a diſtance, except it be the Proviſion for the Soldiers, upon the Limits, to whom a more than ordinary reſpect was ſhewn, for the great concernment of his Service againſt the Barbarians. For at this time as we have already ſeen, and ſhall more, they preſſed much upon the Empire, and, if Credit were to be given to *Zoſimus*, they were invited in by the Provincials themſelves now haraſſed with Taxes. However, this Exception diſpleaſed *Juſtinian*, who taking the Law into his *Code*, yet left it out. And indeed both *Valens*, and *Valentinian* the Elder, his Brother, were of Opinion, and declared, that even the Proviſions for the Limits ſhould only be conveyed by thoſe Poſſeſſors that were neareſt at Hand.

L. 1. Ut intra Annum Criminalis Actio. Cod.Th.lib. 9. tit. 36. L. 1. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. hinc interpolata. Dat. 4. Id. Jul.

Yet he takes Care for effectual proſecution of real Offendors.

L. 4. ad Legem Juliam de Adulteris. Cod. Theod. & L. 32. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Dat. 3. Id. Decemb.

L. 21. de Annona & Tributis Cod. Th. & L. 8. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit.

21. But let us make ſome inquiry after *Valentinian* the younger, and ſee what he Enacted of Conſequence, while *Theodoſius* thus concerned himſelf. We find him indeavouring ſome Reformation in the Courſe of Judicature, there being at this time in his Diſtrict, ſome Faults committed by the Judges themſelves, but eſpecially thoſe that had occaſion to ſue in their ſeveral Courts. For too common it was for them to neglect and paſs by the ordinary Judges of the Provinces, and betake themſelves to the higher Tribunals of thoſe called *Spectabiles*, or of the *Illuſtrious* Prefects; poſſibly by reaſon of the negligence or corruption of ſome Judges; but eſpecially out of contempt and diſdain conceived by thoſe of Birth and quality, when they ſaw Perſons of mean Deſcent and Merit preferred to ſuch places, as was that *Terentius* the Baker, mentioned by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who was made *Corrector* of *Tuſcia*. However this Contempt of the Ordinary Juriſdiction carried with it two manifeſt injuries and Inconveniences. For thereby was the Judg of the place ſlighted and brought into Contempt, to the violation of all good Government; and the Defendant, or Party ſued, was drawn away from his own Province to Courts afar off, to his great Charge, detriment and vexation; which being a thing unſufferable, upon this Account it was, that rarely were any called up before the Emperour, however he took Cognizance of Cauſes. By an Edict directed therefore to *Neoterius* his *Præfectus Prætorio* under“

Valentinian endeavours to ſecure the juriſdictions of ordinary Judges.

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der whoſe Authority the Governors of Provinces were, ***Valentinian*** expreſly for-“
bids that any Perſons whatſoever, except Women or Minors (who by reaſon of“
their Infirmity, were indulged often by the Lawes) paſs by or deſpiſe their“
own proper Judg, or the Judg of the Firſt Inſtance, and betake themſelves to“
an higher, or one of the ſecond Inſtance, directly and as it were, ***per ſaltum.***“
Any offending in this kind, he ordains as a puniſhment, ſhall loſe or forfeit his“
Cauſe, which in many other Caſes, is impoſed by the Laws upon ſuch as diſturb“
the Courſe of Juſtice. But to prevent any Complaints which might be juſtly“
made againſt ordinary Judges, their Corruption or Pride, he propounds two“
expedients. Firſt, he alleages that any unjuſt Sentence given by them, may be“
reverted by a due and orderly Appeal. In the next place, if the Party could ſhow“
that the ordinary Judg, either out of Pride or partiality, either refuſed or delayed“
to hear him, he ſhould forfeit to the Exchequer the value of the thing in Contro-“
verſie, and upon the chief of his Officials or Apparitors, and their Adjutants, who“
amongſt other Imployments, introduced or admitted Cauſes into the *Secretarium*,“
he impoſes no leſs a Pain than that of Deportation. Of the ordinary Judges, he“
was ſo far further careful at this time, that their Authority ſhould not be neglect-“
ed, that he tells the ſame ***Neoterius*** in another Edict, that he will have the ***Muni-***“
cipes of every Corporation, when they Challenge any of their Members that ab-“
ſcond, to betake themſelves to no other Court for ſatisfaction therein, than that“
of their own Province, giving it for a Rule, ***That none ought to imagine any Ju-***“
dicature ſo Competent as that of his own Country. On the other Hand, he will“
have every *Curialis*, who has governed a Province, to know, that he ſhall never“
reach the ***Senatorian*** Dignity, except he diſcharges all Dues to his Corporation, in“
Caſe he owe any; thereby forcing back Governours of Provinces to the Courts,“
which though it ſeemed good alſo to *Theodoſius*, yet other Princes were of the“
contrary Opinion: however by this it appears, that the *Senatorian* Dignity once“
attained at this time, put one out of Danger. If the ***Municipes*** themſelves by“
any trick hindred the Execution of this Law, or did not force back their Members,“
he Fines the Body in thirty pounds of Gold. For, ***Perſons of a publick Capacity,***
may not be free to deſpiſe their Profit, or Advantage.

L. 6. De Juriſdict. & ubi quis conveniri debet Cod. Th. Dat. Mediol. Pridie Kal. Maij. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

L. 110. De Decurionib. Cod. Th. Dat. 5. Kal. Jun. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

Proceeds to Reformation of Courts of Juſtice.

22. Yet ſtill did *Valentinian* ſo concern himſelf about the Reformation of
Courts of Juſtice, that knowing the ordinary perfidious and mercenary deal-
ings of the Apparitors belonging to them, and how by reaſon of their Abſence
often in Collecting the Revenue and other Imployments, they might preſume
upon the benefit of the Law, which regularly Condemns and puniſhes none ab-
ſent or unheard, he declared that they ſhould enjoy no benefit of it; but might“
be puniſhed as Right required, though in their Abſence. In Caſe ſuch Appari-“
tors, or Officials of Judges, fled and concealed themſelves, he commands that“
they be, by an Edict openly propoſed, cited to appear. If they refuſe, then“
ſhall the Judg give Sentence againſt them; and he cuts off from them all hope“
of Pardon, that diſpairing thereof they may not expect to eſcape either by“
Flight, or by any Remiſſion of the Crime. Not long after, by another Law in-“
ſcribed to ***Romulus***, the *Conſularis* of ***Æmilia*** and ***Liguria*** he indeavoured to cut“
off the tediousneſs of Suits, ordaining That after Denuntiation made, or the Ci-“
tation ſerved, the uſual Intervals of time ſhould not at all be continued or length-“
ene, no not by the Authority of a Reſcript obtained from the Emperour himſelf;“
for whereas formerly, at the beginning of Suits, the Plaintiff was wont to give ſe-“
curity; ***Marcus Antoninus*** the Philoſopher removed that Solemnity, and introdu-
ced this Cuſtom of ***Denouncing*** this ſort of War, or giving warning to the Par-
ty to Anſwer by a day, which Cuſtome yet was omitted and left off in the time of
Juſtinian. For prevention of thoſe continual Troubles, which aroſe about the *Cu-*
riales forſaking their Charges, he ordained about this time, by another Law, that
whoſoever ſhould deſire to take the Oath of the (Military) Girdle as he terms it, or
Liſt himſelf a Soldier, ſhould firſt in the City, where he was Born or laſt Inhabi-
ted, publickly and ſolemnly ſhew that he neither deſcended from Father or Grand-
father obliged to Municipal Services, nor any way himſelf, was concerned in“
them; if he produced ſuch Teſtimonials from the Regiſter that he had ſuffici-“
ently made this out, then was he to be admitted, or elſe to be drawn back, and“
for ever ſubjected to the Services of the Courts. And he threatens the *Curiales*“
themſelves, if they ſhould be found, out of favour or affection to diſmiſs any of“
their Body, by giving any falſe Teſtimony in his behalf. Still further for prevent-“
ing Delays in Suits, and to bring Cauſes to a ſpeedy Iſſue, even where he himſelf

L. 14. De Pœnis Cod. Th. lib. 9. tit. 40. & L. 21. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Dat. Kal. Jun.

L. 15. De Cohortalib. Cod. Th. & L. 6. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Dat. Pridie Id. Jun.

L. 4. De Denuntiatione Cod. Th. Dat. 13. Kal. Jul. Mediol.

L. ult. Quid. probare debeant. Cod. Th. lib. 7. tit. 2. Dat. 6. Id. Jul.

was

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was concerned, he ordained by a Law ſent to *Meſſianus* the *Proconſul* of *Africk* “ that in all *Fiſcal* cauſes or relating to the Treaſury, if the Party lived in the “ ſame Province, the matter ſhould be diſpatched in two Months time; if in a “ neighbouring Province, for producing of Witneſſes or Papers, four Months and “ no more ſhould be allowed; and ſix, if his Habitation was beyond the Sea. “ And this ſhould hold if the matter was brought in the firſt Inſtance; if in “ the ſecond, or upon Appeal, the Debate ſhould be terminated in the firſt Caſe “ within twenty days, and in the ſecond, within as many more. Theſe Rules “ he would have obſerved; if he that had Cognizance of the Cauſe was as an Ordinary “ Judg; but in Caſe the *Comes Largitionum*, or the other *Rei Privatæ*, “ heard the Cauſes themſelves; for that they did it ſometimes extraordinarily, and “ as the weight or importance of them required; he left them to the Liberty allowed “ them by Antient Cuſtomes; and yet by another Reſcript in Tranſmarine “ Judgments, he confines an Appeal within a year.

L. 13. de Jure Fiſci Cod. Th. Dat. 15. Kal. Octob. Aquileiæ Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

L. 45. De Appellat. &c. Cod. Th.

To remove grievances ariſing from the Collection of the Revenue.

23. He found out about the ſame time another grievance lying upon the People, from the Collection of the Revenue. The ordinary Judges or Governours of Provinces, who were truſted with the Collecting of Tributes, did now imploy the *Palatine* Officers belonging to the two Treaſurers therein, either for that they found them more honeſt than their own *Officials*, or rather, becauſe they carried more Authority along with them. But this Awe and Authority they improved to the vexation and oppreſſion of the Subject, and therefore he commands *Principius* his *Præfect*, that if any Judg imploy a *Palatine*, “ either in the Collection of Dues, or Commit the Execution of any Sentence “ to him in any private Cauſe, as well He, as his Office, ſhall for every “ ſuch Offence, incur the Penalty of five pounds of Gold. But now the Offices of the Ordinary Judges ſeem to have been exhauſted, poſſibly, becauſe of the many ſevere Laws made againſt their Avarice and Rapacity, whereby they were hindred from inriching themſelves as formerly they had done. Therefore toward the end of this year by two other Edicts, directed to the ſame *Principius* he took order that ſuch as were in theſe Imployments already, ſhould not forſake their Stations; and for the Supply alſo of thoſe that were actually void. “ As to the former, he forbids that any quit his Station under pretence of adoring “ the Purple, or aſpiring to any *Palatine* Office; To that Adoration he “ will have no Officials of Governors of Provinces, admitted; and of thoſe belonging “ to the *Præfecti Prætorio*, the *Præfect* of the City, and to *Vicars*, only “ ſuch as by a ſolemn Right, every year after the term of their Imployments fully “ expired, were allowed to do it. Now of thoſe belonging to the *Præfects*, “ not only theſe called *Principes* of the Office, but the *Cornicularii* and *Numerarii* “ might do it; but of ſuch as attended the *Vicars*, only the *Principes*; “ But neither by aſpiring to the place of a *Palatine*, nor of an *Agens in Rebus* “ will he have them forſake the Service, under penalty, not only of being forced “ back to it again, but of forfeiture of half of their Eſtates, and being conſtrained “ to undergo the Burthen of *Manicipes*. But for the Supply of Vacancies, “ though this Prince (as we have ſeen) was very ſevere againſt thoſe that “ under any pretence forſook the Services of Corporations, yet he now permited “ any *Decuriones* that ſerved theſe Judges in quality of *Exceptores*, in writing “ Records to continue; provided, they forſook not the Duties belonging to the “ Courts; and when they had diſcharged the place of an *Exceptor*, then returned “ to their former Obligations, and provided they were not *Cohortales*, nor “ had allowance out of the Exchequer as the *Cohortales* had, whoſe Imployment “ yet was ſometimes extraordinarily diſcharged by the *Tabularii*, as need required.

L. 10. De Palatinis S. L. & R. P. Cod. Th. Dat. Prid. Kal. Septemb. Aquil.

L. 16. De Diverſis Officiis Cod. Th. & L. 1. Cod. Juſt. De Apparitorib. Præfecti Urbis Dat. 13. Kal. Octob. Aquil.

L. 17. De Diverſis Officiis Cod. Th. & L. 5. Cod. Juſt. De Numerariis Dat. 4. Id. Decembr.

He calls in Privileges granted as to payment of Cuſtomes and other Duties.

24. As *Theodoſius* three years before, ſo now *Valentinian* found reaſon to complain of the abuſing of his Lenity and Indulgence, by ſeveral Perſons their procuring Reſcripts ſodainly or ſurreptitiouſly, for eaſing themſelves of the ſervices and payments they were to undergo. Such as by reaſon of their nearneſs or convenient Habitations were obliged to convey Proviſions for the maintenance of the Souldiers that watched upon the Borders againſt the Barbarians, had by Friends at Court, or money, obtained Privileges of eaſe; and thereupon the Garriſons and *Prætenturæ* were neglected. This drew from him an Edict to *Principius* (it's probable) for putting in execution an Order formerly made by one *Tiberianus* (whether a *Præfect* or ſome other Officer) for regulating of this Affair, and reformation of what was amiſs, though procured by the Power of any “

L. 1. De fundis Limitrophis Cod. Juſt. l. 11. tit. 59. Dat. 8. Kal. Octob. Aquil.

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Miniſter, or the furtive Deprecation (as he calls it) of any Perſon, forbidding all “ ſuch Importunity and Inconvenience for the time to come. And he farther declares his diſpleaſure againſt ſuch Reſcripts as have been obtained to the leſſening “ of the *Annona*, or Tribute paid in Specie, or otherwiſe for publick Service, by a “ damnable Subreption, as he terms it, or Inſinuation. He pronounces it manifeſt “ that ſuch Diſpenſations cannot be good in Law, and commands that an equal “ form of Payment be obſerved, and with good Reaſon; for if Tributes were “ neglected, which are the ſinews of War, what would become of the Commonwealth? Theſe two Laws bearing the ſame Date, and agreeing much in their drift and deſign, are ſuppoſed to have made up one and the ſame Conſtitution directed to *Principius*, though in *Juſtinians* Code his Name be corrupted into *Licinius*. “But though he was careful of his Revenue, he was as kind, if not “ as Juſt, to continue the Indulgence formerly granted to the Veterane Souldiers, “ and not only ſuch of them as had riſen to the Protectorian Dignity, but all “ others who had obtained an honeſt Miſſion or Diſcharge; or Immunity from “ the payment called *Luſtralis Collatio*; but with this Reſtriction, *viz.* of as much “ as came to fifteen *Solidi*; If they trafficqued beyond the Bounds of this ſum, in Cuſtoms, they were to pay as other Merchants did.

L. 7. de Diverſis Reſcriptis. Cod. Th. & L. 7. Cod. Juſt. de Annonis & Tributis. Dat. 8. Kal. Octob. eidem Principio. Item L. 20. de Annona & Tributis. Cod. Th.

But confirms ſome granted to the Veterane Souldiers.

L. 14. de Luſtrali Conlat. Cod. Th. Dat. ad Principium Veronæ Prid. Non. Nov.

A.D. 386. *Honorio N.P. & Euodio Coſs.*

25. The CCCLXXXVI year of Chriſt had for Conſuls, *Honorius* the young Son of *Theodoſius*, by the ſtyle of *Nobiliſſimus Puer*, and *Fl. Euodius*; it being the eleventh of *Valentinian* the ſecond, and the fourteenth Indiction. *Cynegius* continued ſtill *Præfectus Prætorio* under *Theodoſius*; and *Principius* of *Italy* under *Valentinian*. *Salluſt* was *Præfect* of *Rome* till the beginning of *July*, or thereabouts, and then was ſucceeded in that Imployment by *Pinianus*. In the beginning of the year, *Theodoſius* made his abode at *Conſtantinople*, and *Valentinian* at *Milan*, whence he removed to *Ticinum*, or *Pavia* in *February*, thence to *Aquileia* about the beginning of *April*, and thence back to *Milan* in the Month of *June*. Still we find *Theodoſius* Author of the firſt Law in the Chronological Table, which he enacted at the beginning of the year for ſecuring his People againſt malicious and ſcandalous Libels. “Such as ſhould find any ſuch Paper he commands to tear it, ſo that none other may find and read it after him; otherwiſe if he leave it, or caſt “ away, or communicate it to the View of another Perſon, he ſhall be puniſhed “ for a Libeller, except he can produce the Author: as alſo he prohibits him from “ relating the ſubſtance of what he had read and torn, under pain of being ob- “ noxious to the puniſhments inflicted by the Law in ſuch caſes. And it matters not where the Libel was found, whether in a publick Place or private Houſe, “ the ſame Inconvenience being ſuppoſed to proceed from either. *Valentinian* the elder, had by an Edict forbidden, that upon a Reference of any Matter to the Emperor, from any of the Judges, the Parties themſelves ſhould follow the Proceſs (which was to be tranſmitted within thirty Days) having diſcovered that they were wont to apply themſelves to great Perſons, and by money or favour ſo to work, as to obtain Reſcripts, right or wrong, from the prejudiced and abuſed Princes. “This now *Theodoſius*, in another Edict directed to *Cynegius*, declares he had taken into full and mature deliberation, and he thinks fit what was before “ in general and indiſtinctly ordained, now ſo far to regulate; that if within the “ ſpace of a year the Prince his Anſwer be not obtained, then may the Parties “ concerned come to Court, and bring with them all the Acts, and the Copy of “ the Reference or Conſultation. For as the Emperors deſired to diſpatch theſe Buſineſſes without the Interpoſition and purchaſed Sollicitations of their Officers; ſo on the other hand would they not have theſe Suits delayed ſo long as their corrupted *Scriniarii* or Judges, by whom the References were made, deſired they might be.

L. 9. de Famoſis Libellis. Cod. Th. Dat. Cynegio 14. Kal. Feb. Conſtantinop.

Theodoſius reſtrains libelling.

L. 34. de Appellat. Cod. Th.

Permits perſons in Suits to come to Court.

L. 47. eod. tit. Dat. Cynegio 7. Kal. Feb. Conſtantinop.

26. *Theodoſius* making his uſual Reſidence at *Conſtantinople* bent his Indeavours, as we have ſeen already, for the Inlarging and Beautifying thereof. For the further ſplendor of it, now terming it the City of moſt Sacred Name, he directed a Law to *Nebridius* its *Præfect*, thereby injoyning “That all the *Honorati*, whether ſuch by *Civil* or *Military* Dignities, always ſhould uſe that ſort of Chariot cal- “ led *Carruca*, and drawn by two Horſes, as belonging to them. By *Honorati* are meant both thoſe who had diſcharged publick Offices, and ſuch as had obtained thoſe Dignities by Codicils; who, foraſmuch as in thoſe days the Uſe of Chariots was common in the City (though in the times of former Princes it was invidious if not unlawful) are hereby required not to live below themſelves, but make Uſe of that drawn with two Horſes, which was peculiar to them, as the *Carpentum*, or

Omnes Honorati ſeu civilium, ſeu Militarium dignitatum, vehiculis dignitatis ſuæ (id eſt Carucis bijugis) intra Urbem ſacratiſſimi nominis, ſemper utantur. Dat. 3. Kal. Feb. Conſtant. L. un. de Honorat. vehiculis. Cod. Th. lib. 14. tit. 12. & L. un. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit.

He commands the *Honorati* to uſe Chariots in *Conſtantinople*.

He incourages the *Agentes in Rebus*.

or the other drawn by four, to the great Officers in actual Poſſeſſion; as the *Præfects* of both ſorts, the *Vicars*, and Governors of Provinces, who according to the diverſity of their Dignities, and Places had them more or leſs ſtately. We have heard nothing, of a good ſpace, concerning the *Agentes in Rebus*; for the reformation of whoſe extravagant Courſes, Princes, as we have ſeen, were conſtrained to make ſeveral Laws; and that, if we may judge charitably, with ſome Succeſs. For now we find *Theodoſius* extending his Favour to thoſe of them who had run through the ſeveral Employments, and come at length to be *Principes* of the Office; for he ordains by another Law directed to *Cynegius*, “That they, for a Reward of their Labours, not only enjoy the place of *Principes*; but that “ no Officials be ſent out upon publick Imployment, as fetching up Priſoners “ and the like, except by order of the *Princeps*; for they had Fees belonging to “ them from ſuch Services, as alſo upon Cauſes that were admitted to be tried, and from ſuch as were admitted firſt to be Officials. Nay, by another Edict directed to the ſame hand he declares “That by Codicils having given to ſuch as had been *Principes*, the Honour of being placed amongſt the *Conſulares Adlecti*, he will “ by authority of this Law have them honoured by all Judges in that Degree and “ Quality. He had formerly given them precedence before *Rationales*; but ſet them behind thoſe that had been *Præſidents*; but it ſeems afterward had aſſigned them place amongſt theſe laſt mentioned, by a Law which is not now extant. Having this Honour conferred on them in the Senate, it's likely that for all that, it became a Queſtion whether they ſhould be received in the ſame degree of Reſpect and Quality by the Judges or Governors of Provinces, who looking diſdainfully upon them, might grudge to own them ſo far in their ordinary ſalutations, and ſitting in their Courts; and perhaps *Cynegius*, being conſulted, knew not how to adviſe, and thereupon had recourſe to the Emperor. He ſeems to reprehend the ordinary Judges, it being conſequential enough, that if in the Senate they had obtained this Honour, it ſhould alſo be imparted to them in their Company. But otherwiſe the Prince, who was the Fountain of Honour, might confer it as it pleaſed himſelf. Therefore as *Theodoſius* gave the *Principes* of the *Agentes in Rebus* Place but amongſt the *Conſulares Adlecti*, *Theodoſius* the younger, conferred on them the Dignity of *Vicars*; nay, *Honorius* his own Son beſtowed upon them the *Proconſular* Dignity.

L. 3. de Principibus Agentium in Rebus. Cod. Th. Dat. prid. Kal. Mart. Conſt.

L. 5. de Agentibus in Rebus. Cod. Th. Dat. 3. Non. Martis. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt.

Removes an Abuſe in the Collection of Taxes.

27. About this time he endeavoured to remove another Abuſe in the Collection of the publick Taxes. When any Tax ſeemed to be unequally laid upon Lands, an Officer called *Peræquator* was ſent, who, upon View and other Evidence, might regulate that inequality, by laying the burthen where it ought to be, and give Relief as the caſe required. His Intelligence he uſually had from the Stewards or Managers of the Lands, or from the Husbandmen themſelves who had reaſon to underſtand the true Extent and Value, of the Grounds; and therefore their Lords againſt the time of the coming of the *Peræquator* would call away their Bailiffs and ſend them to ſome other place, or elſe arm their Husbandmen with contumacy againſt him, ſo as to give him no light, for making that Reformation, and inducing that Equality, he came about. To correct this Preſumption of the Lords, he ordains “that the *Peræquator* ſhall go on with his work, notwithſtanding the abſence of the Bailiff, and regulate the Ceſs as he ſhall ſee con- “ venient, and to his Regulation or Peræquation the Owners ſhall be bound, and yield obedience. Thus, by way of puniſhment, for Contumacy, might a Tax be laid in the Abſence of the Owner of the Ground or his Subſtitute, though ordinarily it could not be without the preſence of one of them. For great reſpect was had in thoſe times to the Property of the Lords, or Owners, though the *Cenſitores*, or Aſſeſſors were wont from their Husbandmen or Tillers of the Ground to Exact an Oath concerning the Quality and Value of them; againſt which Cuſtom, as opening the way to Perjury and other Inconveniences, St. *Baſil* declaims in an Epiſtle written to one of theſe *Cenſitiores*, as *Gothofred* obſerves.

L. 2. de Cenſitoribus. Cod. Th. lib. 13. tit. 11. Dat. Cynegio 6. Kal. Apr. Hinc interpolata. L. 3. Cod. Juſt. de Cenſu & Cenſitorib.

Concerns himſelf for Corporations.

Now ſtill again he concerned himſelf for Corporations againſt ſuch as ſhould deſert their Services; ſo that if a *Curialis* had procured himſelf to be made a *Senator*, though he had ſubſtituted his Son, or any other in his room, yet ſhould “ he be conſtrained, to diſcharge what belonged both to that Subſtitute and him- “ ſelf; that is, what Service or Expence was due both from a Senator and a *Curialis*; “ in like manner as at this time, if one were both a Senator, and a *Dux Rei Mi-* “ *litaris*, he was ſubject to a double burthen of that Payment called *Glebalis Collatio*; ſuch as were *Duces*, when their Offices were diſcharged, becoming *Senators* upon

L. 111. de Decurion. Cod. Th. Dat. Cynegio prid. Kal. Maii. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt.

Vide Gothofr. in. L.

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For the *Proximi* of the *Scrinia*.

L. 4. *de Proximis, &c. Cod. Th. & L.* 1. *Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Dat. prid. Kal. Maii.*

upon this very account. Having formerly granted to the *Proximi* of the three *Scrinia*, *viz. Memoriæ*, *Epiſtolarum* and *Largitionum*, the Honour of *Vicars*, or thoſe that Governed Dioceſes for *Præfecti Prætorio*; by this ſame Conſtitution, directed to *Cynegius*, he declares, “That it ſhall not commence as formerly from the time of their going out of the Place of *Proximus*, but upon their very entring upon it. But as hereby he was very indulgent to his Officers, ſo was he, about the ſame time, as good an Husband in the management of the Revenue, with which ſome of them made more bold than welcome. Two years ago he declared, That, except thoſe whoſe number and ſervice was ſet and defined, none whatſoever ſhould have the uſual *Annonæ* or Allowances, nor receive the uſual New-years-gifts, nor any more than his ſet allowance. However moſt of the *Palatines* belonging to the *Comes Largitionum* had exceeded their Bounds, and both as to New-years-gifts, Cloaths and other things had procured more than what was allotted to their Quality and Condition. For, beſides New-years-gifts, which the Prince was wont to diſtribute in Gold on New-years-day, to thoſe that ſerved both in Camp and Court, they had other Allowances which conſiſted in four things, *viz.* the *Annonæ*, properly ſo called (which were Corn, Wine and Horſe-meat *in ſpecie*) Cloaths; Silver; and that they called *Miniſterium*, or Servants to attend them. And ſometimes the caſe required that ſome Perſons for their extraordinary Merit, and an Incouragement to others, ſhould have the Allowance of thoſe above them, each having more or leſs allotted him according to his Degree. But the Bounty and good Nature of Princes was ſo abuſed, or thoſe who had the overſight ſo corrupted, or partially inclined, that the ſtanding Rule was broken, and undeſerving Perſons got the greateſt ſhare; which preventing all rewards due to Virtue, and diminiſhing the Revenue, *Theodoſius* now commanded *Proculus* his *Comes S. Largitionum*, “That what any man had more than his Due, ſhould be taken from him, and that he ſhould ſee that no man had greater Allowance than what belonged to his Place and Quality.

L. 11. *de Palatinis S. L. & R. P. Cod. Th. Dat. Non. Maii. Conſtantinop. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt.*

But Reſtrains too great Expence in his Officers.

28. We muſt confeſs, that herein we may believe *Zoſimus*, that at this time, or a little before *Theodoſius* his ſhutting up all the *Pagan* Temples, great Clamours were made by the People againſt the Covetouſneſs, Rapacity and Corruption of Judges; although his Malice drives further, and derives it from other Cauſes than he ought. This the Emperor, by a publick Edict directed to the Provincials, teſtifies himſelf, wherein he commands, nay intreats them, that if any of the *Honorati*, *Decuriones*, *Poſſeſſors* of Lands, nay, *Coloni* or Husbandmen themſelves, or any other of whatſoever Rank or Quality, were by any Judge any way injured; if he knew any ſuch who had been bribed to give Sentence, that had ſpared any guilty perſon for Reward, or puniſhed out of Revenge or Malice, or, in concluſion, could prove any Judge to be corrupt, ſuch an one would either during the Adminiſtration of ſuch a Governour, or after the expiring of his Office, come forth, accuſe, and make good his Charge; and if he ſo did, he ſhould carry away both Victory and Renown. Hereby, though ordinarily a Magiſtrate could not be accuſed during his Office, which was uſually for Term, yet he permits, nay deſires he may be charged when in Authority. And as *Conſtantine* the Great, formerly upon conviction of the Offender, promiſed the Accuſer his Dignities and Eſtate; ſo by Glory and Renown, are not here to be underſtood Dry and Empty Fame, but Imployment in the Commonwealth. Upon this ſame account, perhaps, it was that about this ſame time he forbids “That any *Apparitor* belonging to the *Præfectus Prætorio*, any *Palatine*, any Souldier or other that had continued in ſuch Imployment, be by a Judge in his Province commiſſionated to put any Sentence in Execution, at the requeſt of any Perſon that hath a Suit depending, whether it be in a publick or private Cauſe. If he permitted it contrary to this Order, both he and his Office ſhould not only incur loſs of Reputation, but damage alſo in his Eſtate. The Apparitors of *Præfects* were very high and inſolent, as we have ſeen formerly, the Palatine Officers alſo bold and confident, a Souldier fierce and cruel; and one long practiſed in Acts of ſeverity would have little Pity; therefore all of them were unfit to be imployed; for they would oppreſs the poor Provincials, and be proper Inſtruments for a Corrupt Judge to bring about his Rapacious Deſigns. But while thus *Theodoſius* imployed his time in relieving of his People againſt the oppreſſions of ſeeming Friends, or homebred Enemies; a Noiſe was made of publick Hoſtility; that *Thrace* was invaded by thoſe who carried not only Deſtruction in their Hands but openly in their Faces. Againſt them therefore he turned himſelf.

The Rapacity of publick Miniſters great at this time.

L. 6. *ad Legim Juliam Repetundarum Cod. Th. & L.* 4. *Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Dat.* 10. *Kal. Jul. Conſtantinop.*

L. 8. *de Officio Rectoris Provinciæ Cod. Juſt. lib.* 1. *tit.* 40. *Dat. Cynegio Non. Aug.*

Sect.4.

A. D. 386.

The *Gruthingi* deſire to paſs the *Iſter*.

29. A certain Nation now appeared beyond *Iſter*, unknown to other ſorts of People, but called by the Barbarians of thoſe Tracts, *Gruthingi*, *Grutungi*, *Gothunni*, or by other Names reſembling theſe; each Country differing from other in its Pronuntiation, eſpecially of ſtrange and foreign words. This Nation being too Numerous, furniſhed alſo with Arms ſufficient for a bold Undertaking, and excelling in ſtrength of Body, made no difficulty of piercing through the Territories of other Barbarians that lay in their way, and came to the Banks of *Iſter*, which they demanded leave to paſs. *Promotus* who Commanded as *Magiſter Militum*, in theſe Parts, extending his Forces as far in Length as he could, upon the Rivers ſide, oppoſed them all he might, and to his other Attempts *Zoſimus* tells us, he added this Device. He procured ſome whom he could Truſt, and that underſtood the Language of the Barbarians to go over to them, and promiſe for a very good Reward, to Betray both the *Roman* Captain and his Army into their Hands. The Barbarians affirmed they could not pay ſo great a ſum; but the Meſſengers, to gain the firmer Credit, ſtill inſiſted upon it, and refuſed to make any Abatement; at length they came to an Agreement, and part of the Reward by virtue thereof was to be paid down. All things being agreed both as to time and manner of the Fact, the Meſſengers then acquaint the General in what way the Barbarians would Attacque him when Night ſhould come. The beſt part of their Army they put into Boats, and ordered it in the firſt place, to Land, and fall upon the ſleeping Soldiers, the next in worth they agreed ſhould give thoſe Relief, as occaſion ſhould ſerve, and then the reſt were to follow. *Promotus* making Uſe of his Intelligence, got together his Boats, and placed them ſo, as the Prowes were inward or looking one toward another. He placed them three in Depth, and in length ſtretched them out for twenty Furlongs on the ſide of the River, whereby he kept the Barbarians from Landing, and meeting thoſe who came in their little Boats, ſunk all he could light upon; for the Barbarians, the Night being dark proceeded with all Confidence, knowing nothing of the preparations of the *Romans*. At length, *Promotus* made Uſe of his great Veſſels, and plied his Gallies ſo with Oars, that he overturned all before him, or if any eſcaped, they fell into their Hands who were placed all along the ſide, and there periſhed, none being able to paſs this Rampart. So great a Slaughter being made as ſcarcely had been known in a Fight upon the Water, the River was filled with dead Bodies, and covered with Weapons, which were of ſuch Materials, that they would not ſink. If any men could Swimm they eſcaped not them, who were appointed to receive them in the Arms of Death before once they could get to Shoar.

Lib. 4. p. 762.

Auſi Danubium quondam tranare Gruthungi In lintres fregere nemus, ter mille ruebant per fluvium plenæ cuneis immanibus alni. Dux Odothæus erat, tantæ conamina claſſis. Incipiens ætas Et primus contudit annus Submerſæ ſedere rates &c. Ita Claudianus de 4. conſ. Honorij.

Are defeated by *Promotus*.

30. The Flower of the Barbarian Army thus deſtroyed, the Roman Soldier betook himſelf to his Booty, ſeizing as he could, the Women and Children, with ſuch Plunder as he could find. *Theodoſius* the Emperour lying not far diſtant, *Promotus* ſent for him that he might be witneſs of the Victory. He having viewed the number of the Priſoners, diſcharged them of their Bonds, and gratified them with Gifts, by this humanity to gain their Affections, that he might ſerve himſelf of them in the War he deſigned againſt *Maximus*. *Promotus* was continued in his Command in *Thrace*, and reſerved for the ſame deſigned War. And here our Hiſtorian acquaints us with another ſtory like to this, which he thinks it worth the while to relate. In that part of *Scythia* which was contained in *Thrace*, was a Town called *Tomos*, held with a Garriſon, and commanded by one *Gerontius*, a man excelling in ſtrength of Body, and otherwiſe very able in matters of War; and near to the Town lay ſome Barbarians quartered there by order of the Emperour, who had made the beſt Choice he could, and indeed they were men every way excellent for Accompliſhments, both of Body and Mind. Yet though by him they had been careſſed both with greater allowances and honours, than other perſons, yet never did they caſt in their Heads how they might make anſwerable Returns, but both contemned the Governour and his Garriſon. *Gerontius* was not ignorant of their Demeanour, nor that they had a Deſign upon the Town to make Diſturbance, which reſolving to prevent, and chaſtiſe their petulant humour, he communicated his Purpoſe to the moſt prudent of his Soldiers. They hung back out of fear, apprehending the ſtrength of the Barbarians ſuch as they ſhould not be able to graple with it; which he having found, reſolved with his own Guard to oppoſe himſelf againſt them all; and out of the Gates he iſſues, while his Men either ſlept in the Town, were by fear held in their Quarters, or repaired to the Walls, thence to behold the Succeſs. The Barbarians fell on deriding his Madneſs, who ſeemed

Gerontius defeats another Party of Barbarians without Order.

to them, to court Death, and ſent out ſome of their ſtouteſt Men againſt him. With one of theſe he grapled, and contended ſo long, till a Soldier of his Guard beholding them ſo yoaked, cut off the Arms of his Enemy, and threw him from his Horſe, which done, *Gerontius* fell upon others of the Barbarians, to their no ſmall aſtoniſhment at his Valour. By this time they that beheld from the Walls, overcome with Admiration at the valour of their Governor, and Shame that they ſhould ſtand idle while he ſo gallantly demeaned himſelf, reſolved to Act like *Romans*, and iſſued out of the Gate upon the Barbarians. Some of them they killed, and ſuch as eſcaped fled to a place honoured by Chriſtians, and eſteemed as an *Aſylum.* Now *Gerontius* having thus delivered *Scythia* from Imminent Dangers, by Conquering the Barbarians through his great Valour, expected to be rewarded by the Emperor. But he was not a little angry at the Death of thoſe he had ſo greatly honoured, though they had proved the Bane of the Common-Wealth; and cauſing him to be apprehended, he called him to Account for the great Service he had performed to the *Romans.* He pleaded, that the Barbarians were Rebels, urged their Rapines, and related what Slaughter they made of the People: but the Prince would not hear him, but perſiſted in this Opinion, that he had deſtroyed the Barbarians not for any good he thereby deſigned to the Publick, but to get to himſelf the Gifts which he had formerly beſtowed on them. As to this, *Gerontius* replied, that he had ſent away thoſe things (being Golden Chains) after the Death of the owners, into the Treaſury; but for all this, he could ſcarce redeem himſelf from imminent danger, by all he beſtowed upon the Eunuches; ſo well was he rewarded for his fidelity to his Country. Thus *Zoſimus*, or Malice for him.

Theodoſius not far diſtant at the Defeat of the *Gruthungi.*

31. The Subſtance of his Story concerning *Promotus* and the Action againſt the *Gothungi*, we have reaſon to believe; though to it other Circumſtances may be added. He confeſſes that at the time of the Victory, *Theodoſius* was not far off, and indeed we find him at this time departed from *Conſtantinople*, and diſtant in *Thrace* at *Melantia*, ſome eighteen Miles from the City. For, thence on the third of *September*, he gave out a Conſtitution to *Cynegius* for the better Conveyance of Corn and Proviſions to the Army, forbidding on pain of Death, that it ſhould be “done as formerly, as that thoſe that lived in Inland Countreys ſhould carry it to “the Maritime, and thoſe that inhabited in the Maritime Tracts to the Mediterranean. This no doubt had relation to the War he now made upon thoſe Invaders, having in it poſſibly ſeen the Inconveniences that aroſe from ſuch a prepoſterous ſort of Conveyance. On the ſame day he inſcribed another Edict to all *Comites* and *Magiſtri Equitum* and *Peditum*, wherein he charges them that they take ſuch Order with the *Duces*, *Tribunes*, and *Præpoſiti*, that all that were Fugitives “may be returned back to the places or Courts to which they belonged, both from “the Army, and the divers Offices to which they had betaken themſelves; no preſcrip-“tion of time being allowed them, if their Fathers or Grandfathers were *Decuriones*, “and he threatens the *Decuriones* themſelves if they do not accordingly force them “back wheresoever they are found, and how unwillingſoever they be to return. This “Law we may alſo ſuppoſe to be made, when the Barbarians were beaten, *Thrace* “delivered, and there was now remaining no ſuch great need of Soldiers. As for the other Story *Zoſimus* tells, of *Gerontius* his bold Adventure and Succeſs againſt the Barbarians; however it proved, any unprejudiced Perſon would ſay it was more proſperous than adviſed; and that *Theodoſius* in prudence had reaſon to call him to Account. For the Rules of good Government will not permit that a Private Officer, as he was, ſhall without Orders attempt a matter of ſuch Concernment, when the ſafety of a Garriſon and the publick Faith is concerned. *Tomos* was not ſo far diſtant from *Conſtantinople*, nor the Danger ſo preſſing and ſudden, but that he might have acquainted the Emperour himſelf therewith: at leaſt ſome of his Superiour Officers. If private Men may ſo run on their own Heads, it's needleſs to have any Superiour Directors. *Gerontius* though he might not be inamoured of the Golden Chains about their Necks, yet ſeems to have been Angry with the Barbarians for their ſo well faring; A wonderful Heat it muſt have been that hurried him on upon ſuch an Enterprize contrary to the Judgment of thoſe about him, and without any Aſſiſtance, or probability of eſcaping. But ſee the Malice of this Pagan Writer. What he condemns in *Theodoſius*, he would have commended in *T. Manlius Torquatus*, or *L. Papyrius Curſor.*

L. 22. de Annona & Tributis Cod. Th. & L. 9. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit.

L. 113. de Decurion. Cod Th. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

Juſtly called *Gerontius* to Account.

32. However, *Theodoſius* on the twelfth of October, returned with his Son *Arcadius* in Triumph to *Conſtantinople*, where having leiſure to hear Complaints, and

Chron. Hiſtor.

Returns in Triumph to *Conſtantinople.*

and to conſider what was amiſs in the State, he ſet himſelf to the reformation of ſeveral things. At the ſuggeſtion of *Cynegius*, upon whom he much relied; or perſwaſion, as is probable, of *Nectarius* the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, whoſe advice, eſpecially in matters relating to Conſcience and Religion, he much followed, toward the latter end of the Month, he publiſhed a ſevere Law againſt exceſſive Uſury; ordaining, beſides Reſtitution, a forfeiture of fourfold, for the time to “ come, if any ſhould exceed the hundredth part of the Principal; and of the Dou-“ ble value, if any could be Convicted to have done it for the time paſt; and this “ very earneſtly he requires to be Executed, *without delay*, *without any reſt*, and “ *forthwith*, terming this Offence no better than a Tyrannical Fury. And indeed “ ſo great was the Exceſs in this kind at this time, that the Fathers mightily declaim “ againſt the practice of Uſury; but yet *Theodoſius* impoſed no greater a Penalty up-“ on the Tranſgreſſors, than what of old had been done by the Laws of the twelve “ Tables. For the Antient *Romans* puniſhed a Thief in double, but an Extortioner in fourfold; by which its eaſie to ſee which of the two they did moſt Condemn. But much it is, that neither by this Law, nor any before it, one that exacted too much Intereſt in this kind, ſhould be rendred infamous; only that Mark was put upon ſuch who required, and took Uſe upon Uſe, by *Diocleſian*. Now this Law is but half of a Conſtitution, whereof the other part is againſt ſuch as received other mens Husbandmen or Farmers at this time, which together with Uſury were the two great Grievances in thoſe days, and poſſible it is, that thoſe poor men, oppreſſed with two great Intereſt for what they took up in Proviſion or Money, were even conſtrained to play leaſt in ſight. However, for prevention of ſuch great inconvenience as aroſe from thoſe men, their forſaking their Charges; he ordained, That “ whoſoever ſhould intice away any ſuch Husbandman belonging to another Perſon, “ or conceal one who abſented himſelf, ſhould for every ſuch Offence commited againſt a private perſon, forfeit ſix Ounces of Gold; and if the Man belonged to the “ Prince his Patrimony, an whole pound.

where he reſtrains exceſſive Uſury.

L. 2. de Uſuris. Cod. Th. lib. 2. tit. 33. Dat. Cynegio 8. Kal. Nov. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

Quadrupli pœnæ obligatione conſtrictus, ſine Ceſſatione, ſine requie, protinus ablata redhibebit.

Vide Gothofr. in L.

L. 2. de Fugitivis Colonis Cod. Th. lib. 5. tit. 9. & L. 2. Cod. Juſt. hinc interpolatur.

Oppreſſion alſo ariſing from Receivers of Tributes.

33. But yet one of the greateſt Grievances ſtill endured by the poor Provincials, aroſe from the Avarice and immoderate Exactions of thoſe called *Suſceptores*, or the Gatherers or Receivers of Tributes. It being ſuppoſed that ſuch were made out of the *Curiæ* or Courts of Corporations, he will have them Created not ſecret-“ ly, but in the greateſt Aſſembly of the Body, according to the Opinion, and with “ the Conſent of all, and thereof Acts to be ſolemnly made. Then will he have “ their Names ſignified to the Governors of Provinces, that they may know who “ it is they are to look to: and in the laſt place he requires that the Nominators of “ them, or the Court it ſelf, be anſwerable for their Actions, which is very conſiderable. But whereas by way of Tribute the Provincials were wont to pay four ſorts of things, *viz.* Wheat, Barly, Wine and Lard; and the Suſceptors were apt to exact greater quantities than were due; he renewes what he had formerly enjoyn-“ ed concerning Meaſures of Braſs or Stone, and Weights, publickly to be placed “ in all Cities and Manſions (for in Manſions alſo theſe *Species Annonariæ* were wont “ to be laid up) that the People might certainly know what they were to give, and “ the Officers duly puniſhed, if they forced them to exceed. And whereas as was formerly ſaid, the Receivers of Corn, Wine and Lard were wont to have an *Epimetron* allowed them, or ſo much over and above, for that Leakage and Loſs there would be of the Commodities in their Tranſportation; to cut off all Cheats, whereby the People had been hitherto abuſed, he declares, That it ſhall be the fiftieth part of Wheat, the fortieth of Barley, and the twentieth of Wine and Lard. This “ ſhall be allowed through the *Eaſt*; to the Prefect of which (*Cynegius*) this Law is “ alſo directed. Only in *Armenia*, that moſt remote Province of the Empire and “ Bordering upon the *Perſians*, from which yet theſe Proviſions were wont to be “ tranſported to *Conſtantinople*, out of Humanity, he gives them leave to take the “ fortieth both of Wheat and Barley; and of Wine and Lard the fifteenth. Thus “ he provides againſt the Frauds of theſe Collectors in the Eaſt; but particularly in *Ægypt*, which was eſpecially wont to abound with Oppreſſions of Officers and Complaints of poor people, he endeavoured a Reformation at the latter end of this year alſo, in another manner, by an Order directed to *Paulinus* the *Præfectus Auguſtalis*. He expreſly charges, that by holding perpetually this Office or Imployment of Receiver, none have the opportunity of vexing the Provincials (as it were by a certain ſort of Domination in Oppreſſion) but that by the Care of the Governour of the “ Province, they be changed in the ſolemn way of Election, every year; except “ the Cuſtome of the City, or the ſcarcity of *Curiales* therein (from amongſt “ whom “

L. 20. de Suſceptorib. Cod. Th. & L. 8. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Dat. Cynegio 6. Kal. Nov. Conſtantinop.

L. 21. ejuſd. tit. Cod. Th. & L. 9. Cod. Juſt. Dat. 4. Kal. Decemb. Conſtantinop.

L. 22. ejuſd. tit. Cod. Th. & L. 4. Cod. Juſt. ex hac L. Conflata eſt. Dat. prid. Kal. Decemb. Conſtantinop. veluti concuſſionum dominatione.

whom they were to be choſen) required they ſhould hold for two years together. Upon Default, he threatens not only with a Fine, but other Puniſhment both the *Præfectus Auguſtalis*, and his Office.

Valentinian imploys himſelf the ſame way.

L. 1. de Defenſorib. Civitatum Cod. Th. lib. 1. tit. 11. Dat. 8. Kal. Febr. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt.

34. So imployed we leave *Theodoſius* this year, in providing for the Defence of Cities and Countries againſt the Oppreſſions of his Officers. And removing Weſtward, we find *Valentinians* Thoughts taken up the ſame way; the firſt Law of Civil Government we meet with, being concerning the Courſe and manner of the Election of the Officers which had their Name from defending the Cities, and one of whoſe great works it was to protect the People againſt the Oppreſſions of the Collectors. By his Edict directed to *Euſignius*, he ordains, That they be choſen by the Decrees of the Cities, that is, by Conſent or Subſcription of all the Citizens, the Municipal *Honorati* and Common ſort being called together by Decree of the *Curiales*. For the Office of the *Defenſors* being of the ſame Nature with that of *Tutors* or *Guardians*, they being Choſen to defend the Common People from *Affronts* and *Injuries*, (helpleſs, by reaſon of Meanneſs or Poverty) as theſe to protect Pupils (unable to help themſelves for want of Age) it was convenient that the one, as well as the other ſort, ſhould receive their Charge, not by Ambition or their own Seeking, but that they ſhould be ſuſpected if they went about to compaſs the Imployment. If any ſuch were diſcovered, by begging of Voices to get the place, He commands *Euſignius* that he reject him, and moreover cauſe him to fine in Five pounds of Gold to the Exchequer; for the Confirmation of thoſe Officers now belonged to the *Præfecti Prætorio*, though afterward, the Names of the Perſons and Decrees of the Cities were ſent up to the Emperour, and by him the Matter being examined, received efficacy; which was imitated at length by the Kings of the *Goths*. This Law he made at *Milan*; but removed ſhortly after to *Ticinum* or *Pavia*, where being *ſollicited* by the Meſſengers of Cities, to redreſs their Grievances, as we may ſuppoſe, but being unſatisfied with their manner of Addreſs; for regulating of theſe Meſſages of the Subject he thought fit to take further Order. And Further I ſay, for he had made Orders formerly therein, but all little enough for the Redreſſing the grievance of this uſual ſending to the Emperour for the redreſſing of Grievances; for ſuch was their uſual Deſign. Theſe becauſe we have not ſpoken of, and they (all of them together) contain what may be ſaid of this Subject, we ſhall obſerve from them what we may, that's uſeful and proper to our Work.

L. L. 8, 9, 10, 11. de Legatti & Decretis &c. Cod. Th. vide Comment. Sive integræ Diœceſis Commune conſuluerit ſive ſingulæ inter ſe voluerint Provinciæ convenire &c. L. 9.

He regulates the matter of the Meſſengers ſent to him out of the Provinces.

35. He gives leave for theſe *Legati* or Meſſengers to be ſent to him, and for that Purpoſe for the Provincials to meet together, to conſult, make Decrees and Commiſſionate ſuch as they ſhould think fitteſt for this Imployment of laying open their Griefs, like as other Princes had done before him. But this Liberty he now extends to Bodies or Companies (as of the *Navicularii*) to Cities, particular Provinces, and whole Dioceſſes, which included ſeveral Provinces in them, whether Governed by *Præfects*, as the *Præfectus Urbi*, whoſe Dioceſe were the *Suburbicarian* Provinces, the *Præfectus Auguſtalis* who had *Ægypt* for his Diſtrict, or by the *Vicars* of the *Præfecti Prætorio*; or by a *Proconſul*, as him of *Aſia*; or by a *Comes*, as for Example, the *Comes* of the *Eaſt*. In the next place he permits none to hinder or obſtruct theſe Meetings, Conſultations, Decrees or Meſſages, not any Judg or Governour of a Province, not any *Vicar*, not the *Præfectus Prætorio* himſelf, though his Authority was ſo great, that he was vulgarly eſteemed an Emperour without Purple. It's true, ſeveral would endeavour to hinder theſe Meſſages, and thereby Complaints againſt themſelves to be tranſmitted. But he will have none of the Decrees ſent by theſe Meſſengers, to be ſo much as examined or diſcuſſed by any of the Judges, and removes all Neceſſity of ſhewing them to them, whoever they were, though as we have ſeen, *Valentinian* the Elder, and others afterward, required that they ſhould be entred in the Regiſter of the Governour of the Province; ſo that we may juſtly conclude ſome extraordinary occaſion to have provoked the younger *Valentinian* to abridg them of this Power. And in concluſion, he gives leave to the *Præfectus Prætorio*, in *preſenti* or in Waiting, to conſider of the Meſſage in his *Auditorium* or Court; but not to determine any thing therein, but to leave the matter wholly undecided, and reſerved to himſelf in *Conſiſtory*, where it was to receive a Determination; ſo various and uncertain were the Caſes of the Provinces and their Complaints, as to make the Emperours vary in diverſity of times and affairs amongſt themſelves, as to this Subject. For the beſt way to reconcile Laws is to diſtinguiſh of times, that being fit Now, which at another time, would be very improper, as alſo that being ſuitable to one Nation or Country, which would ill

agree with ſome other People. And therefore as to this point *Theodoſius* the Younger afterward thought fit once that the *Præfecti Prætorio* ſhould firſt conſider whether it were beſt that the Meſſengers ſhould come to be heard, or not; and at laſt reſolved they muſt be heard in his own Preſence.

36. But as *Valentinian* gives liberty to his People to make their applications to “ him, and make known their Griefs, ſo on the other ſide he enjoyns them, that “ they bring only probable things, and not trouble him with Superfluities or Trifles. “ And to this purpoſe he declares, that the Meſſenger ſhall exhibit all the Decrees, “ or the Subſtance of what he had to ſay, in Writing; otherwiſe he ſhall not “ be heard, but diſmiſſed without his buſineſs done. For oftentimes it hapned, that when theſe Meſſengers exhibited their Inſtructions, beſides them they pretended that ſomething was privately injoyned them which they durſt not commit to Writing, for fear of ſome great men whom it touched, the Intereſt of whom they found cauſe to apprehend about the Prince; and ſometimes under this pretence they took occaſion to vent their malice againſt one or other, according as their Paſſions or Intereſts led them. And for want of this Authentick Warrant and Teſtimony, the Meſſengers themſelves might be brought into queſtion, they that ſent them denying that they had any ſuch thing in Command, as we have already ſeen in the caſe of *Jovinus*, when the *Tripolitans* were ſo wrought upon by the Arts of *Romanus* the *Comes* of *Africk*, that they denied they had given him any ſuch thing in charge to deliver to the Emperor, which made the poor man wrongfully accuſe himſelf, and by endeavouring to ſhun, to incur puniſhment, ſaying that he had lied to *Valentinian* the Elder, who thereupon commanded him to be put to death. “ In the laſt place the Emperor takes care, that the Meſſages be not performed at too great an Expence to the Publick, or too much burthen to “ the *Curſus Publicus*. Therefore he defines the number; that each *Dioceſe* ſend “ but one or two Meſſengers. To theſe two or one he commands that the *Rheda* “ *Curſualis* be aſſigned when they come, for their Conveyance. This is the ſame with the *Carpentum* or *Quadriga*; and the weight of a thouſand pound was put upon it; drawn in the Summer time by eight Mules, and in the Winter by ten; whereas the *Carrus* had but ſix hundred pound weight, and the *Birota* had but two hundred. As for that called *Angaria*, it was drawn by two Yoak of Oxen, and fifteen hundred pound weight was put upon it. “ Therefore one *Rheda*, *Valentinian* grants to one or two Meſſengers of a *Dioceſe*; and but one *Angaria* to all the Meſſengers of the ſeveral Provinces of one Dioceſe; for, they might each ſend their Meſſengers, but he would allow them all but one *Angaria*, thereby conſulting for the good of the Provinces; but withal for the eaſe of the *Curſus Publicus*.

37. But of all ſorts of men none was more beholding to him than the *Navicularii*, in behalf of whom, now lying at *Aquileia*, he made a briſk Law, or rather revived one made by *Conſtantine*, out of which his was tranſcribed with little alteration. It commands that all *Navicularii* through all Ages, be relieved from “ all Burthens, Services, Conlations and Oblations, of whatſoever place or Dignity “ they be. And whoſoever ſhall Act contrary to this Law, whether he be “ Keeper of the Wharf (*Cuſtos Litorum*) Provoſt of the Cuſtoms (*Vectigalium* “ *Præpoſitus*) *Exactor*, *Decurio*, *a Rationalis*, or Judge of any Province, he ſhall “ ſuffer death; with a Confiſcation of his whole Eſtate, which he adds to the “ former Penalty. He had obſerved (or his Councellors for him) a cuſtom uſed by ſuch as begged Eſtates; that having obtained them from the Prince, as Eſcheated to him, they would endeavour to terrifie him that was in Poſſeſſion, and tire him out with a tedious Suit: Now proceeding againſt him, and then again deſiſting, with this Deſign, to conſtrain him to purchaſe ſome certainty and quiet, by parting with a ſhare of that, which, if the matter came to be fully and indifferently heard, they diſpaired of obtaining, by courſe of Juſtice. Therefore to put ſome bounds to this Liberty, he Ordains, “ That if after three Citations, ſuch an one do not appear with the Accuſer, ready to make good the “ Allegation, he ſhall not only loſe what he begged, but be Condemned in the “ expence of the Suit. This he enacted at *Milan* (being thither returned from *Aquileia*) and ſome other beſides. It was prohibited by former Laws, that any perſon ſhould govern a Province wherein he was born or dwelt; which Cuſtome is obſerved here in *England* as to our Juſtices of Aſſize, and with very good reaſon, ſuch as any one may eaſily apprehend. “ But now further, *Valentinian* forbids ſeveral Officers alſo of the Magiſtrates from executing any Sentence “ relating to the Publick, or to private perſons, in the Province of their Birth or “ “ Habitation.

Obligeth the Navicularii.

L. 17. de Navicularii s Cod. Th. Dat. ad Principium P. F. P. 12. Kal. Maij.

Reſtraines ſuch as begged Eſtates.

L. un. de Petitorib. & deſiſtentib. Cod. Th. lib. 10. tit. 13. Dat. ad Gorgonium Com. R. P. 8. Id. Jun. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt.

And makes other Laws.

L. 4. de Exſecutorib. & Exactionib. Cod. Th. lib. 8. tit. 8. & L. 3. Cod. Juſt. de diverſis Officiis Dat. ad Euſignium 3. Non. Decemb.

Sect. 4.

A.D. 386.

Habitation. He tells *Euſignius* his *Præfectus Prætorio*, that none of his Apparitors, “ none of the Palatine Officers ſhall dare to do it, upon pain of his *Primiſcrinius*, “ his forfeiting Three pounds of Gold, and that the Apparitor offending “ when out of his Imployment, ſhould be forced to become a Member of the “ Body of the *Mancipes* or principal Bakers. Nay, if any *Domeſtick*, or *Protector*, “ a *Strator* (of whom formerly) *Agens in Rebus*, or *Palatine* of both Offices “ ſhould do it, when diſmiſſed, he ſhould pay a pound of Gold; and for as “ much as the *Adjutores* of the *Palatine* Offices, the *Numerarii*, or *Actuarii* of the “ two Treaſurers were to ſee to thoſe things, he Condemns them in as much; “ if this Law through their neglect ſhall be broken. Shortly after he obliged “ the *Curiales* of Cities and Boroughs, by declaring that none ſhould eſcape their “ ſervices by betaking himſelf to his Houſe, that is, by Hiring his Grounds, being “ Stewards of his *Res privata*, or his Husbandmen; but that ſuch ſhould be drawn “ back, yet ſo as with Indemnity to his own private Eſtate, if any thing was “ owing it by the *Curialis*. But whereas out of the Body of theſe *Curiales* were wont to be Created thoſe they called *Procuratores Metallorum*, who overſaw the Mines; when about this time the *Grutkingi* invaded *Thrace*; and ſome terror hereof had ſpread into the neighbouring Countries, thoſe *Procuratores* (whoſe Wortk lay in *Macedonia*, the *Mediterranean*, *Dacia*, *Mœſia* or *Dardania*) thence took occaſion to pretend Fear, deſerted their Charges, and endeavoured to compaſs honourable Imployments. “ Thoſe *Valentinian* orders *Euſignius* to force back to their Charge, and not ſuffer them to obtain new Dignities, till they have filled up the term of their Procuration.

L. 114. de Decurion. Cod. Th. & l. 39. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Dat. ad eundem 8. Kal. Jan.

L. 4. Cod. Juſt. de Metallariis &c. lib. 11. tit. 6.

A.D. 387. *Valentiniano Aug. 3. & Eutropio Coſs.*

38. In the CCCLXXXVII. Year of our Lord, *Valentinian Auguſtus* the Third time, and *Fl. Eutropius* were Conſuls, it being the Twelfth of *Valentinian*, and the Fifteenth Indiction. *Cynegius* ſtill remained *Præfectus Prætorio* under *Theodoſius*, and *Euſignius* under *Valentinian*; who continued this year at *Milan* till the latter end of *September*: and *Theodoſius* made his Abode at *Conſtantinople*, till they both removed to *Theſſalonica*, upon ſuch occaſion as we ſhall diſcover in due time and place. Now we find *Valentinian*'s Laws firſt upon the File, and he begins with a continuation of the Priviledges granted by him and his Father, to the Phyſitians of the City of *Rome*; as to the Immunities of whom, we have already ſpoken from the Edicts of former Emperors. “ But in caſe any thing had been acted contrary to thoſe Laws made by them two, he commands *Pinianus*, who “ had ſucceeded *Saluſt* in the Præfectſhip of the City, that it be reſcinded, and “ the Laws made upon Reference or Relation of the Senate to the Emperors, “ be ſtrictly obſerved. For he had taken notice that contrary thereto, ſome “ Perſons had procured ſome ſurreptitious Reſcripts in their own favour, by the “ mediation of the great ones at Court. His Fathers Ordination was, that for ſupplying of Places, the Seniors in the Art ſhould be Judges of the Perſons, after they had examined them; and they ſhould ſucceed as they came, according to their time of Admiſſion; but by ſome means or other, one was lately crept in by Virtue of a Reſcript or Mandate, which diſpenſed both with his Examination, and alſo Seniority; putting him into the place of him, to whom he ſucceeded. This may very well be ſuppoſed to be the Caſe, for the very ſame happened Three years before, when *Symmachus* was *Præfect* of the City; and therefore he made Relation to this very Emperour himſelf to this purpoſe. “ As I reverence your Sanctions, ſo I highly eſteem the moſt wholeſome Laws made “ by your Father; who amongſt other things he Ordained for the publick good “ gave to Profeſſors of the Art of Medicine, Order of Succeſſion, in caſe a Room “ was vacated by the Death of any of their Number: By this Law it is required “ that the firſt or chief of the Science be Judges of the Skill of ſuch as are newly “ to be admitted; and this, they ſay, hath been ever ſince obſerved. But now “ there is one *John* (*Vir Perfectiſſimus* he calls him) who pretends not to the “ place your Fathers Edict gave him, but one next to the top, being furniſhed “ with the Priviledge of the *Palatine Militia* (that is, has been *Archiater* in the “ Palace) and further by a ſpecial Reſcript, whereby he procured the place in reverſion “ of *Epictetus* then alive. Now, for as much as Law and Cuſtome both “ did require that the Principal Phyſitians ſhould be Judges in the Point; the “ whole Colledge was called together to give their Opinions; of whom the moſt “ conſiderable, being on one ſide moved with a Veneration of the Law, and on “ the other, with reverence to the new Priviledge, would not dare to ſpeak “ their minds, but aſſigned to *John* that place empty which he ſhould have had, “

One concerning the Phyſitians of *Rome*.

L. 13. de Medicis &c. Cod. Th. Dat. 11. Kal. Febr. Mediol. ad Pinianum P. V. Abeſta Cod. Juſt.

Epiſt. 40. lib. 10.

if he had been admitted into the Colledge at ſuch a time as he went to ſerve “ in the Palace. But when he came to be asked for his Codicills or Letters, “ whereby his Place and Rank might be known what it was, amongſt the *Palatine* “ *Archiatri*; he affirmed they were ſtolen from him, and could not be produced; “ but on the other hand, many of the Phyſitians ſhewed ſeveral Copies “ of ſome, who though they came from Court, yet paſſed into the College in “ the ſame way and method as others did, and in obſervance of the Law. Wherefore “ perplexed in a doubtful Caſe, as neither daring to break your Fathers “ Law, nor to refuſe your ſpecial and particular commands; I have ſent the Allegations “ of the Parties, and referred the whole matter to your cognizance, “ from whom I expect what courſe to take: it belonging to Imperial Authority “ alone to interpret Laws. Such is the Relation or Conſultation made by *Symmachus*, to which this Law might ſeem a direct and full Anſwer, but that it bears Date in the Third year from his Præfectſhip.

Euſignius, the *Præfect*, his care for Buildings and Highways.

39. The Spring now coming on, *Euſignius* the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Italy*, ſet himſelf to the repairing of the High-ways of that Country, which very much agreed with the Condition they were in at this time, and with the humour and Inclination of the Perſon. For now alſo he took great Care for the raiſing of a *Baſilica*, as they called thoſe publick Buildings with Galleries; and of a Bridge, which being committed to the care of one *Bonoſus*: he uſed his utmoſt endeavour for carrying on the work; but it was lett, and received much delay, by reaſon that one *Cypriades* a *Comes* and *Mechanick* was joyned with him, which put *Symmachus* to trouble as well as others, as he ſhows by ſeveral of his Epiſtles. But in order to the repairing of the ways, *Euſignius* procured a Reſcript from *Valentinian* as full as he could deſire; for, whereas ſeveral Ranks pretended an Immunity from this ſervice, as Illuſtrious Perſons, the Houſe of the Prince, Church-men, thoſe Poſſeſſors of the Emperors Lands in perpetual Right called *Emphyteuticarii*, and *Veterane* Soldiers; he expreſly commands, that none whatſoever be admitted as Free, and indemnified from this work. And as by another Law, a penalty “ had been impoſed upon the Lords of the Adjacent Grounds if they refuſed “ to contribute; ſo now, if their Actors or Bailiffs bearing themſelves high upon “ the qualities or privileges of their Maſters, would not obey; he orders that “ they be ſeized on, and condemned to the ſervice of his own Houſe, or his own “ Domaine; ſo as to be amongſt the ſervants of his Patrimony, or *Res Privata*. “ But however *Euſignius* behaved himſelf in this or other matters; a Complaint was brought to the Emperour ſhortly after, againſt his *Vicars*, for their Inſolent Deportment towards the *Domeſticks* and *Protectors*; whom they refuſed to admit to a Kiſs, when they ſaluted them, as the manner was toward thoſe, who for their place or Eminency were indulged this privilege. “ Amongſt theſe *Valentinian* tells *Euſignius* he will have theſe Perſons reckoned, and that whoſoever “ denies them the Honour, ſhall be eſteemed and taken as guilty of what “ was like to Sacrilege (as thoſe were ſaid to be, who were Violaters or Contemners “ of the Imperial Laws or Orders) becauſe they were thought fit enough “ to touch or kiſs his own Purple, which ſerves as an Argument from the greater “ to procure the leſſer privilege. Nay, *Valentinians* Hand being now in for Correction of the Arrogance of his Miniſters; he is thought to have given a Check to *Euſignius* himſelf, and ſet bounds to the Ambition of him as well as others: For in another Law which *Gothofred* thinks made up with this one Conſtitution. “ He tells him that the Illuſtrious the *Comites*, and *Magiſtri*, of Foot and Horſe, ſhall exerciſe no Power or Authority over the Provincials: neither the moſt ample *Præfects* over Military men. Yet did he now inlarge the Power of *Euſignius* in one Caſe, or give him leave to uſe his Diſcretion. Though, as we formerly have ſeen, when one Poſſeſſor had Grounds in ſeveral places; it was not Lawful to pay all Tributes in one, becauſe many Inconveniences thereupon happened; yet now it was found that when theſe Lands were but ſmall, and the Tribute thence ariſing inconſiderable, it was not worth the while to convey it; and therefore in ſuch Caſes he leaves it to his Diſcretion (to whom belonged the care and charge of Tributes) to admit this Tranſlation (as it was call'd) when convenience ſhould require, with theſe further inſtructions, “ That the payment ſhould be made where the Poſſeſſor had moſt “ to pay, and that it ſhould be done without fraud or detriment to the publick. “

Epp. 71. *l.* 4. 76. *l.* 5. & 38. *l.* 10.

L. 3. *de Itinere muniend. Cod. Th. lib.* 15. *tit.* 2. *Dat.* 4. *Kal. Mart. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.*

The Vicars of Præfects rebuked for not admitting certain perſons to the Kiſſe.

L. 4. *de Domeſticis & Protectorib. Cod. Th. & l.* 1. *Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Dat. Prid. Non. Martis.*

Pœna enim Sacrilegii ſimilis erit.

Illuſtrious Perſons alſo.

L. 1. *de Officio Magiſtri Militum. Cod. Juſt. lib.* 1. *tit.* 29.

Tranſlation of Tribute in ſome Caſes allowed.

L. 3. *Ne Conlationis tranſlatio poſtuletur. Cod. Th. lib.* 11. *tit.* 22. *Dat.* 18. *Kal. Maii Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.*

40. The

Theodoſius ſubjects *Curiales* to the torture by Plummets.

40. The Legiſlative Power being ſuch as affords proper remedies for the Diſtempers of a State, muſt needs alter its Rules and Decrees, as the Temper of the Commonwealth it ſelf doth alter; the ſame Laws no more ſuiting a Nation, or People at all times, than the ſame Phyſick, the ſame man in all Diſtempers, or the ſame Clothes in all differences of Health and Age. Therefore *Theodoſius*, though he was ſo very Indulgent to Corporations, and made ſo many Laws for ſecurity of the *Curiales* from tortures and other matters, yet now thought fit, if not to retract, to leſſon and regulate what he had ordained concerning their Immunity. And this was by reaſon that the *Decuriones*, or Principal *Curiales*, having the Care and Management of the publick mony, making the Diſtribution of the Tributes how they ſhould be paid, and being alſo imployed in gathering of them, often ſpent the money they had in their hands, turned Bankrupts; and, as Spendthrifts muſt, if they have opportunity, be Rapacious, were immoderate and cruel in their Exactions. "He commands therefore that in all theſe Caſes the antient cuſtome of ſubjecting them to the torture of Plummets be revived, and that not only by Order of the *Præfecti Prætorio*; to whom, as he tells *Cynegius*, for the Dignity of their place, the chief Authority was committed; but alſo of the ordinary Judges, for the reſtraining of whoſe ſeverities againſt the *Curiales*, ſeveral Laws had been made; and therefore it might be much doubted whether they would adventure on it; though hereby he ſeemes to abate ſome of that reſpect he had for Corporations, yet much at the ſame time, he enforced ſeveral Laws he had formerly made againſt the *Curiales* their forſaking their Charges therein, and this of new he enjoyned, "That though by reaſon of Age a man regularly obtained Excuſe from Services, yet he will not have him wholly diſcharged, but be preſent at Elections and ſuch Decrees as might beſt be diſpatched by full Courts. But *Theodoſius* his Ears were now open not only to complaints he received of things done at home, but alſo from out of the ordinary Verge of the Roman Empire. Foreign Nations either for the Reverence they bore to the Majeſty of the *Romans*, or out of fear of their power, to which in ſome ſort they ſubmitted, often preſented the Emperors with Golden Crowns, or the Gold called *Aurum Coronarium.* Amongſt theſe inhabiting towards *Perſia*, were there certain *Satrapæ*, at this time, or Governors of Provinces, who owned the Soveraignty of *Theodoſius.* Indeed *Ammianus* tells us of Five of thoſe Provinces formerly taken from the *Perſians* by *Maximian*, but reſtored back again by *Jovian.* One now belonging to the Empire, though Governed by its peculiar Laws and Cuſtomes, was *Sophene* (which ſome make part of Old *Syria*, and others include within the bounds of *Armenia*) the Inhabitants whereof complained that they were burthened by the payment of the now mentioned Gold. *Theodoſius* hereupon directed his Edict to *Gaddanas* the *Satrapa* of the Province, and therein he tells him he decrees That it ſhall be reſtored back to them again, from whom it ſeemed unlawfully taken. "And that all *Satrapæ* preſent thoſe Crowns, which they owe, out of their Devotion to the Roman Empire, ſolemnly to his *Serenity*, at their own charge. For from him they ſeem to have renewed their Commands, and to have paid thoſe Crowns, or this Gold as an acknowledgment.

L. 117. *de Decurion. Cod.Th. & L.* 40. *Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Dat. Kal. April. Conſtp. Non ſolum à vobis (quibus propter loci dignitatem rerum ſumma commiſſa eſt) verum à Judicibus Ordinariis.*

*L.*116,*&* 118. *ejuſd. tit. Cod. Th.*

L. ult. de Auro Coronario Cod. Theod. Dat. 18. *Kal. Jul. Conſtp. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt. ut temporaria & hiſtorica.*

Celebrates the *Quinquennalia* of his Son *Arcadius*, and his own *Decennalia.*

41. Poſſibly he gained much Repute with the Inhabitants of theſe Provinces, by his favour extended to them in this kind. But however it hapned, he loſt as much Love in one of his moſt eminent Cities, by a rigorous exaction of the Tributes. We are to know that this year he celebrated the *Quinquennalia* of his Son *Arcadius*, or uſed the ſolemn and uſual way of rejoycing for his entring the fifth year of his Sovereignty, as he did alſo afterward his own *Decennalia* for joy that he was arrived in the tenth year of his Reign. For ſuch was the Cuſtom of *Roman* Princes, that, when named *Auguſti* by the Souldiers, to bind them the faſter to them they gave them a *Donative*; which was alſo obſerved by their Sons, although they ſucceeded by hereditary Right, as *Herodian* notes concerning *Commodus.* The Emperors, in like manner, gave the Military men a Donative in their fifth and tenth years (*Quinquennalia* and *Decennalia*) becauſe, as *Dio* writes, this was a kind of Renovation, or New beginning of their Empire, *viz.* to every man five *Aurei*; which ſolemn cuſtom was at length aboliſhed by *Juſtinian*, if he that wrote the ſecret Hiſtory fathered upon *Procopius*, tell true. This was performed by *Theodoſius* at this time, and being to make this Largeſs, both upon his own and his Sons Account; the Expence muſt neceſſarily require a great ſum of money. For this he exacted an anſwerable Supply of the People, which caſt the Inhabitants of *Antioch* into a great ſedition, inſomuch that they demoliſhed

*Hoc donativum recentior Latinitas Auguſtaticum dixit. Vide Valeſiij Annot. in Ammian. Marcel. p.*314.

Is at great expence, and raiſes money.

his Statues, as *Libanius* the Sophiſt relates. But *Zoſimus* muſt ſtill write in his own way; for after the ſad ſtory told of *Gerontius* he adds, that, Matters going ſo wretchedly in the Reign of *Theodoſius*, and no excellent Action or what tended to Virtue, being incouraged; but every thing conducing to Effeminateneſs and Luxury increaſing by whole Ells, as the Proverb then went; the Citizens of *Antioch*, that great City of *Syria*, not enduring that multiplication of Tributes, which every day was contrived by the Exactors, fell into tumult, defaced both his Statues and thoſe of the Empreſs, and caſt out Speeches, not untrue or unproper for the ſtate of Affairs, but ſuiting the Liberty and Urbanity of Speech which was familiar to them. The Emperor hereat being angry, threatened to puniſh this Offence, according to its deſert; which the *Decuriones* of the City underſtanding, ſent their Meſſengers to him to excuſe what had been committed by the Multitude. They imployed on this Errand *Libanius* the *Sophiſt*, famous for the Books he left behind him, and *Hilarius*, a Perſon renowned both for the luſtre of his Family and his excellency in all ſorts of Learning, And the *Sophiſt* in an Oration had before the Emperor and Senate, ſo much prevailed, that the Prince changed his Reſolution, and ceaſing from all Anger with the City, injoyned him another Speech concerning this Reconciliation; moreover out of Reſpect to the great Virtue of *Hilarius* he preferred him to the Government of all *Paleſtine*. Thus writeth *Zoſimus* concerning this matter, who, if he could have done it, would have blamed *Theodoſius* for his Clemency; why he aggravates every thing againſt him, and minceth every offence he had cauſe to puniſh we ſufficiently underſtand. But however, we are informed elſewhere, both of the true occaſion of this Tumult and the extravagancy thereof, and by what means the Emperor was brought to remit the puniſhment.

παντὸς δὲ
τρυφῆς καὶ ἀκο-
λασίας εἴδους
κατὰ πῆχυν
(τὸ λεγόμε-
νον) ἐφ' ἑκά-
στης ἐπιδιδόν-
τος, &c.

Thereupon the *Antiochians* fall into a tumult and demoliſh his Statues.

42. That the occaſion of it was the great expence, which according to the Cuſtom, he was to make in careſſing the Souldiers, and otherwiſe, upon his Sons and his own account, *Libanius* teſtifies; although our Church-Hiſtorians, as *Theodoret* and *Sozomen*, aſcribe it to the Preparations for War, which ſome apply to that which ſhortly followed againſt *Maximus*. The Statues both of him and his late wife *Flaccilla* (by ſeveral called *Placilla*) they demoliſhed, ſhe being dead the year before; and not only theirs, but thoſe alſo of his Sons *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, and of his Father *Theodoſius* the Elder. To chaſtiſe this Inſolence and Rebellion were diſpatched away, by the angry Emperor (who moſt took to heart the injury offered to his deceaſed Wife) *Cæſarius* the *Magiſter Officiorum*, and *Ellebichus* the *Magiſter Militum*, of whom we have heard already, and are likely to hear more out of the Laws. In the mean time *John*, who was ſirnamed *Chryſoſtom*, and then reſided in that City, by his Eloquent Orations, fitted to that great danger which then impended, moved the People that committed the Offence, to a great ſenſe of their Guilt, and Puniſhment. The firſt he made was ſeven days after “the commiſſion of the fault, which he ſo much exaggerated, as that his drift was to ſhew that the Hainouſneſs of it could not be expreſſed. In order to this, he inſiſted both on the *Newneſs* and the *Immanity* of the thing. Nothing, he ſaid, had been formerly than that their City more venerable; and now at preſent nothing was rendred more miſerable. The Inhabitants thereof had been as compoſed and gentle, formerly, as an Horſe tame and uſed to the Hand, that would meet thoſe that made much of him; but now all on a ſuddain it kicked and ſpurned, and had done ſuch miſchief, as it was not any way fit to ſpeak. He tells them he lamented and mourned, not for the ſad Effects of the Emperors Threats, expected by them, but for the madneſs of the follies committed. For, although the Emperor were not angry, would not at all puniſh or chaſtiſe; yet he demands how they ſhould be able to bear the Ignominy which they had contracted? And ſo falling into a paſſion, as he ſeemeth, he tells them that ſorrow interrupts him in what he hath to ſay. He both laments himſelf, and excites his Auditors to do the ſame; and adding that Almighty God permitted this to fall out becauſe they tolerated ſuch as had blaſphemed him, he exhorts them to Repentance in many words.

Vide Chronic. Hiſtoric. Cod. Th. ad hunc. Ann.

ἀνδριάντ.

Vide Baron. ad Eund. Ann.

43. The Holy time of *Lent* now was come, wherein the *Antiochians* flocked to Church, having no other comfort but what there was afforded them: and therein *Chryſoſtom* Preached conſtantly to them, being exceedingly touched with a ſenſe of their condition, whom, according to his Place and Calling, he earneſtly exhorted to Repentance. The Homilies are ſtill extant; and in them ſufficiently appears what Eloquence can do when joyned with Neceſſity. But the Judges in Commiſſion

He ſends Officers to puniſh the miſdemeanor.

Whom certain Chriſtian Eremites reſtrain.

miſſion for trial and puniſhment of the Offenders are now arrived at *Antioch*, which firſt they degrade from the honour of being the *Metropolis* of *Syria*, and then they ſhut up all the publick places; as the Baths, Theatres, Forums and others. *Laodicea* is made what Noble *Antioch* formerly had been; and the moſt eminent of them that were known or ſuſpected guilty are apprehended and ſent to Priſon, to whom Tortures are preſented, a ſufficient Guard being in the mean time beſtowed up and down the City, to prevent any Riſing of the Inhabitants. The Judges prepare ſevere Inquiſitions, and the Eſtates of thoſe that are moſt ſuſpected are ſeized, the Tables of Proſcription being faſtned upon their Doors. A great part of the Citizens, after the commiſſion of the Fact, being aware of what would follow, when they heard that Judges, and an Army would be ſent down, withdrew themſelves; of ſuch as remained, ſome were ſent to Priſon, and the reſt expected hourly the Officers to be at their Gates, having no other Conſolation than in their Devotions and the good effects of *Chryſoſtom* his Sermons. The Noiſe hereof could not but be ſtrong and fly far and wide; and to the Mountains it came, where many Chriſtians then lived an *Eremetical* life, who no ſooner heard what Deſtruction hung over the Heads of the Citizens, but haſted thither, applied themſelves preſently to the Judges, and by their importunate Arguments drawn from Chriſtian Piety and Mercy, prevailed with them to reſpite all farther Proceedings, till ſuch time as a Meſſage might be ſent to the Emperor. For procurement hereof they adventured their lives, and for four days together watched the Gates of the Court, to prevent the execution of condemned Perſons, as *Chryſoſtom* affirmes, who upbraided the Philoſophers of *Antioch* in this manner: Where are they now that wear the *Pallium*, and ſtretch out their long Beards, “ with their Staves in their Hands? Theſe Philoſophers of the *Gentiles*, theſe *Cynical* Miſchiefs, more miſerable than Doggs under the Table, and doing all “ things for the ſake of their Bellies. They all then forſook the City, all ran “ away, and hid themſelves in holes: they only, who by their works ſhew forth “ true Philoſophy, as if there had been no danger at all, appeared unconcerned in “ the *Forum*. Thoſe that lived in the City betook themſelves to Mountains and “ Holes; and *Hermits* living in Mountains came down as Inhabitants, in this dreadful “ time, into the City.

The miſerable Eſtate of the City during the four days of proceedings.

44. But how lamentable the Face of things was in *Antioch* theſe four days, wherein the Judges ſate and examined the matter before they were prevailed with to ſtop their proceedings, the ſame Perſon, who was an eye-witneſs, puts his Auditors in mind afterward, to make them ſenſible of their Deliverance. He tells them “That when the greateſt part of the Citizens out of fear was run away “ and had hid themſelves in Caves and Holes, the Houſes were without Women, “ and in the *Forum* were no men to be ſeen: poſſibly two or three in the middle “ thereof, and like nothing ſo much as walking Ghoſts. Going then to the Hall “ of Juſtice, to ſee what would be the Iſſue, and ſeeing the remainder of the Citizens “ ſtanding at the Gates, he moſt admired, that though a multitude thither “ had flocked, there was as profound a ſilence as if no body had been preſent, “ one looking at another, but no man daring to ask him that ſtood next him, or “ to hear from him what the News was. For every one ſuſpected his Neighbour, “ when they perceived many taken ſodainly out of the Crowd and carried in, “ when no ſuch thing was once thought of. But all of them together looked up “ to Heaven, and in ſilence ſtretched out their Hands thither, expecting deliverance “ from above, and beſeeching God to ſtand by thoſe that were to be tried, “ and to ſoften the Hearts of the Judges to the producing of ſome milde ſentence. “ Now being got into the Hall, a more terrible Sight preſented it ſelf, *viz.* “ of Souldiers every way armed, ſo as to keep peace and order, while the Judges “ did their work. Now becauſe the Wives, the Mothers and Children of thoſe “ that were condemned ſtood at the Gates; that no noiſe nor diſturbance might “ ariſe, when they ſaw their Relations led to Execution, they cauſed them to be “ removed all away. But the moſt ſad Spectacle was, that of the Mother and Siſter “ of one of the Priſoners who crept through the Croud of Souldiers, and lay “ proſtrate on the Earth at the Feet of the Judges, where hearing nothing but “ the Noiſe of the Executioners, the ſound of the Blows they gave, the mourning “ of thoſe that indured them, and the dreadful Sentences of the Judges themſelves, “ they ſeemed to indure greater Torments than they who underwent the Puniſhment, “ being chiefly concerned leſt theſe that were tortured, by extremity of pain “ ſhould be driven to accuſe their deareſt Relations. The Relator of theſe Paſſages “

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ges declares, that, he ſeeing thoſe who at home had their Maids and Eunuchs to “
attend them, and nothing wanting to their Eaſe or Pleaſure, now lye upon the “
bare ground at the feet of the Company, and hearing them with all the expreſ- “
ſions of ſorrow they could utter, begging thoſe preſent that they would inter- “
ceed with the Judges, he could not but break out into that expreſſion of *So-* “
lomon; *Vanity of Vanities, all is Vanity*, and it put him into a profitable Fit of “
acting the true and Chriſtian Philoſopher in other Meditations ſuitable to the pre- “
ſent occaſion.

45. Theſe that now were arraigned were the Principal of all the City; and joyful they would have been, if they had brought them word that they might redeem their lives, by parting with whatſoever elſe they had, even liberty. The day being over, and the iſſue of the Trial expected, all perſons were in greater expectation and anxiety, and prayed that the matter might be put off and reſerved for the cogniſance of the Emperor himſelf, from whom they hoped for ſome eaſie Sentence: and now every where were plenty of Prayers and Tears to be obſerved of ſuch as, touched with a love to their Country, deſired of Almighty God that he would ſpare the Remainders of the City, and not ſuffer it quite to be rooted out. In the mean time the Judges were moved with none of theſe things, intent only upon that for which they came, and drove on Foot and in Chains through the *Forum* into Priſon thoſe who a while ago had Horſes enough of their own they kept at home, and needed not to have walkt, beſides multitude of Servants to attend them: their Goods were ſeized, Bills of Proſcription ſet upon their Dores, and their Wives and Children conſtrained to ſeek for Lodging they knew not where, for every one was afraid to receive them. And yet they ſeemed pretty well ſatisfied in parting with their Eſtates, and the deſpicable condition to which they were reduced, in that they ſtill injoyed their lives, which they expected alſo ſodainly to part with. But ſee, when nothing but death and ſlaughter ran in their minds, ſodainly they were ſurprized with exceeding Joy; when the Judges reſolved that the matter ſhould be firſt reported to the Emperor. Not only the Monks but the Clergy then in the City, laboured abundantly in this work; one reſolving at firſt to go with his life in his hand to the Court, and others beſeeching, intreating and falling at the Feet of the Judges till they had procured a Reprieve, then kiſſing their Hands and their Feet to thank and keep them in the ſame humour. He that went to Court to intercede, was *Flavianus*, Biſhop of the place, who foreſeeing the Danger undertook the Imployment ſhortly after the Fact was committed, and in his way met with the Commiſſioners that were ſent to examine and chaſtiſe it. Being come to the Palace, as *Chryſoſtom* deſcribes him, and was ſuitable to the trouble of mind he underwent, he ſtood at a diſtance from the Emperor, in a ſilent and weeping poſture, hanging down the Head, and not daring to look up, as if he had been the man that committed the Crime; and that with this Deſign, that he might firſt move *Theodoſius* to compaſſion, and that done, then begin his Defence. For guilty Perſons can only be allowed to be ſilent, and ſay nothing in Excuſe for what is done.

The Judges reſolve that the Puniſhment ſhall be referred to the Emperor.

Flavianus the Biſhop goes to the Emperor.

46. The Emperor at length eſpied him in this poſture, and came to him much moved to ſee him in ſo ſad a plight; and though he knew his errand, gave him not one angry word, never upbraided him with the Sawcineſs and Rebellion of thoſe for whom he came to intercede; but began a grave Expoſtulation, wherein he related how kind he had been to the City ſince his firſt coming to the Government, and then demanded if he deſerved ſuch a requital, and what ill turn it was he had done them, for which they had deſigned him ſuch a Reward? Whatever it was they might have revenged it upon the living; but that would not ſatisfie them, except their Indignation extended it ſelf alſo to the dead. He ended with a proteſtation, that he had eſteemed *Antioch* above all other Cities; that it was more valuable in this Thoughts than his own Country; that he had deſired to ſee it above all things, and all thoſe that converſed with him were ſufficient witneſſes of his Vow. At this *Flavianus* fetching a deep ſigh, and pouring forth plenty of Tears, replied, that they could not but be ſenſible how much he had reſpected their City, and that therefore the greater was their Ingratitude and Guilt; inſomuch that though he burnt or demoliſhed it, and put them all to the Sword, yet he could not inflict a Puniſhment ſo great as they deſerved; and whatever he could do, this would ſtill remain as their greateſt plague, that they had been ingrateful to their Benefactor; and ſhould be condemned as an Inſtance of Ingratitude, by Poſterity. For had their City been broken open by Barbarians, and

Who Expoſtulates about the injury done to him.

Flavianus confeſſeth the greatneſs of it.

and the Inhabitants thereof carried away Captive, they could ſtill have been comforted by this conſideration, that he being alive, and bearing them ſo much good Will, would amend what was amiſs, and reſtore the place to as great a Luſtre as formerly. But now what hope was remaining, that after ſuch a misfortune ſuch a Deliverance would come, he from whom they were to expect it, being diſobliged? To whom now could they betake themſelves? what Refuge could be remaining in ſuch a Caſe? But however, if his Majeſty pleaſed, there would not be wanting a Medicine for this Diſeaſe. For amongſt private Men great quarrels and fallings out often procure as great Acts of Charity and Friendſhip. When God had made Man and placed him in his Paradice, the Divel envying his happineſs tempted him to diſobedience, and thereby caſt him from this Station; but God not only not forſook him, but, inſtead of Paradiſe, opened Heaven unto us thereby, both demonſtrating his own goodneſs, and inflicting on the Devil greater Puniſhment.

But uſeth great Arguments to induce him to pardon it.

47. He adviſed the Emperour herein to imitate his Maker. For the Devils had left no ſtone unturned, to bring into Diſgrace with him, that City which of all others he moſt loved. He prayed him that though he did puniſh the Crime, yet that he would not exclude the Citizens from his favour even in Conſideration hereof; but, to be revenged upon theſe their Enemies, rather write *Antioch* amongſt the chief of thoſe he reſpected. If he overthrew or deſtroyed it, he ſhould do what they aimed at; but if he would remit his diſpleaſure and reſtore it to his former favour, he would do them the greateſt deſpight imaginable, thereby ſhewing that they not only profited nothing by their Plot, but every thing happened quite contrary to what they propoſed to themſelves. And herein he would be juſt, in ſhewing Mercy to that City which the Devils envied, becauſe of his Friendſhip. For if he had not ſo much loved it, they would not have ſo much hated it; ſo that though Strange, yet it was true, that it had undergone this Calamity for his ſake. How much more bitter than all Turnings and Subverſions were thoſe words he uttered, that he had by this Fact being more affronted than had any of his Predeceſſors? But he pray'd him out of his Goodneſs and Wiſdome to conſider that this Affront that was offered him, would afford him a Crown more Noble, and of greater value than the Diadem he wore. His Diadem indeed was a Token of his Virtue, and of the Liberality of Almighty God. But the Crown woven out of this his Compaſſion and Mercy, would be his alone, and the reward of his Wiſdome. And all the world would more admire him for his Conqueſt over his Paſſion, than for the gliſtering pretious ſtones he wore on his Head; Though they had demoliſhed his Statues, yet if he forgave the Demoliſhers, and would not take the Revenge of them that he deſigned, he would have as many Statues Erected him as there were at preſent, and would be Men in the world. For Poſterity would hear of this his Clemency, and for it would both admire and love his Memory. And that what he ſaid was not out of Flattery, but true, and upright dealing, he would ſhow by diſcovering to him from a paſſage of former times, that neither Armies nor Arms, Money nor multitudes of Subjects, nor any other thing could render Princes ſo Illuſtrious, as Clemency, and the Diſcipline of the Mind, in bringing it into Subjection unto Reaſon.

48. There's a Story, ſaith he, ſuitable to this occaſion, of *Conſtantine* of bleſſed Memory, his Statue being defaced; for which he was vehemently moved by ſome Flatterers to take Revenge. As a Motive to it, they told him, that his Face was grievouſly battered; at which words, he felt his Face with his Hand and ſmiling replied, that he could feel no wound he had received, but that his Face and Head were ſound and unbroken. This put the Flatterers to ſilence, but the Saying he uſed hath ſince that been ever ſpoken of, neither will it haſtily be forgotten. Now was not this Conqueſt more noble than the many Trophies he erected? That Prince built many Cities, and was Conquerour of Multitudes of Barbarians, yet of theſe things nothing is remembred; but this Speech of his, is in every ones Mouth, which by all Poſterity will be recorded. Now if for it he obtained ſo great Fame amongſt Men, how ſhall Almighty God, the bountiful rewarder of all good works, Crown his Clemency? But what need is there, ſaith he, that I ſhould inſtance in *Conſtantine* or any others, when the Caſe requires, that I put you in mind of your own good Deeds? Call to mind what formerly you have done; how in this Faſt of Lent before *Eaſter*, you ſent out your Letters through the world, whereby was injoyned, that Priſoners ſhould be pardoned, and ſet at Liberty; and this not ſufficiently expreſſing your humanity, you uſed theſe words, in the ſaid

Letters:

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Letters: *I wiſh I could reſtore thoſe already dead to Life.* Remember theſe words; for now you have your wiſhed for opportunity of calling the Dead to Life again; the Citizens of *Antioch* being already dead before Condemned, the City lying now upon the Brink of the Grave; therefore now reſtore it, as you may do without money, without Charge, without expence either of time or Labour. One word from your Mouth will do it; and the poor Town will acknowledge it ſelf more indebted to you than it's Founder, and that with Reaaſon. For he only gave a beginning to it and ſo deſiſted; but you will reſtore to its grandure a great and mighty City deſtroyed and brought to as bad as nothing, after a great time of tranquillity and Repoſe. It would have been no ſuch great exploit, if being taken by the Enemy, you had reſcued it out of their hands, as now it will be generous to pardon it. For many Princes have done as much as that can amount to; but this will be your Atchievement alone, and work beyond expectation. It's a thing ſo far diſtant from wonder, that it's practis'd every day, that Princes do good unto their Subjects; but that one who had ſuffered ſuch Affronts ſhould put them up and forget them, this exceds the ſtrength of humane Nature. Conſider that now as to the matter in hand, you do not only conſult about the ſtate of one City, but concerning your own glory, nay of Chriſtianity it ſelf. For now the Eyes of *Jews* and *Greeks*, and *Barbarians*, who have alſo been acquainted with what hath happened, are upon you, and expect what Sentence you will paſs upon the Offendors. If it be milde and gentle, all will commend it, praiſe God for it, and ſay; *Of what great power is Chriſtian Religion, which is able to reſtrain a Man that has no equal upon Earth, who has power to puniſh and deſtroy at his pleaſure, and hath taught him ſuch Philoſophy as no private perſon would practiſe the like. Certainly great is the God of Chriſtians, who of men makes Angels, and ſuch as are above all natural Neceſſities.*

49. Neither let that vain and groundleſs Fear poſſeſs you, into which ſome perhaps would have you caſt, as if ſparing this City would make others confident and refractory, and your Government to ſit too uneaſy upon your ſhoulders. Indeed had you been in no Capacity to puniſh, and that theſe Rioters had contended and got the better of you, then might you have entertained ſuch a Suſpition. But for as much as they are aſtoniſhed, already half dead, in me their Deputy lye now proſtrate at your Feet, expect nothing but deſtruction, and place all their Refuge in Almighty God, whom they ceaſe not continually to invoke to proſper my Journey; in a word behave themſelves no otherwiſe than thoſe that are at the point of Death, how cauſeleſs and ſuperfluous is this fear? Had they preſently been ordered to be put to death, they had not ſuffered ſo much as now they endure, living ſo many days in Fear and Trembling; when Night comes, they expect never more to ſee the Day, and when Day comes, they do not hope to reach the Evening. Many by ſeeking to eſcape the Danger in the Mountains, have fallen into the Jawes of wilde Beaſts; not only Men, but little Children and Women, both Beautiful and well born, lye lurking in Caves and Dens, much more proper for other ſorts of Animals. A new ſort of Captivity hath ſeized the City. The Buildings and the Walls do ſtand, and yet they ſuffer more than if Fire had deſtroyed their Houſes. Though there be no Enemy, no Barbarians appearing, yet they are more diſperſed than thoſe that ſhun Captivity, and worſe diſpoſed of than ſuch as are taken Priſoners. If a Leaf of a Tree do but wag, they are thereby ſcared and terrified all the Day: Prolong not therefore their Miſeries, but give them ſome time to take Breath. It's eaſie to awe and affright, but to procure ones ſelf Friends and Lovers, ſuch as will be quiet, obedient and heartily pray for ones proſperity, it's very difficult. This is the way to effect it. You might be at infinite expence, and raiſe innumerable Armies, and yet by all your Endeavours not be able to purchaſe or procure ſo much hearty affection, as by this Courſe, both from them that you oblige, and others that ſhall heare how you have obliged them. And if you have ſuch Returns from Men, how much will God himſelf reward you, not only for what you do at preſent; but as this Example will operate in future Ages? For if ſuch a Riot as this ſhall happen (which God forbid) and thoſe that are injured, ſhall give way to their Paſſion and Revenge, how will they Bluſh and be confounded, when they reflect upon this Act of Self-denyal? Hereby you will make your ſelf an Inſtructor to Poſterity, and will herein excel them, though they arrive at the higheſt pitch of Philoſophy. For it's one thing firſt to begin and ſet ſuch a Copy; and another, only to imitate or write after it.

50. Who

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50. Whoſoever therefore for the time to come, ſhall give any Inſtances of Clemency and good Nature, you will be partaker with them of the Reward: And for the preſent none can partake with you. If no ſuch perſon there ſhall be, yet will all Generations Conſpire to reverence your Memory, when they conſider how at ſuch time as a great City lying under Guilt, and obnoxious to Puniſhment, when thereat all Perſons were affrighted and aſtoniſhed; when the greateſt Captains, Officers and Judges ſtood amazed, and out of horror durſt not offer one word in its behalf; one poor old Man, God Almighty his Prieſt, ſhould by his looks and Acceſs move the Emperor to reſpect, and that the Prince ſhould grant that to this Old man, which he would not yield to any of thoſe about him, out of reverence to the Laws of God. And truly in this point the Citizens have ſhown their Duty to you, and how much they honour you, in that they have made me their Meſſenger, having this Opinion of you, that you Reverence the Prieſts of God, though all men be ſubject unto you, and the Prieſts conſidered in themſelves are mean, and have nothing to recommend them. But I pretend not only to come from them, but am ſent by the Common Lord of all Meſſengers (Angels) to declare thus much to your moſt milde and gentle Soul, that if you forgive men their Treſpaſſes, then will your Heavenly Father forgive you yours. Remember then that day wherein we ſhall give an account of our Actions. Conſider with your ſelf, that by this Act of Charity you will cover a multitude of Sins. Other Meſſengers bring Gold and Silver, and other Gifts with them: I only have brought with me the Holy Scriptures, pretend to make no other Preſents, but therewith beſeech you to imitate your own Lord and Maſter, who being every day injured by us yet ceaſes not to give us all good things. Do not defeat our Expectations, nor make null our Promiſes. If ſo be you will be reconciled, if you will receive the City unto your former grace and favour, and put away your diſpleaſure, I ſhall then return with great Alacrity and Comfort. But if you preſerve your Indignation againſt it, I will not only not go thither, but renounce it for the time to come; and fix my Habitation at ſome other place. For I will never own that for my Country or Home, with which you, who are the moſt merciful and good natur'd of all Men, refuſe to be reconciled.

51. *Flavianus* having ſpoken to this Purpoſe, it fared with the Emperour as of old time with *Joſeph*; whoſe Eyes were big with Tears; but he refrained himſelf becauſe of the By-ſtanders. He only ſpake one word (*Chryſoſtome* ſtill tells us) but this word was ſuch, as more became and adorned him, than his Diadem, *viz. What great or admirable matter is it, if we who are contumeliuſly uſed, forgive thoſe Men who ſo treat us, we being Men our ſelves? when the Lord of the world deſcending from Heaven, made a ſervant for our ſakes, and Crucified by thoſe who received benefit by him, prayed to his Father for his Crucifiers, ſaying, Forgive them, for they know not what they do. What a wonderful thing is it then, if we*
He prevailes. *forgive our fellow-Servants?* And that theſe were not feigned words, the ſe-“
quel ſhewed; for the Biſhop intending to ſtay and Celebrate with him the ap-“
proaching Feaſt of *Eaſter*, he compelled him to haſte away and ſhow himſelf to
his People. I know ſaith he, how diſturbed they are now in their minds,“
and that yet there are many remainders of this Calamity; go and comfort them.“
If they ſee once the Pilot they will forget the Tempeſt. The Biſhop deſired“
that he would ſend his Son; but He willing to ſhow that he was abſolutely“
reconciled, bade them pray, that thoſe obſtacles might be removed, theſe“
wars extinguiſhed, and he would come himſelf without fail. Now, ſaith the“
Relator, what can be more calm and ſerene than this Soul? For the time to
come, let the *Pagans* be confounded, or rather, not ſo, but let them be In-
ſtructed, and leaving their Error, betake themſelves to Chriſtianity ſo fruit-“
full in virtue, being taught our Philoſophy by an Emperour and a Biſhop.“
But as for the Emperor, he contented not himſelf with ſending the Biſhop away,“
but when he was gone out of Town, and had croſſed the Sea, he ſent after“
him for fear he ſhould loiter, and defraud thereby the City of half of“
their Joy, by keeping of *Eaſter* in another place. The Biſhop, as ſome greedy“
of praiſe would have done, did not neglect to ſend away the Joyful News till“
he himſelf ſhould bring it, but for that he travelled more ſlowly, diſpatched“
away one by Poſt, with Notice of their deliverance, leſt by reaſon of the ſlow-“
neſs of his Return, their Sorrow ſhould be continued. For he had no Deſign“
that he might bring the Tidings, but that the City might take breath again as“

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ſoon as might be, and this they improved to all expreſſions of Joy, kindling “ of Lights, and placing Beds before the Houſes (as was wont to be practiſed in “ Feaſts, when ſome extraordinary good thing had hapened) ſo that *Antioch* ſeemed “ to Celebrate the Feaſt of a new and late Nativity: And to increaſe their “ Joy, their Biſhop with the Pardon came timely enough to Celebrate *Eaſter* “ with them; which *Chryſoſtome* in another Sermon laboured to make them ſenſible of, as a tranſcendent Favour of Almighty God, in reſtoring the Head to the Body, the Paſtor to his Flock, the Maſter to his Scholars, the Captain to his Soldiers, and the Biſhop unto his Prieſts.

52. This is the Relation made by *Chryſoſtome* concerning the Tumult at *Antioch*, the danger the City was in, and the manner of procuring Pardon and Indemnity; which being his Account he gave to the Citizens preſently after the thing happened; and there being opportunity enough of knowing the truth or falſity thereof, and the moſt material paſſages being notoriouſly known; as of the Hermites their coming down, the Meſſage undertaken by *Flavianus*; his ſending a Poſt before him with News of the Pardon, and his bringing with him the Act of Grace it ſelf, and the like; No indifferent Perſon can queſtion the Veracity of that truly golden mouthed Orator, of whom it may juſtly be ſaid, that whereas ſome are words without matter; others are matter without words, moſt neither words nor matter; he was one of thoſe few who were both matter and words together. This renders unlikely what *Sozomen* writes, that *Flavianus* perſwaded the Boys that ſung at the Emperors Table, to put into their Songs thoſe Sayings which were in the Petitions of the *Antiochians*, and that *Theodoſius* thereupon touched with a ſenſe of their miſery, ceaſed any more to be angry with them. But whereas *Baronius* will have *Libanius* to have been dead long before this time, it was becauſe he was unacquainted with his Writings, wherein mention is made of this tumult of the *Antiochians*, particularly two Orations to *Theodoſius* upon this occaſion. And whereas he placeth it in the ſame year that *Theodoſius* undertook the Expedition againſt the Uſurper *Maximus*; others with more reaſon fix it in the year preceding, or that whereof we now write. For, firſt it happened at ſuch time as *Theodoſius* reſided at *Conſtantinople*, as ſeveral Paſſages teſtifie; and the year following, he was at *Theſſalonica*, as appears by ſeveral Laws. Then it hapned after the Conqueſt of the *Barbarians*, or *Grothingi*, or rather when ſome few Sparks of that Invaſion were ſtill remaining, or feared to be ſtill lurking; and after the death of *Flaccilla*; in Winter-time, before *Lent*, which was not utterly expired when the Biſhop brought them their Pardon. Indeed that *Theodoſius* was now preparing againſt *Maximus* is very probable, not being ignorant of what Deſigns the Tyrant had in his Head. For towards the later end of this very year he brake into *Italy*, and frighted away *Valentinian*, who fled with *Juſtina* his Mother, and his Siſter *Galla*, to *Theodoſius* into *Illyricum*, and made his Abode at *Theſſalonica*, whither *Theodoſius* removed to him.

Vide Chron. Hiſtoric. Cod. Theod.

Lib. 4. p. 766.

Maximus thinks of Invading *Italy*.

53. For *Maximus* (as *Zoſimus* hath it) not thinking he had yet got enough, or that matters had fully ſucceeded as he thought was ſuitable to his Worth and Dignity, while he only Reigned over thoſe Nations which had formerly obeyed *Gratian*; reſolved if he could, to remove *Valentinian* alſo out of the way, and get all his ſhare; at leaſt ſo much of it as he could come by. Overpowred by theſe thoughts he prepared for paſſing the *Alps* into *Italy*; but when he perceived that his way muſt lye over ſuch ſteep and craggy Hills, and beyond them over Lakes and Meeres, and thereby his March be rendered very ſlow, with ſo great Forces as he purpoſed to take along with him, he cooled in his heat, and took more time to conſider of it. *Valentinian* now from *Aquileia* ſent his Ambaſſadours to treat of a better grounded and firmer Peace betwixt them, and to the conditions thereof *Maximus* ſeemed very willing to ſubmit. This ſo well ſucceeding, *Valentinian* ſent away one *Domninus* a *Syrian*, a Perſon of very good Note, and one ſo familiar with him, that he imparted to him his moſt ſecret Affairs, whom *Maximus* received, and courted to a very high Degree; and after the Delivery of his Meſſage preſented him ſo highly, that he imagined his Maſter could have no better Friend. Nay, he was at ſo much pains and Charge to deceive him, that he committed part of his Army into his Hands, as for the Emperor's Uſe, to be imployed by him againſt the *Barbarians* that infeſted *Pannonia*; which, as it made *Domninus* depart in a very joyful humour; ſo by paſſing the *Alps* the neareſt and ſafeſt way back into *Italy*, he thereby diſcovered it to *Maximus*, who expecting the ſame, and being prepared for a March, followed him

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Effects it by cunning.

with all his Forces, ſending ſome Scouts before him, who ſhould intercept all perſons whatſoever that might carry News of his Approach. And this was eaſily enough effected, for ſuch as paſſed theſe præcipitous places could not be hid. When therefore he had the way clearly diſcovered by *Domninus* his paſſing below in the ſame Tract, both over the Mountainous and Fenny places, there being no Enemy to oppoſe him, he eaſily got over into *Italy*, and none interpoſing, led his Army towards *Aquileia.* *Valentinian* with ſo ſudden a thing ſurpriſed, ſeemed to caſt away all Hope; and his Miniſters feared that *Maximus* would get him alive into his power. Therefore he preſently took Ship, and Sailed to *Theſſalonica*, having with him in his Company his Mother *Juſtina*; who had been formerly the Wife of *Magnentius*, and after his death being very beautiful, Married to the Emperour *Valentinian*; and ſhe took along with her, her Daughter *Galla.* Being arrived at *Theſſalonica*, they ſent to *Theodoſius* to intreat him that now at laſt he would revenge the inſolent Injuries offered to all the Family of *Valentinian.*

Valentinian thereupon flies to *Theſſalonica.*

54. Thus much *Zoſimus* writes concerning the expedition of *Maximus*, and the care that *Valentinian* and thoſe about him had to prevent that Invaſion which they had ſo much reaſon to apprehend. But whereas he mentions their ſending Ambaſſadors before *Domninus*, he either knew not, or would not mention the Embaſſy of *Ambroſe* Biſhop of *Milan*; whom, though *Juſtina* an *Arian* in Religion had much perſecuted and termed a Tyrant, yet now ſhe had recourſe to him, knowing what ſucceſs his firſt meſſage had, when ſent to allay the fury of the Uſurper, the ſame year that he Murdered *Gratian.* He readily undertook the Imployment for preventing ſuch miſchief as was like to follow, and, as in an Epiſtle, wherein he gives to the Emperour an Account of his Negotiation, he writes, the day after his Arrival at *Triers*, in order to his Addreſs went to the Palace. There came forth to him an *Eunuch* and a *Gall* by Nation, the *Præpoſitus Cubiculi*; who when he demanded Audience, asked him if he had brought any Letters from the Emperour. He told him he had; to which he replied, that he could not be heard but in *Conſiſtory.* *Ambroſe* ſaid, that Prieſts were not wont to be ſo received, and that he had ſomething in Charge which he would gladly deliver to his Maſter alone: Hereupon he went in to him, but returned with the ſame anſwer that his former might be believed to be true. *Ambroſe* ſaid, that thoſe of his Function were not wont to be ſo treated; yet notwithſtanding he would condeſcend to any thing that ſhould conduce to the diſcharge of his Truſt, to the ſervice of him that ſent him, and to the reſtoring of Brotherly love. *Maximus* hereupon ſitting in Conſiſtory, *Ambroſe* was introduced; to whom he aroſe that he might give him the kiſs. But he without ſteping forward ſtood amongſt the *Conſiſtorians*, who bad him go up, and *Maximus* himſelf called to him: But inſtead of going, he asked him why he would offer to kiſs him, whom he would not own; for had he owned him for a Perſon of his Condition, he would not have received him in that place. Hereat ſaith he, Biſhop are you moved? Not, replied he, with the Injury; but with ſhame, that I ſtand in a place not proper to my Function; But quoth *Maximus*, in your former Embaſſy you came into the Conſiſtory. That was not my fault, he returned, but his that ſent for me. He asked him why he would then come in; and he replied, that then he came to ask Peace in behalf of an Inferiour; but now of an Equal. Who may he thank for that ſaith *Maximus*? Almighty God, ſaith *Ambroſe*, who hath preſerved to *Valentinian* that Kingdom which he gave him.

The Embaſſy of *Ambroſe* Biſhop of *Milan.*

Ep. 27. Vide Baron ad Ann. 387.

Diſcourſe betwixt him and *Maximus.*

55. At length the Tyrant broke out into Choler, and told him he had over-reached him as that fellow *Bauto* did, who under the pretence of ſerving the Intereſt of the Boy, deſigned to ſet up for himſelf, and ſent upon him the *Barbarians*; as if, ſaith he, I could not bring ſufficient Numbers of them into the Field, of whom ſo many Thouſands ſerve under me, and receive my Pay. But at what time you came to me, and held me back; who was there that could have withſtood me or my Power? *Ambroſe* mildly anſwered, that there was no cauſe why he ſhould be angry, and deſired him to hear what Return he could make. He acknowledged that therefore he was now come, becauſe in his former Embaſſy when he credited him, he ſaid he was deceived. For, this that he had done in behalf of the young Emperour, he no otherwiſe could look upon, but as tending to his own Reputation. For, whom ſaith he, ought Biſhops to defend more than the Fatherleſs? “ It being written, *Judge the Fatherleſs, and plead for the Widdow*; and again, *the Judges of Widdows and Fathers of Orphans*; yet will not I upbraid “

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braid *Valentinian* with what I did for him. To ſpeak the truth, how did I ſo withſtand you, that you could not paſs into *Italy*? What Rocks did I caſt in your way? What Forces or Armies did I oppoſe? Or did I ſtop up the paſſages in the *Alps* with my Body? I wiſh I could ſay ſo; I would not fear your Accuſations, or Reproaches. With what promiſes did I abuſe you, to draw you into a Peace? Did not you ſend Count *Victor* to me near unto *Moguntiacum* in *Gall* to ask it? Wherein therefore did *Valentinian* deceive you, whom firſt you your ſelf asked the queſtion? wherein did *Bauto*, who but ſerved his Prince? Was it becauſe he did not betray his Maſter? How did I circumvent you, who at my firſt coming, when you demanded why *Valentinian* did not come to you as a Son to his Father; made Anſwer, that it was not to be imagined that a Child in the ſharp ſeaſon of winter ſhould travel with his Mother over the *Alps*, and without his Mother it was not fit he ſhould be put upon ſuch a Journey, eſpecially things ſtanding ſo doubtfully as they did. I told you that we came to treat of Peace, and had no Commiſſion to meddle with his Coming, which therefore I could not Ingage for: To this you returned, Let us ſtay then and ſee what Anſwer *Victor* brings, who while I was retained with you, went to *Milan*, and received a denial to what he propounded: they agreed there to treat of Peace not of the Emperours Coming, who by no means was to be removed. I was with you when *Victor* came back; How then did I put a ſtop to the Coming of *Valentinian*?

56. The Ambaſſadors, ſent again into *Gall* to declare he ſhould not come found me in that Country; and in my Return, I met with Soldiers of both Parties ſet to the Cuſtody of the Paſſages. What Armies of yours did I recall? What Troops did I draw back from *Italy*? or what *Barbarians* did Count *Bauto* ſend? And what great matter had it been if he had ſo done, when you threatned the *Roman* Empire with the Auxiliaries of the *Barbarians*, and Troops that came from beyond the Borders, whom the Province maintained; eſpecially he being born in the Parts beyond the *Rhine*? But conſider what difference there was betwixt your threatning humour, and the mildneſs of *Valentinian* the young Emperor. You required, that with an Army of *Barbarians* you might fall into *Italy*. He diverted the *Huns* and *Alans* as they were falling into *Gall*, and drew them back through the Coaſts of the *Alamans*. What great matter was it if *Bauto* ingaged *Barbarians* againſt ſuch as themſelves? For while you ſeize upon the *Roman* Forces, and he on both ſides is to look to himſelf, the *Juthungi* within the Bowels of the Empire waſte *Rhætia*, and therefore againſt the *Juthungus* the *Hunn* was to be expected. Yet becauſe he was troubleſom to *Alamannia*, and began to indanger *Gall*, he was conſtrained to quit his Triumphs, that you might have no apprehenſion of Fear. Compare now the Actions of both together. You are he that cauſed *Rhætia* to be haraſſed. And *Valentinian* with his own Gold purchaſed you Peace and Security. Behold him there that ſtands at your right Hand, whom *Valentinian*, when he might eaſily have vented his Sorrow and Indignation upon him, yet ſent back to you with reſpect. He had him then in his own Dominions, and even when the Meſſage of his Brothers death was brought him, reſtrained himſelf; neither did he return to you the like; or revenge himſelf upon him, who was far from being of the ſame Dignity with his Brother, but ſtands in the ſame relation unto you. Be you now Judge your ſelf, betwixt you both. He ſent you your Brother back alive: It were to be wiſhed you would reſtore to him the dead Body of his dear Relation. Why do you deny this to him, who did not deny to ſend you Succours againſt himſelf? But you are afraid that if you ſend the Body; at the ſight thereof the Souldiers may fall into paſſion: for this you allege. Do you think that him, whom yet living they deſerted, they would now defend, when he is ſlain? Why do you fear him that's dead, whom you ſlew when you might have preſerved him? You ſay you ſlew your Enemy. No. He was none of your Enemy; but you were his. He is not now ſenſible of any Defence to be made for him: make the Caſe fully your own. If any one ſhould now riſe up againſt your ſelf and uſurp; I pray, whether would you call your ſelf his Enemy, or him yours? I am miſtaken, if it be not the Uſurper that makes War, and the Emperor that defends himſelf. Do you then refuſe to give up the dead body of him you ought not to have ſlain? Let *Valentinian* the Emperor have the Remains of his Brother, which may abide as Hoſtages of Peace betwixt him and you, and of your ſecurity. How could you pretend that you gave no order to kill him, whom

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whom you forbid to be buried? Will any believe that you did not envy him “ his life, to whom you grudge the benefit of a Sepulchre?

57. But I will forbear. I hear you complain that thoſe who are with *Valentinian* the Emperor, have rather betaken themſelves to the Emperor *Theodoſius*, “ than to you. Could you expect it ſhould happen otherwiſe, when you ſought to “ get them into your Hands to deſtroy them, whereas *Theodoſius* inriched them with “ Preſents, and preferred them? Hereat, ſaith he, whom have I killed? *Ambroſe* anſwered, *Balio:* and him that was ſo worthy a Perſon, ſo great a Souldier. Was this a juſt Excuſe for putting him death, becauſe he was faithful to his Prince? He replied, I did not command him to be put to death. *Ambroſe* added, but we heard you did; and to this he confeſſed, that if he had not killed himſelf he had ordered him to be carried to *Cabillonum*, and there to be burnt alive. This was then the Reaſon, ſaid the Biſhop, why it was believed that you ſlew him. But who can promiſe any ſecurity to himſelf, when ſo valiant a Warrior, ſo faithful a Souldier, ſo uſeful a *Comes* muſt be put to death? In concluſion, at parting, *Maximus* pretended that he would treat. But afterward when he found that *Ambroſe* abſtained from Communion with theſe Biſhops, that had joyned with him, and who had been for putting to death certain Hereticks (*Priſcillianiſts* he means) being incenſed by them he commanded him forthwith to be gone. And he very willingly complied with him herein, though moſt men believed that he could not eſcape thoſe that would be ſent to intrap him; and he began his journey, only ſorrowful to find that *Hyginus* an aged Biſhop was ſent into Exile, when he had nothing at all left him but his miſerable life. He took the pains to go to the Officers of the Tyrant, and to intreat for him, that an old man might not be hurried away without any Cloaths or ſo much as a Pillow to lye on; but while I interceded for him, ſaith he, I was hurried away my ſelf. This is the Account of mine Embaſſy. Emperor farewel and ſecure your ſelf more ſtrongly againſt a man, *who endeavours to cover and conceal an intended War under the ſpecious vizard of a Peace.* Thus much *Ambroſe* himſelf declares concerning what paſſed betwixt the Tyrant and him, and it's very remarkable for ſeveral circumſtances, which elſe never would have been made known.

Maximus commands him to be gone.

58. His Advice to *Valentinian* at the cloſe of his Relation was good, if he had had the happineſs to follow it; but inſtead of that, thinking by fair words to perſwade him, he ſent, it ſeems, *Domninus* to him, who being deceived by his hypocritical carriage became a Leader or Directer of his Forces into *Italy*; and thereupon followed the flight of *Valentinian* and his Relations to *Theſſalonica.* Thence when *Theodoſius* had received their meſſage, *Zoſimus* tells you that he was amazed at the News, began a little to forget his extravagant Luxury, and remit ſomething of his ſenſeleſs proſecution of Voluptuouſneſs. A Council being held, it was reſolved that he and certain of the Senate ſhould remove to *Theſſalonica*, which being done, upon a new Conſultation it was agreed, that the Villanies of *Maximus* ſhould be puniſhed. For by no means that man was to be ſpared any longer who had murdered *Gratian*, uſurped his Authority, and proceeding in ſuch courſes had now deprived his Brother of that Dominion, which had been left him. *Theodoſius* with theſe things was offended; but by reaſon of his natural Effeminacy, and that Sluggiſhneſs which he had all his life-time been guilty of, was ſlow in his preparations for the War, alleaging thoſe miſchiefs which are wont to happen in civil Broils, and ſhewing that whatever the Succeſs ſhould prove, yet the Commonwealth thereby muſt grievouſly ſuffer. He ſaid, that *Maximus* was firſt to be ſent to; and if he could be prevailed with to reſtore the Empire to *Valentinian*, and imbrace Quiet and Repoſe, then was the Empire to be divided amongſt them all, after the antient manner; but in caſe he refuſed, and was governed by his rapacious Appetite, the War was to be proſecuted without delay. And of the Senators none there was that durſt move any thing in oppoſition to what he ſaid. But *Juſtina*, being an experienced woman in the Affairs of the World, and ſagacious enough in what concerned her Intereſt, knowing ſufficiently how *Theodoſius* was addicted to love-matters, brought *Galla* her beautiful Daughter before him, and falling at his feet, humbly beſought him not to ſuffer to paſs unrevenged the death of *Gratian*, who had conferred the Emperial Dignity upon him, nor ſuffer her and her Children to lye deſtitute and forlorn in this ſad Condition. With that ſhe produces her Daughter weeping amain and bewailing her fortune. By theſe Sights *Theodoſius* could not but be exceedingly moved; eſpecially at the Beauty of the Girl, and he ſufficiently betrayed his inward Thoughts; yet did he defer what

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Theodoſius removes to *Theſſalonica.*

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what was to be done, and put them off at the preſent with this Anſwer, that they ſhould be of good courage. But his love increaſing every day more and more towards the Lady, he had a conference with *Juſtina*, and deſired her Daughter in Marriage, *Placilla* or *Flaccilla* (for ſo the *Romans* called her) his firſt Wife being already dead. She granted his Requeſt; but upon no other terms, than that he ſhould make War againſt *Maximus*, revenge the Death of *Gratian*, and reſtore to *Valentinian* the Empire which had deſcended to him from his Father. He accepted of the Conditions; thereby obtained *Galla* for his Wife, and ſet himſelf all manner of ways to provide for the War.

Prepares for War.

A.D. 388. *Theod. Aug.* 2. & *Cynegio Coſs.*

59. So paſſed over this year; and the following, being the CCCLXXXVIII. of our Lord, had for Conſuls *Theodoſius Auguſtus* the ſecond time, and *Cynegius*: it was the firſt *Indiction*, and the thirteenth year of *Valentinian*. *Theodoſius* having left his Son *Arcadius* at *Conſtantinople*, was come (as we ſaid) to *Theſſalonica*. Now *Zoſimus* further acquaints you, that, being thereto moved by the Woman, he procured the good affections of the Souldiers, by increaſing their Pay; and now being taught by experience, he ſo far corrected his former ſloth, that he fell upon the practice of ſome things, which, after his departure, would have great influence into his Affairs. *Cynegius* his *Præfectus Prætorio*, dying in his Journey from *Egypt*, when he conſidered whom to put in his place, and had thought upon diverſe Perſons, at length he found a man fit for this Charge, one *Tatianus*, whom he ſent for from *Aquileia*, a Perſon in all reſpects, of ſingular virtue: and having ordered him the Enſigns of Magiſtracy, he made his Son *Proculus* alſo *Prætor* of the City. In this matter *Zoſimus* is ſo extravagant as to commend him, ſaying, he did well in beſtowing theſe places upon ſuch Perſons as would in his Abſence ſufficiently provide for the good of the Subject. The Command of his Foot he gave to *Promotus*; and that of the Horſe to *Timaſius*; and when now all things ſeemed ready for the expedition, a rumour was brought that the *Barbarians*, in conjunction with the *Roman* Legions, by great promiſes were urged by *Maximus* to revolt. But ſo timely knowledge he had of it, that they having notice of his Intelligence, betook themſelves into the Fenns and Lakes in *Macedonia*, and hid themſelves in the Fortreſſes thereof. Yet were ſome ſent to hunt them out, who by one means or other brought them to deſtruction for the moſt part; ſo that the Emperor delivered from his Fears as to this matter, ſet himſelf for his expedition. Before we bring him from *Theſſalonica*, it will not be amiſs to relate how the Laws confirm what the general current of Hiſtorians affirms concerning his removal to this City. By ſeveral Subſcriptions we find him there this year in the Months of *March* and *April*, at what time, while his Armies were bringing into Order, he enacted ſomething for reformation of Abuſes in Eccleſiaſtical and Civil matters. He received information of the cruel practices of the greater ſort of Citizens of *Alexandria*, who being naturally very prone to raiſe Seditions and tumults, were alſo tyrannical towards their Neighbours, if inferiors to them, ſo as they would often apprehend and even dare to keep them Priſoners without any Authority intervening. Now, for as much as the Right of having a Priſon is a Royalty not lightly communicable to other perſons, *Theodoſius* declares, that whoever for the time to come ſhall detain any accuſed perſon in a private Priſon, ſhall be guilty of no leſs than the crime of Treaſon.

L. Un. de privati Carceris cuſtodia. Cod. Th. lib. 9. *tit.* 11. *Dat. Cynegio prid. Kal. Maii. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt.*

60. He committed *Juſtina*, with her Son and Daughter, to ſuch as ſhould ſafely convey them to *Rome*, being verily perſwaded that the *Romans*, who hated *Maximus*, would gladly receive them; reſolving himſelf, through the upper *Pannonia* and the *Appennine* Mountains to march for *Aquileia*, and fall upon the ſecure and heedleſs Enemy. So writes *Zoſimus*, and accordingly by certain Reſcripts we find him at *Stobæ* and *Scupæ*, places of *Macedonia*, in the month of *June*. At the later, he received a complaint how the *Curiales* of ſeveral Towns or Manſions in *Bithynia*, had by running away withdrawn themſelves from theſe ſervices which were due from them to the Courts, particularly thoſe of *Claudiopolis*, *Pruſias*, *Tottaium* and *Voris*. “He commands that by Edicts they be cited to return to their ſeveral Habitations and Charges: and in caſe of default, he injoyns “ *Tatianus*, who by this time had ſucceeded *Cynegius* in the Prefectſhip of the Eaſt, “ that out of other fit and convenient Bodies, and eſpecially out of the number “ of his Officials or Apparitors, who had well diſcharged their Offices, fit Perſons ſhould be choſen and put not only into the Places, but alſo Eſtates of theſe Fu- “ gitives, who undergoing their burthens ſhould alſo, the better to bear them, in- “ joy their Patrimonies, of which the former owners ſhould for ever be deprived “

He makes towards *Aquileia*.

L. 119. *de Decurionibus Cod. Th. Dat.* 11. *Kal. Scupis. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt. utpote temporaria & localis.*

being

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being made incapable of returning. Of theſe places of *Bithynia* the two former, *viz. Claudiopolis* and *Pruſias* (formerly known by the name of *Cius*) were *Towns*; and the two later, *viz. Tottaium* and *Voris* were *Manſions*, the firſt having been but a *Mutation* in the days of *Conſtantine* and *Conſtantius*; but afterwards altered to a *Manſion*, as appears by the Itinerary Tables. Hence it ſufficiently appears, that there were *Curiales* or *Decuriones*, as we formerly hinted, not only in *Cities* and *Towns* but alſo in the greater *Manſions*, ſuch as this *Tottaium* was: in like manner as in the greater ſort of *Manſions* ſome Biſhops had their Seats, as in the Council of *Chalcedon*, mention is made of *Helpidius*, Biſhop of the *Manſion*, called *Termenſis*. Not this Edict alone being directed to *Tatianus*; but five more concerning this Subject of Corporations; and ſeveral Epiſtles being alſo written to him by *Libanius*; from all of theſe it appears, that he was much inclined to favour the common Intereſts of the *Curiæ*.

Zoſimus p. 770.

61. But, to proſecute the Expedition of *Theodoſius*, He, as we ſaid, reſolved to paſs the upper *Pannonia*, and the *Appennines* towards *Aquileia*. *Maximus* as ſoon as he could underſtand that *Juſtina* and her Children deſigned to croſs the *Ionian* Gulf, ſent, to intercept her, if poſſible, *Andragathius* with ſome Pinnaces, or other light Veſſels; who, though he uſed his utmoſt Endeavour to ſend theſe perſons after *Gratian*, yet miſſed his Purpoſe, they having got over before his arrival; which perceiving, he ſtrengthned himſelf with the acceſſion of many Ships, believing *Theodoſius* intended to make War by conveying his Forces over the Sea. But he proſecuted his Journey towards *Pannonia* and the Streights of the *Appennines*, fell upon *Maximus* his men, when they leaſt of all expected it, and were ſufficiently ſecure as to their condition, as they Imagined. For after the Tyrant had ſeized on *Aquileia*, not only all *Italy* but *Africk* alſo fell off to him, *Sigonius* well obſerving that our *Gildas* writes how he extended one of his Wings to *Spain* and the other to *Italy*; and ſetling the Throne of his Dominion at *Triers*, raged with ſo great madneſs, that one of the Emperors he expelled from *Rome*, and another out of the World it ſelf. But of all other *Italians*, thoſe of *Bononia* teſtified moſt their Reſpect to, or their Fear of, him, erecting a Pillar, which in *Sigonius* his time, was ſtill to be ſeen at the diſtance of a mile from the City, whereon was this Inſcription, *To our great Lords*, C. Maximus *and* Fl. Victor, *Pious*, *Happy*, *always* Auguſti, *born for the good of the Commonwealth.* Having ſecured, as he thought, *Italy* and *Africk* he ſet himſelf wholly to ſcrape up moneys for the as right maintenance of what he had ſo juſtly got. But hearing of *Theodoſius* his preparations, or ſuſpecting them, ſome ſay he paſſed over the *Julian* Alpes into *Pannonia*, and having taken and fortified *Petovio*, proceeded to the River *Savus*, where he ſeized on *Sciſcida* and there ſate down. *Theodoſius* having notice that there he had ſeated himſelf, haſted through *Macedonia*, and incamping upon the *Savus*, when he ſaw a fit opportunity paſſed the River, and offered him Battel, which he refuſed not to accept, but came out of the Town. *Theodoſius* his men received him ſo warmly, and fought with ſuch courage, that his Souldiers would not ſtand before them, but fled, of whom ſuch as ran to *Sciſcia*, either filled the Ditches with their dead Bodies, or ran upon the ſharp Stakes ſet upon the Walls, or ſtopped up with their Carkaſſes the Gates which they had opened at their breaking forth: as for ſuch of them as the greatneſs of the River intercepted, they trembling and imbracing one another, caſt themſelves from the Precipices into the water, and there periſhed; amongſt whom was the Standard-bearer of the Expedition, whoſe body could not be found.

De Occid. Imperio. lib. 9. *p.* 206.

Defeats *Maximus at Sciſcia.*

62. *Theodoſius* having obtained this Victory, removed to *Petovio*, where *Marcellinus* the Brother of *Maximus*, oppoſed himſelf againſt him. He put his men into order of Battel; yet the day being far ſpent, thought not fit then to ſet upon him, but in the morning following he gave him Battel, and that with no worſe Succeſs than formerly. For, the Enemy was put to flight, ſuch as eſcaped the Sword, taking into the adjoyning Woods, under the coverture of the Night. Many came with their Colours, and caſting them and themſelves at the Feet of the Emperor begged Pardon, whom he kindly received. But, *Maximus* thus twice defeated betook himſelf to his Heels, and with great ſpeed came to *Aquileia*, whom *Theodoſius* followed well nigh with as much haſte. *Hæmona* the firſt City at the root of the *Alps*, as one enters *Italy*, yielded to him; the Inhabitants thereof iſſuing forth to meet him in a Triumphant manner, for being delivered by his preſence from the Seige, which *Maximus* had laid unto them. They came out Dancing, and with Muſick of ſeveral ſorts. The Nobility or Chief of the Town appeared before the Gates, the Senators in their Habit, the Flamines in their Municipal Purple, the Prieſts in their Caps; the Gates were ſet with Garlands, the

And his Brother *Marcellinus* at *Petovio.*

Pacatus in Panegyric. c. 37.

Streets

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Follows *Maximus* to *Aquileia.*

Who is delivered up by his men.

And put to death.

Streets adorned with the choiſeſt Hangings, and the light of the day was increaſed by the Fires that were kindled, ſo that *Theodoſius* ſeemed already to triumph, before he had compleated the War. But being intent upon this, he followed *Maximus* ſo cloſe at the Heels, that by a great and ſore March, he reached *Aquileia* in one day, and as ſoon as there arrived laid ſeige to the City. *Maximus* perceiving how unable he was to endure the ſhock, deſpaired of making reſiſtance, and in a manner ſeemed to quit that power which he had ſo Tyrannically uſurped; which his men perceiving, to provide for themſelves before the taking of the place, they laid Hands on him as he was deſtributing Money amongſt them, and being deſpoiled of the Imperial Ornaments, led him bound to *Theodoſius*. He, when he ſaw him, demanded with what confidence he could enter upon the Civil War, to which he anſwered, that he pretended he had his conſent and favour in his Uſurpation; for except he had feigned himſelf adviſed thereto by him, he could never have drawn the Souldiers to his party. Hereat *Theodoſius* was angry, yet did not condemn him to any cruel puniſhment; but holding down his Head and bluſhing, on the contrary, uttered words full of mercy towards ſo horrible an Offendor. But when thoſe about him perceived it, they took away *Maximus* out of his ſight, and at three miles diſtance from the City, cut off his Head, towards the later end of *Auguſt*; though as to the very day there be ſome difference amongſt the Writers of the ſtory.

Zoſimus his malice to *Theodoſius* in this Story.

The Favourable Account given by *Pacatus* the Panegyriſt.

Jus feciale violare.

63. Such was the deſerved end of *Maximus*, even as *Zoſimus* obſerves, who, though he tell the ſubſtance of the Story right, yet can let no action of *Theodoſius* paſs without fixing ſomething to it that may hurt, at leaſt, his Fame and Reputation. Though he can inſtance in no Act which might denominate him ſo debauched, effeminate and ſluggiſh as he makes him, nor could hope, that, his Wars and many Atchievements conſidered, he could make his Reader believe, he was wholly given up to Idleneſs; yet he will leſſen his valiant performances as much as poſſible; and becauſe the End and the Deſign gives the ſtamp to any Moral Action, he would have it believed that not any noble motive provoked him to undertake the War againſt the Tyrant, not any kindneſs or compaſſion towards *Valentinian*; but kindneſs to his Siſter *Galla*, and compaſſion toward himſelf; he being ſo deſperately inamoured of her, that to allay his paſſion and quiet his reſtleſs Appetite, he condeſcended to the Expedition, and was content to raiſe one Civil War to ſuppreſs another more inteſtine, to kindle one flame that he might quench another more deſtructive to himſelf. But it happens ſo unluckily for *Zoſimus* his purpoſe, that *Marcellinus*, a Chronologer of theſe times placeth the Mariage of *Theodoſius* and *Galla* in the preceding year, and all other Hiſtorians of this Age attribute it to the goodneſs of his Nature, and kindneſs to *Valentinian*, from whom, after he had recovered his Empire, for him he took nothing, but left it intire to him, as at the firſt. If we may hear what *Pacatus* the *Panegyriſt* ſaith of this performance, the motive and the manner of it (and why not a Friend as well as an Enemy?) We ſhall have far other thoughts of the Temper and Diſpoſition of this Prince. He having declared what miſchiefs befell his Country of *Gall*, from the Cruelty and Rapacity of the Tyrant, adds, “That at length God was pleaſed to look upon them, and being intent upon the good of the *Eaſt*, to think of their miſeries, and to ſtrike this Villain with madneſs, ſo that he broke the League, violated the Law of Arms, and feared not to denounce a War. Can I, ſaith he, imagine it came but by Providence, that he who might have cunningly diſſembled under the name of Peace, and by lying quiet might have eſcaped the puniſhment of his former wickedneſs, ſhould erect a ſecond and third Standard of civil robbery, and having paſſed the *Cottian Alps*, open alſo the Streights of the *Julian*, and impoſe upon you, O Emperor, though you were true to the Faith you had given him of pardoning what was paſt, a neceſſity of overcoming him? The Commonwealth whoſe Avenger was now at Hand drove him headlong; and its Lord, who had been openly murdered, now required ſatisfaction by his puniſhment. It was not Confidence but Madneſs, not Raſhneſs, but a kind of Neceſſity ariſing from that madneſs: neither did he provoke you by War, but could not any longer refuſe to ſubmit to Juſtice.

64. How could he otherwiſe, have been ſo audacious, that, being ſo ſluggiſh and fearful of death as he was, he ſhould ruſh upon the Sword and meet it in the face? He, who when he was even overcome, had not the courage to kill himſelf? And you, truly, for aſſerting the Intereſt of the Commonwealth, and obtaining the victory, needed not but to have come alone to the War. For, if in

old

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old time, when Lords (he means the *Scythians*) were to fight with their Slaves “ went againſt them furniſhed with no other weapons than Whips in their Hands, “ and ſo great was the force and power of Conſcience, that thoſe that were armed “ at all convenient points, were overthrown by them that were naked, and “ ſuch as offered at firſt their breaſts to wounds, at length ſubjected their backs “ to Scourges; why then might not you, meerly by ſhowing your ſelf have put “ an end to the Controverſie, without the Legions? Then, after a compariſon made betwixt the Nobility and Baſeneſs, the Virtue and Flagitious Wickedneſs of the Prince and Tyrant; he further tells him, “ That though he had ſuch an Adverſary to deal with, and came down not ſo much to fight with an Enemy, as to bring a “ Rogue to his deſerved puniſhment, yet he had gone as adviſedly to work, as if “ he had had to do with ſome *Perſeus*, *Pyrrhus* or *Hannibal* himſelf. For in the firſt “ place he had ſecured the fidelity of thoſe Kings who lay upon the Eaſtern Borders, “ by a new League on both ſides confirmed; that, being ſecure from abroad, he “ might leave nothing in a dubious poſture at home. In the next, he divided his “ Forces into three parts, the better to make the Enemy ſenſible of his Danger, “ and to prevent his flight. In the laſt, to ſuch Nations of the Barbarians as voluntarily “ offered their aſſiſtance, and vowed to ſtand by him, he committed the “ work of fellow-ſouldiers, thereby to draw them off from the Borders, where they “ were moſt ſuſpected; and to procure Supplies for his Army: This Condeſcention “ once known, all the *Scythians* flocked out in ſuch Swarms, that he might ſeem to “ have enjoyned that Raiſing of men to the *Barbarians*, which he had remitted to “ his own ſubjects. Now did the Enemy of the *Romans* march under the *Roman* “ Captains and Enſigns, and followed thoſe Standards which formerly he had ſtood “ againſt: Now did the Souldier fill thoſe Gariſons of *Pannonia* which he had formerly “ diſmantled. The *Goth*, the *Hunn* and *Alan* anſwered to his Name, ſtood “ Sentinel in his Turn, and was afraid to be abſent when he was called. From the “ *Barbarians* themſelves now proceeded no tumult, no confuſion or plundering; for “ if Proviſions were ſcant they patiently endured it; and though Corn, through “ their numbers was rightly judged to be defective, yet by their parſimony they “ rendred it abundant; requiring no other Wages or Reward, but that they might “ be eſteemed and called *Yours*. How great is that Ambition which proceeds from “ Virtue. You received a kindneſs, but ſuch an one, in ſuch a manner, and with ſuch a Deſign, that you might acknowledge that you had received it.

65. After many other things ſpoken ingeniouſly in a Panegyrical way, of which we ſhall here take no notice, in commending the goodneſs of *Theodoſius* his diſpoſition, and the Clemency of his nature, he preſſeth ſomething that we muſt needs obſerve, *viz.* his ſo noble uſing of the Victory. “ He denies not but that the effects “ of his valour might be by the Pencils of Artificers, commended to the eyes “ of poſterity, as, his Paſſing the tops of the Alps, Swiming over the Rivers, or “ Overthrowing his Enemies in Battel: the deſcription of theſe Atchievements “ might be effected both by Painters and Statuaries. But in what Air, with what “ Colours, in what Braſs or Gold ſhall theſe Lines be drawn, he demands, whereby “ the Emperor muſt be deſcribed ſo far a *Victor* of Victory it ſelf, that together “ with his Arms he laid aſide all diſpleaſure; inſomuch that not after the War, no “ not after *Maximus* any were puniſhed. For, excepting a few Moors, which, as “ an Infernal Troop, he now about to dye, had ſhut up with himſelf, and two or “ three which as ſo many Fencers of this furious Gladiator were ſlain, to expiate the “ Offence, Pardon was granted to all others whatſoever, and an Amneſty ſecured them “ as it were in a Mothers Lap: the Eſtates of none were ſet to Sale, no man was deprived “ of his Liberty; no not ſo much as degraded from any Honour he formerly “ had enjoyed. Not any mark or diſtinction was ſet upon any man, not one reproached “ or reprehended, ſuffered any puniſhment as much as by hearing one unacceptable “ word. All Perſons were reſtored to their Houſes, all to their Wives, “ and (what is more contenting) all to their Innocence. He bids the Emperor “ conſider what he had procured by this clemency, *viz.* that he being Conqueror “ no man eſteemed himſelf conquered. And he tells *Rome*, that ſhe from her ſeven “ Hills beheld this, and though high before in her ſevenfold munitions, yet at “ this ſight was more elevated by Joy: ſhe which formerly had experimented the “ furies of *Cynna*, the cruelty of *Marius* after baniſhment; had felt the felicity of “ *Sulla* in her own overthrows, and the mercies of *Cæſar* to ſuch as were already “ dead; ſhe that trembled at the noiſe of every triumph which ſounded to civil “ diſcords; which, beſides the ſlaughter of Souldiers, that ſhe loſt as well on the “

one ſide as the other, at home had ſeen the eyes, as it were, of her *Senate* put out, “
the heads of her *Conſuls* fixed on Poles, her *Cato's* conſtreined to die, her *Cicero's* be- “
headed and mangled, and had wept, as at all theſe Sights, ſo to ſee her *Pompey's* lie “
unburied; ſhe to whom the fury of her divided Citizens had wrought more inju- “
ry than the *Carthaginian* at the Gates, or the *Gall* received within the Walls; to “
whom *Æmathia* had been more deadly than the *Allian* Day, *Collina* more dire- “
ful than *Cannæ*, having left in her ſo deep Scarrs, that ſhe, who ever felt her own va- “
lour more heavy upon her than that of others, feared nothing ſo much as her own “
ſelf. But ſhe now had ſeen a Civil War ended with the ſlaughter of her Enemies, “
peace to the Soldiers, the recovery of *Italy*, and with her own liberty. In Conclu- “
ſion, ſhe had ſeen ſuch a Civil War brought to Concluſion, as to which ſhe might “
juſtly decree a triumph. This *Pacatus* uttered, being at *Rome*, whither *Theodoſius* “
went ſhortly after the Victory, as we ſhall ſee anon.

66. To what he ſaith, in reference to breaking the League and the Law of Nations, We may add what St. *Ambroſe* relates concerning the falſeneſs of *Maximus* to *Valentinian*, whom he adviſed not to truſt him; for that he concealed but war in a Cover of Peace. And we may alſo take in what *Socrates* writes, that *Maximus* ſent Ambaſſadors to *Theodoſius*; but he neither admitted nor rejected them, and yet grieved to ſee the Empire of the *Romans* oppreſſed with Tyranny under the Vizard of an Imperial Title, but at his going to *Theſſalonica* neither made Show of being on the one ſide nor the other: yet gathering a great power of Men together, he haſtened to *Milan*, at which City *Maximus* was before arrived. But as *Maximus* broke the League, it cannot be laid to the Charge of *Theodoſius*, that he did ſo with him. For as it muſt not be denied, that he yielded him the Title of Emperour, and admitted of the Erection of his Statues, ſo it is to be taken for granted that *Valentinian* the young Prince was comprized in the Agreement, for whoſe ſake *Theodoſius* was glad to bear with the Tyrant that he might not, having ſuch Advantages, make Uſe of them and ſwallow him up. And yet he could not but be aware of his Ambitious Deſignes, and diſcover more of his Temper; and if he, as *Zoſimus* ſays, provided for management of a War againſt him, the Sequel ſhewed that his Fears That he would renew his Parricide and Uſurpation upon the other Brother; were but too well grounded. For his Calmeneſs and Clemency in uſing his good Fortune moderately, St. *Ambroſe* in a few words, as one obſerves, comprizeth many things; when he ſaith that the very Daughters of his Enemy he had recalled out of Confinement, and committed “
to a kinſman of theirs to be maintained; and to his mother had ſent mony out of “
his own Purſe: moreover at the Interceſſion of the ſaid Biſhop, he had delive- “
red many from Exile; many out of Priſon; and many from the imminent dan- “
ger of Death. And herein further appears his Chriſtian Abſtinence and moderation, that having by deſtruction of the Tyrant, not only freed *Italy*, which was the portion of *Valentinian*; but moreover recovered *Gall*, *Spain*, and *Brittain*, which he had ſeized and held ever ſince the Death of *Gratian*, yet did he not touch theſe Provinces ſo as to pretend to any Sovereignty to them by way of Conqueſt; no not ſo much as to divide them betwixt *Valentinian* and himſelf; but quitted and relinquiſhed them to him, having ſtaid ſo long in theſe parts till he could reſetle his Intereſt and reduce all things into their former methods.

L. 5. c. 12.

How *Pacatus* is to be underſtood.

67. But whereas *Pacatus* ſpeaks of *Theodoſius* his degrading none for their former Honours, it muſt not be underſtood as if he confirmed what ever *Maximus* had pretended to do in the Advancement of any to dignities under himſelf during his Uſurpation; but of ſuch as had in former times been received. For it had been a notable Incouragement to Rebellion and Uſurpation, had the Rewards of joyning in Treaſon, granted to his fellow Rebels by the Uſurper, been confirmed afterward by the Conquering and lawful Prince. So far was *Theodoſius* from tranſgreſſing the right Rules of true Government in this kind, that having ſubdued *Maximus*, on the two and twentieth of *October* he gave out an Edict at *Aquileia*, forbidding that any ſhould dare to aſſume to himſelf any Honour, “
which the Audaciouſneſs of the Tyrant had granted; but that ſuch preſumption “
ſhould be recalled to its former Condition. And becauſe, for partiality, and out of Faction many doubtleſs had been oppreſſed, as well loyal Subjects ruined, as Traitors preferred, upon ſuch a Turn in the Common-wealth, by another Law dated at *Milan* (whither he removed ſhortly after) on the tenth of *October*, he commands that all ſuch deſigned and injurious Judgments be revoked, as had been “
promulgated by him, whom he termes *Infandiſſimus Tyrannorum*. Theſe Laws “
concerned

L. 6. de infirmandis his quæ ſub Tyrannis. Cod. Th.

L. 7. ejuſd. tit.

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L. 8. ejuſd. tit.

concerned *Italy* where they were made, and that we may ſpeak to this matter all at once, as he directed them to *Trifolius Præfect* of *Italy*; ſo on the fourteenth of *January* following, he inſcribed another Conſtitution to *Conſtantianus* the *Præfect* of *Gall*, whereby he alſo ordains, that all, who being promoted through the “ Uſurpation of the Tyrant, had received the unlawful Title of any Dignity, “ ſhall produce and give in all ſuch Letters or Codicils. Moreover, all ſuch “ Sentences and Decrees of thoſe, who never having been Lawful Judges could “ not juſtly pronounce, he commands to be aboliſhed and taken from amongſt “ the Records, that their Authority being nulled, none may offer to rely upon “ them, which time had obliterated with their Author. He excepts only ſuch “ matters as had been tranſacted by agreement and Conſent of the parties, provided “ no fraud or Conſtraint in them appeared. And to theſe he adds, *Donations*, “ *Emancipations*, and *Manumiſſions*, in all which, he ſaith, it was ſufficient “ to have willed them. But this was after the death of *Victor*, a Boy, the ſon “ of *Maximus*, to whom he had given the Title of *Auguſtus*, and left him at “ *Triers*, to the Charge and Defence of *Nannienus* and *Quintinus* the *Magiſtri Militum*; of whoſe Carriage in *Gall* during the late Revolutions in *Italy*, ſomething here is to be added.

Motions in in *Gall* during the late Revolutions in *Italy*.

Sigonius de Occid. Imperio. lib. 9.

68. While *Maximus* lay beſieged within *Aquileia*, the *Francks* under the leading of *Genobald*, *Marcomere* and *Suno* paſſed over the *Rhine*, and invaded the lower *Germany*; many perſons they ſlew, and waſting the fertile Country adjoyning, ſtruck great terror alſo into *Colein*. *Nannienus* and *Quintinus*, to whom *Maximus* had committed the Care of the Country, as well as his Son, hearing of their Motions, marched preſently with an Army to *Colein*, where they found that ſuch as were loaded with Booty, had repaſſed the *Rhine*, into their own Country, and the reſt were ſtill in the *Roman* Territories. and had renewed their Depredations. On theſe Rovers they fell, at a place called *Carbonaria*, and deſtroyed moſt of them, and then was it debated betwixt the two Generals, whether they ſhould invade *France*. *Nannienus* was utterly againſt it, and returned to *Maguntiacum*, but *Quintinus* with his Forces, paſſed the River at a Caſtle called *Niviſium*; where Coaſting down by the Rivers ſide he found many Villages and poor ſtragling Houſes void of Inhabitants; for the People pretending Flight, had betaken themſelves into more remote Woods and Fenns, having ſtopped up the Paſſages, as they would have it believed, with the trunks of trees. *Quintinus* having burnt all the Houſes, kept his Men in Arms all the Night, and then by break of Day, paſſing into the Wood, wandred about, and intangled himſelf in the Thickets, and By-ways till Noon, and had opportunity enough to view the ſeveral Quarters thereof. But he found them, to his ſmall Contentment, Fortified with ſtrong Hedges and Fences on every ſide; and therefore was forced to get out into the Champion adjoyning to the Woods. Endeavouring to do this, the Enemy appeared, though in no great Numbers, on the Boughes or Bodies of Trees joyned together, and as from ſo many Turrets annoied his Men with ſhowers of Arrowes, envenomed with the deadly Juice of Herbs; ſo that though they did but pierce the Skin without violating any principal part, yet the Wounds proved mortal. The Numbers of the *Francks* increaſing ſo, that the Army was beſet with them, it got out into the Plains, and that with great contentment, though the Enemy on deſign had left them free to their Acceſs. But the Horſe gladly making Uſe of the Advantage they had of firſt eſcaping, as they imagined, found only a ſwifter paſſage out of the World, being ſwallowed up in the Bogs; wherein the Bodies of Men and Horſes together, intangled, and ſunk one another, by their Strugling. The Foot having ventured far enough to find the place impaſſable, retired into the Woods in a trembling Poſture. The whole Party being thus diſordered and defeated, *Heraclius* the Tribune of the *Joviani*, and almoſt all others who had any Command, were Killed; and but few eſcaped by the obſcurity of the Night, and the Aſſiſtance that the Woods afforded.

Quintinus receives a Defeat in the Country of the *Franks*.

69. But *Maximus* the Tyrant being Slain, as we ſaid, *Valentinian* ſent *Arbogaſtes* his *Magiſter Militum* into *Gall*, for the ſuppreſſion of *Victor* his Son, and in the rooms of *Nannienus* and *Quintinus*, he put *Carietto* & *Syrus*. The Deſign was accompliſhed without any great Conteſt: For *Victor* in the firſt Attempt was defeated, taken, and ſlain. All *Gallia* was recovered to obedience, and *Caryetto* and *Syrus*, having nothing elſe to do, went and ſhowed themſelves with their Forces againſt the *Francks* on this ſide the *Rhine*. Newes hereof, *Zoſimus* tells us,

Victor the Son of *Maximus* ſlain.

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us, coming to the Ears of *Andragathius*, who Cruiſed now with his Ships to and again upon the *Ionian* Bay, he knowing he was ſeverely to be Treated (for his Murdering *Gratian*) would not expect the coming of the Enemy, but puniſhed himſelf by leaping into the Sea, which he choſe to truſt, rather than his greateſt Adverſaries. And this *Hiſtorian* further is pleaſed to add, that *Theodoſius* delivered over to *Valentinian* all that Empire which had been held by his Father, which ſeemed congruous to thoſe good offices he had received from their Family. Such things as were Choice and poſſeſſed by the followers of *Maximus* he beſtowed amongſt his own Men: and permitted *Valentinian* to diſpoſe of the Affairs of *Italy*, *Gall* and other parts of his Empire, his Mother being preſent and aſſiſting him; ſupplying alſo what was defective in him, by reaſon of his Youth, with ſuch Prudence and Skill, as her Sex afforded her. Then talks he of *Theodoſius* his return to *Theſſalonica*, as if he preſently quitted the Weſtern parts and would not intermedle in the Settlement of what he had lately recovered; whereas he remained in theſe parts for three years, after the Overthrow of *Maximus*, or near thereabouts; and imployed moſt of his time in the right Eſtabliſhment of the Intereſt of theſe Quarters.

The Emperors command that Metals for making of Arms be paid in to the Forges in kind.

L. 2. de Fabricenſibus Cod. Th. lib. 10. tit. 22. & l. 1. Cod. Juſt. eod. Dat. 15. Cal. Nov.

70. Having had ſo much occaſion to make Uſe of Arms this year, and thereby to find what Inconvenience lay in the ordinary method of furniſhing them, the two Emperours now conſtantly lying together, concluded of a courſe of Reformation. And this was to diſcourage and diſown that Cuſtome which for ſome Reaſons in other times had been of force, whereby the *Provincials*, inſtead of other Metal, were permitted to find Money. The only deſign of the State was, to be furniſhed with convenient Weapons; but the *Fabricenſes* receiving money from the *Provincials*, who were to finde Metals for this purpoſe, ſatisfied themſelves with the Oare of ſuch Mines as were no whit proper, but which upon Tryal in the Forge, was wont to fly and break in pieces. *Theodoſius* therefore, and *Valentinian*, to prevent ſuch Frauds, Command that for the time to come in all “ Ages, it be held for a Law, that the Forges be ſerved in *Specie* and not in Money; “ and that out of the Noble Veins of the Earth; particularly in ſuch Metal “ as will readily Melt, and not lye and multiply, like Droſs, in the Fire. In like “ manner, ſeveral Emperours Commanded that Tributes ſhould be paid in kinde, though ſometimes other Princes, reaſon of State requiring, allowed of the taking of Money. In particular, the Inhabitants of the Mountain *Taurus*, by reaſon of the Excellency of the Iron which was found in their Territories, were obnoxious to this Collation. Becauſe this Law reſpects the Metal of Iron, therefore is it directed to *Tatianus* the *Præfectus Prætorio* of the Eaſt, the Tribute whereof belonged to his Cogniſance; whereas, had it properly related to the Forges, or the Management thereof, it had been directed to the *Magiſter Officiorum*.

A.D. 389. *Timatio & Promoto Coſſ.*

71. The year that next followed, was the CCCLXXXIX of our Lord, and had for Conſuls *Fl. Timaſius* and *Fl.* (for at this time *Flavius* was the General *prænomen*) *Promotus* for *Conſuls*: it was the fourteenth of *Valentinian* the ſecond, and the ſecond Indiction. *Præfectus Prætorio* of the *Eaſt Tatianus* ſtill continued; one *Conſtantianus* held that Office in *Gall*; and in *Italy Trypholius*: *Albinus* was *Præfect* of *Rome*, and *Proculus* the Son of *Tatian*, of *Conſtantinople*. After the Defeat of *Maximus*, the two Emperours made their abode at *Milan* till towards the beginning of *June*, where, beſides what they Enacted for repealing and nulling ſuch things as had been done by the Tyrant, they thought fit to make other Laws for the good Government of the State, and the promotion of Juſtice. Though they now reſided at *Milan*, yet *Rome* was in their Eye, whither ere long they reſolved to go; and very probable it is, that that City had been Faithful and Loyal to *Valentinian*, during the late Uſurpation, as far as the Nature of the Times would permit. For, being ſolicited in behalf of the *Decuriæ* or certain Colleges or Bodies belonging to it, He (or they) takes occaſion to declare, that he will ſuffer nothing to “ be loſt of any privilege or Indulgence granted to the *Æternal* City. But will ſo far “ maintain all its antient Privileges as to be ready to grant any new favours, if reaſon ſhall require it. In particular therefore, whereas the *Decuriales* of *Rome* were “ from old time wont to be ſupplied with two out of each City of the Province, he “ will for their Defence have the ſame Orders obſerved as were granted by himſelf “ or Predeceſſors. And if any one would pretend that the Perſon was not ſuch, as to “ whom ſuch privileges did belong, the matter ſhould be tried and decided before the “ Judg of the *Decuria* himſelf. As we have formerly ſaid, there were various *Decu*- “

Valentinian makes a Law in behalf of the *Decuria* of *Rome*.

L. 3. de Decuriis Urbis Romæ Cod. Th. lib. 14. tit. 1. Dat. ad Triſolium Pf. P. 14. Kal. Febr. Ejus pars maxima abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

riæ in *Rome*, as of the *Librarii*, *Fiſcales* and *Cenſuales*, and ſo alſo in the Cities and *Municipia*, as of *Librarii* and *Scribes*, who wrote for ſuch as were in Law, or upon other occaſions. But of thoſe of the (principal) Cities of Provinces, we find here, what no where elſe occurs, and that two were wont, and that of old time, to be ſent up to *Rome*, like as the *Senate* and other places of Repute and Truſt were Communicated to thoſe of the Provinces, either, that by virtue of this Communion betwixt *City* and *Country*, the *People* and *Senate* of *Rome* might have a juſt Account of what was done in the *Provinces*, or that the *Provinces*, when they came to *Rome* upon Buſineſs, might have ſuch as they could reſort to; or for both theſe Reaſons; in like manner as the Companies of *Rome* had their peculiar *Defenſors*, ſo had theſe their Judges in Caſe any denyed one of them to be a *Decurialis*, or would object any thing againſt the Immunities he enjoyed; but whether this Judg was to determine the matter Solely, or refer to the Court, to the *Præfect* of the City, or the *Præfectus Prætorio*, to whom the Law is directed, doth not evidently appear. However, had it not been for this Law, we had known nothing of theſe Particulars.

Theodoſius refuſes to take any thing given him in *Codicills.*

L. 2. de Teſtam. & Codicillis. Cod. Th. lib. 4. tit. 4. Dat. 10. Kal. Febr. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt. potiſſimâ ſuâ parte.

72. This may be more peculiarly aſcribed to *Valentinian*, becauſe directed to the *Præfect* of *Italy*; and for the like Reaſon, as well as for others, the next we find made in order of time, or but four days after, we muſt judg to have been Enacted by *Theodoſius*, though mutual aſſiſtance (eſpecially in the former) they might contribute each to other. By the antient Law of the *Romans*, the Emperours might be made Heirs, or have Legacies bequeathed them, as well as private Men, by Codicils or Letters, as well as Teſtaments. Nay, in ſome difficult times, Teſtators were glad, if not forced to do it. But whereas Princes were ſaid to be above the Laws, herein *Theodoſius* ſhewed an extraordinary Example of Humanity and Self-denyal, in that he refuſed the Benefit thereby allowed to other Perſons. By a Conſtitution directed to *Proculus* the *Præfect* of *Conſtantinople*, he declares that he will not admit any thing left to him, or his near Relations, by any Codicils “ or Epiſtles, though he will have the Right and Cuſtome to continue amongſt “ private Perſons; but leaves it to fall as it would have done to the Children or “ next Kindred of the Deceaſed. By his Relations, he doth not mean his Slaves or “ Freedmen, not his Friends as ſome have imagined, but his wife *Galla*, (not *Flaccilla* “ as *Gothofred* inſtanceth by miſtake, ſhe being now dead) his Daughters *Galla* and *Placidia*, and his two Sons *Arcadius* and *Honorius*. Now the Reaſon why he rejects any thing thus left by *Fidecommiſſary* Codicils or Letters, is, becauſe thoſe Inſtruments were leſs ſolemn, than were Teſtaments, and therefore Fraud might more eaſily be committed, It's true, the matter might be diſcovered by Torture, yet however, becauſe they were ſubject to Fraud, therefore he diſclaims all Benefit that might from them accrue to him or his. But where the Solemnity was greater and the certainty more clear, as in Teſtaments, there he rejects not what ſhould freely be given him by any. However, the goodneſs of *Theodoſius* was ſo remarkable herein, that *Symmachus*, of whom we have made ſo much mention, extols it to admiration, in an Epiſtle written to *Flavianus* his Brother, as he calls him, ſometime *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Illyricum* and *Italy*.

His Law in general, eſpecially this extolled by *Symmachus*.

Lib. 2. Ep. 13.

73. Having with my pen, ſaith he, ran through the Commendations which our Lord *Theodoſius* deſerves, both for his Government in War and Peace, (for I confeſs “ I have rather touched at them, than handled any particular according to its “ Importance) to the matters relating to Peace, I have added his Laws, which, as I “ know they have taken off all Admiration from ſuch as were Enacted before his “ time, ſo I do not think that they have left place for the like Reputation to any “ that ſhall be made after them. Eſpecially this new Sanction concerning *Fidecommiſſa* “, and the Profits ariſing from *Codicills* being for ever rejected by the beſt “ of Princes, ſo much in Renown exceeds the luſtre of what has been done before, “ as it is more Noble and Excellent for a Governour to lay a reſtraint upon himſelf “ than other perſons. And it's my Wiſh, that the Avarice of private men may underſtand “ the meaning of the Law-maker, and from his Laws frame good Manners “ to themſelves. For it's not to be doubted, what he would have other Perſons to “ do, who firſt of all abhorred thoſe profits which he knew to be ſuſpected. But I “ am afraid, that the Covetouſneſs of bad men, will think this profit that he has rejected “ to be for their own turne, and the Cauſe of Innocent Perſons will be rendred “ worſe, if thoſe only may have occaſion of fraud, who neither from Law “ nor Shame have any Reſtraint upon them. Therefore ſeeing that the Emperours “ themſelves are more tied up, let their condition work as a Legal Medicine upon “

the depraved Deſires of private men. Antient Conſtitutions, the vigour whereof“ fell with the Makers of them, are become of no efficay with guilty perſons.“ Therefore is ſo much ſeverity to be added as may ſuit and ballance the Increaſe of“ Naughtineſs. Otherwiſe if the greater Number receive no amendment, in vain“ doth the Emperour alone, whoſe Goodneſs and Integrity was always remarkable,“ bind himſelf to what is juſt by ſevere Decrees. Here *Symmachus* concerns himſelf“ for having the Subject to imitate the Goodneſs of the Prince. For though he binds himſelf by this Law, yet he leaves it free to others to receive any Emolument left them by theſe *Codicills* or *Letters*; yet ſo, that if there be any Controverſie moved concerning the truth and validity of the Writing, whether the Action be Criminal or Civil, (for either it might be) the Proof of the truth thereof ſhall lie upon him that produceth it, or is to receive benefit by it. Otherwiſe in Law the preſumption lies for the Writing, and he that Sues is to prove the Forgery; and if, in other Caſes, the Defendant be put to prove in a Suit of Forgery, yet is he not in the firſt place as here, or alone, to do it. But thus we ſee ſome Excellent Princes have not only been pleaſed to equal themſelves with their meaneſt Subjects, as to Privilege in Law, but even reſtrain and put ſtricter Obligations upon their own Perſons, and their neareſt Relations. In former times they challenged nothing due from an Imperfect Teſtament, nor by any naked Promiſe or raſh Offer, no more than private Perſons, *Conſtantine* affirms the Cauſes of private men to be of more Conſequence to him than the Defence of the Treaſury; ſomething ſuitable to what *Pliny* affirms, *The Cauſe of the Exchequer never to be bad but under a good Prince.* And *Capitolinus* writes of *Marcus Antoninus*, That he never favoured it in matters relating to Profit. Moreover *Auguſtus*, *Tiberius* and *Adrian* refuſed to take any thing by virtue of the Teſtament of an unknown Perſon. However, in ſuch Matters as theſe relating to good Government, the Prince is to conſult his Prudence as well as his goodneſs of Nature; for without Treaſure can be no diſcharge of publick Service. Where he may do it, it's his Duty to be Indulgent, the Safety and comfort of good People being the End of Government; but neceſſary Expences muſt be defrayed by lawful Means. Therefore we cannot but in Charity think *Juſtinian* governed by this ſentiment, and urged by the like occaſions, when he ſuppreſſed this Law, and approved and preferred ſuch former as allowed of the Prince his receiving Benefit by *Codicills*, and *Epiſtles*.

74. *Valentinian* not long after concerned himſelf in Eſtates, not left by *Will*, *Codicill* or *Epiſtle*; but ſuch as ſhould deſcend from an *Inteſtate*. By the ancient Law of the *Romans*, as well that of the twelve Tables as Prætorian, in Succeſſion no regard at all was had of the *Cognati*. For the *Decemviri*, and thoſe that came after them, being concerned for the Dignity and Propagation of *Families*, deſigned the Succeſſion to belong to thoſe alone who were of the ſame Stock and Houſe. Therefore Grandſons (as we call them) or Nephews by the Daughter, being not of the ſame Stock or Family, but Branches iſſuing from another Root, though by a Cien ingrafted, could not ſucceed their Mothers Father, but only their Father, or Grandfather, by the Fathers ſide, or other Anceſtor; in whoſe power they were till Emancipated. For the Daughter propagating only the Family into which ſhe married, and not that of her Father, her Children were excluded not only by the Sons and Daughters of the Deceaſed, but alſo by thoſe they called *Agnati*, which were Kindred by Perſons of the Maſculine Sex, as born together or Connate with the Father. Such were Sons of the ſame Father, their Uncle, or the Fathers Brother, the Sons of Brothers, and the like. After this manner was the Right of Repreſentation introduced, the Law admitting Nephews by the Son, with their Uncles and Aunts, to Succeſſion, for ſo much as their Father himſelf ſhould have been admitted to. But *Valentinian* conceiving the Nephews by Daughters to have too hard meaſure in this Point, now ordained, “ That in caſe a Man died and left Sons, and Nephews by a Daughter,“ theſe Nephews, if ſhe was dead, ſhould receive two Parts of three of ſo“ much as ſhe ſhould have received amongſt her Brothers; and the third ſhould fall“ to the Brothers and Siſters of her that was dead, being the Uncles and Aunts of“ the Nephews. But in caſe one ſo dying left no Sons, but only Nephews by a“ Daughter, and ſuch *Agnati*, or Kindred, as we formerly mentioned, which by“ the Old Law were preferred before ſuch Nephews; he ordains, That only a fourth“ part of the Inheritance ſhall go to ſuch *Agnati*, and the Nephews obtain the reſt.“ And what he thus Ordains concerning the Eſtate of a Grandfather by the Mother,“ he extends to that of a Grandmother either by the Fathers or the Mothers ſide;“ there being the ſame Equity and Reaſon, as he ſaith, except ſuch Nephews had“ been“

Valentinian concerns himſelf for the Succeſſion of Grandchildren by Daughters.

L. 4. Cod. Th. de legitimis hæreditat. Dat. 5. Kal. Mart. Mediol. & L. 9. Cod. Juſt. de ſuis & legitimis. Hinc à Triboniano mutilata. Vide Juſt. Inſtitut. de hæreditat. quæ ab Inteſtato. *Sect.* 15, & 16.

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Actio in officioſii Teſtamenti.

been diſhinherited by their Mother; for in ſuch Caſe being cut off from Succeſſion “
to their Mother, they were alſo cut off from any benefit they could have of Re- “
preſentation. But further, as by the Laws of the *Romans*, If Parents made their “
Wills, and either paſſed by their Children, or diſhinherited them without a Cauſe, “
notwithſtanding the Will, yet ſuch Children had their Action at Law, whereby “
they might recover their legal ſhare of the Inheritance; ſo in caſe theſe Nephews “
were paſſed by, by any of theſe their Relations, Grandfathers, or Grandmothers, “
in the ſame manner, he leaves them in the ſame way to proſecute their juſt “
Claims to their ſhares in their Eſtates, which they might recover by way of Repre- “
ſentation of their Mother: But if ſhe was either diſhinherited by her Parents “
juſtly, or they, her Children by her, then did the Right of Repreſentation fail; “
and to nothing could they Succeed. Such Proviſion did *Valentinian* make for “
thoſe for whom the Ancient Law did nothing provide, which though good in compariſon of their former Condition, yet ſtill ſeemed very ſcant, part of what fell to the Mothers ſhare being yet appropriated to others. Therefore in caſe the Grandfather deſigned them their entire ſhare, there was neceſſity for *Codicills* or a *Teſtament* to be drawn, to convey the Eſtate to them in a certain Forme. And *Juſtinian* afterward more inlarged the Right of theſe Nephews by the Daughter; firſt, by taking away all the Right of the *Agnati* their coming in for a tenth part; and afterwards by cutting off the Uncles and Aunts from their Share of what formerly they recovered of their Siſters part. Thus was that great Concern, which the Old Civil Law had for Families regulated and leſſened by the Conſciences of later Princes. But after the Laws of the *Lombards*, or thoſe we call *Feudatary* came to be in force in the Weſt; few are ſo little ſighted but may take notice, how Lands have been limited moſt commonly to the Eldeſt Son; or ſo as the Services due to the Lords might beſt be performed.

Theodoſius forbids any thing to be Exacted for good News.

Habe Tatiane K.N. B. L. ult. N. quid publicæ lætitiæ mentis &c. Cod. Th. Dat. 4. Kal. Maii. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

75. But by this time, not only the Noiſe of the Deſtruction of the Tyrant *Maximus*; but alſo of the Defeat and Death of his Son *Victor*, and the intire finiſhing of that Civil Diſſention, might arrive in the *Eaſtern* Parts of the Empire. Therefore *Theodoſius*, to prevent ſuch Abuſes as we formerly mentioned to have hapned upon the coming of ſuch Tidings, by an Edict ſent to *Tatianus*, renewed the Law he had formerly made, whereby he decreed, That nothing ſhould be Exacted from the *Provincials* in the way of Congratulation. By reaſon of Senators their too highly valuing themſelves, and eſteeming their Order too great to recieve any Aſſiſtance or Protection from Inferior Perſons, it came to be a Queſtion amonſt them at this time, whether to Pupills, and ſuch as were Adult, though under Age, of this Senatorian Rank, Tutors and Curators might be aſſigned from amongſt thoſe of Inferior Condition. *Theodoſius* was Conſulted and Concerned in the Matter, ſo far as
to publiſh a Conſtitution for Determination and Settlement of it. “He Ordains for “
quieting of all Animoſities, That the *Præfect* of *Conſtantinople* (for to *Proculus*, “
the Son of *Tatian*, the Edict is directed) take to him Ten *Senators* for his Aſſi- “
ſtants, together with their *Prætor* called *Prætor Tutelaris*, (to whom belonged theſe Matters of *Guardianſhip*) and with them, their advice and Conſent concurring, appoint Tutors and Curators to them as he ſhould ſee cauſe. Indeed of Old Time it belonged to the *Præfect* of the City to aſſign theſe Guardians; but as in Old Time in certain Caſes the *Prætor* at *Rome* had Ten Men to aſſiſt him; and as the *Prætor*, aſſiſted by the major part of the *Tribuni Plebis*, who were Ten in Number, formerly diſcharged this Truſt, ſo *Theodoſius* thinks fit to add theſe Ten Perſons to the *Præfect*. And not only them, but the *Prætor*, called *Prætor Tutelaris*; for as in Old Time there was a *Prætor*, which eſpecially concerning himſelf about Liberty, (beſtowed on Slaves) had thence the Title of *Prætor Liberalis*; ſo alſo *Marcus Antoninus* the Emperour Inſtituted another, who from his Principal Charge of *Tuitions* and *Curatorſhips*, obtained that of *Tutelaris*; for it concerned the State as much that Perſons under Age ſhould be Protected, and their Eſtates ſecured; as that, by virtue of *Manumiſſions*, new Citizens ſhould be added to the Body Politick. But, as for ſuch as were by the *Præfects*, and theſe Perſons, to be aſſigned, to ſatisfie the Doubt thereupon, the Emperour declares, that they may be of any Order, ſo they be juſt and fit Perſons. For, Fidelity doth not depend upon Dignity, or Being of ſuch a Race or Stock, Honeſty and Integrity being often conſpicuous, nay ſometimes more in thoſe of leſſer quality. So that to a Boy of *Senatorian* Rank a Perſon of *Equeſtrian* Order, or a *Plebeian*, might be aſſigned Tutor; yet ſo as he excepted ſuch as were bound to the Services of Corporations, from being aſſigned Guardians to the Sons of Senators. In the laſt place, he ſo far inforces this Law, as only to have place,

L. 3. de Tutoribus & Curatoribus creandis. Cod. Th. lib. 3. tit. 17. & L. 1. de Tutorib. vel Curatorib. Illuſtrium vel clariſſimarum perſonarum. Dat. 6. Kal. Jun. Mediol.

Ordains how Guardians ſhall be aſſigned to Youths of _Senatorian_ Degree.

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Place, where no Guardians were aſſigned by Teſtament, or ſuch as by Law and of Courſe were to have the Charge, were wanting. And in other matters he leaves the Conditions and Eſtates of *Minors* to be Regulated and Ordered by the ancient Laws.

The Emperors reſtrain ſuch as ſeized upon Confiſcated Goods.

76. Now it's to be concluded, the Officers of the Revenue were buſie in *Gall*, in confiſcating the Eſtates of *Maximus* and his Followers. For, though *Pacatus* ſpeaks ſo much like a Panegyriſt, of the mildneſs ſhewed by *Theodoſius* after the Victory, and have the Fortunes and Eſtates of guilty Perſons were ſpared; yet is he not to be underſtood, as if there were no Confiſcation at all; for, beſides it would how been imprudent to leave ſo dreadful a Rebellion and Uſurpation altogether unpuniſhed, we are aſſured of proceedings in this way from the Contents of a Law publiſhed this year at *Triers*, on the fourteenth of *June*. Among the Goods belonging to the late *Tyrant*, his Son and Officers, were (as needs muſt be) found alſo ſuch as belonged to private perſons, which they had unjuſtly ſeized; and the Emperors were informed, that without any due Proceſs or Form obſerved, after publication made of the Eſtates of the Traitors, ſome private Perſons laid Hands upon ſeveral things they pretended to belong to themſelves, not ſtaying for any due Tryal or Sentence, but being their own Judges in the point. Hereof the Emperors ſhow an high and juſt Reſentment, and command that all “ things ſo ſeized ſhall, notwithſtanding, be appropriated by the Treaſury, in way “ of puniſhment of theſe Arrogant Perſons, who, when they might have had a “ fair Tryal, would not ſtay for Judgement, but deſpiſing that Victory, which “ Juſtice at length muſt have brought them, made choice rather of that Conqueſt “ which their own Audaciouſneſs objected to them. In caſe ſuch Perſons had “ Right on their ſide, yet in way of Puniſhment for their Impudence, they Ordain “ that they loſe their Suit, or the thing that was in Queſtion, though of Right “ it belonged to them. And in caſe the thing ſo ſeized, or invaded, did not of “ Right belong to the Seizor or Invader, he ſhould forfeit the Value of the Thing “ ſo unjuſtly ſeized. Now what they Ordain in reference to the Publick, as to “ this Concern, they alſo think fit to Apply to the Affairs of particular men, im- “ poſing the ſame Penalty upon any Violent or Forcible Enterer whatſoever. In “ Concluſion, they enact like themſelves, that their Exchequer ſhall not begin any “ Action upon theſe People being in poſſeſſion, though of the whole Confiſcate “ Eſtate; that it do not make any Queſtion or Examination, but receive all ſuch “ Quarrels and Demands. This Conſtitution is directed to *Meſſianus*, the *Comes Rei Privatæ*, to whoſe Treaſury theſe Confiſcations did belong, and to whom they give the Title of *Magnificence*.

L. 3. Unde vi. Cod. Th. lib. 4. tit. 22. Abeſt. prima hujus L. Sententia à Cod. Juſt. ut Hiſtorica.

Illud autem ab Officio Magnificentiæ tuæ cavendum eſſe decernimus ut Sacratiſſima Domus noſtra litem expectare, non inferre cogatur, neque expetat ſed patiatur examen.

77. Though *Theodoſius* was now in *Italy*, and a great diſtance from his own Diſtrict, yet had he ſtill his thoughts upon it, and eſpecially ſuch parts thereof as were expoſed to the Incurſions of *Barbarians*. And need there was for his ſo doing; for *Zoſimus* writes, that ſuch of them as had hid themſelves in the Fenns, and in the Woods adjoyning to the Mariſhes, upon the falling down of the *Romans* upon them, now hearing that he was imployed in the Civil War, took the Advantage and made great havock of all things in *Macedonia* and *Theſſaly*, without reſiſtance. Whether it were in reference to theſe motions or for repreſſing the Inſolence of the *Gruthingi*; the ſtate of the Times required that *Illyricum* ſhould be well defended. For this purpoſe, whereas *Gratian* had ordained that the Souldiers called *Comitatenſes* ſhould receive their Proviſions in kind; but thoſe that lay upon the Borders in Money: *Theodoſius* now thought fit, that, what Supply was wont to be made out of the *Eaſt* to *Illyricum*, “ ſhould all indiſtinctly be paid in Money. Poſſibly becauſe in *Illyricum* there was plenty enough of Proviſions to be bought up, and it was found, by experience, that what was brought ſo far received detriment by the Conveyance. He inſtanceth in three things, *viz. Bacon*, *Oyl* and *Salt*, and ſets the Rates to be paid for them; one *Solidus* for eighty pounds of *Bacon*, and as many of *Oyle*, and as much for twelve *modii* of *Salt*; ſo that it appears that *Bacon* and *Oyl* was of the ſame value in thoſe days, and eighty pounds of each was of the value of one *Solidus* or *Aureus*. But this courſe of receiving Proviſions in kind, or Money in lieu of them was altered according to the pleaſure of Princes, and exigency of Affairs. And as he might find reaſon to change Proviſions into Money becauſe of their ordinary corrupting, by reaſon of the length of the ways; ſo at this time he was certified of the corrupting of Money it ſelf where this Supply was to be had. “ This provoked him by an Edict directed to *Tatian* to declare ſuch Perſons as ſhould falſifie the Coin (whom “ he “

Theodoſius Orders the *Eaſt* to ſupply *Illyricum* with Money in room of Proviſions.

L. 17. de Cohortalibus Cod. Th. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt.

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he calleth by the name of *Paracharactæ*) to be guilty of the Crime of High “ Treaſon; this Offence being generally eſteemed a violation of the Rights of Majeſty.

L. 9. de falſa moneta. Cod. Th. Have Tatiane, KNB. χάραγμα Nota. figuratio, typus; παραχάραγμα falſa ſculptio, παραχαράκται falſæ monetæ Rei.

Theodoſius accompanied with *Valentinian* and his Son *Honorius* goes to *Rome*.

78. But now went *Theodoſius* to *Rome*, accompanied by *Valentinian* and by *Honorius* his Son, towards the middle of *June*, and there they reſided for the moſt part of three months, *viz. June, July* and *Auguſt* following. For by the Dates of certain Laws made at that City, we find them there on the ſeaventeenth of *June* and the twenty eighth of *Auguſt*; and betwixt thoſe Dates ſeveral other Conſtitutions made, as for the good of the Empire in general, ſo principally for the concerns of that Mother City. The firſt is of Religious concernment, it being a good and profitable thing for Princes to begin with ſuch matters, which being to conſider in its proper place, we ſhall take notice, that though he now reſided in the City of *Rome*, and principally concerned himſelf, with *Valentinian*, for that Mother City, yet his thoughts ran upon the Beautifying and Adorning the other of *Conſtantinople*, poſſibly moved by ſome Indignation that the Daughter, and which was now the Seat of his own Empire, bore no greater reſemblance to the Mother. He directed an Edict to *Proculus*, *Præfect* of that City, wherein he takes notice, “ That it's a very unſeemly thing, that the publick Splendor of a City ſhould be cor- “ rupted, or ſpoiled, by the adjoyning of private Houſes; and that the Ornaments “ that had been added in his time or before it, ſhould be eclipſed by ſuch works “ as had only their riſe from greedineſs after Money. Therefore he impowers him “ (to whom he gives the Title of *His Sublime Eminence*) to remove all ſuch In- “ croachments, if they ſpoiled the Proſpect or the Beauty of the Place, whether “ they had been introduced by the meer preſumption of the Builders, or by leave “ ſurreptitiouſly procured; leaving it fully to him to demoliſh or let ſtand what “ he ſhould think fit. By theſe private Buildings are to be underſtood Shops, which as in every publick place, where multitudes or concourſe of People are, were not only then and there erected, but we ſee now to creep up every where for the readier ſale of, often times, but trifling Commodities. So now it happ'ned at *Conſtantinople*, where the *Forum*, the entrances to the publick Baths, as we ſee at this Day the Entries into *Churches* (uſually with Books and Beads) and the places of publick Adminiſtration of Juſtice were peſtered. But we muſt needs take further notice of what *Theodoſius* mentions in this Law, concerning publick Ornaments which were added in his Days; to whom the Writings of ſeveral other perſons bear witneſs: particularly thoſe of *Themiſtius*, of which we have ſpoken heretofore. Theſe were an *Haven* or *Port*, an *Aquæduct*, a *Palace* which bore his Name, *Baths*, *Porticus*, *Gymnaſia*, and the *Forum* which was alſo called after him, of which is made mention in an old Deſcription of *Conſtantinople*. There was alſo when the Tyrants were overthrown and deſtroyed, a *Column* erected in the *Hippodrome*, when *Proculus* was Judge or *Præfect* of the City (on which were ingraven two Inſcriptions or Epigramms, the one in Greek, the other in Latine) which accords with this very year.

L. 25. de Operibus publicis Cod. Th. Dat. Romæ 6. Kal. Auguſti. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt.

Thence he directs an Edict for the Beautifying of *Conſtantinople*.

79. *Theodoſius* thus, at *Rome* provided for the luſtre of *Conſtantinople*, but it was, probably, as we ſaid, by having a view of that old Soveraign City; that he knew the better how to correct the miſtakes committed in the contrivement of the New. He might the more conveniently behold the Buildings, becauſe he made his Entry in Triumph; ſometimes in his Chariot and ſometimes on Foot, and ſo, as one changeth the Word, *He triumphed over War, and Victory it ſelf.* In the *Court-Houſe* he ſpake to the Senate, and at the *Roſtra* to the People, carrying himſelf as a Prince to them all in general, and as a Senator to each in particular. In the Senate Houſe he was commended by *Pacatus*, a moſt Eloquent and Witty Perſon, in that Panegyrical Oration of which we have made ſo much uſe already, and muſt do more, wherein touching at other matters, he hath eſpecially celebrated this War, Victory and Triumph over *Maximus*. Concluding his Speech, at the cloſe he tells him, That it ſhould ſuffice to have ſpoken of ſuch of his Acts as were already paſt; “ and now when in courſe he was to make mention of what he did at preſent, he “ would rather chooſe to make an end of his Oration, than to invade the Office “ of the moſt ample order of the Senators. He hopes that he ſhould obtain par- “ don for his pious temerity, whereby he did not ſo much invade what belonged “ to other perſons, as made uſe of what was common to all Subjects. That it was, “ he hoped, lawful for him to ſpeak of ſuch things as were happily performed by “ him, amongſt Barbarous Nations, and in foreign Provinces for the Soveraign com- “ mand, with his Permiſſion and the favour of the Senate, leaving what he had done “ and “

Sigonius.

How he demeaned himſelf at *Rome*.

Pacatus his Panegyrical Oration to him in the Senate Houſe.

and ſtill continued to do, at *Rome*, to *Roman* Wits. To them it belonged to ſhew in what manner he appeared the firſt day he arrived; how he behaved himſelf in the *Court*, how at the *Roſtra*; how he followed the Spoils of War, one while in his Chariot, another while on Foot; (the more ſetting himſelf forth by this change of Poſture) as triumphing both *over War and Pride*: how to all in general he demeaned himſelf like a Prince, and no otherwiſe than as a Senator to every one in particular; how often and how familiarly he took a view, not only of the publick works, but alſo of private Houſes, without any Guard to attend him, as being far ſafer and more fenced by publick Love. Let theſe things, ſaith he, be ſet forth and commended by their Tongues and voice, who by the aſſiſtance of the common Joy may both more excellently ſpeak of matters of greateſt moment, and more juſtly and fitly of what is of private and particular concernment. Then falling into a kind of extatical fit, he cries out. O my happy travel! the pains I have taken have been well beſtowed. At what glorious things have I been preſent, with what Joys prepared, what wonderful matters ſhall I, at my return make known to the Cities of *Gall!* with what multitudes of aſtoniſhed People? with how great an Auditory ſhall I be crouded, when I ſhall ſay, *I have ſeen* Rome, *I have ſeen* Thodoſius, *and I have ſeen them both together: I have ſeen him who is Father of a Prince, Avenger of a Prince, and alſo the Reſtorer of a Prince.* To me they will flock from far and wide; from me the whole ſeries of all the Paſſages from firſt and laſt will be derived; from me both Poetry and Hiſtory will receive its Argument. I will requite you, Sir, for the injury I do you; though I ſpeak nothing of you my ſelf, that's fit to be read, I ſhall inſtruct them, that may ſpeak or write it.

What Reformation he made in the City.

80. He tells us what brave things in general *Theodoſius* did at *Rome*, but we muſt conſider what he acted in particular for that City. We find as for the eccleſiaſtical ſtate thereof, ſo for the amendment of the Civil he made ſeveral Laws. In order to the better adminiſtration of what concerned the Prince his Patrimony in the *venerable City of Rome*, as they term it, the Emperors tell *Albinus* the *Præfect* thereof, that Appeals ſhall lye from the *Rationalis* to the *Comes Rei Privatæ*, if the ſum in contention exceed two hundred pounds of Silver; if it do not amount to ſo much, then to himſelf the *Præfect*. They received a complaint that the publick Slaves belonging to Forges or other publick works, at this time deſerted the ſervice, and went and joyned themſelves with private Perſons, and took as Wives their Women Slaves. To reſtrain this they Ordain that, “ Thoſe ſo offending, with their Wives and alſo their Children, be forced back to their former condition and labour. But *Socrates* alſo writes that, though the Emperor *Theodoſius* ſtaid but little in *Italy*, yet in that ſpace he did much good to the City of *Rome*, partly in beſtowing what was profitable for it; and partly in taking away what was miſchievous to it. For as he Demonſtrated his Bounty and Liberality to it in many reſpects, ſo he removed two things out of the way which were great blemiſhes unto that Place. There were great and ancient Buildings at *Rome*, in which that Bread was baked wherewith the City was ſupplied; the Overſeers or Governors whereof the *Romans* in their own Language called *Mancipes*, who in proceſs of time turned thoſe Houſes into Dens of Thieves. For by reaſon that the Bakehouſes belonging to them were under ground, and on the ſides of them were Victuallers and Tipling places full of Whores; many that reſorted thither, whether for ſatisfying of their hunger, or their Luſt, were craftily ſpoiled of all they had, and moſt commonly ſo diſpoſed off as their Friends could never hear of them after. A certain privy Conveyance there was diviſed, to throw them down from theſe Tipling Houſes into that blind Bakehouſe, by which means many, eſpecially if Strangers, were caſt away. For being thus caught in the Trap, they were compelled to grind in the Bakehouſe, and moſt of them never ſuffered to depart, but kept in perpetual ſlavery; their Friends believing that they were long ſince departed out of the World. It happed that one of *Theodoſius* his Souldiers was thrown into this Hole; but being in the cloſe Bakehouſe, and by no other means able to procure his Liberty, he drew his Dagger, and ſlew ſuch as ſtopped his paſſage, and the reſt being afraid of their lives let him eſcape. The Emperor informed of all circumſtances, grievouſly puniſh'd the *Mancipes*, and commanded theſe Houſes which were the Receptacles of Thieves to be demoliſhed, and by this means freed *Rome*, the Queen of all Cities, from one very diſgraceful thing. The other was this. If a Woman were taken in Adultery, the *Romans* uſed ſuch a kind of puniſhment, as

removed

L. 49. de Appellation. &c. Cod. Th. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt.

L. ult. de Servis fugitivis. Cod. Juſt. lib. 6. tit. 1. Dat. ſunt hæ L.L. ad Albinum Romæ. 8. Kal. Aug.

Socrates lib. 5. c. 18.

removed not the Sin, but increaſed the Vice. For they ſhut her up in narrow “ Stews, and compelled her beaſtly without all ſhame to play the Whore; nay “ they procured a noiſe to be made with ſome ſounding Veſſel, while the Deed “ was doing, that the Neighbours might know it, and that by that tinkling Sound “ all might be made privy to that filthy and ſhameful kind of Correction. The “ Emperor hearing of this horrible Cuſtom, thought it was by no means to be ſuf- “ fered, but the *Seſtra* (ſo the Baudy-Houſes were called) he commanded to be de- “ moliſhed; and made other Laws for puniſhment of Women taken in Adultery. “ And thus was *Rome*, by *Theodoſius* his means delivered from theſe two foul and filthy Abuſes.

81. But as for *Socrates* his later ſtory concerning the Adulterous puniſhment of an Adultereſs, there's not any thing in Antiquity that bears Teſtimony to it: not any Footſteps of ſuch Law or Cuſtom at *Rome*, where the *Julian* againſt Adulterers, *Baronius* tells you, was always vigilant and Vigorous: only one Cuſtom, he ſaith, there was in his Days in ſeveral Places in *Italy*, to deride with ſuch tinckling Sounds the Marriages of ſuch Widows as entred the ſecond time into the ſtate of Wedlock; as in ſome places of *England* they are wont to make ridiculous thoſe Wives that beat their Husbands. For the former, concerning the Bakehouſes and the *Mancipes*, it is very true, that the Overſeers of theſe publick Houſes went under this Name, as well as others, that belonged to the publick Baths. And as he makes mention of *Theodoſius* his puniſhing the *Mancipes*, by which puniſhment the Body of them might be diſſipated, and a Want follow of ſuch as were to execute that Charge: ſo at this very time we find a Law made by theſe two Emperors for recruiting or filling up the Body of the *Mancipes*, which muſt ſuppoſe ſuch a Want. It's dated at *Rome*, and directed to *Albinus* the *Præfect* thereof, and therein they command, “ That whoſoever by ſurreptitious Reſcripts contrary to former Laws had obtained diſmiſſion from this Service, or lived idle in any leſſer, “ or more inconſiderable Bodies, or Companies, ſhould be forced to undergo this “ Function; there being no need, I ſuppoſe, of any new Command for forcing back ſuch as were run away, or had deſerted the Charge upon that Perſecution which fell upon them, if ſo they did. And this Law might very well ſeem to have relation to this ſtory of *Socrates*, if ſome other Circumſtances did not rather incline us to another Interpretation. By *Mancipes* are meant in Law-books and others, not only theſe publick Bakers, but, as we ſaid before, ſuch as had the Management of the publick *Baths* and of *Salt-pits*; and it happens ſo direct for the Interpretation to go for them, that *Symmachus*, who was *Præfect* of this City four or five years before, hath an Epiſtle ſtill extant, directed to *Theodoſius* himſelf, wherein he makes Relation that theſe very *Mancipes* of the *Baths*, from a great number, being reduced to a very few, and not poſſibly able to undergo the Burthen, obtained upon their Petition, that ſuch as had been excuſed by Decree ſhould be returned back, and other Supplies be made out of other unſerviceable or idle Companies without delay.

Ad Ann. 389. *n.* 59.

L. un. de Mancipibus. Cod. Th. lib. 12. *tit.* 16. *Dat.* 18. *Kal. Septemb. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt.*

Lib. 10. *Ep.* 58.

82. This Reſcript being pleaded; thoſe that by Decree had been diſmiſſed from their Company, alleaged that they were protected alſo by the ſuffrage of *Macedonius* (who bore the Office of *Comes Sacr. Largitionum*, under *Gratian*, *Valentinian* and *Theodoſius*) and they procured a Relation of theſe their Pretences to be made. Now *Symmachus* tells the Emperor, that it's only in his (or their) power to reſcind Reſcripts unjuſtly procured. But, ſtill the defect continuing, they called alſo the *Navicularii* that were obnoxious to the bringing of Wood for the ſervice of the Baths, to undertake their Charge, that both Companies together might ſupport the Burthen the better. But they choſe rather to deliver up ſome of their Body, than to joyn together unanimouſly in the Work; and theſe being willing, it was ſo wrought, that certain Perſons were joyned with the *Mancipes*. Now he tells him, the publick Cauſe required his delivery of his Judgement therein, leſt by Inſtruments clandeſtinely procured, an whole Company ſo ſerviceable ſhould be reduced to nothing. He adds, that with the Relation he had ſent the account of what was tranſacted, about their Affair who pleaded the Judgement of *Macedonius*; as alſo what had paſſed before himſelf in relation to the *Navicularii*, their addicting ſome of their own Body to the *Mancipes*. And concludes with telling him, that it is his work to revoke the Priviledges of thoſe whom their own ambitious Practices had diſcharged: and to cut off all acceſs to his Perſon from ſuch as would petition to be diſingaged from that Service to which their own Company had adjudged them. This Epiſtle is ſo direct to the Interpretation of this Law, that

it ſeems to have taken away all thoughts of its having been made in reference to the *Bakers*. Theſe *Mancipes* of the *Baths* had alſo the Charge of the *Saltpits*, which were in the eleventh Region of the City, near to the Gate called *Porta Tergemina*, and they received the Profit or Advantage of them; which Priviledge, for their Incouragement was confirmed to them by *Valentinian*. Therefore are they indifferently termed *Mancipes Thermarum* and *Salinarum*; and, as *Juretus* obſerves, they were under the Diſpoſition of *Macedonius* as *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum*, the buſineſs of Salt belonging to his Juriſdiction. Yet the Overſight of the Baths, or other publick Works of the City belonged to *Symmachus* the Prefect, whoſe courſe of procedure in his Office is much illuſtrated by his Epiſtles. But we ſee by this and other of his Addreſſes in this Nature, that though *Theodoſius* was diſtant at *Conſtantinople*, yet the great Officers had recourſe to him in matters of Conſequence, probably the more becauſe of the Minority of *Valentinian*, whom we may believe he aſſiſted in making Laws and other Acts for the good eſtabliſhment of thoſe Countries he had again ſubjected to his Command, whilſt yet he remained in theſe Quarters.

In Ep. Sym.

83. But however, the Law concerning *Mancipes* might be intended; whether in Order to that Chaſtiſement of *Bakers*, of which *Socrates* writes; there is another extant which made up part of the ſame Conſtitution, being of the ſame Date, and directed to the ſame Perſon, and tending alſo to the correction of Manners. We have already ſpoken how greatly the Art of Magick was abhorred in this Age, eſpecially in the Days of *Valens*; how the Practice thereof was eſteemed next to that of High Treaſon, and the Practiſers themſelves were reckoned for no leſs than Traitors and publick Enemies. Now it being a thing ſufficiently known, that it was lawful to kill a publick Enemy or a Traitor to his Country, who might be diſpatched by the Hand of a private Perſon whereever he met him; this gave incouragement to ſeveral ſorts of Perſons to ſerve the ends, either of their ſelfiſh Deſigns, or their Malice, upon thoſe that were commonly and notoriouſly infamed with this Crime. For ſome there were who were guilty of it themſelves, and when they feared to be diſcovered by thoſe that were (poſſibly) not ſo much to be blamed as they, to avoid accuſation, they began firſt, killed the Party, and thereby evaded that puniſhment, which was moſt deſerved by themſelves. Others upon private Spleen and Malice, for ſatisfying of their private Revenge took this courſe to be rid of thoſe they moſt deſired to have out of the way. The Emperors now at *Rome*, taking notice thereof, command *Albinus* the *Præfect*, “That, whoſoever ſhall find any Perſon guilty of this Crime, he ſhall ſeize, and preſently bring him forth, and ſubject the Enemy of the publick Safety, to publick Judgement. And eſpecially they lay this Injunction upon thoſe called *Agitators*, or the Chariot-drivers of theſe times, who ran Races in the Cirque, and were wont to be guilty of this Crime, even upon this double account: For, this ſort of men is wonderfully belied if they did not practiſe the Art of Magick to obtain the Victory in thoſe Races. And hence they were wont to accuſe and kill firſt, that they might not be diſcovered; and alſo to brand their Adverſaries with this Crime, and render them Infamous; that removing ſuch out of the way, as they thought moſt Expert in the Art of Driving; they themſelves might win the deſired Prizes in the Cirque.

The Emperors reſtrain malicious Accuſations upon pretence of Magick.

L. 11. de Maleficis & Mathematicis. Cod. Th. & L. 9. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit.

84. That theſe men were wont to uſe Inchantment for obtaining the Victory in Courſes, by hindring the Speed of thoſe that were to run againſt them, and intercepting one way or other the Swiftneſs of their Horſes; as alſo by breaking the Wheels of the Chariots, or the Legs or Necks of the Riders or Horſes, is ſufficiently teſtified by ſeveral Writers, as *Ammianus* and others. Now, if any of theſe *Agitators*, “or any others of what ſort ſoever ſhall offend againſt this their Injunction, or Clandeſtinely kill any Perſon, though manifeſtly guilty of the Crime of *Magick*, they pronounce he ſhall not eſcape Death himſelf, as ſuſpected guilty of the Inducements we now mentioned, *viz.* that, he either had removed a Malefactor on purpoſe, that he might not diſcover his Aſſociates, and ſo eſcape his due and ſevere tryal at Law, or under pretence of this publick Juſtice, had deſtroyed his own Enemy, and that out of a more malitious Deſign. The Hands of the Emperors now being in, and they ſetting themſelves to promote the Conveniences of the City, where they at preſent reſided, eſpecially in relation to Victuals; the condition of the *Suarii* was repreſented to them, who found Hogs-fleſh for it, as we have already ſhewn. They being a Body Politick among themſelves, had ſeveral Lands belonging to them, conferred ſeveral ways upon their Company, for the Carrying on

Vide apud Goth. in h. l.

L. 5. de Suariis Cod. Th. lib. 14. tit. 4. Abrogat. à Cod. Juſt.

The Emperors ordain ſeveral things in relation to the *Suarii.*

on of their Service, as divers other Incouragements granted them by Princes for this End. But theſe Lands, though deſtined to publick Ends, yet (as we find at this day in every place) were imbezeled, and by private perſons drawn to their own Uſe and Accommodation, by various Tricks and Sleights of Law. “The Emperors Command *Albinus*, to whom they give the Title of His *Sublime Eminence*, either to recover theſe Lands to their due Uſe and Deſignment, or elſe to force ſuch as were Poſſeſſed of them to undergo that Charge and Service which by Right was to lye upon the owners; For indeed theſe Lands were ſo deſtined to that Service, that they could not be transferred to other Uſes. And they affirm it a Matter both of Equity and Law, that the Kinſmen, and *Originales*, as they terme them, or the Sons and Poſterity of the *Suarii*, being by their Blood and Original obnoxious to the Function, be alſo forced to the Charge. This Order or Edict was directed to *Albinus* on the Eighteenth of *Auguſt*; and eight days after, he was ſerved with another Conſtitution in behalf of the ſame Company. Herein the Emperors ſignifie, that they had it repreſented to them, how that being put to much labour and toile for the benefit of the People of *Rome*, the Emperor *Gratian* had thought it fit, that they ſhould not be ſubject to ſordid Imployments. They therefore command his Illuſtrious *Authority* (ſo they terme him) to maintaine the Authority of the Imperial Conſtitutions, and with Competent Threatnings to be urgent with his Officers to put in force what undoubtedly had been before Decreed, and never had been nulled by any Repeal. Now what the Functions or Services were, which went under the Name of *Sordida Munera*, we have already ſhewn, neither is this of *Suarii* to be reckoned in their Number.

L. 6. eod. tit. Cod. Th. & L. 1. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit.

They remove from *Rome* to *Valentia.*

85. The Emperors, while they were in *Rome*, further took care againſt the Abuſe of the Aquæducts of that City, and then their leave of it, (after about three Months ſtay) on the firſt of *September*, and came to *Valentia*; not that City of *Italy* ſituate among the *Brutij*, but probably another Town lying near to *Brunduſium*. Hence bears Date on the third of this Month another Edict directed to *Cæſarius*, the *Magiſter Officiorum* of the Eaſt, the ſame that was ſent by *Theodoſius* to *Antioch* upon the occaſion of the ſedition raiſed in that City. “Whereas four ſorts of Military Men, who were wont to travel, and be ſent to and fro upon publick Errands for defence of the Empire, *viz.* The Inferior and Leſſer ſort of *Comites*, who were deſtined for the Safeguard of the Limits, the *Tribuni Militum*, the *Domeſtick Protectors*, and the *Agentes in Rebus*, were indulged ſo far as to make Uſe of the Vehicular Courſe, or the Publick Waggons; this *Theodoſius* prohibits for the time to come, and for their greater Speed and Diſpatch will have them have Horſes only allowed. And that therein they be not too burthenſome, by requiring too great a Number of theſe Horſes, he aſſigns how many ſhall be allowed to each Rank, *viz.* to the *Comites* Four beſides a Sumpter; to a *Tribune* Three, and to the *Domeſtick Protectors*, and the *Agentes in Rebus*, but Two a piece: And of this he will have the ſeveral Governours of Provinces to take care. *Valentinian*, about the ſame time, had a deſire to reward and incourage ſuch as faithfully ſerved him in his *Scrinia*; for he ordered by an Edict directed to *Conſtantius* the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Gall*, “That in the preſence of the ordinary Judges, or Governours of Provinces, they ſhould enjoy three ſorts of Honours or Privileges: The firſt of theſe was, That they ſhould be admitted to Salute or receive a Kiſs from them upon occaſion, when they met them. The next was, of Coming freely into their *Secretaria* or Courts of Juſtice when they pleaſed; which none but ſuch privileged Perſons could do, except they were ſent for by the Judge, or had buſineſs depending. And not only will he have theſe *Scriniarii* injoy this Honour, but alſo liberty of ſitting with them upon the Bench, when they ſhall ſo pleaſe. The reaſon he gives for it is, becauſe ſuch had liberty to come into the Prince his *Conſiſtory*, and therefore might well be admitted into the *Secretaria* of the ordinary Judges, *viz.* the *Conſulares* and *Preſidents*, for of ſuch the Law makes mention; and therefore thoſe Governours, which by Degree were *Spectabiles*, as *Proconſuls* and *Vicars*, are not hereby to be underſtood. So great Reſpect did *Valentinian* bear to theſe his Officers; though the ſame Honour was alſo given to others, as to *Domeſticks* and *Protectors* at another time. In caſe there was an Omiſſion of this Civility; he impoſeth a Mulct of three Pounds of Gold upon the *Princeps*, *Comicularius*, or other Heads of the Office of the ordinary Judge, to whom it ſeems it belonged to introduce Perſons to the Ceremony of the Kiſs, and into the *Secretarium*.

L. 5. de Aquaductu. Cod. Th. l. 15. tit. 2. & L. 3. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. hinc & ex ſeq. interpolata eſt.

Where they make Edicts for the Eaſe of the *Curſus Publicus.*

L. 49. de curſu publ. Cod. Th. lib. 8. tit. 5. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

And in favour of the *Scriniarii.*

L. 5. de Proximis &c. Cod. Th. lib. 6. tit. 26. & L. 2. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. & L. ult. Cod. de Offic. div. Judic.

89. This Law was not Dated, (as the Copies corruptly have it) but Received at *Triers* on the eighth day of *November*; for the Emperors from *Rome*, by the way of

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The come to *Milan.*

A.D. 389.

L. 19. *de Hæreticis Cod. Th.*

L. 120. *de Decurionibus. Cod. Th. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.*

Valentia and *Foroſaminum*, removed to *Milan*, where, by the Subſcription of another Law, we find them on the ſix and twentieth of this Month. Thence alſo they gave out an Edict on the ſeventeenth of *December* following, to *Tatianus* the *Præfectus Prætorio* of the Eaſt, (the Succeſſor of *Cynegius*) commanding him to write to the *Magiſter Officiorum*, under whome ſerved ſuch as were ſaid to be in the *Militia Magiſteriana* or *Scholaris*; as alſo to the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum* and *Comes Rei privatæ*, under whom were the *Militia Palatina*, that all ſuch *Curiales*, or obnoxious to Corporations, as had crept into Imployment under them, ſhould be rendred back to the Services of the reſpective Bodies from which they came; which is rationally thought intended for the relief of the City of *Antioch*; for under this *Tatianus*, as appears by an Epiſtle of *Libanius*, directed to him, was a meſſage ſent to the Prince for ſupplying the great Want there was in the Court of this Corporation. The *Francks* about this time making new Deprædations in *Gall*; *Arbogaſtes* thought ſuch Inſolence was not to be endured, and therefore put *Valentinian* in mind, that they were to ſmart for it, except they made ſatisfaction for ſuch miſchief as they did the preceding year, when they defeated the Legions; and delivered up the Authors of the War, in whom their perfidiouſneſs ſhould be puniſhed. After a few days he went to them himſelf, and had Conference with *Marcomeres* and *Suno* their *Reguli*, of whom he required and obtained Hoſtages, and ſo returned into his Winter-Quarters to *Triers*.

A.D. 390. *Valentiniano A.* 4. *& Notherio Coſs.*

Valentinian takes care for the ſafety of his Perſon.

L. 12. *de Palatinis S. L. & R. P. Cod. Th. lib.* 6. *tit.* 30.

L. L. 26, 27, 28. *de Operibus publicis. Cod. Th. lib.* 15. *tit.* 1. *Abſunt à Cod. Juſt.*

They forbid the raiſing of New Works.

Reſtraine Contributions made to greater Cities.

Take care for Orphans.

L. ult. de Tutor. Cod. Th. lib. 3. *tit.* 17. *L.* 2. *Cod. Juſt. Quando mulier tutelæ Officio fungi poteſt, hinc deſcripta eſt.*

87. The CCCXC. Year of our Lord had for Conſuls, the Emperour *Valentinian* the fourth time, and *Neotherius*. The *Præfectus Prætorio* of the Eaſt was *Tatianus*; of *Illyricum* and *Italy*, for ſome time, *Polemius*; and afterward *Flavianus* and *Neotherius*. The two Emperors continued at *Milan* together till towards the Month of *Auguſt*, where they made ſeveral Orders directed to the Officers of both their Diſtricts. “ *Valentinian*, as if he had ſome jealouſie or apprehenſion of what ſhortly after befell him, to avoid the treachery of thoſe that were near about him, commanded *Severus* his *Comes* and *Caſtrenſis*, that none ſhould be admitted to Attendance about his Perſon, but thoſe that had firſt his own approbation. The Governours of Provinces were now very liberal of the publick Purſe, in raiſing publick Buildings, with deſign of fixing their own Names to the Walls, and thereby to gain Fame, and perpetuate their Memories; which being found to exhauſt the Treaſury; the Emperours, by one Conſtitution, though directed to two Perſons, *Viz. Albinus* the *Præfect* of *Rome*, and *Polemius* the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Italy* and *Illyricum*, command that no New Works be raiſed, either in the Æternal City, as they term it, or in any other. This they inforce by a triple Penalty, whereof the firſt is, that ſuch Judges or Governours, ſhall be obliged to perfect ſuch Works ſo raſhly begun, at their own Charge; the next, that no allowance ſhall be made of any Sums of Money to the Caſheers that laid it out upon ſuch Uſes; beſides, a Fine of Ten Pounds of Gold they lay upon ſuch Judge and his Office that ſo offend. We have formerly ſaid, That in Caſe the Revenues of the moſt eminent City of any Province did not ſuffice for the maintenance of its publick Buildings, it was to be ſupplied out of the Incomes of thoſe that were of a lower rank. But this liberty and Indulgence had given occaſion to unreaſonable men to require and exact more than was convenient, and when there was no need of Aſſiſtance from other places; which cauſed *Valentinian* now to qualifie that Licence, which formerly had been in Charity given in this kind, ſo as no Contribution ſhould be made, except all the Revenue belonging to the Principal City it ſelf and deſtined to this Uſe were exhauſted; and then too, the Emperour himſelf ſhould be informed both of this Supply, how much it was, how laid out, and what was effected by it. *Theodoſius*, about the ſame time, was advertized from the *Eaſt*, of great havock made in the Eſtates of Infants and Minors, to whom their Mothers were Guardians; For they marrying again very commonly, their ſecond Husbands reckoned on all as their own, which they could make (right or wrong) out of the Goods and Poſſeſſions of the Children. To prevent this miſchief for the time to come, he preſcribed now to *Tatianus* the Præfect ſix Rules, according to which either Mothers or other Perſons ſhould be aſſigned Guardians. “ That the Tuition ſhould be committed to them, and by Name. That they ſhould not be forced to it, but be aſſigned Guardians upon their own ſeeking. But not Confirmed in that Charge till they had Ingaged in Court that they would not marry again. Neither ſhould any be admitted to the Tuition, except they themſelves were of full Age, or twenty five years old, it being unreaſonable that they ſhould manage the Eſtates of others, who could not tranſact in their own behalf. Neither yet in the next

place ſhould their Requeſt be granted, except there were failure of another law- “ ful Tutor, whether ſuch by Succeſſion and Kindred, or aſſigned by the Teſtament “ of the Parent. If there wanted ſuch an one, or if he was excuſed by Privilege, “ was removed as a ſuſpected Perſon, or was found by reaſon of ſome Infirmity of “ Body or Mind not fit to manage his own Eſtate, then might the Mother be ad- “ mitted upon her Deſire being a Widow. And laſtly, in Caſe ſhe married after- “ ward, the Eſtate of her ſecond Husband ſhould (by a tacite Right) be ingaged “ to anſwer and make good the Intereſt of the Minor. Such were the Terms on “ which *Theodoſius* would admit of Mothers to be Guardians, the ſtrictneſs of which was altered in aftertimes, ſo as the Grandmother might be admitted as well as the Mother: But at this day, there's no need ſhe ſhould deſire the Imployment, or be confirmed in it. And both Mother and Grandmother are preferred before the *Tutores Legitimi*, or thoſe of the Kindred, though not before ſuch as the Teſtaments of the deceaſed Parents had aſſigned. A Change of Laws following the Mutation of Manners.

Reſtraine the Immoderate Privileges of Senators.

L.8. de Incolis, &c. Cod. Juſt. lib. 10. tit. 39.

L. 2. ubi Senatores vel clariſſimi civiliter vel criminaliter conveniantur. Cod. Juſt. lib. 3. tit. 24.

88. Great Men, that were obnoxious to their Creditors, would pretend they had greater Immunities than the ſafety of the Publick would permit they ſhould; ſo ſo that it was uncertain in what place they could be Sued. To clear this Point, and that both they, and thoſe they gave Cauſe of Action to, might be in ſome certainty, the Emperours now declared, “ That in reſpect of their Dignity, the Reſidence of “ Senators ought to be ſuppoſed to be at the moſt Sacred City, meaning that of “ *Rome*, or *Conſtantinople*. But withall, they tell the Senate, that in pecuniary Cau- “ ſes, whether they dwelt in the City or near unto it, they ſhould be convened in “ the Court, either of the *Præfectus Prætorio*, or the Præfect of the City, or of “ the *Magiſter Officiorum*, if he received their Order for it; but in the Provinces “ they ſhould anſwer, where they fixed their Habitation, or where the greateſt part “ of their Eſtates lay, and they were commonly reſident. To be ſure *Conſtantinople*, at this time, was much inlarged by the Care and Munificence of *Theodoſius*, and thereby afforded much conveniency of living both to Senators and others. The place where it ſtood, or *Byzantium*, had been inhabited in former Ages, and, as we formerly ſhewed, was conſiderable in the World in reſpect of its Scituation and Wealth. And therefore, we perceive, in digging and laying the new Foundations, many old ones were diſcovered, and not ſeldom, Treaſure was found hidden or loſt in thoſe places where they had occaſion to open the Ground. Hereupon much Envy and Contention followed, thoſe that could not have the ſame good fortune themſelves grudging that of their Neighbours, and pretending to intitle the Emperor to it as his due. *Theodoſius*, to obviate all ſuch Informations, and to incourage Builders, as it ſeems, had Ten Years before declared in an Edict directd to the People of *Conſtantinople*, “ That whoſoever found any hid Treaſures, Jewels, Me- “ dals, or rhe like, laid there in Ancient Times, and the Owners whereof could not “ be knowne, ſhould have and freely enjoy them, without fear of any Information “ or Trouble thence ariſing in his Exchequer. But, as he ſaith, he then thought “ fit, out of Natural Equity, to add ſome Temperament to this Indulgence, ſo as “ he, who found the Treaſure in his own Ground, ſhould have it freely and abſo- “ lutely to himſelf; but he that found it in another Man's Ground, ſhould admit the “ owner of the Soil to a fourth part of the Value. And he prohibited that any “ ſhould make uſe of this Licence to dig when they liſted in other Mens Lands, or “ pretend a fame of any thing to be therein hidden. “

Vide omnes leges tit. de Theſauris Cod. Th. lib. 10. tit. 18. & Goth. Com. Abſunt omnes à Cod Juſt.

Theodoſius determines Controverſies about finding of Treaſure.

89. By the antienter Laws made by ſuch Emperors as were too much addicted to the increaſing of their Revenues, whatſoever Treaſure was found, though in a Mans own Land, was adjudged to the publick Treaſury. So it ſtood before the Reign of *Nerva* and *Hadrian*; but *Nerva* granted it freely to the Poſſeſſor of the Land, and ſo did *Hadrian*, following Natural Equity therein; and ſo the Law ſtood under the Governments of *Severus* and *Antoninus Caracalla*; under *Heliogabalus* Alteration ſeems to have been made, which that excellent Prince *Alexander Severus* again reformed; yet ſo as if the Treaſure was great, he ordered his own Officers to go ſome ſhare with thoſe that diſcovered it. After his time it was again adjudged to the Treaſury, though found in the Land of the Diſcoverer till the days of the Emperors *Carus* and *Carinus*, who again left it free as before, till at length under *Diocletian*, *Maximian* and others, it was again appropriated to the Exchequer. *Conſtantine*, when he came to the Government, took a middle courſe betwixt the two former which had ſo perpetually varied, and ordained, That if any diſcovered Treaſure, and of his own Accord revealed it to the Officers of the Treaſury, he ſhould have half

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half of it, & be free from all manner of Trouble or Proſecution, there being reaſon to truſt ſuch an one as of his own accord had made the Diſcovery. But if any Perſon found ſuch Treaſure, and not revealing, was convicted of it, he ſhould by no means enjoy the former favour. After *Conſtantine*, as Chriſtianity took greater Root, ſo greater Liberty was Indulged, as by that Law of *Theodoſius*, which e're now we mentioned, whereby whatſoever Treaſure was found in any Mans Ground, it ſhould be his own, were it never ſo great, or with whatſoever Character it was Stamped; for as *Alexander Severus* excepted the greater Treaſures, ſo it is noted of *Tamerlane*, That ſuch Coins as bore the ſtamp of a King he ordained ſhould be Confiſcated. Some indeed have been of opinion, that all Treaſure exceeding the Fortune of a Private Perſon ſhould belong to the Prince, as in *France*, ſome think at this day the Treaſures of Gold to belong to the King. Indeed the Governour of the Low Countries, when not long ſince the Sepulchre and Treaſure of *Childerich* King of the *Francks* was diſcovered, ſeized on it in the Kings behalf, but gave, as it's ſaid, the value of it to the Poor of *Tournay*, where it was occaſionally found. But further to incourage the Finder, or rather the Building of *Conſtantinople*, *Theodoſius* gave three Parts of four to him that ſhall diſcover any in another Man's Ground, and only the Remainder to the Owner of the Ground; although at this day in *France* it be equally diſtributed betwixt the Owner, the Finder, and the Prince. But this he interprets to be underſtood only of accidental finding, for he will not permit upon this occaſion, that any one ſearch another Man's Ground, under pretence of preſumption or fame of any thing to be there hid, or that the Common People did believe that ſo it was, pretending the Place to be haunted, as it was ordinarily believed that Spirits were wont to watch about Treaſure. Thus much, as we ſaid, did *Theodoſius* Decree in an Edict publiſhed Ten Years before to the People of *Conſtantinople*, which now by another directed to *Neotherius* he confirms in theſe words. “We permit, that thoſe who, either by the Revelation of the Divinity or Conduct of Fortune, do find any Treaſure, enjoy what they found without all fear for ſo doing. The ordinary Speech concerning the Conduct of Fortune, as a Chriſtian Prince, he mitigates with the Providence of God, as St. *Auguſtine* corrects it upon another occaſion. The Heathen alſo aſcribed the finding of Treaſure to the favour of their Gods, and particularly impoſed this Taske upon *Hercules* and *Mercury*, and for this purpoſe they offered Sacrifice, and conſulted their Magicians. But this, as *Theodoſius* ſeems here tacitely to diſallow, ſo *Juſtinian* afterward forbad that any, by Sacrifice, or any other courſe odious to the Laws, ſhould go about to ſeek for Treaſure; which when found, he left intirely to the Owner who found it in his Ground. Though after him it became again Confiſcated, and ſuch was the practice of the *Goths*.

Anaſtaſis Childerici per Chiffletium.

Eos qui ſuadente Numine, vel ducente fortuna, Theſauras repererint. &c.

90. At this time were the Emperors ſo ſeverely bent againſt ſuch as made forcible Entries upon the Lands or Poſſeſſions of other Men, as *Conſtantine*, for very great reaſon, formerly had been, “That ſuch Slaves as ſhould be convicted to have done ſuch violence, by Witneſs, or their own Confeſſions, ſhould, if they did it, unknown to their Maſters, ſuffer death. If they did it for fear, and at the Inſtigation of their Lords, they then declare it evident by the *Julian* Law, That ſuch Lords ſhall incur Infamy, and enjoy no Privilege of their Place or Dignity; that is, if they were Perſons of Place and Dignity, if not, they ſhould incur the Loſs of Life impoſed by the Conſtitutions of Princes, though not by the *Julian* Law; as alſo ſuch as ſhould after this be convicted to have committed the ſecond offence; and their Slaves that obeyed their Commands be condemned to the Mines. And in the laſt place, they inflict the pain of great Infamy upon that Judge that ſhall preſume to Omit, Defend, or Leſſen the Puniſhment of any Perſon ſo Convicted. Afterward *Valentinian* the Third required the value of the Injury unpuniſhed by ſo negligent a Judge to be levied when he went out of his Office, and *Athalarich* King of the *Goths* commanded him to be deprived of his Girdle, and forfeit ſo much to the Treaſury, as the Enterer by force had cauſed detriment to the Invaded; ſo hateful was this Crime of Violence to Chriſtian Princes; more than what the *Julian* Laws expreſſed. “In thoſe times of War and Danger they ſhewed themſelves indulgent to the *Primicerius* of a Fabrick or Forge, vouchſafing to him not only Vacation or Freedom from Service after two years, but alſo the Liberty of Adoring their Æternity, as they terme it, or the Purple amongſt the Protectors. But they thought fit to reſtraine the Office and Imployment of the *Curioſi* alſo about this time, ordaining that they ſhould be only choſen out of the *Agentes in Rebus*, as more reſolute Perſons than the Officers of the *Præfects* or *Vicars*, that

L. 4. ad leg. Juliam de vi publica & privata. Cod. Th. lib. 9. tit. 10. & L. 8. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Dat. ad Albinum. P. u. perdie Non. Mart. Mediol.

L. 3. de Fabricenſib. Cod. Th. lib. 10. tit. 21. & L. 2. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Dat. 8. Id. Mart. Med. ad Rufinum Mag. Officiorum.

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that one out of them ſhould be placed in the moſt Eminent City of every Pro-“ vince, whereas formerly two had been imployed in each Province, and his work “ ſhould only be to look to the Uſe and Charge of the *Curſus Publicus*, who (and “ how) made uſe of it: ſo that it ſeems they were no longer now to be Spies or “ Diſcoverers. Great was the Care and Circumſpection this year of *Tatianus*, “ the *Præfectus Prætorio* about the *Navicularii*, and the conveyance of Proviſions by Water, which the Emperors by an Edict do Approve and Confirm, ſo that both “ their Sons, and thoſe that ſucceed in their Eſtates when dead, by whatſoever “ right, ſhall be obliged to the ſame Function, and ſtill continue in the Rank of the “ *Curiales*, ſo as no Priviledge obtained from the Prince himſelf ſhall obviate or “ null the Force of this Conſtitution; but the Son ſhall alſo ſucceed to the Office “ and Imployment of a *Curialis*. Now was *Theodoſius* the Emperor at *Verona*, whi-“ ther he removed from *Milan*, and there abode the two Months of *Auguſt* and *September*. At the later end of *November* we find him there again, where on the twenty third of *December*, to provide for the better Security of the Provinces, by a Law directed to *Polemius* the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Illyricum* they prohibit that any Governor of a Province ſhall dare to come to the moſt Auguſt City, “ meaning *Conſtantinople*, without their Command. If it ſhall appear that any “ one offendeth againſt their Decree, they Denounce that he ſhall incur a Puniſh-“ ment ſuitable to his Contempt.

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L. 7. de Curioſis. Cod. Th. lib. 6. tit. 29. & L. ult. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Dat. ad Neoterium. 5. Cal. Jun.

L. 19. de Naviculariis. Cod. Th. Dat. 6. id. Septemb. Veronæ.

L. 9. de Officio Rectoris Provinciæ Cod. Juſt. lib. 1. tit. 40.

91. In the CCCXCI year of our Lord *Titus Fabius Tatianus* and *L. Aurelius Symmachus* had the Title of Conſuls. *Tatianus* was ſtill *Præfectus Prætorio* of the Eaſt: and *Flavianus* held this Office in *Illyricum* and *Italy*. The Emperors continued together at *Milan*, till about the Month of *May*, and there made three Laws, which are yet extant. The firſt was of Religious Concernment, and the ſecond tended to the practice of Mercy, and Compaſſion towards ſuch Children as had been ſold to ſatisfie the Neceſſities of their Parents. Although the Law of the *Romans* did not allow that Ordinarily and Regularly any ſhould either Sell, or give to Pledge their Children; yet was it permitted them to do it in extream want or neceſſity, and that out of reſpect, as well to the one as the other. That in this Age whereof we now write, this was practiſed, appears from ſeveral Teſtimonies, and ſometimes it was done to ſatisfie the Debts due to the Treaſury. But though they were Slaves at preſent, yet was it not thought fit they ſhould ſo continue, the ſeveral Emperors agreeing in this point, that they ought to be reſtored to liberty. But they differ'd in the manner of it. *Conſtantine* was of opinion, that the value of their ſervice was to be paid, or another Slave to be delivered in the room of the Infranchiſed. This now *Theodoſius* ſeems to repeal, commanding all ſuch as for want of Victuals had been ſold, to be re-“ ſtored to their former Ingenuity, as the term is, or Free Condition, without re-“ quiring any remuneration of price, which was ſufficiently paid by the ſlavery “ of a Free Perſon, though continuing for never ſo ſmall a time. This had been formerly Ordained by *Trajan* concerning ſuch as were expoſed, that they ſhould be reſtored to Liberty, though the charge of their keeping were not defrayed. But *Valentinian* the third afterward, when a cruel Famine had raged in *Italy*, declared indeed, that ſuch as had been ſold in it ſhould be free, but that the Buyer ſhould receive the Value back with the addition of a part, ſo that he ſhould neither repent of his Purchaſe, nor that Liberty ſhould be loſt. For if all hope of recompence was taken away; what expectation ſhould there be that ſuch charity would be practiſed? on the other Hand, If a neceſſity of Recompence were impoſed, liberty the moſt ineſtimable thing in this life, would miſerably be loſt through that Neceſſity. *Juſtinian* approved beſt of the Law made by *Conſtantine*, and ſo did Princes vary in their Opinions according to the circumſtances of times, and thoſe Reaſons and Arguments which they affoarded: To be ſure the ſence of later Ages is moſt full of Mercy and Goodneſs, which ſince Chriſtianity hath taken firmer Root and Settlement, forbids any to be made Slaves, or ſold, though under pretence of Neceſſity, but to be relieved. And moſt full of Equity is that Law and Cuſtom of our own, of putting ſuch Children Apprentices, as we borrow the word, whoſe Parents are not able to keep them. So as we diſtinguiſh betwixt Service and Slavery, as well in point of time as to the quality of the Bondage.

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Tito Fabio Tatiano & L. Aurelio Symmacho Coſs.

Theodoſius provides againſt the ſlavery of Children.

L. un. de Patribus qui filios diſtraxerunt. Cod. Th. lib. 3. tit. 3. Dat. id. Martii Mediol. ad Tatianum.

In Servitium dantur non ſervitutem ut recte Gothof. de Chriſtianorum uſu in h. l.

92. From *Milan Theodoſius* departed for the Eaſt, by the way of *Concordia*, where in the Month of *May* he made three Edicts in matters belonging to Religion, and came to *Vincentia* in the parts of *Venetia*, whence alſo beare Date three other Laws of Secular concernment. The firſt of theſe takes care for preſerving

Removes toward the *Eaſt* by the way of *Concordia*.

the Rivers clean and pure, where the Legions lay incamped and were wont to drink, that no filth ſhould be derived down into them, nor that the Souldiers ſhould be obſcene in ſhewing their naked Bodies in the Water; but if they would ſwim, they ſhould do it towards the Mouths of the Rivers, and below the uſual Incampings of the Army. This was agreeable to the Uſe and Cuſtom of the *Romans*, who appointed the place of Swiming at *Rome* down and below the River, that ſo no Sordes or Filth might come down, and the Common *Poculum* (as a River is often called) might not be polluted. And, however Nakedneſs might be approved by the *Lacedæmonians*, who cauſed their Youth to Exerciſe without their Cloaths, as well Men as Women; yet amongſt the *Romans* it was eſteemed Immodeſt and obſcene, *Ennius* accounting it the beginning of Naughtineſs, to uncover ones ſelf amongſt the People. This Conſtitution ſeems principally intended for the *Francks* or *Germans*, who, as we have ſeen in the Hiſtory of *Jovian* his Retreat, after *Julians* death, were very expert in Swiming, and therefore took much delight in that Exerciſe. And indeed the Law it ſelf is directed to *Richomer*, under the Title of *Comes* and *Magiſter utriuſque Militiæ*, or of both Horſe and Foot; and with the Attribute of *Sublimis Magnificentia tua.* This *Richomer*, a Noble *Frank* by Birth, was very eminent at this time, both in reſpect of his great Command, of his Valour and Military Experience, and alſo of the high Favour he was in with the Princes of theſe times. We have ſeen how he was imployed by *Gratian*, as *Comes Domeſticorum*, and into *Thrace*, to the aſſiſtance of *Valens* with *Profuturus* and *Trajan*; and upon other Occaſions. Under *Valentinian* he had now the place which this Law mentions, and upon the *Rhine* as it's thought. Under *Theodoſius* he was deſigned *Conſul* and imployed againſt *Maximus* the Tyrant with good ſucceſs, and with him he returned into the Eaſt, and was deſigned General of the Horſe againſt *Eugenius* the Uſurper, but died before the Expedition. Great kindneſs and Entercourſe by Letters paſſed betwixt him and *Symmachus* the *Conſul* of this year, as alſo *Libanius* the Sophiſt, to whom he was dear, as well upon the Account of his Pagan Perſwaſion in matters of Religion, as otherwiſe. And now of late his Memory hath been Precious to *James Gothofred*, that learned Commentator upon *Theodoſius* his *Code*, upon the account of his Original, which in Favour to the French Nation he hath revived as much as he could, upon Occaſion of this Law being directed to him.

L. 13. de re militari. Cod. Th. lib. 7. tit. 1. & L. 12. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Dat. 6. Kal. Jun.

Vide Gothofr. in Com. ad h. l.

The Emperors give Perſons liberty to diſpoſe of their Eſtates.

93. On the ſame day, the Emperors, who were ſtill together, after Grave and Mature deliberation, thought fit to Repeal a certain Law, made of later times for reſtraining Perſons from alienating their Eſtates. Of old by the *Roman* Law any one might freely alienate, except in certain few Caſes, as appears by many Paſſages, even in the time of *Diocleſian*. But it ſeems that *Conſtantine* the Great was moved to change the Cuſtom by ſome that more affected the preſcripts of the *Moſaick* Law in things of this Nature, whereby the neareſt a Kin might redeem and recover the Inheritance from ſuch as were ſtrangers to the Lineage. *Conſtantine* thought this *Moſaick* Rule conſonant enough to Chriſtian Life, and to have a ſhare of Equity and Decorum in it, that though every man might ſell how and to whom he pleaſed, yet the Kindred, Conſort, or Joynt Purchaſer or Tenant in Common might have the firſt Refuſal, offering as much as another would give. And when the Seller ſhould receive the ſame Price, Profit or Advantage, what Inconvenience could ariſe, but that a reſpect ſhould be had to Kindred and Conſortſhip? For, as for Kindred, great is the Dearneſs and Affection which is wont and ought to be betwixt thoſe that deſcend from the ſame Anceſtor; and it's a Seemly as well as Prudent thing, that an Inheritance be not alienated from an antient Family. It makes alſo for Advantage and Reputation of Bargains and Entercourſe, that a conſideration be had to Conſortſhip. However the Emperors thought fit to repeal this Law, as a grievous injury, covered over, as they ſay, with a vain Pretence and Show of Equity or Honeſty, ſo as they leave it free to every man “ to make choice of what Buyer he pleaſeth. And *Juſtinian* afterward, or “ *Tribonian* rather, admitted this their Repeal into his *Code*, yet with this Proviſo, or Exception: If any *Law in Special prohibited any Perſon to uſe ſuch liberty in the Sale.* Which Exception is not added in relation to Kindred or Conſorts, but to others in general terms. For both of old time and henceforth beſides an acknowledged agreeableneſs that Relations and Conſorts ſhould be preferred, ſeveral ſorts of Perſons challenged a Right of Præemption; as perſons that Inhabited the ſame Town; when Sale was made of a Debtors goods. He that was both Creditor and Kinſman ſhould be preferred before a meer Creditor on equal terms, but a

L. 6. de Contrahenda Emptione. Cod. Th. lib. 3. tit. 1. & L. 14. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit.

meer Creditor before a meer Kinſman: and of Creditors he who was moſt deeply concerned; moreover, Contracts begat a Right of Præemption, as alſo the Holding of Lands in that way, which they called *Emphyteuſis*.

Vide Gothofr. com. in L. Cod. Th. & Notas aliorum in L. Cod. Juſt.

94. In like manner, long after this and *Juſtinians* Law, by a Conſtitution of the Emperor *Romanus Lacapenus* the Elder, to five ſeveral ſorts of Perſons this Right of Præemption was allowed; if they were Partners and kindred; if they had any Society and Fellowſhip with the Seller. Sometimes the poor were preferred in buying the Poſſeſſions of the Rich, (which again was Repealed) a Neighbour before a Stranger, and at length by univerſal conſent, as it were, all Laws and Cuſtoms again returned to this Centre, by two ſorts of Recoveries called *Gentilitius Retractus* and *Feudalis*. Hereby, though liberty was given to ſell to any Perſon an Inheritance, yet might the next Heir at Law, as we ſay, or the Lord, retract and make void this Sale. And upon theſe foundations were built ſeveral Laws and Conſtitutions of *Saxons*, *Italians* and others, whereby the old Law of *Conſtantine* was reſtored, with various amplifications: and here in our own Country the Law of Fees and Settlements cut off from many Perſons the liberty of diſpoſing of their own Eſtates. But, as to our preſent buſineſs; the Emperors repealed the Law of *Conſtantine*, upon the ſuggeſtion, as it ſeems, of *Flavianus* the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Illyricum* and *Italy* to whom it is directed, who indeed had the Eſteem of a notable, and very wiſe man, but he was a Pagan, and therefore averſe to any thing of *Moſaical* Laws, or of Chriſtian Convenience and Honeſty according to that Pattern. But by another Branch of this and the ſame Conſtitution (though now made another Law) they tell us that what they did herein “ was done not without long deliberation; and therefore they declare that no Per- “ ſon whatſoever, ſhall pretend Ignorance of their Conſtitutions, nor diſſemble the “ knowledge of them, being ſo weighed by long deliberation. It's a moſt known and approved ſaying that, *the ignorance of Law excuſeth no man*, part of which theſe premeditated or adviſed Conſtitutions made; as for *Reſcripts* they indeed were of more private concernment, being Anſwers to ſuch matters as were propounded to them for their Opinion and Determination, and yet ſuch as have been entred amongſt theſe Laws and regiſtred in the received Books, being fitted to all other caſes of the ſame Nature, have alſo the force of Law. And indeed this being at firſt intended to put in Execution the Conſtitution for repealing *Conſtantines* Law, that none might pretend Ignorance to it, or diſſemble it, hath been afterwards applied to all other Conſtitutions of Princes ſo adviſedly made. *Flavianus* was, as we ſee, *Præfect* both of *Italy* and *Illyricum*, and no wonder, *Probus* having been formerly both of *Italy*, *Illyricum* and *Africk*, and *Gall* was ſome time alſo under his care. And by *Illyricum*, whatever *Zoſimus* or others have written, all *Illyricum* is to be meant, which was under the Empire of the Eaſt, and one Governor; till the death of *Valentinian* the Younger; after which it became divided into *Eaſtern* and *Weſtern*, and the former fell to the ſhare of *Theodoſius*.

L. 2. de Conſtit. Princip. & Edict. Cod. Th. lib. 1. tit. 1. & L. 12. Cod. Juſt. de Juris & Facti Ignorantia hinc tranſlata eſt.

Theodoſius removes to *Aquileia*.

95. From *Vincentia*, *Theodoſius* removed to *Aquileia*; whence he ſent before him an Edict to *Proculus* the *Præfect* of *Conſtantinople* againſt the extravagant humour of appealing. Of old time it was lawful twice to appeal, becauſe of the Diverſity and ſubordination of Magiſtrates: as from the *Prætor* to the *Præfect* of the City, and from him to the Prince himſelf, but this being very dilatory in the Defendant, and many times defrauding the right owner of his Goods, at leaſt deferring his injoyment of them, he thought fit to bridle this liberty, by Ordaining that he who “ had already received two Judgements or Sentences in the ſame Cauſe, and both “ againſt him, ſhould be forced to quit the ſaid Goods, and the poſſeſſion of them be “ transferred upon the other or adverſe Party, till the thing ſhould be determined. “ This puniſhment of transferring poſſeſſion is otherwiſe impoſed in caſe of Contumacy or Knavery, by the Laws. As it was lawful twice to appeal, ſo *Juſtinian* afterwards forbade it to be done the third time; but *Athalarich* the *Gothick* King prohibited the ſecond. It ſeems by the Inſcription and Date of another Conſtitution, that *Valentinian* accompanied his Colleague thus far on his way Eaſtward. For on the ſame day we find another Edict directed from the ſame Place to *Magnillus* the Vicar of *Africk* (though not ſaid to be received at *Hadrumetum* till the beginning of the following year) which was in his Diſtrict. The Exactors, as they were called, or Officers of the Treaſury, whoſe work it was to diſtrain on the Goods of ſuch as were Debtors to the Publick, and to expoſe them to Sale, often covenanted fraudulently with the Buyers, to ſell them under worth, and receive

Where he bridles the liberty of Appealing.

L. un. de poſſeſſione ab eo qui bis provocaverit, transferenda. Cod. Th. lib. 11. tit. 38. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt. Dat. 16. Kal. Jul. Aquileiæ.

L. 3. de Fide & Jure Haſtæ Cod. Th. lib. 10. tit. 17.

ſome Profit themſelves over and beſides, or beſtow them as Favour or Intereſt inclined them. *Valentinian*, to obviate this fraud, ordains, “ That the Thing received in Pledge ſhall be prized before it be ſet to Publick Sale, it being Notified “ what Meaſure ſhall be taken of the Worth by Two Standards, *Viz.* the Quality of the Moveable Thing, or the Quantity of the Revenue. And in Caſe “ it was found, that ſuch Goods or Lands were ſold at an under Rate, the Sale of “ them ſhould be reſcinded, as had been practiſed by the Ancient Laws in other Dues “ owing to the Exchequer.

L. 16. Cod. Juſt. de reſcindend. venditione. Dat. 13. Kal. Jul. Aquil. Acc. Id. Jan. Hadrumeti, Poſt Cons. Tatiani & Symmachi V V.C.C

Thence to *Theſſalonica.*

96. *Theodoſius* in his way to *Conſtantinople* came to *Theſſalonica*, where he found the Affairs of *Macedonia* in a great Perturbation; For, the Barbarians, who having been mixed with others in his Army, had revolted from him Three Years before, when he moved againſt the Tyrant *Maximus*, had betaken themſelves to Lakes and Fenny Places; and, while he was buſied in the Civil War, thence made Excurſions, and Havock of all things in *Macedonia* and *Theſſaly*, without Controll. But when the Fame of his Victory and Returne arrived, they again betook themſelves to their Lurcking Holes, and Places of Security in the Faſtneſſes, whence they privily ſtole out by Night; and having made their Depredations, retired again, when Day appeared; ſo that the Emperor imagined they were Spirits and Apparitions, rather than Men. Being doubtful in Mind what to do, *Zoſimus* tell us this Story of an Adventure he made, ill Conſiſtent with that Sloth and Luxury he uſually aſcribeth to him. He made Choice of Five Perſons to accompany him, to whom he gave in Charge, That each ſhould take Three or Four Horſes with him, that when one tired, another might be at Hand for the Rider. Making his Purpoſe known to none, with them in a Diſguiſe he ranged about the Country, and when he wanted Refreſhment, went to ſome Country-houſe or other to get Victuals. At length he came to a ſmall Inne, kept by an Old Woman, and ſhe received and entertained him Civily with Wine, and other Conveniences; and here he was perſwaded to lodge all Night. When he was retired into his Chamber, he eſpied a certain Man, who would anſwer no Queſtions, but ſeemed to have a Deſire to Conceal himſelf. *Theodoſius* hereat calls up the Woman, and asks who he was. She profeſſes her Ignorance as to that Point; but confeſſes, that ſince the Report of the Emperors Returne out of the Weſt with his Army, this Man was wont to lodge at her Houſe, to go out in the Morning, and be abroad all the Day, then at Night again to return as from Work, to his Supper and Lodging. He makes Uſe of her Information, and ſeizing the Man, Commands him to ſhew his Condition, and manner of Being, which he obſtinately refuſeth, though beaten, till he cauſed his Men to prick him with their Swords. and declared himſelf to be the Emperor. Then he confeſſed he was a Spie, ſent by the *Barbarians*, that lay in the Fenns, to liſten where he was, or what Places or Perſons might beſt be ſet upon and overcome.

Zoſimus lib. 4. p. 771.

His Exploit againſt the *Barbarians.*

97. The Emperor preſently cauſed his Head to be ſtruck off, and going to the Army, which lay at no great diſtance, led it to the Place where he had learnt the *Barbarians* lodged, and falling upon them, cut in Pieces a great Number of every Age and Condition, partly drawing them out of the Fenns, and partly killing them in the Waters. *Timaſius*, one of his Officers, admiring his Valour, deſired his Favour in behalf of his Soldiers, who being ſtarved almoſt for hunger, were not able any longer to indure the toile of drawing the *Barbarians* out of their retiring Places, that they might take a little Refreſhment. He granted his Requeſt; and the Trumpet Sounding to a Retreat, the Soldiers left off their Purſuit. But going to their Repaſt, and being now overcome with Wine, as well as Labour and Toil, they fell faſt aſleep; and the Remainders of the *Barbarians* having notice of it, with Swords, or ſuch things as they had at Hand, fell upon them, and killed many, amongſt whom, you muſt know, the Emperor himſelf had miſcarried, and with him all his Army; but that ſome who had not compleatly dined, ran to his Pavilion, and gave him notice of what had hapned. The Emperor was diſturbed at the News; but thought it beſt to run away, as he did with thoſe he had about him. It hapned well for him and his, that *Promotus*, another of his Captains, whom he had lately ſent for, meeting them in their ſpeed, deſired of him, that he would look to the Preſervation of himſelf, and followers, and leave him to deal with the villanous *Barbarians*, whom he would ſufficiently Chaſtiſe for their Contumacy. He fell upon them, and meeting ſuch as yet hovered about to catch the Soldiers napping, he laid them aſleep ſo faſt, that few of them ever waked to carry any News into the Fenns of the Succeſs of the Sally. Such were the Adventures that befell *Theodoſius* in his Return, after the Defeat of *Maximus*, as *Zoſimus* tells us; who, though he relates

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relates a Story, wherein the Emperor was admired for his Valour, yet keeps true to his Principle of adding a Sting to the Tail of his moſt Favourable Narrations. We can tell the Reader farther, That though *Theodoſius* attempted fully to Suppreſs thoſe Rovers by Force of Arms; yet finding that Courſe not fully Effectual, what he could not do by his Sword, it being too late, he was reſolved to effect by his Pen. By this, he gives free Liberty to all the Provincials (of *Macedonia*, to whom the Edict is directed) to make Reſiſtance againſt Soldiers or Private Perſons; who by Night ſhall enter their Grounds, or lye in wait in the High-ways; and to kill them who had a Deſign to deſtroy others; it being better to prevent a Miſchief, than afterwards to have ones Death Revenged. He Charges, that none ſpare that Soldier, againſt whom a Weapon was to be prepared as againſt a Thief. This he did very ſeaſonably, the Provincials doubting, whether they might by Arms make any Reſiſtance againſt theſe Thieves; it being declared for Law formerly, That no Private Man ought to levy War, without the Knowledge and Approbation of the Emperor; but in Caſe of Foreign Invaſions, every Man became a Soldier againſt Publick Enemies. Being arrived at *Conſtantinople*, he found Complaints of ſuch as had alienated their Lands, that they were ſtill conſtrained to pay the uſual Ceſſe, or *Capitatio*, for them. He Publiſhed an Edict to *Tatianus*, Commanding, That every New Owner of a thing of ſuch Nature, ſhould preſently, after his becoming Poſſeſſor, cauſe his Name to be entred into the Regiſter, or Ceſs-Book, for ſo much as he was become Owner, and to ingage to pay what was due for it, to the End that the old Proprietor might not be troubled for what was now out of his Hands.

L. 2. ad Legem Corneliam de Sicariis Cod. Th. lib. 9. tit. 14. & L. 1. Cod. Juſt. Quando liceat cuicuiq; ſe vindicare vel publicam devotionem. Dat. Kal. Jul. Ad Provinciales.

L. ult. ſine Cenſu. Cod. Th. lib. 11. tit. 3. Dat. 15. Kal. Octob. Conſtantinop. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

Theodoſius at *Conſtantinople.*

A.D. 392. *Arcadio Aug. & Fl. Rufino Coſs.*

98. Shortly after *Theodoſius* his Arrival at *Conſtantinople*, followed the CCCXCII. Year of Our Lord, wherein *Fl. Arcadius Auguſtus* the ſecond time, and *Fl. Rufinus* were Conſuls. *Tatianus* continued *Præfectus Prætorio* of the Eaſt till the Month of *July* or *Auguſt*, and then was ſucceeded by *Rufinus*: and *Apodemius* exerciſed the ſame Authority through *Illyricum*. *Theodoſius* now again this Year ſhewed himſelf a great favourer of the *Curiæ*. Having formerly condemned Poſſeſſors of Lands (though by Bargain and Sale) to a Penſion anſwerable unto them, and forbidden any Grounds, or Slaves, belonging to *Curiales*, to be ſold without a Decree obtained for ſo doing: He now further ordained, “That in caſe a Man married the Daughter of a *Curialis*, if he paid no Service to the Court, and having no Children, was made Heir by her in her Teſtament, he ſhould be forced to the Services of the Corporation. In like manner, if an Actuary were found to be the Son of a *Curialis*; though much favour was wont to be indulged to ſuch, as thoſe who in the Army paſſed the Accounts of the Souldiers, (what Pay was due to each, and ſignified what Arrears were behind, to the *Suſceptor*) yet he muſt alſo be condemned to the Functions of theſe Courts. “Though at his firſt coming to the Government he had granted Immunity to all the *Curiales* from Stripes and Tortures; yet afterward he reſtrained it to Particular Perſons; and now this Year again, doth he deveſt thoſe called *Principales* of that Privilege, if ſo be theſe Men (who gathered the Tributes) were owing any thing to the Treaſury. In Caſe they were ſolvent and clear, he allowes it them by an Edict directed to *Potamius* the *Præfectus Auguſtalis*, whom he charges to ſee it performed under pain of a Fine to be incurred both by himſelf and his Office. It ſeems, that at this time there were Complaints made concerning the oppreſſion of theſe Citizens by the Civil Officers, and well might it ſo happen, when they who were to relieve them, contributed themſelves to the Grievance. For it appears they ſo did by another Edict directed to this ſame *Potamius* this very Spring, wherein he Commands, “That thoſe called *Defenſores* ſhall not carry themſelves inſolently or unjuſtly, but only do that Duty which their Name imports. That they impoſe no Mulcts, nor put any to Torture; but defend the Common People and *Decuriones* from the Inſolency and Raſhneſs of Bad Men; ſo that they may not *indeed ceaſe to be what they are called*. As for Mulcts, the Rule in general was, That none by Law could impoſe them, but thoſe to whom was committed publick Judicature, inſomuch that neither a *Curator* of the Common-wealth, nor the *Procurator* of *Cæſar*, could do it; therefore neither could theſe *Defenſores*, who were ſcarcely to be numbered amongſt Magiſtrates; though, as the Emperours expreſs it, they were in the ſtead of Parents to the Common People and *Decuriones*, and as their Children did protect them. “They are alſo here forbidden to examine any by Torture, being not in Capacity in thoſe days as much as to Impriſon, though afterwards this, in ſome meaſure, was indulged them. But the great Argument *Theodoſius* uſeth for keeping them within their Bounds, is taken from

Takes care to ſupply the *Curiæ*.

Repreſſeth the Extravagancies of the *Defenſores*.

L. 124. de Decurionibus. Cod. Th. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

L. 125. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

L. 126. de Decurionib. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

L. 2. de Defenſorib. Civitatum. Cod. Th. lib. 1. tit. 11. & L. 5. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Dat. 3. Non. Mart. Conſtp.

from their Names or Title of their Employment. He bids them only attend to, or Execute the Office of their Names; and to ſee only to this, that they may not ceaſe to be what they are called. Thus are other Perſons, in this and other Ages, frequently admoniſhed to their Duty by ſignification of their very Names, as Biſhops, Clerks, Philoſophers, Monks, and Chriſtians in general. But the *Ægyptians* ſeem moſt, of all other Nations, to have ſtood in need of this Admonition; of whom both the Writers of this Time, and more Ancient Days do teſtifie, that they were turbulent, factious, light, and injurious; nay, ſo vain and inconſiderate in their extravagancies, as ſtill to covet Innovations; and for this End they turned Ballad Makers, Libellers, Aſtrologers, Southſayers; and what not? And it is not improbable, that *Potamius* now going into *Ægypt* to take upon him the Office of *Præfectus Auguſtalis* in the room of *Hypatius*, had this Law, amongſt other things, given him in his Inſtructions; which were uſually drawn, as the preſent ſtate of Affairs required.

Nominis ſui tantum jungantur officio. Ut de tantum quod eſſe dicuntur, eſſe non deſinant. Vide Goth. Com. in h. L. Alexandrini & Antiocheni ab Auſonio ita audiunt: Vitiorum turbida vulgo. Utraq; & amentis populi malè ſana tumultu.

99. As by this Edict *Theodoſius* reſtrained theſe *Defenders* of the Cities from doing what was contrary to the Signification and Importance of their Name; ſo five Weeks after, abating one Day, he required more fully of others of them, what their Name Imported. For at this time, great Robberies were frequently committed throughout the Regions of the Eaſt; partly, becauſe the Offenders were not ſought after and puniſhed, which gave them ſtill Hopes of Impunity; and partly, becauſe they had Men in Power, their Patrons, which bore them out in their Enormities. To prevent them, he requires, that *Defenſors* be choſen out of the moſt honeſt “ and diligent Perſons, which may watch againſt theſe Enormities. Such care “ did *Theodoſius* take for defending his own Subjects of the Eaſt, from open and publick violence, and as we may conclude with good Succeſs. Happy had it been for himſelf and his Colleague, could he have procured for him any ſuch ſafeguard from Clandeſtine Attempts upon his Perſon. All this year we hear nothing of any Laws made by *Valentinian* in the Weſt, which ſilence one might be a little inclined to take as an ill Omen; for it ſo hapned with his Brother *Gratian* in that which uſhered in his diſmal Tragedy. And this very Year was *Valentinian* found ſoddainly ſtrangled in his Palace, as *Epiphanius* exactly notes the time; *On the Ides* (or fifteenth) *of May, on Whitſun Eve, or the Saturday preceding it, and was carried forth the Day following, or on Whit-ſunday, which was then the twenty ſecond Day of the Ægyptian Month* Pachon, *the twenty third of the* Greek *Month* Artemiſius, *and according to the* Romans, *the ſeventeenth of the Calends of* June. Having been given to underſtand in *Gall*, that the Barbarians hovered over the Borders of *Italy*; to provide for the ſafety thereof, he had reſolved to repair thither, and removed for that purpoſe to *Vienna*, thence to march, as occaſion ſhould ſerve, to the *Alps*. There was now with him *Arbogaſtes*, a *Franck* by Nation, who, by the Emperor *Gratian*, had been preferred to the Dignity and Power of *Magiſter Militum* in the next place after *Bauto*. *Gratian* being dead, by his Induſtry, and Kindneſs to the Souldiers, he obtained ſuch Authority, for his Military Skill, and Contempt of Money, that he advanced himſelf to the Chief Command, even without the warrant and conſent of *Valentinian*; and having got great Wealth, now in effect, exerciſed Dominion over him; ſo that he would contradict and hinder any thing by him ordained, if he ſo pleaſed, how juſt and prudent ſoever. The young Emperour hence conceived as great Indignation as the Importance of the thing Merited, but his Neck being thus yoaked, nothing could he do, againſt one whom the great Favour of the Souldiers protected. Yet conſulting now about the Expedition into *Italy*, and finding him again oppoſing what he deſigned, he could not contain himſelf, but drawing his Sword, attempted to kill him, which ſome of the By-ſtanders hindred, by plucking back his Arm. Being asked why he ſuffered himſelf to be ſo tranſported, he anſwered, He would kill himſelf rather than be Emperor and not obeyed. *Zoſimus* writes, that *Valentinian*, bearing this oppoſition moſt heavily, often ſet himſelf againſt him, but to no purpoſe. At length, not able any longer to indure to be ſubject to him, as he ſate on his Throne, ſeeing *Arbogaſtes* come towards him, with an Angry Countenance, he reached him a Paper, wherein was contained an Abrogation of his Command; which having read, he told him plainly, That he neither gave him his Command, neither ſhould it be in his Power to take it from him. Which having ſpoken, he tore the Paper, and caſting it from him on the ground, went his way.

L. ult. de Defenſ. Cod. Th. & l. 6 Cod. Juſt eod. tit. Dat. 6. Id. Apr. Conſtp.

De Ponder & menſur. Vide Baroni ad h. An.

Vide Sigonium de Occid. Imp. p. 214. Zoſimum lib. 4. p. 774.

Valentinian oppoſed by *Arbogaſtes.*

Philoſtorgius.

In Effect a Priſoner.

100. Things growing to this Extremity, *Valentinian* continued in a manner a Priſoner, and beſieged by *Arbogaſtes*, who deprived him of his Royal Service and Attendance,

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tendance, and reduced him to little better Eſtate than that of a Private Perſon, committing the Charge of the Army to his own Countrymen and Creatures the *Francks*, and drawing off from him his Domeſticks to ſuch diſreſpect, that very few dared either to hold any familiar Diſcourſe with him, or obey any of his Commands. In this Preſſure and Affliction he ſent to *Theodoſius*, beſeeching him to pity his Condition, affirming with an Oath, That if he did not ſpeedily relieve him, he would make his Eſcape, and come to him. They in *Italy* now apprehending great Danger of an Invaſion to be made by the *Barbarians*; *Ambroſe*, the Biſhop of *Milan*, was perſwaded by the *Honorati* of that City to undertake a Journey to *Valentinian*, and deſire his Preſence in that Country. He readily yielded, but the Day following received ſome Letters, which acquainted him how the Manſions upon the ways were furniſhed, and preparation made, which ſignified, that the Emperor would ſpeedily be with them; whereupon, with their Conſent, he ſtopped his Journey. But this begat a Rumor, that *Ambroſe* was coming, and upon what account; whereat *Valentinian* very much rejoyced, hoping, that by his means, the poſture of his Affairs might be much amended, and when he ſaw he came not, he wrote to him, deſiring him that he would haſt into *Gall*, not there to preſide in any Synod, but to initiate him by the Holy Sacrament of Baptiſme. Indeed he had good hopes, that by his Authority with *Arbogaſtes*, (which the Biſhop confeſſed afterward was great; ſo that had he been preſent, he could have ſweetned Matters between them) he might draw him off to more moderate Councils; and having received his Letters, he preſently put himſelf upon the way; but e're he had well paſſed the tops of the *Alpes*, he underſtood that he was murdered, which came to paſs after this manner. *Arbogaſtes* was now ſo accuſtomed to Power, and his own Will, that he could not think of any thing but how to continue it. He had reaſon to think he had done already too much; and this prompted him ſtill to do more, both to keep his Authority, and prevent a Reckoning, which elſe he could not but conclude he might make at laſt to his ſmall advantage; for, fear of Puniſhment or deſpair of Pardon, uſually produceth the greateſt and laſt Enormity in Treaſon, and procures, that there is little diſtance betwixt the Priſons and Graves of Princes. There was then in Court one *Eugenius*, a Man ſo excelling in the learning of that Age, that he profeſſed Oratory, and opened a School for ſuch as would be inſtructed in that Art. He was exceedingly prized by *Richomer*, as a very Elegant and pleaſant Perſon, and he recommended him to *Arbogaſtes*, with deſire that he would admit him into the company of his familiar friends, as one who would ſtand him in ſtead, if ever he ſhould have occaſion to try his Friendſhip. He took his word, and after the departure of *Richomer* into the Eaſt with *Theodoſius*, uſed him with ſo much Familiarity and Confidence, that there was nothing of Moment but he communicated it to him, and in all things asked his Advice.

Is murdered.

101. Concluding, *Zoſimus* tells you, That in reſpect of his great Learning, and the Gravity of his Manners, he was moſt fit, of all others, to make a good Emperor, he broke the buſineſs to him; But he was offended therewith, inſomuch that he was put to the trouble of Comforting and perſwading him not to reject ſo great things as now were offered him by Fortune. Having prevailed with him, he reſolved that *Valentinian* was firſt to be taken out of the way before he could be promoted; and therefore as he lay at *Vienna*, and was exerciſing ſome Souldiers near the Wall of the Town, he ſlew him, when he leaſt expected any ſuch Attempt. Some ſay, That he hired the Eunuches, that waited on him in his Chamber, to fall upon him, and ſtrangle him, when he was aſleep, or while alone he beheld an Exerciſe of the Soldiers from his Window, which done, they tied a Cord about his Neck, and hung him up, (as if he himſelf had choſen to dye by the Halter, and his own hands) to avoid the Suſpicion of the Murder. To ſuch an End came this young Prince in the ſeventeenth year of his Reign, counted from his Promotion, and the twenty ſeventh of his Age but begun; a Perſon of ſingular Hopes, and one of whom *Zoſimus* himſelf ſpeaks no Ill at parting, though upon the Account of his Religion he could not bear him any good will, as we may ſee hereafter. There are certain Laws extant in the Code of *Juſtinian*, which bear the name of *Valentinian*, and his two Colleagues, Father and Son, which being not marked by any year, by reaſon of the Names of the *Conſuls*, and their bearing no Date of any Day, cannot be aſſigned to any particular part of his Adminiſtration. Of ſuch as are fit to be taken notice of in this place, one declares to *Potamius* the *Præfectus Auguſtalis*, That the Exhibition, or ſetting forth the *Curſus Publicus*, ought to be committed, according to the “ Cuſtome of Places, either to the *Curiales*, the *Cohortales*, or thoſe whom the moſt “ Eminent “

L. 14. de Curſu publico Cod. Juſt. lib. 12. tit. 51.

Vide Com. Goth. in l. 51. *de Curſu publico. Cod. Th. L.* 4. *de Officio Præf. urbi. Cod. Juſt, lib.* 1. *tit.* 28.

L. 1. *de Colonis Illyricanis. Cod. Juſt. lib.* 11. *tit.* 52. & *L.* 1. *de fugitivis colonis Cod. Juſt. lib.* 11. *tit.* 63.

Eminent *Præfects* appoint to that Charge, after ſufficient Caution taken for their “ Fidelity. So *Tribonian* hath made up his Law; whereas that of *Theodoſius*, out of which this is Interpolated, mentions only *Curiales*, which live at convenient Diſtance, and are ſufficiently Rich, and otherwiſe fit. By another Edict it ſeems, that the Power of the *Præfect* of the City became queſtioned within his own Diſtrict, whilſt that of the *Præfecti Prætorio* was rampant ſtill in thoſe Days. For there ſtood need of a Declaration thereof, as appears by a Law directed to *Severinus* the *Comes Largitionum*, wherein is expreſſed, That all the ſeveral Bodies, or Companies in *Conſtantinople*, together with all the Citizens and Common Sort, ſhall be ſubject to his Government. But the *Præfect* of this City was but of late ſtanding, and therefore might his Authority be more queſtioned. In thoſe Days great Complaint was made of Husbandmen, ſuch as were bound to the Service of the Place, their deſerting their Work, and running away; which drew forth ſeveral Laws for the recalling them and their Children, and Prohibiting the Entertainment of them by other Perſons. And now alſo, whether by reaſon of the Wars, which cauſed ſome to be difficult to inhabit, or becauſe of the Barrenneſs of Grounds themſelves, the Owners of them often forſook them, and the Tributes thence ariſing thereby failed. To prevent this miſchief, theſe Emperors declared, “ That “ in Caſe any other Perſons would apply themſelves to the Tilling and Manuring of “ theſe Lands, both for their own Private, and the publick Emolument, they would “ give them free leave ſo to do. But in Caſe the Owner of the Land came and demanded “ it within Two Years, he ſhould be reſtored to his former poſſeſſion, paying “ the Charge which the New Comer had been at in the Melioration of his Ground. “ If ſo be he were ſilent Two Years, he ſhould be utterly excluded from all Propriety “ in the Thing; the Neceſſity of the State ſo requiring it.

L. 8. *de omni agro deſerto Cod. Juſt. lib.* 11. *tit.* 58.

SECT. V.

From the Murther of Valentinian *the Second, to the Death of* Theodoſius *the Great.*

The ſpace of Two Years and Eight Months.

Zoſimus p. 776.

Eugenius declared Emperor.

Ric-meer maxime potens.

I. VALENTINIAN being dead, though by ſuch treacherous means, yet all kept ſilence at *Vienna*, out of reſpect to the Dignity of that Man who they knew procured it, and was in high Eſteem with them for his Valour, and eſpecially his Contempt of Money, which made the Soldiers to revere him. He preſently declared *Eugenius* Emperor, which they alſo the better digeſted, becauſe *Arbogaſtes* did it, and the Perſon himſelf promiſed much from the good Parts wherewith they knew him to be furniſhed. The new Emperor, or Uſurper, conforming himſelf fully to his Will who had given him the Power, to ſtrengthen that Title which he knew would be queſtioned, provided himſelf of a ſufficient Power of Men raiſed partly out of the *Romans* or Natives of the Empire, and partly out of the *Galls*, or *Francks*, and ſecured preſently all the *Gallick* Territories. But when the Rumor of the Murder of *Valentinian* flew further about, all Perſons were therewith affected, as became them; and above all others *Theodoſius* was exceedingly perplexed, grieving, that he had loſt a Colleague, and an Allye, in the Flowr of his Age, who had fal'n into the Hands of Men, that could not but be alienated from himſelf, and ſuch as were not to be deſpiſed, *Arbogaſtes* being Valiant and Bold, and *Eugenius* both Learned, and indued with other Virtues. This he both conſidered within himſelf, and let not to utter upon occaſion; and yet he reſolved once more to venture for all, and to make all Preparations poſſible for a War. He pitcht upon *Richimer* to Command his Horſe, having, upon divers occaſions, had ſufficient tryal of his Abilities, and upon ſeveral others, to have the Conduct of the Legions; but *Richemer* was taken away by Death, while as yet he deliberated upon the Expedition; and ſo he was conſtrained to betake himſelf to new Councils. In the mean time, that we may look Weſtward, the Siſters of *Valentinian* Redeemed his Body, and it was carried to *Milan*, there to be Interred. This, when *Theodoſius* underſtood, he wrote to *Ambroſe* the Biſhop to ſee his Funerals performed;

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performed; which being done, he Compoſed a Treatiſe in his Commendation, and afterward publiſhed it, wherein this is conſiderable, That he affirms him young in Years, but as to Wiſdom and Council, an Old Man.

His Character of *Valentinian*

2. Having declared, how much they of *Italy* were obliged to him, for his Reſolution of hazarding his Perſon to preſerve them in ſafety, he adds, That he corrected the Errors of his Youth, even before he had learned any. He was reported at firſt to be much delighted with the *Circencian* Games; but this Blot he ſo far wiped off, that even on the Solemn Days of the Nativities of the Emperors, and for the Honour of the Imperial Majeſty, he thought not fit that they ſhould be Celebrated. Some reported of him, that he was ſo far delighted with Hunting, and taken up therewith, that he neglected Publick Buſineſs; whereupon he commanded all thoſe Wild Beaſts he had made uſe of that way, ſpeedily to be killed. His Ill-willers gave out, That he made too much haſt to Dinner; which underſtanding, he betook himſelf to ſuch a Courſe of Faſting, that moſt commonly he Feaſted thoſe about him, and eat nothing himſelf; thereby gratifying both Religion, and the Humanity of a Prince. There was a Report, that all the young Noble-men in the City were faln in Love with a Woman that Acted publickly upon the Stage; this Woman he commanded to be brought to Court. The Meſſenger was corrupted by Money, and returned without her; whereupon he ſent another, that he might not appear to deſire to reforme the young Noble-men, without Effect. Hence ſome took occaſion to Traduce him; but when the Woman came, he never ſo much as looked on her, but commanded ſhe ſhould be had away; both that his Commands might not be diſobeyed, and that he might admoniſh the Young Men to ceaſe to be inamoured of that Creature which was deſpiſed by him, though he had her in his Power. And this he did, being unmarried; and ſhewed himſelf as temperate, as if he had been bound in the Bonds of Wedlock. After this he falls into this Exclamation: Who ever was ſo abſolute a Lord over his Slave, as he was over his Body? Who ever was ſo ſevere a Judge of other Perſons, as he was a Cenſor of his own Age? To what purpoſe ſhould I ſpeak of his Piety? who when Noble and Opulent Perſons were accuſed before him of any Crime, and the Judge Aſſiſtant urged him to Severity, would anſwer, That no Bloody Act was to be Committed, eſpecially on Holy-days. After this the Biſhop laments, That he could not have timely Notice; that he might have interpoſed betwixt him and *Arbogaſtes*; whome he doubted not but to have drawn to Terms of Duty and Moderation.

Theodoſius prepares for War againſt the Uſurper.

3. But to return to *Conſtantinople*, we there find *Theodoſius* Vigorous in Preparations to Chaſtiſe the Uſurper, and thoſe that ſet him up: and that upon Principles of Honour, rather than what *Zoſimus* ſuggeſts, as the great Incentive to this Undertaking, This Writer, as in former Paſſages, he makes him to have been acted by Women, and eſpecially by his love to *Galla*, the Siſter of the Deceaſed Prince; ſo in this his Deſign alſo he inſinuates, That he was chiefly induced to the revenging of his Death by her Tears and Lamentations. He writes, That upon the News of it at *Conſtantinople*, ſhe made a Noiſe, and diſturbed all the Court with her Cries and Tears; whereas others place her Death before his at the Diſtance of no leſs than Two Years, or the CCCXC. Year of Our Lord. This hapned while her Husband was ſtill in the *Weſt*; and ſhe was Buried by his Son *Arcadius*; and at the ſame time was Erected in the *Forum* of *Conſtantinople*, not far from the Church, a Columne, on the Top wereof was placed the Statue of *Theodoſius* in Silver; as alſo that Year an Obeliſk in the Cirque of the City. Theſe probably were Erected upon occaſion of her Death, and to her Memory, who left only one Daughter behind her, *viz.* *Galla Placidia*, of which Lady we are like to hear much hereafter. What Motives ſoever *Theodoſius* had to the War, great Preparations he made for it both this and the following Year, which whether *Eugenius* was aware of or not, he ſent away as Ambaſſador to him one *Rufinus* an *Athenian*, to know of him, whether he would Conſent, that he ſhould Reign together with him, or reject his Advancement as null and frivolous. In his Negotiation he took no Notice at all of *Arbogaſtes*, nor brought any Letters from him. *Theodoſius* was wary, and uſed delays in his Anſwer, of which, while he conſidered, another Matter of Conſequence fell out. When firſt he came to the Government, he admitted ſome Perſons out of the Barbarous Nations to Friendſhip and Society in War, and ſought to oblige them by Gifts and fair Promiſes for the future. The Chief Captains of the ſeveral People he Courted, and ordinarily admitted to his Table. Amongſt theſe Men there was now riſen a Contention; for ſome of them were for breaking the Oath of Fidelity which they had taken when they were firſt received; and others of them Contended, that

Vide Baron Annal. ad An. 390. num. ult.

Zoſimus.

Eugenius ſends to him to know his Inclinations towards him.

by no means their Faith was to be broken. Of the former Opinion was one *Priulfus*, who uſed Arguments to his Country-men, to Infringe their Oath, and *Frauſtius* was as Active in diſſwading his from committing any ſuch Abſurdity. For a long time nothing was known of this their Difference; but at laſt, being at the Emperors Table, and heated with Wine, they freely declared their Judgments, and flew ſo high, that he put an End to the Entertainment. Being gone from Court, they were ſo inraged by each others Words, that *Frauſtius* drew, and killed *Priulfus*; at which ſight, the Soldiers that were about them, were ſo netled, that they had done the like by *Frauſtius* himſelf, but that they were hindred by the Emperors Guards, which ſuppreſſed the Tumult. *Theodoſius* having Notice of what had paſſed, made little of it, but ſuffered them in this ſort to make an End one of another. As for the Ambaſſadors, he diſmiſſed them altogether deceived with his Preſents and fair Words, and, after their Departure, applied himſelf to Military Preparations.

He gives the Meſſengers good words.

4. This while he did, he neglected not Matters of Civil Concernment, as appears by ſeveral of his Conſtitutions. Upon the Courts of Corporations he ſtill had his Eye, upon the well Government of which depended the quiet of the ſeveral Provinces. As in the Schole of the *Domeſticks*, there was one *Primicerius*, or Head, whom followed Ten others of the Chief in Number; and as in the Great Senate, there was one they termed *Princeps Senatus*, who was firſt asked his Opinion; ſo in theſe Inferior Senates, there was one they called *Primus*; on whom now *Theodoſius* “ thought fit to confer the Honour and Degree of *Comes* of the Third Rank. “ Hereby he received Immunity from Tortures, and all Injuries, and poſſibly from all Collations or Charges belonging to Senators; but ſtill he will have him, for all this “ Honour, bound to the Duties and Ties ariſing from his Birth, as ſtill belonging to “ the Body, of which he was a Member. There was need at this Time of extending, “ though not this Honour, yet his Protection, to others of theſe Courts. For his Military Officers, whom we find to have been much Cheriſhed by him, out of reſpect to the need he frequently had of them, were now exceeding high, and miſerably oppreſſed the poor *Curiales*, eſpecially thoſe amongſt them called *Principales*, who Exacted the Tributes, and were to Protect the Country People; Beating and Torturing them at their Pleaſure. This appears by an Oration of *Libanius*, Publiſhed by *Gothofred*, which he made this very Year, as the Tranſlator concludes, upon great Preſumptions. For now *Theodoſius* took notice of this their Inſolence, by an Edict directed to *Abandantius*, by the Title of *Comes*, and *Magiſter utriuſq; Militiæ*; wherein he Charges and Commands, That Military Men have nothing at all to do “ with the *Curiæ*; nor meddle with that wherein they had no Authority: That no “ Tribune, be he *Dux* or *Comes*, offer to beat, abuſe, or touch any Principal *Curialis*, “ If any hereafter ſhall be ſo Raſh and Inconſiderate, as to dare to do it, or injure “ any of theſe *Principal* Men, he will have him know, that he ſhall incur a Fine “ of Ten Pounds of Gold.

He takes care for the Honour and Safety of the *Curiales*.

L. 127. de Decurionib. Cod. Th. Dat. prid. Kal. Jul. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

L. 128. ejuſd. tit. Cod. Th. & L. 42. Cod. Juſt. eod. Dat. prid. Kal. Aug.

5, About this Time the Country of *Illyricum*, for that the *Barbarians* had been very troubleſome to the Provinces thereof, or for other Reaſons, ſtood in great need of holding Aſſemblies, to make known and redreſs their Griefs; but there was ſome Doubt again, how they ought to be Called and Managed. To explain this Doubt, we find two ſeveral Edicts Inſcribed to *Apodemius* the *Præfectus Prætorio* of that Diſtrict, within the ſpace of ſeven Weeks and leſs; the one bearing Date on the Twenty Eighth of *July*, and the other of the Tenth of *September*. We have formerly told the Reader, how theſe Councils or Aſſembles of the Provinces were either *Ordinary*, (afterward by *Honorius* fixed to the Time Intervening from the *Ides*, or Thirteenth of *Auguſt*, to the *Ides*, or Thirteenth of *September*) held once a year, or elſe were Extraordinary, upon ſome preſſing Occaſion, which required ſome ſuddain help; when the Prince was to be ſent to, or the *Præfectus Prætorio*, who was next unto him. Concerning the latter Sort, or Extraordinary, he ſeems now Conſulted, and Anſwers, as to the Power by which, and the Time, at which they were to be Aſſembled. The Power of Calling or Appointing it, he “ declares to be in the *Præfect*, yet with the Aſſent of the *Provincials*, neither was he “ by his Authority to diſturb or govern it; as in the Church, (*Gothofred* tells you) “ the Right of Appointing the Times of Councils doth not infer any Abſolute Power. “ For the Place, he will have it Summoned to the Richeſt or moſt Populous City of “ the whole Province, which he ſignifies ought not to be grudged by others, as if “ they were thereby injured; for great Emulations there was wont to be betwixt “ them, and Contentions which of them ſhould have theſe Aſſemblies; in which the Judges

L. L. 12, 13. de Legatis &c. Cod. Th. & L. 5. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit.

He determines how and when Provincial Councils ſhould Aſſemble.

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Judges ſhould Winter; and in other things, wherein their Profit was concerned. In the moſt Populous Cities, he will have the largeſt Places to be choſen for the Meeting, where moſt may come together, that matters relating to all may not be determined by a few. As for the Perſons which were to Conſtitute the Aſſemblies, he Wills, that all Sorts be admitted, and come thither; not only the Common People, and the *Curiales*, and Owners of Lands, but the *Primates* of Cities, Villages, or Caſtles, and all the *Honorati*, or ſuch as had borne Offices, except Perſons of *Præfectorian* Rank, or ſuch as had exerciſed the Office of *Præfects*. Thoſe in the former Law he would have Conſulted in their own Houſes; as the Laws allow Perſons of Dignity to give Teſtimony at Home, and to be gone to upon other Occaſions, to preſerve their Honour, and yet that their Advice may not be wanting. But in the latter, he alters his Mind, giving Liberty to all of *Præfectorian* Rank, or *Primates*, either to be preſent in the Aſſemblies, where Place and Reſpect ſhould be allowed them, according to their Quality, or, if they pleaſed, they might ſend their Proctors or Deputies to declare their Opinions; as in other Matters the Laws permit Dignified Perſons to make their Proxies, and ſometimes conſtraine them ſo to do. In the laſt Place, he will have that alone Authentick and Good, to which the Major Part ſhall aſſent, as is, and ever was the General Rule; however at this Day, in the Northern Parts of *Europe*, the Diſſent of one Deputy makes Fruitleſs the Meeting aud Debates of the whole Aſſembly.

Vide l. 25. de Procuratorib. Cod. Juſt. lib. 2. tit. 13.

6. Toward the latter end of this Year he received Information, true or falſe, That ſome Publick Officers or Governours of the Provinces Oppreſſed, and exerciſed Rapine, in the Places committed to their Truſt, againſt which Crime he now proceeded with all Severity. He directed a Conſtitution to *Rufinus*, lately advanced to be *Præfectus Prætorio* in the room of *Tatianus*, wherein he tells him, “That by former Laws, ſuch Judges as had afflicted the Provinces by the Crime he terms *Peculatus*, ſhould be ſubject to the Penalty of a Mulct. But foraſmuch as this Puniſhment is not adæquate to the Offence, nor the Vengeance taken ſuitable to the Sin, he is pleaſed to change it by a more ſevere Cenſure; that whereas ſcarcely can a Puniſhment be found fit for ſuch Wickedneſs, nor ſo great Villany be Expiated by Condign Torture, the Penalty Incurred ſhall be Death, and the Crime be Reſtrained by the moſt Severe Animadverſion. Indeed, by the Ancient Laws, one ſort of that they called *Peculatus*, *viz.* Converting the Publick Money, belonging to the Treaſury, (taken in War, or raiſed out of Mines) to ones own uſe, was puniſhed by a Forfeiture of Four-fold; and by this Name was alſo underſtood the Suppreſſion or Stealing of Monies, belonging to the Cities and Provinces. But Oppreſſion, and exerciſing Rapine upon the Subject himſelf, is alſo Signified by this Word, and the Wording of the Law ſeems to aim at the ſame Offence; of which *Rufinus*, the newly Advanced *Præfect*, either found, or made ſome Perſons Guilty. We muſt know, that of late he was crept into great Favour with the Emperour, and Contrived the Ruine of his Predeceſſor, and Accompliſhed it in this following manner, if you believe *Zoſimus*, whoſe Story that we may relate, we ſhall uſher it in with the ſame Reflexions that he makes upon *Theodoſius*.

Is Severe againſt Judges that oppreſs their Provincials.

Pridem fuerat conſtitutum ut hi Judices qui peculatu provincias quaſſaviſſent, multæ diſpendio ſubjacerent. Sed quoniam &c. L. 1. de Crimine Peculatus. Cod. Th. lib. 9. tit. 28. L. un. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. hinc à Triboniano deformata eſt.

7. Being Returned to *Conſtantinople*, (after his Diſguiſe, and the Succeſs of *Promotus*) he was much Elevated for the Victory he had obtained againſt *Maximus*; but being yet very ſad upon what the *Barbarians* attempted upon him, and his whole Army, he Reſolved to bid farewell to all Wars, and Contentions that way. Having committed to *Promotus* the Care of ſuch like Matters, he himſelf calling to mind his former Courſe of Life, made Magnificent Suppers, and was Curious in deviſing Pleaſures, frequenting the Theatres, and the Games in the *Circus*. And here, ſaith he, I cannot but admire the Humour of this Man, and his Courſe of Living, which was eaſily inclinable both ways. For, whereas by Nature he was Sluggiſh, and given to Supine Negligence, and the Vices above recited: and if no ſad or formidable Thing afforded him Trouble, he gave up the Reins to Luxury: yet if any ſuch Neceſſity preſſed him as indangered his Eſtate; he put off his Sloth, and bidding farewell to his Pleaſures, reſumed a Manly Courage, and Returned to a Laborious and Painful way of Life. Then again, though by ſuch Experience Inſtructed, when freed from his Cares and Fears, he would ſubject himſelf to the Vices of his Lazy and Slothful Genius, which by Nature were incident unto him. But of all his Officers, to whom he committed any Charge, the moſt he ſet by was *Rufinus*, a *Celtick Gall* by Nation, and Maſter of

Zoſimus p. 773.

Zoſimus his Reflections upon him.

his *Palatine* Attendants. Him he truſted with the whole management, and none “
others he regarded, which gave Offence to *Timaſius*, and *Promotus*, that after ſo “
many Dangers and Labours ſuſteined for the Service of the Common-wealth, “
they ſhould be Eſteemed leſs than he. However, *Rufinus* wonderfully pleaſed “
with his good Fortune, and puffed up therewith, at a certain Publick Council, “
ſpake ſomething ſharply againſt *Promotus*; who, not able to bear it, ſtruck him on “
the Face. He preſently betook himſelf to *Theodoſius*, who, upon ſight of the “
Bruiſe, fell into ſuch a Paſſion, as to ſay, That except they would ceaſe to be Envious “
againſt *Rufinus*, they ſhould in a ſhort time ſee him Reign. *Rufinus* ſtill “
more Intoxicated with Pride and Ambition, after he had heard theſe Words, as he “
was fierce, and harſh towards all Men, in Particular he perſwaded *Theodoſius* to “
command *Promotus* out of the Court, to Exerciſe ſome Soldiers for the War. “
This having obtained, as he travelled into *Thrace*, he cauſed ſome *Barbarians* to “
lye in wait for him, and cut his Throat; a Man who had both contemned Riches, “
and had faithfully demeaned himſelf toward the Princes. But, ſaith our Writer, “
He was juſtly ſerved, for being imployed by thoſe, who ſo careleſly and impiouſly “
Adminiſtred the Affairs of the Common-wealth.

Rufinus the new *Præfectus Pretorio* cauſeth *Promotus* to be murdered.

8. The Rumor of this Villany flying every where, while it is in every Mans “
Mouth, and every Modeſt Perſon abhorreth it, *Rufinus*, as if he had done ſome “
worthy and conſiderable Matter, is deſigned *Conſul*. And now are *Tatianus* and “
Proculus his Son brought into trouble, though they had no otherwiſe offended “
him, than for that they were both *Præfects*, one of the *Prætorium*, and the other “
of the City, which Offices they had Exerciſed without Corruption, and as their “
very Duty of their Places obliged them. That his Deſigns againſt them might “
be brought about, *Tatianus* is firſt put out of his Place, and brought to his “
Tryal, *Rufinus* being advanced to be *Præfect*. For Forme and a Colour, others “
were joyned in Commiſſion with him to hear and judge him, but the Authority “
of paſſing Sentence reſerved to him alone. But becauſe *Proculus* ſufficiently “
knowing what he was to expect, had fled for his Safety, and *Rufinus* was afraid “
of him as an Induſtrious Man: Therefore, leſt he ſhould make ſome “
ſtir, and by his Wiſdom diſturb his Proſperous Condition, he Circumvented “
firſt his Father by Oaths, and other ſorts of Fraud, and perſwaded the Emperor “
to promiſe great Matters to them both, whereby the Old Man, from “
his True and Juſt Suſpicions, was brought to approve of vain Dreams, and “
by Letters to recall his Son. He being apprehended, is ſtraight Committed “
to Priſon, and his Father Confined to his own Country; and the Commiſſioners “
have often Meetings for Diſpatching the Proceſs againſt *Proculus*, “
whom at length, as had been agreed betwixt them and *Rufinus*, they Condemn “
to Death, to be Executed upon him at *Sycæ*, a Place not far diſtant “
from *Conſtantinople*, (now called *Pera*, and *Galata*) whither they Command “
him to be Conveyed. The Emperor conſidering of it, ſent after to ſtop “
Execution; but the Meſſenger received Inſtructions from *Rufinus* to move ſlowly, “
ſo that he came not to the Place before his Head was cut from his Shoulders. “
Such is the Story concerning theſe Two Eminent Perſons, their Tryal and Cenſure, which whetherſoever Juſt or Unjuſt, the Law we now mentioned is Rationally thought to have been part of the Reſcript obtained by *Rufinus* in order to their Examination, and ſuch Iſſue as they either Merited, or he Deviſed. The Country of *Tatianus* was *Lycia*, which hereupon he procured to be Infamous, but Four Years after was reſtored to its former Credit by *Arcadius*. The Day of the Execution of *Proculus* was the Sixth of *December*; of whoſe Death *Claudian* the Poet takes Notice, in his Firſt Book againſt *Rufinus*, againſt whom he inveighs for his unparallel'd Cruelty for Killing the Son, and Baniſhing the Father: And he takes Notice alſo of the Mercy of the *Emperor*, eluded thus by this Mercileſs *Præfect*.

Procures *Proculus* to be Beheaded.

Vide Chronic. Theod.

Eſſera torquebant avidæ præcordia curæ. Effugeret nequis gladios, neun perderet ullum, Auguſto miſerante, nefas, &c.

9. Little leſs than a month before the death of *Proculus*, or on the eleaventh of *November*, *Theodoſius* publiſhed an Edict in behalf of Married women, directed to *Martinianus* the *Comes* of the *Eaſt* at this time. In this he declares that
he will have them injoy the ſame Honour and Nobility with their Husbands, and “
and that they anſwer upon any Impeachment in that Court of Juſtice where “
their Husbands ought to abide their trial, or to which their place of Habitation “
doth belong, which muſt be underſtood concerning their own private matters and cauſes; for in ſuch as reſpected the publick Charges or Functions belonging to Lands, they were to be owned and diſcharged where the Wife had her Original. As the

Theodoſius publiſheth Edicts in behalf of Wives.

L. 7. de Juriſdictione & ubi quis conven. deb. Cod. Th. lib. 2. tit. 1. & L. ult. de Incolis Cod. Juſt.

the Wife received Honour and other Conveniences from her Husband, it was thought fit that ſome reſpect ſhould be ſhowed to him in way of Recompence for this, and all the Charge he ſuſteined by the Marriage. But by the former Laws Huſbands in certain Caſes found Ingagers or Sureties for preſerving and repaying the Dowers or Portions of their Wives, received with them; and, this might be more a Cuſtom in the Eaſt, where all ſorts of Places and Perſons abounded in Luxury, and men were wont to have very great Fortunes with their Wives. But this way of finding Sureties or giving Caution, now might juſtly ſeem very burthenſom in the Commonwealth, as that which diſturbed and perplexed the Eſtates of many Families, amongſt ſo many Mariages, ſo many Securities being required, and conditions of Perſons ſtanding in ſo ticklish a poſture, a man being rich to day, and often by ſome or other accident, eſpecially of War, reduced to Poverty the day following. This therefore *Theodoſius* thought fit to aboliſh at this time by another Edict directed to the ſame *Martinianus*, but rationally thought to have made up with the former, one and the ſame Conſtitution, by *Gothofred*, whoſe opinion concerning this Interpretation of the Law we gladly cloſe with, as moſt proper; but whereas he would have voluntary Agreements and Contracts alſo nulled by it, we cannot think that this extended to a mans own free and voluntary Act, which might be founded upon great Reaſon and Equity.

And Huſbands.

L. un de Fide juſſorib. Dotium. Cod. Th. lib. 3. tit. 15. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt.

10. The CCCXCIII year of our Lord had *Theodoſius Auguſtus* the third time, and *Fl. Abundantius* for Conſuls. *Rufinus* continued *Præfectus Prætorio* of the *Eaſt*; *Apodemius* of *Illyricum* and *Italy*; and *Aurelianus* was *Præfect* of *Conſtantinople* in the room of *Proculus*. *Theodoſius* opened the year by creation of a new Emperor, which was *Honorius* his younger Son, whom he promoted to that Dignity on the tenth of *January*. Betwixt the Death of *Valentinian* and the Advancement of *Honorius* hapned two Solar Eclipſes. One is mentioned by St. *Hierom*, who writes that it was ſeen with the conſternation of many Perſons about the days of Pentecoſt. But it hapned on the ſixth of *June*, one and twenty days after *Whitſunday*. And the ſame year there was another Eclipſe on the ſecond of *December*, which, becauſe it fell out ſome forty days before the Inauguration of *Honorius*, *Marcellinus* and *Proſper* writ as if it happened the ſame day, for which they are taxed by *Jacobus Cappellus* who alſo blames *Calviſius* for placing it at the twentieth of *November*. *Theodoſius* continued all this year at *Conſtantinople*, where, as he carried on his preparations for the enſuing year, ſo he made as great proviſion for the well governing of the Commonwealth by ſeveral Laws, and the more need there was of it, becauſe none at this time were made in the *Weſt*, where *Eugenius* the *Uſurper* had his abode; at leaſt that afterward were owned as Authentick. And thoſe which we meet with bearing the moſt early Date, are two ſeveral Edicts directed, the one to *Rufinus*, and the other to *Drepanius*, the *Comes Rei Privatæ*, for reſcinding the Acts of *Tatianus*, ſo as ſuch Goods or Eſtates as had fallen to the Treaſury by any Proſcriptions or Confiſcations made by him as *Præfectus Prætorio* ſhould be reſtored to the Owners if they were alive, or elſe if they had already ſuffered death, to their Heirs. Moreover, by another Law inſcribed to the ſame *Rufinus*, he takes off all extraordinary Taxes or Impoſitions laid by the ſaid *Tatianus* upon the *Provincials*, being Payments to be made of the *Annonæ*, or Proviſions for Uſe of the Army, out of, and beyond, the ordinary Tax or Preſtation. This Emperor lately, as we have ſeen, prohibited the Officers of his Army to Moleſt or Injure any of the Principal *Curiales* in intermedling with their Affairs, and ſo alſo he found Reaſon in the beginning of this Year to reſtrain their Interpoſing in the buſineſſes of all other private Perſons, by an Order directed to the *Comites* and *Magiſtri utriuſque Militiæ*; for to theſe *Magiſtri* was added the Dignity of *Comites*. He forbids, That they they give to any that Protection, which the Ordinary Judge of the Province was wont to afford to ſuch as had Reaſon to fear the Inſults or Violence of great Perſons, or to commit any thing Decreed by ſuch Judge to Execution by force of Armes. Hereby he only admits of their giving their Help and Aſſiſtance in publick Cauſes, which other Laws indeed do allow off; as to protect the *Navicularii* from ſuch as injured them; to ſearch for and apprehend Theives; to the Officers that collected the Tributes; to protect Churches, or the like. Although ſeaven years before this, *Theodoſius* had forbidden Souldiers thus to meddle, though aſſigned by a Judge, either in publick or private Buſineſſes, Yet was there neceſſity now to renew the prohibition.

A.D. 393. Theodoſio Aug. & Fl. Abundantio Coſs.

Advanceth his Son *Honorius* to the Dignity of Emperor.

In Eccleſiæ Chriſtianæ Centuria 4. ad An. 392.

He reſcinds the Acts of *Tatianus*.

L. L. 12, 13. de Bonis proſcriptorum. Cod. Th. Abſunt. à Cod. Juſt.

L. 22. de Annona & Tributis. Cod. Th. Dat. Prid. Id. Jan.

Reſtrains Military Officers from medling in Civil Matters.

L. unic. de Officio Judicum Militarium. Cod. Th. lib. 1. tit. 9. & L. 1. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Dat. Conſtantinop. prid. Id. Feb.

11. Into

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Aurelianus ſucceeds into the place of *Proculus*.

11. Into the place of *Proculus*, lately put to death, ſucceeded one *Aurelianus*, and, to him and to *Rufinus* joyntly, *Theodoſius* not long after gave out a Conſtitution, wherein he Conſulted for the Dignity and Emolument of the *Senatorian* Order, the good of the *Curiales*, and the Beauty and Ornament of their Cities. But that herein he might not look too much backward, he premiſeth this Conſideration, That all Conſtitutions, do not raiſe Calumnies to what is paſt; but impoſe Rules upon ſuch matters as are to come. As he thought fit to abrogate ſuch things as he was informed to have been unduly practiſed by Father and Son, ſo neither would he give way to great Reflections. And therefore he tells them that the Laws are intended to look forward and not backward, though ſometimes in certain caſes this Rule doth fail, and eſpecially in reſcinding the unjuſt Acts of Uſurpers and Magiſtrates. For aſſerting the Rights of *Senators* he * prohibits any thing to be paid out of their Lands, to thoſe they called in thoſe days *Syriarchi*, who were Pagan Prieſts in that Country, whoſe Employment it was to ſet forth Shows and Paſtimes (as of Wild Beaſts) to the People. He alſo reſtored to the *Cenſuales* formerly ſpoken of, the Right of naming *Prætors* to a certain ſort of work, when they had been formerly called to be *Prætors* in general by the Senate, which had been taken away from the ſaid *Cenſuales* by *Conſtantius*. In the third Place, He permits that the *Curiales*, or *Mancipes*, may be admitted to the Degree of *Senators*, provided, that They have diſcharged all Services belonging to the *Courts*, and their Eſtates be ſo far obnoxious to the ſaid Courts, that ſufficient Perſons may be ſubſtituted in their room, as he had formerly declared his Reſolution in this Matter, though ſometimes he again varied therein, as he thought the Caſe required. In the next place he tells *Rufinus* the *Præfectus Prætorio* (for to him and no other this could be directed) that in reference to heating the Baths at *Antioch*, the antient Cuſtom muſt be obſerved as to Payments; For as much as it is Evident that whatſoever *Tatian* had innovated therein, was deſervedly to be aboliſhed. That the City of *Antioch* was famous for its Baths, is evident from ſeveral Teſtimonies. The heating of theſe Baths is alſo reckoned amongſt perſonal Services, and there's no doubt but the *Curiales* were wont to contribute towards it; but it ſeems that *Tatianus* had, during his Power, increaſed the Contribution thereof ſo much, that it was become burthenſom. As alſo in caſe a *Curialis* had three Sons, *Tatianus* had either Ordered that he might free all his Sons from their Obligation to the *Curia*, or elſe none of them could he make free; to take off which extremity, on either ſide, *Theodoſius* now determined in his Reſcript to *Aurelianus* (or rather *Rufinus*) that if any *Decurio* had three Males he might if ſuch was his Quality, prefer one to be a *Senator*, the reſt remaining tied to the Obligations contracted by their Original. It appears moreover that *Tatianus*, or his Son *Proculus*, had applied themſelves to the erecting of new works in Cities, neglecting the Old Buildings; for, this by another Branch of this Conſtitution the Emperor prohibits: It's true, by Licence obtained from the Prince, old Houſes might be pulled down to erect new Fabricks; but he now declares, that in caſe ſuch Houſes exceed in value the ſum of fifty pounds of Silver, or two hundred and fifty *Solidi*, that it ſhall not be done without a particular Account or Relation made thereof unto himſelf.

To him and *Rufinus* a Conſtitution is directed.

Omnia Conſtituta non præteritis calumniam faciunt, ſed futuris regulam imponunt. l. 3. de conſtit. Princip. & Edict. Cod. Th. lib. 1. tit. 1. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt. ſunt enim ibi plures aliæ ſimiles in eandem ſententiam leges.

** L. 1. de Prædiis Senatorum. Cod. Th. lib. 6. tit. 3.*

L. 26. de Prætoribus. Cod. Th.

L. 130. de Decurionib. Cod. Th. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt.

L. 131. de Decurionib. Cod. Th. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt. ut temporaria & localis.

L. 132. de Decurionib. Cod. Th. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt. abrogata per l. ult. de Decurionib.

L. 29. de operibus publicis. Cod. Th. lib. 15. tit. 1. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt.

L. 30. ejuſd. tit. & L. 9. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit.

12. The Bread which *Conſtantine* had given to the Citizens of *Conſtantinople*, at this time by ſeveral Laws he indeavoured to reduce to the true intent of the Donor, and declared that his Will was, that what was granted to Military Perſons was in contemplation of their building Houſes in that City. To ſuch he confirms it, whether tranſmitted to their Heirs, or ſold by thoſe of the *Scholæ* to which this Right belonged; and to other Perſons that had a Title by their Houſes; ſo as to them he creates a new Right, in lieu of ſuch alienations; and repeals what *Proculus* by his own Authority had done herein. For a ſupply of ſuch as ſhould ſtand in need for the time to come, he now beſtows an hundred and twenty five *Modii* of Wheat, over and above the old Allowances granted by *Conſtantine* and *Conſtantius* his Son, to be daily paid out of the publick Granaries of that City; order for this purpoſe being ſent to the *Præfect* of the *Eaſt*, for this ſupply to be made in all ſucceeding times. Of this New Canon of Corn, (as then they termed it) by him inſtituted and conferred on this City, mention is made both by *Arcadius* his Son, and *Theodoſius* the Younger his Grandſon, in Laws made by them upon this Subject, which in their due time and place we may hear of. But that, while he provided Bread for Suſtentation of the People of *Conſtantinople*, the People of the Country might not have theirs ſnatcht out of their Mouths

Vide L. L. 9, 10, 11, 12. de Annonis Civicis & pane gradili. Cod. Th. lib. 24. tit. 17.

Theodoſius inlarges the allowances of Bread formerly granted to the Inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*.

L. 2. de Annonis Civilibus. Cod. Juſt. lib. 11. tit. 24.

He regulates the raiſing of Tributes.

Mouths by unequal Contributions toward Suſtenance of the Army, he provided by a certain Law directed to *Rufinus*, whoſe care, as *Præfect*, it was, to have the Proviſions duly raiſed. By order of *Valentinian* the Elder, theſe Tributes were to be paid thrice every year, or at every four Months; and of ſuch Tributes ſo raiſed, the *Apparitors* of the *Duces* were wont to make Breives and ſend them to the Office of the *Præfect*, that it might be known how much was ſpent upon the Souldiers commanded by every *Dux*. Now to make this more evident he Ordains
That before ſuch *Quadrimenſtruons* Breives be ſent to the Seat of his *Highneſs* “
as he ſtiles him, the like ſhall be delivered to the Office of the Ordinary Judge or “
Governour of the Province, that they may be Compared togather in the “
preſence of both the *Apparitors* of the Military *Duces*, and the *Officials* of the “
Ordinary Judge, that ſo by Comparing them, any Error or Cheat may diſco- “
vered; and the Breive may be rejected. Otherwiſe if the Breives diſagree, “
and the Levies be not rightly made, the Danger will fall upon the *Suſceptors*, “
or thoſe that nominated them, who, as we have formerly ſeen, were to Anſwer “
for their Miſcarriages.

L. un. de Quadrimenſtruis Brevibus. Cod. Th. lib. 11. tit. 25. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt.

13. Whereas the Governors of Provinces now took upon them to excuſe the *Curiales* for ſome time (for neceſſary Reaſons pretended) from the Services of their Courts;
Theodoſius thought fit, to allow of no ſuch temporary Vacation, except granted by “
himſelf, and that for Cauſes true and proved, of ſuch Importance was it to have “
theſe Services diſcharged, for the good of the whole Provinces depended upon “
the well government of theſe Cities, Towns or Caſtles, to which for the moſt “
part the whole Country belonged, and was divided, and did depend on them. “
He alſo found at this time great Complaints made againſt Courts of Juſtice in reference to Appeals, whereof ſome might be juſt, and others made by ſuch Appellants as were themſelves in fault by reaſon of their irregular proceedings. Therefore this year to obviate Abuſes in both ſorts, he enacted that a Fine ſhould be “
ſet upon him who would by his *Proctor* appeal before Sentence or before a *Grava-* “
men, and as for the Judge, if he refuſed to admit of ſuch Appeals, as by Law “
and Right were to be admitted, he himſelf ſhould incur the Penalty of thirty “
Pounds of Gold, and his Office one of no leſs than fifty; but on the other ſide, “
when Appeals were received, the *Judex ad quem* ſhould receive or try nothing “
but what had lien before the Preſident, or *Judex a quo* in the firſt Inſtance, ei- “
ther proved, begun, or relating near to the ſame Allegations. There was another practice diſcovered at this time, which intrenched upon the Soveraign Authority, and violated the *Regalia* of the Imperial Diadem. The Right of Coyning Money, as we have already ſeen, belonged only to the Prince; and yet ſometimes it hapned that private Perſons either were connived at, to ſtamp Braſs, or ſometimes obtained Licence to do it from the Emperors themſelves. This he thought not fit to be permitted, but as well to preſerve his own Right as to hinder that liberty which others might take of Falſifying and Counterfeiting the Coin; he commands *Rufinus*, that if any for the time to come ſhall wreſt ſuch Power “
to himſelf of ſtamping Braſs by virtue of any Reſcript or leave obtained from “
himſelf, he ſhall loſe both the Advantage he propoſed to himſelf thereby, and “
further incur the penalty he deſerveth, *viz.* of Coyning Falſe Money. Thus antiently in *France* the Kings gave leave to the Prelates and Barons of the Kingdom to Coin Money, as *Gothofred* informs us from the Records of the Court of *Finances* in *Paris*; and namely in the year M.CCCXVI in the Reign of *Lewis Hutin*; a certain Weight and Image for ſo doing being preſcribed them. But afterward theſe Privileges were revoked and bought off. In particular, one Noble man ſold to the King that Right of his for five thouſand Liures. And we have lately ſeen, at Home, that licentious liberty which Private Tradeſmen took in our Cities and Towns of ſtamping Braſs or other Farthings with very good Reaſon recalled, and new ones warranted by the Royal Stamp and Authority, diſperſed for publick uſe throughout the Nation.

L. 135. de Decurionb. Cod. Th. & L. un. Cod. Juſt. de iis qui a Principe vacationem acceperunt.

The matter of Appeals.

L. L. 50, 51, 52. de Appell. & Conſult. Cod. Th. Abſ. à Cod. Juſt.

Reſtrains private Perſons from Coyning.

L. ult. de falſa moneta. Cod. Th. lib. 9. tit. 22. & L. ult. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Dat. 4. Idus Jul. Conſtantinop.

14. *Theodoſius*, his Military Preparations againſt the enſuing war now growing to an Height, thought fit to reinforce what his Predeceſſors commanded, for the Safety and Eaſe of their Subjects upon ſuch occaſions. Knowing how the Souldiers were often wont in their Marches and Quarters to oppreſs thoſe that lodged them, by exacting of them ſeveral things relating to Victuals, and other Conveniencies, beſides the ordinary Proviſions made for them: to reſtrain this liberty he ſent out his Edict directed to *Abundantius*, *Stilicho* and the other *Comites* of both the *Militia's*, requiring and charging them, That no man in military ſervice whatſoever ſhould

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He takes care that Souldiers do not oppreſs the Countrys.

ſhould require any thing in the way of, or, for his *Salgamum*, that is either Wood or Oyl, or Pallets to lye on. By *Salgamum*, which is rationally derived from *Sal* or *Salt*, was originally ſignified Herbs or other things pickled, or preſerved in Salt and Vinegar, and hence thoſe that ſold them were called *Salgamarii*. But ſecondarily, becauſe of the Pleaſure taken in theſe things by the Souldiers or others, was the word applied to ſignifie all things needful to the Suſtenance and Refreſhment of the Body, which ſtill they would Term and Exact by the name of *Salgamum*. Becauſe the Souldiers, to put themſelves into Money, were wont to require and take the Price of the Proviſions they were to receive in kind, and often, when they had got the one, exact the other too, or when Victuals were dear, then to take money wherewith to buy in time of plenty; he commands theſe ſame Officers that no man dare to exact Money in lieu of their Proviſions, under pain of loſing the price and thing alſo which he would have exchanged. But whereas there were ſome Provinces, which by reaſon of their diſtance, or the roughneſs of the way, were not in capacity to ſend their Proviſions to ſuch Poſts as were taken up by the Army, nor indeed to the Granaries belonging to the Emperors private Exchequer, he commands that what *Tatianus* had formerly ordained in this point ſhall be obſerved. In this caſe he had Ordered that ſuch like Provinces ſhould be allotted to the Proviſions allowed to the Officials belonging to their Governors or Ordinary Judges.

L. 3. de Salgamo hoſpitib. non præbendo. Cod. Th. lib. 7. tit. 9.

Dat. Abundantio, Stilichoni, & cæteris Comitibus utriuſque militiæ, 3. Kal. Aug. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt.

L. L. 18. & 20. de Erogatione Militar. Annonæ. Cod. Th.

L. 19. ejuſd. tit.

15. Theſe Laws were ſuch as muſt needs gratifie the Provincials who often ſuffered much from the Inſolence of Souldiers; yet they were not to be named or regarded in compariſon of a famous Edict he publiſhed at this time, and directed to *Rufinus* concerning Speeches uttered againſt his own Perſon. “If any one, ſaith he, being a Stranger to Modeſty, and void of Shame, hath thought fit to abuſe our Names by naughty and ſawcy Language, and out of a giddy Humour be a turbulent Declaimer againſt the Times, we will not have him Puniſhed, nor ſuffer any Harme: becauſe if *it proceeded from Levity, it is to be deſpiſed: if from madneſs, it's moſt worthy of pity: if from Injury, to be remitted.* Therefore let the whole Matter be reported to us, that by the Perſons of the Men we may weigh and conſider their Words, and ſo reſolve whether they be fit to be neglected or inquired into further. Hereby he Prohibits the Judges, or Governours of Provinces to puniſh any ſuch Offendors, but commands that he himſelf have the hearing of them, by a certain Sentance moſt full of Clemency and Indulgence, promiſing in a manner his Grace and Pardon, if any one out of levity, madneſs or an injurious humour had reproached Himſelf or the Times. And this he did out of his Connate Eaſineſs and Clemency, being a Prince, whatſoever ſome have maliciouſly written againſt him, moſt eminent for Chriſtian Policy and a merciful diſpoſition: of which there are many teſtimonies given him by Heathen Writers of this Age, as well as other Laws he made upon this Subject, which ſo far evince his Genius to have been ſuch, as that by ſome he is rather blamed for his too much Lenity, which incouraged ill natured perſons to offend. Of all others, this Law for the Matter and Manner of it hath become moſt renowned, both in the Courts of Princes, and of Juſtice; being wont to be applied to ſeveral Arguments upon occaſion; as whether Puniſhments are to be differred or mitigated; when the queſtion is, whether Princes ought to ſlight or diſſemble their knowledge of licentious Speeches; concerning matters reſerved to the cogniſance of Princes themſelves, and relation thereof to be made to them by their Judges; concerning the puniſhment of High Treaſon; or laſtly when the ſeveral virtues becoming a Prince are exhibited, Mildneſs and Clemency ſo much expreſſed and ſet forth by this Law, are moſt inculcated as thoſe which moſt adorn his Crown.

Makes a famous Law for ſparing ſuch as utter ſeditious Speeches.

L. un. Si quis Imp. maledixerit. Cod. Th. lib. 9. tit. 4. Dat. 5. Id. Aug. & L. un. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Quoniam ſi id ex levitate proceſſerit contemnendum eſt: Si ex inſania miſeratione digniſſimum: ſi ab injuria remittendum.

16. The Crime here to be remitted or inquired of is a ſort of Treaſon, which according to the *Roman* Laws is contracted both by Words and Actions, but in the former ſence is eſteemed leſs, not of ſo high a Degree, of ſo deep a ſtain as the later. But theſe words were of two kinds, being caſt out either, againſt the Prince himſelf or the Times, which amounted to much the ſame, reflecting upon the management of his Affairs. And never did any times more abound with theſe Calumniators, than thoſe of theſe Chriſtian Princes. For it was a common thing, an univerſal practice of the *Pagans*, amongſt other Taunts and Abuſes, to impute all Calamities that befell the Empire, or any particular place to Chriſtian worſhip, as if the Decree of Nature by a certain Law tended to the puniſhment of that which they blaſphemouſly termed Impiety. Theſe old Objections are ſufficiently known out of the Apologies of Ancient Chriſtians. If any War ill ſucceeded, if any Army miſcarried, if any Plague, Famine, or any other Publick Calamity fell upon

any Nation, then *Chriſtianos ad Leones*; the Chriſtians as the cauſe of this muſt be expoſed to Wild Beaſts: at leaſt when the Scepter became Chriſtian, and no Authority would incourage this Injuſtice and Cruelty, all muſt be imputed to the Sacrilege of them. For, when the Empire laboured under its own Weight, and the Barbarous Nations (as all things, through viciſſitude of Affairs are ſubject to mutation) broke in and made Havock of the Provinces. When the City which had been lately Miſtreſs of the World became ſubject to their Inſults and Impetuoſity; all this alteration the Pagans with vociferation aſcribed to a fancied provoking guilt and enormity of Chriſtianity it ſelf, which they thought could not be expiated but by ſuch miſeries and devaſtations. And herein the ſawcy Impudence of the *Ethnicks* both Writers and others cannot but be admired; how daring they were, and what Deſigns they drove, (even contrary to this Law) to rereproach the Perſons and Governments of the Emperors. For no other thing did *Eunapius* aim at in writing his *Chronica*; nor *Zoſimus* in the compoſure of his Hiſtory as we hope we have ſufficiently made out already, and more ſhall do, as alſo the egregious malice vented by others againſt all theſe eminent Princes of the Chriſtian perſwaſion.

17. But their Choler was the more moved, and they found more pretence to vent it from things which fell out at this very time. For the year before, *Theodoſius* had abſolutely prohibited the Pagan Worſhip to be exerciſed by any Perſon, or in any place throughout the Eaſt; of which in its proper place more largely. Then upon a ſecular account and in reference to civil matters we may find by *Zoſimus* what his Friends, the *Ethnicks*, talked and objected againſt the Adminiſtration of this Prince, as that the Form of the Army and Military matters was changed, more great Officers made than formerly, and thence extraordinary Tributes exacted, that Barbarians were received and much favoured, and great diſcourſe there was of the Tyranny and Oppreſſion of his great Miniſters, as *Rufinus*, againſt whom was objected the fall of *Tatianus*, and the death of *Proculus* his Son. But beſides theſe general pretences, what the Particular or Immediate Cauſe of the making of this Law ſhould be, is capable of further Inquiry. Some think this to have been his Act of Grace or Indemnity granted to the *Antiochians* after the defacing of his Images and the Reconciliation made in that manner, and by that means we have formerly declared. And indeed the obſcurity which is to be found in moſt Writers as to the time of this Tumult at *Antioch* renders their Opinion very excuſable, for though *Zoſimus* relates it as hapning about the time of the Expedition againſt *Maximus*, yet others have caſt it back to the later undertaking of *Theodoſius* againſt *Eugenius*. Moreover, the Argument of the Law might incourage one to ſuch like thoughts, it being of Speeches or Reproaches caſt out againſt the Prince, which *Zoſimus*, *Libanus* and others affirm to have been the Crime, in a great meaſure, of them of *Antioch*, who followed therein the ordinary Humour and Genius of their City. Beſides, by what this Law ſpeaks of weighing the Speeches according to the Quality or Condition of the Parties, one may very well Collect that there were ſeveral ſorts of Offenders in this kind; and *Libanus* relates how the *Comes* of the *Eaſt*, or ſome other Officer put many to death after the tumult at *Antioch*, one accuſing another, without any reſpect had to Sexes or Perſons: then what Arguments or Reaſons the Emperor gives for exerciſing his Clemency, in this Edict, are juſt the ſame with what the Meſſengers ſent from that City, *viz. Flavianus*, and *Libanius*, do uſe in moving him to Compaſſion toward that miſerable People. Again the very ſanction of the Law might ſeem to conclude for this perſwaſion, therein he commanding that Relation be made to himſelf concerning the whole matter of complaint, which was the great thing deſired as we have ſeen, and by the great labours of Religious Perſons, at length, (by prevailing upon the Judges, *Cæſarius* and *Ellebichus*) brought about, *Theodoſius* grieving afterward, that in the Interval any Perſons had been put to death. Hereupon it may ſeem probable alſo that the Indulgence commended ſo much by *Libanus*, and particularly to the Court of *Antioch*, is the very ſame with that contained in another Law, which together with this made up one and the ſame Conſtitution. The laſt thing is the Place whence this Conſtitution bears Date, *viz. Conſtantinople*, whither *Flavianus* and *Libanius* were ſent to him.

18. But, for all this, the Tumult at *Antioch* hapned almoſt ſeven years before, and therefore this Law could not be made to anſwer that occaſion. For it fell out in the *Decennalia* of *Theodoſius* and the *Quinquenalia* of *Arcadius* his Son, when *Vide Gothofr. in h. l.* he was at *Conſtantinople*, after the ſubduing of the *Barbarians* or *Gruthungi*; af-

ter the death of *Flaccilla*, when only one Son of *Theodoſius* was *Auguſtus*, and when he made preparations for his Expedition againſt the Uſurper *Muximus*. Then, beſides, it fell out in the Winter ſeaſon before *Lent*; and *Chriſoſtom* ſaith that the Pardon granted to the *Antiochians* was with them before *Eaſter*, and therefore this our Law could not be it, which is dated on the ninth of *Auguſt*, and is inſcribed to *Ruſinus*, as *Præfectus Prætorio*; whereas there was no ſuch *Præfect* that had any thing to do in the *Antiochian* Tumult, which therefore fell out in the year CCCLXXXVII. as we have already ſet it. Some others aſſign as an occaſion of this Law what *Sozomen* writes concerning a Perſon *Illuſtrious* by Dignity, condemned by *Gratian*, for having reviled him, and freed by the intervention of *Ambroſe* the Biſhop of *Milan*; but very wide, as if this had been made by *Gratian*, dead long before, and of which *Theodoſius* was the Author. *Gothofred* rejecting theſe ſeveral opinions, from the Law lately ſpoken of, which with this is rationally thought to have made up one Conſtitution, conjectures that the immediate occaſion proceeded from the licentious liberty of the *Curiales*, at this time taken (and probably by thoſe of *Antioch*) to ſpeak againſt the Emperor and his Government. For although that Law be not at all of this Drift or Deſign, yet they being directed to the ſame Perſon at the ſame time, nay making up one and the ſame Conſtitution, and the one being made for rectifying matters belonging to the *Curiales*, he concludes with ſome Reaſon, that they were the Perſons aimed at in both. For indeed the *Curiales* were the ſubſtantial Inhabitants of Cities and Towns, and of them the Body of the Commons of the Empire conſiſted; below them were ſuch perſons as the meanneſs of their Eſtates and Conditions rendred them inconſiderable, and above were the *Honorati*, who had diſcharged great Offices, and thoſe who were in actual poſſeſſion of them. Now, to put them into this Sawcy and Tumultuous Humour, ſome of the foregoing things which they eſteemed Grievances might give occaſion. As the rigorous ſuppreſſion of Paganiſm now carried on; the greatneſs of *Ruſinus*, who probably afforded too much occaſion for Envy; his proceedings againſt *Tatianus* and his Son; or poſſibly, there were ſome Acts of *Tatianus* and *Proculus* which were too ſevere in Correcting the Petulancy of the Tongues of the *Curiales*, and upon ſuggeſtion of *Ruſinus*, they ſeemed fit to be Repealed, and the like for the time to come Reſtrained, as we ſee ſeveral of their Orders and Methods in Procedings were nulled. Whatever the Occaſion was, he thought fit to reſtrain the Violence of the Judges, who often would be double diligent, and buſie in puniſhing ſuch like Offences, thereby to ingratiate themſelves with the Emperor. He doth not ſay that they ſhould be wholy neglected and paſſed by, as ſome have erroniouſly concluded; but the whole matter related to himſelf, who thereupon no doubt would proceed with that great Prudence he hints at, in weighing the Sayings of men by their Perſons, Qualities and Conditions; and according to thoſe three Acts of Clemency, *viz. Contempt*, *Pity* and *Pardon* (or *Indulgence*) which he oppoſeth againſt ſo many Originals or Sources of this Opprobrious Language.

Laws for fill- up Corporations.

19. However the *Curiales* behaved themſelves at this time, it appears that the *Curiæ* in the *Eaſt* were much Exhauſted by ſome means or other; for in the ſpace of one year and an half, beſides the Law lately mentioned, as part of this Conſtitution, were five others directed to this *Ruſinus* for filling them up, by recalling their Members from other Imployments to which they had betaken themſelves. Beſides, in this now named Law, he Commands that ſuch Inhabitants and thoſe “ they termed *Vacantes*, or were not joyned to any other Body, ſhall alſo be “ forced to theſe Services, provided they be fit Perſons, having ſufficient Eſtates, “ which *Valentinian* the Third afterward limited to the Value of there hundred *Solidi* at leaſt, permitting others to be made Clerks. But *Theodoſius* forbids that any “ one be obliged only for this Reaſon, That his Mother was deſcended from a *Curialis*; “ ſo that the Privilege granted formerly by *Julian* to the *Antiochians*, ſeems abrogated by this Law: but the Reaſon he gives for it is this general one, That “ no man can be obliged to any Condition or Service, by relation to that Perſon “ which it ſelf is free or not obnoxious to it, as the Mother was not. But not only were theſe Senates of the City Empty at this time, but the Senators of *Conſtantinople*, many of them, ſo indigent, that the Senate it ſelf taking their Caſe into Conſideration, made a *Senatuſconſultum* thereupon, That ſuch Senators as could “ not pay that which they called *Glebalis Collatio*, ſhould be anſwerable for ſeaven “ *Solidi* yearly for their Portion or Share. If they thought fit to pay it, then they might continue in their Station, or elſe they muſt relinquiſh the Dignity, which

L. 137. de Decurionib. Cod. Th.

L 4. de Senatorib. & de Glebali, &c. Cod. Th. Abeſt. à Cod. Juſt. Dat. ad Aurelianum P. U. prid. Kal. Septemb.

Theodoſius

Sect.5.

A.D. 393.

Theodoſius adds to the *Senatus-Conſultum*, as the Cuſtom was in this Age for Emperors to confirm theſe Decrees of the Senate, to Corroborate them, and to add what Penalty they thought fit. This now was thought reaſonable in the Eaſtern Parts; whereas in the Weſt, the payment of two *Folles* ſeemed enough for the Senators of loweſt Fortunes; but ſo *Theodoſius* intended both to gratifie Senators of loweſt Eſtates, and yet exact what to him ſeemed ſomething agreeable to the Dignity of the Place. But as the Condition of theſe ſeveral Bodies now mentioned ſeem at this time Impaired; ſo that of the *Navicularii* alſo was in no good Eſtate, ſome complaining that they were too poor to undergo the Function, and others pretending, that by reaſon of their Original they were not obliged to the Service. The whole ſtate of the Matter did now *Theodoſius* refer to the moſt approved *Honorati* “ in every Province for Wiſdome and Fidelity. But becauſe they might alſo be “ concerned themſelves; (out of whom the Body of the *Navicularii* by ſome Laws “ were to be ſupplied) therefore in this Matter alſo he requires, that their Judg- “ ment herein be reported to himſelf; the beſt Courſe to keep Judges firm to the “ Rules of Prudence and Moderation. But for the Incouragement of ſuch as “ ſhould be continued in the Service, wherein the Maintenance of the City of “ *Conſtantinople* was ſo much concerned, he declared by another Edict directed, as “ the other to *Rufinus*, that the *Navicularii*, and they only, ſhould be freed from the *Vectigalia*, or Cuſtoms ariſing from Merchandize Imported: And all other Merchants whatſoever, (though ſome, as the *Veterani* and *Clerks*, were otherwiſe, by ſome Laws, excuſed) ſhould be obliged to thoſe Duties, without any Exception.

Another for the *Navicularii*.

L. 22. de Navicularii Cod. Th. Dat. 3. Non. Sept. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

L. 23. ejuſd. tit. Dat. 3. Id. Decemb. abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

A.D. 394. *Arcadio* 3. *Honorio* 2. *A. A. Coſs.*

20. The CCCXCIV. Year of Our Lord had for Conſuls *Arcadius Auguſtus* the third time, and *Honorius Auguſtus* the ſecond. *Rufinus* ſtill continued *Præfectus Prætorio* of the *Eaſt*; and one *Herodes* was Proconſul of *Africk*, being Succeeded the following Year by one *Theodorus*. All this Winter was, as well as the preceding Year, ſpent by *Theodoſius* in Preparation for the War, for which by this time he was fully ready. As a Chriſtian, he made uſe of the Means which True Religion directeth to, for accompliſhment of that End he juſtly deſigned; while his Enemy in the Weſtern Parts applied himſelf to Paganiſh Superſtitions and Vanities, by Perſwaſion of *Flavianus* the Præfect, who being of Ethnick Perſwaſion, promiſed himſelf great Matters for Propagation of that Impiety, which now ſo faſt fell to the ground, before the Power of Truth. *Arbogaſtes* in the mean time having ſecured *Gall*, proſecuted his old Grudges againſt thoſe of his own Nation; particularly *Suno* and *Marcomeres*, Two *Subreguli* of the *Francks*, whom having now the Power of the Weſtern Empire in his Hands, he reſolved to Sacrifice to the Ghoſts of his Anceſtors. For this Purpoſe, in the depth of that Winter which followed the Death of *Valentinian*, he removed to *Agrippina*, or *Coleigne*, with Reſolution to range over the moſt inward Receſſes of the Country then Inhabited by the *Francks*, at ſuch time as the Woods being dry and without Leaves, could not afford lurking Holes or Receptacles for any Ambuſcadoes. He paſſed the *Rhine*, and waſted the *Bructeri*, that lay next the River with a Village called *Aetia*, Inhabited by ſome of the *Chamani*, without any Oppoſition, ſave that ſome few of the *Ampſiuarii* and *Chatti* ſhewed themſelves on the farther Hills, being led by the late mentioned *Marcomeres*. The next Year preceding that whereof now we write; *Eugenius* (or *Arbogaſtes* for him) was mightly inflamed with a Deſire of Yoaking *Italy* in the ſame Bondage with *Gall*, not remembring how *Maximus* his Predeceſſor (as we may terme him) fared in the ſame Attempt: but *Flavianus* his *Præfect*, a Man given up to Pagan Prophecies, puffed him up with hope of Victory. Before he ſhould begin his Journey, he concluded, that the *Germans*, whome he was to leave at his Back, were to be obliged to terms of a Fair Underſtanding, leſt, in his Abſence, they ſhould paſs the *Rhine*, and harraſe *Gall*. He Marched to the River, and on the Bank thereof ſhewed himſelf with great Numbers of Men he had newly raiſed, to the Nations of the *Francks* and *Alamans*; and by the Terror thereof drew them to renew the League. This, ſo well performed, he returned, and with *Arbogaſtes* Invaded *Italy*; which after his Entrance into *Milan*, he eaſily got into his Power.

Arbogaſtes Invades the Territories of the *Francks*.

Sigon. ubi prius.

Eugenius gets *Italy* into his Power.

4. *Theodoſius* having Intelligence hereof reſolved to ſet himſelf, with all Convenience, againſt ſuch Tyranny and Uſurpation; and for this Purpoſe cauſed all the Forces he had raiſed to Muſter at *Conſtantinople*; amongſt which were Multitudes of *Goths*, *Alans* and *Hunns*. For his Chief Officers, he made choice of *Timaſius* to Command the *Romans*, together with *Stilicho*, or *Stelicho*, as *Zoſimus* calls him, who Writes, That he was Married to *Serena*, *Theodoſius* his Brothers Daughter.

Theodoſius prepares to go againſt him.

ter. The *Barbarians* he Committed to the Leading of *Gaines*, *Saules*, and *Bacurius* an *Armenian* Born, one of Honeſt Principles, and well Skill'd in Martial Affairs. Amongſt the Officers of the *Goths*, *Alarich* now Served, that Famous *Alarich* that afterwards took *Rome*, and firſt of others brought the *Barbarians* to Invade *Italy*. Having thus Prepared for his Expedition, *Zoſimus* tells us, That his Wife *Galla* died in Childbed, when he was ready to ſet forward, whom having once bemoaned after *Homers* manner, he departed. But *Arcadius* his Son, whom he had formerly declared Emperor, he left behind him; and becauſe he was but Young, he Committed him to the Charge of *Rufinus*, who was now to Govern all Matters according to his own Will, and Appetite. As to the Time when *Theodoſius* began his March, we find by the Dates of ſeveral Laws, that in the Months of *January*, *February*, and *March*, he was ſtill at *Conſtantinople*, where, while he continued, by his Endeavours for True Religion, and the removing of Grievances from his People, he Exerciſed himſelf as became one who was about ſuch an Undertaking, wherein the Safety of the State, and his own Perſon and Family was concerned. But certain Cuſtoms there were of theſe Times, to which he could not but ſubmit; ſome things which could not ſo well be amended. The Empire was ſo great, the Provinces ſo many, and ſo Manifold the Buſineſſes ariſing out of them, that beſides the ordinary and ſet Ways and Courſes of Adminiſtring Juſtice by his Officers, there was a Neceſſity of his being inſtructed and moved by thoſe about him in Particular Concernments of Private Perſons and Bodies Politick. Thoſe that thus Sollicited and Moved, were termed in this Age *Suffragatores*, and their Sollicitation or Moving *Suffragium*, for which they were wont to receive Rewards, and that by Agreement from their Clients. Hereupon much Oppreſſion and Conteſts often happened, while ſometimes thoſe that had obtained their Deſires, and done their Buſineſs, were ingrateful to them that had imployed their Time and Labour therein, and often, they that Sollicited in their behalf, threatned, troubled, and exacted more, than was juſt and reaſonable, from the Suitors.

L. 2. Si certum petatur de Suffragiis. Cod. Th. lib. 2. tit. 29. Dat. 4. Non. Martii. Conſtp. & L. un. Cod. Juſt. tit. de Suffragiis.

22. To prevent theſe Diſorders, he publiſhed now an Edict, Inſcribed to *Rufinus*, before his departing from *Conſtantinople*; wherein he Ordains, in Caſe ſuch a “ Promiſe have been made, of what force it ſhall be, and what Action it ſhall produce. “ In the firſt place he declares, That ſuch Agreements ſhall be performed, and “ he grants Cauſe of Action againſt thoſe that had ſo ingaged themſelves, otherwiſe “ than what *Julian* formerly Ordained concerning ſuch as procured Perſons to ſollicite “ for Honours to be conferred on them, and promiſed Rewards for obtaining “ the thing deſired, that if thoſe that Sollicited had already got into their Hands “ the Fee or Reward they might keep it; but otherwiſe no Liberty to Sue would “ he grant. But this Indulgence he would have only extended to ſuch as had obtained “ what they went about. And in Caſe the Party had agreed to give any thing “ Moveable, as Money, an Horſe, or other Things, the Delivery of the Thing “ ſhould ſuffice to alter the Propriety in it, without the Intervention of any Writing, “ or any Publick Record to be made thereupon. But in Caſe any Thing Immoveable, “ as Land lying in City or Country; then for changing the Propriety, he “ requires Three Things: Firſt, That it be done by Writing, as is requiſite in other “ Matters of Conſequence; then that there be a real Delivery of Poſſeſſion; And “ in the laſt Place, That the Matter be Regiſtred or Atteſted by Publick Acts: otherwiſe “ if any of theſe Solemnities be wanting, there ſhall be no transferring of “ the Dominion, or, as we ſay, the Propriety in the Thing; as in other Caſes, “ all are null and void, which are not tranſacted in the Eſſential Forme preſcribed by “ the Laws. And good Reaſon there was, that Lands and Inheritances ſhould not be transferred without theſe Conditions, leſt Perſons diſtreſſed, when they had Buſineſs at Court, ſhould, by the greedy Courtiers, be drawn in, and cheated of their Eſtates, who would often, out of Covetouſneſs, promiſe to do what they could not, or ought not to attempt, or would not be worth what they ſo greedily deſired in way of Recompence for the Undertaking. On the other ſide, a Concurrence of all theſe Circumſtances would ſhew, that the Agreement was tranſacted *bona fide*, without any Cheat, or Circumvention. In the laſt Place, the Emperour declares, That in Caſe the Party had by a Writing called in thoſe Days *Commonitorium*, “ (wherein he expreſſed his Deſire to have the Thing done, and promiſed to give “ ſo much in Reward) obliged himſelf to ſuch and ſuch Terms; if hereupon only, “ and without the other neceſſary Solemnities, the *Suffragator* Seized upon any “ Lands or Immoveables, he ſhould be Outed again of ſuch Poſſeſſion, as guilty of “ Raſhneſs and Violence, and the Thing be reſtored to its former Owner, the Inva- “

der being excluded from any Claim or Suit for that Thing for which he ought, " without being his own Judge, in a fair way to have proceeded.

He Marches.

L. 18. de cohort. lib. Cod. Th. Dat. 3. Kal. Jun. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

L. 23. de Hereticis Cod. Th.

23. Now to attend *Theodoſius* on his Journey Weſtward, on the Thirteenth of *May*, we find him at *Heraclea*, by the Date of a certain Law, whereby he forbids, " That any Officials belonging to any *Conſularis* (as of *Paleſtine* or *Phenice*) ta- " ken from out of the Office of the *Comes* (of the *Eaſt*) or out of that of *Rufinus*, " to whom he gives the Title of *Culmen veſtrum*, be ſuffered to fly, and betake " themſelves to the Army. From *Heraclea* he removed to *Hadrianople*, where he " lay on the Seventeenth of *June*, as appears by auother Edict of Religious Concernment, not in this Place to be medled with. Henceforth we cannot trace him by any Dates of Laws, there being none Extant that after this time can be attributed unto him. But from *Thrace* he moved into *Pannonia*, while, in the mean time, *Eugenius*, incouraged by the South-ſayings of *Flavianus*, who promiſed him Victory, which ſhould be accompanied with the Ruine of Chriſtian Religion, being aware of his coming, got together a vaſt Body of Men. Reſolving to expect him rather at the Threſhold, than within the Bowels of *Italy*, he quitted *Milan*, together with *Arbogaſtes* and *Flavianus*, affirming by Oath, That when he came back, he would make a Stable of the great Church, and cauſe the Clerks thereof to take Arms. Proceeding as far as *Aquileia*, he came and Incamped himſelf by a River called *Frigidus*, diſtant ſome Thirty Miles from that City, and as *Sozomen* writes, he ſeized and ſecured the *Julian Alps*, being the Gates of *Italy*, as affording but one Paſſage, Fortified on both ſides by vaſt Rocks and Mountains. *Theodoſius* from *Pannonia* Marched directly to theſe Straits, and driving out the Guards ſet to defend them, quite contrary to the Expectation of the Enemy, brake through, *Flavianus* here dying, when he might have eſcaped, as by miſtake ſome write. Having without much trouble paſſed the Mountain, on the Seventh of *September*, he deſcended into the Plain, and offered Battel, which was as readily accepted, the Soldiers on both ſides being inflamed with a Deſire of Fighting. *Theodoſius* Erected the Standard of our *Saviour*, and *Eugenius* that of *Hercules*. The Emperor diſpoſed his Army into two Battalions, in the one of which ſtood the *Romans*, and in the other, ſuch *Barbarians* as had come over to his Service. The *Romans* againſt *Romans* fought Manfully, and the Succeſs was doubtful; but the *Barbarians* on the Emperors ſide were worſted, and forced to retire with great Slaughter; and beſides, aloof on a Hill, he diſcovered a Body of Men, which he apprehended might fall down upon his Back.

Lib. 7. c. c. 22, & 24.

He Breaks into *Italy*.

24. Being in ſuch Straights as he knew not how to extricate himſelf, he fell down on his Knees at the Head of the Army, and humbly Implored the Aſſiſtance of his Maker, ſaying, *Help me O Lord I beſeech thee, leſt the Pagans ſay, where is now the God of* Theodoſius. And his Prayer had a ſpeedy Return. For preſently the Officers of that Party, which he ſaw upon the Mountain, ſent to him, and offered to come in upon Honourable Terms of being preferred by him, which he readily granted, and having neither Ink nor Paper at Hand, he took a Writing Table from ſome there preſent, and therein promiſed, that they ſhould have the Command of thoſe Forces they ſhould bring over to him. Hereupon out of Hand they joyned with him; but ſtill the Event ſeemed very dubious, till *Bacurius*, who commanded the *Barbarians* that were diſadvantagiouſly ingaged, ſtirred up his own Spirits, and the Courage of his Followers to ſuch a Degree, that falling on with greater Violence, and renewing the Fight, they either killed, or forced to run, thoſe with whom they were ingaged. In other Places however, the Enemy ſtood his Ground, and *Eugenius*, for whom they fought, riding up and down, exhorted them to Conſtancy as ſecure of the Day, telling them he was well aſſured, that *Theodoſius*, out of deſperation, would ſpeedily lay violent hands upon himſelf; but he deſired they would not let him ſo eſcape, but bring him alive into his Preſence. Now aroſe a moſt violent Tempeſt, ſuch as no Man alive could remember, which drove with that violence upon the Army of the Uſurper, that they could not keep themſelves in order. It's reported, That the Arrows they let fly againſt *Theodoſius* his Men, were retorted back upon thoſe that ſhot them; that their Targets were forced out of their Hands, and driven againſt their own Faces, and their Eyes ſo diſturbed with Wind and Duſt, that their Sight was thereby taken from them. On the other hand, ſuch Darts or Arrows as *Theodoſius* his Soldiers Shot, did double Execution, whereby Animated to ſo high a Meaſure as the Matter ſuggeſted, with all Alacrity they improved the Advantage, and ſo far prevailed upon the Diſcouraged Enemy, as quickly to put them to the Rout. *Sozomen*, *Oroſius*, and others, relate

Defeats him in Battel.

P. 778.

late the Matter after this Manner; though a Story different in Circumſtances be told by *Zoſimus*, and ſuch as follow him. *Zoſimus* tells us, That *Theodoſius* paſſing the *Alps* in ſo unexpected a manner, terrified *Eugenius* with the ſuddenneſs of his coming. That the Emperor thought fit firſt to try what the *Barbarians* could do, and ſent *Gaines* to Ingage, who was followed by all, both Horſe and Foot, that conſiſted of the Northern Nations. Againſt them *Eugenius* led forth his Men, and the whole Armies Ingaged, when in the time of the Fight, ſo great an Eclypſe of the Sun happened, that the greateſt part of the time it ſeemed to be Night rather than Day. And the Battel being fought as it were in the Night Seaſon, ſo vaſt a Slaughter was made, that the greateſt Part of *Theodoſius* his Confederates miſcarried, together with *Bacurius* their Captain, who moſt valiantly expoſed himſelf to all Dangers before his Men.

25. The real Night coming on, both Parties retreated to their Camps, and *Eugenius* puffed up with Victory, diſtributed Rewards to ſuch as had beſt deſerved; and permitted them to take their Supper, as not thinking of any more Fighting after ſuch a Defeat. *Theodorite* relates how *Theodoſius* was now adviſed by his Captains to put off the Matter till the following Spring, and then to come with greater Forces, to be able to grapple with the Uſurper in Numbers. However, *Zoſimus* farther Writes, That when *Eugenius* his Men were taking their Repaſte, *Theodoſius* perceiving the Day to be Dawning, with all the Remainders of his Forces fell upon them, while they yet lay upon the Ground, and Killed them, when they dreamt not at all of any ſuch Thing. That going on to the Tent of *Eugenius*, he fell upon his Guard, and Killed alſo moſt of them, but ſome fled for it, and were taken, with whom was found *Eugenius* himſelf. He being taken, his Head was Cut from his Shoulders, and being ſet upon a long Pole, was carried round about the Camp, to let thoſe of his Party, who ſtill ſtood refractory, know, that ſeeing they would be Eſteemed *Romans*, they ought to return to Obedience to their Emperor, eſpecially the Tyrant being now Extinct. And in a manner, all thoſe who ſurvived the Battel, came ſpeedily in to him, Saluted him with the Title of *Auguſtus*, and begged Pardon for what they had done; *which*, ſaith the Writer, *he readily granted.* As for *Arbogaſtes*, he deſiring not at all to try the good Nature, or Clemency of the Conqueror, fled away into the higheſt and moſt Impaſſable Mountains, where perceiving that all Places were ſearched by thoſe that were ſent to find him out, he killed himſelf, thinking it better to die a voluntary Death, than to be taken by the Enemy. Thus much writeth *Zoſimus* concerning this Victory of *Theodoſius*. Others, as to the End of *Eugenius*, ſay, That certain of his Troops being convinced of their folly to fight againſt Providence, as diſpairing now of the Victory, followed their Captain *Arbitio* to the Emperor, and begged Pardon, who were thereupon preſently received, and ordered to fetch *Eugenius* to his Preſence. He ſeeing them come in great haſt, and concluding it was with News of the Victory, inſtantly demanded if they had brought *Theodoſius* along with them; to which they anſwered, That they came not to bring him, but to carry himſelf to the Emperor; and therewith pulling him from his Chair, tied his Hands behind him, and in that Poſture carried him along with them. *Theodoſius*, when he ſaw him, recounted to him what Villanous Acts he had committed againſt *Valentinian*, and jeering him for his Religion, and putting his Confidence in *Hercules*, he Pronounced that Sentence againſt him which he had deſerved, and his Head accordingly being cut off, and ſet on a Pole, at the ſight of it, his Followers ſubmitted themſelves.

And puts him to Death.

26. Whether but one, or two days the Fight continued, is not ſo material; but ſo writes *Oroſius* and others, who, by their Nearneſs to this very Time, might have as much reaſon to know as *Zoſimus* or *Theodorite*. This is not ſo Conſiderable a Circumſtance, as that which ſeveral relate concerning the Tempeſt, and the Dreadful Effects it had upon *Eugenius* his Army. And although they be Chriſtian Writers, which relate the manner of this Tempeſt, and the Conſequents thereof, yet are there ſufficient hints, and that from Pagan Authors concerning the Truth of the ſame. *Zoſimus*, as it appears by his own Story, was not utterly ignorant of what paſſed; but to avoid all Pretence of an extraordinary Cauſe, he tells a Tale of an Eclypſe of the Sun, which then ſhould happen at the very time of the Fight; whereas the Sun was Eclypſed at that Time we lately mentioned, and the Aſtronomical Tables are utterly ſilent as to any Defect of this Luminary, near that of this Ingagement. But he took Things upon Truſt, and very ſlight Informations, not caring what he wrote, ſo he could but drive on his great Deſign of raiſing prejudice in his Readers againſt Chriſtian Princes, and Chriſtianity it ſelf. He tells us, That *Bacurius* was

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by Birth an *Armenian*; whereas *Rufinus* Writes, That he was an *Iberian*, a King of the *Iberians*, and that he was *Comes Domeſticorum* to *Theodoſius*; that he was a very good Religious Man, being familiarly himſelf acquainted with him at *Hieruſalem*, when he lay there as *Dux* of that Limit; and from him he acknowledges to have received that Relation which he makes concerning the Converſion of the *Iberians* to the Chriſtian Faith in the Days of *Conſtantine*. As full of Truth is that which he writes concerning *Theodoſius* his taking *Honorius* his Son along with him in his Expedition againſt *Eugenius*; whereas *Claudian* the Poet, beſides others, expreſly writes of his ſending for him after the finiſhing of the War, and Poetically mentions the ſeveral Places, through which he paſſed into *Italy*. And as for the Tempeſt we now ſpake of, this ſame *Claudian*, though as earneſt a Pagan as *Zoſimus* himſelf; yet having told how *Theodoſius* eaſily paſſed the Straits, adds, That a vehement Wind from the Mountains overthrew the Enemies Forces, and drove back their Arrows and Pikes againſt themſelves: In Concluſion, That the Air and Winds and all fought for *Honorius*, to whoſe good Fortune it is that he aſcribes the Victory.

Vide Baron. ad An. 194. n. 2.

De 3. Conſulatu Honorii.
Te propter gelidis Aquilo de monte procellis.
Obruit adverſas acies, revolutaq; tela
Vertit in auctores, Et turbine repulit haſtas.
O nimium dilecte Deo cui fundit ab antris
Æolus armatas hyemes; cui militat æther,
Et Conjurati veniunt ad claſſica venti.

27. But as to the manner how *Theodoſius* uſed the Victory he had ſo wonderfully obtained, *Zoſimus* tells you, That when the Army of *Eugenius* ſubmitted, and asked Pardon, he eaſily * granted it. And well may we believe him from that Account we have from others concerning his incomparable Clemency ſhewed toward his Enemies. Some that were yet no Chriſtians, but Conſcious of their own Guilt, had fled to a Church, and there taken Sanctuary; upon this occaſion he cauſed them to be made ſuch, and Imbracing them with Chriſtian Love, he took nothing from them, but on the contrary conferred Honours on them. He ſuffered none to exerciſe private Revenge upon thoſe that were Conquered. He managed not his Civil Wars, as did *Cinna*, *Marius*, *Sylla*, and ſuch like, who would not ſuffer them to ceaſe when ended; but he rather ſorrowed that there was occaſion for them, than ſuffered any to be injured by them after they were brought to a Period. After the Victory he removed to *Milan*, not to *Rome*, as *Zoſimus* again miſtakes; and thither he ſent for his Son *Honorius*, from *Conſtantinople*, finding himſelf now, it ſeems, indiſpoſed, and falling into a Dropſie, which accelerated his Death, and accompliſhed it within a few Months. In the mean time we hear little of *Arcadius*, and his Governor *Rufinus*, their Tranſactions at *Conſtantinople*, only two or three Laws we find made by him in the Abſence of his Father. The firſt of them (for his it muſt be, if the Place be not miſtaken in the Date) is concerning publick Buildings, as to which the Governors of Provinces were at this time to be reprehended. Some of them were grown ſo Audacious, as when a New Work was made and finiſhed at the Publick Charge, yet they would cauſe their own Names to be put upon it in room of the Emperors, as Founders and Authors of the Building; whereas they were only allowed to do it as Curators, as having the Charge and Overſight of the Work. But though the Emperors generally (*Trajan* excepted, who was called *Herba Parietaria*, *Parietina*, or *Pellitory*, as *Ammianus* hath it) were Modeſt and Cautious this way, ſo as not to inſcribe their Names upon Buildings, though repaired in their own Time, but to renew the Name of the Founder; nay, though they permitted the Governors to ſet theirs upon Walls, in that manner, and with the Reſtrictions lately mentioned; yet would not they contain themſelves within the Bounds preſcribed by Reaſon and Modeſty. To give a Check therefore to this Idle and Ambitious Courſe, *Arcadius* “ declares ſuch Judges guilty of Treaſon, as Uſurping thoſe Privileges which belong “ to the Prince alone; private Perſons excepted, who if they built any Work at “ their own proper Coſt and Charge, were (and that with Reaſon) permitted by them to tranſmit their Names to Poſterity. But further, whereas theſe Governors, out of the ſame Principle of Ambition, would now ordinarily neglect the Repairing of Old Buildings, and Erect New Structures; this Law impoſes the ſame Pe- “ nalties upon them as formerly had been done, as that they ſhould refund ſuch pub- “ lick Monies as they had beſtowed upon theſe Works; moreover, finiſh theſe Buil- “ dings at their own Coſts and Charges; and over and above, that they ſhould not be “ ſuffered to depart out of their Provinces till both were accompliſhed. In like manner we have ſeen, that ſuch *Duces* as, during their Government, had neglected to build Towers or Caſtles upon the Borders, were forced to continue there till they had done it. And that Governors of Provinces were conſtrained to abide a certain time in their Juriſdictions, to ſee what Complaints would, by the Provincials, be brought againſt them.

He uſeth the Victory with great Moderation.

* *κ̀ ὁ Βασιλεὺς ῥᾷον ἐπένευεν.*

Vide Aug. de Civitate Dei lib. 5. c. ult.

L. 31. de Operibus publicis. Cod. Th. Dat. 3. Non. Jul. Conſtp.

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A.D. 395. Olybrio & Probino Coſſ.

Theodoſius dies.

28. The CCCXCV. Year of Our Lord had for Conſuls *Sex. Anicius Olybrius Hermogenes*, and *Sex. Anicius Probinus*. *Rufinus* ſtill continued *Præfectus Prætorio* of the *Eaſt*, *Dexter* bore this Office in *Italy*, and *Theodorus* over *Gall*. *Theodoſius* now was thinking of his Journey Eaſtward, purpoſing to return ſpeedily to *Conſtantinople*, but was arreſted by Death before he could accompliſh ſuch Preparations. And upon the Departure of ſo great a Soul, ſeveral Accidents happened, which were reputed as Preſaging ſuch a loſs. For betwixt the Victory, and his Death, from the Month of *September*, ſome Countries were ſhaken with Earthquakes; exceſſive Rains fell, and ſo great Darkneſs happened, as ordinarily had not been obſerved. But let us hear what *Zoſimus* tells of him at parting, after the Battel fought with *Eugenius*. “Things, ſaith he, having thus ſucceeded, *Theodoſius*, being now at *Rome*, Declareth *Honorius* his Son Emperor; *Stilicho* being made Commander of the Legions in theſe Parts, and withall aſſigned Tutor to this his Son. Now did he call the Senate to him, which was fixt and conſtant to the Religion and Rites of their Fore-fathers, neither could hitherto be prevailed with to conſent to ſuch things as had been done in Contempt of the Gods. He made a Speech to them, wherein he adviſed them to Correct their former Error, (for ſo he termed it) and to imbrace the Faith of the Chriſtians, which promiſed to its Followers Freeneſs or Indempnity from all Sin and Impiety. But none of them being willing to admit of what he propounded, nor to depart from the Rites of their Anceſtors, which had been derived down to them from the firſt Original of the City; and before them to prefer ſuch an Aſſent as was void of Reaſon, (for they alleged, that for almoſt One Thouſand and Two Hundred Years, in the Obſervation of thoſe Rites, they had Inhabited an Invincible City; and if they ſhould change them for others, they were ignorant what might happen) he then ſaid, that his Exchequer was burthened with the Expence that was made upon Sacrifices and Offerings; and therefore he would aboliſh ſuch Matters, foraſmuch as he neither could approve of ſuch Things, and knew for certain, that the Neceſſities of the Armies required a far greater Expence. The Senate anſwered, That Sacrifices could not rightly be made, but at the publick Expence; yet notwithſtanding the Law for ſuch things was aboliſhed, and other were things ſuffered to lie neglected, even whatſoever had been tranſmitted from their Anceſtors; and thereupon the *Roman* Empire, by little and little was diminiſhed, and became the Home, or Abiding Place of *Barbarians*; or rather having loſt all its own Inhabitants, was now (in his time) reduced to that Condition, that not ſo much as the Places where Cities once ſtood could be diſcerned. That ſo Matters ſtand, the following Narration in Particulars ſhall demonſtrate. But the Emperor *Theodoſius* having delivered *Italy*, *Spain*, *Gall*, and beſides, all *Africke*, to his Son *Honorius*, died in his way to *Conſtantinople*; and his Body, being duly Prepared, was Buried with his Predeceſſors, in the Burying-Place of the Emperors, at *Conſtantinople*.

The time of his Death.

Unde Chron. Theodoſ.

The Dirt caſt upon him by *Zoſimus*.

29. As he began, ſo he ended, in the Opinion of *Zoſimus*, an Enemy to the Gods, and the Religion of his Fore-fathers; and how can any imagine, but ſuch an Irreligious Perſon ſhould alſo be Luxurious, Effeminate, Sluggiſh, and what not? to make him up a Compleat Monſter? But before we take a view of his Features in this kind, we muſt firſt declare, that he died at *Milan*, after his Son *Honorius* his Arrival from *Conſtantinople*, on the ſixteenth day of *January*, when he had Reigned ſixteen Years wanting a day or two, in the fiftieth Year of his Age, as ſome have reckoned, in the ſixtieth, as others, and as ſome, moſt improbably, in the ſixty fifth. With what Character *Zoſimus* hath ſet him forth, we have already ſufficiently ſeen, *viz.* as one given up to all Vices of Luxury, to his Belly, and his Eaſe. Theſe Vices of his Temper cauſed other diſorders in the State. For thence came it to paſs, that to pleaſe his Appetite, he maintained a great Number of Cooks, Butlers, and ſuch like, about him. This vaſt Expence, and his Profuſeneſs to unworthy Perſons, emptied his Coffers ſo much, that to fill them again he took up baſe and unworthy Courſes; one in particular, than which nothing could be more diſadvantagious to to the Empire; which was ſelling Places of Magiſtracy, and Governments of Provinces, to ſuch as would give moſt for them; So that one might ſee in the *Forum* thoſe who had followed baſe Trades and Profeſſions to wear the Enſigns of Authority, and deliver up the Provinces to ſuch at would give the beſt Peny worth. In Concluſion, as hereby he ruined the Civil Government, ſo did he the Military, in making ſo many *Magiſtri Militum*, and other great Officers; for finding of Pay and Proviſions for whom, the People were alſo miſerably harraſed. This is the ſum

of that Infamy wherewith *Zoſimus* deſigned the memory of *Theodoſius* to be loaded.

Wiped off by the fairer Teſtimonies of other Pagans.

As *Pacatus*.

Who inſiſts on his Gifts of Fortune.

30. In a ſcrutiny into which we ſhall proceed in no other terms, than we did in the matter relating to *Conſtantine*, and ſearch for naked truth without any partiality; for the finding out of which, nothing can be more convenient, than to hear the Teſtimonies of other Perſons, who had as much reaſon to be prejudiced againſt him, upon the Account of Religion, as *Zoſimus* had. We ſhall not repeat thoſe great things that are ſaid of him by *Pacatus* the *Panegyriſt*, of which we have already given an Account upon his Conqueſt of *Maximus*, but take notice that before he comes to the Defeat of that Tyrant (which was the occaſion of his Speech,) he premiſeth other things in his Commendation. He begins with his Country, which was *Spain*, and commending it for its Fertility in Fruits, eſpecially in producing ſo great Perſons, as were *Trajan* and *Hadrian*, he magnifies it moſt in beſtowing him upon the *Roman* Empire. From his Country he comes to his Family, and affirms that, if others had Sirnames given them from the Nations which they had Conquered, his Father *Theodoſius* might well be rendred Famous to Poſterity by thoſe of *Saxonicus*, *Sarmaticus* and *Alamanicus*, having beaten theſe ſeveral People, as well as forced back the *Scots* into their own Fenns. Herein he aſſerts the Nobility of the Perſon to whom he ſpeaks, that He was the Son of him who ought to have been Emperor, who would not have leſſened but ſuited the Grandeur of the *Roman* Dominion, not only by his Valour and Conduct, but alſo by the Statelineſs and Dignity of his Perſon. And he no leſs commends him the Son, for the greatneſs of his Preſence and Perſonage, as being anſwerable to his Fortune; inſomuch that he affirms it a Queſtion made by them who ſaw him, whether they were more won upon by the Vertue and Goodneſs of his Mind, or the charmings of his Countenance. He tells them that he knows how, not long ſince, he had rejected ſuch Commendations as this: But he intreats him to permit that this may make up but a *part* of his, which was wont to conſtitute the *whole* of that praiſe which was given to others. It's true, his Virtue deſerved an Empire; but withall, his Beauty and Comlineſs, added her ſuffrage alſo with that of Virtue. Virtue made it behoveful that He ſhould Reign, but his ſhape and Stature rendred it decent that he ſhould ſo do. And indeed, in declaring him Emperor, ſo far was any thing from being omitted which ſhould be conſidered of; that a reſpect to his years was alſo had, a thing of ſuch Importance with their Anceſtors, that in beſtowing not only the greateſt places of Magiſtracy, but alſo thoſe of *Pretor* and *Ædilis*, a Perſons age was inquired into; neither was any man (ordinarily) preferred for his Nobility, for Favour or Reward, to ſuch Offices, before the terms preſcribed by the Comitial Law. And with good reaſon. For ſuch as will by Virtue be Adopted in the ſlippery time of Youth, do ſtumble to prevent falling. He inſtanceth in *Sulla*, *Catulus* and *Scipio*, who by Luxury made Shipwrack of Virtue, and being toſſed by the Tempeſt of Vice, were through mature Age ſcarcely reſcued from the Peril of Drowning.

And in theſe Indowments of his mind.

What he did together with his Father.

31. But theſe things were but the gifts of Fortune; he tells him he will now deſcend to ſuch as *he ought to himſelf*. For, that glory which he had formerly obtained by Martial Acts, performed with ſo much toil were not to be aſcribed unto her who was worthy of reprehenſion in this reſpect, that whom ſhe had deſtinated to a Scepter and a Throne, ſhe never uſed with any manner of Indulgence. But as ſevere Fathers are ſharper with thoſe Sons they moſt love, ſo ſhe trained him up in many Wars, and difficult times that ſhe might fit him by ſuch preparations for the Empire. Before he would come to ſpeak of what he had done in mature Age he ſaith he would touch at what he performed joyntly with his Father, *viz.* that with him he paſſed over Winters under Skins, or Tents, ſwet out Summers in the toils of War; either by Watching or Fighting ſpent both Nights and Days, and fought battels of great Conſequence both by Sea and Land. Then when by reaſon of a potent Adverſary he returned to a private life in *Spain*, he enumerates in how many ſeveral ſorts of labours he buſied himſelf, for the Relief of his Friends and Neighbours, and his own Exerciſe, with as great Commendations, as the *Curii*, *Coruncani* and *Fabricii*, betook themſelves to their Manual works when diſingaged from Affairs of the State; and in this reſpect with greater praiſe; for they did it out of Want and Poverty; which preſſure lay not at all upon him. For, *Poverty diminiſheth the Honour due to Patience in labour; and that Labour is of greateſt Example which is performed without Neceſſity.* As the Heavens are in perpetual motion, and all things are preſerved and

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And while a private man.

perfected by a conſtant Revolution, ſo had he been exerciſed without intermiſſion in one kind of Employment or other, from *Spain* to *Sarmatia*, from *Iberus* to *Iſter*. And when he had arrived at thoſe years and ſuch a ſtanding in the Military Profeſſion, as might have excuſed him from taking ſuch pains; yet did he not when he might only have commanded, divide his time betwixt Buſineſs and Idleneſs; and ſlacken his Induſtry as one who would live upon that Honour and Repute he had already got. But he would either in the firſt place, or to be ſure with the firſt, diſcharge all Duties belonging to a Souldier; ſtand Sentinel, Scout and Watch when occaſion ſerved; and as his lot fell, toil at the Fortifications; anticipate the Enemy in the choice of Ground; order the Camp, firſt begin the Fight and come laſt from it: in concluſion, in Council and Advice demean himſelf as a Captain, and by Example as a Souldier; ſo that even then at that time it might have been underſtood, that others fought for the Emperor but he for himſelf. Yet this was moſt to be admired, that whereas he ſo demeaned himſelf in every thing, that it was behooful he ſhould Reign, yet with deſign that he might Reign he never did any thing at all.

His modeſty in refuſing the Empire.

32. As evidence for this he alleageth and inſtanceth in that Day that was Eminent for the Publick Good it brought along with it, wherein when he was called to undertake the Government, he endeavoured to ſhun that Empire which was offered him: neither did he this only in ſhow, that he might ſeem to be forced unto it, but earneſtly and long; and as one that had hope to prevail. Neither was there any cauſe of Diſſimulation. For the Emperor, he tells him, did not ſet upon him at home, and when none were preſent as to try him, but publickly and in the Court or *Comitium*, when he could do nothing elſe; ſo that except he had indeed and in reality been unwilling to accept, he might have done it Securely and with Reputation enough. Here the *Panegyriſt* perſonates the Commonwealth, which, now fruſtrated of that hope ſhe had conceived of him, by his backwardneſs to the Promotion, he introduceth thus ſpeaking to him: *Thinkeſt thou, O Theodoſius, that the Fates have been ſo little tardy themſelves, that thou alſo indeavoureſt to increaſe their Delays? Art thou ignorant that thereby thine own Concernments are impaired? Knoweſt thou not that thou thy ſelf art involved in my Decays? Whatſoever the* Goth *doth waſte, whatſoever the* Hunn *doth ravenouſly ſnatch, whatſoever the* Alan *takes away, that in time to come will be miſſed by* Arcadius. *I unfortunately have loſt* Pannonia, *I now mourn for the Deſtruction of* Illyricum, *and daily behold the Ruine of* Gall. *The Elder of the Emperors is not ſufficient of himſelf to undertake and manage ſo great Wars: the Younger, though he is like to prove moſt Valiant, yet at preſent is in his Minority. Doſt thou ſtick at erecting and ſupporting me thus faln, which, that thou maieſt not defer thine aſſiſtance, cannot but be late enough performed. Doſt thou thus requite me, me who deſired thee for my Prince, when in a happy Condition? When peaceable* Nerva, Titus *the Love and Delight of Mankind, and* Antoninus, *memorable for his Piety, were poſſeſſed of me; when* Auguſtus *adorned me with Walls,* Hadrian *inſtructed me by his Laws, and* Trajan *added to my Bounds and Limits, I did not think my ſelf happy, becauſe, as yet I was not thine. What wouldſt thou do to me if thou waſt in thine own Power? Behold, he who is my Lord intreats thee; behold, he who is yet thy Lord and Maſter beſeecheth thee, and he who may compel, yet chuſeth rather to requeſt. It is now as unlawful for thee to refuſe that Sovereignty which is conferred upon thee by an Emperor, as it would have been wicked to have accepted it without him.*

33. Thou only, O Prince, thou only, (thus he proceedeth) of all that have hitherto Reigned, haſt made thy ſelf a Prince indeed. Some the purchaſed ſuffrages of the Legions, others the vacancy of the Court, and others Royal Affinity have impoſed upon the Commonwealth: thee neither Ambitions ſeeking, nor Occaſion, nor Kindred have created; for thou waſt a ſtranger to the Emperors Family, and waſt made the third in order, and being averſe waſt compelled to it, I ſay averſe. Hear you this you publick Parricides, who forgetting your Faith and Allegiance, have taken the Scepters of your Maſters, and by no leſs danger than wickedneſs, ſetting your Lives at Stake for the Empire, have purchaſed a Royal Name with the price of Blood. Here the Sovereignty it ſelf hath ſuffered a repulſe, and one hath appeared candidate that he might not be elected. Will future Ages believe this, and give us glorious credit in this matter, that in ours ſuch a thing hath been done, which in no times before or after hath been attempted, nor is like to find any Example? But he who ſhall underſtand the courſe

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and manner of thy Life will eaſily give his aſſent, neither will doubt the Empire to have been refuſed by one that hath Reigned in ſuch a manner. *For, they, even they, may well deſire, and that greedily, to Reign, who are delighted with a manner of life that's looſed from the reſtraint of Laws; whoſe cruelty in killing the Innocent, Covetouſneſs in taking the Eſtates of private men, and a Luſt to conſaminate all honeſt things, required ſome Law and impunity to ſupport them.* What did it concern you to be Prince, who though Emperor was to be a private Perſon? except perhaps at this day you are more remiſs in your love and reſpect to Modeſty, leſs fearful to ſhed mans Blood, or have a greater Appetite after thoſe things that belong to others. You are the ſame you were, and ſo much you can now do, as formerly by the Laws you might have done. You meaſure Sovereign Power by being in a condition to do good, not by ſecurity in ſinning. One thing your Advancement hath done for you, that now we are ſatisfied, that even under other Emperors you lived by the preſcripts of your own Laws. For *He who doth nothing licentiouſly, when he can with impunity, never had a deſire to do it.*

His good Example when he had accepted it.

In temperance and abſtemiouſneſs.

34. As ſoon as you had undertaken the Government, not content to be in your own Perſon, beyond (or free from) Vice, you ſet your ſelf to rectifie and amend the vitious practiſes of others; and that by methods of moderation, that you might ſeem rather to perſwade than compel them to honeſt courſes. And becauſe either by reaſon of a long cuſtom in the *Eaſt*, or the remiſſneſs of former Princes, ſo great Luxury had infected many perſons, that the Habitual wont of Wantonneſs, now grown ſtrong, appeared as not eaſie to be amended by other Applications; that no man might think himſelf injured, *You would begin your Cenſure upon your ſelf, and by retrenching the Expenſes of the Palace, not only by rejecting what was ſuperfluous, but ſcarcely admitting of a neceſſary Allowance, that which is moſt difficult in nature you performed, making good men ſuch as were willing now to be reduced. Would any be grieved to admit of ſuch reſtraint as he ſees his Prince impoſe upon himſelf; or think much to abate of his private Luxury when he beholds the Emperor, who hath all in his Power, the Lord both of Countries and Men, living ſparingly and contentedly, ſatisfying his hunger and long faſting with mean and Souldierly fare? Beſides, when he ſees a Court, in every part of it with more hardſhip to be indured than the* Gymnaſia *(or places of Exerciſe) of the* Spartans; *abounding with examples of Pains-taking, Patience and Frugality? When none therein is to be found, who ſhall dare to require as additional to this Royal manner of Diet, either the Fiſh of remote Shores, the Fowl of a foreign Air, or the Flowers that are not growing at the ſame time?* Theſe Delicate and Effeminate Princes, to which the Commonwealth was often forced to ſubmit, never thought themſelves ſplendidly ſerved, except in Luxury they turned over the whole year; except Roſes ſwam in their Cups in Winter, except in Summer they corrected their Wine of *Falernum*, which they drank in capacious Gemms, with cold Ice. Our world was too ſtrait for the Throats of theſe men. For not meaſuring the goodneſs of the Diſhes ſet before them by their Taſte, but Expence; they were only ſatisfied with ſuch Meats as were furniſhed either out of the utmoſt parts of the *Eaſt*; out of *Colchos* lying beyond the *Roman* Pale, or ſuch Seas as are Famous for Navigation, which the Perils of men ſnatched as it were from unwilling Nature, which parted not with them without Reluctancy. To ſay nothing of thoſe Fowlers, who by an infamous ſort of choice were inrolled in the Provinces; and thoſe Cohorts, which under the Banners of Hunters ſerved at Banquets; have we not heard of a Prince, that had not only his Dinners, but his Diſhes of the value of an whole Patrimony of a man of Equeſtrian Degree? *Your Meals, O Emperor, being more ſpare than thoſe of Ordinary Tables, are only furniſhed with Proviſions of Place and Time. Hence comes it to paſs that all are aſhamed of Luxury, and now a love and regard to Parſimony hath prevailed, and the Threats of Laws having nothing to work upon; every one hath repented in private. For ſo it is; ſo it comes to paſs; an Auſtere Command and Correction exaſperates; but pleaſant and acceptable is that which proceeds from example.*

35. Such Influence had this Conduct of yours upon the Manners and Courſes of Men. But, yet nothing ſo much conduced to the rooting out of Vice and Implanting of Virtue, as this, that you conſtantly addicted your ſelf to the ſociety of thoſe Perſons whoſe practice ought to be imitated univerſally. To ſay nothing of thoſe upon whom you light the very firſt day of your Promotion, Perſons of ſuch Virtue, that they might ſeem not taken out of the Crowd, but deſignedly

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The good Councellors choſe at his firſt coming in.

His unparalleld friendſhip.

ſignedly choſen out of a multitude. Afterwards, how many, and how great, did you make choice of for the Government of Provinces, the chief Commands in the Armys, and for your Inward and Truſty Councellors? You having made two ſeveral Choices, the one out of Judgement, and the other as it Hapned; it's uncertain whether your Wiſdom, or your Fortune procured for you, the better men, having either received or found men of that worth and fitneſs, that the former deſerved to be retained, and the later by all means to be choſen. But whatever Emperor was he that thought a ſtrict obſervation of Friendſhip was reckoned amongſt ſuch things as commend a Prince? This virtue is low and humble, and it's doubtful indeed whether for a virtue it was formerly eſteemed; whether worthy to enter into a Palace, or rather to be a Companion for Dangers. You might ſooner procure money to be paid out of the Treaſury, than any faithfulneſs out of an Emperors heart. The beſt of them all, it's true, would make rich his Attendants, but never love them; he knew well how to do them kindneſſes, but was ignorant as to any Cordial Affection. You have not only recalled Friendſhip, formerly only a Name, and belonging unto private Perſons, into the Court; but being firſt clothed with Purple, and adorned with Gold and Precious Stones have received it into the Throne it ſelf, and in Deeds not Words only, have aſſerted, that *The mind of a Prince by ſo much ought to be the more frank and kind to thoſe about him, by how much his Fortune and Eſtate is more excellent than that of others.* You carry it to them with equal fidelity and command of your ſelf; and give that to your Familiars, which you your ſelf would have deſired when a private man. Yet how could any one have wiſhed for thoſe things which moſt have obtained in your Government? I ſpeak not of thoſe Honours which the Emperor is conſtrained to confer. Is any *Dux* created? The Diſcipline of the Camp requires it. Is any raiſed to the Dignity of *Præfect?* The Province muſt have an Head. Is a *Conſul* deſigned? The year muſt have a Charactariſtical Name. In thoſe chiefeſt and moſt eminent Employments there is ſome Advantage made of theſe deſerving Perſons. You by a new way of Benignity, confer that Honour upon your Friends, which may be wholy their own; and nothing thence redounds to your ſelf, but the pleaſure of beſtowing it; who having at Home Sons of your own, (theſe two Hopes and Eyes of the Commonwealth) yet deferred to nominate them, and adorned firſt your Friends with the Conſulſhip. Now, truly, had that Divine-man, the Author of the publick felicity, your Father, been alive, what more could he have expected from his Son, than to have been preferred before his Grandſons? You have therefore done for your Friends ſo much, that you could not have done more for your Father. O ſingular deſign of your kindneſs! That Dignity, which can receive no addition in Greatneſs, you augment by the timing of it. Your Friends are declared *Conſuls* before your Sons; becauſe more than *Conſuls* they could not be.

36. Having farther proſecuted this Argument, at length he tells him, that Foraſmuch as he can not confer Honours upon all with the ſame meaſure of Benignity (there being not place enough; what he had in his Power being of a narrower Size than his Will; and the Empire, how large ſoever, not being capacious enough to contain his Mind) yet, whom he hath not yet preferred, he comforts by his condeſcending carriage to them. And indeed ſome it ſeems have not been ſatisfied with this Conſolation. One is honoured by being ſpoken to; another is made happy by being received at Table; and another Conſecrated (ſo he words it) by a Kiſs: and ſo all, who have promiſed themſelves ſomething by your Government, have either arrived at Dignity, or been ſatisfied with your Humanity; Humanity I ſay; which is as Famous, as it is Rare in an Emperor. For Pride being the ordinary Attendant on Great men, *ſcarcely is any to be found who abounds with Fortune, and wants Arrogance:* of which our Anceſtors were ſo impatient, that they ever eſteemed Contempt more grievous than Servitude, and for this Reaſon were Conſtrained, after they had had ſuch Warriors as the *Tulli*, ſuch Sacrificers as the *Numæ*, and the *Romuli*, the Founders of the City, to hate the very Name of a Kingdom. In concluſion that *Tarquinius*, ſo much talked of, they Curſed and Abominated to all Eternity; and a man that was carried headlong with Luſt and Self-will, blinded with Avarice, Cruel to a Wonder, and mad with Fury, they termed *Superbus* or Proud, and they thought that word conteined in it ſelf ſufficient Infamy and Reproach. But if poſſible it were, that *Brutus*, that aſſerter of *Roman* Liberty, and Hater of Royalty, could return for a while to Life again, he would find this your Age filled with Love

His rare Clemency and good Nature.

Love of, and Indeavours after, Virtue, Parſimony and Humanity: no appearance would he find in the whole World of Pride Luſt or Cruelty: and you your ſelf he would find contented to live both publickly and privately, as ſeverely as any of the Antient Captains; as Chaſte as the *Pontifices*; as Moderate as the *Conſuls*; and as Meekly and Familiarly as any *Client* or *Suitor*: He would change his Opinion, after ſo long a time: and finding the *Roman* Dignity and Liberty joyned together: he muſt neceſſarily confeſs that they are now in a better Poſture, you being Emperor, than they could have been when he was *Conſul*, and that *Tarquinius* was to be removed, but not the Kingdom.

Eaſie of Acceſs.

37. In the next place, he admires him for his extraordinary Condeſcention in ſhewing himſelf abroad, and receiving the Petitions and Requeſts of any that would make their Addreſſes to him. Whereas the Cuſtom of former Princes was far otherwiſe, who imagined that Royal Majeſty was diminiſhed, and made cheap, except with great Veneration, being Cooped up within a private Appartment in the Palace, they were at a diſtance conſulted, as in ſome *Veſtal* place of Secreſie, being fortified by ſolitude, and by deep ſilence that was extended far and wide. Or if ever they came into the light, and beheld open Day, they were yet ſhut up in Litters and cloſe Coverts; and being Walled about with Files of Armed men, moved ſlowly, and as it were in certain Numbers, and counting all their ſteps: then was the People driven away, and the Hand of the Sargeant or Uſher was not idle in keeping off the Multitude with Rods; that *this ſecret thing might be in publick*. But this our Prince ſaith he, is expoſed to every mans view, and it is as free to ſee him, as the Day or the Sun. And yet though things free and permitted, are apt to beget ſatiety and ſurfeit, yet never doth he ſatisfie the admiring Eyes: the ſight of him is more and more deſired; and (what is ſtrange to be ſaid) *being preſent he is yet wanted*. But can we wonder, that in your Cities you are ſeen by your own People, whom ſcarcely any Nation hath not ſeen upon its own ground, and that ſo often, that this Face is well nigh as much known to the *Barbarians* as to us. And no wonder, when as paſſing all Summers abroad, and Winters at home, you equally divide the year betwixt your Enemies and your Subjects. Or if by chance there be any *Barbarians* who have not felt the force of your Valour, yet being ſtruck ſpeechleſs, as it were by the terror of your Name, they are very quiet. For at the thoughts of your Arms, not only theſe ſeveral People do tremble which are ſeparated from our World, either by great Woods, Rivers or Mountains; but they alſo, which Nature it ſelf hath ſet at a diſtance, being inacceſſible by perpetual Heats, continual Winters, or the interflowing Seas. The *Indian* is not ſafe by the *Ocean*, not the *Boſporan* by Colds; nor the *Arab* by the intervention of the Sun; whither the *Roman* Name had formerly reached, the Empire now hath arrived. Shall I ſpeak of the *Goths* received into ſervice, both as Souldiers for your Camp, and ſufficient Tillers for your Fields? Shall I mention how the rebellious *Saracens* have been puniſhed for breaking the League? Shall I hint any thing concerning the *Scythians* being prohibited *Tanais*, and the Bows of the flying *Albanian* now rendred ineffectual? Whatſoever Nation of the *Barbarians* was formerly troubleſom by reaſon of its ſtrength, fierceneſs or numbers, now thinks fit either to be quiet, or rejoyces to ſerve under the Name of a Friend. *Perſia* it ſelf, formerly a Rival of our Commonwealth, and famous for the death of many *Roman* Captains, now excuſeth by a Compliance, whatſoever formerly it acted ſeverely againſt our Princes. Nay, that King, who once would not condeſcend to own himſelf a man, now confeſſeth that he is fearful; and Worſhips you in thoſe Temples wherein he himſelf is Worſhipped; as well by pretending to ſend Ambaſſadors as by preſents of Gemms and Silk, and his triumphal Beaſts do draw in your Chariot, *Although as yet he is not a Confederate, yet already by courting of you he is become a Tributary.*

38. After this *Pacatus* deſcends to the occaſion of this preſent Congratulation; or his Expedition againſt *Maximus*, and extolls his Prudence, admirable Clemency, and Valour as we have already ſeen. Now though this be uttered with extraordinary Wit, and with High and often Poetical Expreſſions in the preſence of the Emperor, to which ſomething is to be allowed, can any imagine he would be ſo inſulſe and ſo Brazen faced, as to extol him for temperance and abſtemiouſneſs, when all his Auditors knew him Infamous for the other extreams of Luxury, Effeminateneſs and Lazineſs? Would any Orator have admired *Nero* for his Clemency, or *Heliogabalus* for the ſeverity of his life? But to leave him, we ſhall next produce the teſtimony

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And *Themiſtius*.

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Ἐπὶ τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Θεοδοσίου.

mony of as great an Orator and Philoſopher as any in his time, in the Greek Language, and that is *Themiſtius*, who in theſe or other reſpects will confront *Zoſimus* his Accuſer. The fifth of his Orations now extant, was made in the Senate, and bears this Title, *Concerning the Humanity or Good Nature of Theodoſius.* He begins with a ſtory how, when *Lycurgus* the *Spartan*, entred the Temple of *Apollo* “ at *Delphos*, the *Pythia* or Propheteſs told him, that ſhe knew not whether to “ call him God or Man, but of the two, rather the former. Of this he demands “ the Reaſon of *Apollo*; why he thought fit to call *Lycurgus* a God. Whether it was for “ the renowned Victories, or becauſe he gathered together the Bodies of his ſlain Enemies. “ Or was it, ſaith he, becauſe he was incircled with a Guard of thoſe that “ bore Spears and Darts ſhining with Gold? Or for that Golden Chariots, drawn “ with *Niſæan* Horſes, went in proceſſion before him? Or laſtly, becauſe he gliſtered “ with Golden Chains, a Train and Purple? Indeed the Entertainer of *Xerxes* “ at the *Helleſpont*, by ſuch Pomp and Gaudy Furniture, was drawn into Admiration, “ ſo as to term that Son of *Darius* a God. Yet I (*Apollo* would ſay) knew “ that little account was to be made of ſuch matters, which are poſſeſſed by moſt “ wicked and fooliſh Princes. Whom it is ſo far unfit to term Gods, that it is “ not decent to call them Men; as even that very *Xerxes*, who was ſo far ſenceleſs “ and mad as to chaſtiſe the Sea, and to put Fetters upon the *Helleſpont*. As “ for me, if any ſhould ask the queſtion whether he was a God or Man, I ſhould “ little doubt how to anſwer it; but whether to call him a Man or a Beaſt, I ſhould “ rather conſider.

39. Neither did I doubt at all concerning *Nero*, many Ages after, Emperor of “ the *Romans*, when he came to this Temple, whether or no it was ſome God that “ came to me; for I knew very well that under the ſhape of a man a Beaſt was “ covered. Though he appeared in the poſture of holding an Horſe in his Hand, “ and in the Stole of ſuch a Muſitian, as Poets and Painters think to be acceptable “ to me. Becauſe he was a Fool and a Sot, and had filled the Empire “ not only with external, but alſo domeſtick ſlaughters; I rejoyced not at his coming; “ but abhorred and abominated him ſo much, that at his going away I intangled “ a Fillet in his Hair, and pulled therewith his Crown from off his Head. Neither “ did I much Eſteem *Crœſus*, the King of *Lydia*, though he filled my Houſe partly “ with whole, and partly with half Tiles of Gold; for that compellation of *Soft-foot* “ proceeded from Luxury and not from Virtue. The matter ſtanding thus, what “ could I ſee in *Lycurgus* when I called him a God rather than a Man? Even good “ Nature, Juſtice and Piety; and Humanity the chief of all theſe, by the benefit “ of which alone Kings come to be like unto God himſelf. For, he having taken “ into his Hands the Affairs of *Sparta*, which was then in a diſturbed Condition, “ for want of Laws, and filled with the tumults of War; ſupplied it both with Peace “ and excellent Ordinances. And was of ſo mild and quiet a diſpoſition, that one “ who had in the Aſſembly ſtruck out his Eye, whom the *Lacedæmonians* for ſo “ doing would have ſtoned, he preſerved and ſaved from puniſhment; and having “ brought him Home to his own Houſe, he informed him, and made him ſo pliable, “ that from a very bad Citizen, he made him an extraordinary good man. For “ that King knew very well that a Prince ought to appear ſuperior to others, not “ by returning Injuries, but by well deſerving of them by whom he hath been provoked, “ to Indignation and Revenge.

40. Therefore, ſaith he, ought you to anſwer this Queſtion, Dear *Apollo*. If “ the Governor of one City, or, at moſt, having the Command of a ſmall part of *Peloponneſus*, “ who both himſelf was poor, and governed poor men: who had his “ Commons in the *Phiditium*, and drank of the Water of *Eurotas*; if he for his good “ Nature and Clemency cauſed you to doubt of what appellation he was worthy: “ what would you ſay of him, who having the Dominion of almoſt the whole Earth “ and Sea; by the means of whom the *Eaſt* is ſubject to the *Roman* Empire, the “ *Weſt* is quieted; whom all Nations and People do venerate, not only thoſe that “ are under his Command, but ſuch alſo as deſire to be Governed by him, yet he “ is indued with ſuch eaſineſs of Nature, ſuch ſweetneſs of Manners and ſuch Mildneſs, “ that thoſe who were convicted of Treaſon, and condemned by the Laws, “ he hath looſed from that obligation, and recalled from the Gates of Death, to the “ Sun and light again? Wilt thou doubt and conſider whether ſome God, or ſome “ man came into the Temple to us, neither wilt thou pronounce more boldly, than “ concerning the number of the Duſt upon the Earth, that an Heavenly Name belongs “ to ſuch a Prince? Not long ſince we looked upon this as a moſt excellent “

and “

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Who inſiſts much upon his Clemency.

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and admirable thing, to ſee Gold returning from two Treaſuries (of the *Largitiones* and *Res Privata*) to them again, from whom it had been unjuſtly exacted. But now we have ſeen Men reſtored from the Gate of the *Inferi* unto Life, whom the Law truly had ſent thither; thence the Prince and Lord of the Laws hath reduced them: who ſaw plainly, that for one thing a King, and for another thing a Judge, is to be commended; for a Judge is to follow the Dictates of the Laws, but a Prince finds, that ſometimes they are to be Corrected, and their ſeverity and hardneſs declared; he himſelf being the Living and Breathing Law, not placed in fix'd and immoveable Letters. For this ſeems to be the Cauſe, why the Power of Kings is, by God, ſent from Heaven upon the Earth, that there might be a Refuge ſetled for Men to fly to, from a fixt and conſtant Law, to one that's Breathing and Living. Come hither ye Muſes which Inhabit this auguſt Temple of Council, and Chant with me that Song, which I am about to ſing to him for his late Humanity and Clemency. For your parts, he ſo Cheriſhes and Imbraces you, that he had made his Empreſs your Fellow-lodger, and has put her Statue in the ſame Chappel, where are placed the Images of the Emperor, and his Sons. In this reſpect your Company and Chorus, by ſuch Communion and Society, will be more Auguſt.

41. But you ſhall not begin your Song, where *Homer* adviſeth you to begin. For you ſhall not ſing of Wrath, but of good Nature and Clemency, by which this Prince hath made it manifeſt to all Men, that the *Niger Calculus*, or Condemnation, is a Thing utterly hateful to him, and eſtranged from his Nature and Will. And therefore is the contrary moſt acceptable to him; for it is impoſſible, that when the Stone (of Sentence or Suffrage) comes into his Hands, it ſhould not turn Colour. He has learnt indeed to toſs a Target on either ſide, either to the right or left; bnt this *Calculus* or Stone he has learnt only to caſt to the right, not to the left: Neither hath he two Pair of Golden Ballances, as *Jupiter* in *Homer*, of Life and Death; neither ever is that of Life preſſed down by any deadly Weight or Graines; but that which tends to Death and Darkneſs ſetling downward, the other End riſes up, and looks toward Heaven. Neither are there two ſeveral Barrels placed upon the Emperors Floore, as *Homer* will have two to ſtand upon the Throne of *Jupiter*, full of Deſtinies, the one of Good, and the other of Evil. For our Emperour hath no Barrel of Death, but one always full and abounding with Life, which he draws pure and clear from it, and pours upon Men. The Aſſertion of the *Aſſyrians* (he means the *Jews* or *Christians*) makes very well for this Purpoſe, which affirms, and that truly, the Heart of the King to be kept in the Hand of God, which cannot incline towards a Writing of Condemnation. For it is neceſſary, that he who writes ſuch Letters, ſhould fall out of that Hand which perpetually gives Life to all things. In former times, *O Emperor!* the Conſent of the State gave you an Appellation of Divinity; not for that a vaſt quantity of Gold was in your Power; not for that you had abundance of Crowns and Purple Robes; not becauſe you had the Power of making a Man Rich from very Poor; for theſe things are far more inferior than Heaven, and the Image thereof. But becauſe it is in the Power of one God, and one Prince, to beſtow Life; for no Man when he Invocates God calls him *Victor*, *Triumphator*, *Germanicus*, or *Sythicus*; but *Lover of Mankind*, *Holy*, and *the Saviour*. Therefore is that Virtue to be Imbraced by you: and by that means it ſhall come to paſs, That that Hand ſhall never ſhake you out of it; as in times paſt it did *Nero*, *Domitian*, and the Son of *Severus*; though not *Trajan*, or *Marcus*, nor *Antonine*, your Country-men and Anceſtors, from whom God derived your Government to us.

ȣ̓ γὰρ μῆνιν
ἀείσεϑαι· ȣ̓λο-
μένην ἣ μυρί'
Ἀκαιοῖς ἄλγε'
ἔϑηκεν· ἀλλὰ
πρᾳότητα ϗ
φιλανϑρωπίαν

42. But, I conceive this Trophy of yours to be much more Famous, than that you ſet up over the *Scythians*. And yet this you have Erected alone, and without any Aſſiſtance of Arms: Nay, ſo far hath the Sword been from Contributing any thing in this Matter, that therein the Edge of it hath been Blunted: Never did that Son of *Philip* Erect the like, though he pierced from *Macedonia* as far as *India*: yet he eaſily Conquered *Darius*, and *Porus*; but he himſelf was overcome by the Drunkenneſs and Folly of *Clitus*. He did not revenge himſelf upon Wine with Wine, but with the Sword; neither could he bear the Boldneſs of *Philotas*, who to an Harlot had babled ſomething too Inſolently, but with him he killed his Father *Parmenio*. You have not done thus, Moſt Divine Emperor, who for the ſake of the Innocent have ſpared the Guilty; and have freed him who had affected certain v. in things, with another who had heard the ſame through a certain unhappy Fate. Of ſuch Weight with you is every ſmall Matter that conduceth to Clemency. And

this is the Cauſe; By Nature you are Divine: for every one hath need of little incitement or provocation to that to which by Nature he is inclined. Formerly there was no Diſtinction made in Crimes of this Nature, and it was accounted one and the ſame Offence, to attempt any unlawful thing, and to have heard the ſame, though againſt ones Will. This was to reprove the Nature of Man, for having given him open and large Ears, with a Deſign that he ſhould not ſhut them, as he can do his Eyes and Mouth: for this Senſe alone, in a manner, is out of our Power and Liberty, and whatever enters there, doth it as into an Houſe that hath no Doors, ſo neceſſarily muſt it receive all things. But you have diſtinguiſhed the Hearing of the Crime from the Crime it ſelf. Upon the Guilty you have thought fit to animadvert no otherwiſe than by Words. Than which Egregious Act, whereas nothing can be more worthy, yet did you add a Saying thereto more admirable than the Thing it ſelf. For when all admired your Patience and Facility, *therein you alone blamed the ſlowneſs of it.* Which was as much as to ſay, Therefore you grieved, that you had not prevented the Convicted Crime with Pardon, and made the Sentence of Abſolution more early than that which paſſed for the Parties Apprehenſion.

43. And yet what could be more Swift, than that you were pleaſed to term Slowneſs? For you did not diminiſh your Anger by Degrees, nor by little and little the Fears of thoſe that were accuſed; neither after Judgment did you doubt, and were anxious what to do: but the ſorrowful Sentence of Condemnation was prevented by another given by God, which came ſo ſuddenly, and without all delay, that many heard of it before the other. For my part, I only heard that Voice, which in its Swiftneſs would have exceded the bearing of Lamps, which is Celebrated in Honour of *Vulcan*, that which was uſed (by the *Perſians*) in the long and vaſt Journies performed by their Couriers or Poſts; being like thoſe Beacons which are ſet on fire to give notice from high Scituation; ſo that one happy Noiſe thereof reſtrained thoſe drawn and Elevated Swords which were about to give the Stroak. May we call that therefore a Slow Clemency which was not diverted by the Swords which now hung over the Necks of the Guilty Perſons? As for *Jupiter* in *Homer*, if *Homer* may be believed, although he was his Son, yet could he not undo and recall that Fate which hung over the Head of *Sarpedon*, and when he began to think of it, was diverted from his Purpoſe by the Entreaties of *Juno.* But this Our Prince hath diſſolved a Neceſſity of inexorable Judgment, no leſs than that, without any regret; his Wife alſo freely conſenting to it, being his perpetual Aſſociate and Partaker in Councils: Moreover, their only and moſt dear Son following the Authority of them both, whom they Inſtruct and Educate to the ſame Courſes and Manners, herein imitating both Father and Mother; for that he may be the liker to him, it much concerns him to be indued with the ſame Piety and Clemency. And in ſuch manner were thoſe Perſons delivered. But as for them whoſe Faults were formerly mentioned, and were to be aſcribed more to the Nature of their Ears than their Will and Pleaſure, was there longer Conſultation uſed, and more delay for their Security? Were not they preſently delivered of their Fears; and as if they had never been ſuſpected for any Crime, did they not preſently and ſuddenly keep Holy-days? and inſtantly change from that abject and idle Habit, wherein they had appeared, to one more Comely and Elegant?

44. This Alteration I much more admire than that of *Ulyſſes*, mentioned in *Homer*; whereby, from a wrinkled and ragged Old Man, *Minerva* changed him into a Splendid Condition by the help of Clothes, and made him ſtrong, and in the Flower of his Age, at ſuch time as he was to be known by his Son. This was only a Change in ſhew, and as to the Superficies of his Body. Yon have returned their Souls into their Bodies:Neither can I call your Rod or Scepter leſs Beautiful or Golden than that of *Mercury* is termed by *Homer*: For it recalls not from ſleep, but from Death: This is a Fortification ſtronger than all Iron, this will preſerve your Empire much more than thoſe Fires, the cutting open of Veins, and Axes, which when the moſt cruel *Roman* Tyrants forced upon their Subjects, they did not thereby repreſs, but increaſe their hatred againſt them. So did not your Anceſtors and Progenitors, who were of Opinion, that Subjects might better be kept in order by Shame, and good Will, than by Fear; good Will being a much more ſtrong and invincible a Defence than Fear can be; for that we know, by Fear it could never be vanquiſhed, whereas it hath often Conquered all other Letts and Obſtacles. As for Example, ſuch Emperors as have been Famous for Meekneſs, except they were very negligent and careleſs of their Affairs, if any Conſpiracy was hatched againſt

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as were Cruel and Bloody, who always put to death thoſe they diſcovered, never “ 395.
wanted ſuch as attempted their Lives. How ridiculous was he who would teach “ *Thraſybulus*
Tyrants how to be ſecure, by ſtriking down with his Rod the moſt Tall and Emi- “ *Mileti Tyran-*
nent of the Stalks of Corn? for never could he ſtrike down ſo many, but more and “ *nus a Perian-*
greater would ſtill remain? In this reſpect the Fear of Tyrants being moſt unhappy, “ *dro Corinthi*
that *when they remove all they ſuſpect out of the way, yet they can never arrive to* “ *Tyranno Con-*
that Condition as to ſuſpect none at all. *ſultus.*

45. I cannot, O Emperor, but remember that Advice which you gave to your “
Judges when they went to Sit. One there was that ſaid, That the Safety of the “
Princes was in the firſt place to be regarded: Nay rather, ſaid you, *their Fame and* “
Reputation. For length of Life is not that a Prince ought to ſeek after, but a certain “
Excellency in Virtue. Otherwiſe *Dionyſius* and *Tiberius* had grown old in their Do- “
mination, whereas their Old Age was nothing elſe but a more lengthened Infamy. He “
who is of that Opinion, and eſteems his Fame more than his Safety, he judges them “
more his Enemies who hinder him from Glory and Renown, than thoſe that lay Snares “
for his Body and Life. Therefore I ſhall not urge to you any Saying of *Plato*, no not “
of *Ariſtotle*; but it will be ſufficient if you underſtand your own Saying, and conſi- “
der in every Action, whether there be more Honeſty or Advantage in it; whether “
you be acted with Reaſon that's ſincere, and void of diſturbance, or your Mind be “
rather darkned by ſome affection or perturbation: For, *Diſturbance of Mind is the* “
moſt dangerous of all, that perverts Reaſon in thoſe who have the greateſt Power. There- “
fore did the *Perſians* fitly call *Cyrus* a Father, *Cambyſes* a Lord, and *Darius* an “
Huchſter: For its Juſtice that makes a Father of a Common-wealth; Anger and “
Fierceneſs a Lord, and Covetouſneſs an Huchſter. However, the Appellation of Fa- “
ther is only Divine, (for Poets call *Jupiter* the Father of Men) whereas of the other “
two the one is appropriate to Wild Beaſts, and the other to Slaves. But as in the “
Swarms of Bees there is one King, who riſeth of himſelf, and by none other is inſtru- “
cted, about whom all the whole Swarm flutters, and makes a noiſe with Joy, and In- “
circles him: So happens it now and then amonſt Men; but he longeſt continues his “
Rule, when both theſe things meet and unite in him, *viz.* Beauty of Mind, and Com- “
lineſs of Shape and Body. And he doubtleſs is a great Prince indeed, whoſe Beauty is “
not imperfect or lame, but altogether intire and abſolute. Wherefore, as *Alexander* “
declareth, that *Achilles* was happy, becauſe he had *Homer* to publiſh and blazen out “
his Exploits: So did I think my ſelf fortunate, in that by my Oration I have had op- “
portunity to ſet forth your deſerved Praiſe. Neither let any Man imagine, that this “
proceeds rather out of Flattery than from the force and evidence of Truth: for of “
all thoſe Emperors which hitherto we have either known or heard of, beſides two “
moſt famous of all the reſt, there is none other, truly, which would have animad- “
verted upon ſo great a Crime aud Offence in the ſame way, and by the ſame mea- “
ſure, as you have done.

46. Thus much uttered *Themiſtius* in his firſt Oration concerning the *Good Nature or Humanity of Theodoſius*; upon what Occaſion we cannot certainly tell. Some have imagined it a Congratulatory Speech for his Clemency ſhewed to the *Antiochians*; but that it could not be, as appears from ſome Paſſages, and that in particular, where he ſpeaks concerning two ſorts of faults, whereof the one was the Crime of Treaſon it ſelf, and the other was the Hearing of it, or what we call Miſpriſion of Treaſon, which how could it agree with the Popular Tumult of the Citizens of *Antioch*? It remains therefore, that with *Petavius* we conclude it to have been ſome Conſpiracy of certain Senators againſt his Perſon, which he thus readily and freely forgave. But as he did not only do this Act of Clemency, but continued ſtill to ſhew himſelf what the Orator makes him to be; ſo neither could the Orator forbear having the ſame occaſions, but ſtill

Themiſtius his ſecond Oration in praiſe of *Theodoſius.*

περὶ τῆς φιληκοΐας τȣ̃ Βασιλέως.

commend him, for the eaſineſs and agreeableneſs of his Manners; this Emperors merit on the one ſide provoking him, and on the other his own continual Exerciſe in the way of ſpeaking by an Habitual Inclination, prompting him, though now in his Old Age, to keep up that Faculty which in his youth he had attained. Is it poſſible (ſaith he) “
that one who deſigns to be Excellent in Horſemanſhip, and affects the Sirname which “
by *Homer* is given to *Neſtor*, (whome he calls an Horſeman, and a Driver of Horſes) that “
he ſhould altogether neglect that very Art, and not exerciſe himſelf in all theſe Cour- “
ſes and Methods which conduce to the perfection of it? Such as are to mount an “
Horſe readily, to ſit him, with as much eaſe to the Horſe as poſſible; eaſily to quit him “
upon occaſion, to curbe him in when there's need for it, and to give him the Reins as “
the Caſe ſhall require, and to cauſe him to take ſuch way as is moſt convenient. In like “

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manner *Menelaus* blames *Antiochus* in a certain place in *Homer*, for having in a Chariot Race, which *Achilles* ordained in honour of *Patroclus*, out of deſire of winning, never conſidered in what danger he drove, and not reſtraining his Horſes, but putting them on in a ſtrait and precipitous Place. As in Horſemanſhip, the ſame thing is to be obſerved in the Dexterity of Shooting. Will any who has a Deſign to be excellent in that way ſpend his Time and Pains in any thing ſo much as daily to learn how to hit the Mark? Therefore is his Hand even worn with drawing the Bow, and by his Induſtry he arrives, at length, at ſuch Skill, as that of *Meriones* of *Crete* is reported to be, who if he miſſed the Pidgeon, yet would be ſure to hit the String.

47. If any deſire to be Skilful in Fencing, and by it to obtain great Praiſe and Renown, if he deſpiſe the knowledge how to manage his Weapon, and is ignorant how to turn his lean Body from one ſide to another; ſhall we ſay that this man hopes for Glory and Commendation from that Art which he never Exerciſed, or give him Praiſe or Honour for it as in a Dream? That I may not inſtance to you in a Pilot, or a Shepherd, or a Phyſitian, and prove to you, that all theſe, if they deſire to be Excellent in their ſeveral ways, muſt alſo be deſirous to be converſant in thoſe Courſes by which the Excellency of their Arts or Profeſſions are attainable; I come to that very Point on which I purpoſe to inſiſt. If therefore there be any one who is ſeated npon an Elevated Throne, adorned with a Purple Robe, and having Dominion in a manner over all Earth and Sea, which he both rules and preſerves, aud upon occaſion pardons; if he have a deſire after Praiſe, which is ſincere and without flattery, doth not his Mind ſeem to acquieſce, and be confident in what is ordained from above? And in that he now paſſeth the ſixth Year of his Reign without the leaſt blot or ſpot upon him, is he not more proof againſt Calumny and Contempt, than againſt the Sword it ſelf? Remember that firſt Meeting you had, and the *Bæotian* Verſes or Congratulation, upon occaſion of which you met together. Here he ſpends ſome words in reflecting upon ſome Poet or other, who being either a *Bæotian* by his Country, or making his Commendation in the manner of *Pindaricke* Odes, with very handſome Expreſſions well put together, yet commended the Emperor for theſe things which are eſteemed by the Vulgar, as great Forces, good Fortune, and Authority. Whereas it is agreeable to the Art of Wiſdom alone to inquire who he is that is truly a King, and what are the Signs and Tokens of his Majeſty: not ſuch as are the Golden Eagle, and the Dragons (in his Banners) ſubtlely Woven: or that with an Arrow or Dart he can hit a Mark; for theſe I ſuppoſe *Nero* the Miniſtrel, and furious *Domitian*, might urge in their own behalf; but he is the Man whoſe Mind is lifted upward, and intent upon God the Moderator and Prince of all things; and by him being Governed in all his Affairs, from him receives whatſoever is profitable for the Regiment of an Earthly and Inferior Kingdom. And from him it is, that you (moſt Excellent Emperor) receiving what you have, ſtood in no need, of *Archers*, or the *Scutati*, of *Armenians* or *Iberians*, or *Horſe* bearing heavy Armour, for Extinguiſhing that *Scythian* Flame. For by your Council and Prudence alone that Flame fell and went out of it ſelf. You have not your Eyes fixed on the Earth, neither are you perplexed how to procure Gold or Silver for your Supplies: but how you may heap up vaſt Treaſure of good and famous Deeds, of which none can rob or plunder you.

48. After ſome other words he further tells him, that there was another quite contrary Cauſe of his Delay in ſpeaking than that which he ſuſpected; not a Defect; but a luxuriant Plenty of Subjects upon which he could inſiſt. For being wont, ſaith he, to do many excellent things, not only daily but hourly adding one thing to another, you thence do cauſe that my Speeches come from me very difficultly. You do not undo what you had formerly done, but ſtill weaving more work, and multiplying it upon me; when I purpoſe to commend any famous Action you do, or Saying which you utter, with a ſincere and incorrupt Encomium, preſently many new and freſh preſent themſelves, that put others out of my Head which formerly I had pitch'd on; and when, omitting the former, I intend to ſpeak of what had happened later, ſtill others of freſher date occur, which extrude the former Commendation. The ſame things happen to me as to thoſe Liquoriſh People that are invited to a Feaſt: I taſte and take an Eſſay of every thing; ſo that I fill my Belly with no one Diſh that is ſet before me: Or rather I am in the Condition of Hounds, which if they happen upon one Wild Beaſt alone, do conſtantly ſtick to it and purſue it, till it be taken; but if they rouſe others from ſeveral Parts, chooſe one of theſe, and leave the other to its Eſcape. And

truly

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truly theſe Ancient Poets or Singers are not at all to be reprehended, if they Extolled *Hercules* the Son of *Jupiter* more eaſily in the beginning than in the ſequel and progreſs of his Undertakings. Your Acts are of the ſame Nature; for you increaſe perpetually your Atchievements, ſo that our Muſe wants ſufficient Confidence, to keep pace therewith; her Orations being not light winged, and eaſily moved, but ſlow and leiſurely, looking about upon every thing that's done, and not meerly upon it as done, but with what Will, at what Time, with Whom, and for what Purpoſe. For oftentimes an Action of it ſelf is not ſo conſiderable, but the Will of performing it is Laudable and Excellent. Of this Nature was your firſt Expedition to the *Rhine*. Every one indeed did not apprehend it; but your Mind in attempting was great and truly Royal; to revenge a Prince taken away before his time, and to preſerve the Remainders of his Family. Whoſoever thinks that of low Concernment, let him conſider, how by that undertaking alone, and the terror thereof, the Inſolence of the *Weſt* was repreſſed. Even as *Achilles* in old time, when he abſtained from War, yet by leaping out of his Tent Exclaiming and making a Noiſe, extinguiſhed the Fire that had taken in the Navy of the *Greeks*, and deterred the *Trojans* from further proceeding.

He Inſtanceth in his quieting the *Weſt*.

His leſſening the burthen of Tributes.

49. Theſe things, when I conſider ſeperately and apart, I find it neceſſary to uſe my Notes, by degrees and warily. As when I think upon *your leſſening the burthen of Tributes*, in that the Timing of it ſeems more worthy of Admiration than the greatneſs of the Thing it ſelf. For, when, as we verily apprehended, there might be reaſon to augment theſe Impoſitions, there being daily need of more ſupply, preſently the Charge abated; and therefore the coming of it ſo unexpectedly, and beyond our hope, was greater than the Kindneſs it ſelf. Formerly Corne was not, without threats, and compulſion, brought hither; but now it flies as upon Wings, nay more ſwiftly, and without any calling for it: Now the Sea it ſelf obeys the Emperor, and even the Winter Navigation with Ships of Burthen is more Commodious and Pacate than that of Summer. The Granaries therefore do not now abound with Filth and Cobwebs, but are full, and to ſpare; and that Ancient Truſt and Security, which formerly had left us, is returned again. So paſs we the Winter, hoping well concerning the Fertility of the Spring. The Prince thinks it not below him to make inſpection into theſe Treaſuries, but permitting thoſe wherein Gold is laid up to be kept by others, doth not ſtick at all, nor think it below his Majeſty, to take an Account himſelf, and view that which is depoſited in the Granaries. *Crœſus* the King of *Lydia* indeed, thought it more becoming his Royal Magnificence to view his Vaults filled with Gold, than furniſhed with Corn. And therefore he bragged to *Solon* the *Athenian*, not of his heaps of Wheat, but of his Filings of Gold, which were not the Gifts of the Earth, but the unfruitful and barren Wealth of an arrogant River, with which whoſoever is compaſſed about, muſt dye of Hunger, as he did who periſhed in the injoyment of his Wiſh. Therefore would not *Solon* own *Crœſus* for the moſt happy of all Mortals: but mentioned the *Athenian*, and the Young Men of *Argos*, and any thing ſooner than he would do him. But doubtleſs moſt Bleſſed and Happy would he have pronounced that Emperor, *with whoſe allowance ſuch an Army is maintained and kept on foot, as never was before in the Roman Empire, eſpecially upon the River Tigris.* After this he ſpeaks concerning his Allowances, and beautifying the City of *Conſtantinople*, what we have already written concerning that Matter, and then proceeds.

In ſuch an Army kept up as never was in the *Roman* Empire.

50. And truly, my good Hearers, if this Body of mine could be accomodated to my Will, I ſhould deſire, that my Life might be continued to me, not thereby to injoy any other Pleaſures, (for they are all already, and with reaſon, extinguiſhed in me) but that I might ſee a third City, which our Emperor will accompliſh e're it be long. Neither have I this deſire in me without hope to ſee it accompliſhed. For in him there remains ſo preſent a Remedy for driving away mine Infirmities, that when lately he willed me to apply my ſelf again unto Muſick, there was more Virtue in his words, than in all the Medicines of *Hippocrates*. Now I proceed with more vigour than formerly, and when I ſpeak can better be heard; neither am I ſo ſtopped up, but I can ſwallow both Meat and Drink: nay, together with this Sedulity and contention of Mind, my Body in ſome meaſure reflouriſheth, is excited, and ſeems to ſhake off Old Age. Wherefore the Caſe being ſo with me, no wonder it is that I ſing not now my laſt Song, (as Swans are wont before their Death, in Honour of that God whoſe Servants and Prophets they are) For the Prince of the Muſes will ſtill afford me ſome better and ſweeter

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occaſion for Melody. Indeed the Medicaments of *Colchis* deceived the Daughters of *Pelias*, pretending to make their Old Father Young again. But this our Prince reduceth me to true vigour and ſtrength, not ſo much by his new Building, as for that he *himſelf grows and increaſeth daily in a deſire and aptneſs to hear*. Therefore doth he excite, provoke and ſtimulate my Mind, neither ſuffers it by heedleſneſs to fall into Slumber or Oſcitancy; but though weary and weakned, as ſome Excellent Soldier, he recalls it, and puts it to Diſcipline, affording Excellent Helps thereunto, and whatſoever Art it ſelf doth require. In that therefore I put my Hands to the *Præfectſhip* of the City, I neither was led by Ambition nor deſire of Honour; but becauſe I coveted to make it appear, that our Emperor had the ſame Opinion with Divine *Plato* concerning Man's Felicity. But that neither the Emperors Opinion, nor the Saying of *Plato* is to be convicted of Error, is rather to be ſhewn by ſome other than by me.

Themiſtius once Præfect of the City.

51. But I ſhall not boaſt much of that Table or Picture, but of another and more perfect, which contains thoſe Pourtraictures in its Power, which the Workers in Ivory or Gold have not framed, but is the Work of the Emperor himſelf, or a Sacred Off-ſpring preſently conſummate from a Sacred Birth; alone deſired by the Wiſhes of all Men, and from his Swadling Clothes called *Auguſtus*, whoſe Body indeed doth grow, but he cannot encreaſe in Honour: whom he committed into my Hands, when he made preparation for his Expedition into the *Weſt*, and that in the ſight of the Senate, and all the People; with this Charge, that I ſhould take care of him, and diligently make much of him, I, who could neither move a Target, nor toſs a Pike, neither knew how to make uſe of Bow or Sling, only wore the Pallium, and was even bended together by Weakneſs and Old Age. But as it appears, he did not think that the ſame Diſcipline was proper to a Prince, and a Private Man: that he who was to command at Land and Sea, ſhould be inſtructed the ſame way as an Officer in the Army. Come hither therefore my moſt Dear Son, and ſit on my Knee, that I may inſtruct thee; not as *Phœnix* did *Achilles*, ſtopping him with Meat and Drink, but giving thee that Nouriſhment which Philoſophers alone prepare for Young Princes that are under Age, I mean thoſe fruitful Diſciplines, lofty, and full of advantage, the Grace and Ornaments of the Ancient Emperors. Such as the great *Cyrus* of old was Educated in; the *Roman Numa*, that famous *Marcus*, and excellent *Titus*, whoſe Great and Glorious Saying it was: *This Day I have not Reigned; for I have not done any Man good.* Receive alſo the Inſtruction of famous *Plato*, and Divine *Ariſtotle*, by whom Great *Alexander* was inſtructed; whom from an obſcure Kingdom they made Lord of all the World. If thou beeſt informed and educated by ſuch Maſters; thou who challengeſt the Name of that God which preſideth over Sciences; then will ſpeedily be accompliſhed the Wiſh of thy Parents, that *Thou mayſt prove more Excellent than thy Father*; or what is more moderate and facile, Let *him follow his Fathers Steps*. Then will thy Mother rejoyce to ſee thee not only returning with Spoils from a Battle, but from ſpeaking to the People, and adminiſtring Juſtice, with the Aſſeſſors and Officers of Juſtice incircled about; which Virtue chiefly and beſt of all fits a Palace.

Theodoſius committed the charge of his Son *Arcadius* unto him.

Arcadius Mercurii ex Arcadia Oriundi.

52, Thus much *Themiſtius*, in his Second Oration in the Commendation of *Theodoſius*, which as being more tedious than our preſent Deſign will well ſuffer, I ſhould not have thus tranſcribed, but that producing no Teſtimony of any Chriſtian in behalf of this Emperor, not any of his own Religion, which muſt be in another Place, it ſeems more juſt that the Reader ſhould know what all the Pagans ſay, and withall perceive their ways of Oratory in this Age. Here he hath alſo ſeveral Hiſtorical Hints concerning the inlarging of *Conſtantinople*, and other Matters, amongſt which that of *Theodoſius* his recommending his Son to the care of the Orator, at ſuch time as he prepared for his Expedition againſt *Maximus*. This Honour put upon him, with other Favours, may make ſome imagine that he was bribed to ſpeak as he did, at leaſt a ſence of Gratitude and good Nature might give ſome farther Accent to his Oratorical Straine, in the preſence eſpecially of the Emperor. But he deduces all his Arguments from Matters of Faſt; and from particular Actions, which are only convincing, rightly argues to the Humour and Nature of the Perſon, in ſuch an Aſſembly where the contrary being notoriouſly known, could not but have checked his how ever ready Tongue. But we have ſtill more Teſtimonies from thoſe of the ſame Superſtitious way, as to Religion, and ſuch as were ſo far from being given in his preſence, that it could not be preſumed, that they ſhould ever come to his Knowledge. One of thoſe is afforded him by *Symmachus*, as

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zealous for the worſhip of falſe Gods as any of his time, except it was *Flavianus*, whom, as in the ſeveral Epiſtles he wrote to him, he calls Brother, ſo he ſeems his Elder Brother in this reſpect; for his hatred to *Theodoſius* drew him ſo far, as to ingage, nay to ſtir up and incourage *Eugenius* the late Uſurper againſt him, and in that Cauſe he loſt his life at the *Alpes*, if ſome were to be believed. Yet to this *Flavianus*, upon the occaſion of the Emperors renouncing every thing given him by Codicils formerly mentioned by us, doth the ſaid *Symmachus* write after this manner. Whereas I ran through the commendations“ both as to War and Peace, which belong to our Lord *Theodoſius*, in an“ honourable ſtyle, I confeſs that I rather touched at the Heads thereof, than ſpake“ enough to the particulars. I alſo added his Laws to the good things he hath done in“ reference to Peace, which as I know, they take away admiration from antient ones,“ ſo I was of opinion that they have not left equal glory to thoſe which are to come. But“ this new ſanction of *Fide commiſſa* and the Profits of *Codicils* eternally rejected by this“ beſt of Princes, by ſo much luſtre exceeds the light of ſuch as were before, as much“ as it is more auguſt for a Governor, to put a reſtraint upon himſelf than others. And“ I wiſh that private Avarice may underſtand the meaning of the Lawmaker, and may“ frame manners out of his Laws. For I am not ignorant what he would have others“ do of their own accord, who firſt himſelf hath abhorred theſe ſuſpected Advantages.“ Then after ſome reaſons added for his wiſh and his approbation of what *Theodoſius* had done, he concludes. If the Amendment of the greater part of Perſons be not attained“; in vain hath the Emperor bound himſelf by theſe ſevere ſanctions, *Who allwayes hath been good, and of unblameable manners.*

And *Symmachus.*

Lib. 2. Ep. 13.

Qui ſemper bonus & integer moribus fuit.

53. This cannot be ſaid to have been ſpoken in his Preſence, or to gratifie his Ears, but wreſted from the Writer by the great evidence and Force of Truth. So was that which we ſhall ſubjoyn, and wherewith conclude theſe Teſtimonies, which is the Account *Aurelius Victor* gives us of this Emperor, and not written till after his death. *Theodoſius*, ſaith he, was born of *Honorius*, (his Fathers name he miſtakes) and *Thermantia*;“ by Nation a *Spaniard*, and deriving his Original from the Emperor *Trajan*;“ was created *Auguſtus*, by *Gratian* at *Sirmium*, and Reigned ſeaventeen years. It's reported“ that his Parents, being admoniſhed in a Dream, gave him a conſecrated Name;“ ſo as in Latine he might be called *A Deo Datus*. From this Oracle a Rumour was“ alſo ſpread in *Aſia*, that one ſhould ſucceed *Valens*, whoſe Name in Greek began with“ Θ and Ε and Ο and Δ, with which *Theodorus* being deceived, and uſurping, ſuffered“ the puniſhment of his wicked Ambition. As for *Theodoſius*, he was an exceeding great“ Propagator and Defender of the Commonwealth. For in ſeveral Battles he defeated“ the *Hunns* and *Goths*, which had harraſed the Empire under *Valens*. With the *Perſians*“ he made peace at their deſire. He vanquiſhed and ſlew *Maximus* the Tyrant, who had“ murdered *Gratian*, and ſeized on *Gall*, at *Aquileia*; and put to death his Son *Victor*,“ whom being yet within Age, he had ſaluted with the Title of *Auguſtus*. He alſo overcame“ *Eugenius*, and *Arbogaſtes*, ten thouſand of their men being killed. For, this *Eugenius*,“ truſting to the Intereſt of *Arbogaſtes*, after he had murdered *Valentinian* at *Vienna*,“ made himſelf Emperor; but preſently loſt both Life and Empire. Now *Theodoſius*“ was in Diſpoſition, and alſo in Body like to *Trajan*, as far as we can judge by the“ Writings of the Antients, and by Pictures. His Gate was upright, his Limbs alike, ſuch“ ſort of Hair, and ſuch a kind of Mouth and Face, ſaving that *Trajan* by plucking out“ the Hairs, had his Beard thin on his Cheeks, neither had he ſo big Eyes: and I am“ not certain whether he had ſo much Gracefulneſs, ſo much vigor in his looks, or in“ his Gate was ſo Mageſtick. But his mind was altogether the ſame, ſo that nothing“ can be ſaid, which may not ſeem out of Books to be transferred upon the other. A“ Diſpoſition full of Clemency, Mercy, and freeneſs as to Converſation, thinking himſelf“ to differ in Habit only from others: Honourable in his Dealings with all men;“ but laviſh towards good men: affecting thoſe of ſimple or innocent Natures equally,“ as admiring the Learned if they were harmleſs; with a great Mind beſtowing great“ Things; loving thoſe of his Subjects that were but privately known unto him, and“ conferring on them Honours, Money and other Emoluments; eſpecially ſuch as in“ difficult caſes he found to be true unto him.

And *Aurelius Victor.*

55. But, *For thoſe vices wherewith* Trajan *is aſperſed*, viz. *vinolence (or being given“ to Wine) and a coveting of Triumphs, he ſo deteſted them, that he made no Wars,“ but found them made to his hands, and prohibited, by a Law, ſervices conducing to wantonneſs,“ and that Minſtrils ſhould be admitted to Feaſts :* attributing ſo much to Modeſty“ and Continence, that he forbade the Marriage of Couſin germans, as of Siſters.“ For Learning, if we look at ſuch as arrive at perfection therein, he was but moderately“ ſeen; but very ſagacious, and uſing much diligence to underſtand the Acts“ of“

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of his Anceſtors, of whom he did not ceaſe to execrate ſuch as he had read to have “
been Proud, Cruel and Enemies to Liberty ; as *Cinna*, *Marius* and *Sulla*, with all “
ſuch as loved to domineer over others ; but eſpecially the Perfidious and Ingrateful. “
Indeed he would be angry at unhandſom things, but would quickly be turned and “
appeaſed, whereby it came to paſs, by little delaying, that ſometimes more ſevere Com- “
mands were mollified. And he had that by the gift of Nature, which *Auguſtus* learnt “
from his Doctor of Philoſophy, who when he perceived him to be eaſily moved, ad- “
viſed him, when he began to be angry, that he might not determine any harſh “
thing, firſt to repeat the four and twenty Letters of the Greek Alphabet : that that “
concitation which was but momentnay, might fall of its ſelf ; the thoughts being di- “
verted another way. But without doubt, which is a point of rare virtue, *After that* “
his Royal Power was increaſed with his years, he was better than before, and much more “
after his Victory obtained in the Civil War. For then more ſolicitouſly than ever did “
he take care of Proviſions for his People ; and a great maſs of Gold and Silver pil- “
fred, and ſpent by the Tyrant, he reſtored to many out of his own Treaſury ; where- “
as even good-natured Princes were ſcarcely wont to yield back bare grounds and “
Lands diſpoiled. Now I come to thoſe things of leſſer concernment, and as it's ſaid “
within the Court, which becauſe they are more ſecret, do more attract the Eyes and “
the Ears of men, by Nature curious. His Uncle he reſpected as a Father ; the Chil- “
dren of his deceaſed Brother and Siſter, he held in the ſame place as his own : thoſe “
of his Kindred and Affinity he imbraced with the Affection of a Parent : *He would* “
entertain Elegantly and Chearfully, but not Profuſely or with much Coſt : would fit his “
Diſcourſe to the Company, their Wayes and Dignities, mixing Gravity with his “
Mirth : he was an Indulgent Father, and a Kind Husband. His exerciſe was neither “
effeminate, nor to tireſomeneſs : when he had leiſure, he choſe rather to recreate “
himſelf with walking ; *and by continency of eating*, (or a moderate Diet) *he pre-* “
ſerved his health. Thus he died in peace at *Milan*, in the fiftieth year of his Age ; “
leaving both the Empires to both (*viz. Arcadius* and *Honorius*) in a quiet conditi- “
on. His Body the ſame year was conveyed to *Conſtantinople*, and there Buried.

56. It's time now to make an end of this Subject, and ſo Reader thou haſt cauſe to think ; but if thy patience be too much tired and preſumed upon, let thine Indignation fall upon his Memory that gave the Occaſion. I ſuppoſe thou wilt eaſily paſs thy ſentence, and there's little need of ſumming up the Evidence. The charge or Accuſation is made by him, whom thou muſt needs, by all that thou readeſt, take for a bitter Adverſary, and Malicious ; neither are any of his Friends produced to ſay any thing in his behalf, except thou wilt look upon thoſe as intereſted Perſons, who were of the ſame inclinations with *Zoſimus* as to Religion, and ſome of them as zealous as himſelf in that way, and ſuch as could make as little Advantage by that they teſtifie, as he could receive damage by his undertaking. Beſides, moſt were Eye-witneſſes of his Actions, and had them not by report, as he muſt neceſſarily have had, not writing till the later end of the reign of *Theodoſius* his Grandſon. But the great objections againſt him are, the Effeminateneſs and Luxury of his Life, with the profuſeneſs thence ariſing, and his oppreſſion of the People, by raiſing of money to ſupply theſe diſorderly occaſions, and by reaſon of his making ſo many principal Officers of the Army. Now the Evidence that comes in for his Defence ; firſt makes him an extraordinary good man in general, and, it alſo further ſpeaks directly to the things whereof he is accuſed. A man of ſingular goodneſs of Nature, full of Clemency, Pity, and of wonderful Freedom and Affability thou findeſt him, nay further, *Symmachus* tells *Flavianus*, as it fell naturally in his way, and not by any Study or Deſign, that he was always good and unblameable or ſound in his manners. And as for the continuance and extent of this goodneſs *Victor* witneſſeth that, he was better after that his Power increaſed with his years ; and yet much more ſtill after his victory obtained in the Civil War. Add to theſe what *Themiſtius* affirms of his keeping ſuch an Army on foot as never had been in the *Roman* Empire, eſpecially upon the River *Tigris*. And moreover, recall to mind what he diſcourſeth concerning his Buildings at *Conſtantinople*, and bringing that City to ſuch extraordinary Perfection and Decorum.

Theodoſius a moſt excellent man.

57. Any indifferent Perſon hearing this ſo ſublime a Character, would eaſily acquit him of ſo ugly a charge, but this we ſhall not do without inſtancing in the particulars themſelves. And firſt for his Luxury and Sloth, his pleaſing his Appetite, and his Belly, and gratifying his Eaſe, and nouriſhing many Miniſters and Inſtruments of his Effeminate life ; thou findeſt the contrary affirmed both by *Pacatus* and *Victor*. The former ſpeaks of the retrenching of the expences of the Court, not only by rejecting what was ſuperfluous, but ſcarcely admitting of a neceſſary allowance ; and as to his own Perſon, con-

tenting himſelf with a mean and ſouldierly fare, while his Palace abounded with examples of Pains-taking, Patience and Frugality. But grant it an Oratorical flouriſh that his meals were more ſpare than thoſe of ordinary Tables, and were only ſupplied with Proviſions relating to the place and time; yet when he made his entertainments (for Princes, ſometimes this way muſt ſhew their Magnificence) he did it indeed elegantly and chearfully, but *Aurelius* affirms without any profuſeneſs or much coſt; for (he gives the reaſon) he therein excelled *Trajan* that he was not given to Wine, but by a moderate Diet he kept himſelf in health. If theſe two may be believed, he was both very temperate himſelf, and by his example drew others off from their luxurious courſes, to Abſtemiouſneſs and Frugality. For the ſluggiſhneſs wherewith his Enemies charges him, it can be in no other reſpect than that for which *Victor* extolls him above his Anceſtor *Trajan*, that he did not himſelf make or give occaſion to Wars, but was provoked or drawn into them by the Aggreſſors. This indeed like a true Chriſtian Prince he was guilty of, never ſeeking occaſions to ſhed mans blood: He was no Pirate (as that Seaman told *Alexander*) robbing with whole Armies. But did he ever refuſe any enterprize, that might be warranted by that goodneſs of Nature and love to Mankind, which ought to abound in Princes eſpecially, who cannot in any other reſpect be ſo truly ſtiled Gods upon Earth, or thought to reſemble him whoſe vicegerents they are, in whoſe Hands (as the Pagan Orator applauds) their Hearts and Lives do ſtand? He was ready upon any occaſion to vanquiſh the *Goth* and *Hunn*, to reſtrain the *Saracen* and force him to make peace. Remember what his Detractor writes concerning his diſguiſing himſelf, and the entertainment he had in an Inn, where he diſcovered the deſigns of the Invaders. He ſuppreſſed two conſiderable and potent Uſurpers at Home, and brought to reaſon ſuch Barbarians as made any diſturbances. And abroad, beſides the terror which his Armies and Name ſtruck into other Nations, he awed the bold and daring *Perſian*, ſo as he durſt not ſtir or move; him whom neither *Julian* could conquer, nor others of his Predeceſſors, keep in order; and though not a Confederate, made him in a manner, as the Orator ſaith, by his Preſents confeſs himſelf a Tributary.

58. For his making ſo many *Magiſtri Militum*, or great Officers in his Army, he had occaſion enough to do it, if what *Themiſtius* ſaith be true, that he maintained a greater Army than ever had been in the Empire. The Northern parts required his great care; but the Eaſt, where he had reaſon to apprehend dangers from the great and powerful *Perſian* Kingdom, now, as it appears, was more induſtriouſly and with more Forces upon *Tigris* than ever to be ſecured. It was not he that let the Barbarians into the Bowels of the Empire, and firſt received them to Charges and Commands, but now it was done, when they were civilized, had learnt the *Roman* Diſcipline and way of Fighting, and not only they, but their Countrymen who lived at Home, by that continual entercourſe, which for ſeveral Ages, either in War or Peace they had had with the *Romans*; there was neceſſity, at leaſt from Rules of Policy, to tame, and by good uſage to transform them, if poſſible, into a *Roman* intereſt and humour. When Strangers imbody with a Nation, when they marry in that Country, and have Children to ſucceed them as Members and Citizens thereof, it's ſeldom but they acquieſce, grow domeſtick, and even forget the concerns of the Regions they left; which why it took not place in theſe Barbarians who afterward overran the *Roman* Empire, we may in convenient time Diſcourſe. In a Neighbouring Kingdom there are now more at preſent which bear the Title of *Marſhall* thereof, than under him, that of *Magiſter Militum*; though that Kingdom can ſcarcely be eſteemed as a tenth part of that Empire which he the reſt Commanded. To oblige the Princes of ſuch Nations as had been received into the Empire he gave them Commands, yet ſo as to be commanded themſelves if they grew turbulent, and by preferring them and others, if you believe what you read in his behalf, he did not ſo mightily heighten the Charge, and thereby was driven to harraſe and oppreſs his People by unwonted Taxes and Impoſitions. *Themiſtius* ſpeaks of his releaſing Tribute, and that with ſo much reſpect to time and occaſion, that the circumſtance was more acceptable than the thing it ſelf. *Symmachus* extolls him for his ſelfdenial in eternally renouncing what Princes had wont to get by *Fidei Commiſſa* and *Codicils*, and as he admires his Laws in general, as full of Goodneſs and Clemency, I ſuppoſe, Reader, by what thou haſt found in the Hiſtory of his Government, thou wilt ſcarcely be moved to be of the contrary Opinion.

59. That therefore which *Zoſimus* termes profuſeneſs, to underſtanding Perſons, ſeems to have been a Crime (with him) of the ſame Nature with that he charges upon *Conſtantine*, and no other but his Munificence towards Biſhops, Churches and other Perſons and things relating to Chriſtian Religion. That ſeveral miſcariages hapned

But he was Paſſionate.

hapned in his Reign there's little doubt: amongſt a multitude of Officers imployed by him in ſo many Provinces, that many ſhould not be ſwayed by Pride, Paſſion and Self-intereſt is not a thing imaginable, and how he could prevent or redreſs every individual Inconvenience, being neceſſarily to uſe other mens Eyes and Hands, none can deviſe. It was his misfortune to be deceived in men toward his later end, though as to thoſe that ſerved him at his fi[illegible]ntrance *Pacatus* magnifies both his Fortune and his Choice. And the great miſchief was that it hapned towards his later end, for he might, had he lived, have diſcovered and removed thoſe Perſons, who being intruſted by him with the management of the Affairs of his Sons, gave beginning to thoſe miſeries which afterward fell upon the Empire. And that we may be impartial, he had one Infirmity in his Temper and Humour hinted by *Victor*, and that, was ſome Haſtineſs and Anger, to which the beſt Natures are often ſubject, which ſometimes when ill men could manage it, might break forth to ſome actions of Severity. But he eaſily cooled of himſelf, if by ill Inſtruments his Heat was not ventilated, and moſt readily cloſed with what tended to appeaſe him: as we ſee in the buſineſs of the *Antiochians.* Indeed one example there is of his being overcome with his paſſionate humour, which produced an Effect of very ill conſequence. At *Theſſalonica* the Citizens fell into a tumult about a Chariot Driver, whom being commited to ward for attempting a Womans Chaſtity, they would force out of Priſon, and their Rage flew ſo high as to kill *Boterichus* the *Magiſter Militum* in *Illyricum.* The report hereof caſt the Emperor into ſo violent a Paſſion that, without any Proceſs made againſt the Offenders, he commanded that ſome of them ſhould be ſeized and put to death, which command being executed in an hurry, and when the Town was full of Strangers, ſeaven thouſand are ſaid to have periſhed. This we did not inſert into the Hiſtory of his Reign, becauſe though the thing it ſelf was too Conſiderable, yet the conſequence of it was very Admirable, and relates to Eccleſiaſtical Matters, wherein, God willing, ſhall be diſcovered that Admirable Humility, Meekneſs, Patience and Self-denial of this Prince, when for this his Offence he was ſecluded the Church by *Ambroſe* the Biſhop of *Milan*, and not received to Communion again till he had given publick ſatisfaction, and made a Law concerning the deferring the Execution of ſuch Sentences for thirty days. This was the only flaw in his life that can be known, of which yet our Church Hiſtorians only take notice. A wonder it is it ſhould eſcape *Zoſimus*, who would have doubtleſs gone far out of the way to have hooked it in; ſo that the matter ſeems not of ſuch conſequence as ſome Writers make it. However, take this Perſon according to his general Carriage and Demeanour (which will much more appear in our Eccleſiaſtical Part) he was ſo extraordinary for Goodneſs of Nature and other Qualifications, that he deſerved alſo the Syrname of the *Great*, which Poſterity thought fit to confer on him.

CHAP.

THE
ROMAN EMPIRE.

CHAP. III.

Containing the Decay and Ruin of the Empire in the Weſt.

SECT. I.

The firſt ſtep to the Ruin of the Empire.

From the Death of Theodoſius *the Great, to the firſt Invaſion of* Italy *by the Barbarous Nations.*

The ſpace of ſeven years and about ſeven Months.

A. D. 395.

Rufinus left Governor to *Arcadius*, and *Stilicho* to *Honorius*.

Out of Ambition bring all to Ruin.

1. THe worth of a Prince is moſt diſcerned in the want of him, and ſo it happened to the Empire after the death of *Theodoſius*. It was the great infelicity of it and him, that he left two Sons not capable of themſelves to manage publick Affairs; *Arcadius* the Elder being but about ſeventeen years of age, and *Honorius* not eleven: But betwixt them two he divided the Empire before his death; aſſigning to *Arcadius* the Eaſt, and to *Honorius* the Weſtern Parts, wherein were comprized the Weſtern *Illyricum*, with *Italy*, *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Britain* and *Africk*. Till they ſhould come to maturity he appointed *Rufinus* Chief Governor or Aſſiſtant to *Arcadius*; and to *Honorius*, *Stilicho*. Theſe Men having ſuch great Advantages, and puffed up and emboldened therewith; when the Empire, by reaſon of the *Barbarians* which hovered upon it, was in ſo tickliſh a condition, that it required their care and diligence to ſecure it, thruſt it on, and plunged it, through their Ambition, into greater Inconveniences, and ſuch, as it could never recover it ſelf out of them: for they took advantage at the Youth and Imbecillity of their Maſters, and omitted no ſort of Villany to advance themſelves into their rooms. This mutual heat of Ambition caſt them into ſo violent hatred of each other, that to procure the deſtruction of his fellow, as well the one as the other, confounded all things Divine and Humane. This gave ſuch advantage to the *Barbarians* received into the Empire, that they, who by fair and prudent management, might have been induced quietly to incorporate with the Romans, were thereby allured to ſet up for themſelves; to become Conquerors inſtead of Subjects; to cantonize the Provinces, and erect Principalities of their own. How theſe miſchiefs began and proceeded *Zoſimus* declares after this manner.

The manner how declared by *Zoſimus*.

2. After that the Sovereign Power came into the hands of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, they ſeemed only in Name to be poſſeſſed of it; for in reallity, the whole Power of the Eaſt was in *Rufinus*, and that of the Weſt was at the pleaſure of *Stilicho*. They now determined all Suits and Controverſies with great licentiouſneſs; and he went away with the Cauſe who could give moſt Money, or by ſome Relation to the Judge, or indearment with him, could draw him to his Party. Now Lands and Eſtates, of which the owners were thought happily ſiezed, were made over and appropriated to them two: Some by ſuch means bribing them, and thereby evading their Calumnies, with which elſe they would be over-powered; and others freely parting with them, thereby to purchaſe Offices and other Advantages, whereby the Cities were oppreſſed. The Provinces being thus haraſſed on every

Rufinus purpoſes to marry the Emperor to his Daughter.

ſide, all the Wealth flowed into their Coffers; and in every place Poverty raged, where lately had been Abundance of all things. The Princes themſelves were not at all ſenſible of theſe things; but whatſoever *Rufinus* and *Stilicho* ordained was looked upon no otherwiſe than as unwritten Law. And by this time *Rufinus* having vaſtly enriched himſelf, began now to dream of procuring no leſs than the Empire, and that by giving in Marriage to the Emperor a Daughter he had that was fit for Matrimony, judging it a very fit Advantage for his purpoſe. This, by ſome of his Creatures, he procured to be moved to *Arcadius*; and, as he thought, with all ſecrecy imaginable: but by ſome way or other out it came, and began preſently to be the diſcourſe of the people: For from the ſwelling of his Pride and his Arrogance, which daily increaſed, all conjectured what he aimed at; and this increaſed the common Odium againſt him. But as if he intended to cover and conceal his leſſer faults by great Villanies, he attempted another thing in proſecution of his Deſigns. *Florentius*, who, when that great *Julian* was *Cæſar*, exerciſed the Office of *Præfectus Prætorio* over the Nations inhabiting beyond the *Alps*; had a Son who was called by the name of *Lucian*. This Man courted *Rufinus* as his Patron, and had given him Lands of very great value: Upon which Account *Rufinus* always acknowledged himſelf obliged to him, and would ſtill commend him before the Emperor *Arcadius*; who made him thereupon *Comes* of the Eaſt. Now the Authority of this Magiſtrate is ſuch, that he commands all ſuch as govern the Provinces of thoſe parts, and corrects thoſe that do amiſs.

His Ingratitude and Cruelty towards *Lucian*.

The Emperor is perſwaded by *Eutropius* the Eunuch to marry another woman.

3. *Lucian* carried himſelf ſo virtuouſly toward thoſe that were committed to his charge, and acted with that Juſtice, Temperance and other Qualifications requiſite for fitting him for that Employment, that he became famous; for he was no reſpecter of Perſons, neither concerned himſelf otherwiſe than as the Law directed him: In ſo much that when the Emperor's own Uncle *Eucherius* required ſomething that was not fit to be granted, he rejected his Propoſal, and thereby ſo moved him, that he went and complained of him to the Emperor, loading him with a grievous Calumny. *Arcadius* upon this blamed *Rufinus* for having preferred ſuch a Man to ſo great a place. Whereat he taking occaſion, and, as troubled at the Emperors Reprehenſion, making his purpoſe known to none, with a very few in his Company, went to *Antioch*; and coming in late at night, apprehended *Lucian*; and without any Accuſer, called him to his Tryal. He commanded him to be beaten on the Neck with leaden Balls till he expired, and then cauſed him to be put into a Litter, and covered; making all people believe that his life not being taken away, he ſhould find ſome humanity yet at his hands. But the City knowing how the matter went, took it very heavily. Whereupon, to appeaſe the Indignation of the Multitude, he built them a Royal *Porticus*, than which that City hath not any Building more ſplendid. After this he returned to *Conſtantinople*, more than ever ſet upon contracting Affinity with the Emperor: But an Accident happened which put him quite beſides his hopes. There were two Sons of *Promotus*, who in the life time of *Theodoſius*, were brought up together with his Children; whereof one of them had a Virgin with him of extraordinary beauty; by *Philoſtorgius*, ſaid to be the Daughter of *Baudo*, or *Bauto*, who was Conſul with *Arcadius*. This Maid, *Eutropius*, one of the Eunuchs that waited on the Emperor, adviſed him to marry; crying up her handſomeneſs: And when he ſaw him liſten to what he ſaid, he ſhewed him her picture; and thereby exciting his deſire, perſwaded him to take her for his Wife: *Rufinus* being ignorant of all, and thinking of nothing but that his Daughter ſhould ſhortly be the Imperial Bride, and that he ſhould be made by his Son in Law his Conſort in the Throne, when ſhe was once his fellow in his Bed. The Eunuch perceiving the buſineſs of the Marriage to be as good as done, commanded the people to dance and wear their Garlands, as was wont to be at the Marriages of Princes. And when he had taken a Royal Robe and other Ornaments out of the Palace, and given them to the Emperor's Servants to carry, he went through the City with the people before him. Every one imagined that theſe things were for the Daughter of *Rufinus*; but coming at length to the houſe of *Promotus*, there he cauſed them to enter; and by delivering them to the Virgin that was brought up with his Son, preſently declared who it was that muſt be Empreſs. *Rufinus* being thus fruſtrated when he ſaw another woman married to the Emperor, and that it was too late to recal it; beat his brains to deviſe how he might deſtroy *Eutropius*. So went the Affairs of *Arcadius* in the Eaſt.

Stilicho, with better ſucceſs, marries his Daughter to *Honorius*.

4. *Stilicho*, who governed all things in the Weſt, had better ſucceſs in the like Attempts; for he married to *Honorius*, his Daughter which he had by *Serena*, the Neice of *Theodoſius* by *Honorius* his Brother. Beſides now that he was ſtrengthened

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Rufinus plots againſt *Arcadius* and him.

He ſtirs up *Alarich* againſt the Emperor.

ed by his Emperor's Affinity, he had in a manner all the Towns of the Romans under his Command: For when *Theodoſius*, after defeating of *Eugenius*, was dead in *Italy*, he, who then was Captain of the whole Army, kept to himſelf the ſtouteſt and moſt valiant of all the Soldiers, and ſent thoſe that were of little account into the Eaſt. Afterward being angry with *Rufinus* for having equalled his Power in the Eaſt to that of his, he purpoſed to go to *Arcadius*, and to diſpoſe alſo of his Affairs at his pleaſure; alledging that *Theodoſius* upon his Death-bed gave him in charge to have an equal care of both his Sons. *Rufinus* perceiving his Intentions, endeavoured with all his might to hinder the Journey of *Stilicho*, and yet to leſſen and weaken the Forces of *Arcadius* as much as poſſible; and bending his Endeavours this way, to bring them about he found out perſons more wicked and fit for his turn than he could have deſired; and by their aſſiſtance became Author of great miſchiefs to the *Roman* State. There was a certain *Grecian*, one *Muſonius*, who aimed at the higheſt degree of Learning; and had three Sons, *Muſonius*, *Antiochus* and *Axiochus*: of theſe *Muſonius* and *Axiochus* endeavoured both in Learning and Integrity to excel the Vertues of their Father; but *Antiochus* his Inclinations ran quite contrary, and became an Inſtrument of diſhoneſty. *Rufinus* having in his head a deſign to make the *Barbarians* over-run *Greece*, preferred him to the Government of it; and withal, delivered the Cuſtody of *Thermopylæ* to *Gerontius*, who, he was aſſured, would be his Aſſiſtant againſt the Commonwealth. His eye all this while was upon *Alarich*, whom he perceived to be ſeditious, and to labour to exempt himſelf from the obligation of all Laws, being diſcontented that he was not preferred to the Command of the Army, but was left only Captain of thoſe *Barbarian* Forces which *Theodoſius* had committed to his Conduct at ſuch time as by his Aſſiſtance he ſubverted the Tyranny of *Eugenius*. To him he ſends Encouragement, with all ſecrecy, to draw out ſuch *Barbarians*, or other Troops of what Nation ſoever as he could procure, and march boldly at the head of them, with aſſurance to become Maſter of whatever he ſhould approach.

Who, by the Treaſon of *Antiochus* and *Gerontius*, invades *Greece* in a very Hoſtile manner.

Zoſimus his ſtory concerning *Athens*.

Hanc Zoſimi fabulam vide abundè confutatam a Baronio in Annal. ad hunc Annum.

5. *Alarich*, in confidence hereof, departs from *Thrace*, and paſſeth into *Macedonia* and *Theſſaly*, deſtroying all things in his way. When he came near to *Thermopylæ* he diſpatched away Meſſengers to the two lately mentioned *Antiochus* and *Gerontius*, to carry the News of his Approach. *Gerontius*, as he was inſtructed, cauſed his Guards to quit the Straits, and left free paſſage for the *Barbarians* into *Greece*; who being once there admitted, fell upon rifling and waſting all the Country: The Cities they raze, they kill all the Males that were come to Puberty, and drive away the Boys and Women, together with the great Booty now in their hands. All *Bœotia* and other Regions of *Greece* which they once entred they depopulated, and the Devaſtation was ſtill manifeſt in the days of *Zoſimus*, *Thebes* excepted; which eſcaped their fury, partly by reaſon of the ſtrength of its Fortifications, and partly becauſe *Alarich*, haſtening to the Seige of *Athens*, would not make a ſtay about that City. And to *Athens* he came, ſuppoſing he ſhould eaſily become Maſter of it, both for that the place was too large to be well defended; and he thought that being poſſeſſed of the *Piræus* adjoyning to it, that ſo many Inhabitants would ſoon be pinched with want of Neceſſaries. But the Antiquity of the City (*Zoſimus* tells us) in ſo impious an Invaſion, implored Divine Aſſiſtance, and was to remain free from Devaſtation: and the Writer thinks himſelf concerned not to paſs by in ſilence the cauſe of its preſervation; being abſolutely divine, and ſuch as ought to excite all its Auditors unto Piety. When *Alarich* came before the Town with all his Forces, he beheld *Minerva*, the Defendreſs thereof, taking a view of the Walls in the ſame ſhape as ſhe was ſeen amongſt the Images, *viz.* armed, and ready to fall on ſuch as ſhe had ſeen approaching. Moreover, he beheld *Achilles* the Heroe juſt accoutered after the manner wherein *Homer* repreſents him to the *Trojans*, when in a rage he fought againſt them to revenge the death of *Patroclus*. With this Apparition *Alarich* being frighted, omitted all manner of Hoſtility againſt the City; but ſent and offered Peace to the Inhabitants: who accepting of the Terms, Faith for performance was given and received on both ſides, and *Alarich*, with a few in his Company, was admitted into the Town. There being received wth all manner of Civility; when he had waſhed, and been entertained by ſome of the chiefeſt Citizens, who alſo preſented him with ſuch Gifts as they thought would pleaſe him, he departed from that City, and quitted all *Attica* without doing the leaſt damage to it. And thus the City of *Athens*, which in the time of *Valens*, when all *Greece* was ſorely ſhaken with an Earth-quake, alone ſuſtained no loſs at all, now alſo, though in ſo extreme danger, yet eſcaped.

Alarich invades *Peloponneſus.*

6. But *Alarich* having quitted *Attica* without doing the leaſt harm therein, ſo much awed by the Apparitions he there ſaw, invaded *Megaris*; wherein having taken the firſt Town he met with by Aſſault, he haſted toward *Peloponneſus*, never being found to make any reſiſtance. And *Gerontius* giving him free paſſage through the *Iſthmus*, he might eaſily become Maſter of all the Cities without any pains or Combat; for they were not fortified by any Walls, being thought ſecure enough in the Defence that ſhould be made for them in the *Iſthmus*. Preſently then was *Corinth*, with the Neighbouring Towns, taken by Storm; and after it *Argos*, together with ſuch places as lay betwixt it and *Lacedæmon*. And *Sparta* it ſelf fell in alſo to the bargain, being partaker in this Calamity of *Greece*, for that it was neither fortified by Arms nor Men (as it ought to have been) through the Avarice of the *Romans*; but expoſed to the Cuſtody of ſuch Magiſtrates as were Traitors, and ready to ſerve the luſts of thoſe that were in power, in all things, though to the Deſtruction of their own Countrey. However, the Calamity of *Greece* now coming to the ears of *Rufinus*, increaſed the fury of his Ambition more than ever, which he hoped would better ſucceed while the Empire was thus diſturbed. But *Stilicho* ſhipped his Men, and reſolved to ſuccour *Achaia* in this her diſtreſs; and landing in *Peloponneſus*, put the *Barbarians* ſo much to it, that they fled into *Philoe*; where wanting Neceſſaries, he might eaſily have ruined them, but that he gave up himſelf to mimicks, to Wenches, and other ſilly and immodeſt Diverſions which he found in thoſe Parts; affording, in the mean time, to his own Soldiers liberty of conſuming what had been left by the *Barbarians*, whom he alſo permitted to depart with all their Booty out of *Peloponneſus*, and to paſs into *Epirus*, the Cities whereof they haraſſed as they had done formerly thoſe of *Greece*; which perceiving, he returned again into *Italy* without having any thing performed but this, that he added, by the Men he brought over with him, greater miſchiefs to thoſe which had been ſuſtained by that miſerable Country.

Stilicho makes a ſilly and fruitleſs journey againſt him.

Being returned into *Italy*, he ſends an Army into the Eaſt.

7. Being there arrived, he endeavoured to bring about the Deſtruction of *Rufinus* after this manner. He remonſtrated to *Honorius* that it was needful to ſend over ſome Forces to his Brother *Arcadius*, for the Succour and Defeat of thoſe Countries which were ſo miſerably oppreſſed under his Command; and having eaſily obtained Orders to execute what he propoſed, appointed what Men ſhould be ſent under Conduct of *Gaines*, to whom he opened his mind, as to what he would have put in practice againſt *Rufinus*. *Gaines* having got near to *Conſtantinople*, ſent notice of his Approach to *Arcadius*, and how he was come to his Relief with an Army now at hand: And when the Emperor expreſſed much ſatisfaction therein, he perſwaded him to come in Perſon to meet the Soldiers; affirming that this Honour was wont to be done to Military Men. *Arcadius* complying, met them out of the City, and the Soldiers there paid him that reſpect which was due unto him; who alſo made his Return of Civility for their Adoration: But then, the Signal being given by *Gaines*, when they had encompaſſed *Rufinus*, they cut him in pieces; one taking off his Right Hand, and another his Left, and another parting his Head from his Shoulders; whereat were given ſuch ſhouts, and Triumphs expreſſed, as had been uſual after Victories. And they ſo contumeliouſly treated his dead Body, that they carried his hands up and down the City, and deſired thoſe they met to give ſomething to that Inſatiable Creature. Thus periſhed *Rufinus*, as he had juſtly deſerved; who had both been the Author of inſufferable Miſchiefs to private Perſons, and of great Calamities to the Publick State. But *Eutropius*, who all this while had been aſſiſting to *Stilicho* in all things he deviſed againſt him, now governed all things in the Court; and moſt of his Eſtate he ſecured to his own uſe, though he granted liberty to all to reaſſume what had been taken from them. His Wife and Daughter, for fear of periſhing with him, had taken Sanctuary in a Church of the Chriſtians: And them he permitted, giving them his Word, to ſail to *Jeruſalem*; which formerly was the Habitation of the Jews, but from the time of *Conſtantine*, had by the Chriſtians been much beautified with Buildings.

Which deſtroys *Rufinus*.

Eutropius governs all in the Eaſt after his death.

What other Hiſtorians write of this Subject.

8. Thus writeth *Zoſimus* concerning the Ambitious Practices of the two Guardians, intruſted by *Theodoſius*, preſently after his death: To the main of whoſe ſtory all other Authors agree, though ſome with variation of certain Circumſtances. As to the Invaſion of the Eaſtern parts of *Europe* by *Alarich*, they are of accord: But other Hiſtorians make mention of ſome parts of *Aſia* alſo to have been over run and waſted by that Flood of the Northern Nations which *Rufinus* let out into the Empire. *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, our Eccleſiaſtical Writers, make *Lib. 6. c. 1.*
mention of *Armenia*: But *Claudian*, the Pagan Poet, in the ſecond Book of his In- *Lib. 8. c. 1.*

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And *Claudian* the Poet.

vective againſt *Rufinus*, reckons up many other Countries; who, though he particularly ſets forth the Enormity of his Acts, yet poſſibly might be true enough in his Geography. Some *Barbarians*, he ſaith, at his call, by the way of the *Danube*, ſome by the *Caſpian* Straits and the Snows of *Armenia* invaded the Riches of the Eaſt. Hereupon *Cappadocia*, *Lydia*, *Cilicia* and *Syria* were waſted, and hence came the Lamentations of *Aſia*. In *Europe* they over-ran whatſoever lay betwixt the Borders of *Dalmatia* and *Pontus*, with the *Adriatick* Sea: There no Cattel, nor owners of Cattel were to be found; but the Fields like to the Deſerts of *Lybia*. In particular, *Theſſaly*, *Macedonia*, *Pannonia*, *Thrace* and *Myſia* groaned under the burthen of ſo heavy Oppreſſors; in ſo much that the poor Inhabitants, as happens in long and grievous Calamities, were put paſt weeping, the thing being now made ſolemn and of courſe, and the cuſtom depriving them of all ſence of the Evil. Hereupon the Poet falls into a fit of Grief and Lamentation, conſidering how great things have a ſuddain period; how that that Empire, which with ſo much blood was obtained, and with ſo much preſerved, with the labour and ſweat of ſo many Captains, which in ſo many years the *Roman* Valour and Diligence had laid together, ſhould in a ſhort time be overturned by a lazy Traitor; who, while all hands were at work to defend *Conſtantinople* from the rage of the approaching flames, beheld, as he ſaith, the Burning and Ruin of the adjacent Country with laughter; and boaſted of his intereſt with the Enemy, whom he imitated in his very habit. The People of the Eaſt, though labouring under theſe miſeries, yet had this miſery more upon them, that they durſt not complain, nor be ſeen to ſhew a Countenance inclining to diſcontent: But if you believe the Poet, who, in his Poems againſt *Rufinus*, as well as the other written on purpoſe in commendation of *Stilicho*, ſtill claws this perſon, ſecretly wiſhed for his Coming; as placing their hope and confidence in him alone.

Who ſets forth the great miſchiefs done by the *Barbarous* Nations.

Eheu quam brevibus pereunt ingentia fatis. Imperium tanto quæſitum ſanguine, tanto Servatum quod mille ducum peperere labores. Quod tantis Romana manus contexuit annis, Proditor unus iners angusto tempore vertit, &c.

And the Preparations of *Stilicho* againſt them.

9. And as ſoon as the Seaſon of the Year would give him leave, he made effectual Preparations for their relief, and got together both his Weſtern and Eaſtern Troops; ſo many as ſcarcely had been beheld under one Command. There you might have ſeen the *Armenians* with their wreathed Locks, and their green Coverings made faſt to them by eaſie knots; and the fierce looking *Galls*, with their yellow hair. Thoſe whom ſwift *Rodanus*, ſlower *Araris*, whom the *Rhine* at their Birth did explore whether they could ſwim; and whom the more ſpeedy *Garomne*, turned back by the Tide, did water, made there their appearance, and that unanimouſly, laying aſide their former differences; he that had been lately beaten not hating him that had given him the Defeat, nor he that had the better priding himſelf in his ſucceſs: But all together conſpiring to favour and to love their General, though the noiſe of the late Alarms and Fights was ſcarcely ceaſed, and as yet their blood and ſpirits could ſcarcely be cooled. *Rufinus* was not ſo deaf but he preſently had the noiſe of the Expedition; he grew pale, his confidence failed him: He ſtood doubtful whether he ſhould run away, beg pardon, and ſubmit; or betake himſelf to his Friends, the Enemies of the Commonwealth. His Wealth, his great Buildings and Pomp now ſtanding him in no ſtead, he ſighs, he moans, ſtarts out of his bed in a diſtracted ſleep, and ſuffers Puniſhment in the very fear thereof. At length, from Stupidity he returns to his own natural temper; and in a rage enters the Palace, and gets Audience of *Arcadius*; to whom he lays open the vaſt Ambition of *Stilicho*, the danger which threatned him his Miniſter, againſt whom all his Plots were levelled: He deſires, nay, importunes him to divert the Storm; or elſe threatens that he will not fall alone, but that his blood ſhall be mixed with that of another perſon. Herewith he extorts a Meſſage unto *Stilicho* from the unwilling and diſſatisfied Emperor. *Stilicho* now imagined he drew near his Enemy, and joyed to think he ſhould ſhortly come to an Engagement. The *Armenians* he placed on the Left, and to the *Galls* he aſſigned the Right Wing of the Army: But when he had now reached *Theſſaly*, and longed to releive the diſtreſſed Countries, a rumour is ſpread through the Ranks of Soldiers of new Orders arrived from the Emperor, which how to receive the General knew not, being ſo much diſordered at ſo unexpected an Accident. At firſt he ſtands aſtoniſhed betwixt ſorrow and anger, admires that a Coward had ſo much power: and then conſiders whether he ſhould proceed notwithſtanding *Arcadius* his Command to the contrary, or elſe give over his ſo hopeful a deſign. He deſires nothing ſo much as to ſuccour *Illyricum*; but reverence of Authority and Obedience conquers his Valour: On one ſide, publick Convenience moves him; but on the other, fear of Reprehenſion. Having ſhewn ſome paſſion, and exclaimed that *Rufinus* ſhould thus procure the Deſtruction of the Empire, he gives Command

——*pœnamque luit formidine pœnæ.*

Rufinus forces *Arcadius* to ſend to *Stilicho*.

Who thereupon retreats.

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Command for a Retreat. Hereupon the Poet makes the Soldiers extraordinarily diſcontented, and to fret that the Diſcord of the *Romans* ſhould thus promote the Intereſt of the *Goths*, and to offer their Captain to follow whitherſoever he would lead them.

—*Semper ne Getis diſcordia noſtra Proderit?*

Sends the Eaſtern Troops into their own Countries.

Which coming to *Conſtantinople*,

10. However, *Stilicho* being pertinacious in his Reſolution to obey, diſmiſſeth the Troops that were to march Eaſtward, into their own Countries. At firſt they take it ill, as ſlighted by him; but in conſideration of his worth, and that in probability they ſhall be by *Rufinus* delivered up as a Prey to the *Hun* or *Alan*, they vow that where ever they are, he ſhall be their Captain ſtill; though abſent, he ſhall have experience of their being faſt and faithful to him: In concluſion, e'er long he ſhould have a Victim offered him by their hands, a Sacrifice wherewith he ſhould be very long and much pleaſed. Theſe Eaſtern Troops keeping their way, arrived at length at *Theſſalonica*; where recollecting what they had reſolved, they become more violently inclined to the Proſecution. Here the place and the time both conſpired to their farther Union. Neither of ſuch multitudes was one found to betray the Secret; in ſo much that the Poet either feigns or finds an Object of Admiration that ſuch a matter could be ſuppreſſed in ſilence, ſo great a deſign concealed, and ſo great an Heat ſtifled in Travel by the way; eſpecially in their Cups and Entertainments. But in this ſilence and unheard of reſolution they paſs *Hebrus* and *Rhodope*, and through the Mountainous places of *Thrace*, on as far as the City which in thoſe times bore the name of *Hercules*. *Rufinus* by this time had received tidings of their Approach, and thereupon triumphed as one who imagined all things not only ſafe and proſperous about him, but big of Empire and Dominion. And not able to ſuppreſs his joy, he ſummoned together his wicked Counſellors; who looking upon him, and adoring him no otherwiſe than as the Riſing Sun, had promiſes from him of anſwerable Kindneſſes: and now they divide the Countries and Cities amongſt themſelves. But this Army being drawn upon the Plain which lay to the South of *Conſtantinople*, all the reſt being ſurrounded by the Sea; and leaving but a narrow paſſage, the Emperor firſt came out, and ſaluted them in their ſeveral Squadrons. Him followed *Rufinus*, who omitted nothing of fair language; but called them by their names, and magnified their Acts, with a Congratulation for their ſafe Return to their Relations. They anſwered him, and by ſeveral diſcourſes drew out the time in length, till they could contract their Ranks, and incircle him; which they did not only by their Companies drawn together, but by their Targets alſo formed to the ſhape of Palliſado.

Kill *Rufinus*.

11. *Rufinus* was utterly ignorant of what they deſigned all this while, and plucked the Emperor by his Robe; complaining and chiding that he did not aſcend the Tribunal, and declare him his Partner in the Sovereignty. With that they all drew their Swords, and in a confuſed noiſe demanded of him if he imagined to make them Slaves who had given Laws to ſome, reſtored others to liberty, had twice put an end to Civil Broils, and broken through the *Alps* themſelves: And they told him plainly, that by ſo many Wars they were ſufficiently taught, not to ſerve a Tyrant. Being now entrapped as ſome wild Beaſt in the Theatre, one from amongſt the Croud runs out upon him; and giving him a blow, tells him that it was *Stilicho* who ſtruck him by that hand; *that Stilicho* whom he had boaſted to have driven from thoſe Quarters. This blow being ſtruck, was followed with innumerable others; happy being he which could get a ſtroak, or have any limb or member of him; which they carried aloft, as in ſome ſolemn Triumph, eſpecially his head: and ſuch as bore his hands begged ſomething to be beſtowed on them, and moved his fingers ſo far as to receive it, while in the mean time the multitude from the City glutted their eyes in his blood; and ſuch as had loſt their Relations by his procurement, rejoyced to ſee him brought to the ſame, or had it been more ignoble end. Hereupon the Poet takes occaſion very fitly to admoniſh all perſons in proſperity, not to truſt to Fortune, which ſeems at preſent to ſmile upon them, ſeeing that all things in this World are utterly ſlippery and inconſtant. For that hand which now addreſſed it ſelf to bear a Sceptre, which had been ſo often kiſſed by the ſuppliant Nobility; being torn from the Carkaſe, and both remaining unburied, after death it ſelf now went a ſad way of begging. Let him that carries his head ſo high in his proſperous Eſtate caſt an eye toward it, which formerly ſo great and powerful, was now thrown in the Streets to be trod on by any man. He who built Pyramids, and provided a Monument for his Sepulture which equalled Temples, who thought of nothing but being cloathed with Purple; now became naked, as he was, and a Prey to the Fowls of the Air. He who had in his thoughts poſſeſſed himſelf of the World, now lay wanting a little earth, was buried by parcels with a thin

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Mold; and was often buried, and yet no where. Of the Poet's witty Deſcription of *Rufinus* his appearance before *Minos* and *Rhadamanthus*; how, aſtoniſhed at his Crimes, they would not ſuffer him to remain in the ordinary place of Malefactors, but condemned him to be whipped out of *Stix* and *Erebus*, to an empty Dungeon beyond the Darkneſs of the *Titans*, the utmoſt *Tartarian Receſſus's*, the *Chaos*, and the very Foundations of Night; and there to lie and gape as long as the Stars wheel about the Pole, and the Winds beat upon the Sea Shores. We ſhall commend the honeſt Contrivance, not the Hiſtory.

Stilicho quiets the *Franks*, *Suevi* and *Allemans*.

Sigon.

12. Though theſe Poems be out of our Road, yet it cannot be denyed but that for want of more known and certain Paths, it may be convenient ſometimes to turn into them. The main thing wherein he differs from *Zoſimus* is this, that *Stilicho* was letted in his Proceeding by the expreſs Command of *Arcadius*, extorted by *Rufinus*: and indeed ſtrange it is, that he ſhould only be diverted by Women, and other effeminate Diverſions he met with in the Country. And *Claudian* makes the Deſtruction of *Rufinus* to have been deviſed by the Army, without any Plot or Forecaſt of his; wherein poſſibly he uſes Poetick liberty, though much he inſiſts upon that wonder, that an Army in their March and Cups could conceal a matter ſo reſolved amongſt themſelves. However, ſuch was the end of that ill Miniſter, who had for three Years and above, ordered the Affairs of the Eaſtern Empire according to his own Will and Luſt. And now, having been hitherto diverted by the Ambitious practices of him and others, we muſt conſider what farther happened of Concernment in the mean time. We find that *Stilicho*, before his late mentioned Expedition into the Parts of *Greece*, marched into *Rhetia*; and by the terror of his Name and Approach ſo terrified the Kings of the *Franks*, the *Suevi* and *Allemans*, that they begged Peace; though *Marcomeres*, King of the *Franks*, made a great ſtir in his Country, but the People drove him into Exile: and when his Brother *Summo* ſeemed to revenge his Cauſe, he was killed by his Country-men: After a League and Friendſhip was concluded betwixt them and the *Romans*. All this Year *Arcadius* had his Reſidence at *Conſtantinople*, and *Honorius* at *Milan*; where they were put upon enacting ſeveral Laws, as the ſtate of the Empire required; at leaſt, as they judged which were next about them.

The *Cenſuales* inhibit a Complaint to *Arcadius*.

Who takes order therein.

13. As amongſt Arms, ſo in the midſt of Arbitrarineſs and Tyranny, Laws are wont to be ſilent, ſo we find it to have happened this Year in the Eaſt; there being few found dated from *Conſtantinople*; eſpecially in reſpect to thoſe enacted in the Weſt by *Honorius*. But in the Month of *May Arcadius* was preſented with a Petition from the *Cenſuales*; who complained, that by a Reſcript obtained by ſtealth, their Office in the Senate-houſe was invaded. We have formerly ſhewn how theſe *Cenſuales* were employed in the Senate, and how they wrote and recorded the Acts thereof. Now it ſeems that Officer who had the Stile of *Princeps Officii*, belonging to the *Præfect* of the City, having alſo to do in the Senate whereof his Maſter was *Præſul*, interfeered with them, and intruded into ſome work and profit which of Right did belong unto them. For in Anſwer to their Requeſt, ſo *Arcadius* decides the matter, in an Act of State inſcribed to *Theodotus*, *Præfect* of the City; That he will have all Citations of all Cauſes and Perſons, although of *Senatorian* “
Dignity, to belong to the *Princeps*. So that all Beginnings and Introductions “
of Cauſes, for which certain Fees were wont to be paid, were to be “
peculiar to him; whoſe employment it was to introduce both ſuch as were “
at Law, and their Advocates, into the *Secretarium* of the Judge, and into the “
Senate ſuch as had buſineſs to do therein. But all other Acts he will have diſpatched “
by the *Cenſuales*, neither any prejudice to ariſe to ſuch as had made their “
Applications to them by vertue of the Subreptitious Reſcript; So that all the buſineſs “
belonging to Perſons once cited and introduced ſhall be theirs, who underſtanding “
very well, and dealing in the *Cenſus* of the Senators, or the value of their “
Eſtates, had alſo ſometimes power to nominate *Prætors* to this or that *Prætorſhip*. “
And as they kept and ordered the *Albus* or Roll of Senators, if any *Prætor* was miſſing, they celebrated Games for him at his charge. It alſo belonged to them to take care that every one in the City uſed a decent Habit, and befitting his Quality, eſpecially Senators; with other things we have already obſerved. This ſame Month he confirmed a certain Privilege which his Father had granted to the *Agentes in rebus*, at the Petition of ſome perſons concerned. It was for the erecting of a new degree of Honour and Place amongſt them; which *Arcadius* ſignifies to *Oſias* the *Magiſter Officiorum*, that he will have it joyned to that of the *Centenarii*, or equalled with it; which, of the five Degrees in the *Schola* of the *Agentes in rebus*, was the Second; after the *Ducenarii*; before the *Biarchi*, *Circitores* and *Equites*.

L. 5. de Principib. Agentium in rebus, Cod. Th. lib. 6. tit. 28. Dat. 12. Kal. Jun. & L. 2. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit.

And gratifies the *Agentes in rebus*.

L. 7. de Agentib. in rebus. Cod, Th. lib. 6. tit. 27. Dat. 6. Kal. Jun. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

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And further regulates their Functions.

14. At the later end of this ſame Month he ſtill concerned himſelf about the Functions of the *Agentes in rebus*, there being report made of their claſhing with the Magiſtrates of the Provinces in the Management of the *Curſus Publicus*. He reſolved that in every Province there ſhould be one eſtabliſhed (by the name of “ *Curioſus*) who ſhould have nothing elſe to do, but attend to the due management “ of that publick Service.“ Having appointed but one *Agens in rebus* for this work in every Province, he had the more reaſon to confine him to his Employment, two having formerly been appointed to this Service in every Province by *Conſtantius* his Predeceſſor. But he further prohibits theſe ſingle *Agentes* or *Curioſi* to have “ any thing to do with the Governors of the Provinces, or the Provincials ſubject “ to them, or their Acts; ſo as only to take notice who made uſe of the *Curſus* without “ warrant, or in the uſe of it, exceeded thoſe bounds and limits which were ſet “ them by other Laws. In the next place he forbids that they vex or trouble any Ships “ which by other Injunctions of Princes had been provided, although ſome Veſſels “ upon certain Rivers were deſtinated to the Service of the *Curſus*. In the next place “ he prohibits that they receive any Complaints from the Provincials concerning any “ Injuries received by them, as formerly had been injoyned concerning the Stationary “ Soldiers; ſo as they ſhall not report theſe Complaints either to the Prince “ himſelf or the Defenſors of the Cities. In the laſt place he declares that they “ ſhall not commit any one to Priſon, which *Conſtantius* alſo had formerly prohibited; “ Which it was alſo unlawful for the *Defenſors* themſelves to do, though they might receive Complaints, and hear what might be ſaid on all ſides in reference to ſuch things as were brought before them. But theſe Laws were trifles, and related to things of ſmall conſequence in compariſon of another made this Year by *Arcadius*, and directed to *Rufinus* his *Præfectus Prætorio*, as yet living, concerning the performance of Oaths that had been made in Contracts by ſuch perſons as now were arrived at Age, or five and twenty Years; a Conſtitution ſo famous that many learned Lawyers have exerciſed their Wit and Reading upon it.

L. 8. de Curioſis Cod. Th. lib. 6. tit. 29. Dat. Kal. Jun. Marcello Mag. Offic. & L. ult. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit.

15. By the ancient Roman Laws during the Commonwealth, the *Cenſors* had cognizance of Perjury, and in the Conviction and Puniſhment thereof were very diligent; yet did the Puniſhment only extend to Diſgrace and Infamy, the great Revenge being left to God. Under the Emperors, ſometimes perjured perſons were beaten with Staves, otherwhile baniſhed for a time: But theſe were not ſuch as committed the Offence in heat or paſſion, but thoſe who in Judicial Proceedings, as in Inſtruments or Writings, forſwore themſelves. But now *Arcadius* thought it high time to put ſome ſtop to this Crime, often committed in Contracts and “ Agreements; ſubjecting to ſeveral ſevere Penalties him, who being above twenty “ five Years, ſhould recede from any Bargain and Agreement to which he had “ ſworn. In the firſt place, ſuch ſhould incur Infamy in a legal and political ſenſe, “ not only as a Criminal is wont to do with all good men. In the next place, they “ ſhould forfeit all Right to any Action which afforded cauſe or occaſion to the “ Compact. Beſides this, they ſhould be obnoxious to any Condition or Penalty “ expreſſed in the Gontract. And in the laſt place, if they had gained any thing by “ it, they ſhould be compelled to reſtore it.“ But then, this muſt be underſtood to have happened in Agreements, Sponſions or Stipulations before going to Law, in ſuch caſes wherein an Oath was to be interpoſed. The Party alſo muſt be more than five and twenty, and not preſumed to be of Age by favour and fiction of Law, as ſometimes thoſe are preſumed to be, who have not fully compleated that term. If a Minor, when ſuch had acted contrary to his Oath, he was not to be puniſhed in this kind, yet he was compellable to keep it; which is alſo at this day practiſed in *France*. Again it is ſuppoſed that the Pact or Agreement was not extorted from the Party by any force of pain or terror, as it was too common in this Age; particularly, in the Dealings of *Rufinus* himſelf, as we have ſeen, to whom the Law is directed. And the Oath was to have been an Oath indeed, the Name of the Omnipotent God being ſolemnly invocated, or the Contract having been confirmed by ſwearing by the Health of the Princes, at this time a kind of Obteſtation ſtill common. This Oath muſt alſo have been really broken by ſome Contravention, ſome Act and Deed manifeſtly repugnant to the Oath; as if a man appealed contrary to his Oath, or betook himſelf by Petition to the Prince, ſo as by his wilful fact, the ſubſtance, ſolidity and firmneſs of the Act was impaired. For if the payment of Money had been deferred, or a man was, as they ſay, *in Mora*, he was not thereby ſubject to theſe Penalties; there being ſometimes juſt cauſe for delay, and ſuch as may be pleaded; and this Law, ſuppoſing the ſubſtance of the Pact violated by ſome Action. In the laſt place it is required that the Adverſary of the ſuppoſed perjured

He reſtrains Perjury by ſevere Penalties.

L. 8. de Pactis & Tranſactionibus, Cod. Th. lib. 2. tit. 9. Dat. 5. Idibus Octobris, & L. 4. Cod. Juſt. de Tranſactionibus. vide Gothof. in l.

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perjured perſon have himſelf kept firmly to, and obſerved all the Laws and Requiſites of the Compact.

16. As for the reaſon or Hiſtorical occaſion of this Law, ſome conceive it made at the requeſt of *Rufinus* himſelf, to whom it is directed, and that to confirm thoſe Alienations, which, as we have ſeen, he had extorted from fearful and abuſed perſons. As ſeveral Writers affirm him to have been a Merchant of Laws, and to have made a great advantage of this Traffick, it is not to be doubted but he would make uſe of the Legiſlative Power to confirm his own Tranſactions as well as thoſe of other men: employing his Emiſſaries, as they ſay he did, to eſpy what advantage might be taken, and then terrifying people with fear of Suits and Proſecutions, he wreſted their Eſtates out of their Hands, and by Oath obtain'd confirmation of theſe Contracts; which being made with ſo much injuſtice, no wonder it is that ſo many cautions are mentioned in the Law, and ſo many Bars interpoſed, that the obliged parties might not evade, multiplied cautions being ordinarily ſuſpected as ſigns and concealmentts of fraud. Then the maker of this Law ſeems to flatter the Prince by the manner of confirming the Pacts by the obteſtation of his health, which is a preſumption that ſomething was deſigned for his own ends, eſpecially belabouring himſelf ſo much in the couting of this perjury ſo much dreaded. Indeed this was the time when *Rufinus* was in the full carieer of his cruel and ambitious practiſes; for this Law is the laſt that is inſcribed to him, neither did he ſurvive the date of it above a Month, ſo that the pretext for it may ſeem ſpecious; but it is frivolous in it ſelf, as alſo another which was made after the death of *Rufinus* for the confiſcation of his Eſtate: for that alſo ſeems very hard for ſuch as he had ſpoiled of their Goods, and both of them compared together, it may ſeem, that both before and after his death all hope was cut off of any reſtitution to be made to the right owners. If ſo it was, and theſe conjectures were indeed realities, it may be objected, how vain and beſide the purpoſe are theſe innumerable queſtions which are made upon this Law by *Alciate*, *Fachinæus*, and others, it being cruel, and adapted to the temper of the times; and *Tribonian* is reprehended for raſhly putting it into *Juſtinian*'s Code, and making that conſtant and perpetual, which had its riſe from irational prejudice, and was juſtly to ceaſe with the occaſion, or rather never ought to have been. But yet though *Rufinus* and *Arcadius* may ſeem to have had theſe aims, yet the Law deſerved to derive its ſeverity even from the temper of the Age, which was ſuch, that as Oaths in Contracts were too ordinarily broken, which made *Chryſoſthom* now inveigh againſt that uſe of them, ſo was it come to that paſs, that if Bargains were made without them, they were not eſteemed at all obligatory; *Upon the word of an honeſt man* being in thoſe days of no validity. Therefore ſeeing there was no other means ſo ſtrong to preſerve the faith and compacts of men as the Religion of an Oath, it was neceſſary to keep up and fortifie this Bulwark of humane ſociety with as ſevere Rules and Cautions as the thing might bear, or could rationally be deviſed.

The Hiſtorical occaſion of the Law gueſſed at.

But fit for the Age.

17. But *Arcadius* amongſt other things provided for by his Laws, would not forget his pleaſures, to which he began to be now too much addicted. As in this Age, ſeveral ornaments were peculiar to the Emperours, and there were other things which it was not lawful for Subjects to make uſe of; ſo were there peculiar Breeds of Horſes, which were neither to be ridden, or drawn by private men. Of theſe, the moſt eminent at this time were known by the names of *Hermogeniani*, from one *Hermogenes*, firſt taken notice of to breed them; and of *Palmatii*, from one *Palmatius*, who had numbers of this ſort, and bred them at his Town, called *Andavilis* near to *Tyana* in *Cappadocia*, which Country, as is evident from many Writers, was excellent for the breed of Horſes in general, and therefore of more ſorts than theſe two. S. *Baſil* makes mention of one *Palmatius*, who was rich this way, and his Eſtate being confiſcated, his Horſes were alſo ſeiſed, and added to the *Greges Dominici*, or the Emperors Horſes. This Breed excelled in ſwiftneſs, upon which account they were deſtined to the *Curule* Races, and were ſent from the Eaſt, weſt-ward upon occaſion; and for the improvement of it they were wont to put them to Phrygian Mares. Now that *Arcadius* might reſerve theſe two for himſelf, for every *Hemogenian* or *Palmatian* Horſe or Mare, he requires in way “ of price or puniſhment a pound of Gold, or ſeventy two *Aurei*, which was an “ exceſſive rate, and juſt the double of what he exacts by this ſame Law for other “ Horſes of the *Greges Dominici*, which is but ſix Ounces of Gold, or thirty ſix “ *Aurei*. The Edict is directed to *Caſarius* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, whom he thereby commands, with the Title of *Sublime Magnificence*, by publiſhing Edicts of his own, to give notice and warning both to the leaſt and the greateſt, that if they pay

--Delectus equorum. Quos Phhygiæ matres, Argæaque gramina paſtæ Semine Cappadocum ſacris præſepibus edunt, Primus honos. Claudian in laudib. Serenæ Reginæ, loquens de Stilichone ejus marito, qui fuît comes ſtabuli Imp. vid. av. 190.

L. un. de Greg. Dominico Cod. Th. lib. 10. Tit. 6. Et l. un. Cod. Juſt. Cod. tit. Dat. prid. Kal. Decemb.

He will have none uſe his two Breeds of choiceſt Horſes.

pay not in the Rates lately mentioned, they ſhall be levied out of their Eſtates. For, theſe Monitory Edicts for avoiding Inconveniencies were wont to be made, and publiſhed by the Præfects themſelves.

He reſtrains the pride of ſuch *Curiales* as had arrived at the degree of *Comes*.

18. At the latter end of the year complaints were brought by the Governours of Provinces to *Arcadius*, againſt certain *Curiales* who had been honoured with the Dignity of *Comites*. When they had run through all the Functions of their Corporations, or had well diſcharged a meſſage to the Prince, for their pains and fidelity they were often rewarded with the Honour of *Comes*, ſometime of the firſt, ſecond or third Rank; ſome of them hereupon would be puffed up, eſpecially with this privilege which belonged to their new Degree, that the Judges of Provinces were bound to receive them with a kiſs, and to admit them to ſit upon their Benches. As familiarity breeds contempt, imagining that they were now their Fellows, they behaved themſelves contumaciouſly toward them; and though they were ſtill ſubject to their authority, yet would they not obey their Orders. Upon complaint hereof made, *Arcadius* in another Edict directed to *Cæſarius*, declares, that ſuch *Curiales* as had obtain'd the *Honorary Comitiva* “ ought to ſtand in awe of thoſe to whoſe Government they are committed; neither “ ought they to think that they have deſerved the Dignity, that they may deſpiſe “ the Precepts of the Judges. If any of them ſhall perſevere in ſuch a fault, he “ will have him undergo a Fine of five pounds of Gold; and beſides, be deprived “ of the honour, which by ſuch folly he had betrayed. This is the laſt of the Laws which were this year enacted by *Arcadius* in the Eaſt. The Officers of his Brother *Honorius* in the Weſt, being not ſo much diſtracted, had more leiſure to attend Civil Buſineſs.

L. 150. de Decurionib. Cod. Th. & l. 47. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. dat. 4. kal. Jan.

Honorius makes a Law againſt New-years Gifts.

19. *Honorius*, at the beginning of the year, when he received New-years Gifts, found ſome inconvenience in the making of thoſe Preſents, which he thought fit to reform. The original of theſe New-years Gifts amongſt the *Romans* is made by *Symmachus* almoſt equal to that of their City: for, he writes, that they were firſt offered to King *Tatius*, being no other than the Branches of a fruitful Tree which grew in the Grove of *Strenua* (the Goddeſs which made men *ſtrenuous* or valiant, as S. *Auguſtine* reports of her, and had a Temple in the City) from which theſe Preſents received the name of *Strenæ*: they were alſo called *Vota*, becauſe at this time were Vows and Prayers made, both in the City and Provinces for the health and ſafety of the Emperours; and that by a cuſtom derived as high as from *Julius Cæſar*, *Auguſtus* and others; though after *Auguſtus* his time, other Princes varied herein, ſome admitting of it, ſome not, but it appears that it was in force in the days of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*. On New-years day the *Præfect* of the City, as the Epiſtle of *Symmachus*, then bearing that Office, makes it evident, in the name of the Senators was now wont to preſent the Prince with ſome pieces of Gold (five *Solidi*) in way of gratitude and offering for his vigilancy and ſtrenuous demeanour, with their lucky wiſhes for his proſperity. This cuſtom *Honorius* now thought fit to admit of, but withal to preſcribe and aſſign ſome Bounds to this liberality of his Subjects, by declaring in an Edict directed to *Baſilius*, *Præfect* of *Rome*, That when the happy year is opened by theſe publick “ Vows, for one pound of Gold ſhall ſeventy two *Solidi* of that they call *Obryziacum* “, be reckoned or valued; which value had been formerly ordained by *Valentinian* in the payment of Tributes. What ſhould be meant by this *Obryza* and *Obryziack* Gold, and whence the word ſhould receive its derivation ſeveral argue divers ways, but by the Laws and otherwiſe it appears that by *Obryzum* or *Obruſſum* was underſtood Gold refined, or frothing, as it were in the fire, and flowering, from which reſemblance it ſeems to have received its Name. Now whereas in the days of *Valentinian* the Elder, there had been a great change made as to Coin, in the value of the *Aurei*, which from eighty four in one pound of Gold were brought down to ſeventy two, and as *Gothofred* is of opinion, ſo as the *Aurei* did not increaſe in bulk and weight, but only in value, ſo as ſeventy two of theſe eighty four, were to be taken and eſteemed for one pound of Gold, as hereupon the pound decreaſed, ſo *Valentinian* ordained that the prizes of things ſhould decreaſe. And whereas it became a queſtion, whether the Preſent made by the Senate at the beginning of the New Year ſhould be after the old mode and cuſtom of the City (which allowed more to the weight of Gold than what was uſually aſſigned in the Provinces) or according to the like Ordinance of *Valentinian*, to encourage the Senate to this liberality which might be a means to preſerve kindneſs betwixt the Prince and Nobility, *Honorius* declares that he will be ſatisfied with ſeventy two “ for one pound of Gold, provided it be of that called *Obryziacum*, or the purer ſort. “

Lib. 10. epiſt. 28. vide notas Juretti in ep.

Merito vobis ſolennes pateras cum quinis ſolidis, ut numinibus integritatis offerimus, nec veſter pudor, nec noſter cenſus oneratur.

L. un. de oblatione votorum, Cod. Th. lib. 7. Tit. 24. & l. un. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. dat. non. Mart. vide Gothofr.

Βρύζν *Græcis de illis rebus dicitur quæ efferveſcendo ſpumam ejiciunt, qua florem emittunt. at* ὀβρύζειν & βρύζειν *ſive* βρύειν *idem.*

20. About this time complaint was made by ſome Inhabitants of *Campania*, that they were oppreſſed by the Collectors of Tribute. For, *Campania*, as we have ſaid, being a Country lying near to *Rome*, and ſubject to ſeveral Impoſitions for maintenance of the City, had, however from its fruitfulneſs it was termed *Fælix*, yet ſeveral barren and unimproved Grounds which were wont to have indulgence or immunity from ſuch Burthens. Yet ſcarcity of Proviſions preſſing the Citizens, the Owners of thoſe Lands were it ſeems called on, and a new Book of Rates had been made, wherein they were alſo Ceſſed to afford a ſhare. Upon complaint hereof made, Inſpectors were ſent down to conſider, and report the matter how it ſtood; and their report ſo far approved the complaint, that *Honorius* now by an Edict directed to *Dexter* the Præfect, declares immunity to five hundred twenty“ eight thouſand and forty two Acres, which appeared from the old Records to “ have enjoyed formerly the like privilege. And as ſome indulgent Emperors had done before him, he commands the New Books, called *Cenſuales* and *Polyptici* to be burned by this ſame Law, which is rationally thought to have been made in obedience“ to *Theodoſius*, who, as S. *Ambroſe* relates, did in his laſt Will and Teſtament“ give order for ſuch Relaxation of Tributes. And whereas under the Tyranny and Rule of *Eugenius*, being of ſuch continuance, many voluntary Contracts had been made, and other matters had paſſed as in ordinary courſe of Law, *Honorius*, to prevent confuſion, and unravelling all things in the Countries that had been ſubject to him; thought fit by a Conſtitution inſcribed to *Andromachus*, *Præfect* of *Rome*, to confirm all Acts which had happened voluntarily between “ party and party, without any fraud, force or fear. But with this Proviſo, that in all Inſtruments, the Names of his Conſuls (theſe were *Arbogaſtes* and *Nicomachus*“ *Flavianus*, his two great Friends) ſhould be aboliſhed, that they might “ not receive the reverence uſually made by acclamations when there was occaſion“ to hear their names read or mentioned in Courts. And whereas upon the omiſſions of the names of Conſuls in Deeds or Inſtruments, a valid exception lay againſt them; he declares this ſhall be no Plea in Law, but they ſhall be of force however, though with ſuch omiſſion; the time of Tyranny or Uſurpation being eſteemed as never to have been, and whereof nothing conld be præſcribed.

He gives eaſe from Tribute to ſeveral Lands in *Campania*.

L.2 de Indulg. Debitorum. cod. th. lib. 11. tit. 28. dat. 9. Cal. Apr Abeſt a cod. Juſt: ut hiſtorica & temporaria

Voluntary Acts during the late Uſurpation confirmed.

L. 9. de infirmandis his quæ ſub tyrannis, &c. cod. th. lib. 15. tit. 14. Dat. 11. Cal. Maii. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt. velut temporaria.

21. The publick Acts of *Eugenius* himſelf were now declared null and void, as was wont to be done in ſuch caſes; and not only his, but ſome of thoſe of *Maximus* alſo, though dead ſeveral years before; for, ſome time was required for bringing to light ſeveral inconveniences ariſing from what paſſed during this long Uſurpation. He had alienated ſome Lands of perpetual Right, as they called them, belonging to the *Res privata*, or Patrimony of the Prince, and that by Inſtitution and Decree of the *Rationales*; whereas theſe Alienations belonged not to them, but to the *Ordinary* Judges of Provinces, and therefore by an Edict directed to *Eulogius* now *Comes R. P.* the Emperour declares that ſuch as had come by ſuch “ Lands in ſuch a manner ſhall be deprived of them. Not only ſuch as had obtained theſe publick Lands were forced to quit them, but thoſe who had ſerved in the late Uſurpation of *Eugenius*, as Soldiers, or had ſome Offices under him, were as Traytors branded with Infamy. This continued till *Honorius* began to bethink himſelf of his dying Fathers Commands and Example; who, as he left order in his Will, that indulgence ſhould be ſhewed to his oppreſſed Subjects; ſo while he lived, he manifeſted much clemency to them he had already ſubdued; and made not ſuch advantage of the ſucceſſes of his Arms as he might have done; and dying ſo ſoon after his Victory, time was wanting to him, but not intention, to ſhew much more his Generoſity. Therefore in a ſhort time did *Honorius* enact a Law, directed to ſeveral perſons, to be publiſhed in their ſeveral Juriſdictions; wherein profeſſing that he ought to follow his Father's pattern, He pronounces pardon to “ all ſuch obnoxious perſons, and declares that he will place his kindneſs upon ſuch “ as could not think of any ſuch Beneficence; ordaining that thoſe who “ fought under the late Tyrant, had diſcharged any Office under him, or been “ promoted to any Honorary Dignity, in what ſtate or quality ſoever, ſhall not ſuſtain“ for ſo doing any Infamy, or be polluted as he terms it, with any ugly name: “ but that they ſhall enjoy whatſoever Dignity they ſtood poſſeſſed of, before the “ time of the foreſaid Tyranny. “

But the publick Acts of *Eugenius* himſelf declared null.

Perpetui juris ſive Emphiteuticarii.

L. 10. eiuſd. tit: Dat. 6. Cal. Mar. Abeſt a cod. Juſt;

Paſſeth an Act of Indemnity to the Followers of *Eugenius*.

Fas eſt ſequi nos paternæ diſpoſitionis arbitrium.

L. L. 11. 12. ejuſd. tit. Abſunt a cod. Juſt.

22. In this Act of Grace and Pardon none was ſo much concerned as *Flavianus* the *Præfect*, whom, though ſome Writers relate to have died at the Fight when *Theodoſius* paſſed the Straits, and entred *Italy*; yet that he ſurvived the Victory, and lived to feel the effects of his clemency, we find in the Epiſtles of his dear Friend *Symmachus*, who took great pains in his behalf. The perſon he applyed himſelf to

Flavianus as deeply concerned therein as any.

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Lib 4. ep. 7.

as Mediator, was *Stilicho*, one who could beſt do his buſineſs, and he did it ſo effectually, that *Symmachus* gives him thanks for it in ſeveral Letters. In one he mentions how the Father of the Princes, now received into Heaven (*Theodoſius*) “ had ſhewn before his death ſeveral examples of his clemency; and had reſtored to “ his *Flavianus*, whom he calls his Son, and ſometimes his Lord (their unity in Paganiſh “ Superſtition, as well as in other reſpects, cauſed this dearneſs) many “ things which by accidents had been taken from him. That one and the chiefeſt Title “ of goodneſs was reſerved for his Heir (*Honorius*); which at length by his advice “ (meaning *Stilicho*) he had added unto his Father's Gracious Acts, concluding “ with himſelf, that time, and not any will was wanting to him that was deceaſed. “ But now (he adds) theſe Works of Clemency which by Fate had been interrupted, “ were by his Succeſſor, moſt like to him in this reſpect, brought to perfection: “ that he had conſummated what his Father had begun; as a reward for “ which, he wiſhes him ſuch Adviſers, (*Monitores*) or Counſellors as *Stilicho* “ himſelf, and thoſe that are of the ſame humour; thoſe who ſuggeſt honeſt and “ honourable things to Soveraign Princes, being the Inſtruments of a good Age. “ He acknowledges that in *Honorius* was a wit of a divine fountain, as he words it, “ and a nature prompt to all virtue; yet to uſe the compariſon, the beſt Pilots “ might find aſſiſtance from the hands of the Rowers: he tells him, that he was “ rendred more careful of his fame, both by the truſt he had in the Army, and “ the affection he bore him, as a Relation: and hence it was, that he invented “ for him ways of gaining love; and when he was employed in the greateſt Affairs, “ adviſed him to have an eye to the condition of private men. But ſuch evils “ as are incident to humane life are baniſhed, and in the Senate is nothing ſorrowful “ to be ſeen. To ſome, honour is given; to others it is reſtored. To one Family “ we owe whatſoever we are in particulars. “ What he ſpeaks of here in general, he explains in ſome of his other Letters, wherein he ſignifies he was called to Court by the interpoſition and procurement of *Stilicho*, which they termed *Evocatio*; for in thoſe times ſcarcely was it lawful for any to come thither, and leave their Country without leave firſt obtained; it being a ſpecial privilege granted to the *Decuriones* and the *Silentiarii* of the Palace, that after they had ſerved their time, they might come when they pleaſed without the ſecurity of an *Evocatoria*. He writes moreover of his being called to the Dignity of *Conſul*, and reſtored to the *Præfectſhip*. But before *Honorius* had given perfection to what his Father had done, he being incumbred with his ſmall fortune in ſeveral difficulties; by various Letters, written to ſeveral men in place, he laboured to raiſe him Friends: *Protadius*, he prays to aſſiſt him in the matter of ſome payment due from the Soil, from his Fathers time; alledging he was not able to undergo ſo heavy a Burthen. And to *Florentius*, whom he ſolicites in the ſame matter, he expreſſeth that having already obtained great things by the lenity of the deceaſed Emperour, that he may ſo ſay, he is yet ſtrangled with this one knot of misfortune, being poor, and his Patrimony exhauſted. Wherefore he tells him, that he, and ſuch as he, ought to prevent his imminent Ruine. Thus ſtickled *Symmachus* for his Friend *Flavianus*.

For whom *Symmachus* much ſtickled.

Interpretatus ſcilicet Divo Principi tempus non animum defuiſſe.

Ep. 5. ejuſd. lib. vide Fureti notas.

Lib. 7. epp. 94, 95, 103.

Lib. 4. ep. 19.

L. 4. ep. 51.

23. At this time great Reports came out of *Africk*, that the *Curiales* generally deſerted their ſtations, and conſequently the Honour and Safety of the Cities which conſiſted in their Attendance and Services, much decayed. This drew out an Edict from *Honorius* to *Ennoius* the *Proconſul* of that Province, concerning the “ Nominations to be made of theſe perſons, ſuitable to thoſe of his Predeceſſors “ formerly related. And becauſe to ſhun their Employments they pretended to “ travel, or to ſerve in the Wars; he now decrees, that if in the term of five years “ they do not return, their Eſtates ſhall be ſeiſed to the uſe of the Courts, for the diſcharge of the Duties and Charges from which they ran. Moreover, to gratifie the *Africans* in a matter wherein cuſtom had engaged their affections, he decrees, “ that thoſe of them called *Sacerdotales*, which were ordained for celebrating “ of Games, ſhould be reſtored; pretending therein to renew a kindneſs formerly “ granted by his Father. “ Further, becauſe great men were wont to receive theſe Fugitives under their Patronage and Protection, in *Italy*, as well as other Provinces, he thought fit to ſignifie, a month after, to *Dexter* the *Præfect*, “ that whoever ſhould harbour a *Curialis*, ſhould forfeit the quantity of five pounds “ of Gold, and one pound for harbouring one of theſe they called *Collegiati*. “ But as complaints were made againſt *Curiales* their forſaking their Employments, ſo about this time againſt ſome Judges or Governours of Provinces for employing themſelves too much in the hearing of certain petty crimes, which it was below their quality and degree to take notice of, and rather belonged to thoſe inferiour

L. L. 141, 142, 143, 144, 145. de Decurionib. Dat. 17. Cal. Jun.

Curiales in *Africk* reſtrained from deſerting their ſtations.

L. 146. de Decurionib. dat. 17. Cal. Jun. Abeſt a cod. Juſt.

A. D. 395.

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And Governors of Provinces from medling in inferior Cauſes.

Magiſtrates they called *Irenarchæ* or *Defenſors*, and Aſſertors of the Peace. One *Paſiphilus* was the Man that moſt bore the blame; and to him *Honorius* ſent a Præſcript in nature and force of a Law, To reſtrain his Covetous humour, and let “ him know what Cauſes he thought below his Cognizance: Such were thoſe of “ a Slave that is run away; of Theft, whether manifeſt or not manifeſt; the taking “ away of Cattel, Slaves, any Goods by force; ſiezing on things Moveable or “ Immoveable, as on ſome ſmall peice of Ground, Dung, or ſome Cottage. An “ Interdict or Prohibition relating to ſome Momentary Poſſeſſion, which ſometimes “ happened upon ſlight occaſions; the removing of Cattel, and other ſmall matters, “ wherein the Accuſer was not to be forced to any Inſcription; of which we “ have formerly ſpoken. He tells him he will have him Judge of Criminal Cauſes “ only relating to this Inſcription, and of fit moment for his Authority; impoſing “ a Fine of five pounds of Gold upon thoſe his Officials whoſe Employment it was “ to ſtand at the *Velum* or Curtain, and to introduce Perſons into the *Secretarium*, “ if they ſuffered any of theſe petty Cauſes to be entred and admitted. “ But *Juſtinian* afterward approved not hereof, but left the meaneſt Cauſes to the Cognizance of the Preſident of the Province: Upon which account *Tribonian* omitted to put this whole Law into his Code, though he hath taken three pieces or Sentences out of it. So various are both the Humours and Exigences of times.

Paſiphilo ſuo ſalutem. l. 8. de Juriſdictione, Cod. Th. lib. 2. tit. 1. Dat 5. Id. Jun.

As alſo Military Perſons from medling in Civil Matters.

24. As ſome of the Civil Judges now a days condeſcended, out of a deſire of gain, to intermeddle in things that were below them, ſo there were Military Men who thruſt themſelves into Civil Employments that were out of their Sphear, and above their reach. This tended to the overthrow of Diſcipline, and ſuch perſons by terror of their Arms, might put force and conſtraint upon the Actions of Men; and upon theſe grounds now did *Honorius* prohibit all thoſe that did *Militare* (in “ which ſenſe and meaning not only Soldiers in Arms, but Palatine Officers and “ Officials of Judges by the force and extent of the word may be included) to be “ Judges, Advocates or Proctors in Cauſes, though they had *Commeatus* or Licenſe “ to be abſent from their Colours or proper Employments: And if any ſhould, after “ the term granted in his Licenſe, continue in the Province, he commands that “ by Order of the Governor of that Province he be puniſhed with Regradation, or “ put into a place and ſtation inferior to what he held before; as ſtragglers and idle “ perſons were wont to be puniſhed. But now the time approached when the Senators were to make their Preſents to *Honorius*, called *Aurum Oblatitium*, to expreſs their joy for his coming to the Government: For this Gold was given of free Will, not by neceſſity and compulſion, as was that called *Glebalis Collatio*; nor with others, as that called *Aurum Coronarium*; but by the Senate alone upon ſuch occaſions, as were the *Beginning of a Prince his Reign*, his *Quinquennalia*, or *Decennalia*, and the *obtaining of a Victory*. From *Symmachus* it appears that when this Oblation was to be made, the *Præfect* of the City was wont to call together the Senators that were in Town, or thoſe that were neareſt to it, to conſult concerning the quantity and manner thereof; and when it was once voted by them, then it became a neceſſary Duty. When it was voted, thereof the *Præfect* gave account to the Emperor; as *Symmachus* doth, in an Epiſtle written to *Valentinian* the younger; wherein he acquaints him that the Senate had exceded the Summs given to his Predeceſſors: for his Father and Unkle for their *Decennalia* had received leſs, and ſo had his Brother *Gratian* when he celebrated the third *Luſtrum* of his Reign: But to him, the Fathers had promiſed one thouſand and ſix hundred pounds of Gold for the honour of his *Decennalia*, and that to be weighed by the great Weights of the City. Now, to avoid diſtraction in the Payment, *Honorius* ordains “ that ſuch Senators as lived in the City, though they have Poſſeſſions in “ diſtant Provinces, ſhall pay it where they dwell, their Rents being wont to be “ returned thither by their Officers; but of thoſe that had their Abode in the “ Country, the *Cenſuales* ſhall receive it; of which there were ſome that were “ employed in the Provinces as well as thoſe in the City (of whom we have ſo often ſpoken) the Employment of whom it was to diſpoſe of the Collection of ſuch Dues as were paid by Senators.

L. 6. de Cognitor. & Procurator. Cod. Th. lib. 2. tit. 12. & l. 7. Cod. Juſt. de Procurat.

L. ult. de Commeatu. Cod. Th. lib 7. tit. 12. Dat. ad Andromach. prid. Non. Jun.

lib. 2. ep. 27. l. 10. ep. 26.

He regulates the Payment of the *Aurum Oblatitium*.

L. 5. de Senatoribus. & Glebal. &c. Cod. Th. Dat. 18. Cal. Octob.

25. Whatever *Honorius* received now in way of bounty or otherwiſe, he was deceived much at this time by ſuch as were continually begging of him, there being ſeveral Eſtates fallen to him by the Overthrow of *Eugenius* and his Party, notwithſtanding the Act of Grace this Year publiſhed. Several Princes ſeveral ways had formerly endeavoured to obviate this Trade of thoſe gaping Courtiers, who, when they begged things of greateſt value, were wont to diſſemble and conceal the greatneſs of them. Some Princes would not hear nor make any Grant till the

Goods

And Grants made of begged Eſtates.

A. D. 395.

L. 2. de Incorporatione. Cod. Th. lib. 10. tit. 9. Dat. 18. Cal. Decemb. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

Goods begged were firſt ſurveyed, and an Inventory made of them; as *Valens*, *Gratian* and *Theodoſius* the Great. But now *Honorius* for ſome peculiar reaſon “ admitted of their Petitions, poſſibly to make a fuller diſcovery; but yet would “ not have the Grant or Donation to be good till an Inventory was made, and the firſt “ Donation was then confirmed by a new Aſſent to a ſecond Petition. Amongſt moveable things begged, he allows Gold and Silver, which rarely were wont to be “ granted, and his Brother the next Year prohibited to be begged, but only by the “ great Officers: And for Immoveables; Grounds and Houſes in Cities, not thoſe “ in the Countries, which for their Importance were uſually excepted out of Grants. “ The Year was cloſed with the reconciling of ſome Differences in *Africk*. Formerly to provide City and Country with Neceſſaries, it had been granted that certain *Curiales* might be made *Navicularii*, of which now others there, made an Advantage, purchaſing Eſtates obnoxious to that Function, that ſo they might evade the burthens of the *Curiæ*. *Honorius* thought it beſt to direct *Ennoius* the Proconſul (to whom he gives the Title of *Sublimitas tua*) ſo to diſtinguiſh betwixt ſuch “ Services, that thoſe who had got theſe Lands ſhould be liable to the Function of “ the *Navicularii* for ſo much as they poſſeſſed, and yet ſtand obnoxious to the burthens of *Curiales*, it being in the choice and liberty of any one to purchaſe or refuſe “ ſuch Grounds as they knew were liable to Services that were incumbent upon the “ Soil: This he did to preſerve the duties of both Relations. For other matters in “ queſtion, and relating to theſe two Bodies of *Navicularii* and *Curiales*, he refers “ them to what had formerly been in ſuch Caſes determined by his Father. “

He reconciles ſome Differences in *Africk*.

L. 149. de Decurionibus Cod. Th. Dat. 7. Cal. Jan.

L. 25. de Navicularijs Cod. Th. Dat. 7. Cal. Jan.

Eutropius endeavouring to eſtabliſh himſelf.

A. D. 396. *Arcadio A.* 4. & *Honorio. A.* 3. *Coſſ.*

Zoſimus lib. 5. p. 786.

Procures *Timaſius* to be baniſhed.

26. The Year CCCXCVI. had for Conſuls *Arcadius Auguſtus* the fourth, and *Honorius Auguſtus* the third time. *Eutropius* ſtill domineered at *Conſtantinople*, and endeavoured to remove all out of the way that bore any ſway at Court, to preſerve himſelf in his power. Upon this account it was that he ſought to intrap *Timaſius*, who from the days of *Valens* had born the Dignity of *Magiſter Militum*, and had ſerved in many Wars. There was one *Bargus*, a Native of *Laodicea* in *Syria*, an inconſiderable Man, who, for ſome Crime cowmitted, fled from *Laodicea* to *Sardis*, where he became eminent for his Villanies. This Fellow, *Tmiaſius* coming to *Sardis*, finding him facetious and of an inſinuating humour, admitted to be familiar with him, and preſently preferred him to the Command of a Cohort; and not only ſo, but he took him along with him to *Conſtantinople*. Now this diſpleaſed ſome of the Magiſtrates there, becauſe *Bargus*, for ſome offences committed, had been baniſhed that City: and *Eutropius* having found out the Villain, thought him a fit Inſtrument to raiſe an Accuſation againſt *Timaſius*; and perſwades him to produce ſome counterfeit Writings wherewith to charge him of affecting the Soveraign Power. The Emperor now executes the Office of Judge, himſelf preſiding in Perſon at the Tryal; and *Eutropius* being his *Propoſitus Cubiculi*, ſtands at his Elbow, and hath the power of the Sentence in his own hands. But all Men taking it very hainouſly that a Seller of Puddings and ſuch like ſtuff ſhould be the Accuſer of a Perſon of ſuch Dignity, *Arcadius* quits the Employment, and delegates the matter to *Saturninus* and *Procopius*. The former of theſe was an Aged Man, who had diſcharged great Offices; but was given to Flattery: and in the Judicature he exerciſed, was wont to pleaſe thoſe who held greateſt place next to the Prince. *Procopius* had been Father in Law to *Valens*, was fierce and intractable, and pretended in ſome matters to a great Affection unto Right and Juſtice: And in this particular he urged it to *Saturninus*, as a thing unreaſonable, that *Bargus*, a fellow ſo notorious as he was, ſhould be admitted to accuſe ſo great a Perſon; but eſpecially, he eſteemed it ſhameful and abſurd to the higheſt degree, that one ſo obliged, ſhould endeavour to deſtroy his Benefactor. But for all this liberty he could not prevail, and *Saturninus* his Sentence took place; which was, that *Timaſius* ſhould be confined to *Oaſis*, being conducted thither with a publick Guard. This was a barren place, out of which there could be no eſcape for any that was thither baniſhed, ſo great and ſandy a Deſert did encompaſs it; in which was neither Tree, nor Houſe, nor Way to be ſeen, which the Winds conſtantly filled up with Sand. But *Timaſius* being thus removed, a rumour was ſpread abroad that he was carryed away by his Son *Syagrius*, who having eſcaped thoſe that were ſent to look for him, by the aſſiſtance of ſome Robbers, intercepted his Father: Which, whether it was true, or reported only to gratifie *Eutropius*, no man knew; but certain it is that neither *Timaſius* nor *Syagrius* were after that time any more ſeen.

27. *Bargus*, who had thus delivered *Eutropius* from all fears of Competition as to *Timaſius*, received as a Reward a Cohort of Soldiers, and went away deceived with hopes of Greater things. He imagined not that *Eutropius*, who had ſo dealt

Sect. 1.

A. D. 396.

The falſe Accuſer juſtly puniſhed.

with *Timaſius*, to whom he was ſo much beholden, would treat him after the ſame manner. But when he was on a time gone from home about his Occaſions, ſome there were that perſwaded his Wife, that was fallen out with him, to preſent ſome Papers to the Emperor wherein were many heavy Accuſations; and amongſt the reſt, *Bargus* was charged with moſt hainous Crimes. *Eutropius* hearing of it, preſently brought him to his Tryal; and being convicted, puniſhed him as he had deſerved: Which being done, all Men admired the Eye of *Adraſtia*, and extolled the Praiſes thereof, which cannot poſſibly be deceived by any Malefactor. But *Eutropius* now drunk with Power, and in his Imagination lifted above the Clouds, had in all Countries his Spies to pry curiouſly into all matters, and into the Eſtate of every Perſon eſpecially; and every way he made his own Markets, and inriched himſelf. His Covetouſneſs and Envy ſetting him againſt every one that was conſiderable in place, provoked him alſo againſt *Abundantius*, one born in *Scythia*, within *Thrace*; who had ſerved in the Wars from the time of *Gratian*, and under *Theodoſius* had enjoyed the greateſt Honours, being advanced to the Dignities of *Prætor* and *Conſul*; and, as *Claudian* writes, was his firſt Promoter and Patron. Him he procured the Emperor by writing to deprive of all his Honours and Eſtate, and he was commanded to keep himſelf at *Sidon*, a Town of *Phœnicia*; where he ſpent the remainder of his days. Having now none left at *Conſtantinople* of whom he could be jealous or durſt look upon him, he fixed his thoughts upon *Stilicho*, who governed all things at his pleaſure in the Weſt, how he might poſſibly prevent his coming to *Conſtantinople*. He perſwaded his Emperor to call the Senate, and therein to declare him an Enemy to the Empire by publick Decree. Which done, he draws to his Party *Gildo*, who commanded all that part of *Africk* that belonged to *Carthage*; and by that means brought off that Province from its obedience to *Honorius*, to the Pretenſions and Dominions of *Arcadius* his Brother.

——Sed vilior ante. Obſcuræ latuit pars ignotiſſima turbæ. Donec Abundanti furiis, qui rebus Eois, Exitium, primoque ſibi produxit ab imis Evectus thalamis ſummos invaſit honores. Quam bene diſpoſitum terris, ut dignus iniqui Fructus conſilii primis auctoribus inſtet! Claudian. lib. 1. *in Eutropium. a v.*152.

Nullius Eutropius, quam qui ſe protulit ante, Direptas poſſedit opes nullumque priorem. Perculit exilio ſolumque hoc rite peregit Auctorem damnare ſuum.

A Law for the Encouragement of the Soldier in *Illyricum*.

L. 4. *de Militari veſte, Cod. Th. lib.*7. *tit.*6. *& l.* 3. *Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Dat.* 16. *Cal. Febr. Conſtp. ad Martinianum Com. S.L.*

28. So did this Covetous and Ambitious Eunuch, and *Præpoſitus Cubiculi* to *Arcadius* this Year, demean himſelf, while his *Quæſtor* was employed in matters of a better nature, for repairing the Civil State by wholſome Laws, which he now entered into a Courſe to deſtroy by way of Arms. And indeed, as if *Eutropius* had thought of War from the beginning, the firſt Law we meet, of this Year, is for encouragement of the Soldiers in *Illiricum*: To whom *Arcadius* commands that by “ the Inhabitants of the two Dioceſſes thereof, *Macedonia* and *Dacia*, for every “ Chlamys, or Soldier's Coat, be payd, not two tremiſſes or two thirds of a Soli- “ dus, as formerly had been practiſed; but a full and entire Solidus.” And as if, having removed all Competitors, he cunningly deſigned to oblige his Inferiors, or the Officers belonging to the Court; he ſeems to have put the Emperor upon another courſe of obliging the Generality of them by providing for their Riſe and Preferment. For, this *Arcadius* now did by publiſhing an Edict directed to ſeveral of the great Miniſters, under the Inſpection of whom theſe Men ſeverally were. Herein he commands that the *Primicerii* of the *Palatines* belonging “ to *Martinianus* the *Comes Sacr. Largitionum*, ſhall for the time to come continue “ in their Employment but two Years, to give way to others; though for the pre- “ ſent he permits that ſuch as had entred upon the third Year ſhould ſtay it out.” The ſame thing he injoyns *Oſius* his *Magiſter Officiorum* concerning the *Proximi* “ of his *Scrinia*.” And becauſe it was a cuſtom for the Emperor to make and prefer thoſe they called *Agentes in Rebus* at the Interceſſion, Petition, and Requeſt of certain Perſons of Place and Quality; He declares to this *Oſius* who they ſhall be to whom he intends to grant this Boon; and he inſtances in three ſorts of Men, below whom whoſoever were in place, muſt not expect this Privilege, though theſe that were above them are juſtly preſumed to have enjoyed it.

Another in behalf of the Palatines in *Arcadius* his Court.

L. 14. *de Palatinis, S. L. Cod. Th Dat.*15. *Cal. Febr.*

L. 6. *de Proximis, Comitibus, &c. Cod. Th.*

*L.*8. *de Agentib. in Rebus, Cod. Th. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.*

At the Petition and Motion of what Perſons the *Agentes in Rebus* ſhould be named.

Tribuni Militum Urbaniciarum.

29. The firſt he mentions are the *Comites* of the ſecond Rank; and therefore, “ as theſe of the firſt are ſuppoſed to have had this liberty, ſo to them of the third it “ muſt needs have been denyed. Of this ſecond Rank or Order were ſome of the “ *Comites Rei Militaris*, and ſo were the *Proximi* of the *Scrinia* and *Comites Diſpoſi-* “ *tionum*; who, beſides this Privilege, had alſo Robes allowed them, out of the *Sa-* “ *cræ Largitiones*. The ſecond Sort, to whom he allows this Privilege, were his *Cu-* “ *bicularii*, or they that waited on his Chamber; being thoſe of the firſt Rank or De- “ gree amongſt them, and that *Eutropius* their Head did them Service therein there “ is little doubt, they being alſo generally Eunuchs, and the Emperor being uſually “ obnoxious to them. The Third were the *Tribunes*, called *Tribuni Urbaniciani*; who, “ after the example of them that *Auguſtus* inſtituted at *Rome*, commanded the Sol- “ diers that were appointed to the Cuſtody or Defence of the City, under the *Præ-* “ *fect* thereof; whoſe Officials were alſo called *Urbaniciani*. Now to ſuch of the *Agen-* “

tes as were called *Ducenarii*, and were promoted to be *Principes*, he grants this “ high favour; that if they receded from their Employments, they ſhould have liberty “ to put their Sons or their Brothers into their places. This was an extraordinary “ favour: To which he added afterwards, that thoſe who had been *Principes*, “ and thereupon enjoyed the Dignity of *Conſulares*, ſhould take place of one “ that had been *Conſularis* himſelf if they went out of their Employment before “ him. “ Moreover, to the *Scriniarii*, or thoſe that ſerved in the three *Scrinia (Memoriæ Epiſtolarum & Libellorum*, to which the Year following he added the other *Scrinium Diſpoſitionum)* he confirmed the ſame Privileges as had been granted “ them by *Julian* and *Valentinian* the Younger, of entring the *Secretaria* of Judges “ without any Meſſenger ſent before hand, and ſitting with them; to which he “ adds, that after they have ſerved twenty Years they ſhall be reckoned amongſt “ *Exconſulares* or *Adlecti*, have the ſame Honour with them amongſt the Governors “ of Provinces, be free from the Functions or Duties belonging to Senators, “ and be diſcharged of all publick Troubles and Services. “

L.9.eod.tit. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

L.L. 7, 8, 9. de Proximis Comitib.&c.Cod.Th. & L. 3. Cod. Juſt.eod.tit.

30. Preſent Succeſs and Felicity blinds the eyes of Men in ſuch manner, that they cannot read their own Deſtiny, though clearly deſcribed to them in the Examples of others, in the Copies after which they themſelves do write. The Ruin of *Rufinus*, the Shipwrack of his immenſe Eſtate, ſo cruelly and unjuſtly acquired, could not but be ever in the thoughts of *Eutropius*; but becauſe he himſelf had been the Inſtrument of his Ruin, he hoped that that hand which pulled down others would be ſtrong enough to ſupport it ſelf. Now did thoſe who had been injured by *Rufinus*, flock to the place of his ill got Wealth, and would needs be their own Judges what and how much did belong to them; which, as it tended to Confuſion and Breach of the Law, ſo the Emperor's Exchequer was ſure to be injured by it, to which all that *Rufinus* had poſſeſſed was confiſcate: or elſe *Eutropius* laying about him, and taking to himſelf what he thought fit, and permitting others to do the like; *Arcadius* publiſhed an Edict inſcribed to *Cæſarius*, the Succeſſor of *Rufinus* in the *Præfectſhip* of the Eaſt; Prohibiting any one to meddle with the “ Eſtate; but to let it remain as it was, till ſuch time as they could by due Courſe of “ Law make good their Claim, under pain of loſing all they had, and further Puniſhment. “ Some there are, who conſidering the Rapacity and Diſorders of theſe times, think this Law made on purpoſe to ingroſs to the Emperor's uſe the whole Eſtate of *Rufinus*, and to deprive thoſe that he had injured, of their Right. But another Law followed half a Year after, which makes a ſhew of more Equity than ſo unjuſt a deſign would admit of. For whereas the Wife and Children of *Rufinus* and of other proſcribed Perſons were great ſufferers after their death, in having their ſhares in their Eſtates pilfered away or confiſcated, *Arcadius* did them Right in another Conſtitution directed to *Cæſarius*; Wherein he declares that if “ any perſon ſhall from thenceforth be proſcribed, he himſelf ſhall alone be puniſhed “ for his Crime, and have no Conſort with him in the loſs of his Eſtate. That a “ Wife ſhall not partake in the Lot of her proſcribed Husband; but before his “ Goods be ſiezed, lay hold on and ſecure what belongs to her ſelf: Or if they be “ ſiezed already, recover them in a Legal way. That ſhe ſhall recover her Dower “ or Portion ſhe brought along with her, provided ſhe prove evidently that it was “ payd, no heed being to be given to Writings only, in this caſe. Moreover, if “ her Husband engaged any thing to her before Marriage, and while yet he was “ innocent, ſhe ſhould recover this alſo; though *Conſtantine* extended a Permiſſion of “ this nature to ſuch things alſo as were given after Marriage: And not only to the “ Wife, but the Man's Brothers, Siſters, Kinſmen and Allies, he indulgeth this favour “; concluding that *Every one ought to be in a condition as far from fear and puniſhment* “ *as he was from the Crime it ſelf.*

A Law to reſtrain the undue ſiezing *Rufinus* his Eſtate.

L. 14. de bonis proſcriptor. God. To. Dat. Idib. Febr.
Abeſt a Cod. Juſt. quià temporalis.

Another to relieve the Wife of *Rufinus* and the Relations of other condemned Perſons.

L.15.eod.tit.& L.9. in pr. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit: Dat.3.Non.Aug

31. As *Arcadius* took care for Relief of thoſe Perſons whom *Rufinus* had involved in his own Ruin; ſo he was conſtrained at this time to provide for their ſecurity, in the Ruin of whom he thought to raiſe his own further Advancement. That the *Hunns* invaded *Armenia* as other Barbarous Nations other Provinces, and that by his procurement, as was believed, ſeveral Writers aſſure us; which being a Frontire Province, and therefore of great Concernment for the Empire, it behoved that the Soldiers there employed ſhould not wander from their Colours, but attend the publick Service they had undertaken. But as we have lately ſeen that it was too common for ſome of their Brethren to thruſt themſelves into Civil Employments, ſo they that ſerved in *Armenia* were accuſtomed to put themſelves into the Services of private Perſons; Which this Emperor, by a Law inſcribed “ to *Rhemiſtheus*, the *Dux* of this Country, ſeverely prohibits to be done upon pain “ of “

The Soldiers in *Armenia* prohibited to put themſelves into the Services of private Perſons.

I. 15. de re militari Cod. Th. Dat. 12. Cal. Mart.

of a Mulct of five pounds of Gold to be incurred by every one that receives“ them: Which ſeverity was afterwards amplified by *Juſtinian*; who puniſhed“ the Receiver with a Confiſcation of all his Eſtate, and the Soldier with death after“ his having the Military Girdle taken from him; “ ſo neceſſary is the Obſervation of Military Diſcipline for the Preſervation of the State. At the ſame time he was put upon it, as a thing very requiſite, to provide for ſecuring the Eſtates of Pupils or thoſe that were left very young, againſt the Careleſneſs and Fraud of Tutors or Guardians. In order to this he ordains that the Tutor, as ſoon as he“ is aſſigned, ſhall go to the Judge or Governor of the Province, and there make“ an Inventory of his Pupil's Eſtate. This he will have ſolemnly done in the preſence“ of the *Primates* (of the *Decuriones* formerly ſpoken of) the *Defenſor* of the“ City (who was to have an eye to the condition of Children, as well as others, that“ wanted help) and of the *Scribes*, or Officers whoſe Aid was requiſite for ſuch a“ Work.“ Now, as for the End and Deſign of making this Inventory; by a *Senatuſconſultum* in *Severus* his time, and a Decree of his, it had been ordained that Tutors, with the Money they found in the Houſe, and ſuch as they could raiſe by Sale of Moveables, ſhould purchaſe Land if it were to be had: if not, they were to put it out to Intereſt with the beſt Proſpect of Safety they could make.

Novel. 116. *de Militis*

Arcadius takes care for Orphans.

L. 4. *de Adminiſtrat. & periculo Tutor. Cod. Th. lib.* 3. *tit.* 19. *Dat.* 6. *Cal. Mar. l.* 24. *Cod. Juſt. tunc interpelata eſt.*

32. *Conſtantine* thought fit to reſtrain this liberty allowed them; prohibiting them to ſell Gold, Silver, Gemms, Cloaths, or ſuch things moveable, becauſe the way of putting Money to Intereſt was very uncertain, and often times all that the Children had conſiſting in it, if it miſcarried, they muſt neceſſarily be undone. *Arcadius* now uſeth a Diſtinction for Accommodation of this matter; ordaining“ that if the Pupil have Lands or Revenues wherewith to maintain him, then ſuch“ Moveables as Gold, Gemms, and other things that would not periſh with keeping“ (for by the Law Guardians were bound to make Money of thoſe that would)“ ſhall not be ſold, but ſafely locked up ſomewhere under the Seals of the *Primates*,“ *Defenſor* and Officers, till the Child ſhall arrive at Lawful Age. But if there be“ no Lands, or not Revenue ſufficient for Maintenance of the Pupil, then ſhall they“ be purchaſed with the Money ariſing from the Moveables; which ſhall be put to“ Intereſt if Lands be not to be had. He was of Opinion with *Conſtantine*, that“ there was great hazard in putting out of Money, and that it had better lie dead“ than miſcarry, beſides the trouble to which the Guardian was to be put, if it were“ placed in ill Hands. But in caſe of neceſſity, if the Child had no Revenue, then“ he thought it as convenient to venture it as to ſpend upon the Stock.“ What he thus ordained was afterward altered by *Tribonian* in ſome reſpects. Firſt, as to the time of making the Inventory; for *Arcadius* requires it be as ſoon as the Tutor is aſſigned, or in the ſame moment: Which he changes for a word of more Latitude; ſome being of the Opinion that three Months are allowed for a Tutor, as well as to an Heir, for the making of it. In the next place, he took away the neceſſity of going to theſe *Cognitores* or Judges; allowing it as ſufficient if the Inventory was made in the preſence of publick Perſons; naming others beſide theſe required by *Arcadius*. The Seals of theſe Judges, Senators and Officers he required not, neither the Authority of publick Sentence for locking up the Goods. He takes away the the Diſtinction of *Arcadius*, ordaining that either Land be bought with the Money, or elſe that it be put to Intereſt; and he ſpeaks of ſafe keeping of it, though he will not have it to lye idle. Afterwards, *Juſtinian* bethinking himſelf, commanded that the Money ſhould not be put to Uſury, without a neceſſity was found for ſo doing.

Pro eodem momento mox.

Novel. 72. *c.* 6.

33. Such care was taken by *Arcadius* for ſecuring the Eſtates of Children, when left unto them: But there was further need at this time to prevent Queſtions and Diſputes whether they were left or not, ſuch holes were picked in Teſtaments by thoſe that were concerned or over-buſie. Sometimes a miſtake might happen in a Teſtator or a Scribe, who might call that a Codicil which he meant for a Teſtament; and, to ſpeak truth, moſt Teſtators were ſo timerous at this time, that, deſpairing to obſerve that exact diligence which the Law, as was pretended, did require, that they would call their Wills By ſeveral names, and add Clauſes at the ends of them. Now, theſe Miſtakes, Cautions and Superfluities he declares“ ſhall not at all hinder the effect of the Teſtaments, provided the Solemnities“ thereof be evident; it being a Rule, as well in Teſtaments as in Contracts, that“ ſuperfluous Acts or abundant Cautions do no harm. Moreover, though at the“ beginning of the Teſtament the Teſtator made mention of no Witneſſes at all, or“ ſpake of more or fewer than indeed he made uſe of, or miſtook their Names, ſo“ long as he made uſe of a Lawful number, it ſhould ſuffice; for in this Age the“

He takes away Scrupuloſities in the making of Teſtaments.

L. 3. *de Teſtamentis & Codicillis Cod. Th. lib.* 4. *tit.* 4. *Dat.* 12. *Cal. Apr. Prior hujus les. pars conjecta eſt July* 17. *Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. cæteræ a Triboniano reſecatæ.*

cuſtom was to preface the Wills with a Declaration what ſort of one they purpoſed to make, and what Witneſſes they intended at the Publication. But then he “ requires the Legal Requiſites about Witneſſes, as that they be five in number; “ that they be called for that purpoſe, and be not ignorant what they come about, “ and the Teſtator ſee them preſent. But he declares that there is no need that “ they know the Contents of the Will; but the Teſtator may declare that Writing “ to contain his laſt Will and Teſtament, and deſire them, as ſuch, to ſet to their “ Hands and Seals. And laſtly, moved by the Opinion of the great Lawyer *Scævola*, and ſwayed by his Judgment, he thinks it lawful for the Witneſſes to have “ Legacies left them without taking away their Teſtimony, and ſo rendring the “ Will Null, and of none effect. “ As for the five Witneſſes, they were ordained to be ſo many by the ordinary Common Law: When the Will was made, as they ſay, *per æs & libram*, by way of Sale by Money weighed in a Ballance, there being then preſent, beſides the five Witneſſes, he that held the Balance and he who was ſaid to buy the Eſtate or Family. But elſe, by the Law of the *Prætor*, when this Solemnity, *Per æs & libram*, was not in uſe, no fewer than ſeven Witneſſes were to be preſent.

34. Such reaſon did the *Romans* find to be ſo accurate and careful in the making of Teſtaments, wherein whole Eſtates are wont to be conveyed. It was free for any one to make uſe of whether of theſe Courſes they pleaſed, either of the *Æs & libra* when *Mancipation* was made, or of ſeven Witneſſes when it was not; for they were ſtill both in uſe in the time of *Arcadius*, though afterward, when the *Prætorian* and *Civil* Law became united together, the uſe of the *Æs & libra* by degrees grew obſolete, and the uſe of five Witneſſes came to be generally received. So the Law ſtood as to Teſtaments; but as to *Codicils*, ſeven Witneſſes were thought fit to continue. Theſe *Codicils*, as to their firſt Original, were Writings made by the Teſtators for a Supply or Amendment to their Teſtaments; but afterward they were made when new Teſtaments preceded, and when otherwiſe the Party died inteſtate; and in this caſe becuaſe in reallity they had the force of Teſtaments, and operated accordingly; therefore as great a Solemnity was requiſite at the making of them; although, if a Teſtament did precede, then no Heir could be inſtituted by vertue of a *Codicil*: And afterwards *Juſtinian* abſolutely forbad that by a *Codicil* any Heir ſhould be inſtituted. But that we may joyn things of the ſame ſubject which happened ſo near together, and were ordained by the ſame Perſon, *Arcadius* the following Year, by an Edict ſent to *Africanus*, the *Præfect* of *Conſtantinople*, commanded the old Cuſtom to be obſerved, of opening or publiſhing Teſtaments, after the death of the Teſtators, at the Office of the *Cenſuales*, “ or before the Maſter of that Society; otherwiſe he would have them void and “ of none effect. “ This was a certain Courſe to prevent Frauds, and here ws the Regiſter wherein were recorded, inſinuated and preſerved not only theſe Publications of Teſtaments, but other things, as Contracts, Donations, and the like.

Codicils what.

Vide Leg. 2. *ejuſd.tit.* & *Gothofr.in l.*

*L.*4.*ejuſd.tit* & *L.*18. *Cod.Juſt. eod.tit.*

35. But beſides this way of Certainty which the Teſtator might be aſſured of after his death, he might, while he yet lived, uſe greater Caution if he ſo pleaſed. He might publiſh his Will, and have it recorded in the Acts of any Magiſtrate who kept a Court, or had an Office of Record; or in the Conſiſtory of the Prince it ſelf, which was the ſafeſt courſe: Or any one, though he had made his Will elſewhere, might lay it up or depoſite it in any Regiſtry. But *Arcadius* prohibits any Change to be made from Court to Court, there being other Judges that pretended Privileges at this time to prove Wills, beſides the *Defenſores Eccleſiarum*, who were Clerks; which was the Cauſe that this Law was afterwards reinforced by *Juſtinian*, who impoſed a Mulct of fifty pounds of Gold upon any that ſhould offer to prove the Will except the *Magiſter Cenſus*, beſides a grave Reprehenſion to Clerks for intermedling with ſuch matters; for this he thought fitter to inflict, than that any Man's Will ſhould be ineffectual. As for the *Cenſuales*, they thought them skilled in matters of Judicature, and therefore fitteſt to manage thoſe matters; whom they forbad to take any thing in way of Fee, if the Inventory of the whole Eſtate exceeded not an hundred *Aurei*. As for what *Arcadius* declares in reference to the Legacies left to Witneſſes, though the matter hath been much controverted, and that from two Laws, as *Juretus* obſerves; yet hath his Opinion rather obtained, eſpecially in ancient times. For that the Legacies were due, was the Opinion of *Trebatius* in *Auguſtus* his time: Under *Nero* it was the practice, as alſo under *Trajan*. In the Reign of *Marcus Antonius*, *Scævola* whom the Emperor here commends, held it for good Law; and a dozen Years before *Arcadius* publiſhed this Edict, when *Symmachus* was *Præfect* of *Rome*, he hath approved of, and practiſed

*Vide L.*19.*Cod. Juſt.eod.tit.*

*L.*23. *Cod.Juſt. eod.tit.* *Abſurdum eſt namque, ſi promiſcuis Actibus rerum turbentur officia & aliis creditum alius ſubtrahat: & præcipuè clericis, quibus opprobrium eſt, ſi peritos ſe velint diſceptationum eſſe forenſium.*

Whether a Legatee can be a Witneſs.

Ex Leg. 20. *D. qui teſtam.facere poſ* & *L.*3. *de Teſtam.Cod.Juſt*

Sect. 1.

A. D. 396.

practiſed it; as he tells the ſtory himſelf in a Relation made by him to *Theodoſius* concerning the Teſtament and Eſtate of one *Aggarius*. The Eſtate being granted away, as fallen to the Treaſury, in caſe no Lawful Heir appeared, amongſt other Tricks this Objection was made, that the Witneſſes had a Legacy left them in the Will, and a Reſcript of the Emperor's was alledged to prove that the Teſtimony of a certain Witneſs was rejected, who by his witneſſing would have helped his own Cauſe; as if it was the ſame thing, and a little reſpect ſhewed to the Witneſſes, merely out of Friendſhip, could hinder or aboliſh a Lawful Judgment. If, ſaith he, we ſhould live under ſuch Laws, it would be better and ſafer to have our Enemies for Witneſſes, to whom for their Enmity the Teſtator would be ſure to leave nothing. I am grieved to ſay that the greateſt Legacy amounted but to five *Solidi*, the reſt being rather remembred than gratified with any Summ of Money. Therefore the Eſtate is very pitiful and inconſiderable, if ſo ſmall a matter can derogate from the Teſtimony; or if it be ample and large, ſo ſmall a Summ given in Legacy ought to be void of ſuſpition: Who is there that doth not ſend for the beſt Friend he hath when he makes his laſt Will and Teſtament? And what wonder is it, if out of reſpect to the Sacred Bond of Friendſhip, he that is ſent for deſerveth ſomething wherewith to remember the Teſtator? I ſpeak not for ſuch a Witneſs to whom a great part of the Eſtate is given; for though his Conſcience may be good, yet he gets his Wealth with little Modeſty. But theſe Legacies (I ſpeak of) were ſmall Pledges left out of love, or elſe for ſhame (for the trouble to which he put them) given by the Teſtator. This Religious or Decent Courſe is not contradicted at all by new Laws; only, ſince the Memory of Man, one *Rationalis* (to whom the matter of Eſcheats did belong, as we have ſeen) hath appeared and adventured to introduce a new way of Judicature. Hence came the Appeal to be made, wherein he mentions another trick to cheat the Heirs; ſuch ill Inſtruments will there be, even of the beſt Princes and juſteſt Judges.“ But ſuch was the Judgment of *Symmachus*, whoſe diſtinction betwixt a ſmall Remembrance and a great part of the Eſtate left in a Legacy, is to be taken notice of. In the firſt caſe, it's trifling to diſpute the matter; In the Second, ſome have been of Opinion to admit the Teſtimony in other Parts of the Will, wherein the Witneſs is not concerned.

Symmach. lib. 10. ep. 55.

Barbarous Nations infeſt the Empire.

36. But the Barbarous Nations at this time were ſtill ſo troubleſome as to infeſt ſeveral Countries in the Eaſt. *Philoſtorgius* wrote of two Armies of the *Huns* which about this time infeſted the Empire; whereof the one made an Incurſion into *Thrace*, and the other into *Armenia*, and others of the Eaſtern Provinces, as *Syria* and *Cilicia*. Beſides them, in *Lybia* of *Pentapolis* and *Egypt*, a People called *Mazaces*; and another known by ſeveral Names, as *Auſuriani*, *Auſoriani*, *Auſturiani* & *Saturiani* were tumultuous; ſo that the Inhabitants were forced to keep themſelves within the Walls of their Cities, as they were commanded. Now, in times of Invaſions and Irruptions, fenced places being the only Refuge of the poor Inhabitants; *Arcadius*, by his Edict directed to *Cæſarius*, gives him in charge, by his Letters, to admoniſh all Governors of Provinces; and let them know, that the Senates and People of all Cities muſt either build new Walls, or well and ſufficiently repair thoſe that were old and decayed. In the firſt place, he would have them conſider how much Money would be neceſſary for theſe Works; that no more than needs, and no leſs than is convenient, be impoſed upon the Provincials: Then, that an Indiction or Tax be made as is equitable, and according to the Lands and Poſſeſſions of the Inhabitants, by the number of Acres.“ As he thus provided for the ſafety of the Provinces; ſo to ſtrengthen himſelf and improve his Eſtate, he thought fit at this time to publiſh an Act of Reſumption, for recalling all theſe Lands which had formerly belonged to his Demain or *Res Privata*; declaring that no Præſcription ſhould avail the preſent Poſſeſſor of what could not by private Men be poſſeſſed; neither any new Pretence, nor yet any Reſcript of former Princes ſhould be ſufficient to retein that which never ought to have been begged.“ To aſſert his own Authority by another Law, he declared ſhortly after, That a Libel or Petition preſented to the Prince ſhould be taken, and reputed for a Conteſtation of the Suit. But that an Heir could have no benefit thereby, nor any Action, if his Predeceſſor deceaſed, had no Cauſe of Action himſelf; ſo that though in caſe of a Sale there was Cauſe of reſcinding of it, which could not be, except one half of the Worth was not bargained for: Yet if the deceaſed Perſon had neither conteſted the Suit himſelf, nor petitioned the Emperor (which had the force and effect of a Conteſtation) the Heir could have no Cauſe of Action, except it could be proved that the Sale was made out of fear, and by compulſion.

lib. 11. c. 8.

Command given to fortifie Cities.

L. 34. de Operib. publicis Cod. Th. & L. 12. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Dat. 9. Cal. Apr.

He publiſheth an Act of Reſumption.

L. 15. de Jure Fidei Cod. Th. Dat. 5. Cal. Apr. Duobus locis relat. eſt in Cod. Juſt. L. ult. Ne rei dominicæ & L. ult. de fundis & ſaltibus rei dominicæ.

Aſſerts that a Petition preſented to himſelf ſhall be held for a Conteſtation of the Suit.

L. 8. de Diverſis & ſcriptis Cod. Th. lib. 1. tit. 2. & L. 1. quando libellus Principi datus Cod. Juſt. Dat. ad Remigium P. P. Auguſtulem 3. Cal. Apr.

A. D. 396.

It being a Rule recieved by Lawyers, that an Action cannot belong to the Heir, to which the deceaſed Perſon had no Title. But this the Emperor aſſerts, that the Offering of a Petition to himſelf ſhould have the effect of a Conteſtation of a Suit, which no Petition to any Subject could have; no, not to the *Præfectus Prætorio*, however ſaid to be an Emperor without Purple. This tended to the preſervation, indeed, of Temporary Suits, that there might be no need of beginning again, not thoſe that were to be ended by long Præſcription. But in order to the cutting off Delays in Cauſes, though any Man might renounce the benefit which the Law allows him, if he ſo pleaſeth; and not take advantage of the fatal time, within which his Adverſary was bound to proſecute his Suit, or Appeal: Yet, though both Parties“ conſented, he would not have the Proſecution deferred above two Months; leſt,“ as he ſaith, as often it happens, the Lives of Men be conſumed and ſpun out in“ Conteſts.“

L.un.de dilationibus ex Conſenſu, Cod. Th. lib. 11.tit.33.Dat. 3.Cal.Maii Abeſt a Cod.Juſt.

He commands Priſoners to be brought to their Tryals.

L. 18. de Accuſationibus Cod. Th. Dat.3. Non. Aug.

37. The Inſtruments and Complices of *Rufinus* having now lain about eight Months in Priſon, *Arcadius* was ſenſible of their condition as well as other Malefactors; how, many times ſuch keeping is worſe than death it ſelf, and attributing“ this to the lazineſs of Judges, or a pride they had in being thought“ mercyful and unwilling to call them to receive Sentence, commanded *Maximus*“ the *Prefectus Prætorio* to admoniſh them, not to defer their Tryals, but bring“ them to the Bar, and there determine of them according to Law.“ But, if he was moued with Commiſeration toward the evil inſtruments of *Rufinus*, who aſſiſted him in his covetous and cruel Enterprizes, much more was he concerned to repair, as much as in him lay, the Conditions of thoſe whom that wretched Man had unjuſtly oppreſſed. We have ſeen how *Tatianns* and his Son *Procnlus* fell as a Sacrifice to his Luſt and Ambition: And not only they, but *Lycia*, their Country, as acceſſary, he procured alſo to be innodated with Infamy; of which this ſeems to have been the effect, that ſuch as inhabited it loſt their former Honours; to be ſure were made incapable of attaining any for the time to come, and ſo, in a manner, ceaſed to be *Roman* Citizens: And beſides this, the Province it ſelf loſt its Dignity and Preheminence which it formerly enjoyed amongſt other Provinces of the Dioceſs of *Aſia*; upon which Inconveniences this Evil followed, that any one might contumeliouſly handle and injure an Inhabitant, as by the ſuppoſed Crime of *Tatianus*, made altogether an infamous Perſon. But now *Arcadius* thinks fit“ to reſtore, as well *Tatianus* as *Lycia*, to their ancient Fame and Privileges. Him“ he terms Illuſtrious; calls *Rufinus* by the name of his Enemy, and *Teterrimus Judex*“; and, for as much as the Baniſhment was but temporary, or *Tatianus* was“ now dead, the Sentence was fulfilled; and therefore he declares the Countrey“ which he calls his moſt devoted Province, as free and entire as to Fame and Merit,“ as any other. He commands *Cæſarius* (the Succeſſor of *Rufinus*, as he of *Tatianus*)“ to whom he gives the Title of *Excellens Eminentia Tua*, that by his Edicts“ he make it known to all Men, *That none ſhall dare, for the time to come, to injure*“ *or wound*, as he terms it, *any Citizen of* Lycia *with any contumelious Name or Language*.“

He reſtores *Tatianus* and *Lycia* to their ancient Fame and Privileges.

L. 9. de Indulgentiis criminum. Cod.Th. Dat. prid.Cal. Septemb.Abeſt a Cod. Juſt. ut temporaria & hiſtorica.

The *Curiales* commanded to reſide.

38. The *Curiales* abſented themſelves ſo much from their Charges at this time, that *Arcadius* was ſo much concerned, as to command *Eutychianus*, who now, after a little time, became *Præfect* of the Eaſt, to threaten all within his Diſtrict,“ that they ſhould not forſake the Cities, and live in the Country, under pain of“ Confiſcation of that Land or Houſe they were ſo much in love with; terming“ them impious that forſake ſo, the place of their Original.“ At the later end of the Year he thought fit to put ſome reſpect upon Military Men that had deſerved it. He gives way, that they who have diſcharged the Office of *Duces* be called upon“ to the Expence of the *Prætorſhip*; but excepts them, who for a long time have undergone“ the labour and danger of War, and ſuch as have deſerved to be preſent“ at the Secrets of his Conſiſtory.“ And well ſuch as had taken pains might be rewarded; for, at this time, amongſt other Extravagancies of the Age, many were promoted to the Title of *Dux*, who underſtood little or nothing of the Employment; one thing that made way for the Ruin of the Empire. But, in reference to the Expence the *Prætors* were wont to make in Shows and Paſt-times, this Charge had been not long ſince ſequeſtred from ſuch Theatrical Delights, and been applyed to *Theodoſius* his *Aquaduct*. Yet now, part of this Expence *Arcadius* orders to be“ laid out in the Shews called *Ludi Scænici*, upon the Days of the Births and Inaugurations“ of himſelf and his Brother *Honorius*. About this time he thought fit“ to grant to all ſorts of Perſons the uſe of Stools, of ſitting in Theatres, and frequenting“ the *Forum*, *Roſtrum*, *Senate*, *Baths*, and ſuch publick places, two ſorts“ only“

L.2.Si Curialis relicta civitate &c. Cod.Th.lib. 12.tit.18. & L. un.Cod.Juſt.eod tit.Dat.18.Cal. Jan.

L.28.de Prætoribus Cod.Th. Dat.10.Cal. Jan.

Military Men encouraged.

L.L.29,30.ejuſ. tit.

L.un.de uſu Sellarum Cod.Th. lib.15.tit.13. Dat.8.Cal.Jan. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

The Uſe of Stools and frequenting publick Meetings only denied to Players and *Tabernarii.*

only excepted, *viz.* Common Players, who made People Sport for Gain; and “ ſuch as kept the *Tabernæ*, or Victualling Houſes. For, the firſt ſort, they were always ſo contemned as infamous by the *Romans*, that they were ordinarily excluded from meeting with the reſt of the People, and ſometimes not permitted to be of any Tribe. As for *Tabernarii*, that ſort of them was alſo eſteemed amongſt the moſt Vile and Baſe, which kept Bawdy Houſes with their other Trade. All others, thoſe excepted, might come any whether to make uſe of the *Sellæ*, or Folding Stool; which in thoſe days was wont to be carried after the better Sort by their Servants, that they might reſt themſelves when they ſaw it convenient. All theſe Laws were enacted by *Arcadius* at *Conſtantinople*. There is but one of this Year which bears date from another place, and that is from *Regium*, diſtant twelve Miles from *Conſtantinople*; and it is the laſt in order of all the reſt, yet hath no Date of any Day, though the Year be expreſſed. But the meaning of it could not but be remembred by the Governors of Provinces; againſt whom *Arcadius* was now ſo incenſed, for letting the Publick Buildings in Cities fall to decay, That “ he injoyns *Cæſarius*, that, what Palaces, Prætoriums of Judges, Publick Granaries, “ Stabula, or Houſes for Cattel, were gone to Ruin ſince the firſt Conſulſhip “ of his Father (ſeventeen Years ago) ſhall be repaired by thoſe Governors now, “ and at their Coſt and Charges; who, when they were Judges in the Provinces, “ ought to have been more heedful and diligent in this way. “

Governors of Provinces puniſhed for not repairing publick Buildings.

L. 35. de Operibus publ. Cod. Th. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

39. *Honorius* made his Abode all this Year at *Milan*, as appears from his Acts of State; which, though not many in number, yet are diffuſed into ſeveral Months. He had Complaints brought him out of *Africk*, againſt one *Strator*, who exerciſing the Office of *Peræquator* in that Country, it being his Work to regulate all Inequallities in the *Cenſus*, or Impoſitions, had made ſome Orders which were very burthenſome to his Tenants, who held the Lands called *Fundi Emphiteutici*; and had turned ſome out of their Poſſeſſions: Whom he commands to be “ reſtored, if they had Eſtates able to manage them; if not, he requires that the “ new Poſſeſſors pay all the Arrears which were behind by reaſon of *Strator* his fa- “ vour towards them: That the Rents, by a new *Peræquator*, be improved, if Im- “ proveable; and that the Condition of the new Tenants be throughly examined, “ whether they be able to hold or not. As this *Strator* he will have turned out, ſo, “ the Good of the Provincials, their Eaſe and Quiet being ſo much concerned in “ this Office, he commands that no fit Perſon, who had been choſen to the Employ- “ ment by the *Præfect*, be excuſed from the Duty; no, not by vertue of any Reſcript “ obtained for that purpoſe; the Work being incumbent upon any honeſt and able “ Man, whom it was in the *Præfectus Prætorio* his power to chuſe; to him the care “ of the Tributes belonging. “ And that ſuch as are found either to be negligent in their Office, or partial in the Management of it, may not go unpuniſhed, he further ordains, that ſome, whoſe Names had been preſented unto him, both of theſe called *Peræquatores*, and of the *Diſcuſſores*, whoſe work it was to levy the Tri- “ butes when adjuſted; if they ſhall be found therein faulty, firſt forfeit their Ho- “ nour (for they were wont to be rewarded with the Dignity of *Comes* of the firſt “ Rank) then refund the fourfold of the Sallaries they had received from the Pub- “ lick (for they were allowed alſo *Annonæ*, or Proviſions) and make ſatisfaction of “ the fourfold proportion to ſuch Provincials as they ſhall have injured or op- “ preſſed. “

Honorius regulates the Office of *Peræquator* in *Africk*.

L. 5. de Cenſitorib. Cod. Th. lib. 13. tit. 11. Dat. 16. Cal. Mar. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

L. 6. ejuſd. tit. Dat. 14. Cal. Apr. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

L. 7. ejuſd. tit. Dat. 4. Cal. Apr. & L. 5. Cod. Juſt. ded. tit.

40. Being thus inclined to prevent and remove Oppreſſions, he was going to fall foul upon *Florentinus*, his *Præfect* of *Rome*, at this time. He had, the Year be- “ fore publiſhed an Edict, prohibiting all Illuſtrious Perſons whatſoever to make uſe “ of the *Curſus Publicus* for their own eaſe, except they were ſent for up to, or ſent “ down from Court; as that which tended much to the burthening of the Country, “ and hindrance of publick Buſineſs. “ But *Florentinus*, it ſeems, had forgot what was injoyned, and made uſe of two *Veredi* for his own Occaſions: Which, though not much in it ſelf; yet, being of ill Example, and violating the Imperial Sanctions, he was ſo wiſe as to acknowledge and confeſs to the Emperor, who pardons him “ this Offence; but charges him that no ſuch thing happen for the time to come. “ But this boldneſs was become too ordinary at this time both in the Eaſt and Weſt; for *Arcadius*, towards the latter end of the Year, found reaſon too to curb the forwardneſs, in this matter, of *Simplicius*, a *Magiſter Militum*, in his Diſtrict: To whom he declares, that ſuch Licenſes as are granted either by the Emperor himſelf, “ or the *Præfect*, ſhall ſuffice all Governors; and that he, for his part, muſt know, “ that by his Laws all liberty, either of granting them to himſelf or others, was de- “ rived. He adds, that Inferior Judges would be more fearful to offend in this “ kind, “

The *Curſus Publicus* forbidden to be made uſe of but upon publick Service.

L. 54. de Curſu publ. Cod. Th. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

L. 55. ejuſd. tit. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

L. 56. ejuſd. tit. Abeſt. a Cod. Juſt.

Perſons that had Titular Honours commanded to do ſervice.

kind, when they ſhould know that their Superiours were obedient; and if he ſhould offend again,his Offence ſhould be grievouſly puniſhed. “ *Honorius* farther obſerving ſome inferiour perſons by virtue of Umbratile or titular Honors obtained by Codicils, to be proud, and refuſe thoſe employments which the publick intereſt of the Common-wealth required they ſhould diſcharge, declared to *Florentinus*, that though ſuch as had obtained Patents for the Honorary Dignity of *Exprotector*, or *Domeſticus*, enjoyed that Dignity, they ſhould for all, that if *Curiales* be ſtill bound to the *Curiæ*; if of Colleges or Companies, to the Cities; and if Merchants, be obnoxious to the payment called *Luſtralis Collatio*; neither be free from any Service or Duty whatſoever to which their Birth or Condition made them liable, which he will alſo have obſerved as to their Children, provided that nothing of this extend to ſuch as had obtain'd an honourable miſſion from the ſaid Employments of *Domeſtick*, or *Protector*, after that they had ſerved their full time, been wounded, or were hindred from continuing by want of health. “

L.3. de Teſtimoniali. Cod.Th.l. 7.Tit.21. Abeſt a Cod.Juſt.

He regulates the matter of publick Regiſters.

41. The buſineſs of Regiſters being ſo vigorouſly preſſed at this time, or of recording Teſtaments, Donations and other matters dayly incident, it became a queſtion in *Spain*, what Solemnity was requiſite to it, or who muſt be preſent at the making of theſe publick Acts. To ſatisfie them in this point, to prevent fraud, and to give greater authority to Truth, *Honorius* writes back his pleaſure to *Petronius*, the *Vicar* of that Dioceſs, that he will have preſent the Magiſtrate of the place, the publick *Exceptor*, or Clerk of the Acts, and the *Principales*, or prime *Decuriones*, five in number. By Magiſtrate muſt be underſtood the *Duumvir*, if it was a City or Town that had ſuch, or the *Defenſor plebis* that belonged to the place, there always being a ſupply of *Exceptors*, not only in the Courts of Provincial Magiſtrates, but in each *Curia* who wrote and regiſtred the Municipal Acts. “ There was an errour uſually committed by Judges in thoſe days, of too eaſily making relation to the Prince himſelf, of matters which occurred in their ordinary courſe of Judicature: and theſe Conſultations indeed kept up the authority and repute of the Emperour, and ſometimes in ſome difficult caſes there was need of making Relation; the Prince having thoſe Lawyers about him, whoſe work it was to cut the hair in ſuch intricate debates. But the ordinary Judges were commonly affrighted with the noiſe of an Appeal, or had not preſence of mind ſufficient, but were diffident in their deciſions, to the great damage of the Parties, by drawing out Suits to ſo extravagant lengths. Therefore *Honorius* acquaints *Meſſala*, his *Præfect* of *Italy*, that in Civil Cauſes wherein, before Appeal, there is no need of the Prince his Cognizance, all Allegations having been admitted, and conſiderd on both ſides, the Controverſies ought to be determined, and not deferred by a Conſultation. Foraſmuch as it is not to be ſuffered, that becauſe the conſtancy of a weak Judge is ſhaken by the noiſe of an Appeal, therefore the Party his expectation muſt be ſuſpended by the tedious ambiguity of a Conſultation. “

L. 151. de Decurionib. Cod. Th. Dat. Non. Maii. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

He reſtrains Conſultations.

L.'55. de Appellationib. Cod. Th. lib. 11. tit. 30. Dat. 14. Cal. Jun. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt. quam tamen Tribonianus omittere non debuit, ſi Gothofredo fides.

Gives leave to exchange proviſions for Money.

42. It grew towards the middle of Summer; and by this time *Honorius* might have ſome intelligence concerning *Eutropius* his tampering with *Gildo* in *Africk*, and what followed thereupon. It concerned him to apply himſelf to Military cares, to ſee that he had men in readineſs to defend himſelf, and that thoſe men were well ſupplied with all Neceſſaries. His Brother *Arcadius* had this year forbidden any money to be taken by Soldiers, but the *Species* themſelves, under great penalty inflicted on the Governours of Provinces for conniving at it. “ He was not of this opinion, in reference to the circumſtance of his Diſtrict, it being made lawful by former Princes to make an exchange of other things, beſides, that they called *Capitum*, for Money; but for fear the people ſhould be oppreſſed, he prohibits any more to be exacted than what had once been determined by a Conſtitution of *Valentinian* the Elder, what ever Letters they might produce from the *Præfecti Prætorio*, or even the Prince himſelf, wherein no ſet Rate was expreſſed. “ But though other *Species* might corrupt with Age, and therefore the Soldiers might be put off with unwholſome Proviſion, yet that they termed *Capitum* (Hay or Straw) was not liable to ſuch inconveniences; and therefore, as *Valentinian* before him, he allows the Provincials to pay it in kind, yet not to be compelled to convey it to the Soldiers Quarters. “ Beſides, the Provincials being bound to find Braſs amongſt other Materials for furniſhing out the Arms of the Soldiers, that there might be no rigorous exaction neither, in this kind, he ſettles the price of Braſs, ſo as that twenty five pounds of it ſhall be valued at one *Solidus*, which number of pounds *Juſtinian* in his time brought down

L. 21. de erogatione militaris Annonæ Cod. Th. Dat. 15. Cal. Maii.

L.22. ejuſd. tit. Dat. 3. Cal. Jun.

L.23. ejuſd. tit. & l. 8. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Dat. 16. Cal. Jul.

Sets the rate of Braſs, which was to be furniſhed for Arms.

down to juſt twenty, ſo much was Braſs riſen then in the Market value.“

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43. But from the Market of Metals it was very convenient that he ſhould betake himſelf to the Market of Bread; for the ſtate of the City of *Rome* did very much require it. There were, as hath been ſaid, divers Lands which appertained to the Body, or Company of *Bakers* there; and, that in divers Provinces, from the Revenues of which they received conſiderable Advantages. But by ſome means or other theſe Lands were fallen to little or nothing, and ſo little profit did they make of them, that they were forced to betake themſelves to other ſhifts for a livelyhood, which preſſed ſore upon the people, whoſe Bread they made. To give ſome remedy to this Diſeaſe, *Honorius* orders *Euſebius* the *Præfectus Prætorio* “ of *Italy* to ſend ſome honeſt and induſtrious man to make an inſpection into “ the ſtate of thoſe Lands, to ſee their value, and then to let them out in perpetual “ Right, or *Emphyteuſis*, to fit Tenants, (as Grounds reduced to none or little value “ were wont to be) under a certain Rent for the profit and encouragement of “ the ſaid Company.“ This proved very ſeaſonable and convenient, rather than made out of proſpect of what ſhortly after happened. For about *November* following, when Winter came on, *Gildo* having ſet up for himſelf in *Africk*, kept back that ſupply of Corn, which from ancient times was deſtinated to *Rome* out of that Country; whereupon the City fell into grievous want of Proviſions, now deſtitute of ſo certain a Granary as that had formerly been unto it. Upon the noiſe of the Dearth, *Honorius* firſt thought that the fault lay in the *Navicularii*, their abuſing that Indulgence which had formerly been granted them by *Conſtantine*. He allowed them two years wherein by Acquittances they ſhould prove the due receit and delivery of ſo much Corn as they pretended to import, and this was becauſe of the danger and trouble of Navigation in Winter. Now he concluded with himſelf that they made this advantage of it to keep the Corn, “ and ſell it after ſuch rates as they could get, having time enough to provide “ themſelves of more againſt that term which was appointed them. The two “ years he is ſtill content to allow them for making good their faith, but he “ would have the Corn, or whatever other *Species*, delivered within one year, “ and an Acquittance taken for the delivery of it, though in two years the account “ might be adjuſted. “ This he thought would conduce to the bringing in of the Corn; but if it was given out to the people by little and little as it came, he concluded it would not go ſo far; and therefore by another Edict ſent to *Florentius* the *Præfect* of the City, he commands, that none be diſtributed gratuitouſly, (this being the *Annona Civica*) till the whole Canon or quantity was imported; threatening his Officials with a Mulct of ten pounds of Gold, in caſe his Rule “ were not obſerved.“ Though as to *Florentius* himſelf, it appears ſufficiently from a Letter of his Friend *Symmachus*, that he was much concerned for the ſupply of the City, finding the returns from *Africk* to be ſo ſmall.

Takes care for improving the Lands of the Bakers.

Gildo uſurping in *Africk*.

Honorius provides againſt a Dearth in *Rome*.

L.2.de Conlatione Æris Cod. Th.lib 11.*tit.* 21. *&* *l.*1.*Cod. Juſt. de collat. æris Dat.*5.*Cal. Jun.*

Fundi dotales appellati.

*L.*19. *de Piſtorib. Cod.Th. Dat.* 7. *Id Jul.*

*L.*26. *de Navicularis Cod.Th. & l.*2.*Cod.Juſt. eod.tit.Dat.* 10. *Cal.Jan.*

*L.*2. *de conditis in publicis Horreis.Cod.Th. lib.*11.*tit.* 14. *Abeſt. a Cod. Juſt.Lib.*4.*ep.* 54.

A. D. 397.

Fl. Cæſario & Pontio Attico, Conſ.

44. The Year CCCXCVII had *Fl. Cæſarius* and *Pontius Atticus* for Conſuls: *Cæſarius* and *Eutychianus* were for this year *Præfecti Prætorio* in the *Eaſt*, under *Arcadius*: under *Honorius*, *Theodorus* held the ſame Dignity in *Italy*, and *Vincentius* in *Gaul*. *Arcadius* made his abode at *Conſtantinople* the former part of the year, where being ſolely ruled by *Eutropius*, he had little to do, but aſſent to, and ratifie ſuch Edicts as were brought to him by his *Quæſtor*. That part of the Empire over which he præſided for the moſt part, made uſe of the *Greek* Language, and though the *Latine* Tongue was the Native Speech of *Rome*, the Miſtreſs of the World, yet in thoſe remote *Thracian* and *Aſian* Parts, many there were that did not underſtand it, and therefore when the Judges gave ſentence in it, they often ſpake to the parties in an unknown Tongue. To remove this inconvenience *Arcadius* ſignifies to *Julian* the *Proconſul* of *Aſia*, That it ſhould be “ free for Judges to pronounce their Sentences as well in the *Greek*, as in the *Latine* Language, though as yet, Pleas and Proceedings ſeem to have been ſtill conti- “ nued in the ſame Tongue in which the Laws were written, as here they did in “ *England* till the time of *Edward* the Third, in *French*, to the great diſorder of “ the Natives; but ſuch is the power of Conqueſt both as to Laws and Language amongſt other things; though now and then ſome Sentences even at *Rome* were given in *Greek*, where this Tongue was familiarly known. That *Eutropius* ſhould approve and conſent to this Licenſe, there's no doubt at all: but another Law ſhortly followed, which we know not how it ſuited to his Genius and Deſigns, it ſeeming utterly to thwart that Trade which he ſo vigorouſly drove on at this time, of making Money or his Ends of every Dignity and Office of Worth about the Emperour. Whether he knew not of it, or, which is moſt probable, procured

Arcadius makes it lawful to give ſentence in *Aſia* in the *Greek* Tongue.

*L.*12. *de Sententiis & interloc. omnium judicum Cod. Juſt.lib.*7.*tit.*45.*Dat.*5.*Id. Jan. vide Annot.*

A. D. 397.

A Law againſt indirect ſeeking after Honours.

L. 1. *ad Legem Juliam de Ambitu. Cod. Th. lib. 9. tit. 26. Dat. 15. Cal. Mart. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.. Ambire eſt poteſtatem, honores, auro vel donis emere.*

or conſented to it, to deceive the world, and curry favour with honeſt Men, but certain it is, that *Cæſarius* the *Præfect* was enjoyned, that if any Man was found “ ambitiouſly, or by Money and Bribes to aſpire to any illuſtrious Dignity in the Palace, or to the Honours which were to be conferred by the Prince himſelf upon “ approved perſons, ſuch as he ſhould think fit; of whatſoever Place, Order or “ Dignity ſuch an one was, his Eſtate ſhould forthwith be confiſcated, and he further “ puniſhed by baniſhment or Deportation; Neither was he to believe that this “ crime, though but endeavoured and begun, was leſs than if perfected, ſeeing “ that the Laws puniſh a crime, and the will or deſigning of the crime in equal “ ſort. “

Too frequent during the Commonwealth.

45. This Crime there was need to ſuppreſs in all Ages, and firſt during the Commonwealth. Then did ambitious perſons, when the State grew larger, eſpecially after the *Itilians* were made free of the City, and ſuch numbers of Men of ſo manifold humours and inclinations came to have voices in the *Comitia*, throw about their Money, and by ſeveral ways of gratifying the Tribes, purchaſe thoſe Employments which ought gratuitouſly to have been beſtowed upon deſerving Men. This was grown to ſuch an height in the Age wherein *Pompey* and *Cæſar* lived, that few Magiſtrates were made otherwiſe, ſo that both of them made uſe of it, eſpecially the latter, and this cauſed ſuch contentions, tumults and fights in the Elections, that there was a neceſſity of altering the Government it ſelf, as we have largely ſhewed in convenient place. Some Laws had been made for prevention of this miſchief, as the *Julian*, and *Calpurnian*; whereof this inflicted a forfeiture of Honours, and removed from the Senate all that were convicted of it; but that only deprived them of the Senatorian and other Dignities for five years. As theſe Laws had little effect (as little as weak Medicines againſt turgent and violently fermented humours) ſo when the Power became tranſlated upon a ſingle Perſon, they became utterly forgotten, and out of uſe; this Diſorder being often now as great as ever, though it ran not in ſo publick and noted a ſtrain. For, as the People that had voices in the *Comitia*, were, during the Republick, to be bribed; ſo now thoſe that were neareſt about the Emperour, or that waited in his Chamber, who had moſt their Eare, were the Men to whom ſuch perſons betook themſelves, and that with ſuch ſucceſs, that though good Princes endeavoured what they could to prevent it, yet they could not, but ſome times (not able to hear and ſee all themſelves) be obnoxious to the inſinuations of ſuch as ſtudied more their own private gain than any thing relating to the publick intereſt. Conſidering, that they could not give audience to every particular Man, nor know the Circumſtances of each perſon themſelves, there was a neceſſity of having matters related to them by thoſe about them, and, as we have lately ſeen, this was allowed in practice, and a reaſonable reward for ſoliciting in the behalf of ſuch as could not propound their own deſires. But they were ſtill wont to exceed theſe Bounds, and for Sums or Lands given to procure Offices and Employments of the higheſt nature ſometimes, even under the beſt Princes. *Conſtantine* by Laws endeavoured to ſuppreſs this practice to little purpoſe, which continued too much both under him, and his Sons. *Julian* ſtruck at it with ſome ſucceſs, if you believe *Mamertinus* his Panygyriſt; but his Reign was ſhort, and we know what would have happened, had he lived. Under *Valens* the evil was more ſuppreſſed in the Eaſt, but it had too much force again in the days of *Theodoſius*, whoſe Son *Arcadius* fell into the hands of two ſuch Villains, that if we credit *Claudian* the Poet, and the Hiſtorians of theſe times, all Provinces, and all things elſe were ſet to ſale. But how this Law ſhould come to be now enacted by this young Prince, who at this time was led, as *Zoſimus* phraſeth it, like a Sheep by *Eutropius*, is the wonder: we cannot think, with *Gothofred*, it enacted on purpoſe to obviate his practices, for he had all the power in his hands; but rather publiſhed to give ſome ſatisfaction, and to ſtop the mouths of Men. However, he will have the deſign puniſhed, though it had no effect, as if Money were given, though the place not obtain'd; in like manner as the *Romans* were wont to cenſure deſigned Crimes, not only of Treaſon, but others; provided, they were made evident by ſome overt Act.

As alſo in thoſe days.

46. But, as they that buy will ſell; the under Officers of the Revenue in this general Mart, purchaſing their places, made again their Markets out of the Purſes of the poor Provincials. Such complaint there was now againſt the Exactors or Gatherers of the Tributes, that to remove the Clamour ſomething muſt alſo be publiſhed againſt them. They were ſo bold as to require more than was due, whether in Mony or the quantity of thoſe Species they collected; a grie-

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Superexaction of Tributes made Capital.

viance *Conſtantine* formerly had indeavoured to remove, and ſo had *Valentinian* of whom *Ammianus* teſtifies that he was very prone and eaſy to give relief to the Provinces, in the matter of Tributes. *Arcadius* now found reaſon to Confirm his Law made in this Point, declaring all Superexactions ſhould be Capital, whereas formerly a Reſtitution of foure-fold was thought ſufficient by *Valens* in the like caſe; which afterward alſo in the room of Death, was reduced by ſome Emperors. This great male-Adminiſtration of Affairs could not but make very ill Blood in the Spectators, and eſpecially thoſe that were of *Senatorian* Rank, in which was contained the Body of the Nobility. *Eutropius* therefore now thinking fit, to the rapacious Skin of the Lyon, to ſow that of the Fox; knew it was convenient to pleaſe them of that order; and *Arcadius* accordingly was moved to ſhow ſome favour to thoſe that had ſerved formerly in the Palace, and after their ſervice finiſhed, had the Dignity of Senators conferred on them, and according to a former Law he mentions, he accordingly excuſes them from the burthens of the Prætorſhip or Celebrating of Games, incumbent on ſuch as were called to that Office, though not from the Duty of the *Glebalis Collatio*. But theſe deviſes could do nothing to ſtill that Tempeſt which was raiſed by degrees. *Arcadius* had been in the power of *Rufinus* firſt, and afterward becauſe he knew not whom to truſt, or what to do better, gave up himſelf into the Hands of *Eutropius*, and took for Law whatſoever they directed. He being thus ſucceſſively governed as one that had no Soul himſelf, by theſe two Men, the Empire was wonderfully diſturbed, not only by their treaſonable practiſes for attainment of the Empire, but by their horrible Avarice and hoarding up of Wealth (intended as a means and way to it) their turning men out of their juſt Poſſeſſions, imploying Promoters and Informers in every place, diſcarding all faithful and honeſt Officers, and promoting moſt abject and unfit Perſons to Imployment, even *Barbarians* as well as others, if they brought but Mony, all which are evident from the account given by *Claudian*, *Zoſimus* and others concerning theſe Men, and the diſorders which abounded by their procurement. Of which *Syneſius* in his Oration to *Arcadius* concerning Empire maketh mention, as forerunners of the ruine of the State, adviſing him to redreſs them. This deplored condition of the Empire cauſed grievous grudges, Heart-burnings and wonderful diſcontents in Men, who ſaw all Offices, both *Civil*, *Military* and *Palatine* ſo beſtowed on Wretches. And many complaints were made not only privately among the Vulgar, but by Biſhops alſo, who openly complained, eſpecially *John Chryſoſtome*, who fared much the worſe for his liberal Speech. Moreover things grew now to that height, that, out of publick Odium, Factions, Aſſociations or Conſpiracies ſprung up againſt *Entropius* and his Creatures; at which he allarmed, by the Relation, it ſeems of *Eutychianus*, who had diſcovered the matter, reſolved to ſecure himſelf in his extravagancy as much and long as poſſible, and thoſe who had been preferred by his means. To this purpoſe he procured ſo ſevere a Law to be made at *Ancyra* in *Bithynia*, where *Arcadius* then lay, as the Subject conſidered, and all Circumſtances, there is not the like to be found in all the *Roman* Monuments.

L. 1. de ſuperexactionibus. Cod. Th. lib. 11. tit. 7. Dat ad Ceſarium prid. Non. Mart.

The miſerable Condition of the Empire by reaſon of the lewd Actions of *Eutropius*.

L. 8. de Senatoris. Cod. Th. Dat. 3. Kal. Maj. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

Cauſeth Factions and Aſſociations.

47. Whoſoever ſhall enter into a wicked Faction with *Souldiers*, or *Private* Perſon (though *Barbarians*) or ſhall either initiate others, or be initiated in the Faction, or ſhall deviſe the death of Illuſtrious Perſons, who are preſent at our Councils, and in our Conſiſtory; or of *Senators* (they alſo are part of our Body) or in concluſion (*Cujuſlibet qui nobis militat*) of any one that ſerveth us (for the Laws with the ſame ſeverity puniſh a wicked Intention as the Act it ſelf) let him himſelf as guilty of high Treaſon be put to Death, and his eſtate be Confiſcated. As for his Sons to whom, out of our eſpecial Imperial Lenity, we grant their Lives (for ſuch ought to periſh in their Fathers Puniſhment, in whom Examples of a Paternal, that is, of an hereditary Crime may be feared) let them be deprived of all Inheritance and ſucceſſion deſcending from the Mothers or Grandfathers ſide, or that of their neareſt Relations; let them receive no advantage from the Teſtaments of Strangers; let them be perpetual in want, and poor, and their Fathers Infamy always accompany them; let them never be promoted to Honours or Imployment. Laſtly let them be ſuch as being ſordid and baſe by reaſon of perpetual want, Death may be a comfort to them, and Life a Puniſhment. And we command that ſuch be taken notice of and not forgiven, who ſhall ever attempt to Intercede with us in their behalf. For their Daughters, how many ſoever in number they be, we will that ſo much as the *Falcidian* Law allows of, only come to them, of their Mothers Eſtate,

This procures a ſevere Law againſt them.

L. ult. Ad legem Corneliam de Sicariis Cod. Th. lib. 9. tit 14. & L. 5. Cod. Juſt. ad L. Juliam Majeſtatis. Dat. prid. Non. Septemb. Ancyræ.

whether ſhe died Teſtate or Inteſtate, that they may receive the maintenance“ rather of an Ingrateful Daughter, than any real advantage and name of an“ Heire; For they ought to be more mildly Sentenced, who by reaſon of the“ Infirmity of their Sex, we believe will not be ſo daring. If Emancipation“ ſhall, after the making of this Law, be conferred either upon Sons or Daughters,“ let it be of none effect. Portions to Daughters, Donations and all ſorts of Alienations“ which ſhall appear by Fraud or according to Law, to have been made“ from that time wherein they had thoughts of entering into the ſaid Faction and Society,“ we pronounce to be of no force. Their Wives, their Dowers being recovered,“ if they have received any thing in way of Donation from their Husbands, on“ condition that it be reſerved for their Sons, at ſuch time as the Uſusfructus is“ over, ſhall know that they ſhall leave all to our Exchecker, which by Law“ was due to their Sons; a part being aſſigned of this Eſtate, according to the“ *Falcidian* to the Daughters, but nothing at all unto the Sons. What we determine“ concerning their Sons, ſhall with the ſame ſeverity be inflicted upon their“ Partiſans or Defenders; ſuch as were conſcious to their Crime, their Miniſters“ and their Sons. Indeed if any of them in the beginning, or when they“ enter into the Faction, ſtirred up by a deſire of true Praiſe, ſhall diſcover the ſaid“ Faction, he ſhall be both rewarded by, and receive Honour, from us. And he“ that ſhall proceed in the Faction, if though late, yet he will reveal their Councils“ that are not known, ſhall only be accounted worthy of Abſolution and Pardon.“

Which afterward became very Famous.

48. This Law, though made upon this occaſion, became in after times very famous. Forty Years after the making of it *Theodoſius* the younger, thought fit to put it amongſt other Conſtitutions of Chriſtian Princes, of which his Code is Compoſed; and ſo did *Juſtinian* in the Age following, Tranſlate it into his; moreover in all Books written in the *Eaſt* concerning Law it's ſtill mentioned. In the Weſtern parts indeed for ſome Ages it was not known; as neither the better part of *Theodoſius* his Code, nor any of that Body collected by *Juſtinian.* But as ſoon as *Juſtinians* Books were diſcovered here, this Conſtitution ſaw the Light, and got not only Interpreters but Imitators, and Tranſcribers both in the Palace and elſewhere, ſo that it began to be produced and fitted to many other Occaſions. *Gratian* a Munk of *Bononia*, about the Year MCL compiling a Body of *Pontifical* Law in Imitation of *Juſtinians* Books, (which firſt then came abroad in the *Weſt*) Intituled by him *Concordia diſcordantium Canonum*, but now called *Gratians Decree*, and as ſome ſay was approved by Pope *Eugenius*, amongſt many more conſtitutions of Princes, put this into it, and ſo Cannonized it. And *Charles* the fourth Emperor inſerted it in his Golden Bull, ſo much celebrated amongſt the *Germans* about the Year MCCCLVI and applied it to the Electors *Eccleſiaſtical* and *Secular*. Some Criticks carp at it as cruel, blaming *Juſtinian* for Tranſcribing it; and others as earneſtly defend it. No Law hath afforded occaſion of more Controverſies, Deciſions, Reports and Councils, while Lawyers diſpute to what Perſons and Eſtates it's to be extended, in ſo much that not only Gloſſes but Books have been written upon it; and ſuch as profeſſedly write concerning Treaſon, have made it the foundation of their Diſcourſes, though the original Occaſion and hiſtorical Cauſes have been touched by few, and that very lightly, till *James Gothofred* made it a ſubject of an entire Diſcourſe; the Hiſtory of this time being very ſcant and nothing ſaid of it by thoſe few Writers that are ſtill remaining.

Though the hiſtorical Cauſe was little underſtood.

The Subject of it.

49. However, the Subject of it, is the Contrivance of the Death of ſuch Perſons as were next to the Prince in Government or Dignity, and that by entering into a Faction or Aſſociation, which *Arcadius* by his Legiſlative Power maketh Treaſon. The deſign of it is to prevent Murther, and this deſigned Murther is declared Treaſon, upon which double account it is inſerted into ſeveral Codes, under ſeveral Titles; as in that of *Theodoſius* under the Title of Murther, and * joyned to the *Cornelian Law de Sicariis*; into the other of *Juſtinian*, under that of Treaſon, and joyned to the *Lex Julia Majeſtatis*, ſeveral other Conſtitutions being thus inſerted into ſeveral Books, under divers Titles, for the like reaſon. Now there are four ſorts of Treaſons; *Crimina Læſæ Majeſtatis.* The firſt is,

How many ſorts of Treaſons.

when any beareth an hoſtile Mind againſt his Prince or Country, as to overturn the State, diſturbe either in whole or in part the publique Peace, quiet and ſecurity, by exciting foreign Powers againſt the Common-wealth, or indeavouring their relief in any kind, when in a State of Hoſtility. This is the higheſt Treaſon, called in Latine *Perduellio*, whereof in the higheſt manner they are guilty, who contrive the Death of the Prince whoſe Perſon ought to be Sacred;

* *De his legibus Valeſius Juriſconſultum agit hoc modo. Legem Corneliam Majeſtatis memorat Cicero in Piſonem. Sed poſtquam Julius Cæſar leges Cornelias émendavit ac ſupplevit, lex Julia Majeſtatis exinde ſemper dicta eſt, ut patet ex Jure civili. Atq; hinc eſt quod Suetonius in Nerone, legem Juliam vocat, quæ eſt Cornelia de Sicariis et veneficis. Nam locuſtæ Excuſanti minus veneni datum ad occultandam fraudis invidiam reſpondet Nero. Sane inquit legem Juliam timeo. In Annot. ad Ammiani Marcellini lib. 19. p. 153. At vero in Codice Theodoſiano Ad legem Corneliam de ſicariis diverſus eſt titulus.*

cred; or the depriving him of his Crown and Empire. The ſecond ſort is the *Crimen læſæ venerationis*, when Reverence due to the Prince, and neceſſary for preſerving Government and good Order, is violated by any naughty Fact or word, as by opprobrious Language, breaking his Statues or abuſing his Pictures. The third kind is when the publique Power or Authority is violated, as by reſiſting, abuſing or ſtriking a Judge or Magiſtrate who is doing the buſineſs of the Prince, is in the juſt exerciſe of his Power; or by arrogating to ones ſelf ſomething belonging to Majeſty, as Coyning of Mony and the like; as the defacing of Coyne, is doing Violence to the Soveraignty. The fourth is, when any other Crime, by reaſon of its greatneſs,or ill effects,is, though it be not ſo in its own Nature,declared to be Treaſon or made ſuch,as ſeveral things with us have been made Felony and Treaſon, as the holding of ſuch and ſuch Tenents in Religion in the Reign of *Henry* the Eight. This Treaſon is precarious, in Latin *Majeſtas Precaria*, *Fictitia*, *Exemplaris*, and *Quaſi Perduellio*. And ſuch is by this Law, made by *Arcadius*, the contrivance of the Death of ſuch as were about him, to whom he doth as it were Communicate his Majeſty, as Wives are ſaid to be irradiated by the Beams of the Dignities and Honours of their Husbands.

Perſons by and with whom the Factions were Contracted.

50. The Perſons by and with whom theſe Factions were made, were either Souldiers or private Men. By Private in this Age, were meant not only ſuch as were by this word, diſtinguiſhed from the Prince, and from Magiſtrates and Dignified Perſons, but ſuch as were not in military Imployment, being otherwiſe alſo in Latin called *Pagans* and in Greek *Idiotæ*. Both theſe ſorts were either Natural Inhabitants or Barbarians, by which are to be underſtood not ſuch as were called out of Barbarous Countries, for carrying on ſome Plot or Deſigne, but ſuch as indeed had filled the Empire ſince the time of *Valens*, who gave to the *Goths* Ground to Inhabit in *Thrace* and other Countries; the main cauſe of all the Calamities wherewith the Empire was at length oppreſſed. Under *Theodoſius*, when *Athanarich* was dead, his Souldiers alſo ſubmitted to the *Roman* Empire, and were made one Body with the *Roman* Militia, as ſeveral writers teſtifie; ſo that Barbarous Souldiers lay at *Conſtantinople*, and the *Goths* were placed particularly in *Phrygia*: Nay, now they might either be Souldiers or live privately; they bore, as we have ſeen, Offices of Magiſtracy, and were promoted to Dignities, *Illuſtrious*, *Senatorian*, *Palatine* and *Provincial*. The Perſons whom *Arcadius*, by denouncing the Pains and Penalties of Treaſon, labours to protect, are alſo of three ſorts; Illuſtrious *Conſiſtorians*, *Senators*, and ſuch as did *Militare Principi*, or ſerve the Emperor. By Illuſtrious *Conſiſtorians* who are meant, ſufficiently appears by what we have formerly ſaid of theſe great Perſons, as alſo by *Senators*, who were in higheſt eſteem, during the Reign of the Author of this Law; but whom we are to underſtand by *Militantes* is more obſcure. Not certainly thoſe that ſerved in the Army,or every Souldier as the *Greeks* groſly interpret it, as if *Arcadius* had by this Conſtitution made the Perſon of every ordinary and common Knapſack-carrier, *Sacroſanct*. Neither can it be only thoſe of the Emperors Guard, or thoſe that watched about his Body, as the *Domeſticks* and *Protectors*, as others have miſtaken, though they indeed may more properly be ſaid *Militare Principi*, and *intra Palatium Militare*, whom, for their care of his Perſon, *Arcadius*, in one of his Conſtitutions, calleth *Denotiſſimi*. *Militare*, as is moſt evident to all that konw any things of the Laws or Monuments of theſe Ages, ſignifies to ſerve the Emperor in his Palace, though not by the Sword, as well as in the Field; and the *Palatine* Officers are called *Militia* as we have ſeen ſufficiently in the *Polity* of the Empire.

Perſons protected by the Law.

51. For as much then as it cannot be imagined that every common fellow of the Guard, or of the keepers of the Body, whereof there were many, ſhould be ſo valuable, as to have a Ray of Majeſty Communicated to him, and be made *Sacroſanct*, we cannot but be of *Gothofreds* opinion, that ſuch are in this Law to be underſtood as Exerciſed *Palatine* Dignities, as the *Comes Domeſticorum*, the *Caſtrenſis Sacri Palatii*, the *Primicerius Notariorum*, the *Magiſtri Scriniorum*, the *Comites* and *Tribuni Scholarum*, the *Tribunus* or *Comes Sacri Stabuli*, and others. For, theſe, in a peculiar manner and by way of Excellency were ſaid *Militare Principi*, who in conſiderarion of Place and Dignity were joyned with Senators, as by the Laws any may perceive, with whom it is abſurd to imagine that ordinary *Soldiers*, common *Satellites*, or ordinary *Domeſticks* or *Protectors* ſhould be joyned, and partake with them in ſo vaſt a privilege, as alſo to think, that ſo great a Faction and Couſpiracy ſhould be raiſed againſt ſuch inconſiderable Men, and this made ſuch a crime, that all that were but miniſterial and conſcious to it, muſt be ſo ſe-

verely puniſhed. But, not only theſe great Court-Officers are here to be underſtood, but Provincial too, both Civil and Military, who are all ſaid *Militare Principi*, being all girt with a Girdle; which Cuſtom extending of old to others as well as Soldiers, is now beyond the Seas as ordinary amongſt Lawyers and Phyſicians, who uſe the Caſſock and Girdle in their Employments in Courts of Juſtice, and when bearing any Office in the Schools, as well as Divines. This was agreeable to the *Julian* Law (to which this Conſtitution is added) which made it Treaſon to compaſs the death of any *Roman* Magiſtrate, or ſuch as had Command and Power. Theſe being generally the Creatures of *Eutropius*, or to whom he was obnoxious for receiving their Money, were thus ſecured by the Severities of this Conſtitution; which, we may eaſily enough conclude, was extorted from *Arcadius*, to protect the Power of the Eunuch and his Dependants, and hide the Crimes of theſe Officers he had preferred.

52. However, this took ſomething off from the Solemnity and Deſignment of the Law, that it was but part of a larger Conſtitution directed to *Eutychianus*, the *Præfectus Prætorio*; who had made Relation to the Emperor of what Miſcarriages he found in the Provinces. The foregoing Year *Arcadius* had thought fit to pro-“ hibit the collecting of what was due from Senators in the Country; or the *Glebalis Collatio*, by the *Curiales*; leſt they ſhould oppreſs or offer Injury to Perſons of“ that Order, which at this time they were prone to do: And appointed the *Ap*-“ *paritors* of the Governors of the Provinces to the Employment; requiring thoſe“ who were the *Defenſores* of the Senate to ſee this done accordingly; and that if“ the *Curia* of the City or Town thought fit to have a *Cenſitor* or *Peræquator* ſent“ down, he ſhould have nothing to do, or intermeddle in the matters belonging to“ Senators.“ This was put in practice by *Cæſarius*; but ſuch was the ſucceſs, that now *Eutychianus* his Succeſſor made known unto *Arcadius*, that the *Officials*, or *Apparitors* were ſo improper for the Work of Collecting, that in ſome Provinces one half of the Tribute was behind, or never called for. This could not be endured, that ſo conſiderable a part of the Revenue ſhould fail; and therefore *Arcadius*,“ by this Reſcript, commands, that the Collection be reſtored into the hands of the“ *Curiales*; but that, what he had declared the Year before concerning Senators,“ ſhould alſo be obſerved.“ This was to prevent all Commixion of the Concerns of Senators and *Curiales*, leſt the Senatorian Dignity ſhould grow vile and contemptible; for the *Curiales* being moſt commonly conceited, and ill bred, fancied themſelves almoſt as good Men as the other, they being a ſort of Senators of Cities and Corporations, and their Courts an Image or Reſemblance of the Senate it ſelf. Hereof the *Defenſores Senatus* were to take care; a ſtrange ſort of Officers. Becauſe the miſerable *Plebs*, or Common Sort, ſtood in need of their Defenſor to protect them from the Inſolencies and Injuries of the rich *Curiales*, Muſt the great and mighty Senate at this time ſtand in need of its Defenſors too? But ſo the Caſe required; all ſorts of People being ready to devour one another, and the *Curiales* being too bold and ſaucy in the Management of theſe Collections; which, yet it was neceſſary, ſhould ſtill continue in their hands. But, conſidering that this Law and the late famous one of Treaſon made up one Conſtitution, we may gather, that the Senators themſelves lay under ſuch prejudices, that they ſtood in need of *Defenſors*: And *Arcadius* provided both for their Dignity and Security, as well ſuch as lived in the Provinces, as in the City.

L.L.2,3.de Prædiis Senatorum Cod.Th.lib. 6.tit.3.

The *Curiales* appointed to collect what was due from Senators as formerly.

L.4.ſeu ult. ejuſ. tit. Dat.prid. Non.Septemb. Ancyræ eod. die quo Lex famoſa de qua nuper egimus.

53. Toward the latter end of the Year we meet with another Edict of *Arcadius*, to this ſame *Præfect Eutichianus*; which, at the firſt Entrance upon it, one would imagine to have been ſent to mitigate the Rigour of that ſevere Law of Treaſon; but that the Concluſion, as well as the Title, under which it is ſet, fruſtrate utterly ſuch Expectation. But, though *Eutropius* would not be ſo plauſible to take off any Proſecution of ſuch as might conſpire againſt him and his Accomplices, yet upon Complaint of how many were accuſed of other Crimes, and their Eſtates thereupon confiſcated and ſiezed by him, he might think fit to put ſome ſtop to the Clamour, by procuring a little Reſtraint to the extravagant Proſecutions in tha tkind. Former Emperors had impoſed the pain of burning alive upon ſuch Slaves as accuſed their Maſters of any Crime, except it was Treaſon: He now changes it from Fire, to the Sword; but commands, that before the Production or Examination“ of Witneſſes, at the beginning of the Accuſation, they be put to death; and not“ only Slaves, but others he calls *Familiares*; by which are not to be ſuppoſed ſuch“ as in general Terms we call Familiar Friends, as if one Maſter of a Family might“ not accuſe another without this Puniſhment, but thoſe of the Perſon's Family; as“ one brought up or nouriſhed in his Houſe, or his Clients and Dependants.“ Whatever

A Law againſt Slaves accuſing their Maſters.

L.3. Ne præter crimen Majeſtatis, Cod.Th.lib. 9.tit.6.Dat.6. Id.Nov.Conſtp: & L.penult.Cod. Juſt. qui accuſare non poſſunt.

ever the occaſion was, the Law it ſelf is agreeable to Modeſty, good Nature and Gratitude; ſuppoſing that theſe cannot be broken without ſome horrible Malice or Unworthineſs in the Party. *Arcadius* cloſed this Year with another ſeaſonable and good Edict, to avoid confuſion of Juriſdictions, and haraſſing the People by drawing them from one Tribunal to another; as alſo, to curb the inſolence of Military Men, now grown to a very great exceſs. They had been formerly prohibited to intermeddle in the Deciſion of Civil Controverſies, yet ſome of them had the confidence ſtill to concern themſelves in ſuch Affairs; as we ſee all Courts draw whatſoever Griſt they can to their own Mills. But this was now made to appear a matter of ſo very ill conſequence, That he declares to *Arcelaus*, the *Præfectus Auguſtalis*; “that if any ſhall ſo neglect the Order of the Judges, and without the Prince his Reſcript, ſue before any Military Judge, beſides the Penalties formerly inflicted, he ſhall ſuffer Deportation: and moreover, his Advocate (who ought to know and inform his Client of the Juriſdiction and Nature of Courts) incurr a Fine of ten pounds of Gold.“

Military Judges prohibited to meddle in Civil Cauſes

L.9.de Juriſdictione & ubi quis conven. deb. Cod. Juſt. lib.2.tit.1.Dat. 8.Cal.Decemb. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt. ſed ſimilis ibi, puta L.5. eod.tit.

Honorius intent upon the War with *Gildo*.

54. The mind of *Honorius* was this Year intent upon *Africk*, and the Conſequents of the Revolt of that Country; and when he, or his Governor *Stilicho*, thought how to recover it, a fit Opportunity preſented it ſelf, ſuch as was utterly beyond their expectation. *Gildo*, the great Rebel, had a Brother called by the name of *Mazeſcel*, or others, of like ſound unto it; as we have formerly ſeen out of *Ammianus Marcellinus*. This *Mazeſcel*, out of a barbarous rage and fury, he would have killed, and laid in wait ſuch as ſhould intrap him; which having diſcovered, he fled into *Italy*, to the Emperor; whom he informed of the whole ſtate of the Province: And ſhewing him how there could not be any difficulty in making War, offered himſelf to reduce or defeat his Brother if he might be furniſhed with a ſufficient Army. There was ſome reaſon to conſider whether the *Barbarian* ought to be truſted in ſuch an Enterprize againſt his own Brother; but matters were brought to that paſs in *Italy*, through the Revolt of *Africk*, that *Gildo* hindring all Navigation, the City of *Rome* was thereby caſt into a very great Scarcity of Proviſions: Whereupon, the ſtate of Affairs was reported to the Senate; which, upon the motion from the Emperor and *Stilicho*, decreed War againſt *Gildo*, and to be managed by *Mazeſcel*. This when *Gildo* heard, he was more violently enraged; and flew to that height, that he laid hold on, and murdered two of his Brother's Sons, whom he had left behind him in *Africk*. *Honorius* continued his Abode at *Milan* the former part of the Year; yet, though at that diſtance, knowing how the City of *Rome* laboured under this Defection, he ſet himſelf wholly, in a manner, to provide for the Supply, and other Emoluments of it; wherein its Dignity, Peace and Tranquility were concerned. Leſt any of thoſe Perſons who belonged to ſuch Companies as ſerved the City with Neceſſaries ſhould withdraw themſelves from their Functions, he declared, That all that were obnoxious to the Body of the *Snarii*, “either in reſpect of their Birth and Original, or holding of Lands belonging to the Body, ſhould continue their Services: And, for the encouragement of all in general, renewed the Privileges formerly granted to all the *Corporati*; one whereof, at this time of want, was very ſeaſonable, *viz.* Excuſe or Exemption from any extraordinary Indiction, or Impoſition.“

Zoſimus ubi prius Oroſius, lib.7. c.36. Sigon. de occid. Imp. lib. 10.

Sets himſelf to provide for *Rome*, which ſuffered much thereby.

Hoc quoque non parva ſas eſt cum laude relinqui. Quod non ante fretis exercitus adſtitit ultor. Ordine quam priſco cenſeret bella Senatus. Neglectum Stilicho per tot jam ſæcula morem. Rettulit, ut ducibus mandarent prælia Patres. Decretoque togæ fœlix legionibus iret. Teſſera, Romuleas leges remeaſſe fatemur. Cum procerum juſſis famulantia cernimus arma. Claudian in pr. Conſ. Stilichonis a v. 324. ad 331. & vide Symmachi, lib. 4. ep. 4.

L. 7. de Snariis Cod.Th. Dat. 15. Cal.Mar.

L.3.de Privilegiis Corporator. urbis Romæ, Cod. Th. lib.14. tit.2.Dat.15. Cal.Apr. pro Mart.

The People run a madding after the faſhions of the *Barbarians*.

55. But, to augment the miſchief, there were ſome things practiſed in the City at this time which ſober and underſtanding Men did much miſlike, and thereof made Information to the Emperor. The *Goths*, and other Barbarous Nations having lived ſo long in the Empire, and many fixing in *Rome* it ſelf, the People became enamoured of their Faſhions and Apparel; thinking their own ancient Wear to be dull and unhandſome, and nothing ſo neat as what the Strangers uſed, how extravagant ſoever it was in it ſelf: An humour preſaging very ill things; nothing being more ominous than that a People ſhall at length truckle to thoſe they ſo admire, being captivated to them in their Fancies and Imaginations before they be Captives as to their Perſons and Eſtates. However, this humour was ſo prevalent in the Eaſt, that, not only the ordinary ſort of People, but the greateſt Miniſters loved to be ſeen in uncouth Garbs; of which *Claudian* makes *Rufinus* highly guilty, and it ſeems he gave ſo ill example to *Arcadius*, his young Maſter, that *Syneſius*, in his diſcourſe to him concerning Government, doth not omit to tax him, alſo, for this *Indecorum*. But *Honorius*, to put ſome ſtop to this ridiculous and mean ſpirit, “now forbad the uſe of thoſe things they called *Tzangæ*, *Tſanchæ* or *Sanchæ* (being Buskins made of Skins) and of *Braccæ*, within the venerable City, as he terms it, under pain of Confiſcation of Goods, and perpetual Baniſhment.“ Moreover, at this time, though there was ſcarcity of all Proviſions, yet were they at *Rome* inflamed

Honorius makes a Law againſt it.

L.2.de Habitib. quo uti oportet intra urbem. Cod.Th. lib.14. tit.10. P.P.Romæ.

with a madneſs of Building; though the place was already bigger than either was conſiſtent with Health or Accommodations, yet muſt they fill the *Campus Martius* with Huts and Booths, if they could not be permitted to raiſe greater Structures. This large Plat of Ground, which lay betwixt the City and the *Tiber*, of which they could not but have received from their Anceſtors by Tradition as well as Writings, how famous it had been upon many Accounts, did they now choak up with Tipling Houſes; as we may preſume, being vitious and luxurious, but abject and mean; addicted to Pleaſures, but ſtrangers to the generous Exerciſes and Divertiſements of their Forefathers. Beſides that, the old *Luſtrum* was kept in this place; the *Comitia* alſo, or Aſſemblies of the People: It was the School, the *Gymnaſium* or *Palæſtra* of all ſorts of Exerciſes of Arms or Sports; and ſerved the people for walking, and taking of the Air. Some Emperors, upon this account, would not ſuffer any Buildings to be erected upon it, though *Trajan* built a Theatre and a Porticus; the former of which was demoliſhed by *Adrian*. Now, *Honorius* prohibits any Huts or Booths to be there erected, under the ſame Penalty of Confiſcation, and perpetual Exile, as was inflicted by the former Law, though with as little effect, as we ſhall ſee hereafter: “ For this humour of building there, ſo long continued, till the City her ſelf, for Novelty, ſlid down from her ſeven Hills, and here repoſed her ſelf, as more at eaſe. But both theſe Laws were publiſhed at *Rome*, in the *Forum* of *Trajan*; that *Forum* ſo much frequented, and where Edicts concerning the People were wont to be fixed ſo as to be ſeen by all: that moſt Auguſt Structure, concerning the Magnificence of which, the Reader may remember what *Ammianus Marcellinus* writes, upon occaſion of *Conſtantius* his viewing of it.

Another againſt Building in the *Campus Martius.*

L.un. de Campo Martio urbis Romæ, Cod.Th. lib.14.tit.14. P. P. Roma in foro Trajani.

56. But there were ſo many *Barbarians* now adays in *Rome*, ſo many idle Perſons haunting Booths, Victualling Houſes, and places of worſe Character; that the great Dearth conſidered, there was juſt fear leſt the Diſcontent of the Citizens by theſe turbulent Men, might be blown into ſome outragious Acts of Sedition and Mutiny. It was therefore reſolved, not only to prohibit the Barbarous Habits, thereby to take off opportunity of their knowing one another, and to prevent their Meetings by forbidding Booths and Huts; but alſo, To command all *Agentes in Rebus*, who, as we have ſeen, were wont to be violent and unruly; all *Palatine Officials*, or thoſe belonging to the two great Treaſurers, that were well skilled in collecting of Arrears, in raiſing Calumnies, and in Rapines; as alſo, others of more inferiour note, if they had no Buſineſs or Employment, to quit the City, under pain of Deportation. “ It was the cuſtom, as we have ſeen, both from *Themiſtius* and *Ammianus*, in time of Scarcity to ſend idle and uſeleſs perſons out of the City; that there might be better Supply for ſuch as had moſt Right and Neceſſity there to continue. When this was done, none certainly could better be ſpared than the *Gladiators*; whoſe Employment it was, by cutting and killing of one another, to give Tragical Divertiſements to the Spectators on bloody Theatres. It ſeems, alſo, that they were comanded to be gone as well as others: And thereupon, as ſome ſhifted and lurked about in the Booths and Huts in the *Campus Martius*, they betook themſelves to the Services of Senators, and there thought to find ſhelter and protection. For by another part of this Edict, though made a Law by it ſelf, *Honorius* gives expreſs charge, that if any ſuch ſhall be found out to have ſo done, they be ſent away, and baniſhed into the utmoſt Deſerts. “ To be ſure, theſe Hackſters were, of all others, moſt bold and daring, and the fitteſt Inſtruments for any Tumult. They who value not their own, are ever the Maſters of the Lives of others. If *Honorius* would not have them in the Services of Noble Men, where they might have ſome Employment, it is not probable he would have them in the City, in their *Ludus*, or Fencing School, under their Maſter or *Laniſta*; who could have the leſs Authority and Command over them. So that we cannot but be of the contrary opinion to *Gothofred* in this matter, and believe them expelled the City by his expreſs Command.

Idle and dangerous perſons commanded to quit the City.

L.un. Quibus Militantibus ad urbem non liceat accedere, Cod.Th.lib.14. tit.11. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt. ut horum temporum propria.

L.3. de Gladiatoribus, Cod.Th. lib.15.tit.12. Abeſt etiam a Cod. Juſt. ut temporaria.

57. But ſtill *Honorius*, or they about him, ſtood in dread of the Conſequents of that Influence which the Rebellion of *Gildo* might have upon theſe multitudes of people now in diſtreſs, and living in that vaſt City. The ſureſt way was to bring in, ſufficient Proviſions; but that could not be without Aſſiſtance from Sea: *Italy* could do nothing toward filling ſo many mouths. He directed a large Edict to the People and Senate, for quieting of their minds, and continuing good Orders amongſt them; wherein, in the firſt place, as not knowing what to do better, he again runs upon the *Navicularii*; as being, by reaſon of their Employment, fitteſt to bear the burthen and the blame too. What Corn they brought in was in ſuch

Sect. 1.

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He ſtill uſeth other means for ſupply of *Rome* with Neceſſaries.

little Quantities and great Intervals, that little good ſtill came of it; and therefore he requires, That the third part of the whole Quantity be imported as ſoon as “ the Seas are open, or in the Months of *March* and *April*; and then betakes himſelf to “ the old and uſual Courſe of commanding of the *Præfect* of *Italy* to ſee the Fleet “ reinforced, by conſtraining all whatſoever, who, by any way or means, held “ Lands obnoxious to the Function, to do their Duties. But though never ſo much Corn was brought out of *Africk*, or other places; if it was ſold and parcelled away e'er it came at *Rome* or in the Granaries, the End and Deſign of it was fruſtrated; and yet ſuch was the practice at this time, to ſell it upon the Shores or Coaſts as it came along, and thereof *Honorius* was informed; who inflicts the Puniſhment “ of Death both upon Seller and Buyer, beſides the nulling of the Contracts “ ſo made to defraud the Publick. “ Furthermore, when they had ſo diminiſhed the Stores, they were wont to pretend ſeveral things; As that the Corn was putrified, “ and they were forced to caſt it Over-board; that it was dryed and ſhrunk “ below the quantity of an hundredth part, they were allowed upon that Conſideration; “ that it was ſtolen, waſhed away by the Sea; or, in concluſion, that they “ had ſuffered Shipwreck: All which Pretences he will have examined ſtrictly by “ the *Præfectus Annonæ* and the *Vicar* of the City; that if, indeed, ſuch adverſe “ Fortune happened, Allowance may be made, or elſe their delay and negligence “ be puniſhed if theſe misfortunes came by their fault. “ But if all the whole *Canon* “ (as they call it) or quantity was brought in; if the *Suſceptors* or Receivers of “ it, and the Overſeers of the Granaries played the Knaves, all former labour would be loſt. To prevent which, he further requires, that theſe Officers every Year “ give an Account to the ſaid *Vicar* and *Præfect*, of all ſuch quantities as they have “ delivered out, and prove manifeſtly the Delivery before them. If they appeared “ honeſt he will have them continue in their Employment five Years (whereas, one “ was the ordinary term of a *Suſceptor*) and in caſe of want, ſupply to be made “ out of the Body of the *Curiales*. “

L.27. de Naviculariis, Cod. Th. lib.13. tit.5. Dat.17. Cal. Maii.

L.3. Quæ res venire non poſſunt, Cod. Juſt. lib.4. tit.40.

L.5. de Naufragiis, Cod. Th. lib. 13. tit.9.

L. 24. de Suſceptoribus Cod. Th.

58. Good reaſon we ſee *Honorius* hath, to tell the Fathers, as he doth in the beginning of his Oration, that they are certain how great care he takes for the Commodity of them and of the People. But this he further ſhows and aſſures them of, by ordaining, that, In caſe any Tribute of Corn or Oyl, uſually due and payable, “ was remitted or pardoned to any by any Immunity granted by Reſcript of the “ Emperor; ſuch Reſcript and Immunity ſhall be utterly void. And in caſe a Ship “ was conſtrained to put in any where upon the Coaſt of *Africk*, yet the Lading “ thereof ſhall not be carried to any other place; but tranſmitted to the Sacred City “ alone. “ Thus, by the Commodity which *Honorius* endeavoured to procure for Senate and People, we ſee the main Chance was provided for, as much as in him lay; or Neceſſaries for the maintenance of their Lives. But he proceeded farther, to take care for their diverſion alſo, by Pleaſures, Delights and Paſtimes; to make their Condition, if it did at all, to pinch the leſs. We find in this part of his Oration, he not only makes mention of Corn (the quantity whereof imported every Year was two hundred thouſand *Modii*; and great need there was of it, becauſe, what formerly came to *Rome* out of *Egypt*, was now ſent to *Conſtantinople*) but alſo Oyl; of which, moreover, there was a quantity brought yearly out of *Africk*. This was for Luxury; not to eat, but to make uſe of, in their *Gymnaſia*, and their Baths, as they had learned from the *Greeks*. Such as had a mind to pleaſe the People, ſometimes gratified them with a Preſent of this Oyl; as *Scipio*, *Cæſar*, and others of the Emperors; by whom it was brought at length to be part of the yearly *Canon* or Allowance to the City. But he proceeded ſtill further in his deſign of pleaſing Senate and People. Thoſe that were wont to raiſe the Tribute of Senators, or *Glebalis Collatio*, were the *Cenſuales*; whom, though he now excuſeth from “ ſo doing, as a work too burthenſome; yet he will have them to diſcuſs the matters “ thereto belonging: And having found out the true ſtate of Collection, “ how much, and wherefore it was to be payed; then to make Breves, and therein “ report what they found. “ Now, the *Cenſuales* being Officers relating to the Senate it ſelf, this could not but pleaſe the Members of it, that they ſhould be the Men that muſt make an Inſpection into their Eſtates. What is behind of this Edict tends more to the pleaſure and ſatisfaction of the People.

Certum habetis Patres conſcripti quantum curarum impendimus pro veſtris ac populi commodis. Ideoque hac lege ſancimus, &c. L. 3. de Canone frumentario urbis Romæ. Cod. Th. lib.14. tit. 15.

And things of Delight.

L.6. de Senatoribus, Cod. Th.

50. Nothing could pleaſe the People better after their Bellies were fully provided for, than to behold the *Circenſian* Games. Theſe were celebrated at the Charge of the *Prætors*; who finding them ſo great a burthen, as we have mentioned, made ſeveral means to evade the Office: and now, amongſt others, when they were to be deſigned to ſome certain ſort of *Prætorſhip*, a little before, they alienated their E-

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ſtates, that the leſſer burthen may be impoſed upon them. Such Alienations the“ Emperor declares ſhall be void, except the Cauſe was firſt approved, and the“ Contract entred in the Regiſter of the Govornor of the Province.“ And whereas ſome were ſo bold as to ſeek after,and procure the Reſcript of the Emperor,for their excuſe of the *Prætorſhip*;He alſo declares all ſuch Reſcripts obtained,to be of no Force. The times grew now to ſuch hardſhip, or Men to ſuch uneaſineſs in their Conditions, that none would keep their Stations; but were weary of thoſe places and ways, wherein they were fixed by their Quality and their Originals. Whether it was, that the ſcarcity which was at *Rome* pinched alſo the Inhabitants of *Campania*, or it was an Omen of that Ruin and Deſolation which ſhortly after followed all over the Weſt; But Towns now began to be deſerted, even by Artificers; thoſe they called *Collegiati*, who were Companies that ſerved the Publick, and for that,received Privileges; who, together with the *Curiales*, made up the whole Corporation.' This drew from the Emperor an Order to *Graccus*, the *Conſularis* of“ *Campania*; Wherein he requires, that all Judges uſe their endeavours to bring“ them back, and all they have; that their bodies may not be in one place, and“ their minds in another. As for their Sons, if they were born of free Women,“ they ought to follow the condition of their Fathers, and be liable to ſuch Services“ as they were: But if they had them by *Ancillæ*, or Slaves, they were to follow,“ and be reckoned of the ſame ſtate and condition with, their Mothers.“

L.7.de Senatoribus, Cod.Th.

L.31. de Prætoribus, Cod. Th.

Artificers forced back to the places of their Original.

L.1.de Collegiatis, Cod.Th. lib. 14.tit.7.Dat.9. Cal. Jun. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

60. Theſe things tended to quiet the minds of the people;but it was another matter to reduce *Gildo*, and prevent any further Attempts he might make upon *Italy*,or other places. For this alſo *Honorius* made ſo vigorous Preparations, that he called the *Juniores* into the Field; and commanded *Sperechius*, his *Comes Rei Privatæ*,“ that his own Patrimony or Domain ſhould not herein be ſpared, though uſually“ it was; but that in all Provinces it ſhould alſo furniſh them out, and that with all“ convenient ſpeed.“ This, that it might better be able to perform, he commands“ him farther; That none of that Gold or Silver which belonged to it,“ ſhall be drawn off, and applyed to other uſes, as he found it had been practiſed,“ without his leave for ſo doing; that he may have a fuller and clearer Account of“ it.“ If the Emperor's own Lands were ſubjected to this burthen in this caſe of neceſſity, it was not fit that thoſe of the Senators ſhould eſcape, but be made alſo to ſet out Soldiers; the finding of which, as *Juretus* obſerves, was ſometimes put upon Patrimonies themſelves, or made the burthen of the Soil; and ſometimes impoſed upon Tenants or preſent Poſſeſſors. We find that *Honorius*, by ſome Edict, required this Duty now from the Eſtates of Senators; and that hereupon the Senate diſpatched away their *Legati*, or Meſſengers, to him, to pray that they might be diſcharged of the trouble, and pay Money in lieu of the Men. And they returned with their buſineſs done, as *Symmachus*, in his Epiſtle, tells the Sons of *Nichomachus*; for, both the Indiction of the *Tirones* ceaſed, and they were permitted to pay Silver in the Room of them. But, concerning theſe matters, ſaith he, we hope we ſhall receive an Oration or Writing from the Emperor. No ſuch Oration we find, but an Edict directed to *Theodorus*, the *Præfectus Prætorio*; wherein he tells him, That he had granted the Petition of the moſt ample Order,“ that Money might be payed inſtead of Soldiers; and they might have their choice“ whether they would furniſh out Men fit for Service, or for every one, pay in Money“ twenty five *Solidi*, beſides for their finding with Meat and Cloaths. But if“ they had rather pay Gold, they ſhould ſend it preſently into the Exchequer.“ By this we find that *Tirones*, or new Soldiers were now at a leſſer Rate than formerly, *viz.* twenty five *Solidi*, or five pounds of Silver; but that was becauſe Slaves were admitted into the Service. Bnt this Favour granted to the Senate, *Honorius* thought fit to ſignifie, alſo, to *Minervius* at the latter end of the Year, his *Comes Res Privatæ*; to whom he gives order, that his own Poſſeſſions, held in perpetual Right, ſhall contribute toward the finding of Soldiers in the ſame manner.

L.12 de Tironibus, Cod.Th. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

Honorius ſubjects his own Domain to the finding of Soldiers.

L.14. de Jure Fiſci, Cod. Th.

Ep.62.lib.6.& vide Juretum in locum.

Senators permitted to pay Money in lieu of them.

L.13. de Tironibus, Cod.Th.

L.14.de Tironibus,Cod.Th.Dat. prid.Id.Nov.

61. This diſadvantage in the Civil State, ſtill followed Military Preparations; that when an Army was to be raiſed, the *Curiales*, and Countrymen, and other Officers, that were weary of their Employments, would forſake their Stations, and take ſhelter in a Profeſſion of Arms. To avoid this Extreme on the other hand, the Emperour gave directions to *Florentinus*, the *Præfect* of the City, that even ſuch Soldiers as had obtained te be *Comites* of the firſt Rank ſhould be forced back to their Corporations, if they had obtain'd the Dignity by Codocils, or for Reward, and had not paſſed through the ſeveral Employments of the Camp; but if they had been in long ſervice, he permits them to be free, or in caſe they had obtain'd

Curiales forced back from the Camp.

L.2. de Comitibus Rei militaris. Cod. Th.lib. 6.tit.14. Dat. 12.Cal.Jan. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

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tain'd both the firſt and ſecond degrees of *Comites*. The ſame thing he enjoyns concerning the *Apparitors* of Judges, even of the *Præfects*, whether they had betaken themſelves to the *Militia Palatina*, or *Militaris*, as he diſtinguiſheth; commanding that they be ſent back again to the meaneſt Employments wherein they “ had ſerved; and that if they eſcaped, their Sons ſhould be forced to the ſeveral “ Charges of their Eathers. “ As for *Curiales*, though formerly he had granted them leave to enjoy the honours of *Exprotectors*, or *Domeſticks*, provided their Duties in the Corporation were ſupplied; now conſidering of it better, as he ſaith, He declares all ſuch Titular Names null, and void; ſo that they ſhall neither be “ excuſed from ſordid Services, nor from the *Plumbatæ*, if occaſion require it. “ And what he ſaith here concerning ſuch Honours obtained by them, he extends “ it to all members of Companies, and *Centuriones*. Moreover, as the *Appari-* “ *tors*, ſo all *Curiales* he will have recalled from both the *Militia Palatina* and *Ar-* “ *mata*, ſo as no preſcription of time ſhall ſerve their turn. “

L.19.de diverſis Officiis Cod. Th.

And deprived of certain Honours.

L.L. 153. 154. 155.156. *de Decurionib.Cod. Th.*

62. But, as for thoſe who from *Curiales* had arrived at the Senatorian Dignity, if they had diſcharged and run through all their Charges in the *Curia*, he per- “ mits them to enjoy their Honour and their eaſe; but ſuch Sons as they had be- “ fore they came to be Senators, he will not have excuſed from being obnoxious to “ the originary and firſt conditions of their Fathers; except their Fathers were il- “ luſtrious perſons, then he declares them exempt; *If*, as he expreſſeth himſelf, “ *by a degenerate lazyneſs and drowſineſs they do not ſhake off their Fathers virtue.* So “ far are ſuch from being noble, though puffed up with a conceit of their Nobility. “ But as for them that were Senators, and had not yet run through all the Char- “ ges of the *Curia*, he gives them leave to perform, what was behind, by their De- “ puties. Such was the Diſtemper of this time, as we may ſee by the Remedies, and very Complicate, wherein a Medicine that ſeemed to cure one Symptom, would exaſperate another. But ſo *Honorius*, or they about him, dealt with as wary an Hand as he could; and foreſeeing now how the Military Officers might take too much upon them, and determine matters that belonged not to their Cognizance; when they were puffed up with a fancy of what need there was of them, he commands in an Edict directed to *Vincentius*, *Præfect* of *Gall*, that in a criminal cauſe, the accuſer follow the Court of the accuſed Party; that none go “ out of his own Court without leave from the Prince, under pain of the Plain- “ tiff loſing his cauſe, and the Defendant being condemned, whether it was in a Civil or Criminal Matter: under the ſame penalty he enjoyns that none commit “ execution to Military Men; and inflicts death on ſuch Tribunes and Vicars as ſhall “ execute any thing in a Military or prohibited way. “ After this manner was this Year paſſed over.

Except ſuch as had diſcharged all Duties.

L.5.de Juriſdictione Cod. Juſt.lib.3.tit. 13.

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Honorio Auguſto & Eutychiano Coſſ.

63. The next following, or the CCCXCVIII of our Lord, had for Conſuls *Honorius Auguſtus*, the fourth time, and *Eutychianus*: *Theodorus* was *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Italy*: *Vincentius* ſtill of *Gall*; *Eutychianus* of the *Eaſt*, and *Anatolius* of *Illyricum*. *Arcadius* was this Year, or for the moſt part, reſident at *Conſtantinople*; and *Honorius* at *Milan*, where he took the Enſigns of the Conſulſhip. By this time the great enmity betwixt *Stilicho* and *Eutropius* was broken forth into publick and notorious Acts, and in the mouth of every man; yet, though they burned with implacable malice againſt each other, did both of them with all licentiouſneſs, inſult over the miſeries of ſuch as were ſubject to their power: *Stilicho* having fixed himſelf, as he concluded, by marrying his Daughter *Mary* to *Honorius*; and *Eutropius* leading and governing *Arcadius* no otherwiſe than like ſome ſilly Sheep. To be ſure, if there were any noble or pleaſant Seat in any Country, it was made over, to one of them two; or if any Gold or Silver, it flew from the right owners into their Coffers, there being a great number of Informers employed, who had in charge to calumniate ever, ſuch kind of Men. Affairs both in Eaſt and Weſt ſtanding in this poſture, all Perſons of Senatorian Rank bore it moſt heavily; eſpecially *Gaines*, who was impatient that he had otbain'd no Honour befitting a Captain that was now in age; that he could not ſatisfie the Man's mind with any thing he yet could preſent him; he was enraged to find that all Money ran in a ſtream to the Houſe of *Eutropius*: he communicated his thoughts to *Tribigild*, a man very ſtout, and prompt for any bold undertaking; who, by the Emperour's order, commanded ſome Troops of Horſe of the Barbarians, that quartered in *Phrygia*. Being agreed of their proceeding, he pretended he would go into *Phrygia* to viſit, and make inſpection into the condition of his Men, and ſo parted from *Conſtantinople*; and leading the Troops he commanded, laid waſte all the Country where he came, killing the Men, Women and Children, and plundering all

Stilicho and *Eutropius* their enmity, and yet agreement in ſpoiling the Provinces evidently appears.

Zoſimus p. 789.

Gaines at it enraged, procures *Tribigild* to revolt and waſte *Aſia*.

he could light on, by which means he got together ſo great a company of raſcally and inconſiderable People, that deſtruction ſeemed to threaten all *Aſia*: *Lydia* was all full of tumults, and moſt of the Inhabitants betook themſelves to Maritime places whence they paſſed over into the Iſlands or other parts. When this was told the Emperour, he had no ſenſe of the publick calamity, neither could he tell what courſe to take, being an extremely dull Man, but referred the whole management of Affairs to *Eutropius*.

Arcadius leaves the matter to *Eutropius*.

Who makes *Gaines* and *Leo* Generals.

64. He made choice of *Gaines* and *Leo* for Captains to reduce *Tribigild* into order. *Leo* he would have go into *Aſia* to diſperſe theſe Companies of *Barbarians* which were met confuſedly together; and *Gaines* march through *Thrace*, and the Straits of the *Helleſpont* to curb the inſolence of the Enemy, if he ſhould adventure into thoſe Quarters. As for *Leo*, he had not the leaſt skill in the Office of a General, nor had any other qualification to warrant his Riſe to ſuch preferment, but only his familiarity with *Eutropius*, being as *Claudian* ſets him out, a Dreſſer of Wool. But according as they had inſtructions, both marched away; and *Gaines* now calling to mind what had been agreed of betwixt him and *Tribigild*, and that this was a fit time for putting it in practice, ſent to him to draw down his Forces toward the *Helleſpont*. And had he concealed his deſign againſt the State, and ſilently drawn himſelf with his Barbarians out of *Conſtantinople*, it would in probability have ſucceeded, all *Aſia* might have been ſeiſed, and nothing could have hindered but that the whole Eaſt muſt alſo have been loſt: but fortune intending ſtill to preſerve the *Roman* Princes, *Gaines* haſted from the City with ſuch heat and fury as was natural to *Barbarians*, and when he was come to *Heraclea*, then ſignified to *Tribigild* what he would have him to do. *Tribigild* neglected to follow his Orders in marching to the *Helleſpont*, for fear he ſhould fall among the Forces that lay upon the Coaſt; but having laid waſte all *Phrygia* without any oppoſition, fell at length upon *Piſidia*. The News hereof was brought to *Gaines*, but he made no haſte becauſe of the agreement betwixt him and *Tribigild*; and as for *Leo*, he, though the *Ajax* of *Eutropius* hovered ſtill about the *Helleſpont*, not daring to fight with *Tribigild*, but pretending he was to have an eye eſpecially to that Country, leſt the Enemy ſhould ſuddenly fall into it. Therefore had *Tribigild* his full ſcope to go any whither, and do what he pleaſed, many Towns he took, and therein put to the Sword as well the Inhabitants as the Soldiers, and not a *Barbarian* would be on the *Roman* ſide, but joyned with their own Countrymen againſt the Subjects of the Empire.

Sed poſtquam pulſiſque bonis & fæce retenta, Pejores legit ſocios, dignuſque ſatelles
Hinc Hoſius ſtetit, inde Leo, fiducia crevit
Regnandique palam flagravit aperta libido.
Patritius Conſul maculat, quos vendit honores, &c.
Claudian lib. 2. in Eutropium a v. 557. lege vero præcipue a v. 375.
Acer in abſentes linguæ jactator, abundans Corporis, exiguusq; animi doctiſſimus artis.
Quondam lanificæ moderator pectinis unci.
Non alius lanam purgatis ſordibus æque Præbuerit calathis, ſimilis nec pinguia quiſquam Vellera per tenues ferri producere rimas.
Tunc Ajax erat Eutropii.

For all them *Tribigild* waſtes the Provinces.

65. *Gaines* now pretending to bear heavily this Devaſtation of the Provinces, yet magnified the Arts and Stratagems of *Tribigild*, affirming him inſuperable as to Conduct, and that rather by his ſagacity, than force he had done ſuch things. He paſſed into *Aſia*, but attempted nothing, and ſuffered the Cities and Countries to be waſted, following only the Enemy, and being a Spectator of what he did; indeed expecting that *Tribigild* would now make for the Eaſt, for which Expedition he ſent him ſome Forces, ſtill covering his Deſigns, and concealing himſelf as much as he could. Had now *Tribigild* out of *Phrygia* not gone directly towards *Piſidia*, but taken the ſtraight courſe into *Lydia*, nothing could have hindered his being inſtantly Maſter of it, and with it of *Ionia*, alſo; whence he might eaſily have paſſed over into the Iſlands with as conſiderable a Fleet as he pleaſed, have over-run all the Eaſt, and laid all waſte as far as *Ægypt*. But making for *Pamphilia*, which bordered upon *Piſidia*, he fell into a Country ſtrait and mountainous, and utterly inacceſſible with Horſe. There, though no Army was found to oppoſe him, one *Valentine*, an Inhabitant of a ſmall Town called *Selga*, ſituate upon an Hill, a Man meanly skill'd, yet not altogether inexpert in War, got together a number of Slaves and Countrymen, ſuch as he knew to be exerciſed in the continual Combats they had with Robbers in thoſe parts, and placed them upon ſuch Hills as were near to the Paſſage, ſo as they might ſee all that came, though themſelves in the clear day could be ſeen of none. *Tribigild* being come down to the lower parts of *Pamphylia* with his Horſe, and being entred the Straits, was put to ſore diſorder by theſe Countrymen, who tumbled down great Stones upon his Men. But to avoid them there was no way; for on one hand there was a deep Lake and Fenny Grounds, and on the other was a narrow aſcent which ſcarcely afforded paſſage to two Men a-breaſt; and from the orbicular ſhape of it, was by the Inhabitants called *Cochlea*. This paſſage was guarded by one *Florentius*, who had Men enough to make it good, ſo that the *Barbarians*, intercepted in theſe Straits, were knocked on the Head with Stones, and there periſhed for the moſt part: ſome of them took the Lake with their Horſes, and there found that which they endeavoured to

Gaines under hand aſſiſts him.

Tribigild imprudently marching into *Pamphylia*, is oppoſed by one *Valentine*.

Loſeth all his Men except three hundred in the Straits.

eſcape from on dry land. *Tribigild* with three hundred Men got up into the *Cochlea*, and corrupted with Money *Florentius*, to give him paſſage, and ſo eſcaping himſelf with this Company, ſuffered all the reſt to be loſt.

He and they ſhut up betwixt two Rivers.

Gaines, to relieve him, procures *Leo* and his Forces, whom he had ſent againſt him to be deſtroyed.

66. Imagining now he had eſcaped the ſnares laid for him by *Valentine*, he fell into a danger full as great as was the former. For, all the Inhabitants of the Country in a manner, being got together, with ſuch weapons as were at hand, ſhut him and his three hundred Companions up betwixt the Rivers *Melane* and *Eurymedon*, whereof the one ran by *Sida*, and the other took its courſe through *Aſpendus*. Not knowing now what to do, he ſent to make known his condition to *Gaines*, who was much troubled at theſe accidents; but having not yet unmasked himſelf, he ſent *Leo*, who was next him, to the aſſiſtance of the *Pamphylians*, to joyn with *Valentine*, and hinder *Tribigild* and his Men from paſſing the Rivers. *Leo*, though a Sot, and given to all luxury, yet did what was enjoyned, which perplexed *Gaines*, fearing that *Tribigild*, in this manner beſet, and having not ſuitable Forces, might utterly miſcarry: he ſent therefore ſome Companies of *Barbarians* he had with him againſt the *Roman* Camp, who pillaged the Country, killed all the Soldiers they met, and gave not over till they had deſtroyed *Leo* and his Forces, and laid almoſt the whole Country waſte. *Tribigild* by this means got away, and what *Gaines* deſigned came to paſs, for he having eſcaped out of *Pamphylia*, did greater miſchief than ever, to the Cities of *Phrygia*.

Arcadius by his Edicts endeavours to keep his Army together.

L.16. de re militari. Cod. Th. Dat.5.Cal.Febr.

L.17. ejuſd. tit.

67. *Arcadius*, thus abuſed by the Villanies, and tricks of thoſe about him, ſet himſelf in another way to inforce his Army, and repreſs that Rebellion of *Tribigild*, of which he hoped, by the valour and conduct of *Gaines*, to have ſhortly ſome good account. Underſtanding that many Soldiers ſtraggled, and abſented themſelves from their Colours, he ſent to *Theophilus*, the Vicar of *Aſia*, expreſs order that he ſhould cauſe ſuch Fugitives to be apprehended, and held in cuſtody till he ſhould have acquainted him, and received directions how further to deal with them: but to be ſure ſuch an one as ſhould be found again to abſent himſelf after he had been once diſcovered to ſtraggle, ſhould forfeit his whole Eſtate. This he ordered toward the end of *January*, in reſerence to the Soldiers that quartered in the Provinces, and there ſtraggled abroad; there was a great want of ſome courſe for ſtopping ſuch as flocked to *Conſtantinople*. Four days after, or the firſt of *February*, he ſigned a Conſtitution directed to *Romulianus* the *Præfect* of the City, wherein he enjoyned him, That if any Soldier was ſent by his Com-“pany or his Tribune, to Court, about buſineſs, he ſhould preſently addreſs him-“ſelf to ſome of the illuſtrious *Comites*, and there diſcover the cauſe of his coming, “that he might receive a ſpeedy diſpatch. By the Law he commands that all *Preſentes*, or ſuch as were to be in waiting or attendance at Court, and ſuch as be-“longed to other Companies or Legions, that were abſent, or without employ-“ment, or had put themſelves into the Retinues and Services of other perſons, “return to their ſtations.“ This he had reaſon to do, and more ſeverity had been agreeable enough to the diſtemper of this Age, of which the ſtragling and licentious wandering about of Soldiers, is reckoned to have been one very great Symptom. Now, when Armies were abroad, and upon other occaſions, complaints were made concerning Quarters, the Military Men being inſolent in exacting more and better room than the conveniences of their Landlords could afford them: *Arcadius* being informed hereof by *Hoſius* the *Magiſter Officiorum*, for preventing ſuch diſorders, in an Edict directed to him, preſcribed what Rules he would have obſerved.

And to prevent Abuſes as to Quartering.

L.5. de Metalis. Cod. Th. lib.7. tit.8. Dat.8. Id. Feb. & l.2. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit.

68. In whatſoever City, ſaith he, either we our ſelves ſhall happen to be, or they that ſerve us, all diſhoneſty both of *Menſores* (or Quartermaſters) and of “ſuch as are entertain'd, being removed, let the Maſter of the Houſe ſecurely and “without fear, have to himſelf two parts thereof, and a third go to the entertain-“ment of his Gueſt, yet ſo as the Maſter himſelf have the firſt choice, his Gueſt the ſecond, and the third part remain to the owner of the Houſe; as equity and “juſtice ordain, that he, who by Inheritance, by Purchaſe, or Building, hath a “Right to the whole, ought to make the the firſt choice himſelf, and enjoy what is “left and refuſed by a Stranger. But as for *Ergaſteria*, Shops or Ware-Houſes, they “ſhall by no means be ſubject to this Burthen, except in the third part aſſigned “to the Soldier there be want of Stabling, for then the Maſter ſhall be bound to “provide for him out of theſe Ware-Houſes, which uſually had Stables adjoyning “to them, where Pack-Horſes were wont to be kept and fed. But as for per-“ſons illuſtrious by their Quality, they ſhall have half of the Houſe, ſo as either “they or the Maſter ſhall make the partition, and the other chuſe.“ *Arcadius* was

farther now ſo ſenſible of the Incroachments made by the Soldiers upon Grounds and Paſtures with which they had nothing to do; that to reſtrain the liberty they took to themſelves herein, he wrote, alſo, to *Simplicius*, a *Comes utriuſque Militiæ* in the Eaſt; commanding him, That he ſhould take care that none of them “ ſhould feed their Horſes in the publick Meadows, and pleaſant Paſtures; which “ long Cuſtom, and the Delicioufneſs of the Grounds, had hitherto fenced from “ ſuch Violations; neither in the Fields which belonged to private Citizens of *Antioch*, upon pain of a Forſeiture of twelve pounds of Gold, to be payed by ſuch “ Violators and the Officials of the *Magiſter Militum*, provided that the *Curiales* “ took care to furniſh the Army with convenient Paſturage.

And eating up of Meadows

L.3. de Paſcuis. Cod.Th. lib. 7. tit.7.& l.2. Cod.Juſt.eod. tit. Dat.5. Id. Mart.

69. In the time of War when Proviſions were to be raiſed for the Army, great complaint was made againſt the *Actuaries* and the *Optiones*, whereof the former were the Clerks of the Troops that took the accounts, and the other received the Proviſions from the *Suſceptors*. To prevent their frauds, *Arcadius* now gave order to the *Præfectus Prætorio*, that before the beginning of an Indiction Breives ſhould be ſent from the *Magiſtri Militum*, in which was to be expreſſed how much the Army ſtood in need of in general, and the ſeveral *Numeri* in particu- “ lar. Then, when the Tax was laid, ſhould other Breives thereof be diſpatched “ to the *Scrinia* of the Prince, that by comparing them together, any cheat of “ theſe Officers might be diſcovered, which was to be puniſhed with payment of “ the double of what they ſuperexacted from the Provincials. “ Amongſt other ſorts of Proviſions we ſee that Wine was wont to be furniſhed for the uſe of the Army, and the old was doubtleſs moſt deſired by them. But the Corporation of *Epiſane* a Town in *Syria*, not far diſtant from *Apamea*, petitioned the Emperour, for “ what reaſons is not expreſſed, that in the Month of *November* the Soldier might “ be ſerved with new Wine; which petition he granted, and gave order to *Eutychianus*, that he ſhould cauſe this Rule to be obſerved in his Diſtrict. “ By new Wine is uſually meant that of the preſent year, or laſt Vintage: and by old, that of the year foregoing; but yet both old and new are to be underſtood according to the nature of the Wine, and the Cuſtom of the place. For ſome requires a longer time to ferment and ripen, as the *Falernum* was not fit to be drunk till the tenth, and the *Surrentinum* before the twenty fifth year. Others work ſpeedily, and are quickly ready; as this ſeems to have been about *Epiſane*.

As alſo ſuper-exaction of Proviſions.

L.24. de Erogatione Militaris Annonæ. Cod.Th. & l.9. Cod.Juſt. eod. tit. Dat.8. Cal. Apr.

Gives leave that new Wine be given to the Soldiers in *November*.

L.25. ejuſd.tit. Cod.Th. Dat.10. Cal.Jun. L. 10. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. hinc interpolata eſt, reſecto & amputato capite hiſtorico ex quo tamen ratio & ſic ut dicam imago legis, & anima cognoſcitur. Gothofred.

70. But at *Conſtantinople* all were in an hurry and tumult, becauſe of the motions and attempts of *Tribigild*; and all perſons deſired to flock thither, where each one could meet with thoſe of his own party, and moſt news was to be heard. The *Actuaries* or Clerks of the Army were obſerved to loiter there eſpecially, and it was diſcovered that there was more than ordinary kindneſs and familiarity betwixt them and the *Numerarii* belonging to the *Præfect* of the City. The importance of this underſtanding betwixt them was too conſiderable; for the *Numerarii* dealing in Accounts, and making thoſe Breives which concerned the uſe of the Army, and the work of the *Actuaries* being ſuch, as we lately ſaid, they had opportunity by laying their Heads together to raiſe more than was needful for the ſervice of the Soldiers, and put the advantage into their own Purſes. For this reaſon it was, that now *Arcadius* being at *Nice*, gave in charge to *Severus* the *Præfect* of the City to “ ſee, that no Communion or Society (which tended to the deſtruction of all) ſhould be betwixt theſe Men. And that the *Actuarii* within fifty days (a ſufficient time to diſpatch the buſineſs they came about) ſhould depart this City, or if they were there found after the expiring of this term, they ſhould incur a forfeiture of five and twenty pounds of Gold. But ſuch a reſtleſs humour, or a deſire of lawleſs liberty, had now poſſeſſed the minds of all ſorts of Men, that the *Fabricenſes* alſo, or thoſe that wrought in the publick Forges made bold to change the Air and their Employments, which cauſed the Emperour, at the ſuggeſtion of *Hoſius*, we may believe, the *Magiſter Officiorum*, to whom the Conſtitution is directed, to give command, that as *Tirones* or new raiſed Soldiers were marked in the hand that they might be known, as alſo were the *Aquarii*, or ſuch as belonged to the *Aquæducts*; ſo ſuch as ſerved in the Forges ſhould be branded in the “ Arm, not as a ſign of crime or ſervitude, but that they might alſo upon occaſion “ be diſcovered when they ran away from their work. And ſuch as ſhould “ harbour the Fugitives he will have condemned to the ſervice; to be ſure “ the children of the *Fabricenſes* themſelves, who were *Conditionales*, or ſubject to “ the Condition, State and Service of their Fathers. “ Thus *Arcadius* employed all the Civil Power he had for carrying on the War, while in the mean time he was gulled by all about him, and each ſtrove how he might make his Markets out of that publick calamity which impended.

Labours to prevent a Conſpiracy betwixt the *Actuarii* and *Numerarii*.

L:15. de Numerariis, Cod.Th. Dat.4. Cal.Jul. Ne diutius ad cunctorum perniciem, Actuarii Numerariorum Conſortiis adjuventur, &c. l.6. Cod. Juſt. eod.tit.

Commands the *Fabricenſes* to be branded in the Arm, to prevent their running from their Employments.

L.4. de Fabricenſibus, Cod.Th. 10. tit.22. & l. 3. Cod.Juſt. eod. tit. Dat.18. Cal. Jan.

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Lib. 7. c. 36.

71. Now, Spring drawing on apace, great expectation there was how *Maſcezil* behaved himſelf in *Africk*, and how matters would go betwixt the two Brothers; and they received an account of the diſpatching of the War ſooner by far than was expected. *Oroſius* tells us, that *Maſcezil*, knowing, by the example of *Theodoſius*, how powerful Prayer made in the Name of Chriſt, though in moſt deſperate Affairs, is wont to be; went to the Iſland *Capraria*, at this time famous for the Monks that inhabited it; ſome of whom he prevailed with to go along with him: And continuing day and night with them in Exerciſes of Prayer, Faſting and Singing, obtained a Victory without War, and ſatisfaction for the injury offered him, without Slaughter. By a River called *Ardalio*, running betwixt the two Cities, *Thebaſte* und *Metrideca*, he pitched his Camp; wherein, it's ſaid, he had not above five thouſand Men. The Enemy was no leſs than ſeventy thouſand ſtrong: And there were ſome Straits of a Valley which *Maſcezil* thought he needs muſt paſs: which, when he conſidered of, our Writer tells you, that St. *Ambroſe*, the Biſhop of *Milan*, lately deceaſed, appeared to him in a dream; and making a ſign with his hand, ſtruck his ſtaff to the ground three times, and ſaid *Hic, Hic, Hic*: By which he prudently conjectured the Victory was foretold; by the word, the place to be ſignified; and by the day, the number.

Gildo defeated, and put to death, as *Oroſius* hath written.

72. Accordingly, he ſtayed that time; and on the third day, having ſpent the preceding night in prayer, and other Chriſtian Duties, he led out his Men againſt the ſtragling and diſorderly Enemy. To thoſe he firſt met he ſpake kindly, and perſwaded them by fair means: but one that carried an Enſign oppoſed him, and exhorted his Friends to begin the Battel. He perceiving this, gave him a ſtroke upon the Arm with his Sword; and the Wound ſo weakened the part, that the Man was forced to let fall his Colours. Thoſe Troops that were behind, ſeeing this, took it no otherwiſe than as a token of Submiſſion; and imagining that thoſe before them had yielded, ſtruck their Standards alſo, and came in to *Maſcezil*. Hereat the *Barbarians*, of whom *Gildo* had brought a great multitude into the Field, being diſcouraged, and having none to lead them, fled ſeveral ways. *Gildo* got to the Sea, took Ship, and ſet Sail; but was recalled into *Africk*, and there periſhed by ſtrangling, after a few days. We ſhould, *Oroſius* adds, be in danger of being thought to lye impudently, if we ſhould make relation of ſo great miracles, if there were not Witneſſes ſufficient, who beheld them with their own eyes. There was no Treachery or Ambuſh; but yet, ſeaventy thouſand Men were overcome, in a manner, without fighting: He that was overcome fled for ſome time, that he who had the better, might not find whereon to vent his preſent Anger. He is tranſported into another place, that he might not know his Brother was ſlain; by whoſe death he received ſatisfaction. *Maſcezil* himſelf, bing puffed up with his ſucceſs, and forſaking now the company of Holy Men; with whom formerly aſſiſted in his Fight, he had overcome; adventured, even, to violate, and put out of the Church ſome that there had taken Sanctuary. But Puniſhment overtook the Sacrilegious Perſon: for he alone, after ſome time, was puniſhed, they being ſtill alive, looking on and inſulting, whom he had drawn out to Execution; and in himſelf alone he experienced, that Divine Juſtice watcheth ſtill on both ſides: He being aſſiſted when there he had his truſt; and at length ſlain, when he came to deſpiſe what before he had truſted.

Congreſſum proſagum captum vox nunciat una, Rumoremque ſui prævenit laureâ belli.

What is to be learnt of this War from *Claudian* his Poem concerning it.

Quem veniens indixit hiems, ver perculit hoſtem.

73. The end of *Gildo* was brought about juſt after, or much according to this manner; ſo ſoon, and with ſo little ado, as filled all Men with admiration, as we may perceive by *Claudian*, in his Poem concerning this War; who falls into a kind of extaſie in his thoughts concerning it. Had the ſecond Book of this Poem been preſerved, we had had much more light concerning the management of the Affair: for, though his expreſſions be Poetical, and many Fictions he hath, and figurative ſpeeches; yet not ſo as, ordinarily, to intrench upon the very ſubſtance of the Actions which he introduceth whole, though cloathed in his witty dreſſes. From him we learn, that this War began in Autumn, or toward the beginning of Winter; and in Spring, was finiſhed. How, in all this time, *Rome* was miſerably oppreſſed for want of Proviſions; which, by his Poetick power, transforming into a Woman, as is uſual with Men of his Art, and their Brethren, the Painters; He carries her up to *Jupiter*, and there makes her tell a very ſad tale of her Calamities. And to Hiſtory is very agreeable her very Caſe, as ſhe ſtates it, that ſhe had, ſince the time of *Cæſar*, been, for her merits, rewarded with both *Egypt* and *Libya*; that, by her Summer Fleets, both her Warlike Senate, and her Ruling People might be nouriſhed; a Courſe wherein ſhe could not but be ſecurely provided for, the one conſtantly ſupplying the accidental defects of the other. But after

ter that another *Rome* was riſen up, a *Rome* equal to her ſelf, and that the Eaſt had obtained for it ſelf Gowns as good as hers, the *Egyptian* Fields paſſed over in Dower to the new Miſtreſs; and *Libya* was only left her to truſt to, though that Country was in no certain condition to ſupply her . and yet was ſhe now deprived by *Gildo* of that alſo. That herein *Rome* was no Lyer, the Laws made ſince the erecting of *Conſtantinople*, and other Monuments, ſufficiently ſatisfie us. But we cannot be ſo much aſſured of what he brings in *Africa* uttering, in grievous Lamentation concerning the Slavery that ſhe underwent; whether ſhe was not a little ſick of the diſeaſe called *Fides Punica*, or being tranſported by her paſſion, ſhe was failed alſo by her memory.

Cum ſubiit par Roma mihi, diviſaque ſumpſit Æquales Aurora togas Ægyptia rura In partem ceſſere novam. Spes unica nobis Reſtabat Libyæ, quæ vix ægreque fovebat. Solo ducta Noto nunquam ſecura futuri. Semper inops ventique fidem poſcebat & anni. Hanc quoque nunc Gildon rapuit ſub fine cadentis Autumni.

74. We ſhould chuſe rather to tax our other Intelligence, of Ignorance in this point, having ſuch ſlender Accounts of matters from the Hiſtorians that are remaining, but that we are reſtrained by a ſurer Monument. *Libya* complains, that twice ſix Winters had that Yoke of *Gildo* layen on her Neck: that he had grown old in her Calamities; and now challenged that as a Kingdom which he had poſſeſſed ſo many Years, though ſhe wiſhes ſhe could call it a Kingdom, being whatever lay betwixt *Atlas* and *Nile*, *Prætorium* and *Ganges*; indeed and truth, a third part of the World was become the Field or Poſſeſſion of one Robber. The Reader is to remember that this was *Gildo*, the Son of *Nubel*, the petty King of *Mauritania*, and brother of *Firmus*, who was driven into a Revolt from the *Romans* in the Reign of *Valentinian*, by his Courtiers; and afterwards into ſuch Straits by the Arms of *Theodoſius* the General, that he hanged himſelf. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, after the Revolt of *Firmus*, mentions *Gildo* as continuiug in fidelity to the *Romans*, but it is with an *As yet*; ſo that he knew that afterwards he alſo failed in his fidelity, though his Hiſtory extended not ſo far as to the time of his Defection: Wherein, elſe, we had had an account of it. But here lies the difficulty: *Claudian* ſpeaks of *Libya* being under his Yoak twelve Years; whereas there is extant an Edict directed to him by the Title of *Magiſter utriuſque Militiæ* throughout *Africk*, dated on the nine and twentieth of *December*, when *Theodoſius* the third time, and *Abundantius* were *Conſuls*; which was not much above four Years before this his Defeat. This ſhews him then to have been intruſted as a *Magiſter Militum*, and not to have revolted; at leaſt, not then to have been in the State and Condition of War. *Baronius* makes an attempt of bringing in the Revolt and Uſurpation of *Firmus*, and joyning it in the number of Years mentioned by *Claudian*. But the Uſurpation of *Firmus* fell out in the Year CCCLXXII, or twenty ſix Years before the Defeat of *Gildo*, above double to the number found in *Claudian*; ſo that *Ammianus* and this Poet compared together, and all things conſidered, *Gildo* ſeems to have been on and off, fickle, inconſtant, treacherous upon any occaſion; and fawning again when there was danger of being called to Account, as anon will be more apparent.

——jam ſolis habenæ. Bis ſenas torquent hyemes cervicibus ex quo Hæret triſte jugum noſtris jam luctibus ille Conſenuit, regnumque ſibi tot vindicat annos. Atque utinam regnum!

L. ult. ad Legem Juliam de Adulteris, Cod. Th. lib. 9. tit. 7. Dat 3. Cal. Jan. A. D. 393.

75. That *Theodoſius*, when he made preparations for the War againſt *Eugenius*, ſent to *Gildo* for Aſſiſtance; and was denied both it, and obedience from the *Moor*; is evident enough from *Claudian* alſo, in his Poem concerning the ſixth Conſulſhip of *Honorius*; where he compares *Gildo* and *Alarich* together in their diſobedience to that Emperor, whom he ſaith, they often deſpiſed with a prophane mind. This was but the Year after the date of the Edict inſcribed to him as *Magiſter Militum*; ſo that he ſeems, as is ſaid, to have played faſt and looſe; and one while to have pretended Obedience and Friendſhip, and then, again, declined his Duty, as *Alarich* did; and that often, as the Poet expreſſeth it by the word *Sæpe*. Hereat *Eutropius* took advantage, and thought to gain him off from the Party of *Honorius*, and joyn him to himſelf for carrying on ſuch deſigns as he had in his head; to which, an Acknowledgment of *Arcadius* as his Prince and Sovereign was added as a Cover, which *Gildo* was glad to pretend, as that which might give him ſome advantage againſt *Honorius* and *Stilicho*, to whom he lay next Neighbour, and with the Intereſts of whom he moſt claſhed; thoſe that then ruled the Eaſtern parts being more at a diſtance, and therefore, not ſo much to be feared by him. It's true, he uſurped, or owned not *Theodoſius*, as the Poet here hints; and therefore, what *Zoſimus* writes concerning *Eutropius* his ſending to him, and drawing him off to the Party of *Arcadius*, could not give the firſt beginning to his Revolt. But whereas *Baronius* contends, that at this time there was no miſunderſtanding betwixt the two Brothers, *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, occaſioned by the loſs of *Africk*, he ſeems not to have conſidered what *Claudian* ſaith, as well in one place as in another: For nothing is more palpable or evident than that difference was ariſen betwixt them upon this Account. In the very entrance into his Poem concerning this War, in his Exultation

——duo namque fuere. Europæ Libyæq; hoſtes. Mauruſius Atlas Gildonis furias, Alaricum Barbara Peuce Nutrierat, qui ſæpe ſuum ſprevere profana Mente patrem: Toracum venientem finibus alter Hebri clauſit aquis, alter præcepta vocantis Reſpuit auxiliiſque ad proxima bella negatis. Abjurata palam Libyæ poſſiderat arva.

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tion for peace reſtored, and *Africk* joyned again to the Empire, he puts this as a principal matter, that *Full Concord of the Brothers now returned.* But in the Body of his Work after that he hath brought *Rome* and *Africa* before *Jupiter*, and there made them to pour out their complaints, he fains the reſult of the Dictate of him and his Council to have been this, that the two *Theodoſii*, Father and Son, whom he terms *Divorum Proceres* ſhould be ſent to their Children, the one to one of the Emperours, the other to the other, to carry the ſecret Admonitions of *Jove*, and his Orders to the Brothers, and make a League or Agreement betwixt their two Kingdoms.

Concordia Fratrum plena redit.

Qui Jovis arcanos monitus, mandataque ferrent Fratribus, & geminis ſanciret fœdera regnis.

76. The Grandfather is by the Poet carried into *Italy*, but the Father himſelf unto *Arcadius*, with whom at the very firſt, when ſighing would give him leave, he falls into a grievous expoſtulation. Are matters come unto this paſs? Is there Diſcord riſen betwixt Brothers by the intervention or means of a *Moor*, and the united World and Courts of Brethren now diſagree? Is the ſafety and preſervation of *Gildo* a fit prize for ſo great fury? A Man indeed remarkable for his Morals, and to be defended at any rate, in reſpect to whoſe merits a Brother is to part with his fraternal kindneſs! But ſee a little of him in me thy Father. The Civil War grew on apace, and the Roman Empire ſtood in a doubtful poſture. What King was there then, though at never ſuch a diſtance, in *Armenia*, or upon the Banks of *Mæotis*, who gave me not aſſiſtance in the Expedition? The *Goths* and *Geloni* ſent me their Aids. He alone ſent me not one Ship, not one Soldier, but ſate ſtill in a fluctuating humour. Had he gone off to the adverſe Party, I ſhould better have born it: but he ſtood, as it were, in the Watch-tower of Fate, and expected to which ſide the Balance would encline; was an obſerver of Event alone, and reſolved to give up himſelf to the Conquerour. Truly had not I been taken away by death, I ſhould have followed the example of *Tullus* (*Sufetius* he means, of whom the Story is ordinary in *Livy*, and others) and have cauſed him to have been pulled in pieces with Horſes; Hitherto he pretended an obſervance of thy Brother's Commands, and now he tramples upon them: and doſt thou offer, after having thy Father and Brother ſo uſed by him, to truſt thy ſelf with ſuch a Monſter? But he largely rewards thee for it, and hath brought over many Cities into thy lot. Therefore muſt Right be bought and ſold? ſhall Treachery be acceptable, if introduced by reward? Then after ſome things ſaid againſt *Gildo* for his inconſtancy and perfidiouſneſs, he puts *Arcadius* in mind how odious Treachery was to the ancient *Romans*: how *Fabricius* would not make uſe of that Treaſon of the Servant againſt his Maſter, and how *Camillus* reſtored the Boys to the beſieged City. “

Hoc erat? in fratres medio diſcordia Mauro Naſcitur? & Mundus germanaque diſſidet Aula? Gildoniſque ſalus tanti ſit palma furoris? Scilicet egregius morum, magnoque tuendus, Et cujus meritis pietas a fratre recedat, &c.

Solus at hic, non puppe data, non milite miſſo. Subſedit fluitante fide, &c.

77. He proceeds to tell him that what others refuſed to admit of againſt an Enemy, he, to the great infamy of the Age, cloſed with againſt his own Brother: that *Gildo* now conferred the Government of the South on whom he pleaſed; which way ſoever his inconſtant and tottering fancy moved, thither went *Lybia*; and *Africk* was become the gift of a *Moor*. At length he deſires him to avoid the treachery and perfidious deſigns of that people, and not engage in a War againſt his Brother, an Action which might become only *Thebes* and *Mycenæ*, and a crime fit for the *Moors* to commit. That he ſhould have a reſpect to the merits of *Stilicho*, who had done ſo great things for both the Brothers, and now was Father-in-law to *Honorius*; as alſo to *Serena* his Wife, their near Kinſwoman. At parting he deſires only that he would withdraw his hand from *Gildo*, and ſuffer him to fall, for he knew *Stilicho* would do his buſineſs. To this, *Arcadius* anſwered, that he ſhould be obeyed, that none was dearer to him than *Stilicho*; that the Rogue in *Africk* ſhould periſh for him, and the Country return ſafer than formerly to his Brother. “ A wonder now it is, that *Baronius* ſhould ſay, that no difference is found to have been betwixt *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, about taking away the Province of *Africk*: the greater wonder, becauſe he cites *Claudian*, and gives credit to him in other matters, as are not near ſo evident as that for which we now contend. It is no way probable, that the Poet would counterfeit ſo material a thing, a matter of ſuch conſequence as this, take ſo much pains, and uſe ſo many words about it. But it is ſuperfluous to ſay any more; had we alleged but only what he ſaith at the entrance into his Poem, that the *Concord of the Brothers now returned*, it had been enough. The ſtrength of *Gildo* conſidered, and what help he might have received by the means of *Eutropius*, Providence ordered it well for *Honorius*, that an opportunity was preſented of ſetting one Brother againſt another, and revenging his Treachery upon him, in the ſame way as he had dealt betwixt the two Emperours. Thus by his death was *Africk* delivered from great

Ne conſanguineis certetur cominus armis.

——Redeat jam tutior Africa fratri.

oppreſſion (he being a moſt tyrannical and wicked man, as *Claudian* ſets him out) and that Country returned into obedience to the Empire, together with the Dominion of *Gildo*, which was ſo large, that it alone became the charge of a *Comes*, who in the *Notitia* of the Empire is called *Comes Gildoniaci Patrimonii*. His Perſon fell not into the hands of his Proſecutors, though his Eſtate did. For *Zoſimus* writes, that leſt he ſhould come alive into their power, he hanged himſelf.

78. Now, as it always happened after the ſuppreſſion of a Tyrant, followed a proſecution of his Friends and Abettors; and this continued a long time, he having, by keeping the power ſo many years, eſtabliſhed an intereſt very conſiderable. And to be ſure, upon ſuch occaſions there wanted not thoſe, who would accuſe, right or wrong, hoping to ingratiate themſelves, by laying the charge of Treaſon to thoſe perſons after whoſe Eſtates they gaped; and a ſenſe of this oppreſſion after ſuch Conqueſts, drew out ſeveral Laws from Princes for ſuppreſſion of this ſort of Cattel. *Honorius* was now very early put in mind to do the like. For we find an Edict directed toward the beginning of *March* to *Victurus*, the *Proconſul* of *Africk*, wherein he declares, that he will not ſuffer innocent perſons to be ruined by the Accuſations of crafty Men, under a ſhew of falſe Crimination: and if “ ſuch ſhould attempt any ſuch matter, they muſt know that they ſhall feel the ſeverity “ of the Laws for ſuch offences, whereby being made infamous, they were “ alſo to be driven into baniſhment.“ This haſte was made to obviate the practiſes of Informers; for it muſt have been preſently after the Defeat of *Gildo*, being ſo early in the year. As hereby *Honorius* could not but pleaſe all honeſt Men, both in *Africk*, and other places; ſo we know not how grateful he was to the *Spaniards*, in reference to a thing he now did, relating unto their Country. That payment called *Glebalis Collatio*, and belonging to *Senators*, though uſually payed, had been remitted, it ſeems, to ſome in *Spain*, and probably by *Theodoſius* their Countryman, out of kindneſs to their Nation, and reſpect to the circumſtances of certain perſons, who by reaſon of Poverty, or ſome Employment, as *Pagan* Prieſthood in the Cities, might pretend to excuſe or favour. One of this number was *Eventius*, a Senator, but poor, being the Prieſt of the Province, and poſſibly under other qualifications; and now the *Glebalis Collatio* was demanded for ſuch Lands as he ſtood poſſeſſed of. He denyed payment, alleging and pleading privilege from the Immunities granted to the Prieſts of *Spain* in general, and the particular qualifications of his own perſon: upon his Refuſal the Officers betook themſelves to *Felix* the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Gall*, to whoſe Government, *Spain*, as a Dioceſs, was at this time ſubject, and he approving of *Eventius* his excuſe, declared him free from the Tax. But the matter reſted not here, but was reported to the Emperour; who taking it into conſideration, by a Reſcript directed to *Felix*, declared firſt that this Impoſition “ was a Burthen of the Soil, and not any perſonal charge, and therefore upon neceſſity they muſt be liable to it that received the Revenue of the Lands. This conſidered, “ he ordains that *Spain*, and conſequently *Eventius*, ſhould only enjoy that privilege of Exemption for the preſent time; but for the future, in payment of “ dues, be bound to the cuſtoms of other Provinces. “

Honorius after his Defeat publiſheth a Law againſt falſe Accuſers.

L. ult. de Calumniatorib. Cod. Th. lib. 9. tit. 39. Dat. 3 Id. Mart. Med.

Vide Symmachi lib. 4. ep. 62.

L. 10. de Senatorib. Cod. Th. Dat. 4. Cal. Apr. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt. ut hiſtorica.

79. The Sea being now open, and all Impediments removed for bringing Proviſions to *Rome*, *Honorius* publiſhed a Conſtitution for the good Improvement of this Advantage; Corn and conſequently Bread being now cheaper, he commanded that one Loafe of that called *Panis Oſtienſis* (from *Oſtia*, the Port where the Corn was landed, and Store-houſes were made to receive it) and *Panis Fiſcalis* (from the Fiſcal Canon or Store, out of which it was made) ſhould be ſould but for one *Nummus* or a braſs *Denarius*; a thing of ſo ſmall value, that ſix thouſand of them made but one *Solidus*. But the Bread was but Courſe, though not of the very courſeſt ſort; however the Emperour commands that none dare to obtain a Reſcript for the increaſing the Price, impoſing a Fine of two pounds of Gold upon him that ſhall attempt it by petition. In like manner he “ charges *Theodorus* the *Præfect*, to whom this Conſtitution is directed, That a “ Mulct of five pounds of Gold be inflicted upon ſuch Knaves as ſhould impudently “ deſire, that Water ſhould be granted them for their Gardens, or other private “ uſes, out of that whereby the Mills were driven at *Rome*, and Proviſion made “ for the maintenance of the People; as alſo the ſame Fine to be impoſed upon the “ *Præfectus Annonæ* and his Officials, if they ſhould ſuffer it to be done. And in “ the laſt place, he wills, that in the ſame manner ſuch be puniſhed as ſhall uſurp the “ Right and Uſe of any Granaries or Cellars within *Rome*, or at the *Port*, belonging to the Company of Bakers, in order to publick ſervice. “ For all theſe things were

The Sea being now open, *Honorius* improves that opportunity for ſupply of *Rome*.

L. un. de pretio panis Oſtienſis, Cod. lib. 14. tit. 19. Dat. prid. Id. Apr. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

Improborum petitione, qui impudentius auſi ſunt poſtulare, &c. l. 4. de Canone frumentario urbis Romæ, Cod. Th. lib. 14. tit. 15. Abeſt. a Cod. Juſt.

Sect. I.

A. D. 398.

were in their hands and management for the making of Bread, as well the Mills as other Inſtruments. And thus much he ordained for their Encouragement. But whereas it was uſual for Judges, in way of puniſhment, to condemn Criminal Perſons to the ſervice and drudgery of the Bake-houſe; ſome perſons at this time (Eccleſiaſticks or others) out of a ſort of pity, made it their buſineſs to procure Reſcripts for fetching them thence, to the hindrance of ſo neceſſary a Service. Of this he takes notice alſo to *Theodorus*; And, upon his head that ſhould go about “ to obtain ſuch Warrants; as alſo, ſuch Judge and his Officers as ſhould approve “ of it, he ſets the like Fine of five pounds of Gold.

L. 20. de Piſtoribus, &c. Cod. Th. Dat. 7. Cal. Maii.

80. But with the Judges or Governors of Provinces he found great fault at the Cloſe of the Year; their Ambition being ſo great, that no Laws could put a ſtop unto it. We have heard how often they had been prohibited from making new Works, and raiſing new Structures, whereon to tranſmit their Names to Poſterity: yet they could not forbear, but ſome of them buſied themſelves ſo far therein at this time, that it drew forth from him another Edict, wherein he commands *Theodorus*, that, Without leave obtained from the Prince, none dare to do it: “ And as for the Ornaments of Cities conſiſting in Iron, Marble, and other Materi- “ als, that they remove them not from one place to another without the conſent of “ him their *Præfect*, under the penalty of three pounds of Gold; which Fine he al- “ ſo impoſeth upon any Corporation that ſhall not defend themſelves, but ſuffer “ their Town to be deprived of its Ornaments. But as for the publick Granaries “ and Stables, or Harbours for Cattel, if the Judges of Provinces will attend the “ building of them, he commends their induſtry therein. “ But thoſe were Works far below their conſideration; eſpecially their quality, not becoming the induſtry of ſuch Perſons as built noble and large Structures: and not only ſo, but had Statues of Braſs, Silver or Marble erected to their Memories. This was done by the *Decuriones* of ſome Cities, to flatter them; for ſuch intelligence *Honorius* received: and in this ſame Conſtitution commands *Theodorus*, That ſuch Judge as had re- “ ceived them without the Emperor's Approbation, be detected. For his puniſh- “ ment, he will have him forfeit fourfold of what he had got in that Dignity he had “ polluted, together with his extorted and preſumed Titles; and withall, incurr “ Infamy, or loſs of Reputation. In concluſion, he declares that they ſhall not fail “ of loſing their Fame alſo, who, out of flattery or fear, had done that which was “ unlawful. “

He curbs the pride of the Governors of Provinces.

L. 37. de Operib. publ. Cod. Th. & L. 13. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit.

L. 1. de Statuis, Cod. Juſt. lib. 1. tit. 24. Dat. 12. Cal. Jan.

Fl. Mallius Theodorus Conſul alone.

A. D. 399.

Fl. Mallio Theodoro, Conſ.

81. The *Faſti* and Monuments of the following Year, or the CCCXCIX. of our Lord, preſent us with the name of but one *Conſul*. This was *Fl. Mallius Theodorus*, a Perſon very eminent in thoſe days, as well for his great Learning, Eloquence and Excellency of his manners, as the greatneſs of his Quality and Fortune. Of this, St. *Auguſtine* gives large teſtimony; who might be thought to favour him as a Chriſtian, had not *Claudian* the Poet written a moſt elegant and learned Panegyrick upon the occaſion of this Conſulſhip; wherein he extraordinarily extols him for ſeveral things, and his Vertue in general. And with Vertue he begins, which he ſets forth with her excellent qualities. That ſhe is a price unto her ſelf, without any external Reward; being alone altogether ſecure, and unconcerned as to Fortune: That ſhe is not puffed up with Honour or Preferments, neither covets to be rendred famous by Applauſe of the Vulgar; being deſirous of no external aſſiſtance, nor ſtanding in any need of Praiſe; as abundantly ſatisfied with her own Riches, and being not to be moved by any Accidents; looking at a diſtance, and as from an high Tower, upon the Affairs of mortal Men. Yet is ſhe ſought after and courted by Honour, though unwilling; as appeared in the Conſul that was fetched from the Plough, and in him (*Theodorus*:) whom being intent upon the ſearch of the Myſteries of Nature and of the World, now Emerite, and removed from Judicature, the ſame Authority and Dignity did embrace, with an Addition of the Conſular Ornaments. To make this out in elegant words, he tells him how his firſt and ruder Years did indeed mold and faſhion him to ſuch a poſture as fitted him for the Curule life; and that the old Men, out of the admiration of his Prudence and Eloquence, though they be wont to deſpiſe Youth, gave place unto him. Now did he betake himſelf to the *Forum*, and there defended accuſed perſons (the cuſtome of the young Noble Men of *Rome*, to fit themſelves for great Employments) where the Bench was amazed at his Language. After this, part of *Libya* approved of his Adminiſtration of Juſtice; ſo that, it ſeems, he was made Proconſul, or Vicar of *Africk*; then was *Macedonia* and the Walls of *Pella* committed to his charge; which thereupon conceived as great joy, as when *Philip* their King fought his proſperous Battels, or when they heard the News of the Fall of *Porus*.

Claudian the Poet, his moſt elegant and learned Panegyrick upon that Subject.

De Conſulatu Fl. Mallii Theodori.

Ipſa quidem virtus pretium ſibi, ſolaque latè.

Fortunæ ſecura nitet nec faſcibus ullis Erigitur. &c.

Sets forth his Employments.

by which we may underſtand, that he was made *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Illyricum.* Now would not the Court any longer permit that the Cities ſhould have him all to themſelves; but reſolved to make him her own, that he might give forth Edicts to Nations, and to Petitioners, Anſwers. He tells him, the Oracles of the Emperor increaſed by his Eloquence; neither did ever *Roman* Majeſty ſpeak more gracefully, than by his mouth.

82. Hereby muſt be meant, that he was *Quæſtor*; whoſe work it was to compoſe Edicts and Anſwers, and to be the mouth of the Emperor to the people. But from this Employment, he was raiſed to be *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum*, as appears from what he ſings concerning Sacred Riches, Tributes and Gold, both of Mines and Rivers, being committed to his charge. And now, as a Mariner who had been uſed to the Oar, when having obtained ſufficient skill, is removed to be Pilot; to command the whole Veſſel, and give directions to all that are in it: So was he removed, to govern both the *Spaniſh* and *German* Ocean; and *Brittain* alſo, ſeparated from the reſt of the World; being obeyed by ſlow *Arar*, fierce *Rhodanus*, and rich *Iberus*: So that he obtained the Dignity of *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Gall.* Having run through all theſe Honours and Employments in one Age, in a ſwift courſe, and while as yet but a young Man; being arrived at the pitch of Glory, he now deſired eaſe and the ſhade: where he gave himſelf wholly to the ſtudy of all the parts of Philoſophy; which the Poet runs through in a learned, though Poetical ſtile. He tells him, that with *Roman* flowers he irradiated the obſcure Acts of the *Greeks*; having tranſlated, as he hints, the Dialogues of the School of *Socrates*, and the Works of other great Philoſophers. Now he thought himſelf fully at eaſe; having taken up his Station, and caſt Anchor, and fully pleaſed himſelf therein; and Books followed Books, which would live for Ages after his Deceaſe: When Juſtice out of Heaven beheld him loitering, and her Laws greatly wanting ſuch a Judge; which ſight not enduring, ſhe forſook her place amongſt the Stars, and came down to *Liguria*; where entring his Houſe, ſhe found him drawing the lines of a Celeſtial Sphere in duſt, as the Ancients were wont to practice their Mathematicks. With many good words and commendations ſhe ſet upon him to perſwade him, that the Glory of his time already paſſed, might not ſuffice; foraſmuch as no time ought to preſcribe how much, or how long, Mankind was to be taken care of; and Prudence is not contained in any bounds. She demands, if he think it more worth his while to dwell upon abſtruſe Notions? Whether the Precepts of his *Plato* more profitted *Athens*? or the Actions of him who deſtroyed the Eaſtern Fleets, carried the City in Boats, and delivered it from being burnt by the *Mede*? meaning *Themiſtocles.* She ſhewed how much *Lycurgus* profitted *Sparta* by his ſevere Ordinances; whereas the Doctrines of *Pythagoras*, and his Years of Silence, could give no relief to *Tarentum.*

——— *Hiſpana tibi Germanaque Tethys. Paruit,& noſtro diducta Britannia mumdo. Diverſoque tuas coluerunt gurgite voces Lentus Arar, Rhodanuſque ferox, & dives Iberus, a v.* 50:

His Studies and Retirement.

83. Telling him, that now Clemency and Piety, Peace and Fidelity, were with her ſelf reſolved to come and live in the Cities, ſhe deſires him to return with them; which he, not able to deny (as to Juſtice it was not juſt) though ſufficiently ſenſible of the Ruſt which through diſuſe he had contracted, ſhe delivers into his hands four Reins of Government. Of theſe, one belonged to *Padus* and *Tyber* of *Italy*, gliſtering with her thick ſet Towns; the other curbed the *Libyans* and *Carthaginians*; the third extended to the *Illyrick* World; and the laſt reſtrained *Sardinia*, *Cirnon* (or *Corſica*) and three ſquare *Sicania* (or *Sicily*) with the Coaſts of the *Tyrrhenian* and *Ionian* Seas. This ſhews that he was *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Italy*, to which *Africk* and the Iſlands were joyned; and of the Weſtern *Illyricum.* After this, the Poet falls into a great Commendation of him, for the goodneſs and juſtice of his Government; wherein he paints out the perfect Portraiture of a juſt Judge in all his Lineaments, and admires him for his Eloquence, and his Books written concerning *The Original of the World, and the Parts or Faculties of the Soul*; which, to our great loſs, have miſcarried; and wherein, he ſaith, he expreſſed his own manners and diſpoſition. After all this, he ſubjoyns, that the Emperor deferred not that Reward which was due to his Merits, and wherewith learned and good Men were wont to be adorned; but gave him that Habit which joyned the Court of Juſtice and the Palace, the Prince and his Nobles together, and made him his Succeſſor in the Conſulſhip; which he had now born the fourth time. At this Solemnity (as there was wont to be exhibited a Shew of the *Circenſian* Games) *Urania*, by whoſe Inſtructions he had made his Spheres, ſummoned in all the other Muſes to give their Aſſiſtance, in procuring what was wont to be ſeen in theſe *Spectacula*, after that, firſt, *Helicon*, and the other Rivers, had ſignified their joy; he, by pouring out a larger Stream, and they, by ſending forth plenty of Flowers. It's convenient

His returning again to the Management of State Affairs.

His Juſtice and Learning.

to take notice that he mentions in thoſe Shows, the running of Horſes, Wreſtlings, Stage-plays, Combatings with wild Beaſts, Mimicks, and all ſorts of Muſick and Voices; amongſt which, Organs moved by Water, Dancing upon Ropes, flying in the Air, and other Feats of Activity, Sights of Fire, and of Boats ſwimming on the Theatre. *Barthius*, one of thoſe Learned Men, who, by their Notes and Commentaries have explained this Poet, obſerves, that amongſt theſe, he makes no mention of the *Gladiators*, becauſe *Conſtantine*, he ſaith, had formerly taken them away. But he was miſtaken, *Conſtantine* indeed prohibited them in the Eaſt; but at *Rome* they were ſtill in faſhion, and not prohibited fully, till five years after by *Honorius*. Indeed all good Men were troubled they ſhould be continued: and the Chriſtian Biſhops made often great complaints of it; and this *Theodorus* being a conſcientious Chriſtian, the reaſon is rather thence to be fetched, why at his Shows they were not exhibited. His Virtues and Learning were ſo great as to move *Claudian*, though a Pagan, to write ſuch a Panegyrick, as in the opinion of the ſaid *Barthius*, is a moſt Learned, moſt Eloquent, and *tantùm non*, a Divine Book; pointing to a great part of the Myſteries of humane Wiſdom, which, if one would interpret, as it deſerves, it were neceſſary to ſearch into all the Archives and Treaſures both of *Greece* and *Latium*. Indeed, it deſerves the peruſal of all that are concerned in ſuch matters; and ſome reſpect to it, as well as to the Man, hath made us more tedious, than we intend to be hereafter upon any ſuch Concerns.

In the Shews he exhibited were no *Gladiators*.

84. But the Poet in his Exultation upon the promotion of *Theodorus*, applauds the Fate of Virtue, Wit, Induſtry and Deſert, that anſwerable Returns were made unto them; that the *Curule* Chair was not violated; that no filthy Names polluted the *Faſti*; that this Honour was granted to valiant Men, being ſuch as belonged to the Fathers alone, and would never bring any ſhame to *Rome*; whereby he ſeems to tax what was done this year by *Arcadius* in the Eaſt, and thoſe about him. For he that was deſigned there Conſul for this year was verily no other than *Eutropius* the Eunuch, who was far from pleading merit; was neither valiant, nor could be a Father, and therefore by him the *Curule* Chair was violated, the Regiſters polluted, and ſhame redounded, if not to *Rome*, to *Conſtantinople*; as the ſame Poet with elegancy ſufficient, ſets it forth in other Poems, he wrote againſt this vile Man. He obtained the Honour of *Conſul*, and further than that, of *Patritian*, or the Father of the Prince, which was no wonder, conſidering the power he was arrived at; it had been a greater wonder, had he continued in ſo extravagant a power. As his Ambition raiſed him, ſo it pulled him down, and gave him not much time to enjoy his Conſulſhip, but brought on ſpeedily his Deſtruction; of which, becauſe *Gaines* was the Procurer, we ſhall begin with the matters of that Traitor, where we left them, and ſhew out of *Zoſimus* how one Vermine, as frequently it happens, devoureth another.

Eutropius deſigned Conſul with him in the Eaſt.

Creſcite virtutes fæcundaque floreat ætas Ingeniis patuit campus certuſque merenti Stat favor. Non hic violata Curulis, Turpia non Latios inceſtant nomina faſtos, Fortibus hæc conceſſa viris, ſoliſque gerenda Patribus, & Romæ nunquam latura pudorem. a v. 261. ad v. 270.

85. *Gaines* wonderfully cried up the Atchievments of *Tribigild* to the Emperour, and affrighted ſorely the Senate and all the Courtiers, affirming he would march to the *Helleſpont*, and put in danger the preſent poſture of Affairs, if the Prince would not have a reſpect to his Propoſals. This he did cunningly, that *Arcadius* might not diſcover his intentions, and that by ſuch things as ſhould be granted to *Tribigild*, he might have greater advantage to put them in execution. For it did not ſo much grieve him, that he himſelf was, as he thought, deſpiſed; as it enraged him to ſee *Eutropius* now preferred to the higheſt pitch of Dignity and Power, having obtained to be *Conſul*, and to be honoured with the Title of *Patritian*. Theſe were the true motives to *Gaines* to attempt an alteration, and being now prepared for it, he reſolved in the firſt place to compaſs the death of *Eutropius*. While he yet lay in *Phrygia*, he ſent to the Emperour, to let him know, that by reaſon of the great Conduct and Experience of *Tribigild*, he was utterly at a loſs; that there was no withſtanding of him; but that *Aſia* muſt neceſſarily be loſt, except he would condeſcend to what he deſired, whereof this was the main, that *Eutropius*, as the grand Author of all miſchiefs, might be given up into his hands, to do with him as he ſhould think convenient. Hereupon *Arcadius* ſent for *Eutropius*, and abrogated his Power and Dignity, whereupon he ſpeedily betook himſelf to a Church of the Chriſtians, which from him had received the privilege of an *Aſylum*. But *Gaines* being very urgent, and ſaying, that *Tribigild* would not remit any thing of his Indignation, except *Eutropius* was made away, contrary to the Law which gives to Churches the Right of Sanctuaries, they took him thence by force, and baniſhed him into *Cyprus*, where he was kept by a ſtrict Guard. But ſtill *Gaines* being importunate and urging the Emperour to put him to death, at length, they that were next about him, eluding by a quirk that Oath they had

Gaines thereat inraged, reſolves to compaſs his Death, and ſends to *Arcadius* to let him know that *Tribigild* could not be maſtered, if he was not given up into his hands.

Ἔχουσαν ἐξ ἐκείνου τὸ ἄσυλον.

Baronius male legit, quæ ab illo tempore jus Aſyli conſecuta retinet.

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He is put to death, and how, according to *Zoſimus.*

given him, when they took him out of the Church,ſent for him back from *Cyprus*; and as if they had only ſworn, that they would not kill him while he remained at *Conſtantinople*, removed him to *Chalcedon*, and there cauſed him to be ſlain. Thus was *Eutropius*, after an unwonted manner, treated by fortune in both ſorts. For ſhe promoted him to an higher pitch than ever any Eunuch had attain'd; and then brought about his Deſtruction, for the hatred which thoſe that were Enemies to the Commonwealth ſaid they bore unto him. Thus *Zoſimus.*

How far his Relation is true.

L.3. de his qui ad Eccleſias confugiunt,Cod. Th.lib.9.tit.45.

86. The ſubſtance of this Story is true, but according to his manner, he fails in conſiderable Circumſtances. After his being depoſed from his Dignities, he did indeed betake himſelf to a Church, as to a Sanctuary; but the Church had no ſuch Right or Privilege of an *Aſylum* from him, who was ſo far from procuring this privilege to Churches, that the year before, he procured *Arcadius* to make a Law againſt it. The Church to which he fled, was that of *John Chryſoſthom*, now Biſhop of that See, who protected the miſerable Man as he lay embracing the Altar; and would not ſuffer him to be taken thence, till he had obtain'd an Oath from the Emperour, that he ſhould not be given up into the hands of *Gaines* to be put to death. Both Emperour, Soldiers and People ſufficiently now convinced of his extravagant courſes, were glad to be rid of him; but when *Arcadius* heard he had taken Sanctuary in the Church, he reſtrained himſelf and the Soldiers too, from medling with him. But the People, to which the Church was open, being more heady and unruly, and moved with an hatred to his perſon, was not ſo to be governed; but their golden-mouthed Biſhop was forced to mount the Pulpit, and charm them with his powerful Rhetorick. Some have charged him with impudence and unmanlyneſs in inſulting over a Man in miſery; but the Oration he made,is ſtill extant, and ſo may ſpeak for him and it ſelf.

John Chryſoſthom the Biſhop his Oration.

87. It begins indeed with an high upbraiding of him for his former courſe of life. If ever before, now may we ſay, *Vanity of vanities, all is vanity.* What's “ now become of the great pomp and ſplendour of the Conſulſhip? Where are “ now the illuſtrious *Faſces*? where are the Applauſes,Banquetings and Merriments? “ The noiſe of the City? Thoſe high Acclamations and Flatteries of the Spectators “ of the *Circenſian* Games? Thoſe Garlands and Muſick? All theſe are paſt and gone. “ A violent Tempeſt hath blown down the leaves, ſpoiled the Tree, ſo as it dangerouſly totters; and ſo great a ſtorm continues ſtill upon it, that having weak- “ ened ſorely its roots, it threatens to lay it along on the ground. Going on in this “ manner, he thence demonſtrates to his Auditors, that they ſhould all, in all pla “ ces, upon all occaſions, and at all times ſing this Song one to another, *Vanity* “ *of vanities*: that they ſhould write it on their Walls, in their Cloaths, in the “ *Forum*, in their Houſes, in the Ways, in their Windows and Doors, and eſpeci- “ ally in their Conſciences. He then demands of *Eutropius*, whether he did not “ tell him, that Power and Wealth were uncertain things: but he would not hear “ nor believe him; as neither when he told him, that he was a better Friend to him “ than all his Flatterers; that the wounds of a Friend were rather to be endured “ than the kiſſes of an Enemy; this he would not endure then to hear, but ſevere- “ ly checked him for his faithful admonition. Formerly he ranted againſt Church- “ es, and was all for the Theatres. Now the Theatres upon which he had ſpent his “ Treaſure, were earneſt to cut his Throat: and the Church and Church-men, “ whom he deſpiſed, were become his Safeguard and Protection. He adds, that “ this he ſaid, not to inſult over a proſtrate and miſerable man, but for the Inſtru- “ ction and ſecurity of others; not to make his wound bleed afreſh, but to keep o- “ thers invulnerable and in good health, by putting them in mind of the mutability “ of humane Affairs; which cannot be compared with any thing that can ſuffici- “ ently expreſs their inconſtancy, not Smoak, nor Hay, nor Dreams, nor the fine “ flouriſhing Flowers of the Spring. This ſufficiently appears,ſaith he,in this Man;for “ who than him,was more eminently dignified? Did not all Men fear and reverence “ him? but now he is become more wretched than thoſe in the Goal, more miſer- “ able than Slaves, and more neceſſitous than Beggars that ſtarve for hunger; ha- “ ving ever before his eyes, Swords ready brandiſhed againſt him; ſeeing nothing “ but Precipes and Executioners; and intent only on the way that leads to deſerved “ puniſhment, having no Friend that will own him in his extreme diſtreſs. What “ need words when your eyes convince you: for the Emperour having ſent his Of- “ ficers to bring him by force out of Sanctuary, what thing can be more pale than “ he? a dead Man hath as much colour in his Cheeks; his Teeth chatter in his Head; “ a trembling hath invaded his whole Body; his voice is interrupted with ſobbing, “ and he ſtammers in his ſpeech. In ſumm, he is in ſuch a plight and condi- “ tion, as when the Soul is altogether overcome with fear. “

88. This “

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88. This I ſay again, I ſpeak, not to upbraid him in his misfortune, or to inſult upon him in his miſery; but that I may ſoften your minds into Compaſſion, to ſtir you up to Commiſeration, and to perſwade you to be ſatisfied with his preſent Puniſhment: Becauſe, amongſt our people, there are many ſo inhumane, as to traduce us for receiving him; deſiring to ſoften the hardneſs of their hearts, I make ſuch a repreſentation of his miſeries. And, I beſeech you, what is that that ſo ſticks with you, that cannot be paſſed over? You will ſay, that he is now fled to a Church, who, without intermiſſion, was an Enemy to Churches. The more God is to be praiſed, who hath ſuffered him to be reduced to ſuch neceſſity, that he might perceive both the Power and the Clemency of the Church: its Power, in that ſuch an alteration is brought about in that Enmity that he exerciſed againſt it; and its Clemency, in that it covers and protects its Enemy, as with a Shield ſtretched over him; defends him with its Wings, and forgetting former injuries, opens its boſom to receive him. This is more glorious than any Trophy, more famous than Victory; this ſhames both *Pagans* and *Jews*. To oppoſe it ſelf againſt the anger of the Emperor, and the intollerable rage, fury and hatred of the People, is the Ornament of the Altar. You will ſay, an Ornament indeed to the Altar, to be embraced by a notoriouſly wicked, covetous and rapacious Man. But, take heed what you ſay; for an Harlot touched the feet of Chriſt, an inceſtuous and impure Woman; and yet this was no fault of his, but redounded to His great praiſe, and the admiration of him: His Purity was not concerned for her Impurity; but He purified her thereby. Neither muſt you talk of Injuries; we are the Servants of Him that was crucified for us: who ſaid, *Forgive them, for they know not what they do.* Indeed, as you may object, by written Laws he took away Refuge and Sanctuary from this place: But now he hath learnt by experience, what it was he did; And by his own deed, hath firſt abrogated his Law, being become the Spectacle of the whole World: and though he be ſilent, yet he ſufficiently inſtructs all others; and bids them beware by his Example. In this reſpect the Altar is become more illuſtrious, and obtains greater Veneration, in that it holds a chained Lyon: As the Emperor ſeems not ſo glorious when he ſits upon his Throne, clad in Purple, and adorned with his Diadem; as when *Barbarians* lie at his feet, and with their hands bound behind them. “

89. That I came not prepared to ſpeak theſe things, you, by your haſte and concourſe, ſufficiently witneſs. This indeed, you eſteem a brave ſight, and you account it a merry meeting; neither do I perceive the Aſſembly to be leſs than it was in the late Feaſt of *Eaſter*. You are ſo excited by the ſilence of this Man; which, at preſent, is more ſhrill than any Trumpet. Virgins have left their Cloſets; Women their Work-houſes; and there are no Men to be found in the *Forum*. You all come to behold, repreſented, the defects of Humane Natre; the momentary mutability of Worldly Affairs diſcovered, and the Luſture of States-men transformed; which yeſterday, and the day before, were very glorious. Such Proſperity as ariſeth from the Ruin and Oppreſſion of other Men, is now demonſtrated to be more deformed, than the Wrincles of an old Woman; an alteration of Affairs, like ſome Sponge, wiping away that Paint wherewith it was covered. Let ſuch as are rich come to this Show, and from it they ſhall receive great profit; ſeeing him, who lately made all the World ſhake with one nod, fallen from ſo high a pitch of greatneſs; ſhrunk ſo much with fear; more fearful now than any Frog or Hare; ſticking to a Pillar without binding; and, inſtead of a Chain, tyed by apprehenſion of danger, grieving and trembling; they will put down their loftineſs; and conſidering what ought to be conſidered in Humane Life, depart inſtructed in this point, according to what the Scriptures teach us; that *All Fleſh is Graſs, and all the Glory of Man as the Flower of Hay: The Hay is withered, and the Flower hath faded.* On the other ſide, if a poor Man come to be a Spectator; he will not be diſpleaſed with himſelf, nor deplore his own condition; but thank his Poverty, which is to him in ſtead of a Sanctuary, of a moſt calm and quiet Haven, and as a moſt fortified Caſtle: and all laid together, if he might have his wiſh, he will chuſe rather to be content with his preſent condition, than, having, for a while, enjoyed the Eſtates of all other Men, preſently fall into danger of his own life. “

90. Have I, then mollified your minds? Have I appeaſed your anger, and extinguiſhed your Inhumanity? Have I wrought in you any Commiſeration? I believe I have; as I gather from your Countenances and Tears. Seeing, then, the Soil of your hearts is turned into fat and fertile ground, proceed to bring forth

fruit

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Fruit of Mercy, and the Blades of Commiſeration: and let us fall down on our “
knees to the Emperor; or rather, deprecate our moſt Cracious God, that he “
may ſoften his Rage; and vouchſafe to give him a tender heart, that we may ful- “
ly prevail with him. And, ſince the day that this Man fled hither, there is no “
little alteration: For, after the Emperor knew that he had here taken Sanctuary, “
the Soldiers flocking together, and in a rage againſt his Crimes, demanding him “
to be given up to Puniſhment, he made a long Speech to them, to mitigate their “
diſpleaſure; telling them, that they ſhould not altogether look at his Faults, but “
have ſome reſpect to his good Deeds withall, and conſider who it is that ſhould “
reward him for them; and if any thing hath happened through frailty, pardon “
that alſo. But they ſtill urged, and were unquiet; crying out, that he ought to “
be puniſhed for the injury he had done to his Majeſty; ſome ſentencing him to Ba- “
niſhment, and others condemning him to death, with ſhaking of their Spears (as “
uſually in a Tumult) at which he brake into tears: and ſtriking them with a ſence “
and reverence of the moſt holy Table, at length, with much ado, he appeaſed “
them. And let us, I pray now, contribute what we may toward ſo good a “
Work. For how can any of you be excuſed, if the Emperor, on his part, par- “
doning ſo great Offences, you, having no ſuch Provocation, ſtill perſiſt in your “
Rage. How can any of you, after this Aſſembly is diſſolved, either handle the “
Sacraments, or pray this Prayer, *Forgive us our treſpaſſes, as we forgive them* “
that treſpaſs againſt us. Perhaps he hath done you great miſchief or injury, and “
we ſhall not deny it: But this is not a time to judge, but to have mercy; not to “
require ſatisfaction, but to have pity and compaſſion; not to examine, but to for- “
give; not to vote or cenſure, but to abſolve. Let none of you then be angry and “
incenſed againſt this Man; but rather implore the Mercy of our merciful God, “
that his life may be ſaved, and that he may be delivered from this imminent dan- “
ger, for the correction of his manners. And let us joyntly become Petitioners “
to the Emperor, in behalf of the Church and the Altar, to deſire, that one Man “
may be freely granted to it: which, if we do obtain, we ſhall both do that which “
is acceptable to him; and God himſelf will approve of what we do, and reward “
us for it. To whom he makes, like a good Chriſtian, a ſolemn Addreſs upon this “
Account, and ſo concludes. “

His Eloquence failed not of Effect.

91. To this purpoſe ſpake the Biſhop; and his Eloquence failed not of its Succeſs, being duly regulated by the methods of Prudence. Had he gone about to excuſe him, he had the more enraged the multitude: but owning his fault, and laying open the ſadneſs of his condition, by diſcourſing Chriſtianly and politickly concerning the inconſtancy of all worldly Affairs, he accompliſhed what he deſigned. For, the Emperor, the Soldiers, and all the People remitted much of their former Indignation; and they were contented that he ſhould live, and feel the effects of the Sanctuary. But, whereas the Biſhop, in all his diſcourſe makes no mention of *Gaines*; but only of an Affront or Injury *Eutropius* put upon the Emperor, as a cauſe of his Calamity: We muſt tell another ſtory from *Philoſtorgius*, as *Nicephorus* from him; which being known in the City, and in every Man's mouth, it was more prudent in him to touch at it, than to diſcover the weakneſs of the State, by laying before the people the power of *Gaines*. The Eunuch, grown to ſuch an height as to make him uneaſie to all perſons, was now ſo beſotted with pride and folly, as to offer ſeveral Affronts to the Empreſs; imagining (poſſibly) he might be the more bold, becauſe ſhe had been preferred to that Dignity by his procurement. Amongſt other extravagancies, he threatned, that in a little time he would cauſe her to be taken out of the Palace, and ſent home. She, exceedingly enraged hereat, took up her two little Daughters (*Pulcheria* and *Arcadia*) in her Arms, and went to her Husband, crying, and bewailing her condition; and bidding him to look upon their Children, ſhe fell into a great paſſion of weeping, and otherwiſe behaved her ſelf as a Woman would do to move compaſſion. *Arcadius* was extreamly moved, and ſo far concerned for her and his Daughters, that he ſhewed himſelf an Emperor indeed; for he deprived *Eutropius* of his Wealth and Dignities, and baniſhed him into the Iſland of *Cyprus*. Not long after, being accuſed, that when he entred the Conſulſhip, he had made uſe of ſome Beaſts or Horſes, as ſaith *Philoſtorgius*, which the Emperor alone might uſe, though *Nicephorus* turns it into Ornaments; he was fetched thence, and brought to *Pantychium*; where he was heard and tryed before *Aurelianus* the *Præfect*, and other Illuſtrious Perſons: by whom being found guilty of hainous Crimes, he was put to death.

Lib. 11. c. 6.

Eutropius had affronted the Empreſs, according to *Philoſtorgius*.

92. What ever the particular was wherein he had injured or vexed the Emperor, an Act of State, or an Edict, paſſed for his Depoſing, Baniſhment and Forfeiture

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of his Goods ; ſtill to be ſeen in *Theodoſius* his *Code*. Herein *Arcadius* ſignifies to *Aurelianus*; That he had confiſcated all the Eſtate of *Eutropius*, who of late was the “ *Præpoſitus Sacri Cubiculi* ; the Conſulſhip and the Splendor thereof being vindicated “ from naſty filth, from the Commemoration of his Name, and the dirtineſs “ of it ; ſo that all his Acts being reſcinded, all times to come may be ſilent concerning “ him ; and that, ſaith he, the blot and blemiſh of our preſent Age may not “ appear. Neither let him mourn, who by his Valour or his Wounds, propagates “ the *Roman* Borders, or defends them by the Equity of Law, that the Divine “ Reward of the Conſulſhip hath been defiled by the Contagion of a dirty Prodigy. “ Let *Eutropius* know, alſo, that he is ſpoiled of the Dignity of *Patritian*, and all other “ inferior Honours, which he hath polluted with the Wickedneſs of his Manners. “ We command that all Statues, Images ; as well of Braſs, as Marble ; as “ well painted, as wrought out of any ſubſtantial matter ; be utterly defaced, aboliſhed “ and removed out of all Cities, both private and common ; leſt the eyes of “ any be polluted by ſuch a Mark of this our Age. And let him, with a ſufficient “ Guard, be carried into the Iſland of *Cyprus* : to which your Highneſs may take “ notice he is baniſhed ; that being there carefully watched and kept cloſe, he may “ not, by his madneſs, confound all things. “ Such is the Edict, according to the Stile of this Age, which ſets *Eutropius* out as a filthy Monſter. To it *Claudian* ſeems to have reſpect in his Preface to his Second Book againſt this Eunuch ; when he ſaith, that his Madneſs fell by the Wound of a little Paper ; that the cruel Work of *Mars* was diſpatched by one Letter. And as it's little to be doubted but that he ſaw and peruſed the Edict : So his Poems againſt *Eutropius* are but an elegant Comment upon a harſh and rugged Text ; ſo lively are his Repreſentations of his Wickedneſs, and the diſgrace that redounded to the Empire, and the Conſulſhip, by his being preferred to ſo high a Dignity. All along he makes it no other than a Prodigy, or ſome Portentous thing, to have an Eunuch (an old Woman he terms him) to be ſeen in the *Trabea*, or Conſular Ornaments ; and inſiſts upon the polluting of the *Faſti* by his Name. In ſumm, he urges his Adminiſtration and Preferment as the Violation of all Order, Fitneſs and Decorum.

L. 17. de Pœnis, Cod. Th. Dat. 16. Cal. Febr. at apparet prope paſchale tempus confugium Eutropii ad eccleſiam contigiſſe, ut recte innuit Baronius.

An Edict for his Depoſing and Baniſhment.

Conciditexiguæ dementia vulnere chartæ. Confecit ſævum litera martis opus.

——*trabeata per urbes Oſtentatur anus titulusque effeminat annum.*

93. *Eutropius* was now gone, but not all the effects of his Male-Adminiſtration. Thoſe of his Creatures were grown to a ſtrange height ; and expecting Protection from him, they were very eaſie to grant it to their Inferiors, when their own intereſt and advantage provoked them to it. Several Laws had been formerly made againſt the receiving of Husband-men, and ſuch like, into the Patronage of the Great ones ; for the many Inconveniences that happened thereby, and defrauding, eſpecially, of the Treaſury. But, ſo ſawcy were they, as ſtill to proceed ; which conſtrained *Arcadius*, within leſs than four Months, to publiſh two ſevere Laws againſt this practice, which was moſt common in *Egypt*, of all other Countries. By the firſt of theſe he impoſeth a Fine of forty pounds of Gold upon any that “ ſhould continue thus to protect a Country-man, or his Ground, be he of what “ Quality or Condition ſoever ; whether a *Magiſter Militum*, a *Comes* (of the Eaſt, “ of *Egypt*, or of *Iſauria*) a *Proconſul* (as of *Aſia*) a *Vicar* (of *Aſia*, *Pontica*, or “ *Thrace*) *Auguſtalis* (*Præfectus* of *Egypt*) a *Tribune* or a *Curialis* ; by inſtancing of “ which ſeverally, he gives us a *Notitia* of the Dignities throughout the *Præfectſhip* “ of the Eaſt. But he, not only, increaſeth the penalty formerly impoſed, from “ twenty five, to forty pounds of Gold, upon him that receives any into his Patronage “ ; but impoſeth the double, or eighty, upon ſuch as ſeek for ſuch Patronage “ and Protection, to defraud the Treaſury of Tribute. “ This he injoyned to *Eutychianus* the *Præfect* ; but toward the latter end of *February*, and toward the end of *May* following, he was forced to renew his Commands to him ; whereby he ſignifies, that, To all former Laws againſt this Crime, he thought fit to add greater “ puniſhment : That if any ſhall be found to grant Protection to Husband-men, or “ ſuch Country-men as poſſeſſed their own Lands, he ſhould forfeit his Eſtate ; and “ ſuch Husband-men, their Grounds, as ſhall ſeek after ſuch Protections. “ But this miſchief not only tended to the impoveriſhing the Emperor, but to the ſtarving, alſo, of *Conſtantinople*. For, though there was a Body, or Company of the *Navicularii*, which of courſe, and at ſolemn times, brought Corn and Proviſions out of *Egypt* ; yet, upon occaſion, when any neceſſity urged, or the number of the *Navicularii* was found inſufficient, the Ships alſo of private Men were preſſed to the Service, for tranſporting of the *Annona* ; ſo as none could be excuſed. However, ſome endeavoured to excuſe themſelves, by wearing, as it were, the Liveries of ſome great Men ; and under their Name, and by their Intereſts, to protect their Veſſels. *Arcadius*, to give a ſtop to this Courſe, ſo diſadvantageous to the City,

Arcadius prohibits great Men their protecting Husband-men.

L. 4. de Patrociniis vicorum, Cod. Th. lib. 11. tit. 24. Dat. 6. Id. Mart.

L. 5. ejuſd. tit. Dat. 8. Cal. Jun.

And Mariners in *Egypt*.

gave order to *Eutychianus* by another Law, which with the former, concerning Husbandmen made up one Conſtitution, that Proclamation ſhould be made thorough *Egypt*, that every one that went about ſo to excuſe Ships in their“ Names or by their Patronage from the publique ſervice, ſhould incur a mulct of“ twenty Pounds of Gold, and the owner of them forfeit their Veſſels if they ad-“ mitted of ſuch protection.“

L. 1. De Navibus non excuſandis Cod. Th. Lib. 13. tit. 7.

Unjuſt Accuſations now alſo reſtrained.

L. 12. De Pœnis Cod. Th. Dat. 8. Kal. Aug.

94. As formerly upon the Death of *Rufinus* and Confiſcating his Eſtate, followed an unjuſt proſecution of his Relations and Friends, which drew out an Edict from *Arcadius* for their juſt defence; ſo now the Informers being at worke, and ſeveral unjuſtly troubled about that they could not help, as to *Eutropius*; he directed another Law of the ſame Nature to *Eutychianus*, whereby he ordains that there the Puniſhment lie where the Fault is placed; that Kindred and known Familiars be protected from Calumny, being ſuch as their Society did not render Guilty of the Crime, for as much as neither Affinity nor Friendſhip are any Crimes in themſelves. He reſolves that Offences ſhall reach their Authors only, and Feare ſhall proceed no farther than the Offence, which he commands him to intimate to all the Judges. There might be more need for this Law, becauſe the *Macedonians* were wont to put to Death alſo the Kindred of thoſe that were condemned for Treaſon, which though not ordinarily practiſed amongſt the *Romans*, yet under cruel Princes, the Friends of thoſe that ſuffered upon that Account, were wont alſo to be Sacrificed to their fury; which Practice *Arcadius* by this conſtitution now obviates amongſt the *Greeks* and *Aſiaticks*; though by this Law he doth not repeale that ſevere one made by procurement of *Eutropius*, whereby the Sons of thoſe there made Traitors might be freed from the Pain contained in it; for amongſt *Propinqui* or Kindred, Sons are not to be reckoned, but Brothers Siſters and other Relations. As to *Eutropius*, *Claudian* makes mention of his Siſter; and as a Friend or Confident he ſpeaks of *Leo*, but eſpecially of *Hoſius* the next in place and Dignity to him in his greatneſs, Unlike in his firſt condition, *Eutropius* being a Pandor, often Sould; and he a Cook in *Spain*, but both Slaves, the Backs of them both having been torn with Laſhes, and altogether like in their Acts and Tricks to abuſe mankind. However by the Favour and Procurement it ſeems of his Brother Slave; he arrived at the Dignity of *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum*, and afterwards was promoted to be *Magiſter Officiorum*, The ſecond in place and Dignity to *Eutropius*.

Lib. 2. in Eutrop. ——Sed prima poteſtas Eutropium præfert Hoſio ſubnixa ſecundo Dulcior hic ſane Cunctis, prudenſq; movendi Juris, & admoto qui temperet omnia fumo Fervidus, accenſam ſed qui bene decoquat iram.

Conſidunt apices gemini ditionis Eoæ, Hic coquus hic leno, defoſſi verbere terga. Servitio non arte pares, hic ſæpius emptus. Alter ad Hiſpanos nutritus verna penates av. 346. adv. 354.

95. What became of *Hoſius* we further know not, but though he fell from his Honours, as is very probable, *Arcadius* took care for the advancing of others this Summer, to a greater degree of Eminency. There were, as we have ſhown before, two ſorts of *Conſiſtorian Comites* in the Court. The one was Illuſtrious, conſiſting of the great Officers, as the two *Comites* of the ſeveral Treaſuries; and the other but of the Degree of *Spectabilis* being *Comites* of the firſt Rank, but called *Conſiſtoriani* only, becauſe they were admitted into the *Conſiſtory* to be preſent at the Debates, and hear the Anſwers of the Emperors, without having the Priviledge of being Councellors, as the Illuſtrious Perſons were. At this time there were two of theſe for whom the Emperor had ſo much Kindneſs, by name *Comaſius* and *Clearchus*, that by an Edict ſent to *Severinus* the *Prefect* of *Conſtantinople*, he gave them and their Fellows the Priviledge of being equal in Dignity to *Proconſulares*, or thoſe that had been *Proconſuls*, ſo as to take place next them above all others. Their place therefore was to be, betwixt the *Proconſulares* and the *Comites* of the *Eaſt* or *Egypt*; and they injoyed other Immunities. As when they hired the Lands or Houſes belonging to the Domaine of the Prince, they were not obliged to find Sureties; they were excuſed from ſordid Imployments; from the finding of Souldiers and Horſes; from the Burthen of the Prætorſhip, and from the *Metatus* or Quarters. Towards the end of the Year, the Emperor received an account from *Conſtantius* his *Comes Rei Privatæ*, of many Idle Perſons that belonged to his Office, and what Retrenchment was fit to be made; and accordingly ordered by a Reſcript, that all ſuch being diſcarded as were uſeleſs, there“ ſhould be of theſe Palatines two hundred and twenty four of thoſe that they called“ *Statuti* or in *Ordinary* Attendance, and ſix hundred and ten Supernumeraries, to“ be diſpoſed into the ſeveral *Scrinia*. And he requires that none be admitted for“ the Future, till he have ſhown his Original, and then be approved by himſelf.“

The lower ſort of Conſiſtorians obtain new Honour.

Comaſii nos et Clearchi virorum Spectabilum dignitas admonuit &c.

L. un. de Comitibus Conſiſtorianis. Cod. Th. Lib. 6. tit. 12. & L. 1. Cod. Juſt. eod tit hinc interpolata. Dat. 7. Cal. Octobr.

The Officers belonging to the ſecond great Treaſuror retrenched.

L. 15. De Palatinis S. L. & R. P. Cod. Th. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

96. *Honorius*, who, as *Claudian* in ſeveral places hints, had during the War with *Gildo*, and ſtopping up the Sea, procured Corn and Proviſions out of *Gall*, now that all was clear, for rhe better ſupply of *Rome* betoook himſelf again to reinforce the ordinary courſe of ſupplying the City. He diſcovered two ſorts of Cheating practiſed in the Sale of the Lands belonging to the *Navicularii* and obnoxious

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noxious to that Burthen; wherefore one was that they were often bought with this condition, that the Seller, though unable, ſhould undergo the charge of the Function; and the other, that on the contrary the Purchaſer was often too poor to undertake the Charge. Now all ſuch Contracts betwixt ſuch Parties, by a conſtitution directed to *Meſſala* the *Præfectus Prætorio* he declared to be null, requiring“ a fit and ſufficient purchaſer in ſuch Alienations, or the Function to be“ required at his Hands who pretended to Sell, that ſo no damage might accrue“ to the publicke. And becauſe it was diſcovered that they had a trick of building“ their Veſſels too little, ſo that they were not capacious enough to bring over the whole quantity of Corn, he commands *Meſſala* that this Cheat be alſo for“ the time to come, prevented.“ He mentions not of what capacity a Veſſel was to be of; But ordinarily it was required that each ſhould be able to contain tenn Thouſand *Modii* a *Modius* being the third part of an *Amphora*. Proviſions being now plentiful in *Rome* and *Italy*, many Perſons might well thence be incouraged to frequent and inhabit the Countries thereabout. And now, at this time *Honorius* in another Edict, informs us that out of many Nations, People came into the Empire, following (as he too truly expreſſeth it) the *Roman* Felicity, to whom were granted Lands to Till and Inhabit, called *Terræ Læticæ*, from thoſe Strangers who, of what Nation or People ſoever they were, had the Name of *Læti*; as *Læti Alamanni*, *Læti Franci*, *Læti Batavi*. Lands being given them to Inhabit with certain Securities and Conditions; ſome of them were too Covetous, and got into their Hands a greater ſhare than belonged to them, as indeed they and theirs got all at laſt; ſome by Reſcripts ſurreptitiouſly procured, and ſome by Colluſion with the Principals or Defenſors. To redreſs this Inconvenience, he now ordered *Meſſala* to take care that none ſhould obtain any of theſe Lands without Warrant from himſelf, and that an inſpector ſhould be ſent to rectify what had been extravagantly done in this matter. But whereas the Emperor ſaith theſe Nations followed the *Roman Felicity*, the Event ſhortly after ſhewed, that whatever Felicity they ſought for, they brought none along with them; but, multiplying ſo much, and ſiding with their Countrymen that invaded, Ruine and Deſtruction to the Empire.

Honorius ſtill indeavours that *Rome* may not want Proviſions.

L. 8. *De prædiis Naviculariorum. Cod. Th.* & *L. ult. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Dat.* 14. *Cal. Mart.*

L. 28. *De Naviculariis Cod. Th.*

Qaoniam ex multis Gentibus ſequentes Romanam fælicitatem, ſe ad noſtrum Imperium Contulerunt, quibus terræ Læticæ adminiſtrandæ ſunt. &c. *L.* 9. *De Cenſitoribus Cod. Th. Dat. Non. Apr. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.*

Strangers reſtrained from indirectly getting Lands.

97. At this time heavy Complaints were brought of the High-ways being out of Repair, in *Italy* or other places belonging to the Prefectſhip of *Meſſala*; and it was alledged that this proceded from the Privileges granted to Illuſtrious Perſons, whereby they were excuſed from mending ſuch as lay next their Grounds, as alſo were the Houſes of the Prince or thoſe belonging to his Domaine. To“ remove ſuch Scandal as aroſe to his Government from thoſe Immenſe delays as“ he acknowledges them, *Honorius* now took off all ſuch Priviledges both from the“ great Men, and alſo from his own Houſes, yet confirming all other Immunities“ granted either to Illuſtrious Perſons or his own Patrimony.“ Till about the beginning of *June* he had his abode at *Milan*, but then removed, and for that and the two following Months he lay at *Brixia*, *Padua* and *Altinum* as appears by the Dates of other Laws. This Summer in his Progreſs he met with greivous Murmurings againſt the Judges, for their denying Juſtice, and eſpecially in refuſing to admit Appeals; and as this Greivance was too frequent in *Italy*, ſo rather more in *Africke*, where we find things much out of Order after the ſuppreſſion of *Gildo*, during whoſe Tyrannical Government, in that Countrey matters could not but be driven out of their wonted Courſes and Methods. Excited, as he ſaith, by the Complaints of many, by one Edict at the beginning of *Jnne* he ſignifies that all Perſons ſhall have free liberty to appeal from Sentences of injurious and ſuſpected Judges, inflicting either Pains of Death or Detriment of Fortunes, and impoſeth a Mulct of twenty Pounds of Gold upon ſuch Judge as ſhall refuſe to admit it; withal Fining his Office, or thoſe of his Court, in twenty five, if they did not pertinaciouſly, as he words it, Contradict what he did, and ſhow him what was Law. This Edict concerned the whole Diſtrict of the *Præfectus Prætorio* to whom it was directed. But ſix Days after“ he found reaſon to inforce it by another ſent to *Simplicius* the Preſident of the“ Province of *Tripolis*, increaſing the Fine both upon Judge and Officers to thirty“ Pounds of Gold; which ſhews how contumacious the Governors of that“ Country were in this concern.“ But whereas he is ſo ſevere againſt the Officers of the Court, it is to be known that they were perpetual, whereas the Judges themſelves were temporary, and therefore they had reaſon to know and underſtand the Forms and Methods of proceeding; as in all Courts, Actuaries and Regiſtres have.

Care taken for Highways ſcandalouſly gone to Decay.

L. 4. *De Itinere muniendo Cod. Th. Lib.* 15. *tit.* 2. *Dat.* 3 *Cal. Maj. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.*

Againſt unjuſt Judges.

Multorum querelis excitati, hac lege ſancimus &c. *L.* 58. *De Appelationib. Cod. Th.* & *L.* 39. *Cod. Juſt. eod tit. Dat.* 7. *Id. Jun.*

L. 59. *ejuſd. tit. Dat. prid. Id. Jun. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.*

The Provincialls of *Africk* vexed by the *Saturiani* and *Subafrenſes.*

98. The Provincials of *Africk* were further ſo unhappy at this time, that while they were oppreſſed by the Injuſtice of their Magiſtrates, they were harraſed from abroad by the continual Incurſions of thoſe Robbers called *Saturiani* and *Subafrenſes*. Theſe *Saturiani* we mentioned before, and the Depredations they made in *Lybia*; which they left not off, though repreſſed and forced to betake themſelves often to lurking Holes and Places of Retirement. With them now were joyned the *Subafrenſes*, poſſibly the ſame with the *Mazices* another People of *Africk*, next Neighbour to them, and joyning to the *Roman* Pale, which they conſpired to vex and harraſe with their frequent inroads; as the *Saturiani* a People lying betwixt *Libya Syreniaca* and thoſe properly called *Afri*, and by inverſion of the former Letters called *Auſturiani* or *Auxuriani*, were wont to do in the Days of *Julian*, *Valentinian* and *Valens*. So violent were their Attempts now, that *Honorius* was obliged to provide againſt them by Inſtructions given to *Meſſala* the Prefect; wherein having firſt declared that he had proſecuted, with his Arms, their Conſpiracy as far as was convenient; he obſerved, that to avoid the Danger of being taken and Puniſhed, they betook themſelves to ſeveral lurking Holes. Now to ſtop theſe Holes he reſolves that ſuch as harbour or conceal the *Saturiani*, ſhall forfeite the Grounds where they are Concealed, except immediately “ after the publiſhing of this Edict, they give them up to be proceeded againſt “ according to the Laws. In like manner ſhall he be puniſhed that gives any “ harbour to any of the *Subafrenſes* who had joyned themſelves with them in “ their Conſpiracy, or ſhall remove them out of the way; and in caſe ſuch Offender “ have no Eſtate to looſe, he ſhall forfeite his Life, as the Rule hath been, “ that he that hath no Money muſt ſuffer in his Body. He threatens ſuch as ſhall “ know of, but not diſcover ſuch a diſobedient Perſon and make known where “ the Robbers Lye. And becauſe thoſe Theives had ſeiſed and held in their own “ Power, certain Grounds and Territories, he commands that a diligent Inſpector “ be ſent down, to offer theſe waſted Grounds to the former Poſſeſſors, to be “ again cultivated and inhabited as formerly, if they will accept of them: if not, “ then to deliver them up to others, provided that the Tributes be ſecured. “

Such as receive them ordered to be proſecuted.

L. Un. de Saturianis & Subafrenſibus. Cod. Th. lib. 7. tit. 19. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

Qui non habet in ære luat in Corpore.

99. Whether it proceeded from the Pride and Injuſtice of Magiſtrates, or theſe frequent Robberies, or ſome other cauſe, but great were the Complaints now again of the *Curiales* running away and forſaking their Stations in this ſame Diſtrict of *Meſſala*. And now their Cuſtome was, to betake themſelves to ſome Imployment in ſome Foreign Province, where they might not be found out, thinking thereby to evade the uſual Burthens; but *Honorius* gives him orders to “ Cite them to come in, within a Year, which time he thinks it reaſonable to al- “ low; and if within that time they do not appear, then their Eſtates to be ſe- “ cured for the uſe of the Corporations. Others to avoid the Burthen which they thought appropiate to the ſoil, clandeſtinly ſold their Lands; but theſe furtive Contracts, he declares alſo Null, and will have the Buyer to forfeit what “ he Payes for the Purchaſe. “ But to give theſe men ſome ſort of Incouragement for their better ſupporting theſe Charges to which they were thus fixed, it was ſeaſonable withal to afford them ſome protection from the Inſolence of Governers of Provinces and the Officers of the Revenue, which in all times, notwithſtanding there were frequent Laws made againſt it, were wont to be ſevere upon them. To this purpoſe he gives in Charge to *Meſſala* by another Branch of this “ Conſtitution, that thoſe among them called *Principales* be not ſubjected to Exa- “ mination by Torture or the *Plumbatæ*, but be ſecured by their Merits and the “ Offices they have born, from ſuch Puniſhment; as the reſt of the *Curiales* be “ protected by their Innocence. And whereas the Provincial Judges had often no Conſcience in impoſing Mulcts and ſetling Fines upon the Heads of thoſe who were under their Juriſdiction, the Emperor reſolved to put a reſtraint upon them as to this matter.

Fugitive Curiales cited to return within a Year.

L. 161. De Decurionib. Cod. Th. Dat. 12. Cal. Septemb.

L. 8. De Contrahenda emptione. Cod. Th. lib. 3. tit. 1. & L. 17. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit.

Thoſe that ſtaied incouraged.

L. 6. De Queſtionibus. Cod. Th. lib. 9. tit. 35. & L. 17. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit.

L. ult. de modo mulctarum Cod. Juſt. lib. 1. tit. 54.

100. *Honorius* came little at *Rome*, and ſome have imagined, out of averſion to place or Perſons; but however he might perſonally ſtand affected to it, his Imperial Authority much exerted its Power in order to the Maintenance of its Inhabitants. Now again in *Autumne* it ſtood in need of his Aſſiſtance as to that particular, many Cheats having been diſcovered in withdrawing off that ſupply of Corn and Proviſions which were wont to be brought to the City. Some for their eaſe or advantage, that were to bring in one ſort of Species, would import another, as Oyl for Wheat, or Mony in lieu thereof, which might more eaſily be imbezilled and converted to other uſes than Corn it ſelf could. But they would procure the Reſcript of the Prince for ſo doing, which he now ſo deteſts that

Honorius came not at *Rome* yet he was ever and anon providing for its Inhabitants.

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that he declares to *Meſſala* againſt this Practice, and makes ſuch Reſcripts null“ and invalid, as had already been procured; puniſhing thoſe that ſhould attempt“ any ſuch thing to the defrauding of the City, in the double value of the“ thing.“ But what hope was there that private Perſons ſhould be free from ſuch Faults, when the Officers and Magiſtrates themſelves were guilty of greater; who were now ſo bold as to make uſe of theſe Proviſions for their Families, and Rob the publique Granaries for ſupply of themſelves and their Officers? Againſt“ ſuch as had done it already, whether the *Vicar* or other Magiſtrates of Provinces,“ he ſhows himſelf ſo far incenſed, that he requires Fourfold from them,“ whereof half from the Judges and half from his Office; and if any ſuch Offence“ be diſcovered for the time to come, he Inflicts Deportation on the Magiſtrate,“ and no leſs then Death upon the *Primates* of their Offices.“ And as before in reference to the changing of Proviſions; ſo now he further declares in order to payment of Tributes or the *Species Annonariæ* uſually paid, that the“ obtaining of a Reſcript ſhall operate nothing againſt the *Compulſors*, that exacted“ the Payment contrary to the antient Uſe and Cuſtome of the Place.“ Diſcovering alſo how the *Compulſors* themſelves and *Exactors*, or thoſe that Exacted the Tributes, followed the Example of the Officers in *Rome*; he wrote to *Apollodorus* the *Proconſul* there, that although by the Law he might require Fourfold,“ yet if they would bring in the *Annonæ Fiſcales* or *Cellarienſes*, after the“ publication of his pleaſure, he would take no farther Advantage, if they did it“ within three Months; elſe they ſhould pay the double. And he requires under“ the ſame Penalty, the Officers of the ſame Judges to bring them in, that“ were Offenders; allowing them an Action againſt ſuch as fled.

L. 5. De Canone frumentario urbis Romæ Cod. Th. & L. 3. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Dat. prid. Non. Septemb.

L. 6. Ejuſd. tit. Cod. Th. & L. ead. Cod. Juſt. Dat. 4. Cal. Octob.

As alſo for relief of the Provincials.

L. 15. De Exactionibus Cod. Th. lib. 11. tit. 7. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

L. 16. De Jure Fiſci. Cod. Th. Dat. 12. Cal. Sept. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt. ut hiſtorica & temporaria.

101. So many Complaints crouded in on all Hands, the diſorders of this Age Uſhering in the Ruine of the Empire, that *Honorius* might well be wearied with their number. *Benignus* at this time was *Vicar* of *Rome*, having formerly governed *Sardinia*, and ſent in to him an Account of miſdemeanors committed where he ws concerned. One was, that the *Curiales* forſook the Cities, and ſheltered themſelves in the Body of the very *Centenarii* or ſuch as dealt in Timber. He bids him fetch them thence with all convenient haſte, and taxes him and other“ Judges for their remiſneſs and troubling him upon all Occaſions. For, ſaith“ he, there being ſo many Laws in force againſt ſuch as receive or harbour“ Fugitives, it would be more fit for the Judges to put them in Execution, than“ to make relation of them to the Prince.“ Another thing, was of the great Robberies committed in the Province of *Valeria* and *Picenum*; for the prevention“ whereof, he prohibits the uſe of Horſes to all Herdſmen throughout theſe Countries;“ and if their Lords or their Procurators connive at their former Practice,“ he will have them puniſhed with no leſs than Baniſhment.“ This Province of *Valeria* not heard of, till about this time, took it's Name, it's probable, from the *Via Valeria* or the Way ſo called; as did *Æmilia* and *Flaminia*. It was under the Adminiſtration of the *Vicar* of *Rome*, as other Provinces were that were not of the Number of the *Urbicarian*, of which this could not be, as *Gothofred* concludes, becauſe when theſe Provinces were ſo named, the Province *Valeria* was no where to be found, except it was in *Utopia*. However *Picenum* and it, it ſeems, abounded in Robbers, and ſuch as kept Cattel were ſuſpected to drive that Trade, for which, Horſes were thought to be very Convenient. It may ſeem ſtrange to ſome in this Country, where we inhabit, why Horſes ſhould be thus prohibited to be uſed, they being ſo neceſſary an Help to humane Life, as here in *England* we daily experience. But though in this his Purgatory. this noble Beaſt be ſo unworthily treated, he finds more eaſe and reſpect in the Southern Countries, where uſually we ſee that Aſſes are bred up in great Numbers, which ordinarily bear the Burthens and do the druggery.

He is tired out with Complaints.

Commands Judges to put the Laws in Execution.

L. 162. De Decurionib. Cod. Th. Dat Cal. Decemb. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt. Executiones præſtare Judices Conveniat non referre.

Forbids the uſe of Horſes to Herdſmen in *Valeria* and *Picenum*.

L. Ult. Quibus equorum uſus &c. Cod. Th. lib. 9. tit. 30. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt. ut temporaria.

102. However this operated againſt that evil of Robbing, which it was deſigned to prevent, the Emperor at the latter end of the Year called ſome in *Africk* to account for ſome kind of Robbery that could not be prevented. During thoſe twelve Years, or that long time that *Gildo* domineered in *Africk*, he held in his Hands many Lands and Poſſeſſions, the Farmers of which truſting to and bearing themſelves high upon his greatneſs, would not pay thoſe Tributes which were due for them, and by his Power were born out in their Contumacy. But now their ſupport being gone, as juſt it was, the Emperor commands that whatever“ was behind ſhould be paid, and nothing abated, but for what they could“ ſhow diſcharges.“ The Law is directed to one *Peregrinus* by the Title of *Comes*, and *Procurator Divinæ domus*, or of the Emperors Patrimony, who at this time

L. 15. De. Bonis Proſcriptorum Cod. Th. Dat. Cal. Decemb. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

Perſons in Arreare during the uſurpation of *Gildo*, called to account.

UMI

Sect. 1.

A. D. 399.

amongſt other things in *Africk* relating thereunto, managed alſo the late Eſtate of *Gildo*, which great in it ſelf, and greater by acceſſion of Lands belonging to his Followers, became afterward, as we ſaid, ſo conſiderable as to have a *Comes* of its own, who had his Office to himſelf, his *Procurators*, *Præpoſiti* and *Rationales* through divers Provinces of that Dioceſs, even as had the *Comes Rei Privatæ*. But as *Honorius* by vindication of his Tributes from theſe Farmers juſtly provided for his Revenue; ſo for the leſſening of his Charge, as his Brother about this very time, he made a Retrenchment of the Attendants upon the two great Officers of his Receits. Many Perſons belonging to ſeveral Bodies, to the *Curiæ*, or Courts of Corporations, and to the Officers of the Governors of Provinces, had crept into the Number of theſe Palatine Attendants. He orders therefore *Meſſala* " to cauſe them to be drawn back to their ſeveral Charges, allowing to *Longianus* " the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum* five Hundred and forty ſix; and to the *Comes* " *Rei Privatæ* three Hundred, his Office conſiſting but of four, whereas that " of the other had ten *Scrinia* belonging to him. Thoſe that were over and " above theſe Numbers, he commands to be inrolled, with their Names and Coun- " tries added, that ſo they may, with the more eaſe be known and demand- " ed back to their ſeveral Charges, if the Parties concerned can challenge them; " and the reſt taken for *Supernumeraries* to ſucceed if fit, into ſuch places as ſhall " happen to be void. Withal he inflicts a ſevere Puniſhment upon the Adjutors " of the *Palatine* Office; if they ſuffer any more to be admitted (as out of Cove- " tuouſneſs they were wont to do) even no leſs than Baniſhment and the Con- " fiſcation of their whole Eſtates; for their work it was to look to the " Regiſtres, or the Books of Entries. Such as are not fit for Imployment, he " commands with Paſſeports from the Judges, to be ſent forthwith into their " ſeveral Countries. "

Officers belonging to the two great Treaſurers retrenched.

L. 16. de Palatinis S.L. & R. P. Dat ad Meſſalam 10. Cal. Jan. & L. 17. ejuſd. tit. Dat ad Longianum Com. S. L. Ab ſunt a Cod. Th. inter ſe coaſſandæ et ſi ad diverſos Magiſtatus datæ pro ratione ſubrictæ materiæ.

Stilicho at length Conſul.

103. Being now arrived at the CCCC Year of our Lord, and inquiring for Conſuls, at length we finde one whom we have had cauſe long to look for; *viz. Stilicho*, the *Comes* and *Magiſter Utriuſq; Militiæ*, as the Inſcriptions of the Laws ſtile him, the Father in Law of ***Honorius***, and the great Director of the Weſt. Why he ſhould not all this while have been adorned with the greateſt Dignity of which a Subject was capable, might well be the wonderment of all Perſons that conſidered the great Power he was in; and his great admirer, or Flatterer, *Claudian*, makes all the World aſtoniſhed at it, and ſo ſollicitous it ſhould be done, that he ingeniouſly, after his Poetick manner, makes ſeveral of the Provinces undertake a Journey to their Lady and Miſtreſs ***Rome***, and with her expoſtulate, that their Expectations had been ſo long delayed. They all lay open to her his Merits. * *Spain* acknowledges he had done for her whatever ſhe had deſired, only envied her his own Honours. She complains that as he deſpiſed the Conſulſhip in the time of *Theodoſius* his (Adoptive) Father in Law, he now denies to accept it from his Son in Law *Honorius*. Yet wiſhes he would receive the Faſces, if not from the World as it's General, yet from the Court as it's Kinſman. For her part, whatever he thinks, ſhe judges it a matter of no ſmall concernment, that he had been ſo kind and faithful to her *Iberian* Offspring, or the Nephews of *Theodoſius* the elder; that the Purple was ſtill an Honour to the *Spaniſh* Nation; that he would make the Emperor fruitful by the Iſſue of his Daughter *Mary* (wherein the Prophet failed, for ſhe died childleſs) and gave hope that he ſhould be a Grandfather to future Princes. Thus ſpake *Spain* which he introduceth cloathed with golden *Tagus* and having her Haire tied up with the Leaves of Olives. The next he preſents is *Gall* with a Yellow Viſage and her Haire combed back behind her Ears, adorned with a comely Chain or Bracelet and carying two *Gæſa* (a ſort of Weapon uſed by the antient *Galls*) in her Hand, * She briskly demands why he, who alone had for her ſubdued the *Germans* and *Francks*, was not yet to be read of in the *Conſular Faſti*? how it came to paſs that that Book ſhould be ignorant of ſo great a Name, which ought to have been reiterated in it? And asks of her, if the Glory of quieting the Parts about the ***Rhine*** were ſo inconſiderable a thing? * The next to her that appears is our ***Britain***, covered as he ſets her out, with the Skin of ſome *Caledonian* Monſter or ſtrange Beaſt, having her Cheeks painted with a Sword, and the Traine of her Robe of a Sea Colour, reſembling the Tide of the Ocean.

A wonderment why not before.

104. She declares how *Stilicho* had preſerved her when ſhe was about to periſh by the neighbouring Nations. When the *Scot* put all *Jerne*, or *Ireland*, into diſturbance, and the Sea fomed again with theſe Robbers. From his care ſaith ſhe it proceeds that I now ſtand in no fear of the *Scotiſh* Armies; that I tremble not at

** Cuncta mihi ſemper Stilicho quæcunq; popoſci Conceſſit tantumq; ſuos invidit honores.*

** Qui mihi Germanos Solus Francoſq; ſubegit Cur nondum legitur faſtis?*

** Inde Caledonio velata Britannia monſtro Ferro picta genas cujus veſtigia verrit Cærulus, Oceaniq; æſtum mentitur, amictus.*

Me quoq; viciniis pereuntem gentibus inquit Munivit Stilicho, totam cum Scotus Iernen Movit & infeſto ſpumavit remige Tethys. Illius effectum curis ne te la timerem Scotica, ne Pictum tremerem, ne littore toto Proſpicerem dubiis venturum Saxona ventis. vide Claud. in pr. Conſ. Stilichonis a v. 228. ad v. 269.

at the thought of a *Pict*; and not any more, upon Sea Sands, behold the *Saxon* approaching me with doubtful, or uncertain winds. The next is *Africk*, appearing with her Hair ſtately dreſſed with Ears of Corn and Ivory. She hoped, that *Gildo* being once killed, there could have been noe delay uſed as to the Conſulſhip: this ſhe adds. Doth he now alſo refuſe, and ſticks he at joyning the *Faſces* with ſo great a Triumph? He, who has made me forget the dreadful name of the *Moors*? Laſt of all, *Italy* pouring out Wine from a large Branch, and bearing Vines circled about with Ivy, makes this demand, that, if all they were inflamed with a deſire that *Stilicho* ſhould be *Conſul*, they that could only be pleaſed with the fame thereof, than with how much ardour had ſhe reaſon to be incited to enjoy his preſence it ſelf, to bring him to mount the Tribunal, and to open a new and lucky year. The effect of their ſpeeches was, you muſt think, that they prevailed with *Rome* to go her ſelf unto him, and for them all to perſwade him to accept of the Ornaments. Her Arguments to induce him, were, that there was now no fear of the *North*; and that the *Southern* Climate was in great ſilence and repoſe; that the *Moor* was fallen; *Germany* had yielded; and a general peace (in the Weſt) had faſt ſhut up *Janus*; and ſhe deſires him to tell her, whether he thought her not worthy of ſuch a *Conſul*; or eſteemed that Title mean and low, wherewith the very Emperours thought themſelves to be graced? She confeſſes, that by a Prodigy lately riſen in the *Eaſtern* Parts, meaning the Conſulſhip of *Eutropius*, he might be ſomething affrighted; but the rumour thereof, by his good conduct, ſcarcely ever arrived at her ears, and was unknown to *Italy*; but if diſgrace thence did ariſe to the *Faſces*, ſhe preſſeth it as more needful, that he by accepting the Title ſhould obliterate the diſgrace, and reſtore it to its wonted Honour; which he, and none but he could do.

Quænam cauſa moræ? quo me cunctabere curſus Ingenio? nullus Boreæ metus omnis & Auſtri Ora ſilet, cecidit Maurus, Germania ceſſit. Et Janum pax alta ligat. a. v. 284.

——*Nullo ſarciri Conſule damnum Excepto Stilichone poteſt, benè præſcia tempus Mens tua diſtulerat, titulo tunc creſcere poſſes, Nunc per te titulus, Conſul ſuccurre gravatis Conſulibus.*

—*Inſtituit ſublimem Brutus honorem, Aſſeruit Stilicho. plus eſt ſervaſſe repertum Quam quæſiſſe novum.* Vide a. v. 315. ad v. 327.

105. No doubt ſhe prevailed: But by this Poetical Flattery we are ſufficiently informed, that *Stilicho* all this while had refuſed the Conſulſhip, which he might eaſily have attain'd, and that now his modeſty being overcom, he pretended to accept of it, becauſe all places under his care were in quiet and repoſe. Hereby he might be thought to have been ſo generouſly modeſt, as having the care of the Provinces upon him, to have been averſe to this Honour, while they laboured under Calamities, to have ſympathized with them, and not to have added the Conſular Triumph, but to a complete and univerſal Victory, which the Poet inſinuates to have happened at this time. But to leave him a little at *Rome* (whither he went to take Ornaments) exceedingly admired, and careſſed by the Senate and People in all reſpects wherein they could ſhew their zeal; at *Conſtantinople* we find *Aurelianus* joyned with him in the Conſulſhip. And what ever repoſe and quiet the Weſtern Empire was in at the preſent, to be ſure matters went far otherwiſe in the Eaſt, by means of *Gaines* and his *Goths*. For he who now appeared to all Men to deſign Innovations, yet thought he was not diſcovered, and having *Tribigild* at his diſpoſal, which his power and authority effected for him, he made peace with the Emperour in his name; and faith being given and received on both ſides, he returned by the way of *Phrygia* and *Lydia*. *Tribigild* followed him at his back, leading his Men through the upper *Lydia*, ſo as he never came in view of *Sardis*, the Metropolis of the Country. But afterwards they joynod at *Thyatira*; and then *Tribigild* repented, that he had not deſtroyed *Sardis*, a City which being deſtitute of all defence, might moſt eaſily be taken: he reſolved then with *Gaines* to go back, and to become Maſter of it; and this deſign they had executed, but that ſo great Rains had lately fallen, that great innundations happened, and the Rivers were ſo ſwoln and troubleſome, that it hindered their Expedition. Hereupon they parted aſunder, *Gaines* taking his way for *Bithynia*, and *Tribigild* toward the *Helleſpont*; and what ever was in their way they yielded up to be rifled by the *Barbarians*. The one being come as far as *Chalcedon*, and the other ſeiſing upon the Country near *Lampſacus*; *Conſtantinople*, and not it alone, but the *Roman* Empire, ſeemed to be in manifeſt danger. *Gaines* was now become ſo inſolent, that he required that the Emperour himſelf ſhould give him a meeting, refuſing of a Treaty with any elſe.

Aurelianus joyned in the Conſulſhip with him.

A. D. 400. *Stilichone & Aureliano Coſſ.*

Zoſimus, lib. 5. p. 794.

Gaines and *Tribigild* both waſte the Provinces.

106. *Arcadius* did not refuſe him, and they met in a place before *Chalcedon*, ſacred to the memory of *Euphemia*, the Chriſtian Martyr, where it was agreed, that *Gaines* and *Tribigild* ſhould paſs out of *Aſia* into *Europe*, and that the moſt eminent Men that were in the State ſhould be given up into their Hands to be put to death. Theſe were *Aurelianus*, the Conſul of this Year, *Saturninus*, a Man of *Conſular* Dignity, and *John*, who was Secretary unto the Emperour, and as our Writer tells you, as moſt reported, was the true Father of his Son. To this tyrannical

After a ſawcy Conference had with the Emperour.

Gaines comes to *Conſtantinople*.

Which he endeavours to take by force.

rannical Demand *Arcadius* aſſented, and they were accordingly delivered up into his Hands, whom, having received, he cauſed the Sword only to touch their Skins, and ſatisfied himſelf with driving them into Baniſhment. And he paſſed over into *Europe*, and commanding *Tribigild* to follow him, left *Aſia*, to take a little Breath. He himſelf making his Abode at *Conſtantinople*, diſperſed thence the Soldiers that formerly lay in Garriſon; ſo that he left the City naked, even of the Palatine Guards. His Followers, the *Barbarians*, he had ordered, that when they ſaw the City clear of them, they ſhould upon a ſignal given, ſeiſe upon it, and deliver all in it into his power; whereupon he left the Town, pretending he was unhealthy, and that he muſt betake himſelf into a place and condition free from care and trouble; and leaving there his Soldiers, he removed about forty Furlongs from the City, whence he expected to hear of ſome Commotions very ſhortly, that he might invade it. Neither had his Deſign failed him, but that driven headlong by a barbarous fury, he anticipated his time. Without any ſignal given, he brought his Men to the Walls; at the ſight whereof the Watch being affrighted, gave notice to the Inhabitants, and ſuch Lamentations and Tumults followed as are wont to be in ſtormed Towns, till they united themſelves, and joyntly ſet upon the *Barbarians* that were in the City; whom having diſpatched with Swords and Stones, and any thing elſe that came to hands, they retired to the Walls, and thence with ſuch miſſile Weapons as they had, ſo diſtreſſed *Gaines* and his Men, as to hinder them from breaking into the City.

Fruſtrated of that, and of ſpoiling *Thrace*, he reſolves to return into *Aſia*.

Fraintus made General againſt him.

107. The City being, after this manner, ſecured, the Inhabitants intercepted more than ſeven thouſand of the *Barbarians*, who return'd to a Church of the Chriſtians, not far from the Palace, as to a Sanctuary; but there the Emperour commanded them to be put to death, thinking it not fit they ſhould eſcape the puniſhment they had deſerved, by any privilege thereof. Such order he gave, but none there was that durſt adventure to fall upon them, or draw them out, fearing they would make head againſt them, and defend themſelves. Thereupon it was reſolved, that the Roof which lay above the Altar ſhould be uncovered, that the Soldiers might thence caſt fire down upon them; and deſtroy them by that means; and by that means they did indeed deſtroy them, but to ſuch as were zealous Chriſtians, a great piacular crime ſeemed to be perpetrated in the midſt of the City. However, *Gaines* being defeated in his purpoſe, now raiſed open War againſt the State; and falling down into the Country of *Thrace*, found the Towns both fenced with Walls, and defended by the Magiſtrates and Inhabitants, who being ſufficiently taught experience by former incurſions, had put themſelves into a poſture; and now made Sallies out againſt him, having firſt got all things that were of any value within their Walls, whether Fruits, Cattel, or other ſorts of Proviſions; ſo that finding there nothing but Graſs, he reſolved to leave *Thrace*, to march into the *Cherroneſus*, and through the Straits of the *Helleſpont* to return into *Aſia*. While he was in hand with his fruſtrated deſigns, the Emperour and Senate made choice of one *Fraintus* to manage the War againſt him, a *Barbarian* alſo by birth, but in other reſpects a *Greek*; not only in his Diſpoſition and Manners, but alſo in his Choice, Affections and Religion. To him, who was already famous for many Commands, and had freed all the *Eaſt* as far as from *Cilicia* to *Phænice* and *Paleſtine*, from Thieves and Robbers, they committed the Army; which having received, he oppoſed himſelf to *Gaines* to hinder his paſſage over into *Aſia*.

108. *Gaines* perceiving he was matcht, exerciſed his Men, and prepared them for a Battel, and *Fraintus* in the mean time was not idle; but reſtoring the ancient Diſcipline of the Camp, ſo inured his Soldiers to labour and diligence, that they were vexed that the Enemy deferred the Engagement. Their General neither omitted, by night nor by day, to view and obſerve his own Troops, and diſcover as much as he could of the Enemies condition, and he was not negligent as to matters relating to the Fleet. For he had a number of Ships ſufficient for a Fight by Sea, conſiſting of theſe they called *Liburnæ* (or Pinnaces) from a certain Town in *Italy*, where thoſe of that faſhion were firſt built. Theſe Veſſels were full as ſwift as the Gallies of fifty Oars, but not to be compared with *Triremes*. But *Gaines*, having broken through the long Wall, placed his *Barbarians* upon the Shore of *Thrace*; which is higher than the reſt, and confronts theſe places that from *Parius*, extend themſelves to *Lampſacus* as far as *Abydus*, where the Sea is contracted within the Straits. The *Roman* General paſſing with his Ships to and fro about theſe places both night and day, obſerved the Motions of the *Barbarians*. But *Gaines* being diſtreſſed for want of Forage, was impatient of any farther ſtay, and cutting

Who defeats him at Sea.

down Wood in the *Cherroneſus*, fitted the Planks ſo accurately compacted together, that they were in condition to tranſport both Men and Horſe, which he put aboard theſe Veſſels, and at a convenient time committed them to the water; for they could neither bear any Oars, nor admit of the skill and induſtry of Pilots, being framed tumultuouſly, and after a barbarous manner. However, *Gaines* beheld them from the Strand, and imagined the *Romans* would not be able now to grapple with him, of which their General was no whit ignorant; yet conjecturing what his device would come to, commanded his Ships to put off a little from the Shore. But when he beheld the Veſſels of the *Barbarians* carried down by the Stream, he ſet upon the firſt that came in order, and falling foul on her with the Beak of his Pinnace, which was covered and armed with Braſs, after having plyed with Darts thoſe that ſhe carried, eaſily ſunk her; which his Fellows beholding, imitated their Captain; ſo that ſuch as took the Sea, being ſwallowed up of the Waves, ſcarcely any of them eſcaped with his life. *Gaines* ſorely diſtreſſed with his heavy loſs of ſo many Men, and not knowing what courſe to take, removed out of the *Cherroneſus*, and paſſed farther into *Thrace*. *Fraiutus* thought not fit to purſue him at this time, but kept his Army where he then was, contenting himſelf with the Victory that Fortune had given him.

Gaines reſolves to return into his own Country.

But is killed by the *Huns*, according to *Zoſimus*.

109. *Fraiutus* was hereupon accuſed, that he did not proſecute his Enemy as he might have done, but ſuffered both him and the *Barbarians* that were with him to eſcape, being his Countrymen, and deſcended with him from the ſame Original. Hereupon he went to Court, and what was his defence? *Zoſimus* tells you no more than this, that thither he went, as not conſcious of any ſuch crime, but carried himſelf high, and as one that had obtain'd ſo great a Victory, which he openly aſcribed to thoſe Gods which he worſhiped. For he was not aſhamed to confeſs in the hearing of the Emperour, that he worſhiped and ſerved the Gods, according to the cuſtom of his Country, and could not perſwade himſelf in this point to follow the opinion of the vulgar. The Emperour however received him, and deſigned him *Conſul* for the following year. As for *Gaines*, he having loſt a great part of his Army, as was ſaid, haſted with the remainder unto *Iſter*, and finding *Thrace* to be depopulated by former Irruptions, whatever he could meet with remaining, he made prey of it. But fearing he might be purſued by ſome other *Roman* Army, which might eaſily overpower that ſmall Force of *Barbarians* that was left unto him, and ſuſpecting ſuch *Romans* as followed him (for of theſe ſome there were) he cauſed them all to be maſſacred, when they ſuſpected no ſuch thing; and with his Countrymen paſſed the *Iſter* with purpoſe to return to his own Abode, and there to paſs the remainder of his life. But while he thought of it, and was about ſo to do, *Uldes* (or *Huldin*) at that time Prince of the *Huns*, thinking it not ſafe to permit him, having an Army of his own Country Men, to take up and fix upon any Territory beyond that River, and judging he ſhould do a thing very acceptable to the *Roman* Emperour, if he drave him thence; prepared himſelf to give him Battel, and gathering together his Forces, ſet them in order againſt his Army. *Gaines* conſidering that he could not now return to the *Romans*, nor by any other courſe eſcape the violence which *Uldes* was reſolved to offer to him, went and gave Battel to the *Huns*. And they had ſeveral Conflicts, the Soldiers of *Gaines* valiantly demeaning themſelves; but at length, after a great ſlaughter of many others, though he fought with great courage and reſolution, he himſelf was alſo ſlain. *Uldes* the Prince of the *Huns* ſent his Head to *Arcadius*, and for ſo doing, was both courted by Preſents, and received into a League and Society with the *Romans*.

The Narration of *Zoſimus* to be ſupplied and corrected by other Writers.

110. Such is the account *Zoſimus* gives us of this Affair, which is true, as to the Subſtance; but the Circumſtances thereof, as of all his other Relations, are either defective, or big of the prejudice wherewith he was acted, and hurried from that grave indifference and temper, which ought to be in all Hiſtorians. If *John* at this time when he was delivered up into the Hands of *Gaines*, was generally thought the Father of *Arcadius* his Son, the People muſt have been good Prophets that could tell he would have a Son ſo long before; for he was not born till the next year, in the Month of *April*. That *John* and his two Companions generouſly offered themſelves to become a Sacrifice for their Country, and divert the fury of that bloody *Barbarian*, is atteſted by other Writers, and ſome other paſſages are related to have happened at *Conſtantinople*, during the Abode of *Gaines* there. The Man was a *Chriſtian*, but an *Arian* in his opinion; and for himſelf and ſuch like, he deſired of the Emperour that a Church might be aſſigned in the City. The Emperour taking time to adviſe, made the thing known to *John Chryſoſtom*, the Biſhop,

Theodorit. lib. 5. c. 32.

Biſhop, and uſed theſe arguments to move him to conſent that he might have a Church; that he was very powerful, and aimed at the Soveraignty, and there was a kind of neceſſity of pleaſing his fierce and barbarous humour. The Biſhop ſaid it was not fit to admit Blaſphemers to the liberty of prophaning a Church where the Son of God was worſhiped, deſired him not to be afraid of *Gaines*, but to call them two together, and let them debate the matter in his preſence; for he hoped to pacifie him, and to perſwade him not demand that which ought not to be granted. The next day he got them together, and *Gaines* began to move *Arcadius* to the performance of his promiſe: *John* told him the Church was open, and if he pleaſed, he might therein do his Devotions. He replied, that he was of another Sect; and deſired, that he might have another Church alone to himſelf, and thoſe of his own opinion; urging, that he had well deſerved it by his manly Services, performed for the *Romans* in the Field. The Biſhop told him plainly, that his Rewards already exceeded his Merits; for he had the Honour of being a General, and enjoyed the Conſular Dignity: That he ought as well to conſider what he had formerly been, as what he was at preſent; to reflect upon his former Poverty, and compare it with his preſent Abundance; and the Cloaths he formerly had worn, with the habit which now he uſed. He perſwaded him well to weigh theſe things in his mind, and not be ingrateful towards them that had ſo preferred him. With theſe and other words his Mouth was ſtopped, and he had no more to ſay.

John Chryſoſtom the Biſhop, plainly tells *Gaines*, his Reward exceeded his Merit.

111. For others write, that he upbraided him with the Breach of his Oath made to the Emperour's Father, whereby he engaged to be true to the *Roman* Intereſt, to him, and his Sons; and to be obedient to the Laws, which now he went about to break. He ſhewed him, that an Edict had been made by *Theodoſius*, whereby Schiſmaticks were prohibited to hold any Meetings within the City: and he uſed many perſwaſions to *Arcadius*, to maintain what his Father therein had done. But however this ſtopped his mouth for the preſent, and the Biſhop got the better as to the Church; *Gaines* conſulted how to break his Oath, and deſtroy the City: at what time a Comet of a great Magnitude appeared over it, and ſeemed to predict the danger it was in, by its unuſual Magnitude, ſtreaming forth almoſt to the ground, and making ſuch a terrible ſight as formerly was thought not to have been ſeen. He firſt attempted to ſeiſe upon the Wealth of the Bankers, and thence raiſe a great Sum of Money; but his Deſign was ſome way diſcovered; and they hid their Gold, and no longer expoſed it to view upon their Tables: whereupon he ſent a Party of *Barbarians* by night to fire the Palace. They, when they came thither, were ſtruck with ſuch a fear, that they returned without any performance, affirming they had ſeen a vaſt number of armed Men, terrible to behold, for the vaſtneſs of their Bodies, and they concluded it was an Army verily brought into the City. But he knowing there was no ſuch Army to be come by, gave them no credit; and the next night after ſent others, who relating the ſame thing, he went himſelf, and was a Spectator of the ſight; at which he concluded, that there was indeed a number of Men which guarded the Court in the night time, and in the day concealed themſelves. He counterfeited himſelf to be vexed by a Spirit, and as intending therein to pray, ſeiſed on a Church built by the late *Theodoſius* to the Honour of *John Baptiſt*, in the *Hebdomus*, ſeven Miles from the City. Of the *Barbarians*, ſome continued in *Conſtantinople*, others went out with him, and privily conveyed out their Weapons in Waggons wont to be uſed by Women, which, when the Watch diſcovered, they endeavoured to hinder; but the *Barbarians* fell on them, and put them to the Sword. Immediately the whole City was in an uproar, death ſeeming now to ſtand at every Man's Door; yet it continued ſafe, the Gates being once ſhut, and well fortified. The Emperour in the nick of time proclaimed *Gaines* Traitor, and commanded, that the *Barbarians* which were left within the Walls ſhould be ſlain. The Soldiers accordingly fell to work with them, aud killed moſt; and they burnt the Church of the *Goths*, wherein they that were aſſembled periſhed by fire, the Gates being ſo faſt ſhut upon them, that they had no way to eſcape.

Sozomen lib. 8. c. 4.

And hinders his having a Church for him and his *Arians*.

He attempts to ſeiſe on *Conſtantinople* in vain.

112. *Gaines* hearing that his Complices, he had left behind him in the City, were put to the Sword; and perceiving, that his treacherous Deſign was come to nothing, left his hypocritical Prayers, and got him to the Coaſts of *Thrace*, where he filled the Country with Fire and Slaughters. One writes now, that *Chryſoſtom*, the Biſhop, was prevailed with to go and perſwade him to deſiſt from theſe bloody courſes; and how *Gaines* met him at a good diſtance, notwithſtanding their former diſagreement, kiſſed his hands, and made his Children embrace his Knees; but

Theodoret. l. 5. c. 33.

but what became of this Meſſage, he ſaith not. Whether he was ſent at this very time or not, it is evident enough, that he took ſome Journey to procure, if he could, the relief of the oppreſſed, and poſſibly the releaſe of *Aurelian*, the Conſul, and *Saturninus* from Baniſhment; for ſo much he expreſſeth himſelf in a certain Homily, the Title whereof is, *The Homily of S.* John Chryſoſtom, *when* Saturninus *and* Aurelianus *were driven into exile, and* Gaines *had left the City*. Therein he tells his Auditory, That he had been ſilent a long time, but not through idleneſs, or any fault of his own; but he had been abroad, compoſing Tumults, and laying ſuch Storms as had riſen; and endeavouring to bring into the Haven ſuch as were cruelly toſſed, and endangered by Tempeſts. This being done, he was now returned to them who continued in ſafe harbour, or ran their courſe in great tranquility. To them he went to lay the Storm; and he was now return'd, that they at home might have no ſuch Tempeſt ariſe. “ However, *Gaines* being come into the *Cherroneſus*, as *Socrates* writes, reſolved to paſs thence over to *Lampſacus*, to reduce the Eaſtern Parts under his power. But the Emperour having ſent away Forces to oppoſe him both by Sea and by Land, a miraculous thing happened by God's providence. For, the *Barbarians*, wanting Ships, made uſe of Boats they made for the purpoſe; and in them they attempted to paſs over, juſt as the *Roman* Fleet happened to come by. The wind blew very hard, and the *Romans* eaſily paſſed over; but the greateſt part of the *Barbarians* was drowned, together with their Horſes, being grievouſly diſtreſſed by the Tempeſt; and ſome of the *Romans* alſo, miſcarried. As for *Gaines*, he took another courſe through *Thrace*, and falling amongſt other Forces of the *Romans*, periſhed with thoſe *Barbarians* that were with him. Theſe things *Socrates* having related, refers us to certain Authors, which I wiſh it were as eaſie now to find, as it was to him to mention. He bids us, if we would know accurately the Hiſtory of this War, to read the Poem called *Gainas* of *Euſebius Scholaſticus*; who at the ſame time was the Scholar of *Troilus*, the Shophiſt; and being an eye-witneſs, deſcribed it in four Books, written in Heroick Verſe: a Poem which was in great eſteem, the matter being ſo freſh in memory. After him *Ammonius* the Poet treated of the ſame Argument in Verſe; and in the eleventh Conſulſhip of *Theodoſius junior*, which he bore together with *Fauſtus*, recited it in the preſence of the Emperour, with great applauſe.

Lib.6.c.5.

Books written of this are now loſt.

113. But ſuch is the account we have of this matter from ſuch Writers, as the injury of time hath left unto us. To be ſure, ſo great a Diſturbance there was this year at *Conſtantinople*, and in the *Eaſt*, that we find but two Conſtitutions of *Arcadius* directed to his Officers, whereof the one was at the beginning, and the other at the end of it. The former was a Reſcript directed to *Æmilianus* the *Magiſter Officiorum*, who had moved him in behalf of the *Fabricenſes*, or them that forged Arms at *Antioch*. He tells him, that following his ſuggeſtion, he “ had commanded that all trouble ſhould be removed from their Houſes; that he had written his Sacred Letters concerning this matter to the Illuſtrious, the *Comes*, and *Magiſter Militum* through the *Eaſt*; that the Houſes of the *Fabricenſes* of *Antioch* ſhould be excuſed from lodging any perſons, except he and his Court happened to be there, and not only theirs, but ſuch as belonged to the *Forges* of the other Cities, by which we are to underſtand thoſe of *Damaſcus* in *Phœnicia*, of *Ædeſſa* in *Oſroena*, and of *Irenopolis* in *Cilicia*, which the *Notitia Imperii* ſets under the Diſpoſition of the *Magiſter Officiorum*. “ The other Conſtitution is directed to *Cæſarius* the *Præfectus Prætorio* of the Eaſt; and it is concerning the *Adſeſſors*, or Aſſiſtants of Judges. For ſuch the Judges or Governours of Provinces were wont to have by them, ever ſince the days of *Auguſtus*, who thought fit, that they, being often no Lawyers themſelves, ſhould have thoſe that were learned in the Laws, to aſſiſt and inform them in their buſineſs. Now, as none could ordinarily, and without the eſpecial licenſe of the Prince, be Governours or Judges in his own Province, for fear of ſeditious practiſes, as ſometimes it happened; or for that they might be overſwayed in Judicature by the paſſions of Hatred or Affection: ſo *Peſceninus Niger* formerly ordained, that none ſhould be an *Adſeſſor* in his own Province, and that for the ſame reaſon. But it happening ſometimes, that the Governours being ſent in haſte to the exerciſe of their Juriſdictions, could not procure Lawyers out of another Province, or from *Berytus*, which in the *Eaſt* was the famous Nurſery of them; therefore *Arcadius*, it being indifferently permitted before, gives them leave to have *Aſſeſſors* of the ſame Province, but only for the firſt four Months; which time he thinks ſufficient, wherein to provide themſelves elſewhere.

Arcadius excuſes the Houſes of the *Fabricenſes* from Quarter.

L.8.de Metallis. Cod.Th.Dat. 11. Cal.Feb. Conſtp. & l.4. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. mirè hinc interpolata.

Gives leave, that Perſons of the ſame Province may be *Aſſeſſors* four Months.

L.1.de Aſſeſſoribus domeſtic. & Cancellar. Cod. Th lib. 1. tit.12. Dat.6. Id.Decemb. Abeſt á Cod. Juſt.

Sect. 1.

A. D. 400.

114. The *Quæſtor* of *Honorius* in the Weſt had better leiſure to employ his Pen. Though all things were in repoſe, as *Claudian* tells us, for the Honour of the Conſul *Stilicho*, (which others think they have cauſe not fully to believe, the Barbarous Nations beginning this very year to draw down into the Weſtern Provinces) yet however the late difficulties and fears for the future, required ſuch care and circumſpection, that the Roads and other places throughout the Provinces, were conſtantly full of perſons of employment and quality, who were ſent to provide againſt any Diſaſters that might befal them. Hereupon, as we have already ſeen in the Eaſt, complaints were made about their too free and bold taking up of Quarters, or Lodgings; and the firſt Law made by *Honorius* this Year, at leaſt now extant, was made upon complaint of the Ordinary Judges of the Provinces (as *Preſidents*) that they were juſtled out of their *Prætoria* or publick Houſes, by greater Miniſters; as the Illuſtrious, or others, who had occaſion to travel their ways. This grievance was eſpecially in *Gall*, to the *Præfect* whereof, the Emperour now wrote, commanding him to give notice to all “ ſuch Miniſters, that they abſtained from the *Prætoria* of the Ordinary Judges, “ when they themſelves there reſided:“ otherwiſe permitting publick perſons to make uſe of theſe Houſes which were deſtinated to publick ſervice; for in the Summer time they were in their Circuits or Viſitations; and poſſibly in one Country there might be ſeveral of theſe *Prætoria*. To be ſure, the Houſes belonging to the Emperour's Domain, were ſecured from the *Metatus*, or liberty of Quarter; and, as thoſe he formerly poſſeſſed, ſo by the ſame reaſon, ſuch as of new, fell, or accrued to him by reaſon of forfeiture for Treaſon, or other reſpects. Yet was he forced by an Edict ſent to *Pompeianus*, the *Proconſul* of *Africk*, to protect the Lands which had belonged to *Gildo* and his Complices, and were lately confiſcate and fallen into his hands, by impoſing a Fine of five pounds of Gold upon him that “ ſhould enter upon them with purpoſe to ſtay, or make any Abode therein. “

Honorius preſerves the *Prætoria* for the Governors of Provinces.

L.6.de Metatis, Cod.Th. Dat.16. Cal.Febr. & L.3 Cod.Juſt. eod. tit.

And his own Lands from being entred.

L.7.Cod.Th. ejuſd. tit. Dat.6. Id.Jun. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

115. The condition of the times, wherein there was always cauſe to fear Incurſions from the Barbarous Nations, required, that the Armies ſhould be reinforced, and kept in as good Diſcipline as might be. For this purpoſe *Stilicho* procured a Reſcript to be directed to himſelf for reſtraining the liberty now taken of obtaining the privilege of a *Veterane* Soldier, by thoſe who had no right nor title. *Honorius*, in his Reſcript, declares, That moſt *Veteranes* were ſo made, by vertue of “ Teſtimonials fraudulently got; having, indeed, never been Soldiers: and ſome, “ when but newly entred, in the flower of their Age, went away from their Co- “ lours. To redreſs this miſchief, he commands, that every *Lætus Alamannus* “ (of which we lately ſpoke) wandring *Sarmatian*, Son of a *Veterane* Soldier, or “ obnoxious to ſome Body or Society that belongs to the Legions; be drawn out of “ his Retirement, and imbodied in the Army, notwithſtanding any Teſtimonial ob- “ tained from the *Protectors*, or perſons of any other Dignity. Moreover, that “ ſuch as had received any Miſſion, or been diſcharged from Service, be drawn “ back again to the Camp; and no excuſe be allowed, except it be of Old Age, In- “ firmity of Body, or Wounds. And, becauſe many were found, either before “ their entring into Military Service, or afterwards, before it was duly finiſhed; “ to lie hid under pretence of pious Religion, and to defend themſelves; not ſo “ much by obſervation of Religious Worſhip, as the love of Idleneſs and Sottiſh- “ neſs, covered under the name of Clerks, and buſied in the unlucky Obſequies of “ the Dead: He will have none to enjoy any benefit of ſuch excuſe, except any be “ ſo broken with Age, weak in his Members, or ſmall and deformed in his Sta- “ ture; that he be unworthy the Society of Valiant Men. But he owns at laſt, “ that one, having paſſed through all the Duties belonging to the *Decuriones*, the “ *Primpilarii*, *Collegiati*, and other Companies, may be excuſed from the *Militia* “ of the Camp. “ There was another Cuſtom in the Armies at this time; which, however formerly allowed of, was found to tend to the Diſcouragement of good Soldiers, if to no other worſe effect: and that was, of changing or transferring Men, from one *Numerus*, or Regiment, to another. To obviate this, *Stilicho* procured another Reſcript, directed to him as *Magiſter Militum* in *Gall*; wherein the Emperor declares, That he will not have theſe Tranſlations made, contrary to the “ publick Utility. He will have, therefore, all *Comites* and *Duces*, that have any “ Military Commands, to take notice, that it ſhall be unlawful, not only to make “ ſuch Tranſlation from the *Comitatenſes* and *Palatini*, to other *Numeri*; but alſo, “ from thoſe called *Pſeudo-Comitatenſes*, the *Ripavienſes*, *Caſtriciani*, or the reſt: giving this reaſon; *Becauſe the Augmentation of Honour ought not to proceed from* “ *Ambition, but from Labour and Diligence.* If any tranſgreſs this Command, for “ every Soldier, he ſhall pay a pound of Gold. “

L.12. de Veteranis, Cod.Th. Dat.3.Cal.Febr.

He takes care for reinforcing the Army.

De Lætis conſule Gothofr. nihil.

L.ult. de re militari, Cod.Th. & L.14. Cod. Juſt.eod.tit. Dat.14.Cal. Apr.

116. The

Sect. I.

A. D. 400.

Protectors ſent into the Provinces to bring back Straglers to their Colours.

116. The former Law of *Honorius* did ſo little good for the bringing back of Straglers to their Colours, that the *Protectors* were forced to be ſent down into *Gall*, to make Inquiſition after the Sons of *Veteranes*; thoſe they called *Vagi*, or Wanderers, from one Seat where they were obnoxious to the *Militia*, to another; and thoſe, who, by reaſon of their Original, were tied to the Service. This we find by another Edict, directed, this Summer, to *Vincentius*, the *Præfect* of *Gall*; whereby the Emperor takes care, that thoſe *Protectors*, or *Inſpectors*, be intent upon the buſineſs, about which they were ſent; and offer no injury to the Poſſeſſors of the Lands." But, not only did Soldiers now ſtray from their Stations; but ſo great were the Tumults, Fears and Diſorders of theſe times, that the Inhabitants, and ſuch as were imbodied into Cities, Towns and Boroughs, ran away from their Houſes and Charges; to the great diſparagement, and loſs of the places where they once lived. Some betook themſelves to a Country Life; living ſecretly, and out of the way, in the Services, and Tillage of Great Men: Others were content to become a ſort of Villains; and to marry the Slaves of thoſe, in whoſe Grounds they could hide themſelves: And ſome wandered up and down, they knew not well whither. What the reaſon of this great and extravagant diſorder ſhould be in particular, we cannot well gueſs: Some attribute it to the Injuſtice and Oppreſſion of Lords and Corporations; who treated theſe men ſo ill, as to force them to run away. But, when ever the Ruin of a Nation draws near, Vice abounds, and the minds of Men are poſſeſſed with Giddineſs and Extravagancy; betraying it ſelf, ſometimes in one Symptome, otherwhiles in another. The Emperor, informed hereof, took notice of what tended to the diſgrace of the Government, in a large Conſtitution, directed, alſo, to *Vincentius*, the *Præfect* of *Gall*; whereby he commands, That where ever they can be found; ſuch perſons be brought back, without the admiſſion of any excuſe. As for their Sons that were born before forty Years, he will not have them medled with: But ſuch as they had begot within that time, ſhall be divided betwixt the Lords, whoſe She-Slaves or Villains they had married, and the Bodies or Companies (called *Collegia*) which they had deſerted; and to which, now, they were to be drawn back."

L.10. de Deſertoribus, Cod. Th. Dat.16. Cal. Jun.

Inhabitants of Towns alſo recalled.

L.L. 1,2,3. De his qui conditionem propriam reliquerunt. Cod. Th. lib.12. tit.18. Dat.3. Cal. Jul. Abſunt a Cod. Juſt.

117. Where the publick Benefit was concerned, he would allow of no ſuch Preſcription; but thought fit to admit of ſome temper in matters relating to himſelf or private Men: So that if any pretended to be a Villain, or perpetual Servant; had been in the nature of a *Curialis*, a *Collegiate*, or *Burgarius*, for thirty years; though the Domain of the Prince, or any private Perſon, challenged him, their Claim ſhould be extinguiſhed. And becauſe often it happened that the Members of Bodies or Companies ran away by Connivence of the Chief Officers, he ſtrictly charges the *Primates* and *Defenſores* to look that none eſcape; impoſing Baniſhment upon ſuch as ſhould, out of favour, connive at ſuch Eſcapes." Further, to put a ſtop to the boldneſs of Villains in running from their Lords; he ordains, That ſuch Lords as were *Bonæ fidei poſſeſſores*, ſhould have the benefit of the *Interdictum Utrubi*, for reſtoring ſuch a Fugitive immediately into his poſſeſſion, and the Title to be proved afterwards; as was uſually, in caſe of Forcible Entries, or things taken away by violence." At this time one *Mæcilianus* arrived at Court; being ſent on a Meſſage out of *Africk*, to procure a Redreſs of certain Grievances. What they were we may well underſtand from the Conſtitution of Redreſs it ſelf, which he carried back to *Pompeianus* the *Proconſul*; divided now according to the ſeveral matters, into ſeveral Laws, and under divers Titles. One thing he had in Commiſſion to complain of, was, That the Sons of *Pagan* Prieſts were compelled to ſucceed their Fathers in that troubleſome and ſuperſtitious Employment; which the Emperor, in his Anſwer, judges unreaſonable, and prohibits. He complained alſo of the great oppreſſion of the poor Provincials in reference to Tributes; which happened through the iniquity of the Officers partly, and partly through the Inequallity of the Diſtribution; the richer Men going ſcotfree, when the Poor were haraſſed with Payments. Particularly, there were very wealthy perſons, that had vaſt Summs of Money at Intereſt, and great Incomes thereby, and paid nothing for them: In Anſwer to which, *Honorius* returns, That it is fit that all Negotiators or Traffickers pay that Contribution called *Luſtralis Penſio*, or *Collatio*; and not only thoſe who exerciſe Commerce in Cities and Territories, but thoſe alſo, who have daily Incomes by the way of Uſury. Eſteeming that with Money to be as much Traffick and Commerce, even as the ordinary way of Merchandizes."

L. un. Utrumvi, Cod. Th. lib.4. tit.23. & L.14. de Agricolis, &c. Cod. Juſt.

Mæcilianus brings ſeveral Complaints out of *Africk*.

L.166. de Decurionibus, Cod. Th. Dat. prid. Cal. Jul. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

Which *Honorius* endeavours to ſatisfie.

Verum etiam qui ſtudentes fœnori, creſcentis in dies ſingulos pecuniæ acceſſione lætantur. L.18. de Luſtrali collatione, Cod. Th.

118. Another thing, as to the inequality of burthens was complained of: Which was, that the *Veterane*, or *Emerite* Soldiers, coming into poſſeſſion of Lands that were

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were ſubject and liable to the *Cenſus*, pretended an Immunity due to them; and avoided the Charge. This he alſo diſapproves of; and commands, that they be compelled to make due Payment as ſoon as they come to ſuch Lands. But the Provincials were miſerably abuſed by the *Suſceptors*, *Tabularii* and *Compulſors*, Officers employed in the receiving and exacting of the Revenue; who, being in *Africk*, removed from the Emperor's eye, beyond the Seas, took the greater liberty to play the Knaves. They had got a trick, not to accept of the *Apochæ*, or Acquittances, which had been given at the payment of the Tax: And that they might the better bear down thoſe that produced them, were wont to ſend ſuch as wrote them out of the way. For Redreſs of this, the Emperor commands, That the Clerks that write “ the *Apochæ*, or Diſcharges, be not changed for one Year; that ſo they may be “ ready to own their Hands; except they be found to be faulty. Then, he will “ have every four Months Breives to be ſent, with the Acquittances, to the *Tabularii*; “ that they may be compared together, to ſee whether the Receits do anſwer “ the Tax-Books, aud the ſame Payment may not be exacted twice. And, in caſe “ any *Suſceptor*, or *Tabularius*, be convicted of Fraud by any Poſſeſſor of Lands; he “ forbids that he be ever again admitted to the Employment, though he produce a “ Reſcript clandeſtinely obtained. In like manner, if a *Compulſor* be found to oppreſs “ the people, by compelling them to pay more than their due; he commands, “ that the ſeverity of the Laws be executed upon him: But this not having the due “ effect, twelve Years after he ordained by another Law, on purpoſe directed to “ the *Proconſul*, that this ſort of Officer ſhould be quite baniſhed out of the Provinces “ of *Africk*. “ *Anaſtaſius* the Emperor, afterward, ſo far admitted of *Compulſors*, as to have them execute their Office, not upon the Provincials, but the Judges themſelves, and their Officers: but *Juſtinian*, at length, took them quite away. As to *Honorius*, he further ordained, That none of the *Numerarii*, *Tabularii*, *Actuaries*, “ or ſuch as were employed in gathering the Revenue, ſhould be admitted “ the ſecond time to be Principals of the Office, under pain of Deportation; leſt “ they ſhould too much improve their Skill and Experience for their own Advantages. “

L.28. de Annona & Tributis, Cod.Th.

Officers in the Collection of the Revenue, reſtrained from oppreſſing the people.

L.27. de Suſceptoribus, &c. Cod.Th.

L.L.3,4.de Concuſſion. Advocatorum, &c. Cod. Th.lib.8.tit.10.

L.2.Ad Legem Juliam de Ambitu, Cod.Th.lib. 9.tit.26.

119. He continued at *Milan* till toward *Auguſt*, and then took a Progreſs to *Ravenna*, *Brixia* and *Aquileia*; wherein he ſpent ſome three Months. At *Ravenna* he granted out an Edict of Indulgence, whereby ſhould be ſet at liberty all per- “ ſons that were baniſhed, condemned to the Iſlands, or to the Mines; ſo as they “ might freely return to their own homes, Contumacious Perſons excepted, who “ had not obeyed the Sentences of the Judges, but refuſed to go to the places to “ which they were confined. Thus kind was he to theſe Criminals, whether out “ of reſpect to filling his Army, or the Companies of Cities and Corporations, by “ his Edict directed to *Romulus* as *Præfectus Prætorio*. “ From *Brixia* he ſent Directions to *Flavianus*, the *Præfect* of *Rome*, concerning Appeals in Criminal Cauſes from the *Vicar* of the City; That in matters of Conſequence, they ſhould be as “ formerly, to the Prince himſelf; but in ſmaller, or rather, pretended Crimes, “ to the *Præfect*. “ Lying at *Aquileia*, he determined a matter of Precedence; of which there was a kind of doubt and controverſie betwixt thoſe who had executed the Office of *Conſularis*, and the *Comites*, which belonged to the Tributes and Treaſuries throughout the Dioceſſes of *Italy* and *Gall*: For every Dioceſs had a *Comes Largitionum* of their own; and they were all ſubject, and to anſwer to the great Treaſurer, the Illuſtrious *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum*, they themſelves being but of the Degree of *Perfectiſſimus*. In like manner, as there were the Special *Comites Largitionum*; ſo there were Special, or Under *Comites Rei Privatæ*. Now, the Emperor determines the point in favour of the *Conſulares*; giving them prece- “ dence before all ſuch *Comites Italicianorum*, and *Gallicianorum*, as he calls them; “ and with good reaſon alledged: *For*, ſaith he, *its no ſmall Title of Merits, to rule* “ *and govern Provinces.* “ Ordinary Power, with Juriſdiction, though the Province ſubject, of leſſer extent, was more honourable than an Undercharge about the Revenue, though diffuſed to a larger Compaſs. But now we are ſpeaking of the Revenue, a conſiderable Accident happened as to it, about this very time. Formerly the Houſes and Grounds lying in Cities were not ordinarily, nor in courſe, ſubject to any Tax or Collation. But now, urged by the neceſſity of Affairs, *Honorius* thought fit to ſubject them to an extraordinary Impoſition; but with a diſtinction betwixt thoſe that were but of little Income, and them that were of larger Rent. The later, he commands, ſhall pay one Years value in three; and the other to go ſcotfree, being free from all Tax and Incumbrance.

An Act of Indulgence to Priſoners.

L.10.de Indulg. criminum, Cod. Th.Dat.8.Id. Aug. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt. ut temporaria.

L.61. de Appellationibus, Cod. Th.Dat.14.Cal. Septemb. Abeſt a Cod.Juſt.

Ab his ſunt diverſi Præfecti vel Præpoſiti Theſaurorum de quibus Notitia Imperii agit.

Precedence determined betwixt *Conſulares* and Treaſurers of Dioceſſes.

L. un. de Conſularibus & Præſidibus. Cod.Th. lib.4.tit.19. Dat.3. Cal.Oct. ad Meſſalam, P.P. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

Houſes and Grounds in Cities ſubjected to Taxes.

Unius Anni, hoc eſt tertiæ Indictionis.

And with good reaſon.

120. And great reaſon and equity there was for this: that, in the diſtreſs of the

State eſpecially, and the dangers of the Commonwealth, wherein they were as much concerned as any, the Poſſeſſions of Cities ſhould contribute toward the publick Charge as well as the others lying in the Country; they bringing in as much profit, and being managed with leſs Charge. Such were the *Horrea*, or Store-houſes, wherein the *Romans* were wont to lay up their Merchandiſe; as Corn, Wine, and other Proviſions; and let them out to great advantage. And ſo they did their private Baths; their Shops, in which was great Trade driven; their dwelling Houſes; their *Cænacula*, or Buildings, raiſed on purpoſe for Entertainment; and their Salt-pits. All theſe he ſubjects to this Payment in all Cities, *Rome* excepted; " which terming by the Title of *Urbs Æternabilis*, he confeſſeth, that the reverence " of her Majeſty doth excuſe. Neither will he have the *Mancipes* of the Baths or " Salt-pits, which ſerved for the uſe of the *Roman* People, ſubject to this Payment; " as being obnoxious to the finding of Wood, and other Dues: Nor ſuch as farmed " Salt-pits; who were bound to pay, after the uſual manner, other Taxes for " what they held." From what he ordains concerning the third Year, it is probable that the Leaſes of private Houſes, as well as of publick, were, in this Age, uſually let for no more than three Years: But, the great Expenſe of War, and providing againſt the continually feared Inroads of the Barbarous Nations, put *Honorius* upon more than ordinary Courſes of raiſing Money; and alſo, upon quickening the Payment of it: in which ſome were ſo backward, that they would neglect to pay their Tributes for above a Twelve-month together. He ordered at the latter end of the Year, *Salvinus*, his *Comes Rei Privatæ*, to exact what was due from rich Men, and ſuch as were able to pay: and beſides that, fourfold of the Value, as " a Mulct. The meaner ſort, having ſome excuſe for their Poverty, he ſubjects " not to the ſame Cenſure; though he ſaith, they deſerved to pay one half for their " backwardneſs." The *Curſus Publicus* being again out of order, by ſeveral Laws he now endeavoured to reform it. Some without Licence would make uſe of it, whom, " he commands the ordinary Judge, to fine a pound of Gold for every *Paraveredus* " and *Parangaria* ſo uſed; threatning the *Curators*, or *Defenſors*, and the *Principals* of " Cities, if ſuch were not apprehended, and ſent to the Judges; who, if they neglected to proſecute them, they and their Offices ſhould incurr forfeiture of the " double value." Proviſions for Cattel were ſo dear, that ſuch Beaſts as ſerved in " the *Curſus* were almoſt ſtarved; and the Country-man, that found them not in *Specie*, but in Money, was much oppreſſed in the Contribution. This Inconvenience he alſo commanded *Meſſala* to redreſs."

Rome yet excepted.

L. 3. de Collatione donatarum, Cod. Th. lib. 11. tit. 20. Dat. 3. Non. Octobr. ad Hadrianum, P.P.

L. 27. de Annonis & Tributis, Cod. Th. Dat. Id. Nov. Rav.

The *Curſus Publicus* regulated.

L. 59. de Curſu publico, Cod Th. Dat. ad Meſſalam. P.P. 15. Cal. Dec. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

L. 60. ejuſd. tit. & L. 18. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit.

121. *Vicars* of Dioceſſes had been prohibited by ſeveral Laws to take upon them to grant Licenſes for the uſe of the *Curſus*, except the Neceſſities of the State required it. But now, *Macrobius*, the *Vicar* of *Spain*, made bold to break the Rule; and for that, had a Mulct impoſed upon him for his Temerity: Which, that others might avoid, the Emperor commands *Vincentius*, the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Gall*, " and Succeſſor of *Theodorus*, to give warning to all the *Vicars* of his Diſtrict." And now, being ſtill called upon to reform the Officers of the Revenue, who had leaſt need to vex and haraſs the poor Provincials at this time, which required more than ordinary Supplies; as he had ordered *Meſſala*, to ſee that the *Mancipes* which belonged to the *Curſus Publicus*, ſhould not vex them, by exacting more Money than was needful, under pretence, that Provender was dearer than before: So he gave him Command to control the *Diſcuſſors* and *Apparitors* in a courſe they took, to make prey of them, by requiring a ſight of ſuch Acquittances as they had loſt, or at preſent could not be found; and for want of producing them, come upon them again; and make them pay the Summ the ſecond time: a thing ſometimes done alſo by the Governors of Provinces; who pretended ignorance of what was paid during the Adminiſtration of their Predeceſſors. Now, for as much as when an Acquittance was received, it was to be brought to the *Tabularius*; who was to enter it into the Books of Accounts, and to croſs the Books of the Taxes; *Honorius* declares, That if it appear from the Books that the Money was ſo paid, it ſhall be " enough, though the Acquittance it ſelf cannot be produced." Another Greivance was, that ſuch of the *Decuriones*, or of other Bodies, as hired publick Grounds or Houſes, having formerly belonged to the Temples; or which appertained to the *Res Privata* of the Prince, or to the Commonwealth; and held them by perpetual Right; were turned out of them by the Officers. He commands, That they " be ſuffered, quietly to poſſeſs and enjoy them, without admitting of new Tenants; " under pain of the *Palatine* Offices, admitting of ſuch Alterations, incurring a " Fine of ten pounds of Gold." But the *Provincials* were injurious and troubleſome, one to another. When a Man was ſued for any Lands or Poſſeſſions, he would pretend,

L. 61. ejuſd. tit. Cod. Th. Dat. 5. Id. Dec. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt. ut temporaria.

L. 2. de Diſcuſſoribus, Cod. Th. lib. 11 tit. 26. & L. 2. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Dat. 5. Cal. Dec.

L. 5. de Locatione Fund. juris Emphit. Cod. Th. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

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L.un.de His qui potent nom. in lite prætend. Cod.Th. lib.2. tit: 14. & L.un. Cod. Juſt. eod.tit.

tend, that thoſe Lands belonged to ſome great Perſon ; and ſet up the Title, or Name of this Perſon upon them (as the cuſtom was, for the Owner to have his Title upon his Lands or Houſes ;) thereby to terrifie the Plaintiff, and affright him with thoughts of going to Suit with ſo great an Adverſary. This the Emperor ſo far diſtates, as to inflict Infamy upon any perſon, allowing his Title, or Name, ſo " to be uſed : And beſides a Forfeiture of the thing, commands him that doth it, to " be beaten with the *Plumbatæ*, or Plummets, wherewith Malefactors were wont " to be chaſtiſed. "

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Vincentio & Fravitta, Conſ.

Begging of *Gaines* his Eſtate reſtrained.

L.17.de Bonis Proſcriptorum, Cod.Th.Dat.14. Cal.Febr.

122. The Year CCCCI, of our Lord, had *Vincentius* and *Fravitta* for Conſuls. *Fravitta*, or *Fraiutus*, was made Conſul for the good Service he performed againſt *Gaines* : Who, being declared a publick Enemy, his Eſtate, and thoſe of his partakers, were confiſcated, according to the Cuſtom in ſuch Caſes. And now flocked Petitioners and Beggars, as faſt as Crows about a Carcaſe ; to repreſs the Voracity of whom, *Arcadius* publiſhed an Edict, directed to *Studius*, his *Comes Rei Privatæ* ; whereby he abſolutely prohibited the begging of any Eſtates con- " fiſcated, within two Years from the Confiſcation, or the Deportation of the Par- " ty. One reaſon for this he gives, that he may have time to conſider ; and poſſibly " (as his Nature, he ſaith, is) to mollifie the hard fortune of the condemned perſon " by his Imperial Humanity. Another, that within that term, ſuch Eſtates would " ſeem rather to belong to other Men than to the Prince, the memory of their for- " mer Owners being ſtill freſh ; ſo that he ſhould ſeem to give away what was " ſcarcely his own : an Argument drawn from Modeſty, as the other from Huma- " nity. If any be ſo bold as to ask any Eſtates before two Years be expired, he de- " clares, ſuch Petition ſhall make the thing ungrantable to that perſon. " Whatever delight this brought to diſtreſſed perſons, great joy happened at Court in the beginning of *April*, or the fourth before the *Ides* thereof, when the Empreſs was brought to Bed of a Son ; whom they named after his Grandfather, *Theodoſius*. The ſame Year there happened not much of Action, either in the Eaſtern or Weſtern Parts ; though *Alarich*, having all this while layen in the Bowels of the Empire, haraſſed *Epirus* and *Pannonia* at his pleaſure ; and now, had a longing deſire to be in *Italy*. As *Arcadius* was not much moleſted by fears of Hoſtility, ſo as to diſturb him in the pleaſure he took in his young Son ; ſo, neither did his *Quæſtor* hinder much his Diverſion, by requiring Audience in teference to the ſigning of Edicts or Laws. For we find but two more made by him this Year : whereof, one concerning Immunity from Burthens, granted by him, to ſuch as had been *Proximi* in the *Scrinia*, or *Comites Depoſitionum* ; and now were admitted to be Senators : Whereas the Charges of the Senators were many and great ; as the *Glebalis Collatio*, and other Voluntary Payments upon extraordinary occaſion ; as, after Victory, the Deſtruction of a Tyrant, the Celebration of the *Quinquennalia*, of *Decennalia* of Princes, or the like : He gives Order to *Clearchus*, the *Præfect* of *Conſtantinople*, " That theſe, his *Senators Allecti*, be freed from all Obligations to them ; and only " pay the ſeven *Solidi* yearly ; which were required of the poorer ſort of Senators, " at this time ; though afterward, wholly remitted.

Proximi, and others that were made Senators freed from Burthens.

L.12.de Proximis,&c.Cod.Th. Dat.prid.Id. Septemb.

123. *Honorius* was alſo ſo much at leiſure from War, as to make preparations for it ; which he had reaſon to apprehend. As his Brother at *Conſtantinople*, he continued at *Milan* till the latter end of the Year ; and then went to *Altinum*. At *Milan* he was put in mind of the ſtate and condition of *Africk* ; which, as it had been aſſaulted by Tyrants and Rovers, upon the Borders ; ſo ſtill preſented matter to verrifie the old Proverb, That it always affoarded ſome new thing ; ſome Monſter, ſomething of Diſturbance and Innovation. For repreſſing theſe Diſorders, and maintaining their own Quiet and Repoſe, the *Provincials* were wont to ſupply the Government, as with other things, with Horſes, or Money paid in lieu thereof. It being now again queſtioned, at what Rate an Horſe ſhould be ſet ; *Honorius*, by his Reſcript directed to *Pompeianus*, the *Proconſul*, ſets the price at twenty *Solidi* ; " out of which, ſeven he will have allowed to the Soldiers, for finding themſelves " Horſes ; this being an extraordinary Impoſition. And for the ordinary way of " Contribution, he afterwards gave order, that payment ſhould be made according " to the Wealth of the Provinces, or the goodneſs of the Horſes : And that the *Co-* " *mites Stabuli* ſhould receive two *Solidi* for their Fees, and, as had been deſired by " *Gaudentius*, the *Comes* of *Africk*, the Soldiers ſeven Solidi for their Horſes. " There was now diſcovered a Cheat, in that Country frequently committed by the *Suſceptors*, or Receivers of the *Annona*, or Proviſions : who were wont to give theſe Proviſions, or Money, before-hand, as was pretended, to the Soldiers, and take their Acquittances : Whereby it came to paſs, that the Soldier, hving ſpent all together,

Africa ſemper aliquid apportat novi.

Honorius ſets the Rate of Horſes in *Africk*.

L.L.2,3. de Equorum Collatione,Cod.Th. lib.11.tit.17. Abſunt a Cod. Juſt.

Removes a Cheat of the *Suſcepters*.

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L.28. de Suſceptoribus, Cod.Th. Dat.4.Cal.Mar. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

Quickens the Magiſtrates in raiſing the Revenue.

L.11. de Annonis & Tributis, Cod. Juſt.Dat.3. (potius,13.) Cal. Mart.

124. The *Tabularii*, or thoſe that kept the Books of Tributes, of old, were publick Slaves ; which Cuſtom being grown obſolete, the Slaves, or Villains, (*Coloni*) of private perſons, were often, now a days, employed in the Accounts. This was thought very indecent, and againſt the Commonwealth ; and as ſuch, *Honorius* prohibits it ; whether theſe *Tabularii* be made for an whole Province, or a “ particular City : So as, whatever Lord, for the time to come, ſhall, knowingly, “ allow his Slave, or *Colonus*, to be thus employed, ſhall be anſwerable for all the “ Accounts managed by him ; and ſuch Slave or Villain ſhall be confiſcated, or fall “ to the Exchequer. As for what was paſt, he doth not require that the Lords “ ſhould give an Account ; but yet, produce them, and have them forth-coming ; “ that they may be ſubject to Examination by Torture. “ But, the effect of the care which was taken for *Africk* was, or, as it ſeemed, would be, this ; that heavy Complaints ſtill came over, of the burthens ſuſtained by the Inhabitants ; who, in particular, alledged, that they had paid more than was neceſſary in a late extraordinary Tax, for defraying the publick Charge. Once more, to redreſs, or prevent, their Grievances, *Honorius* commands *Pompeianus*, That if there be any Overplus, it “ be allowed at the next ordinary Payment that is to be made. “ And, to quiet their minds, he wrote to the *Provincials* of the *Proconſular* Province themſelves ; as alſo, to thoſe of *Numidia, Byzacena* and *Tripolis* ; aſſuring them, that he had with care “ and circumſpection determined, that nothing more, in an extraordinary way, “ ſhould be put upon them, but what the mere Neceſſities of the Army required : “ And if any thing more ſhould happen, it ſhould be allowed in the next Indiction. “ And as for the finding of Horſes ; they of *Numidia* ſhould pay, inſtead of twenty, “ but eighten *Solidi* for every Horſe that was extraordinarily raiſed for the *Curators*, “ or ſuch as had care of the Borders : and the *Byzaceni* and *Tripolitani* only fifteen ; “ for thoſe of *Numidia* were moſt excellent. Further, whereas they were much vexed, upon ſuch occaſions, by thoſe called *Opinatores* ; who were Soldiers ſent to exact ſuch extraordinary Tributes as were behind, as the *Optiones* exacted from the *Suſceptors* the ordinary or Canonical Payments ; he declares, that they ſhall “ call, and be urgent upon, the Judges and their Officers ; ſo as the Tax be raiſed “ within the ſpace of a Year. In the laſt place, He acknowledges he had found “ that many had oppreſſed them, by preſſing Carriage-Beaſts for *Paraveredi* and “ *Parengariæ* : But, to prevent it, he ordains, that none, for the future, preſume “ to uſe ſuch liberty, but in publick Neceſſities ; and when they are furniſhed with “ ſufficient Licence for ſo doing. “

L.ult. de Tabulariis, Cod.Th. & L.3. Cod. Juſt. eod.tit. Dat.8. Cal. Apr.

Does his utmoſt to ſatisfie his Subjects of *Africk*.

L.1. de Indictionibus, Cod. Th. lib.11.tit.5. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

L.29. de Annona & Tributis, Cod.Th.Dat.pr. Cal.Apr. Abeſt a Cod.Juſt.

L.26. de erogatione militaris Annonæ, Cod.Th. & L.11. Cod. Juſt.eod.tit. vide L.16. de Exactionibus, Cod Th.

L.63. de Curſu publico, Cod.Th. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

125. With ſuch difficulty of Affairs were the Provinces preſſed at this time, that when there was moſt need of Contributions, there was greateſt want of Money. And this cauſed the Emperor to publiſh, not an Order for an extraordinary Tax, but an Act of Grace, or Indulgence, for what was ſtill due of the uſual and ordinary Payment, out of the Diſtrict of *Andromachus*, to whom the Edict is directed ; who, by corruption of the Text, is called *Præfect* of the City ; but muſt have been *Præfectus Prætorio*, and probably, of *Gall*. To him *Honorius* declares, That he “ remits whatever Payments belonged, either to the *Præfects*, or to the *Comes Largitionum*, “ till the Year wherein he himſelf was *Conſul*, or the fifteenth Indiction ; “ which was the CCCLXXXVI Year of our Lord. And, to this purpoſe “ he commands, that the memory of all ſuch Debts, till that time, be utterly aboliſhed “ ; whether remaining in the papers of the *Tabularii* of the Cities (who kept “ the Books of Arrears, as well as of the Payments due ; and publiſhed them every “ four Months, for the Information of the Exactors ; who could not, without their “ ſignification, come upon any that had not paid) or of the Offices of the Judges ; “ or of the *Palatine* Offices belonging to the Higheſt Treaſurer, by whom the ſaid “ Breives “

He is conſtrained to remit Arrears

L.3. de Indulgentiis debitorum, Cod.Th.lib. 11.tit.28. Dat. 7.Cal.Jul. Abeſt a Cod.Juſt. ut temporaria.

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Breives were made authentick; or in the hands of the *Diſcuſſores*, who were ſent " to leavy the Arrears. All theſe Accounts he commands to be burnt. From the " Year of his firſt Conſulſhip, till the Conſulſhip of *Olybrius* and *Probinus*; or that " wherein his Father died, and he came to be Emperor indeed, his pleaſure is, " that the Exaction of all Dues be ſuſpended, till ſuch time as the ordinary Judges " can give an Account in Writing; as well of the condition of the Debtors, as of " the Summ due; that thereupon he may conſider, who, by reaſon of their Indigence, " are fit to be indulged, and who are able to pay their full Dues; which " might ſufficiently appear from the Books of the *Minuſcularii*, who were the Under-Collectors; " and of the *Curiales* themſelves. But, from the Conſulſhip of *Olybrius* " and *Probinus*, or the Ninth Indiction, to the Date of this Law, he will " have the Collection of all Dues to be haſtened; certain Farmers of the Revenue, " and others, excepted. Theſe are ſuch as hired the Cuſtoms of the Havens and " Ports; the *Publicans*, or *Telonarii*, who received Toll in Markets; the *Præpoſiti* " *Theſaurorum*, of which, there were four in *Gall*; the *Præpoſiti* of the *Baphia*, of " which, the *Notitia Imperii* mentions nine in the Weſt; being Work-houſes deſtinated " to the dying of Purple, and two of them in *Gall*: the *Procurators* of the " *Gynæcia*, of which we have already ſpoken; whereof, were ſixteen in the Weſt; " and of theſe, ſix in *Gall*: And the *Procuratores Monetariorum*, or of the Mints; " of which, the *Notitia* mentions ſix in the Weſt, and three of them in *Gall*. To " theſe, with others, whom the *Palatine* Officers, or thoſe belonging to the Treaſurer, " kept in their Books (as the *Præpoſiti* of the *Argentarii*, or Silver-Smiths) he " gives Plenary Indulgence; ſo as if they themſelves at this time be deceaſed, yet " their Heirs ſhall not be moleſted for their pretended Debts.

126. *Honorius* being ſo liberal to remit theſe Arrears, had the more reaſon to take all Legal Advantages for his own Supply. There was one *Marcharidus*, who had been Proſcribed; probably, for having been one of the *Satellites* of *Gildo*, and had left his Goods in the hands of divers perſons; who concealed them. The Emperor wrote to *Bathanarius*, the *Comes* of *Africk*; That ſeeing it had appeared " upon Torture, that there were ſuch concealed Goods; if any Concealer would " within two Months time produce them, he ſhould be pardoned for what was paſt; " otherwiſe, his Eſtate be confiſcated, and he himſelf undergo the pain of Deportation. " To prevent the imbezilling of what belonged to his Domain, he now prohibited " any *Palatine* Officer belonging to the *Comes Rei Privatæ*, either by himſelf " or any other perſon, to farm, or hire, any Poſſeſſions appertaining to it: as by another " Conſtitution, directed alſo to *Neſtorius*, who now bare that Office; It is " forbidden, that they buy any thing belonging to the Domain; as Gold, Silver, " Slaves, or the like. " And, that the Revenue might come in in convenient time, toward the latter end of the Year, he thought fit to quicken up the Vicars of Dioceſſes; on whom (under the *Præfects*) as he ſaith, lay the care of levying the whole Collation; and tranſmitting the Proviſions, either to the publick Granaries, or where the Soldiers had want of them. He commands, That they preſs the Governors " of Provinces to the Diſcharge of their Duties; that every Month they " take diligent account, what, or how much, hath been brought in, or tranſmitted: " And, that they animadvert upon ſuch Governors as are found to be negligent " of their duty. " And, this he ſeems to have enacted, with deſign to reinforce the Authority of *Vicars*; againſt whom the ordinary Judges ſpurned at this time, and contemned them. *Juſtinian*, yet afterward, did not think fit that they ſhould have ſuch an hand over them; and therefore, this Conſtitution is not put into his Code.

On the other he takes care for the preſerving and paying the publick Revenue.

L. 18. de Bonis Proſcriptorum, Cod. Th. Dat. 3. Id. Jul. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

L. 6. de Locat. fund. Juris Emphit. Cod. Th. Dat. 6. Cal. Aug. & L. un. quibus ad Conduct. &c. Cod. Juſt.

L. un de Officio vicarii, Cod. Th. lib. 1. tit. 6. Dat. 3. Cal. Octobr. Altino.

A. D. 402.

Arcadio, & Honorio, A. A. 4. Conſ.

127. For the Year CCCCII the two Emperors, *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, now, the fourth time, were *Conſuls*. *Arcadius* continued at *Conſtantinople*, and *Honorius* at *Ravenna*; which, now, began to be an Imperial Seat; he having, in a manner, left *Milan*, and here fixed his Abode. And, now, the Laws we meet with, preſentus with the Names of three Emperors: for, in the beginning of this Year, and of *January*, did *Arcadius* give the Stile and Dignity of *Auguſtus* to his young Son, *Theodoſius*; born, as we ſaid, the fore-going Year. The times, now, began to be very ill; Clouds to gather, and Tempeſts to hover over the Weſtern Parts; and, amongſt Arms, Laws were put to ſilence, to ſuch a meaſure, that we meet with but two made this Year; or one by each of the Brothers. But, having now got another Colleague, we muſt take notice, that before his promotion, were ſeveral others made by them, now extant: ſome without Date, or Conſulſhip; and others without the Names of the Perſons, to whom they were ſent: Of which,

Arcadius gives the Title of Emperor to his young Son *Theodoſius*.

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The *Coloni* in thoſe days, of the ſame condition with our Villains once in *England*.

L.2. de Apparitoribus Proconſulis, Cod. Juſt. lib.12.tit.56.

L.9.de Cohortalibus, Cod. Juſt. lib.12.tit.38.

L.24. de Excuſat.Tutor.Cod. Juſt.lib.5.tit. 62.

Coloni etiam Vicani dicuntur, in L. 2. de Colonis Illyricanis, Cod. Juſt. lib.11.tit.52. Vicanus & Villanus idem.

L.2. In quibus cauſis Coloni Cenſiti Dominos accuſare poſſint, Cod. Juſt.lib.11 tit.49.

L.3. Qui militare poſſint, Cod Juſt.lib.12.tit. 34.

it will be convenient, only to mention ſuch as are moſt remarkable, and beſt fit our purpoſe. One of theſe allows to *Dominator*, the *Proconſul* of *Africk*, no fewer “ than four hundred *Apparitors*; by which we may ſee the Greatneſs and Splendor “ of that Command. Another, one hundred *Cohortales* to the *Preſidents* of *Illyricum*. “ By another, the *Navicularii* are excuſed from all Tutorſhips, or the Office “ of Guardians; except it be of thoſe of their own Body.“ Another of their Laws gives us to underſtand the condition of the *Coloni Cenſiti*, or Husband-men, paying Rent to their Lords; that they were no better than our Villains, once here in *England*; who had their Name from the *Villa*, or Village, which they tilled; as the *Coloni* alſo theirs, from the tilling of theſe Grounds or Villages. They declare by that Law, that, as thoſe *Coloni* are Free Men in reference to others, to “ whom they owe no Tribute as Subjects: ſo, by reaſon of their obnoxiouſneſs to “ their Lords, they ſeem to be bound by a kind of Slavery. The effect thereof was “ this; That they forbid that ſuch *Coloni* be allowed to ſue their Lords; they, and “ all they have belonging unto them, ſo, as to be alienated and ſold when they pleaſe. “ It had often been formerly reſolved, that ſuch an one, without conſent of his “ Lord, could not alienate his very *Peculium*: and the Laws gave them power of “ acquiring, but not of alienating any Goods. Seeing then, they were not *Sui Juris*, “ and acquired what they got for their Maſters; *Arcadius* thinks it unreaſonable “ in this Edict, directed to *Nebridius*, that they ſhould be permitted to ſue their “ Perſons; yet, if they were over-burthened in their Payments, they had liberty “ to complain. And, in Criminal Cauſes, they might accuſe them, and vindicate “ themſelves; the Publick it ſelf being concerned in ſuch matters. But ſuch Fugitives “ they were at this time, that ſeveral Laws were made for returning them “ to their owners. And the *Magiſtri Militum* were forbidden, as well to recieve “ them into the Army, when Volunteers; as to compel them to the Military Service. “

Arcadius reforms the Abuſe in the Bread given to *Conſtantinople*.

L.L. 13,14. de Annonis Civicis, &c. Cod. Th. Abſ. a Cod. Juſt.

128. *Arcadius* derived an hereditary kindneſs for the City of *Conſtantinople*, from his Father. That *Annona*, or Proviſion of Bread which had been firſt given by *Conſtantine*, *Theodoſius* enlarged, when he raiſed more Buildings, and increaſed the number of Houſes; as we have ſeen from *Themiſtius*. The deſign of them both was, to encourage Inhabitants, and promote the enlargement of it: Yet, as Corruptions ſtill will be breaking in, upon the moſt laudable Conſtitutions; this Bread was transferred upon other perſons than Houſe-keepers: which Inconvenience had been ſeen by *Arcadius* ſix Years before: And he gave order to *Africanus*, the *Præfect*, to ſee, that all that had no Houſes ſhould be deprived of it, except they “ would build within ſix Months. Yet, ſtill, for all this, other ſorts of perſons “ drew it to themſelves; which now cauſed the Emperor to appropriate to himſelf “ the granting of an Intereſt in this Proviſion: And he commands *Clearchus*, the “ preſent *Præfect*, that none be ſuffered to enjoy this privilege, but ſuch as ſhall obtain “ it from himſelf immediately; or elſe, by Grant from the *Præfect* of the City, “ confirmed by his Imperial Authority.“ But we are interrupted. All the diſcourſe at Conſtantinople now was, of *Alarich*, the *Goth*, his quitting of the more Eaſtern Provinces, and drawing down toward the Weſt. He had, now, for a long time, harraſed the Countries of *Epirus* and *Pannonia*, with other Regions: and his Succeſs ſo animated him, that, thinking no Enterprize too great for him to undertake, he thought of no leſs than invading *Italy*; nay, of ſetting upon, and captivating the Lady and Miſtreſs of the World her ſelf. He told his Men, that it would become them, rather to get Kingdoms of their own, than to ſerve in the Dominions of others. That *Italy* was near at hand, a Country, not only, full of Wealth and Spoil; but very fit alſo, wherein to ſettle and inhabit. That he was reſolved to invade it now that it was not at all fortified, or prepared againſt ſuch an Attempt; and not thence to depart, till he had taken and rifled *Rome*: where innumerable Riches, raked out of the whole World, had, throughout ſo many Ages, been hoarded up. They, with a great noiſe, teſtified their Applauſe to what he ſaid; and encouraged him to undertake the Expedition: Which, that he might with more Courage do, they choſe him, not only their General, but their King; and prepared for the intended March.

Alarich reſolved to march for *Italy*.

129. He reſolved to let Summer be paſt before he would ſet forward, that he might make War in *Italy* in Winter time; the rigour of which he & his *Goths* could well endure, as born in cold and remote parts: But he thought it would go very hard with the *Italians*, if forced to be in the Field, and endure the Hardſhips of War in that Seaſon. Having got together a ſufficient Army, conſiſting of *Goths*, *Huns*, *Alans*, and other Bar-

barous Nations, he quitted the lower *Pannonia*, and marched ſtrait into the upper Province, as far as *Noricum*, and the *Alpes*; which he eaſily made himſelf Maſter of; for, thence he drove *Ætius*, who commanded thoſe Paſſages: And underſtanding that *Honorius*, the Emperor, was in *Liguria*, he paſſed through the Foreſt of *Tridentum*, or *Trent*; and toward the end of *Auguſt*, arrived in *Venetia*: Directing his Courſe toward *Addua*, he eaſily ſubdued the Cities of that Quarter. Having paſſed the River by a Bridge, with which he left a ſufficient Power of Men to guard it, he marched for *Liguria*; and haſted to the River *Padus*, to come as ſpeedily as might be, to *Haſta*; where he heard that *Honorius*, at preſent, lay.

He makes for the place where he heard *Honorius* lay.

SECT. II.

The Second Step to the Ruin of the Empire.

From the firſt Invaſion of Italy, *By the* Goths; *to the firſt taking of* Rome *by that Barbarous People.*

Containing the ſpace of eight Years.

Upon the Rumor the people ſiezed with Conſternation.

THE Rumour of the Invaſion of *Italy*, though but yet deſigned, being ſpred abroad; incredible it is, with what Conſternation, the minds of all Men there, were ſiezed; as not accuſtomed to ſuch Attempts. And, as fear is always ingenious, if not to invent, yet to patronize all pretended Omens; all ſtrange things that of late time had happened, were very ſadly rehearſed in diſcourſe, by one Neighbour to another. One talked of ſeveral Monſters newly produced to the view and admiration of the World: and, according to his Ethnick Religion, diſcourſed of the Thunders lately heard, of what the *Sibylline* Propheſies foretold to happen about this time; and what ill luck the Birds by their inauſpicate Voices and Geſtures, did portend. Others, more Philoſophically, argued the Empire to be in extreme danger, from the frequent paſſions of the Moon; which the Vulgar believed to proceed from other Cauſes, than the interpoſition of the Earth betwixt her and the Sun. They related, what ſtrange Hailſtones, of an unuſual bigneſs they had ſeen: told how Bees, at an unſeaſonable time, attempted to ſwarm; and called to mind, how a Comet of extraordinary bigneſs and ſhape had lately appeared. But, above all, the ſtrange ſight of two Wolves moſt affected them: which, when the Emperor was riding abroad, preſented themſelves to his view, and had the courage to ſet upon the Company. Being received upon the points of Spears and Swords, they were eaſily diſpatched; but when their bellies were opened, there appeared two hands of a Man; in one a Right, and in the other a Left; bloody, and with the fingers ſtretched out. This Prodigy they concluded, did threaten *Rome*, the Founder whereof was nouriſhed by a Shee Wolf, though the Poet applies it to the Victory afterward obtained. They now began, he ſaith, to reckon and caſt up the Age of the City; and they cut off part of the time, and anticipated the term of twelve hundred Years predicted by the Augurs. This, indeed, was but the MCLV year of the City; but the term now began to approach; and we ſhall find, that the gueſs happened to be very unlucky. But, whereas *Claudian* ſpeaks, amongſt other ill-boding things, of frequent Eclipſes of the Moon; this Luminary, indeed, this year, was twice eclipſed, *viz.* on the firſt day of *June*, and on the twenty ſixth of *November* following.

Vide Claudian de Bello Getico, a v.227.

Sed malus Interpres rerum metus omne trahebat Augurium pejore via, truncataque membra Nutricemque lupam, Romæ regnoque minari. a v.262. Territat aſſiduus lunæ labor.

The People of *Rhætia* revolt.

2. To the terrors that aroſe from ſuch like things, this real diſadvantage was added; that the people inhabiting *Rhætia*, now, either excited by the *Goths*, or led thereto by their own inclination and hopes, revolted. *Stilicho*, to obviate all theſe miſchiefs,

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miſchiefs, had cauſed the Cities to be well fortified with Walls; Eſpecially *Rome*, of which, is ſtill extant an old Inſcription, in a Stone, erected to the memory of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, *For repairing the Walls, Gates and Towers of the Eternal City, with the Exportation of an Immenſe Quantity of Rubbiſh; from the Suggeſtion of the moſt Famous and Illuſtrious* Stilicho, *Miles & Magiſter utriuſque Militiæ*: This was done by the care of *A. Macrobius Longinianus*, *Præfect* of the City. *Stilicho* alſo took care for reducing the *Rhætians*. But, when *Alarich* was once entred *Italy*, *Rome* ſeemed to the Inhabitants to be already taken: the noiſe and terror flew as far as from *Gades*, to *Brittain*; and theſe, though moſt remote, ſeemed to tremble. The very Itch of Covetouſneſs now ſeemed to abate, when the greater care of the very life and ſubſiſtence it ſelf, was now moſt prevalent. They carried their Wealth Aboard: The Caves in the remoteſt Rocks ſeemed, now, the beſt places of Retirement. *Sicily*, and other Iſlands, they thought of; but *Sicily* was thought to be too near at hand: and, as the Poet expreſſeth it, it wiſhed it ſelf, if Nature would bear it, more remote; and removed as far as into the *Ionian* Sea. In ſumm, ſuch as lived in the more remote parts of *Italy*, thought of flying into *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, *Corſica*, or other places of Retirement, which the *Mediterranean* afforded: And ſuch as dwelt in *Venetia*, and near to the *Adriatick*; if neceſſity ſhould compel them, reſolved to evade the Storm, by betaking themſelves into the little Iſlands of that Gulf. And the very Court of *Honorius* was in no leſs fear and deſparation, when they perceived, that to them the *Barbarian* directed his Courſe; urging and contending, that the ſafeſt place they could fly to, was *Gall*. Indeed, the Event was anſwerable fully, to the horrour that ſiezed on their minds: for, though the *Barbarian*, at his Entrance, received ſome Rebuke; yet *Italy*, which for ſo many Ages had been in Repoſe, and a Terror to all other Countries, from this time, forward, became the Subject of all ſorts of Calamities, and never was at quiet; but, for very many years, afforded Examples of ſtrange and frequent Revolutions, of the Viciſſitude and Inconſtancy of Humane Affairs.

Upon the Entrance of *Alarich* into *Italy*.

They of *Rome* give all for loſt.

Vide apud Baronium ad hunc An. n. 50.

Famaque nigrantes ſuccincta pavoribus alas
Secum cuncta trahens, a Gadibus uſque Britannum.
Terruit Oceanum & noſtro procul axe remotam
Inſolito belli tremefecit murmure Thulen.
a v. 201.
Ipſa etiam diſſiſa brevi Trinacria Ponto
Si rerum natura ſinat diſcedere longe
Optat & Ionium refugo laxare Peloro.

3. The only man that gave any hopes of Comfort, and proved another *Stator* to the *Romans*, was *Stilicho*: who, if you believe *Claudian*, alſo proved both Prophet and Captain, as to their preſervation from this one ſhock, ſo much apprehended. He ſhewed them, by the example of governing a Ship in a Tempeſt, that it was not now time to complain; and, like Women, make a noiſe; with which the Wind and Seas would not at all be appeaſed: but every one was to lay his hand to the Sails, to contribute to the well ſteering and guiding of the Ship, and the emptying out of thoſe Waves it had received thorough Leaks. He told them, there was no ſuch cauſe for deſpair, if, while the *Roman* Forces were employed in *Rhætia*, the *Goths* had perfidiouſly broken into the Country; having learnt their way over the *Alpes* in the late Rebellious times; wherein, indeed, *Alarich* ſerved *Theodoſius* with a Band of his Men, againſt *Eugenius*: And, as the Poet truly obſerves, the diſcord of the *Romans*, gave occaſion to the War with the *Barbarians*. He further encouraged them, by the Fortune and Succeſs, which ever had followed *Italy*, againſt the Attempts of Foreigners; and convinced them, that he, in the capacity he ſtood, of Father, and Father in Law, had as fair a ſtake to loſe as any of them: And, perceiving it was ſo by the Emperor his continuing with them, as it were an Hoſtage of Fate, they were the more ſatisfied. For, *Stilicho*, leaving *Honorius* and his Courtiers, inſtructed how beſt to make their Defence, took his way for *Rhætia*; and paſſing, by Boat, the Lake *Larius*, in the hardeſt Winter went over the Mountains, covered with Snow and Ice: and eaſily, by the awe of his Preſence and Voice, reduced the Revolters to their former Obedience: who, at the ſight of him, were no otherwiſe affected, than a company of Servants are wont to be at their Maſter's returning: Who, imagining him dead, or at a diſtance, were up in all ſorts of Jollity and Divertiſements, and throwing the Houſe out at the Windows. He convinced them what folly it was to take advantage at the War now made by the *Goths*; as if *Rome* had not both Power, and Encouragement enough from former Experience, to ſuppreſs two Enemies at the ſame time. And, he inſtanced in King *Philip*; who, out of vain hope, fell out with the *Romans*, at ſuch time as they were deeply engaged with *Hannibal*; and paid dearly for this Experience, that *Powerful Princes and States are not to be irritated and provoked, though they be in preſent trouble.*

Stilicho appeaſes them.

Solus erat Stilicho qui deſperantibus Augur Sponderet meliore manu: dubiæque ſalutis Dux idem vateſque fuit, &c. a v. 267. *De Bello Getico.*
Non ſi perfidia nacti penetrabile tempus
Irrupere Getæ, noſtras dum Rhætia vires
Occupat, atque alio deſudant marte cohortes,
Idcirco ſpes omnis abit, &c.
——*aditaſque ſequendos*
Barbarico Romana dedit diſcordia bello.

4. Having eaſily brought them off by ſuch perſwaſions, he then ſet himſelf to the raiſing of a convenient Army; which, ſome ſay, amounted to about thirty five thouſand Men. This number ſeemed to him ſufficient, as being much of the ſame opinion with *Alexander*; who, when he might have raiſed out of *Macedonia*, *Illyri-*

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cum and *Greece*, vaſt Forces; never cared for more than forty thouſand: eſteeming a greater number not eaſie to be managed. Thoſe Companies that had lately defended *Rhætia*, preſently came to him; and that Legion was ſent for, which guarded the *Roman* Borders here in *Brittain*, againſt the fierce *Scots* and *Picts*; to which, afterward, were joyned the Troops that guarded the Limits, againſt the yellow *Sicambri*, as he terms them; againſt the *Chatti* and *Cheruſci*. All theſe left their Stations, and the *Rhine* now naked, and void of all Defence, to be guarded by the terrour of the *Roman* Name alone. And, the Poet makes it a thing incredible, almoſt, to Poſterity; that *Germany*, in former times, having ſuch fierce and terrible people, which ſcarcely could be kept in Awe and Order by the Emperors themſelves in Perſon, though applying their whole Force and Induſtry; ſhould now be ſo tame and gentle under the Government of *Stilicho*, as not to make a ſtep over the Limit, whence the Garriſon-Soldiers, who ſerved in the *Prætenturæ*, were removed. But *Stilicho*, with his new Army, returning into *Liguria*; a new vigour, and freſh Colour, returned alſo into the Members and Cities of *Italy*. *Honorius*, in the mean time, while he ſo behaved himſelf in *Rhætia*; ſet himſelf alſo, as well as he could, to make proviſion againſt this furious Invaſion of *Alarich*: and that was, “by impoſing upon ſuch *Honorati* as had obtained their Honours by Privileges, Favour, or Interpoſition of other Men, the finding of *Juniores*, *Tirones*, or new Soldiers. From this Indiction, or Impoſition, he excepts ſuch Perſons as had obtained Honour by their own Labour and Induſtry in diſcharging Offices; not by the way of *Codicils* and Indulgence.”

Venit & extremis Legio prætenta Britannis Qui Scoto dat fræna truci ferroque notatas Perlegit exangues Picto moriente figuras. a v. 416.

Ullanè Poſteritas credat? Germania quondam Illa ferox populis, &c.

L. 15. de Tironibus, Cod. Th. Dat. 3. Id. Decemb. Rav.

Young *Theodoſius* Conſul.

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Theodoſio A. & Rumorido, Conſ.

5. The year CCCCIII had *Theodoſius Auguſtus* and *Rumoridus* for Conſuls. Of the Eaſt and *Arcadius* we hear nothing further this year, than of his adorning his young Son with the Conſulſhip. He was now at eaſe, the great Tempeſt of the Barbarous Nations being diverted upon *Italy*, and the Weſtern Provinces; and yet, though he was at leiſure enough to make Laws, there is not one extant that appears to be his; all of them that the Code now exhibits, bearing Date from *Ravenna*, except one from *Milan*; for, to *Ravenna*, as we formerly ſaid, *Honorius* now tranſlated his Imperial Seat. Yet, when *Stilicho* returned out of *Rhætia*, he is ſaid to have been beſieged in *Haſta*, by *Alarich*; and to that place, probable it is, that he betook himſelf for ſome time, the Scituation and Strength of it inviting him; although the Law, lately mentioned, about the raiſing of Soldiers, at the beginning of *December*, bears date from *Ravenna* alſo. However, from ſuch Intelligence as we have, this we gather; that *Stilicho*, knowing what danger he was in, haſted to his relief with all diligence, at ſuch time as *Alarich*, in the ſeverity of Winter, threatned him with a Siege; hoping, by terrour thereof, to wreſt ſome unequal Conditions out of him. But *Honorius* took Courage, in hopes of Relief, and the coming of his Father in Law: who, when he arrived, found that he was excluded from coming at him by the Enemy; who had ſiezed on the Paſſage and the Bridge, that lay over *Addua*, a great River, which, riſing out of the Lake *Larius*, pours it ſelf, at length, into *Padus*. There was no delay to be uſed in ſo deſperate a condition as now the Emperor was; And, yet, *Stilicho* had no great Force with him, for haſte, having left his Army, and adventured back with a few Attendants. But, he brake through the middle of the Enemy; making way with his Sword, and carried on by the inſtigation of his pious Valour, he eſcaped beyond all hope, and got ſafe to the place which he deſigned. The very day of his Arrival, uncertain by whoſe report, a rumour was ſpread abroad in *Rome* that he was returned; and great joy therefore was expreſſed by the Citizens; though it could not be greater, than what the Court had reaſon to conceive. On the other ſide, *Alarich*, with his *Goths*, were moved by the contrary paſſion; perceiving ſuch an Army to be at his back. He imagined himſelf caught, as it were, in a Net; he began to repent that he had ſet his foot on *Italian* Ground: and the great Ambition he had of ſeeing and taking *Rome*, as forſaken by hope, now alſo grew feeble in him. He called a Council of War, conſiſting of ancient and experienced Officers: and the Long-haired Fathers aſſembled, the Pelled Court (or wearing Skins) now ſat; comely by the number of their Skars; the Spear governs their trembling ſteps; and old Age, not yet diſarmed, in ſtead of a Staff, leans upon long Weapons. Thus the Poet expreſſeth the cuſtom of theſe Barbarous People, of wearing Swords, or ſuch like Arms, in Sheaths or Scabberds; ſo as they might uſe them as Staves, or otherwiſe, for Defence; a thing, alſo, uſually practiſed in theſe days, with us.

Stilicho relieves *Honorius* beſieged by *Alarich*.

——mediumque per hoſtem Flammatus virtute pia, propriæque ſalutis Immemor, & ſtricto proſternens obvia ferro, Barbara fulmineo ſecuit tentoria curſu. Claud. in 6. Conſ. Honorii, a v. 466.

Crinigeri ſedere Patres pellita Getarum Curia, quos plagis decorat numeroſa cicatrix Et tremulos regit haſta gradus & nititur altis. Pro baculo contis non exarmata Senectus.

6. The Poet now introduceth an old Man of the Company, ſpeaking great things in behalf of *Rome*; and telling him, how, for thirty years, from the time they

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they paſſed *Iſter*, they had had ſeveral Difficulties wherewith to incounter, but never were they ſo diſtreſſed as at this time; and he adviſeth him to leave off the Enterpriſe and not entertain ſo arrogant thoughts, as to imagine that *Rome* could be ſubdued, againſt which whoſoever made War, came always off on the looſing hand. In concluſion he bids him take heed of *Stilicho*, who ever had the fortune to ſuppreſs Injuſtice, who as he well knew, had made great ſlaughter of their men in *Arcadia*, made the Rivers of *Greece* hot with their Blood, and had deſtroyed *Alarich*, but that the Treachery and Favour of the Eaſtern Empire protected him, under the umbrage and pretext of Laws. With this free diſcourſe of the old Man he was utterly inraged, and in a fury told him that he might thank his decrepit Age that he went unpuniſhed. Should he, who put to flight ſo many Emperors, as the River *Hebrus* could witneſs, now run away at his perſwaſion? He? before whom Mountains debaſed themſelves, and Rivers were dried up. By his *Gothick* Gods and the Ghoſts of his Parents he ſwore, that he would not turn his Back, but would either be a Conqueror and Reign in this Country, or elſe lay his Bones in it. He had overran ſo many Countries, had broken through the *Alpes* and fetched Water from *Padus* in his victorius Helmet, and now what was remaining but that he ſhould take *Rome* alſo? He ſaid their Nation had been ſtrong enough, even before it truſted to Armes. But now that *Illyricum* was in his Power, and the Inhabitants had choſen him their General; ſuch a number of Weapons, Swords and Helmets, he had obtained by the Sweat of the *Thracians*, having legally converted the Income of Iron, received formerly by the *Romans*, to his own uſe. They whom he continually, for ſeveral Years, harraſed, and were given up to ſerve him, with Sighs had delivered up their Arms; and their Steel being wrought with Art and Labour, now was forged and faſhioned to harm themſelves by the lamenting Smith. Together with theſe things he bade them conſider how the Gods themſelves adviſed him to the Enterpriſe, not by any Dreams or Augury, but by a plain Audible Voice uttered from a Grove, which bad him be gon without delay; for this Year he ſhould break through the *Alpes*, and pierce as far as *Rome* it ſelf.

7. Being incouraged by predictions, away he marched, and came to a River called *Urbs*, where, by the event, he was taught what Ambiguity there was in ſuch ſayings. And *Stilicho* was not far behind, animating his Soldiers as he went. He deſired them now to be revenged for the violating of *Italy*, for their Emperors being beſieged (which he termed wickedneſs) and to aboliſh the diſgrace which the paſſing of the *Alpes* had procured. This was the Enemy whom they had ſo often defeated in *Greece*, who had been protected by Civil diſcord and hatred, and not by any Power of his own; though he was fallacious and made nothing of breaking his Word, or Perjury. He bad them believe that now all the Nations which either direful *Britain*, *Iſter* or the *Rhine* nouriſhed, ſtood at gaze; that they ſhould therefore by one Fight obtain ſo many Victories, and gain ſo many Battells, repair the *Roman* Glory and underprop the Empire now in a ſinking Condition, as with their Shoulders. They were not now in *Thrace*, nor waged War in the remote parts of *Greece*, but the War was brought into their own Bowels, nay into the Heart it ſelf; he prayed them therefore to protect Father *Tiber* with their Targets. This *Claudian* poetically; but, from whoſe Poetry much may be learned concerning this War, of which we have ſo little account from others. It's certain that *Stilicho* purſuing *Alarich* in this manner, they met and ingaged near a place called *Pollentia* ſome ſeven Miles diſtant from *Haſta*. From *Oroſius* it appears that one *Saul* a Pagan and Barbarian had the chief Command, who concluding that the *Goths* (who were Chriſtians though Arians, whatever *Claudian* as a Poet and a *Pagan* ſings of their Gods) would not fight on *Eaſter* Day, out of reſpect to their Religion, choſe that very day to fall upon them. They being thus compelled to fly to their Arms, Fought with greater Animoſity, and received him with ſuch reſolution, that him they ſlew and put his Men to the Rout. *Claudian* makes mention of an *Alan* by Nation, one moſt eminent amongſt that People which now ſerved in this Expedition, to whom Nature had given great Courage, though but ſmall Limbs, and a terrible Look, whoſe Face was all furrowed with Wounds. He by orders received from *Stilicho*, came in all haſte with his Horſe, and loſt his Life in *Italy*. He terms him happy, worthy of the *Elyſian* Fields, and to be Celebrated in Verſe; who, though by his death burnt with a deſire to purge his ſuſpected Fidelity, and with his Blood waſhed off that undeſerved Stain, the Sword it ſelf being Judge.

Credite nunc omnes quas dira Britannia gentes, Quas Iſter quas Rhenus alit, pendere paratas In ſpeculis, uno tot prælia Vincite bello. a v. 558. Lib. de Bello Getic.

A Fight at *Haſta* not far from *Pollentia*.

Taceo de Alarico rege cum Gothis ſuis ſæpe victo ſæpe concluſo ſemperq; dimiſſo. Taceo de infelicibus illis apud Polentiam geſtis, quum barbaro et Pagano duci, hoc eſt Sauli, ſumma belli commiſſa eſt; cujus improbitate reverendiſſimi dies et ſanctum Paſcha violatum eſt. Cedentiq; hoſti propter religionem ut pugnaret extortum eſt. lib. 7. c. 37.

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8. With his Death, the Horſe he commanded was ſo diſordered, that they turned Tail and ran away; and the whole Wing might have miſcarried, had not *Stilicho* come ſeaſonably in with the Legions. He cauſed the Horſe to rally, and the Fight was renewed with great Animoſity and Violence on both ſides. A bloodyer Battel had not been fought for many Years, the Soldier being ſo thirſty after Blood, if we believe *Claudian*, that he diſpiſed that great Wealth which he found in the Enemies Camp; ſo intent was he upon the purſuite. But here were recovered many Captives, and the Poet tells us that the Purple Robes of *Valens* were found amongſt their Treaſure, with abundance of Plate which the *Goths* had plundered in their Ranſacking of the rich Cities of *Greece*. For after a grievous Conteſt they gave Ground, and being utterly routed, great ſlaughter was made of them though they diſperſed themſelves many Waies; and this one Day, as the Poet ſings, made amends for what Miſchief the *Romans* had endured for thirty Years. *Stilicho* might have intercepted the Flight of the *Goths*, and as the Fame went, have deſtroyed *Alarich*: but whether he ſuffered him to live and be reſerved, for ſome uſe he intended to make of him afterwards; or for that he would not make them deſperate, he ſuffered them to eſcape, and making an Agreement with them, commanded they ſhould depart *Italy*. *Alarich* obeyed ſo far as to draw off his Men, now reduced to the half of their former number, toward *Verona*, but it ſeems would ſtir no farther, but brake the Agreement, (by which he was, as ſome ſay, to retire into *Gall*,) and perfidiouſly made preparations for another Fight. *Stilicho* was not at great diſtance, being now more willing to engage than formerly, becauſe the Enemy was drawn off farther from *Rome*, and the River *Padus* was betwixt them. And engage they did in another bloody Battel, wherein the *Romans* had as great advantage as before they had had either at *Pollentia* or *Haſta*. *Alarich* narrowly eſcaped by the ſwiftneſs of his Horſe, and with the remainder of his Army fled to the Mountains, which he attempted to paſs for *Rhætia* or *Gall*. But, *Stilicho* there oppoſed himſelf, and kept him in; ſo long, till he and his *Goths* were ſo much diſtreſſed that after many opprobrius Words, moſt of his Men forſook him, ſome making their eſcape, and others going over to the *Romans*. He perceiving himſelf thus forſaken, before it ſhould be too late, withdrew himſelf from the Hill and retired beyond the *Alpes*, notwithſtanding *Stilicho* was ſtill at his Heels as *Claudian* Writes; who though he flatters him as his great Patron, yet was ſenſible enough of the Suſpition he lay under, of willfully letting *Alarich* eſcape. The greateſt account we have of this firſt Invaſion is from him; *Zoſimus*, ſo careful an Hiſtorian he was, not making the leaſt mention of it.

Stilicho gets a notable Victory.

A ſecond as conſiderable as that.

Altius haud unquam toto deſcendimus enſe In jugulum Scythiæ, tanta nec clade ſuperbum Contudimus Tanain nec cornua fregimus Iſtri. a v.601.

——*unoq; die Romana rependit Quicquid ter denis alies amiſimus annis.* a v. 633.

Conceſſaq; ſibi (rerum ſic admonet uſus) Luce tot amiſſis ſociis atq; omnibus una Direptis opibus Latio diſcedere juſſus, Hoſtis. &c. *de 6 Conſ. Honorii a* v. 128.

Tu quoq; non parvum Getico, Verona triumpho Adjungis Cumulum: nec plus Pollentia rebus Contulit Auſoniis aut Mœnia vindicis Aſtæ. Hic rurſus dum pacta movet, damniſq; coactus Extremo mutare parat præſentia caſu Nil ſibi perjurum ſenſit prodeſſe furorem. a v.202.

9. That *Alarich* his men ſhould forſake him in ſo deſperate a Condition as his Affaires ſtood in, is no wonder, if we conſider the humour of the Emperors Soldiers themſelves during the trouble and danger of the War. They ordinarily ran from their Colours, and though they were on the winning ſide, yet were ſtill deſerting the Service. Which cauſed *Honorius* by ſeveral Laws directed to *Hadrian* the *Præctus Prætorio* of *Italy*, to provide againſt ſo pernicious a Practice. Toward the end of *February* he gave directions how ſuch Deſertors ſhould be pro-“
ceeded againſt. Being apprehended, he would have them carried before the or“
dinary Judge of the Province, who muſt hear and examine the matter, and if“
he find the Party guilty, commit him to Priſon; then ſend up the Examination“
and Confeſſion to the *Præfefeus Prætorio*, that the *Magiſtri Militum*, the prop-“
er Judges of Soldiers might determine what ſhould be agreeable to Juſtice. In“
caſe any be diſcovered and make reſiſtance, he orders, that as Rebells, they may“
be killed: he commands the ordinary Judge that in his Examination he inquire“
ſtrictly into the Paſſeports or Letters of Miſſion, which they often forged; and“
that the Laws againſt Concealers, or ſuch as harbor theſe Fugitives, be put in“
Execution.“ But ſo ſlow, it ſeems, the Judges were in executing the Laws; or ſo little effect came of it, that the Emperor thought fit five Months after, to revive a Law made by his Father ten Years before, againſt theſe Concealers, where-“
by the Grounds of ſuch as harboured Deſertors ſhould be Confiſcated, if the“
Lords knew of their lurking therein; if they were ignorant of it, then their“
Baliffes or Officers ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed; which he extends alſo to his“
own Servants belonging to his Domaine.“ Yet ſtill was the Diſeaſe ſo infectious that theſe Remedies would do no good; which put the Emperor upon farther Applications. Some ſix Weeks after, he gave leave to all the Provincials to“
riſe up and ſieſe upon theſe Runaways, and if they made reſiſtance, to kill them,“
no otherwiſe than as publique Thieves and Robbers. But he exempts from“
their

Honorius makes Laws againſt Deſertors.

L.11. De Deſertor. & Occultatorib. eorum. Cod. Th. lib.7. tit. 18. Dat.6. Cal. Mart. Rav.

L.12. Ejuſ tit. Dat.8. Cal. Aug. Rav.

L.L 13. 14. Ejuſd. tit. Dat.6. Non. Octob.

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their Power ſuch Soldiers as were newly raiſed, in caſe they made any eſcape.“ For the courſe was, that if a *Tiro* or newly raiſed Soldier ran away within a Year, he that ſent him ſhould pay the value in Mony; and now if ſuch were killed by the *Provincials*, they that found them ſhould endure the loſs; and beſides, theſe young men could not ſo properly be ſaid yet to have deſerted the Service, as not to have come up to it. In Concluſion he will have the *Primates* of all Cities, Villages, and Caſtles, to know, that Concealers ought to be proceeded againſt according to“ the Laws made by his Father.

Prohibits Bakers to marry with other Perſons.

L.21.De Piſtorib.Cod. Th.Dat. 8.Id.Mart. Rav. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

10. What reaſon or occaſion was given for making theſe Laws, is more evident, than that which moved *Honorius*, this Year to direct another to *Vitalis* the *Prefectus Annonæ* concerning the marriages of *Bakers.* By this he ordains that it“ ſhall be unlawful for any Baker and his Children to marry with any private“ Perſons, and particularly with Players, or the *Aurigæ* or Chariot drivers in the“ *Circenſian* Games; although the Bakers themſelves ſhould conſent, nay though“ ſome Reſcript might be ſurreptitiouſly obtained. If any ſhould tranſgreſs this“ Order, he commands that he be whipped, and after that undergo the Pain of“ Deportation; and if the Office of the Prefect be not vigilant to prevent it, for“ every Family, it ſhall incur a Fine of ten Pounds of Gold. And all that marry“ the Daughters of Bakers ſhall immediatly be appropiated to that Body. By pri-“ vate Perſons are meant, all that were not of that Corporation, and of theſe, the Stage Players and Chariot-drivers are particularly excepted, who either lived near to the Bakers in the ſame Region of the City; or elſe by their Arts had ſuch peculiar ways of Wooing and Mariage, as was not conſiſtent with the publique ſafety. To be ſure the Chariot-drivers were in a very ill Name, being ſuſpected as guilty of dangerous contrivances for bringing about their ends, and particularly of Magick, as we have ſeen heretofore. This Law concerned the Bakers, the Players and the Chariot-drivers of *Rome,* who this Year had the more to do, by reaſon of *Honorius* his going thither in Perſon after the Defeat of *Alarich* and his *Goths.* The Senate and People were inflamed with a deſire of ſeeing him; and had often requeſted that he would do them the Honour; but either for that he did not like the place, or for other reaſons, he had refuſed. After the Defeate of *Gildo* they expected in vain that he would have entred *Rome* in Triumph, but now that ſo great a Victory was obtained over the *Goths,* he could not reſiſt their Importunity, but conſent to give them the ſatisfaction of once more beholding ſuch a ſolemnity. And from *Ravenna* he departed toward the latter end of the Year, and by the way of the *Adriatick* Shore took his Journey toward the City by *Fanum Fortunæ, Metaurus, Petra Pertuſa, Jovis Delubrum,* the River *Clitumnus* (famous for a brood of white Horſes, which were much made uſe of in Triumphs and publique Entries) and *Narnia* (ſo named form the River *Nar* which ran below it into *Tiber*) a City placed upon the Mountains on the *Via Flaminia,* where, the report was, that the fall of Rain was wont to raiſe a Duſt. At his Entry into *Rome* he was received with triumphal Arches, a proſpect of new Walls, and elegant Turretts. But whereas at ſuch triumphal Solemnities, it was the cuſtome for the Senate and thoſe of *Patritian* Blood to greet the Emperor and walk before his Chariot, he forbad any ſuch Ceremony to be uſed towards him.

Acrior interea viſendi Principis ardor Accendit cum plebe patres et ſæpe negatum Flagitat adventum. Claud.

He enters *Rome* in Triumph.

Romanos vetuit currum præcedere Patres.

And his ſixth Conſulſhip.

A. D. 404.

Honorio A.6. & Ariſtæneto Coſſ.

11. So we are brought by *Honorius* to *Rome,* and to his ſixth Conſulſhip, which here he entred, having *Ariſtænetus* for his Colleague, in the CCCCIV Year of our Lord. The People were overjoyed to behold him, and eſpecially upon ſuch an occaſion. Being elevated alſo by the late Victory over *Alarich,* they bethought themſelves of their old *Sæcular* Games, which had been neglected ſince the Days of *Conſtantine*; and the *Pagans* by their Importunity prevailed that now they might be Celebrated, though it was not at the due time. For theſe Games were, as we have formerly ſhown, to be Celebrated at every hundred and tenth Year. It's true, *Domitian* broke the Rule, and anticipated in ſix Years; for he Celebrated them in the eight hundred forty firſt Year of the City, whereas he ought to have deferred them to the forty ſeventh. But *Severus* ſet them right again, Celebrating them not till the nine hundred fifty ſeventh Year of the City, or of our Lord the CCIV: from which, two hundred intervened to the ſixth Conſulſhip of *Honorius,* and ſo thoſe *Sæcular* Games which ſhould not have been obſerved but every hundred and tenth Year, were confounded with the *Centenaries*; but glad were the ſuperſtitious *Romans* to have them any time or way. For *Honorius,* it's ſaid, would not permit any *Pagan* Rites to be obſerved, only the Games wont to be had in the Theatre and in the Cirque, to which *Claudian* adds the

He permits the *Sæcular* Games to be Celebrated.

Ludi ἑκάτονκαιδεκατεῖς non cum centenariis confundendi. Unde Iacob. Cappellum ad h. An.

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the Exerciſe of the Military Men in the *Campus Martius*. Nay it's believed that this very Year he took away the cruel Combates of the *Gladiators*, with which all good natured Perſons could not but be offended. He continued at *Rome*, till *Auguſt* at leaſt, as appears from five Conſtitutions which bare Date from this City, and this Conſulſhip, being directed to *Hadrian* the *Pæfectus Prætorio*. One of theſe relates to War, though in time of Peace, declaring that no Perſon or Perſons whatever“ ſhall be excuſed from Contributing to the Baking of the *Buccellatum* or Bisket for“ Soldiers, and the removal of the military *Annona*, or Proviſions, from place to place“ as occaſion ſhall Serve; no not the Domaine or Patrimony of the Emperor him-“ ſelf. If the *Baily* or Officer of any Lord neglected to do this Duty, he muſt be“ grievouſly puniſhed, and the Lord himſelf, if knowing, pay the fourefold of what“ is due from his Land.“ For this was the Burthen of the Soile, and paid in Mony by the *Provincials*; the Bread it ſelf or Bisket, being Baked by ſeveral Bodies of Bakers deſtinated to this Work in the Provinces, who had their own *Præpoſiti* or Overſeers.

He will have none excuſed from certain ſervices due to the Army.

L. 2. De excoctione & tranſlatione Annonarum Cod. Th. lib. 7. tit. 5. & L. 2. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Dat. 8. Cal. Apr. Romæ.

12. We do not find that by any Law Enacted now, he ſought to reward or gratify the People of *Rome*, except it was by one made in favour of the *Decuriæ* or Bodies, as we have ſaid, of *Scribes* of ſeveral ſorts, as *Librarii*, *Fiſcales* and *Cenſuales*. It's directed to *Exſuperentius*, *Julius* and the reſt of the *Decuriales* or Judg-“ es, (being the chiefeſt in the Offices) and confirms to them the Privileges for-“ merly granted them either by his Father or the former Princes; ſo as no ordi-“ nary Judges or Governors of Provinces, to whom he will have notice be given“ and who were wont to infringe them, ſhall offer them any corporal Injuries, by“ ſubjecting them to queſtions by Torture, or hinder them of their juſt Profits and“ Emoluments.“ In the mean time, while there was nothing but Joy and Triumphs at *Rome*; the City of *Conſtantinople* was in far different humour, by reaſon of a Picque which *Eudoxia* the Empreſs, had to *John Chryſoſtome* the Biſhop. He had inveighed againſt a Statue erected on a column of Porphyry near the Church of St. *Sophia*, to her memory; with which ſhe was ſo netled, that for this and other provocations ſhe pretended, ſhe ſo far incenſed her Husband, that ſeveral Biſhops were ſent for to *Conſtantinople*, and amongſt others, *Theophilus* of *Alexandria*, on purpoſe to depoſe him, which they did accordingly, and having put one *Arſacius* into his place, he was baniſhed to *Cucuſus*. The People, whom, as *Zoſimus* tells us, he had a wonderful Art in pleaſing, fell into great tumults; and on the other ſide *Arcadius* obnoxious to his Wife (a proud, high Woman) and if you will believe that Writer, wonderful dull and ſilly, forbade their meetings. After the baniſhment of the Biſhop, a great Fire happened in the City, which his Enemies attributed to the Contrivance of his Party; and they to that of thoſe that ejected him; and many Examinations were had hereupon, and ſeveral Perſons tortured, for Finding out, or elſe concealing the Truth. For this purpoſe ſeveral Edicts we find this Year made, which with the occaſion of them, being of Eccleſiaſtical Concernment, we muſt refer to that Hiſtory. Of one we ſhall only take notice, which was made upon this occaſion; that thoſe that they called *Fabricenſes*, or belonged to the publique forgers, were entertained by the Lords of Grounds, to be their *Bailies*, or to hire, or till their Lands. This tending to a double Miſcheif, in that the publique work of making Armes was thereby neglected, and the materials of Iron and other Mettalls ſtolne and diverted to private uſes, he tells *Anthemius* the Magiſter *Officiorum*, that ſuch Entertainer for the future ſhall looſe ſuch ground, as is intruſted with ſuch a *Fabricenſis*, which ſhall be confiſcate, and the Party ſo entertained, incur a Mulct of two pounds of Gold.

Favours the *Decuriæ* of *Rome*.

L. 4. De Decuriis urbis Romæ. Cod. Th. & L. 2. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Dat. 8. Id. Jul.

John Chryſoſtome Baniſhed.

L. 5. De Fabricen. lib. 9. Cod. Th. lib. 10. tit. 22. Dat. 3. Cal. Aug. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

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Stilichone 2, & Anthemio Coſſ.

13. The Year CCCCV of our Lord had *Stilicho* the ſecond time and *Anthemius* for Conſuls. *Honorius* was now returned to *Ravenna*, where he was given to underſtand that notwithſtanding all the order and courſe that had been taken for confiſcating the Eſtate and Patrimony of *Gildo* and his Aſſociates for ſeaven Years; yet ſeveral of their Poſſeſſions were ſtill held and concealed by private Men to the diſgrace as well as the loſs of the Government. To give all the remedy he could, he iſſued out an order to *Urſicinus*, his *Comes S. L.* requiring all diligence to be uſed for diſcovering and Confiſcating the remainder, and for both an incouragement and terror to Concealers, ordered that whoſoever would come in“ and confeſs, ſhould only pay the profits they had received, without incurring any“ Mulct or Puniſhment; but if they came not before the firſt of *October* following, they“ ſhould forfeit the double value both of what they poſſeſſed and alſo of the Fruits“ or Proffits redounding from it. By this and other Laws it appears how bold ſome Perſons were in theſe Days, upon the ſuppreſſion of a Tyrant or publique Enemy,

Honorius indeavours to recover the Eſtate of *Gildo*.

L. 19. De bonis Proſcrip Cod. Th. Dat. 12. Cal. Maj.

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my; either to conceal their Goods or Lands, or to ſeize on them, as by publick Authority; which was conſtrained, afterward, to force them to ſhew their Titles. But, in ſuch diſorder did *Africk* ſtill continue, that, to redreſs the Inconveniences thereof, the Emperor, in whoſe Diſtrict it lay, was well nigh put to as much trouble, as for all the other Provinces belonging to him. Yet, had the *Proconſul* thereof power of Appeal from other ordinary Judges; and to determine of matters, *Vice Sacra*, as they termed it, ſince the beginning of the Reign of *Conſtantine*; though, before, as well he, as the reſt, were appealed from, to the *Præfect* of the City. *Honorius*, now, to ſave himſelf the trouble, as well as Appellants, the Labour and Charge; declared to *Diotimus*, the preſent *Proconſul*, That he would “have this cuſtom obſerved, which now he terms ancient: Adding withal, that he ſhould receive Appeals from the *Gentiles*, or their Commanders; who, being raiſed out of Barbarous Nations, watched at the Limits of the Empire; which was a ſingular Prerogative.“

He reſtores Appeals to the *Proconſul* of *Africk*.

L.6a.de Appellat.&c.Cod.Th. Dat.11.Cal. Rav. Abeſt à Cod.Juſt.

14. *Arcadius* this year, from *Conſtantinople*, took a Progreſs into *Bithynia* and *Galacia*. At *Nice*, in *Bithynia*, we find him at the beginning of *June*; by the date of a Law, which there he made concerning Uſury. It muſt be known, that, by vertue of ſome Conſtitution, not now extant, in thoſe days it had been unlawful for Senators to put Money to Intereſt. And indeed, during the *Roman* Commonwealth, as *Gothofred* obſerves, by how much perſons were elevated above the ordinary condition, and more able to tyrannize over their Debtors; by ſo much the more were they reſtrained, in the Exerciſe of Uſury, by the Laws: yet, to evade theſe Laws, when it was unlawful for Senators to take Intereſt, they would receive Gifts or Rewards; which poſſibly, might amount to as much as the Intereſt it ſelf. And therefore, *Alexander Severus*, permitting a third part to be taken by other perſons, allowed Senators to receive one half of the third part, or two in the hundred. But afterwards, again, it became unlawful to them to receive any at all; until, at laſt, it ſeemed unreaſonable, that young Senators, or thoſe that were not of Age, ſhould be reſtrained from ſo doing; both becauſe their young years were wont to be favoured, and they could not make uſe of any power to terrifie and oppreſs their Debtors. Therefore did *Arcadius*, ſeven years and an half ago, declare to *Eutychianus*, then *Præfect*, That Intereſt, which was ſtipulated and contracted for, ſhould be paid them, as “well as the Principal. And now, this Year, he thought fit to take off the Reſtraint laid upon all Senators, ſo far, as, by an Edict inſcribed to *Optatus*, the *Præfect* of *Conſtantinople*, he gave leave to them to receive the half of the hundred by the Month; or, as we ſay, ſix in the hundred.“ For, as we have formerly ſhewn, the *Romans* paid Intereſt every Month; and the hundredth part, or one in the hundred: ſo that, at that rate, one hundred of our pounds muſt have brought in one pound every Month, or twelve by the Year. This was ordinarily allowed by the *Roman* Laws to other perſons, whatever ſome particular Prince might do. But *Arcadius* thought fit to limit Senators to one half.

Arcadius allows moderate Intereſt to *Senators*.

L L.3,4.de uſuris, Cod.Th lib. 2.tit.33. Dat. prid.Id.Jun. Abeſt à Cod.Juſt.

15. From *Nice*, he removed to *Ancyra*, in *Galacia*: where we find him in the beginning of *July*. In his Progreſs, he took notice how his Houſes or Palaces in the Country were abuſed, by the frequent uſe which the ordinary Judges of Provinces, and others, made of them in their Travels and Removals. To ſignifie his diſpleaſure hereat, he commanded *Anthemius*, now *Præfectus Prætorio*, That “none ſhould have leave to continue within his Palaces in any City and Manſion; but that the Governors of Provinces, and Vicars of Dioceſſes, ſhould take care, that none uſurped that liberty in their Journeys; as alſo, that they fell not to decay, for want of Repairs. Theſe things, if they did not obſerve, the *Vicars* ſhould incurr a Mulct of thirty; and the *Conſulares* and *Preſidents*, of twenty pounds of Gold; and their Offices forfeit as much: Neither ſhould the *Curiales* (who were alſo to look to the Palaces) go unpuniſhed. Such as were ſo bold, as to make uſe of the Houſes; if they were of Quality, and had Eſtates, were to be fined in twenty five pounds of Gold: If they had mean Fortunes; then, to be baniſhed. And, if they themſelves came not there; to be ſure, their Horſes were not to come near his Stables.“ Thus we ſee, that throughout the Provinces, both in Cities and Manſions, the Emperors had Palaces; and that, upon the *Roman* High Ways, for their convenience of viſiting the ſeveral Countries. In the Eaſtern Empire, where this Law was made; beſides thoſe of *Conſtantinople*, there was that of *Antioch*; and one at *Daphne*, in that pleaſant Wood; beſides another at *Heraclea*, in *Thrace*. In the Weſt; the Emperor had one here at *York*, of which, Hiſtory makes mention; where was alſo, a *Prætorium*, and a Temple of *Bellona*. There

Forbids his Palaces to be taken up.

L.1. Ne quis in Palatiis maneat.Cod.Th.lib.7. tit.10. Dat.6. Id.Jul.

Vide Gothſ.Com. in h. l.

was one at *Milan*, another at *Narbon*, and a third at *Triers*; beſides one at *Pætobio*, in *Noricum*. This Law is directed to *Anthemius*; who, from *Magiſter Officiorum* was advanced, this Year, both to be *Conſul* and *Præfectus Prætorio*; in which Office he continued many Years: a Man generally beloved for his Abilities, and great Services performed to the State; as we may ſee hereafter.

*Vide Proſopographiam. Cod. Theod. a p.*800.

Great Diſorders in his Court, according to *Zoſimus*.

16. But, about this time, *Zoſimus* informeth us; that in the Court of *Arcadius*, Calumniators abounded more than ever; ſtill hanging upon the Palatine Eunuchs: and if any rich Man was dead, they ſpake of his Eſtate, as if he had left no Children. Then were the Reſcripts of the Emperor iſſued forth; whereby the Patrimony of *Titius* was aſſigned to *Sempronius*; and Inheritances were paſſed over to ſuch as begged them, while the Children ſtood by, and, with Groans, invoked the Ghoſts of their Parents. In concluſion, nothing was tranſacted, that did not fill all places with Lamentations, and brought not ſome miſchief to the Inhabitants. For, the Prince himſelf was extreamly ſilly; his Wife inſolent above Nature, and expoſed to the Avarice of the Eunuchs, and of her Women, who governed her; ſo that all Men were rendred miſerable, by the Courſes they took: and, to modeſt and civil perſons, nothing, than death, was more deſirable. And, as if this had not been enough, another danger now threatned *Conſtantinople*, greater than all others, upon this occaſion. *John* being returned out of Baniſhment, and, in his Sermons, ſtirring up the people againſt the Empreſs; when he ſaw that he was deprived of his Biſhoprick, and expelled the City; took Ship, and went his way. Thoſe of his Party having this in their deſign, that none other ſhould be Biſhop; reſolved, ſtraight to burn the City. They ſet fire to the Church in the night, by the darkneſs whereof they eſcaped undiſcovered; and, in the morning, preſented the Citizens with a diſmal ſight: For, all the Church was burnt; and, together with it, the adjoyning Buildings, as the Wind ſtood. The Fire ſeized alſo on the Houſe where the Senate was wont to be aſſembled; a magnificent and elegant piece of Architecture, placed before the Palace. For, it was adorned with Majeſtick Statues; and ſuch coloured Marbles, as, our Writer ſaith, in his time, were not to be found. And, it was reported (he adds) that thoſe Images which were dedicated to the Muſes at *Helicon*; and, in the days of *Conſtantine*, ſuffered the force of that Sacrilege which was committed againſt all things; being here erected, periſhed in the flames: a thing portending that Ignorance, which was to invade all ſorts of Men. But, a miracle, you muſt know, happened at this time, which, he thinks, is by no means to be paſſed over in ſilence. The Temple of the Senate, had before the Gates, the Images of *Jupiter* and *Minerva*, ſtanding upon Baſes of Stone, as they did in the time of the Writer: the one being reported to repreſent *Jupiter* of *Dodona*; and the other, the ſame with that which was conſecrated at *Lindus*. Now, though all the Temple was conſumed, the Lead melted, and the Stones and Rubbiſh fell down upon theſe Statues; yet, when no other was expected, but that they had run alſo the ſame fortune; the Rubbiſh being removed, they were found ſafe and ſound: which made the more polite ſort to conceive hope, that theſe Gods would protect the City. But, let this happen, ſaith he, as it pleaſeth the Divinity.

A Fire in *Conſtantinople*.

Incendium aliquod ad An. proxime ſequentem, 8. Scil. Cal. Nov. refert Chron. Alexandr vide Chron. Hiſt Cod. Th. ad illum An. At aliud videtur Incendinm in ſeditione excitatum & Anno præterito accidiſſe.

The *Iſauri* make Depredations.

17. Now, all men bewailing the caſe of the City; and finding no other cauſe for it, than the ſhadow of the Aſs, as the Proverb was; they, about the Emperor, began to think of making up the Breach. But their thoughts were diverted by ill News; that a great multitude of the *Iſauri*, inhabiting the inacceſſible places of the Mountain *Taurus*, above *Pamphylia* and *Cilicia*; being divided into ſeveral Troops of Rovers, had fallen down upon the neighbouring Country. They could not attack the fortified Towns, but they over-ran the Villages that had no Walls: And their Acceſs was the eaſier, becauſe this Region, during the late Motions of *Tribigild*, had been taken by the Enemy. To oppoſe them, was ſent one *Arbazacius*, with hopes that he would relieve *Pamphilia*: and he found them retired again into the Mountains, whither he purſued them; burnt many of their Villages, and killed no ſmall number of them; and might have quite ſubdued them, and provided entirely for the ſecurity of their Neighbours, had he not given himſelf up to filthy delights aud pleaſures, whereby he remitted much of his Vigour; and putting out his hands to lay hold on Money, preferred Riches before the publick Good. For this Prevarication, being ſent for to Court, he expected no other than to be called to Account: but, by giving the Empreſs part of what he had got from the *Iſauri*, he eſcaped all queſtions; and ſpent the reſt in the delights of the City. As for the *Iſauri*, they now robbed clandeſtinely; not daring openly to fall upon the adjacent Countries. Thus writeth *Zoſimus*, concerning the Miſgovernment at *Conſtantinople*,

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in thoſe days, and the ill effects thereof. Concerning what he ſaith of Calumniators, and begging of Eſtates, we find a Law, made this Year, about the ſame Subject; but, with deſign to oppoſe the practice, which, poſſibly, now was grown ſo high and intollerable, that the Peace might have been endangered, if ſome ſtop had not been put unto it. But, hereby confirming a Sanction of the famous Prince *Conſtantine*, as he calls him, He forbids that any Accuſers be heard, or that any beg ſuch Poſſeſſions as now are in private hands; and belonged, either to the Patrimony, to the Commonwealth, or to the Temples: and this, under pain of being puniſhed as Sacrilegious Perſons." From the time of *Conſtantine*, theſe ſeveral ſorts of Lands had been given and ſold by Princes, and ſeized alſo ſometimes without publick Authority.

L.24.de Petitionibus,Cod.Th. Dat.8.Id.Nov. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

How Natural Children to be provided for.

18. There was a Controverſie at this time concerning the Proviſion that was to be made for Baſtards or Natural Children; ſome leaving them ſo much, that having Legitimate Sons or Daughters beſides, they carried away from them, often, a great part of their Inheritance. To give Rule herein, he ordained, by a Reſcript directed to *Anthemius*, the *Præfect*; that, He who had a Mother, or Legitimate Children or Grand-children, one or more, ſhould not leave above a twelfth part of his Eſtate to his Natural Children, and their Mother; or half ſo much to his Concubine, by which he had no Children." The *Præfecti Prætorio* having ſo much buſineſs, in theſe times, upon their hands, beſides the ordinary Governors of Provinces, were wont to aſſign Judges and Arbitrators, for hearing certain Cauſes, and taking up ſome Differences; from which Judges and Arbitrators, Appeal lay again to them the *Præfects*. But, it was queſtioned, what time ſhould be allowed, both for the interpoſing, and repairing thereof? In Anſwer to which, *Arcadius* now told *Anthemius*, herein concerned; that, If theſe Judges were preſent in the City, or ſome Neighbouring Province; that then the Parties ſhould have two months to proſecute, and thirty days to repair their Appeals: But if they were in remote Provinces, ſix months ſhould be allowed for the one, and three for the other; as the cuſtom was, of Appeals from the Governors of Provinces.

L.2.de Naturalibus liberis, &c.Cod.Juſt. Dat.Id.Nov.

How Appeals from Arbitrators to be managed.

L.63.de Appellation.&c.Cod. Th.Dat.14. Cal. Jan. Abeſt a Cod.Juſt.

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Arcadio A.6 & Probo Conſ.

19. The year following, or the CCCCVI of our Lord, had *Arcadius Auguſtus* the ſixth time, and *Anicius Probus*, for Conſuls. *Longinianus*, this year, was *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Italy*; to whom, ſome Edicts we find directed, under this Title; though he had, ſome years before, been *Comes S. Largitionum*; as appears, both from the Code of *Theodoſius*, and the Epiſtles written to him from *Symmachus*. The firſt thing we meet with, given him in charge, after his Promotion, was, to remove an Abuſe in Shipping; which *Arcadius*, ſix years before, had endeavoured to reform in *Egypt*. For *Honorius* tells him, that Many perſons in theſe days, thought to defend their Veſſels by the Names and Titles of divers Perſons: To obviate which Fraud, he commands; that, If any, to avoid the publick Neceſſity, ſhall preſume to affix ſuch a Title; the Ship, or Veſſel on which it is affixed, ſhall be confiſcated. For, as he doth not hinder, he ſaith, private perſons from having Veſſels; ſo he will not permit any fraudulent practices: For as much as it is fitting, that, if Neceſſity urge, all, in common, contribute to the publick Utility; and, to the Tranſportation (of Corn and Proviſion he means) without any Privilege of Dignity. In concluſion, he gives order, that, if this Abuſe be not removed in thirty days, all ſuch Ships ſhall be taken from their Owners." Though the City of *Rome* ſtood in as much need as *Conſtantinople*, to have a certain method of bringing Proviſions; yet, *Honorius* was more mild than his Brother, upon the like occaſion; in, not only granting the ſpace of thirty days, to retract what had been done amiſs; but, in not inflicting puniſhment upon ſuch Noble Men as granted ſuch Protections; by giving leave to make uſe of their Names in diſcourſe, or affixing them on the Ships themſelves: for, in old time, it was the cuſtom to fix theſe Titles, not only, to Poſſeſſions on Lands; but alſo, to thoſe that floated on the Water; beſides the Sign, or ordinary Badge, which, ſometimes was *Caſtor* and *Pollux*; as we learn from that wherein St. *Paul* ſailed. But, this Emperor had made ſo many ſevere Laws, concerning this matter, againſt the *Navicularii*, and others; that, as to this point, he might be excuſed, or for other reaſons, well known to thoſe upon the place. This was dated from *Ravenna*, where *Honorius* made his Abode this year; and whence, about a month after, he gave freſh Orders to the ſame *Longinianus*, to call to Account the Collectors of the Revenue; againſt whom he had received Information, that ſeveral who had been employed in the Provinces for the laſt five years, had nothing at all contributed,

Honorius removes Abuſes in Shipping.

Multi naves ſuas diverſorum nominibus & titulis tuentur, &c. L.2.de Navibus non excuſ. Cod.Th.lib.13. tit.7. & L.1. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Dat.3. Id.Jan.Rav.

In the Collectors of the Revenue.

L. 1. de Cenſitoribus,Cod.Th. Dat.5. Id. Febr. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

Sect. 2.

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in their places, to the publick Good. He commands, that, ſuch as he found up-“ on Examination, to have been negligent, he ſhould deprive of the Commiſſions, “ or Codicils; and force them to reſtore the double of the Profits they had recei-“ ved, though they had the Title of *Comites*: And if they were known to have in-“ jured the *Provincials*, to cauſe them to make reſtitution of four fold. “

L.15. de Deſertoribus,&c. Cod Th.& L.ult. Cod Juſt. eod. tit. Dat. 9. Cal. Apr.

lib.5.p.803.

Radagaiſus prepares to invade *Italy*.

Stilicho defeats him.

20. He further enjoyned his *Præfect*, to execute ſeverity upon ſuch as, forſa-“ king their Colours, betook themſelves to Robbing and Depredations; a thing “ too uſual in *Italy*; eſpecially, in the Regions thereof that lay near the Mountains. “ But, though they had not changed their Employments, but only forſaken their Camp, and withdrawn themſelves from the Military Service; he had had reaſon enough to execute upon them, all the Severity, that by Law, could be inflicted: for, about this very time, ſuch an Inundation of Barbarous people happened in the Weſt, as threatned the utter deſtruction, both of *Italy*, and the neighbouring Provinces. One *Rhodogaiſus*, as *Zoſimus* calls him; as others, *Radagaiſus*; allured, it ſeems, by the Wealth and Fertility of the Country; with a Body of four hundred thouſand Men, collected out of the *Celtick* and *German* Nations, that lived beyond the *Rhine*; as alſo, others, inhabiting beyond the *Danube*, or *Iſter*, prepared himſelf to invade *Italy*. At the report thereof, all men were wonderfully ſeized with fear; all the Cities deſpaired of preſervation; and *Rome* it ſelf was diſturbed, as now in extreme danger- But *Stilicho*, taking with him all the Forces that lay about *Ticinum*, in *Liguria*, conſiſting in thirty *Numeri*, or Regiments; and adding to them all the Aſſiſtance he could compaſs from the *Alans* and *Huns*; not expecting the Enemies coming, with his whole Army paſſed the *Iſter*: and ſetting upon the *Barbarians*, when they expected no ſuch matter, cut them all in pieces; in ſo much, that none eſcaped, ſome very few excepted; whom he liſted amongſt the *Roman* Troops. Elevated, as with reaſon, by this Victory, he returned with his Victorious Army; crowned, as one may ſay, by all perſons; as having, beyond all hope, delivered *Italy* from ſuch imminent dangers. This Account *Zoſimus* gives us of this Adventure of *Rhadagaiſus*; concerning which, we muſt ſtill be conſtrained to ſay what we have ſo often demonſtrated concerning his Intelligence or Veracity. Indeed, he is not very ſtrait laced in mincing the greatneſs of the Victory. For, he reports the Army of *Radagaiſus* to have conſiſted of four hundred thouſand Men; whereas *Oroſius* ſpeaks but of two hundred thouſand, at moſt; and St. *Auguſtine*, of much above one hundred thouſand.

Upon Rumour of his coming, *Honorius* invites Slaves to take Arms.

L.16. de Tironibus, Cod. Th. Dat. 15. Cal. Maii.

And encourages free perſons.

21. But, whereas he talks of *Stilicho* his paſſing the *Iſter*, and defeating the *Barbarians* beyond that River; the whole and entire conſent of all Authors, who lived and wrote in thoſe times, convict him of falſhood; and abundantly ſatisfie us, that *Radagaiſus* invaded *Italy*. *Oroſius* calls him a *Scythian*, and a *Pagan*; and St. *Auguſtine*, King of the *Goths*: they that lived beyond *Iſter*, whether *Goths* or others, paſſing, in thoſe days, by the general Name of *Scythians*. He perceiving *Alarich*, after his Defeat, to be received into Confederacy with the *Romans*; and to be averſe to War, as reſpected and honoured by them; excited the Nations beyond the two Rivers, being their antient Enemies, to take Arms, to fall into ſo rich and fertile a Region, and revenge upon it the Slaughter lately made of their Country-men; not doubting, but they ſhould be in a capacity, both to take, and plunder *Rome*. The rumour of this deſign coming into *Italy*, *Honorius*, at *Ravenna*, took ſuch order for defence, as ſo ſuddain warning would admit. He hired great numbers of *Alans* and *Huns*; and publiſhed an Edict, or Proclamation, “ whereby he invited, even Slaves, to take Arms, though generally eſteemed unfit “ for Warfare, with promiſe of Liberty, as had ſometimes been practiſed in great “ Neceſſities, and pinching Diſtreſſes of the Commonwealth. In ſuch caſes he “ hints, that a reſpect is to be had to Force and Strength, as well as to the perſons “ of thoſe that fight. And, further to encourage them, he promiſes them pay, or “ a Reward of two *Solidi*; which they called by the name of a *Pulveraticum* in thoſe “ days, as that which was given to Slaves, and other perſons, for the Sweat and “ Duſt which they endured. Of all Slaves, he ſignifies, that he chiefly deſires “ thoſe that belonged to Soldiers, as having moſt reaſon to underſtand what “ belonged to Arms: And, next to them, ſuch as ſerved the Confederate Na-“ tions; or the *Dedititii*, or thoſe that had forſaken their own Country, and “ took the Pay of the *Romans*, giving up themſelves to the Intereſt of the Empire. “ So careful he was to ſupply the Army by the liſting of Slaves; believing, as he ſaith, that free Perſons would be ſufficiently incited to oppoſe the Enemy, by the love they bore to their Country. But, for all this belief, two days after, to make the

buſineſs more ſure, he thought fit to invite them alſo into the Field; propoſing a " Reward of ten *Solidi* a man, of which, they ſhould receive three for Advance. "

22. In the mean time, *Radagaiſus* was on his way; having, in Spring, removed out of *Pannonia*, to the *Julian Alpes*: whence, having beaten off the Guards, he paſſed over into *Venetia*; and leaving *Aquileia*, *Concordia*, and other Cities, took the moſt direct way he could toward *Rome*, which he moſt coveted to be Maſter of. And he proceeded without oppoſition, *Stilicho* not oppoſing himſelf againſt him; diſcouraged, it ſeems, by his Multitudes, wherewith he filled all the Countries of *Venetia* and *Æmilia*. Being a *Pagan*, and Idolater, as the cuſtom was of theſe Barbarous Nations, he had devoted the blood of all Romans to his Gods. And when he drew near the City, there was a Concourſe of all Pagans, who believed him to be powerful; not only, by reaſon of ſo numerous Forces, but by the protection of their Gods: And *Rome* they gave for loſt, as having deſerted them and their Worſhip. However, great Complaints thereof they made, and a great ſtir about reſtoring their Superſtition. The whole City was filled with Blaſphemies; and the Name of Chriſt was repreſented as a Plague, and the cauſe of the preſent Calamities. But, *Stilicho*, when the *Barbarian* was come into *Etruria*, a Region full of Mountains and narrow Valleys, then thought fit to ſet upon him. And *Florence* made ſo ſtout reſiſtance, that while he toiled himſelf about the taking of that City, *Stilicho* had the better opportunity to attack him; which he did with ſuch ſucceſs, by the Aſſiſtance of *Uldin* and *Sarus*, who commanded the Confederate *Huns* and *Goths*; that of his Army, an hundred thouſand were cut off, without any loſs to the *Romans*. With the Remainders he drew off to the Mountains of *Fæſulæ*: where, having ſeated himſelf upon a narrow Aſcent, though thereby he ſecured his Men from the Aſſaults of the Purſuers, yet he expoſed them to all the Inconveniences of a barren place, and that beſieged. For, *Stilicho* begirt him; and neither ſuffered any man to come out for Forage, nor any thing to be conveyed in to them. In which condition, finding himſelf ſo entangled, that he could neither fight, nor procure any Proviſions, he fairly ran away from his men; but, fell into the hands of the *Romans*: by whom being put in cuſtody, in a little time, he was ſlain, together with his Sons. The *Barbarians*, after the flight of their Leader, overcome with hunger, yielded themſelves; and were ſold by Troops, for an *Aureus* a whole Company: but, having contracted a Diſeaſe, by long faſting, and ill Diet afterwards, within a few days they all died. Thus was *Italy* relieved, and *Rome* preſerved, by the induſtry of *Stilicho*; to whom the Citizens were ſo grateful, as to erect to his Memory a Statue of Braſs and Silver, at the *Roſtra*, through the procurement of *Fl. Piſidius Romulus*, their *Præfect*.

L. 17. ejuſd. tit. Dat. 13. Cal. Maii, Abſ. a Cod Juſt. ut temporariæ.

Oroſius, lib. 7. c. 37.

A Statue erected to *Stilicho* at *Rome*.

23. *Arcadius*, all this year, continued his Abode at *Conſtantinople*; where he took pains to compoſe another ſort of War amongſt his own people. Having no occaſion to make uſe of their Swords, they employed their Pens one againſt another; and came to that height of Libelling, that he was conſtrained to make a very ſevere Law againſt that practice. By this Law directed to *Anthemius*, with the Titles of *Præfectus Prætorio*, and *Patritian*; He makes it capital to all that caſt at their E- " nemies ſuch poiſoned Darts: To them alſo, that read, and do not tear or burn, " ſuch Libels: And, further than this, that do not diſcover the Author thereof, if " known unto them. " This was very ſharp; but the ſtate of the times, it ſeems required it; although, by what we have ſaid already, it may be ſuſpected, that the diſorders of the Court, and badneſs of Officers, gave occaſion to theſe Libels: and, perhaps *Arcadius* might have taken a more effectual Courſe, by reforming thoſe Abuſes, which gave too much advantage to ſuch as were prone to traduce men that were in place and power. They were now buſie in building at *Conſtantinople*, and making up that Breach which had been cauſed by the late Fire. The *Cirque* had much ſuffered in it; eſpecially, the *Porticus*, which to it belonged. When the Ground was to be cleared, and the old Wall taken down; it happened, that the Images of the Emperor, or ſome of his Predeceſſors, were to be removed; yet, this would not *Æmilius*, the *Præfect*, adventure to do, till he had firſt conſulted *Arcadius*: for, in thoſe days, great reſpect, nay, Adulation was paid to the Images of Princes: which, to violate; and with ſome reaſon, if maliciouſly, was High Treaſon. And great ſtir had happened about *John*, the Biſhop, his inveighing againſt the Statue of *Eudoxia*, the Empreſs; of whoſe Party, that he might not be thought to be, he would not offer as much as to take down an Image, without leave obtained. But *Arcadius*, by a Reſcript which he directed to him, for an Anſwer to his Information, tells him; That, when the caſe requires, that any *Porticus*, or other Houſe, is to " be "

Arcadius makes a ſevere Law againſt ſcandalous Libels.

L. ult. de Famoſis Libellis. Cod. Th. Dat. 4. Cal. Maii, Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

Conſtantinople repaired.

L. 44. de Operib. publ. Cod. Th. & L. 16. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Dat. 5. Cal. Juli.

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be repaired, it may be free to remove any Image of himſelf, or his Predeceſſors, “ without conſulting him; ſo it be done with reverence, and the Statue again replaced, “ as it was before, after the finiſhing of the Work. “ Further, to promote the rebuilding of the publick places, and to prevent Fires for the time to come; He prohibited Out-ſhots and Terraces; commanded the Stairs, leading to the *Porticus*, “ to be made larger, and of Stone; that no private Buildings ſhould lean upon “ the publick, but be diſtant from them fifteen Feet; upon pain of having them “ demoliſhed, if any ſhould afterward be found to have raiſed them within that “ compaſs. “

L.L.45,46. ejuſd.tit.

24. At the end of the year, complaint was brought, that the Country, in ſeveral places was oppreſſed; by reaſon, that the Farmers, and Managers of the Land belonging to the Emperors Daughters, pleaded privilege more than they ought to do, from ſeveral burthens; which therefore, lay heavier upon the backs of their Neighbours. For, we muſt know that, not only the Domain, or Patrimony of the Prince himſelf; but alſo, the Houſes and Lands belonging to his Children, ordinarily excuſed their Occupiers from Taxes and Tributes; and, under pretence hereof many eſcaped ſcotfree, who ought to have contributed their Shares to the publick Service. To avoid this Inconvenience, he commands *Anthemius*; that in “ all Provinces, where his moſt Noble Daughters have Houſes or Eſtates; the “ number, or quantity, of their Lands ſhall be entred and regiſtred before the Governors, “ in the preſence of the *Cenſuales* and principal *Decuriones*; who, at their “ peril, are to ſee to the equal diſtribution of the Tax: and ſhall receive Breives, or “ Terriers of theſe Lands: and, by comparing them with their Books of Taxes, “ make a Judgment, what, and what not, are to be excuſed. “ By this Law we ſee “ what Immunities the Imperial Families enjoyed; which they in *France*, draw into example; even, as to the Officers belonging to that King's Children, and the Queen Mother, or Dowager there:

A Grievance ariſing from the Eſtates of the Emperor's Daughters, removed.

L.un.de Privilegiis Domus Auguſtæ, Cod.Th.l. 10.tit.25. Dat. Cal.Decemb. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

A. D. 407. *Honorio, 7. & Thodoſio, 2.A.A.Conſ.*

25. In the year CCCCVII, *Honorius Auguſtus* the ſeventh, and *Theodoſius Auguſtus* the ſecond time, bore the Title of *Conſuls*. *Arcadius* had his Reſidence this year at *Conſtantinople*; and *Honorius* was at *Rome*. Enquiring now, for Materials to compoſe our Intelligence, and taking a ſurvey of the Provinces; we find a ſort of Inmates in *Gall*; ſome that made bold to enter, without asking leave of the right Inhabitants. One *Godigiſil*, King of the *Vandals*, who inhabited the part of *Scythia*, lying upon the Lake of *Mæotis*, being provoked by the Example of *Radagaiſus*; when he knew that he gave *Honorius* enough to do in *Italy*, reſolved to invade *Gall*; which he thought more eaſily to ſubdue than that, becauſe of the awe and encouragement of the Emperor's preſence in it. Departing out of *Scythia*, with his *Vandals* and *Alans*; out of *Sarmatia* he took ſome of the *Quadi*, and other *Vandals*, which had there been placed by *Conſtantine*: Then, paſſing the *Danube*, he entred *Germany*; and thence, either by fear, or hope of Booty, excited ſeveral people to joyn with him; as, the *Marcomans*, *Heruli*, *Turcilingi*, *Suevi*, *Alemans*, *Saxons* and *Burgundians*: With whom he haſted to the *Rhine*. There the *Franks* made ſome oppoſition; either out of a ſence of the Faith they had given to *Stilicho*, by vertue of a late League and Alliance; or, for that they were unwilling, that the Province, of which they hoped to be Maſters themſelves, ſhould be over-run by ſo numerous an Enemy. But they, being overpowred by numbers, were forced to forbear: And ſo *Godigiſil*, with his Vandals, paſſed over into *Gall*, the laſt day of the laſt year; or, on the Eeve of that *New Tears Day*, wherein *Honorius* the ſeventh, and his Nephew *Theodoſius* the ſecond time, took the Enſigns of the Conſulſhip. They preſently fell upon the adjoyning Countries, and miſerably waſted them; *viz. Germania Prima*, and *Belgica Secunda*; and, notwithſtanding whatever the Officers of *Honorius* could attempt, proceeded in their barbarous fury. *Magontiacum*, or *Mentz*, they raſed; many thouſands of the Inhabitants being murdered in the Church: And *Rheimes*, *Amiens*, *Tournay*, and other Cities, fared very little better; being rifled, and other ways uſed, at pleaſure. *Oroſius* writes, that theſe Nations of *Alans*, *Suevi* and *Vandals*, with many others, being excited by *Stilicho*, defeated the *Franks*, paſſed the *Rhine*, invaded *Gall*; and, with a direct and violent Courſe, pierced as far as the *Pyrenæans*: By which being ſtopped in their Carier, they poured themſelves back upon the Neighbouring Provinces.

Godigiſil invades *Gall.*

Proſper.vide Sigonium, ad h. An.

Lib.7.c.40.

26. While they in this manner raged up and down the Provinces of *Gall*, In *Britain*, he adds, one *Gratian*, a *Municeps* of the Country, was made Tyrant of the Iſland; and ſhortly after ſlain. In his room one *Conſtantine* from the meaneſt

eſt Employment in the Army was placed; being choſen meerly for the hope of his name, without the leaſt merit; who preſently after his uſurpation paſſed over into *Gall.* The truth is, the *Roman* Empire now decaying, and Barbarous Nations roving every where up and down throughout the Continent; the Armies in this Iſland fearing, for all the water that flowed betwixt them, that the flame of their Neighbours burning Houſe might reach over, and take hold of their Habitations; that they might have ſome General, or Sovereign Commander, if need were, to repel the *Barbarians*, betook themſelves to the election of Emperours. Firſt, they placed one *Mark* in the Imperial Seat; and him for a time they obeyed, as in thoſe parts having the chief Command. But afterward having made him away, becauſe he did not in his conduct of Affairs, anſwer their expectations; they ſet up one *Gratian*, a Countryman of their own; they crowned him, inveſted him with an Imperial Robe; and dutifully attended upon him as their Prince: yet upon a diſlike, at the end of four Months, they deprived him alſo of this his Empire; took away his life, and made over the Soveraignty to one *Conſtantine*, a Soldier of the meaneſt condition, only becauſe his name imported, as they thought, proſperity and all good ſucceſs. For they conceived hope, that he by that fortunate name would conſtantly and fortunately govern the Empire, and overcome all its Enemies, as *Conſtantine* the Great had done, who in *Britain* had been advanced to the Imperial Dignity. This *Conſtantine* paſſing over into *Gall*, carried over with him the Flower of the *Britiſh* Youth, and ſo utterly exhauſted that remainder of Military Force which had been left by *Maximus*, in the Iſland; which now enervated of its ſtrength, fell into ſuch inconveniences, as in a ſmall time procured the Deſtruction of the Inhabitants it then nouriſhed; which it changed for other Lords.

Zoſimus lib.6. ad initium, p. 824.

Conſtantine ſet up for Emperour here in *Britain.*

27. *Conſtantine* putting to Sea from *Britain*, made *Juſtinian* and *Nevigaſtus* Commanders over the *Celtick* Soldiers; and taking eaſily the City of *Bologne*, as eaſily induced the *Roman* Forces in all Countries, to joyn with him. In the mean time the *Vandals*, at a farther diſtance, waſted the parts that lay upon the *Rhine*; the violence of whom *Limenius* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, and *Cariobandes* the *Magiſter Militum* not able to ſuſtain, at leaſt ſo they imagining, fled into *Italy*, and found *Honorius* at *Rome*, whither *Stilicho* alſo about this time went to conſult him. For, as *Zoſimus* tells the Story, *Stilicho* having found that the Miniſters of *Arcadius* were his great Enemies, and bent to do him miſchief, purpoſed to ſend *Alarich* into the Bowels of that part of the Empire, and draw over to *Honorius* the Cities of *Illyricum*. For this purpoſe he made an agreement with *Alarich*, who expected when notice ſhould be given him to make it good; but *Stilicho* was diverted by the invaſion that *Radagaiſus* made into *Italy*. Having defeated the *Barbarians*, he returned with great reputation to *Ravenna*, the Metropolis of *Flaminia*, this Writer tells us, an ancient City and Colony of the *Theſſalians*, being called *Rhene*, becauſe flown about with water, and not becauſe it was built by *Remus* the Brother of *Romulus*; for affirming which, he taxeth *Olympiodorus* the *Theban*, a *Pagan* Hiſtorian alſo of this time, who began his Hiſtory with this very Conſulſhip, and extended it to the CCCCXXIV Year of our Lord. At *Ravenna*, *Stilicho* was ready in a ſhort time with an Army to invade *Illyricum*; and, by the aſſiſtance of *Alarich*, to take Cities from the Dominion of *Arcadius*, and annex them to that of *Honorius*; when the Deſign was thwarted by two Impediments. For News was brought that *Alarich* was dead; and Letters arrived from *Rome*, ſent from *Honorius*; whereby he was informed concerning the uſurpation of *Conſtantine* in *Britain*, and his paſſing over into the parts of *Gall.* The rumour of *Alarich* his death was counted to be very uncertain; and the report of ſuch as came afterward, and told how things ſtood, confirmed it ſo to be. But that concerning the promotion of *Conſtantine* found credit, and obliged *Stilicho* to defer his Expedition into *Illyricum*; and go to *Rome* to adviſe what was beſt to be done.

His uſurpation diverts *Stilicho* from *Illyricum.*

28. To what War or Expedition ſoever it related, the *Honorati* were lately commanded to furniſh out Soldiers; and amongſt the reſt, the Tribunes and Officers of the Army, though through their own merit and induſtry they had obtain'd their preferments, were called on as well as the reſt. This ſeeming unreaſonable, " *Honorius* directed his Edict to *Stilicho*, by the Title of *Comes* and *Magiſter Militum*; " whereby he required, that a Diſtinction ſhould be made betwixt ſuch as had ſo riſen by their merits, and ſuch as had obtain'd the titular Honours of *Tribunes* and *Præfects* by way of Codicils or Letters; " allowing the former ſort the " privilege of being exempt from finding *Tirones*, as well in reference to the Tax " lately "

The *Honorati* commanded to furniſh out Soldiers.

L.18.de Tironib.Cod.Th.& l.ult.de veteranis Cod.Th. Dat. 11.*Cal. Apr.*

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lately made, as ſuch occaſions for the time to come ; with this further order, “ that the *Comites* or *Duces Militum* ſhould take nothing of them at their promotions ; “ it being otherwiſe a part of the profit of great Officers to receive Fees “ from ſuch as were advanced in the Army.“ This could not but be ſeaſonable to encourage Military Men at this time, when there was need of them ; as alſo, perhaps it was to gratifie the *Decuriæ* of *Rome*, by confirming whatever privileges had been formerly granted them from himſelf, or his Predeceſſors, by a Reſcript inſcribed to *Curtius* the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Italy*. But as he had reaſon to encourage deſerving perſons, there was as great reaſon he ſhould not be too laviſh in a time of ſo great expence ; much leſs be impoſed upon, and cheated in his Largeſſes. Former Princes had ordained, that all Petitions ſhould be void, which were put up for any abatement of Taxes, or other immunities relating to the Revenue, except they were drawn and ordered by the Palatine Officers belonging to the *Comes S. L.* or High Treaſurer. The reaſon was, becauſe theſe Officers having the management of ſuch matters in their hands could inſtruct the Emperour, and inform, if any fraud concerning number of Acres, or other things, was obtruded upon him. To add further vigour to theſe Laws ; whereas the puniſhment formerly of ſuch Petitioners as did not have recourſe to theſe Officers, and frame their buſineſs after this method ; was loſs of the threefold of the worth of what they petitioned for, he finds reaſon to change it from three to four.

L.5.de Decuriis Cod.Th.Dat.7. Id.Apr. Abeſt a Cod.Juſt.

L.4.de Immunitate conceſſa. Cod. Th.lib.11. tit.12. Prælata literis viri illuſtris. Com. S.L.3. Id: Jun. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

29. *Arcadius* in the Eaſt had no ſuch occaſion to oblige his Military Men ; or to look to the exactneſs of his Incomes ; the Weſtern Provinces being now become the Seats of War ; and *Italy* it ſelf the great Cockpit whither the Gameſters for the moſt part, directed their courſes, to contend for the Maſtery. But he was pleaſed to be kind to thoſe about him, or that ſerved him in his Palace ; in that, whereas ten years ago he had given immunity from the Prætorſhip, or exhibiting of Games, to ſuch as after having laudably ſerved their time in the Army, had been raiſed to the Dignity of *Duces Rei Militaris*, he now thought fit to grant the “ ſame Immunity to his *Proximi* of the *Scrinia*, if they had already diſcharged “ their Employments.“ And he found reaſon to vindicate the Rights and Privileges of the *Cohortales*, or ſuch as ſerved the Governours of the Provinces ; finding much about the ſame time, that it was the practice of ſome *Curiales* or others, to pretend to be of their number, though they were never entred in their Roll, nor, by any duty they performed, had any right to their Privileges and Allowances. By theſe tricks ſometimes they ſtepped into theſe preferments, which were only belonging to them that vnderwent the burthen ; and the publick ſervice was ill diſcharged, theſe perſons not being obnoxious to examination by torture, as the *Cohortales* were, being meerly *Conditionales*, or obnoxious to this kind of cenſure, as were amongſt them the *Chartularii*, *Tabularii* and *Exceptors*. To prevent this, he forbids, that any be admitted, for the time to come, to execute “ matters belonging to theſe Men, if they were not firſt matriculated, or entred in “ the Roll ; but for ſuch as at preſent did it, he commands that they be detained : “ Nay, though by any Reſcript directed to any of the inferior Judges, they were “ diſcharged from the obligation, he orders, that they be drawn back ; ſuch only “ being to be excuſed, as were freed by any Order ſent to the *Præfectus Prætorio* himſelf “ ; whoſe Prerogative, as in other things, ſo in this was the more remarkable.“ At the latter end of the Year he found reaſon to abate the rigour of the Law made two years before againſt the Ordinary Judges (*Conſulares* and *Preſidents*) their making uſe of his Palaces. They had indeed *Prætoria*, or Houſes deſtined peculiarly to their ſervice ; but they were ordinarily built in Cities or Towns that ſtood upon the publick *Roman* way. But they had often occaſion to travel through the Countries and Villages where none of theſe ways lay, neither had they any *Prætoria* near. This put them to great inconveniences for want of Accommodation : and to redreſs them, *Arcadius* now tells *Anthemius* the *Præfect*, that in ſuch places “ they ſhall have liberty, notwithſtanding the late Law, to make ſome ſtay in his Palaces, as their buſineſs requires.

Arcadius kind to thoſe about him.

L.13.de Proximis, &c. Cod. Th.Dat.3.Cal. Febr.Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

L. 20.de Cohortalib.Cod.Th.& l.40.Cod.Juſt. eod.tit.Dat.16. Cal.Apr.

L.2. Ne quis in Palatiis maneat Cod.Th.lib.7. tit.10.Dat. 8. Cal.Dec. Abeſt a Cod.Juſt.

30. *Baſſus* and *Philippus* were *Conſuls* for the Year that next followed, or the CCCCVIII of our Lord, which was the laſt of *Arcadius* the Emperour, who died, as they ſay, that ſpeak moſt probably, on the firſt of *May*. By his Wife *Eudoxia*, the Daughter of *Bauto* the *Frank*, as *Philoſtorgius* writes, and who died ſome two years before him, he left five Children, which were his Son *Theodoſius*, and four Daughters, *Pulcheria*, *Flaccilla*, *Arcadia* and *Marina*. He died in the flower of his Age, whereof he had not yet completed the thirty firſt year ; having reigned

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reigned together with his Father twelve, and after his death thirteen, three Months, and fifteen days. Leaving his Son ſo exceeding young, and believing his Brother *Honorius* to bear him no great kindneſs; for fear he ſhould be wronged, he left him to the Tuition and Protection of *Iſdegerdes*, the King of *Perſia*, with whom he had entred into a ſtrict League and Alliance for an hundred years. He undertook it ſincerely, and diſcharged it as faithfully, ſending in his room to *Conſtantinople* one *Antiochus*, a moſt prudent Man, whom ſome will have to have been ſent alſo Ambaſſadour to *Honorius*, to procure peace and good underſtanding betwixt him and his Nephew. Some write alſo, that *Honorius*, moved with commiſeration toward the Child, determined to haſten to *Conſtantinople*, there to take order for his ſafety and authority; but was hindered by the uſurpation of *Conſtantine*: and afterward having intention to ſend *Stilicho*, the diſcovery of his treaſonable Deſigns, prevented that. But however *Antiochus* managed matters in the room of *Iſdegerdes*: the great Pillar of the Eaſtern Empire, doubtleſs, was *Anthemius*, the *Præfectus Prætorio*, who, as *Socrates* tells us, was the main Man that ſtood by the young Emperour in his Government. He writes, that he compaſſed *Conſtantinople* with a ſtrong Wall; that he ſeemed, and was in reality, one of the wiſeſt of that Age: that he never enterpriſed any thing without good adviſement, conferring ſtill with ſome of his Friends, concerning the buſineſs he went about; but above all others, made uſe of the advice of *Troilus* the Sophiſt, a Man very wiſe alſo, and of great experience. But *Pulcheria*, the eldeſt Siſter of the Emperour, though at her Father's death ſaid to be not ten years old, yet growing up to riper years, ſuſtained a great ſhare of the care and troubles of the Empire, of whoſe prudence, piety, and other virtues, very much is ſaid.

How he left his Son.

Lib.7.c.1.

31. There are ſome Laws extant, bearing date from *Conſtantinople* before the death of *Arcadius*, and yet having not his name prefixed; but only thoſe of his Brother and Son. Either in the Date or Inſcription, there is ſome errour; but however, they were made either not long before, or not long after his death. One of them is to provide for the Neceſſities of *Illyricum*, as it terms them, in order to which it requires, that no privilege be pretended to excuſe any perſon “ from the building of Walls, and the finding and conveyance of Proviſions. “ This muſt have relation to the attempts made by *Stilicho* this year, againſt the Cities of *Illyricum*, of which we ſhall ſhortly hear more from *Zoſimus*, who would have us believe, that his aim was only to increaſe the Dominions of his Maſter *Honorius*; whereas other Writers make it a deſign, of conferring the Empire upon *Eucherius* his Son. This Edict is inſcribed to *Herculius* the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Illyricum*, whoſe Diſtrict was now in danger. And about the ſame time, that of *Anthemius* the *Præfect* of the *Eaſt*, was not in good repoſe. For, now did the *Iſauri*, thoſe ancient Thieves (the place of whoſe Habitation being ſo convenient for harbouring of Robbers, required as much Guard upon it, as did a Limit or Border of the Empire) renew their Depredations upon the Neighbouring Countries. Toward the end of *April*, a Reſcript was directed to *Anthemius*, whereby he was injoyned to give notice to the Judges of the Provinces, (as of *Iſauria*, *Pamphylia*, “ *Cilicia*, *Lycaonia*, and *Piſidia*) that they ſhould not forbear the examination by “ torture, of theſe Thieves, not on any day in *Lent*, no not of *Eaſter*; that the diſ- “ covery of their wicked deſigns, might not be deferred; it being eaſie to be hoped “ that God Almighty would not be angry for doing that, by which the ſafety and “ preſervation of many perſons would be procured. “

Some Laws uncertain in their Date made before *Arcadius* his Death.

L.ult.de equorum Conlatione, Cod. Th. lib. 11. tit. 17. & L. 1. de quibus muneribus &c. Cod. Juſt. Dat. 3. Id. Apr.

L.ult.de quæſtionib. Cod. Th. & L. 10. de feriis, Cod. Juſt. Dat. 5. Cal. Maii.

32. Whether theſe Laws were made before or after the death of *Arcadius* is uncertain; but he being gone, certain it is, that *Anthemius* and *Troilus* applied themſelves to the management of publick Affairs, and reforming ſuch things as had been out of order, during his Government. One of theſe, the neglecting or diſcouraging of Meſſages from the Provinces, ſeems to have been; though *Syneſius* in his Epiſtle to him concerning ſuch grievances as preſſed moſt upon the Empire, deſired him to be free and eaſie in admitting the complaints of the People. That they deſired his Son ſhould ſo be, now appears from an Edict directed to *Anthemius* this Year; whereby he is commanded to receive, all ſuch complaints and requeſts; “ to enter them in his Office, and then make report to the Emperour of what is “ worthy his conſideration, who promiſeth all neceſſary remedies for the eaſe of “ thoſe that were aggrieved. “ One complaint there was, that the *Agentes in Rebus*, and the *Palatine* Officers, belonging to both the High Treaſurers, who were wont to be ſent into the Provinces, to urge the collection of Tributes, were found to exact or gather the Money themſelves; which becauſe of their inſolence and avarice

Anthemius and *Troilus* ſet themſelves to the reforming of matters.

L.14.de Legatis,&c.Cod. Th. Dat.14.Cal. Octobr. Abeſt à Cod.Juſt.

Receive all complaints and repreſs the Officers belonging to the Treaſury.

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rice much to the diſturbance and oppreſſion of the People; eſpecially of the Province of *Achaia*: *Anthemius* is ordered to take care, that for the time to come, “ this be no more practiſed; but that theſe Men only urge the Governours of Pro- “ vinces, by often repairing to them, and their Officers, to the Collection. If a- “ ny Governour, either to be rid of their importunity, or for any other reaſon, “ permit them to levy the Tributes, the Law impoſes a Mulct of twenty pounds of Gold, both upon him, and upon his Office.

L.17. de Exactionibus, Cod. Th.& L.2. de Canone largitionalium titulorum. Cod. Juſt. Dat. 7. Id. Decemb.

33. *Honorius* this year, for ſome time, was at *Rome*; whence afterward he removed to *Bononia* and *Ticinum*; and, at length, by *Milan*, to *Ravenna*. While at *Rome* he took care to gratifie the Citizens by providing better for their ſuſtenance, and confirming the Privileges granted to their ſeveral Bodies. Obſerving alſo that Judges were often drawn aſide by the awe of the *Honorati*, or great perſons; who, when they had cauſes to be tried, would come into Court, and ſit with the Judges; he now prohibited, that they ſhould be admitted to ſit with them, “ when the merits of their cauſes were diſpatching; as alſo, that any whoſe Suits “ were depending, ſhould viſit them at Noon time. If any ſhould offend in “ this kind, he inflicts a Fine of five pounds of Gold upon the Judge, as much up- “ on his Office, and as much upon any of the *Honorati*, ſo offending. “ The latter part of this Law is but agreeable to what had been formerly ordained by *Valens*, *Gratian* and *Valentinian*, againſt viſiting of the Ordinary Judge, in the Afternoons; and *Cuiacius* obſerves, that it had been alſo provided by *Auguſtus* in the *Julian* Laws, concerning Judicature (by *Macrobius* called Edicts,) that neither the Defendant nor Accuſer ſhould enter the Houſe of the Judge: moreover, by the ſame Laws, a Judge was prohibited to come into the Houſes of other perſons; as under *Tiberius* a *Senatnuſconſultum* was made, that Senators ſhould not ſet their Feet within the Houſes of the *Pantomimi*; and another under *Claudius*, which forbade Soldiers to enter the dwellings of Senators under pretence of ſaluting them; ſuch diverſity is there in the ſtate and condition of times, according to which, Legiſlators are to take their meaſures.

Honorius endeavours to reform ſeveral Abuſes at *Rome*.

L.8. de Snariis Cod. Th.

L. unic. de officio Judicum Civilium Cod. Th. l.l. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. hinc deſumpta: Dat. 3. Non. Feb.

Obſerv. lib. 6. c. 34.

34. But, while *Honorius* lay at *Rome*, the Provinces of *Gall* were miſerably afflicted by the *Vandals*, who paſſing out of *Belgica* into *Aquitain*, waſted all the Country, together with thoſe of *Novempopulania*, *Lyons* and *Narbon*. Now it was, that, as S. *Hierom* writes, innumerable and moſt ſavage Nations, had ſeiſed upon “ all *Gall*; that all the Tract lying betwixt the *Alpes*, and the *Pyrenæans*, the Ocean, “ and the River *Rhoſne*, was waſted by the *Quadi*, *Vandals*, *Sarmatians*, *Alani*, *Gipedes*, *Heruli*, *Saxons*, *Burgundians* and *Pannonians*. *Maguntiacum*, now *Ments*, in “ times paſt a noble City, ſaith he, is taken and deſtroyed; many thouſands of Men “ having been killed in the Church: thoſe of the ſtrong City of *Rheimes*, *Amiens*, “ *Arras*, the Country of the *Morini*, *Tournay*, *Nemete* and *Argentoratus* (or “ *Strasburgh*) are tranſlated into *Germany*. The Provinces of *Aquitain*, *Novem-* “ *populania*, of *Lyons* and *Narbon* are over-run, a few Cities excepted, and they “ are vexed, without by the Sword, and within by Famine. I cannot without tears “ make mention of *Toulouſe*, which hath hitherto been preſerved from Ruine, by “ the merits of holy *Exuperius* the Biſhop. *Spain* it ſelf, as about to periſh dayly, “ trembles, calling to mind the Irruption of the *Cimbri*, and other ſuch diſmal Stories. “ *Conſtantine* the Tyrant, at the ſame time endeavoured to eſtabliſh himſelf as Lord, of what theſe *Barbarians* left behind them. To interrupt him in his endeavours, one *Sarus* was ſent by *Stilicho*, with an Army; who meeting with *Juſtinian*, killed him with the greateſt part of his Forces; and having got very much booty, when he heard that *Conſtantine* had removed himſelf to *Valentia*, a City he thought very proper for his defence, he there reſolved to beſiege him. *Nevigaſtes* the other Commander, he treated with, and kindly received him; but afterward ſlew him, though he had given his faith to the contrary. Into their places *Conſtantine* promoted *Edobechus* a *Frank*, and *Gerontius* born in *Britain*; the skill and valour of which perſons were ſo well known to *Sarus*, that for fear of them, he roſe up and departed from *Valentia*, after he had beſieged it ſeven days. They purſued him, and that with ſuch vigour and execution, that with much labour he hardly eſcaped to the *Alpes*, where he gave up all his Booty to the *Bacaudæ*, who there met him, to ſuffer him to have free paſſage into *Italy*. He being removed, *Conſtantine* gathered together all his Forces, and reſolved to fortifie the *Alpes*, which lay in the way betwixt *Italy* and *Gallia Celtica*, being three in number, and known by the Names of *Cottiæ*, *Poeninæ*, and *Maritimæ*. This he did; and alſo fortified the *Rhine*, to provide as well againſt the Inſults of the *Barbarians*, as of the *Romans*, though

Gall miſerably waſted by the *Vandals*.

Ep. 11.

Zoſimus lib. 6. p. 824.

Conſtantine proſpers there.

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Zoſimus writes, that he fortified the *Alpes* to keep the Barbarous Nations out of *Gall*; as if they had come out of *Italy*, and were not in the heart of *Gall* already. And, he hints, as truly, that, ſince the time of his dear *Julian*; the *Rhine*, or the Limit thereof, had, till now, been neglected.

He gives the Title of *Cæſar* to his Son *Conſtans*.

35. Having taken ſuch order for his Affairs in *Gall*, he adorned *Conſtans*, his eldeſt Son (who had been a Monk; and, as our *Brittiſh* Writers ſay, in the Monaſtery at *Wincheſter*) with the Title and Habit of *Cæſar*, and ſent him into *Spain*; all the Nations whereof, he was ambitious to bring into ſubjection; both to augment his own Dominion, and to remove the power, which the Kindred of *Honorius* had in that Country: whence he feared they might ſet upon him from beyond the *Pyrenæans*, at ſuch time as the Emperor might ſend another Army over the *Alpes*; and ſo, overpower, and ſuppreſs him. *Conſtans*, with one *Terentius*, his General, and *Apollinaris*, his *Præfectus Prætorio*, paſſed over into *Spain*, furniſhed and attended ſufficiently; and ſet himſelf againſt ſuch as he there found of the Kindred of *Theodoſius*, who (as *Zoſimus* cannot forbear to vent his malice againſt that Prince) diſturbed the Affairs of their Native Country. They made uſe of the Soldiers belonging to *Luſitania*, or *Portugal*: And when with them they could not prevail, got together a multitude of Slaves and Husband-men; and ſo managed their matters, that they were in a fair way to ſucceed, and make an end of *Conſtans*. But, for all this, the Tide turned; and, inſtead of making him a Priſoner, they and their Wives were taken by him, and committed to cuſtody: their names being *Verenianus* and *Didymius*. They had two Brothers, *Theodoſius* and *Lagodius*; who, upon notice of it, fled, and made their eſcape; the one into *Italy*, and the other into the Eaſt. They themſelves were carried away by *Conſtans*; who (after he had committed the care of the *Pyrenæans* to *Gerontius*, to be kept with a Guard of *Galls*; though the *Spaniſh* Army deſired to have the Charge) returned to his Father, and preſented them to his View; who inſtantly commanded them to be put to death.

Who, in *Spain*, defeats the Kinſmen of *Honorius*.

36. Thus went matters in *Gall* and *Spain*; when, in the mean time, the Emperor *Honorius*, having loſt *Mary*, his Wife, the eldeſt Daughter of *Stilicho*; deſired, that *Thermantia*, her younger Siſter, might be given him in Marriage. *Stilicho* ſeemed to be averſe to it: But his Wife *Serena* urged him to it, upon this Account. When *Honorius* contracted Marriage firſt, with *Mary*; her Mother knowing that ſhe was not ripe for his Bed; and yet, not able to prevent or defer the Wedding: concluding alſo, that it was to offer violence to Nature, to have her Virginity taken from her; uſed the Art of a certain Woman, skilled in ſuch goodly Myſteries: and, by her endeavours brought it to paſs, that the Girl lived, and lay with the Emperor; but he neither had any Will, or Power, to enjoy her. Sometime, ſhe thus lived and died a Virgin: But, after her death, her Mother, deſiring to have ſome Iſſue by *Honorius*; that ſhe might not be deprived of that great power and place which ſhe enjoyed, uſed her endeavours to marry him to her ſecond Daughter: Which being done, ſhe died alſo not long after; the ſame thing having happened to her, as to the former. While this was tranſacting, News was brought to *Stilicho*; that *Alarich*, having quitted *Epirus*, and paſſed the Straits lying betwixt *Pannonia* and *Venetia*, had encamped himſelf at a Town called *Æmon*; built, as *Zoſimus* tells you, by the *Argonauts*, between the upper *Pannonia* and *Noricum*. From *Æmon* he removed, and paſſed the River *Aquilis*, as alſo, the *Apennine* Mountains; which cloſing up *Pannonia*, afford very difficult paſſage to ſuch as travel to *Noricum*; theſe Straits being eaſie to be kept by a few Men, againſt a great multitude, which would force their way. Having paſſed theſe Straits, from *Noricum* he ſent Meſſengers to *Stilicho*, to demand Money, both for the delay he had made in *Epirus*, and alſo, for this his Expedition, which, thereupon he was forced to undertake. *Stilicho* left the Meſſengers at *Ravenna*, and went to *Rome*, to conſult the Emperor and Senate, what was to be done in this Affair. The Senate being aſſembled in the Palace, and the Queſtion put, whether War ſhould not be made? very many gave their Voices in the Affirmative: Only, *Stilicho*, and a few beſides, who, by fear, were brought to be of his Party, were of the contrary opinion; and adviſed to make Peace with *Alarich*.

Zoſimus, lib. 5. p. 804.

Mary being dead, *Honorius* marries *Thermantia*.

Alarich marcheth Weſtward.

Stilicho and his Party for Peace.

37. They that preferred War, deſired *Stilicho* to ſhew his Reaſons, why he was ſo much for Peace, which was to be bought with money too; to the diſgrace of the *Roman* Majeſty. He anſwered; becauſe *Alarich* had continued ſo long in *Epirus*, for the advantage of the Emperor; that, joyning with himſelf, he might make War upon *Arcadius*; and, taking *Illyricum* out of his hands, add it to the Dominion

Why.

The Senate reſolves it.

But *Honorius* reſolves for *Ravenna.*

of *Honorius*. This, he affirmed, would have come to paſs, if his Expedition had not been hindred by the Letters of *Honorius*; in expectation whereof, *Alarich* had conſumed ſo much time. With this, he ſhewed them the Emperor's Letters, and laid the blame upon *Serena*, her labouring to preſerve Amity betwixt the two Princes. *Stilicho* ſeeming to ſpeak nothing but Sence, the Senate was content, that four thouſand pounds of Gold ſhould be paid to *Alarich*; and that, for Peace; though moſt conſented, againſt their Judgments, merely for fear of *Stilicho*. And, *Lampadius*, a man of great Birth and Dignity, plainly told them; that, This was not a Peace, but a *Paction of Servitude:* For which liberty of ſpeech, fearing he might loſe that of his perſon, when the Senate was diſmiſſed, he betook himſelf to the next Church of the Chriſtians. *Stilicho*, having, by virtue of this *Senatus-Conſultum*, made Peace with *Alarich*; prepared all things for the Expedition, which he had deſigned; when the Emperor told him, he was reſolved to go from *Rome*, to *Ravenna*, to ſee and careſs the Army, which was to grapple with ſo conſiderable an Enemy. And, this he ſaid, not of himſelf, but was moved thereto by *Serena:* She deſiring he ſhould be in a City of moſt ſafety; that, if *Alarich* ſhould break the Peace, he might not yet get the Emperor into his Power; whom ſhe endeavoured to preſerve; her ſafety depending upon that of his. However, *Stilicho* did nothing approve of this his Journey; and deviſed ſeveral ways, how to prevent it: which, not being effectual, he procured *Sarus*, the Captain of the *Barbarians*, that lay at *Ravenna*, to make diſturbance; not with any deſign of Innovation, but to affright the Emperor, and divert him from his deſign. But, *Honorius*, not at all yielding to theſe Attempts; one *Juſtinian*, an Advocate of great note, whom *Stilicho* had made choice of for his Aſſeſſor and Councellor; being a man of excellent Wit, ſmelt out the Emperor's deſign, by certain Tokens: And, knowing that the Troops which lay at *Ticinum*, or *Pavia*, bore ill will to *Stilicho*, gueſſed what would become of him, if the Emperor ſhould repair thither. He ceaſed not therefore, ſtill to deſire him to prevent the Emperor's going. But, when he perceived, that *Honorius* would not hearken to what *Stilicho* ſaid; fearing that, for their Familiarity ſake, he might make ſhipwrack of his Fortune with him, he fairly left him, and went his way.

Stilicho deſires to be ſent into the Eaſt.

38. Before this, the News of the death of *Arcadius* was brought to *Rome*; and, after the departure of *Honorius* for *Ravenna*, was confirmed. *Stilicho* being got to *Ravenna*, and *Honorius* to *Bononia*, a City of *Æmilia*, ſeventy miles diſtant from *Ravenna*; *Stilicho* was thither ſent, to chaſtiſe and reduce the Soldiers into Order, who had mutined by the way. He, having called them together, and told them, how the Emperor's Command was, that they ſhould not only be chaſtiſed, but every tenth man be taken out, and put to death; ſtruck them with ſuch terror, that they all fell a weeping; and drew him to ſuch a Commiſeration of their Condition, that he promiſed them pardon from the Prince. This *Honorius* ratified: and then they fell into a Conſultation about the publick Affairs. *Stilicho* had a deſire to go into the Eaſt; and to ſettle the Concernments of *Theodoſius*, the young Son of *Arcadius*; who ſtood in need of Aſſiſtance: and *Honorius* himſelf thought of taking a Journey thither, to put the Affairs of his Nephew into good Order. *Stilicho*, having no mind to hear of this, by ſhewing him the vaſt Expence he muſt make in the Expedition, deterred him from his purpoſe. Beſides, he urged, that it was highly neceſſary that he ſhould not be much abſent from *Italy*, nor *Rome* it ſelf; becauſe *Conſtantine*, the Uſurper, had over-ran all *Gall*, and had taken up his Station at *Arles*. And, yet farther he preſſed, that *Alarich* was alſo to be feared; who had a great Power of Men, was a *Barbarian*, and deceitful: who, if he found *Italy* naked, and deſtitute of Aid, would not fail, ſuddainly to invade it. In concluſion, he added, that the beſt way was to ſend *Alarich* againſt the Tyrant, with part of the *Barbarians* he had with him, and the *Roman* Legions joyned together; which ſhould be joyntly commanded by him, and the Officers belonging to the ſaid Legions. And, that he himſelf ſhould be, by the Emperor, diſpatched away into the Eaſt, with Letters, containing the ſumm of what he would have there tranſacted.

Yet goes not.

39. *Honorius*, approving of all that was ſaid by *Stilicho*, wrote Letters to the Emperor of the Eaſt, and to *Alarich*; and departed from *Bononia*. But, as for *Stilicho*, he, notwithſtanding, continued where he was; neither taking his Journey for the Eaſt, nor putting in Execution any thing that had been reſolved. Neither did he remove thoſe Soldiers that lay at *Ticinum*, to *Ravenna*, nor any other place; leſt, having opportunity of ſpeaking with the Emperor, they ſhould put him

upon attempting ſomething againſt himſelf. Thus, *Stilicho*, being neither conſcious of any unworthy thing, deſigned, either againſt the Emperor, or the Army, behaved himſelf. But, there was one *Olympius*, born about the *Euxine* Sea; who had got a ſplendid Employment at Court: and, under the ſhow and pretence of Chriſtian Piety, covered great Wickedneſs; and, counterfeiting great Soberneſs and Modeſty, was wont to diſcourſe much with the Emperor. He offered many things to beget prejudice in him againſt *Stilicho*: And, in particular, that he deſigned his Journey into the Eaſt for no other cauſe, but that, having taken *Theodoſius* out of the way, by ſending him to another World, he might transfer the Sovereignty of thoſe parts, upon his Son *Eucherius*. This he inſinuated upon the way, as he had time and convenience: And, when they were come to *Ticinum*; viſiting there the ſick and maimed Soldiers, he laid hold alſo on them by theſe Charms. Four days had but paſſed after his Arrival, when the Emperor called the Soldiers together, ſhewed himſelf to them, and incited them to the War againſt *Conſtantine*. Of *Stilicho*, yet, there was no mention, till *Olympius* openly beckened to the Soldiers, as it were, putting them in mind of what he had in private diſcourſed with them. Hereat they fell into a rage and madneſs, and killed *Limenius*, who had been *Præfectus Prætorio* in the Parts beyond the *Alpes*; together with *Chariobaudes*, a *Magiſter Militum*, alſo in thoſe Quarters: Both whom, had made their Eſcape from the Tyrant; and were come to the Emperor, to *Ticinum*. After this, they put to death *Vincentius*, who was *Magiſter Equitum*; and *Salvius*, the *Comes Domeſticorum*: And afterward, when the Emperor was withdrawn, and the other Magiſtrates had made their Eſcape, they poured themſelves into the City; and pulling them out of the Houſes where they thought to conceal themſelves, they ſlew them, and plundered the Town.

The Soldiers fall into a Mutiny.

40. The miſchief being grown to that height, that it ſeemed incurable; the Emperor, caſting a little Coat about him, without his Robe, or his Diadem, ran amongſt them; and, with great labour and pains, could hardly appeaſe their fury. *Nemorius*, Maſter of the *Palatine* Ranks; *Patronius*, the *Comes Rei Privatæ*; and *Salvius*, whoſe Office it was to dictate ſuch matters as the Emperor ordered; whom after the time of *Conſtantine*, they called *Quæſtor*; after they had eſcaped from the place of Mutiny, and thought they were now ſafe, were alſo ſlain; of whom, *Salvius*, though he hung at, and embraced the very feet of the Emperor, could not obtain his Life. The Uproar continuing till the Evening, the Emperor withdrew, leſt they ſhould attempt any thing againſt his own Perſon: and, in the mean time, they murdered *Longinianus*, who was *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Italy*. All theſe were Magiſtrates that periſhed by the madneſs of the Soldiers: but, of others who fell into their hands by chance, ſo great a multitude miſcarried, as was not eaſie to be reckoned. The Report of the Sedition being brought to *Bononia*, where *Stilicho* as yet continued, did exceedingly perplex him. He called together the Officers of the Confederate *Barbarians*, and conſulted with them what was to be done. It was unanimouſly reſolved; that, if the Emperor was killed, of which there was a rumour; then, all the Confederates ſhould fall upon the *Roman* Soldiers; and, by chaſtiſing them, keep the reſt in order. But, if the Magiſtrates were only made away, and he were ſafe; then ſhould the procurers of the Mutiny be puniſhed. Yet, *Stilicho*, when he heard that *Honorius* was alive, and no violence offered to his Perſon, left off thoughts of going to chaſtiſe the Army, and reſolved to remove to *Ravenna*: for, he conſidered how numerous it was; he knew, the Inclinations of the Emperor toward himſelf were inconſtant; and he thought it neither laudable in it ſelf, nor ſafe, to ſet the *Barbarians* upon the *Roman* Soldiers. While he was anxious, and deliberated about theſe things, the Officers that he had conſulted, endeavoured to perſwade him to put in practice what they had reſolved: But, when they could not accompliſh it, they purpoſed to ſtay in their ſeveral Quarters, and expect what the Emperor would determine concerning him. But *Sarus*, who, in Strength and Dignity, excelled all the other *Barbarians*, cauſed his Men to kill all thoſe of *Stilicho*'s Guard, who kept conſtant Watch about him: and broke into his Tent; where he was muſing, what would be the Iſſue of theſe Difficulties.

41. *Stilicho* finding, that the *Barbarians* which he had about him, differed alſo amongſt themſelves, went to *Ravenna*; and adviſed ſuch Cities, where the Wives and Children of the *Barbarians* dwelt, that they ſhould not permit any of thoſe Nations to come amongſt them. But, *Olympius*, who now inclined the Emperor as he pleaſed, ſent his Letters to the Soldiers that lay at *Ravenna*; which commanded, that they ſhould lay hold on him, and commit him to free Cuſtody. He having

ving notice thereof fled to a Church of the Chriſtians, late at night; thoſe that were with him arming themſelves and their Slaves, and expecting what would be done. When it was day, the Soldiers entred the Church; and, in the preſence of the Biſhop, affirmed to *Stilicho*, upon Oath, that they had not received from the Emperor, any orders to kill him; but only to keep him ſafe. But when he was out of the Church, in their Hands, other Letters were brought by him that was ſent with the former, wherein he was Adjudged to Death, for the Offences he had committed againſt the Common-Wealth. His Son *Eucherius* had now eſcaped and was fled toward *Rome*; but he himſelf was led to Death; which when the *Barbarians* that were near to him, his Servants and Friends ſeeing, were about to make reſiſtance and Prevent, he deterred them from it, and in a manner, offered his Neck to the Sword; a Man the moſt modeſt of all others, who at that time injoyed great Power and Authority. For though he had married the Daughter of *Theodoſius* the Elder his Brother; and had been intruſted with the Empires of both *Theodoſius* his Sons, and moreover had born the Office of a General, three and twenty Years, yet was he never found, for Mony, to have advanced any to commands in the Army, or to have converted the Allowance of Soldiers to his own Gaine. And having but one only Son, he raiſed him no farther than to the place of a *Tribune of the Notaries*, appointing that, as a boundary to his preferment. Now that Men that are curious in theſe matters, may not be ignorant of the time of his Death, it fell out, on the tenth Day before the Calends of *September*, in the Conſulſhip of *Baſſus* and *Philippus*, the Year that the Emperor *Arcadius* died.

Stilicho put to Death.

42. This is the whole account which *Zoſimus* gives concerning the Death of *Stilicho*, and the occaſion of it; wherein he endeavours to render him innocent, and to have unjuſtly ſuffered: And with him agrees *Olympiodorus* alſo, an Hiſtorian of thoſe times. But the general conſent of Writers is, that he was juſtly put to death, and that for ſeveral Crimes of no leſs conſequence than high Treaſon. They accuſe him of bringing *Alarich* into the Dominions of *Honorius*; and of letting the Barbarous Nations, as the *Alans*, *Suevi* and *Vandalls*, into the Weſtern Provinces. Some ſay he attempted to poiſon *Honorius*, and that he ſtamped Money, though without the Imperial Habit, or Image of an Emperor. The drift of all his deſignes, they ſay, was this, that (as *Zoſimus* writes of *Olympius* his Inſinuations,) he might transfer the Title and Dignity of Emperor, upon his own Son *Eucherius*. They who take a View of the opinions of theſe Diſſenters, obſerve, that the *Pagan* Writers acquit him of the Crime, and that *Chriſtians* lay it heavily to his Charge. But not only *Chriſtians*, but one *Pagan* Author alſo, a Poet of this time, *Rutilius Numantianus* in his Itinerary, writes of him as a betrayer of the Empire, and as him that called the *Barbarians* into *Italy*. This he did, they ſay, to give diſturbance to the Affaires of *Honorius*; to weaken the Empire, and make it more capable of his Attempts, when a ſeaſonable time ſhould come, for which he reſerved his Friend *Alarich*. Indeed *Zoſimus* tells us that the purpoſe of *Stilicho* was, when he ſaw that the Courtiers at *Conſtantinople* hated him, by contracting a League with *Alarich*, to lay the Cities of *Illyricum* to the Dominion of *Honorius*; and *Olympiodorus* ſaith, that he ſent for *Alarich* to ſubdue *Illyricum*; but gives another Reaſon for it; becauſe that Province had falne to *Honorius* his ſhare in the partition made by *Theodoſius*.

Oroſius, Hieronymus, Philoſtorgius.

Quo magis eſt facinus diri Stilichonis acerbum, Proditor arcani quod fuit Imperii.

43. To ſay truly, the management of the War againſt *Alarich* in *Italy*, ſo much as we can know of it, was very odd. *Oroſius* though he ſaid but little when he wrote thus: *I ſay nothing concerning King Alarich often beaten with his Goths, often taken* (as in a Pound or Net) *and alwayes diſmiſſed*, yet had reaſon to think much. If we well mark *Claudian*, we ſhall perceive him ſometimes put to it, to make the beſt of Matters; and ſometimes to write obſcurely concerning that War: particularly of that *Alan* who loſt his Life in *Italy*. What mean his flouriſhes, when he ſaith that *he was worthy of the* Elyſian *Fields, and to be Celebrated in Verſe; who, though it were by his Death, burnt with a deſire to purge ſuſpected Fidelity, and with his Blood, waſhed off that undeſerved Stain*? That *Pagan* Writers (ſo partial as we ſee they are,) ſhould bear great reſpect to the Cauſe and Perſon of *Stilicho*, we cannot wonder, when we are told by *Oroſius*, that his Son *Eucherius*, to procure the favour of the Gentiles, threatned that he would begin his Reign with the reſtitution of the Temples and deſtruction of Churches. But, the Encomium which *Zoſimus* gives him at parting, ſeems little to agree with what he ſaith in other places concerning his Actions. The great Modeſty and Abſtinence he ſpeaks of here, little ſuites with Rapacity, wherewith he charges him as well

Fælix, Elyſiiſque plagis & carmine dignus Qui male ſuſpectum nobis ardentius arſit Vel Læto purgare fidem; qui judice ferro Diluit immeritum laudato ſanguine crimen. De bello Getico. a v. 590.

as *Rufinus*, after their entrance into the Office of Guardians; when all the Wealth flew into the Coffers of them two; the Cities being exhauſted. We cannot alſo but remember what he writes of his Luxury and Debauchery, when he undertook his expedition into *Greece*. But how Juſt or Unjuſt ſoever the Cauſe of putting this Perſon to death was, we muſt needs ſay that, the whole Story of him taken together, he was a very great Man, and illuſtrated by his many and great Actions, as well as his Alliance. Yet, by deſcent, *Oroſius* ſaith he was a *Vandal*, or ſprung from the race of that *weak, covetous, perfidious and wily Nation*. His firſt conſiderable advancement was to take care of the Emperor *Theodoſius* his Horſes; or to be his *Comes Stabuli*, as we learn from *Claudian* in the Poem he wrote in commendation of his Wife *Serena*; and thence he was promoted to be *Magiſter Equitum*, or rather *Utrinſq; Militiæ*, as we find he was, by other Teſtimonies.

His Commendation.

—Gemino mox idem culmine duxit Agmina. Quidam legere mavult gemino germine, ut ita fuerit Ductor militis pariter Barbari ac Romani.

After his death extraordinary Payments ceaſe.

44. So great was the Prejudice conceived againſt him, as the Author of the late Invaſions and Diſturbancies, that he being now taken out of the way, they thought the Storme to be over. For, preſently after his Death, as if now there was no need of extraordinary payments, which the Invaſions of *Alarich* and *Radagiſus* had made neceſſary, *Honorius* gave orders to *Theodorus* the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Italy*, for taking off the Burthen which had been laid upon that part of" the Country called *Italia Annonaria*, of finding thoſe Proviſions called *Annonæ*" *Cellarienſes*; of which we have formerly ſpoken; and he was as kind to *Senators*," as the ordinary ſort; commanding alſo that their Tax or the *Glebalis Collatio*," ſhould be removed. And now toward the latter end of *September* came out the" uſual Edict, for confiſcating the Eſtates of Traitors and their Complices, enjoyn-" ing *Theodorus*, that the Emperors Titles ſhould be fixed throughout their Fields" and all their Houſes; as alſo that what their *Agents* had received of the Fruits of" their Grounds, they ſhould preſently reckon for in the Treaſury, under Pain of Baniſhment and Proſcription. This Edict it ſeems did not operate ſo effectually but that there was need of another, a Month after, to reinforce what concerned the *Agents*, and ſuch as had to do with the Eſtate of *Stilicho*, commanding" them to bring in what they had kept back; but without any Penalty inflicted" for Faileur; ſo that Pardon for what was paſt, ſeems to be underſtood." Theſe two Conſtitutions reſpected the Eſtates of *Stilicho* and his *Satellites* or Partiſans, in the Surveying of which, there were Goods found mixed with them, that were claimed by other Perſons. But of theſe Claimers it was found, or ſuſpected, that ſome of them at leaſt had given Eſtates both Moveable and Immoveable to him, his Son, or their *Satellites*, for the inriching (or diſquieting) of *Barbarians*. And therefore by a third Edict, wherein he gives *Stilicho* the ſtile of *Prædo Publicus*, or publick Robber, he commands, that all ſuch mixed Eſtates be confiſcated," as were given for that purpoſe." It being always held for Law that no Action of recovery can lye where both the giver and receiver are found to be in turpitude or diſhoneſty; and in ſuch caſes, the Cauſe of the Exchequer is always held the better.

His eſtate and thoſe of his Friends confiſcated.

L. 4. De Indalgentiis Debitorum. Cod. Th. Lib. 11. tit. 28. Dat. Id. Septemb. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt. ut temporaria. L. 20. De Bonis Proſcriptorum Cod. Th. Dat. 8. Cal. Octobr.

L. 21. ejuſd. tit. Dat. 8. Cal. Novemb.

L. 22. Ejuſd. tit. Dat. 10. Cal. Decemb. Abſ. a Cod. Juſt.

45. But let us hear what *Zoſimus* hath concerning the management of Matters after the death of *Stilicho*. All Affaires at Court were ordered according to the pleaſure of *Olympius*. As for places, he was promoted to that of *Magiſter (Officiorum)* and the reſt were diſtributed according to his recommendation. Now were all the familiar Friends, and ſuch as had taken the part of *Stilicho*, ſought out in all places, and amongſt the reſt *Deuterius* the *Præpoſitus Cubiculi* of the Emperor, and *Peter* the *Tribune* of the *Schole* of the *Notaries*, were called to account, and ſubjected to Examination by Torture; but being neither able to accuſe him nor themſelves, *Olympius*, though he gained nothing by this Inquiſition, yet cauſed them to be beaten to Death with Staves. Very many other alſo, as privy to the Deſignes of *Stilicho*, were drawn into Trouble and tortured, to diſcover his affecting the Imperial Dignity; but they all perſiſting in this, that they *knew nothing of it*, a ſtop was put to the Curioſity of thoſe who were active in fiſhing out ſuch matters. The Emperor depoſed his Wife *Thermantia*, and cauſed her to be ſent back to her Mother, though ſhe was not burthened by any ſuſpition; and her Brother *Eucherius*, to be diligently ſought for and put to Death, who was found to have fled to a Church in *Rome*, whence they diſmiſſed him, out of reverence to the place. In that City *Heliocrates* who was over the Treaſury, producing the Emperors Letters which commanded that the Eſtates of all thoſe ſhould be Sold, who during the Power of *Stilicho* had obtained any place of Magiſtracy, buſied himſelf in raiſing Moneys and filling the Coffers belonging to his Office, and not contenting himſelf or ſatiating his evil genius herewith, though

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What followed upon his Death

he laid ſuch Perſons in Chaines, and, God abſenting himſelf, turned all things upſide down, yet was added to thoſe Miſchiefs another thing of the like Nature. The Soldiers that were Quartered about in the Cities, when word was brought of *Stilicho*'s Death, flew preſently upon the Wives and Children of the *Barbarians* that there lay; and as if the Signal had been given, putting them all to the Sword, then ſieſed on all they had. This when their Relations heard, they met together from all Quarters, and grievouſly provoked by the impious violation of that Faith, by the *Romans*, which had been given by calling God to Witneſs, they reſolved to joyn with *Alarich*, and in Conjunction with him to enter into a War againſt *Rome*. Upon this account Thirty Thouſand men, or more were gathered together, ready to go whither ever Occaſion ſhould direct.

Alarich his terms.

46. *Alarich* was not forward to accept of what they offered; but mindful of the Truce which had been made in the lifetime of *Stilicho*, preferred Peace before War. He ſent to *Honorius* and offered the confirmation of it, for no great ſumm of Mony; but he required that for performance of the Conditions, *Ætius* the Son of *Jovius*, and *Jaſon* the Son of *Gaudentius*, might be given up, as Hoſtages, into his Hands; in exchange for whom, he would ſend ſome of the Nobleſt of his own Nation; which being done, he would depart with his Forces out of *Noricum* into *Pannonia*. The Emperor rejected his Conditions. And if of two things he had done but one, he might have well enough provided for his Affairs. For he ſhould either have put off the War by obtaining Truce for a ſmall Sum of Mony; or if he reſolved for it, he ſhould have got his Forces together from all quarters; and there have placed them, where the Enemy was to make his paſſage, to give a ſtop to his farther progreſs. And he ought to have choſen *Sarus* for his General, who of himſelf was a terrour to the Enemy both for his Valour and Military Skill; and had with him of *Barbarians*, a ſufficient number to make reſiſtance. But neither making choice of Peace, nor embracing the Friendſhip of *Sarus*, nor drawing together the *Roman* Army, but relying wholly upon the fancies and wiſhes of *Olympius*, he became Author of great Calamities to the State. For he made ſuch, Officers of his Army, as would rather raiſe contempt and confidence in the minds of his Enemies, than otherwiſe; giving the Command of the Horſe to *Turpillio*; of the Foot to *Varanes*; and of the Wing of the *Domeſticks*, to *Vigilantius*, and other places he diſtributed to Men of equal fitneſs and capacity. This cauſed all Men to hang down their Heads, and deſpair; having now, as it were before their eyes, the deſtruction of *Italy*. So *Zoſimus*.

Rejected.

Strangers forbiden *Rome*.

L.20. de pœnis, Cod.Th.Dat.10. Cal. Octob.

L.alt.de Teſtimoniali Ex Tribunis & Protectoribus, Dat. 10.Cal.Decemb.

L.19.de pœnis, Cod.Th.Dat.3. Id.Nov. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt. ut temporaria.

L.1.de litorum & itinerum cuſtodia, Cod. Th.lib.7.tit.16. Dat 4.Id. Dec.

Paſſage opened out of the Eaſtern into the Weſtern Empire.

47. But of ſuch ſtrength and continuance had the authority and Intereſt of *Stilicho* been; ſuch his influence into all ſorts of perſons, eſpecially thoſe of the Military Employment, that there was great need to have a watching eye over his Party; however, it ſuffered, as *Zoſimus* writes. Therefore did the Emperour forbid, “ that any of them that were proſcribed, ſhould come to Court, or ſet a foot “ within the City of *Rome*, under pain of Deportation: and alſo ſuch Soldiers as “ by procurement of *Stilicho*, or his *Satellites*, had before their time obtain'd “ Teſtimonials or Letters for Dignities, as of *Tribunes* and *Protectors*; thoſe of “ them excepted, whoſe Dwelling or Habitation was in *Rome*, from whom he “ did not apprehend ſuch danger, as from thoſe who had no juſt occaſion to go “ thither. “ Well might *Honorius* have ſome jealouſie and ſuſpicion of theſe perſons, when at this very time, after ten years had paſſed, he concerned himſelf about the *Satellites* of *Gildo*; ſome of whom, it ſeems, had lurked all this while, and concealed both themſelves and Eſtates. Having notice, that now ſome ſuch were diſcovered, he wrote back to *Donatus* the *Proconſul* of *Africk*, that they ſhould “ be committed to cuſtody, and proſcribed; or their Eſtates ſieſed and ſold; ſatisfying himſelf with this, without inflicting the pains of death, the preſcription of “ ten years having mollified the ſentence. “ At the end of the Year, he proceeded to remove ſome Abuſes, which had been introduced by *Stilicho*; of which we had had no knowledge, but for an Hiſtorical Conſtitution, as I may term it, directed now to *Theodorus*: herein he tells him, that *Stilicho* the *Publick Enemy*, had “ found out a new and unwonted device to ſet many Guards upon Shores and “ Havens, leſt any ſhould paſs out of the *Eaſt* into this part of the Empire. Mo- “ ved by the iniquity of which thing, and that Commerce might not be ſo rare as “ it had been; he commands that this pernicious cuſtody of the ſaid places, be re- “ moved, and that a free paſſage to and fro, may be opened. “ But becauſe at this time more than ever, the greater and richer ſort oppreſſed the poor and inferiour, (one of the forerunning ſigns of the Empires approaching ruine:) He prohibits

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the Nobler, and the more Honourable, and richer perſons to uſe Merchandiſe, “ that there might be a more free Commerce betwixt Plebeians and their Chapmen. “

L.3. de Commerciis. Cod. Juſt.lib.4.tit. 63.

L.25.de Petitionib, &c. Cod. Th.Dat.4.Id. Decemb. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt. ut temporaria.

48. So hard hearted and unmerciful were the rich Men of this Age, that they were ſo far from giving relief to the Diſtreſſed, that it pleaſed them even to add affliction to affliction. For the Emperour farther informs us,, that when an in- “ vaſion of the *Barbarians* was feared in the Weſtern *Illyricum*, a great number of “ the Inhabitants, out of fear, and to avoid deſtruction, forſook their own, and “ went into other Countries. Theſe, ſome perſons were ſo impudent as to make “ Slaves,and that by inſinuating ſomething concerning them to the Emperour,in way “ of begging. Perceiving the horridneſs of the practice, *Honorius* bids the *Præfect* to “ take notice, and have a care, that for the time to come, none of *Illyricum*, whe- “ ther living at home in their own Country, or elſewhere, be begged in ſuch man- “ ner. “ And ſome were yet more bold, without asking leave to ſeiſe upon the perſons of their Fellow Subjects, which cauſed *Honorius* further to declare, That “ all ſuch as were driven, or forced out of their own Countries, of whatſoever “ Province, Sex Condition or Age they were, ſhould not by any Man be retained, “ but ſuffered freely to return to their own homes. Neither if any Cloaths or “ Meat was given them, ſhould any thing be demanded for it, but ſet upon the Score “ of Humanity. But in caſe that any of them had been bought, or purchaſed of “ *Barbarians*, then thinks he it conducing to the publick utility, that the price be “ paid back to the purchaſers. That a conſideration of the loſs of ones Money “ may not hinder a Work of ſuch charity, he thinks it decent, that they that are “ redeemed, either return back what was paid, or elſe by the Labour, Work and “ Service of five years make them compenſation, and then enjoy that freedom to “ which they were born. He wills therefore, that with this reſtriction they be all “ ſent back into their own Countries, and there have all things entirely reſtored to “ them, according to the *Jus Poſtliminii*. If any *Agent*, *Steward*, or *Farmer* “ ſhall endeavour to render this Law ineffectual, he condemns him to the Iſles, and “ Deportation; and the Lord of the Ground he deprives of his Land, and baniſhes “ alſo into the Iſlands. For the more effectual putting of this order in execution, “ he will have the Chriſtians of the next places to take care of it: “ By which he means the *Biſhops* or *Clergy*, to whom the names of *Chriſtian* and *Clerks* are eſpecially appropriated, though at firſt they ſignified all the *Faithful*, or *Believers*; as in *France*, and here alſo with us the Conſiſtories or Audiences of Biſhops, have been, and are ſtill called *Courts Chriſtian*: He admoniſheth alſo the *Curiales* of the Neighbouring Cities, to take notice, that in ſuch emergencies the intent and purpoſe “ of the Law is to be obeyed. And will have all the Governours of Provinces to “ know that they ſhall forfeit ten pounds of Gold themſelves, and their Apparitors “ as much, if they neglect the execution of it. “

Fellow Subjects prohibited being Slaves.

L. ult. de Poſtliminio, Cod. Th.lib.5 tit. 5. & l. ult. Cod. Juſt.eod.tit.

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Honorio 8, & Theodoſio 3, Coſſ.

Zoſimus, p.812.

49. The Conſuls for the Year CCCCIX, were the two Emperours, *Honorius Auguſtus* the eighth time, and *Theodoſius* the third. Before this, *Alarich* deriding the preparations made by *Honorius*, reſolved on his Expedition againſt *Rome*. And becauſe he would not attempt ſo great a matter on even hands only, but with advantages ſuperiour to thoſe of the Emperour, he ſent for *Ataulfus*, his Wifes Brother out of the upper *Pannonia* to have him for his Colleague and Aſſiſtant in the war, who had with him no ſmall number of *Huns* and *Goths*; yet he ſtaid not for his coming,but began his March, and paſſed *Aquileia* with the other Cities beyond *Eridanus*, *viz. Concordia*, *Altinum* and *Cremona*. Having croſſed the River, as on a Feſtival day without meeting with any adverſary, he came to a Caſtle of *Bononia*, called *Oecubaria*, whence having ranged *Æmilia*, and left *Ravenna* behind him, he proceeded to *Arminium*, a great City of *Flaminia*, and ſo at length into *Picenum*. Some ſay, that lying near *Ravenna*, he ſent to *Honorius*, and deſired peace, and that ſome place might be aſſigned to him and his in *Italy* to inhabit,promiſing,in return,to ſerve him faithfully as a Soldier. *Honorius* was ſenſible,that in ſtrength he was inferior,and could not well grapple with him,but was ſo confident in the fortifications of *Ravenna*,and hoped ſo much from the Forces which before the death of *Stilicho* he had ſent for out of the Eaſt; that he anſwered with great courage, that he could not yield to any of his demands; and that *he* ſhould do well to remember what became of his laſt expedition. *Alarich* not ſatisfied with this Anſwer, moved towards *Rome*; and in his paſſage rifled all the Cities and Villages, inſomuch, that if before the coming of the *Barbarians* into theſe parts, *Arſacius* and *Terentius* the Eunuchs had not preſently made their eſcape, and

Alarich pierceth into *Italy*.

taken away *Eucherius*, the Son of *Stilicho*, to *Rome*, there to be put to death, which they inflicted upon him, the young Man had fallen into the hands of *Alarich*, and had eſcaped. But they having herein obeyed their orders, and reſtored *Thermantia* to her Mother, not being able to return the ſame way to *Honorius*, they took Ship, and ſailing toward *Gall*, came at length where he was. For their good ſervice *Terentius* was made *Præpoſitus Cubiculi* to the Emperour, who conferred the next place upon *Arſacius*. And *Bathanarius* being ſlain, who was *Magiſter Militum* in *Libya*, and had married the Siſter of *Stilicho*; the Government of that Province was delivered to *Heraclianus*, who killed *Stilicho* with his own hand.

Blocks up *Rome*.

50. *Alarich* now drawing near *Rome*, and ſtopping up all the paſſages to it, a dreadful tumult aroſe in the City, at ſo unexſpected a thing. Many Slaves and Barbarians made their eſcape to him; and the Pagans returning to their old Fable, contended, that the *Chriſtian* Religion, whence all thoſe miſchiefs proceeded, was to be forſaken. But the Senate had *Serena* in ſuſpicion, as if ſhe had brought the *Barbarians* againſt the City; and the Fathers, together with *Placidia*, the Emperour's Siſter, reſolved that ſhe ought to be put to death, as the cauſe of all theſe great calamities. They concluded, that if ſhe was removed out of the way, he would raiſe the Siege; there being none then remaining that would betray the place into his hands. This ſuſpicion was altogether falſe, and without ground, *Serena* having never once had ſuch a thought. But *Zoſimus* tells you, ſhe juſtly ſuffered puniſhment for offering violence to divine things, in ſuch manner as he is pleaſed to relate. At ſuch time as *Theodoſius* the elder, having ſuppreſſed the tyranny of *Eugenius*, came to *Rome*, he procured a contempt of ſacred worſhip in the minds of all Men, refuſing to allow, out of the publick ſtock, any thing to defray the expence of Sacrifices: then were the Prieſts of both Sexes driven away, and the Temples ſtood deſolate, and without their wonted Ceremonies. Then did *Serena* flout at them, and would needs ſee the Temple of the Mother of the Gods, where beholding a Bracelet about the Neck of *Rhea*, and worthy of that divine Worſhip, ſhe took it from the Image, aud put it about her own Neck. When an old Woman that was left of the Veſtal Virgins, ſaw it, ſhe upbraided her to her face with her impiety; but ſhe grievouſly reviled her, and made her Attendants drive her away, who, at her departing wiſhed, that ſuch vengeance as was due to ſuch wickedneſs might light on her, her Husband, and her Children. But ſhe giving no heed to ſuch things, carried away the Ornament, with which ſhe was very much pleaſed; but often afterward a thing appeared to her both ſleeping and waking, which denounced to her imminent death. Others alſo there were that had ſight of ſuch Apparitions. But though vengeance, the perſecutor of wicked perſons, did thus do her office; yet though *Serena* knew it, ſhe had no care of her ſelf; but at laſt gave that Neck to be broken by the Halter, which had worn the Necklace of the Goddeſs. Moreover, *Stilicho* himſelf, for an impiety of the like nature, did not eſcape the ſecret effects of vengeance, as the report went. For it was ſaid, that he commanded the Plates of Gold to be taken from the Doors of the Capitol at *Rome*, and thoſe that were commanded to do it, left this written upon the Doors: *They are kept for a miſerable King*. To which, the event anſwered; for he miſerably ended his life. Thus, *Zoſimus* the *Pagan*, attributes their death to what he eſteemed *Sacrilege*; whereas others, with more reaſon, believe them puniſhed for their ambitious practices to ſet up their Son.

Serena condemned to death by the Senate.

51. But however, the death of *Serena* did not procure the raiſing of the Siege; which *Alarich* ſo far inforced, that he blocked up all the Gates, and ſeiſing on *Tiber*, ſtopped all Commerce, and Proviſions from coming by Sea. The *Romans* reſolved to endure it, expecting every day relief from *Ravenna*; but when none came, they thought fit to diminiſh their ordinary and dayly expence of Proviſions by one half; and after that, when ſtill there was little hope, they lived on a third part of that which formerly they had allowed themſelves. Yet did not this courſe prevent a Famine, which by the many ill accidents it afforded, drew on a Plague, and all places were filled with dead Bodies. For, the Enemy having poſſeſſed himſelf of all the ways, the City it ſelf became the Sepulchre of the dead; which thing was enough to render the place deſolate; for if there had been no Famine at all, the ſtench ariſing from the Carcaſes would have deſtroyed the Inhabitants. *Læta*, who had been the Wife of *Gratian*, and *Piſſamena*, her Mother, relieved many, and that for a long time; having by the liberality of *Theodoſius*, obtain'd an allowance for a Royal Table, out of the Treaſury. But the matter having now proceeded to all extremity, and they being ready to devour one another, after attempts

tempts made, which at another time would have ſeemed abominable, they reſolved to ſend to the Enemy, and to tell him, that they were ready to make a peace on reaſonable or moderate terms, yet more ready to fight; the People of *Rome* having, after it had once taken up Arms, not been accuſtomed to ſtand in fear of any. *Baſilius* was choſen for the Meſſenger, a *Spaniard* by original, and Preſident of a Province, with whom joyned himſelf one *John*, who was the Overſeer of thoſe Notaries of the Prince, which, *Zoſimus* tells us, they called *Tribunes*, being a Man fit enough, as known to *Alarich*. And yet they knew not certainly in *Rome* whether *Alarich* himſelf was at the Siege, a rumour being ſpread, that there was ſome other who had favoured the cauſe of *Stilicho*; but when the Meſſengers were come to the Camp, they ſaw in how great ignorance the People had been in ſo long time, and were aſhamed of it. When they had told their Errand, *Alarich* took eſpecial notice of this, that the People was ready to fight; and anſwering, that thick Graſs was more eaſily cut than thin, fell into a great laughter, and derided them.

52. When they came to the debate about peace, he uſed expreſſions exceeding even all Barbarous Inſolence. He affirmed, he would not raiſe his Siege till he had all their Gold and Silver, rich Houſhold Stuff, and ſuch Slaves as were of the Barbarous Nations, delivered into his hands. One of the Meſſengers hereat asking what then he would leave remaining to them in the City; he anſwered, their lives. Having obtained a Truce, in order to a further Treaty, they returned to *Rome* with his anſwer. And *Zoſimus* tells you, that the *Romans* being now convinced that it was *Alarich* that beſieged them, and deſpairing of all things which Man could perform, they bethought themſelves of that aſſiſtance of which the City had had experience, when vexed with Seditions, and how having forſaken their ancient Rites, they had been deprived of it. While they conſidered hereof, *Pompeianus*, the *Præfect* of the City, met by chance with ſome that were come from *Tuſcia*, and affirmed, that they had freed a Town, called *Neveia*, from imminent danger, by their Vows and Country Rites, having procured grievous Thunder and Lightning, you muſt know, and driven to flight the Barbarians. Having ſpoken with theſe Men, he did whatſoever was required by the Books of the *Pontifices*; but conſidering of the then prevalent opinion, that he might do it ſafely, he communicated his whole deſign to the Biſhop of the City, whoſe name was *Innocent*; who preferring the ſafety of the place before his own Opinion, permitted them to do what they thought fit. But they affirming, that nothing would avail the City, except the wonted Sacrifices were publickly reſtored, the Senate aſcending into the *Capitol*, and as well there, as in every *Forum* of the City, celebrating the uſual Rites, no body durſt be preſent at the Ceremonies of their Country, but thoſe Men that came from *Tuſcia*, being bid farewel, applied themſelves to appeaſe and mollifie the *Barbarian* all the other ways they could imagine. They ſent Meſſengers to him a ſecond time, and after much ſaid, and contended on both ſides, it was agreed, that the City ſhould pay down five thouſand pounds of Gold, thirty thouſand of Silver, four thouſand Silk Coats, three thouſand Skins of Purple Dye, and as many pounds of Pepper.

A Truce granted.

53. The City had nothing now in Bank, and therefore the Senators were to be taxed according to their Eſtates, the care whereof was committed to *Palladius*. He was not able to raiſe the Sum, either for that the owners concealed part of their Goods, or becauſe the City was grown poor, by reaſon of the covetous and continual exactions of the Emperours; and therefore (you hear *Zoſimus*) that wicked Genius which then governed the Affairs of mankind, impelled thoſe that were concerned in the raiſing of this Money, to the very height of Villany. For what was wanting in the Sum, they ſupplied out of the Ornaments belonging to the Images of the Gods, which amounted to no other than this, that thoſe Images which had been dedicated with Sacred Rites and Ceremonies, and decently adorned, becauſe they had preſerved the City in perpetual felicity, ſhould now by diminiſhing of theſe Ceremonies become altogether as inanimate and inefficacious. And becauſe all things which could tend to the deſtruction of the City were to concur, they not only deprived their Images of their Ornaments, but melted down ſome that were made of Gold and Silver; amongſt which was the Image of *Valour*; and it being thus deſtroyed, all that *Fortitude* or *Valour* which remained to the *Romans*, was extinguiſhed; which perſons that were skillful in divine matters, and exerciſed in the Rites of their Country, did predict. Money being raiſed in this manner, it was thought fit to ſend to the Emperour, to acquaint

The Siege of *Rome* raiſed by Money, as *Zoſimus* tells the Story.

quaint him with the Agreement, and to let him know, that *Alarich* demanded not only Money, but the Sons of Noble Men for Hoſtages; and upon theſe terms would not only make a peace, but enter into a League offenſive and defenſive with him, and march againſt any one who ſhould act in an hoſtile manner againſt the *Romans*. *Honorius* was content, that Peace ſhould be made on theſe Conditions; and then the Money was paid to the *Barbarians*. And *Alarich* for three days, opened a Market to the hungry Citizens, granting them liberty to paſs out at certain Gates, and permitting Proviſions to be brought in from the Haven. The Citizens having thus refreſhed themſelves, the *Barbarians* departed from *Rome*, and encamped in the places about *Tuſcia*. But all the Slaves in a manner that were at *Rome*, fled away; every day ſome, and joyned with them, inſomuch that their number reached to forty thouſand; and while the *Romans* were employed in bringing in Neceſſaries from the Haven, the *Barbarians* ſtraggling up and down, fell upon them. This, *Alarich*, when he knew it, both ſeverely puniſhed, and prohibited for the time to come. This mitigation of miſchief, as it appeared, fell out at ſuch time as *Honorius* the Emperour entred the Conſulſhip at *Ravenna*, enjoying now that Honour the eighth time, and *Theodoſius Auguſtus* the third time, in the *Eaſt*.

54. This is *Zoſimus* his Relation, full of zeal for his ancient Country Rites and Ceremonies, which tranſported him ſo far out of the way of veracity, as to caſt dirt upon the memory of *Innocent* the Biſhop, as we may with as much reaſon as charity believe, becauſe the Eccleſiaſtical Writers, ſome of whom were prejudiced againſt him, lay no ſuch matter to his charge. The Men of *Tuſcia* we are to take for no other than *Etruſcan* Soothſayers, who were much skilled in ſuch like Myſteries. The Town they pretended to preſerve by their Conjuring, is by *Sozomen* called *Larina* in *Tuſcia*; and by *Sigonius* it is taken for *Narnia*. Why they could not ſhew ſuch Feats at *Rome*, *Zoſimus* gives but a ſlender account; for, others write, that many Senators of the *Pagan* Perſwaſion did really ſacrifice; and that the Soothſayers were not accidentally met, but ſent for on purpoſe by the *Præfect*: their Gods muſt have been very weak, or very angry, that could not, or would not deliver their Well-wiſhers, without ſo heavy a Compoſition as the City paid. Another Relation there is, of a certain *Italian* Monk, who hearing what danger *Rome* was in, haſted to the Siege, and laboured to perſwade *Alarich* to preſerve the City. To whom he anſwered, that he was willing ſo to do; but that there was one who continually was importunate upon him, and urged him to deſtroy it. If this be true, it came from a ſtronger hand than was that of *Zoſimus* his Gods.

Socrat. l.7.c.9. Sozom.l.9.c.7.

Zoſim.p.818.

55. But in the mean time, *Conſtantine* the Tyrant, who domineered in *Gall*, ſent ſome Eunuchs to *Honorius*, to beg his pardon, that he had received that Dignity which was conferred on him. For he profeſſed, he did not take it upon himſelf, but was forced to it by the Soldiers. *Honorius* conſidered, that ſo long as *Alarich* with his *Barbarians* preſſed ſo hard upon him, he could not think of any other Wars; and he had a reſpect to the ſafety of his Kinſmen, *Verenianus* and *Didymius*, kept Priſoners by the Tyrant, ſo as to conſent to what was done, and to ſend him the Imperial Habit; though he was deceived as to his Kinſmen, who were put to death before the coming of the Meſſengers. The Senate and People at the ſame time found as great reaſon ſtill to be concerned for their own ſafety, which was far from being ſure, or eſtabliſhed, the Emperour having neither given up the Hoſtages to *Alarich*, nor performed other Covenants. The Senate therefore made choice of *Cecilianus*, *Attalus* and *Maximianus*, to repreſent the ſadneſs of their condition to him, by ſhewing what they had already undergone, and what they muſt ſtill expect to ſuffer. But whether *Honorius*, for that he had taken off one Enemy, by conſenting to the promotion of *Conſtantine*, was grown high and ſecure; or, as *Zoſimus* ſaith, was governed by *Olympius*, who diſturbed all things, and hindered whatever was juſt and fitting, he ſent back the Meſſengers without any ſatisfactory Anſwer. But having removed *Theodorus* from the Præfectſhip of the City, he gave the place to *Cecilianus*: and *Attalus* he ſet over the Treaſury. *Olympius* ſtill bent his whole ſtudy and endeavour to find out ſuch as he imagined to know any thing of the Affairs of *Stilicho*; and now called to account *Marcellianus* and *Salonius*, two Brothers, and of the Emperour's Notaries. He delivered them up into the hands of the *Præfectus Prætorio*, by whoſe order, their Bodies were rent and torn with Scourges; but nothing did they offer to promote *Olympius* his Deſign. *Honorius*, convinced now that the City was

Honorius ſendeth the Imperial Habit to *Conſtantine* the Tyrant.

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in no good condition, thought fit to ſend for five Regiments of *Dalmatians* to defend it, in which were contained ſix thouſand Men, eſteemed the Flower of the *Roman* Army, both in reſpect of their courage, and their extraordinary ſtrength and ſtature.

56. *Valens* their Commander, thinking it below the wonted courage and reſolution of the *Romans* to ſhun any paths or ways becauſe they were ſeiſed, and held by the Enemy, fell into the hands of *Alarich* and his Men, who waited for his coming; and ſcarcely one hundred eſcaped, amongſt whom was *Valens* himſelf, who with *Attalus*, ſent by the Senate as a Meſſenger to the Emperour, came ſafe into the City. Now greater miſchiefs ſtill following one another, when *Attalus* entred *Rome*, he diſcharged *Heliocrates* of that care, which by order of the Emperour, had by means of *Olympius* been impoſed upon him. His Employment was to ſearch after, and enquire out the Eſtates of thoſe who had been proſcribed upon the account of *Stilicho*, and bring them into the Treaſury. But being a Man of a moderate temper, and thinking it impious to inſult over miſerable people, he enquired not ſtrictly into the matter, but privily ſent to many concerned, to conceal their Goods as much as they could; whereupon as good for nothing he was ſent away to *Ravenna*, to ſuffer in the room of thoſe he had delivered; and had been put to death, but that he betook himſelf into a Church of the Chriſtians. As for *Maximian*, he was taken by the Enemy, and was redeemed by *Marinianus*, his Father, with thirty thouſand *Aurei*. But ſtill the Emperour deferring the Ratification of the Peace, and not making good the Covenants, the *Romans* could not freely, and without attempts made upon their Perſons, go out of the City. With this the Senate was ſo moved, as to ſend their Meſſengers again to him to perſwade him to embrace the Overtures; and amongſt them was the Biſhop of *Rome*, with whom were ſent ſome *Barbarians* by *Alarich* to ſecure them on their way, which the Enemy had every where beſet. While they were on their Journey, *Ataulfus*, who, as was ſaid, was ſent for by *Alarich*, paſſed the *Alpes*, which extend themſelves from *Pannonia* towards *Venetia*, or the *Julian Alpes*, ſo called. When he was come into *Venetia*, *Honorius* finding he had no numerous Forces, drew out all the Soldiers out of the Towns, and commanded them to oppoſe him, and hinder his conjunction with *Alarich*; which they did ſo effectually, that of the *Goths* they ſlew fifteen hundred, with the loſs but of ſeventeen Men. In the mean time, the Eunuchs at Court fell foul upon *Olympius*, and accuſed him as Author of all the Inconveniences under which the Empire at preſent laboured, and prevailed ſo far, that he was diſcharged of his place; which being done, that no greater miſchief might happen to him, he fled away into *Dalmatia*.

57. The Emperour now made *Attalus* Præfect of the City, and in his place ſet *Demetrius* over the Treaſury, with deſign that he ſhould diligently enquire into whatever might belong to it, that nothing might be concealed. Several Officers he turned out, and preferred others, as he pleaſed, amongſt whom was *Generidus*, to whom he gave the Command of all the *Dalmatick* Soldiers, and beſides them, of all that lay in Garriſon, through the upper *Pannonia*, *Noricum*, and *Rhætia*, as far as the *Alpes*. This *Generidus* was a *Barbarian*, but every way virtuouſly inclined, and moſt free from covetouſneſs, who ſtill adhered to the Rites of his Forefathers, neither would be drawn from the worſhip of the Gods. But of late there had been an Edict publiſhed, which forbade any that was not a Chriſtian to wear the Military Girdle at Court. Obliged by this Law, he, who alſo had a Command in *Rome*, layd by his Girdle, and quietly kept himſelf at home. The Emperour required, that he who was an Officer ſhould attend at the Palace according to his Rank and Place. To this he anſwered, that there was a Law which forbade any one to wear the Girdle, or be capable of any Employment that did not profeſs the Chriſtian Religion. *Honorius* replied, that the Law ſhould indeed bind others, but not him who had done ſuch ſervices for the Commonwealth; but he perſiſted, that he would not receive any advantage in that which tended to the injury of all other perſons concerned; neither would he attend any buſineſs, till the Emperour, compelled by ſhame and neceſſity, repealed the Law in all reſpects, and made it free to any one to hold his Opinion, together with the Employment he had before enjoyed. Beginning with this magnanimous Act, he kept his Men in continual Exerciſes, and furniſhing them with Conveniences, ſuffered none of their Proviſions to be drawn off to other uſes, as had been ordinarily practiſed. Nay, of his own allowance he gave rewards to ſuch of them as beſt deſerved. And be-

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having himſelf after this manner, he was both a terror to the neighbouring *Barbarians*, and protected thoſe Nations that were committed to his Charge.

The Soldiers mutiny at *Ravenna.*

58. In the mean time, the Soldiers that quartered at *Ravenna* fell into a Mutiny, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the Haven: which done, with a confuſed noiſe, they required, that the Emperor ſhould come to them. He thought not fit to venture his Perſon: but *Jovius*, who was advanced both to the Dignity of *Præfectus Prætorio*, and of *Patrician*, taking along with him *Ellobichus*, the *Comes Domeſticorum Equitum*, went to them, and pretending to be ignorant of the cauſe of their unquietneſs, though he himſelf was reported to be Author of it, demanded what had provoked them to ſuch a Seditious Act. They required that *Turpillio* and *Vigilantius*, two Officers in the Army, as alſo, that *Terentius*, the *Præpoſitus Cubiculi*, and *Arſacius*, that was next to him, ſhould be given up into their hands; aad *Honorius* durſt not deny them, for fear of a Revolt: ſo that the Officers were condemned to Baniſhment, and, in order to their Exile, carried on Ship-board; where they were made away by order of *Jovius*, leſt, returning again, they ſhould diſcover his practices againſt them, and procure the Emperor to puniſh him for it. As for *Terentius*, he was baniſhed into the Eaſt; and *Arſacius* was commanded to keep himſelf at *Milan*. Into the place of *Terentius*, was *Euſebius* promoted; the Command of *Turpillio*, was beſtowed on *Valens*; and that of *Vigilantius* on *Ellebichus*: by which the Mutiny now ſeemed to be appeaſed. *Jovius*, the *Præfect*, having got all the power into his own hands, reſolved to ſend to *Alarich*, to come as far as *Ravenna*, in order to a Treaty. *Alarich* ſo far complied with him, as to come to *Arminium*, at but thirty Miles diſtance; and thither *Jovius* ſpeedily betook himſelf: and, having lodged and contracted Friendſhip together, they fell into diſcourſe about the matter. *Alarich* his Demands were, that a certain ſumm of Gold, and a quantity of Corn and Proviſions might be yearly paid him: and, that both the *Venetiæ*, with *Noricum* and *Dalmatia*, might be aſſigned to him and his Men to inhabit and poſſeſs. Theſe Propoſitions were ſent away, in the preſence of *Alarich*, by *Jovius*; who, in other Letters, written apart, adviſed the Emperor to make *Alarich* a *Magiſter Utriuſque Militiæ*; thereby to ſweeten him, that he might remit ſomething of the harſhneſs of the Terms, and conſent to a Peace upon more tolerable and moderate conditions.

Jovius embroils the Emperor in new troubles.

59. The Emperor blamed the raſhneſs of *Jovius*; and wrote him word back, that, as for the quantity of Gold and Proviſions, he might be an equal Judge in that point, having, as *Præfectus Prætorio*, opportunity to be throughly ſkilled in ſuch matters: But, never would he grant the Dignity, or Office, of a *Magiſter Militum* to *Alarich*, or any of his Nation. *Jovius*, having received the Letter, did not read it privately, and to himſelf, but audibly in the hearing of *Alarich*; who was not moved at any other of the Contents, but fell into a Rage, when he found, that ſuch a Command ſhould be denyed to him and his Nation: and, he commanded his *Barbarians* to make ready to march to *Rome*, to be revenged for the Affront offered to their whole people. *Jovius* being quite put out of his way by thoſe unexpected Letters, knew not what courſe to take; but, to *Ravenna* he returned: where, to reingratiate, and make full amends for what he had done, he reſolved to overdo; and obliged *Honorius* by Oath, that he would never make Peace with *Alarich*, but wage War perpetually with him. This done, he himſelf touched the head of the Emperor, and alſo took an Oath to the ſame purpoſe; which he exacted, moreover, from the reſt that were in Place and Authority. In order to this extravagant Reſolution, the Emperor procured an Aid of ten thouſand *Huns*; for the ſuſtenance of whom, he cauſed Corn and Cattel to be brought out of *Dalmatia*. And he ſent out ſome, to eſpy and diſcover what way it was that *Alarich* took againſt *Rome*; gathering, in the mean time, together all his Forces. *Alarich*, by this time, repented of his purpoſe of attacking it; and procured the Biſhops to go to *Honorius*, and adviſe him by his neglect, not to ſuffer that City, which, now, for more than a thouſand years, had reigned over a great part of the World, to be waſted by *Barbarians*, nor ſuch beautiful Buildings to be burnt and defaced; but rather, ſubmit to ſome very moderate Conditions. Theſe were, not to enjoy the Dignity lately mentioned, nor the Provinces to be given up to inhabit; but only, both the *Noricums*, that lay upon the utmoſt part of *Iſter*, which were ſubject to continual Incurſions, and paid a very ſlender Tribute. For Proviſions, he would ſubmit to ſuch proportions as the Emperor himſelf ſhould think fit, and fully quit his Demand of Gold: deſiring, that betwixt him and the *Romans*, a Friendſhip and Society in War might be contracted, againſt any one that ſhould

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take Arms, or move, againſt the Commonwealth. Theſe things ſo mildly and modeſtly did *Alarich* propound, that all men admired his Temper. But, *Jovius*, and the reſt that were next about the Emperor, alledged, that they could not be granted, becauſe all in Office had taken an Oath, never to make Peace with him. And, if you will believe *Zoſimus*, they gave this reaſon; becauſe, if the Oath had been made to God, poſſibly it might have been neglected, by permitting to the Divine Benignity the Pardon of ſuch Wickedneſs: but, having ſworn by the head of the Emperor, it was not lawful for them to go againſt ſo heavy an Oath. So cautious, ſaith he, were the minds of theſe men, who (though without the care of God) governed Affairs at that time. And ſo he concludes the fifth Book of his Hiſtory.

Zoſim.lib.6. p. 824.

60. *Alarich* therefore finding himſelf abuſed, with his whole Army marched for *Rome*, reſolved to do his utmoſt in the Siege thereof. At which time came another Meſſenger from *Conſtantine*, out of *Gall*; one *Jovius*, a man of excellent Learning and Endowments, to ratifie the former Agreement, and to ask Pardon for the death of *Didimius* and *Verenianus*, the Kinſmen of the Emperor; who, he pretended, had been put to death without any Order received from *Conſtantine*. Finding *Honorius* in a great paſſion at the mention of their death, he told him, he ſhould do well, if, now entangled ſo much in the troubles of *Italy*, he gave ſome way to the time. And, if he would grant him leave to go back to him that ſent him, and to make known the condition that *Italy* was in; he would ſhortly return with all the *Celtick*, *Spaniſh* and *Brittiſh* Forces; and bring relief both to the City of, and the Country about, *Rome*. With this Propoſal, *Jovius* obtained leave to depart. *Alarich* being come to *Rome*, threatned he would take it by force, except the Citizens would joyn with him, and make War againſt *Honorius*. They ſticking hereat, he laid Siege to the City: and, proceeding on to the Haven, after he had ſpent ſome days in the Attack, he became Maſter of it. Now he had all the Proviſions in his power; and threatned to ſpend all upon his own Army, if they did not preſently ſubmit. Hereupon, the Senate aſſembled; and, after a full debate what was to be done, they conſented to what *Alarich* had propounded; for, death ſtood at every man's door, neither was there any way of evading it, no ſupply of Proviſions coming in from the Port. Therefore they thought fit, after the receiving of his Ambaſſadors, to invite him to the City: and, according to his Commands, they placed *Attalus*, the *Præfect* of *Rome*, in the Imperial Throne, adorned with Purple, and a Crown about his head.

Rome again yielded to *Alarich.*

The Citizens make *Attalus* Emperor.

61. This fine man thus promoted, could not but, out of his great ſtock, be liberal to others. He preſently declared *Lampadius*, *Præfectus Prætorio*; and *Marcianus*, *Præfect* of the City. As to the Army; he gave Command of the Horſe to *Alarich*, and of the Foot, to that *Valens*, who had been Captain of the *Dalmatick* Legions. *Ataulfus* (as *Sigonius*, out of ſome other than the Vulgar Copy, informs us) he made *Comes Domeſticorum*, and deſigned *Tertullus Conſul* for the following year: and having beſtowed the reſt of the places, was accompanied by a Royal Attendance to the Palace, though many ill Omens happened, as to his ſucceſs. The day after, he entred the Senate, and there made a ſpeech full of Arrogance; affirming, that he would bring the World into ſubjection to the *Romans*: and, he bragged of other matters; for which, perhaps, the Divine Power was angry with him, and not long after, as our Author hath it, turned out the man. But, however, the *Romans* were mightily pleaſed, having obtained ſuch Magiſtrates as underſtood their buſineſs; and they took moſt pleaſure in the Honour conferred upon *Tertullus*, the *Conſul*. Only, the Family of the *Anicii*, who ſeemed to carp at all things which tended to publick good, were againſt it; for, poſſeſſing the greateſt Eſtates, they could not endure the publick Felicity, as *Zoſimus* calls it. *Alarich* now adviſed *Attalus* to ſend away convenient Forces to *Africk* and *Carthage*; and, by that means to turn *Heraclianus* out of that Government; that, being obliged, as he was, by his duty to *Honorius*, he might give no interruption to his proceedings. But he nothing eſteemed this wholſom Counſel; but, as even, *Zoſimus* acknowledgeth, truſting to his Prophets, or Sooth-ſayers, (at another time) was perſwaded, that that Country would fall into his hands without a ſtroke. He neglected therefore, to ſend *Drumas*; who, with thoſe Troops of *Barbarians* which he commanded, might eaſily have defeated *Heraclianus*. And, deſpiſing the advice of *Alarich* the ſecond time, gave the Command of the *African* Forces to one *Conſtantine*; and ſent him away, ſlenderly provided.

Who ſillily manageth his Matters.

62. While all men expected what the iſſue of this would be, *Attalus* undertook

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an Expedition againſt *Honorius*, who ſtill held his Reſidence at *Ravenna*. And the Emperor was therewith ſo terrified, that he ſent to him, and offered to receive him as his Partner in the Empire. But, to this, *Jovius*, whom *Attalus* had made *Præfectus Prætorio*, and now ſent him to *Honorius*, anſwered; that his Maſter would not ſuffer *Honorius* to enjoy the Title, no, not to keep his very Body entire; ſome part whereof he would have him loſe by Mutilation, and afterwards be baniſhed into ſome Iſland. This prodigious Arrogance, raiſing aſtoniſhment in all that heard it, *Honorius* prepared to make his eſcape; and, for that purpoſe, procured no ſmall number of Ships to be brought into the Haven at *Ravenna*; when, in the mean time, ſix Cohorts of Soldiers arrived, who had been expected in the life time of *Stilicho*, out of the Eaſt; but came not till now, to his Aſſiſtance. With the ſight of theſe men, who in number were four thouſand, the Emperor revived, as out of a Swoon, and committed to them the care of *Ravenna*; where he reſolved to ſtay, till he could hear what became of the Affairs of *Africk*. In caſe *Heraclianus* prevailed, matters being then ſecured there, he would make War upon *Attalus* and *Alarich*; but, if he ſhould be beaten, as the laſt refuge, he purpoſed to go to *Theodoſius* into the Eaſt, and to quit the Weſtern Provinces. But, while he thought of theſe matters, he found means to have *Jovius* brought back to his Party, and perſwaded to be treacherous, as *Zoſimus* terms the deſerting of a *Pagan* Uſurper, and returning to his duty toward his Lawful *Chriſtian* Prince. He told the Senate plainly, that he would go on no more Errands; and ſpoke words in that Aſſembly, which our Writer calls indecent: and that, for as much as the Attempts of thoſe who were ſent into *Africk* had miſcarried, the *Barbarians* ought to be diſpatched thither, to make War with *Heraclianus*. *Conſtantine*, indeed, being ſlain, their hopes, as to *Africk*, began to abate: but, *Attalus* being much incenſed, managed his matters by other perſons; and ſent away Mony to repair, if poſſible, the Decay of his Intereſt in that Province.

Honorius reduced to great Straits.

Gothofredus in Philoſtorgii lib. 12. c. 3. putab. Zoſimum deceptum in his quæ narrat de reali Corporis mutilatione, cum figuratè tantum Jovius alluſerit hoc ſenſu, Imperium potius deponeret Honorius ſalva vita corporeque.

63. But, what ſaith *Alarich*? how doth he ſatisfie himſelf in this Pageantry, to which he had given the beginning? He was exceedingly perplexed, and began to deſpair of his Creature *Attalus*; perceiving him now, a man of no Judgment or Conduct. Having therefore purpoſed to preſs on the Siege of *Ravenna*, he now reſolved to depart, being adviſed ſo to do by *Jovius*; who, after the Defeat of *Attalus* his Forces in *Africk*, turned again to *Honorius* his ſide, and ceaſed not to perſwade *Alarich*, that *Attalus*, if he once eſtabliſhed himſelf, would, if he could, procure the deſtruction both of him and his Relations. But, while yet *Alarich* continued in Fidelity to *Attalus*, *Valens*, the *Magiſter Equitum*, as a Traitor, was put to death; and *Alarich* himſelf marched with his Troops to all the Cities of *Æmilia*: and, ſuch as refuſed to own *Attalus*, he reduced to obedience by force, except *Bononia*; which he beſieged, but could not maſter. Moreover, he undertook an Expedition into *Liguria*, to conſtrain it alſo to acknowledge him for Emperor; but, with what ſucceſs, *Zoſimus*, our Informer, doth not acquaint us. This is evident, that *Honorius* now wrote to the Cities of *Brittain*, who ſent to him for Aid, to provide for themſelves: and he gave a Congiary to the Soldiers, out of that Mony which had been ſent him by *Heraclianus*; and, living at his eaſe, ingratiated himſelf with Military Men in all Quarters.

Zoſim. lib. 6. p. 626.

64. In the mean time, *Conſtans* was again ſent into *Spain*, by *Conſtantine*, his Father. He took along with him, as his Captain-General, one *Juſtus*; at which, *Gerontius* was ſo enraged, as, diſdaining to have another brought over his head, he inveigled the Soldiers that lay thereabouts, and procured the *Barbarians* that were in *Gallia Celtica*, to revolt from *Conſtantine*. He was not in capacity to reduce them, his Forces being now in *Spain*: and therefore theſe *Tranſrhenine Barbarians*, as *Zoſimus* calls them, invaded all places, according to their luſt and pleaſure; and drove, both the Inhabitants of the Iſland of *Britain*, and ſome of the *Celtick* Nations, to that ſhift, that they revolted from the Empire; and obeying no longer the *Roman* Laws, lived according to their own Preſcripts. Therefore did the *Britains* take Arms; and, refuſing no dangers for the ſafety of their Country, freed it from the *Barbarians* which hovered upon it. As alſo, the Tract of *Armorica*, and other Provinces of *Gall*, immitating herein the *Britains*, in like manner freed themſelves; caſting out the *Roman* Officers, and ſettling their Government according to their own diſcretion. Others write, that *Gerontius*, out of anger that *Juſtus* was preferred before him; having got the Soldiers to his Party, put the Imperial Robe upon *Maximus*, a Creature of his own; and made him *Auguſtus* at *Tarraco*, or *Arragon*. That, on the other ſide, the *Franks*, excited by the ſluggiſh humour of *Conſtantine*,

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ſtantine, paſſed the *Rhine*, and poured themſelves like a Torrent into *Gall*, which they had formerly ſo often attempted with ſuch various ſucceſs: and, amongſt other Cities, took and plundered *Triers*, at this time the Imperial Seat in theſe Quarters. The *Vandals*, and other Nations, upon rumour hereof, repaired ſpeedily to the *Rhine*, to give a ſtop to their preſumption. But, the *Franks*, after that *Reſpondialis*, King of the *Allemans*, was returned from the *Rhine* with his Forces, *Goar* being fled to the *Romans*, fell with great violence upon the *Vandals*: and having ſlain *Godegiſil*, their King, cut in pieces almoſt twenty thouſand of them; and had deſtroyed them all, if the *Alans*, having notice of their diſtreſs, had not come in, in good time to their Aſſiſtance.

65. The *Vandals*, *Alans* and *Suevi*, diſcouraged by this Defeat, and not daring to grapple and conteſt with the *Franks*, ſome ſay, now entred into Conſultation to quit *Gall*, and ſeek out ſome other Country, wherein to ſettle. That, having made *Gunderich*, the Son of *Godigiſil*, King in his Father's ſtead, they went to the *Pirenæan* Mountains; and, joyning to themſelves the Garriſon which *Conſtans* had left at the Straits, paſſed over into *Spain*; and, proceeding into the fartheſt parts thereof, fell upon the *Roman* Captains when they never expected it, and brought the Country into Subjection. This indeed, is the Year in which *Caſſiodorus* and *Proſper* note the *Vandals* to have entred, and ſiezed on *Spain*: of which *Oroſius* might have given us a full Account; living at this time, and being that Country man: but, thus much he tells us, in ſhort. "That, the Nations of the *Suevi*, *Vandals*, and many others with them, being incited by *Stilicho*; beat the *Franks*, and paſſed the *Rhine*; invaded *Gall*, and came as far as the *Pyrenæans*: Where, being ſtopped, they poured themſelves back into the Provinces. That *Conſtantine*, the Tyrant, who uſurped at ſuch time as they raged in *Gall*; ſent Judges into *Spain*, whom the Provinces obediently received: but, two Brothers, noble and rich, *Didymus* and *Verenianus* would not receive them; but, endeavoured to defend themſelves, and their Country, for the true and rightful Emperor, againſt the Tyrant and *Barbarians*. For ſome time gathering their own Servants together out of their Farms, at their own Charge they maintained them; and, not diſſembling their intentions, without diſturbing any one, they marched on toward the *Pyrenæans*. Againſt them *Conſtantine* ſent his Son *Conſtans*, whom, of a Monk alſo, he had made *Cæſar*, with certain *Barbarians*; who, having formerly been received into a League and Friendſhip, and taken into the Army, had the Name of *Honoriaci*. Hence aroſe the deſtruction of *Spain*. For, theſe Brothers being killed, who, at their own charge, endeavoured, with a private Garriſon, to ſecure the *Alpes* of the *Pyrenæan*, as he calls them; liberty of preying upon the *Palatine* Fields was firſt given to thoſe *Barbarians*, as a Reward for the Victory; and, afterwards was committed to them the care of that Mountain, and ſecuring of the Straits; the faithful and effectual cuſtody of the Country-men being removed. Therefore the *Honoriaci*, enriched with Booty, and allured with abundance; that they might the eaſilier go unpuniſhed, and have more liberty to be wicked, betrayed the Cuſtody of the *Pyrenæan*; and, opening the Straits, let all the Nations which wandered up and down *Gall*, into the Provinces of *Spain*, and joyned themſelves with them. And here, after great and bloody Rovings, after great waſte made, both of things and perſons, for which they are now ſorry, having by Lot diſtributed the Country, they remain and inhabit to this Day." So much *Oroſius*; whom to explain, as to the diſtribution of the Country, we are told by others, that the *Alans* poſſeſſed themſelves of the Provinces of *Luſitania* and *Carthage*, or *Cartagena*: that the *Vandals*, called *Silingi*, obtained *Bætica*: and that the *Spaniards* retiring to Cities and Caſtles, the *Barbarians* were Lords of the reſt. *Gunderich* the firſt King of the *Vandals* (in this Country) is ſaid to have reigned in the parts of *Galicia* ſixteen years.

Sigon. de Occid. Imp.

Lib.7.c.40.

66. For all this year we have been taken up with matters relating to War. Let us divert our ſelves a little, by taking a view of what elſe paſſed of Civil Concernment. While *Alarich*, at the beginning of the year, diſturbed all *Italy*; but, eſpecially, threatned *Rome*; *Honorius*, lying at *Ravenna*, when he could not protect the Cities from his Violence, yet, took care for the Eſtabliſhment of the Officers, who, in a civil and limited ſenſe, were called *Defenſores Civitatum*. Firſt, for the making of them, he ordained; "that, Being initiated in the Myſteries of the Orthodox Religion, they ſhould be appointed and ſettled by the Decree of the moſt reverend Biſhops; alſo, of the Clergy, *Honorati*, Poſſeſſors of Lands, and the *Curiales*: which Election muſt be reported to the moſt Illuſtrious *Præfectus Pratorio*,

Honorius eſtabliſheth the *Defenſors* of the Cities.

L.8. de Defenſoribus Civitatum. Cod. Juſt. lib.1.tit.55. Dat.15. Cal. Febr.

Prætorio, and by his Letters be confirmed. Being thus appointed, he gives “ them in Charge, and authoriſeth them, if they hear of any violence offered to “ Poſſeſſors, to the breach of the publick Peace and Tranquility, thereof to make “ report to the Illuſtrious and Magnificent the *Præfectus Prætorio*, the Illuſtrious the “ *Magiſtri Equitum* and *Peditum*, the *Magiſtri Officiorum*, and both the *Comites* of “ the Treaſuries. “ Theſe directions he gave to *Cæcilianus*, the *Præfectus Prætorio*: and, four days after, added farther to them; that, The *Defenſors* ſhould by their “ care and forecaſt, prevent the Poſſeſſors being oppreſſed in Weights and Meaſures, “ by the *Suſceptors*, or Receivers of Tributes; of which, heavy complaint “ was made to him at this time. Their Office being to protect the Oppreſſed, he “ commands, that ſuch a *Suſceptor* being diſcovered, they ſend him to the Judge “ with ſignification and proof of his Crime. The Courſe in ſuch Caſes of Oppreſſion, “ and other Injuries, was to conteſt them before the *Defenſors*, the *Courts*, *Curators*, “ or *Duumviri* of Cities and Towns, the Criminals being brought, and the “ matters examined, and entred before them. Now, ſometimes it happened, that “ theſe perſons refuſed to deliver Copies of theſe Examinations and Proofs, out of “ favour to the Parties accuſed; ſo that the injured perſons could not further proſecute “ them. In ſuch caſes he declares, that they may conteſt the injury by a Libel “ publickly affixed in the moſt eminent and frequented places of the City; which “ Libel ſhall be recorded by the *Scribes*, *Tabularii*, or *Clerks*, that ſo the truth may “ be diſcovered by their Examination, and thoſe puniſhed by the Judge that denyed “ the Copy of the Acts. “

L.9.de Defenſ. Cod.Juſt. interpolata ex l.3.de Superexactionibus, Cod.Th.l. 11.tit.7.Dat. 11.Cal.Febr.

He makes a large Conſtitution in behalf of accuſed perſons.

67. Theſe Laws are but part of a large Conſtitution made by *Honorius* at this time concerning the manner of proceeding againſt Criminals; and eſpecially in favour of them, to mitigate the tyranny of Judges, and to reſtrain the malice of Accuſers. As his Father formerly had done, he now required, that a Criminal Action ſhould be ended within a year. Not that the Judge was to permit “ the Accuſer to loiter, or the matter at all to be delayed, but diſpatched as ſoon “ as poſſible; but though there might be ſome cauſe for the trial to be put off, yet “ ſhould not the proſecution extend beyond that limit. In caſe the Accuſer fail to “ perfect his proſecution within that time, he inflicts infamy upon him; or if he “ be a mean perſon, then condemns him to Baniſhment, (the uſual exchange for infamy “ in Men of baſe condition) except by conſent of both Parties a Diſcharge “ be made. But the conſent of both ſhall not impower the Judge to lengthen out “ the Action beyond a year, though he need not conclude it before that term, if “ the Parties joyntly requeſt to have that reſpite. This he ordained as well to put “ ſome concluſion to the harraſſing and vexing of accuſed perſons, as to quicken up “ the Judges, ſome of whom (poſſibly the illuſtrious, as *Cæcilianus*, to whom the “ Conſtitution is directed) were too apt to put off matters, pretending multiplicity “ of buſineſs. “ The Empire being ſo vaſt and large, perſons were often accuſed at a great diſtance, and brought to anſwer in another Country; whence many Caſualties and Accidents intervening, they never returned again, and being hurried away in haſte by the Accuſers or publick Officers, they had no time to ſettle their matters at home; and by that means, great detriment happened to their Children or Families. To prevent this, *Theodoſius* the Great granted moſt graciouſly to ſuch perſons leave to continue thirty days before they were removed, to ſettle their Eſtates and Families, and comfort themſelves and Relations under a moderate cuſtody. This his Son now confirmed, enjoyning that ſuch a perſon be asked before “ the Municipal Magiſtrates, who were to enter it amongſt their Acts, whether he “ would make uſe of the Benefit granted by that Law, or rather chuſe preſently to “ be ſent to his Trial. If he claimed the benefit, he ſhould not be refuſed; and if “ he choſe to be ſent away, this ſhould ſpeedily be done together with his Accuſers, “ whom he would not permit to keep or detain the Priſoner as long as they “ pleaſed, or till they ſhould think fit to begin the Journey. “ For as it is reaſonable to give reſpite to the Accuſed, who is ſurpriſed (as we may ſuppoſe,) to recollect himſelf, and ſettle his Affairs. So is there no reaſon to allow any ſuch delay to the Accuſer, who in laying any crime to the charge of another perſon ought to be ſuppoſed to come prepared, and to have conſidered what he is about.

L.ult.ut intra annum criminalis actio, &c. Cod.Th.lib.9. tit.36.

L. ult.de exhibend.& tranſmittend. reis, Cod.Th.lib.9. tit.2.

68. But ſtill farther to prevent that cruelty which was too frequently exerciſed upon Priſoners, he forbids the Municipal Magiſtrates to commit any who were “ accuſed before them of Murder, Robbery, Adultery, or the like crimes, to priſon “ by their own authority, but to ſend them with the informations to the Judges “ of the Provinces. “ Although this Conſtitution reſpects generally all Malefactors, yet

Defenſores civitatum, Curatores, Magiſtratus, & ordines oblatos ſibi reos in carcerem non mittant, &c. l.5 ejuſd.tit.& l.7. de defenſorib.civitat.Cod. Juſt.

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yet in an eſpecial manner it ſeems to intend Robbers or Highway-men, who often abounded in thoſe parts of *Italy* that lay toward the Mountains, and ſuch as were convenient for feeding of Cattel. For from another part of this Conſtitution we are aſſured, that Feeders of Cattel or Herdſmen were much addicted to this Trade, being always abroad in the Fields, and having opportunity to lie in wait for Travellers. Therefore *Valentinian* formerly forbade them the uſe of Horſes: and ſo *Honorius* did, who now further expreſly commands, That no *Curialis*, *Plebeian* or *Poſſeſſor* of Lands, board out their Sons with any Herdſman, though he permits “ that they place them with other Countrymen, which was uſual for the “ conveniency of Air. If after publication of this Law, any preſume to do it, he “ ſhall be looked upon as confeſſing himſelf of the Society of Robbers. “ This was to prevent the crime, and conſequently the impriſonment; and prevention is far better than puniſhment. But it ſo happening, that as a ſubſequent irregular courſe of life renders ineffectual, preventional Phyſick; ſo the wholſome Preſcripts of Princes are made invalid by the ſtubborneſs and unpliable humour of their Subjects; therefore ſuppoſing what uſually happens, when ſuch perſons were accuſed and apprehended, he preſcribes farther rules for the due and fair proſecution of the guilty, and for the clearing and acquitting of them who became Priſoners by no other guilt than that of the malice or temerity of their Accuſers. By the old cuſtom, an Accuſer might before ſuch time as the Action was accompliſhed, obtain a *Superſedeas* for the Suit, whether the Defendant was willing or not, to have it ended. But *Antoninus* and *Verus* thought fit to put ſome reſtraint upon this liberty, denying any ſuch *Superſedeas* (*Abolitio*, the word of the Law is) if the term was near, which was determined to criminal cauſes. They thought it unreaſonable to grant ſuch favour to the Accuſer of renouncing and nulling thoſe Acts by which he had ſo long vexed the accuſed Party, whoſe conſent muſt be proved. And this was farther carried by *Valentinian*, ſo as to cut off all ſuch liberty, if the Defendant had been injuriouſly treated by impriſonment, or, perha[illegible] Examination by torture.

L.un.Ne paſtoribus dentur filii nutriendi, Cod.Th.l.9.tit.30. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

Societatem latronum videbitur confiteri.

69. Now *Honorius* thought fit to put ſtill a greater check upon malicious Accuſations, by allowing to the Accuſer only that term of thirty days to ſue for ſuch “ a *Superſedeas*, which was granted to the other Party to continue where he was, and to diſpoſe and order his Affairs before his conveyance from the cuſtody of the Officials “ of the Judge unto priſon. In this time wherein no great moleſtation had “ happened to him, he gives leave to his Adverſary to conſider, and if he pleaſe “ to repent of what he had done, or perſiſt in his Accuſation after his entring his “ name, and ſubmitting to the *Lex Talionis*; but afterwards he denies all deliberation “ and revocation without the conſent of the other party. In like manner, if a witneſs “ produced by him, was once ſubjected to examination by torture for diſcovery of the matter pretended, he denies him all power of revocation without his conſent. But in caſe he was only committed to cuſtody, whatſoever time had elapſed, “ he grants it, provided he pay him his Charges; except ſuch witneſs be alſo accuſed, “ as conſcious to the crime, in which caſe he will have him in the ſame “ condition, as the principal accuſed. But what is ſaid of Witneſſes, he will “ have only to be underſtood of theſe of ingenuous Condition, that is, neither Slaves nor *Libertini*, of whom the *Roman* Laws made no ſuch account; but that, notwithſtanding their torturing, this Abolition might be granted; and no ſuch “ reſpect was had of them as to Charges. “ Such order he thought fit to take about accuſed perſons, whether they ſhould be committed to Priſon or not. But when “ in Priſon, his care for them increaſed, that they might be uſed with humanity. He commands that every Lord's day, (a day conſecrated to Works of Piety and Charity) the Judges ſend for them out of Priſon, view them well, and inquire of “ them how they are treated by their Keepers, who too often were bribed to uſe “ them with ſufficient ſeverity; and ſtarve them, if not looked after. In the “ next place he orders them to be ſuſtained at the publick charge, if they have not “ wherewithal to maintain themſelves, for which purpoſe two or three *Libellæ* a “ day, or as much as the Judges ſhall think convenient, ſhall be allowed to the *Commentarienſis* “ to find them Victuals. He further wills, that under a ſure Guard “ they be conveyed to the Baths, to waſh off any naſtineſs contracted in Priſon. “ And in the laſt place, he wills the Biſhops to put the Judges in mind, that they “ execute this Law to the full. “ For, both by the Imperial Conſtitutions, and Eccleſiaſtical “ Canons they had power given them to viſit Priſons, and provide for the “ relief of the miſerable and oppreſſed. And indeed ſo great were the corruptions of

L.ult. de Abolitionib.Cod.Th.lib.9.tit.37.l.ult. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. hinc conflata eſt.

L.ult.de cuſtodia Reorum. Cod. Th. lib. 9. tit. 3.& l.9. de Epiſcop. Cod. Juſt.

the manners of this Age, that there being no truſt to be given to perſons of other conditions, the Emperour required them in ſeveral caſes to interpoſe themſelves, as preſumed moſt conſcientious, and as having ſome authority and awe amongſt the People. Theſe and ſome other things of religious Concernment did *Honorius* enact in one large Conſtitution, directed to *Cecilianus* the *Præfect*; and, as we may conclude, at the deſire of the Meſſengers ſent the ſecond time to him from the Senate, amongſt whom *Innocentius* the Biſhop of *Rome* went to lay open to him the great preſſures and grievances under which they groan'd.

Another to remove another grievance about Marriage.

70. Another grievance we find at this time, of which the People had ſufficient reaſon to complain, which was repreſented to the Emperour by ſome other means than this Meſſage, the Law for redreſs of it not being inſcribed to *Cæcilianus*, but to *Theodorus*, his Predeceſſor; although in the Chronology of Laws it be placed after that large Conſtitution which to him is directed. It was too ordinary a practice for ſuch as had a deſign to marry, for their convenience, or according to their liking, when they could not have the conſent of the Parents (the true order of proceeding according to Law) to betake themſelves to the Prince by Petition, and pretending to have the conſent of the Woman, to procure him to interpoſe his Authority, and by a clandeſtine or ſurreptitious ſuggeſtion, obtain what elſe they deſpaired ever to accompliſh. Now ſuch kind of Marriages he prohibits by vigour of this Law, Matrimony certainly being to be contracted by the conſent of both “ parties, and of the Parents; and, of it ſelf, of ſuch a nature as ought to come ea- “ ſily on, and of its own accord without any Reſcript or interpoſition of the Em- “ perour. Such Reſcript obtained ſhall be underſtood to be ſurreptitious, and he “ who afterward ſhall obtain it, ſhall ſuffer loſs of Goods and Deportation; his Sons “ born in that Wedlock ſhall be illegitimate, and all hope of pardon is utterly cut off. But in caſe a Suitor hath had the conſent of the Woman and her Parents, the Re- “ ſcript of the Prince may be obtain'd for conſummation of the Marriage; for “ ſhe that hath been already betrothed, may juſtly be demanded, as alſo the four- “ fold of thoſe *Arræ* or Preſents which had been made to her, upon a breach, as “ the Law directed.“ Moreover, by other Laws, certain ſorts of Marriages otherwiſe forbidden, might be allowed by the Reſcript of the Prince; as that of a Woman with her Tutor or Guardian, if the Emperour approved of his manners and integrity, as to the management of her Eſtate. Moreover, by his Authority Matrimony might be contracted with a perſon of unequal Degree and Dignity. And ſo might that betwixt Couſin-Germans, or thoſe of the fourth Degree, as *Honorius* here terms it, (in a tranſverſal line) which *his Father of triumphal Memory*, as he words it, did not forbid any to procure by way of ſupplication; though he forbade it otherwiſe.

L. unico Si nuptiæ ex Reſcripto petantur. Cod. Th. l. 3. tit. 10. L. 1. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. hinc interpolata eſt.

Marriage of Couſin Germans, how approved and diſapproved.

71. That *Theodoſius* did forbid the Marriage of *Couſin-Germans* is very certain from many teſtimonies, although the Law it ſelf be not now extant in any of our Books. And he ſeems to have forbidden it for this reaſon, that he that hath to do with his *Couſin-German*, hath to do, as it were, a Brother with his Siſter, they being in the next degree, and as little different as can be from really ſuch. It's thought alſo that the puniſhment he inflicted upon Offenders againſt that Law, was no leſs than death, and particularly by Fire, as alſo the loſs of Eſtate, as was wont in caſe of inceſt. This rigour his Son *Arcadius* thought fit to mitigate the year after his Father's death, inflicting upon the Offenders only confiſcation of Eſtate in certain caſes, as where there were none to ſucceed them by right of inheritance, the children of this and other inceſtuous conjunctions (ſo he makes it) being made incapable of receiving any thing from the Parent. And upon farther thoughts, at length after eight or nine years, he judged this Marriage good and legitimate enough, and, as ſuch, by another Law did declare it: of which opinion *Juſtinian* was alſo afterward, and made it good by inſerting this Law into his Code. However, in the Weſt, *Honorius* ſtill had obſerved his Father's Conſtitution, though his Brother was ſo uncertain in his Determinations; and, as he did not repeal the Law, ſo he now thought fit to allow of that mitigation that the Author himſelf made, by permitting a Diſpenſation to be obtained by a Reſcript. Indeed, the Law and Practice, both, as to this matter of Couſin-Germans, have been various in ſeveral Ages. There was no Law againſt this Marriage, till that of *Theodoſius*; but St. *Auguſtine* informs us, that ſeldom was the liberty made uſe of, being generally abhorred. Some did it, but it was diſapproved by the Generality; which, even, in thoſe days, by practice, ſeems to conſent to the opinion of the Canon Law; which approves not of the Marriage of Couſin-Germans, becauſe they are in the ſecond

L. 3. de inceſtis Nuptiis Cod. Th. lib. 3. tit, 12.

L. 19. de Nuptiis, Cod. Juſt. lib. 5. tit. 4.

De civitate Dei lib. 15.

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ſecond Degree. How lawful, or unlawful the thing may be in it ſelf, the common practice of it, at leaſt, is not expedient: the world being wide, and affording more conveniences than can be found in ſo near a Relation. And it tends to weaken, if not untie the Bond of humane Society, for preſervation whereof, that *Father*, as well as for other reaſons, will have Marriages of the neareſt Relations to have been prohibited in ancient times. Were this encouraged, and ordinarily practiſed, Mankind would not only be diſtinguiſhed into ſeveral Nations, as neceſſarily it muſt, but every Nation, nay, every Town into certain Clanns and Parties, whence would proceed narrowing of intereſts, a cantoniſing of the publick, and an alienation of affections, and ſuch effects as follow enmity and contention, riſing from eſtrangedneſs in converſation.

Care taken for defence of *Africk*.

Terrarum ſpatia quæ Gentilibus propter, &c. L.1.de terris limitaneis, Cod. Th.lib.7.tit.15.

72. But while *Italy* was ſo much endangered by *Alarich*, one thing there was diſcovered in *Africk*, which, if permitted, would have brought that Province alſo into farther danger. It had been an ancient cuſtom, that the Lands that lay upon the Borders or Limits, were aſſigned to the *Limitaneous* Soldiers, or ſuch as ſerved for defence of the Borders; and with this condition, that if their Sons were Soldiers, they ſhould then enjoy them; but if they were not, they ſhould not return into private hands. But now *Honorius* diſcovered, that ſo far ſome of thoſe in *Africk* were in private hands, that they who enjoyed them, did not perform the ſervice for the end of which they were granted over. They had, he ſaith, been granted by the humane proviſion of the Ancients for the care and defence of the Limit and Ditch, or that he calls *Foſſatum*, to the Soldiers that had the name of *Gentiles*, or ſuch as being Strangers of other Nations, ſerved the *Romans* in the “ Army; being much the ſame with the *Læti*, lately ſpoken of. But he found “ they were held by others, whom now he obliges to the ſame duty about the *Foſſatum*, and defence of the *Limit*, as Antiquity had obliged the former Poſſeſſors. “ Otherwiſe theſe Lands ſhall revert to the *Gentiles*, if they may be found; if not, they ſhall be conferred upon the *Veterane* Soldiers with the ſame Burthen, that “ Proviſion may be ſufficiently made for the Defence of the Borders of the Empire. “ Theſe Borders, as we have already ſaid, were either naturally fenced by Seas, Rivers, Mountains or Woods; or elſe by Ramparts made of Wood, Stone, or Earth, which they called *Limits*, or, by *Ditches*, or *Trenches*, which they termed *Foſſata*, ſo as alſo Caſtles ſometime are called, becauſe fortified by ſuch *Foſſæ* or Trenches. Now whereas theſe Lands were given with a condition of Service to be performed; could not be transferred upon private perſons, but according to the ſame condition, and might not deſcend to Sons, except they ſubmitted to the ſame ſervice of fighting, and defending the Borders, they much reſemble thoſe granted in *Fee*, as we ſay at this day. And ſome have been of opinion, that the Laws of the *Feuda* hence took their original, of which more largely we ſpeak in the Hiſtory of the *Lombards*. As for this Law, it is directed to *Gaudentius*, as *Vicar* of *Africk*, if *Comes* rather be not to be read, the place of whom he exerciſed in that Country eight years before; and things of Military Concernment, as this is, belonged to his Inſpection. The particular reaſon that urged the Government to the greater care of the Limits, and the making of it, we may take for no other than the danger that *Africk* was now in from the attempts of *Attalus*, of which ere while we heard ſufficiently.

How the Emperour's Affairs ſtood in *Gall*.

L.171.de Decurionibus Cod. Th. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

73. The Affairs of *Honorius* were now but in a mean condition in *Gall*, where *Conſtantine* and the Barbarous Nations had carried all before them. Yet we find that he had ſome good footing ſtill in that Country; for there *Claudianus Poſthumus Dardanus* was this Year his *Præfectus Prætorio*, a perſon of great Note, and very well known to the Learned and Religious Men of this Age, who, though he bore twice that Office, had little to do; and had leiſure enough to employ his time and charity in making of High Ways, and fencing them with Walls and Gates, as he is commemorated in an old Inſcription; yet there is extant one Reſcript directed to him concerning the *Principales* of *Cities* and *Municipia*, determining how long they ſhall hold their places, what perſons ſhall be elected, and concerning the Privileges of the ſecond of them in order. As for the time, he requires fifteen years wherein to attend the ſervice of the Courts, and the Emperour; a great “ part of their charge conſiſting in their adjuſting and levying of Tributes. And “ all thoſe that had within ſix years receded from the Employment, he will have “ forced back. He thinks this a ſufficient Incouragement, that having once ſerved “ their time, they were to be rewarded with ſuch Honours; as with the Dignity “ of *Excomites*, freedom from Employments, and from Torture. For the perſons “

he will have ſuch elected, as are moſt qualified for the place; Men of greateſt “ Integrity and Ability. In concluſion, he will have ſuch as held the ſecond place, “ if they have well behaved themſelves, and by reaſon of Age or Infirmity are not “ able to diſcharge the Office of the firſt, notwithſtanding to enjoy the ſame privileges “ and advantages.

How in the Eaſt at *Conſtantinople.*

74. While *Honorius* and his Officers were thus employed, and had their hands full in ſeveral reſpects at *Ravenna*, they at *Conſtantinople* were ſufficiently at their eaſe; though *Anthemius*, the principal Miniſter, omitted nothing he found to conduce to the publick ſecurity. He found at the beginning of the Year, that the City of *Conſtantinople* was in danger to want Proviſions, by reaſon that the *Navarchi* or Seamen, who had been appointed in the *Eaſt* to fetch Corn from *Alexandria*, were fallen to decay; the Company not being able to proſecute Navigation as formerly, but hovering about the Iſlands, and looking out for Veſſels when they ſhould have been in their Voyage. This moved him to bethink himſelf of the Mariners of *Alexandria* and the Fleet of *Carpathus*, or belonging to the *Cyclades*; which were much nearer to *Conſtantinople*, and far more convenient for the Deſign; and having communicated the matter to the *Præfectus Auguſtalis*, and the *Preſident* of the Iſlands (for they made up one Province under the mediate inſpection of the *Proconſul* of *Aſia*) he reſolved to transfer the charge upon them with a ſtipend out of the Tributes of *Alexandria*. Having a ſtipend for their Work, he thought fit they ſhould be anſwerable for Wrecks, or other Miſcarriages, which could not happen but by their own fault; as if they neglected their time, or went out of their way, as thoſe, who conveyed the Species belonging to the Treaſury, often did; and thereby ſuffered Shipwrack upon the Shallows, which this very Year *Theodoſius* made Capital for the great inconvenience ſuch careleſneſs procured. What *Anthemius* had thus eſtabliſhed, he procured now an Edict directed to himſelf for it's confirmation. And ſhortly after another for the choice of thoſe Officers called *Diſcuſſors* and *Inſpectors*, who having ſo great influence into raiſing of Tributes, it was fit they ſhould be perſons of Quality and Experience. *Theodoſius* commands, that when there is occaſion to uſe them, “ ſuch be choſen from amongſt them that have been *Vicars* of *Dioceſſes*, (as of “ *Aſia, Pontica* or *Thrace*) or *Comites* of the *Eaſt*, or *Præfecti Auguſtales*. And “ he is ſo reſolute herein, that he declares, a Reſcript obtain'd for the excuſing of “ ſuch perſons, ſhall be of no force at all. “

L.L. 32. 33. de Naviculariis, Cod.Th.& L.L. 4.5.Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. & L.de Naufrag.

L.11.de Cenſitorib.Cod.Th. Dat.10.Cal. Febr. Abeſt a Cod.Juſt.

The tender Age of that Emperour abuſed.

And his Authority aſſerted.

75. The tender Age and Minority of this Emperour gave (as is uſual) incouragement to ſome ſorts of People to act beyond the Bounds of Modeſty and Decorum. Some had been ſo bold, moved by avarice or other incentives, as to choak up his very Palace with private Buildings. For reformation hereof an Edict was directed to *Monarxius* the *Præfect* of the City, which being deſigned to check the irreverent and ſawcy behaviour of ſuch Men, is more full than ordinarily of expreſſions, which aſſert the Grandeur and Majeſty of the Prince. Affirming that the Palace is not to be ſtraitned with the Walls of private perſons; it “ backs the affirmation with a farther aſſertion, that a great diſtance ought to be “ kept betwixt the Emperour and all ſuch perſons. He declares therefore, that “ ſuch only ſhall have the liberty of living within the Palace, as are uſeful to his Ma- “ jeſty, or ſerviceable to the Commonwealth; which two ſorts of Men (either “ Palatine Dignities, or Officers of State) at this time we find to have Lodgings “ in the Emperour's Court. “ It had been for ſome time (ſince Chriſtianity introduced more ſevere practice) a queſtion whether Judges of Provinces ought to go to the *Spectacula*, or be preſent at the ordinary Plays and Shews. This Emperor now in order to ſolving of it, admoniſheth them to be preſent at them, that “ thereby they may procure the favour of the People; but he expreſly charges “ them, that they do not exceed the value of two *Solidi*, in the expence which “ they were wont to beſtow on the Players, or them that were Victors in the Game. “ There were Games in the Provinces celebrated by the Ordinary Judges, and alſo by the Prieſts of the ſaid Provinces; the Judges exhibited them at the Charge of the Common-wealth, or by virtue of a Collection made from the *Curiales*, *Citizens*, *Principales*, and *Poſſeſſors* of Lands; but the *Prieſts* of the Provinces at their own proper Coſts and Charges, to anſwer which, they had great Privileges and Advantages granted them by the ancient Laws. Theſe Prieſts had the names of *Alytarchæ*, and of *Syriarchæ*, *Aſiarchæ*, and others, acccording to the Countries wherein they had to do. But thoſe of *Antioch* were called *Alytarchæ*, either from the Sergeants or Bearers of Rods, whom the *Eleans* called *Alyta*,

L.47. de operibus publicis. Cod.Th.lib.15. tit.1.& L. 17. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit.Dat.9.Cal. Mart.

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as *Cuiacius** believed (who obſerves, that it was in old time permitted to this *Alytarcha*, to cut down one Cypreſs Tree out of the Grove of *Daphne*, which was afterward exchanged for a pound of Gold:) or elſe, as *P.Faber* thought, from* exulting or rejoycing; which Interpretation the word will bear. But there was a Prieſt called alſo *Alytarcha*, of the City of *Piſa:* and all theſe *Theodoſius* excepts from the Rule he gives for regulating of the Expences of the *Judges*, they being otherwiſe conſidered for their Charge.“

* *Sic dictus quod ludis qui fiunt in honorem deorum* τοις αλυταῖς *id eſt Maſtigophoris præſit authore Phavorino. Obſ. lib. 2. c. 13.*

* *ab* ἀλύειν, *quod ſignificat lætari exultare geſtire.*

A Dearth at *Conſtantinople* drives the people into a Sedition.

76. But, ſtill great ſcarcity continued at *Conſtantinople*, as often happened, by reaſon of the vaſt Confluence of people thither; ſo that *Ægypt*, though taken from *Rome*, and appropriated to its Service, was not able, in ſome years, to ſupply it. So ſorely it preſſed upon the Common Sort, that it drove them into a tumult; in which they fired the Houſe of *Monaxius*, the *Præfect* of their City. This put him and others upon ſerious Conſultation, what was to be done in ſuch caſes; and, by the liberality of Senators, and other perſons, a Stock was raiſed of five hundred pounds of Gold, or thirty ſix thouſand *Solidi* (which afterwards was increaſed to ſix hundred and eleven pounds of Gold, or forty three thouſand, nine hundred and ninety two *Solidi*) wherewith to buy Corn, for a Supply of ſuch Extremities. For the due management of this Stock, the Reſcript requires a due Account of the laying out of the Mony, and the Improvement that is made by the Sale of the Corn at ſuch moderate prizes as ſhall be thought convenient, before the *Præfect*, or *Monaxius*, to whom the Law is directed; who, having received it publickly, and upon Record, ſhall make a Report thereof to the *Senate* of *Conſtantinople*; which ſhall judge of it, as having reaſon to be moſt concerned, the thing having proceeded from its liberality. Then doth it prohibit any of this mony to be put to other uſes, though by the Authority and Intervention of the *Præfect* himſelf, under pain of reſtoring the double. In the laſt place, it declares, that none are forbidden to buy or import Corn, provided it be for their own private uſe.“ Otherwiſe, it ſeems to diſlike the practice; it being probable, that the poor people would be worſe uſed by ſuch as bought to make a Gain of it; than by the Publick, which had deſtinated this Stock to be employed for their Relief.

Care taken for a Supply by making a Stock.

L. 1. de Frumento urbis Conſtp. Cod To. lib. 14. tit. 16. Dat. 6. Cal. Maii. Abeſt ut Hiſtoric. a Cod. Juſt.

77. The Neceſſities of the Empire, both in Eaſt and Weſt, had, of late years, been ſo great; that the Provincials were, more than uſually, burthened with Taxes. And, as the ſtubbornneſs of ſome perſons gave Original to thoſe Officers called *Compulſors*; ſo the rigidneſs and ſeverity of theſe Officers became ſometimes ſo extravagant, that many ſought to evade their Power, by obtaining leave to pay their Tributes in themſelves: and ſuch, from doing the Duty themſelves, they called, in Greek, *Autopracti*. But, as in thoſe giddy times, which uſhered in Ruin and Confuſion, all ſorts of perſons were Excentrick, and acted in Tracts beſide the Paths of Vertue and Moderation; whereas, Men of Quality and Goodneſs, it might juſtly have been expected, would have made good uſe of this liberty; and, rather expreſſed a ſenſe of Gratitude, and what they pretended, have rather increaſed the Revenue; it proved quite otherwiſe; inſomuch, that both *Honorius*, in the Weſt, about this time; and now *Theodoſius*, were conſtrained to aboliſh and prohibit this Indulgence, and revive the ſolemn and uſual Courſe of exacting the Tributes by *Compulſors*, to be made out of the *Curiales*, or *Apparitors*, as the ordinary Courſe had been. He only excepts ſuch as *Anthemius*, the *Præfectus Prætorio*, ſhould approve of, as ſtill deſerving this new favour, aud make report of them to himſelf.“ And, as for the Emperors, or ſuch as about them compoſed the Laws, this truly may be ſaid, that, in their Edicts they keep generally an even temper; providing ſo for the payment of the publick Revenue, as to prevent withall the harraſing of the people by the covetous practices of Officers. At this time *Theodoſius* made it capital, as we ſaid, for thoſe that brought over the Corn, or other Materials, by their careleſneſs to make Ship-wrack upon the Shallows. By the ſame Conſtitution, he alſo took care, that the Proſecutors of Gold, as they were called, or ſuch as brought it to the Treaſury, ſhould not preſume to act, or keep the Gold in their hands, without Warrant had from the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum.* But, if any one will complain, that he is overcharged or wronged in Payments; he bids him go boldly to the Judge, and lay open his Griefs: who, if he do not hear and relieve him, ſhall pay a Fine of thirty pounds of Gold, and his *Apparitor* another of fifty.“ Why the *Apparitors*, or Officers of Courts, ſhould be more heavily fined than the *Judges* we have already ſhewn.

Theodoſius takes care for his Revenue.

L. 4. Ne Conlationis tranſlatio poſtuletur, Cod. To. lib. 11. tit. 22. Dat. 4. Cal. Jun.

But alſo, to remove Grievances about it.

L. un. de Auri publici proſecutoribus, Cod. Th. lib. 12. tit. 7. & L. 1. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Dat. 13. Cal. Aug.

L 2. de Officio Civilium Judicum Cod. Juſt. lib. 1. tit. 45.

78. Yet ſtill another Grievance, they that governed the young Emperor thought

fit to remove at this time: and that was practiſed by the *Vicars* and *Proconſuls*; who, ruling Dioceſſes, and ſo having ſeveral Provinces in their power, were wont, for the Celebration of Games and Feſtivals, to cauſe to be conveyed the *Curule-*Horſes, and Chariot-drivers, from one to another. This, now, is forbidden to be practiſed, in another Conſtitution, directed to *Anthemius*; both becauſe the " Countries were put to charge, and it hindred the mirth of the Cities, or elſe they, " whence they were taken, muſt provide themſelves elſewhere" But, a greater miſchief ſometimes happened in *Egypt*, which, beginning there, failed not to extend it ſelf as far as *Conſtantinople*; and it was now the time of the Year to take care for the prevention of it. The Reader, I preſume, is not ignorant that that Country is rendred ſo fruitful as it is, by the overflowing of the River *Nile*, and the derivation of the Waters thereof into its ſeveral Quarters. About the riſing of the Dog-Star, when the Sun begins to enter *Leo*, it begins to ſwell, towards the middle of *July*; and continues riſing in *Auguſt* and *September*, till about the Sun's Tranſite into *Libra*. The *Egyptians* reckoned the beginning of their Summer from the beginning of its Increaſe, and of Autumn from its Decreaſe: they ſowed their Ground in *November*, and reaped in the Month of *May*. If the River roſe not up to above twelve Cubits, a Dearth always followed, except in one year, which was accounted prodigious. If it exceeded ſixteen, Scarcity alſo happened; the Ground being too much ſoaked, and the Water ſtanding ſo long in it, as to hinder Sowing. Now, to promote a due Riſe and Increaſe of Waters, the Inhabitants were not wanting by their Arts. In ſome parts indeed, the River was kept in, and fenced, by natural Ramparts; and its alſo ſaid, by Swallows, for almoſt the length of a Furlong: which Birds, ſome ſay with Straw and Sticks, and others by Stones called *Callotes*, were wont to make Neſts againſt it; and effect that which neither Nature, nor the Art of Man procured; with ſuch pains and induſtry, that many of them yearly periſhed in the Service.

L.3. de Spectaculis, Cod.Th. lib.15.tit.5. & L.5. Cod.Juſt. eod.tit. Dat.3. Id. Aug.

Vide Wendelini Admiranda Nili & Gothofr. in L.un.de Nili Aggeribus non corrumpendis, Cod.Th.lib.9. tit.32. Vide L.un. Cod. Juſt.eod.tit. Dat.10. Cal. Octob.

79. How certain the Intelligence of *Pliny*, or others, is, as to this matter, the Natives did not fail to ſtop up the River on all ſides with Artificial Banks and Ramparts, till it had increaſed to its juſt proportion; and not till then to cut them, or let it out into their particular Fields. And there were certain Officers which watched and obſerved them, that none might cut Paſſages, or open Sluces before their time, till the full height was diſcovered in a Well, which had on its ſides the ſeveral marks of Increaſe and Decreaſe, once in the Temple of *Serapis*, at *Memphis*; afterward, by *Conſtantine's* Order, in a Church: where again it was appointed, after that *Julian* had altered the place as before. Now, it was an high Offence to cut down any Sycamore Trees, which were wont to be made uſe of for theſe *Aggeres*, or Ramparts; but eſpecially, to cut the Banks, or open any private Sluces before the time. Againſt which *Theodoſius* now ſhews himſelf ſo ſevere, that no leſs a Puniſhment than burning alive he will have inflicted upon the Offendor, in the " place where the Offence is committed; there where he violated the reverence " of Antiquity, and, in a manner, the publick Security, as he words it." For indeed, the publick Security was endangered, when by this or other means it happened, that *Conſtantinople* could not be ſupplyed with a ſufficient quantity of Corn. The Acceſſaries to the Fact, he condemns to Deportation to *Oaſis*, without all poſſibility, by petitioning, to recover their places of Citizens, their Dignities or Eſtates. There were two or three places in *Egypt* which had the name of *Oaſis*, being encompaſſed about by ſandy and dry Deſerts; and into them it was the cuſtom of Criminals to be baniſhed, as alſo to *Gypſus*, an Iſland of that Country. *Theodoſius* will have theſe Acceſſaries to be without hope of Redemption; which being, in a manner, as bad as death. *Tribonian* omits to mention this to *Oaſis*; but only, Deportation in general. For, the place was, in a manner, peſtilential, by reaſon of the unwholeſome Winds; and ſo peſtered with Gnats, and the greater ſort of Flies, that thence the baniſhed perſons often got their death, as *Cuiacius* hath obſerved. Therefore, by another Law, *Juſtinian* ordained, that Perſons convicted of Crimes ſhould be baniſhed for one year at fartheſt, into *Gypſus* or *Oaſis*; and that only by the Magiſtrate of *Alexandria* and *Thebais*.

Logographi Commatum.

Care taken about the overflowing of the Nile.

Vide Cuiacii, lib.8.obſervat. 27.& lib.26. Obſ.31.

At multa contraria Olympiodorus in excerptis Photii.

L.ult. de Pœnis, Cod.Juſt.

80. *Theodoſius*, or rather *Anthemius*, ſhewed himſelf ſo much for Merit and Induſtry at this time, in the ſame Conſtitution; as to determine a Queſtion concerning Precedence betwixt thoſe who, by vertue of the Emperor's Letters or Codicils, were promoted to ſuch a Dignity or Degree of Service, *per ſaltum*; and them that had arrived at it by their own Labour, and Continuance in the Employment: ſo as the latter ſhall precede the other, though made equal in time by the Codicils, and " that

Several other Acts of Grace.

L.ult. Quis in gradu,&c.Cod. Th. lib.7. tit.3. conjungenda. cum L.un.d Neili Aggerib.

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that, according to the diſtance of three years. " They were very kind to the *Duumviri*, or Magiſtrates of *Antioch*; who, being exhauſted with the Charge of ſetting out Games and Paſtimes, according to the Cuſtom and Dignity of that great and noble City, they ſupplyed with a Summ of ſix hundred *Solidi*, granted out of the Cuſtoms. This was deviſed by *Anthemius*, and confirmed by an Edict directed " to him for that purpoſe. " To the *Palatine* Officers they granted back, by another Branch of this Conſtitution, the Exaction of the Tributes belonging to the *Largitiones*; which had been taken from them, and the *Agentes in Rebus*, by a Law of " *Theodoſius* the Great. " Which his Grandſon now repeals, as it concerns only the *Palatines*; though the former Law was approved by *Tribonian*, preferred before this, and put into *Juſtinian's* Code. But, the hands of the Emperor and his *Præfect* being now in for making Acts of Grace and Indulgence to the people, they extended part of this favour to the *Provincials* of the Eaſt, and of *Egypt*, that they might not be too much burthened by the mony they paid in lieu of the *Annona* or Proviſions to Military Families. For the Convenience of the Soldiers, Meat had been changed into Mony: and, whereas there had been no certainty of time, but the cuſtom varied in ſeveral places, the *Provincials*, by being too early called upon, might be brought to too great Inconvenience. It was thought fit therefore, to appoint, that The Collection or Payment of one Indiction or Year ſhould not be paid " in the ſame Year or Indiction, but when *November* following was compleated. " By this means they had eighteen Months time, wherein to ſell their Wine or their Goods, and pay their Mony.

L.169. de Decurionibus. Cod. Th. Dat. 5. Cal. Octobr.

L.18. de Exactionibus, Cod. Th.

L.31. de Erogatione militaris Annonæ, Cod. Th. lib. 7. tit. 4. Dat. Prid. Cal. Dec.

81. There were a ſort of Men in the Eaſt, which, having their Names from keeping and preſerving the Peace, were found to be the greateſt diſturbers of it. They were the *Irenarchæ*, who ſeem no other than as the Stationary Soldiers in the Weſt; or rather, thoſe that commanded and overſaw them. They were, as we have already ſaid, inſtituted by *Auguſtus*, for keeping the Peace, by watching in their ſeveral Stations, or the Territories of the Cities; for Apprehenſion of Thieves or Highway-men, and ſending them, with their Charges and Examinations, to the Judges. But, as the Edict affirms, being ſuch as would not ſuffer the Concord " or Peace of the Territories to ſtand, were therefore to be rooted out: and power " thereby is given to *Anthemius*, the *Præfect*, to commit the Peace of the Provinces " into the hands of other perſons of the moſt wealthy of all the *Provincials*, to " whom the Title of *Irenarchæ* continued: However, as to theſe Soldiers, it was " blaſted by this Law: Which was afterward ſo much altered by *Juſtinian*, as to " ſay, that the *Irenarchæ* cauſed or procured the Peace of the Provinces; and to " commit the Nomination, from the *Præfectus Prætorio*, to the *Decuriones*, according " to the Judgment of the *Preſidents*, or ordinary *Judges*. " Its high time to cloſe this Year with a Reprehenſion, or Check, given by the Emperor, to the Judges or Magiſtrates, in an Edict directed to *Monaxius*, for forcing the troubleſome " Office of *Guardians* upon the Husband-men belonging to the Prince his Patrimony, " or ſuch as were excuſed by Privilege, as Soldiers were. "

L. un. de Hirenarchis, Cod. Th. lib. 12. tit. 13. & L. un. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. hinc interpolata eſt & in contrarium ſenſum detorta.

L. ult. Qui dare Tutores &c. Cod. Juſt. lib. 5. tit. 34.

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Varane Conſ.

Zoſimus, lib. 6. p. 830.

A great Famine in *Rome*.

82. For the year CCCCX was only *Varanes* Legally nominated *Conſul* in the Eaſt, they in the Weſt having ſomething elſe to do than to think of Honours and Titles. *Rome* was ſtill held by *Attalus*, through the power of *Alarich* and his *Goths*, and was more miſerably diſtreſſed by Famine than ever; becauſe *Heraclianus* having heard how matters went in *Italy*, and underſtood the Eſtate and Condition of *Honorius*, ſtopped up all the Ports of *Africk*, and would not ſuffer any Corn, or Oyl, or other Neceſſaries to paſs over. The people lived on Cheſnuts inſtead of Wheat, the Dearth being ſo much the more, for that by reaſon of the War, the Land had lyen untilled the former year, and the Merchants kept up the Grain they had; hoping to make what advantage of it they pleaſed. The City was reduced to ſuch Straits, that the people thinking now of nothing but devouring Humane Bodies, cried out at the *Circenſian* Games, that a Rate ſhould be put upon Man's Fleſh; and there was a Report, that ſome Mothers laid violent hands upon the Fruit of their own Bowels. *Attalus*, herewith moved, went to *Rome*, and called together the Fathers; amongſt whom it was moved, that the *Barbarian* Soldiers might be ſent, together with the *Romans*, over into *Africk*, under the Command of *Drumas*, a Man of approved Fidelity. The Generality of Voices concluded that they ſhould be ſent, but *Attalus*, and ſome few with him, oppoſed it; fearing that, by that means, the *Goths* might find an Entrance into *Africk*. Now, *Tertullus*, whom they had deſigned *Conſul* for this year, ſo much preſumed upon his Ethnick Intereſt, as to uſe theſe words in the Senate.

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83. *I ſhall ſpeak to you, Conſcript Fathers, both as* Conſul, *and as* Pontifex; *the place of one whereof I already hold, and the other I have in expectation.* For which he was derided, as ſufficiently arrogant. But *Alarich*, being weary of his Mock-Emperor *Attalus*, reſolved to agree with *Honorius*, and to deprive him of his pretended Dignity; *Jovius* having, by his continual Criminations, driven him to it. He drew him out of *Ariminum*, where he then had his abode; and, in the preſence of his Followers, took from him the Purple and Diadem; which he ſent to the Emperor. Being thus reduced to a private Life, he kept him, and his Son *Ampelius*, with him, till he could procure them Pardon from *Honorius*. *Placidia*, the Emperor's Siſter, was now alſo with him in the way of an Hoſtage; but he treated her according to her Birth and Quality. *Conſtantine*, in *Gall*, about this time, having given to his Son *Conſtans*, in ſtead of *Cæſar*, the Title of *Auguſtus*, abrogated the power of *Apollinaris*, and made another *Præfectus Prætorio* in his Room. In the mean time, *Alarich* going to *Ravenna*, to make a firm and laſting Peace with *Honorius*, another Impediment happened, which tended to produce that State of Affairs which followed ſhortly after. *Sarus*, of whom we formerly ſpoke, neither joyning himſelf with one ſide, nor the other, kept himſelf Neutral, and his Abode in *Picenum*. Thither *Ataulphus*, the Brother of *Alarich*, betwixt whom and him there was a mortal Feud, came, and ſat down with all his Forces. *Sarus* perceiving he was coming, and finding he was no way able to grapple with him, as having but three hundred men; reſolved to fly to *Honorius*, and enter into a ſtrict League, Offenſive and Defenſive, againſt *Alarich*. And, here breaks off the Hiſtory of *Zoſimus*; concerning whoſe Veracity, ſo much hath been ſaid, that nothing need be repeated. But, had the reſt of his Work remained, it would have been very ſerviceable in ſo great a Defect of Writers, as we now find to handle the matters of thoſe confuſed times.

Alarich depoſeth his Mock-Emperor *Attalus*.

Zoſimus his Hiſtory breaks off.

84. From other Authentick Records we find, that in the beginning of *February*, *Honorius* reinforced his Army by new Levies. For this purpoſe he gave order to *Macedonius*, his *Comes Rei Privatæ*, to require of the *Officials* of *Judges*, and of the *Honorati* of *Africk*, Mony for the ſetting forth of Soldiers, as the cuſtom had been, " and now was practiſed, as to the *Honorati*; not only in the Provinces of that " Country, but alſo, in *Sardinia*, *Sicily* and *Corſica*. But, he excuſeth ſuch of " them as had at preſent ſome Service or Employment impoſed on them; as alſo, " ſuch as were, by the violence of the *Barbarians*, driven out of *Italy*, or the Soil " of the City, as he terms the *Suburbicarian* Regions. For every *Tiro*, or new Soldier, " he requires thirty *Solidi*, the Rate having often varied; being ſet, ſometimes " at twenty, otherwhiles at thirty ſix, or half a pound of Gold. " But, as to the matter of *Attalus*, or his Depoſing, *Sozomen* adds to the Narration of *Zoſimus*; that, when he laid down the Enſigns of Majeſty, his Captains alſo laid down their Girdles; but *Honorius* forgave them, and permitted every man to retein that Honour and Degree which he had formerly enjoyed. There is indeed extant an Act of Indulgence, which bears Date but five days after that about raiſing Soldiers, inſcribed to *Gaiſo*, as *Comes* and *Magiſter Officiorum*; but not ſo full as what *Sozomen* writes. For it permits ſuch only to enjoy their places they had before the " Uſurpation, as came timely off from the Uſurper, and returned to Obedience before " his Affairs grew deſperate; diſtinguiſhing betwixt true Repentance and Neceſſity, " or Conſtraint; with which whoſoever were moved, he commands, that " their Names be expunged out of the *Matricula*, or Regiſter; as alſo theirs who " had betaken themſelves from one ſort of Employment to another. "

Honorius reinforceth his Army.

L.20. de Tironibus, Cod.Th.Dat. 6.Id.Feb. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

Lib.9. c.8.

L.11. de Indulgentiis criminum, Cod.Th. Dat.prid.Id. Feb. Abeſt ut temporaria a Cod. Juſt.

85. They that timely repent are to be pardoned, and kindly received; but ſuch as have ever continued faithful, to be gratified and rewarded. This moved *Honorius* to conſider the Devotion of *Africk*, as he terms it, how loyal it had been, though attempted by *Attalus*: and therefore, toward the latter end of *June*, he thought fit to remit ſuch Tributes as were due to the Receipt, either of the *Præfectus Prætorio*, " or to that of the *Largitiones*, or *Res Privata*, till the fifth Indiction, " or the Year CCCCVIII. " This Edict being placed after another, which in time it preceded through the heedleſneſs of the Compilers of *Theodoſius* his Code, is directed to *Macrobius*, the *Proconſul* of *Africk*; whom *Gothofred* thinks the ſame with him, who was, as ſeveral Conſtitutions ſhew, ten years before this, *Vicar* of *Spain*; and twelve years after, *Præpoſitus S. Cubiculi*, and the very Author of the *Saturnalia*, yet extant. Thus much favour the Emperor thought fit to ſhew his Subjects of *Africk* in *June*: but ſuch was ſtill their behaviour, as to deſerve ſo well at his hands, as farther to enlarge it in *November* followi[illegible];

Conſiderantes Africæ devotionem, &c. L.6. de Indulgentiis Debitorum, Cod. Th. Dat. 7. Cal. Jul. Varane Conſ.

ing; at the latter end of which Month, he forgave all the Debts that were ow-“
ing, to that preſent time, in a Conſtitution directed to the *Honorati* and *Poſſeſ-*“
ſors throughout *Africk*; and ſubſcribed thus: *After the eighth Conſulſhip of* Ho-“
norius, *and the third of* Theodoſius.“ For, there being no *Conſul* in the Weſt this year, *Varanes*, a Stranger, was ſcarcely thought of, though mentioned in the former Law. Theſe Acts of Indemnity and Grace paſſed, as we ſaid, afret the depoſing of *Attalus*. But we are told by *Oroſius*, that, *In him being made Emperor, then unmade; made again, and then unmade; and all this, in a manner, ſooner done than ſaid*; Alarich *laughed, as it were, at a Mimick, and gazed at a Play of Empire*. From this it appeares, that *Alarich* reſtored him again, after his taking him out of *Ariminum*, and deveſting him of the Purple; and, that afterward, tataking again diſtaſte, he ſcorned and derided him, and plucked off his Fool's Coat.

L.5.ejuſd.tit. Dat.7. Cal.Dec. Poſt Conſ. Honorii 8. & Theod. 3. Abſ.a Cod. Juſt.ut temporariæ.

In hoc Alaricus Imp. facto, infecto, refecto & defecto, citius his omnibus actis pene quam dictis, &c. lib. 7.c.42.

86. As therefore, *Honorius*, after his firſt Depoſing, paſſed that Act of Grace, lately mentioned in behalf of ſuch as had come timely in. Six Months after, or
at the beginning of *Auguſt*, The Commonwealth being, as he tells *Palladius*,“
the *Præfectus Prætorio*, freed from the Injury of Tyranny, he commanded thoſe“
that were guilty of all Crimes, to be releaſed; giving thereby, a full and free“
Pardon to all Crimes relating to the Uſurpation.“ But, however the Commonwealth was freed, this Freedom continued but a very little time: For, though *Alarich* was inclined to make Peace with *Honorius*; yet, by means of *Sarus*, matters were again diſturbed: Who, as *Sozomen* writes, with his three hundred Men, fell upon the *Goths* when they expected a Peace, and that all things ſhould be in Repoſe and Quiet. And what he purpoſed, took effect; for, with this Act, to which he thought *Honorius* privy and conſenting, *Alarich* was ſo incenſed, that, ſuppreſſing yet his Indignation, he returned to his Army near *Rome*, and the ſecond time beſieged the City. Here *John Baptiſta Egnatius*, a *Venetian*, tells us, he could not but exceedingly admire; that ſo great was either the injury of times, or lazyneſs of Writers, both Ancient and Modern; that, whereas all with one conſent report, that *Rome*, the Queen of the World, was taken by *Alarich*, the King of the *Goths*, in the one thouſand, one hundred, and ſixty fourth year after her founding; yet, they either enquired not into the manner of it, or, if they did, wrapped it up in Oblivion, as a matter ignoble, and not worth the knowing. He falls into a great Exclamation, that a City, the Queen of the Univerſe, which may be believed to have been ſo luckily founded that it ſhould always be Lady and Miſtreſs of the Earth, and which had ſo often triumphed over the Barbarous Nations, and the World; ſhould be taken through the craft of the *Goths*, and yet, the ſeries and order of the thing ſhould be unknown. He tells us, he will in no wiſe endure this; but, being ſtudious to illuſtrate all Antiquity, will not neglect a paſſage ſo memorable. Now, it was taken, ſaith he, by the craft of the *Barbarians*, after this manner; which *Procopius*, of all that I have read, doth alone relate; and I cannot but admire, that the whole matter is diſſembled by his Tranſlator, or elſe not known, becauſe he light upon ſome imperfect Greek Copy. But thus he writes.

L.ult.de Indulg. criminum, Cod. Th.Dat.7.Id. Aug. Abeſt à Cod.Juſt.

Alarich the ſecond time beſiegeth *Rome*.

Roman. Princip. lib.1.

87. *Alarich* had now, for two years, beſieged *Rome*, neither could or durſt *Ho-*“
norius, who lay idle at *Ravenna*, afford it any ſuccour; for, being ſolicitous for no-“
thing leſs than the ſafety of the City; *Stilicho* being once dead, he made no Gene-“
ral to carry on the War againſt the *Goths*. This ſuggeſted to them thoughts and“
hopes of beſieging the City, the *Roman* Soldier being either gone from his Colours,“
or demeaning himſelf very ſluggiſhly: yet this Barbarous Enemy not being able to“
conquer it by force, had recourſe to Wiles and Treachery. He pretends to retreat“
into his own Country; and chuſes out three hundred young men, excellently qua-“
lified, both in Body and Mind, to beſtow on the principal *Romans*; inſtructed be-“
fore hand how to behave themſelves with all diligence and obſequiouſneſs to their“
Maſters; and on a certain day, about Noon, when they were aſleep, or minded little,“
to haſten to the Gate called *Porta Aſinaria*; and there killing the Guard on a ſuddain“
Onſet, to open the Gate to him, who would be at hand, ready to enter. The *Goths*“
deferred their Journey, under pretence of want of ſeveral things; and in the mean“
time, theſe young men, excellently improving their advantages, opened the Gate“
at the appointed day to their friends: who, breaking into the City, treated it with“
more Ignominy than Damage, though they ravaged it throughout. Some there are“
that think the Gate was opened by *Proba*, an Illuſtrious and moſt wealthy Lady,“
out of compaſſion to the ordinary ſort of people; which died like Sheep, by the vio-“
lence of Famine and Diſeaſes. Two things there are, not unworthy to be known:“
The one is, that *Alarich* gave order, that ſuch as fled to Churches, eſpecially thoſe“

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of *Peter* and *Paul* ſhould ſuffer no violence; which was faithfully obſerved. The " other, that when *Honorius* had word brought him to *Ravenna*, that *Rome* was loſt, " he thought that thereby was meant a Cock, whoſe name was *Rome*; and he exceedingly " admired that he ſhould be loſt, who had, a little before, made him ſo very " good ſport. Of ſo ſtupid a diſpoſition was this Prince, having nothing in him of his " Father's or Grandfather's vertue: which alſo is objected againſt his Brother *Arcadius*. " For, being uxorious, amongſt other ill things he did, out of compliance with his Wife " *Eudoxia*, he baniſhed *Chriſoſtom*, a Prelate of extraordinary Sanctity and Learning. "

88. Thus the Illuſtrator of all Antiquity (as he ſaith, who ſhould not ſay it) whoſe Lucubrations are ſo illuſtrious, that a man may uſe them as Spectacles, and yet ſee very little, or never the better for them. How true this Relation is in the beginning, where it ſays, that *Alarich* beſieged *Rome* two years, we have ſeen already: as alſo, that *Honorius* made no General after the death of *Stilicho*; he rather made too many. What we have already written, concerning the ſwarming of *Goths* in *Rome*, and what multitudes of Slaves there were of theſe Barbarous Nations, may reſolve us what to judge of that fine ſtory of the three hundred young men given to the *Romans*, and the Romantick Tale, that three hundred men, in ſo vaſt a City, in ſuch vaſt Confluence of people, though at Noon time, ſhould bear all before them, and open the Gates to an Enemy; which, lying at the Walls, could not but be ſuſpected. St. *Jerom* hints, that it was taken in the Night time; and it appears, that it was rather ſurprized, and not after any long Siege; ſo that there was no occaſion for *Proba* her Commiſeration: ſhe might ſpare her pity of the people, which could not be pinched for want of bread in ſo ſmall a time. It ſeems *Procopius* and *Egnatius* miſtook this latter for the former Siege, wherein *Rome*, indeed, was ſeverely ſtraitned.

Which he takes.

When.

89. Whatever the Circumſtances of taking it were, as to the time, it muſt have been after the making of the Edict, or Act of Grace, we laſt mentioned. For, it is generally agreed, that it was not taken till *Attalus* his Uſurpation was removed; which was done about the beginning of *Auguſt*, as the words of the Edict ſufficiently evince. *Baronius* therefore, with good reaſon, embraceth the report of the Author of the *Hiſtoria Miſcella*; which will have *Rome* taken, or *Alarich* to have entered it on the three and twentieth of *Auguſt*, rather than the Opinion of ſome more modern Writers, who caſt it back to the firſt of *April*. Beſides, the Council of *Carthage*, which was held this year, before the taking of *Rome*, was celebrated but in the Month of *June*. Therefore, the offence taken by *Alarich*, upon occaſion of the violence offered to the *Goths* by *Sarus*, or ſome other pretence, muſt have been after the later depoſing of *Attalus*, and in the Month of *Auguſt*. But, why ſhould he vent his Spleen upon *Rome*? Why revenge himſelf upon that City, where he had lately been ſo familiar, which had been the Seat and Habitation of his late Mock-Emperor? With the choice of whom, and other Magiſtrates, *Zoſimus* tells us the Citizens were ſo well pleaſed? Becauſe he fell out now with *Attalus*, would he quarrel with *Rome*, that had received him? Or, quarrelling with *Honorius*, would he fall out with the City which had owned his Rival in the Empire? Shall we not rather think, that the honeſt Chriſtian Party, which was greateſt, and Loyal to the true Emperor, began to get Ground in *Rome*, and obliged him to depoſe *Attalus*; which done, they were encouraged to proceed to aſſert the Emperor's Intereſt: and thereupon Contentions happened, which recalled *Alarich*, to whom the Party of *Attalus* betrayed the City? That it was taken by Treachery, *Sozomen* writes; and *Proſper*, that *Attalus* being outed of his Empire, gave it up to the *Goths*. Or, in the laſt place, ſhall we not rather give credit to what the Poet *Claudian* ſays ſo much of the deſire wherewith he was inflamed to take *Rome*; that this was the great and only thing he aimed at, in comparriſon? And, that he was glad to catch at any pretence, to accompliſh ſo ambitious a deſign, as to be Maſter of the Miſtreſs of the World?

Vide in Annal. ad h. An.

And upon what occaſion.

90. However, the ſuddainneſs of the Enterprize may excuſe the wonder and ſurprize of *Honorius*, who could not imagine the City of *Rome* to be in danger of taking. If therefore, the ſtory of the Cock be true, there was no ſuch reaſon to make ſuch a ſtir as the *Pagans* did with it, and any thing elſe, whereby they could revile or expoſe him to Hatred and Contempt. For, they attributed all Calamities to Chriſtian Religion, and his Conſtancy therein, and had great hopes and expectations from *Attalus*; though he and they were deceived by the Anſwers of their Gods, as *Zoſimus* confeſſeth; and their Sacrifices and other Ceremonies could not do them any good, nor ſtave off the publick Calamities. For, however *Attalus* had been made Emperor by *Alarich*, yet, when he took the City, the *Pagans* were ſo far from eſcaping, that they ſeem rather moſt to have ſuffered. *Oroſius*, in ſhort, ſays, that *Alarich* beſieged trem-

Lib. 7. c. 39.

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bling *Rome*, diſturbed and brake into it; yet, having before given Command, that if any Perſons fled into the Churches, eſpecially, of St. *Peter* and *Paul*, they ſhould not in the leaſt moleſt them. In a word, that they might plunder what they would, but abſtain from blood. After ſome particular Inſtances of the Reverence ſhown by him and his *Goths* to Religion, he adds, that the *Barbarians*, on their own accord, quitted the City on the third day after their Entrance, having defaced ſome Houſes with Fire; but not with ſo much dammage as had happened to it in the ſeven hundredth Year after its founding. For, the wantonneſs of *Nero* exceeded the Anger of the Conqueror, that Fire which he kindled for a Shew and Paſtime, having far exceeded this: not to ſpeak of that which happened when the *Galls* took the City, over the Aſhes of which they inſulted almoſt an whole Year. That none may doubt but that the City was permitted to be taken for the Correction of its proud Wantonneſs and Blaſphemy: at the ſame time, he ſaith, the moſt eminent places in it that could not be burnt by the Enemy, were demoliſhed by Thunder. But for the main he affirms, that c. 40. in his time, when the memory of the thing was freſh; yet, if one conſidered the greatneſs of the *Roman* People, and heard the noiſe it made, he would think that, by the Irruption, nothing was done, only ſome ſmall Ruins of the Fire were ſtill remaining. He concludes the matter with acquainting us, that in this Irruption, *Placidia*, the Daughter of *Theodoſius*, was taken Priſoner by *Ataulphus*, the Kinſman of *Alarich*, who made her his Wife; *Rome*, as it were, by Divine Providence, delivering her up as an Hoſtage, or ſpecial Pledge, whereby the *Barbarians* were joyned in ſo great an Alliance, to the great advantage of the Commonwealth.

91. From ſeveral hands it appears how careful the *Goths* were to fulfil the Command of their King, for abſtaining from Blood, eſpecially of Chriſtians. Some affirm that, even in the Streets, ſuch as mentioned God and the Saints were ſpared, and many thouſands ſaved by this means; inſomuch, that many turned Chriſtians: and Pagans, as St. *Auguſtine* reproacheth them, eſcaped by taking Sanctuary in the places of Martyrs, and Churches of the Apoſtles. Yet was there not the ſame ſence of Religion in all the *Goths*, nor the ſame reſpect ſhown towards the Command of *Alarich*, in ſparing the Chriſtians. All eſcaped not upon this Account, though it fared worſe, generally, with thoſe that were not known to be ſuch; the *Goths* raging vehemently againſt the Pagans. This they ſtomached much afterward, and thereby endeavoured to raiſe ſtill greater Envy againſt Chriſtianity: which put the Biſhops upon anſwering their Calumnies, and to recount the great Dammages the Chriſtians alſo ſuffered. This doth St. *Auguſtine* excellently perform in his Book, *De Civitate Dei*, which he began to write the Year following; wherein he ſhews alſo, that the people of *Rome* had formerly ſuffered far greater Inconveniences from its own Citizens, and that the City had deſerved all this for the Impiety of the Gentiles; whereas, on the contrary, by means of the Chriſtian Worſhip, it had been kept from utter Deſtruction.

92. However, it was plundered, ſet on fire in certain places, and, of ſo great a multitude, many thouſands were killed or made Priſoners; amongſt whom was *Placidia*, the Siſter of *Honorius*; which Lady, it ſeems, *Alarich* had left at *Rome*: for we have ſeen lately from *Zoſimus*, that before this taking of *Rome*, he kept her as an Hoſtage, though he treated her in a moſt honourable manner. But, whereas three years ſeemed hardly ſufficient to the emptying of all the Wealth there in ſo many Ages hoarded up, the *Goths*, as *Oroſius* writes, were content with three days; though *Cedrenus* and *Marcellinus* will have them to have departed, not till the ſixth day after their Entrance: which ſoever of the two was true, this ſeemed, in effect, rather a ſhaking of the Rod over the City, than any ſound beating; inſomuch, that the people, as ſome relate, were preſently ſenſible of their a little intermitted pleaſures; crying out, that if the *Circenſian* Games were but reſtored to them, they were well enough. But great was the Alteration, extraordinary was the Change; that the Miſtreſs of the World, ſhe that had extended her Arms ſo far and wide, and ſo deſpiſed the Barbarous Nations; ſhould now be taken Captive, and become a Prey to a pitiful inconſiderable Rabble, driven out of their own Countries by greater *Barbarians* than themſelves. This Captivity of *Rome* fell out in the MCLXIII Year after its founding; in the eighteenth of *Honorius*, and the eighth Indiction.

SECT.

SECT. III.

The Third Step to the Ruin of the Empire in the Weſt;

From the taking of Rome *by the* Goths, *to the death of* Honorius, *and the Government of a Woman* (Placidia) *and* (*her Son* Valentinian) *a Child.*

Containing the ſpace of thirteen Years.

A. D. 410.

1. AN extraordinary providence it was that attended *Rome*, and the *Roman* Empire in this calamity. That *Alarich*, who having now in his power the Head, might eaſily with his victorious and triumphant Army have bidden fair for the Conqueſt of the whole Body; being, as it were, ſtruck with madneſs, and neglecting a greater opportunity than *Hannibal* had after the Battel of *Cannæ* (like to whom he knew how to get, but not to improve a victory) ſhould neither keep the City he had got, nor take care to have it kept for him; nor move againſt *Honorius*, whom altogether unprepared, he might eaſily have deſtroyed. Driven out rather by an Almighty Hand, than going of his own Account; with ſtraggling Troops rather than a well ordered Army he invaded *Campania*, and the parts lying toward *Sicily*, which he harraſſed; and ſeverely handled Church-men, to wreſt from them all the Gold he could poſſibly compaſs.

2. *Honorius* having received intelligence of his motions, kept himſelf at *Ravenna* the remaining part of the year, expecting how far his fury would tranſport him. But ten days before the taking of *Rome*, the Emperour ſeems again to have undertaken the care of ſupplying the City, after it was returned to obedience, and had ſo deeply ſuffered in the want of Neceſſaries. For whereas ordinarily the *Navicularii* were not bound to paſs the Seas, or ſail in Winter; yet now upon ſo pinching and extraordinary an occaſion, he commanded, that Winter it ſelf ſhould not excuſe them, when the Wind ſerved, and the Weather was good. By an Edict inſcribed to *Fauſtinus* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, he impoſeth a ſevere penalty “ upon the Judges, and alſo the *Decuriones* and Bodies Corporate; even loſs of “ Eſtate, if they ſuffer any laden Ships to remain in their Havens upon pretence of “ Winter, if the Seaſon be convenient for Navigation; and on the *Navicularii* “ themſelves he inflicts Deportation, if they be convicted to have uſed any fraud to “ hinder their Voyage. The Principals of the *Agentes in rebus* he now gratified “ highly, by confirming on them the Dignity of *Proconſuls*, and equalling them “ with ſuch, who formerly indeed had been preferred before *Rationales*, but came “ after *Preſidents*, though afterwards made equal with *Conſulares*. And conſidering the time and the preſent exigency of Affairs, he was highly kind and indulgent to thoſe that ſerved in the *Scrinia*. For though *Rome* had been taken and plundered, and the Enemy was yet in the Bowels of the Country; yet when there ſeemed greater need for ſupply than ever, did he give Command to *Miletius* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, that when there was an *Indiction* of Horſes, or other things, theſe “ perſons ſhould be ſpared; ſo as neither while ſerving, nor having ſerved their “ time, they ſhould be liable to that Burthen. And he threatens the Judges and “ their Apparitors with the forfeiture of ten pounds of Gold, if they do not “ refrain from moleſting them in this kind; all other perſons not privileged being to “ be called on, as need ſhall require.

L.34. de Naviculariis, Cod. Th.& l.ult.Cod. Juſt. eod.tit. Dat.18. Cal. Sept.

L.7.de Principib. Agentum in rebus,Cod.Th. &l.3.Cod.Juſt. eod.tit.Dat.7. Cal. Octobr.

L.15.de Proximis, &c. Cod. Th.Dat.16. Cal. Decemb. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

Sect. 3.

A. D. 410.

Theodoſius endeavours to preſerve his Houſe from the flame.

3. Though the Houſe of *Honorius* was ſo much on fire this Year, as to threaten the reducing it to very Aſhes, yet was he deſirous, that it ſhould not ſo ſpread, as to catch hold on the Habitation of his Neighbour. His Nephew *Theodoſius* had no great reaſon to be uneaſie at *Conſtantinople*, except it was out of Commiſeration towards his Uncle, and apprehenſion, that if he was ruined, he ſhould but have the favour which *Polypheme* promiſed *Ulyſſes*, to be the laſt that ſhould be devoured. To prevent it as well as he could, he held intelligence with his Uncle; and it was agreed betwixt them for their mutual ſecurity and aſſiſtance, that the Coaſts of the Eaſtern Empire ſhould be well ſecured, where they lay toward the Weſtern Border. In purſuance of this, an Edict was directed to *Anthemius*, who carefully watched for the ſafety of his Prince, and that toward the latter end of *April*, commanding, that all Roads, Havens, Shores, and all remote and privy places in the Provinces, together with the Iſlands, ſhould by the diſpoſition of his “ Magnificence, as it ſtiles him, be prudently and carefully kept and ſecured, ſo as no “ manner of perſon, either by force and violence, either openly or privately, ſhould “ convey himſelf within the Territories of the Empire, but be ſtopped, or apprehended, “ except he brought a Paſs or Letters from the Lord *Honorius*, the Emperor's “ Uncle; and that evidently appeared. Moreover, if any ſuch perſon pretended “ to bring Letters to any of private condition, theſe Letters and all Papers about “ him ſhould be carefully ſent to *Theodoſius*; *For this*, ſaith he, *the preſent occaſion* “ *of Tyrannick Fury, and Barbarick Ferity doth perſwade*. And ſo, after having ſent “ and received an anſwer, it is agreed betwixt me and my Lord and Uncle *Honorius*. “ By tyrannick fury he means the Uſurpation of the Tyrant *Attalus*. By Barbarick Ferity, the rudeneſs and cruelty of the *Goths*, and other Barbarous Nations, which now ſwarmed in *Italy*, *Spain* and other Provinces of the Weſtern Empire.

L.2.de litorum & itinerum cuſtodia, Cod. To. Dat 8. Cal. Maii.

4. But in ſo extraordinarily dangerous times, *Theodoſius*, or *Anthemius* rather, did not only think fit to ſecure the Borders, lying Weſtward, from Spies and Diſcoverers, but the other alſo of the Eaſt; though at this time the League, made by *Arcadius* with the Kingdom of *Perſia*, was in force. For there is another Law, which, though without Date of Year, or Day, yet inſcribed alſo to *Anthemius*, and concerning this ſame ſubject, is rationally thought to have made up with the former, one and the ſame Conſtitution. This prohibits Merchants, as well Subjects “ of the Empire, as of the *Perſian* King, to hold any Markets or Fairs in any other places than thoſe that had been agreed on when the Law was made; leſt ſecrets “ ſhould be diſcovered. No Subject of the Empire ſhall dare to go beyond *Niſibis*, *Callinicus*, and *Artaxata* to traffick with the *Perſians*. Both Buyer and “ Seller muſt know, that ſuch Wares as ſhall be bought or ſold beyond theſe places, “ ſhall be confiſcated, and the Party himſelf baniſhed, beſides the loſs of the price, “ or things exchanged. Moreover the Judges and their Apparitors of every Limit, “ through which any *Roman* or *Perſian* paſſeth to any prohibited place, for “ every ſuch unlawful Bargain ſhall incur a Fine of thirty pounds of Gold. But “ ſuch are excepted as ſhall accompany Ambaſſadors that come to the Emperour “ from the *Perſian* Court; for they are allowed to traffick out of the forementioned “ places, provided, that they abuſe not this privilege granted for the ſake of the “ Embaſſy, by ſtaying longer than the Ambaſſadors themſelves. “ By this we ſee the manner of preventing Spies and Diſcoverers in this Age, by hindring Commerce; which being a ſpecious pretence, under the Vizard of Merchants many of them have in all times concealed themſelves. Towards the latter end of the Year it was thought fit to mitigate the rigour of the Law, whereby married perſons were tied up ſo, as if they had no Children they could not receive above a tenth part of the Eſtates of each other. So ſevere was that Law called *Lex Papa Decimaria*, which *Conſtantine* the Great did not repeal, though he took away ſeveral penalties belonging to *Cælibate*, and Burdens that lay upon ſuch as had no Children. “ But now thoſe about *Theodoſius* thought it convenient to repeal this alſo, and in this “ reſpect to grant the *Jus Liberorum* to all married perſons, that they might receive “ by the Gifts or Teſtaments of each other as much as thoſe that had Children. “ Though for encouragement of propagation, other privileges ſtill remained peculiar to ſuch.

L 4. de Commerciis & Mercatoribus. Cod. Juſt. lib. 4 tit. 63.

L L.2.3. de Jure Liberorum. Cod. Th. lib. 3 tit. 17. Dat. prid. Non. Septemb.

A. D. 411. *Theodoſio Aug. 4, Conſſ.*

5. For the Year CCCCXI *Theodoſius Auguſtus* was Conſul the fourth time alone; and ſometimes it is marked thus, *After the Conſulſhip of* Varanes. *Alarich* having waſted *Italy*, and gratified his humour to the full upon the Continent, reſolved to paſs over now into *Sicily*, and there alſo to act according to his covetous

and cruel inclinations. For this purpoſe he drew down his Forces to *Rhegium*, and put them on Board, but in his attempt to paſs over, was ſeiſed by a Tempeſt; which ſo diſordered the Fleet, that he was conſtrained to return into *Calabria*, where he fell upon *Conſentia*, a ſtrong City that refuſed to obey him, and having taken it, permitted it to be plundered. Here he conſulted what to do, and whither to turn his Arms, when he was ſuddenly ſummoned to give an account of what he had done already; for, falling ſick, his Diſeaſe quickly diſpatched him to another world in the height and carier of his ſucceſs. His *Goths* were exceedingly perplexed at the death of their King, under whoſe conduct they had proſpered ſo long a time. As ſoon as grief would give them leave, when they conſidered what great miſchiefs he had done to the *Romans*, imagining, that if they buried him in any place that was eaſie of acceſs, his Body might be digged up, and ill treated by thoſe whom he had injured; by the aſſiſtance of Slaves they digged a Ditch, and drained the Water out of the Channel of the River *Baſentius*. There in the middle of the Channel did they bury him with abundance of Wealth; which done, they let go the Water back into the Channel, and the ſtream returned to its ancient courſe; after which they killed the Slaves that had been employed in the Work, that none might give notice of the place. Having done this laſt office to their deceaſed King, they held a Conſultation whom to elect into his Room, and made choice of *Ataulf*, his Wives Brother, who thus promoted, procured the conſent of *Galla Placidia*, the Siſter of *Honorius*, a Woman of excellent parts and perſon, to marry him at the place called *Forum Cornelii*; which Marriage, as *Sozomen* obſerves, happened very well for the Empire, ſhe mollifying his fierce and cruel humour, by the cunning art ſhe had of working upon him, and procuring him of his own accord to deſire peace of the *Romans*.

Alarich dieth.

His Burial.

Ataulf ſuceeds him.

Paulus Diaconus.

Quem nimia dilectione lugentes, Barentinum amnem juxta Conſentinam civitatem de alveo ſuo derivant. Jornandes de Rebus Geticis.c.30.

Atta-ulfe Gothice patris auxilium.

6. This is much more probable and true than what the Writer of the *Hiſtoria Miſcella* ſpeaks of *Ataulfus* his returning to *Rome*, with the Army preſently after the death of *Alarich*; his plundering of it, and thence taking away *Placidia* to be his Wife. For as to *Placidia*, others ſignifie, that ſhe was in the hands of the *Goths* before *Alarich* his death, as we have ſeen already; and that violence was again offered to *Rome* preſently after his Deceaſe, is no where elſe to be found. But *Oroſius*, who living at this time had reaſon to be well acquainted with the Affairs of it, tells us, that as the report went, and as his end ſufficiently diſcovered, *Ataulfus* was a ſtudious endeavourer after peace, and deſigned to ſerve *Honorius* faithfully, and to employ the Forces of the *Goths* for the intereſt of the *Roman* Commonwealth. He adds, that he himſelf had heard a certain perſon, (who having ſerved *Theodoſius* in an eminent Command in the Army, afterward had the teſtimony of S. *Jerome* for a religious, prudent and grave Man) at *Bethlehem* in *Paleſtine*, ſay that he was very familiar with *Ataulphus* at *Narbon*, the place of his Nativity; that then he underſtood from him, as others did, that being high in his Deſign, in his power and wit, as he himſelf was wont to relate, he had a vehement thirſt and deſire to have the *Roman* Name obliterated, and all the extent of the Territories of the *Romans* to be called the Empire of the *Goths*, or to ſpeak vulgarly, that it ſhould be called *Gothia*, inſtead of *Romania*; and the name of *Ataulfus* ſhould be ſubſtituted in the room of that of *Cæſar Auguſtus*. But having by manyfold experience proved, that the *Goths*, by reaſon of their unbridled Barbarity could not be brought to obey Laws, and that the Commonwealth could not ſubſiſt without them, he then reſolved to provide for his own Security and Glory, by reſtoring fully the *Roman* intereſt, by the force and aſſiſtance of the *Goths*; that he might be eſteemed by poſterity, as the Author of the *Reſtitution* of *Rome*, ſeeing he could not be of an *Alteration*. For this purpoſe he endeavoured to abſtain from War, and laboured for peace all the ways he could, eſpecially being tempered and inclined by his Wife *Placidia* to all good Offices, ſhe being a Woman of a very ſharp Wit, and unblameable as to Religion. Being ſtudiouſly intent after the procurement of peace, he was at length killed at *Barcinone*, a City of *Spain*, through the treachery as was reported, of his own Men.

Lib.7.c.43.

7. This happened ſome time after, as we ſhall ſee in its proper place. At preſent leaving *Ataulfus* newly married to *Placidia*; and as ſome write, purpoſing for *Gall*; we ſhall haſte thither before him, being called by the motions that now happened betwixt *Conſtantine* and *Gerontius*. *Sozomen* acquaints us, that *Gerontius* being the Chief of all his Commanders, now turned his Enemy, and adorned with the Imperial Habit one *Maximus*, a familiar acquaintance, whom he thought fit to be made an Uſurper. Him he permitted to ſtay at *Tarracon*, and he himſelf

led

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Gerontius *puts* Conſtans *to death.*

led his Army again *Conſtantine*, hoping to ſurpriſe his Son, who then lay at *Vienna*, and ſpeedily to diſpatch him. *Conſtantine* when he heard what had happened about *Maximus*, made *Edobecchus* his Captain General (whom ſome make King of the *Franks*) and he ſent him beyond the *Rhine* to draw the *Franks* and the *Allemanns* into a confederacy. To *Conſtans*, his Son, he committed the cuſtody of *Vienna*, and the other Cities. But *Gerontius* marching thither, fell upon *Vienna*, took it, and therein *Conſtans*, whom he put to death. Thence he removed to *Arles*, and in that place beſieged *Conſtantine*, whom he hoped in a ſhort ſpace to ſend after his Son. It happened not long before, that *Honorius* obſerving the reſtleſs humour of this man, though he had owned him as Emperour, and ſent him the Purple, yet ſeriouſly conſidered how he might rid *Gall* and himſelf of ſuch a Colleague. He caſt his eyes upon *Conſtantius*, one to whom Writers give the Title of *Comes*, a *Roman* of great Nobility, of great Valour and Prudence; and him he made *Magiſter utriuſque Militiæ*, and with a powerful Body of Men ſent him into *Gall*. He chanced to come into the Country at ſuch time as *Gerontius* lay encamped againſt *Conſtantine*, and there he alſo ſat down before *Arles*, eſteeming both of them as Enemies to his Maſter, though they were at enmity betwixt themſelves. And he ſo ordered his matters, that moſt of *Gerontius* his Soldiers came over to him, and forſook the Traitor, who thereupon, to avoid deſtruction, fled preſently into *Spain*.

Philoſtorgius Sozom.

8. *Conſtantius* continued the Siege of *Arles*, which he had begun; and not long after news was brought of the approach of *Edobecchus* with a great number of *Franks* and *Allemanns*. The report hereof ſo ſtruck the Officers of *Honorius*, that they thought of returning back into *Italy*; but *Conſtantius* reſolved with the Foot to abide his coming, and ſent *Ulphilas*, his chief Commander of Horſe, to lie in wait for him, and uſe all advantages which time or place might afford. He permitted *Edobeccus* to paſs by with all his Troops, that he might fall upon him in the Rere at ſuch time as his Front ſhould engage *Conſtantius*; and by this means it came to paſs, that he was utterly defeated, all his Men being ſlain or taken, except ſome few that eſcaped. He himſelf fled, and got ſafe to the Houſe of one *Ecdicius*, whom he had much obliged, and therefore took for his faithful Friend; but he fairly cut off his Head, and brought it to the Officers of *Honorius*, expecting great favour and rewards for ſo meritorious an Act. *Conſtantius* commanded them to receive the Head; and in the Name of the Commonwealth, that thanks ſhould be given to *Ecdicius* for executing what ſhould have been done by *Ulphilas*; but whereas he purpoſed to remain in the Army, he commanded him to be gone, not thinking it lucky, either to himſelf or it, to harbour ſo ingrateful a Man. But *Conſtantine*, who had endured a Siege of four Months, when he heard of the overthrow of *Edobecchus*, deveſted himſelf of the Purple, and fled to a Church, where, hoping thereby to ſecure himſelf, he obtain'd to be made Prieſt. This known, the Inhabitants of *Arles* having received an Oath from *Conſtantius* for their Indemnity, opened their Gates. Being entred, he cauſed *Conſtantine* with his other Son *Julian* to be ſecured, and ſent to *Honorius* into *Italy*; and he hearing of his coming, ſent thoſe to meet him, who, at the River *Mincius*, cut off his Head, and preſented it on the ſeventeenth of *September*. He had uſed the Title of Emperour five years from his firſt Uſurpation. For an Uſurper he was at firſt. But being owned by *Honorius* afterward, who ſent him the Purple, and had power to make or receive a Colleague; according to that Law and Cuſtom which in the Empire was now obſerved, of Emperour we can ſcarcely deny him the Title.

Conſtantine, *his Father, taken by* Conſtantius, *and put to death.*

9. *Gerontius*, as we ſaid, fled into *Spain*, but there was not received according to his hopes. For, as unfortunate Men are ever deſpiſed by the Vulgar, the Soldiers there now eſteeming him not at all, becauſe of his flight, reſolved to put an end to his life and reputation both together; and for that purpoſe beſet his Houſe. He ſo ſtoutly demeaned himſelf, that with the aſſiſtance of an *Alan*, his familiar Friend, and a few Slaves, by Darts and other means he killed three hundred of them. But when thoſe Weapons failed them, the Slaves fled and made their eſcape, which *Gerontius* might alſo have done; but the love of his Wife *Nonnichia* detained him. The Soldiers now meeting with no farther reſiſtance, ſet fire to the Houſe, and *Gerontius* finding there was no hope, firſt cut off the Head of his Friend the *Alan*, who deſired it, then of his Wife, who with tears and lamentations met the Sword, and rather than to fall into the hands of the Enemies, was glad to die with her Husband, and earneſtly begged this laſt favour of him. Then at laſt he wounded himſelf three times; but theſe Blows not diſpatching him, he took his Dagger,

Gerontius *in* Spain, *being in danger, killeth himſelf.*

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which hung at his ſide, and therewith ſtruck himſelf into the heart. *Maximus*, his Mock-Emperour, that he had ſet up, not long after periſhed, as *Sozomen* hath it: but *Oroſius* writes, that depoſed and forced to a private life, being forſaken by the *Gallican* Soldiers (who firſt paſſed over into *Africk*, and again returned into *Italy*) at ſuch time as he concluded his Hiſtory, he lived as a baniſhed Man in *Spain* amongſt the *Barbarians*. This time being fruitful in Tyrants, the boldneſs of one encouraging another to ſuch Attempts as they could not yet but obſerve to be tragical in the end; one *Jovinus*, a Man of great Nobility, and Power amongſt the *Arverni*, took upon him alſo the Enſigns of Majeſty, and hoped by the aſſiſtance of the *Franks*, *Burgundians*, and *Allmans* to defend his uſurped power.

Jovinus uſurps in *Gall.*

10. Thus miſerably were the Provinces of the Weſt harraſſed this Year; *Italy* and *Gall*, as we have ſeen; and ſtill the farther *Spain* by the *Vandals*, *Alans*, and *Sueves*. And the Eaſt had alſo its ſhare in the publick calamity, though ſmall in compariſon of what the Weſt did ſuffer, which had the ill hap to be the Receptacle of ſuch inundations as did but *in tranſitu* afflict the Eaſtern Provinces. S. *Jerom* writes, that preſently after the captivity of *Rome*, the whole Eaſt trembled with "the terrible Meſſages that were brought, how Swarms of *Huns*, which proceeded from the utmoſt extent of *Mæotis*, between frozen *Tanais* and the ſavage Nations of the *Maſſagetes*, with their ſwift Horſes flew up and down, and filled all places with terrour and Slaughters. Now, he ſaith, the *Roman* Armies were detained by Civil Wars in *Italy*; ſo that the *Barbarians* had ſcope enough to go whither they pleaſed, and by their ſpeed to prevent the very fame of their coming. They had no reſpect, either to Religion or Dignity; no Age they ſpared, neither had any pity for the crying Infant, but compelled theſe to die, who yet had not begun to live, and knowing not their danger, when in the Enemies Hands, ſmiled at theſe Weapons which were immediately to deſtroy them. He adds, that the conſtant rumour was, that they purpoſed for *Jeruſalem*." Some are of opinion, that out of *Aſia* they poured themſelves into *Thrace*, and ſo into *Pannonia*. For it appears, that after the *Goths* had quitted *Illyricum*, they were ſucceeded by the *Huns*, who eſpecially ſeiſed on *Pannonia*; *Honorius* now not being in a condition to make any conſiderable oppoſition; ſo that he yielded to an agreement with them, and as he received, ſo he gave up Hoſtages, amongſt whom was *Ætius*, who had formerly been delivered up to *Alarich* on the ſame account.

Epitaph. Fabiolæ.

The *Huns* invade the Provinces.

Sigon.

11. This Invaſion of the *Huns* in the Eaſtern Parts foreſeen, or feared, put thoſe about *Theodoſius* upon an endeavour to ſecure as well as they could the Northern Limits. Beſides the Fortifications of Caſtles and Walls, upon ſuch Rivers as parted the Empire from the Territories of *Barbarians*, there were kept certain Veſſels of War called *Luſoriæ* from their playing or plying about, whereof ſome were employed in continual Watches and Diſcoveries, leſt the *Barbarians* ſhould attempt any thing ſuddenly and unſeen; and others kept their ſtations, as occaſion required, to oppoſe their motions, if they offered to paſs the Water. A Fleet of theſe Frigats called *Luſoriæ* (as thoſe that were at Sea *Liburnæ*) there was ever on the *Rhine* for defence of the Empire againſt *Germany*, another, as the Reader may remember, was ſettled on the *Moſa*, or *Meuſe*; and in the Eaſt there was a third, which plyed upon the *Danube* for defence of the *Mœſian* and *Scythian* Limits, which lay in *Mœſia* and *Scythia*, two Provinces of the Dioceſs of *Thrace*. To reinforce theſe Limits, a Reſcript we find directed about this time to *Conſtans*, by the Title of *Magiſter Militum* throughout *Thrace*, dated on the twenty ſeventh of *January*, thus: *Our Lord* Theodoſius Auguſtus *the fifth time being Conſul, and he who* (in the Weſt) *ſhall be declared.* Now, as for the year, *Theodoſius* was Conſul but the fourth time in this whereof we write, and in that following was the fifth time adorned with the Conſular Ornaments. But *Theodoſius* being this year Conſul alone, whereas in the following, his Uncle was joyned with him; and in the Date of the Law no other being expreſſed, but only this added: *And he who ſhall be declared*, this ſeems to direct us this preſent Year, wherein no Conſul being declared in the Weſt, they in the Eaſt at the latter end of *January* were ſtill in ſuſpence and expectation who ſhould be the Man. The fifth time alſo might eaſily be miſtaken by the Scribe for the fourth. However, the matter is not great, it being certain, that in one or other of theſe Years the Law was enacted; and therefore the Chronology of *Theodoſius* his Code, to make ſure of it, ſets it at both the one and the other. It ordains, that in the *Scythian* Limit, "(becauſe it was larger, and extended to a greater diſtance upon the Borders) ſhall be employed one hundred

Judiciariæ dictæ. Agrarienſes.

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L. un. de Luſoriis Danuvii. Cod. Th. l. 7. tit. 17. Dat. 5. Cal. Febr. Conſtp. D. N. Theodoſio A. 5. Conſ. Et qui fuerit nunciatus, Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

dred twenty ſix of theſe *Luſoriæ*, ſo as every year ſeventeen new ones ſhall “ be built, and furniſhed with all conveniences. Of theſe, five ſhall be for “ Diſcovery, and twelve to keep the uſual ſtations. In that of *Mœſia* ſhall be “ employed one hundred *Luſoriæ*, ſo as every year fourteen new ones ſhall be built, “ whereof four of the firſt, and ten of the latter ſort; that ſo in the ſpace of ſeven “ years the whole number (almoſt) may be repaired. This muſt be done at the “ inſtance of the *Duces* of the Limits, the *Magiſter Militum* of the whole Dioceſs, “ taking care, that they do their Duties, and that materials be provided for “ the building of the Veſſels. In the laſt place, order is taken, that theſe *Luſoriæ* “ be duly repaired, when grown old and leaky, and appointed to the tranſportation “ of Corn and other Neceſſaries for the Armies.“

A. D. 412.

Honorio A. 8, & Theodoſio A. 5, Coſſ.

Jovinus driven out of *Gall.*

12. In the Year CCCCXII, *Honorius Auguſtus* the eighth time, and *Theodoſius Auguſtus* the fifth, (as we lately hinted) received the Conſular Ornaments. *Honorius* this Year made his Abode at *Ravenna*, and *Theodoſius* at *Conſtantinople*. *Ataulfus* now with all his *Goths* quitted *Italy*, and went into *Gall*, where he choſe to inhabit the Province of *Narbon*, with the conſent and allowance of *Conſtantius*, who ſetting himſelf againſt *Jovinus* the late Uſurper, overthrew him in Battel, and drove him at length out of *Gall*. After his overthrow his Brother *Sebaſtian* ſet up for himſelf, as if the Soveraignty had been entailed upon their Family; but *Conſtantius* made his Reign to be very ſhort, putting an end to that and his life together in a little time. Having done this, and puniſhed ſuch as had encouraged the Rebellion amongſt the *Arverni*, he went into *Spain*, and there eaſily maſtered the Uſurper *Maximus*, whom, finding a mean Fellow, and nothing anſwering to his name, he deſpiſed him, and let him go; ſo as *Oroſius* writes, he lived aftewards among the *Barbarians*. Theſe *Barbarians* were the *Vandals* and *Suevi*, who by this time, in a diviſion of Countries they had over-run, had *Gallæcia* fallen to them for their ſhare; the *Alans*, who poſſeſſed *Luſitania*, or the *Turcilingi*, to whom ſome aſſign the parts of *Bœtica*. Theſe now held the farther *Spain*, being modelled in certain forms of Government under their ſeveral Kings. But the hither parts of that Country, *Conſtantius*, by ſubduing the Uſurpers, now reduced into obedience to *Honorius*, the rightful Prince; and this performed, he returned into *Gall*.

What *Barbarians* held *Spain*.

Honorius declares what perſons ſhall be excuſed from the finding of *Tirones*.

L. un. Quia præbitione Tironum & equorum excuſentur, Cod. Th. l. 11. tit. 18. Dat. 15. Cal. Mart. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

13. The *Goths* being removed out of *Italy*, *Honorius* was much at eaſe, but the Treaſury was quite exhauſted; and the Affairs of the Empire were in ſuch a poſture as required he ſhould be upon his Guard, and provided againſt ſuch accidents as he had too great reaſon to expect. More Men were to be raiſed, and the Money paid uſually in the room of finding *Tirones*, was to be exacted. But the Burthens of State were ſo great, that to evade them, all perſons that had any pretence flew to their privileges, which put *Honorius* to the pains of declaring what perſons they were that he would hold excuſed. Theſe were the Illuſtrious, the *Præfecti Prætorio*, the *Magiſtri Militum*, the *Comites Domeſticorum* (it being, he “ ſaith, improper, that they ſhould be bound to find Soldiers, whoſe Valour makes “ his Enemies Captives, and prepares them for his Triumphs) the *Præpoſitus*, or “ *Primicerius* of his Bed-Chamber, the *Caſtrenſis*, the *Comes Sacræ Veſtis*, and the “ other *Chamberlains*, the *Magiſter Officiorum*, the *Quæſtor*, and the two illuſtrious “ *Comites*, or High Treaſurers. Eight of theſe perſons were *Illuſtrious*, after whom “ he ſubjoyns others, of the degree of *Spectabilis*. The *Primicerius* of the *Notaries*, “ the *Conſiſtorian Comites*, the *Magiſtri* of the *Scrinia*, the *Tribunes* and *Notaries*, “ the principal *Phyſicians*, (or *Comites Archiatorum*) the *Comites Stabuli*, the “ *Cura Palatii*, the *Scholares*, the *Proximi* of the *Scrinia*, and the *Scrinia* themſelves; “ the *Comites Diſpoſitionum*, the *Decuriones*, the *Magiſter Admiſſionum*; “ ſuch other perſons in Dignity, or *Comites*, as were *aſſociate to the labours of the* “ *Prince*, as he words it; and in the laſt place, the *Tribunes* or *Præpoſiti* of the Army, “ who had received teſtimony of ancient ſervice. All theſe perſons he excuſeth, “ as well after their Employments, as when in Office, both from the payment “ due for finding of Soldiers, for Horſes, and that of Gold. He adds, that “ he will have them only obnoxious to thoſe payments, whom Antiquity called Honorary; “ or who, having obtain'd Civil Dignities, had beſtowed no pains in ſuch “ Employments. As alſo ſuch as having the Military Titles of *Præpoſitus*, or *Tribune*, “ knew not what belonged to the Camp, and never looked the Enemy in the “ face.“

14. This gives us an account of the Ranks and Orders of Court, and Military Officers; but ſuch as in ſome things differs from that we premiſed to our Hiſtory

from the *Notitia* of the Empire. At this time the *Comites Domeſticorum* had an higher place than afterward, when the *Notitia* was compoſed, as *Gothofred* well obſerves; becauſe at this time they often executed the Offices of *Magiſtri Militum*, and the Law it ſelf gives teſtimony to their Valour. They that are called *Comites Stabuli* were Maſters of the Horſe, and ſometimes have the Title of *Tribunes*, as *Valens* had under *Valentinian*, his Brother. But farther, by this ſame Conſtitution directed to *Meletius* the *Præfect*, *Honorius* declares, that he excuſeth illuſtrious“ Perſons, not only from thoſe payments, for Soldiers, Horſes, and that of“ Gold, but from all both ſordid and extraordinary ſervices:“ Whereas by the Laws of *Valentinian* the younger, and *Honorius*, they had only been freed from ſordid Employments. He was now put in mind of ſeveral things which ought to be reformed in *Africk*, which had of late been ſorely harraſſed, and yet had very well deſerved of him. Complaint was boldly made, that the Poſſeſſors of Lands were burdened, by being compelled to pay, not only for their own Grounds, but ſuch as were barren or forſaken. We have formerly ſpoken of the *Epibole*, which was deviſed for equitable reaſons; for oftentimes Lands were ſo alienated, that the beſt and moſt fertile were bought up, and others utterly neglected, though with diligence and care they might alſo have been rendred ſufficiently fruitful; a practice ſo common in ſome Provinces, that it was neceſſary for the reſtraint thereof to make a Compenſation or Adjection, ſo as the barren ſhould be added to the fertile, and Tribute paid for both together. But this was only when both ſorts of Grounds had belonged to one Man, or the occupation of them proceeded from the ſame Right and Title; not when they had no Relation one to another. But now in *Africk*, the Officers of the Revenue extended this *Epibole* too far, making ſuch Poſſeſſors pay for deſerted Lands, as had no obligation at all to do it. To redreſs the Grievance, *Honorius* gave in charge to *Seleucus* the *Præfect* of *Italy*, that *Inſpectors*“ ſhould be ſent into that *Dioceſs* to view and conſider the grounds and reaſons“ of the Complaint; and thereof make a report, that all matters relating to the“ Tributes might be put into a due poſture.

L. ult. de extraordinariis, &c. Cod. Th. & L. ult. Cod. Juſt. de excuſat. munerum.

He regulates the *Epibole* in *Africk.*

L. 31. de Annona & Tributis, Cod. Th. & L. 12. Cod. Juſt. de omni agro deſerto, Dat. prid. Cal. Febr.

14. But particularly as to the payment of Gold and Silver, ſuch care had formerly been taken by *Theodoſius* the Great, that neither the Money might be diverted to other uſe, nor the Poſſeſſors forced twice to pay the ſame Duty; therefore did he ordain, that payment ſhould be made before the *Defenſors* of the Cities, and Acquittances delivered in their preſence. But this, it ſeems, proved not effectual to prevent oppreſſion, which appearing to *Honorius*, he now enjoyned *Eucharius*, the *Proconſul* of *Africk*, that all payments of Gold and Silver ſhould be“ made in the City of *Carthage*, the place of his Reſidence; who being the great“ Officer and Magiſtrate of the Country, would ſtrike more awe into the Collectors, ſo as not to dare to refuſe the giving of full and fitting Diſcharges. In the ſame City of *Carthage*, and that in the *Secretarium* of the *Proconſul*; he preſiding“ on the Tribunal, and the People being let in, and ſtanding about him, he will“ have the Exactors of Tributes choſen at the appointed times. If any of them“ ſhall be found faulty in their places, others ſhall be choſen to ſucceed them; and“ if they be found guilty of oppreſſion ſhall be capitally puniſhed, and their Eſtates anſwerable for fourfold of the value of what they ſuperexacted. If any of the Judges“ ſhall neglect to ſee thoſe orders put in practice, he ſhall incur a Fine of thirty“ pounds of Gold.“

L. 32. ejuſd. tit. Cod. Th. Dat. prid. Cal. Mart. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

L. 20. de Exactionib. Cod. Th. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

15. The *Curiales* made as heavy complaints, that they were not only employed in buſineſs relating to their Charge, but hurried about, and forced to be Stewards and Bailiffs of the Lands belonging to the *Res privata* of the Prince; to collect the Cloaths that the Provincials found for Soldiers, and to undergo other labours. Theſe two things he particularly prohibits, and in general, that the *Curiales*“ be vexed with mean Employments and extraordinary Burthens; laying them“ upon the Shoulders of the Officials, belonging to the Governours of Provinces,“ and in *Africk* to the *Proconſul*. For, the whole Welfare and proſperity of Cities“ depending upon the *Curiales*, if they were thus diverted from their charges,“ the intereſt of the Provinces muſt be much impaired, and the Officials were more“ proper for ſuch Employments. Being Soldiers themſelves, they had better reaſon“ to underſtand the Habits that were moſt proper to ſuch; and beſides, they“ received ſome profit from the furniſhing of theſe Cloaths; and therefore“ reaſonable it was, that the advantage belonging to them, the Burthen ſhould be“ alſo theirs. Other publick Officers there were, which in this ſame Conſtitution he gives order to *Eucharius* to reform. Particularly to put a ſtop to the injuſtice

L. 21. ejuſd. tit. & L. 31. de Suſceptorib. Cod. Th. & L. 14. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit.

And redreſſes other Grievances.

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and Inſolence of the *Mancipes*, or ſuch as bought and exacted Horſes for the *Curſus Publicus*,“ where the Provincials were not wont to furniſh them; as in *Africk*.“ They were careleſs in their Choice, and therefore, he will have the loſs accruing by any unſound or unfit, to redound to themſelves. In the laſt place, *Eucharius* had complained, that ſeveral Officials that had belonged to him, as *Proconſul*, had deſerted their Stations, and betaken themſelves to *Palatine* Employments, for this reaſon; that, being obnoxious to Puniſhment for their ill Behaviour, or oppreſſing the Country, they might ſhelter themſelves in an higher and more privileged Service. To redreſs this Inconvenience, *Honorius* wrote, both to him, being principally concerned; to *Seleucus*, the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Italy*, as the Prime Miniſter of State in that Diſtrict; and to *Probus*, the *Comes Largitionum*, to whoſe Office the Fugitives had betaken themſelves: Commanding that they ſhould all be “ forced back to their ſeveral places; “ and, for the time to come, if any ſhould preſume to offend in this nature, they ſhould, during life, be condemned to ſerve as “ *Mancipes* of the *Curſus*, or to the receiving of Tributes.“ Which Laws, this very Year, by another Conſtitution, he was couſtrained to reinforce.

L. 9. de Curioſis, Cod. Th.

L L. 22, 23, 24. de Cohortalibus, Cod. Th.

L. 25. ejuſd. tit.

16. Indeed it was the misfortune of the Provinces of *Africk* all along, to be more harraſſed with Grievances than any others, becauſe they lay at ſuch a diſtance beyond the Sea; and Complaints were ſtifled before they could be fairly repreſented to the Prince, as we have ſeen heretofore, in the days of *Valentinian*. This encouraged Officers to be ſo faulty and corrupt, that even ſuch as were ordained to prevent Miſchief and Diſorder, made uſe of their places and power to commit greater Outrages than thoſe they were appointed to redreſs. The Reader may remember that there were, upon occaſion, certain Inquiſitors ſent into the Provinces, to look after Deſertors, and ſuch as ſtragled from their Colours. Uſually the *Protectors* were employed in the buſineſs, and ſuch as had the Title of Tribunes. Theſe men were come to that height of Inſolence and Oppreſſion, making uſe of their Power to prey upon the Country; that, to anſwer the grievous Complaints of the Provincials, *Honorius* was now conſtrained, by an Edict directed to *Conſtantius*, as *Magiſter Militum*, to aboliſh the Name very and Office throughout *Africk*, as unlucky; and to make it Capital for any to aſpire to this condemned Employment, out of deſire to prey upon the people. The Neceſſities of *Rome*, and the frequent occaſions for marching of Soldiers, ſolicited him now again to quicken up *Seleucus* to take care that the Body of the *Navicularii* ſhould be full, and neither any Perſons or “ Lands eſcape that were obnoxious to that Function.“ For their encouragement, he ſhortly after confirmed the Privileges of thoſe of *Africk*, by a Conſtitution directed to them themſelves; wherein he ſentenceth ſuch Judge or Magiſtrate as “ ſhall not give them Relief and Protection in caſe of any Grievance, to have his “ Eſtate liable and obnoxious to the Function, without any hope of Pardon or Releaſe. “ He impoſeth a Mulct of ten pounds of Gold upon any *Judges* of Provinces, “ upon the *Proconſul*, *Vicar* and *Præfectus Annonæ* of *Africk*, and their Officers, if “ they ſuffer any thing to be diminiſhed of the hundredth part allowed them for “ Leakage, and if they permit any to recieve any Preſent from them; and con- “ demneth the Receiver beſides, to pay four-fold the value into the Treaſury. And “ whereas the *Tribune Notaries*, and the *Apparitors* belonging to the *Præfects*, were “ wont to be ſent and employed by the Emperor and *Præfects*, to direct, aſſiſt and “ expedite the bringing in of Corn. If they ſhall receive any thing from the *Navi-* “ *cularius*, or from the Maſter of the Ship, he commands, that they be puniſhed at “ the diſcretion and inſtance of the *Judge* or Magiſtrate of the place.“

In futurum autem iſtud nequaquam vocabulum vel officium infauſtum Conſtituimus per Africam eſſe debere, L. ult. de Deſertoribus, Cod. Th. Dat. prid. Cal. Mart.

L. 35. de Naviculariis, Cod. Th. Dat. prid. Nov. Mart.

L. L. 36, & 37. ejuſd. tit. Dat. 16. Cal. Apr.

17. He farther provides for them in caſe they ſuffered Shipwrack; That the “ *Judges* preſently hear their Cauſes, the Hanging of the *Secretarium* being removed, “ ſo as they and others may freely enter, and be heard. And, if any Officers “ or Clerks belonging to the Court, ſhall require or take any thing of them, he “ gives power to the *Judge* to mulct, remove or proſcribe them, according to the “ Quality of the Perſons. And, in caſe the *Judge*, having Application made to “ him, either by offering Libel or bringing the Matter to a full Hearing, ſhall not “ determine it within the allotted time, or the ſpace of two Years; then ſhall he “ pay one half of the loſs ſuſtained by Shipwrack, and his Office the other half. “ There being ſcarcely an end of Complaints out of *Africk*, the *Duumviri* of one City were ſaid to preſs upon thoſe of the leſſer or inferior, and to extend their Juriſdiction beyond their Bounds. Of this *Honorius* was alſo obliged to take notice to *Eucharius*; Giving order to puniſh ſuch of them as ſhould erect the *Faſces* of their “ Authority beyond the Limits of their Territories.“ By which it appears, that at this

Velo levato.

L. ult. de Naufragiis, Cod. Th. & L. 5. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Dat. 17. Cal. Apr.

L. 174. de Decurionibus Cod. Th. & L. 53. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit.

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this time *Duumviri*, or Municipal Officers, had *Faſces*, or bundles of Rods carried before them; whereas, of old, they had neither *Faſces* nor *Axes*, which were peculiar to Governors of Provinces, but only ſome *Beadles*, or *Apparitors*, that carried Staves before them, as their name imported; which we may learn from *the Acts of the Apoſtles*. He was perſwaded alſo, to give order, that the *Curiales* ſhould be “ put upon the Prieſthood, as formerly; the people ſtill being unwilling to quit their “ *Ethnick* Paſtimes; and, that the Sons of the *Curiales* ſhould be drawn back to “ their Cities. “

ραβδοῦχοι, c. 16. v. 35. *Ibi Duumviri appellantur, a S. Luca* στρατηγοί.

He labours to prevent the Expoſing of Infants.

19. Such Devaſtations were made by the Barbarous Nations, of Corn, and other ſorts of Proviſions throughout the Provinces, that ſo great ſcarcity followed as provoked Lords of Slaves, and Patrons of Freed men, to expoſe ſuch Infants as were born under their power. To obviate which Inhumane Practice, *Honorius* now thought fit to transferr the Dominion and Intereſt of ſuch perſons in the Children, “ upon thoſe who would take, and bring them up; provided they produced Witneſſes of their ſo doing, and reduced theit Teſtimony into Writing, which he will “ have confirmed by ſubſcription of the Biſhop. “ This *Juſtinian*, afterward did not ſo far approve, as to allow ſuch Infant to be Slave to him that took him up; but would have him, if expoſed, to be of ingenuous and free condition. There was more reaſon now to reſtrain this cuſtom of Expoſing in *Italy*, becauſe the *Barbarians* were withdrawn, and the Country began to be a little at reſt, after ſuch Depopulations as it had undergone. And the City of *Rome* now again beginning to lift up her head, it was fit, that thoſe multitudes which had forſaken her, and betaken themſelves into the Iſlands, and the Eaſtern Parts, ſhould return, repair her Ruins, and reſtore her to her former Eſtate. This the Emperor thought himſelf obliged to procure. So as, by an Edict directed to *Palmatus*, *Præfect* of it, he required, that By the Care of the Governors of Provinces, all *Corporati*, or thoſe that belonged “ to the Bodies or Companies which ſerved the Cities (as the *Bakers*, *Suarii*, and o- “ thers) ſhould be compelled to return to their Stations, and to diſcharge ſuch Fun- “ ctions, as anciently had been impoſed on them. “ Into the Country it was alſo fit, that the Poſſeſſors of Lands, and ſuch as had cultivated the Grounds, ſhould return. But many of them could not but be diſcouraged from returning to ſuch places as were harraſſed by the late Invaſions, and ſuch Lands as were rendred barren, and could not for ſome time be brought in tune again. Nay, ſuch as poſſeſſed Lands, though fertile, yet were diſcouraged, to think, that by vertue of the *Epibole*, or Compenſation, they muſt be burthened with that *Cenſus*, or Tax, which was wont to be paid by thoſe that had been deſerted, and lay untilled. To give eaſe in this caſe, and to provide for the repeopling of depopulated places; *Honorius* rejecting the *Epibole*, and the former way of Compenſation, ſent Directions to *John*, the *Præfect* of *Italy*, that ſuch Lands as did not anſwer the *Cenſus*, ſhould be exactly “ viewed, and their Worth carefully and faithfully entred into the Ceſs-Books. “ This done, with all Juſtice and Moderation, they ſhould be put into the hands of “ their Owners, or their Heirs: and, if ſuch could not be found, of Neighbours or “ Strangers, who ſhould pay no more than the Grounds would well and ſufficiently “ affoard. And not this neither, for ſome time; for, he allows them the Immuni- “ ty of two Years, wherein they ſhall pay no Tax, the better to enable them to re- “ cover their Grounds to their former fruitfulneſs.

L. ult. de Expoſit. Cod. Th. Dat. 14. Cal. Apr.

L. ult. Cod. Juſt. de Infant. Expoſ.

L. ult. de Privilegiis Corporatorum, V. R. Cod. Th. Dat. 4. Cal. Apr.

He provides for repeopling of depopulated places.

L. 12. de Cenſitoribus, Cod. Th. Dat. 8. Id. Jun. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

20. The Wantonneſs and Unnaturalneſs of ſome Women, who, often having had Children by former Husbands, either married ſuddainly again, without a regard had to Modeſty and Reſpect of the Dead: or, if they did not do it ſuddainly, yet, when they did marry had no care of their Children by the ſaid Husbands; had formerly provoked *Theodoſius* the Great to make ſevere Laws for reſtraining their Irregular Appetite. Whereas formerly, from the time of *Romulus*, it had not been lawful to marry within ten Months after the Husbands death, he made it unlawful for them to contract a ſecond Matrimony within twelve Months, or an whole Year. Such as ſhould dare to do it, he branded with Infamy, as they had been formerly by the Law. And further ordained, that they ſhould loſe whatſoever Goods or Eſtates were coming to them from ſuch Husbands, whom they had ſo ſoon forgotten; ſo as not to eſcape this Puniſhment by the Reſcript or Indulgence of the Prince. This Law, afterward, *Juſtinian* ſo far approved as to put it into his Code; yet, leaving out the laſt Clauſe of it, becauſe he would reſerve Power to himſelf to grant Indulgence, as of old the Senate had done during the Commonwealth, and former Emperors, when a Woman was found not to be with Child; and to remit the Infamy, and reſtore to Fame when he ſaw convenient.

L. 1. de Secundis Naptiis, Cod. Th. lib. 3. tit. 8. & L. 2. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit.

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21. Further, *Theodoſius*, to provide that Children of the firſt Marriage ſhould not be wronged, as it too frequently happens, from the Indearments of the ſecond; enacted by another Law, that, of all the Goods or Eſtate that came to a Mother from a former Husband, or from any Children of the ſaid Husband, the Propriety ſhould remain to the Children of that Husband ſurviving; ſo as the Mother, marrying again, ſhould only have the *Uſus-Fructus*, or Profits thereof during her life: Only, he left it free to her to aſſign ſuch Eſtate to whom of the Children ſhe pleaſed, his deſign being to ſecure it from paſſing unto Strangers: which Election of the Mother, whether ſhe married again or not, ſucceeding Princes thought fit to take away; ſo as ſhe could only conſign the Profits, during her own life, to whom ſhe pleaſed; the thing it ſelf being equally to be divided amongſt the Sons after her Deceaſe. In caſe one of the Children died, brothers were to ſucceed Brothers, and excluded the Mother. If no Brother was left, then the Mother came in with the Siſters, ſhe ſharing one half, and they another. But afterward *Juſtinian* altered the Law, ſo as to give the Mother leave to come in, with her Sons, to an equal ſhare of a Son's Eſtate; and with Daughters he aſſigned her but an equal ſhare alſo. This was in favour of Mothers, in compariſon of the old Law and Cuſtom, which gave Right of Succeſſion to the Grandfather by the Mother's ſide, and excluded the Mother, if married again. In caſe a Woman had Children, ſhe could have but the benefit of the Eſtate during life, if ſhe married the ſecond time; but, if ſhe had none, the entire Propriety came unto her; *Theodoſius* his intent being only to make proviſion for the Fatherleſs. And, as his care was eſpecially for thoſe that were Fatherleſs, he did not forget Motherleſs Children: but, betwixt Fathers and Mothers he put a difference. He ſuppoſed Fathers would be more prudent, and retein their Authority over their Wives and Families; while the weaker Sex was more ſubject to be overcome, by crafty Inſinuations, or downright Threats. Therefore he would not compel Fathers, when they married again, to aſſign all that came by their former Wives, to the Children they had by them: but he gravely admoniſhed and conjured them, by the Rights of Juſtice and Religion, to do that which, if good advice and fair words would not procure, then the force and efficacy of a Law muſt exact.

L. 2. Cod. Th. ejuſd. tit. & L. 3. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit.

22. And his Advice or Suaſory had not that effect which might have been expected, which forced his Grandſon, afterward, to make good what he hinted concerning the Force and Compulſion of a Law; and thenceforth, as well Men as Women, were alike concerned and obliged. But now, in *Honorius* his time, Husbands or their Sons were become ſo careleſs and diſ-ingenious, as to deprive their Wives or mothers, if they could of the *Uſus-Fructus*, or Profits of ſuch things, if they wedded again, though the Year was out, as had been ſettled upon them at their former Marriage. This conſtrained him this Year to take notice of it, in an Edict directed to *John*, the *Præfect*; And to reſtrain the malapertneſs of ſuch Sons as “ would not allow their Mothers ſuch proviſion as had juſtly been made for them, “ but enquired into their Age before the Day. As he acknowledges the Propriety “ of the things to be in them, ſo, on the other ſide, he aſſerts the Law of his Father, “ and the Right of their Mothers during life.“ Again, notwithſtanding his late Endeavours, ſuch Complaints were made of the Cities of *Italy* being ſtill empty and forſaken, that he was compelled to give order to *Liberius*, the *Præfectus Prætorio*, to force back both the *Decuriones*, the *Officials* or *Apparitors*, and alſo the *Collegiati*; “ of which, there were ſeveral Companies deſtined to the Pleaſure and Recreation “ of Cities; which now he thought fit to gratifie with ſuch Divertiſements, “ though they had their Original from Pagan Superſtition. And, as if one ſort of men infected another with negligence of Place and Duty, the *Agentes in Rebus* were now ſo guilty of this fault, that they provoked him, at the end of the Year, to command *Namatius*, the *Magiſter Officiorum*, to let them know, That ſuch as had “ loitered after the time was out that had been given them, ſhould return to Court, “ and there give an Account of their Abſence, before the firſt day of *February* next “ following. If this they did not do, their Names ſhould be expunged out of the “ Roll, and they ſhould be further puniſhed. And the Governors of Provinces, if “ they ſuffered any of them to ſtay and loiter within their Juriſdictions, muſt pay “ ſix Ounces of Gold for every Loiterer. “

For the Rights of Mothers.

L. 3. Cod. Th. ejuſd. tit. Dat. 19. Cal. Jul. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

L. 25. de Cohortalibus. L. 170. de Decurionibus & L. 2. de Collegiatis Cod. Th. Dat. 6. Cal. Dec.

L. 15. de Agentibus in Rebus, Cod. Th. Dat. 7. Id. Decemb. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

23. As *Honorius* laboured this Year for repairing ſuch Breaches as the Misfortunes of the Wars had made; ſo, at *Conſtantinople*, his Nephew *Theodoſius*, or rather, *Anthemius*, his Prime Miniſter, endeavoured to prevent ſuch Calamities, which was better. It concerned them chiefly, to look to *Illyricum*, through which ſo great miſeries had

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They at *Conſtantinople* endeavour to prevent miſchiefs ariſing from War.

A. D. 412.

entred into the Empire ; and therefore, *Herculius*, the *Præfectus Prætorio* of that Diſtrict, was injoyned to take care, that, No perſons by any Privileges ſhould be “ excuſed from contributing according to the quantity of what they poſſeſſed, towards “ the Repairing of Walls, and Conveyance of Corn, or other Species for the “ publick Defence; although Dignified Perſons were wont to be excuſed from “ other Collations. “ The great Fear and Anxiety wherewith all perſons could not but be ſtrook, that underſtood any thing of the dangers that threatned the whole Empire (though the Weſtern Provinces ſuſtained the ſhock) put thoſe that had the Government in their hands, upon the Promotion and Encouragement of all Works and Employments which tended to the Defence of the Borders. Amongſt others, the making of Arms in the *Fabricæ*, or Forges, eſpecially deſerved it. But, of this an ill Uſe and Advantage was made by ſuch *Curiales* as had a mind to run away from their Employments ; who betook themſelves to thoſe Forges, expecting to be connived at, as being therein very ſerviceable to the State. Great Complaint hereof was made by thoſe of the Eaſt ; who convinced *Anthemius*, that, though the Work of the Forges was by all means to be plyed, yet the Cities muſt not be exhauſted and ruined ; for the Defence of which, the making of Arms was only deſigned. He procured a Reſcript to be directed to himſelf, wherein Order is given, that, If any perſon have a purpoſe to joyn himſelf to the Body of the *Fabricenſes*, he ſhall “ either before the Governor of a Province, or the *Defenſor* of a City, prove himſelf “ to be altogether free, as to Birth, and other Obligations, from the Service of the “ *Curiæ* : otherwiſe, he ſhall be forced back, to diſcharge the Duties of his Country, “ without any Allowance to Preſcription of time. “ And, becauſe there were great Clamours in *Phœnicia*, againſt *Lupianus*, the *Comes*, & *Magiſter Militum* through the Eaſt, that the *Curiales* of that Country were wont to ſhelter themſelves amongſt his *Officials*: Command was ſent to him, that, The principal *Decuriones* having given notice “ to the Governors of Provinces of ſuch Fugitives, and they having made report “ thereof to him, he ſhould tranſmit them to the ſaid Governors; who, after examination “ of the matter ſhould give ſentence & ſend them back to their former Charges. “

L. 49. *de Operibus publicis, Cod. Th. Dat.* 5. *Id. Apr.*

L. 6. *de Fabricenſibus. Cod. Th. & L.* 4. *Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Dat.* 15. *Cal. Jun.*

L. 175. *de Decurionibus Cod. Th. Dat.* 15. *Cal. Jun. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.*

24. But having lately ſpoken of *Illyricum*, we muſt take further notice of the great Complaints which were made now alſo, in that too often harraſſed Province ; which cauſed them at Court to bethink themſelves of a new way for raiſing of ſuch Proviſions as they called *Annonæ* and *Species Cellarienſes*, due to the Civil and Military Magiſtrates, or the Governors of Provinces, and the *Comites*, or *Magiſtri Militum*. The Law and Cuſtom had been for the *Procurators* of the *Curiæ*, to take care for the leavying and payment of them in Mony ; but, it being diſcovered that more than due, was, upon this pretence, ſqueezed out of the poor Provincials ; and that whereas, for one hundred and twenty Oxegangs one *Solidus* was but to be paid ; the Avarice of the Governors and Officers was ſuch, that they exacted as much for the half, nay, at laſt, for the fourth part : and this was done under pretence of the Charges that theſe *Procurators* or *Primates* of Courts were at. Therefore now was it ordained, that, the *Cornicularius*, or he that was next to the *Princeps* “ of the Office of the Governor of the Province, ſhould, out of the publick Storehouſes, “ furniſh the Officers with Proviſions ; allow them Gold, as was uſual, out “ of the Tax raiſed by the *Præfectus Prætorio* ; and pay thoſe in Mony who ſhould “ deſire it, in lieu of the Proviſions in Specie, according as the Market bore. If “ the Office of *Leontius*, who, before this, had been advanced to be *Præfect* of *Illyricum*, “ ſhould fail to put this Law in Execution which is directed to him, it ſentenceth “ it to fine in fifty pounds of Gold. “ At the ſame time *Anthemius* was ſolicited by thoſe of his Diſtrict, againſt the Immunities and Protections which were granted to divers perſons, whereby they pretended themſelves excuſed from contributing to the neceſſary Duty of Amending of High-Ways in all the Provinces, eſpecially in *Bithynia*. He procured an Edict to be directed to himſelf, for rendring null and ineffectual all ſuch Reſcripts and Immunities, and to require Contribution, “ according to the quantity of the Grounds poſſeſſed near the ſaid ways, for repairing them; as alſo for other Services according to the quantity of the Lands where they were to be diſcharged. “ Now was carrying on a magnificent Work at *Conſtantinople*, called the Baths of *Honorius*, with a ſtately *Porticus* adjoyning. But the Work could not go on to perfection, nor that Grandeur which was intended, without taking in the Grounds belonging to private perſons. To make them Compenſation, & that ſo great an Ornament and Convenience to the City might not be ſtopped, an Edict was directed to *Iſidore*, the *Præfect* of it ; Whereby was made over to ſuch intereſſed “ perſons, a place called the old *Baſilica* ; to have and to hold, to them and their “ Aſſigns, by way of full Right and Title, there to build.

L. 32. *de Erogatione Militaris Annon. Cod. Th. Dat.* 16. *Cal. Sep.*

L. 5. *de Itinere Muniendo, Cod. Th. & L.* 2. *Cod. Juſt. eod. tit.*

L. 50. *de Operib. publ. Cod. Th. Dat.* 4. *Cal. Nov. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt ut localis & temporaria.*

Sect. 3.

A. D. 413. *Lucio, Conſ.*

Heraclianus uſurping.

Lib. 7. *c.* 42.

Is ſlain by his Soldiers.

The *Franks* take *Triers.*

Sigon.

25. The CCCCXIII Year of our Lord hath, in the *Faſti*, the name but of one *Conſul*, *Lucius*: and ſometimes, elſewhere, it is known by this mark; *After the ninth Conſulſhip of* Honorius, *and the fifth of* Theodoſius. The reaſon, for that *Heraclianus*, who had managed matters ſo well in *Africk*, againſt *Attalus*, was named *Conſul* with *Lucius*: but, taking into his Aſſiſtance one *Sabinus*, his Domeſtick; whom, being a notable cunning Man, he made his Son in Law, he ſet up for himſelf; and uſurping, his name was expunged out of the Regiſters. *Oroſius* writes, that he kept back the Supply of Corn, by which the City of *Rome* was wont to be nouriſhed; and thitherward ſailed with an incredible Fleet, which, by report, conſiſted of three thouſand and ſeven hundred Veſſels; a number, of which, neither the famous *Xerxes*, nor *Alexander* the Great, nor any other King was Maſter, that we know by Hiſtory. He landed his Men, and marched up towards *Rome*; but, in his paſſage, was oppoſed by *Marinus*, a *Comes*; who ſo ordered his matters againſt him, that he diſcouraged and put him to flight; ſo that glad he was to procure a Ship, wherein to ſail to *Carthage*; and there, after a ſhort ſpace, the Soldiers, who judge ever of Men according to Succeſs, revolted from him, and ſlew him. Some ſay, he was killed by ſome that were ſent from *Honorius*, in the Temple of *Mercury*. *Sabinus* got away ſafe to *Conſtantinople*; where having continued not long, he was fetched back, and condemned to Baniſhment. This Year, as *Caſſidorus*, and others obſerve, the *Burgundians* ſiezed on part of *Gall*, lying toward the *Rhine*. For, perceiving their own weakneſs, they had not any mind to ſtruggle with, or oppoſe *Conſtantius*, the Emperor's General, but deſired Peace; which he was not averſe to grant, leſt, by an ill ſucceſs againſt them, he ſhould ſtain the Glory of his former Actions. The *Franks* underſtanding what was done, and taking it in high diſdain, that the *Burgundians*, an inconſiderable People, ſhould obtain that in *Gall*, which they, by ſo many Invaſions, had not been able to compaſs; ſuddainly gathered together, paſſed the *Rhine*, and, amongſt other Towns, took *Triers*, which they plundered, and afterwards ſet on fire, not ſparing the Inhabitants, of whom numbers were killed, and their Bodies lay unburied, and were eaten by Fowls and Dogs; even of both Sexes.

Honorius gratifies the Provincials of *Africk* in matter of Sports.

L. 176. *de Decurionibus, Cod. Th. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt. Dat.* 6. *Cal. Feb.*

Summa inſtantia revocari decernimus, &c. L. ult. de Scænicis, Cod. Th.

26. The Provincials of *Africk*, however harraſſed, yet were of a light and jolly humour, if the Rod was removed from their Backs but a little time. They were extraordinarily addicted to Sports and Shows; particularly, thoſe that were ſet forth by the Pagan Prieſts; who left their own Cities and Provinces, and betook themſelves to *Carthage*, the *Metropolis*, where the Paſtimes were exhibited in moſt luſtre; and deſpiſing their own Countries, both ſtaid long there, and got Houſes wherein to inhabit. *Honorius* would not, by any means, ſpoil the ſport of the people there, for which he had provided by ſeveral Laws: but, that the other Cities might not be deprived of their Paſtimes, by the flocking of their Prieſts to *Carthage*, he thought fit to give Order to *Julian*, the *Proconſul*; that, Theſe Strangers Prieſts ſhould “ depart *Carthage* within five days after the ſolemnizing of their Games, or before “ the firſt of *November*. If any that did not belong to the Court of that City ſhould “ be found therein after this term, he muſt incurr a Fine of thirty pounds of Gold. “ But, about the ſame time he received Information from the *Tribunus Voluptatum* (*Diogenianus* by name, and ſtiled *Vir Clariſſimus*, whoſe work it was at *Carthage*, to preſide over the Players, to regulate and govern both the Paſtimes, and them that made them, as other *Tribunes* did in other principal Cities) that the people were much offended, for that it had been ſome time ſince practiſed, by a Reſcript obtained from the Emperor, to ſet looſe and free from that Service, to which they were ordinarily obliged for life, the *Mimicks* that pleaſed them upon the Stage. He thought fit, ſo far to gratifie the multitude, as to write back to *Diogenianus*, to force and “ recall to the Service ſuch *Mimæ* as had been ſet at liberty by order of the Prince. “ He decrees that they be recalled with the greateſt Inſtance, *that*, as he ſaith, *no* “ *wonted Ornament may be wanting to the Pleaſures of the People, and to Feſtival Days.* “ We cannot ſay whether the diſpleaſure conceived by the people, for loſs of their *Mimicks*, contributed to the Rebellion and Uſurpation of *Heraclianus*: but if this Reſcript was intended to quiet their minds, it came too late, and not till that Tempeſt was over; being by it hindred from croſſing the Seas. For, though it bears date of the beginning of *February* this Year, it was not received at *Carthage*, by the *Tribune*, till the latter end of *January* following.

27. But *Honorius* employed his *Quæſtor* at this time, in matters more ſerious and profitable. By Nature he was a great Enemy to the Tricks and Subtilties of the antient Laws, and maintained a conſtant War againſt them. Particularly, as to the

Settles the making of Teſtaments betwixt Man and Wife

making of Teſtaments;he abhorred the wonted tedious Forms,and the vain and unneceſſary Phraſes and Words ; reſolving to give eaſe to the People, by Allowance of a more Compendious Way.By the old Laws,*Julia* and *Papia*,Husband and Wife,could not make each other their Heir, except they had Children betwixt them. This,ordinarily, they could not do, except they obtained a Diſpenſation or a Privilege, which they called *Jus Liberorum*, as we have already ſaid, which conferred on them ſuch power, as the abſolutely having Children,would have afforded them.And, this privilege was of old time obtained from the People, and afterwards by Reſcript of the Prince.But now,*Honorius* ordained,that,If Man and Wife lovingly,and by conſent, “ put up their Petition to the Emperor, and therein included their Teſtaments “ which they prayed might be allowed of and confirmed ; ſuch Teſtament ſhould “ be of force, provided the Petition could be proved by two Witneſſes, although “ the Prince granted out no Reſcript,if he did not expreſly deny the Suit: for, as the “ Reſcript would have been chargeable, ſo it was not convenient that the Emperor “ ſhould particularly declare his Opinion, leſt the full liberty of making Wills “ ſhould be infringed. Teſtaments thus inſinuated before the Prince in Conſiſtory, “ he would have to be underſtood valid, and of full effect ; both for the eaſe of the “ People, and aſſerting of the Imperial Authority. But yet, it ſhould not be underſtood “ that this ſhould take away the Right of any Perſon, or to prevent juſt Complaints “ or Claims of ſuch as the *Roman* Laws allowed, to except againſt the Teſtaments, “ in which they themſelves were paſſed by. “

Vide L.ult. de Diverſis Reſcriptis.
L.ult. de Jure Liberorum.
L.6. de Inofficioſo teſtam.Cod.Th & L.19. de Teſtament. Cod. Juſt. Dat.16. Cal Mart. Rav. Johanni,P F.P.
Querela inofficioſi teſtamentii

An Act of Grace for remitting of Arrears.

28. This might well pleaſe the more wiſe and conſidering ſort of people ; but ſhortly after he paſſed an Act of Grace, which could not but give great content unto the multitude. Being ſatisfied how much ſome of the Provinces of *Italy* had been waſted more than others in the late Wars with the *Goths*, he had ſo great reſpect to their preſent condition ; that for five years Dues in all ſorts of Payments and Tributes, he ordered *John* the *Præfectus Prætorio* to exact but one, *viz.* from the Year CCCCX to the Year CCCCXV, remitting and pardoning all the reſt, except what belonged to the *Curſus publicus*, which was of ſuch conſequence, “ and at this time was in ſo ill a condition, that there was neceſſity to ſupply “ it. This plenary Indulgence he granted to *Tuſcia*, *Picenum*, *Samnium*, *Apulia*, *Calabria*, *Brutii* and *Lucania*.“ Which Provinces had born the Brunt in the late Invaſions, but were not joyned ſo as to make up a *Dioceſs*, or further concerned together than as to loſs and calamity. This Act of Grace was of greater conſequence than another Favour he granted a Month after to ſome of the *Scriniarii*, who ſerved in the *Scrinia*, or Offices ſo often mentioned. Both *Valentinian* the younger,and alſo *Arcadius*,had given to them all the privilege of entring the *Secretaria* of the Ordinary Judges, or ſuch as were of the Degree of *Clariſſimi*, as *Conſulares* and *Preſidents*, but not of theſe of the Dignity of *Spectabilis*, ſuch as were *Proconſuls* and *Vicars* of *Præfects*. But now *Honorius* thought fit to enlarge this privilege to thoſe of them whom they called *Melloproximi*, and others as far as the *Exceptors* ; conferring on them the Title of *Clariſſimus*, and giving them leave “ to enter the *Secretaria* of the Judges that were *Spectabiles*, and to ſit with them. “ The *Melloproximi* were, as we have ſaid, they that were to be *Proximi* after “ two years, while the office of *Proximus* laſted ſo long, which afterward was “ made Annual. “ *Juſtinian* in his time, or *Tribonian* for him, extended this privilege to all the *Scriniarii* indiſtinctly. *Honorius* his Hand now being in,to be kind to his Servants, the next day extended the favour he had given ten years before to the *Agentes in Rebus*, of being free from finding *Tirones* and other Burthens ; to the “ *Palatine* Officers,belonging to his two *Treaſuries* ; the *Adjutors* and *Primicerii* of “ the divers Offices, who had diligently and faithfully diſcharged their Duties.

L.7. de Indulgent.Debitorum, Cod.Th. Dat. 8. Id.Maii. Abeſt a Cod.Juſt. ut temporaria.
L.16.De Proximis,&c.Cod.Th. & l.5.Cod.Juſt. eod.tit. Dat. 8. Id.Junii.
L.20.de Palatinis.G L.Cod.Th. & L.10. Cod. Juſt. eod.tit. Dat. 7. Id.Jun.

Acts of ſeaſonable Severity.

29. As he found reaſon to be kind to ſuch as faithfully ſerved him, ſo he had as much to be ſevere to thoſe that abſented themſelves, and deſerted their Duty. Six days after,he was provoked to ſend out an order to *Gaiſo* the *Comes & Magiſter Militum*, requiring, that ſuch Deſertor as without leave diſcontinued, and lay “ loitering at home, or in other places ſhould, for the firſt years neglect be placed “ below ten Soldiers next under him ; for the ſecond or two years, below twenty ; “ for three years below thirty ; and if he loitered the fourth, then be caſhiered. “ The like ſeverity was practiſed in the *Militia Palatina*, as in the *Armata* ; but herein differed, that a Loiterer after four years was to ſuffer Regradation below forty ; and then if he ſtill diſcontinued, his name was to be expunged. While *Honorius* was thus employed in cenſuring Crimes and Defects, it could ſcarcely be, but that ſomething ſhould occurr about *Africk*. And indeed ſuch freſh complaints

L.16. de Deſertorib.Cod.Th.& L.ult. de Commeatu.Cod.Juſt. Dat.prid. Id. Jun.

plaints were thence lately arrived, as put the *Quæſtor* the ſame day upon drawing another Edict, directed to *John* the *Præfect*, for the redreſſing of a Grievance in that his troubleſome Dioceſs. The Provincials were always ſuppoſed obnoxious to the *Metatus*, or Quartering, as there was occaſion; but under pretence of what legally was to be demanded, too much was exacted by the Officers, both Military and Civil; the Employments of whom engaged them to be upon the Road more than ordinarily. To prevent which inconvenience, he now ordained, That ſuch Officers as ſhould have occaſion to travel, ſhould ſend no *Menſor* or Harbinger before them, whom, if they ſo did, it ſhould be lawful to beat or drive away, as the Country ſaw occaſion. Neither ſhould they exact any thing in way of Proviſion for Man or Horſe. If a *Governour* of a Province, a *Surveyor*, an *Apparitor*, or any other Officer ſhould do it, he fines him in the ſum of ten pounds of Gold, requiring, that he uſe no delay, but make as ſpeedy paſſage as poſſible; and he threatens him with puniſhment who ſhall give or contribute any thing more than ordinary to ſuch a pretender.“

L. 10. de Metatis, Cod. Th. & L. 5. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Dat. prid. Id. Jun.

30. By this time *Heraclianus* the Uſurper was ſuppreſſed; and ſhortly after, in the beginning of *Auguſt*, came out the Proclamation or uſual Edict in ſuch caſes, directed to the *Honorati* and *Provincials* of *Africk*. Herein *Honorius* declared, That having judged him a publick Enemy, he had juſtly condemned him to be puniſhed, by cutting off his unlucky Neck; and that in the ſame manner his *Satellites* ſhould be proſecuted. All manner of perſons, as well private Men as Soldiers, he invited to diſcover them, or any of them, and that without fear of Envy, which uſually accompanies Informers. And he commanded, that ſuch as had any of their Goods in their Hands, to make known and produce them.“ Thus was the Eſtate of *Heraclianus* confiſcated, which ſcarcely amounting to the value of twenty *Centenaries* of Gold in Moveables, and in Immoveables of two thouſand pounds, was afterward beſtowed on *Conſtantius*, the Conſul of the following Year. But with this cenſure the Emperour did not think him ſufficiently puniſhed. For he having been nominated Conſul for this Year, and his Name being inſerted into Acts and Inſtruments, he commanded by another Edict directed to *Hadrian* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, that it ſhould be expunged out of all, both publick and private Writings, and his Memory utterly aboliſhed. Moreover, that what had been done by him ſhould be null and void; inſomuch, that though Leave ſhould not thereby be granted to ſuch Lords as had manumitted their Slaves, of reducing them again into bondage; yet the Act being, as his, void in it ſelf, ſhould be repeated, and the ſolemnity of Manumiſſion reiterated.“ Which was wont to be done before the Conſuls, when they entred into their Office; and indeed was the chief thing wherein they were employed, as we have ſhewed in the Polity of the Empire.

The Eſtate of *Heraclianus* confiſcated by an Edict.

L. 21. de Pœnis, Cod. Th. Dat. 3. Non. Aug.

His Acts, as *Conſul*, nulled.

L. 14. de Infirmand. his quæ ſub Tyrannis, Cod. Th. Dat. 3. Non. Aug. Abſ. a Cod. Juſt. ut temporariæ.

31. In the mean time *Theodoſius* in the Eaſt had no ſuch occaſion to employ his *Quæſtor* in ſuch Acts of neceſſary and wholſome ſeverity. On the contrary, he paſſed Acts of Grace; and being not diverted by Wars or Conſpiracies, had occaſion to honour and reward ſuch as faithfully ſerved him in time of peace, of which there were ſuch numbers, the vaſt extent of the Empire requiring it, that about the ordering and regulation of them there ſeldom wanted ſome Inducements. As perſons of Employment, and eſpecially Courtiers, are wont to be much concerned about place and precedence; ſo eſpecially when idle, and having nothing elſe to divert their thoughts: and ſo it happened at *Conſtantinople* at the beginning of the year, where ſeveral of the firſt Order or Rank of *Comites* juſtled one another. This put *Theodoſius* upon framing a large Conſtitution for regulating ſo high a concern, which we find directed to *Priſcian* the *Præfect* of the City, though not *Priſcian* the Grammarian, as hath been queſtioned, who taught in this City ſome ſixty or ſeventy years after. Therein he determined, that the *Præpoſiti* and *Tribunes* of the *Scholæ* (as of the *Scutarii* and *Gentiles*, formerly mentioned) who were admitted to the Emperor's Table; and had the privilege amongſt the *Domeſtick Protectors* and others, to adore the Purple, as alſo the *Tribunus*, or *Comes Stabuli*; and he they called *Cura palatii*, who overſaw the Emperor's Buildings; if together with their Charges they had obtain'd, during the exerciſing of their places to be *Comites* of the firſt Rank, and perhaps had not been farther promoted, when they left their Offices they ſhould be reckoned with, or made equal to the *Comites* or *Duces* of the Limit of *Ægypt*, and of the Dioceſs of *Pontica*, who, after the *Comes* of the *Eaſt*, becauſe of the importance of their Charges (the Countries under their Command being obnoxious to dangers) had more Honour“

Theodoſius regulates the Precedence of his Officers.

L. un. de Comitibus & Tribunis ſcholarum, Cod. Th. lib. 6. tit. 12. & L. un. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Dat. 12. Cal. Apr.

Honour conferred on them, than had others of their place, as in the Weſt had" the *Comites Rei Militaris* beyond the Seas. But if thoſe perſons had exerciſed " their Employments with the Dignity of *Comes* of the firſt Rank, than at their go-" ing out they ſhould have ſuch precedence, as had the *Duces* of the Provinces. "

32. At this time it was often practiſed that ſome expert Commanders ſhould be ſent into the Provinces upon ſpecial ſervice, as Deputies of the Illuſtrious *Magiſtri Militum*; and it was alſo now grown ordinary for the Emperor, when he put ſuch,or others upon Employment, to grace and dignifie them with the *Comitiva* of the firſt Rank, to encourage them, as ſhould ſeem, or make them more awful, though formerly ſuch rewards had been wont to be deferred, till the laying down of their places. Now *Theodoſius* farther determined in this ſame Conſtitution, That ſuch as by his Authority were ſent with a Command of Soldiers to protect " one or more Provinces, and ſuch as undertook to execute the Office of *Magiſtri*" *Militum*, ſhould be made equal with the *Duces* of the Provinces (thoſe of *Ægypt* and *Pontica* being excepted) if they had been dignified with the *Comitiva* of the firſt Rank, which was appropriate to thoſe that were of the Degree of *Spectabilis*, thoſe that were illuſtrious being ſtiled *Comites*, without any addition of firſt, ſecond, or third Rank; all which, as merely ſuch, were vaſtly below them. Moreover, he ordained, That the *Archiatri*, or Phyſicians of the Palace, if they were" innobled with the *Comitiva* of the firſt Rank, ſhould be equal, and take place a-" mongſt the *Vicars* and *Duces*, who had been actually in Employment, and had al-" ſo obtain'd to be *Comites* of that Rank, ſo as time only ſhould diſtinguiſh them. " Further, he ſaith, that he muſt not paſs over in ſilence, ſuch as having been in Civil Adminiſtration, and the Government of Provinces, had alſo obtain'd the ſame *Comitiva*, declaring, That they, after the quitting of their Employment, ſhall" enjoy the Privileges belonging to the Dignity of *Vicars*. " And he thought it as reaſonable to grant the ſame favour to ſuch Lawyers, as had been *Adſeſſors* to Illuſtrious Perſons in actual Employment; whether in the Provinces, as the *Præfecti Prætorio*; or in the Palace, as the *Quæſtor*, the *Magiſter Officiorum*, or the two great Treaſurers: that, If they were adorned with the *Comitiva* of the firſt Rank, " they ſhould have equal Place and Honour with *Vicars* of *Præfects*; affirming it an " abſurd thing that they ſhould be below them. " In the laſt place, he extends this privilege to ſome *Artificers*, *Mechanicks*, ſuch as had the Charge of publick Works, and even ſome who had but ſlender Employment in the Provinces. For, ſometimes it happened, and fit it was, that ſuch as theſe, for ſome important Invention, ſome extraordinary Work or Service performed, were alſo promoted to be *Comites* of the firſt Rank. *Symmachus* makes mention of one *Cyriades*, to whom he gives the Title of *Vir Clariſſimus*, and calls him *Comes & Mechanicus*, and *Mechanicæ Profeſſor*, who contended before him, then *Præfect* of the City, with one *Auxentius*, a Man of the ſame Degree, about too much Expence made upon a *Baſilica* and a Bridge. The Emperor allows to ſuch, after the laying down of their Employ-" ments, place amongſt the *Conſulares*; but leaves it in their power to refuſe it, if" they be unwilling to undergo the burthens incumbent upon that Dignity; as " the two he mentions of the *Glebalis Collatio*, to which they were obnoxious as *Se-" nators*; and of frequenting the Senate, and other Meetings, to which the *Honora-" ti* were obliged, there being often occaſion for their Debate and Conſultation in the Provinces.

L.3. de Comitibus rei militaris, Cod.Th. lib. 6 tit.14.& L.2 Cod. Juſt.eod. tit. Dat.12.Cal. Apr.

L.un.de Comitibus & Archiatris Sacri Palatii.Cod.Th.lib. 6.tit.16. & L. un.Cod.Juſt. eod.tit.

L.un.de Comitibus qui Provincias regunt,Cod. Th.lib.6.tit.17. & Cod.Juſt. L. un.eod.tit.

L.un.de Comitibus qui Inluſtr. Agentibus adſiderunt, Cod. Th. lib.6. tit.5. Abeſt hic tit. a Cod. Juſt.

L.un.de Comitibus ordinis primi Artium diverſarum,Cod. Th.lib.6.tit.20. Abeſt hic tit. a Cod.Juſt.

He provides for the Ornament of *Conſtantinople.*

33. Now was raiſing the Wall at *Conſtantinople*, the building whereof Writers aſcribe to the Providence and care of *Anthemius*, who enlarged the *Pomærium* of the City towards the Sea; and if we can believe them who affirm it, got the Wall finiſhed in two Months. There was neceſſity it ſhould be carried through the Grounds of private Perſons, the Rights of whom were not to be invaded; and yet, reaſonable it was, that private Intereſt ſhould give way to publick Convenience. To make recompence to ſuch Proprietors, *Anthemius* procured a Reſcript to be directed to him, whereby the Towers of the new Wall ſhould, when the Work was compleated, " be aſſigned to thoſe in whoſe Grounds it ſtood. Of theſe Towers they might make uſe, on condition, that they, and ſuch as into whoſe hands the Ground ſhould " come, did yearly, at their own Charge, ſee to the repairing of them: and here-" by he concludes, that the Splendor of the Work, and the Defence of the City " would be joyned with the Uſe and Benefit of private Perſons. " While *Theodoſius* thus provided for the Ornament and Defence of *Conſtantinople*, the condition of *Illyricum*, which had been miſerably harraſſed by *Alarich* and his *Goths*, loudly called upon him, to uſe ſome means for the Supply of its Cities and Towns with Perſons

L.51. de Operibus publicis, Cod.Th.& L.18. Cod. Juſt.eod. tit.Dat.Prid. Non. Apr. Per quorum terras idem murus ſtudio ac proviſione Tuæ Magnitudinis, ex Noſtræ Serenitatis arbitrio celebratur.

ſons fit to undergo the uſual burthen of the *Curiæ*. There were not wanting thoſe, who, though not obliged by their Original, or any other way, were content to ſerve their Country. But former Princes, to provide more effectually for the Service of Corporations, had made it unlawful for ſuch as imbodied themſelves once amongſt the *Decuriones*, to recede at pleaſure: which deterred all that were at liberty from ſubjecting themſelves unto that Yoak.

He encovrages perſons to ſerve Corporations.

L. 177. de Decurionibus, Cod. Th. Dat. 16. Cal. Maii, Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

34. They about the Emperor therefore thought convenient to take off that Rigour, that ſuch as pretended kindneſs might not have too plauſible an Excuſe, that for their good Will they ſhould make Shipwrack of their former Freedom: and now a Law was made, that, When any ſuch perſon had a mind to oblige a Town or City " by diſcharging ſome particular Duty or Service, he ſhould, in preſence of the *Curia*, " or the major part, before the *Governor* of a Province, or the *Defenſor* of the City, pro- " miſe to undertake it; with a Proteſtation, that he would not thereby become obno- " xious, or bound: and this the *Decuriones* ſhould admit and engage, that he ſhould " do it without any prejudice to Liberty, Eſtate, of himſelf, or of his Heirs. " This *Theodoſius* did now enact in particular; and afterwards ordained in general, that, the voluntary undertaking of an Employment ſhould prejudice no man. He far- " ther, now, conferred on them the Privileges belonging to a *Curialis* when they had " done their work. But whereas, in the diſtreſſed Eſtate of *Illyricum*, when per- " ſons were wanting for Employments, ſome of the *Curiales* would undertake ſome " Charges which they were not bound to undergo; on condition, when they had " done their work, then to be looſed and freed from the *Curiæ*. He utterly diſliked " the practice, and commanded that ſuch ſhould be forced back, in this ſame Edict " directed to *Leontius*, the *Præfect*. " We have formerly heard of Complaints made againſt the *Magiſtri Militum*, or other Military Officers, their intermeddling with Civil Cauſes and Perſons; and the practice was ſo far condemned, that now they ran into the other Extreme; and made it a Queſtion whether, when a Soldier was ſued by a private Man (here Private is oppoſed to Military) it ſhould be in the Court of a *Magiſter Militum*. To clear this Doubt, *Anthemius* received a Reſcript, whereby it was declared for Law, that, The *Magiſtri Militum* might determine " matters in controverſie betwixt two ſuch Perſons; the Military Man having no o- " ther proper Judge, before whom he could be tryed, or by whom puniſhed. "

L. 6. de Juriſdict. Omnium Judicum, Cod. Juſt lib. 3. tit. 13. Dat. 5. Cal. Maii.

35. In the CCCCXIV Year of our Lord, *Conſtantius* was made *Conſul* in the Weſt, and *Conſtans* in the Eaſt. *Honorius* had his Abode ſtill at *Ravenna*, and *Theodoſius* at *Conſtantinople*. On *Conſtantius* the Honour of *Conſul*, and of *Patrician* (if not now, ſhortly after) was beſtowed, for his Service againſt the *Goths*, and the hope that was farther conceived of him. Some tell us, that now he came to *Rome*, and that, in his place was put *Caſtinus*, the *Comes Domeſticorum*; who, in his Abſence, fought ſeveral Battels againſt the *Franks*, with ſuch ſucceſs, that he conſtrained them to quit the Towns they had ſiezed, and once more to retire beyond the *Rhine*. In the mean time *Ataulphus*, King of the *Goths*, governing a Warlike and reſtleſs People, began to afford matter of Jealouſie and Anger to his Brother in Law *Honorius*: and, having *Attalus*, the late Tyrant and Mock-Emperor, with him, whom he had brought along with him out of *Gall*, he cauſed him now to reaſſume the Purple, and pretend to his former uſurped Power.

Ataulfe, King of the *Goths*, driven into *Spain*.

L. 7. c. 43.

Honorius ſeeing the League broken by *Ataulfe*, reſolved to proſecute him with War; and, for that purpoſe, procured *Conſtantius* to return into *Gall*: who, as *Oroſius* writes, in the fourth Year after the taking of the City, having his Quarters at *Arelatum*, by his great Induſtry and Expedition, drove the *Goths* out of *Narbon*, and forced them to betake themſelves into *Spain*; having intercepted all Intercourſe by Sea, and all Foreign Commerce. Others tell the ſtory more largely; how *Conſtantius* marched with his Army to the City of *Narbon*, and threatned to lay Siege to it if *Attalus* was not delivered into his hands. *Ataulfe* refuſed to do it. But, the other being as good as his word, when *Ataulfe* found the place and himſelf in great danger, he reſolved to forſake it, and paſs over with his Army into *Africk*. To this purpoſe he brake out of the Town, and went directly to the Sea ſide to ſhip his Men: but finding there no Veſſels, for that *Conſtantius* had prevented him, he reſolved for the hithermoſt *Spain*, which, as yet, was held by *Honorius*; and, taking along with him *Attalus*, who could not be ſafe without his Protection, he placed him at *Barcino*, a City of the Province of *Tarraco*, now *Arragon*. Here he made a ſhew for ſome time; but, ſhortly after, deſpiſed by the *Goths*, he was cunningly ſiezed, and preſented to *Conſtantius*; who, gladly beholding ſuch a ſight, ſent him to *Honorius*; by whoſe Order he was committed to Priſon, and reſerved for a

Triumph after the *Gothick* War. This *Proſper* placeth at the following Year.

Honorius appoints two Commiſſioners to hear and redreſs the Grievances of *Africk*.

36. Now, for Grievances and Complaints thereupon, which could not but often happen in a vaſt Empire, and which give occaſion to all or moſt Laws in fixed and eſtabliſhed States (thoſe at the firſt founding of Colonies, being more Directive than Corrective) it muſt needs be, that *Africk* have the firſt Audience. And, at this Audience, *Honorius* received ſo much ſatisfaction, that, as he ſaith himſelf, Leſt, by reaſon of the Interpoſition of the Sea, the Complaints “ of the Provincials ſhould periſh, he appointed the Illuſtrious *Flavianus* “ and *Cecilianus*, who had been *Præfecti Prætorio*, to receive all things that ſhould “ be offered in that kind, from any perſons whatſoever. And becauſe, at this time, “ the publick Neceſſities required extraordinary Payments, and great murmuring “ there was of the Inequality of Burthens, he reſolved that they two ſhould examine “ and adjuſt ſuch matters amongſt the Provincials, and no more diſpute thereof “ be made after their Determination. “ Hereby was obviated the Rapacity of Soldiers and Officers of the Revenue, or others: which he further reſtrains by charging *Hadrian*, the *Præfect*, in this ſame Conſtitution, that, All Free Quarter, or “ Exaction of Proviſions for Man and Horſe, as alſo, of private Baths, be taken away “ in that Country. “ And, being now wearied with the continual Clamours made againſt the Rapacity and Oppreſſions uſed by the *Curioſi*, He commands “ them to be utterly removed out of that Dioceſs; and the *Apparitors* of *Judges* ſo “ far reſtrained, that they ſhall not exerciſe the Rapines and Deprædations they “ were wont, over the *Curiales*, *Navicularii*, or other Bodies. “

L.33.de Erogatione militaris annonæ, Cod.Th. Dat.5.Non. Mart.

L.12.de Metatis,Cod.Th.&. L.6. Cod.Juſt. eod.tit.

L.11.de Curioſis,Cod.Th.Abeſt a Cod.Juſt.

37. As the diſtance of *Africk* ſubjected it to many Inconveniences, ſo was it not furniſhed with ſo able Lawyers as other nearer Countries. Yet was *Julian Proconſul* there, now, the ſecond time: But, together with the former Complaints, he conſulted the Emperor about favour to be ſhewed towards Minors and Women, in Law-matters. *Honorius* anſwered, that, By innumerable Authorities (Laws of Princes, or Reports and Sentences of Lawyers) it was evident that they were provided “ for in things which they had omitted, or were ignorant of. “ If they omitted the firſt and proper Judge, and immediately betook themſelves to the Superior. If they omitted to except againſt a Teſtament by the *Quarela Inofficioſi*. If they omitted to take poſſeſſion and the like. Again, if they were ignorant as to Law, *Minors* were wont to be reſtored in *integrum*; which Privileges this Conſtitution declares common with them to Women, though of ripe Years; which ſucceeding Princes thought, in ſeveral caſes, to be reſtrained, making a difference betwixt them. And *Honorius* himſelf, in this ſame Conſtitution, maketh alſo ſome difference; declaring that, A *Minor* cannot ſtand in Judgment, the Writ of the Interdict “ not lying againſt him, though he had the liberty to bring it, as well as other “ perſons, by the Authority and Mediation of his *Guardian*; againſt whom it is alſo “ to be brought. “ Further, to give all ſatisfaction imaginable, and cut off all Complaints, as much as in him lay from that reſtleſs People of *Africk*, a Month after he ſignified to *Seleuchus*, who had ſucceeded *Hadrian* in the *Præfectſhip* of *Italy*; that, He fully pardoned and forgave to the *Navicularii* of *Africk*, all Arrears “ that were behind, from the fourteenth Indiction, and the third Conſulſhip of *Valentinian Auguſtus*, together with that of *Eutropius*, till the fourth Indiction, or “ his own ſeventh Conſulſhip, together with the Second of *Theodoſius*. “ This contained the ſpace of twenty Years, from the Year CCCLXXXVII, to the Year CCCCVII; ſo that he would only have exacted the Arrears of the laſt ſeven Years. This is better known from what *Honorius* ſaith of the Conſulſhips, than by the Indictions; for, what he calls in this Law the fourteenth Indiction, elſewhere he himſalf terms the firſt, and others the fifteenth; and what with him is the fourth, his Nephew *Theodoſius* calls the fifth, and others the ſixth. This Variety hath much perplexed Learned Men, who conſidered not the reaſon of it, till learned *Gothofred* of late ſuggeſted it. The beginning of Indictions, in all places, was not the ſame: the Original of the *Italian* is to be fetched from the CCCXII Year of our Lord; that of the Oriental Parts, from the Year CCCXIII; the *Carthaginian*, or that of *Africa Proconſularis*, began, *A.D.* CCCXIV; and that of the Dioceſs of *Africk* commenced not till the CCCXV Year of our Lord.

L.ult.de Integri reſtitutione, Cod.Th.lib.2. tit.16.& L.38. Cod. Juſt. de in integrum reſtitutione, Dat. prid. Non.Mart.

L.ult. unde vi. Cod.Th.& L.ult. Cod. Juſt. qui legitimam perſonam habeant ſtandi in Judiciis, vel non.

Is indulgent to their *Navicularii*.

L.8. de Indulgentiis Debitorum, Cod.Th. Dat.3.Non.Apr. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.ut temporaria.

38. *Honorius* being ſo kind to the *Navicularii*, he might very well expect they ſhould do their duty. But *Albinus*, the *Præfect* of *Rome*, gave him to underſtand, about the middle of *September*, that they were wont to cheat the Publick, by withdrawing ſome of their Cargo; the quantity of Grain they brought into Port, not anſwering to the Bills of Lading. And now, at this time, the Crime was more

prejudicial

Yet reſtrains their Avarice.

L.38. de Navicularìis,Cod. Th.Dat.15.Cal. Octobr.Abeſt a Cod.Juſt.

prejudicial to the City than ordinarily, which filled apace; ſo as in one day was found an Acceſſion of fourteen thouſand Mouths, and Proviſions grew very ſcarce. The Emperor wrote back, that, He conceived the Officers of the *Præfect* “ of the City, and of the *Præfectus Annonæ*, were corrupted to diſſemble ſuch miſcarriages. “ To prevent this he gives him order, that although in former times the “ *Præfectus Annonæ*, and the *Vicar* of the *Præfect* of the City, had been wont to “ take care of theſe matters, eſpecially, the former; yet now, he himſelf (as of “ late had been practiſed) together with the ſaid *Præfectus Annonæ*, and three Illuſtrious “ Perſons, ſhall make Inquiſition into the thing, and that within five days “ after the coming of the *Navicularius* into Port; ſo that the Inquiſition be not deferred, “ though it happen on Days holy, or deſtinated to Devotion. After this, a “ Criminal convicted, ſhall be ſent, with his Proſecutor, and the matter of his “ Charge to the *Præfectus Annonæ* of *Afriak*, as his proper Judge; who ſhall cauſe “ him to make ſatisfaction. If Inquiſition and Proſecution be not made accordingly, “ the *Præfect* of the City, and his Office, ſhall forfeit five pounds of Gold, the “ *Apparitors* three, and the *Præfectus Annonæ* two. “

He aſſigns to pay the *Scholares* that commanded Soldiers.

L.34.de Erogatione militaris Annonæ,Cod.Th. & L.14. Cod. Juſt.eod. tit. Dat.17. Cal. Dec.

39. There being, in theſe times of danger, ſo great need and want of good Officers, ſeveral out of the *Scholæ*, as of the *Gentiles* and *Scutarii*, though not properly Soldiers, were preferred to the Command, even, of *Numeri*, or Regiments of Horſe. And, now it became a Queſtion, what Pay they ſhould receive; concerning which, *Conſtantius*, *Magiſter Militum* in *Gall*, conſulted the Emperor. He anſwered him, that, ſuch of the *Scholares*, to whom, out of conſideration of their “ Service, he had given the Command of *Numeri*, ſhould receive from the *Opinators* “ a *Solidus* a day;and,beſides,that they called *Caballatio*,or Allowance for Horſe,as the “ *Tribunes* of Horſe at this time received. “ And, if they died, and had Arrears due “ to them, they ſhould be transferred upon their Heirs, ſo much as was due to the “ time of their death; but not a whole year's Allowance, if they died within the “ year. “ He concludes the year with kindneſs to his *Domeſticks* and *Protectors*, of whom, the next ten to the *Primicerius*; he ſignified to *Epiphanius*, the *Præfect* of the City, his pleaſure, that, They ſhould obtain the Dignity of Senators, and “ ſucceed in order, to be one of the ten as another went out; with ſuch Privileges “ and Immunities as the *Senatores Allecti* had from the Senatorian Functions, or the “ *Glebalis Collatio*, and the *Prætorſhip*. It being not their Ambition, but their Merit, “ and his voluntary Determination, which thus preferred them. “

Is kind to his Domeſtick *Protectors*.

L.7.de Domeſticis & Protectoribus, Cod. Th. lib.6.tit.24. Dat.6. Cal.Jan.

Theodoſius rather more kind than he.

L.9. de Indulgentiis Debitorum,Cod.Th.Dat 5.Id.Apr. Abeſt. ut temporaria a Cod.Juſt.

40. *Theodoſius*, this year, came no whit ſhort of his Unkle in Acts of Grace and Indulgence towards ſuch as he found reaſon to be kind to. Much about the ſame time that *Honorius* paſſed that of Pardon to the *Navicularii*, of what was in Arrear for twenty years; he, as if he had a purpoſe to outdo him, publiſhed one of far larger extent, both as to time, place, and the thing forgiven: For, from the eleventh “ Indiction of *Valens*, till the fifth that was lately paſt; or, from the ſecond “ Conſulſhip of *Valentinian* and *Valens*, till the ſeventh Conſulſhip of his Uncle *Honorius*, “ and the ſecond of himſelf; that is, from the Year CGCLXVII, to “ the Year CCCCVI, incluſive, being the ſpace of forty years, he pardoned “ all Arrears in general; from whomſoever, to whomſoever of his Officers of Receit, “ and in what kind ſoever they were payable, through all the Provinces of the “ Eaſt: whether due from the *Curiæ* or *Curiales*, who were wont to be *Suſceptors* “ and *Exactors*; or from the *Poſſeſſors* of the Lands themſelves, which were “ obnoxious to Payments to the Prince his Patrimony, his Houſe (called *Divina Domus*) “ or to find Proviſions (*Cellarienſes*) for ſupply of *Palaces*, *Prætoria*, or *Manſions*: “ whether Corn or Mony, Braſs or Silver, were to be paid: whether owing “ to the *Horrea*, or Magazines, the *Arca* of the *Præfect*, or the two Treaſuries. “ Excepted only out of this Pardon ſuch Arrears as were owing from the Quarries “ of *Docimenum* (a place in *Phrygia*) *Proconneſus* (one of the Iſlands *Sporades*) and “ *Troas* (near Mount *Ida*, the famous place in *Aſia Proconſularis*) which, by reaſon “ of the great need that this luxurious Age, found of thoſe moſt noble Veins of Marble, he permitted to be exacted, as we gueſs, out of particular reſpect to *Conſtantinople*, to which City they were ſo near; for, in many other Provinces of the Eaſt alſo, eſpecially, in *Illyricum*, there were many excellent Mines and Quarries. He adds another Limitation; that, From that, or the ſixth Indiction, to the preſent, or “ twelfth, all Arrears ſhall be paid, to anſwer the publick Neceſſities. “ This Edict is directed to *Anthemius*; to whoſe Diſtrict of the *Præfectſhip* of the Eaſt, we might think it deſigned, but that at the bottom of it is expreſly ſaid, that, concerning the ſame matter, an Edict was written to the People, to *Marcianus*, the *Comes S.*

A. D. 414.

Larg. to *Muſellius*, the *Præpoſitus Cubiculi* (under whom was the Overſight of the *Divina Domus*) to the Governors of Provinces in General, and in particular to Governors and the People which had relation to Mines and Quarries. From this it ſeems intended for the whole Eaſtern Empire: but however, we believe they had all reaſon to thank *Anthemius*.

41. And, not only Debtors to the Publick, for this; but Priſoners, and ſuch as were condemned to Baniſhment, for another Law, which ſhortly followed in their behalf. When Offenders were ſentenced to Baniſhment by the *Judges*, their Officials were to ſee the Sentence executed, and till ſuch time the Parties were remanded to Priſon. But oftentimes it happened through the Negligence, or wilful Omiſſion of the *Officials*, ſometimes of the *Judges* themſelves; that, if a man was ſentenced to Baniſhment for a Year, they would let him continue ſo long in Priſon before they conveyed him to the appointed place. This being looked on as a great Oppreſſion, an Edict was directed to *Anthemius*, commanding that, "All ſuch ſhould be ſet at liberty, without any farther puniſhment, that had fulfilled the time that was appointed to Baniſhment, in Priſon. And it gives this reaſon, that it is ſufficient to have once undergone great Affliction; and that they that have been long deprived of the common Air and Light, and burthened with Irons, ſhould not, again, be compelled to undergo the pain and penalty of Exile." We cannot ſay that another Act of kindneſs was to be attributed to *Anthemius*, for it is directed to *Monaxius*, under the Title of *Præfect* of the City; though all other Laws, both of this and the following Years, make him *Præfectus Prætorio*. Hereby he made them acquainted, that, "Such as having ſerved their full time, and diſcharged their duty, had attained to be *Proximi* of the *Scrinia*, *Comites Diſpoſitionum*, or *Magiſtri Admiſſionum*, and thereby to the Degree and Dignity of *Vicars*, ſhall not only be free from all Functions, and the *Glebalis Collatio*, as his Father formerly had made them; but alſo, from the ſeven *Solidi*; which, not only *Senators* that were poor, but ſome others which were excuſed from the former Collation, were obliged to pay." If *Theodoſius* was ſo good natured to his Servants, and ſtudied to reward thoſe that had well deſerved of him, no wonder that he thought upon his own Siſter *Pulcheria*; which Lady being ſollicitous and induſtrious for the ſafety of his Perſon, and the ſecurity of his Eſtate, to a degree far above her Age: he, this year, on the fourth day before the *Nones* of *July*, advanced to the ſublime Degree and Dignity of *Auguſta*.

L.22. de Pænis, Cod.Th.& L.23 Cod.Juſt.eod. tit.Dat.14.Cal. Maii.

L.12.de Senatorib.Cod.Th.Dat. 6.Id.Maii.

A. D. 415.

Honorio A. 10, & Theodoſio A. 6, Coſſ.

42. In the Year CCCCXV, *Honorius Auguſtus*, now, the tenth time, and *Theodoſius*, the ſixth, received the Conſular Ornaments, and made their Abode as formerly; the one at *Ravenna*, and the other at *Conſtantinople*. According to *Proſper*, *Attalus* being carried by the *Goths* into *Spain*, was ſurprized, and delivered up into the hands of *Conſtantius*. *Oroſius* ſomething more largely ſaith, that, He took Ship, not knowing certainly how to ſteer his Courſe, was taken at Sea, delivered to *Conſtantius*, and then preſented to the Emperor; who commanded his hand to be cut off, but ſpared his life; a Sentence full of mildneſs toward ſuch an Uſurper. The *Vandals*, who had formerly invaded *Spain*, grudged that the *Goths* ſhould ſhare with them; and imagining, the Allyance betwixt the Emperor and their King conſidered, that they ſhould have them their Enemies, reſolved, if poſſible, to prevent it, by ſending to *Honorius*, and offering to fight againſt them. The Meſſengers adviſed him, in ſhort, to have Peace with them all, to let them fight it out amongſt themſelves. They might periſh, but he ſhould win: and, if both Nations periſhed, the advantage of the Empire would be immortal. Indeed, *Procopius* writes, that *Honorius* agreed with *Gunderich*, their King, that the *Vandals* ſhould fix in *Spain*, provided they abſtained from all violent and unjuſt Acts, and would not make uſe of the Preſcription of thirty years againſt the *Romans*. But, however, *Placidia*, his Siſter, took it to heart, that there ſhould be ſuch Enmity betwixt her Brother and her Husband; with whom ſhe often contended, that *Attalus* was to be delivered up, and a good Underſtanding to be thereby procured. This ſhe could not then obtain; but, when ſhe underſtood that *Attalus* was ſiezed, and delivered up, ſhe then reſolved to make advantage thereof, and purſue ſo good an opportunity. Neither, indeed, was *Ataulf* averſe, being ſufficiently Uxorious, but readily condeſcended to what was ſo juſtly deſired by his Wife. But it coſt him dear; for, his *Goths* being quite of a contrary Inclination, when they ſaw he reſolved upon a Peace, which they thought contrary to their Intereſt and Honour, they murdered him at *Barcellona*, and, with him, ſix Sons; as his Epitaph ſhews, which was found in that City, and exemplified by *Ambroſius Moralis*, in his *Spaniſh* Chronicle.

Attalus is delivered up.

Ataulfe murdered.

Atta-ulph Patris Auxilium. Gothis enim Atta eſt Pater. vide Gloſſarium Gothicum, in N.Teſtam. Fr. Junii in voce.

nicle. Having made an end of him, they promoted one *Sigerich* to be King in his ſtead.

43. At the very beginning of the year, *Honorius* was preſented with heavy Complaints out of the Iſlands, and all the Coaſts of *Dalmatia*, againſt the *Curioſi* of thoſe Quarters. We have ſeen how, through theſe Parts, had lyen the paſſage out of the Eaſtern, into the Weſtern Empire; and how all miſchief had here, had its entrance out of *Epirus*, *Pannonia*, and other Parts where *Alarich* and the *Goths* ſo long had raged according to the extent of their own Luſts. For this cauſe were they the more carefully looked to; and *Curioſi* were appointed to obſerve them, for the defence of the Provincials, that no Enemy ſhould make any Incurſion: but the Remedy proved worſe than the Diſeaſe: for, great were their Exactions, and ſo heavy and enormous their Oppreſſions, that, whereas in times of danger, when the Enemy invaded, the poor people were glad to fly for ſhelter into the Iſlands; they found there ſo ill Entertainment, that Shipwrack it ſelf would have been little leſs acceptable; and not daring to commit their Eſtates and Perſons into the hands of theſe uncertain Friends, they choſe rather to abide the Inſults of a known Enemy. This cauſed the Emperor to ſignifie to *Palladius*, the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Italy*, that, For the publick ſecurity theſe Officers ſhould be removed wholly from “ thoſe Parts, as he had, the year before, removed them out of *Africk* for the like “ reaſon. And if, for the time to come, any ſhould dare to uſurp the Name or “ Employment after warning given, he ſhould, by the care of the Judges, be ſent “ up in Chains to Court, to receive puniſhment according to the merits of his “ Cauſe. “

Honorius removes the *Curioſi* out of the Iſlands.

——Geticis Europa catervis Ludibrio prædæque datur, frondentis aduſque Dalmatiæ fines: omnis quà mobile Ponti Æquor, & Hadriacas tellus interjacet undas Squalet inops pecudum, &c. Claudian. 2. in Eutropium a. v. 35.

L. ult. de Curioſis Cod. Th. Dat. 6. Id. Jan. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt. ut Hiſtorica.

44. About this time *Palladius* went out of his Office, and was ſucceeded by *Seleucus*, as it ſhould ſeem; to whom, toward the latter end of this Month, a Conſtitution was directed about that often attempted, and never perfected Work of filling up the *Curiæ* with ſufficient Members. So urgent were the reaſons for it at preſent, that they put *Honorius* upon a new Courſe, contrary to former Law and Cuſtom, except in ſome extraordinary Caſes. This was to oblige all that were “ born of a free Woman, and ſuch as whoſe Parents were obnoxious to the Servi- “ ces of Corporations, to follow the condition of their Anceſtors by the Mother's “ ſide, though their Fathers were no better than Slaves; though *Actors*, or *Procu-* “ *rators* of great Perſons. This ran expreſly croſs to the Authority of the *Senatus-* “ *Conſultum Claudianum*; whereby any Free Woman that joyned her ſelf to a “ Slave, became, by that means, the *Ancilla*, or Slave, of his Lord, with whom “ ſhe had ſo unequally yoaked her ſelf; and, not only ſhe, but ſuch Children as “ ſhe bore in that condition. But *Honorius*, though otherwiſe confirming that *Se-* “ *natus-Conſultum*, yet, now was of the opinion, that the indecent Act of the Mo- “ ther was not ſo much to be looked at, as the Original of the Son, and the Digni- “ ty of his Progenitors; thereby preferring a native and natural reſpect, before a “ merely Civil. And he argued from the very thing ordained by that *Senatus-Con-* “ *ſultum*; that if, by vertue thereof private perſons might challenge ſuch as were “ born of their Slaves, though by free Women, by reaſon of their intereſt in their “ ſaid Slaves; then might the Commonwealth, or the Court, with as much “ equity, lay claim to thoſe that were born, or proceeded from ſuch as were of “ their own Bodies. In concluſion, he will have forced back to the Courts and Col- “ leges of Towns and Cities, all *Vacantes*, or belonging to no Societies; all that “ had betaken themſelves to any *Militia*; impoſeth a Fine of five pounds of Gold “ upon any that ſhall hinder the returning of any *Curialis*, and no leſs than burning “ alive upon any Slave that is an *Actor* or *Procurator*. “

Takes a new courſe for filling up the *Curiæ*.

L. L. 178, 179. de Decurionib. Cod. Th. Dat. 13. Cal. Febr. Abſ. à Cod. Juſt.

45. *Theodoſius*, in the Eaſt, was alſo preſented, at the beginning of the year, with Complaints againſt the Inſolence and Violence of Officers; which was riſen to that height, as even to force Gifts, Bargains and Sales from the poor Provincials. We have ſeen how careful Princes have been to avoid this miſchief; inſomuch, that they made it unlawful for Governors of Provinces to receive any thing, or to marry therein, during their Adminiſtration. Whether the Complaint was againſt them, or occaſion was given by others who were potent by reaſon of their Factions or Eſtates, or had many Clients and Dependants (to prevent the Rapacity of whom, *Honorius*, as we have ſeen, would not permit ſuch to exerciſe Merchandize:) but *Theodoſius* now, by an Edict, declared to the people, that, All Sales, Gifts, and Tranſactions which were extorted by power, ſhould be void, and of none effect. It is no Incongruity to imagine, that the Rapacity and Violence of the *Cohortales* or Officers of the *Judges* gave eſpecial Provocation to the making of this Law.

Theodoſius provides againſt the Rapacity of Officers.

L. ult. de Contrahenda Emptione Cod. Th. & L. ult. Cod. Juſt. de his quæ vi metuſve Cauſa Dat 13. Cal. Mart.

For, this very day we find another Edict directed to *Anthemius*; which makes a ſhow, as if ſome of them had been turned out of their places for ſuch Enormities: It ordains, that, In caſe any Provincial Apparitor be turned out for any Crime, “ that he continue out of Employment: or, if he think and endeavour to come in “ again by petitioning the Emperor, he ſhall not be readmitted, except the Reſcript “ be firſt offered to the Prince, or his Succeſſors, and conſidered of by them. “ Which Sanction he commands him to publiſh by his Edicts, to give notice to all “ Governors of Provinces.“ When they were juſtly put out of their places for their Exceſs, they were wont, by Complaint, or ſome Clandeſtine Petition, by means of ſome Friends, to abuſe the Prince, and recover their Employments; to the great detriment of the people, and the diſparagement of thoſe that put them out. To prevent this, he will have his own Reſcript for Readmiſſion ſcanned by *Anthemius*; which was, indeed, as *Gothofred* obſerves, a great Honour to him; and a Favour, which, by his great care and vigilance for him and his Affairs, he had well deſerved. But, as the Letter of the Law doth not make it any perſonal Honour, but to belong to his Place or Seat; ſo we find, that, about this time, *Anthemius* got leave to take his eaſe, and lay down, if not the whole care of the State, yet, the weighty and burthenſome Office of *Præfectus Prætorio*; this being the laſt Edict we find directed to him under that, or any other Character.

L.26. de Cohortalibus, Cod.Th. & L.11. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit.

Indultum majeſtatis noſtræ Oraculum Ampliſſimæ tuæ ſedi offerat allegandum.

Anthemius layeth down.

Aurelianus ſucceeds him.

L. ult. de Crimine peculatus, Cod.Th. & L. un. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit hinc deſormata Dat. 3. Non. Mart.

Who procures ſome Acts of Grace and Indulgence.

L. 10. de Indulgentiis Debitorum, Cod.Th. Dat. 5. Id. Jul. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt. ut temporaria.

L L. 4, 5. de Pratis, Cod. Th. & L. ult. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Dat. Non. Septemb.

46. For, immediately after, we find *Aurelianus* promoted to be *Præfect* the ſecond time, and that, of the Eaſt, as may be gathered from the many Laws directed to him; who, to this Office of *Præfect*, had the Honour of *Patrician* ſhortly after added. The firſt Edict inſcribed to him declares a Receiver to be as bad as “ a Thief, upon occaſion of ſome Eccleſiaſticks, who received and concealed things “ due to the Treaſury. “ And, by his Circumſpection, was diſcovered, that the Provincials made not near ſo much advantage of that Act of Grace for pardoning the Arrears of forty years, as was expected. For, the Courts of ſeveral Cities pretended they had paid before hand many Summs of Mony for the Poſſeſſors of Lands (as, indeed, ſometimes they were wont to do) which they doubted not but to come upon them for, and be repayed, which, as yet, they were not; and therefore, now they ſued their pretended Debtors. Hereupon was an Edict drawn up, and directed to him, wherein the Emperor takes notice, that, That Indulgence which he had general- “ ly diſperſed throughout all Provinces and People, ſome ſeemed ſo to convert unto “ their private profit and rapine, that thoſe that were formerly publick, were now “ become private Debts. Therefore, that the Provincials may experiment his “ bounty, not in word only, but in reallity, he commands, that, under pretence “ of anticipated Payment, nothing farther be exacted by any Corporation; foraſ- “ much as they have ſufficient amends made them by the benefit they themſelves “ receive by that Indulgence, which they endeavour to violate with a Sacrilegious “ mind. “ In another matter, ſhortly after, he procured a Conſtitution to be “ drawn, partly to himſelf, and partly to the *Comites* and *Magiſtri Militum*, in behalf of poor Tenants and Poſſeſſors, whom the Soldiers oppreſſed by eating up their Graſs and Meadows. Therein is declared, that no Poſſeſſors contribute “ more to the Publick, than what the Emperor commands to be paid by diſpoſition “ of the *Præfect* yearly; and that the Soldiers ſhall be content with what his bounty “ allows them. The *Comites* and *Magiſtri Militum*, under whom were the *Duces*, “ *Tribunes* and *Præpoſiti*, he injoyns to let all concerned perſons underſtand, that the “ Soldiers muſt not eat up the Grounds of the Provincials, and that a Law was gone “ out to the *Præfect* for this purpoſe; to whom he gives in the Inſcription the firſt “ time, the Title of *Patritian*.

Patritii Dignitas ſequela alterius.

47. But, though the Direction runs thus, To *Aurelian, Præfectus Prætorio* and *Patritian*, we cannot be of *Gothofred's* opinion; who, in his Notes upon the Law, makes the Dignity of *Patritian* conſequent of the other. For, the *Patritians* were a ſelect number choſen by the Prince, out of ſuch of the Nobility as he pleaſed; to whom he gave the Appellation of Fathers. Neither do we find it but very ſeldom in the Inſcriptions of the Laws given to any; ſo little probability there is, that it belonged to all *Præfects*, or to *Magiſtri Militum*, as ſuch; who, at this time, were many in number; ſeveral, ſometimes, of the ſame place, in the ſame year: ſo that we are conſtrained, now and then, even to imagine that there were more than one *Præfect* at the ſame time, over the ſame Diſtrict. More true is that Obſervation concerning the *Præfects* of the Cities, that they were named, and had Precedence before the *Præfecti Prætorio*, as in the Senate, the City, and the *Urbicarian* Regions, it was fit they ſhould. For, we find another Law on the laſt day of *October*,

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inſcribed to *Urſus*, *Præfect* of the City; *Aurelian*, *Præfectus Prætorio* of the Eaſt; and *Strategius*, *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Illyricum*, concerning the *Decuriones* of the Palace. Theſe were a ſort of dignified Officers within the Court; who, being ordinarily three in number, preſided over thirty *Silentiarii*, of whom we have ſpoken formerly, were wont to be ſent by the Emperors, upon extraordinary occaſions, to ſuppreſs Inſurrections; and when he or the Empreſs were in their Progreſs, governed the Cavalcade, or manner of travelling. Now, *Theodoſius* lets theſe three great Miniſters know, When theſe perſons ſhall have ſerved their time, they ſhall have “ place amongſt the *Exduces*, as if they had been in that Actual Employment; have “ the privileges of adoring the Prince, ſaluting the Judges, or others belonging to “ that Honour. Moreover, in the Senate they ſhall be accounted as *Allecti* or *Immunes* from Senatorian Burthens; particularly, that of the *Glebalis Collatio*.

L. 1. de Decurionibus & Silentiariis, Cod. Th. Dat. prid. Cal. Nov.

L. 1. Cod. Juſt. hinc deformata eſt in diverſum plane ſenſum.

A. D. 416.

Theodoſio A. 7. & Palladio Conſ.

48. The year of our Lord, CCCCXVI, had for *Conſuls*, *Theodoſius Auguſtus* the ſeventh time, and *Palladius*; whom we find by many Laws of this ſame year, to have been alſo *Præfectus Prætorio*, as *Urſus* was *Præfect* of *Conſtantinople*. The *Goths*, in *Spain*, thought that *Sigerich*, their newly promoted King, had been a Man for their turn; but he was alſo inclined to Peace: and, for that reaſon they diſpatched him after *Attaulſe*, and advanced into his place one *Vallia*, whom ſome make the Son of *Attaulſe*. *Vallia* is ſaid to have attempted to execute the deſign of *Attaulſe*, of invading *Africk*. He got all things ready for his paſſage at the Straits of *Gades*, and there took Ship; but was ſiezed with ſo great a Tempeſt, that, after many Veſſels loſt, he was forced to return; and then, calling to mind the ill ſucceſs of *Alarich*, in his Attempt upon *Sicily*, he gave over the Enterprize, and betook himſelf to *Conſtantius*, who was entring *Spain* with an Army againſt him. He went to the *Pyrenæan* Mountains to meet him; and, before they met, ſent Meſſengers to him, by which he offered to reſtore *Placidia*, the Emperor's Siſter, and to give Hoſtages for his peaceable demeanour; provided he might have leave with his people, to fix in *Spain*; and, for his ſecurity, receive ſome of the *Gallick* Nobility as Hoſtages. *Philoſtorgius* writes, that *Placidia* was reſtored, and *Attalus* given up at the ſame time by the *Goths*; who, in way of recompence, received Proviſions from the *Romans*, and a portion of *Gall* to inhabit. Others indeed, write, that *Attaulſe*, when he was dying, commanded that *Placidia* ſhould be reſtored, and that ſix hundred thouſand *Modii* of Corn were ſent to *Valia*, King of the *Goths*; whereas a Supply had been promiſed formerly to *Attaulſe*, and he made the Nonpayment thereof a pretence why he did not reſtore *Placidia*. Great need there was indeed, that he ſhould make an excuſe for not giving up his own Wife. As for the *Goths*, their receiving part of *Gall* to inhabit; that muſt have been ſome time after.

They murder *Sigerich*, their King.

Vallia, his Succeſs.

Jornandes de Reb. Geticis. c. 32.

Iſidori Chron. æra 454.

Lib. 12 *c.* 4.

Olympiodorus apud Photium.

49. *Conſtantius*, no doubt, was welcome to *Honorius*, as well for his own ſake, as the Lady's whom he preſented: but this was not till toward the latter end of the year. At the very beginning thereof, the Emperor was put upon thoughts how to maintain thoſe Wars which he ſaw there was no probability to avoid. Beſides the ordinary Indiction of the uſual Payments, he had been forced to lay a *Superindictum*, or ſome Over-charge, upon the Provinces. This was no new thing, but ſometimes happened when the neceſſity of Affairs required: but, ſome there were, who being ordinarily excuſed by Privileges, from extraordinary and ſordid Payments and Services, now refuſed to contribute to this Over-charge; as being in the number, and of the nature of Extraordinaries. So it had happened in the Reign of *Conſtantius*; the Example of whom *Honorius* now was conſtrained to follow, by mollifying and taking away the harſhneſs of the word; Calling it a *Superindictum*, “ and a Canonical Payment: and commanding it ſhould not be looked upon as an “ Extraordinary; ſo as all Houſes ſhould be ſubject to it, and no Privileges be “ admitted; whether they belonged to his own Patrimony, were held in perpetual “ Right, or appertained to private Perſons. “ He had intelligence, ſhortly after, from *Conſtantius*, out of *Gall*; that, upon the *Goths* quitting that Country, there were riſen amongſt the Natives heavy Suits and Contentions. For, when the *Barbarians* invaded the Provinces with Fire and Sword, ſome fled their Countries; but others met together, as they could, in Companies, and lived as well as they might in Bodies, like *Banditti*, or *Tories*; falling down, as they could, into the adjacent places, and making bold with what they found for mere ſubſiſtance, although it belonged to their own Friends and Countrymen. This was practiſed upon ſuch occaſions, both in *Gall* and *Spain*; and theſe Aſſemblies were called *Bagaudæ*, which was a Name given from the times of *Diocleſian*, to ſuch Companies of poor miſe-

Honorius put to ſhifts for raiſing Mony.

L. 2. de Indictionibus, Cod. Th. & L. 1. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Dat. 7. Id. Jan.

Paſſes an Act of Oblivion for *Gall.*

rable Country People as got and united together, ſometimes driven to that extremity by the cruelty and oppreſſion of the Judges. Now *Honorius* taking into conſideration the late diſtreſſed condition of the *Gallick* Provinces, and of what force neceſſity is, when life it ſelf lies at ſtake, thought fit to make an Act of Oblivion for ſuch injuries done upon the Barbarick Depopulation, as he terms it. And he directed a Reſcript to *Conſtantius* with the Titles of *Comes* and *Patritian*, whereby “ all Proceſſes in ſuch caſes were ordered to be ſtopped, and no challenge to be “ made for any thing ſo taken away, except the thing ſo taken could be proved ſtill “ in being amongſt his Goods that took the Booty, or that perſon that was ſued. “

L.14. de Infirm. his quæ ſub Tyrannis, Cod. Th. Dat. Cal. Mart. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt. ut temporaria.

50. The great Ambition and Avarice of Officers was now taken notice of; they were no ſooner out of a profitable Employment, but they would labour and make ſhifts to get in again. The Roman Government was ever jealous of long continued power in perſons that had juriſdiction, and not only during the Commonwealth, which would have her Officers annual; but ſince the Monarchy and perpetual Dictatorſhip. For Princes, though their own Authority was not circumſcribed with any narrower Bounds than thoſe of a natural life, yet they would not permit Provincial Magiſtrates to be long in Office. The reaſon was, leſt they ſhould have too much opportunity by acquaintance and intereſt, to make diſturbances; or by too well underſtanding their Trade, to make greater advantage of their places, than the Good and Commodity of the Provincials would bear. And yet a Magiſtrate may have too little time to be throughly acquainted with the ſtate of his Province, if it be large. It is true, the Concernments of a particular City, Town or Place may be ſoon diſcovered: but thoſe of a large Diſtrict, a Dioceſs or Juriſdiction wherein muſt be great variety of Intereſts and Humours, could not ſo quickly be diſcerned. A ſenſe of this cauſed the ancient *Romans* to continue a power over a Province to him, as *Proconſul*, the ſecond year, to whom as *Conſul* it had been committed the precedent. However, as they that are upon the place can ſee more than thoſe at a diſtance; and experience is not at all to be run down by arguments; the Emperors, though they might make uſe of their power to diſpenſe with the cuſtom when and where they ſaw convenient, yet kept up to the Maxim of having the term of an Adminiſtration but ſhort; and when once it was at an end, of not having it again renewed. But at this time the Rule was much broken, not only ſome perſons being by the Prince his knowledge and proviſion ſuffered to reaſſume their Offices, but others creeping in again by ſiniſter courſes. To put a ſtop to which, *Honorius* now declared in an Edict to *Palladius*, the *Præfect*, that if any ſhould endeavour to renew his power of *Proconſul*, of *Vicar*, *Conſularis*, *Preſident*, of *Comes Diſcuſſionum*, or *Auditor*, or of *Princeps* of an Office, his whole Eſtate ſhould be confiſcate. Now this is underſtood to be meant of the ſame individual Office; not that a Man might not be *Proconſul*, *Vicar*, *Conſularis* or the like, in another Country.

Prohibits repetition of Offices.

L. ult. ad legem Juliam de Ambitu, Cod. Th. Dat. Id. Mart. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

51. He was now more briſk than ever with ſuch *Curiales* as had left their ſtations; that complaint which was never wanting to diſturb his Ears; If any ſuch “ could be light on by thoſe of the Body, he gave them free leave, in caſe the Governour of the Province were not at hand, to lay hold on him, and carry him “ before the Magiſtrate, who under pain of ten pounds of Gold to be paid by him, “ and as much by his Office, was to finiſh the proceſs, and give ſentence for, or againſt him (that he was bound to the Duties of the *Curia*) within three Months. “ This for the time to come. And in reference to what was paſt, if any had betaken himſelf to any *Militia* or Office, he ſhould ſubſtitute and maintain a ſufficient Deputy in his room, otherwiſe be forced back himſelf, though he ſerved in “ the Army; for which purpoſe he gives *Palladius* directions, that Letters be written to the illuſtrious the *Magiſtri Militum.* “ At this time he alſo reſtrained the charge and trouble of unneceſſary reporting cauſes to himſelf, declaring to *Palladius*, that no ſuggeſtion or relation ſhould be made to him by complaint of one of the “ parties only. For this was to renounce the method and courſe of Law; and when report was to be made to the Prince, both *Plaintiff* and *Defendant* were to have Copies thereof delivered to them, and there to make their objections or additions as they ſaw convenient; an offender in this point he will therefore have condemned, as to coſts, and loſe his cauſe. This he alſo gave in charge to *Palladius*, and being overcome with greater clamours of the *Curiæ*, he farther gave him order in this ſame Conſtitution, without any condition or mention of any Subſtitute or Deputy, about four Months after the other Law, to call back to their Courts whatever “ *Curialis* was in the Army, amongſt the Attendants of the *Præfectus Prætorio*, or “ in any *Palatine* Offices or Services.

Wearied with clamours of the *Curiæ*, he calls back their Members.

L.181. de Decurionib. Cod. Th. & l.54. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. hinc deſumpta Dat. 5. Non. Maii.

L. ult. de Relationib. Cod. Th. Dat. 5. Id. Septemb. Nunquam ad unius litigatoris querimoniam noſtris Altaribus ſuggeſtio offeratur, &c.

L.147. de Decurionib. Cod. Th. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

52. This may be ſaid of thoſe Imperial Laws which are now extant, that the general tendency of them is to anſwer Complaints, and remove Grievances, and not either to inhance the Revenue, or heighten the ſeverity of the Government; though had there been more ſuch, we ſhould have had them in *Theodoſius* his Code. Yet in abſolute Monarchies, where the Princes raiſe what Mony they pleaſe, and their bare Edicts have the force of Laws, they are wont to have few about them that plead for the poor People, and make known their Complaints; the more uſual courſe is to put them upon extravagancies; to cry out, that the People are too rich, that this will make them rebellious, and therefore they are to be not only clipped, or ſheared, but ſcraped, that ſome of the Wool may fall to their own ſhares. Yet the Body of the Civil Laws convince us of another faſhion at Court in thoſe days, though the times were otherwiſe very bad. The Emperour was now again informed, that ſuch Officers as were ſent into the Provinces to exact or raiſe Tributes, were wont to ſtay there a long time, under various pretexts, but with deſign to abuſe the People. He commads *Palladius* in order to prevent it, that “ what Officer ſoever, from what Magiſtrate ſoever he be ſent, to raiſe what Revenue “ ſoever, ſhall within the term of a year return with his Accounts unto the “ Judge; wherein he ſhall make known what hath been exacted by his diligence, “ how much remains in arrear, in whoſe hands, and by whoſe fault or procurement “ it is ſtill unraiſed in the Province. If after that a year be expired, this *Robber* “, as he calls him, ſtick ſtill in the Bowels of the Country; he ſhall be turned “ out of his place, and the chief of that Office of which he was member, ſhall fine “ in ten pounds of Gold. And if he refuſe to depart, he ſhall be ſent up in Chains “ by the *Apparitors* of the Provincial Judge, together with his Accuſation; and it “ ſhall not do him any ſervice to urge, that he was put upon ſome other Buſineſs or “ Employment; it being unlawful to be *Exactor* twice together in the ſame Province. “ By this care he took to reſtrain thoſe oppreſſions, *Honorius* could not but ingratiate himſelf with the Countrymen in the Provinces, and at a diſtance from *Rome*. But whether he did not quite loſe the favour of the Inhabitants of that City, and forfeit all that affection which his other Edicts had procured, by the laſt Law he made this year, we cannot but queſtion. How dear both the Faſhions and Perſons of the *Goths* and *Barbarians* were to the people at this time, we have already ſaid. Nothing ſo ingenious and gay as what they wore; none ſo witty and *adroit* as the ſervants that could be procured out of theſe Nations; a ridiculous (but uſual) ſign of impendent ſlavery from theſe *Barbarians*, after whom they ran a madding. Once more *Honorius* reſolved to attempt to ſtop the humour by a “ third Law directed to *Probianus Præfect* of the City, whereby he forbade long “ Hair, and Cloaths made of Skins to be worn in the City, ſo much as by Slaves. “ If a Free Man ſhould do it, he ſhould incur a Mulct, and if a Slave be condemned “ to ſome publick Drudgery. Concerning Skins we have ſeen already ſufficiently out of *Claudian*, that they were the Wear of the *Goths*. And as for long Hair, they who are any whit converſant in the Antiquities of the *Franks* and other Northern Nations, know it was eſteemed a great (nay, a Royal) Ornament; contrary to the opinion of the *Romans*.

Still labours againſt Oppreſſions.

L.9. de Exſecutorib. Cod.Th.& L.3.Cod. Juſt. eod.tit. Dat. 10. *Cal.Octob.*

Prohibits Gothick Faſhions.

Ipſa ſatellitibus pellitis Roma patebat, Et captiva priùs quam caperetur, erat. Rutilius, qui hoc vel proximò anno ſcribebat. L.ult.de Habitu quo uti oportet intra urbem, Cod.Th. Dat. prid.Id.Decemb. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.ut localis & temporaria.

53. *Theodoſius* at the beginning of this Year had ſome trouble given him about the *Schole* or Company of *Agentes in rebus*, which ſtood in great need of purging. For it was now made (however it came to paſs) the *Aſylum* and Refuge of lewd and idle perſons; culpable as to their lives, and ignoble as to their original, even ſuch as were ſprung from the very dregs of Slavery. The Year before, the matter had been under conſideration, and the Emperour had referred it to *Helio*, the *Magiſter Officiorum* to make Inquiſition after Offenders of this ſort, and remove them: but whether he thought it not then ſeaſonable, or rather too invidious a thing for him to undertake, conſidering the great power of ſome of the *Agentes*, and the animoſity which was ſeldom wanting to them, *Theodoſius* then approved of his remitting the cauſe, ſo as though the *Magiſter Officiorum* might viſit the *Schole*, yet “ none ſhould have power of turning out, or disbanding, without his own eſpecial “ order and authority. This by an Edict he then judged moſt agreeable to the Dignity “ of the Company; but now this Year being wearied out, as it ſeems, “ with Complaints, and either not willing to be troubled himſelf, or “ deſirous to make ſhort work of what he knew was not to be excuſed “, he returned back the whole power to *Helio*, both of viſiting the *Schole*, “ and examining and turning out as he ſhould think convenient; ſo as by removing “ all evil members, the Society might recover its former eſteem, and be “ filled

Theodoſius vexed with the *Agentes in Rebus* makes various Laws about them.

L.17. de Agentibus in Rebus, Cod.Th.& l.2. Cod.Juſt. eod. tit. L.18.ejuſd. tit. Abeſt a Cod.

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filled with a company of honeſt Men. This was thought the beſt courſe, and moſt ſuitable to this time; but when one of theſe Edicts being contrary to another, was afterward to be taken into *Juſtinians*'s Code for ſtanding Law, he not ſo vexed or provoked, as now *Theodoſius* was, made choice of the former; not thinking fit without the Prince his ſpecial Warrant, to give any ſuch large power to the *Magiſter Officiorum*.

He refuſeth to be made Heir by virtue of a Nuncupative Will.

And otherwiſe.

L.5.de Teſtamentis,&c.Cod.Th.& L.20.Cod.Juſt.eod. tit. Dat.14. Id. Mart.

54. *Theodoſius* ſetting himſelf to reform matters belonging to other perſons, reſolved not to omit ſuch as wherein he himſelf was concerned. As there never wanted thoſe who would flatter the Emperors being poſſeſſed of ſo great power, eſpecially ſuch of them as too much indulged the cruelty and rapacity of their Natures; ſo in nothing was it more ordinary to ſhew this flattery, than in Wills or Teſtaments. Indeed *Auguſtus*, *Tiberius*, and *Adrian* refuſed to receive any thing from the Teſtament of an unknown perſon, though ordinarily it might be done. But *Domitian* ſeiſed on all Eſtates whatſoever, if any one Man would but ſtep forth, and ſay, that he heard the deceaſed ſay before his death, that he had made *Cæſar* his Heir; and accordingly as Princes were inclined, they either took or refuſed. Now *Theodoſius* conſidering how little credit was to be given to ſuch Witneſſes as would deſire to ingratiate themſelves, reſolved even to deprive himſelf and great perſons of that Benefit, which to others was allowed. For whereas ordinarily a “ Nuncupative Will was of force, if atteſted by a ſufficient number of “ Witneſſes, ſo as to null and repeal a written one; yet if he himſelf, or any of the “ Grandees were thereby made Heirs, he reſolved it ſhould not be of force to repeal “ what was written, and perfectly good in Law; becauſe perhaps the Witneſſes “ might ſay, that *They heard the Party, when he was dying, name the Emperor,* “ *or ſome great Man his Heir.* “ *Pertinax* the Emperor refuſed to receive any thing from the flattery or boaſting of dead perſons; and in ſuch caſes admitted the claims and complaints of the Kindred againſt theſe Teſtaments, which indeed ought to have been null in themſelves. But *Theodoſius* would not have even authentick Teſtaments to take place where he and the Nobility were concerned, againſt the Heirs which were named by writing: ſuch an inſtance of ſelf-denial, as his Grandfather gave in that Law, whereby he refuſed to receive any thing by *Codicils* and *Fidei commiſſa*. But *Juſtinian* afterward thought this opinion of *Theodoſius* the younger too ſcrupulous and unneceſſary; making the condition of the Emperor as not better, ſo not worſe than that of Subjects in theſe caſes. However, *Theodoſius* was ſo free and hearty in what he did, that he directed his Edict to the People of the City of *Conſtantinople*, and all *Provincials*.

Reforms the Houſe, as to Bread, at *Conſtantinople*.

L.2. de frumento urbis. Conſtantinop. Cod.Th.l.14.tit. 16.& L.1.Cod. Juſt. eod.tit.Dat. 10. Cal. Aug.

He explains his former Act of Grace.

I.11. de Indulgentiis Debitorum, Cod.Th. Dat.5. Id.Septemb. Abeſt a Cod.Juſt. ut temporaria.

55. About the ſame time he obſerved, how that Proviſion which *Conſtantine* the Great had made for the City of *Conſtantinople*, and his Grandfather had enlarged, did not reach the ends ſo fully as they deſigned it. For the People receiving it in Corn, many applyed this Corn to other uſes, poſſibly ſome idle Spendthrifts might ſell it, and their Families never fare the better for it. He reſolved therefore to alter the former courſe, and by a Law directed to *Urſus* the *Præfect*, commanded, that for the future, no Corn ſhould be given to any, no not to the “ *Palatines* of his own Houſe, who were wont to receive this allowance amongſt “ others. But that the whole and entire *Canon* ſhould be delivered into the hands of “ the publick Bakers, who, thereof ſhould make Bread to be diſtributed to the ſeveral Houſes; after which manner he ſaith, the allowance given by *Conſtantine*, of famous “ memory, and enlarged by *Divus* the Grandfather of his *Piety*, ought to be “ expended. “ Till about the latter end of *July* he continued at *Conſtantinople*, but then removed to *Eudoxiopolis*, where he continued the Month of *Auguſt*; and in the beginning of *September* extended his Progreſs to *Heraclea*. Here he thought fit to explain a Law; either that we mentioned which he made two years before, or ſome latter, concerning Indulgence and Pardon of what was remaining due of publick Payments. It was a queſtion whether the Arrears of the Proviſions and Neceſſaries for the Army were to be underſtood thereby, as well as other Charges, becauſe none from the payment of them were wont to be excuſed. But he declares to *Monaxius*, that all his Subjects whom he had indulged with a Diſcharge “ of the reſt ſhould alſo partake of this Benefit: the Miners of *Docimenum*, *Proconneſus* and *Troas* only excepted, as they had been before out of the general Act. “ By the end of *September* he returned to *Conſtantinople*, and there continued the remaining part of the Year.

A. D. 417.

Honorio A. 11. & Conſtantio 2. Coſſ.

56. The Conſuls of the following, or the CCCCXVII of our Lord, were *Honorius Auguſtus* the eleventh time, and *Conſtantius* the ſecond. *Honorius* had his

Conſtantius marries *Placidia*, the Emperor's Siſter.

his Abode at *Ravenna*, and *Theodoſius* at *Conſtantinople*. *Conſtantius*, the ſame day that he entred the *Conſulſhip*, by the conſent and encouragement of *Honorius*, married his Siſter *Placidia*, the Widdow of *Attaulfe*. And now *Honorius*, as ſome write, entred *Rome* in Triumph, for his Victory obtained over the *Goths* and *Attalus*, who was led before the Chariot with his hands bound behind him; and, the Solemnity being over, had his Right Hand cut off for his perfidious dealing; and, poſſibly, in return for what he is ſaid to have offered to the Emperor; and was confined to *Liparæ*. Concerning *Honorius* his being at *Rome* this year the Laws are ſilent, not one bearing date from that City; and yet, there are ſome extant, which mention no other place than *Ravenna*. *Vallia*, the King of the *Goths* in *Spain*, as well to employ and enrich his Men, as to gratifie the *Roman* Emperor, made War againſt the *Vandals* and *Alans* in that Country, and that with great ſucceſs, if we may believe *Sidonius Apollinaris*; who, ſpeaking of *Ricimer*, the Nephew, or Grandſon, of *Vallia*, recounts what his Grandfather did in the Territories of *Tarteſus*, againſt both theſe Nations; as alſo, in the Fields of *Agrigentum*: and he compares his Acts with the famous Exploits of *Marcellus* and *Metellus*. *Iſidore*, in his *Chronicon*, writes, that, being called by *Conſtantius*, into *Spain*, he made great ſlaughter of the *Barbarians* there, to promote the *Roman* Intereſt; that, in *Bætica*, he utterly deſtroyed thoſe called *Vandali Silingi*; and ſo broke and diſtreſſed the *Alarii* (or *Alani*) who domineered over the *Vandals* and *Suevi*: that *Ataces*, their King, being ſlain, thoſe few of them that remained, forgetting now the name of any Kingdom of their own, put themſelves under the Government of *Gunderich*, King of the *Vandals*; who had placed themſelves in *Gallicia*.

Vallia his Acts in *Spain*.

Carm. 1. *p.* 280. *Edit. Hanoviæ*, 1617.

Æra 454.

57. *Honorius* not being this year diſturbed with any War, had the more leiſure to attend ſuch Complaints as were made concerning Grievances and Miſdemeanors committed in time of Peace. And whence ſhould theſe come, but out of *Africk?* So loud and importunate he received concerning the inequality of Taxes, and burthens lying upon Lands, that he was conſtrained to ſend away one *Sebaſtius*, as his general *Peræquator* and *Inſpector*, with Title of *Comes* of the firſt Rank; a perſon of ſuch repute for his Integrity with him, that he gives him the Commendation of “ *Probatiſſimus*; Forbids that any other *Inſpector* be ſent, to undo what he had once “ done; gives him leave, however, to remove what had been done by others be-“ fore him: and, whereas he was to examine matters relating to the Lands called “ *Emphyteuticarii*, which properly belonged to his own *Res Privata*, and ſo were “ under the Juriſdiction of that *Comes*, or *Treaſurer*, yet he will not have the *Treaſurer* “ meddle with them at this time; but the Poſſeſſors of them ſhall be relieved as “ others, by *Sebaſtius*, in purſuance to ſeveral Inſtructions given him, and now divided “ into ſeveral Laws. Theſe Inſtructions in general import that he ſhould inſpect and conſider the ſeveral Lands complained of; and make ſuch an equal diſ-“ tribution of the Charges and Impoſitions, according to the nature and quality of “ the Grounds, as might beſt provide for the publick Revenue; and alſo, give re-“ lief to the Tenants and Poſſeſſors, by due and juſt remedies. “

Honorius ſends *Sebaſtius*, his *Peræquator*, into *Africk*.

L. 7. *de Locatione Fund. Jur. Emphit. Cod. Th.*

LL. 14, 15, 16. *de Cenſitoribus, Cod. Th.*

L. 9. *de prædiis Navicular.* & *L.* 13. *de Senatoribus, Dat. prid. Id. Maii.*

His Inſtructions.

58. But, the main matter which gave this trouble was, that there were many “ Grounds in this Country ſo much harraſſed by War, that they were deſerted, as “ barren and uſeleſs, and could not pay that *Cenſus* which, in former times, had “ been impoſed upon them. In caſe theſe Lands were in the hands of ſuch perſons “ as had plenty of others which were rich and fertile, he was to conſider whether “ the whole Patrimony, being taken together, and the barren ones added by way “ of *Epibole*, to the Fertile, any thing was to be detracted from the uſual Payment, “ for all. If the unfruitful and deſerted were in the hands of poor Men, or thoſe of “ mean condition, then, to be ſure, they ſhould be relieved. But, in caſe they “ were in no Man's poſſeſſion, but wholly deſerted, then ſhould they be ſet over to “ new Owners, who ſhould thenceforth hold them without diſturbance, and without “ being obnoxious to Payments formerly due to the Soil, except within two “ months the former came in, and proved their Claim. Moreover, theſe new Poſſeſſors “ ſhould not pay any *Glebalis Collatio*, though formerly the Lands belonged “ unto Senators. But, if they had been ſubject to the Naval Function, as appertaining “ to the *Navicularii*, he will by no means have them freed from it. Nay, further, “ ſo great care he ſhews for keeping up the Duties of that Body, out of reſpect to Navigation “ and Proviſions, that ſuch Grounds as had belonged to it, and thence were “ ſubject to ſuch Services, though they had been ſold by the publick Treaſury within “ the ſpace of twenty years; yet will he have them drawn back, and reunited to “ that Charge. “ So full of equity and forecaſt was now *Honorius*, for the eaſe of his

people, and their Supply ; while, in the mean time, either he or his *Quæſtor* made too bold with his Maker in the wording of the Conſtitution. For, declaring that, if any one ſhould obtain a Reſcript for himſelf for employing another Inſpector, this Reſcript ſhould be void ; he is ſo bold as to ſay, *If they ſhould obtain it from his Altars*, as being ſome God upon Earth. But, ſuch Sacrilegious Terms as *Numen Noſtrum*, and the like, being formerly uſed by Pagan Emperors, were ſtill retained or admitted by theſe Chriſtian Princes : which ſome deſervedly reckon amongſt the Crimes of this Age.

Si quis etiam Reſcriptum de noſtris Altaribus meruerit.

He makes a Law for the better Supply of *Rome*.

59. The end of the year *Honorius* cloſed by a Conſtitution, made for the better ſupply of *Rome* with Proviſions ; of which, ever and anon, ſome ſcarcity was alledged, ſince ſuch time as the Fruits of *Egypt* were diverted from it, and appropriated to the Supply of *Conſtantinople*. We have formerly hinted, that in the *Portus*, or Haven of *Rome* (eighteen miles diſtant from it) were Granaries, wherein the Corn was laid up till it could be conveyed to the City. And, for this Conveyance there was a Company or Body of Watermen upon *Tyber*, known by the name of *Caudicarii* ; and thoſe, called *Menſores*, who meaſured the Corn when it came into Port, and when it was delivered out, to be carried up to *Rome* ; beſides other Officers. Now, theſe ſeveral Companies had their Overſeers and Maſters, whom they called *Patrons*, ſeveral in number ; but ſo, as three were of more Authority than the reſt, out of whom one was choſen, who, for a certain time, had the chief Adminiſtration in his hands. This Adminiſtration *Honorius* now would have continue " for five years in the hands of two ſuch, as the Bodies of the *Caudicarii* and *Menſores* ſhould chuſe, in like manner as the *Patrons* of the *Bakers* and *Smiths* had their " power. And, whereas they were wont to cheat the Citizens by changing the " Corn, and obtruding upon the Bakers ſuch as they bought very cheap, in the " room of the good Grain which was imported ; he commands, that the Chief Patron ſend out privately his Patterns or Samplers of the Corn to his Colleagues, to " prevent the obtruſion of any ſuch unwarrantable Commodity. If ſuch Maſter, or " principal *Patron*, rightly and truly diſcharge his truſt ; by vertue of this Law, he " declares him, at the end of his five years, to be *Comes* of the third Rank, with- " out any need of procuring the Dignity by *Codicils*, or the Prince his Letters. On " the contrary, if he proved falſe, he condemns him to the loſs of his Eſtate, and " to ſerve in the Bake-houſe in the meaneſt capacity, or place of the greateſt drudge- " ry. But, to add more privilege than puniſhment, for the encouragement of theſe " *Patrons*, he exempts the three Principal of each Body from the juriſdiction of the " *Præfectus Annonæ*, to which they did properly belong ; and will have them only " ſubject to the *Præfect* of the City, in Criminal Cauſes. " Further, becauſe the *Apparitors* belonging to theſe two *Præfects* were too often wont to wrong and abuſe the *Bakers*, either by committing the ſame fault as the other did ; or, when they brought in good Corn, exacting ſomething of them in way of recompence : When they could be convicted of ſuch Oppreſſion, he condemns them to the perpetual " drudgery of the Bake-houſe. "

60. *Theodoſius*, this year, was in great Repoſe at *Conſtantinople*, which could be little interrupted by ſome Complaints that were made to him out of the Eaſt, againſt the *Dux* of that Limit, which formerly was called *Commagena*, and now *Eufratenſis* ; famous for the the three Cities thereof, old *Ninive*, *Hierapolis* and *Samoſata*. The Complaint was, that he burthened the Provincials, by exacting of them Wood and Materials for private Baths, contrary to a Law made ſome eleven years agone, by *Arcadius* ; who forbad the practice to all *Tribunes*, and inferior *Comites*, in general ; conſtraining them thereby, if the *Procurator* of the Emperor had not Materials for them, to betake themſelves to the publick Baines. Now, the *Duces* of the Limits coming under the Notion and Appellation of inferior *Comites*, he ſo far confirms his Father's Law, as, by an Edict directed to *Monaxius*, the *Præfect*, To condemn this *Dux* to reſtore double of what he had exacted, and " to abſtain from ſuch Illegal Acts, under the ſame penalty, for the time to come. " But, this was not all the fault that was found with this perſon ; he was farther accuſed for burthening the Country, in tranſmitting of Lyons to the Court. The Reader can hardly be ignorant how, ſince the time that *Quintus Mutius Scævola* began the ſport, in his *Curule Ædility*, it had been the cuſtom for the Magiſtrates and Emperors to delight the people, among others, with the baiting of wild Beaſts ; as Lyons, Leopards, and the like, in the *Circus*, or *Amphitheatre*. This being one of the greateſt inſtances of the *Roman* Magnificence, Princes would not permit theſe Beaſts, which were deſtinated to the publick Shows, to be hunted in the Provinces

Theodoſius reſtrains the Acting of the *Dux* of the Limit of *Comagena*, called *Eufratenſis*.

L.2.Ne comitib. & Tribunis Lavacra præſtent. Cod.Th.lib.7. tit.11. Dat.5. Cal.Aug. L.un. Cod.Juſt. eod.tit.exhib.& ſuper.conflata eſt.

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vinces by any but the *Duces* of the Limits, and their Officials: and, when any Magiſtrate was to exhibit them in their Games, they could not obtain them but by the leave and munificence of the Emperor, and his Letters. Indeed, it was lawful to kill Lyons, or other ſorts of Beaſts, when the ſafety of the Provincials required it; and ſo *Honorius* declared three years ago, that the ſecurity of the Subject was to be preferred before his own Paſtimes. In an Edict inſcribed to *Maurianus*, then *Comes Domeſticorum*, and *Vice-Agent*, or Deputy of the *Magiſter Militum* in *Africk*.

L. 1. de Venatione ferarum Cod. Th. lib. 15. tit. 11.

61. For, in that Country was plenty of Lyons, Leopards and Panthers (as at this day) which it was formerly unlawful to hunt and take; though, as for Bears, it was free, in theſe times, for any one there to do it. And, in the Tracts about *Euphrates* and *Meſopotamia* they alſo abounded, to the great terror and detriment of the Inhabitants; if it had not been for the great Swarms of Flies and Gnats, which fell upon the eyes of the Lyons, allured by their ſplendor; and put them to ſuch pain, that, with their paws, they endeavoured to remove them, and thereby pulled out their own eyes, as the Reader may remember out of *Ammianus*. Now, out of theſe Regions the *Duces* of the Limits were wont to ſend up theſe Beaſts to the Court at *Conſtantinople*, to be baited there, as the Emperors had occaſion to make theſe Shews; and the Cities, through which they paſſed, were obliged by Law, or by Cuſtom, to defray the Charges of them, and the *Officials* of the *Duces*, who conveyed them. But, in any City they were not to continue above ſeven or eight days at the moſt: which term was indulged, becauſe often in Winter they could not conveniently travel. This ſeven or eight days, they of the Province *Euphratenſis* changed into three or four Months, and all the while exacted what Mony they could for finding of the Beaſts; particularly, in the City *Heliopolis*. This now, by another Branch of the ſame Conſtitution, *Theodoſius* declares to *Monaxius* to be contrary to the Cuſtom; and commands, that Thoſe that are ſent up to Court " by all the Duces of the Limits, ſhall ſtay in the Cities no longer than ſeven days at " fartheſt, upon pain of a Fine of five pounds of Gold, to be incurred by the *Duces* " and their Officers. "

L. 2. ejuſd. tit. L. un. Cod. Juſt. ex his duab. Leg. conflata eſt.

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Honorio, A. 12. & Theodoſio, A. 8. Conſ.

62. The CCCCXVIII Year of Chriſt ſucceeds; wherein *Honorius Auguſtus* the twelfth, and *Theodoſius Auguſtus* the eighth time were *Conſuls*. The former made his abode all the year at *Ravenna*, and the latter at *Conſtantinople*. This year, on the third of *July*, *Placidia*, the Emperor's *Siſter*, and Wife of *Conſtantius*, was, at *Ravenna*, brought to bed of a Son, who was called *Valentinian*, and reigned in the Weſt after his Uncle. And, as if great Revolutions were portended to happen during his Reign, the ſame Month, the ninth day, about two of the Clock, happened a great Eclipſe of the Sun; which ſeveral Authors mention, but none deſcribe ſo accurately, as *Philoſtorgius*. So greatly failed the light of this Luminary, that Stars appeared in the Heavens; and ſo great a Drought followed thereupon, that it drew after it a great Mortality, both of Men and Cattel. At ſuch time as the Sun was eclipſed, there appeared a certain Brightneſs in the Sky, of a Comick form, which ſome, out of ignorance, termed a Comet, though it had neither any Tail, nor ſo much as any Rays, neither reſembled any Star; but, as a Flame ariſing from ſome Candleſtick. Beſides, its Motion was altogether different; for from the Equinoctial, it paſſed toward the Weſt by the laſt Star in the Bear's Tail: and, when it had, in that manner, compaſſed the Heavens, then diſappeared, after it had continued its Progreſs more than four Months. The Light it caſt from it ſometimes aroſe, as Flame doth, by degrees, to a great height; and ſometimes exceeding the Magnitude of a Cone, again was reduced to the bigneſs thereof: nay, it was repreſented to view in ſeveral other ſhapes, which were far different from thoſe that are commonly ſeen. It laſted well nigh, from the middle of Summer, to the end of Autumn; being a Forerunner of many Wars, and of an incredible Slaughter of Men, in the Opinion of the Relator; who, to this of the *Xiphias*, or *Aſtrum Xiphoeides*, adds the Hiſtory of another Prodigy. The year following (ſome ſay, this preſent; others, the preceding year) there were dreadful Earthquakes, accompanied with fire that fell down from Heaven, which ſeemed to cleave aſunder, and put Men out of all hope of eſcaping, although they were more ſcared than hurt. For, by the Mercy of God, a gteat Wind aroſe, which drove the Fire into the Sea; and, ſtrange it was to ſee Streams of Fire overwhelming the Countries like ſo many Waves, which preſently again were quenched in the Water. During the Earthquakes, in many places, the Roofs and Panes of Buildings opened at the top, with great noiſes and cracks, ſo that they that were within could behold the Skies; when ſuddainly, again, they would come together, and unite, as firmly as if they had

Valentinian the third born.

Prodigies accompanying his Birth.

Lib. 12. c. 8. Apud Photium.

never parted aſunder. The ſame happened to Floors and Pavements: and many Granaries let down Corn upon the heads of them that dwelt below, and put them in fear of being overwhelmed; but, all on a ſuddain, the Chinks and Holes would again cloſe; ſo that ſuch as ſaw it not, would admire whence or how the Corn could come thither. After this manner *Philoſtorgius* related theſe Earthquakes to have happened; and from the dreadfulneſs and ſtrangeneſs thereof, concluded all Earthquakes, not to proceed from any natural Cauſe, as Water or Wind, but merely from the Will and Hand of Almighty God, for the Converſion and Amendment of Sinners.

Honorius enacts ſomething extraordinary about Teſtaments.

L.6. de Teſtam. Cod.Th.Dat.10. Cal. Jul.

L.27. de Teſtam. Cod.Juſt.

Vide Gothofr. in l.

63. As it doth not belong to us here to diſpute about Cauſes or Effects of ſuch extraordinary *Phænomena* of Nature, ſo, this we know, as to matter of Fact, that dreadful Wars, and great Deſtruction of Men followed, not long after theſe Prodigies. And, although we hear of no great Motions about this very time, yet, ſo grievouſly, of late, had the Weſt been waſted, and ſuch loſs of Men happened thereupon, and ſo little hope but that theſe miſchiefs might ſuddainly again be renewed, as that it put *Honorius* upon making a Law about Teſtaments, which ſcarcely any thing but the Iniquity of the times can make altogether excuſable. Formerly, though a Teſtament had been made ten years, or more, before the death of the Teſtator, yet notwithſtanding, it might be of full force and effect; for that it was ſuppoſed to be the laſt, after which there was no other in being; and the Man not expreſſing any alteration of his Will, it was preſumed he was ſtill of the ſame Opinion. But now, *Honorius*, by an Edict inſcribed to *Palladius*, the *Præfectus Prætorio*, declared, All Teſtaments made before ten years to be null and void, or “ abſolutely antiquated: and his chief reaſon alledged is, for that the death of the “ Witneſſes may, within that ſpace of time, take away all proof of them. Conſidering the extreme danger Men were continually in, there was now cauſe to have ſuch an Apprehenſion, the Lives of Mortals being now as uncertain and lubrick, as at any other are their Wills, Affections and Deſires; which, in the ſpace of ten years, may well be preſumed very various aad inconſtant. *Juſtinian* afterwards abrogated this Law, yet he did not quite invalidate the ſenſe and meaning of it: for, though he would not have a Teſtament therefore antiquated, becauſe it was of ten years date, yet would he have it invalid, if it could appear, though but imperfectly, that the Teſtator, after the making of it, was of a contrary opinion: So that he thought that, although in ſuch a number of years, ſuch a Will did not fall; yet, however, it did, as it were, reel and totter. Others have adjudged, that, in a latter Teſtament there is no need of any derogatory Clauſe, if ten years had already intervened from the making of the former, Oblivion of it being preſumed from the lapſe of ſo long a time. And *Honorius* would have a *Chirographum*, or Bond, to be renewed within the ſpace of ten years. But, from what he ordains concerning the Date of ten Years, we may learn, that at this time the *Day* and *Conſul* were wont to be ſet to Teſtaments, as otherwiſe it alſo appears; although, in the Reign of *Gordian*, it was not neceſſary.

Reſtrains the Avarice of begging Courtiers.

L.2. de Incorporatione, Cod.Th.

L.L.26.27. de Petitionib. & Cod. Th. Dat.5. Id.Octobr.Abſ.a cod. Juſt.

64. However dangerous were the Times, and the Lives of Men brittle and uncertain; the conſideration thereof procured ſo ſmall Abſtinence, and ſo little Contempt of Wealth, that now again this Emperor was conſtrained to repreſs the greedineſs of begging Courtiers, to the covetous Appetite of whom, the Affairs of *Africk* gave ſome Provocation. This he did by reviving and confirming a Law he had made fourteen years before, by vertue of which ſuch perſons could not enjoy any “ Eſtates or Goods ſo begged before they had been incorporated, as the word was, “ or ſiezed by the Treaſury, and relation thereof made to the *Comes Rei Privatæ*, “ an Inventory being had of the ſaid Goods. But, whereas that Law did alſo require, “ that, by a ſecond Petition they ſhould again be obtained by the Prince, he “ now ſo far diſpenſed with this ſecond Grant, as to make it ſuffice if a ſecond Addreſs “ was made for them, to the ſaid *Comes*.“ This he declared in a Conſtitution directed to *Largus*, the *Proconſul* of *Africk*; and thereby provided alſo for his own Revenue, as by other Branches thereof, he conſulted for the ſecurity of Poſſeſſors, againſt the Avarice of theſe gaping Courtiers, and alſo, the Treachery of Informers. Againſt the firſt he further enjoyned, that, Whether a ſimple Reſcript was only obtained “ for an Eſtate, to which the *Quæſtor* only ſubſcribed *Quæſtor Legi*, or a ſpecial Adno- “ tation, as it was termed, or *Adnotatio Sacra*, when the Emperor, with his own “ hand ſigned the Paper: in both caſes a ſufficient time ſhould be granted to the “ Poſſeſſor to defend himſelf, either in Perſon, or by the Intervention of his A- “ gent, Bailiff or Tenant.“

65. If the begged Goods were in any Tranſmarine Province, or in *Africk* an whole year, for coming to Court, and applying themſelves to, and making defence before the *Comes rei privatæ*; and ſix Months, if in any Neighbouring Province, that the accuſed, beſides their defence, might have ſufficient time to ſettle their other matters before their Journey. And if it ſo happened, that by the tricks or arts of the Petitioners they were hindred from proſecuting their Journeys, as it ſeems, was too ordinarily practiſed in theſe corrupt times; ſo as within the year, or ſix Months, they could not come to Court, no Preſcription ſhould be good againſt them. But in caſe the party himſelf were alive that owed the Goods, he poſitively declared, that none ſhould beg them, except, he was convicted and condemned for ſome certain crime. As for Informers, he would have them produced in Judgment by the Petitioners before the Petition had any effect. He declares, that none ſhall make himſelf Informer the ſecond time, without danger to his own perſon; and if he dare to do it the third, he ſhall be certainly puniſhed. “ How *Theodoſius* his Father thought fit to puniſh them with death, though their Informations were true (for he would have them heard) we have formerly ſhown. But ſo careful he was of the intereſts of private perſons, and at the ſame time neglected not the complaints of ſome whole Countries, the Grievances of which he had more opportunity to underſtand than he could do the Burthens of thoſe that lay beyond the Seas. The Province of *Campania* in *Italy*, and two *Suburbicarian* Regions, as he calls them, *viz. Picenum* and *Tuſcia* complained, that by reaſon of Miſchiefs ariſing from the late Wars, there were many Lands which lay deſerted, and conſequently could collate nothing to the publick Tributes. In anſwer to this, he wrote to *Palladius*, the *Præfect*, That without any difference made of Grounds, in conſideration that *Campania* had of old born a more heavy burthen than others, and had lately been waſted by an incurſion of the Enemies, meaning the *Goths*, it ſhould pay but a ninth part of ſuch payments as it was wont: and *Picenum* and *Tuſcia* ſhould pay but a ſeventh, on this condition, that all Complaints ſhould ceaſe concerning any deſerted Grounds. “

L.12. de Indulgent. Debitorum, Cod. Th. Dat.17. Cal. Decemb. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt. ut temporaria.

66. As *Honorius* his *Quæſtor* was not much burthened this Year with penning Laws, ſo leſs was his Brother's *Quæſtor* at *Conſtantinople*. There *Theodoſius* was moved by complaint of the Cities to call back to the ſervices of the *Curiæ*, ſuch as by *Codicils* had obtained the Dignity of the *Clariſſimatus*, and being *Senators*: “ This Work from Corporations ſeldom failing, whatever any other did. This Dignity in an Edict directed for this purpoſe to *Monaxius*, *Præfect* of the *Eaſt*, (wherein he tells him, he had alſo written to the *Præfect* of the City) he calls an incongruous fortune for ſuch to aſpire to, though other Princes ſometimes thought otherwiſe, and various were their inclinations, as to the Honours and Functions of the *Curiales*, as we have ſufficiently ſeen. But as we found his Uncle very munificent and charitable in relieving the oppreſſed, and remitting part of the Tributes that were due to him this Year, though we find him employed in a contrary courſe, we cannot but think him alſo well employed; for if Princes do not receive as well as remit, all their Subjects muſt fare worſe for it. Beſides the perſons of Merchants who were ſubject to the *Collatio Luſtralis*, it ſeems, there were alſo certain things or Lands that were obnoxious to that payment, poſſibly granted to the *Poſſeſſors* under that condition, or elſe becauſe bought with Money, which was gained by Merchandiſe or Traffick. Theſe things we find in the hands of perſons of greateſt Dignity at this time; but ſuch were the occaſions of *Theodoſius*, that he forbade *Monaxius*, that any Merchant or Poſſeſſor of ſuch things whatſoever, that were obnoxious to this Collation of Gold, ſhould either out of truſt to any Patronage, or confidence, by reaſon of the higheſt Dignity, think himſelf excuſed from that Function. No, though they pertained to the Houſe of the venerable Lady and Empreſs his Siſter *Pulcheria*, or the other moſt *Noble Siſters of his Piety*. “ *Pulcheria*, who had formerly for her great Wiſdom and Diligence been made *Auguſta*, was afterward married to *Marcian*, and had an Houſe in *Conſtantinople*. The other Siſters were *Arcadia* and *Marina*; *Flaccilla* being thought by ſome to be dead before this Year, and older than *Pulcheria*. They alſo had Houſes in the City, mentioned in the old deſcription of *Conſtantinople*. And they had alſo the Title of *Nobiliſſimæ*, that of the *Nobiliſſimatus* being wont to be beſtowed by the Emperor's on their near Relations; but yet in another ſenſe than was that of *Nobiliſſimus Cæſar*. *Gothofred* would gather from this Law, that at this time perſons of greateſt quality practiſed the Trade of Merchandiſe in the Eaſt, though

What *Theodoſius* did this year at *Conſtantinople*.

L.183. de Decurionib. Cod. Th. Dat.15. Cal. Maii. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

L.21. de. Luſtrali conlatione Cod. Th. Dat. 12. Cal. Septemb. Nec ſi ad domum Dominæ ac venerabilis Auguſtæ Pulcheriæ Germanæ noſtræ, ſeu nobiliſſimarum ſororum pietatis noſtræ pertineat.

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though in the Weſt *Honorius* had forbidden it to them: yet what it ſaith concerning thoſe of higheſt Dignity, rather ſeems applicable to Poſſeſſors of ſuch things as were obnoxious to the Collation, than to thoſe it calleth by the name of Merchants.

A. D. 419. *Monaxio & Plinta Coſſ.*

The *Goths* permitted to inhabit *Gall.*

67. In the Year CCCCXIX, of *Honorius* the XXVII, *Monaxius* and *Plinta* obtained the Dignity of Conſuls. The two Emperors made their Abode as formerly. *Vallia*, King of the *Goths*, having proſperouſly fought againſt the *Vandals* and other *Barbarians* that had invaded that Country, dealt with *Conſtantius*, that he and his Men might be received into *Gall*, and there obtain place wherein to ſettle and inhabit. And *Conſtantius* was ſo favourable to his requeſt, that he procured a ſatisfactory return from *Honorius*; ſo as this very Year, as writes *Proſper*, or the Year preceding, as *Marcellinus* hath it, they were permitted to return out of *Spain*, and to plant and fix themſelves in *Gallia Aquitanica*, from *Tolouſe*, as far as the Ocean, which Region was afterward known by the name of *Gaſcoign*. Now at this time, beſides the natural Inhabitants, three ſorts of People dwelt and domineer there. The *Romans* the ancient Lords, who ſtill held that part which lay from the *Rhine* as far as *Ligeris*, or the *Loire*, except the Cities of *Armorica* (now *Britain*) which as ſome ſay had aſſerted their own liberty. The *Goths*, who had now lately poſſeſſed themſelves of what lay from the *Loire* Southwards. And the *Burgundians*, who inhabited by the *Rhone*, though not all the Country, of which moſt of the Cities ſtill continued in their fidelity to the *Romans*. *Conſtantius* now in a manner managed all Affairs under and for *Honorius*; and this Year his Wife bore him a Daughter, which was called by the name of *Honoria*.

Theodoſius hath War with *Perſia.*

68. *Theodoſius* in the Eaſt after a long repoſe became about this time engaged in a War with *Perſia*: for the *Perſians* had broken the League, as well upon the account of Religion, as for other reſpects. *Iſdigerdes*, who having been appointed Tutor to the Emperor, kept a good underſtanding with him all his days, being dead, as *Socrates* writes, *Bararanes* his Son ſucceeded, who perſecuted the Chriſtians at the inſtigation of the *Magi*, which yet his Father had never done. They being compelled by various torments and other afflictions, betook themſelves to the *Romans*; and *Atticus* a Biſhop had ſo much compaſſion for them, as to move *Theodoſius* in their behalf. But this was not all the provocation. For the *Perſians* having lately diſcovered ſome Mines of Gold, hired certain Workmen out of the Roman Territories, on condition that they ſhould be returned back after ſuch a Work performed; but though the Work was compleated, yet would they not reſtore the Men. Beſides this, they broke their faith given to the *Romans*, in robbing their Merchants of their Wares. Thoſe that fled upon the account of Religion being more welcome for theſe provocations, the *Perſian* King preſently ſent his Ambaſſadors to demand the Fugitives. But the *Romans* were ſo far from ſending the miſerable people back, that to defend theirs, and the common cauſe of Chriſtian Religion, they reſolved to conteſt the quarrel by a War. And *Theodoſius* began, by ſending an Army under conduct of *Ardabarius*, who piercing into that Kingdom through *Armenia*, waſted the Province called *Azazena*. Againſt him came *Narſæus*, General of the *Perſian* Army, who adventured to fight, but was overthrown, and fled; after which to redeem the Infamy, he reſolved hy the way of *Meſopotamia* to invade the *Roman* Borders, at that time deſtitute of defence, and ſurpriſe them when they did leaſt expect it.

Lib.7.c.18.

69. The Deſign of *Narſæus* was ſufficiently known to the *Roman* General, who thereupon laid waſte *Azazena*, and haſted with all ſpeed into *Meſopotamia*. Hereby it was utterly fruſtrated, and he ſeeing himſelf ſo far prevented, having a great Army, when he was come as far as *Niſibis* (which, though placed in the Borders, was at this time in the *Perſians* Hands) he ſent to *Ardaburius*, and offered him Battel in a place to be agreed on; which he plainly refuſed, ſaying, that the *Roman* Emperors were not to wage War at his Diſcretion. However, great was the fear wherewith the City of *Conſtantinople* was ſeiſed; though the War being tranſlated into *Meſopotamia*, and the *Perſian* Army having there ſheltred it ſelf in *Niſibis*, the *Romans* had laid cloſe Siege to it. By this time *Bararanes* had received intelligence both of the waſting of *Azazena*, and what danger both his Army and the City was in; and to relieve them he haſted with his whole Force. But conſidering what he undertook, by reaſon of the courage and ſtrength of the *Romans*, he thought it ſafe to call the *Saracens* to his aſſiſtance, then governed by one *Alamundarus*, a Man of an haughty courage, who carrying with him a vaſt number

ber of his Nation, thought he had reaſon to bid the *Perſian* King be very confident of the ſucceſs; and namely that he would not only baffle and defeat the *Roman* Army, but take and deliver into his hands *Antioch*, that noble City of *Syria*. His Attempts no way anſwered his Brags, nor his ſucceſs either of them; for he was ſo baffled and defeated, a diſſention riſing amongſt his own Men, that flying when there were ſcarcely any to purſue them, they took the River *Euphrates*, and there about an hundred thouſand are ſaid to have periſhed. But the *Romans* that lay at the Siege of *Niſibis*, hearing that the *Perſian* King was bringing amongſt them a great number of Elephants, out of meaſure affrighted thereat, ſet fire to all the Engines they had uſed there, and retired into their own Territories. But they were forced again to make head againſt the Enemy, for ſeveral Skirmiſhes followed. *Areobindas*, the Lieutenant General of the *Romans*, killed one of the moſt valiant *Perſians* in ſingle Combat: *Ardaburius* by an Ambuſcado cut off other ſeven of their chiefeſt Officers; and *Vitianus*, another *Roman* Captain, routed and diſperſed the reſt of the *Saracen* Troops. How theſe things were particularly performed, we are not of opinion with *Socrates*, that for fear of too long a digreſſion, he therefore ought in ſilence to paſs by.

70. However, they were all performed at Land; though by an Act of Pardon paſſed this Year by *Theodoſius*, it appears, that he had ſome jealouſie and apprehenſion of the Naval Power of ſome that were Enemies to the Roman Empire. As it was ever forbidden to ſuccour with Neceſſaries, and to relieve with Money and otherwiſe, the Enemies of States and Kingdoms; ſo alſo with materials for Shipping: and at length it was found convenient to prohibit the ſhewing or teaching of *Barbarians* how to make Ships. The *Romans* had ſufficiently learn'd by their own experience how great an advantage the knowing of this myſtery was, having wreſted the Dominion of the Seas from the *Carthaginians*, after they had once arrived at it. Yet notwithſtanding, certain perſons, as formerly in the time of *Severus*, ſo now, fled to the *Barbarians*, and taught them the way, who being afterward ſeiſed, were committed to Priſon, in order to their trial, and farther puniſhment. In their behalf, and for their pardon interceded *Aſclepiades*, the Bi- “ ſhop of the *Cherſoneſus*, with whoſe Intreaty the Emperor was ſo far moved (as “ ſeldom perſons of his Order were ſaid nay) that by an Edict he declared to *Monaxius*, that at his petition they ſhould be freed from Priſon, and that puniſhment that hung over their Heads; but for the time to come, it ſhould be capital to “ them, and all others, to communicate to *Barbarians* that skill of making Ships, “ which was unknown to them before.“ Now by *Barbarians* we cannot think were meant the *Perſians*, though at this time there were ill underſtandings betwixt the Empire and them; but ſome of the Northern and *Scythian* Nations beyond the *Danube*, upon which plyed Gallies, called *Luſoriæ*, of a new make or faſhion. And the naming of the Biſhop of the *Cherſoneſus* perſwades us to this which is rationally thought to have been no other than that of *Thrace*. This Law could not but be very politick and ſeaſonable in conformity with which by a decree of a publick meeting held at *Lubeck* in the Year MDLXIII, and in the *Hanſe* Towns it was prohibited, that *Barbarians*, and eſpecially *Johannes Baſilides* then the cruel Emperor or Tyrant of the *Moſcovites* ſhould be taught the more rare ſort of Arts, as then unknown to them; particularly ſuch as related to Ships and Guns.

L. ult. de pœnis, Cod. Th. Dat. 8. Cal. Octobr. L. penult. Cod. Juſt. ejuſd tit. hanc mutilata eſt. Propter petitionem viri reverentiſſimi Aſclepiadis Cerſoneſitanæ Epiſcopi, &c.

71. The reaſon was, they concluded, if they once arrived at the uſe of Navigation, they would not only pierce into *Livonia*, but alſo into *Germany* it ſelf; as *Mons de Thou* obſerves, who farther notes, that the *Turks*, by the commerce they had with the *Genoeſes*, (who by gain were allured into it) having once underſtood this myſtery, paſſed the *Helleſpont*, and by the aſſiſtance of the *Greek* Deſertors and Pyrates, with a Fleet ſet upon *Conſtantinople*, the Head of the Eaſtern Empire, and having taken it, preſently over-ran *Macedonia*, *Illyricum*, and all *Peloponneſus*. Theſe Cautions and Laws out of prudence have been ordained by Princes and States, leſt their Subjects by their art and skill ſhould furniſh and fortifie the *Barbarians* againſt themſelves; but now they ſeem in theſe Ages to come too late, when the whole world in a manner, by reaſon of Trade, is ſufficiently acquainted with Ships and Shipping. Yet is it ſtill the cuſtom for ſome Nations to forbid Strangers to build Veſſels in their Ports without publick conſent obtain'd, and ſuch or ſuch a ſum of Money paid for ſuch a Ship of ſuch or ſuch a Burthen; and particularly the Statutes of the City of *Dantzick* require it, that the benefit of Navigation may rather redound to their own Citizens than to Strangers. But to

Vide Joh. Loccenii de jure maritimo, lib. 1. c. 2.

A. D. 419.

return to *Theodoſius*, by the laſt Conſtitution he made this Year, he commanded *Ætius*, *Præfect* of *Conſtantinople*, (who the year before eſcaped narrowly a ſtab, which pierced his Gown and Coat, from one that pretended to reach him a petition) that all the Lime-kills which were upon the Strand, or Sea-ſhore, betwixt the *Amphitheatre* and Port of S. *Julian*, (named by the Emperor *Juſtin* the Port of *Sophia*, after his Wife) ſhould be removed, both for the wholſomeneſs of “ the *moſt ample City*, and the vicinity of his own Houſes; ſo as none whoſoever “ ſhould be permitted to burn Lime in theſe places. “

L.ult.de calcis coctorib.Cod.Th. Dat.4. Non. Octobr. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

A. D. 420. *Theodoſio A. 8. & Conſtantio 3. Coſſ.*

72. We come now to the Year of our Lord CCCCXX, to the eight Conſulſhip of *Theodoſius Auguſtus*, and the third of *Conſtantius*; wherein *Honorius*, as formerly, held his Reſidence at *Ravenna*, and *Theodoſius* at *Conſtantinople*. This Year the *Perſian* War was carrying on; and beſides, what we have ſaid already concerning the Military Preparations made by *Theodoſius* for the Field, he thought of other ways for ſecuring the Empire againſt the crafts and violence of the Enemy, of which *Conſtantinople* it ſelf, and therefore much more the remote and frontier Parts, had great apprehenſion. By an Edict directed to *Monaxius*, he gave leave to all his Subjects inhabiting through the Provinces of *Meſopotamia*, *Oſdroena*, *Euphratenſis*, *Syria Secunda*, *Phœnicia*, *Libanenſis*, *Cilicia Secunda*, both the *Armenia's*, “ both the *Cappadocia's*, *Pontus Polemoniacus*, the *Helleſpont* and the reſt “ where need was, if they ſo pleaſed to fortifie and incircle their Grounds with “ Walls. “ It had formerly been free for private perſons to fortifie their Houſes, but with Reſtrictions; but now in a caſe of ſo imminent danger, he gave indefinite and general leave. So in our own Country, both before and after the *Norman* Conqueſt, multitudes of Caſtles were erected, and almoſt every private Man, if not with Stones, yet would fortifie his Houſe with Water, the Moats being ſtill remaining in moſt places. But as in time of danger that may be granted, which at other times may it ſelf prove dangerous, the wiſdom of after Ages thought fit to demoliſh theſe little Holds, neither will the publick ſafety permit, that every one may build Caſtles at his pleaſure, except it be in the Air. By the Conſtitutions of *Spain* it is forbidden either to build, or repair them, without licenſe firſt obtained from the King. But now adays there ſeems no great need of any prohibition in this matter, ſince the times that Guns and Gunpowder are found more effectual againſt Heaps of Stone, than Bows and Arrows, or any other wooden Engines. But for the Law, of which we were ſpeaking, the ſame reaſon that made *Theodoſius* enact it, cauſed *Juſtinian* afterward to retain it, and to put it into his Code.

Theodoſius gives his Subjects leave to fortifie their Houſes in the Eaſt.

L.10.Cod.Juſt. de Ædificiis privatis, lib.8. tit.10.Dat. 3. Non.Maii.

73. And the ſame happened to another Edict which *Theodoſius* publiſhed this ſame Year upon the ſame occaſion. *Socrates* writes, as we lately heard, how one cauſe of the quarrel with *Perſia* aroſe from their taking away the Wares or Goods of the *Roman* Merchants. And we cannot ſay, that the Merchants were ſo juſtly ſerved, for importing into *Perſia* things that had been prohibited. But on the eighteenth of *September* we find an Order directed to *Euſtathius* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, wherein *Theodoſius* ſignifies, That he had decreed, that no Counterband Goods, or any unlawful Wares ſhould be tranſported to Barbarous Nations. “ Theſe Wares were, as we have formerly ſeen, either Inſtruments, or Materials conducing to War, things whereby the *Barbarians* might be armed againſt the *Roman* Empire, or elſe Commodities that would ſuſtain and nouriſh them in any Hoſtile Actions, as Mony, Wine, Oil, and ſuch like. It is true, Commerce had not been utterly forbidden with *Perſia*; but it was confined to certain places, as the Reader may remember, out of which it was not lawful for *Roman* Subjects to traffick. Now the bettter to prevent this miſchief, ſeveral ſorts of Officers were appointed to watch at the Ports, beſides the *Comites Commerciorum*, who had, under the Diſpoſition of the *Comes Largitionum*, the chief inſpection of this Affair; ſometimes *Palatines*, ſometimes *Protectors*, and otherwiles the *Officials* belonging to the *Duces* of the Limits. Before theſe *Protectors* or *Officials* the Emperor gives “ expreſs charge, that all Mariners or Maſters of Ships make Notes in the preſence “ of the *Defenſors* of the places, what Goods they have aboard, and whither they “ are bound; moreover, that they have not been oppreſſed, or force to pay more than was due (as often it happened through the avarice of Officers) and of this “ Act thus made, the Original ſhall be delivered to the Maſter or Mariner, and a Copy remain in cuſtody of the *Defenſor* of the place.

Forbids unlawful Wares to be tranſported to Barbarous Nations.

L.ult. de Litorum & Itinerum cuſtodia, Cod.Th.Dat.14. Cal. Octob. & L.un. Cod. Juſt. eod.tit.

A. D. 421. *Euſtathio & Agricola Coſſ.*

74. For the CCCCXXI Year of our Lord, *Euſtathius* and *Agricola* were Conſuls. *Honorius* this Year made his Abode at *Ravenna*, and ſome alteration in

the

Conſtantius made Emperor.

the direction of Laws. For now did he promote *Conſtantius* the *Comes*, *Magiſter Militum*, and *Patritian*, who had deſerved ſo well of him in the Wars againſt Uſurpers and *Barbarians* for the ſpace of ten years, who had married his Siſter, and been thrice Conſul, to the higheſt Title and Dignity of Emperor. He himſelf had no Children to whom he could leave his place, and finding the times very troubleſome, and to require ſome other perſon to aſſiſt, he could not pitch upon a more deſerving, no, nor fitting perſon, he having alſo a Son to continue the ſucceſſion, on whom he conferred the Dignity of *Nobiliſſimus*; and ſent the Picture of the new Emperor, as the cuſtom was, to *Conſtantinople*. Four Conſtitutions made this Year bear the name of *Conſtantius*, joyned with the other two Emperors; or four ſeveral Laws, as they are now divided, which made up one and the ſame Conſtitution, deſigned to check the avarice and rapacity of ſuch as gaped after the Eſtates of other perſons. For this purpoſe *Honorius* gave in command to *Palladius*, the *Præfect*, who exerciſed this Office for ſeven years together, that if any forfeited or eſcheated Lands or Goods had remained in the Hands of any perſons for the ſpace of five years, this ſhould be a Bar againſt any Petition or Beg- " ging, as it was wont to be againſt the Treaſury it ſelf. " Wherein he was not yet ſo exact as the old Law had been, and that which *Juſtinian* approved, which allowed of four years Preſcription to be ſufficient. As for the Eſtates of ſuch as were put to death for Crimes, he prohibits all begging of them, but commands " that they be confiſcated, except, by the Humanity of the Laws, they be to be " left to their Children or Parents; which Humanity is only denied to that of " Treaſon. "

Honorius diſcourages the begging of Eſtates.

L. un. de Quinquennii præſcriptione, Cod. Th. lib. 4. tit. 15. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt quia Competitiones bonorum poſtea ſublatæ fuerunt.

L. 23. de Bonis Proſcript. Dat. 8. Id. Jul. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

75. But yet, more particularly, becauſe the Importunity and Oppreſſion of theſe Beggars was intollerable, he made a diſtinction of Perſons, whoſe Eſtates were ſo begged. Some, poſſibly, were yet alive; but not ſeldom hurried to Condemnation and death, by the procurement of thoſe who thirſted after their Eſtates. Therefore he expreſly forbids, that any thing belonging to perſons alive, be begged, ex- " cept they had already undergone Deportation, which always drew after it a Pro- " ſcription of Eſtate. He had formerly ordained, that none ſhould move him for " any thing poſſeſſed by any perſon, but ſuch as were convicted and ſentenced; but " now he thought fit to extend this further Indulgence to all that were not yet ba- " niſhed into Iſlands. But yet, though the Poſſeſſions of ſuch deported perſons might " be begged, he ſtill put this Reſtraint upon Petitioners, that they ſhould make no re- " queſt for any ſuch Goods or Eſtate, till two years had paſſed after ſuch Deportati- " on. And again, he will not permit that any beg more than the Eſtate of one " ſingle perſon. Then, whereas it was often practiſed to grant away the Eſtates " of thoſe who would not appear upon Summons, he alſo forbids this practice in " Civil Actions, for this reaſon, becauſe the Intereſt of private men is only concer- " ned in them; and in Criminal Cauſes, the fame of the Parties is only hurt. Nei- " ther, if a perſon who had contracted with a publick Officer, denied the bargain, " and failed to perform it, ſhould therefore the Treaſury fall upon his Eſtate, or any " part of it. Then further, as to the Eſtates of dead Perſons; if they left no Heirs, " they might be begged, but not elſe, if any Kindred at all was remaining: Yet, if, " before their death, they were not convicted after a publick Impeachment; but " only, after their death, were ſaid to have committed ſuch Offences, he forbids " that their Eſtates be petitioned for; as the Crime, ſo the Puniſhment, ending with " the Party. And, if they were impeached before their deceaſe; yet, if their E- " ſtates were not firſt confiſcated, he commands that they be not begged. In the " laſt place, to curb the boldneſs of Informers, he ordains, that they be produced " in Judgment before the *Comes Rei Privatæ*, e'er any Grant of the Accuſed his " Goods be made, without any Caution or Bail to be allowed; and, if they cannot " make good their Impeachment, they ſhall be puniſhed as *Calumniators*. Howe- " ver, he reſolves that, after the Petition made, the Poſſeſſor of the Goods or Eſtate " ſhall have a year's time to defend himſelf, beſides what was formerly ſaid of the " Bar allowed him, in caſe he could plead five years Preſcription. "

L. L. 29, 30. de Petitionibus, &c. Cod. Th.

76. Theſe Laws, as we ſaid, bore the name of *Conſtantius*, as well as others; but, as *Honorius* thought he had power enough to prefer him to the Dignity, ſo *Theodoſius*, it ſeems, thought he had as much reaſon to deny it, and to reject his picture, ſent upon that occaſion, according to the Cuſtom. For, this he did, as *Philoſtorgius* related, and *Olympiodorus* wrote, that the Meſſenger who was ſent to him about the Election of *Conſtantius*, was neither admitted, nor received by him. *Philoſtorgius* affirmed, that *Conſtantius*, as highly concerned in ſo great an Affront,

Conſtantius, his Picture being rejected by *Theodoſius*, dies.

Sect. 3.

A. D. 421.

prepared by War to be revenged, but died in the Preparation. *Olympiodorus* wrote, that by the Grief he thence contracted, he fell into a Diſeaſe, which ſo far increaſed upon him, that, when he conſulted how he might maintain that Title by force, which, in a peaceable way, he had obtained, he died of a Pleuriſie, in the ſeventh Month after his Promotion, and that in the City of *Ravenna*; as ſome ſay, it had been foretold him in a Dream. *Theodoſius* might poſſibly be the more averſe to the Promotion of *Conſtantius*, becauſe now, he reſolved himſelf to marry; and hoped to have Iſſue, wherewith to provide ſufficiently for Succeſſion. For, this year, he took to Wife *Eudocia Attica*, the Daughter of *Leontius*, a Philoſopher; who had educated her in the Liberal Studies, wherein ſhe was very eminent. Her firſt name, as *Socrates* writes, was *Athenais*; which *Atticus*, the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, at her *Baptiſm*, changed to *Eudocia*.

Theodoſius marries.

Lib.7.c.21.

A. D. 422.
Honorio, 13. *Theodoſio*, 10. *A. A. Conſ.*

77. For the Year following, or the CCCCXXII, no Subjects bore the Title of *Conſuls*, but the two Emperors themſelves; *Honorius* the thirteenth time, and *Theodoſius* the tenth. *Honorius* continued his Abode at *Ravenna*, and *Theodoſius* at *Conſtantinople*, as formerly. *Honorius* had now ſome hopes of recovering *Spain* to his Obedience; Experience having taught, that the *Vandals* might be overcome; as the *Goths*, before their Retreat into *Gall*, had, not long ſince, made apparent. He had two excellent Commanders at this time: one *Caſtinus*, who was *Magiſter Militum*; and one *Boniface*, a *Thracian*, now the *Comes Domeſticorum*, and of *Africk*: both whom he reſolved to employ in this War; that the one with Forces by Land, and the other with a Fleet from *Africk*, might, with equal Power and Command, carry on the deſign. And, at firſt there was an happy Underſtanding betwixt them, which produced ſuch Effects as promoted the Intereſt of him that ſent them; for, they got into their hands *Maximus* and *Jovinus*, who formerly had uſurped, and fought once or twice againſt the *Vandals*. But, not long it was e'er Ambition and Emulation, which moſt commonly happens amongſt thoſe of equal Command, put a bad Concluſion to ſo good a Beginning. For *Caſtinus* grew ſo proud, that he would not own *Boniface* for his Equal, and *Boniface* ſcorned to acknowledge him for his Superior, and departed with his Fleet; and, coming to the Port of *Rome*, thence ſailed into *Africk*, where, as in his own Province, his Authority was chief in Military Matters. The *Vandals*, who formerly, could not ſuſtain the ſhock of both, when conjoyned; thought they might now grapple with a ſingle perſon: from deſpairing, they became reſolved; and, renewing the War, through the imprudence of *Caſtinus*, gave a great Defeat to the *Romans*.

Honorius hath hopes to recover *Spain*.

The Pride and Emulation of his Captains blaſt the Deſign.

78. Whether by the deſire of *Boniface*, to gratifie his Province before his departure; or at the complaint of the Provincials themſelves, we know not; but, toward the latter end of *February*, *Honorius* granted a Pardon, or Indulgence of certain " Debts owing in the Proconſular Province of *Africk*, as alſo, in that called *Byzacena*; " which was larger, and contained more Ground than the other, as appears " by the Account of the Acres and *Centuries* of each Country. " He was as ready to reſcue poor and honeſt Men from the Rapacity of ſome Creditors, who, at this time, preyed upon them in ſo unreaſonable manner, that a large Conſtitution was, at the beginning of *July*, directed to *John*, now *Præfect* of *Italy*, for Redreſs of ſo great a Grievance. Some of them, becauſe they had not Strength and Authority enough themſelves, would transfer their Actions upon Perſons of Place and Employment, who thereby could ſtrike greater terror into miſerable Men; and make them ſubmit to unreaſonable Terms, rather than conteſt them. This he " forbids, upon pain of Creditors their loſing their Debts ſo made over " And, it having formerly been Law, and ſo declared by *Claudius*; as alſo, by *Diocletian* and *Maximilian*, he now inforced it; and the Law-makers of the Barbarous Nations, afterward, thought alſo fit to eſtabliſh it as ſuch to their Subjects. It was too ordinary for perſons to commit mony into the hands of Slaves, Agents and Bailiffs, for the uſe and improvement of the Lands or Poſſeſſions, as was pretended, though it was formerly, by the *Prætorian* Law, forbidden; which now, *Honorius* ſo far confirms and reinforces, as to declare all ſuch mony forfeit, except their Maſters had " given expreſs and particular Order and Inſtructions as to the borrowing of it, and " the quantity ſo borrowed, according to the ſaid Law. Indeed, if ſuch Bailiff or " Officer was not obnoxious to any Accounts belonging to his own Maſter, the Creditor might have an Action *De Peculio*, or againſt ſo much as ſuch Slave or Bailiff " had of his own, diſtinct from the Eſtate and Goods of his Lord.

he redreſſeth more Grievances in *Africk*.

L.14. de Indulgentiis debitorum, Cod.Th.Dat 10. Cal.Mart. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt. ut temporaria.

L.un. de Actionib.ad potentes tranſlatis, Cod. Th.lib.2.tit.13. & L.10. Cod. Juſt. Ne liceat potentiorib.Dat. 5.Id.Jul

L.un. Quod juſſu, Cod.Th.lib.2. tit.3.

L.un.de Peculio Cod.Th. lib.2. tit.32.

L.ult. Cod.Juſt. Quod cum eo qui in aliena poteſtate & ex his duabus conflata eſt.

79. It was become a practice, that when a Suit was commenced for Mony owing,

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ing, the Mony ſhould be ſequeſtred into the hands of ſome third perſon, to keep and preſerve it: which practice did more promote the ends of covetous and griping Courtiers, than tended to any publick Advantage. And, now *Honorius* utterly declared againſt the neceſſity of ſuch Sequeſtration, as founded neither on Law nor Equity. For, the Law required that the Plaintiff ſhould firſt found and prove his Intention, and Equity would not permit that the profit of the thing ſhould be taken from him that was in Poſſeſſion; and, that in a Suit or Action, one ſhould begin with Execution; that he who was neither heard, judged nor condemned, ſhould, for a time, be ſpoiled of any Intereſt or Concern, as he was by vertue of Sequeſtration. Therefore, before the Party ſhould be convicted, or Sentence given, he would not have the Mony taken from him, as neither regularly can other Moveables before Judgment, except in certain Caſes; as where the faithfulneſs of the Poſſeſſor is ſuſpected as to keeping of the thing in Controverſie, and he refuſeth to give Caution: When the Chaſtity of a Woman is queſtioned, till the Tryal is over, and ſome few others." But farther, our Emperor was ſo great an Enemy to theſe unjuſt Vexations, that he would have no Goods or Poſſeſſions of any Man ſiezed for the Debts of another Perſon, whether publick or private." And, becauſe the Avarice of ſuch as begged Eſtates could, by no means, be obviated by any Preſcript; yet he ſufficiently repelled them, how powerful ſoever at firſt they were thought. Whereas he lately had granted to the Poſſeſſor of ſuch Eſtates a years time to defend himſelf, which expired, the Beggar might have been admitted: Now he thought fit to aſſign and prefix to ſuch Petitioner alſo a years time, within which, if he did not make good his pretenſions, he ſhould not only fail of his deſign, but be condemned in the Coſts and Expences of the Suit." This Edict was publiſhed and expoſed in the *Forum* of *Trajan*, toward the latter end of *Auguſt*, being directed to *Proculus*, the *Comes Rei privatæ*.

L. un. de Pecuniæ ſequeſtratione prohibita, Cod. Th. lib. 2. tit. 28. & L. un. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Dat. 7 Id. Jul.

L. ul. de Exſecutorib. Cod. Th. & l. 4. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit.

L. 31. de Petitionib. &c. Cod. Th. P.P. in foro Trajani 8. Cal. Septemb. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

80. Some accidents happened about this time, which cauſed this Emperor to take notice of certain inconveniences, to which Women were expoſed in their Marriages. Now was obſerved, what has ever ſince been too ordinarily practiſed, that Tutors and Guardians diſpoſed of ſuch Maids as were committed to their truſt, more for their own ends than the advantage of the Virgins; and often contrary to the purpoſe of their Fathers, though they had contracted them before their death. *Honorius* thought this ſo unreaſonable, and tending to ſuch miſchief, that conſidering the frailty and inconſiderateneſs of young Women, how ready they are to caſt away themſelves, by a Law directed to *Marinianus* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, he expreſly commanded, that if a Father had proceeded ſo far before his death, as to betroth or contract his Daughter, this Contract ſhould hold firm and good, notwithſtanding any thing done by her *Curator* or Tutor to the contrary; nay, though ſhe her ſelf being adult, ſhould conſent to the reſcinding of it." This he ordained in caſe of a Contract or Deſponſation made by the Father, which is not to be extended to a ſimple deſtination, purpoſe or deſignment; for the Guardian in ſeveral caſes might recede from, or croſs the deſtination of the deceaſed Father, if the intereſt of his Pupil did require it. The Emperor was further informed, that Women were often hardly dealt with by the Heirs of their Husbands, to whom having often brought a large Dower or Portion, they were wont to defraud them of it, as belonging to the Eſtate of the deceaſed, or to his Children. Hereupon he thought fit by the ſame Conſtitution to ſettle the matter of Dower, in reſpect to the deceaſed, both of Wife and Husband. If the Husband died before the Wife, the *Dos* or Dower which ſhe brought with her ſhould return to her entire, ſo as the Heirs ſhould have nothing to do with it. If ſo be the Wife died before the Husband, the *uſusfructus* of it ſhould remain to the Husband as long as he lived, but the propriety to the Children they had betwixt them. And if the Husband had returned back the Dower of his Wife before her death, this returning it back being to be eſteemed no other than a Donation betwixt Man and Wife, which the *Roman* Laws expreſly forbade; her Heirs ſhould reſtore it back to the Husband with all the profits ſince the day it was returned; it being reaſonable, that he ſhould have the advantage of the Dower, who ſuſtained the charge and burthen of Matrimony. In concluſion for all this, *Honorius* will not have the Sons deprived of ſuch Eſtates, though made over before Marriage, as came by their Fathers." Here to avoid confuſion, muſt be known, that by *Dos* the *Roman* Laws underſtand that which the Wife bringeth to her Husband in Marriage, otherwiſe called Marriage Goods. But that which ſhe hath of her Husband after the Marriage reſolved, if ſhe outlive him, they term *Donatio propter Nuptias*;

Provideth that Women be not cheated before or after Marriage.

L. 7. de Sponſalibus &c. Cod. Th. & L. 4. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit.

L. 3. de Dotibus, Cod. Th. lib. 3. tit. 13. Dat. 3. Non. Non. & L. ult. Cod. Juſt. Soluto Matrimonio quemadmodum dos petatur. & L. un. Cod. Si dos conſtante matrimonio ſoluta fuerit.

L. 4. de ſecundis Nuptiis, Cod. Juſt. lib. 5. tit. 9.

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81, From theſe matters we muſt paſs to the Coaſt of *Theodoſius* at *Conſtantinople*, and ſee how Affairs there ſtood, in reference unto War and Peace. And the War we find ſtill depending with *Perſia* at the beginning of this year, though to the advantage and encouragement of the *Romans*. We have heard from *Socrates* in ſhort, what the Atchievments of *Areobindus* were againſt the *Perſians*, and how the Attempts of *Vitianus* ſucceeded againſt the *Saracens*, the good proſperity of both whom, were preſently, as he ſaith, conveyed to the Emperor *Theodoſius* after this manner. He had one *Palladius*, a Man of extraordinary Endowments both in body and mind, and eſpecially of ſuch ability in Riding, that in three days time he *Socr. lib. 7 c. 19.* would poſt to the Borders of *Perſia*, and in ſo many more return to *Conſtantinople*; nay, he would to the other parts of the Empire paſs with that expedition, that it was ſaid of him, that the *Roman* Pale, which was large of it ſelf, he made ſtraight and narrow by his celerity; and as for the King of the *Perſians*, he was aſtoniſhed when he heard of it. However, the *Roman* Emperor when he received intelligence thereof, was not ſo puffed up with the Victory, but that he was willing *Idem l. 7. c. 20.* to embrace a Peace; and for that purpoſe, ſent away to the Borders one *Helio*, whom he very much eſteemed. *Helio* undertook what he commanded, and proceeded as far in his Journey, as the place where the *Romans* had intrenched themſelves, and thence he ſent *Maximinus*, an eminent perſon, and the Colleague of *Ardaburius*, as a Commiſſioner to conclude the Treaty. He, when he came to the *Perſian* Court, told them, he was ſent, not by the *Roman* Emperor, but by his Lieutenants to make a Peace; for *Theodoſius* was ignorant of the War, and would eſteem lightly of it, ſhould he once come to the knowledge of it. The *Perſian* King was ready enough to receive the Embaſſy, and good reaſon, for his Army was almoſt ſtarved in the Field; but his ten thouſand Soldiers, whom they called *Immortal*, adorned above all others, with golden Chains, and precious Stones, perſwaded him, that he ſhould not have thoughts of peace, till they had firſt made an Attempt upon the *Romans*, who were at preſent utterly unprepared to make reſiſtance.

82. The King obſerved their Directions, and preſently committed the Meſſenger into cuſtody, and ſent theſe *Immortal* Men to work their will againſt the *Romans*. They marched away, and dividing into two Parties, by this ſtratagem intended to circumvent part, at leaſt, of the *Roman* Forces. And they ſo far ſurpriſed them, that thinking them to be no more than what was contained in one of theſe Parties, they willingly ſuſtained their Charge, till a certain Captain being ſent by *Procopius*, one of the principal Officers, to make a diſcovery, by good providence from an Hill ſaw in how great danger his Friends now were, and fell upon the Backs of the *Perſians*, ſo as the Beſiegers were beſieged. The *Romans* in concluſion utterly defeated this Party, and then fell upon the other, which deſigned to lie as a Reſerve, which they alſo cut in pieces, and thereby proved thoſe *Immortals* to be but *Mortal* Men. The *Perſian* King, when he heard of the ſucceſs of his bold *Immortals*, received the Meſſage as utterly ignorant of what had paſſed; and told the Meſſenger, that he would not yield to the *Romans*, but yet embrace the Peace, and demanded wherein he might gratifie him whom he had found Peace made with *Perſia*. moſt prudent of all the Empire. By this means not only the War which had been undertaken for defence of the Chriſtians was put to an end in the thirteenth Conſulſhip of *Honorius*, and the tenth of *Theodoſius Auguſtus*; but the perſecution raiſed againſt them in *Perſia* utterly ceaſed. Other Writers ſpeak of a Victory obtained over the *Perſians* on the twelfth of *September* of the foregoing Year, or the Conſulſhip of *Euſtathius* and *Agricola*; and they agree, that in this Conſulſhip of the Emperors, peace was made. *Socrates* further adds, that for this Victory, in praiſe *Lib. 7. c. 21.* of the Emperor, many learnedly wrote, and publiſhed their Writings to the World. And amongſt the reſt, the Empreſs her ſelf being an ingenious perſon, wrote a Poem concerning this Argument in Heroick Verſe. But the Soldiers returning from the Expedition, and being to be quartered in *Conſtantinople*, a queſtion aroſe, whether thoſe perſons, to whom were aſſigned the Towers which belonged the new Wall drawn through their Grounds, and lately mentioned, were to afford Quarter in ſuch caſes as well as others; and the reaſon of the diſpute was, becauſe in the Edict made concerning that matter, they ſeemed only liable to annual Repairs. But *Theodoſius* now on the third of *March* declared, That ſuch " *L. 13. de Metatis, Cod. Th. Dat. 5. Non. Mart. & L. 7. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit.* Towers ought to be obnoxious to receiving of Soldiers, either returning from " the Expedition, or going to the Wars, on the firſt Floors, or thoſe next to

the Ground; neither ought the Poſſeſſors of them to take it ill, ſeeing that private Houſes were alſo ſubject to this burthen. "

83. It concerned him to take care for Soldiers, by the care and endeavours of whom, he and all his Subjects enjoyed in quiet what they had. For this reaſon, the *Roman* Laws gave them privileges in many things above all other Men; particularly they in their Expeditions might make Teſtaments which ſhould be in force without the uſual and requiſite Solemnities, and though by the Laws all Fathers had their Sons as long as they lived ſo fully in their own power, that, not very much unlike ſlaves, though called *Liberi*, whatever by their labour and induſtry they got or acquired, they acquired it for their Fathers, who alone had the propriety of it; yet what Soldiers ſaved of their pay, or otherwiſe got as Soldiers, they had propriety in it, and peculiar to themſelves, it being called *Caſtrenſe Peculium.* Now though the Soldier ſeemed (eſpecially in Martial times) chiefly to deſerve this encouragement; yet afterwards when what was got by War, was found to need preſerving by Civil Ways and Methods of Peace and Laws, it was thought fit alſo to confer like privileges on ſuch Gown-men as did preſerve and govern what the Sword-men had obtained. The Girdle was firſt the Badge and Enſign of Military Men; but at length by degrees it was worn alſo by *Palatine* Officers, by Magiſtrates of Provinces, and Lawyers who had a *Militia* of their own, and were ſaid alſo *Militare:* laſt of all, Eccleſiaſtical Perſons aſſumed the Girdle, to whom though it ſeems now peculiar with us, yet in the Neighbour Nation it is ſtill worn by the Advocates, and the Kings Counſellors, as they are called. And as theſe perſons received the Badge, ſo alſo the Emoluments of the *Militia*; as the Shadow or Circumſtance, ſo alſo the Subſtance. For, in imitation of the *Caſtrenſe Peculium*, it was firſt granted to theſe that were *Precincti*; as to *Governors* of Provinces, *Proconſuls*, *Preſidents*, and all others, who being placed in divers Dignities and Adminiſtrations received Salaries from the Prince, to have and enjoy ſuch ſums of Money, or other advantages they had got in their places to themſelves, ſo as they might diſpoſe of them by Teſtament; and this was called *Quaſi Caſtrenſe Peculium.*

84. So ſtood matters before the time of *Conſtantine*, by the ancient Laws and Conſtitutions of Princes. Afterwards that Prince thought fit to grant the privileges of *Quaſi Caſtrenſe peculium* to all his *Palatines*. And after ſuch time as the *Præfecti Prætorio* came to ſuch height, that they were eſteemed in a manner Kings without Purple, the ſame privilege (as ſeveral others to thoſe about them) was granted to the *Advocates* that pleaded in their Courts. *Theodoſius* this Year finding things in this poſture, was eaſily inclined to be kind to, and confer on the " *Aſſeſſors* or *Aſſiſtants* of Governours of Provinces the ſame Prerogative." But, *Auguſtus*, though he firſt of all aſſigned Salaries out of the publick Revenues to *Preſidents* of Provinces; yet took no care for their *Aſſiſtants*, who were paid by the Magiſtrates out of their own Purſes, till *Peſcennius Niger* aſſigned them Salaries, to remove the burthen from thoſe they aſſiſted; and that for this reaſon, becauſe a Judge ought neither to take nor give. Theſe Salaries or any other profits they honeſtly made of their places, *Theodoſius* now thought good to aſcertain to them, " that they might have as much propriety in them, as after the death of their Fa- " thers; and that they might challenge and recover them to their own uſe, as their " own Eſtate." And further, by the ſame Conſtitution directed to *Euſtathius* the *Præfect*, he told him, that not only in his Court, but in all other Courts of Juſtice, ſuch as were of that Profeſſion, or were *Advocates*, and had Fathers living, ſhould after their death obtain, as a *Quaſi Caſtrenſe Peculium*, whatever they had got by it, or by occaſion of it. Now as by their Profeſſion they got their *Fees*, or *Honoraries*, as they were termed; ſo by occaſion of it they received Preſents from the Emperors, which, as New-years Gifts, they were wont to beſtow on deſerving perſons on certain days. But whereas this Conſtitution ſpeaks of their coming to the poſſeſſion of their *Peculium*, after the death of their Fathers, it hints this to us, that all that had this privilege had not power of making a Will before their Father's death, but only came to the full poſſeſſion afterward of their *Peculium*; ſo ſtrict and ſevere were *Romans* in keeping up paternal awe and reverence. But afterwards *Juſtinian*, to all thoſe who had the Right of *Quaſi Caſtrenſe Peculium*, gave this Indulgence, alſo of diſpoſing it by Teſtament before the death of their Fathers.

L. 2 de Aſſeſſor. &c. Cod. Th. l. 1. tit. 12. & L. 2. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Dat. 10. Cal. Apr.

Theodoſius gratifies *Advocates* in their *Caſtrenſe Peculium.*

L 3. de Poſtulando, Cod. Th. lib. 2. tit. 10. L 4. Cod. Juſt. de Advocatis diverſorum judiciorum hinc deſumpta eſt.

85. The common Concern of Learning will not ſuffer us to paſs by another Edict, and the laſt of this Year, directed by *Theodoſius* to *Florentius* the *Præfect* of

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Conſtantinople, in conſideration of the merits of *Macrobius*, now the *Præpoſitus Cubiculi* of the Emperor. This *Macrobius* is rationally thought to have been no other than *Aurelius Theodoſius Macrobius*, the Author of the *Saturnalia*; for that this Author lived at this time, all generally agree, and the laſt name of all was wont to be taken in Inſcriptions for the proper name of the Party, as *Macrobius* is here; the times do very well agree, and in the Title, or Frontiſpiece of his Book he hath given him the Title of *Inluſtris*, all which do very well ſuit with the wording of this Law. Beſides, the Author of the *Saturnalia* confeſſeth himſelf born in another Climate than that of *Latium*; and that therefore the Vein of the Latine Tongue might not always poſſibly aſſiſt him, whereby may be very probably gathered, nay, preſumed that he was a Subject of the Eaſtern Empire, and naturally ſpoke and wrote *Greek*.' But for his ſake, as the Emperor declareth, (though he was not his Tutor, nor brought him up) did he now make the *Præpoſitus Cubiculi* equal with the three ſuperior Dignities of *Præfectus Prætorio*, *Præfectus Urbis*, and *Magiſter Militum* (as we have formerly ſaid in our *Apparatus*, or view " of the Polity of the Empire) though formerly he was below the *Conſiſtorian Comites*. Of theſe four, each ſhould take place as he was preferred, whether in ſaluting (or " adoring) the Prince of which we have formerly written, or in ſolemn Feaſts and " Meetings as theſe belonging to the Conſuls, Aſſemblies of the Provinces, or " Salutings of the Judges, whom ſome had the privilege to kiſs. But this is on con- " dition, that they be in their proper Habit, or the accuſtomed Dreſs: for to every Dignity were Habits and Ornaments appropriate, without which, whoever came to any ſolemn Aſſembly, was neither fit, nor wont to be admitted, eſpecially in the preſence of the Prince.

Lib. 1. *præf. pag.* 161. *Edit Lugduni Batavorum.*

L. un. de Præpoſitis ſacri cubiculi, Cod. Th. lib. 6. *tit.* 8.

L. 1. *Cod. Juſt. hinc interpolata eſt, reſecta poſteriore parte. Dat.* 8. *Id. Novemb.*

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Aſclepiodoto & Mariniano Coſſ.

86. In the *Faſti* or *Regiſters* of the Year CCCCXXIII, *Aſclepiodotus* and *Marinianus* are found to have obtained the Dignity of Conſuls. *Honorius* ſtill continued his Abode at *Ravenna*, and *Theodoſius* ſtaid at *Conſtantinople* till the Month of *Auguſt*, and then removed to *Eudoxiopolis* for ſome time. While he continued at *Conſtantinople* at the beginning of the Year, he conſidered how Countrymen were obliged by the Laws to provide Proviſions for his Palatine Servants, or Money in lieu of them, which certain Officers being ſent to exact, very much oppreſſed the People. Therefore he gave order to *Aſclepiodotus* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, " as well as Conſul, that to prevent this oppreſſion, he ſhould cauſe theſe Provi- " ſions to be valued, and taxed in Money, as thoſe of the Soldiers were wont to be. " And becauſe many now adays refuſed to contribute toward the repairing of Bridges, pretending it was a ſordid Employment, or Contribution, he declared to the ſaid *Aſclepiodotus*, that it ſhould not be taken for ſordid, being ſuch, as to- " gether with the making of High-ways were dedicated by Inſcriptions, even of " great Princes. Therefore would he not permit that any ſort of perſons ſhould re- " fuſe to contribute to theſe Repairs, no not his own Houſes, or theſe belonging to " his Patrimony, nor the venerable Churches. And he commands the *Prefect*, " that to the end that High-ways be conveniently looked to, as in ancient times; " this Law ſhall be intimated to the Judges of all Provinces, without any reſpect " had to any Reverence or Dignity. " The *Perſians* and other Enemies were at preſent, quiet; but none could tell how long they would ſo continue; and therefore as for the publick ſecurity, it was requiſite that Bridges and Highways ſhould be kept in repair, ſo, more eſpecially that the Borders ſhould be well defended. To this end many Caſtles, as we have ſaid, were placed upon them, and the Grounds belonging to them were of ancient times aſſigned over to the Soldiers belonging to theſe Borders and Caſtles. But alſo at this time private Men, or Soldiers who did not belong to the Caſtles and Borders, by ſome means or other got theſe Lands into their poſſeſſion. To reform which Abuſe, he now declared, That ſuch perſons " found upon them ſhould both forfeit their lives, and undergo the loſs of all their " Eſtates. " And this he ſignified to *Aſclepiodotus* by the Title of *Præfectus Prætorio*, and Ordinary Conſul.

Theodoſius ſtill redreſſeth Grievances.

L. 25. *de Erogatione militaris Annonæ & L.* 15. *Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Dat.* 6. *Cal. Mart.*

L. ult. de Itinere muniendo, Cod. Th. & L. 4. *Cod. Juſt. de priv. dom. Aug. & L.* 7. *de ſacris Eccleſiis, Dat.* 15. *Cal. Mart.*

Provides for the ſtrength of the Borders.

L. ult. de terris limitaneis, Cod. Th. & L 2. *Cod. Juſt. de fundis limitrophis, Dat. Non. Mart. Aſclepiodoto P. F. P. & Conſ. ordinario.*

87. Hereby he did Juſtice to, and obliged theſe Soldiers whom it moſt concerned him to gratifie; and by another Edict directed to the ſame perſon much about the ſame time, he could not but pleaſe the beſt and moſt ancient Military Men; making a diſtinction betwixt them and the Juniors, or ordinary ſort. For whereas of late years it had been the cuſtom for the Provincials, inſtead of Soldiers Cloaths, to pay Gold into the Emperor's Treaſury, he now orders *Aſclepiodotus* to pay of this whole Receit, five parts to his moſt valiant Soldiers, as he calls them, and the " ſixth to the *Gynæciarii* (whoſe work it was to make Cloaths) wherewith they in "

L. 5. *de Militari veſte, Cod. Th. & L. ult. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Dat.* 7. *Id. Mart.*

ſpecie

Gratifies his old Soldiers.

ſpecie ſhould furniſh thoſe he terms *Juniores* (*Tirones*) and *Gregarii.*" This he did, becauſe he had more belief of the care and prudence of his beſt Men, than of the freſh-water and *Gregarious* Soldiers, who were not to be truſted with Money, being young, raw and fooliſh in ſuch caſes. Yet he had more confidence in Soldiers, than he had in ſome Civil Officers at this time, if we may call them Officers. There were, as ſeldom wanted, great complaints now againſt ſuch as attended the Governors of Provinces, and by name, againſt thoſe they called *Domeſtici* and *Cancellarii,* which grew ſo continual and importunate, that he expreſly forbade, That any Judges ſhould carry ſuch with them into their Provinces, or " receive any commended to them for that Name and Employment, under pain of " Infamy, and a Confiſcation of Eſtate. But that by care of the *Primates* of the " Office, the *Cancellarii*, or Chancellors, ſhould be choſen, (out of the Body of " the Officials) and placed with the ſaid Governours; but ſo as for three years " they ſhould not depart out of the Provinces, after their attendance expired, that " they might be expoſed to the Accuſations of the Provincials, if need ſhould be, " and to detect the faults or corruptions of the Judges, and that by being lyable to " the *Queſtion* or Torture."

L.3.de Aſſeſſo. rib.Domeſt. & Cancellar. Cod. Th.lib. 1.tit. 12. & L. 8. Cod.Juſt. eod. tit.Dat.prid. Cal.Jan.

88. Theſe *Domeſtici* were a ſort of Attendants on the Judges, even Military as the *Duces*, as alſo on the *Principes* of the *Agentes in Rebus,* not for the diſpatching of publick, but private Acts. And there were many things common to them with the *Aſſeſſors*. Both of them were forbidden to buy, or receive any thing by way of free gift, in the Province of that Magiſtrate to whom they belonged. They were both prohibited to marry any living in that Province. The Thefts or Rapines of both were to be reſtored four-fold. But they were to be choſen according to this Law, whereas the Magiſtrates themſelves might chuſe their *Aſſeſſors*; only the *Domeſtici* belonging to the *Princeps Agentum in Rebus,* was choſen by the Prince himſelf, and might twice execute the Office, which to the other was unlawful. The *Cancellarii*, or *Chancellors*, ſo called in this Law, were, as originally, ſo now, of mean condition or quality. It is evident from *Agathias* and *Caſſiodorus*, that they had their Name from the *Cancelli*, *Latices*, or through pierced and carved Walls and Doors, of which in the *Secretaria* or Courts of the Judges they had the care. For beſides the *Velum* or Hanging in theſe *Secretoria*, there were ſuch Partitions of Wood to keep off the people, through which, when occaſion was, the multitude might look, and if the caſe required it, the *Velum* only drawn, would intercept their view. Such was their Employment, as *Caſſiodorus* deſcribes it, to which other Authors ſufficiently atteſt. As they were entruſted with the *Secrets* of the Magiſtrates, by degrees, and in proceſs of time they were employed in greater matters, than to keep the Doors, and by little and little their Name or Title came to be given to the greateſt Officers of State, after the decay of the Weſtern Empire, who, as aſhamed of the original of the word, were willing to admit another derivation, not from the *Cancelli*, but a *Cancellando*; from cancelling what was done amiſs by Princes after they had looked over their Acts and Writings, and giving order in what was to be done. Indeed *Cancelling* (*Cancellare*) is uſed in the Art of regulating Bounds and Limits of Grounds, ſo as to delineate or draw lines oblique and tranſverſe; and ſo in cancelling or blotting out Writings, the pen is wont to be ſo carefully carried, as to make ſuch Shapes and Images of Lines as were in carved Walls or Doors, or the *Cancelli*. But whether ſo great Officers of State could probably receive their name from undoing, rather than doing, from obliterating rather than ordaining, let thoſe conſider who think it worth their while to amuſe themſelves in the Inquiry.

Vide Paratitlon hujus tit. & Goth. in h. l.

Var. l. 11. ep. 6.

Honorius in his laſt Year makes Acts of Grace in behalf of Provincials.

89. This was the laſt Year of *Honorius*, and he began it well by amplifying an Indulgence given by him to the *Urbicarian* Regions. He had formerly granted a pardon throughout theſe Regions for all Arrears due for ſuch *Annonæ*, or ſuch *Proviſions* as were wont to be paid (for maintenance of Soldiers, and other perſons, the ſervice of whom was neceſſary to the Common-wealth) to the Receit of the Illuſtrious, the *Præfectus Prætorio*. Now he thought fit to extend it to what " was payable to his two great Treaſurers themſelves, either *Largitionum*, or *Rei* " *privatæ*; for he would not have ſuch Lands as were holden in the way of the *Em-* " *phyteuſis* to be excepted from this Indulgence." Now take notice, that theſe *Annonæ* which were paid throughout all the Provinces of courſe, are by all means to be diſtinguiſhed from theſe *Annonæ* which were paid in for the Proviſions of the " Emperor's own Houſe, by thoſe Provinces of *Italy* which had the name of *Annonaria*, upon that occaſion. This Conſtitution is ſingular, and alone in this, that

L.14.de Indulgentiis Debitorum, Cod.Th. Regeſta 6.Id. Febr. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt. ut temporaria.

at the foot of it it is ſaid to be *Regeſta* on the eighth of *February*, being directed to *Rufinus*, now *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum*. But, thereby is no more meant than this, that it was entred or recorded in the Books of the ſaid *Comes*, or referred or reduced into his *Geſta*; which, from theſe and other References, came to be called *Regiſtra* or *Regiſtres*, as now they are; though in thoſe days, whereof we write, the Books of the great Officers as well Military as Civil, as of the Scribes of the City of *Rome* were called *Regeſta*, as they that entred the Edicts, or other matters, were thence named *Regerendarii*. He had, as was convenient, ſtill a regard to the maintenance of Military Men; and therefore, whereas, upon the Borders, Grounds or Lands had been, by the Emperor's Appointment, aſſigned over to Soldiers, he confirmed to them the Dominion of ſuch as they had in “ that manner obtained; and, except any of their Fellow Soldiers had been before “ them, or conſigned over the Poſſeſſion of the ſaid Grounds to other Perſons, he “ confirmed them in the Poſſeſſion. And, he concludes his Sanction with ſuch expreſſions “ as are ſcarcely Chriſtian; however, his *Quæſtor* found them amongſt “ his Records: that, If any, after this Definition of his *Numen*, ſhould ſieze upon “ ſuch Grounds as were comprehended in the preſent Form of his *Oracle*, he ſhould “ incurr a Mulct of twenty pounds of Gold. “

L.1.de Rei Vendicatione, lib.2. tit.23. Dat.5. Cal.Mart. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

And of Soldiers upon the Limits.

90. But ſuch diſputes there were about thoſe Grounds which he and his Predeceſſors had granted, and ſo ill uſe made of them for the advantage of the Government, that, at this time, he was urged much by thoſe about him to paſs an Act of Reſumption, and take them again into his own hands. He was ſo generous, as “ utterly to reject their motion, however the dangerous condition of the times “ might have perſwaded him to it: nay, he became ſo far reſolved againſt this practice, “ as to confirm to the Owners what had formerly been given and granted to “ them. But he thought it prudence, withal to ordain, that, in certain caſes, Relief “ ſhould be granted from thoſe Tenants or Poſſeſſors, when extreme neceſſity “ of Affairs, preſſed unto the State. Yet, if a perſon had not enjoyed ſuch Lands “ the ſpace of five years, he ſhould no way be forced to ſuch Contribution. If he “ had enjoyed them above five years, but not ten; then he ſhould only pay one years “ Penſion: but, if ten, and more; then only that of two years. This was thought “ an Act of great Moderation, conſidering what was wont to be practiſed in the “ like ſort. The Judge that ſhall ordain, and him that ſhall exact more than this, “ he fines at ſixty pounds of Gold. And all the Palatine Officers of *Trygetius*, the “ *Comes Rei Privatæ*, to whom he directs the Edict, he ſubjects to the ſame penalty, “ to whatſoever of his *Scrinia* they belonged; for he had four *Scrinia*, *viz.* *Beneficiorum*, “ *Rationum*, *Securitatum* and *Largitionum Privatarum*. And, not only “ ſubjects them to the ſame Mulct, but alſo, deprives the *Primates* of the ſeveral Offices “ of their Girdles: and, in concluſion, he commands, that, to cut off all fear “ from the Provincials, all the Books of Regiſters, wherein greater Summs of the “ Collation were allotted, ſhall be burnt; as alſo, ſuch perſons as ſhall dare to “ produce any Teſtimonies of ſuch Collation. “

L.4.de Collatione Donatarum, Cod.Th.P.P. in foro Trajani, 14. Cal.Jun.

Concerning the manner of proceeding in Criminal Cauſes.

91. Being now ready to leave the World, the laſt thing he did in things of this nature, was to take order, as much as in him lay, that other perſons ſhould not be forced to leave it before their time, or without a due Courſe of Juſtice. For this purpoſe he publiſhed a large Conſtitution concerning the manner of proceeding in Criminal Cauſes, and directed it to the *Conſuls*, *Prætors*, *Tribuni Plebis* and his *Senate*; to which, as an Oration, it is principally directed; and, not without reaſon; for, in the firſt place, for the ſecurity of perſons of that Order, it confirms the Law made by *Gratian* nigh fifty years before, concerning the *Quinquevirale Judicium*, or the Tryal of *Senators* by five perſons: to which he declares, that Theſe five perſons ſhall be choſen by lot, and not deſignedly, or picked out; both becauſe “ he thinks that none can be taken amiſs out of ſo noble an Aſſembly, which “ conſiſted of the greateſt Men, for Worth and Eſtates, of all the Empire; and eſpecially, “ that there may be no ſuſpition of partiality. “ But, for the preſervation of the Lives and Eſtates of others, he farther reinforced the ancient Laws. So as he that was accuſed ſhould not therefore be received into the number of guilty “ perſons; much leſs be condemned, or committed to cuſtody. But, that the Accuſer, “ being preſent, ſhould make the uſual Inſcription before the Judge, of ſubmitting “ to the ſame puniſhment; and, till the Tryal was over, kept in cuſtody as “ well as the perſon he accuſed: but yet, according to his Quality, the Laws making “ diſtinction herein, as to Free Cuſtody, and Confinement, as we have formerly “ ſeen. But, in the next place, he declareth, that No Credit ſhall be given to any “ “

L.ult. de Juriſdict.&c.Dat.8. Id.Aug. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

L.ult.d. Accuſationibus, &c. Cod.Th.& L.17. Cod.Juſt.de Accuſationibus, & L.ult.de Calumniatoribus.

ny one, who, being examined by Torture, and therein confeſſing, as to himſelf, “ accuſeth other perſons. This had been formerly Law in part; and, for this reaſon, “ becauſe he that already deſpaired of his own life, ſhould not bring into danger “ the lives of other Men: but this Emperor enforceth it upon this further Conſideration; “ that, in Torture, Perſons being deſperate, commonly accuſe others; “ that, by naming greater than themſelves, they may get ſome favour, and evade “ puniſhment; or to eaſe themſelves, by procuring their Enemies to partake with “ them in miſery and torment. For this reaſon he will have no faith given to ſuch “ perſons, although they produce Commonitories, or ſecret Mandates from their “ Aſſociates whom they accuſe. “

Concerning the Gratitude of Freed Men toward their [illegible]

92. So much did the ancient *Romans* attribute to Modeſty and Gratitude, that *Liberti*, or who, being formerly Slaves, had been made free, through the goodneſs and bounty of their Lords, were obliged to demean themſelves thankfully, and with reſpect to them; ſo that, if they offered them any conſiderable Offence or Injury, they had an Action againſt them, called *Actio Ingrati*; whereby they recovered them again to their former Bondage and Slavery. *Conſtantine* the Great had reinforced and quickened the Law, as to Ingratitude againſt Patrons themſelves. But now *Honorius* farther extends the penalties of it to that againſt their Heirs; and that in ſuch terms, that theſe ſhould not only not be heard if “ they accuſed their former Lords, but be bound to ſhew the ſame reverence to the “ Heirs, as to the Manumittors themſelves; and, that the Action ſhould as well “ belong to them as to the Patrons; and if the *Liberti* preſumed to accuſe them, “ they ſhould be obnoxious to the ſame puniſhment, as if they had accuſed their “ Patrons, as to any Crime but that of High Treaſon. Now, as to Heirs, *Honorius* “ underſtood all others, as well as Sons. *Valentinian* the third afterward thought fit to take from them all indifferently, except the Patron, the Action of *Ingrateful*, and leave them to Common Law, or that of *Injuries*; but, as to Accuſations, he diſtinguiſhed betwixt the Children of the Patrons, and their Remote or Foreign Heirs; forbidding only that they ſhould againſt them bear Teſtimony in any matter. So, of old, by vertue of the Law, *Ælia Sextia*, it was only permitted to Sons, or next Heirs, to accuſe their Father's *Libertus* of Ingratitude, although the *Libertus* could not implead any remote Heir of his Patron, without an Edict firſt obtained to enable him. But, as to what is ſaid concerning Accuſations, the caſe of High Treaſon is to be excepted. In others, *Liberti* had been wont to be produced againſt their Patrons. “ But *Honorius*, by another Branch of the ſame Conſtitution, expreſly forbids that they either voluntarily impeach “ them, or be produced as Witneſſes againſt them. “

L.L.1.2. de Libertis de Eorum Liberis, Cod.Th. lib.4.tit.11.& L.3.Cod.Juſt. eod.tit.

L.ult. Ne præter crimen Majeſtatis,&c.Cod.Th. & L.12. Cod. Juſt. de Teſtib.

93. This year ſome unfortunate differences fell out betwixt him and his Siſter *Placidia*, which flew to that height, uncertain it is upon what occaſion, that being ſuſpected by him for inviting Enemies into the Empire, ſhe deſired leave to depart with her two Children, *Valentinian* and *Honoria*, into the Eaſt, and was kindly received by her Nephew *Theodoſius*, though formerly he refuſed to own *Conſtantius*, her Husband, for Emperor. Not long after their leaving of the Weſt, *Honorius*, her Brother, left this World, dying in the Autumn of a Dropſie; though, as to the day, Writers do ſomething differ; ſome aſſigning the fifteenth of *Auguſt*, others the twenty ſeventh: ſome ſay, he died at *Rome*, and was buried at St. *Peters*, in the one and thirtieth year of his Reign, if we reckon from the time he was made *Auguſtus* by his Father, whom he outlived about twenty eight years, and about ſeven months; and lived, in all, about thirty nine. His Character is various, according to the Humours and Affections of perſons. The Greek Hiſtorians, or thoſe that wrote of the *Byzantine* Empire eſpecially, cannot afford him one good word. Thoſe that lived in his own time commend him for his Conſtancy in the Orthodox Chriſtian Religion, and eſteem his good ſucceſs as given upon that Account. And indeed, his Succeſs was rare againſt the *Barbarians* and Uſurpers of his time; of whom, by his Captains, he had the better at laſt: and no Chriſtian Emperor is found to have, by his Officers, extinguiſhed more Rebellions. And, though he himſelf did not fight, yet he had ſo much courage as to oppoſe and puniſh his greateſt Captains when offending; nay, even *Stilicho*, his Father in Law, whom he neither ſpared, nor his Family. Yet however, his Reign was unfortunate, in that *Rome* was firſt of now all taken by the *Goths*; the *Huns* invaded *Pannonia*; the *Vandals*, *Alans*, and *Suevi* pierced into *Spain*; and the *Goths*, having formerly invaded that Country, fixed in *Gall*; where alſo, the *Burgundians* ſeated themſelves.

Caſſiod. in Chron.

Honorius dieth.

His Character.

94. Many Laws there are in the Code of *Juſtinian*, which bear his Name as well

Some Laws made in his time without Note of time.

as that of *Theodoſius*, but without any Characteriſtical Note of *Conſuls*, or day, or month. One of theſe we cannot but take notice of, as made in favour of Illuſtrious Perſons, and reſpect to their Dignity. This excuſeth them from giving in Bonds, or putting in Bail, either in a Civil or Criminal Action; but requires of them a Juratory Caution or Oath: which, if they neglect, and, contrary to the ſaid Oath, they and their Proctors be abſent; in Civil Matters the Judge ſhall proceed according to Law; that is, to put the Plaintiffs into Poſſeſſion. In Criminal Cauſes they ſhall be denied all Privileges ariſing from their Dignity, as perjured perſons, and left to what the Law ordains for other perſons in ſuch caſes. But, except the Sentence of the Judge be paſſed in Writing, they ſhall not be bound to any Appearance.“ For, the Wiſdom of theſe Times thought fit, that Sentences ſhould be read or recited out of a Writing, as thereby more ſolemn and certain, and not ſubject to the extraordinary Extravagance of a Judge. That this was made by *Honorius* we cannot ſay; but the Subject of another perſwades us that it was ordained for his Weſtern Part of the Empire, which ſtood moſt in need of Soldiers; and conſequently, had the greateſt reaſon to ſee that they ſhould not be defrauded of their Proviſions. In order to this the Emperors ordain, that, If their Corn and Proviſions be drawn off to ſerve the ends of others, ſuch as traffick for them, if of greater Quality, ſhall undergo Proſcription with the loſs of all their Goods; and if of meaner condition, ſhall forfeit their very Lives.“

L.17.de Dignitatibus, Cod. Juſt.lib.12.tit.1.

L.4.Quæ res venire non poſſunt. &c. Cod.Juſt. lib.4.tit.40.

SECT. IV.

The Fourth Step to the Ruin of the Empire in the Weſt.

From the Death of Honorius, *and the Government of* Placidia *and her Son, to the Irruption of* Attila *and the* Huns *into the Empire.*

Containing the ſpace of Nineteen Years.

John, the late *Præfectus Prætorio*, uſurps.

1. Before *Honorius* his death, *Placidia* and her Children, as we ſaid, upon ſome Miſunderſtandings, had betaken themſelves to *Conſtantinople*. *Honorius* left no Children to ſucceed him, nor deſigned any other to the Supreme Dignity before his death: which advantage ſo far encouraged one *John*, a Man of obſcure Original, but *Præfectus Prætorio*, as we have ſeen, in the foregoing year, who had formerly ſerved as *Principal* of the *Notaries* or *Scribes*, as to take upon him the Imperial Title. He ſent away preſently his Ambaſſadors, as he would have them accounted, to *Theodoſius*, to deſire that he would own and declare him Emperor. *Theodoſius* had, before this, received the News of his Uncles death, but, for urgent reaſons, concealed it, as *Socrates* relates, till he had ſent a Power of Men to *Salonæ*, a City of *Dalmatia*, to ſecure the Borders of the Eaſtern Empire, and repreſs any that ſhould uſurp or be tumultuous in any of theſe Quarters. *Cedrenus* writes, that, upon the report of *Honorius* his death, there was a Tumult at *Conſtantinople*, which continued ſix days together: he gives us no reaſon or occaſion of it, but we may ſuppoſe it in favour to *Placidia* and her Children. At firſt *Theodoſius* did not much regard the Uſurpation of *John*, as judging him a Man altogether inconſiderable. But, when he ſaw him ſo bold as to ſend to him, and conſidered the greatneſs of his Demands, he was much incenſed; and, treating his Meſſengers very roughly, ſent them away with as unpleaſing an

Lib.7.c.23.

A. D. 423.

Anſwer. *John* was not much concerned at the report of it, being encouraged by two notable Men for Wiſdom and Valour; by the Aſſiſtance of whom he had taken the Imperial Habit. The one of theſe was *Caſtinus*, not long ſince returned out of *Spain*, and deſigned *Conſul* for the following year. The other *Ætius*, the Son of one *Gaudentius*, born in *Scythia*; who arrived at the Dignity of *Magiſter Militum*, and married an *Italian* Lady, Noble and Rich. *Caſtinus* he made *Magiſter Militum*; and, on *Ætius*, who had been Hoſtage both with *Alarich* and the *Huns*, and afterward was raiſed to be *Comes Domeſticorum*, he conferred the Honour of *Cura Palatii*. Him he ſent into *Pannonia*, with a great Summ of Gold, to purchaſe the Favour and Aſſiſtance of the *Huns*, with the Commanders of whom he was familiar; with farther Inſtructions, that if the Forces of *Theodoſius* ſhould march for *Italy*, he, with his Troops raiſed out of that fierce Nation, ſhould fall upon their Rear, while he himſelf charged them in the Front.

A. D. 424. *Victore, Conſ.*

Iidem. Olympiodorus apud Photium.

Theodoſius ſends *Placidia* and *Valentinian* to diſpoſſeſs him.

2. For the Year of our Lord CCCCXXIV, *Victor* was *Conſul*, and *Caſtinus* rather deſigned than really ſuch, being the chief Miniſter of the Uſurper. *Theodoſius*, however he had conceived prejudice againſt *Conſtantius*; yet now, when a Stranger and Uſurper interpoſed, was concerned for his own Fleſh and Blood: and, having treated the Meſſengers of *John* in a very diſobliging manner (*Socrates* ſaith, by committing them to Priſon; *Philoſtorgius*, by baniſhing them into *Propontis*:) he had ſo far provoked the Tyrant, that there was no going back; and therefore, he reſolved to aſſiſt his Aunt, and Couſin *Valentinian*, as far as poſſible. On her he conferred the Dignity of *Auguſta*, and on him that of *Nobiliſſimus* (or rather, confirmed what had been done by his Uncle *Honorius*) and ſent them away to *Theſſalonica*, in order to proſecuting the War againſt *John*; which he committed to the care and conduct of *Ardaburius*, and *Aſpar*, his Son; with whom *Olympiodorus* joyneth *Candidianus*. After they were come to *Theſſalonica*, he ſent thither *Helio*, the *Magiſter Officiorum*; who put upon *Valentinian* the Robe of *Cæſar*, and thereby inveſted him with that Dignity when he was not now above five years of Age. *Ardaburius*, to diſcharge his Truſt, brought them to *Salonæ*: and there adviſing about the beſt Courſe that was to be taken, he himſelf reſolved, with a great part of the Forces, to go by Sea to *Ravenna*, and fall upon *John* altogether unprepared; appointing *Aſpar*, his Son, to be a Convoy to *Placidia* and *Valentinian*, by Land, thither. And all things, at firſt, ſeemed to proſper and encourage them. But *Ardaburius* was, by contrary Winds, driven upon the Coaſts of *Italy*, and forced to land in that place; where he was preſently taken by the Soldiers of *John*, and carried to his Preſence. He being a Man, as *Procopius* tells you, of a mild diſpoſition, inſomuch, that he put no body to death during his Uſurpation; or, as others ſay, out of deſire to come to an Amicable Compoſure, kept him in free Cuſtody, but treated him in an honourable manner; as deſigning, by his means, to procure a Peace. His Son *Aſpar* had better fortune; and, with his Charge, *Placidia* and *Valentinian* arrived at *Aquileia*; which, having ſurprized, they fortified: and, being ignorant of what had paſſed, expected to receive advantage from the Attempts of *Ardaburius*.

Socr. lib. 7. c. 23.

Vandal. lib. 1.

Theodoſius provides for the maintenance of the Bath of *Zeuxippus*.

3. *Theodoſius*, though he had his hands full this year, in providing for the Recovery of the Weſt, yet employed his *Quæſtor* in ſome things which he conceived would contribute to the welfare and advantage of his own Diſtrict. For the maintenance of that ancient Bath in *Conſtantinople*, called the Bath of *Zeuxippus*, which ſerved, not only the Citizens, but Soldiers; he ordained, that, Such Shops as were built in the *Porticus*, or Galleries about it, ſhould pay their Rent toward the “ maintaining of the ſaid Baths with Lights, and keeping up the Fabrick. “ Which Rent had, it ſeems, formerly been otherwiſe employed by the Curators of publick Works, or the Curators of the Commonwealth. As we find that about Churches, Books and other things relating to the Divine Worſhip, have been, and are ſtill wont to be ſold; ſo, doubtleſs, in theſe *Porticus's*, ſuch Materials as tended to promote waſhing or cleanſing of the Body. This Edict was directed to *Severinus*, *Præfect* of the City, on the ninth of *January*: and ſix days after, as if the Conſpiracy of *John* had made the Emperor very credulous and ſuſpitious, he ſent another to *Maximinus*, his *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum*, whereby He forbad the uſe of Purple “ Cloaths made of Silk; whether all of that Colour, or the Ground, or the Em- “ broidery only, as appertaining to him and his Family alone. And he commands, “ that whoever have ſuch in their Houſes, bring them in to the Treaſury, upon pain “ uſually undergone by Traitors. “ The Prohibition is large, *All Perſons of what Sex, Dignity, Art, Profeſſion or Linage ſoever, being inhibited.* Indeed, *Julius Cæſar* had

L. 52. de operib. publ. Cod. Th. & L. 19. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Dat. 5. Id. Jan.

L. 3. de Veſtibus Holoveris, Cod. Th. & L. 4. Cod. Juſt. eod. tit. Dat. 17. Cal. Feb

Holovera vox Hibrida.

Sect. 4.

A. D. 424.

Groſphe non Gemmis neque purpura venale nec auro.
—te his Afro Murice tinctæ Veſtiunt lanæ, Carm. lib. 2. od. 16.

Βασίλεια ἀπόρφυρος.

had limited the uſe of Purple (which, in thoſe days, was valued with Pearl and Gold) to Women in his time, which *Nero* expreſly forbad; and, though *Aurelian* did in part permit it, yet afterward it was again prohibited to them. Stage-players alſo ſeem to have uſurped the uſe of this Colour: and, if *Horace* does not mightily play the Poet, his Friend *Groſphus* was cloathed with Wool which had received a double Tincture from the Fiſh *Murex*. However, the Emperors began, by degrees, to appropriate this Dye to themſelves; in ſo much that though, if any one might have worn it, the *Præfecti Prætorio* might have had that privilege; yet, when the utmoſt that could be, was ſpoken of them, their Command was termed a Kingdom, or Kingly Power, without Purple.

Conſtantinople grown burthenſome to the Neighbour Countries.

l.4. de Spectaculis, Cod. Th. Dat. 10. Cal. Maii, Abeſt a Cod. Juſt. ut localis & temporaria.

4. *Conſtantinople*, by this time, was grown ſo great, that it was become a great Oppreſſion to the Neighbour Countries. This was not only in matters relating to the ſubſiſtence of the Inhabitants, but to their very Sports and Paſtimes. Of this *Iſidore*, the *Præfect* of *Illyricum*, ſent up a Complaint to *Theodoſius*; particularly, how the *Curiales* of the ancient and famous *Delphos* were undone by being bound to contribute to the finding of Shows and Paſtimes in that now Queen of the Eaſtern World. Indeed, other principal Cities had uſurped in this manner, as we have formerly ſeen in *Carthage*, whither the Prieſts of other Cities were wont to flock at the uſual Solemnities. But, as that practice was forbidden, ſo now *Theodoſius* gave in charge to *Iſidore*, that, "By his Precepts he ſhould give notice to all the Cities and Judges of *Illyricum*, that no Man ſhould be bound to contribute towards the *Spectacula*, or Shows of *Conſtantinople* (which, in imitation of *Rome*, the height of which ſhe emulated, he calls *Urbs Æterna*) but, every one be bound to diſcharge the Duties only of his own City, according to the ſtrength of his Eſtate. And this he enacts, under ſevere penalties to be undergone, not only by ſuch as ſhould exact ſuch performances, but alſo by the ordinary Governors of Provinces." Now, we may remember that the *Præfectſhip* of *Illyricum* the Eaſtern had two Dioceſſes included in it, *viz. Macedonia* and *Dacia*. In *Macedonia* were ſeven Provinces, in *Dacia* five; and, of the ſeven, *Achaia* was one, in which was the City *Delphos*; which poſſibly, took this Contribution the worſe, becauſe ſhe her ſelf had formerly had the Games *Pythia* celebrated in her Precincts, as *Nemea* were at *Argos*. Within a few days after, *Theodoſius* thought fit to reduce the Charge and Cuſtody of the leſſer *Laterculum* (of which formerly) to its ancient Office. It formerly had belonged to the *Quæſtor*, but had been, of late time, removed to the Office of *Magiſter Officiorum*. Now, by two ſeveral Edicts, as we at preſent find them, the Emperor ſignified his pleaſure, both to *Saluſt*, the *Quæſtor*, and *Helio*, the *Comes* and *Magiſter Officiorum*; that, "The Charge of the ſaid leſſer *Laterculum* ſhould belong to the *Quæſtor*, ſo as the names of all *Præfects*, *Tribunes* and the *Præpoſiti Caſtrorum* ſhould be ſent up from the *Scrinium Memoriæ*, and entred by his appointment, according to the ancient cuſtom."

He reſtores the leſſer *Laterculum* to the *Quæſtor*.

L.L. 1, 2. de Offi. Quæſtoris, Cod. Juſt. lib. 1. tit.

A. D. 425.

5. For the Year CCCCXXV, *Theodoſius* being *Conſul* the eleventh time, took to him *Valentinian Cæſar* for his Colleague. The firſt five months of the year he continued at *Conſtantinople*, with great deſire to hear of the good ſucceſs of his Arms in the Weſtern Countries. *John*, the Uſurper, had, without much difficulty, drawn them all into ſubjection, except *Africk*; which he alſo attempted, and ſent over an Army to get it by force into his power: but ſuch reſiſtance was made by *Boniface* (as the Letters betwixt him and St. *Auguſtine*, concerning this very matter, do teſtifie) that all his Attempts were thereby fruſtrated. But his hopes, as we ſaid, were very great, that, by Interceſſion of his Priſoner *Ardaburius*, the whole Affair would be compoſed, and he ſhould enjoy in Peace what he ſo eaſily had obtained. *Ardaburius* had no ſuch intention; but, finding him ſecure and negligent, and pleaſing himſelf with this conceit, took the opportunity, as *Philoſtorgius* related, to ingratiate himſelf with certain Officers he had put out of Command, and thereby diſobliged; and he ſent word to *Aſpar*, his Son, that, if he would come down with his Forces, there was no doubt but he might eaſily ſurprize the Tyrant, and do his buſineſs. *Aſpar* was not backward to make uſe of the Advantage, but came ſpeedily with his Horſe, and found the Gate of *Ravenna*, where *John* then lay, open, as if his coming had been welcome and expected; and, after a little oppoſition made, as little it muſt be in ſuch a Surprize and Conſternation, he eaſily took him, and ſent him away to *Placidia* and *Valentinian*: yet he adds, that he was betrayed by thoſe that were about him, to which the Surprize and Affright they were in, might eaſily contribute. *Socrates* relates, that an Angel conducted *Aſpar* through the Fens ſuch a way as formerly had not been known. But

John the Uſurper taken.

to ſo quick an end came this Uſurpation, which was the more welcome to *Placidia* and her Son, if what *Olympiodorus* wrote be true; that, after the taking of *Ardabarius*, *Aſpar* and they remained in great ſorrow and diſtreſs, and even deſpaired of their Fortunes at *Aquileia*, till *Candidianus* beſtirred himſelf, and took in many Towns; by whoſe Endeavours and Succeſs, a foundation was laid for that chearfulneſs which afterward followed.

Is put to death

6. *Placidia*, though a Woman of very good Parts, yet in Government, ſhewed very much of that Sex and Conſtitution. At the ſight of *John* ſhe fell into a paſſion, and preſently commanded his Right Hand to be ſtricken off; and afterward, that he ſhould be beheaded. *Procopius* tells us, that, having his Hand cut off, he was ſet upon an Aſs, and led through the Cirque at *Aquileia*; where he was conſtrained to hear many things ſaid upon the Stage, and to ſuffer many Abuſes; and at laſt, was put to death: A Man, he tells you, of a mild Diſpoſition, of very good Intellectuals, one that knew how to value Vertue according to its deſert, and in his Affairs uſed Temper and Moderation. However, ſuch end have all Uſurpers as he arrived at, after he had poſſeſſed the Purple eighteen Months. As his Sorrow afforded matter of Rejoycing and Triumph to *Placidia*, ſo her Nephew *Theodoſius* could not but be well pleaſed with the occaſion of it, though the Effects of his Joy put him upon better thoughts than going to the Theatre. Indeed, he was there when the News came to him; but (*Socrates* is our Author) having received the Meſſage, he told the people, that it now became them to quit thoſe Sports, and go to another place. And to the Church they went, where they piouſly gave thanks to God for the Defeat of the Tyrant, which they aſcribed to his Hand. Nay, ſo much influence hath the Example of a Prince upon his Subjects, that, as he delivers the Circumſtances, they ſang Praiſes with him as they went through the Cirque, continued all the day at Church, and the whole City ſeemed to reſemble but one Temple. But, notwithſtanding this rejoycing for the death of the Tyrant, there was more work behind for any thing they could know. For, *Ætius* was ſtill alive, and in Arms when *John* was taken; and, with a ſtrong Body of ſixty thouſand *Huns*, after three days, came, and gave Battel to *Aſpar*. And violent and bloody was the Fight, till he underſtood of *John*'s Captivity, which put him upon a reſolution to contend no farther; and, having made an Agreement with *Aſpar*, he removed the *Huns*, that they might not oppreſs *Italy*. When all was over, *Theodoſius* was reſolved to make a Progreſs into the Weſt, to conferr on *Valentinian* the Imperial Enſigns. And he went as far as *Theſſalonica*; but there falling ill, he was conſtrained to return; but ſent an Imperial Crown by *Helio* the *Patrician*, who ſet it on the head of *Valentinian*, being now removed to *Rome* by the way of *Ravenna*, on the three and twentieth of *October*.

Ætius, his Captain, ſubmits.

Socr.lib.7.c.24

Valentinian Cæſar made Emperor.

7. The new Emperor or his Miniſters, before this, had remembred well that beſt Axiom in Government, *A Jove Principium*. For while he was, as yet, but *Cæſar*, he introduced his Authority with matters concerning Religion, the deſign being to remove thoſe Advantages the Uſurper had given to Hereticks; of which we ſhall inſiſt in another place. And *Theodoſius* ſeems to have been as well inclined towards Charity and Equity, conſidering how, in theſe dangerous times, the Eſtates of Perſons were wont to be confiſcated. Therefore he forbad all Judges, except thoſe that were placed in the higheſt Power, though they had Authority to “ judge both concerning Life and Death (though they had *Merum Imperium*) to “ proſcribe any perſon without conſulting the Emperor himſelf, or to diſpoſe of his “ Patrimony. “ And now it came into his mind, or he was prompted to it, to encourage the Profeſſion of the Liberal Arts and Studies at *Conſtantinople*. He reſolved to make a publick School, conſiſting of ſo many Profeſſors; or what we ſince call an Academy or Univerſity. But he found many of theſe in one. He found a confuſion upon this Account; there being many Maſters that had their ſeveral Companies of Scholars, who, as ever in ſuch caſes, envying and maligning one another, there was danger that even the publick Peace ſhould be diſturbed. For, of old time, when Learning was not ſo generally encouraged, Profeſſors of Rhetorick were wont to have their ſeveral Cells, or private places to teach in, in *Rome*, and other places: and this was permitted generally, till *Theodoſius* conſidered, that it was beſt to reduce the Profeſſion of all Liberal Arts into one Body. He was informed how many taught privately, and what tricks and devices were uſed to bring Scholars to the ſeveral Pretenders. And therefore, in the firſt place, He prohibited the “ practice of theſe Corner-creepers, under pain of Infamy; yet, without taking “ away the liberty of teaching in private Families, ſo they pretended only to inſtruct “ thoſe “

Imp.Theod.A. & Valentinianus Cæſ. Georgio Proc. Africæ. poſt alia.

L.un.Ne ſine juſſu Principis, &c Cod.Th.lib.9. tit.41. L.un.Cod Juſt.hinc interpolata eſt.

Theodoſius makes an Univerſity at *Conſtantinople*.

L.ult.de Studiis liberalibus urb. Romæ, Cod.Th. & L.un. Cod. Juſt.eod.tit. Dat.3. Cal. Mart.

A. D. 425.

thoſe of the ſame Houſe. In the next place he declared the ſorts and numbers “ of his Profeſſors, which in all ſhould amount to one above thirty. As in this “ his Auditory, three *Roman Orators*, and ten *Grammarians*; in the *Greek* Tongue “ five *Sophiſts*, (ſo he calls them, but the ſame with *Orators*) and alſo ten *Grammarians*. “ And becauſe, as he ſaith, he would have Youth alſo to underſtand the “ more profound Learning, he joyns with them one who ſhould explain the Depths “ of Philoſophy, and two more to lay open the meaning of the Laws. And he “ further commands the *Præfect* of the City, to whom this Conſtitution is directed, “ that theſe Profeſſors have their ſeveral places allotted to them wherein to “ read, that neither Readers nor Hearers diſturb one another.

L. ult. de operibus publicis Cod. Th. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

8. Theſe places were the *Exſedræ*, or Juttings out of the *Porticus*'s of the “ Capitol on the North Side thereof, which of themſelves were convenient and “ large enough, and reſembled our Chapter-Houſes in the Cloiſters of Cathedral “ Churches. On the Eaſt and Weſt Sides there was no coming in out of the “ Streets, but certain Shops adjoyning to the *Porticus*, formerly uſed for Traffick “ or Merchandiſe; and theſe, for the further convenience of the Profeſſors, and “ thoſe that belonged to them, he orders to be bought in at the publick charge. “ But whereas perſonal conveniences are moſt wont to affect us, he took the courſe to oblige thereby the preſent Profeſſors, and by continuing their privileges upon “ ſuch as ſhould come after, to engage them to the ſame Induſtry and attendance. Beſides the former conveniences, he thought fit to confer on ſome, who now profeſſed “ in this Univerſity, the *Comitiva* or degree of *Comes* of the firſt Rank. “ Namely, on two *Greek Grammarians*, *Helladius* and *Syrianus*, of whom *Helladius* “ was a Man very eloquent, born at *Alexandria*, who wrote in commendation of “ the preſent Emperor *Theodoſius*, and was the Maſter of *Socrates* the *Hiſtorian*. “ Beſides theſe, there was *Theofilus*, a *Latine Grammarian*; *Martinus* and *Maximus*, “ *Sophiſts*, or *Greek Orators*, and *Leontius*, a Lawyer. Theſe he declared, by “ virtue of his Codicils to be *Comites* of the firſt Rank, and to take place with ſuch “ as had been *Vicars*, who about this time were alſo put into the order of theſe *Comites*, “ and poſſibly out of reſpect to theſe Profeſſors. But not only on them, but “ ſuch as for the time to come ſhall be approved by the Senate for their good “ life, and for their eloquence and ſkill in Teaching, when they have induſtriouſly “ executed their ſeveral Charges of Profeſſors for the ſpace of twenty years, he “ confers alſo the ſame Dignity of *Comes* of the firſt Rank.“ Something, but like to this, had been formerly indulged to Profeſſors, as appears by *Quintilian*, who ſpeaks of his reſting after twenty years; juſt as a reſpect was had to the Veterane Soldiers, who had completed that number. And in *France* at this day there is ſomething remaining of it.

Makes *Profeſſors Comites* of of the firſt Rank.

L. un. de Profeſſorib. qui in urb. Conſtantinop. Cod. Th. l. 6. tit. 21. L. un. Cod. Juſt. hinc interpolata eſt.

A. D. 426.

Theodoſio A. 12, & Valentiniano A. 2, Coſſ.

9. For the following Year, the two Emperors were pleaſed to take upon them the Conſular Ornaments; *Theodoſius* the Twelfth Time, and *Valentinian* the Second, it being now the CCCCXXVI Year of our Lord. *Theodoſius* ſpent the beginning and end of it at *Conſtantinople*, and ſome of the Summer (at leaſt) at *Nicomedia*. *Valentinian* continued at *Rome* till the Month of *March*; and his Mother conſidering how *Caſtinus* had aſſiſted *John* in obtaining the Soveraign Command, ſent him into Baniſhment; but as for *Ætius*, ſhe not only pardoned him, but conferred on him the Dignity of *Comes*, becauſe he had cauſed the *Huns* to avoid *Italy*, by the ſtrength of whom it was in his power to have made great diſturbance. They being removed, much diſorder and oppreſſion removed with them; but as all Uſurpations afford matter for Accuſations, and either puniſhment, or Acts of Grace and Oblivion; ſo happened it at this time, and ſuch diſquietneſs thereupon through the clamour and importunity of Informers and others, who begged forfeited Eſtates, that the Government was obliged to take ſome care for quieting and purging theſe fermenting humours. This was by an Oration directed to the Senate in the young Emperor's name, and of *Theodoſius*, being ſaid on the third of *January* to have been read and publiſhed in that Aſſembly, by *Theodoſius* the *Primicerius* of the *Notaries*. By this all Informers are prohibited, and “ put to ſilence, who were wont by their Accuſations to bring innocent perſons into “ trouble. And for as much as in all ſuch Hurly-burlies, perſons of mean fortune and condition deſire to carve out for themſelves ſuch ſhares as the Changes of Affairs may preſent as poſſible to their endeavours: during this diſorder, Slaves had forſaken their Maſters, and ſet up for themſelves under protection of an Uſurpation, which is wont to give indemnity to all complying perſons.

Caſtinus baniſhed, and *Ætius* advanced.

An Edict publiſhed in the Senate at *Rome* for compoſing the troubles of *Italy*.

10. To give to all perſons their Dues, all Slaves are ordered to be reſtored to

their Lords, againſt whom they had rebelled. And the *Senatorian* order which “ alſo had been much impaired by innovations in their Privileges and their *Forum*, “ to be reſtored to its former Dignity and Luſtre; eſpecially the Conſuls, who it “ ſeems, had been leſſened and diſreſpected by *John* the Uſurper, as well as the “ Churches, which were alſo reſtored to their ancient Dignity and freedom. “ And whereas upon his being created Emperor, the Senate had voted a quantity of the Gold to be preſented him, called *Aurum Oblatitium*: *Valentinian* by this Conſti- “ tution remits it in part to them, and part of it he gives to the City of *Rome*, “ where he now reſided; and which, as otherwiſe appears, had been in a manner “ deſolate, during the Uſurpation. “ But amongſt all the inconveniences which it ſuffered, none were more inſufferable than the inſolence of the Farmers of the *Res privata*, or *Domain* of the Prince, whom *John*, as the matter makes probable, incouraged to all exceſs, that they might willingly turn Tenants to himſelf. They were grown to that heighth of impudence, as to aſſume to themſelves a Girdle, or ſort of Dignity of *Militia*; ſo as none dared to look them in the face, or open their Mouths againſt them. When any ſuit or controverſie aroſe concerning the Lands of the *Domain*, they ſcorned to go to trial according to the uſual courſe of Law, and ſtile of the Courts. They were ſo bold as to intermeddle in the Suits and Controverſies of other Men, and by affording their Patronage to diſturb, the ordinary courſe of proceedings. In the execution of Sentences they would aſſiſt. And none more forward than they to inform againſt their Neighbours. The Government thought it ſelf ſo much concerned in Honour; and to be re- “ flected on by this miſcarriage of theſe Dependents, as to declare, that ſorts of “ Men ſubject to the Laws, by which the Princes themſelves were bound or ob- “ liged; and that none of theſe Farmers of the *Domain* carry themſelves higher “ than other Subjects, but live in common right and privilege with them; that “ none of them pretend to any Dignity or Power, but all ſue, and be ſued according “ to what was wont to be practiſed by all perſons in like caſes; neither offer any Pa- “ tronage or Protection to the diſturbance of any in poſſeſſion, meddle with the “ Executions of any Sentences; thruſt themſelves into any private or publick Af- “ fairs, nor diſturb any Families by turning troubleſome Informers. “

L. 33. *de Petitionib. &c. Cod. Th. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt. ut hiſtorica & horum temporum propria.*

L. 14. *de Senatorib. &c. Cod. Th.*

Legibus ſerviant quibus tenentur & Principes, &c.

L. L. 1, 2. *de Conductorib. & Hominibus domus Auguſt. Cod. Th. lib.* 10. *tit.* 26. & *L.* 1. *Cod. Juſt. eod. tit.*

11. The Government being returned into the true Channel; as if, during the late Uſurpation, the Laws had alſo been out of order, thoſe who ſate at the Helm were perſwaded to make ſome alteration and reformation of them alſo in certain particulars. This was attempted by another Oration directed to the Senate; in the former part of which a ſurvey is made of all the Law, and a Repurgation of Imperial Conſtitutions, ſo as to declare what Reſcripts of Princes ſhould be followed; and alſo what Anſwers of Lawyers ſhould in Courts be produced and alleaged for the deciſion of Cauſes, and be received and admitted for Law. As to Conſtitutions, it is cautioned in the firſt place, that ſuch Reſcripts as were ſent out to “ anſwer to the Relations, or Suggeſtions of Judges, of Bodies Politick, Meſſen- “ gers, Cities, Provinces or Courts, ſhould not be taken for general Laws, but “ only by thoſe whom they concerned, and to whom they were directed; in behalf “ of whom, when given out, none ſhould dare to retract them, or craftily to in- “ terpret them, under pain of Infamy; or obtain any Reſcript to revoke ſuch pri- “ viledges, or to admit ſuch revocation, or make any report back to the Prince, un- “ der colour of Ambiguity, upon pain of a Mulct of thirty pounds of Gold to be “ incurred. Now theſe Reſcripts ſhall be taken only to concern the Parties or Bo- “ dies to whom directed; but in caſe they be ſent as an Oration to the Senate to be “ confirmed, or there recorded; or if they be called by the name of Edicts, whe- “ ther they be publiſhed at the Prince his own ſpontaneous motion, or upon ſome “ Petition or Relation made; or if they be commanded to be expoſed to publick “ view, or made uſe of, and to be extended to like Cauſes; or if they be termed “ general, then ſhall they be taken and received as general Laws, and, for ſuch, “ obſerved by all perſons, as well one ſort as another for the time to come. “ To which may be added, if they were inſerted into the Body of Law, which was done ſome time after by Imperial Authority. To be ſure, we have it reſolved, “ that Reſcripts procured contrary to Law ſhall be refuſed by all Judges, except “ perchance there may be ſomething in them which without indamaging any other “ perſon, brings advantage to the Petitioner, or is in the nature of a pardon to “ him. Nay, though a Reſcript be obtain'd according to Law, yet if it be procu- “ red by a falſe ſuggeſtion, it ſhall be of no force, but the Lyar be ſeverely puniſh- “ ed by the Judge: which Ordinations were part of this Conſtitution whereof we “ ſpeak.

The Governors endeavour to regulate the Law.

L l. 2, 3. *de Legibus, Cod. Juſt. lib.* 1. *tit.* 14. *Dat.* 8. *Id. Nov.*

L. 7. *de precib. Imp. offerend. Cod. Juſt. lib.* 1. *tit.* 19.

L. 5. *Si contra jus, &c. Cod. Juſt. l.* 1. *tit.* 22.

L. un. de Reſponſis Prudentum, Cod.Th.lib.1. tit. 4. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt. ut temporaria.

12. In the next place it paſſeth an Imperial Judgment, concerning the Writings of ſuch great Lawyers, as were wont to be alleaged, and who had long before departed this world. And firſt of all it confirms thoſe of *Papinian*, *Paulus*, *Gaius*, *Ulpian* and *Modeſtinus*, ſo as they may be recited, and obtain in Judicature;“ according to what had been practiſed by former Princes, who in their deciſions were wont to follow their Advice, in matters which ſome or other humane reaſon“ muſt determine. In the next place, it ratifies the opinions of ſeveral eminent“ Lawyers, which the five forenamed do often quote and recite, which were *Scævola*, *Sabinus*, *Julianus* and *Maxellus* by name, beſides others; the Writings of whom were alſo extant at this time. But as in all ancient Writings, by reaſon of“ Tranſcription by ſeveral Copies, faults and miſtakes are wont to ariſe; therefore“ the Law ordains, that Copies be compared, and the moſt authentick be alledged;“ as in thoſe days it was the deſire of all Orthodox Chriſtians, that the Books“ of Holy Scripture might be reviſed and examined for the detection of Hereſies“ and Errors; not to mention other Writings. Now in caſe theſe Lawyers diſagreed,“ it is ordained, that the opinions of the major part ſhall carry it, ſo as the“ opinions of Lawyers ſhall not be weighed, but numbred. In caſe there be an equal“ number produced; if *Papinian* be of that number, his opinion ſhall prevail;“ a thing not only practiſed in Law matters, but in Divinity toward S. *John*“ *Chryſoſthom*; and in latter days, toward the Preſident or Speaker of an Aſſembly;“ but ſo great reverence did all Ages give to the vaſt perfections of *Papinian*, upon whoſe Works ſuch Notes as *Paulus* and *Ulpian* his Scholars had made, this“ Conſtitution alſo invalidates, as not long before had been done. If it ſhould happen,“ that the opinion of all Lawyers ſhould be of the ſame number and value, it“ is left to the Judge to prefer which ſide he in his judgment ſhall think fit.“ So great (as deſerved) was the opinion had of *Papinian* in this Age; and yet even in *Auguſtus* his time, great reverence was given to the Writings and Anſwers of famous Lawyers, but they obtained not that authority which this Conſtitution doth inveſt them with, and which they enjoyed in whole, till ſuch time as their Books were ſurveyed upon all Subjects, and ſuch parts of them taken into the Pandects as beſt ſeemed good to *Juſtinian* and his Compilers.

Theodoſius enacts ſomething againſt High-way-men.

L. ult. de bonis Proſcriptorum, Cod.Th.& L.10. Cod.Juſt. hinc interpolata eſt Dat.10.Cal. Feb.

13. *Theodoſius* at *Conſtantinople* in the mean time was not wanting to give orders in ſuch Affairs as required his directive or reforming power. The ways and paſſages were now ſo beſet with High-way Men and Thieves, as ſharpened him to ſomething further ſeverity, than the Conſtitutions of his Predeceſſors did require. It became a queſtion amongſt his Judges, how the Eſtates of ſuch perſons being condemned ſhould be diſpoſed of; to which he anſwered in an Edict directed to *Hierius* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, that in caſe they had children, one half ſhould“ be confiſcated, and the other go to them, and to them alone he“ aſſigns it; not to other Kindred, not to Father and Mother, though this had“ by other Laws formerly been done. But in caſe the condemned perſon was a“ *Decurio*, another courſe ſhould be taken. For if he had no Children, the *Curia*“ ſhould ſucceed him as to the whole, and take care ſome way for diſcharge of his“ Services. If he had Children, and all Sons, they ſhould ſucceed to the whole Inheritance,“ provided, they ſtood obnoxious to the ſervices of the Courts. If only“ Daughters, they ſhould take one half, and the *Curiæ* the other. If of both“ Sexes, the Eſtate ſhould be equally divided betwixt the Males and Females. Such“ Offender this Edict ſtiles by the name of *Latro*, or ſuch an one as is involved in“ profeſſed and manifeſt crimes, which hints to us, that in the Eaſtern Parts at this“ time in deſerts and ſuch places there were *Rovers*, which as now adays the *Banditti*, and in former times the *Iſauri*, fell down in Bodies, upon not not only Travellers, but Countries,; and poſſibly, in alluſion to this, Princes were wont to term them *Latrones* that had invaded the Purple, and whom they had defeated and put to death. For contrary reaſons he was inclined to extend a little more favour than had formerly been granted to ſuch as becauſe of their Birth or Original were for ever“ obnoxious to ſerve as *Gynæciarii*, *Monetarii*, *Mruileguli*, or the like, in Works“ which were under the Inſpection of the *Comes Sacr. Largitionum*. By former“ Laws they could not recede, or be free from their companies or condition. But“ now he thought fit it might be done by the grace and favour of the Prince, provided,“ another were ſubſtituted in the room of him that was freed, which“ ſhould be every way fit, and approved by the ſaid *Comes*; and leave his Eſtate“ and his Poſterity in that Company, Service and Employment.

In behalf of ſome *conditionales*.

L.16. de Murilegulis,&c.Cod. Th.& L.13.Cod. Juſt. eod tit. Dat. 7. Cal. Mart. Acacio, Com.S.L.

14. About the ſame time he grew ſenſible of ſome Incroachments made upon his

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Againſt the Incroachments of his greateſt Officers.

his Imperial Prerogative, and publick liberty by ſome of his greateſt Officers. The *Præfecti Prætorio* not content with the privilege they enjoyed, to have the Decrees of ſuch Meſſages as were brought from Cities and Provinces to be ſent unto them, that by them they might be repreſented to the Prince, took upon them alſo to make Anſwers, whereby it came to paſs, that the Emperor himſelf knew nothing of the Grievances of his People, and the Meſſengers being never admitted to his preſence, went away as they came, having only their labour for their travel: we have ground to ſuſpect, that *Hierius*, now *Præfect* of the *Eaſt*, was guilty of this Miſdemeanour; for the Edict directed to him hereupon is ſharp; telling him, that he knew very well, that the Petitions and Decrees of Cities, and the “ Deſires of the People were to be anſwered by the Emperor himſelf, and that the “ Meſſengers ought to be admitted into Conſiſtory, and honoured with the ſight of “ him, and have free liberty to ſpeak and declare whatever they had in Commiſ- “ ſion from thoſe that ſent them. He alſo reprehended him for admitting perſons “ into his Office, without being firſt approved by the Prince, and having received “ Letters of Approbation from the ſacred *Scrinia*; charging him, that this be ob- “ ſerved for the time to come, not only in his own Officers, but in thoſe belonging “ to others under him, of the Dignity of *Spectabilis*, as the *Proconſul* of *Aſia*, the “ *Comes* of the *Eaſt*, *Præfectus Auguſtalis*, and the *Vicars*. Moreover, he com- “ mands, that the ſame courſe be obſerved, as to the *Irenarchæ*, the *Actuarii* and “ *Cornicularii* of the Fleets belonging to *Conſtantinople*, and alſo to the *Thymela*, “ and to the *Curule* Horſes, appertaining to the ſeveral Cities, as the cuſtom had “ formerly been. “ Thoſe Fleets muſt be no other but they that brought Corn from *Ægypt*, or *Alexandria*, to the City, or other parts of the *Eaſt*; of which largely before.

L.ult de Legatis, Cod.Th. Dat. Cal. Jun. Nicomediæ.

L.21 de Diverſis Officiis, Cod. Th. Dat. 10. Cal. Jul.

15. The *Thymela* was the Stage, or Scaffold, where Dancings and Tricks were ſhewn, which were ſo common, not only in the great Cities, but alſo throughout the Provinces, that there were *Actuaries* or Clerks that took an account of them, as others of the *Curule* Horſes that ran courſes in ſeveral places. Of the like preſumption was guilty *Theofilus* the *Præfect* of the City, in admitting *Actuaries*, as alſo *Optiones* throughout all the Regions of *Conſtantinople*, and *Suarii*; of whom theſe provided Hogs-fleſh for the Inhabitants, and the other took care for ſupplying the Soldiers that there kept Guard, with Proviſions. And with them incurred alſo reprehenſion, *Acacius*, the *Comes Sacr. Largitionum*, as to the *Comites Theſaurorum*, and the *Theſaurenſes* of the *Diocefs*. All thoſe he declares, the Prince himſelf ought firſt to allow off; and though he rejects not ſuch as had already been admitted by them, he threatens them with incurring his heavy diſpleaſure, if they “ offended again in the like ſort, beſides the nulling again of what they did. “ But toward the end of the Year, he caſt his eye upon his beſt deſerving Servants, and conſidering how from the third or laſt degree of *Comites* he had preferred ten “ years before the *Proximi Scriniorum*, and the *Comes Diſpoſitionum* to the ſecond in “ order; he now thought fit to allow them Robes, which *Acacius* was to give out “ to them, as others had according to their ſeveral qualities. “ And the *Princeps Ducenarius*, as he was termed, out of the *Agentes in Rebus*, as he had formerly been ranked amongſt *Conſulares*, as alſo the *Adjutor* of the *Magiſter Officiorum*, were now advanced to be equal in dignity with *Vicars* of *Præfects*, by two orders ſent, the one to *Helio* by the Title of *Patritian* and *Magiſter Officiorum*; and the other to *Hierius* the *Præfect*. Moreover, the ſame privileges that out of reſpect to Studies and Learning he had formerly conferred on the Advocates who pleaded in the “ Court of the *Præfect* of the *Eaſt*, he now extended to thoſe who attended in that “ of the *Præfect* of *Conſtantinople*. “

L.22.ejuſd.tit.

L.23. ejuſd.tit.

Indulgent to his deſerving Servants.

L.ult.de Proximis,&c.Cod Th. Dat.7.Cal.Decemb.

L.l.20,21.de Agentib. in rebus, Cod. Th. Dat. 10. Cal. Jan.

L.5.de Advocatis diverſorum Judicum, Cod. Juſt. lib. 7. tit. 7.

16. The Year that followed, or the CCCCXXVII of our Lord had two Subjects for Conſuls. The one was *Hierius*, who was now both Conſul and *Præfectus Prætorio*, and this very Year repaired or dedicated the Baths at *Conſtantinople*, called the Baths of *Theodoſius*. His Colleague in the Conſulſhip for the Weſt was *Ardabures*. In *Italy*, as we ſaid, *Ætius* was received into favour, and *Caſtinus* ſent into baniſhment, after the ſuppreſſion of the Tyranny. *Caſtinus*, now, ſay ſome, inraged thereat, and not caring what he did, or what became of him, ſo he could but make diſturbance, with a great power of Men invaded *Africk*, and thence purpoſed to drive away *Boniface*, who ſo well defended his ground, that the Aggreſſor himſelf was forced to retire. And *Ætius*, though poſſibly he hated not *Caſtinus*, yet he hated *Boniface*, whoſe good ſucceſs and fame ſtirred in him ſo much envy and emulation, that he cunningly inſinuated and perſwaded *Placidia*, that

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Hierio & Ardabure, Coſſ.

Chron.Theod. ad H.An.

he

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Placidia upon falſe ſuggeſtions of *Ætius* quarrels with *Boniface*.

Procopius Vandalum, lib. 1. *Paulus Diaconus, lib.* 14.

he purpoſed to revolt, and ſetting up for himſelf, to make *Africk* the Seat of his own Empire. There was no way therefore but to abdicate his authority there, and to recal him home; but this would not ſatisfie the deſign of *Ætius*. He perſwades her to recal him, but then to drive all into extremity, and raiſe an utter feud betwixt them, he writes to *Boniface*, and as his Friend, adviſeth him not to come, for there were deſigns againſt him, and he would indanger his Head, if he came within the reach of the preſent Governours. *Boniface* believed him as his faithful Friend, and following his advice, refuſed to quit his place of command and ſecurity; whereupon *Placidia* concluding all to be true which had been inſinuated by *Ætius*, reſolved to make War upon him as an Enemy. But for *Ætius* ſhe had other Employment; for him ſhe ſent againſt *Theodorich*, King of the *Goths*, who at that time beſieged *Archilla* in *Gall*, having been incouraged by the diſſentions of the *Romans* to an open Revolt. But however, he was conſtrained by the *Roman* Soldiers to quit the Siege, through the means of *Ætius*, who took into his ſociety and friendſhip *Avitus*, a great Man amongſt the *Arverni*.

The War againſt *Boniface* goes on.

17. But againſt *Boniface* a War being reſolved on (through the envy of *Felix*, a *Magiſter Militum* in *Gall*, as *Proſper* writes) three Commanders were choſen, and ſent againſt him, *viz. Mavortius*, *Galbio* and *Sinox*. *Boniface* contained himſelf in *Carthage*, where he reſolved to ſuſtain the ſhock; and there he was ſtraitly beſieged, till ſuch diſcord aroſe betwixt the *Roman* Generals, that *Mavortius* and *Galbio* were killed by the practiſes of *Sinox*, who now left alone, was utterly unable to grapple with *Boniface*; for he procured him quickly to be diſpatched; and this happened without the loſs of one Man on *Boniface* his ſide, if we will believe the Letters which are ſaid to have paſſed at this time betwixt him and *Auguſtine*, the Biſhop of *Hippo*, with whom hitherto he held good correſpondence, till the malice of his Enemies, and his indignation thereupon turned him into Acts which that good Father could not but diſapprove. For, *Placidia* hearing of the ill ſucceſs her former endeavours had had, yet reſolved to renew the War, and appointed *Sigevultes*, one of the Dignity of *Comes* to be the Proſecutor. *Boniface* concluding with himſelf, that he ſhould not alone be able to grapple with the power of the Emperor, reſolved to draw in others to his party. One Article of his Charge had been, that being commanded into *Spain* upon ſome buſineſs by the Government, he had there married a Relation of the Kings of the *Vandals*, and had contracted a League and Affinity with that People. Whether this was true or falſe, being as truth believed, he reſolved his Enemies ſhould have ſome true cauſe for their aſſertion, and either went himſelf back again into that Country, or as *Procopius* writes, ſent ſome of his moſt faithful Friends, who contracted an agreement with the two Sons of *Godegiſile*, who died the year before. Theſe were *Gontharis*, or *Guntharius*, and *Gizerich*, or *Genſerich*, with whom was agreed, that they three ſhould ſhare *Africk* amongſt them, and ſhould joyn together upon occaſion to defend each other. By virtue of this Agreement the two Brothers quitted that part of *Spain* which lay neareſt *Africk*, and in which they were ſucceeded by the *Viſegoths*, and with their *Vandals*, to whom *Paulus Diaconus* joyns the *Alans*, paſſed the Straits of *Gibraltar*, as now we term it, to the great miſchief of that Country, followed by great Revolutions, which continued nigh an hundred years.

He contracts an Alliance with the *Vandals* in *Spain*.

The *Vandals* thereupon paſs into *Africk*.

A. D. 428.

Felice & Tauro, Coſſ.

18. The Year CCCCXXVIII had for Conſuls *Felix* and *Taurus*. *Theodoſius* made his Abode at *Conſtantinople*, and *Valentinian* at *Ravenna*. The *Præfecti Prætorio* were for the Eaſt *Hierius* and *Florentius*, who ſucceeded *Eudoxius*; and *Voluſianus* in the Weſt. This Year was too memorable in regard of the miſerable waſting of *Africk* by Fire and Sword. For the *Vandals* finding therein no reſiſtance, but rather incouraged and protected by the Army of him who invited them into the Country, executed that vengeance upon the miſerable Provincials, which their many and enormous crimes, atteſted by the Writers of this Age, had pulled down upon their Heads. At this Fire and Smoak all *Italy* ſtood at gaze; and ſome of *Boniface* his Friends in *Rome* admired exceedingly, knowing his former Loyalty, how he ſhould be tranſported to an Act ſo far deſtructive to the Empire. And *Placidia*, her anger was ſo much cooled by his heat, that ſhe ordered ſome to go to *Carthage*, and feel him about the matter, who coming to him, found him free and open enough, inſomuch that he gave them the Letters written by *Ætius*, with which they returned, and ſhewed *Placidia*, that he had erred not through his own fault, but the treachery of another perſon. She had the temper to conceal her indignation, and diſſembled the matter with *Ætius*, who had an

Which they miſerably waſte with Fire and Sword.

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an Army now at his devotion, when matters ſtood in ſo tickliſh a poſture. But to *Boniface* his Friends ſhe opened her grief, and exceedingly complaining of the fraud of *Ætius*, beſought them, that if they could they would perſwade him to paſs all over, and hinder the *Barbarians* from further waſting the Country. He was inclinable enough ſo to do, and by a great ſum of Money indeavoured to divert them from further ſpoiling the Country. But they having got a taſte of the ſweetneſs of it, would not now be taken off, and returned him ſcoffing language, which provoked him to blows; but in the Ingagement he was worſted, and fled to *Hippo*, a ſtrong Maritime City of *Numidia*. To the place, *Genſerich*, the Baſtard Son of *Godegiſel* laid Siege, who alone reigned over the *Vandals*, after the death of his Legitimate Brother *Gunthar* or *Gunderich*, who ſome ſay was extinct one way, and ſome another. But whereas *Procopius* writes that *Placidia* durſt not take notice of any thing to *Ætius*, becauſe he had an Army at his Devotion: to this we may add, that with that Army this Year he got a Victory over the *Franks*, and recovered from them a Region of *Gall*, lying near the *Rhine*. So write *Caſſiodorus* and *Proſper*; and *Sidonius Apollinaris* upon occaſion of *Majorianus* his being with *Ætius* at the Fight, ſpeaks of a Wedding that then happened amongſt the *Franks*, how they fought at a Bridge, and the Bride was taken priſoner. And he deſcribes the Garb and Faſhions of the *Franks*, as then they were, which in our Hiſtory of the *Franks* is to be obſerved.

They refuſe to be ſtopped by *Boniface*, who called them in.

In Panegyr. Julio Valerio Majoriano dicto: p. 294.

Theodoſius contracts the forms of Law.

19. *Theodoſius* at *Conſtantinople* was ſtill at his eaſe, as to any hoſtile oppoſitions. But being told of ſeveral things that in the State might be amended; and of his own inclination being prone to contract the Forms and Solemnities of the Law, by a large Conſtitution directed to *Hierius*, he now this Year attempted it in matters relating to Suits, Marriages, Portions and Joyntures, as to which he took away " the ſcrupulous Quirks and Obſervances, and ordained, that any Words and Rites honeſtly and innocently ſpoken and made, ſhould ſuffice to make them good and " effectual. " Not that theſe Words and Rites were in themſelves good or evil; but were rendred to be ſuch by the ſeveral Temperaments and Conſtitutions of times, which are a ſufficient Warrant, nay, an urgent motive for repealing of Statutes, as all Ages and all Nations have taken notice. *Valentinian* lately had made a Reformation, as to Laws; and this of *Theodoſius* was as it were a *Præludium* to that Diſcrimination of Conſtitutions, which ſhortly after followed. We have not of a long time given any account concerning the *Curiales*, or ſuch as were obliged to the ſervices of the Court, the emoluments of which, now again this Year *Theodoſius* indeavoured to promote. In caſe any Eſtate came from a *Curialis* by ſucceſſion to him, as dying inteſtate; if it conſiſted in Moveables, the Goods ſhould be ſold by conſent of the *Curia*, and the price laid out in purchaſe of Lands to be let to " reſponſible perſons. And if the *Curialis* had any Heir who was not a *Curialis*, either as to the whole, or part of the Inheritance, yet a fourth part thereof " ſhould be granted to the *Curia*, But if any Poſſeſſions of theſe *Curiales* had " come by lucrative cauſes, as by Legacy or Gift to any Stranger, he muſt pay the " ſixth of the profit for every parcel of Land, which was as much more as former- " ly had been required. But we ſee how the diverſity of times brought in a diverſity of Imperial Sanctions; and yet this ſhould not prejudice any Corporations, in " which, either Cuſtom, Agreement, or Neceſſity required any larger Propor- " tion. "

L.l.8.in Chronol. L. L.notatæ quas vides

Provides for the *Curiæ*.

L.2.de prædiis decurionum, Cod. Juſt.lib. 10.*tit.*33.

L. 1.*Quando & quibus quarta pars debetur.&c: Cod.Juſt lib.* 10.*tit.*34.

L.un.Cod.Th. de imponenda lucrativis deſcriptione,lib. 12.*tit.*4.

20. Three years before *Theodoſius* had found reaſon to deny Immunity from Quarters to all perſons of all Degrees and Dignities living in *Conſtantinople*, when he and his Court reſided there, their own dwelling Houſes only excepted. But he did not think then of his *Archiatri* and his *Profeſſors* he had founded in that City, to whom he had formerly confirmed the privileges granted them by former Princes, and exemption from ſervices and charges, as well *Senatorian* as *Municipal*, when they had arrived at the firſt or ſecond degree of *Comes*, or at higher Honours, which privileges were extended to their Wives and Children. But being put in mind of it the laſt Year, by an Edict inſcribed to *Helio*, the *Magiſter Officiorum*, he had declared them exempt from the Burthen of the ſaid Quarter and Entertainment. Moreover, having this very Year declared all of *Senatorian* Rank to be ſubject to the payment of the *Glebalis Collatio*, except ſuch perſons as he mentioned in his Conſtitution (as the *Notaries*, *Silentiarii*, *Decuriones*, and thoſe who from among the *Agentes in Rebus* had aimed at the Degree of *Ducenarii*) now five or ſix Months after, calling to mind, that the *Archiatri* or Phyſicians of his Palace, had not been exempted by name, he declared his will and pleaſure to *Pre-*

Vide l.ult.de Senatorib.Cod. Th.

*L.*14. *de metallis. L.l.*16.17. 18.19. *de Medicis & Profeſſorio.*

Sect. 4.

A. D. 428.

He gratifies his Phyſicians.

culus the *Præfect* of the City, that if they had arrived to be *Comites* of the firſt Rank, or higher, they ſhould be in an eſpecial manner diſcharged, and held free from the *Glebalis Collatio*, as formerly had been granted by Imperial Conſtitutions, any thing in the late Law, provided notwithſtanding.

A. D. 429. *Florentio & Dionyſio Coſſ.*

Genſerich goes on in waſting *Africk*.

Courſes taken by *Placidia* to obviate his Attempts.

L.35. de Annona & Tributis, Cod.Th. Abeſt a Cod.Juſt.Dat. 16.Cal.Mart.

L.32. de Suſceptorib.&c. Cod. Th. & L.ult.Cod.Juſt. eod.tit.

L.34. de Annona & Tributis, Cod.Th.Abeſt a Cod.Juſt.

21. The following Year is inſcribed, *After the Conſulſhip of* Felix *and* Taurus, *as alſo* Florentius *and* Dionyſius *being Conſuls*; being of our Lord the CCCCXXIX. *Valentinian* had his Abode at *Ravenna*, and *Theodoſius* at *Conſtantinople*. And all this Year *Genſerich* perſiſted in the waſting of *Africk*, committing all ſorts of Hoſtilities and Outrages therein, while in the mean time he was carrying on the Siege of *Hippo*. In theſe dangerous times to provide as well as ſhe could for the ſecurity of the Empire, *Placidia* preferred *Felix* to the honour of *Patritian*; and *Ætius*, notwithſtanding what had lately paſſed, to the Dignity and Power of *Magiſter Militum*. And becauſe Money is the Sinews of War, and the Provincials were backward in paying in their Tribute, an Edict was iſſued out to *Voluſianus* the *Præfect*, whereby a years time was given them for the payment of it; and if that was not obſerved, then the payment thereof, which was deſtined to no other end than the ſecurity of themſelves ſhould be exacted by the Governors of the Provinces.“ “ And as it was Juſtice at all times to repreſs the violence and rapacity of *Suſceptors*, or Receivers of the Tributes, ſo moſt ſeaſonable now, when there was more occaſion than ordinary for Contributions. *Voluſianus* therefore, to whom, as *Præfect*, the matter of Tribute belonged, was enjoyned to ſee, that when it was offered it ſhould be received, and that at the peril of Governors of Provinces,“ and their Officers, juſt Weights ſhould be uſed when it was received in Maſs;“ that the *Suſceptors* ſhould deliver to the *Poſſeſſors* exact and full Acquittances: and“ report ſhould be made of what came into the Treaſury, not only to the two *Comites*,“ or High Treaſurers, but alſo to the *Præfectus Prætorio* himſelf, who might“ by his own Accounts eaſily ſee what was due to be paid. In caſe any of the *Palatine* Officers, or thoſe belonging to the Treaſurers intruded themſelves, and would“ be medling, leave is given to the Poſſeſſor, though he be in arrear to repel“ them; and if he be not able to do it, they ſhall be puniſhed by the Treaſurers;“ and if they fail through the procurement of their Officers, then ſhall it be done“ by the *Præfectus Prætorio* himſelf.“ This was greater Indulgence than had been lately ſhewn to the Provincials of *Africa Proconſularis*, who had ſent one *Bubulcus*, a *Comes*, to complain how they were harraſſed and oppreſſed by the *Compulſors* and *Optiones*. In anſwer to whom, *Celer* the *Proconſul* was ordered to reſtrain“ theſe Men, and give the Provincials four Months to bring the Mony in themſelves,” to the Capitol or Caſtle of *Carthage*, which if they did not in that term, then the“ aforeſaid Officers were to be let looſe upon them.

Yet more complaints out of *Africk*.

Very favourable Anſwers.

A modeſt Edict.

L.ult. de Appellationib. & Conſultationib. Cod.Th. Abeſt. a Cod.Juſt.

L.185. de Decurionib.Cod. Th. & L.2. de Apochis publ.Cod.Juſt.

L.186.ejuſd. tit.

L.4.de Legib. Cod.Juſt.lib. 1. tit.14.

22. Although the Barbarous Enemy was now raging with all ſorts of Hoſtilities in that Country of *Africk*, yet were there Queſtions and Contentions among themſelves; and now it was doubted to whom Appeals ſhould lie from the *Rationalis* in cauſes relating to the *Domain*, or *Res privata* of the Prince. To ſave the Provincials labour and trouble, *Celer* was impowered as *Proconſul* to receive all ſuch Appeals,“ except they related to Penſions, which were paid out of the Emphyteutical“ or Patrimonial Lands, or to Eſtates that were begged; for theſe were matters“ which ſo nearly concerned the Office of the *Comes Rei privatæ*, that no other“ could properly have cognizance of them. The reaſon of this Grant of Appeals“ is very civil and modeſt. For, ſaith he, ſaving the Reverence of our Majeſty,“ we do not diſdain to have equal Law or Juſtice with private perſons.“ Another thing complained of, was, that ſuch Acquittances as had been given by former *Proconſuls*, were queſtioned by their Succeſſors, to the great vexation and diſquiet of“ the People; to redreſs which, *Celer* is commanded alſo to farbear all ſuch Diſcuſſions“ for the time to come, and with him all that ſhall ſucceed in the place of *Proconſul*.“ A fourth Grievance yet was urged by *Bubulcus*, that one *Curialis* in the ſame Territory of the City was conſtrained to pay Tribute for another, which“ was grown ſo intollerable, that there were ſcarce any ſufficient Men to be found.“ In anſwer to which, *Celer* is charged, that each perſon be only reſponſible for his“ own Ground.“ So juſt and temperate was the Government of thoſe who adviſed *Valentinian* and his Mother, and ſuitable to this civil Anſwer given to the Meſſengers of *Africk* was another Law directed to *Voluſianus* the *Præfect*, after this manner: *It's a ſaying worthy the Majeſty of a Prince to profeſs himſelf bound up by the*“ *Laws. So much doth his Authority depend upon that of the Law. And indeed it is*“ *a thing greater than Empire to ſubmit the Prince his power unto Laws. And by the*“

Oracle of this preſent Edict (ſo it concludes) *that which we do not permit to be*“ *lawful to our ſelves, we declare to others.*“

A. D. 430.
Theodoſio A. 13. *& Valentiniano A.* 3. *Coſſ.*

Auguſtine the Biſhop of *Hippo* dies during the Siege.

23. We are now arrived at the CCCCXXX Year of Chriſt, wherein *Theodoſius Auguſtus* the Thirteenth, and *Valentinian* the third time were Conſuls. The two Emperors made their Abode as formerly; the one at *Ravenna*, and the other at *Conſtantinople*. The Siege of *Hippo* ſtill went on, and continued for fourteen Months; and toward the middle of it *Auguſtine* the Biſhop died, when the whole Country of *Africk*, except *Carthage*, *Cirta* and *Hippo* were already over-run by the *Vandals*. The Government at this time thought fit to put a difference betwixt“ the Province called *Byzacena*, and that of the *Proconſul*; ſo as the *Curiales* or *Præpoſiti*“ might be conſtituted, the *Præpoſiti* or Overſeers of the Granaries, which“ in the *Proconſular* Province is denied, for reaſons, no doubt, reflecting upon the“ *Curiales* or *Præpoſiti* of this Province, who were not to be intruſted with ſuch a“ concern.“ We hear no more of any Employment the *Quæſtor* had at *Ravenna* this year; but his Brother at *Conſtantinople* was employed by the importunity of ſome Courtiers to explain and limit an Edict which the Emperor five years before had directed to *Valerius* the then *Comes Rei privatæ*. Taking into his ſerious conſideration the cuſtom of begging Eſtates forfeited, and how at this time of danger there was need of enlarging his Revenue, and aſſiſting his Treaſury by all lawful means, he thought he ſhould deal very favourably with ſuch Beggars, if he“ granted their requeſt, with this condition, that his Exchequer ſhould go an equal“ ſhare with them in all Eſtates ſo begged and granted, except in thoſe that belonged“ to Temples and Patrimonial Lands, which being already inveſted in himſelf,“ it was ſuppoſed he knew what he gave out of his own Purſe; and therefore, if“ they were granted, it muſt be ſuppoſed that he knew what he did, and they paſſed wholly to the Grantee.“

L. ult. de Suſceptorib. Cod. Th. Dat. 15. *Cal. Mart. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.*

L. 22. *de Petitionib. Cod. Th. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.*

24. But in Lands or Eſtates ſo to be divided, he to whom they were granted“ muſt firſt deduct his Expences and Charges in ſuit, and then the Diviſion to be“ made of the *Reſiduum*. And all Judges were expreſly commanded to uſe all indifference“ in the Trial, and not be partial, as too often they were when the Treaſury“ was concerned, whether the *Comes Rei privatæ* himſelf heard the matter, or“ the ordinary Judge of the Province in places at a great diſtance. Nay, the Advocate“ of the Treaſury himſelf muſt be preſent, as commonly at ſuch trials, yet“ he is commanded to be ſilent, leſt the Judges be biaſſed by his arguments and diſcourſes.“ But if the matter was compounded before it came to the trial, yet to be“ ſure the Treaſury ſhould carry away one half of what was gained by ſuch Compoſition“ or Tranſaction. Nay, although the perſon that begged the Eſtate, obtained“ a private Reſcript for his enjoying the whole, yet ſhould ſuch Reſcript be“ void, and of none effect. Moreover the Laws formerly made concerning time“ given to the Poſſeſſor to maintain his Title, and after which he ſhould not be moleſted,“ were confirmed. But now *Theodoſius* thought fit to diſpenſe with this Law“ of Diviſion, when thoſe that belonged to his Bed-Chamber were concerned; ſo“ as they having diſcovered and obtained ſuch Eſtates, ſhould not be bound to part“ with half to the Treaſury. In all other things he confirms that Law, and for this favour“ extended to his Bed-Chamber Men, he gives no other reaſon than that of“ his own Clemency.“ And we may eaſily believe that to have been the chiefeſt motive. For he was ſo gracious to their *Præpoſitus*, as to take him into the ſecond Rank or Degree of Illuſtrious perſons, making him equal with the *Præfects* and the *Magiſtri Militum*. But theſe perſons, as other near Attendants, the *Caſtrenſiani* and *Protectors* had greater opportunity than others to inſinuate, and drive a great Trade by begging, as we have ſeen formerly out of *Ammianus*, yet at length it was quite ſpoiled, this being the laſt Edict of this nature extant in the Code of *Theodoſius*, and not inſerted into that of *Juſtinian*, becauſe ſuch begging was forbidden, and made unlawful by his Law.

L. ult. Cod. Th. eod. tit. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt. propter petitiones ſublatas.

Theodoſius kind to thoſe of his Bed-chamber.

25. Some of his Officers were ſo unreaſonable, as, though they had Houſes of their own in *Conſtantinople*, yet when the Court was there they would pretend a right to take up Quarters with their Neighbours. This he thought fit to forbid by orders ſent both to the *Comes S. L.* and the *Magiſter Officiorum*, commanding“ that in caſe any ſuch would take up other Mens Houſes than their own, they ſhould“ be made liable to quarter; foraſmuch as only illuſtrious perſons had their Houſes“ excuſed from that ſervice.“ And the neceſſity of the times required, that he ſhould make a little bold with ſuch as had obtained Lands or Eſtates from him and his Predeceſſors, that out of theſe Lands Contribution ſhonld be according to the

L. 15. *de Metatis, Cod. Th. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt. Dat.* 8. *Cal. Mart.*

UMI

Sect. 4.

A. D. 430.

Exigencies of the State. For in the days of *Theodoſius* the Great, *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, ſome Lands had been obtained by way of free Gift, as the Lands of particular Cities, and chiefly of Temples which were ſince the overthrow of the Pagan Superſtition, either laid to the *Res privata* of the Prince, aſſigned to the maintenance of Military Employments, allowed for the ſervice of Churches, or beſtowed on private perſons. There were of theſe Grounds ſome granted without any Rent charge at all, others had ſome charge (as reaſonably they might have) put upon them. Beſides, there were another ſort of Lands which being barren and deſerted, upon view of the *Peræquators*, had been releaſed from the ordinary Tribute; of all theſe upon extraordinary occaſions, an extraordinary Impoſition “ was laid ſix years before by a Conſtitution directed to *Aſclepiodotus* then *Præfectus* “ *Pratorio*, with hopes that ſome Abatement might afterwards be made. But “ now this promiſe was rather repeated than fulfilled; another Edict for regulating “ that Affair, being given out to *Antiochus* the preſent *Præfect*, whereby further “ Rates are preſcribed for laying theſe Impoſitions, and regulating theſe payments, “ hope being ſtill given of Indulgence. But ſuch was the neceſſity of the “ times, by which *Theodoſius* excuſeth himſelf; the Empire being now in ſo dangerous “ a condition as called for all the aſſiſtance which Juſtice and the common ſafety “ might excuſe. “

L.l.5.6.de Conlatione Donatarum,Cod. Th. Abſ. a Cod. Juſt.

Neceſſitated to require extraordinary Burthens.

A. D. 431. *Baſſe & Antiocho Coſſ.*

26. The following CCCCXXXI of our Saviour had *Baſſus* and *Antiochus* for Conſuls; or, as in the former Year, ſometimes is found noted at publick Acts, *Theodoſius* and he who ſhould be nominated, ſo in this *Antiochus* alone is named Conſul. The two Emperors for any thing we find held their reſidence this Year as they were wont, at *Ravenna* and *Conſtantinople*. *Antiochus* the Conſul is ſaid of an Eunuch to have been made a *Patritian*, and afterwards being accuſed to *Theodoſius* of ſome crimes, to have been deprived of his Eſtate, reduced to a private life, and to have taken Orders; upon which occaſion the ſame Writer reports this Emperor to have made a Law or Sanction, whereby was prohibited, that Eunuchs ſhould be numbred amongſt *Patritians*; which Sanction we would gladly ſee. Whether *Antiochus* might be in fault or not, in being careleſs to ſupply the City of *Conſtantinople* with proviſions; and thence might incur his Prince's diſpleaſure, is not known; but this Year a great ſcarcity of Proviſions is reported to have been in that City, by which the people was ſo inraged, as to fall into a tumult; and when the Emperor went in perſon to the publick Granaries to give ſome relief to the preſent diſtreſs, to have caſt Stones at him. The Barbarians that then quartered in the City, in an hoſtile manner went to the great Church, and endeavoured to ſet fire to the Altar, and thence could not be perſwaded to depart, till falling out they killed one another. For ſupplying the publick Granaries, we find an Edict, or a *Pragmatick*, as the Author himſelf terms it, bearing date of the twenty eighth of *April*, of this Year; but we find it inſcribed to *Flavianus* the *Præfectus Prætorio* under *Valentinian*. This forbids any perſon to be free, or enjoy any Immunity from either ordinary or extraordinary tributary Functions, though “ under pretence of any privilege obtained from the Prince himſelf, excepted always his own Patrimony which, he affirms, he very frequently aſſigns to the publick Neceſſities. “ And conſidering the tumults and dangers the Empire of the Weſt eſpecially was now in, we may eaſily believe him. For *Genſerich* by this time had taken *Hippo*, and made ſuch further progreſs with his Arms, as rendered the Endeavours of *Boniface* and other the *Roman* Captains very ineffectual.

L.34 de Petitionib.& l.15. de Metatis,Cod. Th.Chronol. L l. Cod.Th.

Suidas. Vide Baron. ad h.An.

A ſcarcity drives the People of *Conſtantinople* into mutiny.

Marcellinus, Socr.lib.7.c.33.

L.36.de Annona, & Tributis, Cod.Th. L.ult. de privilegiis domus Auguſtæ hinc interpolata.

A. D. 432. *Ætio & Valerio Coſſ.*

27. The CCCCXXXII of our Lord had for Conſuls *Ætius* and *Valerius*, though they at *Conſtantinople* had ſo ſmall intelligence out of the Weſt, by reaſon of Diſturbances and Wars, as we may eaſily gueſs, that for a conſiderable time they knew nothing of *Ætius* his promotion, but dated their publick Acts with *the Conſulſhip of* Valerius, *and of him who ſhould be declared*, as they had done the Year before. The Arms of *Genſerich* had been ſo ſucceſsful. as to make *Boniface* willing to comply with the invitation of *Placidia*, who at his return into *Italy*, procured him the Title of *Magiſter Militum*. Now being arrived at Court, his ſpirit was too big to brook his Æmulator *Ætius*, and he retained ſo great a ſenſe of the Injury done him, as to challenge him to a ſingle Combat. The matter was repreſented to *Placidia*, and ſhe was perſwaded to give way to the Duel, wherein *Boniface* had the advantage, and overcame his Adverſary; who, as now degraded, betook himſelf into the Country to a private life. Here one would imagine he languiſhed; yet he ſurvived the Conqueror, who in the third Month after his Victory, died; and on his Death-Bed perſwaded his Wife *Pelagia* to marry no other

L.ult.de his qui ad Eccleſiam confugiant, Cod.Th. Dat. 5. Cal.Apr.Valerio Conſ.& qui fuerit nunciatus.

Boniface dieth.

Marcellinus.

Sect. 4. Man but *Ætius*. In the place of *Boniface* one *Trigetius* was ſent into *Africk*, who gave diverſion to *Genſerich*, and oppoſed him in his undertakings. We do not find the *Quæſtor* at *Ravenna* much buſied this Year; only confirming the privileges “ granted by former Princes to the *Decuriones* and *Silentiarii*.“ And he of *Conſtantinople* had work of little higher nature, recommended to him by the Emperor his order, and conſent of the Senate, in behalf of the *Domeſticks* of that Court, to whom, beſides the confirmation of their former privileges, was now granted, “ that their *Primicerius* after having obtained to be Tribune, ſhould be reckoned “ amongſt the *Exduces*; and if he died before his Year was out (this being the “ term of his Office) the remainder of his Salary ſhould go, not to the Exchequer, “ as ordinarily it did, but to his Heirs; which was a favour extended to ſome “ few others, as the *Advocates* of the Treaſury, the *Scriniarii*, the *Primipilares*, “ the *Domeſticks* and *Protectors*, and the *Secundocerii* in the *Schole* of the *Equites*.

A. D. 432.

L.3 de Decurionib. & Silentiariis, Cod. Th. Dat.9.Cal.Apr.

L. 11. de Domeſticis & Protectorib Cod. Th. Dat.3 Id.Jun.

A. D. 433. *Theodoſio A: 14. & Maximo Coſſ.*

28. *Theodoſius* for the Year following took upon himſelf the Conſular Ornaments, and had *Maximus* for his Colleague in that Dignity. *Ætius* being worſted by his Adverſary, had not the face to ſhew himſelf at Court, but keeping a little in the “ Country, went to *Rome*, and thence to avoid further inconvenience, into *Dalmatia*, and *Pannonia*, where he became more familiar to the *Huns*. By their means he raiſed himſelf to his former Reputation, and now *Valentinian* had need of him, by reaſon that *Gundicarius*, King of the *Burgundians*, broke the League, and paſſing out of his own Bounds, invaded *Gallia Belgica*, which he waſted with Fire and Sword, till ſuch time as *Ætius* being ſent againſt him, forced him to turn his Back, and depart home. While *Gallia Belgica* flamed with Hoſtile Attempts made by *Gundicarius*, *Conſtantinople* was almoſt conſumed to Aſhes by ſome cauſe or other of another nature. *Socrates* writes, that ſuch a Fire happened, as had ſcarcely been in former times. For a great part of the City, (*Marcellinus* names that toward the North) was conſumed hereby, and the moſt ſtrong Forts and Places of Reſiſtance, particularly that called *Achilles*, was conſumed by this Conflagration, which continued the ſpace of two days and as many nights; ſome ſay three days, in the middle of *Auguſt*. *Theodoſius* finding himſelf in a condition to do it, paſſed another general Act of Indulgence, as he had done nineteen years before. Then, as we have ſeen, he granted a general pardon for all Arrears due to him from the Year CCCLXVIII, to the Year CCCCVII incluſive, or for forty Years; and now he thought fit in an Edict directed to *Taurus* the *Præfect* of the *Eaſt*, to extend “ this Grace and Favour to the twenty years next following, from the Year “ CCCCVIII, to the CCCCXXVIII, or, as he expreſſeth it, from the ſixth Indiction “ to the eleventh, in as ample and full a manner.“ And becauſe the *Numerarii* “ and *Domeſticks* of the *Præfects*, and Governours of Provinces were ſtill too often knaviſh, and great complaints were made againſt them, he ordered *Taurus* by another Conſtitution to take care, that at the going out of their Employment, “ they ſhould not be preferred for three years, ſo as by any privileges to be excuſed, “ but ſo as they might be brought to puniſhment for any miſdemeanours committed, “ during their Adminiſtration. And thus he not only remitted Tributes in Arrear, “ but took care that in ſuch payments as were to be made, the Subject ſhould “ not be abuſed.“

Ætius worſteth the *Burgandians.*

A great Fire at *Conſtantinople.*

Theodoſius pardons Arrears for twenty years more.

Lib.7.c.38.

L.16. de Indulgent.Debitorum. Cod.Th.

L ult. de Numerariis, &c. Cod.Th. & l.9. de Adſeſſorib. Cod.Juſt.lib. 1. tit.5.

A. D. 434. *Areovindo & Aſpare Coſſ.*

29. The Year CCCCXXXIIII had for Conſuls *Areovindus* and *Aſpar*. The War ſtill went on in *Africk* with various and doubtful ſucceſs; but the Court of *Ravenna* was moſt afflicted with a thing which happened within its own Walls. For there *Honoria* the Siſter of *Valentinian*, not able to contain, or keep her Virginity, was found to have ſtoln a great Belly, by the help of *Eugenius*, her *Procurator*, or Manager of her other matters, and then plotted with him how to deprive her Brother of his Eſtate. The thing being diſcovered, ſhe was only ſent away to *Theodoſius*, that he might cenſure her as he thought fit, which *Marcellinus* placeth at this Year, though *Baronius* refers it to the following from more perfect Copies, as he affirms. Some ſay that ſhe firſt invited *Attila*, King of the *Huns*, to come and marry her· and that deſign failing, took her own Servant to ſatisfie her Luſt. She found *Theodoſius*, certainly, well ſpoken of by the People, not only in reference to the Indulgence he had granted the Year before, as to the Arrears of twenty years of all ordinary payments; but alſo as to another granted this Summer, whereby “ he remitted the Arrears of a Tax, which to ſupply occaſions, had been extraordinarily “ impoſed upon Lands that had been freely given, or relieved from Tributes, “ as the cuſtom was in ſuch caſes, by the management of *Antiochus* the *Præfect* three years ago. This he granted by an Edict iſſued out to *Taurus*, by the

Honoria, the Siſter of *Valentinian* miſcarries in her Reputation.

Other gracious Acts of *Theodoſius.*

L.15. de Indulgentiis Debitorum, Cod.Th. Dat.12. Cal. Jul.

Titles

A. D. 434.

L.ult. de Frumento urb. Conſtp. Cod.Th. Dat. 5.Cal.Dec. & L.2. Cod. Juſt.eod.tit.

Titles of *Præfect* and *Patrician*. And as hereby he pleaſed the Provincials of the Eaſt, ſo he paſſed another Act of State, directed to *Leontius*, the *Præfect* of *Conſtantinople*; which muſt have been as grateful to that City, preſſed theſe years with a Scarcity of Proviſions, as *Marcellinus* notes. By this he ordered a ſumm of ſix “ hundred and eleven pounds of Gold to be for ever ſet apart for buying of Corn: “ which quantity exceeded much the five hundred pounds he had formerly given. “ This he forbids to be diminiſhed by any *Præfect* for the time to come, or applyed “ to other Uſes, under pain of forfeiting the double of the Value. “

A. D. 435.

Theodoſio A.15 & Valentiniano A. 4. Coſſ.

Proſper.

Trigetius makes a Peace with the *Vandals.*

30. The next Year, or the CCCCXXXV of our Lord, was honoured by the fifteenth Conſulſhip of *Theodoſius*, and the fourth of *Valentinian*, the two Emperors. It was remarkable to the Weſt in theſe reſpects; that *Valentinian* having happily entred the tenth of his Reign, as ſome write, went to *Rome*, and there celebrated his *Decennalia* in the uſual ſolemn manner. The joy hence conceived was no whit the leſs in that, at the beginning of *February*, a Peace was made by *Trigetius*, with *Genſerich* and his *Vandals*, by vertue of which they had aſſigned to them that part of *Africk* lying near *Hippo* to inhabit. About the ſame time *Ætius* had very good ſucceſs againſt the *Burgundiones* in *Gall*; who, in concluſion, were deſtroyed by the *Huns*. *Sebaſtian*, who had been Son in Law to *Boniface*, the late *Patrician*, had betaken himſelf to *Conſtantinople* for Refuge, whence now he privily conveyed himſelf, hoping to find ſome kind of Entertainment in *Africk*; but ſuch it was as he was to expect in order to his repairing to his long Home, for he was killed there not long after his Arrival. *Theodoſius* continued this Year at *Conſtantinople*; where, being free from Wars, he conſulted ſometimes with his *Quæſtor*; and, at the end of *January* publiſhed a Conſtitution in favour of the *Principes*, taken from amongſt the *Agentes in Rebus*, with whom the Offices of Magiſtrates, and Governors of Provinces were wont to be ſupplied. He permitted them to take ſuch Domeſticks as they pleaſed, whereas ſuch Attendants were wont to be choſen and admitted under the Inſpection of the *Primates* of the Offices; and farther, gave “ them liberty to take ſuch as had already executed the ſame Charges, which had “ been in other Caſes, formerly unlawful as well as this. “

L.ult.de Principib. Agentum in Rebus, Cod.Th. & L.4. Cod. Juſt.eod. tit. Dat.4.Cal.Febr.

31. And whereas ſome of the *Agentes in Rebus*, after long Service, were, by the Emperor's Codicils, promoted to be Honorary *Principes* in reſpect to their health. He allows of this now, if they had ſerved in the Employment five and twenty “ years, and that they enjoy the ſame privileges with thoſe who arrived at the Dignity by ſerving out the whole time, and taking it in courſe: yet ſo, as thoſe who had ob- “ tained Codicils, ſhould, in Salutations and ſitting with the Judges, give place to thoſe who had compleated their full Service, though, as to time, they might be ſuperior “ to them. This Edict is directed to *Valerius*, the *Magiſter Officiorum*; but at the bottom it is ſaid, that Copies were alſo ſent to *Iſidore*, *Præfectus Prætorio* of the Eaſt; to *Reginus*, *Præfect* of *Illyricum*; to *Leontius*, *Præfect* of the City; *Theodotus*, *Comes* of *Egypt*; *Abthartius*, *Comes* of the Eaſt; *Cleopater*, the *Præfectus Auguſtalis*; *Heſychius*, the *Proconſul* of *Achaia*; *Euſtathius*, *Vicar* of *Aſia*; and *Nectarius*, *Vicar* of *Pontica*. Now, this Marſhalling of theſe great Officers is not perfectly the ſame with that we have in the *Notitia* of the Empire, publiſhed about eight years before; for, therein the *Proconſul* of *Achaia* is put before the *Comes* of the Eaſt, and the *Præfectus Auguſtalis*; and the *Comes* of *Egypt* is placed after the *Vicars*. This ſame year it is very obſerveable, that *Paulus*, the *Magiſter Officiorum*, thought fit to reduce the *Agentes in Rebus* to the number of one thouſand, one hundred, and ſeventy four perſons; who ſometimes, in Reigns of ſome Princes, had been no fewer than ten thouſand. All Stragglers and Abſenters he ſummoned in thrice; and ſuch as came not, he ſtruck out of the Rolls. All this was now, by *Theodoſius*, confirmed; yet ſo, as theſe Deſertors ſhould not quite be caſhiered, but retained in the Schole as *Vacantes* or *Adſcriptitii*, ſo as to ſucceed into the Employment of the *Agentes* themſelves, as they ſhould die or be preferred: which was the Courſe obſerved, both in this and other Employments, by the *Romans*, to train up Men by degrees, and make them fit for Service.

The *Agentes in Rebus* reduced.

L.ult.de Agentibus in Rebus, Cod.Th. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

32. But, about this time notice was taken of ſeveral Eſtates, which, by reaſon of want of Heirs, or for Treaſon, were fallen to the publick Treaſury. *Theodoſius* conſidered both how often the Treaſury was defrauded of ſuch Poſſeſſions; and many Perſons injured who had real Title to ſuch pretended forfeited Eſtates; both by reaſon of the careleſs or unjuſt Proſecution of his Officers, and the tricks of ſuch as begged Eſtates ſo confiſcated. To prevent which, he granted out an Edict to *Hieritocrates*, his *Comes Rei Privatæ*; by which he enjoyned, that, Upon report “ made “

A good Law about confiſcated Eſtates.

L.ult.de Bonis Vacantib.Cod. Th.& L.ult.Cod. Juſt.eod.tit. Dat.7.Id.Octob.

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made of ſuch Eſtates, his own Officials ſhould be ſent down to enquire after “ them; but ſuch as were choſen out on purpoſe, and obliged by Oath to fair and “ honeſt dealings. Theſe Officials ſhould make a true Report hereof to the Gover- “ nor of the Province; who thereupon, the Advocate of the Treaſury being pre- “ ſent, ſhould make a full and thorough Inquiſition into the Nature and Circumſtan- “ ces of ſuch Eſtates; leave being here given to all Perſons concerned to interpoſe and “ defend ſuch Eſtates from any ſuch Imputation. Of this, the Governor of the Pro- “ vince muſt give a full Account to the Emperor himſelf, and ſend up the Acts, and “ an Inventory of the Eſtates to Court; where an Incorporation thereupon ſhould “ be made before any perſon ſhould beg them. In caſe this method be not obſerved, “ The Officers to be ſent down he deprives of one half of their Eſtates if either the “ Treaſury or private Perſons were injured; the *Proconſul* he threatens with his “ Indignation; and upon the Advocate of the Treaſury he impoſeth the dammage “ which either the Treaſury it ſelf, or any private Perſon concerned, ſhould wrong- “ fully ſuſtain in this Action. So great was the truſt that was impoſed on the *Advocate.*

A. D. 436. *Iſidore & Senatore Coſſ.*

33. The *Conſuls* of the Year CCCCXXXVI were *Iſidore* and *Senator.* Where *Valentinian* reſided either the laſt or this year, we do not find by any dates of Laws; but we find *Theodoſius* at *Conſtantinople* till toward the end of *Auguſt*, and then at *Apamea.* The Province of *Gall* was now diſturbed by *Theodorich*, King of the *Goths*; who, when the former War was ſcarcely compoſed, made another upon the *Roman* Officers, and laid Siege to the City of *Narbon*, as *Proſper* writes: who adds, that he was thence removed by the endeavours of *Litorius*, a *Comes* of theſe times. *Valentinian*, upon rumour of theſe motions of the *Goths*, ſent away *Litorius*, ſome ſay, with a great Power of *Huns*; who finding the City ſorely ſtraitned by Famine, ſent firſt a Supply of Wheat in to the Beſieged (two *Modii* by every Horſe-man) and when this was known, *Theodorich* was more eaſily perſwaded by *Avitus*, a great Man amongſt the *Arverni*, and of good repute both with Emperor and *Goth*, to raiſe the Siege, and get him gone. While the endeavours of the Government of the Weſt tended to ſuccour its Subjects from the violence of Foreign Enemies, *Theodoſius* employed himſelf in giving relief to ſuch of his as were oppoſed by their Fellow-Subjects. Particularly, in *Egypt*, *Gigantius* a *Cappadocian*, and about this time *Corrector* of *Auguſtamnica*, miſerably oppreſſed the Inhabitants by ſeveral ſorts of miſchiefs; and, amongſt others, by laying on them a new and unwonted Tax, ſo grievous and burthenſome, that many were forced to run their Country. For theſe his pranks he was, by the Emperors Command, apprehended, caſt into Priſon, and puniſhed as he had deſerved, as appears from the Epiſtles of *Iſidorus Peluſiota*, ſo called, from his Country *Peluſium*, which was the *Metropolis* of *Auguſtamnica.* But, beſides the puniſhing of his Perſon, there was need to prevent ſuch Rapacity for the future. And, upon this, or other ſuch occaſions, we find, this year, a large Conſtitution directed to *Iſidore*, the *Præfectus Prætorio* of the Eaſt.

L. 3. de Indictionibus, Cod. Th. Dat. prid. Non. Jun. Abeſt à Cod. Juſt.

Theodoſius very kind to the *Egyptians.*

34. This provides for the ſecurity of the *Egyptians* in general; but particularly, for the intereſt of the *Alexandrians.* It ſignifies that the year before, the Provin- “ cials, out of ignorance, had been compelled to pay ſuch Impoſitions as afterward “ the event ſhewed to have been undue. And therefore, to prevent the like, the “ *Præfect* is ordered to cauſe the Indiction to be made publick in places of greateſt re- “ ſort, before the *Calends* or firſt of *May.* About this time the Indictions of *Egypt*, “ as well as *Antioch*, began; though ordinarily, in other places, in *September.* “ The reaſon was, becauſe Harveſt was commonly got in about this time; for, they ſowed when *Nile* was returned to its Channel in the beginning of *November*, and began to reap a little before the beginning of *April*, though in *Paleſtine* they ſcarcely got in their Corn before *Whit-Sunday*, or *Pentecoſt.* The Edict for the “ Tax he will have expoſed for two months together, or from the beginning of “ *March*; the Copies thereof being ſent throughout the Provinces by the *Scriniarii* “ belonging to the *Præfect*, and then publiſhed by the *Officials* of the *Præfectus Auguſtalis*, “ the *Cohortales* belonging to the *Governors* of the ſeveral Provinces, and “ the *Defenſores* of the Cities; who are to take care thereof at their peril. “ Prevention of miſchief is a ſort of doing good, but not ſo direct as poſitive Acts of Bounty and Goodneſs. As the Cities of *Rome* and *Conſtantinople* had Corn or Bread freely beſtowed by Princes on their Inhabitants, ſo had alſo that of *Alexandria* by the Munificence of *Diocletian*; who, after the Overthrow and Death of *Achilleus*, committed horrid Outrages in that Country; but yet ordained ſeveral things which highly conduced to the Settlement of the Eſtate thereof, and to the Emolument of

that City. *Conſtantine* the Great had alſo been kind to the Poor of that Church. But now *Theodoſius* was ſo charitable, as to add to the former Allowance, toward the maintenance of the Common People, one hundred and ten *Modii* by the day; ſo as no Man ſhould be defrauded of what formerly he had enjoyed.

L.ult. de Frumento Alexandrino, Cod.Th. & L.2. Cod. Juſt.eod.tit.

35. But the Companies of the City of *Alexandria* were bound by ſome ancient Law or Agreement, to cleanſe thoſe Channels which were made for deriving the Water of the *Nile* into the ſeveral Territories and Fields of that Country. This they found ſo heavy a burthen, that, not well able to ſupport it, they made their Application to *Iſidore*, the *Præfect*; and with ſuch Succeſs, that he obtained a Reſcript to be directed to himſelf; Whereby they were freed from that Charge; “ and, in room of their free Contribution, out of the Tolls belonging to the City, “ which they called *Dinummium* (the ſame with a *Denarius*) four hundred *Solidi* “ ſhould be allotted to that Work; which ſhould be repayed out of the Cuſtoms “ laid upon Merchandize or Ships, a Revenue that belonged to the Prince himſelf. “ Here were Bodies or Companies, as *Bakers*, *Suarii*, *Catabolenſes*, *Pecuarii*, *Suſceptores*, *Mancipes* of the Baths, *Burners* of Lime, and others in this City as well as in *Rome* and *Conſtantinople*, who had ſeveral Privileges; as, not to be lyable to extraordinary Impoſitions; not to ſerve in War, except for the guarding of the Gates or Walls: but were obnoxious (for all this) to various Burthens, from one of which they now obtained a Relaxation. Thus *Theodoſius* conſulted for the Emolument of the Subject in general throughout *Egypt*, in reſpect to Tributes; and for the benefit of *Alexandria*, and its Bodies or Companies; nay, its Common People or Inhabitants. It's a wonder if we ſhould find nothing concerning the *Curia* and the *Curiales*, the *Senate* by which that great City was governed; ſo great, that it ſtood, in thoſe days, in competition with *Carthage*, which of the two ſhould be named firſt after the two *Romes*.

L.ult de Alexandrinæ Plebis Primatibus Cod. Th.& L.un.Cod. Juſt. eod tit. Dat.Prid.Non. Jun.

36. Yet, becauſe of the turbulent, light and inconſtant humour of that People, *Auguſtus* formerly had denied them the privilege of having a Senate; forbad alſo, that any Citizen of *Alexandria* ſhould be choſen into that of *Rome*: and indeed, for the ſame reaſon ſucceeding Princes were averſe to give leave to any to become free Members of the former City. But at length *Severus* indulged them ſo far, as to grant them to have a Court, and the *Jus Curialium*, or *Bouleutarum*, as they called them; whereas formerly they had lived as when under their own Kings, contented with one Judge, who was nominated by the Emperor. And *Caracalla*, his Son, though otherwiſe he was very ſevere unto them, permitted that, as other Subjects, they might be choſen into the *Roman* Senate. After this, the Court became of great fame and eſteem according to the greatneſs and importance of the place; in ſo much, that *Theodoſius* the Great wrote to them by the name of *Senators* of the City of *Alexandria*: and now, his Grand-ſon thought fit to grace them with farther privileges. The chief of the Court, uſually ten in number, were, as we have ſeen, called *Principales*, and had greater Immunities than the reſt: to which this Emperor thought fit to add this year, that, They ſhould not be forced “ to undertake a Journey, or to carry a Meſſage to Court; nor to undergo any “ publick Charge out of their City, which was intended rather for the advantage “ of the place than of them: it's Safety and Honour much depending on their Preſence, Care and Induſtry. And, this was now ſo far preſſing, that, although “ they were Advocates, and conſequently, by their Learning and Skill in the “ Laws, abler and fitter to undertake ſuch Employments, yet he will have them “ excuſed. “

Particularly to the *Alexandrians*.

L.189.de Decurionib Cod.Th. & I.56. Cod. Juſt eod.tit. Dat. Prid. Non. Jun.

37. But of theſe *Principales*, there was a Chief, or *Primus*, who held the firſt place in, and governed the Seſſion; who deſerving, in that reſpect, more than others, *Theodoſius*, by this Conſtitution, confers on him the Dignity of *Comes* of the firſt Rank; which drew along with it the Senatorian Dignity. But yet, we muſt confeſs, with ſome odd and unuſual Circumſtances. As firſt, That he ſhould “ enjoy this Dignity but for five years; whereas uſually, ſuch Honour was conferred for Life. Then, though he was hereby a *Senator*, he ſhall not be ſubject to “ any Senatorian Function. And, he will have him a *Comes*; yet ſo, as ſtill to “ remain and ſerve in the *Curia* of the City. “ But yet, ſtill, amongſt the *Principales*, beſides the *Primus*, there were five they called *Primates* and *Summates*; who were under the *Primus*, but were ſuperior to the other *Principales*. Theſe he will have “ free from Corporal Injuries, Examinations or Puniſhments by Torture; which “ Immunity others of the *Curiales* formerly enjoyed, but it ſeems it had been broken “ in latter times; and now *Theodoſius* thought fit to reſtore it to theſe perſons. And “ for “

L.190.ejuſd. tit. & L.57. Cod.Juſt.eod. tit.Dat.prid. Non.Jun.

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for it he gives this reaſon ; that with free Speech they may defend the Intereſt of “ their Country, which, before this, they durſt not uſe for fear of Torture when “ they were to lay open to the ordinary Judges the Grievances under which they laboured “ ; whether of immoderate Impoſitions, of Injuries received from their “ Officials, or ſuch like ; which, in this Country of *Egypt* were very frequent, and at this very time under *Theodorus*, the *Præfectus Auguſtalis*, whom *Iſidore* taxeth for his inſolent demeanour towards all Men. To ſecure theſe *Primates* againſt it, the Emperor, in caſe of Miſdemeanour, ordains that they be only puniſhed by “ the Purſe, and that the Mulct be impoſed by the *Præfect* in the Court, before all “ the *Curiales*. “ For the encouragement of ſuch as had continued long and worthily in Service of the Court (poſſibly thirty years) he ordains further, That they be “ excuſed from Corporal or Perſonal Services, though not from Patrimonial or Pecuniary “ ; for theſe were often divided. “ And becauſe oftentimes it happened, that ſome Perſons not at all obliged to undertake theſe Services, would voluntarily become *Curiales*, either out of love to their Country, or by the motion and perſwaſion of the *Principales* ; particularly, the *Hypomnematographus* : who, being the ſecond in place, was wont to nominate perſons to publick Functions, diſtribute Offices, and keep the Records of ſuch Tranſactions : and whereas the *Præfectus Auguſtalis* would often interpoſe, and, ſome way or other corrupted, hinder ſuch Agreements, *Theodoſius* declares, that, His conſent, which he affirms, was moſt “ commonly mercenary, ſhall not be expected ; but he ſhall admit and confirm ſuch “ Agreements upon Application made to him by both the Parties, under pain of incurring “ a Fine of twenty five pounds of Gold. “

L.191.ejuſd.tit. & L.58. Cod. Juſt.eod. tit.

L.ult.de Decurionib.Cod.Th. & L.59. Cod.Juſt. eod.tit.

To the Officers of his Revenue.

38. Thus kind was the Emperor to the Courts and the Members thereof, as often his Predeceſſors to their Subjects ; but of Indulgence to their own Officers belonging to the Revenue we ſeldom hear. But, about this time ſeveral of the Suſceptors, or Gatherers of the Proviſions in kind, being in Arrear of what ſhould have been paid into the *Arca* of the *Præfectus Prætorio* ; *Iſidore* holding that place, ſummoned them in, and ſet them certain Summs of Mony in lieu of them. This Taxation, or Exchange ſeemed to *Theodoſius* very moderate ; yet, they thinking it otherwiſe, petitioned him for a milder Compoſition : and he was ſo inclinable to ſhew mercy, that he forgave them the one half of what was due before the tenth Indiction or “ the CCCCXXVII of our Lord ; commanding the reſt to be duly paid. “ *Iſidore* continued *Præfectus Prætorio* of the Eaſt till toward the month of *September*, and then was ſucceeded by *Darius* ; to whom we find a Conſtitution directed on the eight and twentieth of *Auguſt*. This was of Indulgence alſo, in reference to the Exchange of Mony for Tributes in Specie : and herein to confirm the Privileges granted by former Princes, and to put an Honor upon *Cyrus*, an eminent Prelate, who was Biſhop, at this time, of *Afrodiſias*, the *Metropolis* of *Caria* ; and had lately done good Service to the Church, in the Council of *Epheſus*, againſt the Heretick *Neſtorius*. He declares his Merits to be ſuch, that he ſhall not be prohibited “ to make uſe of a ſpecial Indulgence, contrary to this general Sanction. But “ otherwiſe, he declares, that, at the end of five years, an Eſtimation being made “ of the Profits or Revenue ; and the Fertility and Sterility being compared, the “ Poſſeſſor may pay a fifth part of the Value ; and that, according to the ordinary “ Market Rate of that Year. “ This Law is dated at *Apamea*, of which there were two ; one in *Bithynia*, and the other in *Phrygia* : the latter of which, called alſo *Cibotos*, was neareſt to *Cyzicus* ; whither *Marcellinus* reports *Theodoſius* to have repaired by Water this Year, and to have been very gratious to the place. It made up, with other Injunctions, a larger Conſtitution, by vertue of another part whereof *Darius* was enjoyned, as formerly his Predeceſſor *Iſidore* had been, to “ take ſpecial care, that before the beginning of the Indiction, timely notice ſhould “ be given of the quantity of the Tax ; that the Officials might not cheat the Provincials “, by pretending it greater than indeed it was. “

Adæratio.

L.ult.de Indulg. Debitorum, Cod. Th. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt.

To *Cyrus*, an eminent Prelate.

L.ult.de Annona & Tributis, Cod.Th.Dat.5. Cal.Septemb. Abeſt a Cod. Juſt. ut temporaria & hiſtorica.

L.ult. de Indictionib. Cod.Th. & L.ult. Cod. Juſt.tod.tit.

A. D. 437.

Ætio & Sigeſvulto, Coſſ.

39. The Year CCCCXXXVII had for *Conſuls*, *Ætius* and *Sigeſvultus*. *Theodoſius* continued this Year at *Conſtantinople*, whither he had returned out of *Aſia* in *October*. Where *Valentinian* had his Abode is ſomething uncertain, though this be certain enough, that, at the latter end of the preceding, or in this he made a Journey Eaſtward, to marry *Eudoxia*, the Daughter of *Theodoſius*. *Proſper*, *Marcellinus*, the *Chronicon* of *Caſſiodorus*, and others, ſet it at this Year. But *Socrates*, who living at this time, and concluding his Hiſtory ſhortly after, had better reaſon to know the truth ; writes, that they were married in the Conſulſhip of *Iſidore* and *Senator*. That *Theodoſius* having granted his Requeſt, it was conſidered what

Lib.7.c.43.

place

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place would be moſt convenient to meet at, betwixt *Rome* and *Conſtantinople*, for conſummating the Marriage; and *Theſſalonica* was moſt approved, as in the middle way. But *Valentinian*, as became a briſk Lover, deſired him not to trouble himſelf, for he would come to *Conſtantinople*, and fetch his Bride himſelf. And accordingly, when he had placed his Affairs of the Weſt in ſafe hands, he went thither: and having conſummated the Marriage, returned ſpeedily again into his own Dominions. Some write, that he purchaſed his Wife by quitting part of *Illyricum*; whereas one would have expected, that he ſhould rather have received the other part in Portion with her. But, while *Valentinian* was thus engaged in matters of Love and Marriage, *Littorius*, his Officer, being diſintangled from the Tumults of the *Goths*, made War upon the *Aremoricans*; who, not long before, had revolted. He did not think the *Goths* would ſo ſoon return to their turbulent humour, as it happened: for, no ſooner was the Rod removed out of their ſight; no ſooner was he withdrawn, but they renewed their Hoſtilities, and fell into the Country of the *Arverni*; which they waſted with all ſorts of Calamities. But, upon *Littorius* his returning victoriouſly from *Aremorica*, and bringing a power of *Huns* to aſſiſt him, they were eaſily obliged to ceaſe their Depredations, and retire to the place from whence they came.

Valentinian marries the Daughter of *Theodoſius.*

ἄθις ἐπὶ τὰ ἑσπέρια μέρη ἀνέστραμεν.

40. What Portion ſoever *Theodoſius* gave with his Daughter, or what Contract was made about the Marriage, in a Conſtitution of this Year, and the laſt of all that his Code contains, he gives him the Title of his Lord and Son: but this he might do out of other reſpects, as well as the newly contracted Relation. Herein he confirms the Privileges he had granted to the *Decuriones* and *Silentiarii* five Years before, in contemplation of their merits. And beſides theſe, he adds others " of his own Grace and Favour. As, that they ſhall enjoy the Honour of *Senators*, " but be excuſed from the burthens belonging to perſons of that rank; as " the *Prætorſhip*, and the *Glebalis Collatio.* That they ſhall be excuſed from the *Metatus*, " whether their Houſes be in *Conſtantinople*, or in other Cities; ſo as not to " be bound to find Lodging for any, of what Dignity ſoever; whereas the *Illuſtres* " only were wont to be indulged in this kind. But he declares, that theſe Privileges " ſhall be underſtood, not to extend to any *Supernumeraries*, but to thirty *Silentiarii*, " and three *Decuriones*; to which number he had reduced them. And " ſuch only ſhall enjoy them as have continued and demeaned themſelves unblameable " in the Service for the ſpace of thirteen Years; or, as he expreſſeth it, conti- " nued their Watches or Attendance ſo long. " Whereby he expreſſeth the particular Duty and Service of theſe Men, who, as we have formerly ſaid, watched and warded about the Emperor's Bed-chamber, at the ſecond Velum, or Hanging, when he was in Conſiſtory, or had any buſineſs with his Council, or treated upon any Meſſages brought out of the Provinces. There they both commanded ſilence, and were in a condition to procure it, being armed, for the eaſe and ſecurity of the Prince. This Edict is not dated with the names of the *Conſuls* of the preſent Year, but thus: After the *Conſulſhip* of *Iſidore* and *Senator*, although in the middle of *March*, which was much, that their names ſhould not be known at that time.

The laſt Conſtitution in *Theodoſius* his Code in behalf of the *Silentiarii.*

Decurionum & Silentiariorum meritis provocati conlata in eos beneficia quæ Dominus ac Filius noſter Valentinianus ſemper Auguſtus erga eos contulit, confirmamus, &c. L. ult. Cod. Th. de Decurionibus & Silentiariis, Dat. 18. Cal. Apr.

A. D. 438. *Theodoſio A.* 16. *& Fauſto, Coſſ.*

41. For the next, or the CCCCXXXVIII of our Saviour, *Theodoſius* himſelf, the ſixteenth time, took the Conſular Ornaments; and with him was joyned *Fauſtus* in the Weſt. Nothing ſo memorable happened this Year, as the Confirmation of *Theodoſius* his Code, which had been compoſed in the former. As in all States and Dominions Laws are made *pro re nata*, and according to the Exigency of Affairs, in proceſs of time they ordinarily grow to a great number; and, as accidents and circumſtances vary, ſo become often obſolete and out of uſe, though they continue to be Hiſtorical, and to ſhew the ſtate of the times when they were ordained: So happened it at this time with the Laws of the *Romans*, eſpecially, the Conſtitutions of Emperors; and there was need to make ſome diſcrimination betwixt them that were indeed uſelſs, and ſuch as continued to be directive to the preſent Conduct of Affairs. Formerly ſome had taken the pains to gather into Bodies the Edicts of ſome particular Princes; but there were none that came forth entire, or conſiderable for their quantity and uſe, till thoſe called *Codex Gregorianus* and *Hermogenianus* ſaw the light, in the days of *Diocletian*, and about ten Years before *Conſtantine* the Great. They were of great moment, as appears by the uſe made of them in after times, though they be now loſt, as to us. Yet it appears not whether they were publiſhed by publick Authority or not: and its alſo uncertain who were their Authors, who this *Gregorius* and *Hermogenes* ſhould be; though ſome are ſo bold as to make conjectures. However, they both fetch'd the Original of their Collections from the Emperor *Adrian*; who is, by ſeveral Writers, named,

Vide Gothofr. in Prolegomenis ad Cod. Theod.

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as a Prince who altered and reformed the Law, and perhaps chiefly upon this Account; that, in his time was framed the *Edictum Perpetuum*, which was to be a ſtanding Rule for Law, and an Epitome thereof; of which theſe Writings were generally Comments, which now are found in the Pandects, and the method of which was followed by *Hermogenianus*, in his Code; who lived, as ſeveral conjectures would perſwade us, during the Government of *Conſtantine* his Sons. And, probable it is, that both of them being Pagans, and finding many old Cuſtoms to be altered by Chriſtian Princes; out of zeal to the ancient Conſtitutions, that they might not be forgotten, they made thoſe Collections.

Theodoſius his Code confirmed.

42. That Chriſtians might not be behind with them herein, the *Theodoſian* Code was at this time compoſed; in which were collected ſuch Conſtitutions as had been made by the Emperors of our Profeſſion, from the time of *Conſtantine*, who, by *Julian* and his fellow Pagans, was railed on for an Innovator, though he took away the doubtful tricks and ambages of the old Law, and brought it down to a Conformity with the goodneſs and mercifulneſs of Chriſtianity; and eſpecially, with that morality and oppoſition to Vice, which true Chriſtians, according to the indiſpenſable Rules of their Religion, own to be neceſſary for the attainment of that happineſs which it propoſeth. But *Theodoſius* ſignifies in the Novel which this year, on the fifteenth of *February*, he publiſhed, for the confirmation of this his Code: that, The great loſs which Profeſſors of Law were at, how to regulate their Studies, “ was the great motive to this his undertaking. For, the Books of Law were “ ſo voluminous, that they knew not where to begin or fix: and that proved ſo “ great a diſcouragement, that he complains how few in his time were eminent in “ this Study. To prevent all confuſion, he commands, that, after the firſt of *January*, “ this Code be made uſe of in all Deciſions, as the Standard of Law. And, unwilling “ to defraud of their due praiſe thoſe who aſſiſted at the Collection, being “ Men of approved Fidelity, famous Learning, and to be compared with the Antients, “ He makes mention of *Antiochus*, who had been both *Præfect* and *Conſul*; “ *Marcellinus*, who had executed the Office of *Quæſtor* of the Palace; *Martyrius*, “ at preſent a *Comes*, and his *Quæſtor*; all three Illuſtrious in Dignity. To them he “ adds five more, and all of the Title of *Spectabilis*; as *Sperantius*, *Apollodorus* and “ *Theodorus*; all *Comites* of his ſacred Conſiſtory: *Eugenius*, his *Comes*, and *Magiſter* “ *Memoriæ*: and, in the laſt place, *Procopius*, a *Comes* alſo, who had been “ *Magiſter Libellorum*. At the cloſe of the Law he calls *Florentius*, the *Præfectus* “ *Prætorio* of the Eaſt, to whom he directs it, his moſt dear and moſt loving Parent; “ and orders his Illuſtrious and Magnificent Authority, to which it was a familiar “ thing to pleaſe Princes, by his publiſhed Edicts, to cauſe this Decree of his “ Imperial Majeſty to come to the knowledge of all People and Provinces. “ It bears date, as we ſaid, on the fifteenth of *February*; but the fifteenth Conſulſhip of *Theodoſius* is corruptly ſet for the ſixteenth; as many Conſtitutions do evidence in his Code, which were made after that of his fifteenth Conſulſhip, and as the Reader hath ſeen.

Theod. Novel. 1. Dat. 15. Cal. Mart. Theodoſio A. Conſ. 15. Et qui fuerit nunciatus.

43. The main thing he propounded to the Compilers was, To extricate the “ Laws from tediouſneſs and obſcurity wherein they were involved, by cutting off “ the Prefaces and other Circumſtantials; whereby, though the memories of Lawyers “ might be eaſed, yet Hiſtory could not but ſuffer in its Evidence and Perſpicuity. “ That this Code may the more obtain, he forbids any Conſtitution, for the “ time to come, made by his Son *Valentinian*, to be of force, except it be firſt “ intimated to himſelf; and others going out in his own name, to be Authentical, “ if not contained in his Code; except relating to the Militia, and matters “ of Expenſes belonging to the *Palatine* Offices. “ But of the profitableneſs of this Book let the Reader, by the uſe he ſees now made of it, judge; and how far it came to be received for Law in after times, both by the *Romans*, and Barbarous Nations we ſhall in due time diſcover.

The *Notitia Imperii.*

Now that we are ſpeaking of Books, we muſt take notice of another very uſeful one, compiled about this time, at leaſt, compleated; and that is, the *Notitia* of the Empire, of which we have made ſo much uſe in this Volume; which both gives ſo much light, and receives ſo much illuſtration from the Code. It's inſcribed thus, *The Notitia of all the Dignities, as well Civil as Military, in the Parts of the Eaſt, and of the Weſt*: and in it, indeed, is contained the Forces, Garriſons, Magiſtrates, Ornaments, and Strength; in a word, all the Greatneſs and Importance of the Empire, in admirable order and method. By reading of this Book, the ſenſe of many Laws is to be made out, and many obſcure places in Hiſtories cleared. *Auguſtus*, as we formerly hinted, firſt

Vide Præf. Panciroli in Not.

began a Work of this nature; for with his own hand he wrote a Book wherein were contained the publick Forces, what Aſſociates as well as natural Subjects were in Arms, how many Fleets were maintained, what Kingdoms were in ſubjection, what were the Tributes and Cuſtoms of the Provinces, and what the Expences were; and this he delivered to the Magiſtrates and Senators, whom he ſent for to his Houſe, when he had thoughts of reſigning the Government. This Book was kept, and the courſe obſerved by ſucceeding Princes, who added and altered as there was occaſion. It was called alſo the *Laterculum* from the ſhape and figure of it.

44. But the Provinces being divided, the Magiſtrates increaſed, and new Palatine Dignities being found out, and by reaſon of new Enemies riſing up from all Quarters, more numerous Forces being raiſed, all theſe this *Laterculum* could not contain. And therefore a new Book was made, called the *Leſſer Laterculum*, and therein were ſet down and deſcribed the Præfectſhips, Tribuneſhips and Governments of Caſtles and Forts made for defence of the Limits; and this was kept in the *Scrinium Memoriæ*, under the Diſpoſition of the *Quæſtor*. Out of theſe Books was the *Notitia of the Empire* compiled, and, as we ſaid, about this time; for as to the very time indeed there is no certainty. *Gothofred* thinks it was made about ten or eleven years before the publiſhing of the Code. *Pancirolus* concludes it done toward the latter end of this *Theodoſius* his Reign, for ſeveral reaſons. Under the *Dux* of *Ægypt* it makes mention of the *Ala Theodoſiana*, which was inſtituted in his time, and takes notice of the *Saxon* Limit through *Britain*; which name was firſt heard of about or after the Year CCCC. He conceives no mention to be made in it of the *Vicar* of *Illyricum*, becauſe that Country was about this very time, whereof we write, miſerably waſted by the *Huns*. And that it could not be written after the Year CCCCLV, is evident, becauſe it mentions the *Fabrick* or Forge of *Concordia*, and the Treaſures of *Aquileia*, and the Money there coined; whereas both *Caſſiodorus* and *Marcellinus* write of theſe Cities being deſtroyed by *Attila* in that Year. In concluſion, *Alciate*, where-ever he had it, calls it, *The Breviary of* Theodoſius *the Younger*. In the ſame Volume, and that ſet before the *Notitia*, were found Deſcriptions of the Old, and of New *Rome*, each divided into fourteen Regions, which, though not parts of it but kept in the Offices of the *Præfects* of the Cities were probably ſet before it for the notableneſs of the Subject. And after it, were placed the Figures of certain Engines relating to War, and to coining, which it ſeems were taken out of the Fabricks belonging to the *Magiſter Officiorum*, and the *Scrinia* of the *Comes Largitionum*, and added as an Ornament to the Work; all which Learned *Pancirolus* by his Commentaries hath illuſtrated.

When written.

45. But with ſome Copies of this *Notitia*, another Work hath alſo been found joyned, and which deſerves to be mentioned as a thing of great uſe and advantage; a Treatiſe which declares the diſtance and Names of Cities, Towns, Garriſons, Manſions, Stations and Mutations of the *Curſus*, where the Poſts, or thoſe that made uſe of the *Curſus publicus*, were wont to bait and refreſh themſelves, and change their Horſes or Waggons. This Book is commonly known by the name of *Antonine's* Itinerary, though why ſo called, no Man can well divine. That it was not compoſed by any Emperor that bore that name, as now we find it, ſufficiently appears in that it makes mention of *Conſtantinople*, *Conſtantia*, and *Maximianopolis*, Cities; and the Legions called *Joviæ* and *Herculiæ*, which names are of later date by ſome hundreds of years, the Cities being founded by the perſons whoſe names they bore, and the Legions inſtituted by *Diocletian* and *Maximian*. Beſides, ſome Copies have it not *Antoninus*, but *Antonius*; *Flodoardus* and others aſcribe it to *Æthicus*, an ancient Geographer; and an old Manuſcript, as Biſhop *Uſher* citeth it out of *Dempſter*, the Author of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of *Scotland*, unto *Scotus*. But as we ſaid concerning the *Notitia* of the Dignities of the Empire, that for the ſervice of the State, the Prince and chief Miniſters, ſuch Collections had been made as occaſion ſerved in all Ages, and changed according to accidents, and as the Laws and Cuſtoms altered; ſo doubt we not, but a *Notitia*, as we may call it, of the ſeveral Cities, Stations, Manſions and Mutations was alſo made, kept and preſerved to reſort to upon occaſion, for the underſtanding of Countries, and direction of Armies in their Marches, the *Curſus publicus*, Conveyance, of the *Annona*, and like uſes: and this was alſo interpolated and changed as new places aroſe, or new Names were taken by places. The greateſt Captains, as *Alexander* and *Julius Cæſar*, were very careful in their Conqueſts to make Charts

Antonine's Itinerary.

De Primordiis, Eccleſ. Brit. p. 78.

Audacter, ut ſolet, Valeſius in Ammian. Marcellin.p. 403. *Coſmographia quæ tota ex Julio Oratore tranſcripta cùm ſit, non Æthici, ſive Ethici ſed Julii Honorii Oratoris Coſmographia dici debet.*

See *Burton's* Commentary upon the Itinerary concerning *Britain.*

A. D. 438.

and Deſcriptions of Countries for the benefit of themſelves and poſterity. The *Perſians* had their Countries alſo ſurveyed. Poſſibly what *Julius Cæſar*, *Auguſtus* or others began, might receive ſome conſiderable alteration in the days of *Antoninus Caracalla*, or *Antoninus Pius*, and thence the Collection might retain his name; though afterward it received great alterations, according to the changes which time produceth. And being kept alſo in the *Scrinium Memoriæ*, or ſome other Office, as the *Latercula* were; it was thought fit for the agreeableneſs of the Subject, to be joyned and publiſhed with the *Notitia* of the Empire.

A. D. 439. *Theodoſio A.* 17. *& Feſto Coſſ.*

46. The Year of our Lord CCCCXXXIX had *Theodoſius Auguſtus*, the Emperor, Conſul now the ſeventeenth time; and with him in the Weſt was joyned *Feſtus*. *Littorius* as well as *Ætius* formerly fought proſperouſly in *Gall* againſt the *Goths*, and partly by the confidence of his good fortune, partly out of emulation to him, and truſting to the Aruſpices and Anſwers of Devils, he was (for he was a Pagan) ſo far tranſported, as hoping to drive them out of the Country, he laid Siege to *Tolouſe*, their City, and at firſt put their King *Theodorich* into ſuch a fright, that he ſent ſome Biſhops to offer peace. He thought himſelf ſure of ſucceſs, and rejecting the motion, gave battel to the *Goths*, who bought the Victory very dear, but the Victory they got, and with this addition, that the confident Pagan Captain was taken Priſoner, and carried captive into that City which he doubted not but to enter in Triumph, where at length he miſerably periſhed, pitied by his very Enemies, as *Salvian* writes. *Valentinian* receiving the News of his Defeat, and the loſs of ſuch an Army, commanded *Ætius* to haſte again into *Gall*, to repair the Breach that had been made upon the *Roman* Intereſt; and his very coming had ſuch operation upon the imaginations of the *Goths*, that they preſently deſired a peace, which was mediated by *Avitus* then *Præfectus Prætorio* of that Diſtrict.

Littorius defeated.

Proſper. Iſidorus.

47. But while *Ætius* was buſie in quenching the flame kindled in *Gall*, a greater broke out in *Africk*, where *Genſerich* raging with all imaginable liberty throughout the Country, at length could not forbear ſetting upon *Carthage* it ſelf, after the wealth whereof he ſorely thirſted. And the State of that City was truly ſo great and ſplendid at this very time, as might very well tempt and allure a Man of his principles to be dealing with it. *Salvian*, the more to aggravate the crimes, the Luxury and Debauchery as of all the *Africans*, ſo of the preſent *Carthaginians*, preſents his Reader with a proſpect of its Glory. He ſets it forth as always emulous to *Rome*; in old time as to Arms and Valour; afterwards as to Splendor and Dignity; as the greateſt Adverſary of the *Roman* City, and another *Rome* in the *African* World; what Diſcipline ſoever is wont either to procure or adminiſter the Intereſt and Greatneſs of Places was at this time in it to be found. There were all Inſtruments" of publick Offices or Employments. There were Schools of the Liberal Arts;" there were the Shops, as he terms them, or Work-Houſes, of Philoſophers; in" a word, all Accommodations for Languages and Manners.

Genſerich falls upon *Carthage*.

A Deſcription of that City.

48. And not only ſo, but it was furniſhed with Soldiers, and ſuch as com-" manded Military Men. There was to be ſeen the honourable Port of a *Procon-*" *ſul*, a dayly Judge and Governour, who, as to Name and Title, was indeed a" *Proconſul*, but a *Conſul* as to power and greatneſs. There were all ſorts of Offi-" cers, and differing amongſt themſelves as well in Degree as Titles, and in every" Street and Lane thoſe who in a manner governed all the members of the City" and People. This he grudges not to declare, but is aſhamed when he comes to" ſpeak how this City ſwarmed with all ſorts of Vices; how it abounded with all" kinds of Iniquities; how full it was of Tumults, but more of Turpitudes; full of" Wealth, but more of Vice; how the Inhabitants ſurmounted one another in the" naughtineſs of their Wickedneſſes; how ſome contended with others in Rapa-" city, others with their Neighbours in Impurity; ſome languiſhed by drinking" too much Wine, and others were burſten almoſt with Gluttony; ſome were" crowned with Garlands; others were moiſt with Ointments; but all ruined" with various ſorts of Luxury; almoſt all deſtroyed by one death of Errors; not" all ſotted with Drink, but all drunk in ſeveral ſorts of Sins. You would ima-" gine, ſaith he, the People not themſelves, not to be in their Wits, but ſuch as ſtumble," fall, and break their Necks, reeling by Troops after their drunken Bouts, no-" otherwiſe than as the *Bacchæ*."

The Vices of the Inhabitants.

49. He taxeth them with injuſtice and oppreſſion of Widows and Orphans," and eſpecially inſiſts upon their Impurity and Uncleanneſs, with which all Corn-" ers of the City ſtank." By this we might judge of a Revolution near at hand, Vice the uſual Harbinger being ſo briſk and daring. And it came not far behind,

Carthage

Genſerich his Rage and Cruelty againſt them.

Carthage being taken by *Genſerich* this *October*, ſome ſay the nineteenth, and ſome the three and twentieth day. *Proſper* writes, that he got into it by treachery of peace, or a pretence to friendſhip; but being got in, that he ſeiſed on all their Wealth, and turned it to his own uſe, torturing the Citizens after divers ſorts and manners. That he abſtained not from rifling of Churches, which he turned from their Religious Uſe to be the Habitations of his Men. In ſumm, he bore himſelf cruelly towards the People, but was eſpecially an Enemy to Nobility and Religion, ſo as he might ſeem to make War rather againſt God than Man. *Iſidore* compendiouſly relates, that violating the Religion of an Oath, he ſeiſed on *Carthage*, waſted *Sicily*, beſieged *Panormus*, ſpread the Plague of Arianiſm throughout *Africk*, expelled the Prieſts of the Church, and made many Martyrs. Others tell, how having made Captives a great part of the Senators, he made Proclamation that every one ſhould bring in their Gold, Silver, Gems or rich Moveables, on all which he ſeiſed. After this manner he divided the Provinces betwixt him and his Army, reſerving to himſelf *Bizacena*, *Abaritana*, *Getulia*, and part of *Numidia*; and diſtributing to his Men *Africa Zeugitana* and *Proconſularis*. The Biſhops and Noble Perſons he commanded to be driven away from their Poſſeſſions, and ſuch as would not depart, to be made Slaves; which was executed upon many. In particular, he cauſed *Quod-vult-Deus*, Biſhop of *Carthage*, and the greateſt part of his Clergy to be put naked and helpleſs on board ſome leaky Veſſels, who yet by the mercy of God got ſafe to *Naples* in *Campania*.

Theodoſius ſupplies the Defects of his Code by ſeveral Novel Conſtitutions.

50. The Eaſt all this Year was in reaſonable quiet, and gave *Theodoſius* leiſure to perfect ſuch deſigns as he had about his Laws, of which he found ſome defect already in his Code, as not anſwering all caſes which daily occurred. For now was found great inconvenience in having the Aſſeſſors of Judges to continue too long in their own Provinces, by the opportunities they had by reaſon of long acquaintance to be partial, and therefore *Florentius* the Præfect was commanded to ſuffer no ſuch Counſellor or Aſſiſtant to continue above four Months, as the “ Laws formerly had ordained, under pain of forfeiture of Eſtates, and incurring “ a publick crime, except they had the Emperor's or the Præfect's leave for ſo do- “ ing. For the better conveyance of Corn, and the *Felix Embola*, as they called “ it, he was alſo commanded this Spring, that no Ship carrying above the Burthen “ of two thouſand *Modii* till that was done ſhould be excuſed by any privilege or “ immunity ſoever, however procured, or pretended to, though under the Empe- “ ror's own hand, which he is required to obſerve alſo in general in all Immunities “ granted contrary to Law or the publick Utility.“ But ſuch Veſſel thus withdrawn ſhall be forfeited and ſold; and this, *Florentius* is commanded by his Edicts to ſignifie. Great Complaint was made alſo this Spring concerning *Advocates*, how the *Curiales* forſook their Charges, and filled the Courts of the *Præfects*. To “ prevent which inconveniences, *Theodoſius* thought fit to limit the Number of “ *Advocates* of the *Præfects* Court of the Eaſt, to that of one hundred, and that “ thoſe of inferior Judges might be duly and fitly ſerved with Pleaders, he took “ care for preſerving them from the violence of great Men, and having other Bur- “ thens impoſed upon them. And in *September* following, he thought fit to extend “ all Immunities granted to the *Advocates* of the *Præfectſhip* of the *Eaſt*, to thoſe “ that pleaded in the Court of that of *Illyricum*, by a Reſcript directed to *Theſſalius*, “ who was now Præfect of that Diſtrict.

L.10.de Adſeſſorib.&c. Cod. Juſt.l.1.tit.5. Dat.13. Cal. Febr.

L.2. de Navibus non excuſandis, Cod. Juſt.lib.11.tit. 3. Dat.9. Id. Apr. & L. Novel.15. Theodoſii de Navibus, ultra duorum, &c.

Novel.16.de Poſtulando,&c. hinc deſumpta eſt, L.6. de Advocatis, &c. Cod.Juſt.lib.2. tit.7. Dat.8. Cal.Mart.

L.7. de Advocatis,&c. ejuſd. tit.Dat.6.Id. Septemb.

51. *Florentius* in *June* acquainted his Maſter with another Miſcarriage, for which he alſo received thanks. It had been alſo an uſual practice to beg thoſe publick Lands which in the Eaſt were appointed to publick Charges; as the defence of the Borders, the maintenance of Soldiers upon the Limits, as alſo thoſe that belonged to the Patrimony of the Prince, and Paſture Grounds, ſo as the charge of thoſe Grounds exceeded the Profit or Revenue. *Theodoſius* acknowledges this to be very ill Husbandry, and ſo ſtrictly and ſeverely prohibits the practice of beg- “ ging thoſe Lands, or bringing them into private hands, that any ſuch Beggar, or “ any Office which ſhall admit ſuch a Petition, though backed with the Emperor's “ own order, he will have incur no leſs a Fine than of fifty pounds of Gold. “ We have formerly told the Reader how it was the cuſtom for the Emperors Houſes and Places to have Titles or Inſcriptions ſet upon them, as alſo they had Purple Banners to diſtinguiſh them; & this *Honorius* had made unlawful to be uſed by any Subject. When Lands were ſeiſed for his uſe, the Officers were wont to affix theſe Titles: & now it was wont to be practiſed by other private perſons, poſſibly to bring the Eſtates of thoſe they hated into trouble, and make them queſtionable by the Treaſury,

Nov Th.12.c.2. & hinc deſumpta, L.13. de Fundis Patrimonialib. Cod. Juſt.lib.11. tit. 61.Dat.6.Id. Jun.

ſury, inſomuch that *Theodoſius* thought fit to make it no leſs than capital for any perſon of mean condition to affix any ſuch Titles or Banners to the Eſtates of private Men. And if he were a *Curialis*, or of higher condition he puniſheth him “ with Deportation; it being lawful for any to break or rent them ſo affixed, with- “ out being proceeded againſt for ſo doing in any Court, upon pain of three hundred- “ pounds of Gold to be incurred by any Judge, or his Office, admitting ſuch Accuſation.

l.2. ut Nemo privatus titulos, &c. Cod. Juſt. lib. 2. tit. 16. Dat. 15. Cal: Jul. ad Florentium.

52. The Office and Dignity of a *Præfectus Prætorio* was ſo high, that there was no appealing from him; and eſpecially if the Sentence was given for the Court, or aſſerting of his Juriſdiction. But *Thalaſſus* the *Præfect* of *Illyricum* was ſo honeſt, as to let the Emperor know the extravagance of this Law, or Conſtitution, and of what injuſtice it was full, that people ſometime injured by an unequal ſentence could have no remedy. *Theodoſius* acknowledged the ſeaſonableneſs of his advice, and though he did not grant a formal appeal, yet in caſe of ſuch oppreſſion ſuppoſed, though the ſentence had been for the Court, he gave free liberty for any to ſup- “ plicate, himſelf, for relief againſt ſuch ſentence, which if they did within two “ years, the buſineſs ſhould be heard, or elſe the ſentence remain ſettled and valid. “ He bids his illuſtrious and magnificent Authority, whom, according to the cuſtom, when a *Patritian*, he terms alſo *Parent of the Auguſti*, to take notice, that that “ Conſtitution which made it unlawful to ſupplicate againſt a ſentence paſſed for the “ Court, is utterly repealed and null, and that it ſhall be lawful to offer Petitions a- “ gainſt the Cognitional Sentences of his Bench, within two years, to be accounted af- “ ter the ſucceſſion of the Judge. “ In concluſion, that the profit ariſing from this Law be not concealed, he orders him by his Edicts to cauſe it to become known to all Men. *Florentius* the *Præfect* of the *Eaſt*, and *Exconſul*, acquainted him about the ſame time, how many of the *Curiales* of his Diſtrict aſpiring to the honour of Senators, by reaſon of the Burthen of *Prætorſhip*, were ſo exhauſted in their Fortunes, that they were not able to ſupport the Charges of the Corporations. For redreſs of this Grievance to the Country, *Theodoſius* wrote to the Senate of *Con-* “ *ſtantinople*, and putting them in mind how it was their Duty, under him, and by “ his direction to look to the Concernments of the State, forbade, that for the time “ to come any of theſe Men ſhould aſpire to the Senatorian Dignity, and the So- “ ciety of *Clariſſimi*. And for ſuch as had already obtain'd it, but as yet had not “ undergone the Prætorſhip, that they ſhould be excuſed from that Charge the “ better to enable them to perform what was incumbent on them in the Country. “

Novel Th. 6. Dat. 3. Id. Aug.

Novel. Th. 8. Dat. prid. Id. Septemb.

53. The ſame day, or the next following, by another new Conſtitution he endeavoured yet further to ſupply what was wanting in his Code. He took notice, that there was no better way to cauſe the Barbarous Nations to ſubmit to his Empire “ and Victories, than by ſecuring the advantages of peace by good and wholſome “ Laws. Meditating both night and day how this might beſt be effected, and con- “ ſidering well the ſtate of Mankind, he imagined it a matter of no mean conſe- “ quence, to aſſiſt the Dying in making their laſt Wills; that every Man might “ leave his Eſtate as he pleaſed himſelf; that he might have his Will in his own “ power: that no Man might be obliged againſt his mind, either to ſpeak or hold “ his peace. Foraſmuch as that only is a Teſtament, which contains the meer “ Will and Intention of the Teſtator; and the nature of man is ſuch, that ſome he “ loves, and others he fears; to ſome bears good will, others he ſuſpects: ſome he “ truſts, others he dare not employ; and yet dare not acknowledge what he thinks “ of each in particular. In former times they were wont to ſhew their written “ Wills to Witneſſes, and require their Teſtimonies to them. But now ſuch cau- “ tion not being uſed as in former Ages, and the Witneſſes inquiring into the Con- “ tents of what was written; it was come to that paſs, that perſons generally be- “ ing fearful to publiſh their thoughts, and not daring to commit their ſecrets unto “ Witneſſes, leſt they ſhould offend thoſe who gaped after their Eſtates, they choſe “ rather to die inteſtate, than dangerouſly to expoſe their inward ſentiments. There- “ fore to give relief in this caſe, he declared, That it ſhould be lawful for ſuch as “ made their Teſtaments in Writing, if they deſired that none ſhould know the “ Contents thereof, to produce them ſealed up, folded, bound, or covered as they “ pleaſed, written with the hands of the Teſtators themſelves, or of others, and “ offer theſe Writings to ſeven *Roman* Citizens in number, deſired to be Witneſſes, “ to be ſigned and ſubſcribed by them. Provided the Teſtator, in the hearing of “ them all there preſent, affirmed the Writing to be his Teſtament, and ſubſcribed “ it himſelf; if he did not write it all or part, in the other parts where he ought to ſub- “ ſcribe it, and that in their preſence. This being done, & the Witneſſes ſubſcribing & “ ſigning

Novel. Th. 9. Dat. prid. Id. Septemb.

In caſe of Teſtaments.

Et hinc deſumpta. L. 21. de Teſtamentis. Cod. Juſt. lib. 6. tit. 23. Dat. tamen Idib. ipſis Sept.

ſigning one and the ſame day & time,the Teſtament ſhould be valid,& not therefore“ to be of no force, becauſe the Witneſſes were ignorant what was therein contained.“

54. In caſe the Teſtator was unlearned, or could not ſubſcribe, he might “ make uſe of an eighth perſon, the ſame Solemnities being obſerved. But in all “ Teſtaments which were dictated,either in the abſence or preſence of Witneſſes,he “ declared it ſuperfluous to require, that at one & the ſame time the Teſtator ſhould “ both have his Witneſſes ready, dictate his mind,and complete the Teſtament. But “ though it was dictated or written at another time,& afterward produced,it ſhould “ ſuffice, if at one and the ſame, no Act intervening,all the Witneſſes together,and “ not at divers times, ſubſcribed and ſigned it. For he decreed,that the Subſcriptions “ and Seals of the Witneſſes ſhould be taken to complete the Teſtament, “ whereas that which wanted them was to be accounted and taken as imperfect. “ And his pleaſure was, that the Will of the dead ſhould not hold or bind by virtue “ of an imperfect Teſtament, except in behalf of the children of the deceaſed. “ As for a Nuncupation or Teſtament made without writing, he would not “ have it of force, except ſeven Witneſſes at one and the ſame time, as aforeſaid, were gathered together, and heard the Will of the Teſtator, or him that “ made the Teſtament without Writing, and that he was reſolved to make “ his Will before them at the ſame time without Writing. In caſe any one “ made a perfect Teſtament, and afterwards happened to make another, the former “ ſhould not be nulled by the latter, except it was complete in Law, and conſummate “ : except in the former thoſe were named Heirs who could not have ſucceeded “ the party if he had died inteſtate, and in the latter ſuch were named, “ who, if he had died inteſtate, muſt have ſucceeded him. For in this caſe, “ though the latter writing may ſeem imperfect, yet the former Teſtament being “ invalidated, his ſecond Will ſhall take place, not as a Teſtament, but as a Will “ of an Inteſtate ; in which Will the Depoſitions of five Witneſſes ſhall ſuffice : “ which not obſerved, the former Teſtament ſhall be of force, though Strangers “ in it were named Heirs. And in the laſt place, whereas things that related to the “ Law of Nations, might be tranſacted in any Language, but to the Civil only in “ that of *Rome*, he thought fit to declare, That liberty had been given to make Teſtaments “ in the *Greek* Tongue, and it ſhould be lawful to leave Legacies, liberty “ to Slaves,and to aſſign Tutors in the ſame words,and to be valid and lawful as if named “ in *Latine*. “ Such Indulgence did the caſe of Teſtaments require at this time, whereas in other Ages the tempers of Men and other accidents exacted more ſtrict Solemnities in the making of them, as ours in our own Country now ſeem to do, it having of late ſeemed fit to the wiſdom of our Nation to reduce our liberty of making Wills, from almoſt that of Soldiers, to the ſeverity and ſtrictneſs, well nigh, of the higheſt *Roman* Laws, to prevent the grievous ſin of perjury.

55. All the care he took for making of wholſome Laws, and ſupplying the defects of former Conſtitutions would be to little purpoſe, if a ſpecial regard were not had to ſuch as ſhould put them in execution ; and of this he thought alſo at the latter end of this Year. Notwithſtanding all care that had been taken, yet ſome perſons crept indirectly into the Government of Provinces, of which *Theodoſius* having notice, probably from *Florentius* himſelf ; at the latter end of *November* he ſent him an expreſs order by way of Reſcript or Edict, That no perſons ſhould be “ admitted to ſuch Governments, as thought to attain them by ambition or reward, “ but were promoted thereto by the teſtimony of an approved life, or of him the “ *Præfect*. And with this circumſtance, that ſuch as ſhould be advanced to thoſe “ Honours by the choice of his Seat, or the Emperor himſelf, ſhould ſwear “ publickly, that, *Neither they, nor any for them had given any thing for obtaining* “ *theſe Governments, nor would give for the time to come, thereby breaking both the* “ *Law and their Oath: no, not by any Title of Sale or Donation, or any other colour,* “ *or pretence of any contract whatſoever : and that for, or by reaſon of ſuch Employments* “ *gratuitouſly received, their Salaries or Allowances only excepted, they ſhall receive* “ *nothing for any favour done in the time of their Governments, either while in* “ *power, or when returned to a private life.* And although, he adds, he ſuppoſes no “ Man ſo devoid of the fear of God, as by contemning an Oath, to prefer any “ worldly advantages before his own ſalvation ; yet that neceſſity of danger may “ be ſubjoyned to the fear of Salvation : if any ſhould dare to violate his Oath, he “ grants free liberty of accuſing both Giver and Receiver, as of a publick crime, “ whom he condemns in four-fold of the Value to be levied all manner of ways. “ That the Emperor was put upon this and ſeveral other courſes for reformation of manners,

L.ult. ad Legem Juliam Repetundarum, Cod.Juſt. lib.9. tit.27.Dat.6. Cal. Decemb. Florentio P.P.

The Oath required of every Governor entring into Office.

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manners, and the eaſe of the People, with the honour of the Prince and his Government, by *Florentius*, we cannot but believe, becauſe of the moſt ample Teſtimony given to his publick Spirit and Generoſity, by an Act of State, dated but a very few days after, and directed to *Cyrus*; who, at the end of the Year, was advanced to be *Præfectus. Prætorio.*

Novel. 18 Th. Dat. 8. Id Dec.

The Generoſity and Piety of *Florentius.*

56. Let Hiſtories, ſaith he, deſerve (or obtain) belief from preſent Examples, “ and let Antiquity be freed from all Ambiguity, when it tells us of Great Men, “ who preferred the Commonwealth before their own Eſtates. We may behold “ the Illuſtrious *Florentius*, who, ſupported by the Adminiſtration of the *Prætorian Præfectſhip*, “ by the emulous vertue of an excellent mind, ſtrives, not only “ with the Merits of our Anceſtors, but with his own great Deſerts, toward the “ Commonwealth; the Reputation whereof he hath vindicated, not only by his “ Counſel and Prudence, but alſo by his Devotion and Munificence, from the blot “ and infamy of ſhameful Turpitude. For, obſerving how by the damnable craftineſs “ of Pandors, the inadvertency of the Antients was circumvented, under pretence “ of a certain Luſtral Preſtation, it being lawful to exerciſe a Commerce of “ corrupting of Chaſtity, out of a pious inclination of propagating an Univerſal “ Modeſty, he ſuggeſted to us, that it was one part of the Injury of the preſent “ times, that Pandors were permitted to be in the City, and that the Treaſury was “ furniſhed by their filthy Traffick. And, though he knew that we abominated it, “ and had no reſpect to the Tribute; yet, leſt any dammage ſhould come to our *Ærarium*, “ he offered us ſo much of his own Eſtate, as, out of the Revenues of which, “ as much profit would ariſe as was wont from that wretched ſort of Trade. Wherefore, “ willingly embracing his forecaſt and munificence, by this laſting Law we “ ordain, that if any hereafter ſhall attempt to proſtitute any Slaves, whether his “ own, or belonging to others; or Bodies of Perſons of Free Condition, but hired “ at a certain rate: theſe miſerable Slaves being ſet at liberty, and the Perſons of “ Free Condition being looſed from their impious Service: ſuch an one, being firſt “ grievouſly laſhed, ſhall be baniſhed out of the Limits of this City, in which he “ preſumed to exerciſe his wicked Craft; for an example to, and the amendment “ of, all other Men. Therefore, *Cyrus*, the moſt dear Parent of Emperors, ſee that your “ Illuſtrious Authority take order, that theſe things which we have decreed, for pre- “ ſervation of publick Honeſty, be obſerved with all due veneration. Otherwiſe, your “ Office, if it neglect our Precepts, ſhall incur a Fine of twenty pounds of Gold. “ Thus we ſee *Theodoſius* accepted of *Florentius* his Offer; and in way of recompence, gave a publick Teſtimony to his merit; which was as little as he could do.

Other things he procured the Emperor to reform.

Novel. 14. Th. & hinc deſumpta, L. un. In quibus cauſis Militantes, &c. Cod. Juſt. lib. 3. tit. 25.

Novel. Th. 5. & hinc deſumpta, L. 6. In quibus cauſis pignus, vel Hypotheca tacite contrahatur, Cod. Juſt. lib. 8. tit. 15.

57. For, his care extended to ſeveral other things which he urged the Emperor to reform. Courtiers and Soldiers, as alſo, Merchants, by reaſon of their Employments, ſought to evade publick Charges and Taxes, by pretending they were exempt from the Juriſdiction of the ordinary Governors of Provinces: but, by a new Law, he procured him to declare againſt, and null all ſuch pretended Preſcriptions againſt ordinary Courts of Juſtice. The Accidents of former times had provoked the *Legiſlators* to ſuch Severity againſt Mothers which had Children in their care after the death of their Husbands, that if they did not provide them of Tutors, nor make Inventories of their Eſtates, they ſhould be deprived of the liberty of making Teſtaments, and of power to diſpoſe of any thing they had; and, beſides that, be branded with Infamy. It's the violence and contagion of the Diſeaſe which makes the Medicine and Application violent; and when it abates of its Symptoms, the force of theſe muſt alſo abate. Women were now become ſo careful of their Fatherleſs Children, that *Theodoſius* thought fit to remove ſo heavy a penalty: yet, as a Father of his Country, he thought himſelf bound to provide for the ſecurity of Orphans. And that, as he ſaith, in cutting off ſuperfluous and inhu- “ mane practiſes, he might not ſeem to promiſe Impunity to Delinquents; in the “ firſt place, he will have ſuch as are to ſucceed a Child, in caſe of death, to know, “ that if, within a year after his Father's death, they do not provide him a Tutor “ according to Law, they ſhall be excluded from inheriting his Eſtate if he die be- “ fore fourteen years of Age. And the ſame thing he will have obſerved, as to “ ſuch Mothers, which having undertaken the Guardianſhip of their Children, “ contrary to their Oath, fly to ſecond Marriages, before they have cauſed other “ Tutors to be choſen, and given account of the management of their Eſtates, and “ put them in poſſeſſion of them. The ſecond Husbands of ſuch Mothers he will “ have obnoxious to the Children; and their very Eſtates obliged, as by way of “ Pledge, to anſwer for the Accounts which their Wives ought to make to the “

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Guardians of Children by their former Husbands. “ In the laſt place, we ſhall only take notice, that toward the end of this year, *Theodoſius* again was forced to require the Laws to be put in Execution, that were made to prevent begging of Eſtates; as that, It ſhould not be within a Year after the death of the Party, or the “ Exchequer coming to have Intereſt in the Eſtate. “ This he did, as he ſaith, at the ſuggeſtion of the Illuſtrious *Marcellinus*, the *Comes Largitionum*, and then executing the place of the *Comes Rei Privatæ*; which is remarkable, that both theſe great Offices ſhould be managed by one perſon. But the Edict is directed to *Florentius*, *Præfectus Prætorio*, as the former; who, by his Edicts, expoſed it to view at *Conſtantinople*, on the nineteenth of *October*.

Novel.Th.44. Suggeſtionem viri Inluſtris Comitis Sacrarum Largitionum Marcellini, vicem agentis viri Inluſtris Comitis rerum privatarum admodum comprobamus, &c.

A. D. 440.

Valentiniano A.5.& Anatolio, Coſſ.

58. We are now arrived at the CCCCXL Year of our Lord; wherein the Emperor *Valentinian* was *Conſul* the ſixth time, with *Anatolius*, *Conſul* for the Eaſt, according to his name. *Genſerich*, King of the *Vandals*, after his taking of *Carthage*, ſtill proſecuted the War in *Africk*; and now came, as was ſaid, to a Partition of the Provinces he had ſubdued. To himſelf he reſerved the Provinces *Bizacena*, *Azuritana*, *Getulia*, and part of *Numidia*: and to the Army, diſtributed by way of Inheritance, *Zeugitana* and *Africa Proconſularis*. They coming, and taking poſſeſſion, every where, the poor Provincials were turned out of their Eſtates and Dwellings, and the Biſhops and Clerks thruſt out of their Churches: which put the Biſhops and Nobility upon going to the Tyrant, and petitioning him to have ſome compaſſion on them in this their great diſtreſs. But he ſent them this cruel Anſwer; that he had reſolved to leave none of their Name or Kind, and wondered that they durſt deſire ſuch matters of him That Kingdom he had thus obtained, he now ſet himſelf, by all means, to eſtabliſh: and for that purpoſe, knowing that the Citizens of *Carthage* were Men of Spirit, would be thoughtful and active, and not eaſily ſubmit their Necks to his Yoak, who could ſcarcely be brought to it by the *Romans*, he ſiezed on all they had; and drove them to ſuch Streights, that he forced the chiefeſt of them to paſs the Sea, into *Italy*.

The miſerable condition of the Provincials in *Africk*.

Victor de Perſec.& Vandalorum, lib. 1. apud Baron. ad h.An.

59. This did well pleaſe him, that he ſhould not leave ſuch Enemies at his back: for, to carry on his great deſign, he reſolved to fall upon, and, if poſſible, to bring under his obedience the Coaſts of the Iſlands, and others which, on the *Mediterranean* Sea, lay oppoſite to *Africk*. And getting a Fleet together, he paſſed over into *Sicily*; which he grievouſly harraſſed and diſtreſſed. What reſiſtance was particularly made againſt him we know not; but we are told by an Epiſtle written by *Theodorich*, King of *Italy*, in commendation of *Caſſiodorus*, his Chancellor, to the Senate of *Rome*; that *Caſſiodorus*, his Grandfather, a perſon dignified with the “ Title of *Illuſtris*, which could not be denied to his Family, freed *Sicily* and the “ *Brutii*, by his Arms, from the Incurſions of the *Vandals*; ſo as he deſerved the “ Primacy of thoſe Provinces which he defended from ſo cruel and ſudden an Enemy. “ He concludes, that the Commonwealth ought it to his Valour, that *Genſerich* “ did not then invade thoſe neighbouring Provinces; that *Genſerich*, whom “ *Rome* afterward found ſo bloody and cruel. “

Caſſiod.Var. lib. 1. Ep.4.

60. *Theodoſius* this Year further buſied his *Quæſtor* in compoſing ſeveral Acts of State for the publick good. One for ſhortning Tryals, and cutting off Delays in Suits ariſing from Appeals; of which he aſſigns the fatal terms and periods, whether they lay from the ordinary Judges of Provinces, from Delegates or Superior Magiſtrates. He was well pleaſed with the fidelity of *Endoxius*, his *Comes Rei Privatæ*; who acquainted him, toward the latter end of *May*, with a cuſtom he obſerved that ſome Men had got to work themſelves into the Poſſeſſion of his Patrimonial Lands, under pretence of ſome Contract, ſo as not to pay the Canon, or ordinary Impoſition lying upon them. By a Reſcript he takes notice of his Zeal toward the publick Service; which, if it were diligently proſecuted, would preſerve his Revenue from diminution. And, for prevention of ſuch miſchief, he declares, All “ ſuch Contracts ſhall, for the future, be null where no *Canon* is to be paid; that “ all the Fruits and Profits be reſtored, and no Preſcription avail any ſuch perſon. “ And, if the *Palatine* Officers ſuffer ſuch a Contract to be made, or a Petition to “ be preferred, they ſhall incur a Fine of fifty pounds of Gold: ſo as no *Pragmatick*, “ or *Adnotation* from the Prince himſelf ſhall be of force, either to make ſuch a bargain valid, “ or to remit the Fine to the *Palatines*. According to the cuſtom, he “ commands that his Illuſtrious Authority, by his Edicts, cauſe this Law to be made “ publick. “

L.2.de tempor. & Reparation. Appellationum, Cod.Juſt.lib.7. tit.63. Dat.12. Cal.Maii.

Theodoſius ſecures his Revenue.

Novel.Th.28. de Reſcindendis renditionibus Rei Privatæ, & hinc deſumpta, L.ult. de Fundis Rei Privatæ, Cod.Juſt. lib.11.tit.65. Dat. 13.Cal. Jan.

61. *Cyrus*, the *Præfectus Prætorio*, put in alſo his Complaint; that, of thoſe that wore the Girdle, the *Scholares Cohortales* belonging to the *Curiæ*, and ſuch like,

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ſeverally declined his Juriſdiction, though guilty of oppreſſing the people, and other Enormities. To which, by another Reſcript, *Theodoſius* anſwered; and ordained, that Such Criminals ſhould neither avoid his Juriſdiction, nor the ordinary “ one of Governors of ſuch Provinces where the faults were committed.“ This being publiſhed, they that were concerned, to avoid the Inconvenience, pretended the Law not to reach them: ſo that, at the end of the Year, he was forced to explain it by another; wherein he declares *Scholares*, *Comites* and *Military Tribunes* “ to be meant, according to the cuſtom; but not the other armed Soldiers, or *Tribunes* “ commanding the *Numeri*. “ This *Cyrus*, as the Emperor complements him, being now deſigned *Conſul* for the following Year, ſtill, by his Suggeſtions, put him in mind of ſomething which tended to the publick Utility, or was to be redreſſed; and, in particular, he moved him in behalf of ſuch who ſometimes got ſome ground by Rivers forſaking their wonted Channels, and leaving ſome Lands adjoyning to theirs, which ordinarily accrued to them by way of Allunion, as the Law term was. Now, this advantage was very uncertain; for, as it happened in one day, in another often, it was taken away, and the Poſſeſſors had nothing left to compenſate the charge and trouble about it. However, the Prince his Officers were double diligent to lay claim to ſuch adventitious Grounds, to ſieze and ſell them, or, at leaſt, to lay Impoſitions upon them, as belonging to the Treaſury. *Cyrus* did this good Office by his Information, as to procure a Reſcript, prohibiting any ſuch practice. And this farther, that if any perſon had drained any Fens, or, by their Coſt and “ Induſtry, recovered any Paſtures or Meadows, they ſhould for ever poſſeſs them, “ without any burthen impoſed, without being ſiezed or begged, under pain of a “ Fine of fifty pounds of Gold to be incurred by the Breakers of this Law; among “ whom, the Officers belonging to the *Præfect* were to be reckoned, if they promoted “ any ſuch matter, or preferred any petition in order to it. “

*Novel.Th.*14. §.2. *de amota militantibus fori præſcriptione.Dat.* 11.*Cal. Octobr.* § 3.*Dat.*4. *Cal. Jan.*

*Novel.Th.*10. *de Alluvionibus & palludibus & paſcuis, Dat.* 11. *Cal.Octobr.*

62. He was made ſenſible alſo, the latter end of this Year, that it was a great grievance to the people to have recourſe to himſelf in matter of Appeals: and ſo he owned it; being, as he confeſſeth, often diverted by other Affairs, wherewith he was taken up for the benefit of the World; or, as we may conclude, by other occaſions, made unfit for ſuch intricate and troubleſome buſineſs. He ordained therefore, that, In Appeals from Judges of the Degree of *Spectabilis*, it ſhould not be “ expected that matters ſhould come before him; But if any appealed from *Proconſuls*, “ the *Præfectus Auguſtalis*, *Comes* of the Eaſt, or *Vicars*; the *Præfectus Prætorio*, “ and the *Quæſtors* of the Palace ſhould have the hearing: as alſo, from a *Dux*, if “ he was alſo a *Preſident*, the matter ſhould be of the *Præfects* Cognizance. Moreover, “ if the ſtate of a *Curialis* or *Cohortalis* were in queſtion, the controverſy “ ſhould be decided by the *Præfect* and *Magiſter Militum* in caſe of an Appeal, “ though the *Magiſter* had delegated it to the *Preſident* of the Province. “ Theſe things he ordained in Edicts directed to *Cyrus*; who was therein moſt concerned as *Judge*; and about this Year gratified the City of *Conſtantinople*, by conveying Water from the *Aquæduct* of the Palace of *Hadrian*, to the Baths of *Achilles*, and thoſe called *Nymphææ*, which had warm Water. To keep which in order, he procured Reſcripts, forbidding any to make uſe of the Water of that *Aquæduct*. And, in caſe “ any perſons in his Diſtrict would obtain leave from the Prince, of deriving Water “ from any publick *Aquæducts* in the Provinces, they muſt intimate it to the *Præfect*, “ and to none other, under pain of an heavy forfeiture. “

*L.L.*32,33. *de Appellationibus, Cod.Juſt. lib.*7. *tit.*62.

*L.L.*5,6.*de Aquæductu, Cod. Juſt.lib.*11.*tit.* 42.

63. Though *Cyrus* had not had theſe Laws to have backed his Authority, yet might his Rules and Methods have been better obſerved in things of this nature, than in an other matter; the regulation of which, by another Edict, was alſo committed unto him. We have formerly ſeen how Princes have been wearied and obliged to make ſeveral Laws about Precedence; and no wonder, conſidering the natural ambition of Men themſelves, the peeviſhneſs of Women, that delight in nothing more than place; and that great variety of Humours and Accidents, which muſt have been in perſons ſo numerous as were thoſe of Quality, inhabiting ſo many ſeveral Provinces. Former Laws and Rules could not, it ſeems, anſwer all Circumſtances of a thing ſo ſubſtantial as this was. And *Theodoſius* was put upon it, to declare more fully, and in better Rank and Order, what the diſtinction of perſons ſhould be. He let therefore *Cyrus* to underſtand, that Illuſtrious Perſons, in the firſt place, he diſtinguiſhed into five ſorts. Some had actually diſcharged Offices “ whereby they were rendred Illuſtrious. Others he termed *Vacantes*, who being “ preſent at Court, had deſerved the Girdle of ſome Illuſtrious Dignity, though “ they did not actually then diſcharge it. The third ſort was of them who being “

A new Act of Precedence.

L. 2. *Ut Dignitatum ordo ſervetur, Cod. Juſt. lib.*12.*tit.*8.

abſent, had the ſame Girdle of Illuſtrious *Vacantes* ſent unto them. The fourth " of ſuch who, without Adminiſtration or Girdle, had obtained the Honorary Dignity by vertue of *Codicils* or Letters; and were preſent in *Comitatu*. And the " laſt, ſuch as being abſent, had the ſaid *Codicils* of Honorary, though Illuſtrious, " Dignity ſent to them. " All theſe, he declares, ſhall take place as now mentioned.

64. But ſuch as actually execute ſuch Offices, though the *Comites Rei Privatæ*, ſhall take place of all *Vacantes*, and Honorary, or Titular Perſons. But, as for the *Vacantes*, he doth not think fit they enjoy juſt the ſame privilege; but that they only take place of all ſuch merely Titular and Honorary as are of the ſame Rank and Quality, not all Illuſtrious whatſoever: for example, that a *Præfectorian* precede a *Quæſtorian*, but not a *Quæſtorian* a *Præfectorian*; and in like manner, a *Quæſtorian* a *Quæſtorian*; not that a vacant *Comes Theſaurorum*, or *Comes Rei Privatæ*, precede an Honorary *Quæſtorian*, or *Magiſter Officiorum*. As for thoſe in actual Employment, he farther will have it known, that for ſuch he will have taken, and eſteemed thoſe *Vacantes*; to whom he commits ſome Employment, Charge or Dignity; though it be not of the Rank of Illuſtrious, but perhaps, of *Clariſſimatus* or *Perfectiſſimatus*. In caſe, to ſuch perſons he had in Sacred Conſiſtory committed, or ſhould commit, any ordinary Dignity; as if, to a vacant *Magiſter Militum*, the Charge of War, he ſhould be reckoned amongſt the *Adminiſtrantes*. For, he demands what reaſon there is why *Germanus*, whom he calls *Vir Magnificus*, ſhould not go for a vacant *Magiſter Militum*; to whom he committed the care of the War againſt his Enemies, meaning the *Vandals*, againſt whom he was ſent with a great Navy. Or, why the moſt excellent *Propentadius* ſhould not be ſaid to have diſcharged the *Præfectſhip*; by all whoſe illuſtrious diſpoſitions (in the room of the *Præfectus Pratorio*) the Soldier, in his Expedition, hath abounded with plenty of Proviſions; which we have ſaid to have been the main Charge and Task of that great Officer.

65. But, when Summer was come, the Alarm was given to *Italy*, of the Preparations of *Genſerich*, and his great Deſign, whereſoever it would fall. We cannot ſay that this cauſed *Valentinian* to remove from *Ravenna* to *Rome*, that he might be in better capacity to give Relief to the Maritime Parts, which that Rover would, moſt probably, annoy: but we find him ſo much concerned, as to publiſh an Edict to the people, as the Text now hath it, which is ſaid to be dated at *Rome*, if *Accepted* or *Publiſhed* be not to be read, on the twenty fourth of *June*; and that concerning the great Affair. He begins with a ſort of excuſe for requiring a Duty from all in general, becauſe the good of all in general is concerned: neither doth he believe it will ſeem troubleſome to the Provincials; that, ſeeing it belongs to the ſecurity of themſelves, they ſhould be preſſed to the reſiſting of Pirates and Robbers. Then he declares that *Genſerich*, the Enemy of his Empire, is reported to have towed out of the Haven of *Carthage* no ſmall a Fleet; the ſudden Excurſion and Depradation of which is to be feared by all the Coaſts. Now, although he, out of his ſolicitude for the publick Safety, had placed Garriſons in divers parts; and the Army of his Father, the moſt invincible Prince *Theodoſius*, drew near; and that moſt excellent perſon, *Ætius*, his *Patritian*, would ſhortly arrive with a great power of Men, as he believes: moreover, the moſt Illuſtrious *Sigiſundus* the *Magiſter Militum*, watched, with a Body, both of his own Soldiers, and Confederates, for the defence of both Cities and Coaſts: yet, becauſe in the Summer Seaſon it is altogether uncertain where the Enemy may put in, by this Proclamation he admoniſheth all his Subjects, with a confidence in the *Roman* Power, and with ſuch Courage as becomes them, to undertake the Defence of their own Eſtates and Relations, and that with their own Men if need be (publick Diſcipline always preſerved, as alſo, the modeſty that belongs to Freedom) and to make uſe of ſuch Arms as they can; and, by a faithful Agreement, and a joynt Shield, as it were, protect his Provinces and their own Fortunes, without deſpair utterly to loſe their labour; for, every one ſhall enjoy freely whatſoever he ſhall victoriouſly take from the Enemy.

Novel. Valentiniani inter Theodoſianas, 20. *Dat.*8. *Cal.Jul.*

Valentinian, by a Proclamation, excites his Subjects of *Italy* againſt *Genſerich*.

66. How much this Motive, over and above their own preſervation, might work with the Provincials, we know not; but, how ever they might gain by Spoil and Plunder, they could not but be out of purſe, upon occaſion of the War. For beſides, the Country-men their ſtanding upon their Guard in caſe of Landing; if Land he ſhould, an Army was neceſſary in the *Mediterranean* Parts; and, for the maintenance of this Army, an anſwerable Income muſt be raiſed. For this, Order was

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was taken by an Edict, which *Maximus*, *Præfectus Prætorio* now the ſecond“ time, was commanded to publiſh, ſo as it might come to the knowledge of all“ People and Provinces, whereby all ſorts of Lands were made liable to pay the“ fourth parts of the Tributes, due from the ninth Indiction, ſo as no privilege“ ſhould avail, or protect any, who by any Title were poſſeſſed of the Emperor's“ own Lands, any belonging to the Church, or any Society of Men. And he preſſeth“ it as a very idle and arrogant conceit, that any ſhould eſteem thoſe ſordid“ Services and Employments, ſuch as were repairing High-ways, the making up“ of Arms, repairing of Walls, Proviſion of the *Annona*, and others, whereby“ the ſplendor of the Empire is provided for; without which nothing of moment“ can be produced; by the aſſiſtance of which the Dignity of the Empire is maintained,“ and indeed no neceſſary matter can be effected. The abſurdity of this“ conceit he much endeavours to diſcover, as alſo the folly of, and Detriment ariſing“ from, that ſtudy and endeavour of rich and dignified perſons, to eaſe themſelves“ by throwing Burthens from their own Shoulders upon the Backs of mean“ and inſolvent perſons: how penny-wiſe, and pound-fooliſh ſuch perſons are.“ This Edict was publiſhed either this or the following Year; but whether of the two we cannot certainly ſay, from the obſcure date of it, as now the Text is corrupted; but that it was in relation to theſe imminent dangers which threatned *Italy* and the adjacent Provinces, there's little doubt.

Novel.21.Valentiniani inter Theodoſianos. Dat.10. Cal. Mart. Ravennæ. Accepta prid. Idus Mart. ubi ſup.poſt Conſulatum Valentiniano 5. & Anatolio Coſſ.

67. There was another thing which not only hindred the payment of Taxes, but alſo procured a great ſtop to Entercourſe and Traffick, without which Taxes could very badly be paid. Whether it was becauſe ſince the days of *Valentinian*, as the Reader may remember, the *Aurei* were raiſed to greater value more than at firſt was intended; and ſince that, others made of as ſmall Weight, but to be of the ſame price and eſtimate, that a grudge remained amongſt the People, or for other reaſons; but now at *Rome* it was become ordinary to refuſe the *Aurei* in payments, except undervalued, and at an under Rate. A thing of ſo dangerous conſequence to the Government, that it drew out a Proclamation to the People of that City, whom calling by their old name of *Quirites*, he acquaints that frequent complaint was made to him, how to the diſgrace of his Parents, the *Solidi* that were ſtamped with their Images, were refuſed by every Trafficker, which he could not ſuffer“ to go long unpuniſhed. Therefore all are to take notice, that it ſhall be capital“ to any Man whatſoever, who ſhall refuſe any *Aureus Solidus* of juſt Weight,“ either of the Lord his Father *Theodoſius*, any of his ſacred Relations, or of former“ Princes, or take it at a lower Rate. He expreſly commands, that a *Solidus*“ be not put off under ſeven thouſand *Nummi*, which had been received for ſeven“ thouſand two hundred; the reaſonableneſs of price being the beſt courſe to ſecure“ the advantage of the Seller, and promote Trade. And he ſignifies that in reference“ to a matter of great concern in this Affair, he had cauſed juſt and fit Standards“ of Weights to be made, the obſervance of which, as alſo of the Rule“ given about the *Aurei*, the *Præfect* of the City and Office ſhall procure under a“ penalty of ten pounds of Gold.“ We have ſeen how *Valentinian* took order, that the Burthens of the Soil, or Tributes belonging to the Soil ſhould be paid every where, notwithſtanding Indemnity was pretended by the Quality of the owners. But beſides the quality of perſons in general as Eccleſiaſtick, or as belonging to ſome Body or Society, ſometimes perſonal privileges were wont to be procured; with which however Princes might play at ſome times, yet generally the thing was very bad, and in ſuch days ſo full of danger, and requiring ſuch expence, it was altogether miſchievous. As ſuch, he now owns it to *Maximus* the *Præfect* by“ another Reſcript founded upon his ſuggeſtion, and commands that an equality of“ Taxes be obſerved, and all ſuch privileges granted to be of no force.“

Another for aſſerting the value of the *Aurei*.

Novel. 25. Valentiniani inter Theodoſianas. Dat.15.Cal. Febr. Parentes vocabant Impp.per quos Imperium acceperant.

Novel.39. Valentiniani inter Theodoſianas, Dat.8.Cal.Febr.

68. It's not to be doubted, but in all theſe Charges and Impoſitions the City of *Rome*, and reaſon there was, had her ſhare; yet being deſervedly look'd upon as the Head of the Empire, and procurer of all that Grandeur of which Prince and People were poſſeſſed, ſhe was wont ſtill to be courted, and could not brook any diſreſpect from the greateſt of them. But of late had riſen a great diſſatisfaction and tumult about the great concernment of Trade. For as in all great Cities where there is confluence, and eſpecially of Nobility, Strangers are wont to flock, and obtrude their own Wares, ſometimes their Native Commodities, and otherwhiles artificial Works made (they pretend, and fantaſtick People imagine) with greater invention and curioſity; ſo at this time certain *Greek* Tradeſmen flocked thither, ſuch as they called *Pantapolæ*, Sellers of all things, or, more truly, Jacks

of

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Stirs at *Rome* about the *Pantapolæ*.

of all Trades, than ours can be imagined. For with them the *Tabernarii* or Victuallers had a great quarrel, as eating their Bread out of their Mouths; and they moved ſo great indignation againſt them amongſt their Fellow Citizens, that in an height thereof the *Pantapolæ* were driven out of the City; though we do not find it roſe to that degree, as did the Uproar here in *London* on Evil *May-Day*. When they were driven out and gone, the heat abated, and all parties had time to cool and conſider, neither was one ſort of Trade to obſtruct by its pretended intereſt, the good and emolument of ſo many thouſands of People. We are now at a diſtance, and cannot learn what their ſeveral pretences were; but ſo much we learn, that *Valentinian*, or thoſe about him was perſwaded to recal theſe Tradeſmen, and that out of his great care and ſtudy for the quiet and abundant ſupply of that his City, as in an Edict directed to the people it ſelf he affirmed. Therein he tells them, that foraſmuch as the *Pantapolæ* are a vaſt multitude; and very diligent in buying “ and ſelling Commodities, he will not ſuffer them to be any way further ſecluded “ from the ſacred City, although the Diſſention, and eſpecially the envy of *Tabernárii*, “ rather than the utility of venerable *Rome* had removed them from trading. “ He will have all perſons therefore to underſtand, that he reſtores to the ſaid *Pantapolæ* “ licence and authority to return and trade in the City, that through his moſt “ vigilant care, plenty may be thereby afforded to the People; and in times ſo ſuſpected “ and dangerous, the City may be inhabited by a greater multitude; provided, “ that if any one exceed in his Dealings the ſet and allotted Rates or prices, “ he be puniſhed according to the quality of the Fact, neither an whole Body “ be excluded for the fault of one or two.

Novel. Valentiniani 40. *inter Theodoſianas. Dat.* 6. *Non. Mart.*

69 By this means he Pretends abundance would be procured to the Citizens, and their number be ſupplied; but how this would down with them we know not, without that ſweet and pleaſant draught immediately following. For, he tells them, his purpoſe is to take away all their fear and ſolicitude; ſo as all by virtue of this “ Edict may aſſure themſelves, that none of the *Roman* Citizens, none of the *Corporati* “ ſhall be compelled to go to War, but only take care, as need ſhall require, “ in ſecuring the Gates and Walls, and that by Diſpoſition of the Illuſtrious, the “ *Præfect* of the City, whom he orders to beſtir himſelf ſo much therein, that “ from the repairing of them none may be excuſed. In concluſion, ſeveral Lands “ he excuſeth from the payment of ſeven *Solidi* lately ceſſed upon every thouſand “ (Acres) provided, they undergo other Functions.“ But what liberty he allowed to the Citizens of *Rome*, the *Provincials* took, and greater to themſelves, not only in not going in perſon to the Wars, but harbouring ſuch *Tirones* and older Soldiers as were already liſted and entertained in the ſervice. They that were moſt blamed, were the *Coloni*, *Poſſeſſors*, or *Tillers* of Lands in the Country, who took them in, and harboured them, to plough and manure their Grounds; and ſome Tradeſmen in Cities alſo employed them in their ways of Drudgery. The Emperor, in the Exigency of his Affairs, commands *Sigiſvald*, the *Comes* and *Magiſter utriuſque Militiæ*, “ that every one concealing in ſuch manner a Deſertor, in “ way of puniſhment find three others for the Wars. That ſuch *Colonus*, *Farmer*, “ or *Actor*, if he be ſerviceable, be preſently preſſed; and if the thing be done “ without the knowledge of the Lord of the Soil, they ſhall ſuffer death. Yet to “ prevent all Calumniations, all perſons are enjoyned that find any ſuch Fugitives “ upon their Ground, within thirty days to have them forth-coming before the Governour “ of the Province, who is to ſee, that they be ſent to their own Standards, “ and undergo convenient puniſhment. And ſuch Judges, if they neglect to execute “ what is enjoyned, ſhall fine in ten pounds of Gold, and their Office in the “ like Sum. “ There was need he ſhould add the Clauſe againſt Calumniations; for the *Palatine* Officers were now ſo ever buſie in exacting what Tributes were payable to both the Treaſurers, that he was conſtrained upon information of *Maximus*, “ to inflict upon ſuch Offenders the penalties due to Sacrilege, and to Proſcription. “ He will have the Governours of Provinces obviate their Rapines, and “ refer to the *Præfect* their manner of puniſhment. But becauſe both the great “ Treaſurers were wont to find excuſes in this Affair, he will not have them meddle “ in ſentencing either the Judges, or *Curiales*, (which yet he revoked two years “ after ·) but make information both to the Emperor, and the *Præfect*, who ſhall “ take ſuch order therein, as ſhall be agreeable to the matter depending. “ But ſo did *Valentinian* this year employ his Sword and his Pen both in the proſecution of the ſame Deſigns.

Valentinian compoſeth them, and provides for the War.

Novel. Valentiniani 41. *inter Theodoſianas, Dat.* 13. *Cal. April.*

Novel. Valentiniani 42. *inter Theodoſianas, Dat. prid. Non. Jun.*

Sed huic l. quantum ad Comites S. L. & R. S. ſpectat, Sectio 2. *Nervos intercidit.*

A. D. 441.

Cyro Conſ.

70. The Conſul of the Year CCCCXLI was *Cyrus* the late *Præfect*, for

the

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the *Eaſt*, and he alone; why *Valentinian* made none in the Weſt, we know no other reaſon than the dangers which impended; for when ſuch omiſſions have happened, it hath uſually been when the *Barbarians* have troubled or invaded the Empire. This *Cyrus*, a Pagan by Religion, and by Profeſſion a Poet, wound himſelf much into the favour of *Eudocia* the Empreſs, a Lady much given to the Studies of that Nature. And by this means he came to riſe to ſo great preferments, being aſſiſted by his natural parts. For he was very dextrous, both in the *Militia* of the Camp, and of the Palace. That Year wherein *Carthage* was taken, he commanded an Army, as *Evagrius* writes; in the following arrived at the Dignity of *Præfectus Prætorio*, and was deſigned Conſul for this. Some obſerve alſo, that he was *Præfect* of the City two years before, if not miſtaken by the falſe writing of the Directions of ſome Novel Conſtitutions; however, afterwards he bore that Office in the third Conſulſhip of *Ætius*. All this while he was born up by the power and intereſt of the Empreſs; but afterward when the Emperor being diſpleaſed with her, ſhe left the Court, and retired to *Hieruſalem*, his Enemies took heart, and being circumvented by their Wiles, he was forced to caſt Anchor in Chriſtian Religion, and was made Biſhop of *Cotyæum* in *Phrygia*, where he continued till the time of *Leo*. This Year *Theodoſius*, provoked by the inſolent demeanour of *Genſerich* in *Africk*, eſpecially after he had cauſed *Sebaſtian* to be made away, who having been ordered by *Valentinian* to remove thither out of *Spain*, carried himſelf more like a Friend than an Enemy to him, ſent an Army againſt the *Vandals*. A Fleet of ſixty Ships, and an Army thereon embarked, he committed to the conduct of *Areobindas*, *Germanus* and *Anaxillas*, who ſailing into *Sicily*, there loitered and miſpent their time, and then croſſing over into *Africk*, carried more terror than execution along with them. Having little or nothing performed, they returned into *Sicily*; and the effect of their Expedition was this, that *Genſerich* perceiving what power *Theodoſius* had, which at another time might be better managed, thought it beſt to ſend to *Conſtantinople*, and deal about a peace. As this Expedition and the Year was barren as to any Martial Actions, whatever Shew this Fleet did make, ſo neither did it afford any Civil Acts of State, much requiring that mention ſhould be made of them. Except we remember how *Theodoſius* ſo well ſatisfied of the uſefulneſs of the *Defenſors* of the Cities, commanded that none ſhould quit " that Employment without his leave. And how he ordained, that ſuch Officers " as were called to account for Exactions and Concuſſions of the Provincials ſhould " not demur to the Juriſdiction of the Provincial Courts. "

Baronius ad h. An.

A Fleet ſent by *Theodoſius* againſt *Genſerich* miſcarries.

L. ult. de Defenſorib. civit. Cod. Juſt. lib. 1. tit. 55.

L. 2. ub. quis de Curiali &c. Cod. Juſt. lib. 3. tit. 23.

71. The Year CCCCXLII had for Conſuls *Dioſcorus* and *Eudoxius*, Men of no very great account of themſelves; but their Conſulſhip became too famous to poſterity. The *Huns*, who formerly, as we have written, mediately became Authors of ſo much miſchief to the Empire, by driving the *Goths*, *Vandals* and *Alans* out of their ancient Seats, and forcing them to paſs *Iſter* and the *Rhine* into the *Roman* Territories, now having taken their courſe in that part of *Scythia*, and brought under their cruel Dominion all the People of thoſe Quarters, being taught the way by the Fugitive Nations, and hearing how the Emperors were intangled in a War with the *Vandals*, thought their time ill ſpent, till they could pierce alſo into the Provinces, which they were too apt to think, richer than perhaps they were; but if they could do miſchief, though themſelves no good, they ſhould be ſufficiently contented. For after the death of *Optar* their King, the Government was devolved upon two Brothers, the Sons of *Mundzuch*, by name *Attila* and *Bleda*, Men who were robuſt and courageous, but ſeemed not to abound with ſo much courage, as an hatred againſt Mankind it ſelf, and a thirſt after death and deſtruction of Mortals. With a vaſt number of *Huns* and other ſuch like Nations they paſſed the *Iſter*, where the *Pretenturæ*, or Garriſons upon the Bank were of no force at all to withſtand them, though they were wont to ſuſtain ordinary Shocks, and ſtruck ſome awe unto the Barbarous People living over againſt them. But this Storm of the *Huns* bore down all before it, and fell ſo violently upon *Thrace* and *Illyricum*, as *Paulus Diaconus* writes, that all the Forts and Cities it overwhelmed with ſervitude and miſery, except *Hadrianople* and *Heraclea*, formerly called *Perinthus*. Particularly we are told, that *Attila* invaded *Mæſia*, and *Bleda* fell into *Thrace*, where they filled all places with Slaughter and Burnings; to be ſure *Naiſſus* and *Singidunum*, two Cities of *Mæſia prima*, ſuffered extremely by them. *Theodoſius* could not but be exceedingly concerned to hear of this Irruption, having been ſufficiently taught from experience of his Forefathers, what terror ſuch incurſions were wont to carry along with them; and he thought it beſt alſo to make ſome reſiſtance at the firſt, and put ſome ſtop to their motions.

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Dioſcoro & Eudoxio Coſſ.

The *Huns* fall into the Empire.

Sect. 4.

A. D. 442.

The Captains ſent againſt them fall into diſſention.

72. For this purpoſe he ſent againſt them *Arnegiſlus* and *John*, both flouriſhing with the Title of *Magiſter Militum*, and furniſhed with a choice Body of Men. And to anſwer his expectations, they both engaged in very ſharp Diſputes; *Arnegiſlus* with *Attila* in *Mœſia* near *Marciaonople*, and *John* with *Bleda* in *Thrace*, and might have done well, had not the Fate of the Empire preſſed hard upon it, and they fallen into diſſention, which ſo far prevailed above all care of publick concernments, that *John* was killed by the fraud of his Æmulator. This put *Theodoſius* upon great Straits, and though he was not willing to hear of *Genſerich* his poſſeſſing any thing in *Africk*, yet that he might not be overpowered by two Enemies at once, but provide againſt that miſchief which was neareſt at hand, and moſt threatned him, he was perſwaded to liſten to the Overtures made by the *Vandals*. And had not this diſaſter of the *Huns* ſo preſſed him, he might poſſibly have made much better Terms than he did. For *Genſerich* his Affairs were in no good condition in his new Kingdom, his Subjects bearing very ill his inſolence, which he had contracted from his very good fortune, inſomuch that they conſpired againſt him. The Plot he diſcovered, and raged againſt many; which yet deterred not others from the like Attempt, who alſo miſcarrying, and his Jealouſies and Rage being vented againſt more than were really concerned; ſo great Slaughter he made of his Men, that he could not have been more weakened, had he been defeated in Battel. But he humbly begging peace, *Theodoſius* for the reaſons we have ſaid, thought fit to grant it, and recalled his Army out of *Sicily*, which he ſent under conduct of *Areobindas* and *Aſpar* againſt the *Huns*. They concerned themſelves ſo little for their coming, that they ſtill went on, and having waſted *Thrace*, paſſed into *Macedonia* and *Greece*. Theſe they harraſſed and ſpoiled with more than Barbarous Immanity, as if they deſigned by their outragious Acts to obliterate all Memory of the ferity of the *Goths* and *Vandals*. They even did what they liſted. For ſo great were their numbers, and ſtrong the reſolution of their Captains, that the Attacks made by the *Roman* Officers did but whet and ſharpen them to further Attempts. In the Weſt *Genſerich* having made his peace with *Theodoſius*, uſed the ſame Applications to his Son-in-law *Valentinian*, who being more concerned as to the Country contended for, he had reaſon to be more careful as to the conditions. But it was agreed betwixt them, that *Genſerich* ſhould keep in his hands the Provinces *Byzacena*, *Abaritana*, *Gætulia*, and part of *Numidia*, and his Army retain *Zeugitana*, or that they called the *Proconſular*. The reſt ſhould remain to *Valentinian*, to whom he ſhould pay a Tribute, and give up his Son *Honorich* as Hoſtage, for preſerving that faith, which he had already twice broken.

Theodoſius conſtrained to make peace with *Genſerich*.

Which alſo doth *Valentinian*.

SECT.

Sect. V.

The Fifth Step to the Ruine of the Empire in the Weſt.

From the Irruption of Attila and the Huns into the Empire, to the Invaſion of the Weſtern Provinces by that furious Nation.

Containing the ſpace of Nine Years.

Sect. 5.

A. D. 443. *Maximo 2. & Paterno Coſſ.*

1. *Maximus* the ſecond time, and *Paternus* were Conſuls for the Year of our Lord CCCCXLIII. *Valentinian*, as we have ſeen, was to receive Tribute, (if he could get it) from *Genſerich*; however, had the honour of an acknowledgment; whereas it fared far otherwiſe with the Reputation of *Theodoſius*. For, he finding of how little efficacy his Steel was againſt the *Huns* for curing that diſtemper which had invaded his Eaſtern Provinces, reſolved when ſuch a forcible application would not do, to try what Gold might work by way of revulſion. To *Attila* he ſent about a peace, and retreat, which he offered to purchaſe with ſix thouſand pounds of Gold paid down at preſent, and promiſed a thouſand pounds more yearly, if he would keep himſelf and his Men within his own Bounds. They could not refuſe the offer, but receiving their Gold, packed up, and got them gone beyond *Iſter*, not only inriched with this ſum, but with infinite other Treaſure and Plunder, and an hundred and twenty thouſand Captives; poor *Illyricum*, though frequently ſubject to ſuch calamities, yet never having ſuffered to ſuch a degree. And this added ſomething to their grief, that all things being burnt up and waſted, ſo dreadful a Snow fell this Year, as lay on the ground for ſix Months, and thereby periſhed not only great quantities of Cattel, but multitudes of Men, Women and Children, who wanted the accommodations of Habitation and Fuel, of which the ſavage *Huns* had deprived them. This was counted no leſs than a Prodigy; and ſo was alſo that Earthquake which happened in *Italy*, where many Buildings in *Rome* were thrown to the ground. The more prodigious they were, they ſuited the more with, and portended that great and prodigious Tempeſt, which ceaſing for ſome little time, (the Cloud retiring a little Northward) poured it ſelf ſhortly after both into the Weſtern and Eaſtern Provinces, like an Hurricane, ſo as ſcarcely any thing, of what Bulk or Materials ſoever, could ſtand before it. At Land ſcarcely any thing; the Water afforded the beſt ſecurity.

Theodoſius hires the *Huns* to retire.

2. However weak the *Prætenturæ* were to make any reſiſtance of *Attila* and his Multitudes; yet the Enemy being removed, *Theodoſius* would not have the Limits neglected, nor the Duty of the Officers that there lay encamped. But to reinforce it, he wrote to *Nomus* the *Magiſter Officiorum* his Commands, that the *Duces* of the “ ſaid Limits, and eſpecially of thoſe to which were Neighbours ſuch Nations as “ were moſt to be feared, ſhould abide upon the Borders, themſelves, to ſee, under “ the inſpection of the *Magiſtri Militum*, that the Soldiers did not ſtraggle, but “ keep to their Colours, and were conſtant in the exerciſe of their Arms: That they “ took care to have the Camp and other Neceſſaries repaired, and kept in good or- “ der. And to the *Principes*, the *Præpoſiti* of the Camp, and to them, he aſſigns “ the twelfth part of the *Annonæ* belonging to the Limitaneous Soldiers, to be di- “ ſtributed among them, according to the Viciſſitude of their Labours, at the “

Theodoſius reinforceth the Limits.

L. ult. de Officio Militar. Judicum, Cod. Juſt. lib. 1. tit. 46. Dat. 2. Id. Sept.

diſcretion of the *Magiſtri Militum*. He further enjoyned, that all Lands upon “ the Borders, with the Mariſhes, which, time out of mind, had been in the Occupation “ and Tillage of the Limitaneous Soldiers, and free and diſcharged of all Burthens, “ ſhould be held and poſſeſſed by them to all intents, and without any charge. “ If now in the hands of any others, they ſhould be ſurrendred, all manner of preſcription “ ceaſing in this caſe, and reſtored to the Soldiers aforeſaid without any “ burthen of Collation, under pain of Proſcription to be inflicted on any that ſhould “ oppoſe this his Ordination. Provided that, if any had bought ſuch Lands (which “ he ſhould not have dared to do) he might have competent Action againſt the Seller. “ “ Theſe are two diſtinct Laws, as now they are diſtinguiſhed under ſeveral Titles in the Code of *Juſtinian*, but they made up one and the ſame Conſtitution; and ſo are ſtill found among the Novels of *Theodoſius*. He was now in the good humour of reſtoring to every man, and to every City alſo, its own; which he had been petitioned to do in his Progreſs. For, great complaints were made in ſome places, that their publick Grounds and Houſes were detained in private hands: all which, except alienated by the Interpoſition of his Procurator, or *Comes Rei Privatæ*, or conſent of the Cities themſelves, he commanded now to be reſtored, if poſſeſſed within the ſpace of thirty Years. And the further diſpoſition of the Affair is left to the management of *Apollonius*, the *Præfectus Prætorio*, to whom he directs this Edict; and to his *Magiſter Officiorum*.

*L.ult.de Fundis Limitrophis, &c.Cod.Juſt. lib.*11.*tit.*59.

*Novel.*31.*Dat. prid.Id.Septemb.*

*Novel.Theod.*30.

3. In the Weſt all things were in repoſe this year, except it was the mind of *Maximus* the *Conſul*. We may know the Emperor was free from War, when he employed his time and his *Quæſtor* about matters concerning Dignity and Precedence. *Gratian* had formerly ordained by a Law, that If the *Conſulſhip* and *Patritiate* met in one perſon, he ſhould precede another who was graced only with one of theſe Honours. But now it became a diſpute, we may gueſs, at the inſtance of *Maximus* concerned; whether, in caſe one had been twice *Conſul*, he ſhould not take place of one who had been once advanced to that Dignity, although that of *Patritian* had been added to it. *Valentinian* determined it in the Affirmative by his Reſcript directed to *Storacius*, *Præfect* of the City; giving this reaſon, that That Dignity which ſeemed to confer a certain luſtre, even upon the Emperor's “ Name, being conferred the ſecond time on private perſons, though without “ the other (of *Patritian*) ought juſtly to excell all other Honours. “ But, though he was not now buſied in War, he was not unmindful, in a fair day, to provide for a Storm; and gave order to *Quadratianus*, the *Præfectus Prætorio*, to ſee executed to the full an Edict he had made for raiſing of Soldiers in the *Suburbicarian* Provinces; Requiring him to call Senators and all Poſſeſſors of Lands before him, to “ cauſe their Stewards and Tenants to produce the number that was impoſed, under “ pain of forfeiting ten pounds of Gold, beſides the finding of the Men. He affirms, “ that ſuch ſeverity ought to proſecute to a mind averſe to a deſire of common “ defence and ſecurity. And concludes, that, whoſoever ſhall be backward “ in this matter, in a ſort, confeſſeth himſelf not to be a *Roman*. “

*Novel.*45. *Valentiniani inter Theodoſianas, Dat.*3.*Id.Mart. Rom.P.P.in foro Trajani.*

Valentinian alſo provides for a Storm.

*Novel.*41.§.2. *Valentiniani inter Theodoſianas, Dat.*8.*Cal. Jun.Rav.*

4. He had forgot himſelf to be an Emperor, as, in a manner, he confeſſeth, had he not had ſome compaſſion on the miſerable and afflicted condition of the *Africans*; who, both *Eccleſiaſticks* and *Lay*, were, in the late Revolution, turned out of all they had, and forced to ſeek their Bread in ſtrange Countries. He gave order to *Albinus*, the *Præfectus Prætorio*, that, Such of them as were Scholars, and “ had deſtinated themſelves to the pleading of Cauſes, ſhould be received as “ *Advocates* in the Courts under his Juriſdiction, to give ſome relief to the miſeries “ they ſuſtained; it being altogether reaſonable, that ſuch ſhould be favoured and “ aſſiſted as had nothing left but what Captivity could not take from them. “ This might be a means to relieve ſome of them, and we are in charity to believe that others were found out to preſerve the illiterate ſort from periſhing. But, ſome time after, the Emperor found himſelf concerned to take another courſe, not ſo much for the relief of theſe poor *Africans*, as, that if they got any thing to maintain Life, it might not be taken from them e'er it could reach their mouths. Many of them were found much indebted, and their Creditors were ſo cruel as to come upon them in this their greateſt extremity; and take violent courſes, both with them, and thoſe that were bound for them, though involved in the ſame calamity. In another Writing, directed to the ſame *Albinus*, he inſiſts much upon the Cruelty of this practice; that thoſe who ſhould ſtarve, if not fed by other hands, who lived “ on Alms, and what they received from Charity, ſhould be conſtrained to pay “ that which had been taken from them by violence, and they had not in their “ power “

Pities the diſtreſſed *Africans*.

*Novel.*47. *Valentiniani inter Theodoſianas, Dat.*13.*Cal. Septemb.*

*Novel.*22. *Valentiniani inter Theodoſianas, Dat.*14.*Cal. Nov.*

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power to reſtore. He urgeth, that Compaſſion is wont to be had on all Debtors “ that have any misfortune befallen them; and therefore, it is much more due to “ them that have ſuffered a Deluge of their Fortunes. Therefore he reſolves, out “ of the principles of Clemency, that none ſhall ſue any *Africans*, or their Sureties, “ upon any Bonds, till they have recovered their own again. Always excepted “ thoſe who have not loſt all, but have Eſtates in other Countries. Neither ſhall “ they be ſued or moleſted for any thing done within their own Province, where no “ Law now was open, till their Return and Reſtitution. Nor ſhall any Intereſt or “ Uſe-mony be demanded for ſuch Debts by any Creditor, who may well be con- “ tented, if ever, in ſo great a calamity, he arrive at his Principal. “

A. D. 444.

Theodoſio A. 18. *& Albino, Coſſ.*

5. *Theodoſius*, for the Year CCCCXLIIII, took the Conſular Ornaments the eighteenth time; and had *Albinus* for his Weſtern Colleague. This Year the Empire was alſo in repoſe, for any thing we can learn; though *Marcellinus* writes, that, at the ſame time it was invaded by the *Huns*, it was alſo infeſted by the *Perſians*, *Saracens*, *Zanni* and *Iſauri*. But the Empire was at Peace becauſe the *Huns* themſelves were in diſturbance; for the fierce and cruel humour of *Attila* could not be at reſt; but while, by vertue of the late Agreement, he was kept up in his own Country, being impatient of any Equal, he murdered his Brother *Bleda*, and conſtrained all the people of thoſe Tracts to ſubmit unto himſelf. Now grew he more arrogant than ever; and ſuffered himſelf to be tranſported to ſuch ferity, even in his Imagination, that he both thought and affirmed himſelf born for a Scourge of Mankind and Devaſtation of Nations. And to this fancy he compoſed his geſture and his way of walking, which his very ſtature and proportion of his Body ſeemed alſo to agree with and exhibit. He was low made, had a broad Breaſt, a great Head, little Eyes, a thin Beard, a flat Noſe, and a Skin ſo tawny, that it gave ſufficient Teſtimony of his Original. And now being ſole Monarch of the *Huns*, he little doubted but to be ſo ſhortly of the World; and indeed, he wanted neither courage, aſſiſtance of Men, nor perfidiouſneſs to break his Word, and the Peace made with *Theodoſius* when there ſhould be occaſion: being a Pagan, or indeed of no Religion. To one ſo diſpoſed, occaſion and opportunity could not long be wanting, as we ſhall ſee.

He murders his Brother *Bleda.*

6. In the mean time we cannot but take notice how kind *Theodoſius* was at the beginning of this Year, to ſuch Lawyers as were Aſſeſſors or Councellors to the chiefeſt Magiſtrates; as, the *Præfecti Prætorio*, and of the City, the *Magiſtri Militum*, and *Magiſter Officiorum*: declaring, that His kindneſs ought to extend to “ them as well as to the Judges. He tells *Zoilus*, the *Præfect* of the Eaſt, that “ whether at preſent they have executed that Function, or ſhall execute it, both “ then, and when diſcharged, they ſhall enjoy Immunity from all burthens impoſed, “ either by Civil or Military Officers; nay, not receive any Impoſitions from “ the Seat of the *Præfect* himſelf, under pain of fifty pounds of Gold to be forfeited “ by his Office, if it ſhould yield to any thing contrary to this Statute. The “ like indulgence he extends to the *Magiſtri* of his *Scrinia*, whom he owns, as in a “ ſenſe, *Aſſeſſors* to his Majeſty; as alſo, to the *Proximi* and *Exproximi* of the ſaid “ *Scrinia*; and that under the like penalty, to the Office of *Zoilus*: ſo that theſe “ two Laws, directed to one and the ſame perſon, made up but one Conſtitution. “ Nay, to all the *Scriniarii*, as alſo, the *Exceptors* belonging to *Zoilus* as *Præfect*, “ he declared alſo, ſhould belong the Right of the *Caſtrenſe Peculium*, and to the “ reſt that did *mereri*, or ſerve in his Office, in as ample manner as if they had ſerved “ the Commonwealth in the firſt *Legion Adjutrix*; for there were two Legions that went under the name of *Adjutrix*, *viz.* the firſt and ſecond, from helping or aſſiſting the Prince in any Emergency. “ In concluſion, as if he intended to paſs nothing but Acts of Grace, out of Contentment he received at the Peace of the Empire, or ſome other thing; at the end of the year he granted an Indulgence to ſeveral ſorts of Lands, which of late years had been burthened by extraordinary Impoſitions, ſo as never to be liable to them again.

L. 11. *de Aſſeſſoribus, &c. Cod. Juſt. lib.* 1. *tit.* 51. *Dat.* 5. *Cal. Mart.*

Theodoſius paſſes ſeveral Acts of Indulgence.

L. un. de Magiſtris Sacrorum Scriniorum. Cod. Juſt. lib. 12. *tit.* 9. *Dat.* 5. *Cal. Mart.*

L. ult. de Caſtrenſi peculio, &c. Cod. Juſt. lib. 12. *tit.* 37.

* *Qui in Officio tui culminis merendi licentiam habere noſcuntur.*

Novel. 33. *Valentiniani inter Theodoſianas. Dat.* 3. *Id Dec.*

7. In the Weſt *Valentinian* was quite of another opinion, being by *Heſiodorus*, his Miniſter, put in mind to provide for the neceſſities of divers things, and the publick Utility, as he words it. By the Authority of his Pragmatick Sanction, “ he thought fit to confirm that Suggeſtion he had made, ſo as, for the neceſſity of “ imminent Expences, for which the Treaſury was not ſufficient, all thoſe they called “ *Illuſtrious Vacantes* (of whom lately) ſhould find money for ſetting forth three “ Soldiers; as alſo, the *Conſiſtorian Comites*, or thoſe of the firſt Rank; as alſo, *Tribunes* “ and *Notaries*, and ſuch as in the Provinces exerciſed ordinary Juriſdiction, “ one “

Novel. 42. *Valentiniani inter Theodoſianas,* §. 3. *Dat. prid. Id Jul.*

A. D. 444.

Valentinian, on the contrary, exacts his Dues.

one apiece ; *Tribunes Vacant*, whether *Comites* of the ſecond or third Rank, and " all *Clariſſimi* contribute a third part ; ſo as every *Tiro* ſhould be rated at thirty *Solidi*, " the *Africans* excepted, who were lately driven, by an Hoſtile neceſſity, from " their native Soil. Moreover, in conſideration of their preſent Labours and " Watches, twenty *Conſiſtorians*, thirty *Comites*, and the *Notaries* to be excuſed. " In *Auguſt* ſeveral Illuſtrious perſons were ſent for, from *Rome*, to Court, to conſult about the publick Affairs ; to whom the Senate gave in charge, to acquaint the Emperor with a great Irregularity it had obſerved ; and to pray his Redreſs. It was grown to a great cuſtom for Widdows, after the death of their Husbands, to ſue their Sons and Heirs for ſuch Profits as had been ſpent in common in their life time, for maintenance of the Family. This *Valentinian* takes notice of, as he words it, acceptfully to acknowledge how much the moſt ample Senate was mindful of his Authority ; the Counſel whereof always oppoſeth unfitting things. And, attributing much to the expenſiveneſs of Women, he determines, in the firſt Edict of all his Novels that are placed by themſelves, and directed to *Albinus* ; that, If " a Man dies and leaves his Wife, ſhe ſhall not recover of their Sons, or the Heirs " of her Husband, any ſuch Profits or Fruits. No more ſhall an Husband from " the Sons or Heirs of his Wife, if he ſurvive her. "

Novel. 1. *Valentiniani, Dat.* 3. *Id.Septemb.*

A. D. 445.

Valentiniano A. 6. & *Nomo,Coſſ.*

This Year calamitous to *Conſtantinople*.

8. For the Year of our Lord CCCCXLV, *Valentinian Auguſtus* the ſixth time bore the Title of *Conſul*, together with *Nomus*. This Year, though remarkable alſo for Peace, was too much remembred at *Conſtantinople* for the diſaſters which befel that City. For, the people fell into a tumult in the Cirque ; and in that mad hurly burly many were killed. A great Famine raged alſo there ; which was followed by the Peſtilence : and the great Church (over and above) was conſumed with Fire, as *Marcellinus* hath briefly noted. This made the Town, doubtleſs, not very agreeable to *Theodoſius* ; who would be more at his eaſe elſewhere, though we know not of any Progreſs he took, or Expedition he made. But, toward the latter end of *February*, either purpoſing to make one, or to make ſufficient proviſion for his Journey when he ſhould ſo do ; to let all perſons know what they ſhould hold to, and to prevent excuſe, he publiſhed his Edict inſcribed to *Taurus*, the *Præfectus Prætorio* ; wherein he declared, that, When he undertook any ſuch " Expedition, the wonted Attendance and Services of the Provincials where ever he " paſſed, ought to be paid him. Commanding, that none be excuſed from furniſhing " out the *Angariæ* and *Parangariæ*, or Waggons, or from any other Duty ; but all " whatſoever, whether belonging to his own Houſe, to that of the Venerable Empreſs, " to the *Sacroſanct* Churches, or any Illuſtrious Families, without any excuſe " to be obtained by any Pragmatick or Writing procured from the Prince, ſhall " be obedient, and ſubmit to the Indictions of the *Præfect* at the time of ſuch his Expedition. " By this we underſtand ſomething of the nature of the Emperors purveyances, " and how he was inabled to travel ; and we ſuppoſe a ready compliance " would have been given to his pleaſure herein, though he had not uſed ſuch Phraſes and Titles as ſwell above the condition of a Mortal ; as, *Numen*, *Divina Domus*, *Divina Adnotatio*, and *Sacrum Oraculum*, applied to himſelf, according to the cuſtom which ſtill obtained ; eſpecially, when any Laws were made for maintaining the Grandeur and Authority of the Prince.

Theodoſius requires all to attend him upon an Expedition.

L. 2. *de Quibus. muneribus, &c. Cod. Juſt. lib.* 10 *tit.* 48. *Dat.* 13. *Cal. Mart.*

9. *Valentinian* this Year having nothing to do with War, ſpent ſuch time as he allowed to buſineſs with his *Quæſtor*, about Civil Acts. About the beginning of *April*, *Auxentius*, the *Præfect* of *Rome*, informed him of things in that City which needed Reformation : and procured a Reſcript for calling back ſuch as were *Corporati*, " or belonged to certain Companies, although they had procured themſelves " to be received in the number of Clerks, as far as the place of Deacon. " But about the beginning of *June* came Meſſengers out of *Africk*, from the *Numidians* and *Mauri Sitifenſes*, which was managed by *Palladius*, a *Comes* and *Tribune*, and one *Maximian*, a Man of laudable Qualities, as the Emperor commends him. They offered ſeveral things for relief of the diſtreſſed Provincials, who had been harraſſed by that publick Calamity of the *Vandals* ; and received ſuch Anſwer by way of Edict, directed to *Albinus*, the *Præfectus Prætorio*, as *Valentinian* found himſelf obliged to make. One was, that In reference to the Tributes, which they were " no way able to pay as formerly, they ſhould only pay the eighth part, both for " the private Lands, and thoſe they called *Emphyteuticæ* ; ſo as the Provincials of " *Numidia*, for all Accounts put together, ſhould pay four thouſand and two hundred " *Solidi* only, one thouſand and two hundred Military *Annonæ*, and two hundred " *Capita*, for Cattel. Such as held in perpetual Right Lands of the Prince his " Domain, "

Novel.Valenti. inter Theodoſianas, 26. *Dat.* 18. *Cal.Maii, Ad diaconi locum.*

Valentinian again provides for the eaſe of the *Africans*.

Novel. 23. *Valenti. inter Theodoſianas. Dat.* 11. *Cal. Jul.*

Sect. 5.

A. D. 445.

Domain, ſhould alſo pay a ſeventh part. And of other Incomes, as of Salt, Allom, “ and other things a fifth part, or according to the number of Men, and the “ poſſibility of the matter. All which exaction ſhall be removed from the *Curiales*, and be managed by the Officers of the Magiſtrates. Leſt they ſhould be forced to carry proviſions for the Army too, he permits them to exchange them for Mony at eaſie Rates. “

10. **To the** *Mauri Sitifenſes* he confirms all their privileges granted by former **Princes**, who ſhall pay, all Titles put together, five thouſand *Solidi*, and fifty “ *Capita*, **for the** *Annona* they were wont to find. He commands the *Præfect*, that “ **he** ſuffer **no** Officers by any pretence to put themſelves upon theſe Provinces, “ **beſided the** *Dux*, *Conſularis* and *Preſident*, the ordinary Magiſtrates; not ſo much “ as thoſe **they** called *Curioſi Litorum*. To the City of *Conſtantina* in like manner “ **he confirms** their privileges, and takes care for removing their Grievances. “ **To** ſuch *Advocates* as continue their Abode in *Africk*, ſhall not be reckoned “ **that time** that the *Barbarians* raged in the Country, ſo as to ſhorten their term “ (which was wont to be limited; till the ſcarcity of Pleaders procured them to be “ perpetual, or as long as they pleaſed) and when they have completed their term “ they ſhall enjoy the Dignity of *Clariſſimi*. And becauſe the Courts of the Cities “ and Places Corporate, or the number of the *Curiales* was brought very low, he “ allows for good ſuch Acts as ſhall be diſpatched by three *Decuriones* in the preſence “ of a publick *Exceptor*. Foraſmuch as the old way of Judicature (by the “ *Cognitor Decreti*) was ceaſed, Appeals ſhould be made to the *Præfect* of the “ City; and becauſe of the diſtance beyond the Sea, a years time ſhall be allowed “ them. No Dependants, that they may be able to withſtand the Invaſions of “ *Barbarians*, ſhall abſent themſelves from the Grounds of their Lords; and ſuch “ as live in Mid-land places ſhall ſpend one Month in the year upon the Borders, “ that they may not always be ſeparated from their Families. He charges the “ *Dux*, that no armed Men be ſuffered, but ſuch as ſhall willingly offer themſelves “ for repulſing the Enemy, and thoſe to be well looked to and governed, who ſhall “ enjoy what Booty they get from him, except ſuch Slaves as the Provincials have “ loſt. In concluſion, when Jndges have completed their term, they ſhall not depart “ out of their Province, till three Months be expired, either to receive commendations “ for their good Government, or to be anſwerable for their evil “ Deeds. “

Novel. 3. Valentiniani.

He provides againſt the pardon of Murther.

11. This Emperor had been abuſed too much at this time in pardons ſurreptitiouſly obtained in caſe of Blood. So as he found himſelf obliged to take order for ſtopping ſuch looſe Indulgence, and to diſtinguiſh betwixt Murder and caſual Homicide. The caſe of a Man's violent death he would have tried in the Province where the Fact was committed; and if it proved Murder, the Killer to be put “ to death according to the former Laws, notwithſtanding a pardon produced under “ the Prince his own Hand. None ſhould eſcape puniſhment but thoſe in the Lapſes of whom, fortune only could be blamed. And if for the future, any “ pardon ſhould be granted to willful Murderers, the *Magiſter* of that *Scrinium* “ which gave Anſwers to Petitions, ſhould fine in five pounds of Gold, and a *Memorialis* “ of any *Scrinium*, beſides the loſs of his place be baniſhed for the ſpace “ of five years. “ This is directed to *Maximus* as ſecond time *Præfectus Prætorio* and *Patritian*, and concludes with a Prayer, that the Divinity would keep him ſafe for many years, the moſt dear Parent of the *Auguſti*. It was dated on the eighth of *December*, and propoſed to publick view in the *Forum* of *Trajan* on the twelfth day of the ſame Month, by the *Præfect* his Edict, according to the cuſtom.

A. D. 446. *Ætio* 3. & *Symmacho Coſſ.*

***Britain* falls off from the Empire.**

12. The CCCCLVI Year of our Lord was opened with the third Conſulſhip of *Ætius*, and that of *Symmachus*; a Year we ſhall find too remarkable in diverſe reſpects. *Africk*, *Spain* and *Gall* were at this time, as we have ſeen, ſeiſed and poſſeſſed by ſeveral Barbarous Nations; and now the time was alſo come, that our *Britain* ſhould fall quite off from the *Roman* Empire. The Reader indeed by that ſmall intelligence he hath had of it might juſtly have concluded, that it had been alienated long ago. Well might the Poet ſing his *penitus toto*. So little do we hear concerning it in thoſe times, dark enough in themſelves, but diſmally dark as to it, that it might well ſeem ſeparated, and indeed another world. More than a wonder it is, that amongſt the numerous Laws we have peruſed, and mentioned in this Volume, but one ſingle Edict or Reſcript, but one bare Conſtitution is to be found concerning it, or directed to any Magiſtrate or Officer reſident upon it. What ſhall we attribute this to? to what cauſe ſhall we aſſign it? To the great diſtance? But ſome other Provinces were as diſtant as it from the Emperor's Court, eſpecially when it was in *Gall*, as ſometimes it was. Of *Spain*, of *Illyricum*, of *Africk* we hear often in *Theodoſius* his Code; but of *Britain* there is a deep ſilence. Was it becauſe there were no complaints, or nothing that was out of order, that needed the healing hand of the *Quæſtor*? Of that alſo we have reaſon to doubt. The moſt probable cauſe was this, that though the *Romans* had been long in the Iſland; yet of latter times there was but little Entercourſe betwixt them and it, little paſſing from the Southern to this Northern Climate. The Ocean was thought unpaſſable. The Britiſh Sea was always dreaded as well as the Monſters here thought to be bred in the *Caledonian* Wood. But ſince that the Barbarous Nations began to rove about in Boats. Since *Scots*, *Picts*, and eſpecially the *Saxons* became ſuch Pirates, that Officers on purpoſe were appointed to defend the Coaſts from their violence and Rapine, *Boloigne* and *Dover* did not ſeem ſo near as formerly they appeared. Danger of paſſage put an end to pleaſure in croſſing the Strait. Nothing but neceſſity could procure a Voyage. This was the cauſe why *Britain* grew ſtrange by degrees, and ſeemed indeed another world before ſhe was turned Barbarous: what ſometimes proves her defence (the Ditch about her) then was the Rampart againſt her Friends, and an Inlet to her Enemies. But, as great effuſion of Blood, and expence of ſpirits render an Animal more capable of Impreſſions from external violence; ſo happened it to *Britain* in the exhauſting of her ſtrength; which cauſed her to languiſh. This how it came to paſs we ſhall now tell in order, and all together; which will more conduce to the underſtanding of *Roman Britiſh* Affairs, than if we had told ſome Scraps of Stories ſcatteringly, as by chance we met them.

The reaſon we have heard ſo little of her all this while.

What of moment paſſed here ſince the end of *Conſtantius* his Reign.

Theodoſius.

Maximus.

13. Juſt at the end of *Conſtantius* his Reign, and at the entrance of *Valentinian* we have ſeen from *Ammianus Marcellinus* how the fierce Nations of the *Picts*, *Scots*, *Attacots* and *Saxons* broke the Limits, and vexed and harraſſed *Britain*; and how the Iſſue of it was, that *Theodoſius* the Elder, Father to *Theodoſius* the Great, was ſent hither to repreſs them, which he gallantly performed. For he brought the Iſland into ſo good poſture, that it had a lawful Governour; and from the Emperor that then reigned, got a name of *Valentia*. So continued it in repoſe and ſettlement till that *Maximus* was ſaluted Emperor here by the *Britiſh* Soldiers, and uſurped, who is alſo ſaid ſtrenuouſly to have repreſſed and overthrown the *Picts* and *Scots*, who then alſo made their Depredations. *Gildas* in his Book concerning the deſtruction of *Britain*, as to this Revolution writes, that a vaſt Wood of Ty-" rants, to uſe his Phraſe, ſprung up here about theſe times, and the Iſland re-" taining the *Roman* Name indeed (*Romania*) but little of the Manners or Laws," ſent into *Gall Maximus*, attended by many Soldiers, but ſuch as were tumultu-" ous, and over and above adorned with Imperial Enſigns, which he never de-" cently wore, but as Tyrants were wont to compaſs them. This Man by craft" rather than any valour, having brought the Neighbouring Provinces into his" Net, and by his perjury and lyes joyned them to his wicked Dominion, ſtretch-" ed one of his Wings as far as *Spain*, and the other into *Italy*, and eſtabliſhing the" Throne of his moſt wicked Empire at *Triers*, raved with ſo great madneſs a-" gainſt his Maſters, that of two lawful Emperors, the one at *Rome*, and the other" elſewhere, he bereaved of his moſt religious life. But preſently as he proceeded" in ſuch curſed and audacious practices at *Aquileia*, he was ſmitten on the Head" (he means ſlain) who had caſt down the honoured Heads of the whole world" from their Soveraignty."

By him *Britain* bereaved of her ſtrength.

Is harraſſed by the Northern Nations.

14. But, by this means became *Britain* bereaved of her Soldiers, and Military" Men; as alſo of her Governours, (how cruel ſoever) and in a manner of all her" Youth, which following the Tyrant into *Gall*, never more returned, and thereby" growing utterly unskillful in matters of War, firſt was invaded by two Transmarine and cruel Nations; the *Scots* from the *Weſt*, and the *Picts* from the *North*," under which ſhe lay ſtupified, and groaned many years " This *firſt was invaded*, cannot be meant of the very firſt invaſion made by theſe Nations, as we have ſeen from *Ammianus*, but of the firſt moſt ſignal and violent Impreſſion made by them. And why he ſhould call them *tranſmarine*, a reaſon is rendred by *Beda*, not for that they lived out of *Britain*, but becauſe they were remote from part of the *Britains*, by two interjacent *Friths*, whereof the one from the *Eaſt*, and the other from the *Weſt* pierceth into the Bowels of *Britain*, though they do not reach ſo far as to meet. But ſome conjecture, that *Gildas* did not mean theſe *Scots* called *Reudæ*, which had already ſeated themſelves in *Albania*; but the *Scots* that inhabited

Ireland, and therefore came from the *Weſt*, as the *Picts* from the *North* of *Britain.* But *Britain* being thus harraſſed with their Inroads, and the direful effects thereof, ſent to *Rome* with tears, requiring that ſuccours might be haſtened away to her Relief, vowing, in caſe the Enemy were removed to remain conſtant in fidelity to the Empire.

Send to *Rome* for aid.

15. That *Stilicho* defended the Iſland from the Barbarous Rovers, we have ſeen abundantly from *Claudian*, who introduceth her ſpeaking ſo much in his behalf. And from the ſame Poet we have alſo learn'd, how when he was to engage with *Alarich*, amongſt other Forces, that *Legion* was reckoned which lay in the *Prætenturæ* upon the Borders againſt the *Scot* and *Pict*, whence he had ſent for it as the reſt of the Emperor's Troops into *Italy*. Not long after was one *Gratian* made Emperor by the *Britains*, and after four Months killed by the Soldiers. And into his place they took upon them to promote one *Conſtantine*, as we have diſcourſed at large, who paſſing preſently after his uſurpation into *Gall*, as *Maximus* did in like manner, took over with him the *Britiſh* Youth, and what ſtrength had been left in the Iſland, he utterly removed, and ſo expoſed the exhauſted Iſle more than ever to the fury of the *Northern* Nations. Now we are told by *Zoſimus*, that the *Barbarians* inhabiting beyond the *Rhine*, rebelling againſt this *Conſtantine*, then in *Gall*, reduced the Inhabitants of *Britain* to that condition, that they fell off from the *Roman* Empire, and refuſing to obey the *Roman* Laws, would live, as they themſelves pleaſed. The *Britains* therefore taking Arms, refuſed to undergo no hazards for their Country, but freed their Cities from the incurſions of the *Barbarians*; *Honorius*, the Emperor himſelf, by his Letters adviſing them to ſtand upon their Guard. But after that *Rome* was taken by *Alarich*, and *Conſtantine* the Tyrant ſlain, others write, that the *Britiſh* Army was received by *Honorius*, who reduced the Iſland alſo to obedience, though ſome have ſaid, that then the *Romans* were not able to recover it. But if thus it was, we may eaſily believe what *Blondus* hath written, that when *Conſtantine* on one ſide, and *Alarich* on the other, gave ſuch diverſion to the *Roman* Arms, the *Britains* being exhauſted of their own native ſtrength, and receiving no aſſiſtance from the Empire, being continually harraſſed, and tired with the Inroads of the *Picts* and *Scots* were forced to treat and make ſome agreements with them, and to fall off from their obedience to that power which could afford them no protection.

Gratian.

Conſtantine takes away all the ſtrength that remained.

Vide Uſſerii Primord. Eccleſ. Britann. p. 600.

16. Now it was about the ninth Year after the taking of *Rome* by the *Goths*, that the *Romans*, or they that were of *Roman* Blood, and left behind in the Iſland, not enduring thoſe Threatnings and Inſultations of the Nations, hid their Treaſurers in Ditches, as *Fabius Ethelwerd*, our Noble Engliſh *Saxon* Hiſtorian relates, and got them over into *Gall*, hoping to find them at their return, wherein yet in a great meaſure, their expectation failed them. If what he writes concerning *the Threatnings of Nations*, hath Relation to the Nations or People of *Britain*, their quarreling with the *Romans*, this much confirms the Revolt now made by them from the Empire; if the words be not rather to be underſtood of the Barbarous Nations, the *Picts* and *Scots*. But however, it's without doubt, that they ſhortly after returned to obedience, as was beſt for them, except they had been in better capacity to relieve themſelves, and now they obtain'd upon promiſing obedience, another Legion for their defence. For they found no faith or conſtancy in the Rovers, who under pretence of peace and a League, hoped to get the Iſland into their power. The *Romans* could not but take notice of their deſign, and how *Britain* by that means was like utterly to be loſt, if they did not preſently interpoſe; and therefore *Ætius* being alſo wearied with the importunity of that party which ſtill remained conſtant in their fidelity, ſent away a Legion out of *Gall*, which reduced the Country into an indifferent quiet, and peaceable condition. We are to underſtand, that now it was, that *Gildas* ſaith, that *Britain* vowed, if the Enemy were removed, to remain immoveable in her fidelity to the Empire. A Legion “ unmindful of the late miſchief (the murdering of the Emperor *Gratian* ſome interpret it) is ordered her, which having paſſed the Seas, preſently engaged the “ Rovers, and having ſlaughtered of them a great multitude, quite drove them “ out of the Country, and thereby freed the Inhabitants from cruel death, or immi-“ nent captivity. This performed, it ſet them upon making a Wall overthwart the “ Iſland, which ſhould be for a terror to their Enemies, and a defence to them-“ ſelves. But being made by the Rabble without any good Adviſer, not ſo much “ of Stones, as of Turfs and Earth, it ſtood them in no ſtead at all.

The *Romans* hide their Treaſures, and get them gone into *Gall.*

Multiplices non ferentes gentium minas.

Ætius ſendeth a Legion.

A Wall of Turfs.

17. *Beda* writes, that in his days the Remainders and Footſteps of this deep and

broad, though uſeleſs, Rampart, were to be ſeen. And he ſaith it began two Miles diſtance from the Monaſtery of *Abercurnig* in the *Weſt*, at a place, in the Language of the *Picts*, called *Penvahel*, in the Tongue of the Engliſh *Penneltun*, and ended near the City *Alcluith*. It was drawn betwixt the two *Friths* of *Dunbritan* and *Edenburgh*; as *Scotch* Writers deſcribe it, from *Kaer Eden*, or *Edenborough*, to *Kerk-Patrick*, on the Bank of the River *Clude*, leaving *Glaſgow* on the South, being eighty Miles more Northerly than that made by the *Romans*. But the Legion which ſet them upon this Work, ſtaid not to ſee it made, being ſhortly after recalled, when the *Burgundians* grew turbulent; and then for all the Wall, the *Barbarians* returned, and miſerably waſted poor *Britain* with Fire and Sword, till News thereof being brought to *Valentinian* the Third; he diſpatched away *Gallio* of *Ravenna* with another Legion. But hear how *Gildas* himſelf tells the Story in his lamentable and melancholick manner. This Legion being returned with great joy and triumph, the ſame Rovers like ſo many cruel and ravenous Wolves return upon their former prey, no Shepherd appearing to protect the Sheep, and beat down and trample on all in their way, like ſtanding Corn. Now again “ are Meſſengers diſpatched with their Cloaths rent, and earth upon their Heads, “ to crave ſuccour of the *Romans*, like as fearful Chickens betake themſelves to the “ Wings of the Hen, beſeeching them not to ſuffer their afflicted Country utterly “ to periſh, nor the *Roman* name, now indeed meerly a name, to be loſt and extinguiſhed “ in the Iſland. The *Romans* receiving as great an impreſſion from the “ Story of this Tragedy as humane nature was capable of, made as much haſte to “ their Reſcue, as an Eagle can do in the Air, an Horſeman upon the Earth, or the “ moſt expert Mariner upon the Sea; and like as a mighty Torrent, falling from the “ Mountains, removes Heaps of Sand which lie in its paſſage, ſo did they ſweep “ and cleanſe the Country of theſe greedy Rovers.

Another Supply ſent, which again diſperſeth the Rovers.

18. They now tell plainly thoſe, for whoſe deliverance they came, that they “ muſt not for the future expect any ſuch tedious and laborious Journeys from “ them; or that the *Roman* Legions, or ſuch an Army was to be indangered by Sea “ and Land, for to drive away a ſort of inconſiderable ſtraggling Thieves. They bid “ them apply themſelves to the ſtudy and practice of Arms, that by their own valour “ and conduct they may be able to protect their Country, their Wives, their Children, “ and (what ſhould be more dear to them) their Lives and Liberty; to ſtretch “ out their Hands not naked and diſarmed, to be pinion'd by the Enemy, but furniſhed “ with Swords, Spears, and ſuch like Inſtruments of War, ready to aſſault, “ and make havock of theſe Nations which could not be more powerful and valiant “ than they themſelves, except their ſloth and idleneſs cauſed them to be ſo. They “ ſhewed them how to make another Wall, not according to the former model, “ but along by the Cities which probably had been built for fear of the Enemies, “ propounding couragious Exploits to a fearful People, and a Copy to ſuch as were “ not willing to write after it. Moreover, upon the *Southern* Shoar, where their “ own Ships lay at Anchor, and the Invaſions of the wild Beaſts were alſo feared, “ they built Watch-Towers at certain diſtances, and bade them farewel, as never to “ return any more to them.“ *Beda* (who had been a little more *venerable*, had he been ſomething more *Britiſh*) though he ſlightly paſſeth over all things relating to that diſtreſſed and exhauſted Nation, and cannot eſcape ſome cenſure for his partiality betwixt the old Poſſeſſors, and the Intruders, a little inlargeth this Text, and tells us, this Wall was made of firm Stone, in the ſame place where *Severus* had made his Rampire, or *Vallum*. He adds, that it being yet in his days conſpicuous, and much talked of, was eight foot broad, and twelve foot high, paſſing in a direct Line from *Eaſt* to *Weſt*, as to which he appeals to the eyes of thoſe that behold it.

Inſtructs the Natives, and bids them farewel.

19. And ſome very Learned Men are of opinion, that this Stone-Wall was raiſed in the place both where the Turf Wall ſtood, and that alſo of *Severus*. Of this belief was *Buchanan*, who placeth it within the ſame Boundaries, as that of Turfs, betwixt *Abercorn* and *Kirk Patrick*. Beſides the Footſteps of the Walls he inſtanceth in the Remains of the Towns, and of *Roman* Antiquities diſcovered in the Bricks, and the Inſcriptions of Funeral Monuments without controul. Others of his Nation call the place *Grimeſdyke*, according to the name then known to the Inhabitants, but will have the Stone Wall drawn from the Mouth of *Tine* croſs the Iſland, by the Suburbs of *New-Caſtle*, called *Gateshead* (where *Severus* they ſay alſo cauſed a Wall and a Ditch to be made oppoſite to *New-Caſtle*) and upon the River *Eike*, or *Scotſwath* for ſixty Miles, as far as a place not much diſtant from *Carlile*,

Another Wall.

Sect. 5. A. D. 446.

lile, Weſtward. But let us ſee what all this labour, and the good will of the *Roman* Legion amounted to. It was no ſooner gone, but Multitudes of *Picts* and *Scots* again appeared upon the Shoar, and like a Swarm of Caterpillars overſpred the “ face of the earth, differing indeed in manners and cuſtoms from each other, but “ both alike greedy to ſhed Blood, having their Faces more covered with Hair, “ than their ſecret parts with Cloaths ; and they confidently ſeiſed on the Northern “ Part of the Iſland as their own, from the utmoſt Bounds thereof as far as the “ Wall. Upon the Wall the *Britains* ſet a Guard, but ſuch an one as was fitter to “ eat, than to fight, trembling at the ſight of an Enemy, and pining away for the “ very thought of War. The *Barbarian* had certain Hooks wherewith he “ would pull down to the ground the unwary and helpleſs Defendant, who in ſo “ great misfortune was in this reſpect happy, that he lived not to ſee theſe dreadful “ calamities which ſhortly after befel his Relations. In ſhort, the Guard ere “ long quitted both the Wall and Towns adjoyning ; and then followed the uſual “ flights and diſperſions of a poor ſheepiſh and miſerable people ; for to no other “ than ſuch a preying of Wolves and wild Beaſts can this thing be compared, the “ miſerable *Britains* running away, and when eaſily overtaken, being ſlaughtered like Sheep, with complaints and reluctancy, but no oppoſition. Thoſe that remained “ alive, felt in another manner the dreadful effects of this invaſion ; ſo ſevere “ a Famine following that Havock, which had been made of all things, that “ no Food could be obtained, but what only could be got by hunting. “

The Guard quits it.

And a miſerable devaſtation follows.

20. The miſerable Remnant of the *Britiſh* Nation, in this deſolate condition, “ having cauſe to apprehend another invaſion, or rather perpetually ſubject to “ them, after ſome time wrote to *Ætius* (ſo it ought to be written, as the Reader “ finds cauſe to believe, though ſome Copies have *Ægitius*, and ſome *Æquitius*) a *Roman* Officer, after this manner : *To* Ætius *thrice Conſul the Groans of the* “ Britains. Then after a few Complaints*: The* Barbarians *drive us to the Sea* ; *and* “ *the Sea drives us back upon the* Barbarians. *Betwixt theſe two ſorts of death,* “ *we have either our Throats cut, or are drowned.* But no ſuccour or relief could “ be obtained. In the mean time, the Famine was ſo violent, that many yielded “ up themſelves to the cruel Enemy, purchaſing a little Bread with everlaſting Slavery: “ others more valiantly got up to the Mountains, Caves and Woods, “ whence they made Sallies upon the Robbers ; and now firſt of all betaking themſelves “ to Almighty God, and truſting in him, had for many years ſucceſs againſt, “ and killed many of them, as they ranged abroad for Booty. Now the boldneſs “ of the Enemy for a little time ceaſed, but not the wickedneſs of the People ; it “ being ever, as it is now (ſaith our Author) the cuſtom of the Nation to be “ weak to repel an Enemy (to blunt his Weapons, as he expreſſeth it) but ſtrong “ enough to ſupport Civil Wars, and the heavy burthen of their Sins: infirm to “ execute the effects of peace and truth ; but able to practiſe wickedneſs and lies. “ The ravenous *Iriſh* (*Hiberni*) then return home, to come back again after a “ ſhort time. The *Picts* thenceforth fixed themſelves, and reſted in the utmoſt part “ of the Iſland, making ſome Incurſions and Depredations now and then.

They ſend to *Ætius* in vain.

Some make Sallies upon the Enemy, and receive benefit by their Prayers.

21. Now happened the great turn and alteration of the State of *Britain*. The *Iriſh*, whom *Beda* calls the *Scots*, returned home ; and the *Picts* remained quiet in the Northern Part of the Iſland, where we muſt look for them when we come to ſpeak particularly of them, and of their Kingdom. And from this time of *Ætius* his third Conſulſhip, we find reaſon to date the utter revolt of *Britain* from the *Roman* Empire. Formerly, it's true, they purpoſed to eſtabliſh themſelves in a diſtinct Body, and Authority ; but both Parties ſtill came together again ; the Authority of the Empire was owned, and Forces were ſent to repreſs the outrageous Attempts of the ſavage Nations. But now, as it were by conſent, they parted. They ſent to *Ætius* ; but *Ætius* did not anſwer them. So long as either they owning their Dependance deſired aid, or the other vindicated here their Right, and endeavoured to protect their Subjects ; we owne them as *Related*, and *Britain* ſtill a *Dioceſs* of the Empire. But now by the *Roman* Laws themſelves, a ſeparation or *Alienation* was made. The *Romans* neglecting to ſend Succors, having given the Inhabitants formerly warning to provide for themſelves, and taking leave as never to return, left her as a thing *Derelict* to the occupation of any one. And (if in this matter we may joyn animate with in animate things, for this our Iſland may anſwer to both) *Britain* now perceiving in what condition ſhe was, quite alienated her ſelf ; in her purpoſe and reſolutions took her flight from the *Roman* intereſt, *ſine animo revertendi*, without purpoſe of returning. Of this

The great turn of the State of *Britain*.

ſhe gave evident Teſtimony, when, the Year after the Conſulſhip of *Ætius*, ſhe compleated that Reſolution which in this Year ſhe muſt have thought of and begun, of chuſing a King to govern her; poſſibly, after his own Luſt, and not according to the Dictates of the *Roman* Laws; which was *Vortigern* as he is commonly called.

A Digreſſion to conſider of the State of *Britain*.

Britain looked on by the *Romans* as another World.

And difficultly they kept it

22. Thus we muſt part with *Britain* now, as fallen quite off, and no longer a Member of the *Roman* Empire, of which ſince the days of *Julius Cæſar* it had had the Name; and ſince the days of *Claudius* it had (not all of it we mean) a true Title to be called. At parting, we would gladly take leave in ſuch a manner as may give the Reader further cauſe to remember her, by a fuller knowledge of her State and Condition, while Imperial. Although ſhe was but a very ſmall parcel of the *Roman* Empire, conſidered in its Bulk and Grandeur, ſhe was by the *Romans* thought fit to be termed *Another World*, as wholly ſevered from their Continent; and not only by their Poets, but their graver Writers; and that not for flouriſh only, but in very good earneſt: inſomuch, that, upon the apprehenſion hereof, *A. Plautius* his Soldiers, as *Dio* writes, were very unwilling to follow him out of *Gall*, in his Expedition hither; ſeriouſly imagining it to be ſome Service quite out of the World. And this might make them think it indeed another World, becauſe they knew no Bounds of it, till the Government of *Agricola*, Father in Law to *Tacitus* the Hiſtorian, and General of *Domitian*; who, overcoming the *Ordevices*, ſubduing the Iſle of *Angliſey*, overthrowing *Galgacus*, with the *Caledonian*, or moſt Northern *Britains*, and cauſing the *Roman* Fleet to coaſt about it, found *Britain* an Iſland indeed; and penetrated into that Sea which, by the Natives, had hitherto been eſteemed a Secret, and a Shelter. And yet, for all this Conqueſt and Diſcovery, ſuch difficult work the *Romans* found it to preſerve this now found out plot of Ground, that as before their Colony and *Municipia* had reaſon to tell them ſad ſtories of the Slaughters they underwent by the Natives: ſo, after *Domitian*, under *Nerva* and *Trajan*, we hear nothing of our *Britains*, till the time of *Adrian*; who ſent to curb and reſtrain them *Julius Severus*: but he being called away, to quiet the tumults of the *Jews*, they would not be kept in any order, till the Emperor himſelf was fain to croſs over into the Iſland, in the Perambulation of the Provinces, with which *Florus* the Poet twitted him.

Adrian ſhares with the Natives.

Lollius Urbicus more ſtraitens them.

Severus did little againſt them.

23. And he, notwithſtanding all his endeavours, and amending ſeveral things he found amiſs; yet, perceiving there was ſo little hope to keep what *Agricola* had acquired, or to make that which the General ſaid to his Soldiers good, that after the Defeat of *Galgacus*, it would be eaſier to retain them all in Peace and Obedience; that he attempted a thing more glorious to the *Brittiſh* Nation than to himſelf. He thought it beſt to ſhare betwixt what, as *Tacitus* tells us, *Auguſtus* and *Tiberius* called a prudent Deſign, and the Ambition of the latter times. They thought it wiſdom to neglect piercing further into that which *Julius Cæſar* had but diſcovered; but, in the time of *Domitian*, nothing would ſerve but the Conqueſt of the whole Iſland. He knew the *Roman* Glory was concerned not to quit the whole; and yet he found it would no way ſuit with the Conveniences of the Empire, to endeavour the retaining of the whole, and therefore took a middle way to part Stakes with the Iſlanders; and leaving to them the Northern parts, cauſed a Wall or Rampart to be raiſed eighty Miles in length, from the Rivers *Tine* and *Eske*, to ſecure to the *Romans* one ſhare of their Conqueſts at leaſt. But, whatever St. *Auguſtine* ſaith of *Deus Terminus*, his giving way to the will and pleaſure of *Adrian*, *Adrian* gave large ſcope to *Terminus*, drawing back the *Roman* Soldiers about an hundred Miles from the Poſt where *Agricola* had placed the firſt *Prætentura*, or a Caſtle furniſhed with a Garriſon betwixt *Dunbritton* and *Edenborough Friths*, the narroweſt neck of Land in all *Brittain*, then called *Glota* and *Bodotria*. *Adrian* being gone out of the Iſland, the *Brittains* began quickly again to be tumultuous; and, to reduce them to obedience, by *Antoninus Pius*, was ſent *Lollius Urbicus*; who indeed did him excellent Service, and drove the Northern People into a narrower ſtrait than they were before, raiſing another Wall or Rampart of Turfs betwixt the two *Friths* now mentioned. But, when a larger Boundary would not quiet them, it was little probable that they would be content with a narrower Confinement. They again renewed their Hoſtilities; and, though ſometimes they were ſuppreſſed, yet continued ſo long and ſo far to manifeſt their uneaſineſs and reluctancy under the Yoke, that this obliged *Severus* himſelf, with his two Sons, to come into *Britain*. He, for all the terror of his Name and Authority, found ſo hard a task of it, that, after the loſs of fifty thouſand Men, he was glad to make a League with the Natives, and

by it to oblige them to retire again; but not into ſo narrow a Compaſs as *Lollius* would have forced them. But, he drew the Boundary back again, and raiſed a Wall of Stone on the Foundation of that formerly made by *Adrian* of Earth and Timber, almoſt the whole way from Sea to Sea. What reaſon he had hence to be called *Britannicus* we know not; as alſo, why *Spartianus* ſhould term the building of this Wall the greateſt Glory of his Reign. Sure it was a Monument of the reſtleſs courage and reſolution of the *Brittains*. But, ſo many Walls were here made by the *Romans* to repreſs their courage and reſolution, and this was the laſt we know of; which alſo, ordinarily and chiefly goes by the name of the Wall; except we mention one, ſaid to be raiſed by *Carauſius*, who uſurped, being employed here, in the Reign of *Diocletian*. But this is founded upon the relation of *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, and other ſuch like Teſtimonies. That *Theodoſius* the Elder, and others, endeavoured to make good this Limit we need not doubt.

The *Roman* Diviſions of *Britain*.

24. Yet uſed the *Romans* other means, and ſome diverſe from thoſe in other Provinces, to keep *Britain* in ſubjection. That ſhare of it they thought fit to call *Roman* they divided into ſeveral parts, for a clearer diſtinction, and better Government. Firſt into four (not to mention the general Partition into Upper and Lower) as, *Maxima Cæſarienſis*, *Flavia Cæſarienſis*, *Britannia Prima* and *Britannia Secunda*. This appears from the Breviary of *Sextus Rufus*, which he dedicated to *Valentinian* the Emperor; of which ſome imperfect Copies have but three, and leave out *Flavia*; one of which Copies was light on by learned *Cambden*, and cauſed him to miſtake in this Enumeration. This Partition moſt probably was made by *Conſtantine* the Great, from whoſe *Prænomen* was *Flavia* ſo named, as *Maxima* from the greatneſs of it. Afterwards, when *Theodoſius* the Elder had reſtored the *Roman* Force of things in *Britain*, and recovered a great part of the Country, loſt to Natives, he increaſed the Diviſion, by adding a fifth Province, with the name of *Valentia*, from his Maſter. Now, of theſe, *Britannia Prima* is moſt rationally thought to have been that part of the Country, lying from the *Gallick* Sea, to the River of *Thames*, and the *Æſtuary* of the *Severne*. *Britannia Secunda* reached from the *Severne*, to the *Iriſh* Sea. *Flavia Cæſarienſis* lay betwixt the Rivers *Thames*, *Severne* and *Humber*. *Maxima Cæſarienſis*, betwixt *Humber* and *Adrian* his Wall. And *Valentia*, having been formerly part of *Maxima*, betwixt the Walls of *Adrian* and *Urbicus Lollius*, or that betwixt the Friths. Here, if the reaſon for this Partition thus limited be required, the Author of it anſwers, that he had obſerved the *Romans* ever to call theſe Provinces the *Firſt* which were neareſt to *Rome*. For example; *Germania Prima*, *Belgica Prima*, *Lugdunenſis Prima*, *Aquitania Prima*, *Pannonia Prima*; all which were nearer *Rome* than any that had the name of *Second*: which were more elegantly called *Inferior*, as the Firſt were termed the *Superior*. And, whereas in the declining of the Empire, thoſe Provinces only had *Conſulares* which lay next to Enemies, as he obſerved out of the *Notitia*, not only in *Gall*, but in *Africk*: and in that *Notitia*, both *Maxima Cæſarienſis* and *Valentia* have ſuch Magiſtrates aſſigned them; therefore he rationally thought them to be thoſe which lay next to the Walls, and, at laſt, were moſt ſubject to the Attempts of *Picts* and *Scots*.

Camden.

25. But there is another Argument for his threefold Diviſion of *Britain*, as he found it in ſome corrupt copy of *Sextus Rufus*, wherein the *Flavia Cæſarienſis* is left out. He found that it had been obſerved (and that truly) how the Polity of the Church imitated that of the State; and Arch-Biſhops were founded in thoſe Cities where the *Roman* Preſidents were wont to reſide. Now, we read how *Britain* had of old three Arch-Biſhops, *viz.* *London*, *York* and *Caer Leon* upon *Uske* in *Monmouthſhire*. Therefore he concludes, that the Province belonging to *London*, ſince tranſlated to *Canterbury*, was the *Britannia Prima*: *Wales* was the *Britannia Secunda*: and that belonging to *York*, and what extends as far as the Wall, to have been the *Maxima Cæſarienſis*. But if he concludes that the Province lying next, or belonging to the chief City, had the name of the firſt, becauſe it appertained to that which being chief, or the *Metropolis* of *Brittain*, had the firſt Arch-Biſhop ſeated in it; there is another that will contend with *London* for that Title in the *Roman* times. For, although *London* hath been, as at this day, for very many Ages, the chief City in *Britain*, and above thirteen hundred Years ago was accounted an old Town, and ſtiled *Auguſta* in the days of *Ammianus Marcellinus*; nay, commended long before that, as of great Fame and Renown, even in the time of *Tacitus*, for the concourſe of Merchants, and proviſion of all things neceſſary: Yet *Berterius* aſſigns *York* as the more ancient or truer *Metropolis* of this Dioceſs of the *Brittanies*.

Pithanon, lib. 1. *c.* 3.

Not ſo much for that it was a *Roman* Colony, which *London*, it's concluded, was not; but alſo, becauſe the Emperor's Palace and *Prætoriam* were there. There is mentioned alſo the Temple of *Bellona*: and the Hiſtorian calls it *Civitas*, by way of Excellence or Preheminency. I add the Temple of *Bellona*, as that indeed which gave the chiefeſt occaſion to its being the *Metropolis*. For, when the more Southern parts of the Iſland were ſubdued, and the Northern remained refractory, and perpetually adminiſtred ſome Incentive for War, *York* was the place where the Governors choſe to make their abode; as neareſt, and at hand, to oppoſe the Northern Nations. Therefore (we ſuppoſe) *Severus* found a Palace, a *Prætorium* and a Temple, and did not make them: and, as he, ſo his Succeſſors, when in this Iſland, there made their uſual Reſidence: and, as he, ſo *Conſtantius* there died. There was the Court of the Prince, the Court of Juſtice, and thither the *Dernier* reſort lay; that of Merchants being left to *London*. That *Eborius*, Biſhop of *York*, in the Council of *Arles*, under *Conſtantine* the Great, ſubſcribed before *Reſtitutus* of *London*, it will be more convenient in another place to ſhew.

25. But ſuch was the Partition of *Britain*, and the Government was ſuited to it; to be ſure, after the Model of *Conſtantine*. Indeed, what it might be called before that time, as to Terms or Titles of the Governors, is not ſo eaſie to determine; it being a controverſie betwixt two famouſly learned Men; our *Camden*, and *Pancirolus*. The former affirms, that *Britain* was a Province neither *Conſular* nor *Proconſular*, but *Præſidial*, as belonging to *Auguſtus* (after that Diviſion we related to have been made by him of Provinces betwixt himſelf and the Senate) and had its own *Proprætors*. But the latter inſtanceth in ſeveral that governed as *Conſulares*, *viz. A. Plautius*, and *Petilius Cerialis*, both mentioned indeed by *Tacitus*, in the life of *Agricola*, by the Title of *Conſulares*. But afterwards he confeſſeth it ruled by Preſidents; particularly, by *Virius Lupus*, under *Alexander*. Now, that is commonly known that *Auguſtus*, as *Dion Caſſius* relates, did, in the Diviſion, keep to himſelf ſuch Provinces as were moſt expoſed to the Enemy; under pretence to rid the Senate of trouble, but with deſign to weaken it, and ſtrengthen himſelf, by the Conjunction of the Legions. The Hiſtorian reckons up thoſe very Provinces, but amongſt them *Britain* is not to be found; and it may be anſwered, that the reaſon is, becauſe *Britain* was by *Auguſtus* derelict, who thought it policy not to meddle with it: but it came in afterwards; and *Dio* witneſſeth, that ſuch as afterward fell in, fell in alſo to the Lot of *Cæſar*. But withal, the ſame Author writes, that there was in ſucceeding times, ſome alteration made from this Rule; eſpecially, out of *Italy*: and *Tacitus* his Teſtimony ſeems uncontrollable, when he ſpeaks of what was practiſed in his own time, and under his own obſervation. To be ſure, he at large declares, that many, as *Legati* and *Procuratores*, were ſent into the Iſland, after the time of *Claudius*.

The Government.

Conſularium primus A. Plautius præpoſitus. p.662. cum Notis Lipſii. Brevi deinde Britannia Conſularem Petilium Cerialem accepit, p.658. Lib. 53.

26. Under the Model of *Conſtantine*, and after his Diviſion of the Country, it is clear enough what both Title and Authority the Governors had. Being one of the *Dioceſſes* belonging to the Diſtrict of the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Gall*, it had a *Vicar* of its own; to whom the *Notitia* of the Empire aſſigns the Enſigns of his Place, and the Magiſtrates and Officers ſubject to his Command. His Enſigns were a Book of Mandates ſhut, covered with Green, and marked on the Back, together with five Caſtles repreſenting ſo many Provinces, with their ſeveral names inſcribed. The Magiſtrates under his Command were two *Conſulares* of *Maxima Cæſarienſis* and *Valentia*; and three *Preſidents* of *Britannia Prima*, *Britannia Secunda*, and *Flavia Cæſarienſis*. For his *Officium*, he had his *Princeps* out of the Schole of the *Agentes in Rebus*, from the *Ducenarii*; a *Cornicularius*, two *Numerarii*, *Comentarienſis*, *Abactis*, *Cura Epiſtolarum*, *Adjutor*, *Subadjuvæ*, *Exceptores*, *Singulares*, and the reſt of the *Officiales*. By the *Vicar*, and theſe five Magiſtrates under him, was the Civil Government adminiſtred in ſuch manner as our Polity of the Empire declares. The Military was executed by three great Officers under the *Magiſtri Militum* of the Weſt, *viz.* the *Comes Britanniarum*, the *Comes Litoris Saxonici*, and the *Dux Britanniarum*; the ſeveral Charges of whom, and the Tracts ſubject to their Juriſdictions, may be diſcerned by the names of thoſe Towns where their under-Officers and Forces are ſaid to have had their Quarters. The *Comes* of *Britain* is concluded to have had his Command toward the Inward and Middle part of the Iſland; and this is becauſe the other two are known to have had theirs upon the Maritime and Northern Coaſts. For, the *Notitia* aſſigns not to him any Forces, nor mentions any place ſubject to his Command (though we know of ſeveral Legions that lay in the inward parts of *Britain*) becauſe, as *Pancirolus* thinks, at the writing of it, almoſt

A *Vicar*.

Subordinate Magiſtrates.

Notitia Imp. Occident. Sub diſpoſitione viri ſpectabilis Vicarii Britanniarum.

Civil.

Military.

Comes of *Britain.*

Sect. 5. A. D. 446.

moſt the whole Iſland was over-run by *Barbarians*. Indeed, it was in very ill plight; and, had he had his Forces here in Garriſon, there would have been no ſuch need for the Natives to ſend ſo often as they did, about that very time, to *Rome* for ſuccour. But he and his Army were, in truth, driven away; and alſo, we fear, his *Officium*, though theſe ſeveral Members of it be regiſtred in that Survey: as the *Princeps* from the Office of the *Magiſter Militum Præſentalis* every other Year, *Commentarienſis*, two *Numerarii*, *Adjutor*, *Subadjuvæ*, *Exceptores*, *Singulares*, and the reſt of the *Officiales*.

The *Comes Litoris Saxonici*.

27. But, if *Pancirolus* his reaſon be valid, why ſhould we not find the condition of the two other great Officers the ſame? Can we imagine that had the *Comes Limitis Saxonici per Britanniam*, or eſpecially, the *Dux Britanniarum*, had ſuch numerous Troops about them as the *Notitia* Muſters, there would have been ſuch outcries made, and tears ſpent for the obtaining of one Legion? The former hath no fewer than eight *Præpoſiti* mentioned under his Command, and one *Tribune*. Of theſe, the *Præpoſitus* of the *Numerus*, or *Cohort* of the *Fortenſes*, lived at *Othona*, thought to be *Haſtings* in *Suſſex*: the *Præpoſitus* of the *Tungricani* (or thoſe that were raiſed about *Tongres*, in *Brabant*) at *Dubris*, or *Dover*: the *Præpoſitus* of the *Numerus* of the *Turnacenſes* (or thoſe about *Tournay*) at *Lemanis*, or *Lime*, very anciently another Port Town in *Kent*: the *Præpoſitus* of the *Numerus Branodunenſis*, of the *Dalmatian* Horſe-men at *Branodunum*, or *Brancaſter*, in *Norfolk*: the *Præpoſitus* of the *Numerus Gariannonenſis*, of the Horſemen called *Equites Stableſiani*; who quartered at *Gariannonum*, or *Caſtor*, near *Yarmouth*, in the ſame County. Then follows the *Tribune* of the firſt *Cohort* of the *Vetaſii* (poſſibly for *Vetaraſii*, Inhabitants of *Vetaraſia*, a City of *Gallia Belgica*; or *Vetuſii*, a People of the *Alpes* in *Italy*) who had their abode at *Regulbium*, or *Reculver*, in *Kent*. The former *Præpoſiti*, *Pancirolus* thinks Commanders of *Auxilia*, and Horſe; and this *Tribune* as Officer alſo of a Cohort, to be ſet amongſt the Legionary *Præpoſiti*, below them. For, now follow three *Præpoſiti* of Legions; The former of whom is he that commanded the ſecond Legion, *Auguſta*, which kept Guard at *Rutupis*, or *Richborough*. The next is the *Præpoſitus* of the *Numerus* of the *Abulci*, who had his Quarter at *Anderida*, poſſibly, *Newenden*. And the laſt, the *Præpoſitus* of the *Numerus* of the *Exploratores* (ſo called, becauſe their duty was to make diſcovery of the State and Motions of the Enemy) who had their Station at *Portus Adurni*, or *Ederington*, in *Suſſex*. For his *Officium*, he had it thus furniſhed: The *Princeps* of it was out of the Office of the *Magiſter Peditum Præſentalis*. Then he had two *Numerarii*, and a *Commentarienſis*, both out of the aforeſaid Office; *Cornicularius*, *Adjutor*, *Subadjuva*, *Regerendarius*, *Exceptores*, *Singulares*, and the reſt of the *Officiales*. This *Comes* had, as others of his Rank, for the Enſigns of his place, a purple Book, with the like Notes; together with his *Codicils*, and the Images of theſe nine places where the *Præpoſiti* and the *Tribune* lay in Quarters.

Notitia Imp. Occid. Sub Diſpoſitione viri ſpectabilis Comitis Litoris Saxonici per Britanniam.

The Enſigns of his Authority.

The *Dux Britanniarum*.

28. In the laſt place comes the *Dux Britanniarum*, with the Muſter-Roll of ſuch an Army, as half of it would have affrighted the *Picts* and *Scots* in their greateſt reſolution, and cauſed them to betake themſelves to their Heels again. For, under his diſpoſition, as the term of the *Notitia* is, is firſt placed the *Præfect* of the ſixth Legion; in the next place, the *Præfect* of the *Dalmatian* Horſe, having his Quarters at *Præſidium*, or *Patrington*, in *Holderneſs*, near the Sea: the *Præfect* of the *Criſpian* Horſe at *Danum*, or *Dancaſter*: the *Præfect* of the *Catafractarian* Horſe at *Morbium*, poſſibly *Morſby*, in *Cumberland*: the *Præfect* of the *Numerus* of the *Barcarii Tigritenſes* at *Arbeia*, or *Jerby*, in the ſame Shire: the *Præfect* of that of the *Nervii Dictenſis* (*Nervii* were a People of *Belgica Secunda*) at *Dictis*, or *Diganwy*, in *Carnarvonſhire*: the *Præfect* of the *Numerus* of the *Vigiles* (or Scouts) at *Concangii*, poſſibly, in *Kendal*, in *Weſtmerland*: the *Præfect* of the *Numerus* of the *Exploratores* at *Lavatres*, near *Bowes*, in *Staneſmore*, in *Richmondſhire*: the *Præfect* of the *Numerus* of the *Directi*, at *Verteræ*, or *Burgh* upon *Stanemore*, in *Weſtmerland*: the *Præfect* of the *Numerus* of the *Defenſores*, at *Broconiocum*, or *Bougham*, on the edge of *Weſtmerland*: the *Præfect* of that of the *Solenſes* (from *Solis*, a Town of *Cilicia*) at *Maglona*, thought by *Camden* to be *Machleneth*, in *Montgomeriſhire*; where they lay to reſtrain thoſe that lived on the Mountains: the *Præfect* of the *Numerus* of the *Pacenſes*, who lay at *Magi*, *Maiſeneth*, or old *Radnor*: the *Præfect* of the *Longonicarii*, at *Longonicus*, or *Langcheſter*, in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*: and laſtly, the *Præfect* of the *Numerus Derventionenſis*, ſo called from *Derventio*, where it lay quartered; a Town upon the River *Derwent*, ſeven Miles from *York*; thought to be *Aldby*. All theſe *Præpoſiti*, fourteen in number, have expreſſed in the *Notitia*

the places where they quartered, except the firſt, of whom thus much is only found: *Præfectus Legionis Sextæ*, without any other addition. And whereas this *Dux* hath for his Arms or Enſigns, as other *Duces*, a Book inſcribed, with a purple Cover; to it are added the Images of fourteen Munitions, thirteen of which have the ſame names upon them we have mentioned, as Quarters of the *Præfects*: only the firſt over it hath *Sextæ* relating, I ſuppoſe, to the Legion. Now what this *Sexta* ſhould mean but *York* it ſelf, I cannot apprehend, where the *Sexta Legio Victrix* lay for ſome Ages, from the time of *Severus*; and in *Antonine*'s Itinerary to the wonted name is thus added, *Eboracum, Legio VI, Victrix*; and in a Coin of *Severus* hath been alſo found *Col. Eboracum, Leg. VI. Victrix.*

The Forces of the Limit.

29. Theſe *Numeri*, when put together, made a conſiderable Force; but yet beſides them, a ſtrong Watch was kept upon the *Vallum*, or Wall, being the Limit of the Empire in this Country, all along, or through the Line of it, as the *Notitia* expreſſeth it. For here lay the *Tribune* of the Fourth Cohort of the *Lergi*, at a place called *Segodunnm*, now *Seaton*, upon the Sea Coaſt of *Northumberland*. The Tribune of the Cohort of the *Comonii*, who had his Station at *Pons Ælii*, now called *Pontland* in *Northumberland*, the Bridge whereof was probably made by order of *Ælius Adrianus* the Emperor. Next to him we find the Tribune of the *Ala*, or Wing of the *Aſtores* (from *Aſta*, a Colony and City of the *Ligures*, if *Pancirolus* be to be believed) at *Condercum*, or *Cheſter* upon the *Street*, by the *Saxons* called *Conceſter*, though a few Miles diſtant from the *Vallum* in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*. After him the Tribune of the firſt Cohort of the *Frixagi*, who quartered at *Vindobala*, as the *Notitia* calls it; in the Itinerary, *Vindomora*, or the end of the Wall: For this was ſignified in the Provincial Language of the *Britains*, at that time by *Vindomora* (*Finis Muri*) as alſo by *Vindobala* (*Finis Valli*) beyond it no *Veſtigia* of the *Ductus* or Tract thereof appearing ever to have been there; the River *Tine* (it is to be thought) ſerving for a Rampire to keep off the Enemy: And in conformity with all this, the place ſtill hath the name of *Walls-end* in *Northumberland*. The next in order is the Præfect of the *Ala Saviniana* at *Hunnum*, which *Cambden* conjectures to have been no other than that place upon the Wall in the ſame County at this day, called *Sevenſhale* from *Saviniana*. After him the Præfect of the ſecond *Ala* of the *Aſtori*, lay at *Cilurnum*, which we take for *Cillerford*, or at leaſt *Scilceſter* on the Wall in the ſame Shire. Then follows the Tribune of the firſt Cohort of the *Batavi*, who had his Abode at *Procolitia*, poſſibly that called *Coleceſter* upon the *Tine* ſtill in that County.

Item per lineam valli.

30. But the Tribune of the firſt Cohort of *Tungri* kept his mural Watch at *Borcovicus*, ſtill at this day called *Borwick* in *Northumberland*. The Tribune of the fourth Cohort of the *Galls* at *Vindolana*, now *Wincheſter*, on the Wall, near to *Walton*, by *Beda*, called *ad Murum*, and a *Royal* Village, in which *Segbert*, King of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, was baptiſed by *Paulinus*. The Tribune of the firſt Cohort of the *Aſtori* lay at *Æſica*, thought now to be *Netherly* upon *Esk* in *Cumberland*. The Tribune of the ſecond Cohort of the *Dalmatæ* at *Magni*, probably ſome other place upon the Wall, and not *Radnor*, called alſo by the ſame name. As for the *Dalmatæ*, *Pancirolus* takes notice, that they were in theſe Days the very ſtrength of the *Roman* Empire; but that *Alarich*, in a manner deſtroyed them, as *Zoſimus* ſhews; ſo that of the Foot, this Cohort afterward inlarged did only remain; but of Horſe ſeveral ſurvived. The Tribune of the firſt Cohort *Ælia* of the *Daci* (which ſhews them to have been here planted by *Adrian*, as the ſame Author will have it) at *Amboglanna* poſſibly ſome Munition upon *Camb-beck*, a Rivolet upon the Wall. The *Præfect* of the *Ala Petriana*, ſo called from *Petrianæ*, at old *Perith* in *Cumberland*. The Præfect of the *Numerus* of the *Mauri Aureliani* brought in, it may be, by *Aurelian*, at *Aballaba*, now contractedly known by the name of *Appelby* in *Weſtmorland*. The Tribune of the ſecond Cohort of the *Lergi* at *Congavata*, near *Cand-beck* and *Roſe Caſtle* in *Cumberland*. The Tribune of the Cohort of the *Spaniards*, at *Axelodunum*, now probably *Hexham*, a famous Town in *Northumberland*, for being once the Seat of a Biſhop. The Tribune of the ſecond Cohort of *Thracians* at *Gabroſentum*, not three Miles off from *Vindobala*, now *Gateſhead* over againſt *New-Caſtle*, of which it ſeemeth a Suburb. The Tribune of the firſt Cohort, called *Ælia Claſſica*, at *Tunnocellum*, in probability ſeated where ſince ſtood *Tinmouth* Caſtle, at the Mouth of the River *Tine*, the Promontory of which the very *Roman* Name it ſelf doth ſignifie.

Gatter Britannice capra & Hen caput. Tunnocellum promontorinm Tunnæ vel Tinæ ſonat.

31. This Cohort, Learned *Cambden* thinks, from its addition of *Claſſica*, to have attended herein Naval Affairs; the *Romans* having their *Luſoriæ* in Rivers, both for

prevention, and making of Incurſions, We have ſeen indeed largely, that the Empire had ſuch Fleets upon Rivers; but whether on *Tine*, we cannot ſay; neither ſeems there to have been ſuch need of them, the Wall having come near to the Mouth of that River, nay, up cloſe to it, as ſome will have it, who contend, that the place was called *Pen Bal-Crag*, viz. *the Head of a Wall in a Rock.* And yet there is a Law extant in the Pandects, wherein mention is made by *Javolenus* of one *Seius Saturninus*, who was *Archigubernus* of the *Britiſh* Fleet: and *Nero*, from a *Claſſis*, or Fleet, gave the name of *Claſſica* to a Legion. He that next follows, is the Tribune of the firſt Cohort of the *Morini*, and he attended his Charge at *Glannobanta*, thought to be by *Camden*, *Bambridg* in *Wentſedale*, where, of late years, was digged up an Image of *Commodus*, accoutred after the *Herculean* faſhion, which he affected. But afterward he changed his opinion, and placed it by the River *Wentſbeck* in *Cumberland*. The Tribune of the third Cohort of the *Nervii*, lay at *Alione*, or the place now called *Whitley* Caſtle in *Weſtmorland*. After him the *Notitia* mentions a *Cuneus* of the *Armaturæ*, and placeth it at *Brementuracum*, ſome ſtation *per lineam valli*, and not near *Preſton* in *Lancaſhire*, ſixty Miles diſtant from the Wall, as *Camben*, in the *Proecdoſis* of his Work would have it. Then follows the Præfect of the firſt *Ala Herculea*, the Seat of which was at *Olenacum*, poſſibly *Elenborough* in *Cumberland*, where remain many Monuments of Antiquity. And in the laſt place comes the *Tribune* of the ſixth Cohort of the *Nervii*, to whom the *Notitia* aſſigns a Poſt at *Veroſidum* thought to be *Werewick* upon *Eden*, near *Carlile*. Theſe were the Officers and Forces lying for the defence of the Limit to ſecure the Wall, under the Command of the *Dux Britanniarum*, who alſo had an *Officium* belonging to him, as others of his Rank, for diſpatch of buſineſs. This conſiſted of a *Princeps*, taken yearly out of the Offices of the *Magiſtri Militum Præſentales*; two *Commentarienſes*, *Numerarii* yearly out of both the Offices; an *Adjutor*, *Subadjuva*, *Regerendarius*, *Exceptores*, *Singulares*, and the reſt of the *Officials*.

Ib. S. C. ad Trebell.

32. If *Pancirolus* reckons right, *Britain* muſt have maintained at this time, of the *Notitia*, about nineteen thouſand and two hundred Foot, and ſeventeen hundred Horſe: yet it ſets none down, as belonging to the Juriſdiction of the *Comes Britanniæ*, who has only the Image of the Iſland, and a Book of Mandates for his Enſigns, without thoſe of Caſtles or Garriſons. That Commentator judgeth, it was becauſe the whole Iſland was then, in a manner, in the power of the *Barbarians*; but that reaſon might alſo have ſerved againſt ſetting down the Forces belonging to the other Officers; for when the *Notitia* was compoſed, the *Britains* ſent often to *Rome* for aid, which they needed not, if half, or a quarter of theſe *Numeri* had lain in Garriſon toward the Wall. The firſt *Vicar* we meet with, and probably the firſt of all, was *Pacatianus*, to whom we find one Edict directed with the Title of *Vicarius Britanniarum*, forbidding, that one *Decurio* here, ſhould be bound to pay the Tributes that were due from another. But who was the firſt *Comes* of the *Saxon* Shoar, we know not, and uncertain it is when firſt he was made; though it muſt be when the *Saxons* became ſo terrible for their Piracy. He is ſtiled by the *Notitia*, *Comes Littoris Saxonici per Britanniam*; and within *Britain* his authority is thought to have been confined, till of late a Learned Man extended it to the Coaſts beyond the Seas, lying over againſt us, as *Cimbria*, *Batavia*, *Belgica* and *Armorica*. To them he finds the name of *Littus Saxonicum* given, becauſe the *Saxons* infeſted them alſo, and made great Depredations in them by their ſudden Incurſions. And he contends, that this *Comes* being deſigned to reſtrain their inſolence, had power alſo in thoſe Coaſts, as well as upon the Borders of *Kent*; though he had his Denomination from *Britain*, where he ordinarily reſided. And yet, by his favour, the *Notitia* mentions no Forces under his Command in any other place, but only in this Iſland. And it's ſtrange, they ſhould be omitted, and that having a Command of that extent, the Images and Names of only nine *Britiſh* Towns or Garriſons ſhould be put into the Enſigns of his Office. As his Employment lay upon the Sea Coaſts in the Iſland; ſo that of the *Dux Britanniarum* toward the North of *England*; *Danum* or *Dancaſter*, at this day a conſiderable Town, and ſtanding ſix Miles within *Yorkſhire*, ſeeming to have been the moſt Southern Quarter, taken up by his Soldiers.

Vide quæ ſed ex Seldeno attulimus ſupra c. 1. Sect. 2. Paragr. 40.

L. 2. de exactionib. Cod. Th. lib. 11. tit. 7. Dat. 12. Cal. Decemb. A.D. CCCXIX.

Selden in Mari Clauſo.

33. That *Station* being repreſented in the Enſigns like a Caſtle, hath ſet over it *Dano* in the Ablative Caſe, as the next to it is called *Morbio*, and many others in like manner. For ſome obſerve, that from the Age *Solinus* lived in (not long after *Pliny*) and ſo downward, it was a cuſtom to pronounce the Names of Cities in the

Cities named in the Ablative Caſe.

ſixth or Ablative Caſe ; or Monoptotes. But however, the *Romans* might give Terminations to, and decline the names of Towns, yet they were generally of *Britiſh* Extraction. They gave names indeed to few places, either in *Britain*, or other Provinces. But ſome even here they did, as *Ad Anſam*, *Aquæ Solis*, *Bovium*, *Cæſaromagus*, *Calcaria*, *Caſtra Exploratorum*, *Colonia*, *Ad Pontem*, *Pontes*, *Spina*, *Trajectus*, *Tripontium*, *Villa Fauſtini*, and perhaps others to be ſeen in the Itinerary, which were given upon ſome unknown accidents, or occaſions. For communication betwixt theſe places, and for the convenience of Travel, when Armies marched, and the Governors viſited the Provinces, the Legions were, when otherwiſe idle, employed in raiſing High-ways and Cawſeys, called *Viæ Militares*, *Conſulares*, *Prætoriæ*, *Publicæ*, *Stratæ*, or by other names; which courſe was taken in every Province of the Empire. Now there being mentioned in the Itinerary no fewer than one hundred and fourteen *Manſions* and Towns, through fifteen Roads, or Journeys ; and in the *Notitia* forty ſix Garriſons, *viz.* nine on the Sea Coaſt, under the Command of the *Comes of the Saxon Shoar*, fourteen more inland, and three and twenty *per lineam valli*, all under the charge of the *Dux Britanniarum*; though ſome of theſe be the ſame with others mentioned in the Itinerary, many Streets or High-ways muſt have been raiſed for convenience of paſſing, according to the *Roman* cuſtom of Travel. And it is no way probable, that a Province ſo abounding with *Stations*, *Camps*, *Fortreſſes* and *Cities*, ſhould have ſo few as four Ways of Note in it; and yet but ſo many our ordinary Hiſtorians do reckon. Had the *Notitia* given us an account of the Forces and Places under the Command of the *Comes Britanniæ*, as well as it hath done of thoſe belonging to the other two great Officers, we might have found more Cities in the Iſland ; of which, *Beda*, from *Gildas*, tells us, there were in theſe Ages twenty and eight moſt noble ones, beſides innumerable Caſtles furniſhed and fortified with moſt firm Walls, with Towers, Gates and Locks.

Cawſeys raiſed.

Lib. 1. *c.* 1.

34. Yet, as we ſaid, the High-ways are commonly made but four in number, the courſes whereof are differently reported, and alſo in ſome part their very Names. But one of them is called *Watling-ſtreet*, ſaid to run out of the *South-Eaſt* to the *North-Weſt*; from *Dover* to *Cardigan* in *Wales*, at the *Iriſh* Sea. The ſecond is that called the *Foſſe*, from the *South* to the *North*, from *Totneſs* in *Cornwal* to *Lincoln*, and ſo to *Cathneſs* the utmoſt of *Scotland*. The third is *Erming-Street*, out of the *Weſt-North-Weſt*, to the *Eaſt-South-Eaſt*, from S. *Davids* to *Southampton*. And the fourth is called *Iknel-Street*, taking its courſe by *Worceſter*, and ſo by *York* unto *Tinmouth*. To endeavour certainty in all theſe, as one ſaith, were to conclude unwarrantable conjectures, and abuſe both time and the Reader with various opinions, which would amount to nothing. Beſides theſe, there are others mentioned with divers names ; as *Julia Strata* in *Monmouthſhire*, raiſed, as *Cambden* thinks, by *Julius Frontinus*, of whom *Tacitus* teſtifies that he ſubdued, the Nation of the *Silures*, having got the Maſtery, both over the Valour of the Enemy, and the difficulties of Places. There was another way called *Strata Marcella*, which *Giraldus Cambrenſis* mentions at no very far diſtance, in his Itinerary of *Wales*, and others would derive from *Ulpius Marcellus*, who was *Proprætor* here under *Commodus*, not very long after *Frontinus*, whoſe ſtrictneſs in Military Diſcipline *Dion Caſſius* ſo much commends. It ſhall ſuffice me to ſay, that if we conſider the end and deſign of raiſing theſe High-ways, they were made for convenience of paſſage, to ſuch Garriſons and Forts as were placed according to the exigency of Affairs, as they might beſt curb and reſtrain Domeſtick or Foreign Enemies, or to Manſions and Places of Abode, where the Civil Magiſtrates executed Juſtice, and decided Controverſies ; which were ſo ſituated, as the People might with beſt conveniency meet together. The Cawſeys therefore being made for the Towns, and not the Towns for the Cawſeys (though convenience of Travel, in ſuch as were built more lately, might be an inducement to ſet them on, or as near to the Road as could be) they muſt needs take various courſes, and croſs ſeveral ways, nay, often divert, and not through the neareſt cut. And if particular Counties were well ſurveyed, many Branches of the more direct and ſtraight ones would be found. I have in *Lincolnſhire* obſerved ſomething of this kind, and particularly how one there is derived from that High Street which runs by *Stamford*, Northward, which croſſing the River near *Gunworth Ferry*, took its courſe down by *Deeping*, and ſo into the very Fenny Parts of that County.

See *Barton's* Comment on *Antonine's* Itinerary through *Britain*.

See Doctor *Plot's* Book of *Oxfordſhire*.

35. Enough of *Roman Britain* conſidered within her ſelf, as to her Buildings and Inhabitants, whether Native or Adventitious. But we muſt remember, that as ſhe

received Strangers in, ſo ſhe ſent out too many of her own Inhabitants; and upon this account her vigour abated, and her wonted ſtrength was exhauſted, being deprived of her Youth by the Uſurpers lately mentioned. This is to be underſtood not ſo much of Strangers lying here in Garriſon at thoſe Poſts we have mentioned, as of true natural *Britains*, at leaſt born here, though of *Roman* Parents; or of other Nations, which we ſee were numerous in the Armies. For the *Romans* in furniſhing their Garriſons, and defending their Provinces, thought it not wiſdom to truſt the Natives; but in raiſing their Forces, ſtill tranſplanted them, as not to be armed in their own Countries. Therefore, beſides thoſe whom the Uſurper *Maximus* and *Conſtantine* took away with them, it evidently appeareth by ancient Inſcriptions, and the *Notitia* of the Empire, that theſe Companies hereafter mentioned ſerved the *Romans* in their Wars here and there, diſperſed over the Provinces, which were from time to time ſupplyed out of *Britain*. We read of *Ala Britannica Milliaria*, *Ala quarta Britonum in Ægypto*, *Cohors prima Ælia Britonum*, *Cohors tertia Britonum*, *Cohors ſeptima Britonum*, *Cohors viceſima ſexta Britonum in Armenia*, *Britanniciani ſub Magiſtro Peditum*, *Invicti Juniores Britanniciani*, *Excubitores Jun. Britan.* (both of them amongſt the Palatine *Auxilia*, or Aids) *Britones cum Magiſtro Equitum Galliarum*, *Invicti Juniores Britones intra Hiſpanias*, *Britones Seniores in Illyrico*. No wonder then it is, that *Britain* dayly exhauſted with ſo many and ſo great Levies of Soldiers lay expoſed to the fury of the *Barbarians*; for though Natives are more to be feared, as to Inſurrections, yet they more vigorouſly defend their own Country and Intereſt than others. And hereby that ſaying of *Tacitus*, as *Camden* obſerves, is proved true, that there is no ſtrength in the *Roman* Armies, but what comes by Foreigners. If the Reader think fit, he may ſee both what Troops were furniſhed out of the ſeveral Provinces, and alſo to what other parts, in that uſeful Book the *Notitia*. We have made a long Digreſſion in behalf of *Britain*, though it may juſtly challenge from us more diligence than other Countries. But ſo we leave her, till ſhortly we meet with her again, upon another account, in another dreſs.

Forces ſent out of *Britain*.

36. We ſaid at the beginning of this Year, that it was too remarkable in divers reſpects. And this not in the leaſt, that now *Attila* puffed up with pride, and delighting in Blood and Cruelty, could not contain himſelf, but brake the peace with *Theodoſius*, pretending his Tribute was not paid him, and made an Incurſion into the Eaſtern Provinces, where he cut off at length the *Magiſter Militum*, which conſtrained the Emperor to do that by Gold, which his Steel would not effect, and purchaſed that peace again which was but ſuddenly to be broken. Agreeable to thoſe Civil Commotions and Ruptures in the Empire was that terrible Earthquake, which *Marcellinus* writes to have happened in this Conſulſhip of *Ætius* and *Symmachus*. It raged in very many places, and therein overturned very many Cities. The Wall of *Conſtantinople*, though but new built, it threw to the Ground with fifty ſeven Turrets: Stones of a great Bulk, lately placed in Building of the *Forum* of *Taurus*, fell down, yet did no other hurt. But many Towns being ruined, a peſtilent vapour aroſe, which cauſed a Plague, and this, joyned with a Famine, deſtroyed many thouſands of Mankind. This Earthquake we take to be the ſame with that which *Evagrius* writes to have happened in *Theodoſius* his Reign, and ſaid to have been the greateſt and moſt memorable of all others: ſuch, as by its greatneſs, rendred inconſiderable all that were before it. It afflicted, he had almoſt ſaid, the whole world. Many Towers in the Palace fell to the ground; the Wall of the *Cherroneſus*, called the *Long*, tumbled down; the Earth gaped, and ſwallowed many Villages, beſides other many, nay, innumerable other Calamities both by Sea and Land. Some Fountains were dried up, in other places water in great quantity broke out where formerly it had not been known; great Trees were torn up by the Roots; heaps of Earth were ſo ſhaken together, that they were raiſed into Mountains. The Sea caſt forth dead Fiſhes; in it many Iſlands were overwhelmed and ſunk; Ships ſailing on the Sea, by a ſudden retroceſſion of the Water, were left on dry ground. In concluſion, many places of *Bithynia*, the *Helleſpont*, and both the *Phrygias* were grievouſly diſtreſſed. And this Diſaſter a long time, and ſorely afflicted the world; but yet continued not in the ſame fury, but by degrees grew leſs, and languiſhed, till at length it wholly ceaſed.

Attila breaks the peace.

A terrible Earthquake.

Lib. 1. *c.* 17.

37. *Nicephorus* out of other Authors writes, that it continued ſix Months, and that in a manner without intermiſſion. That it reached *Alexandria*, but eſpecially afflicted *Antioch*, the choiceſt rarities of which it broke or ſpoiled; for beſides the Countries mentioned by *Evagrius*, it invaded the greateſt part of the *Eaſt*; and

Lib. 14. *c.* 46.

ſpared not many Regions of the Weſt. He adds, that the People of *Conſtantinople* not daring to ſtay in the City, for fear of the fall of Houſes, continued, together with the Emperor, and *Proclus* their Patriarch, in the Field, wholly intent upon Prayer for the Removal of ſo heavy a Judgment; which, at laſt, was ſtayed, when a Boy, being taken up into the Air, and let down again the ſame way, told them of an Hymn he had heard ſung by Angels; which they then applyed themſelves to ſing. That this Hymn was afterward conſtantly uſed in the Church, being enjoyned by an Edict to be ſung throughout the Empire: and the *Greeks*, in their Menology, retained the memory of the thing; beſides what is written of it by eminent perſons living at that time. But *Theodoſius*, when he was delivered from the danger of the Earthquake, preſently ſet himſelf to repair the Walls of *Conſtantinople*; and *Anthemius*, in the ſpace of ſixty days, did indeed, raiſe the greater part of them which ſtood upon dry Ground; and, by extending the *Pomœrium*, did very much enlarge the City. But *Cyrus*, the *Præfect* of it, reſtored all that was fallen, and what ever elſe had by Age been broken; and raiſing it to a ſublime height, put the City, as it were, into a new Form and Aſpect. In ſo much, that when, on a time, *Theodoſius*, in the *Hippodrome*, was beholding an Horſe-Race, the Citizens, much taken with the Structure raiſed by *Cyrus*, cryed out; Conſtantius *built, and* Cyrus *reſtored.* The Emperor was enraged thereat; and, under pretence that he was addicted to the Superſtition of the *Greeks*, deprived him of his Dignity, and put to Sale his whole Eſtate. The man, much dejected, betook himſelf to a Church, though lately of the Pagan Profeſſion; and was made the Chriſtian Biſhop of *Smyrna.*

Triſagion Sanctus Deus, Sanctus Fortis, Sanctus Immortalis, miſerere noſtri, vide Baron. ad h. An.

38. But *Theodoſius* his humour now ſtanding for the depoſing of perſons from their Dignities, was at this time hurried ſo far, by tricks of certain perſons, as *Nicephorus* tells the ſtory, that it reached his Siſter *Pulcheria*; her that had been his great Aſſiſter at the Helm, and had kept the Government upon his ſhoulders. The matter was firſt contrived by *Chryſaphius* the Eunuch, and great Favourite of the Emperor: who, being diſpleaſed that *Flavianus* was made Patriarch in the room of *Proclus*, lately deceaſed, and perceiving he could not remove him ſo long as ſhe was in power; firſt provoked *Eudocia*, his Wife, againſt her, knowing the Jealouſies and Emulations of Women: To ſet them by the ears, he perſwaded her to remove from *Pulcheria* the Steward of her Houſe, who managed all her matters; and ſhe tried all means with her Husband to do it, but without ſucceſs; he was, as yet, ſo ſenſible of the merits of his Siſter. But at length he prevailed that *Flavianus* ſhould be required to make her a Deaconneſs; it being the cuſtom, as for Great Men to be drawn by force to Biſhopricks, ſo for Eminent Ladies to be choſen no otherwiſe to that Office or Employment. The Patriarch knew not how to ſhift it off; but, promiſing to diſcharge his Duty, gave her ſecret Intelligence of it by Letter, with advice not to come to him, leſt he ſhould be forced to do that which he himſelf could not but diſlike. She hereupon, delivering her Steward to *Eudocia*, departed to the *Hebdomus*, there to live a private and quiet Life: and the Conſpirators perceiving that *Flavianus* had revealed their deſign, turned all their malice againſt him, and *Eudocia* now got the Power for a certain time. But there goes another report, of an occaſion given by *Pulcheria* her ſelf, to her Brother, to alienate his Affections from her; though the ſame fine ſtory, in a manner, be told of other careleſs Princes.

Pulcheria forced to retire to a private Life.

39. She obſerving how he was wont, out of lazyneſs, to ſign all Papers that were preſented to him without reading, thought to convince him of his folly, and cure him of that Diſtemper, by a Jeſt. She drew a Writing, whereby he ſhould make Sale to her of *Eudocia*, his Empreſs; and this being offered to him, he as readily ſubſcribed as the reſt. This done, when the Empreſs came to her ſhe kept her for ſome time, and would not let her go when he ſent for her; alleadging that ſhe had bought her, and for that produced the Emperor's Hand; who was offended with the freedom, as Princes uſually are in like Caſes; and was urged and inflamed by his Wife, who, grudging her her power, took this opportunity to put her out of his good Opinion and it both together. And ſhe was the more moved to flatter him, and ruin her, becauſe ſhe her ſelf had of late incurred his Jealouſie and Diſpleaſure. There had been preſented, you muſt know, to *Theodoſius* an Apple of wonderful bigneſs, as a Rarity; and this Apple, out of kindneſs, he beſtowed upon his Wife. She had a Favourite called *Paulinus*, with whom ſhe was familiar upon the account of Learning, and that, as was thought and ſuſpected by ſome, more than ſhe ought to be. To him ſhe gave it; and he knowing nothing whence it came, made a Preſent of it to the Emperor, as ſome means to gain his Favour; who, receiving

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ceiving it now, aſked his Wife, what was become of the Apple? She affirmed, ſhe had eaten it; and then, by producing it, he convicted her of Untruth and Unfaithfulneſs; and for this reaſon he was long alienated from her in his mind, and *Paulinus* he commanded to be put to death. But thus was *Pulcheria*, after that, well nigh forty Years, ſhe had ſteered the Realm with great prudence and induſtry (for this was the thirty ninth of her Brother's Reign) removed to a private Life, to the great detriment, both of Church and State.

Yet he provides againſt Precipitancy in State Affairs.

40. Yet, by that care *Theodoſius*, this Year, took for the cautious enacting of Laws, one would have judged him more circumſpect and wary in a matter of ſuch conſequence as depoſing of his Siſter. For, being convinced, it ſeems, of the great Inconvenience which Precipitancy in him (who had the Legiſlative Power) brought to the Empire, probably, by ſome Remonſtrance, or Petition, made by the Senate, he directed back to it a Reſcript, or Oration, to give Remedy in that very Affair. We think it, ſaith he, an Humane thing, that if, for the time to come, any neceſſary “ matter ſhould happen, either in a publick or private Cauſe which may require “ a general Form (or Order) which is not inſerted in the ancient Laws, it be “ handled, or debated, before; as well by the Nobles of our Palace (*Proceres*) as by “ your moſt Glorious Aſſembly, *Conſcript Fathers*: and if it ſhall pleaſe all the “ Judges and you, then, that it be written down, and after that, in a full Aſſembly, “ it be read over; and if all conſent to it, that then it be recited in our Sacred Conſiſtory “ (*Numinis noſtri*) that the Conſent of all together may be eſtabliſhed by the “ Authority of our Serenity. Know ye therefore, *Conſcript Fathers*, that, for “ the future, no Law ſhall be promulged by our Clemency, except the aforeſaid “ Form be obſerved. For, we well know, that what ſhall be ordained with your “ Advice, will redound to the happineſs of our Empire, and to our Glory. “ This Solemnity he would have obſerved, for the more certainty in making Laws; and *Juſtinian* put the Conſtitution into his Code, though we know not whether always he obſerved it in the making of his numerous Edicts, ſeeing that, as he alleadges in his own behalf, for repealing any thing the Ancients had done in ſuch caſes, by the old Law, called *Lex Regia*, all Right, and all Power of the *Roman* People, was tranſlated into that of the Emperor.

L.8. de Legibus Cod Juſt. lib.1. tit.14. Dat.16. Cal.Nov.

A notable Sanction.

Cum enim lege antiqua quæ Regia nuncupabatur omne Jus omniſque Poteſtas Populi Romani in Imperatoriam tranſlata ſunt poteſtatem. L.1 de Veteri Jure enucleando Cod. Juſt. lib.1. tit.17.

41. We find no more Conſtitutions made this Year by *Theodoſius*, but two or three by *Valentinian* in the Weſt. There was ever ariſing ſome new Accident, which affoarded new Queſtions concerning Teſtaments, and eſpecially, betwixt Man and Wife; the ancient Laws having, as we have formerly ſaid, prohibited ſuch Bequeſts, for reaſons which then ſeemed very urgent. But, as *Legiſlators*, in making and altering Laws, muſt receive their Directions from Matters of Fact, as this Emperor expreſſeth it; a change of Cuſtoms and Manners muſt conſequently produce a change of Ordinances. And therefore, now, at the deſire of *Leonius*, one to whom he gives the Title of *Spectabilis*; and betwixt whom and his Wife *Jucunda*, ſo much Affection there was, that they deſired to have the *Jus Liberorum*; or to leave each other their Heir, as it ſhould happen; He added this to former Conſtitutions; that Married Perſons, if they had no Sons, might leave each other their “ Heirs; whether they would do it by one Inſtrument alone, or elſe mutually “ make their Wills. Provided, that if any had juſt Ground from the Law, to “ bring the Complaint of an *Inofficious Teſtament*, ſuch Action ſhall lie. “ And, becauſe many Accidents happened about Witneſſes of Teſtaments, and ſometimes Witneſſes could not be had; from a Petition of one *Pelagia* (an Illuſtrious Woman he ſtiles her) he took occaſion to ordain ſomething more in ſuch Caſes. One *Micce*, another Lady of the ſame Quality, deſigned to leave her her Heir: but, not having any fitly qualified to witneſs her Will, yet wrote it all with her own hand before ſhe expired, and delivered it to *Cæſarius*, a *Tribune* and *Notary* (*Vir Spectabilis*, he terms him) being her Brother's Son; one who, by reaſon of his Nobility, and nearneſs in Blood, ſhe judged would be very faithful to her. And he did not at all betray his Truſt, but publiſhed the Will with the ſame honeſt meaning he received it. But *Pelagia* was ſo modeſt, as, ſcrupling her Right, ſhe would not meddle as Heir, except the Emperor would approve of the Juſtice of her Cauſe. Upon conſideration of the whole matter, he now confirmed what *Micce* had done, who could “ not have any other Witneſſes of her Will than her Brother's Son, and her own “ Writing. He declared her therefore Heir for ſo much of the Eſtate as the preſent “ Writing did name her. “

***Valentinian* ordains ſomething new about Teſtaments.**

Novel. Valentiniani 4. §. 1. Dat.12.Cal. Nov.

Ejuſd.Nov. §.2. Dat.7. Cal.Jan.

42. And that he might not deny the benefit of this Statute to Mankind, he now decreed, that it ſhould remain as ſtanding Law; that If any ſhould make choice “

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to write his Will with his own hand, he ſhould have free liberty to do it; for “ as much as in many caſes it happeneth, that the opportunity and number of Witneſſes “ are wanting, and cannot be had by dying perſons.“ Thus, from theſe Novel Conſtitutions we underſtand the particular occaſions for making of the ſaid Laws; whereas the Compilers of the Codes, ſtudying Brevity, cut off all ſuch Prefaces, and have left us the bare Sanctions; a thing indeed which hath prevented ſwelling of Books: but I know not whether it have ſaved the Student labour, or made him more, the Hiſtory of the Caſe laid down in ſuch Prefaces bringing extraordinary great light to the underſtanding of the Laws, as the Concluſions inform us of the manner of the Emperor's Stile, or of writing to his Miniſters. Being now inclined generally to give relief, the Report of *Albinus*, the *Præfectus Prætorio* and *Patrician*, found good acceptance with him in behalf of his own Office, and the *Numerarii* belonging to him; inſomuch, that he implicitely chides him for not making the Suggeſtion ſooner. By the Medicine, we may know the Diſeaſe; for he declares, that Although, before his full time expired, any belonging to the Office “ of the *Præfect* ſhall, by vertue of his Teſtimony, obtain any honeſt Miſſion, “ either out of love to quiet, or for ſome other Employment, he ſhall not for it be “ moleſted. Neither ſhall the *Numerarii*, who were Auditors of publick Accounts, “ be ſubject to any Diſcuſſions or Queſtions after five Years time expired; “ within which time he judges that truth, although latent, may be diſcovered; eſpecially, “ the condition of no Man being to be ſo grievious, as to have no end of “ his ſolicitude and fear. Further, he takes care for preventing the moleſting and “ ſuing of theſe Officials for Expenſes about Payment of publick Moneys, when “ the Creditors were in fault; who would put it often to other Uſes, and ought to “ be puniſhed with a forfeiture of it. This Indulgence he thinks fit to confer on “ them, for preſervation, he ſaith, of their Safety and Fortunes; and allows, that “ they have *Menſores* aſſigned them, for their peaceable taking up of Quarters, of “ which of late they had been deprived. Thus we ſee how the caſe alters. How “ many Laws have we formerly met with, to reſtrain the Injuſtice and Violence of Officials? Now they have need to be protected againſt thoſe they have formerly oppreſſed. And, of the reallity of this need, the Emperor was ſo far poſſeſſed, that he orders the *Præfect*, to whom he gives the Attribute of *Parent* of the *Auguſti* “ and *Inluſtris*, and *Præcelſa Magnificentia tua*, to publiſh this moſt juſt Law “ by his own Edicts; that it may appear to all Men, how in his time no other thing “ is to be granted but what is decent to be obtained. “

And in favour of his Officers.

Novel.46. Valentiniani inter Theodoſianas, Dat.19.Cal. Jan.

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Alypio & Ardaburio Coſſ.

43. After this tedious Year, we arrive at length at the CCCCXLVII of our Lord; wherein were *Conſuls Alypius*, or *Calypius*, and *Ardaburius*, or *Ardabures*. This we find to preſent us with almoſt as little matter as that gave us occaſion to be large. For, what we then ſaid concerning the Invaſion of *Attila* is to be extended both to this Year, and the following; his outrageous Acts, and the buying him off having taken up conſiderable time. From the *Panegyrick*, written by *Sidonius Apollinaris*, to *Anthemius*, afterwards Emperor of the Weſt, it appears, that the ſaid *Anthemius* fell upon the *Huns* as they roved through *Dacia*; that, not far from *Sardica*, he drove them up into a narrow compaſs, ſeveral times worſted them; and, keeping exact Diſcipline in his Army, notwithſtanding it wanted both Meat and Drink, engaged in a bloody Battel; wherein, though his Colleague played falſe, and thereby the Fortune of the Day was endangered, yet failed he not in Courage; but, by his vehement importunity, got his flying Men to rally; and renewing the Fight; though the Enemy, after that he was put to the worſt, came up again; yet he defeated him, and granted him Peace, on condition that he killed the Traitor; who, accordingly, as he expreſſeth it, fell a Sacrifice to Juſtice, by a Foreign Sword. Now, for as much as *Marcellinus* writes of *Aragiſlus*, or *Arnegiſlus*, the *Magiſter Militum*, his being ſlain by *Attila*, in *Dacia Ripenſis*, though he fought well, and had killed many of the Enemies; *Sigonius* will have him to have been the Colleague of *Anthemius*, and the Traitor mentioned, though this Expedition fell out twenty Years before *Anthemius* came to be Emperor; and ſo, he muſt have been a long time in the greateſt Actions. And *Marcellinus* writes, that *Attila*, after the death of the *Magiſter Militum*, continued his Depredations as far as *Thermopolis*. If we follow *Sigonius* in his opinion, we muſt add, that ſome other Accident happened after the Victory got by *Anthemius*, which obliged the Emperor to purchaſe Peace of *Attila*. *Jornandes* making mention of him that was killed, calls him *Arnegiſtus*, and *Magiſter Militum* of *Mæſia*; and adds that fighting valiantly near *Marcianopolis*, his Horſe fell under him; and when, in that condition, he ceaſed not to fight, he was over-powered and ſlain.

Anthemius defeats the *Huns*.

Carm.2.p.277. Edit. Hannoviæ 1617.

De Regn. & temporum ſucceſſione.

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Priſcus ſent Ambaſſador to *Attila.*

44. The ſame Author, in another place, cites a paſſage out of *Priſcus* his Hiſtory, now loſt, how the Hiſtorian himſelf was ſent on an Embaſſy, to *Attila*, by *Theodoſius* the Younger; and produceth for it his own words. Paſſing over, “ ſaith he, the great Rivers of *Tyſia*, *Tibiſia* and *Dricca*, we came to that place “ where *Vidicula* (ſome read it alſo *Vidigoia*) the moſt valiant of the *Goths*, fell by “ the Wiles of the *Sarmates*. Thence we paſſed to a Village not far diſtant, in “ which *Attila* then made his Abode; a Village, I ſay, like a moſt large City: “ where we found wooden Walls made of vaſt Boards, ſo artificially joyned toge- “ ther, that they ſeemed to be all of one piece, and could ſcarcely be diſcerned to “ be ſeveral by one that intentively beheld them. You might have ſeen the Rooms “ very large, and *Porticuſſes* furniſhed with all neatneſs. The Court of the Houſe “ it ſelf was hung round to a large compaſs; ſo that it reſembled a King's Palace. “ This was the Seat of King *Attila*, the Lord of all *Barbarians*; and ſuch like Lodg- “ ing he preferred before ſuch Cities as he took. He adds, that he was the Son of “ *Mundzuccus*, and had two Brothers, *Octar* and *Roas*, who reigned over the *Huns*, “ although not all, before *Attila*. “ Whether this Embaſſy was undertaken upon this very occaſion we cannot certainly ſay, but probably it might; though, had it not been for his preferring that Village before the Cities he had taken, we ſhould have thought, from the names of the Rivers, the place where they found him, not to have been within the Empire.

Jornandes, de Rebus Geticis, c. c. 34. 36. inter Hiſtoricos Gothicos a Grotio Collectos.

The Seat of *Attila.*

45. In theſe uncertainties, where we have no full direction, *Sigonius* makes another probable gueſs, from another paſſage he found in that Epiſtle of King *Theodorich* to the Senate, formerly mentioned by us; wherein he extols the Virtues of *Caſſiodorus*, his Chancellor: that, at this time, *Valentinian*, leſt he alone ſhould be expoſed to the luſt and fury of *Attila*, after the Peace made by his Unkle, ſent his Ambaſſadors alſo, to take up the Quarrel. For, *Theodorich* having told the Fathers how *Caſſiodorus*, the Father (not the Grandfather, as *Sigonius* miſtakes) of *Caſſiodorus Senator* his Chancellor, laudably bore the Dignity of *Tribune* and *Notary*, under *Valentinian*: adds, that As perſons are wont to make choice of ſuch as are “ like themſelves in diſpoſition, he was, with great dearneſs, aſſociated with *Ætius*, “ in Acts tending to the Aſſiſtance of the State; whoſe Advice then the Empe- “ ror (*Rerum Dominus*, he calls him) in conſideration of his Wiſdom and glorious “ Labours in the Commonwealth, in all his Counſels, followed. He is (and that “ not to no purpoſe) appointed, together with *Carpillio*, the Son of *Ætius*, to go “ Ambaſſador to *Attila*. He beheld him without trembling, whom the Empire “ feared. Being backed with Authority, he deſpiſed that terrible and threatning “ Countenance; neither did he forbear to contradict him, even in his talk; who, “ carried away with I know not what fury, ſeemed to aim at the Soveraignty of the “ World. He found the King inſolent and high, but he left him pacified; and ſo “ reſelled his ſcandalous Speeches, that he ſought to be reconciled; whoſe intereſt “ it was not to have Peace with that moſt opulent Kingdom. His Conſtancy gave “ relief to the fearing Party; and they were believed not to be weak and inconſide- “ rable, who ſeemed to be armed with ſuch Ambaſſadors. He brought back Peace, “ which was not expected; whoſe Embaſſy, what it produced, thence did appear, “ that it was as acceptably received, as it was deſired it ſhould be. As for the Am- “ baſſador, he adds, that he had preſently Honour conferred upon him, and the “ Emperor offered him, as a juſt Maſter, a Revenue for his pains. But, he being “ moſt rich in his own Native Moderation, having a Vacant Dignity in way of Re- “ ward, departed into the pleaſant Country of the *Brutii*. He could not deny him “ his deſired reſt, who had rendred him ſecure from a Savage Enemy; but was “ ſorrowful to diſmiſs him, whom he knew to be one of his moſt uſeful Servants. “

Caſſiodorus ſent Ambaſſador to him.

Caſſiodori, Var. lib. 1. ep. 4.

46. That *Caſſiodorus* was now ſent upon this Errand, all things put together, and conſidered, render moſt probable, whether we reſpect Perſons or Times. But of any Embaſſy returned by *Attila*, to either Emperor, we hear nothing: he was not ſo full of Courtſhip. But this we know, that, toward the latter part of the Year, *Valentinian* received a Meſſage from his Uncle and Father in Law, in a Miſſive directed from *Theodoſius*, to the Lord *Valentinian*, *famous Conqueror and Triumpher, ever Auguſtus, his Son*; and penned according to this form. After that we had “ reduced into the Body of one Code both the Conſtitutions of former Princes and “ our own, our Piety ſhortly after publiſhed another Law, which ſhould give Force “ and Authority to the Code already made; and command that, in Judicature, ſuch “ Laws ſhould not prevail as were not produced out of it. But, in caſe any Law “ was afterward made by either of us, that which was conſtituted in general “ ſhould “.

Theodoſius writes to *Valentinian*, for Confirmation of his Novel Conſtitutions.

Novel. Theodoſii 2.

ſhould then alſo obtain force, and be valid in the Kingdom of the other Prince, if “ it were ſent unto him by divers Writings. Therefore, for as much as for ſeveral e- “ mergent Cauſes, the neceſſity of matters ariſing hath put us, in this Interval, up- “ on making other Laws, which, by reaſon of our being diverted by perpetual bu- “ ſineſs, could not be brought to the Knowledge of thy (*tuæ*) Majeſty; we have “ thought it neceſſary, now at length, to tranſmit them all to thy Serenity, with “ the Subſcription (or Subnotation) of our Majeſty; that by that means they may “ be known ſolemnly to the Subjects, Provinces and People, and the force of them “ may begin to be obſerved alſo in the Weſtern Parts. And ſuch Suits or Cauſes as “ are begun, but not terminated at the time of their Publication, we will have en- “ ded, according to their Tenour. But ſuch as are already decided by definitive “ Sentence, or by Agreement made betwixt the Parties, ſhall in no wiſe be again “ revived. Therefore, *Moſt Sacred Lord, Venerable Son, (Auguſtus)* cauſe them “ to be divulged to all Men; and alſo, whatſoever your Serenity hath in that time “ promulgated in a general manner, to be ſent, in like manner, back, with the Ad- “ umbration of thine own hand, to be heeded and obſerved by the Provincials, and “ all the Eaſtern People. Given, the firſt of *October*, at *Conſtantinople*, *Ardabures* “ being *Conſul*, and he who ſhall be made known to be ſo. “

47. By the Date of this Letter for Confirmation of *Theodoſius* his Novel Conſtitutions, we may eaſily believe there was no very frequent Intercourſe betwixt *Conſtantinople* and *Ravenna*; and a wonder it is, if the Text be not corrupted, that at the beginning of *October*, they in the Eaſt ſhould hear nothing of *Alypius* being *Conſul*. We may take notice alſo, that though Princes ſpake in words denoting the Plural Number, as to themſelves; as *Nos*, *Noſter*, and the like: yet, though to their Equals, they uſed ſtill the old Expreſſions of *Tu* and *Tuus*. But, as they at *Conſtantinople* took no great notice who was *Conſul* in the Weſt, they at *Ravenna* or *Rome* were ſomething even with them, being as careleſs who in the Eaſt had obtained that now decrepite Honour. For we have two Conſtitutions of *Valentinian*, dated on the twenty fifth of *April*, wherein *Calipius* is only mentioned. He had been informed by *Florianus* the *Præfect*, or rather, *Comes Largitionum*, how ſeveral Merchants or Traffickers managed their Trade clandeſtinely, in Villages, holes and private places; in ſo much that they quitted the great and famous Cities, with deſign to defraud him of the uſual Impoſt, upon Merchandize, or the *Auraria Functio*. By a Reſcript, he ordered him to redreſs this miſchief; and to take care that ſuch as had left the Ci- “ ties, and diſpoſed themſelves through meaner Towns, Ports, and private parts of “ the Country, ſhould be apprehended, and conſtrained to pay the ſeveral Dues. “ The ſame Perſon had further let him underſtand, how the *Palatines*, or Officers belonging to the *Largitiones*, were ſo bold as, before their time expired, and without leave, to forſake the Service, to the further hindrance of his Revenue. To give ſome ſtop to this, another Reſcript was (as now we have it) directed to him, requiring him to take a courſe, that All ſuch who, before their time was out, and “ without Teſtimony, or leave obtained from the Treaſurer (whom he calls their “ *Præſul*) had betaken themſelves to Eccleſiaſtical Offices, or other Employments, “ or *Militiæ*, ſhould be deprived of the name of *Clerks*, and the privilege of the Supe- “ rior Girdle (ſo he words it) and returned back to the *Palatine* Office and *Militia*, “ which they had contumaciouſly deſerted, except they had been long out of that “ Service. That this ſhould be prevented for the future, and the Judges of Provin- “ ces quickened up to be more diligent, as to the levying of the ordinary Income. “

Novel. 27. Valentiniani inter Theodoſianas, Dat. 7. Cal. Maii Romæ.

Novel. Valentiniani inter Theodoſianas, 42. §. 3. Dat. 7. Cal. Maii Romæ. Nomine Clericorum & privilegio cinguli ſuperioris exutos.

48. But, about the beginning of *June*, the curioſity of the *Romans* concerning the Eaſtern *Conſul*, we find, was ſatisfied from another Conſtitution; in the Date of which, *Ardabures* is joyned with *Callypius*. Great Complaints were made to *Valentinian* of the ill uſage of *Liberti*, or Freed Men, by reaſon of that great Indulgence given by the Laws to the Heirs of their Lords, by whom they had been manumitted; under pretence of Ingratitude, they would reduce them again to their former ſlavery, ſometimes for ſlight Cauſes; wherein, as they abuſed that favour the Laws had given them, ſo the *Liberti* conceiving themſelves not ſo much obliged to them as to their own Patrons, and provoked by their ill uſage, as happens in ſuch Caſes where Offences are mutual, returned ſuch things as they accounted Affronts; and ſo the matter aroſe to a publick miſchief. *Valentinian* having it repreſented to him as really ſuch, ſeriouſly conſidered how to accommodate it; and at length determined the Affair in a Reſcript to *Albinus*, now the ſecond time *Præfectus Prætorio* and *Patritian*. The Deciſion was this, that No *Liberti*, if they “ were made *Roman* Citizens, upon occaſion of Ingratitude, conceived from ſome “

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Valentinian decides the Controverſie concerning Freed Men and the Heirs of their Patrons.

Novel. Valentiniani 6. Dat 3. Non. Jun. Rome P.P. in foro Trajani, 5. Id. Jun. Antelata Edicto Albini, v.c. hic error.

matter of pretended injury, ſhould, upon that account, be again reduced into Slavery; “ but ſuch Heir, whether a Son or an *Extraneus*, ſhould only have the Action of “ Injury to lye againſt him. But, beſides that agreeable Demeanour which was “ due from Freed Men to their Patrons and their Heirs, the Law was alſo ſtrict in “ caſe of Succeſſion and Inheritance of their Eſtates. Which ſeeming at this time “ alſo too ſevere, *Valentinian*, in the ſame Reſcript, further ordered, that ſuch *Libertus* “ or *Liberta*, if he or ſhe had Son or Sons, they ſhould, if their Parent pleaſed, “ fully ſucceed them in their Eſtates. If they had no Sons, and deſired to “ make a Will, they ſhould be bound to leave one third part of their Eſtates to the “ Sons or Nephews (deſcending from Males) of their Manumiſſors; but as to ſuch “ as deſcended from Females, they ſhould be bound to nothing, except, out of “ their own good will and kindneſs to them, they would give them any thing out of “ the two parts remaining. But, in caſe a *Libertus* had neither Sons nor Grandſons “ of his own; but poſſibly, Father or Mother, Brother or Siſter; he might leave “ theſe Relations one half of his Eſtate, and the other Moiety might go to the Heir “ of his Patron, provided his Relations were *Roman* Citizens. Now, if a *Libertus*, “ and *Roman* Citizen, ſhould die in the life-time of the *Manumiſſor*, and make “ a Teſtament without his conſent, ſuch Teſtament ſhould be of no force, becauſe “ the Authority due to Patrons was to be encouraged. And, if a Freed Man or “ Freed Woman ſhould bear Witneſs, in any Cauſe whatſoever, againſt the Sons “ and Grandſons, ſuch Teſtimony ſhould in no wiſe be received, and the Witneſſes “ puniſhed for ſo doing.“ Theſe Laws, and another to be ſpoken of in another “ place, bear Date from *Rome*, though we hear nothing of *Valentinian* his reſiding there from other Monuments.

A. D. 448.

Zenone & Poſthumiano, Coſſ.

49. For the Year CCCCXLVIII, and the one and fortieth of *Theodoſius*, *Zeno* was named *Conſul* at *Conſtantinople*, and *Rufus Prætextatus Poſthumianus* had that Honour conferred on him at *Rome*. Thence *Valentinian* returned, at the beginning of this Year, to *Ravenna*; where we find him upon a good Account on the Nones, or ſeventh of *May*. For, he was ſo juſt, as, having received, in the latter end of the preceding Year, Letters from *Theodoſius*, deſiring him to confirm and eſtabliſh his Novel Conſtitutions in the Weſtern Parts; he now did it by an Edict directed to *Albinus*, with the ſame Titles as formerly, in this manner of words.

Confirms the Novels of *Valentian.*

Novel. Valentiniani, 13. Dat. Non. Maii.

The moſt Glorious of Princes, the Lord *Theodoſius*, Father of my Clemency, “ hath ſent ſome Laws to us which were made after his Code (*numinis ſui*) “ and ordained by repeated Conſtitutions; *Albinus*, moſt dear Father of the *Auguſti*. “ Thine Illuſtrious and very high Magnificence following the tenour of our “ Letters, ſhall cauſe the ſaid Laws, together with the aforeſaid venerable Command “ ſent with them (which will put all out of doubt) to be made known to all “ thine perſons, as well by own Edicts, as thoſe of the Provincial Judges, that as both “ the Worlds are governed by Individual Ordinances, ſo they may be ruled by the ſame Laws. Given at *Ravenna*, on the *Nones* of *May*.“ Of this Year we are further very ſcant of Intelligence. But we are told of the *Armoricans* being very mutinous, & ſpurning againſt the *Roman* Government. And that *Ætius*, being elſewhere employed, procured *Eocharich*, King of the *Allemans*, to fall upon, and chaſtize them.

ut ſicuti uterq; orbis individuis ordinationibus regitur, iiſdem quoque legibus temperetur.

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Protogene & Aſterio, Coſſ.

50. And ſo we proceed to the CCCCXLIX Year of our Saviour; wherein, for the Eaſt, *Protogenes*; and for the Weſt, *Aſterius*, were named *Conſuls*. And we have little more to tell the Reader which happened in this Year. Yet, about this time died *Galla Placidia*, the Mother of *Valentinian*; a Lady which, however ſometimes ſhe ſhewed of what Sex ſhe was; yet, conſider her all together, ſhe was a Woman of great Prudence, toſſed to and fro in the World, and tried by various Turns of Providence. She was accompanied into another World by *Marina*, the Daughter of *Arcadius*, and younger Siſter of *Theodoſius*; who, together with her, thrived under the good Government of *Pulcheria*; with whom, it's ſaid, ſhe lived in conſtant Virginity: and elſe, we have nothing of her, except that there was an Houſe called by her Name, which poſſibly, ſhe at firſt poſſeſſed; and afterward it became one of thoſe Houſes, or Palaces, of the Emperor in *Conſtantinople*, (as in the Days of *Juſtinian*) each of which had its *Procurator*, to manage the Lands belonging to it. *Theodoſius* his *Quæſtor* was idle for this Year, and the reſt he lived; he, after the Confirmation of his Novels, either reſolving againſt the multiplying of Laws, or having no occaſion to add to them. But, one which he made twenty five Years before, was now much commended, and confirmed in the Weſt by his Son in Law. By it he provided for the Quiet of Mankind; which being diſturbed by nothing more than by Suits and Controverſies, he took order for the ſhortning

Placidia dies.

And *Marina*.

Vide Allemanni Notas in Procopii Anecdota.

L. un. de Actionib. certo tempore finiendis, Cod. Th. lib. 4. tit. 14.

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ſhortning of them. Againſt all ſuch Actions as were perpetual, or had no Limitation ſet them by the Laws (which, in ſeveral Caſes, provided for the extinguiſhing of them) he declared, that the Preſcription of thirty Years ſhould be good. Yet a Conſtitution ſo well intended had not ſuch effect, but that now *Valentinian* was forced to interpret it, to obviate the falſe Gloſſes which ſeveral put upon it; who, “to evade the Juſtice of it, found out various tricks and quirks of Law.“ The Edict of *Valentinian* is directed to *Firminus*, the *Præfect* of *Italy*; but there was no greater need of it than in *Gall*, where it was univerſally received with great ſatisfaction; ſo troubleſome were ſome people, notwithſtanding they had ſeveral ſorts of Foreign Enemies in the Country, to create diſturbance to their Neighbours by a Litigious War, or that of Suits. At this time, when the Edict was received, the Father of *Sidonius Apollinaris* was *Præfect* of that Diſtrict, as appears by an Epiſtle of this Writer; who therein inſiſts much in Commendation of one *Nicetius*, an Orator, by whom it was firſt publiſhed in that Country.

Novel. Valentin. 8. Dat. 15. Cal. Jul. Ravennæ, P.P. in foro Trajani, 13. Cal. Aug. Sub edicto Firmini.

Lib. 8. ep. 6.

Theodoſius dies.

A. D. 450. *Valentiniano, A. 7 & Avieno, Coſſ.*

51. The Year CCCCL, wherein *Valentinian* the ſeventh time, and *Avienus* were *Conſuls*, was accounted a Year of Jubily, in that it gave reſt (we hope) to *Theodoſius* from all his Labours; and Quiet to the Church, which now had been much diſturbed by the Hereſie of *Eutyches*. This, it is ſaid, he favoured: But at length he came to ſee how he was abuſed, to acknowledge his Error, and puniſh *Chryſaphius*, the Eunuch, who had procured this and other great Enormities. He died on the twenty ninth of *July*, having reigned forty two Years, and about three Months, from his Father's death; in the forty ninth Year of his Age. Some ſay, of Sickneſs; and particularly, of the Plague. Others, that, going out to hunt, he fell into the River *Albus*, and died the Night following. And ſome only write, that he fell from his Horſe, without mentioning the Water. As to his Character, all generally agree in his Commendation, while he was adviſed by his Siſter *Pulcheria*. *Socrates* much inſiſts upon it; who writes, that, though he was born and educated in the very Palace, yet was he not of any light or idle Behaviour; but ſo diſcreet, that, to thoſe who conferred with him he ſeemed a Man of great Experience. In the Exerciſes of Religion he was diligent with his Siſters. And, whereas the Emperor *Julian*, though he profeſſed the Study of Philoſophy, yet could not digeſt the Affronts of ſuch as reviled him at *Antioch*; but puniſhed extraordinarily one of them, whoſe Name was *Theodorus*: he, ſetting aſide the Subtilties and Quirks of *Ariſtotle*, daily both profeſſed and practiſed the true Philoſophy: For, he learned to bridle Anger, to take Grief and Sorrow patiently, and to take Revenge of none that did him any Injury. Nay, it is ſaid, there was none that ever ſaw him angry. He was averſe to the puniſhing of Malefactors, and eaſily would pardon them. He could not endure the cruel Shows of the *Gladiators*; and, by his diſcouraging of them, the people learnt to diſlike and abſtain from them. With *Socrates*, others accord and add, that his Defects were, too much eaſineſs and proneneſs to be drawn and perſwaded. As to his Activity in Wars, we find none, but that he managed them all by his Officers, as he did the Civil Government by his Siſters and his Miniſters. His Wife, as we ſaid, was *Eudocia*, the learned Daughter of *Leontius* the Philoſoper; for ſhe was an excellent Poet, and wrote ſeveral Poems (amongſt which, *Homerocentron*) and by her he left only *Eudoxia*, Wife to *Valentinian*, his Colleague. *Eudocia*, by her Emulation had procured much the Diſagreement betwixt him and his Siſter, which, after the Retirement of *Pulcheria*, he was ſenſible of. And thereupon, unkindneſs growing betwixt them, ſhe went her way, in his life time, to *Jeruſalem*; and that not without his own Appointment.

Lib. 7. c. c. 22, & 41.

52. The moſt conſiderable thing of his Reign is the compiling of his Code; and next to that, the Publication of his Novel Conſtitutions. All which put together, make up a plentiful Harveſt, as to Laws; but yet are behind ſome few Gleanings; which being looſe, and out of the Ligaments of Chronology, as being without the Notation of *Conſul* or *Day*, could not be taken in with the reſt. Of thoſe which concern the Commonwealth or Civil Government, one directed to *Hormiſda*, as *Præfectus Prætorio*, is very obſervable; which makes two *Metropoles*, or Mother-Cities in one and the ſame Province. For many and juſt Cauſes, ſaith he, we decree the “City of *Berytus* to be adorned with *Metropolitan* Name and Dignity, already “crowned by its Vertues. Let it therefore have alſo *Metropolitan* Dignity. From “*Tyre* let nothing be derogated of its Right: Let her be Mother of the Province by “the kindneſs of our Anceſtors, and the other by ours; and both enjoy the like Dignity. Thus were two *Metropoles* conſtituted in *Syria Phœnice*: *Tyrus* firſt, by the Favour of *Adrian*, at the Requeſt of *Paulus* the *Tyrian* Orator; and now *Berytus*, that

L. un. de Metropoli Beryto, Cod. Juſt. lib. 11. tit. 21.

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that famous Univerſity for the Laws. In like manner, in *Pontus* are found two; *viz. Amaſia* and *Cæſarea.* And as many in *Cappadocia*; *viz. Cæſarea* and *Thyana.* As he concerned himſelf thus for the Dignity of Cities, ſo alſo, for that of Perſons. For, in an Oration directed to the Senate of *Conſtantinople*, ſtill extant, but without Date; He determined, that, Amongſt ſuch as had been *Conſuls*, he ſhould “ preceed who had firſt born the Honour, notwithſtanding one after him had “ twice enjoyed the *Faſces*. And, if ſuch an one give place to another, if he be “ both *Conſul* and *Patritian*, in caſe that elder *Conſul* obtain afterward the *Patritiate*, “ he ſhall recover his former Station. He favoured thoſe alſo of his Chamber ſo “ far as to give them Immunity from finding Carriages and Beaſts for publick Service; “ and to except their Houſes, in all Cities whatſoever, from the Burthen of “ Quarter. To the *Cornicularii*, *Primiſcrinii* and *Numerarii* belonging to the “ *Præfectus Prætorio*, he alſo granted Privileges: as alſo, to the *Numerarii* of the “ *Magiſtri Militum.*“ But, by another Law, the Date whereof is alſo loſt, it is cautioned, that no perſon of whatſoever Order or Dignity, not the *Sacroſanct* Church, or the Emperor's own Houſe, be excuſed from the burthen of *Angariæ* or *Parangariæ*, in the time of Expedition.

L.1.de Conſulib. &c. Cod. Juſt. lib.12.tit.3.

L.2. de Præpoſitis Sacri Cubiculi, &c. Cod. Juſt.lib.12.tit. 5.L.ult. De Apparitor.&c. Cod Juſt.lib.12.tit. 53.L.4.de Appar. Magiſtr. Militum.tit.55 ejuſd.lib.

L.21. de Curſu Publ. Cod. Juſti lib.12.tit.51.

53. By the death of *Theodoſius*, the care of the Empire was again devolved upon *Pulcheria.* The care of it, I ſay, if not the Empire it ſelf; for, ſhe had the Title of *Auguſta*, not merely as had an Emperor's Wife, which ſhone in the Beams of her Husband's Majeſty; but, as we may ſay, by way of Co-ordination. However, it had not been the cuſtom, as yet, in the Empire, for Women to reign alone, either in the Eaſt or Weſt. And therefore ſhe reſolved, though now above fifty Years of Age, to make choice of ſome worthy perſon, and every way fit in years and diſcretion; and marrying him, to qualifie him for the Empire. Her Choice fell upon *Martian*; and ſhe procured that, by a *Senatus-Conſultum*, the Dignity of Emperor ſhould be conferred upon him: till which could be effected, it is ſaid, that ſhe concealed her Brother's death. This *Martian* was, by Birth, a *Thracian*, and Son to a Soldier by Profeſſion; to whoſe Trade of Life bearing an Affection, he went to *Philippopolis*; where he was entertained amongſt ſuch as had given up themſelves to the Study and Practice of Arms. It happened in his Journey thither, that he light upon the Body of a Man newly dead; at which ſight, being amazed, and of a ſingural good Nature, he ſo long continued with it, till he had provided all things neceſſary for a decent Burial. But ſome that had opportunity to ſee what he did, taking notice of it, made relation of the matter to the Magiſtrates of *Philippopolis*; who apprehended him, and charged him with the Murther. Signs and Conjectures prevailed with them more than the truth could do unknown, or the Proteſtations of *Martian*; who was now ready to abide the Puniſhment due to that Crime, when, on a ſudden, unlooked for, the Author of the Fact was diſcovered, confeſſed it, was executed, and he thereby eſcaped death. Being ſo wonderfully delivered, he betook himſelf to a Company of Soldiers lying not far off; and amongſt them deſired to be liſted. They had the Man in admiration; and prognoſticating by certain Gueſſes, that he would prove a great Perſon, received him willingly, and enrolled his Name: placing him not in the loweſt Rank, as a late Comer, or Freſh Water-Soldier, according to the cuſtom of Military Law; but preferring him to an Honourable place, which one lately dead, whoſe Name was *Auguſtus*, enjoyed before him; whom he alſo imitated in his very Name: ſo that, with his Preferment, he received the Imperial Title before he was promoted to that Sovereign Dignity, the Emperors themſelves being called *Auguſti*, as *Evagrius* informs his *Græcian* Country Men.

Pulcheria, by marrying *Martian*, procures him to be Emperor.

Who he was.

Evagrius lib. 2. c. 1.

54. *Evagrius* ſubjoyns the ſtory of another paſſage which portended the Imperial Dignity; and it is the ſame we find in *Procopius*, in his Hiſtory of the *Vandalick* Wars. *Martian* ſerved in *Africk* againſt that People, under the Command of *Aſpar*; and fought againſt *Genſerich* in that Battel wherein *Boniface*, he, and many of the *Romans* were defeated. Amongſt others, *Martian* was taken Priſoner; and, with them, ordered to be brought into a Field, where *Genſerich* might have the contentment to view them, and conſider on what Maſters to beſtow them. Continuing in the place, and diverting themſelves as they pleaſed, for *Genſerich* had given order to their Keepers, to take off their Shackles, ſome lay down to ſleep; and amongſt them that ſlept, was *Martian*. It was Noon time of day, and the Sun was hot; but the report went, that an Eagle hovered upon him; and ſpreading her Wings over his Head, therewith covered him, and protected him from the heat; which *Genſerich* took notice of, and, upon the ſight, conjectured what would befal

Stories of things portending his Preferment.

him. He called him to him, and demanding who he was; He told him, he was the Domeſtick of *Aſpar*, which, when he heard, conſidering what he had ſeen the Eagle do, and how great a Man *Aſpar* was at *Conſtantinople*, he thought it fit not to kill him, which if he did, what he judged was preſaged could not come to paſs, but gave him his liberty, making him ſwear, that he would not take Arms againſt the *Vandals*; and though after the death of *Theodoſius* he was promoted to the Empire, yet ſhewing himſelf in all other reſpects an excellent Prince, he found the Affairs of *Africk* as he left them. *Pomponius Lætus* to this Relation of *Procopius* adds another, That being born of obſcure Parents, and having ſerved firſt in *Lycia*, falling into a ſickneſs, he was kindly entertained in the Houſe of *Tatianus* and *Julius*, two Brothers, where recovering of his Diſeaſe, he went out afterward with them to hunt. The heat of the day much afflicting him, they reſted for ſome time in the Shade, where *Tatianus*, firſt looking up, ſaw an Eagle in the Air hover over him, at which aſtoniſhed, he raiſed his Brother, and ſhewed him the ſight: when the Soldier was awake they told him the thing, and therewith foretelling his high fortune, furniſhed him with two hundred pieces of Silver at his departure. This Story which ſeems framed out of the other, poſſibly gained more belief, becauſe it is further ſaid, that when *Martian* came to be Emperor, he forgot not the Hoſpitality of theſe Men; but ſending for them, preferred *Tatianus* to the Government of *Conſtantinople*, and *Julius*, his Brother, to that of *Illyricum*.

Prætors at *Conſtantinople* reduced to three.

55. To be ſure *Martian* was now elected Emperor, and being well approved of by the People, eaſily afterward obtain'd the conſent of *Valentinian*, as well upon the account of his own worth, as the choice of *Pulcheria*. How he advanced that *Tatianus* and his Brother we know not; but at the end of the Year we find an Edict directed by him from *Conſtantinople* to one *Tatianus*, by the Title of *Præfectus Prætorio*, as the Copy now hath it; but the Subject of it indeed relates to the *Prætors* of that City. The Reader may remember how many *Prætors* were in *Conſtantinople*, according to the various fancies of ſeveral Princes, ſometimes four, five, eight; as in *Rome* in old times were eighteen. Now *Martian* thought fit to reduce the Number to three; and thoſe he commanded yearly to be choſen at the diſcre-" tion of the Senate, out of ſuch as lived in Town, and not in the Provinces, who" were not to be compelled, if unwilling, to do certain things, but left to a ſponta-" neous liberality." At his firſt coming to the Government he received great Complaints how thoſe that were Plaintiffs, were wont to draw the Defendants out of their own Countries, and begin their Actions, Civil, or Criminal, either before the Emperor himſelf, or his great Miniſters. To obviate this practice, he publiſhed an Edict whereby he commanded, That all perſons, except in neceſſary caſes, ſhould" be convened in the Provinces where they inhabited, according to the old cuſtom" and Axiom; and this he would have extend, as well to Military, as other Per-" ſons." About the ſame time he was put in mind by *Palladius*, the *Præfectus Prætorio* of the *Eaſt*, how ſeaſonable and acceptable a thing, now at the beginning of his Reign, it would be, to remit the Arrears of Tributes; the exaction of which was very grievous to the People.

L.2. de Officio Prætorum, Dat. 15. Cal. Jan. Cod. Juſt. lib. 1. tit. 39.

Novel. Martiani 1. Dat. 5. Id. Octob. Actor ſequitur forum Rei.

Novel. Martiani 2.

Martian remits Arrears of Tributes by a notable Edict.

56. To this information he anſwered by a Reſcript directed to him, as alſo to *Hermogenes* the *Comes Largitionum*, *Gennadius* the *Comes Rei privatæ*, and *Maximinus* the *Comes* and *Præpoſitus Cubiculi*, that it was his very care to provide for" the emolument and eaſe of Mankind. That day and night he was ſolicitous ſo to" order matters, that all Men living under his Empire might by his Arms be pro-" tected againſt hoſtile violence, and in peace enjoy liberty and ſecurity." Therefore he could not but admire the laudable ſuggeſtion of his *Highneſs*, who amongſt ſeveral virtues, for which he was eminent, was alſo remarkable for his Humanity. He approves of his advice, and therefore from the beginning of the ſixth Indiction, to the end of the fifteenth, lately paſt; he commands the exaction of Arrears to ceaſe, whether belonging to the Patrimony, the Temples, whether of" Civil or Fiſcal Right, whether due in Gold or Silver, in Specie Metals, or any" other Title of Collations remaining in the publick Tables; whether they appertained to the *Arca* or Cheſt of him the *Præfect*, to the *Treaſury*, the *Ærarium*, the *Cellaria*, *Res privata*, or the *Works* of the famous City of *Conſtantinople*, they" ſhall all be remitted to the *Collators*, *Curiales*, or *Provincials*, and to others ob-" noxious to them. And this his liberality ſhall hold good notwithſtanding the matter were paſt into private Contract, or a publick Debt, ſo as the Officers ſhall exact nothing, though they had engaged for the Debtors, or pretended to have laid

our

A. D. 450.

out Money for them. He alſo remits what was behind of the *Senatorian Follis.* “ Provided this Pardon and Indulgence do not extend to any *Aſſignations* made from the *fifth* to the *firſt* Indiction, or later times, nor to Dues ariſing from Navigation, “ or the price of Materials, given, granted, tranſlated and exchanged for “ Money, or what was due from the *Arca* of *Conſtantinople*. Or if any thing conſiſting in Gold, Species or Materials, was aſſigned to the publick Works of Cities, “ and as yet was not collected. In concluſion, he would have, as in reaſon, “ all perſons concerned in this his Munificence, ſo far to be ſenſible of it, as to “ pay their Dues for the time to come with more care and fidelity. “

57. In the Weſt, this Year Clouds began to ariſe, and a terrible ſtorm was gathering, which in that following, fell down with violence into the Weſtern Provinces: for now *Attila* prepared to invade, and *Valentinian* to defend them in that manner, as we ſhall afterwards declare. And to uſher in theſe miſchiefs, a great famine this Year ſeiſed upon *Italy*, which ſo far prevailed, as Parents ſold their Children to keep from ſtarving, of which we ſhall hear in the following year expreſly, wherein we ſhall find ſome way propoſed for their Redemption. But in *Italy* nothing was ſo conſiderable as *Rome* it ſelf, and the ſcarcity of proviſions ſeems there to have begun early, as we may gueſs from an Edict directed to *Epitincanus* the *Præfect* of it at the latter end of *April*. The *Præfect* had made known to *Valentinian* the inconvenience the City lay under in this reſpect, becauſe the *Navicularii* had forſaken their Employment, and deſerted their Charge; in anſwer to which, by his Reſcript, he gave in command to reduce all perſons obnoxious by the Laws, without admitting any privilege or excuſe, that if they died without Heirs, their Eſtates ſhould belong to ſuch as exerciſed the Function. That they ſhould not “ build any new Ship, nor repair any ſo as to reduce it within the capacity of conteining “ forty *Cupæ*. And beſides, he gave orders for the regulating of private “ Veſſels, and thoſe of leſſer Burthen, that the publick ſervice might be carried on.

Novel. Valentiniani, 36. inter Theodoſianas, Dat. 8. Cal. Maii Rom.

A. D. 451.

Martiano A. & Adelphio Coſſ.

58. The following Year was characterized by the Conſulſhip of the new Emperor *Martian*, who had *Adelphius* for his Colleague; and it was famous for greater things by far, than of late had happened. The firſt Month had not quite paſſed over, when *Valentinian* being made ſenſible of the heavy inconveniences produced by the Famine, directed his Edict to *Ætius* the Patritian, wherein taking notice how Parents, to ſave their lives, had been compelled to ſell their Children, he thought fit to abrogate all ſuch ſervitude, and declare ſuch Children “ according to the circumſtances of their Birth, to be free; provided, that where “ the Buyer had paid five *ſolidi*, for ſuch a perſon he ſhould receive ſix; twelve, if “ ten; and ſo proportionably. But if any perſon had ſold ſuch as were of free or “ ingenuous condition to Barbarous Nations, or into Tranſmarine Parts, he ſhould “ incur a Fine of ſix Ounces of Gold: of ſuch value ever was liberty, which *Valentinian* endeavoured to preſerve by this Edict the moſt elegant and pithy of any we now meet with. There are two others that bear date on the ſame day, whereof “ one takes off ſome inconveniences ariſing from the late Law concerning the preſcription “ of thirty years, ſo as the *Coloni*, or Villaines who had found tricks to “ evade any ſuch conſtraint by flying from one place and Maſter to another, might “ not thereby defraud their true owners. “ This is directed to *Firminus* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, and ſo is another, whereby *Valentinian* takes off the rigor of the former Laws, even againſt the Governors of Provinces. We have ſeen how during the time of their Adminiſtration, to prevent miſchiefs, which by the terror of their places and power they might procure, they could not buy nor ſell, nor receive any thing in Gift. Laws are Medicines of State, and muſt be applied according to the Diſeaſes of the Times. Former Princes found good reaſon from the practices of their Officers to lay ſuch Reſtraint upon them, and now there were emergencies of a contrary nature, which perſwaded him to mitigate their ſeverity.

Valentinian reſtores to liberty ſuch children as had been ſold.

Novel. Valentiniani 11. Dat. prid. Cal. Febr. Romæ.

Novel. Valentinian. 9.

59. And ſo he doth by this Conſtitution, whereby he makes it lawful for the “ *Adminiſtrantes* or *Militantes* (thoſe in Office, Place and Power) to purchaſe, “ exchange or, receive by way and title of Donation. Provided, that theſe be not “ procured or brought about by any fraud, terror or compulſion; and the purchaſer “ pay down his Money, ſo that the Bargain be driven on, and compleated *bona* “ *fide*, by intervention of Writings or Deeds proper to the ſeveral occaſions. If “ the Buyer fail in theſe points, he ſhall forfeit the price to the ſeller, who ſhall receive “ back again the thing or eſtate ſo fraudulently purchaſed. If the ſeller be “ troubleſome, and pretend fraud or violence where none hath been, he ſhall for- “

Perſons in place permitted to purchaſe.

Novel. Valentinian. 10.

feit the price to the Buyer. And becauſe, in the late Wars and Diſturbances, “great Diſorders had happened, in reference to Poſſeſſions, and great ſcarcity there was of perſons skilled in the Law: ſo that, in ſome Provinces, neither *Advocates* nor *Judges* were to be had; and ſcarcely any learned man in that Profeſſion was to be found; he took care for confirming the Alienations made by the *Curiales* amongſt themſelves, though without the Interpoſition of a Decree; and provided that ſuch ſhould be good for the time to come, if duly entred and atteſted by their *Concuriales*. And, as for Advocates; that, if a *Curialis* have a deſire to betake himſelf to that Employment, he may do it, if he leave another in his place to diſcharge his duty toward the Corporation. “ But, ſuch was the ſcarcity of *Advocates* in this Age, that there was a neceſſity of having them perpetual in the Provinces, as *Valentinian* affirms; whereas formerly the *Romans* found cauſe to be ſo jealous both of them and Judges, as to ſuffer neither ſort to act but for a time. The Emperor, in this Edict, makes mention of *Alarich*, and derives the miſchief from his firſt Invaſion of *Italy*; but he had ſhortly occaſion to forget him and his Actions, being ſtruck with the Report, how *Attila* now was falling into the Weſtern Provinces; which he did like a Thunder-bolt: and ſo behaved himſelf, as delighting both to be, and to be called, The Scourge of God.

Nam hæc neceſſitas fecit perpetuitatem dari Provincialibus Advocatis.

60. Having had no good ſucceſs in the Eaſt, he was adviſed by his beſt Friends, to leave off theſe formerly in vain attempted Conqueſts, and try others in other Countries; as in *Germany*, that thence he might paſs into *Gall*, *Spain* and *Italy*; where *Valentinian* reigned, and the Empire was divided, and poſſeſſed by divers Nations. They doubted not, but that, without much difficulty, he might become a Sharer in it; and he reſolved to follow their Advice, and to order his Affairs with as much Foreſight and Cunning as poſſible. With *Ætius*, it ſeems, he tampered; the report going, that by his encouragement it was that he caſt in his Head to ruin the Empire. *Theodorich*, King of the *Goths* in *Gall*, he endeavoured to get to his Party; encouraging him with hopes to ſhare the Provinces betwixt them. To *Valentinian* himſelf he ſent his Ambaſſadors; and offered his Service for chaſtiſing of the *Goths*, and reſtoring the *Roman* Intereſt in *Gall* and *Spain*. And, having got together a vaſt Army of ſuch Northern Nations as, by the power, or terror of his Arms, he had under Obedience, he marched out of *Scythia*, and came into *Germany* in the violence of Winter; where he reſolved to ſtay no longer than till he could draw the Nations thereof to a Confederacy with him. Some he allured by expectation of Booty; in others he excited or increaſed an Averſeneſs to the Emperor: ſome were terrified by the numbers and power of his Forces; and it was not difficult to diſſwade them all from joyning with the *Romans*; having lately found, that the *Franks*, endeavouring to hinder the *Vandals* from entring *Gall*, had been defeated by them. With him then joyned the *Quadi*, *Suevi*, *Marcomanni*, *Heruli*, *Turcilingi* or *Rugi*, *Burgundiones*, *Thuringi*, *Bructeri*, the *Saxons*, thoſe inveterate Enemies of the *Galls*; and ſuch *Franks* as ſtill retained their Abode in *Germany*. With them he paſſed the *Rhine*, and brake through the *Roman* Pale.

Paulus Diaconus Alii.
Vide Sabellici Ennead.8.lib.1.
Sigonium,lib. 13.
Baronium, ad h. A.

Attila pierces into *Germany*.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

The Sixth Step to the Ruin of the Empire in the Weſt.

From the Invaſion of the Weſtern Provinces by Attila, *to the Death of* Valentinian *the Third.*

The ſpace of four Years.

A. D. 451.

Attila with ſeven hundred thouſand Men invades the Weſtern Empire.

1. UPon a Muſter are ſaid to have been found, to the number of ſeven hundred thouſand Men, of ſuch as, either for fear of *Attila*, or deſire of enriching themſelves, had given their Names to this Expedition. Here was *Andarich*, the moſt valiant King of the *Gepidæ*; and *Walamir*, King of the *Oſtrogoths*, more Noble than the King he ſerved, in the Opinion of the Hiſtorian. Of the Nations but now mentioned, *Sidonius Apollinaris* enlargeth the Catalogue; adding the *Gelonus* to the *Rugus*, the *Scot* to the *Burgundian*, and the *Bellonotus*, *Neurus* and *Baſtarna* to the reſt. But though *Attila*, by theſe vaſt numbers, terrified the World, and put all the Parts of *Gall* into a pannick fear; yet there wanted not ſome anſwerable Conduct and Reſolution in thoſe that were concerned on the *Roman* Party: For, his Inſolence and Cruelty had animated ſuch againſt him, as had hopes ſo to order their matters, as not to be ſubject to his Malice and Anger. *Ætius* reſolved to oppoſe him to the utmoſt; to be revenged upon whom, ſome conjecture, that he choſe rather to invade *Gall*, whereas he might as eaſily have paſſed into *Italy*. And *Theodorich*, King of the Weſtern *Goths*, was ſo ſenſible of his Intereſt, as not to endanger what he and his Predeceſſors had already ſiezed in *Gall* and *Spain*: and therefore, though ſeveral bitter Conflicts had happened betwixt him and *Ætius*, and much Loſs on both ſides; yet he eaſily harkened to him, when he moved him to joyn againſt the common Enemy, or the Enemy of Mankind; and to carry on the War againſt him on equal Terms. And they ſo beſtirred themſelves, that, to the Forces of the Empire and the *Viſigoths* ſeveral other Nations were perſwaded to give their Aſſiſtance; as the *Alani* and *Suevi*, that had ſetled in *Spain*; and the *Franks*, that, by this time, had got good footing in the North-Eaſtern Parts of *Gall*.

Carm. 7. p. 318.

He rages in *Gall* with Fire and Sword.

2. But, in the mean time *Attila* took his ſcope in *Gall*, and raged with Fire and Sword againſt all ſorts of perſons and places; of which, not very many eſcaped his Rage. In *Germania Secunda*, *Tungri* and *Cologne* ſuffered much: In *Belgica Prima* he took and burnt the City of *Metz*; in *Belgica Secunda*, the *Atrebates* grievouſly ſuffered. And, from them, he proceeded into *Senonia*, and ſo far, till he came to *Orleance*; which refuſing to yield, he reſolved, with all ſorts of Warlike Attempts, to bring to ſubjection; but the Piety and Endeavours of *Anianus*, their Biſhop, is ſaid ſo far to have aſſiſted them, as to eſcape his Hands; for *Ætius* came in timely to their Relief, together with *Theodorich*, and *Thoriſmund*, his Son, who obliged *Attila* to raiſe his Siege, and be gone; though, from *Sidonius Apollinaris*, who once had thoughts of writing the Hiſtory of this War (being put upon it by *Proſper*, the Biſhop of this City, and Succeſſor of *Anianus*) it appears, that *Attila* brake into it, as well as beſieged it; yet proceeded not ſo far as to plunder it: But, being obliged to quit the place, he was much diſturbed in his mind thereat; and, underſtanding that there were Plains called *Campi Catalaunici* not far off, he marched thither; reſolving, if he could, to provoke *Ætius* to fight, whom he little doubted but to overcome by his Numbers. And *Ætius* was not backward; but, with the *Italian* Forces, and Confederates, ſoon preſented himſelf for a bloody Battel.

Orleance relieved.

Lib. 8. Ep. 15. Aurelianenſis urbis obſidio, oppugnatio, irruptio nec direptio, &c.

3. *Attila* is ſaid before the Battel to have called together his Soothſayers and Diviners to conſult them about the ſucceſs, and received in anſwer, that he ſhould loſe the

Procopius, Jornandes, Paulus Diaconus, alii.

the day, but his Enemies, withal, their principal Captain; which though he did not well like, yet preſuming that *Ætius* would be killed, he thought he ſhould be no loſer; ſuch eſteem he had of his Conduct, and low thoughts of the other Captains. A Battel being then reſolved on, all the Morning was ſpent in ordering the Armies on both ſides, ſo great was their number. *Attila* ranging all the Carriages he had by the ſide of a Mountain, made a kind of Rampart, where he beſtowed the Women and Baggage, and divided his Army into three Battalions, placing himſelf with his *Scythians* and *Huns* in the middle. On his Right Hand ſtood *Ardarich*, King of the *Gepidæ*, and many others, in whom he confided,; and of the Left Wing he gave charge to *Audarich*, *Theodomir*, and *Valomir*, Kings of the *Goths*. *Ætius* was ſome time in ſuſpenſe what to do, becauſe he doubted of the conſtancy of *Sanguibanus*, King of the *Alans*, who had ſome thoughts of going over to *Attila*, upon report, that he would agree with him, and redeliver a City he had taken from him. In concluſion, he alſo made a threefold Diviſion of his Forces, in the middle of which he placed *Sanguibanus*, and both in the Front and Rear, the moſt valiant of the *Roman* Legions, that the reſt thereby might be obliged to fight, The Right Wing he committed to *Theodorich* and his Son, that they might grapple with the *Gepidæ*, a Warlike Nation, taking to himſelf the Conduct of the Left.

The memorable Battel in the *Campi Catalaunici.*

4. Things thus appointed, began one of the moſt cruel and bloody Battels that ever were fought, though otherwiſe remarkable for the Flower of ſo many Nations gathered into two Bodies. The beginning of the Conteſt was to gain a little Hill ſituate betwixt the Armies, which would afford a great advantage to thoſe that ſhould fight from the upper Ground. *Attila* had privily conveyed a party to ſeiſe on it, who were encountred by *Thoriſmond*, the Son of *Theodorich*, whom with his *Goths* and *Spaniards*, *Ætius* had ordered to make himſelf Maſter of it. Theſe began the Fight, and were relieved by their Friends on both ſides, who ſtood it out from Midnoon to Midnight with great Animoſity and Reſolution, few obſerving any thing but only intent upon the Slaughter of their Enemies; ſo that the particular accidents of the Battel are little known, the multitude being ſo great, that as Hiſtorians write, it was impoſſible to make out the ſeveral parties, and diſtinguiſh them. Yet ſome, they ſay, obſerved how a certain Ditch, near the place where the greateſt Slaughter was made, was filled to the Brim with Blood, which is reported alſo to have overflown the Fields in ſuch a meaſure, that the dead Bodies floated in it: an extravagant report. But the moſt moderate is, that a little Rivolet was exceedingly raiſed by the Goar that ſtrained down into it, and increaſed its current to ſuch a height, that it carried down the dead Bodies. Great indeed was the number of the ſlain; for none retired, or betook themſelves to ſudden flight: ſo that ſome reckon above two hundred thouſand; and the moſt moderate opinion allows of one hundred and eighty; ſuch indignation poſſeſſed both parties; the *Barbarians*, that the *Romans* had ſo long a time held their Dominion; and the *Romans*, that the *Barbarians*, ſo often defeated and repulſed, ſhould commit ſuch inſolence againſt the Empire.

Attila worſted.

5. Although neither Party yielded, but were parted by the inconvenience of a dark night, and the *Romans* loſt *Theodorich*, King of the *Goths*; yet had the *Barbarians* the worſt of it, whom *Attila* cauſed to retreat in the beſt order he could, and fortified himſelf in the Rampart he had formerly made. *Ætius*, now Maſter of the Field, took ſuch view as the obſcurity of the Night would ſuffer, that he might in the beſt manner he could, poſt his Men, leſt the Enemy ſhould take any advantage; for he was not certain whether in all parts he was victorious, and ſo paſſed the night in ignorance, as to the death of *Theodorich*. But the Day-light manifeſted his ſucceſs; and *Attila*, ſenſible of his loſs, contained himſelf within his Fortifications, while *Ætius* his Men took the plunder of the Camp. *Thoriſmond* perceiving his Father to be ſlain was ſo inraged, that he reſolved preſently to attacque *Attila*, and revenge his death, of which the *Barbarian* having notice, it is ſaid, heaped together a company of Saddles and upon them reſolved to burn himſelf, when the *Goths* ſhould endanger him, rather chuſing ſuch a reſolute death, than to conclude his power over ſo many Nations by the Cataſtrophe of an ignominious Captivity. But *Ætius* knowing the ambition and preſent ſtrength of the *Goths*, feared leſt after the utter overthrow of *Attila* they ſhould turn their force upon the Empire, which was but in bad caſe to defend it ſelf, and therefore he thought it Policy to let him eſcape at preſent, that by him the *Goths* and *Franks* might be awed, and diverted from all Attempts pernicious to the *Roman* Intereſt.

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6. He adviſed *Thoriſmond*, as one that bore him good will, to haſten into *Spain*, and there take poſſeſſion of his Father's Kingdom, leſt any croſs accident ſhould intervene to the diſadvantage of his Title. He put him in mind of what danger he was in from his Neighbours, the *Alani* and *Suevi*; and that having ſecured firſt all things at home, as a prudent Man muſt neceſſarily do, he might afterward find an opportunity to ſhew his filial piety in revenging his Father's death; an affection by all means to be cheriſhed. *Thoriſmond* approved of his counſel, and departed with ſpeed to take poſſeſſion of his Father's Dominions, as well in *Gall*, as *Spain*; and *Ætius* ſuffered *Attila* to eſcape. Thus was accompliſhed the means which conduced to an effect quite contrary to the end deſigned by *Ætius*, whereby we may ſee, that Policy and Felicity are things that are often ſevered, both by reaſon of the weakneſs of Man's Intellectuals, and the viciſſitude of humane Affairs. *Ætius* having obtain'd ſo great a Victory (which as ſome others write, procured the death of one hundred and ſixty two thouſand Men, beſides ninety thouſand *Gepidæ* and *Franks*, who fell one upon another and periſhed the night preceding the Battel) and thereby having ſecured all that the *Romans* held in *Gall*, as alſo what *Attila* had invaded, and left the *Franks* and *Burgundians* quiet and peaceable, haſted to *Rome*, where *Valentinian* the Emperor now abode, expecting the event of the Battel. He entred in great triumph, and with incredible joy of the Spectators, who beheld him as their Patron and Protector from thoſe dangers wherein all *Italy* was very near to be overwhelmed. But within a while *Valentinian* began to be jealous of him, imagining he had a deſign to make himſelf Emperor, and that he held intelligence with *Attila*, becauſe he had not utterly deſtroyed him, as he might have done after the Battel; and the ſuggeſtion grew ſo high, that it proved the ruine of them both; as we ſhall ſee in due time. *Attila* being reſerved for a ſcourge, and further vengeance upon *Italy*, departed into *Illyricum*.

Eſcapes by permiſſion of *Ætius*.

Into *Illyricum*.

7. *Valentinian*, as by his Arms he reſcued his Subjects of *Gall* out of the Hands of the Barbarous *Huns*, ſo by his Pen took care for ſettling the matters of thoſe who in *Africk* had been harraſſed by the *Vandals*. Beſides other Acts of Grace he gave order to *Firminus* the *Præfect*, that the Lands holden of him ſhould be taken " from thoſe who had intruded into them, and beſtowed on the indigent perſons " that had moſt ſuffered in the War, particularly the Lands belonging to Bakers, " the Rights of the City of *Rome* always ſaved entire. " In the Eaſt the Emperor *Martian* took the like care for ſecuring the Eſtates of ſuch as had procured any " Fiſcal Grounds or Buildings, either by Donation of the Prince, purchaſe, or any " other way. Provided they paid the Canon, or uſual Impoſition; by an Edict " directed to *Palladius*, *Præfect* of the *Eaſt*, he confirmed the Poſſeſſions to them in " ſuch manner, that the Fiſcal Dues being diſcharged, they might leave them to " their Heirs, or diſpoſe of them as they thought convenient.

Novel. Valentini. inter Theodoſianas. 37. *Dat.* 3. *Id. Julii.*

Novel. Martiani 3. *Dat.* 15. *Cal. Febr.*

A. D. 452. *Herculano & Sporatio Coſſ.*

8. In the CCCCLII Year of our Lord, *Herculanus* and *Sporatius* had the Title and Dignity of Conſuls. *Attila* was retired into *Pannonia*; and ſome ſay, would have attempted ſomething againſt the Eaſtern Empire, if he had not been repulſed by the Arms of *Martian*, who managing his matters with great prudence, had made peace with *Perſia*, and in his Treaties ſtill got ground of that Kingdom. *Pannonia* was now become the Seat of the *Huns*, and part of it received a new name of *Hungaria* from them, and the *Gari* as *Sabellicus* believes, who joyned their Arms with that Nation. *Attila*, ſome ſay, thence returned into *Scythia*, his own Country, where he fretted at his laſt Defeat, and boiled with rage, that he ſhould be worſted. He reſolved to make another Attempt, and try once more his fortune, and that ſhould be for a much fairer prize. He reſolved to invade *Italy*, which abounded more than other Provinces with all good things; and where there were no *Goths*, *Alans*, *Burgundians*, nor *Franks* confederate with the *Romans* to oppoſe him; only *Valentinian* his power, to whom he bore no ſmall a Grudge, as having hindred him not only from ſubduing the *Goths*, but cauſed him to miſcarry in *Gall* in the late *Catalaunian* Battel. He raiſed an Army out of the ſame Northern Nations bigger than ever, animating them to the Expedition by hope of great Booty to be gotten. The Rumor of his intentions coming into *Italy*, a ſecond, but more conſiderable part of that Tragical Fear and Trembling which had happened at the Expeditions of *Alarich* and *Radagaiſus* ſeemed to be acted. For as by them they had had experience of the ſad effects of ſuch invaſions, ſo they could not but apprehend greater from this, wherein a great number of *Barbarians* would be employed; and a Captain more fierce and ſavage than any ever heard of, who delighted to waſte and deſtroy Mankind, as deſtinated particularly thereto by God himſelf, no otherwiſe

Into *Scythia*.

He reſolves to invade *Italy*.

Which thereupon is ſeiſed with great terror.

otherwiſe than as his Scourge. Now again alſo Stories of Prodigies were multiplied, and in every Man's Mouth; particularly a Report went of three great Stones fallen from Heaven; beſides, there was a great Dearth, and that, as is uſual, followed by a vehement Peſtilence; things that carry dread enough along with them, though accompanied by no other miſchiefs.

9. The expectation was, that *Attila* would make his paſſage by *Venetia*; and therefore the Inhabitants of that Quarter were ſeiſed with the greateſt terror, as thoſe who muſt abide the firſt violence of the Storm. Seeking about for ſhelter, they retired into thoſe little Iſlands that lie in the Sea, at no great diſtance from Land, imagining that he would not take notice of them, but paſs on his way toward *Rome*. Theſe, after the occaſion was over, they found ſo agreeable, that what they were driven upon by neceſſity, they made choice of for convenience, and united themſelves into one City, which after the name of the Province they called *Venetiæ*, now *Venice*, which increaſing in Wealth and Reputation for many Ages, is at this day that moſt Glorious and Virgin-Commonwealth, which being the Lady and Miſtreſs of the Country adjoyning (*Padua*, her old Mother paſſing the time of her extreme Age in her tuition,) hath equalled the length of her Arms with thoſe of the Mediterranean, and thereby grappled with the moſt churliſh and robuſt Ruffian of her time, now and then ſoundly buffeting him, and ever keeping him at diſtance, to the grand reputation of her ſtrength, which conjoyned with her Beauty and Virginity, advanceth her above all compariſon, both in reference to paſt and preſent times, and prevents all expectation of Competition for the future. This of all other Powers and Dominions in the World, is the true Off-ſpring and Remainder of the *Roman* Empire: not any other is now to be found, but what was either out of the Pale of the Empire, or if erected within a Province thereof, hath proceeded and taken its original from the Northern Barbarous Nations. But the Inhabitants of *Venetia* were Roman Citizens, who uniting themſelves in this Common-wealth, never changed their condition, neither underwent any change of Propriety, as all others have done. But of *Venice*, God willing, hereafter, in the particular Hiſtory of that Common-wealth.

Thence the original of *Venice* to be fetched.

10. *Attila*, as ſoon as the Seaſon permitted, advanced into *Italy* with a vaſt Army, deſtroying all things that were ſubject to Fire and Sword. *Valentinian* was not idle in the mean time, but took what order he might for defence of the Borders and Cities, by aſſiſtance of the *Gothick* Nations, commanded by two Officers, called *Alarich* and *Anthala*. But *Attila* proceeded and ſate down before *Aquileia* the Metropolis of *Venetia*, ſeated on the point, or tongue, as *Jornandes* writes, of the *Adriatick* Sea, formerly a Latine Colony, deſigned for the protection of the Borders of *Italy*, from the Inſults of *Barbarians*. Having refuſed to yield at his imperious Demand, he begirt it round, and reſolved to carry it by ſtorm, but found ſuch vigorous reſiſtance, as both fruſtrated his expectation, and excited his Choler. The Siege of *Aquileia* hath been much talked of; but little can be found of the circumſtances thereof. *Jornandes* tells us, that the *Hun* having for a long time beſieged it, but to no purpoſe, the *Roman* Soldiers ſo valiantly defended it, when his Army was now ready to mutiny, and to pack up and be gone, walked about the Walls, muſing and conſidering with himſelf what to do; when he perceived ſome Storks which built on the tops of Houſes in the City, to bring away their young ones out of the place, and contrary to their manner to carry them out into the Country. Conſidering all circumſtances, he gave notice of it to his Men, and bade them obſerve how theſe Birds foreſeeing what was to come, and that the City would be deſtroyed, forſook it in ſuch imminent danger. Hereby he inflamed their minds with a deſire of taking it, and being once more reſolved to make trial, moved all ſorts of Engines to the Walls, in the Attempt took it, plundered, and ſo cruelly waſted it, that ſcarcely did remain any Footſteps of it to be ſeen. So writes *Jornandes* and ancienter Hiſtorians; but as to the deſtruction of the City, ſo as no Footſteps of it remained, *Baronius* gives a good reaſon why he cannot aſſent; for that the Inhabitants which had deſerted the place, came back again when the Storm was over, as appears from an Epiſtle of *Leo*, the Biſhop of *Rome*, to *Niceas*, or *Nicetas*, the Biſhop of *Aquileia*, wherein he anſwers certain matters, about which he conſulted him, particularly what was to be done with thoſe Women who had married other Men ſince the captivity of their Husbands, who now received their liberty, and returned home.

De Rebus Geticis, c. 42.

Takes *Aquileia*.

Ad h. An.

11. The *Huns* not ſatisfied with the deſtruction of *Aquileia*, raged through the other Quarters of *Venetia*, which terrified with that Example, made but weak reſiſtance;

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Waſtes all *Italy*.

reſiſtance; and ſo *Concordia*, *Altinum*, *Opitergium*, *Patavium*, and *Ateſte*, all noble Towns, eaſily fell into the Hands of *Attila*, the Inhabitants withdrawing themſelves, as they could, into the Iſlands. He burnt and deſtroyed them all as much as lay in his power, and now having done his Work here, did not paſs on directly to the *Padus* to do the ſame by *Rome*, as he bragged he would; poſſibly afraid of *Ætius*; but turning to the Right Hand, gave occaſion to other Maritime Towns, as *Tarviſium*, *Vicetia*, *Verona*, *Mantua*, *Cremona*, *Brixia*, and *Bergomum* not to rejoyce above their Fellows; wholly intent on plunder, and the Deſtruction of Cities, thoſe he levelled with the Ground; and then paſſing over *Abdua*, entred *Liguria*, where he made the ſame Havock and Deſolation. *Taurinum*, *Ticinum* and *Mediolanum*, beſides others, felt the ſad effects of his fury, the Citizens flying, as they had opportunity, to the Mountains, and other places difficult of acceſs. *Suidas* tells a Story of him, how, when he was at *Milan*, taking notice, that the *Roman* Emperors were painted ſitting upon Golden Thrones, and the *Scythians* at their Feet, he cauſed his own Picture to be made ſitting upon a Throne, and the Emperors carrying Sacks upon their Backs, and out of them pouring down Gold at his Feet. Towards Winter he croſſed *Padus*, and to ſhew that he continued the ſame Man ſtill, laid waſte the Cities and Country of *Æmilia*, and now went to wreck *Placentia*, *Parma* and other places. All that Tract lying betwixt the *Alpes* and the *Appennine* being thus in its Aſhes, the Tyrant was afterward reſtrained, and the *Leviathan* had an Hook put into his Noſe by the Almighty, who had mercy on the remaining parts of *Italy*.

Betwixt the *Alpes* and the *Appennine*.

Then retreats.

12. How this was effected there are various Reports. It's ſaid that *Ætius* was ready at the Borders of *Æmilia* to oppoſe him, with a very formidable Army, and equal in ſtrength to that of his. Others ſay (ſo doth *Jornandes*) that his Officers about him diſſwaded him from attempting any thing againſt *Rome* it ſelf, objecting to him the example of *Alarich*, King of the *Viſegoths*, who ſurvived not long the captivity of that City. That while he fluctuated in an uncertain Reſolution what to do, *Leo*, the Biſhop of *Rome*, ſent by *Valentinian*, the Emperor, came on an Embaſſy to him, and found him at the place where was a paſſage over the River *Mincius*. That preſently after quitting his rage, he returned whence he came beyond the *Danube*, and departed with promiſe of peace, withal denouncing and threatning, that he would more heavily afflict *Italy* than ever, except they would ſend to him *Honoria*, the Siſter of *Valentinian*, and Daughter of *Placidia Auguſta*. It was reported, that *Honoria*, for the Repute and Reverence of the Court, being kept up cloſe by her Brothers Command, ſent an Eunuch privily to him, and invited him to make war againſt him, that ſhe might make advantage thereof: a very foul Act to procure liberty to her Luſt by a publick miſchief, as *Jornandes* juſtly cenſures it. With the Relation of *Jornandes* agreeth that which is made by *Paulus Diaconus* in moſt particulars. But to that concerning *Leo* he adds, that the Attendants of *Attila* demanding the reaſon why he was ſo eaſily drawn from his purpoſe by the perſwaſion of the Biſhop, he anſwered, that he ſaw one ſtand by him in Sacerdotal Habit, of great Majeſty, and venerable Aſpect, who with a drawn Sword threatned him with death, if he did not comply with the Biſhop's Requeſts.

13. Had the Writings of *Priſcus*, a Rhetorician, come to our hands, we might have had good intelligence concerning the Wars of *Attila*; for he, as *Evagrius* tells us, in a peculiar Treatiſe declared at large, and with a flowing ſtyle, how he invaded both *Eaſt* and *Weſt*, how many, and how great Cities he won, and how he behaved himſelf to the end of his days, which ſome ſay was brought about by a Knife, and the Hand of a Woman, at the procurement of *Ætius*. But however, gone the Tyrant is back into *Scythia*, and we may hear more yet of him before the time of his death, though theſe Writers tell thoſe things as happening ſpeedily one after another. Now we muſt ſee what farther happened in Eaſt and Weſt in the Year of his Invaſion, of Civil Concernment. We find at *Conſtantinople* two Advocates or Patrons of the Treaſury or *Fiſcus* made inſtead of one, to whom *Martian* by an Edict directed to *Palladius* the *Præfect*, gives ſuch place and Honour as formerly the ſole Advocate had enjoyed; for when one Dignity is conferred on two perſons, it is to be underſtood to be conferred in *ſolidum*. This ſame Year he publiſhed another Law, directed to *Aſporatius* the Conſul, and that for Reformation of the Conſulſhip it ſelf, and reſtoring it to its priſtine Honour. But he forbids the caſting away of Money amongſt the multitude according to the old cuſtom, aſſigning that expence to the repairing of *Aquaducts* of the City of *Conſtantinople*, “

Lib. 1. c. 17.

L. 10. De Advocatis Diverſorum Judiciorum, Cod. Juſt. lib. 2. tit. 7. Dat. 15. Cal. Jul.

Martian reforms ſomething about the Conſulſhip.

L. 2. De Conſulibus, &c. Cod. Juſt. lib. 12. tit. 3.

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to the value of an hundred pounds of Gold. This Liberty thus taken away, *Juſtinian* afterward reſtored to the Conſuls, but confined to a certain Sum, and to ſeven times in the year. So did *Martian* employ himſelf at *Conſtantinople*. *Valentinian* in the Weſt had ſufficient cauſe to be diverted from making of Laws, when the property of thoſe who were to be governed by them lay in ſo extreme hazard. Yet ſome we find of this Year; as one of Religious Concernment, and another relating to the Incouragement of the *Suarii* of *Rome*, that that City“ might be the better ſupplied with Proviſions.“

Novellæ Valentiniani 12. & 15. *Dat.* 17. & 3. *Cal. Jul.*

A. D. 453. *Opilione & Vincomalo Coſſ.*

14. The Year of our Lord CCCCLIII is Characteriſed by the Conſulſhip of *Opilio* and *Vincomalus*, and by little elſe that we can find of Civil Government. But we cannot but rejoyce to think how the cruel Tyrant *Attila* being now withdrawn, the poor Inhabitants of the ſeveral places he had harraſſed, began to peep out of their Retirements, to ſee if all was clear, and when thereof ſatisfied, to return to their former Seats, and to ſet upon the repairing of their former Houſes; it being ſeldom ſeen, that the Love of the Native Soil, though in greateſt deſolation, quitteth any. Yet ſo great was the deſolation, that ſome Towns were never repaired; but amends was made by that confluence of perſons into the Iſlands, which gave original, as we ſaid, to the City of *Venice*. *Attila* was retired into his own Country; but where-ever his Body was, his mind was not at reſt, but as repenting of that eaſe he had given the Empire, and not enduring to be out of War, he ſent to the Emperor *Martian* in a menacing manner, upbraiding him with not paying what formerly *Theodoſius* had engaged; and for being more inhumane to his Enemies than he was wont. Though he did this, yet *Jornandes* tells us, being crafty and deſigning, he threatned one place, and fell foul upon another, reſolving to turn the fury of his Arms againſt the *Viſegoths*. But he had not the ſucceſs he had formerly found againſt the *Romans*. Returning into *Gall* by other ways than he had done formerly, he reſolved to ſubdue part of the *Alans*, who were ſeated beyond *Ligeris*, or the *Loire*, by a change of the face of the War to appear more terrible. He moved againſt them by *Dacia* and *Pannonia*, which were then poſſeſſed by the *Huns*, with divers other Nations ſubject to them. But *Thoriſmond*, King of the *Viſegoths*, with no leſs ſubtilty ſmelling out his fraud, made haſte, and was with the *Alans* before his coming, oppoſed himſelf againſt his Attempts, and engaging in a Battel much what after the ſame method with that which had been fought in the *Catalaunian* Plains, prevented him of his hoped for Victory, and cauſed him to flie, without any triumph, back into his own Quarter.

Ubi prius, c. 43.

Attila in vain attacks the *Alans*.

A. D. 454. *Studio & Ætio Coſſ.*

15. The Year CCCCLIIII had for Conſuls *Studius* in the *Eaſt*, and *Ætius* again in the *Weſt*. With *Ætius*, *Thoriſmond*, King of the *Goths*, had a quarrel; and, as is conjectured, for that having made an agreement with *Attila* he had not aſſiſted him in his late diſtreſs. He broke out into Hoſtility againſt the *Romans*, and laid Siege to *Arles*, intending to ſtarve them out, whom by force he had in vain attempted to bring under. *Ætius*, as ſoon as he had notice, was preſently at hand with ſuch Forces as he had in readineſs, and a Fight there followed betwixt them; but he was not able to raiſe the Siege. At this time *Ferreolus* was *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Gall*, a perſon, for his Nobility, excellent Conduct, and ſingular Humanity, in great eſteem, as well with *Goths* as others. He went to *Thoriſmond*, invited him to Dinner, and by an Entertainment removed him from the Gates of *Arles*, whom *Ætius* could not by Battel. For ſo *Sidonius Apollinaris* tells him in an Epiſtle, wherein he begs his excuſe for not having related at full in ſome Work wherein he had employed his pains, the great performance of his Anceſtors and his own Actions. It ſeems this *Ferreolus* went afterwards into Orders; and therefore *Sidonius* partly engages himſelf to joyn the Hiſtory of his Life to thoſe of Biſhops, and Eccleſiaſtical Perſons: but in this Epiſtle, beſides the removing of *Thoriſmond* from *Arles*, he confeſſeth he had paſſed by how *Gall* had been governed by him when moſt in ſafety; how *Attila*, the Enemy of *Rhine*; *Thoriſmond*, the Gueſt of *Rhone*, and *Ætius*, the Reliever of *Ligeris* or *Loire* had been ſuſtain'd by the Salubrity of his Diſpoſitions, (as he words it, in his degenerated *Roman* Phraſe) and for his great prudence and forecaſt the Provincials, with Spontaneous Necks, and greateſt Accent of Applauſe, underwent his Chariot of Government; for he held the Reins of *Gall* in ſuch a manner, that the Poſſeſſor exhauſted under a Tributary Yoak, was relieved. He confeſſes farther, that he had omitted how the moſt fierce King of *Gothia* had by his ſweet, grave, argute and extraordinary ſpeech and converſation been made compliant. He had told him before that, intending a publick

Thoriſmond, King of the *Goths*, beſieges *Arles*, and is perſwaded to remove,

Lib. 7. *Ep.* 12. *Sidonius Ferreolo ſuo ſalutem. Non tamen inſcribit* Papæ *ut paſſim ſolet Epiſcopis.*

Sect. 6. A. D. 454.

a publick ſalutation to him, he had conſidered not what he had been, but what he was at preſent.

16. *Attila* being retired home now gave up himſelf to Idleneſs and Luxury. The Hiſtory, going under the name of *Paulus Diaconus*, relates, that being returned into his own Country, to the many Wives he had already, he added a Virgin very beautiful, called *Indicto*. And at the Wedding making an extraordinary Feaſt, he drunk more Wine than ever he had done before at once, and lying upon his Back, was ſuffocated with a great effuſion of Blood out of his Noſe, to which he had been formerly ſubject. He adds, that the ſame night *Martian* was in a dream told from God, that the Bow of *Attila* was broken. *Jornandes*, from *Priſcus* the Hiſtorian calleth the Maid by the name of *Ildico*, adds, that ſhe was very beautiful, and that after innumerable other Wives, as the cuſtom of that Nation was, he took her alſo in Marriage. That being exceedingly merry at the Wedding, and now heavy with Wine and Sleep, as he lay upon his Back, abundance of Blood, which was wont to iſſue out of his Noſe, being hindred of paſſage, poured down it ſelf into his Throat, and choaked him. So was a King glorious for War brought to a deſpicable end by Drunkenneſs. The next morning when it grew late, and his Attendants heard nothing of him, ſuſpecting all was not well, after great noiſe they broke open the door, and found *Attila* dead of bleeding, without any Wound, and the Girl weeping under a Veil with a dejected countenance. Then according to the manner of their Funerals did they cut off part of their Hair, and with Gaſhes made their ugly Faces ſtill more deformed, that ſo great a Warrior might be lamented with the Blood of Man, and not with Womaniſh Complaints and Tears. Concerning *Martian* who was now ſolicitous concerning *Attila*, his being certified in a Dream that his Bow was broken. *Jornandes* alſo confirmeth it from *Priſcus*, who ſaid he affirmed it by true atteſtation. For ſo terrible was *Attila* to the great powers upon earth, that his Death was eſteemed as a great Gift of God.

Ubi ſupra. c. 49.

Attila dies.

17. Having acquainted us with thus much out of *Priſcus*, he thinks fit not to omit the Solemnity of *Attila* his Funeral, but give an account of many things performed at it in few words. The Body was in the middle of the Camp, placed within a Silken Tent; and then was preſented an admirable Show, ſolemnly exhibited. For out of the whole Nation of the *Huns* moſt choice Horſemen were employed to make their courſes after the manner of the *Circenſian* Exerciſes in that place; and compaſſing it about as they went, they chanted in a Funeral Song the Acts of the deceaſed after this manner: *Attila* the greateſt and moſt excellent King of the *Huns*, the Son of *Mundzuch*, Lord of moſt valiant Nations, “ who poſſeſſed of ſuch power as before him was not heard of, alone held the *Scythian* and *German* Kingdoms, put to a fright both the Empires of the *Roman* City, “ by taking their Towns; and leſt the reſt ſhould be made a prey, being appeaſed, “ received of them a yearly Tribute; who, when in a courſe of felicity he had done “ all thoſe things, died, not by the hand of an Enemy, not through treachery of “ his own Men, but merry and in jollity, his Nation at the ſame time being ſafe, “ without any ſenſe of pain. Who will therefore call that an *Exit*, which no Man “ accounts fit to be revenged? “ After he was bewailed with ſuch Lamentations, “ they feaſted over the Herſe in a ſolemn manner, which they called *Strava*, and mixing things that were contrary together, joyned joy and jollity with a Funeral Mourning; and at length by night the Body was ſecretly put into the earth. His Coffin they firſt encloſed with Gold, then with Silver, and then upon that laid Iron, thereby to ſhew, that the moſt potent King had all theſe Metals in his power: Iron, by which he conquered Nations; and Gold and Silver, for that he had obtain'd the Wealth of both the Empires. They added Arms got by ſlaughter of Enemies, Trappings and Ornaments, precious by reaſon of the luſtre of their Gems, and divers other ſorts of rarities with which Courts are wont to be adorned. And that humane curioſity might not approach theſe ſo many and ſo great Riches, by a deteſtable ſort of reward they killed ſuch as were employed in the Interment, and a ſudden death happened to the Buriers with him whom they buried.

His Funeral.

18. Such is the account we have from *Jornandes*, concerning the death of *Attila*, from whoſe Relation *Marcellinus* differs, in that he writes, that he was killed by a Woman: and the Story being told of the new married Woman being found with him in the Room might raiſe a ſuſpicion. But he being dead, a diſſention aroſe amongſt his numerous (ſome term them innumerous) and ambitious Sons about the Succeſſion; and while all imprudently deſired to reign, all of them

Jornandes, c. 50

miſcarried in the Attempt; for Kingdoms and Empires are wont to be diſordered more by plenty than ſcarcity of Succeſſors. They went about to divide their Father's Dominions by lot, ſo as all might ſhare, not only his Hereditary Countries, but the conquered Nations. *Ardarich*, King of the *Gepidæ*, perceiving this, and diſdaining, that ſo many Countries ſhould be ſubjected to ſuch wretched Slavery, firſt roſe up againſt the Sons of *Attila*, and ſhook off the Yoak from his own Neck, whoſe example was of ſuch force, that the other Nations encouraged by his ſucceſs, aſſerted and procured their former liberty. He with his Aſſociates gave Battel to the *Huns*, and their Subjects in *Pannonia*, near to the River *Netad*. *Jornandes* eſteems it a ſight to be admired, to have ſeen the furious *Goth* fighting with his Sword, the *Gepida* breaking all his Lances in the Wounds of his own Men, the *Sueve* to preſume upon his Feet, and the *Hun* upon his Arrow; the *Alan* to fight with heavy, and the *Herulus* with light Armour. After terrible Conflicts an unexpected Victory happened to the *Gepidæ*. For the Sword of *Ardarich* and his Aſſociates deſtroyed near thirty thouſand of the *Huns*, and their Aſſiſtants. In the Battel periſhed *Ellac*, the eldeſt Son of *Attila*, whom his Father ſo far loved more than the reſt, that he preferred him above them all in the Kingdom. But his fortune was not anſwerable to his Father's Wiſhes; yet after great Slaughter made of his Enemies, he died ſo valiantly, that if his Father had been living, he muſt have wiſhed for ſo glorious an end. The other Brothers after his death were driven towards the Shore of the Sea of *Pontus*, where formerly the *Goths* had inhabited.

His Sons driven to the Shoar of *Pontus*.

19. Thus did the *Huns* fly and retire, who lately, as was thought, would put all other Nations to flight; ſo pernicious a thing is Diſſention. The People lately ſubject to them, now lifted up their Heads with joyful expectation of freedom, and many ſending their Meſſengers to the Emperor *Martian*, he kindly received them, and aſſigned them places to inhabit. For the *Gepidæ* having by force poſſeſſed themſelves of the Seats of the *Huns*, as Conquerors held all the Coaſts of *Daciæ*, and required nothing farther of the Empire but Friendſhip, and ſuch things as were due to valiant Men: which the Emperor willingly granted, and this became a cuſtom to the days of *Jornandes*. The *Goths* perceiving that the *Gepidæ* had ſeiſed on the Seats of the *Huns*, and that the *Huns* were retired to the Quarter that they had formerly poſſeſſed, reſolved rather to uſe fair means, and deſire a Country from the Empire, than with danger to invade the Territories of other Nations by force, and ſo received *Pannonia*, extending out in a long Plain, having on the Eaſt *Mæſia ſuperior*; on the South *Dalmatia*; on the Weſt *Noricum*; and the *Danube* on the North; all this Tract extending from *Sirmium* to *Vindibona*. The *Sauromatæ*, or *Sarmatæ*, the *Cemandri* and ſome of the *Huns* ſate down in that part of *Illyricum* near the Caſtle *Martena*. The *Sciri*, the *Satagarii*, and the reſt of the *Alans*, with *Candax* their Captain received *Scythia* the leſs, and *Mæſia inferior* to inhabit. The *Rugi* and ſome other ſorts of People went to inhabit at *Biozimetæ* and *Scandiopolis*. *Hernac*, the younger Son of *Attila* choſe for himſelf and his Followers a place in the utmoſt of the leſſer *Scythia*, *Emnedzar* and *Uzindur* his Kinſmen in *Dacia Ripenſis*; *Uto* and *Iſcalmus*, who formerly held it, and many of the *Huns* falling into *Romania*. There were other *Goths* called *Minores*, yet a vaſt People, with their Biſhop and Primate *Vulfilas*, who is ſaid, to have inſtructed them in Learning, and thoſe in the days of *Jornandes* held that part of *Mæſia* called *Eucopolitana*. This Narration of his concerning the fixing of theſe ſeveral Nations is very much to be regarded, and which will receive illuſtration from what we ſhall ſay afterwards concerning the original of the *Goths*.

Their Poſſeſſions ſhared.

Jornandes, c. 51.

This year fatal to other great Perſons, as *Thoriſmond*.

Ætius.

20. As this Year was fatal to *Attila*, ſo to ſome other great Princes; for now died *Thoriſmond*, King of the *Goths*, who was killed by a Dependant, as he was letting Blood. And to theſe ſome add the death of *Pulcheria Auguſta*. To be ſure it was fatal to *Ætius* the Conſul, and conſequently to the Empire it ſelf; for ſo writes *Marcellinus*, that now *Ætius*, the Patritian, the great preſerver of the Weſtern Empire, and formerly the terror of *Attila*, was together with *Boetius*, his Friend, ſlain in the Palace by *Valentinian* the Emperor, and with him fell the Weſtern Empire, which hitherto, ſaith he, it hath not been poſſible to reſtore. This he tells in ſhort, of which *Procopius* gives a larger account, as to the occaſion and motives. There was amongſt the Senators one *Maximus*, a *Roman*, of the poſterity of that *Maximus* who uſurped, and was overthrown by *Theodoſius* the Great, the day of which Victory was kept holy in memory of it, in the time of the Hiſtorian. He had a Wife which excelled in prudence, and alſo in Beauty; and with her the Em-

Hiſt. Vandalicæ, lib. 1.

Sect. 6. peror *Valentinian* fell deſperately in love. Not knowing how otherwiſe to enjoy her he bethought himſelf of this wretched courſe. He ſent for *Maximus* to Court, and beating him at Dice, received his Ring from him as a Pawn for the Money he had loſt. This he ſends privately to his Wife, as a token that ſhe ſhould come and give a viſit to *Eudoxia* the Empreſs, and ſhe not doubting any thing, came in her Litter, but having entred the Palace, was ſeiſed by ſome Men that were ſet on purpoſe, and conveyed into a private Apartment, where *Valentinian* by force had his will of her. Home ſhe returned, and by tears and all other expreſſions of ſorrow teſtified how much ſhe reſented the injury, and curſed *Maximus* for giving occaſion to ſuch miſchief. With this he was inraged, and deviſed how he might procure the deſtruction of the Emperor. He dreaded *Ætius*, whom he knew to be ſo great a Captain, and had lately defeated *Attila*, and therefore thought it beſt firſt to remove him out of the way, in whom underſtanding Men placed their hope; and by aſſiſtance of the Eunuchs, who were his Friends, he perſwaded *Valentinian*, that *Ætius* had a purpoſe to uſurp. The Authority and Power of the Man procured the Emperor to admit of this Jealouſie: and therefore he commanded him to be ſlain. When the Fact was done, ſome ſay by the Emperor's own hand, ſome ſay by others, he asked a certain *Roman* whether he had not done well to take him out of the way. He anſwered, that whether he had done well or ill he knew not: but this he knew, that he had cut off his Right Hand with his Left.

A. D. 454.

Upon what occaſion.

21. This fatal Year was not concluded with theſe miſchiefs. For in it did the *Vandals* from *Africk* exerciſe Pyracy, and made Depredations in *Sicily*. Several of the Provinces of the *Eaſt* were alſo grievouſly harraſſed with Famine, and a Plague; particularly in both the *Phrygias*, in *Galatia*, *Cappadocia* and *Cilicia*, there was ſuch want of Rain, that Men beiug deſtitute of Neceſſaries, had recourſe to peſtiferous and deadly food, which caſt them into great Diſtempers; their Bodies ſwelled, and ſo exceſſive was their heat, that by great Inflammations they loſt their ſight, were ſeiſed with Coughs, and on the third day they died. *Evagrius* writes, that the Plague could no way be cured; but by the providence of God the Famine was allayed by Nouriſhment which fell out of the Air, as *Manna* of old did to the *Iſraelites*; and the year following the earth of it ſelf brought forth abundantly. He adds, that not only *Paleſtine* was in this manner afflicted, but other heavy Calamities raged in many and almoſt infinite other Regions. Amongſt theſe infinite other Regions are to be reckoned the Weſtern and Northern Tracts, which otherwiſe appear to have been afflicted with Famine, and particularly the Country ſince called *Auſtria*, with the chief City, known at this day by the name of *Vienna*; but then, it's ſaid, called *Fabianæ*.

Baron. ad h. An.

Great Famine and Peſtilence.

Lib. 2. c. 6.

22. The Year of our Lord CCCCLV being by ſome ſtiled the Year of Vengeance, or Revenge, for reaſons we ſhall ſhortly relate, was known by the eighth Conſulſhip of *Valentinian*, and that of *Anthemius*, his Colleague. Now did the Deſigns of *Maximus* come to a ripeneſs, in way to his purpoſed Revenge. For having removed *Ætius*, who alone was able to prevent, or render invalid any Attempt; he then inſinuated into the Servants and Dependants of that great Man, and perſwaded them to revenge his undeſerved death. Upon two of his Guard, known to poſterity by the name of *Oſtila* and *Tranſila*, his words had greateſt operation, who laying their Trains as would beſt accompliſh their buſineſs, fell upon him as he was making a ſpeech from the Tribunal, in the *Campus Martius*, when he thought neither of conſpiracy nor death; and having firſt diſpatched *Heraclius*, an Eunuch, who valiantly interpoſed and endeavoured to ſave his Maſter, ſlew him in the place. Thus he is ſaid to have periſhed in the thirtieth year of his Reign, and the thirty fifth of his Age, on the eighteenth day of *March*. During his Government, the Empire, which in the time of *Honorius* began much to decline, grew to be ſeiſed of a mortal Diſtemper. But this may be ſaid in his behalf, that he was not unhappy in the Conteſt he had with the greateſt *Hector* and Enemy of theſe times, having by his Arms ſometimes worſted *Attila*, and otherwhiles obliged him to pack up and be gone out of his Dominions. To be ſure he was the laſt that may ſeem to have been an Emperor indeed, in whom true Imperial Majeſty reſided. For thoſe that followed him in the *Weſt* were Upſtarts, Uſurpers, or like Apparitions, that ſoon appeared, and ſoon vaniſhed. Under them the Limbs of the Empire were torn in pieces one from another; and the Provinces were dayly loſt, and fell into the Hands of Barbarous Nations. And as with the Growth of the Empire good Letters had received increaſe, and were propagated; ſo they languiſhed

A. D. 455. *Valentin. A.* 8. *& Anthemio Coſſ.*

Valentinian

Sect. 6. guiſhed together with it, and ſtudy being little regarded when life it ſelf is to be preſerved, dwindled at length into Barbariſm and Ignorance. This is ſeen by that ſlender Account we have left us concerning the revolutions of the ſucceeding times. A. D. 455.

SECT. VII.

The Seventh Step to the Ruin of the Empire in the Weſt.

Containing the Pangs and Expiring of the Empire of the Weſt.

From the Death of Valentinian *the Third to the depoſing of* Auguſtulus.

The Space of Twenty one Years.

Maximus the Murderer uſurps.

1. V*Alentinian* being dead, *Maximus*, the Contriver of his Ruine, eaſily advanced himſelf into his Seat; there being none indeed that could well oppoſe him. Being ſeated, he now conſidered how he might beſt eſtabliſh himſelf. He thought it would contribute to his ſecurity, if he committed the truſt of the Army to *Avitus*, a perſon famous for his well diſcharged Employments, who at preſent was *Præfectus Prætorio* in *Gall.* There was no Son or Brother of the deceaſed Emperor left to call in queſtion his Title; but *Eudoxia*, his Wife, was ſtill alive, and he reſolved by Marriage with her (his own Wife being lately dead) to gain reputation and vigor to it. Therefore did he, as both *Procopius* and *Evagrius* write, force her to take him for an Husband; and yet was he ſo captivated by her Arts, or his own affections, that, love ariſing ſometimes it ſeems from policy, in the night, when they were in Bed, he told her all the Story of *Valentinian*'s death, how it was contrived and brought to paſs; and endeavoured to make her believe, that it was all deſigned and contrived out of his love to her perſon. She hated him before, as *Procopius* tells us, and was now inraged to find how he had cauſed her Lord and Husband to be murdered, and aſcribed all the Villany to her, as the cauſe that principally moved him. No ſooner was the Morning come, and ſhe was out of Bed, but burning as much with deſire of Revenge, as he did with Love, ſhe ſent away a Meſſenger to *Genſerich*, then lying at *Carthage*, to let him underſtand, how her Husband the Emperor had been wickedly murdered, the Empire ſeiſed, and her own perſon in a manner captivated by a Traitor, and that he ſhould act like himſelf, and the Ally of *Valentinian*, if he would come, and by his Arms vindicate the *Roman* Name and Majeſty from ſo great Diſhonour. The Meſſage was very acceptable to *Genſerich*, who had long deſired to find out ſuch an opportunity as was now offered to him, and glad he was, that *Theodoſius* was dead, and ſo could not take the work out of his Hands, which he thought *Martian* would neglect, as having no ſuch Relation to *Eudoxia*.

Procopius Hiſt. Vandal. lib. 1. *Evagrius lib.* 2. *c.* 7.

2. He rigged up his Fleet, put aboard his Men, and with all alacrity purſued his Voyage, ſuch courage did the expectation of the rich Booty put into him. And he could not have come at a better time; for the Man he was to deal with, was as much now down in his ſpirits, as he himſelf was joyful and frolick. He had formerly lived at his eaſe, and in great affluence of all both conveniences and pleaſures. *Maximus* had run through all ſorts of Honours and Preferments below the Purple, and his

Senatorian Dignity, his great Eſtate accompanied with a good conſcience and reputation, made his Nights poſſibly no leſs eaſie and pleaſant than his days. But now his eaſe was diſturbed by continual cares and perplexities about ſecuring his ill gotten Dominion; his Counſellors, his Guards and Soldiers diſtracted him, and in vain he ſought by night for that ſleep and reſt which ſhould give ſome intermiſſion to his anxieties. This is affirmed by *Sidonius Apollinaris*, in his anſwer to the Epiſtle of his Friend *Serranus*, wherein he had much extolled the felicity of this *Petronius Maximus* his Patron. In that anſwer he affirms, that he had heard one *Fulgentius*, a perſon of Queſtorian Dignity, relate, how he had often declared to him by his own Mouth how much he abhorred that Burthen of the Empire, which he had ſo ambitiouſly pulled upon his Shoulders, and how happy he eſteemed the condition of *Damocles*, who had born the neceſſity of a Royal Eſtate, only during the length of one Dinner. Of this *Damocles* the Story is obvious, how being familiar with *Dionyſius*, the Tyrant of *Syracuſe*, he exceſſively and ignorantly was wont to extol the felicity at which his Friend and Patron had arrived. *Dionyſius* asked him if he would ſit down to Meat at his Table, and thereat in a plentiful Entertainment make an experiment both of the conveniences and inconveniences, which he ſo ſplendidly enjoyed. He conſented, and joyfully ſate down, accoutred in *Regalibus*; with coſtly and delicious Fare was he entertained, and ſerved as a King in all reſpects, like ſome *Sardanapalus*; ſo rich was the Furniture of his Table, ſo great was the value of his Veſſels he drank in, ſet out with Gems and Pearls, and ſo numerous and well habited his Attendance. But when he began to fall to his Victuals, his Stomach was quickly turned by a ſight he beheld over his Head. There hung from the Roof of the Room a naked Sword in no ſtronger a bond than the Hair of an Horſe, which put him in continual danger of having that Throat cut which ſhould ſwallow the Meat, and procuring a falſe and uneaſie paſſage for his delicate Viands. Now like another *Tantalus* he deſired to remove from thoſe pleaſant things he could not enjoy; and by his prayers mixed with tears and ſighs hardly obtained a diſmiſſion from his Royal Delights, from which his Heels carried him with greater celerity and eaſe than they brought him thither. This Story *Sidonius* relates and philoſophiſeth in more apt words and expreſſions than uſual upon that ticklish and uncertain, though ſpecious condition of thoſe Men who chuſe to feed on Blood, before the Feaſt of a good conſcience, and forſake their eaſe and quiet to attain the ſhort and anxious pleaſures of Uſurpation.

And is diſquieted in his mind.

Sidonius Apollinarius, lib. 2. ep. 13.

3. In this plight was *Maximus* found, when *Genſerich* with three hundred thouſand, (as ſome write improbably) of *Vandals* and *Moors* landed upon the Coaſt of Rome. His ſudden and unexpected coming contributed to the conſternation of the Uſurper, and conſequently to his own ſucceſs, and the expedition of his Buſineſs. The City was abſolutely ſurpriſed, the Inhabitants thereof being quite put out of all other methods of conſultation, than how beſt every Man to ſhift for himſelf, into Mountains or other places difficult of acceſs, or hard to be diſcovered. And *Maximus* himſelf would not be one Furlong behind them. He fled as well as the reſt, deſtitute of all his Friends, whom ſome Senators, his Enemies, ſeeing to be alone, and without defence, were ſo bold as to take the advantage, and ſtone him; then being dragged all torn and bruiſed as he was, they ſent his Body by one *Urſus*, a *Roman* Soldier, to be caſt into *Tiber*. This happened about the twelfth of *June*, and ſome three days after *Genſerich* entred the City, now fully expoſed to his luſt and appetite. He had promiſed *Eudoxia* very fair things, in reference to moderation, and abſtinence from all rapine and plunder. *Leo* the Biſhop alſo with ſome of the Nobility met him at the Gate, and the better to move him, put him in mind how even *Attila*, a Pagan, had been perſwaded to own the reſpect that was due to the Miſtreſs of the World. But he was deaf to all charmings of this nature, and contrary to his faith given to *Eudoxia*, not only rifled the Imperial Treaſure, but all that was excellent beſides. The Statues and Tiles of *Jupiter Capitolinus* he made bold with, and he took away the Veſſels of the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, which *Titus* formerly had brought to *Rome*; and afterwards when *Africk* was recovered, were by *Beliſarius* ſent to *Conſtantinople*, and returned back to *Jeruſalem* by order of *Juſtinian*. *Evagrius* writes, that the *Barbarian* being of inconſtant behaviour, and little fidelity, ſet the City on fire. Others ſpeak only of the burning of ſuch things as were made for ſhew and pleaſure; ſome, that *Leo* meeting him in his way, perſwaded him to abſtain from Blood and Fire; yet he took away all the Wealth, except that of the three principal Churches, and led away many thouſands of Priſoners into *Africk*.

He is killed.

And *Genſerich* rifleth *Rome*.

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4. It's affirmed by others, that the plundering of *Rome* continued fourteen days; and ſeveral write, that moſt of the plunder was loſt at Sea; though *Procopius* mentions it as a report that only that Ship which carried the Statues was ſunk, and the other Veſſels arrived ſafe with the *Vandals* in the Port of *Carthage*. But amongſt other Priſoners, notwithſtanding the faith given to her, he carried away *Eudoxia* the Empreſs, and her two Daughters *Eudocia* and *Placidia*, whereof *Eudocia* he married to his eldeſt Son *Honorich*; and *Placidia* became afterwards the Wife of *Olybrius*, a Noble *Roman* Senator, being by *Genſerich* ſent away with her Mother to *Conſtantinople*, at the deſire of *Leo*, who ſucceeded *Martian* in the *Eaſt*. So *Procopius*; but *Evagrius* writes, that he ſent *Placidia* the younger Daughter together with her Mother, and that with Royal Equipage to *Martian* himſelf, hoping thereby to mitigate his diſpleaſure; for he was highly offended with the burning of *Rome*, and the ill uſage of *Valentinian* his Daughters: and that afterwards *Martian* gave *Placidia* in Marriage to *Olybrius*, a Noble Man, and Senator of *Rome*, who, when the City was taken, had fled to *Conſtantinople*, and to whom, ſome ſay, ſhe had been formerly contracted. After the death of *Maximus* followed an *Inter-regnum* in the *Weſt* for twenty eight days; and then was *Avitus* acclaimed Emperor in *Gall*, who having been by *Valentinian* preferred to the Dignity of *Præfectus Prætorio* of that Diſtrict, was alſo lately by *Maximus* made *Magiſter Militum*, and at this time diſcharged the Office of an Ambaſſador in a Negotiation of Peace to *Theodorich*, King of the *Goths*, who, ſome write, having ſlain his Brother *Thoriſmond*, had ſeiſed on his Kingdom. By the aſſiſtance of the *Goths*, and eſpecial procurement of *Theodorich*, he was promoted to the Purple. *Avitus* was a Man of excellent Qualifications, both as to War and Civil Matters; of great Nobility, an excellent Orator, as excellent a Lawyer, not unaccuſtomed to the Travels and Incommodities of a Soldier. Being againſt his will, advanced to the ſupreme Honour, to the great joy of the Provincials of *Gall*, who promiſed themſelves all good things from the Government of ſo brave a perſon, he applied himſelf to ſuch Councils as might beſt conduce to the ſafety of the State. Particularly took order for defending the Quarters lying beyond the River *Ligeris*, againſt the Incurſions of the *Franks*, and thoſe on the South ſide of the ſaid River, or neareſt to *Italy*, from the violence of the *Goths*. And by virtue of the League and Friendſhip contracted betwixt him and *Theodorich*, he committed that portion of *Spain* which as yet acknowledged obedience to the Empire; to be defended by him againſt the Attempts of *Riccar*, King of the *Suevi*. And ſo we quit this Year without any other obſervations, but that on the tenth of *July*, the ſame day that *Avitus* was inaugurated, happened ſo great an Earthquake in *Pannonia*, that therewith all the City *Sabaria* was overwhelmed.

Who carries away priſoners *Eudoxia* and her two Daughters.

Avitus made Emperor in *Gall*.

A. D. 456.

Johanne & Varane Coſſ.

5. That follows which was the CCCCLVI of our Lord; and as the Chronicles of *Caſſiodorus* and *Marcellinus* do mark it, had for Conſuls one *John* and *Varanes*, or *Varares*. But that *Avitus* the Emperor himſelf aſſumed this Title, we are ſufficiently informed from the Panegyrick made to him by *Sidonius Apollinaris* in Verſe, on New-years-day, and that in the very way of celebrating his Conſulſhip. And *Baronius* puts himſelf out of doubt by producing an ancient Inſcription, extant at *Rome* in the Church of S. *Agnes* in the *Numentane* Street. But ſo it might happen, that together with the Purple *Avitus* might alſo quit the Conſulſhip. For *Caſſiodorus* notes, that this Year he laid down the Imperial Dignity at *Placentia*, and that he ceaſed to be Emperor is no doubt at all; but as to the occaſion of it there are various Reports. *Evagrius*, in ſhort, ſaith he died of the Plague; *Nicephorus* by Famine; but *Gregory* of *Tours* writes it for truth, that living luxurioully, he was caſt out by the Senators, and at *Placentia* was ordained Biſhop of that City. That for all his depoſing, having found that the Senate, ſtill angry with him, deſigned to take away his life, he reſolved with many rich offerings to take Sanctuary in the Church of S. *Julian*, a Martyr of the *Arverni* (whoſe Countryman that he was, *Gregory* ſaith, was moſt manifeſt) and dying in the way, was buried in the Town he calls *Brivatenſis Vicus* at the Feet of the ſaid Martyr. Now ſome there are that fetch the Story a little higher. They tell us how *Avitus* having ſettled his Affairs in *Gall*, reſolved to paſs into *Italy*, and take poſſeſſion of the Government of that Country to which he had a juſt Title, as well as to the other Members of the Weſtern Empire. With the aſſiſtance of the *Goths* he paſſed the *Alpes*, went to *Rome*, and there finding no oppoſition, applied himſelf to State Affairs, which he managed in ſuch tranquility, that as being altogether ſecure from Plots and Conſpiracies, he diſmiſſed his *Goths*, truſting to the fidelity of the *Romans*.

Principis anterior jam Conſulis iſte coruſcat Annus & emerita trabeis Diademata creſtunt.

His Coſſ. Placentiæ depoſuit Avitus imperium.

Τȣ́τȣ δὲ τ̃ βίον λιμῷ μεταλλάξαντος.

Lays down the Purple.

The Senate perceiving how expoſed he now was, and hating him, either for his luxurious life, or in obedience to ſome inſtructions receiv'd from the Emperor *Martian*, laid their Trains, and eaſily drove him out of the City. Being in this diſtreſs, and not knowing how to recover his Station, he reſolved for *Æmilia*, and with a ſlender Company came to *Placentia*. At that time *Ricimer*, a *Sueve*, who had been by *Valentinian* made *Magiſter Militum*, in the room of *Ætius*, in a manner ſuſtained all the Burthen of *Italy*. He hearing of *Avitus* his coming to *Placentia*, went thither, as he pretended, to wait on him; but in compliance with *Martian* his orders, raiſed a Mutiny, and compelled him to diveſt himſelf of the Purple; and in the tumult *Meſſianus*, the *Patritian* of *Avitus* was killed, while he couragiouſly endeavoured to defend the Dignity of his Prince, who on the ſeventeenth of *May* ſuffered this Degradation, which he had not deſerved. But probable it is, that out of hatred to *Maximus*, who had made him his *Magiſter Militum*, and who had been the cauſe of the burning and plundering of the City, the *Romans* would not own him for Emperor, abominating all things and perſons that had any relation to that Man. Some reckon ten Months and eight Days to his Government; but *Evagrius* only allows him eight Months. A .D. 456.

6. In the mean time, *Theodorich* (or as *Iſidore* calls him *Teuderich*) King of the *Goths*, who with the *Galls* had aſſiſted *Avitus* in obtaining the Empire, with a numerous Army quitted *Aquitain*, and with his leave and conſent invaded *Spain*. There he was oppoſed by *Rectiar*, King of the *Suevi*, and twelve miles off from the City called *Urbs Aſturigenſis*, by the River *Urbicus* he gave him Battel; but the Victory fell to the *Goths*, and the *Suevi* being ſlaughtered in great numbers, ſome of them taken, and many running away, their King was wounded, and ſeiſed in his flight, and being preſented to *Theodorich*, was put to death. After this, many that had eſcaped the Battel yielded themſelves, and ſome being puniſhed in the ſame manner, the Kingdom of the *Suevi* was in a manner extinct. *Theodorich* now waſted *Gallicia* and *Luſitania* (now *Portugal*) but his abſence in *Spain* fell out well for *Childerich*, King of the *Franks*, who had not long before ſucceeded *Merouee*, the Succeſſor of *Clodio*, as he of *Pharamond*. Who this *Pharamond* was, doth not appear from *Gregory* of *Tours*, and who *preceded* him in that Dignity is alſo obſcure; but that this moſt valiant Nation had Kings before, is evident both from *Ammianus* and others. The *Goths* being diverted thus in *Spain*, and the *Roman* Army having followed *Avitus* into *Italy*, the *Franks* had the opportunity they often had ſought in vain, in ſettling their Kingdom in that noble Country of *Gall*. Long and often before had they invaded it, but were repulſed, as in the time of *Aurelian*, and during the Reign of *Julian*, beſides many Incurſions ſuddenly made upon occaſion. In the time of *Valentinian* the Third they joyned with the *Burgundians*, and piercing further into the *Roman* Pale, were, as we have formerly ſhewn, repulſed by *Ætius* and *Majorianus*. At length by occaſion of *Attila* his Invaſion, they got into the middle of *Gall*, and there from this time eſtabliſhed their Kingdom at *Paris*, under *Childerich*, concerning whom we ſhall ſpeak at large in the particular Hiſtory of that Nation, as alſo the original of theſe *Franks*. But thus was another Principality cut out of the Body of the Weſtern Empire.

Iſidorus ad Æram, 491. *Editione Grotiana.*

Theodorich victorious in *Spain.*

The *Franks* erect a Kingdom in *Gall.*

7. The Year of our Lord CCCCLVII, is characteriſed with the Conſulſhip of *Conſtantine* and *Rufus*. The *Inter-regnum* in the Weſt ſtill continued, *Sidonius Apollinaris* having proved but a bad Prophet in his Panegyrick to *Avitus*, when he feigned how the *Parcæ* ſpun an happy time for his Government, and Golden Ages ſhould be uſhered in by his Conſulſhip. So lucky was this Age, that *Genſerich*, the *Vandal*, having broken the League made with the *Romans* by the violence offered to the City, reſolve to purſue what he had unjuſtly begun, and give ſtamp to one miſchief by another. For now did he ſeiſe upon that part of *Africk*, which in the partition of that Country was left to *Valentinian*, and driving away the *Roman* Officers, added it to his own Dominion; and ſo fell off alſo that noble Province from the Empire, and continued in the hands of the *Vandals* till afterward it was happily recovered by *Juſtinian*. As *Rome* was now in the condition of Widow-hood, wanting an Head and Governour, ſo the ſame thing ſhortly happened alſo to *Conſtantinople*, which in the beginning of this Year underwent the like change. For before the beginning of *March*, (ſome ſay, on the twenty ſixth of *January*, others, on the twenty fourth of *February*) the Emperor *Martian* departed this life, at ſuch time as being highly ſenſible of the Indignities and Injuries put upon the Empire by *Genſerich*, he prepared by his Arms to revenge the Affronts which the Majeſty of *Rome* had received. To his Reign Chronologers aſſign ſix Years,

A. D. 457. *Conſtantino & Rufo Coſſ.*

——*Fœlix tempus nevere ſorores Imperiis Auguſte tuis & Conſulis Anno, Fulva volubilibus duxerunt ſæcula penſis.*

Africk alſo falls off.

Martian dies.

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Years, ſix Months, and two days. And though we hear little of him, yet is he much commended by ſome Writers for his Wiſdom and Felicity in Government. Indeed quiet and repoſe is the end of good Government, and when we hear little of Action, Stirs or Commotions, we may hope, that where there is no Attempt for Reformation, there is no need of it; where there is no application of Remedies or Preſervatives, there are no conſiderable Indications. The danger is, when the Diſeaſe is palliated, when the peccant matter is rather tempered for a while than fully altered; when the lazyneſs or negligence of the Phyſician conſulting only his own eaſe, contributes to the turgency of the humours. This we muſt ſay, that in the time of *Martian* the *Barbarians* gave little or no diſturbance on his ſide of the World; and this we do not find he purchaſed with Money or Gifts; if he palliated the ſore, we ſhall find it break out again with greater violence. He is praiſed for his Bounty to the Poor; and his prudence is further taken notice of in this, that the Army he left ſubject to the directions of the Senate, and the Senate it ſelf ſo modeſt and unanimous, that though he left no Heir to the Imperial Title, and many members there were of it, who by reaſon of Birth and Intereſt might have had incouragement to ſet up for themſelves, yet in the election of a Succeſſor, there were no ſuch ambitious practiſes. Of his Religion, for which he is much revered, we are to ſpeak in another place; but in this of an Edict made by him concerning the Marriage of Senators, which having omitted in its proper Year (for it bears date in the Conſulſhip of *Ætius* and *Studius*) it will be here convenient enough to ſpeak of, as that which will not give any ill ſavour to the Aſhes of the dead, or caſt any blot upon his memory.

His Commendation.

Martiani Novel. 4. De Matrimoniis Senatorum. Dat prid. Non. April. Conſtantinop. Ætio & Studio Coſſ.

8. It was occaſioned by a Conſultation of *Palladius* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, who deſired an explanation of a Law made formerly by *Conſtantine* upon this Subject. He had ordained, that no *Senator*, *Perfectiſſimus*, *Duumvir*, *Municipal Flamen*, or *Prieſt* of a Province, ſhould take to Wife any *Slave*, the *Daughter of a Slave*, a *Freed Woman*, the *Daughter of a Freed Woman*; any one *made a Roman Citizen*, or *Latine*, a *Stage-player*; or the *Daughter of a Stage-player*; a *Tabernaria*, or *Victualler*, the *Daughter of ſuch*; of a *Leno*, or *Brothel-Houſe-keeper*, of an *Arenarius*, or *Fencer*; or ſuch a Woman that *publickly kept any baſe Trade*; and to theſe forbidden perſons added this, *neither a mean nor abject perſon.* Now it begate a great Diſpute in Courts of Judicature, whether by a mean and abject perſon any poor and obſcure Woman might be meant, however of free and ingenuous condition, and ſo the Law exclude ſuch from marrying with Senators. To remove the doubt, *Martian* declares it very abſurd to imagine, that *honeſt poverty ſhould tend to any ones diſgrace*; for as much as oftentimes ſlender fortunes have procured to very many perſons much Glory, and narrow eſtates have been “ the teſtimony of moderation. And who can, ſaith he, imagine that *Conſtantine* “ of famous memory, when he prohibited the Beds of Senators to be defiled with the “ filth of polluted Women, did prefer the gifts of fortune before the good things “ conferred by Nature: and put Ingenuity (or the ſtate of freedom) below Riches, “ which the variety of accidents may, as well take away as give; whereas that “ cannot be taken away if born with one. No, he who was the greateſt lover of “ what was decent, and a moſt ſacred *Cenſor* of manners, did judge theſe to be “ mean perſons, and unworthy of the Matrimony of Senators, whom, either the “ ugly blot of their Birth, or a life dedicated to ſome diſgraceful Trade, polluteth “ with ſordid marks, and, as it were, gives them a ſtain, either by reaſon of the “ filthineſs of their original, or the obſcenity of their profeſſion.

His interpretation of a Law of *Conſtantine*, concerning the Marriage of Senators.

9. Therefore to take away all doubts wherewith the minds of ſome perſons “ may be poſſeſſed: all theſe things remaining fixed and eſtabliſhed, which the “ Conſtitution of *Conſtantine* (*divæ memoriæ*) doth ordain, we judge and determine, “ that by a *mean* or *inconſiderable woman*, ſhall in no wiſe be underſtood one “ that is *poor*, yet born of Parents of free condition. But we ordain, that it may “ be lawful to Senators and others, enjoying the moſt ample Dignities to take in “ Wedlock ſuch as are born of ingenuous Parentage; although they be poor, and “ that wealth make no diſtance betwixt thoſe of free condition. And thoſe we eſteem “ to be *mean* and *abject perſons* only, which being reckoned up, and particularly “ expreſſed, the ſaid Law prohibits to be joyned to Senators, that is to ſay, a “ Slave, the Daughter of a Slave, one made free, and the Daughter of ſuch; one “ made a *Roman* or *Latine* Citizen; a Player, or the Daughter of a Player, a *Tabernaria*, “ or the Daughter of a *Tabernarius*, of a *Leno*, or Brothel-houſe-keeper, “ of an *Arenarius*, or one publickly *profeſſing ſome ſordid employment*. And this “ we believe was the meaning of *Conſtantine* in the Sanction which he publiſhed; “

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and that he therefore inhibited theſe Marriages, leſt Senators ſhould be joyned “ not ſo much in Wedlock as in Vices with theſe Women. Moreover, what “ hath been ordained in Sacred Conſtitutions either by *Conſtantine* (of famous memory) “ or by other *Divi Principes*, concerning Natural Sons and their Mothers, “ of Concubines alſo of ingenuous condition, and concerning thoſe Women that “ were married after the death of the Wife, we command to be obſerved inviolably, “ yet ſo, as thoſe which were made later ſhall be of greater authority than the “ former, and whatſoever is behind in time ſhall be more valid in its Sanction. “ Therefore *Palladius* the *Præfect*, moſt dear to the *Auguſti*, thine illuſtrious and “ magnificent Authority, ſhall by thine Edicts expoſed to view, according to cuſtom, “ cauſe this Law of our Serenity, as that which ſhall be perpetually of “ force, to come to the knowledge of all Men. “

Leo choſen Emperor in the Eaſt.

Procopius.

10. *Martian* being dead, when a Conſultation was held about a new Emperor, *Aſpar*, by ſome ſaid to have compaſſed his end, endeavoured to prefer himſelf, but was rejected becauſe an *Arian*. He then being *Magiſter Militum* improved his intereſt in behalf of *Leo* a Tribune, a *Thracian* by birth, of the City *Beſſica*; or after his preferment pretended to have done ſo. For *Leo* was elected by the univerſal conſent of the Senate, and then crowned by *Anatolius* the Patriarch, being of the age of fifty three, or thereabout, as ſome pretend to gather from the twelfth Chapter of the ſecond Book of *Evagrius*. After his promotion he managed his matters very circumſpectly, and gained ſo great reputation, the Patrimony of a Prince, that neither *Africk*, *Aſia*, nor *Perſia* dared to diſturb him. And to keep *Europe* quiet, he thought it high time there ſhould be ſome worthy perſon advanced to be Emperor in the *Weſt*, and to this Dignity he reſolved to promote *Majorianus*, a Man of great Virtue and Wiſdom, whom having created on the laſt of *February Magiſter Militum*, he diſpatched away ſpeedily into *Italy* to take upon him the Empire, with his Letters Commendatory, and a Noble Train. *Majorianus* arrived in *Italy* above a Month after, and going to *Ravenna*, on the firſt day of *April* in a place called *Ad Columellas*, ſix Miles diſtant from the City, was by conſent of Emperor and Senate advanced to the Dignity of *Auguſtus*. Removing back to the City, he ſet himſelf ſeriouſly to order the Affairs of the Empire, and for that purpoſe made choice of the ableſt Miniſters the time afforded. To *Ricimer* he committed the Conduct of the Army, with the uſual Title of *Magiſter Militum*, for whom ſudden and unexpected work was ſhortly after cut out. For *Genſerich* could not yet be quiet in *Africk*, but rigged up a Fleet, and put to Sea with adventure to fall upon ſuch Coaſts as beſt convenience ſhould caſt it. Upon *Campania* he fell, and waſted it at his pleaſure. *Majorianus*, the better to match him upon both Elements, repaired the Imperial Navy, and got together as many Ships as he could, but as it were for another year. But to the Coaſts he ſent a ſtrong Body of Men, who were placed in ambuſh ſo as they might beſt repulſe the Rovers, and ſecure the Country People. The *Moors* landed, and leaving the *Vandals* on Board, ſet upon the Husbandmen at their Work, when the *Romans* riſing up fell on them, and eaſily put them to flight, and forced them to Mountains and other places of Refuge. The *Vandals* ſeeing this, were obliged in honour to relieve their Friends, and landing both Horſe and Foot, engaged with the *Romans*; but they were ſo warmly received, that they thought it beſt to retreat, and get them to their Ships again. This Victory was the more ſeaſonable and welcome, in that it was accompanied by another obtained by *Burto* againſt the *Allemans*. He being created *Magiſter Militum* by *Majorianus*, fell upon them as they were waſting *Rhætia*, and forced them alſo into their own Quarters.

Majorianus in the Weſt.

A. D. 458.
Leone & Majoriano A. A. Coſſ.

11. That which followed, or the CCCCLVIII Year of our Lord was ſignalized by the joint Conſulſhip of the two Emperors, *Leo* and *Majorianus*. On the firſt of *January*, or the Calends, *Majorianus* aſſumed the Title, and on the Ides, or the thirteenth, he directed an Oration, or a Letter, ot the Senate from *Ravenna*, which is ſtill extant among his other *Novels*, joyned to thoſe of *Theodoſius*, being placed the third in order, though it was the firſt in time. And the Title of it is, *Concerning the manner or Rite of the Government of Divus Majorianus*. Acknowledge, ſaith he, Conſcript Fathers, me now made Emperor by the pleaſure of your Election, and the Ordination of the moſt valiant Army. To the Ordination of all, may God be propitious, who increaſe the ſucceſſes of our “ Reign, for your and the publick utility; for I came to the Government not by “ mine own will, but by the obſequiouſneſs of publick Devotion; that I might “ not live to my ſelf alone, or for refuſal be judged ingrateful to the Common-wealth,

His Letter to the Senate.

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His Letter to the Senate.

for which I was born. On the *Calends* dedicated to *Janus* we erected the Faſces of our happily aſſumed Conſulſhip, that the preſent year receiving the“ growths of our new born Empire, may be alſo ſignalized by our Name. Favour“ now the Prince you your ſelves have made, and partake with us in managing“ publick Affairs, that the Empire which was given me by your endeavours“ may be augmented through our common Conduct. Conclude you that“ Juſtice will flouriſh in our days, and Virtues may make a progreſs under the merit“ of Innocence. Let no Man ſtand in fear of Informers, whom, when private,“ we condemned, and now ſpecially do oppoſe. Let none be apprehenſive of Calumnies,“ but ſuch as are of his own raiſing. Watchful and diligent in Military“ Matters will we be, together with our Parent and Patritian *Ricimer*. Under“ God we will preſerve in ſafety the State of the *Roman* World, which by our“ common watchfulneſs we have freed both from a Common Enemy, and Domeſtick“ Miſchief. I think you ſufficiently know my Breeding, as in love to you,“ and formerly a companion in life and dangers, I eaſily promiſe my ſelf you do;“ but I ſhall ſtill indeavour in all publick matters, if God ſo pleaſe, by the authority“ of a Prince, and with the aſſiſtance of my Colleague, that of the choice“ you have made you ſhall have no cauſe to repent. We wiſh that in all happineſs“ you may continue moſt flouriſhing for many years. Farewel, Conſcript Fathers,“ of the moſt Sacred Order.

12. By this civil and obliging Letter he could not but pleaſe the Senate, but Words without Deeds will not long preſerve Reputation. He employed therefore his *Quæſtor* in other matters for reformation of Grievances, and the eaſe of the People, ſufficiently harraſſed in theſe troubleſome times, wherein the Provinces were ſtill afflicted either by Foreign Enemies, or Domeſtick: notwithſtanding it pleaſed God to raiſe up Deliverers now and then. The Provinces were very empty, and the Cities exhauſted by reaſon of Wars and other Diſorders, and the poor Provincials diſcouraged enough other ways, were ſo troubled with *Compulſors* about the payment of Tributes, that many forſook their Dwellings, and betook themſelves into ſolitary places. He conſidered, that to give redreſs to ſuch inconveniences, it would be requiſite to reinforce the cuſtom of chuſing the *Defenſores plebis* throughout the Cities, that by them he might be acquainted with their Grievances, without putting poor people to the charge and pain of coming up to Court. For this purpoſe he publiſhed an Edict, bearing date on the eighth“ of *March*, and directed to all Governors of Provinces, requiring them to cauſe“ ſuch *Defenſors* to be choſen in all the Cities of their ſeveral Juriſdictions. He“ commands them, that to this end they ſummon the wonted Aſſemblies of the“ *Municipes*, *Honorati* and *Plebs*, or common ſort, that in them may be fit Solicitors“ made of honeſt and deſerving Men, without any ſeeking or canvaſſing for“ the Imployment.“ One of the greateſt Grievances mentioned in this Edict, as motives to the publiſhing of it, is the violence and injuſtice of the *Compulſors*; and the authority of the *Defenſors* he thought might put ſome reſtraint upon them. But upon further conſideration he reſolved to take clear away their Imployment. And for this end the very next day he directed another Conſtitution to *Palladius* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, which contained a full and general Pardon and Remiſſion of“ all Dues whatſoever that were behind, belonging either to the Receit of him“ the ſaid *Præfect*, or either of the Treaſurers, from the beginning of the world“ to the beginning of this preſent eleventh Indiction. And becauſe the *Poſſeſſors*“ were terrified and frighted out of their Goods by the inſolence and power of“ *Compulſors*, he further ordain'd, that the Tributes, for the time to come, from“ the beginning of the twelfth Indiction, ſhould not be gathered by any *Palatine*,“ or any Miniſter of armed power, as he words it, but by the Officers of Governours“ of Provinces themſelves. In the laſt place, as he deſigns to give relief to“ the oppreſſed; ſo that the Revenue may not be impaired by the inſolence and“ contumacy of ſuch as are able to pay, or the Agents or Factors of great men, ſheltring“ themſelves under the greatneſs and protection of their Lords, he requires all“ ſuch *Agents* and Factors, as alſo them belonging to his own *Domain*, to make their“ appearance before the Governors of Provinces when they go their Circuits. In“ caſe of failure, if they bring not in their dues within the year, they ſhall be impriſoned,“ and pay the double of what they were behind.“

An Act of Grace.

Novel. Majoriani 5.

Novel. Majoriani, 4. *Dat.* 7. *Id. Mart.*

The *Suarii* of *Rome* excepted out of it.

13. The only perſons excepted out of this Act of Grace and Pardon were the *Suarii* of *Rome*, and that for this reaſon, that nothing might be diminiſhed of the plenty belonging to the *venerable* City. As he eſteem'd her *venerable*, he

was put in mind this Summer of a matter,which, if ſuffered to proceed,would have much taken off from her Veneration. After ſuch time as ſhe had been waſted by the *Goths*, it had become a cuſtom to fetch Stones and other materials as were neceſſary for repairing of the publick Buildings from her ancient Works; and after the late Diſaſter which happened from the *Vandals* ſome private perſons made bold to apply them to their own uſes. Out of his Deteſtation of ſuch practiſes, tending ſo much to the defacing of the Beauty of the Place, in an Edict inſcribed to *Æmilianus* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, dated alſo at *Ravenna* on the tenth of *July*, he for-“ bade that Temples or other Monuments which had been raiſed by the Ancients“ for publick uſe or pleaſure, ſhould be touched in ſuch manner, inflicting upon any Judge that ſhould give ſuch order a Mulct of fifty pounds of Gold; and Stripes, “ with the loſs of Hands upon ſuch *Apparitors* or *Numerarii* as ſhould obey ſuch Or-“ ders, and not withſtand them by a ſeaſonable ſuggeſtion. All ſuch begged Ma-“ terials he will have reſtored. And in caſe any old Monument be paſt repairing, “ and it be convenient to employ the Stones, Timber or the like, upon ſome other “ Fabrick; this he will not have done till the matter be firſt ſignified to the Senate,“ and if the Senate approve of it, then communicated to himſelf. For further ſet-“ tlement of Civil Matters this Year, he publiſhed another Edict directed to“ *Baſilius* the *Præfectus Prætorio* concerning *Curiales*, and agnation or alienation of“ Lands, and diverſe other Affairs. For calling back the *Curiales* to their Charges, “ he allows it, provided it be within thirty years. As for the *Collegiati*, he confirms“ what had been ordained concerning them in a Conſtitution contained in the Body“ of *Theodoſius* his Code. This is ſet the firſt Novel of *Majorianus*, as we have“ them joyned to the ſaid *Code*; but bears Date of the ſixth of *November*.

Novel Majoriani, 6. *Dat*. 6. *Id. Jul.*

Old Works in *Rome* prohibited to be demoliſhed.

14. *Majorianus* providing thus as well as he could for reformation of Civil Matters, thought he ſhould not approve himſelf as a complete Prince and Governor, except he employed his Sword as well as his Pen. He thought it would make a great acceſſion to his Glory, if he could but recover *Africk* out of the Hands of the *Vandals*, who as yet ſeemed not well warm in their Seats. His deſire this way ſo far tranſported him,that having put on Board of a good Fleet,as conſiderable an Army; that he might diſcover the ſtate of that Country, and how the Inhabitants ſtood affected to the *Roman* Intereſt, he is ſaid to have diſguiſed himſelf, and pretending to be ſent as Ambaſſador from the Emperor, in order to a peace, he went to *Genſerich*,was well received by him,and when he had had the ſatiſfaction of ſeeing his Treaſure and Magazine, he returned to his Army, and with it went and laid Siege to *Carthage*. He omitted nothing he thought would conduce to the taking of it, but fell ſick during the Siege, which therefore proving ineffectual, and without ſucceſs, he was glad to carry back his Army: notwithſtanding all the fine words of *Sidonius Apollinaris*, at the concluſion of his Panegyrick, who ominates him Victory from all Quarters of the World, particularly that the *Moor* might grow white or pale with fear, *Suſa* might tremble, and the *Bactrians* being firſt diſarmed, might attend his Judgment-Seat. However the Emperor ſucceeded, the Poet failed not of ſucceſs. For he was honoured with two Crowns or Garlands, and with a Statue in the *Forum* of *Trajan*, as he himſelf witneſſeth in an Epiſtle to *Firminus*. Indeed he was a very good Poet conſidering the Age he lived in, and ſought to imitate *Claudian*, but *non paſſibus æquis*. He married the Daughter of *Avitus* the Emperor, and was of great Nobility himſelf, being a *Gall* of that part of the Country called now *Auvergne*, which the *Arverni* of old inhabited, a moſt powerful Nation amongſt the *Celtæ*, to the whole community of whom it was wont to give Kings, and with its Confederates, to ſend out againſt the *Romans* ſometimes two hundred thouſand, otherwhiles four hundred thouſand Men. His Father had been *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Gall*, as he could remember, though then a Youth.

Majorianus in vain beſiegeth *Carthage*.

——*Maurusque timore, Albus eat ſic Suſa tremant, &c.*

Lib. 9. *ep*. 16. *Vide Philibertum Monetum in Geographia Galliæ*. p. 206.

15. In the Eaſt this Year we hear little of *Leo*, but what relates to Eccleſiaſtical Affairs; yet though he had no preſent uſe for his Soldiers, he thought fit they ſhould be in readineſs upon any Exigent. But he took notice how many of them, though they received publick pay, betook themſelves to other Imployments, which drew forth an Act of State, dated on the ſixth of *July*, to *Aſpar*, the *Magiſter Militum*, wherein he declares, that Soldiers who are armed and maintained by the Commonwealth ought to be occupied only in things relating to the publick utility; neither“ travel in the tillage of Land, keeping of Cattel, or in Traffick, but labour in the“ Imployments belonging to their Warfare. He charges him, that for the future“ he ſuffer no Soldier to be concerned in ſuch matters, but be frequent at their Colours,

Leo commands Soldiers to attend Military Affairs alone.

L. 15. *de Re Militari*, *Cod. Juſt. lib*. 12. *tit*. 36.

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lours, by the dayly exerciſe of their Arms to prepare themſelves for War. If any “ of the Military Judges ſhould depute any of them to ſerve in publick Houſes, “ or Lands contrary to this Imperial Order, or in other ſervices, as well ſuch Offendor “ as he that receives the man ſhall for every Soldier forfeit a pound of Gold, “ and that preſently to be levied. “ This Law bears date this Year, as we ſaid, and the next that follows in order in the *Code* is much to the ſame purpoſe, though it hath no date of either day or year; but it is ſaid to be of *Leo*'s making, and directed to *Dioſcorus*. It alſo prohibits Military Men to take upon them Civil “ Cares; or if they have ſo done, they ſhall be deprived preſently of the Military “ Service, and all Privileges, and incur the Emperor's Diſpleaſure.

L. 16. ejuſd. tit.

A terrible Earthquake at *Antioch*.

16. But another thing happened this Year, which the Citizens of *Antioch* had ſad cauſe to remember. *Evagrius* writes, that in the ſecond Year of the Reign of *Leo* a great Earthquake fell out at that City. That before it began, ſome of the Inhabitants were ſeiſed with extraordinary madneſs, ſuch as ſeemed to exceed all Ferity of wild Beaſts, and to be the Prelude to that Calamity which followed on the fourth day of the Month *Gorpiæus*, which the *Romans* called *September*, about the fourth hour of the Night, and the fifty ſixth year of the life of *Leo*. It overturned almoſt all the Buildings of the new City, which was well peopled, and none of it forſaken or empty, being curiouſly built by the Magnificence of Emperors, who ſtrove to exceed each others in the adornment of it. The firſt and ſecond Fabricks alſo in the Palace were caſt down, the reſt ſtanding, together with a Bath, which having formerly been neglected, now when by the Earthquake the reſt were choaked up, ſtood the Citizens in very good ſtead. The *Porticus's* before the Palace were alſo overturned, the Palace called *Tetraphylon*, the Turrets of the Cirque near the Gates, together with certain *Porticus's* which led from them, and ſome part of the Baths of *Trajan*, *Severus* and *Adrian*; ſome of the Neighbourhood called *Oſtracina*, together with the *Porticus's* and the *Nymphæum*; the particulars of which were related by one *John* a Rhetorician. This Writer farther delivered, how the Emperor being troubled with a ſenſe of the Calamity, forgave the City in Tributes to the value of a thouſand Talents of Gold, as alſo to the Inhabitants their Tolls; and how alſo he took care of the rebuilding of the publick places. Thus much *Evagrius* probably tells us concerning the manner and time of the Earthquake, which he aſſigns to the ſecond of the Reign, and the fifty ſixth of this preſent Emperor. But whereas he placeth it in the five hundred and ſixth after the name given to the City, and at the three hundred and forty ſeventh after the Earthquake, which happened in the days of *Trajan*; let others conſider of his Chronology.

A. D. 459.

Ricimere & Patritio Coſſ.

17. We are more certain that now we arrive at the ordinary CCCCLIX Year of our Lord, and yet ſome have erred, as to the Conſulſhip. For *Sigonius* makes *Ricimer* the *Patritian* to have been Conſul alone; but the *Faſti* and other Books have it *Ricimer* and *Patritius*. The miſtake lay in taking *Patritius* for an addition of that Honour, and not for the proper name of a Man, and the Conjunction Copulative being wanting, ſuch an error might eaſily be committed by one that did not conſult ſeveral Copies. But that which puts us out of doubt, is the Date of a Law made this Year by *Leo*, concerning the Inſinuation or regiſtring of Donations. It bears date on the third of *March* from *Conſtantinople*, *Patricius* and *Ricimer* being Conſuls: it's directed to *Conſtantine* the *Præfect*, and imports that “ in *Conſtantinople* all ingroſſed Donations of things whereſoever they lie ſhall be re“giſtred by the *Magiſter Cenſus*. In other Cities, whether the Governor of the “ Province be preſent or abſent, whether the City have Magiſtrates or not, and “ there be only a *Defenſor*; the *Donor* ſhall have free power to publiſh the Donati“ons of his Goods or Eſtates whereſoever lying, either in the Court of the Govern“or of the Province, in the Office of the Magiſtrates, or of the *Defenſor* of each “ City, as he himſelf ſhall pleaſe. As the Donation it ſelf is founded upon the “ meer will of the Donor; ſo it is declared lawful for him to intimate his Donation “ where he ſhall pleaſe in the forenamed places: and ſuch Donations ſo publiſhed “ and inſinuated in divers Provinces and Cities ſhall be of firm and perpetual “ ſtrength and value. “ The latter part of this Conſtitution was afterward abrogated by *Anaſtaſius*, who would have all Donations to be regiſtred by the *Magiſtri Cenſus* only; for their more certainty.

Leo publiſheth a Law for the Regiſtring of Donations.

L. 30. De Donationibus, Cod. Juſt. lib. 8. tit. 54.

D. 32. ejuſd. tit.

A. D. 460.

Magno & Apollonio Coſſ.

18. The CCCCLX Year of our Lord ſucceeds, known by the Conſulſhip of *Magnus* and *Apollonius*, and for very little elſe, except it be another Law made this Year by *Leo*, concerning the number and Sons of Advocates, what perſons they ſhould

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Concerning the Number of Advocates.

L. 11. De Advocatis diverſorum Judiciorum, Cod. Juſt. lib. 2. tit. 7.

ſhould be, and how created. It bears date on the Calends of *February*, and is directed to *Vinian* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, whoſe Court being furniſhed with one hundred and fifty Advocates, it prohibits him to add any more to them under pretence of taking in *Aſſeſſors*. And for the time to come, when there ſhall be occaſion “ to make any new ones, it ſhall not be done except firſt in the examination “ of the Governour of the Province, it be recorded in what Province he was born, “ and that it appear that he is not obnoxious to the ſtate and condition of a *Cohortalis*. “ If the Governor of the Province be not to be come at, it ſhall be done before “ the *Defenſor* of the Town. Beſides the Profeſſors of Law ſhall ſwear upon Record, “ that theſe their Scholars, whom they would have preferred, are furniſh'd with “ ſufficient knowledge of the Law. The Sons of Advocates ſhall be preferred “ before other *Supernumeraries*. And in concluſion, ſuch as ſhall be found to be above “ the number of an hundred and fifty, in this Court may be allowed to plead “ before the *Proconſul*, the *Præfectus Auguſtalis*, the *Comes* of the *Eaſt*, the *Vicars*, “ or before the *Governors* of Provinces. “

A. D. 461.

Severino & Dagalaipho Coſſ.

19. In the next, or the CCCCLXI of our Saviour, *Severinus* and *Dagalaiphus* were Conſuls. It's too memorable in this one thing, that *Majorianus* the Emperor was now murdered at *Dertona*. He had the Year before thoughts of renewing the War againſt the *Vandals*: which, that he might do with more ſucceſs, he procured the *Goths* to joyn with him by virtue of the League contracted with them, which ſtruck *Genſerich* with ſuch apprehenſion, that he deſired peace. *Majorianus* having no work now in the South, turned himſelf Northward, and went into *Gall* to ſettle matters in that Province. Here from *Sidonius Apollinaris* we learn that he celebrated the *Circenſian* Games at *Arles*, and made a magnificent Entertainment to his great Officers, at which, the Relator himſelf was one of the Gueſts. On the left Side, or Horn, as he calls it, lay *Severinus* the Ordinary Conſul, a Man, he ſaith, amongſt the great Stirs and Commotions of Princes, and in the unequal ſtate of the Common-wealth, ever of equal Grace and Favour. Next to him *Magnus*, formerly *Expræfect*, now *Exconſul*, a perſon equalling his doubled Honors. *Camillus*, his Brother's Son, lay behind him, who by paſſing thorow two Dignities himſelf, had added luſtre to the Proconſulſhip of his Father, and the Conſulſhip of his Uncle. *Pæonius* was placed next to him, and after him *Athenius*, a Man of Law, exerciſed in the variety of times: *Gratianenſis* was the next, who, though in Dignity he came below *Severinus*, yet preceded him in Favour. And below all lay *Sidonius*, then *Comes*, the Title the Emperor gave him in their merry Diſcourſe, which, though he relates, it is not pertinent for us therein to follow him, though thus much, to take notice of the perſons in favour at this time, and their manner of eating, ſtill the ſame with the ancient *Roman*, of lying upon Beds. But there wanted other perſons, which, had they been at this Entertainment, *Majorianus* might have had cauſe to be more merry. For while he was abſent, compoſing the Affairs of *Gall*, a Conſpiracy was hatched againſt him by *Ricimer* and *Severus*, both *Patritians*, who agreed, that *Ricimer* ſhould deprive him of his life, and *Severus* ſeiſe upon his Empire; for the *Barbarian*, as ſome believe, had not the confidence to aſſume the Purple himſelf. In the mean time *Majorianus*, that he might not be idle, indeavoured to drive the *Alans* out of *Gall*, being nothing ſo ſtrong either as the *Franks* or *Burgundians*, but they to divert him, invaded *Italy*, which he was then obliged to relieve. This gave advantage to the Conſpirators; for when the Emperor was come to *Dertona*, *Ricimer* either ſent for, or without orders, there met him with the Forces under his command, and compelling him firſt to put off the Purple, in concluſion murdered him at the River *Hyra*, to the utter Ruine of the Weſtern Empire. The Empire indeed had long been in a dying condition; but ſo great were the Abilities and Induſtry of *Majorianus*, that ſhe gave hope of Recovery under his Hand, though he being removed, it proved but a lightſomeneſs before her death. The Feat being done, *Ricimer* returned to *Ravenna*, and there the Soldiers, being prepared before hand, created *Severus* Emperor, without any Orders received from *Conſtantinople*.

Majorianus ſettles Matters in *Gall*.

Lib. 1. ep. 11. ad Montium.

Murdered by *Ricimer*.

Severus Emperor.

A. D. 462.

Leone A. 2. & Severo Coſſ.

20. The Year following, *Severus* invaded the Conſulſhip, as he had done the Empire, and bore the Title, together with *Leo*, who now took it the ſecond time, in the CCCCLXII Year of our Lord. And little elſe beſide their Conſulſhip this Year is notable; or if any thing of great moment happened, it is buried in oblivion for want of ſome faithful Hiſtorian to tranſmit the Records. Yet we are told, that now *Genſerich* renewed his Hoſtility againſt the Iſlands of the Empire, and raged according to his wonted Luſt and Pleaſure; and that *Ricimer* op-

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poſed him as he found, or thought convenient. *Theodorich*, King of the *Goths*, on the other ſide was impatient of the Repoſe he had lately enjoyed from War, and to work he went with *Ravennius*, a great Officer of *Severus* in thoſe parts, whom he ſo wrought upon, that he betrayed into his hands the noble and wealthy City of *Narbone*. And about this matter a great War is reported to have followed in *Gall*, and a meer inarticulate Report there is of it, nothing certain as to particular Councils or Accidents, being known. A ſuitable Story we have of the Country Men of *Theodorich*, being *Goths* of the Eaſt, or *Oſtrogoths*, who had their Seat at preſent in *Pannonia*. Their Kings had covenanted with *Martian* the late Emperor for a certain ſum of Money to content themſelves, and ſit down without any farther Attempts, for mending their fortunes; but this Money, *Leo*, who now reigend at *Conſtantinople*, forgot, or to be ſure omitted to pay them. Yet were they ſo good natured, and ſo obedient to the Law of Nations, though ſtill accounted *Barbarians*, that they would not make War before they had denounced it, nor denounce it till they had firſt complained, and demanded juſt ſatisfaction. They ſent their Ambaſſadors to *Leo*, who coming to Court, found not that Reception they expected; but on the contrary they found one of their Nation of the *Goths*, *Theodorich*, the Son of *Triarius*, flouriſhing there in great favour and ſplendor, with a noble Train, and ſuitable allowance. They returned with indignation, and communicated it with the report of their Embaſſy to theſe that ſent them, who took it in diſdain, that they ſhould be thought inferior to him as to Dignity. Acted by the heat of this paſſion, they invaded *Illyricum*, and put thoſe Territories of the Eaſtern Empire into ſuch Diſtreſs, that *Leo*, fearful whither their animoſity might proceed, made them amends, and quieted their minds by Ambaſſadors of his own, by paying the Arrears of their Penſion, and ingaging for the future to do it; by which courſe the peace was renewed, and for an Hoſtage thereof he received from them another *Theodorich*, the Son of *Theodomir*; who ſo improved his time in the knowledge both of Peace and War, that hereafter we ſhall hear abundantly of this Improvement.

The *Oſtrogoths* tumultuous.

A. D. 463. *Vibiano & Baſilio Coſſ.*

Baſilius now Conſul.

21. The Year CCCCLXIII is ſomewhat enobled by the Conſulſhip of *Vibian* and *Baſilius*. For this is that *Cecina Baſilius* to whom *Sidonius Apollinaris* gives ſo large an *Encomium* in one of his Epiſtles written to his *Heronius*. He compares him with one *Avienus*, who alſo bore this Dignity, and both of them flouriſhed in great favour at Court, when he was employed thither upon publick buſineſs by his Country-men the *Arverni*. He ſhews how his firſt application was to *Paulus* a *Præfectorian* (or one who had been *Præfect*) by whoſe direction he was to make choice of ſome more powerful Miniſter to manage his Affair. The deliberation was to be ſhort, there being but few out of whom he could make it. Indeed of the Senate at that time moſt of the Members were conſiderable for wealth, high in Birth, grave for Age, in their Conſultations uſeful, and men of greateſt preferments; but theſe two *Conſulares* were moſt eminent *viz.* *Gennadius Avienus* and *Cecina Baſilius*, who of all Gowned Men were of greateſt authority, next to the Prince. Theſe were men of extraordinary parts, yet various in their humors, and like to each other rather in their Genius, than their Ingenuity. *Avienus* arrived at the Conſulſhip by his Felicity; and *Baſilius* by his Virtue, inſomuch that the haſte made to Honors by the former was merrily talked of; and they diſcourſed of the number of Imployments paſſed thorow, and the many years paſſed over by the later. Both of them when they went abroad were attended by numerous Clients, but of ſuch Attendants the hopes and ſpirit was much different. *Avienus* employed his whole intereſt in promoting his Sons, Sons in Law, and his Brethren, and being always accompanied with Domeſtick Candidates, was not able to gratifie Strangers; but what *Avienus* did for his own Relations, that *Baſilius* did for thoſe to whom he had no Relation. The mind of *Avienus* was open to all, and that at the firſt ſight, but to little or no purpoſe: the heart of *Baſilius* to few, and long it was before, but with more advantage. Neither of them was difficult of acceſs, or uſed ſtate; but if you were to make uſe of them you ſhould find more eaſie familiarity in *Avienus*, and more ready aſſiſtance in *Baſilius*. Thus much, and more, about his own Buſineſs, *Sidonius* wrote ſometime after, concerning our Conſul, then a *Conſularis*, in whom being Superior, in thoſe good qualities, to *Avienus*, the Family of the *Corvini*, he ſaith, was preferred before that of the *Decii*.

Lib. 1. *ep.* 9.

His *Encomium*.

Sed inter hos quoque quanquam ſtupendi, tamen varii mores & genii potiùs quam ingenii ſimilitudo.

He was alſo Præfect this Year.

22. But as *Baſilius* bore the Office of *Conſul* this Year, ſo that he executed that of *Præfect*, as he had done formerly, and to it had joyned the Honour of *Patritian* appears

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He was alſo Præfect this Year.

Novel. Severi 1.

Leo makes *Zeno* his Vicegerent.

appears from a Law of *Severus* directed to him on the tenth before the Calends of *March* with theſe Titles. This was for repealing ſome thing ordained four years before by *Majorianus* concerning Widdows, and leaving them to the direction of former Laws, ſo as after the Death of their Husbands they ſhould " only have the *Uſusfructus* of what was ſettled upon them, and of that diſpoſe as " they pleaſed, but not of the main ſtock, nor to this or that Child, as they " thought fit: yet ſhould they not be bound to give ſecurity to their Children, this " ſeeming grievous and unreaſonable; for it ſufficed, that if they married again, " their Husbands Eſtates became engaged, if not what they poſſeſſed otherwiſe " was obnoxious in caſe of imbezelment, as by this and former Ordinances was provided." In the *Eaſt*, *Leo*, it's ſaid, made *Zeno*, his Son-in-law, his Deputy, as it were, or Vicegerent. And little elſe of Civil Concernment we find tranſacted at *Conſtantinople*, except it be an Edict directed to *Euſebius*, the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Illyricum*, dated on the ſame day as the other of *Severus*. This gives him the choice of the Fiſcal Advocate, who now ſhould continue for two years, and " not be annual as lately had been practiſed: and it confirms to rhe Body of *Advocates* all privileges granted to them by former Princes.

A. D. 464. *Ruſtico & Olybrio Coſſ.*

Ricimer deſpiſeth *Severus.*

23. The following Year is characteriſed by the Conſulſhip of *Ruſticus* and *Olybrius*, being the CCCCLXIV of the Ordinary *Æra* of our Saviour. *Italy* had been the former Year in repoſe; but in *Gall* the Barbarous Nations made great diſturbance. For *Theodorich*, King of the *Goths* managed his matters with ſuch induſtry, that it provoked *Beorgor*, King of the *Alans*, who then inhabited alſo part of that Country to ſuch emulation, or fear, that gathering conſiderable Forces together, he paſſed over the *Alpes* this Winter, and invading *Liguria*, left nothing untouched, which the power of his Arms could reach. This gave ſuch Allarm to the Southern parts, that *Ricimer* was ordered with what Force he could make, to oppoſe the Growth of this Calamity. And he did it to ſuch purpoſe, that we are told, that no Expedition had better ſucceeded to the *Roman* Intereſt a long time before. For attacking the *Barbarians* at *Bergomum*, on the ſixth of *February*, he not only defeated their Army, but killed their King in Battel. But whether this happened well or ill for the Empire cannot well be ſaid; for the Emperor it did not. For, the General having formerly taken audaciouſly upon him to unmake and make Princes at his pleaſure, now more puffed up with pride upon his ſucceſs, began to deſpiſe *Severus*, as one of his own ſetting up.

A dreadful Fire at *Conſtantinople.*

A. D. 465. *Baſiliſco & Herminerico Coſſ.*

Lib. 2. *c.*13.

24. The next following, or the CCCCLXV is more, or rather too much conſiderable both for the effect of the pride of *Ricimer*, and another very ſad calamity which now happened. For this Year in the Conſulſhip of *Baſiliſcus* and *Herminerich* ſo great a Fire there was at *Conſtantinople*, as never was exceeded except by that which happened here lately at *London*. This Calamity, if *Evagrius* be judge, was far more grievous than the former Earthquake. It began in that part of the City lying near the Sea, and called the *Ox-ſtreet*. He tells us of a report, how a wicked and malicious Devil in the form of a Woman, or a certain poor Woman at the inſtigation of the Devil, in the Twilight, going to the Market with a Candle in her Hand to buy Fiſh, left it on the Stall, and went her way. That the flame of the Candle taking hold on Flax, kindled ſo exceeding great a Fire, that in a moment it conſumed the Buildings in the Market Place, and catched hold of the Houſes adjoyning, not only ſuch as might eaſily be ſet on fire, but the Structures alſo raiſed of Stone, and conſumed them to Aſhes. The Conflagration by ſome is reported to have laſted four days, by others ſix, and none being able to put a ſtop to it, it brake through the middle of the City, conſumed from the Northern to the Southern Quarter all Buildings, for five Furlongs in length, and fourteen in breadth, left no Houſes, either publick or private, Pillars, Arches of Stone, or Vaults unburnt to the very Foundations, piercing Flint and the hardeſt Mettals as eaſily, as if they had been Stubble or Straw. On the North Side towards the Haven, a lamentable Deſolation was to be ſeen from the *Ox-ſtreet* to the Old *Temple* of *Apollo*; on the South from the Haven of *Julian* to the Temple of *Concord*; in the middle of the City from the *Forum* of *Conſtantine* to that of *Taurus*: a moſt dreadful ſight. The goodly Edifices that had ſtood ſtately to behold, the coſtly carved Timber heretofore very Majeſtical to the eye, were now, if any thing remained, become like craggy Hills and Rocks; ſo that no paſſage could be found for heaps of deformed Rubbiſh; neither could the owners themſelves diſcern the Bounds of their Poſſeſſions; nor ſay, that this is that which ſtood thus or thus before the Fire cauſed this diſmal alteration.

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Other prodigious Calamities.

25. About the ſame time (this Writer continuing the ſeries of Calamities adds) when that *Scythian* War raged, which was moved againſt ſuch *Romans* as inhabited the Eaſtern Parts of the Empire, *Thrace*, the *Helleſpont*, and *Ionia* were wonderfully ſhaken with Earthquakes. And no leſs diſtreſſed were the *Cyclades*, as alſo the Iſlands *Cnidus* and *Coos*, wherein many Buildings were overturned. More[a]over *Priſcus* wrote, that at *Conſtantinople*, and in *Bithynia* there fell ſuch Storms of Rain, that for the ſpace of three or four days it poured down like whole Streams or Floods, the violence whereof beat down and levelled Mountains, the Villages were reduced near to ruine, and in the Lake *Boane*, not far from *Nicomedia*, by reaſon of the Dirt and Filth thither by the Waters conveyed, there appeared Iſlands. But theſe things came to paſs afterward. Yet as ill accidents either in morality or otherwiſe, ordinarily give occaſion to wholſome Laws, *Leo* was ſo concerned at this dreadful Fire, as he publiſhed a Conſtitution concerning Buildings at *Conſtantinople*, to prevent the like. This Conſtitution is not now extant, neither could we have certainly known what it was, but that *Zeno* his Succeſſor ſome years after, finding the Building of the City to go ſlowly on, by reaſon of controverſies ariſing about the interpretation of ſome part of it, was forced to publiſh a new Edict, directed to *Adamantius* the then *Præfect*, which being penned in *Greek*, inſtead of interpretation,received rather obſcurity from ſeveral who attempted the publication in ſeveral Editions of the Code, till it was undertaken by the Learned *Contius*.

[a] *Idem cap.* 14.

Leo publiſheth a Conſtitution for rebuilding of *Conſtantinople*.

26. *Adamantius* having made report of the Inconveniences ariſing from the ambiguity of that aforeſaid Conſtitution, received anſwer, that ſince ſuch time as the Emperor had enjoyed peace, being deſirous every way to ſecure his Subjects, as well from internal as external Quarrels, he had applied his mind to the making “ of various Laws, amongſt which he would alſo have this received, which ſhould “ clearly and plainly demonſtrate, both what his *Magnificence* had ſuggeſted, and “ define moſt cautiouſly all ambiguities. That he had not much receded from “ words of civil ſignification, but uſed the more known amongſt the vulgar, ſo “ that whoever ſhould light upon it needed not the help of an Interpreter. That “ from the Relation of his *Greatneſs*, he had underſtood how the Divine Law of his “ Father *Leo* of immortal memory, which he had made in relation to thoſe that would build in that glorious City, was ambiguous in ſome of its parts by reaſon of the naughty opinions of Interpreters. With this Preface he introduceth the Law it ſelf which declares.

L. 12. *de Ædificiis privatis, Cod. Juſt. lib.* 8. *tit.* 10.

Interpreted afterward by *Zeno*.

27. In the firſt place that ſuch as would rebuild their Houſes ſhall not ex- “ ceed the ancient form (neither any ſhall build upon new Foundations) “ neither take away light or proſpect from their Neighbours contrary to what “ of late had been ordained. But in caſe of any ſtipulation or agreement whereby “ leave is obtained to do either, or both, it ſhall be lawful to ſuch perſons to “ make uſe freely of ſuch Agreement. But whereas the former Con- “ ſtitution, where it required that the diſtance of twelve Feet ſhould be obſerved “ by Builders betwixt one Houſe and another, adding theſe words *More* or *Leſs*, “ and ſo by a doubt ſeemed to take away an Ambiguity; to remove all ſuch doubt “ and ambiguity both, he expreſly requires, that twelve Feet be left, to be meaſured “ from the Foundations, and the ſame diſtance to be obſerved, as to the reſt of the “ Building to the very top. Any one obſerving this Rule, may build as high as he “ pleaſeth, and make what Windows he thinks fit, either for light or proſpect. “ Provided, that no man ſhall have liberty to intercept the direct proſpect of his “ Neighbour to the Sea, which his Houſe formerly afforded him, ſitting or ſtand- “ ing. And as for Gardens and Trees, he reſolves to add nothing to what formerly “ had been Law. If ſo be, that the Ground was ſuch, that the Houſes could not be built at twelve Feet diſtance, then ſhould not the Buildings be at all raiſed high- “ er than formerly, except at leaſt a diſtance of ten Feet were left; neither ſhould “ any proſpective Windows be made, except they had been formerly in uſe. But “ Windows for light might be made at ſix foot diſtance, without any falſe pave- “ ment,or ſlight uſed for inlarging them more than they ought to be.

28. As in the former Conſtitution was enacted, he gives leave for Houſes that “ were to be rebuilt, to be raiſed an hundred foot high, though they do intercept “ the proſpect of the Neighbours into the Sea. And farther declares, that if a “ ſpace of an hundred Feet be left between, it ſhall be lawful to build either upon “ old, or new Foundations to an height that may take away ſuch proſpect. And “ from Kitchins and other places of conveniency and paſſages it may be free to take “

away ſuch proſpect, though the Buildings be raiſed within an hundred Feet, ſo as “ the ſpace of twelve be preſerved, and within the ſpace of twelve too, if it be done “ by agreement of the Parties. For Bow Windows or Lattices made to receive “ Light, called *Solaria*, and *Balconies*, called *Mæniana* ; he forbids the former to be “ built of Wood and Boards alone, but after the manner of thoſe called *Romanenſia*. Commands that ten Feet be left betwixt thoſe that ſtand one againſt another, or “ oppoſite ; and if this cannot be by reaſon of the ſtraitneſs of places, that then “ they be not built oppoſite, but tranſverſe one to another : o if the paſſage it “ ſelf betwixt exceed not ten Feet, then ſhall no *Solaria*, or *Mæniana* at all be “ raiſed. Moreover ſuch as ſhall be built according to due form ſhall be fifteen “ foot raiſed from the Ground, and their Pillars, whether of Wood or Stone ſhall “ not riſe perpendicular, neither their Walls, leſt the Air or High Ways be ſtopped. “ For prevention of Fire he prohibits Stairs to be raiſed from the ground of “ narrow places to mount up to them. If ſuch forbidden Works be done, they ſhall “ not only be demoliſhed ; but the owners of them ſhall incur a Fine of ten pounds “ of Gold, and the Architect or Undertaker ten, and if poor, ſhall be baniſhed “ the City.

29. In the the next place he prohibits, that the places betwixt the *Pillars* in “ the ſtanding Rows in the *Porticus's* and *Stations*, betwixt the *Milium* and Capitol, “ be choaked up with Buildings, ſolid Boards, or other things. That the Edifices “ permitted to be there, in breadth exceed ſix Feet, the Wall toward the “ Street being therein compriſed, and in heighth ſeven. To be ſure, he will “ have free paſſage lie through the four Ranks of Pillars from the *Porticus's* to the “ Streets, and the Shops there built to be adorned at leaſt on the outſide with Marble, “ ſo as may conduce to the Beauty of the City, and delight of Paſſengers. In “ other Regions he leaves it free for Shops to be raiſed betwixt the Pillars, as ſhall “ ſeem profitable to the City, and convenient to the Præfect, all equality being obſerved, “ ſo as what is permitted to one be not prohibited to another. This he “ would have practiſed to prevent Machinations and Deſigns of Calumniators againſt honeſt and well-meaning men. For he cannot but take notice how many are ſued “ out of envy and contention, rather than for any real injury done, and forced to “ leave off their Building, and ſpend their Money at Law which had been laid aſide “ for that purpoſe, and though they had obtain'd a ſentence, yet ſtill to be hindered “ from proceeding, by force of an Appeal, and expectation of the fatal Days, “ to no other purpoſe than that their Adverſaries may take pleaſure in their Diſappointments.

30. To prevent ſuch miſchief, he declares, that in ſuch caſes where Appeal lies, as ſoon as the cauſe is tranſmitted in Writing to the Judge, it ſhall be lawful “ for either party, without obſerving the ordinary time of introducing Appeals, “ either with his Adverſary, or alone, to repair to the Court of him the Præfect, “ and the Adverſary being called, if abſent, to put an end to the controverſie without “ delay, leſt Winter coming on, by expectation of an endto be put to long continued “ Appeals, intolerable Damages be ſuſtained. But in caſe any will appeal from “ ſentence of the Præfect, a Conſultation, as they call it, ſhall inſtantly be made, “ (*viz.* a ſort of Appeal.) for a more accurate conſideration of the ſentence ; and “ that with ſpeed in the Emperor's Palace. And he will have all ſuch as give any “ hinderance to Builders to know, that if they fail in their cauſe, they ſhall both “ make other juſt reparation for the loſs, and pay the value of ſuch materials as “ have been ſpoiled by delay of the ſuit. In like manner, ſuch as have preſumed unjuſtly to build, if they be caſt, ſhall make reparation to thoſe that prohibited “ their Attempt. “

Παρηνῆμα τὴν καλȣμένην *Conſultatiora* γίνεϑαι.

31. All Controverſies hence ariſing he will have determined before the Præfect “ alone (in ordinary courſe) neither ſhall any of the Illuſtrious Magiſtrates hear “ any of theſe Cauſes, nor any perſon concerned be permitted by preſcription of “ *Militia* or *Forum*, to evade the Judgment given, or to eſcape the Condemnation, “ as to Coſts and Damages, made by award of the moſt glorious Præfect of the “ City, or a Cognitor deputed by him. He gives it in charge to his *Magnificence*, “ that no Undertaker, Carpenter, or other Artificer leave any work imperfect “ that he hath once begun, but that, receiving his juſt pay, he be conſtrained to “ bring it to perfection ; or elſe make full ſatisfaction for all Damages to the party “ concerned in the Building. And if he be ſo poor as not to be able to go through “ with it, he ſhall be beaten with Rods, and baniſhed the City. “

32. But if any perſon will perfect what hath been begun by another, he ſhall “

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in no wiſe be hindered from ſo doing, as hath been practiſed heretofore by cer-“ tain Artificers and Uundertakers, who would neither make an end of what they “ had begun themſelves, nor ſuffer others to do it, to the intolerable loſs of thoſe “ who were concerned to have their Houſes built. In the laſt place, if any refuſe “ to perfect a Work meerly upon this Account, becauſe another had begun it, he “ ſhall incur the ſame penalty as he that quitted it imperfect.“ This is the Conſtitution of *Zeno* made to explain that of *Leo*, and remove thoſe Rubs that lay in the way, and hindered the Rebuilding of *Conſtantinople*, the prudence and ſeaſonableneſs whereof were better to be diſcerned at that time when the motives were better known and diſcerned. But it was thought ſo proper and fit afterwards by *Juſtinian*, that when objection was made, that it was local and appropriate to the City of *Conſtantinople*, by a Reſcript directed to *John* the *Præfect*, he declared it to be of force alſo in the Provinces, and that it ſhould be obſerved for Law “ by the reſpective Governors.“ And after his time, as by the *Baſilica* appears, it continued to be of the ſame force, what concerns the proſpect to the Sea excepted, which only held at *Conſtantinople*, and the places adjoyning. This is chiefly to be obſerved, that according to this manner of Building, for prevention of Fires the Houſes were Inſular, as it was termed, and if poſſible, diſtant twelve Feet one from another.

The Law declared univerſal by *Juſtinian*.

L.13.ejuſd. tit. Dal.Cal.Septem. poſt Conſul. Lampadii & Oreſtis. A. D. 531.

33. This Conflagration at *Conſtantinople* was very great and terrible, but a miſchief greater than it raged in the *Weſt*, which brought ruine and deſolation both to many Countries and Cities. This was that impudent and ſawcy boldneſs of the great Officers, particularly now of *Ricimer*, who took upon him to make and unmake Emperors at his pleaſure, which being frequently done; the Enemies of the Empire took heart and occaſion to exerciſe their Hoſtilities; for if a Man of Courage and Reſolution arrived at the ſupreme power they concluded his Reign would be but ſhort, and the obſtacle ere long removed. *Ricimer*, as we ſaid, had begun to deſpiſe *Severus*, as one of his own ſetting up; and now reſolved to remove him; yet ſomething there was, either a ſenſe of his crime, or ſome other thing, which hindered him from doing it in a publick manner. For, it's ſaid, the Feat was done by poiſon, though by the contrivance and deceit of *Ricimer*; and toward the latter end of the year it was, though we know not the certain time; for that he was alive on the twenty fourth of *September* we are well enough perſwaded from the Date of an Edict he gave out to *Baſilius*, on that day, with the Titles of *Præfect* and *Patritian*. The ſubject of it is of ſmaller importance than the Date, as to our knowledge; though then of ſuch conſequence as to be publiſhed by reaſon of a publick complaint made by the Mouth of *Auſonius*, a perſon of illuſtrious condition. Of more publick concernment ſeems another publiſhed by *Leo* on the ninth of *November* following, for incouragement of ſuch as would generouſly and of their own accord take upon them Offices and Imployments in the places where they lived, without any obligation, by reaſon of their Birth and Condition ſo to do. It, in juſtice, declares them and their Children free from the *Nexus*, or ſort of Bondage to which others were obnoxious, being only anſwerable for ſuch profits of the Corporations as they receive; and further, as incouragement, that if they diſcharge all the Functions of the *Curiales*, they ſhall, if they think fit, for their kindneſs and liberality have the Stile and Title of *Fathers* of theſe Cities or Places wherein they became voluntary *Municipes*.

Severus is poiſoned by *Ricimer*.

Novel. 2. Severi De Corporatis, Dat. 7. Cal. Octobr.

A Law of *Leo* for incouragement of voluntary *Curiales*.

L.3. de his qui ſponte, &c. Cod. Juſt.lib.10. tit. 43.

Quaſi Pater Patinæ, vide quæ munera ſint in Notis ad H. L.

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Leone A. 3. Coſſ.

34. The Year following is as it were maimed and imperfect in its Characters, having but one Emperor and one Conſul. *Leo* in the Eaſt bore the Title of both joyntly, taking upon him the Conſulſhip now the third time, without any Colleague, the *Inter-regnum* continuing in the Weſt all this Year, which was the CCCCLXVI of the ordinary *Æra* of our Saviour. And it procured very heavy hearts to the poor *Italians*, to whom it was ſomething uncouth to have no Prince in that Country which had given original to the Empire, and beſides that, they were, notwithſtanding the reſiſtance made by *Ricimer* (who took all upon him) continually in Allarms, by reaſon of the reſtleſs ſpirit of *Genſerich*, concerning whom that we ſhould make ſome particular Inquiry what he did ſince we had ſo much occaſion to ſpeak of him, the Hiſtory of this time is not in any thing more concerned. And here *Procopius* helps us otherwiſe at a dead liſt, He informs us, that after his ſacking of *Rome*, and carrying away the Empreſs with her Daughters, he ceaſed not to attempt many other things. For beſides *Carthage*, he made naked all the other Cities of *Africk*, by depriving them of their Walls, that if the Natives ſhould ſide with the *Romans*, they might have no incouragement from fenced

An *Inter-regnum* in the Weſt.

Hiſt. Vandal. lib. 1.

The Actions of *Genſerich* about this time.

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A. D. 466.

fenced places to make diſturbance; neither if the Emperor ſhould ſend over an Army, his Soldiers ſhould find harbour to manage thence a War againſt the *Vandals*. And this at preſent he was thought to do with great prudence and forecaſt; but in the following Age when theſe naked Cities were without any trouble or expence taken by *Beliſarius*, then he was laugh'd at for his policy, and his wiſdom accounted folly: ſo various are the opinions of Men, and regulated by event, concerning the deſigns of other perſons.

35. But this being done to the Cities and fortified places, all men that were conſiderable for Reputation or Wealth, *Genſerich* delivered into the hands of his Sons *Honorich* and *Genzo* to be treated no better than Slaves; for *Theodorus* his youngeſt was already dead without iſſue left of either Sex. From others of the *Africans* he took the moſt and richeſt Grounds, which became afterwards known by the name of the *Portion of the Vandals*, the true and ancient owners being permitted to go whither they would in a free, indeed, but beggarly condition. But what Grounds he beſtowed either on his Sons, or other *Vandals*, he made free from Burthens, which he laid ſo heavy upon the more barren, which were left to their former Lords, that nothing did they gain from their former poſſeſſions. Hence came it to paſs, that many fled their Country, and as many were put to death under pretence of various crimes, whereof the principal was, that they were ſaid to hide their Money. But ſo lay *Africk* groaning under moſt heavy Calamities. For he not only placed his *Vandals*, but *Alans* alſo in Garriſon, in convenient places under no fewer than eighty Officers, who bore the name of *Chiliarchs*, or Commanders of a thouſand Men; for though his Army of both Nations conſiſted really of no more than fifty, yet he would have it bear the reputation of eighty thouſand. But the number of his Soldiers increaſed with time, as the *Vandals* increaſed in their progeny, and other Nations were taken in, all which (the *Alans* as well as others) the *Moors* excepted, united, and grew into the common name of *Vandals*. And by the aſſiſtance of the *Moors* having increaſed his ſtrength, after the death of *Valentinian*, every Spring he infeſted *Sicily* or *Italy* it ſelf, ſome Towns ſubjecting to Slavery, demoliſhing others, and exhauſting all by his Rapines, ſo long, till being driven thence by that deſolation and want which he himſelf had brought along with him, he turned his Face toward the Quarters ſubject to the Emperor of the *Eaſt*, waſting all *Illyricum*, *Peloponneſus*, the adjacent Iſlands and other parts of *Greece*, or which bore the name thereof. Thence he returned back to *Italy* and *Sicily*, and took away what he found, if any thing he had left. It was reported, that being put to Sea out of the Haven of *Carthage*, when he was asked by his Pilot where he intended to make War, he anſwered, againſt thoſe with whom God was angry. So did he run upon all in an hoſtile manner, without any cauſe or provocation. And ſo much *Procopius* concerning his Depredations, who adds, that the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, out of indignation, rigged a great Fleet againſt him. But this was afterward.

36. However, we may eaſily believe them that write his Depredations to have continued, and poſſibly with greater rigour, during this *Inter-regnum* in the *Weſt*, which not only might imbolden the Enemies of the Empire to infeſt *Italy*, and the Iſlands, but alſo other Provinces which ſtill continued to be languiſhing Members of it. The Senate now every day at *Rome* bore more heavily their Condition, and the death of *Severus*, who had given them good hopes of making head againſt, and giving a check to the inſolence of the Pyrate. They did, as ſoon as convenience would permit, give notice of it to *Leo*, in whom alone at preſent the Majeſty of the *Roman* Name reſided, praying him, that in theſe times of ſo great hazard he would procure them a Prince like to *Majorianus*, or elſe in a ſhort ſpace the Empire of the *Weſt* would be quite extinguiſhed. The caſe ſeemed difficult, and it's ſaid, that *Leo* ſpent all this Year in deliberation. There was then with him at *Conſtantinople*, *Anthemius*, the Son of *Procopius*, and Nephew of that *Anthemius* who had born the Office of Conſul, together with *Stilicho*, and was the Son-in-law of the late Emperor *Martian*. This *Anthemius* bearing the Dignity of *Magiſter utriuſque Militiæ* and *Patritian*, had waged War with good advantage againſt the *Huns*, and for his Wealth was otherwiſe very conſiderable. To theſe Qualifications the favour which *Leo* bore him, added ſo much weight, that in conſideration of his Nobility, and other Deſerts, he thought him the fitteſt perſon he could chuſe, and reſolved to make him his Colleague in the Weſtern Empire.

Sigon.

Leo pitcheth upon *Anthemius.*

A. D. 467.

37. The Year being over which had neither Conſul nor Emperor in the Weſt, the CCCCLXVII of our Lord ſucceeds, which according to the cuſtom was opened

Puſao & Johanne Coſſ.

Sect. 7.

A. D. 467.

*Lib.*2.*c.*16.

Hic eſt o proceres petiit quem Romula virtus, Et quem veſter amor, &c.

Adjice prætereà privatum ad publica fœdus Sit ſocer Auguſtus genero Ricimere beatus Nobilitate micans eſt vobis regia virgo, &c.

Anthemius Auguſtus.

opened by the Conſulſhip of two *Flavii*, *Puſæus* and *John*, and was further ſignalized by the Legitimate Creation of a new *Roman* Emperor. That this was *Anthemius*, we may eaſily gueſs from what we have already ſaid concerning the purpoſe of *Leo*, who was ſolicited, as *Evagrius* writes, by an Embaſſy ſent from the *Romans*. And not only *Evagrius*, but *Sidonius Apollinaris*, though in a Panegyrick to this *Anthemius*, writes of his being ſought for, and deſired by the Senate; for the Members of it we ſuppoſe him to call by the name of *Proceres*, to whom in it he directs his ſpeech. And from him it alſo appears, that there was ſome private agreement betwixt *Ricimer* and *Anthemius*, if not the Emperor himſelf; that *Ricimer* ſhould marry *Anthemius* his Daughter; for after the Poetical way of *Claudian*, whom he imitates, he makes *Rome* at the deſire of *Italy* to take a Journey into the Eaſt, and to deſire of *Conſtantinople*, that in recompenſe for all the loſſes he had ſuſtained by her, ſhe would grant her *Anthemius*, who by his Daughter ſhould make himſelf happy in having *Ricimer* for his Son-in-law, and hereby a private alliance be added to the publick. *Anthemius* was not ſlack to take the opportunity, but came to *Rome* on the twelfth of *April*, where he was received with univerſal applauſe, and owned for *Auguſtus*. And according to agreement he delayed not for his own ſecurity, as well as truth, to give his Daughter in Marriage to *Ricimer*. And the Nuptials were celebrated with all ſolemnity poſſible, and with exceſs of Jollity, as *Sidonius Apollinaris* ſets it out, who terms it *Occupatiſſima Vacatio*, or a moſt buſie idle time wherein all ſerious matters were ſilent, except the Wedding it ſelf, which muſt needs be ſuch, ſeeing, as he ſaith, *Perennis*, the Daughter of the Emperor, was coupled with *Ricimer* the *Patritian* in, or for hope, of the publick ſecurity. This *Sidonius* was preſent at himſelf, coming then to *Rome* on his Meſſage from his *Arverni*, being kindly entertained, as he writes to his *Horonius*, in a ſecond Letter, in the Houſe of *Paul*, a perſon of *Præfectorian* Rank, venerable, he ſaith, for Learning and Sanctity. No man, he adds, was more excellent than he in all kinds of Arts. He falls into a rapture in conſideration of his Abilities, and concludes his ſhort Character with this full expreſſion, that he had this excellency above all his Studies, that *He had a Conſcience ſuperior to that Eminent Knowledge*. To ſtrengthen the Empire fully, if poſſible, by alliances, *Leo* the Emperor is reported alſo to have given *Leontia*, his Daughter, in Marriage to *Martian*, the Son of *Anthemius*.

*Lib.*1. *Ep.*1.

Lib. 1. *ep.* 9.

A. D. 468.

Anthemio A. 2. *Coſſ.*

Conſul the ſecond time alone.

37. For the Year CCCCLXVIII, *Anthemius* the Emperor was Conſul alone the ſecond time, thirteen Years having now intervened ſince, with *Valentinian*, he was firſt graced with this Dignity. *Sidonius Apollinaris* being ſtill in Town, *Baſilius*, his great Friend he ſo much admires, perſwaded him to ſtir up his Muſe, recollect his Fancy, and write a Panegyrick in honour of the new Emperor and Conſul, which he did with commendation enough, though it breaks off ſomething abruptly; and for a reward, at the inſtance of *Baſilius* he was honoured with the Præfectſhip, though whether it was a real and *Active* one, or *Titular*, and by way of Codicils, we may at leaſt queſtion. Were it *Active*, it muſt be of *Gall*, his Country; but there *Arvandus* now executed that Office, though not long he continued in it. For while *Sidonius* ſtill reſided at *Rome*, he was ſo vehemently accuſed of high miſdemeanours by ſeveral illuſtrious perſons, that he was called up to anſwer his heavy charge of Treaſon they laid againſt him. Hereof, and of his Trial *Sidonius* hath left us a pithy Deſcription in an Epiſtle written to his Friend *Vincentius*, which containing a form of the ancient Judicature, it is very proper here to be inſerted, and it ſhews the Generoſity of the Deſcriber. For, he begins with a Declaration, That he was really vexed at what had befallen him, and troubled at his Condition; this being over and above the heaps of Praiſe, due to the preſent “ Emperor, that it was free for one openly to make profeſſion or demonſtration “ of Love, even to ſuch as were condemned to capital puniſhment. For he was “ the Friend of *Arvandus*, even more than the fickleneſs and variety of his hu- “ mour would bear; which was ſufficiently atteſted by the ill will he had contract- “ ed in his behalf, whereof the flame had ſindged him, being a little unwary. “ But that he continued in his friendſhip he ſaith he ought to himſelf. As for *Ar*- “ *vandus*, he would complain freely, but not inſultingly, that he uſed no diligence “ to perſevere, becauſe deſpiſing the advice of his faithful Friends in all things he “ became the flouting ſtock of fortune. But in concluſion, as to this point, he “ admires not ſo much that he fell, as that he ſtood ſo long. O how often, ſaith “ he, did he complain of adverſe Fortune, when we lamented, that one time or o- “ ther his temerity would give him ſome heavy cauſe ſo to do, concluding not himſelf “

Arvandus Præfect of *Gall*.

*Lib.*1.*ep.*7.

Sect. 7. to be happy, who was judged to be ſo rather frequently than always. Then“ *A. D.*
he declares the manner of his Government, which he doth with a Salvo to the“ 468.
Reverence due to Faithfulneſs and Sincerity, which is ever owing to a Friend in“
Affliction.“

How ill he managed his Office. 39. His firſt Præfectſhip he managed with great *Popularity*, and the ſecond (to“
expreſs his playing with the words) with great *Depopulation.* Being burthened“
with Debts, for fear of his Creditors, he grudged the Noblemen that were to ſucceed“
him: he would laugh at all their Diſcourſe, be inquiſitive into their Deſigns,“
deſpiſe their kind offers, be ſuſpicious when they ſeldom came to him, and“
when they did often attend him, would diſdain their Company, till being ſurrounded“
with publick hatred, and girt about with a Watch before ungirt from his“
power, he was laid hold on, and brought away to *Rome.* In his Voyage he was“
puffed up with a conceit, becauſe he had proſperouſly ſailed by the boiſterous“
Coaſts of *Tuſcia*, that the Elements favoured, and, as it were, waited on his Innocence.“
In the Capitol he was lodged with *Flavius Aſellus*, the *Comes Sacr.*“
Largitionum, who bore reſpect to the Dignity of the Præfectſhip, as yet half“
ſmoaking in him. In the mean time the Meſſengers of the Province of *Gall*, *Tonantius*“
Ferreolus, a Præfectorian, and the Nephew of *Syagrius* the Conſul, by“
his Daughter, *Thaumaſtus* and *Petronius*, men of great Abilities both in knowing“
and ſpeaking, and to be reckoned among the prime Ornaments of their Country,“
arrive with their Commiſſion, and inſtructions to accuſe him in the name of“
all the *Galls.* Amongſt other things given them in truſt by the Provincials, they“
brought a Letter intercepted, which was ſaid by *Arvandus* his Secretary, upon“
his apprehenſion, to be dictated by his Maſter, whereby he diſſwaded the King“
of the *Goths*, to whom it was directed, from making peace with the *Greek* Emperor;“
laboured to convince him, that the *Britains* inhabiting above the *Loire*“
were to be fallen upon; that *Gall* by the Law of Nations ought to be divided“
with the *Burgundians*, with other mad ſtuff which would inrage a furious King,“
and diſtaſte one of a mild diſpoſition.

40. This Letter the Lawyers with heat interpreted to contain High Treaſon.“
Of it *Sidonius* and *Auxantus*, a moſt excellent perſon, were not ignorant, who“
accounted it a perfidious, lazy and barbarous thing to forſake their Friend *Arvandus*,“
now laid at, and in adverſity. To him who feared no ſuch matter they laid“
open the whole deſign, which his inflamed Enemies laboured to conceal, till the“
time of Judgment, that they might involve him, being unwary, and having refuſed“
the advice of his Acquaintance, in a confeſſion by a ſudden anſwer. They“
told him what they and his moſt ſecret Friends thought moſt ſafe to be done. They“
perſwaded him not to confeſs the leaſt matter; for though his Enemies pretended“
it was ſmall, he would find their diſſimulation very troubleſome. Hearing“
this, he flung away, and falling into ſudden reproaches, bid them be gone, as degenerate“
men, and unworthy of *Præfectorian* Fathers, and becauſe they underſtood“
nothing, to let him alone with the buſineſs: to *Arvandus* his Conſcience“
ſufficed, and he would hardly condeſcend that Advocates ſhould plead for him in“
the Cauſes of Bribery and Oppreſſion. They went away ſad, and in confuſion,“
as well with grief, as with the affront. For what Phyſician would be moved“
reaſonably when madneſs ſeiſes on a deſperate Man? But ſee! the accuſed perſon“
runs about the Capitol in White Cloaths, ſometimes is pleaſed with crafty ſalutes,“
and with the babbles of flattery; ſometimes turns over the Silks, Gems,“
and other coſtly Commodities, views them, as if he would barter for them, and“
in doing ſo complains much of the Laws, of the times, of the Senators, and of the“
Prince, becauſe they would puniſh him before they heard him. A few days paſs“
over, and a full Senate meets (as *Sidonius* found afterward, for then he was abſent)“
and to the Court *Arvandus* goes trimmed and ſmooth-faced, when his“
Accuſers in the mean time half in Mourning, expected Meſſengers from the *Decemviri*,“
and by their ſqualid habit took away due commiſeration from the accuſed“
Party.“

41. Thoſe that were ſummoned are let in; the parties according to the cuſtom“
Is tryed. ſtand over againſt one another, and the right of ſitting, before the beginning of“
the Proceſs, is offered to thoſe of *Præfectorian* Rank. *Arvandus* now by an unhappy“
impudence haſtes and places himſelf almoſt in the Laps of the Judges. But“
Ferreolus, with his Colleagues, ſate them down quietly and modeſtly at the upper“
end of the loweſt Benches, and this he did remembring himſelf as well a Meſſenger
as a Senator, and was afterward the more commended and honoured for it.“

In the mean time ſuch Members as were abſent arrive: the parties riſe up and
the Meſſengers propound. After the Provincial Mandate, the letter, of which
mention was made, is produced, and when it is ſlowly reading, *Arvandus* with- “
out asking, proclaimes that he did dictate it. The Meſſengers anſwer that it “
very wickedly appears that he had dictated it. He in a rage, ignorant of his ruine, “
by a ſecond and threefold confeſſion ſtabbes himſelf; the Accuſers acclaim and “
the Judges conclaim that he confeſſed himſelf guilty of high Treaſon, and “
he is now deſtroyed by a thouſand rules of Law, which make it ſuch. After “
all his toyl he appears pale and too late to repent of his Loqacity, and alſo “
too late to underſtand that a Man may be pronounced guilty of high Treaſon, “
though he do not aſpire to the Purple. He is preſently deveſted of the privi- “
leges of his double Prefectſhip, which he had in courſe exerciſed five years, “
and, not as added, but as reſtored to a plebeian Family, adjudged to the publick “
Priſon. Such as beheld it thought it a very ſad thing that he who had late- “
ly thruſt himſelf in ſo polite and Compte a Garbe amongſt the Judges under the “
accuſation of men in mourning habit, ſhould a little after be led away, caſt, “
a miſerable Man and yet without commiſeration. For who would regard “
his Condition, whom perfumed and in accurate Clothes he ſaw led away un- “
to the common Gaole. His Sentence being hardly reſpited for a fortnight, was “
capital, and he was caſt into the Iland of the Serpent of *Epidaurus*, where to the “
grief of his very Enemies he was made ſordid and deſpicable, and as it were ſpued “
out of the World by the Vomit of nauſeating Fortune. Now by virtue of the “
old *Senatuſconſultum Tiberianum* he draws his breath for thirty days, think- “
ing with horror on the *Vncus*, *Gemoniæ*, and the halter of the rugged Hang-man “
hourely. We, he concludes, as much as we may, preſent and abſent, wiſh “
and double our Prayers and Supplications, that ſuſpending the ſtroake of “
the Sword already drawn, the goodneſs of the Emperor would baniſh him “
already half dead, though with the loſs of his Eſtate. Whether this was granted or no, appears not from *Sidonius*. But in *Caſſiodorus* his *Chronicon*, the following year we find that *Ardaburius* attempting the Empire, was by command of *Anthemius* ſent into baniſhment. In which place *Baronius* well conjectures that inſtead of *Ardaburius* or *Arebundus* as ſome Copies have it, *Arvandus* is to be read.

Is baniſhed

41. How miſerable was the condition of the Provincials of *Gall* at this time, who having forrein Enemies of ſeveral ſorts in the Bowels of their Country, were as much afflicted by their own Governours, who ſuffered as much from thoſe from whom they expected protection as from the violence of the inſulting Barbarians? Had *Sidonius* ſucceded *Arvandus*, doubtleſs they had found relief, but we find no ſuch matter, his power was all included in his Codicils, for that he was any more than a condicillar *Præfect* we cannot well imagine, and that of the City, from what he ſpeaks concerning that Honour beſtowed on him, which of old governed the Rights of the Fathers and of the common People; And that he executed the Office actually of *Præfect* when *Arvandus* was condemned, as one who hath written his Life tells us, we cannot find; but rather that he there made a ſtay after his being ſent for by *Anthemius* as ſome ſay he was, or rather after his Meſſage from the *Arverni*. Who ſucceded *Arvandus* is alſo obſcure; but from *Sidonius* we find that not long after this, when he was again in his own Country amongſt his *Arverni*, the Country was governed by full as good and innocent a *Præfect* as *Arvandus* was. His name was *Seronatus* of whom *Sidonius* ſadly complains, though in a ſomewhat jeſting manner to his Friend *Hectitius*, whoſe preſence he requires to put ſome ſtop to the Carier of his Extravagancies.

Accepi capiens honorem cui patrum ac plebis ſimul unus olim Jura gubernat. lib.9.ep. ult. in carm.

42. Thy *Arverni*, ſaith he now grone under two miſchiefs; the preſence of “
Seronatus and thine abſence. Of *Seronatus* I ſay, of whoſe Name that I may “
firſt ſpeak, fortune ſeemeth to me as præſcious of what was to come ſo to “
have ſported, as on the contrary our Anceſtors did when they called “
Battles, than which nothing is more ugly, by the Name of *Bella* or hand- “
ſome, and by the ſame contrariety when they called thoſe Fates *Parcæ* which “
do not ſpare. *Catiline* himſelf of our Age, is lately returned from *Aturres*, that “
all the Blood and Fortunes of miſerable People of which he there did but “
taſte, here he might ſwallow. Know for certain that dayly he diſcovers the “
Spirit of his long diſſembled Madneſs. He openly envies, pittifully diſſem- “
bles, is ſervily proude, commands as a Lord, exacts as a Tyrant, condemns “
as a Judge, calumniates as a Barbarian, all the day being armed by fear, hun- “
gry

Lib.2. ep. 1.

Seronatus his Succeſſor as bad as he.

Sect. 7.

A. D. 468.

gry by Avarice, terrible by his ambitious Deſires, cruel by his Vanity; he ceaſeth not to puniſh and openly to commit Theft together, and calling to him ſuch as cannot forbear laughing, he belches out Contentions amongſt the Citizens, and Letters amongſt the *Barbarians*. Being not ſufficiently initiated in the Rudiments or A. B. C. he publickly dictates Epiſtles, moved by his boaſting Humour, and by his impudence corrects; in a manner he gets all he covets, neither doth he give any price contemning, nor doth he receive ſecurities deſpairing; in Council he Commands, in adviſing is ſilent, jeſts in the Church, preaches at Meals, condemns in his Bed-chamber, ſleeps at a Tryal, daily fills woods with them that fly away, Towns with Enemies, Altars with Criminals, Priſons with *Clerks*, exulting, or rejoycing, with *Goths*, inſulting upon *Romans*, jeering *Præfects*, and ſporting with *Numerarii*; treading under his Feet the Laws of *Theodoſius* and propounding thoſe of *Theodorich*; ſearching out old Faults, and new ſorts of Tributes. Shake off, I pray, all delay, and break through that which hinders. The dying liberty of thy panting Citizens expect thee. They are reſolved that whatever is to be hoped for, or to be deſpaired of, nothing ſhall be done without thy guidance and direction. If the Commonwealth have no Force nor Refuge; if, as the report is, *Anthemius* the Emperor hath no Strength; the Nobility is reſolved, if thou ſpeakeſt the word, to free their Country or loſe their Heads. So he ends this Letter; but from another written to *Græcus* a Biſhop it appears, that they ſtood to their Reſolution; for, in that, reckoning up the ſufferings and merits of his *Arverni*, he relates how for their love to the Commonwealth they feared not to deliver up to the Laws *Seronatus* who was delivering up the Provinces to the *Barbarians*, and whom being Convicted, the State, afterwards, hardly preſumed to put to death.

Lib. 7. cap. 7:

Is put to death.

43. So weak we ſee was the *Roman* Intereſt in *Gall*, and daily it decayed, while in *Africk* it was almoſt quite extinct or in a manner without hope of Recovery, *Genſerich* domineering at his pleaſure and making his Inroads into ſuch other places as his ambitious luſt did incline him. Amongſt theſe, we lately heard from *Procopius* that *Illyricum* and *Peloponneſus* were infeſted by him, which belonging to the Eaſtern Empire, *Leo* the Emperor of thoſe Parts took it in very high Diſdain, and reſolved with all his might to chaſtize his fury. An Army he raiſed of an hundred thouſand men, as was reported, and ſuch a Fleet he gathered together as all the Eaſtern Sea could afford. He was very open handed both to Mariners and Soldiers, that no hinderance to his Deſign might happen by their want of incouragement; an hundred and thirty thouſand Pounds of Gold were reported to be laid out. But the time of the Ruine of the *Vandals* not being yet come, he made *Baſiliſcus* the brother of his Wife *Verina* the Admiral of his Fleet, one who was wonderfully greedy of the Imperial Power, and who promiſed himſelf ſucceſs in his Deſign from the friendſhip of *Aſpar*. Now *Aſpar* was an Arian in his opinion, from which he would no way be removed, and for that reaſon could not compaſs the Soveraignty for himſelf, but could yet advance another to it; and was begun to be ſuſpected by *Leo* as hatching dangerous Deſigns. The Report went that *Aſpar* fearing that upon good ſucceſs *Leo* would grow bold and exert his power, adviſed *Baſiliſcus*, that he ſhould ſpare *Genſerich* and the *Vandals*.

Leo makes great preparations againſt *Genſerich*.

44. *Leo* that he might have greater aſſiſtance againſt them, had procured *Anthemius*, a man very Eminent for his Nobility and Wealth, to be Emperor of the Weſt. *Genſerich* had uſed all his Endeavours to have *Olybrius* preferred, for the Alliance he had with him, contracted by his marrying of *Placidia* the Daughter of *Valentinian*; and being fruſtrated in his hope was now inflamed with anger, and infeſted all things belonging to the Empire more cruelly than ever. At this time there lived in *Dalmatia* one *Marcellianus*, a man of an honeſt diſpoſition, and formerly a friend to *Ætius*: Who when *Ætius* was killed, revolted from the Emperor and drew others by his example into the Revolt, and none adventuring to come againſt him held *Dalmatia* in his own power. But *Leo* ſweetning him all ways poſſible drew him off and ſent him into *Sardinia*, now Subject to the *Vandals*, and he ſo ſucceeded as to drive them out and make himſelf Maſter of the Iſland. Neither did matters worſe ſucceed in the hands of *Heraclius* who being ſent from *Conſtantinople* to *Tripolis*, overthrew in Battel the *Vandals* of thoſe Quarters, took the Towns without any difficulty and there leaving his Ships, led his Army by Land to *Carthage*. Such proſperous beginnings had

Sect. 7. the War. *Baſiliſcus* with all his Fleet arrived at a Town diſtant from *Carthage* an hundred and eighty furlongs; which had the Name of *Mercury* from an old Temple dedicated to that Pagan Deity. And had he not on purpoſe loitered, but gone ſtreight to *Carthage*, he might eaſily have taken it by force and brought the *Vandals* under the yoak; ſo great a fear of *Leo*, as invincible, had ſeized on *Genſerich* when after the Report of the loſs of *Tripolis* and *Sardinia* the Fleet of *Baſiliſcus* appeared, as great as ever the *Romans* had had any. But the General ſuffered this opportunity to ſlip out of his Hands. A. D. 468.

45. But *Genſerich* failed not to make his Advantage of his Neglect. As many men as he could procure and truſt he got together and filled his Ships with them; and had other Veſſels in readineſs which had no men in them but were ſwift in ſayling. Then ſent he to *Baſiliſcus* to beg a Ceſſation of Arms for five days, to have ſome time for conſultation how he might beſt be reconciled to the Emperor; and ſome gave out that he ſent him money to purchaſe a Truce. This point he gained thereby, that as he had deſigned, he had the wind favourable for his purpoſe. For *Baſiliſcus* either in obedience to *Aſpar*, corrupted with money, or judging he did beſt, yielded to what he deſired, kept his Army idle and ſtaid for that time that might be convenient for the Enemy. Now as ſoon as this was come, and that the wind blew from the right quarter, the *Vandals* having what they expected, hoiſed up Sails, towed out their Ships, and ſuch of them as were empty they haled againſt the Enemy, whom when they approached they ſet them on fire, and with full Sails let them drive upon the *Roman* Navy, wherein being contained a multitude of Veſſels it eaſily took hold. And ſpreading it ſelf wide, a great terror, as in ſuch caſes, followed in the *Roman* Fleet, and a grievous cry, while the wind and flame made a terrible Noiſe, and the Soldiers and Mariners contended amongſt themſelves what ſhould be done, and with their Poles endeavoured to keep off the flaming Veſſels and thruſt off their own without any reaſon or moderation. His Fleet burnt.

46. But the *Vandals* omitted not to attend them and plied them with their weapons. Some they drowned and if any fled they took them and their Arms as booty, yet in ſuch a diſtreſs there wanted not ſome that were mindful of the antient valour of the *Romans*, amongſt whom *John* was moſt Eminent the Lieutenant of *Baſiliſcus*, yet not concerned in his Treachery. When his Ship was now ſurrounded with Enemies, turning himſelf into all quarters of the Veſſel, he laid about him and did them much miſchief, and when he ſaw it was in vain, and that his Ship muſt be taken, from the Prowe thereof he caſt himſelf armed into the Sea, and when *Genzo* the Son of *Genſerich* earneſtly intreated him to ſpare his life, promiſing him ſafety, he would not do it but drowned himſelf ſaying only this, that *John* ſhould not be in the power of Dogs. This was the End of that War, and *Heraclius* returned home. *Marcellianus* miſcarried by the treachery of one of his Officers. *Baſiliſcus* when he came to *Conſtantinople* took ſanctuary in the Church of Chriſt, the great God, which the Inhabitants called *Sophia* or *Wiſdom*, thinking that Name moſt worthy of God. And he eſcaped danger, through the Interceſſion of *Verina* the Empereſs, but at this time he could not obtain to be Emperor, out of hope of which he had left nothing undone. For, *Leo* not long after killed *Aſpar* and *Ardaburius* in the Palace, ſuſpecting that they lay in wait for his life. Thus much *Procopius* from whom it appears that by procurement of *Aſpar* this Treaſon happened, who being an Arian might bear good will to *Genſerick*, a man of his own perſwaſion, upon that Account as well as hatred to *Leo*: As for the Fleet thus loſt ſome write ſtrange things indeed; as that it ſhould conſiſt of eleven hundred Ships: That when the Fleets were ready to joyn *Baſiliſcus* tacked about and fled, which the reſt ſeeing him do followed his Ship: That after this Flight the Navy lying without care or watch was ſet on fire by the Enemy. And that the Fleet being loſt the Land Army alſo miſcarried, the Officers thereof, when they might have taken *Carthage*, being diſcouraged. By procurement of *Aſpar*.

47. Thus miſcarried ſo great an Enterprize under the managment of Hereticks, while, as ſome obſerve, another War committed to that of an Orthodox General, did well ſucceed againſt *Denſices* King of the *Hunns* and Son of *Attila*, than whom he began to be more Fierce and Ambitious; if it were poſſible. His Army was defeated and he himſelf ſlain in Battel. His Head was put upon a Pole and carried in Triumph up and down *Conſtantinople* to the great Joy of the Citizens; which paſſage *Marcellinus* placeth under theſe Conſuls, and if *Denſices* the ſon of *Attila* defeated and ſlain.

duly,

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duly, then, what is written by the *Gothick* Hiſtorian and lately mentioned, concerning the Diſſipation of the *Hunns*, and the Diſſention and Ruine of the Sons of *Attila*, is to be accounted of by way of Anticipation. *Leo* having thus his Hands full, and put to ſuch a vaſt Expence, had reaſon to be careful of his Revenue that what was duly impoſed ſhould not be diminiſhed, and to ſee that the “ Magiſtrates of the Title of *Spectabilis* ſhould take eſpecial care thereof, as *Pro-* “ *Conſuls*, *Vicars*, the *Comes* of the Eaſt and the *Præfectus Aguſtalis*, beſides the “ ordinary Governours of Provinces and their Officials, with the *Curiales*, in “ caſe of Diminution a Fine ſhould be incurred of twenty Pounds of Gold.” That he might not be defrauded by Purchaſers, he publiſhed a large Conſtitution dated on the firſt of September, which declared that if either his own Houſe or any other of whatſoever Dignity or Fortune, ſhould get poſſeſſion of Lands not “ belonging to the *Metrocomia* or Mother of Villages, not by way of Patronage, “ but by Purchaſe or any other lawful Title, and not acknowledge to the Commonwealth the Functions, owned and diſcharged by the former owner, ſuch “ Poſſeſſions ſhould be ſeized and aſſigned to the *Curia* of that City to which they “ belonged, that ſo proviſion might be made for the publick advantage out of “ the Tributary Functions.

Leo takes care of his Revenue.

L. l. 3. 4. *Do canone largitionalium titulorum Cod. Juſt.lib.*10. *tit.* 23. *dat Kal. Julii.*

L. 8. *de Exactoribus tributorum Cod. Juſt. lib.*10. *tit.* 19.

48. In theſe that they called *Metrocomiæ* he will not allow any ſtranger to obtain any Poſſeſſions, but if any of the Townſmen will alienate their Lands, it “ ſhall be only to a fellow-Townſman or Inhabitant of the ſame *Metrocomia*, all “ Contracts made with Strangers being hereby declared null and void. Now a “ *Metrocomia* was the ſame amongſt Towns or Villages as a *Metropolis* amongſt Cities, or the Mother of Villages, and as Cities were free from the *Capitatio* ſo were the *Metrocomiæ*, but not the other Villages. But whereas to defraud the Tributary Function, many were wont to betake themſelves to the Patronage of grea- “ ter men, he further declares that after this Sanction all ſuch Agreements made “ either under pretence of Gift, Sale or Hire, ſhall be of no Validity; the “ *Tabelliones* that draw the Inſtruments of Conveyance ſhall forfeit their Eſtates, “ and the Villages that ſhall do it, ſhall be confiſcated; ſuch as receive them into “ ſuch Patronage, if wealthy, ſhall forfeit an hundred Pounds of Gold, and if “ poor ſhall loſe what Eſtates they have, with which loſs they ſhall alſo be pun- “ iſhed who give any aid or aſſiſtance to ſuch Bargains. Nay this Rule he will have “ of Force from the time conteined in a Conſtitution of *Martian*; or in the Dio- “ ceſe of *Thrace* for thirty years from the ſecond Conſulſhip of *Ælius* and that “ of *Sigisbaldus* in the Eaſtern; in that of *Ægypt Pontus* and *Aſia*, twenty ſix years “ or from the Conſulſhip of *Cyrus*. Theſe three Laws made up one Conſtitution directed to *Nicoſtratus* the *Prefectus Prætorio*. His Brother in the Præfectſhip of *Illyricum*, and ſomething like in Name as well as Office, was this year *Calliſtratus*, to whom another Edict we find directed bearing date this very day, where- “ by is declared that Fathers marrying ſecond Wives, ſhall not loſe their uſuſ- “ fructus of what belongs to their Sons by the firſt, as deſcending to them from “ their Mothers.

L.un. non licere habitatoribus metrocomiæ, &c. Cod. Juſt. lib. 11. *tit.* 55.

Metrocomia what and how Free.

L. 1. *ut nemo ad ſuum patrocinium, &c. Cod. Juſt. lib.* 11. *tit.* 53.

L. ult. de bonis maternis, &c. Cod Juſt. lib. 16. *tit.* 60.

49. *Anthemius* was buſie this year in aſſiſting the Deſign of *Leo* againſt *Genſerich*; but he alſo imployed his *Queſtor* in making Edicts. He was Petition- “ ed by a certain Woman called *Julia*, in favour of a Marriage ſhe had contract- “ ed with one who had been her Slave, but had been alſo made free for the “ eminency of his Manners, as ſhe alleaged. Now, *Conſtantine* had made a con- “ ſtitution againſt women marrying their Slaves, and this ſhe was afraid “ would take hold of her. In this caſe he thought fit to be kind to *Julia* and “ others in her condition, and yet to provide againſt ſuch marriages as brought “ Infamy and other great Inconveniencies to women of free and oftentimes of “ noble Parentage. In honour of his ſecond Conſulſhip he declares all ſuch mar- “ riages contracted by women with their *Liberti* or freed men to be good and “ valid till this preſent year. But ſeverely prohibits them for the future, under “ pain of the marriages being utterly null and void, the parties undergoing loſs “ of Eſtates and perpetual Deportation, beſides that the Children born in ſuch “ a State ſhould be ſeized as Slaves by the Treaſury. and as for the Conjunction “ of women with Slaves, as alſo of men with *Libertæ* and ſhe Slaves, he leaves “ them to the ſaid Conſtitution of *Conſtantine* and the Law as it ſtood in force “ before his time. This is directed to *Luperciarius* on the ninteenth of February, who ſhortly after certified him that he had received from the Emperor *Leo* certain Laws to obtain his Confirmation in his World, as he words it. By an

Novel Anthemii 1. *Dat.* 10. *Kal. Mart.*

Anthemius anſwers the Petition of *Julia* as to the marriage of her Freed man.

Anthemii novel. 2. *circa regendum utrumque orbem.*

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Actum ſub die eodem.

Edict bearing date on the ninteenth of April, he impowers him to publiſh “ them for Laws accordingly; which was done the very ſame day.

Leo the Emperor of the Eaſt directs an Edict to *Lupercianus* in the Weſt.

50. And the ſame day he publiſhed another Edict, which is ſingular, the like not being to be found in any Code that we can remember. It's a Conſtitution of *Leo* the Eaſtern Emperor, and yet directed to *Lupercianus* and ſaid to be dated at *Rome*. Now that the Eaſtern Emperor ſhould direct an Edict to a Weſtern *Præfect*, or the Emperor of the Weſt to a *Præfect* of the Eaſtern Empire is not to be found, except it be in the Minority of *Valentinian* the ſecond. But amongſt other things ſaid by way of Preface, he declares that he to whom Providence had committed the Regiment of the whole World, would have Law and Equity obſerved. That his Son *Anthemius*, (to him he gives the Attributes of *Pius* and *Triumphator ſemper Auguſtus*) though the Divine Majeſty and his Creation had committed full power of Empire, to him, yet out of his prudent and cautious equity in which he excelled, thought him (*Leo*) to be conſulted by his Sacred Addreſſes, affirming that in the parts of *Italy* many Controverſies were riſen about Donations of other mens Eſtates, made by Princes contrary to the prudence of the Laws. A Suit betwixt one *Domnina* and *Fortunatus*, gave the occaſion to this determination, and before the Judges a conſtitution out of the Code of *Theodoſius* was alleged, whereby *Conſtantine* ordained that though one ſhould prove the thing given away by the Prince to be his own, yet ſuch Plaintiff ſhould not receive it back, but be conſidered ſome other way by the Emperor. This he thinks fit ſo to limit and reſtrain, as to declare valid the gift of the “ Prince, yet to leave all at liberty by due courſe of Law to recover their own. “ Therefore he decrees that the thing in controverſy called *Ceſiana Maſſa* be re- “ ſtored to *Domnina*: for, ſaith he, nothing is ſo advantagious to the Imperial Ma- “ jeſty, in which equity ought to inhere, and juſtice to be vigorous, as to reſerve “ all common Right to Subjects, and nothing is more lawful or permitted to good “ Princes, than to private men, who ought to pretend to ſuch liberty as is war- “ ranted by the Laws and Equity, that no man may take pleaſure in another mans “ Goods or things unlawful, and no man may lament that he is deprived of his “ own Eſtate.

To what purpoſe.

Therein takes upon him.

51. This ſingular Edict is the laſt of the three that bears the name of *Anthemius* and the laſt of all theſe Novels that are bound up with the Code of *Theodoſius*. It ſeems miſplaced; for the ſecond of *Anthemius* confirms it as well as the other Laws of *Leo*. But *Leo* takes a little upon him in the Application of the Duty of Emperors and the Juſtice and Equity which ought to be inherent in Imperial Power. He knew probably the Circumſtances of his own time, but not thoſe of his Predeceſſor; and he intended a mitigation indeed of what concerned *Bona Caduca*; whereas the Conſtitution of *Conſtantine* he mentions had reſpect to other things. That Conſtitution is the third *De Bonis vacantibus* in the Code of *Theodoſius*, and dated at *Rome* in the Palace at ſuch time as the Difference betwixt him and the Senate, fell out about Religion, and his parting thence and founding *Conſtantinople*. He had confiſcated the Lands belonging to the Pagan Temples, and as conveniency inclined, had aſſigned ſome of them to private Perſons, and as might conduce to the advancement of Chriſtian Religion; chiefly to the Biſhop and Church of *Rome*. Theſe Aſſignments being made, he found it not fit to revoke them, though poſſibly ſome private Perſons might receive ſome leſſer Inconvenience, but rather choſe to make them ſatisfaction ſome other way. To be ſure it was no way agreeable in other things and at other times, to his humour, to ſuffer any man to go away with the loſs, but on the Contrary he favoured ſuch as had loſt their Eſtates, and as *Sozomen* writes, made ſome other way amends to the Donees and Purchaſers after reſtitution to the right Owners. But in ſome extraordinary caſes it hath been the Rule, that rather a miſcheif ſhould fall to ſome particular men, than a great inconveniance to the publick. Private Perſons have been conſtrained to part with their Grounds for rebuilding and conveniences of a City; and what reaſon to the contrary, when ſome other way ſatisfaction is made?

Cod. Th. lib. 10. *tit.* 8.

Vide comment. Gothofred.

Lib. 1. *c.* 8.

Zeno and *Marcian* Conſuls.

A. D. 469.

Zenone & Martiano Coſſ.

52. The year CCCCLXIX had for Conſuls *Zeno* the Son-in-law of *Leo* and *Marcian*. *Leo* ſufficiently underſtood the deſigns of his late *Arian* Officers and how by their Intelligence with *Genſerich* ſo hopeful an Expedition had miſcaried. Yet he concealed his Indignation, and to ſuch a degree as to make great Courtſhip to *Aſpar* whom he knew to be the grand ſupporter of the Faction. He proceeded ſo far in the art of Diſſimulation, which it ſeems he ſaw very neceſ-

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ſary as to promote the Son of *Aſpar* to be *Cæſar* which ſome ſay was agreed on when *Aſpar* promoted him to be Emperor. Some write that this was *Ardaburius* the *Patritian* by Dignity. Others that it was another Son whoſe name was *Patritius* or *Patritiolus*, and that to him he betrothed his Daughter. It's reported that *Aſpar* was ſo earneſt to have the Emperor perform his promiſe, that he took hold of his Robe and told him, that *It was not lawful for one to lye that wore that Purple*, to which *Leo* anſwered that It *became an Emperor alſo to yield to no man ; to be ſubject to none, eſpecially when to be ſo would be to the detriment of the State*. How bold ſoever *Aſpar* was at this time out of greedineſs after having the Soveraign Power in his Family, he is alſo reported to have renounced the *Arian* Hereſie as well as did his Son who was promoted to be *Cæſar* ; for ſuch commotions happened at *Conſtantinople* upon the Nomination of an *Arian* to that Dignity, that he was forced if not to renounce, to diſſemble that Opinion.

Vide Baron. ad ii. A. & quæ citat ex Actis Marcelli.

53. *Leo* began this year by an Edict gratefull to ſuch as were of a quiet Diſpoſition and averſe to Law Suites. For whereas formerly in Stipulations or Contracts made by word of mouth it was neceſſary to uſe certain ſolemn words, Phraſes or forms of Speech, he now ordained that all Stipulations, though not “ made with ſolemn or direct words but in any whatſoever, if it was with the “ conſent of the Contracters and they were familiar to the Laws, ſhould be of “ force and valid. From ſome eminent occaſion he was concerned towards the Month of *July* to take notice how women made no conſcience of promiſing Marriage, and afterwards flying back diſappointed their Suitors, to their great detriment often as well as vexation. By a conſtitution directed to *Erythius* the *Præfect* a little to diſcourage them he ordained, That any woman who upon ſuch “ promiſe of contract received Arræ or Preſents, ſhould if ſhe flew back, and if “ of Age reſtore double, if under Age ſingle, or juſt ſo much as ſhe had re- “ ceived, as the Law, alſo in ſuch caſes, was againſt a man if he ſtood not to his “ promiſe. This bears Date on the Kalends or fifth of *July* of this year, and is directed to *Erythius* ; and ſo are more Edicts concerning this ſubject of Marriage which having no Date at all, probably with this made up one and the ſame Conſtitution. For urgent reaſons the Law prohibited Tutors and Curators their marrying their Pupils or Minors or giving them in Marriage to their Sons. But this though founded upon ſo good reaſon as is obvious enough without declaring, gave occaſion to ill founded ſcruples againſt Deputy-Tutors, or ſuch as but tranſacted the buſineſſes of ſuch young women, as if they were to be apprehended as dangerous, as the other. This cauſed *Leo* to declare that the Prohibition belonging to Tu- “ tors and Curators ſhould not extend to them, for elſe by degrees all that were but “ any way obnoxious to give Account, ſhould be prohibited from marrying to himſelf “ or his ſon, her to whom he was, though little, ingaged. He further wrote to the ſaid “ *Erythius* to prevent the injuring of Children by Father or Mother through their “ betaking themſelves to ſecond, or other Marriages. It was further obſerved that becauſe women out of favour to their Sexes were indulged and reſtored in *integrum* if by reaſon of ignorance of the Law (which otherwiſe did not excuſe) they were overreached in Contracts concerning their Inheritance or Eſtates, they thence took occaſion to retract all Contracts whatſoever in ſuch things as they omitted or were ignorant of. To prevent this he commanded the ſame *Erythius* that the former “ Laws ſhould be ſtrictly obſerved, which relieved them only in caſe they did any “ thing through ignorance of the Law when they were under Age, or not five “ and twenty.

Leo makes ſeveral Laws relating to marriage.

The unreaſonableneſs of women reſtrained in claiming privileges.

Vide Juſt. Inſtit. de verborum obligatione Spondes? ſpondeo. Promittis? promitto. Fidejubes? fidejubeo. Dabis? dabo. Facies? faciam. L. 10. de contrahenda & committenda Stipulatione. Cod. Juſt. lib. 8. tit. 38.

L. 8. de ſponſalibus. & Arris & 2. Cod. Juſt. ib. 5. tit. 1.

L. ult. de Interdicto matrimonio, &c. Cod. Juſt. lib. 5. tit. 6.

L. 6. de ſecundis nuptiis Cod. Juſt. lib. 5. tit. 9.

L. ult. de juris & facti ignorantia Cod. Juſt. lib. 1. tit 18.

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Severo & Jordano. Coſſ.

54. We are come to the CCCCLXX Year of our Lord, which had for Conſuls *Severus* and *Jordanus*. Some Copies have *Severianus*; and of each Name two very Eminent Men lived in the Eaſt at this time. Now did *Leo* put in Execution what he deſigned againſt *Aſpar*, cauſing him and his two Sons *Ardaburius* and *Patritius* to be killed by the hands of the Eunuches in the Palace. *Nicephorus* relates this ſtory told by *Marcellinus* with this circumſtance, that the Citizens of *Conſtantinople* bore *Aſpar* and his Sons very evil will upon report that they entertained deſigns againſt the Emperor, but were inraged above meaſure when they ſaw an *Arian* created *Cæſar*, being ſhortly to ſucceed an old Man in the Imperial Seat. They fell out into all opprobrious language in the Cirque and treated them with words in ſuch a manner as ſhewed that blows would follow in a little time, of which they being ſenſible fled to *Chalcedon* and took Sanctuary in the Church of *Euphemia* the Martyr, all the Army following after. The Emperor ſent the Patriarch promiſing them ſecurity if they would come forth, but they refuſed to comply

Aſpar and his ſons killed.

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ply except he himſelf would come to them. *Leo* went and by indirect means got them out. He took them to his Table, and promiſed them to forget all Injuries, and other matters: but he gave orders to *Zeno* an Iſaurian whom he eſteemed faithful to him, to cut off their Heads as they ſhould come to make uſe of the Baths of the Palace. When they came, he firſt cut off the Head of *Ardaburius.* At the ſight *Aſpar* grieved, but cried out; That being old, and now gray-headed, he ſuffered as he had deſerved, who had boaſted in vain and would never obey his Admonition. For he had often told him that they ſhould devoure *Leo* before he could make a meal of them. Having ſaid this, he alſo was ſlain. But his Son *Patritius* who was divorced from *Ariadna* the Emperors Daughter, was ſent into Baniſhment, and ſhe was given in Mariage to *Zeno* who had thus cut off the Conſpirators. Thus much *Nicephorus*, from whom other Writers diſſent as to *Patritius*, relating all the Sons of *Aſpar* to have been ſlain. If *Zeno* was the man and *Ariadna* was formerly contracted to *Patritius*, *Baronius* rightly inferreth that the marriage of him with *Ariadna* fell not out till this year, and that ſuch as aſſigned it to a more early time, were miſtaken.

A. D. 471. *Leone A. & Probiano Coſſ.*

55. For the Year CCCCLXXI *Leo Auguſtus* (who from the killing of *Aſpar* and his Sons got the Nick-name of *Maceles*) took the Conſular Title the fourth time, and had *Probianus* for his Colleague. He was now well at eaſe, being rid of his ambitious Competitors; but ſo was not his Brother *Anthemius* who fared the worſe for his good Fortune. The two Emperors excepted, the greateſt men in theſe times were of the *Arian* perſwaſion, and ſuch were they who preferred them to their Soveraign Titles, for little more than Titles they really injoyed while theſe *Arian* Miniſters bore all the ſway. *Ricimer* a *Goth* and one of that Opinion, was diſpleaſed at the death of his Friends and Countreymen at *Conſtantinople*, and being angry with *Leo* began to be diſſatisfied with him whom he had recommended to the Weſtern Empire, though his Father-in-law. And what could not he promiſe himſelf, who upon the account of his Religion and Original had two great Potentates his Friends, *viz.* *Euarich* King of the *Goths* in *Spain* and *Gall*, and *Genſerich* the *Vandal* the Terror both of Eaſt and Weſt, two great Perſecutors upon account of that Hereſie? He offered ſeveral Affronts to *Anthemius*, who taking it in diſdain to be ſo uſed, and knowing ſufficiently his Inſolence, would not receive them without expreſſing his Reſentment, and thoſe Coles of Diſſention being blown by the familiar Friends of both, it aroſe to that height that the Plots and Deſigns of *Ricimer* being diſcovered, he was glad to provide for himſelf by flight, and got him to *Milan*. The Nobility of thoſe parts were very much concerned at this Breach as apprehending new miſchiefs into which *Italy* would be plunged, and uſed all the means they could to perſwade him to reconcile himſelf to the Emperor, and recommended to him as a Perſon moſt fit to be ſent on that Errand, *Epiphanius* Biſhop of *Ticinum*, or *Pavia*, a Perſon of very great eminency for his ſanctity and abilities. *Ricimer* willingly enough complied with their Deſires, as the beſt means to conceal his farther deſigned Treachery; and *Epiphanius* was ſent upon the Errand. *Anthemius* was not forward to entertain him under that Character, profeſſing *Ricimer* was a man not to be truſted, becauſe of his Ambition, and fickle and treacherous Humour. But its ſaid the religious diſcourſe of the Biſhop joyned with the reverence due to his Perſon overcame him, and he durſt not deny that Peace, which he concluded in his own thoughts would not be laſting. However a Peace, or rather a counterfeit Reconciliation was made.

Acta Epiphanii apud Baron ad h. A.

A. D. 472. *Feſto & Marciano Coſſ.*

Ricimer breaks out into Rebellion.

56. The next year that followed, or the CCCCLXXII of our Saviour had *Feſtus* Conſul for the Weſt, and *Marcian* for the Eaſt. *Ricimer* for ſome time continued a Correſpondence with the Emperor, but nouriſhing ſtill his reſtleſs and ambitious Thoughts, and preſuming he ſhould be able either by force or cunning to deſtroy him, at length he broke out into open Rebellion, and with a great Force of men went to *Rome*, and in order to a Siege incamped at the Bridge of *Anienis*. This procured no ſmall diſturbance in the City, the people, though harraſed with Tumults and Diſſentions, ſiding with each party as inclined. But of whatſoever party they were, they were all oppreſſed with Famine, the Siege being drawn out in length, and a Plague the uſual Companion of both, raged amongſt them. The only hope they had was in the *Goths* inhabiting *Gall* whom they long expected to relieve them. And they wanted not will to do it, for *Bilimer* was ſent with a good Army to raiſe the Siege, but when he attempted it, *Ricimer* turned head, gave him Battel, defeated, and ſlew him near the Bridge

Vide Sigon ad h. A.

of

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A. D. 473.

Breaks into *Rome* and murder's *Anthemius.*

Olybrius Emperor for a while,

of *Adrian.* Upon this, more elevated and reſolute he reinforced his Siege, and on the eleventh of *July* broke into the City, which he treated as *Alarich* and *Genſerich* had done before him. No regard being had o f*Anthemius* either as Emperor or Father-in-Law he put him to death; and permitted his Soldiers to plunder the Citizens, ſparing only the two Regions where he had his quarter. This being done he promoted *Olybrius,* who not long ſince was come from *Conſtantinople,* to be Emperor, and not long after, *Caſſiodorus* ſaith fourty days, being ſeized by a Diſeaſe, in great pains of his Body if not of his mind, he went to give an Account of his Actions in another world on the eighteenth of the ſame month, having domineered like another *Stilicho* from the death of *Velentinian.* Neither did his lately promoted Emperor long injoy his Purple, for ſome ſay he followed after on the three and twentieth of *October,* though others refer his death to the following year, and with better reaſon, *Caſſiodorus* ſaying that he died in his ſeventh month. There is little ſaid of what he did the ſmall time he had the Power, but that to be gratefull to *Ricimer* he made *Gundibarius* his Nephew a Patritian in his place.

A. D. 473.

Leone A. Conſ.

And *Glycerius.*

Jornandes de rebus Geticis c. 56.

57. The year CCCCLXXIII had *Leo Auguſtus* Conſul the fifth time and him alone, they that were moſt concerned in the Weſt having ſomething elſe to think of than of making Conſuls. *Leo* having notice of the late Revolutions at *Rome* reſented them as was convenient he ſhould, eſpecially the death of *Anthemius* and thinking whom he might ſend to ſucceed him in the Weſt, made choice of *Julius Nepos* the Son of *Nepotianus,* to whom he married his Niece and deſigned him *Cæſar.* But for all this, four months paſſed over and there was no face of Majeſty, none that wore the Purple at *Rome,* and this incouraged *Gundibarius* to take up the trade of *Ricimer* his Grandfather. On the fifth of *March* he procured the Soldiers to nominate Emperor *Glycerius,* who bore the Office of *Comes Domeſticorum,* and him they adorned with the Imperial Enſigns at *Ravenna.* Thus after the death of *Anthemius* followed two, whom we may rather call Uſurpers than Emperors; who had not any conſent of *Leo,* nor were created after due manner, and therefore no account was had of them by thoſe Princes that followed. Of ſuch Tragedies as had been thus acted in *Italy, Genſerich* the next Neighbour could not but be Spectator. And his Ambition excited him to make ſuch uſe of them as his Intereſt with the Arian Princes of this time could procure. He not only did what miſchief he could with his own Power in *Africk*; but he ſtirred up the *Oſtrogoths* to invade both the Eaſtern and Weſtern Empire, alluring them by the greatneſs of the Booty. And to the Booty at this time they had great appetite, if what their Countryman writes be true, that the prey they were wont to make of the neighbour Nations failing, their Meat and Clothes likewiſe failed; for they had been maintained by War, and now peace became very irkſome to them.

The *Oſtrogoths* make Incurſions into both Weſtern and Eaſtern Empire.

Places aſſigned them to inhabit.

58. With open-mouths they all betook themſelves to *Theodomir* their King, and deſired to be led out to what quarter ſoever he pleaſed. He ſent for his Brother and caſting lots perſwaded him to invade *Italy* where *Glycerius* now Reigned, while he in the mean time ſhould ſet with a ſtronger Army upon the ſtronger or Eaſtern Empire. The thing was done, *Widemir* invaded *Italy*; but preſently after died and left *Widemir* his Son for his Succeſſor. Him did *Glycerius* labour with gentle language to mollifie, and by preſents moved him to quit *Italy* and go into *Gall* where he told him his own kinſman then Reigned. He accepted of his Preſents and went as he directed him into *Gall,* where he joyned with the *Viſigoths* his Kinſmen, and made up one Body and People with them, who had dominion both in that Country and in *Spain.* *Theodomir* the elder Brother with his Forces paſſed the River *Saus,* threatning to make War upon the *Sarmatians* and ſuch others as ſhould endeavour to oppoſe him, which none did concluding he would be too ſtrong for them. Perceiving all thing to ſucceed as he wiſhed, he ſet upon *Naiſſus* the firſt City of *Illyricum*; and being Maſter of it joyned with his Son *Theodorich,* and by his Officers took in the City *Ulpiana,* and ſeveral places of the Country before this thought to be inacceſſible. For they ſubdued in the courſe of this War *Heraclia* and *Lariſſa* Cities of *Theſſaly,* after having got much Booty. *Theodimir* taking notice both of his own and his Sons felicity, reſolved to improve it, and from *Naiſſus* went to *Theſſalonica* whither the Emperor had ordered *Clarianus* a *Patritian* with an Army. He perceiving the Trenches to be opened ſent to *Theodimir,* and by gifts perſwaded him to quit the City, and an Agreement was made whereby were delivered up to the *Goths* to inhabit *Ceropellæ,*

Europa;

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Europa, *Mediana*, *Petina*, *Bercum*, and another place called *Sium*, where with their King they placed themſelves in quiet. And not long after *Theodemir* was ſeized with a mortal diſtemper, and calling to him the *Goths* in the City *Cerras*, nominated his Son *Theoderich* his Succeſſor, and then died. This is that *Theodorich* of whom we are largly to write hereafter. We muſt add as to matters of the Eaſt this Year, that (according to the Computation of *Marcellinus* and *Caſſiodorus*) *Leo* the Son of *Zeno* and *Ariadna* was born, and preſently by his Grandfather the Emperor made *Auguſtus*. But as ſome write he ſcarcely lived ten Months after his Imperial Birth, then dying an Infant, and neither being ſenſible of what he got or loſt. Yet others would have him not an Infant, but a Youth brought up in a vitious courſe of Life. Which could not be, for had he been born that very Year that his Father and Mother were married, he could not at this time have exceeded three years, according to what hath been formerly ſaid, and *Baronius* alſo now obſerves.

A. D. 474.
Leone Juniore Conſ.

Leo dies.

59. But the following Year, or the CCCCLXXIIII of our Lord, was opened with the Conſulſhip of this *Leo Junior*, and notable upon this account as well as for his own Death and that of his Grandfather, who now ended his Life after he had reigned ſeventeen years and ſix moneths. He is generally commended for his wiſdom and moderation in Government, and reckoned amongſt good Princes. Some blame him very much for this, that he was not ſufficiently cautious whom he preferred, as *Baſiliſcus* and *Zeno*, both who proved great maintainers of the *Arian* Hereſy, and procured diſturbances in the Empire: neither did he take off *Baſiliſcus*, as with good reaſon he might have done after his Treachery, but ſuffered him to live and entertain farther ambitious deſigns for obtaining the ſoveraign Power. That ſilly opinion that the beſt Laws are made by the worſt Princes, was confuted by him as well as others, for many excellent ones he enacted both of *Eccleſiaſtical* and *Civil* concernment. Some of both ſorts we find without date, and cannot ſo well aſſign them to any particular year. *Conſtantine* had formerly made it Capital to make any Eunuches within the Roman Pale. But this Law became ſo neglected that *Leo* by a new Conſtitution directed to *Vivian* the *P. P.* forbad any ſuch Caſtrated Perſons to be ſold, by ſubjecting “ every *Tabellio* that drew the writings of ſuch Sale to puniſhment, as alſo him that ſhould require the eighth penny according to the Cuſtom; for there were certain Publicans, who from gathering this eighth penny from the ſale of Eunuches, had the name of *Octavarii*. But as for Eunuches made in barbarous Nations without the Roman Pale, thoſe he permits to be ſold. Indeed the practice “ of this Age was ſo degenerate, as uſually before Revolutions, that, as *Sidonius* “ *Apollinaris* jeſtingly and yet too near to Truth, wrote to his friend *Candidianus* concerning the Mariſhes of *Padus* near *Ravenna*, the courſe of all things ſeemed perverted, to ſober men. The Walls, ſaith he, fall, and the Waters ſtand; “ Towers float, and Ships lye faſt; the Sick walk, and Phyſitians lye along: the “ Baines freeze, and Houſes burn: the living are dry, and the dead ſwim: “ Theives are vigilant, and thoſe in Power ſleep: Clerks turn Uſurers; *Syrians* “ ſing: Marchants turn Soldiers, Soldiers traffique as Merchants: old men play “ at Ball; young men at Dice: Eunuches follow Arms, and the Confederates “ their Books.

Good Laws made by him.

Vide. tit. 42. *de Eunuchis Cod. Juſt. lib.*4.

Lib. 1. *ep.* 8.

60. Though theſe Incongruities might cheifly be charged upon the People of the weſtern Provinces who were now ripe for Ruine, yet as Corruptions will ever be creeping into all States and Empires, *Leo* took notice particularly of one of thoſe Indecencies mentioned by *Sidonius*, and that was the trafficquing of military Men, He was ſatisfied that as by a courſe of Trade they neglected their own Imployment, and thereby ſubjected the Provinces unto Danger, ſo in their way of Traffick they oppreſſed too often their fellow Subjects, making uſe of their military Function to inforce it, by terrifying their Neighbours, and frighting them into unequal terms, by the awe of their Girdles. For theſe reaſons he “ gave in Command to *Aſpar* when *Magiſter Militum*, that Soldiers ſhould not “ as much as hire any thing that belonged to other perſons, neither be Procura- “ tors or Managers; Ingage themſelves for any, or imploy others in thoſe Af- “ fairs. He requires that they buſy themſelves with Arms, not with private mat- “ ters, and that they conſtantly attend their Colours, and preſerve the Com- “ monwealth which maintains them from all neceſſity of Wars. By the many “ warnings he had from *Genſerich* and others to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt Invaſions, he was ſo careful to have all things neceſſary for War, that in a publick

He forbade Soldiers traffick.

*L.*3. *de locato & conducto Cod. Juſt. lib.*1. *tit.* 65.

Edict he declared that no Perſons of what Dignity ſoever, ſhould be excuſed from building or repairing of Walls, from furniſhing of Wheat and other *Species* “ as the *Præfectus Prætorio* ſhould think convenient. He was negligent as to ſecu- “ ring himſelf from *Baſiliſcus* and his ambitious Practices, but if we may judge from another Law, he was jealous that ſome of his Subjects coveted his place, and that from the Splendor of their Clothes and Furniture. As *Valens* (as jea- “ lous as any) had formerly forbidden to Subjects the uſe of Cloths wrought “ with Gold, he forbids the putting of Pearl, Emrods or Jacinth upon Bridles “ Sadles or Belts, permitting them to be adorned with other Gemms: But all “ ſorts of Gemmes he forbids to be worn in Trappings; under pain of fifty pounds “ of Gold to be forfeited by him that ſhall tranſgreſs in either kind. He fur- “ ther declares that no private Perſon except in the ornament of Matrons or the “ wear of Rings either by men or women, ſhall make any thing of Gold or “ Gemmes which belongeth to the Clothing or Ornaments of the Emperor. Nei- “ ther ſhall they do this under pretence that they make thoſe things on purpoſe “ to preſent them to the Prince, for he declares that he deſires no ſuch Pre- “ ſents, neither that Royal Ornaments ſhall be preſented by private Perſons. “ As a reward for any ſuch things to be preſented to him, he eſtabliſhes ſuch an “ one as would little gratifie the Giver, *viz.* no leſs than a forfeiture of an hun- “ dred Pounds of Gold, and of life it ſelf to the Bargain. For as much he ſaith “ that his Royal Ornaments ought to be made by his *Palatine* Artificers within “ his own Court, and not up and down in private Houſes or Shops. There- “ fore he decrees with the greateſt ſeverity, that what is ſacred and agreeable in “ his wearing and Ornament no private Perſon ſhall raſhly dare to make, under “ pain of incurring the Mulct now mentioned.

The too rich furniture of private Perſons.

L. ult. de quibus muneribus, &c. Cod. Juſt. lib. 10. tit. 48.

L. un. Nulli licere in frænis, &c. Cod. Juſt. lib. 11. tit. 11.

61. That he was careful to preſerve a regard to Nobility and Dignities he ſhewed in that he commanded that, If any publick *Baker* (or one of the “ *Mancipes*) ſhould by ambitious practices, favour or money, obtain the Dignity “ and Office of *Comes Horreorum*, he ſhould be deveſted of his Dignity, fine in “ twenty pounds of Gold, and be returned to his former Imployment, without “ any ſpecial Indulgence to be obtained. But to liberty he was a great friend, which to obtain he ordained an extraordinary and ſingular matter. Amongſt the Preſents lately mentioned and forbidden to be made to him, it ſeems that Eunuchs were not to be reckoned, but that ſometimes ſuch were preſented to ſerve him in his Bed-Chamber. As he or his Colleague *Anthemius* had pri- “ viledged their Bed-Chamber-men from being convented before any other Judge “ than the *Magiſter Officiorum*, he declared that all that were already admitted “ into his Chamber, whether given by the liberality of any perſon, or upon any “ other account, and to be admitted for the time to come, if Slaves ſhould *ipſo* “ *facto*, without intervention of Writings or Acts, obtain Liberty and Ingenuity; “ nay this ſhould extend unto the dead, ſo far as they could be concerned. He “ gives this reaſon, that it was a ſeemly privilege of Imperial Majeſty, not to “ be ſerved by Slaves, but perſons of free condition. He grants them therefore “ power to make Teſtaments as well as other men. But in caſe they die without “ lawful Heirs, he declares that their Eſtates ſhall come to his Treaſury. This “ Immunity he gives in caſe any Perſons do voluntarily preſent him with their “ Eunuches. But if it be found that any thruſt themſelves into his Service, “ without the conſent of their Lords, he allows the owners to recover them to- “ gether with their *Peculium*. Provided they lay their claim within five years, “ which preſcription of time ſhall bar them. And all this he extends to Wo- “ men as well as men, which by their Lords were or ſhould be given into his Bed- “ Chamber.

He favoured Nobility.

Was a great friend to Liberty.

L. un. de Piſtorib. Cod. Juſt. lib. 11 tit. 15.

L. l. 3. 4. de Præpoſitis ſacri cubiculi. Cod. Juſt. lib. 12. tit. 5.

62. He was as kind to thoſe that ſerved in his *Scrinia*, whom he declared “ free from ſordid Imployments, and Tolls according as the Law formerly had “ provided for them. Now theſe Tolls of vendible things roſe and fell according “ to the pleaſure of Princes; of old the twenty fifth or fiftieth part was taken of “ the price of Slaves, of other things the hundredth, which *Tiberius* reduced “ to the two hundred penny, and *Caligula* brought it down to the three hundred “ ſo far as the Provinces of *Italy* were concerned. More than this he declared

Kind to thoſe that ſerved in his *Scrinia.*

L. l. 9, 10 De Proximis ſacrorum ſcriniorum &c. Cod. Juſt. lib. 12. tit. 19.

them free from publick and civil Services, as alſo from the *Metatus*. And he “ thought fit to eſtabliſh the Number of them; as in the *Scrinium Memoriæ* ſixty “ two, in the *Scrinium Epiſtolarum* thirty four, and as many in the *Scrinium* “ *Libellorum*. In the *Scrinium Memoriæ* he would have no fewer maintained “ than four *Antiquaries*, as they were called, or Copiers of Books, and no *Memorialis* “ to ſupply or execute two places. But he ſeems moſt concerned about “ military men, forbidding ſtill by another Conſtitution directed to *Dioſcorus* “ that they undertake any civil Imployment. And that the Army may “ not be filled with unskilful men, or the Cities and Towns emptied upon this “ occaſion, he forbids any *Curialis* or *Cohortalis* to betake himſelf to the *Armata* “ *Militia*. He was indulgent enough to his Servants and Miniſters; but as other Princes before and after him he found occaſion enough in his Reign to reſtrain their Extravagancies. One in his time was committed by the Governors of Provinces themſelves, who though they had in the Cities of their juriſdiction Palaces, *Prætoria*, or publick Houſes to dwell in, yet would get into thoſe of private Perſons, whereby two miſchiefs followed. For the Owners might be outed of their Habitations or forced to unequal terms, and the publick Houſes were neglected and fell to decay. To prevent which, he gave in a Conſtitution, expreſs charge to the *Præfects* that ſuch Governors ſhould be conſtrained to inhabit the reſpective *Palaces* and *Prætoria*; and where, in the ſame City, “ there was both a *Palace* and a *Prætorium*; the former ſhould be conſigned to “ the Habitation of the *Præſident*, and the latter he imployed as a *Granary* for receiving “ or keeping of Corn or other *Species*, or to ſome publick and neceſſary “ uſe. If any Governor act contrary to this Law, he and his Office ſhall forfeit “ fifty Pounds of Gold to repaire the Palace ſo neglected.

L.16. de Re militari Cod. Juſt. lib. 12. tit. 36. L. 4. Qui militare poſſunt, &c. Cod. Juſt. lib. 12. tit. 34.

He commands that Governours dwell in the Palaces or *Prætoria*.

L. ult. de offic. Rectoris Provinciæ Cod. Juſt. lib. 1. tit. 11.

63. *Leo* at his death is reported to have left his young Grand-Son *Leo* his Heir and Succeſſor, and *Zeno* only the Childs father, his Protector or Guardian. But *Zeno* when the old man was gone, and he had the power in his own Hands, would not be ſo put off. The Soveraign Power of an Emperor we know was very great; they were looſed from Laws that bound other Perſons. They could adopt thoſe that were elder than themſelves. Such Acts of State as paſſed in their Minority their *Quæſtors* Hands, were as we have ſaid, authentick, as now in our preſent Age, Laws enacted in the Minority of Princes from their authority receive their force, though managed by their Protectors or Regents of the Kingdom. By virtue of this fulneſs of power the *Imperial* Authority flowing from an Infant, but managed by *Zeno*, inveſted *Zeno* it ſeems, with the Imperial Dignity, and as if the Child had done his part, now he paſſed off the Stage, for he ſurvived not long after. How long it was we know not, but we will have recourſe to the Laws, and ſee what from the Dates of them can be Collected. Its only thus much, that he was alive, and his Father had the Title of *Auguſtus* on the two and twentieth day of *April* of this year. For in the Code there's a Conſtitution bearing both their Names, which declares that when any doubts ariſe concerning new Laws, which is not approved by old cuſtom, in “ ſuch caſe the Judge muſt ſuggeſt it to the Prince and receive his determination. “ It further appears that on the ſixteenth of *March*, *Zeno* had the Imperial Title, by a Law of that Date inſcribed to *Juſtinian Præfect* of *Conſtantinople*, concerning the Privileges of the fifteen Advocates in his Court, that ſhould enjoy “ the ſame with the Advocates of the *Fiſcus*, and their Children, and which the “ ſixty four in the Court of the *Præfectus Prætorio* enjoyed. There are five other “ Laws extant which bear both their Names, but they generally tend to the eſtabliſhment of the juriſdiction of the *Magiſter Officiorum* over thoſe imployed in the Palace, of which we have already ſpoken enough.

Zeno Emperor.

Neceſſaria eſt ſuggeſtio judicantis, &c. l. 11. de legib. Cod. Juſt. lib. 1. tit: 14. Dat. 10. cal. Maii. Leone. jun. A. Conſ.

L.16. de Advocatis diverſor judicior. Cod. Juſt. lib. 2. tit. 3.

64. Not long after the Date of the former Law we may ſuppoſe the Infant *Leo* paſſed to the place of Innocents; but whether ſent by the violent hand of his Father or no we cannot tell. Yet ſome, as *Paulus Diaconus*, reported it, and others tell another ſtory, as if ſome other ſhould be killed for him and he be ſent away and educated privatly, and ſhould have lived till the time of *Juſtinian*. *Evagrius* tells us that *Zeno* after the death of *Leo*, having by the aſſiſtance of *Berina* the Empreſs obtained the Purple, and after that of his ſon the ſole Title and

Very debauched.

Lib. 2. c. 17. & lib. 3. c. 1.

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A. D. 474.

and adminiſtration, as if he had been perſwaded that he could not enjoy the Dominion of the whole World, except he violently purſued all ſorts of pleaſures which occurred, did at his firſt beginning ſo give up himſelf to all allurements of Vice, that he refrained from no filthy or flagitious Act, but ſo wallowed in his filthineſs, as thinking it the humour of a baſe and low Spirit to commit ſuch things in darkneſs or an hidden manner, but Royal and worthy of an Emperor to do it in the Eyes of all men. In which practice ſaith our Writer he was of a perverſe and abſolutely ſervile Judgment. For a Prince is not to be valued becauſe he commands other Perſons, but for this that he can ſo govern and moderate himſelf, that he ſuffer no abſurd ſort of pleaſure to creep into his mind, but keep himſelf ſo impregnable as to Intemperance, that his life may be the Image of Virtue, by which his Subjects may be inſtructed to imitation. But he expoſed himſelf to the temptations of Vice, and by degrees was reduced into ſo filthy ſervitude, that thence he could not by any means be redeemed. After ſome other diſcourſe he adds that his Subjects, as well thoſe that inhabited the Eaſt as the Weſt were grievouſly harraſed. For the *Barbarians* called *Scenitæ* overran all places; and a multitude of *Hunns*, of old called *Maſſagetes*, made an Incurſion into *Thrace*, nay paſſed *Danubius* without the controul of any.

c. 2.

65. But, while theſe things happened, *Julius Nepos* the Siſters Son of *Marcellinus* once a *Patritian*, who had been by *Leo* as we ſaid, deſigned Emperor of the Weſt, hearing that *Glycerius* had ſeized the Purple was much concerned; and reſolving to diſturb him in his Seat, got together a power of men in the Eaſtern Parts, and obtaining ſhips of the Government, put them on Board, and landed them near to *Rome*, and that with ſuch ſucceſs, that *Glycerius* out of fear, as utterly unprovided, flying to a place called *Portus*, as ſome write, he then beſieged him and forcing him to ſurrender himſelf, he deveſted him of the Imperial Enſigns, which he put on himſelf, on the four and twentieth of *June*. *Sigonius* takes this *Portus* for a Town near to *Rome*; but *Jornandes* writing how *Nepos* depoſed *Glycerius*, ſaith he ordained him a Biſhop, in the *Port* or Haven of *Rome*. The Biſhoprick was that of *Salonæ* in *Dalmatia*. and probable it is that upon notice of the Arrival and power of *Nepos*, *Glycerius* ſubmitted and the Accord was made at *Hoſtia*, or thereabouts where he landed. *Jornandes* further writes that *Eurich* King of the *Goths* in *Gall* incouraged by theſe varieties and Alterations, ſeized on the City *Arverna*, in which then reſided as Governor *Decius* a moſt noble *Roman* Senator, and the Son of *Avitus* late Emperor. But for *Decius* is to be read *Ecdicius*, who was Brother-in-law to *Sidonius Apollinaris*, to whom are extant ſeveral of his Epiſtles, from which it will appear what the State of the *Arverni* was at this time in reference to the *Goths*, who indeed did exceedingly diſtreſs them, though they took not the City this year. But of theſe matters we treat particularly in the Hiſtory of the Kingdom of the *Goths* in *Gall* and *Spain*.

Julius Nepos Emperor of the Weſt.

A. D. 475.
Zenone A. Conſ.

66. The Year of our Lord CCCCLXXV had only *Zeno* the Emperor Conſul in the Eaſt; they of the Weſt having other things to think of, where the Government and Imperial Dignity, like things contemptible, were toſſed from hand to hand without any reverence or reſpect; the fate of the Empire now preſſing ſore upon it. We have ſeen how for a long time the Soveraign Dignity had been in a manner in ſervitude. How they that bore it were advanced by others who expected to be obeyed as Patrons by thoſe their Clients, or rather their Players whom they had adorned with Purple to act the Part of their Fools, rather than any thing elſe; and when they diſpleaſed them they would drive them off the Stage again. That thoſe Brokers of Majeſty of late had been Officers of the Barbarous Nations, we have abundantly ſeen; as alſo that though they made this Majeſty ſo mean and contemptible in the Eyes of all judicious Perſons (however dear the purchaſers paid for it) yet they had ſuch reverence for the antient glory of it, or were ſo ſtruck with an awe of the *Roman* Name, that they adventured not to take it themſelves, neither transferred it into their own families; if will was preſent power and ſucceſs being wanting, as to *Stilicho* when he ſought to advance his Son *Eucherius*. But now the fatal time of

the Empire being come, it had the fortune to die by degrees, not in the moſt ſudain and violent manner. Being to fall, it was to fall from one ſtep to another, and ſo to the ground, not from the higheſt pitch, but from a meaner place, that it might be with leſſer noiſe and pain. *Ecdicius* ſtoutly defending, or, as others ſay, having yielded up the City of the *Arverni*, was ſent for by *Nepos* and honoured with the Dignity of *Patritian.* Into his place and power in *Gall*, the Emperor thought fit to promote *Oreſtes*, whom he had advanced to the Dignity of *Magiſter Militum*, which he added to that of *Patritian.*

Auguſtus Emperor in the Weſt.

67. This *Oreſtes*, its ſaid, was a *Goth*, who by his military Actions had got reputation, and commanded the Auxiliaries of that Nation, in *Italy*. He being ordered for *Gall*, to give reſtraint to the ambitious practices of *Eurich*, when he had his Army now ready at his Devotion, and conſidered what advantage he might take at the weak condition of *Nepos*, whom he could eaſily ſuppreſs if he pleaſed, gave way to his Appetite, and coming from *Rome* to *Ravenna*, where the Emperor lay, eaſily ſpoiled him of the Imperial Enſignes, which he preſumed to put upon his own Son, who by the Soldiers was admitted and owned for *Auguſtus*. And ſuch he was before in Name, though out of proſpect of the Thing his Father could ſcarcely be induced to give it him. He is generally called *Auguſtulus*, but his true name was *Momilius Auguſtus*, as *Baronius* from an antient Coin exemplified in his Annals ſhows, who takes it for granted that the People in a jeering manner called him *Auguſtulus*, being wont to give Nicknames as that of *Caligula*, and it might be the more readily received becauſe *Auguſtus Auguſtus* did not ſo well ſound as *Auguſtulus Auguſtus* with ſome variation. *Oreſtes* having luſtily provided for his Family, the better to eſtabliſh it, ſent and entered into a League with *Genſerich*, the greateſt Potentate of his Neighbours, and in *Gall* took ſuch order as he thought convenient for ſtopping the progreſs of *Eurich* againſt the *Arverni*; but all to little purpoſe, as we ſhall perceive in the following year, when we have ſeen how in this preſent, *Zeno* behaved himſelf in the Eaſt.

Zeno ordains that Governors ſtay in their Provinces ſome time after their adminiſtration expired.

68. However his practice might be irregular and ſuitable to that deſcription of his Manners which *Evagrius* gives us; he took care that others ſhould do their Duties, or be lyable to Accuſations and Puniſhment if they acted contrary. By the antient Law called *Lex Julia Repetundarum*, All Judges *Military* and *Civil* were obliged to continue in the places of their Adminiſtration, fifty days after the laying down of their Imployments, and of this we have ſeen ſomething alſo ſince enacted by imperial Authority. But the preſent behaviour of Governours of Provinces gave freſh occaſion to the reinforcnig and inlarging former Acts of State, which *Zeno* did on the eleventh of October, by a Conſtitution directed to *Sebaſtian* the *Præfectus Prætorio*. It ordains that none of the *Clariſſimi*, the *Præſidents* of Provinces, *Conſulares* or *Correctors*, or ſuch as have obtained the Enſignes of greater Adminiſtration, that is to ſay the *Spectabiles*, as *Proconſuls*, the *Præfectus Auguſtalis*, *Comes* of the *Eaſt*, *Vicar* of any Tract, any *Dux*, or *Comes* of any Limit
whatſoever, or *Comes* of the Divine Houſes, after he hath a Succeſſor ſhall “
dare to ſtir out of the places he governed, before the number of fifty days be “
compleated. But during this ſpace of time, the *Præſidents*, *Conſulares* and *Correctors* “
ſhall continue, in the *Metropolis*, and thoſe of the Degree of *Spectabilis*, “
both Military and Civil in the more eminent Cities of the *Dioceſs* governed, “
and that publickly, not lurking within dores, not in religious places or Regi- “
ons, or Houſes of great men, but converſing openly in the moſt frequented pla- “
ces in the Eyes of them whom they have governed, that free Liberty may be “
afforded to all men to accuſe them of Thefts or other Crimes, ſo as being de- “
fended from all Injuries by their Succeſſors, and at the peril of their Office, “
as alſo of the *Curiales* and *Defenſors* of the Cities, giving only a juratory cau- “
tion, they be forth-coming to anſwer according to Law, to any one that ſhall “
accuſe them. Neither ſhall the Revocatory Letters of the Prince himſelf ex- “
cuſe any from ſtaying theſe fifty days, not a Commiſſion for any other Govern- “
ment, not the Precept of the Prefect, or of any other Power, Military or Ci- “
vil, for diſcharging any other truſt, that ſo all Craft may be prevented, and “
what

Vel qui adminiſtrationis majoris inſulas meruerint. Mereri hic ut et apud veteres, non eſt labore vel opere, vel merito adquirere, ſed aliquid adeptum eſſe et obtinuiſſe ſimpliciter. vide Notas in l.h.un. ut omnes Judices &c. Cod. Juſt. lib. 1. tit. 49.

what the Emperor deſigns for the ſecurity of the Provinces, may take ef-" fect.

A. D. 475.

69. He that ſhall violate this Law, ſhall incur a Fine of fifty Pounds of" Gold, and alſo his Succeſſor, who ſhall not ſtop and keep in his Province ſuch" an Offendor, nor give ſpeedy notice of his Flight. Now it is declared that none" ſhall quit his Place or adminiſtration till his Succeſſor be come to the Borders" of the Province, And ſuch Perſon as ſhall go away before the fifty days be" expired, whereever he ſhall be diſcovered, though in *Conſtantinople*, by com-" mand of the Prefect without any delay, and by the care of the Governor of" the Province wherein he ſhall be found, ſhall be conveyed back to continue" ſix moneths for the diſcovery of his Faults. The Office of the Governor who" neglects to ſtop him that will be gone (though with due reſpect) ſhall forfeit" thirty Pounds of Gold. In caſe he be accuſed within fifty Days, and the Suit" be begun, if there be not time remaining out of the fifty to end it, if he be" only ſued civilly, he ſhall have liberty to make his Proctor, and then he may" depart; if Criminally, the Adverſary inſcribing his Name according to the" cuſtom of ſubmitting to the *lex Talionis*, he ſhall be forced to continue in the" place till the matter be decided. Moreover all Judges before whom ſuch Con-" troverſies ſhall be decided civilly or criminally, whether by right of their Ad-" miniſtration, or by Precept from the Prefect, muſt know, that if they do not" end them within the ſpace of twenty days from their commencing, for their" neglect they ſhall forfeit ten pounds of Gold. And their deciſions and final ter-" minations ſhall be good.

The remarkeable year.

A. D. 475. *Baſiliſco* 2. & *Armato Coſſ.*

70. At length we are arrived at the ſecond Conſulſhip of *Baſiliſcus*, and that of *Armatus*, at the year of our Lord CCCCLXXVI, a year of great Revolutions. For great that muſt be indeed which put an end to the dominion of that City, which had ſo long exerciſed it over ſo great a part of the Earth, as was called the *Roman* World; which put an end to her Dominion, brought her into Subjection to *Barbarians*, and made her truckle, in ſtead of being the Head of an Empire, among other Members of an *Italian* Kingdom. But ſo now it was. *Oreſtes* had already indeed brought the Dominion into a Barbarous Family; but ſtill the Name of Empire continued; and as the name of his Emperor, ſo the Title, Juriſdiction, Authority, and all were owned to be *Roman*. But the Nobility that ſided with *Nepos* were much diſatisfied, and they thought it a thing already as bad as could be, and if the Soveraignty muſt be placed in Barbarous Hands, then they would have a Man of their own chooſing. At this time there was eminent in the Northern Parts, *Odoacer* King of the *Heruli*, *Thuringi* and *Scyri*, by original a *Rugian*, or inhabitant of an Iſland planted in the *Baltick* with *Germans*. He, as well as other Captains of the Barbarous Nations, had a mind to be trying his Fortune in *Italy*; and, as he deſired he, was choſen to this conduct by the Nations who riſing out of *Pannonia* and thoſe Coaſts, deſired nothing more than to invade that harraſed Country. They had got a taſte of the goodneſs thereof, in the Invaſions of *Attila*, and now ſufficiently underſtood in how pityful a condition *Momilius Auguſtus*, that thing called an Emperor, was; how unable to withſtand ſo great a ſhock as they were able to give him.

Rugui.

Paulus Diaconus.

Odoacer King of the *Heruli* overcomes *Oreſtes*.

71. Yet *Oreſtes* was ready and met him on the Borders of *Italy* with a very good Force as he could judge, but when he came to compare the ſtrength of the Enemy with his own, he found himſelf inferior in numbers, and well he might be, for the *Goths* forſook him, becauſe as ſome report, he had not divided to them the third part of the Lands, as he had ingaged. He thought it beſt to retreat to *Pavia*, and there he fortified himſelf, having more reaſon to truſt to the ſtrength of the Walls, than Fidelity of his Soldiers. *Odoacer* was not far behind, but purſued and reſolved to attacque the City. And within a few days he became maſter of it, and of *Oreſtes* in it. The City was permitted to be plundered by the Soldiers, who made cruel havock of all things and Perſons, while to find out Treaſure they omitted none of the cruel means, and it was in a manner reduced to Aſhes with its two Churches, *Epiphanius* its Biſhop being roughly handled, though he prevailed

Is ſaluted King of *Italy.*

vailed for the Liberty of his Siſter and other Women. This hapned on the three and twentieth of *Auguſt*, and *Odoacer* was by his men ſaluted King of *Italy*. Contented, yet proud with this Honour, he went to *Placentia*, and there put to death *Oreſtes*, which done there nothing remained but to ſuppreſs *Auguſtus* his Son. To effect this he proceeded to ***Ravenna***, where though he miſſed of him, he took and killed his Uncle *Paul* the Brother of *Oreſtes*. Now he thought fit to take in the ſeveral Cities which ſeemed averſe to his Intereſt. For this purpoſe he diſtributed his Forces which made ſad deſolations in ſeveral places, the Empire of *Rome* not being to fall without many other Cities buried in its Ruines, which *Mutina* to ſome really ſeems to have been; there being no mention of it, nor its neighbour *Regium*, afterwards made in the *Gothick* Wars. At length the Conqueror goes to *Rome*, the Inhabitants whereof went out to meet him, and received their Lord and Soveraign with Acclamations. *Momilius* almoſt dead for Fear, put off the Imperial Habit of his own accord, and was confined by *Odoacer* to *Lucullanum* a Caſtle in *Campania*, where we may imagine he quitted the Name as well as the Title of *Auguſtus*, for fear the Conqueror ſhould find Treaſon in it as well as the other.

Momilius deveſts himſelf of the Purple.

71. That Tempeſt of Violence and uſurpation which raged at this time, and was ſo powerful as to overturn an Empire ſo firmly rooted, had alſo its effect in the Eaſt, and at *Conſtantinople*. For there *Baſiliſcus* who had been ſpared by *Leo*, could not brook *Zeno* ſhould be preferred before him; but laid his Trains ſo artificially, that therewith *Zeno* circumvented was conſtrained to be gone, ſome ſay into *Iſauria* his Country, others into *Italy*, and *Baſiliſcus* was by the Soldiers ſaluted Emperor, which Title having aſſumed, he conferred that of *Cæſar* on his Son *Marcus*, and for about a Year and an half he proſpered in his uſurped Power. Thus new *Rome* ſeemed to ſympathize with the old, and could not but fall ſick, when ſhe laboured under her mortal Diſtemper. And this happened the very ſame year, though at what time we cannot exactly tell. By the dates indeed of three Laws extant in *Juſtinians* Code, which have been by the Annotators aſſigned to this year, it muſt have been after the Moneth of February, toward the later end of which one of them is ſaid to have been made by *Zeno* yet in power. But ſome miſtake is Committed in the Date of them, and indeed *Baſilius*, not *Baſiliſcus*, is ſaid to be Conſul: moreover another which bears his Name, and hath this year ſet to it, is ſaid to be dated on the twenty eighth of December, which could not be, for he was forced into retirement before that time, and beſides *Baſilius* is noted as Conſul. But thus was the whole Empire diſtreſſed and in diſturbance; but that of the Weſt quite failed, being cantonized and parcelled out into the Poſſeſſion of *Barbarians*. Our *Britain*, as we have ſeen, was haraſed by *Engliſh Saxons*, *Picts* and *Scots*, and quitted long ſince by the *Romans*. *Spain* was held by the *Goths*, *Suevi*, *Alans* and ſuch like; *Africk* by *Genſerich* and his Vandalls; In *Pannonia* and ſeveral Provinces Eaſtward the *Hunns*, *Goths* and other Barbarous Nations had neſted themſelves. *Gall* was lately held and divided by *Tetrarchies*; for beſides that Pittance which remained to the Emperor, it was parted by the *Goths*, *Burgundians* and *Franks*. And now laſt of all *Italy* it ſelf was inſlaved to the *Heruli*, and the Miſtreſs of the World reduced to a Condition below that of Majeſty.

Zeno driven from *Conſtantinople* by *Baſiliſcus.*

*L.*23. *de Jure Dotium Cod. Juſt. lib.*5. *tit.* 12.

*L.*5.*de Naturalibus liberis lib.* 5. *tit.* 27. & *l.ult.de. Magiſtratibus conveniendis lib.* 5. *tit. ult.*

The Empire in the Weſt fails.

72. Thus we ſee the Inconſtancy of all Sublunary things, the Viciſſitude of human Affairs, and the vanity of all Mundane Greatneſs. *Rome* which had triumphed over all the World, now affoarded herſelf matter for a Triumph, loſt her Dominion and became ſubject to ſuch Abject People, as formerly, though not of late, ſhe had deſpiſed with the greateſt Scorn. Behold another Face of things. She had run a madding after the new Faſhions and Novelties of the *Barbarians*, and was now forced to receive them, not as Foreigne but Domeſtick; and the *Gown* in reality muſt give place to the *Pells*. She had been Captivated in mind before ſhe was taken, and now was become inſlaved to all purpoſes. So do Novelties longed after often bring a Surfeit, and the World being a Stage ſeems to affect, and to be afflicted with, variety

Sect 7. variety of things and Perſons, as well as men. This Empire of old *Rome* as it began in *Auguſtus*, ſo it ended in one of the ſame Name, the like of which is to be obſerved of other Kingdoms. Now it remains that we firſt treat of the remaining part of the Empire, though ſtill *Roman* in its Body, yet as headed by the New or Daughter *Rome*, *viz.* *Conſtantinople*. And then of the original of the ſeveral Nations which cantonized the Weſtern Empire, and of their Kingdoms therein erected, in order, as theſe Kingdoms were contemporary with the *Conſtantinopolitan Roman* Empire. *A. D.* 476.

And of theſe, God willingly, ſhortly.

FINIS.

UMI

A

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FINIS.

UMI

AN
INSTITUTION
OF
General Hiſtory:
OR THE
HISTORY
OF THE
WORLD.

The THIRD PART. pt. 3

CONTAINING

That of the *Conſtantinopolitan Roman* Empire and the Contemporaries with it: All diſtinctly by themſelves, and yet linked together as the former Parts were.

FROM

The Taking of *Rome* by *Odoacer*, and the Exile of *Zeno* the Emperour, to the Depoſing of *Irene* and Promotion of *Nicephorus*:

WITH

An Account of the ſeveral Actions, Polities, Laws and Things of moment, during the Reign of each Emperour, and the Original Atchievements and Polity of the *Franks*, the Dominion of the *Goths*, *Saracens*, *Arabians* and *Moors* in *Spain* and *Gall* within this Period.

By WILLIAM HOWEL, *LL. D. ſometimes Fellow of*
Magdalen *College in* Cambridge.

LONDON,
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TO

The High and Mighty **PRINCE**

JAMES II.

KING of *Great Britain, France* and *Ireland,*
Defender of the Faith, *&c.*

GREAT SIR,

AMONG the Crowds of Loyal Counties and Corporations that Addreſs themſelves unto Your MAJESTY, vouchſafe to permit a deſolate Widow to approach into Your Sacred Preſence to Congratulate Your Happy and moſt Juſt Poſſeſſion of the Throne of theſe Kingdoms, by laying a ſmall Preſent at Your Royal Feet.

Which is due to Your MAJESTY by a double Title, both by right of Succeſſion to our late Gracious Sovereign, by whoſe Royal Bounty this Work was encouraged; and alſo by deſignment of the Authour, who intended, had not his Death prevented it, to have Dedicated this Book *To His Royal Highneſs* JAMES *the Duke of* York, which I now moſt humbly offer *To the Sacred Majeſty of King* JAMES *the Second.*

Whom I beſeech the King of Kings long to preſerve beloved of all his Subjects, dreaded by all his Enemies, and renowned to all Poſterity in the Hiſtory of Future Ages.

So prayeth with due Reverence

Your Majeſty's moſt Loyal Subject

Mary Howel.

854715

UMI

THE

PREFACE

TO THE

READER.

THE Authour having ſaid ſo much in his Preface to his Second *part of this Work, here is little occaſion to add much to this, but onely to give an Account in ſhort of this Volume.*

The Roman *ſhare thereof was compoſed out of Authours, as they are quoted in the Margent; beginning from the fall of* Auguſtulus, *and the Ruine of the Empire in the Weſt, (where the* Second *part ends) to the depoſing of the Empreſs* Irene, *and promotion of* Nicephorus, *with an Account of the ſeveral Actions, Polities, Laws and Things of moment, during the Reign of each Emperour (in particular, the new Modelling of the Civil Law by* Juſtinian*) and ſetting forth the Original, and all the Hiſtory of ſuch Nations as are mentioned in this Method, or had nothing memorable, or very little, but what is intermixed with theſe Affairs: And alſo ſuch Kingdoms as were at this Period, but lately begun, and little certainty concerning their matters can be known, are (according to the Method of the* Firſt *part) handled as they be Conſiderable.*

The French *part was taken from their own Authours as they are quoted generally, containing the Original and Progreſs of them, before their paſſing the* Rhine, *their Kingdom in* Gall, *from their paſſing the* Rhine, *to the Death of* Childerick *the laſt* Pagan *King, and the promotion of* Clodonee *the firſt* Chriſtian *one, to the Ruine of the Line of the* Meroningians, *which was ſucceeded by the*

the Carloningians, *and continued to the Advancement of* Charles *the Son of* Pipin *to the Title of Emperour in the Weſt, with the Original and defeat of thoſe Nations and Countries, which were over-run by the Conduct, Courage, or cunning of the* Franks; *ſhewing their Polity, Laws, Cuſtoms and Antiquities, out of the Original Tongue, with other critical Remarks ſutable to the Nature and uſefulneſs of ſuch an undertaking.*

The Spaniſh *part was likewiſe taken out of their own Authours, containing the Kingdom of the* Viſigoths, *or Weſtern* Goths *in* Gall *and* Spain, *to the Death of King* Eurick, *the Father of* Alarick *the Great, then from the promotion of* Alarick, *to the deſtruction of this Kingdom by the* Saracens, *the Original of the* Saracens, *with an Account of their firſt founding their Kingdom in* Spain, *to the Riſe of new* Gothick *ones, which at length procured the Ruine of it, being all Contemporary with the Conſtantinopolitan* Roman *Empire: Left under his own Hand in writing, which is atteſted by us,*

H. London.
Tho. Roffen.
Sy. Patrick, *D. D.*
W$^{m.}$ Denton, *M. D.*
Rich. Aſhfeild, *Gent.*

AN INSTITUTION OF General Hiſtory: OR The Hiſtory of the World.

The Third Part.

BOOK I.

Of the *Conſtantinopolitan Roman* Empire.

Chap I.

From the taking of Rome *by* Odoacer, *and the Exile of* Zeno *the Emperour to the Reign of* Juſtinian *the Great.*

The ſpace of fifty years.

Rome the Elder being in Captivity, the Younger Succeeded as Head of the Empire remaining.

A. D. 476. *Baſiliſco & Armato Coſſ.*

1. ROME the Elder, being fallen from her ancient Dominion, and now a Captive, the Right of Succeſſion to all her Empire remaining, was devolved upon her Daughter the younger *Rome* or *Conſtantinople.* And to her ſell a very great Inheritance, though vaſtly ſhort of what her Mother had acquired. For with the Ancient Lady her *Weſtern* Provinces were gone into Captivity. *Italy* with her ſelf was Subject to the *Heruli*; *Gall* was ſeized by the *Franks* and *Burgundians*; *Spain* was become the Inheritance of the *Goths*; *Britain* to be poſſeſſed by *Saxons*, *Scots* and *Picts*; *Africk* was held by the *Vandals*; and *Pannonia* by the *Oſtrogoths*, *Hunns* and other Nations. But thence *Eaſtward* as far as the limit of *Meſopotamia* the *Roman* Empire remained entire to the young Sovereign Miſtreſs; and the Northern Bounds and alſo the Southern were much the ſame; a fair Inheritance, as the Reader may find by that Inventary we have given him, at the beginning of the Second Volume of this Work, and therein otherwiſe is largely related.

Zeno the rightfull Emperour at this time.

Vide Baronium ad Ann. 477 & 478. *Procopium Hiſt. Vandal. lib.* 1.

2. The true and Rightfull Prince and onely *Roman* Emperour was *Zeno*, though now in Exile, being driven away by the Incroachments of *Baſiliſcus* the Tyrant, who uſurped for about a year and ſix Months. *Procopius* writes that he loſt his Power within a year and eight months, after he had driven *Zeno* and his Wife into *Iſauria*; for then he became odious for his Avarice to the *Pretorian* Souldiers. This was not unknown to *Zeno*, who thereupon got an Army together and went againſt him. *Baſiliſcus* made choice of *Armatus* for his General, who led his Army againſt *Zeno*, and incamped near unto him, but delivered up himſelf and all his men into

his hands, on condition that *Baſiliſcus*, a very Boy the Son of *Armatus*, being at preſent created *Cæſar*, ſhould be owned by *Zeno* for his Succeſſour. *Baſiliſcus*, thus forſaken by his Souldiers, betook himſelf to the ſame Church to which he had formerly fled; and was delivered up into the hands of *Zeno* by *Acacius*, who inveighed much againſt him for his Impiety, having been an earneſt Defender of the Hereſie of *Eutiches*. *Zeno* having recovered his Power, to keep his promiſe to *Armatus*, created his Son *Cæſar*, but in a ſhort time deprived both the Boy of his Dignity, and *Armatus* of his Life. And *Baſiliſcus* the Uſurper with his Wife and Children, he ſent into *Cappadocia* in a ſharp Winter, forbidding that they ſhould be ſupplied with Food or Clothes, or other things which Nature required; whereby it came to paſs that being oppreſſed with Hunger and Cold, they imbraced one another and periſhed together. So was *Baſiliſcus* puniſhed for his wicked Actions, being betrayed by *Armatus*, who the foregoing year had been his Companion in the Conſulſhip, though, becauſe of the Uſurpation, this following be onely known *by being after it, or after the Conſulſhip of Baſiliſcus* and *Armatus*. To what *Procopius* writes concerning *Armatus* from others, *Baronius* adds, That being in favour both with *Zeno* and *Baſiliſcus*, as he was the Kinſman of the latter, when by command of *Zeno* he was ſlain, the Citizens rejoyced, for under *Leo* whatſoever ſeditious *Thracians* he took, he cut off their hands: But he was killed by one *Onoulus*, whom coming from his Barbarous Countrey very poor he courteouſly received, firſt made him a *Comes*, and then *Prefect* of *Illyricum*, and furniſhed him with much Plate for his Entertainments. But for his kindneſs, he ſo requited him by his barbarous treachery and bloudy hand. So we bid farewell to the Uſurpation of *Baſiliſcus*, with this onely obſervation farther, that *Euagrius* differs ſo far from *Procopius* as to his Death, that he writes that being ſent into *Cappadocia* to be killed, he was ſlain in a Station called *Acouſus* with his Wife and Children.

Baſiliſcus made away.

A.D. 477.
Poſt Conſulatum Baſiliſci & Armati.

Armatus killed.

Hiſt. lib. 3. *c.* 8.
ἐν Ἀκούσῳ τῷ σαθμῷ ἀποσφάττεται.

3. *Euagrius* tells us, that *Zeno* after the Death of *Baſiliſcus* abrogated by a Law his Decrees which he had written in circular Letters: By theſe Decrees we ſuppoſe he means ſuch Ordinances as he had made in reference to Religion, with which we are not to meddle in this place. And no ſuch Law do we now find extant in the Code, though two others made by *Zeno*, and both at the latter end of the year, in *December*. One of them directs how an Eſtimation is to be made, of Damage ſuſtained by a forcible Entry. The other ordains that no Reſcript procured by the petition of any ſingle Perſon, (then called *Adnotatio*) nor at the requeſt of a Body incorporate or Society (termed *Pragmatica*,) be admitted by any Judge except it manifeſted that the matter ſuggeſted in the petition was true. Every *Quæſtor* or *Magiſter Scrinii* that dictated ſuch Reſcripts ſhould undergo Repreheniſon, and alſo the Judges that admitted them; and ſuch *Memoriales* of any *Scrinium*, *Pragmaticarii*, or *Adjutores Primicerii* as ſhould unlawfully write them ſo dictated ſhould be puniſhed with the loſs of their Girdles. To which afterward *Juſtinian* added that the Subſcription of the *Quæſtor* ſhould be neceſſary, in which ſhould be contained, between whom, and to what Judge, and by whom the ſacred Oracle (ſuch terms were ſtill uſed) was directed, otherwiſe it ſhould not be received by any Judge upon pein of fining in twenty pounds of Gold, and as much by his Office. Of civil matters we meet with nothing more that was memorable this yeare xcept a terrible Earthquake, which happened on the twenty fifth day of *September* at *Conſtantinople*. Many Churches and Houſes were demoliſhed, the *Roſtra* utterly defaced, and a vaſt number of people overwhelmed in the Ruines. Now alſo fell a Globe of the Pillar in the ordinary *Forum*, and the Statue of *Theodoſius* the Great, placed upon a Pillar in the *Forum* of *Taurus*, with a great part of the inward Wall. The Earthquake continued long, ſo that a Stench alſo ſeized the City. Theſe miſchiefs *Baronius* takes to be fore-tellers of the great Evils that followed, when the Emperour caſt off that Vizard of Orthodox Belief, with which at preſent he was covered.

L. 9. *Cod. Juſt. lib.* 8. *Tit.* 4. *Dat. Id. Decemb.*
L. 7. *de Diverſis Reſcriptis, Cod Juſt. lib.* 1. *Tit.* 22 *Dat.* 10. *Kal. Jan.*

Zeno reſtrains the ſurreptitious procuring of Reſcripts.

4. The year following was characteriſed onely with the Conſulſhip of *Illus* who bore the Title at *Conſtantinople* without a Collegue. For in the Weſt was none created, meſſages paſſing betwixt *Zeno* and *Odoacer*, about a Peace and good underſtanding; and as the Emperour would not intermeddle with the Affairs of that Tract, ſo the other not taking that Title upon him, but onely of King, would not arrogate to himſelf ſo much Power, as one well obſerveth. This year, for what we can perceive, was almoſt barren of civil Tranſactions, ſtirs again breeding about Religious matters through the practices of the *Eutychian* Hereticks. Onely three laws we find bearing the Date of it, and two of them of the ſame day, or the firſt of *March*, directed to the ſame perſon *Sebaſtian*, the *Præfectus Prætorio*

A.D. 478.
Illo ſive (ut in legibus ſcribitur) Ella Conſ.

Baron. ad h. Ann.

rio, though we cannot ſay they made up one and the ſame Conſtitution. “One of them ſecures theright of Children, ſo as the propriety of things made over to their Mothers in conſideration of Marriage, ſhould deſcend unto them; and if one of the Sons died, his Children ſhould repreſent him, and exclude the Brothers of the Deceaſed. And Sons dying before their Parents, if Nephews by them remained, they ſhould ſucceed equally to their rights. For hereby Parents were obliged to preſerve to their Children profits riſing by Marriage *in infinitum*; yet ſo as they might have the liberty to chuſe one of their Children, and on him confer the ſaid profits; as a Son might confer on one of his Children which he pleaſed, what deſcended to him by virtue of a Donation made to his Mother in conſideration of Marriage. By the ſecond law he gives greater liberty to the making of Donations than the Emperour *Conſtantine* was willing to allow, who in his time being acquainted with the great cheats and injuries which were committed by profuſe, fraudulent and extorted Deeds of gift, whereby perſons made havock of their Eſtates, gave them away to evade the Laws or cheat their Creditours, and were conſtrained to doe that to which of themſelves they had no Inclination, by ſeveral laws he put a reſtraint upon theſe practices. As he required a corporal Delivery of the thing ſo given and granted, (*viz.* by delivering it into the hands of the Donee, if a moveable, if an immoveable by quitting it that he might take poſſeſſion,) ſo he would have the Neighbours called to be Witneſſes of the Act. And beſides this, as he would have no Donation to be made contrary to Law, nor againſt the will and pleaſure of the Donee, required moreover that ſhould be contained in Writing, and as to the form, would have the Name of the Donor to be expreſſed, and the right and Title by which he was ſeized of the thing ſo given or granted; ſo he would have the gift Regiſtred in the Regiſter of a Judge or Magiſtrate.

Makes a Law in favour of Children.

L. 7. de Secundis Nuptiis, Cod. Juſt. lib. 5. Tit. 9.

L. 31. de Donationib. lib. 8. Tit. 54.

L. 1. de Donationibus, Cod. Th. lib. 8. Tit. 12. Vide Gothiſ. in l.

5. But as that excellent Prince diſcharged his duty in obviating the vitious Inclination of the Times wherein he lived, and in reforming the Abuſes of uſe and cuſtome, ſo now *Zeno* it ſeems, thought fit after feeling the pulſe of his own Time, to take off this “Neceſſity of the Teſtimony of Neighbours, or others to ſuch Donations as were inſinuated at the Acts, or as we ſay Regiſtred in the Regiſters, or entred in the Records of Magiſtrates. And even in Donations not Regiſtred, he took off the neceſſity of Witneſſes by this Law, provided the Inſtruments were written by a *Tabellio* or publick Notary, or any other, or the Donor himſelf, if ſuch was the cuſtome of the place, or even if no writing was made thereof, the Donation might be good, provided there were other ſufficient Evidence, as *Theodoſius* and *Valentinian* had formerly written to *Hierius* the *Præfectus Prætorio*. The third law of thoſe we mentioned to have been enacted this year, was in favour of *Illuſtrious* Perſons, and is directed to one *Alexander* of that Rank, though whether in or out of Office is not expreſſed in the Direction, a thing rare in the Conſtitutions of Princes made after the time of *Conſtantine*. For he hath no Title given him, neither yet doth the Law it ſelf ſeem to hint that he did *Militare* or was in actual Service. “For it declares, that if an Action of Injury be brought by, or againſt, any Illuſtrious Perſons, either in actual ſervice, (*militantibus*) or out of Employment, (*ſine cingulo conſtitutis*) their Wives, Sons, Daughters, (their illuſtrious Fathers and Husbands being yet alive) if the Action be Criminal, the party accuſing ſhall make the uſual Inſcription (to undergo the *lex talionis* if found to ſlander,) and doe other things ſolemnly which are required in ſuch caſes, but the Accuſer or Accuſed may appear by their Procuratours, without being bound to doe it in Perſon, to which privilege he forbids all other perſons to aſpire, or to petition him for it; requiring that that cuſtomary form of proceeding in Judicature be punctually obſerved. This ſame privilege, by a Novel of *Valentinian*, was given to Biſhops and Presbyters, provided they ſubſcribed alſo, and the condemnation ſhould be in their Names. Otherwiſe it was a general Rule, *In criminal cauſes none can tranſact by a Procuratour.*

Of Donations.

L. 29. de Donationibus, Cod. Juſt.

Of Illuſtrious Perſons.

L. 11. de Injuriis, Cod. Juſt. lib. 9. Tit. 35. Dat. 5. Non. Novembr. Alexandro viro Illuſtri.

6. The next year, or the CCCCLXXIX of our Lord, is marked in the *Faſti*, with the third Conſulſhip of the Emperour *Zeno*, who, for what we can ſee, did very little of moment in it. Yet two Conſtitutions are ſtill extant in the Code of *Juſtinian*, bearing his Name and the Date of this year, by one of which he took farther care about Donations before Marriage. “By the Second he ordains that Mothers ſhall be ſubject to a Neceſſity of moving for Guardians, as well for their Natural Children, as thoſe born of lawfull Wedlock; and that Ignorance ſhall not excuſe them from ſuch penalties as by Law or Conſtitutions they are lyable to upon ſuch neglect, that is of being deprived of the Right of ſucceeding to ſuch

A. D. 479. *Zenone A. 3. Conſ.*

L. 29. de Inofficioſo Teſtam. lib. 3. Tit. 28. Dat. Kal. Maii.

Takes care for Minors.

L. ult. Qui petant Tutores vel Curatores, Cod. Juſt. lib. 5. Tit. 31. Dat. Kal. Sept.

A. D. 480. *Baſilio jun. Conſ.*

L. ult. de in integrum reſtitutione minorum, Cod. Juſt. lib. 2. *Tit.* 22.

Relaxates the former Rigour in making Teſtaments.

L. 22. *de Teſtam. Cod. Juſt. lib.* 6. *Tit.* 23.

Children when nearer Heirs are wanting. As ſmall Intelligence have we concerning any thing tranſacted in the CCCCLXXX year of our Saviour, wherein *Baſilius Junior* was Conſul: But alſo we find two Conſtitutions publiſhed by *Zeno* on one and the ſame day, or the firſt of *May*, though directed to two ſeveral *Prefects*, as to which a miſtake might be committed by ſome Scribe. Whereas Indulgence was by the laws granted to Minors, or thoſe under the Age of five and twenty, ſo as in reſpect of their want of experience, if they were deceived in Bargains and Tranſactions, they might be reſtored *in integrum*; ſuch an abuſe was made of this favour, that *Zeno* now declared, That in caſe they had made uſe of the Law, and had the benefit of it, and therein received Damage, no reſtitution ſhould be granted to them. And whereas for weighty reaſons, the *Romans* had been wonderfully ſtrict in the making of Teſtaments, ſo as ſuch Lawyers or others as dictated Wills, and ſuch as were Witneſſes to them, could anciently receive no benefit by ſuch Wills, becauſe of the temptation they had to falſifie their truſt, or work upon the weakneſs of the Teſtatour; now by uſe and experience ſo little damage appeared in ſuch caſes, that he gives liberty to Teſtatours to leave what they think fit, in a due and lawfull manner to ſuch perſons, by way of Legacy or *Fideicommiſſum*.

A. D. 481. *Placidio Conſ.*

Theodorich moving againſt *Zeno*,

lib. 3. *c.* 25.

Miſcarries preſently after.

7. The CCCCLXXXI of our Lord had *Placidius* for Conſul, and beſides having thence a Conſul was very remarkable to the Eaſt, for the danger that threatned it and *Conſtantinople*. The Authour of this Danger, as *Euagrius* tells the ſtory, was *Theodorich*, and him he terms a *Scythian* by Nation. He writes that preparing a War againſt *Zeno*, he raiſed an Army in *Thrace*; and waſting all the Territories that lay before him, peirced as far as to the entrance of *Pontus*, and was not far from taking *Conſtantinople*. His deſign was hindered by thoſe neareſt about him, or his moſt inward Friends, who being vehemently offended at him, conſpired his Deſtruction. This being diſcovered by him he retreated, but not long after was numbered amongſt the Dead though by other means. It happened that in his Camp, his Spear which was double pointed hung aloft according to the barbarous cuſtome; It ſo hanging, he had a mind to exerciſe his Body, and his Horſe was called for, he leaped upon him haſtily, (as his manner was in doing other things) and the Horſe being skittiſh and unbroken, before he could fitly diſpoſe of his Legs, and ſit faſt in the Saddle, reared on end, ſo that *Theodorich* was extremely put to it to hold his hold, not daring to curb him, leſt he ſhould come over with him; and by this means being toſſed about, and not commanding either Horſe or himſelf, he light upon the Spear and ſo ſhook it, that it peirced his ſide with ſuch a Wound, that taking his Bed he died of it not many days after. Now whereas *Marcellinus* placing this Accident in this year, relates it concerning *Theodorich* the Son of *Triarius*, and writes that he peirced as far as *Anaplius*, a place diſtant but four Miles from *Conſtantinople*, and thence purpoſed to March for *Illyricum* when he was thus by Death prevented. *Baronius* blames *Jornandes* or *Jordanus* the *Gothick* Hiſtorian, for writing this to have been not *Theodorich* the Son of *Triarius*, but *Walemir Amalus* King of the *Goths*, the Brother of *Theodomir* who was Father of *Theodorich Amalus*, who this year ſucceeded in the Kingdom of the *Goths*.

A. D. 482. *Severino Conſ.*

Ibid. c. 26.

Martian rebells,

Is forced to enter into Orders.

Idem Cap. 27.

8. To this ſtory of *Theodorich*, *Euagrius* ſubjoyns other deſigns proſecuted againſt *Zeno*, which fell out about this time, probably, if not in this year, in that which followed, or the CCCCLXXXII of our Lord, which was characteriſed with the Conſulſhip of *Severinus*. Theſe things being done, ſaith he, *Martian* the Son of *Anthemius* who had been Emperour at *Rome*, and joyned in Affinity with *Leo* the late Emperour at *Conſtantinople*, began to exerciſe Enmity with the Emperour *Zeno*. The truth was, having Married *Leontia*, the younger Daughter of *Leo*, he aſpired after the Sovereignty, which proceeded ſo far, that in the Palace a great Fight there was, many were killed on both ſides, and *Martian* had the better, forcing his Adverſaries to retire, and had been Maſter of the Court, if by deferring what he deſigned till the following day, he had not loſt his opportunity, but taken time by the forelock. But the day following, he was betrayed by his followers and left alone, whereupon he fled to the Church of the Holy Apoſtles, and thence being taken by force, he went to *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, where joyning himſelf with ſome Monks, to lie concealed, he was diſcovered, and ſent by the Emperour to *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, and being ſhaven was deſigned a Prieſt. *Euagrius* adds that theſe things were very Elegantly written by *Euſtathius* the *Syrian*, who moreover related how *Zeno* laid almoſt infinite Snares to intrap *Berina* his Mother-in-Law, that afterwards he Baniſhed her into *Cilicia*, and then again confined her

to the Caſtle called *Papiriana*, wherein ſhe died at what time *Illus* Uſurped. The things that were done by *Illus* the ſaid *Euſtathius* very neatly related, then how being laid at by *Zeno* he fled, as alſo how the Emperour put to death him to whom he had given orders to kill him, cutting his Head from his Shoulders, to reward him for his fruitleſs indeavours. But *Illus* to conceal his Intentions he made Captain of his Troups that ſerved in the *Eaſt*, and he contracted Friendſhip not onely with *Leontius*, but *Marſus* an Eminent man, and *Pamprepes*, and made his Abode in the Eaſtern parts. And *Leontius* was declared Emperour at *Tarſus*, in *Cilicia*; but what Fruit thoſe men reaped by their Uſurpation, when *Theodorich* a *Goth* by Nation, but held in great Honour by the *Romans*, was ſent General againſt them with an Army, as well of Native Subjects as Strangers, and how they were miſerably Slain by *Zeno*, for the good will they had born him; Moreover how *Theodorich* knowing the will and deſign of *Zeno*, betook himſelf to old *Rome*, the ſame *Euſtathius* doth neatly deliver in Writing. So *Euagrius* too conciſely, from whom it ſhould ſeem that theſe men were perſecuted by *Zeno*, and in a manner conſtrained to become his Enemies.

Zeno forceth others to revolt.

Vide Bar. ad h. An.

A. D. 483. *Fauſto Conſ.*

9. The CCCCLXXXIII year of our Lord, had for Conſul *Anicius Fauſtus*, whether in the *Eaſt* or *Weſt* we are not certain, though the *Anicii* had their Eſtate in the *Weſt*, as we have formerly ſeen, and their Abode at *Rome*; but that there was a commigration of *Roman* Families from one Quarter to another, may be eaſily granted; as alſo that *Odoacer* though he named no Conſuls himſelf, might admit that thoſe now ſubject to his power, might receive that Dignity. But as this matter is obſcure, ſo are all other Affairs belonging to this year, and of civil concernment; for as to the Eccleſiaſtical, *Zeno* was too much employed in thoſe of Religious concernment. But the year enſuing, or the CCCCLXXXIIII, was remarkable for having two Conſuls again, and one of them *Theodorich* a *Gothick* King, with whom was joyned *Venantius*: *Theodorich* was advanced to this Honour for having vanquiſhed the Uſurpers lately mentioned, for which he had alſo a Triumph, and a Statue on Horſeback erected to his memory. This Victory touched at by *Euagrius*, is rationally thought to have given occaſion to the conferring of thoſe Honours mentioned by *Jornandes* the *Gothick* Hiſtorian. He writes that *Zeno* the Emperour hearing how he was appointed to be King of his Nation, took it acceptably, and by an *Evocatory* Letter, commanded him to come to the City, where he received him with worthy Honour, and placed him among the Nobles of his Palace, and after ſome time, to inlarge his Honour in reference to Arms, he adopted him his Son, gave him a Triumph in the City at his own Expence, and he was made Ordinary Conſul; which ſaith the Hiſtorian is cried up as the cheif good, and the firſt Ornament in the World. But this was not all, he alſo ſet up before his Palace a Statue on Horſeback, to the renown of ſo great a man.

Theodorich a *Gothick* King is Conſul.

A. D. 484. *Theodoricho & Venantio Coſſ.*

c. 57.

Upon what account.

A. D. 485. *Symmacho Conſ.*

10. The year of our Lord CCCCLXXXV, had *Symmachus* alone for Conſul, and hath alſo little remarkable, except we take notice of what *Baronius* hints from *Marcellinus* his *Chronicon*, that *Longinus* the Brother of *Zeno*, who had been detained in cuſtody by *Illus* in *Iſauria* ten years, now came to him to *Conſtantinople*. Him did *Zeno* indeavour to make *Cæſar*, that he might leave him his Succeſſour in the Empire, but becauſe he was a profligate Perſon, never could he doe it, being amongſt others oppoſed by *Pelagius* a *Patritian*, a man of great reputation. For *Suidas* writes, that *Longinus* and *Conon* the Brothers of *Zeno*, making uſe of their power unjuſtly in all Cities, took the Eſtates of other men, and for reward defended ſuch as were guilty of moſt grievous crimes. As for *Longinus*, being guilty of all ſorts of Incontinency, he was the daily companion of drunken Perſons, and kept many Pandars about him, who promiſing to convey to him the Wives of the greateſt men, by bringing in ſplendid Chariots Strumpets that were curiouſly dreſſed, did but cheat him. He diſſolved alſo a company of Nuns after this manner, being told by certain Procurers that they were very handſome, coming often to *Pergæ*, he ſent them certain preſents of things to Eat and Wear, and otherwiſe to divert them from their melancholick Life, and yet entring the Monaſtery, drew away more of them by force than perſuaſion. For he was ſo wanton that importunely he would offer violence to Women of ingenuous condition, the Wives and Daughters of Magiſtrates, and carried himſelf impudently in all concerns. Nay, when he went abroad, he would caſt away Silver Balls, and Bracelets to entice them.

Zeno would make his Brother *Longinus Cæſar.*

Vide Baron. ad h. An.

For *Longinus* his diſſolute Life hinders his preferment.

11. Such diſorders were committed by *Zeno*'s Relations; which we cannot wonder that he permitted, when his Government was out of order, by reaſon of the evil

Sebaſtian an Evil Miniſter.

evil Miniſters he indulged, if *Suidas* be in this matter alſo to be credited. But he farther Writes, that the *Romans* had been ſenſible of an happy adminiſtration, if *Sebaſtian*, being moſt powerfull at Court, had not carried him every way as he liſted, ſelling all things as in a Market, and not ſuffering any thing to paſs in the Palace without money. All Offices he ſold, partly keeping the money to himſelf, and partly dividing it with the Emperour, and who gave moſt was the man that was preferred. In concluſion, at Court there was nothing that was not ſold. If it happened that *Zeno* gave an Office to any of his Friends, he would redeem it out of their hands, as if it had been a Captive, and ſell it for a larger Sum. But what wonder ſhould there be that *Zeno* would ſuffer ſuch corruption, when he permitted the manners of his Son, and him that was to ſucceed him to be ſo corrupted? He, as the ſame Authour writes, adorned him with Dignities, and commanded him to exerciſe his Body for the increaſe of his Stature. But thoſe about him having got an occaſion of emptying the Treaſury, took care that the Youth ſhould be corrupted with *Sybaritick* Luxury, and by their villanous pimping, provoked him to the love of thoſe that were equal with him in years. Therefore the courſe of his Life carrying him to Pride and Luxury, being removed from all honeſty, and bearing a lofty Countenance for his expectancy of the Sovereign Command, he began to go ſtately, and carry his Head high, and indeed to demean himſelf to all men, as if they had been his very Slaves. But for his depraved diſpoſition, Providence ſo puniſhed him, that defiling his Bed for many days without any Senſe, he was taken away by Death in an immature Age. As for *Sebaſtian*, he was *Præfectus Prætorio*, ſeveral Laws being found directed to him both already, and hereafter to be mentioned.

Zeno's Son, a great Debauchie,

Dies.

A. D. 486.
Decio & Longino Coſſ.

Zeno reſtrains falſe Teſtimonies.

L. 14. *de Teſtibus*, *Cod. Juſt. lib.* 4. *Tit.* 20.

L. 1. *de Privatis carceribus inhibendis*, *Cod. Juſt. lib.* 9. *Tit.* 5.

L. Un. Cod. Th. Cod. Tit.

12. The following year, or the CCCCLXXXVI of our Saviour, had two Conſuls to characteriſe it, and theſe were *Decius* and *Longinus*. Their Names we find to three ſeveral Conſtitutions, publiſhed in this Conſulſhip by *Zeno*, one on the twelfth before the Calends of *June*, whereby he gave authority to Judges to animadvert upon falſe Witneſſes, ordering that all bearing teſtimony in civil matters ſhould be examined aſide and not before the Parties, and that without any preſcription of Judicature. This is directed to *Arcadius*, the *Præfectus Prætorio*; and the ſecond bearing date of the firſt of *July*, we find inſcribed to *Baſilius* with the ſame Title of *Præfectus*, and as it ſeems of the *Eaſt*, out of which a complaint was brought concerning private men, their uſing of Priſons. *Theodoſius* the Great had formerly by an Edict, directed to *Erytrius* the *Præfectus Auguſtalis*, ordained that if any perſon ſhould confine any Malefactour to a private Priſon, he ſhould incur the crime of High Treaſon. This concerned the *Dioceſe* of *Ægypt*, or that of *Alexandria*, which City as above meaſure it was apt to breed Seditions, ſo it ſeems was fruitfull of ſuch a kind of Inſolence. "That Law was now ſo far laid "aſide, and forgot, that *Zeno* was conſtrained in many words to reinforce it, com"manding that it ſhould be lawfull to no man in the moſt ſplendid City of "*Alexandria*, throughout the *Ægyptian Dioceſe*, or in any Provinces of his Em"pire, either in their Fields or any where elſe at Home, to exerciſe the cuſto"dy of a private Priſon, but that the *Spectabilis*, the *Præfectus Auguſtalis*, for the "time being, and the *Clariſſimi*, the Governours of all Provinces, ſhould doe their "indeavour and be always watchfull, that the ſaid Arrogance of moſt Wicked "men might be ſuppreſſed. For after this his moſt wholſome Conſtitution the ſaid "*Præfectus Auguſtalis*, and whatſoever Governour of a Province, ſhall without "doubt incur the crime of High Treaſon, if he know of ſuch wickedneſs and do "not puniſh it. The ſame crime ſhall be incurred by the *Primates* of *Offices*, if "knowing of ſuch forbidden practices committed in any place, they do not pre"ſently acquaint therewith their own Judges to have them ſuppreſſed. For it is "evident ſaith he, that ſuch as commit this ſort of crime, even by the tenor of "ancient Laws and Conſtitutions, are to be puniſhed with Death, as Violators of "Majeſty it ſelf, or Traitors.

Prohibits the keeping of private Priſons.

Sempérque futuris inſpectis.

Which was forbidden by ancient Laws and why.

Vide Gothofred. in d. l. Theodoſii.

13. By ancient Laws and Conſtitutions, that Edict lately mentioned of *Theodoſius* is principally meant, intended for the ſame *Dioceſe*, and in both Conſtitutions the crime is declared to be High Treaſon, it being indeed ſuch to bear ones ſelf for a Magiſtrate, having no Authority, and ſo he doth who keeps a private Priſon, which is one mark and Symbol of Royalty amongſt others. Before the time of *Theodoſius* private Impriſonment was onely reſtrained and puniſhed by the *lex Julia de vi*; but whereas in his time other ſorts of Violence were chaſtiſed by Deportation, or more light Puniſhments, he thought fit to inflict Death on this by making it High Treaſon, and for this reaſon, that whereas other Acts of Violence offended

indeed againſt the publick Diſcipline, ſuch as Uſurped the Right of Priſons ſtrike at the Majeſty of the Emperour himſelf, whoſe Prerogative it was by the Magiſtrates conſtituted by his Authority to commit to Priſon. Indeed of old time ſuch Debtors as could not pay what was adjudged, were wont to be committed to Cuſtody, as appears by the Laws of the twelve Tables; but this Cuſtome was now grown obſolete. By the *Lex Julia*, concerning Adulterers, A man who found an Adulterer with his Wife, might alſo detain him at his Houſe, or where he firſt caught him for twenty hours by Day and Night; but this was not by way of Impriſonment, but for teſtifying and proving the Fact. Moreover by the *Pontifical* Law, Clerks may in private Houſes chaſtiſe and keep bound their faulty Wives. And *Gothofred* tells us, that by the Cuſtome of his Countrey, the ſame was granted to an Husband, after the hearing of the matter, the circumſtances of perſons being duly weighed; if ſo be a Judge committed the cuſtody of a wicked and hare-brain'd Wife, to an honeſt and prudent Husband. Mad-Folks alſo may be kept up by their Friends and Relations, and the *Ergaſtula* or Work-Houſes of Slaves and Freedmen, or ſuch as ſold themſelves to Drudgery bore ſome reſemblance to private Priſons; but were not ſuch really and meant by thoſe Laws: For hereby was prohibited that reſtraint which was put by greater men upon thoſe of meaner Condition in this kind, and particularly by Poſſeſſours of Lands upon their *Coloni*, or Tillers, as *Gothofred* ſhews from an Oration of *Libanius*, written in the time of *Theodoſius*. The Emperours were ſo tender of the Liberty of their Subjects in this point; that the *Stationarii*, as we have formerly ſeen, who were employed in ſearching for Malefactours, were forbidden to have a Priſon, and keep them in Cuſtody, though for a manifeſt Offence.

Juſtinian afterward mitigated the puniſhment.

L. 2. Cod. Juſt. eod. Tit.

Zeno limits the Number of Advocates in the *Forum* of the *Præfect* of *Illyricum*.

L. de Advocatis diverſorum Judiciorum, Cod. Juſt. lib. 2. Tit. 7. Electione magnifica tuæ ſedis.

Advocates not perpetual.

Vide Cujacii lib. 16. Obſerv. c. 22.

14. However, though this Conſtitution of *Zeno* was thought fit to be put into the Code of *Juſtinian*, yet *Juſtinian* afterwards enacted a milder Puniſhment for this crime of private Priſons. He forbad them to be uſed, and ſubjected ſuch as uſurped them to pein; and to continue as many days in publick Priſon, as they kept any in a private one, of whatſoever Condition or Dignity they were. They ſhould alſo looſe the Cauſe they had againſt ſuch as they ſo Impriſoned, by the care of the Biſhop and the *Preſident*. And if the Preſident neglected his Duty herein, he ſhould incur danger both of Eſtate and Life. The third Law made this year by *Zeno* is concerning the Advocates, which pleaded in the Court of the *Præfectus Præterio* of *Illyricum*, and their privileges. “ He tells *Paulus* the *Prefect*, that “ he will allow his *Highneſs* an hundred and fifty and no more, as formerly had “ been ordained, and ſuch when their term was expired, or they Died, or other-“ wiſe their number was diminiſhed, ſhall be ſupplied by the choice of his *Magnifi-“ cent See*. At the cloſe, whatſoever Privileges had been granted to the Advo-“ cates of the Prefectſhip throughout the Eaſt, without any difference, he confers “ on the Pleaders of his *moſt glorious See* alſo. As there was a certain and determinate Number of Advocates in each *Forum*, ſo of that Number none were perpetual but Temporary. Yet ſcarcity of Lawyers about the time of *Theodoſius* the younger cauſed them to be perpetuated. But then again, when there was plenty of Students, *Valentinian* and *Martian* for their Incouragement, reduced the ancient Law, which continued thenceforth to be approved and in uſe. Having executed honeſtly and with Ability the Office of Advocate for a certain time, they then were promoted to the Patronage of the *Fiſcus* or Treaſury, and afterward by degrees to other various Honours, enjoying that of the *Clariſſimatus* upon their leaving the Bar, where, in the Courts of the *Præfecti Prætorio* and of the City, they were wont to plead for twenty years, or fifteen at leaſt.

A. D. 487. *Boetio Conſ.*

Theodorich infeſts the Empire.

15. The following year, or the CCCCLXXXVII of our Saviour, was enobled by the Conſulſhip of *Boetius*, thought to be the ſame with *Manlius Severinus Boetius* that famous perſon of whom we are to hear much, being of the noble *Anician* Family. And for little more is this year famous, except it was for the danger into which the City of *Conſtantinople* was brought by the defection of *Theodorich* King of the *Goths*; for as *Baronius* well obſerves, there is very great difference betwixt Authours concerning his carriage toward the Emperour *Zeno*, ſome making him very ſerviceable and obliging till his very going for *Italy*, and ſeizing on that Countrey; and others writing him to have been falſe, and indeed to have faln upon the Weſt, becauſe he could not become Maſter of the Empire in the Eaſt. But this we muſt farther inquire into, when we come to relate his Conqueſt of *Italy*. Now as to this year, *Marcellinus* notes that being ſatiated with the kind Offices of *Zeno*, he came as an Enemy with a great Power of his *Goths*, as far as the Royal City and the town *Melantias*; and having ſet fire to many places retreated to *Noven-*

ſis

A. D. 488.
Dinacrio & Siphidio Coſſ.

ſis a City of *Myſia*, whence he began his Expedition. As this year was otherwiſe empty of civil affairs ſo far as we underſtand, ſo that which followed, or the CCCCLXXXVIII of our Lord was quite barren, onely it had two Conſuls by the Names of which it was marked, *viz. Dinacrius* and *Siphidius*.

A. D. 489.
Probino & Euſebio Coſſ.

L. 6. *Ad Senatuſconſultum Trebellianum, Cod, Juſt.lib.*6.*Tit.*49

A. D. 490.
Fauſto Conſ.

Pelagius *the Patritian made away.*

Vide Bar. ad h. An.

His writings.

16. In like manner that which followed, or the CCCCLXXXIX of our Lord, had for Conſuls *Probinus* and *Euſebius*, and all the Noiſe being now in the Weſt, where *Theodorich* at length became Maſter of the Kingdom of *Italy*, little do we hear of in the Eaſt or at *Conſtantinople*. And though probably *Zeno* not otherwiſe diverted might be buſier with his *Quæſtor* in making Laws than we can know, there being many extant in the Code without date of Conſul, yet find we but one Conſtitution made this year which was concerning Children, burthened by their Parents with a truſt or *Fidei Commiſſum*, concerning their retaining a fourth part allowed by the *Senatuſconſultum Trebellianum*. For the year CCCCXC onely one Perſon, *Fauſtus* by Name, is nominated as Conſul in the *Faſti*, but others mention *Fauſtus Junior*, and *Longinus* for Conſuls the ſecond time. This year is not Eminent except for the Murther of *Pelagius* the *Patritian*, whom *Zeno* cauſed to be ſtrangled in the Iſland called *Inſula Paganorum*; a Perſon famous in ſeveral reſpects, for Poetry, and for taking the liberty to reprehend him openly for his wicked Actions. At his Death, he prayed to God to puniſh him for his Cruelty and Injuſtice, which he ſaid he underwent for repreſſing freely his Violence and withſtanding the making of *Cæſar* his fooliſh Brother. He wrote an Hiſtory in Verſe, which took its beginning from *Auguſtus Cæſar*; he compoſed alſo *Homerolentia* and other Treatiſes praiſe-worthy. But beſides him, *Zeno* put to Death *Gazæus* a Rhetorician, *Arcadius* a Prefect, and other Illuſtrious Perſons.

A. D. 491.
Olybrio Conſ.

Zeno is Buried and Dies.

Lege Sennertum de Apoplexia melancholica.

Some Laws of his without date

L. 3. *de Officio Magiſtri Militum, Cod. Juſt. lib.* 1. *Tit.* 29.

17. At length we are arrived at the Year CCCCXCI of our Lord, which brought the Puniſhment along with it prayed for by *Pelagius*, and in which *Olybrius* alone was Conſul. *Caſſiodorus* notes in his Chronicon, that *Zeno* died this year, and we cannot ſay he died and was Buried, but *was firſt Buried and then died in a fearfull manner.* Either ſeized with the Epilepſie, or dead Drunk, or in a fit of a melancholick Apoplexy, which long after brought *Scotus* the great Schoolman to the ſame end, (if a late Eminent Phyſician hath made a right Judgment of the Diſeaſe,) he was laid out for Dead, and as ſuch carried down into a Vault, where recovering his Senſes, he cried out and made an horrible Noiſe. But *Ariadna* his Wife bearing him no good will, either out of hatred to his Vices, or becauſe ſhe deſired another Bedfellow, would not ſuffer him to be releived, ſo that if *Cedrenus* tell the truth, he was afterward found to have eaten the Fleſh off his Arms, and the Buſkins he had upon his Legs. To ſome ſuch end came *Zeno* with whom we have not yet done, finding many Laws of his making without Date, and therefore not able to aſſign them to particular years; but of ſuch as are proper to our deſign we ſhall take notice. Obſerving how many men, to avoid the diſcharge of civil Duties, ſheltered themſelves in theſe days in the Service of the *Magiſtri militum*, "he declared that ſupernumeraries or ſuch as were beyond the appointed Number in the "*Officium* of him of the Eaſt, ſhould be ſubject to the Sentence of civil Judges in "every Affair, even in reference to Tributary Collations; directing the Conſtitution to *Sebaſtian* the Prefect.

No one to be *Proctor* in two Judicatories.

L. 27. *de Procuratoribus Cod. Juſt. lib.*2 .*c.*13.

Obſerv. lib. 13. *c.* 5.

18. To remove a doubt, whether the ſame *Proctor* after Sentence given in a Cauſe, might not proſecute it alſo in the Court of that Judge to whom it was appealed; "by another Edict he alſo declared, that one Perſon ſhould not be *Proctor* "in two Judicatories, but that one ſhould practiſe as ſuch in the greater Auditory, "as for example of the *Preſident* of the Province, and another in that from which "a Cauſe was appealed or referred, as for inſtance, that of him they called *Judex* "*Pedaneus*; ſo that the ſame man who acted before the latter could not doe it too "before the former, but ſhould make a Tranſlation of the Cauſe or the Mandate, "to ſome one of thoſe which practiſed in the Court of the *Preſident* of the Pro- "vince, without any charge or expence for a new Caution, the former ſufficing. "And he inflicts puniſhment upon both *Proctors* and *Apparitors*, who ſhould "neglect this Conſtitution. For ſuch as were aſſigned Judges, and not onely Magiſtrates, had alſo their *Apparitors*. And *Cujacius* farther obſerves from this Conſtitution, that as of *Advocates*, ſo alſo of *Proctors* there was a certain number in every *Forum*, to whom alone ſuch as had Suits might commit their Buſineſs and not to any whatſoever, which holds alſo at this day. And in the laſt place, that each Judicatory had its proper and peculiar *Under Judges* or *Judices Pedanei*, to whom Cauſes were delegated or referred. Theſe did not Act in their own Juriſdiction, nor executed their own Sentences, but to execute them, took ſome out

from among the *Cohortales*, out of the *Scholæ* or *Scrinia*, of which we have formerly ſpoken. But ſuch Judges as were delegated by the Prince himſelf might have *Apparitors* of their own, or ſuch as executed their Decrees, as Magiſtrates themſelves; and ſo it is no wonder that they might delegate others, which the *Pedanei Judices*, or ſuch as were delegated by Magiſtrates could not doe. "This muſt be "ſaid, that *Zeno* of Judicature had a great care, commanding by other Edicts "that Judges ſhould follow ſtrictly the Law, and not what was irregularly com"manded by the Prince. That they ſhould diſpatch Buſineſs, and if any Judge "at the motion of either of the parties protracted the Suite without neceſſity, the "other ſhould betake himſelf to the Prince and make complaint of his delay. Now from one of the greater Judges the Prince was appealed to after Sentence, but a complaint might be made to him before Sentence of protracting the Tryal. And before conteſtation of the Suite, the Judge might be refuſed; "but *Zeno* forbad "it ſhould be after the Suite was conteſted. In caſe ſuch Judge ſeemed incompe"tent, as to ſome Article or point of the Cauſe, he ſhould by his own decree remit "that matter to ſome other Judge that was competent indeed.

Idem Obſ. lib. 12. *c.* 1.

Zeno had a great Care of Judicature.

L. l. 11. 12. *de Judiciis, Cod. Juſt. lib.* 3. *tit.* 1.

19. By the old Law, If a man ſued for more than was his own, either as to time, before it was due, or as to Sum, he loſt his Cauſe. Now this *Zeno* thought unreaſonable as to time, as afterward *Juſtinian* did as to the Sum it ſelf, where there was no *dolus malus* or deſign of him that ſued. As he took off the rigour of the old Law in this matter, ſo he was indulgent to Perſons of the greateſt Quality about him, and thoſe who were his greateſt Officers, or had executed the greateſt places of Truſt, when they appeared as Criminals. "He ordai"ned that a *Patritian* or one who had been ſuch, one who had been Illuſtrious "by executing the Prefectſhip either of the *Prætorium* or City, an ordinary "Conſul, or one to whom the Honour was given by the Prince his Codicills, "one famous for the having undergone the labour of the *Magiſterian* Power, who "had executed the place of *Magiſter Officiorum* or *Quæſtor*, who having been his "*Præpoſitus Cubiculi* had been made a Senatour, or one to whom he had commit"ted the Government of the School of the *Domeſticks*, or of his Treaſures, of the "*Res privata* either of himſelf or Empreſs; if ſuch after having laid down ſhould "be accuſed of a publick or private Crime, to which they could not anſwer by a "Proctour living either in the City or in the Provinces, none ſhould have cogni"ſance of the ſame but himſelf, or onely ſuch *Sacred Cognitor* to whom he ſhould "commit the hearing of the Buſineſs *vice ſua*, by his ſacred Letters. Yet ſo that "by ſuch a Judge not being attended by the Miniſtery of any *Officium* or *School*, "after the manner and order of ſacred Conſultations, without any obſervance of "fatal days, ſuch Cauſes ſhould be heard, the *Libellenſes* (*Viri Devotiſſimi* he "terms them) of his ſacred *Scrinium* performing the Solemnities; He who is ac"cuſed (that before proof no Injury may be done him,) having leave to ſit in "ſome part of the *Secretarium*, inferiour to that of Judges, but above the ordina"ry one of ſuch as have Buſineſs there. And out of reſpect to theſe Dignities, the "very *Sacred Cognitor* himſelf, after the proof of the Crime, ſhall not determine "any thing againſt their Perſons or Eſtates, but in the room of the Prince himſelf "hearing the merits of the Cauſe, if the Offence be proved, he ſhall certifie him "thereof, in whoſe power alone it ſhall be to puniſh offenders of ſuch Quality. "But he declares it to be Law, as formerly it was, that ſuch a *Cognitor* may ab"ſolve ſuch a perſon and put a ſtop to the Calumny of the Accuſer, except the "Accuſer be alſo of the ſame Dignity, for then his Calumny is not to be ſuppreſ"ſed without conſulting the Authority of the Prince.

L. 1. *de pluſ. petitionibus, Cod. Juſt. lib.* 3. *tit.* 10.

L. l. 11. 12. *eod. tit.*

Vide Cujacii Obſ. lib. 7. *c.* 27. & *lib.* 12. *c.* 21.

L. 3. *Ubi Senatores vel clariſſimi &c. Cod. Juſt. lib.* 3. *tit.* 24.

Was kind to great Perſons.

20. "But as for Illuſtrious Perſons living in the City of *Conſtantinople*, who "without any actual adminiſtration were made honourable by Letters or Codi"cills, although by the Emperour's command, they had obtained ſuch prerogative "as to ſeem to doe what they never did, in Cauſes Criminal they ſhould be ſub"ject to the Judgment of the *Præfectus Prætorio*, the Prefect of the City and the "*Magiſter Officiorum*, upon a ſpecial Commiſſion iſſuing out from the Prince, ſo "as thoſe men ſhall not have the liberty of ſitting in Tryals: but ſuch muſt know "that they ſhall not determine any thing about their Perſons or Eſtates, when the "thing is proved without conſulting him. As for Illuſtrious Perſons that lived in "the Provinces, except ſuch as the Cogniſance of whoſe Crimes belonged to him"ſelf, or to ſuch ſacred *Cognitor* as he ſhould depute in his room, and were accu"ſed of ſome Crime, they ſhould have liberty to ſit in the *Secretarium* at their Try"als, and their Crimes being proved, the Judges ſhould abſtain from giving Sen"tence againſt them or their Eſtates, till they had received Anſwers from the

“ Prince to their Reports. The puniſhment alſo due to Calumniatours ſhall not be deferred by Provincial Judges, though the Parties have not the like dignity as before was ſpoken of. By this we ſee the great Privileges enjoyed by Illuſtrious Perſons in this Age, whereof one was great, to have no Fatal times. And the other of ſitting in the *Secretarium* we have formerly ſeen allowed, it being ordinarily indulged to the Illuſtrious in criminal cauſes in a place inferiour to that of the Judges, both in the City and in the Provinces; but to Honorary or Codicillar Dignities onely in the Provinces. Hence ſome collect that ſuch reſpect ſhall be paid to moſt eminent Perſons, as to anſwer ſitting. We ſee that in the *Secretaria* or Auditories of Judges, there were three degrees or ſorts of Places; one of the Judges themſelves, another of Illuſtrious Perſons, and the third of Pleaders and ſuch as had buſineſs to tranſact. It's obſervable alſo that this Law gives one exception to that Rule, That power Condemning and Abſolving go together, ſo as a Judge that doeth one may doe the other. In the laſt place the Offices of Magiſtrates being Annual, they neither could ordinarily be Plaintiffs nor Defendants till their time was out.

Took great care for puniſhing falſe Witneſſes.

L. l. 13. 15. *de Teſtibus, Cod. Juſt.lib.*4.*tit.*20.

21. *Zeno*, beſides what we have already ſaid of this ſubject, took great care for “ prevention and puniſhment of falſe Teſtimony. A falſe Witneſs he would have firſt impeached of Perjury, and then afterward of the crime of Falſhood; of Perjury becauſe Witneſſes were not heard except ſworn. If in the very time of Teſtimony a Witneſs were ſuſpected to lye, he commands him to be ſubjected to torture. A perſon caſt by a falſe Witneſs, if he pleaſed might bring a criminal Action againſt him. If he would bring a civil, he ſhould recover all damages, and beſides this, the falſe Witneſs ſhould be puniſhed according to the Laws. If in the principal matter he was convicted of lying, the Judge might condemn him in the whole or leſs, and alſo ſubject him to puniſhment, obſerving over and above what formerly the Laws had preſcribed concerning falſe teſtimonies. Moreover for prevention of a crime ſo horrible and prejudicial to the publick good, he gave authority even to thoſe called *Judices Pedanei* to correct falſe Witneſſes and ſubject them to torture, if they were *Plebeians*, taking to their aſſiſtence the *Præfectus Vigilum.* And in caſe ſuch Witneſſes were *Decuriones* or of Dignity, that ſuch a Judge could not animadvert upon them, he ſhould report the whole matter to the Magiſtrate, by whom he was delegated, ſo as nothing ſhould be paid for the entring of the report; and if the thing was plain, then the Magiſtrate ſhould give his ſentence either for admitting or rejecting the Teſtimony. But if it required more ſearch and ſcrutiny, the cogniſance of the matter ſhould again be delegated to the Judge, with a *non obſtante* to any Preſcription of the Court, and any privilege; for *Witneſſes when they have given their teſtimony ſeem to have renounced all Privileges.*

22. “ A perſon who denied his Adverſary to be his Kinſman, and that falſely, and required proofs from him of ſuch kindred, he declared ſhould have no right to ſucceed as Heir to ſuch perſon ſo denied, if he died inteſtate. And he who required ſuch proofs ſhould not be heard, except he took the Oath *de Calumnia*, and the right of Succeſſion was preſerved for him that ſwore. As for proving kindred he required five Witneſſes, if there were no private Inſtruments or Writings, or three if ſuch Writings were found; but if there were publick Inſtruments or Writings they ſhould ſuffice without any Witneſſes. In the laſt place one who was Witneſs to ſuch Writings ſhould be compelled to give teſtimony of them whenever it was demanded of him, after he had depoſed as ſuch. This care that *Zeno* had to prevent falſe teſtimonies, was very commendable, nothing being more prejudicial both to lawfull acquiring, and keeping an Eſtate. But he made another Law, which was alſo of very great moment, in order to the firſt of the two, and nothing is more memorable that he enacted. The practice of Monopolies had been complained of in all Ages, and under every Prince, as *Pliny* writes, and frequent *Senatuſconſulta* had been made againſt them. Yet the Emperour might grant liberty when he ſaw convenient to a certain perſon or Body Politick to have the ſole ſale of certain Wares, under a burthen of ſuch a Tribute or Impoſition to the Treaſury.

He forbad Monopolies.

L. un.de Monopoliis,&c.Cod.Juſt: lib. 4. *tit.* 59. *Et vide Cujacii obſ. lib.*10. *c.* 19. & *lib.* 16. *c.*23.

23. But *Zeno* by a Conſtitution directed to *Conſtantine* the *Præfectus Prætorio* thought fit to command, “ That no Perſon whatſoever ſhould dare to exerciſe a Monopoly of any kind of thing belonging to the ſuſtenance of Man, or to any other uſe, of any materials whatſoever, by his own Authority, or by virtue of any Sacred Reſcript either already procured or to be procured, or by any pragmatick Sanction, or any Sacred Adnotation of the Prince. Neither

“ſhould any man conſpire in any unlawfull Conventions, neither Bargain nor Covenant that the *ſpecies* of divers Bodies belonging to Trade ſhould not be ſold for leſs than they agreed of amongſt themſelves. Moreover he forbad all Artificers in Building and undertakers, and the Profeſſours of other various works, and Bath-holders to agree by compact that none ſhould perfect a work which another had begun, nor meddle with a Buſineſs wherein another man was employed, giving leave to every one to have a work begun by one man, perfected by another, without any fear of detriment, and to denounce all ſuch Acts without any fear or Judiciary charges. Upon him that ſhould dare to exerciſe a Monopoly, he impoſed confiſcation of Eſtate and perpetual Baniſhment. And on the *Primates* of the other Profeſſions, if for the future they ſhall dare to oblige themſelves by any Compacts or Agreements, either for ſetting the Rates of Commodities, or any other unlawfull matters, a Fine of forty pounds of Gold. In the laſt place upon the Office of the Prefect a Mulct of fifty, if ſuch puniſhments, either through bribery, diſſimulation or other fault, were not inflicted on Monopolizers and Politick Bodies committing ſuch forbidden things.

He reſtrained the marrying of ones Brother's Wife.

Abhorred Inceſtuous Marriages.

24 By another Edict he thought fit to reſtrain the Marrying of ones Brother's Wife. “Although, he ſaid, ſome *Egyptians* therefore thought fit to joyn themſelves in Marriage with the Wives of their deceaſed Brothers, becauſe after their death they were thought to remain Virgins, ſuppoſing according to the pleaſure of ſome ancient Law-makers, that Marriage was not contracted without Copulation, and ſuch Marriages in thoſe times had been valid, yet he Ordain'd by that preſent Conſtitution, that if thenceforth any ſuch Marriages ſhould be contracted, their contractours, and ſuch as deſcended from them ſhould be ſubject to the Tenor of the Ancient Laws; neither according to the example of the *Egyptians* did they ſeem firm, nor to be confirmed. He farther ſhewed hmſelf ſo great an Abhorrer of Inceſtuous Marriages, that by another Edict he commanded all his Subjects to abſtain from them. “And whereas in the time of Uſurpation, there were certain Reſcripts, Pragmatick Forms or Conſtitutions which put the name of Matrimony upon wicked conjunctions, namely, made it lawfull in wicked Conſortſhip, to embrace the Daughter of a Brother or Siſter, or her that lived in the bond of Wedlock with ones Brother, or to commit ſuch like Acts, he declared them as impious to be of no force, leſt ſuch wicked licentiouſneſs ſhould receive ſtrength by diſſimulation. This laſt of the Edicts beareth indeed in the Inſcription the name of *Anaſtaſius* the ſucceſſour of *Zeno* as its Authour; but *Cujacius* judges the Inſcription faulty; and that the true one was *Idem Auguſtus Sebaſtiano P. P.* For to *Sebaſtian* (as he hath it, but as it now is to *Severian*) another Conſtitution is directed for reſcinding the Acts of the Uſurper *Baſiliſcus*, as this alſo is deſigned; which *Sebaſtian*, as *Suidas* writes, was in manners moſt like to *Tribonian*, of whom hereafter. But as we have ſhewn already, this matter of Inceſt had been variouſly determin'd of in various Ages, till the time of *Conſtantius* and *Conſtans*, by whom it was made death to Marry the daughter either of Brother or Siſter. But it ſeems ſomething of this nature was permitted by *Baſiliſcus*, during his Uſurpation, which *Zeno* after his recovery of his Power again, declared to be null and void. By an Edict directed to *Baſilius* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, we think we find him to have formerly publiſhed another upon this ſubject of the marriage of a Brother's or Siſter's Daughter. “This moſt grievous wickedneſs (*nefandiſſimum ſcelus* he terms it) which formerly under grievous pein had been by moſt Sacred Conſtitutions condemned, he prohibits by his iterated Sanction all manner of Ways. And he denies leave, for the time to come, to Petition him for ſuch like *Conjugium* or *Contagium* rather as he words it, letting every one know that the Impetration of what the Petitioners was denied, though by ſurreption, after that day ſhall ſignifie nothing at all.

L. 8. de inceſtis & inutilibus nuptiis, Cod. Juſt. lib. 5. tit. 5.

L. 9. ſive ult. ejuſd. tit.

Obſ. lib. 8. c. 28.

L. ult. Si nuptiæ ex reſcripto petantur, Cod. Juſt. lib. 5. tit. 5. c. 8.

An Enemy to tedious Suits.

25. For ending of Suits, *Zeno* Ordained, “That ſuch as bought of the Treaſury any thing challenged by another Perſon, or obtained ſuch a thing of the Prince himſelf, as *Fiſcale* or belonging to the Treaſury, ſhould not be diſquieted by the pretended owner or any other laying claim to it; but that for the ſpace of four years any Action ſhould be againſt the Treaſury it ſelf; the preſcription of which years ſhould bar any ſuch Suit or claim. Farther if the *Scrinium* (or *Procurator Fiſci* as ſome expound it) confeſs by Writings that the price is received, the Buyer ſhall be ſecured for ever. That every Perſon might attend his own buſineſs and to obviate the rapacity of Officers, he forbad the Governours of Provinces, as alſo the *Judices ſpectabiles* (though adorn'd with the illuſtrious dig-

L. 2. de Quadriennii præſcriptione, Cod. Juſt. lib. 7. tit. 37. Æneæ comiti rerum privatarum.

L. un. de ratiociniis operum publicorum & de patribus civitatum, Cod. Juſt. lib. 8. tit. 13. Arcadio P. P.

“ nity) to meddle with publick Works or Buildings, or as it ſeems the cuſtome “ has been to receive one *ſiliqua* for every *ſolidus* to be laid out, or any other emolu- “ ment: but to leave thoſe things to the care and management of the *Recenſores*, “ or as he terms them, the *Fathers of the Cities*, who were deputed to ſuch Em- “ ployments. But if any promiſe or engage by covenant to raiſe any publick “ Work out of their mere liberality, though they be bound by ſuch promiſe or “ engagement, they ſhall incur no damage, nor their Heirs, if the whole ſum be “ not contributed, or the Work happen to be unprofitable.

A friend to the *Curiæ.*

26. He was ſo carefull of the Courts of Cities and Bodies Politick, as in ſome reſpect to be more ſtrict than had been his Predeceſſours againſt pretences of freedom from their ſervice. “ For he would have none who from the beginning of “ his Reign were obnoxious to the ſaid Courts, though *Comites Rei privatæ* to hu- “ mour his Father-in-law, or *Comites Largitionum*, or *Domeſticorum*, *Queſtors*, or “ *Magiſtri Officiorum*, though promoted already to execute ſuch Offices, or who “ ſhould be promoted, for or in behalf of ſuch Offices, to eſcape the ſnares of “ thoſe *Curial* Employments as he terms them; but ſhould be bounden to them “ with their children whenſoever born, and their Eſtates after the laying down of “ their ſaid Offices, except they were ſecur'd by other Privileges upon this account “ by known Laws. For all other lawfull Indulgences and Privileges granted by “ Conſtitutions, he would have remain inviolable. And that perſons ſo indulged “ might not ſeem to enjoy an empty name, if they executed the *Curial* Offices by “ their Subſtitutes at their own charge, they ſhould have the Privileges of their “ Dignity entire and without abatement. As for ſuch as obtained the aforeſaid “ Dignities before the beginning of his Reign; he Decreed that they with their “ Eſtates and their Children ſhould after ſuch dignity be freed from all obligations “ and burthens of the *Curiæ*. And for thoſe who at any time had been or ſhould “ be made *Patritians*, *Conſuls*, *Conſulares*, *Magiſtri Militum*, *Præfecti Prætorio* “ of the *Eaſt*, of *Illyricum*, or *Præfect of Conſtantinople*, ſo as to execute the places “ themſelves, ſhould to all purpoſes with their Eſtates and Sons born after their “ Dignity be free from ſuch obligations. But *Zeno* was farther ſo carefull about theſe Courts and Corporations, to have their ſervices perform'd, as we ſee it was the great endeavour of his Predeceſſours, for ſuch reaſons as we have heretofore expreſſed, “ That he made it unlawfull for the *Decuriones* to ſell their hereditary “ Eſtates without a Decree of the Court, and this Decree ſhould not be taken for “ valid, if onely ſignified in a Brief or piece of Paper, but it muſt be made *Vivâ* “ *voce* by the *major* part, upon which a ſentence of a competent Judge muſt be had “ for confirmation of the purchaſe. Now this Law ſpeaking onely of Sale and not “ of Donation, is called *Mirabilis* or Wonderfull by *Juſtinian*, as if there were not “ reaſon to take care as well of the one as of the other. But this may be ſaid, that “ we more eaſily ſell than give, and therefore there was no ſuch occaſion; but “ however he thought fit by a Conſtitution to ordain that no Donation, nor any “ Alienation ſhould be good without a Decree of the Court; nay, afterward that a “ Donation even with a Decree (for other reaſons of that time then moving him) “ ſhould not be valid.

L. 64. de Decurionib. C. Juſt. lib. 10. tit. 31. Sebaſtiano P. P.

L. ult. de prædiis Decurionum ſine Decreto non alienandis, Cod. Juſt. lib. 10. tit. 33. Sebaſtiano P. P.

He was carefull for furniſhing the City of *Conſtantinople* with water.

27. The City of *Conſtantinople* was again grown ſo vaſt and populous, that freſh water was become a very pretious commodity with them, and this put *Zeno* upon making three ſeveral Conſtitutions for ſecurity of the publick Fountains and Aqueducts. “ By one he ſignified to *Amantius*, *Præfect* of the City, that if he “ or any of his Succeſſours ſhould alienate the Gold deputed to the repair of Aque- “ ducts to other uſes, he ſhould reſtore it out of his own purſe. And that there “ ſhould be a peculiar *Arcarius* or Treaſurer for keeping what Gold belonged to “ this ſervice either proceeding from the liberality of the *Conſuls* or other ways. “ By another he declared that a Fountain which either from the beginning was “ publick, or afterwards made ſo, ſhould not be applied to the uſe of private men “ though a Reſcript were obtained for that purpoſe. By a third he forbad the pur- “ loyning of publick water by private Pipes, the planting of Trees by the Aque- “ ducts whereby their Walls were ruined, and deriving the Water to Houſes of “ Pleaſure, Gardens, Watermills, or Baths under ſuch pein of forfeiting the building, “ as ſhould not be remitted by the Prince his Letters. And he would have the “ *Aquarii*, or Keepers of thoſe Waters and Aqueducts, to be marked in the Hand as “ were the *Tirones* and *Fabricenſes*, with the Emperour's Name, that being known “ they might not be forced by the *Procurators* of the Palaces or others to any other “ Employment. And if any of them died, he who ſucceeded, ſhould for the ſame “ reaſon, be marked in the ſame manner.

L. l. 8, 9, 10. de Aquæductu, Cod. Juſt. lib. 11. tit. 42.

Of

To keep up the honour of Patritians.

28. Of Dignities he chiefly concerned himſelf for that of *Patritian*, that it might not become too cheap or common. “ He forbad that any ſhould riſe to that “ ſublime honour (which, ſaith he, is ſet before all the reſt) except he had before enjoyed the honour of the Conſulſhip, had been *Præfectus Prætorio* of the “ Eaſt or of *Illyricum*, or was known actually to have exerciſed the Prefectſhip “ of the City, the Office of *Magiſter Militum* or *Magiſter Officiorum*. And becauſe, “ as he ſaith, he thought it his part to procure the good of the moſt glorious City, “ which was Head of the World, all ways poſſible, he Ordain'd that all who “ afterward ſhould by the Emperour's munificence be adorned with the Enſigns “ of the Honorary Conſulſhip, ſhould pay the ſum of an hundred pounds of Gold “ towards the repairing of the Aqueducts, in like manner as they who during the “ ſpace of a year gloried in the ſetting forth of Conſular works. For them it alſo “ behoved, that the moſt flouriſhing City being ſuſtained by the munificence of an “ hundred pounds of Gold, ſhould alſo be ſenſible of the honorary Conſulſhip. But “ for the encouragement of *Conſulares* or Honorary Conſuls he declared by another “ Edict directed to *Sebaſtian*, that thoſe moſt excellent Men, as he terms them, “ either then made or to be made, might proceed and in reality be Conſuls for a “ year, the Prince his judgment or award therein being procured; ſo as having “ finiſhed the Proceſſion ſo obtained, they ſhould not ſeem to have got ſome new “ thing they had not before; but onely to have iterated the right of Conſulſhip “ which once the Conſular proceſſion had derived upon them, and in adoring the “ Purple, and farther obtaining all the Honours of Conſuls and their Privileges they “ ſhould have them commence from the former time of promotion. Moreover “ ſuch Conſul ſhould not be compelled to pay the hundred pounds of Gold for “ the Aqueducts of that famous City, enjoyned by a Sacred Conſtitution, which “ being but *Conſularis* he had formerly paid.

L. 3. de Conſulibus, &c. Cod. Juſt. lib. 12. tit. 3.

L. 4. ejuſd. tit.

Which yet *Juſtinian* thought not enough.

29. Thus we ſee how carefull *Zeno* was for preſerving the Grandeur of Dignities, eſpecially that of the *Patritian*, and yet *Juſtinian* thought this was not enough; but out of his rather ſuperabundant care, as he himſelf confeſſeth, added unto it. “ He Ordained that thoſe high Perſons ſhould upon receipt of the “ Emperour's Codicils immediately become *Patresfamilias* or Heads of Families, and “ be freed from that Paternal power which the *Roman* Laws gave to Fathers over “ their Sons not Emancipated, leſt they who were honoured as Fathers by the “ Prince, ſhould be ſubject unto others, it being a thing not ſufferable, he judged, “ that a Father ſhould be in capacity by Emancipation to releaſe a Son from ſuch “ obligations, and that his Imperial Highneſs ſhould not be able to free him whom “ he had choſen for his Father, from the power of another perſon. But ſo he will “ have it, that the Imperial Majeſty be not diminiſhed. It being ſufficiently certain, “ that ſuch a thing rarely happened; for no man, ſaith he, can eaſily remember a Son “ of a Family to have been promoted to the honour of Patritian, as is uſual in the “ Conſulſhip; but leſt ſuch a thing in time ſhould happen, and be found without direction of Laws, he thought fit to Ordain. Taking ſuch ſcope to provide for things which not onely did uſually happen but might poſſibly do ſo, he might well be ſo numerous in his Laws, as we ſhall find he was upon his new model. But this reaſon of the Rarity of the thing ceaſed to be a reaſon with him afterward, when he “ alſo communicated the ſame privilege of being freed from the Paternal Power “ upon other perſons; upon better thoughts, as he ſaith, even upon Conſuls really “ ſuch, and by Codicils; the *Præfecti Prætorio*, the Prefects of both *Romes*, and the “ *Magiſtri Militum*. He eſteem'd it a thing, he ſaith, unbecoming both his Laws “ and times, that perſons who were Judges, over ſo Great men, and commanded “ others to continue under the Paternal Power ſhould themſelves be ſubject to it. “ He would have this taken for a general Rule, that every Dignity and every “ Girdle which freed perſons from Services of Corporations, ſhould alſo free them “ from the power of their Fathers, to whom this ſhould be ſo great an honour that “ they had ſuch ſons, that they ſhould with joy give them their *Peculia* and other “ Rights which were wont to follow Emancipation, the Privileges of which were “ not to ſucceed theſe thus conferred by Imperial Authority. In the laſt place he will “ have this Privilege of freedom from Paternal Power to extend to Spiritual Fathers or Biſhops, who alſo from their Ordination were freed from that of the “ *Curiæ*.

L. 5. & ult. ejuſd. tit.

He freed as well others as them from Paternal power.

Novel. 81.

Zeno was kind to his Courtiers.

30. By other Laws made in behalf of the *Primicerii* of the Notaries, and the ten Tribunes after them, the *Silentiarii*, the *Principes* of the *Agentes in Rebus*, and the *Scholæ*; *Zeno* much obliged theſe ſorts of his Courtiers, moderating Fees to be received of them in Courts of Juſtice, and gratifying them otherwiſe in particulars

Vide Titulos 7. 16, 22, 30, 41. lib. 12. Cod. Juſt.

lars which are too tedious here to be related. He was ſo carefull of his Army that it might be furniſhed with fit Souldiers that ſhould be at his devotion, “ That he forbad that any Horſeman or Footman in any *Numerus*, or in any Limit ſhould for the future be received or liſted without the Warrant (*Probatoria*) of the Emperour, antiquating the cuſtome which had formerly obtained, which gave to the *Magiſtri Militum*, or *Duces* the power of granting ſuch Licences. If the moſt Eminent *Magiſtri Militum* for the time being, or the *Spectabiles*, the *Duces* thought it neceſſary to fill the places of the Dead, after the debating of the matter they ſhould ſignifie to the Prince, who and how many were to be added, and in what *Numerus* or Limit, that ſo they might become Souldiers by his Majeſty's order and Authority. And he inflicts a mulct of an hundred pounds of Gold upon the Office of the *Magiſter Militum* to whom he directs his Conſtitution, if it was violated in any part. Some other Laws we find made by *Zeno*, but they are either of ſuch matters as relate ſo nearly to the *Jus Primatum* that they are not ſo proper here to be mentioned, or elſe made in favour of the Officers of the *Scrinii*, of which we have ſaid ſo much already to give the Reader an inſight into thoſe matters that no more is now to be added, It's time to take our farewell of *Zeno*, with this farther note, that he Reigned ſeventeen years and five months.

L. ult. de re militari, Cod. Juſt. lib. 12. *tit.* 36.

31. *Zeno* being removed, *Longinus* his Brother having been by him advanced to great Authority, purpoſed to ſet up for himſelf, and little doubted to obtain the Empire. But *Ariadne* the Empreſs had another man in ſtore, one whom with more love and leſs noiſe ſhe could take to her Bed, and make her Partner in the Throne; for ſhe was reſolved to play at no ſmaller a game, *Zeno* having not left her any Children. This was one *Anaſtaſius* probably a very comely man, as having little elſe to recommend him to the favour of the Lady, and by her to the greateſt of Earthly Dignities. For he had never reached ſo much as the degree of Senator, onely was enrolled in the *Schola* of the *Silentiarii*, ſuch a company as had little of buſineſs and publick employment as we have heretofore ſeen. He was born as *Euagrius* writes, at *Epidamnus*, afterward called *Dyrrachium* and enjoyed the Imperial Sceptre with the Wife of *Zeno*, in the year CCCCXCI, and the Conſulſhip of *Olybrius*.

Euagrius lib. 3. *c.c.* 28, 29.

Anaſtaſius ſucceeds him.

A.D. 491. *Olybrio Conſ.*

32. The firſt thing he did was to ſend down into *Iſauria*, *Longinus* of whom we now ſpoke, under what Guard, or upon what ſecurity for his peaceable demeanour we know not, but *Euagrius*, who tells this ſtory, adds, that to ſeveral others of that Countrey who deſired it, he gave leave alſo to depart thither. As he had made a ſhew of great Piety while a private man, he did not at firſt throw off that vizard. He was a great maintainer of Peace and Quietneſs, not permitting any great alteration either in Church or State, which Principle (if that according to *Euagrius*, was the Principle of his Actions) might make him hold the Maintainers and Oppugners of the *Chalcedonian* Council in equal eſteem and balance. The ſame principle put him at his firſt coming to the Empire upon ſuch courſes as might tend to his own eaſe and eſtabliſhment, however he otherwiſe appeared when he thought himſelf faſt upon his Seat. He baniſhed Informers out of the City, and did another thing, which *Euagrius* terms a wonderfull or Divine Act, and the Hiſtory of which he cannot but deliver to poſterity, though to ſpeak thereof according to the Dignity of the Subject, he ſtood in need of the Tongue of *Thucydides* or ſome more eloquent and copious Oratour.

Who making great ſhews of goodneſs,

Baniſheth Informers.

33. There was a wicked Tribute (he calls it) odious to God and Man, highly unpleaſing even to the Barbarous Nations and abominable to all profeſſing Chriſtianity, which yet was exacted of all the Subjects of the *Roman* Empire, but not regarded (as ſuch) till this time of *Anaſtaſius*, who acted by Royal and munificent Principles took it away, not without the applauſe of all people under Heaven. This Tribute, called *Chryſargyrum*, was impoſed on Whores and Bawdy-houſes eſpecially, upon Beggars, Slaves, and Freed-men, Divorced-women, upon all ſorts of Men of what condition ſoever, for their Horſes, Mules, Aſſes, Oxen, Dogs, and ſuch like Creatures, nay, Dung it ſelf, and that with all rigour imaginable. Every fourth year it was paid in to the chief Magiſtrate by the under Collectors, and by them unto the Prince his Coffers; thoſe that were employed in it, being none of the meaneſt, nor the Office it ſelf eſteemed baſe and contemptible in the Commonwealth.

Idem ibid. c. 39.

Vid. ſi lubet Lipſii de magnitudine Romana, lib. 2. *c.* 6.

34. *Anaſtaſius* weighing with himſelf the whole matter, acquainted the Senate with his ſentiments, told the Fathers what an heinous and horrible thing it was, commanded it ſhould be quite aboliſhed, and burnt the Rolls and Records made for Levying of it. Having done this, he counterfeited great trouble and anxiety of mind,

Taketh away the *Chryſargyrum*.

mind, accuſed himſelf of folly and madneſs, of vain glory and inconſiderateneſs, in that he had taken away ſo great a Tribute, and of ſo long continuance, not foreſeeing the inconveniency which would follow thereupon, particularly in the pay of Military men who are the Bulwark of the Commonwealth, and in the ſuſtenance of thoſe who were by it maintained in the ſervice of God, no leſs conducing by their Prayers to the ſecurity of the Empire. Making no man acquainted with the depth of his deſign, he declared his will to be that the Tribute ſhould wholly be reſtored, and calling to his preſence the old Receivers, told them he was heartily grieved that he had burnt the Records; that he knew not what to doe, nor how to excuſe his folly, they being conſumed. They bewailed their loſs, and deplored the condition into which they were irreparably faln, not knowing what overture to make for the reſtitution of their late employment. He, in extremity as it were of paſſion, begged of them that they would uſe yet their utmoſt endeavour, and try whether they could not find ſome Papers which might give them ſome light to ſettle the Tax in ſuch a method as it had formerly been raiſed. He commanded all the Records in the Countrey to be ſearched, and every Scroll wherein mention was made of this Tribute to be brought to him, that he might uſe the moſt effectual means for its reſtitution.

35. He ſeemed exceedingly to rejoyce at the ſight of ſuch as they preſented to him; demanded where they found them, if they were to any purpoſe, and if they thought there were yet any more left undiſcovered. They anſwered that their labour and travel had been great, that they had rode about night and day, had ſearched Town and Countrey, and they ſwore by the Emperour's life, that in all his Dominions there was not one Scroll more than what they produced. Then commanded he a Pile to be made, and all the Papers, Regiſters, Records, Bills, and Bawdy notes to be put thereon and burnt to aſhes. When the fire had done its part, he commanded water to be caſt upon the Cinders, either quite to obliterate them, or to carry them away with the ſtream, hereby intending ſo far to aboliſh the monuments of this filthy Tribute, that neither ſpark, aſhes, letter, nor any thing relating to it might remain to poſterity. To this purpoſe *Euagrius* words it in commendation of *Anaſtaſius*, and in the two following Chapters inveighs againſt *Zoſimus* for malitiouſly writing that *Conſtantine* the Great firſt invented the *Chryſargyrum*, and for otherwiſe ſlandering that Emperour. How far *Zoſimus* is to be credited, we have ſeen already in the particulars enumerated and aggravated by him.

He confers Offices of Magiſtracy *gratis.*

36. Others relate that *Anaſtaſius* at his firſt coming to the Government farther obliged the State by conferring thoſe Offices of Magiſtracy *gratis* which had been wont to be ſold by his Predeceſſour. That by other Acts of generoſity he ſo far wrought upon the hearts of his people, that ſober and underſtanding perſons conceived great hope of an excellent Prince and a flouriſhing Commonwealth. But if *Suidas* be to be credited, thoſe goodly appearances vaniſhed to nothing as ſoon as once he thought he had ſettled himſelf; His generous humour degenerated into Covetouſneſs, and his good Government into a ſort of Oligarchy, by his ſetting all Offices to Sale, winking at heinous crimes for reward, ſpoiling the Provinces and exhauſting the wealth of his private Subjects. *Euagrius* alſo, whom we lately heard playing the Oratour in his commendation, repreſſeth himſelf as proceeding too far in a Panegyrick, telling us that as the Acts formerly mentioned were noble, worthy of *Anaſtaſius* and the Majeſty of an Emperour, ſo immediately after he did ſuch things as blurred the luſtre and ſtained the glory of the former. For, he deviſed another ſort of Tribute called *Chryſotelia*, and, to the great damage of the Empire, made Merchandize of the Souldiers wages together with other exactions. For he took from the Courts the uſual exaction of Tributes, and in every City made thoſe that were called *Vindices*, at the inſtigation, it was ſaid, of *Marinus Syrus* his chief Miniſter in the Palace. Whence it came to paſs that a great part of the publick Revenue was loſt, and the reputation of Cities vaniſhed. For before that time the Names of Nobles were entred in the Regiſter of all Cities, which eſteemed thoſe that were made free of their Courts, and honoured them as a Senate. From a ſenſe of this alteration in him, or upon other occaſions, it came to paſs, that even in the firſt year of his Reign a Sedition is ſaid to have happened amongſt the *Plebeians* at *Conſtantinople*, wherein the greateſt part of the City and Cirque was burned, at which time it's alſo thought, that the moſt ſumptuous Hoſpital of St. *Sampſon* periſhed, as alſo that incomparable Church of St. *Sophia*, rebuilt afterwards in a more magnificent manner by *Juſtinian*.

Ibid. c. 42.

Soon changing for the worſe, invents the *Chryſotelia.*

A Sedition and Fire at *Conſtantinople.*

Vide Baron. ad h. An.

Good Laws he made in his firſt year, but none extant concerning the *Chryſargyrum.*

37. Now after we have heard Hiſtorians, and thoſe little diligent, eſpecially in Civil matters, it would be well if by any Edict or Conſtitution found in our Law Books, we could give teſtimony to what they write about his taking away the *Chryſargyrum*. One other Conſtitution indeed he made in his very firſt year, and relating to the Revenue, indulgent alſo to the ſubject, but nothing of that nature: "For in the firſt he Ordains that in all Dioceſes and Provinces whoſoever hath poſſeſſed the Patrimonial lands of the Prince, thoſe anciently belonging to Temples or thoſe called *Agonothetæi* or deputed to ſports and paſtimes of the Emperour by combate, for the ſpace of forty years, ſhall retain them, whether he held them by a juſt or unjuſt title, or with paying the Canon, or without paying it, for the ſaid ſpace of forty years, in the ſame way as before he held them. Nay we find by another Edict dated in this Conſulſhip of *Olybrius*, "That all Actions, though they concerned the Publick, which were not limited by the term of thirty years, or under, ſhould be excluded and extinguiſhed by a preſcription of forty; a Conſtitution memorable in this reſpect of forty years, which therefore, he ſaith, he publiſhed, that he might cut off all opportunities of doing miſchief. This his Edict was large, and in ſuch general expreſſions, that this Preſcription of forty years was pleaded by certain perſons who by their originals were bound to the ſervice of the *Curiæ*, and by ſuch as were indebted in publick payments, whom by two other Edicts he undeceived and confirmed their former obligations. We have nothing elſe of this year agreeable or contradictory to the ſtory of *Euagrius* concerning the *Chryſargyrum*, which *Cedrenus* relates him to have taken away at the Importunity of the Monks of *Jeruſalem*, and upon occaſion of *Timotheus Gazæus* a moſt wiſe man, his writing a Tragedy upon this ſubject.

L. ult. de fundis Patrimonialibus, Cod. Juſt. lib. 11. *tit.* 61. *Dat. Matroniano P.P.* 3. *Kal. Aug.*
L. 4. *de præſcript.* 30. *vel.* 40. *an. Cod. Juſt. lib.* 6. *tit.* 39.
L. 1. 5. 6. *ejuſd. tit.*

A. D. 492. *Anaſtaſio & Ruffino Coſſ.*

38. The year following, or the CCCCXCII. of our Lord is famous for little, except it be for the firſt Conſulſhip of this Emperour, which he bore together with *Ruffinus*. It's little more memorable for having one Conſtitution bearing date the firſt of *March*, whereby *Anaſtaſius* forbad under ſevere penalties, "That any ſhould uſurp the Offices and Conditions of the Denote men (as he terms them) ſerving (*Militantes*) in the Sacred *Scrinium Memoriæ*. But it alſo is ſaid to have given original to the *Iſaurian* War which continued five or ſix years, as ſeveral relate, and as *Euagrius* writes was raiſed by *Longinus* the Brother of *Zeno*. This man, though he had been Competitour for the Sovereignty, he ſent as was ſaid into his own Countrey, and with ſo little Guard and Watch upon him, it ſeems, that he had opportunity to raiſe men and make great preparations, and the Biſhop of *Apamea* in *Syria* joyned with him. But in the conteſt *Anaſtaſius* had the better, and an end was put to the War, partly becauſe the *Iſaurians*, who joyned with *Longinus*, were utterly defeated, and partly, *Euagrius* ſays, becauſe the Heads of *Longinus* and *Theodorus* were by *John* a *Scythian* ſent to *Conſtantinople*, which Heads the Emperour cauſed to be ſet upon Poles over againſt the City in a place called *Sycæ* beyond the water, which was, he adds, a gratefull ſight to the Citizens who had been formerly much plagued by *Zeno* and the *Iſaurians*. Another *Longinus* ſirnamed *Selinantius* (whom others make the ſame with *Zeno's* brother, one of the Principal Conſpiratours) and another called *Judas* were ſent alive, and with chains about their necks were led in triumph through the Streets and the Cirque, to the great rejoycing both of the Emperour and Citizens. By this means the Tributes called *Iſaurian*, which had been paid yearly to the Barbarians, amounting to five thouſand Pounds, were brought into the Emperour's Coffers.

L. ult. de officio Quæſtoris, Cod. Juſt. lib. 1. *tit.* 30.

The *Iſaurian* War.

Lib. 3. *c.* 34.

Euagrius his ſtory of it;

Not agreeable to later Writers.

39. Such is the Relation *Euagrius* gives us of theſe matters, wherein are ſome particulars which badly agree with the reflexions made on them by later Writers. For whereas he ſaith that the Heads of *Longinus* and *Theodorus* when ſet upon Poles were a delightfull ſpectacle to the Citizens of *Conſtantinople*; *Suidas* on the contrary writes, that the ſaid *Longinus* the brother of *Zeno* for his profuſeneſs was exceedingly beloved by the multitude; and the Civil War or Tumult which *Marcellinus* hints to have happened at *Conſtantinople* againſt this Emperour in the third year of his Reign, and the Conſulſhip of *Albinus* and *Euſebius* (though *Albinus* be named alone for this year by *Caſſiodorus*) is therefore judged by * *Baronius* to have proceeded from this very cauſe, the Rabble being inraged that it's good Maſter and Patron was put by the Succeſſion, which as well the Multitude as he himſelf, deſired impatiently. But it ſeems the Multitude being without an Head, the Tumult came to nothing, though it flew to ſo ſawcy height, that the Statues of Emperour and Empreſs were by Ropes tied to them dragged about the Streets. This Tumult probably happened at the *Circenſian* Games: Yet it's ſaid farther by *Marcellinus* that *Julianus* a *Magiſter Militiæ* fighting by night, was killed by the *Geticks* ſword in *Thrace*.

A. D. 493. *Albino Conſ.*
* *Quem vide ad h. Ann.*

40. Paſſing to the year CCCCXCIIII and the fourth of *Anaſtaſius*, we find two Conſtitutions made by him, and little or nothing elſe of moment. Neither is the one of thoſe of ſuch concern here as we think it proper to mention it. By the other he obviates an abuſe committed in thoſe times againſt a wholeſome and neceſſary law and cuſtome. This was in time of want and neceſſity to impoſe the finding of Wheat, Oil, and other *Species* upon particular Provinces, as we have ſeen heretofore, which ſort of Charity and Neighbourly courſe for one Member of the Empire to relieve another, ſome perſons were ſo far induſtrious to evade, as to procure a Brief under the Emperour's hand, a *Pragmatick Sanction* or a *Judicial Decree* to that purpoſe. " This he ſo far diſapproved as to declare all ſuch Licence ſhould be void for " the time to come; and farther declared, that from ſuch furniſhing of neceſſaries, " according to their proportion, none ſhould pretend exemption, no not his own " Houſe, or that of his moſt Serene Wife or Empreſs. The ſucceeding year is remarkable for nothing; not for the Conſulſhip of one *Viator*, though ſome joyn to him *Æmilianus* as a Collegue. That following, or the CCCCXCVI of our Lord, had one *Paulus* for Conſul without a Collegue, and ſeveral Conſtitutions of *Anaſtaſius* we find bearing date of it. We have formerly told the Reader how great Privileges, as to making Teſtaments, Souldiers enjoyed, ſo as no Solemnities were required of them therein, when in expedition. " Now there were ſome who attended on the *Magiſtri Militum* called *Scriniarii*, and *Apparitores* who executed " their orders, and their names were alſo entred into the *Matriculæ* or Muſter-Rolls, being much of the nature with thoſe they now call Secretaries to Generals, or great Commanders; and thoſe men as Souldiers pretended to the ſame " Privileges as to making Wills. But ſuch perſons ſeeming, but not being Souldiers " in reality, he declares that by no means they ſhall enjoy that Military Right by " an Edict dated on the Ides of *February*.

A charitable Conſtitution.

L. 2. *de bonorum poſſeſſione &c. Cod. Juſt. lib.* 6. *tit.* 13.

L. 1. *ut nemini liceat, &c. Cod. Juſt. lib.* 10. *tit.* 27.

A. D. 496. *Paulo Conſ.*

The Military privilege as to making Teſtaments explained.

L. 16. *de Teſtamento Militis, Cod. Juſt. lib.*6. *tit.* 21.

41. By another bearing date of the laſt of *April*, he partly confirms and partly repeals a former made by *Leo* concerning the Inſinuation or Regiſtring of Donations. " So far he confirms it as to Decree that they ſhall be inſinuated by the *Magiſter Cenſus*, but whereas *Leo* permitted out of *Conſtantinople* in the Countrey " Inſinuations alſo to be made by other Officers, he will have it as well in Countrey " as in City by a *Magiſter Cenſus* alone, under pein of twenty pounds of Gold, to " be forfeited as well by them that receive, deſire and procure ſuch pretended Inſinuations, as alſo the *Tabelliones* ſhall give their teſtimony in no incompetent " place and Judicatory. On the firſt day of the ſame Month, we meet with another Reſcript directed to *Anthemius* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, as the other is to " *Euphemius*, which we ſhould have mentioned in the firſt place. By this he took care for his Revenue that it ſhould not be diminiſhed by Relevations or Relaxations of Impoſitions upon Cattel, too uſually granted it ſeems at this time. If a " Province or City petitioned for any ſuch Relevation, or for an *Inſpector* or *Peræquator*, it ſhould be by Petition referred to the Prince himſelf, and upon Oath " firſt made; and the *Præfectus Prætorio* ſhould give no anſwer, but after fully having " inſtructed the Emperour, and by receiving a form from him, which was to be " obſerved in all particulars. But he would not permit a private perſon to Petition " for this Relevation of the Capitation of Animals; a Corporation or Province " might. Other matters tranſacted in reference to the Tributes he would not have " valid without licence of the Prince himſelf had in Writing, under pein of making good to the Treaſury all wherein it was damnified, and inflicting the fine of " fifty pounds of Gold upon the breakers of the Law. And he ordains that all Fiſcale " Dues ſhall be paid in at thrice, as alſo thoſe called *Armeniaca*, *viz.* on the firſt of " *January*, the firſt of *May*, and at the end of the Indiction (which began in *September*) divided into three equal parts, without any innovation to be made by " Collatours in the mean time. But becauſe the Preſtation of the *Armenian* Tributes " was divided into two Penſions, they might, if they pleaſed, obſerve that Cuſtome ſo as to pay them in in two Penſions, and another half in the *September* of " the next Indiction. But if they would pay in at three payments they ſhould be " reſpited the whole *September* of the future Indiction. But that called the *Before-ſent*, ſhould as it ought be paid in at the beginning of every Indiction, even as the " very name imported. As by this Law he took care for his own Revenue, ſo " by another in *July* following, that the Subject ſhould not be haraſſed by *Compulſors* as to the payment of it; but *Compulſors* he did allow after a time, which " Officers were afterwards taken quite away.

L. 32. *de Donationibus, Cod. Juſt. lib.* 8. *tit.* 54.

The way of regiſtring Deeds of Gift.

Per virum Clariſſimum.

Magiſtrum cenſus tantummodo.

Anaſtaſius takes care of his Revenue.

L. ult. de Annonis & Tributis, Cod. Juſt. lib. 10. *tit.* 16.

L. ult. de exactoribus Tributorum, Cod. Juſt. lib. 10. *tit.* 19.

42. The CCCCXCVII year of our Lord had for Conſul *Anaſtaſius* the ſecond time, and him alone. And we find him to have had ſo little of other Civil Employment

A. D. 497. *Anaſtaſio A.* 2. *Conſ.*

He ordains divers things in behalf of Advocates.

ment though with Eccleſiaſtical he buſied himſelf too much ; that he had leiſure to give attention to the ſuggeſtions of his *Comes rei privatæ*, and the Proconſul of *Aſia*. “ To theſe Perſons had been preſented Petitions by the Advocates of their “ Courts, deſiring that through the liberality of the Prince they might after the “ time of their Advocation was expired, be honoured with ſome Dignity. This he “ granted, permitting that after their time was out, they ſhould be eſteemed and “ held in the rank of *Clariſſimi*, and that of the firſt Rank or Order of *Comes*. This Privilege he granted to thoſe Advocates at the end of this year, and being ſo kind to this Profeſſion that by ſeveral other Conſtitutions he enlarged the Privileges alſo of thoſe that belonged to other Courts, we ſhall here take notice of them together as they occur in the ſame title of the *Code*. Four years after he declared, “ That ſuch Advocates as belonging to the Court of the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Illyricum* were promoted *pro tempore* to the degree and office of Advocate “ of the Treaſury, ſhould together with their Sons born and to be born, be looſed “ from all bonds and ties of a *Cohortalis* or any worſe condition, together with their “ Patrimonies, in like manner as were free the Advocates of the *Præfectus Prætorio* “ of the Eaſt, and of the Prefect of the City. And he gives this reaſon to *Thomas* “ the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Illyricum*, to whom the Conſtitution is directed, that “ theſe three Prefectſhips were *Germanæ Poteſtates*.

L. 1. de Advocatis diverſorum Judicum, Cod. Juſt. lib. 2. tit. 8. Dat. 11. Cal. Jan.

L. 2. ejuſd. tit. dat. 12. Cal. Decemb. Patritio & Hypatio Coſſ. Et non dubium ſit, non tantum eas, ſed etiam ſublimiſſimæ tuæ ſedis germanas eſſe poteſtates.

43. Four years after this he declared by another Edict, “ That the Primate of the “ Advocates belonging to the Court of the *Comes* of the Eaſt, ſhould for two years “ execute the office of *Patronus Fiſci*, or Advocate of the Treaſury, and have the “ Emoluments. That the number of Advocates in that Court ſhould be reduced “ to forty, ſo as thoſe that were at preſent Supernumeraries, ſhould not be rejected. “ That thoſe who had diſcharged the Office of *Patronus Fiſci* ſhould not be prohibited to plead for themſelves and near Relations, though it was againſt the Treaſury it ſelf. That their houſes ſhould not be ſubject to the *Metatus* or Quartering. That the *Sportulæ* paid for them, for their *Coloni* and Slaves ſhould not be “ exceſſive, but according to a Table preſented to the Emperour. That none “ ſhould be added to their number till he had completed the time of Study preſcribed “ by the Laws. That the ſons of Advocates and of ſuch as had executed the Office “ at the Treaſury, whether alive or dead, ſhould be preferred before Strangers “ coming to be admitted, provided they had finiſhed their time of Studies, and “ that without any expence or Fees. That the Profits due ſhould be acquired not “ onely by ſuch as had been Advocates of the Treaſury, but if dead by their “ Heirs; that ſuch Advocates ſhould not be compelled to employments, moleſted “ with the burthen of exhibition without the Authority of the Prince ſpecially intervening, and being ſued ſhould be cited by decree of the *Comes* of the “ Eaſt, if in his Province, before whom the cauſe ſhould be heard as the competent “ Judge.

L. 3. ejuſd. tit. Dat. Cal. Jul. Sabiniano & Theodoro Coſſ. A. D. 505.

44. He was ſo great a favourer of theſe *Patroni Fiſci*, or Advocates of his Treaſury, that he was ſtill adding new honours to them. For, the following year, being farther apprehenſive of their merits, as ſenſible how both laudable and neceſſary the Office of an Advocate was, he Ordained, “ That when in actual ſervice they “ ſhould be admitted, on the firſt of *January* of the year they ſerved, to receive “ gifts among the *Comites ſpectabiles* of his Conſiſtory. That after their laying “ down, if they had Legitimate Sons, they ſhould be admitted amongſt the *Clariſſimi*, the Notaries, and receive the Letters, without Fees for moving it. That “ they ſhould confeſs a Debt without any *Arbiter* before one or two of the preſent “ Advocates of the Treaſury with the uſual ſolemnity of Regiſtring. So if they “ had a mind to declare any thing concerning their children, though no Inſtruments “ of Dowry had been drawn upon intention of Marriage. That before them “ Slaves might be manumitted as before the Glorious Conſuls. And beſides, he “ confirmed all other Privileges granted them by other Laws. Theſe four Conſtitutions were directed to *Euſebius* the *Magiſter Officiorum*, to *Thomas* the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Illyricum*, and to *Conſtantine* and *Euſtachius* with the additions alſo of *P. P.* But of what Diſtricts theſe two laſt were Prefects is not expreſſed; it ſeems the Advocates belonging to the Court of the Preſident of the ſecond *Syria* were not concerned in the former Edicts; for two years after we find them to have petitioned the Emperour that they might alſo be conſidered in the like ſort. “ And “ to them he granted the Privileges expreſſed in the third Conſtitution, reducing “ their number to that of thirty, ſo as the preſent Supernumeraries ſhould alſo be “ conſidered. This is directed to one *Sergius* with the addition too of *P. P.* being, it's to be ſuppoſed, Prefect of the Eaſt, wherein was this Province of Second *Syria*.

L. 4. ejuſd. tit. Dat. 12. Cal. Dec. Ariovinio & Meſſala Coſſ. A. D. 506.

L. 5. ejuſd. tit. Dat. Cal. Dec. Anatalio & Agapito Coſſ. A. D. 508.

And thus we thought fit to give the Reader a view of all the five together, becauſe of the ſame ſubject, obſerving out of the third, that whereas the Primate of the Advocates is named, as alſo in the laſt; there was a diſtinction of Advocates, the Primate being diſtinguiſhed from the reſt. Whereas alſo in the third Edict mention is made of the time appointed for Advocates to ſtudy the Law, it was at firſt four years, before which expired none were admitted to plead, and afterwards *Juſtinian* thought fit to enlarge the term to that of five.

Vide Annotata in l. l.

45. The Year of our Lord CCCCXCVIII would be as barren of Intelligence as any other, if it were not for a Conſtitution directed to one *Polycarp* a *Præfectus Prætorio* on the firſt of *April* in the Conſulſhip of *John* (a *Scythian* he is elſewhere called) and *Paulinus*. This Emperour *Anaſtaſius* had by a certain Law formerly given right of Succeſſion, in caſe of the death of a Brother or Siſter Germans, to one who had been Emancipated, (by which Emancipation or diſcharge from the Paternal Power, a man was underſtood to be diſcharged as it were of the Family) ſo as he ſhould ſucceed ſuch Relations dying Inteſtate before all other Kindred. Now it was convenient and juſt that he who had the profit ſhould alſo have the burthen, and therefore the Emperour now declared, “ That ſuch an Emancipated Brother ſhould “ be called to be a lawfull Tutour or Guardian to Brothers and Siſters in their minority, without any excuſe of ſuch diſcharge from the Paternal Power, to be admitted. The enſuing year, or the CCCCXCIX. had for Conſul one *John* ſirnamed *Gibbus*, with whom ſome joyn *Aſclepius*, but without any good Authority. *Anaſtaſius* having little of Civil buſineſs to attend, was wholly intent upon Church Affairs, and ſo bent to encourage Hereticks, that as *Baronius* obſerves from the *Chronicon* of *Marcellinus*, he was this year chaſtized for ſo doing by the *Bulgarians*, who invaded and waſted *Thrace*. Againſt them marched one *Ariſtus*, who commanded the Emperour's Forces in *Illyricum*, with fifteen thouſand armed Men, and five hundred and twenty Waggons laden with Inſtruments neceſſary for Battel. A fight was fought near the River *Zarta*, where about four thouſand of the *Romans* were cut off either in their flight or in falling from the Precipice of a Bank that had no Water running by it. And here the flower of *Illyricum* fell, *Nicoſtratis*, *Innocentius*, *Tancus* and *Aquilinus*, all *Comites*, being ſlain. To this loſs was added another, cauſed by a great Earthquake, wherewith the Countrey of *Pontus* was ſhaken. But *Anaſtaſius* bought off and reſtrained the incurſions of the *Bulgari* with a great ſum of Gold.

A.D. 498. *Johan. & Paulin. Coſſ.*

Emancipated Brothers called to tuition.

L. 4. *de legitima tutela, Cod. Juſt. lib.* 5. *tit.* 30. *Dat. Cal. April.*

A. D. 499. *Johanne Gibbo Conſ.*

The *Romans* worſted by the *Bulgarians*.

46. We are now arrived at the year D. which is noted with the joynt Conſulſhip of *Patritius* and *Hypatius*, in which meeting with nothing elſe of Civil concernment, we ſearch for Laws, and find two in the late Edition of *Juſtinian*'s Code marked with this year, but dated in the Conſulſhip of *John* and *Aſclepius*. The day of the date of both is the very firſt of the year, and that might give occaſion to the miſtake of placing them amiſs. They made up one Conſtitution, being directed on one and the ſame day to one and the ſame perſon, *viz. Antiochus* the *Præpoſitus ſacri Cubiculi*, and are both concerning the *Silentiarii*, their Privileges and Emoluments. By them he declares, “ That thoſe *Silentiarii* of his Palace “ who ſerved (the word is *Militantes*) at his ſide (*circa latus*) ſhall be excuſed “ from Tuitions and Curations: That what they get by this ſervice or *Militia* “ ſhall be enjoyed by them as a *Caſtrenſe Peculium*, ſo as their Fathers, if alive, “ and their Heirs ſhall have no right unto it. That if they ſell their places they “ ſhall enjoy all relating to the ſale in the ſame manner. That their Sons, if they “ come to be adorned with the Dignity of *Comes Spectabilis* or *Tribune* ſhall not if “ unwilling be compelled to be *Prætors*. And theſe Privileges he added, ſhould be “ enjoyed not onely by thoſe in preſent ſervice, but by ſuch as ſhould ſucceed them, “ and not onely during the time of their ſervice, but after they had laid down “ their places. As for the excuſing them from Guardianſhips, he hints that they “ cannot attend the Affairs of other men, becauſe through the attendance they “ give to him, they could not diligently manage the concerns of their own Families. But it's obſervable that he gives them but the title of *Clariſſimi*, though elſewhere they have that of *Spectabiles*, but this variety was incident to many Officers, their Dignity being enlarged or diminiſhed according to the pleaſure of the preſent Emperours, the Fountains of their Honour.

A. D. 500. *Patritio & Hypatio Coſſ.*

***Anaſtaſius* favourable to the *Silentiarii*.**

L. ult. de excuſationibus tutorum, Cod. Juſt. lib. 5. *tit.* 62. *& l. ult. de Silentiariis, Cod. Juſt. lib.* 12. *tit.* 16.

47. For the year DI. *Anienus* and *Pompeius* were Conſuls; *Anienus* was ſirnamed *Fauſtus*, had been ordinary Conſul above ten years ſince, and was deſcended from the moſt noble Family of the *Scipio*'s, which *Baronius* obſerveth to make him ſome return for his Orthodox and Pious demeanour toward *Symmachus* the *Roman* Biſhop. And on the other ſide he obſerveth concerning *Anaſtaſius* the Emperour, that being of the contrary diſpoſition, the people reviled him openly as an Heretick; and that he to

A. D. 501. *Anieno & Pompeio Coſſ.*

puniſh them as well for ſo doing, as to be revenged on them for favouring the Cauſe of *Longinus* and the *Iſaurians*, this year took that opportunity which while he was alive he dared not to doe, and cauſed them to be fall'n upon, while they beheld the *Spectacula* in the Theatre unarmed, with ſuch Violence and Execution, that above three thouſand were ſlain, beſides ſuch as got away wounded to their Houſes. One Conſtitution beſides what we have already mentioned we find of this year (if not rather of the foregoing,) but merely belonging to the *Jus privatum*, and not by us here to be mentioned. For that which followed, *Anienus* the younger, Son to him of the former year, was Conſul together with *Probus*. This afforded matter which *Baronius* had alſo reaſon to mention as a puniſhment of *Anaſtaſius*. For now the *Bulgari* again invaded *Thrace* without any reſiſtence. And he being accuſtomed to buy off the Barbarians for a Sum of Gold, diverted them from the Eaſtern Provinces to the Weſt, where the year after they were defeated by *Theodorich* now King of *Italy*, who took *Syrmium* and joyned it to that Countrey. This year alſo was *Amida* a ſtrong Garriſon of the *Romans* in *Meſopotamia* taken by *Cabades* the *Perſian*, after a Siege of ſix months, by the Treachery of certain Monks. The occaſion of it *Procopius* declares fetching the matter a little higher.

L. ult. de Tranſactionibus, Cod. Juſt. lib. 2. *tit.* 4.

A. D. 502.

Anieno Jun. & Probo Coſſ.

The *Bulgari* invading *Thrace*, are bought off by *Anaſtaſius*.

Bell. Perſic. lib. 1.

48. *Cabades* the preſent King of *Perſia* became in Debt to the King of the *Ephthalites*, and not being able to pay it, he prayed the Emperour *Anaſtaſius* to lend him the money. The Emperour conſulting with ſome about him, they diſſwaded him from it, telling him how inconvenient it would be, if he ſhould confirm with his money the Freindſhip of the Barbarians amongſt themſelves, and that it were better for his Concerns that they ſhould ever claſh with one another. Upon his refuſal *Cabades* reſolved to invade the *Romans*, and into *Armenia* he brought the firſt News himſelf with an Army. Having foraged the Countrey, he ſate down though in the Winter before *Amida* a City of *Meſopotamia*, the Inhabitants whereof though they had no Garriſon (as having lived before peaceably and quietly,) and wanted all manner of Proviſions, yet ſtood out againſt the dangers and inconveniences of a Siege. At that time one *James* a *Syrian*, a juſt and very Religious man, had for many years been a Recluſe, at a place diſtant from *Amida* but one days Journey, that ſo he might not be interrupted in his godly Contemplations. And thoſe of the Neighbourhood, to be helping to his good intent, had pitched a Pale about him, with ſpaces wide enough onely to ſee and confer with ſuch as came to him, with a Roof to keep off from him Rain and Snow. And there he had long continued not yielding to Heats or Colds, feeding on Roots, and not of them every day, but faſting ſometimes a good while together. Some *Ephthalites* ranging about the Countrey eſpied this *James* and offered to ſhoot at him, but their hands were ſuddenly benummed and they could not draw their Bows. *Cabades* hearing the report would himſelf be an Eye witneſs of the Miracle, and ſeeing it, was aſtoniſhed as alſo thoſe that were about him. He humbly beſought *James* to pardon his men their offence, which he did at the firſt word, and they were inſtantly free'd of their fears. *Cabades* then bad him demand ſomething, thinking he would have asked ſome great Sum of money. But he prayed him onely to beſtow on him ſuch men as in this War ſhould come to him for Protection. Which *Cabades* granted, and left him Letters for their aſſurance. And the rumour being ſpread abroad, many from all parts came and were preſerved.

Cabades the *Perſian* Beſieges *Amida*.

49. But *Cabades* with his Rammes battered *Amida* on every ſide, and the Inhabitants avoided the ſtrokes of thoſe Engins by croſs Beams, in ſuch a manner that the Wall became impregnable, ſo ſtrong were their Buildings in ancient times. Failing therefore this way, he raiſed a Mount ſo high that it commanded the Wall. To this the Defendants drew a Mine from the Town, and by carrying out the Earth, from within the Mount made it hollow, the outſide retaining ſtill the form it had, and giving no ſuſpicion of any deſign to the Enemy. The *Perſians* came upon it, thinking as upon firm Ground to Shoot into the Town; but company preſſing upon it, the Mount ſunk, and almoſt all periſhed. *Cabades* at this deſpaired, and reſolved to raiſe the Siege, commanding the Army the next day to retire. But the Townſmen, as now ſecure, flouted the Barbarians from the Walls, and ſome common Women drew up their Clothes, ſhewing *Cabades* thoſe parts which ſhould not be ſeen by men. Hereupon the *Magi* forbad his Retreat, aſſuring him that e'er long the *Amidenſes* would ſhew him all their ſecret and hidden things. The Camp continuing in its former poſture upon this their ſuggeſtion, ſome days after a *Perſian* near one of the Turrets found the mouth of an old Vault, covered onely with a few ſmall Stones, he entered it alone in the Night, and when it was day made the matter known to *Cabades*, who, reſolving not to looſe the advantage,

the Night following went with part of his Army and ſcaling Ladders to the place. The Turret was Guarded by Monks, (the ſtricteſt ſort of Chriſtians,) who that day obſerved an Annual Feaſt, and being wearied in their Solemn Aſſembly, and having taken a greater proportion of Meat and Drink than uſual, they perceived not the Enemy.

Amida taken.

50. The *Perſians* entered the Town by a few at a time, and aſcending the Turret killed the Monks as they lay faſt aſleep. Then did *Cabades* ſet ſcaling Ladders to the Wall adjoyning to the Turret, and when day appeared the Beſieged who guarded the next Turret, perceiving the danger they were in, haſted to the reſcue. And after an hot Conflict they had the better of it, for killing many men that were already got up; they kept off thoſe upon the Ladders, and were very near quit of the Danger. But *Cabades* drawing his Scimiter, forced his men up the Ladders, threatning Death to the comers down, and thereby overpowring the Defendants by numbers took the Town after eighty days Siege. Great ſlaughter was made, till *Cabades* riding into the Town, his fury was aſſwaged by an old Prieſt of *Amida*, who told him that it was not Royally done to kill men now at his mercy. *Cabades* yet angry, demanded why then they would ſtand out againſt him? Becauſe, Sir, replied the Prieſt, God would give you *Amida*, not by our wills, but your own Valour. *Cabades* pleaſed with this Reply, ſuffered no more Execution to be done, but permitted his Souldiers to ſack the City and take Priſoners, of which he had the principal to himſelf. Then leaving in Garriſon a thouſand *Perſians*, under one *Glones*, and ſome wretched Citizens to ſerve them with neceſſaries; with his Priſoners he Marched home. Yet with the Priſoners he dealt very Princely, for he let them all go home free, and gave out that they ran away. *Anaſtaſius* alſo dealt kindly with them, remitting to the Countrey their Tribute for ſeven years, and conferring many Benefits both upon the City and private men; ſo that they ſoon forgot the miſery they had undergone.

The *Romans* invade *Perſia*.

51. But *Anaſtaſius* having the News of the Siege of *Amida*, immediately diſpatched away an Army againſt the Enemy. This Army was cheifly Commanded by *Areobondus* General of the Eaſt, who Married the Daughter of *Olybrius* the late Weſtern Emperour, *Celer* who Commanded the two Palatine Cohorts called by the *Romans Magiſter*, with *Patritius* the *Phrygian* and *Hypatius* the Emperour's Siſters Son, who Commanded the two Legions in *Conſtantinople*. Theſe were accompanied by *Juſtin*, who was Emperour after *Anaſtaſius*, by *Patriciolus* and *Vitalianus* his Son, who afterwards rebelled againſt *Anaſtaſius Pharaſmenes* of *Colchos* an excellent good Souldier, with *Godidſelus* and *Steſas Goths*, both Gallant men and expert Souldiers, who followed not *Theodorich* into *Italy*. Of this Army *Procopius* affirms that ſo brave one went not againſt the *Perſians* before nor after to his time. The Prefect of Proviſions was *Appian* an *Egyptian*, a principal *Patritian* and Valiant, whom the Emperour declared his Partner in the Empire by Codicills, that he might have abſolute Authority in the expence of the Army, which Marched not together, but each of the four Commanders led his own Forces. They found the Enemy gone home with his Spoils after the taking of *Amida*, which now they would not Beſiege hearing it to be furniſhed with all Neceſſaries, but made an Impreſſion into the Enemies Countrey, Marching not in one Body, but encamping ſeverally. *Cabades* being near and having notice, entred the *Roman* Borders with his whole Army, which being underſtood by *Areobondus*, though at firſt they thought he had with him but ſome ſmall party, he quitted his Camp and ran to *Conſtantina* a City diſtant two days Journey. The Enemy took the Camp and Baggage without any men, and thence with ſpeed went to the Quarters of *Patritius* and *Hypatius*, who having met with eight hundred *Ephthalites*, who were marching before the *Perſian* Army, had killed them all; and not dreaming of the Army with *Cabades* were making merry like Conquerours, laying down their Arms and preparing for Dinner. Some waſhed their Meat in the adjacent Brook, and others troubled with heat were bathing themſelves, which made the Water run foul.

Some are defeated by *Cabades*.

52. *Cabades* having heard of the ill fortune of his *Ephthalites*, Marched apace toward the Enemy, and by the thickneſs of the Water gheſt at the matter, and that the *Romans* were unprepared. And commanding to drive on with full ſpeed, he came upon them at Dinner and Unarmed; and being ſo ſuddenly ſurprized, and not able to abide the charge, they ran away without making reſiſtence. Some were overtaken and ſlain, others fled to a Mountain, and for fear leaped down the Rocks, not one of them eſcaping. This done, *Cabades* ſtanding in fear of his Enemies the *Hunnes*, who now invaded his Territories, went home with his whole

Army,

Others return having done little.

Amida recovered by money

Army, and had a long War with them upon his Northern Borders. In the mean time the other *Roman* Forces came, for *Celer* was not before this Defeat come up to the reſt; but they did nothing, having no Commander in cheif, and the Generals with their Equality of power ever croſſing one another in their opinions. *Celer* paſſed the River *Nymphius*, which ran by *Martyropolis*, and was diſtant from *Amida* thirty five miles, and having foraged the Countrey ſoon departed home. The Emperour ſent for *Areobondus* to *Conſtantinople*, and the reſt ſate down before *Amida* in Winter, where failing to be Conquerours, they reſolved to force the place by Famine. The Beſieged did really want proviſions, but the *Roman* Generals knowing it not, and ſeeing the Souldiers weary of a Winter Siege, imagining alſo that the *Perſian* Army would e'er long return, made haſte ſome way to riſe and be gone. The *Perſians* alſo were doubtfull of their condition in theſe ſtraits, though they concealed their wants, and made ſhew of plenty, but they deſired they would make ſome handſome Retreat. In concluſion, an Agreement was made, that the *Perſians* for ten Centenaries of Gold ſhould ſurrender the City. The Articles were performed, and the Son of *Glones*, who was ſlain in an Ambuſh by the Treachery of a Peaſant that betrayed him, receiving the money gave up *Amida*. He was vexed that he could not ſtay to revenge his Father's Death, but burnt the Church of St. *Simeon* where he Lodged. Other Buildings neither *Cabades* nor *Glones* nor any *Perſian* defaced in *Amida*, nor about it.

Diſhonourably.

A Truce for ſeven years,

53. Thus the *Romans* recovered *Amida* by money, two years after the taking of it. Being got within it, their own negligence appeared, and the abſtemiouſneſs of the *Perſians*. For it was found by conſidering the quantity of the Victuals left, and the Barbarians that went out, that not above ſeven days Proviſion was remaining; yet *Glones* and his Son had delivered it out to the *Perſians* more ſparingly than their need could well endure, and to the *Romans* in the Town nothing at all, ſo that they were forced to Eat unuſual Food and abominable, and at laſt one another. The Generals finding themſelves thus deceived by the Barbarians, reproached the Souldiers for their Intemperance and Diſobedience, who having it in their power to take the Town with all the *Perſians* in it at mercy, had diſhonourably parted with the *Roman* Treaſure to Barbarians, and gotten *Amida* as ſome Merchandize for money. But afterward the War with the *Hunnes* growing long, the *Perſians* made a Truce with the *Romans* for ſeven years, which was concluded by *Celer* on the part of the *Romans*, and by *Aſpevedes* on that of the *Perſians*. And ſo ended this War about *Amida*, but ſomething farther happened betwixt the *Romans* and *Perſians* in the Reign of *Anaſtaſius* concerning the *Caſpian* Gates, ſo called; which Gates deſcribed, and the matter it ſelf you ſhall have from the Relation alſo of *Procopius*.

The *Caſpian* Gates.

54. The Mountain *Taurus* of *Cilicia* paſſeth firſt by *Cappadocia*, then *Armenia* and *Perſarmenia*, *Albania* and *Iberia* with other Nations that way, then either free or ſubject to the *Perſians*. Extending thus through many Countries, the farther it goes it grows to a greater height and breadth. But beyond *Iberia* you come to a narrow place, reaching ſome ſix Miles, and ending at a ſteep one unpaſſable, where for the way out, Nature hath built a kind of Gate, anciently called the *Caſpian* Gate or *Straits*; beyond which were then fair Champions well watered, and large Plains for Horſe Paſture, where were ſeated the Nations of the *Hunnes*. Theſe *Hunnes* extended to the lake of *Mæotis*, and paſſing the Straits in their Inroads into the *Roman* or *Perſian* Provinces, came with their Horſes freſh and luſty, not fetching a compaſs about, nor being ingaged in ragged places, thoſe five miles into *Iberia* excepted; whereas ſuch as took other paſſages arrived with much toil, and could not make uſe of the ſame Horſes, having been forced to many circuits and craggy ways. *Alexander* the *Great* conſidering this, built Gates there indeed, and by them a Fort, which through the Hands of many Owners came at length to *Ambazules* a *Hunne*, a friend of the Emperour *Anaſtaſius*. This man now grown old and near his End, offered to *Anaſtaſius* for money to put the *Romans* in poſſeſſion both of the Gates and of the Fort.

Poſſeſſed by *Cabades*.

55. The Emperour, who was not wont to doe things unadviſedly, conſidered that it was not poſſible to maintain a Garriſon in the place wanting all Commodities, and having no Nation near it that was ſubject to the *Romans*, and gave the man many thanks for his good will, but would not meddle with the thing. *Ambazules* ſoon after Died, and *Cabades* forcing out his Sons, poſſeſſed himſelf of the Gates. *Anaſtaſius* alſo after the Truce with *Cabades* was expired, built a very ſtrong City at a place called *Daras*, diſtant from *Niſibis* about twelve miles, and from the *Perſian* Frontier three miles and an half at moſt, and named it *Anaſtaſia*.

This

Anaſtaſius builds Cities to reſtrain the *Perſians.*

This building the *Perſian* deſired to hinder but could not, having his Hands full of the *Hunnes*; but this War being once over, he expoſtulated with the Emperour for Building ſo near his Confines as contrary to the Articles of Peace. *Anaſtaſius* put it off, ſometimes threatning, ſometimes pretending friendſhip, but eſpecially by large preſents. Another City alſo he Built upon the frontier of *Perſarmenia,* which before had been a Village, and from *Theodoſius* was called *Theodoſia. Anaſtaſius* compaſſed it with a ſtrong Wall a little before his Death, which no leſs than the other troubled the *Perſians*, being both as Rampiers upon his Countrey.

A.D. 503. *Dexecrato & Voluſiano Coſſ.*

He is favourable to Emancipated Children.

L. 18. *de Collationib. Cod. Juſt. lib.* 6. *tit.* 20. *L.* 11. *de legitimis Hæredib. lib. eod. tit.* 58. *L.* 8. *de emancipationib. lib.* 8. *tit.* 49. *Vide Cujacii Obſerv. lib.* 18. *c.* 18.

56. For the year of our Lord DIII *Dexecratus* and *Voluſianus* were Conſuls. In this year was the Defeat given by the *Perſian* King to the *Roman* Commanders lately mentioned. While they managed their matters unſucceſfully abroad, *Anaſtaſius* at Home managed a War againſt the Orthodox Chriſtians. But he employed his *Quæſtor* in making Edicts in behalf of Emancipations that ſuch as were emancipated by the Reſcript of the Prince ſhould enjoy the uſual Privileges of Deſcent as did other Children, which ſtill continued under paternal power in the Family, contributing their own goods, and ſhould alſo ſucceed their Brothers dying inteſtate. Theſe things he enacted by one Conſtitution divided now, according to the Contents of it, into three ſeveral Laws by the Compilers of *Juſtinian*'s Code. For they have all the ſame Inſcription, and all bear date in *July*, though a little alteration there be in the numbers of the days before the Calends of *Auguſt*. Of the following year we have nothing here to obſerve, but that it is marked with the Conſulſhip of *Cethæus* alone, for which *Baronius* would have *Cetegus* to be read, which was a *Roman* Name. Of which a famous Senator flouriſhed at this time, to whom are Letters found directed from *Ennodius Ticinenſis* or of *Pavia*.

Vide Baron. ad hunc Ann.

Incurs the diſpleaſure of the People.

57. The year DV. was ſignalized by the Conſulſhip of *Theodorus* and *Sabinianus*. The former was ſirnamed *Manlius*, and being Nameſake too is alſo reported to be deſcended from that *Theodorus Manlius* or *Mellius* of whom we have ſo much ſpoken when Conſul, in the Second Volume of this Work. Whereas *Theodorich* who had obtained the Kingdom of *Italy* had along time had for his friend *Anaſtaſius*, at leaſt as ſome have believed; now they began to be at open Enmity, and its ſaid that this year the Empire was invaded by the *Goths*, under Conduct of one *Mundo* by this Deſignment, and that *Sabinianus* the Conſul being ſent againſt him was defeated, and having loſt his Army he himſelf eſcaped with a few. The year next enſuing had *Meſſala* Conſul at *Rome* and *Areobondus* at *Conſtantinople*, and preſents us with nothing of civil Concernment though too much of Eccleſiaſtical, the Emperour concerning himſelf ſo far in behalf of Schiſmatical Perſons, that he gave great offence by ſuch his carriage to the People of *Conſtantinople*. And the year which followed wherein he himſelf the third time, and *Venantius Decius* were Conſuls, we are told things grew to ſuch extremity in the City, that the People fell into a Sedition in the Cirque, where uſually meeting to behold the Sports they were always wont to uſe licentious freedom toward the Emperours.

A. D. 508. *Venantio Jun. & Celere. Coſſ.*

Enmity betwixt him and *Theodorich* King of *Italy*.

The *Saracens* waſte *Arabia* and *Paleſtine*.

58. The year of our Saviour DVIII was known by the Conſulſhip of *Venantius Junior* and *Celer*. Now were the Differences betwixt *Anaſtaſius* and *Theodorich* King of *Italy* grown into open Enmity. For *Theodorich* endeavoured to get into his hands *Pannonia* which was accounted to belong to the Eaſtern Empire. And *Anaſtaſius* ſent out a Fleet againſt him, under the Conduct of *Romanus* the *Comes Domeſticorum*, and *Daſticus* who Commanded the *Scholæ*, on board of which were eight thouſand Armed men. They proceeded as far as *Tarentum*, which they attacqued and waſted the Coaſts of *Italy*, and ſo *Romanus* having exerciſed Piracy againſt the *Romans*, brought home their Plunder to *Anaſtaſius*. He might be incouraged to this undertaking by the Abſence of *Theodorich*, who this year Warred againſt the *Franks* in *Gall*. The year DIX had *Importunus* for Conſul, and in the Weſt it's thought, being the ſame with him whom *Theodorich* advanced to the Degree of *Patritian*, being of the ancient Family of the *Decii*. The year that followed was enobled by the Conſulſhip of *Boetius*, that excellent Perſon of whom we have much to ſay in the Hiſtory of the *Italian* Kingdom. Of theſe years little elſe of civil Concernment do we find in the Eaſt, onely that the *Saracens* ſubject to the *Perſians*, waſted *Arabia* and *Paleſtine*, while *Anaſtaſius* made great ſtir at *Conſtantinople* about Religion, and diſtreſſed thoſe of the Orthodox Party which made the people turbulent and ſeditious. The year DXI is for nothing eminent, except it be for the Conſulſhip of *Felix* and *Secundinus*; which *Felix* was a *Gall* by Nation, and was promoted to this Dignity by *Theodorich* as we may ſee hereafter.

59. The

A. D. 512. *Paulo & Muſciano Coſſ.*

59. The year DXI. had for Conſuls *Paulus* and *Muſcianus*; and nothing is it remarkable for, except a Tumult and Sedition of the Citizens of *Conſtantinople* againſt the Emperour upon the account of Religion, and his acting ſtill againſt the Orthodox Chriſtians. And the ſame we hear of him in that following which was characterized with the Conſulſhip of *Probus* and *Clementinus*, as the *Chronicon* of *Caſſiodorus* hath it, though ſome call him *Clementianus*. And for the next enſuing, the Authour of that *Chronicon* himſelf, or *M. Aurelius Caſſiodorus Senator*, the great Miniſter of *Theodorich* attained to this Dignity, of whom much is to be ſaid in the Hiſtory of that Kingdom of the *Goths*. Here it is onely proper to obſerve that he was Conſul alone, having no Collegue out of the Eaſt, though in the Eaſt the *Roman* Empire, and conſequently the Conſulſhip could onely properly be found. All the reaſon that can be given for this is, that the diſturbances about Religion were ſo great at *Conſtantinople*, that *Anaſtaſius* had other things to doe, than to think of conferring this titular Dignity. Theſe ſtirs arrived at ſo great an height, that the Orthodox Biſhops were expelled from their Sees, and in their places were Hereticks preferred by the Emperour, againſt whom it is obſerved by *Baronius*, that God Almighty ſtirred up *Vitalianas* a *Scythian*, as *Marcellinus* calls him, who gathering together ſuch *Roman* Horſe as he could raiſe in three days time, came as far as the place called *Septimus*, and encamped himſelf. There diſpoſing of his men from Sea to Sea, he proceeded as far as the Golden Gate of *Conſtantinople* without any loſs, affirming he came to aſſert the Orthodox Faith, and to ſuccour the Biſhops of the City, unjuſtly baniſhed by the Emperour.

Diſturbances about Religion.

Vitalianus his attempts and deſign

Variouſly reported.

Lib. 3. *c.* 43.

60. Yet by the diſſembling and perjuries of *Anaſtaſius*, managed by one *Theodorus* whom the Emperour employed, he was prevail'd with to leave the City the eighth day after he came thither; though as *Cedrenus* writes, having ſeized on all *Thrace*, *Scythia* and *Myſia*, he had following him an Army of *Hunnes* and *Bulgari*, and had taken many Cities together with *Cyril* the Governour of *Thrace*. But *Anaſtaſius* being in a deſperate condition begged Peace, and ſwore that together with the Senate he would reſtore the Baniſhed Biſhops to their Sees, and call a Council. *Marcellinus* relates that *Vitalianus*, departing from *Conſtantinople*, got by craft unto *Odyſſus* a Town of *Thrace* in the night time, and there caught *Cyril*, who was more talker than fighter, ſleeping betwixt two Whores, and there killed him; after which he ſhewed himſelf an open Enemy to *Anaſtaſius*. But *Euagrius* makes this enmity to have been rather, for that *Vitalianus* affected the Sovereignty. He writes that being a *Thracian*, with ſuch a deſign he waſted *Thrace* and *Myſia* as far as *Odyſſus* and *Anchialus*, and haſted to *Conſtantinople* with a mixed multitude of ſuch Nations as were wont to wander about without any fixed habitations. That the Emperour ſent *Hypatius* againſt him, who was taken Priſoner and ranſomed with a great ſum of Money. After him *Cyril* undertook the charge, and at firſt they fought doubtfully, till *Cyril* ſo beſtirred himſelf that he put the Enemy to flight, and had the better of it; but *Vitalianus* rallying his men, turned back againſt him, and his Souldiers forſaking him by reaſon of their ill will to him, he took him in *Odyſſus*. After this *Vitalianus* made excurſions as far as *Sycæ*, and waſted all with Fire and Sword, having no other thoughts but to deſtroy *Conſtantinople* and to obtain the Empire.

He is worſted at Sea.

61. Having encamped himſelf at the place called *Sycæ*, the Emperour ſent againſt him *Marinus Syrus* with a Fleet, becauſe it ſeems his ſtrength lay at Sea, and the Navies faced each other, one toward *Sycæ*, and the other toward *Conſtantinople*. And at firſt they onely faced and viewed each other, but at length began to play and give the chaſe as it were in jeſt, till it came to a Battel in good earneſt, fought near *Bythanæ*. Herein *Vitalianus* was forced to turn tail, and having loſt many men, in great fear and aſtoniſhment fled, which example of his they followed, which had fought for him; inſomuch that the next day not one of them could be found either in the paſſage, or about the City. The report went that *Vitalianus* himſelf for ſome time lay quiet in *Anchialus*. To this Narration *Euagrius* adds that another ſort of Barbarians who lived without Houſes, paſſed the Sea, and made an Incurſion to the *Pylæ* or Gates of *Cappadocia*. And at the ſame time *Rhodes* was now the third time miſerably ſhattered with an Earthquake happening in the night, and was almoſt deſtroyed. So briefly doth this Hiſtorian write concerning this War betwixt the Emperour and *Vitalianus*, attributing it to the ambition of a Rebel, and not to any Religious concern; for which *Baronius* leaveth him and follows the account given him by *Marcellinus Comes* in his *Chronicon*, who digeſts the ſeveral particulars he relates according to the years wherein they were done.

62. The

A. D. 515. *Anthemio & Florentio Coſſ.*

Still active.

62. The year of our Saviour DXV. had *Anthemius* and *Florentius* for Conſuls. This year *Vitalianus* (in behalf of the Catholick Faith ſay they) became more fierce againſt *Anaſtaſius*. He ſent before a Party of Horſe, and ſome Boats by Water, and he himſelf with his Foot entred a place called *Prædium Sixtinenſe*, where he took up the Palace for his Manſion. Now were ſent unto him Senatours to make a peace. As a Ranſome for *Hypatius* he received ninety pounds of Gold, the Emperour's gifts excepted, beſides one thouſand and one hundred pounds he had when *Vranius* was taken Priſoner. Being made *Magiſter Militum* in *Thrace*, he ſent back *Hypatius*, whom he had kept in Chains in a Caſtle called *Acres*, to his Uncle. To theſe conditions *Baronius* as an Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian adds, that an Oecumenical Council ſhould be called; of which we are not here to give an account. This year alſo died *Ariadne* the Empreſs, having paſſed at Court no fewer than ſixty years, and them to the great detriment of the Church, as is obſerved. Moreover this ſame year was famous for Wars and devaſtations, for the *Hunnes* roved through *Armenia*, and waſting all *Cappadocia*, proceeded as far as to *Lycaonia*. The next that followed, which was characteriſed with the Conſulſhip of one *Peter* without a Collegue, was paſſed over without any conſiderable thing but what relates to the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian. Onely *Anaſtaſius* for fear of *Vitalianus* and his Orthodox Army diſſembled greatly, and commanded certain Biſhops, whom he had formerly baniſhed, to return to their Sees. But when upon his diſſimulation *Vitalianus* retired, and he now ſeemed to be ſecure; *Baronius* judgeth of him, that as having obtained a glorious Victory, and the Rebel being conquered not by Arms but cunning; the Biſhop of *Rome*, being alſo cheated as to the hope he had of Eccleſiaſtical concord, the year following he erected as it were a Trophy, and took the Title of Conſul; which Title he now bore the fourth time. And to him was given one *Agapitus* a Collegue for the Weſt.

Anaſtaſius perſecuteth the Orthodox.

63. He had but a ſmall time to reap the fruits of his conceived Victory, and to pride himſelf in his triumph, though what time he had, we are told he improved to the advantage of his own and the perſecution of the Orthodox Party. This Perſecution is ſaid to have proceeded ſo far, as that it entred into the very Court, where under pretence of a Plot againſt the Emperour, the throats of many eminent Perſons were cut, and *Juſtin* with *Juſtinian* his Nephew, both of them famous at home and abroad, were hardly preſerved by a terrour ſtruck from Heaven into him: For *Zonaras* reports, that when he deſigned to put them to death, a terrible man appeared to him in a dream, and bade him doe them no harm; for each of them in his time ſhould ſerve God. *Euagrius* relates how the people of *Conſtantinople* being tumultuous againſt him upon the account of Religion, and for baniſhing their Biſhop *Macedonius*, not onely the Nobility came into extreme danger, but many excellent Buildings were burnt, and barbarous murthers being committed, the flame of Sedition raged ſo far, as bringing all things into danger, the Emperour by neceſſity was driven to commiſeration. He put off his Crown and came to the Cirque, ſending Criers before him to proclaim to the people, That *He was moſt ready to lay down the Sovereign Power, but all of them could not be placed in that Dignity, which could receive but one who muſt Reign after him.* The People beholding him ſuddenly chang'd it's opinion as from a Divine admoniſhment, and intreated *Anaſtaſius* to reaſſume his Crown, promiſing upon that condition to be quiet. *Anaſtaſius* after this lived but a very ſhort time, dying when he had governed the Empire twenty ſeven years, three months, and as many days.

Lib. 3. *c. ult.*

Dies.

A grievous Earthquake preceding his death.

64. But as he lived an impenitent Perſecutour, he did not depart this World without terrible notice given of his diſmal end, the ſame Eccleſiaſtical Writers obſerve. *Marcellinus* relates that in the Province *Dardania* twenty four Caſtles were ruined by an Earthquake in one moment. Of theſe, two ſank down with the Inhabitants; of four was deſtroyed one half, and alſo of thoſe that lived in them; of eleven the third part of the Buildings were undermined, and alſo a third part of the people loſt; and ſeven, by being ruined, a fourth part, with a loſs of a fourth part of thoſe that inhabited them, ſtruck a great terrour into the Neighbourhood. *Scupus* the Metropolis was utterly defaced, though without the deſtruction of its Citizens who had formerly left it, flying from the Enemy. Many of the Mountains of this Province were by this Earthquake cloven in ſunder, Rocks were rent, and Trees being torn up by the roots, a great hole was made thereby. In a certain Caſtle of the Region called *Caniſa*, by name *Sarnonto*, the Veins of the Earth were ſo burſten, that the Earth vomited abundance of Water. They recount from *Zonaras* another Dream *Anaſtaſius* had after the diſcharging of *Juſtin* and *Juſtinian*, how again he ſaw a terrible Man in his ſleep, who holding a Book in his

hand, ſaid, *Look, for the perverſeneſs of thy Faith I blot out fourteen years of thy life.* And to this *Cedrenus* adds, that when he awaked he told his dream to *Amantius* his *Præpoſitus Cubiculi*; who let him know that he had alſo dreamt, that ſtanding by him the Emperour, there came a great Hog and plucking him down by his cloathes devoured him. Upon this *Proclus* the Fortune-teller came and declared that both of them in a ſhort time ſhould depart this life.

Which was foretold by *Proclus*,

65. But as for this *Proclus* he was not, as appears from *Zonaras*, a mere Fortune-teller, but the greateſt Mathematician of this and many other Ages. He was famous as well for Philoſophy as Mechanick knowledge. He not onely underſtood all that was known by that famous Artiſt *Archimedes*, but he himſelf found out ſome new things; for by him was invented that Engine which defeated the Fleet of *Vitalianus*. This was made of Looking-glaſſes, which being hung upon the wall over againſt the Navy, reflected the Sun beams with ſuch violence upon it, that it burnt both Navy and the Men that were upon it, which yet *Dion* reported *Archimedes* to have invented, when the *Romans* beſieged *Syracuſe*. But that you may ſee what intimate friends *Anaſtaſius* had, and what company he kept. *Baronius* farther tells you out of *Suidas* concerning this *Proclus*, that he was a *Lycian*, the Scholar of *Syrianus*, and an Hearer alſo of *Plutarch* the Philoſopher, the Son of *Neſtorius*. That being himſelf a *Platonick* Philoſopher he was overſeer of a Philoſophick School at *Athens*, where *Anaſtaſius* endeavoured to reſtore the Academy. That his Diſciple and Succeſſour was ſaid to be *Marinus* the *Neopolitan*. And afterwards reckoning up his Writings, he adds, that he wrote eighteen arguments againſt Chriſtians; that this is that *Proclus* who next to *Porphyrius* whetted his impure and contumelious tongue againſt Chriſtians. But *John* the Philoſopher moſt famouſly refuted his Propoſitions, and ſhewed him to be rude and unskilfull in Greek Learning, for which he had a great name. But at this time (that they may not be confounded) lived alſo another *Proclus* far different from the other, a man moſt abſtinent, and tenacious of the ancient Decrees, the *Quæſtor* of the Emperour *Juſtin*.

His favourite, and yet a Pagan and one who wrote againſt Chriſtians.

66. It had been, its ſaid, told to *Anaſtaſius* that he ſhould die by Thunder. To avoid this he cauſed to be made a Building, which *Baronius* juſtly termeth a mad Work, whereby he hoped to avoid the danger; and *Proclus* the Philoſopher and Mathematician he thinks to have been Authour of it, which is probable enough; but let us hear how the end foretold him was brought about. It Thundring and Lightning exceedingly, he was terrified, and went down from one Room into another; and paſſed from this Chamber into that, but was found dead in his Apartment. Having been told he ſhould die by Fire, he opened a Ciſtern in the Palace with many windings and turnings, at each of which a Veſſel was placed; endeavouring by this means to evade the Oracle, but to no purpoſe. Such was his end, as it is told by *Zonaras* and *Cedrenus* the later Greek Writers, though *Euagrius* ſpeaks nothing of this manner of it, after he had reigned twenty ſeven years, three months, and twenty nine days, as ſay ſome; though as others, three days over and above twenty ſeven years and three months. His memory was very odious upon the account of his favouring Hereſie, and perſecuting the Orthodox Biſhops; ſo as his name, together with that of his Predeceſſour *Zeno*, are ſaid to have been ſtruck out of the Sacred Diptychs. As for Civil matters we have ſeen how he took away the *Chryſargyrum*, though it's ſaid he brought up another as ſevere an Impoſition. *Euagrius* farther Writes, as to the good things of his Reign, and his commendation, that the Barbarians called *Scenitæ*, that ſort of *Saracens* (becauſe they lived in Tents) being grown arrogant, roſe up againſt the *Roman* Empire to their own loſs. They overran *Meſopotamia*, both the *Phœnicia*'s and *Paleſtine*, but being grievouſly beaten by the Commanders in the Provinces made a peace with the *Romans* in the name of all their Nation and then were quiet. In reference to theſe matters, the *Perſian* War about *Amida* and other affairs, its pity that the Hiſtory of *Euſtathius* is loſt, which is ſo far commended by *Euagrius*, that he tells his Countrey-men, that if any of them had a deſire to have a perfect account of them, and to get an accurate knowledge, they ſhould reade that Writer, who with great Eloquence, vaſt labour and exquiſite Elegancy, brought down his Narration to the twelfth year of the Reign of *Anaſtaſius*, and then died.

Anaſtaſius killed by Thunder, according to the later Greek Hiſtorians.

His Actions.

67. Whether *Euagrius* had it from him or others, he adds that the *Perſian* War being over, he built the place called *Daras* (ſome ſaid from *Darius* his being there utterly overthrown by *Alexander*) in *Meſopotamia*, being ſituate in the utmoſt borders of the *Roman* Empire, and as it were the *terminus* or boundary by which that and the *Perſian* Kingdom were diſtinguiſhed. From a field he changed it into

Lib.3.c.c.26.&c.

His Buildings.

The long Wall.

to a City. Firſt he compaſſed it with a moſt ſtrong wall; then he raiſed various Structures in it, and thoſe very goodly, as Churches and other Houſes, Royal *Porticus's*, publick Baths, and ſuch like Works, wherewith famous Cities were wont to be adorned. Farther, this ſame Emperour was the Authour of a vaſt ſtructure being as memorable a work as any other, and this was the long Wall raiſed in a convenient place in *Thrace*. It was diſtant from *Conſtantinople* at moſt two hundred and eighty furlongs. Both Seas, like to ſome Strait, it fronted for four hundred and twenty furlongs, and made the City almoſt an Iſland from a *Peninſula*; and it conveyed thoſe who had a mind to ſail from *Pontus* to the *Propontis* and the Sea of *Thrace* with great ſecurity. In concluſion, ſaith he, it repells ſuch Barbarians as make excurſions from the *Euxine* Sea, from *Colchis* and the Fenns of *Mæotis*, as alſo ſuch as ſhould invade from the places beyond *Caucaſus* and from *Europe*. Thus much doth *Euagrius* write concerning the long Wall, which is to be taken notice of, becauſe that in the courſe of the *Byzantine* Hiſtory frequent mention is made of it.

His Character.

Laws of his making without Conſul or day.

68. As for the general demeanour of *Anaſtaſius*, it's to be feared that the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians are much in the right, though ſomething be to be allowed to intereſt and paſſion. Of all other teſtimonies they may well have moſt reaſon to cite what *Suidas* hath written of him, to make good the very evil character they give him. He tells of him that changing for the worſe, after ſome things well performed at the beginning of his Reign, he turned the whole Empire into a kind of Ariſtocraty. That he ſold all Offices of Magiſtracy, and pardoned Offenders for Money, with an inſatiable deſire after which he burned. Thence came it to paſs that the Military Rolls being exhauſted, the Provincials were plagued with things unwonted and Foreign. For he never drave away the Barbarians by force of Arms, but ſtill would redeem Peace with money. Beſides this he made enquiry into the Eſtates of deceaſed perſons, and brought common poverty upon all. To ſuch as he had deprived of their livelihoods, a little after he would be charitable as it were by giving them ſomething back again. Places that he had made void of Inhabitants he would adorn by repairing their ſtructures, eſpecially he was kind to his own native place, which he compaſſed as it were with three Crowns. Under him the Cities of *Libya* were grievouſly afflicted by thoſe they called *Larici*, for he ſet over them *Marinus*, his Nephew by his Daughter, one that was young and of a light diſpoſition; and after him *Baſianus* his Son, who exceeding his Predeceſſour in naughtineſs, it happened that the Provincials wiſhed for their former condition again, when they remembred what ſlaughter and ſpoils they had undergone: So *Suidas* ſets him out. But there remains ſomething more to be ſaid, which will give light to diſcover the Conſtitution of the State, if not of the Prince himſelf. For we have ſeveral other Laws extant in the Code which bear his name, though they be without day or Conſul, and ſo cannot be certainly aſſigned to any particular years; we ſhall make mention of ſuch of them as relate to the Government and the *jus publicum* of the *Roman* Empire.

L. ult. Si contra jus, &c. Cod. Juſt. lib. 1. *tit.* 22.

He forbad unlawfull Reſcripts to be obeyed.

Adnotatio.

69. And the firſt Law we meet with of this ſort without Conſul or day, is for removing a grievance in the Government proceeding from the Emperours Orders, often ſurreptitiouſly and fraudulently obtained. Complaints being urgent upon this account, by an Edict directed to *Matronianus* a *Præfectus Prætorio*, "he admoniſhed all Judges throughout his Dominions that they ſhould ſuffer no *Reſcript*, no "*Pragmatick Sanction*, no *Sacred Adnotation*, which was againſt the general Law, "or publick utility to be made uſe of in the canvaſing of any cauſe; in the mean "time not doubting but they were ſtrictly to obſerve the general Sacred Con"ſtitutions. Now for an underſtanding of theſe ſeveral terms, Reſcript was a general one. Of Reſcripts ſome were Law and ſome were not, ſome were Perſonal and ſome were General, ſome were Temporary and others Perpetual, ſome were of Force and ſome not. More particularly a Pragmatick Sanction was ſolemnly made concerning the judgment of Council at the petition of ſome other Perſon. An Adnotation was made briefly, the name of the Prince being noted or written to the Petition. That they termed an *Oraculum* was ſome ſimple command ſubnoted by the *Quæſtor* alone, or the *Magiſtri Scriniorum*. A *Mandatum* was given about a Suggeſtion or a Petition. But as for general Conſtitutions made to bind all, as this whereof we now write, they being better and of more weight than ſimple Reſcripts were to be obeyed.

He forbad Soldiers to be removed from place to place without the Emperour's order.

L. 4. *de officio Magiſtri Militum, Cod. Juſt. lib.* 1. *tit.* 29.

70. By another of this ſort directed to one *John* who was *Magiſter Militum* through *Illyricum*, "He forbad Souldiers to be removed from one place to another. "But if it happened that there was ſome urgent and neceſſary cauſe, then he tells

“ him the *Prætorian Præfecture*, and his See, (*viz.* of the *Magiſter Militum*) ought to provide for the publick utility and ſecurity without delay, and ſend to the Emperour their ſuggeſtions, which ſhould declare as well the places from which the Souldiers ſhould be removed, as thoſe in which they were to quarter, and the names of the moſt valiant *Numeri*, in which the ſaid Souldiers were liſted; withall, the quantity of their *Annonæ*, and eſpecially the cauſe why they ſhould be removed, that after ſuch ſuggeſtion, he might give ſuch orders as he ſhould judge convenient. This alſo was remarkable and praiſe-worthy in *Anaſtaſius*, that he reſtrained a courſe which procured great vexation in Law matters, whereby a Suit was ſold or made over for conſideration to one who otherwiſe was a ſtranger to the Action, and this was called *Ceſſio actionis*: This he forbad, except in certain caſes; and *Juſtinian* afterward coming to conſider of it approved of this Conſtitution firſt, then regulated the caſes wherein *Ceſſion* was permitted, and in concluſion would have it abſolutely to take place, onely in caſe it was made for Donation ſake, and for the cauſe of mere liberality, without diſſimulation.

Tàm ampliſſimam Prætorianam Præfecturam, quàm tuam ſedem, &c.

L. 22. Mandati vel contra, Cod. Juſt. lib. 4. tit. 35.

He reſtrained the *Ceſſio actionis*.

L. l. 23, 24. ejuſd. tit.

Vide Cujacii obſ. lib. 16. c. 16.

71. We have formerly ſeen how kind *Anaſtaſius* was to Emancipated Sons in giving them right to ſucceed as other Children, though by being out of the Paternal power, they ſeemed alſo out of the family. But as he gave them the profit and advantage, he ſeemed herein unequal that he did not alſo impoſe the uſual burthens upon them. And this was it ſeems ſo clamoured, that he found it convenient to ſatisfie the Subject herein by an Edict directed to the People it ſelf, wherein taking notice of his omiſſion, he decrees that according to the Law of the twelve Tables they ſhould be *Curatours* or Guardians to their Brothers and Siſters that were diſtracted, as *Legitimi*, or ſuch as were Tutours and *Curatours* as neareſt a-kin. For of thoſe perſons which governed the perſons and eſtates of Infants and others not able to govern themſelves, the *Romans* had three ſorts, either ſuch as Parents aſſigned by Teſtament, or ſuch as they called *Legitimi*, who were by the Law of the twelve Tables of courſe to take this charge as the next a-kin; or *Dativi*, which were given and aſſigned when the other failed by the Pretor or other Magiſtrate. The reaſon of the cuſtome was to protect and aſſiſt thoſe who were not able to help themſelves; and this inability proceeded not onely from Infancy or Minority, but alſo from madneſs and diſtraction, by which diſeaſe they were rendred as infirm and helpleſs, and in a worſe condition than the other; becauſe the prevalency of a diſeaſe is very dangerous, whereas nature outgrows the inabilities of Infancy or Minority. And becauſe ſuch as were deaf and dumb were alſo incapacitated thereby to ſee to their own affairs, as alſo ſuch as laboured under ſome perpetual diſeaſe, they, and generally all who could not provide for themſelves, had *Curatours* aſſigned them to doe it.

He cauſed Emancipated perſons to be *Curatours* as other Sons.

L. 5. de Curatore Furioſi vel Prodigi, Cod. Juſt. lib. 5. tit. 70.

Juſtin. Inſtit. lib. 1. tit. 23.

72. But ſuch was the care the *Roman* State had of its Members, that not onely ſuch as could not, but alſo ſome that would not, had alſo *Curatours* aſſigned them to take care of their Affairs. And that this is the meaning and ſenſe of this Law is alſo concluded, the Title in the Book being concerning the *Curatour* both of a Mad-man and of a Prodigal, and as to Emancipated Brothers the reaſon was the ſame. And the *Roman* Law eſteemed a Mad-man and a Spendthrift to be very little different in their intellectuals, both being acted by diſtempers and thoſe of the Imagination, which produce very ſuitable effects, though the Prodigal hath not the excuſe from vice and ſin which may be pleaded for the other. Now he was eſteemed a *Prodigus* who neither had any meaſure nor end of his expences, but tore in pieces and diſſipated his Eſtate. Some indeed are of opinion that nothing expreſly was ordered by the Law of the twelve Tables concerning ſuch an one, but that by way of Interpretation it was ſo taken. But *Juſtinian* in his Inſtitutions expreſly ſaith it, concerning as well Prodigals as Mad-folks, that although they were elder than twenty five years, yet they were under the Curation of their *Adgnati* (or neareſt a-kin who were to ſucceed them in their Inheritance) and that by the Law of the twelve Tables. But at *Rome* he adds, the Prefect of the City, or the Pretors, and in the Provinces the Preſidents were, after inquiſition, wont to aſſign them *Curatours*.

Vide Vinnii com. in Inſtit.

73. *Paulus* the great Lawyer, in the third Book of his Sentences, hints that it came by cuſtome, that the Prodigal was interdicted the management of his Eſtate, and ſome are of opinion that it was the cuſtome at *Rome* for the *Agnati* to take care of the concerns of a Spendthrift, and that afterward it became inſerted amongſt the Laws of the twelve Tables. But it is made ſome queſtion whether a Spendthrift, and one who lives luxuriouſly, be underſtood to be interdicted his Eſtate *ipſo jure*, and by the Law of the twelve Tables; or he is firſt to be inquired

into and pronounced to be a Spendthrift by the Magiſtrate. Now he who is ſuch an one indeed as we have deſcribed him, is in reality and morally a Prodigal, foraſmuch as vertues and vices do not depend on man's knowledge, approbation or cenſure, but have their own forms and nature. But yet as to what concerns the management of Eſtates, no man Politically and with effect of Law ought to be accounted a Prodigal, till ſuch management upon hearing the matter be taken from him by Decree of the Magiſtrate. For the depriving one of the management of his Eſtate, or an interdiction, is not properly of Law but of Juriſdiction; that is, the Law doth not ſpecially and particularly interdict any one the government of his concerns, nor can interdict him, but it in general commands that all ſhall be interdicted their Eſtates by Decree of the Magiſtrate, who ſhall be found to be ſuch upon hearing of the cauſe, and will have ſuch to remain in Curation of their *Agnati.* Now Madneſs is a diſtemper which ſufficiently diſcovers it ſelf, and there is no ſuch need that a Diſtracted perſon be interdicted his goods by the Magiſtrate, but that a perſon is a Prodigal ought to appear by many and various circumſtances, of which the Magiſtrate ought to give judgment; for lightly no man is to be forbidden the management of his own affairs, every one being preſumed in a condition to doe it till it appear otherwiſe. Indeed if a man contract with one who is manifeſtly luxurious, and who he knows will caſt away the money he is to receive, he may thank himſelf for ſo doing. The Decree of the Magiſtrate, when he interdicted any ſuch perſon the management of his Eſtate, was of this Form; *Foraſmuch as thou waſteſt wickedly thy Fathers and Grandfathers Eſtate, and bringeſt thy Children to want, for that cauſe I interdict thee the medling with and management thereof.* A courſe which would doe good in our days, wherein there are ways enough to get Eſtates, and for the circulation of Riches, beſides the advantage taken at the madneſs of Prodigals, who becauſe they will not live upon ſomething, muſt afterward live upon little or nothing, whether they will or no.

Pauli Sentent. lib. 3. tit. 4.

74. We do not hear from Hiſtorians, but though *Anaſtaſius* was not acceptable to the people, eſpecially of *Conſtantinople*, upon the account of Religion, yet he well enough pleaſed his Courtiers and the Nobility. Anſwerably we find in the view of his Laws, that he choſe rather to oblige his great Officers than the *Curiæ* or Bodies Corporate. For whereas *Zeno* his Predeceſſor in favour of theſe Courts obliged ſuch perſons as had attained to be *Comites Rei privatæ, Comites Largitionum, Domeſticorum, Quæſtores,* or *Magiſtri Officiorum,* but at the beginning of his Reign were obnoxious to the ſervices of the ſaid Courts, to remain with their Children bound to the ſaid ſervices; " He repealed the Conſtitution of *Zeno,* as to " this point, releaſing them by an Edict directed to *Polycarp* the *Præfectus Prætorio* " from ſuch obligations, together with their Children born after ſuch adminiſtration, and their Eſtates, although it had happened that they had been ſubject to " and obeyed the ſaid Conſtitution. Which was to have its effect and force from " the day wherein it was promulged, it being agreeable he ſaith, that Laws ſet " Rules to future things, and not ſtir up reprehenſions to what are paſt. However *Anaſtaſius* might manage his matters by Money rather than Arms, as we are told by ſome Hiſtorians; yet out of deſire to be furniſhed with Weapons, " he forbad " the *Fabricenſes* or thoſe that belonged to the Forges, to be either Hirers or Managers of other mens Lands and Eſtates, under pein to ſuch as employed them " if they knew them to be *Fabricenſes* of the loſs of the land or thing ſo hired, " and grievous puniſhment to the men themſelves, with forfeiture of their Eſtates " and perpetual Exile. And farther, for the Removal of the Arms forged by theſe " *Fabricenſes,* when there was need thereof, he orders *Euſemius* the *Magiſter Officiorum* to whom he directs this Law, that his *Sublimity,* as he terms him, ſend " out his Letters to the moſt eminent Prefectſhip, to which he muſt therein declare both the number of the Arms and from what place they are to be removed; " that according to the quantity the Prefect may iſſue out his Precept to the " *Clariſſimi* the Governours of Provinces, on obedience to which *Angariæ* (beaſts of " burthen or carriages) as alſo Boats might be prepared. In caſe of failure the *Numerarius* in preſent attendance at the Prefect's Office, and others concerned ſhould incur a Fine of fifty pounds of Gold to be paid into the *Fiſcus;* and the Governours of Provinces, and alſo their Apparitours, one of thirty.

He favoured his Officers.

L. 65. de Decurionib. Cod. Juſt. lib. 10. tit. 31.

Cum conveniat Leges futuris regulas imponere, non præteritis calumnias excitat.

Was carefull as to making and conveying of Arms.

L. ult. de Fabricenſibus, Cod. Juſt. lib. 11. tit. 9.

75. He was farther ſo civil to dignified Perſons, that he permitted both them and ſuch as enjoyed Illuſtrious titles onely honorary to return out of the Countrey to *Conſtantinople* without Letters revocatory. He permitted the two *Præpoſiti Cubiculi, viz.* his own and him belonging to his Empreſs, though out of Office, if they were

He was kind to dignified Perſons.

L. ult. de Dignitatibus, Cod. Juſt. lib. 12. tit. 1.

L. ult. de Præpoſitis S. Cubiculi, Cod. Juſt. lib. 12. tit. 5.

were of the *Senatorian* Rank, when they went into the Countrey to ſee their Eſtates, or upon other occaſions to wear the Girdle, it ſatisfying, as he ſaith, their deſire, and being injurious to no other perſons. To the *Conſiſtorian Comites* of the Order of *Spectabilis*, he granted the ſame Privilege, both as to protection, and acting, as *Zeno* by his Pragmatick Sanction had granted to the *Clariſſimi* the *Principes* of the School of the *Agentes in Rebus*. Theſe three Conſtitutions were directed to *Euſebius* the *Magiſter Officiorum*, and poſſibly for *Euſemius* lately mentioned, *Euſebius* is to be read. To the ſame *Euſebius* alſo he publiſhed another Edict in favour of ſuch as ſerved in the *Scrinia*; "If the Sons were unfit to ſucceed their Fathers, ſuch as were ſubrogated in their places, ſhould pay to the Heirs or children of the deceaſed, an hundred *ſolidi*. Beſides this he was kind to them as to the Judicature in which their cauſes ſhould be tried, whether Criminal or Civil, the caution they were to give, and the Fees, in another Edict directed to one *Celer* by the title alſo of *Magiſter Officiorum* who was their proper Judge. And with this Edict another ſeems to have made up one and the ſame Conſtitution, being directed to the ſame Perſons, and giving muchwhat the ſame Privileges, granted to the *Agentes in Rebus* and their *Principes*. "He was favourable to the Souldiers in preſent attendance, or thoſe they called *Milites præſentales*, as to deciding their Controverſies, and paying Fees; and by an Edict directed to one *John*, as *Magiſter Militum Præſentalium*, he Ordained that ſuch Souldiers ſhould not be convened before the *Magiſter Militum* through the Eaſt, but before the *Magiſtri Militum Præſentales*, and the *Duces*, though the *Duces* themſelves were under the command of the *Magiſtri Militum* through the Eaſt.

L. ult. de Comitibus Conſiſtorianis, Cod. Juſt. lib. 12. *tit.* 10.

L. 11. *de Proximis S. Scriniorum, &c. Cod. Juſt. lib.* 12. *tit.* 19.

L. 12 *ejuſd. tit.*

L. ult. de Præpoſitis Agentium in rebus.

To the *Milites Præſentales.*

L. ult. de re Militari, Cod. Juſt. lib. 12. *tit.* 36.

Juſtin ſucceeds *Anaſtaſius.*

76. *Anaſtaſius* being dead, *Juſtin* a *Thracian* on the Ninth day of the Month *Panemus*, by the *Romans* called *July*, and in the five hundred ſixty ſixth year from the time that the City of *Antioch* was ſo named (according to the computation of *Euagrius*) was proclaimed Emperour by the *Prætorian* Souldiers. He was of a very mean Original. His firſt employment was the keeping of Cattel, which having changed for that of a Souldier, he managed himſelf with that perſonal valour and conduct, that he aroſe to the Dignity and Command of a *Tribune*, and afterward we are told to the higheſt Office of *Præfectus Prætorio*, thence was he Elected to the greateſt of Earthly dignities, but by what method and by what means is not ſo clear and evident. *Euagrius* delivers it for truth, that his advancement was altogether ſurpriſing and unexpected to himſelf, there being many and very worthy Perſons allied to *Anaſtaſius* ſtill ſurviving, who were in a very flouriſhing condition, and ſeemed to be qualified with ſuch circumſtances as were wont to prefer men to the Imperial Diadem. At this time *Amantius*, a man very Potent, was *Præpoſitus Cubiculi* to the Emperour. He knowing well that no Eunuch could ſucceed his Maſter, and conſequently that he himſelf was incapable, endeavoured by all means to advance *Theocritus* his intimate friend, and for this purpoſe ſending for *Juſtin*, delivered to him a great ſum of money to be diſtributed amongſt ſuch as had greateſt power in the Election. *Juſtin* having got the money made his own markets with it, by purchaſing the favour of the Guards, which having done and attained his end, he immediately made away *Amantius*, *Theocritus* and ſome others.

*L.*4. *c.* 1, 2, 3.

77. Such is the Relation of *Euagrius* with which ſome other accounts do not at all agree. *Baronius* acquaints us how from the Letters of *Juſtin*, written to *Hormiſda* the *Roman* Biſhop, it appears that he was created Emperour by the Nobility, Senate and Army, much contrary to his mind and inclination. Here we may call to mind how *Anaſtaſius* was terrified in a dream, and diverted from his purpoſe of killing *Juſtin* and *Juſtinian* his Nephew, as was reported, which if true he may ſeem reſerved and appointed by God for this Dignity in an extraordinary manner. By what way or what ſteps ſoever he mounted the Throne, he gave the people ſuch ſatisfaction in his Government as obliterated the memory of his ſiniſter and underhand actings, if ſuch they were, as alſo the deſpicableneſs of his Birth and former condition. This he did chiefly by adhering to the Orthodox Faith, and reſtoring ſuch as had ſuffered upon that account in the time of his Predeceſſour. Having hereby obliged the People ſo as to ſecure himſelf from Popular Tumults and Seditions, it ſeems he thought not yet his Eſtate ſufficiently ſetled ſo long as *Amantius* and the reſt continued in being. Therefore did he by one means or other make them away, having a double advantage by ſo doing. For he both prevented all Tumults and Dangers, which they might have procured him, and thereby it's thought he farther ingratiated himſelf with the Multitude, which hated them upon the account of Religion as having been the Inſtruments of *Anaſtaſius*. Some ſay

How he ſecured himſelf.

Amantius and *Andreas* a Gentleman of his Chamber he cauſed to be beheaded. *Miſciel* and *Ardabures* he baniſhed to *Sardica*, and *Theocritus* the Minion of *Amantius*, on whom he purpoſed to confer the Empire, he cauſed to be beaten and ſtoned, and then caſt into the Sea, thereby depriving him as well of Sepulture as of the Sovereignty, after which he had gaped.

Jornandes de Regn. & temporum ſucceſſione.

A. D. 519. *Juſtino A. & Eutharico Coſſ.*

78. In the year of our Lord DXIX *Juſtin* the Emperour aſſumed the Conſulſhip, and took to him for Collegue *Eutharick* Sirnamed *Cillica* the Son-in-Law of *Theodorich* King of *Italy*. He was now very much buſied with Church matters, endeavouring to undoe and rectify what had been done amiſs by his Predeceſſour. And not onely did he thus act in things purely Eccleſiaſtical, for one thing we find which had relation to civil Affairs. *Anaſtaſius* had made a Law in his fourth Conſulſhip, which he bore with *Agapitus*, whereby he gave leave to ſuch as, having no legitimate Children, kept Women in the place of Wives, to hold the Children begotten of ſuch Women as their own true Sons, in their paternal power, and legitimate, and to transfer upon them their Eſtates, either by Will, by Donation or any other ways known to the Laws, if ſo they pleaſed. If the Parents died Inteſtate, ſuch Children ſhould ſucceed them in their Inheritances, without any queſtion or alteration to ariſe concerning them and the Kindred (*Agnati* or *Cognati*) or any others, upon any pretence or quirk of Laws or Conſtitutions. Notwithſtanding, whoever ſhould have ſuch Woman in the place of a Wife, the Inſtruments of Dower being made, the ſame rule ſhould be obſerved for his Iſſue, leſt the liberty of acquiring his own Patrimony after a manner by his Children ſhould be taken from him. Moreover Sons and Daughters adopted (properly arrogated) with the Prince his Licence ſhould enjoy the benefit of this moſt provident Law, as he himſelf calls it.

L. 6. de Naturalibus liberis, &c. Cod. Juſt. lib. 5. tit. 27.

He reſtrains Inceſt.

L. 7. Ejuſd. tit.

79. From this Law *Juſtin* would have Children begot in Inceſt, to have no benefit. “And for the time to come he admoniſhed all his Subjects to ſeek for Off-ſpring in the way of lawfull Matrimony, declaring that unjuſt and libidinous Conjunctions ſhould find no pardon, as if the Conſtitution of *Anaſtaſius* had never been, which Piety moved him now to abrogate, and leave the former Laws in force, ſo as no pretence of Adoption, no craft in procuring the Prince his Letters ſhould avail; foraſmuch as fortreſſes were to be made for Vice, whereby it ſhould be lawfull to ſerve wantonneſs, and the Right and Name of a Father which was indeed denied to ſuch Perſons ſhould be pretended by the colour of a Law. Afterward *Juſtinian* approved of this Conſtitution of his Uncle, for repealing the ſaid Law of *Anaſtaſius*, and prohibiting the Adoption of Natural Children, in that it contained much abſurdity, and indiſcreetly ſuperinduced them as ſo many Strangers upon the legitimate. But ſuch as had already received any benefit from that Act of *Anaſtaſius* he did not deſign to deprive them of it.

Novel 89. *c.* 7.

A. D. 520. *Vitaliano & Ruſtico Coſſ.*

Vitalianus the Conſul killed in the Palace.

80. The year of our Lord DXX had for Conſuls in the Eaſt *Vitalianus*, and in the Weſt *Ruſticus*. Of *Ruſticus* who was created in the Weſt, we hear no farther than that he was ſo honoured; but *Vitalianus* rendred the year remarkable, not onely for his Conſulſhip, but the ſad end he came to in the ſeventh month thereof, wherein he was diſpatched in the Palace by ſeventeen wounds, together with *Clarianus* and *Paulus* his Abettors. *Baronius* improves this paſſage in *Marcellinus*, to ſhew how he was puniſhed for his patronizing the *Eutychian* Monks againſt the Legates of the *Roman* Biſhop. But *Euagrius* fetcheth the matter higher, and aſcribes his puniſhment to another ſort of guilt. He writes that this *Vitalianus* who lived in *Thrace*, and indeavoured to depoſe *Anaſtaſius*, was ſent for by *Juſtin* to *Conſtantinople*; for he ſtood in fear of his power, and of Fortune which is wont to be doubtfull and uncertain in War, of the reputation he was in with all men, and the ardent deſire he knew him to have after the Empire. And he rightly conjectured, that by no other means he ſhould be able to bring him under but by a ſhew of friendſhip; and therefore compoſing his Countenance to deceit in a wonderfull manner, he deſigned him one of thoſe Officers call'd *Præſentes*, and the more powerfully and effectually to overreach him, promoted him to the honour of the Conſulſhip. Being made Conſul, and converſant in the Palace, in a certain Gate behind the Court he was ſlain by treachery, and ſo received puniſhment for the wicked Acts he had ſo inconſiderately committed againſt the *Roman* Empire. Thoſe Acts, doubtleſs, *Euagrius* means, which he committed againſt the Government and Perſon of *Anaſtaſius*. And yet *Baronius* his principles moved him to affirm, that for them he was to be highly commended, if what he did, he did not out of deſire to Reign, but out of reſpect to true Religion. So that, ſaith he, it plainly was made to appear, that

lib. 4. *c.* 3.

Things rightly done, if they want a right Intention, are not wont to attain to a right end.

A. D. 521. *Juſtiniano & Valerio Coſſ.*

Juſtinian the Conſul his great Shews.

81. The year DXXI was remarkable for the Conſulſhip of *Valrius* in the Weſt, and of *Juſtinian* the Nephew of the Emperour *Juſtin* in the Eaſt, who indeed rendred it remarkable. For ſurpaſſing in magnificence all other Conſuls of the Eaſt, as *Marcellinus* notes, he exceeded ſo much in Conſular liberality, that he conferred two hundred and eighty eight *Seſterces* of *Solidi* on the People, and upon the *Spectacula*. He exhibited on the Amphitheatre a ſhew of twenty Lions, and thirty Leopards, beſides other Wild Beaſts, at one time. He preſented alſo a numerous ſight of Horſes adorned with their Riders in the Cirque, though he gratified not the mad multitude in all it deſired. Upon this occaſion *Baronius* obſerves, that though the bloudy *Spectacula* of the Gladiators were taken away, yet ſtill ſuch Shews were retained in the hunting of Wild Beaſts, and fighting with them; inhumane practices, and much more unchriſtian; the Bodies of Chriſtians being torn in pieces, for which Chriſt had ſhed his bloud. The following year was rather more famous for its Conſuls, ſuch a pair as theſe Ages ſeldom produced. Theſe were *Symmachus* named in the Eaſt, and *Severinus Boëtius* for the Weſt; of which *Boëtius* this probably was the third Conſulſhip. For two Conſulſhips of *Severinus Boëtius* are mentioned in the foregoing years, and they might be of the ſame perſon.

Procopius de bello Perſico, lib. 1.

Cabades the *Perſian* King deſires *Juſtin* to adopt his ſon *Choſroes*.

82. About this time *Cabades* the King of *Perſia* was much troubled in his mind, fearing innovation in his Houſe after his deceaſe. For upon his Sons he could not transfer the Succeſſion without ſome queſtion. His eldeſt, by name *Caoſes*, had the legal claim, but him he could not endure, therein over-ruling both Nature and the ancient Conſtitutions of that Kingdom. His ſecond Son *Zames* the Laws excluded, becauſe he had loſt an Eye, prohibiting a King to be made who had that or any other maim. He chiefly affected *Choſroes*, born of the Siſter of *Apſemedes*; but ſeeing the *Perſians* admire the valour of *Zames* as a good Souldier, and a favourer of Vertue, he feared leſt taking Arms againſt *Choſroes*, they might ruine his Family and his Kingdom. Hereupon he reſolved to make a Peace with the *Romans*, by procuring his Son *Choſroes* to be adopted by the Emperour *Juſtin*; and this he conceived to be the onely means to preſerve the ſecurity of his Empire. To this purpoſe he diſpatched Ambaſſadours to *Conſtantinople* with Letters to *Juſtin*. Therein he told him that He himſelf knew that the *Romans* had done the *Perſians* wrong, which yet he was reſolved not to urge; knowing that in reaſon thoſe ought to have the victory, who being in the right are yet willingly put to the worſt to gratifie their friends. But for this he muſt demand a favour; which would bind them two and their Subjects by Alliance, and conſequently by good affection, and ſo for ever ſettle the bleſſings of Peace in their poſſeſſion. This was, that he would adopt his Son *Choſroes*, who was to ſucceed him in his Kingdom, for his Son.

Juſtin at firſt likes the motion.

83. *Juſtin* was glad of the propoſition, and ſo was *Juſtinian* his Siſters ſon and ſucceſſour deſigned, urging the ſpeedy diſpatch and drawing up of the Adoption after the *Roman* form. But *Proclus* the Aſſeſſour to the Emperour, whom the *Romans*, *Procopius* ſaith, called *Quæſtor*, a known juſt man, not to be bribed, nor who haſtily paſſed Edicts, or altered things ſetled, croſſed it. He told the Emperour, that he did not uſe to meddle with Novelties, which of all things he feared moſt, knowing that they could not ſtand with ſafety. But had he been a very daring man, he thought he ſhould have ſhrunk and trembled at the ſtorm which was to be expected from ſuch an Act. He ſaid he could not perceive but the Conſultation was to betray the Empire to the *Perſians* with a fair pretence, who in plain words without diſguiſe or modeſty, now prayed them the *Romans* to let them take it from them, covering their groſs deceit with ſimplicity, and their impudent propoſal with a pretended deſire of quietneſs. He told the Uncle and Nephew, that they had both need to oppoſe this deſign of the Barbarians to the utmoſt of their power; the one leſt he ſhould prove the laſt *Roman* Emperour, and the other New General, leſt he ſhould block up his own way to the Empire. Some tricks he added, covered with fair pretences, need an Interpreter to the common ſort: But this Embaſſage bluntly at firſt daſh would have this *Choſroes* Heir to the *Roman* Emperour. He bad them conſider, that by nature the Eſtates of Fathers were due to children. All Laws though differing in other things yet in this agreeing both among *Romans* and Barbarians, ſo that yielding to their firſt requeſt, the reſt they muſt neceſſarily grant.

But is diſſwaded by *Proclus* the *Quæſtor*.

84. The Emperour and his Nephew approved of this Diſcourſe, and conſulted what was to be done. In the mean time came other Letters from *Cabades*, deſiring *Juſtin* to ſend to him men of experience for concluding a Peace, and to ſignifie the

form that was to be obſerved in the Adoption. Upon this *Proclus* more earneſtly oppoſed the propoſal of the *Perſians*, and urged that they ſhould rather adopt to themſelves the *Roman* Power and Dominion, declaring it to be his opinion, that it was fit they ſhould conclude a Peace as ſpeedily as might be; and withall that ſome perſons of eminence ſhould be ſent, who being demanded by *Cabades* in what manner the Adoption ſhould be, ſhould anſwer, as was fit for a Barbarian; for the Barbarians adopted Sons not by Writings, but by Arming them. Accordingly Ambaſſadours were ſent by *Juſtin* with promiſe of ſome greater men to follow for conſummating all toward the Peace, and concerning *Choſroes*; and ſhortly after were ſent *Hypatius* a Patritian, Nephew to the late Emperour *Anaſtaſius* and General of the Eaſt, and *Rufinus* Son of *Sylvanus* a principal Patritian, and one well known to *Cabades*. From the *Perſians* came *Seoſes* their moſt powerfull man, who had the chief Command over all Armies and Offices, and with him *Mebodes* Maſter of the Palace; theſe met upon the Frontiers and treated. And *Choſroes* came down to the *Tigris*, two days journey from *Niſibis*, that the Peace being concluded, he might go to *Conſtantinople*. Many diſcourſes paſſed about their differences; amongſt others, *Seoſes* alledged that *Colchis*, afterward called *Lazica*, anciently belonged to the *Perſians*, and that the *Romans* held it from them unjuſtly. On the other ſide, the *Romans* took it very ill that their title to *Lazica* ſhould be queſtioned; and when they ſaid that the Adoption muſt be performed in a manner fit for a Barbarian, the *Perſians* thought it unſufferable: So they broke off and went ſeverally home. And *Choſroes* returning to his Father vowed to revenge this affront upon the *Romans*.

Ambaſſadours on both ſides about it.

The Commiſſioners differ and part.

85. The Ambaſſadours afterward accuſed one another. *Mebodes* accuſed *Seoſes* for mentioning *Lazica* without having received any Inſtructions from their Maſter for ſo doing, purpoſely to break the Treaty, and for dealing therein firſt with *Hypatius*, who bearing the King leaſt affection, croſt the concluſion of the Peace and the Adoption. *Seoſes* being charged with theſe and many other things, was called to a Trial before the *Perſian* Senate, who all were diſpleaſed at his new Office, and offended at his behaviour. He was a man free from corruption, and very juſt, but extremely arrogant; which though a vice natural to the great Officers of *Perſia*, yet in him they thought reigned in extremity. Beſides what was now mentioned, his Accuſers laid to his charge, that not contenting himſelf with the ancient cuſtoms of the *Perſians*, he worſhipped new Gods, and that lately he had buried his Wife, the *Perſian* Laws prohibiting the burying of dead Bodies in the Earth. They condemned him to death, and it was executed upon him; for, *Cabades* would not pardon him, though he ſeemed to grieve as for a friend, profeſſing that he himſelf was not offended at him, but he muſt not infringe the Laws. Indeed he owed his life to *Seoſes* who contributed moſt to his living and Reigning. But, his Office as it began ſo it ended with him, none after him having the like general power over all Offices and Armies. *Rufinus* alſo accuſed *Hypatius* to the Emperour, who upon it diſcharged him of his Office. He cauſed alſo to be tortured ſome about him, but finding no truth in the accuſation, he did no other harm unto him.

They accuſe one another.

Seoſes the *Perſian* put to death

Hypatius the *Roman* diſcharged of his Employment.

86. *Cabades* then burned with a deſire to invade the *Romans*, but found this impediment to his deſign. The *Iberians* of *Aſia*, who were ſeated by the *Caſpian* Gates to the Southward, had next them to the Weſt *Lazica*, and to the Eaſt part of *Perſia*. Theſe people were Chriſtians as devout as any, and had always been ſubject to the King of *Perſia*. Theſe *Cabades* would needs force from their Religion, writing a command to *Gurgenes* their King, to doe all things as the *Perſians* did, and not to bury their dead Bodies in the Earth, but to caſt them out to the Dogs and Fowles. Hereupon *Gurgenes* revolted to the Emperour *Juſtin*, and deſired aſſurance from him that he would not leave him to the mercy of the *Perſians*. He willingly granted his requeſt, and ſent *Probus* the Siſters Son of *Anaſtaſius* late Emperour, a Patritian, with Money to raiſe an Army of *Hunnes* for his Aſſiſtence. *Probus* returned without doing any thing, and then the Emperour ſent *Peter* as General into *Lazica* with ſome *Hunnes* to aid *Gurgenes*; at which time alſo *Cabades* ſent an Army againſt him, under the command of *Boes* a *Perſian*, the General of his Forces. *Gurgenes* found the *Roman* Succours not competent, and himſelf too weak for the *Perſians*, and thereupon he fled into *Lazica* with his Wife and Children, the chief men of *Iberia* and his Brothers, whereof *Peranius* was the eldeſt. In the confines of *Lazica* he ſtaid, and fortified himſelf in the Faſtneſſes, which hindred the *Perſians* that purſued him, from doing any thing to purpoſe. Afterward ſome *Iberians* came to *Conſtantinople*, and *Peter* was called home.

Gurgenes King of the *Iberians* revolts to *Juſtin*.

The *Lazians* alſo refuſing to help to guard the Province; the Emperour ſent an Army commanded by *Irenæus*.

Expeditions of the *Romans* into the *Perſian* Dominions.

87. Formerly the guard of two Forts at the entrance of *Lazica* from *Iberia* was carefully maintained by the Provincials, though they endured much. For no Corn nor Wine grew near, nor other commodity; nor, for the Faſtneſſes, could be brought thither, but upon mens backs, and they lived, being uſed to it, upon *Panicum* or Mill-ſeed there growing. But the Emperour now took thence thoſe Warders, and put *Roman* Gariſons to keep thoſe places, and them at firſt the *Lazians* ſupplied with Proviſions, though hardly; but after they refuſed the ſervice, and the *Romans* thereupon abandoning the Forts, the *Perſians* ſeized on them. In the mean time the *Romans*, under conduct of *Sittas* and *Beliſarius*, invaded *Perſarmenia*, and having foraged much of the Countrey, and taken many Priſoners, retired. They were then but youths, their beards ſpringing, and Lanciers of the Guard to *Juſtinian* the chief General, who ſoon after held the Empire with his Uncle *Juſtin*. Another inroad *Sittas* and *Beliſarius* made into *Armenia*, and were ſuddenly met and put to the worſt by *Narſes* and *Aratius*, who not long after revolted to the *Romans*, and ſerved under *Beliſarius* in *Italy*. *Licelarius* alſo a *Thracian* made an Invaſion about *Niſibis* with another Army of *Romans*, but they retreated or ran away, none charging them. Thereupon the Emperour diſcharged *Licelarius*, and gave to *Beliſarius* the Command of the Forces in *Daras*, and then was *Procopius* Writer of the Hiſtory choſen his Counſellor or Aſſeſſor. Shortly after, *Juſtin* died, having before declared *Juſtinian* his Siſters Son Emperour with him. Theſe things thus falling out betwixt the *Romans* and *Perſians* in the time of *Juſtin*, we thought convenient to relate altogether, and then to continue our ſurvey of the other year remaining of this Emperour's Reign.

A. D. 523. *Maximo Conſ.*

The Conſulſhip almoſt dwindled to nothing.

Juſtin kind to Advocates.

L. l. 6. 7. 8. 9. *de Advocatis diverſorum Judicum, Cod. Juſt. lib.* 2. *tit.* 8.

88. The year of our Lord DXXIII had *Maximus* Conſul alone in the Weſt. Some wonder it is that we have no certainty of any one named at *Conſtantinople*; for leiſure enough they had there, for any thing we can perceive to have been tranſacted by them of Civil concernment; but this Dignity began now to dwindle ſo much, that in a ſhort time it was quite extinct. The year following, being the DXXIV of our Saviour, had for Conſuls *Juſtin* himſelf the ſecond time, and *Opilio*, ſuch an one by name as he had formerly been by Trade and profeſſion. *Juſtin* as he had formerly been kind to the Advocates of the Treaſury, in reſtoring to them their Salary given them at firſt by *Zeno* and taken away by *Anaſtaſius*, ſo this year was favourable to the Advocates pleading in the Court of the Prefect of the City, defining their number of Eighty, and confirming to them their Priviledges; but withall regulating their time, and reſtraining their abſence; as he forbad the Advocates of the Treaſury ſhould be preferred *per ſaltum*, the perſon of *Menander* onely excepted. What concerned the Advocates was afterwards extended to thoſe that ſerved in the *Forum* of the Prefect of *Illyricum* by *Juſtinian*. Beſides what concerned Advocates, we find that this year *Juſtin* Enacted ſomething he found wanting in the matter of Teſtaments, as he had done three years before. Of what he did we ſhall give an account altogether.

Sentent. lib. 3. *c.* 4.

L. 8. *Qui Teſtam. facere poſſunt. Cod. Juſt. lib.* 6. *tit.* 22.

Grants to blind Perſons Power to make Nuncupative Wills.

Novel. 69.

L. 23. *de Teſtamentis, Cod. Juſt. lib.* 6. *tit.* 23. *Dat.* 13. *Kal. Decembr.*

Declares the Inſinuation of Teſtaments to be onely in the *Magiſter Cenſus*.

89. It had formerly been a queſtion, Whether a blind man could make a Teſtament, becauſe of his imperfection; at length it was reſolved he might, becauſe, as *Paulus* ſaith, he could call Witneſſes together, and hear ſuch as would bear him teſtimony. The Law for the like reaſon permitted ſuch an one both to adopt and be adopted, much more to manage his own Eſtate, inſomuch that a *Curator* was not wont to be aſſigned a blind man, but he himſelf might make a *Procurator* for the management of his buſineſs. Now *Juſtin* thought fit farther to Ordain, that a blind man whether ſo born, or by diſeaſe or accident, might make a Teſtament by Nuncupation; provided there were preſent a *Tabularius*, and ſeven Witneſſes, which the Law required in other Teſtaments. The way and method he preſcribes is not ſo proper here to be inſerted; but this liberty thus given, *Leo* one of his Succeſſors thought not large enough, but gave to blind perſons leave to make Wills ſecretly as other perſons did. By another Edict bearing date of the latter end of *November*, "*Juſtin* was pleaſed to confirm ſuch Conſtitutions as had been " made by former Emperours, that the laſt Wills and Teſtaments of perſons dying " in *Conſtantinople*, ſhould be proved or inſinuated onely in the Office of the *Ma-* " *giſter Cenſus*, and there recorded in the publick Monuments. That where the " Inheritance exceeded not an hundred Acres, neither the *Magiſtri* nor their Officers " ſhould dare to take any Fees or Reward for the Inſinuation of them. He admo- " niſheth not onely the Judges of Tribunals, but the Defenſors of Churches alſo, " among whom a moſt filthy ſort of Intimation had crept, that they meddle not

“ with that which onely belonged by Law to the *Magiſter Cenſus*; affirming it
“ abſurd, that Employments ſhould be diſturbed by promiſcuous Acts, that one
“ ſhould ſteal from another, and eſpecially Clerks, to whom he ſaith it is a ſhame
“ to pretend themſelves skilfull in the diſputes of Courts. The breakers of this
“ his Sanction, he puniſhes with a Fine of fifty pounds of Gold. And he adds, that
“ it is not to be permitted that the laſt Wills and Teſtaments of the dying, ſhould
“ be rendred any-whit invalid by any improper Inſinuations, while ſuch as are
“ improper for that work boldly uſurp the practice of it. But what this and other former Conſtitutions enjoyn concerning the *Magiſter Cenſus* in *Conſtantinople*, was in the Provinces performed by the Preſidents, Magiſtrates, or Defenſors. Afterward in the time of *Leo* it was committed to the *Quæſtor*. But it will not be amiſs here to acquaint the Reader with the ancient form of Inſinuation of Teſtaments before the Defenſors and the *Curiæ* of Cities.

Et præcipuè Clericis, quibus opprobium eſt, ſi peritos ſe velint diſceptationum forenſium.

The form of Inſinuations.

Vide Notas in h. l.

90. Such a year and ſuch a day the Defenſor and all the Court of that City being preſent, *Titius* that followed the buſineſs, ſaid; *I deſire of you moſt worthy* (Optime) *Defenſor, and you the laudable Curiales and Municipes, that you command the publick Records to be laid open to me, for I have ſome things in mine hands which I deſire may be roborated by the Allegation of thoſe publick Acts.* The Defenſor then and *Curiales* ſaid, *The publick Books are open to thee, proceed according to thine own deſire.* He then replied, Gaius *an illuſtrious perſon hath employed me to inſinuate his Teſtament amongſt the Municipal Acts as the Cuſtome is.* Then ſaid the Defenſor, *The Mandate we have heard, but we muſt alſo hear the Teſtament which thou ſayeſt thou haſt in thine hands, and then it ſhall be confirmed by publick Acts as thou requireſt.* After the reading of the Teſtament, the Defenſor and the *Curiales* ſaid, *Let this Teſtament now recited be put amongſt the publick Acts.* After this ſaid, the Party implyed, *Moſt worthy Defenſor, I farther deſire that the Geſts may be publickly delivered to me.* The Defenſor and Order of the Court anſwered, *Foraſmuch as the Teſtament and Mandate are rightly made, and we have found them confirmed by the hands of honeſt men ſubſcribing, it is fitting that the Geſts when they are ſubſcribed by us, and publiſhed by the Amanuenſis, be delivered to thee as the manner is, and at length be preſerved in the publick Acts.* In like manner were Donations or Deeds of Gift recorded, in the publick Regiſters.

How Teſtaments were opened after the death of Teſtators.

Vide Notas ad. l. 2. Quemadmodum Teſtamenta, &c. Cod. Juſt. lib. 6. tit. 32.

91. Thus we ſee Teſtaments were opened in the life time of the Teſtators, that they might be regiſtred, and ſo firm belief might be given to them, if ſo the Teſtator pleaſed. They were again opened publickly after the death of them that made them, that ſo they might be known to Heirs, (or Executors) Legataries, thoſe that had Truſts, Slaves manumitted, the Treaſury to which the twentieth part was due, and others therein concerned. They were opened in the preſence of Witneſſes or honeſt Perſons, by thoſe that were preſent within three or five days, and by the abſent within the like ſpace of time after their coming to thoſe places. The Witneſſes or the greateſt part of them that had ſigned the Teſtament were there. They having owned their Seals, the thread was broken, the Teſtament was opened and read, and a Copy of it was permitted to be taken, and then it was cloſed with a publick Seal, and committed to the *Archives*; that if the Copy were loſt, the loſs might thence again be ſupplied. Afterward it was read, the ſame Perſons of repute being preſent in the *Forum* or the *Baſilica* between the hours of Eight and Four. But to our matter.

A. D. 525.
Probino & Philoxeno Coſſ.

Stirs about Religion betwixt *Juſtin* and *Theodorich*.

92. The year of our Lord, DXXV. had *Probinus* (ſome have it *Probus*) and *Philoxenus* for Conſuls, it being the Eighth of *Juſtin* the Emperour: little we have of Civil concernment managed this year by our Emperour; who moſt employed himſelf in things relating to Religion. His zeal for the Catholick Faith carried him ſo far as to take the Churches from the *Arians*, which endangered the breeding of very ill bloud between him and *Theodorich* King of *Italy*. For, he being of that perſwaſion cauſed the Biſhop of *Rome* himſelf accompanied by *Theodorus*, *Importunus* and *Agapetus* Senatours, and Exconſuls, and another *Agapetus* a Patrician to undertake an Embaſſy to the Emperour. Their inſtructions were to obtain a revocation of the Edicts made againſt thoſe Hereticks, otherwiſe he threatned to deal as ſeverely with ſuch Orthodox Chriſtians as had their Abode in his Dominions. How *John* the Biſhop behaved himſelf in this Employment, and what his Entertainment was it will be more pertinent to declare upon another occaſion, as alſo that he was at his return caſt into priſon and ſo hardly treated that therein he died not long after. But we are told that while he remained at *Conſtantinople*, he Crowned *Juſtin*; not but that this ceremony had been formerly performed, but the Emperour would have it again performed out of piety by the Succeſſour of St. *Peter*,

Ad h. An. & Seq.

whom he was overjoyed to ſee within his Dominions. So *Baronius* and others deliver the ſtory, who alſo obſerve (and in this juſtice doth not contradict them) that the City of *Antioch* having been proſtituted to Hereticks, and become the *Aſylum*, firſt of *Neſtorius* and *Neſtorians*, afterwards of *Eutychians*, and *Theopaſchites*, now received double for her ſins, and drank deep of the cup of God's wrath. It belongs not to us to aſſign ſuch a cauſe; but for the calamity that *Antioch* underwent at this time, it ought not to eſcape our obſervation.

Greivous Calamities at *Antioch.*

93. About the time that *John* the Biſhop of *Rome* was employed in the meſſage before related, a moſt dreadfull Earthquake happened at *Antioch*, which as *Euagrius* writes, had been uſhered in with frequent and grievous fires, and was attended by other great calamities. In the Seventh year of *Juſtin*, he ſaith, though *Baronius* from *Marcellinus* refers it to this, in the tenth month, or *Artemiſius*, by the *Romans* called *May*, on the nine and twentieth, being Friday, at noon time of the day, (*Marcellinus* ſaith juſt at dinner time) fell out ſuch a ratling, quivering and ſhaking of the Foundations, as in a manner overturned the whole City. After it, came Fire again, which joyning as it were in a league offenſive with the other calamities almoſt made an end of all. For what the Earthquake did not deſtroy, on that did the Fire prey; and after the raiſing of moſt dreadfull flames, conſume to aſhes. What parts of the City were conſumed, how many men periſhed both by Fire and the fall of Houſes, and what miſchief happened, ſo ſtrange that no Style could ſufficiently deſcribe them, *John* the Rhetorician (he tells us) ſet forth with lamentation in his Hiſtory, which concluding with this fire could not but move the paſſions of the Reader in an extraordinary manner. And for a concluſion, and which was another calamity to this City, *Euphraſius* the Biſhop periſhed in the ruines, that none might be left to provide neceſſaries for the City.

Euagrius lib. 4. *c. c.* 5. 6.

94. And yet, as he himſelf obſerves, the carefull and loving Providence of God towards Mankind, which is wont before the arrival of a Plague or puniſhment to provide a remedy; to blunt the ſword of wrath with clemency, and when things grow to a deſperate point, to ſet wide open the fountain of mercy, raiſed up *Euphræmius* Prefect of the Eaſt to take care of *Antioch*, ſo as nothing neceſſary (afterwards it ſeems) ſhould be wanting to it. This the Citizens took ſo well, as reverencing the man for his Zeal and Charity they made choice of him for their Biſhop, and he obtained *the Apoſtolical See* as a reward of his forecaſt. Again after two years and five months *Antioch* was ſhaken with Earthquakes, and then for *Antioch* it was called *Theopolis*, obtaining alſo more effects of the Emperour's care and vigilancy. Indeed others give Teſtimony of the Chriſtian compaſſion ſhewed by *Juſtin* upon occaſion of the former Earthquake; how he received the news with grief and aſtoniſhment, put off his Purple, laid aſide his Diadem, clothed himſelf with Sackcloth and ſate ſolitary in Aſhes many days together; and afterward relieved the diſtreſſed *Antiochians* with all neceſſaries to his great charge and trouble. But it appears farther from *Euagrius* that he had ſeveral other objects of his pity and compaſſion, of this very ſect, theſe Calamities being frequent in his time. For *Dyrrachium* of old called *Epidamnus* was ſorely ſhaken alſo with a trembling of the Earth. So was *Corinth* in *Greece*, and *Anazarbus* the principal City of *Cilicia* the leſſer, which underwent that calamity now the fourth time: which Cities *Juſtin* repaired not without the expence of vaſt ſums of money. About the ſame time *Edeſſa*, that moſt ample and happy City of the *Oſroeni* as he calls it, was defaced by the overflowing of the River *Seirtus* which ran by its ſide, ſo that many Houſes were carried away by the violence of the Waters, and an infinite number of men was drowned. Both *Edeſſa* and *Anazarbus* received a new name from *Juſtin*, being each of them called *Juſtinopolis*.

Καὶ τὸν Ἀποστολικὸν λαγχάνει θρόνον.

C. 8.

And other places

A. D. 526.
Olybrio Conſ.

95. The DXXVI year of our Lord was marked with the ſole Conſulſhip of *Olybrius*. This year is famous for little tranſacted by *Juſtin*, except this be to be taken notice of, that growing toward the end of his own life, he was moved to Enact ſomething in favour of the deceaſed. By the practices of ſome Perſons he
was conſtrained to declare, "That it was unjuſt, and a thing ſtrange in thoſe times,
" to offer injury to the Reliques of the Dead by them who pretending the Party
" deceaſed was their Debtor, and to Exact their Debt, hindred his Burial: That
" for the time to come no ſuch injury might proceed, he now took order, impoſing
" a Fine of fifty pounds of Gold upon one that ſhould be found guilty of ſuch wic-
" kedneſs, or if he was not able to pay it, he ſhould undergo Corporal puniſhment
" at the award of a competent Judge. This humanity towards the Dead, his Nephew afterwards extended to the Dying, Ordaining that if any going to the houſe of a dying perſon ſhould moleſt him or others belonging to him, or not obſerving legal proceeding ſhould mark or ſeal any of his Goods, ſuch an one ſhould loſe his

L. ult. de Sepulchro violato, Cod. Juſt. lib. 9. *tit.* 19.

Novel. Juſt. 60. *c.* 1.

Action after the Parties death, the Executors or Heirs of the deceaſed ſhould recover as much of him; he ſhould forfeit the third part of his Eſtate, and be noted with infamy. The ſame puniſhment ſhould he incurr who ſhould hinder the Funeral. Nay he decreed that before Nine days, to be reckoned from the death of the deceaſed, no moleſtation ſhould be offered to any belonging to his perſon, otherwiſe ſuch Action ſhould be invalid and ineffectual, after thoſe days of mourning, no damage yet hereby coming to the Creditour by reaſon of the ſtay of the Nine days.

Novel. 115. *c.* 5.

A. D. 527. *Mavortio Conſ.*

Juſtinian promoted to the Empire.

96. The DXXVII of our Saviour had *Mavortius* for Conſul without a Collegue. This year was famous for *Juſtin* his taking *Juſtinian* to be his Partner in the Empire. This *Juſtinian* was the Son of *Sabatius* (by the *Illyrians* called *Iſtokus*) and of *Bigleniza* the Siſter of *Juſtin*, which Woman the *Romans*, by reaſon of the likeneſs of the ſound, termed *Vigilantia*. By his Countrey-men the *Illyrians* he was called *Uprando*, or *Right Juſtice*, to expreſs the ſignification of his Latin name. He was born at *Taureſium*, and educated at *Bederina* the native place of *Juſtin*, Towns ſituate in the Borders of *Illyricum* near to *Thrace*, upon which account by later Writers he is called a *Thracian*, it being ordinary when Cities are ſo placed to be reckoned by ſeveral Authours as members of both Provinces, eſpecially it being obſervable, that the Partitions of Provinces are not the ſame in all Geographers and Hiſtorians. Hereupon *Juſtinian* himſelf in his ninth Novel, placeth *Juſtiniana prima*, and *Bederina*, in *Pannonia Secunda*: When a Youth, he was ſent an Hoſtage to *Ravenna* to *Theodorich* King of the *Goths* by *Juſtin* his Uncle then General of the Army. He began to learn the Military Art at the beginning of his Uncle's Reign, who about this time adopted him, and gave him the title of *Nobiliſſimus*. *Vitalianus* being ſlain in the Palace, in the place called *Delphicum*; by his Faction it's ſaid, and ſome ſay by his procurement, he was made Captain General of the *Roman* Legions in his room. Now when *Juſtin* had reigned eight years, nine months and three days, as *Euagrius* punctually obſerves, he began to Reign with him, and he received the Title on the firſt day of the month *Xanthicus*, or of *April*.

Vide Notas in Procopii Secretam Hiſtoriam.

In what Senſe.

97. But what the Title was doth not ſo clearly appear, whether that of *Auguſtus* or of *Cæſar* onely, betwixt which there was a vaſt difference, as may be ſeen by what we have ſaid in the preceding Volume. Some Writers ſay he created him *Cæſar*, and ſome that this day *he deſigned him his Succeſſor* in the Empire, which words rather make out to us that he was *Cæſar* not *Auguſtus*, or the complete Collegue of the Emperour, though Writers generally ſpeak of his making him his Partner, which might be in ſuch ſenſe as we have formerly related; though *Cæſar* as ſuch was a Subject, and we have heard how as a Subject, and even as an Apparitor or ſervant, *Diocletian* made one of them run by his Chariot. As Polities and Governments with time decay and alter, the *Cæſar* poſſibly at this time might be in greater Authority than formerly. But let us from Hiſtorians betake us to our Law Books, without which, lame Hiſtories muſt be written both of this and other times. And ſo it happens that after this his Promotion we find a Conſtitution ſtill extant in his *Code*, bearing the name both of him and his Uncle: The Contents of it we may declare afterward. It was firſt reſtored out of the *Baſilica* by *Cujacius*, and as now it is placed in the *Code* being tranſlated into Latin, the Publiſhers of the Book have prefixed this Inſcription *Impp. Juſtinus & Juſtinianus A. A.* and not without reaſon. For though from the Greek it ſelf no ſuch thing appears, as either that *Juſtinian* was now *Auguſtus* or indeed joyned with his Uncle in the making of the Edict, yet from another Novel Conſtitution he made upon this Subject it is evident that he was joyned with him. The matter was this.

L. 2. *de Mandatis Principum, Cod. Juſt. lib.* 1. *tit.* 15.

98. Becauſe much inconvenience happened in the Provinces through the impudence of Perſons who pretended to have ſecret Inſtructions or Mandates from the Emperour, a Law had been made in the time of *Gratian*, *Valentinian* and *Theodoſius*, which forbad that any credit ſhould be given to any ſuch pretended Inſtructions or Mandates, except exhibited in Writing, and the Prince his Letters appeared, be the Meſſengers of what dignity they would, whether making a ſhew of the dignity of *Tribune*, *Notary* or *Comes*. After this another Conſtitution was made, or that which *Cujacius* reſtored out of the *Baſilica*, and repeats in a manner the ſame thing, leſt Judges ſhould mention in their Sentences that the Emperour had commanded by word of mouth, that ſuch an one ſhould be brought into Judgment, or ſome Sentence be given, which ſhould be divers from what was wont to be. For the Mandates of Princes ſo far bind, as they are reduced into Writings or Letters; but this Conſtitution excepts when the Emperour Aſſigns an Aſſeſſour or Aſſiſtant to a Judge,

Vide Cujacii Obſ. lib. [illegible] *c.* 31. *L.* 1. 2. *de Mandatis Principum, Cod. Juſt. lib.* 1. *tit.* 15.

Judge, or commands a Sentence to be rightly given. In ſuch caſes they might mention that they had ſuch mandate from the Prince his mouth, or elſe from the moſt glorious *Quæſtor* of his Palace, or ſome of the *Spectabiles*, the *Referendarii*, and obedience was to be given to ſuch Mandates without writing. Now in a Novel Conſtitution made ſome thirteen years after, *Juſtinian* expreſly makes mention of a Law as well of his Father of pious memory, as of his own Tranquillity; (ſuch was the phraſe uſed at this time,) which diſpoſed that Judges ſhould by no means write in their Sentences, as if it had been commanded them by word of mouth from the Emperour and not written, to bring forth certain Perſons into Judgment, and to the ſame purpoſe as before. Now though the Names of *Cæſars*, as we have ſeen, were added to thoſe of the Emperours in the Inſcriptions of Laws, yet it was with the Diſtinction of *Cæſars*, and ſuch as had not Sovereign Authority had not legiſlative power, though to grace and honour them this was done. But *Juſtinian* makes this Law as much his as his (adoptive) Father *Juſtin*'s. And to confirm this our opinion that he was made *Auguſtus* and not *Cæſar*; *Baronius* hath exhibited the Image of a Coin, to be ſeen in his Annals, wherein are both the Emperours expreſſed in ſhape, both adorned with Diadems, with an Inſcription of three *Auguſti*, by which he ſaith its certain that *Juſtin*, *Juſtinian* and *Theodora* his Empreſs are deſigned. If ſo, ſome late Writers though very learned ought to have been more accurate than to ſay he was created *Cæſar*, betwixt which Title and that of *Auguſtus* there was ſo great a difference.

Novel. 124. c.4.

He was made *Auguſtus*.

Ad h. A.

99. But the Title though he had with the uſual Concomitants and Effects, how he came by it is not fully agreed. The pretended ſecret Hiſtory of *Procopius* makes him to have affected the Empire, to have Exerciſed a Tyranny, covering violence with a ſhew of doing buſineſs. Affirms that they ſaluted him King or Emperour together with his Uncle, if it was legally done; for the Senate by fear and threats were drawn into that Suffrage. Another writes that *Juſtin* the Emperour made *Juſtinian* his *Cæſar* Nephew, at the ſupplication of the Senate, he being unwilling to doe it. But others ſay that all the Senate approved of the thing, and *Zonaras* tells this ſtory how it was performed. The cheif of the Senate deſiring the Emperour that he would take *Juſtinian* for his Collegue, he took hold of the Purple and told them they had reaſon to deſire that no younger Perſon ſhould have that come on his Back; and at that time he rejected their Petition. However, after ſome little time they decreed the Title of *Nobiliſſimus* to *Juſtinian*, and obtained of the Emperour a confirmation of their Decree by his Letters. Not long after, the Emperour falling ill of a wound in his thigh, and being in danger called *Epiphanius* the Patriarch and the cheif of the Nobility to him, declared *Juſtinian* his Nephew Emperour, and ſet the Diadem on his Head with his own Hands. The People being aſſembled in the Cirque, *Juſtinian* made his Entry with the Diadem, and was received with lucky acclamations by all, and returned to the Palace being at that time forty five years old. Preſently after his Wife *Theodora* was declared Empreſs, and not long it was before *Juſtin* died when he had Reigned Nine years and twenty days. Thus much *Zonaras*, who might be miſtaken as to the time of making him *Nobiliſſimus*. To this *Cedrenus* adds that as ſoon as he was made Emperour, he gave away all his private Eſtate to the Churches of the Holy Apoſtles and of the Holy Martyrs *Sergius* and *Bacchus* whom he much reverenced.

Vide Notas ad Procopii Arcanam Hiſtoriam & Baronium ad h. A.

Poſt. Conſulatum 2 Juſtini & Apionis, Juſtinus Aug. Juſtinianum nepotem ſuum, ad ſenatorum ſupplicationem invitus Cæſarem facit. Victor Tunnunenſis in Chron. p.37. Edit. Jugæ Stadii 1600.

100. *Juſtin* having promoted thus his Nephew, whether to the good liking of himſelf and the Senate or not, died of an old wound he had received in Battel by the ſhot of an Arrow, (in his Foot ſay ſome, or as others in his thigh) four months after, about the firſt of *Auguſt*, having Reigned nine years, one month, and three days; and lived ſeventy ſeven. A mark of extraordinary Fortune, which wrought ſo wonderfully, that from a Keeper of Cattel, he ſhould riſe to be a Commander of men, firſt of Souldiers, then of the Pretorian Guards, and at laſt of all men within the *Roman* World, having eſcaped two Impriſonments. Yet was he *Analphabetus* as the *Greeks* termed him, or one who could not read, or knew no Letters, which had not happened to the *Romans* before in the opinion of the Authour of the ſecret Hiſtory aſcribed to *Procopius*. Whereas the Emperour, he ſaith, was wont when he ordained any thing to add to the Paper the Letters of his Name, he could neither ordain, nor was able to doe buſineſs, but *Proclus* who executed the Office of *Quæſtor*, and was his Aſſeſſour governed as he pleaſed. But that there might remain ſome ſhew of the Emperour's Hand, he that waited or the cheif Secretary (who from that thing formed to the ſhape of a little Dog, wherein the Ink was contained had the Title of a *Caniculo*) found out a way. They ingraved

in a poliſht peice of wood the form of four Latin Letters, which being laid on a Paper, a pen dipped in the purple Ink with which Emperours were wont to write, was put into *Juſtin*'s Hand, which thoſe about holding ſtirred it about and drew the pen through thoſe clifts of the wood or forms of Letters, and ſo carried away their Writings ſigned.

101. This Invention by ingraving onely four Letters in the Table or piece of wood, did not onely provide for the Convenience of *Juſtin*, but retained the ancient cuſtome of the *Romans*, who, as *Alamannus* obſerves from *Plutarch*, were not wont to write their *Prænomina* out in length, but either one ſingle Letter of it, as *N. T. L.* or two as *C. N.* or three as *Sex. Ser.* *Juſtinian* afterward, as he gathers from *Corippus* the Poet, uſed the ſingle Letter *I.* to denote his Name; but theſe cuſtoms were a little after intermitted, when the Eaſtern Emperours put down their whole Names to Writings and Inſtruments, but Women in certain ſecret knots and foldings of the Letters, as appears by their ancient *Diplomata*, and otherwiſe, which our men at this day imitate upon their Coaches. Concerning the *Eucauſtum* or purple Ink made of the Fiſh *Murex* we have formerly ſpoken. The Perſon who attended at it, and from the ſhape of the Standiſh wherein it was kept, had the Title of a *Caniculo* was uſually of the King's bloud, and his Dignity and Authority were very great. To return to *Juſtin*, who is ſaid to have been very ignorant and blockiſh, his Marriage if poſſible was lower than his firſt condition. The Name of his Wife was *Lupilina* or *Lupilia*, derived it ſeems from *Lupa*, by which the vileſt Strumpet was wont to be called. This ſhe brought not with her to Court, for her Husband and the People of *Canſtantinople* when ſhe came to be Empreſs changed it for that of *Euphemia*. As ſhe was Barbarous ſhe is ſaid to have been very ignorant and unpoliſht; but having taken the Name of the Martyr *Euphemia*, ſhe built a magnificent Church at *Conſtantinople*, and dedicated it to her, wherein ſhe placed her own Statue.

Vide Alamannum in Notis.

102. We find *Juſtin* by this time dead, but yet have not done with him, for there being ſome Laws of his making extant without day or Conſul, they cannot properly be placed in any one year of his Reign, and therefore are to be ſpoken of in groſs when his Reign is out; we mean ſuch of them as illuſtrate the *Jus publicum*, and ſhew the manner of Adminiſtration in his time. He was a Souldier, and though otherwiſe ſaid to be dull and heavy, yet might ſufficiently underſtand what were Clogs and Incumbrances of the Military profeſſion. Yet did not he find out one certain particular of theſe miſcheifs which was too prevalent in his time, till the common obſervation preſented it to his view, as ſhould ſeem by the remedy he preſcribed, which is not directed to any one private man, but to the Senate it ſelf. In a certain Law or Oration thus directed, he takes notice of it as manifeſt, that his Predeceſſours had enacted many things concerning Souldiers, who undertook to manage Eſtates under the Title of Hiring; but ſo little were they regarded, that ſuch Souldiers forgetfull of the puniſhment threatned, dared to undertake ſuch ſordid Employments, and neglecting their care for the Publick, and their Victorious Standards, haſted to turn Tenants to other men, and converted the ſharpneſs of their Weapons not againſt their Enemies, but to miſuſe their Neighbours, and perhaps the miſerable Husbandmen they had undertaken to manage. Wherefore he was conſtrained to betake himſelf to the making of another Conſtitution, more deeply and fully to remove the Cauſe. He Commands therefore all that bear Arms, or Souldiers both of greater and leſſer Rank for the time to come, to abſtain from all hiring of other mens Eſtates. And by Souldiers he ſaith he means as well thoſe who ſerved under the High *Magiſtri Militum*, as them who were inrolled in the eleven moſt denote *Scholæ*, as alſo ſuch as under divers Options were graced with the Name of Confederates. Such ſhall know, that upon ſuch Contract they ſhall *ipſo facto*, without any ſentence given, forfeit their Military Employment, without poſſibility of being reſtored to their former Degree, either by the Emperours Indulgence, or by conſent or permiſſion of the Judge, under whom they undertook to diſcharge the Duty; that ſo by ſuch new undertaking they may not looſe their eſteem, being from Souldiers rendred *Pagani*, and Infamous from men of repute; and that after ſuch turning Tenants, which he abſolutely forbids, what they had received from the Publick they be compelled to reſtore without all delay. In concluſion, ſuch as let their Eſtates out to Souldiers, ſhould be deprived of all help to recover them into their own Hands again. There are other Laws bearing his Name without Day or Conſul, which relating to Marriage are to be conſidered of diligently in the place proper to the Character and Marriage of *Juſtinian* his Nephew and Succeſſour.

CHAP. II.

Containing the long and active Reign of Juſtinian *the Great.*

The ſpace of Eight and thirty years, three months and thirteen days.

SECT. I.

Containing his Wars eſpecially.

1. JUSTINIAN was advanced to the Imperial Dignity, being as ſome write forty five years old, in the ſecond year of *Athalrick* King of *Italy*, the ſecond of *Fœlix* the Fourth, the *Roman* Biſhop, fifty years after the Deſtruction of the Empire in the Weſt, and the fall of *Auguſtulus*, the DXXVII of the ordinary *Æra* of Chriſt, in the ſole Conſulſhip of *Mavortius*.

2. Having vaſt deſigns in his Head, he took at his firſt Eſtabliſhment a right courſe to attain unto them. He began with the Service of his Maker, by directing his Subjects into the right way to know and ſerve him, by ſuppreſſing ſuch as would lead them out of the way into the by-paths of Hereſie, and by ſeveral Acts of Charity and Royal Bounty, as our Eccleſiaſtical Writers obſerve, though they had no real kindneſs for him. His vaſt deſigns were of all ſorts which a Prince is capable of cheriſhing, extending both to the ſecurity and imbelliſhment of the Empire he received from his Anceſtours, and to the inlargement of it by recovering what had been loſt by his Predeceſſours. The former part he performed both by his Sword and his Pen, by oppoſing its Enemies and modelling the Laws; and the latter by a vigorous aſſerting of his Right, for ſo he eſteemed it, to the members which lately had been Provinces; and though they were now become Barbarous Kingdoms, yet he thought the Pretenders to them could not plead ſuch Preſcription, as to invalidate his ancient Title, if his Arms could but procure him a reentry. How all theſe things he diſcharged, with other matters, is to be ſhewn in due method and place. And firſt, e'er his Uncle was well cold in his Grave, and he himſelf warm in his Seat, he found himſelf concerned to curb the Inſolence of his Neighbours, for ſuch he eſteemed the *Perſians*, but grudged to vouchſafe the Title to ſuch Barbarians as had ſet up for themſelves in the *Roman* Soil. The times requiring that much now ſhould be ſaid of the Tranſactions of the *Perſians* with the *Romans*, it may be very convenient to fetch their matters higher, to give an account of the Succeſſion of their Kings, and of ſuch actions as either have been omitted, or onely touched at in the Relation of *Roman* Affairs. For the Dignity of this Kingdom requires that it ſhould here alſo have a place by it ſelf, if we were furniſhed, beſides the Succeſſion of Kings, with any conſiderable bulk of Hiſtory relating merely to it ſelf, and not as conjoyn'd and interwoven with the occurrences of the *Roman* Empire. Foraſmuch as ſince the Conqueſt of *Alexander* the *Great*, and the fall of their Empire with *Darius*, their Affairs have been ſcatteringly related, we ſhall now take the opportunity to preſent the Reader with a view of them. But firſt, it will be requiſite to give an account of the Dominion of the *Parthians*, who not long after the death of *Alexander* became their Maſters; and becauſe the Kingdom of *Perſians* and *Parthians* may by thoſe that heed not well be confounded together, a clear diſtinction is neceſſary to be made of them.

3. It muſt be obſerved that the *Perſians* being caſt down from the grandeur of
Perſians Slaves to the *Parthians*. Empire and Sovereignty by *Alexander* and his *Macedonians*, were firſt ſubject to his Succeſſours, and then for a long time Slaves to the *Parthians*. The *Parthians*
Parthians who. were a Baniſhed Company of *Scythians*; for in the *Scythian* Language, the very word is ſaid to ſignify ſo much; and during the Empire of the *Aſſyrians* and *Medes* *Vide Onuphrium de Imperio Romano, p.* 257.
were moſt obſcure. When the *Perſians* arrived at the ſupreme power of the *Eaſt*, they were but an abject People, becoming a Prey to the Conquerour. They ſerved the *Macedonians* in the like ſort, as long as they deſired they ſhould; but when

after

Revolt from *Seleucus* when and upon what occaſion.

after *Alexander's* death his Empire came to be divided, none of his Captains would accept of them, and ſo they were delivered as Booty to *Satagenes* a Stranger Aſſociate. But the Captains falling into Civil Wars, they together with the reſt of the Nations of the upper *Aſia*, followed *Eumenes*, and he being overcome, went over to *Antigonus*, after whom they came into the Hands of *Seleucus Nicanor*, and afterwards of *Antiochus* and his Succeſſours; from whoſe great Grandſon *Seleucus* they firſt revolted, at what time the firſt *Punick* War depended. *C. Attilius Regulus* and *L. Manlius Vulſo* both, the ſecond time, being Conſuls; in the year of *Rome* DIIII. The Diſcord of the two Brothers about the Kingdom, *viz.* of *Seleucus* and *Antiochus*, gave them the advantage and opportunity who mutually ſtriving to diſpoſſeſs each other, regarded not this People which by falling off, diminiſhed what they ſtrove about.

Arſaces procured the Revolt.

Formeth the *Parthian* Kingdom.

His Succeſſours called after his Name.

Arſaces.

Pampacius.

Pharnaces.
Mithridates.

4. The Authour and Procurer of the Revolt was one *Arſaces*, a man as of uncertain Original, ſo of manifeſt Valour, who being accuſtomed to live by violence and robbing, and believing that *Seleucus* was overthrown in *Aſia*, without fear of the King's power, with a Number of Robbers entred *Parthia*, and killing *Andragoras* the Governour made himſelf Maſter of the Nation. Not long after he ſeized on the Kingdom of the *Hyrcanians*, and entred into League and Society with *Theodotus* King of a thouſand *Bactrian* Cities, after which he gave Battel to *Seleucus*, who came to reduce him and his fellow Revolters; overthrew him and put him to flight. This Day was afterward obſerved as Solemn, and the beginning of their liberty. *Seleucus* being gone into *Aſia*, he then formed his new *Parthian* Kingdom. He raiſed men, fortified Caſtles, ſecured the Cities, and Built a great one called *Clara* on the Mountain *Thabrotenus*. By theſe means Eſtabliſhing his deſigned Kingdom, *Arſaces* became no leſs famous and memorable to the *Parthians* than was *Cyrus* to the *Perſians*, *Alexander* to the *Macedonians* or *Romulus* to the *Romans*; and moreover lived to be an old man. After his Death, out of reverence to his memory, the *Parthians* called all their Kings by his Name, as the *Romans* named their Emperours *Cæſars* and *Auguſti*. His Son and Succeſſour, *Arſaces* alſo by Name, with wonderfull valour ingaged *Antiochus* the Son of *Seleucus*, though followed by an hundred thouſand Foot, and twenty thouſand Horſe, and at laſt was admitted into his Friendſhip and Alliance. The Third was *Pampacius* who had alſo the Sirname of *Arſaces*, and dying in the twelfth year of his Reign left two Sons *Pharnaces* and *Mithridates*. *Pharnaces* the Elder ſucceeding his Father, ſubdued the Nation of the *Mardi*, and left his Brother *Mithridates* his Succeſſour by his Teſtament, who Conquered the *Medi* and *Elymi*, and ſo many other people, as to extend the Dominion of the *Parthians* from Mount *Caucaſus* to the River *Euphrates*.

Phrahartes.

Artabanus.

Mithridates.

Orodes deſtroyed *Craſſus*.

Phrahartes 2.

5. After him came *Phrahartes* his Son, the Sixth King of the *Parthians*, who firſt of all deſired friendſhip of the *Romans* from *L. Sulla* then *Proconſul*, who in *Aſia* then carried on the War againſt *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*. He was killed in a War againſt the *Scythians*, and was ſucceeded by his Uncle *Artabanus*, as was *Artabanus* by his Son *Mithridates*. He from the greatneſs of his preferment, obtained to be called *Mithridates* the Great; for he waged many Wars with his Neighbours, and brought under the *Parthian* Yoke ſeveral Nations, and fighting ſometimes proſperouſly againſt the *Scythians*, revenged the Injuries done to his Anceſtours. He made War alſo againſt the *Armenians*, but was for his cruelty driven from the Kingdom by the *Parthian* Senate, and was ſucceeded by his Brother *Orodes*. He waged War with the *Romans*, and deſtroyed *Craſſus* with his Son and almoſt the whole *Roman* Army. *Pacorus* his Son being ſent to diſpatch the *Roman* War did great things in *Syria*, but was ſuſpected and called back by his Father, and in his abſence all the *Parthian* Army was Cut off in *Syria* by *C. Caſſius* the *Quæſtor* of *Craſſus*, with all its Captains. During the *Roman* Civil Wars, the *Parthians* ſent aid to *Pompey* againſt *Cæſar*, as alſo to *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, againſt *Octavius* and *Antonius*. The Wars being over under the Conduct of *Pacorus* and *Labienus* who had been on *Pompey's* ſide, they invaded and ſeized on all *Syria*. But *P. Ventidius Baſſus* the *Roman* General gave them Battel, and killing *Pacorus* and *Labienus* deſtroyed almoſt the whole Army, neither in any War did the *Parthians* receive a greater blow; and it is obſervable that *Pacorus* the Son of *Orodes* was ſlain on the ſame day that *Craſſus* was deſtroyed, whoſe Death they accounted thereby revenged. Not long after *Orodes* was moſt wickedly Murthered by his Son *Phrahartes*, who ſeized on the Kingdom.

6. Againſt *Phrahartes M. Antonius* the *Triumvir* made War with ſixteen moſt valiant Legions, becauſe of the Aides that had been ſent againſt *Cæſar* and himſelf. The Iſſue of it was that being tired out with many Battels, with Famine, Peſtilence and Tempeſts, he fled from *Parthia* with his Army much leſſened. With this ſucceſs

Driven into Baniſhment.

Recovers his Station.

Auguſtus frights him.

Phrahartes 3.

ceſs *Phrahartes* was made more Inſolent, and thereupon doing many cruel things, he was driven by the *Parthians* into Baniſhment, and his Kingdom was delivered to one *Tyridates*, whom yet by the aſſiſtence of the *Scythians*, he drove away and recovered his Station. But he ſcarcely thought himſelf ſecure in it, when he heard how *Auguſtus*, after his diſpatching of the War of *Spain*, talkt of making another upon him. It put him into ſuch a fright, that he cauſed the Captains which had been of *Craſſus* or *Antonius* his Army, to be gathered out of all *Parthia*, and with the Military Enſigns to be ſent back to *Auguſtus*. Moreover he delivered over to him his Sons and Nephews for Hoſtages. So that *Auguſtus* with the mere terrour of his Name did more than another Prince could have effected by his Arms. But *Phrahartes* being Dead, his Son of the ſame Name, and the twelfth King of the *Parthians* ſucceeded him. And after him followed *Orodes*.

Orodes 2.

Vonones.

Artabanus.

Tyridates.

Gotharzes.

Meherdates.

Vonones 2.

7. *Orodes* was ſlain; and then came Meſſengers or Ambaſſadours from *Parthia* to *Rome*, to deſire that *Vonones* the Eldeſt of the Sons of *Phrahartes* might Reign amongſt them, whom his Father had formerly delivered an Hoſtage to *Auguſtus*. He was ſent by *Tiberius* accordingly, but ſhortly after was driven out and had *Artabanus* for his Succeſſour. *Vonones* retired into *Armenia* which then had no King, and *Artabanus* ran the ſame riſque of Fortune, being laid at by his Subjects, and having War with the *Romans*, he was through the endeavour of *Vitellius* the *Legatus* of *Syria*, driven from his Kingdom by *Tyridates* one of the bloud Royal of the *Arſacidæ*. *Tyridates* then became the ſixteenth King of the *Parthians*, but not long ſo continued, for he was driven out by *Artabanus*, whom the *Hyrcanians* and *Caramanians* aſſiſted, and fled to the *Romans* into *Syria*. *Artabanus* having recovered the Kingdom, had again like to have been betrayed by the Treachery of one *Sinnaces*, whom having ſlain, the third time he recovered his Condition, and at length being thus toſſed by various Accidents, was with his Wife and Son killed by his Brother *Gotharzes*, who became the Eighteenth King. To make good the Cuſtome, *Gotharzes* was expelled by his Brother *Bardanes*, whom yet having ſlain he recovered his Eſtate, and overthrew in Battel *Meherdates*, whom *Claudius* the Emperour had ſent to ſeize on the *Parthian* Kingdom, and taking him alive onely cut off his Ears. He being Dead, *Vonones* who governed *Media* became the twentieth King of the *Parthians*. Of him there is nothing obſervable, but that he was Father to *Vologeſes*, who became moſt famous in the *Roman* Annals.

Vologeſes.

Vologeſes 2.

Choſdroes worſted by *Trajan.*

Vologeſes 3.

Artabanus 2.

Overthrown by *Artaxerxes* a *Perſian*, together with the *Parthian* Kingdom.

8. He waged a long and difficult War with the *Romans*, wherein he was not onely ſometimes an Equal, but a Superiour alſo. In the time of *Nero*, he took from them *Armenia*, and put under the *Jugum* two *Roman* Legions to their great Infamy. Having done extraordinary things he died an old man, and left his Son *Vologeſes* his Succeſſour; whoſe Actions are as obſcure as his were remarkable. After him *Choſdroes* was King of the *Parthians*, upon whom the Emperour *Trajan* falling, took from him firſt *Armenia*, and then *Meſopotamia* and *Aſſyria*, and him he drove away, ſo that the *Parthians* were for ſome time without a King. When they were about to revolt, *Trajan* gave them for King *Parthenaſpates*. Him *Choſdroes* expelled, and recovered the Kingdom of his Anceſtours. After him *Vologeſes* long held it, with whom *Marcus* and *L. Verus* had many Wars, and took from him *Aſſyria* and *Armenia* which had been left by *Hadrian*. After him *Artabanus* was the laſt of the *Arſacidæ* that held the Empire of the *Parthians*, who waged War with various ſucceſs againſt *Severus*, *Antoninus Caracalla* and *Macrinus* the *Roman* Emperours. At length when *Alexander Severus* Governed the *Roman* Empire, he was overthrown in three Battels by one *Artaxerxes* a *Perſian*, who not onely put a period to his Life, but to the Kingdom and Empire of the *Parthians* in the CCCCLXXIII year from the firſt *Arſaces*; by which means the *Parthians*, to whom the *Perſians* all this while had been Slaves, were again ſubjected in Servitude to that People in the CMLXXVIII year of *Rome*; of our Lord the CCXXVI.

Artaxerxes who inſlaved the *Parthians* again, what he was.

The Empire of the Eaſt reſtored to the *Perſians*.

Vide Agathiæ Hiſt. lib. 2. *c.* 14. *& lib.* 4. *c.* 11. *& Onuphrium quo prius. p.* 263.

9. *Artaxerxes* is ſaid as *Arſaces* formerly to have been of obſcure Original, but a man of great Spirit and valour. That he might reſtore the *Perſians* to their ancient Name and Repute, he ſolicited the ſeveral Nations of them to revolt, and when *Artabanus* came to chaſtiſe the Rebellion, overthrew him thrice in Battel, killed him, and moreover reſtored the Empire of the Eaſt to the *Perſians*. Elevated by his Succeſs, he fell upon the Neighbour Nations, to bring them alſo under the Yoke, and having cauſed all that had formerly ſerved the *Parthians* to ſubmit, he would not keep himſelf within the Boundary of *Tigris*, but paſſing the River, and the *Roman* Limit, overran *Meſopotamia*, threatned *Syria* and laid claim to that Countrey lying oppoſite to *Europe*, the *Ægean* Sea and Strait of *Propontis*, and known by the Name of *Aſia* (the Leſs,) as having been governed by the *Perſian*

Sapor Succeeds *Artaxerxes,*

Who took *Meſopotamia* and the Emperour *Valerian.*

ſian Satrapæ from the time of *Cyrus* to *Darius* the laſt King in that Succeſſion. For he boaſted that it was his Duty to recover all the ancient Empire to the *Perſians.* Having procured a great Name by his Arms, he died after he had Reigned fourteen years wanting two Months, and left a peaceable Kingdom to his Son *Sapor.* This is that *Sapor,* the moſt cruel of all others, who brought ſo much diſgrace and prejudice to the *Roman* Empire and Name, who defeating them in a great and bloudy Battel, took from them *Meſopotamia*, and *Valerian* their Emperour alive, as the Reader may remember. *Agathias* relates, how having waſted *Meſopotamia,* he fell upon the *Cilicians, Syrians* and *Cappadocians*, whom he overthrew with ſo great ſlaughter, that he filled up with dead Bodies the Holes and diſtances of Mountains, thereby made the Hills even, and ſo Rode over them as on plain ground. But returning home, he was humbled by *Odenathus* of *Palmyrena*, and died when he had Reigned one and thirty years.

Ormiſda.

Vararanes.

Vararanes 2.

Vararanes 3.

Narſes.

Miſdates.

Sapor 2.

Artaxerxes.

Sapor 3.

Vararanes 4.

10. After *Sapor* ſucceeded *Ormiſda* his Son, who held the Kingdom not long, dying without having any thing performed worthy of memory, after a year and ten days. The next to him was *Vararanes*, who having Reigned three years, gave place to his Son of the ſame name. *Vararanes* the Second Reigned ſixteen years, after whom ſucceeded *Vararanes* the Third, but onely taſted of Sovereignty, which he enjoyed but four months. He was ſirnamed *Seganeſma*, as *Agathias* judges, from the Nation of the *Segani* which his Father had Conquered. For when the *Perſians* conquered a People they onely put to death the principal Perſons, and reſerved the reſt to Till the Ground and pay them Tribute; but as a Trophy or mark of Conqueſt they would have their Sons take the name of the place, as *Seganeſma* King of the *Segani.* But he being quickly gone, *Narſes* ſucceeded for ſeven years and nine months, who left his Son *Miſdates* his Succeſſour, ſo truly his Succeſſour, that he not onely Reigned over the ſame Nation but exactly the ſame time, ſeven years and nine months. After him Reigned *Sapor* the Ninth King of the *Perſians*, whoſe Reign and Life was of the ſame extent; for his Mother having newly conceived him, upon prediction that it was a Male, they put the *Cidaris* upon her belly. He lived and reigned together ſeventy years, and this is he in whoſe days *Julian* invaded *Perſia*, and in his twenty fourth year was *Niſibis* delivered up by *Jovian* into his hands. He left his Kingdom to his Brother *Artaxerxes* who died after four years, and had for Succeſſour his Son *Sapor* the Third who Reigned five. In the next place came *Vararanes* the Son of *Sapor*, who, as *Agathias* Writes, doubled his Fathers years, and added one more to them. He was ſirnamed *Cermaſat*, from a certain Nation called *Cerma* which had been ſubdued. In like manner our Authour tells us, as the *Romans* gave the Additions of *Africanus* and *Germanicus* from the Conqueſt of thoſe Countries.

Iſdigertes.

Vararanes 5.

Procop. de bello Perſico, lib. 1.

11. After him *Iſdigertes* his Son was King of the *Perſians*, and of great Name amongſt the *Romans.* This is he whom *Arcadius* at his death is ſaid to have made Guardian to his Son *Theodoſius.* So it was delivered by Tradition *Agathias* confeſſeth, and to his time the report went both amongſt the Learned and Ignorant perſons. But he affirms it was not to be found in any Writings; not in the Hiſtories of thoſe who wrote of *Arcadius* his death, onely in the Book of *Procopius* the Rhetorician. He expreſſeth himſelf hard of belief, and wonders that *Procopius* not telling how he came to the knowledge of the matter, ſhould fall into commendation of *Arcadius* for his Prudence. Whereas the man being a Barbarian, an enemy to the Provinces, and of Manners, and opinion quite different from thoſe of the *Romans*, the event was onely to be admired. And if *Iſdigertes* kept faith with *Theodoſius*, who was but now a ſucking Infant, and diſcharged his Truſt, he was more to be commended for his Goodneſs than *Arcadius* was for his Wiſedom, whom *Procopius* makes to have been onely wiſe in this particular. However *Agathias* confeſſeth that *Iſdigertes*, though he Reigned one and twenty years, yet never undertook any War againſt the *Romans*, neither ever moleſted them with any injury, but was peaceable and kind to them; whether it happened ſo by chance, or that he ſpared the Boy, and was for preſerving both Nations. His Son and Succeſſor *Vararanes* invaded the *Roman* Territories with a great Army, but did no hurt, being overcome with the Civility of *Anatolius* the Emperour's Ambaſſadour. The *Perſian* being come near the Army, *Anatolius* leaped from his Horſe, and alone and on Foot went toward him, who demanded of the Company what he was; they ſaid it was the *Roman* General; at which the King amazed as at an exceſſive Honour, turned his Horſe and rode away, and after him followed his Army. Being in his Countrey he entertained the Ambaſſadour with much Courteſie, and yielded to the terms of Peace he deſired. That neither People ſhould erect any Fortifica-

Sect. 1.

tion near the Borders of the other; which if done they gave either ſide opportunity of doing what they pleaſed.

Vararanes 6.

Perozes.

Hunnes Ephthalites who.

Perozes overthrown by them.

12. When *Vararanes* had Reigned twenty years, he left his Kingdom to his Son *Vararanes* the Sixth, who after ſeventeen years and four months gave way to *Perozes*. This *Perozes* was Valiant and Warlike, but with more Courage than Diſcretion made War againſt the *Ephthalites*, as *Procopius*, or *Nephthalites* as *Agathias* calls them, about their Boundaries. They were a Nation of *Hunnes*, known by the Name of *White Hunnes*, not mingled with the reſt, as having no part of their Countrey bordering upon them. Their dwelling was to the North of *Perſia*, being no *Nomades* or wanderers as the other *Hunnes*, but ſeated in a good Land, where was a City called *Gorga*, and it ſeems it ſo contented them, that they made no Inroads into the *Roman Territories*, but with the *Perſian* Armies. As theſe *Hunnes* had white Bodies and Viſages not uncomely, their courſe of Life was not, as that of the reſt, brutiſh. They were under one King in a lawfull Government, and dealt juſtly amongſt themſelves and with their Neighbours, no leſs than the *Romans* or any other People. Their rich men had each twenty or more Companions, to be their perpetual Comrades, and to partake in a community of their Goods. When any of the Principals died, the Retainers were wont to be put into the ſame Graves with them. Thoſe *Ephthalites Perozes* invaded, when *Euſebius* the Ambaſſadour of the Emperour *Zeno* was with him. They pretended fear and to flie before him, and thereby drawing him into a place beſet with Mountains and Thickets, from which there was no paſſage forward, they ſtopped his Retreat and forced him to ſubmit to hard Conditions. Their King upbraiding him for his Raſhneſs, ſaid he would grant him and his Men their Lives, if he would adore him, being now his Lord, and ſwear his Countrey Oath, that the *Perſians* ſhould no more invade the *Ephthalites*. *Perozes* conſulting the *Magi*, they anſwered that for the Oath he might do what he pleaſed; but in the thing he might delude the Enemy by a Trick. They having a Cuſtome every morning to adore the Riſing Sun, he ſhould obſerve the hour, and meet the King of the *Ephthalites* with his Face to the Sun riſing, and ſo adore, and hereby avoid the diſgrace. *Perozes* accordingly ſwore the Peace, adored his Enemy, and then went home with his Army.

Defeated by a Strategeme and Slain.

13. But not long after, neglecting his Oath he reſolved to be revenged on the *Ephthalites*, and with all his own men and Confederates went againſt them; of his thirty Sons taking all along with him except *Cabades* the youngeſt, but then grown a man. They hearing of his deſign, reviled their King for looſing the former opportunity, and required he ſhould go and meet the Enemy. He refuſed to doe it, the *Perſians* being yet in their own Countrey; but, within his own Borders upon a Plain, through which they were to enter, he digged in a great ſpace of ground a deep Pit extreme broad, leaving in the middle a narrow paſſage for ten Horſe a breaſt; over the Pit he laid Reeds, and upon the Reeds Turffs which concealed the Hole, directing his people when they ſhould flie from the Enemy, to keep cloſe and few in Rank upon the firm ground, and avoid the Pit. Then on his Palace he hung out his *Holas* or Gods by whom *Perozes* ſwore, and breaking his Oath invaded now the *Hunnes*. He ſtirred not ſo long as the Enemy was within his own Countrey, but underſtanding by his Scouts that they were come to *Gorga*, on the Borders and marching toward him, he himſelf with moſt of his Army ſtaid ſhort of the Pit, ſending out a Party to ſhew themſelves upon the plain at a good diſtance; and no ſooner ſeen by the Enemy but to retreat amain, remembring the Pit. They did ſo, and the *Perſians* purſued upon full ſpeed as in an open plain, and ſo fell into the Pit, not onely the foremoſt, but the Rere alſo; for purſuing furiouſly, they perceived not the miſcheif of thoſe of the Front, but falling down upon them with Horſes and Lances, killed them, and were deſtroyed for Company. Amongſt whom was *Perozes* and all his Sons. Such as eſcaped the Pit, fell into the Enemies Hands.

Cabades his Son made King,

And depoſed.

Blaſſes Succeeding.

14. Upon this dreadfull Diſaſter, the *Perſians* made a Law, Not to follow the chace in full ſpeed, though the Enemy ſhould run away in that haſte. And to put themſelves into order, they made King, *Cabades*, the onely Son of *Perozes* ſurviving. Two years they ſerved the *Ephthalites*, and paid them Tribute, till *Cabades* being confirmed in his Seat refuſed it. He afterwards governed tyrannically, made many alterations, and particularly one Law, that the *Perſians* ſhould have their Women in common, which the People miſliked, and taking Arms depoſed him and kept him in Priſon. They choſe *Blaſſes* (*Agathias* calls him *Valens*) the Brother of *Perozes* for King, all his other Sons being dead. For of a private Race the *Perſians* might not chuſe one, if the bloud Royal was not quite extinct. *Blaſſes* ſucceeding

aſſembled the cheif men of *Perſia*, and propounded in Council concerning *Cabades*, whom the Multitude would not endure to be put to Death. Many opinions being ſpoken, *Guſanaſtades* a principal man and by Office a *Chanaranges* or General upon the Borders of the *Ephthalites*, ſhewed them his Knife, ſuch as the *Perſians* were wont to pair their Nails with, of a finger length, and an inch thick. See, ſaith he, this Knife is a very ſhort one, yet can it doe that now, which within a while twenty thouſand men will not be able: intimating that if they did not now diſpatch *Cabades* he would get abroad and trouble them again. But they thought not fit to kill one of the Bloud Royal, but rather to keep him in the *Tower of Oblivion*; where if a man was impriſoned, it was not lawfull to mention him, once to name him was death, and thence the Tower had its Name. Though at one time the law of it was broken, in the Perſon of *Arſaces* King of *Armenia* therein a Priſoner, as *Procopius* tells the ſtory out of the *Armenian* Hiſtories.

Cabades eſcapes out of Priſon.

Puts out the Eyes of *Blaſſes*, and recovers the Kingdom.

15. *Cabades*, being in Priſon, conſented that his Wife ſhould yield to the Luſt of the Captain of the Caſtle, that ſhe might have free acceſs to him, which advantage he ſo improved as that changing Clothes with her, he got out of Priſon, and being received by one *Seoſes*, who had prepared Horſes for him, eſcaped away into the Countrey of the *Ephthalites*. There he Married the King's Daughter, and brought an Army againſt the *Perſians*, who finding themſelves too weak, fled from the *Hunnes*. Coming where *Guſanaſtades* was Governour, he ſaid that ſuch *Perſian* as that day firſt came to offer his Service he would make *Chanaranges*; and he repented of what he had ſaid, when he remembred the *Perſian* Law, that no Government ſhould be conferred upon Strangers in Bloud, but ſuch onely were to have the place to whoſe race it did belong. But by chance his word was kept without Injury to the Law, *Adergudunbades* appearing firſt, a young man, Couſin to *Guſanaſtades*, and very expert in Marſhal Affairs. He firſt ſaluted *Cabades* as his Lord, adored him as King, and beſought him to Command him as his Slave. So he entred the Palace, and finding *Blaſſes* without a Guard, put out his Eyes, as the *Perſians* were wont to deal with Malefactours, pouring into them boyling Oil, or with a Bodkin red hot, melting an Ointment into the inſide of them, and he ever after kept him in Priſon. After two years he put *Guſanaſtades* to Death, and made *Adergudunbades* General. *Seoſes* he created *Adraſta-daras Salenes*, or Superintendent over all Offices and Armies, an Office firſt held by him in *Perſia*. None before nor ever after had it. *Cabades* Eſtabliſhed himſelf and ſecured his Empire, being witty and valiant, no man more. His reſtitution happened in or about the DI year of our Lord. This is that *Cabades* who two years after Quarrelled with *Anaſtaſius*, becauſe he would not lend him money, wherewith to pay a Debt due it ſeems to his Father-in-Law. And this is he, who alſo fell out with *Juſtin* the Emperour, becauſe he refuſed to adopt his Son after the *Roman* manner. It concerned the Reader that he ſhould have this Account, concerning the Succeſſion both of the *Parthian* and *Perſian* Kings. Elſe this Hiſtory would have been deficient, and he could not have well diſtinguiſhed concerning *Parthians* and *Perſians*, the greatneſs of which Kingdoms, and that great part they acted in the World, would have required a Chapter or Section by themſelves, if we could have had Intelligence ſufficient of their matters, which were tranſacted amongſt themſelves.

Beliſarius made General of the Eaſt.

16. To omit then what we have already written of ſuch Actions as fell out betwixt *Cabades* and thoſe two Princes, *Juſtinian* being ſole Emperour, directed *Beliſarius* to build a Fort at *Mindon* upon the Confines, on the left hand of the way to *Niſibis*, who having advanced it to a conſiderable height, the *Perſians* with threats commanded him to deſiſt. The Emperour perceiving he ſhould be too weak for them, Commanded *Cutzes* and *Buzes* the *Duces* of the Limits of *Phœnicia Tibani*, one of the fifteen Provinces ſubject to the Prefect of the *Eaſt*, to march to his Aſſiſtence with another Army. Theſe Officers were *Thracians* and Brothers, and being young and raſh were worſted, loſt many of their men, and they themſelves at length being taken Priſoners were ſhut up in a Cave, and no Forts defending the Building, the *Perſians* demoliſht it. After this *Juſtinian* made *Beliſarius* General of the *Eaſt*, Commanding him to make an Inroad into *Perſia*, and joyn with him *Hermogenes* Captain of his Guard, ſometime *Quæſtor* to *Vitalianus* when he rebelled againſt *Anaſtaſius*. He alſo nominated *Rufinus* his Ambaſſadour, in caſe a Treaty, of which there were made ſome Overtures, ſhould proceed. *Beliſarius* having levied a good Army came to *Daras*, and *Perozes*, by Office a *Mirranes*, with an Army of *Perſians* advanced within two miles of it. *Beliſarius* and *Hermogenes* wrote to him, adviſing him to forbear Hoſtilities and expect the coming

of *Rufinus*, but he anſwered he could not truſt them being *Romans* though upon Oath, and bad *Beliſarius* make ready a Bath for him; for he intended the next day to bathe in *Daras*. The *Romans* had drawn a Line before the Town, and were ranged in ſuch Order as amazed the *Perſians*, who though they faced them forbore to fight, onely ſome ſlight Skirmiſhes had paſſed, and two *Perſians* who challenged any *Romans* to ſingle Combats were killed, the one after the other, by one *Andrew* the Maſter of a Wreſtling School in *Conſtantinople*. *Beliſarius* deſired a ſuſpenſion of Arms, becauſe the *Perſian* Army was increaſed by a ſupply of ten thouſand men. But what moved him to deſire a Ceſſation, moved alſo the *Mirranes* to deny it. Thereupon both prepared for a Battel.

17. The Battel they began with ſhowres of Arrows, which darkned the Air, and did great Execution on both ſides. The *Perſians* herein had the Advantage that their Numbers were greater, and their freſh men ſtill let flie upon the *Romans*, who at firſt did not conſider it. Yet a ſtrong Wind blew upon them, which ſuffered not their ſhot to doe much more miſcheif than they received. When their Arrows were ſpent, they came to their Lances, and the left Wing of the *Romans* was much diſtreſſed, till releived by three hundred *Heruli*, who being placed on purpoſe on an adjoyning Hillock, fell in upon the Rere of the Enemy, which being charged alſo by another Party on the Flank, gave ground, and at length ran away, about three thouſand men being loſt in their Right Wing. But their left together with their *Immortal Band* charged their Oppoſites with ſuch Violence, that they put them to the rout. But then from the Angle of the right hand line, which the *Roman* Generals had cauſed to be drawn, a party ordered by *Beliſarius* fell with fury on the Flank of the Barbarians as they purſued, and cut their Army in two. The *Perſians* who gave the chace foremoſt perceiving their Diſadvantage, faced about and fell upon their purſuers, whereby they came to be charged both ways by the *Romans*, they that had fled before them now turning head. When the *Immortal Band* and the other *Perſians* near them ſaw the great Enſign lying upon the ground, acted by Indignation they charged the *Romans* a-freſh, who received them ſo warmly, that they ſoon had enough, and fled away in Confuſion. The Foot ſurprized with terrour and amazement, caſt away their Bucklers and were cut in peices. The *Romans* killed about five thouſand, yet the chaſe laſted not long, their Generals cauſing them to retreat, leſt the Enemy ſhould rally and worſt them thus purſuing without order. They thought it enough to have got the Victory in this manner, for before that day it had been long ſince the *Perſians* were defeated by the *Romans*, ſo they parted for this time, neither would the *Perſians* come to any more Battels. There onely followed ſome Skirmiſhes upon Inroads, wherein the *Romans* had not the worſt.

The *Perſians* defeated,

18. Such was the Succeſs *Cabades* found in *Meſopotamia*, who had ſent another Army into the *Roman Armenia*. This conſiſted of *Perſarmenians* and *Sunites* who bordered upon the *Alans*, and three thouſand *Sabirian Hunnes*, a very Warlike Nation, Commanded by *Mermeroes* a *Perſian*. Intelligence being given where they lay to *Dorotheus* the Commander in *Armenia*, and *Sittas* General of the Forces, they fell on a ſudden upon them, and killing many, rifled their Camp. Not long after their Return, *Mermeroes* to be even with them, invaded the *Roman* Territories, and overpowring his Enemies in Numbers had deſtroyed them in their Camp, but that *Sittas* placed with a Reſerve behind an Hill, came upon his Rere in good time, and the *Perſians* by reaſon of the Duſt, not being able to diſcover how many men he had, and fearing they might be more numerous than they were, left the Camp, and retiring into a Body were defeated and fled. But becauſe they exceeded the *Romans* in number, they rallied, and coming to dint of Sword the Fight was very ſharp, till *Florentius* a *Thracian*, and Captain of a Troop of Horſe, with the loſs of his Life ſeized the *Perſian* Standard and caſt it to the ground. The Barbarians looſing ſight of their cheif Enſign fell into fear and diſorder, and retiring to their Camp the next day marched home. And none purſued them, the *Romans* thinking they had done enough, having firſt beaten them in their own Countrey, and now ſent them home worſted by a ſmaller number, without having any thing performed. Afterwards they took in ſome Towns in *Perſarmenia* with two Forts called *Bolus* and *Pharangium*, whence the King had a Revenue of Gold Mines. *Sittas* before this War had alſo ſubdued the *Tzanians*, who Inhabiting the Inacceſſible Mountains covered with perpetual Snow, had lived by picking and ſtealing, but now by him civilized were inrolled in the *Roman* Troops, marched with their Armies and turned *Chriſtians*. About the ſame time *Narſes* and *Aratius*, who had formerly fought againſt *Beliſarius* and *Sittas*, revolted to the *Romans*, and were

And Retreat with loſs.

entertained by *Narſes* the Emperours *Quæſtor* who was alſo a *Perſarmenian*. This their younger Brother *Iſaac* hearing, held ſecret Intelligence with the *Romans*, and delivered into their Hands the Fort *Bolus*, which was not far diſtant from *Theodoſiopolis*, letting in the Souldiers by a Poſtern. And ſo he alſo came to *Conſtantinople*.

Rufinus Ambaſſadour to *Cabades* about a peace.

19. But the *Perſians* who lay about *Daras*, though defeated by *Beliſarius*, yet kept together about theſe Parts, till *Rufinus* the Ambaſſadour coming to *Cabades*, ſolicited him about a Peace as moſt conducible to the flouriſhing Eſtate of both Nations. *Cabades* laid the load upon the *Romans*, urging that the rearing of the ſeveral Forts of *Daras*, *Mindon* and the reſt, were quite contrary to the Articles of the Agreement concluded with *Anaſtaſius* the Emperour, and he alledged that the *Romans* ought to contribute half of the expence toward the keeping of the *Caſpian* Gates, through which the Neighbouring Nations were wont to forage both Countries. He diſmiſſed the Ambaſſadour with publick Anſwer, that he was reſolved not to lay down Arms till the *Romans* either joyned in the Guard of the Gates, or diſmantled *Daras*, yet privately he intimated to him that for a Sum of money he would be content to lay aſide all Quarrels, wherewith *Rufinus* acquainted the Emperour at his return to *Conſtantinople*. Thither ſoon after came *Hermogenes*, and ſo together with the Winter ended the fourth year of the Reign of *Juſtinian*. The Occurrences of theſe years being thus interwoven by the Authour, ſo as not to be diſtinguiſhed, we are conſtrained to give the Narration of them unbroken, as it lies before us, and muſt now proſecute what remains till the concluſion of this preſent War.

The *Perſians* and *Saracens* invade the *Roman* Territories a new way.

20. In the beginning then of the following Spring, ſeventeen thouſand *Perſian* Horſe under the Command of *Azarethes* their Countreyman invaded the *Roman* Territories, and with them *Alamundarus* King of the *Saracens*, followed by great numbers of his Subjects, not as they were wont by the way of *Meſopotamia*, but by *Comagena* at that time called *Euphrateſia*. This way they took by the Advice of *Alamundarus*, who was now become chief Councellor to *Cabades*; for *Perozes* the *Mirranes* having loſt moſt of his Army was in diſgrace, the King having taken from him the Head-Tire of Gold and Pearl which tied up his hair, a mark of the greateſt honour in *Perſia*, next to the King, where none might wear Ring, Belt, Buckle or any thing of Gold, but by the King's expreſs Licence. To truſt *Alamundarus* he had good reaſon, both in reſpect of his Abilities being a very wiſe man, and an experienced Souldier, as alſo becauſe his Enmity to the *Romans* was remarkable, he having for the ſpace of fifty years, much indamaged them by foraging their Countrey, from *Ægypt* to *Meſopotamia*, burning, killing and making an innumerable company of Slaves, being indeed the moſt circumſpect and dangerous Enemy the Empire had. His great advantage was his having Command of the *Saracens*, under the *Perſian* Dominion, with the Title and Authority of King, whereby he could make his Invaſions when, where and as he pleaſed. Neither the *Duces* of the Limits, nor the *Phylarchæ* or Princes of the *Saracen Tribes*, in League with the *Romans* were able to oppoſe him. *Juſtinian* put many of theſe *Tribes* under *Arethas* Cheiftain of the *Saracens* in *Arabia*, to whom he gave the Title of King, though this was a thing not uſual with the Emperours, and it profited nothing, either through the ill fortune or treachery of *Arethas*. For, *Alamundarus* continued to make Inroads and Depredations as far into the Eaſt as ever, ſo long till he was become very old. He told *Cabades* that if he invaded the *Roman* Dominions as formerly, by the way of *Meſopotamia* and *Oſroene*, he could have no ſure bargain of it. That the Countrey about *Euphrates* and *Syria*, next it, had neither any fortified City, nor conſiderable Forces, but he ſhould find *Antioch* the chief City of the Eaſt with no Souldiers to ſecure it, and the Inhabitants onely intent upon Feaſts and Paſt-times. He urged that he might eaſily take it by ſurprize, and return home ſecurely before the Forces in *Meſopotamia* could have the News. For Water and Proviſions he ſhould take no care, for he himſelf would lead the Army the moſt convenient and ſecureſt way.

21. Theſe *Perſians* being the firſt that ever made an Invaſion this way, much ſurprized the *Romans* and perplexed *Beliſarius*. Notwithſtanding he having left convenient Garriſons in *Meſopotamia*, haſted with two thouſand men to give them a ſtop, which they underſtanding, reſolved not to hazard themſelves, and fairly retreated. *Beliſarius* overtook them as they were truſſing up their Baggage on *Eaſter* Eve, but had no mind at all to ingage, and finding his men eager to fight, by a ſpeech he indeavoured to ſhew them how improper a thing it would be to ſet upon a flying Enemy, and provoke him by neceſſity and deſperation to doe that

which he had formerly neither deſired nor thought: and the ingagement would be unreaſonable at this time eſpecially, when they were all faſting, and according to the Chriſtian Cuſtome, were to Eat nothing all that day and the Night following. But the Army reproached him for his Speech, not muttering but with open clamour to his Face calling him Fainthearted Man, and a Diſcourager of them; ſo that he plainly ſaw he muſt diſſemble the matter and comply, and amazed at their impudence he turned his Diſcourſe to incourage them, ſaying that he knew not their Alacrity before, but now he took Courage, and ſhould lead them againſt the Enemy with more hope. *Azarethes* ſeeing the *Romans* Embattelled, exhorted his men to ſhew themſelves *Perſians* by arguments drawn from neceſſity and deſpair, which are wont to make even Cowards Valiant. At the firſt Encounter more *Perſians* than *Romans* fell by Arrows, though they ſhot thicker being almoſt all Archers, and the moſt dextrous then living; but their ſhafts coming from weak Bows little bent, and lighting upon the Armour of their Enemies, broke without doing much harm, whereas the ſhot of the *Romans*, though it was ſlower, coming from ſtiff Bows much bent, and ſtronger Armes than thoſe of the *Perſians*, ſped where it lighted, no Armour reſiſting its force. Two thirds of the Day paſſed, and the fight was equal; but then the beſt Souldiers amongſt the *Perſians*, agreed to charge the Right wing of the *Romans*, where ſtood *Arethas* and his *Saracens*. They opened their Battel, and probably out of deſign to betray *Beliſarius*, ran away.

The *Roman* Army willfull to fight is defeated.

22. The *Roman* Horſe ſpent with toiling and faſting, and now overcharged on all ſides, gave it over and betook them to their Heels. Some that gallantry of mind ſtaied, died with grinning honour. The *Iſaurians* and *Lycaonians* making no reſiſtence were cut in peices, for they were men utterly unexperienced, newly taken from the Plough, knew not what a Battel meant, and yet they were hotter for the fight than any, and reproached *Beliſarius* with Cowardiſe not long before. He having for ſome time ſucceſfully made head, and defended himſelf from being run down by the *Perſian* Horſe, Night came on, whereupon the Enemy returning to his Camp, he paſſed into an Iſland of *Euphrates*, and with the remainder of his Army was conveyed to *Callinicum*, in Boats ſent from thence for that purpoſe. The *Perſians* coming to plunder the Field, found they had no cauſe to brag of the Victory, having loſt as many of their own men, as they had ſlain of the *Romans*. And when *Azerothes* returned to Court, he had no thanks for what he had done, having neither taken *Antioch*, nor any other place as the King expected. It had been an ancient cuſtome in *Perſia*, that when an Army was levied, the King ſate upon his Throne, having by him the General deſigned for the expedition. And certain Baskets were placed there, into which as the Army paſſed before the King man by man, each caſt an Arrow, which done, they were ſealed up with the King's own Seal. When the Army returned from the Expedition, each Souldier took out his Arrow, and certain Perſons were intruſted to number the Arrows remaining, who thereby informed the King concerning the number of the Souldiers come home, and thence he knew how many had periſhed in the War. This courſe being now taken, when *Cabades* underſtood how many Arrows were left in the Baskets, he reviled *Azarethes* and ever after held him in diſgrace.

23. *Juſtinian* ſeeing he had work enough made him by the *Perſians*, bethought himſelf of ſome Aſſiſtence; and for that purpoſe reſolved to try if he could draw the *Homerites* and *Æthiopians* to joyn with him againſt them. The *Homerites* Inhabited to the Eaſt of *Paleſtine* upon the *Red-Sea*, which taking its beginning from *India* according to the Hydrography of *Procopius*, terminated in that part of the *Roman* Empire, having upon the Coaſt, where it ends in a narrow Strait, the City *Ælas* with the Mountains of *Ægypt* to the South, and toward the North a deſart Countrey reaching far. Oppoſite to the *Homerites* on the other ſhore, Inhabited the *Æthiopians* called *Auxomitæ* from the City *Auxomis* their King's Reſidence. The Sea betwixt them (by ſome called the *Red Sea*, as the reſt towards *Ælas* the *Arabian Gulf*,) was five days and nights Sail over with a reaſonable gale, there being no danger by Night from any Shelves or Rocks in the paſſage. The Haven of the *Homerites* whence they Sailed into *Æthiopia* was called *Boulicas*, and they Landed at an Haven of the *Adulites*, diſtant from the City *Adulis* onely two miles and an half, and from *Auxomis* twelve days Journey: The Veſſels of *India* and others, which in thoſe days Sailed theſe Seas, were not built like other Ships, neither trimmed with Pitch or ſuch like ſtuff, nor were the Planks faſtened with Iron, but tied together with Cords. Not becauſe of Iron-drawing Rocks as was then vulgarly thought, the *Roman* Ships on the ſame Sea finding no ſuch matter though built with Iron; but becauſe neither *Indians* nor *Æthiopians* had Iron, nor other

materials for that uſe, neither could they buy any of the *Romans* who forbad it on pain of Death.

24. During the War with *Perſia*, *Helliſthæus* King of *Æthiopia* being a very devout Chriſtian, and hearing that many of the *Homerites* were Jews, and ſome Heathens laying exceſſive burthens upon Chriſtians, ſent out a Fleet and an Army againſt them, and ſlew their King with much People. He made King one *Eſimiphæus* one of their own Nation and a Chriſtian, and impoſed on them a Tribute, many of his own Souldiers alſo liking well the Countrey, would not return but fixed there. Not long after, the People impriſoned *Eſimiphæus*, and made one *Abram* King, a Chriſtian, who had been ſlave to a *Roman* Merchant at *Adulis*. To puniſh theſe Innovators *Helliſthæus* ſent two Armies, but one revolted allured with the goodneſs of the Land, and the other returned with loſs, ſo that he forbore to meddle any more with *Abram*, who yet after his death was content to pay the Tribute to his Succeſſour, and ſo was confirmed in his place. During the Reigns of *Helliſthæus* and *Eſimiphæus*, the Emperour *Juſtinian* ſent his Ambaſſadour *Julian*, to deſire their Confederacy with the *Romans* againſt the *Perſians*. Beſides that they were of the ſame Religion, he propounded to the *Æthiopians*, that they might make themſelves Maſters of a very rich Trade, by dealing with the *Indians* for their Silk and ſelling it to the *Romans*, for of this Silk were then made the anciently called *Perſian*, and afterward *Serick* Clothes. He deſired of the *Homerites*, that they would ſet over the *Maadeni Saracens* one *Caiſus* deſcended from the *Phylarchæ*, and an ancient Souldier, who was fled into the Wilderneſs for having killed a Kinſman of *Emiſiphæus*, and he prayed that together with theſe *Saracens* they would invade the *Perſians*.

25. Each of them diſmiſſed the Ambaſſadour with fair promiſes, but never performed them. The *Æthiopians* were not able to buy the Silk, becauſe the *Perſian* Merchants being the next Borderers, came firſt to the Havens where the *Indians* unladed, and bought up all. The *Homerites* thought it too much to travell through a Deſart many days Journey, to fight with a more Warlike People than themſelves; and *Abram* afterward often promiſed and once began the Journey, but returned home again. About the ſame time *Hermogenes*, being ſent on an Embaſſy to *Cabades*, had as bad or worſe ſucceſs, not being able to procure a peace, the King was ſo inraged after the Battel of *Euphrates*. *Beliſarius* was ſent for home to make War upon the *Vandals*, and *Sittas* was ordered to take care of the Eaſt. The *Perſians* with a freſh Army Commanded by *Chanaranges*, *Apſendes* and *Mermeroes* entered *Meſopotamia*, and there being none to reſiſt them, ſate down before *Martyropolis* in the Province of *Sophanene*, thirty miles to the North of *Amida*, and ſituate upon the River *Nymphius*, which bounded the *Roman* and *Perſian* Dominions. They were valiantly received by the Defendants, though the Town was not at all fortified for a Seige, and wanted all ſorts of Proviſions. *Sittas* was then abroad with a *Roman* Army, but durſt not come within twelve miles, being accompanied by *Hermogenes*, who was now ſent on another Embaſſy.

Martyropolis Beſieged by the *Perſians*.

26. In the mean time one of the *Perſian* Spies, diſcovers to *Juſtinian* much of their affairs, and that a Nation of *Maſſagetes* was coming into *Perſia*, and thence were to invade the *Romans* with an Army of that Kingdom. The Emperour having had experience of the Man's truth, perſwaded him for a reward, to go and report to the Army lying before *Martyropolis*, that theſe *Maſſagetes* were hired by the Emperour, and were inſtantly to come and raiſe the Seige, upon which ſtory they were ſore afraid and doubtfull what to doe, when in the mean time a matter of great concernment fell out, which expedited their Buſineſs. *Cabades* the *Perſian* King died, after he had Reigned thirty years from his Impriſonment, and on his Death-bed by advice of *Mebodes* his cheif Favorite, ordained *Choſroes* his Son his Succeſſour by Teſtament. The Will being kept cloſe, *Caoſes* the Eldeſt preſuming upon the Law aſſumed the Title, but *Mebodes* checked him for ſo doing, alledging that none of himſelf might take the Kingdom, but by the Votes of the principal *Perſians*. *Caoſes* never ſuſpecting the great Officers, gladly referred the matter to their Cognizance, who when they perceived what was the determination of *Cabades*, out of reverence to his Virtues declared *Choſroes* King of *Perſia*. The Report hereof being carried to the Camp before *Martyropolis*, the *Perſian* Generals not knowing in what condition the affairs of their Countrey ſtood, and ſtill being afraid of the *Maſſagetes*, began to liſten to *Sittas* and *Hermogenes*, who not being able to releive the Town, preſſed them much to ſuſpend all Acts of Hoſtility, and retiring home to ſuffer Ambaſſadours to take up the Quarrel, and for the reality of the Embaſſy they offered Hoſtages. The Hoſtages being received, the Army

Cabades dies.

The Seige raiſed.

drew off and returned home. Which done, the *Hunnes*, or *Maſſagetes*, ſhortly after entred the *Roman* Territories, and finding no *Perſian* Forces to joyn with them, in a few days alſo returned home.

27. *Hermogenes* with his fellow Ambaſſadours, *Rufinus*, *Alexander* and *Thomas*, had Audience of the *Perſian* King at the *Tigris*, who upon their Arrival releaſed the Hoſtages. To make him tractable they uſed flatteries, little becoming the Character they bore, which moved him to conclude a perpetual Peace for an hundred and ten Centenaries, on condition that the Commanders of the Forces in *Meſopotamia* ſhould reſide no longer at *Daras*, but at *Conſtantina*, as formerly they had done. But the Forts in *Lazica* he reſolved to reſtore, and yet demanded of the *Romans* reſtitution of *Bolus* and *Pharangium*. Now a Centenary weighed one hundred pound weight, ſo called of *Centum* in Latin, (containing of our money, as ſome reckon, three hundred forty ſix thouſand, and five hundred pounds,) and this Gold he demanded to quit the *Romans* from demoliſhing *Daras*, and ſharing in the charge of the Garriſon at the *Caſpian* Gates. The Ambaſſadors agreed to all but the Forts, alledging that they could not deliver them without expreſs Licence firſt had from the Emperour. It was reſolved therefore to ſend *Rufinus* to *Conſtantinople*, about theſe particulars, prefixing him for his Journey ſeventy days, the reſt being to ſtay till his return. *Juſtinian* hearing the terms, the *Perſian* ſtood upon, gave his conſent; but *Choſroes* having a falſe ſtory, how that he was offended with *Rufinus*, and had put him to death, in great Anger invaded the *Roman* Territories with an Army. When *Rufinus* returned and met him near *Niſibis*, it was reſolved to conſummate the Peace, and the money was brought into Town by the Ambaſſadours.

28. But now again, *Juſtinian* repenting the quitting of the two Forts, wrote to his Ambaſſadours not to part with them, whereupon *Choſroes* refuſed to conclude the Treaty; *Rufinus* conſidering how unluckily he had brought the money into the *Perſian* Dominions, caſt himſelf at the King's Feet, begging of him ſafe conduct for the money, and to defer his deſigned Invaſion. *Choſroes* granted all for his ſake, ſo that the Ambaſſadours carried the money back to *Daras*, and the *Perſian* Army retreated, which made them jealous of *Rufinus*, and accuſe him to the Emperour, becauſe the King had yeilded to every thing at his perſwaſion. But the Emperour neglected the complaint, and ſent him ſhortly after back to the *Perſian* with *Hermogenes*, and they concluded that each ſhould reſtore what had been taken in this War, *viz.* The *Romans* the Forts of *Bolus* and *Pharangium*, and the *Perſians* the places in *Lazica*. That there ſhould be no Commanders of Forces reſiding in *Daras*. And for the *Iberians* now at *Conſtantinople*, they had free liberty either there ſtill to continue or return home. Thus was concluded the perpetual Peace, as it was called in the ſixth year of *Juſtinian*'s Reign, the DXXXII of the ordinary *Æra* of Chriſt; for which were no Conſuls nominated, no more than for that preceding it, and therefore in the *Faſti* it is thus marked, The ſecond after the Conſulſhip of *Lampadius* and *Oreſtes*.

A perpetual Peace concluded.

Perge ad hujus Sect. paragraph 128.

29. *Beliſarius* as we ſaid, before the concluſion of the Peace, was ſent for to make War againſt the *Vandals*, which the Emperour *Juſtinian* had ſecretly and with himſelf reſolved. But not a word was ſpoken of his ſending an Army into *Africk*: It was onely given out that he was diſcharged of his Government. But when the Peace was now fully completed, and all was well at home, the Emperour at a Conſultation held with his great Officers, acquainted them that he would raiſe an Army againſt *Gehiner* and his *Vandals*. The moſt of them diſliked it, remembring the overthrow of *Baſiliſcus*, of that great Fleet of the Emperour *Leo*, the Souldiers loſt and the vaſt debt contracted by the State. Above all, the Prefect of the Palace was netled at it, and all Officers belonging to the Revenue, who quickly apprehended that they muſt without end ſupply the neceſſities of the War, without being as they were wont admitted to Excuſe and Delay. Every Commander alſo doubted of the Employment, apprehending the greatneſs of the hazard, in the firſt place to paſs the Sea, and then to incamp in an Enemies Countrey, and immediately upon Landing to graple with a great and potent Kingdom. The Military men, newly returned from a tedious and difficult War, were no-what pleaſed they ſhould be led to a Sea Fight, a thing they had never heard of, and that before they had ſcarcely taſted of home Contentments. All others were indifferently affected, as content to be Spectatours of other mens dangers. However of thoſe who were againſt the Expedition, none dared to croſs it, but *John* the Prefect a *Cappadocian*, being the boldeſt and ſmarteſt man of his time, who laid before the Emperour the difficulty of the Enterprize. For his Army muſt either march

Juſtinian conſults about a War againſt the *Vandals*.

John the Prefect againſt the War.

by Land an hundred and forty days Journey, or Sail to the utmoſt bounds of the Great Sea, as he called it; ſo that the very News of the ſucceſs muſt be a year coming to him. Grant he ſhould have the better, he could not be Maſter of *Africk*, both *Sicily* and *Italy* being in other Hands. And if Fortune ſhould prove Croſs, he muſt needs draw the War upon his own Dominions, and indanger his Affairs now well ſetled. The Emperour for theſe Reaſons let fall his eagerneſs for the War. But a Biſhop out of the Eaſt got Acceſs to him and told him, that God had charged him in a Dream, to blame him for having undertaken to deliver the Chriſtians of *Africk* from Tyranny, and now to grow cold upon no ground at all, whereas I will aſſiſt him, ſaid he, and make him Maſter of that Countrey. Upon this the Emperour could hold no longer, but made preparations both by Sea and Land, requiring *Beliſarius* to fit himſelf for the Expedition.

But the Emperour is prevailed with by a Biſhop to undertake it.

A great Tumult happened before the Peace at *Conſtantinople.*

Vide Baronium ad h. A.

The Factious in Cities diſtinguiſhed by Colours.

30. Here being ready with him to paſs over into *Africk*, where we are to make ſome ſtay, we muſt firſt ſet all in order at home in point of Hiſtory, and diſcharge our ſelves of a tumult which happened at *Conſtantinople*, a little before the Concluſion of the Peace with *Perſia*. *Marcellinus* Writes that it happened in *January* on the *Ides* thereof, in the fifth year of *Juſtinian*, through a Conſpiracy made againſt him by three Perſons that were Couſin Germans, *viz.* *Hypatius*, *Pompeius* and *Probus*, the Nephews of *Anaſtaſius* late Emperour. Each of them indeavouring to ſet up for himſelf. That the City hereby was much waſted for four days together by Fire, Sword and Rapines; and that on the fifth, when they intended to force the Palace, *Hypatius* and *Pompeius* were ſet upon, knocked down and Slain, great numbers being killed in the *Circus*, and the Companions of the Uſurpers, who were fled for it, proſcribed. *Procopius*, giving us a fuller Relation of the matter, premiſeth that the Commons of every City, anciently divided themſelves into the *Veneti* and *Praſini*, the *Blews* and the *Greens*; but of late about theſe Names and Colours wherein they ſtood to ſee Sights, they conſumed their Eſtates, abandoned their Bodies to Tortures, and refuſed not the moſt ſhamefull Death. They would run the danger of fighting with their Oppoſites, being ſure, ſhould they get the better, to be haled to Priſon, and after extreme torturing, to be killed. There grew ſo ridiculous an hatred betwixt them, that it was without ground, and no Kindred, Alliance, Religion, or indeed Divine or Humane things or conſideration whatſoever could withſtand it. What became of themſelves or any thing elſe they cared not, ſo their Party did but proſper. The very Women did partake in this Abomination, not onely as the followers of their Husbands, but often being their Oppoſites, though they were never wont to go to the Theatre, nor had other Inducements. Our Authour knows not what to call it, but believes that it was a Diſtemper of the Imagination or fancy; however thus it was in every City and Corporation, and this gave original to that Mutiny, he thence proceeds to deſcribe.

Vide quæ citat Alamannus ex antiquis Hiſtoriarum Collectaneis, Cod. Vat. in Notis ad Arcan. Hiſt. p. 30.

Their Original.

De Spectaculis, c. 9.

31. But before we follow him, ſeeing that this madneſs did ſo ordinarily rage, and was of ſuch conſequence as to produce ſtrange and diſmal effects in the Common Wealth, it will be convenient to inquire farther into the Original and manner of theſe Diſtinctions. Some have Written that *Onomaus* firſt found out thoſe Colours of the *Circus*, by which the Factious People diſtinguiſhed themſelves, and that thereby he as it were repreſented the Conteſt of the Earth and Sea. They caſt Lots, and he who happened to act the part of the Earth in the Conteſt, put on a *Green* Garment; but he that was for the Sea, was Clothed with one of a *blewiſh* Colour. That this Conteſt *Onomaus* inſtituted on the twenty fourth day of *March*. If ſo be the *Green* Colour had the better, all hoped for plenty from the Earth, if the *Blew*, they expected Serene and ſafe Navigation; therefore Husbandmen wiſhed for the Succeſs of the *Green*, and Seamen of the *Blew*. But as the People thus diſtinguiſhed themſelves by theſe Colours, ſo did the Chariot drivers that ran the Races in the *Circus*. And *Tertullian* tells us, that at firſt there were onely two of theſe Colours, *viz.* the *White* and the *Ruſſe*, or Reddiſh. The *White* was devoted to Winter, by reaſon of the Snow, and the *Ruſſe* (ſo he calls it) to Summer, becauſe of the redneſs of the Sun. But afterwards as both Pleaſure and Superſtition increaſed, others Conſecrated the *Ruſſe* to *Mars*, others the *White* to the *Zephiri*, the *Green* to *Mother Earth* or Spring, and the *Blew* to *Heaven* and *Sea* or *Autumn*. But whereas, ſaith he, all Idolatry is Condemned by God; that is alſo condemned which is profaned by the worldly Elements.

32. It ſeems therefore, that at the firſt theſe Colours were taken up by ſuch as made Conteſts, or celebrated Games in honour of theſe Elements, (which *Tertullian* accounts Idolatrous,) and that time and Cuſtome bringing theſe heatheniſh Solemnities into every City and place any whit conſiderable, they continued ſuch

The *Factio Praſina.*

Vide Onuphrium de ludis circenſibus. c.10.

Ruſſata.

contentions in their Cirques or Hippodromes, and at length the Spectatours took upon them the Names, if not the Colours which at firſt the Actours onely wore, and divided themſelves as their Affections or other Inclinations carried them, to that prodigious exceſs as *Procopius* relates. In *Rome* theſe four Factions had been from the beginning of the *Cæſars*, and before. The colour they called *Praſinus* was *Green* like that of a *Leek*, there being alſo a Gemm of this Name and Colour. *Caius Caligula* was ſo extremely addicted to this Faction, that he ſupped and was commonly to be found in the Stable belonging to the Chariot drivers, and he would drive himſelf in the place which was called *Caianus* after him. Its alſo reported of *Verus* that he loved theſe *Aurigæ*, favouring this Faction of the *Praſini*. Of *Commodus* that at his own Houſe he would drive Chariots clothed in this colour, where he killed a great number of wild Beaſts, as he did many alſo publickly. And of *Elagabalus* that he did the ſame thing. The Faction called *Ruſſata* as alſo *Roſea*, and *Rubea* or *Ruſſa*, was alſo of old in *Rome*; *Livy* making mention of one of thoſe Drivers or a *Ruſſatus Auriga*: and *Pliny* relates that it was found in the Acts of *Felix*, another of this ſort (*Ruſſati Aurigæ*) that fire being put to his Funeral pile, one of his favourours caſt himſelf upon it. This Faction is called by *Martial*, *Coccina*. And *Onuphrius Panninius* mentions two Marbles with their Inſcriptions dedicated to the memory of two Drivers, or as they are there called *Agitators* of this ſame Faction.

Albata.

Veneta.

The *Praſini* & *Veneti* moſt factious and remarkable.

33. Of the third Faction called *Alba* or *Albata*, becauſe the Drivers were Clothed in white, mention alſo is made by *Pliny*, as *Onuphrius* obſerves, as alſo in an ancient Table of Stone deſcribed by him. Of that of the *Veneti* or *Venetiani*, as ſometimes it is read, there is a large account, for which *Vitellius* the Emperour had ſo much reſpect that he killed ſome of the multitude for openly curſing it, as done in contempt of himſelf, and out of the preſumption of ſome new hope. *L. Verus* was abuſed by them becauſe he moſt idly ſided againſt them. *Caracallus* drove Chariots himſelf in this colour. Theſe four Factions had their Stables for their Horſes which ran Races in the *Circus*, near the *Circus Flaminius*. To theſe four ancient, *Domitian* added two more, one of a Golden and the other of a Silver, (ſome ſay Purple) colour; but after his Death, when all his Acts for his Cruelty were reſcinded by the Senate, its probable they were again aboliſhed, and ſo four remained as before, though *Dio* ſpeaks of ſix Chariots which ran in the *Circenſian* Games in the days of *Commodus* and *Severus*. But whether four or more than four, the principal Factions moſt taken notice of, moſt daring, petulant, and indeed in a manner onely factious and ſeditious, were the *Praſini* and *Veneti*, eſpecially toward and in the time whereof we now write. The whole People in a manner was divided into them, and when met in the *Circus*, broke out into unſpeakable impudence and violence, taking occaſion to vent other Acts of emulation and malice, than what related to the Races run by their ſeveral Drivers. The Emperour had a particular Officer, who was his mouth to them, as was the *Quæſtor* in the Senate, who preſcribed what he would have done, and checked their tumultuous humour. But the Emperours might thank themſelves for the Diſorders that happened, moſt of the Debauched and Extravagant Princes having of old driven Chariots themſelves, and others of them addicted themſelves with too much zeal and favour to one of the Factions againſt the other.

The beginning of the Mutiny called *Nica.*

John the Prefect.

34. So is *Juſtinian* reported to have done, as we ſhall hear with both Ears, from the pretended Hiſtory of *Procopius*; let us now attend this Authour in his unqueſtionable Relation of this Mutiny. At this time, then, he ſaith the Prefect of the City led ſome *Factioniſts* to Execution. Thereat both Parties took Allarm and agreeing betwixt themſelves, firſt reſcued the men, then broke the Priſons, and let out all ſorts of Malefactours; and at laſt without any reſpect to Authority, killed the Officers of the Prefect. The Citizens who were of neither Faction, fled to the oppoſite Continent, and the City as if under an Enemy was ſet on Fire. The Temple of St. *Sophia*, the Bath of *Zeuxippus*, the *Emperour's* Court from the Porch to the Temple of *Mars*, the great *Porticus* reaching to *Conſtantine's Forum*, and the Houſes of many great men, with much wealth were conſumed. The Emperour and Empreſs with ſome Senatours ſhut themſelves up in the Palace, and ſtirred not. The word of the Mutineers was *Nica* or overcome, and thence this Mutiny was afterward called by that Name. At this ſame time one *John* a *Cappadocian* was *Præfectus Prætorio* of the Eaſt, and *Tribonian* a *Pamphylian* was *Quæſtor* to the Emperour. *John* was a man altogether unlearned, ſcarcely able to Write, but of excellent natural Abilities, the moſt powerfull man *Procopius* ever knew, both to diſcern what was fit to be done, and in doubtfull things to find a Reſolution,

ſolution, but the wickedeſt man alive, in wickedneſs he employed the ſtrength of his Parts, without reſpect to God or men; for gain ſtudying the Ruine both of the Eſtates of private men, and of whole Cities. Growing ſuddenly to exceſſive Wealth, he fell into boundleſs luxury, preying upon the Subjects till Dinner time, and then ſpending the reſt of the day in Gluttony, Drunkenneſs and Leachery: In Sum, a man greedy to get money, and more laviſh in ſpending it. *Tribonian* on the other ſide, over and above his great natural Abilities, had attained to ſuch excellency of Learning, as he was inferiour to none of his time. But in the methods of Covetouſneſs, as induſtrious as the other, being ever ready to ſell Juſtice for gain, making and repealing Edicts every day, ever ſelling them to any one who had occaſion to uſe them.

Tribonian the *Quæſtor.*

Turned out of their Places.

Hypatius ſaluted Emperour by the Mutineers.

35. During the Quarrels of the People about Names and Colours, there was little ſaid concerning the miſgovernment of theſe men. But when they conſented, and were now formed into a Mutiny, they openly railed upon them, and conſulted how they might kill them. The Emperour to appeaſe the Tumult put them both out of their Places. To that of Prefect he advanced *Phocas* a *Patritian*, a wiſe man and naturally addicted to Juſtice, and *Baſilides* alſo a *Patritian* and a famous honeſt man he made *Quæſtor*. But the Mutiny raged nothing leſs. On the fifth day thereof towards Evening, the Emperour cauſed *Hypatius* and *Pompeius*, Nephews of *Anaſtaſius*, to retire from Court to their own Houſes. At firſt they delayed to do it, which made him more earneſt they ſhould, though they pretended it was not fit to leave him; for he was jealous of them, and they feared that the People would force them to the Empire. And ſo it came to paſs; for the Mutineers hearing that they were retired from the Palace, the next morning ran to them, and ſaluting *Hypatius* Emperour, conducted him to the *Forum* to take the Government upon him; *Maria* his Wife, a ſober diſcreet Woman, crying, lamenting, and proteſting that they were leading him to his Death, and hanging upon him to ſtay him till they forced him from her. Having by plain conſtraint brought him to the *Forum* of *Conſtantine*, they proclaimed him Emperour of the *Romans*, binding about his Head a Golden wreath, for want of a Diadem.

The Empreſs ſtays the Emperour from running away.

36. The Senatours, as many as were not in the Palace, joyned, and the opinions of many were to trie their Fortunes at the Palace; but *Origen* a Senator perſwaded them not to hazard all at one puſh, but carry their buſineſs leaſurely, not doubting but *Juſtinian* would run away. *Hypatius* then bade them lead on to the *Circus*, as ſome thought purpoſely out of affection to the Emperour, who now conſulted whether he ſhould ſtay or fly by Sea. Many ſpeeches were made, but the Empreſs *Theodora* with a manly Courage diſſwaded him from ſtirring, affirming Death better than Exile or Depoſing, and ſticking to that old ſaying, *How brave a Sepulchre is a Kingdom?* Hereat taking Courage, they conſidered how they might defend themſelves. All the Souldiers who lay Quartered about the Palace or elſewhere, neither affected the Emperour nor joyned in the Mutiny, but expected the Event. All his hope was in *Beliſarius*, who being newly come from the *Perſian* War, had brought with him a ſtrong Guard of Lanciers, Targetiers and others, all old Souldiers. And *Mundus* the *Magiſter Militum* of *Illyricum*, being ſent for to *Conſtantinople*, chanced to bring with him a Troop of *Heruli*. *Hypatius* in the *Circus*, went directly and ſate down in the Emperour's Seat, where he was wont to behold the Horſeraces and other Exerciſes. But out came *Mundus* by the Gate *Cochlea*, ſo called from its round ſhape like the ſhell of a Snail. *Beliſarius* firſt reſolved to ſet upon *Hypatius* in the Imperial Seat, and called at an Hall where was wont to be a Guard of Souldiers, bidding them open the Doors for him to go againſt the Uſurper. But they reſolving to expect who ſhould be Conquerour, made as if they heard him not, upon which he returning to *Juſtinian*, cried out that all was undone, becauſe the Souldiers had revolted.

Beliſarius and *Mundus* quell the Mutineers.

37. But being directed by the Emperour through the Brazen Gate and the Portal, and paſſing with much danger and toil, through Rubbiſh and places half burnt, he got to the *Circus*. Being come to the Gallery of the *Veneti*, which was to the right hand of the Emperour's Seat, he thought to ſet upon *Hypatius*, but fearing to be cut in peices in a narrow paſſage, he reſolved to fall on the innumerable Multitude which crouded together. Drawing his Sword, and bidding the reſt doe the like, he ran upon them with a great Shout, who ſeeing Armour, and old Souldiers hewing them down unmercifully, fell to running away. A fearfull cry being made, *Mundus* ruſht into the *Circus* alſo at the Gate called *Neera*, and ſo between them both, the Mutineers were cut in peices. Of the common People were ſlain more than thirty thouſand. *Hypatius* was pull'd out of the Seat, none reſiſting, by *Boraides*

raides and *Juſtus* the Emperour's Nephews, and led together with *Pompeius* to *Juſtinian* who commanded them to Priſon. *Pompeius* little verſed in Affairs of the World, could not refrain from weeping, but *Hypatius* chid him, ſaying, that men who periſhed unjuſtly, ought not to be lamented, as they being forced by the People firſt, and then coming to the *Circus* for no hurt to the Emperour. However the Souldiers killed them both the next day, and caſt their Bodies into the Sea. *Juſtinian* confiſcated their Eſtates, as of all the Senatours that had joyned in the Mutiny, and afterward when he had given away all their beſt Lands and Goods, reſtored to them and the Sons of *Hypatius* and *Pompeius* their former Dignities, with ſo much of their Eſtates as he had not given away: ſo ended this Mutiny. *Tribonian* and *John* were reſtored to their Places. *Tribonian* being a pleaſant fair ſpoken man, and able to veil his Covetouſneſs with abundance of Learning, died in his Bed without any other diſgrace, of whom we are to ſpeak upon a better occaſion. *John* was troubleſome to the World, and being both a publick greivance and terrour, at length after ſeveral years came to ſuch an end as he had deſerved. Of which hereafter.

Hypatius and *Pompeius* killed.

Tribonian and *John* reſtored.

38. Such is the Relation made by *Procopius*, concerning this Mutiny, thenceforth called *Nica*. This is ſtrange in it that both the Factions, *Veneti* and *Praſini*, ſhould joyn againſt the Emperour. For, he is exceedingly blamed, even as a madman, for ſiding with the *Veneti* againſt the other. We have another ſtory told concerning the Mutiny being begun by the *Praſini*, who clamorouſly demanded Juſtice againſt *Calapodius* a Bed-chamber-man, and a *Spatharius*. But *Procopius* himſelf diſtinguiſheth as to the time, betwixt that ſpace wherein theſe Mutineers contended about Names and Colours, which it ſeems was three or four days together, and that wherein the Factions joyned together, and then demanded Juſtice againſt *John* and *Tribonian*. During the Contention betwixt themſelves, and while they were divided, the *Praſini* found occaſion to quarrel with the Emperour about *Calapodius* a Bed-chamber-man, and a *Spatharius*, as *Theophanes* relateth out of the ancient and publick Monuments of *Conſtantinople*. Now becauſe from this ſparke proceeded ſo great a flame as was that of *Nica*; and becauſe as in ſome Picture, *Alamannus* tells us, may therein be diſcovered the State of the Empire as now it ſtood, the humour of *Juſtinian*, the licentious demeanour of the multitude, in the *Circus* and Theatre, and other things relating to the clearing of the Hiſtory of theſe times, we ſhall tranſcribe the Relation as we find it worded, Dilogue or ſcoldingwiſe, betwixt the Emperour's *Mandator* and the Factioniſts, though the ſtyle and expreſſions be very rude and bald.

Apud Alnman in. Notis p. 62.

The eludingLanguage betwixt the Emperour's *Mandator*, and the Mutinous *Praſini*.

39. The Rebellion (it begins) called *Nica*, happened after this manner. Both the Factions met in the *Circus*, and the *Praſini* or *Greens* with great clamours required that *Calapodius* of the Bed Chamber, and a *Spatharius*, might be proceeded againſt according to Law. *Praſini*. Long mayſt thou live, *Juſtinian Auguſtus*. I ſuffer unjuſt things, Good *Cæſar*, neither can I bear them, God is my witneſs, but I dare not mention any Perſon leſt I ſhould procure him better fortune and, for ſo doing, danger to my ſelf. *Mandator*. Who is that? For I am ignorant of the matter. *Praſ.* He that injures me lives in the Region of Tailors, moſt Auguſt Prince. *Mand.* No body injures you. *Praſ.* One there is and he alone who deals unjuſtly with me. So may he never lift up his Head, O Mother of God. *Mand.* Who is this? for we know nothing of it. *Praſ. Calapodius* the *Spatharius*, my Sovereign, it is he that injures me. *Mand.* But *Calapodius* hurts no body. *Praſ.* Whoſoever he is, let him periſh as *Judas*. Let God puniſh him that injures me, and that ſpeedily. *Mand.* Ye come not hither to behold the Shews, but to revile your Governours. *Praſ.* Whoſoever, I ſay, vexeth me with Injuries let him periſh as *Judas*. *Mand.* Be quiet, ye *Jews*, *Manichæans* and *Samaritans*. *Praſ.* Do you call us *Jews* and *Samaritans*, and the Mother of God is propitious to us? *Mand.* How long will ye pour out Curſes upon your own Heads? *Praſ.* Whoſoever ſaith not that the Emperour doth believe aright, Anathema to him as to *Judas*. *Mand.* If ye will hear me, be all baptized into One. *Praſ.* They tumultuouſly cry out, as *Antlas* Commanded, I am baptized into One. *Mand.* Abſolutely, if ye will not be quiet it ſhall coſt you your Lives. *Praſ.* Every one indeavours to uſurp that he may be ſecure. But if we who are afflicted, if we ſay any thing, let it be interpreted in the beſt Senſe by your Majeſty, for the Divine power beareth with all. We have a Tryal to be, O Emperour, and therefore we ſpeak all. Foraſmuch, Mighty *Auguſtus*, as there is neither Court nor any Eſtabliſhment of Polity; then I go onely forth into the City when I am at *Burdone*, and I wiſh, Mighty *Auguſtus*, not then neither. *Mand.* Every Freeman may freely go whither he pleaſeth. *Praſ.*

I am confident of my liberty, yet am not permitted to come abroad. What Freeman ſoever he be, if he be ſuſpected to be of the Faction of the *Praſini*, he is openly puniſhed with loſs of the Light.

40. *Mand.* Ye that are near to deſtruction, ſpare ye not your own lives? *Praſ.* Let us indeed that bear this Colour be cut off; And let there be no ſuch thing as that called Juſtice. Abſtain from ſlaughters, and then let us be puniſhed. As thoſe Waters flow from the Fountain, ſo let their Bloud flow, whom thou wouldſt have puniſhed. But thoſe two things (*Injuſtice* and *Cruelty*) humane Nature abſolutely abhors. O would *Sabatius* (the Father of *Juſtinian*) had never been born, and then he had not had a Son of bloud. Now the ſix and twentieth Murther hath been committed at *Zeugma*. In the Morning he was a Spectatour, and in the Evening he was killed. O Sovereign! *Veneti.* Amongſt you onely are to be found Murtherers in the *Circus*. *Praſini.* And when didſt thou part hence without bloud? *Ven.* As for thee, thou without any cauſe falleſt on killing. For as I ſaid of ſuch as meet in the *Circus*, thoſe that kill are onely to be found amongſt you. *Praſ.* Our Lord *Juſtinian*, They provoke others, and no body kills them. I think he that hath no mind to it, underſtands this. O Emperour, who killed the Carpenter at *Zeugma*? *Mand.* Ye killed him. *Praſ.* Who killed the Son of *Epagathus*, O Emperour? *Mand.* And that did ye; but ye draw the *Veneti* into the guilt. *Praſ.* Now, Lord have mercy upon us. How is Truth oppreſſed! And one would almoſt now diſpute with them who contend that humane Affairs are governed by Providence. How comes this Misfortune? *Mand.* God is no Tempter of evil things. *Praſ.* True, God is no Tempter of evil things. But who oppreſſes me unjuſtly? Go to. Whether thou beeſt a Philoſopher, or an Hermite, give a diſtinction of both. *Mand.* Ye Blaſphemers and impious, when will ye be quiet? *Praſ.* Seeing ſuch is your pleaſure, moſt *Auguſt Sir*, I am quiet, though unwilling. I know all and every thing, but I am ſilent. Juſtice farewell. There's no place left for thee now. I will be gone, that I may turn *Jew*. It's abſolutely better, and to be initiated in the Rites of the *Gentiles*, God knows, than to agree with the *Veneti*. *Ven.* Let me not ſee ſuch wickedneſs; yet the hatred of you provokes me to wiſh it. *Praſ.* Let their Bones be digged up after death that will ſtay here to gaze. So the *Praſini* departed, leaving the Emperour and the *Veneti* in the *Circus*. It ſeems however that both Factions afterward agreed to join againſt the Emperour; a wonderfull thing! But how infirm muſt this Government have been, which was continually in danger from the Meetings of ſuch multitudes together, where ſo many thouſands, though of one Faction, were unanimous, as we ſee they ſpake as one man in the firſt Perſon ſingular. Their boldneſs was ſuch as ſcarcely could a Prince bear, who had life and death in his power, ſo long at leaſt as they were pleaſed to permit it. Now we have cleared all at home, though long firſt, and left no diſturbance behind us; we muſt therefore launch forth, and attend upon *Beliſarius* into *Africk*. But we muſt firſt clear the way for him, by declaring who they were he was to conquer; and what Dominion, Kingdom or Power it was that he was ſent to ſubdue.

Beliſarius ſent againſt the *Vandals*.

41. *Africk* then, the Reader may remember, was ſeized by *Genſerick* or *Gizerick* and his *Vandals*, who were called in by *Boniface* the *Roman* General, diſobliged by *Placidia*, the Emperour *Valentinian*'s Mother, through the tricks of *Ætius*. They were both great Souldiers, inferiour to none of their time, and ſo high in worth and ſpirit, that in the opinion of *Procopius*, he ſhall not err who calls either of them the laſt of the *Romans*; but they always differed in publick Affairs, and the emulation of *Etius* procured the loſs of *Africk*. How *Boniface* too late repented he had called in the *Vandals*, and was beaten by *Genſerick*, we have ſeen; as alſo how *Genſerick*, proceeding in his deſign, ſubdued *Africk*, ſetled his Intereſt therein, took *Rome*, and became troubleſome to all his Neighbours. How the vaſt Army and Fleet ſent to chaſtiſe his Inſolence by *Leo*, miſcarried through the treachery of *Baſiliſcus* we have alſo heard, moreover of the Deſign of *Majorianus* to recover *Africk*; how he diſguiſed himſelf as the Emperour's Ambaſſadour to make a diſcovery, but died when the *Romans* had good hope to recover that Countrey. *Genſerick* having either by force or artifice ſhaken off his Enemies, haraſſed the *Roman* Provinces more than ever, till *Zeno* came to a Treaty with him, and a perpetual Peace was concluded; That the *Vandals* ſhould commit no Acts of Hoſtility againſt the *Romans*, nor from them receive any. This Treaty was obſerved all the time of *Zeno* and *Anaſtaſius* his Succeſſour, and during the Reign of *Juſtin*. *Genſerick* at length died a very old man, having reigned over the *Vandals*, from the taking of *Carthage*, ſeven and thirty years.

Who they were.

Genſerick their King.

Honorick. *Gundamund.* *Traſamund.*

42. By his Teſtament he charged the *Vandals* that the Kingdom ſhould fall ever to ſuch Male deſcendent from himſelf as was eldeſt in years. *Honorick* his eldeſt Son ſucceeded him, *Genzo* being lately dead; and during his Reign the *Vandals* had war onely with the *Moors*, who being rid of *Genſerick* who kept them in awe, did the *Vandals* much miſchief, and received much from them. But this *Honorick* was moſt cruel and unjuſt to the Chriſtians of *Africk*, forcing them to turn *Arians*, or for refuſal, burning, and in ſeveral ſorts deſtroying them. From many he cut out their Tongues by the roots, who, *Procopius* writes, to his time lived in *Conſtantinople*, ſpeaking perfectly, and feeling no manner of inconvenience from that torture. Two of theſe medling with light Women after it, loſt their Speech. *Honorick* having reigned eight years, died of ſickneſs, at which time the *Moors* held *Auraſium* a Mountain of *Numidia*, thirteen days journey Southward from *Carthage*, and there lived in liberty, having ſhaken off the yoke of the *Vandals*, who could not make war againſt ſo high and craggy a Mountain. By the death of *Honorick* the Kingdom came to *Gundamund*, the Son of *Genzo*, and Grandſon of *Genſerick*, having the advantage of years above any of his Race. He had many Battels with the *Moors*, vexed the Chriſtians in the moſt extreme manner, and died in the twelfth year of his Reign. His Brother *Traſamund* ſucceeded, a goodly man, wiſe and magnanimous. He alſo laboured to make the Chriſtians change their Religion, not by Tortures, as his Predeceſſours, but by courting them with Honours and Offices, and with large Gifts; taking no notice of ſuch as would not ſubmit. If he found a man in a great crime, he offered him impunity to change his Religion.

43. Having loſt his Wife, and being without Children, out of deſire to eſtabliſh the Succeſſion, he asked in marriage *Amalaſirda*, the Siſter of *Theoderich*, King of the *Goths*, whoſe Husband was lately dead. He ſent him his Siſter with a Guard of one thouſand ſelected *Goths*, who were followed by five thouſand more fighting Men; and he gave her *Lelybæum*, one of the Promontories of *Sicily*. *Traſamund* ſeemed the moſt powerfull of all thoſe who had governed the *Vandals*, and moſt illuſtrious; yet in his Reign they received a great overthrow from the *Moors*. *Cabaon* who was Prince of the *Moors*, inhabiting about *Tripolis*, a man experienced in many Wars, and very witty, hearing that the *Vandals* would be upon him, firſt injoined his People to forbear unjuſt dealings, delicious diet, and eſpecially the company of Women. He made two Intrenchments; in the one he lodged himſelf and his Men; and in the other he ſhut up the Women, making it death for any Men to go into their Intrenchments. This done, he ſent Spies to *Carthage*, with direction to obſerve what indignities the *Vandals* in their march offered to Chriſtian Churches, and when they were gone from the place, that they ſhould doe the quite contrary. And he ſaid he was ignorant indeed of the God whom the Chriſtians worſhipped; But it was likely, if he was ſo powerfull as they ſaid he was, that he would puniſh thoſe that ſcorned him, and defend thoſe that honoured him. The Spies having obſerved the preparations of the *Vandals* at *Carthage*, followed the Army in a poor diſguiſe toward *Tripolis*. The *Vandals* in their firſt days march lodged in the Churches of the Chriſtians, put into them their Horſes, and other Beaſts, and ſpared no kind of indignity. They practiſed therein all lewdneſs, and beat and whipt the Prieſts they found, commanding them Duties which they impoſed on their meaneſt Slaves.

44. So ſoon as they were gone, the Spies of *Cabaon*, according to their order, cleanſed the Churches, lighted the Lamps, did low reverence to the Prieſts, and uſed them courteouſly, and to many Poor about theſe Churches gave Money, and then followed the *Vandals*. In all the Journey they mended what the *Vandals* did amiſs; and getting before to *Cabaon*, told him how far off the Enemy was, and what they had done to the Churches. He preſently then prepared for a Fight. The Field he choſe to intrench in, he took in with a circle, and placed his Camels ſide-long in a round to fence his Camp, making the Front twelve Camels deep. The Women and Children, unſerviceable Men and Baggage he put in the middle, and his fighting Men he placed within the Legs of thoſe Beaſts, having Shields to ward with. To ſuch a kind of Battalion he *Vandals* knew not what to doe, being neither Archers, nor Darters, nor good Infantry, but moſt Horſemen, uſing the Lance and Sword, and not able to hurt an Enemy afar off. Their Horſes not enduring the ſight of the Camels, would not approach the Enemy, who plying them with Darts from a ſafe place did ſuch execution upon them and their Horſes, that they ran away. The *Moors* followed the chaſe, and took and killed ſo many, that few got home. Such fortune had *Traſamund* with the *Moors*, and after ſeven and twenty years died.

45. *Hilde-*

Hilderick.

Helde-rick, viris eximiis pollens.

45. *Hilderick* the Son of *Honorick*, and Grandſon of *Genſerick*, ſucceeded, a Prince mild to his Subjects, and not harſh to Chriſtians or any elſe, but fainthearted, not enduring to hear of War. *Hoamer* was his General, his Nephew, and a good Souldier, whom they called the *Achilles* of the *Vandals*. In his Reign the *Vandals* loſt a Battel againſt the *Moors* of *Byzacium*, commanded by *Antallas*, and quarrelled with *Theodorich* and the *Goths* in *Italy*. For *Amalafrida* they kept in priſon, and put all the *Goths* that attended her to death; pretending they preached againſt their King and State. And this *Theodorich* was not in capacity to puniſh, wanting a Navy to make war upon *Africk*; and *Hilderick* was an ancient Friend of *Juſtinian*, who then had the Government in his own Hands, (his Uncle *Juſtin* being very old, and not skilled in Affairs of State) and they courted each other with Preſents. But there was of the Race of *Genſerick* one *Gelimer*, the Son of *Gelilac*, the Son (or Nephew by his Son *Genſon*) to *Genſerick*, who being next in years expected to ſucceed *Hilderick*. For War he was renowned, but wicked of diſpoſition, and skilfull in Mutinies and Rapines. *Hilderick* had yielded to him the management of Affairs; but perceiving his Reign to come ſlowly, he could not content himſelf with that condition, but made a Party, and perſuaded the Principal *Vandals* to depoſe *Hilderick* as a Coward, and beaten by the *Moors*, and one who betrayed the State to the Emperour *Juſtin*, to keep the Kingdom from him who was of the other Houſe; and this he ſaid was the intent of the late Embaſſy to *Conſtantinople*. Upon theſe perſuaſions they did ſo. And *Gelimer* being advanced to the Kingdom, ſhut up *Hilderick* in Priſon in the ſeventh year of his Reign; as alſo *Hoamer* and his Brother *Euagees*.

Gelo-mer, Pecunioſus Princeps.

Gelimer cauſeth him to be depoſed, and ſucceeds.

Oam-mer, Cognatorum Princeps, Ewages, pro lege fortis.

Juſtinian interpoſeth in *Hilderick*'s behalf;

46. *Juſtinian*, who was now Emperour, having notice of it, ſent Ambaſſadours, and wrote to *Gelimer*. He told him that he acted not religiouſly, nor as was due to the Teſtament of *Genſerick*, to keep in priſon an old Man of his Bloud, and his King too, if *Genſerick*'s wiſe Conſtitution was worth any thing; and to force him from a Kingdom, which ſhortly he would have by Law. He adviſed him not to proceed in Evil, nor change the Title of a *King* for that of an *Uſurper* for a little advantage of time; but to let him carry the Image of Royalty to his Grave (into which he was ſtepping) he having the management of it already; and having the Subſtance to attend upon the Law of *Genſerick* for the Name. If ſo he did, he would find God propitious, and him his Friend. *Gelimer* herewith was onely ſo far concerned, as to ſend away the Ambaſſadours diſſatisfied, to put out *Hoamer*'s Eyes, and to keep *Hilderick* and *Euagees* in ſtraiter priſon, accuſing them to have attempted an eſcape to *Conſtantinople*. Upon this *Juſtinian* ſent other Ambaſſadours, and told him that he did not think he would have done quite contrary to his Advice. But ſeeing it pleaſed him thus to get a Kingdom, he bid him take what Fortune gave him; but he would have him ſend *Hilderick*, and blind *Hoamer* and his Brother to *Conſtantinople*, to get ſuch comfort as men were capable of, who had loſt Kingdoms and Eyeſight. If this he refuſed to doe, he would not endure it. The hope they had in his Friendſhip, he ſaid, induced him thus to act in their behalf; and the Treaties with *Genſerick* could be no obſtacle, being not to make war upon, but to vindicate his Succeſſour.

But in vain.

47. To this *Gelimer* gave an Anſwer, which had this direction; King *Gelimer* to the Emperour *Juſtinian*. He told him he had neither taken the Kingdom by force, nor committed impiety againſt his own Bloud. That the *Vandals* depoſed *Hilderick* for practiſing againſt the Houſe of *Genſerick*. That time had called him to the Kingdom, giving him his right of Elderſhip according to Law. That it was good for a man to govern what he himſelf had, and not incroach upon other Mens Cares; and 'twas juſt in him who had a Kingdom of his own, not to be thus medling. If he broke the Treaties and invaded, he would oppoſe him to his power, calling to witneſs the Oath ſworn by *Zeno*, whoſe Succeſſour he was. *Juſtinian* was angry before, but theſe Letters more excited him to revenge. And being, *Procopius* ſaith, an acute Deviſer, and nimble in execution, he reſolved to conclude the *Perſian* War ſpeedily, and then to invade *Africk*. *Beliſarius* General of the Eaſt was then at Court, and ſent for; but not a word of his leading an Army into *Africk*. It was given out that he was diſcharged of his Command; and the *Perſian* perpetual Peace was newly made. But all being well at home, and with *Perſia*, the Conſultation was held with the great Officers we lately mentioned, whereby the Emperour was diverted, till animated again to the Enterprize by the Eaſtern Biſhop.

48. *Tripolis* was already in the Emperour's Hands, being betrayed by *Pudentius* a Native. *Pudentius* was protected by *Godas* a *Goth*, and Servant of *Gelimer*, a

man pragmatical and courageous, and ſeeming moſt affected to his Maſter. To him *Gelimer* had committed the care of *Sardinia*, and to collect the Tributes there; but his mind not digeſting ſuch a Fortune, he uſurped the Iſland, and denied to ſend the Tributes, keeping them to himſelf. Underſtanding that *Juſtinian* ſought occaſion of a War with *Gelimer*, he wrote to him, and told him that not out of ingratitude, or ſuffering any diſfavour from his Maſter, he had thought upon a Revolt: But conſidering the Man's cruelty, both to Kindred and Subjects, he would not willingly be a partaker of the ſame. He ſaid it was better to ſerve a Rightfull Emperour, than a Tyrant who commanded things unlawfull. He prayed him therefore to conſider the weightineſs of the Enterprize, and to ſend him Forces to defend him from an Invaſion. The Emperour ſent *Eulogius* to him, and in an Anſwer commended his Wiſedom and Zeal to Juſtice, and promiſed Aides, and a General ſufficient to keep the Iſland, with aſſiſtence otherwiſe, that the *Vandals* ſhould not hurt him. *Eulogius* being come into *Sardinia*, found *Godas* had taken the Title and Habit of a King, and got a Guard about him. To the Emperour's Letters he replied, that for Souldiers, he deſired them, but had no need of a General; and diſmiſt *Eulogius*.

Juſtinian's preparations for the War.

Preparations for the War with the *Vandals*.

Joan.Leoncl. procæmio in Zozim. vide Aleman. in Procopii Hiſtor. ſecret.

49. *Juſtinian* had prepared four hundred Men, commanded by *Cyrill*, to defend the Iſland for *Godas*. He had in readineſs for the Expedition of *Carthage* ten thouſand Foot, and five thouſand Horſe, levied of the Legionaries and Confederates; for tranſporting of whom were appointed five hundred Veſſels, of which none were of more burthen than fifty thouſand *Medimni*, nor of leſs than thirty thouſand; now a *Medimnus* contained ſix *Modii*, in weight one hundred and eighty pounds. They were manned with twenty thouſand Mariners, moſt *Ægyptians*, *Ionians* and *Cilicians*: the Admiral of the whole Fleet being *Calonymus*, an *Alexandrian*. In caſe of a Sea-fight, they had ninety two Pinnaces, called then *Dromones* for their ſwiftneſs (for the uſe and names of *Triremes* and *Liburnæ* were then grown out of date;) with one row of Oars and Decks over the head to cover them from the Enemies Shot, having aboard no Paſſengers but two thouſand Rowers from *Conſtantinople*. *Archelaus* a Patritian, formerly *Præfectus Prætorio*, in *Conſtantinople* and *Illyricum*, went Prefect of the Camp; for ſo they called the Officer who made proviſion for the Army. Over them all was *Beliſarius* Commander in chief, with abſolute authority, whom by a ſpecial Commiſſion the Emperour impowered to act and doe as he ſhould think fit; ratifying and confirming all things ſo acted and done, as if he himſelf had given the orders. He was attended by many Launciers and Targetiers, old tried Souldiers. He was born, not in *Germany*, as ſome of that Nation would have it, but in *Germania*, a City of *Thrace*, in the Confines of *Illyricum*, which was a Metropolis, and is mentioned in the Sanctions of the Eaſtern Biſhops. *Procopius* ſaith expreſly that this *Germania* lay betwixt the *Thracians* and *Illyrians*; and he had reaſon to know, being both his Contemporary, and his Aſſeſſor in this very expedition; being at firſt afraid of the Voyage, but afterward incouraged and made eager upon it by a Dream, which he himſelf relateth.

Procop. de bello Vandal. lib. 1. *& ex Hiſt. ſecret.*

Beliſarius the General taketh Ship.

50. In the ſeventh year of *Juſtinian's* Reign, about the Summer Solſtice, the Army imbarked, and *Beliſarius* commanded the Admiral Gally to ride under the Palace. Thither came *Epiphanius* the Patriarch, and having made ſuch Prayers as were ſuitable to the occaſion, put aboard a Souldier newly baptized, whoſe Godfather and Godmother were *Beliſarius*, and his Wife *Antonina*, who named him *Theodoſius*, the Man being one of their own Retainers, and much valued by them. Thus the ſaid General and his Wife put to Sea, with *Procopius* in their company, having received the Patriarch's benediction in the manner related; for the Ancient Chriſtians put a great ſtreſs upon Baptiſm, holding that by it all Sins were forgiven to the Parties, (which made them defend it till the period of their lives;) and that an Action could not better be hallowed and bleſſed than by celebration of that Sacrament. The Fleet following the Admiral, and coming to *Perinthus* (at that time called *Heraclia*) ſtaid there five days, whence ſailing to *Abydus* they were becalmed four days, and ſo had time to mutiny about two *Maſſagetes*, whom the General had cauſed to be crucified for killing in their drink one of their Countreymen. Having by a Speech appeaſed the minds of the Souldiers, and perſuaded them to live ſoberly, he painted the Maſts of his own Ship and two others, aboard of which was his Train, with red from the top about a third part, and ſet up high Poles in the Stern, on which he hung Lanthorns that they might be ſeen both by day and night, and thereby the Fleet be kept together. By this means he procured that not one Veſſel was caſt behind; and when they weighed Anchor from any Harbor, the Trumpets were ſounded to give warning. From *Abydus* a ſtiff gale brought them to *Sige-*

to *Sigeum*, whence, being becalmed, they came to *Malea*, where the calm ſtood them in good ſtead, the want of Sea-room for ſo great a Fleet ſo much indangering the Ships by night, that although the Mariners behaved themſelves very well, calling out, and with their long Poles thruſting and keeping diſtance from one another, yet had the Wind been great, they could hardly have kept from falling foul, and indangering the Fleet. Getting clear, they reached *Tænarus*, at that time called *Cænopolis*; whence coming to *Methone*, and the wind not ſerving, the General landed his whole Army.

The Army ſuffers through the Avarice of *John* the *Cappadocian.*

51. Here he modelled the Army, and diſtributed the Commands thereof, wherein when he buſied himſelf, lying Wind-bound, many of his Souldiers died of a ſickneſs, occaſioned by the avarice of *John* the *Cappadocian* lately mentioned. The Bread for the Army, that it might not quickly corrupt, was wont to be twice baked (whereupon it was called *panis biſcoctus*, or Bisket) ſo that of neceſſity the Souldiers muſt have a fourth part leſs in weight. Now this *John* the Prefect, that he might ſpend leſs wood and wages upon the Bakers, and alſo gain by the weight, brought the Loaves unbaked to the publick Bath, called *Achilli*, where putting them into the Stove, under which the fire was made; when they were thus ſorrily baked, he ſent it in ſacks to the Fleet. Being come to *Methone*, the Bread turned to dough, grew mouldy, corrupt and muſty; but ſuch as it was, the Officers diſtributed it to the Souldiers, who feeding on it in Summer, in a place of extreme heats, fell ſick, and more than five hundred died; and more had, but that *Beliſarius* procured Bread of the Countrey adjoining, for which he received thanks from the Emperour, but as then could not get *John* to be puniſhed. From *Methone* they ſailed to the Port of *Zante*, where taking in freſh Water, and other neceſſaries, in ſixteen days they paſſed the *Adriatick* Sea, (ſo *Procopius* calls that which others know by the name of *Ionian*) and with a ſlack wind arrived at a deſart place of *Sicily*, near to Mount *Ætna*, having all their Water corrupted, except what was drank at the General's Table, which his Wife had preſerved in ſix Veſſels of Glaſs, covered thick with Sand in the Hold, where no Sun could come. *Beliſarius* was now got hither, but he wiſt not well himſelf to what purpoſe, neither knowing what Souldiers the *Vandals* were, nor how, nor whence to make the war upon them; the Souldiers alſo were ſo fearfull, that they ſhamed not to profeſs, that as on Land they would doe their beſt, ſo if the Enemies Fleet ſhould appear, they would fly, not being able to fight with them and the Waters too. In this perplexity he ſent *Procopius*, his Aſſeſſor, to *Syracuſe*, to make what enquiries he could, and then to meet him at *Caucana*, twenty ſeven miles diſtant from *Syracuſe*, where the Fleet ſhould ride at Anchor. He was fully informed by an old Friend of his, concerning all circumſtances; as that there was no fear of the *Vandals* way-laying them, becauſe there was not any report of an Army coming, their beſt Souldiers being ſent againſt *Godas*, and *Gelimer* being ſo ſecure, that neglecting *Carthage*, and the Sea Towns, he made his abode at *Hermione*, near *Byzacium*, four days journey from any Sea. The General receiving this intelligence with great joy, weighed Anchor, and ſailed by the Iſlands of *Gaula* and *Malta*, whence with an Eaſterly wind they came the ſecond day upon the Coaſt of *Africk*, to a place called *Caputuada*, five days journey from *Carthage*.

Beliſarius lands.

52. *Beliſarius* commanding Anchor to be caſt, called a Council of Officers to conſult about landing, and how to begin the War; ſome were for paſſing directly towards *Carthage*, both becauſe in a tedious march through the Countrey they ſhould meet with many hazards and inconveniences, and leave their Ships at the mercy of the Sea; or of their Enemies. But *Beliſarius* conſidering that above all things his Men abhorred a Sea-fight, and that if he ſailed directly toward *Carthage*, in all probability he muſt come to an ingagement, reſolved to land forthwith; and taking the Horſe they had brought with them, Arms and other neceſſaries, to intrench within a good Rampire, and thence to begin the War. The Rampire was finiſhed the ſame day, and their ſucceſs therein was double, lighting upon a Spring in digging, which ſupplied both Men and Beaſts with water, a thing never heard of before in that dry Tract of *Byzacium*. Having ſecured the Ships by appointing eight Archers to each, and the light Gallies to lie round about them; by *Boraides*, one of his Life-guard, he took in *Syllectus*, a Sea-town in the way to *Carthage*, the Townſmen willingly delivering up the Keys. The ſame day the Maſter of *Gelimer's* Poſts revolted, giving up his Horſes; and one of the *Veredarii*, or Poſts themſelves was taken, whom the General would not ſuffer to receive any hurt, but giving him a good quantity of Gold, took his oath to deliver *Juſtinian's* Letters, which he had written to the *Vandals*, into the hands of the Governours. They were written to this purpoſe; that, *It was not his intent to make war upon the* Vandals, *nor infringe the*

Treaty formerly made between Genſerick *and his Predeceſſors, but to free them from an Vſurper, who neglecting that King's Teſtament, kept their Lawfull Prince in Priſon, and otherwiſe afflicted and tormented thoſe of his Bloud. He exhorted them to join with him in this good work, to the end that they might enjoy peace and liberty, which to obſerve inviolably to them, he made Oath to Almighty God.* The Man took the Letters, but durſt not ſhew them to any, except ſome private Friends, and ſo nothing material came of this Project.

53. *Beliſarius* beginning his march for *Carthage*, ordered it in this manner. To the Right hand was the Sea, and therefore on that ſide was no danger, the Fleet by his order keeping them company. A Forlorn-hope, conſiſting of three hundred Targetiers, he committed to *John* the Controller of his Houſhold, by the *Romans* called *Optio*, being an *Armenian*, and a man eminent both for valour and conduct. Directing him to march ſome two miles and a half before, he commanded the *Maſſagetes* to keep on the left hand of the Army, himſelf bringing up the Rere, with his beſt Men, and expecting *Gelimer* to come ſhortly from *Hermione*. He governed his Souldiers ſo well in his paſſage, that by their ſobriety and temperance he gained much upon the *Africans*, ſo that he marcht as in his own Countrey, the People neither removing themſelves nor goods, but giving free Market, and doing all offices of kindneſs to his Men. *Gelimer* hearing of their approach, wrote to his Brother *Ammatas* at *Carthage*, to kill *Hilderick* with his Relations, and arming ſuch *Vandals* as well he might, at a Town called *Decimum*, about eight miles from *Carthage*, where was a narrow Paſſage, to charge the Enemy on both ſides, and intrap him. He accordingly killed *Hilderick* with *Evagees* his Couſin, *Oamer* being dead before; and prepared his Men for the deſign of *Decimum*. *Gelimer* alſo ſent his Nephew *Gibamund* with two thouſand *Vandals* to keep on the Enemies left hand, that ſo *Ammatas* from *Carthage*, he himſelf in their Rere, and *Gibamund* on their left hand charging together might encompaſs them. Thus was the Plot laid. As to the ſucceſs, *Ammatas* came to *Decimum* three hours before his time, both the Armies of *Romans* and *Vandals* being then ſhort of the Place. And he came but with a few, and thoſe not of the beſt neither, leaving the main Body in *Carthage* to follow after. He killed twelve ſtout Fellows in the head of *John*'s Troops, but fighting valiantly was himſelf ſlain, at the ſight whereof his Men were diſcouraged, and running away, cauſed the main Body to fly, who marching out of order, and ſeeing their Fellows running, turned head, and imagining great numbers purſued, fled back for company. In the purſuit *John*'s Troops did great execution, killing up to the Gates of *Carthage* for eight miles length ſuch a number, that one would have gueſt it a work of twenty thouſand Men at leaſt.

Ammatas ſive Ambt-haiʒ, Miniſteriis Imperans.

Gibamund ſive Gaue-Mund, Purum Os.

54. At the ſame time *Gibamund* with his two thouſand Men falling into the hands of the *Maſſagetes*, periſhed every Mother's Son without any reſiſtence, at the Salt Plains, five miles from *Decimum*. *Beliſarius* having no notice of any of theſe Accidents marched towards *Decimum*; four miles from which, in a convenient place, he intrenched himſelf. There having made an incouraging Speech to his Army, and a Prayer to Almighty God, he left the guard of his Wife and Camp to the Foot, and ſallied with his Horſe, ſending the Confederates before him. The Confederates had not long continued their march when they were encountred by the *Vandals*, and *Gelimer* at the head of them, by whom they were eaſily put to flight, running away to a Town leſs than a mile from *Decimum*, where was *Vliaris*, one of *Beliſarius* his Life-guard, and eight hundred of his Targetiers. Here the *Vandals*, concluding that *Vliaris* would receive them ſtoutly, made an hault, although his Troops fled amain to *Beliſarius*; and *Gelimer* having the Victory in his hands, careleſly quitted it. If he had followed on the chaſe, the General himſelf had not ſtood him, but all had been utterly ruined, ſo vaſt ſeemed the number of the *Vandals*, and ſo great was the fear of the *Romans*. Had he rode on towards *Carthage*, he had defeated the Troops of *John*, then wholly diſordered and intent upon the Plunder of the Field; whereby he ſhould have ſaved the City, become Maſter of the Enemies Ships, and cut off both all victory and hope of a ſafe return. But he did none of theſe things, riding ſoftly down the Hill, and then in the Plain, ſpending the time in lamentations after he had found his Brother's Body, and neglecting ſuch an opportunity, as thenceforth he could never recover. For *Beliſarius* cauſed his flying and diſperſed Men to rally, and animated upon report of the ſucceſs of *John* againſt *Ammatas*, after he was ſufficiently informed, both concerning the Enemy and the Place, marched againſt *Gelimer* and his *Vandals*. They being unprepared, and in diſorder, ran away amain; and the execution laſting till night, many of them fell. The reſt fled not to *Carthage*, nor *Byzacium*, whence they came, but

Defeats *Gelimer*.

towards the Plains of *Bule*, and the way to *Numidia*. In the Evening *John* and the *Maſſagetes* came up with the Army, and both telling and receiving joyfull News, lodged with it that night at *Decimum*.

55. The next day, the Foot coming up with the General's Lady, they marcht toward *Carthage*, and arriving within night, lodged abroad without the City, although they might have ſafely enough entred, for the *Carthaginians* had ſet open their Gates, the City ſhined all night with Lights and Bonfires, and the *Vandals* were fled to the Churches. The ſame day the Fleet having made the Promontory, the Citizens opened the Iron Chain of their Haven *Mandracium* to let it in, yet the Admiral not knowing of their intent, put into the Bay, called the Pool, five miles diſtant from the City, very commodious to harbour in, and capable of receiving the whole Fleet, of which the Haven was not. The next day the General commanded the Men aſhore, and fearing the Ambuſhes of the Enemy, marched to *Carthage* in order of battel, but entred without reſiſtence, having firſt put the Souldiers in mind what effects their moderation toward the *Africans* had produced; and admoniſhed them to continue their good order, eſpecially in *Carthage*. Paſſing directly to the Court, he ſate down in *Gelimer's* Throne, and commanded his Dinner to be given him in the place where *Gelimer* was wont to make his great Feaſts, by the *Romans* called *Delphica*, from a threefooted Table ſtanding in the Palace at *Rome*, which ſerved for the Emperour's Cupboard, firſt uſed at *Delphos*, and now at *Conſtantinople*, and thence whereſoever the Emperour's Table ſtood, they called the Room *Delphica*. Here the General dined with his Officers of that Proviſion which the day before had been made for *Gelimer*, whoſe Servants brought in the Meat, and waited at the Table, ſo that he attained (all circumſtances conſidered) an Honour ſcarcely to be parallell'd; moreover the Souldiers were not wont to enter into any *Roman* City, if but five hundred together, without ſome ſudden diſorder; yet did he ſo manage his Matters, that there was not the leaſt inſolence nor menacing word uſed. There was no interruption of Trade; but in a City newly taken, and full of Souldiers, in a State quite changed, all things ran in their former chanel, not a Man having his Houſe or Shop either ſhut up, or moleſted. The publick Scribes aſſigned Quarters to the Souldiers by Tickets, who bought what they liked in the Market, as when all things are in deep ſilence and ſecurity, and not a ſyllable ſpoken of War.

Enters *Carthage*

in wonderfull order and quietneſs.

56. Thus was the old Prophecy, frequently in the mouths of the Boyes, verified in *Africk*; that *Gamma* muſt expell *Beta*, and *Beta* ſhould expell *Gamma* again; *Genſerick* having firſt driven out *Boniface*, and now *Beliſarius* having outed *Gelimer*. The General gave his word to the *Vandals* that were fled to the Churches, and took order for repairing the Walls of *Carthage*, which were ſo ruinous, that *Gelimer* did not think it ſafe to truſt himſelf in the City. *Gelimer* in the mean time playing at ſmall games, procured by money and fair words the Peaſants to kill many ſtragling Slaves and Attendants upon the Army, who pilfred about the Villages, at the ſight of their Heads much rejoycing, as at the loſs of ſo many Souldiers. His Brother *Tzazon*, who having arrived with his Fleet in *Sardinia*, at the Port of *Carnalis*, had taken the Town at the firſt onſet and ſlain *Godas* with his Souldiers, hearing that the Emperour's Fleet was upon the Coaſt of *Africk*, but nothing of the Succeſs. Therefore did he write to *Gelimer* a triumphant Letter, the Bearers whereof ſailed into the Haven of *Carthage* without the leaſt thought of an Enemy, and were brought by the Watch before *Beliſarius*, who took their Letters, and diſmiſſed them in ſafety. This Paſſage reſembled another done much upon the ſame time in *Spain*, whither, before the arrival of the *Romans*, *Gelimer* had ſent two Ambaſſadours to *Theudis*, Prince of the *Viſigoths*, about a League and Alliance. *Theudis* had heard all before, by reaſon of their ſlow Journeys, from a Merchant-man, who ſet ſail from *Carthage* the ſame day, that the *Romans* entred it with a fair gale of Wind, and him he commanded not to divulge the News. When he asked the Ambaſſadours their buſineſs, and they propounded a League; he bid them go to the Seaſide, and there they ſhould hear how their Affairs ſtood at home, which they taking for an idle Speech of a Man in drink, neglected it, returning no reply. But the day following, when they propounded the ſame thing, and had the very ſame anſwer, they perceived there was ſome great change in *Africk*; yet not imagining that any thing had happened at *Carthage*, ſailed thither, and landing near the Town, fell among the Souldiers. Being brought to the General, they revealed their buſineſs, and were alſo diſmiſſed without receiving any harm.

Taſo, Tato, Tazo, apud Paulum, Trazo apud Procopium —— *Alem. Taſſo, Tatto coacervator. Goda bonus.*

Godas ſlain.

Theud-hais. Populis Imperans.

57. During theſe Motions and Changes in *Africk*, *Cyrill*, whom *Juſtinian* had ordered to the aſſiſtence of *Godas*, came to *Sardinia*; but hearing what was become of him,

Gelimer makes the beſt of the worſt of Fortunes.

Enſigns of principality amongſt the *Moors*.

of him, he ſailed to *Carthage*, where he found *Beliſarius* and the *Roman* Army victorious. *Solomon* the Aſſiſtent of *Beliſarius*, ſuch an Officer as the *Romans* called *Domeſticus*, being an Eunuch not by deſign, but by accident in his ſwathing Clouts, was ſent to the Emperour to give him an account of the Succeſs. As for *Gelimer*, he made the beſt of the worſt of Fortunes, in the Plains of *Bule*, near the Border of *Numidia*, and four days journey from *Carthage*, gathering together the *Vandals*, and ſuch *Moors* as were well affected to him, though *Jews*, and without diſcipline. For their Governours throughout *Mauritania*, *Numidia* and *Byzacium* had profered by their Ambaſſadours their Service to the Emperour, ſome of them ſending their Sons to *Beliſarius* for Hoſtages, and deſiring to receive from him Enſigns of Principality. It was an ancient Cuſtome, that none might govern thoſe *Moors* before he had received thoſe Badges from the Emperour, yea, though he were an Enemy to the *Romans*; and taking them now from the *Vandals*, they did not eſteem their Government firm and lucky. Theſe Enſigns were a ſilver Rod gilt, a ſilver Cap, not covering the whole Head, but ſet upright like a Crown with ſilver Wire; a white Covering, faſtened together with a golden Claſp over the Right Shoulder, in the manner of a *Theſſalian* Mantle; a white Robe embroidered; and a gilt Shooe. *Beliſarius* both ſent them all theſe, and Money alſo, yet did they not join with him, but ſtood a-loof as Neuters, watching the event of the War. *Gelimer* wrote a lamentable Letter to his Brother *Tzazon*, wherein having given an account how *Africk* was become a Prey to the *Romans*, through the cowardize and negligence of the *Vandals*, he deſired him to quit *Sardinia*, and come to him with his whole Fleet. *Tzazon* and his *Vandals* with grief and lamentations obeyed his Orders; and when they came up to the Army on the Plains of *Bule*, ſo ſad a greeting was betwixt them, as cannot be expreſt, and as would have moved the Enemy with compaſſion and a ſenſe of the ſlippery condition of Mankind. The two Brothers embracing each other, could not be parted, ſaying nothing but by tears, expreſſing their inward grief. In like manner did the others embrace them that came from *Sardinia*, being all ſtruck with ſuch conſternation and amazement at the preſent poſture of their Affairs, that what at another time would have been very important, was not now ſo much as thought of. For *Gelimer* neither enquired any thing concerning *Godas*, nor *Tzazon* after what had happened in *Africk*, although the Place where they now were, hinted thoſe and ſuch like things ſufficiently to them. There was not a word ſpoken of their Wives or Children, they well enough perceiving that ſuch as they ſaw not in that Place, were either certainly dead, or in captivity; with which words *Procopius* concludes the Firſt Book of his Hiſtory of the *Vandal* Wars.

Procop. Hiſt. Vandal. lib. 2.

58. Nevertheleſs, when a little time had diſburthened their grief, and made way for conſideration, *Gelimer* led them againſt *Carthage*, where he cut off the Aqueduct of the City, a Piece of excellent Workmanſhip; and after a little ſtay, when no Enemy ſallied out, he retired, quartering his Men in the adjoining Towns, and blocking up the City, as he ſuppoſed. His Men expecting that the *Carthaginians* would betray it into their Hands, and looking upon the Countrey no otherwiſe than their own, kept very good order; they hoped that ſuch *Romans* as were *Arians* would join with them, and by large promiſes invited the Commanders of the *Hunnes* to their ſide, who were nothing affected to the *Romans*, complaining that they had been trepanned into *Conſtantinople* by *Peter* the General. They agreed to the Propoſals of the *Vandals*, and promiſed when they came to fight, to turn their Power againſt the *Romans*. But *Beliſarius* having ſmelt out the Plot, firſt nailed to a Croſs one *Laurus* a *Carthaginian*, convicted of Treaſon, and then ſo won upon the *Maſſagetes*, or *Hunnes*, by courtſhip, and inviting them to his Table, that he got out of them the whole matter propounded by *Gelimer*; and whereas the apprehenſion of two things diſguſted their minds, and aliened them from the ſervice of the Emperour; the one a Jealouſie, that though the *Vandals* were ſubdued, they ſhould not be diſmiſſed to their own Countrey, but be worn out in *Africk*; the other, that their Booty ſhould be taken from them; he by Oath aſſured them, that neither of theſe things ſhould be done; and in like manner bound them by Oath to aſſiſt him with all alacrity. Having then by a Speech exhorted his Army not to ſuffer the Conqueſt which was even almoſt atchieved, to fall out of their Hands, he ſent out all the Horſe, except five hundred, under Command of *John* the *Armenian*, to attacque the Enemy as he ſhould ſee occaſion. He himſelf, the day following, with theſe five hundred Horſe and all the Foot followed. The *Maſſagetes* reſolved to keep their word ſo with both Parties, as to expect the event, and join with the Conquerours. The *Roman* Army overtook the *Vandals* at *Tricamar*, ſeventeen miles from *Carthage*, and encamping at a reaſonable diſtance from them, about

midnight ſome of them were troubled at the ſight of a great Prodigy. Fire ſeemed to faſten upon the points of their Spears, the heads of them appearing red and glowing hot. Thoſe few that ſaw it were amazed, ſolicitous about the Event. But when the ſame happened afterward in *Italy*, they were incouraged, and took it for an undoubted ſign of Victory and good ſucceſs.

59. The next day *Gelimer* placed the Wives and Children of his *Vandals*, with all their Wealth in the midſt of the Camp, which was not fortified by any Work, and then calling them together, propounded that object to them as alone ſufficient to excite their Valour, the Conteſt being as he ſaid not for Empire, Dominion or Honour; but what was their All, their utmoſt hopes and deareſt Pledges. He cauſed his Brother *Tzazon* to uſe the ſame exhortations to his men apart, and then moving toward the Enemy about Noon, when the *Romans* took their Dinner, faced them upon the Bank of a Brook, keeping his men in good order. The *Romans* on the oppoſite Bank put themſelves alſo in order, and ſo they ſtood facing each other a good while, till *John* by *Beliſarius* his order with a few ſelect men paſſed the Brook, and charged the main Body of the *Vandals*, but was ſo warmly received by *Tzazon*, that he was glad to retreat, being purſued to the Brook by the *Vandals*, who yet durſt not venture over; *John* renewed the charge the ſecond time, and was repulſed, but at the third onſet had better Fortune, though the Barbarians valiantly received them, fighting onely with their Swords according to *Gelimer's* Command. The Fight growing ſharp many *Vandals* fell, and amongſt them *Tzazon* himſelf, after which came on the whole *Roman* Cavalry, and paſſing the Brook charged the Enemy. Now was the Quarrel quickly determined, each one with eaſe routing his Oppoſite, which the *Hunnes* perceiving, according to their former reſolution joyned with the *Romans* in the chaſe, though it laſted not long, the *Vandals* recovering their Camp, and the other not thinking themſelves able to graple with them in their Entrenchment. The *Vandals* loſt eight hundred of their men, and the *Romans* fifty, who retired alſo to their Camp. But *Beliſarius* when his Foot was come up, in the Evening marcht with his whole Army to the Camp of the *Vandals*, which *Gelimer* ſeeing, without ſpeaking one word, or giving any directions, took Horſe and fled toward *Numidia*, accompanied onely with a few of his Domeſticks and Relations, who covered all with a confuſed ſilence. When the *Vandals* perceived he was gone, and the Evening coming upon them, the men were in a tumult, the Women ſhrieked, the Children cried, and every one forgetting his natural affection for others, made what ſhift he could for himſelf. The *Romans* following the Chaſe all Night, killed the men they could reach, and made Slaves of their Women and Children. In the Camp they found ſo great a maſs of Wealth, as never the like had been ſeen in any other. For the *Vandals* had long ranſackt the *Roman* Provinces, beſides what riches they had hoarded up for the ſpace of ninety five years, out of the Commodities of that plentifull Countrey. But thus were they utterly defeated, and deprived of all they had ſcraped together, three months after the Arrival of the *Romans* at *Carthage*, at the end of *December*, in the ſeventh year of *Juſtinian's* Reign, of our Lord the DXXXIII, the Emperour himſelf the third time being Conſul.

Beliſarius again overthrows the *Vandals*.

60. The *Roman* Souldiers being ſo ſuddenly and unexpectedly become Maſters of ſo great Riches, were intoxicated with their good Fortune to ſuch a height, that they ſtragled up and down, wholly intent upon Plunder, not regarding the preſence or authority of their General, ſo that had the *Vandals* rallied and come upon them, not one had eſcaped, and lived to enjoy what they ſcrambled for with ſuch greedineſs. *Beliſarius* having, with very much adoe, reduced them to ſome reaſonable Order, Commanded *John* the *Armenian* with all ſpeed to purſue *Gelimer*, and ſuch *Vandals* as were found in Churches, having given them aſſurance of their ſafety, he ſent under Guards to *Carthage*. *John* after five days came up very near to *Gelimer*, but was deprived of his hopes of taking him, and his Life together, by one *Uliaris* a Lancier of *Beliſarius*, a drolling and drunken Companion, who ſhooting at a Bird upon a Tree, miſſed his mark but ſhot him into the Neck, of which hurt he died ſoon after; leaving a great miſs of him both to Prince and People, ſuch was his valour, vertue and moderation. *Beliſarius* coming preſently after, continued the purſuit as far as *Hippo Regia*, a Maritime City in *Numidia*, ten days journey from *Carthage*, where he heard *Gelimer* was got up to *Pappua* a Mountain incompaſſed with Rocks, ſteep and almoſt impaſſable, inhabited by *Moors* his friends and Confederates. He betook himſelf to *Madenos*, an ancient City Situate on its utmoſt border thinking he was ſecure enough from *Beliſarius*, who being not able to attempt the Mountain in that unſeaſonable time, and the ſettlement of affairs

Purſues *Gelimer*.

Returns to *Carthage* where he receives *Gelimer's* Treaſure.

requiring his preſence at *Carthage*, left the Seige to *Pharas*, a valiant, prudent and vertuous man, and ſo much more remarkable, becauſe an *Herulian*, it being rare to find any in that Nation that was not infamous for breach of Faith and Drunkenneſs. The General in his return had the Treaſures of *Gelimer* delivered into his hands by *Boniface*, who was ordered in caſe of a defeat at *Tricamar*, to tranſport them into *Spain* whither the King intended to follow, but attempting ſo to doe, was forced by contrary Winds and Tempeſts into the Haven of *Hippo*. Being come to *Carthage* he ſent Forces to take in ſuch places as had been under the *Vandals*, who poſſeſſed themſelves of *Cæſarea* in *Mauritania*, thirty days Journey from *Carthage* in the way to *Gades*, and *Hircules* Pillars, of the Caſtle of *Septa* one of the Pillars, with the Iſlands *Ebuſa*, *Majorica* and *Minorica*. He reinforced *Tripolis* againſt the *Moors* that preſſed upon it, ſent *Cyrill* back to *Sardinia*, who by ſhewing the Inhabitants the head of *Tzazon*, procured them to yeild, and taking in *Corſica*, (anciently called *Cyrnus*,) made both Iſlands tributaries to the Empire. He ſent ſome alſo to receive the Caſtle of *Lilybæum*, as having been in the Dominions of the *Vandals*; but the *Goths* refuſed to yeild up any part of *Sicily*, and denied the Caſtle to have belonged to the *Vandals*. *Beliſarius* angry hereat, ſent the Commanders a threatning Letter, to which the Queen Regent of *Italy* returned ſo pithy an anſwer, in ſo ſweet and mollifying words, (affirming that *Theodorich* when he Married his Siſter to the *Vandal* King, had onely given that People the liberty of this Mart Town) that he yeilded to her reſolution, of referring the matter to the Emperour himſelf, and ſtanding to his determination.

Gelimer ſorely diſtreſſed in the Mountain *Pappua*.

61. *Pharas* in the mean time growing weary of a Winter Seige, would needs try if he could get up into *Pappua*; but the *Moors* ſo demeaned themſelves, that he was forced to retire with the loſs of an hundred and ten men. Then did he block up all acceſs to the Mountain by diligent Guards and Watches, whereby he brought *Gelimer* and his Relations, who were all delicately bred, to unſpeakable neceſſity and diſtreſs. For a vaſt difference there was betwixt the *Vandals* and thoſe *Moors* that entertained them. The *Vandals* were the moſt effeminate Nation upon Earth, ever after their poſſeſſing of *Africk*, uſing their daily Baths and plentifull Tables, of the choiceſt things which Land and Sea afforded; moſt of them wearing Gold and Silk, and paſſing their time in Theatres, at Horſe-Races and other delights, but eſpecially Hunting. Maſques, Plays, Muſick, pleaſant Groves and Gardens, and dalliance with Women were their ordinary Divertiſements. On the contrary, theſe *Moors* were choaked up in cloſe Huts both Summer and Winter, whence neither the extremity of Cold, nor violence of Heat could drive them. Lying on the Ground, they eſteemed themſelves excellently Lodged, if they got but a Sheeps skin under them. And as their Lodging, ſo their Clothing in Winter and Summer was the ſame; being no other than a thick coarſe Mantle, and a ſhaggy Coat. Bread, Wine or any pleaſant ſort of feeding they uſed none, living on their Wheat, Barley and Rice, without any Boyling or other preparation, than Nature it ſelf afforded, as other Animals. *Gelimer* and his followers, falling from their pleaſant fare, to ſuch harſh and irkſome Diet, and now wanting neceſſaries too, could not hold out any longer, but eſteemed Death moſt pleaſant, and Slavery it ſelf no baſe Condition.

62. *Pharas*, not ignorant of their diſtreſs, thought it ſeaſonable to write to *Gelimer*, wiſhing him to conſider with himſelf, whether it were not better to yeild, and enjoy the dignity of a Patritian, with large Revenues by the favour of the Emperour, than thus to torment himſelf with ſo lingring miſery? Nay whether it were not a Condition rather eligible to be a Slave among *Romans*, begging, than to Reign over the *Moors* of *Pappua*? At the ſight of the Letter he bitterly lamented, and in his anſwer complained much that the Emperour ſhould thus diſturb him, by whom he was never injured in word nor deed, and he begged of *Pharas* that he would ſend him an Harp, a loaf of Bread, and a Sponge. This requeſt *Pharas* knew not how to interpret, till the Bearer told him that the King longed to ſee a baked Loaf, having not beheld ſuch a thing ſince he came to *Pappua*; that he needed a Sponge for one of his Eyes, which was ſwelled with Rheum, and that being skilfull on the Harp, he deſired one to which he might ſing a ſad Ditty, compoſed by himſelf upon his preſent Calamity. *Pharas* touched with a ſenſe of his miſery, and the viciſſitude of humane affairs, ſent him the things deſired, but blocked him up cloſer than ever. Three Winter months were now ſpent in the Siege, yet nothing could Conquer him, till he feared the *Romans* would by degrees get up to him, and the ſight of two Boys fighting for a newly baked Cake ſo affected him, that he preſently wrote to *Pharas*, and promiſed to yield, on condition that *Beliſarius*

Yeilds.

rius would give him aſſurance of ſo good entertainment by the Emperour, as in his Letter he had mentioned. *Beliſarius* overjoyed at the News, as ambitious to preſent him alive to the Emperour, immediately diſpatched away *Cyprian* the Captain of the Confederates towards *Pappua*, to give Oath to him for the ſafety of himſelf and his followers, and alſo that he ſhould have an honourable Rank with the Emperour. *Gelimer* having yielded himſelf, was brought to *Carthage*, and there being preſented before *Beliſarius*, could not forbear Laughing. Some imagined he was diſtracted, through the exceſs of his miſery. But his Friends affirmed him a man of quick apprehenſion, which, when he conſidered how from a King, ſo rich and powerfull, he was become no better than a Slave, poor and deſpicable, and that ſo ſuddenly, forced Laughter from him; the inconſtancy of Fortune, and the ſlipperineſs of humane Condition deſerving no better. And indeed, ſcarcely did Fortune ſhew her power more than in this Captivity of *Gelimer*, who being the fourth Succeſſour of *Genſerick*, to a Kingdom flouriſhing with Wealth and Military men, was Ruined in ſix months time by five thouſand Strangers, who had not ſo much as a place to Anchor in. For ſo many and no more were the Horſe, who either by their Valour or Fortune did the whole buſineſs.

Beliſarius triumphs at *Conſtantinople.*

63. *Beliſarius* acquainted the Emperour, how *Gelimer* was a Priſoner at *Carthage*, and craved leave that he might bring him to *Conſtantinople*, keeping him in the mean time in honourable reſtraint and preparing his Fleet. But ſome of the Inferiour Officers envying him the glory of this enterprize (as is uſual in all great felicities,) accuſed him to the Emperour of Uſurpation, who either deſpiſed it, or thought it beſt to diſſemble, giving him his choice, either to come to *Conſtantinople* with his Priſoners, or to ſtay and ſend them. He having diſcovered the Plot, was earneſt for the Journey, that he might clear the Imputation, and be revenged of his Accuſers; and when he had now taken Ship, the *Moors* of *Byzacium* and *Numidia* broke the Truce and waſted the Countrey. He could not now come back himſelf, but appointed *Solomon* Governour of *Africk*, leaving ſufficient ſtrength for the Repreſſion and Chaſtiſement of the *Moors*, to which afterward the Emperour ſent another Army with *Theodorus* a *Cappadocian*, and *Ildeger*, who had Married the Daughter of *Antonina*, *Beliſarius* his Wife. Being arrived at *Conſtantinople*, he was thought worthy of thoſe ancient Honours which were given to Generals for the greateſt atcheivements, and had been now diſcontinued for ſix hundred years, except when *Titus*, *Trajan*, or ſuch Emperours led the Armies in Perſon, and Conquered ſome barbarous Nation. He triumphed, though not after the ancient manner, going a foot from his own Houſe to the *Circus*, and thence from his Pavilion, to the Emperour's Throne, leading the Priſoners and Spoils through the City. Amongſt the Spoils conſiſting of great Treaſure and Royal furniture, were ſome Monuments of the *Jews*, which being brought to *Rome* by *Titus*, were amongſt infinite Wealth taken thence by *Genſerick* when he ſackt the Palace, and were now, upon ſome words ſpoken by a *Jew*, how they could not continue but where *Solomon* firſt placed them, ſent by *Juſtinian's* order to the Chriſtian Churches in *Jeruſalem*. *Gelimer* wearing a purple Robe amongſt all his Kindred, and the talleſt and beautifulleſt of the *Vandals*, when he ſaw the Emperour ſitting on his Throne, the multitude of Spectatours on both ſides, and himſelf in ſo great Calamity, made no lamentation at all, but ſtill repeated that of the Preacher, *Vanity of Vanities, all is Vanity*. Being come to the Throne, they deveſted him of the purple Robe, and cauſed him to fall on his face and adore the Emperour. The ſame did the General, who interceding in his behalf, he had Towns of good value aſſigned him in *Galatia*, where he was permitted to dwell, not being admitted a *Patritian*, becauſe he would not change his *Arian* Religion. *Hilderick's* Children had large means beſtowed on them, as the deſcendants of *Valentinian*. Not long after, thoſe Honours were added to *Beliſarius*, which formerly had been proper to ancient Triumphs. Being made Conſul, he was carried on the Shoulders of Captives, and drawn in a Chariot, from which he caſt of the Spoils of the *Vandals* amongſt the People, which ſcrambling for Plate, golden Girdles, and other curious things of the Royal Treaſure was much pleaſed, not onely for getting ſuch things into their hands, but for beholding the Solemnities of their Anceſtours revived; of which they had heard much but ſeen nothing. And ſo did they rejoyce and careſs the Conquerour at *Conſtantinople*.

The Government ſetled in *Africk* by *Juſtinian.*

64. Leaving the Triumph for the Conqueſt, let us, as it's more material, ſee how the Countrey of *Africk* was ſetled, and under what Government. Before ſuch time as it became a Prey to the barbarous Nations it was ſubject, as we have formerly ſeen, to the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Italy*. But now *Juſtinian* having recovered it, and over joy'd at ſo tranſcendent a Providence, reſolved it ſhould have a Præfect of

its own, and gave the charge to one *Archelaus*, to whom he directs a Conſtitution under that title, therein making proviſion for his port and dignity. His Seat he tells him he will have at *Carthage*, and under him ſeven Provinces ſubject to their ſeveral Governours, whereof *Tingi* or *Zeugia*, and (which formerly was *Proconſular*) *Carthage*, and *Byzacium* and *Tripolis* ſhould be governed by *Conſulares*, but the reſt, *viz.* *Numidia*, *Mauritania* and *Sardinia* (for this Iſland he joyned to *Africk*) by their ſeveral Preſidents. He allowed him for his Attendance, and inferiour Officers ſuch as we have formerly deſcribed, ſerving in his Office and Service, three hundred and ninty ſix Perſons. Then doth he expreſly forbid all exactions upon the Subject, which as he ſaith he hates in all places, but eſpecially abominates in *Africk*, ſo lately recovered from Captivity, that as yet it hath not had time to breathe. He appoints how much the Officers both Military and Civil, ſhall give for their Commiſſions, forbidding the Prefect's Servants to exceed the rate upon pain of Death, after which he ſettles the allowance to the Prefect himſelf, the *Conſulares*, Preſidents and all their Inferiour Miniſters, ordaining that it ſhould take effect from the firſt of *September* of the thirteenth Indiction. He concludes by giving ſtrength and virtue to what the Prefect ſhould ordain, according to this his Conſtitution, telling him that as for Military matters, reſpecting his Province he would provide by another Sanction.

Cod. Juſtin lib. 1. tit. 27. l. 1. pag. 50.

Civil.

65. This Sanction he directs to *Beliſarius*, under the title of *Magiſter Militum* of the Eaſt, beginning it as the former, with a very pious and Chriſtian Preface. He ordains firſt at what places the ſeveral *Duces* ſhall reſide. He charges him that a continual Guard be kept at the Straits of *Gibraltar*, or the Caſtle called *Septa*, under a Tribune both prudent and faithfull, who upon occaſion ſhall give notice to the *Dux*, and he to *Beliſarius* of any motions; he would have alſo in the Straits mouth a certain number of *Dromones*, or ſwift Barkes perpetually kept. In *Sardinia* he Commands him to ſettle one of thoſe Officers called *Duces*, with a ſufficient power to ſecure the borders againſt Barbarians, and gives expreſs charge for recovery of the ancient *Roman* bounds, to which end he will have Souldiers that ſhall watch conſtantly upon the borders. He charges the Officers to Train and Exerciſe their men, not ſuffering them to ſtraggle from their Enſigns, and forbids them the raiſing of any profit or advantage out of their Pay, upon pein of fining four times as much, beſides caſheering. All violence towards the Subject, he ſeverely prohibits. Gives power to *Beliſarius*, to inlarge or leſſen the Forts and Towns, upon the Frontiers as he ſhall ſee occaſion. And then ſets down how much every Officer ſhall be allowed, to commence from the firſt of *September* of the thirteenth Indiction, as alſo what ſhall be paid at the Offices of the *Præfectus Prætorio*, and the *Magiſter Militum*, for recording the Emperour's Grants. He tells him he muſt appear at Court, as ſoon as he had ſet theſe things in order, which he charges him to do to all effects and purpoſes. This Law bears date on the thirteenth of *April*, when *Juſtinian* himſelf the fourth time, and *Paulinus* were Conſuls, that is in the year of our Lord DXXXIIII, and whereas it ſpeaks of *Africk* as already Conquered, (though ſome of the ancient Limits were not yet recovered,) they are much out in their Chronology, who refer the taking of *Gelimer*, and the finiſhing of the War with him to the year following.

Ibid. l. 2. p. 51.

Dromones navigii longioris & ad curſum expediti genus, vide Iſid. 19. Etymolog. Caſſiod. var. 1. 5. Dromoni contrarius Muſculus curtum Navigii genus, vide Zonar. Tom. 3. in Mauricio.

A Dromone Dromonarii dicti, Caſſiod. var. 2. 4. Vide Notas in l.

Gloria itaque tua quæ per hanc pragmaticam ſanctionem noſtram ſtatuantur æternitatis effectui mancipari obſervarique præcipiat.

66. But the account which *Procopius* gives us of *Beliſarius* his motions doth not very well ſuit with the Letter of this Law. The Law Commands him, as ſoon as he had ſetled the Countrey, to come away to *Conſtantinople*, the Hiſtorian ſaith, he either gave him leave to come or ſtay, as he had occaſion. The date of the Law is but on the Ides of *April*, at which time according to the ſtory of *Procopius*, *Gelimer* could hardly be taken, if he was defeated at the end of *December*, and held out in *Pappua* three months longer, and then what time muſt be allowed, for ſending Intelligence as far as *Conſtantinople*? But as to this it may be ſaid, that Intelligence might be ſent to the Emperour, after the defeat of *Tricamar*, and the flight of *Gelimer*, by which *Africk* was Conquered, although not ſo certainly and ſecurely, as after the Captivity of that Prince. More difficulty there is in reconciling what theſe Laws, and the late mentioned Authour have concerning the Taxes, and Impoſitions upon the People of *Africk*. In his Sanction directed to the *Præfectus Prætorio*, *Juſtinian* expreſſes a great deal of tenderneſs and care leſt his Subjects ſhould be oppreſſed, who had lately groaned under the tyranny of the *Vandals*, ſtrictly Commanding that no oppreſſion be uſed towards them, by any of his Miniſters, as it was his indeavour to take off the burthens from all the Provinces in general. But *Procopius*, as is pretended in his ſecret Hiſtory, which he durſt not publiſh in this Emperour's time, tells us that as he

Licèt enim per omnes Provincias noſtras (Deo juvante) feſtinemus ut illæſos habeant Collatores; maximè tamen tributariis Diœceſeos Africanæ conſulimus qui poſt tantorum temporum calamitatem meruerunt (Deo juvante) per nos limen libertatis aſpicere. Ergo jubemus omnes violentias & omnem avaritiam ceſſare, & juſtitiam atque veritatem circa omnes noſtros tributarios reſervare. Sic enim & Deus placabitur, &c.

he haraſſed the Provinces Subject to the *Roman* Empire, ſo he endeavoured the recovery of *Italy* and *Africk*, for no other reaſon than that he might involve them alſo in the ſame miſery and devaſtation.

67. That the Number of thoſe, of whoſe deſtruction he was Authour, could no more be Summed up, than that of the Sand. As for *Africk*, though it was a Countrey ſo large, he ſo waſted it, that it was eſteemed nigh miraculous, for one travelling there to meet with a man. Of the *Vandals* that bore Arms, there were eighty thouſand men, beſides an innumerable Company of Women, Children and Slaves. Of *Africans* living in Cities, in the Countrey and at Sea, ſo many as cannot be expreſſed, but of *Moors* a far greater Number. Now all theſe were deſtroyed with their Wives and Children: Beſides a great part of *Roman* Souldiers, and thoſe that came from *Conſtantinople*; ſo that in all, there periſhed above one million and five hundred thouſand Souls in *Africk*. The cauſe of all this miſchief was this. *Juſtinian* after the overthrow of the *Vandals*, took no care for ſecuring theſe Countries, in the good will and affection of his Subjects. He ſuddenly recalled *Beliſarius* upon a falſe accuſation, and for ſuch a Crime as that Man could not commit, it having never entred into his thoughts to uſurp againſt him. Then that he might ſqueeze and ſpoil *Africk* at his pleaſure; he ſet over the People cruel Taskmaſters, and impoſed on them unheard-of Burthens, beſides appropriating the beſt Lands to his own Domain. He prohibited *Arians* the exerciſe of their Religion, paid not his Souldiers, and diſquieted the Countrey ſeveral other ways, whence Seditions and innumerable miſchiefs aroſe, this being his humour never to be content with the preſent poſture of things, but always innovating and confounding by his Innovations. Thus the pretended *Procopius* in his ſecret Hiſtory, whoſe account how it agrees with the late mentioned Laws the Reader ſees. The probability of theſe and other accuſations, we ſhall examine when we come to this Prince his Character, proceeding in the ſtory of *Africk* for the preſent, wherein let the Reader take notice, how far the certain *Procopius* his Narration at large makes out, what briefly is delivered in the ſecret Hiſtory. As for the Impoſitions upon *Africk*, we may take his Note out of his Hiſtory of the *Vandal* Wars, that the ancient Tributes being not to be found upon the old *Roman* Tables there, which *Genſerick* had deſtroyed; *Tryphon* and *Euſtratius* were ſent in Commiſſion from the Emperour to make a Tax, men whom the *Africans* found harſh and Intolerable.

Lib. 2.

68. We ſaid a little before that the *Moors* ſeeing *Beliſarius* imbarked for *Conſtantinople*, broke the Truce and revolted, the reaſon and manner thus. When news was firſt brought into *Africk* of the Emperour's Fleet, they reſorted to their Propheteſſes, (for Women with them were the onely Southſayers) anxious about the iſſue, and eſteeming their anſwers no leſs Infallible than Oracles. Theſe Women foretold an Army from the Waters, and the ruine both of *Vandals* and *Moors*, when a *Roman* General ſhould come without a Beard. Hereupon afraid, they renounced Friendſhip with the *Vandals*, and made a League with *Beliſarius*, ſtill intent upon the Succeſs. The buſineſs of the *Vandals* being diſpatcht, they ſent to ſpie in the *Roman* Army, if there were any Commander that had no Beard, where finding all well ſtored in that part, they thought, as they would have it, that the Oracle concerned not them but ſome after Ages, and longed to break the Peace; yet afraid of *Beliſarius*, they deſpaired of ſucceſs ſo long as he continued with the Army. When they ſaw him Shipped with his Guard and Priſoners, and the *Roman* Souldiers diſperſed in Garriſons upon the Borders, and altogether unprepared they fell upon the *Africans*, killing the men, enſlaving the Women and Children, and pillaging their Houſes and Fields. Killing the Garriſon Souldiers in *Byzacium*, and foraging the Countrey, *Aigan* an *Hunne* one of *Beliſarius* his Life-Guard, and *Rufinus* a *Thracian* his *Bandophorus* or Standard-bearer with ten Troops of Horſe, made head againſt them, and cut off many in a narrow paſſage, but were way-laid themſelves by four Barbarian Princes, with many thouſands of men, and being overpowred by Numbers, were defeated and ſlain. *Solomon* who had the charge of the *Roman* Army, hearing this news, knew not well how to carry himſelf. He firſt tried to convince the *Moors* of imprudence by Letters; but this having ſuch ſucceſs as was likely it ſhould, he diſpoſed of matters at *Carthage*, and marching into *Byzacium* incamped in *Mamma*, where the *Moriſh* Princes had intrenched themſelves, and upon ſight of his Army put their Battel into ſuch order, as formerly *Cabaon* their Countreyman did, placing the Camels in a round, and their Women and Children in the middle. At the firſt Onſet, the *Romans* were put into a confuſion by the skittiſhneſs of their Horſes, at the ſight and cry of the Camels, which made them they

Upon *Beliſarius* his departure the *Moors* revolt.

could neither defend themſelves, nor keep their ranks; the *Moors* increaſing the tumult by darting their Javelins amongſt them. *Solomon* ſeeing this, leapt from his Horſe, commanded his men to doe the like, and keep their guard and good order, warding with their Shields againſt the Enemies Javelins. Then fell he himſelf upon the Round with five hundred men, giving command to kill the Camels. Some two hundred Camels being killed, the *Moors*, who ſtood between their Legs, ran away, and the Round was entred where the Women ſtood; at which ſight, the Barbarians amazed fled up to the Mountain adjoining; and the *Romans* purſuing, killed about ten thouſand of them in the chaſe. This done, and the Camp taken, the *Romans* marcht back to *Carthage* to celebrate their Victory.

Solomon defeats them.

69. But *Solomon* was ſcarcely arrived at *Carthage* when the *Moors*, enraged at this defeat, made an univerſal Invaſion, leaving none behind them; and having overrun the Countrey of *Byzacium*, and done all the miſchief they could, encamped themſelves upon the Mountain *Burgaon*. *Solomon* being come thither with his whole Army, would fain have drawn them down upon the plain ground, but they meant nothing leſs, dreading the thought of fighting upon ſo equal terms with the *Romans*. Therefore did he order *Theodorus* his Scout-maſter, without any noiſe, to get up by night into the Mountain, where it was moſt difficult to paſs, with a thouſand Foot, and in the morning to ſhew himſelf, and charge the Enemy. He himſelf alſo by night removed to the skirt of the Hill, and by Sun-riſe both of them ſet upon the *Moors*; who ſeeing themſelves ingaged on both ſides, deſpaired, and took them to their heels. Not daring to fly either to top or bottom, they ran headlong into a deep woody Valley, lying between two Rocks; and being a multitude in tumult and fear, threw down and killed one another, till the Valley being full of dead Bodies, the reſt paſſed over upon them to the other Rock. The Survivers affirmed fifty thouſand of their Countrymen to have periſhed. The *Romans* on the other ſide loſt not a Man, received not one hurt, but enjoyed the Victory intire and untoucht. One of the four Princes, *Iſdilaſas* by name, yielded to quarter. So great was the number of captive Women and Children, that a *Mooriſh* Boy was ſold at the rate of a Sheep. And now with ſorrow they called to mind what their Women had foretold, that their Nation ſhould periſh by a Beardleſs Man.

Gives them another great Overthrow.

70. Moſt of the Barbarians that were left in the Province of *Byzacium* would not there continue, for that being few, they feared to be oppreſt by the *Africans*, but betook themſelves to *Jabdas*, Prince of the *Moors*, inhabiting *Auraſium* in *Numidia*. *Jabdas* at this time invading *Numidia* with thirty thouſand Men, made what work he pleaſed, being indeed the completeſt Man, and moſt valiant amongſt the *Moors*. Several other Princes of his Nation envied him, and incenſing *Solomon* againſt him, joined their Forces with his for attaching him upon the Mountain of *Auraſium*. An expedition they undertook together, and *Solomon* diſtributed Moneys amongſt thoſe his Auxiliaries to incourage them. But when they had travelled ſeven days together, and could not light on any Enemy, he ſuſpected his Confederates, whom as *Moors*, he knew to regard no Oaths, nor Hoſtages (though their own Children) nor any League, but as fear and awe overruled them, and fairly retreated, as it was time, all proviſions being ſpent, reſolving at the beginning of the next Spring (for Winter was now come on) to return without any Auxiliary *Moors*, and better furniſhed. Wintring at *Carthage*, he provided Forces and a Fleet againſt the *Moors* of *Sardinia*, called by the Natives *Barbaricini*, who being at firſt a few, and confined thither by the *Vandals*, poſſeſſed the Mountains near *Caralis*, whence committing petty Stealths, at laſt they grew to a Body of three thouſand Men, and then openly invading the Countrey, waſted all before them. In theſe cares and employments he ſpent this Winter at *Carthage*, as *Beliſarius* did in *Syracuſe*, being in his Expedition into *Italy* againſt *Theodatus* and the *Goths*. Toward the latter end of this year, the Sun gave a fearfull and prodigious Light, like that of the Moon, being without its clear and uſual luſtre, as if it had been eclipſed. The cauſe *Renatus Des Cartes*, a late learned Philoſopher, aſcribes to the increaſing of his *Maculæ*, or Spots, which how they come to be generated at firſt, and increaſed to ſuch a proportion, it is not proper for us here to declare; and the Reader, if he pleaſe, may conſult that Authour. But hence doth he ſolve many *Phænomena* in the Heavens. For this reaſon, he ſaith, many Stars appear now bigger or leſſer than they are deſcribed by ancient Aſtronomers; and it is poſſible that a Star may be ſo covered by theſe *Maculæ*, as utterly to diſappear, as for inſtance, the *Pleiades* were once reckoned ſeven, although at preſent ſix onely be ſeen by us. Hence alſo a Star may appear ſuddenly to us, and either continue in its ſplendour, or return by degrees to its former darkneſs and obſcurity, as it happened in the New Star in *Caſſiopeia*, which appearing very

Some of them fool him.

Princip. Philoſoph. part. 3. *p.* 112. *Edit. Amſtelodami*, 1656.

Sic referunt quidam Hiſtorici, &c.

very glorious at the end of the year MDLXXII. failed in its light by little and little, and at laſt vaniſhed in the beginning of MDLXXIV. So, ſaith he, do ſome Stars now ſhine in Heaven, which in time paſt did not appear; the cauſe of which is in this place more largely to be explained. But here we leave him in a road not proper to us, and return to our Hiſtorian, who aſſures us, that during this Prodigy Mankind was afflicted with Famine, War, and all other Miſchiefs which contribute to Mortality. This was the tenth year of *Juſtinian*, the DXXXVI. of the ordinary *Æra* of *Chriſt*, the third of *Theodatus*, King of *Italy*; being not diſtinguiſhed by any Conſulſhip, onely noted thus, *After the Conſulſhip of Beliſarius*, in ancient Monuments, and famous for the beginning of the *Gothick* War in *Italy*.

The Souldiers in *Africk* mutiny.

71. In the beginning of the Spring, at the time of *Eaſter*, the Souldiers in *Africk* mutined upon this occaſion. *Solomon* granted the Slaves and Moveables as booty to the Souldiers; but the Lands which were conquered, he annexed to the Exchequer, and the Emperour's Domain; by whom Souldiers, War, and all were to be maintained. Now the *Romans* having overthrown the *Vandals*, married their Wives and Daughters, who ceaſed not, with clamour and diſcontent, to tell them how unjuſt it was for them, who had formerly poſſeſſed the Lands by their *Vandal* Huſbands, to be deprived of them now they had eſpouſed the Perſons and Intereſt of the Conquerours. Another thing was, *Juſtinian* the Emperour permitted to no Hereticks the free uſe of Sacraments, or Churches, wherewith the *Arians* in the Army, being in number about a thouſand men, and moſt of them *Heruli*, were inraged; eſpecially becauſe at the Feaſt of *Eaſter* they were neither ſuffered to baptize their Children, nor exerciſe any other uſual acts of Devotion, in a publick manner. And as it happened, another accident there was which ſeemed to blow the coals of theſe Diſcontents. *Juſtinian* had, out of the *Vandals* which *Beliſarius* brought to *Conſtantinople*, made five Troops of Horſe, which he reſolved ſhould lie in Garriſons in the Eaſt, and ſpend their days there in the Wars againſt the *Perſians*. Being ſhipt away for this purpoſe, four hundred of them coming upon the Coaſt of *Lesbos*, forced the Mariners to put into *Peloponneſus*; whence ſailing into *Africk*, they landed in a deſart place, and went ſtreight to the Mountain *Auraſium*, and the Parts of *Mauritania*. The Mutineers herewith encouraged, combined together; and the *Arians* pricking them forward, reſolved to kill *Solomon* in the Church on *Eaſter-day*, many of his Domeſticks, becauſe of the Lands, being in the Conſpiracy. At the time appointed they made ſigns to one another, and had their hands on their Swords, yet either ſtruck with reverence of the place and ſervice, daſhed at his preſence, or overruled by a ſpecial Providence, they could not doe the deed, though they met again the ſecond time for that very purpoſe, and reviled one another for want of courage. But now it being unpoſſible but the thing muſt out, moſt of them withdrew out of *Carthage*, and falling upon the *Africans*, pillaged their Towns.

They chuſe *Stotzas* for their General.

72. When *Solomon* exhorted thoſe that remained in the City to continue faithfull to the Emperour, at firſt they ſeemed to liſten to him, till hearing what ſucceſs their Fellows had in the Countrey, the fifth day of the Mutiny they reviled both him, and the reſt of their Officers. They choſe *Theodorus* the *Cappadocian* their General in his room, a man that was thought not to love him; and yet after they had killed the other *Theodorus* the Scout-maſter, and rifled the Town, he entertained *Solomon*, and brought him to a Ship in the Harbour, provided for him, wherein with *Procopius* the Hiſtorian, and five of his Retinue, having taken what care he could to reduce the Mutineers, and preſerve *Carthage*, he ſailed to *Beliſarius*, now lying at *Syracuſe*, to whom he related the accident, and deſired his aſſiſtence for ſuppreſſing the Sedition. In the mean time the Mutineers, having plundred *Carthage*, made their Rendevous in the Plains of *Bule*, and choſe *Stotzas* one of the Guard for their General; a couragious and active Fellow, who gathering together ſome nine thouſand men in all, led them to *Carthage*, to which he ſent a ſummons, requiring them to yield without more adoe. *Theodorus* and the Citizens returned anſwer, that they kept the Town for the Emperour, ſending one *Joſephus* to him, formerly the Clerk of the Emperour's Guards, at preſent at *Carthage*, about ſome buſineſs from *Beliſarius*; but him he put to death, and prepared for the Siege. The Defendants were thinking to yield, when *Beliſarius*, attended onely by a hundred of his Life-guard, and *Solomon* with one ſingle Ship arrived at *Carthage* about twilight, the Beſiegers not doubting to have the Town the next day delivered up; upon which being intent, they paſſed all that night without taking any reſt. But the next morning, as ſoon as it was day, and it was noiſed that *Beliſarius* was come, they broke up the Leaguer, and ran away ſhamefully in great diſorder. *Beliſarius* reduced to obedience two thouſand of them by good words; the reſt he pur-

ſued as far as *Membriſſa*, a Town forty three miles diſtant from *Carthage*, where they both drew up, and prepared for fight; the General by the River of *Bagradas*, and the Rebels on a ſteep and ragged ground. They truſted to their numbers. He deſpiſed them as a fooliſh and undiſciplined rabble. Both the Commanders incouraged their men with words fitted to the preſent occaſion.

Beliſarius puts them to flight.

73. When they came to the Encounter, a ſtrong wind blew in the faces of the Mutineers; which diſadvantage conſidering, they wheeled about, thinking that the Enemy would doe ſo too, and that thereby they ſhould gain the wind. But *Beliſarius* ſeeing them open their Ranks, and fall into diſorder, began the Fight, which they not expecting, ran confuſedly together, and preſently quite away into *Numidia*, where they rallied, having loſt but a few men, and thoſe of the *Vandals*; for *Beliſarius* having but a ſmall Army, thought it ſufficient thus to ſend them going; and then giving the Camp to be pillaged by his Souldiers, wherein was found much wealth, and the *Vandal* Women, that had been the cauſe of the War, returned to *Carthage*, and thence, having taken order for *Africk*, and committed *Carthage* to *Ildiger* and *Theodorus*, into *Sicily*, where he heard that his Army alſo mutined. By this time, *Marcellus*, who governed *Numidia*, and other Officers, hearing that *Stotzas* was there, got their Forces together to ſurprize him, perceiving he was but with a few men at *Gazophylæ*. He conſidering his danger, boldly goes amongſt their men, expoſtulates with them for fighting againſt him, who ſtood for defence of their Rights and Liberties; he puts them in mind of the ſhortneſs of their pay, and how they were defrauded of the price of their bloud and travels, bids them, if they ſhould find good reaſon upon due conſideration, kill him in that place; if otherwiſe, to take Arms and fight, not againſt, but for themſelves. With this language he overcame, and brought them over to his Party; which their Officers perceiving, withdrew themſelves into the Church near at hand. *Stotzas* having united the Forces, comes thither, promiſes them their lives; and when upon his faith they were come forth, perfidiouſly kills them. Theſe matters coming to the knowledge of the Emperour, he ſent *Germanus* his Kinſman, a man of Patritian dignity, with a few others, amongſt whom was *Symmachus* and *Dominicus*, both Senatours; *Symmachus* with the title of *Magiſter Militum*, to manage the expence of the Army; and *Dominicus* to command the Legions in the room of *John*, who was lately deceaſed. Coming to *Carthage*, he found upon a Muſter that two parts of the Souldiers were revolted, and a third onely remaining in that and other Cities; wherefore he ſaw there was no fighting, and employed his time in courting the Souldiers with fair words and promiſes, whereby he ſo much did his buſineſs, that he drew in many of the Mutineers themſelves, whom treating with courteſie, and giving them their full pay for the time they had been in Rebellion; at length got together ſuch an Army, as to match the Rebels in number, and then prepared for a battel.

The Emperour ſends *Germanus* into *Africk*;

74. *Stotzas* alſo perceived it his intereſt to come to fight as ſoon as poſſible: For his men daily fell from him; and he hoped, that if he came near *Carthage*, he could entice them back to him again. Therefore did he march, and incamped near the Sea, about four miles from the City. But *Germanus* by a prudent diſcourſe ſo ſetled the minds of his Souldiers, that every man of them became ambitious to ſwear the good affection he had to his General; and the Mutineers ſeeing that none came over to them, as *Stotzas* had warranted them, ſeparated themſelves in fear, and went into *Numidia*, where were their Wives and Booty. *Germanus* followed them, being very well prepared, and overtook them at a Town called *Scalæ veteres*, where coming to an ingagement, his men at the beginning had the worſt, till drawing his Sword himſelf, and calling upon his Guard to doe the like, with much adoe he routed the Enemy on his ſide, and then galloping up to *Stotzas*, ſo incouraged and aſſiſted his Troops, that they got the day. So great tumult and diſorder there was in the Fight, that both ſides uſing the ſame Language and Arms, and not differing in habit, or any other conſiderable thing, thoſe that gave the chace killed their own Friends, till *Germanus* commanded his Souldiers to ask the word. He had his Horſe killed under him; and being diſmounted, and in danger, was hardly reſcued by his Life-guard. *Stotzas* being fled, and the Enemy routed, he marched to their Camp, where finding much oppoſition, after a ſharp fight, he ſent a Party to another place, where the intrenchment was eaſily entred, and ſo thoſe coming upon the backs of the Mutineers, he became Maſter of it. The Souldiers fell to plundring without any regard of the Enemy, or their General's orders, who fearing the Rebels might rally, ſtood in the Gate crying out, and complaining to no purpoſe. The *Moors* who had, according to their cuſtome, ſtood a-loof, and expected the

who overthrows the Mutineers.

iſſu

iſſue, followed the Execution upon thoſe that were worſted, and pillaged the Camp together with the Army. *Stotzas* at firſt truſting to them, rode up and deſired them to reſtore the Fight, but perceiving how matters ſtood, after he had made head and attempted in vain to renew the charge, eſcaped with a few *Vandals*, and retired into *Mauritania*, where Marrying a Daughter of a Prince of the Countrey he remained. And ſo ended this Mutiny.

75. After the ſuppreſſing of this Danger, another aroſe from one *Maximinus*, who endeavoured to renew the Mutiny, with a deſign to uſurp and make himſelf Emperour. *Germanus* at firſt would not take any publick notice of it, for fear of driving him into ſome deſperate Act, but ſent for him, and made him one of his own Life-Guard, which employment he gladly undertook, not refuſing the Oath of fidelity to the Emperour, always taken upon ſuch occaſions, becauſe he thought he ſhould have a fitter opportunity to facilitate his Deſign. But when the Souldiers began to aſſemble in a tumultuous manner, having an eye upon him, he cauſed him to be ſecured, which broke the neck of the Plot; for when they miſſed him, had none to lead them, and wanted the numbers they expected, they ran away, yet many were killed, and many taken. Such as had not time to joyn with them, put on other Faces, ſhewing as if they had known nothing of the Conſpiracy, and *Germanus* was ſo prudent as to take no notice of them, nor make any farther Inquiſition. But finding that *Maximinus* after the Oath of Allegience taken, had been more buſie in his deſign than formerly; he cauſed him to be Crucified under the Walls of *Carthage*, and ſo utterly broke in peices this treaſonable Project. After this the Emperour called home *Germanus*, with *Dominicus* and *Symmachus*, in the thirteenth year of his Reign, and reſtored to *Solomon* his former Employment, giving him another Army. He ſo ordered his affairs, that he quickly ſetled *Africk* in a very quiet and peaceable condition, for he uſed great moderation, kept the Army in exact Diſcipline, and without any noiſe, removed all ſuch as he knew to be Seditious, by ſending them upon ſome ſpecious pretext or other, either to *Conſtantinople* or to *Beliſarius*, ſupplying their rooms with others, and baniſhing the remains of the *Vandals*, with all their Women. Having thus ſetled the Countrey, he made war upon *Jabdas* and the *Moors* of *Auraſium*, beat them out of *Zerbule* and *Tumar* two Caſtles, the later whereof he repaired, and left therein a Garriſon to reſtrain their Rebellions. He took alſo the Wealth and Women of *Jabdas*, who fled into *Mauritania*, and forced the *Moors* into *Zebe* a part of that Countrey, the Metropolis whereof was *Sitiphis* tributary to the Empire.

And breaks in pieces another dangerous Deſign.

Solomon ſent back into *Africk*, Settles it.

76. Such was the proſperous Eſtate of *Africk*, under the prudent government of *Solomon*, which in the fourth year changed thus into miſery and deſolation. The next year after his Arrival, and the fourteenth of *Juſtinian*'s Reign, *Cyrus* and *Sergius* the Sons of *Bacchus Solomon*'s Brother, were ſent to Govern, the one *Pentapolis* and the other *Tripolis*. To theſe came the *Leucathian Moors*, with an Army as far as *Leptis Magna*, under pretence of giving them preſents and eſtabliſhing a firm Peace. *Sergius* receiving ſeventy of them into the City, feaſted them and gave them good words, but ſo it happened that jealouſies ariſing from their deportment, they were all killed in the Houſe, except one who eſcaping to the Camp incenſed his Countreymen. They came to revenge the Fact, and were met by *Sergius* and *Pudentius*, with all the force they could make, who put them to the rout, and ſacking their Camp got much Plunder. But the *Leucathians* would not ſo give it over, coming better prepared than formerly, and with them joyned *Antalas*, who till of late had been faithfull to the *Romans*, but now revolted out of diſpleaſure againſt *Solomon*, for he had taken from him thoſe proviſions the Emperour had allowed him, and had put to Death his Brother, for raiſing a Commotion amongſt the *Byzaceni*. He then undertook the Conduct of them againſt *Solomon* and *Carthage*. *Solomon* hearing this marched toward his Enemies, accompanied with *Sergius*, *Cyrus* and young *Solomon*, all of them his Brother's Sons, and met them at *Tebeſte*, a Town ſix days Journey from *Carthage*. *Solomon* having in vain tried to perſwade the chief of the *Leucathians* to lay down Arms, the next day defeated a party of them, and recovered great Booty they had taken, which when the Souldiers expected to have ſhared amongſt them, he unadviſedly put them off till the concluſion of the War. Coming then to Fight, he was overpowred in numbers by the Enemy, ſo that his Army being routed, when he had to no purpoſe endured much hazard and trouble to renew the Fight, he was forced to flie. In full ſpeed, his Horſe ſtumbled, and down he fell. His Life-Guard ſet him up again, but being ſo diſordered with the fall, that he was not able to hold his Bridle, he was overtaken and Slain with many of his Guards.

Solomon Slain.

Sect. 1.

77. He being Dead, his Nephew *Sergius* by the Emperour's order, took the charge of the Province, unluckily as it proved. The Commanders were much diſcontented at it, being diſobliged by his young, rude and inſolent carriage; for, carrying himſelf high upon his Riches and Power, he was perpetually affronting one or other. The Souldiers ſlighted him as a Coward. The *Africans* hated him for his extraordinary avarice and luſt; but eſpecially *John*, the Son of *Siſinniolus* an able Souldier and of great repute, was inraged, being ſubjected both to a mean and moſt ungratefull Perſon. So that none of them would ſtir againſt the *Moors*. *Antalas* having this People at his Devotion, ſent for *Stotzas* out of *Mauritania*, and yet wrote to the Emperour, letting him know how he had been injured by *Solomon*, who having now paid the price of his injuſtice, he was ready to ſubmit to his Empire as formerly, provided he would remove *Sergius* from his Command, and ſend ſome worthy Governour in his room, as he was well aſſured he could not want many that were much more fit for the place than he. Notwithſtanding, the Emperour would not remove him, though he ſufficiently knew how much the man was hated, he reſpected the worth of *Solomon*, and pitied the manner of his Death ſo much. Therefore did great diſorders follow. *Antalas* with his *Moors* and *Stotzas* every where committing cruelties upon the *Africans*, and ſparing no Age nor Condition, inſomuch that the Countrey lay waſte, the Inhabitants that remained alive flying ſome to the Cities and fortified Towns, others to *Sicily* or other Iſlands, and the beſt to *Conſtantinople*. None oppoſed theſe outrageous actions of the *Moors*: many *Roman* Souldiers followed *Stotzas*; ſome Renegado's and others, who had been Priſoners ſtaying now with him out of choice. And *John*, whoſe name was famous amongſt the *Moors*, being out with *Sergius* lay ſtill and did nothing at all.

Sergius his Nephew ſucceeding him, Great diſorders thereupon.

78. By theſe things, the Emperour was moved to take ſome farther care about *Africk*. Yet would he not for all this, put *Sergius* quite out of Command, but ſending into the Province *Areobindus* a Senator, and a worthy Perſon, though no Souldier; he divided the General-ſhip, the Countrey and Souldiers betwixt them two, ordering *Sergius* to make War in *Numidia*, and *Areobindus* in *Byzacium*. *Areobindus* being arrived, when he heard how *Antalas* and *Stotzas* were incamped three days Journey from *Carthage*, ſent *John* the Son of *Siſinniolus* againſt them, with the flower of his Army, writing to *Sergius* to joyn with him, who diſdaining to be directed, and ſlighting the Buſineſs, *John* was forced with his ſmall power to encounter an infinite number of Enemies. Both *John* and *Stotzas* to their mutual ſatisfaction, for they were irreconcileable Enemies, died in the Battel, beſides *John* an *Armenian*, who with *Artabanes* his Brother, being of the race of the *Arſacides* had revolted to the *Romans*, and Commanded ſome of their Countreymen that came over with *Areobindus*. The Emperour was much troubled for the Death of *John*, and being convinced how inconvenient a thing it was to have two Generals, ordered *Sergius* to paſs with ſome Forces to the Wars of *Italy*. But though he redreſſed one evil, yet another inconvenience wrought ſo much, as ſtill to involve this Province in trouble and diſorder. For *Areobindus* was ſo little verſed in matters of War, that one *Gontharis*, who Commanded the Cohorts in *Numidia*, was incouraged to revolt and attempt the Sovereignty. To this purpoſe he procured the *Moors* to march againſt *Carthage*, and held ſecret Intelligence with *Antalas*, and *John* whom the Mutineers had made General in the room of *Stotzas*. *Areobindus* hearing of *Antalas* his motions, ſent for *Gontharis* and the reſt of the Officers to attend him at *Carthage*, and on the other ſide he practiſed with *Cutzinas* who led the *Numidian Moors* to turn in the Battel againſt *Antalas*, and the *Moors* of *Byzacium*. But never ſuſpecting *Gontharis*, he told him his deſign, and he thereupon revealed it to *Antalas*, who yet kept all things from *Cutzinas*, for they hated each other, though with theſe clandeſtine deſigns, they fought in company together, each againſt him with whom he entertained Correſpondence.

Areobindus joyned with him.

Sergius ordered into *Italy*.

79. But *Gontharis*, to bring about his Uſurpation, firſt reſolved to kill *Areobindus* ſecretly in the Battel, that he might not ſeem to intrude into the Empire, but rather that the Souldiers ſhould put it upon him, without his ſeeking, according to the uſual hypocriſie of Tyrants. This device ſucceeded not, becauſe he could not perſwade *Areobindus* to go out to Fight, therefore he concluded he was either to be frighted away to *Conſtantinople*, or openly Murthered. And when he had once diſcovered the Plot, he had fled indeed, if a ſudden Storm and power of his own fate had not ſtopt him; but now conſtrained to make the beſt of it he could, he was adviſed by *Artabanes*, not to be diſmaid at this preſumption of *Gontharis*, but

inſtantly

Gontharis Uſurps;

And kills *Areobindus.*

inſtantly to fall upon him before any farther miſchief. This good advice he had no power to follow, but would needs ſend firſt and feel the pulſe of *Gontharis*, who owning the Uſurpation, then at length he reſolved to go out and fight. By this time the Uſurper had indeavoured to poſſeſs the Souldiers with a belief of his Cowardiſe, and how he meant to defraud them of their pay; when *Areobindus* and *Artabanes* iſſuing out began the fight. The moſt part of the Souldiers being uncorrupted and iſſuing out from ſeveral Quarters, had eaſily made an end of the Tyrant and his Mutineers, but that *Areobindus* frighted to ſee men killed, being a ſight he was not uſed to, like a Fool and Coward ran away, and took Sanctuary in a Monaſtery within the Walls of *Carthage*, after which *Artabanes* and the reſt retired, and *Gontharis* became maſter of the City, the Palace and the Haven. Then did he ſend *Reparatus*, the Biſhop of the place, to *Areobindus*, to come to the Palace upon aſſurance of ſafety, who upon condition that the Biſhop in *Gontharis* his name at the celebration of Baptiſm would by Oath eſtabliſh his Security, came forth, and in a Garment called by the *Romans Caſula*, befitting rather a Slave, than a Souldier, came to the Palace. Here taking the holy Bible from the Biſhop, he fell at the Feet of *Gontharis*, holding out the Book, a Petition, and his little Son at whoſe Baptiſm the Biſhop had ſworn his ſafety, and conjuring him by all that was Holy to tell him whether he ſhould have his Life. He promiſed him that the next day he would ſend him away ſafe for *Carthage*, with his Wife and Goods, and having with much adoe raiſed him from the Ground, entertained him at Supper with much Honour; but cauſing him to lie in a Chamber alone, and near at hand, ſent ſome of his Confidents, who after his much weeping and wailing, diſpatched him; which done, the next day he ſent his Head to *Antalas*.

80. *Antalas*, his diſſatisfaction with the Emperour being not great, was vexed at the Treaſon and perjury of the Tyrant, and concluding that he would neither keep faith with him nor any other, after much debate with himſelf, he reſolved to ſubmit to his Prince, and ſo marcht off, and drew to him *Marcentius* Commander of the Horſe in *Byzacium*. *John* with his Mutineers, about a thouſand men, revolted to *Gontharis*; and *Artabanes*, upon aſſurance of ſafety, came alſo to the Palace with his *Armenians*, profeſſing all Service and obedience to the Uſurper. But being of a generous ſpirit he plotted to kill him, animated and ſpurred on to this act, as a means of attaining immortal Glory, by *Gregorius* his Nephew, and *Artaſiris* one of his Guard; and to cover his deſign, he undertook an expedition againſt *Antalas* and his *Moors* as he was ordered by *Gontharis*. *Antalas* ſtood him not but ran away, and *Artabanes* turned about alſo and marched back, whom *Vlitheus* a great Creature of *Gontharis* would have killed at his return; but *Artabanes* excuſed the matter, leſt he ſhould have loſt the Army, *Marcentius* being in a capacity to have ſuccoured the Enemy from *Adrametum*, and affirming it was ſafeſt that the Tyrant ſhould oppoſe him with all his Forces. *Gontharis* took his advice, and reſolved to lead them himſelf, leaving a Garriſon in *Carthage*, under the Command of *Paſiphilas*, his chief Councellour who had been a Ringleader in the Mutiny of *Byzacium*, and his principal Aſſiſtant in the Uſurpation. Him he ordered to murther all the *Greeks*, having every day himſelf killed ſome upon fear and jealouſie, and having all things now in readineſs, he thought good to Feaſt his Friends the night before his departure. *Artabanes* being invited amongſt the reſt, reſolved upon it as a fit opportunity to execute his deſign againſt the Tyrant. Acquainting *Gregorius*, *Artaſiris* and the others of his Guard with his purpoſe, he ordered them to get in with their Swords, it being the cuſtome when the Commanders Feaſted, to have their Guards ſtand behind them. *Artaſiris* he would have doe the deed when he ſaw it moſt convenient, and inſtructed *Gregorius* to bring ſome of their ſtouteſt *Armenians* to the Palace with their Swords, (for they might not attend their Officers with other Arms) who ſhould, (upon jealouſie that their Captain was invited out of no good intention towards him,) deſire to ſtand with the Guards of *Gontharis*. *Artaſiris* cut Arrows in two, and thruſt the peices round his Arme up to the Elbow, tying them with ſtrings and covering them with the ſleeve of his Coat, that he might receive any blow made at him upon his Arme, and fence it off from his Body.

81. He deſired *Artabanes* that, if he ſaw the Tyrant was not mortally wounded, he would kill him, the ſaid *Artaſiris*, inſtantly, leſt by torture he ſhould diſcover him, and periſhing baſely himſelf ruine his Captain alſo; which ſaid, he went with *Gregorius* and one of the Guard and ſtood behind him, the reſt ſtaying with thoſe without, and expecting till they heard the cry within as they were directed. He had his hand upon his Scimiter, and would have done the deed at the beginning of

the Feaſt; but that he was ſtopt by *Gregorius*, who in the *Armenian* Language told him that *Gontharis* was yet himſelf, and had not drunk ſufficiently. When he had drunk largely, and grew into a pleaſant humour, he gave ſome Diſhes of Meat to the Guard who then went out to eat it, leaving with him onely *Vlitheus* and two others, and *Artaſiris* went out with them, fearing he might not handſomely draw his Scimiter within; and being without he drew it, then covering it with his Clothes, he ſtept to *Gontharis* as to ſay ſomething to him in private. But being come near to him, one of the waiters diſcovered his Sword, and thruſting him away cryed out; with that *Gontharis* turning about to look at him, *Artaſiris* fetcht a blow and cut off part of his Skull, with his fingers he had laid croſs his right ſhoulder in turning. Notwithſtanding *Gontharis* indeavoured to riſe, which *Artabanes* perceiving ſtabbed him into the ſide as he ſate by him, and then did *Vlitheus* ſtrike at *Artaſiris*, whoſe device ſtood him in good ſtead; the peices of Arrows within his Sleeve keeping off the blow, ſo that he had no harm. He then killed *Vlitheus*, *Peter* one of *Solomon's* Guard who Supped there alſo, joyned with *Artabanes*, and they taking up the Swords of *Vlitheus* and *Gontharis*, ſlew the two others of the Guard that were left behind, and then the *Armenians* hearing the Noiſe, ruſhed in and killed the *Vandals*, and the favourites of the Tyrant, who were placed upon other Couches in the ſame Room at Supper.

Is Killed.

82. The Guards without perceiving what was done, joyned preſently with the *Armenians*, having moſt of them belonged to *Areobindus*, and cryed out *Juſtinian* the Emperour, which Noiſe received by one Company from another, reached to moſt parts of the City. *Paſiphilus* and other Mutineers were killed in their Lodgings. *John* with ſome *Vandals* fled to a Church, but were taken out upon promiſe of ſecurity and ſent to *Conſtantinople*; and thus was the City and *Africk* recovered, on the thirty fifth day of the Uſurpation, in the nineteenth year of *Juſtinian's* Reign, to the great renown of *Artabanes*. *Projecta* the Wife of *Areobindus*, and Neice of the Emperour, richly preſented him, and *Juſtinian* made him General of the Province; yet not long after, he was recalled at his deſire, and *John* the Brother of *Pappus* ſucceeded him, who immediately defeated *Antalas*, and the *Moors* of *Byzacium*, recovering all the Enſigns which were loſt at the Death of *Solomon*, but was again beaten by the *Leucathians*; and having loſt many men, fled to *Laribum*. Then did they overrun *Africk*, which they waſted to the Gates of *Carthage*, and he, ſtirred up by anger and indignation, rallied his Souldiers remaining, and drawing in *Cutzinas* and other *Moors* to his aſſiſtence, gave them a great overthrow, from which ſuch as eſcaped, fled to the uttermoſt marches of *Africk*. Hereby it came to paſs, that the Provincials in *Africk* being few and very poor, enjoyed at length ſome quietneſs. And here *Procopius* concludeth his Hiſtory of the *Vandal* Wars in that Countrey, proceeding to the *Gothick*, which by this time had been carried on nine years in *Italy*. For thither *Beliſarius*, as we hinted, was ſent; upon what occaſion, and with what ſucceſs, now we come to ſhew from the firſt Original.

Africk recovered by the means of *Artabanes*.

Overrun again and recovered by *John*.

83. *Amalaſuntha* the Daughter of *Theodorich* the *Goth*, who had Conquered *Italy* out of the hands of *Odoacer*, and the *Heruli*, educated her Son *Athalarick* his Succeſſour, after the manner of the *Roman* Princes, cauſing him to be inſtructed in Grammar and other principles of Ingenuity. This the *Goths* diſliked, deſiring he might be bred after the Barbarian way, upon which they could found greater hopes of liberty to ſpoil the People. The Mother at one time ſtriking her Son for ſomething he did in his Chamber, he went out into another Room and wept, where ſome of them ſeeing him, made a great buſineſs of it, railing on her, as if ſhe deſired to be rid of the Boy, that with his Patrimony ſhe might Marry ſome other man, and Reign her ſelf over the *Goths* and *Italians*. The Principal of them meeting together, complained that their King was ill bred, that Learning was an Enemy to Valour, producing cowardly and baſe Spirits, and they objected the example of his Grand-Father, who did ſuch great things without as much as knowing his Letters. They beſought the Queen to diſmiſs his three Pedagogues, and to give him Companions of his own Age, who growing up with him might incline him to govern according to their own Laws, and this out of fear ſhe was conſtrained to admit, though ſorely againſt her mind. Theſe Companions having ſome advantage of him in years, when he grew up drew him to Wine and Women, and made him ſo ill natured, undutyfull and diſobedient to his Mother, that he deſerted her in a faction, which had the impudence to Command her to retire from Court. Yet carrying a mind undaunted, and above the Condition of her Sex, ſhe pickt out three of the chief, and confined them ſeverally to the fartheſt parts of *Italy*, under pretence of ſecuring the borders againſt the Enemy. But holding

Procop. de bello Goth. lib. 1.

Athalarick the young King of the *Goths* debauched by ill Company.

holding for all this a Correſpondence with their Friends and Relations, they ſtirred up the People againſt her, and the Faction grew ſo ſtrong, that not able to bear up againſt it, ſhe ſent to *Juſtinian* to deſire that, foraſmuch as ſhe was minded to quit *Italy*, he would give leave that ſhe might repair to *Conſtantinople*.

84. The Emperour glad of the News, kindly invited her to undertake the Journey. But ſhe intending it but as a Reſerve, and a remedy for neceſſity, having procured thoſe three perſons to be killed, remained ſtill at *Ravenna* and fortified her Government. However, things went ſtill very croſs with her. *Theodatus* the Son of *Amalafrida* the Siſter of *Theoderich*, a man in years, well skilled in Latin and the Doctrine of *Plato*, but utterly unpractiſed in Civil and Military matters, and exceſſively Covetous, being Lord of many Towns in *Tuſcany*, oppreſſed the Inhabitants round about him, which humour ſhe endeavouring to curb, he became much incenſed and bitter againſt her. For a great Sum of money, and the dignity of a Senatour, he plotted to betray *Tuſcany* into the hands of the Emperour, dealing with ſome Ambaſſadours that were ſent to the Biſhop of *Rome*, from *Conſtantinople* for this purpoſe. By this time alſo the King her Son, was faln into a Conſumption through his Intemperance, which diſtracted her exceedingly, taking no comfort in him whilſt he lived, and perceiving that if he died, ſhe ſhould be in extreme danger, becauſe ſhe had much incenſed the Principal of the *Goths*. Upon the whole matter ſhe reſolved to ſave her ſelf, by delivering *Italy* into the hands of *Juſtinian*, who, together with the Ambaſſadours that came to the Biſhop of *Rome*, ſent one *Alexander* a Senatour under the ſame Character, to ſpie out her actions, wondering that ſhe came not to *Conſtantinople* as ſhe once intended. *Alexander* expoſtulated with her about ſeveral matters of no very great concernment, to which ſhe openly returned a reſolute and ſmart Anſwer, but ſecretly promiſed to deliver up *Italy* to *Juſtinian*, who underſtanding what was offered both from her and *Theodatus*, was overjoyed, and diſpatched preſently into *Italy*, one *Peter* an *Illyrian* by Nation, by Profeſſion an Oratour, but a man of a great reach, much mildneſs, and of excellent ability to perſwade.

Theodatus. Theodahatus. Theodahadus. Theudatus & Theudathus i.e. Theud-aht vel Theod-aht, Populis æſtimatus. Aht enim & Acht idem ſunt.

Amalaſuntha his Mother purpoſeth to deliver up *Italy* to *Juſtinian.*

85. In the mean time *Theodatus* upon evident proof, not onely of oppreſſing his Neighbours, but intruſion into the Royal Domain, was compelled to make reſtitution, wherewith he was infinitely offended. About the ſame time alſo, *Athalarick* died of his Conſumption, after he had Reigned eight years, which put his Mother upon a new plunge. Without conſidering the Nature of *Theodatus*, and her late proceedings againſt him. To appeaſe his mind, ſhe offered him the Title of King, on condition that ſhe continued in her former Power. He remembring how ſhe had uſed him, ſwore what ſhe pleaſed, with an intent never to perform it, and being in poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, acted quite contrary both to her expectation, and his own Ingagements. For he made of his Council the Relations of thoſe ſhe had put to Death; ſome of her Friends he ſuddenly diſpatched, and in concluſion Impriſoned her in a ſtrong Caſtle, in an Iſland of the Lake *Vulſinus* in *Tuſcany*. Fearing the diſpleaſure of the Emperour, he ſent ſome Ambaſſadours to perſwade him that ſhe had no harm, and cauſed her to write to the ſame purpoſe. The Ambaſſadours in their way met with *Peter*, who perceiving the Scene was quite changed in *Italy*, thereof ſpeedily advertiſed his Maſter, and he thence reſolved to take occaſion to imbroil *Theodatus* and the *Goths*. Now he ſent inſtructions to *Peter* publickly to own the cauſe of *Amalaſuntha*, to whom he wrote Letters full of comfort, and of his reſolution to take her part. But before *Peter* could reach *Italy*, the Kinſmen of thoſe ſhe had put to Death, perſwaded *Theodatus* ſhe was to be removed out of the way, without which neither he nor they could be in any ſafety, and therefore he conſenting they went to the Iſland and murthered her, to the great greif of the reſt of the *Goths*, who deſervedly admired her for the excellency of her Virtues. *Peter* proteſted openly againſt the Fact, and declared perpetual War from the Emperour. *Theodatus* was ſo ſilly, as although he openly favoured the Murtherers, yet to deny the Fact, to have been committed with his knowledge and approbation. Her Death happened in the DXXXIIII year of our Lord, in the fourth Conſulſhip of *Juſtinian*, who had *Paulinus* for Collegue, in which year *Marcellinus Comes* finiſhed his Chronicon.

She procures *Theodatus* to be King upon her Son's death.

Vide Ep. ſi placet apud Caſſiod. var. lib. 10. princip.

And he cauſes her to be Murthered.

Vide Baron ad h. Ann.

Thereupon *Juſtinian* reſolves to make War upon the *Goths.*

86. The Emperour being advertiſed of the Death of *Amalaſuntha*, reſolved upon that occaſion to make War with the *Goths*; the following year being the ninth of his Reign, having lately Conquered *Gelimer* and the *Vandals* in *Africk*, through the Conduct of *Beliſarius*. He Commanded *Mundus* the General of *Illyrium* to march into *Dalmatia*, which was ſubject to the *Goths*, and attempt *Salonæ*. *Be-*

liſarius he ordered to make himſelf ready, to Sail with a Fleet, aboard of which were four thouſand Legionary Souldiers and Confederates, three thouſand *Iſaurians*, two hundred Auxiliary *Hunnes*, and three hundred *Moors*, beſides his Life-Guard, making him General with abſolute authority. His Inſtructions were to pretend a Voyage to *Carthage*, but to attempt *Sicily*, which if he found eaſie, he ſhould ſubdue it, and not quit it upon any account; otherwiſe to Sail away for *Africk*, without diſcovery of his Intent. *Juſtinian* courted the Princes of the *Franks* by good words and preſents to joyn with him, uſing arguments drawn from the Hereſie of the *Goths*, and their equal enmity to them. *Mundus* without much adoe Conquered *Salonæ*. *Beliſarius* eaſily reduced *Sicily*, onely *Panormus* ſtood out, the *Goths* preſuming upon the ſtrength of the place, and it was indeed by Land impregnable, but by Sea he attacqued it, and had it delivered up by compoſition. This Succeſs of his, *Peter* the Ambaſſadour made uſe of to terrify *Theodatus*, whoſe Heart failing him, in a ſecret Conference he came to this accord, to quit all pretenſions to the Iſland of *Sicily*, to ſend the Emperour yearly a Crown of Gold, weighing three hundred pound, and three thouſand fighting men when he ſhould deſire them. That he ſhould not put to Death, or confiſcate the Goods of any Prieſt or Senatour, without the Emperour's conſent, nor advance any to the Degree of a Senatour or Patritian, but petition him upon occaſion to doe it, that in the Acclamations of the People, *Juſtinian's* name ſhould be firſt mentioned, and when ever *Theodatus* had his Statue erected, the Emperour ſhould have another placed on the right hand.

87. *Theodatus* though he had ſubſcribed the Accord, yet fearing that the Emperour might not accept of the terms, was much diſtracted in his mind, out of apprehenſion of a War which he infinitely dreaded. He ſent back for the Ambaſſadour, now on his Journey as far as *Albania*, who diſcovering the terrour he was in, ſo applied himſelf to his humour, that he was perſuaded to reſign the Kingdom to *Juſtinian*, having bound *Peter* by an Oath, not to diſcover this his Intent, till he perceived the Emperour would not accept of the former Capitulations, and with him he ſent one *Ruſticus* a Prieſt, and a man whom he much reſpected, and whom ſome will have the ſame with *Agapetus* the *Roman* Biſhop. *Juſtinian* not admitting of the firſt Accord, they ſhewed him the ſecond Agreement, whereby he was content for a yearly allowance of twelve Centenaries of Gold, to ſurrender the Dominion over the *Goths* and *Italians*, having no skill, as he ſaid in his Letter, in the tumults of War, and being by his love to Philoſophy, eſtranged from the noiſe of Battels, and preferring his Studies before a Kingdom. The Emperour raviſhed with joy, flattered him in an anſwer to his Letters, approving and extolling his high Wiſdom, and adding to what he demanded, the chief Honours of which a *Roman* Subject was capable, ſent *Peter* and one *Alexander* joyned in Commiſſion with him, with Inſtructions to aſſign him Lands out of the Emperour's Domain, by the *Romans* called *Patrimonium*; and having perfected the Agreement by Oaths and Inſtruments of Conveyance, to call in *Beliſarius* from *Sicily*, to take Poſſeſſion of the Countrey, to whom he ſent Orders accordingly to go over.

Mundus and his Son Slain in *Dalmatia.*

88. During this Negotiation, an Army of *Goths* entred *Dalmatia*, and near *Salonæ* killed *Mauritius* the Son of *Mundus*, who went out with a few onely to view their Body, wherewith *Mundus* being much greived, in great paſſion led his men without any good order againſt the Enemy, whom he clearly defeated, but giving the Chaſe negligently, and without good conſideration, (ſo much he was inraged for the Death of his Son;) he was Slain by one whom he purſued, according to a verſe of *Sibylla* which the *Romans* now called to mind, that *When Africk ſhould be recovered, Mundus and his Son ſhould periſh,* which they out of the ambiguous ſignification of the word, *Mundus*, interpreted of the World, and the whole fabrick of Nature. The *Romans* now having none to head them, retired home, and the *Goths* having loſt their chief Officers, kept cloſe in their Garriſons, for they could not truſt to the Fortifications of *Salonæ*, nor to the *Romans* that Inhabited it. *Theodatus* now in the mean time, for all his Tranſactions with the Emperour, ſlighted his Ambaſſadours, being of ſo fickle and weak a diſpoſition, as either to be depreſſed with greater fears, or elevated with higher Confidence than the occaſion required. Exalted upon this diſaſtre of *Mundus*, he derided *Peter*, who expoſtulating with him for his breach of Faith, he publickly told him, that as Ambaſſadours are by all men much reſpected, yet they retain that privilege by moderation onely, it being not unuſual for ſuch an one to be put to Death, if he carry himſelf inſolently to the Perſon of a Prince, or commit Adultery. He did not mean that *Peter* had lain with any man's Wife, but onely expreſſed the limits of his Privilege; however he and his Collegue net-

Africa capta eſt, Mundus & ejus nate periſtis.

led hereat, admoniſhed him not upon ſuch frivolous pretences, to violate the Laws of Nations; told him that an Ambaſſadour, who could not have water to his hands without the knowledge of thoſe that guarded him, could not be guilty of ſuch a Crime. As for words, if he have in commiſſion to ſpeak them, he is not to be blamed, but his Maſter. That it is his part to doe that for which he was ſent: that they therefore would utter whatſoever the Emperour had commanded them, were he angry or pleaſed; and again putting him in mind that it was high time to perform what he had ſworn to, they told him they had, beſides the Letters directed to him, others which they muſt deliver to the Principal *Goths* themſelves. By theſe the Emperour promiſed that their union with him ſhould tend to their benefit, and not at all to their diſadvantage; and deſired them to give credit and aſſiſtence to theſe his two Ambaſſadours, whom he had ſent into *Italy* about this buſineſs.

Theodatus puts a guard upon *Juſtinian*'s Ambaſſadours.

Grypus, the Commander of the *Goths*, quits *Dalmatia.*

Beliſarius paſſeth from *Sicily* into *Italy*.

89. He peruſed the Letters, but refuſed utterly to perform the agreement, and put a ſtrict guard upon the Ambaſſadours. *Juſtinian* being thereof informed, ſent *Conſtantianus*, Maſter of his Horſe, to raiſe Forces in *Illyrium*, and attempt *Salonæ*. *Beliſarius* he ordered without delay to paſs into *Italy*, and make war upon the *Goths*. In the mean time *Gripus*, who commanded the *Goths*, had entred *Salonæ*; but hearing a report that *Conſtantianus* had a far greater Army, both by Land and Sea, than indeed he had, he removed into the Champion Countrey; and then *Conſtantianus* ſeizing upon the Town, and his Fleet lying before it at Anchor, ſeven days after he aroſe, and tranſported his men to *Ravenna*. Now did *Conſtantianus* take in *Dalmatia* and *Liburnia*, the *Goths* ſubmitting themſelves, and ſo ended the Winter, and the firſt year of the War. *Beliſarius* leaving Garriſons in *Syracuſe* and *Panormus*, tranſported his Army from *Meſſina* to *Rhegium*, over that Strait where the Poets feigned *Scylla* and *Charybdis* to have been ſeated. Paſſing up the Countrey, where many daily came in to him, he ſate down in *Campania* before *Naples*, commanding the Fleet, which kept all this while cloſe to the Coaſt, to lie within a Bow-ſhot in the Harbour. The Caſtle in the Suburbs he took by compoſition; and then giving leave to the Citizens to ſend ſome to treat with him, or hear what he had to offer, they ſent one *Stephanus*; to whom he offered many arguments drawn from ſelf-preſervation and liberty, pawning his Faith for as good conditions as the *Sicilians* had obtained. *Stephanus* making report hereof to the Commonalty, added his own opinion of the inconvenience of reſiſting the Emperour; but *Paſtor* and *Aſclepiodotus*, two Oratours, much devoted to the ſervice of the *Goths*, on purpoſe to croſs the Treaty, perſuaded them to make ſuch demands of *Beliſarius* as they concluded he would never grant; and when contrary to their expectation, he had cloſed with their Propoſitions, and the People commanded the Gates to be ſet open, they again perſuaded them it was their intereſt to ſtand out; foraſmuch as it was uncertain which Side would get the better: And though *Beliſarius* ſhould have that good fortune, he could not in wiſdom ſo much blame them for being true to their truſt, as hate and deſpiſe them for, either as Traitours or Cowards, forſaking their old Friends and Maſters at the firſt onſet.

90. Hereupon they defied *Beliſarius*, who making ſeveral aſſaults, was as often repulſed with loſs of many of his beſt men; the Walls, by reaſon of the Sea, and the ſteepneſs of the ground, being inacceſſible. He cut the great Aqueduct which ſerved the City; but this inconvenience was eaſily ſupplied by the Wells within, which furniſhed them with water ſufficiently; ſo that he was much perplexed, conſidering the loſs of his time, and that he muſt be forced to ſet upon *Rome* and *Theodatus* in the Winter. Reſolving to riſe, he had given out orders to the Army to diſlodge, when a certain *Iſaurian*, curious to view the ſtructure of the Aqueduct, entring into it perceived, that if a paſſage, which was cut for the water through a Rock, was but a little inlarged, Forces might eaſily get through it, and ſurprize the City. *Beliſarius* herewith acquainted, joyfully entertained the overture, and procured ſome *Iſaurians* to widen the Paſſage, which they did not with Hatchets and Axes, but by filing off the Rock, leſt they ſhould be diſcovered by the noiſe. When all was ready, *Beliſarius* ſent again for *Stephanus*, and uſed all the arguments he could to perſuade them to yield, telling them his Engines were ready, wherewith he ſhould not fail to take the Town; but the People being ſtill deaf to all advice of this nature, he provided him ſcaling Ladders, and then cauſed *Magnus*, a Commander of the Horſe, and *Ennes*, Captain of the *Iſaurians*, in the dead time of the night, with about ſix hundred men to enter the Vault, taking with them Lights, and two Trumpets to affright the City, and give notice to the General what they did. When they were within the City, they were at a loſs, not knowing where to get up, till the foremoſt at laſt found the Roof uncovered at a place where ſtood a Cottage, in which a poor Woman

man dwelt alone, and an Olive-tree grew at the top of the Arch. The Vault being high arched with Brick, and no ſteps at the hole, they found it impoſſible to climb with their Arms about them, till one laying his down, made a ſhift to clamber up, and threatned to kill the Woman if once ſhe ſtirred. Then tying a Rope to the Tree, he caſt the other end down into the Aqueduct, by which all the Souldiers mounted, one by one.

Takes *Naples.*

91. All being mounted, and the night now far ſpent, they made up to the Wall, and killed the Sentinels on the North-ſide, where the General ſtood expecting the event; who upon the ſignal of the Trumpets given, commanded the Souldiers to ſet to the Scaling Ladders. The Ladders were two ſhort; but they tied two together, and ſo mounting the Battlements, eaſily took the City, and opened the Gates for the reſt of the Army to enter. Great ſlaughter was made of all ſorts and conditions, eſpecially by the *Maſſagetes*, who killed thoſe alſo that had taken ſanctuary in Churches, till *Beliſarius* rode about and reſtrained the Angry Souldiers, bidding them take the Wealth, but ſpare the Owners; and let the Conquered find by experience how good Friends they had loſt by the falſe meaſures of their own Councils. He cauſed all the other Priſoners to be releaſed as well as the Women and Children; and reconciling the Souldiers to them, both made them Slaves, and reſtored them to liberty in one day; after which they recovered alſo the choiceſt of their Goods, having hid their Gold and things of value under-ground, which now they found upon reſtitution of their Houſes. The *Gothick* Garriſon, conſiſting of eight hundred men, he took into the Emperour's pay; and ſo ended the Siege of *Naples*, after twenty days continuance, as *Procopius* writes, who ſpeaks much of the humanity of *Beliſarius*; although ſome others, but thoſe of no great authority, ſay he was grievouſly reprehended for his cruelty in this City by *Silverius*, the Biſhop of *Rome*, and compelled to doe penance, having put all the Citizens to the Sword, and neither ſpared Churches, Prieſts, nor the Religious Virgins. However, the *Goths* throughout *Italy* were exceedingly alarmed at his ſucceſs, and more amazed at the ſtupidity of their Prince, who made no preparations for a Battel, ſuſpecting that he betrayed the Countrey to *Beliſarius* upon ſecurity of a quiet and idle life. Aſſembling at *Regeta*, a place thirty five miles diſtant from *Rome*, they choſe one *Vitigis* for their King, a man of no eminent Houſe, but become remarkable for his valour in the War, which *Theodorich* made againſt the *Gepidæ*. *Theodatus* having the news, fled to *Ravenna*, whither the new King ſent after him one *Optaris*, a *Goth*, (whom *Theodatus* had diſobliged by hindring him from the marriage of an handſome and rich Maid he loved, by perſuading her to marry another man) with orders to bring him either alive or dead. To gratify his own malice, as well as the jealouſie of *Vitigis*, he ſo hotly purſued him, that he overtook him on the way; and being laid along on his back, killed him like a Beaſt ordained for ſacrifice, as the Hiſtorian expreſſeth it, after he had reigned three years. Such was the end of this covetous, ingratefull, fickle and imprudent Prince, who in old Coins is called *Theodahathus*, with a threefold aſpiration according to the pronunciation of the *Goths*.

Vitigis choſen King by the *Goths*.

And *Theodatus* murthered.

Vide Bar. Annal. ad Ann. 534, & 536. *Tom.* 7.

92. *Vitigis* to improve the advantage got by the death of *Theodatus*, impriſoned his Son *Theudegiſclus*, marcht for *Rome*, and thence, having not things yet in readineſs, to *Ravenna*, whence he thought he might beſt begin the War. Before his departure from *Rome*, he laboured much with *Silverius* the Biſhop, the Senate and People to be true to the *Gothick* Nation, putting them in mind of *Theodorich*'s Reign, binding them with the ſtrongeſt Oaths imaginable, and taking moſt of the Senatours as Hoſtages along with him. Having left a Garriſon of four thouſand men in *Rome*, and being come to *Ravenna*, he there by force married *Mataſuntha*, the Daughter of *Amalaſuntha* (a Virgin more beautifull than her name expreſſeth her) to ſtrengthen his Intereſt by ſo near alliance with the Bloud of *Theodorich*; then from all Parts did he aſſemble the *Goths*, and put them into a poſture; thoſe in *Gall* onely excepted, for fear of the *Franks*, who he thought would certainly overrun both *Italy* and *Gall*, if he with his Army ſhould march for *Rome*. Therefore conſidering how he ſhould be utterly unable to graple with the *Romans* and them at the ſame time he called his Officers together, and perſuaded them to draw the *Franks* to their ſide, by giving up to them that part of *Gall* which *Theodorich* and his Succeſſours had hitherto poſſeſſed, with a certain ſum of money. The Princes of the *Franks*, *Childebert*, *Theudebert* and *Clotarius* divided the Countrey betwixt them, and took the money, entring into confederacy with the *Goths*, and covenanting to ſend them aid; onely having promiſed the Emperour to doe the ſame with him, they could not enter into an open war with him, therefore they would ſend them

Wittichis vulgo Vitigis, ſapiens & fortis. Grot. Theud-giſil, Populorum comes.

Mate-ſchuente, Mediocris pulchritudo.

Vitigis draws the *Franks* to his Party.

them Succours, not *Franks*, but of the Nations ſubject to them. *Beliſarius* in the mean time put Garriſons into *Naples* and *Cumæ*, the onely ſtrong Places in *Campania*, and ſet all things in order for his march to *Rome*; which the Citizens underſtanding, and fearing the Torture of the *Neapolitans*, reſolved to receive the Emperour's Army, perſuaded to it by *Silverius* the Biſhop eſpecially, notwithſtanding the Oaths formerly made to *Vitigis*. By one *Fidelius*, who had formerly been *Quæſtor* to *Athalarick*, they invited him to come and take poſſeſſion of their City; in compliance with which offer, he led on by the *Via Latina*, leaving the *Via Appia* on his left hand. This *Via Appia*, or *Appian* High-way, ſo called from *Appius* the Conſul, who had cauſed it to be made nine hundred years before, reached five days journey from *Rome*, to *Capua*. A thing worthy of ſpecial remark, being broad enough for two Carriages to paſs a-breaſt, paved with Stones all of the Millſtone Quarry, and exceeding hard, which he had procured from foreign Countries. They were ſmooth wrought, equal, and ſo cloſe faſtned, yet without any Braſs, or other ligament, that one would have thought them all of the ſame piece, or grown together. After ſo long a time wearing by Beaſts and Carriages, there was not the leaſt chink or hole made in the Pavement, nor any one Stone broken, or worn out; nay that had as much as loſt its ſhape and ſplendour in the days of *Procopius*.

The *Via Appia*.

Beliſarius enters *Rome*.

Procopius de bello Gothico, lib. 1. *Euagrius, lib.* 4. *c.* 18.

93. In the eleventh year of *Juſtinian's* Reign, on the ninth or tenth day of *December*, *A. D.* DXXXVII. full ſixty years after it had been taken by the *Heruli*, and the thirty fourth after its captivity by the *Goths*, was *Rome* retaken by *Beliſarius*, who entring it at *Porta Aſinaria*, at the ſame time the *Gothick* Garriſon iſſued out at the *Porta Flaminia*, being not able to make any conſiderable oppoſition. The Keys, together with *Leuderis* the Governour, who ſtaid behind, he ſent to the Emperour, and then applied himſelf to the repairing of the Wall, and other Fortifications, wherein he was very much commended, both for his skill and induſtry. But the Citizens murmured much, and wondred that he ſhould look upon *Rome* as a place fitted for a Siege, being neither ſituate upon the Sea, nor having Walls (which were huge in compaſs) at all convenient for making defence, nor ſeated upon any Rock or Mountain naturally fortified, but in an open Champion, liable to all aſſaults. Yet ſtill did he prepare for a Siege, ſtoring up Corn in Granaries, which he cauſed to be tranſported out of *Sicily*, and compelling the *Romans*, though ſore againſt their wills, to bring in all the Grain which their Farms afforded, with other things neceſſary for humane life. The Inhabitants of *Calabria* and *Apulia* had before this time, both in the Mediterranean and Maritime Coaſts, ſubmitted themſelves to the General, which example *Pitzas* a *Goth*, now following, ſurrendred half *Samnium*, lying upon the Sea, with the *Goths* inhabiting as far as the River which divides the Countrey, thoſe on the other ſide refuſing to be guided by *Pitzas*, or to give up themſelves to the Emperour. *Beliſarius* having taken in thoſe Places with all the territory of *Rome* to the *Tiber*, and having put it into a very good poſture, ordered *Conſtantianus* to take in the Cities of *Tuſcany*. He had ſurrendred to him *Spoletum* and *Peruſia*, with other Towns; at which time one *Beſſas*, a *Goth*, but of the Emperour's Party, and an excellent Souldier, took in *Narnia*. An Army ſent to *Vitigis* he deſtroyed almoſt every man; after which this *Gothick* King would not ſtay any longer at *Ravenna*; but ſending Forces to recover *Dalmatia*, prepared for a march againſt *Beliſarius* with no fewer than a hundred and fifty thouſand men. For hearing how ſmall his Army was, it repented him that he had left *Rome*; and therefore now in great anger and diſdain, he reſolved to return thither, fearing nothing but that *Beliſarius* would run away.

94. *Beliſarius* indeed, hearing that the whole power of the *Goths* was coming upon him, could not but be much concerned, having ſo unequal a number to make reſiſtence; and he durſt not abandon the Places of *Tuſcany*, by calling back his Forces, leſt by poſſeſſing them the *Goths* ſhould block up *Rome*. He ſent orders to *Beſſas* and *Conſtantianus* to leave competent Garriſons in them, and then come to him, which *Conſtantianus* ſpeedily did; but *Beſſas* ſtaying longer to ſettle *Narnia*, (a City diſtant about forty four miles from *Rome*, ſituate upon an high Hill, near the River *Narus*, over which it had a Bridge, with the higheſt Arches *Procopius* ever ſaw, and from which it received its name, being called by *Livy* and *Pliny Nequinum*; concerning which *Tully* wrote that dry weather made it dirty, and rainy weather duſty) fell upon the Forerunners of the *Goths*, of which he routed and killed a great number; then being preſt upon by their multitudes, he retired into *Narnia*; and leaving therein a Garriſon, came and brought news to *Rome* that the Enemy would ſpeedily be with them. *Vitigis* would not ſpend time upon the

Sect. 1.

Towns in *Tuſcany*, becauſe they were well provided, and out of a vehement deſire to take *Beliſarius* before he ſhould run away. Within a mile and three quarters of *Rome*, *Beliſarius* had upon the Bridge of *Tiber* built a Fort, and therein placed a Garriſon to give the Enemy ſome ſtop, till the *Romans* might bring in ſufficient Proviſions, and till ſuch time as he could receive from the Emperour thoſe additional Forces he expected; for he conceived that the *Goths* repulſed here, could not paſs by any other Bridge in twenty days, and to get Boats together would require a longer time. He thought fit alſo to incamp ſome of his men near the *Tiber* to hinder the Enemies paſſage, and make ſome trial of their Courage. But thoſe that watched upon the Bridge affrighted with the multitude of the *Goths*, fled by night into *Campania*, and the day following the Enemy brake down the Gates, and paſſed over without oppoſition, till *Beliſarius* met with them unawares, who knowing nothing of what had happened, marched with a thouſand Horſe toward the Bridge to view the Ground where he might beſt incamp his Souldiers. At this time, however formerly cautious, he ventured himſelf farther than the nature of his place, and the preſent poſture of Affairs required, fighting in great danger at the head of his men. By ſome Fugitives he was made known to the Enemy, who, neglecting all others, ſhot at him alone, and laid at him with their Swords and Lances. He gallantly demeaned himſelf, killing all within his reach; but had undoubtedly periſhed, had not his Lanciers and Targetiers ſhewed that day unparallell'd valour, holding their Shields before him, receiving all the Arrows, and thruſting off the Multitude by main ſtrength. He loſt at leaſt a thouſand on his part; and amongſt them, many of the choiceſt of his Retinue, yet he himſelf was neither wounded nor ſhot, though the Controverſie of the day was onely about his own Perſon.

A great Action betwixt *Beliſarius* and the *Goths* near *Rome*.

95. In concluſion, the *Goths* were routed, and driven to their Camp, which when they had entred, they made head againſt the Purſuers; and their Foot being freſh, eaſily repulſed them. The *Romans* finding no acceſs here, and perceiving another Party of Horſe to make toward them, retired to an Hill, whence they were forced down, and purſued by thoſe they had lately chaſed to the very Gates of *Rome*. Here they were in greater diſtreſs than ever; for thoſe within, fearing that the *Goths* would enter pell mell with them, would not open the Gates, though the General himſelf called and cried to them, whoſe Face they could not diſcern in the duſk of the evening, being alſo beſmeared with bloud and duſt, and his voice was as little diſtinguiſhed, becauſe they had taken it for granted that he was dead from the report of ſuch as firſt of all ran away. They were driven up into a narrow room, and violently charged, which put *Beliſarius* upon a ſudden and bold reſolution, to incourage his men, and to give the onſet upon the Purſuers, who were much diſordered; and his deſign ſo far took, that the *Goths* imagining this could not happen, except thoſe within the City ſallied out alſo upon them, in a fear ran all away, *Beliſarius* not ſuffering his Souldiers to give the chaſe, but procuring as ſpeedy entrance into *Rome* as poſſible. A day or two following was the City half incompaſſed by the Enemy, who lying on both ſides of *Pons Milvius*, and thereby having free acceſs to the River, made war in what part he pleaſed. The Aqueducts, fourteen in number, being moſt ſtately Brick-works, ſo deep and broad, that a man might eaſily enter them on horſeback, they broke and rent in pieces, to cut off the water from the Town. On the other ſide, *Beliſarius* omitted nothing becoming a prudent and wary Governour for defence of the Place. To ſupply the defect of water now wanting to the Mills, he cauſed ſtrong Cables to be drawn croſs the River, and faſtned on both ſides near the Bridge, being ſtretched out ſo as to be very ſtiff. To theſe Cables he tied Boats at two foot diſtance, where the ſtream ran ſtrongeſt through the Arches, and placing in each Boat a Mill-ſtone, hung the Engine, which was to turn the Mill, betwixt the Boats. Beneath theſe, in the ſame manner, he cauſed other Boats to be tied at a proportionable diſtance, fitting them alſo with the like Engins, whereby the Mill-ſtones were ſet on work, and the City was abundantly ſupplied. The *Goths* informed of this Device, caſt Trees and dead Bodies into the River, that being carried down the ſtream, they might break, or at leaſt diſorder the Engins; but for this *Beliſarius* invented a ſufficient remedy, by drawing Iron Chains before the Bridge, which not onely ſhould intercept what ever could annoy the Mills, but to prevent the entrance of the Enemy that way into the City. To provide alſo againſt any ſurprize by ſuch clandeſtine entrance, he fortified the Aqueducts for a good ſpace, where they opened themſelves into the City. As for the Common-ſewers, he needed not ſecure them, becauſe they had all their Mouths into the River.

They beſiege him in *Rome*.

96. Notwithſtanding, the Inhabitants of *Rome* not uſed to want and hardſhip, bore the Siege and reſtraint of their liberty with great impatience, aſſembling together in a tumultuous manner, and railing at *Beliſarius.* This being underſtood by *Vitigis* in the Camp, to exaſperate them the more, and drive them into a perfect mutiny, he ſent into the Town certain Meſſengers, who in preſence of the Senate and Commanders of the Army ſhould upbraid the General with temerity and preſumption; and vaunting much of the power and bounty of their King, offer to him and his Army a ſafe retreat, and free paſſage both for themſelves and their Goods. But the awe and reputation of *Beliſarius* eaſily overweighing all his Arguments; and perceiving the man was not to be frighted, he reſolved to aſſault the City. For this purpoſe he cauſed to be made Towers of wood, equal in height with the Walls, and ſet upon Wheels to be drawn to and fro upon occaſion. He provided himſelf of many Scaling Ladders, and of four battering Rams, of which Engine, becauſe we have not formerly ſpoken, we ſhall here preſent the Reader with ſuch a deſcription of it, as we have it from *Procopius.* Into four wooden Poſts of equal ſize, and oppoſite to each other were morteſſed eight croſs Beams, four above, and as many below, reſembling a Room of quadrangular figure, which inſtead of a Roof and Walls, was covered with Hides, both that it might be eaſier of carriage, and better defend thoſe that were within it from any violence. Within the Engine was hung another croſs Beam with looſe Chains, the upper end whereof was ſharpened, and armed with Iron in ſhape of an Arrows head, and ſometime fourſquare, reſembling an Anvil. This Engine was mounted upon four Wheels, faſtned to the four upright Beams, requiring fifty men at leaſt to move it, who having ſet it to the Walls, drew back the looſe Beam with Pullies, and then let it go again with ſuch violence, that by its reiterated ſtrokes it eaſily broke down and demoliſhed whatever ſtood within its reach; having the name of a Ram from the end of the ſaid Beam which reſembled the Horns of that Creature.

A battering Ram deſcribed.

97. *Beliſarius* ſtudying the beſt ways and methods how to make defence, placed upon the Towers another ſort of Engins called *Baliſtæ*, to keep off the Beſiegers. Theſe were made in form of a Bow, having on the nether part a moveable Hook, lying upon a ſtreight piece of Iron. Having bent the Armes or Horns of the Bow with a Cord from the Hook or Nut, they let fly the Arrow, which was but half as long as thoſe of the ordinary ſort, but four times as thick, having no Feathers to facilitate its flight, but certain thin pieces of Wood, which being fixed to its ſides, together with an head of Iron ſuitable in bigneſs, gave it the perfect ſhape of an Arrow. The Bow being bent with Pullies, the Nut drew back, and then out flew the Arrow with ſuch violence, that it would reach twice as far as another; and if Tree or Stone ſtood in its way, down it went moſt certainly; which force and ᵃ ſtrength of ſhooting gave it the name of *Baliſta.* Upon the Battlements of the Walls was another ſort of Engine placed for ſlinging of Stones, which they called *Wild Aſſes*; and at the Gates ſuch as they termed *Wolves*, made after a faſhion which ſomething reſembled Portculiſes. Upon the ground they erected two Beams which reached as high as the Battlements. On theſe they laid wrought pieces of Timber chequer-wiſe, ſome ſtreight, and ſome acroſs, joining them ſo together, that the diſtances betwixt the pieces ſerved for holes, or open places. Upon each joint ſtuck a piece of Wood, pointed like a thick Spur. They faſtned the croſs Timbers to other Beams but half ſo long, and from the top reaching but half way down; then laying the Beams flat-long upon the Gates; when the Enemy approached, they drew a little down the higher Beams, which then falling flat with the wooden Spurs upon the Aſſailants, ſlew without fail all they lighted on. Such were the preparations *Beliſarius* made for defence of *Rome.*

A *Baliſta.*

ᵃ Ὅτι βάλλει μάλιστα.

Other Engins, as *Wild Aſſes,*

Wolves

prepared by *Beliſarius* for defence of *Rome.*

98. His *Baliſtæ* did ſuch execution, both upon men and the Oxen which were to draw the Engins to the Walls, that the *Goths* having made an aſſault on the 18th day of the Siege, were forced to retire from the *Porta Beliſaria.* But *Vitigis*, though here repulſed, left a good part of the Army to divert the General, by plying the Battlements with Shot at a diſtance, and reſolved to attacque another Part called the *Vivarium*, or Park, lying near the *Porta Prænestina*, where the Walls were moſt aſſaultable. Another Party of *Goths* gave the onſet at *Porta Aurelia*, without which ſtood *Adrian's* Tomb, a Place but ſlenderly guarded, both becauſe *Beliſarius* thought there was no great need of it, the Wall being ſtrong in this part, and the River running under it; and the Emperour's Army being but five thouſand, at the beginning of the Siege he was conſtrained to diſtribute his men to the moſt neceſſary Places. The Aſſailants being covered by the *Porticus*, which then reached to Saint *Peter's Church*, were not diſcovered by the Defendants, till they were got very near,

which rendred the *Baliſtæ* of the *Romans* uſeleſs; and from the ordinary Arrows they ſecured themſelves with their Leather Bucklers, which much reſembled the *Perſian* Targets. Preſſing hard forward, and plying the Battlements with their Shot, they had almoſt incompaſſed the Tomb, and were ready to ſet to their Ladders, which ſo far diſcouraged the Beſieged, that they deſpaired of reſiſtence, till they took a reſolution of tumbling the Statues and great Stones which ſtood upon the Tomb, on the Enemies head, who was hereby forced to give ground, and then the *Romans* taking courage, repelled them without much labour. They attempted alſo *Porta Pancratiana* upon the River, to no purpoſe; but that Place, which of all others had been moſt for their deſign, they utterly neglected. This was a part of the Wall betwixt the two Gates, *Flaminia* and *Pinciana*, which had of a long time been broken down half way from the top; and *Beliſarius* at his firſt coming went about to repair, but the *Romans* hindred him, alledging that the Apoſtle *Peter*, whom above all they reverenced, had promiſed to protect the Place. And their expectation, ſaith our Authour, did not deceive them; for the Enemy, during all the Siege never approached it, to the great wonder of the Defendants. And no man ſince that time hath been ſo bold as to repair it, the Wall remaining in the ſame condition, and broken as formerly.

99. In the mean time *Beſſas* and *Peranius* being hotly charged by *Vitigis* at the *Vivarium*, or Park, ſent for *Beliſarius*. Long before this time the *Romans* perceiving the ground here to be flat, and the Wall decayed, had compaſſed it with a Flancker, not onely for defence and ſafety, but for pleaſure, as keeping of Lions, and other wild Beaſts, whence it had its name. It had no Battlements, nor any other Fortification; and therefore *Vitigis* ordered his Engins to be brought hither, and doubted not, but if he could break through the Flancker into the Park, to carry the City, the Walls within being of no moment at all. Yet did *Beliſarius* ſuffer them to break in, and then ſending *Cyprianus* upon them (who did great execution by reaſon of the ſtraitneſs of the Paſſage whereat they entred) ſallied out againſt the *Goths* with his whole Army, ſet fire to their Engins, and charged them with ſuch violence, that he put them to flight, having taken care that at *Porta Salaria* ſhould at the ſame time be made another Sally; ſo that as they ran from one place, they were unexpectedly received at another; and being both aſſailed by the Purſuers, intercepted by others that lay in wait for them, and plied with continual Shot from the Battlements, thirty thouſand of them were ſlain, and more wounded, the buſineſs laſting the whole day. This Succeſs exceedingly incouraged the Defendants, but the General knew this would not doe the work. For the *Goths* were ſtill twelve thouſand ſtrong; and *Vitigis*, he doubted not, underſtood ſo far his Intereſt, as to dread being baffled in this his deſign. Knowing that the Siege was like to continue long, he wrote to the Emperour for new ſupplies. The uſeleſs Multitude he ſent out of the City, ſome into *Campania*, ſome into *Sicily*, or elſewhere, as they could be beſt diſpoſed of; and becauſe his Souldiers were ſo few, that all parts of the Wall could not be guarded, and they muſt needs be ſpent with continual duty, he liſted the poor Artificers who had no means of ſubſiſtence left them, and mingling them with the Souldiers, allowed them daily pay, whereby he provided both for the indigent Inhabitants, and the relief of his ſick and wounded men. Having ſome ſuſpicion that *Silverius* the *Roman* Biſhop practiſed to betray the City, he ſent him away into *Greece*, and ſoon after placed *Vigilius* in his Chair. Upon the ſame account he baniſhed certain Senatours, whom after the retirement of the *Goths* he recalled. Fearing deſigns upon the Gates, he broke the Keys twice a month; every night he changed Sentinels, as alſo their Officers who walked the round, with the names of the Sentinels in writing, having orders to place new ones where they found any miſſing; and the day following to produce ſuch as had made default to receive their puniſhment. He cauſed Muſicians to play all night upon the Battlements. And ſent out *Moors* to lie with Dogs about the Ditch, to diſcover ſuch as came toward the Walls.

Beliſarius makes very ſucceſsfull Sallies.

Vitigis putteth to death *Roman* Senatours.

100. *Vitigis* finding himſelf overmatched, broke out into a rage, and cauſed all the *Roman* Senatours, whom at the beginning of the War he had brought to *Ravenna*, to be put to death, two onely excepted, *Gerbentius*, and *Reparatus* (Brother to *Vigilius*, Biſhop of *Rome*) who having timely notice of it, withdrew themſelves into *Liguria*. Perceiving that the Beſieged had free paſſage and traffick, as well by Sea as Land, he reſolved to take in *Portus*, or the *Roman* Haven, lying at thirteen miles diſtance, at the Rivers mouth; and this he eaſily did, the Place having none to defend it, although three hundred men would have made it good, by reaſon of its ſtrength: but *Beliſarius* wanting Souldiers to defend *Rome* it ſelf, could

not poſſibly ſpare any Garriſon for it. When it was but a little too late, about twenty days after came a ſupply from the Emperour of ſixteen hundred Horſe, under command of *Martinus*, and *Valerianus*, moſt *Hunnes*, *Slavonians* and *Antæ*, ſeated beyond the River *Danubius*. With theſe he reſolved to make war upon the Enemy, and ſo managed his buſineſs with that induſtry and rare ſagacity, that in three gallant Sallies he killed about four thouſand *Goths*, and a little after cut off near a thouſand more, whom their King, in imitation of *Beliſarius* his conduct, had ſent at two ſeveral times towards the Walls, by ſuch ſmall Forces to indamage the Beſieged. *Vitigis*, beſides the inequality of the match betwixt him and *Beliſarius*, had this great diſadvantage, which, though the other underſtood very well, he never conſidered. Almoſt all the *Romans*, and the Auxiliary *Hunnes* were Archers on horſeback. The *Gothick* Horſe uſed onely Lances and Swords, and all their Archers fought on foot, incircled with their heavy armed men. Hence it came to paſs that their Horſemen, unleſs they came to hand-ſtrokes, could doe no ſervice, but were eaſily ſhot and ruined, and their Foot could not make incurſions againſt the Enemies Horſe. The *Goths* feeling the effects, though they underſtood not the cauſe, would no more approach the Walls, nor purſue the Enemy any farther than to drive them from their Trenches. The *Romans* on the other ſide were elevated with their proſperity, and grew ſo reſolute and gay-humoured, that ſcorning to carry their buſineſs as formerly by ſallies and ſurprize, they would have the War managed in a brave and open way, and longed to come to a general Battel.

101. *Beliſarius*, knowing well what odds there were againſt him, could not approve of any ſuch deſign, till wearied with the exclamations, both of Citizens and Souldiers, at length he reſolved upon a Battel; yet ſo as he would begin with Excurſions. He often attempted this way, but without ſucceſs, which made him fully determine to fight openly; and the *Goths* being informed by Fugitives of his deſign, were not a little pleaſed, being quite out of heart, by reaſon of his ſtrategems, and hoping not to find him the ſame man in a pitcht and open Battel. Having prudently ſignified to his men the change of his Reſolution, and exhorted them ſo to ſtand by him therein, that they might render proſperous that courſe by their valour, upon which their courage and forwardneſs had put him, he led out his Army at the two Gates, *Pinciana* and *Salaria*. He ordered *Valentinus*, a Commander of Horſe, to paſs by *Porta Aurelia* into *Nero*'s Fields, with a ſmall Party; and there to make onely a countenance of fighting, and keep the ſtrong Body of *Goths*, which lay in that place, from paſſing the Bridge of *Milvius* (which ſtood at a diſtance from the City) and relieving their Fellows. This diviſion he took to be of the greateſt importance; and therefore not daring to mix the new Volunteers, who were moſt of them Artificers, and utterly unpractiſed in matters of this nature, with the reſt of his Army, for fear of diſorder; he aſſigned them a Poſt without *Porta Pancratiana*, beyond the *Tiber*, hoping that the *Goths* in *Nero*'s Fields would be ſo apprehenſive, both of them and *Valentinus* his Troops, that they would not dare to quit their ſtation, to join themſelves with the reſt of their Army. He reſolved to fight onely with Horſe, becauſe moſt of his Foot had got Horſe from the Enemy, and were expert Riders, his Infantry was inconſiderable, both for number and courage, and not able to form any conſiderable Battalion; he would therefore place them near the City-ditch, to receive the Horſe, in caſe of a defeat, and to repulſe the Enemy. But *Principius*, one of his Guard, and *Tarmutus*, Brother to *Ennes*, Captain of the *Iſaurians*, laid before him how great an inconvenience it would be to want his Foot, and to put an affront upon the *Roman* Infantry, which in all Ages had born the brunt of War, and had indeed cut out the way by their Swords to that greatneſs of Empire, to which that State had arrived. All the miſcarriages of this War they caſt upon the Commanders, and begged leave that they on foot might now ſupply their places, reſolving to ſtand the ſhock of the great Multitude of the Barbarians. The General at firſt denied the motion, both out of reſpect to their Perſons, and the Infantry it ſelf, which he knew muſt be brought into extreme danger. At length, at their importunity, he yielded that ſome few Foot, being placed at the Gates, upon the Battelments, with the common People, and about the Engins, the reſt ſhould be commanded by thoſe two Officers, but ſtand in order behind him, leſt by apprehenſion of danger, they ſhould put the Army into any diſturbance; and that receiving ſuch Horſe as were routed in ſeaſonable time, they might reſiſt and repell the Purſuers.

Beliſarius provides for a pitcht Battel, being conſtrained by his Souldiers and the Citizens.

102. *Vitigis* put his whole Army into a readineſs, and ordered certain Troops, under command of *Marcias*, to keep *Nero*'s Fields, and continue Maſters of the Bridge. Having excited his men to animoſity, by propounding to them the ſad

Sect. 1. Pattern of the *Vandals* in *Africk*, he placed his battalions of Foot betwixt the wings of the Horſe, and both near the Camp, that in caſe of a rout they might have the farther to purſue, and doe greater execution; for if they could but once come to hand-ſtrokes, he little doubted to overpower the ſmall numbers of the Enemy. Yet at firſt the *Romans* had the better, the *Goths* falling thick by the Shot, but ſuch were their numbers, that they could not be miſſing; and *Beliſarius* his men now fully perceived that their valour, how great ſoever, was far inferiour to the conduct and wiſedom of their General, whom, though they had in a manner conſtrained to this way of fighting, yet now they thought they ſhould doe bravely enough, if they onely puſhed on the Fight as far as the Intrenchments, and having done ſome execution, could retire into the City with the firſt fair pretence. In *Nero's* Fields the *Romans* fell ſuddenly upon the *Goths*, and terrified them ſo with their multitudes, that they fled in diſorder to an Hill, for they took them all for Souldiers, and armed, though moſt of them were nothing leſs, a great number of Seamen and Slaves being alſo mixed with them. And they ſpeedily made it appear how the *Goths* had miſconceived of them, falling into confuſion, and growing deaf to all the directions of *Valentinus* their Captain. They ſuffered the *Goths* quietly to retire, neither would they paſs over the Bridge to the aſſiſtence of *Beliſarius*, nor by breaking it down, cut off the paſſage of the Enemy, by which means they might have eaſily gained the day; but applied themſelves wholly to rifling and pillage. The *Goths* viewing them for a time, when they could once believe their own eyes, and perceived how madly they neglected their opportunity, fell with great violence down upon them, and eaſily routed them, being thus intent upon their plunder. In the mean time, the *Roman* Forces, at the *Goths* Intrenchment, were much diminiſhed and weakned, though fewer fell on their Side than the other, by reaſon that the diſproportion was ſo great betwixt the two Armies. The Barbarian Horſe ſeeing their advantage charged the Enemy with their Lances, who not abiding the ſhock, retired to their Foot, which neither enduring the charge, both Horſe and Foot ran away, with the *Goths* at their backs, the whole Army being abſolutely routed. By the means of *Principius* and *Tarmutus*, the Foot, and moſt of the Horſe eſcaped with greater eaſe; for they ſcorning to fly, ſtill bore upon the Enemy, and fought with admirable reſolution. *Principius* was cut in pieces, together with two and forty of the Foot. *Tarmutus*, when he was even quite ſpent, was reſcued by his Brother, and recovered the Gates, but there fell down in a ſwoun; and being carried in upon a Target, ſurvived but two days, leaving behind him immortal honour. The *Romans* within fearing Enemies and Friends might enter pell mell into the City, tumultuouſly ſhut the Gates againſt the flying Souldiers, who in this diſtreſs leaped over the Ditch, and ſtood trembling, with their backs to the Walls, unable with their broken Lances and Bows to keep off the *Goths*, who were ready to leap over to them; till ſeeing numbers of common People and Souldiers appear upon the Battlements, after ſome reviling Language, they deſpaired of ſucceſs, and ſo retired.

The *Roman* Army routed.

103. The *Roman* Souldiers, taught by this leſſon of experience what they refuſed to learn from the Precepts of their General, were now well ſatisfied that there was no ingaging with their whole Army, and therefore skirmiſhed, as formerly, with their Horſe lined with Foot, which marched by the Saddle ſkirts, and ever had the better of the Barbarians, though they uſed the very ſame manner of fighting. Many gallant Acts were performed by ſeveral of the General's Life-guard, and others; with which the time was ſpent, till he underſtood that a ſupply of money was already arrived in *Italy*, which how he ſhould get into the City undiſcovered by the Enemy, muſt now needs be both his great ſtudy and deſign. He led out his whole Army, as if he was fully bent upon a battel, which amuſed the *Goths*, and cauſed them to unite together, whereby they were diverted from the Place where he had appointed the Treaſure, with its Convoy, to enter. But they could not live upon money. Both Famine and Plague raged ſore in the City the Summer following, which ſo much overcame the patience of the Citizens, that they importuned *Beliſarius* to come to another Battel, and promiſed that not one of them would be abſent from it. He quieted them by proteſting that ſuddenly they ſhould have Supplies from the Emperour, telling them, that an Army was coming ſo big, that not one Province of the Empire but contributed to it, and ſuch a Fleet was already arrived, as no *Roman* Eyes had ever beheld the like, for it covered the Shores of *Campania*, and much of the *Ionian* Gulf it ſelf. And it being reported, indeed, that the Emperour would ſend Forces to *Naples*, he diſpatcht thither *Procopius* the Hiſtorian, both to head the Souldiers, to freight Ships with Corn, and with a ſufficient Convoy to bring them to *Oſtia*. Taking more heart from this and other incouragements,

Procopius de Bell. Gothic. lib. 2.

Beliſarius in a manner beſieges the Beſiegers.

ments, he not onely reinforced his own Garriſon, but by ſeizing on the neighbouring fortreſſes, and the ſeveral Avenues about the Town, intercepted the proviſions which came to the *Goths*, and in a manner beſieged the Beſiegers.

Succours arrive from *Conſtantinople*.

104. From *Conſtantinople*, at length, arrived at *Naples* three thouſand *Iſaurians*, at *Hydrus*, or *Otranto*, eight hundred Horſe *Thracians*, beſides one thouſand Horſe more, and three hundred already had reached *Rome*, by the way of *Samnium* and *Via Latina*. In their march through *Campania*, they joyned to them five hundred men newly levied there, and coaſted along the Sea-ſhore, having many Waggons with them, wherewith to fortifie themſelves if occaſion ſhould be, beſides the convenience of carrying Corn and other Proviſions: Some Troops they ſent by Sea to meet and joyn with them at *Oſtia*. *Beliſarius* having Intelligence of their motions, had reaſon to be concerned leſt the *Goths* by their multitudes ſhould intercept and cut them off, and therefore had recourſe to his ſeldom failing Strategems. At the beginning of the War he had cauſed to be rammed up with ſtones the Gate called *Porta Flaminia*, not finding it ſo convenient for Sallies, and leſt the Enemy ſhould make advantage of that weak place and force the City. From this Gate he now cauſed the ſtones to be removed in great ſecrecy, and there placing as covertly as might be the greateſt part of his Army, ordered certain Forces to iſſue out at another Gate, and after ſome ſhort Skirmiſhing, to counterfeit a flight, and draw down the *Goths* to the *Flaminian* Gate, whence he Sallied unexpectedly with his whole Power, and did great execution. By theſe diſaſters their Courage was now quite broken; they ſaw they had to doe with a Captain, who as well in downright Valour, as ſagacity and ſtrategems could not be matched; they themſelves inſtead of Conquering the Beſieged by Straits and difficulties, were pinched with Famine, being excluded from all Proviſions, and what by the War, and what by the Plague and other Calamities, were reduced from many thouſands to a far inferiour number. But when they heard of the Forces arrived from *Conſtantinople*, the number and power of which fame had increaſed beyond their due proportion, they then conſulted about a Retreat, and how with beſt advantages of honour and ſafety they might retire. They ſent three Commiſſioners into the City with inſtructions to inſiſt upon the violence and force which *Juſtinian* by this Invaſion had put upon them, being the rightfull owners and Poſſeſſours of *Italy*, ever ſince *Zeno* the Emperour had paſſed that Countrey over to *Theodorich*, when he put him upon making War with *Odoacer* and the *Heruli*. By the Mouths of theſe men they boaſted, that they had maintained the Commonwealth and Laws, in as great freedom and vigour as ever did any Emperour. That there had not been any one new Law made by *Theodorich*, or any of his Succeſſours written or unwritten. And as for Religion, that they had not at all infringed the liberty of Conſcience to the *Italians*, nor violated the privileges and immunities of the *Roman* Churches. In a word, that all preferments had been conferred upon *Romans*, not a *Goth* being advanced to any place of Note, particularly they had given way that the *Roman* Conſulſhip ſhould yearly be conferred on *Romans* by the Eaſtern Emperours.

The *Goths* ſend to treat.

105. *Beliſanius* denied utterly, that *Zeno* had conferred the Dominion and Sovereignty of *Italy* upon *Theodorich*, though he was content to employ him againſt the Uſurpation of *Odoacer*. He inveyed againſt the ingratitude of that King, who never thought himſelf of reſtoring that Countrey to the true and undoubted Lord, and told the Meſſengers, they muſt not think he could give away the Emperour's Provinces. They then offered to quit *Sicily*, which they knew to be very commodious for the bridling of *Africk*. He anſwered that the Emperours had alſo quitted *Brittain*, an Iſland much larger than *Sicily*, and left it to the *Goths*, out of a principle of bounty and gratitude, to ſuch as well deſerved of them, and therefore he could not account this of theirs to be ſo great an Offer. They then mentioned *Campania* and *Naples*, and the payment of an Annual Tribute, but ſtill his anſwer was, that he had no other Power or Commiſſion than to repoſſeſs the Emperour of what was his own; and therefore as the laſt remedy, they deſired they might have liberty to ſend to the Emperour himſelf, and that he would think of ſome reaſonable time of Truce for that purpoſe. To this he replied that he was not averſe, and after ſeveral meetings, at length a Ceſſation, and exchange of Hoſtages was agreed on, the Ceſſation to continue three Months till Ambaſſadours might be diſpatcht for the Emperour's Reſolutions, who ſhould return home in ſafety though the truce were broken, by default of either party. During this Negotiation, the *Romans* had time and opportunity to receive in the ſupplies of Men, Money, and Proviſions lately mentioned. They continued Maſters at Sea, and for that reaſon the *Goths* were more and more ſtraitned of Proviſions, and con-

Beliſarius gives them leave to ſend to the Emperour.

Sect. 1.

ſtrained to abandon *Portus*, and ſeveral places and Poſts which they had taken up about the City, the better to block it up. Theſe places *Beliſarius* cauſed inſtantly to be ſeized and Garriſoned by his own men, which lying at ſome diſtance and in a Circle, the Beſiegers perceived themſelves now plainly beleagured, and being impatient thereof, ſent to expoſtulate with the General, and to demand a ſpeedy reſtitution, as having onely upon ſome occaſion withdrawn their men, and not expected the places would be ſo ſurprized. The cauſe of their quitting them being ſo notorious, he onely laughed at their pretext, and then they began to be jealous of each other.

106. He neverthelefs proſecuted his Deſign to the utmoſt, and made the beſt advantage of all occurrences. Finding *Rome* ſufficiently provided of men, he ſent out the ſupernumeraries into the Countrey to be as a flying Army, to catch at opportunities, either of doing ſome thing notable againſt the Beſiegers, in caſe the truce ſhould be broken, or ſeizing ſuch places as they might conveniently attack. Greater hopes ſtill attended his affairs, for about this time came *Datius* Biſhop of *Milan*, with ſome of the principal Citizens, promiſing him to reduce not onely that City to the obedience of the Emperour, but all *Liguria* with it; yet all felicities have their inconveniences attending, there is nothing abſolutely good in this World, the beſt men, if not the beſt gems, have their flaws and imperfections. Though *Beliſarius* underſtood all the arts of a General, was perfectly practiſed in the myſtery of Fencing, knew his guard, and as well how to keep off all the violent aſſaults, as undermine and obviate all the cunning attempts and ſecret plots of his Enemies, yet he either ſuffered himſelf to be ſurprized by paſſion, or deluded by feminine inſinuations. There was one *Præſidius* a *Roman* Citizen of good Quality, who dwelling at *Revenna*, upon great diſpleaſure conceived againſt the *Goths*, withdrew himſelf privately from that City, at ſuch time as *Vitigis* marched toward *Rome*, communicating his Deſign to none, nor taking money or any thing elſe with him, but two ſhort Swords, the Scabbards of which were ſet with much Gold and pretious Stones. When he was come as far as *Spoletum*, *Conſtantinus* then happening to be there, upon notice given him of the Swords, ſent *Maxentiolus* one of his Guard, and took them from him by plain force. He was much grieved and offended at the wrong, and haſted to *Rome* to complain to *Beliſarius*; but the Siege and all the difficulties thereof coming on, he held his peace till this time, when he thought the dangers were well over. Making now his complaint, the General reproved *Conſtantinus*, and adviſed him to waſh his hands of ſo foul an Imputation, but he put it off with a Jeſt, and onely drolled with the man whom he had wronged. *Præſidius* hereby inraged, and meeting *Beliſarius* as he rid through the *Forum*, took his Horſe by the Bridle, and with ſome clamour demanded, whether it was the Emperour's Law that a poor ſupplicant flying to *Rome* for refuge from Barbarians, ſhould be robbed of what he had about him. For all the threats of the Guard, he would not let go the Bridle till the General had promiſed him, that the Scimitars ſhould be reſtored.

107. The next day *Beliſarius* ſent for *Conſtantinus* and other Officers, and laid his Commands upon him to reſtore the Swords; to which he anſwered, that he would ſooner caſt them into the *Tiber*. The General growing angry, askt him if he thought not himſelf to be under his Command, to which he replied, that in other things he would obey him, becauſe ſuch was the Emperour's pleaſure, but that which he now Commanded, he would never doe. *Beliſarius* at this called in his Guards, which being perceived by *Conſtantinus*, he asked if it was to kill him. The General ſaid no, but to compell *Maxentiolus* to reſtore the Swords, which he had taken from the man and given unto him. But he concluding it was to kill him, thought to ſell his Life at a dear rate; and drawing a ſhort Sword, made a paſs at *Beliſarius*, who by ſtepping back, and imbracing *Beſſas* that ſtood next him, avoided the danger. Yet ſtill in a rage he made at him, but two others of the Commanders laid hold of his hands, and drew him back till the Guard came in and wreſted the Sword from him. Then and there they hurt him not, out of reſpect to the preſence of the Officers, but carrying him into another Room, there killed him by Command of *Beliſarius*, who in this one thing, ſaith our Hiſtorian, offended againſt the Laws of Piety and his own Inclinations, being otherwiſe eminent for his moderation towards all men. This *Procopius* wrote and publiſhed in the life-time of *Beliſarius*, but in his ſecret Hiſtory as they call it, he gives us another account of this tragical Act, and makes the deſign of it more private and deep laid, and impious above meaſure. The Reader muſt therefore know, from another pretended Treatiſe of our Authour, that *Antonina* the General's Lady, was very vitious of her Body, and by her Domeſticks was diſcovered to be frequently naught with *Theodoſius*

Beliſarius cauſeth *Conſtantinus* to be killed.

Vide Procopii Ἀνέκδοτα *pag.* 2. 3. *Edit. Alemanni Ludg.* 1623.

a young man, whom ſhe and her Husband had Chriſtned juſt as they departed from *Conſtantinople*, and carried along with them in their expedition into *Africk*. Their ſecret practices being made known to *Beliſarius*, he gave order to ſome of his Guard to kill him, but he having notice thereof, fled away to *Epheſus*, for thoſe about the General choſe rather to let him goe, than incur the indignation of *Antonina*, knowing their Maſter to be ſo fickle and uxorious, that there was no heed to be taken of his Reſolutions. And ſhe ſo plied him with her Language, and cunning inſinuations, that he was content to believe that ſhe was wronged, to recall *Theodoſius* and to give up into her hands her Accuſers, whom, as the report went, ſhe firſt puniſhed by cutting out their Tongues, and then ſhe cauſed the wretched Creatures to be cut in pieces, put in ſacks and caſt into the Sea. Now it ſo happened, that amongſt others who pitied the Caſe of the General, *Conſtantinus* was much concerned for him, and let fall this expreſſion, that had it been his caſe, he would rather have indeavoured the deſtruction of the Woman, than of the young man. The words being carried to *Antonina*, ſhe conceived implacable malice againſt him, but kept it cloſe, that ſhe might the better find out a convenient opportunity to vent it. At length ſhe took this advantage, and ſo followed it on, that when *Conſtantinus* had elſe been eaſily pardoned for that wherein he had offended *Præſidius* and *Beliſarius*, ſhe procured him to be made away, to the General's great diſhonour, who incurred thereby much diſpleaſure, both with the Emperour and his Nobility. For this *Conſtantinus*, or *Conſtantianus*, was Maſter of the Horſe to *Juſtinian*, was a man eminent for good Conduct, both in affairs of Peace and War, having done extraordinary good Service in *Dalmatia*, *Libania* and ſeveral other places. But he was to have a miſchief, as *Procopius* obſerves, and this, if we could believe the Authour of the *Appendix* to *Marcellinus* his Chronicon before that grave Writer, happened to him not at *Rome* but in *Campania*. *Vide Baron. ad h. Ann.*

108. However, we muſt return from this his Tragedy to that City, on which we ſhall now find the *Goths* to have a Deſign, notwithſtanding the Truce. They let down ſome Souldiers into an Aqueduct to diſcover, if there was any paſſage by it to be made into the Town, and they found their way clear and direct into the midſt of the City, where in ancient times an Aſcent had been made into the Palace; and *Beliſarius* in the beginning of the Siege, had providently raiſed a Work to damm up the Cave. Finding here a full ſtop, they returned and made a report to *Vitigis* of their Adventure. In their paſſage up the Vault it happened, that at a certain place not far from the Walls, there being a breach in the Arch, one of the Sentinels ſaw light, which he diſcovered to his Fellows, but they made nothing of it, concluding it to be the eyes of ſome Wolf, which in ſo dark a place ſhewed like Fire. But the ſtory going from one to another, at laſt it came as a matter of news to the General's ear, who moſt wiſe and cautious, thought fit not to ſlight ſuch an hint as that might prove, but cauſed ſome of his men to enter the Aqueduct, who found therein ſcattered Lamps, droppings of Torches, and other things which ſufficiently manifeſted who had been lately there. He placed ſo ſtrong a Guard upon the Aqueduct, that the *Goths* perceiving it, knew they ſhould but looſe their time in any more attempts of that nature, and therefore reſolved upon a general Aſſault, and at Dinner time came on, on a ſudden, with their Scaling Ladders at *Porta Pinciana*. But their approach was not ſo ſecret, but that it was timely enough diſcovered by *Ildegerd*, whoſe turn it was then to Command the Watch, who finding them in diſorder by reaſon of the hurry, more couragiouſly charged them; and the Alarm being given through the Streets, the *Romans* flocked to the Walls, and ſo the Aſſailants were driven back, and forced diſgracefully to quit their enterprize. *Vitigis* ſtill had another Deſign: The Walls to the River were ſlightly Built, the ancient Inhabitants having there truſted to the natural Fortification of the *Tiber*, upon which account alſo that part of the City had at preſent no conſiderable Guard. He corrupted two *Romans* dwelling about St. *Peter's* Church, to carry a Veſſel of Wine to the Sentinels about the Evening, and there ſitting drinking with them till about Midnight, to put into their Cups a certain ſleepy Drug, which when it had had its perfect Operation, they were to give the ſignal to the *Goths* on the oppoſite Shore, who paſſing over to ſcale the Walls, that they might better doe their Work, he put his whole Army in a readineſs to Storm the City. But one of thoſe men diſcovered the Plot, and his fellow who had the Drug about him, being firſt tortured and forced to produce it, had his Noſe and Ears cut off, and then ſet upon an Aſs, was in that manner ſent into the Camp of the *Goths*, who acknowledged the hand of God in detecting and preventing all their Councils, which tended to the taking of the City.

The *Goths* having attempted in vain, to enter *Rome* by an Aqueduct,

are repulſed in a deſigned Attacque.

Diſappointed in their Plot upon the Sentinels.

109. In the mean time, the deſign which *Beliſarius* had in ſending out his ſupernumerary Forces upon other places of *Italy*, took well enough. *John*, who Commanded them, waſted all *Picenia*, overthrew and killed *Ulitheus* the Uncle of *Vitigis*, and ſeized on *Ariminum*, which being but a days Journey from *Ravenna*, the *Goths* (as he had rightly imagined) were much ſtartled at the report, and extremely fearing *Ravenna*, as alſo being in great want of proviſions, after they had ſpent one year and nine days in the Siege of *Rome*, about the Summer *Tropick* burnt up their Huts, and by day-break departed. *Beliſarius*, when the one half of them were got over the Bridge, iſſued out and fell upon the Rere, which though it made head ſtoutly againſt him, yet many were Slain, and many Drowned, by preſſing and crouding and falling into the River, with their Arms upon them. *Vitigis* put ſtrong Garriſons into all places in his Paſſage, and marcht towards *Ariminum*, which he reſolved by all means to recover. *Beliſarius* gueſſing at his deſign by his Intereſt, diſpatched away *Ildeger*, and *Martinus* with a thouſand Horſe to get before him, by taking ſome nearer way, and to cauſe *John* with his Troops to riſe from thence, and to place in their room ſome Foot, which he ordered to be taken out of *Ancona*, a Town ſtanding upon the *Ionian* Gulf, two days Journey from *Ariminum*. For he conſidered that this Town, being onely Garriſoned by Foot, and no Commanders of Note in it, the *Goths* might poſſibly deſpiſe it, as a work of no Maſtery or advantage, and if they ſhould Beſiege it, that Proviſions would laſt longer for Foot onely, and that *John*'s flying Body of two thouſand Horſe, would doe good Service againſt them, and poſſibly force them to raiſe their Siege. *Ildeger* and *Martinus* did as they were injoyned, eaſily preventing the *Goths*, who by reaſon of their Multitudes and want of Proviſions, marcht ſlowly and out of their way; beſides, they durſt not come near the *Via Flaminia*, becauſe that *Narnia*, *Spoletum* and *Peruſia* were at that time held by the *Romans*.

Οὐλίθεος, *Welithe, benè familiatus.*

They raiſe their Siege.

110. In their way, *Martinus* and *Ildeger* took *Petra*, a Caſtle ſtanding upon a Rock, almoſt inacceſſible by reaſon of its ſteepneſs on one ſide, and a ſwift unfordable River running by the other. They took the Souldiers out of *Ancona*, and brought them to *Ariminum*, but *John* would not forſake the place, and detained four hundred men Commanded by *Damianus*. The City was inſtantly Beſieged by *Vitigis*, who thought to doe his work by a wooden Tower, made higher than the Walls, which he would not have drawn by Oxen, as that of *Rome* had been, but born by men within it, who carried alſo a broad ſcaling Ladder wherewith the Souldiers ſhould mount the Battlements. They carried it ſo near the Walls, that there was onely a ſmall and inconſiderable trench betwixt them; but reſting themſelves by Night, and not fearing any oppoſition, *John* with a Company of Pioneers iſſued out, and inlarging the Trench, caſt up the Earth toward the Town, and made therewith ſuch a rampart that rendred the Engine uſeleſs the following day; for though *Vitigis* cauſed the Ditch to be filled with Faggots, yet the weight of the Turret ſo preſſed them down, that they could not move it over them, and attempting to draw it back, *John* ſallied out upon them, and an hot Fight began, ſo that the *Goths* hardly at laſt, and with great loſs brought back the Turret to their Camp, reſolving to make no more Aſſaults, but lie ſtill and ſtarve out the Enemy, whom they knew to be in great want of Proviſions, and utterly at a loſs how to come by any. In the mean time, *Beliſarius* had his mind intent upon another quarter of *Italy*, ſending a thouſand men under Command of *Mundilas* towards *Milan*, if poſſible to get that City into the Emperour's hands, at leaſt to transfer the Seat of the War into the Enemies Countrey. They took *Milan* without oppoſition and all *Liguria*, or the Countrey round about it, which when *Vitigis* underſtood, he diſpatched thither, with an Army, *Uræas* his Siſters Son, and ſolicited *Theodebert* King of the *Franks* for aſſiſtence, who would not ſend him any of his own Subjects, for fear of diſguſting the Emperour, but procured him ten thouſand *Burgundians*, who pretended to come of their own accord. With them the *Goths* unexpectedly beſieged *Milan*, and ſo ſtraitned the *Romans* within, that in a little time they wanted Neceſſaries. *Mundilas* had alſo, by Garriſoning ſeveral other Towns thereabout, ſo leſſened the numbers of the Souldiers, that the Townſmen were forced to Watch in their turns. So the Winter ended together with the third year of the War.

Vitigis beſieges *Ariminum*.

Οὐραΐας, *Warjaag, Belli quæſitor.*

Uræas the Nephew of *Vitigis* beſieges *Milan*.

111. About Midſummer following, *Beliſarius* reſolved to leave a ſmall Garriſon in *Rome*, and march againſt *Vitigis*. In his way he took in *Tudera* and *Cluſium*, and received Intelligence that *Narſes* an Eunuch, the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum*, a man Valiant above the condition of Eunuchs, was from *Conſtantinople* arrived in *Picenia*. He brought with him five thouſand men, commanded in ſeveral Regiments,

Narſes the Eunuch comes from *Conſtantinople* with another Supply.

The *Heruli* who.

Quarrel with the *Lombards*.

ments, by *Juſtinus* General of *Illyrium*, and another *Narſes* an *Armenian*, formerly mentioned, beſides two thouſand *Heruli* led by *Viſigandus*, *Aloethes* and *Phanetheus*. The ancient Seat of theſe *Heruli* was beyond the River *Danubius*. They worſhipped many Gods, whom they thought they pleaſed by humane Sacrifices; moſt of their other Cuſtoms being alſo different from the practices of the reſt of the World. The Aged and Sick amongſt them, were not ſuffered to ſtay the time which nature or the Diſeaſe had determined, but were upon their own deſires, put upon a pile of Wood and thereon killed, by any *Herulian* except one of their own Kindred, for their Relations were not permitted to have any hand in their Death. This done, Fire was ſet to the Pile, and when the Body was Burnt, the remaining Bones were gathered together and Buried. If the man was Married, his Wife was to ſtrangle her ſelf at his Monument, or elſe be ſubject to perpetual infamy and reproach. This People in time ſubdued all Nations about them, and forced them to ſubmit to the Yoke, amongſt which were the *Lombards*, who had e'er this, imbraced the Chriſtian Religion. Contrary to the former practice of Barbarians, they made theſe *Lombards* pay Tribute, either out of Oſtentation, or a greedy deſire of Wealth. When *Anaſtaſius* the Emperour Reigned, they continued quiet for three years, having none upon whom they could juſtly exerciſe their Valour, but then out of impatience of reſt and idleneſs, they reviled *Rodulphus* their Prince, as lazy and effeminate, who inraged by their reproaches, reſolved to make War right or wrong, and the ſtorm muſt fall upon the *Lombards*. There being not the leaſt pretext of any miſcarriage alledged for this Invaſion, they ſent to expoſtulate with him, offering to pay the laſt peny of their Tribute if any were behind, and rather than not to have Peace, to purchaſe it with an inlargement of their former Contributions. He diſmiſſing the Ambaſſadours with ill looks and worſe Language, they ſent to him the ſecond and third time, and when they could nothing prevail, they proteſted that if he would without any cauſe make a War, they muſt and would with their utmoſt force oppoſe the Invaſion. And herein they appealed to Almighty God, as an indifferent Umpire, the leaſt of whoſe Aſſiſtence they ſaid was able to overbalance the greateſt power of Earthly Potentates.

Being beaten, they changed their Seats.

Anaſtaſius admits them.

112. The *Heruli* deaf to all ſuch Religious Language, and placing their truſt in the greatneſs of their numbers, proſecuted their Deſign, and reſolved ſpeedily to come to a Battel. Their expectation failed them; for many of them were Slain upon the place, together with *Rodulphus* their King, and the reſt betaking them to their Heels, were almoſt all cut in pieces; for that the reſidue not able to protect themſelves, who had lately ſought the Deſtruction of others, were forced to quit their ancient Seats, and wandred up and down the Countries, lying upon the *Danube*, till they came at length to the place which the *Rugi* inhabited, before ſuch time as they paſſed with the *Goths* into *Italy*. The ground was very waſte and barren, ſo that they were forced hence by Famine, and journeying on ſate down near the *Gepidæ*, who at firſt received them as humble Suppliants, but afterwards offered them many Indignities, raviſhing their Wives, and driving away their Cattel, with which at laſt being tired, they paſſed the River, reſolving to try the Courteſie of the *Romans*. *Anaſtaſius* knowing the ground not to be ſufficiently planted, was content to admit them, and there for ſome time they lived, till by committing ſeveral Inſolences againſt the *Romans*, they incurred his Indignation, and drew a War upon their own heads, wherein moſt of them periſhed, as the reſt had certainly done, but that they betook themſelves to prayers and intreaties begging their Lives, and offering them to the Service of the Empire, to which yet they proved not uſefull in the leaſt degree. *Juſtinian* coming to the Government, for all this, was kind to them, giving them a good Countrey to Inhabit with other things, and making them his Friends and Aſſociates, perſwaded them to become Chriſtians. Upon this they grew civiler, governing themſelves according to the Laws of Chriſtianity, for the moſt part, and ſerving the *Romans* in their Wars according as the nature of their League and Alliance required. Yet they retained their former perfidious, and covetous principles, which they accounted no diſgrace at all. Of beaſtly luſt they knew no bounds nor meaſures, not confining themſelves to the uſe of mankind, of whether ſex ſoever, but extending their extravagant appetite to other ſorts of Animals. The truth is, ſaith *Procopius*, in wickedneſs they exceed all other Nations, and moſt commonly pay dear for the pravity of their diſpoſition.

113. Some few of them continued in their fidelity to the *Romans*, the reſt revolted upon this occaſion. They put to Death *Ochon* their King, for no other reaſon at all, but becauſe they were reſolved no more to live as Subjects. Indeed he

had been Maſter before, but of a mere Title, enjoying nothing of Royalty but the Name, for all ſorts would ſit and Eat with him, and as oft as they pleaſed, put affronts and indignities upon him; this being the moſt ſilly and light of all Nations, upon the face of the Earth. But they had no ſooner committed, but they repented of that horrid Act, finding Anarchy more burthenſome than Monarchy, and an abſolute neceſſity of having ſome one to Command and rule them. After much time ſpent in debates, they reſolved to ſend for one of the bloud Royal, from the Iſland of *Thule*, by which name *Procopius* calls and deſcribes the vaſt continent of *Scandia*, being as it appears in Maps, of the form and faſhion of a Peninſula. For when they fled their Countrey, after the Defeat received from the *Lombards*, ſome of them, as was ſaid, ſeated themſelves in *Illyrium*, others would not paſs the *Danube*, but choſe rather to plant in the utmoſt borders of the habitable World, and under conduct of many of the bloud Royal, making their way through the Countries of the *Slavi*, *Varni*, *Danes*, and others, at length arrived at the Ocean, over which they paſſed into the Iſland of *Thule*, as the Hiſtorian will have it, who ſpends time in a deſcription of the place, which can agree with no other Countrey than that of *Scandia*. But the Meſſengers fetching one of the Bloud from this place, he died by the way, which forced them to return back, and bring another whoſe name was *Todoſius*. But he being long upon his Journey, ſuch *Heruli* as lived about *Singedon*, conceiving that the Emperour might be offended, if they made choice of a King without his advice and approbation, ſent and deſired him to name the man, who preferred to the place one *Suartas* of that Nation, that had lived long at *Conſtantinople*. Him they received and obeyed for ſome time, till they had news of the approach of *Todoſius*, againſt whom as his Rival, he led them out, but when they were come within a days Journey, they revolted from him to the new Comer, and he was glad to fly for his Life to *Conſtantinople*. The Emperour conſulted how he might provide for his own Honour in his reſtitution. The *Heruli* not ignorant hereof, betook themſelves to the *Gepidæ*, and this was the occaſion of their Revolt.

Vide Camdenum in Brit.

The Armies of *Beliſarius* and *Narſes* joyn.

114. But to our purpoſe, the Armies of *Beliſarius* and *Narſes* joyned together at *Firmum*, a City ſtanding on the *Adriatick* Coaſt, where they conſulted by what ways and methods they ſhould manage the War. If they ſhould go to the Relief of *Ariminum*, it was feared that the Enemy from *Auximum* would fall upon their Backs, and haraſs the Countrey inhabited by *Romans*. On the other ſide, it was thought hard to ſuffer the Beſieged to periſh for want of Neceſſaries. The Officers generally expreſſed much indignation againſt *John*, for having through raſhneſs, and a thirſt after Wealth, caſt himſelf into ſo great a danger, and diſobeyed the orders received from *Beliſarius*. But *Narſes* who loved the man above all things, for fear he ſhould miſcarry, preſſed the General earneſtly to march to *Ariminum*, whence in the nick of time as it fell out, Letters came from *John*, intimating that without Succour, he muſt neceſſarily yield the place within ſeven days. *Beliſarius* found himſelf ſurrounded with difficulties, being either to looſe *Ariminum*, or in all probability to ſuffer the Towns about *Auximum* to be Burnt and deſtroyed, and his own Army flancked and diſtreſſed in caſe of a Battel. To provide therefore againſt both inconveniences, he left *Aratius* with a thouſand men by the Sea ſide, to be a check upon the Enemy in *Auximum*, with expreſs Command, not to fight but in their own defence. He ſent ſome Forces by Sea, under the Conduct of *Ildeger*, with orders to Sail directly for *Ariminum*, and to Land near the Foot, which he would have march by the Sea ſhore, under the Command of *Martinus*. And giving them directions to make many Fires when they came near the Enemy, to amuſe him with a falſe apprehenſion of their numbers; he with *Narſes* and the reſt of the Army, marcht at a diſtance from the Sea by the Mountains, reſolving not to come to a pitcht Battel, both becauſe his numbers were ſhort, and the *Goths* were grown deſperate upon their misfortunes. But the diviſion of his Forces, and the Strategems he uſed, had their wiſhed effect. For, ſome ſtraglers of the *Goths* lighting by chance upon a party of his men, and ſeeing others appear upon the Mountains, reported that he was at hand, with an innumerable Army. They prepared for a Battel, expecting him toward the North of *Ariminum*, and ſtill having their eyes on the tops of the Mountains. But by Night, when they were about to take their reſt, appeared the Fires, ſome ſeven miles off to the Eaſtward, kindled by *Martinus*, which caſt them into a terrible fear, apprehending that the next Morning they ſhould be ſurrounded; then by Sun riſe, they ſaw a great Fleet coming, which ſtruck them with conſternation, made them altogether deſperate, and deprived them of all power of Conſultation,

ſo that they neglected all Commands, being onely intent upon truſſing up their Baggage, and thoughtfull how they might quit the Siege, and get into *Ravenna* with whole skins. Much of their Baggage they left behind, flying in ſuch diſorder and tumult, that had not the Beſieged been heartleſs with their miſeries, and feeble for want of Bread, they might eaſily have cut them in pieces, and made an end of the War.

115. After this ſucceſs, jealouſies began to ariſe betwixt *Beliſarius* and *Narſes*, whoſe Followers flattered him by extolling his Power and Parts, and fomented the difference by perſuading him that it was far below him to fight under the Standard of any General. *Beliſarius* aware of it, ſought to divert his humour by Action; and in an Aſſembly of Officers, diſcourſed much about the ſecurity and inſolence which ever attend good fortune. He propounded to their conſideration how ſtrong an Enemy they had ſtill to deal with. That *Vitigis* was in *Ravenna* with many thouſands; that *Vrœas* ſtill beſieged *Milan*, and held all *Liguria* at his devotion; in *Auximum* was yet remaining a great and gallant Army; and ſeveral other Places the *Goths* held, as far as *Vrbiventum*, a City not far diſtant from *Rome*, each of which was able enough to contend with the Emperour's whole Power. He aſſured them their late ſucceſſes had neither happened for want of men, nor courage on the ſide of the *Goths*, but that they had been overreached and tired out with variety of Strategems. His opinion therefore was, that part of the Army ſhould be ſent into *Liguria* and *Milan*, and the reſt march to *Auximum*, and wait ſuch opportunities as Providence ſhould preſent. *Narſes* excepted againſt this, that the reſt of the Army ſhould be confined to *Auximum*, alledging that the *Goths* from *Ravenna* would fall upon them, and that being charged on both ſides, and wanting Proviſions, they muſt neceſſarily periſh. He told him he was not againſt his going to *Auximum* with a Party, in the mean time the reſt would fall upon *Æmilia* (or *Lombard Ciſpadana*, reaching from the City of *Aſt* to *Parma*) not doubting to give a good account of it, and ſo to alarm thoſe in *Ravenna*, that *Beliſarius* ſhould bring *Auximum* to what Terms he pleaſed, all relief being thereby cut off. *Beliſarius* dreading nothing more than the diviſion of the Army, for he judged the Emperour's Affairs would thereby abſolutely miſcarry, produced the Letters of *Juſtinian*, by which it appeared, that he had not ſent *Narſes* into *Italy* to command his Forces, it being his pleaſure that *Beliſarius* ſhould have the ſole Command thereof, and the reſt of the Officers obſerve his orders in all things concerning his ſervice, and the good of the State.

Beliſarius and *Narſes* differ.

116. *Narſes* took hold of the laſt words of the Letter, affirming that the General did now adviſe contrary to the good of the State, and therefore they were not obliged to follow his directions. Hereupon *Beliſarius* ſent *Peranius* with a Party to beſiege *Vrbiventum*, and he himſelf led the reſt of the Army againſt *Vrbinum*, a City diſtant from *Ariminum* a days journey, and ſituate upon a round high Hill, not craggy, but unſafe to mount, by reaſon of its ſteepneſs, and nearneſs to the City, onely to the North lies an entrance in the plain ground. *Narſes* and *John* followed him, but encamped ſeverally at the foot of the Hill, and e'er long perſuading themſelves that the Town was not to be won, becauſe *John* had formerly in vain attempted it, they roſe by night, and notwithſtanding all the motives the General could uſe, went away with part of the Army to *Ariminum*. For all this *Beliſarius* reſolved to proceed, though the Beſieged, ſeeing half of the Forces riſen and departed, were much elevated, and he prepared for an Aſſault; when his buſineſs was done otherwiſe to his hand, by reaſon that the onely Fountain they had in the City dried up of it ſelf, and in the ſpace of three days ſo failed, that the *Goths* were conſtrained to drink water and mud together. Upon the approach of the Aſſailants, the Beſieged yielded to Terms of Indemnity, which were readily granted, although the *Romans* knew nothing of the Fountain, and thought the terrour of their Arms had alone procured the Surrender. *Narſes* lying ſtill in *Ariminum*, was amazed at the ſucceſs, and ſenſible of ſome reflexion upon himſelf, and his Companions, ſent *John* with the Army againſt *Ceſina*, which he finding impregnable, went, and took in by ſurprize an ancient City called *Forum Cornelii*, and afterwards recovered all *Æmilia*, the *Goths* avoiding all Ingagements. *Beliſarius* having taken in *Vrbinum*, conſidered that the Winter Tropick approached, and therefore thought it not expedient to go againſt *Auximum*, the ſiege of which he knew muſt be long; for the Town of it ſelf, by reaſon of its Situation, was not to be forced, the *Goths* within it were many, and of the beſt, and having had time enough to provide for the worſt, they had foraged the Countrey, and brought in great quantity of Proviſions.

Narſes parts from the other.

Beliſarius beſieges *Urbiventum.*

117. He ordered therefore *Aratius* to winter in *Firmum*, to hinder the Incurſions of the *Goths*; and underſtanding that the Garriſon in *Urbiventum* was ſlenderly provided, he marched thither, hoping that upon ſight of his Army they might yield the Place. Nature it ſelf had made the Town impregnable, being built upon an Hill ſtanding alone in a Valley, plain at the top, but toward the bottom craggy, and ſo incompaſſed with Rocks, that there was no need of Walls, or other Fortifications; for there was but one way to the City betwixt theſe Rocks, which being guarded, the Inhabitants feared no Attacque at any other part, conſidering that where the way lay into the Town, a large and unfordable River took up all the ſpace betwixt the Hill and the Rocks. So that there was onely a ſmall Block-houſe at the ſaid Paſſage, and a Gate, which the *Goths* diligently watched. But *Beliſarius* begirt the Town, hoping, by advantages he ſhould make of the River and otherwiſe to ſtarve them out. They were indeed very barely furniſhed, yet they indured beyond expectation when their Proviſions failed, which they had ſo huſbanded, as onely to keep life and ſoul together, feeding upon Hides and Skins ſoaked in water, and upon vain hopes ſuggeſted to them by *Albilas* their Governour, a man of great reputation amongſt the *Goths*. But the Famine not onely raged within the Walls of this Town; for, the Summer following, the Corn in theſe Parts grew not in ſuch quantity as formerly, being neither covered with the Plow nor Harrow, but lying upon the ſurface of the Land, which yielding but a ſmall crop, this alſo was loſt for want of reaping; for it ſhed, and never grew again. In *Tuſcany* the Mountaneers fed upon Acorns, which bred all ſorts of Diſeaſes amongſt them. In *Picenia* died for want of bread fifty thouſand *Roman* Husbandmen, and more in other Parts. *Procopius*, who was an Eye-witneſs, thus deſcribes their Countenances, and the manner of their deaths. They grew firſt lank and pale, choler prevailing (by reaſon of the natural heat its preying upon, and torrifying the humours, without any freſh ſupply) ſpread a yellowiſh and wan complexion about their Bodies. As the Diſeaſe increaſed, and moiſture decayed, the Skin became like to a tanned Hide, as it ſeemed, cleaving to the Bones. Afterwards they grew as black as Links much burnt; their Countenances were ghaſtly and ſtaring, like Mad-men. Famine made not an end of all, many periſhed by ſatiety and much eating; for the natural heat being conſumed, together with that which nouriſhed and maintained it, if they fed to ſatisfaction, and not by little and little, as new born Children, they overpowered it, and not able to digeſt, preſently died. Sometimes Famine ſo overcame Nature, that they fed upon one another. Two Women about *Ariminum* were reported to have eaten ſeventeen men, killing them as they ſlept, and were by the eighteenth diſcovered, and by him ſerved in the ſame kind. Many ſtooping to eat Graſs, and not able to pull it up, fell upon their Hands, and died with ſome of it in their Mouth. There was not the leaſt thought of Burials. Such ravenous Fowls as fed on dead Bodies would not touch theſe Carkaſſes, there being no Fleſh to allure their Appetites. So grievous was the Famine.

A grievous Famine in *Italy*.

118. At this time *Milan* was beſieged by the *Goths*, under the Command of *Uræas*, which *Beliſarius* underſtanding, ſent *Martinus* and *Uliaris* to the relief of that City. They coming as far as the River *Poe*, a days journey from *Milan*, there encamped themſelves, and though ſolicited by their diſtreſſed Friends, ſtill loitered and deferred their paſſage, and at length excuſed themſelves to the General by Letter, pretending that the *Goths* in *Liguria* were too ſtrong for them, being aſſiſted by a Multitude of *Burgundians*; and upon this account the Army feared to paſs the River, with which they could doe no other than comply. Upon the receit of this Letter *Beliſarius* commanded *John* and *Juſtinus* to join with *Martinus*, which they refuſed flatly to doe, except they received orders from *Narſes*, to whom then he wrote, deſiring that the Emperour's buſineſs might not be indangered by their mutual Emulations; and *Narſes* was ſo moved, as to write to them to doe what the General had enjoined. But during theſe delays and tergiverſations, the Beſieged were infinitely diſtreſſed by Famine, forced to feed on Dogs, Rats, Mice, and ſuch like Creatures. The *Goths* offered *Mundilas* and his Souldiers Terms of Indemnity, but reſolved to deſtroy the *Ligurians*, which reſolution ſo moved the Governour, that calling his men together, he earneſtly endeavoured to diſſuade them from yielding; inciting them by arguments drawn from honour and valour, to make a luſty ſally upon the Beſiegers. But they were deaf on this Ear, and yielding the City upon the Conditions offered, were made Priſoners together with *Mundilas*. The *Goths* demoliſht the City, put all men of ripe age to the ſword, to the number of three hundred thouſand, the Women they made Slaves, and gave to the *Burgundians* as a reward. *Reparatus*, a Prefect, they cut in pieces, and caſt him to the Dogs.

Milan yielded to the *Goths*.

Dogs. *Bergantinus* onely with a few more eſcaped; and paſſing into *Dalmatia* through *Venetia* and other places, at length brought news of the diſaſter to the Court. The *Goths* making uſe of their good fortune, took in other Towns by compoſition, and reduced ſpeedily all *Liguria*. *Martinus* and *Uliaris* with ſhame and diſgrace enough, returned toward *Rome* with their Forces.

119. *Beliſarius* knew nothing of what had paſſed till the Winter was over, and that he marcht with his Army into *Picenia*. *Uliaris* then he baniſhed his preſence; and the whole matter he wrote to the Emperour, who yet would puniſh no man: *Narſes* recalled. but underſtanding how great differences had been betwixt *Beliſarius* and *Narſes*, he recalled *Narſes*, and gave to *Beliſarius* as abſolute command as ever. *Vitigis* was ſenſible, as well of the effects of this prudent reſolution, as the diſpoſition of *Beliſarius*, who, he concluded, would the next Spring come againſt him in perſon to *Ravenna*. Now did he conſult, as in a deſperate condition, what might be the moſt proper way and method for redreſs of ſo impendent an evil. Of the faithfulneſs of the *Germans* (or *Franks*) they had had too freſh experience, wiſhing onely they might continue Neuters. *Varis*, King of the *Lombards*, as allied to the Emperour, declined all Overtures. And therefore, as he was adviſed by his ancienteſt and wiſeſt men, he ſent Ambaſſadours to *Choſroes* the *Perſian* King, to perſuade him to invade the *Roman* Territories, concluding, that if *Juſtinian* had ſuch an Enemy at his back, he would give him ſufficient diverſion, and he muſt needs recall his beſt Captain, and make peace with himſelf and his *Goths* in the Weſt, the better to attacque his Eaſtern Aſſailants. Thus indeed it came to paſs; but in the mean time *Beliſarius* following his preſent Inſtructions, and the courſe of his Fortunes, reſolved if poſſible to take in *Auximum* and *Fæſulæ*; and then having cleared his paſſage, to ſet upon *Vitigis* in *Ravenna*. Having appointed ſufficient Forces to beſiege *Fæſulæ*, he himſelf with eleven thouſand men ſate down before *Auximum*, the Metropolis of *Picenia*, ſtanding at ten miles and an half diſtance from the *Adriatick* Sea, and from *Ravenna* ten miles above three days journey, ſituate upon an high Hill, without entrance on any plain ground, and conſequently not approachable by any Enemy. *Belli annus 5. incipit.*

Beliſarius beſieges *Auximum*. 120. *Beliſarius* beſieged the Town, diſtributing his men into ſeveral Quarters; and notwithſtanding their Ambuſhes, and ſome venturous things they attempted, yet the Beſieged were driven into ſuch ſtraits, that they ſent to *Vitigis*, whom they threatned with a ſpeedy ſurrender of this Place (which he accounted the Key and Fortreſs of the Countrey) in caſe they had not ſudden recruits. He promiſed them relief with no leſs than his whole Forces, but upon better conſideration, when he had elevated them with vain hopes, he lay ſtill in his Quarters, doubting indeed, leſt *John* with his Troops ſhould fall upon his back, but more diſcouraged by the failing of Neceſſaries; for he knew not any way to ſupply the Army, the *Romans* being Maſters at Sea, and fetching their Proviſions from *Sicily* and *Calabria*, which they landed at the Caſtle of *Ancona*, whilſt the *Goths* groaned under the want of Neceſſaries. Hereupon they again earneſtly ſolicite *Vitigis* for relief, who orders *Uræas* with the *Goths* in *Liguria*, to go to their aſſiſtence, promiſing that he himſelf would follow with his whole power to raiſe the Siege. *Uræas* paſt the *Poe*, and ſate down at the diſtance of ſeven miles from the *Roman* Camp, thinking it ſufficient to doe thus much without hazarding a Battel, which if they ſhould loſe, they ſhould, he knew, endanger all: and the *Romans* were no whit eager of the fight, judging it enough to keep their new-come Enemies from joining with the Beſieged. In the mean time, whilſt theſe two Nations haraſſed and weakened each other; a third was aware of the effects of their quarrel, and ſeeing them ſo far ſpent by their mutual hoſtilities, that they had rendred themſelves in all probability incapable of reſiſtence, reſolved to attacque both, and decide the controverſie by removing the occaſion of their diſpute. Theſe were the *Franks*, who repining after ſo many glorious Precedents of their Forefathers, ſo ſit idle at home, conceived now they had a fit opportunity of making themſelves Maſters of (at leaſt) a conſiderable part of *Italy*.

The *Franks* invade *Italy*. 121. Forgetting their late oaths and obligations, both to *Romans* and *Goths*, as being, in the judgment of *Procopius*, the moſt faithleſs of all men, they invaded *Italy* with an Army of an hundred thouſand men under conduct of *Theodebert*. Of theſe, ſome were Horſemen, and attended their Kings: the reſt Footmen, uſing neither Bows nor Lances, but a Sword, a Shield and a Battel-axe, the Iron whereof was broad and two-edged, and the handle as ſhort as the hilt of a Sword; this at the firſt charge upon the ſignal given, they caſt from them, and therewith breaking the Shields of their Enemies, did great execution. When the *Goths* perceived them to have paſſed the *Alpes* into *Liguria*, they much rejoiced, concluding that theſe ſame men, they had ſo often courted and tempted by money and other offers in vain, had now unbethought themſelves, and were come to their aſſiſtence. And ſo long as they continued in that Countrey, they committed no hoſtile Action, nor gave any cauſe of jealouſie, that they might quietly and ſecurely paſs the *Poe*, which they did at *Pavia*, ſo free from oppoſition, that the *Goths* gave them much aſſiſtence in their march. But having made themſelves Maſters of the Bridge and Paſſage, they inſtantly ſeized on their Wives and Children, which they caſt into the River, as the firſt fruits or ſpoils of the War; for though they had taken upon them the name of Chriſtianity, yet theſe Barbarians, as the Hiſtorian telleth us, in his days ſtill continued many heatheniſh and ſuperſtitious practices, as amongſt the reſt humane Sacrifices, wherewith, and by other ſacrilegious, rather than ſacred, means and methods, as he obſerveth, they were wont to make a gueſs of what was to come. The *Goths* in great fear fled into the Town, and the *Franks* or *Germans*, as *Procopius* calls them, paſſed by directly to their Camp, where at firſt they were, upon the ſame ſurmize, kindly received; till laying about them with their Axes, and beginning to doe miſchief, they were preſently diſcovered by the *Goths*, who then took them to their heels, and fled by the *Roman* Camp into *Ravenna*. The *Romans* ſeeing them fly, could think no other, but that *Beliſarius* had routed them, and now gave the chaſe; therefore they took Arms, and reſolved to fall in with him. But for their offered aſſiſtence they found themſelves as badly treated as thoſe that fled, and being eaſily beaten, becauſe ſurpriſed, when they could not return to their Camp, they fled into *Tuſcany*, and ſent news of the Accident to their General.

Take the Camps of *Goths* and *Romans*.

122. The *Franks* thus became Maſters of both the Camps, where they found Proviſions ſufficient for their preſent ſupply. But they were come into an exhauſted Countrey, which afforded nothing but the fleſh of Oxen, and water from the *Poe*; not any bread, nor any thing, except that liquid Element to digeſt the fleſh, which caſt them into fluxes and dyſenteries, ſo that having no Medicines, nor other conveniences at hand, a third part of them are ſaid to have periſhed, and the reſt ſtaid in theſe Parts, not able to march any farther. In the mean time, *Beliſarius* hearing of this Invaſion, and how the Troops of *John* and *Martinus* were routed, began to ſuſpect the ſtate of his Affairs; and deſirous to divert the ſtorm from his own Army, which he knew could not but be very great, in caſe the *Franks* and *Goths* ſhould join together, he wrote to *Theodebert*, given him good words, and expoſtulating with him for the breach of theſe Articles, which he had moſt religiouſly ſigned, putting him withall in mind, that the Emperour's condition was not ſo weak, as to render him incapable of calling him hereafter to account. *Theodebert* ſomewhat moved with this Letter, more troubled at the opprobrious language of his men, who reviled him for ſuffering them to die like dogs in a deſolate Countrey, and moſt of all touched with a ſenſe of his preſent Eſtate, roſe up with all his *Franks* that ſurvived, and haſted home.

Beliſarius writes to their King.

He returns home.

123. *Martinus* and *John* returned with their Troops to prevent the Enemy his raiſing the Siege of *Auximum*, wherein the *Goths* heard nothing of the *Franks* retreat, but quite ſpent, and out of heart, by reaſon of the delay of aſſiſtence promiſed from *Ravenna*, thought once more, and for all, to importune *Vitigis*; and not being able to ſend any Meſſenger out of the Town, by reaſon of the ſtrict watch that was ſet upon them, they corrupted with money a Souldier in the *Roman* Army, who ſtood Sentinel to keep off the Inhabitants from cutting Graſs, the beſt ſupply of Victual they now had. To their Letter ſent by this Fellow, *Vitigis* returned a plauſible and kind anſwer, which ſo animated them, that they refuſed all offers made by *Beliſarius*. But finding they got nothing but good words, they ſent the ſecond time, declaring they ſhould not be able to ſtruggle with the Famine any longer than five days more, to which their King replied as formerly, holding them in ſuſpence with the like hopes. The *Romans* all this while were weary of the ſiege in a barren Countrey, and diſheartned at the obſtinacious humour of the Beſieged. *Beliſarius* ſecretly admiring what the thing ſhould be which thus held up their ſpirits, procured a *Sclavonian*, who, as the reſt of his Countreymen upon the River *Iſter*, was well practiſed in ſtealing Enemies, to catch one of the *Goths* that came out of the Town to gather Graſs, by whom the whole matter about the Sentinel was diſcovered; for when brought face to face, the Fellow (by name *Barcenſiris*, and a *Beſſian* by Nation) confeſſed all; and being by the General delivered up to his Companions to be puniſhed as they ſaw convenient, was burnt alive. *Beliſarius* ſeeing them ſtill hold out, thought he might poſſibly complete his deſign

by demoliſhing a Conduit, which from the North-ſide of the Town, and near to the Walls, ſupplied them with water. A great conteſt happened about this Conduit, the Beſieged iſſuing out, and with all their force indeavouring to protect it, having the advantage of the upper ground, which they improved to the ſlaughter of their Enemies. But the *Romans* bore upon them ſtill, *Beliſarius* their General calling upon them, who whilſt he thus performed the office of a valiant Commander, had loſt his life, but that *Vingatus*, one of his Guard, perceiving the Arrow coming toward his Belly, put his Right hand between, and to his own great damage and miſery ſaved him harmleſs. For being wounded, and in great extremity of pain, he retired; and afterwards his Sinews were cut aſunder, and he loſt the uſe of his Hand. Yet did the Beſiegers ſo ſtoutly ply it, that they drove up the Garriſon within the Walls: but when they expected the fruit of this labour, and thought the Conduit to be broken down, they were deceived, the men that were ſet about it, not being able to force one ſtone out of it, ſo ſtrong and artificially was it built. Hereupon *Beliſarius* cauſed dead Carkaſſes, Lime and poiſonous Herbs to be caſt into the water; and reſolving to uſe no more force, attended to his Guards and Sentinels. For he doubted not in a ſhort time they would be ſtarved out, being in extraordinary great wants, and merely kept alive by expectation of relief from *Ravenna*.

Fæſulæ yielded.

124. The Garriſon in *Fæſulæ* at this time ſtruggling with the ſame miſeries, and deſpairing of ſuccour from that Place, yielded to quarter. *Cyprian* leaving a Party in the Town, brought the Inhabitants, with his Army, before *Auximum*, where *Beliſarius* ſhewed them to the Beſieged, thereby ſignifying what they were to truſt to, and how groundleſs were their hopes and expectations from their King. Conſidering of the matter, and how unable they were to hold out againſt the Famine, they offered to yield the Town on condition they might enjoy their lives and goods. The General was not averſe to it; but the Souldier oppoſed it, ſhewing his wounds, and recounting the labours and dangers he had undergone in the ſiege, of which, he affirmed the plunder of the Town to be the due and proper reward. At length the *Romans*, forced by the preſſing opportunity, and the *Goths* by the Famine, came to this accord, that the Souldiers ſhould have half the goods, and the Beſieged with the other half become Subjects to the Emperour, which was accordingly done, and the Town was immediately ſurrendred. *Beliſarius* having thus taken *Auximum*, haſted toward *Ravenna* with his whole Army. Both ſides of the River *Poe* he cauſed to be guarded, to hinder all importation of Proviſions, and ſo it happened, that the *Goths*, having procured much Corn to be brought down the River in Barks, the water ſuddenly failed, and thereby it became prize to the *Romans*, who having ſeized it, the River as ſuddenly recovered its former ſtream, and became navigable; an accident unheard of in ancient times; ſo that Providence it ſelf ſeemed to decide the Controverſie. The Kings of the *Franks* underſtanding how matters paſſed, could not endure to think of the *Romans* regaining their poſſeſſion of *Italy*, but deſiring to puſh for it themſelves, ſent Ambaſſadours to *Vitigis*, offering him ſpeedy Aid, on condition they might ſhare the Countrey with him. *Beliſarius* being aware of it, ſent alſo his Meſſengers, who ſo diſputed the buſineſs, and anſwered all the arguments of the *Franks*, that *Vitigis*, after long conference with his Nobility, diſmiſt the Ambaſſadours with a denial, and inclined to an Accommodation with the Emperour. For by that which had lately happened at the *Poe*, he ſaw what aſſiſtence and fidelity was to be expected from the Alliance of the *Franks*.

Auximum ſurrendred.

Vitigis rejects the offers of the *Franks*.

The *Goths* inhabiting the *Alpes Cottiæ* yield.

125. Now began the *Romans* and *Goths* to ſend Meſſengers to each other. But *Beliſarius* to make as ſure work of it as he could, and to bring them to his Conditions, by his Guards ſtill hindred the importation of Proviſions. *Vitalianus*, he ordered into *Venetia*, there to take in what Towns he could; and hearing that in the Magazine of *Ravenna* there was much Corn, he procured a Citizen for a ſum of money to ſet it on fire, and that with ſuch ſecrecy and expedition, that they within knew not whether to impute it to lightning, or deſign, but it drove them into irreſolution, and diſtruſt of one another, and made them conclude that God himſelf made war againſt them. At this ſame time ſuch *Goths* as inhabited the *Alpes Cottiæ*, which divided *Gall* from *Liguria*, under the command of *Siſigis*, yielded themſelves to one *Thomas* of the General's Retinue, ſent by him thither for that purpoſe. Juſt now was *Uræas* with four thouſand men, gathered out of *Liguria*, and the *Alpes*, marching to the relief of *Ravenna*, but underſtanding what *Siſigis* had done, retreated, and went to beſiege him and *Thomas* together. This coming to the knowledge of *John* and *Martin*, the Brother's Sons of *Vitalianus*, who then lay about the *Poe*, they haſted to their relief, ſurpriſed ſome of the Caſtles, and made Slaves amongſt

mongſt others, many of the Wives and Children of *Vræas* his Souldiers, who perceiving they followed him to ſmall purpoſe, whilſt at home they loſt all that was dear unto them, ran away ſuddenly to *John*. So that *Vræas* could doe nothing there, neither could he relieve *Ravenna*; but retiring with a few Followers into *Liguria*, there lay ſtill, expecting better fortune.

Ambaſſadours from *Conſtantinople* with Terms, to which *Vitigis* yields.

Beliſarius refuſes to ſign the Treaty.

The *Goths* Nobility would declare him Emperour of the Weſt.

126. Things thus ſtanding at the *Alpes*, and *Vitigis* with his principal *Goths* being cloſe ſhut up in *Ravenna*, *Dominicus* and *Maximinus* arrived, both of Senatorian Rank, as Ambaſſadours from the Emperour, with commiſſion to make peace with *Vitigis* upon theſe terms; that he ſhould enjoy half the Revenue, and the Dominion of the Countrey beyond the *Poe*; the other half to be the Emperour's, with the reſt of *Italy*, which ſhould all be ſubject to him, and pay him tribute. *Vitigis* and his *Goths* moſt gladly accepted the Conditions, but *Beliſarius* fretted exceedingly, as thereby deprived of the glory of ending the War, and carrying *Vitigis* Captive to *Conſtantinople*, which he knew he could now accompliſh without much trouble. He flatly refuſed to ſign the Treaty, which made the *Goths* jealous that the Peace was fraudulently propounded, and raiſed the indignation of ſome of his Officers, who taxed him with a deſign to oppoſe the Emperour's ſervice, and to lengthen the War. Hereat netled, he called together the Commanders, and told them he was reſolved to ſtand to their determinations, who ſtill affirming that the Emperour's Inſtructions were the beſt, and that they were not able to ſubdue the Enemy by war, he made them expreſs it in writing, that they might not be able to deny it afterwards. But the *Goths* were now ſo pinched with famine, that they could hold out no longer. They were weary of *Vitigis* his government, yet ſcrupled to yield to the Emperour, fearing to be tranſported to *Conſtantinople*, and planted thereabout. The Nobility upon the whole matter, reſolved to declare *Beliſarius* Emperour of the Weſt, and ſent to him underhand, promiſing him all fidelity and allegiance. He being tied to *Juſtinian* by oath never to innovate, during his life, would not take the Empire without his conſent, and the name of an Uſurper he abominated; yet he reſolved to make uſe of this opportunity to facilitate his deſign, and therefore ſeemed to accept the offer. *Vitigis* perceiving the matter, commended the reſolution of the *Goths* out of fear, and animated *Beliſarius*, promiſing his aſſiſtence to remove all impediments out of the way.

He makes uſe of their offer.

He enters *Ravenna*.

127. *Beliſarius* keeping in his mind what had been concluded at the Council of Officers, leſt they ſhould mutiny, or make any ſtir, becauſe their Reſolution was not put in practice, now ſatisfied them that he could eaſily make *Vitigis*, and all his *Goths*, the Emperour's Captives, ſhare their Wealth, and recover all *Italy* to the *Romans*, which they earneſtly prayed him to effect. Then did he ſend to the *Goths*, willing them to perform their offer immediately; and being preſſed ſore with famine, they haſted away their Ambaſſadours, whom they commanded publickly to ſpeak of nothing of moment, but privately to take oath of *Beliſarius*, that he would not any way endamage the *Goths*, who ſhould enjoy the ſame privileges and immunities, as the *Romans* themſelves. As to other things, he ſwore in a certain form of words; but for the Empire, he ſaid he would give oath to *Vitigis* himſelf, and the Commanders. The Ambaſſadours not imagining he would refuſe the Soveraignty, which from their own inclinations, and the general temper of Mankind, they concluded that he deſired above all things, prayed him to accompany them into *Ravenna*. He ſent away *Narſes*, *Aratius*, *Beſſas* and *John*, to quarter in other Places, knowing them to bear him no good will, and alledging, that if they remained altogether, he could not poſſibly get ſufficient proviſions for ſuch a multitude of men. Then with the reſt of the Army did he enter *Ravenna*, and cauſed the Boats, laden with Corn, to be towed up into the Haven. *Procopius*, who beheld the entrance of the *Roman* Army into the City, tells us how by that ſight he was convinced, that Affairs are neither carried on by multitudes of men, by valour, or any other humane efficacy; but that there is ſome higher and greater Power which ſteers, governs, and directs the minds of Mortals thither where nothing can hinder the preordained ſucceſs. The *Goths* here had much the advantage both in power and numbers of men, ſince their coming to *Ravenna*, had not fought one Battel, nor received any accident, which could reaſonably make any impreſſion upon their Spirits; yet being ſubdued by thoſe that were fewer and weaker than themſelves, they counted it no ſhame to ſubmit to ſlavery and bondage. The Women, who had been made believe that the Enemy was more numerous, and that the *Romans* were more tall and gallant Perſons than they proved, when they ſaw the Souldiers enter, ſpit in the faces of their Husbands, and pointing at the Conquerours, upbraided them with their cowardiſe and indiſcretion.

128. *Beliſarius* diſperſed the *Goths* to their own Houſes, fearing no inſurrection, becauſe of the Army ſo near garriſon'd. *Vitigis* he kept in honourable reſtraint. The Treaſures of the Palace he ſeized, with intent to carry them to *Conſtantinople*, but ſuffered none of the *Goths* to be plundred, leaving them their Eſtates according to the Accord. Now ſeveral Towns were, by ſuch *Goths* as held them, ſurrendred into his hands; but in the mean time he was traduced to the Emperour, as deſigning to uſurp, who believed not the Accuſation; but the *Perſian* War preſſing, ſent for him to make an Expedition that way. The *Goths* hearing he was called home, at firſt made little reckoning of it, not believing he would be guilty of ſo much folly, (ſuch they accounted it,) as to refuſe the Kingdom ſo fairly offered; but afterwards ſeeing what preparations he made to be gone, and that he was in earneſt, thought it time, to lay their heads together. The cheifeſt of thoſe that Inhabited beyond the *Poe*, betook themſelves to *Vræas* the Siſters Son of *Vitigis*, whom lamenting ſadly their Condition, they deſired to take the government and conduct upon him, and lead them out upon ſome deſign, in the execution of which, at the worſt they ſhould but prefer a glorious Death before ignominious Slavery. As to action he agreed with them, but refuſed the Title of King, both becauſe being ſo near a-kin to *Vitigis*, his bad ſucceſs would make him deſpiſed, and he thought it not conſiſtent with good nature to intrude upon his Uncle. He propounded to them *Ildebald* the Governour of *Verona*, a man very well accompliſht, and of great Valour, whoſe Uncle *Theudis* King of the *Viſigoths*, would in all probability for his ſake, eſpouſe their cauſe and quarrel. *Ildebald* then was ſent for from *Verona*, inveſted with the purple Robe and proclaimed King, which done, he adviſed that *Beliſarius* ſhould be ſent to, and moved to put in execution what had been lately accorded, and after they knew his mind, that they ſhould enter into Action, and govern themſelves accordingly. Ambaſſadours are diſpatched away, who put him in mind of the late Agreement, blame him for not having performed his promiſe, reproach him for being a voluntary Slave, and preferring Servitude before Sovereign Authority, and provoke him by all arguments poſſible, to accept the Government, aſſuring him of the fidelity of *Ildebald*, who, as they ſaid, would willingly lay the purple at his feet, and ſalute him King of the *Goths* and *Italians*. But he contrary to their expectations, refuſed the Title, proteſting that during the Life of *Juſtinian*, he would not meddle with any ſuch matter; which after they had heard, they inſtantly departed, and made a report to thoſe that ſent them. *Beliſarius* having left the charge of *Italy* with *Beſſas*, *John* and ſome others, and ordered *Conſtantianus* to remove from *Dalmatia* to *Ravenna*, began his Journey towards *Conſtantinople*; the Winter ending, and with the fifth year of the War, the ſecond Book of the Hiſtory thereof written by *Procopius*.

Beliſarius called to *Rome* for the *Perſian* War.

Ildebald choſen King of the *Goths*.

Ildibadus potius Ildibaldus vel Hildibaldus. Teutonice Hildebald, eximie Audax, Ang. Highly bold.

129. *Ildebald* being ſecure of *Beliſarius*, whom he knew to be upon his Journey, according to the Council formerly taken, gathered together all the *Goths* and diſcontented *Romans* he poſſibly could, and ſeriouſly applied himſelf to his Buſineſs, which was no leſs than an endeavour for the recovery of the Dominion of all *Italy*. He ſet up with a thouſand men, and one ſingle Town in *Picenum*; but within a while all *Liguria* and *Venetia* came dropping in to him. And his game was the greater by reaſon of one *Alexander* a *Logotheta* or Auditor of *Conſtantinople*, who having ſcraped together abundance of Wealth, by informations againſt Souldiers, whom he accuſed to have defrauded the Treaſury; had raiſed much money for the Emperour, and from his clipping the Coin, had got the Nickname of *Forficula* or Sciſſers. Him after the recalling of *Beliſarius* the Emperour ſent into *Italy*, where ſetting up his Office in *Ravenna*, he called to account ſuch as never had been employed, cauſed many to pay what they never had received, and the Souldiers for all their wounds and hazards, he requited with ſlender accounts and empty Tickets. Hereby the *Italians* grew ill affected to the Emperour, and the Souldiers were ſo alienated and indiſpoſed to his Service, that they would not ingage their perſons in any conſiderable enterprize, all which mightily advanced the affairs of the *Goths*. Neither would the Commanders which *Beliſarius* had left to the defence of thoſe Parts much concern themſelves. Onely *Vitalis* who lay in *Venetia*, with a great number of *Herulians* beſides others, reſolved to try his Fortune with *Ildebald*, before his power ſhould grow to too great an height. A Battel was valiantly Fought near *Tarviſium*, where the *Gothick* King had the better of his Enemy, who having loſt moſt of his men, eſcaped and fled. This ſucceſs got *Ildebald* reputation, which he no ſooner had got, but as ſuddenly he loſt it, together with his Life. A pique ariſing betwixt his Queen and the Wife of *Vræas*, who deſpiſed her for her mean Habit and attendance, whilſt as yet her Husband enjoyed no Royal Revenue,

Procopius Belli Gothici, lib. 3.

Alexander Forficula being ſent into *Italy* doeth much miſchief.

Ildebald beats *Vitalis*.

Kills *Vræas*,

Vilas Græce Οὐίλας, *Teut. Willas, Voluntatis expers.*

Is killed by *Vilas.*

The laſt year of counting by Conſuls.

Vide Baron. ad h. Ann.

venue, he ſo far concerned himſelf as firſt to accuſe *Vræas* of a deſigned Revolt, and afterward treacherouſly and ingratefully killed him, by which he incurred the reproach and diſpleaſure of the whole Nation. In this nick of time it happened, that one *Vilas* by Nation a *Gepida* , and of the Emperour's Guard , being Suitor to a very handſome Woman which he infinitely loved ; when he was abſent upon Service was deprived of his Miſtreſs by *Ildebald*, who either ignorantly, or upon ſome motive, gave her in Marriage to another man. Hereat inraged, he reſolved to gratifie both his own Malice, and as he thought the deſires of all the *Goths*, by ſending the King to another World. Watching his time, when *Ildebald* feaſted the Nobility, and according to the Cuſtome, was to be attended by his Guards , he got in amongſt them, and as the King reached his hand to a Diſh, and bowed with his face upon the Couch , he gave him a blow with his Sword upon the Neck with ſuch violence, that the Head fell off, the Meat being betwixt his fingers, to the great amazement of the Company. Thus ended the Winter , together with the ſixth year of the War , in the fifteenth year of *Juſtinian's* Reign, which is characterized by the Conſulſhip of *Beliſarius Junior*, without a Collegue, and is the laſt in the *Faſti*, to which the Note of any Conſulſhip is added , although there were Conſuls created after this time. But now it was the Emperour's pleaſure , that time ſhould be accounted and meaſured by the years of his Reign, and therefore by degrees he would antiquate the ancient Cuſtome, for which he hath incurred no ſmall diſpleaſure with Chronologers, although ſome caſt the blame upon *Tribonianus* the framer of his Laws. This was the DXLI year of our Lord, and the ſecond of *Vigilius* the *Roman* Biſhop.

Erarick choſen King of the *Goths.*

Erarick idem quod Ararick mutata vocali pro varietate Dialecti.

Totilas in voc. Al. Totila, Toutilo, Tot-las, morte liber. Athanaſius Græce.

Ex Totilas contractum Toto varie ſcribitur in voc. Al. Totto Tuto, Tuato, Tuoto, Tódo.

They kill him, and chuſe *Totilas* King.

130. The *Goths* were much diſcouraged at the Murther of *Ildebald*, upon whom, notwithſtanding his late miſdemeanour , they looked as a man able enough to have recovered the Dominion of *Italy*. Into his place was elected one *Erarick*, a *Rugian* by Birth, and a man of good reputation amongſt the Barbarians ; for the *Rugians* were a *Gothick* Nation alſo , though diſtinct from the reſt by government and manners, whom *Theodorich* united with their Countrey-men , and made them ſerve againſt the common Enemy ; but though their Service was in common, they mingled not in Marriage with thoſe of other Families, but preſerved their Name and Race in a Poſterity of the whole Bloud. The State being in trouble upon the Death of *Ildebald*, they procured *Erarick* to be made King, whom though the other *Goths* reſpected as a private perſon, yet they could not brook this new Stamp of a Royal Character, and grew diſcontented and out of order, the more experience they had of his government. At this time *Totilas* Nephew of *Ildebald*, a Perſon diſcreet, valiant and of great eſteem, Commanded the *Goths* in *Tarviſium*, and hearing of his Uncle's Death, ſent to *Conſtantianus* then lying in *Ravenna*, offering upon aſſurance of Indemnity to deliver up both the place and the men under his Command. *Conſtantianus* gladly accepted of the overture, gave Oath for performance of the Articles, and a day was appointed for the ſurrender of the Garriſon , when juſt in the nick of time the *Goths*, weary as was ſaid of *Erarick's* government, ſent to *Totilas* to tell him, that they now felt the miſs of his Uncle, and that they had their eyes upon himſelf as the fitteſt Perſon, not onely in reſpect of his Bloud, but for other reaſons to ſucceed him. He plainly tells them of the Agreement he had made with the *Roman* Commander, and that if before the day appointed for Rendition of the Town, they will kill *Erarick* , he will fully comply with their deſires. In the mean time, the *Roman* Army being very ſecure, and high upon the troubles and diſadvantages of their Adverſaries, neither drew together, nor had any deſign upon them. *Erarick* propounded the ſending of Ambaſſadours to *Conſtantinople*, for ſuch a Peace as formerly had been offered to *Vitiges*, that the *Goths* ſhould hold all beyond the *Poe*, and the Emperour the reſt of *Italy*. But he gave them ſecret inſtructions to pretend onely that Negotiation to which the Nobility had aſſented, and underhand to bargain for a good Sum of money, and the dignity of a *Patritian*, to deliver up all *Italy* , and lay down the Royal name and habit. The Ambaſſadours did as they were injoyned. But in the mean time , the *Goths* entring into new Councils, killed *Erarick* treacherouſly, after he had Reigned five Months, and *Totilas* took the government as they had agreed, being deſtined thereunto as a ſevere ſcourge againſt the *Greeks* now Warring in *Italy*.

131. *Juſtinian* having received the news of his promotion, and the Death of *Erarick*, ſharply reprehended his Officers, who thereupon aſſembled at *Ravenna*, and in a Council of War, it was agreed to lay Siege, firſt to *Verona* in *Venetia*, and having reduced that City to go againſt *Totilas* and *Picenum*. The Army twelve thouſand ſtrong, accordingly marched under the Command of eleven Officers, of

which *Conſtantianus* and *Alexander* were chief, and being come within ſeven miles of *Verona* there incamped, for from that Town lye fair Champions, reaching as far as *Mantua* a full days Journey. Now did one *Marcianus* a Noble man, well affected to the Emperour, procure a Townſman of *Verona* to betray the place, and by one of the Watchmen the Gate was to be opened, and by Night the *Roman* Army to be received in. The Commanders thought beſt to ſend one of themſelves before, with a few to make good the Gate, and the reſt of the Army to follow without hazard. But all refuſed the danger, onely *Artabanes* an *Armenian* an excellent Souldier, the Captain of thoſe *Perſians* whom *Beliſarius* ſent to *Conſtantinople*, together with *Bliſchames*, after his taking the Caſtle of *Siſaurium*, gladly undertook it, and with an hundred men when the Gate was opened got into the Town. Some ſtood ſtill at the Gate and ſent for the Army, others mounting the Walls killed the Sentinels, all expecting the coming of their friends. But the *Romans* being come within five miles, there made an Halt. The Commanders diſputing about the Plunder of the City, and ſpent all Night in babling and conteſting about the Spoil. The *Goths* finding themſelves ſurprized, had run out at another Gate when *Artabanes* was entred, and retired to an high Rock not far from the Walls, whence one might have not onely a fair proſpect into the Champion round about, but alſo view all the Streets, and ſee what paſſed in the Town it ſelf. He ſtaying here all Night, in the Morning they diſcovered how ſmall an Enemy was within; and viewing the Army at a diſtance, ran in at the ſame Gate they had ran out at, and the *Romans*, not able to make good the place, fled to the Battlements, where they ſtoutly defended themſelves and did wonders, eſpecially, their Captain. By this time the Commanders had agreed about parting the Wealth of *Verona* amongſt themſelves, and led on towards the City, which when they found ſtoutly defended, and the Gates ſhut, they fairly Retreated, though their Companions called to them, and earneſtly deſired they might not be forſaken. *Artabanes* therefore and ſuch of his men as remained alive, ſeeing themſelves thus baſely betrayed, and deſpairing of Succour, leapt down from the Walls. He himſelf and thoſe that light upon plain ground eſcaped, but ſuch as fell on the Stones and Crags all periſhed. Having reached the Camp, he upbraided the Officers with their ill Conduct, and paſſing with them the *Poe*, came to *Faventia* a City diſtant from it about eighteen miles.

The ill Conduct of the *Roman* Captains.

132. *Totilas* hearing how matters ſtood, ſent for moſt of the Garriſon out of *Verona*, and with his whole ſtrength, which amounted to no more than five thouſand men, marched againſt the Enemy. The *Roman* Officers hereupon meeting in Council, *Artabanes* prayed them not to deſpiſe the deſperate and inraged *Goths*, though inferiour in numbers, but when they ſhould have half paſſed the River to Fight them, rather than ingage with their whole Body. But the Commanders fell on contradicting one another, as is uſual when they are equal in power, and ſtaying there did nothing at all. *Totilas* in the mean time having incouraged his men, and let them plainly ſee, that if this day they ſhould be beaten, they muſt not expect any more to Fight; cauſed three hundred to paſs the River, two miles and an half off to get behind the Enemy, and the Fight being begun, to gall them on their Backs. He with the reſt went over where he ſtood, without any oppoſition, and the Armies marching fair and ſoftly towards each other, one *Valiaris* a *Goth*, tall, valiant and of a ſtern Countenance, rode out of the Ranks, and challenged any *Roman* to a ſingle Combat. *Artabanes* accepted the Challenge and preventing the *Goth*, with his Lance ran him into the right ſide, who having his mortal wound, ſunk backward, but his Lance reſting upon the Ground, and at a great ſtone, kept him from falling. *Artabanes* not thinking he had his Deaths wound, ran him again into the Belly, and the head of *Valiaris* his Lance, which ſtood upright, lighting upon his Neck cut one of the Arteries, whence iſſued preſently abundance of Bloud, but he feeling no pain, gallopt back again to his Friends, and left his Adverſary dead upon the place. The flux of Bloud could not be ſtopt, ſo that he died the third day after, to the great detriment of the Emperour's Affairs, as well in that he could not be preſent at the Battel, as that the great hope of his future Services was thereby extinct. Whilſt he attended the cure of his Wound, without Arrow-ſhot the Armies joyned Battel, in the heat whereof, the three hundred *Goths*, as had been ordered, ſuddenly fell upon the backs of the *Romans*, who thinking them to be much more in number, than indeed they were, ran away for fear in great confuſion, with the Enemy at their heels, who killed many, took many Priſoners and all their Enſigns: a thing which had not happened (ſo *Procopius* obſerves) formerly to the *Romans*. The Commanders ſeverally

A ſingle Combat of which both miſcarry.

The *Romans* ſhamefully beaten.

rally as they could, with a few followers, made to the neareſt Towns, and there ſecured themſelves.

133. *Totilas* without delay ſent Forces to beſiege *Florence*, which was then governed by *John*, who having little or no Proviſion for holding out, ſent to *Ravenna*, praying the Commanders he might be relieved. Hereupon a conſiderable Army was ſent, and upon rumour of its approach, the *Goths* raiſed the Siege, and removed to *Micale* a Town diſtant from *Florence* a days Journey, whither, the *Romans* having left a few men in the City, purſued them, and it was agreed, that ſome one of the Commanders ſhould ſuddenly ſet upon the Enemy, and the reſt to march after fair and ſoftly. The lot fell to *John;* but then again the Officers would not ſtand to the Agreement, ſo that he was conſtrained with his own Troops onely to ingage, and a ſharp Encounter followed, wherein he at length had the diſadvantage. Yet had the reſt come up in time, faln in with him and ſet upon the Enemy, the day had aſſuredly been their own; but an unlucky Rumour being ſpread, that *John* was killed by one of his own Life-Guard, the Army e'er it had joyned all ran away, not in Bodies, but every man ſhifting for himſelf. Many periſhed in the Chaſe, and they who eſcaped were ſeized with ſuch a pannick fear, that they ran on for many days, none purſuing them, till recovering the places where they thought to ſecure themſelves, there, as it were, they hid their Heads, none of them having the leaſt thought of turning again, but expecting ſeverely to be Beſieged. *Totilas* treated his Priſoners with ſuch humanity, that they willingly entred into his Service againſt the *Romans*. And then ended the Winter, together with the ſeventh year of the War.

Totilas takes ſeveral places and Countries.

134. *Totilas* improving his opportunities, took in ſeveral places, and marching through *Tuſcany* into *Campania* and *Samnium*, eaſily made himſelf Maſter of the ſtrong Town of *Beneventum*, which he diſmantled. Then with the greateſt part of his Army he laid Siege to *Naples*, ſending out the reſt to take in *Cumæ*, and other places where he raiſed a great Sum of money. By his civility to the Wives of ſeveral Senatours, which he therein ſurprized, he got great Reputation, and having reduced *Bruttia*, *Lucania*, *Apulia* and *Calabria*, both ſeized on the publick Tributes, and private Rents, bearing himſelf as abſolute Lord of *Italy*. Hereby the *Roman* Army receiving no Pay, was driven into great Neceſſities, and the Emperour contracted a vaſt Debt; the *Italians* betwixt them both were haraſſed and diſcouraged, and the Souldiers grew diſobedient to their Officers, and were very glad to lie idle in Garriſons. *Conſtantianus* held *Ravenna*; *Rome*, *Spoletum*, *Florence* and *Peruſia* were Commanded by *John*, *Beſſas*, *Juſtinus* and *Cyprianus*, being the places they had fled to. The Emperour was extremely troubled to hear how matters went, and diſpatched away with a good Fleet, and a conſiderable Army, one *Maximinus* with the Title and Character of *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Italy*, the better to govern the Officers, and ſupply the Army. He being a man altogether unpractiſed in War, and beſides that a Coward, and of a ſlow Nature, loitered upon the Coaſts of *Epirus*; *Juſtinian* after him ſent *Demetrius* as his Lieutenant, who had formerly Commanded the Foot under *Beliſarius*. He hearing how *Naples* was diſtreſſed, had a great mind to relieve it; but having with him but inconſiderable Forces, he Laded a number of Ships in *Sicily*, with Corn and other Proviſions, hoping to fright the Enemy, who hearing of an huge Navy, expected a great Army to come along with it. Had he directly made for *Naples*, he had undoubtedly frighted away the Beſiegers and done his work, but being afraid to put in there, he Sailed on for the Port of *Rome*, to gather up Souldiers, who being lately beaten by the *Goths*, refuſed to follow him againſt *Totilas*, ſo that he muſt either ſtay where he was, or undertake the expedition of *Naples*, with thoſe few he had brought along with him. Chuſing the latter Courſe, when *Totilas* had notice of his coming, he manned out many ſwift Pinnaces, which falling on him on a ſudden, as he lay on the Coaſt near *Naples*, amazed and defeated all his Fleet, took all the Ships and men aboard them, except ſuch as at firſt leapt into the Cock-Boats, amongſt whom was *Demetrius* himſelf. *Maximinus* being fairly advanced as far as *Sicily*, ſate ſtill at *Syracuſe* afraid of the War. The Commanders in *Italy*, eſpecially *Conon* the Governour of *Naples*, importuned him to come to their Succour, but ſtill he wore out the time, till fearing the Emperour's high diſpleaſure, and wearied with the Scoffs and Revilings of all men; he reſolved to ſtay himſelf and ſave one, but ſend the Army to *Naples*, under the Command of others. Now was it the depth of Winter, and the Fleet coming near *Naples*, ſo great a Storm took them, that the Seamen could neither uſe their Oars, doe any other work, nor hear one another. Doe what they could, they were driven upon the ſhore where the Enemy

Demetrius and *Maximinus*, lately ſent by the Emperour, ſhamefully defeated.

my lay incamped, who had ſo eaſie a game of it, that they ſunk Ships, and killed men as they pleaſed, without any reſiſtence. Some few eſcaped, the reſt were taken, together with *Demetrius* who was got aboard the Fleet.

135. Him did *Totilas* lead with a Rope about his Neck to the Town Wall, where he compelled him to perſwade the Citizens to yield, by telling them that no farther Succours they were to expect, and all their hopes had periſhed with the Navy. Hereat the beſieged being grievouſly diſmayed, *Totilas* took the opportunity to give them good words, and offered to *Conon* and his Souldiers all Indemnity, in caſe they would preſently ſurrender the City, with all ſecurity of Perſons and Eſtates to the Citizens themſelves. Being extremely preſt with Famine, they accepted the offer, and notwithſtanding they had capitulated for thirty days time, to expect Succours, wherein no Hoſtility was to be exerciſed, yet urged by their neceſſities, they received *Totilas* within a while into the City; and preſently after the Winter ended with the eighth year of the War. *Totilas* carried himſelf not at all like a Barbarian toward the *Neapolitans*; fearing leſt the languiſhing people ſhould by ſudden eating their fill ſurfeit themſelves, he ſet Guards at the Gates, and Port, commanding no man to go out, and with a provident care gave them Food, more ſparingly than their ravenous appetites required, adding thereunto inſenſibly every day, and increaſing their allowance. Having thus reſtored them to their former ſtrength, he ſet open the Gates, and let go as many as would. *Conon* and ſuch of his Souldiers as refuſed to ſtay he Shipped, giving them liberty to Sail whither they pleaſed, who ſhaming to go to *Conſtantinople*, were bound for *Rome*, but the Winds being croſs, and not able to get off, they feared he would break the Agreement and doe them miſchief. But he on the contrary taking notice of their misfortune called them to him, cheared them up, and the Wind not ſerving for a long time, furniſhed them with Horſes, Waggons and Proviſions, and gave them a Convoy of *Goths* to *Rome*. The greateſt part of the Walls of *Naples* he demoliſhed, being inclined rather to finiſh the War at once by Battel, than draw it out at length, (which muſt make it very uncertain and hazardous,) and be ever Skirmiſhing with Artifices and Strategems.

Naples ſurrendered to *Totilas*;

Who carries himſelf with much gallantry,

136. Either to get him a great name, or, as he himſelf affirmed to his Officers, being very ſenſible how much his Nation by their vitious living, had incurred the diſpleaſure of Almighty God, he puniſhed Vice with all ſeverity. One of his Guard, though a Valiant and otherwiſe deſerving man, and the Officers made great Interceſſion for him, having raviſhed the Daughter of a *Roman* of *Calabria*, he put to Death, and gave his Eſtate to the Woman he had abuſed. In the mean time, the *Roman* Army acted all things quite contrary, leaving no inſolence unpractiſed againſt the poor *Italians*. The Officers lived riotouſly with their Miſtreſſes in the Garriſons, having the Souldiers diſobedient and full of all ſorts of diſorders. The poor Countrey-man groaned under both the Armies; the *Goths* taking his Lands, and the *Romans* his Goods, by both he was beaten like a Slave, and his Meat eaten out of his mouth. *Conſtantianus* troubled hereat, wrote to *Juſtinian*, proteſting his diſability to wage War with the *Goths*; the Commanders ſigning the Letter, which was no other than a plain and open confeſſion of their fear and cowardiſe. *Totilas* having now his mind upon the City of *Rome*, thought fit firſt to trie whether by Letter he could procure the Senatours to joyn with him, upbrading them much with the ingratitude they had ſhewn to the Family and Nation of *Theodorich* and *Amalaſuntha*, and exaggerating the wrongs they had received from the *Greek* Emperours and their Armies. *John* forbad the Senatours to anſwer him; whereupon he privately conveyed other Papers into the City, no body knew how, but they were poſted up by Night in the moſt remarkable places, and diſcovered in the Morning. The *Arian* Prieſts were ſuſpected, and turned out of *Rome*. And *Totilas* perceiving that this Artifice would not take, reſolved no longer to uſe fair means, but ſending part of his Army into *Calabria* to take in *Otranto*, he himſelf with the reſt of the Forces, went againſt the Towns lying about *Rome*. The News much perplexed the Emperour, who though the *Perſian* War lay heavy upon him, found himſelf neceſſitated to call back *Beliſarius*, and ſend him the ſecond time into *Italy*; the Winter now ending with the ninth year of the *Gothick* War. Before we fetch him out of *Perſia*, its convenient to ſee what he did there, and how matters ſtood in the Eaſtern parts, ſince the time we left them at the Peace concluded with *Choſroes*.

And Juſtice.

Matters ſo bad in *Italy*, as conſtrain the Emperour to call *Beliſarius* out of *Perſia* to ſend him thither again.

Anno Juſtin. 18.
Chriſti. 544.

137. After the Ratification of the Peace, the State of both Princes was endangered by ſeditious attempts; that of the Emperour by the Commotion of the Common ſort, called *Nica*, as we formerly ſhewed; and the other of the *Perſian*, by a Conſpiracy of

Redeundum ad hujus Sect. paragr. 28.

certain

A great Conſpiracy againſt *Choſroes* defeated.

Procop. *de bello Perſico lib.* 1.

certain of his Nobility, after this manner. *Choſroes* himſelf was a man of a perverſe, unruly and turbulent Spirit, which made ſome of his ſtirring Subjects ſo weary of his Government, that they conſulted how to make another King, out of the Family of *Cabades*. *Zames* the next Heir, being by the Laws excluded, becauſe of a maim in one of his Eyes, they agreed to promote his Son, and that he as his Protectour, ſhould manage publick Buſineſs. But *Choſroes* had the Plot revealed to him, and ſent all the Conſpiratours to another World, with all the Male iſſue of *Zames*, one onely excepted, *Cabades* by name, who being foſtered by *Adergudunbades* the General, (whoſe Wife preſerved him, notwithſtanding the King's expreſs Command he ſhould be put to Death,) it coſt the old man his Life, after that the King came to know of it, though he had done excellent Service, and ſubdued twelve Nations under the *Perſian* Yoke. For his own Son revealed it, and, after his Father was treacherouſly Slain, as a reward ſucceeded him in his Office. *Cabades* being ſent out of the way eſcaped, and either he or one that uſurped his Name, came long after to *Conſtantinople*, and was, as the Grand-Child of that great King, honourably treated by *Juſtinian*. But the Emperour's affairs proſpering in *Africk* under the Conduct of *Beliſarius*, *Choſroes* and his *Perſians* were much vexed, repenting they had made a Peace, and thereby given liberty to the *Romans* ſo to increaſe their power. *Choſroes* by his Ambaſſadours in meriment, demanded his ſhare of the *Vandal* ſpoils, as having by the peace been a great procurer of the Conqueſt. *Juſtinian* thought it fitting not to diſoblige him by any harſh return, but ſent him a conſiderable preſent in money.

John the Uſurper Slain.

Idem lib. 2.

Choſroes envying the ſucceſs of *Beliſarius* breaks the Peace.

Egged thereto by the meſſage of *Vitigis*.

138. The Peace was indeed very ſeaſonable for the Emperour's affairs, and that in more reſpects than that of the *African* War or Conqueſt. For in the Eaſtern parts, not long after the Ratification, one *John* a Souldier of the Garriſon of *Daras*, revolted and ſet up for himſelf, which Uſurpation had certainly been very miſchievous, had the enmity continued betwixt the *Perſians* and *Romans*; but the Peace being made, *Choſroes* would not lay any new foundations of a Quarrel, by fomenting this Rebellion, and the Uſurper was Slain, when he had enjoyed his precarious Dignity not many days. Yet though he took no advantage of this Sedition, and digeſted indifferently the Conqueſt of *Africk*, his Concoction being furthered by the late golden Cordial he had received from *Conſtantinople*, when he heard of the ſucceſs of *Beliſarius* in *Italy* alſo, the Conqueſt of that Countrey would not down; he could now hold no longer, but he muſt find ſome ſpecious pretext or other to renew the War. He made uſe of *Alamundarus* the *Saracen*, who laid claim to a Countrey called *Strata*, ſituate to the South of *Palmyra*, bearing neither Trees nor Corn, but nouriſhing ſome flocks of Sheep. *Arethas* claimed it as belonging to the *Romans*, the Title he ſaid being ſufficiently made out by the name, and the teſtimonies of the oldeſt men then living; *Alamundarus* refuſed to diſpute about names, and alledged that the Inhabitants had anciently paid him Rent for Paſturage. Much time was ſpent in the Arbitration, during which *Choſroes* complained that *Juſtinian* had practiſed againſt his Crown, by indeavouring to gain from him *Alamundarus*, who had been importuned with offers of great Sums of money to revolt. He produced the Emperour's Letters written to *Alamundarus*, and affirmed that he had alſo written to the *Hunnes*, to invade the *Perſian* Dominions, who had ſent him the very Originals themſelves. When upon theſe pretences, true or falſe, he reſolved to break the Peace, he was thereto farther excited and incouraged by the Ambaſſadours of *Vitigis*, who, as we formerly hinted, hired two *Ligurian* Preiſts to undertake the Journey, and perſwade the *Perſian* that the day of the fall and ruine of the *Goths* would certainly be the Cave of his own Deſtruction. Not conſidering the intereſt of thoſe that ſent them, he reſolved to take their advice, and give a ſtop to the Emperour's growing power, at whoſe Succeſs and Conqueſts he every day more and more grudged; the *Armenians* and *Lazians* alſo ſtirring his gall, by diſcourſes concerning the inſufferable ambition of *Juſtinian*.

Stirs in *Armenia*.

139. Some unlucky accidents alſo happened, which much exaſperated the *Armenians* againſt him. One *Simeones*, who had delivered up *Pharangium* to the *Romans*, had begged of him ſome *Armenian* Villages in the heat of the War, and being not long after Slain, by ſuch as formerly poſſeſſed them, the Emperour gave them to *Amazaſpes* his Siſters Son, making him withall Governour of *Armenia*. Not long had he ſo continued, when one *Acacius* a follower of *Juſtinian* accuſed him of Confederacy and ſecret Intelligence with the *Perſians*, and having by his directions treacherouſly Slain him, was made Governour in his place. He was a man of a moſt wicked and ravenous diſpoſition, ſo haraſſing the *Armenians* by new Impoſitions, that not able to endure his Cruelty, they Conſpired together and killed him, which

done, they ſeized on *Pharangium.* The Emperour hearing the news, ſends *Sittas* from *Conſtantinople* againſt them, and he makes a ſlow War, labouring by fair means to regain them; but for this being reproached by *Juſtinian* at the inſtigation of *Adolius*, the Son of *Acacius*, he endeavoured to gain to his Party the *Apetians*, a conſiderable People among them, the better to overcome the reſt. Upon aſſurance of indemnity they agreed to join with him; but it happened that the Inſtruments of the Agreement being ſent them, never came to their hands, and thereupon a jealouſly ariſing on both ſides, they prepared for battel, and the fight began very tumultuouſly by reaſon of the unevenneſs of the ground. He had rather the better, forcing his Enemies to retire; but being made known to them, and his Lance being accidentally broken, they bore back upon him, and ſlew him, being a man of a goodly preſence, and ſcarcely inferiour to any Commander of his time. *Sittas* being dead, the Emperour ſent *Buzes* to ſucceed him, and the *Armenians* ſeeing there was no hope of reconciliation, betook themſelves to *Choſroes*, to whom in many words they aggravated the ambitious purpoſes of *Juſtinian*, who troubled, as they ſaid, all the World with his Arms, and at the beſt onely reſerved but the *Perſian* Dominions for his laſt Morſel, when he ſhould have devoured all the Weſtern Countries. As incouragements, they told him, they had ſlain one of his two beſt Commanders: and as for the other, *Beliſarius*, they were very confident he was ſo jealous of his Military Glory and Intereſt, that he would not employ him. He liked well both of their Propoſitions and Reaſons, and having as ſtrong an inclination himſelf to the breach of the Peace, it was reſolved in Council to make war upon the *Romans* in the beginning of the Spring. This was towards the end of Autumn, and the thirteenth year of *Juſtinian*'s Reign, wherein happened the great Famine in *Italy* we formerly ſpoke of.

Sittas ſlain.

The *Armenians* betake themſelves to *Choſroes.*

140. The *Romans* were ſurprized, not the leaſt ſuſpecting any breach of the Peace, hearing onely that *Choſroes* murmured againſt *Juſtinian*'s Succeſſes in the Weſt, and breathed out his diſcontent in the charges lately mentioned. Yet a Comet which appeared at this time in *Capricorn*, at firſt about the length of a tall man, afterward much longer, with its Tail turned toward the Eaſt, the Sun being then in *Sagittarius*, much amazed them. Immediately after a great Army of *Hunnes*, paſſing the River *Iſter*, overrun all *Europe*, a thing ſometimes done, but never with ſuch miſchief as now it happened. From the *Adriatick* Sea, which *Procopius* calls the *Ionian* Gulf, they waſted all Countries as far as *Conſtantinople*; and having never formerly attempted any walled Town, took thirty two Caſtles in *Illyrium*, and deſtroyed *Caſſandria* (of which in Ancient times we have heard much under the name of *Potidæa*) which done, with one hundred and twenty thouſand Captives, and much Booty, they retired home. Afterward they did much more miſchief in ſeveral other Inroads. They forced their way over the Wall of the *Cherſoneſus*, ſlew many of the Inhabitants, and made Slaves of moſt of the reſt. Some croſſing the Strait betwixt *Seſtus* and *Abidos*, waſted *Aſia Minor*; others having ſpoiled *Illyricum* and *Theſſaly*, aſſaulted the Wall at *Thermopylæ*, where the Garriſon ſtoutly demeaned it ſelf, but they unluckily found the path up the Mountain, and entring *Greece*, waſted all except *Peloponneſus*, and ſo retired. Not long after, the *Perſians* breaking the Peace, openly infeſted the *Roman* Territories, at ſuch time as *Beliſarius* had ſubdued *Vitigis*, and brought him to *Conſtantinople*. Before the Invaſion, *Juſtinian* perceiving *Choſroes* to quarrel, and be much out of humour, ſent a kind of Remonſtrance to him by one *Anaſtaſius*, a prudent man, who had ſuppreſſed the Rebellion at *Daras*. Herein he anſwered the things laid to his charge, complained of *Alamundarus* his forraging the *Roman* Territories, and with much ſeriouſneſs laid before him the great inconveniences which follow ſudden and raſh reſolutions in point of War. *Choſroes* anſwered not a word, neither yet would he diſmiſs the Meſſenger.

A Comet.

The *Hunnes* overrun *Europe*.

The *Perſians* break the Peace.

Juſtinian writes to *Choſroes*,

141. But towards the end of Winter, and of the thirteenth year of *Juſtinian*'s Reign, (for he was declared Emperour, together with his Uncle, the third day before *Eaſter*) he entred the *Roman* Territories with a great Army, holding on his courſe toward *Syria* and *Cilicia*, till he arrived at the City of the *Surenians* upon *Euphrates*. This Town, notwithſtanding his faith given to the Biſhop thereof for their indemnity, he moſt cruelly burnt to the ground; having killed moſt of the men, and made all the reſt Slaves, becauſe they had not yielded at the firſt ſummons, and for a terrour to others. Yet either out of covetouſneſs, or for the love he bore to *Euphemia*, whom being one of theſe Captives, and very beautifull he made his Wife, and infinitely doted on her, he yielded that upon ſecurity given for two Centenaries of Gold by *Candidus*, Biſhop of *Sergiopolis*, thoſe that remained, to the number of twelve thouſand, ſhould be ſet at liberty; although his mercies were ſo cruel,

Who invades the *Roman* Territories with a great Army.

Ἐκθρῶν δῶρα ἄδωρα.

Buzes runs away.

Germanus ſent into the Eaſt.

ſo cruel, or his kindneſs ſo empty and barren, that the greateſt part of them periſhed through the effects of thoſe miſeries they had already undergone. Now in a braving manner did he ſend away *Anaſtaſius*, willing him to declare to *Juſtinian* in what part of the World he left *Choſroes*, the Son of *Cabades*; and then marcht he forward. *Buzes*, who commanded all the Eaſt in the abſence of *Beliſarius*, underſtanding what had happened to the *Surenians*, ſeemed to buckle himſelf to a ſtrenuous reſiſtence, and gave good Council to the Inhabitants of *Hierapolis*, that in caſe of a ſiege, they ſhould neither with their few numbers ingage the whole *Perſian* Army, nor yet keep all their men in the Town, but guarding the City with a ſufficient number, lodge the reſt near at hand at the bottom of the Mountains, whence by their frequent Onſets, both upon the Enemies Camp and Foragers, they might either force him to raiſe his Siege, or make his Aſſaults uneaſie, and cut off from him all ſorts of Proviſions. This Council he gave, but meant never to practiſe any thing himſelf, going away ſpeedily with the choiceſt part of the Army, no man, either Friend or Foe, knew whither, nor what was become of him. *Juſtinian* hearing of the Invaſion, ſent away *Germanus* his Brother's Son in much haſte with three hundred men, and a promiſe that a great Army ſhould ſuddenly follow.

Choſroes gets much money from the *Roman* Towns.

About 31500 *li.* ſterl.

142. *Germanus* being come to *Antioch*, firſt applied himſelf to fortify the City, but perceiving his attempt to be vain for want of time, and that to begin, and not perfect, would but ſhew the Enemy which way to commence the War, he deſiſted from this enterpriſe; and when both he and the *Antiochians* conſidered that the promiſed Army came not from the Emperour, and that in all probability *Choſroes* would make for that City, they reſolved in Council to buy him off with money. To negotiate the buſineſs with him, they choſe *Megas*, Biſhop of *Berrhœa*, a prudent man, who could not with all his wiſe Reaſons charm the rude and unquiet humour of the King, but at laſt brought him to theſe Terms, that for ten Centenaries of Gold he ſhould quit all the Eaſtern Provinces. But before the Biſhop could fetch the Ratifications, he wreſted 2000 *li.* weight of Silver from thoſe of *Hierapolis* to ſave their City, and refuſed to accept of leſs than twice as much from the *Berrhœans*, becauſe their Walls were much weaker. They offered him the 2000 *li.* but as for more, they proteſted they could not pay him; and when he preſſed upon their City, they relinquiſhed it, and fled by night to the Caſtle, where being but one Spring, and that drank up by the Cattle, they preſently found themſelves in a lamentable eſtate. *Megas* could not with all his Rhetorick perſuade the *Antiochians* to the Agreement he had made with *Choſroes*, being kept off by *Julian*, the Emperour's Secretary, who was ſent Ambaſſadour to *Choſroes*, together with *John*, the Son of *Rufinus*, and forbad them expreſly to give money to the Enemy, or ſell the Emperour's Towns. *Megas* returning to *Choſroes* was much afflicted, finding him ſo cloſely beſieging his own Fellow-citizens; for they were reduced to the utmoſt extremity, the *Perſian* Army having entred, and ſeized the Town. He expoſtulated with him about his perfidious dealing in ſuch terms, and uſed ſuch arguments, cries, and intreaties, that aſſuring him they had no more money than the ſum they had offered, he procured the liberty of thoſe poor men. According to the Faith he had given them, they were ſuffered to goe whither they pleaſed, and amongſt them ſome of the Souldiers. But the greateſt part of theſe revolted to *Choſroes*, complaining of the ſad condition they were in, being behind in their pay for many years, and went with him afterward into *Perſia*.

Beſieges *Antioch.*

143. *Choſroes* perceiving from *Megas* that the *Antiochians* would part with no money, marcht thitherward, and encamping near the River *Orontes*, ſent to demand the ten Centenaries of Gold, which if he ſhould receive, he ſeemed willing to pack up, and be gone. Thither went the Ambaſſadours, betwixt whom and him paſſed much diſcourſe and expoſtulation to no purpoſe. The common and light ſort of People of *Antioch* from the Walls flouted and derided him, and almoſt had ſtoned his Interpreter, wherewith inraged, he reſolved preſently to give an Aſſault. The Wall being weakeſt at the top of the Hill, and the Places where the Beſieged were to fight being narrow, they tied long Beams together between the Turrets, and inlarged the ſtandings for more men to oppoſe the Aſſailants. The great breadth and height of the Rock commanded the Wall, and cauſed the Fight to be equal, as upon even ground, and here lay the diſadvantage of the *Romans*. Yet had they put out but three hundred men, poſſeſt the Rock firſt, and kept off the Enemy, in all probability the Town had not been indangered, the Barbarians having no means to aſſault, being beaten perpendicularly both from the Rock and Walls. But this being neglected, and conſequently the defence very difficult, and the ſervice hot at the Rock; when the *Romans* preſſed up to make reſiſtence, the Ropes which tied

The Defendants ill manage their matters.

the Beams ſuddenly broke, and down they all fell. They who made good the Turrets, hearing the noiſe, imagined that the Wall was broken down, and ran away. Then did the old Souldiers take their Horſes, and rode to the Gate, giving out they were to receive *Buzes* and his Army. Thither ran alſo the *Antiochians*, Men, Women and Children, and preſſing out altogether, the Souldiers bore them down, and many were killed in the crowd. The *Perſians* ſet to their ſcaling Ladders, and mounted without any oppoſition, which made them fear ſome ſtrategeme, and take care how they deſcended through the Rocks and Precipices from the Hill: *Choſroes* eſteeming all things leſs than the taking of the City, gave the Souldiers fair leiſure to run, the *Perſians* pointing at them with their hands, and bidding them haſte and get away. When they ſaw them and their Commanders got out at the Gate of *Daphne*, they fairly deſcended into the midſt of the City.

144. Here at firſt they were encountred by ſome raſh young men, who laying at them with ſtones, and forcing them to change their place a little, ſeemed to themſelves to have the better, ſung their *Pæan*, and cried *Juſtinianus Callinicus*, as if indeed they had got the victory. In the mean time *Choſroes* ſitting upon a Turret by the top of the Hill, ſent for the Ambaſſadours to come to him, which being taken notice of by *Zaberganes*, one of his Commanders, he fearing a compoſition would be the product of a Conference, came to him, ſhewed him the preſent eſtate of the *Antiochians*, and diſſuaded him from yielding to thoſe who were already conquered, and had nothing but fury and deſperation to bear them up. *Choſroes* apt enough to be perſuaded, ſent ſome of his beſt men againſt them, but news was preſently brought that the work was done, and the *Perſians* were Victours, who ſo far improved the Victory, as neither to ſpare Sex nor Age. All ſorts of miſery fell upon the poor Inhabitants, the *Perſian* King ſhedding Crocodiles Tears, and pretending to be moved with pity and commiſeration, though he was the moſt falſe, perfidious and ſordid man alive. He commanded his men to make Slaves of ſuch *Antiochians* as ſurvived, and to take the ſpoil of the Town. He himſelf took out of the Church a vaſt Treaſure of Gold and Silver, cauſed many admirable pieces of Marble to be taken down, to be tranſported into *Perſia*, and then gave order to burn the City, the Church being preſerved through the great inſtance and importunity of the Ambaſſadours. But not onely did they burn the whole City (the Cathedral excepted, with ſome Houſes that ſtood towards a Corner, and joined not to other Buildings) but what was without the Walls, except the Church of St. *Julian*, and the Houſes about it, where the Ambaſſadours lodged, beſides the City Walls they wholly forbore. And thus periſhed the greateſt, the faireſt, the moſt populous, the richeſt and happieſt *Roman* City in the Eaſt, (whoſe beauty and magnificence appeared even in its very Ruins) by the moſt impious of all men living, which thing much ſtartled *Procopius* the Hiſtorian, though at laſt he reſolves all into the Equity and Juſtice of Divine Providence.

The City taken,

And burnt.

145. The Ambaſſadours, as they had reaſon, touched with a ſenſe of ſo ſad a ſpectacle, could not forbear to lay before him his perfidious dealing, to which he anſwered, and alledged ſome things ſpecious, and ſome things palpably falſe, to lay the load upon *Juſtinian*. After many Recriminations and Arguments, it was accorded that the *Romans* ſhould pay to him fifty Centenaries of Gold, and a perpetual yearly payment of five more, not in way of Tribute, but for guarding the *Caſpian* Gates, and quitting all pretences to *Daras*, and this colour *Choſroes* himſelf would put upon it. Hereupon no more Acts of hoſtility were to be committed, but receiving hoſtages for performance he was to depart ſpeedily into his own Countrey, whither other Ambaſſadours ſhould be ſent by the Emperour to treat and ſettle a laſting Peace. He accordingly retreated, but notwithſtanding the Truce, yet robbed ſeveral Cities in his march, wreſting from that of *Apamea*, which offered him 1000 weight of Silver, ten times as much, even all their Treaſures of Gold and Silver, which were very great; and from the poor City of *Chalcis* (diſtant ten miles and a half from *Berrhœa*) two Centenaries of Gold. Neither was he minded to return the ſame way he came, but to croſs *Euphrates*, and rifle *Meſopotamia* in his paſſage. Having croſſed the River near *Obbane*, he was very ambitious to become Maſter of *Edeſſa*, induced by a confident Tradition, then amongſt Chriſtians, that it was never to be taken, by reaſon of a certain Letter which our Saviour *Chriſt* was ſaid to have written to *Agbarus*, at that time Toparch of the Countrey, whereby he promiſed amongſt other things, that this City ſhould never be conquered by Barbarians. The Epiſtle, if we may believe *Procopius*, they ingraved upon their Gates for a defence; and when *Choſroes* had lodged his Army three miles off, and by break of day marched towards *Edeſſa*, they went out of their way ſo far, that the

An agreement.

157500 *li.*

15720 *li. Sterl.*

Choſroes robs Cities in his Retreat.

next night they lodged in the ſame place, and this happened twice unto them. At length, when with much adoe he had got to the Town, his Chops, as it was reported, ſwelled with Rheum, which ſo much aſtoniſhed him, that he reſolved not to attempt the Place; but he ſent his Interpreter, and demanded money of them. They ſent him word, that of their City they had no fear; but to prevent the waſting of their Towns and Villages, they would give him two Centenaries of Gold, which he received, and in this matter kept the Agreement.

146. Now came Letters from *Juſtinian* agreeing to ratify the Treaty between him and the Ambaſſadours, whereupon he diſcharged the Hoſtages, and prepared for his Retreat. He condeſcended that the *Antiochian* Captives ſhould be ranſomed, and the Citizens of *Edeſſa*, to their great commendation, offered whatever they had toward ſo pious a work; but the Deſign was croſſed by *Buzes*, who expected to raiſe ſome profit out of it. But *Choſroes*, notwithſtanding the Emperour's Letters, and his full Agreement, yet could not forbear pilling the Countrey in his paſſage; and being come to *Daras*, he fairly laid ſiege to it. He ſprung a mine, and had undoubtedly taken it, but that the thing was diſcovered ſeaſonably by a man (or more than a man, ſaith the Hiſtorian) who coming from the *Perſian* Camp, ſeemed to gather up the ſcattered Arrows, and warding with his Shield, as if he jeered thoſe upon the Battlements, told them where their danger lay, and bad them carefully provide for their ſafety. Then did the Beſieged by a croſs Mine defeat the purpoſe of their Enemies, which *Choſroes* perceiving, and ſeeing there was no hope of taking the Town, capitulated for a thouſand pound weight of Silver, and *Juſtinian* proteſted the Peace to be broken. went his way. *Juſtinian*, by this attempt upon *Daras*, proteſted that the Peace was broken, and refuſed to ſtand to the Ratification. *Choſroes* in *Aſſyria*, a days journey from *Cteſiphon*, built a City, wherein he beſtowed the *Antiochian* Captives, and called it *Antioch of Choſroes*. He maintained them at the publick charge, not like Captives; gave them the name of *Baſilici*, as exempt from the juriſdiction of all Magiſtrates, except the King; built them a publick Bath, a Cirque, and furniſhed them with other delights, bringing from *Antioch* and the neighbouring *Roman* *Choſroes* builds a City call'd *Antioch* of *Choſroes*. Cities Charioteers and ſkilfull Muſicians. If a *Roman* Captive fled hither, and was challenged for a Kinſman by any of the Inhabitants, he might not be taken thence by his Maſter, of what quality ſoever he was. At this time *Beliſarius* received orders to return to *Conſtantinople*, where having wintred, at the beginning of the Spring he was ſent General againſt *Choſroes*, with the Officers that accompanied him out of *Italy*. Of his *Gothick* Priſoners *Vitigis* ſtaid at *Conſtantinople*; the reſt ſerved with him againſt the *Perſians*, and to what purpoſe we ſhall ſhortly ſee.

147. Whilſt *Beliſarius* made haſte to prevent any new Invaſion of *Choſroes*, he in the mean time led an Army into *Lazica*, being invited by the Inhabitants upon this occaſion. The *Lazians*, who firſt dwelt in *Cholchis*, were ſubject to the *Romans*; not to payment of Tribute; but when their King died, the *Roman* Emperour was wont to ſend to his Succeſſour Enſigns of Majeſty. They guarded the Marches of the Countrey, and hindred the *Hunnes*, their Neighbours, from invading the *Roman* Territories; receiving for this no money, nor Souldiers; nor ſerving in the Emperour's Wars, onely they traded with his Subjects of *Pontus*, bartring their Native Commodities, as Skins, Hides and Slaves, for Corn, Salt, and other things which their Countrey wanted. But upon account of *Gurgeres* King of *Iberia*, there being ſome *Roman* Forces lodged in *Lazica*, they were very unruly, and *Peter* their General was ſo rapacious, as very much diſcontented the People. This was in the time of *Juſtin*; and when *Juſtinian* came to the Government, he ſent ſeveral Commanders into *Lazica*, and at laſt *John Tribus*, a man raiſed from mean condition, and advanced to this Command onely for being the wickedeſt of all men, and a moſt fit perſon, by right or wrong, to raiſe Money. He perſuaded the Emperour to build a Town upon the Sea, which was called *Petra*, wherein he Lorded it, and tyranniſed over all the Countrey; for he prohibited Merchants to import Salt, or any other Wares to the *Lazians*, ſetting up a Monopoly, and ſelling to the People at what rates he liſted. Upon this account, and by reaſon of the unuſual burthen lying upon them from the *Roman* Army, they were much diſcontented, and at laſt The *Lazians* revolt to *Choſroes*. reſolved not to endure it, but revolt unto the *Perſians*. There was no need of uſing many Arguments to *Choſroes*, to accept the protection of them, though their Ambaſſadours inſiſted upon the convenience he would have of infeſting the *Roman* Territories by Sea; the onely difficulty lay in the unpaſſableneſs of the Countrey. But they told him, that by cutting down Trees, and caſting them into the ill Places, the way might be made eaſie enough for his Forces to march, and they themſelves promiſed to be his Guides, and to work in the head of the Army.

148. Charging then the Ambaſſadours not to make known their Negotiation, he gathered together a great Army, not revealing his Intent to any but his moſt inward Counſellours, and pretending a Journey into *Iberia*, where a Nation of *Hunnes* was reported to invade the *Perſian* Confines. And he had this advantage by his ſecrecy, that the Spies which *Beliſarius* ſent into *Perſia* aſſured him there would be no invaſion of the *Roman* Territories, the King being ingaged in a War with the *Hunnes*. But *Beliſarius*, believing there would be no invaſion by *Choſroes*, reſolved to take the advantage which the pretended *Hunniſh* War would afford him, and to enter *Perſia* with a conſiderable Army. All his Officers concurred with him, onely *Reguithancus* and *Theoctiſtus*, Commanders of the Forces in *Phœnicia Libani*, though they approved of the Invaſion, yet feared in their abſence that *Alamundarus* the *Saracen*, would forrage *Phœnicia* and *Syria*, and that the Emperour might be offended with them for neglecting their charge. Hereupon they hung back, and refuſed to join in the Expedition; but *Beliſarius* told them, they imagined that which would not be; for in Summer, for two months of that Seaſon, the *Saracens* intended Religion, onely buſied themſelves in the Service of their God, and made no Inroads; but in caſe there ſhould be occaſion, he promiſed to diſmiſs them and their Troops within two months, and commanded them to march along with him.

Choſroes comes into *Lazica*.

Choſroes by this time taking that courſe the Ambaſſadours had directed him, paſſed through *Lazica* without interruption, and came into the middle of the Countrey, where the Poets feign the Story of *Jaſon* and *Medea* to have been acted. Here *Gubazes*, King of the *Lazians*, came and adored him as his Liege Lord, ſurrendring, together with himſelf, his Royal Palaces, and the whole Countrey into his hands, except *Petra*, which *John Tzibus* held with a *Roman* Garriſon. *Choſroes* ſent a Party under command of *Aniavedes*, to ſurprize this Town, but by a Strategem of *John*, who unexpectedly iſſued out upon him, when he thought there had not been a Souldier in the Town, ſo ſilent they were, he was beaten back; at which the King inraged, ſome ſay, crucified *Aniavedes*, then with his whole Army he begirt the Town, and after *John* was killed with a ſhot, by a Mine made the narrow entrance into the City paſſable, and the *Romans* affrighted, yielded upon compoſition for their Lives and Eſtates. *Choſroes* finding in *Petra* much Wealth belonging to *John*, was, contrary to his wonted humour, therewith ſatisfied; and not ſuffering the Goods of the *Romans* to be toucht, permitted them to live and mingle with the *Perſian* Army.

Takes *Petra*.

Beliſarius faceth *Niſibis*.

149. *Beliſarius* hearing nothing of theſe Matters, marched with his Army towards *Niſibis*, which he faced and skirmiſhed with a Party that ſallied out againſt him. The *Perſians* ſlew fifty of the *Romans*, and took the Enſign of *Peter*, General of *Armenia*, who had a particular Poſt aſſigned him; but *Beliſarius* coming in to his relief, beat them back within their Walls, killing one hundred and ten of them; and though they ſet up the Enſign as a Trophy on their Walls, and braved the Enemy, yet durſt they ſally no more out of their Fortifications. Having no hope to take *Niſibis*, he marcht on to a Fort called *Siſibranum*, full of Inhabitants, beſides eight hundred of the choiceſt *Perſian* Horſe, commanded by *Blechames*, a Perſon of great quality. But having not laid in any Proviſions, they were prevailed with by promiſes and fair words to yield.

Takes *Siſibranum*.

The Inhabitants being Chriſtians, and anciently *Romans*, the General treated with all fairneſs and civility; the *Perſians*, with *Blechames*, he ſent to the Emperour, who cauſed them to be tranſported into *Italy* againſt the *Goths*. E'er this Caſtle was taken and demoliſhed, he conſidered there was no marching any farther; and reſolved to ſend *Arethas* with his *Saracens*, being men unfit for Aſſaults, but excellent Plunderers, with ſome of his beſt Souldiers commanded by *John* and *Trajan*, to enter and haraſs *Aſſyria*. They paſſed the River *Tigris*, and finding good Pillage, ranſackt many Towns, and got great Wealth, of which *Arethas* fearing he might be deprived by the *Romans*, refuſed to return to the Camp, as he had been ordered, and cauſing a report to be ſpread of a great Army at hand, at the Rivers ſide, adviſed *John* and *Trajan* to return ſome other way into the *Roman* Territories. The Army of *Beliſarius* hearing nothing of theſe Forces, were diſtracted in their thoughts. The Heats were ſo great, that the Souldiers, eſpecially thoſe of *Thrace*, could not endure them, ſtirring much, and lying in cloſe Cabbins, ſo that a third part of them lay half dead of Fevers. All earneſtly deſired to return, and *Reguithancus* and *Theoctiſtus* now alledged, that the conſecrated Time of the *Saracens* being at an end, the Towns of *Libanus* and *Syria* would become a prey to *Alamundarus*.

He and *Choſroes* both retreat.

It was reſolved therefore in a Council of War to make a ſpeedy retreat. *Choſroes* in the mean time having taken *Petra*, had the news of *Beliſarius* his Invaſion, and what *Arethas* had done beyond *Tigris*. Leaving therefore

fore a Garriſon in *Petra*, he marched back into *Perſia*, with the reſt of his Army, his Priſoners and booty. *Beliſarius* was ſent for by the Emperour to *Conſtantinople*, and there ſpent the Winter.

In Spring *Choſroes* makes a third Invaſion.

150. In the beginning of the Spring, *Choſroes* invaded the *Roman* Territories the third time with a great Army. *Candidus* Biſhop of *Sergiopolis*, having not kept his word with him, he Impriſoned and tortured, whereby he procured much Treaſure out of the Church, but beſieged the City to no purpoſe. Being come into *Comagena* (or *Euphrateſia*,) he neither foraged the Countrey, nor took Towns as formerly, but reſolved to make a farther Journey, and paſs directly for *Paleſtine*; for, hearing this Province was very fertile and well Inhabited, he longed to take the ſpoils thereof, and eſpecially of the Treaſures of *Jeruſalem*. The *Romans* in his paſſage made no reſiſtence, thinking it ſufficient that they ſecured themſelves in their Garriſons. *Juſtinian* hearing of the Invaſion, again ſent away *Beliſarius*, who paſſed by Poſt with great ſpeed into *Comagena*. *Juſtus* the Emperour's Brother's Son, with *Buzes* and ſome other Officers were got into *Hierapolis*, and ſent for *Beliſarius* to come to them; but he liked not their advice, and went to *Europus* a Town Situate upon *Euphrates*, where he fell to levying of an Army, and called the Officers away from *Hierapolis*. *Choſroes* hearing he was come hither, marcht no farther but diſpatcht *Abandanes* one of his Secretaries to him to complain that the Emperour had not ſent his Ambaſſadours to ratify the Treaty. *Beliſarius* having notice of his coming, choſe out ſix thouſand of the goodlieſt of his men, as if he would ſend them out to hunt. He ordered *Diogenes* one of his Lanciers, and *Adolius* the Son of *Acacius* an *Armenian*, and one of thoſe Officers near about the Emperour, which the *Romans* called *Silentiarii*, being alſo at preſent Captain of the Forces in *Armenia*, to skirt along the ſhore of *Euphrates*, and at times to make ſhew of paſſing the River and invading the Countrey. He himſelf when the Ambaſſadour was at hand, retired to his Pavilion made with Boards according to the cuſtome, that he might ſeem to be in a poor Town without Proviſions. On the one ſide of the Pavilion ſtood the *Thracians* and *Illyrians*, behind them the *Goths*, next the *Herulians*, and then the *Vandals* and *Moors*. They took up much ground, not ſtanding ſtill but walking at a diſtance, and lookt careleſly and confidently upon the Ambaſſadour. None had his Mantle on, but Linen Coats like Women girt about them, holding in their hands an Horſemans whip. For Arms, ſome had Swords, ſome Battle Axes, others Bows onely, looking like Hunters that gave the chaſe to wild Beaſts.

151. The Ambaſſadour coming to Audience, ſaid it was a foul Indignity, that *Cæſar* (ſo the *Perſians* called the Emperour,) had not ſent Ambaſſadours about the Articles, and that thereby his Maſter was conſtrained to enter the *Roman* Territories in an hoſtile manner. *Beliſarius* with a ſmiling countenance, and a look altogether void of trouble or fear, anſwered that *Choſroes* made War quite after another manner, than other Princes uſed, who firſt were wont to demand their right, and if they were refuſed, then betook themſelves to Arms; whereas he being firſt entred into the Bowels of the Empire, did not ſhame to talk of Peace; and with this he diſmiſſed the Ambaſſadour. *Abandanes* returning, perſwaded his Maſter to lay down his Arms and be quiet, for he had light upon a Captain, the ſtouteſt and the wiſeſt in the World, and upon ſuch Souldiers, as eye never beheld the like, whoſe order and demeanour he could never ſufficiently admire. Beſides he told him, the match betwixt them was very unequal; for if he overcame, he ſhould but vanquiſh a Slave of *Cæſar*'s, but ſhould he be defeated, he ſhould get infinite diſhonour to himſelf and his Houſe. If the *Romans* ſhould be beaten, they might eſcape into their Fortreſſes, being in their own Countrey; but if his Army ſhould be worſted, not one would eſcape to carry the News into *Perſia*. *Choſroes* moved by theſe reaſons, had a mind to go home, but march back again through the Wilderneſs he could not, his Proviſions failing: he knew the paſſages of the River to be Guarded, but in concluſion thought it beſt, though with hazarding of a Battel, to get over the River, and to make his Retreat through a plentifull Countrey.

Beliſarius by his cunning, cauſes *Choſroes* to retreat.

152. *Beliſarius* knew well that one hundred thouſand men could not ſtop his paſſage, much leſs could he doe any thing effectually with his ſmall Numbers. Now he concluded it better policy, to make him a Bridge than to hinder his Deſign, and therefore fearing that *Diogenes* and *Adolius* might interrupt his quitting the *Roman* Territories, he ſent them orders to forbear, and ſo *Choſroes* ſpeedily making a Bridge, paſſed with his Army over the *Euphrates*. This was done with much eaſe, for the *Perſians* had ever ready in their marches great Iron hooks, wherewith faſtning long Timber together, they could make a Bridge with great Expedition. Being got on

the other ſide, he ſent to tell *Beliſarius* that he had gratified the *Romans* by his Retreat, but he expected Ambaſſadours from them immediately. *Beliſarius* alſo went over the River, and ſent to *Choſroes* to commend his Reſolution of Retreating; he promiſed that Ambaſſadours ſhould ſpeedily be diſpatched after him from the Emperour to finiſh the Articles accorded, and he deſired him that in his paſſage, he would treat no otherwiſe than as friends the *Roman* Subjects. This he promiſed, on condition he might have ſome Principal man for Hoſtage, and accordingly *Beliſarius* ſent him from *Edeſſa, John* the Son of *Baſilius*, though ſore againſt his mind, being the chief man of that City, both in reſpect of Birth and Fortune. But e'er the Hoſtage could reach him, he neglected the agreement, and in his way not able to bridle his humour took *Callinicum*, wherein were none to defend it. For their Walls being juſt at this time in mending, and therefore part of them down, upon report of his approach, the wealthier ſort carried out their goods, and retired to other ſtrong places. The reſt with many Peaſants that flocked thither continuing in the Town without any Garriſon, he made Slaves, and laid the City even with the ground. Shortly after receiving *John* the Hoſtage, he retired into his own Countrey. The *Armenians* who had revolted to *Choſroes*, took aſſurances from the *Romans*, and with *Baſſaces* went to *Conſtantinople*. Thither alſo was *Beliſarius* ſent for, being, and that worthily, highly admired and extolled by all men; for, this action of ſending away *Choſroes* ſeemed to ſurpaſs his Triumphs, over both *Vitigis* and *Gelimer*. Certainly it was a matter of great moment, when the *Romans* were terrified and hid in their ſtrong holds, and *Choſroes* with an huge Army was in the midſt of their Countrey, for a General, coming Poſt from *Conſtantinople*, to incamp with a few in the very face of the Enemy, to ſtop his paſſage, and then either frighting him with his good Fortune and Valour, or deceiving him by Art, to make him in effect run away, and really to deſire and exchange Peace for War, after a tedious and fruitleſs expedition. This his proſperity, which ſeemed hitherto conſtant and unmatchable, the Emperour reſolved farther to try in the War of *Italy*, where things at this time went very ill, upon what occaſion we ſhewed e'er our pen left the Hiſtory of that Countrey. Though his fortune now began to change, and ſhew the fickleneſs of her own nature, with the lubricity of all humane greatneſs and excellency, yet having followed him in his proſperous Eſtate, we ſhall not leave the conduct of ſo great a Captain, in his adverſe Condition, but accompany him into that Countrey, and leave *Choſroes* a while to ruminate upon his late great Atcheivement. But here in our Journey we had like to have been prevented by a ſad accident, which being more deſtructive than War it ſelf, had almoſt effected a Peace by taking away the Perſons, and conſequently the quarrels of both parties.

The King takes *Callinicum* in his paſſage, and demoliſheth it.

Beliſarius deſervedly admired.

153. This was a Plague which almoſt conſumed Mankind, of which *Procopius* concludes there was no other cauſe, than the immediate hand of God himſelf. For it neither came upon one part of the World alone, nor in one ſeaſon of the year, whence ſubtile wits (as he ſaith) might fetch pretenſions. It afflicted the whole World and all Conditions of men, though of never ſo contrary a nature and diſpoſition, ſparing no Conſtitution nor Age. The difference of men as to their places of Dwelling, Diets, Complexions, Inclinations or any other thing did no good in this Diſeaſe. Some it took in Summer, ſome in Winter, and others in other ſeaſons. It began amongſt the *Ægyptians* of *Peluſium*, and ſpred to *Alexandria* with the reſt of *Ægypt* one way, and the other to thoſe parts of *Paleſtine* which border upon *Ægypt*. From thence it travelled to the utmoſt bound of the world, as by ſet Journies and Stages, making deſtruction its onely buſineſs, and ſparing neither Iſland, Cave, nor top of Mountain where mankind inhabited; for if it leapt over a Countrey, returning afterward, it left it no cauſe to rejoyce above its fellows. It began ſtill at the Sea Coaſt, and thence went to the inland parts. In the ſecond year of its Progreſs, it arrived at *Conſtantinople* about the middle of the Spring, where it was the fortune of *Procopius* then to reſide. Apparitions of Spirits in all ſhapes humane were ſeen by many, who thought the man they met, ſtruck them in ſome part of the Body, and ſo ſoon as they ſaw the Spirit, they were ſeized with the Diſeaſe. At firſt when they met them, they repeated Divine Names, and fled into Churches to no purpoſe. Afterwards they were afraid to hear their friends call them, locking themſelves up in their Chambers and ſtopping their Ears. Some dreamed they ſaw ſuch ſights, others heard a Voice tell them, they were inrolled in the Number appointed to die. But moſt without warning became feveriſh ſuddenly. Their Bodies changed not colour, nor were hot, the Fever being ſo remiſs till Evening, that neither the Patient nor Phyſician, by his Pulſe could apprehend

A dreadfull Plague.

prehend any danger. Yet to ſome the ſame day, to others the next or many after, aroſe a Bubo both in the Groin, the Armeholes, under the Ear and in other parts. Thoſe were the general ſymptomes which happened alike to all the viſited Perſons.

154. There were others different, whether ſo made by the diverſity of Bodies, or the will and pleaſure of him that ſent the Diſtemper, our Authour cannot ſay. Some were ſeized with Drowſineſs and Slumbring, others with a ſharp diſtraction. The Slumberers forgot all things, if they were lookt to, ſome would eat, ſome that were neglected ſtarved to death. Thoſe that were diſtracted were vexed with Apparitions, crying out there were men to kill them, and running away, being ſo troubleſome and unruly, that their Keepers were pitied as much as they themſelves. No Phyſician or other caught the Diſeaſe by touching ſick or dead Bodies; many ſtrangely continuing free, though they tended and buried infected Perſons, and many catching it they knew not how, and dying inſtantly. Many leapt into the Water, though not for thirſt; and many into the Sea. Some without ſlumbring or madneſs had their Bubo gangreen'd, and died with extreme pain, which doubtleſs happened alſo to thoſe that had the Phrenſie, though being not themſelves they underſtood it not. Some Phyſicians hereupon conceiving the venome and head of the Diſeaſe, to lie in thoſe Plague ſores, opened the dead bodies, and ſearching the Sores, found an huge Carbuncle growing inward. Such whoſe bodies were ſpotted with black Pimples the bigneſs of a Lentile lived not a day. Many died of vomiting Bloud. Some that were given over by the moſt eminent Phyſicians, unexpectedly recovered, others, of whoſe recovery they thought themſelves ſecure, ſuddenly periſhed. No cauſe of this ſickneſs could be reached by man's reaſon. Some received benefit by Bathing, and others it hurt. Many died for want of Cure, and many eſcaped without it; in a word, no way could there be found of preſervation, either by preventing the ſickneſs, or maſtering the Diſeaſe, no cauſe appearing either of their falling ſick, or of their recovery.

155. Women with Child which were viſited, certainly died, ſome miſcarrying, ſome fairly delivered, and periſhing with their Children; three Women onely were ſafely brought to Bed and recovered, their Children dying, and one died whoſe Child had the hap to live. Such as had their Sore great and running plentifully eſcaped; the violence of the Carbuncle being thereby aſſwaged, and this was the moſt certain ſign of health. Such whoſe Sores ſtaid as they firſt aroſe, underwent the miſerable Accidents formerly mentioned. Some had their Thighs withered, when the Sores roſe upon them and did not run. Some eſcaped with diminiſhed Tongues, and lived ſtammering or uttering ſounds without diſtinction all their days. In *Conſtantinople* this Peſtilence laſted four months, raging three months with all extremity. In the beginning few died more than uſual. Then it growing hotter and hotter, it came to five, and at laſt to ten thouſand and more every day. At firſt they buried their Dead carefully, but at length all came to Confuſion, and many lay long unburied. Servants were without Maſters, Rich men had none to attend them. In the afflicted City was little to be ſeen, but empty Houſes, no Trade going, nor Shops open. The Emperour was much concerned as he had reaſon, and committed the overſight of the poor to *Theodorus*, one of the *Referendarii* that ſubſcribed the Emperour's anſwers to Petitions, who to thoſe that were in want diſtributed money out of the Treaſury. To theſe paſſages *Procopius* adds, that many out of fear left their bad courſes of Life, and conſecrated themſelves to God; and many when the danger was over, fell to their old deſpiſing of God again, and ſo he ends the deſcription of this Peſtilence, which though it continued but four months at *Conſtantinople*, yet *Euagrius*, who both himſelf and his Family was viſited with it, tells us, it laſted the ſpace of two and fifty years, prevailing ſo much, that it deſtroyed in a manner the whole World. Seeing then that it outlived *Procopius*, no wonder if in ſo long a time, and ſo various Climates and Countries, it changed its Symptomes, and varied ſomething from thoſe accidents which fell out in his days. Yet the deſcription of *Euagrius* differs very little from that of his. He affirms that in ſome things, it reſembled the Plague of *Athens*, deſcribed by *Thucydides*, and in other reſpects was far unlike it. That it began in *Æthiopia* as the other did, but exceeded all that ever were before it, and conſidering how long a time it raged, and flitted up and down, he admires that *Philoſtratus* ſhould wonder at the Plague which happened in his time, becauſe it continued fifteen years together. But whereas the Hiſtory of *Procopius* was ſufficiently known to the World, and particularly to *Euagrius* himſelf, who has taken, as all learned men know, much out of it, its a greater wonder he ſhould ſay, that the Hiſtory of this Plague

Vide Euagr. Hiſt. lib. 4. c. 28.

Plague was not penned till the time that he undertook it; for we cannot in the leaſt imagine but it was the ſelf-ſame Plague they both ſpeak of. Never any Plague was ſo like it, as that dreadfull one in the time of our *Edward* the Third. It began, as may be gathered from *Procopius*, not in the tenth, as ſome have written, but about the eighteenth year of *Juſtinian*'s Reign, the third after the Conſulſhip of *Baſilius*, the third of *Totilas*, the DXLIV. of our Lord, and the ninth of the *Gothick* War in *Italy*, to which we muſt, after this digreſſion, now return.

Beliſarius ſent again into *Italy*.

Redeund. ad hujus Sect. paragr. 129.

Totilas takes *Tibur*.

The *Iſauri* depart home from the *Romans*.

The *Romans* receive a loſs.

156. *Beliſarius* being deſigned to give a check to the Arms of valiant and proſperous *Totilas*, levied with his own Money Volunteers in *Thrace*, and in conjunction with *Vitalius*, General of *Illyrium*, raiſing about four thouſand men, came to *Salonæ*, determining to go to *Ravenna*, and thence raiſe the Siege, for the Enemy lying in *Campania* and *Calabria*, there was no landing near *Rome* either with ſecrecy or ſecurity. He reinforced the Garriſon of *Otranto* by freſh men well ſupplied, taking out the old, who were half ſtarved. In the mean time *Totilas* took *Tibur*, and put all the Townſmen to the Sword, together with their Biſhop, the manner of whoſe death, *Procopius* tells us, he would conceal, leſt he ſhould leave to Poſterity Monuments of Inhumanity. But the *Goths* being now Maſters of this City, which was ſituate fifteen miles above *Rome*, and commanded the River, the *Romans* could not import any more Proviſions out of *Tuſcany*. *Beliſarius* came with his Fleet to *Ravenna*, where in vain indeavouring to draw over to him the Souldiers of *Totilas*, he ſent a Party into *Emilia* to attempt ſome of the Cities of that Countrey. The *Iſaurians* now left the ſervice, and went home, excuſing themſelves to the Emperour by their want of Pay, and an Invaſion which the *Hunnes* had made into their Territories. *Totilas* not ignorant hereof, ſent ſome Forces to drive the *Romans* out of *Emilia*, but they were worſted by *Beliſarius* his Troops, who then reinforcing *Auximum*, which the *Goths* had beſieged, two hundred of his men were ſlain by an Ambuſcado, and all their Arms and Baggage were loſt; for when upon conſideration of their diſability to match the Beſiegers, and that by ſtaying, they did but conſume the Towns Proviſion, and make it more liable to be taken, they reſolved to depart, their Reſolution was made known by a Renegado to the Enemy. *Piſaurus* a ſmall Town upon the Gulf betwixt *Auximum* and *Ariminum*, *Beliſarius* fortified, which *Totilas* having attempted to ſtorm, but to no purpoſe, returned to the ſiege of *Auximum*, where the *Romans* kept cloſe within their Walls. Finding both by eſpials and his demeanour that *Beliſarius* was not able to fight him, he fell upon other ſtrong Towns, blocking up *Firmum* and *Aſculum* in *Picenia*; and ſo ended the Winter with the tenth year of the War, written by *Procopius*.

Beliſarius ſends for a new Army.

Totilas beſieges *Rome*.

157. *Beliſarius* being moſt concerned for *Rome*, ſent *Artaſiris* a *Perſian*, and *Barbation* a *Thracian*, two of his Life-guard, to defend it, together with *Beſſas* the Governour at preſent, and ordered them, in caſe they were beſieged, to make no Sallies at all. Being utterly unable to relieve the beleagured Towns, he ſent *John* to *Conſtantinople*, taking of him an oath for his ſpeedy return, and to importune the Emperour to ſend a new Army, and ſufficient ſupplies, for the old Souldiers were quite out of heart, by reaſon of the want of their expected Pay for ſo long a time. The ſubſtance of theſe things he ſignified to *Juſtinian* in a Letter, which though they were ſufficiently pungent, yet they moved the Court very little, and *John* ſtaid long at *Conſtantinople*, where he married the Daughter of *Germanus* the Emperour's Nephew by his Brother, and was ſo taken up with his Bride, that he minded none of thoſe Matters for which he was ſent. In the mean time *Totilas* took in ſeveral Towns in *Tuſcany* and elſewhere; and having in vain attempted *Peruſia*, though he procured *Cyprianus* the Governour to be treacherouſly murthered, departed towards *Rome*, which he cloſely beſieged. During the Leaguer he did no damage at all to the Husbandmen of *Italy*, letting them ſecurely till their Ground; onely the publick Revenue or private Rents he took to his own uſe, and thereby ſufficiently provided for his Army, while the Beſieged laboured under all ſorts of miſeries. For after a brisk ſally made by *Artaſiris* and *Barbation* againſt the mind of *Beſſas*, wherein having faln into an Ambuſcado of the Enemy, they loſt moſt of their men, and hardly eſcaped themſelves with their lives, the Famine began to grow ſore in the City, no Victuals being imported either by Land or Sea. For the *Goths*, after they had reduced *Naples*, ſcoured the Seas by a Fleet of Barks, and ſurprized all Veſſels in the way from *Sicily* to *Rome*. *Totilas* having men enough to ſpare, ſent an Army into *Emilia*, and laid ſiege to *Placentia*, a City ſtanding upon the *Poe*, and onely continuing in obedience to the *Romans*.

158. *Beliſarius* by this time repented his coming to *Ravenna*, upon the perſuaſions of *Vitalius*, where being ſhut cloſe up, he gave ſufficient ſcope to the *Goths* to

advance their Affairs, Providence indeed turning all his Councils and indeavours to the contrary end. Fearing not onely the loſs of *Rome*, but all the reſt, and not able with ſo ſmall an Army to relieve them, he once reſolved to riſe and ſurprize ſome Places near the City, whence he might in certain junctures of time be able to afford the Beſieged ſome ſuccour. Yet committing *Ravenna* to the care of *Juſtinus*, he marched through *Dalmatia* to *Epidamnus*, and thence writing Letters of a freſher date to the Emperour, expected in return an Army from *Conſtantinople.* At length came a number of Souldiers, partly *Romans*, partly Barbarians, under conduct of *John* the Nephew of *Vitalianus*, with whom were joined in Commiſſion *Iſaac* the *Armenian*, Brother to *Aratius* and *Narſes*. *Narſes* alſo the Eunuch, whom he had ſent to the *Herulian* Princes upon the ſame account, brought many of that Nation along with him, who were commanded by *Philimuth* and others, and in their march did the *Romans* a very great ſervice by adventure. For meeting by chance with a multitude of the *Sclavi*, who having paſſed the River *Iſter*, plundred all the Countrey, and took a great number of Captives, they had the courage to fight them; and though inferiour in numbers, beat them out of the Field, reſcued the Priſoners out of their hands, and ſent them home. *Beliſarius* in the mean time ſent *Valentinus*, and *Phocas* an expert Souldier, one of his Life-guard, to relieve *Rome*, which from *Portus* they attempted to no purpoſe, as alſo did *Vigilius* the *Roman* Biſhop from *Sicily*, who ſending ſome Ships laden with Corn to relieve the City, they all fell into the Enemies hands. And ſo ended the Winter and the eleventh year of the *Gothick* War, written by *Procopius*.

Placentia yielded to the *Goths*.

159. *Vigilius* the following Summer was ſent for by the Emperour to *Conſtantinople*. *Placentia* was by famine (which conſtrained the Beſieged at length to eat one another) forced to ſurrender upon compoſition. *Rome* was well nigh brought into the ſame extremity, though the poorer ſort were very much ſupported by the liberality of *Pelagius* a Deacon of that Church, who having dwelt long in *Conſtantinople*, in the grace and favour of *Juſtinian*, was grown very rich; and being newly come to *Rome*, ſpent moſt of his Riches upon ſuch as were in want by reaſon of the Siege. He alſo at the deſire of the *Romans* undertook to plead their Cauſe before *Totilas*, who received him very gratiouſly, but diſmiſſed him without any ſatisfaction in relation to his Meſſage. Herewith the Beſieged were utterly diſcouraged, and the Famine growing ſore upon them, though the Souldiers Victual was not yet all ſpent, Multitudes flocked to *Beſſas* and *Conon* weeping, and bitterly lamenting their condition, and praying them either to give them Food, to let them go, or elſe kill and diſpatch them out of the way. The Officers anſwered, that to ſupply them with Victuals was impoſſible, to kill them was impious, and to let them go unſafe; but they cheered them as much as they could, and put them off with great aſſurances of *Beliſarius* and an Army from *Conſtantinople*. The Famine grew every day more unſupportable. *Beſſas* and *Conon* having laid up great quantities of Corn for the Garriſon, at firſt retrenched their own allowance, and ſold to the Richer ſort at huge rates; as for example, a buſhel of Wheat for ſeven golden Staters. The meaner ſort not able to reach ſo high, paid a fourth part, and the Buſhel was fill'd up with Bran, which their Stomachs were able enough to digeſt. An Oxe was ſold at fifty Staters. He thought himſelf no mean man that could get a dead Horſe to feed on. The Multitude fed on Nettles growing near the Walls, and amongſt Rubbiſh, which they firſt boiled to prevent ſtinging. Such as had Purſes at firſt to go to the Rate of the Wheat and Bran, when they failed, purchaſed it with their Houſhold-ſtuff, till all the Corn being ſpent (ſave a little preſerved by *Beſſas*) and Money failing, they all betook themſelves to Nettles. There not being enough of this to fill their Bellies, much leſs to ſupply the neceſſities of Nature, they pined away, their Skins grew pale and wan, and they looked like ſo many moving Ghoſts. Many chewing Nettles, fell down and died with them in their Mouths as they went along. They forbore not one another's Excrements; and many, when Dogs and Rats failed them, killed themſelves. Afterward the Commanders, ſeeing things reduced to this extremity, for Money, ſuffered ſuch as would, to go out of the City. Some few ſtaying behind the reſt, fled whither they could; but moſt of them were ſo weak, that they died on Shipboard, or elſe upon the High-ways. Such as the Enemy caught, he failed not, though not out of any compaſſion, to rid out of this miſerable life. To ſuch a dreadfull condition was reduced the State of the People and Senate of *Rome*.

A grievous Famine in *Rome*.

160. *Beliſarius* moved with this ſad Calamity, failed from *Epidamnus* unto *Portus*, giving in charge to *John* to march through *Calabria*; and having cleared thoſe Parts of the *Goths*, which were not very many, to meet and join with him about *Rome*. But *John* having done ſome execution upon ſeveral Parties in his paſſage,

durſt not venture to paſs by *Capua*, though it had no more in it than three hundred men, and he had at his heels the choiceſt of the *Roman* Army, ſo ſtrong were his fears of being ſurrounded by the *Goths*. Therefore did the General, fearing ſome deſperate Reſolution of the ſtarving *Romans*, ſtudy ſome means to victual the City, which he had not Forces enough to relieve by fight. Upon the *Tiber*, about eleven miles below *Rome*, where the Chanel is narroweſt, *Totilas* had laid a Bridge of Planks, and at either ſide built wooden Towers, and put good Garriſons into them to hinder the paſſage of Barks up to the City.. *Beliſarius* therefore tied two Barks together, upon which he raiſed a Tower of Wood, higher than thoſe the Enemy had made at the Bridge; and lancht into the *Tiber* two hundred Pinaces, the ſides of which were full of Loop-holes to ſhoot at the Enemy. Aboard the Pinaces he put Corn and other Proviſions, and towards the River's mouth, in places of advantage, laid Horſe and Foot by either Bank, to hinder the deſigns of the Enemy upon *Portus*. This Garriſon he committed to the care of *Iſaac*, together with the charge of his Wife, and what other things he had there, expreſly charging him not to ſtir, though he heard *Beliſarius* were ſlain, but to keep cloſe to his Guard, that upon any ill Accident there might be a place of retreat; for other Forts in the Countrey there were none, all the reſt being in the hands of the Enemy. He himſelf conducted the Pinaces, and cauſed the two Barks with the Turret to be towed after; on the top of which he put a little Boat, full of Pitch, Rozin, Brimſtone, and other combuſtible matter. That theſe his Devices might better ſucceed, he had the day before ſent order to *Beſſas* to make a general Sally, and alarm the Enemies Camp.

Beliſarius attempts to relieve *Rome* with Proviſions.

161. *Beſſas* making great gain of the Corn which had been laid up for the Souldiers, was not willing the Siege ſhould be raiſed, and therefore neglected both theſe and former orders. But *Beliſarius* rowed up the ſtream, which ran ſtrong againſt him; the *Goths* all this while lying quiet in their Trenches. Near the Bridge he found an Iron Chain croſs the River, which, after he had killed ſome, and frighted away the reſt who made oppoſition, he eaſily removed, and paſſing on to the Bridge, fell preſently to work. The *Goths* from their Towers valiantly defending themſelves, he cauſed the Barks with the Turret to be rowed near to the Enemies Tower, which ſtood in the water by the way from *Portus*. Then was the Cockboat ſet on fire, and ſhoved down juſt upon the ſaid Tower of the Enemy, which inſtantly fell afire, and burnt with it ſelf two hundred *Goths*, together with their Officer, one of the valianteſt of their Nation, the *Roman* Souldiers in the mean time plying with Shot ſuch as came from the *Gothick* Camp to the relief of their Fellows, ſo thick, that being amazed at the Accident, they ran all away. They laid hands on the Bridge, and had ſuddenly pulled it down, and gotten into *Rome*, none oppoſing, but that Fortune now ſhewed her fickleneſs, and ſome envious Dæmon plotted the ruine of the *Roman* Affairs, in the opinion of *Procopius*. The good Succeſs of the *Romans* at the Bridge had the ill luck to be too ſoon reported at *Portus*, which tickled ſo much *Iſaac* the Governour, that not able to hold, he muſt needs have a ſhare in the honour; and forgetting or ſlighting the Commands of the General, went haſtily to the other ſide of the River where *Oſtia* ſtands, and with an hundred Horſe of the men left him by *Beliſarius*, charged the Enemies Quarter, commanded by *Roderick* a skilfull and valiant Souldier. Surpriſing the *Goths*, he wounded many beſides *Roderick* himſelf; and they ſuſpecting more to be coming, or rather on purpoſe to draw him on into danger, quitted their Quarter. For *Iſaac* having entred the Trenches, and falling to pillage, the *Goths* returned upon him, killed many, and took himſelf and others Priſoners. The news being carried to *Beliſarius* by ſome Horſemen, that *Iſaac* was taken by the Enemy, aſtoniſht thereat, and never inquiring the manner, but thinking *Portus* and his Wiſe to be loſt, and all ruined, by reaſon that now the Army had no Fortreſs to retire to, he had not a word to ſay, a thing which to him before had never happened. Immediately he drew back his Forces, meaning to charge the Enemy unprepared, and by all means to recover the Place.

His Deſign fruſtrated.

Ῥουδερίχος, Roderich, quiete pollens: Alibi & in voce Al. Rodericus, nomen etiamnum Hiſpanis ex Gothico frequens.

162. Coming to *Portus*, and there perceiving as well the precipitancy of his own Councils, as the Raſhneſs of *Iſaac*, the thoughts thereof ſo tormented him, that through perturbation of mind he fell into a Fever, which afflicted him a long time, and brought him to deaths door. *Roderick* died of his wounds within three days, which ſo incenſed *Totilas* againſt *Iſaac*, that out of revenge he put him to death. In the mean time *Beſſas* drives a great Trade within *Rome*, hunger and neceſſity raiſing his Market to ſuch a pitch, that wholly taken up with the thoughts of his profit, he totally neglected his Charge, ſo that the Souldiers were negligent, the Sentinels ſlept ſecurely, none ever viſiting them, calling them to account, or going the

Through trouble of mind, he falls into a fever.

Beſſas baſely covetous.

the Round, as was uſual; and the Citizens almoſt ſtarved, refuſed to keep any watch. Matters ſtanding thus, four *Iſaurians* being Sentinels near *Porta Aſinaria*, ſlipt down the Walls by Ropes tied to the Battlements, late at night, when their Fellows were aſleep, and coming to *Totilas*, undertook to receive his Army within the City. He ſent them back loaded with promiſes, and with them two Souldiers, who found all things in repoſe and ſecurity, and accordingly made their report of the eaſineſs of the Enterprize, yet would he not truſt to it, fearing ſome treachery in the *Iſaurians*, who not many days after came to him again, and ſo urged him to the buſineſs, that he ſent two other Souldiers with them. Theſe examining all exactly, made ſuch a report as agreed with the former; but in the mean time ſome *Goths* were taken by the *Roman* Scouts, who being brought to *Beſſas*, acquainted him with the hopes of *Totilas* to have *Rome* betrayed into his hands by *Iſaurians*. Yet did both *Beſſas* and *Conon* make ſlight of the Advertiſement; and the *Iſaurians* coming the third time to *Totilas*, and he ſending others, and one of his own Kindred with them, and they reporting ſtill the ſame thing, he reſolved upon the Enterpriſe.

163. The ſame night therefore he ſilently armed his Forces, and led them to *Porta Aſinaria*. Four *Goths* ſtrong and valiant he appointed to mount the Battlements with the *Iſaurians*, who being got into the Town, went to the Gate, and not meeting any body, with their Battle-axes cut in two the Timber Poſts upon which the Gates hung, and wrenched off the Iron-work and Locks, which being done, they opened the Gates, and received in *Totilas* with his Army. *Totilas* to provide againſt all Ambuſhes, ſuffered not his men to ſcatter abroad, but drew all up to one place. Upon the Alarm the City was preſently in a tumult. Moſt of the *Roman* Souldiers ran out with their Commanders at another Gate. Some of them took ſanctuary with the Townſmen in Churches. Of the Patritians, *Decius*, *Baſilius*, and ſome others, having Horſes, fled with *Beſſas*. *Maximus*, *Olybrius*, *Oreſtes*, and others, fled to Saint *Peter's* Church. Of the common ſort remained but five hundred men, who took ſanctuary alſo; the reſt were either fled or ſtarved. *Totilas* in the morning, fearing no Ambuſh, went to Saint *Peter's* Church to prayer, his men in their way killing about ſix and twenty Souldiers, and ſixty Commoners. Thither being come, *Pelagius* the Deacon, with the Goſpels in his hands, came a Suppliant to him: Crying out, *O ſpare, my Lord, your own People*. *Totilas* ſcoffed at him at firſt, but won with his importunate Supplications, forbad his *Goths* to kill any more, but gave them leave to plunder the City, reſerving the choiceſt of the Pillage to his own uſe. Much Wealth was found in the Houſes of the Patritians, but the moſt conſiderable was the Treaſure of *Beſſas*, which by his covetous exactions he had heaped up for *Totilas*. Many Senatours, and *Ruſticiana* the Widow of *Boetius*, and Daughter of *Symmachus*, a moſt pious and charitable Matron, went begging their Bread of their Enemies, wandring from door to door, and craving ſuſtenance without bluſhing. The *Goths* indeavoured to put her to death, for bribing the *Roman* Commanders to break down the Images of *Theodorich* in revenge of her Husband's and Father's deaths, but *Totilas* preſerved both her and all other Women from the cruelty and inſolence of the Souldiers, to his great honour and reputation. But thus was *Rome* taken, and handled by the *Goths* in the twelfth year of the War, the ſixth after the Conſulſhip of *Baſilius*, the one and twentieth of *Juſtinian's* Reign, and the ſixth of *Totilas*, *A. D.* DXLVII.

Rome ſurpriſed.

164. *Totilas* perceiving his men to be elevated with their good ſucceſs, made a ſober diſcourſe to them, wherein he ſhewed, how according to the juſtice and moderation of their Actions, both the one ſide and the other had hitherto riſen and fallen, gone down the wind, and proſpered. The *Roman* Senatours he reproached with ſome bitterneſs, that having received ſuch benefit from the *Gothick* Kings, been employed in all Offices, managed the whole State, and inriched their Families, they had carried themſelves ſo ingratefully to their Benefactours, and betrayed their own Intereſt by bringing *Greeks* into their Countrey. For whereas they had never received any hurt from the *Goths*, but abundance of good, he affirmed they never could boaſt of any benefit from *Juſtinian*, except it were their being deprived of almoſt all Commands, called to account for their Arrears, even the Treaſury of the *Goths*, and paying their Tributes in times of War as well as Peace. He objected many things, carrying himſelf as angry Maſters are wont to do towards their Slaves, for ſuch he told them they muſt account themſelves; yet at the interceſſion of *Pelagius*, when they ſtood ſilent before him, he promiſed them pardon, and let them go. But to *Juſtinian* he ſent the ſaid *Pelagius*, with *Theodorus* a *Roman* Oratour, as his Ambaſſadours, threatning, if the Emperour would not imbrace Peace, to lay *Rome* flat with the ground, to kill all the Senate, and bring the War into *Illyrium*; by

Totilas ſends to *Juſtinian*.

by Letters he propounded to him the example of *Anaſtaſius* and *Theodorich* their reigning peaceably together; offering, in caſe he would doe the like, to own him for his Father, and that he ſhould have the *Goths* his Friends and Allies againſt whomſoever he pleaſed.

165. To this *Juſtinian* onely anſwered, that he had made *Beliſarius* his General and Vicegerent, with abſolute authority, who had full power to manage all things of that nature as he pleaſed. During the Voyage of the Ambaſſadours, *Totilas* in vain attempted to open the paſſage into *Lucania*, the Straits being guarded by *Tullianus*, who had levied ſome Peaſants in that Countrey, and had three hundred *Antians* left him by *John*, who of all Barbarians were moſt proper to fight in a faſtneſs. *Totilas* inraged at this repulſe and defeat of his men, reſolved to demoliſh *Rome*, leaving part of his Army in ſome Town thereabout with the reſt to go againſt *John* and the *Lucanians*. He threw down a third part of the Walls, or thereabout, was ready to ſet fire to the faireſt and moſt eminent Buildings, and had nothing more in his thoughts than to make the Seat of *Rome* a Paſture for Sheep; when *Beliſarius* advertiſed, ſent a Meſſage to him, and by Letters diverted him from his purpoſe. He inſiſted much upon the Majeſty and Grandure of this Ancient City, which having been raiſed to this pitch of greatneſs by the vertue and induſtry of ſo many Ages, Poſterity could not but look upon him that deſtroyed it as an Enemy to Mankind, depriving them of the Pattern and Spectacle of the worth and gallantry of their Anceſtours. Should he prove victorious, he told him, he would by demoliſhing *Rome*, ruine not what was another's, but his own, being the goodlieſt Poſſeſſion in the World; whereas, in caſe he was worſted, by preſerving it, he ſhould obtain abundant thanks from the Conquerour; but by deſtroying it, deprive himſelf of all pretence to mercy and favour. In concluſion, that he would get nothing by it, but a fame in the World, ſuitable to ſuch a proceeding which now attended his Reſolution herein either way; foraſmuch as whatſoever the Actions of Princes be, ſuch muſt neceſſarily be the Name and Reputation they muſt bear from them.

Who refers all to *Beliſarius*.

Totilas thereupon purpoſes to deſtroy *Rome*.

Beliſarius by Letter diverts him.

166. *Totilas* upon often peruſing the Letter, and ſeriouſly conſidering the Advice, forbare doing any farther harm to *Rome*; and ſignifying his determination to *Beliſarius*, diſmiſt the Meſſengers. Moſt of his Army he cauſed to incamp at *Algidum*, fifteen miles to the Weſtward of the City, to keep *Beliſarius* faſt in *Portus*; with the reſt he himſelf marched againſt *John* and the *Lucanians*. Not a man did he leave in *Rome*, leading ſome Senatours with him, and ſending the reſt, with their Wives and Children into *Lucania*. *John* hearing of his coming, retired into *Otranto*, after whoſe departure, the Husbandmen were directed to manure their Grounds as formerly, which were now declared to belong to their old Landlords. *Tullianus* alſo ran away, and his three hundred *Antians* betook themſelves to *John*'s Army; ſo that all on that ſide the Gulf, *Otranto* excepted, became again ſubject to the *Goths*, who grown bold, and ſtragling abroad in ſmall Parties, *John's* Forces killed many of them, which cauſed *Totilas* to unite his Army about Mount *Gargarus*, almoſt in the middle of *Apulia*, where he incamped in the very Intrenchments of *Hannibal*. In the mean time *Spoletum* was retaken by the means of *Martianus* a *Roman* Souldier, who counterfeited himſelf a Fugitive; and *John* ſeizing upon *Tarentum*, fortified it by a Ditch cut through the Iſthmus. *Totilas* ſurprized *Acherontis*, a ſtrong Caſtle of *Lucania*, upon the Confines of *Calabria*, into which he put four hundred men, then led he his Army toward *Ravenna*, leaving a Party in *Campania* to look to the Senatours thither confined.

167. But *Beliſarius* hearing how *Totilas* had quitted *Rome*, burnt with a deſire of once more poſſeſſing himſelf of that City, and leaving a ſmall Garriſon in *Portus*, went thither with the reſt of his Army, and a full reſolution to hold it. Not able in a ſhort time to repair the great breach made by *Totilas* in the Wall, he heaped Stones rudely one upon another without any Morter, onely to give it the form and ſhape of a Wall, but without it pitcht good ſtore of Stakes, having formerly made a Ditch round about, as was ſaid before; And the whole Army labouring chearfully, the Work was finiſhed in five and twenty days. The *Romans* out of the Adjacent Countrey flocked thither, as well out of love to the Place, as to be ſupplied with Victual, which in abundance was imported by *Beliſarius* up the River. *Totilas* at the News went inſtantly back to *Rome*, not fearing to recover it; for the Gates he had broken down, were not yet ſet up for want of Artificers. But where the Gates had ſtood, *Beliſarius* placed ſome of his beſt Souldiers, commanding the reſt from the Walls to oppoſe the Aſſailants. And that they did with ſuch courage, that the *Goths*, who hoped to take the Town at the firſt onſet, finding the buſineſs difficult, grew angry, and their anger made them more reſolute and venturous.

Beliſarius again fortifies *Rome* as well as he can.

Totilas returns againſt it.

Neceſſity alſo conſtraining the *Romans* to be Valiant, the Fight was hot, and continued from Morning to Night, which being come, the *Goths* who had received great loſs, returned to their Camp, and dreſſed their wounded men. The beſieged kept Guards upon the Walls, and cauſing their beſt men by turns to watch the Gates, pitcht before them many *Tribuli* or *Murices*, which were made after this faſhion. Four Iron ſprigs of equal length, they faſtned together in ſuch a form, that their right lines made a triangle every way. Theſe they caſt upon the Ground, and three of them ſtuck faſt; the other ſtanding upright, hindered the approach of Horſe and Men, and if by chance they were turned over, the point that ſtood up before, pitched into the Ground, and another got up in its ſtead, hindring thus a charging Enemy.

After many Aſſaults draws off.

Beſieges *Peruſia*.

168. *Totilas* the day following, aſſaulted *Rome* the ſecond time, but receiving the worſt, the Enemy ſallied out upon him, and killed many of his men; and many days after though he had made great preparations, he had the ſame fortune, and was forced to draw off to *Tibur*, breaking down the Brides upon the River, that the Enemy might not fall upon his Rere, onely that called *Pons Milvius*, he could not demoliſh. He cauſed to be rebuilt the Caſtle of *Tibur*, which formerly his Countreymen had demoliſhed, and kept himſelf for ſome time quiet within it. *Beliſarius* in the mean while ſetting up the Gates at his eaſe, which he lined with Iron, and once more ſent the Keys to the Emperour, with which paſſages ended the Winter, together with the twelfth year of the War. The *Goths*, who had formerly magnified their King, eſteemed his Valour, admired his fortune, and accounted themſelves happy in their Choice, upon this little misfortune and want of ſucceſs, began to be quite altered in their thoughts and demeanour towards him, reproaching him licentiouſly for his unadviſedneſs, in not demoliſhing all *Rome* when he took it, or in not keeping it himſelf, but thus ruining what they had effected with much time and labour. Having ſent Forces to beſiege *Peruſia*, and the Siege wanting ſome aſſiſtence, when he purpoſed with his whole Army to march thither, they received his Directions repiningly. This put him upon an Apology, wherein he ſhewed the viciſſitude of all humane things, the inconſtancy of Fortune, eſpecially in matters concerning War, and proved that his want of ſucceſs, was the product of his diſaſtrous Stars, not the effect either of his Neglect or Ignorance. From theſe and ſuch like Topicks he ſo framed his Diſcourſe, that he perſwaded them to undertake the Enterprize of *Peruſia*, and ſate down before it. As the *Goths* thus ordered their matters, *John* who had beſieged the Caſtle of *Acherontis*, departed ſuddenly from before it into *Campania*, and there ſet at liberty the Senatours and their Wives, ſending them into *Sicily*. And he routed a party of four hundred *Goths*, he accidentally met at *Capua*, whom *Totilas* ſent to prevent that which he accompliſhed upon the Senatours.

John eſcapes his Hands.

169. *Totilas* inraged to be thus robbed of his prey, muſt needs be revenged upon *John*, and marches preſently upon the News againſt him, over Mountains and through by-ways to avoid his Scouts, and by Night he ſet upon him contrary to the true Maximes of War, which plainly ſhew it to be the beſt for a ſtronger Army to make an open Fight. He was ten to one in numbers, and might eaſily have taken them all as in a Net, but upon the alarm, they moſt of them ſlipt away by the advantage that darkneſs afforded them, and with loſs of ſcarcely one hundred men eſcaped with their Leader to *Otranto*. Things ſtanding thus in *Italy*, the Emperour, upon the importunate Letters of *Beliſarius*, ſent about one thouſand four hundred men in ſeveral parties, and under ſeveral Officers, and wrote to him that he was to expect a great Army in *Calabria*, wherewith he would have him give the Enemy Battel. Hereupon he pickt out of his men, ſeven hundred Foot, and two hundred Horſe of the choiceſt, and leaving the reſt to *Conon*, to guard the places about *Rome*, departed for *Sicily*, thence intending to put in at *Tarentum*. But making for this place, by contrary Winds and Storms, he was conſtrained to come to Anchor in the Haven of *Crotone*, to the Eaſtward of the *Bay*. (*Thurium* being on the North, and *Tarentum* ſtanding about the middle,) and there to ſtay with his Wife and all the Foot intending to ſend for *John's* Army. His Horſe he Commanded to march higher into the Countrey, and Quarter there where the Mountains of *Lucania* reaching into *Brutia*, and meeting at a ſtrait make two narrow Paſſages, the one called in Latine *Petra Sanguinis*, and the other *Labulla*, neighbour to which was *Ruſcia* the Arcenal of the *Thurians*, and ſeven miles and an half above it a ſtrong Caſtle, built by the ancient *Romans*, which the *Goths* had a little before poſſeſſed, and therein placed a ſtrong Garriſon. The Horſe being hither ſent, that they might better get Proviſions, and keep off the Enemy in faſtneſſes, met Forces

ſent by *Totilas* to relieve that Caſtle, which they utterly defeated killing above two hundred. The News hereof being brought to *Totilas* by thoſe that eſcaped, he alſo underſtood of the ill government, and careleſs demeanour of the late Victors, for they neither lay together in one Body, nor kept Guards upon the two paſſages, but elevated with their ſucceſs lodged ſecurely far aſunder, and all the day ſtragled for Proviſions, without ſending abroad their Scouts, or adviſing upon any courſe of ſafety. *Totilas* therefore with three thouſand choſen Horſemen, comes ſuddenly upon them, and eaſily amazed and defeated them, whereat the *Romans* were much creaſt-faln, having ſet their hopes upon theſe, as being extraordinary good men. *Beliſarius* having News of the Defeat, and that the *Goths* would ſuddenly be with him at *Crotone*; in great grief ran to his Ships, weighed Anchor, and with a fair wind came the ſame day before *Meſſina* in *Sicily*, diſtant from *Crotone* eighty ſeven miles, ſtanding right over againſt *Rhegium*.

The *Sclavi* paſs the *Danube*.

Ægypt overflown by the *Nile*.

The *Porphyrion* taken.

Totilas beſieges *Ruſciana*.

170. About this time, a mighty power of the *Sclavi* paſſed the *Danube*, and did infinite miſchief in *Illyrium*, peircing as far as *Epidamnus*, killing and captivating all they found, and ſpoiling the Countrey. They took many Caſtles none defending them, and roved up and down without Controll; the Commanders of *Illyrium* waiting ſtill upon their Motions, with fifteen thouſand men, but not daring to come near them. The ſame Winter were many terrible Earthquakes in *Conſtantinople* and elſewhere, all by Night, but no hurt was done. But the River *Nile* ſwelled eighteen Cubits, and overwhelmed all *Ægypt*. In the Countrey of *Thebais*, and the upper Grounds, the Waters abated in ſeaſonable time, but retired not at all from the lower, but covered them all the Seed time, a thing which had never before happened, as *Procopius* affirms. To ſome places the water returned again, and rotted the Seed put into the Ground, during the abatement, ſo that moſt of the Cattle periſhed for want of ſuſtenance. The great Whale was now alſo taken by the *Conſtantinopolitans*, called *Porphyrion*, which, at times, for the ſpace of above fifty years, had infeſted them, drowning Ships and forcing Mariners through fear upon great Inconveniences. *Juſtinian* had attempted many ways to take the Monſter, but ſtill unſucceſfully. Now ſhe purſuing a great number of Dolphins, which came up the mouth of the *Euxine*, as far as the River *Sagaris*, and following her Prey too near the ſhore, fell into the Mud, where tumbling and ſtrugling, ſhe farther intangled her ſelf, and the People of the Countrey coming upon her, hewed her with Axes, but not able to kill her, with great Ropes drew her aſhore, where they found her thirty Cubits long, and ten broad, and ſome preſently fell of eating her, and others pickled her up. The news of this Whale added to that of the *Nile*, and the Earthquake, gave great occaſion of diſcourſe to the *Conſtantinopolitans*, amongſt whom was no talk now, but of ſtrange things to come portended by theſe Prodigies. Whatever they ſignified as to the future, for the time paſt the Overflowing of *Nile* had cauſed much Calamity, and the killing of the Fiſh, according to common apprehenſion, was the riddance of a great miſchief; though ſome ſaid it was not the *Porphyrion* it ſelf, but ſome other Whale. In the mean time, *Totilas* in *Italy* unconcerned at thoſe Prodigies, and rather Propheſying good to himſelf, than any harm by them, underſtanding that the *Romans* in *Ruſciana* were ſcarce of Proviſions, ſate down cloſe by it, hoping to maſter it e'er it could be relieved. And thus ended the Winter, and the thirteenth year of the War, written by *Procopius*.

171. The Emperour now ſent two thouſand Foot into *Sicily*, and commanded *Valerianus* inſtantly to repair to *Beliſarius*. Paſſing the Gulf, he found him at *Otranto* with his Wife *Antonina*, who then Sailed to *Conſtantinople*, to obtain from *Theodora* the Empreſs, better Supplies for her Husband; but ſhe found her dead, having lived in that ſupreme Dignity the ſpace of one and twenty years, concerning whoſe Actions and demeanour we ſhall have enough to ſay, when we come to the Character of her Husband. *Beliſarius* ſent for *John* to *Otranto*, and with him and *Valerianus* having got a Fleet together, Sailed to the relief of *Ruſciana*. The Garriſon had capitulated to yield up the Caſtle by Midſummer, provided they had no hurt done them, in caſe they were not ſuccoured in the mean time, but now diſcerning the Fleet, they took courage and refuſed to yield, though the day aſſigned was at hand. But the Coaſt having no harbour, a Storm diſperſed all the Ships, and in the Haven of *Crotone* they all met and made for *Ruſciana* again. The *Goths* from the ſhore were ready to oppoſe their Landing, which ſeeing they durſt not come nearer, but lay at hull off in the Sea, and at length deſpairing, tacked about to Seaward, and came again to Anchor in the Haven of *Crotone*; where they reſolved in Council that *Beliſarius* ſhould make for *Rome* and Victual it as he could, and that

John

Sect. 1.

John and *Valerianus* ſhould go into *Picenia* to hinder the beleaguring of the Towns there, hoping to draw *Totilas* alſo toward them, and ſo by a kind of Revulſion, to raiſe the Siege of *Ruſciana*. *John* with a thouſand men did accordingly; but *Valerianus* was afraid, and through the *Ionian* Gulf Sailed by *Ancona*, thinking to get that way more ſecurely into *Picenia*, and joyn with *John*. But *Totilas* raiſed not his Siege, ſending two thouſand ſelect Horſemen into *Picenia* to joyn with other *Goths*, and beat away the *Roman* Forces. Proviſions failing now the Garriſon of *Ruſciana*, he yet pardoned them all, except *Chalazar* who had formerly broken faith with him, and ſo received the Caſtle. Him he put to Death, cutting off his Hands and privy Members. The Souldiers that would, he received to equal Rank with *Goths*, and left them their goods, as his cuſtome was in all places. Such as would not, he diſmiſt, ſtript and unarmed, not deſiring any ſhould ſerve him unwillingly. Eighty of them quitted their goods, and went to *Crotone*. The reſt ſtaid; of whom the *Italians* had afterwards their goods taken away, but no hurt was done to their Perſons.

Takes it.

Beliſarius returns without honour to *Conſtantinople*.

172. *Antonina* finding the Empreſs dead, when ſhe came to Court, beſought the Emperour to recall her Husband, which ſhe eaſily obtained, the *Perſian* War ſorely preſſing *Juſtinian*. And ſo he returned to *Conſtantinople* without Honour, having in five years ſpace never marcht up into the land parts of *Italy*, nor made any expedition, but being all the while as in a perpetual flight, Sailing from one Sea Town to another, which gave the Enemy opportunity to captivate *Rome*, and all the reſt. And he now abandoned *Peruſia* the chief City of *Tuſcany*, which was taken by ſtorm whilſt he was on his way homeward. Thus the ſame men are not always the ſame as to external circumſtances, their own tempers and humours altering, and fortune as it were taking a delight to ſhew her power, in procuring them diſreſpect as well as honour, caſting them down, as well as raiſing them, and making them feel themſelves ſubject to her Sovereignty and Juriſdiction. *Procopius* our Hiſtorian in the Books he wrote concerning the *Gothick* War, modeſtly expreſſeth himſelf in this caſe of *Beliſarius*, laying the fault rather upon fortune than the man, thoſe Books being publiſhed abroad, whilſt *Beliſarius* and *Juſtinian* yet lived. But in the *Anecdota*, or ſecret Hiſtory, wherein with freedom enough, (if not more than enough,) he (or ſome body elſe,) publiſhed the defects and vices of thoſe great men, after their Deaths; he reprehends him for ſeveral miſtakes and willfull Errours. He confeſſes he had nothing allowed him out of the publick Treaſury, to the expence of this War, and yet charges him with extraordinary avarice and ſcraping. He accuſeth him of fleecing the Inhabitants of *Ravenna*, *Sicily*, and all others where he came, pretending to puniſh them for former faults, and their old Opinions: Lays to his charge, how being to animadvert upon *Herodian*, he required moneys of him, and uſed, to accompliſh his ends, ſuch continual threats, that the man wearied and afraid, renounced his Oath made to the *Romans*, and betaking himſelf with his Troops to *Totilas*, gave up *Spoletum* into the hands of the *Goths*. To his great uxorious humour, he aſcribes the grudges which happened betwixt him and *John* the Nephew of *Vitalianus*, and which exceedingly damnified the Emperour's buſineſs in *Italy*. For *Theodora* the Empreſs being inraged at *John*, for contracting a Marriage with *Juſtina*, the Daughter of *Germanus* the Emperour's Nephew, as the Hiſtorian concludes, gave private Orders to *Antonina* the General's Lady, to have him made away, ſo that he aware of this, and knowing *Beliſarius* to be ſo much the ſlave of his Wife, that he could not deny her any thing, durſt not come near him, nor give him any aſſiſtence in carrying on the War.

Ἐγένετο δὲ φιλοχρήματος ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ μάλιστα, καὶ κέρδους αἰσχροῦ ἐπιμελητὴς ἀκριβέστατος, ἅτε οὐδὲν ἐκ Βασιλέως κεκομισμένος, &c. *vide Arcan. Hiſt. pag.* 22.

173. What is farther objected againſt *Beliſarius* in that Work, we ſhall obſerve when we part for altogether with this Great General, and return to *Procopius* his Volumes of the *Gothick* Wars, where we ſhall find an account given us of ſome Conſpiracies againſt the Emperour's Perſon, at ſuch time as *Beliſarius* was upon his Journey. *Artabanes*, who ſlew the Tyrant *Gontharis* in *Africk*, had a great deſire to Marry *Projecta* the Emperour's Siſters Daughter, having already betrothed her, and ſhe indeed affected the Match very much, but not ſo much out of love to his Perſon, as in gratitude to a man that had revenged the Murther of her Husband *Areobindus*, and reſcued her a Captive, and ready to be thruſt into the loathed bed of *Gontharis*. Both conſenting, *Artabanes* ſent her to her Uncle, and being made General of *Africk*, deſired leave upon ſome pretences to return to *Conſtantinople*, hoping thereby to effect the Marriage, get many other advantages, and in concluſion, to put for the Empire it ſelf. The Emperour making another General in his ſtead, granted his requeſt, and he accordingly returned to *Conſtantinople*, where

being a comely tall Perſon, and liberal, though of few words, he became loved and admired by the Citizens. The Emperour reſpected him with the beſt, made him General of his Forces in *Conſtantinople*, gave him the Command of all the Confederates, and farther graced him with the Title of Conſul. But here was the miſchief, he could not enjoy *Projecta*; for all this while he had a former Wife, his Countreywoman, whom he Married young, and had put off upon ſome ſlight pretences. And ſo long as his fortunes were a-making, ſhe ſate quiet at home, but now that he was grown famous for his Actions, and great in his Incomes, ſhe would no longer contain her ſelf, but made ſuit to the Empreſs to be reſtored to her Husband, which was effected ſore againſt his will. And *Projecta* was Married to *John* the Son of *Pompey*.

174. *Artabanes* inraged to have this return for all his good Services, ſo ſoon as the Empreſs was dead, preſently put away his Wife. It happened at this time, that the Emperour's Brothers Son was offended at him, for withholding from him and his Sons, an Eſtate left them by his Brother *Boraides*, and protecting againſt them, the Daughter of the Deceaſed, though her Father had onely left her ſo much as the Law compelled. There was alſo in *Conſtantinople*, one *Arſaces* an *Armenian*, of the race of the *Arſacidæ*, and kindred of *Artabanes*. Whom being Convicted of a Conſpiracy with *Choſroes* King of *Perſia*, *Juſtinian* onely puniſhed by ſome laſhes upon his Back, and making him ride through the City upon a Camel taking nothing from him, nor ſo much as Baniſhing him the Court. Yet hereat was he diſcontented, and deviſing how to be revenged, he took the occaſion to break his mind to *Artabanes*, knowing him to be much alſo out of humour. He upbraided him with poorneſs of Spirit, for ſuffering himſelf to be abuſed, and his Countrey burthened with a perpetual Garriſon and unuſal taxations, having formerly been Valiant, and forward to reſcue others, and pull down Tyrants. He told him there would be no difficulty at all in killing *Juſtinian*, who was wont to ſit up till Midnight without his Guards, diſcourſing with ſome old Prieſts, and buſie in diſquiſitions and endleſs in ſcanning the Oracles of Chriſtians; beſides his Kinſmen would not oppoſe, but rather joyn with him: *Germanus* and his Sons being wronged and diſobliged by him. Finding him yielding, he imparted the matter to one *Chanaranges* a *Perſarmenian*, an handſome Youth, but nothing ſerious, and having brought *Artabanes* and him together, promiſed to draw *Germanus* and his Sons into the Plot.

Artabanes and others Conſpire againſt *Juſtinian.*

175. *Juſtinus*, the Elder of them, who was but young, his Beard newly ſprouting, yet Valiant and ſharp witted, he deſired to meet him in a Church, where having taken from him an Oath of ſecrecy, he chid him for that, being the Emperour's neareſt Kinſman, he ſuffered Petty-fogging, and mean fellows to hold the greateſt Offices, whilſt *Juſtinian* deſpiſed both him and his Father, though a man that had attained to the height of Virtue, and ſuffered *Juſtinian* his Brother ſtill to lead a private Life, having alſo deprived them of the greateſt part of his Uncle's Eſtate, though left them by Will. *Juſtinus* was amazed, and flatly refuſed to joyn with him, affirming the ſame alſo in his Father's behalf, to whom he revealed the matter. *Germanus* acquainted with it *Marcellus* the Captain of the *Palatine* Guards, a man grave, auſtere, and of a rigid Life, who adviſed him not to reveal it as yet to the Emperour, leſt the Conſpiratours diſcovering it, *Arſaces* ſhould run away, and they be left utterly without proof, but he deſired that either he himſelf or ſome of his friends might hear their Diſcourſe. Accordingly one *Leontius* a man he could truſt, was placed by *Germanus* in his Dining Room behind the hangings, and he and his Son *Juſtinus* ſtaid in the Room, where they all heard *Chanaranges* plainly declaring the Conſpiracy, betwixt himſelf, *Artabanes* and *Arſaces*; and it was agreed that the Emperour ſhould not be killed till *Beliſarius* came to Town, who being now upon his way, in caſe they ſhould, after the deed done, make *Germanus* Emperour, would leavy an Army in *Thrace* and come againſt them, and they ſhould never be able to keep him off; But being in the Court with the Emperour, they might enter ſome Evening with their Daggers ſuddenly, and kill *Juſtinian*, *Beliſarius* and *Marcellus* altogether. *Marcellus* having this account from *Leontius*, yet forbare to report it to the Emperour, leſt by too much haſte he ſhould Ruine *Artabanes*. But *Germanus* fearing that which happened, to be ſuſpected for delay, revealed it to *Buzes* and *Conſtantianus*; and afterward *Beliſarius* being reported to be near at hand, *Marcellus* acquainted the Emperour with it, who cauſed *Artabanes* and his Complices to be committed to the common Priſon, and to be ſtrictly examined by ſome Principal Officers.

The Conſpiracy revealed.

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176. The Conſpiracy being manifeſt, and reduced into writing, the Senate was aſſembled in the Palace, where, notwithſtanding the Confeſſions of the Priſoners, yet *Germanus* and *Juſtinus* had been involved in the Crime, if the teſtimonies of *Marcellus* and *Leontius* had not cleared them, and *Buzes* alſo and *Conſtantianus* had not depoſed that *Germanus* had hid nothing from them, but demeaned himſelf as aforeſaid. So the Senate acquitted them as innocent, but the Emperour in his Chamber ſtormed, and was much inflamed againſt *Germanus*, for his ſlowneſs in the diſcovery, being ſeconded and ſoothed by two officious Officers, deſirous to ingratiate themſelves by the miſeries of other men; and the reſt ſtood amazed without ſpeaking a word; yielding by not oppoſing. Onely *Marcellus* by urging the truth vehemently, by taking all upon himſelf, and affirming that he diſcovered it more lately, becauſe he deſired more narrowly to ſearch into it, pacified the Emperour, and got great reputation by ſo ſeaſonable a virtue. *Artabanes* onely was removed from his Office, having no other harm, no more than the reſt who were reſtrained, but not diſhonourably, nor now in the common Priſon, but the Palace. Thus was the Emperour in danger in the Eaſt, and his Empire at the ſame time more than in danger in the Weſt, of which the Barbarians now were clearly Maſters; the *Romans*, who at firſt carried all before them, having after a vaſt expence of Bloud and Treaſure, loſt *Italy*, and ſtanding looking upon *Illyrium* and *Thrace*, ſhamefully waſted by their Barbarous Neighbours. In the beginning of the *Gothick* War, the *Goths* gave to the *Franks* all that part of *Gall* ſubject to them, being not in a condition to fight with both, which gift *Juſtinian* confirmed, that he might not be croſt and diverted by a War with that People; nor would the *Franks* have thought their Title ſure, if the Emperour had not put his Seal to the Act. Hereupon the Kings of the *Franks* got *Marſeilles*, (anciently a Colony of the *Phocæans*,) and became Maſters both of the Sea and the Maritime Towns. And now, ſaith he, they ſit in *Arles* beholding the Horſe-Races there, and Coyn Gold Staters out of the Mines in *Gall*, not with the ſtamp of the *Roman* Emperours, (as the cuſtome at this time was,) but with their own Images. Yet could not the King of *Perſia* though he Coined ſilver Money as he pleaſed, nor any other Barbarian King, put his own ſtamp upon a Gold Stater, yea though he was now, as much greater Maſter of Gold than the Emperour; For ſuch Coin they could not put away, though they traded with Barbarian Merchants. Moreover the *Franks* ſeeing *Totilas* prevail, ſeized the greateſt part of *Venetia*; the *Romans* having no power to reſiſt, nor the *Goths* to graple with both at once.

The *Franks* gain in theſe days.

The *Gepidæ* alſo Win.

Gepait cunctari pigros interpretatur Procopius, & Jornandes Gepidæ Gens è Scandinavia.

177. The *Gepidæ* alſo took *Syrmium* and almoſt all *Dacia*, ſo ſoon as *Juſtinian* had taken them from the *Goths*, and proceeded in making ſpoil of the Provinces, ſo that the Emperour made a ſtop of the Penſions paid them formerly by the *Romans*. To the *Longobardi* or *Lombards*, he gave *Noricum* and the ſtrong places in *Pannonia*, with other Towns and great Sums of money, who thereupon left their own Countrey, and ſeated themſelves by the *Danube*, near to the *Gepidæ*, pillaging *Dalmatia* and *Illyrium* as far as *Epidamnus*. The *Heruli* had alſo part of *Dacia* aſſigned them near the City *Singedon*, where inhabiting, they thence overran and ſpoiled both *Illyrium* and *Thrace*, notwithſtanding they received their full Penſions, without much attendance, and ſome of them ſerved the *Romans* in their Wars, and were ranked with the Confederates. But not long after, the *Gepidæ*, and the *Lombards* being too near Neighbours fell out, and a Day was appointed for a pitcht Battel between them. Both *Thoriſin* Prince of the *Gepidæ*, and *Audonin* of the *Lombards*, ſent their Ambaſſadours to *Juſtinian* for aid againſt this great and bloudy day. The Ambaſſadours on each ſide uſed many arguments, and *Juſtinian* after a long Conſultation, refuſed the *Gepidæ*, and ſwore a League with the *Lombards* to whom he ſent ten thouſand Horſe, and fifteen hundred *Heruli*. But the *Gepidæ*, underſtanding the *Roman* Army to be near, compounded the difference with the *Lombards*, and concluded a Truce without the *Romans*, who thereupon durſt neither go backward nor forward, but lay ſtill, and advertiſed the Emperour of their misfortune.

The *Lombards*.

And *Heruli*.

The *Roman* Army in a Nooſe.

178. But *Vigilius* Biſhop of *Rome*, and the *Italians* at Court, who were both many and powerfull, ſolicited the Emperour in behalf of their Countrey. Above all *Gothicus* preſſed him to it being a Patritian, and lately Conſul, who was newly come to *Conſtantinople* for this purpoſe. The Emperour gave them good words, and promiſed to take care of *Italy*, yet he ſpent moſt of his hours in Chriſtian Controverſies, and ſuch things as tended to the ſettlement of Church matters. Certainly at this time, his Affairs in that Countrey more and more went down the wind. For *Totilas* his Forces increaſed by an acceſſion of ſix thouſand men, brought to him

The *Goths* proſper in *Italy*.

to him by *Ildiges*, a Prince of the *Lombards*. And about the ſame time *Ilauph*, one of *Beliſarius* his Life-guard, revolted to him, by whom he was preſently ſent with a Navy and Forces into *Dalmatia*. There being thought as honeſt as formerly, and appertaining to *Beliſarius*, he had opportunity enough to doe miſchief, putting all the Inhabitants of *Monecurus*, a Sea-town near *Salonæ*, to the Sword, which having ſackt, he removed, and did the ſame to *Laureata* a Caſtle alſo upon the ſea. Certain Forces in Pinaces ſent againſt him by *Claudianus*, the Governour of *Salonæ*, he worſted, and forced them to quit their Veſſels, which he took in the Haven of *Laureata*, together with other Ships laden with Corn and Proviſions, which having done, and killed and ſpoiled all they found, he returned to *Totilas*: when the Winter ended, and the fourteenth year of the War, written by *Procopius*.

179. *Totilas* all this while had his mind ſet upon *Rome*, whither now he removed, and beſieged it with his whole Army. *Beliſarius* had there left three thouſand of his beſt men, commanded by *Diogenes*, one of his Life-guard, a diſcreet man, and a good Souldier, who ſo ordered his matters, that the Siege was drawn out in length, for he diligently attended his Guards, valiantly repelled the many Aſſaults of the *Goths*, and by ſowing Corn within the Walls, prevented want of Victual, which they cut off from the City, now blockt up by their continuing Maſters of *Portus*. Had *Juſtinian* upon *Beliſarius* his return ſent another General with an Army, as he gave out he would, he might poſſibly have vanquiſht the *Goths*, *Rome* being in his obedience, and he having there an Army to join with his Succours from *Conſtantinople*; but though he commanded once *Liberius*, a Patritian, to be in readineſs, afterward he grew remiſs, and cooled again. Therefore *Diogenes* having no relief, after a long time ſpent in the Siege, ſome *Iſaurians* that watched at St. *Paul's* Gate diſcontented for their pay which had been wanting many years, and ſeeing the advancement of their Countrymen, who had formerly betrayed *Rome* to the *Goths*, came to a ſecret conference with *Totilas*, and agreed at a day aſſigned, to betray the City to him. He ſent ſome Trumpeters to ſound at another part of the Walls, which amazing the Defendants, when they ran to the ſuccour of that part, he at St. *Paul's* Gate was received in with his whole Army. Much ſlaughter there was in the City; and ſuch as ran out at other Gates in their way to the *Centumcellæ*, the onely Fortreſs the *Romans* had thereabouts, were cut in pieces by Ambuſhes laid beforehand for that purpoſe: ſome few hardly eſcaped, and *Diogenes* amongſt them; but not without having received an hurt. Yet *Paulus* a *Cilician*, formerly Steward of *Beliſarius* his Houſhold, afterward a Commander of a Party of Horſe, and now joined in Commiſſion with *Diogenes* in the defence of *Rome*, with four hundred Horſe made for *Adrian's* Tomb, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the Bridge leading to St. *Peter's* Church. He and his men valiantly repulſed the conquering and inſulting Enemy; and when they had no Proviſions left, and *Totilas* was reſolved to ſtarve them out, determined by charging the Enemy in a ſudden ſally to end their lives honourably, and by killing as many *Goths* as poſſible, to ſell them at as dear a rate as they could.

Totilas again takes *Rome*.

180. For a confirmation and ſeal of ſuch an agreement, they imbraced and kiſſed one another, as being all ready to periſh; whereof, when *Totilas* was advertiſed, fearing what might be the effects of ſuch a deſperate Reſolution, he ſent, and offered them either to quit their Horſes and Arms, and ſwearing never to ſerve more againſt the *Goths*, to return to *Conſtantinople*; or retaining their former Eſtates, Wealth and Privileges, to ſerve in his Army, in equal condition with the *Goths*. Though at firſt they choſe to go to *Conſtantinople*, yet afterward fearing Ambuſhes, aſhamed to travell on foot, and angry for want of pay, they gave their Names to the ſervice of *Totilas*; onely *Paul*, and one *Minde* an *Iſaurian*, deſired to be ſent into their own Countries; and *Totilas* commending them for fidelity and plain dealing, gave them Proviſions for their Journey and ſave conduct. The reſt of the Army having taken ſanctuary in Churches, and being in number about three hundred, upon aſſurance of Indemnity yielded to *Totilas*. He now reſolved neither to quit *Rome*, nor demoliſh any Part of it; but replant it with *Goths* and *Romans* together, and that upon this occaſion. He had lately asked in marriage the Daughter of the King of the *Franks*, who rejected his motion for this Reaſon, That he neither was, nor ever would be King of *Italy*, having indeed taken *Rome*, but not being able to keep it, becauſe he had demoliſhed part of it, and quitted the reſt to his Enemies. Now therefore he brought in Proviſions, and commanded to re-edifie what he had formerly broken down, ſent for the Senatours, and other, *Romans*, confined to *Campania*; held the ſolemnity of the *Circenſian* Games, and then prepared for a Voiage into *Sicily*. Yet he ſent and deſired Truce of the Emperour, offering that

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the *Goths* ſhould ſerve him in his Wars againſt any other Nation. But *Juſtinian* ſuffered not the Ambaſſadour to come to his preſence, and utterly rejected the Propoſition. Which having underſtood, he firſt thought fit to attempt *Centumcellæ*, and then having once maſtered it, to proſecute his intended Voiage into *Sicily*. But coming to treat with *Diogenes* the Governour, and finding the Garriſon reaſonably ſtrong; he was content, that according to their motion they ſhould ſend to the Emperour for Relief; and if none came, then to ſurrender the Town by a day prefixed, and thirty Hoſtages were given on both ſides. Raiſing then his Siege, he went for *Sicily*; in his paſſage attempted *Rhegium*, which holding out ſtoutly, he blockt it up with part of his Army, hoping to ſtarve them out. He ſent Forces alſo, and took the Caſtle of *Tarentum*; And at the ſame time *Ariminum* was betrayed to ſome of the *Goths* lying in *Picenia*.

Juſtinian neglects *Italy*.

The *Sclavi* make great Devaſtations.

181. *Juſtinian* moved at this his Succeſs, named *Germanus*, his Brother's Son, General in the War with abſolute Authority, and commanded him to be in readineſs; at the report whereof the *Goths* were troubled, *Germanus* having a great Name in the World, and the *Roman* Souldiers were much incouraged. But the Emperour, for what reaſon is uncertain, changed his mind, and appointed *Liberius*, a Citizen of *Rome*, for the ſervice; who accordingly made himſelf ready, expecting inſtantly to ſail away. But afterward *Juſtinian* again changed his Reſolution as to ſending him with a Land Army, and the Affairs of *Italy* were neglected, where alſo about this ſame time, *Verus* having headed many of the moſt valiant *Roman* Souldiers, was after much loſs defeated and ſlain. Now alſo a Party of ſome three thouſand *Sclavi* paſſing the *Danube*, and the River of *Hebrus*, parted into two Companies, and did much miſchief, defeating ſeveral of the *Roman* Commanders in *Thrace* and *Illyrium*, although they overmatched them in numbers. *Asbadus*, one of them, they took Priſoner, and burnt alive, having firſt cut thongs from the Skin of his Back. Though never before they had paſſed the *Danube*, nor foraged the *Roman* Provinces, now they pillaged and waſted all without controll, and took in *Thrace* and *Illyrium* many Caſtles, piercing as far as *Topſerum*, twelve days journey from *Conſtantinople*, being the firſt Sea-town of that part of *Thrace*. Coming before this Town, moſt of them hid themſelves in the Faſtneſſes adjoining. Some few of them alarm'd the *Romans* within, who thinking them no more than they ſaw, ſallied out upon them, at which the Barbarians ſeemed afraid, and ran away: But the *Romans* being drawn far from the Walls, the Ambuſhes roſe, thoſe that fled, now turned head, and charging them on all ſides, cut them in pieces. Notwithſtanding, the Inhabitants thus deprived of the Souldiers aſſiſtence, refuſed to yield, and reſiſted the Aſſailants as they could, powring down upon them boiling Oil and Pitch, and caſting down great Stones, by which means they ſeemed for a while to prevail and reſiſt the danger. But the Barbarians at length with ſhowrs of Arrows forced them from the Battlements, and with their Scaling-ladders took the City by aſſault. Fifteen thouſand men they killed in it, and having ſackt it, made the Women and Children Slaves, contrary to their former practice; for they had ſpared neither Sex nor Age, but killed all they met with ſince their firſt entring the *Roman* Territories. Hence came it to paſs that all *Thrace* and *Illyrium* were ſcattered with dead Bodies. They uſed no compendious way to ſend them out of this miſerable World. They killed them not with Swords or Lances, as was the uſual manner; but pitching Stakes into the Ground with ſharp ends upward, ſet the poor Wretches upon them at their Fundaments; then forced them downwards, and the Stakes up into their Entrails. Having alſo tied the Hands and Feet of their Priſoners to four Stakes, they knockt them on the Head with Clubs, and killed them like ſo many Dogs or Snakes. Others having ſhut up with ſuch Cattle as they could not drive into their own Countrey, they burned together without mercy. At laſt, drunk with Bloud, they were pleaſed to keep alive all they met, and both Parties returned home loaded with Wealth, and inriched with innumerable Captives.

Asbadus Haiſt-bode, celer Nuncius, A ſwift Meſſenger. *Pro Bode poſtea irrepſit Francicum Meſſenger. Sed eſt hodiè in uſu apud Belgæ. Viator enim publicus dicitur Een Bode.*

They take *Topſerum* by aſſault.

Their Cruelty.

Totilas waſtes *Sicily*.

Juſtinian makes his Nephew *Germanus* General againſt the *Goths*.

182. In the mean time *Totilas* waſted *Sycily*, having attempted *Meſſina* to no purpoſe. *Thurincuth* and *Himerius* having gallantly demeaned themſelves in *Rhegium*, when all their Victual was ſpent, yielded themſelves and the Caſtle by compoſition. The Emperour at the news of theſe Succeſſes, having revoked his Commiſſion to *Liberius*, who was an extreme old man, and no Souldier, ſent *Artabanes* for *Sicily*, remitting his Crimes, and making him General of the Forces in *Thrace*. His Nephew *Germanus* he now conſtituted General againſt the *Goths*, giving him no great Army, but money to raiſe one of good importance in *Thrace* and *Illyrium*; whence he ordered him to march for *Italy*, accompanied with *Philimuth*, Captain of the *Heruli*, and *John* the Nephew of *Vitalianus*, his Son-in-law, and General of *Illyrium*, where

he reſided. *Germanus* had a great ambition to add the glory of recovering *Italy* to his former Reputation got in *Africk*, which he thought he might the more eaſily effect by means of *Mattaſuntha*, the Daughter of *Amalaſuntha*, and Grandaughter of *Theodorich*, whom after the deceaſe of *Paſſara*, his former Wife, he had married, ſhe being alſo now a Widow; for *Vitigis*, her former Husband, was lately dead. He more than hoped that the *Goths* would be aſhamed to lift up their hands againſt this Lady, out of reſpect to the memory of her Progenitors. To this Incouragement was added a great confidence he had in the ſtrength and affection of his Souldiers. For being very liberal in disburſing, not onely the Emperour's Treaſure, but his own private Money, he levied quickly and unexpectedly a very gallant Army. The beſt *Roman* Souldiers left their ordinary Commanders to follow him, though of ſundry Nations. Nay, the very Barbarians about the *Danube*, allured by his Fame, joined with him, and that not empty handed, but bringing with them good ſtore of Money. The Prince of the *Lombards*, particularly, ingaged to ſend him a thouſand men well armed. Now Report, as in all humane things elſe, making all this much more in *Italy*, the *Goths* were much afraid and troubled, eſpecially conſidering they were to make war againſt the Poſterity of *Theodorich*. The *Roman* Souldiers there, to his farther content, ſent him word they were ready to join with him; and taking courage, reſolved to keep their Towns for the Emperour's ſervice; nay, thoſe that were beaten in the defeat of *Verus*, and now ſtragled up and down, hearing that *Germanus* was upon his way, rallied in *Iſtria*, and expected his coming. *Diogenes* alſo being ſummoned by *Totilas* to ſurrender *Centum cellæ* according to their Capitulation, anſwered, that now that *Germanus* was declared abſolute General, he had no power; but he deſired him to ſend him back his Hoſtages, and he would reſtore thoſe given him by the *Goths*. So he carefully guarded the Town, expecting *Germanus* with his Army. And thus ended the Winter, together with the fifteenth year of the War, written by *Procopius*.

Who are thereat diſcouraged.

183. But more than all this, *Germanus* had a farther incouragement and Omen, as it might well be eſteemed, of his future Succeſs, while he was yet drawing his Army together, and exerciſing his Troops at *Sardice*, a City of *Illyrium*. For a number of *Sclavi*, greater than ever formerly had paſſed *Iſter* (or the *Danube*) foraged the *Roman* Territories as far as *Nayſum*; but hearing that he was appointed to oppoſe their Deſigns of ſacking *Theſſalonica*, and the Towns about it; and having formerly underſtood what, in the days of *Juſtinus*, his Great Uncle, he had done againſt the *Antians* their Neighbours (whom he ſo totally defeated in an Invaſion they had made, that he ſcarcely left one of them alive) and ſuppoſing him to have a very great Army, as being ſent againſt the *Goths*, they relinquiſhed their former Purpoſes, and departed over the Mountains of *Illyrium* into *Dalmatia*, not daring to appear in the Champian; ſo that he deſpiſing them, ordered his Army to be in readineſs within three days to begin the Journey into *Italy*. But here ſee the lubricity of humane hopes, proſperity and greatneſs, with the potent fate of the *Roman* Empire now in her decrepit Age. He ſuddenly fell into a ſickneſs and died, both a vertuous and valiant man, an excellent General, and a daring Souldier. In peace and quietneſs an earneſt Obſerver of Laws and good Government; an upright Judge, and ſo charitable, that he often lent great ſums without ſo much as talking of a penny Intereſt. In the Palace and *Forum* he was ſevere and grave; but at home and at his Table pleaſant, free and obliging: preventing, as much as in him lay, all diſorders at Court, and never ingaging himſelf in any of the Factions of *Conſtantinople*: a thing too much practiſed by other great ones. The Emperour much afflicted with this ſudden Accident, commanded *Juſtin*, one of the Sons, and *John*, the Son-in-law of *Germanus*, to lead the Army into *Italy*; who, foraſmuch as it was not poſſible in that ſeaſon to compaſs the *Adriatick* Gulf; and wanting Ships wherewith to croſs it, marched into *Dalmatia*, with intention to winter at *Salonæ*.

Germanus dies.

His Commendation.

184. *Liberius*, who, as it ſeems, had heard nothing of the Emperour's change of mind, nor theſe Alterations, with the Fleet under his command put in at *Syracuſe*, now beſieged by the Enemy, and forcing his way into the Haven, got his Army into the City. *Artabanes* making towards him through the *Adriatick* Sea, near the Coaſt of *Calabria*, met with a great Tempeſt, which ſcattered his Fleet, and overſet ſome of his Ships, that wherein he was imbarked ſpent alſo her main Maſt; and being abandoned to the Wind and Waves, after much danger, drove to the Iſland of *Malta*, by which means he was unexpectedly preſerved. *Liberius* within a ſmall time not able to fight with the Enemy, and ſtarved out of *Syracuſe*, ſtole thence into *Panormus*. *Totilas* in the mean while ranſackt all *Sicily*; and having got much Pillage, departed back into *Italy*, leaving four ſtrong Garriſons in the

Iſland, thereto perſwaded by one *Supinus* a *Roman* of *Spoletum* and his Aſſeſſour, who being taken Priſoner by his Countreymen, they refuſed to diſmiſs him upon other terms, than that he ſhould perſwade the *Gothick* King to this Retreat, which he eaſily did, by frighting him with the approach of *John* and *Juſtinian* with a great Army. Thoſe two Commanders intended, by the beginning of the Spring, to march from *Salonæ* by Land to *Ravenna*, when the *Sclavi*, both thoſe who formerly foraged the Empire, and others, ſpoiled again with all liberty the *Roman* Provinces, whether hired by *Totilas*, to divert the Emperour from the *Gothick* War, as ſome ſuſpected, or otherwiſe led by a deſire of booty, and their own inclination to a Ravenous kind of life. They divided themſelves into three Parties, and were now grown to that height of Confidence, that they ſacked not the Cities, but Wintred in them as in their own, without all fear or ſuſpicion. The Emperour with the lateſt ſent an Army againſt them, Commanded by *Scolaſticus* an Eunuch of his Palace, which met with one party of them near *Adrianople*, a City Situate in the heart of *Thrace*, and five days Journey from *Conſtantinople.* The *Sclavi* loaded with booty, declined the fight, and incamped upon a Mountain, where the *Romans* beſieged them, till the Souldiers murmured at their Commanders for want of Proviſions, and delayed to ingage the Enemy. But being at length forced to ingage, the Battel was hotly fought, and the *Romans* were beaten; many of their beſt men ſlain, and the Commanders themſelves eſcaped narrowly, the Enſign of *Conſtantianus*, one of them, being taken in the Field. Now the Barbarians deſpiſing the *Roman* Arms proceeded in their courſe, and waſted the Countrey called *Aſtica*, which having never formerly been touched, afforded them good ſtore of booty. They ranged up the Countrey as far as the Long Walls, but one days Journey from *Conſtantinople*, but provoked the *Romans* to ſo great an height of Indignation thereby, that afterward part of them they routed, after much ſlaughter, reſcued great numbers of Captives, and recovered the Enſign of *Conſtantianus.* The reſt of the *Sclavi*, with the remainder of their booty departed home.

The *Sclavi* again waſte the *Roman* Provinces.

185. *John* the Siſters Son of *Vitalianus*, and Son in Law to the late *Germanus*, as was before hinted, paſt that Winter in *Salonæ*, with which the ſixteenth year of the *Gothick* War received its period. The Commanders in *Italy* expecting daily his coming, forbare all Action, and when in the Spring following, he reſolved to lead his Army againſt *Totilas*, he was countermanded by the Emperour, who ordained him to expect the coming of *Narſes* the Eunuch, whom he had made Captain General, with full authority in the War. Thus did *Juſtinian* by changing ſo often his Reſolutions, much hinder the progreſs of his own affairs, for *Narſes* his march was but ſlow, being oppoſed by ſome *Hunnes* in his paſſage, ſo that *John* might expect long enough, as he was Commanded, and be ſufficiently wearied with expectation. Therefore ſhall we leave him for the preſent at *Salonæ*, and giving time to *Narſes* to make his expedition into *Italy*, return again and viſit *Choſroes*, to ſee how he has behaved himſelf all this while, and what uſe he made of his ignominious Retreat into *Perſia*, beginning where we left at the time of the Plague, and the return of *Beliſarius* to *Conſtantinople.* We ſhall find him marcht Northward to *Ardabigara*, a Town in *Aſſyria*, and there repenting what he had formerly done, with purpoſe thence to invade the *Roman* Territories again, having incouragement, it ſeems, from the Oracle of this place; for here was a great *Pyræum* where the *Magi* kept a perpetual fire, which the *Perſians* worſhipped above all Gods, offering much Sacrifice, and conſulting it after their manner, in their affairs of greateſt Importance. But when he thought of War, he changed his Reſolution, hearing of two Ambaſſadours ſent from the Emperour to treat of Peace, of whom *Conſtantianus* fell ſick by the way, and the Plague at length came into *Perſia*. This put him upon a neceſſity of deſiring an Accommodation, and he accordingly ſent to *Valerianus*, praying that all hoſtility might be forborn, and the Ambaſſadours diſpatched away. But the *Romans* knowing well enough that his difficulties and ſtraits were their advantage, and hearing moreover that his Son conſpired againſt him, by order from the Emperour invaded *Perſarmenia*, with an Army of thirty thouſand men. Coming into *Dubis*, a territory eight days Journey from *Theodoſiopolis*, there in a Village ſeated in a narrow paſſage of a ragged Mountain, *Nabades* had fortified himſelf, who, with four thouſand men laid in Ambuſh, firſt put the *Roman* Army into Confuſion, and then drawing out his whole power, routed them, and made them all run away. The *Perſians* could not believe them ſo egregious Cowards, but ſuſpected ſome Ambuſhes, ſo that driving them out of the Faſtneſſes, they then turned head, not daring with a few to encounter ſo many in a Plain. But the *Romans*, (and eſpecially the Commanders,) thinking the Enemy ſtill purſuing,

ran

Procop. de bell. Goth. lib. 4.

Juſtinian by often changing his Reſolutions, much indamages his own Affairs.

Redeund. ad paragr. 143. *hujus cap. Sect.* 1.

Procop. de bell. Perſico, lib. 2.

The *Romans* invading *Perſarmenia* ſhamefully beaten.

The effect of having many Commanders, and of diſorder.

ran without intermiſſion, urging their Horſes both with Whip and Voice, and caſting away their Arms in fear and haſte. In a word, ſuch a diſaſter the *Romans* had not formerly felt, and ſuch a running away it was, that ſcarce an Horſe overlived it, but died Hartbroken as ſoon as the courſe was ended. Many were ſlain, more taken Priſoners and made ſlaves, and ſo great a quantity of Arms and Baggage was left, that the State of *Perſia* rich before, appeared much richer by this victory. But ſuch are the effects of the equal power of many Generals, and the licentiouſneſs and negligence of an Army. For, the Commanders taunted one another, were careleſs of fighting, and fearleſs of dangers, attending onely pillage and rifling. They marcht confuſedly without diſcipline, nay without a watchword (as the uſual cuſtome is,) or diſtinction by any kind of order. The Souldiers not concerning themſelves, where they found their Officers void of all care and circumſpection, mingled with thoſe that attended upon the Baggage, and marcht as to ſome great booty ready prepared for them; which in concluſion ended in ſuch an entertainment as they had deſerved.

Choſroes invades *Meſopotamia.*

He falls upon *Edeſſa.*

186. *Choſroes* incouraged by ſo unexpected good fortune, when he could leaſt hope of any ſucceſs, the next year invaded the *Roman* Territories the fourth time, making an Inrode into *Meſopotamia.* But this Expedition ſeemed not made againſt man, but God himſelf, and had an iſſue ſutable to Irreligion and Impiety, though proceeding from a Paganiſh ſuperſtition. For in his firſt Invaſion, when he retired from *Edeſſa* without having any thing performed, he and his *Magi* were much diſcontented to be overcome by the God of the Chriſtians, whereupon he threatned and reſolved, to make the *Edeſſenians* Slaves, and to turn their City into a Paſture for Cattel. Being now come before the place, and diſappointed of his expectation at the firſt Onſet, being alſo, as ſome thought, troubled with a dream, or apprehending the diſgrace of miſſing *Edeſſa* twice, he thought preſently of ſelling his Retreat to the Inhabitants for money. *Paul* his Interpreter, procured a conference, wherein all the money they had in the Town being demanded, they refuſed to buy their ſecurity at ſo dear a rate, and the Commiſſioners he commanded to be gone in great Anger. The eighth day then of the Siege, he began to raiſe a Mount, the Foundation of which was a ſquare work of Trees cut down with the leaves on; over them was ſpread much Earth, and above lay ſtones in a rude unwrought manner, (his onely care being to raiſe the Mount ſpeedily,) putting between the earth and ſtones, peices of Timber to faſten the Work, and make it ſtronger. The Defendants at firſt did the Workmen much damage, but afterwad the Guards were ſo ſtrengthened, that none durſt approach, and the *Perſians*, by hanging upon Poles before the Labourers Clothes made of Goats hair, kept off both the fiery Darts and Arrows. The *Romans*, now afraid, ſent Meſſengers to the King, and with them one *Stephanus* a famous Phyſician, who had formerly done a cure upon *Cabades*, and had got a great Eſtate by him. He upbraided him, though in civil expreſſions, of ingratitude towards himſelf, telling him that *Edeſſa* could leaſt have expected ſuch cruel uſage at his hands, it being the place of his Nativity, who had formerly foſtered him, and by counſelling his Father to appoint him his Succeſſour, had been a principal Authour to him of the Empire of *Perſia*, and to his County of all thoſe miſeries it had undergone. Yet *Choſroes* flatly refuſed to riſe from thence, till the *Romans* had delivered into his hands *Peter* and *Peranius* his Father's Slaves, who now preſumed to bear Arms againſt him; or inſtead of this, paid him five hundred centenaries of Gold, or elſe would admit his Officers to ſearch the City, and thence to bring him all the Gold and Silver they could find within it. This he ſpake at random, not caring what he ſaid; for he expected with eaſe to take the Town. The Meſſengers finding his propoſitions impoſſible, returned much troubled. And the City, upon their report of his Demands, was filled with noiſe and lamentation.

187. The Mount in the mean time roſe to a great height, and went on apace. The beſieged in great perplexity ſent other Meſſengers becoming Sutors for the ſame things, but they were not regarded, but driven out of the *Perſian* Camp with ſcorn and deriſion. Their way then they thought was to raiſe their Walls higher toward the Mount; but herein they were not able to keep pace with the *Perſians*, and ſo gave it over. Then did they employ *Martinus*, (who with *Peter* and *Peranius*, two other *Roman* Commanders, lay in the Town,) to treat and conclude as well as he could for them; but the *Perſians* onely amuzed him with fair words, to ſpend time till they could bring their Mount to perfection. In the mean while, the *Romans* drew a Mine to the Enemies work, and left not till they came under the middle of the Mount, where being diſcovered, the *Perſians* croſs-mined on both

ſides, to catch them in the middle. They perceived it, and there ſtopped up their Mine with Earth; then hard by made they a little hollow Room, where they laid dry Logs ſteeped in Cedar Oil and *Aſſyrian* Pitch. Theſe Logs, when the *Perſians* had ſent back *Martinus*, and were falling to work, did they ſet on fire, which burnt part of the Mount, and when they were burnt out, and ſpread not to the whole, they ſupplied ſtill the little Room with more. The ſmoak from the Mount appearing at Night, they prevented the diſcovery, by ſhooting ſmall Veſſels filled with burning Coals and fire Darts all over the Mount, and the *Perſians* thinking the ſmoak came from them, ran to quench them. But the fire prevailing at length, they were undeceived, and pittyfully crying, were ſhot and killed from the Walls. *Choſroes* in the Morning diſcovered the matter, and they all caſt on, ſome earth others water, which abated the ſmoak there; but preſently it brake out in another place more vehemently; the water alſo added force to the Sulphur and the *Aſſyrian* Pitch, ſo that the fire prevailed over it, and about the Evening following, the ſmoak was ſo high, that it was ſeen at *Carræ*, and other neighbouring parts. Then followed ſeveral Skirmiſhes upon the Mount, wherein the *Romans* ſtill had the better, till the flame roſe ſo clearly, that it forced the *Perſians* to abandon the Work.

188. *Choſroes* thus diſappointed of his hopes from the Mount, kept himſelf quiet for five days, and then reſolved to make an aſſault before it was light, to take the Enemy at advantage and ſurprize him. And his Deſign was not far from taking effect, for the *Romans* were all faſt aſleep, and the *Perſians* ſet to their Ladders and were mounting, when in the nick of time, they were diſcovered by a Peaſant who awakned the beſieged. Then they oppoſed the Aſſailants with ſuch vigour, that they drove them back to their Camp, and took up their Ladders they had left behind them. About Midnight, *Choſroes* had the ſame ſucceſs at the Great Gate, from which he was repulſed, and as the *Romans* were giving the Chaſe, *Paul* the Interpreter put himſelf amongſt them, and told them that *Recimer* was newly arrived, being ſent Ambaſſadour from *Conſtantinople* about a Peace. And he had indeed been four days in the *Perſian* Camp, but they concealed it from the beſieged, expecting the event of their Attempts, which if they ſucceeded well, they reſolved to come to no treaty at all; but in caſe they were beaten, as now they were, they thought they might come to it ſafely, the *Romans* having invited them. Upon demand of ſome to be ſent out to treat with *Choſroes*, the beſieged anſwered, they would within three days ſend *Martinus*, who at this time was ſick; which delay, the King ſuſpecting not to be ſincere, prepared for War, and commanded good ſtore of Bricks to be laid on the Mount. Then, after two days, did he with his Ladders and Engins begin another Storm, placing his Squadrons at every Gate, and behind them *Saracens*, who, when the Town was taken, ſhould lay hold on ſuch as ran away. The *Romans* not being aware of the Aſſault, and very few in compariſon of the Aſſailants, at firſt ſeemed to have the worſt, but what they wanted in numbers, they ſupplied in diligence, for none were idle, the men reſiſted Valiantly, the Peaſants themſelves did bravely, and the very Women and Children, together with Aged Perſons, did their part, ſome bringing ſtones to the Combatants, and others throwing down ſcalding Oil upon the Heads of the Enemy.

189. The *Perſians* finding this oppoſition refuſed to fight any longer, yet *Choſroes* in a rage with threats and ſome violence brought them on again, and with ſhouts and Engins they began a new Aſſault, with ſuch ſeeming alacrity, as if they would preſently enter. But the Courage of the beſieged again prevailed, who having repulſed *Choſroes* and his men, now hiſt at him, and dared him to a freſh Encounter, taking incouragement from ſome Sallies which had been made very ſucceſfully. The fight having laſted all the day, both ſides paſſed the Night unquietly, the *Perſians* being afraid of their Trenches, and the *Romans* providing ſtones and other things neceſſary againſt an Aſſault the next morning. Yet did not the Barbarians then come on, but the day following, a part of their Army animated by *Choſroes*, ſet upon one of the Gates, but were ſent back again with diſgrace to their Camp. Then did *Paul* the Interpreter call to the Walls for *Martinus* to treat an Accord, which being done, *Choſroes* received from the *Edeſſenians* fifty thouſand Gold Staters, and ſubſcribing the Articles, promiſed no more to infeſt the *Romans*, but ſetting his Paliſſadoes and other Works on fire, went home with his Army. About this time, *Juſtus* the Nephew of *Juſtinian*, and *Peranius* dying, the Emperour conſtituted *Marcellus* his Siſters Son, as yet but a youth, and *Conſtantianus* his Ambaſſadours to *Choſroes*, who having Audience in *Aſſyria* near *Seleucia* and *Cteſiphon*, they demanded reſtitution of places in *Lazica*, and a Ratification of the

He packs up and goes home.

the Peace. But the *Perſian* alledged, that a Peace would hardly be good without a Truce firſt concluded, during which by mutual concourſe and Communication, they might better underſtand one another , and firmly determine the perpetual Peace, which he alſo affirmed the *Romans* muſt purchaſe with money , and farther ſend him one *Tribunus*, with whom by a certain day he would conclude the Buſineſs. This *Tribunus* was a Phyſician, who having cured *Choſroes* of a great Sickneſs, he was much his friend and very gratefull ; The Emperour therefore ſent him, and with him twenty thouſand Staters of the money demanded. And ſo a Truce was concluded for five years, in the nineteenth year of *Juſtinian*'s Reign , which was the eleventh of the *Gothick* War, at what time *Rome* was beſieged by *Totilas*, and *Beliſarius* expected ſupplies from *Conſtantinople*, *A.D.* DXLV.

The Quinquennial Collation.

Redi ad hujus Sect. paragr. 20. ubi de Alamund. & Aretha.

190. Shortly after, *Alamundarus* and *Arethas* had Wars with each other, without any aſſiſtence from either *Perſians* or *Romans*. In an Inrode *Alamundarus* took a Son of *Arethas* Priſoner, and Sacrificed him to *Venus*. From him was diſcovered how *Arethas* ſold the Emperour's Affairs to *Choſroes*. But *Choſroes* now rid of the War with the *Romans*, had his mind running upon *Lazica*, of which he had a great deſire to make himſelf Maſter, and that with good reaſon, for the Countrey he truly apprehended would be of manyfold uſe to the Crown of *Perſia*. Firſt, it would keep the *Iberians* in perfect awe , who in caſe of a Revolt would then have none to fly to, as formerly they had upon all occaſions. Then would it joyned to *Perſia*, not onely keep the Provinces thereof free from the Inrodes and devaſtations of the *Hunnes* bordering upon it ; but by this means , the King if he had a mind might oblige them to invade the *Roman* Territories, there being no Rampart againſt the Barbarians of Mount *Caucaſus*, but onely *Lazica*. In concluſion, *Lazica* would advantage the *Perſians* in a matter of no leſs moment than, by iſſuing from thence, to infeſt both by Land and Sea, the places upon the *Euxine*, to ſubdue *Cappadocia*, *Galatia* and *Bithynia*, and to ſurprize *Conſtantinople* it ſelf, for there would be no ſufficient Obſtacle in their way. Upon theſe important Conſiderations, he deſired to have *Lazica*, but was at a loſs how to compaſs it, having no reaſon to have any confidence in the Nation. For the *Lazians* were not formerly ſo diſſatisfied with the *Romans*, but they were much more diſcontented at the demeanour of their new Freinds the *Perſians*, who of all men had leaſt variety in their humours, their manner of Life being extremely ſtrict, their Laws hard of digeſtion , and their Commands intolerable. In reference to the *Lazians* , the difference appeared infinite, not onely in reſpect of humour and diſpoſition , but Religion alſo. The *Lazians* were Chriſtians, none more, but the *Perſians* quite contrary. And another thing yet diſordered them above meaſure. For no Salt being made in *Lazica*, nor Wine, nor other Native Commodities, all was Imported to them from the *Roman* Sea Coaſts, not for money, but in exchange for Skins, and Slaves, or other things wherewith they abounded. From which being now barred, they were highly diſcontented. *Choſroes* being ſo quick as to perceive it, conſulted upon ſome ſafe courſe for prevention, before they ſhould ſtir for an alteration ; and all conſidered, thought it moſt expedient to rid away *Gubazes* their King, to tranſport the Nation, and to plant their Countrey with *Perſians* and others.

Choſroes purpoſes to be Maſter of *Lazica*.

191. But that he might not be abſolutely idle and wanting to his Intereſt on the *Roman* ſide, but ſtrengthen himſelf in thoſe parts as much as poſſible ; he ſent *Iſdigunas* to *Conſtantinople*, ordering him under pretext of an Embaſſy, and the attendance of his Wife and two Daughters, with five hundred men to get into *Daras* ; to ſet ſome Houſes thereof on fire, which whilſt the Inhabitants ſhould be buſie to quench, they ſhould open the Gates, and receive in the Governour of *Niſibis*, who was ordered to be in readineſs with Forces concealed thereabout. But the matter was revealed by a *Roman* fugitive, and *Iſdigunas* failing in his Plot, proceeded on to *Conſtantinople*, where having acceſs to the Emperour, he had little to ſay, but delivering Preſents and Letters of Compliment, he was entertain'd with more grace, favour and charge, than ever Ambaſſadour had been known to be. For both him and his Interpreter *Juſtinian* admitted to his own Couch at Meat, whereas no man ever before, ſaw an Interpreter ſit at table with the meaneſt Governour ; And though he had no buſineſs, he was diſmiſſed with more reſpect than ever any Ambaſſadour, his Charges and Preſents coming to more than ten Centenaries of Gold. In the mean time, *Choſroes* driving on his Deſign for *Lazica* , ſent thither much Ship Timber, giving out it was for Engins, to ſtand upon the Walls of *Petra*. Then ſent he one *Fabricus* with three hundred choſen Men, and privately inſtructed to kill *Gubazes*, but he diſcovering his Errand to *Pharſanſes*, then in ſome diſgrace whom he expected to have an Aſſiſtant in the Work, he was ſo honeſt as to reveal the

Juſtinian laviſh to his Ambaſſadour.

Sect. 1.

Sends aid to *Lazica.*

the Treaſon to *Gubazes*, who ſtood upon his Guard, and reporting to *Juſtinian* the preſent State of his Affairs, begged his pardon for what was paſt, and his preſent aſſiſtence to ſhake the *Perſian* Yoke from off his Shoulders. The Emperour was glad of the News, and ſent him eight thouſand men under Command of *Dagiſthæus*.

The baſe flight of *Dagiſthæus.*

192. Theſe Forces joyned with the *Lazians*, and beſieged *Petra*, which being Victualled held out a long time, againſt all their Aſſaults and Strategems. *Choſroes* much diſordered at the News, ſent to its relief a great Army of Horſe and Foot, under the Conduct of *Mermeroes*, whereof *Gubazes* having notice, wrote to *Dagiſthæus* to ſend Forces to ſtop the Paſſage beyond the *Phaſis*, and not to raiſe the Siege till *Petra* was taken. He himſelf with his own Army marcht to the utmoſt borders of *Lazica*, to fortify the Paſſage there; and having hired ſome *Alans* and *Sabirians*, to help to Guard his Countrey, he wrote to the Emperour for money, alledging that he was alſo in arrear to himſelf for ten years, being inrolled a *Silentiary* of the Imperial Palace. *Juſtinian* at firſt purpoſed to gratify him, but the matter was put off, and the money delayed to be ſent. And *Dagiſthæus* being a young man, and unable to manage a *Perſian* War, made no advantage of the opportunities which were offered him. For whereas he ſhould have ſent to the Paſſage moſt of his Army, and been himſelf preſent at the Action, he ſent, as if the buſineſs had been ſlight, but two hundred men, and did nothing upon *Petra* with all his Forces, where the Enemy within being at firſt not fifteen hundred men, and continually ſhot and ſlain at the Aſſaults, after as much Valour as ever men ſhewed, were reduced to a very few, and thoſe deſpairing and unable now lay ſtill. Had he made right uſe of his Mine, and put in due time fire to the Supporters, the Town had been taken, but he dallied with hopes from the Emperour to whom he wrote, urging him for rewards of Victory, and appointing what he and his Brother ſhould have after the taking of *Petra*. Nay, when part of the Wall was ruined, he neglected to enter the Town, but ſuffered himſelf to be amazed and fooled by *Mirranes* the Governour, who gave him fair words, and told him he would ſhortly ſurrender the Place. In the mean time, *Mermeroes* with loſs of a thouſand men, when the two hundred *Romans* weary of killing, had retired to the Mountains, entred the Paſſage; which *Dagiſthæus* underſtanding, without giving any direction to the Army, gallopt away toward the River *Phaſis*, (which firſt having the name of *Boas*, runs through the Countrey,) with all the *Romans* at his Heels. Leaving their Baggage for haſte, the Garriſon iſſued out and rifled it; but a thouſand *Tzanians* who had followed *Dagiſthæus* in the expedition but not in his flight, came in to the reſcue, and having beaten them back, they themſelves ranſackt the *Roman* Camp. Which done, they went to *Rhizæum*, and thence returned home by *Athens*, (a populous Town Situate in the *Roman* borders,) and ſo by *Trapezond*.

Mermeroes retires out of *Lazica.*

193. The ninth day after the flight of *Dagiſthæus*, *Mermeroes* with his Army came to *Petra*, where he found remaining of the *Perſian* Garriſon but three hundred and fifty men, whereof one hundred and fifty were onely ſound, the reſt were wounded and unſerviceable. Having hence occaſion enough to ſcoff, as he did, at the demeanour of the *Romans*, he had alſo much cauſe to rejoyce and triumph at the Valour of his Countrey-men, whom he found ſo ſelf-denying, and carefull of the intereſt of their Prince, that the ſurvivours had not caſt the Dead bodies from the Wall, but endured almoſt ſtifling with the ſtench, that the Enemy by ſeeing ſo many loſt, might not be the more incouraged to freſh Aſſaults. The Walls he carefully repaired as well as he could, and wanting Lime and other Materials, he filled with Sand the linen Bags, wherein his men had brought their Proviſions, and laying them inſtead of ſtones, made this ſerve for Walling. Then leaving three thouſand men for a Garriſon, not Victualled for any long time, with directions to proceed in the Repair of the Walls, he himſelf with the reſt of the Army, returned homeward. For though he had forced the Paſſage beyond the *Phaſis*, yet could he not incommode *Lazica*, being not able to croſs the River without Ships, which is ſo deep and broad, and ſo ſwift, that it enters the Sea a good way, (at leaſt it did in the days of *Procopius*,) unmingled with Salt water, Paſſengers taking up freſh there to their great convenience; beſides the Ships and many Fortreſſes on this ſide made landing very difficult. Moreover *Juſtinian* had at laſt ſent away the money promiſed to *Gubazes*, beſides a good Army, under Conduct of *Recithangus* a *Thracian*, very wiſe and an excellent Souldier, though it was not yet arrived.

194. *Mermeroes* quitting *Lazica*, went into *Perſarmenia*, and lay quiet in the Towns about *Dubis*. But having an eye ſtill to *Petra*, which he knew was very

meanly victualled, he left five thouſand men with *Fabrozas* and other Commanders, who of the Proviſions they could get were to tranſport the greateſt part to *Petra*, and live upon the reſt. Theſe men incamped by the River *Phaſis*, on the fartheſt Confines of *Lazica*, ſtragling about for booty; *Gubazes*, who was aware of it, ſent for *Dagiſthæus* to come up to him. He endeavoured it, marching with the *Phaſis* on his left hand, till the *Lazians* underſtanding the River to be fordable, paſſed over and joined with him, neither the *Perſians* nor *Romans* themſelves knowing the Ford. Then did they jointly ſet upon a thouſand men, whom the *Perſians* had ſent out as a flying Guard to prevent any infeſting of their Camp, of whom none eſcaped, but moſt were ſlain, and the reſt taken. Incouraged by this ſucceſs, they proceeded farther; and learning the eſtate and condition of the main Body, unexpectedly fell upon them after midnight; and finding ſome aſleep, ſome hardly awake and naked upon their Pallets, but all ſurprized and without a thought of fighting, killed moſt of them. Some they took, and ſome few eſcaped in the dark. But of their Camp they eaſily made themſelves Maſters, with all their Enſigns, much Arms and Baggage, beſides a great number of Mules and Horſes. Following the execution far into *Iberia*, they cut off ſeveral other *Perſian* Troops they met with, and burnt a quantity of Meal and other Proviſions which was on its way for relief of *Petra*. So leaving at the Paſſage ſome numbers of *Lazians* to block up all acceſs with Proviſions to *Petra*, they returned with all their Booty and Captives. And thus ended the fourth year after the *Quinquennial* Ceſſation, being the fifteenth of the *Gothick* War, wherein *Totilas* took *Rome* the ſecond time, the twenty third of *Juſtinian*'s Reign. *A. D.* DXLIX.

A great victory of the *Romans* and *Lazians* over the *Perſians.*

Procop. de Bell. Goth. l. 4.

195. The year following another *Perſian* Army invaded *Lazica*, commanded by *Corianes* a *Perſian*, and an experienced Commander, with whom joined alſo a number of *Alans*. They incamped in a Province called *Muchiriſis*, lying upon the River *Phaſis*, not navigable there, but paſſable by Men and Horſes, and they intrencht to the right hand of it at ſome diſtance. Full often had the *Perſians* invaded the *Roman* Territories under *Choſroes*, and done miſchiefs not by any Pen to be expreſſed, yet they got little by it, but returned ſtill with much loſs, ſo that they murmured againſt their King, and ſtuck not to call him *the Ruiner of their Nation*; Once particularly coming home out of *Lazica*, and being fallen into ſome great extremities, they were ready to mutiny, and had ſlain him, if he had not foreſeen and prevented it by gaining the Principal of them with fair words. Being therefore deſirous to find ſome real Apology and a ſerious excuſe, he had long beat his Head how he might notably advance the Intereſt of the *Perſian* Empire. He attempted *Daras*, and failing in this Enterpriſe, as we ſhewed before, thought of taking ſome other *Roman* Town; but to doe any thing of moment within the Countrey, he judged it impoſſible, leaving ſo many ſtrong Places at his back. For this reaſon he laid *Antioch* flat with the ground; and quitting the *Roman* Territories, his thoughts mounted after hopes farther off and full of difficulty. For hearing how the Barbarians, ſeated on the left hand of the *Euxine* Sea, about the Lake of *Mæotis*, did without controll waſte and overrun the *Roman* Provinces, he thought why might not he, having *Lazica* in his hands, without croſſing any Sea, make his Inroads as far as *Conſtantinople*? This made him ſo reſtleſs to become Maſter of *Lazica*, as we hinted before.

Corianes ſent by *Choſroes.*

196. *Corianes* with his Army removed to the River *Hippis*, whence it was reſolved by *Gubazes* and *Dagiſthæus* to fall upon him, to give a demonſtration of their courage, and abate the ſpirit of the Enemy. The *Lazians* were frollick and confident out of meaſure, diſdaining that the *Romans* ſhould ſhew themſelves equally valiant, the ſtake being theirs for which they were to ſtrive, their Lives, Fortunes, Wives and Children being all ingaged. Yet when they, marching before, came to charge the Avant Courriers of the Enemy, they fairly gave back and retired to the *Roman* Horſe, who renewed the charge, and forced the *Perſians* to retire and expect the coming of the reſt of the Army. Then came up the Infantry both of *Gubazes* and *Dagiſthæus*, and joining with the Horſe came to handy-blows. But the *Roman* Horſe proving too weak for the *Perſian* Cavalry, order was given for both *Lazians* and *Romans* to alight, and with the Foot they ſtood in a deep battalion oppoſite to the Enemy, and charged with their Lances. This puſled the *Perſians*, who could not graple with their Enemies now on foot, nor break their battalion, their Horſes flying back, diſordered by the heads of the Lances and noiſe of the Targets. They reſolved therefore to try if they could break them by ſhowres of Arrows, whereupon the *Romans* and *Lazians* let fly thick again upon them, and many were ſlain on both ſides; the *Perſians* and *Alans* diſcharging oftner, but their Arrows for the moſt part rebounding

Is ſlain, and his Army overthrown.

bounding from the *Roman* Shields. At length *Corianes* the *Perſian* General was ſlain by a ſhot in the Neck, and his death ſwayed the Victory to the oppoſite Party; for he falling from his Horſe, his men preſently ran away to their Camp with the Enemy at their heels, who thought to take it at the firſt Aſſault. But an *Alan*, a ſtrong and luſty Fellow, and very dextrous in ſhooting, put himſelf into the narroweſt entrance into the Trenches, and ſtopt the Invaders a long time, untill *John Guzes*, a valiant *Roman* Officer, killed him with his Lance, and then was the Camp ſpeedily taken. Many *Perſians* were cut off as well here as in the Fight, and the reſt returned home as they could: ſuch being the ſucceſs of this *Perſian* Invaſion of *Lazica*. After which another Army came, and victualling the Garriſon in *Petra*, retired without more adoe.

Beſſu ordered to command in *Lazica*.

The *Abaſgians* and *Apſilians* reduced.

The Son of *Choſroes* uſurps.

Whom by blemiſhing his Eyes he makes incapable of the Kingdom.

197. In the mean time, whilſt *Dagiſthæus* was thus employed againſt the *Perſians*, the *Lazians* at *Conſtantinople* accuſed him of Treachery, and favouring their Enemies in the management of the Affair at *Petra*; the buſineſs of the Mines, and the Fortification by Sacksfull of Sand, being all ript up. Hereupon he was by the Emperour's Order confined to his Houſe, and *Beſſas*, lately come out of *Italy*, was made General of *Armenia*, with inſtructions to command the Army in *Lazica*, ſent thither before under conduct of *Venilus* and others. *Nabodes* the *Perſian* coming again into *Lazica*, drew the *Abaſgians* to revolt from the *Lazians* and *Romans*. For being tired out with the incroachments and oppreſſions of the *Roman* Garriſons, after they had depoſed their Kings, they grew deſperate, and choſe rather to reſume their former condition, though bad, than fall into abſolute ſlavery; and fearing ſtill worſe and worſe, ſet up Kings again, and revolted ſecretly to the *Perſian*. *Juſtinian* ſmelling it out, commanded *Beſſas* to march againſt them, who ſent a choice Party of his Army under *Uligangus* and *John Guzes*, by which their chiefeſt Fort was taken, and after much ſlaughter they were reduced to obedience; as alſo were the *Apſilians*, who having been anciently ſubject to the *Lazians*, had alſo of late revolted. Whilſt the Affairs of *Choſroes* ſucceeded not very well in *Lazica*, they were in a worſe condition at home, by means of his eldeſt Son *Anaſozadus* (which in the *Perſian* Language ſignified *Immortal*) who made no ſcruple to lie with his Father's Wives; and afterwards, being confined to *Lapato*, a City ſeven days journey from *Cteſiphon*, upon report of his Father's death, uſurped; and though his Father recovered, put the City into a Revolt, and eagerly purſued the War. Indeed *Choſroes* was dangerouſly ſick, being ever of a fickle conſtitution, which made him keep Phyſicians by him of all Countries, and amongſt others, one *Tribunus* of *Paleſtine*, a man inferiour to none of his time, and beſide that, both a wiſe, and a very good and conſcientious man. Ne had cured the King formerly, and came loaded home with Preſents; again at the *Quinquennial* Ceſſation, the *Perſian* begged of *Juſtinian* that he might have him with him for one year, which being ended, *Choſroes* bad him ask whatſoever he would, whereupon inſtead of Wealth he asked the liberty of ſome *Roman* Captives. He got free'd three thouſand men, beſides ſome of quality, whom he demanded by name; and by this Act of Generoſity obtained a great Reputation amongſt all ſorts of People. But *Choſroes* ſent thoſe who overthrew his Son in battel, and taking him Priſoner, brought him to his Preſence. He to prevent any farther effects of his Ambition, blemiſhed the young Man's Eyes, not by taking away the ſight, but by diſtorting the Eye-lids into much uglineſs, with hot Irons applied to their outſides, being ſhut. Hereby he cut off his hopes to the Kingdom, the Law not permitting any blemiſhed man to be King of *Perſia*.

198. Now was the fifth year of the *Quinquennial* Ceſſation expired, of which *Juſtinian* being aware, ſent to *Choſroes* to conclude an abſolute and laſting Peace for the Eaſt. *Choſroes* put him off, ſaying he would ſend ſome of his own to *Conſtantinople* to doe it; and he ſent indeed *Iſdigunas*, that inſolent and impudent *Perſian*, concerning whom it's hard to ſay, whether he was more ridiculous for his pride and humour, or the Emperour for the unfitting and extravagant honours he heaped upon him. As for *Badicius* his Interpreter he came not now with him, and ſome ſaid his King had put him to death for preſuming to ſit at Table with *Juſtinian*, who, he concluded, would not have admitted an Interpreter to ſuch an honour upon any account below the betraying of his Maſter's buſineſs. But *Iſdigunas* coming to his Audience, ſaid not one word of Peace, but complained that *Arethas*, and other *Saracen* Confederates of the Empire, had, during the Ceſſation, committed ſpoils upon *Alamundarus*, with other frivolous things, and of ſmall importance. In the mean time *Beſſas* ſits down before *Petra* with his whole Army, where the Garriſon had ſo plied their buſineſs, that after the Retreat of *Dagiſthæus*, by ſtones and beams of wood, they had made a pretty good foundation where the Wall was formerly

ruined, ſo that the Aſſailants found great difficulty to aſſault the Town, becauſe they could no more Mine, neither could they bring the Ram to the Wall, the Place being ſteep, and the Ram not to be drawn but on even ground. In this ſtrait, when they ſaw the *Romans* deſpairing, three Princes of the *Sabirian Hunnes*, who being ſent to receive the Penſion paid them by the Emperour, were now at the Siege, deviſed ſuch an Engine, as never formerly had been thought of by either *Perſians* or *Romans*, though they had excellent Artiſts. Time ever proceeding with the wit of Man to new Inventions.

A new ſort of Ram.

199. In forming this new ſort of Ram they uſed no Timbers upright, nor lying acroſs, but inſtead of them ſmall Poles tied and fitted together. Yet had it the perfect form of an ordinary Ram; and in the midſt was placed the uſual Beam, with a top headed with Iron to batter the Walls. The whole Engine was covered with Hides, and was ſo light, that it needed neither Men nor Cattle to draw it, onely forty Souldiers within it, and covered with the Hides, carried it with eaſe upon their Shoulders, wound up the Ram, and let it fall againſt the Walls. On either ſide ſtood men well armed with long Poles in their hands, topt with great Iron hooks to pull off the ſtones which were looſened and unjointed by the ſtrokes of the Engine. The *Romans*, in making trial of this new device, did great execution, and the Town was at the point of being taken, when the *Perſians* from a wooden Tower, provided beforehand, caſt down Veſſels upon their heads full of Sulphur, Babylonian Pitch and Naptha, a Drug uſed by the *Perſians*, which the *Greeks* called *Medean* Oil. Theſe Veſſels failed little of burning the Rams, which were onely preſerved by the men with the long Poles, who cleared ſtill the fire away, but long they could not be able to doe it, the flame raging ſo vehemently, that where it toucht, it inſtantly took, if not as ſpeedily put off. *Beſſas* therefore cauſed Scaling-ladders to be ſet to a certain part of the Wall, which by Mining was ſunk, but ſtood upright as if it had been ſet with an Engine; and uſing the beſt ſort of exhortation, which was the example of his own valour, being an old man paſt ſeventy years of age, firſt mounted the Ladder. Never was a Fight more valiantly fought on both ſides, the *Perſians* being two thouſand three hundred men, and the *Roman* Army about ſix thouſand. *Beſſas* himſelf fell from the Ladder, whereat was made a great ſhout by the *Perſians*, who from all parts ſhot at him; but he was protected by the Targets of his Lanciers, that by his order dragged him away by the heels (that ſo they might beſt cover him) till coming out of ſhot into a ſafe place, up he roſe, encouraged his men, and gave on again, mounting the Ladder the ſecond time. The *Romans* following him, and doing very valiantly, the *Perſians* demanded time to quit the place; but he ſuſpecting it was craftily propounded to fortify the Wall, refuſed to ſtop the Fight, but offered to treat at another part of the Wall, while the Armies fought. The motion being not entertained, the Fight was hotly purſued with equal ſucceſs, untill the arrival of ſeveral ill Accidents on the *Perſian* Part.

200. Firſt another part of the Wall, where the *Romans* had formerly Mined, ſuddenly fell down. This neceſſarily divided the *Perſians*, and their fewneſs ſo much appeared by the diviſion, that they did not equally endure the charge. Then did *John Guzes* with ſome *Armenians* his Countreymen, while the Armies were here ingaged, mount the Rock where the City was thought impregnable, and by killing one of the nobleſt *Perſians*, made the Place acceſſible. And in the mean time, thoſe that from the wooden Tower caſt the fire upon the *Roman* Rams, were themſelves ruined by the force of a ſtrong Southern wind which kindled one of the Boards of the Tower, and they within being overtoiled and full of tumult and diſorder, perceived not the Accident, till the flame kindling by degrees with the Naptha and other ingredients burnt all the Tower and the miſerable *Perſians* in it, who conſumed to coals fell down, ſome within the Town, ſome among the *Roman* Engines. At the ruined Wall by this time the *Perſians* gave back, and now *Petra* was abſolutely taken; onely five hundred *Perſians* retired to the Cittadel, the reſt were taken alive, being ſeven hundred and thirty men, of whom eighteen onely were unhurt. To the *Romans* it proved a bloudy Victory, many gallant men having loſt their lives, amongſt whom *John Guzes* was killed with a ſtone whilſt he was valiantly entring. The next day thoſe in the Cittadel would neither with all the Rhetorick *Beſſas* could uſe, nor the terrour of burning be perſuaded to yield, but all periſhed in flames together with the Fort. By this placing of his beſt men in the Town, *Choſroes* ſufficiently declared how much a value he had for *Petra*: As alſo by the proviſions he made of Arms and Victuals. For the *Romans* found five mens furniture for every Souldier, beſides what was burnt; and ſo much Corn and other ſalted Meats as would ſerve for a Siege of five years. The Priſoners *Beſſas* ſent to the Emperour, and caſt down the

Petra retaken by *Beſſas*.

Walls of *Petra*, that no more trouble might ariſe from it, which *Juſtinian* much approved, and commended him both for his Valour and good Conduct. After his ill fortune, or rather, his ill adminiſtration at *Rome*, and an apparent ruine of the *Roman* Intereſt, yet at his return to *Conſtantinople*, the Emperour made him General againſt the *Perſians*, to the wonder and deriſion of the World, which flouted *Juſtinian's* Reſolution herein, in committing the *Perſian* War to an old man who had had one foot long in the grave, and been lately ſo groſly beaten by the *Goths* in *Italy*. Yet notwithſtanding did *Beſſas* ſhew that valour, and found the good fortune we have now mentioned. So are humane Affairs determined, (ſaith *Procopius*) not as men imagine, but as God himſelf ſwayeth the Balance. And this they call Fortune, finding matters ſucceed in a way and Method by them not diſcerned, and ſo attributing a Name of Fortune to things which are above their own reach and Reaſon.

201. *Beſſas*, as appears from this Action at *Petra*, wanted not Courage nor Conduct; neither yet was he void of a fault familiar to old Men, and that vice which the continual proſpect of the Grave can hardly mortifie. This was his Avarice, by which formerly he had loſt *Rome*, and whereby he again ruined that Intereſt, which of late he had ſo notably advanced. For if after his victory he had made haſte to fortifie the Paſſages from *Iberia* to *Lazica*, the *Perſians* had not entred this Countrey, but he retired into *Pontus* and *Armenia* his Government, intending to toil himſelf no more, but get what he could by his place, and ſo as good as delivered *Lazica* to the Enemy by his neglect and careleſneſs of the Emperour's Indignation, who indeed was wont to connive much at the errours of his chief Miniſters, whence followed many great faults, both in the courſes of their Lives, and of their Governments. *Mermeroes* in the mean time, afraid of *Petra*, as ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year would permit, was on his way with an Army thither, but hearing what had happened, he ſtaid his Journey, and paſſing over the *Phaſis*, becauſe the *Lazians* had no Towns but *Petra* on that ſide the River, he led on toward *Archæopolis*, the chief City of the Countrey. *Beſſas* had left in *Lazica* Twelve thouſand men, whereof Three thouſand lay in *Archæopolis*, with *Odonachus* and *Babas*, two expert Commanders; the reſt incamped near the *Phaſis*, with intention to ſuccour any place where the Enemy ſhould fall, and were commanded by *Bonilus* and *Uligangus*; beſide, Eight hundred *Tzanians* were brought hither out of *Italy* by *Varazes* the *Perſarmenian*. *Mermeroes* therefore for fear the *Roman* Army at his back, which quartered upon the *Phaſis*, would not ſit down before *Archæopolis*, went toward them firſt; which the Commanders hearing, and finding themſelves too weak, got them aboard their Barks, and having carried with them what Baggage they could, caſt the reſt into the River. *Mermeroes* arriving ſhortly after, was much out of humour, to find never a man in the *Roman* Camp, which having burnt in much wrath, he returned to *Archæopolis*, and ſet all his wits on work how to aſſault the City.

His Avarice ſpoils all again.

202. He made uſe of the ſame Ram which the *Sabirian Hunnes* had invented for *Beſſas* at *Petra*, having many of this mercenary Nation now in his Army. This was for the plain ground; and againſt the rocky part of the City he ſet the *Dolomites*, a People dwelling in the midſt of *Perſia*, among unacceſſible Mountains, and therefore not ſubject to the *Perſian*, but free; onely in his Wars they were wont to ſerve him for Wages, being all Foot-men, with Sword and Buckler, and two Javelins, and as nimble to climb Rocks, and run along by the ſides of Mountains as on the plain ground it ſelf. By the Rams on one ſide to which *Mermeroes* joined his Elephants, (which he uſed as Towers to ſhoot on) and theſe *Dolomites* on the other, the beſieged were ſore diſtreſſed in making good the Walls. *Odonachus* and *Babas* in their extremity adviſed them to make a Sally, as the onely poſſible means of freeing themſelves, for though they might one day have the better from the Battlements, they ſhould gain nothing, the danger being renewed as freſh as ever the day following, and ſo they muſt periſh by little and little, and looſe at laſt what they had defended to ſmall purpoſe. *Mermeroes* before this had hired a certain Townſman to ſet the City Stores on fire, of which they had an inckling, and therefore left a ſufficient number in the Town, to prevent this miſchief, in caſe it ſhould be attempted. And the man did indeed ſet fire to the Stores, but it was timely quenched, without much damage; and thoſe who ſallied terrified the Enemy by the ſuddenneſs of the Enterpriſe, who ſuſpected no ſuch matter from ſo few Defendants, but were all in diſorder, and ſcattered about as upon an Aſſault, ſome having the Rams upon their ſhoulders, and without their Arms.

203. Here

How to fright an Elephant.

203. Here *Procopius* makes it a matter of wonder, that the *Romans* knowing ſo well the means of reſiſting, and rendring Elephants uſeleſs, did not at all apply themſelves to that courſe, being confounded it ſeems by their urgent buſineſs; the thing was this. When *Choſroes* beſieged *Edeſſa*, an Elephant was brought cloſe to the Walls, with many of the moſt gallant *Perſians* upon him, where ſtanding like a Tower, and the ſhot being made directly from him upon the Defendants heads, the taking of the Town was certainly expected. But the *Romans* avoided the danger, onely by hanging out an Hog from the Bulwark, which with his ſqueaking noiſe ſo ſcared the Elephant, that he turned about, and would not be kept to his Station, by all the skill his Governours could uſe. This was now omitted by them, but the beſt of it was, their good fortune ſupplied their forgetfulneſs or negligence, for one of thoſe Elephants now employed, either wounded or otherwiſe ſtarting, flew back, caſt his Riders, brake the Ranks, and drove the *Perſians* backward, while the *Romans* ſecurely cut down all in their way. The *Perſians* were by thoſe means ſo diſordered, that they in the Rere, ſeeing the confuſion of thoſe in the Van, ran away for fear. Nay the *Dolomites*, who being upon high ground ſaw all, ran away as ſhamefully as the reſt, and the Overthrow was now clear, four thouſand of *Mermeroes* his men being killed, with three principal Officers, and four Enſigns taken which were ſent to *Conſtantinople*. And two thouſand Horſes they loſt, either ſlain in the Battel, ſtarved or heart-broken. *Mermeroes* being thus Defeated at *Archæopolis*, however continued Maſter of the Field, and led his Army a days Journey off into the Province *Muchiriſis* a plentifull Countrey, with intention to re-edify an old City or Caſtle called *Cotæſis*, or *Cotæſium*, moreover to cut off Proviſions from *Uthimerium*, a ſtrong Fort guarded by *Lazians*, with ſome *Roman* Souldiers intermingled, and to hinder their march into the Countries of *Suania* and *Scymnia*, ſubject to the *Perſians*; an Army in *Muchiriſis* ſtopping eaſily the paſſage into theſe Countries. Such were the Succeſſes of the Armies in *Lazica*.

Mermeroes defeated. Yet is Maſter of the Field.

Juſtinian purchaſeth another Ceſſation for five years,

204. In the mean time *Iſdigunas* the *Perſian* Ambaſſadour, had many Conferences with the Emperour at *Conſtantinople*, concerning a Peace. After a long time ſpent in diſputes, at laſt they came to this Agreement. That in the Empire, and proper Dominions of *Perſia*, there ſhould be a Ceſſation of Arms for five years, during which, endeavours on both ſides ſhould be uſed to compoſe the Differences, concerning *Lazica* and the *Saracens*. That for this Ceſſation, the *Romans* ſhould pay to the *Perſians* twenty Centenaries of Gold, beſides ſix Centenaries more for the eighteen Months, paſſed betwixt the end of the *Quinquennial* Ceſſation, and their ſending Ambaſſadours to each other; the *Perſians* pleading that upon that Condition, they yielded to a conference about a Truce. The Emperour would have paid them by four Centenaries every year, and given caution for ſo doing; but *Iſdigunas* inſiſted upon preſent payment, and in the end, he prevailed to have the whole Sum paid down, the *Romans* yeilding to it, that they might not ſeem to pay a yearly Tribute to the Crown of *Perſia*. Thus are men more ſenſible of the diſhonour of Names than Things. But at the deſire of *Iſdigunas* alſo, who promiſed to perſwade his Maſter to remove his Army out of *Lazica*, one *Barſabes*, a *Perſian* of great Quality, and as great a favorite of *Choſroes*, who had offered for him a great Ranſome, having been taken Priſoner in *Armenia*, was ſent to *Conſtantinople*. Thus was the Ceſſation concluded, to the great diſcontent of the underſtanding *Romans*, who complained that the *Perſians* being now ſtrong in *Lazica*, might ſecurely and without interruption for five years to come, hold the faireſt places of the Countrey, and that they were never after to be driven out, but might have eaſie acceſs to *Conſtantinople* it ſelf. Moſt men indeed were troubled to ſee that which the *Perſians* ever aimed at, but which by War they could never effect, *viz.* to make the *Romans* tributary, now fully Eſtabliſhed under colour of a Ceſſation of Arms; for upon this ſpecious pretence, *Choſroes* did really impoſe a Tribute of four annual Centenaries, untill his forty ſix Centenaries were paid, calling his Tax a Truce, and ſhewing moſt manifeſtly, that he plotted it from the beginning of the War. And the worſt of it was, from this Taxation they could never hope to be freed, but ſaw themſelves conſtrained to remain in quality of Tributaries to the *Perſian*.

To the great trouble of the People.

205. So well ſucceeded the Embaſſy of *Iſdigunas* in his Maſter's behalf, who having received high honours from the Emperour, together with vaſter Preſents than ever Ambaſſadour before him, returned home probably the richeſt man in *Perſia*. This was the onely Ambaſſadour that had no Guard put upon him, he himſelf and his followers freely conferring and keeping company with whom they pleaſed;

A year of wonders.

pleaſed; and in the City buying, ſelling, and making contracts in their own Perſons with all liberty, no *Roman* attending them to obſerve their doings, as in thoſe times was wont to be. But this was a year of ſtrange Accidents, there being ſuch Heats at this time, as none ever could remember the like; Roſes towards the Winter growing in abundance as in the Spring, with no manner of difference, and the weather as hot as at Midſummer; beſides the Vintage being long paſt, new Grapes came as they had done before. Much talk hence there aroſe, as is wont in ſuch caſes, of ſtrange things betokened, and likely to ſucceed; but the natural cauſe of this temper of the Air, was the continuance of the Southerly winds longer than ordinary. This Ceſſation was concluded, and theſe Heats happened in the twenty fifth year of *Juſtinian's* Reign, the ſeventeenth year of the *Gothick* War. *A. D.* DLI.

The *Perſian* Maſter of *Lazica.*

206. Now we muſt behold the fruit of the Ceſſation, and conſider the veracity of *Choſroes,* as alſo how true Prophets the underſtanding ſort of *Romans* were in their predictions concerning the Iſſue. During the Negotiation then at *Conſtantinople,* King *Gubazes* in *Lazica* affected the *Romans,* becauſe he found *Choſroes* to plot his Death; but the generality of his People now again inclined toward the *Perſians,* offended with the oppreſſions of the other, and the Inſolency of the *Roman* Officers, of two ills chuſing that which they did not at preſent feel, not for any love to the *Perſian* Government. The *Romans* lay concealed, ſome near the *Phaſis,* others in *Archæopolis,* and others in Fortreſſes, and *Gubazes* lay quiet upon the tops of the Mountains, ſo that the *Perſians* viſited all the Towns at their pleaſure, and the Garriſon of *Uthimerium* frighted with falſe tales, concerning a total Defeat both of *Gubazes* and the *Roman* Army, yeilded the Caſtle on condition to have their Lives and Goods ſecured. By this means the *Perſians* became Maſters of the Countrey, and held *Scymnia* and *Suania,* ſo that all places from *Muchiriſis* to *Iberia,* were inacceſſible to their Enemies, who durſt not appear abroad nor ſtir, the *Romans* from their Fortreſſes, nor *Gubazes* with his *Lazians* from off the Mountains. *Mermeroes* plied his buſineſs, reinforcing ſeveral Garriſons, and he marcht toward the *Phaſis,* where he underſtood that the *Romans* and *Lazians* had incamped and newly made head; but at the firſt news of his coming, they all ſeparated and fled; *Gubazes* betaking himſelf to the Mountains with his Wife and Children, whence notwithſtanding the extremity of Poverty and hard weather, he would not be drawn down by all the good words and fair promiſes *Mermeroes* could give and make him. For ſo ſtrong was his hatred and averſion to *Choſroes,* that it ſuffered him not to deſpair of ſuccours from *Conſtantinople,* the Judgments of men being generally biaſſed by their wills and affections. The Winter being now ended, *Iſdigunas* arrived at the *Perſian* Court, where *Choſroes* ſigned the Treaty, and received the money, but with intentions ſo cordial to the drift of *Juſtinian,* that with the ſame Treaſure he levied a great Army of *Hunnes,* and ſent them to *Mermeroes,* reſolving what ever he did, not to quit *Lazica.* With theſe Forces *Mermeroes* coaſted about the Countrey, and the *Romans* oppoſed him not, lying quiet in their Fortifications, about the mouth of *Phaſis* in Company of *Gubazes.* Having without ſucceſs attempted ſeveral Garriſons, he retired with his Army, which then the *Romans* followed in the faſt Countrey, intercepted many, and killed the chief Commander of the *Sabirian Hunnes.* But fighting about the dead body, the *Perſians* forced away the Enemy, and retired to *Cotæſis* the Fort of *Muchiriſis* formerly mentioned.

Things go well in *Africk.*

207. So went the Emperour's affairs in the Eaſt, rather backward than otherwiſe. In the South all things were in a fair Condition, by the incredible ſucceſſes of *John* the General in *Africk,* who firſt drew to his Party *Cutzinas* a Prince of *Numidia,* then overthrew all the other *Numidians* in Battel, and ſoon after brought *Antalas* and *Jabdas* Princes of the *Moors,* inhabiting *Byzacium* and *Numidia,* to follow him in no better Quality than that of Slaves. Thus in this Province *Juſtinian* had no Enemies, and indeed not many Subjects, whom the former Wars and diſorders had miſerably waſted. And that Fortune might ſeem now and then, to caſt a gratious aſpect upon the Empire in her extreme and decrepit old Age, amid all her frowns, another thing happened about this time, which tended much to the inrichment of the Provinces. Certain Monks coming out of *India,* and getting Acceſs to the Emperour, promiſed him to effect what he had long deſired, that the *Romans* ſhould not need to buy any more Raw Silk of the *Perſians,* or any other Nation. For having lived long in a Countrey called *Serinda,* which contained many ſorts of *Indians,* they had learnt the way how the ſame might be had in his own Dominions. *Juſtinian* being very curious and inquiſitive to know how, they told him, that certain Worms taught by Nature, did Spin this Silk, which Worms to

bring alive was not poſſible, but eaſie to get their Bags, wherein were innumerable Eggs, which being covered in Dung, and thereby heated, produced the Worms. The Emperour promiſed them great Rewards, to bring their undertaking to effect, and they returning to *Serinda*, brought thoſe Eggs to *Conſtantinople*, where being by the means aforeſaid grown to Worms, they fed them with Mulbery-leaves, and ſo brought the making of Raw Silk into the *Roman* Territories.

Silk Worms brought into the Empire.

208. In *Europe* in the mean time, the *Gepidæ*, who, as we formerly ſaid, made a Truce with the *Lombards*, not compoſing thereby their differences, reſolved to renew the War, which grew as hot as ever, the *Gepidæ* being led by *Thoriſin*, and the *Lombards* headed by *Auduin*. Their Armies coming near each other, were both ſeized with ſuch a pannick fear, that as well the one as the other ran away, leaving their Commanders with ſome few behind, who neither with fair words, nor threats could ſtop their running. *Auduin* not knowing the Enemy was in the ſame condition, ſent Ambaſſadours to demand a Truce, who finding *Thoriſin* deal truly with them, freely alſo told him how the *Lombards* were run away, and perſwaded him, ſince God, as they ſaid, had caſt upon both Nations that ſaving fear, to concur with that gratious diſpenſation, and make an end of the War. A Ceſſation was accordingly concluded for two years, during which term, they were to ſend their Ambaſſadours mutually to compoſe all differences; yet not being able to end their Debates, they fell again to their old courſe of Hoſtility. Now the *Gepidæ* fearing the *Romans* would joyn with the *Lombards*, procured twelve thouſand men from the *Uturgurian Hunnes*, inhabiting on this ſide the Lake of *Mæotis*; whom, for that one year of the Ceſſation was yet to come, and having no occaſion for ſuch a Multitude, they perſwaded in the interim to invade the *Romans*, who kept no exact Guards upon the *Danube*, either on the Coaſts of *Illyrium* or *Thrace*. Hereupon the Emperour ſent to the *Uturgurian Hunnes*, planted beyond the Lake of *Mæotis*, and by money won them to invade the Countrey of the *Uturgurians*, whom, having paſſed the *Tanais*, aſſiſted by two thouſand *Tetraxite Goths* dwelling near them, they routed in a Battel long fought, and having killed many, took their Wives and Children Captives, and returned home. During the Conteſt betwixt them, ſome thouſands of *Romans* took the opportunity, and ſlipping away, recovered their Native Seats. And ſuch *Uturgurians* as had before invaded the Emperour's Territories, were perſwaded for money to retire, and if they could continue in their Countrey, to remain faithfull to the *Roman* intereſt, otherwiſe to come back, and have Towns aſſigned them in *Thrace*, where living as Confederates, they ſhould protect the *Roman* Provinces from all Barbarians whatſoever. Of them already two thouſand, after the Overthrow received from the *Uturgurians*, came into the *Roman* Dominions, and becoming Servants to the Emperour, were ſeated in *Thrace*, which *Sandik* King of the *Uturgurians* underſtanding, grew very angry, and ſent a Meſſage to the Emperour by word of mouth, (for the *Hunnes* knew no Letters nor Grammar, nor bred their Children to Learning,) wherein he compared the *Uturgurian Hunnes* to Wolves, which would never be tamed, and upbraided him both with folly, for nouriſhing them amongſt his Sheep, and with ingratitude toward his Subjects the *Uturgurians*, whom he likened to Shepherds Dogs, for their Service and fidelity. But *Juſtinian* ſoothed the Ambaſſadours with good words, preſented them richly and ſent them home.

Audvin & Audovin, virtus Vincendialii Audoin in voc. Al. Autoin, Aut-vin. Thoriſin, Thoriſindus, Toriſin: Thoriſind, Ferox Senſu, id enim vox Thor ſignificabat quod nunc pro ſtolido ſumitur.

A ſtrange pannick fear.

Tetraxitæ, Tetrang-Sitten, ſub Induciis ſedentes; quod nomen græca voce ἐκεχειρεῖς *reddidit, additque Scylaci, ut multa alia, Exſcriptor aliquis. Gothica Gens quietis amans ad Pontum Euxinum. Sic dicti ab Utur-garis. Grotius.*

Juſtinian ſets one ſort of *Hunnes* againſt another.

209. From theſe *Hunnes*, its time now to return to the other ſort, which we ſaid put a ſtop to the Voyage of *Narſes* into *Italy*, and forced him to ſtay at *Philippopolis*. They having driven and carried all away without oppoſition, and being gone ſome towards *Theſſalonica*, and ſome toward *Conſtantinople*; he marcht on, having hardly diſingaged himſelf from them. *Totilas* in the mean time had burnt moſt part of *Rome*, eſpecially beyond the *Tiber*; but now expecting the coming of *Narſes*, placed ſome of thoſe Senatours in the City, who had been formerly confined to *Campania*, with other *Romans*, Commanding them to Guard it, and profeſſing to repent for what he had lately done unto it. Yet were thoſe men in a condition, little better than that of Slaves, being ſtript of all they had, and ſo unable to vindicate the publick Intereſt, that they could not recover every man his peculiar right, although the *Romans*, in the judgment of *Procopius*, were the beſt Patriots in the World, ſtudying to regain from all parts, what belonged to their City, and to ſave all the ancient Ornaments of *Rome* from periſhing. During ſo long a ſubjection to Barbarians, (ſo he writes,) how did they preſerve their publick Buildings and Ornaments! Even the Original Ornaments of their Race do yet continue, the ſufficiency of thoſe ancient Workmen holding out againſt the Ruines of time, and the negligence of men; and then he inſtanceth in the Ship of *Æneas*, which

Totilas burnt moſt of *Rome*.

His Fleet at Sea doeth harme to the *Romans*.

which to his time remained ſo uncorrupted, (for he ſaw it himſelf) as if it had been but very lately built. But (not to follow our Authour in his Digreſſions out of the Road,) *Totilas* alſo manned three hundred Gallies with *Goths*, Commanding them to pillage and ſpoil the Coaſts of *Greece*. Yet they hurt nothing till they came to *Corcyra*, the onely inhabited Iſland in the paſſage from the Straits to *Scylla*, which they foraged together with the Iſlands adjacent called *Sybotæ*. They landed alſo in *Epirus*, and pillaged the Towns about *Dodona*, eſpecially *Nicopolis*, and *Anchialus*, where *Anchiſes* Father to *Æneas* Died, and gave Name to the Town. They took alſo upon the Coaſt many *Greek* Ships, and amongſt them ſome Tranſporting Proviſions to *Narſes* his Army.

The *Romans* beat the *Goths* at Sea.

The *Goths* dejected.

Juſtinian will give them no terms.

210. In *Italy Totilas* cauſed *Ancona* to be blocked up both by Sea and Land. *Valerianus* was then at *Ravenna*, but being unable to releive it, he wrote to *John* as yet lying in *Salonæ*, acquainting him how this Town which onely remained to them of all that part of *Italy*, lying upon the *Ionian* Gulf, was ſtraitly beſieged, and likely to be loſt, if he would not come ſpeedily, and joyn the Forces with him for its Aſſiſtence. The Emperour had forbidden *John* to ſtir, yet conceiving that Neceſſity muſt diſpenſe with his Inſtructions, he adventured to go, and with his beſt men Shipt in forty Veſſels, appeared before *Ancona*, whither *Valerianus* came ſhortly up to him with twelve Ships. The Commanders of the *Goths* Manned out forty ſeven of their choiceſt they had againſt them, leaving the reſt to block up the Caſtle, and to a Sea Fight they came, which was ſtoutly Fought, and much like to a Land Battel; they ſtanding with all their Ships in Front againſt one another, and plying their Bows. But the unexperience of the *Goths* in Sea Fights, and their diſorder undid them, their Ships jumbling like ſo many Baskets together, ſo that they could neither ſhoot at the Enemy, nor manage any Weapon, being perpetually employed in getting clear of one another, and ſpending all their Shouts and Cries not upon the *Romans*, but their own men, to keep off. The *Romans* on the other ſide behaved themſelves both Valiantly and Skilfully, making uſe of the advantage which the folly of their Enemies preſented; ſo that they took and ſunk all with the men in them, except eleven Ships which got away, and were ſet on Fire after the men were Landed, leſt they ſhould come into their Hands. Such as eſcaped in them going on foot to *Ancona*, and relating there the Accident, the Siege was raiſed, and the Camp left to the *Romans*, who having put Proviſions into the Caſtle, ſailed away; *Valerianus* to *Ravenna*, and *John* to *Salonæ*. This Defeat much abated the power and intereſt of *Totilas*, whoſe affairs went to wrack in *Sicily*, where *Artabanes* having ſucceeded *Liberius*, took all the Caſtles from the few *Goths* lying in the Iſland. The Hearts of the *Goths* were ſo dejected with theſe Loſſes, that ſhould any Succours come to the *Romans*, they had no thought of ſubſiſting, or keeping one foot in *Italy*. And from the Emperour they had no hope to obtain any thing, for *Totilas* had ſent to him many Ambaſſadours, ſhewing how the *Franks* had ſeized on a great part of *Italy*, and the reſt was become waſte and void. He offered that the *Goths* ſhould quit to him *Sicily* and *Dalmatia*, which onely remained unſpoiled, and ſhould pay Tribute for the waſted Lands in *Italy*, and ſerving his Majeſty againſt all the World, in all other things alſo be obedient to him. But *Juſtinian* would take no notice of theſe Overtures, but ſtill ſent away the Ambaſſadours being diſtaſted at the very name of a *Goth*, and purpoſing to hurry them all out of the *Roman* Empire.

211. In reference to what *Totilas* ſaid concerning the *Franks*, the Reader muſt underſtand that *Theodebert* their King who lately Died, had unjuſtly made Tributary ſome Towns in *Liguria* and the Cottian *Alpes*, together with a great part of *Venetia*; he thus getting without blows, what the two angry Antagoniſts were buſily Fighting for. Indeed in *Venetia* the *Goths* had little, the Sea Towns were in the hands of the *Romans*, and the *Franks* ſeized on the reſt, while neither *Goths* nor *Romans* had leiſure to look behind them. The *Goths* thought it ſufficient to agree with them, that during the War with the Emperour, both ſhould hold what they had, and forbear Hoſtility, and in caſe *Totilas* ſhould become Conquerour, then the Acquiſitions of the *Franks* were to be diſpoſed, as ſhould be agreed on among the Parties. But to *Theodebert* had ſucceeded *Theudibald* his Son, to whom *Juſtinian* ſent an Ambaſſadour, to demand the Towns unjuſtly ſeized in *Italy* during a Truce, and to perſwade him to a League againſt *Totilas*. As to the latter he put him off, with a modeſt refuſal, telling him, that ſhould he prove falſe to the *Goths*, no Friend ſhould ever have reaſon to truſt him; and as to the former, he denied that his Father had been an Oppreſſour of his Neighbours, or an Intruder, but in caſe it ſhould appear he had taken them unjuſtly from the *Romans*, and not rather

The *Sclavi* infeſt *Illyricum*.

ther outed *Totilas* of his unjuſt poſſeſſion, he would refer the matter to Arbitration, and ſend himſelf Ambaſſadours to *Conſtantinople*, which he did, and they effected what they went about. *Totilas* in the mean time, being ambitious to get the Iſlands belonging to *Africk*, into his hands, ſent an Army to *Corſica* and *Sardinia*, and made them tributary to him. A mighty Company of *Sclavi* at the ſame time fell upon *Illyricum*, and doing miſcheifs not to be expreſt, went home with innumerable Priſoners, and all their Booty, none incountring them. The *Gepidæ* tranſported them over the *Danube*, having for every head a Golden Stater, as their fare. This troubling the Emperour, who hereby had no means to hinder their paſſage over that River, he made a League with the *Gepidæ*; but they notwithſtanding ſtill tranſporting the *Sclavi* over the *Danube*, he ſent an Army to the Aſſiſtence of the *Lombards* their Enemies, who invading them with ſo great a Force, overthrew them in Battel, and made great ſlaughter of them.

General *Narſes* draws near *Italy*, gallantly provided.

And attended.

212. Great Earthquakes happened in thoſe days, in ſeveral parts of *Greece*, about the Gulf of *Criſæum*, overthrowing many Cities, as *Chæronea*, *Corone*, *Patra* and *Naupactus*, and many men periſhed. In *Italy*, *Crotone* was ſtraitly beſieged by the *Goths*, and wanting Neceſſaries, ſent to *Artabanes* in *Sicily* for releif, proteſting that if none ſpeedily came, they muſt be forced to Surrender the Town; yet none came, and ſo ended the Winter, together with the ſeventeenth year of the War. But in Spring, the Emperour Commanded *Crotone* to be releived by the Garriſon of *Thermopyle* in *Greece*, which Sailing for *Italy*, the *Goths* upon ſight of the Ships, ran away from the Siege and were dejected; inſomuch that two of their principal Commanders began to capitulate for the rendition of the Towns under their Government. And now at length, *Narſes* began to draw near *Italy*, with a very gallant Army, as well he might, having received very much Treaſure from the Emperour, to leavy and furniſh the ſame. And what was of more Conſequence, he brought wherewith to pay the Souldiers in *Italy* their Arrears, which were very great, and had been due for many years together: Nay he was furniſhed with money to invite the Revolted, to return again from the *Goths* to their ancient Obedience. The great and effectual Engin which moved all, was the Emperour's Reſolution, who in the beginning managed the War very coldly and careleſly, but now ſet himſelf with all earneſtneſs and ſincerity to the Work. And *Narſes* was to be commended for making uſe of his preſent temper, who ſeeing him very eager, that he ſhould lead the Army into *Italy*, proteſted plainly he would not therein obey his Commands, unleſs he might have competent Forces; by which ſtoutneſs he procured men and money, with Proviſions of Arms and other Neceſſaries, all befitting the *Roman* Empire. Now might he chearfully ſet about his buſineſs, and had credit enough to raiſe Forces, and obtain Auxiliaries out of all Places. And many gallant and eminent Perſons, willingly accompanied him in the expedition. *John* waited on him, both with his own Troops, and thoſe left him by *Germanus* his Father-in-Law. *Dagiſthæus* alſo accompanied him with his Troops, being diſcharged of his Impriſonment for this purpoſe. *Cabades* the Son of *Zames*, and Grandchild of King *Cabades*, (who having by the practice of *Chanaranges*, eſcaped his Uncle *Choſroes* his cruelty, long agoe came into the Emperour's Dominions,) followed him in the expedition with many *Perſian* Fugitives. Beſides theſe *Asbades* a young *Gepida* and very Valiant, with four hundred of his Nation all good Souldiers; *Aruth* an *Herulian*, accompanied him with many old Souldiers of the *Herulians*; and *John Phagas* commanding many *Roman* Volunteers, well practiſed in War. Moreover *Auduin* Prince of the *Lombards*, by virtue of the League, and for a good Sum of money given him by the Emperour, ſent him five and twenty hundred ſelect men, accompanied with a retinue of above three thouſand others. He had three thouſand *Herulians*, commanded by *Philimuth* and others, beſides many *Hunnes*; but his cheifeſt levies were out of the *Conſtantinopolitan* Guards, the Garriſons of *Thrace*, and the Countrey of *Illyrium*. The truth was, *Narſes* was very obliging, eſpecially to the Barbarians, and to this his great Power with the Emperour being added, as well Commanders, as common Souldiers, were eager to ſerve under him; both in acknowledgment of former favours, and in expectation of great advancements in time to come.

The *Franks* deny him paſſage through *Venetia*.

213. Being arrived at the Confines of *Venetia*, he ſent to thoſe that commanded the *Franks*, demanding paſſage for himſelf and followers, as for Friends, to which they returned a denial, proteſting they would hinder him, both in reſpect to the intereſt of *Franks* and *Goths*, and farther pretending a frivolous excuſe, as that he had *Lombards* in his Army, their greateſt Enemies. Yet he was told by ſome *Italians*, that had the *Franks* given him paſſage, he could not poſſibly have gone far-

ther than *Verona*. For in this City *Totilas* had placed *Teias* a moſt Valiant man, with a choice number of *Goths*, who by his order had ſtopt up all the Paſſages with Works, and with much art and labour, had made in ſome places Thickets, in others Ditches, deep holes and bogs, and drowned the Grounds, being ready to fight the *Romans*, in caſe they ſhould force their way. *Totilas* did this, upon conſideration that *Narſes* could hardly be able to paſs along the Sea Coaſt, by ſo many great mouths of Rivers, having not Ships enough to tranſport his Army over the Gulf at once, and he imagined that coming but in ſmall parties, he might eaſily hinder their Landing. But *John* who knew thoſe Parts exactly, adviſed him notwithſtanding to march by the Sea ſhore, the People there being the Emperour's Subjects, and to be attended with ſome Ships and many Boats, with which Boats, they might make Bridges over the Currents of the Rivers. He followed his advice, and got to *Ravenna* with his whole Army, where *Valerianus* and *Juſtinus* the Generals, with the remainder of the *Roman* Forces joyned with them.

Yet he gets to *Ravenna*.

214. After nine or ten days ſtay, he left *Juſtinus* Governour of *Ravenna*, and began his march. At *Ariminum* being to paſs the River, and ſearching diligently for a paſſage, *Uſdrilas* the Governour of the *Gothick* Garriſon there, Sallied with ſome of his beſt men, thinking to ſurprize and kill him in that poſture. But ſome *Heruli* by meer accident encountred and killed him, and a *Roman* knowing him, brought his Head to *Narſes*, which filled the *Romans* with much Courage, taking it as a ſign of God's favour and a good *Omen*, that the Enemy having a deſign upon their General, ſhould ſo ſuddenly looſe their own Commander without any humane Plot or forecaſt. Though he might have had incouragement upon the Death of *Uſdrilas*, yet he medled not with *Ariminum*, nor with any other Town, that he might not retard his main deſign, nor divert it by any other buſineſs. And the Enemy diſcouraged at the loſs of their Governour, gave him no impediment in making a Bridge and paſſing the River, which having done, he left the *Via Flaminia*, and took the left hand, that huge Street being unpaſſable, by reaſon that the *Goths* had ſeized on the Rock called *Petra Pertuſa*, and all other places lying upon it. *Totilas* in the mean time, hearing what had paſſed in *Venetia*, expected *Teias* and the Army about *Rome*, which being all come up, except two thouſand Horſe, he marcht away with the reſt, intending to fight the *Romans* at his beſt conveniency. Underſtanding how matters ſtood at *Ariminum*, he went through *Tuſcany* toward the *Appennine*, where he incamped in a Village called *Tagiria*; And afterward came *Narſes* and ſate down upon the *Appennine* alſo, at twelve miles and an half diſtance near the little round Hills, wherein the *Galls* ſlain by *Camillus* were buried, and at that day called *Buſta Gallorum*.

Uſdrilas the *Goth* ſlain.

'Ουσδείλας, *i.e. Waſre-las, ex aqua liberatus, d. interjicitur, ad mitigandum ſonum, ut in Waldrada.*

215. *Narſes* preſently ſent to *Totilas*, to adviſe him to entertain peaceable Councils, and not contend, becauſe he was backed by a few lawleſs men, with the ſtrength of the whole *Roman* Empire; And in caſe he was reſolved for War, he inſtructed the Meſſengers to bid him appoint a day for a pitcht Battel. He with a reſolute and daring Countenance, told them they ſhould have War, and that eight days after he would not fail to meet them. But *Narſes* ſuſpecting ſome cunning in the anſwer, prepared to fight as the next day, and he was in the right; for the day following, *Totilas* came with his whole Army. Both had a mind to gain a little Hill for an advantage of upper ground, and *Narſes* by Night ſent fifty men, who ſeized it without oppoſition. Againſt them *Totilas* ſent a Troop of Horſe, but ſtanding thick and firm, they frighted the Horſes with the noiſe of their Sheilds and with their Lances; the men who failed often in the attempt, at length gave it over, and *Totilas* ſent ſeveral Troops afterward, who came off with the ſame diſgrace, ſo that he gave over the enterprize, and thoſe fifty men deſervedly got great reputation, eſpecially one *Paul* who indeed did wonders, and for this Service was made one of *Narſes* his Targetiers. In the mean time both Armies prepared for Battel, and the Generals beſpake the courage and fidelity of their Souldiers, uſing arguments fitted to the occaſion. The *Lombards*, *Heruli* and other Barbarians, *Narſes* cauſed to alight and ſerve as Footmen, that in caſe they ſhould turn Cowards, they might flye but ſlowly. And his left wing he caſt into the form of a Wedge, ſetting there fifteen hundred Horſemen, whereof five hundred were to releive their Friends, in caſe they were put to the worſt, and the other thouſand get the backs of the Enemies Foot, and gall them in the fight. In like manner *Totilas* placed his Army, and rode about with Countenance and words animating his Souldiers. *Narſes* did the like, holding out to them gilt Chains and Bridles, as the Prizes of their Valour.

Narſes ſends to *Totilas*.

Totilas will have War.

216. Both Armies ſtood ſtill a while, expecting the Aſſault of their Enemies, till one *Cocas* a *Goth* of good repute for Valour, rode up to the *Roman* Army, and challenged any to fight with him, having formerly ſerved the Emperour, but ſince revolted to *Totilas*. But *Anzalas* an *Armenian*, and Lancier to *Narſes*, encountred and ſlew him, at which the *Romans* made a great ſhout. Now by this time *Totilas* underſtood that his two thouſand Horſe were at hand, and therefore laboured all ways poſſible to defer the Fight. He came in his bright Armour, and very goodly to behold, on a prancing Horſe, betwixt the two Armies, not to challenge any to a Duel, but by ſeveral poſtures and feats of Activity, to attract the eyes of Gazers, and behaved himſelf like a cunning and skilfull Rider of a managed Horſe. In theſe Exerciſes he ſpent a great part of the Afternoon, then to gain more time, ſent to *Narſes* and offered a Parley. *Narſes* ſaid he jugled; and before the meeting was agreed on, came the two thouſand Horſe, which when *Totilas* underſtood, and it being now Dinner time, he cauſed the Army to draw off, and going to his Tent commanded his men to Dine, then he put on other Armour, and ſuddenly led out againſt the Enemy, thinking by ſo unexpected an Onſet to ſurprize them. But *Narſes* was aware of his deſign, and forbad his Troops to retire to Dinner, to repoſe themſelves, or ſo much as to put off their Corſelets, or unbridle their Horſes, Commanding them to take a bit as they ſtood in their Ranks, and have a watchfull eye upon the Enemy. They accordingly ſtood ſtill in the ſame order, onely the General with an addition of four thouſand Foot, put both his Wings into the form of an half Moon. The Infantry of the *Goths* ſtood behind their Horſe, to receive them if routed within their Ranks, and joyntly to renew the charge.

Caco (*& Cocus mutatis vocalibus*) *Contractum ex Cagan-hart, ut in voc. All. aut Cakan-hart, Libo ſimile Cor.* i. e. *dulce. Sic Grotius Interpret.*

A pitcht Battel.

217. But *Totilas* commanded his men to uſe onely their Lances, and not their Arrows, which ſenſeleſs Strategem ruined him; making hereby his Army inferiour in their offenſive Weapons, as in all things elſe. For the *Romans* as they had occaſion, uſed both their Arrows and Lances, and came up to the Sword, and did all which convenience required, either on Horſe back or on Foot, ſometimes ſurrounding the Enemy, and ſometimes receiving his Charges. The *Gothick* Horſe without their Infantry, ruſhed on with unadviſed fury, truſting onely to their Lances, and preſently found their Errour, being ingaged amongſt eight thouſand Foot, ſo that before they could reach the *Roman* Cavalry, they had loſt both many Men and Horſes, and coming up to it very late, they found both *Romans* and Auxiliaries, ſtriving who ſhould moſt warmly firſt receive, and then repell them. Not able to ſtand after their firſt furious Charge, they began to retire, and the *Romans* to purſue, the Evening coming on; for the *Goths* thought that ſome Spirits fell upon them, and that Heaven it ſelf fought againſt them. And when they came to their Foot, then their miſcheif increaſed, for they made not any orderly retreat, as to take breath for a new Charge, or for any other point of War, but ran in among them ſo confuſedly, that they ſpoiled many, and the Foot opened not their Ranks to receive them, but ran away with them for Company; and it growing dark, they deſtroyed one another. Already Maſtered by Terrour and Cowardiſe, the *Romans* killed them ſparing none. And now the darkneſs put an end to the Fight, ſix thouſand being ſlain, and many taken, who were not long after put to the Sword; amongſt them many *Roman* Souldiers periſhing, that had revolted to *Totilas*.

The *Romans* have the better.

218. The King himſelf with five men fled in the dark, but was purſued by ſome *Romans* who knew him not, and by one *Asbades* a *Gepidæ*, was mortally wounded with a Lance, but was drawn on by them that accompanied him, who rode amain, and having run about ten miles, they came to a Town called *Capræ*, where they reſted and dreſſed his wounds, but he ſoon after expired in the place, and there they buried him and went their way. Such a concluſion had the Life and Reign of *Totilas*, after he had been King of the *Goths* eleven years, not ſuitable to his former Actions and Succeſſes. For in him Fortune inſulted upon the frail condition of Mankind, and ſhewed the abſoluteneſs of her Dominion, having without apparent merit beſtowed on him a long time of happineſs, and now hurrying him at her own pleaſure, into Cowardiſe and an ignoble Death. The *Romans* knew nothing of it, till a *Gothick* Woman ſhewed where he was Buried, and then ſome diſtruſting the Report, opened the Grave, digged up the Coffin, and upon ſearch finding it to be *Totilas*, put him in the ground again, and reported all to *Narſes*. Yet there were who gave out a quite different relation of theſe matters, as that the *Goths* made not this unadviſed Retreat, but in the firſt Encounter, an Arrow by chance light on *Totilas*, who being Armed like a common Souldier, and ranked among them to

Totilas dies of his wounds.

conceal himſelf, could not be known nor purpoſely ſhot at. But that being mortally wounded, he gallopt away in great pain to *Capræ* with ſome few, and after much Miſery and Languiſhing died under the Cure. That the *Goths* amazed at what had happened to their King, being otherwiſe too weak, were wholly out of Heart, and ſhamefully ran away. But however it fell out, *Narſes* rejoycing at the ſucceſs, took the right courſe, as *Procopius* well obſerves, to attribute all to Almighty God.

Narſes aſcribes the ſucceſs to God.

Teias made King of the *Goths*.

Teia, Tuias, Tei, Lentus. Frid-gern, Pacis amans in voc. Allem. Friduger.

Narſes takes *Rome*.

219. That he might order his affairs, as was ſutable to ſuch an acknowledgment, and take order for preſent occaſions; he ſent away his *Lombards*, who were infinitely unruly, burning Houſes, and raviſhing Women that fled into Churches. Preſently after, *Valerianus* beſieged *Verona*, but the *Franks* who ſought to get the whole Countrey into their own hands, hindred the Deſign when the Garriſon was coming to Capitulations, ſo that he retired without effecting any thing. The *Goths* that eſcaped the Overthrow, went over the River *Poe*, to the City of *Picenum*, and the Towns thereabout, where they advanced *Teias* the Son of *Fredigerna*, into the place of *Totilas*. He ordered his matters as well as he could in the low Condition, to which they were reduced, and having the Treaſures laid up by *Totilas* in *Picenum*, endeavoured to draw the *Franks* to his Aſſiſtence. *Narſes* underſtanding that he intended to aſſemble his *Goths* together, commanded *Valerianus* to keep with his Troops about the *Poe*, and if poſſible to prevent their Uniting. He himſelf with the reſt of the Army, marcht toward *Rome*, taking in ſeveral Towns in *Tuſcany*, as *Narnia*, *Spoletum* and *Peruſia*. *Totilas* having burnt moſt of *Rome*, and conſidering he had not men enough left, to Guard the whole Circuit of it, had taken in with a Wall a leſſer part of it about *Adrian's* Tomb, joyning to the City Walls, which making a ſort of Caſtle, the *Goths* therein put their beſt things, and lookt to it carefully, neglecting the other Parts. Yet now to try *Narſes*, who was come to the Siege, they left a few to Guard the Caſtle, and put themſelves upon the Battlements. But the circuit of the Walls being ſo vaſt, that they could neither man them, nor the *Romans* attacque them all, while ſeveral Parties aſſaulted in ſeveral places, *Dagiſthæus* ſet Ladders to a part quite deſtitute of Guards, and mounting without any reſiſtence, ſet open the Gates, which the *Goths* beholding, quitted all their Poſts and ran away, ſome to the Caſtle, and ſome to *Portus*. Here our Authour makes more Reflexions upon Fortune, how ſhe plays with poor and helpleſs Men, changing her looks with times and places, and varying ſuddenly, not onely her own humour, but even the value and worth of Perſons. *Beſſas* formerly loſt *Rome* very unworthily, and afterward recovered *Petra* in *Lazica* very bravely. On the contrary *Dagiſthæus* poorly ran away from *Petra*, and now ſoon after recovers *Rome* to the Emperour.

The *Roman* Senate miſerably uſed, and the People.

220. Then marcht *Narſes* to the Caſtle, and the *Goths* quickly yielded it, on condition of ſecurity for their Perſons, *Juſtinian* paſſing the twenty ſixth year of his Reign, in which it had now been taken five times, and *Narſes* ſent the Keys of the City to him. But to the *Roman* Senate and People this Victory proved extreme Ruine; for the *Goths* now deſpairing of the Dominion of *Italy*, killed them where ever they could find them in their flight. The Barbarians of the *Roman* Army at their entrance, uſed them no better than Enemies. And ſuch Senatours as *Totilas* had confined to *Campania*, and were returning to the City, upon report that it was in the Emperour's hands, the *Goths* Quartered in the Towns of thoſe Parts killed, leaving not ſo much as one Patritian alive. *Totilas* alſo going againſt *Narſes*, called for all the Sons of the Principal *Romans*, and chuſing out three hundred of the goodlieſt amongſt them, ſent them beyond the River *Poe*, under pretence of breeding them, but indeed to keep them as Hoſtages; and now *Teias* finding them there, killed them all. Moreover *Ragnaris* a *Goth*, who commanded in *Tarentum*, put to the Sword fifty Souldiers, whom he kept as Hoſtages. Soon after, the *Roman* Army had *Portus* delivered up by compoſition, *Nepa* in *Tuſcany*, and *Petra Pertuſa*. *Teias* finding himſelf too weak, importuned *Theudebald* by offers of great Sums of money to joyn with him in the War; but the *Franks* took that reſolution which was beſt for their own advantage, not to beſtow their Lives either upon *Goths* or *Romans*, but to reſerve them to the conqueſt of *Italy* for themſelves. *Narſes* now hearing how *Teias* had beſtowed the moſt part of his Treaſures, in the Caſtle of *Cumæ* in *Campania*, with a ſtrong Garriſon, ſtaid himſelf at *Rome* to repair the Ruines, but ſent to beſiege the Caſtle, as alſo another Party to attempt *Centumcellæ*. *Teias* fearing the loſs of it, and having no hopes to receive any ſuccours from the *Franks*, prepared for Battel, which *Narſes* underſtanding, appointed ſome Forces to intercept his paſſage through *Tuſcany*; but he left the

nearer way on his right Hand, and fetching a great compaſs by the Sea Coaſt, ſo came into *Campania*. *Narſes* thereof advertiſed remanded the Forces, and with his whole Army marcht thither in order to fight.

A bloudy fight.

221. Both Armies incamped on either ſide the River *Draco*, which iſſueth from certain wholeſome Springs at the foot of the Mountain *Veſuvius*, and cloſe to the City of *Nuceria*. The Bridge upon it the *Goths* had ſeized, and had ſet upon it wooden Towers, many Engines, and *Baliſtæ* to Shoot down upon the Enemy. The River running betwixt them, there was no poſſibility for a cloſe ſtanding Battel, onely getting as near as they durſt to the Banks; both ſides plied it with Arrows, ſome Challenges and Duels alſo now and then happened; and ſo two Months were wholly conſumed. The *Goths* did well enough ſo long as they continued Maſters at Sea, being that way ſupplied with Proviſions. But afterward their Ships were betrayed to the *Romans*, who being alſo reinforced with many other Veſſels out of *Sicily*, and other Parts, *Narſes* alſo ſetting up his wooden Turrets on the Rivers Bank, they were mightily dejected, and for fear and Famine fled up to a Mountain near at hand called *Mons Lactis*, where the *Romans* for the Faſtneſſes could not come at them. But finding there no Proviſions at all, either for themſelves or their Horſes, they ſoon repented their coming up, and chuſing rather to die by fight than Famine, came ſuddenly upon the *Romans* and took them at advantage, neither being imbattelled, nor any way obſerving any Order, or Command. The *Goths* quitting their Horſes, ſtood in a deep Battalion: the *Romans* alſo forſook theirs, and ſtood together in a Front. Here *Procopius* tells us, that this Battel and the Valour of *Teias* in it, deſerves a long Diſcourſe, being equal to that of the ancient Heroes. Deſpair made the *Goths* venture all, and ſhame cauſed the *Romans* not to yeild to beaten men, though they ſaw them mad and deſperate, and ſo the one weary of their Lives, and the other to ſhew their Valour, fought with much fury, the fight beginning in the Morning betimes.

Teias doeth wonders.

Is killed.

The fight continues till night the ſecond day.

222. *Teias* accompanied not with many Souldiers, ſtood in the firſt Rank in open view, holding out his Sheild, and ſhaking his Lance. Many *Romans* knowing that by his Fall, the Controverſie would be decided for this time, combined againſt him, ſome falling on him with their Spears, and others plying him hard with Darts, which he received on his Sheild, and then flying out killed many. When his Sheild was ſtuck thick, he gave it to one of his Targetiers and took another, continuing in this manner a third part of the day. Having at length got twelve Darts ſticking on his Sheild, ſo that he could not weild it as he would, nor beat off the Aſſailants, yet for all this he quitted not his Rank, nor loſt one inch of ground; nay he did not ſo much as turn his body, nor reſt his back upon his Target, but ſtood upright, as if he had been faſtned in the Earth, killing with his right hand, warding with his Sheild, and calling upon his Targetier to give him a new one, for his old one was loaded with Darts. In this inſtant as he made the change, his breaſt lying open was hit with a Javelin, and he inſtantly died. The *Roman* Souldiers put his head upon a Pole, to incourage their men, and diſhearten the *Goths*, who though they ſaw their King ſlain, yet gave not over the Fight till Night came on, and then both ſides retired and lay in their Armour. Early the next day they began again, and continued alſo till Night, their Savage hatred carrying them through all difficulties; for the *Goths* made account it would be their laſt Fight, and the *Romans* ſcorned to be overmatcht.

The *Goths* offer to depart *Italy*.

Narſes conſents.

223. At laſt the *Goths* ſent to tell *Narſes*, that they perceived their Conteſt to be with God himſelf; that they ſaw the Power which ſtood againſt them, and now conſidered their true Eſtate and Condition by their former Succeſs: in concluſion, they promiſed to lay aſide their deſperate Reſolutions, upon condition not to be put under the ſubjection of the Emperour, but to enjoy their own liberty, with ſome other Barbarian Nation. The *Romans* they intreated to afford them a peaceable Retreat, and in a moderate conſideration of their wretched Condition, to beſtow their own Goods upon them for their Journey, ſuch as they had left in any Forts of *Italy*. *Narſes* holding a conſultation hereupon, *John* adviſed him by all means to grant their Petition, and not to contend any more with men weary of their Lives, nor to provoke a Courage growing from Deſperation, which commonly proves fatal, not onely to thoſe that are poſſeſſed with it, but alſo to ſuch as venture to encounter them. He affirmed that to moderate men, it was enough to be Victorious, whereas the deſire of too much might end in Inconvenience. *Narſes* could not but allow of the advice, and they agreed on theſe Conditions, That the *Goths* ſhould have their Goods, and immediately depart out of *Italy*, never any more to bear Arms againſt the *Romans*. About a thouſand of his Company went away

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away to *Picenum*, and the parts beyond the River *Poe*, under Conduct of *Ildulph*, and ſome others. The reſt ſtaid and ratified the agreement by their Oaths; And the *Romans* took in *Cumæ* and all the reſt. So ended the eighteenth year of the *Gothick* War, and together with it the fourth and laſt Book, written by *Procopius* concerning the Subject, of whom yet we muſt not here take our leave, having occaſion hereafter to make farther uſe of a certain ſecret Hiſtory going under his Name.

Here the Books of *Procopius* end.

224. Here being arrived at the end of his Travels in the *Gothick* matters, we muſt take *Agathias* for our Guide in our way forward, who profeſſes to begin where the other ends his Hiſtory; yet the concluſion of the one, and the beginning of the other, do not well agree. *Procopius* writes, that the *Goths* deſired to depart out of the Emperour's Dominions, and that all of them except about one thouſand, ſealed the Agreement with their Oaths. But in *Agathias* not a word of this; for he tells us, that ſuch as ſurvived the Overthrow, (not mentioning a Party,) being proſecuted by the *Romans* without intermiſſion, and preſſed by frequent Aſſaults and drought of the places whither they betook themſelves, made an agreement with *Narſes*, that they ſhould without moleſtation poſſeſs the Lands they formerly held, and thenceforth live in obedience and ſubjection to the Emperour. Theſe things being thus determined, ſaith he, every one imagined, that there would be no more Wars in *Italy*, whereas they became but the ſeeds and occaſions of farther Diſſentions. For whereas it might be juſtly expected that the *Goths*, who had now recovered their Habitations on both ſides the *Poe*, throughout *Tuſcany*, *Liguria* and *Venetia*, ſhould ſit ſtill and be quiet, and ſuffer *Italy* to take ſome breath and repoſe; thoſe about the *Poe* had not long there continued, but they began to lay the Foundations of new miſcheifs. And thinking themſelves too weak, and inconſiderable to grapple with the *Romans*, reſolved if poſſible, what they could not doe in their own Perſons, to effect by the power of an Alliance, and betook themſelves to the *Franks* their Neighbours; the other *Goths* not joyning in the Embaſſy, but ſtanding at gaze and deſirous of alterations, yet doubtfull concerning the event, and lately having had their hands in the fire, they deſired for a while to look on, and then joyn with the ſtronger Party. The Meſſengers having got acceſs, endeavoured to perſwade the King and his Nobles, that to joyn with them was the onely way to preſerve themſelves from Ruine, the avarice and ambition of the *Romans* being ſuch, that the devouring of the *Goths* would but whet their Appetites, to make a greater Meal of the *Franks* and other Nations. They promiſed them not onely much Booty and Spoil, but to pay them liberal ſtipends. And deſired they would ſend them a good and ſufficient Army, over which they would ſet an able General of their own, who ſhould ſpeedily recover their ancient Lands and Poſſeſſions.

Agathias begins as he profeſſes.

Οἵ τε περισωθέντες τῶν Γότθων ἐγκειμένων σφίσι Ῥωμαίων καὶ οὐκ ἀνιέντων πιεζόμενοι τῇ τε ἐπιδρομαῖς, καὶ ὅτι ἐν χώρῳ ἀνύδρῳ ἐτύγχανον ξυνειλεγμένοι, σπονδὰς ἔθεντο πρὸς Ναρσῆν ἐφ᾽ ᾧ τὴν μὲν οἰκείαν ἀδεῶς νέμοιντο χώραν, Βασιλεῖ τῷ Ῥωμαίων κατήκοοι τὸ λοιπὸν ὄντες διατελοῖεν, &c. *Agathias, lib.* I. *ad initium.*

The *Goths* ſolicite the *Franks* to joyn with them againſt the *Romans.*

225. *Theudebald* being of a mean Spirit, and nothing fit for matters of War, beſides of a weak and ſickly Conſtitution, no way liked of their Meſſage, neither thought it convenient for the benefit of other men, to involve himſelf in difficulties and dangers. But *Leutharis* and *Butilinus*, two Brothers, for all that contracted an Alliance with them, being *Allemans* by Nation, but of vaſt Authority and Power amongſt the *Franks*, whom indeed they governed, being firſt brought in by the late King *Theodebert*. Having got an Army of ſeventy two thouſand men together, they made themſelves Cockſure of the Victory, concluding that *Narſes* would not once dare to look them in the Face, and that they ſhould ſpeedily become Maſters both of *Italy* and *Sicily*. *Narſes* though he had not fully diſcovered their Intentions, yet ſuſpecting and providing for the worſt, reſolved if poſſible to prevent them, and for that purpoſe to take in ſuch Towns in *Tuſcany*, as yet continued under the power of the *Goths*. He preſently laid Siege to *Cumæ*, a ſtrong Town ſituate on an high Hill, and difficult to come to on the Shore of the *Tyrrhenian* Sea, where he was warmly entertained in his Aſſaults, by *Aligern* the Brother of the deceaſed *Teias*, whoſe wonderfull ſtrength and activity appeared in many particulars. Not able to take it by Storm, he conſidered that part of the Fort ſtood over a mighty Hole or Cave, where it was reported, that one of the *Sibylls* of old gave her Anſwers, and particularly to *Æneas* the Son of *Anchiſes*. This Cave he cauſed to be inlarged, ſo far till they came to the Foundations of the Fort, which being underpropped with wood, ſtill as they digged, and then that ſet on fire, down fell the Wall, with ſeveral of the Buildings thus undermined. Yet did not the Project ſucceed, for the Cave being deep and vaſt before, was now inlarged to ſuch a depth and wideneſs, that a mighty Chaſm and Precipice being thereby made, *Cumæ* remained as ſecure as formerly. Therefore *Narſes* reſolved not to ſpend all his time, and

Al-gern, Omnium Amans. Pamphilus Græce. in voc. Allem.

Alker & Alcarius, Algernoon non ita pridem in uſu apud Comites Northumbriæ, atque etiamnum in variis Angliæ familiis.

and employ his whole Force againſt this one place, inconſiderable in reſpect of what was farther to be done, but ſent the greateſt part of his Army to the *Poe*, there, if poſſible, to hinder the irruption of the *Franks*.

Narſes takes in ſeveral places.

226. He himſelf in the mean time attempted other Towns with good ſucceſs, having left a ſufficient power to block up *Cumæ*. For the *Florentines* readily and willingly yielded up their City, ſo did the Inhabitants of *Centumcellæ* and *Volaterræ*, with all the Maritime Coaſts; thoſe of *Piſa* alſo, onely the Citizens of *Luca* ſtood out, and were very refractary, although they had promiſed by Oath, and engaged by delivery of Hoſtages, to receive *Narſes*, if they had no relief within thirty days, in which ſpace they hoped the *Franks* would be with them. *Narſes* was much concerned to find he was ſo abuſed, but carried it very moderately, and with great wiſedom, not ſuffering himſelf to be ſwayed by Paſſion or Revenge, though he had the Hoſtages in his hands. Yet did he deviſe a way by a feigned ſort of execution to terrifie them in the Town, preſenting them with a ſight of the Hoſtages made ready for death, placed at ſuch a diſtance, and ſo ſhadowed by cloaths, hung up on purpoſe, that when they ſaw the Axes lift up, the ſtroke of the Executioners, their Relations fall, and heard the noiſe upon the boards, they thought it a real Tragedy, though a Comical part was onely acted. Receiving ſuch impreſſions as their deluded ſenſes preſented, they had a ſutable operation upon their affections, ſo that lamentable cries, and great tumult followed amongſt the Kindred and Allies of thoſe they ſuppoſed to be dead. And *Narſes* was reviled as an Hypocrite, who had covered the moſt cruel humour imaginable, with a ſpecious zeal to Piety and Mercy. He told them that what had happened was by their own fault, being the puniſhment of their perfidious dealings, and that they muſt expect no better at his hands, yet poſſibly he could ſhew a trick, and make them alive again, if he might but be convinced that they deſerved ſuch a favour at his hands, and by their ſpeedy repentance would make amends for their former faults. They laughed at the conceit of raiſing them from death, and conceiving he mocked them, reſolved to be even with him, promiſing to ſet their Gates open, and receive him in, ſo ſoon as they ſhould perceive that their Hoſtages were ſafe; for though they never meant it, yet concluding he had killed their Friends, they thought they ſhould be releaſed from the Bargain by the impoſſibility of the condition.

227. *Narſes* thereupon preſented the Hoſtages ſafe and ſound to their view, with which ſight they were mightily affected; but ſeeing their Relations alive, and in good plight, though not out of danger, they began to make excuſes, and at laſt it was reſolved, notwithſtanding their obligations, not to yield the City. Then did the *Roman* General ſhew a remarkable pattern of Magnanimity. He diſmiſſed the Hoſtages freely without any Reward or Ranſome, ſending them into the Town, and with them this Meſſage, That it was not his cuſtome to flatter or delude any one with vain hopes, for they ſhould underſtand that in caſe they did not ſpeedily ſurrender, that thing in his hand, meaning his Sword, ſhould oblige them to it, without the help of Hoſtages. But the men thus diſmiſſed returned into the City, and there coming amongſt their acquaintance, extolled the Juſtice, Magnanimity and Clemency of *Narſes* to the skies, ſaying, there was never a man of ſo noble a Diſpoſition, and it ſoon appeared, that the Diſcourſes of them were ſtronger and more effectual for the taking of the Town, than all the battering Rams and Engines of *Narſes*. They did their endeavour to promote his Intereſt, and while they diſcharged this office of gratitude, ill news comes to him out of *Æmilia*, where the *Roman* Army at firſt obſerving good order, did that for which it was ſent, but afterward through the temerity of *Fulcaris* the Captain of the *Heruli*, made an excurſion to the Gates of *Parma*, and received a defeat there by certain *Franks*, whom *Butilinus* had placed in ambuſh in the Amphitheatre. *Narſes* was troubled for the loſs of the man, who was a Perſon of extraordinary valour, had he been but prudent, and more in reſpect of the conſequences, which he feared might be great; but he was much afflicted when he heard how the other Captains, after the death of *Fulcaris*, for fear of the *Franks*, (who they knew would be much elevated with this ſucceſs,) had forſaken the Countrey about *Parma*, and retired to *Faventia*. For he had ſent thoſe Forces thither on purpoſe to be as a Wall and Rampart to keep off the *Franks* till ſuch time as having diſpatched his matters in *Tuſcany*, he could bring up his Army, and joyn with them. But now he perceived he might have ſudden diverſion, being by their removal expoſed to the firſt Aſſaults of an encouraged and daring Enemy.

228. But accommodating himſelf to the preſent exigency of Affairs, as well as he could, he firſt by a Speech encouraged his Souldiers, whom he found a little dejected at the News, ſhewing them that there was no Army, how victorious or valiant ſoever, which muſt not ſometimes encounter with adverſe fortune. And to the Officers lying at *Faventia* he ſent one *Stephanus*, to require them to return to the Poſt formerly aſſigned them, which (having with incredible difficulty and ſpeed, accompanied by two huudred ſtout men, paſſed through a Countrey filled with *Franks*) he did with ſuch moving and convincing arguments, that, aſhamed of their Retreat, they returned to their old Quarters about *Parma*. *Narſes* then, delivered in ſome meaſure of his former fears, beſieged *Luca* more ſtraitly than ever, diſdaining they ſhould deal ſo peremptorily with him. He ſet his Engines to the Walls, and began to attacque them in earneſt, which the beſieged perceiving, now more ſeriouſly weighed the Motives and Reaſons of the Hoſtages, who uſing more diligence than ever, as the preſent occaſion required, the Townſmen were inclined to yield; the onely obſtacle was, there were certain Officers of the *Franks* in Town, to look to the Garriſon, who omitted nothing whereby they might inflame their minds, and make them ſtand it out, though with never ſo much diſadvantage, for part of the Walls were already broken down. They cauſed them to make a Sally, but they did it ſo unwillingly, and fought ſo coldly when out, that they ever had the worſt, returned with loſs and diſgrace; and ſtill being more preſſed upon by the *Roman* Army, at length, after three months ſiege, they came to a full reſolution to yield their City, on condition, that what had hitherto paſſed might be forgot and forgiven. So *Narſes* took poſſeſſion of *Luca*, in behalf of *Juſtinian* his Maſter.

Luca is yielded to him.

229. Leaving *Bonus*, a prudent and valiant Perſon, Governour of *Luca*, he marcht with his Army to *Ravenna*, and diſpoſed of his Souldiers into their Winter-Quarters; Autumn now declining, and the winter Solſtice at hand, and with order in Spring to meet together at *Rome*. By this time *Aligern*, the Brother of *Teias*, who held *Cumæ* againſt the *Romans*, upon notice that the *Franks* were coming to his Aſſiſtence, began ſeriouſly with himſelf to conſider the reaſon of their coming, with the effects of their Conqueſts, in caſe it ſhould be their good fortune to beat *Narſes* out of *Italy*. He concluded their coming was for their own ends, not for any good meant to the *Goths*, and that if they remained Conquerours, they would turn Lords, and domineer over them. He thought it moſt fit and equal, that if the *Goths* poſſeſſed not *Italy*, the ancient owners ſhould recover and enjoy it, and governed by theſe Reflexions, he came to *Narſes*, and gave him the Keys of *Cumæ*, thereby delivering both that City and the Treaſures of the *Goths* into his Hands. *Narſes* joyfully and courteouſly received him, and cauſed him to go to *Niſſene*, there to ſhew himſelf upon the Walls to the *Franks*, that they might ſee their expedition to *Cumæ* would be inſignificant, the Riches of the *Goths*, and all the conſiderable Places being now in the power of the Emperour's Officers. And they indeed were ſtartled by ſeeing him there, perceiving how matters were ordered, and ſate in Council, ſeriouſly conſidering, whether they had not beſt to retreat, and decline the War, upon which they muſt enter with much diſadvantage. But that Party prevailed which was for ſtaying and puſhing for *Italy*, let the ſucceſs be what it would. Then did they licentiouſly forage and plunder the Countrey with Two thouſand men coming near the Walls of *Ariminum*, where *Narſes* being at that time, and beholding ſome of them ſtragling from a Turret, could not hold, but mounting on Horſeback, called on ſuch Souldiers as he met to follow him. About three hundred accompanied him into the field, whom the *Franks* ſeeing, united themſelves in a cloſe body, ſo as they could not be broken, and therefore the *Romans* plyed them with darts afar off. But this not breaking them, and they refuſing to ſtir, he cauſed his men to counterfeit a flight, which they beholding, made after them as faſt as the could follow, and then the *Romans* turned about, made head againſt them, and by a ſudden and unexpected Aſſault ſo terrified them, that they cut off nine hundred men, and cauſed the reſt to run away. After this *Narſes* returned to *Ravenna*, where having ſet all things in good order, he removed to *Rome*, and there paſſed the Winter.

Cumæ and the Treaſures of the *Goths* delivered up to him.

230. At the beginning of the Spring, thither all his Forces repaired according to order, where he cauſed them to be Exerciſed, and continually trained to all points of War, to ſhake off any indiſpoſition which in Winter they might have contracted. The Barbarians in the mean time, (ſo the Imperial Writers call all but the Emperour's Subjects, and eſpecially the Northern Nations, which poured themſelves in upon the *Roman* Territories,) made their Inrodes into all the Countrey,

Agathias, lib. 2.

pro-

The *Franks* forage *Italy*.

proceeding leiſurely that they might make the greater Depredations. They peirced as far as *Samnium* in one body, but there dividing their Forces, they foraged all quarters of *Italy* to the ſtraits of *Rhegium* on one ſide, and the City of *Otranto* on the other. *Leutharis* (whom *Lazius* calls *Rabaris*,) having taken the way of *Apulia* and *Calabria* to *Otranto*, when he had ſufficiently inriched himſelf with Plunder, had enough of the War, and reſolved to return home with his Booty, and then ſend his Army to the aſſiſtence of his Brother *Butilinus*, who would not be drawn back till he had diſcharged himſelf of the Oath made to the *Goths*. But in his Retreat through *Picenum*, he loſt many of his men, who were ſurprized by the *Roman* Forces, lying then about the City *Piſaurus*, and afterward croſſing the *Poe* into *Venetia*, both he and his Army were ſeized with a great Plague, which diſpatched him amongſt the reſt by ſtrange ſymptoms, for he fell Diſtracted, raved like a mad Dog, and tore the fleſh from his own Body; being thus puniſhed by the juſt hand of God, for his Injuſtice and Rapine, as *Agathias* cannot but obſerve. In the mean time, *Butilinus* (by *Lazius* called *Baldvinus*,) having waſted all as far as *Rhegium*, returned towards *Rome*, where he heard that *Narſes* had got his Army together, whom he intended to ingage as ſoon as poſſible, becauſe he having prudently removed all Proviſions out of the Countrey, the *Franks* were conſtrained to ſupply their want with Grapes, it being now the beginning of Autumn; which unwholeſome food had brought moſt of them into a Flux, killed ſome, and he feared would make an end of more, and leſſen the number of his Forces. Being arrived in *Campania*, he pitched his Camp not far from the City *Capua* upon the River *Caſulinus*, which flowing from the *Appennine* Mounts, empties it ſelf into the *Tyrrhenian* Sea, having it for a Rampart on one ſide, and with his Carriages and other materials, blocking up all acceſs on the other; the Bridge alſo he ſeized, and fortified it as he ſaw convenient. *Narſes* hearing where he was, haſted from *Rome* to incounter him, and ſate down alſo at a convenient diſtance.

231. The Armies thus placed in view of each other, the *Franks* began according to their Cuſtome to make incurſions, to forage and plunder; which *Narſes* obſerving and thinking it a diſgrace to ſuffer them to doe it under his Noſe, he gave order to *Chanaranges* an *Armenian*, whoſe Regiment was placed next the Enemy, to intercept their booty, and to put a ſtop to their confident pilferings. He accordingly ſeized on ſeveral Carriages they were bringing to the Camp, and killing the Convoyes, drove one of them that was loaded with Hay to the Bridge, where ſetting it on fire, he burnt down the Turret which the *Franks* had newly Erected, and made himſelf Maſter of the Paſſage. Such as were ſet to the defence of the Turret, hardly avoiding the flames, retired in a great fright to the Camp, where the Fire being alſo ſeen, all the *Franks* fell into a great rage, and with diſdain and the greateſt height of confidence, required inſtantly to be led out to Battel. *Narſes* alſo upon notice given, was not backward to Marſhall his men, and being now mounted, and ready to ſet forward, complaint was made to him, that a certain *Herulian* of good account had killed his Servant, upon ſome ſlight occaſion. The man denied not the Fact, confidently maintained what he had done, and aſſerted his power over his Slaves, to extend to Life or Death as he pleaſed. But the General conceived himſelf obliged to make an atonement for bloud, by the bloud of him that ſhed it, and commanded the Crime to be expiated by the Death of him that committed it. Hereupon the *Heruli* were ſore offended, and reſolved to give him no aſſiſtence in the fight, moreover two of them fled to the Camp of the *Franks*, acquainted them with the Accident, and adviſed them to fall on whilſt the tumult, (for they made full account that would follow,) ſtill continued. *Narſes* little ſolicitous whether the *Heruli* followed or not, led on to an ingagement; but *Sindual* their Captain ſeriouſly conſidered that for reſpect to a dead man, he and his Countreymen were not to be branded with Revolt and Faction, and deſired the General to ſtay a little for him. He told him he would not ſtay, but in caſe he came, he would leave a place for him and his *Heruli*, though he ſhould arrive a little with the lateſt.

232. The *Franks* incouraged by the Story told by the two *Heruli*, made on with more haſte than good ſpeed, being in all thirty thouſand fighting men, formed into the likeneſs of a Wedge, the figure of the letter Delta, or the ſhape of the head of an Hog, as our Authour obſerveth. The *Roman* Battalion conſiſting of ſcarce eighteen thouſand, was Marſhalled with two Wings, and a main body of Foot, amongſt which was left a void place for *Sindual* and his *Heruli*. Into this void place, when the Armies came to joyn the *Franks* peirced, which the *Roman* General perceiving, gave order to his Wings that they ſhould receive, and then cloſe upon

Butilinus and his *Franks* Cut off.

them, by which means ſuch as ſtood in the middle being uſeleſs, and thoſe on the outſides laid at from all quarters, the number of them was ſtill by degrees diminiſhed, and when the *Heruli* came to take Poſſeſſion of their place, ſuch Slaughters were made, that *Butilinus* and his whole Army, being caught as it were in a Net, were every one cut off; five *Germans* onely eſcaping home; yet of the *Romans* were Slain but eighty men, and thoſe were ſuch as ſuſtained the firſt fury of the Enemy. All the *Romans* did ſingularly well, and of the Barbarians, *Aligern* the *Goth* who was preſent at the Fight, and *Sindual* Captain of the *Heruli* did eminent Service; but all admired and extolled the General, by whoſe wiſedom and Conduct, they acknowledged they had obtained ſo great Glory. Taking then the rich Spoils of the Enemies Camp, the victorious Army marched to *Rome*, where having the News of the deſtruction of *Leutharis* and his Forces, they could not contain themſelves for joy, which they expreſſed in Feaſts, Dances, and all other ways they poſſibly could. And there was great danger the *Romans* ſhould ſurfeit of this their good fortune, for now conceiving that they were rid of all their Enemies, and that the coming of more was not to be feared; they gave up themſelves to Luxury, and all effeminate practices, being ready to exchange their Swords and Helmets for Barrels of Wine, and Inſtruments of Muſick. But *Narſes* as a wiſe and skilfull Phyſician, ſaw there was neceſſity of applying ſome thing that ſhould be preventing to this growing Diſtemper. And by a ſeaſonable and prudent ſpeech, ſo convinced the Souldiers of their folly, that repenting of their looſe kind of Life, they betook themſelves to their wonted Exerciſes, and former Auſterities.

233. But a company of *Goths*, to the number of ſeven thouſand men, conſcious of their guilt, and deſpairing of the Clemency of the *Romans*, ſecured themſelves in a Fort called *Campſæ*, being headed by one *Regnares* by Birth an *Hunne*, of that ſort called *Vittores*, who to raiſe his Fortunes, animated them to this deſperate courſe, and perſwaded them never to yeild themſelves. *Narſes* preſently was there with his whole Army, and perceiving there was no ſtorming the Caſtle, reſolved to begirt and ſtarve them out, yet having laid in abundance of Proviſions with all their Wealth, they bore it out with much chearfulneſs all the Winter. When Spring came, *Regnares* was reſolved to try if he could make a better Market with *Narſes*, and at his deſire a conference was granted. But the General perceiving, his pride and ambitious reaches, refuſed to grant what he demanded, and ſent him back, whereat inraged as ſoon as he was got upon the Hill, and near the Wall, he let flie an Arrow at *Narſes*, which hit neither him nor any other, but thoſe of his Guard, being out of patience, ſent a ſhower of Darts after him, wherewith he was mortally wounded, and being carried into the Caſtle, died two days after. Then did the beſieged ſend to the General, and begging his pardon, yeilded to quarter, which he gave them becauſe of his Oath, but leſt they ſhould raiſe any more troubles, he ſent them all to *Conſtantinople*. At this time great Earthquakes happened, in that City and ſeveral parts of the Eaſt; particularly *Beritus* that beautifull eye of *Phœnicia*, and famous Univerſity for the ſtudy of the *Roman* Laws was overthrown, and multitudes of its Inhabitants buried in the Ruines, which cauſed the Students to remove to *Sidon* near at hand, till it could be reedified. *Alexandria* alſo in *Ægypt* to the wonder of all men, (that Countrey being counted free from ſuch accidents,) felt the power of theſe ſubterrane Vapours, or what other cauſe there may be of ſuch Concuſſions, and the poor Iſland of *Cous* was miſerably ſhaken, as *Agathias* himſelf an eye witneſs informeth us, who chanced then to travell that way, toward *Conſtantinople* from *Alexandria*, where ſtudying the Law at that time, he perceived amongſt others, that City to quiver and ſhake, to his great terrour and aſtoniſhment.

Campſæ yeilded
Great Earthquakes.

234. In the mean time, whilſt things thus proſperouſly went on in *Italy*, the *Perſians* in *Lazica* under Conduct of *Mermeroes*, advanced their affairs, and the *Romans* ſuffered themſelves to be fooled out of a ſtrong place, which hitherto they had held in that Countrey. For *Mermeroes* not being able to take by Aſſault the Caſtle of *Telephis*, of which *Martinus* was Governour, the Souldiers diligence and Circumſpection, together with the natural ſtrength of the Place, defeating eaſily all his Indeavours, he counterfeited himſelf ſick, and cauſed it at length to be reported that he was Dead, on purpoſe that it coming to the Ears of the *Romans*, they might neglect their Guards, omit their Watches, and thereby preſent him with ſome notable opportunity. The Plot took as he had laid it, for they believing the *Perſian* General to be Dead, concluded it folly to put themſelves to any farther trouble, whereby he ſo gained upon them, that perceiving they were now

The *Romans* quit *Telephis* in *Lazica.*

in his power, and that he would preſently become Maſter of the Place, they fairly forſook it, and betook themſelves to their Friends, the *Roman* Army, which then lay incamped but ſeven Furlongs off, Commanded by *Beſſas*, and *Juſtinus* the Son of *Germanus*. But all of them came not ſafe to the Camp, *Mermeroes* falling upon their Rere, ſome of them were intercepted and ſlain, and the reſt in a pannick fear, running to the Army, brought news of the approach of the *Perſians*, and ſtruck them all with ſuch amazement, that the Officers could neither give, nor the Souldiers receive any Directions, but in confuſion all ran away, to an Iſland an hundred and fifty Furlongs off, whither *Mermeroes* thought it not convenient to follow them. For he neither had Proviſions, nor was otherwiſe furniſhed for a Siege, and therefore reviling the *Romans* for their Cowardiſe, he made a Bridge over the *Phaſis*, and paſſing over all his Army, returned into the Province of *Muchiriſis*, where he Died not long after. He was a man both of great perſonal Valour, and of excellent Conduct. Being old, and of a long time lame of both his Feet, ſo that he could not Ride, yet he forbore no ſorts of Labours, but carried in his Litter to the Fight, both terrified the Enemy, and incouraged his own men, and otherwiſe diſcharged all the parts of a General, ſo as he obtained many Victories. But Dead, he had the Burial in uſe at that time with his Countreymen, which was to be expoſed naked in the Air, to greedy Dogs, and other Ravenous ſorts of Creatures.

Mermeroes Dies.

Agathias lib. 3.

Nachoragan made General in his room.

235. *Choſroes* much concerned for the Death of *Mermeroes*, that his Forces might not be without an Head, and miſcarry for want of Government, made *Nachoragan* General in his Room, a man of great Repute for Military Matters. Whilſt he prepared for his Journey, great Heart-burnings and Quarrels aroſe in *Lazica*, betwixt King *Gubazes* and the *Roman* Officers, which ſtill increaſed by degrees to ſuch an Height, that at length it procured his utter Deſtruction. The firſt occaſion was the Cowardiſe and flight of the *Romans*, which the King bore ſo ill, out of reſpect to the wellfare of his Countrey, that he complained thereof by Letter to *Juſtinian*, who being formerly offended with *Beſſas* for quitting *Lazica*, when he ought to have ſtopped up the Avenues from *Iberia*, turned him out of Command, and confined him for the preſent into the Territories of the *Asbagians*. *Martinus* was as much to blame for Negligence, as he for Covetouſneſs, yet he removed not him, but placed *Juſtinus* next to him, and *Buzes* was the third in degree; but there was a *Quæſtor* called *Ruſticus* then with the Army, not being employed to gather any of the Emperour's Revenue, but having charge of the Money paid out of his Coffers, for reward and incouragement of ſuch as behaved themſelves Valiantly in the War. This *Ruſticus* joyned with *Martinus* in his enmity to *Gubazes*, who perceiving how they ſtood affected to him, ceaſed not however to imbitter them by continual reflexions upon their careleſs and imprudent management of Affairs. They reſolved not to endure it, and ſtill keeping in mind, what he had written to the Emperour againſt them, reſolved to remove him out of the way, and that quickly, by ſome means or other.

Quarrels betwixt *Gubazes* and the *Roman* Officers.

236. But upon a long and ſerious debate, at length it was reſolved, to ſend and accuſe him of Treachery to *Juſtinian*, and of a Conſpiracy with the *Perſians* againſt his Intereſt, thereby either to procure Orders to make him away, or at leaſt render the Fact excuſeable, and obtain Connivence. *John* the Brother of *Ruſticus*, was the Meſſenger, who telling ſuch a tale to *Juſtinian*, he was much ſtruck with the Story, but recollecting himſelf, and knowing what Malice there was betwixt *Gubazes* and his Officers, did not fully believe it, but holding a middle courſe, replied that if it was ſo, he would have him ſent up to *Conſtantinople*. *John* apprehended preſently, that if he ſhould come up, the Cheat would be diſcovered, and therefore asked him, whether, in caſe he refuſed to come, he were not to be compelled. The Emperour ſaid, yes, being a Subject, and that he ſhould be ſent with a ſufficient Guard. Again, *John* demanded what was to be done with him, in caſe he reſiſted; *Juſtinian* anſwered, he was to be ordered as a Tyrant, and ought as ſuch to periſh miſerably. Then, ſaith he, the man ſhall need to fear nothing that kills him; nothing, replied the other, if making reſiſtence, and refuſing to obey, he periſh as an Enemy. He having got ſuch an anſwer, and Letters written to the Officers in *Lazica*, to the ſame purpoſe, they thought they had a ſufficient bottom for what they deſigned, and therefore ſent for *Juſtinus* and *Buzes*, who knew nothing of the Conſpiracy to accompany them to *Gubazes*, and be preſent at the Execution. *Gubazes* being ſent to, readily met them, to whom *Ruſticus* ſpake, and bade him joyn his Forces with theirs, and ſet upon *Onogoris*, a certain Fort which he ſaid it was a ſhame ſhould continue in the *Perſians* hands, lying as it did

in the

Sect. I. in the midſt of the Countrey. He according to his Cuſtome fell foul upon them, and reviling them for their Cowardiſe and Negligence, ſaid the fault was theirs, that that Fort was not already reduced, and he plainly told them, he would neither follow, nor accompany them in any Enterpriſe, till they had made amends for what they had formerly done amiſs. This would they take as a Demonſtration of his Revolt to the *Perſians*, and thereupon immediately Murthered him in the place.

They Murther him.

237. All *Lazica* was preſently in an Uprore, the Inhabitants of which ſenſible of the Affront, refuſed any more to keep company with the *Roman* Souldiers, *Juſtin* and *Buzes* ſhook their Heads, aſtoniſhed at ſo horrid an Act, but contained themſelves, imagining that certainly they had received ſome ſecret Order and Warrant from the Emperour. The Regicides to divert theirs, and the thoughts of others, from what was now done, as alſo to ingratiate themſelves with *Juſtinian*, reſolved to ſet upon the Fort *Onogoris*, ſo called of old time from the *Onoguri*, or *Hunnes* there defeated in Battel, but ſince that it was named the Fort of St. *Stephen*. Having begirt it round, and playing with their Engines, a ſuſpicious Perſon was taken and brought to the Camp by *Juſtin* his followers, who upon Examination proved to be a *Perſian*, and was ſent to ſignify to his Countreymen in the Caſtle, that *Nachoragan* would preſently be with them, having already reached *Iberia*, and that ſuch *Perſians* as lay in *Muchiriſis* and *Cotæſium*, were upon their way in order to their Releif. A Council of War was inſtantly called, and the Officers ſpake their opinions. *Buzes* adviſed that they ſhould go with their whole Army, and meet the approaching Succours, which having defeated, as there was no danger but they ſhould, *Onogoris* deſtitute of releif, would fall in eaſily of it ſelf; and there wanted not who were of his Opinion, in particular *Vligangus* Captain of the *Heruli*, who uſed that blunt but ſignificant Proverb, that drive away the Bees, and then with eaſe they might gather the Honey. But *Ruſticus* very malapertly fell foul upon *Buzes*, upbraiding him with a general weakneſs in Council, and urged vehemently that they might ſtay and take the Fort, and ſend a Party in the mean time, to put a ſtop to the *Perſian* Succours. This his Advice was approved, and the good Council of *Buzes* rejected by the Generality, becauſe the Multitude poſſibly having contracted ſome guilt in reference to the bloud of *Gubazes*, from Juſtice it ſelf as *Agathias* obſerves, was to have a miſcheif.

238. In purſuance of the order, ſix hundred Horſe were ſent againſt the Forces coming from *Muchiriſis*, under Conduct of two Barbarian Commanders, who falling upon them unawares, and out of order, put them to flight, though they were three thouſand men, for they imagined that the whole *Roman* Power as it was their Intereſt, was come upon them. But when they perceived their Errour, and that they had to deal but with a ſmall Party, they ſtood their ground, faced about, and making head, by an eaſie reſiſtence, beat back and purſued the Purſuers; who meeting with ſo unexpected a freſh Charge, were neither able nor willing to endure the ſhock, but fled amain back to their Friends, who were now buſily employed in the Siege of *Onogoris*. Here they fell tumultuouſly, and pell mell upon the Beſiegers, when they did not think of it, who, a mighty tumult being thereupon raiſed, with great fear and Conſternation, quitted the Leaguer and ran away with their flying Friends, as faſt as their Legs could carry them, which the *Perſians* in the Fort obſerving, iſſued out and joyning in the Chace, did conſiderable Execution, eſpecially at a Bridge laid over the River *Catharus*, over which the Running Army muſt neceſſarily paſs. In probability they had all been cut off, (fifty thouſand, by no more than three,) if *Buzes* had not rallied his men, and making head againſt the Purſuers, gained ſome time for them to paſs over. The *Perſians* in their Entrenchments before the Fort, found good Plunder, and all the places thereabout forſaken by the late Inhabitants, who leaving their choiceſt things behind, thought it enough they could eſcape ſo with their Lives. Now the Winter came on, and the Souldiers were diſpoſed into their Winter Quarters.

The *Romans* defeated.

239. In the mean time, the moſt conſiderable *Lazians* had great Diſputes amongſt themſelves, what courſe to take, and the people was wholly unſetled and diſſatisfied. The Nobility when they thought the *Romans* leaſt minded them, having their hands and heads full enough ſince the late Defeat, called the Multitude together into a Valley near a part of Mount *Caucaſus*, as moſt out of the way, to conſider whether they ſhould ſtill adhere to the *Romans*, or be revenged upon them by aſſociating themſelves with the *Perſian* King. A great Noiſe and tumult happening, when with much adoe ſilence was obtained, one *Æetes* ſtood up, a man extremely addicted to the *Perſian* Faction, who with vehement words, inflamed

the multitude againſt the *Romans*, taking occaſion from the death of *Gubazes* to tax them with all that ſavoured of Ambition and Cruelty. On the other ſide he commended the manners and diſpoſitions of the *Perſians*, put the People in mind they were the Poſterity of the ancient *Colchi*, who could not brook any thing that ſavoured of Diſgrace or Slavery, and by the late defeat ſo vilified the Courage and Conduct of the *Roman* Governours, that the multitude inraged and impatient of delay, required that his Advice might be ſpeedily put in execution. And this had been done, though the *Romans* were at hand, and they had all poſſibly periſhed in the attempt, had not the folly and raſhneſs of *Æëtes* been ſpeedily detected by another of the Company, called *Phartazes*, who firſt mightily inculcated this Doctrine, that nothing raſhly was to be reſolved. Having let them ſee the inconvenience of the contrary practice, by little and little he inſinuated his opinion, that by no means were they to join themſelves with the *Perſians*, uſing Arguments drawn from the difficulty of the thing, the inconſtancy of Fortune in War, (though in the late Action ſhe had favoured the *Perſians*,) but eſpecially by Motives taken from Religion, and the ſafety of their Souls, which he ſhewed muſt needs be in danger, if the Infidel *Perſian* ſhould once come to reign over them. In concluſion, he argued that it was unjuſt to condemn any before they were heard, affirmed it to be his opinion, that neither the Emperour, nor other of his Officers, beſides *Martinus* and *Ruſticus*, had an hand in their King's death, and, as a mean, propounded to ſend to *Juſtinian* their Complaint, and a Demand of Juſtice, from whom if they ſhould receive ſatisfaction, then to continue quiet, if not, to doe as Piety, and the Exigency of their preſent Affairs ſhould require.

Tzathes, Brother of *Gubazes*, made King of the *Lazians*.

240. His prudent Speech quieted their minds, and made them change their Reſolutions, eſpecially moved thereunto by his Argument taken from Religion. And preſently certain ſelect Perſons were ſent to the Emperour *Juſtinian*, who readily gave them ſatisfaction, ſending down *Athanaſius*, to inquire into the Murther, and puniſh it according to the *Roman* Laws; as alſo in another thing they requeſted, which was the granting of *Tzathes*, the younger Brother of *Gubazes*, to be their King, to whom, as the cuſtome was, he delivered the uſual Enſigns of Royalty. The late ſorrow of the *Lazians*, upon his Promotion, was turned into exceſſive joy, and he entring upon the Government, ruled according to the Cuſtoms of the Countrey. *Ruſticus* and *John* were by *Athanaſius* committed to cuſtody in the City *Apſarunthis*, in order to their Tryal; but an ill accident befell one *Soterichus*, who had accompanied him from *Conſtantinople*. He was ſent by the Emperour with a great ſumm of money, to be diſtributed, according to the ancient cuſtome, amongſt ſuch Barbarians as bordered upon the Empire, to purchaſe their friendſhip and ſociety in War; and in purſuance of his Truſt, was to paſs through the Territories of the *Miſimians*, a People ſubject to the *Lazians*, and inhabiting toward the North-Eaſt of them. They imagined he came to ſeize on one of their Forts, to deliver it up into the Hands of the *Alans*, and ſent ſome to require him to depart thence, promiſing, in caſe he would ſo doe, to furniſh him with neceſſaries for his Journey. He diſdaining they ſhould ſo uſe him in the Character he was, cauſed his Followers to beat the Meſſengers, who being men of good Account, and inraged at the diſgrace, ſtirred up the People againſt him, and in the night, while he ſlept ſecurely and confidently in the place, ſlew him, with his two Sons, and moſt of his Company. When the heat was over, and they came to conſider in cold bloud what they had done, they too late repented; for they could not but expect the *Romans* to come and revenge the injury. Therefore, to prevent it, they revolted, and ſent to the *Perſians*, to deſire they might be taken into their protection, promiſing to be obedient to their Commands. The *Roman* Officers in *Lazica* were much troubled at the News, but could not require ſatisfaction, being taken up with matters of a far higher nature.

Soterichus murthered.

241. For *Nachoragan* with full ſixty thouſand men, by this time drew near the Iſland where the Forces were incamped under *Martinus* and *Juſtin*, the Son of *Germanus*. *Martinus*, aware of his coming, had placed two thouſand *Sabirian Hunnes* near *Archæopolis*, to ſtop his paſſage, againſt whom he ſent three thouſand of the *Dilimnitæ*, a moſt warlike ſort of People, inhabiting *Perſia*, within the River *Tigris*, who thinking to come upon them unawares, and in the night, when they were all aſleep and ſecure, had certainly deſtroyed them, but that taking a *Lazian*, whom they met by chance, for their guide; he leading them through the Woods, took the advantage the darkneſs of the night afforded to ſlip from them, and coming to the Camp of the *Sabirians*, rouſed them from their ſleep, and gave them warning. They forſaking then the former place of their incamping, diſpoſed

of

A Party of *Perſians* defeated.

of themſelves into Woods and Thickets, where, as they paſt by, they fell upon them with ſuch advantage, that they ſlew eight hundred of them there, and then giving the chaſe, the Garriſon of *Archæopolis* ſallied out, and did great Execution, ſo that of three ſcarce one thouſand returned back to *Nachoragan*, who then went to the Iſland, and deſired a Conference with *Martinus*. The Conference producing nothing but greater Animoſities, *Nachoragan* laid a Bridge over the River *Phaſis*, and tranſported his Army to the other ſide, where he incamped himſelf betwixt the Iſland and a City of the ſame name with the River, ſtanding juſt upon the mouth of it. This Town being in the hands of the *Romans*, *Martinus* and his men were much concerned, and endeavoured all they could to prevent the *Perſians*, but coming too late to effect this, they left *Buzes* in the Iſland to order matters there as he ſhould ſee occaſion, and if need were, to afford them relief. The reſt entred the City *Phaſis*, both to preſerve the place, and becauſe they were not ſtrong enough to ingage with *Nachoragan* in a pitcht Battel.

242. Now did the *Perſian* General beſiege the City; ſome were buſie in ſhooting at thoſe that appeared upon the Battlements, others employed in filling up the Ditches, and ſome in moving the Engines for Battery to the Walls. *Martinus* and his *Romans*, were looked upon by *Nachoragan* but as a company of Sheep driven up into a Pownd; and he conſidering what a multitude he had to deal with, thought it was requiſite to employ his Wits more than his Hands. He counterfeited Letters ſent from the Emperour, which intimated, that he, out of his abundant care, had ſent another Army to their aſſiſtence; though he knew ſuch was their valour, that they would not ſtand in need of it. Hereupon he took occaſion to ſtorm, that he and his Fellow-Souldiers having born the heat of the day, and ſuſtained all the labour and travel, others ſhould be ſent to reap the fruit of it, and now they had even almoſt obtained the Victory, to wreſt the Laurel from off their Heads; and he told them that his opinion was, there ſhould be ſome ſent to ſtop them at the River *Neognus*, where they lay incamped, but four *Perſian* Paraſanges diſtant from the City. They, incouraged with the News, all cried out, the thing was to be done, being unwilling any others ſhould partake of their booty; and the rumour of this fictitious freſh Army coming to the Ears of the *Perſians*, had the quite contrary operation upon them, filling them with terrour and dejection. *Nachoragan* ſent a Party to lie in the way, and to ſtop the paſſage of theſe No-bodies, till he ſhould take *Phaſis*; and ſetting a conſiderable number of ſubſtantial Souldiers to combate with theſe men of Air, deprived himſelf of the uſe of a very good part of his Army. Yet being a man of an arrogant humour, he made himſelf cock-ſure, and triumphed before the Victory, openly boaſting that before it was night, he would rid his hands of *Phaſis*, and the *Romans*, by ſetting fire to the Town, and burning both it and the Army together.

The *Perſians* raiſe their Siege from before *Phaſis*.

243. In purſuance of this Reſolution he prepared for an Aſſault with all the vigour and diligence imaginable. *Juſtin*, the Son of *Germanus*, in the mean time, betook himſelf to the beſt means of reſiſtence, going to a Church not far diſtant from the City, with a Party of the ſtouteſt Foot, and five thouſand Horſe, where he put up his Prayers to Almighty God, the giver of all Victory. In the mean time the Aſſault of the City began, wherein was nothing omitted becoming either the Courage of the Aſſailants, or the Reſolution of the Beſieged. *Juſtin* at his return from his Devotions, perceiving what was in hand, cauſed his Men to ſet up a great ſhout, and fall upon the backs of the *Perſians*, who thinking verily it was the ſame Army which *Martinus* had feigned to be ſent from the Emperour, and to lie incamped by the River *Neognus*, began in a tumultuous manner to retire from the Walls, and at length drew off quite from the Siege. The *Romans* made what advantage they could of their flight, and routed quite one of their Wings; but the other fought ſtoutly, and made effectual oppoſition, being guarded by their Elephants, which hindred the Horſe from doing any conſiderable Execution, till ſuch time as *Ognarus*, one of *Martinus* his Guard, ſeeing himſelf in great danger to be deſtroyed by one of the Beaſts, ſtruck at him with his Javelin, which he left ſticking in the lower part of his Forehead, near his Eyes. The Elephant inraged with the pain, and impatient to have the Javelin ſticking and hanging at his Face, bore down all before him, tearing the Horſes, and trampling on the Men, ſo that their Ranks were broken, and the whole Wing ſo diſordered, that their General, how confident and arrogant ſoever before the Aſſault, now both by words and example moved them to flie, and away all ran to their Camp, with the *Romans* at their heels, who ſo far gave the chaſe as *Martinus* thought it was convenient.

Run away to their Camp.

244. Ten

Twelve thouſand of them ſlain.

244. Ten thouſand *Perſians* in this Action loſt their Lives, beſides two thouſand more, which *Nachoragan* by his mere folly and arrogance deſtroyed. He had ſent them to cut down Wood, and fetch other materials for the Siege, with order, that as ſoon as they ſaw a ſmoak ariſe, they ſhould preſently return to aſſiſt in the Aſſault, and ſhare in the Plunder; for he boaſted that he would quickly ſet the Walls and Ramparts on fire. But now when he was thus ſhamefully beaten, the *Romans* returning, ſet fire to all his Engines, and other materials, which they ſeeing at a diſtance, in all haſte and diſorder returned, leſt they ſhould come after the Feaſt, as *Agathias* expreſſeth it, and ſo falling into their hands they leaſt expected, were all of them cut in pieces. The *Romans* took the Plunder of the Field, which was very rich, and honourably buried their dead, the number of whom amounted to ſome two hundred. *Nachoragan* afterward made as though he intended to give Battel; but ſetting the *Dilemnitæ* in the Trenches, to make an appearance of his ſtay in the Camp, he, with the reſt of the Army, ſtole away to *Cotæſium*, and ſo marcht into the Province of *Muchiriſis*. When he had paſſed the half of his way, and was out of danger, they being lightly armed, ſtrong, and nimble of body, retired alſo. And after them came that Party which had been ſent to watch for the Chimerical Army at the River *Neognus*, underſtanding what had happened to their Friends before *Phaſis*, and by privy and intricate ways, at length, got alſo into *Muchiriſis*; where all the *Perſian* Forces now being met, *Nachoragan* leaving the greateſt part of the Horſe, and to command them, *Wafriſes*, a man of great Repute, himſelf with a few in company, went and wintered in *Iberia*.

Nachoragan ſteals away.

Agathias, lib. 4.

245. All being now in repoſe in *Lazica*, it was thought fit to call *Ruſticus* and his Brother *John*, the murtherers of *Gubazes*, to their Tryal. For this purpoſe all ſorts of Officers had been ſent from *Conſtantinople*, and a very formal proceſs was made. *Athanaſius*, the Judge, appearing in his Robes, like a Prince ſeated upon an high Throne. There were Scribes, Cryers and Lictors, who brought their Irons, Gives, Fetters, and other inſtruments of Torture and Examination, into the Court: On the left hand ſtood the Priſoners and over againſt them the Accuſers; the Judgment being ordered, with this ſtate and ſolemnity, by *Juſtinian*, both to ſtrike the beholding *Lazians* with more Awe and Reverence towards his Laws and Government, as alſo to give them full ſatisfaction, however the matter ſhould be determined and judged, ſo much adoe being made, and ſuch pains taken, to give them content in what they deſired. Some of the wiſeſt *Colchians* appeared as Accuſers, who firſt deſired that the Emperour's Letters, written to the Conſpiratours, might be read; which being to the ſame effect as formerly we mentioned, they thence took occaſion to ſhew how they had acted without any order, and killed him merely out of Revenge and Malice. *Ruſticus* coming to anſwer, inſiſted chiefly upon this, that he had killed neither a King nor a Friend, but a Tyrant and an Enemy, alledging that he envied the Proſperity, and inſulted in the defects and miſcarriages of the *Romans*, betraying their Affairs to all the Barbarian Nations round about, and to the *Perſians* eſpecially, with whom, he ſaid, he held a correſpondence. In concluſion, he affirmed nothing had been done without the knowledge, approbation and conjunction of *Martinus*, and put ſuch falſe colours upon the Fact, that the Judge at firſt, not able to diſtinguiſh them from true, gave an ear to what he ſaid, till having twice debated the matter, he found that *Gubazes* had been no Traitour, neither what he refuſed to doe in the buſineſs of *Onogoris*, proceeded from any Intelligence or Confederacy he had with the *Perſian*, but out of Indignation againſt the *Roman* Officers, fault of whom it had been that that Fort was not already reduced. He then pronounced ſentence, that *Ruſticus* and *John* ſhould be beheaded, referring the matter of *Martinus* to the cognizance of the Emperour. When the *Lazians* ſaw them carried upon Mules to their Execution, and all the ſolemnity and terrour thereof, they were ſufficiently ſatisfied with the puniſhment of theſe two, and continued very quiet, and obſervant of the *Romans*.

The Murtherers of *Gubazes* beheaded.

246. The Spring following the *Roman* Commanders reſolved upon an Expedition againſt the *Miſimiani*, who had killed *Soterichus*, and revolted to the *Perſians* upon that occaſion. *Buzes* and *Juſtin* were left in the Iſland, and four thouſand Men drawn out for this ſervice, who, according to order, but ill commanded, marcht away to the Countrey of the *Apſilians*. Here the *Perſians* interpoſed, having had intelligence of the deſign, and ſtopt their paſſage all the ſummer; but Winter coming on, they fairly retired, their Laws and Cuſtoms not binding them to be out on ſervice in that unpleaſant ſeaſon of the year. The *Romans* now being rid of them, and having free paſſage, ſent Meſſengers to the *Miſimians* to adviſe them to bethink themſelves, and by an early repentance prevent that miſery and

deſolation which muſt neceſſarily fall upon them, having to doe with ſo potent an Enemy, and being now deſtitute of their friends the *Perſians*. But they, preſuming upon the unpaſſableneſs of their Countrey, and the ſteepneſs and ruggedneſs of the Mountains, were ſo far from relenting, that, contrary to the Law of Nations, they killed the Meſſengers, being Men of Repute amongſt the *Apſilians*, their Neighbours, and who ſpoke nothing harſh or unreaſonable, but, in a civil obliging manner, laid before them the danger into which they would infallibly caſt themſelves. The *Roman* Army therefore, animated with great Diſdain and Anger, marches againſt them, but does little good for want of a ſufficient Commander, ſome ſpeaking one thing, ſome another, and every one abounding in his own ſenſe. At length *Martinus*, who had been on the way himſelf, but, falling ſick, was forced to return, ſent them one *John* a *Cappadocian*, commonly called *Daixas*, who, obſerving that all the *Miſimians* had betaken themſelves to one Hold, preſently laid Siege to it.

The *Miſimians* beſieged.

247. This Fort being ſeated upon Rocks, at the bottom thereof were pleaſant Springs, whence the beſieged, in the night, and by ſtealth, fetched their water. This was taken notice of by one *Illus*, an *Iſaurian*, who followed them ſo far up, till he perceived the path how it lay, and then revealed his diſcovery to *John* the Commander. He ſent with him an hundred choice men, who eaſily mounted the Rock ſo far, till they could ſee the Centinels lie all aſleep by a fire ſide; but then it happened, that one of them falling, and his Target breaking, made a noiſe, which awakened theſe Guards, and made them all buſtle and take their Weapons. But being by the fire ſide, they could not ſee thoſe in the dark, and they knowing in what danger they were, ſtood ſtill, ſo fearfull of making any noiſe, that they durſt hardly draw their breath; for they were not yet got fully up, and had the Centinels diſcovered them, they might, by the tumbling down of one huge and maſſy ſtone, whereof there were plenty, have broken their bones in pieces. But they continuing mute, and ſo firm as if growing to the place, and no more noiſe being heard, the Guards, who being formerly aſleep, could not gueſs what the matter was, betook them to their reſt again, which ſeeing, up they went, ſoon cut their Throats, then entred the Fort, killed all they met, and ſet the Houſes on Fire. The *Miſimians* had given too juſt occaſion to be ſeverely dealt with, but they neither ſpared Women, nor the tender Infants, which were not guilty of the fault of their Parents, but daſhed them againſt the rocks, and toſſed them on their Spears at their pleaſure.

248. All the night they ſpent in this work, ſecure, as they thought, of any Enemy. But five hundred ſtout *Miſimians*, who had iſſued out of the Fort, ſet upon them unawares by break of day, and killing ſome, wounded more, but made all run in great diſorder to the Camp, where it was reſolved no more to attempt the Town by way of the Rock, but to ſet to their Engines of Battery, and attack the Fort. Herein they had ſuch ſucceſs at the beginning, that the beſieged, fearfull of what ſhould follow, ſent to beg pardon, acknowledging their crimes had been great, but pleading the exceeding greatneſs of their puniſhment; for their Houſes were wellnigh all burnt, they had loſt five-thouſand Men of the flower of their Nation, beſides Women and Children, ſo that the Name of the *Miſimians* was not far from being quite obliterated. *John*, for this Reaſon, was content to receive them to terms, and the rather, becauſe of the coldneſs and barrenneſs of the Countrey, which afforded but little Accommodation for the Army. Paying therefore all the money back they had taken from *Soterichus* with the Emperour's Gold, and other things, they gave Hoſtages, and were permitted to live under the obedience of the *Roman* Empire, as formerly. And the victorious Army returned into the *Colchian* Countrey, having loſt no more than thirty Men. After this *Juſtinian* removed *Martinus* from all his Commands, bearing him, and that deſervedly, ill will ever ſince the death of *Gubazes*, and reſolving in time to be even with him; but he wiſely concealed his Indignation for the preſent, knowing him to be a Man much beloved by the Souldiers, conſidering the fickleneſs of Affairs in *Lazica*, and his Skill in matters of War, and eſpecially his good Conduct of late, which was the cauſe that he was not involved as well in the puniſhment as he had been in the crime relating to *Gubazes*. In his place was *Juſtin*, the Son of *Germanus*, made General, with full authority over all the Forces throughout the *Colchian* Regions and *Armenia*. Being the Emperour's near Kinſman, he ſent for him to *Conſtantinople*, and there putting the whole power into his Hands, cauſed him to return back into *Lazica*.

Are brought under again.

Juſtin made General in the room of *John*.

249. But *Choſroes* King of *Perſia* was inraged at *Nachoragan*, for what had happened at the City of *Phaſis*, and commanding him to repair to his Preſence, cauſed him to be flay'd alive, which done, his skin was hung upon a Rock, diſtended in it's full Proportion, and there it remained a Spectacle of the Cruelty of the King, as well as of the Cowardiſe and Indiſcretion of the General. Afterward conſidering how the *Romans* were Maſters at Sea, he thought it would be to little purpoſe to ſend another Army into the *Colchian* Countrey, for his Men found it moſt difficult to come by any Proviſions, whereas the *Romans* had all things at their Pleaſure imported to them. Therefore he judged it moſt Convenient for his Affairs to make Peace, and for that purpoſe ſent an Ambaſſadour to *Conſtantinople* called *Zich*; who, after much debate on both ſides, came to this appointment with the Emperour, that the *Romans* and *Perſians* ſhould hold and enjoy ſuch places, as they were at preſent in Poſſeſſion of, by the right of War, and keep themſelves quiet, and forbear all Acts of Hoſtility, till a more ſtrict and perfecter League could be agreed on, betwixt the two Princes. The Commanders on both ſides having notice, and receiving Orders conformed themſelves unto them, and what before was done voluntarily, now became neceſſary by agreement.

Nachoragan flayed alive.

250. Wearied with the Cares and the ſeveral Accidents of War, theſe powerfull Princes thus ſheathed their Swords, and continued quiet a long time after. Although the firſt overture came from *Choſroes*, who was utterly diſcouraged by the defeat at *Phaſis*; yet *Juſtinian* ſecretly, and in his private Thoughts highly approved of it, eſpecially having the Honour of the Refuſal. For he was grown old, and conſequently impatient of Noiſe and Action, which made him enter into a new Courſe, for preventing the many Inrodes of the barbarous Nations; and that Charge and Trouble which in his Youth he had ſtill been put to. He ſet them together by the Ears at home, hired one Party to fight againſt another, procured Emulations, Jealouſies, and Diſſentions amongſt them; and if any Invaſion happened to be made, he had ſome or other of that Nation by him, whom by large Gifts and Preferments, he ſo far made his own, that he could truſt them to lead an Army againſt their Countreymen, knowing well that they beſt underſtood the Nature of the place, and Condition of thoſe they had to deal with; where their weakneſſes moſt lay, on which part they were Naked, and moſt liable to be hit and wounded. He thought this new Craft to be ſo effectual, that it made him ſlight his Military men, as ſtanding now in no need of them, and the Fortifications were neglected, and ſuffered to fall to nothing; together with the Legions generally throughout the Empire. The Armies were in all Countries leſſened, and nothing comparable to the ſtanding Forces of the Ancient Emperours, which being wont to conſiſt of ſix Hundred and forty five Thouſand fighting Men; at preſent, there were hardly found an Hundred and fifty Thouſand, and of theſe ſome lay in *Italy*, others were diſperſed through *Africk*, *Spain* and *Lazica*, and ſome lay at *Alexandria*, and the *Ægyptian Thebes*, and a very few upon the Borders of *Perſia*.

Juſtinian grown Old and loving quiet, ſets the Barbarians one Nation againſt another, and at difference amongſt themſelves.

This made him neglect Military men.

251. About the Concluſion of the Peace, a number of *Zani* inhabiting to the South of the *Euxine* Sea, about the City of *Trapezond*, having been formerly Subjects of the Empire, fell upon the Territories of *Pontus*, and piercing as far as *Armenia*, haraſſed and pillaged all in their way: Againſt them was ſent *Theodorus* their Countreyman, one very eminent for his Services, who eaſily Maſtered them, having no good Commander to Govern them, and impoſed a certain yearly Tribute upon them, by order of the Emperour; who ſo highly valued this ſubduing, and bringing them under the Yoke, that in one of his novel Conſtitutions, reckoning up his ſeveral Victories, he makes mention of this, as one of the Chief. About this time happened another Earthquake at *Conſtantinople*, ſo great and Terrible, that it ſeemed about to ſwallow up the whole City. *Agathias* ſpends many words, in deſcribing the Fear and Conſternation, which ſeized upon the Inhabitants of all ſorts and Conditions, and makes the ſame Obſervation, as *Procopius* did in the Plague, of the great ſhew of Reformation, and many remarkable Acts of Piety and Mercy, which were Practiſed for the time; but when the Judgment was once removed, moſt of theſe Men then licked up their Vomits, and returned though leaſurely to their former ways. Yet ſtill one Puniſhment followed at the Heels of another, for the very next Spring the Plague which had never ceaſed all this while, but wandred about from place to place, again returned to the City, and ſwept away an infinite multitude: Some dyed ſuddenly, as ſeized with a violent Apoplexy, and ſuch as were ſtrongeſt ſuſtained the violence of the Diſeaſe not paſt

The *Zani* reduced under the *Roman* yoke.

An Earthquake at *Conſtantinople*.

The Plague returns.

the fifth day. But the Symptoms were for the moſt part the ſame, as had been in the former Viſitation.

An Invaſion of the *Hunnes.*

252. No ſooner was *Conſtantinople* freed from this Diſtemper, but another miſchief fell out, which filled the Inhabitants with as great Terrour and Tumult as the other. For a multitude of *Cotrigurian Hunnes* taking advantage of the Froſt, paſſed over the River *Iſter* and invaded *Thrace*, where dividing themſelves into two Parties; one went for *Greece*, and the other for *Cherſoneſus* of *Thrace*, under Conduct of *Zamergan*, who grudged that *Sandil*, or *Sandilchus* the Captain of the *Vturgurians* ſhould be Courted and inriched by the Emperour, while he and his Compatriots ſate ſtill at home, and continually ſtrugled with Penury and Hardſhip. Reſolving therefore to doe ſomething whereby they ſhould be taken notice of; they paſſed directly toward *Conſtantinople*, waſting all in their way, making abundance of Captives, puniſhing the very Women they haled out of Cloiſters, and committing all other ſorts of Inſolence and Violence. They paſſed over the long Walls, and came near to the Forts, made for the defence of the Royal City, where all matters relating to War being, as we ſaid, utterly neglected, there was not as much as a Man to oppoſe, nor a Dog to bark againſt them, as *Agathias* phraſeth it, the Money which had been formerly employed in paying the Souldiers, being now converted to the maintenance of diſhoneſt Women, Chariot-drivers and other ſorts of looſe or Effeminate Perſons. The *Hunnes* now were come within an Hundred and fifty Furlongs of the City: Within it appeared nothing but Confuſion and Tumult, nothing was heard but Lamentations, ſhutting of Shop-windows, and Clapping together of Doors. The Emperour himſelf was not a little diſmayed, by whoſe Order all ſuch Churches as ſtood without the City, toward the *Europe*-ſide and the Sea-ſhore, had all their choice Ornaments, and Utenſills removed into places of ſecurity at a diſtance.

253. So dreadfull was the approach of theſe Barbarians, that ſcarcely could any Military men be got, to make good the Walls and Gates of the City; in Caſe their boldneſs ſhould bring them ſo far: Onely thoſe they called *Scholarii*, made a ſhew with their Gay clothes, and Courtly dreſſes, being indeed inrolled amongſt the Souldiers, that continued under pay, and watching by their turns in the Palace, but meanly skilled, and as little practiſed in matters relating to War, or the Diſcipline of a Camp, ſerving rather for Pomp and ſhew, than any thing elſe. For whereas, in former times, none were admitted to this Employment, but Perſons of Merit, and in reward of their former Services in the Field, who paid no Money for their places; *Zeno* the *Iſaurian* firſt of all Princes, after his Reſtitution, broke this laudable Order, admitting Towns-men of his Familiars, and Acquaintance into the Number; which Courſe being followed in after-times, when raw and unexperienced Men crowded in, then became the Employment a ſort of Merchandiſe, and he that would pay down his Gold, was received without any farther ſcruple or Inquiſition. For want of experienced and old Souldiers, ſuch as theſe were ſet to the defence of the City; but the Barbarians ſtill coming on, and the Tumults and diſorders thereupon increaſing, Old *Beliſarius* whoſe hands could ſcarcely now hold a Shield, or his Armes weild a Sword, was by Order from the Emperour, ſent out againſt them. His Army conſiſted of about three Hundred ſtout Fellows, which had ſerved under him in his latter Wars, the reſt were a rude Company, having neither Skill nor Courage, and to theſe many Countreymen joyned themſelves, who were driven from their Habitations by the *Hunnes*. Being conſtrained to make the beſt advantage he could of this ſlender Army, he fortified his Camp, and ſent out his Scouts to diſcover the Motions of the Enemy.

Old *Beliſarius* ſent out againſt them.

254. He cauſed many Fires to be kindled, and Lights to be ſet by Night in ſeveral places, to amuze the Barbarians with thoughts of a great Force coming againſt them. And the device took for ſome time, ſo as to ſtop their Carriere; but when they heard how ſmall the *Roman* Army was, and not able to graple with them, they held on their way, and renewed their former Practices. *Beliſarius* his Men, in the mean time, were very confident, and mightily elevated with the Thoughts, of what they had formerly done; with the Conſideration that they were *Romans*, and who thoſe were with whom they ſhould contend; which he perceiving, by a prudent Speech, ſhewed them the difference betwixt Courage and Careleſsneſs, raſh Confidence and Hope, and put them in mind with what diſadvantage in reſpect of number they were to fight. Uſing ſuch Arguments, as made them more Cautious, but not leſs Valiant, when he underſtood that two Thouſand of the Enemies Horſe marched againſt him; he placed two Hundred of his Men in a Wood,

to lye in Ambuſh and fall on upon the Signal given. The Countreymen he ordered to follow with great ſhouts, and as much noiſe as they could make; and in this manner with the reſt, he fell upon the Enemy, which for the duſt and noiſe, not diſcerning the number of the *Romans*, thought them more than indeed they were; and then the Signal given, theſe in the Wood aroſe and fell upon their Backs, ſo that laid at on all ſides, they Contracted themſelves into a narrower Compaſs as he deſigned, and thereby were leſs able, either to defend themſelves, or hurt their Enemies, theſe behind not being able to protect thoſe before, and their great number being uſeleſs, and in no Capacity to compaſs, or incircle their Enemies.

Over-powers them.

But is re-called.

255. By degrees therefore their number was ſo leſſened, that judging themſelves to be incompaſſed with a great Army, they bore back and began to run, which advantage the *Romans* improving, killed about four Hundred of them, and beat the reſt to their Camp, where they were received with opprobrious Language, and exceeding great Terrour of their Companions; who quite out of heart with this defeat, cut their Cheeks with Knives, and uſing other Expreſſions of grief proper to their Nation, bewailed their Condition; for they gave themſelves, for little better than loſt. And ſuch indeed, or worſe, might have been their Lot, had *Beliſarius* by a quick and effectual purſuit made uſe of this Conſternation of their minds. But he was ſpeedily called to the City, the Inhabitants whereof were a little too kind, and gratefull to him. For this preſent Victory calling to their minds the Glory of his former Atchievements; they began to admire his Conduct, extoll his Valour, and Cry him up for ſuch a Souldier, as no former times could parallel, whom Old Age it ſelf could not enervate, nor that which puts an end to all humane Abilities, abate the Vivacity of his Spirit. This the great Men of the times could not endure to hear, and indeed the whole Court, as well the Prince himſelf as others, being of late years fallen to Idleneſs, and Effeminate Courſes; and having reſolved upon a new Expedient, to divert the Invaſions of the barbarous Nations, were quite out of Love with War, and ſlighted him, who had been the great Inſtrument in martial Actions. They calumniated him as a Vain-glorious Perſon, gaping merely after Popularity, and hunting perpetually after the Applauſe of the People, urging that he nouriſhed ſome hopes, and had private deſigns more than the World was aware of. This reward had *Beliſarius* for his good Services, and ſo ingratefull were the Courtiers, as *Agathias* obſerves. That he was in diſgrace after his great Employments, is affirmed by all Writers, and ſome would have him ſo far out of Favour, that the taking away of his Life had been a Mercy to him, being reduced to ſuch neceſſities, that he begged his Bread upon the Highway. This, as a thing much talked of, we muſt examine, and here being to take our Farewell of this great Commander, we ſhall be ſo far from Impartiality, as to take notice of what the pretended *Procopius* has written concerning him in his ſecret Hiſtory. For although in his former Books he had told the Truth, and nothing but the Truth; yet you muſt know that the whole Truth in thoſe times he dared not to tell, neither concerning the Emperour, nor other Great ones: In brief therefore, what is ſaid there concerning the Faults, and Diſgraces of *Beliſarius*.

He was very Uxorious.

Her Lewdneſs.

256. The ſource and Original of moſt of his Failings and Miſcarriages, he makes to be an Extravagant, Uxorious humour, or a fond doting upon his Wife, which was the moſt cunning, and moſt Incontinent of all Women. His Domeſticks revealed to him the ſecret Dalliances ſhe uſed with that *Theodoſius* we have formerly mentioned, and he was ſo poſſeſſed with the affront for a time, that nothing would content him, but the death of the Adulterer; but ſhe again ſo ſoothed him up with good words, that he was content to think her wronged, and gave up her Accuſers to her Mercy, which ſhe turned into extreme Cruelty, as we ſaid before; and *Conſtantianus*, becauſe he ſhewed himſelf much concerned for his General's Honour, loſt his Life in that manner, as it is deſcribed in it's due time and place. After this, her diſhoneſt Actions being taken notice of by *Photius*, a Son ſhe had by a former Husband, he grew impatient, and extremely inraged againſt *Theodoſius*, which ſo far ſet her againſt him, that ſhe ſought his death, and left nothing unpractiſed which was conſiſtent with ſecrecy to make him away, the rather becauſe *Theodoſius* had ſignified to her, that he could not come near her ſo long as he continued with her. But *Photius* more netled ſtill with his Mothers harſh uſage, and her known Plots to be rid of him, procures one to tell her Husband all he knows, concerning the Grand Infelicity of them both in ſuch a Relation. *Beliſarius* hears it with great Indignation and Grief, and falling at the Feet of *Photius*, deſires his Aſſiſtence for removing *Theodoſius* out of the way: Whereupon they ſwear ſecrecy, and

Antonina fuit Imperatricis Theodoræ Ζωστὴ, *à Veſte, dignitate Patritiâ, mulier ſolertiſſima & ut Procopius, ſcribit* ἱκανωτάτη ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων μηχανᾶσθαι τὰ ἀμήχανα. *Beliſario conjugi ſuperfuit ad Juſtinum ſecundum Imp. jamq; exactâ ætate ſuaſu Vigilantiæ Juſtiniani Auguſti ſororis, Templum S. Procopii poſt conflagrationem, Byzantii reſtauravit. Vide Alem. in notis ad Arcan. Hiſt.* p. 3.

fidelity each to other, but the Execution of the Plot is put off, till *Theodoſius* ſhould return to *Epheſus*. For thither he had once retired, pretending he would take upon him the habit of a Monk, which put her into an Agony, and made her ſo troubleſome, that neither her Husband, nor the Emperour and Empreſs could be at reſt till he was remanded, which he was willing enough to be, acting onely this part, till *Beliſarius* ſhould be upon his way into *Perſia*. And he once gone, and *Photius* with him, he returned to *Conſtantinople*; but *Antonina* being to follow her Husband (for ſhe would never be abſent from him, leſt once from under the Influence of her Tongue, he ſhould come ſeriouſly to deliberate, and reſolve upon ſomething that might not make for her Intereſt) he was to repair again to *Epheſus*, where *Photius* reſolved to fall upon him, and ſeize upon his Wealth, which was very great. For out of the Adminiſtration of the publick Treaſure at *Carthage* and *Ravenna*, he had ſcraped up no leſs than ten Thouſand pounds of Gold.

257. *Beliſarius* in the mean time invaded *Perſia*, and took *Siſibranum*, or the Fort of the *Iſaurians*; where, when he yet lay, News was brought that his Wife was coming to him, which did ſo perplex him, that out of a great deſire to be upon the *Roman* ground, to have the better occaſion of being revenged, he retreated to the Borders, and to his great Diſgrace omitted the Expedition he once deſigned into the upper Countries, whereby he might have waſted all *Aſſyria* as far as *Cteſiphon*, have delivered the *Antiochians* from their Captivity, and intercepted the return of *Choſroes* out of *Lazica*, where his Army upon notice of the *Romans* being in the Heart of their Countrey mutined againſt him. But *Beliſarius* returning into the *Roman* Territories there found his Wife, and kept her for ſome time as a Priſoner, without any reſpect at all, purpoſing often to put an end to his Vexation and Diſgrace together with her Life; but as our Authour verily believeth, was again overcome with Love, or as others gave out, was ſome way or other inchanted by her. Then goes *Photius* to *Epheſus*, as faſt as his Horſe could carry him; where he finds *Theodoſius*, upon the Report of his coming, having taken Sanctuary in the Church of St. *John*, but *Andrew* the Biſhop for Money betrayed him into his hands; and then upon notice that his Mother by her Intereſt with the Empreſs, had procured both her, and her Husband to be called to Court, ſent him into *Cilicia* with ſtrict Order to his Keepers not to diſcover where he was, and went away with his Treaſure to *Conſtantinople*. Here *Theodora* the Empreſs, to requite *Antonina* for the Treachery ſhe had uſed in the Perſecution of *John* the *Cappadocian*, proſecuted ſeverely thoſe, that had had any hand in the taking of *Theodoſius*; and *Photius* was extremely laſhed, to declare where he had put him. He was a man very ſickly, and had been ever very tender and carefull of his Health, yet he endured all, rather than he would break his Oath, and diſcover the ſecrets of *Beliſarius*.

The Empreſs a Friend to her.

258. But all came out at length. The Empreſs having got *Caligonus* the Eunuch, and Pander of *Antonina*, who reſtored him. Then did ſhe reſtore to her, her Minion, and cheering him up with all the Delicacies and Divertiſements the Court could afford, threatned ſometimes ſhe would make him General of a *Roman* Army; but Divine Juſtice prevented the Infamy, for he dyed not long after of a Dyſentery. In the mean time *Photius* was kept in Priſon, where he could ſee no Light, and though he twice eſcaped and took Sanctuary in the Churches of the *Bleſſed Virgin*, and St. *Sophia*; yet the Empreſs who made light of all places Sacred, to the great Grief and Aſtoniſhment of the Clergy, pulled him from the Altars, and returned him to his Dungeon, where having ſpent more than two years, *Zacharias* the Prophet in a Dream commanded him to make his third Attempt, promiſing to be his Protectour, and accordingly he made his eſcape to *Jeruſalem*, where being ſhorn, he took upon him the Profeſſion of a Monk, and eſcaped the Cruelty of *Theodora*. But *Beliſarius* having broken his Oath, whereby he ingaged to ſtand by him to the utmoſt, ever after found Providence croſs him in his undertakings. For although in his third Expedition againſt the *Perſians*, he ſet *Choſroes* packing to his great Honour; yet he was accuſed of ſomething which ſtuck hard to him afterward. He was by ſome, either thought Guilty of Treachery or Cowardiſe, for letting *Choſroes* paſs the *Euphrates*, without any moleſtation, though he led away an infinite number of *Roman* Captives taken at *Callinicum*. Not long after, when the Plague raged at *Conſtantinople*, the Emperour alſo happened to fall very dangerouſly ſick, the News whereof flying to the Army, ſome of the Officers uſed this Expreſſion; That if the *Roman* People ſhould be permitted to Name his Succeſſour at *Conſtantinople*, it would come to paſs that they ſhould ſpend all their days in the Camp. The Emperour preſently after recovering, one Commander

'Αλλά τις προτερήσασα δίκη νόσῳ ἁλόντα δυσεντερίας ἐξ ἀνθρώπων αὐτὸν ἀφανίζει. Δυσεντερίαν *Alemannus interpretatur Inteſtinorum difficultatem magis Grammaticè quàm medicè.*

Photius eſcapeth the Empreſs.

Beliſarius having broken his Oath, ever after finds Providence Croſs.

Commander accuſed another; but *Peter* and *Johannes Helluo*, affirmed they were the words of *Beliſarius* and *Buzes*. The Empreſs thought that by that ſpeech they meant her, and in great wrath commanded them all to appear at *Conſtantinople*.

Put out of Command.

259. *Buzes* ſhe clapt faſt up in a Dungeon under the Palace, where he lay well nigh two years, given over by all men for loſt, and then being ſuddenly let out into the light, ſeemed *Minerva's* Bird both to himſelf and others, for he remained Purblind ever after, and never had his health to his Dying day. *Beliſarius* though Convicted of no Crime, was preſently put out of Command, and *Martinus* ordered to head the Army in the Eaſt. His Guard was beſtowed upon great Courtiers and Eunuchs, who caſt Lots for them, and his Friends were forbidden to keep him company. An incredible ſight now it was to behold this lately Great man walk through the City alone, ever ſad and thoughtfull, as expecting daily to be ſent to another World. A great Sum of money, which the Empreſs heard he had in the Eaſt, ſhe ſent an Eunuch to ſeize; and when he came to Court, cauſed him to be ſlighted by her Husband, and derided by all their Attendants, herein gratifying *Antonina* for her aſſiſtence in the buſineſs of *John* the *Cappadocian*, that ſhe might triumph over him as her Slave and Vaſſal, as indeed it came to paſs. He retires from Court with a dejected both mind and Countenance, looking ſtill behind if there were none ſent to diſpatch him, and coming into his Chamber, there ſits down all alone, not meditating on any thing becoming a Valiant man, which he forgets himſelf ever to have been. He ſweats, he trembles, he is anxious and fearfull, and much diſquieted at the Cowardly thought of Death. *Antonina* walks by, pretending not to be very well to ſhun ſuſpicion, and it being now almoſt dark, one *Quadratus* appears at the door, ſent, as he ſaid, from the Empreſs. At that word *Beliſarius* falls backward upon the Bed, neither able to ſtir hand nor foot, ſo deſtitute of Courage, that he expected the ſtroke of Death, when *Quadratus* produced *Theodora's* Letter, wherein ſhe told him, he could not be ignorant what he had deſerved at her hands, yet ſhe pardoned him, and granted him his Life at his Wives requeſt, to whom ſhe was exceedingly obliged; and whereas he ought to acknowledge his ſafety and fortunes obtained for her ſake, ſhe ſhould obſerve very ſtrictly what returns he would make unto her.

260. He having red the Letter, could not contain himſelf for Joy, but before *Quadratus*, that he might be an Eye witneſs, how ready he was to obey *Theodora*, fell down at his Wives Feet, which taking in his hands, he firſt kiſſed the one, and then the other, calling her the Authour of his Security, and profeſſing for the time to come, he would carry himſelf not as her Husband, but her obedient Slave. Then did the Empreſs of that Money, ſhe had cauſed to be ſeized in the Eaſt, beſtow thirty Centenaries upon the Emperour her Husband, and left the reſt to *Beliſarius*, whom they both long before this had much envied and ſtomached for his great Wealth, yet the conſideration of his vaſt Services again checked them, and when they had a mind to accuſe him of converting the publick Spoils and Treaſure to his own uſe, they ſtill wanted whereon to fix, as having no evident proof in any particular. But now that ſhe ſaw him fearfull and dejected, ſhe caſt about by one device to get poſſeſſion of all he had, and that was by Marrying to her Grandſon *Anaſtaſius*, his onely Daughter and Child *Joannina*. He in the mean time, deſired to be reſtored to his former Power and Dignity, and that he might be ſent General into the Eaſt againſt *Choſroes*, which *Antonina* oppoſed, affirming he ſhould never Command the *Roman* Army, where he had put ſuch an Affront upon her. But at length he is made Maſter of the Emperour's Horſe, and ſent the ſecond time into *Italy*, upon condition, as the Report went, that he ſhould not ask of *Cæſar* one Penny toward the Expence of the War, but defray all at his own charge. And ſome imagined he was content to ſay or doe any thing, that he might but get out of Town, and have an opportunity to be revenged upon his Wife, and the reſt by whom he had been ſo much abuſed.

261. But forgetting all that had paſſed, as alſo the Oath whereby he ſtood bound to *Photius*, and the reſt of his Friends, he ſtill gave her as good Quarter as ever, being as paſſionately in love with her as at the firſt day, though ſhe was now above threeſcore years old. In *Italy* his Affairs ſucceeded as formerly we have related at large; Providence ſtill croſſing all his Indeavours. For whereas in his former War with *Vitigis*, his Councils and Strategems generally had good ſucceſs, how improbably ſoever deſigned; now his Plots and Devices, though founded upon good and ſubſtantial Reaſons, ever miſcarried; that being God's diſpenſation, which men without reaſon call Fortune and Chance, as *Procopius* well obſerveth. But amongſt

mongſt other miſcheifs which happened in *Italy*, all the time he ſpent there, nothing more hindred the advance of the Emperour's Intereſt, than the jealouſie betwixt him and *John* the Nephew of *Vitalianus*. Whilſt he continued ſtill in that Countrey, the Empreſs reſolving to conſummate the Marriage betwixt his Daughter and her Grandſon, earneſtly ſolicited them both by Letters for their Conſent, but they ſtill put it off, till their return to *Conſtantinople*; but ſhe eaſily perceiving the ground of their Excuſe, and ſuſpecting that if once ſhe were Dead, *Antonina* would bear but ſmall reſpect to her Relations, Marries the Boy and Girl together contrary to all Law, and as was reported, ſhe cauſed her to be forced, that the Nuptials being confirmed by deflouring of her, the Prince himſelf might not be able to hinder the Match. However the thing being done, they lived as Husband and Wife together eight months, and loved each other exceedingly. Yet the Empreſs Dying, when *Antonina* came to *Conſtantinople*, ſhe quite forgot all her promiſes to *Theodora*, and without any ſenſe of her Daughters Honour, took her away by force from *Anaſtaſius*, with whom ſhe had lain ſo long, every one crying out againſt her for ſo unjuſt a deed. And when her Husband was arrived out of *Italy*, ſhe eaſily obtained his Conſent therein, by which he diſcovered the temper of his mind; For as to his breach of Faith with *Photius*, and others of his Friends, the World eaſily excuſed him, as ſuppoſing it done for fear of the Empreſs, and not as awed and governed by his Wife. But when it was perceived that ſhe and *Caligonus* her Pander, ruled him as they liſted, then began he to be deſpiſed by all men, and derided as little better than a Mad-man. In theſe things, to ſpeak freely, *Beliſarius* was to blame. So the pretended *Procopius* in his ſecret Hiſtory.

262. Three things are here principally charged upon *Beliſarius*, one of them as the cauſe of all, *viz.* the doating on his Wife, the next is his breach of Faith, and the third, his Cowardiſe or dejection of Spirit, which appeared in his ſo unmanly Carriage, at the apprehenſion he had of Death; for as to the ill ſucceſs he had in his laſt Expedition into *Italy*; *Procopius* confeſſes his Councils were well enough laid; tells us in ſeveral places, that he carried the War on at his own Expence; that the Emperour never ſeriouſly applied himſelf to that War, till he ſent *Narſes* as General; and eſpecially he attributes this great change of Succeſs to the various effects of divine Providence. As for his uxorious humour, he had too great an example in the Emperour, whoſe Lady having ſuch a ſcope given her, deſired, and indeavoured to have the ſame Rule erected in all great Families; and having allowed his Wife that liberty in the days of the Empreſs, after her Death ſhe had been too long in Poſſeſſion of it to be turned out. His Faith he ought not to have broken to *Photius* nor his Friends, if he could lawfully keep it, but he ſaw there was no contending with that imperious Woman, who had reſolved that the Luſt of his Wife, ſhould become a Law to him, and though at firſt, he might be highly ſenſible of the diſhonours offered to his Bed; yet, as other prudent men, who are afflicted in that Nature generally practiſe, he might think it better to make as little Noiſe as poſſible, and conceal that misfortune for which he had no Cure, but ſuch a Remedy as would make him full as Unfortunate, as the preſent Calamity could do. For the pretended poorneſs, and abjectedneſs of his Spirit; his Actions in the World were too glorious, and carried more demonſtration of Valour and Courage with them, than to ſuffer ſuch a foul Aſpertion to ſtick to his Memory. How many hundreds of times had he met Death in the face, how often did he rather ſeek for it, than ſhun it, venturing his Perſon far beyond the obligations of a General? Gallant minds have an antipathy to Baſe, Cowardly, and clandeſtine Attempts. No man was ever ſo valiant, but had ſome Reluctancy at the thought of an Aſſaſſination. We could inſtance in ſome mighty Commanders, that readily ventured their Lives in a Battel at the Head of an Army, and yet by all Provocations imaginable, could never be brought to indanger them onely in a Duel. Nature it ſelf has an averſion for Death, but gallant Nature eſpecially for a baſe and infamous Death, by the hand of an Executioner, or ſome Effeminate or paltry Eunuch. But although the whole ſeries of the late Hiſtory ſeems a glorious and laſting Monument of *Beliſarius* his worth to intelligent Readers, yet having wittingly omitted, and referred to this place, a particular Character of him, we ſhall doe him the Right, having preſented the worſt of him, to give his Picture alſo as it is drawn though in little, yet to the beſt advantage, and that by none other than the Pencil of *Procopius* too his conſtant Aſſeſſour.

Procop. Bell. Goth. lib. 3. ad initium.

263. *Beliſarius* was the Diſcourſe of all the World, having gained the Honour of two unmatchable Victories, brought two Kings Priſoners to *Conſtantinople*, and beyond all expectation, made the Race and Wealth of *Genſerick* and *Theodorick*,

(the moſt renowned of all Barbarians,) the Spoils and Trophies of War. To the *Roman* Empire he recovered its own Wealth, from out of the hands of its Enemies, and in a ſhort time, the Dominion of almoſt one half of the Lands and Seas thereof. It was a great pleaſure to the *Conſtantinopolitans*, and ſuch as they could not be ſatisfied with it, to behold him daily paſſing from his Houſe, and returning thither through the *Forum*; for his going in the Streets was a kind of Triumph, Multitudes of *Vandals*, *Goths* and *Moors* ever following him; beſides, he was a beautifull Perſon, Tall, and of the goodlieſt Countenance that could be ſeen. To Suitours he was ever eaſie of Acceſs, and as mild as the meaneſt man whatſoever. Both the Souldier and Countreyman were ever in love with his Government, being to Martial men exceeding bountifull, releiving the Sick and Wounded with large Sums, and rewarding ſuch as did valiantly with prizes of Honour. If any in Battel loſt his Horſe, Bow, or any other thing, preſently he was ſupplied with another by the General. Where he Commanded in the Field, never Countreyman ſuffered Violence, but all, where his Armies came, had the fortune to grow Richer, ſelling their Commodities at their own Rates to the Souldiers; who by Guards kept off Horſe from ſpoiling the Corn, while it was yet growing; and the other ripe Fruits were in as great ſecurity. He had a wonderfull care of his Fame and Chaſtity, never touching any Woman but his Wife, and of ſo many beautifull Priſoners of the *Vandals* and *Goths*, (ſuch as none ever ſaw the like,) never ſuffering one ſo much as to come in his Preſence. He had a very ſharp wit, and was exceedingly dextrous in a doubtfull Caſe; he was valiant in War with cautiouſneſs and advice, bold when there was Reaſon, and ever ſwift or ſlow in his Undertakings, as the occaſion required. In great difficulties reſolute, full of hope, and free from perturbation. In Proſperity, he was neither Elevated nor Voluptuous. And no man ever ſaw *Beliſarius* Drunk.

264, Thus during his Commands in *Africk* and *Italy*, he was ſtill Victorious; And when he came to *Conſtantinople*, his worth was yet more taken notice of. For being himſelf eminent in Vertue, and exceeding all the Generals that ever were, in Wealth, and in the ſtrength of his Lanciers and Targetiers, both Commanders and common Souldiers ſtood in awe of him. He had in conſtant readineſs of the Retinue of his Houſhold, ſeven thouſand choice Horſemen, whereof every one thought himſelf fit to ſtand in the Front at a Battel, and to challenge the moſt daring of the Enemies, which being obſerved by the ancient men at *Rome*, who took notice what thoſe men did in the Fights, with great wonder they affirmed, that one man's Family ruined the Power of *Theoderich*. Thus was *Beliſarius* powerfull, both in Dignity and Council, ever adviſing to the Emperour's beſt advantage, and chearfully executing what was reſolved; whereas the other Commanders equal in power, and attending onely their private gain, made ſpoil of the *Roman* Subject, and expoſed him to the Injuries of the Souldier. They neither apprehended any thing worthy themſelves, nor had the common Souldiers in Obedience, and ſo committing many Errours, the *Roman* Affairs were in a ſhort time Ruined. Thus *Procopius* in that part of his Hiſtory, which precedes the Account he gives us of *Beliſarius* his laſt and fruitleſs Expedition into *Italy*. Afterward he farther tells us, that the Emperour having ſent for him home, held him in Honour, upon the Death of *Germanus*, yet would not ſend him into *Italy*, and though he were General of the Eaſt, he made him Captain of his Guards, and kept him at *Conſtantinople*. And *Beliſarius* was the cheif of all the *Romans* in Dignity; ſome indeed had the priority of being made Patritians, and Conſuls before him, yet yielded him precedence, being aſhamed to make uſe of the Law, and to aſſume that Right it gave them againſt ſo eminent Merit: And the Emperour took it well they did ſo. Thus the Reader hath an account of what is ſaid both for and againſt him, by one who pretended to be as free from flattery, as void of Prejudice.

265. But however theſe Noblemen carried themſelves in the point of Precedence, certain it is that his great felicities contracted abundance of Envy, and although he was not ſo remarkable for any thing as his conſtant Fidelity and Allegiance, notwithſtanding all his temptations and opportunities, yet no leſs than thrice was he accuſed of ambitious and treacherous purpoſes, *viz.* Once when he was in *Perſia*, and *Juſtinian* was ſick; a ſecond time when he had newly Conquered *Gelimer*, and the laſt when he was grown old in *Conſtantinople*, perhaps not long after his Victory over the *Hunnes*; for *Agathias* ſeems to take notice of it. We are told that on the fifth day of *December*, the Emperour being very angry with him aſſembled the Senate, wherein was preſent *Eutychius* the Patriarch, and cauſed the Confeſſions of his Accuſers to be read, which *Beliſarius* took very hainouſly, for by *Cæſar*'s Command,

Vide Alemannum in Notis ad Procopii Hiſtor. Arcan. p. 85.

mand, he was deprived of his Guards and Attendance, and kept Priſoner in his own Houſe. But in the following year, on the nineteenth day of *July*, he was again reſtored to favour, and to his ancient Dignity and Honours. And at laſt in the thirty eighth year of *Juſtinian's* Reign, on the thirteenth day of *March*, *Beliſarius* Died at *Conſtantinople*, and his Eſtate was aſſigned to the Auguſt Houſe of *Marina*. For the Reader muſt know, that before the time of *Juſtinian*, there were five ſeveral Imperial Houſes or Courts at *Conſtantinople*, by the Authour of the Deſcription called Palaces, beſides ſix known by the names of *Domus Divinæ Auguſtarum*, or Divine Houſes of the Empreſſes, and three other that were ſtyled *Nobiliſſimæ*. Eminent amongſt theſe laſt were the Houſes of *Placidia* and *Marina*, in the firſt Region of the City. In ſome of them the Emperours would ſometimes Lodge, others ſerved for Treaſuries, their Keepers being called *Curatores*, and choſen out of the prime Nobility, particularly in thoſe days, *George* the Couſin of *Theodora* the Empreſs was *Curator* of that of *Marina*. To thoſe Houſes and Palaces *Juſtinian* added others, built very magnificently in that Suburb called *Heræum*, as alſo in the other called *Jucundianum* and *Juſtinianeum*, at this day known by the names of *Galata* and *Pera*.

Chronicon Anonymum Vaticanum Zonaras. apud Aleman.

Vide Aleman.

266. But ſuch was the fortune and end of *Beliſarius*, contrary to the Fables which ſome later Hiſtorians have deviſed, as that his eyes ſhould be put out, and that he was reduced to ſuch Poverty, that he ſhould beg an half-peny on the Highway, which ſeems a miſtake, for *John* the *Cappadocian*, a man of Patritian Dignity, Exconſul and *Præfectus Prætorio*, concerning whom *Procopius* relates, that being baniſhed into *Ægypt*, he was compelled by the Souldiers that carried him to beg Bread, or an half-peny of thoſe they met. But of thoſe who firſt related the ſtory concerning his Blindneſs, and Begging, ſome confeſs that other Chronologers delivered that his eyes were not put out, but being deſpoiled of his Dignity, and almoſt all his Honours, he was again reſtored to his ancient Glory and Reputation. And in this condition we are willing to leave him, being glad to vindicate his Honour, but ſuppoſing him a man ſubject to Faults, and Infirmities, eſpecially conſidering the greatneſs of his Place, the vaſtneſs of his Command and Power, with the largeneſs of his Fortune, all which are ſo pregnant of temptations, that he ſtood in need of the Aſſiſtences afforded by Chriſtian Religion, of which it appears, that he was a Profeſſour, from what *Procopius* relates concerning the Baptiſm of *Theodoſius*, (upon the Expedition into *Africk*,) whatever any one hath fanſied of his being a Pagan.

Vide Aleman.

267. Now to return to our ſtory of the Wars, which we ſhall preſently diſmiſs after *Beliſarius* the General; the *Hunnes* underſtanding he was recalled, and none other ſent againſt them, began to make a ſtop of their flight, and that Party which invaded the *Cherſoneſus* fell with all their force upon the Wall. The Leader of thoſe that defended it, was one *Germanus* the Son of *Dorotheus*, a Stripling whoſe Beard began but to ſprout; yet being born in the ſame Town with the Emperour, from eight years old he had bred him up, and now ſet him at the Head of an Army. The *Hunnes* not being able to force the Wall, made a company of Boats with Reeds, Ropes and Wool, whereon having put ſix hundred men, they thought to paſs by the Fortifications and ſeize upon the paſſage; but this their Deſign being known, the *Romans* manned out their Boats, and eaſily deſtroyed this new ſort of Invention with all the men in them. The Barbarians being much dejected with this loſs, they made a ſally upon them, wherein they ſlew many, and might have done more Execution poſſibly, but that *Germanus* their Leader, in heat of his young bloud, ventured farther than a prudent General would have done, and received a wound in his Thigh. However, the *Hunnes* diſcouraged with this loſs at Land, and more by that received upon the Water, retreated from the Wall, and joyned themſelves with thoſe under the Conduct of *Zabergan*; thoſe alſo that went for *Greece*, receiving a ſtop at the Straits of *Thermopylæ* returned, and all reſolved to march homeward. But *Zabergan* and his men threatned that they, as well as the *Cotrigurians*, would carry back a good quantity of the *Roman* Gold, and except the Priſoners were ſpeedily ranſomed, they would cut the Throats of them all. The Emperour ſent them ſo much Gold, as he thought would ſuffice to redeem them, and to purchaſe the Retreat of the Barbarians, who having received it, ſet at liberty the Captives, and amongſt the reſt *Sergius* the Son of *Bacchus*. Which done, they left off pillaging, and returned to their own Seats.

Agathias, lib. 5.

The *Hunnes* bought off retire.

268. The Citizens of *Conſtantinople* murmured exceedingly, that thoſe *Hunnes*, having put ſuch an affront upon the Empire, ſhould return home rewarded, as if the *Romans* themſelves had committed the offence: But the Emperour had another

deſign which they were not aware of, and afterward produced ſo good effects, as our Authour obſerveth, that they who now blamed him, did then exceedingly admire and commend him for it. For, as we ſaid, he had reſolved upon this Project, to ſet the Barbarians at variance amongſt themſelves, and cauſe them to deſtroy one another. Therefore *Zabergan* marching but ſlowly homeward, he wrote to *Sandilchus*, Captain of the other *Hunnes*, his Mercenary and Confederate, letting him know how the *Cutrigurians* had invaded his Dominions, not ſo much for greedineſs of gain, as to approve themſelves as good, or better, than the *Uturgurians*, in reſpect of valour. He tells him they had received the ſtipend which was to be conferred upon him, and if by a ſpeedy Revenge he did not demonſtrate himſelf to be the ſame for which he had formerly taken him, he was reſolved to make a League with the late Invaders, as thoſe who by their courage did moſt deſerve. *Sandilick*, enraged upon receipt of the Letter, preſently invades the Territories of the *Cutrigurians*, and having thence taken a great number of Captives, falls upon thoſe that returned out of *Thrace*, and having killed many of them, takes away their Gold, and all their booty. Such as eſcaped home recruiting themſelves as well as they could, waged War with *Sandilick*, and for a long time after theſe Nations raged againſt each other to all extremity, till at length both were ruined, and they loſt their very Countrey name, (if *Agathias* obſerves right) ſo that if any of them remained, they ſerved other ſorts of People, and being diſperſed, received a name from them. So far were they then from invading the *Roman* Territories, that it was not as much as known in what part of the World they inhabited. But the utter deſtruction of theſe Nations, ſaith *Agathias*, fell out afterwards, and every thing relating thereunto ſhall be declared in its order, and according to the true account of time, as near as poſſible. And ſo he concludes the fifth Book of his Hiſtory, which being the laſt of thoſe that are now extant, we have hence too great occaſion to complain of the injury of Time, which has deprived us of the reſt of his labours upon this Subject. For he was not onely an Hiſtorian, but an excellent Poet, and poſſibly had be been not ſo good a Poet, he had been a better Hiſtorian. For his Fancy tranſports him out of the way, and makes his digreſſions about ſeveral matters ſometimes impertinent, delighting to hear himſelf talk, and thinking to edifie his Reader by needleſs diſquiſitions. He was, as he tells us himſelf, the Son of *Memnonius*, born at *Murina*, (not *Murina* in *Thrace*, but that in *Aſia*, ſituate upon the River *Pythicus*, a Colony of the ancient *Æolians*,) and by Profeſſion a Lawyer, and common Pleader, of no conſiderable Fortune, which he bewails, becauſe his private neceſſities forced him from his beloved Studies. It is no whit his Advantage that he immediately ſucceeds *Procopius*; but his Digreſſions, when hiſtorical, are ſome of them ſo profitable, that we make uſe of them upon other occaſions.

Juſtinian ſets one ſort of *Hunnes* againſt the other.

269. All things at this time were not well in *Italy*, which when every one expected it ſhould never more be troubled or embroiled with the *Goths*, again began to be diſturbed by another Sedition. *Vidinus*, a certain *Comes* of that Nation, revolted from *Narſes*, and implored the aſſiſtence of *Amingus*, (or *Omnirugus*) who had been formerly the Aſſociate of *Bucellinus*. *Narſes* reſolved to cruſh the miſchief in the Egg, and marching preſently againſt them, defeated them in battel, took them both, and ſending *Vidinus* to *Conſtantinople*, put *Amingus* to death; and to this time and occaſion ſeems to relate what *Cedrenus* mentions of *Narſes* his taking *Viria* and *Brincæ* from the *Goths*. So was *Italy* cleared of the *Goths*, and the greateſt part of it of the *Franks*, though they had ſeized and held the Parts of *Venetia*. There yet remained the *Heruli*, whom, after the defeat of *Odoacer* their King, *Theodorich* had placed near the *Alpes*. Theſe alſo, at this time, an occaſion was preſented of turning out of *Italy* by *Sindualdus*, who being ſet over them by *Narſes*, preſently again rebelled, and being taken, paid dear for his ambitious purpoſes; for he cauſed him to be hang'd on a very high Gibbet, and afterward, by the Arms and Conduct of *Dagiſthæus* the *Magiſter Militum*, cleared all the Coaſts of the Countrey. And ſo at length a period was put to all theſe direfull Calamities wherewith the Barbarians, and eſpecially the *Goths*, had afflicted *Italy* for ſo long a time, which by Fire and Sword had its Cities defaced, was deſpoiled of its Men, Wealth and Dignity, and, from the higheſt pitch of felicity, brought to the loweſt and moſt deſolate condition. The greatneſs and variety of its calamities were ſuch, that no Mind can conceive, much leſs any Tongue expreſs, or Pen deſcribe. But now by the ſingular goodneſs of God, after wellnigh an hundred and ſixty years, it began to have repoſe, and *Narſes*, leſt he ſhould ſeem inferiour to *Beliſarius*, ſet himſelf

Paulus Diaconus.

Italy at laſt enjoys Repoſe by means of *Narſes*.

all manner of ways to ſtudy its quiet, and the reſtitution of it to its former luſtre and felicity.

A Plot againſt *Juſtinian* detected.

270. The repairing of its Cities, and beautifying it with new and magnificent Buildings, was, within a year or two, much hindred by the breaking forth of a Peſtilence, which added to the former miſeries, almoſt exhauſted the Countrey of of its Inhabitants. This Plague, which from the Eaſtern Parts invaded *Italy*, was called *Inguinaria & Bubonis Peſtis*, becauſe Bubo's, or Swellings, aroſe in the privy and other glandulous parts, and were followed by a violent Fever, which diſpatched the Party within three days, or elſe he recovered. This being over, *Narſes* went on with his publick works, and eſpecially with the Reparation of Bridges, particularly that over the River *Anienis*, which had been broken down by *Totilas*, as an Inſcription, yet remaining, teſtifies, which ſhews it was perfected in the thirty ninth, and laſt Year of *Juſtinian*. While he was in hand with theſe works, a notable Conſpiracy was hatched at *Conſtantinople*, againſt the Life of the Emperour, on the Nones of *November*, by *Ablavius*, *Marcellus* and *Sergius*, Men of no mean Quality, who purpoſed to kill him by night in his Chamber; but *Ablavius* making acquainted therewith *Euſebius* the *Exconſul*, and *John* the *Logotheta*, they revealed the Plot, and the Conſpiratours were ſeized with Swords about them, of whom *Marcellus* inſtantly killed himſelf. *Sergius*, upon Examination, impeached *Iſaacius* and *Beliſarius*, who were alſo accuſed by *Vitus* and *Paulus*, ſo that *Beliſarius* was impriſoned, as we ſaid before, but afterwards again ſet at Liberty, as an innocent Perſon. Though this Conſpiracy took not, yet have we brought the Reader almoſt to the period of this Prince's Life, and given him a proſpect of all the turbulent Actions of his Reign. Another conſiderable Part is yet behind, which hath made him rather more remarkable to the World in later times; for who hath not heard of the Laws and Law-Books of *Juſtinian*? The Marks and Prints of his Sword are very long ſince obliterated, but multitudes of Men to this day wear Gowns which are looked upon no otherwiſe than as his Livery. Laws in his days, contrary to the old and received Saying, made a noiſe amongſt Weapons, and his Government, a thing not ordinary, became famous in after times for both. Firſt therefore what he did in reference to the Laws. And then we ſhall conſider of the Temper and Diſpoſition of this Man, ſo much ſpoken of, as to his own Perſon.

SECT. II.

Of the Laws altered, made and modelled by Juſtinian.

Matters previous to *Juſtinian*'s Laws and Model.

Principum Placita.

Scriptum autem Jus eſt Lex, Plebiſcitum, Senatuſconſultum, Principum Placita, Magiſtratuum Edicta, Reſponſa Prudentum.

De hac re vide Libergeum Cenomoraum & alios.

Reſponſa Prudentum.

The Office of theſe *Prudentes* what.

1. THE Original of the *Civil Law*, from the *Law of the Twelve Tables*, we have diſcovered in its due place, together with the Progreſs of it in its Infancy, and how many parts there were of it, or what thoſe were which obtained the Force and Power of Law. After that the ſupreme Authority came to be inveſted in one ſingle Perſon, the *Principum placita* gave force and efficacy to all the reſt, or could reſcind them, the Power of both Senate and People being, by the *Lex Regia*, transferred upon him. Yet the *Reſponſa Prudentum*, and the *Magiſtratuum Edicta*, continued to be in uſe, and were given out, upon occaſion, for the clearing of Doubts and Difficulties, and letting the People know what was their Duty. Foraſmuch as all Difficulties could not poſſibly be removed by Laws formerly, or Conſtitutions and Edicts afterwards, the Interpretations and Anſwers of wiſe and learned Men were found neceſſary, nay, as *Pomponius* witneſſeth, when the Laws of the Twelve Tables were made, the Authority of ſome prudent men was requiſite to interpret them, the Credit and Reputation of whom ſo much increaſed, that, in practice, a great part of the Suits and Controverſies were referred to their Council and Determination. Now their Office, Duty and Employment conſiſted chiefly in four thing. Firſt, in preſcribing forms for Stipulations and Judgments. Secondly, in giving Council and Advice to ſuch as asked it, in matters of Law eſpecially, but indeed in all matters whatſoever, as *Cicero* writes, that in old time they had recourſe to *Pub. Craſſus*, *T. Coruncanius* and *Scipio*, in all things, whether Divine or Humane. Thirdly, they interpreted ſuch Laws as were hard to be underſtood, or ſeemed contrary, as alſo Inſtruments of Contracts and Teſtaments. And laſtly ſuch matters as were neither by Law, nor Agreement and Conſent of Parties, ordered and concluded, they took up and determined, *ex bono & æquo*,

æquo, as ſeemed moſt right and equitable in their apprehenſions, who, from their ſtudying the known Laws, had moſt reaſon to underſtand what was agreeable to, or might be deduced from, them. They made Profeſſion of this Art either walking croſs the *Forum*, or ſitting on Benches at home, in a grave and ſtately manner, where they admitted all Clients, as appears by the Books of *Cicero*, which he wrote concerning Oratory and Laws. But their *Reſponſes* were concerning matters of Law, not of Fact, whereupon *Celſus* hath defined their Art very well to be *Ars Boni & Æqui.*

Where they profeſſed their Art.

2. *Pomponius* tells us, that before the time of *Auguſtus*, it was free to every one to practiſe, who had confidence of his own Ability, neither did they ſign their Anſwers, but wrote moſt commonly to the Judges themſelves, or told their opinions to ſuch as conſulted them. But *Auguſtus* vindicated the honour of the *Civil Law*, and provided for the ſecurity of the Eſtates of the Subject, by taking away the power of giving Anſwers from all, except ſuch as ſhould be authorized by the Prince. Of thoſe who excelled in this Art or Myſtery, *Pomponius* reckons up about ſixty, from *Sextus Papyrius*, who lived in the Days of *Tarquinius Superbus* (when the Laws made by Kings were in force) to *Salvius Julianus*, who flouriſhed under *Hadrian* the Emperour. Theſe, and others, omitted by him, are too many here to be reckoned up. Of them *Tit. Coruncanius*, who flouriſhed not long after the time of *Pyrrhus*, firſt made publick Profeſſion of the Law, whereas thoſe before him gave onely Anſwers in private. *Scipio Naſica*, a young Man, was of ſuch eſteem, that an Houſe was given him by the State in the *Via Sacra*, that he might more opportunely be conſulted. A little before the 3d Punick War *Q. Mucius Scævola*, *M. Junius Brutus* and *M. Manilius*, who laid the foundations of it, by the many Books they publiſhed, gave, as it were, life to the Civil Law. For *Mucius*, who was *Pontifex maximus*, the year wherein *Tib. Gracchus* was ſlain, left ten Books concerning Law, *M. Brutus* ſeven, and *Manilius* three, though *Cæſar* ſaid, he heard *Scævola* ſay, that *Brutus* left but three in all, and his Method was not well liked of, becauſe he expounded not *Theſes*, but *Hypotheſes*. *P. Mucius Scævola*, the Augur, his Houſe, for his Skill in the Law, was called the Oracle of the City. *Q. Mucius Scævola* was *Pontifex maximus*, and firſt gave form to the Civil Law, by reducing it into eighteen Books.

Auguſtus takes away the Power from all but ſuch as ſhould be licenſed by the Prince.

D. de Origine Juris.

T. Coruncanius firſt made publick Profeſſion of the Law.

Scipio Naſica.
Q. Mucius Scævola.
M. Junius Brutus.
M. Manilius.

3. *Servius Sulpicius*, who was Conſul together with *M. Marcellus*, and one of the moſt eloquent in *Tully*'s Age, came, on a time, to conſult *Q. Mucius* in a point of Law. *Mucius* gave him an Anſwer, but he underſtood it not, and asked him a ſecond time; but neither upon a ſecond Anſwer did he underſtand the matter. Hereat *Mucius* fell on chiding him, ſaying, it was a ſhame for one who was both a Patritian, and pleaded Cauſes, to be an Ignorant in the Laws of his Countrey. *Servius*, nettled with the diſgrace, applied himſelf preſently to the ſtudy of the Law, and came to ſuch Eminency therein, that dying in an Embaſſy, his Statue was erected in the Pleading place at the Publick charge. He left wellnigh an hundred and fifty Books, as they counted them, and had many eminent Auditours, who lived to ſee the great Change of the *Roman* Government, from a Free State, as they termed it, to a Monarchy. And the Government was changed at ſuch time, as many eminent and learned Men had often conſulted concerning a Model of the Civil Law, and reducing it into a Form of Art. For the multitude of Books began then to be cumberſome, and *Pompey*, *Cæſar* and *Cicero* laid their Heads together, how to regulate this great variety, and preſcribe to it certain bounds and limits. *Cicero* wrote a Book concerning the modelling of it, but ſome think he never finiſhed it, though elſewhere they own he hath given his thoughts, and complains of the great confuſion, and want of ſome able Perſon to undertake the Task. Yet notwithſtanding after the time of *Julius Cæſar* much more was added by heaps of Writings, and more Laws made, the Conſtitutions of Princes now coming to bear a great part in this myſtery. But this Service *Auguſtus* did to this noble Science, that beſides the *Leges Juliæ*, formed and named from him, adopted into the *Julian* Family, he vindicated the honour of it, by taking away the liberty uſed formerly by every Pretender, and allowing onely ſuch to give Anſwers as ſhould be authorized by the Prince.

Servius Sulpicius.

The multitude of Law-books begins to be cumberſome about *Cæſar*'s time.

4. *Trebatius* was a Man of great authority with him in this kind, whom he uſed as his familiar friend, commended by *Cicero* for his ſingular memory and knowledge in the *Civil* Law, who much cheriſhed him when he was young, writing to him his *Topicks*, and many Epiſtles, full of very good humour. Much about this time *Atteius Capito*, and *Labeo Antiſtius*, by their contrary opinions, ſowed ſuch ſeeds of Civil Diſcords, that their Scholars being addicted to ſeveral Sects, and per-

Trebatius great with *Auguſtus*.

Atteius Capito and *Labeo Antiſtius* ſow ſeeds of Diſcord.

Hence the *Sabiniani*, or *Caſſiani*, and the *Proculiani*, or *Pegaſiani*.

Maſurius Sabinus.

Caſſius Longinus.

Pegaſus.

tinaciouſly adhering to their Principles, thoſe Diſſentions could not be compoſed in many years, and the Heads of many of their Controverſies yet appear in the Pandects. For to the Party of *Capito* adhered *Maſurius Sabinus*, and then *Caſſius Longinus*, to whom ſucceeded *Cælius Sabinus*, as to him *Jabolenus*, and to *Jabolenus Salvius Julianus*. To the ſide of *Labeo* ſtuck pertinaciouſly *Cocceius Nerva*, then *Proculus*, to whom ſucceeded *Pegaſus*, as to him *Celſus*, and to *Celſus Neratius*. Hence thoſe of the former Party were called *Sabiniani*, and *Caſſiani*; and thoſe of the later *Proculiani*, and *Pegaſiani*. The Emperour *Tiberius* favoured much the ſtudy of the Law, and from him *Maſurius Sabinus* received Authority to anſwer publickly all queſtions. *Caligula* and *Nero* were rather Enemies than Friends to the Myſtery of the Law. *Caligula* intending to aboliſh quite the Art and Profeſſion it ſelf, often boaſted he would ſo order the matter, that they ſhould be able to anſwer nothing but *Eccum*, quibbling, as though he would have them anſwer nothing but what was *æquum*, but meaning *Ecce illum*, and intending himſelf, from whom all Anſwers in matters of Law ſhould thenceforth proceed. *Nero* baniſhed *Caſſius Longinus*, whom afterward *Veſpatian* recalled, in whoſe time *Pegaſus* was Prefect of the City, and bore the Office of Conſul. He was the Son of a certain Maſter of a Ship, which had *Pegaſus* for its Enſign and Name, and thence was this great Lawyer ſo called. And from him received its name the *Senatuſconſultum Pegaſianum*, mentioned by *Juſtinian*. During the Government of *Nerva* and *Trajan* the Profeſſion of the Law flouriſhed, as appears from their many excellent Conſtitutions mentioned in the Pandects. And the peaceable Reigns of *Hadrian* and *Antoninus*, as alſo of *Severus*, *Caracalla* and *Alexander*, produced many excellent men, rendred famous by their Writings, of whom ſeveral we have mentioned in due places.

Salvius Julianus compoſed the *Edictum Perpetuum*.

Whereupon the *Jus Prætorium* ceaſed.

Vide Vinnium in Inſtit.

What it was.

5. Here *Salvius Julianus*, who flouriſhed under the Emperour *Hadrian*, muſt be remembred, that Eminent Lawyer of *Milan*, who compoſed the *Edictum Perpetuum*, which being allowed, and receiving authentick Stamp from the Prince, ſo as to be ſtanding Law, another ſort of Law now fell off, which was the Edicts of Magiſtrates, made, upon occaſion, or at their entring upon their Offices. This was called *Jus Prætorium*, becauſe chiefly made by *Prætors*, as alſo *Honorarium*, from their bearing theſe Offices of Magiſtracy or Honour. But how the *Prætors* ſhould come to make Laws, which is a Prerogative of Majeſty, they being but Magiſtrates, appointed for pronouncing, and not enacting, is queſtioned; eſpecially ſeeing that we no where meet with any Law that gave them this Authority. Some think that at firſt they onely propoſed Edicts by right of their Office, denoting, of what matters, and in what manner, they would adminiſter Law. In progreſs of time, the People not oppoſing it, they took upon them alſo to make Law in declaring it, yet ſo, as their Edicts had leſs force than the Laws themſelves, neither could they abrogate ſuch Laws as were conſtituted or received, but onely help, ſupply and correct, that is, mitigate the rigour of the Law, and ordain ſomething *ex bono & æquo*, concerning ſuch things as were not mentioned nor forbidden by the Laws, though it were beſides the tenour of the Civil Law. That the *Prætors*, as to theſe matters, could doe more than either the *Lawyers* or private *Judges*, appears from ſo many *Exceptions* and *Actions*, ſo many *Poſſeſſions* of Goods and Eſtates, introduced by the *Prætor*, being beſides the manifeſt tenour of the Civil Law, in which, before what was thus introduced by the *Prætors*, no private Perſon could claim or attribute ſo much to himſelf. But, during the Commonwealth, other Magiſtrates, as the *Cenſors*, *Conſuls*, and the *Ædiles Curules*, propoſed their Edicts, all which went under the name of *Jus Honorarium*, being contained in it, and indeed in the *Jus Prætorium*, becauſe the *Prætors* being made on purpoſe for adminiſtration of Juſtice, and having all the Juriſdiction, in a manner, had the honour to have the whole taken together denominated from themſelves.

6. But an end was put to all their pretences, by the forming and authorizing of the *Edictum Perpetuum*, though the whole Power of *Senate* and *People*, being given up into the Emperour's Hands, all Powers before were but indeed precarious or derivative, as was that of giving Anſwers, in the Lawyers. Who the Lawyers of Eminency were, in the days of *Hadrian*, and his Succeſſours, we have already ſhewn, who were famous for their Learning and Writings, which, for the moſt part, reſpected the *Edictum Perpetuum*. Now, however Perſons began more than ever to conſult the Prince himſelf, who had always at his hand the beſt Lawyers to adviſe with. From the time of *Hadrian*, to that of *Alexander Severus*, (both incluſive) flouriſhed thoſe great and eminent Men, out of the Books of whom the Pandects, for the moſt part, were taken. This Knowledge and Profeſſion being

then

When the Eminent Lawyers failed.

then arrived at the higheſt pitch of Excellency, as all ſublunary things are ſubject to change, began thenceforth to fall away and diminiſh. For after this time no Lawyer of any note or Eminency appears, and, by degrees, the Profeſſion ſo much decayed, that in the time of *Ammianus Marcellinus* (or *Valentinian* and *Valens*, Emperours,) ſuch as profeſſed it, if we believe him, were eſteemed rather Apparitions and Shadows, than Men, not being able to reconcile the hundredth part of theſe Differences and Contradictions, which, to men unskilfull, ſeemed to be in the Civil Law it ſelf, and yet they valued themſelves at no leſs a rate than as the Interpreters of the *Sibylline* Oracles. Thoſe that practiſed at the Bar were ſo rude, covetous and ſordid, that they neither underſtood what Juſtice was, nor remembred that they ever had read any thing concerning it.

Yet learned Men there were after that time.

Codex Gregorianus & Hermogenianus.

Theodoſianus.

The difference betwixt the Conſtitutions of Princes.

7. The Emperours therefore muſt have taken upon them the whole care of the Law, and many of them, if not moſt, deſerved well of it, as appears by their Reſcripts. And yet in penning theſe Reſcripts, ſeveral Lawyers, of great worth and Learning, muſt have been employed, though they have not otherwiſe rendred themſelves famous by any work now remaining, what ever *Ammianus*, or any other, may write. For both before and after *Conſtantine*, Princes gave out Conſtitutions of very great Equity and Judgment, which certainly they themſelves had not Skill to compoſe. Theſe grew to ſuch a number, that ſeveral Books of them came abroad, but of principal note and eſteem were thoſe of *Gregorius* and *Hermogenianus*, about the Reign of *Diocletian*. The Authours themſelves are unknown, and ſome Fragments of their Books are onely come to hand; but St. *Auguſtine*, as many take notice, makes mention thence of a certain noble Reſcript of *Antoninus*, which learned men juſtly admire, that it ſhould be left out of *Juſtinian*'s Code. About an hundred years after, *Theodoſius* the Second cauſed to be compiled another Code, wherein were contained the Conſtitutions of Chriſtian Princes, from the beginning of *Conſtantine* to his own time. Betwixt them and thoſe of the precedent Ages there is this difference: The Conſtitutions which precede *Conſtantine*, are moſt of them ſhort and acute, weighty and elegant, as are the Writings of Lawyers of thoſe times. Thoſe that follow are generally tedious and lofty, more ſuiting the ſtyle of an Oratour, than the Majeſty of an Emperour. They ſavour of the flanting *Aſiatick* ſtyle, which was that of the Court, after it came to be removed to *Byzantium*. Eſpecially the Conſtitutions of *Martianus*, *Zeno*, *Anaſtaſius*, *Juſtin* and *Juſtinian*, which are neither comparable with the other in point of Eloquence, nor yet in reſpect either of Gravity or dexterity of Drawing.

A great Alteration made in the Law by *Conſtantine* the Great.

A Diſcrimination of Lawyers made in the time of *Valentinian* the younger.

8. A great Alteration was made in the Law by *Conſtantine*, who corrected it ſo, as to make it more ſuitable to the purity of Chriſtian Religion, and the tenderneſs and compaſſion thereof. Which he did by adding many Edicts, full of Mercy, and taking off the rigour of former Rules and Cuſtoms, both as to the materials of Law, and the forms and quirks of it. This alſo was imitated by his Chriſtian Succeſſours, as we have largely ſhewn in the courſe of our Hiſtory, down from his time, till that of *Theodoſius* the younger. But as every day, almoſt, produced ſome new occaſion, by reaſon of the variety of circumſtances, for ſome new Decree, theſe Imperial Conſtitutions grew to that infinite bulk, together with the other ancient ſorts of Laws, that, before *Theodoſius* began his new model of a Code, the Government in the Weſt, or that under young *Valentinian*, thought it ſelf obliged to make a diſcrimination, both of the Conſtitutions of Princes, declaring which ſhould be of force, and which not, and of the Writings of Lawyers, as to the value and eſtimate of their Opinions, to be alledged and followed in Courts of Judicature. What theſe Diſcriminations were we have ſhewn particularly in their places. The Lawyers were nine in Number, of which *Papinianus* was to have the Preeminence, ſo as if in difference of opinions, he made one of an equal number, that of his party was to be followed. This Conſtitution, as *Gothofred* notes, may ſerve to diſcover how few learned Lawyers there were in thoſe days, how few that knew the Writings of the Ancients; to be ſure, it ſhews that the numbers and heaps of the Writings of Authours were very great.

The deſign of *Theodoſius* in compiling his Code.

9. But as it is very rationally thought, that the Codes of *Gregorius* and *Hermogenianus* were compoſed of ſuch Conſtitutions of Emperours, as preceded *Conſtantine*, (ten years before whoſe beginning they end, at the Tetrarchy of *Diocletian*,) on purpoſe to exhibite the Pagan Law, which Chriſtian Princes in their new Decrees had altered; ſo *Theodoſius* might reſolve for the contrary reaſon, as well as to ſelect a competent number, to make a Body of ſuch as were compoſed by thoſe of our Religion. He ſays indeed he was moved by this conſideration, how few in his Age were rich in the knowledge of the Civil Law, and were ſolidly learned, although

though twelve years before he had founded two Profeſſrous of the Law for the Illuſtration thereof, in the Univerſity of *Conſtantinople*. He deſigned to eaſe Students of ſo great Labour as they underwent, in turning over ſo many Heaps, by cutting off ſuperfluities, and introducing brevity, as alſo to provide againſt obſcurity. For he furniſhed them with ſuch Conſtitutions, as related both the *Jus Publicum*, and *Privatum*, and with all ſorts, not onely *Edicts* ſtrictly ſo called; but various *Reſcripts* ſent to Magiſtrates, who had conſulted their Princes *Letters* given out to Magiſtrates, *Orations* to the Senate, *Pragmaticks*, *Acta* had in the Conſiſtory, *Mandates* and *Inſtructions* given to Governours of Provinces, to *Cenſitores* and *Peræquatores* ſent abroad, and to ſuch as ſhould hear Debates concerning Religion. But though no part of, either, the *Jus Privatum*, or *Publicum*, be left untouched in that Code; yet the Collectours are taxed for omitting ſo many material Conſtitutions, as they have done, and for ſtudying ſo much Brevity, that by depriving the Laws of their neceſſary Ornaments of words, they made them moſt obſcure. For, cutting off the Prefaces, and ſuch Diſcourſes as were connexed, or coherent to them; they deprived the Readers of all knowledge of the ſeveral occaſions of the making of them, and other Circumſtances which would have contributed much to the underſtanding of them.

Vide Gothofred. in Prolegomenis Cod. Theod.

Faults committed in the compiling of it.

10. Beſides, notice is taken, how ſeveral Laws are repeated in the ſame words, and ſometimes with a few things added and altered, and thoſe not onely made by ſeveral, but one and the ſame Emperour. Many contrary one to another, and repealing one another, are to be found in this Code: The Rubricks are ſometimes larger than the Text. But it is chiefly objected, that to *Julian* therein is given the Title of *Divus*, and that ſome of his impious Conſtitutions are inſerted often, though not obſcurely they contradict, and that out of Deſign, thoſe of Chriſtian Princes. Some of *Conſtantine* and *Valentinian* alſo, which though they might be forced out in their days, to grant leave to uſe and continue unchriſtian Practices, yet when Chriſtianity was advanced into the Throne, they were by no means to be regiſtred as Laws, by thoſe who pretended to collect a Body ſtanding and Authentick to be referred to, and whereby Caſes were to be pleaded and decided. Some Edicts are alſo placed in this Book, though againſt the Orthodox Profeſſours of Religion. Many Laws are Fugitives or miſ-placed, ſome are ſo lacerated and diſmembred, that no Senſe can be made of them. And Errours and Miſtakes, are too frequent in the Inſcriptions and Subſcriptions of Laws. Now it muſt be ſaid, that though this Body, or Collection, even in ſome things here objected be of great uſe; for knowledge of the Hiſtory of the times, yet theſe were ſome of them Faults very unſufferable in a Standard and Rule of Law, as it was intended to be. It may be ſaid for the Collectours, that ſome Faults were formerly committed, and tranſcribed by them, and ſome might be juſtly laid to the Charge of the Tranſcribers; having paſſed through ſo many hands. However in matters wherein ſuch Excuſes cannot be admitted, the inſufficiency of the Code, ſufficiently appeared, as to its being a Standard of Law, and ſtill thoſe that were concerned in the Practices of it were at a loſs.

It's Defects.

11. Yet was it for want of a more perfect, of great uſe, and readily imbraced both in the Eaſtern and Weſtern parts of the Empire, both at this time, and by ſucceeding Princes. And not onely within the Empire, but by Barbarians was it received, even as a Standard of Law, as we ſhall ſee in the Hiſtories of thoſe Kingdoms: Yet its defects to the skilfull could not but be ſufficiently known. Though all parts of the *Jus Privatum* were touched at in it; yet were there many Caſes omitted in it, and to be found in the Conſtitutions of the ancient Emperours. And eſpecially in the Writings of ancient Lawyers, were they to be found, which thoſe that practiſed found neceſſary to have Recourſe to as formerly, and the memory of this *Code*, as well as the Conſtitution of *Valentinian*, growing by degrees more out of mind; they had Recourſe to their former Helps, and then again grew ſenſible of their Heaps. Now again they were affrighted at the Piles of *Imperial Conſtitutions*, at the Mountains of *Interpretations* and *Anſwers* of Lawyers; the Duſt did not conceal the Old *Plebiſcita*, *Senatus conſulta*, and *Edicts* of Magiſtrates. They could not but look at the Old Laws made by Kings in the Infancy of *Rome*, and take notice of the *Rhodian* Laws, concerning Sea matters, and owned by Imperial Authority. Theſe Heaps are ſaid to have contained two thouſand Volumes, and thirty times an hundred thouſand Verſes or Paragraphs. All ſorts of them afforded help to Students, and yet the far greater part, muſt of neceſſity be unknown, and a great ſhare be obſolete and uſeleſs in Judgments, and Deciſion of Controverſies. It was therefore Diſcourſed, that there wanted a Prince, who by his Sovereign

Urge another Body, or Bodies to be Compoſed.

vereign Authority ſhould abridge the number and ſubſtance of theſe Volumes, reduce them into Order, and give ſtamp to a Body or Bodies, more exquiſitely framed than yet had been; which ſhould remain as the Authentick Monuments, and the Standard of Law and Juſtice to Poſterity.

Juſtinian imbraceth the Deſign.

12. *Juſtinian* was a man whoſe Humour the deſign did very well ſuit, being naturally a lover of new things, and greedy of Fame; eſpecially, to be thought very vigilant and ſolicitous for the good of his Subjects; as his Prefaces to his Novel Conſtitutions do ſufficiently ſhew. But he imbraced a much larger deſign, than that of abridging the Law. He was brought to be of Opinion, that the Law not onely wanted abridging, but altering and changing from that Tenour and Genius, which it had in the days of the ancient Lawyers and Legiſlatours; not onely accuſing, it as *Conſtantine* had done, to need Reformation as to Charity and Mercy, and that it was to be pruned of its needleſs, and troubleſome quirks and ſcruples, as *Valentinian* the Third and other Princes thought, but even as to the reaſon and Complexion of much of it. But however, in many things he might be in the right, it had been much better, if he had ſtaid ſome time to make his Obſervations, if he had made an Apprenticeſhip firſt in the Government, and been ſilent for the time enjoyned by *Pythagoras*. But he introduced that, which hath been ſince in reference to the old Tenour and Frame, called *Jus Novum*, and began this courſe in the beginning of his Reign. And indeed ſcarcely is there any part of the *Roman Juriſprudentia*, wherein he did not make ſome Alteration. How he both altered and modelled it, it's now time to make a ſhort diſcovery, according to the Nature of our deſign, which will permit us onely to hint at the moſt remarkable things in ſuch a vaſt number, as his Laws and Books afford.

But not onely modelleth, but altereth the Law.

13. *Juſtinian*, then as we ſaid, was made Collegue by and with his Uncle on the Calends, or firſt of *April*, in the ſole Conſulſhip of *Mavortius*, with whom he Reigned till the Calends or firſt of *Auguſt*, on which *Juſtin* his Uncle dyed. Now for all the five Months of this year, or Conſulſhip, he made no Law, nor conſiderable Alteration in any thing. But having all this while it ſeems reſolved, and meditated on it, he opened the ſecond year, or his own ſecond Conſulſhip with great Attempts this way, as if then he had begun to Reign indeed This he did on the very firſt day of the year, or the Calends of *January*, on which ſeveral of his Laws bear date. Four we have ſtill extant in the Code, which mention the Calends of *January* as the day of their Originals, and poſſibly more there were, which have loſt their date, ſtill extant in the ſame Book without any Conſulſhip annexed, or any Month or Day, though directed to the ſame *Mennas*, who was *Præfectus Prætorio* for this year, and alſo that which followed till the month of *Auguſt*; to whom a vaſt number of Conſtitutions are inſcribed. He thought fit to give to his Subjects, a more free Scope of making their Teſtaments than formerly had been allowed, though by the twelve Tables themſelves it ſeemed to have been indulged. He declared that no Errour or miſtake of the Drawer or Writer of a Teſtament, either, in omitting, or inſerting any thing therein contained, ſhould make it Null; neither if he wrote down a Legacy before the naming of the Heir. And though this Prepoſterours courſe might have been taken according to the mind, or direction of the Teſtatour himſelf, yet he would have the Teſtament good, which the former Law did not permit. He tolerated it alſo afterward in Stipulations, as well as Legacies. And ſtill that he might add greater Freedom in this Nature, a few days after he declared that the formal obſervation or uſage of the Ancients, as he termed it, ſhould not be neceſſary in Nuncupative Wills. For of old, thoſe that made ſuch Teſtaments without Writing, were to proteſt in ſolemn Words, that the Witneſſes were met together for that purpoſe, becauſe before them he would name his Heir without Writing.

He begins on the firſt day of his ſecond Conſulſhip.

Indulges his Subjects as to making Wills.

l. 8. de Naturalbius liebris, Cod. Juſt. lib. 5. tit. 27. l. 24. de Teſtamentis, Cod. Juſt. lib. 6. tit. 23. l. Un. de his qui pœnæ nomine, &c. Cod. Juſt. lib. 6. tit. 41. & l. 3. Quando & quibus quarta pars, &c. Cod. Juſt. lib. 10. tit. 34. Quatuor ſunt quamvis trium tantum meminerit. Fr. Balduinus in Juſtiniano ſub de Jure novo Commentariorum libris 2. Quem de his rebus omnino conſule.

14. This form of Ptoteſtation he declared not to be neceſſary. And he remitted as many other things to Teſtatours; ſee the forms of Words which they were bound to obſerve when they made their Wills. Amongſt others, there was this called *Nuncupatio*. The Teſtatour holding the Teſtament in his hands ſaid: *As is contained in theſe Tables, and under this Wax, ſo I give, bequeath and ordain. Therefore ye* Quirites *bear Teſtimony*. And the Witneſſes thus required were wont to bear Teſtimony to the Teſtatour, who ought to hear what they ſaid, ſo that of old a deaf man could not make a Teſtament. Whereas alſo in old time no Legacy could be left, ſo as to burthen the Heir by way of puniſhment, as if it was written: In caſe thou marrieſt thy Daughter to *Seius*, then ſhalt give *Caius* an hundred pounds, he left it free to leave ſuch Legacies, provided as in other Conditional Legacies and Stipulations, if the Heir was Commanded to doe no unworthy or impoſſible thing.

l. 26. Cod. Juſt. de Teſtam.

thing. To natural Children he allowed that more ſhould be left in Legacy than formerly had been Lawfull; but afterwards publiſhed a Novel Conſtitution more in their Favour, which afterward we may take notice of. And he alſo made proviſion for Children obnoxious to the Services of Corporations, which he alſo thought fit afterwards to increaſe. All theſe things he enacted this firſt day of his ſecond Conſulſhip, or the firſt day of the firſt *January* after his coming to the Government.

He acquaints the Senate with his Deſignment of a new Code.

Præfatio prima de novo Codice Faciendo præmiſſa, lib. Primo, Cod. Juſt.

15. The making of theſe new Laws, did not ſo divert him, but that ſtill he was thinking and conſulting about a new Model of the Old, and he came to ſuch Reſolution therein, that on the Ides of *February* following, he expreſſed it in an Edict, directed to the Senate of *Conſtantinople.* "In this Edict he tells them, that " thoſe things which to many former Princes ſeemed neceſſary to be amended, but " which none of them were ſo bold as to bring to Effect, he now by the help of " Almighty God thought fit to Communicate to the publick, and to take off the " prolixity of Suits, by cutting ſhort that multitude of Conſtitutions, contained " in the three Codes of *Gregorius*, *Hermogenianus* and *Theodoſius*, of thoſe alſo that " were made afterwards by *Theodoſius*, other ſucceeding Princes and himſelf; " and by Compoſing one new Code, which ſhould bear his own happy Name, in " which were to be Collected as well the Conſtitutions of the three Codes lately " mentioned, as other newer Conſtitutions made after them. Therefore for ſo vaſt " a work, which relates to the Suſtentation of the Commonwealth it ſelf, he tells " them, he hath made choice of Perſons fit for ſo great care and trouble, viz. of " the excellent *John*, *Exquæſtor* of his Sacred Palace, of *Conſular* Dignity, and " a Patritian; and the moſt ſublime *Leontius*, a *Magiſter Militum*, *Expræfectus prætorio*, of *Conſular* Dignity, and a Patritian; the moſt eminent *Phocas*, a *Magiſter* " *Militum* of like *Conſular* Dignity, and a Patrician; the moſt excellent *Baſilides*, " Exprefect alſo of the Eaſt, and a Patritian; the moſt glorious *Thomas*, *Quæſtor* of " his Sacred Palace, and *Exconſul*; the Magnifick *Tribonian* adorned with the *Magiſterial* Dignity among the *Agentes*; the Illuſtrious *Conſtantine*, *Comes Sacrarum* " *Largitionum*, among the *Agentes*, *Magiſter* of the *Scrinium Libellorum* and of the " *Sacræ Cognitiones*; the moſt famous *Theophilus* a *Comes* of his Sacred Conſiſtory " and Doctour (or Profeſſour) of Law in that City; *Dioſcorus* and *Præſentius* moſt " eloquent Gowned men, of the moſt ample *Prætorian Forum.*

The Compilers of it.

16. "To theſe, he ſaith, he had given eſpecial Power, having firſt cut off Prefaces (being ſuperfluous as to the Solidity of Laws) as alſo left out ſuch " as were of the ſame Tenour, or contrary (except another diviſion of Law required it) as alſo ſuch as were grown out of uſe, to compoſe out of them three " Codes and later Conſtitutions, Laws which were to be certain and written in " ſhort, to place them under ſeveral Heads or Titles, adding and ſubtracting, and " even changing their Words, where the Convenience of the thing ſhould require; " gathering into one Sanction, ſuch things as had formerly been diſperſed in various Conſtitutions, and making their meaning more evident. Yet ſo that the Order " of times of the ſaid Conſtitutions ſhould be manifeſt, not onely from the addition " of Days and Conſuls, but alſo from their very Compoſition, the firſt being placed " in the firſt place, and thoſe that followed in the next; and if any were found " without Day and Conſul, either in the three above mentioned Codes, or in thoſe " wherein later Conſtitutions were contained, they ſhould yet be placed with the " reſt, without any doubt to ariſe concerning their general Force and Efficacy; as " alſo ſuch Conſtitutions as were given out by way of Reſcript to certain Perſons, " or by a Pragmatick Sanction at the firſt, if inſerted in this new Code, ſhould be " of the ſame Efficacy with the general Edicts. Theſe things he tells the Senate, " he haſted to bring to their knowledge, that they might underſtand how great " his daily care was for the common Utility, deſigning for the time to come to have " certain ſetled Conſtitutions and not to be doubted, and thoſe Collected into one " Code; that out of it being called by his Name, in all judicial Proceedings, Conſtitutions might be produced for the more ſpeedy ending of Suits. Dated on the " Ides of *February* at *Conſtantinople*, the Lord *Juſtinian*, Father of his Countrey, *Auguſtus*, being the ſecond time Conſul, which was in the Year of our Lord, DXXVIII.

17. To work now go theſe Lawyers, about the compyling of a new Code; but while they were ſo employed *Juſtinian* ſate not idle, but buſied himſelf with ſuitable Induſtry; either for adorning, and filling up that Code, or for the Illuſtration of the Civil Law. For of this year, beſides theſe already mentioned, we find twenty four Conſtitutions bearing Date, whereof ten of the Calends, or firſt day of *June*. Of all theſe the Nature of our Deſign will not permit us to give an Account, becauſe we write not a Book of Law, but Hiſtory, and ſo vaſtly numerous

Sect. 2.

The *Querela Inofficioſi Teſtamenti.*

Lib. 2. *c.* 21. *Querela Inofficioſi Teſtamenti.*

merous are the performances of *Juſtinian* in this kind, that onely the moſt material of his Laws, and of moſt publick concernment muſt be touched. The *Romans* were ſo tender of the obligations ariſing from Nature and Bloud, that by a Law not introduced by the *Prætor*, but by *Claudius Glicias* a Dictatour, as *Cujacius* was of opinion, it was permitted to bring an Action or Complaint againſt a Teſtament to make it void, wherein a Parent, Son or Brother, was paſſed by or Diſinherited, as contrary to the Duty of ſuch Relations. But about this Complaint, there aroſe in proceſs of time manifold Queſtions, and in compoſing and ſetling the matter, *Juſtinian* very much laboured by publiſhing various Laws concerning this Subject, wherein yet he ſcarcely ſatisfied himſelf. It was of old ſtrongly debated, whether one who had ſomething left him by Will, but leſs than the ſhare allowed him by Law, could bring this Complaint to null the Teſtament, as well as he that had nothing at all. *Pliny* was of opinion, that if the Heir offered to one ſo paſſed by, to whom nothing at all was left, the Legitimate part, which if left by Will, would have Excluded the Complaint, it would be a bar to this Action. In the opinion of Learned *Baldwin* he was miſtaken. But by the ancient Law, if a Son was by his Father inſtituted in part, but leſs left him than his Legitimate ſhare, he had an Action againſt his Brethren the Coheirs, for making up and ſupplying his ſhare, rather than that of the Complaint for nulling the Teſtament, which was granted to him, in caſe they were not Brothers but Strangers, that were joyned with him as Heirs.

Quem conſule de Legibus Juſtiniani in lib. cui Titulus Juſtinianus ſive de jure novo Commentariorum libri 4.

18. In like manner, if a Son was born after his Mothers Teſtament, being paſſed by, he was made Coheir with his Brothers, if ſuch were inſtituted as Heirs, but if Strangers were inſtituted, he might bring his *Querela* or Complaint for diſſolving the Will. In caſe a Son was not named Heir, but a Legacy was left him onely which yet reached not to his Legitimate ſhare of the Inheritance, he could not bring his Complaint but onely his Action, for what was wanting, if the Teſtatour expreſly ordained, that it ſhould be made up by an indifferent Umpire. If ſo be, the Teſtatour left no ſuch order, he was of old allowed to Complain. But *Juſtinian* would not even in this caſe permit him to Complain; his pleaſure being that onely the remainder ſhould be ſued for, where ſomething was left; and this he did he ſaid for the baſhfull reverence that's due to Nature: And when the Legitimate ſhare ſhould be computed, he would have an Employment purchaſed with the Father's money, to be reckoned into it. By another Law made this very day, he ordained that Employments ſhould in certain caſes be underſtood to be tacite cautions obliged to the payment of Debts. On the ſame day he alſo publiſhed another Noble Conſtitution, concerning Legitimate Succeſſions, in what manner either a Mother or a Father might be joyned, with the Siſters or Brothers of the Dead, the Law having formerly been in no other part more various than in determining how Parents ſhould ſucceed their Children dying Inteſtate. When *Juſtinian* came to the Government the cuſtome was, that the Mother ſhould ſo be joyned with Siſters, that ſhe ſhould ſucceed to one half of the Inheritance, and they to the other half. This Right of the Mother he now confirmed, adding that if there were Brothers, the Inheritance ſhould be divided by Poll, not diſtinguiſhing as the old Law did betwixt Brothers. And whereas by a Conſtitution of *Conſtantine*, the Mother was bound to give a third part of the Inheritance to the Uncle, by the Father's ſide of the Deceaſed, his Son or Grandſon. *Juſtinian* now ordained that ſhe ſhould not be obliged to doe it. Neither ſhould it be material, whether ſhe had the Right of three Children or not, which diſtinction was formerly made by the *Senatuſconſultum Tertullianum.*

Regulated by *Juſtinian.*

L. 30. *de Inofficioſo Teſtam. Cod. Juſt. lib.* 3. *tit.* 28.

L. ult. de pignoribus, &c. Cod. Juſt. lib. 8. *tit.* 14.

He alters the Law as to the ſucceſſion of Mothers.

L. ult. ad S. C. Tertullianum. Cod. Juſt. lib. 6. *tit.* 56.

Jus trium liberorum.

19. For by that *Senatuſconſultum*, Mothers had the privilege given them to ſucceed their Sons, but of old it was limited, in caſe a Woman of ingenuous Condition had three Children, and a *Libertina* four. But by another Law bearing date alſo on this very day, or Calends of *June*, *Juſtinian* removed this limitation, giving them full Right of ſucceſſion, whether they had brought forth ſo many Children or not. What now he eſtabliſhed as to the Mothers Right, he afterward confirmed in his Inſtitutions; but in the tenth year of his Reign, when he publiſhed his two and twentieth Novel Conſtitution, he forbad that the Mother ſhould have a greater ſhare of the Inheritance, when ſhe was joyned with Siſters, than when ſhe ſucceeded with the Brothers of the Deceaſed; but would have it divided to them by Poll. After this he granted that Right ſimply to the Father, which he now gave to the Mother. But in caſe there were a Father, to joyn in the Succeſſion with the Mother, Siſters and Brothers of the Deceaſed, the Father ſhould have the full profit or *Uſus fructus* of the Eſtate, but the propriety ſhould remain to the other,

L. ult. de Jure liberorum, Cod. Juſt. lib. 8. *tit. ult.*

and be divided amongſt them, in ſuch manner as is aforeſaid in caſe no Father was ſurviving.

20. From the Calends of *June*, we can obſerve no Conſtitutions made for the ſpace of a month. But on the Calends of *July*, we find him and his *Quæſtor* at work again, as if he had appointed the firſt day of the month to this Service, there being five Laws now extant in his Code, which bear Date of theſe Calends. On them we cannot inſiſt, as belonging to the *Jus Privatum*, and not ſo proper for our Cogniſance, who write not a Book of Law but Hiſtory. Neither can we take much notice of moſt that follow of this year, though ſome of them be to be mentioned. On the ſixteenth of *November*, by publiſhing a new Conſtitution againſt Rapes, he thought fit to aboliſh all thoſe Paragraphs of the *Julian* Law, concerning this crime committed either againſt Virgins, Widows, or ſuch as were veiled in Cloiſters, whether found in the ancient Books of Laws, or in the Sacred Conſtitutions, ſo as this new Law of his, ſhould anſwer all the Proviſions made by them. Herein he ordains, that ſuch as take away by force any Woman of free Condition, be puniſhed with Death; as alſo ſuch as give them aſſiſtence, eſpecially if they be veiled. Such alſo as thus offend againſt Widows, though but *Libertinæ*, and the Slaves of other men. And eſpecially thoſe that committed this offence againſt Married Women. All liberty of Appeal he takes away from the Offenders, according as had been anciently determined by a Law of *Conſtantine*: If the Women on which the Rape was committed, were onely Slaves or *Libertinæ*, no Eſtates ſhould be forfeited; but if of ingenuous Condition, their Goods moveable and immoveable, both of Principals and Aſſiſtents, ſhould be recovered to the uſe and property of the Women ſo injured. He forbids ſuch Women to be Married to thoſe that committed the Rapes, but to be otherwiſe beſtowed as their Parents ſhall think fit. The aforeſaid Pains of Death and confiſcation he declares ſhall be undergone by the Offenders, and thoſe that aſſiſt them in Perſon at the commiſſion of the Crime; all other Abettors and Receivers ſhall onely be puniſhed with Death. All ſuch Perſons ſhall undergoe ſuch pains though the Women be conſenting. Parents not Proſecuting, ſhall be puniſhed with Deportation. And if any of the Aſſiſtents be found to be of ſervile condition, the party whether Man or Woman, ſhall be Burned, as had alſo been provided by the Law of *Conſtantine*.

He publiſheth a Conſtitution againſt Rapes.

L. Un. de Raptu virginum, ſeu viduarum, &c. Cod. Juſt. lib. 9. tit. 13.

21. For the two firſt months of the third year of *Juſtinian*, wherein *Decius* (in the Weſt) was ſole Conſul, no Laws are found dated, though poſſibly ſome of thoſe that are without date, (and inſcribed to *Mennas* eſpecially,) might thence derive their Original. The Code went now briskly on till the ſeventh before the Ides of *April*, on which day being finiſhed, it was directed to *Mennas* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, and before it was finiſhed, *Juſtinian* haſted to make ſeveral Conſtitutions upon divers Subjects to be inſerted in it. For beſides what probably might be done in theſe two lately mentioned months, we find by certain Dates, that in *March* and afterwards, the *Quæſtor* was at work, and from the eleventh before the Calends of *April* incluſive, to the ſaid ſeventh before the Ides, eleven Conſtitutions to have received ſtamp from Imperial Authority. By one on the eleventh before the Calends, he took away more difficulties in making Teſtaments, ſo as they ſhould opperate in favour of concerned Perſons. On the Calends themſelves, or the firſt of *April*, three Conſtitutions bear certain Date. I call it certain, becauſe the Conſul with month and day is alſo expreſſed; but there is another which though it want the Name of the Conſul, yet becauſe the Calends of *April* are expreſſed, and it is inſcribed to *Mennas* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, *Baldwin* with reaſon ſets it to this day alſo of this very year. The three former do ſo nearly concern the *Jus Privatum*, that they are not ſo fit for our Cogniſance; this is of a more general Nature, and may be taken notice of by us. It determines that Criminal Cauſes ſhall be terminated within the ſpace of two years, reckoned from the Conteſtation of the Suit, after which the Party ſhall by all means be abſolved without any allegation or pretence to be admitted; or the Judges and their Officers ſhall fine in twenty pounds of Gold.

L. 32. de Inoffic. Teſtam. Cod. Juſt. lib. 3. tit. 28.

Ordains that Criminal Cauſes ſhall be terminated in two years.

L. ult. ut intra certum tempus, &c. Cod. Juſt. lib. 9. tit. 44. Dat. Cal. Apr.

22. Of old time, a Criminal Action was to be finiſhed within the ſpace of one year, ſo favourable ſeemed the cauſe of accuſed Perſons to be, who, while in Bonds they defended themſelves, could neither manumit, nor make Donations, neither be witneſſes for nor againſt, nor look after Honours. The year was to take its beginning from the Inſcription (of the Accuſer's Name, who if he proved not the Crime, was to undergo the *Lex Talionis*,) in ſuch caſes where an Inſcription was required, and where it was not from the conteſtation of the Suit. If the Accuſer did not finiſh what he had to doe in a years time, he was branded with Infamy,

Tit. 36. lib. 9. Cod. Theodoſ. Vide Gothofr. in Com. Balduin. ubi priús. p. 51. Cujacium, lib. 1. Obſ. 8.

Infamy, or if of more baſe Condition Baniſhed; and beſides this forfeited the fourth part of his Eſtate. But now inſtead of one, *Juſtinian* thought fit to grant two years for proſecution, and therefore when *Tribonian* compoſed his Code, and was to inſert in it the Laws of that of *Theodoſius*, the Title which runs *that within a year a Criminal Action is to be terminated*, he thus interpolated and changed, *within a certain or determinate time*, and he did the ſame thing in the Laws themſelves. Yet notwithſtanding, ſuch was his careleſneſs or forgetfulneſs, that in ſeveral places of the Digeſts, he left ſome remainders of the old Law, which circumſcribed the time of proſecuting a criminal Action within a year. Hereupon the miſtake of ſome Interpreters hath riſen, who after a years time imagined that an accuſed Perſon might ſue for Honours, which opinion was founded upon his inſerting ſtill the remainders of the old Law. But *Juſtinian* afterward allowed the term of three years for deciding Civil Cauſes, and pecuniary Matters, but allowed two for Criminal onely, and out of reſpect to the accuſed Perſons, is thought to have inlarged it ſo far and no farther. Of old time poſſibly he was put in mind, that in pecuniary Cauſes time of delay could be given but once, in Criminal to the accuſed thrice, and to the accuſer but twice. But hereby nothing was altered as to what *Zeno* had Ordained, that a Magiſtrate ſhould ſpeedily be tried after the coming out of his Office, as *Juſtinian* made it a ſingular Caſe, that what was objected againſt a Clerk, ſhould be decided within two months.

23. Of the ninth before the Ides of this ſame *April*, is a Conſtitution bearing Date, whereby he declared that if one Stipulated, to give or doe ſomething at a certain time, under a certain Penalty, in caſe he faild, the Penalty ſhould take place, though he pretended he was not put in mind; for he himſelf ought to have remembred it. Now this, he ſaith, he doeth, to take off the obſcurity of the old Law, which gave occaſion to the protracting of Suits, but *Baldwin* ſhews in ſeveral particulars out of the Pandects, that the opinions of the ancient Lawyers in this particular were very expreſs, and this was not any new Law. On the day following, or the eighth before the Ides, ſeven Conſtitutions bear Date. Whereas Perſons were not at Age, till they had completed twenty five years; yet when young men were found to be frugal and diſcreet, after that of twenty, they were ſometimes allowed to govern their own Eſtates by the indulgence of the Prince. Now *Juſtinian* thought fit to prohibit them, as alſo other Minors, to alienate or ingage their immoveable Eſtates, without the authority of a Decree interpoſing. By another made this day, he declared the Emperour and his Empreſs free to make gifts to each other during Matrimony, which others could not doe, ſo as they ſhould forthwith be Valid, without expectance of the Death of the Prince; foraſmuch as Imperial Contracts (he calls them,) are as ſo many Laws, and need no aſſiſtence from without. By another Conſtitution of this day, he provided for Modeſty, otherwiſe than what before had been practiſed, at leaſt as he imagined. There had been ſome controverſie how Puberty ſhould be made out and proved; ſome ſaid by the Habit of the Body, and ability to generate; but moſt agreed upon the Age of fourteen years in a Man, as twelve in a Woman, as is proved from *Tertullian* and others. But though this opinion of the *Proculeians* was the moſt received, yet to take off all doubts and controverſies, *Juſtinian* thought fit to Eſtabliſh it by Law, and to prohibit all unſeemly inſpections of the Body: This was convenient to be ſetled, becauſe one not arrived at Puberty, could not contract Matrimony, make a Teſtament, give Teſtimony, nor be bound to any thing without the authority of his Tutour intervening. Full Puberty ended, of a man in his eighteenth year, and of a Woman in her fourteenth. And a Boy was wont to nouriſh the Hair of his Head till his fourteenth.

L. 12. de contrahenda & committenda ſtipulatione, Cod. Juſt. lib. 8. tit. 38.

He reſtrains *Minors* from alienating their Eſtates on their own heads.

L. 3. de his qui veniam ætatis impetraverunt, Cod. Juſt. lib. 2. tit. 45.

L. 26. de donationibus inter virum & uxorem, Cod. Juſt. lib. 5. tit. 16.

L. ult. Quando Tutores vel Curatores eſſe deſinant, Cod. Juſt. lib. 5. tit. 60. vide Notas in l. & Balduinum ubi prius. p. 74.

Clears all doubts as to Puberty.

24. There is another Law bearing Date alſo of this ſame day, which with others of the ſame nature, relate to a remarkable Subject. The Subject is that of Uſury, or intereſt for Money and other things borrowed: And this Conſtitution relates to the Treaſury, prohibiting that it receive any Intereſt, but according to a former Law made by him, which hereby he confirms. Now that Law muſt be one which is of the ſame tenour with this which confirms it, and indeed no other than a Noble Conſtitution directed alſo to the ſame Perſon, *viz*, *Mennas*, now *Præfectus Prætorio*, in the Conſulſhip of *Juſtinian*; though how many times Conſul and the day be not added. Indeed *Juſtinian* made many Laws concerning Uſury, though he ordained nothing but what had formerly been ſuch concerning the Obligation, the cauſe whence Uſury deſcended, or how it was contracted, whether by Stipulation, Pact, or Delay; but concerning the manner, end and quantity of juſt and lawfull Intereſt, he firſt enacted many things, liking none which had formerly

L. Ult. de fiſcalibus uſuris, Cod. Juſt. lib. 10. tit. 8.

He regulates the matter of Uſury.

L. 26. de Uſuris, Cod. Juſt. lib. 4. tit. 32.

How the matter of Uſury ſtood in old time.

Tacitus, Annal. lib. 6. Vide Calvini Lexic. in v. Unciarium fœnus.

been made by the *Romans* upon the ſame points. And in the old Common Wealth, they varied much as to their Laws and practice in this kind. By the Law of the twelve Tables, that Uſury was onely permitted, which they called *Vſura Vnciaria* being one in the Hundred, whenas before that time it was as pleaſed the monied Men. After that, (ten years its ſaid,) it was brought by a Tribunitian Law to half an one in the hundred; and when even this proportion alſo ſeemed grievous, *L. Genutius* propoſed a Law to the People, that no Uſury at all ſhould be taken. But the practice being ſuppreſſed, Covetous or Concerned Perſons betook themſelves to Frauds. They had a way to tranſmit the Obligation to others, who were not obnoxious to the Laws, as thoſe they called *Socii Latini Nominis.* To obviate this *M. Sempronius* the Tribune, by order of the Senate, propoſed a Law, and the People enacted, that the ſame Law ſhould hold in the caſe of Borrowing and Lending money, with the *Aſſociates of the Latine Name*, as with *Roman* Citizens. However *Tacitus* writes, that though many Laws were made by the people for to cut off all Fraud; yet though repreſſed, it renued again by ſtrange ſlights and devices. However, for the ſake of Commerce and other Conveniences, it ſtill was found convenient if not neceſſary, that Uſury ſhould be permitted, and the higheſt roſe to the *Vſura Centeſimaria*, which contained twelve times the *Vſura Vnciaria* but now mentioned.

The *Vſura Centeſimaria*, and *Vnciaria.*

25. For the better underſtanding of this, and many other matters relating to the *Roman* Laws and Cuſtoms, it is neceſſary that the Reader know ſomething concerning their Uſage, and Diviſion of their *As*. Here, in ſhort, it may ſuffice to ſay, that this word being the ſame import with a *Nummus*, with *Libra* and *Pondo*, was alſo received to ſignify any thing that was whole and Integral. For the Ancients when they divided any thing into equal parts, as an Inheritance, or any ſuch other thing, were wont to call it *As*, and the parts of it ſo divided, *Vnciæ*. And into twelve *Vnciæ* they divided it, as the Pound is ſtill into ſo many Ounces. And the ſeveral parts had their proper Names, as two *Vnciæ* were called *Sextans*, three *Quadrans*, four (or a third part of the *As*,) *Triens*, five *Quincunx*, ſix *Semis* or an half, ſeven *Septunx*, eight *Bes*, nine they called *Dodrans*, ten *Dextans*, eleven *Denax*, and the twelve, or the whole, *As*. Now to apply this to our preſent matter of Uſury or Intereſt, it muſt be known that the principal money was wont to be reckoned by the Hundred, as now-a-days. And this the *Romans* are ſaid to have taken from the *Greeks*, who for a more commodious way of Accounts, reduced their Principal to a *Mina*, which contained an hundred Drachms. Now then when one in the Hundred was paid for Intereſt by the year, this they called *Vſura Vnciaria*, but not *Centeſima*; for the *Vſura Centeſima* was when one *Vncia* or the hundredth part of the Principal was paid every month, and ſo twelve *Vnciæ* or the whole *As* in a year, which indeed was twelve in the Hundred. But their Cuſtome was to pay their Intereſt every month, and when one *Vncia* was monthly paid, this was called the *Centeſima* indeed, or full Intereſt, being the *As* of Uſury. Hence followed other leſſer as Parts of this *As*. *Semis* when but half of it was paid in the year, or ſix in the Hundred, *viz.* Half an *Vncia* every month, or half an one in the Hundred; *Quadrans* when a fourth part, and ſo proportionably.

The *As* was divided into twelve *Vnciæ* and their names.

26. Notwithſtanding all Indeavours to the contrary, yet the *Centeſimaria Vſura* ſeems to have been the moſt common, and even that called *Legitima* in the Law Books. Some have held that it was leſſened by the *Lex Gabinia*, becauſe *Cicero* ſignifies to *Atricus*, that ſome ſuch thing was comprehended in that Law, which he himſelf followed in his *Edictum Tralaticium*, or that which according to the Cuſtome of the Ancients, he took and tranſcribed from the City into his Province. *Plutarch* alſo writes, that *Lucullus* in *Aſia* preſcribed thoſe bounds. Both *Tacitus* and *Suetonius* mention a Law made by *Cæſar* the Dictatour, concerning the manner of Lending and holding Poſſeſſions within *Italy*. What it preciſely determined we know not, though it ſeems that in the time of *Tiberius*, the Lenders took more for their Money, than by that Law they might do, which Law lay neglected, the publick good, he ſaith, being leſs valued than private Commodity. This cauſed a multitude to riſe up as Informers, againſt ſuch as tranſgreſſed the Law, and *Gracchus* being *Prætor*, unto him the examination of the queſtion fell. He being conſtrained by the multitude of ſuch as were indangered thereby, propounded the matter to the Senate. The Senatours being afraid, for there was none of them free from that fault, craved reſpite of the Prince. He granted them a year and ſix months, within which time every man, according to the preſcript of Law, ſhould ſettle his Eſtate, and make up his Domeſtical Accounts. Upon this, every man calling in

Vide Balduinum ubi ſuprà.

his Debts, on a ſudden there followed a great ſcarcity of Money; and by reaſon that ſo many were condemned, and their Goods ſold, all the Coin ran either to the publick Treaſury, or that of the Prince. The Senate ordained, that two parts of the Uſe-money ſhould be laid out on Lands in *Italy*: but the Creditours diſliked it, and urged the payment of the whole, as a matter impairing the Reputation of the Parties convented, to go from their word.

The great ſtir that happened in *Tiberius* his time about Uſury.

27. At firſt there was great running hither and thither, and Entreaties uſed. Then they flocked about the *Prætor*'s Tribunal: and thoſe things that were propoſed for a Remedy, as ſelling and buying ſuch Mens Goods, turned to a contrary effect, becauſe the Uſurers had hoarded up all their Money to buy Land. And becauſe the multitude of Sellers made Land very cheap, the more a man was indebted, the more unwilling he was to ſell. Many were thruſt out of all they had, and with their Wealth their Credit alſo ſank, till *Tiberius* relieved them, by putting an hundred Million of Seſterces into a Bank, and lent it for three years without Conſideration or Intereſt, provided the Debtour could give ſecurity to the People of *Rome* in Lands double the value of the Debt. By that means their Credit was reſtored, and other private Creditours by little and little appeared. Neither was the buying of Lands practiſed, according to the Decree of the Senate. Though it was hotly at the beginning purſued, in the end it was careleſly neglected, as almoſt all ſuch things are. Such was the ſtir about Uſury, as *Tacitus* relates it, in the time of *Tiberius*, and it ſeems that the Practice returned to be much as formerly, and the *Uſura Centeſima* continued even to the time of *Juſtinian*. He was againſt it, as too hard and exacting; but to ſettle the full matter of Intereſt there was need of good conſideration. It could not be done in a word or two, but was to be fitted to various circumſtances.

Juſtinian diſlikes the *Uſura Centeſima.*

Reſtrains that of Senatours to four,

Though not that of his own Treaſury.

28. For a diſtinction was to be made between Creditour and Creditour, Debtour and Debtour, the thing that was lent was to be conſidered, with the Condition of the Obligation, what delay there was in the caſe, or how long the Creditour wanted his money. *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, as we have formerly ſeen, ordained that Senatours ſhould not ſtipulate or receive more than half the *As*, or ſix in the Hundred. But now *Juſtinian* thought fit to reſtrain Illuſtrious Perſons, under whom they were comprehended, to a *Triens*, or four in the Hundred. But as *Baldwin* words it, he did not think his own Treaſury ſo illuſtrious, but that he permitted it to receive ſix. For a little after that Conſtitution he publiſhed another, whereby he enacted, that his Treaſury ſhould be bound by that Law, yet ſo as it might require the *Uſura ſemiſſis*, which was vulgar and common. *Paul*, the great Lawyer, had formerly anſwered, that one who had received Intereſt leſs than ſix, yet if he became a Debtour to the Treaſury, ſhould to it pay the full ſix. Now *Juſtinian*, in general, defines that always ſix ſhall be allowed to the Treaſury, but no more, whether it be a Debt principally and originally belonging to it, or that Actions be tranſferred to it from other Creditours. But Illuſtrious Perſons he will allow to receive but four, which ſort of Intereſt is, by Lawyers, called the lighter, as ſix, by *Pliny*, is termed civil, and moderate. *Lampridius* writes of that excellent Prince, *Alexander Severus*, that he to took but four in the Hundred; and in old time it was anſwered, that when any thing were yearly left to the Commonwealth, the Intereſt was to be of four onely, in the *Falcidian* Law. When any thing was delayed to be paid to the Commonwealth, as the ſetting up of a Statue, left as a Legacy to the People of *Rome*, *Paulus* alſo ſaid, that but four in the Hundred were to be exacted for that delay. In like manner *Juſtinian* ordained, that if the Dower was not paid for whole two years after Matrimony contracted, or if after the diſſolution of the Marriage the Husband did not reſtore back the Dower, conſiſting in moveables, for ſuch *Mora*, or Delay, Intereſt of four in the Hundred ſhould be paid. To which ſomething like had formerly been appointed.

Permits Trafſickers to take eight, and others onely ſix.

Eaſes Husbandmen in Intereſt of Money.

But rather burthens them in that of Fruits.

Novel. 32, 33, 34.

29. But Traders *Juſtinian* permitted to take eight in the Hundred, others in general onely ſix, whereas twelve had been formerly permitted to all. Herein he conſidered the Perſons of the Creditours, or of thoſe who put out their money. And he alſo had reſpect to thoſe who received upon Intereſt. He had at length pity upon miſerable Husbandmen, to whom the State is ſo much beholden, ordaining, that to no Creditour whomſoever they ſhould pay more than four in the Hundred, or not much more than four, *viz.* one *Siliqua* yearly for every *Solidus*, of which it was the four and twentieth part. But thoſe whom he eaſed in the Intereſt of Money, he ſeems to have burthened in that of Fruits. For he allows the eighth part of a *Modius* to be ſtipulated for every *Modius*, which a little exceeds the *Uſura Centeſima*, or twelve in the Hundred. And indeed when

he publiſhed his firſt Conſtitution formerly mentioned, he permitted all Perſons to take the *Centeſima* upon Commodities, though not on Money. And now he remits nothing, except it be for Bread-corn lent to Husbandmen. The reaſon was, becauſe Husbandmen are wont from ſowing ſuch ſeeds to receive the Intereſt of two hundred, or more, and otherwiſe the prices of ſuch things are ſo uncertain, that he ſeemed to find reaſon therein to conſult the advantage of the Creditour, to whom the thing borrowed might be paid, in, or at, a time wherein the value of it was faln, which rarely happened unto Money, the quantity of money conſiſting in the value, but that of other things in weight and meaſure. *Conſtantine*, as we formerly obſerved, put a reſtraint upon the Uſury of Fruit, forbidding more to be taken than a third part, or, allowing that, if two *Modii* of Corn were lent, a third ſhould be returned back for the uſe of the two, ſo as theſe two, and it, ſhould make up three parts, and, in reality, an half of the whole ſhould be returned for Intereſt. This was a Reformation of the old Extravagance and Extorſion, made by *Conſtantine*; but notwithſtanding this, and that, the *Vſura Centeſima* was left by him as it formerly was, though he forbad it to be exceeded, the Intereſt of Fruits was three times greater than that of Money.

And why.

Other Intereſt than that of Money he forbids to exceed the *Centeſima*.

30. Both the one and the other ſort *Juſtinian* found to be too great, and what he did as to that of money we have already ſaid. Other Uſury than that of Money he forbad to exceed the *Centeſima*. That he allowed, and he allowed it to be taken of Husbandmen, from whom otherwiſe he forbad ſo much to be exacted for the uſe of Money, as from other men. For Fruits he grants they might take double of that of money, permitting, though but a *Siliqua* yearly for every *Solidus*, yet for a *Modius* of Corn an eighth part to be ſtipulated. To evade this Law, Creditours afterward were wont, when they lent Money, to ſay, they lent it to buy Corn, and ſtipulate the Intereſt to be that of Corn, to obviate which fraud *Juſtinian* took care in the law formerly mentioned. Thus he had reſpect to what was lent, and conſidered who it was that borrowed, and who lent, in theſe his Conſtitutions. But he alſo diſtinguiſhed according to the Danger and Riſque the Lender was like to run. So that if he was to bear the loſs, if the fruits that were to be ſown miſcarried, he reſtrained him not by Law. Neither was that the Lawyers call *Antichreſis* formerly ſo reſtrained by Conſtitutions, but that it might be uſed, provided there was no fraud therein. They called it *Antichreſis*, when the Creditour received the Fruits of a piece of ground, or other thing, which was given in pledge for Money lent. And *Lucullus* ſeems to have attempted to reſtrain the practice of it, and to reduce it to moderation. To be ſure both the obligation of it, and of other ſorts of Pledges, was diſſolved, if the Principal was tendred. However *Juſtinian* forbad, that the Fields or Goods of Husbandmen ſhould be held by the way of *Antichreſis*. The Ancients indeed prohibited the Inſtruments of Husbandry to be taken or obliged this way, but he extends the Prohibition to other of their things, though the Creditour lent them the Corn, and underwent the danger of the miſcarriage of the ſeed. For miſerable muſt be the eſtate of the Husbandman, and Husbandry it ſelf muſt be diſturbed, if their grounds be held and tilled by other men.

L. 16. de Vſuris.

Forbids the *Antichreſis* in the Lands or Goods of Husbandmen.

The *Fœnus Nauticum* uncertain.

31. There was another ſort of Uſury, as remarkable as any of the reſt, if not more, and that aroſe from Money lent for Traffick by Sea, called *Fœnus Nauticum*, and *Trajectitium*. In caſe the Creditour took upon himſelf the danger of Sea and Navigation, nay and in ſuch caſe ſubjected the very Principal to danger, the Ancients judged Uſury to be free, and by no means to be circumſcribed, it being indeed the price of the danger rather than any thing elſe. But ſuch Contracts *Juſtinian* thought fit to reſtrain to the *Vſura Centeſima*. Yet afterwards he found, that theſe *Contractus Trajectitii* were ſo various, that they could not conveniently be regulated by one Law, and his Reſolution was various about them. In order to a right determination, concerning lawfull Intereſt in ſuch Caſes, a diſtinction muſt be made in reference to the condition of the Money lent, and the peril undergone by the Creditour. Moreover it's to be known, that the Law ſo often mentioned concerning the moderation of Uſury, properly belongeth to Stipulations and Contracts, and that ſometimes, even by the Imperial Conſtitutions, greater Intereſt was due without contract. As *Juſtinian* himſelf afterwards declared, that the Intereſt of ſuch things as had been decreed in Judicature, concerning which the Law had paſſed, ſhould be that of the *Centeſima*, if ſo be the Party caſt did not make payment after four months, provided it ſhould be onely for the Principal, not for any former Intereſt due upon the Principal, though they had been joined together as one in the condemnation. And yet he declared by the former Law, that no greater Intereſt ſhould be exacted for Contracts, than he therein allows, though the Contracts had been made before the

L. 26.

Intereſt of things obtained in Judicature allowed to be of the *Centeſima*.

L. ult. Cod. Juſt. de Vſura rei judicatæ, lib. 7. tit. 54.

Sect. 2.

L. penult. Cod. de Uſuris.

Intereſt not to exceed the Principal.

the Law, in the time when it was lawfull to ſtipulate greater. And what is more obſervable, he permitted not the courſe of Intereſt to exceed the double, or more to be paid for Uſe, than the whole Principal amounted to; nor though there was a Pledge in the caſe.

32. This was received of old for Law, that when the Intereſt did equal the Principal, the payment of it ſhould ceaſe, although it was the *Uſura Nautica* and *Trajectitia*. But *Juſtinian* inſinuates, as *Baldwin* obſerves, that there were ſome old Laws, by which, if the Creditour had a Pledge, he might retain it, and ſo by it, exact even greater Uſury; which Laws, whatſoever they were, he took away, that ſo the Moderation of Intereſt, which he brought up, might be preſerved. He alſo obſerves another effect of this Moderation of our Legiſlatour. In reference to the doubling of the Principal, and ſtopping of Intereſt when it ſhould have equalled it, *Antoninus* the Emperour, by his Reſcript, declared, that to the making up of that ſumm which equalled the Principal, ſuch Intereſt as had formerly been paid ſhould not be reckoned, but onely ſuch as were in arrear from the Debtour. But *Juſtinian* conſidering, that by this means a knaviſh Debtour might have the advantage above the honeſt and well meaning, who conſtantly kept his day of payment, and that a covetous and exacting Creditour ſhould fare better than one who was generous, and not exacting or preciſe in getting Money, though he had at firſt taken that Reſcript or Law of *Antoninus* into his Code, yet at length he thought fit to repeal it, and ordained that Intereſt already paid, and the ſeveral payments of it ſhould be reckoned to make that ſumm, which equalling the Principal ſhould diſcharge the Debtour from farther Uſury. This his favour was abuſed by certain Creditours, who extended it to extinguiſh ſome pecuniary Incomes, which otherwiſe were perpetual, which conſtrained him to publiſh another Novel Conſtitution whereby he repreſſed that interpretation. For when the Creditour can call in or recover his Principal, it is a fault in him to chuſe rather to oppreſs the Debtour with Intereſt; and therefore where he doth not call it in, the Law ſtops the Uſe-money; and he may thank himſelf for ſuffering his Principal to lye dead in the Debtour's hands: But if it be ſo alienated, that it cannot be recovered, and by the payment of it, a Penſion or Annuity be purchaſed, though with that Condition, that the Debtour, by repayment of the Principal, might diſcharge himſelf, it ſeemed hard, that having for ſome years onely paid as much to the Creditour as it came to, he ſhould refuſe to pay Intereſt ſtill for that Money which he kept in his hands, and which the Creditour could not recover out.

Former payments to be reckoned in.

Novel. 121.

Novel. 160.

But this now reſtrained.

33. Another particular is ſtill behind, which ſhewed how moderate this Legiſlatour was in point of Uſury. The old Laws forbad that Uſe ſhould be taken for Uſe-money, or Uſe upon Uſe, inſomuch that they marked him with Infamy that ſhould require it. Yet, as *Juſtinian* obſerves, they did not make ſufficient proviſion againſt the practice, but by permitting the Intereſt to be turned into Principal, and then the Intereſt of the whole ſumm, ſo put together, to be ſtipulated, made it all one thing to the Debtours, and thereby regulated not Things but Words. But he reſolved to obviate this fraud by defining, that, to take off this colour and vizard of Juſtice, no Uſe-money or Intereſt ſhould be turned into, or receive the name of Principal, and Intereſt ſtipulated to be paid for it. Yet this Law ſeems to be imperfect, no Sanction or penalty being added for the fault it prohibits, and therefore it is demanded what puniſhment ſuch Offender is to ſuffer. In the Law at firſt mentioned, as well as in this, he added, that ſtipulations made contrary to theſe Laws ſhould be of no force; and in favour of Husbandmen he was more ſevere, ordaining, that ſuch as did not obſerve his Novel Conſtitutions in that point, ſhould loſe their Principal. This *Baldwin* obſerves, and ſince him *Molinæus* embraces the opinion of ſuch Lawyers, as think an infamous Uſurer may be puniſhed criminally, and may be tortured, though in the Laws no ſuch proviſion be made, and this he had ſeen done in the Parliament of *Paris*. *Plato's* Law was very ſevere alſo, which would permit the Debtour ſo exacted upon to pay neither Intereſt nor Principal. But *Baldwin* pronounces ſuch Theoremes of Philoſophers to be too confuſed, and to diſturb the Commerce of humane Societies. As alſo that the Laws of other Nations, as to Uſury, kept no mean nor diſtinction, but were intemperate and infinite, and either prohibited or permitted every ſort of Uſury. But how more wiſely, ſaith he, and conſiderately did *Juſtinian* act? And yet he adds, Poſterity bewitched with a fooliſh ſort of Superſtition, and ſillily abhorring the name of Uſury not underſtood, whenas they did not refuſe the thing it ſelf, hath dared to inveigh againſt ſo good a Legiſlatour in this kind.

Hoc certè erat non rebus ſed verbis, tantummodo legem ponere, l. 28. de Uſuris.

Intereſt forbidden to be changed into Principal.

L. 26.

Vide Notas in l. 20. ex quibus cauſis infamia irrogatur, Cod. Inſt. lib. 2. tit. 12.

The Laws of other Nations were extravagant in this point of Intereſt.

34. We have done with the buſineſs of Uſury, but ſhall farther take notice, that the ſame Day he made the Law which gave occaſion to the Diſcourſe upon this Subject, he publiſhed another on a different, wherein he altered the Law as it had formerly ſtood. The Ancients prohibited mere Donations betwixt Man and Wife, for according ſuch Inconveniences as extreme affection or importunity might procure betwixt them. They prohibited them not when they were firſt contracted; but this ſort of Donation is ſaid to have had a tacite condition, if Marriage followed, eſpecially by a Law of *Conſtantine*; for indeed before, when no cauſe was expreſſed, nor any condition, the ancient Lawyers ſeemed to interpret it to be a pure and liberal Donation, ſo as the thing became preſently theirs, to whom it was made. There was a third ſort of Donation before Marriage; which was not a mere Donation, but for conſideration, being, as it were, a certain compenſation of the *Dos*, or Portion, which the Wife brought; or our Jointure in *England*, which the Husband contributed as ſhe did her *Dos*. *Baldwin* ſaith, this ſort of Donation was unknown to the ancient Lawyers, even by confeſſion of *Juſtinian*; but in the time of the later Emperours, when Barbariſm diminiſhed the Dignity of Husbands, and when men became thereupon uxorious, it began to be in uſe, there being no mention of it in the Pandects. Hereupon though the *Dos*, or Portion, be ſaid to be by the Law of Nations, yet he ſcarcely allows this to belong to the Civil Law. And at firſt it was not preſcribed how much the Man ſhould give or contribute upon this Account. But *Leo* and *Anthemius* decreed, that ſome equality of Portion ſhould be obſerved in the Pacts of the *Dos*, and this Donation, that on ſuch terms as the Husband gained a third part of the *Dos*, the Wife ſhould gain in like manner a fourth of the Donation.

Donations betwixt Man and Wife prohibited.

Not when firſt contracted.

The Donation, anſwering our Jointure, not anciently known to the *Romans*.

Sponſalitia Donatio.

Et propterea ab Juſtiriano ἀντίφερνα vocantur quæ ita donantur. Primo appellata eſt Donatio ante Nuptias, ſed Juſtinianus eam vocari mandavit Donationem propter Nuptias, cùm eam etiam poſt Nuptias fieri permitteret, ut ipſam Dotem. l. ult. tit. 3. lib. 5. Cod.

35. This equality therefore might otherwiſe be unequal, and Interpreters commonly, though barbarouſly, ſaid it was *quotitativè*, not *quantitativè*; yet *Juſtinian*, when he made his Code, was content to admit it. He onely added, that *if the Pacts were unequal, they ſhould be ſo reduced to equality, that the greater gain ſhould be brought down to the leſs*, as if the Wife compacted to gain a third part of the Donation, and the Husband but a fourth, that Pact of hers ſhould onely be underſtood to be of the fourth part. He afterward in a Novel Conſtitution approved this Law; but ſome time after, by another, he enacted, that both in quantity and frame of this Donation for Marriage, ſuch equality ſhould be obſerved betwixt it and the *Dos*; that ſo much ſhould be contained in it as in the other. He had formerly ordained, that the Donation ſhould not be greater than the *Dos*. He was afraid that the Law which prohibits a ſimple Donation to be made from the Husband to the Wife, ſhould be infringed; and herein, contrary to his wont, he ſeemed little to favour Women, by repreſſing the liberality of their Husbands. But this Donation tended to their advantage, the *Dos* being better ſecured to them, and thereby the Husband being hindred from breaking the Matrimony by divorce, raſhly, and without a cauſe. Indeed the Wife, in reſpect of her *Dos* ſhe brought with her, had a great Obligation upon all her Husband's Eſtate; but beſides, this condition was profitable; for the Husband could not alienate ſuch things, eſpecially if immoveable, though the Wife conſented, as the Legiſlatour determined. And then, as the Woman divorcing her ſelf without cauſe, loſt part of her *Dos*, ſo the Husband, in ſuch caſe, loſt part of his Donation alſo.

Quotitativa non quantitativa.

Juſtinian takes pains in this Affair.

Nov. 22.

Nov. 97.

Nov. 61.

36. The day following the date of all theſe Conſtitutions lately mentioned, or the ſeventh of the Ides of *April*, preſents us with one directed alſo to *Mennas*, wherein *Juſtinian* will have all due honour and reſpect paid to Judges, and ordains, that in caſe a Judge have omitted to tax the Expences of a Suit, and to award them to him that overcomes his Adverſary, there ſhall be no need of any Appeal, but the Judge, *ad quem*, to whom the Adverſary caſt, of courſe appeals, ſhall have power to decree him a compenſation for the ſaid Coſts and Damages he hath ſuſtained. Though all or moſt of the other Conſtitutions were made before the Code was publiſhed, yet we can ſcarcely think that this was, becauſe on this very ſame day we find the Code it ſelf ſet forth, though *Baldwin* would have it the day following. It appears ſo to have been by the date of the Edict, prefixt to it for its confirmation, which, in our later Edition, bears date of the ſeventh of the Ides of *April*, and is directed alſo to *Mennas*, as *Præfectus Prætorio*, Exprefect of the City, and Patritian, which *Mennas* continued to be Prefect to the Month of *Auguſt* of this year. He begins his Edict by telling his Subjects, "That the main defence of the State "proceeded from two fountains, of Arms and the Laws, which exerting thence its "Power, had procured the happy Stock of the *Romans* to be preferred before all "Nations, had cauſed them to have Dominion over all People for the time paſt,

Prohibits Appeals in point of taxing Coſts.

He publiſheth his Code.

L. ult. Quando provocare non eſt neceſſe, Cod. Juſt. lib. 7. tit. 64.

De Juſtinianeo Codice confirmando.

“ and with the Favour of God, would doe the like for that to come. One of theſe,
“ he adds, always ſtood in need of the Aſſiſtence of the other, the Affairs of War
“ being kept in ſafety by the Laws, as well as the Laws preſerved by the ſafe-guard
“ of Arms. That therefore applying his Mind, and Indeavours to the chief The Edict of publication.
“ means of the Preſervation of the Commonwealth, he had by manifold means,
“ and provident Methods amended the State of the *Militia*, as well by reducing
“ the ancient Laws into a better Frame, and that in a ſhort ſpace of time, as by
“ ordaining new, yet without any new publick Expences.

36. “ But it being neceſſary by reducing into Brevity, the multitude of Conſti-
“ tutions as well found in the three ancient Codes, as thoſe added afterward, to
“ take away the obſcurity of them, which caſt a miſt before the Judges in
“ their Deciſions; for the performance of this common Good, with the Aſſiſt-
“ ence of God, he applyed himſelf earneſtly to it, and having made choice of
“ Men, who were moſt Glorious, for their learning in the Laws, their experience
“ in the World, their indefatigable Induſtry for the good of the State, and their
“ laudable Deſign, with certain Reſtrictions, he committed to them this great La-
“ bour, by which the Conſtitutions of the three Codes of *Gregorius*, *Hermogenia-*
“ *nus*, *Theodoſius*, together with the Conſtitutions of the ſaid *Theodoſius*, of ſuc-
“ ceeding Princes, and ſuch as had been made by himſelf, he commanded to be
“ collected into one Code; which ſhould be named after himſelf. The Prefaces
“ he tells us, were to be taken away, as affording no ſuffrage to the Sanctions, as
“ alſo ſuch contrary Conſtitutions as were made void by others, more lately pro-
“ mulgated, ſuch alſo as being to the ſame purpoſe, and made no diſtinction in
“ Law; beſides many other things, he gave in Charge to thoſe moſt prudent Per-
“ ſons; and the Omnipotent God gave Aſſiſtence to his Endeavour, which was un-
“ dertaken for the Commonwealth. After this,he declares that thoſe Perſons formerly
“ named, according to their ſeveral Titles and Qualifications, which here it will
“ be needleſs to repeat, viz. *John*, *Leontius*, *Phocas*, *Baſilides*, *Thomas*, *Triboni-*
“ *an*, *Conſtantinus*, *Theophilus*, *Dioſcorus* and *Præſentinus*, being choſen for com-
“ pleting ſo great a Work, had by the help of God, brought what he had com-
“ mitted to them, through their ſedulous and moſt vigilant Induſtry, and their
“ moderate digeſting of Matters to a proſperous Iſſue, and had preſented to him a
“ new *Juſtinianean* Code ſo compoſed, as ſhould be profitable to the Common-
“ wealth, and agreeable to the Conſtitution and Intereſt of his Empire.

37. “ Then applying his Speech to *Mennas* the Prefect he tells him, that he
“ thought fit to direct this Code, which for ever ſhould be of force to the Judg-
“ ment of his Highneſs, that as well all that have Suits, as the moſt eloquent Ad-
“ vocates may know, that in all Cauſes and Tryals, they inſiſt not for the time
“ to come on any Conſtitutions found in the three ancient Codes now mentioned,
“ or on any amongſt thoſe at this time called Novel Conſtitutions; but onely make
“ uſe of thoſe inſerted in his Code, under pein of Forgery. For he ſaith, the
“ reading of the Conſtitutions of his ſaid Code, if the Labours of the ancient Inter-
“ preters of Law be added, are ſufficient to decide all Controverſies; there being no
“ doubt to ariſe, either for that, ſome of them are without Day or Conſul, or for that
“ they are Anſwers to certain Perſons; it being moſt evident, that they all obtain the
“ force of general Conſtitutions; although ſome of the ſaid Conſtitutions be ſo
“ framed, that certain words be taken away, added or altered, which Liberty he
“ had given to the ſaid moſt Excellent Perſons. He forbids that, any reciet them
“ out of the Books of the ancient Lawyers, otherwiſe than they are in his Code,
“ permitting them onely to commend the opinions of the Interpreters, which ſhall
“ onely ſo far be of value, as they do not contradict the Conſtitutions of his
“ Code. If there were any Pragmatick Sanctions which had not been received in-
“ to his Code, perhaps granted to Cities, Bodies, Schools, *Scrinia* or Offices, or
“ to ſome certain Perſon; if ſo be they granted any ſpecial Privilege and Indul-
“ gence, they ſhould remain in force; or if they were deſigned for certain Heads
“ or Chapters, then they ſhould be of force if they were contrary to no Con-
“ ſtitution in his Code. In like manner, if any thing had been done in the Court
“ of *Mennas*, or other Civil or Military places of Judicature, or at the *Principia*
“ *Numerorum*, in reference to publick Expences, or any Titles relating to the pub-
“ lick, he adjudges them to be valid as the common Utility doth require. And
“ now he concludes with an Epilogue, which he, or his ten Compilers of the Code,
“ have cut off from all the Conſtitutions therein comprized. Let therefore thy
“ Magnifick and Illuſtrious Authority, according to the Vigilancy thou uſeſt in
“ behalf of the Commonwealth, and in fulfilling our Orders, cauſe the ſaid Code

"to be known to all ſorts of People, by Edicts publiſhed according to the Cu-"ſtome. The Text it ſelf alſo of the Code, is to be ſent into all Provinces ſubject "to our command, with our Divine (ſo ſtill they uſed to word it) Subnotation, "that ſo the Conſtitutions of our Code may come to the knowledge of all; "and that there being Feſtival days to come, that is from the ſixteenth day before "the Calends of *May*, of this preſent ſeventh Indiction, in the Conſulſhip of the "moſt famous *Decius*; Quotations and Authorities of Conſtitutions, may be made "from our ſaid Code. Given on the ſeventh before the Ides at *Conſtantinople*, *De-"cius*, the moſt Famous, being Conſul, A. D. DXXIX.

The haſte of the Compilers cenſured.

38. In this Edict he commends much his ten Compilers, for their Induſtry and Skill; whatever their Induſtry was, their haſte ſeems to have been too great and precipitate, having taken but the time of fifteen Months, for the Collecting and Interpolating of this Code. This indeed they might the more eaſily doe, becauſe he gave them leave to take away the Prefaces to the ſeveral Conſtitutions; which afforded no light to the Sanctions. But they took away both Prefaces and Epilogues, and thereby deprived us of a great Light, which they would have afforded the occaſions, and conſequently the reaſons of the Laws. It were to be wiſhed they had taken away all contrary Conſtitutions, and thoſe of the ſame Tendency and Effect. And that the Liberty he gave them of taking away, adding and altering Words had been more cautiouſly uſed, as with great Grief to all underſtanding Men, it is found that it was not; their Interpolations being moſt notorious. And *Juſtinian* by the perſuaſion of them or others, ſeems to have made too too much haſte, having ſcarcely put into this Code, the tenth part of the Conſtitutions he found requiſite afterward to add of his own device. At the ſame time, that he publiſhed this Code (which he ordained ſhould be of Force, from the ſixteenth before the Calends of *May*, or the fourteenth of *April*) he was ſtill hammering new Conſtitutions, it is therefore admired that he ſhould not defer the Publication of it, till they were finiſhed. And he found ſo much occaſion for the increaſing their number, that for the collecting and inſerting of them, a new Edition of the Code was afterwards found neceſſary.

Privileges granted to Souldiers not to extend to them, when at home.

L. ult. de Reſtitutionib. Militum, & eorum qui Reip. cauſa abſunt. Cod. Juſt. lib. 2. *tit.* 51. *Dat.* 6. *Id. Apr. Conſtp. Decio. V. C. Conſ.* 529.

L. 17. *de Teſtam. Militis, Cod. lib.* 6. *t.* 21.

How far the Alienations made by *Minors* ſhall be good.

L. ult. ſi Major factus Alienationem factam ſive Decreto ratam habuerit, Cod. Juſt. lib. 5. *tit.* 74.

39. The very day following the Confirmation of the Code, we find a Conſtitution directed to this ſame *Mennas*, whereby the Emperour declares ſuch Privileges as were ordinarily granted to Souldiers, in declining Exceptions, and in the Reſtitution *in integrum*, ſhould onely hold in the time of Expedition, and not when they lay in other places, or at home. And whereas Military men had alſo allowed them great Liberty, in making their Teſtaments, which ſet them free from the Solemnities, which in thoſe of others were required, by another Edict directed alſo to *Mennas*, he declared that they ſhould onely hold in ſuch Expeditions, and not at all times. This bears Date on the fourth day before the Ides, and on the Ides themſelves, another Conſtitution is ſtill directed to *Mennas*, whereby he declares that ſuch Alienations as had been made of the Goods or Eſtate of a *Minor*, or one under Age, without the Intervention of a Decree ſhall be good; if the ſaid *Minor* after his coming to Age, or twenty five, did not contradict it, but held his Peace for five years. But whereas a *Minor* could make no Donations, though with a Decree, in the time of his Minority, except onely for the cauſe of Marriage, he will not have them valid, except ſuch Perſon after he came to Age, ſhall if preſent be ſilent ten years, and if abſent twenty. And if he dyed before thoſe Terms completed, his Heirs within the remainder of the Term may recall, if he pleaſe, the Donation; not after. Theſe Conſtitutions might eaſily have been taken into the Code before its Publication, according to what we now can judge; but the Truth is, there might be preſſing Reaſons not to ſtay ſo long, of which at this diſtance we are ignorant: So alſo we are not certain, but that many more might be made betwixt this and *Auguſt*; but yet we find a ſpace of near four Months of Intermiſſion, wherein the Emperour and his *Quæſtor*, ſeem to have taken their eaſe as to this Affair. For the next we find in the Code, bears Date of the eighth before the Ides of *Auguſt*; yet being directed ſtill to the ſame *Mennas*, we ſuſpect other inſcribed to him without Date might have been Compoſed in ſo much diſtance of time; but then as to the time we have no certainty.

L. 20. *de Collationib. Cod. Juſt. lib.* 6. *tit.* 20.

40. That Edict ſo much concerns the *Jus Privatum*, that we ſhall not meddle with it, for Reaſons formerly given. We find on one day of the next Month, *viz.* the ſixteenth of *September*, or the fifteenth before the Calends of *October*, eight ſeveral Conſtitutions bearing Date, as now they are in the Code, not directed to *Mennas*, but to *Demoſthenes*. For *Mennas* being now out, *Demoſthenes* came in for the remainder of the Year and that following, together with one *Atarbius*, as *Alamannus*

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In Secret. Hiſt. p. 92.

l. 8. *Qui Teſtamenta facere potuit vel non, Cod. Juſtiniani, lib.* 6. *tit.* 22.

Juſtinian favours Legacies, and *Fideicommiſſa.*

l. 1. *Communia de Legatis, Cod. lib.* 6. *tit.* 4?.

l. 5. *Cod. Juſt. lib.* 6. *tit.* 57.

Prohibits the baſe Children of Illuſtrious women, to ſucceed them in their Eſtates.

Et hanc legem ipſi pudicitiæ quam ſemper colendam ſencemus, merito dedicamus.

nus obſerves from a Conſtitution publiſhed by *Ant. Contius*, though whence he tells not. This *Demoſthenes* alſo, as he obſerves, had been *Præfectus Prætorio*, eight years before in the time of *Juſtin*, in the firſt Conſulſhip of *Juſtinian* and *Valerius*, to whom that Emperour directs a Law concerning a blind man; whether, and how he may make a Teſtament. By one of the eight Laws lately mentioned, he made an Alteration from what had been before, granting an Action in Caſe of Legacies, and *Fideicommiſſa*, both againſt Thing and Perſon, and beſides an *Hypotheca*, or Obligation upon the reſt of the Teſtatours Eſtate, and he took away the Diſtinction of Legacies formerly uſed. By another, he expreſly forbad that, if an Illuſtrious Woman had legitimate Sons, and alſo Baſtards, of whom the Fathers were uncertain, that the Baſtards ſhould ſucceed her, together with the Legitimate, either by virtue of a Teſtament, or if ſhe dyed without a Will, or by any Deed of Gift, made betwixt the living. For that a Baſtard ſhould be named as Heir to a Woman, both of free and Illuſtrious Condition, he eſteemed it an horrible thing, and unworthy of the times. So much was he concerned therein, that he Dedicates this Law to Modeſty, and that deſervedly, which he thinks always is to be regarded. He was of Opinion, that the Greatneſs of Quality made the Crime the greater. But if a Woman of ingenuous Condition, was a Concubine to any Free-man, he permits that ſuch Children propagated by ſuch lawfull Conjunction, be admitted to ſucceed their Mother, together with her Legitimate iſſue, in her lawfull Patrimony.

l. 3. *de Infant. expoſitis, Cod. lib.* 8. *tit.* 52.

An Infant not to be diſ-inherited as ingratefull.

l. 33. *de Inoffic. Teſtam. Cod. lib.* 3. *tit.* 28.

Nor a Poſthumous Iſſue.

The ſame Perſon not to be Aſſeſſour and Advocate.

l. Ult. de Aſſeſſorib. Cod. lib. 1. *tit.* 51.

l. 6. *de Bonis qua, lib. Cod. lib.* 6. *tit.* 61.

41. He farther ordained, that ſuch Infants as were expoſed, ſhould be taken and held for free and of ingenuous Condition, and as at this time he defined, what Children ſhould be accounted ingratefull, upon that account, as that they might be diſ-inherited, or looſe part of the Inheritance; ſo a few days after, or on the twelfth before the Calends of *October*, he approved what the great Lawyer *Paulus* had written, that an Infant could not be ſtyled ingratefull by the Mother, nor be repelled from the Mothers Inheritance. But whereas it was held, that out of hatred to the Husband, a Woman might diſ-inherit her Son, he rejected it, and ordained that none ſhould be burthened by the hatred of another Perſon; that an Infant could not be ingratefull, and therefore could not be diſ-inherited, and if he were, might always have the benefit of the *Querela Inoffícioſi Teſtamenti.* As for Poſthumous Children, or thoſe that were unborn at the death of their Parents, though he was of ſeveral minds herein; yet at laſt, he reſolved that they could not be diſ-inherited. For he forbad it to be done at all, without juſt Cauſe, and no juſt Cauſe could there be as to Poſthumous Children. On the fifth before the Calends of *October*; he decreed that the ſame Perſon ſhould not be both Aſſeſſour and Advocate, or be Aſſeſſour to two Magiſtrates. On the ſixth before the Calends of *November*, he ordained that a Judicial Sentence of the Prince, ſhould have the Force of a general Law. And on the third before the Calends, or the twenty ninth of *October*, he made ſeveral Conſtitutions which are ſaid to have been recited ſeven times in the new Conſiſtory of his Palace. Of one we ſhall take notice, which declares what things theſe are, which a Son as yet in the Paternal power, and not Emancipated, acquires to his Father.

What Sons not Emancipated, acquired for their Fathers and what not.

l. Ult. ejuſd. tit.

42. By the moſt ancient Law, whatſoever ſuch a Son gained, he acquired it all for his Father, who had the full Propriety and Dominion of it. But by the Conſtitutions of the Emperours, Sons, if they were Souldiers, had the Privilege to acquire to their own Propriety and Dominion; what they got by the Service, or thoſe things called *Bona Caſtrenſia*, which by this example was alſo granted, to ſuch as ſerved the Commonwealth in a *Militia non Armata*, in ſuch Goods as thence were called, *Bona quaſi Caſtrenſia*. But for Adventitious Goods of a Son in Power, they were ſtill acquired to the Father. *Conſtantine* firſt excepted Goods coming by the Mother; and then other Emperours, ſuch as came by Matrimony, or betrothing. All theſe Conſtitutions in favour of a Son *Juſtinian* approved; but whereas other Adventious Goods were acquired for the Father, he judged it a more juſt thing in the General, that the *Uſusfructus* of Adventious Goods ſhould be granted to the Father, and the Propriety kept for the Son. As for thoſe they called *Profectitia*, which proceeded from any thing, or cauſe of the Father to the Son, thoſe he ſuffered to be acquired for the Father. But whereas he ſeemed to be ſo Indulgent to Sons in Paternal Power, as contrary to the old Laws, he gave them the Propriety of Adventitious Goods, though the *Uſusfructus* belonged to their Fathers, yet would not he ſuffer them, either, to make a Teſtament of them, or make any Alienation of them amongſt the Living, or ingage them, without the Conſent of their Fathers. Yet it ſeems very rational and conſequent, that the one ſhould follow the

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other; but he fearing he had done too much already, would doe no more, but left the old Law ſtill in Force. Or rather *Baldwin* is of Opinion, that if he had been moved about it, he would alſo have given this Liberty of making Wills; being otherwiſe ſo indulgent to Sons, that by his Novel Conſtitutions he would have certain Goods, beſides the *Caſtrenſia*, and *quaſi Caſtrenſia* in their full Propriety, without any *Vſusfructus* left to their Fathers, ſuch were Goods left to them with this Condition, that the Fathers ſhould not have the *Vſusfructus* of them, Goods that came from a Diviſion of a legitimate Inheritance, when the Son and Father were Co-heirs, and as ſuch the Son obtained by an unjuſt Divorce. As for Adventitious Goods, the Father was the Adminiſtratour, or Curatour of them at his own Charge, but not without the Son's Conſent, as neither could the Son act as to them without him. Although a Tutour and Curatour, had in General power to all without ſuch Conſent required.

Donations when not to be regiſtred.

Vide Balduinum quo ſuprà.

43. Whereas it was formerly unlawfull to make any Deed of Gift, or Donation, above two hundred *Aurei*, except it was publickly Regiſtred, he being a Friend to liberality, permitted firſt three hundred, and afterwards five hundred to be given without ſuch publick Solemnity. But as to the Donations of the Prince, he would have them free, and exempt from all Law of Regiſtring whatſoever. And he was ſo Crafty that as he would have the Emperours Donation free from the Law of Inſinuation, ſo alſo ſuch Gifts of private Men, as were made to the Emperour. The following Year, was the fourth of *Juſtinian*, and marked with the Conſulſhip of *Lampadius* and *Oreſtes*, who were both Conſuls in the Weſt; *Juſtinian* little regarding this Honour it ſeems, and not caring whether at all, or on whom he beſtowed it. Amongſt ſeveral he made this Year; we ſhall firſt take notice that on the ſixteenth of *March* he abrogated a Law of *Honorius*, and *Theodoſius*, whereby it was ordained, that a Teſtament made ten Years before the Death of the Teſtatours ſhould be void. For he took it as an Argument, that the man would have it to continue in Force, becauſe he did not all this while revoke it. Indeed if he did revoke it by another Teſtament legally made it was void in Law, or if he revoked it by Word of Mouth, before three Witneſſes it ſhould ſtand revoked, if ten Years paſſed before the death of the Teſtatour, but not elſe; or he might in ſuch a Caſe revoke it at a publick Regiſtry, and the Revocation ſhould ſtand good, provided ten Years paſſed as is ſaid. Of the Laws of this Year, made and altered by him, we ſhall take no farther notice, being all of ſuch Concernment as relates to the *Jus Privatum*, which the Reader, if he pleaſe, may find in *Baldwin* his *Juſtinianus*, a learned Book as to the Matter, though much as to the Alteration of Laws, to them that do not practiſe them, not eaſie to be underſtood. But at the latter end of this Year, or the eighteenth before the Calends of the next, he gave out, that memorable Mandate for collecting of that Body of Law from the ancient Writers, which now we call the Pandects and Digeſts. For theſe Books were to receive, and into them were to be diſpoſed the ſubſtance of the Civil Law, from the Writings of the greateſt Profeſſours thereof, digeſted under ſeveral Heads.

l. 27. de Teſtam. Cod. lib. 6. tit. 23.

Juſtinian gives out a Mandate for compoſing the Digeſts.

44. His Mandate he directs to *Tribonian*, with the Title of his *Quæſtor*, in whom he wonderfully confided for this Affair, though not ſo happy as *Julius Cæſar* would have been in his *Sulpitius*, or *Hadrian* in his *Julianus* for ſuch an Attempt, in the Opinion of *Baldwin*. " After ſome Preface he tells him, that moved " with the Confuſion that was in the Law, he had already framed his Code, from " the Conſtitutions of former Princes rightly amended, and digeſted, and that " chiefly by his Miniſtery and overſight. That having had experience of his Dex" terity in that Affair, he had committed to him alſo this preſent Deſign, of col" lecting and amending an intire Body of *Roman* Law, and given him Power to " take to his Aſſiſtence, ſuch of the moſt eloquent Anteceſſours, and Advocates of " the Prefecture as he ſhould think fit, to bring them into his Palace for this pur" poſe, and to give them Teſtimony, as to their fitneſs, to whom he had committed " the Work; yet ſo as all ſhould be managed by his moſt vigilant overſight. He " commands them then to reade and refine the Books of the ancient Lawyers, to " whom the Emperours had given Authority to write and interpret Laws, that " from them, all the Matter thereof might be collected, without any thing men" tioned, that was either to the ſame purpoſe, or of diſagreeing Senſe, as much " as was poſſible, but ſo as that one ſaying ſhould ſuffice for all. When this was " done, with high-flown Words he declares, that it ought to be digeſted into fifty " Books, and under certain Titles, in imitation as well of the Conſtitution of his " own Code, as the *Edictum Perpetuum*, as they ſhould moſt conveniently doe it.

Præfatio prima De conceptione Digeſtorum ad Tribonianum Præmiſſa Digeſtis.

The purport of it.

“ That ſo nothing might be left out of the Collection, but in theſe fifty Books
“ ſhould be comprehended the whole ancient Law, which had lain confuſed for
“ almoſt a Thouſand five Hundred years, but now was purged by him, and fenced
“ as it were in its own Wall. Herein they ſhould obſerve an equal Authority in
“ all Authours of Laws without any Prerogative of Dignity. Becauſe all were
“ not certain in all, but either better or worſe, in certain and peculiar Points.

45. “ But neither will he have them conclude, that to be moſt equal and juſt,
“ which moſt Authours ſay, becauſe perhaps the Opinion of but one, and
“ he inferiour, may be better. Therefore he will not have them preſently reject
“ what is alledged out of the Notes of *Æmilius Papinian*, by *Ulpian*, *Paulus* and
“ *Marcian*, for the honour of that moſt ſplendid Perſon. But if any thing they
“ meet with in them, which ſhould conſummate the Labour of ſo great a Wit, or
“ neceſſary for Interpretation, they ſhould not delay to put it down for Law; as
“ all other Opinions, which he confirms by his imperial Authority. He gives,
“ them in Charge as a thing to be ſtudiouſly obſerved, that if they find in ancient
“ Authours any thing not well placed, ſuperfluous or imperfect, without any Tediouſneſs
“ they amend it, and produce the work, as conſummate to all purpoſes.
“ Yet ſhould they obſerve, that if they found any thing not rightly written in the
“ ancient Laws or Conſtitutions, put by the Ancients into their Books, they ſhould
“ reform, and ſo regulate it that it might ſeem to be true, the beſt, and that
“ as it were written from the beginning, which they made choice of and placed
“ there. And he declares that none dare by comparing the ancient Book, to reprehend
“ their writing as vitious. For, whereas by the ancient Law called *Regia*,
“ all Right, and all Power of the People of *Rome*, was transferred into that of the
“ Emperour, and whereas he did not divide all Law, into ſuch and ſuch Parts of the
“ Lawmakers, but would have the whole to be his own, what could Antiquity
“ abrogate as to what he ordained? Nay he will have all ſuch Laws to be of that
“ Force, that though they were written otherwiſe by the Ancients, yet placed
“ now contrarywiſe in this Collection, no Fault ſhall be imputed to the writing,
“ but this ſhall be aſcribed to his choice. In Concluſion, he will have no *Antinomia*
“ in any Members of this Collection; but one Concord, and one Conſequence,
“ without any thing ſaid to the contrary.

46. “ But he again prohibits, that any thing like or to the ſame purpoſe, be inſerted
“ in this Work; as alſo that ſuch things as are ordained in the Conſtitutions
“ placed in his Code, ſhall again there be put from ancient Law, the Imperial Authority
“ of the Makers ſuffering for their Authority, except for the ſake of Diviſion,
“ Repletion, or for fuller inquiry this happen; but this ſhall be very ſeldom
“ done, leſt any knotty Controverſie thence ariſe. If any Laws had grown
“ obſolete, he will have them by no means to ſuit them in; his meaning being,
“ that onely ſuch things ſhould obtain, as were moſt frequently practiſed in Judicatories,
“ or the long Cuſtome of that City had approved, according to what
“ *Salvius Julianus* wrote, that all Cities ought to follow the Cuſtome of *Rome*,
“ which is the Head of the World, and not obſerve the Cuſtome of other Cities.
“ Now, ſaith he, not onely the ancient *Rome* is to be underſtood, but our Royal
“ *Rome*, which by the Favour of God was founded with better *Auguria* or beginnings.
“ He commands therefore, that by theſe two Books or Collections, all
“ matters be managed, the one of the Conſtitutions, and the other of the *Jus Enucleatum*,
“ except he ſhould publiſh ſomething afterward, in way of Inſtitutions, that
“ the mind of the Student void of knowledge, being firſt inured to ſimple matters,
“ might more eaſily be brought to a knowledge of greater prudence. Now
“ he declares and ordains, that this Elaborate work, which they by the help of
“ God ſhall compoſe, ſhall have the Name of Digeſts or Pandects That no
“ Lawyers for the future, ſhall dare to add any Commentaries to it, and by their
“ verboſity confound the Compendiouſneſs of the ſaid Books, as had been of old
“ practiſed, when almoſt the whole Law was diſturbed by the contrary Opinions
“ of Interpreters; it being enough by Indexes, and the ſubtilty of Titles (called
“ *Paratitha*) to make ſome Admonitories of it, ſo as no inconvenience ariſe by
“ their Interpretations. And that no doubt may afterward ariſe by writing, he
“ commands that this Book be not compoſed by the Captions of *Sigla*, and compendious
“ *Ænigmata*, which had introduced many *Antinomies*; although the number
“ of the Books be ſignified, or any other thing; for he will not grant that the numbers
“ ſhall be made by ſpecial *Sigla*, but explained by the conſequence of Letters.
“ Then he concludes with a ſerious Epilogue, and dates this Mandate in the eighteenth
“ before the Calends of *January*, *Lampadius* and *Oreſtes* being Conſuls, *A. D.*
“ DXXX.

Defects obſerved by *Baldwin.*

47. In obedience to this Mandate, *Tribonian*, *Baldwin* obſerves, took to him as Aſſiſtents *Theophilus* and *Cratinus* of *Conſtantinople*; *Dorotheus* and *Anatalius* of *Berytus* Anteceſſours of Law, and eleven Pleaders of Cauſes out of the *Forum* of the *Præfectus Prætorio* of the Eaſt. And he wiſhes he had joyned to them *Julianus* a Conſul of thoſe times, and a Patritian of *Conſtantinople*, whom *Priſcian* teſtifies to have exceeded almoſt all the Ancients both Greek and Latine in every ſort of Learning. And he adds, it had been well, had he alſo employed *Priſcian* who lived at this time at *Conſtantinople*, a Grammarian indeed, but ſuch a Grammarian as excelled in the skill of *Roman* Literature and Antiquities, one who diligently peruſed the Monuments of the ancient Lawyers, and underſtood the learned way both of ſpeaking and writing. Many Books *Juſtinian* confeſſeth to have been brought by *Tribonian* to the management of this Affair, which otherwiſe were then unknown, and that two thouſand Books containing three hundred myriads of Verſes were to be peruſed. He talks of fifteen hundred years wherein the *Roman* Law till his time had lain confuſed, whereas his own Reign began but in the MCCLXXX of the City, as ſome obſerve, and *Baldwin* cryes out, that three hundred years were ſcarcely to be reckoned, for that Law which was reduced into the Pandects, and tartly makes an obſervation, how little and dark the memory of *Roman* matters was in thoſe times. But however, ſaith he, the reveiw of all *Roman* Law from the beginning of the City, and of all Antiquities is committed to a few *Græculi*; and others will have it, that the Envy of theſe *Græculi* brought more damage to the *Roman* Glory and Law, than the Burnings and Deſolations procured by the *Goths*. To be ſure it was a work of ſuch Labour and Judgment as is not expreſſible, to cut down materials out of ſo vaſt a wood, and to ſelect out of ſo many vaſt Volumes, ſtuff for erecting of ſuch a ſtructure: Not onely the words and matter, but even the writing it ſelf muſt bring with it much difficulty. But he requires that no *Sigla* be uſed in the Text, which had brought in great Inconvenience. By *Sigla* he means *Sigilla*, or ſmall Notes or Marks when whole Names and words were noted by the firſt Letters. Theſe Notes had been formerly diſowned in ordinary Teſtaments, though in thoſe of Souldiers they were permitted. Indeed if a thing was to be kept obſcure, it was convenient to have it written in them, and in ſuch manner *Auguſtus* commanded the *Sibylline* Books to be written by the hand of the Prieſts, with obſcure Notes, that ſo they alone might reade them. But *Juſtinian* had a deſign of another nature.

Vide Notas ad Præfat. prim.

48. Which Deſign did not yet fully take, though it was very good and profitable, becauſe the Interpretation of thoſe Notes was very difficult. Therefore *Tribonian* and his Companions, eſpecially in ſuch haſte, might well be miſtaken. Sometimes they were prone not to expound them, their meaning being for the moſt part ambiguous, otherwhiles to take Notes for Letters and Letters for Notes, which the old Tranſcribers of Books much confounded to the great vexation of Readers. But the end propoſed by *Juſtinian* in waving theſe Notes, is to ſhun an *Antinomia*, by which the Ancients meant the Repugnancy of two Laws rather by accident than Nature, as when two *Theſes* differed in one *Hypotheſis*, which often happeneth; but he means by it a contrariety and conflict of Laws in their very Nature. This *Antonomia* of his meaning was very difficult to avoid in a work of ſo vaſt a Bulk, ſo great diſſents of the Ancients, and ſuch variety of Opinions and Controverſies, with which thoſe Books abounded, out of which the Pandects were to be Compoſed, there being not onely diverſity of Opinion in private men, but two Sects and Families of diſſenting Lawyers as the *Sabiniani* and *Proculi*. There wanted a man of more ſolid Judgment than poſſibly *Tribonian* was, to weigh duly and determine thoſe great differences and various opinions met with by theſe Undertakers, who being many in number brought each as they had Collected, their ſeveral parts or ſhares which were all ſewed up together, ſo as one knew not what part the other had taken, in the choice of his Collections.

49. Another thing he charges them with, is not to inſert any obſolete Laws, which *Baldwin* thinks they did better not to obey him. For moſt of the ancient Law was in his time grown obſolete. Thoſe Cuſtoms of the ancient *Roman Forum* vaſtly differed from his. Not onely the Seat, but the form and face of the Empire was changed; the Religion, Juriſdiction, Manners, and in concluſion, the Commonwealth it ſelf was different. Not many *Roman* Antiquities had been inſerted into thoſe Pandects, if nothing had been therein comprized, but what obtained in the time of *Juſtinian*. It's farther to be noted as ill, that ſome things of the *Roman* Superſtition are left therein which the Chriſtian Religion abſolutely abhors. Which is to be attributed to the careleſneſs of the Compilers, and could not be confirmed

by *Juſtinian.* Memorable is that other branch of this Mandate, whereby he orders them to accommodate what they tranſcribe to the Manners and Cuſtoms of their own Times, and upon that account, to change and transform the Writings of the Ancients, to add and take away what they ſhould think convenient. Now in Compoſing the *Edictum Perpetuum*, three or four alterations are inſtanced to have been made by *Julianus* the Compiler. But they that made the Pandects more audaciouſly interpolated as they thought fit, and as they were conſtrained to doe it, to accommodate the Laws to their own times. But they leave no mark of diſtinction what was old and what was theirs, and he commanded the Inſcription to be put as if nothing had been altered. But in this as the preceding part of the Mandate, ſometimes *Tribonian* obeyed his order, and ſometimes not, which makes the matter more in the dark, and if it be not diſtinguiſhed what is *Ulpian*'s, and what is *Tribonian*'s, great Inconvenience muſt come of it.

The Digeſts to follow the order of the *Edictum Perpetuum*, how they do it.

50. In the laſt place, he commands that the Pandects ſhould be Compoſed in the ſame method as the *Edictum Perpetuum Hermogenianum*, when he Compoſed his Books of Epitomies, he pretended alſo to follow the order of the Edict; yet added thereto many other Titles. For whereas the Law reſpects either Perſons, Things, or Actions, and *Edictum Perpetuum* onely handled Actions, there ſeemed need to add ſome Chapters concerning the other two. This Example *Juſtinian* followed. The firſt part of the Edict was inſcribed τὰ πρῶτα, or the Firſt, the ſecond was *De Judiciis*, and the third *De Rebus*, which Inſcriptions he gives to the parts of his Pandects. What in the *Edictum Perpetuum* was briefly expreſſed, he would have more largely explained, but yet not ſo largely as the Interpreters of the Edict, *Paulus* and *Ulpian* had done before. Theſe things he expreſſeth in his firſt Preface before his Digeſts, and in thoſe that follow, which being two other in number, are by us to be conſidered at their proper time, and not altogether. But to ſpeak in relation to theſe as they bear it one to another, the Mandate for making the Digeſts was dated on the eighteenth before the Calends of *January*, in the Conſulſhip of *Lampadius* and *Oreſtes*. And how much time did theſe Collectours now take to themſelves? *Baldwin* thinks that if the *Decemviri* took a whole year for Compoſing the ten Tables, and another for adding the other two, thoſe ſixteen men might well have required twenty for Collecting and digeſting of the Pandects. And it might have been wiſhed they had done it, the nature of the work requiring it.

How ſmall a time was taken in compiling them.

51. But they ſpent not therein the ſpace of three years. For *Juſtinian* confeſſes, that in three years three Volumes of the *Roman* Law were compiled, *viz.* The Code, Digeſts and Inſtitutions, whereas it was thought they could not be finiſhed in ten years time. Now the Code was publiſhed long before the Pandects were begun, on the Ides of *April*, in the Conſulſhip of *Decius*. In the following year *Lampadius* and *Oreſtes* were Conſuls, and not long before the end of the year he firſt commanded the Pandects to be compoſed, and after their compoſition, ſome time was required to his reading and conſidering of them, which he affirms. Now they were publiſhed and confirmed on the ſeventeenth of the Calends of *January*, in the third Conſulſhip of *Juſtinian*, which was but three years after the Mandate for their compoſing. And in the month of *November* before them, were publiſhed the Inſtitutions, the third Volume he meaneth. The thing it ſelf indeed ſufficiently declareth that there was too little time taken for collecting and reviſing ſuch Volumes. It was a matter of greater conſequence than to be ſo hudled over, eſpecially a perpetual Standard of Law, being to be delivered to Poſterity, which now complains, as *Baldwin* makes it ſpeak extravagantly, that not ſo much Laws as Croſſes or Difficulties are left unto it. But ſo it was: On the ſeventeenth before the Calends of *January*, he directed an Edict inſcribed with glorious Titles, under the name of *Cæſar*, *Flavius*, *Juſtinianus*, and with Additions from People as it were Conquered by him, though he had never fought with them, or had no cauſe to boaſt of Conqueſt, as ſome of them by way of capitulation afterward affirmed. But he ſtiles himſelf as having ſubdued the *Alamans*, *Alamanicus*, and ſo for like reaſons *Gothicus*, *Francicus*, *Germanicus*, *Anticus*, *Alanicus*, *Vandalicus*, *Africanus*. How far theſe Additions might be truly aſſumed by him appears by his Hiſtory. To them he adds the uſual Epithetes of *Pius*, *Felix*, *Inclytus*, *Victor* and *Triumphator*, *ſemper Auguſtus*, and directs his writing to *Theophilus*, *Dorotheus*, *Theodorus*, *Iſidorus*, *Anatolius*, *Thalleleus* and *Gratinus*, Illuſtrious Anteceſſours. As alſo to *Gulamius* the moſt Eloquent Anteceſſour.

52. "In the Edict he firſt declares all the Law of the Commonwealth, now to
" be purged and compiled, *viz.* in the four Books of Inſtitutions or Elements; in
" the

He preſcribes Rules for teaching of Law by an Edict.

Præfatio ſecunda Digeſtorum.

Ad titulum uſque de honorum poſſeſſ.

Anciently what was wont to be read the firſt year.

What the ſecond.

What the third.

How they ended.

“ the fifty of Digeſts or Pandects, as in the twelve of Imperial Conſtitutions. That he had alſo by his Edicts both in the Greek and Latine Tongue declared what was convenient thereupon. But now he had thought fit to direct another Diſcourſe to them, for the information of them, as well as other Anteceſſours, what Rules he would have obſerved, for the moſt commodious Inſtitution of Students in this Science or Myſtery. He makes it utterly out of doubt, that it is neceſſary firſt to reade the Inſtitutions, and thoſe that deliver the firſt rudiments of the Science. Of the fifty Books of Digeſts, he judges thirty and ſix onely to ſuffice for their Expoſition, and the Inſtruction of Youth. He puts them in mind, that formerly from out of ſuch a multitude of Laws, as made up two thouſand Books, and thirty hundred thouſand Verſes, Students onely were inſtructed in ſix Books, and thoſe confuſed and containing but few profitable Laws, the other being now out of uſe, and not to be come by. In theſe ſix Books were the Inſtitutions of *Gaius*, and four ſingular Books. The firſt treated of the ancient way of Marriages, the ſecond of Tutorſhips, and the third and fourth of Teſtaments and Legacies, and theſe not in order, but paſſing by many parts. This was the Task of Students of the firſt year, not according to the method of the *Edictum Perpetuum*, but out of order and without choice. In the ſecond year after a prepoſterous manner, the firſt part of the Law was delivered to them, ſome certain Titles being taken from it. After a courſe of Study made up by parcels, and unprofitable in great meaſure, other Titles were delivered to them as well out of that part intituled *De Judiciis* by piecemeal, as out of the other *De Rebus*, ſeven Books being laid aſide as not proper to be taught. In the third year, that which had not been delivered in the ſecond out of both Volumes, *viz. De Rebus* and *De Judiciis*, they received according to the viciſſitude of them; and a way was opened to them to the moſt ſublime *Papinian* and his Anſwers. Of the nineteen Books of theſe Anſwers they received onely eight; neither was the whole Body of them delivered to them, but a few out of many things, and moſt brief out of moſt large, ſo as they might go away from them with a thirſt. Theſe things above being delivered by Profeſſours, the Anſwers of *Paulus* they read by themſelves, and them not all, but in an imperfect and inconſequent courſe after a kind of ill Cuſtome. Hence they paſſed into the fourth year, and therewith made an end of their Study; ſo that upon Count, one might find that out of ſo immenſe a multitude of Laws, they read ſcarcely ſixty thouſand Verſes, all the reſt being impaſſable to them and unknown, and then not to be made uſe of but in the leaſt part, as often either as the practice in the Judicatories required it, or they the Maſters of the faculty haſted to read ſomething out of them, to have more advantage in the skill of their Scholars. Such he ſaith had been the monuments of the ancient Learning, for which he appeals to their Teſtimony.

What he will now have taught the firſt year.

Dupondium duæ drachmæ Dupondii ergo duarum quaſi drachmarum ſtudioſi, i. e. *viliſſimi & nullius pretii.*

What the ſecond.

53. “ And finding ſuch a penury of Laws, as alſo judging it a moſt miſerable Caſe, he is reſolved to open the Treaſures of that Science, to ſuch as are willing to receive them, being prepared in ſome meaſure by the skill of thoſe to whom he directs this Letter, that they may become moſt able Oratours in the Faculty. In the firſt year he will have them fully skilled in his Inſtitutions, which had been conſummated out of the Bodies of almoſt all others that had been before them, and from all impure Fountains drained into one clear Receptacle by *Tribonian* the *Vir Magnificus, Exquæſtor* of his ſacred Palace, and Exconſul, and two of their number to whom he writes, *viz. Theophilus* and *Dorotheus* moſt Eloquent Anteceſſours. For the remainder of the year, he ordains that Students have the former part of the Laws delivered to them, which by the Greeks was called πρῶτα, which ſhould finiſh, as the other begin, their Studies for the firſt year. Such as had been Auditours for this year, ſhould not be called by the wonted name, as well frivolous as ridiculous, of *Dupondii*; but *New Juſtinians*, which he thinks fit to ordain for all time to come, as beſeeming the Reformation of Laws he had made, the firſt Volume of which was to be put into their Hands. In the ſecond year, during which they ſhould bear the Name formerly impoſed by Edict, he will have them ſtudy either ſeven Books *De Judiciis*, (from the fifth to the eleventh,) or eight *De Rebus* (from the twelfth to the nineteenth,) as the viciſſitude of time ſhall indulge them, which he will have preſerved inviolable, and without skipping or omitting any thing in the ſaid Books, which now were all graced with new beauty, nothing unprofitable, or what was out of uſe, being to be found in them. To either of the foreſaid Volumes he will have added, to be taught in this ſecond year the four *Libri ſingulares*, which he ſaith he had collected out of the whole compoſition of fourteen Books, *viz.* one out of three Volumes which he

“had compoſed *De Dotibus*; one out of two which treated *De Tutelis & Curationibus*; one from two others concerning Teſtaments; and from ſeven Books handling the matters of *Legata* and *Fideicommiſſa*; alſo one of thoſe four Books placed at the beginning of the aforeſaid compoſitions, he tells theſe Maſters that he would have onely taught by them, the other ten being reſerved to a convenient time, it being impoſſible that in the ſpace of the ſecond year, theſe fourteen Books ſhould be read by them, and degeſted by their Scholars.

What the third,

54. “In the third year, whether it happens that they reade the Books *De Judiciis* or *De Rebus*, with them he will have to concur the Tripartite Diſpoſition of the *Leges ſingulares*, and in the firſt place that concerning *Hypothecæ*, becauſe being ſo near a-kin to Actions concerning Pledges, they may be joyned near together. After this he would have another added concerning the Edict of the *Ædiles*, and the Action called *Actio Redhibitoria*, concerning Evictions and the ſtipulation of Double, compoſed by him, becauſe they are near a-kin to the Doctrine of Sales, treated of in the former Edict. Thoſe three Books he will have joyned with the reading of the moſt acute *Papinian* Students, being wont to reade them in their third year, but not intirely, but a few ſcraps taken out of them. And he again recommends *Papinian* to be read by himſelf, of whom he ſaith excellent uſe was made in the Compoſition of his Digeſts, not onely from his Anſwers which were divided into nineteen Books, but alſo from his ſeven and thirty Books of Queſtions, his double work of Definitions, as alſo concerning Adulteries, and from all his writings almoſt. And leſt the Students or Auditours of the third year whom they called *Papinianiſtæ*, ſhould ſeem to loſe his Name and Feſtivity, he is again introduced into the third year by a moſt brave device, for *Juſtinian* had compoſed his Book of Hypothecary Actions, out of the writings of the ſaid *Papinian*, that both they may have a Name from him, and be called *Papinianiſtæ*, may rejoyce at the memory of him, and may obſerve that Feſtival day, which they were wont to keep when firſt they took his Laws into their Hands, and that by this means the memory of that moſt ſublime *Præfectus Prætorio* may continue for ever. With this the Audience of the third year ſhould be concluded.

i. e. *Solvendis Juris quæſtionibus idonei.*

What the fourth,

55 “And becauſe the Students of the fourth year were wont by a Greek word to be called *Lyti*, he will have them if they think fit ſtill to enjoy it. But inſtead of the Anſwers of the moſt prudent *Paulus*, which they read confuſedly, having reduced them from twenty three ſcarcely to eighteen, they ſhould ſtudy the ten *Libri ſingulares*, which remained of the fourteen lately mentioned by him, out of which they ſhould draw he affirms greater Treaſures of skill, than out of *Paulus* his Anſwers. If ſo be they well improved their time in theſe things, and in the fifth year wherein they were named *Prolytæ*, both read and ſubtilly endeavoured to underſtand the Code of Conſtitutions, nothing would be wanting to them of juſt and fit knowledge, and this Service of theirs would obtain a wonderfull Accompliſhment, which ſcarcely happened in any other though the meaneſt Art. He ordains then that theſe Scholars of theirs (*Diſcipuli*,) ſhall have all ſecreſie opened to them, and nothing hid, but all being throughly read and made known to them, which had been compiled for him through the Service of *Tribonian* and others, they might be found to be the greateſt Oratours, and the *Satellites* of Juſtice, the beſt Champions of Equity, and moſt happy Governours in every Place and Age. Now theſe three Volumes of his Compoſing, he will have delivered to Students in the two Royal Cities (of *Rome* and *Conſtantinople*,) and in the moſt beautifull City of *Berytus*, (which juſtly might be termed the Nurſe of the Laws,) and in them onely, as had been formerly ordained by Princes, not in other places which had not obtained ſuch privilege of old. For he had heard that in the moſt ſplendid City of *Alexandria*, in *Cæſarea* and other places, ſome unskilfull men wandered about, and delivered adulterate Doctrine to their Diſciples, whom now by threatning he repells from ſuch their Endeavours; and if they ſhall dare for the future to doe any ſuch thing in any ſuch places, he puniſheth them with a fine of ten pounds of Gold, and orders that they be caſt out of that City in which they do not Teach, but offend againſt the Laws. After this he prohibits the *Sigla*, formerly mentioned under pein of paying to the owner double of the price if he know nothing of the thing; and if he will have ſuch a Book it ſhall ſignify nothing, and no Judge ſhall allow any Pleadings, or Quotations to be made out of it. Then he ſeverely forbids all Students of the Laws, both at *Conſtantinople* and *Berytus*, to act any Plays wherein the Anteceſſours or Novices are reflected on, it behoving, he ſaith, firſt their Souls and then their Tongues to be learned. The Power and Care of obſerving theſe matters, and puniſhing both

i. e. *Lytis doctiores vel ex præfinita lege ſtudiorum ſoluti, vel qui poſſunt Juris nodos & legum ænigmata ſolvere.*

And where.

To whom he commits the care.

Bookſellers and Students, he commits in *Conſtantinople* to the High Prefect thereof; in *Berytus* both the *clariſſimus Præſes* of Maritime *Phœnicia*, the moſt bleſſed (*beatiſſimus*) Biſhop of the ſaid City, and the Profeſſours of the Laws. He concludes with this Exhortation: Begin then to deliver to them, with God's Government, the Doctrine of the Laws, and to open to them the way which we have found out. That ſo they may become moſt excellent Miniſters of Juſtice, and the Commonwealth, and the Teachers may be moſt highly honoured in all Ages. For that in their time ſuch a change of Laws was found out, as in *Homer*, the Father of all vertue, *Glaucus* and *Diomedes*, make betwixt themſelves, changing things very unlike, for which he quotes a verſe out of that ancient Poet. Theſe things he will have of force in all Ages, both of Profeſſours, Students, Bookſellers and Judges, to be obſerved. Dated on the ſeventeenth before the Calends of *January*, Our Lord *Juſtinian*, perpetual *Auguſtus*, the third time being Conſul. *A. D.* DXXXIII.

Χρύσεα χαλκείων ἕκατον Βοία ἐννεαβοίων. *Aurea æreis centena novenariis*, *Iliad.* 6.

On the ſame day he directs two other Edicts to the Grand Senate.

56. On the ſame day we find two other Prefaces or Speeches dated, one whereof is directed to the Senate, and all People, in Latin, and the other in Greek is inſcribed alſo by *Contius* to the Great Senate. 'Herein he ſignifies, that he had compoſed the *Perſian* War, as alſo that of the *Vandals*, which Nation he had ſubdued, and rejoined *Carthage*, and all *Libya*, to the *Roman* Empire; and then magnifying what he had alſo done about the Laws, gives an whole account of the ſeveral Works he had ordered to be compiled, declaring what their particular Parts and Books were, and of what Subjects, as alſo whence they were taken, ſuitably to what hath been already related. And he calls upon the Fathers of the Senate, and all the Men of the World, to give Thanks to God for reſerving ſo great a Benefit for their times. He declares he will have his Volumes of Inſtitutions, or Elements, of Digeſts or Pandects, to be of force, from his third Conſulſhip of the preſent twelfth Indiction, the third before the Calends of *January*, together with his Conſtitutions in all Ages. Which third Conſulſhip, he ſaith, by the help of Chriſt, had been moſt happy, in reſpect that the *Parthian* Wars were ended, a perpetual peace was made, and a third part of the World added to his Dominion. For, after *Europe*, both *Aſia*, and all *Libya*, was joined to his Empire, and a concluſion was put to ſo great a work of the Laws; all which heavenly Gifts were indulged to his third Conſulſhip. In concluſion, he commands all Judges to receive theſe his Laws within their Juriſdictions: And eſpecially he ordains, that the Prefect of *Conſtantinople* obſerve them. The three *Præfecti Prætorio* of the *Eaſt*, *Illyricum* and *Libya*, he requires to take care to make them known to all that were within their ſeveral Diſtricts.

His Preface to his Inſtitutions.

57. We mentioned the Inſtitutions (that we may now ſpeak of them altogether) their being publiſhed in the month of *November:* Before the Book we find a Preface, directed by *Juſtinian*, with the uſual ſwelling Titles, to the Youth that had a deſire to underſtand the Laws. He begins with telling them, 'That the Imperial Majeſty ought not onely to be adorned with Arms, but alſo armed with Laws, that ſo the Government may be fit both in times of War and Peace, and the *Roman* Prince may not onely be Victour in Battels fought with Enemies, but alſo by legal Proceedings, expell the Iniquities of Delinquents, and may as well be moſt religious in Laws, as magnificently triumphant in the Conqueſt of Enemies. Both theſe Courſes, he ſaith, he had run, and that to perfection, through his great Watches and Forecaſt, by the help of God. His ſweat and toil in Wars the Barbarous Nations, brought under his Yoke, ſufficiently knew; and as well *Africk*, as other innumerable Provinces, after ſuch ſpaces of time, being again added to the *Roman* Dominions, and his Empire, did proteſt. All People now are governed by Laws promulgated and compoſed by him. After he had put into due order, and made to agree, the moſt ſacred Conſtitutions, which before were confuſed, he extended his care to the immenſe volumes of ancient Prudence, and had by heavenly favour, travelling, as it were, through the middle of the Deep, brought a deſperate work to concluſion. This being, by God's favour, perfected, he called to him the Magnifick *Tribonian*, *Magiſter*, and *Exquæſtor* of his ſacred Palace, together with the illuſtrious *Theophilus* and *Dorotheus*, Anteceſſours, (the notable wit of whom, together with their knowledge of the Laws, and fidelity in obſerving his Commands, he had had experience of in many reſpects) and had ſpecially commanded them, by his Authority, and at his Inſtance, to compoſe Inſtitutions.

58. 'Hereby they, (the Youth) he ſaith, may learn the firſt Rudiments of the Laws, not from ancient Fables, but, as he words it, fetch them from Imperial ſplendour; and their Ears and Minds may receive no unprofitable nor idle thing,

‘ but what lies in the very Arguments of things themſelves. And what happened to them that were before them ſcarcely after four years, *viz.* to reade the Imperial Conſtitutions, they may now enter upon at the very beginning, being worthy of ſuch Honour, and found in ſuch Felicity, that both the beginning and end of the Laws to them ſhould proceed from Imperial voice. Therefore after fifty Books of Digeſts, or Pandects, (which were compiled indeed, but as yet not publiſhed,) wherein all ancient Law was collected, and which he had diſpatched by the indeavours of the ſaid High *Tribonian*, and the Illuſtrious Perſons, he had commanded the ſame Inſtitutions to be divided into four parts, that they might be the firſt Elements of the Myſtery of the Laws. In them, he ſaith, was briefly declared, both what formerly obtained, and what was grown out of uſe, and rendred obſcure, was illuminated by an Imperial Remedy. Which Books being compiled out of all the Inſtitutions of the Ancients, and eſpecially out of the Commentaries of his *Caius*, as well of his Inſtitutions, as daily occurrences, beſides many other Commentaries, had been preſented to him by the aforeſaid three prudent Perſons, and having read and conſidered of them, he had accommodated to them the moſt full force and ſtrength of his Conſtitutions. He concludes thus: Receive therefore theſe our Laws with all Induſtry and Charity; and ſhew your ſelves learned therein, ſo as fair hope may cheriſh you, that after the whole work (of ſtudy) is completed, our Commonwealth may be committed to your Truſt and Government in the ſeveral parts thereof. Given at *Conſtantinople* the Eleventh before the Calends of *December*, Our Lord *Juſtinian* Father of his Countrey, *Auguſtus*, the third time being Conſul.

He ſtill goes on with new Laws.

59. Such is the Account (though in an Aſiatick, rude and difficult ſtyle to be interpreted,) we have from *Juſtinian* himſelf concerning the compoſing of his Digeſts and Inſtitutions, about which, while he and his Compilers buſied themſelves, they were not otherwiſe idle, as to ſuch matters, but continued the former courſe of daily adding new Laws. Of theſe the Reader, if he pleaſe, may conſult *Baldwin*, and we ſhall touch at ſome of them as they beſt ſerve our purpoſe. He was continually conſulted, in ſome point or other, by the Judges or Advocates of the Provinces, as particularly in the beginning of the year that came next after the Conſulſhip of *Lampadius* and *Oreſtes*, by the Advocates of *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*, about a matter not fit for our relating. In *February*, on the tenth before the Calends of *March*, he took away the difference which formerly had been manifold, betwixt a *Legatum* and a *Fideicommiſſum*, and whereas formerly there was ſome agreement betwixt them, he now commands that it be perpetual. Hereby the Law of *Fideicommiſſa*, which began in time of *Auguſtus*, was perfected by him; and that of Legacies, which had been ancient, but narrow, was much amplified. Formerly the difference betwixt a *Legatum* and a *Fideicommiſſum*, was this: A *Legatum* was expreſſed by Imperative words, and *Fideicommiſſa* by Precative. Imperative were accounted Direct and Civil, as *Do*, *Lego*, *Capito*, *Sumito*, *Hæres eſto.* Precative were ſuch as theſe, *Rogo*, *Peto*, *Volo*, *Mando*, *Cupio.* Formerly he had taken away the old forms of Words in Legacies; now he will have no difference to be made betwixt the form of a *Legatum* and a *Fideicommiſſum*, and he ordains, that there with whatſoever ſignificant word expreſſing the Will and Pleaſure of the Teſtatour, a thing is left, it ſhall be valid, whether it be in Imperative or Precative words; and he adds, that it ſhall be the ſame if the Teſtatour uſe an Obſecration, which, becauſe he invoked Almighty God, is termed an Oath, and was upon ſuch occaſions wont to be uſed by the *Romans*, being called otherwiſe from the Greek word, *exorciſing*, which was a term uſed alſo by Chriſtians in thoſe times.

De Jure Novo lib. 3.

Takes away the Difference betwixt a *Legatum* and *Fideicommiſſum*.

L. Communia de legatis, Cod. lib. 6. tit. 43.

Where the Difference formerly lay.

Ἐξορκίζω.

60. The ſumm of the whole Difference betwixt a *Legatum* and *Fideicommiſſum* lay in this, that in the latter onely the Will and Pleaſure of the Teſtatour was regarded, but in the former ſubtilty of Law, for that the *Legatum* proceeded from the Law of the Twelve Tables, as did the Teſtament, and the *Fideicommiſſum* was received *ex æquo & bono.* A *Fideicommiſſum* might formerly be left by nodding or ſigns, in the Greek Tongue, which a *Legatum* could not be; nay in the Punick or Gallicane, which, by this Law of *Juſtinian*, muſt be interpreted to be extended to the *Legatum*, which in like manner might be left by one dying inteſtate, and by the poſthumous Son of a Brother; and by a Legatary both a *Legatum* and a *Fideicommiſſum* might be left, though formerly a *Legatum* could not. Both before the Inſtitution of an Heir, and after the death of an Heir, or Executour, both might now alſo be left, though formerly a *Legatum* could not. And whereas a *Fideicommiſſum* could not be ſued for in form, but by extraordinary cognizance, *Juſtinian* would not onely have it recoverable by ordinary Action, but alſo as in caſe of

Legata, granted all three Actions, *viz.* Real, Perſonal and the Hypothecarian. But ſo great a Friend *Juſtinian* was to liberty, in making Teſtaments, that he alſo made free from reſtraint of words the manner of diſinheriting, a matter wherein good caution ſeemed to be requiſite, as being averſe to the courſe of Nature. On the ſame day he decreed, that if any one diſinherited his Son in theſe words, *Let that Son of mine be a ſtranger to my Subſtance*, he ſhould be eſteemed not paſt by (in which caſe he might have relief,) but diſinherited. He gives this as a Reaſon or Advice: *When the ſenſe of the Teſtatour is moſt manifeſt, never let the Interpretation of words ſo much prevail, that it be better than ſenſe, or meaning it ſelf.*

He gives full ſcope of words in diſinheriting.

L. 3. De liberis præteritis vel exhæredatis, Cod. lib. 6. tit. 28.

61. This year was indeed fruitfull of Laws made for regulating the ancient *Juriſprudentia*, and eſpecially the month of *April*, which would furniſh us with ſtore, but not proper for an Hiſtory, which being written in the Engliſh Tongue, and for the Engliſh, it is moſt proper to make choice onely of ſuch Conſtitutions as, with the diſcovery of the Legiſlatour's deſign of altering the Law, may beſt ſuit with the Knowledge, Cuſtoms and Genius of our Nation. There had been formerly a mighty contention, not onely betwixt the old Lawyers, but Princes themſelves, in their Edicts, concerning the Efficacy and Force of a disjunctive word, and this difference on the laſt day of the month, if he did not decide, he reſolved to remove, cut and take quite away. Sometimes it was written, *He, or he, be mine Heir; To him, or him, I give, bequeath, or I will have given; Him, or him, I will, or command, be, or to be, a Tutour.* It was controverted whether ſuch Inſtitution, Legacy or Aſſignment of a Tutour was good. Whether ſhould be underſtood to be meant, the former, or the latter; or whether he who had Poſſeſſion ſhould be thought to have the beſt right. So many and ſo various Opinions were held about this matter, that *Juſtinian* ſaith, *No ſmall Book might have been filled in the bare reciting of them.* He therefore thought fit to end the Controverſie by determining, that *Aut*, in this Caſe, ſhould be taken for *Et*, the disjunctive be received as a conjunctive, ſo as both ſhould be Heirs, or Legataries, in equal ſhares, as if it had been written, *He* and *He*. *Paulus* indeed, the Lawyer, ſpeaks in the Pandects of Disjunctives and Conjunctives, that they are after put one ſort for the other. And it may be ſo; but however this Deciſion of *Juſtinian* was new and extraordinary, and ſeemed to ſome not to agree fully with the mind and meaning of a Teſtatour. But in a dubious and perplex Caſe he followed what he thought moſt equal, and choſe rather to give to both, than all to one, and nothing to the other. In this partition betwixt them he judged leſs inconvenience and hardneſs to lie.

Ille aut ille mihi hæres eſto. Illi aut illi do, lego, vel dari volo, vel illum aut illum liberum aut tutorem eſſe volo.

L. 4. De verborum & Rerum ſignificatione, Cod. lib. 6. tit. 38.

He ordains that a diſtinctive word ſhall be taken for a conjunctive.

62. He began the month of *September* of this Year by correcting, as he ſaith, a very great fault of the ancient Subtilty, as to Law. This Subtilty, he tells us, thought fit that there ſhould be one ſort of Law for Males to ſucceed their Parents by Teſtament, and another ſort of Law for Women, though in ſucceſſion to thoſe that died inteſtate, there lay one common and equal Right to both Sexes. Of old they held and ordained, that with one ſort of words a Male, and with others a Female ſhould be diſinherited. In reference to the diſinheriting of Grandſons, ſometimes they introduced the Civil, and ſometimes the Pretorian Law. And if a Son was diſinherited, *ipſo jure*, he either nulled the Teſtament, or was admitted to the whole poſſeſſion of the Eſtate, contrary to the Will; but if a Daughter was paſt by, ſhe had the *Jus accreſcendi*, and did not break the Teſtament, by which ſhe did in part, as it were, break her Father's Will in the ſame moment, and as if ſhe had been mentioned therein, was placed after Legataries, yet, by the Pretorian Law, ſhe had an intire poſſeſſion of the Eſtate, contrary to the Teſtament. Now a Conſtitution of the great *Antoninus* did in ſo much hinder and ſtraiten the Daughter, as ſhe had advantage by the *Jus accreſcendi*. But theſe Law-makers *Juſtinian* accuſeth, as Accuſers of Nature her ſelf, in that ſhe did not make all Males, and none of which they ſhould be begotten. Now he pretends to follow the example of the more ancient *Romans* in correcting this Errour. For he ſaith Sons and Daughters, and all others, were diſinherited alike, till the *Centumviri* (who were Judges in Teſtamentary and Hereditary matters) brought in the difference, whereby it came to paſs, that a Daughter that was paſſed by had leſs than a Daughter that was diſinherited. He determines therefore, that a Daughter ſhall have no leſs right than a Son, either to break the Teſtament, or to ſue for the Poſſeſſion of the Eſtate againſt the Will. He alſo will have poſthumous Daughters to be diſinherited, as if they were Males, and no otherwiſe, that they may not be eſteemed as paſſed by. And what he ordains concerning Daughters, he will alſo have extended to Nephews and Neeces by a Son.

L. 4. de liberis præteritis, Cod. lib. 6. tit. 28.

He makes Daughters equal with Sons as to Teſtaments.

63. But it is obſervable, that on the firſt day of *November* of this Year, he delivered the Law and Lawyers of much trouble, by taking away the ancient Ceremonies

He takes away the ancient Ceremonies about Adoptions.

Lib. 5. c. 19.

monies about Adoptions. Here it will be convenient, from *A. Gellius*, to inform the Reader what the ancient Rites and Differences of this thing were, in old times obſerved. ‘When Strangers, ſaith he, are taken into another family, and into the ‘place of Children, it's either done by the *Prætor*, or by the People. That which ‘is performed by the *Prætor* is called Adoption, that which by the People, Arrogation. ‘They are adopted, who by the Parent, in whoſe power they are preſent, ‘are by three Mancipations, or Sales, parted with, and by him who adopts ‘them are challenged, and recovered before him, in whoſe Court lies the Action at ‘Law. Such are arrogated, who not being in any paternal, but their own power, ‘and at liberty, voluntarily give up themſelves into that of another man, and are ‘authours of this change themſelves. But theſe Arrogations are not lightly, nor ‘without ſcrutiny, celebrated. The *Curiata Comitia* are not granted, though the ‘*Pontifices* preſide. And it is conſidered whether the Age of the Perſon that arrogates ‘be not fit and proper it ſelf to beget Children, and whether the Eſtate of ‘him who is arrogated be not aimed at, and treacherouſly deſigned. Moreover it's ‘ſaid, that an Oath was conceived by *Q. Mutius*, then *Pontifex maximus*, to be ‘taken in Arrogation. But one cannot be arrogated that's under a *Veſticeps*, (ſo ‘he calls him) or one who takes his virile Gown. Now becauſe this ſort called Arrogation, ‘whereby one paſſed into another family, was performed *per Rogationem* ‘*Populi*, or aſking leave of the People; the words of it were theſe: *Pleaſe you to* ‘*will, or command, that* L. Valerius (for example) *ſhall become Son to* L. Titius, *as* ‘*well in Law, and Right, as if he had been begotten by that Father and the Mother* ‘*of the Family; and that he may have Power of Life and Death over him, as over* ‘*a Son born. So as I have ſaid, ſo I deſire of you,* Quirites. But neither a Pupil, ‘nor a Woman, can be arrogated, though ſhe be in the power of her Parent; for ‘the *Comitia* meddle not with Women; and for Tutours, it is unlawfull for them ‘to have ſo much Authority and Power over their Pupils, as to ſubject a free ‘Perſon, committed to their Truſt, to the Power of a Stranger. Now *Maſſurius* ‘*Sabinus* hath written, that *Libertini* might be adopted by Perſons of ingenuous ‘or abſolutely free condition in ſtrictneſs of Law; but he ſaith it is not permitted, ‘neither doth he think it ought ever to be, that thoſe of the ſtate and quality onely ‘of *Libertini*, ſhould invade the Right of *Ingenui* by the way of Adoption. ‘Otherwiſe, ſaith he, if the Antiquity of the Law ſhould be obſerved, a Slave alſo ‘ſhould, by intervention of the *Prætor*, be given by his Lord to be adopted; ‘which moſt of the Authours of the ancient Law have written might be done.

Adoptio. Arrogatio.

Adoption and Arrogation how of old they differed.

How celebrated.

Arrogation in the *Comitia* ceaſed long before *Juſtinian*.

64. So much, and ſomething more, writes *A. Gellius* concerning this matter. Now *Baldwin* obſerves, that theſe difficulties of Arrogation, as he terms them, in the *Comitia*, were taken away long before the time of *Juſtinian*. For *Diocleſian* declared, that an Arrogation made by the Indulgence or Grant of the Prince, and intimated before the *Prætor* or Preſident, ſhould be full as valid, as if it had been done according to the ancient Law by the People. But the ancient Rites of Adoption longer continued. *Gellius* writes what theſe were, *viz.* three Mancipations, or Sales, and Recoveries before a Magiſtrate; and *Suetonius*, before him, of *Auguſtus*, that he bought *Caius* and *Lucius* at his Houſe, by Money and Weigh-ſcales, of their Father *Agrippa*. Firſt, becauſe the natural paternal Power was to be diſſolved, the Rite of three Mancipations intervened. Then becauſe this was done for the cauſe of Adoption, the Party was not manumitted, but adopted, after three Mancipations. But now whereas *Juſtinian* had formerly determined, that the Power of a Natural Father ſhould not always be diſſolved by Adoption, and *Anaſtaſius* had before that reſolved, that without any other Ceremony a Son might be emancipated by the Reſcript of the Prince, it had been ridiculous and abſurd to retain the ancient form of Emancipation in Adoptions. Therefore on the firſt day or Calends of *November*, he took away the whole Pageantry of the ancient Emancipation, by aboliſhing the imaginary Sales, or Mancipations, wherein he ſignifies, that Manumiſſions and certain *Rhapiſmata* intervened.

He takes away the old formalities in Adoptions.

L. ult. de Adoptionibus, Cod. lib. 8. tit. 48.

65. ‘The ſame day of the month, of the foregoing Year, when *Lampadius* and ‘*Oreſtes* were Conſuls, he had taken away, as he terms them, the old Circuits in ‘Adoptions, which were wont to be made by three Emancipations, as to Sons, and ‘two Manumiſſions, or by one Emancipation in other children. And he gave ‘leave to a Parent, who deſired to give away by Adoption Children in his Power, ‘to manifeſt this thing before a competent Judge, by the way of regiſtring, without ‘the old Obſervation of Emancipations and Manumiſſions, he being preſent ‘who was adopted, and not contradicting, as alſo he who ſhould adopt him. Now on that day twelve month after, or the Year whereof we write, he ſig-

And the ancient Circuits.

L. ult. de Emancipationib. liberorum, Cod. lib. 8. tit. 49. Dat. Cal. Nov. Conſt. poſt Conſulatum Lampadii & Oreſtis.

nifies to *John*, the *Præfectus Prætorio*, ‘That having beheld in Emancipations a vain Obſervation, to be kept with Sales, figurated upon free Perſons, inextricable Circumductions, and injurious *Rhapiſmata*, of which no rational effect is found, he will have this ſort of Circuit to ceaſe for the time to come, and gives leave to him that will emancipate, either to doe it according to *Anaſtaſius* his Law, or without a ſacred Reſcript, to go before a competent Judge, or ſuch Magiſtrates as by Law, or long Cuſtome, were permitted to doe this thing, and to diſmiſs from his hand his Sons, Daughters, Nephews, Neeces, or ſuch Off-ſpring deſcending as were in his Power, and to retain his legitimate Rights, although he did not ſpecially reſerve any to himſelf; to give the *peculium*, or transfer other things upon them in way of liberality, to detain other things by the way of *Vſusfructus*, and doe all other things, the vain Cuſtome, as was ſaid, being onely taken away. The Cuſtome was, that the Son was thrice ſold by his Father, and, as it were, ſold back to him again, that he might manumit him, being redeemed, as a Lord did his Slave, and thereby have over him the right of Patronage. This was called *Fiducia*. The *Rhapiſmata*, ſome think, were Cuts on the Ear, wont to be given to Slaves at their Manumiſſion, as a Ceremony; others, that they were ſtroaks given by the *Vindicta*, or Rod of the *Prætor's* Lictor. Five Witneſſes were to be preſent at the imaginary ſale, with the Weigh-ſcales and Money ready. But *Juſtinian*, by removing thoſe Ceremonies, which, in the time of *Romulus*, and the twelve Tables, were thought convenient, delivered the *Imprudentia* from many Thorns and Briars, if *Tribonian* had not diſperſed their Stumps and Pricks into the Digeſts, by inſerting into them ſeveral remainders of theſe aboliſhed Rites. So ſhort was his memory or diligence in this and many other matters, as *Baldwin* ſufficiently diſcovers.

He took away the *Dedititia Libertas*.

L. unic. de Dedititia libertate tollenda, Cod. lib. 7. tit. 5.

66. Certainly our Legiſlatour laboured much in things of this nature, as appears, amongſt other Inſtances, from another Law he publiſhed this very day. He had formerly taken away that ſhadow of liberty, called *Dedititia Libertas*, declaring, ‘It ſhould no more for the future moleſt the Commonwealth; becauſe it was of no uſe, but was onely an empty name of liberty. For he, he ſaith, who was an obſerver of Truth, would have thoſe things onely to be in his Laws, which indeed were real. Such as had this liberty had little benefit, for they could neither make a Teſtament, nor receive any thing from one, be reduced to the former City, nor be made Heirs. ‘Having aboliſhed theſe *Dedititii Liberti*, the liberty of the *Latini*, as alſo imperfect, as ſetled upon uncertain foundations, did, he ſaith, reel and ſtagger, having at firſt been brought up in a tumultuary and confuſed manner. For the *Latini Liberti* ſeeming to have been introduced after the manner of the ancient Latinity, ſent in Colonies, it were very abſurd the Original it ſelf of the thing being taken away, to have an Image or Repreſentation thereof continuing. Now whereas after ſeveral Faſhions, and almoſt innumerable, the condition of theſe *Latini* was introduced, diverſe Laws and *Senatusconſulta* made thereupon, and thence many difficulties did ariſe, as well as by the *Lex Junia*, the *Senatusconſultum Largianum*, and the Edict of *Trajan*, of which Law-Books were full, but no good Experiment had been made; he now thinks fit to cut off all theſe things, and to reduce the Latine liberty by certain methods into the perfect *Roman*. For how can it be endured that there ſhould be ſuch a kind of liberty, as by virtue of it, at the time of death, liberty and ſervitude ſhould concur in the ſame Perſon? and that he that dies ſhould, dying as free, be ſnatched away, both into ſervitude and death, at the ſame time? Hereby it appears what a ſort of liberty this of the *Latini* was, and it will be convenient to obſerve, what this our Legiſlatour tells us elſewhere in his *Inſtitutions*, that the ſtate of *Libertini*, or ſuch as were made free, was of three ſorts. For ſuch as were manumitted ſometimes obtained the greater liberty, and were made *Roman* Citizens; ſometimes the leſſer ſort, and were made *Latini* by the *Lex Junia Norbana*, and otherwhile were onely *Dedititii*, by virtue of the Law called *Lex Ælia Sentia*.

L. un. de Latina libertate tollenda, &c. ibid. tit. 6.

And the Latine Liberty.

Inſtit. lib. 1. tit. 5. de libertinis. Vide notas.

Three ſorts of Liberty formerly.

One became *Roman* Citizens,

Another *Latini*,

A third *Dedititii*.

67. *Roman* Citizens were made, either by the *Vindicta*, or by the *Cenſus*, when they were inrolled, at the command of their Lords, in the Books of *Ceſſe*, or were manumitted by Teſtament. Or, as others have expreſſed, who by Teſtament in the Church, or before the Conſul, received this favour. Theſe could both make a Teſtament, and ſucceed in an inheritance, by virtue of one made. The *Latini* were made either by an Epiſtle, amongſt Friends, or even at an Entertainment or Banquet. Theſe could neither make a Will, nor ſucceed by virtue of one, but by a ſecond Manumiſſion might become *Roman* Citizens. Now the *Dedititii* were ſuch as had been ſubjected to puniſhment after Crimes committed; for the ſame

publickly beaten, or in whoſe Faces or Bodies ſuch marks were made by Fire, or Iron, as could not be defaced, who had been bound in Chains, in way of puniſhment, by their Lords, been found guilty, watched and obſerved, and who had been delivered up, that they might combate with the Sword, or with wild Beaſts, or had been thrown into Cuſtody. Theſe could neither make Teſtaments, neither receive benefit by one, nor be made Citizens. They were called *Dedititii* from the example of *Stranger Tributaries*, who, being Rebels, were overcome by the *Romans*, and baſely did *dedere*, or give up themſelves into their Power. But to come nearer to the *Latini*. They were alſo called *Latini Liberti*, as *Baldwin* will have it, who were not manumitted altogether after the legitimate manner, and in ſolemn order; not by a Lord who was above twenty years of Age, one who was Lord *ex Jure Quiritum*; or when the Party manumitted did not exceed the Age of that of thirty. Yet whatever others ſay, he delivers it as Law, that being manumitted, they enjoyed ſuch liberty, as to have *Commercium*, and a right of receiving advantage from a Teſtament, though they had no *Connubium*, or privilege of Matrimony, nor could make a Teſtament, nay, indeed dyed as Slaves. This deſcended from the Law called *Junia Norbana*, preferred in the time of *Tiberius* by thoſe who were then Conſuls. Thence they were called *Latini Juniani*. But that Law, and its Interpreters, ſignifie, that many ways theſe *Latini Liberti* might be made *Roman* Citizens.

69. *Suetonius* relates how *Veſpaſian* married a Woman of *Latine* condition, being by a recuperatory Judgment pronounced ingenuous, and of free condition. Indeed ſuch were eaſily made *Roman* Citizens, ſo at leaſt as they enjoyed the privilege of *Quirites*, as long as they lived; and that they might not trouble themſelves in obtaining it, afterwards *Trajan* conferred on them the *Jus Quiritum*, as long as they lived in general, or permitted them to enjoy it, though their Patrons being unwilling, or ignorant of it, they had procured to be Citizens; but for all this, ſo as they ſhould die as Slaves. Afterward the *Senatuſconſultum Largianum* was made in the time of *Antoninus Pius*, that the *Latini Liberti*, who were manumitted at full Age, and by a Lord that was at full Age alſo, as was provided for by the Law, called *Lex Ælia Sentia*, although not ſolemnly, as by the *Vindicta*, or Teſtament, might be made *Roman* Citizens, and dying, might enjoy the privilege of a Citizen, otherwiſe they could not make a Teſtament, as in the time of *Salvianus* of *Marſeilles*, an hundred years before *Juſtinian*, they could not doe. At length, now this Emperour took away all theſe troubles and difficulties, and would own no other Liberty but what was joined with freedom of a Citizen. And afterward, as ſome have thought, by his Seventy eighth Novel Conſtitution, he would have all that were manumitted, not to be of libertine, but full, free and ingenuous condition. By this Law of which now we treat, he ordained, that Liberty it ſelf ſhould be conferred ſeveral ways, wherein the *Latine* Liberty was wont to be beſtowed. For example, a Lord might manumit his Slave by an Epiſtle, provided it were atteſted by five Witneſſes. He might doe it alſo amongſt Friends, if he took five Witneſſes, or did it *apud Acta*, and had the teſtimony of Witneſſes and publick Perſons.

Juſtinian takes away all troubles and difficulties about Liberty.

70. *Claudius*, the Emperour had of old made an Edict, that if a Slave were in ſome grievous Infirmity, forſaken by his Lord, who would neither look after him himſelf, commend him to others, nor ſend him to an Hoſpital, ſuch Slave ſhould enjoy the *Latine* Liberty, yet ſo, as his Lord at his death ſeized on his Goods. Now *Juſtinian* ordains, ‘That a Slave ſo uſed ſhall be abſolutely free, and his former unkind Maſter ſhall have nothing to doe with his Eſtate, either when he lives or dies. In like manner a She-Slave, if ſold on condition not to be proſtituted, if ſhe be by him that buyes her, or her former Lord, reſerving to himſelf a way of recovery, proſtituted afterward, ſhe ſhall obtain full Liberty and Franchiſe. Farther, whereas a *Pileus*, or Cap was uſed by Slaves manumitted, as a Badge of Liberty, he farther ordains, that ſuch Slaves, as at the Funeral of their Lords precede the Corpſe, or ſtand in the Bier, ſo as to ventilate the Body, and that by order of the Teſtatour, or the Heir, ſhall preſently become *Roman* Citizens; whereas formerly an entrance upon an Inheritance was neceſſary, as well as the Cap, for making free thoſe *Libertini Orcini*, as they were called. ‘If one by Will, or by the other courſe of the *Vindicta*, ſignified, that he would make his Slave a *Latine* Freed-man, he ſhould, for all that obtain his full liberty. If a Lord bequeath liberty to his Slave upon a condition, and while that condition depends, the Heir, being a ſtranger, gives him liberty, he ſhall not be as formerly, a *Latinus Libertus*, but a *Roman* Citizen. If the condition failed, he ſhould be his *Libertus*, who

‘ made him free; if the condition was fulfilled, he ſhould be as a *Libertus Orcinus*, and the Patronage go as otherwiſe by Law it ought. He eſteems it very hard what formerly was practiſed, in caſe a Slave upon a Controverſie and Suit was found to be ſuch, and caſt by his Lord, that then he ſhould onely be a *Latine* Freed-man, in caſe any other paid his price down to the Lord. He declares ſuch an one ſhall be a *Roman* Citizen, as alſo a She-Slave, given in Matrimony by her Lord to a Freeman, if the Lord by writing conſigned her a Portion, which was done for free and even noble Perſons. In like manner ſhall be free a Slave, whom *apud Acta* his Lord names his Son. A Slave alſo, to whom his Lord delivers the Writings, or defaces ſuch whereby the Slavery was proved, and made out, if it were done in the preſence of five Witneſſes. Theſe excepted, he declares, that all other ways and Methods found in any Lawyers Writings or Conſtitutions, ſhall ceaſe, and pretenders to liberty by them ſhall continue in ſlavery, as formerly. That the *Latine* Liberty may abſolutely be ſo, he repeals all Laws made concerning it, as to that particular, if mention be made of Liberty, and none of Latinity, it ſhall be taken for abſolute Liberty and Freedom. In concluſion, this Conſtitution ſhall take place in thoſe who ſhall onely for the future be *Liberti*, or Freed-men.

Ways how full Liberty might be obtained, as of old was the *Latina Libertas.*

Many Laws he repealed.

De Lege Fuſia Caninia tollenda, de Aſſertione tollenda, de Dedititia Libertate tollenda, de Latina Libertate tollenda, de tollendo nudo Jure Quiritum.

The *Lex Ælia Sentia* but in part.

71. Thus did *Juſtinian* both relaxate the bonds of Servitude, and open the way to Liberty; out of which good humour he publiſhed various Conſtitutions, which carry the name and form of Repeals. But amongſt theſe, none are to be found for taking away the *Lex Ælia Sentia*, for though ſome Heads of that Law he took away, yet others he retained. That Law forbad, that one under twenty years ſhould manumit a Slave, except he made good the cauſe thereof before Council. *Juſtinian* firſt declared, that the Age of ſeventeen ſhould be ſufficient; and afterward, as appears by his one hundred and nineteenth Novel, was content with that of fourteen, wherein the man was capacitated to make a Teſtament. The ſame Law commanded, that no one leſs than thirty years old, being manumitted by the *Vindicta*, or by Teſtament, ſhould become a *Roman* Citizen. On the contrary, *Juſtinian* would have no conſideration of Age to be had, but that he who was manumitted might be an Infant, and thereupon yet become a *Roman* Citizen. In concluſion, the ſame Law would have a Slave, who had been bound in Priſon by his Lord, if he was afterward manumitted, to be onely in the number of the *Dedititii*, of whom we have already ſpoken, as to the repealing of this Law. There was another difference of Servitude, when one was a Slave *Jure Quiritum*, by a ſolemn Rite or Ceſſion in Law, or onely by buying and ſale, which difference he alſo took away, by forbidding any Dominion but what was natural, and *Jure Quiritum*. If a Slave was given in pledge, if manumitted by the Giver, he would have him enjoy liberty, though not fully, without the Creditours conſent. If a Slave belonged to two Perſons, as Lords, if one of them manumitted him, the whole right of him came to the other, *Jure accreſcendi*, by way of accruing, yet if a Souldier did ſo manumit, his Companion was forced to ſell his ſhare in the Slave, who thereupon obtained full liberty. This *Juſtinian* would have alſo of force, though one who was not a Souldier did manumit, and the Slave ſhould obtain thereby his Freedom. In concluſion, he aboliſhed the uſe of the Aſſertion, ſo called, becauſe of old it was not lawfull for one reputed and held for a Slave, to ſue for his liberty though he had an occaſion, but by a Vindicatour, who was termed Aſſertour, who could act for him; and if the firſt Aſſertour was caſt, or deſerted the Cauſe, it was lawfull for a ſecond to take it up.

The Advocates of *Cæſarea.*

72. This ſame day of the firſt of *November* was ſtill more fruitfull in the production of another remarkable Law. And this was an anſwer to the Advocates of *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*, though directed to *John* the *Præfectus Prætorio*. *Baldwin* will have it *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, formerly called *Mazaca*, which had its Society of eminent Government in the *Forum* of Lawyers, who, as *Strabo* relates, were *Tigranes* King of *Armenia* led away into barbarous Servitude; yet were as by the right of *Poſtliminium* afterward reſtored, and recovered their former Dignity. This Dignity, they and their Succeſſours ſeem to have retained more than five hundred years from that Accident, till the time of *Juſtinian*, whom they often were wont to Conſult in controverted points of Law, as were other Advocates of *Paleſtine* and *Illyricum*, Yet in this point to which this Anſwer is directed, there ſeems little or no difficulty worthy to move a Queſtion. It was an ancient Opinion of Lawyers, that a Convention, Bargain, or Compact, concerning the Eſtate or Goods of another man as yet living, was not onely unprofitable, but filthy and diſhoneſt, inſomuch that ſuch Bargainers and Contracters, were thought unworthy ever to be Heirs, and loſt the Right of ſucceeding to ſuch Perſons, which otherwiſe

Lib. 12.

Tales hæredipetæ olim appellabantur vultures.

wiſe accrued to them. Certainly if any do greedily expect and covet the Eſtate of another man, that Expectation is of Evil and dangerous Example, and may provoke to the Procurement of the Death of ſuch a Perſon. Indeed we may in ſome Caſes, ſell or give away our Hope and Expectation, as of the Draught of a Net; but the Hope of another's Inheritance is wicked, if we make a Compact concerning it without his Knowledge or Conſent. But the Advocates of *Cæſarea* doubted if ſuch a Pact might not be tolerated, as was conceived under an expreſs Condition, if the Inheritance ſhould fall to the Bargainers. '*Juſtinian* ſo far Confirms the old 'Law, as not to tolerate any ſuch Paction, and forbids not onely any Gift, but any 'Obligation or Security to be made thereby.

Conſult *Juſtinian.*

L. ult. de Pactis, Cod. lib. 2. *tit.* 3.

72. If there had been made onely a Paction concerning a future Eſtate in general, whenceſoever it ſhould come, it might have been of Force, becauſe there was no appearance of thinking of the Death of any one Perſon. So a Society was wont to be rightly contracted, that if any juſt Inheritance ſhould happen, it might be common. And ſo *Juſtinian* elſewhere doth extend an *Hypotheca*, or tacite Obligation to ſuch Eſtates as ſhould happen by Succeſſion. But where a Convention is ſpecially directed to a certain ſort of a ſingle Inheritance, it ſeems to be intent upon the Death of ſome ſingle Perſon, though by a Condition this wicked deſign, and preſent thought be covered and diſſembled. '*Juſtinian* onely ſaith, the Pact ſhall 'be null; but whereas he addes according to the ancient Laws, he ſignifies that 'the Penalty formerly mentioned is to be inflicted. Which is to hold if the thing was done Craftily by them, that knew the man to be alive; for if they thought him dead, and by that Errour were drawn into a Compact concerning an Eſtate as faln, the Pact indeed ſhould be null, but there ſhould be no Penalty. 'One 'exception *Juſtinian* makes, which is, the Conſent concerning whoſe Goods the 'Compact is made; and this, ſaith he, he hath alſo from the ancient Laws. *Baldwin* yet affirms, that there is no mention made of it, in thoſe Laws that are extant, however the Reaſon is plain, for this Conſent removes the Suſpicion, for which ſuch a Pact otherwiſe is rejected. Such a Conſentor ſhews the Compact to be made *Bonâ Fide*, and yet he is not obliged, but he may if he pleaſe change his mind before his Death. If he change not, the Pact obliges the Parties. In like manner, if two Perſons agree to ſucceed each other in their own Inheritances, the one thinks of the other's Death, both lyes at catch, but neither purpoſes to give to the other; and therefore ſuch a Pact is alſo rejected, eſpecially amongſt *Pagani*, or ſuch as are no Souldiers. But where there is a ſimple and liberal Conſent, there is no Suſpicion of Treachery, and the Pact is eſteemed honeſt, eſpecially if made by otherwiſe Legitimate Heirs, concerning the dividing of an Inheritance, when faln. As if the owner Conſenting, an Agreement be made betwixt the Brother and Sons of another Brother, that they ſhould ſucceed by Poll, and not altogether as repreſenting their Father. But without the Conſent of the Owner, the Agreement were againſt good manners, and made too much haſte.

His Anſwer.

In Capita non in Stirpes.

73. He made Anſwer to the ſame Advocates upon another Queſtion this ſame day, which is not much material to mention; but ſo much in ſhort. It was how Writings were to be Credited, which atteſted the Preſence of a Party, and his return was, that they were to ſtand to them, till the contrary was proved. 'This ſame 'day he alſo decreed, that no temporal Preſcription but of the largeſt time ſhould 'operate againſt a *Minor*, or one under the Age of five and twenty. At the ſame 'time he alſo took away a Legacy from a Legatee, that ſhould conceal or ſup'preſs a Teſtament, and aſſigned it, not to the Treaſury as formerly had been 'done, but to the Heir. The Lawyers in the Pandects often ſay, that a Legatee who oppoſed a Teſtament, affirming it to be void or falſe, and was caſt in the Suit, ſhould obtain nothing by the ſaid Teſtament, but what ſhould have belonged to him, fell to the Treaſury; but this *Juſtinian* doth not aſſign to the Heir, which he might have done as well as the other, and wanted ſome Heir to put him in mind of it. However, though he had not as yet made his new Law, for taking away the *Caduca*, yet he had begun to take away many things from his Exchequer, and to leave them to private Men. He was ſo favourable to the Cauſe of Women, as to the *Dos* or Portion they brought to their Husbands, that whereas formerly he had given them a certain tacite Obligation upon the Eſtates of their Husbands, for the repaying of it; 'Now on the fifth before the Calends of *December*, he pre'ferred the Cauſe of them, before that of others, who had ſuch ſort of Obligations. Yet in this the Treaſury is to be excepted, which having a Cauſe firſt in time was to be preferred to a *Dotale* Cauſe that came after. 'In this matter of Favour to 'Women, he declares at the beginning of his Law, that he was diſturbed by the

Vide Balduinum lib. 3.

Another, to a ſecond Queſtion.

L. ult. in quibus cauſis in integrum Reſtitutioneceſſaria, non eſt, Cod. lib. 2. *tit.* 41.

L. penult. de Legatis, Cod. lib. 6. *tit.* 37.

Juſtinian takes away from his Treaſury, and leaves to private Men.

Favourable to Women.

L. ult. qui Potiores in pignore habeantur, Cod. lib. 8. *tit.* 18.

'daily Applications of thoſe of that Sex, and that he had had Reſpect to the ancient 'Laws, and looked onely at the time to come.

74. Great was the danger which of old an Heir or an Executour underwent, in entring upon an Eſtate. For, all Hereditary burthens he was loaded with, and ſtood ingaged, and anſwerable to Hereditary Creditours *in Solidum*, even beyond the Eſtate that came unto him. Neither to free and diſcharge him, did properly belong the benefit of Separation; for it was rather introduced for the ſake of ſuch as were Creditours of the Heir before he entred on ſuch an Eſtate. Indeed when a *Liberta* as Heir entred on an Eſtate and was inſolvent, and had her Patron for her Heir, it was given as an Anſwer in Law, that it was not unjuſt that the Patron ſhould be relieved, and not burthened with Debts contracted by his *Liberta* in that manner, and therefore her own Goods were ſeparated from the Hereditary: But this was a ſingular Caſe. A *Minor* alſo, or one under five and twenty was relieved, who had raſhly entred on a bad Eſtate; and in like manner a Souldier. *Adrian* the Emperour gave relief alſo to one above five and twenty, when great Debts appeared after an entry made upon the Inheritance which lay concealed at that time; and *Juſtinian* had done ſomething to the ſame purpoſe. But by all theſe the Heir ſeemed little to be relieved: And there being ſuch danger in venturing on an Inheritance, the Right of deliberating was deſired, which having formerly been indulged for a few Months, *Juſtinian* gave the ſpace of a year. 'But there being found great difficulty in this Deliberation, and no other 'Fruit, for the moſt part, appearing than a ſuſpending of the Cauſe of the Inheritance to no purpoſe; at length it ſeemed good, that the Executour, or Heir ſhould 'make an Inventary or Repertory of the particulars thereof, and enter upon the 'Eſtate with that Condition; That he ſhould not be obnoxious to the Hereditary 'Creditours, farther than the Contents of the Inventary, and the Eſtate it ſelf did extend. In caſe the Legatees were abſent at the making of the Inventary, he 'would have certain called together, with the *Tabularius* or Scribe. And however ſolemn the making of it was, he now gave leave to Ceditours and Legatees to diſprove it, if they could make out, that all the Goods of the Deceaſed 'were not therein expreſſed, *Bonâ fide:* Nay they might fetch Evidence from 'the Family of the Deceaſed, and call Hereditary Slaves to the Queſtion it ſelf; 'upon this Account as had been generally ordained, that ſuch might be put to the 'Torture in Hereditary matters.

L. 12. Cod. de Jure deliberand.

L. penult. Cod. de inofficioſo Teſtam.

L. ult. de Jure deliberand. Cod. eod. die edita quo prior. Qui potiores in pign.

An Heir to make an Inventary and to be no farther burthened.

The penalty of not making an Inventary.

75. 'In Caſe an Heir, notwithſtanding the making of an Inventary, would inſiſt upon the time of Deliberation, this over Cautious humour was ſuſpected, and 'odious in *Juſtinian*'s eſteem, and he thought him ſo much to renounce the benefit of an Inventary, that it ſhould be eſteemed as none; and notwithſtanding 'it, he ſhould be obnoxious *in Solidum*, to the Hereditary Creditours even above 'the value of the Eſtate. If one would not make an Inventary, he loſt his Claim 'to the *Lex Falcidia*, and could deduct nothing from Legatees: Nay *Juſtinian* ordained afterwards, that Legacies ſhould be paid intirely, as Debts were, without 'Reſpect to the quantity of the Eſtate. By the benefit of an Inventary, a Confuſion 'of Obligations was prevented, in caſe a Creditour became Heir to the Debtour. 'If in the Inventary with the Goods he deſcribed and collated Debts, he ſhould 'reckon alſo his own Debt, and ſhould be numbred amongſt the Creditours. But on the other ſide *Baldwin* is of Opinion, that if a Debtour ſucceeded as Heir, or Executour to a Creditour, his Name is to be put into the Inventary amongſt Debtours, and amongſt ſuch he is to be reckoned: That as there ought to be no Confuſion to the defrauding of an Heir, where the Creditour ſucceeds the Debtour, and makes an Inventary, ſo there ought to be no defrauding of the Creditours of the Deceaſed, when a Debtour is Heir. Nay, both Lawyers and Princes of old time anſwered, that as to the *Lex Falcidia*; ſuch things ſhould be reckoned as in time of Death were owing, either by the Deceaſed to the Heir, or by the Heir to the Deceaſed. '*Juſtinian* farther in ſome ſort Infringed the right of an *Hypotheca*; that if any one buy a thing of an Executour, who hath duely made an 'Inventary, he ſhall have that thing free, and ſtand in fear of no *Hypothecary* Actions. So much doth our Legiſlatour commend all manner of ways, with many 'Privileges adorn, and almoſt obtrude the Benefit of the Inventary upon Heirs, 'even againſt their minds, it being of his own invention.

76. The following Year, or the ſecond after the Conſulſhip of *Lampadius* and *Oreſtes* was turbulent, and when *Juſtinian* was in danger at the beginning thereof, to be depoſed by the *Nica*, and Sedition of the People about the Nephews of *Anaſtaſius*, he muſt needs have been put upon other thoughts, than the making of

Laws. But all being quiet, he returned to his former Courſe, and on the laſt of *April* made a Deciſion, which *Baldwin* thinks needleſs, as having formerly been done. It was, that a Condition which a Legatee could not perform, ſhould be taken for none; eſpecially when Liberty was bequeathed. From the end of *April*, *Baldwin* paſſes without thinking it fit, to take notice of any Laws, till the beginning of *September*. On the firſt of this Month was dated a Conſtitution not ignoble, whereby he confirmed the old Law concerning the Teſtaments of Souldiers, who were in the Power of their Fathers: Such Sons might by Military Right make Teſtaments concerning their *Caſtrenſe Peculium*, neither could ſuch Teſtaments be called *Inofficious*. And when they left the Wars, they might alſo make Teſtaments concerning the ſame things, *Jure Communi*, againſt which no *Querela* of *Inofficious* ſhould lye; but this latter Privilege *Juſtinian* will not have extended to Sons Emancipated. Now as Sons that were Souldiers had their *Peculium Caſtrenſe*, which they got by their Labours and Dangers in the Wars, ſo others by their pains obtained Wealth, which Princes thought fit alſo to appropriate to them, and what was ſo gotten was called, *quaſi Caſtrenſe Peculium*. Such was that got by the *Palatines* Officers, and ſuch as ſerved at Court; by Profeſſours of liberal Sciences, *Archiatri* and others. Of old to Proconſuls, Preſidents of Provinces, and ſome others, it was permitted to make Teſtaments concerning ſuch a *Peculium*, which 'Privilege now *Juſtinian* extended to all that had Wealth ſo acquired. And as he 'had formerly given the Privilege to Clerks, that againſt their Teſtaments made 'of their *Peculium*, no *Querela* ſhould lye, ſo now he grants it to all in General. Although what he formerly gave to Clerks in a ſpecial manner, he ſeemed by a Novel Conſtitution in a ſpecial manner to take away; commanding them abſolutely to leave a Legitimate to their Parents or Children, as being obliged to give Example of greater Piety and Duty, than others were.

A Condition impoſſible to be taken for none.

L. ult. Cod. de Condit. inſert.

L. ult. de Inofficioſo Teſtam. Cod.

Juſtinian gives Liberty to all, to make Teſtaments of the *quaſi Caſtrenſe Peculium.*

L.38. de Inofficioſo Teſtam. Cod.

123.

77. It is not to be forgotten, 'That this year *Juſtinian* directed another Conſtitu-'tion to *John* the Prefect, whereby he forbad a Marriage ſhould be prohibited 'betwixt a Man older than ſixty, and a Woman than fifty, as had been diſcounte-'nanced by the *Lex Julia* and *Papia*. Now this Law did not abſolutely forbid the Marriage of ſuch a Man, with ſuch a Woman; but it judged it not fitting, nor ſufficient to prevent the pain of *Celibate*, becauſe it was late and barren; it imagined it a Marriage without Marriage. Afterward it was thought fit, that a Man of ſixty might Marry, but not a Woman of fifty; which was approved by the *Senatuſconſultum Claudianum*, and the reaſon was fetch'd from Nature, and declared by *Ariſtotle*, a Man being by him ſuppoſed to be able to Generate till ſeventy, and a Woman but till fifty; to which Opinion the Lawyers were ready to ſubſcribe. 'But '*Juſtinian* thought Nature might be fruitfull beyond theſe bounds, aud he conſider-'ed that Procreation was not onely the honeſt end of Matrimony; and therefore as 'he found other Heads of that Law to be repealed before his time, ſo in Favour of 'ancient People, he reſolved to take this away likewiſe. And it happening afterward, that a Woman above fifty had brougnt a Child; and of this being conſulted by the Advocates of *Cæſarea*: 'He could not refuſe to admit of the Child as Le-'gimate, though born after the wonted Age of the Mother, but reckoned it amongſt 'Legitimate Heirs. And this was a Queſtion rather of Fact, than of Law; it being alledged, that the Birth was Suppoſititious as not proceeding from ſo ancient a Woman. 'In a matter doubtfull and queſtionable, yet he pronounced that the 'Cheat was to be proved by him that alledged it, it being no proof to alledge the 'ordinary Courſe of Nature, which might ſometimes exceed her ordinary Me-'thods, and to be ſure it was a thing equitable to Favour the Infant. But when another Queſtion was moved, whether a Child born in the eleventh Month after the death of the Husband was Legitimate; the difficulty was greater, it being not onely a Queſtion concerning the force of Nature, but of the Fidelity of the Woman, who might lye and diſſemble the true Father. What elſe was to be judged in this Caſe, he prudently and Cautiouſly determined in a Novel Conſtitution. As for the Birth of a Child after the fiftieth year of the Mother: *Baldwin* inſtanceth in an Hiſtory, which ſerves better, than any Gloſs to make good *Juſtinian*'s Law. It is this, *Conſtantia* the Wife of *Henricus Suevus*, the fifth Emperour, being fifty four years old was with Child, and that there might be no Fraud had Keepers appointed to watch her. And at that Age ſhe brought forth a Son, who by the Name of *Frederick* the ſecond ſucceeded his Father, *A. D.* MCC. As for a Birth in the eleventh or twelfth Month after the death of the Husband, let the Faculty of Phyſick, and the Lawyers of *Paris* ſpeak, in the behalf of a late Prince of their own Bloud.

L. 27. de Nupt. Cod.

He permits a Man of ſixty, and a Woman of fifty to marry.

L. 12. de Legit. Hæred. Cod.

39.

No Conſtitution this Year.

But the Pandects and Inſtitutions came abroad.

78. In the ſeventh year of *Juſtinian's* Reign, he himſelf the third time was Conſul in the Eaſt, and without a Collegue. For in the Weſt he who now Reigned in *Italy*, was content there ſhould be no Conſul in the Weſt; Nay, for the foregoing years there were none in the Eaſt, the Emperour not regarding this Title, which had long agoe degenerated into mere Name and Form, and the barbarous Princes eſteeming it but as a Badge of the Empire. And now *Juſtinian* ſeems to have intermitted his buſineſs of making Laws ſo practiſed by him in the five preceding year; there being no new and ſingular Conſtitution publiſhed this year, as *Baldwin* obſerves, which he doth not attribute to his diſtraction about Martial Affairs. For the *Perſian* War was diſpatched, that of the *Vandals* in *Africk* was ended, and the *Gothick* in *Italy* was ſcarce begun. He ſuſpects him and his Lawyers to have been buſied in peruſing the Pandects, and compoſing the Inſtitutions, with the Edition of which this year was over and above Ennobled. The Inſtitutions were compiled more lately, and yet publiſhed a little before, but obtained not Authority or Force in the *Forum*, but from the ſame day the Pandects were publiſhed. Concerning the Edicts and Prefaces premiſed and conjoyned, to both we have ſpoken already, and altogether. That of the Inſtitutions is a Book indeed, wherein the Authour much Glories and Prides himſelf. He pretends it ſo to be Compoſed, as to be a ſort of *Index*, of both Laws Ancient and Modern, a Breviate of many Conſtitutions formerly publiſhed by him; and to appertain no leſs to the Code, than the Pandects.

Quem vide lib. 4. de Jure Novo.

The Memory of ſome Conſtitutions preſerved in the Inſtitutions.

Juſtinian makes it Lawfull to leave Legacies to uncertain Perſons.

79. Now *Baldwin* will have it ſo far from compriſing the Heads of all his New Conſtitutions, that he affirms not the fourth part of them to be touched, ſcarcely ſixty of two hundred and fifty. Yet where the place permitted it, and occaſion required, he acknowledges that the Architects of this Epitome were mindfull of their *Juſtinian*, and not ſo exceedingly forgetfull of their New Law as they had been in the Pandects. He owns that the Memory of ſome Conſtitutions are herein preſerved, which elſe had been loſt; as thoſe *De Jure Patronatus*, and *De Incertis Perſonis*, which poſſibly were written in Greek, and therefore ſome few hints of them onely remain in the Code. As for the Patronage of ſuch as had been Slaves, it has been ſpoken to. By the other Conſtitution it ſeems, he made it lawfull to leave a Legacy to an uncertain Perſon, which before could not be done: For Example, a Legacy thus left; *Let mine Heir give to him, that ſhall give his Daughter in Marriage to my Son, &c.* For though this uncertain Perſon became after certain, yet the Legacy was null, becauſe it ſeemed given raſhly, and without good Advice. Amongſt the Living, Liberality might be conferred on an uncertain Perſon, as in throwing Money to a multitude; but the Ancients required a more ſetled and Compoſed mind in Teſtatours. To ones own Poſthumous Child, a Legacy they permitted to be left, but not to one of another Man; and though the *Prætor* was Aſſiſtent to the latter, in obtaining an Inheritance, yet he granted no Action for Legacies. This being but too nice and ſubtile, was Corrected by *Juſtinian*. Indeed it had been lawfull to leave Legacies to the Poor in general before his time, which he confirmed by a peculiar Conſtitution: This was a ſingular Exception and could not avail, that a Legacy left for the redeeming of Captives could be good, till *Leo* the Emperour expreſly confirmed it. Him *Juſtinian* followed, and afterwards ordained Univerſally, that a Legacy might be left to uncertain Perſons.

80. Though the Conſtitutions of *Juſtinian*, concerning *Legata* and *Fideicommiſſa* be extant; yet a noble Head of this Subject had been wanting, if not mentioned in the Inſtitutions. Concerning Legacies paid by Errour to pious Uſes, their being irrevocable. *Baldwin* farther obſerves, what *Antinomia*, or repugnancy in Law had been found in the Pandects, if it had not been for this little Book, which ſhews whether of theſe repugnant Teſtimonies brought out of Authours, is to be followed. But ſo great was the Oſcitancy of *Tribonian*, that he wiſhes he had alſo made ſome Notes upon his Pandects, to ſhew us what to doe in ſo many diſſenting places, and tells us what Opinion we are to follow, and which of them was moſt liked by *Juſtinian*. He declares, that ſuch a Book of Annotations had abſolutely been as neceſſary, as the Inſtitutions. Not to ſay, that many things are raſhly delivered in the Inſtitutions, which upon good Grounds were rejected in the Pandects. But truely theſe things, ſaith he, are Cautiouſly and Conſiderately to be weighed, that from the thing it ſelf we may prudently determine, what is to be imputed to the Careleſneſs, and (if one may ſay ſo) to the folly of *Tribonian*. For his miſtake, and to uſe *Cicero* his Word, his Heedleſneſs (*non Curantia*) ought not to overthrow the Reaſon and Verity of the Law. The Inſtitutions were publiſhed on the eleventh before the Calends of *December*, and the Pandects on

The Inſtitutions derogate from the Pandects.

ſeventeenth before the Calends of *January*. But the Inſtitutions were not to be of Force till this latter day, together with the Pandects. And it is to be obſerved, that the Inſtitutions are to be eſteemed the latter, and that conſequently they derogate from, and repeal the Pandects upon occaſion, and not the Pandects them.

81. *Baldwin* alſo is out of Humour, to find in the Title of the Pandects, that they are ſtyled Books, *Juris Enucleati*, or Kernels of the Law, being Collected from all the ancient *Juriſprudentia*. *Juſtinian* calls the Compilers of them, *Compoſitores Juris Enucleati*, and he wiſhes they had been ſuch as was *Q. Mucius*, of whom *Cicero* teſtifies, that he did ſpeak *Enucleatè & Politè*. But perhaps, he adds, it would be ſilly to expect ſuch a thing from ſome *Græculi*, eſpecially in what concerns the *Roman Juriſprudentia*. Certainly they who boaſt, they give us Law in the Kernel, have given us a Kernel incloſed in a very hard Nut; or rather one with the other, ſo bruiſed and intermingled, that they can ſcarcely be diſcerned. But as for what the Inſcription tells us, that ancient Law is gathered together in the Pandects, as *Juſtinian* alſo boaſts in his Preface to the Inſtitutions, how this is to be taken, is not obſcure. For, as was formerly ſaid, he would have the Pandects accommodated to the uſe of his own time and the *Forum*, and they are ſo interpolated, as to contain a certain mixt Law, partly Old, and partly New; ſo they ſeem to be a Compoſition of both Laws. And *Juſtinian* himſelf, ſomewhere calls them a Compoſition of new Law. But I have, ſo he concludes, formerly ſhewn what diligence and fidelity *Tribonian* uſed in the patching of them together.

Juſtinian takes away *Caducæ*.

De Caducis Tollendis.

He will have five Witneſſes to a Teſtament ſuffice in Villages.

82. In the year following, wherein *Juſtinian* was Conſul the fourth time, together with *Paulinus*, though the *Roman* World was buſied in turning over theſe new Books, yet was it ſtill plyed with hot and new Conſtitutions; yet theſe not many, but ſinuous and mightily pretending to the Civil Law. *Auguſtus Cæſar* indeavouring to bring all Men to marry, as we have ſeen in our ſecond Part, and not able to doe it, after ſeveral other Laws called *Leges Juliæ*, brought up *Lex Papia Poppæa*, to puniſh *Celibate*, and increaſe the publick Revenue; that if the Commonwealth could not be ſupplied with Men, it might with Money. Now a great deſign of this Law, was to make Legacies and Eſtates to be of the Nature of *Caduca*, and in many Caſes to fall to the Treaſury for certain Defects, of which it's not fit here to inquire; and *Baldwin* concerning this Subject hath written largely. ‘Theſe *Caduca*, ſome Caſes excepted, did *Juſtinian* now take away, and let ‘theſe things fall to Heirs and Legatees, and would not have them to accrew to ‘his Exchequer. This he did by a Conſtitution directed on the Calends of *June*, to the Senate of *Conſtantinople*. Beſides this Conſtitution publiſhed after the Pandects, on the third before the Nones of *July*, he gave out another for facilitating ſtill more, the making of Teſtaments, and that in Favour of *Pagani*, or Countreymen. In the *Pagi* or Villages, he is content five Witneſſes be ſufficient where more fit ones are not to be had. In Cities and *Caſtra*, or leſſer Towns, he will have the ancient Law to be obſerved. As five Witneſſes here are ſufficient, ſo formerly to all Codicills, and in ſuch Teſtaments wherein ſuch Heirs are inſtituted, as otherwiſe were to ſucceed by Law. *Leo* the Emperour afterward would have three Witneſſes ſuffice in Cities, and three in the Countrey for making Teſtaments. And indeed it was thought fit to depart by degrees from that ſcrupulous ſeverity of the Ancients in making Wills, though ſome reaſons (as lately to ſhun Perjury) drive again ſometimes a State to a more near obſervance of them.

He makes a ſecond Edition of his Code.

83. Now towards this time, *Juſtinian* began to bethink himſelf, what a vaſt number of Conſtitutions he had made, ſince the firſt publiſhing of his Code. They were grown up to near as great a Bulk as it had been: He thought therefore, to put them all together and make a new Edition. Therefore this year on the ſixteenth before the Calends of *December*. The Code in this ſort augmented, corrected and interpolated came abroad. *Baldwin* blames them that reckon onely fifty Deciſions to be inſerted, there being, he ſaith, above two hundred new Conſtitutions added at this new Edition. And here he affirms, according to his Cuſtome, that it had been no leſs neceſſary to have had another review, Interpolation and Edition of the Pandects, for making the Law complete and agreeing. Nay, that the Compoſition of the Code and Pandects, was not onely to be driven to the ninth year, as *Juſtinian* ſaith, but even the Promulgation of them to the time of his Death, that Perfect, Enucleate and Conſummate Law, might have been delivered to Poſterity, to be conſtant and perpetual; and ſo he might have ſaved the pains of throwing out ſo many Edicts, which afterwards he again rejected, according to experience and uſe of things which *Livy* affirms, to be the moſt ſevere Examiner, and Exploratour of Laws. At the publiſhing of the Code, he com-

manded that out of its Body no Conſtitutions ſhould be read. He meant ſuch Conſtitutions as were already abroad, not thoſe he ſhould afterward publiſh; for he foreſaw there might be occaſion from various experience, yet to make others. And he was not deceived. For ſcarcely had a Month and an half paſſed from this new Edition, when in the beginning of the following year, he ſet upon making Novels, of which he poured out ſo many that their Volume almoſt at length exceeded the Code it ſelf. And as formerly he Compoſed his Edicts in the Latine Tongue, rather than the Greek, now he made uſe more of the Greek, than the Latine. For both the Eaſtern and Weſtern part of the Empire, was to be gratified; and the *Gothick* War now raging in *Italy*, it ſeemed moſt fit to Conſult the Eaſt, in the making of Laws.

And Novel Conſtitutions preſently after.

Twelve the following Year.

The firſt is ſevere againſt Heirs or Legatees, who perform not the Teſtatours Will.

Nov. 1.

Nov. 13.

84. In this ſucceeding Year, wherein *Beliſarius* was Conſul, he publiſhed twelve Novels, whereof the firſt ſoon after the coming out of the Code, on the Calends of *January*. It confirms the ſeverity of the old Laws, againſt ſuch Heirs and Legatees, as do not fulfill the Will of the Teſtatour, 'ordaining that ſuch ſhall re'ceive no benefit by a Teſtament, who ſo long defers to doe what therein he is or'dered, that he continues negligent an whole Year after a Judicial Condemnation. No other way was there to make good the Will of the Dead, and afterward he was a little more ſevere upon the Score of Religion, 'depriving one of the Right 'of Succeſſion, who being by a Magiſtrate once and again admoniſhed, did not pay 'Legacies given to pious Uſes, condemning him as to the Fruits and Intereſt, if he 'made not payment within ſix Months after the Teſtatour's death, whereas the Heir was wont to pay Fruits and Intereſt of old, for ordinary Legacies from the Conteſting of the Suit. 'But he excepts Parents and Children, ſo as they ſhall have their 'Legitimate ſhare which they ſhould have had by Law, or otherwiſe might have 'brought the *Querela Inofficioſi Teſtamenti*, though they contemn the Commands of 'the Teſtatour; this belonging to them, whether the Teſtatour will or not. By the ancient Law, called *Lex Falcidia*, ſuch Care was had of an Heir, that the fourth part he was inabled to retain of an Eſtate left by the Teſtatour, to be deducted if need were, out of Legacies and other burthens impoſed on him. 'Now *Juſtinian* was 'ſo favourable to Legatees that he indeavoured by this Novel, in a manner to remove 'and take away this *Falcidian* part, leaving it in the Power of the Teſtatour: If an 'Heir in ſuch a Caſe would not take to the Eſtate, he left it to others that were next 'concerned to doe it. If the Heir omitted to make an Inventary; to be ſure he ſhould have no benefit of this Law, or if he did it not in due form; and here he will not truſt a *Tabularius*, but all the Legatees, or three Witneſſes in the Room of them, muſt be called together. In Concluſion, if the Heir pay a whole Legacy to one of the Legatees, he ſhall be obliged to all the reſt, and have no benefit of this Law.

Will have Principal Debtours ſued before ſuch as are bound.

Nov. 4.

85. By another Novel he would have principal Creditours, to be ſued before *Fidejuſſors*, or ſuch as were bound with them, and this Conſtitution he gave out this ſame year, on the fourteenth before the Calends of *April*. Of theſe it ſhall ſuffice to have touched, for we muſt not give an Account of all his Novels, whereof ſeveral have been mentioned, and others nearly relate to the more private Part of the *Jus Privatum*, and belong to Law, and not to Hiſtory. Indeed ſome that concern the *Jus Publicum*, Hiſtory and the Conſtitution of the State its requiſite that we Examine, but firſt we ſhall mention at parting with theſe things, that concern private Law, one Novel which by no means is to be paſſed by: The reaſon is given by *Baldwin*. If there be any new Conſtitution which abrogates many old Laws, which overthrows the moſt ſubtile Myſtery of the ancient Doctrine, which delivers the *Juriſprudentia* from many Ambages and vain Circuitions, which not onely diſſolves, but cuts many of its Knots; in Concluſion, which as it were with one Stroke blots out many Pages of the Pandects, this is it. *Juſtinian* had formerly taken pains to Model aright this moſt Noble part of the Law, concerning the Legitimate Succeſſion to Perſons dying inteſtate. But now he perceived all was to no purpoſe, except he cut down with one blow, all that wood of the ancient Law, being too acute and preciſe, beſet with ſo many Thorns, and perplexed with ſo many Turnings and Windings; and that by reducing the whole matter to ſome one Form, ſimple, agreeable to Nature, and the Law of Nations. Great Conteſts had continued about this Buſineſs in the *Roman* Law, for one thouſand and three hundred Years, from the founding of the City, and *Juſtinian* had ſpent ſixteen in the Compoſing of them.

86. What a difference was made, and how great in the *Roman* world, betwixt Children in ones own power and Emancipated, betwixt *Agnati* and *Cognati*, from the Laws of the twelve Tables till this time for a thouſand years, what diſturbance

Sect. 2.

Novel. 118.

He cuts off Conteſts about ſucceeding to the Eſtate of an Inteſtate, By calling all Children to the Inheritance.

it made, and in what difficulties it involved the Juriſdiction, the Books of Law ſpeak aloud. ‘But now our Legiſlatour commanded it to ceaſe, in Legitimate Inheritances of the Inteſtate. To thoſe Inheritances in the firſt place, he ſimply and naturally calls the Children of the Deceaſed, whether they were in his power or not, and of whatſoever Degree or Sex. The Law of the twelve Tables firſt called onely Children, under the paternal power and ſuch as were in the firſt Degree. Yet the *Prætor* alſo admitted ſuch as were Emancipated, and at length the Senate commanded Sons to be the Legitimate Heirs of their Mothers, though a Woman had not her Children in her power. Therefore a neceſſity of Children being in power to become legitimate Heirs, was taken away many Ages before *Juſtinian*. And for the other point of the firſt Degree, Grandchildren were alſo admitted, but rather as Sons than Grandchildren, for they ſupplied the firſt Degree, and came to the Inheritance, rather as their Fathers than their Grandfathers, by way of Repreſentation. ‘Now *Juſtinian* ſeems not to have altered the Law in this point, for he always would have Grandchildren by two Sons not to ſucceed in *Capita* by Poll, but in *Stirpes* by way of Repreſentation. Though had he regarded Natural more than Civil reaſon, he would have judged in the opinion of *Baldwin*, that they ought rather to have ſucceeded in *Capita*, eſpecially there being onely Grandchildren. But he did not always with ſufficient acuteneſs ſee what was conſequent, the ſubtilty of the ancient Law being taken away. As for the Sex, there was of old alſo ſome difference betwixt Nephews and Neices. But he had aboliſhed it before.

If no ſuch, Parents.

87. ‘If there were no Children which are called Deſcendents, then in the ſecond place he called to the legitimate Inheritance Parents termed Aſcendents, that is, Father and Mother equally, or if there were no ſuch, thoſe above them, but ſo as he granted them *Stirpes* not *Capita*, that is one half to thoſe of the Father's ſide, and another half to them of the Mother's. Now here is no Succeſſion from Degree to Degree, it being contrary to nature that what ought to be in aſcending, ſhould be in deſcending. ‘Therefore doth the Mother exclude the Grandfather by the Father; for ſimply and naturally the next Degree in order of Aſcendents, is preferred by this Conſtitution. Now the old Law made a long Diſtinction as to the Father. As whether the Son dying Inteſtate, was in his power or Emancipated, whether he was Emancipated *Contracta fiducia:* and ſometimes the Father, by virtue of his paternal Power, ſeized the Goods of his Son as his own, and otherwhile became Heir as a Manumiſſour by right of Patronage. Hardly at length did the Senate admit the Mother to the Legitimate Inheritance of her Son. Of theſe things it's fit a remembrance ſhould be had by the Confeſſion of *Baldwin*, to make us more ſenſible of the natural ſimplicity of the new Law introduced by *Juſtinian*.

With whom he joyns Brothers and Siſters of the whole bloud.

88. ‘Our Legiſlatour together with Parents, admits and joins Brothers and Siſters of the whole bloud, and gives to each of them, as much as to each of the Parents. But here he hath reſpect to *Capita* rather than *Stirpes*, whereas he divided the Inheritance to Father and Mother by *Stirpes*, ſo the Acceſſion of Brothers and Siſters alters the Law of Aſcendents. And ſuch Brothers and Siſters as are admitted with Parents, are much more Heirs if no Parents be alive, and it is alſo to be ſuppoſed, that they are to be preferred before thoſe of half bloud onely. The ancient Law when it called *Agnati*, in the firſt place called thoſe by the Father's ſide, but thoſe by the Mother not at all, for the former ſort were *Agnati*, but the latter not. And becauſe it had reſpect to *Agnation*, not to *Cognation*, it provided for thoſe that were by the Father, onely as much as for *Germans*, or thoſe of whole

Takes notice of Natural rather than Civil Relation.

bloud. ‘But *Juſtinian* takes notice of the Natural more than Civil Conjunction, and by this one Rule, cuts off infinite Diſtractions and Diſputations of the Ancients, and obliterates ſo many things in the Digeſts, that *Baldwin* tells us, his Relation would be without end if he ſhould reckon them up. ‘But, what he confers on Brothers and Siſters, he alſo gives to their Children, but not ſo fully and *in ſolidum*. When the old Law called the next *Agnatus*, or thoſe of the Father's ſide, to the Inheritance of the Inteſtate, it called not the Son of one Brother already Dead, together with another Brother, for the Brother being in the nearer Degree excluded the other Brother's Son. Neither did the Ancients grant the Succeſſion, which was given to a Grandſon, to ſucceed with his Uncle by the Father's ſide, to the Son of a Brother. They gave it to the Grandſon, becauſe though he was alone, yet otherwiſe he could not but be Heir. To the Son of a Brother they granted it not, becauſe by the Law he might from his Degree come to his Inheritance, if there was none nearer than he; but they thought it not Law to joyn him with a nearer,

as

Will have the Son of a Brother exclude Brothers of half bloud,

as it were born out by a new Succeſſion. ‘ But our Legiſlatour liberally granted the ‘ ſucceſſion which they denied, ſo as the Son of a Brother German, ſhould exclude ‘ both the Brothers of half bloud, in right of his Father, into whoſe place and Degree ‘ he ſucceeded. But this is conſequent, that if there be ſeveral Sons of one Brother, who are admitted with a Brother German of the Deceaſed, the Inheritance ſhall be divided in *Stirpes* and not in *Capita*. Yet if onely Sons of two Brothers ſucceed without an Uncle, no reaſon there is, but that they ſucceed the old way, not in *Stirpes*, but in *Capita* or by Poll. ‘ The ſame thing was granted to Sons of Uncles, ‘ but not to a Grandſon of an Uncle, to have equal right with the Sons. *Juſtinian* ‘ prefers the Son of a Brother before an Uncle, becauſe in the order of De‘ſcendents, to whom an Inheritance naturally devolves before it returns to Aſcen‘dents, of which rank an Uncle is.

Gives the ſame privilege of the tenth degree to *Cognati* as *Agnati*.

89. As for thoſe who are called to a Succeſſion from a collateral or tranſverſe Line, that Succeſſion is to be meaſured by the privilege given to the former ſort. *Juſtinian* in his Inſtitutions ſaith, an *Agnatus* is to be admitted to an Inheritance, though he be in the tenth Degree. And the *Prætor* in caſe of *Proximity*, would promiſe poſſeſſion of an Eſtate, to thoſe alone who were in the ſixth Degree, and from the ſeventh to the Children of a Couſin by the Mother's ſide. Therefore *Agnati* were admitted at a greater diſtance than *Cognati*; but whereas *Juſtinian* took away the difference betwixt them as to Inheritances, he ſeems to have granted the ſame privilege to the *Cognati*, as formerly the *Agnati* had enjoyed. So that it may be preſumed, that ſuch as are removed no farther than the tenth Degree, may be called to an Inheritance; for *Juſtinian* eaſily would admit them before his Exchequer, having waved the concernment of the *Caduca*. But what difference was made by the *Lombards*, how they admitted *Agnati in infinitum*, and denied Aſcendents could be Heirs; and by ſuch as have from them imbraced the *Feudatary* way, is not proper at preſent to be inſiſted on; it being novelty to what we are now about. Afterwards he made another Novel Conſtitution, which is as an Appendix or Acceſſion to this, dated on the fifth before the Calends of *December*, in the ſeventh year after the Conſulſhip of *Baſilius*. He had formerly granted to the Sons of a Brother, that they might be Heirs with another Brother of the Deceaſed, by a certain Right of new Succeſſion; yet he had denied, that ſuch Sons of a Brother, could be admitted to inherit together with Parents. But muſing long, and much about it, at length he concluded it was not to be denied them, and for this purpoſe, he publiſhed his Hundred twenty and ſeventh Novel, which in this matter, ſhould correct and amplifie his Hundred and eighteenth. This Novel was publiſhed at *Conſtantinople*, the ſame time that *Totilas* King of the *Goths*, took and defaced *Rome*.

The *Authenticum*.

Novels how many.

De uſu & authoritate Juris Civilis, lib. 1. c. 4.

90. We think it not fit to ſay much more, concerning the Novels of *Juſtinian*, but give onely farther ſome few hints. For firſt, ſeveral of them have been ſpoken of already upon occaſion. Then many of them relate to Eccleſiaſtical matters, and ſo are not of our Cogniſance here. And then there is no order obſerved in the Diſpoſition of them, as is either in the Digeſt or the Code, but as occaſion was offered of any doubt wherein the Prince his Reſolution was neceſſary to every thing, ſo it is ſet down without any other method or form. The Body or collection of them is called the *Authenticum*, becauſe moſt of them being written in Greek by the Emperour, they were Tranſlated into Latin, and the Tranſlation was ſo good as to be counted Authentical, as alſo to diſtinguiſh them from the *Authenticks*, which are crept into the Code, and from the Epitome of *Julian*, which was often called a Book of Novels. *Accurſius* and the Doctours have commented and gloſſed onely on ninety eight as Dr. *Duck* tells us, but *Julian* in his Epitome, preſently after the Death of *Juſtinian*, publiſhed one hundred and twenty five. *Holoander* publiſhed an hundred ſixty five, and *Cujacius* added three. But we ought he ſaith to follow the opinion of *Accurſius*, and the common and received one of Interpreters, when we ſpeak of that Law, which is received and uſed amongſt Chriſtian Nations. However, in our lateſt Editions, we find one hundred ſixty eight, and thoſe illuſtrated by the Commentaries of the Learned *Dionyſius Gothofredus* and others.

The Latin Verſions.

91. The firſt Latin Verſion of the Novels, was that of *Julian*, the Anteceſſour, made not long after *Juſtinian*, which all Writers commend. The other which *Accurſius* and the Interpreters make uſe of, *Alciate* calls barbarous, but *Cujacius* commends its authority from Antiquity. It was made as *Molinæus* gueſſeth by an uncertain Authour, and one unskilfull in the Latin Tongue; but being received by all Nations, both in their Studies and Judicatories, it hath the Authority of Law;

and if a Controverſie ariſe concerning the Text, recourſe is not always to be had to the Greek Fountain, becauſe *Contius* thinks, that this Tranſlation was made from a more perfect Copy than now we have. Therefore our lately mentioned Countreyman concludes, that ſuch Novels as are not by Cuſtome received, ought not to be admitted, which alſo is to be ſaid concerning the Novels of *Leo* the Emperour, ſirnamed *Philoſophus*. But we muſt farther add, that the whole Volume is diſtinguiſhed or divided into nine Collations, Conſtitutions or Sections, as the Novels into Chapters; that is, the Latine Volume is ſo divided, for the Greek Text acknowledgeth not this Diviſion into Collations. Some are general and concerned all, who had the like cauſe of Doubt; and ſome are private and concern onely the place or Perſon, for whom they were written, ſome belong to the *Jus publicum*, and others to the *Jus privatum*, theſe being far the greater number. In concluſion, we have been tedious upon this Subject of *Juſtinian's* Laws, and ſtill muſt add ſomething farther, and therefore it will be convenient to diſmiſs the Novels; eſpecially conſidering what is added at the bottom of the Titles of all the Collations by *Gothofred* or ſome other. What ever Dr. *Duck* writes, having reckoned them all up he adds, 'Therefore all conſent that there are an hundred 'and ſixty eight Novels of *Juſtinian*, neither more nor leſs. But *Mathæus Monachus*, 'in his Preface to the Collection of Greek Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions, plainly 'wrote, that *Juſtinian* made an hundred and ſeventy, from whence it appears that 'two are yet wanting, that I may omit, that moſt above related, are not the 'Conſtitutions of *Juſtinian* himſelf.

The nine Collations.

Twelve Edicts.

92. Still beſides theſe, we find added in the later Editions, twelve Edicts ſo called, or General Laws tranſlated into Latin by *Henry Agylæus*. Concerning them, the ſame is to be ſaid as of the Novels, in which ſome of them are included. They belong for the moſt part to the ordering of the Eaſtern Provinces, whoſe-ſoever they were. And now we ſuppoſe we have our whole Number, or all the Conſtitutions and Laws made by *Juſtinian*, if not more than all. Put them then altogether, and we have this Account. In his Code, there are of Eccleſiaſtical concernment which bear his Name, thirty and eight at the leaſt, and of ſuch as relate to Civil Affairs, three hundred thirty and five, as I have reckoned them. Add to theſe one hundred and ſeventy Novels, which *Mathæus Monachus* wrote that he publiſhed, two being wanting of the number, and twelve Edicts, and they make up five hundred and fifty five Conſtitutions made by him. Of theſe, ſuch as are in the Code are undoubtedly his, and therefore in ſhewing how he introduced new Law, they were to be made uſe of. And thus we have taken a ſufficient ſurvey what *Juſtinian* did, as to modelling the old, and bringing up new Law; we ſee that beſides his own Conſtitutions in the Digeſt, and in the Code, he has cauſed to be inſerted the opinions of the ancient Lawyers, and the Edicts of the Emperours his Predeceſſours. But here we find a loud Complaint made, and that not undeſervedly, that after the compiling of theſe his Books, the writings of the ancient Lawyers ſo full of Wiſedom and Learning were neglected, and indeed periſhed, little to purpoſe being left of them. And he is by many accuſed, together with his *Tribonian*, of burning or deſtroying all thoſe writings of the Ancients, and the Laws of the twelve Tables, that his own Collections might be of greater authority, and be the Standard of Law. O what ſighing and complaining there is amongſt learned Lawyers, that they want thoſe clearer lights and more infallible Guides.

Five hundred and fifty five Conſtitutions in all.

Some thought *Juſtinian* deſtroyed the writings of the ancient Lawyers,

93. But others are more kind and charitable to his memory, who rather think that theſe writings periſhed by misfortune, by the Calamity of the Times, and the Incurſions of the Barbarous Nations. For of the three Cities which were the Univerſities for Law, *Berytus* periſhed not long after *Juſtinian* by an Earthquake; *Rome* was often taken and waſted by the *Goths*, and other Barbarous People; and after many other Calamities, *Conſtantinople* at length became a prey to the Turks. Certainly after *Juſtinian's* Death, the whole *Roman* Empire was overwhelmed by the *Goths* and other Barbarians, with ſo many Calamities, ſuch Plunderings, Burnings and Deſolations happened, that they attribute it to the ſingular providence of Almighty God, that in the Pandects, by the indeavour of *Juſtinian*, ſuch remains of the ancient Lawyers were preſerved. And here it will not be amiſs, nor beſides our purpoſe to let the Reader know, what Reliques or Remainders there are left of the ancient Law before *Juſtinian*, which eſcaped the Envy, or the Iniquity of the Times. The firſt Foundation of the Law, were thoſe Ordinances made by the Kings of *Rome*, called *Leges Regiæ*. Theſe were collected into a Body by *Sextus Papirius*, and afterward *Granius Flaccus* wrote a Commentary upon them,

Others Vindicate him.

Remains of the Laws of three Kings of *Rome.*

Vide Notitiam Juris ante & poſt Juſtinianum Reliquiarum præmiſſam Pandectis.

but both Volumes have miſcarried. Yet fragments of them have been collected by *Antonius Auguſtinus*, *Contius*, *Baldwin* and others; that is of three of the Kings, *viz. Romulus*, *Numa* and *Servius Tullius*, which laſt as *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* writes, made fifty Laws concerning Contracts and Crimes, for no Footſteps are extant of any made by *Tullus Hoſtilius*, *Ancus Martius*, or *Priſcus Tarquinius*, and much leſs of *Tarquinius Superbus* who aboliſhed thoſe of *Servius Tullius*.

Of the Laws of the twelve Tables.

Of other Laws.

Of *Senatuſconſulta.*

Orations of Princes.

Of the *Edictum Perpetuum.*

94. Of the Lawes of the twelve Tables, the ſecond Body of the *Roman Juriſprudentia*, fragments have been collected by many, every one uſing his own method therein. Of the ſeveral methods, that of *Francis Pithæus* is judged beſt by *Jacobus Gothofredus*, who himſelf hath made Obſervations concerning Errours committed, Omiſſions, Interpolations and matters foreign to the thing, hath reſtored the Fragments that remain into order, added the Hiſtory, Proofs, Notes and Gloſſaries in a work publiſhed at *Geneva*, in the year MDCLIII. All Laws afterwards enacted for the uſe of the People at *Rome*, at leaſt as much as in them lay, have been collected and catalogues of them exhibited by *Ant. Auguſtinus*, *Zaſius*, *Mauntius*, *Hotoman* and *Charondas*. Of theſe Laws ſome ſingular ones have been collected, and illuſtrated by Commentaries. As the *Lex Velleia* by *Antonius Auguſtinus*, the *Lex Julia Majeſtatis* by *Contius*, and the *Lex Julia de Adulteriis* by *Briſſanius*. *Baldwin* hath collected the Heads of the *Lex Voconia Falcidia*, *Julia*, *Papia*, *Poppæa*, *Rhodia*, *Aquilia*. *Curatius*, *Jacobus Gothofredus*, and others have done the ſame by other Laws of leſſer Note. As for *Senatus Conſulta*, *Ant. Auguſtinus* collected ſuch as concerned the *Jus Privatum* from *Tiberius* his time till that of *Marcus*. And *Scipio Gentilis* hath illuſtrated with ſingular Commentaries, Orations of Princes, which were wont to precede the *Senatuſconſulta*. The *Edictum Perpetuum*, the third and indeed the cheifeſt Body of the *Roman Juriſprudentia*, was indeavoured to be collected by *Eguinartius Baro*, but with a mixture of other things. A better and pure collection was made by *Guil. Ranchinus*, onely the Chapters of the Edict are not diſpoſed according to the true method, but that of *Juſtinian's* Law.

Fragments of ancient Lawyers remaining beſides thoſe in the Pandects.

As of *Gaius.*

Of *Vlpiar.*

Of an Anonymous Authour.

Of *Paulus.*

Of *Modeſtinus.*

95. Of the writings of the ancient Lawyers, fragments and pieces are put into the Pandects, under the ſeveral Titles of the ſeveral Subjects. And ſome, as *Ant. Auguſtinus*, have taken pains to unite thoſe pieces of the ſame Authours, and exhibite them together with ſome antecedents and conſequents of the ſame Chapter, ſo that thereby a ſhew is made of a Reſtitution of the Books of thoſe ancient Authours which periſhed. Some have illuſtrated with Commentaries thoſe particular Authours, or the particular Books mentioned to be written by them. And beſides theſe Fragments in the Pandects, ſome other Fragments out of them, have come to our Hands which it would be moſt uſefull to put into one Volume, and in part it hath been performed by *Peter Pithæus*. But particularly ſome Fragments of *Gaius* are remaining, which were collected by *Anianus* the Chancellour of the *Gothick* King, and mangled out of the four Books of his Inſtitutions; for ſo many he wrote: and other Fragments of his Inſtitutions might ſtill be added from the Pandects, the Authour of the Collation of the Moſaical Laws, *Boetius*, *Priſcian* and *Diomedes*. There are alſo ſome remains of the Labours of *Vlpian*, or twenty nine Titles, collected alſo by *Anianus*, and it's thought out of his Book or Body of Rules; and more Fragments ſtill might be added from the Collation of the Moſaick Laws, and *Boetius* upon the Topicks of *Cicero*. Beſides theſe there are ſome Fragments of an anonymous Writer, concerning the *Species of Law and Manumiſſions*. Moreover five Books of the *received Sentences* of *Paulus*, written to his Son, or rather pieces taken out of theſe Books by *Anianus*, the Collectours of the Pandects and others, but highly uſefull for the knowledge of ancient Law, and the underſtanding of that of *Juſtinian*. One Fragment alſo of *Modeſtinus* ſtill remains, taken out of his third, or rather his ninth Book, bearing title concerning the *Goods of Liberti and Teſtaments*.

Three *Stemmata*. A Conſultation. An Hiſtorical Narration.

A Collation of the Moſaick and Roman Laws.

96. Three ſeveral *Stemmata* are alſo extant, or ancient Deſcriptions of the Degrees of *Agnation*, according to which Inheritances deſcended. A Conſultation of an ancient Lawyer of the middle Age concerning Pacts. An *Hiſtorico Juridical* Narration, concerning the Confirmation of the *Rhodian* Laws by the Emperours, *viz. Tiberius*, *Veſpaſian*, *Trajan*, *Adrian*, *Antoninus*, *Pertinax* and *Severus*. A Collation of the Moſaick and *Roman* Laws, out the intire Books of the ancient Lawyers, *Papinian*, *Paulus*, *Vlpian*, *Gaius*, *Modeſtinus* and others; as alſo from the *Gregorian*, *Hermogenian* and *Theodoſian* Codes, and diſtinguiſhed into ſixteen Titles. From the Prefaces to the ſixth and ſeventh Titles, ſome collect that the Authour was no profeſſed Lawyer, but the Book is uſefull in that it ſhews, what liberty

Tribonian

Anſwers of *Papian.*

Juridical Notes.

Voluſius Mæcianus de Aſſe.

Other Writers.

The *Notitia.*

Remains of Conſtitutions.

Tribonian and his Collegues took in Hearing, Reading and Altering the writings of the ancient Lawyers, in that it contains many Fragments of old Writings, and Conſtitutions, no where elſe extant or not ſo fully; and ſhews how the Books of ancient Lawyers were divided into Titles, eſpecially in Title the fifteenth. A Book of Anſwers of *Papian*, is hither alſo to be reckoned, collected out of the *Roman* Lawyers and Laws, though it's thought he was a *Burgundian*, and did it for the ſervice of that Nation. Moreover *Juridical* Notes uſed in publick Monuments and Books of the Civil Law, before *Juſtinian's* Collection. Of theſe are publiſhed ſeveral Treatiſes of ancient Writers, *Voluſius Mæcianus* his Book alſo *de Aſſe* and the diſtribution of it, neceſſary for knowledge of Inſtitution of Heirs and many other things, and thought fit by *Cujacius* to be read before the Inſtitutions. To theſe it's thought fit to add ſuch as have written Books concerning Boundaries, (*Finium regendorum,*) as *Siculus Flaccus*, *Frontinus* and *Aggenus Vrbicus*: And the *Notitia Dignitatum* ſo often mentioned by us. Then in the laſt place as for Imperial Conſtitutions, there is a Collection of the ſhort Reſcripts of *Hadrian* left done by *Goldaſtus*. A Conſtitution of *Gordian* concerning Marriages contracted contrary to Order, and *de Dote Caduca* publiſhed by *Cujacius*. Some remains alſo there are of the old Imperial Conſtitutions, collected in the two Codes *Gregorianus* and *Hermogenianus*, to which ſeveral might be added out of divers Authours. Of the *Theodoſian* Code and the Novels, *Theodoſius* and other Emperours before *Juſtinian*, great mention has been made in our ſecond Part, and here we need to ſay nothing more concerning them.

The Riſque that *Juſtinian's* Law ran in the Eaſt.

Admired and received in the Weſt at this day.

97. If *Juſtinian* was guilty of deſtroying the Writings of theſe ancient Lawyers, he was juſtly puniſhed himſelf with a certain *Lex Talionis.* His Books continued in eſteem and uſe in the Schools and *Forum* for forty years, till *Phocas* the Emperour deſpiſed all Law and Equity. Afterward they were in a little uſe and eſteem two hundred years, but then *Baſilius Macedo*, out of Envy it's ſaid, did what he could to aboliſh them, and he and his two Sons, *Leo* and *Conſtantinus Porphyrogenitus* made new Collections, *viz.* an Epitome of *Juſtinian's* Code, and another large work called *Baſilica*, which continued to be the Standard of Law at *Conſtantinople*, till the end of that Empire; *Juſtinian's* Books being wholly neglected and forgotten. Yet out of his Books were the *Baſilica* Compoſed; and though the ſaid Books were not known in *Italy*, and the Weſtern parts, for five hundred years after his Death, yet by chance the Pandects were found at the taking of *Amalfi* in *Italy*, in the War betwixt *Pope Innocent* the ſecond, and *Rogerius* King of *Sicily* and *Naples*, about the year MCXXVII, ſince which time *Juſtinian's* Law has revived, flouriſhed, and continues to be indeed the general Law of Chriſtendom, one ſingle Kingdom excepted. Of the Errours committed by the Compilers enough has been ſaid; but withall a Neceſſity of reducing the Law into narrower bounds, than formerly it was hath been ſhewed. And conſidering the loſs of the Writings of the Ancients eſpecially, the World is happy that the Collection was made, for ſo it eſteems it ſelf in it, all Nations, as was ſaid, that are governed by Laws, imbracing them as the moſt exact form of that Nature.

98. We have now done with the Wars, and alſo the Laws of *Juſtinian.* And though from a Man's Actions ſo much in publick as theſe were, an indifferent Character might ſeem eaſie to be drawn; yet there is a Book which hath done it to our Hands, though the Pourtraiture be very ugly, and the work it ſelf very bad. But it is fathered upon no other Pencil than that of *Procopius*, whoſe Lines hitherto we have had reaſon to commend, and it is dreſſed and preſented to the World, with as much advantage as poſſible, by a very learned hand; we muſt not be partial, but muſt open and diſcover this peice, and then we muſt be ſo juſt withall, as to make Obſervations upon it, ſuch as it ſelf and other Writings ſhall ſuggeſt; to doe right as near as may be, to truth and Perſons.

SECT. III.

The Character of Juſtinian.

1. IN the firſt place, where the Writer takes him in hand, and conſiders him as the Heir Apparent of the Empire, in the days of his Uncle, he pronounces this concerning him, that at length he proved the Authour of ſo many and ſo

The Authour's general charge againſt *Juſtinian*.

great Miſcheifs, as never had been heard of in former Ages. That he was prone to invade the Rights and Poſſeſſions of other men, and ſo much to the ſlaughter of them, that he eſteemed it but a trifle to deſtroy many Myriads, which were not guilty of the leaſt offence. That he never would ſtick to any thing already determined, but ſtill thirſted after Novelty and Change, and the utter Deſtruction of whatſoever was excellently conſtituted. That with the Raging Peſtilence, we have formerly deſcribed, ſome men although very few were Infected, and others though ſeized with it, yet Conquered it's Malignity. But the ill influence of *Juſtinian's* Government, no *Roman* whatſoever but ſadly felt, who being ordained by Heaven for a common Scourge and Plague, none eſcaped him; ſome being wickedly Murthered, others conſtrained to lead a Life made miſerable by penury, to whom Death would have been a great kindneſs, and others deprived both of Fortune and Life together. He thought it not enough to deſtroy the *Roman* Empire, but would turn his Forces alſo upon *Africk* and *Italy*, that the Nations there Inhabiting, might alſo periſh with thoſe that were ſubject to his Command.

In particular.

He cauſed to be ſlain *Amantius* and *Vitalianus*.

In the Factions favoured the *Veneti* in an extravagant manner.

2. On this fair Text as fairly he Comments by theſe particular inſtances, which amongſt others he heaps up againſt this Prince. Scarcely had he been in Power ten days, when *Amantius* cheif of the Eunuches, with others, he commanded to be killed, becauſe they had ſpoken ſomething ſawcily, concerning *John* the Biſhop of the City. *Vitalianus* the Tyrant he cauſed to be put to Death, notwithſtanding the publick Faith given for his Security, at the Celebration of the Sacred Myſteries. In the Faction of the Citizens he ſo far incouraged, or rather excited the *Veneti* to their ſeditious practices, that thereby the *Roman* Empire ſeemed to be ſhaken from its Baſis, and the Cities were made deſolate, as by the Invaſion of ſome Enemy, ſome terrible Earthquake, or a Contagious Sickneſs. Yet theſe horrible Diſorders did nothing ſo much perplex the minds of good People, as his Carriage in reference to ſuch a Miſcheif. For when men ſuffer never ſo much from violent or unjuſt Oppreſſours, yet ſtill they are comforted with the thoughts of Juſtice, which they expect from the Hands of Magiſtrates, and ſuch as ought to demean themſelves as maintainers of the Laws. But *Juſtinian* was ſo far from giving them any Redreſs, that he manifeſtly favoured both by word and deed thoſe Riotous Perſons, giving great gifts to ſome of them, and conferring upon others Offices of Magiſtracy, and places of Dignity. Therefore this Miſchief, like a Gangreen, ſpread over the whole Empire, not one City being free from the Factions of thoſe two Parties. And as for the Emperour, he never regarded how matters went, nor in the leaſt did ſuch things affect him, as were done under his own Eyes in the *Circus*. For he was unſpeakably dull and ſenſeleſs, moſt like to a ſlow and ſtupid Aſs, following which way ſoever he was drawn by the Bridle, and moving alſo his Ears when he liſted, as that and other Animals are wont to doe.

He exhauſts his Treaſure.

And is rapacious in recruiting it.

Like to *Domitian*.

He was a Fool,

But very cunning.

3. After he came to manage Affairs upon his own ſole Concernment; whereas it ſhould have behoved him to have ſpecial regard to his Treaſury, he as it were ſet himſelf by all means poſſible to exhauſt it. The *Hunnes* and other Barbarous Nations, by bribing them to quit the Territores of the Empire, he irritated and provoked to make more Incurſions; for after each Invaſion, they ſtill preſumed they ſhould not fare worſe than they had formerly done. Vaſt Sums he drowned in the Sea, thinking to give bounds unto that Element, and by great heaps of ſtones and Rubbiſh to oppoſe its natural force and motion. Yet the Eſtates of Private men he greedily devoured, objecting to ſome feigned Crimes, and pretending that others had freely bequeathed to him their Fortunes. Moſt that were guilty of Paricide and other heinous Offences, redeemed their Lives by all they were worth. Such as were at Law with their Neighbours, about any Lands or Poſſeſſions, and had no good Title, made it over, ſuch as it was, to the Emperour, whoſe Relation to it took away preſently all flaws. Here our Authour, though contrary to all method and order, cannot diſpence with a fancy come into his Head, but muſt needs compare our Emperour with *Domitian*. Firſt, as to the form and lineaments of his Body. For he was of a middle Stature, indifferently Fat, of a beautifull Countenance, though ſomething long Viſaged; his Complexion being Ruddy, after he had faſted two days together. Then as to his Diſpoſition, he was abſolutely[a] as ill Conditioned, and as apt to be deceived, being both a Knave and a Fool equally with the other. Yet though he lay expoſed to the tricks and artifices of other men, was he the greateſt diſſembler in the World, ſpeaking nothing but upon deſign, and his Heart and Tongue never agreeing. He was the moſt perfect in the Art of Diſſimulation that ever was man, covering his Deceit, hiding his Indigna-

[a] Ὃν δὴ μωροκακοήθη καλοῦσιν.

Indignation, and concealing his Reſolutions with the greateſt craft imaginable.

4. He could laugh or cry according to the preſent occaſion. His breach of Faith was not ſingle, but accompanied with violation of all ſacred Obligations. In his Friendſhip he was utterly uncertain, and in his Enmity inexorable. Gold and Bloud he equally thirſted after, with a kind of inſatiableneſs. Nothing did he more delight in than Contentions and Innovations. Eaſily was he perſwaded to whatſoever was naught, but to what was good could not be drawn by any motives. In deviſing and executing what was wicked, he was very ſubtile and dextrous; but the very Name of Honeſty he could not endure. Theſe and very many other vices abounded in him, above the proportion of humane Pravity; for Nature had as it were taken them by parcels from other men, and with them patched up his Diſpoſition. Accuſations he readily admitted, and as readily puniſhed. For he never heard a Cauſe thoroughly, but as ſoon as the Accuſer had done, immediately gave Judgment, and by his raſh decrees, ordered the Deſtruction of Places, the burning of Cities, and Plundring of Nations of whatſoever they had. All theſe things conſidered, our Hiſtorian doubts not to affirm, that if any one will well conſider what Miſcheifs formerly happened to the *Romans*, and compare them with the Calamities ſuffered under this Prince, he will find greater ſlaughter of men, to have been made by this one man, than in all ages which went before him put together. Then repeats he again, what he had formerly ſaid concerning his ſpoiling private Perſons of their Eſtates. And that he may finiſh all in a word, he aſſures us that this Emperour neither had any money himſelf, nor ſuffered his Subjects to have any; as if he did not ſo much deprive them of what they had out of Covetouſneſs, as envy at their proſperous Condition, for he exhauſted and made beggerly the whole Empire. Such was his Diſpoſition and temper, the pretended *Procopius* tells us, as near as he could reach it. Then he comes to his Wife, to deſcribe her Original and Education, and how in Conjunction with ſuch an Husband, ſhe utterly ruined the *Roman* State.

Subtile and dextrous in what was naught.

More Calamities under him than ever before him.

5. At *Conſtantinople* lived one *Acacius*, whoſe Calling and Employment it was to feed and look to the Beaſts which belonged to the Faction of the *Praſini*, and were wont to be baited on the Amphihteatre, being commonly from the Bears called *Arctotrophus* or *Urſarius*, as we uſe to ſay the Bearward. He dying in the time of *Anaſtaſius* left three Daughters, *Comitona*, *Theodora* and *Anaſtaſia*, whereof the Eldeſt was ſcarcely then ſeven years old. Their Mother married a ſecond Husband, but *Aſterius* Maſter of the *Orcheſtra*, who by virtue of his Office had the diſpoſal of the Place, ſold it to another, and ſo turned out the Mother, her Husband and Daughters. She being reduced to a great ſtrait, when ſhe ſaw the People flock thick to the Shews, put Garlands upon the Heads and Hands of her Daughters, thereby preſenting them as humble Supplicants. The *Praſini* rejected both them and their Petition; but the *Veneti* at that time wanting a Bearward, readily entertained them. Being thus provided of a Livelyhood, and very handſome, yet their Mother as they grew up, put each of them upon the Stage. *Comitona* the Eldeſt was accounted one of the eminenteſt Courtiſans of her time, on whom *Theodora* when young waited in Quality and Habit of a Servant, carrying after her on her Shoulders the folding Stool, on which ſhe was wont to ſit in the places where Company reſorted. But as ſoon as ſhe came to Womans Eſtate, ſhe alſo put her upon the Stage, and ſhe became preſently a Strumpet, ſuch as the Ancients called *Planipedes*, pretending neither to Muſick, Singing, nor Dancing, but proſtituting her ſelf to every one as ſhe had opportunity. After this ſhe Acted with the *Mimicks* or Clowns, all ſorts of Farſes, being ſo ready of her Tongue, that ſhe was preſently taken notice of, and of ſuch a demeanour, that ſhe more and more attracted the Eyes of the beholders. For ſhe was complaiſant throughout, not taking ill any word or geſture how obſcene ſoever; however men behaved themſelves to her, ſhe would ſet up a Laughter, and that was all.

The Original of *Theodora* his Wife.

A Comediante.

6. Therefore all ſober Perſons eſteemed her no better than a Plague-ſore, and whoſo ever met her in the morning, accounted it a ſign of ill luck. Afterward *Hecebolius* the *Tyrian*, Governour of * *Pentapolis*, carried her down into his Province as his Miſtreſs; but preſently taking ſome Conceit againſt her, he caſt her off again, and ſo to get Bread ſhe was conſtrained to proſtitute her ſelf as formerly. She firſt tried her Fortune at *Alexandria*, and thence paſſing through all the Eaſt, returned to *Conſtantinople*, where ſhe drove ſuch a trade, as no man ought to name who would have Almighty God his Friend; it's certain that the Devils ſo provided, that no place ſhould be free from her Impure practices, and ſo ſhe was born and bred as one that was to be the moſt famous of all Whores, of what Ages ſoever. Indeed the

Miſtreſs to *Hecebolius*, who caſt her off.

* *Eam intelligit quæ eſt in Ægypto & ab Alexandria decem dierum itinere diſtat. Alem.*

Sect. 3.

the Authour of the Antiquity of the City of *Conſtantinople* writes, that *Theodora*, the Wife of *Juſtinian*, after her Return from *Paphlagonia*, lived in *Embolus*, where ſhe ſpun Wool for her living, and after ſhe came to be Empreſs, built a Church, which ſhe dedicated to St. *Pantaleon*. Now in this part of the City, called *Embolus*, as formerly on the Bank ſide in *Southwark*, and in the *Lapell* Street at *Antwerp*, lived the moſt common and pooreſt ſort of Strumpets; therefore is to be found in *Pliny*, *Mulier Embolaria*, concerning which the Criticks have waſted ſo much paper. For the word *Emboli*, in the plural number, ſignifies the ſame with *Porticus* in Latin, from the *Fornices* or Arches of which, Women being called *Fornicariæ*, and conſequently the word Fornication coming; ſo from the *Porticus* or Galleries themſelves, in Greek *Emboli*, thoſe Strumpets were alſo named *Embolariæ*.

* Ἔμβολοι *præter alias ejus vocis acceptiones ſunt Porticus Heſychius Mileſius in* πατρίοις *Conſtantinum muros Byzantii protuliſſe ait uſque ad* Τρωαδικὰς Ἐμβόλους, *Porticus Troadenſes vocat Autor Antiquiſſimus Deſcriptionis urbis Conſtantinopolis. Alemann. ad pag.* 42.

Juſtinian falls in love with her.

Being his Miſtreſs he makes her a Patritian.

7. But *Theodora* had not been very long at *Conſtantinople*, e'er *Juſtinian* fell moſt paſſionately in love with her. At firſt he converſed with her as his Miſtreſs, being promoted to the degree of a Patritian, and ſhe ſo far made uſe of her time, and his fondneſs, as to heap up a great deal of Wealth. Yet ſo long as *Euphemia* the Empreſs lived, who was otherwiſe indulgent enough to him, he never could obtain Licence to marry her; but ſhe dying, and *Juſtin* the Emperour, her Husband, doating, through the extremity of his Age; he who had all the power in his Hands, began to be feared on all ſides, and reſolved to improve his Intereſt and Opportunity to the accompliſhing of the Marriage. But there was a great rub in the way, which muſt neceſſarily be removed. This was an * ancient Law which forbad Men of Senatorian Rank to marry Strumpets, or any other of ſuch baſe or unlawfull Callings, which by a croſs Conſtitution he cauſed the Emperour, his Uncle, to repeal, which done, he married *Theodora*, and opened the way for other Perſons of Quality, to beſtow themſelves in ſuch unequal and diſparaging Matches. The Conſtitution is yet extant in the Code, but theſe four Letters J U S T, being prefixed to it in ancient Manuſcripts, gave occaſion of miſtake to learned men, who therefore have thought it made by *Juſtinian*, as the Title ſhews in the very laſt Edition. But there's no doubt but *Juſtin* was the Authour; for into the Code have crept ſeveral other falſe Inſcriptions, and Subſcriptions alſo, as *Alemannus* ſhews in many particulars. And there was another Conſtitution of *Juſtinian*, of the ſame ſubject, quite different from this, containing not onely more Chapters, but alſo ſome contrary matter, which though it be not now extant, yet is there the ſumm and ſubſtance of it in a Reſcript to the Biſhops, written to the ſame purpoſe. This Conſtitution of his Uncle, *Juſtinian* did not onely confirm, by this Edict, but ſeveral other Novels alſo. And this is obſervable, that as after ſeveral expreſs Laws about the Marriage of Senatours, (as the *Julian*, that of *Conſtantine* and of *Martianus*,) it was now firſt heard of in the *Roman* World, that they could marry with baſe Perſons; ſo in this Conſtitution of *Juſtin*, there is onely made mention of Stage-players, ſuch as *Theodora* was, although in that of *Conſtantine*, antiquated by it, ſeveral other * ſorts be expreſly mentioned.

Having made it lawfull,

* *Reſcriptum Conſtantini ad Gregorium, C. de nat. lib. l.* 1. *Senat. & Valentiniani & Martiani ad Palladium, C. de Inceſt. & Motil. Nupt. l.* 7.

C. de Nupt. l. 23.

Imp. Juſtinianus A. Demoſtheni P. P. C. lib. 5. *tit.* 4. *l.* 23.

Hæc celebris Conſtitutio quæ olim erat in quinto libro Cod. planè ab hac Juſtini diverſa, nam illa reſcripta fuit πρὸς τὰς πολιτικὰς ἀρχὰς, *ad civiles Magiſtratus, hæc vero ad Demoſthenem, Deinde ad Matrimonia Scenicarum mulierum dotalia Inſtrumenta requiſivit in illa Juſtinianus, non autem Imperatoris Reſcriptum, in hac verò contra Juſtinus ſancivit. Hæc explicatiùs habes in Juſtiniani Reſcripto ad omnes Epiſcopos quod Græcè tibi exhibet ex vaticana Bibliotheca Alemannus in Not. ad Arcan. Hiſt. p.* 4.

* *Ancillæ, Libertæ, Scenicæ, Tabernariæ, Lenonum & Arenariorum Filiæ, quæque mercimoniis publicæ præfuerint. Alem.*

He marries her.

8. *Juſtinian* and *Theodora* now married, began their Reign the third day before *Eaſter*, when it was not lawfull to ſalute or wiſh well to any Man. Indeed ſuch was the cuſtome then in the Church, that although in Celebration of Divine Service the Prieſt prayed for Peace, after the uſual manner, yet in memory of the Paſſion of our Saviour, they abſtained from the chearfull Kiſs of Peace, and from Salutation. The beginning of their Domination falling out on this day, the Authour accounts it an *Omen* of the Wars, Conſpiracies, Plagues, Prodigies and Earthquakes, which fell out in the Reign of *Juſtinian*, who having it in his Power to make his choice out of the moſt beautifull, moſt rich, and every other way moſt accompliſhed Women which the whole *Roman* Empire afforded, could fix no where but on one of the moſt vile and filthy Strumpets in the World, and prefer the Embraces of one defiled with many other Villanies, beſides the Murther of many abortive Infants, before the Bed of any chaſte and pure Virgin whatſoever. Yet was there not one man that opened his Mouth againſt ſo foul an Indignity, not a Senatour, not one Churchman; but ſuch as had formerly ſeen her act upon the Stage, now,

They act cunningly, and with deſign.

Vide Ectypum Imaginis illius dum adhuc vivebat, apud Alemann. ubi ſuprà, p. 47.

now, with Hands lift up, proteſted themſelves her Slaves and Vaſſals; and the Souldiers vowed, they would, for the ſake of *Theodora*, encounter with all Difficulties and Dangers. Indeed ſhe had a lovely Face, and was otherwiſe alſo very tempting; She was of little Stature, and had very quick and rowling Eyes. They acted all things with joynt conſent, though at firſt the World believed they were of contrary Inclinations; but this they counterfeited by agreement, the better to conceal and carry on their Deſigns. Sometimes he would take the part of the *Veneti*, and then ſhe would ſeem to be againſt them, and they would complain that they were diſreſpected by each other. In Law Suits, and matters of Controverſie, the one ſided with the Plaintiff, and the other with the Defendant, and to be ſure he that had the worſt Cauſe carried it, giving ever one half, or more, to gain the other. Many Perſons he pretended to favour, and ſuffered them to pill the Commonwealth at their pleaſure, whom ſhe muſt accuſe and proſecute, ſore againſt his Mind, as he pretended, who would ſeem to take their part, but in the end they muſt bleed out their Wealth into his Coffers. By theſe Arts they carried on their work with much eaſe, and eſtabliſhed their Tyranny, ſo as it was not to be ſhaken.

He abrogates the old, and introduceth new matters.

How he ſpent his ill gotten money.

Introduceth troubles about Religion.

9. Being come to the Adminiſtration of Affairs, after his Uncle's death he immediately ſet himſelf to overturn the whole frame and poſture of all things, as if he had put on the Imperial Enſigns for this very purpoſe. For, abrogating the ordinary forms of Laws, of Magiſtracy, and the *Militia*, he brought up new Models of his own Invention, without any ſhew of Reaſon, but that every thing might receive a mark from his Name; which alſo he beſtowed upon ſuch things as he could not find a pretence to alter. The vaſt Treaſures which he ſcraped out of the Ruines of numberleſs families, he either prodigally ſpent upon Barbarians, or conſumed in extravagant Buildings. Whereas the *Romans* had Peace one with another, he, impatient of Reſt, and thirſting after Bloud, ſet the Barbarians together by the Ears. He gave vaſt ſumms to the Captains of the *Hunnes*, to procure Peace and a good Underſtanding, as he ſaid; but they, like Beggars that had fared well at his door, cried Roſt-meat, and ſent their Neighbours to ſpeed as they had done, who entring, and waſting the Emperour's Dominions, conſtrained him to purchaſe Peace from them at the like rates. Hence came it to paſs that there was no end of War, but it was handed, as it were, from one to another, there never wanting Commanders amongſt *Hunnes*, *Saracens*, *Sclavi*, *Perſians* and other Barbarians, whoſe mouths were to be ſtopped as well as thoſe of others, and conſequently there was hardly a Mountain or Hole in the *Roman* territories free from Devaſtations, many Provinces having been five times, or oftner, waſted in his time. Vaſt Treaſures did he employ in purchaſing Peace from *Choſroes*, the *Perſian* King; but then again, without any reaſonable cauſe, he would break the League, by drawing into a Confederacy of Arms againſt him *Alamundarus*, the *Hunnes*, and other Aſſociates of that Crown. The Provinces being thus exhauſted, and no way repleniſhed, except by great Effuſion of Man's Bloud; that he might make the greater ſpoils, he involved them in farther troubles, upon the Account of Religion.

Severe againſt Sodomy.

77, & 141.

Anonym. in chron. apud Alem.

10. But having filled his Treaſury with Confiſcations upon this account, and procured the Deſtruction of more than an hundred thouſand Men; he fell upon ſuch as he ſuppoſed, or would take for granted, to be guilty of Sodomy. He proceeded againſt them by making a poſitive Law, ſaith our Authour, for that purpoſe; and indeed there are two ſeveral Conſtitutions of his extant, upon this ſubject, as *Aleman* obſerves, whereof one being made upon another occaſion, and the other bearing date of the eighteenth year after the Conſulſhip of *Baſilius*, there is no doubt but that which was made in the beginning of his Reign, as this *Procopius* hints, and as *Theophanes* plainly tells in his ſecond Year, hath miſcarried. The occaſion of the ſeverity uſed againſt this ſort of Offenders, *Theophanes* writes to have been given by two Biſhops, *Eſaias* of *Rhodes*, and *Alexander* of *Diſpolis* in *Thrace*, who being found guilty of this Crime, were put out of their places, and ſeverely puniſhed, having their Members cut off, and then being led through the City, with a Crier before them, making this Proclamation, *All ye that are Biſhops, beware that ye diſhonour not your Reverend Dignity.* Wherefore, ſaith he, the Emperour publiſhed ſevere Laws againſt thoſe libidinous Perſons, and many were puniſhed by virtue thereof. Theſe ſurely are they which this *Procopius* deteſteth as ſevere, and inflicting indecent puniſhment upon the Offenders. He mentions onely loſs of their Genitals, and then expoſing to open ſhame; but *Cedrenus*, and others, farther add, that ſome were tormented by ſharp Reeds, thruſt into their privy parts. At firſt, this Severity was not uſed towards all, but either ſuch as were of the Faction of the *Praſini*, or were reputed very rich, or were out of the Prince his

favour. But herein appeared his Cruelty and Injuſtice, that when no body proſecuted, and upon the Teſtimony of one ſingle Witneſs, ſometimes a Boy, and ſometimes a Slave, who was compelled to appear againſt his Maſter, he would proceed to Sentence and Condemnation.

Againſt Aſtrology.

They ſpoil all the wealthy Senatours of their Eſtates.

11. Aſtrologers he could not endure, and upon this account roughly handled certain Magiſtrates, whoſe Employment it was to puniſh and prevent Roberies. Being ancient Men, ſober, and of good Repute, he cauſed them to be ſet on Camels, to be contumeliouſly carried through all the City, and laſhed on the Shoulders, for no other Crime but being skilfull in Aſtrology, and living in the City. For ſuch like Reaſons as this, a great multitude of men fled their Countrey, betaking themſelves not onely to the neighbouring Barbarians, but to the Nations at greateſt diſtance from the *Roman* World, and in moſt Cities you might have ſeen Strangers come from far to hide their Heads, as if their own Dwellings had been waſted by the Incurſions of ſome Enemy. All the wealthier ſort of Senatours, whether living at *Conſtantinople*, or other Cities, he outed of their Eſtates. There was one *Zeno*, Nephew of that *Anthemius* who was Emperour in the Weſt, and him they named Governour of *Egypt* by deſign. The Ship, appointed for his Tranſportation, being laded with his beſt Moveables, abundance of Money, and veſſels of Gold, ſet with pretious Stones of exceeding great value, the Emperour and his Wife perſuaded thoſe that were intruſted with the Treaſure, to convey it into a place appointed, and then to ſet fire to the Ship, which he muſt be made to believe periſhed by accident. And not long after *Zeno* dies ſuddenly, whereupon they ſeize on all his Eſtate, producing a certain Teſtament, which the World verily believed he forged. By virtue of the ſame trick they made themſelves Heirs to *Tatianus*, and others of eminenteſt note in the Senate. The Eſtates of ſome they invaded by counterfeit Letters, and by that means became Heirs to *Dionyſius*, that lived in *Libanus*, and to *John* the Son of *Baſilius*, the moſt eminent Man in *Edeſſa*, who, ſore againſt his mind, was, as we ſaid before, delivered as an Hoſtage to *Choſroes*. When he had once got him into his Hands, *Choſroes* pretended the Conditions were not performed on the *Roman* part, and refuſed to ſet him at liberty without Ranſome. This coming to the knowledge of his Grandmother, ſhe ſent away two thouſand pounds of Silver to redeem him, which being come to *Daras*, into the Emperour's Hands, he forbad any thing to be concluded with the *Perſians*, leſt, as he ſaid, the Wealth of the *Romans* ſhould inrich the Barbarians. It happens in the mean time, that *John* dies, and then does the Governour of *Daras* produce a Letter, whereby the Deceaſed made the Emperour Heir of all he had, and ſignified that to be his laſt Will and Pleaſure.

Vide Paragr. 133. *hujus cap.*

Make themſelves Heirs to many Perſons.

The Authour thought them to be Devils incarnate.

12. But it's hard to ſay, thus our Authour proceedeth, to how many Men they made themſelves Heirs. For before the Sedition of *Nica* happened, they made their choice here and there; but afterward they ſold the Goods of the Senatours by heaps, taking out of them what they thought fit, and appropriating to themſelves the beſt Lands; onely out of their abundant Mercy they left ſome parcels, moſt obnoxious to Taxes, to the right Owners, who tired with the exactions of the Collectours, and the Importunity of their Creditours, were weary of their miſerable Lives. Wherefore to me, and thoſe of my rank, ſaith this Authour, theſe two ſeemed neither Man, nor Woman, but ſome pernicious, incarnate Divels, ordained for a Plague to Mankind, conſulting how to deſtroy and root out all Nations upon the Face of the Earth, and, like Furies in humane Shape, vexing, diſturbing and tormenting the whole World. But he makes them worſe than Divels in reſpect of their wicked Tempers and Diſpoſitions. Many there have been in former Ages, ſaith he, whom either Nature or Occaſion have made very terrible to Mankind, who have been the ruine of Cities, Provinces, and ſome whole Countries; but none like theſe could ever turn upſide down the Frame of the whole World, to whoſe Councils Fortune always was ſubſervient, and ever at hand, for the deſtruction of Mortals; for at the ſame time ſuch deſolation was made by Earthquakes, Plagues and Inundations, that they ſeemed to have been procured by them, in ſome extraordinary way, beyond the limits and methods of humane Power. Indeed it's reported, he adds, that *Juſtinian*'s Mother, by ſome of her moſt intimate Friends, has been heard to ſay, that he was neither the Son of *Sabbatius*, her Husband, nor of any other Man living, but that a certain *Dæmon* came and lay with her, whom ſhe onely felt, and could not ſee, by whoſe Incubation ſhe preſently conceived. Some alſo of his Chamber, watching by him, have ſeen in the night a certain *Spectrum*, or *Dæmon*, appear in his likeneſs.

Several Stories to that purpoſe of *Juſtinian.*

13. Another affirmed, that he had ſeen *Juſtinian* riſe haſtily from his Seat, (for he never ſate long) and as he walked, his Head ſuddenly was diſſolved into air, the trunk of his Body ſtill keeping in motion, and obſerving the accuſtomed methods of walking; which when he admired, and blamed his Eyes for ſo deceiving him, preſently his Head would return to his Body again. Another related how as he ſtood by *Juſtinian*, he ſaw his Face turned inſtantly into a ſhapeleſs piece of Fleſh, without the print of any Forehead or Eyes, and then again a reſemblance of a Face as ſpeedily returned. Our Authour tells you, he did not ſee theſe paſſages with his own Eyes, but writes thoſe things as were in great ſeriouſneſs affirmed to be true. Another Report went, that a certain devout Monk, perſuaded by ſome of his Brethren, came to *Conſtantinople* to plead the cauſe of the neighbouring Countries, which were very much burthened, contrary to all Law and Equity. Being eaſily admitted, when he came to the Threſhold he ſtill retired back again, which the Eunuch that brought him in, and other by-ſtanders, admiring, asked him ſeriouſly what the matter was, and why he went not forward, but he, like a mad Man, in ſilence returned to his Cell, where being importuned to tell the true Reaſon, he affirmed, that he ſaw the Prince of the Divels ſitting on a Throne, whom no Man could well deſire either to go or ſpeak to. And why may not this Man ſeem a *Dæmon*, who never did eat, or drink, or ſleep, to ſpeak on, but onely taſting of the meat ſet before him, preſently roſe from the Table, and ſpent the night in walking about the Court, being alſo deviliſhly inclined to the ſin of Leachery?

And *Juſtinian* ſcarcely did ever eat, drink or ſleep.

And was leacherous.

Stories alſo of *Theodora.*

14. As for *Theodora*, while ſhe was yet a Player, her Gallants reported, that Spirits were wont to ſpend a great part of the night in her company. As ſhe returned to *Conſtantinople* from *Egypt* and *Africk*, being much perplexed with the ill uſage ſhe had received from the Hands of *Hecebolius*, one *Macedonia*, a Woman of the ſame Profeſſion, comforted her, and bad her not deſpair of better fortune, which would be able to give her great Wealth, and make her a ſufficient compenſation for her preſent penury. To this ſhe anſwered, that as for Wealth ſhe was not at all ſolicitous, being the laſt night bidden in a dream to take no thought about it; for when ſhe was come to *Conſtantinople*, ſhe ſhould be preferred to the Bed of the Prince of the *Dæmons*, or *Genii*, and being by the power of Art once married to him, ſhould be inſtantly poſſeſſed of the greateſt Riches the World could afford. Theſe things were credibly reported, and believed by many. But *Juſtinian*, however otherwiſe qualified, yet carried himſelf with great gentleneſs and affability to all. No man was denied acceſs to his preſence, neither would he be offended with any *Indecorum* that happened, either in word or geſture. He never ſhewed any ſenſe or compaſſion at the Sufferings and Miſeries of his People, yet againſt ſuch as had offended him would he carry himſelf with that calmneſs and evenneſs of Temper, that with a pleaſant look, and a low voice, would he give order for the deſtruction of an infinite number of innocent Perſons, the devaſtation of Cities, and the ſetting of their Goods to ſale. But in caſe any one petitioned him in their behalf, or implored his Clemency and Compaſſion, then would he frown and ſwell, and pertinaciouſly adhere to his former Sentence. Such Churchmen as incroached upon their Neighbours, he would protect, eſteeming it a choice piece of Piety ſo to doe. When any ſuch Cauſes came before him, he thought himſelf obliged by Religion to give the Victory to ſuch as had got any thing into their hands, though never ſo unjuſtly, upon that account. Much of his ill-gotten Goods he gave to Churches, to cover his Crimes with a Veil of Piety, and that they might never any more return to the right Owners.

Yet *Juſtinian* was affable,

Except importuned to ſhew mercy.

Much of ill-gotten Goods he gave to Churches, and why.

Cruel upon the account of Religion.

15. By this prepoſterous ſort of Piety, he defiled himſelf with infinite Murthers. And he laboured with all his might, to bring all men to be of the ſame Opinion concerning Chriſt, under which Religious Pretext he deprived many of their Lives, not accounting that Murther, which was acted upon men of a contrary Judgment. He had a mind as light and unſtable as duſt in the Wind, eaſie to be drawn to any thing but Humanity, and from any thing but Covetous deſires. With flatteries he was much taken, whom he eaſily believed that he ſhould be taken up into the Air, *Tribonian* his Aſſeſſour earneſtly affirming that he was in great Fear, leſt for his ſingular Piety he ſhould ſuddenly be rapt up into Heaven. This piece of flattery or Jeer he firmly believed. If *Theodora* at any time found him averſe to any of her Propoſals, ſhe had nothing more to doe than to bait her Hook with hope of Profit, and ſhe might lead him whither ſhe pleaſed. Therefore did he make no difficulty at all, to enact and repeal Laws, if there were any Money to be got by it; neither would he hold the Judges to the meaning and intent of his

Tribonian's flattery.

Nothing ſtable in Religion, or other matters in his time.

He was of a ſharp Wit, to put miſchief in Execution.

own Conſtitutions. In his time, there was no conſtant or firm Opinion concerning Almighty God; no Faith nor ſtable Law, Covenant or any thing elſe that was conſtant, Such of his Officers as were cruel in the Execution of his Orders he prized, and hated ſuch as ſhewed any Humanity, which cauſed ſome to make a ſhew of Naughtineſs, who otherwiſe were Vertuouſly inclined. He often abſtained from meat for two days together, eſpecially in the Holy Week, or that preceding *Eaſter*, drinking onely a little Water, eating a very few Herbs, and ſleeping the ſpace of an hour; the reſt of his time he ſpent in walking. Had he employed his Talent all this while in the Affairs of the Commonwealth, it would have been moſt happy under him; but uſing theſe natural Abilities, and improving his Watchings, Labours and Indeavours, to the diſquiet of his Subjects, eſpecially being of a moſt ſharp Wit, to invent and put Miſchief in Execution, the natural Parts and Endowments he had proved the Plague of the Commonwealth. There was no incouragement under him, for doing any buſineſs. Neither was there any Footſtep or ſhadow of Antiquity. But here ſaith the Writer of theſe Accuſations, leſt I ſhould be tedious, I will explain my meaning in a few things, and paſs over the greater part; how truly let the Reader judge.

All his Anſwers in point of Law, he himſelf dictated without his *Quæſtor*.

The Senate ſignified nothing.

16. In the firſt place he neither did any thing, nor cared for any thing which was becoming imperial Majeſty, accommodating himſelf to the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Barbarians in his Speech, Habit and Diſpoſition. The Anſwers which of Courſe he was to make in writing to any Conſultations, he did not commit to the Care and Diſcretion of the *Quæſtor*, as the Cuſtome was, but he himſelf for the moſt part ſpake and pronounced them, although he ſpake very bad Greek. Many Perſons therefore came and required Juſtice, but had no Judges, before whom they could proceed. The Secretaries, who of old time were intruſted to write things never ſo private, now would not he admit to any ſuch buſineſs; but diſpatched all himſelf, and dictated the very Judgments of the Magiſtrates of the *Municipia*, allowing to no Body the Liberty of declaring what was Law, but arrogating all things to himſelf, and deciding Cauſes upon hearing of one Party. Through this covetous humour of his, oftentimes it came to paſs, that he and the Senate made contrary Decrees concerning the ſame thing; although indeed the Senate now ſignified nothing at all, onely aſſembled of Courſe, becauſe it was an ancient Cuſtome ſo to doe, having no Power at all to doe Right or Juſtice to any man, but what the Emperour and Empreſs before reſolved, that ever paſſing and concluding. If any one doubted of his Cauſe, for a ſum of Money he could procure the Prince to antiquate all former Laws, and make a new Conſtitution for his very purpoſe. But if again it happened, that any could receive benefit from the abrogated Law, for the ſame Cauſe and Conſideration, he could recall it as it were from Baniſhment, *Tanquam ex poſtliminio.*

17. The *Referendarii* were hardly permitted to preſent Petitions according to the Nature of their employment, or to declare their Judgment concerning them, yet making uſe of the time, and of the diſpoſition of the Emperour, who was apt enough to be deceived, they put falſe Colours upon things, and Cheating him firſt, abuſed alſo their Clients by falſe Repreſentations, and ſqueezed out of them great ſums of Money. The *Prætorian* Guards in the Court, forced the Judges to give Sentence as they pleaſed; ſo that there was no Order, nor any certain Courſe or Government, every one acting what he liſted in deſpight of the Laws, and all things being deformed and broken, not ſo much as their Names intire and ſafe, ſo that the Commonwealth at this time reſembled a wanton Queen of Children. But the Emperour was perſuaded to this Trade of ſelling Juſtice by one *Leo* a *Cilician*, a man of inſatiable Avarice, and as great Flattery, by whom being inſtructed in the Myſtery he never after left it off; but Couzened as well the Plaintiff as the Defendant. To be ſure there was nothing to be obtained by Force of any Law, Promiſe, Bill, Stipulation or any Contract, but onely by Money given to *Leo* and *Cæſar*. *Theodora*, on the other hand, had a mind ſo prone to Cruelty, that ſhe ſeldom acted by direction of any one whomſoever; but with Pride and Violence, did whatever came into her Head. No Prayers, Petitions, or Intreaties could ever ſtop or allay her Fury. Not onely did ſhe retain, as her Husband did, Malice to the death of the Party, againſt whom ſhe had once conceived hatred, but trampled and inſulted upon their very Aſhes, the Children together with the Inheritance, receiving her Indignation and tranſmitting it to thoſe that came after them. Her Body ſhe had ſpecial Care of, though not ſo much as ſhe deſired. Early in the Morning ſhe entred her Bath, wherein having ſpent conſiderable time ſhe went to Breakfaſt, and thence to ſleep. At Dinner and Supper ſhe had all plenty and variety of Meats imaginable,

Theodora Prodigiouſly Cruel.

imaginable. She ſlept both very long and often, and ſo uſing all manner of Intemperance, the ſmall time ſhe had to ſpare ſhe thought to be ſufficient for the Government of the *Roman* Empire.

No employment without her.

Hard of acceſs.

And inſufferably arrogant.

18. If any ſought for employment without addreſſing themſelves to her, they were ſure to be diſmiſſed with Diſgrace. *Juſtinian* was by Nature fit for ſpeedy diſpatch of buſineſs, both by reaſon of his Watchfulneſs, the readineſs of his Wit, and that eaſie acceſs to his Perſon which all men found. But the greateſt Nobles were forced to dance attendance, and could get hardly any admittance to the Empreſs, ſtanding by troops, like Slaves, in an hot and little Lobby, and glad ſtill to ſtand, leſt any miſchief ſhould come by their abſence. And they ſtood with their Necks and Shoulders erected, and their Faces bearing out, ſo to be ſeen by the Eunuchs which paſſed out. After many days waiting they were hardly admitted, and that one after another, and theſe but ſuch and ſuch neither. Being come into her preſence, they ſtood as aſtoniſhed, and preſently withdrew, having firſt worſhipped her, and kiſſed both her Feet, not daring ſo much as to ſpeak, much leſs to aſk any thing, except commanded ſo to doe; to ſo ſervile flattery was the Senate it ſelf degenerated, *Theodora* being ſovereign Lady of the *Roman* Empire, which now went wholly to wreck, partly through the incredible levity of the Tyrant himſelf, and partly by reaſon of her difficult humour, which put a ſtop to all buſineſs. Her manner was, if any, with whom ſhe was offended, were accuſed of the leaſt Crime, to lay heinous things to their charge, and then calling ſuch Judges as were fit for her purpoſe, to cauſe their Eſtates to be ſold, then to have them moſt cruelly laſhed, though they were deſcended from moſt noble Anceſtours, and after this preparative, either to be baniſhed, or put to death. On the contrary, if ſuch as ſhe favoured were guilty of Murther, or any other heinous Crime, ſhe would ſometimes pleaſantly, ſometimes with indignation, divert their Adverſaries from farther proſecution. Such matters as were moſt grave, and of the deepeſt conſequence, ſhe would turn into ridicule, with laughter and a jeſt, as if ſhe had ſtill thought her ſelf to be upon the Stage.

19. A certain Patritian there was, both deſerving reſpect for his Age, and the long time he had been employed in Offices of Magiſtracy. This Man (our Authour tells us he is obliged to conceal his name, leſt ſo great an affront ſhould be tranſmitted to Poſterity) having a Debtour who was a great Confident of *Theodora's*, and had been often ſolicited in vain to pay him his Money, he was reſolved now to proſecute him, and came to the Empreſs to beg the favour, that he might be indifferently dealt withall, and as the merits of his Cauſe might require. *Theodora* having warning of his coming, commanded her Eunuchs to compaſs him about, to have an Eye upon her ſelf, and to echo out a Song, or company of Verſes, which ſhe would ſing. The Patritian introduced, as the manner was, caſt himſelf at her Feet, and being ready to weep, told her, that the caſe of a Patritian, who wanted Money, was very hard, becauſe that thing which to other Men procured pity and compaſſion, to Perſons of his Rank brought Diſgrace and Miſery. For if a Man of inferiour condition were in debt, he might but reveal his caſe, and he had ſome relief; but a Patritian, though he could not pay his debts, yet to confeſs ſo much, was a ſhame, if he did confeſs it, no body would believe him, it being thought impoſſible that any Patritian ſhould fall into Poverty, and if ſo be that credit ſhould be given him, he were ruined in his Fame and Dignity for ever. *Now truly, Madam,* ſaith he, *I am both in debt, and have others indebted to me; I do not defraud my Creditours, which would tend to the diſparagement of Men of my Quality, yet others indeavour to defraud me; wherefore I humbly intreat you would aſſiſt me in ſo juſt a Cauſe, and deliver me out of my preſent troubles.*

20. He making this his Complaint, *Theodora* ſung the word Patritian, and then the Chorus of Eunuchs added, *Thou art troubled with a Tumour or Hernia.* He continued ſtill his Complaints, and ſhe perſevered in the ſame Tune; the Eunuchs keeping time as formerly, wherewith being much troubled he got him home, having according to the Cuſtome done his Obeiſance to the inſulting Empreſs. The greater part of the Year ſhe paſſed in the Emperour's Houſes, ſituate near the City, and upon the Sea; but eſpecially in that called *Heræum*, to the great damage of her Attendants, who following her thither in great multitudes were ſtraitned of Proviſions, and expoſed to the Inconveniences of paſſing by Water, of Tempeſts and the Whale or *Porphyrion*, formerly mentioned. Here it will not be amiſs, to let the Reader know, that the Emperours had ſeveral Houſes of Pleaſure near *Conſtantinople*; as the *Hebdomum*, or *Septimum*, ſeven miles diſtant, and not the ſeventh Region of the City, as ſome have imagined. Beſides this, there were o-

The Emperour's Houſes near *Conſtantinople.*

Aleman.

thers which received their Names from their diſtance to *Conſtantinople*, *Broia*, *Pegæ*, or Fountains, firſt beautified by *Juſtinian*, as the certain *Procopius* writes in another Work. Then *Eria* or Sepulchres, where the Citizens were of old time wont to be buried, for ſo *Cedrenus* and *Suidas* write; but *Procopius* chuſes rather to call the Place by its old Name *Heræum*, which it received from the Chapel of *Juno* there ſtanding. This place, which *Juſtinian* and *Theodora* choſe for their Retirement, was ſo well furniſhed with every thing tending to Neatneſs and Pleaſure, that ſeveral Poets, as *Agathias* (the Hiſtorian alſo) and *Paul* the Silentiary conceived it a fit object of their Wit. But beſides, *Juſtinian* and *Theodora*, in their firſt Years were wont for their Pleaſure to paſs the time at *Chalcedon*, as appears by ſeveral Reſcripts. And once for the recovery of her Health, ſhe went as far as to the Baths of the *Pythii*; wherever ſhe went or ſtaid, carrying with her a mind implacable towards thoſe, againſt whom ſhe had conceived any Diſpleaſure, or apprehended the leaſt cauſe of Jealouſie.

Ἠρία *Sepulchra.*

Ἡραῖον *in quo* Ἥρας. *id eſt Junonis Templum olim fuerat. Alii vocârunt* ἱερεῖον *&* ἱερεῖα. *Vide Alem.*

Anthol. l. 4. *Vide Alem.*

21. After that *Amalaſuntha*, as *Procopius* declares in other Books, had reſolved to quit the Government of the *Goths*, and thought of ſpending her days at *Conſtantinople*, *Theodora* preſently began to bethink her ſelf, that ſhe might poſſibly have ſuch a Rival, as by the Nobility of her Birth, her Royal Dignity, her ſingular Beauty, and ſharpneſs of Wit, might ſo work upon the Levity and Inconſtancy of her Husband's humour, as to bring her no ſmall Diſpleaſure, and therefore reſolved to prevent her Journey, by ſending her farther off, to another World. She perſuaded *Juſtinian* to ſend *Peter* to her, with ſuch a Meſſage as we formerly mentioned; but having picked him out for the purpoſe, ſecretly injoyned him to make her away, promiſing him great matters if he did it ſpeedily. He overcome with her Temptations paſſed into *Italy*, and by reaſons unknown to others, perſuaded *Theodatus* to put her to Death, and was rewarded with the Office of *Magiſter*, wherewith he received great Power, but with it the Indignation and Hatred of all the World. This Office was that of *Magiſter divinorum Officiorum*, as appears from two Novel Conſtitutions, directed to him under that Title. He was born at *Theſſalonica* in *Illyrium*, was one of the ordinary Advocates of *Conſtantinople*, being a Man of ſingular Prudence, powerfull Eloquence, and excellent Temper, but exceſſively Covetous. After his return from *Italy*, and his Preferment, he was ſent Ambaſſadour to *Choſroes*. He wrote a Book *De Republica* and an Hiſtory, the Fragments whereof *Alemannus* ſaw in the Vatican Library. His Son *Theodorus*, called *Contocheres*, becauſe one of his hands was ſhorter than the other, was accuſed of Treaſon in the thirty fourth year of *Juſtinian*.

Theodora procures *Amalaſuntha* to be murther'd.

Καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἔστε πὶ τὸ τοῦ μαγιστράτου ἀξίωμα ἦλθε.

Nov. 123. 127. *Petro Glorioſiſſimo Magiſtro Divinorum Officiorum.*

Vide Procop. de bello Goth. l. 1. *Caſſiod. var. lib.* 10. *ep.* 19. *& l.* 23. *ep.* 22. *Suidam in voce* πέτρος *&* εὐβειδής. Κοντοχέρης. *De his omnibus vide Alem.*

22. There was one *Priſcus* Secretary to *Juſtinian* for his Letters, a *Paphlagonian* born, and of an Humour very well ſuiting with his Maſter's Temper, whom he much loved, and doubted not but he was beloved by him again, and by his Favour arrived at great Wealth. But *Theodora* not brooking his high and ſlighting demeanour, accuſed him of we know not what to her Husband, which for the preſent did not take; but not long after, ſhe makes him be carried aboard a Ship, and whither ſhe was pleaſed to order, there to be ſhaven, and ſore againſt his mind to be made Prieſt. *Juſtinian* in the mean time taking no notice of it, nor, as if he had been ſeized with a Lethargy, ever asking what was become of him, onely he ſo far remembred himſelf as to ſeize on that ſmall Eſtate which was left him. *Theophanes*, *Alemannus* tells, in Confirmation of this ſtory writes (and it ſeems he had it not from *Procopius*) that *Priſcus* was made Deacon of *Cyzicum*. And the Reader muſt know (what otherwiſe the Courſe of this Hiſtory will teach him) that it was an ordinary Practice of the Eaſtern Emperours, to cauſe ſuch as to whom they would ſtop all Acceſs to Worldly Honours, to enter into Orders though quite contrary to their Inclinations. *Theodoſius Junior* is the firſt that's known to have begun this no-way laudable Cuſtome, compelling *Cyrus* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, of whom he had conceived ſome Jealouſie, to be Biſhop of *Smyrna*. But after the later Greek Emperours, there were few that did not Practiſe it toward their Friends, Relations or others. But to purſue the ſtory; there was one *Areobindus* a Barbarian born, but very beautifull, and of *Theodora*'s Ward-robe, againſt whom, though ſhe was to be thought to be paſſionately in Love with him, ſhe conceived a deep Diſpleaſure. Having firſt cauſed him to be cruelly Whipt, ſhe afterward ſo diſpoſed of him, as no body ever knew where he was. For whatſoever ſhe would have kept ſecret, ſhe ſo terrified her Inſtruments that they never blabbed it out, being herein more ſucceſsfull, than ever was any Tyrant living; on the contrary, ſhe had ſo many, and ſo faithfull Spies abroad, that nothing could be ſaid or done by her Adverſaries that came not to her knowledge.

Cauſes *Priſcus* a Secretary to be ſhaven and made Prieſt.

An ill Cuſtome of the Emperours, to ſhave ſuch as they would not have preferred.

Alem.

Theodora conveyed away Perſons, ſo as they were never heard of.

Whom ſhe had a mind to puniſh without the Worlds taking notice, ſhe would ſend for him if he were a Patritian, and ſhe alone would deliver him into the hands of her Officer, who ſhould in the dead of the Night cover his Head, bind him faſt and carrying him aboard, Tranſport him ſome whither into the utmoſt bounds of the *Roman* World, where he ſhould languiſh till either her hard Heart relented, or Death made an end of him, and his Miſery both together.

Her horrible Cruelty againſt *Baſianus.*

23. *Baſianus* a young Nobleman, of the Faction of the *Praſini*, had ſpoken ſome Words of the Empreſs; and underſtanding ſhe would be even with him, betook himſelf to the Church of St. *Michael.* She bade the *Prætor* pull him out thence, and accuſe him not of Contumelious Language againſt her Perſon, but of Sodomitical Practices. The young man was taken out of the Church by the Magiſtrate, and cruelly tortured. The multitude at the ſight of his tender and beautifull Body made Exclamations, and required he might be diſmiſſed; but this cruel Woman perſiſted in her Reſolution, and cauſing his Privities to be cut off, deſtroyed him unheard and uncondemned, and then was his Eſtate confiſcate to the publick Treaſury. For if ſhe was in a rage and ſet upon it, neither the Sanctuaries, nor Laws, nor the Prayers and Intreaties of the whole City could appeaſe her, nor reſcue that which ſhe had appointed to Deſtruction. This farther appeared in the Caſe of *Diogenes*, a man well beloved and favoured by *Cæſar* himſelf, as addicted to the Faction of the *Praſini.* But concerning a Diſpleaſure againſt him, ſhe laid the Crime of Sodomy to his Charge, and endeavoured to ſuborn two of his own Slaves, both as Accuſers and Witneſſes againſt him. But this device not taking, by reaſon that the Dignity of the man required, that many and eminent Judges appeared upon the Bench, and the Teſtimony of the Slaves was rendred invalid, for want of Competency of Age, ſhe got one *Theodorus* into her Clutches, a familiar acquaintance of *Diogenes*, and him ſhe attacked both by fair Words and Tortures. For, perceiving ſhe could make nothing of it, ſhe cauſed a Leather Thong to be tyed about him, from the Forehead to the Ears, and to be twitched ſo ſtrait together, till ſhe hoped his Eyes would guſh out of his Head, yet would not he lye for the matter, and the Judges diſmiſſed the Cauſe, which had no matter of Proof, to the great Satiſfaction of the People, which highly applauded them. What this Woman Practiſed againſt *Beliſarius*, *Photius*, and *Buzes* has been already ſhewn. *Callinicus* Prefect of the ſecond *Cilicia*, for putting to Death two of that Countrey, who being of the Faction of the *Veneti* had attempted his Death, and killed his Servant, ſhe cauſed to be Crucified at their Graves. The Emperour upon the News ſhed Crocodiles tears, grunted in his Palace, and threatned the Executioners; but ſo far received Comfort, as to ſeize on the Eſtate of the deceaſed. *Euagrius* makes mention of this Act of Cruelty, and ſays farther, that the Names of the men were *Paulus* and *Feſtinus*; whence it appears, that he had not the particulars out of the ſecret Hiſtory, as *Hubertus Giphanius* did imagine.

Againſt *Diogenes.*

Againſt *Callinicus.*

Lib. 4. *c.* 31. *Alem.*

She puniſheth Strumpets.

24. Farther, *Theodora* as if ſhe intended thereby to hide the filthineſs of her former Age, ſet her ſelf to puniſh all ſuch Women, as proſtituted their Bodies. Five hundred common Strumpets or thereabout ſhe ſent by Troops beyond the *Boſphorus*, and ſhut them up in a Monaſtery, compelling them to lead ſtrict and ſevere Lives, which ſome of them not able to bear caſt themſelves down Headlong in the Night. Two young Widows of the very chief Nobility, pretending they lived incontinently, ſhe compelled to take Husbands out of the very dregs of the People, ſuch as they could not but abominate, though they were of her chuſing. They aware of her purpoſe, fled to the Church of St. *Sophia*, hid themſelves in the *Baptiſterium* and graſped about the Font: But no Sanctuary was ſo Sacred as to be inviolable, where her Paſſions were ingaged. Their Mother to her great Grief was preſent at the Nuptials, and *Theodora* (though it was a wonder) at laſt deteſted what ſhe had done, and to make them ſome amends got Preferment for both their Husbands. But this proved no Satiſfaction to them, their Husbands raging with intolerable Cruelty, againſt thoſe that were under their Juriſdiction, as I ſhall hereafter declare ſaith our Authour; for as for *Theodora,* ſhe had neither Reſpect to Magiſtracy, Commonwealth, nor any Office in the State whatſoever, not caring how things went, ſo ſhe could but have her Will and fulfill her Humour.

Nomen Monaſterio fuit Μετάνοια *ſive Pœnitentia in quo fœminæ degerent quas anteactæ vitæ pœnituiſſet. Procopius, lib.* 1. *Ædif. fuſè hoc proſequitur laudátq; Juſtiniani & Theodoræ pietatem, ut notat Alem.*

Whilſt ſhe was a Strumpet, had a Son named *John.*

25. Another thing there was, which happened to her whilſt ſhe was yet a Player, and muſt not be forgotten. She proved with Child by one of her Lovers, and as her Cuſtome was endeavoured all manner of ways to procure Abortion; but nothing would doe. Her Gallant perceiving her to be much troubled, that being big ſhe could not follow her whoriſh Trade as formerly, took all care poſſible that ſhe ſhould not miſcarry, and at laſt ſhe was brought to Bed of a Boy; which naming

Ὁρῶν δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ τοῦ τεχθέντος πατὴρ ἀπορουμένην, &c. *Alemannus* τεχθέντος πατὴρ *vertit maritus malè.*

ming *John*, he carried with him into *Arabia*. Being at the point of Death, he opened to his Son now grown up, the whole matter concerning his Mother, who having buried his Father comes up to *Conſtantinople*; where he tells the ſtory to her Servants, that he might get Admiſſion. They thinking no harm, and rather with joy told her, her Son *John* was come. She fearing the Report might reach her Husband, ſent for him in, and delivered him into the hands of one of her Domeſticks, whom ſhe was wont to employ on ſuch like Errands, who ſo diſpoſed of him, that the wretched Youth was never after heard of, nor no man ever ſaw him ſince her Death. At this time the manners of almoſt all Women were corrupted, with all Impunity and Liberty injuring their Husbands; for when they were accuſed of Adultery, by her means they eſcaped, and their Husbands as a puniſhment of falſe Accuſation were condemned to give them double Dower; ſome were ignominiouſly Whipped, and others impriſoned, and then again ſaw their Beds defiled, by ſuch as were rewarded with Dignities and Employments for ſo doing. For this reaſon moſt Husbands diſſembled the diſhoneſty of the Wives, and leſt they ſhould be diſcovered, gave them all opportunities of playing the Whore.

Whom ſhe ſent away ſo as he was never heard of, and why.

Women Generally corrupted.

26. All matters concerning Marriage, ſhe would have wholly in her Power. The Caſe of *Romans* was now worſe than that of the very worſt Barbarians, who married according to their own Inclinations; but here it was not, who liked her or him, but whom *Theodora* pleaſed to put together. Often did ſhe take away the Bridegroom out of the Arms, if not out of the Bed of the Bride, denying with Choler, that ſhe ever gave her Conſent to the Match. One *Saturninus* ſhe thus uſed, and compelled him to marry the Daughter of one *Chryſomalla*, who had been once a publick Dancer and then a common Strumpet; yet together with *Indara*, another of the ſame Profeſſion, was now taken from the Stage, and the Stews, into the Court to ſit at the Helm of the Commonwealth. But *Saturninus* found his new Wife corrupted, and told a Friend that he perceived he had not married a Maid, which coming to the Ears of *Theodora*, ſhe commanded her Servants to take him up as they uſe to do Boys at School, and Whip him ſoundly for his Tatling, ſhe looking on and as he received the ſtrokes, bidding him beware next time, and learn to keep a good Tongue in his Head. How ſhe puniſhed *John* the *Cappadocian*, we have ſaid, ſaith this *Procopius* in other Books; ſhe did not herein deſire to revenge the Part of the Commonwealth upon him, but onely gratified her private Malice; for the Truth was, he feared not to accuſe her to *Cæſar*, and almoſt had brought her out of his Favour. Now the ſtory of her revenge we muſt here relate out of the firſt Book of *Procopius*, concerning the *Perſian* War; having purpoſely hitherto omitted it, and referred it to this as a more proper place.

The diſpoſers wholly of Marriages.

And ordereth *Saturninus*.

She hated *John* the Prefect, and Why.

27. The Empreſs of all men living hated this *John* for Plotting againſt her, and accuſing her to *Juſtinian*; and deſired to kill him, but could not, the Emperour ſo much eſteemed him. He knowing her mind, was deadly afraid, ſuſpecting every Night to be murthered by ſome Barbarian in his Bed, ſo that he could not ſleep; but was ſtill peeping out, and ſearching the Entries, though he had about him ſome Thouſands of Lanciers and Targetiers, a thing never uſed by any Prefect. But no ſooner was it day, but again forgetting all fear, both of God and Man, he became a Plague to all *Romans*, frequented Sorcerers, and harkned after impious Southſayings, vainly foretelling to him the imperial Dignity. Of his wicked Courſe of Life, he bated nothing, nor was God in all his Thoughts. If he went to Church, or watched all Night, he obſerved not the Chriſtian Rites; but having on a courſe Garment like a Heathen Prieſt, mumbled all the Night ſome ungodly Spells, to captivate more the Emperour's mind, and to preſerve himſelf from miſchief. To *Beliſarius* he was very harſh, and ſtill Plotted againſt him, becauſe of all men he was moſt Renowned, and he himſelf by all men hated; but *Beliſarius* being to goe for *Perſia*, left his Wife *Antonina* behind him at *Conſtantinople*, where being the ableſt Woman alive to Effect, and bring about hard things, to gratifie the Empreſs ſhe had this Device. *John* had a Daughter, his onely Child, named *Euphemia*, very modeſt, but young, and ſo eaſily caught. Her having by much Soothing, gained to her lure, and having her on a time above in her Chamber, ſhe feigned to lament to her, her own Fortune; ſaying, that *Beliſarius* found the Emperour ungratefull, and in other things accuſing the Government as unjuſt.

Though a wicked man.

28. *Euphemia* over-joyed at her Diſcourſe, as troubled with the Government and fear of the Empreſs, told her that they (meaning her Husband and her) were the Cauſes; who having the Power in their hands, would not uſe it. *Antonina* replied, that they were not able to ſtir in the Camp, if ſome in the Court con-

curred not in the Action, but told her that if her Father would, they might eaſily effect the matter. *Euphemia* promiſed the thing ſhould be done, and departing related the matter to her Father; who pleaſed with it, and conceiving it led the way to the fulfilling of his Prophecies, and the Empire, without any pauſing upon it conſented, willing his Daughter to treat for a meeting the next day, that he might give her his Oath. *Antonina* deſirous to prevent his Suſpicion, ſaid that to give him a meeting now would cauſe a Jealouſie, and hinder all; but ſhe being to follow *Beliſarius*, when ſhe had left *Conſtantinople* and was in her Houſe in the Suburbs, thither he might come to take leave and bring her on her way, where they might confer, and both give an Oath and take it. The Night before ſhe was to begin her Journey he came accordingly, and the Emperour being informed by his Wife of his Attempts to uſurp, ſent thither *Narſes* the *Eunuch*, and *Marcellus*, who commanded the *Palatine* Guards, with many Souldiers, and direction, to ſearch out the buſineſs, and if they found *John* in any Plot to kill him, and ſo return. It was reported, that the Emperour advertiſed of this Courſe of proceeding, ſent to *John* that he ſhould not meet with *Antonina* ſecretly, but he neglected the Advice, it being his fate to be ruined; and about Midnight met *Antonina* under an Hedge, behind which ſhe had placed *Narſes* and *Marcellus*, to hear what was ſaid. There did he in plain Words conſent to the Conſpiracy, and confirmed it with moſt terrible Oaths.

He aims at the Sovereignty.

29. Then did *Narſes* and *Marcellus* break in upon him, but at the Noiſe, *John's* Lanciers came preſently in, and he eſcaped and ran to the City. If he had had the Heart to repair preſently to the Emperour, *Procopius* verily believes he had received no harm, but by taking Sanctuary in a Church, he gave full ſcope to the Empreſs to advance her Deſign againſt him. Therefore of a Prefect he was made a private man, and being removed out of that to another Church, ſtanding in a Suburb of *Cyzicum* called *Artace*, was compelled to enter into the Orders of Prieſthood, and named himſelf *Peter*. Yet did he not execute the Function of a Prieſt, leſt it ſhould hinder his promotion to greater Offices, being unwilling to quit his hopes. His Eſtate was Confiſcated, but the Emperour remitted much of it, and was ſtill inclined to ſpare him. And he had opportunity to uſe his pleaſures without Controll, and with moderation to eſteem his Eſtate happy, at which all men repined, that being the wickedeſt Devil in the world, he ſhould thus live happier than he did before. But God would not ſuffer his puniſhment to reſt here, but prepared this greater ſcourge for him. *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Cyzicum* was as harſh a man as *John* himſelf, and was accuſed to the Emperour by the Citizens, but having the better of it, ſome young men way-laid, and killed him in the *Forum*. *John* having great differences with this *Euſebius*, was ſuſpected to be guilty of the Fact, and ſome Senatours being ſent to inquire into it, put him in the common Priſon, and ſtript him naked like a common Thief, who had been ſo powerfull a Prefect, inrolled amongſt the Patritians, and had ſate in the Conſuls Chair, than which dignity none was greater in the *Roman* State. Tearing his Back with many ſtripes, they forced him to reveal his own Life, of the guilt of the Murther there was no great argument, but the Juſtice of God made him ſuffer for abuſing the whole world. Depriving him of all he had, they put him into a Ship naked, ſave that he had on one courſe Coat that coſt not much. Thoſe that had the charge of him, whereſoever the Ship put in, made him beg his Bread, and ſmall monies for his ſubſiſtence; and ſo begging all the way, was he brought to *Antinoë* in *Ægypt*, where in all this Affliction he quitted not his hope of the Empire, but fell to accuſe ſome *Alexandrians*, for Arrears to the Treaſury. Thus much writes *Procopius* concerning this *John*, in the firſt Book of his *Perſian* Hiſtory. In the Secret we are told farther as to *Theodora*, that though ſhe had thus got him into *Ægypt*, yet would ſhe never make an end of perſecuting him, nor of ſuborning witneſſes for that purpoſe. In the fourth year after his Baniſhment, ſhe got into her power two young men of *Cyzicum*, of the Faction of the *Praſini*, and thought to be of their Number that killed *Euſebius*. Upon theſe ſhe ſet both by bad and good Uſage, and one of them out of fear accuſed him of Paricide; but the other though ſo cruelly handled, that he was in danger of Death, refuſed to lye. Being therefore not able to doe any thing more againſt *John* by their Teſtimony, ſhe cut off both their right Hands, becauſe one refuſed to bear falſe witneſs, and leſt her Villany ſhould be revealed by the other, deſiring to keep cloſe thoſe things, which were done publickly in the *Forum*. Thus much concerning *John*.

He is compelled to be Preiſt.

Forced to beg his Bread.

30. Next our Authour reſumes his confuſed Declamation againſt *Juſtinian*, ſaying, the miſchiefs brought by him upon Mankind, ſufficiently made him appear

Vaſt numbers of men deſtroyed by means of *Juſtinian.*

And vaſt Regions depopulated.

not a man, but a *Dæmon* in humane ſhape, as he ſaid before. None but God himſelf was able to give an account of the men deſtroyed by him, or to aſſign their Number, no more than that of the Sand. Yet conſidering all thoſe Countries, which he had made Deſolate, and without an Inhabitant; he affirms, two hundred and ten times an hundred thouſand men to have periſhed by his means. To make this out, he gives you that account concerning *Africk* we formerly mentioned, after the Regaining of that Province. And what extravagance he committed in *Africk*, the ſame he ſaith was he guilty of in *Italy*, where he ſpoiled all by the Impoſers and Gatherers of Taxes which he ſent into that Countrey. Before the *Italian* War, the Dominion of the *Goths* extended from the ſeats of the *Galls*, as far as the Borders of *Dacia* and the City *Sirmium*. But when the *Roman* Forces were in *Italy*, the *Germans* ſeized on a great part of the *Gallican* and *Venetian* Territories; and *Sirmium* with the adjoyning Countrey, was poſſeſſed by the *Gepidæ*. All this Tract of ground, ſaith he, is utterly unpeopled, partly by War, partly by the Plague and other Diſeaſes incident to Armies. *Illyricum*, all *Thrace*, together with *Greece*, the *Cherſoneſus* and all the Regions lying from the Bay of the *Ionian* Sea, as far as the Suburbs of *Conſtantinople*, after that *Juſtinian* came to the Government, were depopulated by the Incurſions of *Hunnes*, *Sclabeni* and *Antæ*, ſo that I believe above two hundred thouſand *Romans* either periſhed by thoſe Irruptions, or were led away Captive, and the places appear like the Deſarts of *Scythia*. Beſides, all this while, the *Saracens* in the Eaſt haraſſed all from *Ægypt*, as far as the borders of *Perſia*, ſo that in this ſpace of ground men are very thin, and the ſlain cannot poſſibly be numbered. Three times have *Choſroes* and the *Perſians* invaded the Empire, and made the Provinces thereof Deſolate, but in the time they entred *Colchos*, as well the *Lazians* as *Romans* and other Nations received much Damage, for neither did the *Perſians*, nor *Saracens*, nor *Hunnes*, nor *Sclabeni*, nor other Barbarians, carry home their Armies again intire as they brought them. So that not onely *Romans* but Barbarians alſo, felt the effect of the bloudy fury of this Emperour *Juſtinian*.

He cauſeth overflowing of Rivers.

31. *Choſroes* indeed, as was ſaid in a more proper place, was a man of a naughty Diſpoſition; but *Juſtinian* perpetually gave the occaſion and kindled the Wars. For in doing buſineſs, he never had reſpect to time or place, but did all things unſeaſonably. In the time of Peace and Truce, he would give matter of Jealouſie to his Neighbours; War being denounced, he would fall back again, and out of Covetouſneſs make ſlow Preparations. Inſtead of thoſe matters proper to his Sphere, he buſied his head with things tranſcending his Capacity, too curiouſly ſearching and prying into the Nature of Almighty God. His Cruel and Tyrannical diſpoſition ſtill ingaged him in War, and his Covetouſneſs in preparations hindered him from ſucceſs. During his Reign therefore, the whole world as it were ſwam with the bloud both of Barbarians and *Romans*. For not onely did the Wars procure the Deſtruction of Mandkind, but thoſe deſperate Factions of the *Veneti* and *Praſini* which raged for two and thirty years, to the time that the Authour wrote this Treatiſe. Neither did the Empire ſhed leſs bloud upon the account of the *Samaritans* and Hereticks, who were put to Death. Such were the miſchiefs which happened to Mankind, this man or *Dæmon* being Emperour and Authour thereof. Theſe Evils that follow, he effected by a certain ſecret power and Demoniacal Nature, ſome aſcribing them to the miſchievous *Genius* or *Dæmon* which accompanied him, though others to the Divine Power which was angry with the *Roman* Empire. The River *Scirtus* running by the City of *Edeſſa*, overflowed and much indamaged the Inhabitants. The *Nile* alſo did ſuch miſchief to the *Ægyptians*, as we have formerly related. The River *Cydnus* roſe to ſuch an height, that the City *Tarſus* continued many days in water. *Antioch* the principal City of the Eaſt, *Seleucia* its Neighbour and famous *Anazarbus* in *Cilicia*, were overturned by Earthquakes, and the Ruine and miſeries of the Citizens who is able to relate?

32. Beſides, at this time *Ibera*, *Amaſia* the cheif City of *Pontus*, *Polybotus* in *Phrygia*, *Philomida* in *Piſidia*, *Lychnidus* in *Epirus*, and *Corinth* all populous and flouriſhing Cities were deſtroyed together with almoſt all their Inhabitants. Then happened that dreadfull Peſtilence, which conſumed well nigh half of thoſe men that out lived the former Calamities. But to ſpeak more concerning the exactions and oppreſſions of *Juſtinian*. His Uncle, when he came to the Government, found the Treaſury very full. For, *Anaſtaſius* the moſt provident of all Emperours, fearing that his Succeſſour might burthen the People, had by this ſupply as he thought prevented that Inconvenience. All this did *Juſtinian* preſently conſume, partly upon fortifications of Banks and Havens, partly in gaining the friendſhip and

Alliance

Sect. 3.

His laviſhments.

Alliance of the Barbarians. He waſted ſo much money, as it hardly could be imagined, that any the moſt diſſolute Nephew of an Emperour could make an end of in an hundred years time. For, the Officers of the Revenue affirmed, that in the ſpace of about twenty ſeven years, ſo long as *Anaſtaſius* lived, were laid up in Bank, three hundred and twenty thouſand pounds of Gold, of which he left not a farthing before his Uncle *Juſtin* Died. Now what horrid courſes he took to ſupply the want and Debts he contracted is impoſſible to be related, the Wealth of his Subjects being all ſwallowed up by him, which he preſently vomited forth upon Barbarians. Such as were Rich, he cauſed to be accuſed of feigned Crimes, as Paganiſm, Hereſie, Sodomy, Inceſt, Sedition, adhering to the Faction of the *Praſini*, or Treaſon, and ſeized on all they had.

His Courſes to get money.

33. There were other courſes he took to get money. He invented a ſort of Magiſtrate, which at certain Rates ſhould give licence to ſell ſuch and ſuch Wares. And there the People was compelled to buy, though three times dearer than formerly; neither was there any remedy to be had for any exactions, part of the profit coming to the Emperour's Coffers, and part to the purſe of the Magiſtrate. He ſet up many Monopolies. And whereas the Prefect (*a*) of the City, had anciently ſole authority to examine and Judge Malefactours, he made other two Officers, that he might have more Accuſations, and conſequently greater opportunity of ſeizing the Eſtates of innocent Perſons. One of theſe he named *Prætor* (b) *Plebis*, who was to prevent and puniſh Roberies. The *Romans* called him *Præfectus vigilum*, and the Greeks Νυκτέπαρχος, and before the time of *Juſtinian*, this Office was performed by the *Vicomagiſtri* and *Collegiati*, who had the care of the ſeveral Regions of the City, having received their Inſtitution from *Auguſtus Cæſar*. The other he called *Quæſitor* (not *Quæſtor*, as ſome (*c*) eminent Lawyers have miſtaken it;) to whom was committed the Cogniſance of Sodomy, Whoredom, Hereſie and Superſtition. The *Prætor* daily brought ſtoln Goods to the Emperour, pretending there was none that owned them. The *Quæſitor* proceeded without examination of the Cauſe be it what it would, and Condemned the Parties unheard, whoſe Eſtates and Fortunes were then preſently confiſcated to the uſe of *Cæſar*. Thus this wicked man committed to thoſe two, and the Prefect of the City, all Cauſes without any Diſcrimination, commanding them to deſtroy as many men, and as ſoon as poſſible, and to ſtrive who ſhould doe moſt. Being asked whoſe Sentence ſhould ſtand, in caſe the matter ſhould come before all three, he anſwered His, who ſhould give Judgement before his Fellows.

(*a*) *Eſt in Græco ἡ τῷ δήμῳ ἐφεστῶσα ἀρχὴ, Magiſtratus Plebi præfectus. Quod vero in urbe quæſtionem haberet Juſtinianus vocat in Novel.* 13. πολιαρχίαν, *eadem ratione alii* πολιοῦχον. *Juſtinianus ibid.* Ἔπαρχον τῆς πόλεως. *Sic paſſim diſtinguitur ab* ἐπάρχου τῶν πραιτωρίων. *Sæpiſſime per excellentiam à bonis Authoribus vocatur* ἔπαρχος.

(*b*) *De hujus Magiſtratûs Inſtitutione vide Novel.* 13.

(*c*) *Antonius Auguſtinus ad Novel.* 80. *& Cujacius, ſed ipſe Juſtinianus rem evincit, Novel.* 80. *Vide Aleman. in Notis pag.* 3. *de his rebus, quas obſervat.*

His Queſtours.

34. The Queſtorſhip of which all good Emperours had ever a mighty care, to place learned and honeſt men in this Office, which had ſo great influence into the State, he exceedingly abuſed. His firſt *Quæſtor* was *Tribonianus*, of whom much has been already ſpoken. He being Dead (about the twenty firſt year of *Juſtinian*,) and part of his Eſtate confiſcated, though he left a Son and many Grandchildren, *Junilus Apher* ſucceeded him, a man to whom the Laws were not as much as known by hearſay, that never was matriculated amongſt the Gown-men; and though he underſtood Latine, yet never learnt Greek, which he ſo odly pronounced, as his Servants could not forbear laughing. So Griping and Covetous, that he ſet the Emperour's Letters publickly to Sale, and for a Golden Stater would doe any thing. He dying after he had diſgraced his Employment ſeven years, *Conſtantinus* procured it, one not unskilfull in the Laws, but very young, that had never practiſed at the Bar, and the moſt thieviſh and arrogant of all men. But to *Juſtinian* he was moſt dear, being the Prefect of his Rapines and his Judge, by which means he got abundance of money. The *Præfectus Prætorio* beſides the uſual Revenue paid into the Treaſury above three * thouſand pounds of Gold every year, without any Law or Cuſtome, but as if it came out of the Air, which made him call it *Aereum*, as our Authour believes, whereas he ought rather to have named it the work of his own Diſhoneſty. By this and other means, thoſe that in his time obtained this Dignity, grew on a ſudden to vaſt Wealth, which he permitted, till being ſwoln ſo much as they were ready to burſt, he could then give it a vent, and let it all run

Principis πάρεδρον *ſive Aſſeſſorem paſſim vocat Procopius, qui quod ex legum præſcripto faciendum eſſet Principem moneret. Eum primus ſic vocavit Conſtantinus ſi fides Zozimo, apud Spartianum in Hadriano mentio fit de quodam qui quæſturam gerens orationem imperatoris in Senatu agreſtiùs pronunciavit, unde Quæſtor,* στόμα Βασιλέως *dicebatur. Alii ſunt Quæſtores urbani & caſtrenſis ærarii Præfecti. Sunt & minorum Magiſtratuum Quæſtores &* πάρεδροι, *ut Proconſulis Cappadociæ, concilii Iſauriæ, Prætoris Piſidiæ, & aliorum in Novellis. Procopius ipſe Beliſarii fuit. Alem.*

* *Fortaſſe hoc eſt tributi genus illud quod jam olim abolitum revocavit deinde Michael Pophlago Imperator, de quo videndus Cedrenus ut Alemannus innuit.*

into his own Coffers. † But out of this Number are to be excepted *Phocas*, and *Baſſus* his Succeſſour, men of too good Conſcience to keep their Office any conſiderable time.

35. So dealt he with all the Magiſtrates of *Conſtantinople.* Throughout other Cities he ſold Offices and Employments to the worſt of men, and having received his money, delivered into their hands the Provinces to be handled at their pleaſure. They ſtood in no fear of the Laws, but hoped to get greater Glory by the Immanity of their Slaughters and Rapines. He had made a Law, that Magiſtrates when they entred their Offices or Provinces, ſhould take an Oath that they would not be Rapacious, nor give nor take any thing for, or by virtue of, their Places, who ſo did they uſed great Imprecations againſt them. But ſcarcely had one year paſſed from the making of this Law, but he forgetting, at leaſt neglecting both his own Decree, the Imprecations and all Modeſty, not obſcurely, but openly in the *Forum*, and with the greateſt Impudence imaginable, ſold Dignities, to ſuch as with greater licentiouſneſs than ever offered money for them, not conſidering how they could diſpence with the Oath. The Law here mentioned by this Writer is his eighth Novel, in publiſhing whereof he much applauds himſelf, ordering it to be expoſed to view in the Feaſt of *Eaſter*, as a moſt gratefull object of the Peoples Eyes, and to be cut in ſtone to remain in the Walks of the Churches, as a perpetual monument. The Copy of it he will have kept amongſt the Veſtments of Churches, and excites all People to give thanks for it to Almighty God, adding a Reproof of his Predeceſſours, for their ſolicitude about money in this Affair; whereas *Theodoſius* made a Law concerning this very matter, and ſo did *Martianus* as ſome do teſtify, and *Anaſtaſius* alſo practiſed the very ſame thing, conferring theſe Offices *gratis* which had been formerly wont to be expoſed to Sale. But as for the Oath, the forme of it is expreſſed in the ſaid Novel concluding thus: *Which if I do not obſerve, may I receive both here and hereafter, the terrible Judgment of the Great Lord God and our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and let me have part with Judas, the Leproſie of Giezi and the trembling of Cain.*

He ſold Offices contrary to his own Law.

Theodorus Lector. Vide Aleman. quo ſuprá.

36. Another thing *Juſtinian* deviſed, which is almoſt impoſſible to be believed. He grew weary of ſelling the chiefeſt Offices about *Conſtantinople* and other places, and hired certain Fellows to diſcharge them, who receiving certain wages, all the Profits ſhould redound to the Emperour. This he held as his greateſt Maxim, to confer Offices on as great Knaves as himſelf, and ſo it happened, that ſeldom or never came better, but thoſe that ſucceeded were far worſe than their Predeceſſours. It often happened, that the *Hunnes* invading the *Roman* Territories, inſtead of being beaten back as they eaſily might have been, were Courted and ſent away with rich preſents, and the Title of Allies, beſides the Booty they had gotten; and ſuch Countreymen as could not endure to ſee their Goods taken away, and their Wives and Children led Captives, but purſued them, and ſeized upon their Carriage-Beaſts, that they might have wherewith to redeem their own, were cruelly beaten and wounded, and conſtrained to make Reſtitution to the Barbarians of what they had taken from them. After the fall of *John* the *Cappadocian*, *Juſtinian* and *Theodora* were at a loſs to find a man fit enough for their purpoſe to ſucceed him, and in the mean time employed (a) *Theodotus* who was none of the beſt, but not ſo bad as fully to comply with their humour. At laſt, having in their thoughts obſerved all men, and ſearched all Corners, they met with one (b) *Peter* a *Syrian* by birth, ſirnamed *Barſames* the *Numularius*, who ſitting at the Receit of money, often by the lightneſs of his Fingers, cheated the Collectours at their Payments, and that with ſuch Induſtry and Impudence, that he would face them down, and outſwear them when he was caught, and boldly aſcribe it as an accident to a miſtake, excuſing the fault of his Fingers, by more than a ſlip of his Tongue. But the Ladder by which he aſcended to this Dignity, was his egregious ſlattery of *Theodora*, and being her Inſtrument in the execution of her wicked Deſigns.

Hires men to execute Offices.

37. For a proof of his future deportment, he endeavoured to defraud the Souldiers of their Pay, and more ſhamefully than ever, expoſed the places of Truſt and Dignity to Sale, abating ſomething in the price to thoſe who would undertake any

Peter a knaviſh Prefect.

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† *Nomina Præfectorum hujus temporis diligenter conquiſita & ad notas Coſſ. digeſta proponit tibi Alemannus, in Notis. p. 95. Illorum certa notitia multam & huic hiſtoriæ lucem affert & Juſtiniani Conſtitutionibus, quæ nonnullarum tum ejus tum Juſtini falſæ Inſcriptiones obſervantur.*

(a) *Ad Theodotum extant aliquot Juſtiniani Novel. nempe* 112. *de litigioſis &* 5 *huic proximæ quæ datæ ſunt Juſt. Aug. Ann.* 15. *Baſilio V.C. Conſ. eodem ſcil. quo Joannes in exilium pulſus eſt qui fuit decimus ejus præfecturæ. Alem.*

(b) *Ad Petrum plurima Juſtiniani Reſcripta habemus. Bis Præfectum Prætorio, bis Comitem largitionum fuiſſe diverſi Novellarum tituli demonſtrant. Præfecturam Ærarii eum adminiſtraſſe paulò pòſt Procopius commemorat. Veterem Eccleſiam Sancti Petri ædificavit ut ex* πρατείως, *C. P. docet Aleman.. p. 99.*

impious or unconſcionable Employment. To the Luſt of theſe Creatures he expoſed the Lives and Fortunes of the Provincials, and the Bargain being once made, they were ſent down under the Name of Collectours, to tear in pieces the Bowels of the poor People, and to rage with implacable cruelty againſt them, that they might have wherewithall firſt to reimburſe themſelves, and then to ſpend upon their Luſts, or heap up Treaſure for the occaſions of *Cæſar*, when he ſhould be pleaſed to call. But, not onely he, but the Prefects before him, and all other Officers under this Tyrant, employed under them the greateſt Knaves they could procure. It hapned that the greateſt part of the Corn that was brought to *Conſtantinople*, was putrified and naught; yet this did he compell the Cities of the *Eaſt* to purchaſe at dearer rates than they were wont to buy that which was good, and the Citizens having it delivered, after the payment of their Money, caſt it either into the Sea, or the Sinks and Chanels. That which was good, and kept up in great quantities at *Conſtantinople*, he ſold to ſuch places as were in want, for double the Tribute which was impoſed upon the Corn Countries. When a leſſer Fleet than uſual arrived, he cauſed Corn to be brought by the Husbandmen themſelves out of *Bithynia*, *Phrygia* and *Thrace*, and conſtrained them to accept ſo mean and inconſiderable prices, that they had better have given away the Corn, and paid double as much as it was worth to boot. This burthen was known by the Name of *Annona*. But ſo much Corn as this way was imported, not anſwering the Neceſſities of the City, great Complaints were made to the Emperour againſt *Peter*, and he purpoſed to deprive him of his Office, and more, underſtanding that he was grown very wealthy; till *Theodora*, his Wife, took him off, being exceedingly enamoured of *Peter* for his Charms and magical Tricks, whereby, as was reported, ſhe wrought more upon *Juſtinian*, than by any other means. And he was very eaſie thus to be wrought upon, for Reaſons formerly mentioned, which this Authour here again repeats, to the trouble and diſtaſte of his Reader, who cannot but be wearied with his endleſs Tautologies, and confuſed Allegations.

He is removed, and ſet over the Treaſury.

38. Yet did the Emperour at length, and with much difficulty, remove *Peter* from his Pretorian Prefectſhip; but then ſet him over the Treaſury, through the importunity of *Theodora*, having put out of that Employment one *John*, a Man of great Integrity, whom the People much eſteemed upon this account. *Peter* being placed in his new Power, cauſed as much miſchief as ever, making away the Money which was aſſigned to many uſes, ſo that thoſe concerned in it were ready to ſtarve, which, ſo long as the Prince had what belonged to him, and the Treaſurer could but fill his own Coffers, was never regarded. The Coin alſo he cauſed to be made leſs than formerly. Farther, whereas it was a very ancient Cuſtome for the Emperours to remit the ſmall Remainders of publick Taxes, leſt ſuch as were not able to pay, ſhould be oppreſſed, and opportunity given to the Collectours to exact more than was due. *Juſtinian*, in the ſpace of thirty two years, never vouchſafed his Subjects ſuch a grace and favour, which, as it deſtroyed the poor, ſo ſuch as were as yet able to pay, being never at reſt, and not ſo much grieving to pay new Levies, as fearing to be unjuſtly perſecuted for pretended Arrears of vaſt long continuance, choſe rather to forſake their Grounds. Notwithſtanding all the Havock that was made in a great part of *Aſia*, by the *Perſians* and *Saracens*, and in *Europe*, by the Inrodes of the *Hunnes*, *Sclabeni*, and the *Gothick* War, the Inhabitants being reduced to the greateſt extremity, yet would he remit nothing to them of the ancient Impoſitions, except to thoſe that dwelt in Cities taken by the Enemy, and that but onely for a year.

Juſtinian never remits Arrears.

39. And yet had he, as *Anaſtaſius* formerly did (he means to the Citizens of *Amida*) remitted all publick payments for ſeven years, he had done little in reſpect of the great Calamities they underwent; for *Cabades* retired, leaving Houſes, and Churches, and all ſtanding and intire, whereas *Choſroes* waſted all before him with Fire and Sword. But the miſerable People found *Juſtinian* worſe than the Barbarians themſelves; for no ſooner was the Enemy gone, but he would come with his *Annona*, and his Decrees of Impoſitions and Taxes, after this manner. The Poſſeſſours of Lands were, according to their proportion, to find Proviſions for the *Roman* Souldiers at a certain Rate, and ſuch as had not of their own, both for Man and Horſe, were forced to buy, and fetch out of other Countries, and ſatisfie the *Optiones*, (Officers of the Army ſo called) who often were very unreaſonable in their exactions: This was the *Annona*. This Impoſition was a ſudden and unexpected Plague,

He impoſeth the *Annona*.

De Optionibus exercitus vide Novellam 130. Diſtinguendi ſunt ab Optionibus Fiſci, & ab Optionibus Domeſticis quorum ex Procopii, lib. 1. Belli Vandal. antea mentionem fecimus. Optionibus qui Annonam militibus erogabant πέντε ϗ δεκάτην μοῖραν, quintam decimam partem conſtituit Juſtinianus, ut eſt in Novella 130. Alem.

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falling on the Poſſeſſours of Lands, whom it deprived utterly, as it were, of all hope of Life. For on the grounds whoſe Owners or Tillers were ſlain, or had fled their Countrey, and now were deſolate, and over-grown with Weeds, *Juſtinian* was ſo mercifull as to lay it. The Deſcriptions or Taxes were laid alſo upon the Countrey, for repairing thoſe Cities that were ſpoiled or waſted by the accidents of War, the Cauſes and Events whereof, our Authour tells us, it would be infinite in this place to deſcribe. But the miſchief ſtaid not here. For the Peſtilence having conſumed the Husbandmen, and Owners of the Lands which lay untilled and out of order, the Tax thereto belonging was exacted of the next Neighbours, who were alſo forced to lodge and entertain the Souldier in the beſt Rooms and Appartments they had, while they themſelves muſt be content to thruſt their Heads into any hole or corner.

He oppreſſeth Souldiers by the *Cenſitores*.

40. But foraſmuch as mention is made of Houſes and Lodgings, our Authour eſteems it a thing not to be paſt by in ſilence, that ſometimes no fewer than ſeventy Thouſand Barbarians have been quartered at *Conſtantinople*, in receiving and lodging of whom the Citizens have been extraordinarily ſtraitned. Neither is to be paſt over what *Juſtinian* did againſt Souldiers. He ſet over them certain Officers, named *Cenſitores*, or, as in Greek they called them, *Logothetæ*, who were empowered to fleece them of as much Money as poſſible, of which, for their pains, they were to have the twelfth part. And whereas by Cuſtome, and the Laws of the Camp, all Souldiers had not equal pay, but thoſe newly liſted had leſs, thoſe of a middle ſtanding more, and the *Veterani*, or old Souldiers, greateſt of all, that after their Miſſion they might have ſomething to live on, and reap ſome fruit of all their labours, now it was ſo ordered, that when the *Emeriti* went out, others that were next them did not ſucceed, nor were admitted to their Privileges, as the manner had been; but the *Cenſitores* forbad the Names of ſuch as were ſlain to be omitted in the Roll, or any new Rolls to be made. Hence it came to paſs that the Armies were exceedingly leſſened, and the Souldiers utterly diſcouraged, the Emperour treaſuring up that Money, which they of courſe ought to have received as an augmentation of their Wages. Several other ways were the Military Men injured, and reduced to that meanneſs, that the Name of *Grecian* became diſhonourable, as if *Greece* brought not forth any ſtout or valiant Man. Here by *Greeks* he ſeems to mean all that ſpoke that Language. And the Reader may take notice, that now in *Juſtinian*'s time the *Roman* Empire began to be called the Empire of the *Greeks* by the *Romans* themſelves, who ſtomached at, and diſdained the Domination and Pride of that People.

Λογοθέτην ἑλληνίζοντες τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. *Eum qui publicarum Rationum curam gerit Logothetam Græco vocabulo Romani vocant. Procop. bell. Goth. l. 3. Alem.*

41. Some Souldiers were caſhiered, as being liſted without any order from the Prince, the Commiſſions of others were ſaid to be counterfeit, others were blamed for being from their colours, and certain Searchers were ſent into all the Provinces, to ſee what Souldiers were unfit for War. Some Aged Men, who deſerved good rewards for all their time and ſtrength ſpent in ſervice, were turned out, and forced to beg their Bread openly in the *Forum* of Religious Perſons, affording a lamentable Spectacle to all that paſſed by. Others, to ſave themſelves, were conſtrained to bribe the Searchers, and ſo was the Souldier weakned, and deſtitute of Neceſſaries, and ſo much aliened in his Mind from his Employment, that the *Roman* Affairs generally all over, but eſpecially in *Italy*, were much indamaged. *Alexander*, whom we ſaid formerly to have been nicknamed *Forſicula*, being the great Inſtrument of this Oppreſſion, laid many frivolous things to the charge of the Souldiers in *Italy*, and the Inhabitants themſelves he fleeced of great ſtore of Wealth, under pretence of revenging the Injuries offered by *Theodorich* and the *Goths*. In times paſt the Emperours were wont to place certain Bands and Companies of Souldiers upon the Frontiers and Limits, who were thence called *Limitanei*, eſpecially in the Eaſtern parts, to prevent the Inrodes of the *Perſians* and *Saracens*. Theſe *Juſtinian* preſently ſo ſlighted, and neglected, that their four or five years pay was ſhuffled off by the Queſtors, and whereas during the Truce betwixt the *Romans* and *Perſians*, they ought to have enjoyed the benefit of the Ceſſation, with their whole Wages, *Juſtinian* moſt injuriouſly disbanded them, by the ſame Fact expoſing the Souldiers to penury and begging, and the Frontiers to the inſolence of Invaders.

He cheats the *Scholarii*.

The Emperour's Court in former times was wont to be guarded by Three thouſand five hundred Men, whom they called *Scholarii*, who had more pay than other

Quaſi σχολάζοντας, *bellico ab opere vacantes & feriatos milites.*

Horum in Palatio uti munia diverſa, ita & nomina. Alii ſtipendia merebantur, alii Codicillares. Horum ordines modo appellantur Officia, unde eorum Præfectus Magiſter Officiorum vocatur, & à Græcis, μάγιστρος τῶν ἐν παλατίῳ τάξεων: *modo Scholæ,* σχολαὶ, *atque inde* σχολάριοι. *Vide quæ ex Agathia tranſcripſimus ſuprà hujus Cap. Paragr.* 234,

Men, in duty, and were wont to be choſen out of the moſt ancient and ſtout Souldiers of the *Armenians*. But in the time of *Zeno*, any one was in a capacity to compaſs this Employment, even Scullions themſelves, if they brought but money. When *Juſtin* was Emperour, *Juſtinian* his Nephew, for great ſumms of Money paid him, filled up the Rolls, and to the former number added almoſt Two thouſand more, who were called *Supernumeraries*. Theſe, as ſoon as he came to the Government, he diſbanded, every one, and kept their Money to himſelf.

42. When there was an Expedition to be made into *Africk*, *Italy* or *Perſia*, orders were given out to theſe Men, though utterly unfit, to march as well as to others. They then muſt buy off their Service, and be content to be fleeced by *Peter*, the *Magiſter Officiorum*, and the Murtherer of *Amalaſuntha*, a Man of a mild and calm temper, but to be reckoned with the inferiour ſort of covetous and rapacious Perſons. In the Emperour's Court there were other Souldiers, as they were termed, of an higher Rank, who purchaſing their places at a greater rate, had anſwerably greater Salaries allowed them. Theſe they called Protectours, and Domeſticks, having no skill in matters belonging to War, but ſerving to ſet out the grandeur of the Palace; ſome of them lay in *Conſtantinople*, and others quartered in *Galatia*, or other Provinces. By the ſame tricks *Juſtinian* frighted theſe men, and made them quit their pretenſions to their ſtipends. There was an ancient and moſt certain Law and Cuſtome, that every five Years the Emperours ſhould give a Donative to the Souldiers, for which purpoſe every fifth Year the Queſtors were ſent about, and paid to every Man five golden Staters. But after *Juſtinian* came to the Government, he quite aboliſhed the Cuſtome, inſomuch, that in the thirty ſecond Year of his Reign, the time when *Procopius* is pretended to have written this Secret Hiſtory, it was almoſt quite forgotten. Farther, whereas in all Employments, either under the Prince or Magiſtrates, Men aroſe by degrees, and ſucceeded each other, till thoſe that formerly were of the loweſt, at length arrived at the higheſt Rank, and ſuch as were come to this pitch of Honour, had large allowance, as a reward of their former diligence, amounting to above Ten thouſand pounds of Gold yearly; he took this allowance away, reducing them to want and miſery, as he did all other mortals. So did this Tyrant vex and diſquiet theſe ſorts of Men. Now I come to ſhew, ſaith our Authour, what he did againſt Merchants, Mariners, Artificers, Men relating to the Law, and other ſorts of People.

As alſo the Protectours and Domeſticks.

43. There are two Straits lying upon each ſhore of *Conſtantinople*, the one of the *Helleſpont*, betwixt *Seſtus* and *Abydus*, and the other at the mouth of the *Euxine* Sea, where there ſtood a Church, conſecrated to the Mother of God. In the *Helleſpont* the Emperours permitted no Publicans to receive Toll or Cuſtome, but had their *Prætor* at *Abydus*, who watched all Merchandiſe carried into the Port of *Byzantium*, and ſuch as ſet ſail thence without licence of the Officer appointed to grant Paſs-ports. This *Prætor* could not demand any thing of the Mariners. But *Juſtinian* placed Publicans upon both the Straits, and two hired Officers, who were commanded to have a ſtrict Watch, and raiſe as much money as poſſibly they could by way of Cuſtome. At the Haven of *Conſtantinople* he appointed a certain *Syrian*, called *Addæus*, one of his Creatures, to raiſe as much as he could out of imported Wares, and he permitted not ſuch as came in to return out of the Haven, but conſtrained the Mariners either to carry goods into *Italy* or *Africk*, or pay for the freights to others, that were hired, which burthen ſome, that they might ſhun, ſet fire to their Veſſels, and went their ways. Merchants by this means were conſtrained to pay three times as much as uſual for Tranſportation of their goods, and to make themſelves ſavers, raiſed the prices of every Commodity, ſo that it became a publick grievance and a burthen to all the People.

How he oppreſſed Merchants.

Hoc dictum eſt ab omnibus pæne Scriptoribus Eccleſiaſticis Templum in Blachernis, de quo nomine inter Græcos minimè convenit. Vide Alemann. ad Procop. Arcan. Hiſt. p. 15.

44. Formerly the *Numularii*, or Money-Changers, were wont for every Stater of Gold to give two hundred and ten *Obuli* or *Pholes*. But *Juſtinian* conceiving it would make for his profit, brought down the Exchange to an hundred and eighty, ſo that the ſubject loſt the ſixth part of the value of every golden Stater. Having laid a Monopoly upon every thing but wearing Apparel, at laſt he deviſed a way to reduce ſuch as dealt therein to an equal condition with their fellows. In times paſt the Manufacture of Silks was confined to two Cities of *Phœnicia*, *Berytus* and *Tyre*, whence they were tranſported all the World over. Now the Merchants at *Byzantium*, and other Cities, who traded in this Commodity, raiſed the price, pretending that they paid more than formerly had been uſual in *Perſia*, and were burthened with the tenth part in the *Roman* Territories. He therefore made a Law, that a pound of Silk ſhould be ſold for eight *Aurei*, under pein of Confiſcation of Goods, to any one that ſhould offend againſt it; which burthen the Mer-

chants not able, or not willing, to bear, gave over the Trade, and what remained of their Wares, paſſed away privately, and by ſtealth; of which *Theodora* getting an inkling, made them pay her down an hundred pounds of Gold, and beſides that, to loſe their Goods. Afterward this Manufacture was aſſigned to *Peter Barſama*, the Emperour's Treaſurer, who exerciſed all Villany in this, as other things under his Hands. All other Artificers, but ſuch as he conſtrained to work for himſelf, he plagued by execution of the lately mentioned Law. And not by ſtealth or privately, but publickly, in the *Forum*, did he ſell an ounce of that Silk, which was dyed with a more ordinary colour, for ſix *Aurei*, and that which had the Royal dye, which they called *Holoverum*, for above four and twenty, whereby he got great Wealth for the Emperour, and more for himſelf.

Ergo Holoverum tinctura Serici & color eſt non Sericum, ut ad hanc diem multi exiſtimârunt inanibúſq; rationibus id aſtruere conati ſunt, inquit Alemannus.

45. By this means multitudes were undone, and all the Artificers of *Tyre* and *Berytus*, who had lived upon this Manufacture, were either compelled to ſtarve, or to beg their Bread; and ſome of them fled into *Perſia*. Here it will not be amiſs to add what *Alemannus* hinteth, that Silk had been much dearer in former times, than when it was thus ſold by *Peter*. For, as *Vopiſcus* writes in the Life of *Aurelian*, Gold and Silk, in the days of that Emperour, were exchanged weight for weight, (as was once *Verina* Tobacco here for Silver) *viz.* a pound for a pound, as the *Rhodian* Law alſo witneſſeth. Now if a pound of Silk was ſold for a pound of Gold, a pound of Silk muſt have been worth an hundred *Aurei*, from which if you ſubtract eight and twenty, ſeventy two will remain, for which a pound was ſold in thoſe days of *Peter*; for ſo you muſt reckon, if with this Authour you ſet every ounce at ſix *Aurei*. But Silk was grown much cheaper in the days of *Juſtinian*, in whoſe time, as the Reader may remember, we formerly told him out of an Authentick Book of *Procopius*, that Silk-Worms were brought by certain Monks out of *India* to *Conſtantinople*, and other parts of the Empire. But to what an height is the Silk Manufacture now advanced, and what difference is there betwixt our days and the Reign of *Aurelian!* Silk is now grown nigh as common as Wool, and become the cloathing of thoſe in the Kitchin, as well as the Court; we wear it not onely on our Backs, but of late years on our Legs and Feet, and tread on that which formerly was of the ſame value with Gold it ſelf. Yet that magnificent and expenſive Prince, *Henry* the Eighth, wore ordinarily Cloth-hoſe, except there came from *Spain*, by great chance, a pair of Silk Stockins. K. *Edward*, his Son, was preſented with a pair of long Spaniſh Silk Stockins by Sr. *Thomas Greſham*, his Merchant, and the Preſent was taken much notice of. Queen *Elizabeth*, in the third Year of her Reign, was preſented, by Mrs. *Montague*, her Silk-woman, with a pair of black knit Silk Stockins, and thenceforth ſhe never wore Cloth any more. Nine and thirty years after was invented the weaving of Silk Stockings, Waſtcoats, and divers other things, by Engines, or Steel Looms, by ***William Lee***, Maſter of Arts of St. *John's* College in ***Cambridge***, a Native of ***Notingham***, who taught the Art in ***England*** and *France*, as his Servants in ***Spain***, ***Venice*** and ***Ireland***, and his Device ſo well took, that now in ***London*** his Artificers are become a Company, having an Hall and a Maſter, like as other Societies. But this were an unpardonable Digreſſion, were it our cuſtome to make the like.

Ὁλοσηρικοῦ ὅμοια τῷ χρυσίῳ.

How others profeſſing Sciences.

46. Next our Authour comes to ſhew how *Juſtinian* endeavoured the ſubverſion of Advocates, Phyſicians, and others, profeſſing the liberal Sciences; and for proof alledges what we have formerly ſaid of this Subject. The publick Monies of any City or Town, which the Inhabitants, out of good Husbandry had laid up, either for publick payments, or their Recreations, he feared not to ſeize on, ſo that all ſtipends of Phyſicians and Schoolmaſters ceaſed, no care was had of publick Buildings, no lights were ſet out in the Streets, and no Merriments, or innocent Divertiſements, were now to be thought of; and as for Stage-plays, thoſe of the *Circus*, and Huntings, amongſt which exerciſes *Theodora*, his Wife, had been born and bred, they were utterly laid aſide. At *Conſtantinople* he would have all *Spectacula* to be left off, that he might ſpare Money, to the undoing of an infinite multitude that had their livelyhood out of them. Therefore, ſaith he, all Men now are in ſadneſs, no appearance of any mirth or chearfulneſs, either publickly or privately; Neighbours and Friends, when they meet, relating onely their Miſeries and Calamities, and ſome Diſaſter or other which has lately hapned. Every Year there were wont to be two Conſuls created, one at *Rome*, the other at *Conſtantinople*, who were wont to ſpend each of them above two thouſand Pounds of Gold, not of their own, but moſt beſtowed on them by the Emperour. This was laid out upon Shews and poor People, but eſpecially upon Stage-Players, and very much inriched the Cities; but ſince *Juſtinian* became Emperour, there is no time determined for theſe things,

one keeps the Conſulſhip a long time, and there is hardly any ſuch thing to be ſeen as the *Comitia Conſularia*. Now whereas this Authour ſaith, that every year two Conſuls were created, this is to be underſtood ordinarily, and in courſe, for often, as we have before hinted, a Conſul has been in the Eaſt, and in the Weſt, without a Collegue. And this moreover is obſervable, that the Epiſtles of the Ancients, and other publick Monuments, are uſually ſigned with the Name but of one Conſul, in theſe years wherein two were created, as appears manifeſtly from the *Faſti*; the reaſon is this; becauſe ſome conſiderable ſpace was required to have their Names communicated through the Empire, and in the mean time the Provincials made uſe of his that firſt came to their knowledge, as they inhabited nearer to *Rome* or *Conſtantinople*. In the publick Tables mention was made of him whoſe Name they knew not, in this manner; *Marcianus*, and *he that ſhall hereafter be declared, being Conſuls.*

He lays an Impoſt upon Bread.

47. Upon the very Bread which the poor People and Cripples were compelled to buy, *Juſtinian* laid ſuch an Impoſt, to the value of three *Centenaries* of Gold, that the Sellers made it almoſt all of Chaff, or Bran at the beſt; to ſo great impiety and ſordidneſs did his covetous Humour deſcend. The Officers herein employed got vaſt Wealth, and brought a kind of Famine upon the Poor; for it was not lawfull any otherwiſe to provide themſelves, but all their Bread they muſt buy after this manner. The Watercourſes were ſo broken, that the Inhabitants could not be ſupplied, and many were every day ſlain at the Fountains in a contention to get Water, yet was no care taken to repair the Pipes, and all for ſaving of Money. The Baths were alſo ſtopt up, and yet could the Emperour, in the ſuburbs, lay out a vaſt deal of Treaſure on the Houſes ſeated towards the Sea ſide, as if that Court were not good enough for him and his Wife, which had given ſo great contentment to the former Princes. But not onely at *Conſtantinople* did he thus afflict the Poor, who ate nothing but Bread, and drank nothing but Water onely. His cruelty reached thoſe that lived in other Countries. *Theodorich* having conquered *Italy*, that ſome remains of an Empire might appear at *Rome*, maintained in pay the Pretorian Companies, which were very numerous, as thoſe of the *Silentiarii*, *Domeſtici* and *Scholarii*, who, if they enjoyed nothing elſe, to be ſure had the privilege of Souldiers, and the *Annona*, or Proviſions, which he permitted to deſcend to their Children, and Children's Children. And to the Poor that lived near St. *Peter's* Church, he yearly gave out of the publick three thouſand *Medimni* of Wheat; all which *Alexander Forſicula* took away, and for that was much commended and eſteemed by *Juſtinian*.

Fortaſſe intelligit de Adrianæo aquæductu, quem initio ſui Imperii Juſtinianus reſtauraverat. Sic opinatur Alem.

48. At *Thermopylæ*, the Greeks that lived thereabout kept a conſtant Garriſon, and for fear the Barbarians ſhould make Inrodes into *Peloponneſus*, kept watch by their turns, at the Wall built on the top of the Mountains. *Alexander*, as though he took eſpecial care for the Affairs of the *Peloponneſians*, affirmed there was no truſting to the Fortreſſes maintained by Countreymen, and placed there two thouſand Souldiers, to be maintained by the ſeveral Cities of *Hellas*, the publick Revenues of which, under pretence of maintaining Garriſon-Souldiers, he brought into the Treaſury; and by theſe means it came to paſs that neither in *Hellas*, nor at *Athens*, were there any publick Buildings, or any publick conveniences of Corporations regarded; and ſo were matters ordered by *Alexander Forſicula*, to the great contentment of *Juſtinian* and his Wife. Things went as ill with the Poor of *Alexandria*, amongſt the Advocates of which was one *Hephæſtus*, who, being promoted to the Government of the place, appeaſed indeed Tumults in the City, but being more ſavage and cruel than the ſeditious themſelves in effect, brought the Citizens into all ſorts of Calamities. For by a Monoply exerciſed by himſelf, he hindred all others from trading, and ſet what rates he pleaſed upon all Commodities, as he did upon all Corn tranſported from *Egypt*, having obtained the like privilege as to that Countrey. *Juſtinian* perceiving the Inhabitants took theſe oppreſſions with moderate Patience, reſolved to lay on as much burthen as they would carry, and more highly eſteemed his formerly beloved *Hephæſtus*, who, to bind him more firmly to him, deviſed yet another way to gratifie his Humour. The Emperour *Diocletian* ordained, that a great quantity of Corn ſhould be yearly given by the People of *Alexandria* to the Poor, which Cuſtome had continued down unto this time. Of this Corn *Hephæſtus* brought twenty hundred thouſand *Medimni* into the publick Granaries, writing to the Emperour, that the *Alexandrians* managed the buſineſs neither according to Juſtice nor Diſcretion. *Juſtinian* readily confirmed what he had done, and was mightily pleaſed with a Miniſter ſo proper for his turn.

He oppreſſeth the Poor of *Alexandria.*

Sect. 3.

49. But ſo numerous were the wicked Actions of *Juſtinian*, that to recount them no time would be ſufficient, but out of many I will gather a few Inſtances, ſaith our Authour, from which it may evidently appear to Poſterity, what an egregious Diſſembler he was, how prone to deſpiſe Almighty God, the Prieſts, the Laws and the People, how Loyal ſoever, having neither reſpect to Modeſty, to the good of the Commonwealth, nor at all regarding to colour his wickedneſs by any ſpecious pretences, but onely intent how to ſcrape up Money, and pillage the whole *Roman* World. The Reader is to know, that he made one *Paul* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, one *Rhodo*, a *Phœnician*, being at that time Prefect of the City, to whom he wrote, that upon all occaſions he ſhould give aſſiſtence to *Paul*, by whoſe means he hoped to bring the Primates of that Countrey to eſtabliſh the *Chalcedonian* Council. There was a certain *Phœnician*, *Arſenius* by name, of a moſt wicked diſpoſition, but a great confident of *Theodora*, the Empreſs, by whoſe countenance he roſe to that Wealth and Authority, that he mounted at laſt into the Senate. By Religion he was a Samaritan, but he complied out of fear, as alſo did his Father and Brother, who yet making uſe of *Arſenius* his Intereſt did great miſchief to the Chriſtians of *Scythopolis*, who were exaſperated to ſuch a degree, that they put them to a cruel death, and thereupon much miſchief aroſe to the Inhabitants of *Paleſtine*. *Arſenius* though he had been the occaſion of all theſe miſdemeanours, was no otherwiſe puniſhed than by a ſingle baniſhment from the Court, and that becauſe of the importunity of Chriſtians. But as intending to doe the Emperour ſpecial Service he went down, not long after, with *Paul* to *Alexandria*, the Inhabitants whereof he hoped to draw to his purpoſe, and during his abſence from Court, he buſied himſelf in Chriſtian Controverſies; and thereby offended *Theodora*, who drove on a Deſign that ſeemed to be contrary to that of her Husband. For Explication of this we ſhall onely hint to the Reader, an Opinion which in it's proper place may be more largely diſcuſſed, that as *Juſtinian* ſtood ſtifly for the Council of *Chalcedon*; ſo *Theodora* ſeemed to reject it, imbracing with great kindneſs the *Acephali*, *Monophyſitæ*, *Theopaſchitæ*, and other Hereticks of that time.

Scythopoli à Chriſtianis Incendio interierunt uti Hiſtoriam narrat Cyrillus Scythopolitanus, ex quo apparet Arſenii patrem fuiſſe quendam Sylvanum. Alem.

50. But *Paul* coming to *Alexandria*, procured *Rhodo* the Prefect to kill *Pſoës* a Deacon, alledging that he was the onely man, that hindred him in the Execution of the Emperour's commands; and by frequent Letters indeed *Juſtinian* commanded him to be beaten, the Torments of which Nature not able to bear he dyed under the Laſh. Yet when the thing was noiſed abroad, *Juſtinian* being earneſtly moved ſo to doe by his Wife, laid all the Load upon *Paul*, *Rhodo*, and *Arſenius*, and conſtituting *Liberius* a Patritian of *Rome*, his *Præfectus Auguſtalis* ſent ſeveral Prelates down to *Alexandria* to inquire into the Fact, amongſt whom went *Pelagius* Archdeacon of the *Roman* Church, who repreſented the Biſhop. *Paul* being convicted of Murther was deprived. *Rhodo* flying to *Conſtantinople* was there by the Emperour's Command put to Death, and his Goods were ſold, notwithſtanding he produced no fewer than thirteen of *Juſtinian's* Letters, wherein he was again and again with all poſſible importunity, urged to follow and fully obey the Orders of *Paul*, without the leaſt Contradiction, as one who had certain Precepts to purſue in point of Religion. *Arſenius* at the command of *Theodora*, was by *Liberius* his Order nailed to a Croſs, and her Husband ſeized on his Eſtate, pretending no other reaſon than that he had been intimately acquainted with him. But here was the jeſt: It was not long e'er *Paul* came to *Conſtantinople* to Petition the Emperour, and offered ſeven hundred pounds of Gold to be reſtored to his Office, of which as he ſaid, he had been unjuſtly deprived. *Juſtinian* took his Money, entertained him with great Reſpect, and promiſed to reſtore him to his See, though it was already full; and he had lately ſo ſeverely puniſhed his Complices and Aſſociates in the Murther. He buſied his Head ſo much about it, that every one expected when it would be done; but *Vigilius* Biſhop of *Rome*, hapning at this time to be at *Conſtantinople*, flatly refuſed herein to comply with him, or to reverſe that Sentence which he had given by *Pelagius*. But thus was *Juſtinian* intent upon his Grand deſign, of ſcraping up Money.

Vide hac de re Liberatum in Breviario, ubi rem altiùs petit ut innuit Alem.

Particular ſtories.

He ſcrapes up Money.

51. Another thing gave as ample Demonſtration, which he Practiſed toward one *Fauſtinus*, who though a *Samaritan* diſſembled his Religion, and accommodated himſelf to that of the times. Being choſen into the Senate, he alſo obtained the Honour and Employment of *Proconſul*, which once paſt, he was accuſed at *Conſtantinople* by certain Clergy-men, of being ſecretly a *Samaritan*, and of Cruelty and Impiety exerciſed againſt the *Chriſtians*, that had been ſubject to his Juriſdiction. The Emperour was wonderfully concerned, that the Cauſe of Chriſtianity ſhould ſuffer during his Government, and the matter was brought before the Senate,

where at the inſtance of *Cæſar* he was baniſhed. But ſee the Ingenuity, and Piety of the Prince. *Juſtinian* corrupted with a great ſum of Money (as much as he would ask) reſcinds the Judgment given in Senate, and *Fauſtinus* maintains himſelf in his accuſtomed Port, frequents the Court, manages the Affairs of the Emperour in *Paleſtine* and *Phœnicia* without Controll, and according to his own Luſt and Pleaſure. Thus much in ſhort ſaith our Authour, to give the Reader to underſtand how *Juſtinian* at his Pleaſure broke the Sanctions or Canons of Chriſtians: As for his reſcinding of Laws, out of no other Conſideration than for filthy lucre; I come now to declare it, in as few words. There was one *Priſcus* amongſt the *Emeſeni*, exceedingly dextrous in Counterfeiting another Man's hand. And this muſt alſo be remembred, that many years before one *Mammianus* a man of Patritian Dignity, of great Nobility, and as great Riches, had made the Church of the ſaid *Emeſeni* his Heir.

He reſcinds Eccleſiaſtical Sanctions and Canons at Pleaſure.

52. Afterward when *Juſtinian* came to the Empire, it hapned that this *Priſcus* being to take a Roll of all the Families in that City, obſerved well ſuch as were Wealthy amongſt them, and in thoſe noting their Anceſtours, he counterfeited many Bills, as written with their own Hands, whereby they acknowledged that *Mammianus* had depoſited very much Money with them. By this means he ſcraped together no leſs than an hundred Centenaries, or ten thouſand pounds of Gold; but here was not all. He ſo counterfeited the Hand of a certain publick Notary of great Repute, and as great deſert, who had been wont in the days of *Mammianus* to draw Inſtruments for the Citizens, that he delivered thoſe pretended Bonds, into the hands of the Solicitours of the Church, who had bargained with him for part of the Money to be received. But the thing could not take by reaſon of that Law, which confined all Actions within the Preſcription of thirty Years; and as for the *Hypothecarii* and certain others, it barred them by an Exception which pleaded above forty Years continuance. Preſſed with this Inſuperable difficulty, they go to *Conſtantinople*; they get Admiſſion to the Emperour, whoſe Authority alone could ſurmount it, and Preſenting him with a great ſum of Gold, beg he would be their Friend, and ſtand by them in their buſineſs. He takes the Money, and preſently makes a new Law, whereby he inlarges the time of proſecuting Actions in Church matters, to the term of one hundred Years; not onely at *Emeſa*, but throughout the whole Empire. This being as the Authour relates it, we ſee the occaſion of the Centenary Preſcription granted by him to Churches; and hence it appears, that it was not onely granted to the Church of *Rome*, as ſome would gather from his ninth Novel, but to all others diſperſed through the *Roman* State.

The Preſcription of an hundred years for Churches.

53. According to the Tenour of the new Law, he ſends one *Longinus* an Induſtrious man, and one of a ſtrong Conſtitution to act at *Emeſa*, before whom the Procuratours accuſe the *Emeſenians*, by the feigned Bonds of owing no leſs than two hundred pounds of Gold; and being not able to trace the Truth in ſo large and dark a ſpace of time, they were preſently Condemned. Moſt of the Citizens were like to be utterly undone by this Courſe of proceeding, when it pleaſed Almighty God by his Providence to moderate it. *Longinus* commands *Priſcus* the Inventour of this Miſchief to bring all his Papers to him, which when he refuſed to doe, he gave him ſo ſound a blow on the Ear, that the man fell down, and in great Fear and Aſtoniſhment, thinking that *Longinus* had ſmelt out his Villany, confeſſed the whole Cheat, and ſo a ſtop was put to their Proceedings. But this we muſt add to this Relation; that *Juſtinian* aſhamed it ſeems of his Centenary Preſcription, and having it beaten often into his Ears, that the great diſtance of time exceeding the Age of man rendred it impoſſible, again revoked it; of which it's a wonder our Authour ſhould take no notice. But poſſibly the Emperour might retract his former Edict, after the two and thirtieth year of his Reign, beyond which the ſecret Hiſtory doth not extend.

Habes in Edicto quinto cui falſus eſt titulus de Litigioſis. Ecce rationem. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ διὰ τοσούτου διαστήματος τοῦ αἰῶνος μᾶλλον ἤπερ τοῦ χρόνου, οὔτε ἡ ἀκεραιότης τῶν ἀποδείξεων, οὔτε ἡ πίστις τῶν πεπραγμένων, οὐδὲ ἡ ἡλικία ἰσχύει βοηθῆσαι τοῖς μάρτυσι.

But he revoked it.

54. Not onely did *Juſtinian* handle, almoſt every day, the *Roman* Laws in this manner, but indeavoured alſo to deſtroy thoſe which the Hebrews imbrace and Reverence. For in Caſe their Paſſover happened before the *Chriſtian-Eaſter*, they were not ſuffered to perform the Ceremonies at their due and uſual time. And moſt of them were grievouſly fined for eating Lambs fleſh at that time, contrary to the uſual Practice, and the Chriſtian Canons. From theſe Inſtances, our Hiſtorian conceives he hath ſufficiently proved the Emperour's naughty diſpoſition; and having now almoſt tired himſelf, he talkes of making an end, after he ſhall have but a little ſhewn his Craft and Diſſimulation. But here before we go any farther, we ſhall add what *Alemannus* hints to us, out of *Theophanes* touching this matter of Changing days, that not onely did *Juſtinian* deal thus with the *Jews*,

but with Chriſtians alſo in the Celebration of *Eaſter*. For in the nineteenth year of his Reign, the People began to abſtain from Fleſh on the fourth day of *February*. But the Emperour commanded that Fleſh ſhould be eaten another Week, and accordingly the Butchers killed and expoſed it to ſale, but no Body either bought or taſted it. Yet *Eaſter* was begun as the Emperour commanded, and the People faſted one Week ſuperfluouſly. Now for Proſecution of the Argument of Diſſimulation, we are to know, that *Juſtinian* put *Liberius* the Patritian lately mentioned out of his Government, which he beſtowed upon *John* an *Ægyptian*, Sirnamed *Laxarion*. This being known by *Pelagius*, who was a great Friend of *Liberius*, he deſires to be ſatisfied of the Emperour, if the Report concerning *Laxarion* were true? He utterly denies it, and gives his Letters into the Hands of *Pelagius*, whereby was confirmed to *Liberius* his former Charge, and affirms he had no Intention at preſent to diſplace him.

Ἐγένετο διαστροφὴ περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πάσχα καὶ ἐποίησαν οἱ δῆμοι τὴν ἀποκρεώσιμον μηνὶ Φεβρουαρίῳ τετάρτῃ. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς, &c.

His Diſſimulation.

55. But at this time reſided at *Conſtantinople*, one *Eudæmon* the Uncle of *John*, a man of Conſular Dignity, very Wealthy and *Cæſar's* Steward, who hearing what had lately paſſed betwixt the Emperour and *Pelagius*, demanded of him whether he continued firm in his Reſolution as to his Nephew's preferment. *Juſtinian* diſſembling what he had written to *Liberius*, ſends alſo his Letters to *John*, bidding him to look to his Charge and mind his buſineſs, for he had nothing otherwiſe determined concerning him. Hereupon *John* commands *Liberius* as a man out of Office, to remove himſelf out of the Palace, which he denied, ſhewing alſo his Commiſſion from *Cæſar*. They both arm and fight: Many are ſlain on both ſides, and *John* falls amongſt the reſt. Then doth *Eudæmon* importune the Emperour that *Liberius* may be ſummoned to give Account of his Nephew's death, which is accordingly done, and the matter being brought before the Senate, he is abſolved, as having done what neceſſity conſtrained, and in his own defence; but the Emperour would not acquit him, till he had fleeced him of a round ſum of Money, ſo great a Patron was he of Truth and Friendſhip. But it happened that not long after, *Eudæmon* dies Inteſtate, leaving a numerous kindred behind him, and much about the ſame time, *Euphratas* chief of the *Palatine* Eunuchs, leaving alſo a great Eſtate, and a Nephew by his Siſter; but no Teſtament. Of both theſe *Juſtinian* makes himſelf Heir, not beſtowing one Farthing on thoſe, whom the Laws called to the Succeſſion. In like manner did he deal with the Relations of *Irenæus*, who was dead long before.

56. About the ſame time, *Anatolius* chief of the Senatours of *Aſcalon* married his Daughter to *Mammilianus* the moſt Noble of all the *Cæſareans*. There was an Ancient Law, that when the Senatours of any City died without Iſſue-male, the fourth part of their Eſtate ſhould come to the Senate, and the reſt be enjoyed by their Heirs: Now *Juſtinian* makes a Law quite contrary, that in ſuch a Caſe their Heirs ſhould have but a fourth part, and all the reſt ſhould remain to the Senate and publick Treaſury, although it never had been formerly known, that any Goods of the Senatours came either into the publick Treaſury, or that of *Cæſar*. But ſuch being now the Law, *Anatolius* dies and his Daughter pays what was due by the late Law to the Treaſury and the Senate, receiving Diſcharges both from the Emperour and the Senate of *Aſcalon*. At length *Mammilianus* dies too and leaves a Daughter, which being married to a Noble-man, dies alſo at length without Iſſue, leaving her Mother alive. *Juſtinian* preſently ſeizeth on all they left, openly ſaying, that by no means the Daughter of *Anatolius* being now grown old, ought to enjoy the Fortunes of her Father and Husband: Onely to keep her from begging or ſtarving, he allowed her for her Life a Golden ſtater a day, adding this in the Inſtrument of this Rapine; We beſtowed on her this Stater, out of our innate Piety and Clemency, for by our Actions it is our Cuſtome, to expreſs the Holy and Pious diſpoſition of our mind. This is enough, ſaith our Authour, more would be Irkſome; but I believe it impoſſible for any man to remember all.

Ὡς τὸν στατῆρα προεῖται τῆς εὐσεβείας ἕνεκα τοῦτον, ἔθος γὰρ μοι τά τε ὅσια καὶ εὐσεβῆ πράττειν.

57. Yet he cannot make an end, but conceives it material to add that in Reſpect to his Covetouſneſs, the very Faction of the *Veneti*, however addicted to him, were very little regarded. *Malthanes* a *Cilician*, Son-in-Law to *Leo*, a Referendary formerly mentioned, was ſent into *Cilicia*, to Compoſe all Seditions ariſing in that Countrey. Taking advantage of the time, he handles unmercifully very many *Cilicians*, and ſome of the Money he Charges upon the Tyrant; another part he himſelf doth own. All others bore the miſchief as Perſons conſtrained ſo to doe: Onely ſuch as were of the Faction, of the *Veneti* at *Tarſus*, hoping well from the Aſſiſtence of the Empreſs, openly reviled *Malthanes* in the *Forum*. He having notice of it, gathers together a band of Men, and coming to

Tarſus by Night, ſends his Souldiers by break of day to plunder the Town. The *Veneti* looking upon it no otherwiſe than as the Invaſion of an Enemy, every one ſtood upon his Guard, and in the dark many being killed, amongſt the reſt fell *Damianus* a Senatour, and chief of the Faction of the *Veneti* at *Tarſus.* The News of his Death no ſooner came to *Conſtantinople*, but the *Veneti* began to make diſturbance throughout the City, and heavily to Rail at *Leo* and *Malthanes,* whom they loaded with all Indignities and Threats, which Words could not but offend the Emperour; pretending to be very much diſpleaſed, with what was laid to the Charge of *Malthanes*, by an Edict commanded Inquiſition to be made. But *Leo* by a vaſt ſum of Money extinguiſhed both the violence of the Edict, and the Emperour's Good Will toward the *Veneti*; who having given Order, that the Proceſs ſhould fall, received *Malthanes* at his coming to Court, with all poſſible kindneſs. Yet the *Veneti* ſet upon him, and wounded him as he came out of the Palace: And had certainly ſlain him, but that *Leo* hired ſome of the Company to ſtop the proceedings of their Fellows.

58. A Noble piece of Juſtice! To ſuffer ſuch violence to be committed in his own Court under his Noſe, and Sacrifice all things, how pretious ſoever, to his covetous and ſordid Humour. But behold yet farther, what affection he bore, like a true Father of his Countrey, to the publick Good. The former Princes, that they might have a ſpeedy Account, what was done or Practiſed in each Province, either by their Enemies, or their Turbulent and ſeditious Subjects; how their Officers behaved themſelves; that they might be advertiſed of any Accident or memorable Occurrence, as alſo, to convey up quickly and ſafely the Annual Tributes and Impoſitions, ordained certain Poſts or Carriers after this manner. Betwixt every ſtage, or in an whole days Travelling, they cauſed to be made eight Inns or places of Refreſhment; ſometimes fewer, but never under five. In each Inn were kept nigh forty Horſes fit for Service, and as many Men to manage them, who ſucceeding to one another, and ſtill taking freſh Horſes; ſometimes would Letters or any other things be conveyed in one day, as far as ordinarily they could paſs in ten. This beſides the Convenience of paſſage, tended much to the Inrichment of the Inland Countries, the Inhabitants whereof put off their Proviſions, both for Man and Horſe at very good Rates to the *Quæſtors.* Such as ſerved the publick in this Employment, brought the Money they received to the Treaſury, thence received their Wages, and ſo the whole buſineſs was managed to the great Convenience and advantage of the State. But *Juſtinian* took away the Poſt, that lay between *Chalcedon* and *Dacibiza*, and compelled all Paſſengers in little Boats, to go from *Conſtantinople* as far as *Helonopolis*, though in paſſing the *Straits* they were in great Danger to be caſt away. The Poſt lying toward *Perſia* he left as he found, but throughout the other parts of the Eaſt, as far as to the Borders of *Ægypt*, he left not ſo much as one ſingle Inn, or Stable of Horſes in a whole days Journey, but ſome of Aſſes. Whereupon the deſign of Intelligence was almoſt quite daſhed, and Proviſions lay upon the Hands of the Countreymen; who as we ſaid, were formerly wont to put them off at very good Rates.

He takes away Poſts.

59. He dealt in the ſame manner with the Intelligencers or Spies, who had been wont to be employed, at the publick Charge, under pretence of Merchandizing to paſs into the Enemies Countrey, and even into the Court of *Perſia*, where having covered their Intentions, they returned with all Convenient ſpeed, and made Report to the Prince; who by this means was ſecured from a ſurprize on all occaſions. But he ſuffered *Choſroes* the *Perſian* King, to outdoe him in this point, who giving better Penſions, had ever his Spies reſident at *Conſtantinople*, and carried it ſo cunningly, that though they ſtill diſcovered all to the *Perſians*; yet were the *Romans* quite in the dark, as to the matter of *Lazica*, and which way *Choſroes* would take his Courſe. A great number of Camels alſo were wont to be maintained at the publick Charge to follow Armies, and convey the Baggage, that the Souldiers might have all Neceſſaries, and the Countrey might not be burthened by preſſing of Carriages. But *Juſtinian* took them all away to the great hindrance of his Expeditions. Now the Authour ſays, he will tell you ſomething of his Ridiculous Tricks. There was one *Evangelus* an Advocate of *Cæſarea*, a man of good Repute, who grew very rich both in Land and Monies, and at laſt bought *Porphyrio* a Maritime Village for three Centenaries, or three hundred prounds of Gold.

Diſcourages Spies.

And Camels.

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* Ὕστερον δὲ καὶ κώμην ἐπιθαλασσίαν Πορφυρείωνα ὄνομα τριῶν χρυσίων κεντηναρίων ἐπρίατο. *Etiamſi pagum vocet tamen talis fuit ut Epiſcopi eſſet Sedes. Nam Juſtiniani tempore Theodorus eam rexit Eccleſiam, cui ſucceſſit Chriſtophorus qui Concilio Conſtantinopoli à Menna celebrato interfuit. In Actis Synodicis ſubſcribit,* Χριστόφορος Πορφυρεῶνος φοινίκης παραλίας. *Unde notat Alemannus ſcribendum* Πορφυρεῶνα *non* Πορφυρειῶνα *eſt nomen* δεικτικόν. *Ibi fortaſſe Tyrii purpuras piſcabantur.*

Juſtinian coming to know it, gave him a very little and inconſiderable piece of Money, and took it from him, ſaying it was a ſhame, that *Evangelus* an Advocate ſhould be Maſter of ſo conſiderable a Village.

Requires ſervile Reſpect to be paid him by Senatours.

60. At length this Bundle of Accuſations, our Authour wraps up in a farther Account of ſome things, wherein *Juſtinian* and *Theodora* were Innovatours. In times paſt, the Senatours ſaluted the Emperour after this manner. Thoſe of Patritian Rank bowed down, and did Reverence as low as his right Pap, and *Cæſar* as he ſo drew back kiſſed him on the Head; the reſt kneeled down on their right Knee and departed: As for the Empreſs, there was no certain Courſe of paying Reſpect to her. But when they came into the Preſence of *Juſtinian* and *Theodora*, as well Patritians as others, preſently they fell on their Faces, and with Feet and Hands ſtretched out, kiſſed each Foot and ſo withdrew. She alſo gave Audience to Ambaſſadours, a thing never heard of before, and preſented them at their Departure, as being Miſtreſs of the *Roman* Empire. Of old, ſuch as ſpake to the Emperour or Empreſs, called them by thoſe Names and no other, and other Princes as their Order, and Dignity required. But ſuch as ſpake with either of theſe, and called not him Lord, and her Lady, and themſelves their Slaves, were accounted Rude and Sawcy, and rejected as Uncivil. Formerly very few, and that rarely came to Court; but now as well as Magiſtrates, all others ſpent their time there. And whereas Judges gave Sentence, and buſineſs was done for Clients either at home or in the uſual places of Judicature without moleſting the Prince, who left all to their own Freedom; *Juſtinian* and his Wife to the utter undoing of their Subjects, called all their matters before themſelves, and tyed them to this ſlaviſh Attendance. The Tribunals and the *Forum*, one might ſee almoſt every day without a man in them, but *Cæſar*'s Palace Crowded with perpetual Attendants. Their greateſt Familiars there paſſed all the day, and much of the Night ſpent with Watching and Hunger. Such as were freed from theſe Cares, were wont to talk and enquire amongſt themſelves, what was become of the Wealth of the *Romans*, and affirm that part of it was taken away by Barbarians, and the reſt thruſt into Holes and Corners by the Emperour. But when *Juſtinian* ſhall once dye (if ſo be he be a man) whether the Prince of the *Dæmons* ſhall deſtroy mankind, they that are then alive by experience will find.

The ſecret Hiſtory, a Fardel of ſtuff.

61. So concludes at length the pretended *Anecdota*, or ſecret Hiſtory of *Procopius*, a work as extravagant in its Form and Compoſition, as is the matter therein contained. Incredible it is, that a man who had digeſted his other Hiſtories into very good Order, according to the Variety of their Subjects, ſhould patch up ſuch a Fardel of Accuſations with the greateſt Confuſion imaginable, joynting them onely, a Company of Tautologies with trifling Obſervations, and twenty times repeated Exclamations. The ſtyle of it is ſlanting, and nothing ever was ſo full of Oſtentation. Nothing can the Authour relate, but with a Periphraſis. No Sentence but full of ſuperfluous Particles, nothing becoming the Gravity of an Hiſtorian; but the Inſinuations of a Sophiſt. His frequent Tranſitions, Epilogues, and an hundred times reiterated Obſervations upon divers particulars, and thoſe of the ſlighteſt moment imaginable, cannot but Nauſeate the Reader. In this Libel you have one word no ſeldomer than ſix hundred times repeated, to ſpeak of no more; and indeed ſcarcely is there one ſtory or paſſage told, with any moderate Art, Care or Circumſpection. There are thoſe that excuſe him, becauſe he wrote *Anecdota*, or a ſecret Hiſtory, which they accuſe as generally Obnoxious to ſuch impertinences and diſadvantages, as *Tully* himſelf pleaded in his own behalf. But let any one ſhew ſuch a Fardel of indigeſted ſtuff, Fathered upon any Man, but of tolerable Abilities: Certainly a man of Reaſonable parts, though he wrote that which he would have concealed, could not have his thoughts ſo broken or diſordered, as to obſerve no Order, Method or Rule whatſoever. His Fears and Jealouſies muſt be mighty high to put him into ſo much diſorder. And he muſt have been as puſillanimous as *Beliſarius* himſelf, whom he will have to have carried himſelf with that baſeneſs or dejectedneſs of Mind, upon apprehenſion of Death. His opportunities elſe of ſecrecy muſt have been very little; his Locks and Bolts very weak, or the Man ſo poor that he could not purchaſe any cloſe Cabinet, wherein to lay his Papers as he wrote them. Doubtleſs his Perturbation of mind was very high, or his Art was exceeding mean and deſpicable.

Ut τόδε γινέσθαι ξυνηνέχθη, ξυνέβη, ξυνέπεσε, τετύχηκε.

Ἀηίζομαι.

Alemannus.

Publiſhed by *Alemannus.*

62. Such as he is, he appeared not in Print, till *Alemannus* (whoſe learned Notes make amends for his rude ſtory) publiſhed him out of the Vatican Library, in the ſixteen hundred and twenty third year of our Lord. In that Library he found two moth-eaten Copies, the one tranſcribed from the other; but both of them

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them without either Names of the Authour, or Title of the work; both of them without beginning, and the more Ancient without Concluſion, and each of them full of Gaps and void places; in which the Authour often promiſes he would tell many things, he never tells, and diſcovers ſo many Defects, that as it were through the Crannies, you may diſcover *Procopius* writing in ſtealth and haſte, or forgetting himſelf out of Perturbation of mind, ſaith the Publiſher. For to come to the point, he concludes the Book was written by *Procopius*, and gives it the Title of ἀνέκδοτα from *Suidas*, who ſignifies that he wrote a Book under this Name, concerning the matters of *Juſtinian*, wherein were contained Accuſations and Cenſures of him, and his Wife *Theodora*, as alſo *Beliſarius*, and *Antonina* his Wife. He farther informs us, that there were two other Copies of this Book (the uſe of which in ſetting forth this of the Vatican, he much wanted and deſired) *viz.* One brought by *John Laſcaris* from *Conſtantinople* to *Lawrence de Medicis*, which as was reported *Catharine de Medicis*, the Queen, carried with her into *France*, which yet the *French*-men enquire after in Foreign Libraries; and another belonging to *John Vincentius Pinellus*, which was loſt at Sea in a Voyage to *Naples*; but ſome Fragments were taken out of it by *Peter Pithæus*, and *Guidus Pancirollus*, who alſo affirm, that the Title of it was *Anecdota*. Now by this name Authours were wont to call, ſuch Hiſtories as they intended to conceal from the Age in which they lived; as *Cicero* calls his Hiſtory, which he began of the *Roman* ſtate (derided by *Q. Fuſius Calenus*, as *Dio* tells us) wherein he Cenſured the Actions, Manners and Diſpoſitions of the Great men of his time, and wrote it for his own Satisfaction, and the Information of *Pomponius*, and Poſterity.

Who will have *Procopius* the Authour.

Τὸ βιβλίον Προκοπίου τὸ καλούμενον ΑΝΕΚΔΟΤΑ, &c.

Ἀνέκδοτα, *ſive* ἀνέκδοτος ἱστορία. *Quam ſcil. in Abditiſſimo loco Author recondidit, neq; ut reliquos libros* ἐξέδωκεν, *Evulgavit.*

63. *Nicephorus* indeed it's owned, reckoning up the works of *Procopius*, mentions one that was written againſt *Juſtinian*, but he calls it not ἀνέκδοτα, but ἀντίῤῥησιν, or a Detractation of thoſe Commendations whereby he had formerly ſo much extolled him. Hereby, as *Alemannus* gathers, it ſufficiently appears that he never ſaw this Secret Hiſtory. Neither, you are to know, did any of the ancient Hiſtorians, who though they accuſe *Juſtinian* of divers things, yet cite nothing out of this Book, nor the later Writers, as *Alemannus* confeſſeth, who write things quite contrary to it; onely *Suidas*, as appears by his *Collectanea* tranſcribed the better part of it, and by a Collation of his Collections with the Text of this Hiſtory, *Alemannus* would have his Readers believe, that his and the Edition of *Suidas* were the very ſame. To make us of this mind, he endeavours to poſſeſs us with as evil an opinion of *Juſtinian* as poſſibly he can, heaping up all the hard ſayings he can meet with in all Writers, if not more than all. For example, *Euagrius* mentions and deteſts his exceſſive Avarice, and Rapine, and the vexing of his Subjects, of all Ages and Conditions by moſt ſecret and moſt different Arts, and as vile and Impudent Inſtruments. He adds, that places of Magiſtracy, Governments, and other Offices he Sold, and built his Churches, Hoſpitals, and Monaſteries out of the Spoils of private men. He affirms that he nouriſhed the Faction of the *Veneti*, permitting them to make ſlaughter of the *Praſini*, and to fill all places with Murthers, Rapines and Devaſtations. In the beginning of his Reign, he preſerved the Grandeur and Dignity of the *Roman* Empire, to his great Commendation, but when he grew old, he ſo failed of his Duty or Abilities, that he ſuffered it to decay, and made it Tributary, as *Menander* writes, not onely to the *Perſians*, but the *Hunnes*, *Saracens*, and other ſorts of Barbarous People. *Heſychius Mileſius*, an Hiſtorian Contemporary with *Procopius*, derided *Juſtinian*'s Levity, for believing what *Tribonianus* flatteringly told him, that he ſhould be taken up alive into Heaven. Concerning his Frauds and Deceits, *Agathias* hath written more largely than *Procopius*, inſtancing in his Tricks, and producing the Copies of his Letters written to the Leaders of the *Hunnes*, whereby he ſet them together by the Ears, and cauſed them to deſtroy each other by inteſtine Wars. He mentions alſo his cruel, unjuſt and impious Rapines, committed againſt both the Children living, and the deceaſed Parents.

Nicephorus Calliſti. l. 17. *c.* 10.

From *Suidas*. And other Teſtimonies againſt *Juſtinian*.

64. Farther, *Gregory* the Biſhop of *Tours*, and the Hiſtorian of the *Franks*, tells a very good ſtory how *Juliana Amica*, a moſt choice and Noble Matron, deluded his Avarice. *Victor Tunnenſis* relates, that *Vitalianus* General of the Army, was made away by his Faction. *Liberatus* mentions his Cruelty and Tyranny againſt the Biſhops of the Eaſt and Weſt, and the Popes of *Rome*. On the contrary he incouraged the *Patriarchs* of *Conſtantinople* in their ambitious practices, and firſt of all Emperours gave them the title of *Oecumenical* or Univerſal, they arriving at that impious boldneſs, through his Countenance and favour, as to bear up with the *Roman* Biſhop, and hardly to give place to the Head of the Church. And to this

great wickedneſs he added this Crime alſo, that he indeavoured to confirm and eſtabliſh by his Sanction, the Canons of the *Conſtantinopolitan* and *Chalcedonian* Councils, whereby prerogative was given to the Biſhops of that City. As for *Theodora* his Wife, her wicked practices both againſt God and Man were ſo notorious, that *Alemannus* thinks he needs not cite any Authours for Confirmation of his Aſſertion, onely brings the Irreſragable Teſtimony, and Infallible Judgment and Sentence of Cardinal *Baronius* founded upon the Reports of ancient Hiſtorians, though he never ſaw as he confeſſeth the *Anecdota* of *Procopius*. By this Book he affirmeth that the writings of the later Hiſtorians are to be corrected. Yet where they ſpeak againſt *Juſtinian*, their Teſtimonies by all means are to be imbraced. For many though they ſaw not this Book, yet recite and confirm the report of his wicked Life. *Theophanes* tells ſomething, and ſo do *Iſaurus* an Holy man, the Authour of the *Alexandrian* Chronicle, *Johannes Antiochenus* and *Suidas:* Something alſo *Anaſtaſius* the Vatican Library-keeper, *Paulus Diaconus* and *Aimoinus:* but *Zonaras*, *Cedrenus*, *Nicephorus*, *Euphræmius* and other Chroniclers give us them by bundles. All theſe had their materials from thoſe Writers that were the Contemporaries of *Procopius*, and wrote the ſame things of *Juſtinian* as he did. Theſe were *Heſychius*, *Agathias*, *Menander Protector*, *Euagrius*, *Johannes Epiphanienſis*, *Cyrillus Scythopolitanus*, *Theophilus* the School-Maſter of *Juſtinian*, *Innocentius Maronianus*, *Euſtathius Byzantius*; and of the Latin Authours, *Victor Tunnenſis*, *Flavius Creſconius*, *Corippus*, *Gregorius Turonenſis*, *Liberatus Afer*, *Facundus Hermianenſis* and many others.

65. But there's no need, ſaith he, of urging their Teſtimony in this matter, there being Domeſtick witneſſes enough to convince the world, that *Procopius* was no Lyer. Theſe are *Juſtinian* himſelf, *Juſtin* his Uncle, and *Juſtin* the younger his Siſters Son, who being ready to be deſtroyed by the Seditious *Veneti* and *Praſini*, reſtrained their Rage by words, which ſhewed *Juſtinian* to have been Authour of all theſe miſchiefs. *Behold Citizens*, ſaith he, *let an end be put at laſt to theſe publick Calamities. Know ye Veneti, that Juſtinian is Dead as to you; and ye Praſini, that as to you he ſtill liveth.* As for the Infamous Courſes of *Theodora*, her Life and Education, there is yet extant a Conſtitution of *Juſtin* the Elder, whereby it is made lawfull for Senatours to marry Women of baſe Condition. And for the third part of the Hiſtory concerning *Juſtinian*'s Crimes, though he himſelf confeſs them not, yet he openly acknowledgeth, and ſeriouſly declares the ſource of all theſe miſchiefs, owning that he had taken her to be a Partner of his Councils, who was given him by God, his moſt pious Wife. All Writers plainly affirm, that his Reign had been fortunate, if he had not been Counſelled and Governed by her in the management of his Buſineſs. But *Alemannus* farther urgeth, *Procopius* by his other Books, ſufficiently eſtabliſheth the truth of his Secret Hiſtory; for therein he jejunely commends *Juſtinian*, but lays large Foundations of cenſure and reproach, mentioning more and greater Crimes than he lays to his charge in this Treatiſe, and ſufficiently diſcovering his Cruelty, Avarice, unfaithfulneſs to his Friends, breach of Faith toward his Enemies; his hatred of good men, his love of wicked men, his violating of all Law, Divine and Humane, and ſubjecting all things to the Imperious Humour and Luſt of *Theodora*.

Hæc omnia apud nos Cogitantes & hic quoq; participem Concilii ſumpſimus eam, quæ à Deo data eſt nobis, Piiſſimam Conjugem.

66. For inſtance, he durſt not take *John* the *Cappadocian* out of her Hands, nor prevent the effects of her Implacable Malice, but though moſt dear to him, was forced to baniſh him, and could not reſtore him till after her Death. Though he had concluded Peace with *Choſroes*, he hired *Alamundarus* and the *Hunnes* to make War upon him, to the great detriment of the Empire. The Garriſon Souldiers for want of Pay he cauſed to Revolt. Beſides thoſe at home with him, in the Camp he had two eminent Inſtruments of his covetous Practices, *viz. John* the *Quæſtor* of his Army, who, to ſpare the Emperours money, with naughty Bread deſtroyed a great multitude of Souldiers; and *Alexander Forſicula*, out of hatred to whom, they induſtriouſly ſuffered themſelves to be worſted in *Italy*. Out of Covetouſneſs he inſtituted his *Logothetæ*, and aboliſhed all Degrees of Honours at *Rome*. He preferred the moſt wicked of men to places of Truſt and Dignity, as *Acacius* and *John Zibus*. Theſe things and many others he publiſhed in thoſe Volumes, which he gave *Juſtinian* himſelf to reade, who was not offended with them; and afterward he publiſhed an eighth Book, in which he no more ſpared him, than he had done in his former. For he again inſiſts upon the Souldiers want of Pay, complains that due preparations for War were neglected; again Condemns *Juſtinian's* prodigality in the entertainment of *Iſdigunas*, the inſolent *Perſian* Ambaſſadour. Declares that the affairs of the Empire were come to that paſs, that a yearly Tri-

bute was paid to the *Perſians*, and great gifts were given to the *Hunnes*, who made perpetual excurſions into the *Roman* Territories. And he reprehends *Juſtinian's* unſeaſonable Levity and Indulgence to his Officers, eſpecially to his Commanders, which brought very much prejudice to the Commonwealth. To conclude this point, ſaith our Publiſher, leſt we be tedious; *Procopius* ſeems ſo to have compoſed his *Anecdota* and his other Books which he preſented to *Juſtinian*, that ſcarcely is there any thing in his ſecret Hiſtory, which by his own confeſſion you may not prove out of his former works.

His Arguments examined.

67. Theſe are the Arguments by which *Alemannus* will move us not to queſtion the Authority of this Book. But firſt it's no ſmall wonder that it ſhould lie concealed ſo long, and never appear till almoſt the other day. That others of the Ancients ſhould not have as good opportunity to ſee it as *Suidas*, and that ſo many that have ranſackt the *Vatican* Library, ſhould never light of it in any Age; for although *Baronius* was not able to know it, though it lay before his Eyes, he was ſo ignorant of the Greek Language, yet it's a matter nigh to a Miracle, that his Holineſs ſhould neither have a Library Keeper, nor any other Learned Attendant nor Student, who could underſtand that Tongue till *Alemannus* chanced to ſtumble upon it. Certainly the fortune of the other two Copies was almoſt Prodigious, that the one ſhould be drown'd, and the other loſt and never to be found; that *France* ſhould be ſo barren of Learned men in the time of *Catharine de Medicis*, that none ſhould be ſenſible of the worth of ſuch a Jewel, but ſuffer it utterly to periſh. Is there not a ſhrewd ſuſpicion that *Cujacius* or ſome other Learned Lawyer met with it, and burnt it as a ſcandalous Libel againſt *Juſtinian*? But in truth, whoever wrote it, it may be termed a ſcandalous Libel againſt *Procopius*, doing almoſt as much prejudice to his Reputation, as it hurts the memory of the Emperour; So pitifull a piece of ſtuff it is, that the Writer muſt either have been very weak in his Intellectuals, or not himſelf when he wrote it. And can *Alemannus* excuſe the matter by the Authour's fear and apprehenſion of Danger? Could his *Procopius*, a man of ſuch freedom and boldneſs, who durſt preſent to *Juſtinian* himſelf, Books wherein ſo ſevere cenſures of his Actions were contained, be guilty of ſo great puſillanimity? Could he who durſt look a Tyrant (as this Treatiſe makes him) in the face, and tell him his faults to his teeth, degenerate into ſo much Cowardiſe, as neither to truſt to the Juſtice of his Cauſe, the goodneſs of the Fact, nor privacy of his own Cabinet? but as he ſtories it of *Beliſarius*, at every word to peep and look if any body ſaw him, and to be ſeized with ſuch perturbation of mind, as not to be Maſter of his own thoughts, nor to write a Diſcourſe with any tolerable method, or other qualifications except that of bitterneſs?

68. That which carries moſt ſtrength with it is, that *Suidas* mentions a Book written by him under ſuch a name, and that as well he as *Euagrius* ſay the ſame things, as the Authour of this private Hiſtory doth concerning *Juſtinian*. This indeed makes it ſomewhat probable, that *Procopius* wrote ſuch a Book, and that if we conſider what manner of Book that of *Suidas* is, its Teſtimony again will be very much weakned. For firſt, ſome Copies of it tell us, that *Juſtinian* was 'Αναλφάβητος or void of all Learning, which is moſt falſe, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, even by the Confeſſion of *Alemannus*. Then if we may credit *Poſſenine* the Jeſuite, very many things are falſely inſerted into *Suidas*, as *à Sciolis & Schiſmaticis*, by Smatterers and Schiſmaticks, and thoſe things are repugnant to Evangelical truth and Hiſtorical ſincerity. But admit *Suidas* for the Authour of ſuch Stories, as there we find concerning *Juſtinian*, he is in no caſe of equal Authority and Credit to thoſe Authours, which make contrary Relations to thoſe of his. He was an earneſt defender of very groſs Errours, and ſided with ſuch as were given to Lies and Fables. But rather to give you the Jeſuite's Judgment of him, he tells you he was heretical, and that the Book going under his Name is full of Errours, Fables and Lies; as for inſtance thoſe amongſt many others; That the World was made of the Poetical Chaos; that it ſhall continue twelve hundred thouſand years; that the Sun and Stars are fiery Subſtances, fed and perpetuated by terreſtrial humours; that Paradiſe is *Hortus Penſilis*, or a Garden hanging in the Air far above the Earth; that *Cain* was begotten of the Devil; that the Jews worſhipped the Head of an Aſſe, and every ſeventh year Sacrificed a Stranger: In his Narration in the word *Nero*, touching *Annas* and *Cajaphas*, *Peter*, *Pilate* and *Simon Magus*, he forgeth many things: His ſtory in the word *Julianus*, he calleth *mendacium flagitioſiſſimum*, or a moſt lewd Lie. As alſo his ſlandring *Conſtantine* the Great as baſe born, and his Son *Criſpus* as Inceſtuous: His commending of *Acatius* and *Aceſius* two Hereticks, to which he adds, that he writes many things againſt the truth of Hiſtory.

What Credit is to be given to the Book of *Suidas*.

In Appar. verb. Suidas.

69. In his Relation in the word *Apollonius*, he praiſeth many things which are monſtrous and utterly to be exploded, and ſeemeth to allow the impious art of Magick and of Divinations. He approves of *Apollonius* and *Danis* two wicked Magicians, who are both Condemned to Hell. And to omit very many of this kind of Impieties and Fables which abound in *Suidas*, his Narration (*in verbo Jeſus*), *Baronius* not onely rejecteth, but Pope *Paul* the fourth for that cauſe beſides ſome others, exploded the Book of *Suidas*, and placed it in the Rank and Number of prohibited Books. Such a worthy Witneſs is *Suidas*, concerning whoſe reviling *Juſtinian*, *Gothofrid* makes little account, eſteeming his words no ſlander, and imbracing the quite contrary Opinion. As for *Euagrius*, where he follows Authours of better Note, he is not to be Contemned; but in very many things he is too credulous, fabulous and utterly to be rejected. As what Credit can be given to his ſtory of the Monk *Barſanuphius*, whom he reports to have lived in his Cell, wherein he had mewed himſelf up for the ſpace of above fifty years, and neither to have been ſeen by any, nor to have received any Nouriſhment? What a worthy Saint doth he deſcribe *Simeon Moros*, or Saint *Fool* to have been? How doth he commend *Syneſius* who as was formerly ſhewed, though he was perſwaded to be baptized and enter into Orders, yet would not believe the Reſurrection was poſſible. We might farther inſtance in the bloud of *Euphemia*, and ſeveral other idle ſtories; but two there are eſpecially which demonſtrate him, either to have been extremely negligent in the ſearch of truth, or very malitious in perverting it. One is that, *Maximianus* ſucceeded in the Biſhoprick after the Death of *Neſtorius*; an untruth ſo palpable, that none can think *Euagrius* to have been ignorant of theſe manifold and undoubted Records which teſtifie the contrary. The other concerns the Fable touching the Epiſtle and Image of Chriſt, ſent to *Abgarus*, which *Euagrius* points out at large, and commends rhe Epiſtle as a true writing of Chriſt, and celebrated by the Ancients, of theſe two paſſages in their proper places. Here it ſufficeth to ſay that Pope *Gelaſius*, and with him the whole *Roman* Council, having made a long Catalogue of fabulous Writings, and particularly this Epiſtle of Chriſt to *Abgarus*, paſſeth this cenſure on them all: Theſe and all like unto them, we confeſs to have been not onely refuſed, but caſt out of the Church, by the whole *Roman* Catholick and Apoſtolick Church, and we confeſs as well theſe Writings, as the Authours and the followers alſo of them, to be Eternally condemned under the Indiſſoluble bond of an *Anathema*. Such an untrue and fabulous, yea, according to his own Principles, miſerable and accurſed witneſs hath *Alemannus* choſen, to confirm the Authority of his ſecret Hiſtory in conjunction with *Suidas*.

Quæ omnia monſtroſa ſunt & prorſus explodenda.

In Indic. lib. prohibit.

Ante lib. Inſt. valeant calumniæ nos ſinceriora ſequamur.

Lib. 4. *c.* 32.

70. But beſides the invalidating the Teſtimony of theſe Witneſſes, by making them appear infamous upon Record in his own Court, it's eaſie to bring others in behalf of *Juſtinian*, who in point of fame and eſtimation even with *Alemannus* are without exception, and do with a loud and conſenting Voice proclaim that Faith, Piety, Prudence, Juſtice, Clemency, Bounty, and all other Heroical and Princely Vertues were reſplendent in him: Many of theſe being Eccleſiaſtical, we may produce them in a more proper place, where are to be conſidered the Calumnies of *Baronius* againſt this Emperour; for upon ſeveral accounts there to be mentioned, thoſe of that party labour with all their ſtrength to blaſt his memory, and make him appear odious to Poſterity. Yet their Pope *Gregory* and others, in whoſe days the ſame Intereſt and Reaſons which now prevail were unknown, give him vaſt Commendations. *Gregory* often calls him a man of Pious memory, and the Legates of *Otho* of Divine memory: ſo doth *Conſtantine* the Emperour, and the whole ſixth General Council, which a dozen times or more calls him a perſon of pious or Divine memory, and moſt Holy *Juſtinian*. But here *Alemannus* excepts and tells you in his Notes, how in that reſpectfull manner of ſpeech all Writers are wont to mention the Chriſtian Emperours. They ſpeak in the ſame terms of *Anaſtaſius*, who was a notorious Heretick. The Fathers of the ſixth Council give the ſame reſpect to *Theodora*. *Andrew* the Biſhop of *Epheſus* in the tenth Act of the *Chalcedonian* Council, adds to the name of *Theodoſius Junior* ἐν ἁγίοις, and the Authour of the Life of St. *Nilus*, to that of *Theodoſius Senior* ἐν ἀγγέλοις, beſides the *Roman* Council to *Theodorich* King of the *Goths*, though an Arian, gives the addition of *Sanctus Princeps*. The Emperours all ever are called *Sacratiſſimi*, and *Diviniſſimi*. They of themſelves uſe theſe phraſes *Numen Noſtrum*; their Letters are called *Sacræ*, *Divinæ Literæ*, their Court *Sacrum Palatium*, *Domus Divina*, and their very Footſteps *Sacra Veſtigia*. That round kind of Ray or Diadem which Gentiles put about their Gods, and later Chriſtians about the Heads of Saints, are to be ſeen alſo about the Heads of Emperours in their Coins, as a Prerogative not of

Lib. 2. *Indict.* 11. *ep.* 10. & *lib.* 3. *ep.* 4.

Cent. 6. *Act.* 3. &c.

Vid. p. p. 12. & 73.

of Merit but of Imperial and Royal Dignity. Nay that moſt Holy Martyr *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria*, as *Euſebius* tells us, gave to *Valerianus* and *Gratianus* both Pagan Princes, the very appellation of *Sanctiſſimi*.

71. It muſt not be denied, but ſuch terms of Reſpect and Honour were given to Emperours, who were wont to aſſume thoſe and ſuch like to themſelves, *viz. Divinitas noſtra, & Numen noſtrum*, which though ſome later Authours ſo much diſlike and reprehend, yet our Biſhop *Mountague* in conſideration of their high Place and Office, (in which reſpect, he, who beſt may, hath ſaid they are Gods,) excuſeth the Cuſtome. But will *Alemannus* ſay it was a thing of courſe alſo, when Councils or other prudent Perſons would exhort Princes to follow the ways of Deceaſed Emperours, who by flattery could neither be obliged nor diſobliged by downright dealing, to propound to them ſuch baſe and profligate Perſons as this Hiſtory makes *Juſtinian*; or when they would commend their Emperours, to compare them with thoſe who for all manner of Villanies could not but be odious, and ſeemed Devils Incarnate, (ſuch did this Authour think *Juſtinian* really to be,) rather than men? Now the ſixth General Council to expreſs the great Honour they had for *Conſtantine* the Emperour then preſent with them, Proclaimed him to be a new *Conſtantine*, a new *Theodoſius*, a new *Martian*, and a new *Juſtinian*, wiſhing him eternal memory, or praiſe under this Name. A moſt miſerable Praiſe and Commendation had this been, had *Juſtinian* been ſo notorious a Villain; for then the whole General Council had not onely diſhonoured *Conſtantine*, but had wiſhed Honour and Immortal Glory to Tyrants and the Devil himſelf, which kind of Praiſing and Praying as Dr. *Crackenthorp* obſerves, is not very ſuitable to the Piety and Faith of that General Council. If it be ſaid that the Council meant onely in Religious matters, it's eaſie to anſwer that *Alemannus*, *Baronius* and the reſt of that Party, condemn him as much in relation to Church buſineſs, as that of the State, and moſt loud Complaints do they make of great Injuries offered by him to Prelates and their Popes eſpecially, which the Authour of their ſecret Hiſtory as one concerned, now and then Inculcates and promiſes he would declare in particulars; but either the Conſternation of his mind, or Conſciouſneſs that he had already done too much, or want of matter was the cauſe that he proved not ſo good as his word. Had *Juſtinian* been ſo infamous in either reſpect, the ſmell of his memory muſt have been too ſtrong and Rank in the time of the ſixth Council, to have made a perfume wherewith the Fathers intended to make themſelves acceptable to *Conſtantine* there preſent in their Aſſembly.

Novo Juſtiniano æterna memoria. Act. 16, 17, 18.

72. But if Councils be fallible, let us come to Popes, and let *Alemannus* and *Baronius* put both ſorts of Teſtimonies together. Pope *Agatho* one of their Canonized Saints, in his Epiſtle to the Emperour *Conſtantine Pogonatus*, to prove out of the Fathers, that two Natures are in Chriſt, adds; *And above all theſe, Juſtinian the Emperour of Holy memory, a zealous Defender of the true and Apoſtolical Faith teacheth this, whoſe Integrity of Faith did as much exalt the Chriſtian Commonwealth, as by the ſincerity thereof it was pleaſing unto God: and whoſe Religious memory is eſteemed by all Nations worthy of Veneration, ſeeing the Integrity of his Faith ſet out by his Imperial Edicts, is ſpread abroad and praiſed in the whole World.* So *Agatho* with whom conſented and joyned the whole Roman Synod, conſiſting of one hundred twenty five Biſhops, in a Synodal Letter written to the ſame Emperour *Conſtantine*, wherein they exhort him to imitate the Piety and Vertue of *Conſtantine*, *Theodoſius*, of *Martian* and *Juſtinian* the Great, *the laſt indeed but the moſt excellent of them all, whoſe Piety and Vertue reſtored all things into better order.* Thus is *Juſtinian* ſet forth in the Letters of *Agatho* and his Synod, which the ſixth General Council hath approved in theſe words: *Peter* ſpake by the mouth of *Agatho*: *We all conſent to the dogmatical Letters of Agatho, and to the ſuggeſtion of the Holy Synod under him, conſiſting of one hundred twenty five Biſhops.* *Conſtantine* in the name of the whole Council ſaith, *We all with one heart and voice believe and profeſs, and admire the Relation of Agatho, as the Divine voice of St. Peter.* And of his Epiſtles *Domitius* Biſhop of *Pruſias* adds. *I receive and imbrace the ſuggeſtions of the moſt bleſſed Agatho, as inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt, as uttered by the mouth of St. Peter, and written with the fingers of Agatho.* Thus by the Teſtimony of Pope *Agatho*, and an whole *Roman* Synod, confirmed by the ſixth General Council, to be as certain and true as if St. *Peter* or the Holy Ghoſt had uttered the ſame; *Juſtinian* is declared to have been not onely for Faith Orthodox, but for Vertue and Piety renowned, and held in veneration by all Nations, and praiſed of all the World; and to have been more excellent than even *Conſtantine*, *Theodoſius* and *Martian*. It's an even wager thoſe Fathers had never ſeen our Secret Hiſtory.

Præ omnibus æmulator veræ & Apoſtolicæ fidei piæ memoriæ Juſtinianus Auguſtus, &c.

Extat apud. Act. 4. Concil. General. 6.

Ibid. p. 21.

Extremi quidem præſtantiſſimi tamen omnium.

Act. 18. Serm. proſph.

Et Act. 15. 8. 6.
Act. 18. p. 93.

Act. 8. p. 29.

73. Of Authours who wrote in later times *Aimonius* giveth him this farther teſtimony, that *He was for Faith Orthodox, for Piety renowned, a marvellous lover of Equity, and therefore all things co-operated to his Good, and he governed the Empire in an happy manner.* The true *Paulus Diaconus* ſaith to the ſame purpoſe, that *Juſtinian governed the Empire in an happy ſort, and was a Prince for his Faith Catholick, in his Actions upright, and juſt in Judgment; and therefore all things concurred to his Good.* Others (that we may not be too tedious) give him large Epithets for Piety and Vertue, but *Wernerus* his words are to be taken notice of, who writes, that *He was in all things moſt excellent, for in him concurred three things which make a Prince truly glorious,* viz. *Power, by which he overcame his Enemies; Wiſedom, by which he governed the World with juſt Laws; and a Religious Mind towards God's Worſhip, by which he glorified God, and beautified the Churches. Platina* ſpeaking of *Juſtinus* his Succeſſour, ſaith, *He was in nothing like to* Juſtinian, *for he was covetous, wicked, ravenous, and a Contemner both of God and Men;* Whence it muſt follow that according to him *Juſtinian* was bountifull, juſt, religious, and one that had regard both to God and good Men. The *Chronicon Reichſpergenſe* teſtifies, that *He performed many things profitable to the Commonwealth, and ſo ended his Life. Munſter* writes of him, that *He was a juſt and upright Man, and in finding out matters ingenious.* And we ſhall conclude with *Sigonius*, a man as diligent in ſearching out truth, and as induſtrious in turning over the Libraries of *Italy*, as the beſt of *Juſtinian*'s Ill-willers, who ends the Story of his Life, and of the Weſtern Empire, with this teſtimony of him, that *He was a Man deſervedly to be reckoned amongſt a few,* (or, that there were but few ſuch Men) *for he was a Prince renowned both for War and Peace, a famous reſtorer of the ancient* Roman *Glory, and without doubt the laſt as well of the Good as the Valiant Emperours of the Eaſt.*

De geſtis Francorum, lib. 3. *c.* 8.

De geſtis Longobardorum, l. 1. *c.* 25.

Ann. 504.

Ann. 565.

Coſmogr. lib. 4. *in Juſtiniano.*

Vir inter paucos meritò numerandus, quippe Princeps bello, paceq; inclytus ac veteris Romanæ gloriæ Inſtaurator eximius, ac ſine dubio bonorum ſimulac fortium Imperatorum Orientis extremus.

74. And yet his Friends muſt not deny, but that many Faults were committed during his Government. His Dominions were ſo vaſt, that various Accidents muſt needs fall out, and his Reign ſo long, that often neceſſarily muſt they have been repeated. Thoſe that ſee by the Eyes, and hear by the Ears of others, have the leaſt ground to pretend to Infallibility. Therefore no very great wonder it is, if one go about to reconcile the paſſages, which at firſt ſeem to have been very diſſonant, if not contradictory. He might be good himſelf, and yet have the fortune amongſt ſo many various Employments as the Empire afforded, to be ill ſerved. His inclinations might be right and juſt, but diverted by the importunities and petulancy of an evil Wife, even good men, who are unfortunate in that kind, yielding often to that for quietneſs ſake, which, if left to themſelves, they would never have practiſed. At ſuch diſtance it's impoſſible to aſſign and mention thoſe particular Cauſes and Reaſons of his Actions, which might poſſibly be juſtified, were they known. And for other Authours, whoſe Teſtimonies *Alemannus* produceth to ſtrengthen the Character given by this Secret Hiſtory, *Suidas* and *Euagrius*, moſt of them wrote after, and received their Intelligence from them. *Agathias* doth induſtriouſly apologize for *Juſtinian*, and affirmeth, that the decay of Diſcipline amongſt the *Scholarii*, or Pretorian Bands, began before his time, in the Reign of *Zeno* the *Iſaurian*. Whereas the Secret Hiſtorian talks ſo much of his ſavage Cruelty, it appears rather, that he was too mercifull, from the Authentick Writings of *Procopius*, who affirms, that he ſuffered the ill Officers of his Armies to go unpuniſhed, and relates how *Artabanes* and his Complices, though they had conſpired againſt his very Life, were diſmiſſed without any great harm received. As for *Theodora*, he tells us, that ſhe was alway inclinable to aſſiſt diſtreſſed Women. And that ſhe was ſo beautifull, that no skill of Man was able to ſet it forth in words, nor by any Image or Reſemblance to declare it. If therefore *Juſtinian* was overcome with her Beauty, and ſometimes let her reign as the Miſtreſs of his Affections, he is to be blamed, but no man will ſay he ſubmitted to her humour out of malice, or for want of good Nature.

Goth. Hiſt. l. 3.

Ἡ μὲν εἰκὼν εὐπρόσωπος, ἀλλὰ τῆς Βασιλίδος τοῦ κάλλει ἐλάσσων, ἐπεὶ αὐτῆς τὴν εὐπρέπειαν λόγῳ τε φράσαι καὶ ἰνδάλματι ἀπομιμήσασθαι ἀνθρώπῳ γε ὄντι παντάπασιν ἀδύνατον. *Procop. Edific. l.* 1. *de ſtatua Theodoræ à Byzantiis poſita.*

75. Theſe things may juſtly move ſome doubt, whether indeed *Procopius* was Authour of this Secret Hiſtory. We have little for it but the Teſtimony of *Suidas*, ſuch as it is. There is neither Name nor Title to encourage us to believe it. *Nicephorus*

cephorus indeed ſaith, he wrote a Retractation of ſome things, wherein he had too laviſhly commended *Juſtinian*; but this is ten times more than a Retractation, ſuch a ſtreightning of his Pen as makes it more crooked on the other ſide. Such a rude, unpoliſhed and diſorderly piece of ſtuff, ſeems rather the brat of ſome *Sciolus*, and Pretender of thoſe times, ſome Corner-creeper that was very much diſpleaſed with the Emperour. Upon the account of Religion, and the three Chapters elſewhere to be ſpoken of, ſome learned and judicious Men do conclude, that *Euagrius* beſpattered him in that manner, as we find in his Hiſtory. And here we find our Writer ſometimes complaining of *Juſtinian*'s ſiding in Religion with the adverſe Party, his ſticking to the Council of *Chalcedon*, and perſecuting thoſe that were not of his Opinion. But be the Authour of it *Procopius*, or any other, this particular Cenſure following muſt ſtick to the Book. Part of the matter therein contained (of the manner or contexture we have already ſpoken) is true, and inexcuſable. Part of it is true, and may admit of Excuſe. Some of it is utterly falſe, ſome of it inconſiſtent and contradictory, and ſome of it extravagant, and out of all meaſure ridiculous. For the firſt, it may be granted that *Juſtinian* was too much addicted to his Wife, and that he too much favoured the Faction of the *Veneti*. What in private Men may be called indulgence, in this kind, in Princes is great Injuſtice, when the Paſſions of Women come to have influence into Affairs of State. That he ſuffered *Theodora* to perſecute *John* the *Cappadocian* in that manner, he is to be blamed, becauſe poſſibly he did it more out of compliance with her deſires, than for the merit of the Man; and yet this is the cenſorious Judgment of *Procopius*, and we muſt take his word for it, who though he grants the Man did deſerve as much or more than he ſuffered, yet affirms *Juſtinian* to have had a more than ordinary kindneſs for him. His too much ſiding with the factious *Veneti* cannot be excuſed, although it was the cuſtome of his Predeceſſours to addict themſelves to one of the Parties. *Vitellius* was of the ſame Humour, who ſlew ſeveral of the common ſort, becauſe they had curſed the *Venetian* Faction, taking for granted that they did it in contempt of himſelf, and out of hope of ſucceſs of ſome new Deſign. On the contrary, *Caligula* as much favoured the *Praſini*.

A Character of the Secret Hiſtory.

Suetonius in Vitell.

Lib. 59.

76. Beſides, the demeanour of the *Praſini* was ſufficiently petulant and provoking. Tumultuouſly and ſaucily they demanded Juſtice againſt *Calopodius* and *Spatharius* in the open Cirque, as appears by what *Theophanes* wrote concerning the Sedition called *Nica*, which *Alemannus* * hath publiſhed out of the *Vatican* Library. His laviſh expences of the publick Treaſure both upon Buildings and the Barbarous Nations, ſeem deſervedly to be cenſured. His Buildings were vaſt, and highly magnificent, and could not be the product of ſo baſe and ignoble a Spirit, as the Secret Hiſtorian makes his to have been, however it be very true, that great Spenders muſt be one way or other great Scrapers, for nothing is more deceitfull than Building, wherein we ſee it commonly happen, and even to wiſe Men themſelves, that the Expences at length double or treble the value of what they firſt deſigned. Indeed he left infinite Monuments, either of Piety or Magnificence, in this kind, and that firſt in Building new, or repairing old Churches decayed: The Church called *Sophia*, built by him at *Conſtantinople*, was the mirrour of all Ages. Of this *Procopius*, ſo great an Hiſtorical Saint with *Alemannus*, for his Liberty, Veracity and Hatred of Flattery, as an Eye-witneſs, teſtifieth, *That the Magnificence thereof amazed all that ſaw it, and was incredible to thoſe that ſaw it not. That the Height of it mounted up to Heaven, the Splendour of it was ſuch, as if it received not light from the Sun, but had it in it ſelf; the Roof was decked with Gold. The Pavement beſet with Pearl. The Silver of the Choire alone amounted to four Myriads, and it was thought to have excelled the Temple of* Solomon. Beſides this, he built every where throughout the Empire ſo many Houſes, to the Honour of the Bleſſed Virgin, ſo ſtately and ſumptuous, that *Procopius* tells you, ſhould you but view and conſider onely one of them, you would think his whole Reign to have been employed in building that alone. At *Conſtantinople* he built three of this ſort, one in *Blacherius*, formerly mentioned, another in *Pege*, and a third in *Hierio*; beſides others, built in Honour of *Anna*, of *Zoa*, of St. *Michael*, of St. *Peter*, and *Paul*, and of *Sergius*, and *Bacchus*, (both of which, in the brightneſs of Gemms, excelled the Sun) of *Andrew*, *Luke*, *Timothy*, *Acatius*, *Mocius*, *Thirſis*, *Theodorus*, of *Tecla*, and *Theodota*, all which he raiſed from the very Foundations, with that at *Conſtantinople*, the Beauty and Dignity of which cannot by words be expreſſed, nor by the Eye ſufficiently diſcovered.

Πολλῶν ὕϐρεων γινομένων μεταξὺ τῶν μερῶν Βενέτων τε καὶ Πρασίνων, καὶ πολλὰ λοιδορήσαντες τὸν Βασιλέα κατῆλθον οἱ Πράσινοι.

**Vide Aleman. in notis, p.* 61, &c.

Juſtinian's Buildings magnificent.

As Churches.

De Ædif. Juſtiniani, l. 1. *&* Glicas *Annal. part.* 4.

Templum hoc deſcripſit verſibus Paulus, Cyrus, Florus nobiliſſimus Poeta de quo videndus Agathias, lib. vet.

77. He built like magnificent Churches alſo in other Cities, as at *Antioch*, *Sebaſtia*, *Nicopolis*, *Theodoſia*, *Tzani*, *Juſtinianea*, where he was born, at *Epheſus*, *Helena*,

Nice, at *Pythia*, and one at *Jeruſalem*, ſo wonderfull rich and ſtately, that none other might compare with it; beſides, at *Jericho*, Mount *Gerizim*, Mount *Sinai*, at *Theopolis*, at *Ægila*, (where even to that time they had ſacrificed to *Jupiter Hammon* and *Alexander* the Great,) at *Boreion*, *Tripolis*, at *Carthage* and *Gades*, or *Hercules* Pillars, the utmoſt border of the known World, in thoſe days. We ſhould be too tedious, if to theſe we added the many *Xenodochies*, *Noſodochies*, and other like Hoſpitals, which he not onely erected, but enriched with large Revenues, being for number equal, and for Expences, it may be ſuppoſed, greater than the former, the particulars whereof the Reader may at his leiſure peruſe, and conſider, in the Books of *Procopius*, written on this Subject, who, meditating on theſe and other Works, affirms of *Juſtinian*, That *He was never weary or ſatiate with honouring God*; quite contrary to what the Secret Hiſtorian alledgeth, that he was never ſatiate with tormenting, perſecuting and deſtroying of Mankind, for which yet as it appears, he took great care in providing Hoſpitals and places of Refreſhment for the diſtreſſed. But beſides the vaſt expences made in theſe Buildings, certainly whatever the Secret Hiſtory alledgeth of his ſtarving his Wars, the recovery of thoſe great Nations the Empire had loſt, put him to infinite charge.

Hoſpitals.

78. For he built and repaired their ruinated Cities, erected Caſtles, Forts and places of Munition, which he furniſhed with the Commodities of Water, Walls, Promontories, Havens, Bridges, Baths, goodly buildings, and other matters, ſerving either for the neceſſity or pleaſure of Habitation. In *Media* he fortified *Daras*, in *Perſia Siſauranon*, in *Meſopotamia Baros*, in *Syria Edeſſa* and *Callinicum*, in *Commagena Zenobia*, in *Armenia Martyropolis*, in the other *Armenia Theodoſiopolis*, in *Tzani Burgunocia*. He made, as *Procopius* tells us, all *Europe* inacceſſible or unconquerable by Enemies. *Taureſium*, where he was born, he exceedingly inlarged beautified and fortified, calling it *Juſtinianea*; the like he did to *Vlpiana*, which he called *Juſtinianea ſecunda*, and near to it built *Juſtinopolis*. He repaired all *Epirus*, *Ætolia*, *Acarnania*, and fortified all *Greece*, as he did *Theſſalia* and *Eubœa*, which he made abſolutely inexpugnable and unconquerable, as our Authour affirmeth. The like he did in *Thrace*, *Miſia*, *Scythia*, *Libya*, *Numidia*, and at the very *Gades*; in the recounting of which, and other Buildings, time would fail; but they may be read in *Procopius*, who concludes, that *None ought to doubt, but that* Juſtinian *fortified the* Roman *State with Forts and ſtrong Holds, from the Eaſt to the Weſt, and the very utmoſt borders of the Empire.* In admiration of theſe works he calls him, *The Repairer of the World*, and adds this remarkable ſaying, that *There hath not been in any Age, nor among all Men, one more provident and more carefull for the publick good than* Juſtinian, *unto whom nothing was difficult, no not to bridle and confine the Seas, to levell the Mountains, and overcome thoſe things which ſeem impoſſible unto Man.* *Euagrius* who upon the Account of the three Chapters, is rationally thought to have born him malice, ſumms up all thus: *It's reported of him that he reſtored an hundred and fifty Cities, which were either wholly overthrown, or exceedingly decayed, and that he beautified them with ſuch and ſo great Ornaments, with Houſes both private and publick, with goodly Walls, fair and ſumptuous Buildings and Churches, that nothing poſſibly could be more magnificent.*

Cities and Caſtles.

Vide Procop. ubi ſuprà, lib. 2, 3, 4, *&c.*

Lib. 4. c. 18.

79. The other great Expences he made were the Gifts beſtowed on the Barbarous Nations, and this the Authour of the Secret Hiſtory exceedingly urgeth, as a demonſtration of his mad Prodigality, Cowardiſe and Baſeneſs of Mind. But *Agathias* looks upon it as a good expedient, for ſaving both Treaſure and the Lives of his People. And whereas that Authour exclaims ſo much againſt his Cuſtome of ſetting them together by the Ears, and making them ſufficient work at home, he ſeems to pretend not onely to wonderfull accurateneſs and refinedneſs in Piety, but in Policy alſo, which he would have ſo ſtrait laced, as no Princes or Souldiers would ever endure the like. He might have known this was no new Invention of *Juſtinian*. *Tacitus*, that judicious Hiſtorian, long before him, affirmed, that the beſt way to conquer the *Germans*, the Nations beyond the *Rhine*, was to ſet them at odds amongſt themſelves, and their quarrelling would be the preſervation of the *Roman* Empire in its greateſt difficulties. What our Corner-creeper ſo much inculcates of his unnatural cruelty, and a venomous or peſtiferous Nature, in being the death of ſo many People, as well Barbarians, as his own Subjects, nay of exceeding herein all men that ever were upon the face of the Earth, raiſes at the firſt view ſufficient cenſure and indignation. If he procured the Diſtraction of the *Hunnes*, was it not the deſtruction of thoſe *Hunnes* who endeavoured to deſtroy both him and all his People, and made ſuch Slaughters and Devaſtations in all his Provinces, by their frequent and conſtant incurſions? As for the great Depopulations

Other Expences not inexcuſable.

Duret gentibus (tranſrhenanis) ſi non amor Romanorum at certè odium ſui quando urgentibus Imperii fatis nihil præſtare fortuna majus poſſit quàm hoſtium diſcordiam, lib. de Mor. German.

lations that were made in *Africk* and *Italy* by occaſion of his Wars, had it been any other Prince that had made theſe Wars, no doubt but our Authour would have in part excuſed him. Theſe Provinces were lately Members of the *Roman* Empire, and *Juſtinian* is generally extolled and magnified for recovering them to the Body; neither could the *Vandals* or *Goths* plead any legal preſcription. What he ſo much rails at in *Juſtinian*, he would ſcarcely have blamed in *Alexander* the Great, or *Julius Cæſar*. If he muſt be accounted a common Plague, a *Dæmon* incarnate, and a bloudy Tyrant, for making ſuch Wars, and upon ſuch grounds and occaſions as he did, what would become of the Memories of moſt of the warlike Princes, that have been ſince the World began, upon ſo ſevere a ſcrutiny? Becauſe in all things he was not an accurate Saint, our Writer for this very Reaſon will have him a perfect Devil.

Vide teſtimonium Alemanni in præfat. initio.

80. If the Nature of our deſign permitted us to examine all particulars, though the great diſtance of time, and want of perfect Intelligence, forces us upon great diſadvantages, yet it might be eaſie to diſcover the falſeneſs of his Allegations, and the extreme Malice of the Writer; we ſhall inſtance in a few. Firſt for *Amantius*, whom our Authour will have put to death by procurement of *Juſtinian*, onely for ſpeaking abuſively of *John* the Patriarch; it appears evidently from others, that being an Eunuch, and ſo incapable of the Empire, he endeavoured to compaſs it for *Theocritus*, his familiar, and thereupon, as guilty of Treaſon, was executed by command of *Juſtinus* the Emperour. Some add farther, that he was a notorious *Manichee*, and thereupon by the *Tyrians* was called the Rebel againſt the Trinity, and by the Inhabitants of *Conſtantinople* was ſirnamed *Zummas*, from an eminent *Manichee* of that Name. *Alemannus* his Conſcience would not ſuffer him but he muſt needs acknowledge ſo much, and he onely makes a frivolous excuſe, that perhaps occaſion was taken from this injury offered to *John* to put him to death, as if ſome words ſpoken againſt a Biſhop, which could be no Treaſon, could afford a more warrantable excuſe for his death, than the Conſpiracy of a deſigned Uſurpation. As for *Vitalianus*, whom *Juſtinian* ſo perfidiouſly ſlew, as our Secret Hiſtorian inculcates, *Euagrius* lays the whole matter upon *Juſtinus*, his Uncle, never mentioning *Juſtinian* in the caſe. But this was that *Vitalianus* who had endeavoured to uſurp in the days of *Anaſtaſius*, and therefore *Euagrius* tells us, he ſuffered puniſhment for the heinous offences he had unadviſedly practiſed againſt the Empire of *Rome*. *Theophanes* therefore aſcribes his death to the People of *Conſtantinople*, of whom he had ſlain many, at ſuch time as he rebelled againſt *Anaſtaſius*. Here it cannot ſeem ſo impertinent to put in our *Perhaps*, as the Reader may judge it was for *Alemannus*. Perhaps he who had once a vehement thirſt after Sovereignty and the Imperial Power, might relapſe into his former Diſtemper, and Relapſes, as we ſee, are often deadly, and always dangerous.

Particular falſities in the Secret Hiſtory.

Marcellinus. Euagrius.

Ἀντάρτης τῆς Τριάδος.

Hujus Amantii domus erat quæ deinde S. Thomæ Eccleſia fuit Conſtantinop. ut eſt apud Autorem Originum C. P. & Zonaras confirmat. Vide Alemannum ipſum in notis, p. 22.

Lib. 4. c. 3.

81. How malitious an Inference our Writer makes in the caſe of *Juſtinian*'s falling in love with, and marrying *Theodora*, let any man judge, eſpecially ſuch as have been themſelves ſubject unto that Paſſion. To grant ſhe was a Woman of the Profeſſion he makes her, yet, by the Teſtimony of the undoubted *Procopius*, ſhe was a Woman of unparallel'd Beauty and excellent Wit, which the Secret Writer cannot but confeſs, though, good Man, as modeſtly as poſſible. But is the extravagancy of that Paſſion incident to none but the worſt of Natures, to the moſt profligate Diſpoſitions? If a Man cannot conquer that, muſt he needs be the ſlave of all other the moſt brutiſh whatſoever? So he, like a great Philoſopher, concludes, that this ſufficiently declared *Juſtinian*'s Mind and Diſpoſition, without any other token. For whoſoever, ſaith he, refuſeth not ſo to diſgrace himſelf, and is content to appear ſo odious to the World, is in the ready rode to all villany, and having got a brazen Face, ruſheth headlong into the greateſt wickedneſs. But one would think the reflexion of the Rays of *Theodora*'s Beauty could not have neceſſarily produced ſuch an effect upon the Face of *Juſtinian*, though poſſibly they might have dazled the Eyes of as vertuous a Perſon as the Writer, without any ſuch malignant Influence, if what *Procopius* (ſo ſevere an Authour) writeth of her be true, that he muſt have been more than a Man (perhaps *Juſtinian*, who was an incarnate *Dæmon*, might have done it,) that could either in words expreſs her Beauty, or ſet it forth by any Image or Repreſentation. The Man's Malice is as great in laying the *Epibole*, or Impoſition, upon *Juſtinian*, as if he had been the Inventour and firſt Impoſer of it, whereas other Emperours had uſed it long before, and *Anaſtaſius* being once inclined by the Intreaties of *Sabas* to remit it, was again perſuaded to continue it by *Marinus*, the *Præfectus Prætorio*. Of this we have written abundantly in our Second Part.

Ἀλλὰ τί μοι ἐνδεῖν ἤθους περιμνημονεῦσαι τοῦδε τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, οὐδ᾽ ὁπουοῦν οἶμαι· ἅπαντα γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς πάθη, &c.

Ἐπεὶ αὐτῆς τὴν εὐπρέπειαν λόγῳ τε φράσαι, καὶ ἰνδάλματι ἀπομιμεῖσθαι ἀνθρώπῳ γε ὄντι παντάπασιν ἀδύνατον.

82. The

Sect. 3.

82. The Reader is farther to underſtand, that in this Tribute, (which was laid upon the Neighbouring parts, when any place by reaſon of Depopulation or adverſe Fortune, was diſabled to pay it's own ſhare in the publick Taxes) Churches were alſo concerned. It happened about *Anaſtaſius* his time, that the Collectours of *Paleſtine* wanting an hundred pounds of Gold of their wonted ſum, which was to be raiſed of ſuch indigent Perſons, as were not able to pay it, were forced to exact it of the Inhabitants of *Jeruſalem*, and the Church of the Holy Reſurrection, as well as other Religious Houſes was conſtrained to bear it's ſhare. But in the Reign of the pious Emperour *Juſtin*, ſaith the Authour, at the Intreaties of *Sabas* and others, part of the Tribute was remitted. And at length the Reſidue was fully forgiven, through the Interceſſion of *Euſebius* the Prieſt, by *Juſtinian* the Emperour now Reigning. A Notorious piece of Injuſtice both for our ſecret Writer at firſt, and *Suidas* his Ape from him, as *Alemannus* believeth, to inſinuate, as if the *Epibole* was never practiſed till the Government of *Juſtinian*. The Writer yet in Concluſion tells us, that this ſort of Impoſition moſt prevailed in the time of *Juſtinian*, and ſo ſecretly muſt grant that he was not the Authour of it, though he had ſaid plainly, that in this Reſpect he was more cruel to his Subjects, than the very Barbarous Nations. *Alemannus* his Annotatour ſenſible of the Injury, and convinced that in this particular he was rather more mercifull than the other Emperours, (as appears in what he remitted to the places of *Jeruſalem*, though he had much more Religious occaſion for Money than they) ſtrives yet to mince the matter, and diminiſh his Reputation in point of Clemency; alledging that the *Epibole* was remitted to the Eccleſiaſticks of *Jeruſalem* onely. And how knows he this? No Authour affirms it. Onely becauſe no Writer mentions any other place or Perſon, to which it was remitted; therefore he worthily concludes, there was no ſuch thing. But what if the Writings of *Cyrillus Scythopolitanus* had been loſt, or he had never mentioned this particular of *Jeruſalem*, would *Alemannus* thence have concluded that, becauſe *Juſtinian* in general doth Inculcate the Payment of the *Epibole*, therefore he never remitted it to any place or Perſon whatſoever? It ſeems he would.

Vide Simeonem Metaphraſtam & Cyrillum Scythopolitanum apud Alemannum in Notis, p. 100.

Lege Novell. 17. & 128.

83. We ſhall onely inſtance in another thing of this Nature which joyned with others, ſhews the falſeneſs and Malice of this Corner-creeper, and that is, *Juſtinian*'s neglect of the Aqueducts, which gave occaſion to the many Slaughters which were committed while the People contended about Water. He aſcribes the want of Water to the decay of the Pipes, and the Covteouſneſs of the Emperour, or rather his Cruelty, and the delight he took in the Death and Deſtruction of his People. But *Theophanes* tells us another Tale, and writes expreſly; that Water failed through want of Rain in the Month of *November*, and this cauſed Fights and Contentions about the Fountains, as alſo that in the ſame Year (*viz.* the thirty ſixth of *Juſtinian*'s Reign,) there was ſuch ſcarcity of Water, that the publick Baths were ſhut up, and Slaughters were committed at the Fountains. And what if we bring proof, that *Juſtinian* did repair thoſe Pipes? *Alemannus* produceth it for us, and cites an *Anonymus* Authour of a *Chronicon*, who writes that he made new, or repaired *Adrian*'s Aqueduct; which that Prince had made in this City, long before the Seat of the Empire was thither tranſlated. Although he did this at the beginning of his Reign, yet the ſecret Hiſtorian blaming him for this Fault in general, and making no exception, but deſcribing him as wicked both in his beginning and afterward, cruel as well at the firſt, as at the laſt; griping and ſcraping ever, betrays ſufficiently both his want of Charity, and Sincerity.

Μηνὶ Νοεμβρίῳ ἀβροχία πολλὴ ἐγένετο καὶ λεῖψις ὑδάτων, ὥστε γίνεσθαι πολλὰς ἐν τοῖς ὑδρείοις. Γέγονε λεῖψις ὑδάτων, ὥστε σφαλισθῆναι τὰ δημόσια λουτρὰ καὶ ἐγένετο φονοκτονία εἰς τὰ ὕδατα. *Vide apud Alem.*

Ἰουστινιανὸς ἀνενέωσε τὸν τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ὕδατος ἀγωγὸν, ὃν πρὸ τοῦ τὸ Βυζάντιον βασιλεῦσαι Ἀδριανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐποίησε τοῖς Βυζαντίοις χαριζόμενος.

It's contradictory Aſſertion.

84. Now a Taſte of his Contradictory Aſſertions; one will ſuffice, and that's about *Juſtinian*'s Intellectuals. He affirms, he was wonderfully or ſupernaturally fooliſh, and like a dull or ſlow Aſs, was eaſie to be led by the Bridle, moving or ſhaking his Ears alſo, as doth that kind of Animal: Yet all over his Book doth he ſpeak of his extraordinary Sagacity and ſharpneſs of Wit. *Alemannus* comes in at this dead Lift, and to ſolve the difficulty, diſtinguiſheth of times, and ſaith, he means he was ſo ſtupid and fooliſh toward his latter end, as other Writers do teſtifie; having in his Youth been ſufficiently active and ſprightly. But this will not ſerve his turn: The words of his Writer, who pretends to have written his Hiſtory, ſeven years before *Juſtinian*'s Death, give not the leaſt Ground for this Diſtinction. On the contrary he ſpeaks there in general of his Parts, and Diſpoſition, and upon occaſion of his behaviour toward the *Praſini* and *Veneti*, betwixt which Factions fell out the great Tumults, and Diſorders he mentions long before his old Age. And the better to paint him out, he compares him with *Domitian*, both for his outward Features and inward Diſpoſition. He adds, that he was both wicked and eaſie to be gulled, Fooliſh and naughtily diſpoſed, the greateſt Diſſembler alive, and yet expoſed to the Frauds

Ἠλίθιός τε γὰρ ὑπερφυῶς ἦν καὶ νωθεῖ ὄνῳ ἐμφερὴς μάλιστα καὶ οἷος τῷ τὸν χαλινὸν ἕλκοντι ἕπεσθαι. συχνὰ σειομένων τῶν ὤτων.

Ἦν γὰρ οὗτος ἀνὴρ κακοῦργός τε καὶ εὐπαράγωγος, ὃν δὴ μωροκακοήθη καλοῦσιν, &c.

and Deceits of all Men. Then again after his confuſed Cuſtome, he inculcates that this was his Temper, mixed of Folly and Naughtineſs, being that which he knows not what Peripatetick Philoſopher of old deſcribed, when he affirmed that as in the tempering of Colours, ſo in the Nature of man, things quite contrary might meet and be united. He affirms, that he was the moſt abſolute Artiſt alive, in diſſembling the Truth, concealing his Frauds, his ſecret Indignation, his double dealing, and his private Opinion, having Tears at command, upon any preſent occaſion. And he had need call a Philoſopher he knows not who to his Aſſiſtence, and to mix he knows not what, Stupidity or Stolidity with Sagacity, and the higheſt Art of diſſembling imaginable: Certainly the humour of a *Proteus*, and the Temper of an Aſs are no way agreeing. This Diſpoſition of a Creature ſo dull, is not pliant enough for ſuch turnings and windings, fit onely for a beaten Path, and a ſlow dreaming Pace. But can black and white both be mixed, and yet in the ſame parts, the ſame thing continue both Black and White, to as intenſe a Degree, as the Colours were before their mixture? By what Peripatetick Philoſophy? It ſeems Stupidity and Sagacity, Sottiſhneſs and ſharpneſs of Wit both flowed in the Brain of *Juſtinian*, as ſeveral ſorts of Waters are ſaid to do in ſome Rivers, without any mingling or Communication. For a man to be very Wiſe and very Fooliſh, very Prudent and very Imprudent; as to his Habit and Diſpoſition, of very good natural parts, and very pityfull, mean, ordinary parts, half Witted like an Aſs, or almoſt a natural Fool; is ſuch Philoſophy, as could proceed from no Brain, but one ſo confuſed, and immethodical, as was that of our great *Juſtiniano-Maſtix*, or the Secret Hiſtorian.

Its Ridiculous Aſſertion.

85. But it ſeems, he never Traded with the more ſublime parts of Peripatetick Philoſophy; elſe he had better underſtood the nature of Intelligences. So are wont to be ſtyled, what others call *Dæmons* or Spirits, ſuch as our Writer thought *Juſtinian* the Emperour to be Incarnate. Now poſſibly one may have heard of a wicked, but ſeldom of dull and ſtupid Intelligences: It's to be feared, that the *Incubus* begat him not all, but *Sabbatius* had alſo his ſhare in the Generation, and that one part of his Brain was to be Fathered upon one, and the other part upon the other, which cauſed two ſo contrary Qualities in his Intellectuals. Had he been Prince of the *Dæmons*, as the pretty ſtory of the Monk, and of *Theodora's* dream, would make him, certainly they would never have choſen ſuch a Log to their King, if the Election had been at their Diſpoſal. A Prodigy indeed that an Head of Air (as it ſeems his was, for he walkt often without any on his Shoulders) ſhould have ſo much of Earthly Dregs and Droſs in it: And that a *Dæmon* who had Power to change his own ſhape, and order his aſſumed Body as he pleaſed (ſo it ſeems he did his Face and Countenance) ſhould ſo frame the Organs thereof, as to hinder the Operations of the underſtanding. And the wonder is increaſed if we conſider his high place and calling; for ſurely that *Dæmon* who was condemned to ſit at the Helm of the World, and enjoy the Sovereignty, and Magnificence of the *Roman* Empire, could not be of any of the lower Ranks, but an Arch-*Dæmon*, as our Writers fine ſtories tell us, or one of *Ariſtotle's* Intelligences, which turn about the Orbs, and with the Heavens give motion alſo to all ſublunary Bodies. To be ſerious, Reader, although the Subject merits nothing but Laughter, and Merriment, it's evident enough, that our Writer thought him an Evil *Dæmon*, or Devil incarnate, a Fury, an Evil *Genius*, and that Plagues, Earthquakes, and Inundations he procured by ſome kind of ſupernatural Power, and Malignant influence; judge therefore of the Extravagancy, and Conſequently of the Worth, Credit and Eſtimation of his writing, compare it with the Authentick Books of *Procopius*, and ſee if thou canſt allow it to be his, in thy moſt inward and retired Thoughts. The *Aſiatick* and ſlanting ſtyle indeed, ſhews it compoſed by one that lived either near his time, or by ſome other, very able in the Art of Imitation, but compared with that of his other Books, demonſtrates, that if it was his, he either doated for Age, or was tranſported with Anger, and other unſeemly Paſſions. There's Ground enough to ſuſpect it the work of ſome Perſon incenſed againſt *Juſtinian*, upon the Account of the three Chapters, which raiſed him many Enemies, as we ſhall ſee when we come to handle the Eccleſiaſtical matters of theſe times. If *Procopius* was the Authour of it: I ſhall not onely ſay with *Alemannus*, that methinks I ſee him through a Cranny writing in great Fear, ſtarting and looking about him at the end of every Sentence, leſt any body ſhould ſee him; but before that, in the Habit of a Patritian proſtrate at the Feet of *Theodora*, and beſeeching her to afford him Juſtice in a matter of Debt, owing him by one of her Familiars. Then methinks I ſee her flouting him, and her ſelf ſaying, Patritian, I hear her Eunuchs

ſinging out, Thou art troubled with an *Hernia*, as ſhe had appointed them; after which he retires home in diſcontent, breaths nothing but Anger and Fury, and not being able to doe any thing elſe, takes this Courſe to be revenged both on her, and *Juſtinian* her Husband, who it's probable, did alſo ſome other way diſoblige him.

Repete Hiſtoriam ex p. p. 69, 70. Secret.

86. Whoſoever was the Authour of the Book, from his Malice, and the miſtake either of *Suidas* or his Tranſcriber, another Scandal hath riſen concerning *Juſtinian*, which muſt by no means be paſſed over in ſilence. As he malitiouſly compares him to an Aſs, ſo he hath been reported ſo ignorant that he was not able to reade, that he knew not ſo much as his very Alphabet. Several learned Lawyers as *Alciate*, *Budæus* and others have ſwallowed this down, and *Baronius* glad of ſuch an advantage againſt him, without any Examination of the Truth thereof, runs away with it, and improves it to Oſtentation. *Such an one as* Juſtinian *make Laws of Faith? An Abcedary Emperour, an illiterate Divine; utterly unlearned, who knew not how to Reade: Who could never reade ſo much as the Title of the Bible, no not the very firſt Elements, not his* Alpha Beta. *He on a ſudden to become a palliated Theologue? He to preſcribe Laws to the Church?* And ſo he goes on in the ſame ſtrain. But that this is a moſt lewd Lye, appears by ſeveral particulars. Firſt its evident, that he uſed conſtantly the Converſation of the learnedeſt Biſhops, or Prieſts of his time, † Every Night ſitting up late, and Diſcourſing with them in his Study concerning the points of Chriſtian Religion; which Converſation could not leave him ſo Rude and Illiterate. Then *Liberatus* who lived about his time, and bore him no Good Will; yet hath recorded that he writ a Book againſt the *Acephali* or *Eutychian* Hereticks, in defence of the Council of *Chalcedon*, and that *Theodorus* ſeeing him ſo toyl himſelf in writing againſt Hereticks, told him, he ſhould not trouble himſelf with writing Books, but maintain the Faith by publiſhing Edicts. *Iſidore* teſtifies, that he publiſhed certain Books concerning the Incarnation of our Lord, and made a Reſcript againſt the Synod of *Illyricum*, and the *African* Biſhops, wherein he condemned the three Chapters: It would be too tedious to reckon up all the Teſtimonies of Writers, who ſpeak concerning his Books written, and his Diſputations in matters of Religion; and that he wrote himſelf, and uſed not the hands of other men, the Pontifical acknowledgeth as it is cited by *Tritemius* in theſe words: Juſtinian *the Emperour a Religious man, ſent unto the Apoſtolick ſee his Profeſſion of Faith written with his own Hand, teſtifying his great Love to the Chriſtian Religion.* In regard of theſe (it ſeems excellent) Writings both Pope *Agatho*, and the whole Sixth general Council, which ſate in the next Age of *Juſtinian*, reckon him in the ſame Rank, as we ſhewed before; not onely of Eccleſiaſtical Writers, but of venerable Fathers, with St. *Cyril*, St. *Chryſoſtome* and others.

Juſtinian was not an *Analphabetus.*

† Κάθηται ἀφύλακτος ἀεὶ ἐπὶ λέσχης τινὸς ἀωρὶ τῶν νυκτῶν ὁμοῦ τοῖς τῶν ἱερέων ἐσχατογέρουσιν, ἀσχέτως ἀνακυκλεῖν τὰ χριστιανῶν λόγια σπουδὴν ἔχων. *Procop.*

Appar. Sacr. in verb. Juſtinianus.

87. But not onely was he skilled in Theology, but in the other Arts and Sciences, which are Hand-maids to that Sovereign knowledge. *Agapetus* Deacon of the Church of *Conſtantinople*, and his Contemporary, affirms, *That happy time to be fallen out in his days, which one of the Ancients had predicted, when either Philoſophers ſhould be Kings, or Kings turn Philoſophers:* Then ſaith he, *In reſpect of your Philoſophy, you are eſteemed worthy to Reign, and by Reigning you have not loſt your Philoſophy.* That this was not mere flattery, other Teſtimonies make more than probable. As for Example, to ſhew that he was skilled in Muſick; *Theophanes* inſtanceth in a Greek Hymn, concerning the Divinity and Oeconomy of Chriſt, compoſed by him according to the Church notes, and ſung at this day by the *Greeks* in their Service. In Architecture he was ſo expert, that as *Procopius* witneſſeth, he himſelf deſigned and delineated the Models of many Buildings, and gave Rules and Directions to the Artificers; as in the Temple of St. *Sophia*, the Palaces in *Heræum*, and the Haven at *Conſtantinople*; the Church of the *Bleſſed Virgin* at *Jeruſalem*, the City of *Daras* and others. For his skill in the Laws, not to ſpeak of the Compiling of the Pandects, Code and Inſtitutions, which may be objected was done to his hand by others, he himſelf compoſed many of his Novel Conſtitutions. This the ſecret Hiſtorian ſufficiently teſtifieth, though without any Intention of doing him the leaſt right in this Point, affirming that ſuch Reſcripts as were to be made in Anſwer to any Conſultation or Petition, he did not commit to the *Quæſtor* as the Cuſtome was, but compoſed himſelf; and indeed many more were compoſed, both by himſelf and others, than are now extant in our Books. That which was made at the inſtance of *Sabas* againſt the *Samaritans* (mentioned in the *129th*, as now we have them) he and *Tribonian* framed at the third hour of the day, in his Palace called *Magnaura*. Indeed his ſtyle is ſomething harſh and ſa-

vouring,

In Paræneſi. Vide Alemannum in Notis, p. p. 87, 88, 89. qui Juſtinianum his argumentis ab hac Calumnia liberat.

De Ædif. l. 1. 5.

Vide quomodo Alemannus id probat in Notis p. 78.

Ut Cyrillus Scythopolitanus probat.

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vouring of *Illyricum* his Countrey; they are full of Words and, like the other Conſtitutions made in theſe times, have not that Elegancy which abounds in the writings of the Ancient Lawyers, yet extant in the Pandects, but have a Taſte of the *Aſiatick* ſlanting kind of Speech, peculiar to theſe Ages and Places. But although in Compiling other Laws, he uſed the help and Induſtry of learned Men; yet when they offered the Books to him, he ſaith, *Et Legimus & Recognovimus*, which the Gloſs explaineth by a *Nos ipſi*, we our ſelves have Read and peruſed them.

Proœm. ad Inſtitut.

88. Therefore *Alemannus* here forſakes the Cauſe, and tells you it is a great miſtake, that *Juſtinian* was an *Analphabetus*. That this Opinion had obtained for an hundred and twenty years, and no more, after the *Milan* Impreſſion of *Suidas*, which yet was amended by *Demetrius Chalcondiles*, a man who very well deſerved of the Greek Tongue. All the Vatican Copies, he ſaith, have 'Ιουστῖνος, and not 'Ιουστινιανὸς, and indeed there are many and groſs miſtakes committed in Books, in confounding theſe Names of *Juſtin* and *Juſtinian*, as appears from *Euagrius*, the Epiſtles of *Caſſiodorus* and others. *Juſtin* was *Analphabetus*, and being towards his latter end grown Childiſh and ſtupid; this as well as other things might by miſtake be aſcribed to *Juſtinian* his Nephew, who for his excellent Endowments by *Theodahatus* King of the *Goths*, is deſervedly ſtyled *Sapientiſſimus Imperator* and *Princeps Doctus*, and as *Alemannus* witneſſeth in an Ancient *Vatican Manuſcript*, there is this to be Read: *The fifth Holy Synod of* Conſtantinople *in the time of* Juſtinian, Doctiſſimi Imperatoris, *The moſt learned Emperour*. To leave this therefore, and come from his inward to his outward Lineaments: He was of Stature more Tall than ordinary, of a Ruddy and pleaſant Countenance, lookt cunningly, had large Eyes, and uſed the Razor, having a ſmooth Chin, as all the Pagan Emperours had till *Adrian*; who, as *Dion Caſſius* ſaith, firſt began to wear a Beard, as afterward *Julian* the Apoſtate again broke the Cuſtome, and for that was jeered by the *Antiochians*, againſt whom he wrote a Book called *Miſopogon*. Yet after *Juſtinian*, the Greek Emperours generally wore Beards. The ſecret Hiſtorian tells us, he was very like the Emperour *Domitian*, whoſe Statue was ſtanding in his time. But we know not how to truſt him, becauſe he makes the Wife of *Domitian* very unlike her ſelf. He tells us, ſhe was a good and honeſt Woman, that ſhe injured or troubled no Man, and never approved the unjuſt Actions of her Husband, and that being mightily beloved, ſhe was called into the Senate, and bid ask what ſhe pleaſed: Whereupon ſhe prayed the Fathers, that ſhe might have leave to bury her Husband's body, and erect him one Crown Statue where ſhe thought fit, which was granted her. Now the ſtory of her Goodneſs, is contrary to what other Authours, both Greek and Latine, have written of her; who affirm her ſo good Natur'd and Honeſt, that ſhe was privy to *Domitian's* her Husband's death, as not onely *Dion Caſſius*, but *Sextus Aurelius*, *Philoſtratus*, *Georgius*, *Syncellus* and others, of both ſorts have related. And as for that other paſſage of her gathering his pieces together, into which the inraged People had torn him, *Suetonius* making a Narration for his Funeral ſpeaks not one word of theſe things; but tells us, his Body was carried out in an ordinary Biere by the *Veſpilones*, and buried in the *Via Latina*, by *Phyllis* his Nurſe, in her own Suburb. But ſee the Ingenuity of the ſecret Authour: *Domitian*, he ſaith, had a very good Wife that oppoſed his Villanies, and yet was a cruel Tyrant: *Juſtinian* had a very bad Wife, which incouraged him in doing ill, nay provoked him to it; yet *Juſtinian* was as ill as *Domitian*, nay the crueleſt Tyrant, and Monſter that ever lived under the Sun.

Vide Aleman. Notas, p.p. 18. 36, 37, 122, 124, 125.

Vide Procop. Bell. Vand. l. 1. & Auth. Hiſt. Secr. p. 29.

Apud Caſſiod. Epp. variar. lib. 10. Epp. 9. 22.

Vide formam Juſtiniani, apud Aleman. in Notis, p.p. 28. 77. Ubi hæc.

89. When he ſigned any thing, he was wont onely to write the Letter I, which thereupon is called *Juſtinianus Apex* by *Corippus* the Poet. Yet his Uncle not able to write his own Name, as the ſecret Hiſtory aſſureth us, had four Roman Letters cut in Wood, wherewith he was wont to ſign, being firſt moiſtened with that Colour, which the Emperours uſed in ſuch Caſes. This was purple, called in our Books *Sacrum Encauſtum* (at this day in *Italy*, *Enchioſtro*) which was kept in a Standiſh, in Figure repreſenting a little Dog; from which he that had the Cuſtody of it, and brought it ſtill to the Prince, was ſaid to be *à Caniculo*, being ordinarily one of his moſt inward Councellours, and a near Kinſman. But although *Juſtin* ſigned with four Letters, as the Ancient *Romans*, ſome Names with three, others with two, and ſome but with one, as *Juſtinian*, yet afterwards the Eaſtern Emperours uſually put to their whole Names; but the Letters thereof were folded in ſtrange and ſecrets Knots and Implications, as appears in their ancient *Diploma's*, like to thoſe which our People have lately got upon their Coaches. But to make an end with *Juſtinian*, as it's more than time, by his Wife *Theodora* he had a Daughter, of which was born, as ſeems from the ſecret Hiſtory, *Anaſtaſius* whom his

C. l. 6. de diverſ. Reſcript.

Vide Alem.

Una litera. ut. M. T. C. duabus ut Cn. tribus ut Ser.

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Grandmother privately married to *Jannina* the Daughter of *Beliſarius*, without Conſent of her Parents. He had alſo a baſe Son called *Theodorus Zirus*, born after the death of *Theodora*, if we may believe *Theophanes* a *Byzantine* Hiſtorian in *Photius*; and yet *Conſtantinus Manaſſes* hath written, that he neither had Sons nor Daughters, nor any to ſucceed him. He was born on the fifth of the Ides of *May*, in what year is uncertain, as alſo how long he lived, but the moſt probable Opinion is, that he died about eighty. His death fell out on the Ides of *November*, after he had Reigned nine and thirty Years, ſeven Months and thirteen Days, reckoned from the Calends of *April*, in the Conſulſhip of *Mabortius*, when he was declared *Auguſtus* by his Uncle, and his Collegue in the Empire. Concerning the manner of his Death, there is nothing extant in any ancient Authour. Some later Writers tell a ſtory, that he died diſtracted; but the Ancient Hiſtorians affirm the ſame thing of *Juſtin* his Nephew, and ſo his Memory is ill treated amongſt them, ſome aſcribing to him the Ignorance and Dotage of *Juſtin* the Elder, and others the Madneſs of *Juſtin* the younger, by reaſon of the likeneſs of their Names. But what he was in his Life, we have given an Account more large than we deſired, and more out Reſpect to Truth, and Impartiality than him; although *Alemannus* thinks Lawyers to be partial to his Memory. His Reign was very full of Action, and the particulars of his Wars ſo remarkable, that they were not to be ſlightly touched. For his Morals, the utmoſt that can be ſaid, for or againſt him; the Reader hath before his Eyes, and let him make ſuch a Judgment and paſs Sentence, as he ſhall think moſt ſutable to the Subject. Here with him we are to take leave of *Procopius* his Hiſtoriographer, an Account of whoſe Perſon and Writings we deferred to this place; becauſe of the ſecret Hiſtory ſaid to be written by him.

What iſſue he had.

His death.

Vide Alem. quo ſuprá.

Sabellicus & Octavius à Roſbergh.

Ut Menander Protector illius ætatis Hiſtoricus, l. 2.

90. *Procopius* was born at *Cæſarea* a City of *Paleſtine*, and came to *Conſtantinople*, in the days of *Anaſtaſius* the Emperour, where he was preſently taken notice of, being a Perſon of very good parts, general learning, and of ſingular Prudence. *Juſtin* the Elder being in great ſtraits, by reaſon of the *Perſian* War, preferred him as a Councellour to *Beliſarius* the General. *Suidas* ſtyles him his Secretary, but he himſelf who had beſt reaſon to know his own Employment, ſaith he, was his Aſſeſſour. Of what Profeſſion he was, for he arrived at this and other places of Truſt and Honour, Writers do not agree. *Blondus* and *Sabellicus* of later times, have fanſied him a Phyſician. But *Euagrius*, *Agathias* and *Photius* call him a Rhetour, an Oratour, or a Pleader of Cauſes; and indeed he was a Lawyer, Men of this Profeſſion being uſually preferred to be Councellours or Aſſeſſours to Generals of Armies and others of the greater ſort of Magiſtrates. *Juſtinian* coming to the Government continued him in his Employment, being hardly permitted to remove from the Elbow of *Beliſarius*, either in the Expeditions of *Africk* or *Italy*, ſo highly was he valued. No ſooner was the General recall'd out of *Africk*, but he was ſent to *Carthage* to *Solomon*, the then Commander in chief, to ſecure and ſettle the late Conqueſts. How he was particularly employed in *Perſia* and *Italy*, at *Rome*, and *Naples*, he himſelf tells us; though indeed very modeſtly and onely as by the way, yet theſe and other Managements of Affairs purchaſed him ſuch Repute in the Commonwealth, that being firſt made Illuſtrious, and then a Senatour, at length having publiſhed his Hiſtories of the Wars, he arrived at the Prefectſhip of the City, in the five and thirtieth Year of *Juſtinian's* Reign.

An Account of *Procopius.*

Vide Alemann. in Præfat. & Notis ad Secr. Hiſt.

Ὑπογραφεύς.

Πάρεδρος.

Ῥήτορα.

Ille eſt Latinis orator qui cauſas in concione in foro in Snatu agit; hic Rhetor qui in Scholis docet Artem Oratoriam ut benè innuit Hoſchelius.

91. It hath been the fate of his Writings in later times, to be expoſed naked and maimed to the World, though doubtleſs Correct enough when he firſt preſented them to the view of *Juſtinian* and his Subjects, who received and Read them with extraordinary Favour and Applauſe. The firſt that committed any of them to the Preſs, was *Leonardus Aretinus*, who publiſhed his Hiſtory of the *Gothick* Wars, but put a Trick upon the World very much unbecoming a Learned man. For he ſuppreſſed the Greek Copy, and concealing the Authour's name, ſet forth a Latin Tranſlation of his own, pretending it was a Collection made by himſelf out of many Authours, and ſtyled it *De bello Italico*, dedicating it to *Julianus Cæſarinus*. The Greek Copy, *Blondus Flavius* ſaith, was by his Induſtry firſt brought into *Italy*. But it wants ſome Paſſages, which have been ſince ſupplied, and he inveighs againſt ſome which are now found to be accurate and juſtifiable, and therefore was impoſed on either by the old Manuſcript, or by the Perſon that Tranſlated it for him; and his Cenſure he might well have ſpared, ſeeing, as he Confeſſes himſelf, he was altogether Ignorant in the Greek Tongue. *Chriſtophorus Perſona* conceiving great Indignation at the Carriage of *Aretinus*, tranſlated the Hiſtory out of the Original, and did Juſtice to the Authour in publiſhing his Name; but his Edition is very Lame and out of Order. After them *Raphael*

His works.

Volateran publiſhed in Latine, the remaining Books of the *Perſian* and *Vandal* Wars, but from as imperfect a Copy as *Perſona*; for neither of them, though they were Library Keepers of the Vatican, made their Tranſlations out of the Vatican Copy, which as *Alemannus* tells us, is complete in all Degrees.

92. In what years the ſeven Books concerning the *Perſian*, *Vandal* and *Gothick* Wars were publiſhed by the Authour himſelf is not certain, although he tells us, they were commonly known throughout the *Roman* Empire: Yet that a good part of them were come abroad, before the two and twentieth year of *Juſtinian*, and the Death of *Theodora* is evident, and all of them before his ſix and twentieth year as he himſelf relates at the beginning of the eighth Book, which he wrote in the twenty ſeventh. But the eighth Book, or the fourth as it's called of the *Gothick* War, hath no proper Title; for in it he comprizeth whatſoever happened to the *Romans*, as well from the *Perſians* and *Vandals*, as the *Goths*; and therefore it deſerveth rather the Name of a Miſcellaneous or various Hiſtory, as he ſtyleth it. He Ποικίλη. publiſhed it well nigh as ſoon as it was finiſhed, and afterward as *Alemannus* will have it, ſet his mind to Writing his Secret Hiſtory; which yet for what cauſe we know not, he deferred till the two and thirtieth year of *Juſtinian*, in which year he finiſhed it (as well he might) and kept it concealed till the Death of the Emperour full ſeven years. But *Juſtinian* being much delighted with the Hiſtories of the Wars, enjoyned him to Write another Treatiſe concerning the Buildings, Περὶ τῶν κτισμάτων. which he did at the latter end of his Reign, and wonderfully celebrates him for his Magnificence therein; however the Secret Hiſtory doth beſpatter him. Theſe are the Books of *Procopius* now extant, of which *Nicephorus* his Partition is to be blamed, and it were to be wiſhed, we had had *Photius* his Account of them in his *Bibliotheca* concerning his Religion, and his heterodox Opinions; the Reader if he pleaſe may conſult *Alemannus* in his Notes upon the Secret Hiſtory, on which he hath made a very good Comment, and thereby deſerved well of Poſterity, be the Text what it will.

93. But ſee where are we now? What a Proſpect doth here preſent it ſelf. What a vaſt Empire have we beheld, what large Provinces, what Variety of Affairs relating both to Peace and War? Great Armies, great Performances, Strategems and Variety of Accidents, by which the Grandeur and Glory of the *Roman* Empire hath been revived. Behold what a Precipice! We are deſcending into low, mean and narrow Tracts, and ſhall find the Empire but ſhort, and our ſelves ſtraitned; the farther we paſs, little of Action, and leſs of Performance. Whatever thou waſt, the Greatneſs of Empire, the Glory of Majeſty, the Power of Arms, the Efficacy of Laws, the Renown and Splendour of the *Roman* Name, in a manner died and was buried with thee O *Juſtinian*.

CHAP. III.

From the Death of Juſtinian *the Great, and the Promotion of* Juſtin *the Second, to the Death of* Heraclius, *when the* Saracens *began to grow terrible to the World.*

The ſpace of ſeventy five years.

Juſtin ſucceeds his Uncle.

1. J*VSTINIAN* being Dead, *Juſtin* ſucceeded him, the Son of *Vigilantia* his Siſter, and *Dulciſſimus*; in the fourteenth Indiction, the ſeventh of *John* the *Roman* Patriarch, in the fifty firſt of *Clotarius* King of the *Franks*, in the DLXV year of our Lord.

Vigilantiæ nomen latinè inflexum Exiſtimat Alemannus ex Illyrico nomine Bigleniza, quod Juſtiniani Imp. matris vocabulum fuit. Procopius Græcorum more eam Biglantiam vocat; ſic apud Mauritium in ſtrategicis Βίγλα *&* Βιγλίζειν *vigilia, vigilare. Errores quos in Juſtiniani genealogia texenda commiſerunt Arnoldus Panvinius, Trithemius, vide tibi in diagrammate ob oculos poſitos apud Alemannum in Notis, p. 67. De initio Juſtini vide Baron. Quis memorare poteſt tanta miracula pompæ?*

2. His Uncle dying about midnight, he was raiſed out of his Bed by *Callinicus* the *Præpoſitus Excubitorum*, and adviſed to beſtir himſelf for the Imperial Diadem. Coming then to Court, he found the Senate very ready to accept him for their Prince, and took immediately the Government upon him, while in the mean time his Relations take care of the dead Body of his Predeceſſour. *Sophia* the Neice of *Theodora* and her ſucceſſour alſo in the Imperial Dignity, as the Wife of *Juſtin*, covers it with a very rich Cloth, wherein are imbroidered the Actions of the Deceaſed Emperour, and at length it's carried forth to Burial, with miraculous pomp, as *Corippus* the Poet phraſeth it, who hath excellently deſcribed the manner thereof. But e'er the Body was Buried, *Juſtin* had taken the Enſigns of Majeſty which he performed in a Religious manner, firſt making his Prayers to his Saviour, and then receiving the Benediction of *John* the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, with the Crown from his Hands. This Ceremony over, and the Acclamations made, he now ſeated in his Throne, makes a ſpeech to the People, and perceiving ſome amongſt them to make complaint of the Debts owing them by his Uncle, ordered them preſently to be paid. He appeaſed the factious *Veneti* and *Praſini* with a courageous Meſſage, bidding the *Mandator* (who was the Emperour's Officer in the Cirque, as the *Quæſtor* was in the Senate,) tell the *Veneti* that *Juſtinian* as to them was Dead, and the *Praſini* that as to them he ſtill lived, which having received, they became quiet and ſo remained afterward. But to pleaſe the People in general, he promiſed to reſtore the Conſulſhip, and accordingly when the firſt of *January* came, he took upon him that Title, and gave a donative to them according to the ancient cuſtome, going to Church there to worſhip Almighty God after the Chriſtian manner, as the Pagan Conſuls were wont to aſcend into the Capitol.

Pontificum ſummus plenáque ætate venuſtus
Aſtantem benedixit eum, cælique parentem
Exorans Dominum ſacro diademate juſſit
Auguſtum ſancire caput, ſummóque coronam
Imponens apici, &c.

Theophanes Vide Alem.

He appeaſes the factions of the Cirque.

Takes the Conſulſhip.

Vide Corippum.

3. Such was the beginning of *Juſtin*, who ſo ſeemed to have eſtabliſhed himſelf, that he feared not the Incurſions of the Barbarous Nations. Not long after his entrance upon the Conſulſhip, he gave audience to the Ambaſſadours of *Gaganus* King of the *Avari*, who came to demand the Penſion formerly paid them by *Juſtinian*, to purchaſe the quiet of his Provinces; but *Juſtin* flatly refuſed to pay them any, and ſent them home as empty as they came, threatning to chaſtiſe their Inſolence with War, if they preſumed to offer any violence to his Subjects. This perhaps he might be more bold to ſay, becauſe *Photius* hath it in his *Bibliotheca* from *Theophanes* an Hiſtorian of *Conſtantinople*, that the *Turks* a people inhabiting the parts lying upon the *Tanais* toward the Eaſt, (of old called *Maſſagetes*, but by the *Perſians* in their own Language *Chermichiconæ*,) ſent their Ambaſſadours to him with Preſents, deſiring him that he would not patroniſe the *Avari* their greateſt Enemies. What ſucceſs this Courage and Confidence of *Juſtin* had we ſhall ſee hereafter. His beginning was very good, had he but continued in the ſame courſe of Vertue, but he preſently began to fall off into a voluptuous ſort of Life, and to

maintain and nouriſh the fire of his Luſt and brutiſh appetite, ſcraped money together in any unlawfull manner whatſoever, ſelling and making money of all things, and without reſpect to that God he had at firſt pretended ſo much to honour, expoſing to ſale the Church preferments, even to the vileſt ſort of the People. And he preſently gave the world a notable ſign of his intemperate mind, in publiſhing in his very firſt year ſeveral Conſtitutions concerning Marriage. By one he repealed the penal Laws of *Juſtinian* made againſt unlawfull Marriages, refuſing to ſeparate ſuch as had contracted them. This bears date on the firſt of *January*; But a worſe followed the next *September*, which made it lawfull to break any Marriages, the conſent of the Parties firſt obtained.

Euagrius l. 5. *c.*

Juſtin. Novel. Conſt. 3. *apud Julian.*

Apud Novel. Juſtiniani 140. *tit.* 23.

4. “ In this Conſtitution he begins with a commendation of Marriage, as a venerable thing in reſpect of the procreation of Children, without which all Countries and Cities muſt at length turn Deſolate, and all Commonwealths come to “ nothing. Therefore he wiſhes it were always ſo fortunate, that without juſt “ cauſe it need never be diſſolved. But foraſmuch as amongſt ſuch multitudes of “ people, it's impoſſible but that ſome times vehement and irreconcileable differences “ muſt ariſe, he thinks fit to find out a remedy for this Diſtemper, eſpecially in “ ſuch a caſe where the hatred betwixt Man and Wife are ſo great, that there is no “ means to be found for a Reconciliation. Now the ancient Laws permitted ſuch “ to be divorced, provided it were done by conſent of both Parties. And many “ ſuch Laws there were, ſuch a diſſolution of Matrimoney was alſo ſaid to be “ made *bonâ gratiâ* in the vulgar Tongue. But afterward that moſt Sacred Prince “ his Father, (who in Piety and Wiſedom excelled all Princes that ever Reigned,) “ out of his own benign and conſtant temper and inclination, and a ſenſe of the “ miſerable and puſillanimous condition of others, made a Law that forbad Marriages to be diſſolved though by conſent, which he wiſhes heartily might remain “ in it's force and vigour. But many he ſaith had addreſſed themſelves to him, “ and ſignified a great hatred and averſion they had to the matrimonial bands “ wherewith they were naturally incumbred, and (which is worſe and ought ſeriouſly to be lamented,) great Bickerings, Quarrels, and Strifes, had already ariſen “ as both Parties complained in way of Accuſation, and therefore deſired their “ Marriages might be nulled, although they could not alledge any Cauſes or Reaſons allowable in Law for ſo doing. He tells us, he had ſometimes lovingly admoniſhed, and ſometimes threatned, endeavouring to compoſe theſe differences, “ and end theſe diſtractions in an amicable way, not ſuddenly condeſcending “ to what they deſired. But he nothing profited thereby, it being a thing exceeding difficult, to reconcile ſuch as have conceived an inveterate hatred; for the “ breaches grew ſtill wider, and ſome proceeded from Quarrels to Conſpiracies, “ and at length it came to poyſonings and other miſchievous devices; ſo that ſometimes it happened, that Children which ought to be Pledges of mutual Love, “ could not reduce them to a good underſtanding.

He makes it lawfull to diſſolve Marriages by conſent.

Hæc conſtitutio extat in Conſt. Juſtini quam non poſſis niſi injuſtam & injuſtiſſimam dicere. l. 8. *c. de Repudiis. Reducitur Jus Vetus, l.* 60, 61, 62. *D. de donat. inter vir. Nov.* 22. *c.* 4. *abrogata. Nov.* 17. *c.* 10.

*Bonâ gratiâ dicitur matrimonium diſſolvi, quoties diſſolvitur volentibus conjugibus. Bonâ gratiâ idem eſt apud Tertul. lib. de Monogamia, amicâ ſeparatione viduari. Sed ex bona gratia Matrimonium diſſolvitur aliquando ex cauſa ut d. l.*60,61,62. *interdum ſine juſta cauſa ut hic.*

5. “ Foraſmuch therefore, he ſaith, as theſe things are not at all convenient for “ the times wherein he Reigned, he betakes himſelf to this preſent Conſtitution, “ whereby he decrees and ordains that it be lawfull, as formerly it was, to diſſolve “ Marriages by conſent, and Repeals what formerly his Father by his Sanction had “ ordained againſt ſuch as ſo ſolemnized them. For if mutual affection cauſeth “ Matrimony, with good reaſon the contrary Inclination by mutual conſent diſſolveth it; provided this be declared by bills of Divorce ſent for the ſame purpoſe. “ Provided alſo that what by other Laws, eſpecially by the ſacred Conſtitutions of “ his Father, had been ordained concerning free Marriages, and the cauſes by “ which it was permitted to diſſolve Matrimony, as alſo concerning them, who “ without any cauſe ſeparated themſelves, and the penalties inflicted upon them, “ by virtue of this preſent Conſtitution, retain their full effect, power and virtue. “ Then follows his Epilogue, whereby he enjoyns that, what by this Law he had “ declared and publiſhed, ſhould after the wonted manner be expoſed to the view “ of the people in the City of *Conſtantinople*, and he dates it on the eighteenth of “ the Calends of *October*. Now the Reader muſt know, that formerly this Conſtitution was taken for *Juſtinian*'s being crowded amongſt his Novels, but later Interpreters have diſcovered the miſtake, and *Baronius* being in a very good mood, tells you he is wronged; foraſmuch as *Juſtin* teſtifieth that the contrary to it had been decreed by *Juſtinian*. He tells you that you may nothing doubt hereof, you have the edition of *Julianus* the *Anteceſſor*, wherein this Conſtitution being recited is aſcribed to *Juſtin* and not to his Uncle. And this he was obliged to ſay, to vindicate *Juſtinian* from the Calumnies which ſome have faſtned upon him.

Jure veteri inter volentes quavis de cauſa permiſſum repudium.

Sed vide C. de Repud. l. 8.

Ad Ann. 566. *num. XI.*

He turns Cruel.

Lib. 5. c. c. 1, 2.

6. However *Juſtin* pleaſed the ordinary people by this new Law concerning Marriages, he diſguſted all ſober Perſons by his bloudy Actions the year following, putting to Death ſeveral men of extraordinary Eminency. The principal of theſe was *Juſtin* his Kinſman, of whom being employed much in the Wars we have often heretofore made mention. *Euagrius* writes, that *Juſtin* the Emperour being intangled with two contrary Vices, Foolhardineſs and Cowardiſe, firſt commanded *Juſtinus* his Kinſman to come to his preſence, a man of great Honour and Eſtimation, both for his great Abilities in War, and other rare accompliſhments of his Perſon, who then reſided about the River *Danubius*, to reſtrain the Incurſions of the *Abari*. Theſe *Abari* he tells us were a People of *Scythia*, and part of thoſe called *Amaxobii*, inhabiting the Regions beyond *Caucaſus*, but being driven out of their Countrey by the *Turks* their Neighbours, and variouſly infeſted by them, they came firſt to *Boſphorus*, and thence quitting the Coaſts of the *Euxine* Sea, (inhabited by Barbarians, though the Cities and ſtrong Holds were in the hands of the *Romans*,) they held ſtreight on their Voyage, and ſubdued all Barbarous Nations before them till they came to the *Danube*, whence they ſent Ambaſſadours to *Juſtinian* the Emperour. Hence now was *Juſtin* recalled to reap the benefit of the Agreement, as was pretended, made formerly betwixt him and *Juſtin* now Emperour; for ſeeming both to be of equal fame, and as well the one as the other, capable of the Empire, after long debates had about the Imperial Power, they covenanted betwixt themſelves, that whetherſoever of them were Crowned Emperour, ſhould make the other the ſecond Perſon in Honour, and though ſecond in reſpect of the Emperour, yet he ſhould be firſt in reſpect of all others. At firſt therefore that *Juſtin* who was preferred to the Empire, imbraced the other with counterfeit kindneſs, but by little and little forged Crimes againſt him, took from him his Guard and Train, commanded him to keep his Houſe, and at length ordered him to be hurried away to *Alexandria*, where about midnight he was cruelly Murthered in his Bed, and received this recompence for the love he bore to the Commonwealth, and the notable Service he had done in the Wars. And yet by this were not the Fury and Rage of the Emperour and his Wife mitigated, but they muſt ſee his Head after it was cut from his Shoulders, and kick it with their Feet in an inſulting and ſcornfull manner.

Turcas veteres non ignoramus ſiquidem eorum meminit Plinius & adnumerat eos inter eas gentes quæ circa Mæotidem paludem habitarunt, horum etiam meminit Agathias, lib. 1.

Murthers *Juſtin* his Kinſman.

Puts to Death *Ætherius* and *Addæus*.

7. Not long after *Juſtin* called to Judgment *Addæus* and *Ætherius* two Senatours, and in great place and eſteem with *Juſtinian*, accuſing them both of moſt heinous Crimes. And *Ætherius* confeſſed he had deſigned to Poyſon the Emperour, and that *Addæus* was of his Council herein, and conſcious to all his Purpoſes. But with ſolemn and dreadfull Oaths, *Addæus* proteſted he was altogether Innocent, yet both of them loſt their Heads. *Addæus* at his Execution confeſſed freely, that though he was not guilty of that Crime for which he was Condemned in the leaſt, yet he had deſerved that puniſhment from the juſt hand of Almighty God, who both ſees and puniſhes wicked perſons; For he had by Inchantments made away *Theodotus*, Prefect of the Palace. Whether theſe things were ſo *Euagrius* is not able to ſay, but affirms that both theſe were wicked Perſons, for *Addæus* was a Sodomite, and *Ætherius* deviſed all ſorts of Calumnies againſt Innocent men, and under colour of ſerving the Emperour in his Office of Prefect of his Court, ſpoiled both the Living and Dead in the Reign of *Juſtinian*. So went matters at *Conſtantinople*, while all things were thought to be in repoſe in the Weſtern parts, and eſpecially in *Italy*, where the *Goths* and *Franks* had been lately defeated, ſo that no danger at all ſeemed to threaten that Countrey. But a great Noiſe was preſently heard of Barbarians, that again were crouding and ruſhing into it, filling all places with terrour and amazement, and putting to ſilence all other motions, as great Thunders and Concuſſions are wont to ſuppreſs leſſer ſounds. Theſe were the *Lombards* who were now making their expedition into *Italy*; upon what Inducements, and in what manner we come to ſhew after that we have firſt made ſome ſhort Obſervations concerning the Original of this People, which grew afterward ſo conſiderable in *Italy*, and the name and fame of which is not extinct at this very day, their name ſticking to their Countrey.

The *Lombards* invade *Italy*.

The Original of them.

8. As for their Original then, it may without much difficulty be gathered out of ancient Writers, that the *Vandals*, *Oſtrogoths*, *Weſtrogoths*, the *Gepidæ*, and *Lombards*, all owe their deſcent to the Iſland or rather Peninſula of *Scanzia*. As alſo that the *Goths* properly ſo called, and the *Gepidæ* and *Vandals* were of the ſame *Gothick* ſtock, and that the *Longobards*, or *Lombards*, or *Longbeards*, (for none doubts but that from the length of their Beards they had their Name,) were deſcended from the *Gepidæ*. Theſe *Gepidæ* were ſo called, becauſe when the *Goths* made an expedition

Plinio dicitur Scandinavia, Ptolemæo Scandia, Jornandi Scandza, Procopio Thule. Continet partem Norwegiæ & Daniæ. Gepait Germanis Is qui moram trahit.

expedition out of *Scanzia* in three Ships, they ſailed ſlower than the reſt, and ſtaid in an Iſland of the River *Viſtula*. Yet from their roving and wandring abroad were they alſo named *Winili*, the ſame as to ſignification of the word with *Wandali*, a diverſe pronunciation of the ſame word, which uſually happeneth in proceſs of time making it be taken for ſeveral. Theſe *Winili* or *Langobards* being grown in the Iſland to ſuch a multitude, that it could not maintain and nouriſh them all, divided themſelves into three parts, one whereof, on which the Lot ſhould fall, muſt ſeek themſelves out new Habitations. Forced therefore to quit their Native Countrey, they choſe two Brothers for their Captains *Ibor* and *Ago*, the Sons of one *Gambara*, a Woman very eminent for her Wiſedom, and came into a place called *Scoringa*, where they remained for ſome years. At this time it happened, that the *Vandals* infeſted all the Countries adjoyning, and puffed up with their ſucceſs, ſent to the *Winili* requiring them either to pay Tribute, or inſtantly prepare themſelves for War. *Ibor* and *Ago* the two Captains, by the advice of their Mother, returned anſwer they would fight rather than live in Servitude, conſidering that although their followers were not many in number, yet active and courageous, being as themſelves in the flower of their Age. Acted by this natural heat and vigour and a conſideration of their liberty they fought ſo ſtoutly, that they obtained a Victory over the *Vandals*; but being ſorely diſtreſſed with Famine, they reſolved to quit *Scoringa*, and find out ſome better Seat.

Vide Grotii Prolegom. in Hiſtor. Goth. Vandal. & Langobardorum.

Paulus Warnefridus Langobardi filius Diaconus Forojulienſis de Geſtis Langobard. lib. 1. c. c. 1, 2, *&c.*

Under Conduct of *Ibor* and *Ago* they fall into *Scoringa.*

9. Making then for *Mauringa*, the *Aſſipitti* denied them paſſage through their Territories, at which being much troubled, and fearing their ſmall Numbers would not be able to make good the Attempt, they betook themſelves to a Strategem, and raiſed a rumour amongſt thair Enemies that they had amongſt them, *Cynocephali* or men with Heads like to Dogs, who fed on Man's bloud, and when an Enemy was wanting, on their own. To ſtrike a greater terrour into the *Aſſipitti*, they inlarge their Camp, and kindle many fires, which with the other report ſo terrified them, that they had not the Courage to Ingage, but having one amongſt them of great eſteem for ſtrength and Courage, offered him to fight with any one of the *Lombards* whom they ſhould pick out; if their Champion overcame, the Paſſage ſhould be denied, but if the *Lombard* ſhould be Victour, then ſhould it be granted free and without moleſtation. When the *Lombards* conſidered who to chuſe, a certain Slave offered himſelf, deſiring that in caſe he overcame, the ignominy of Slavery might be taken away both from him and his Family, which granted, he fought and overcame his Adverſary. Then did the *Lombards* paſs into *Mauringa*, where to increaſe the number of Warriours they manumitted many Slaves, and making no long ſtay there, they proceeded to *Gotland*, where having ſtaid alſo ſome time, they poſſeſſed themſelves of *Anthabet*, *Bathaib* and *Vurgundaib* for ſome years, which *Paul* conjectureth to be names of certain Towns or Places. In this mean time Died *Ibor* and *Ago*, who firſt brought them out of *Scandinavia*, and had governed them till now.

They Paſs into *Mauringa.*

10. They being Dead, the *Lombards* reſolved to have no more Captains, but a King to govern them after the manner of other Nations. They made choice therefore of *Agelmund* the Son of *Ago*, who exerciſed this Office three and thirty years. At this time it happened that a certain Strumpet was delivered of ſeven Boys, which ſhe caſt into a Fiſhpond, and thither by chance in his way came King *Agelmund*, who eſpying the Children ſtopt his Horſe, and ſtirring them with his Spear, it fortuned that one of them took faſt hold of it with his hand. The King amazed thereat, foretold he would be a more than ordinary man, and commanded him to be taken up and delivered unto a Nurſe, calling him *Lamiſſio*, from *Lama*, which in their Language ſignified a Fiſhpool. When this *Lamiſſio* was grown up, they reported that the *Amazons* forbad the *Lombards* to paſs a certain River, whereupon it was agreed, that the moſt valiant amongſt them ſhould fight with him in the Water ſwimming, on condition that if the *Amazon* overcame *Lamiſſio*, the *Lombards* ſhould withdraw, but if he got the better, they muſt then have free paſſage. He fought with her and got the Victory, as the fable went, and the *Lombards* paſſing the River, ſtill made farther progreſs, till growing ſecure through their conſtant Succeſs, the *Bulgares* fell upon them by Night, and wounding many killed ſome, amongſt whom fell *Agelmund* their King, and his onely Daughter was taken Priſoner. Yet the *Lombards* taking Courage choſe *Lamiſſio* for their King, who being a ſtout and active young man, thirſted after nothing ſo much as to revenge the Death of his Predeceſſour, but at the firſt encounter, his men were worſted and beaten diſgracefully to their Camp.

They chuſe *Agelmund* for their King.

Lamiſſio quaſi Lamis ſohn, Piſcinæ filius.

After him *Lamiſſio.*

11. *Lamiſſio* exceedingly concerned at their flight, teſtified his reſentment thereof both by words and geſture, putting them in mind of the Infamy they contracted by not revenging the Death of their King, and the Captivity of his Daughter deſigned by them for his Wife, and partly by threats, and partly by good Language and rewards, he ſo wrought upon them that they fell violently upon the *Bulgares*, and after a moſt bloudy Conteſt, gave them a great Overthrow, which done, they beſtowed a Royal Funeral on the King's body, and being inriched with Plunder, became more hardy and reſolute to endure the labours of War. After *Lamiſſio's* Death, *Lechu* Reigned almoſt fourty years, and then his Son *Hildehoc* who was followed by *Gudehoc*. In thoſe days there was War betwixt *Odoachar*, (ſo *Paul* the Hiſtorian calls him,) who Reigned ſome years in *Italy*, and *Feletheus* or *Fema* King of the *Rugi* inhabiting then on the other ſide of the *Danube*, which ſeparated thoſe Coaſts from the borders of *Noricium*. *Feletheus* and his Wife *Giſa* not being reclaimed from their wicked Courſes, by all that *Severinus* a Religious Perſon, having a Monaſtery in their Dominions, could ſay unto them, *Odoachar* muſtered up all his Forces conſiſting of *Turcilingi*, *Heruli* and ſuch *Rugi* as he had already brought under his Dominion, beſides the people of *Italy*, and came into *Rugiland* where he deſtroyed both *Feletheus* and his followers, which done, he returned into *Italy*, carrying with him in triumph great numbers of Captives. The *Lombards*, as no Land is loſt for want of Heirs, then came into *Rugiland*, and finding it a fertile Countrey, made their ſtay there for certain years.

Then Others.

They paſs into *Rugiland*.

Gudehoc, bonum Latibulum. Giſa in voc. Alem. Giſo. Gizo Contract. ex Giſelbreht, Comitum copioſus, in vocab. Allem. Giſalbert, Giſalbret, Giſalbreht, Giſelbertus. Inde Contract. Gilbert. Ruge-lant hirſuta terra nos hodie Rough & Ruggid pro Ruge.

12. In the mean time their King *Gudehoc* dies, to whom ſucceeds *Claffo* his Son, and after him Reigned his Son *Tato* the ſeventh King in order. The *Lombards* alſo now departed out of *Rugiland*, and inhabited in open Champions in the Barbarous Language called *Feld*, where making their abode for three years, a Quarrel and War aroſe betwixt *Tato*, and *Rodulphus* King of the *Heruli*. The Brother of this *Rodulphus* being ſent upon an Embaſſy, for procurement of Peace and a good underſtanding, as he returned home again, chanced to paſs by the Houſe of *Rumetruda* the King's Daughter, who ſeeing a great train and equipage, asked who it was that paſſed by, and receiving for anſwer that it was the Brother of *Rodulphus*, invited him to drink a glaſs of Wine. In he came, but being a man low of Stature, and of a mean Preſence, ſhe derided him, which not able to bear, he returned her as biting Language, and this ſo netled her, that diſſembling her malice, and inviting him to ſit down with his Head to a Window, ſhe thence cauſed him to be killed with Lances. His Brother *Rodulphus* at the News grew very impatient, and denouncing War to *Tato*, their Armies faced each other in the open Field. *Rodulphus* orders his men to be ready for Battel, but ſits at Play in his Tent deſpiſing his Enemies, and being confident in the ſtrength of his own Souldiers, who of late had been very Victorious, and either that they might be more Nimble, or out of contempt of Danger, were wont to fight without any other covering than onely ſomething tied about their privy Members. One of his Attendants he commanded to climb a Tree near at hand, and as ſoon as he ſaw the *Lombards* run, to tell him, threatning to cut off his Head if he brought him News of the flight of the *Heruli*. The Fellow therefore out of fear, though he ſaw them give ground, durſt not let the King know ſo much, but ever as he asked him what he ſaw, anſwered that the *Heruli* did gallantly demean themſelves, and concealed their fortune till ſuch time as they were abſolutely routed; and he cried out woe be to thee O miſerable *Herulia*, againſt whom Almighty God is incenſed, or to this purpoſe. At theſe words the King ſtartled, demanded of his Watchman if his *Heruli* fled, to which he replied 'tis not I, but thou O King that ſayeſt it. Confounded hereat, he and his Courtiers knew not what courſe to take, and the *Lombards* coming upon them made great ſlaughter, killing King *Rodulphus* amongſt the reſt.

They inhabit Champion Countries.

War with the *Heruli*.

Rodulphus their King ſlain.

Claffo contract. ex claf-maer reſonantis famæ. Taſo, Tato, Tazo, Trazo apud Procop. in voce Allem. Taſſo, Tatto coacervator. Feld nunc noſtratibus Field propriè campus patens. Rume-trud, celebratæ fidei. Cum rebus pugnant nomina ſæpe ſuis.

13. The *Heruli* were ſo diſtracted through fear, or from ſome higher cauſe, that they took the green fields for water, and ſtretching out their Armes and Bodies to ſwim, were miſerably cut in pieces by the perſuing Enemy. The victorious *Lombards* then divided the Plunder, and *Tato* for his ſhare took the Standard of *Rodulphus*, called *Bandum*, with the Helmet he was wont to wear in Battel. The Valour of the *Heruli* became extinct, together with *Rodulphus*, after whom they refuſed to have any more Kings. But the *Lombards* on the contrary took ſuch courage, that increaſing their Armies by the ſeveral Nations they had ſubdued, they ſought after all occaſions of Trophies and Glory. But not long after the Triumph *Tato* was ſlain by *Wacho*, the Son of his Brother *Zuchilo*. *Hildichus*, the Son of *Tato*, endeavoured to revenge his death, but was beaten out of the Countrey, and fled to the *Gepidæ*, amongſt whom he ſpent the remainder of his days, and ſowed

After him they refuſe to have any more Kings.

Bandum vexillum à Binden vincire. Binden Angl. to Bind.

ſeeds of Diſſentions betwixt the two now different Nations. At the ſame time (*a*) *Wacho* ſubdued the *Suevi*, and made them ſubject to his Commands. He had three Wives; the firſt (*b*) *Ranicunda*, Daughter of the King of the *Turingi*, after which he married *Auſtrigoſa*, the Daughter of the King of the *Gepidæ*, which brought him two Daughters, *viz.* (*c*) *Wiſegarda*, married to *Theodebert* King of the *Franks*, and (*d*) *Walderada*, Wife to *Cuſwald*, another King of that Nation, who having no kindneſs for her, beſtowed her on *Garipald*, one of his Subjects. *Wacho's* third Wife was *Salinga*, the Daughter of the King of the *Heruli*, and on her he begat his Son (*e*) *Waltari*, who ſucceeded him in his Kingdom. All theſe were called (*f*) *Lethingi*, by which name were ſignified ſuch as deſcended of a noble Race.

(a) *Wachi-lap, viæ curſor, Wacho idem contractè.*

(b) *Ranigunda, pura benevolentia.*

(c) *Wiſegarda, Sapientiæ collectio.*

(d) *Wal-rade, benè conſulens, in voc. Alem. Walerat, & Soni mitioris cauſa Waldrada.*

(e) *Wald-har, Nemoris Dominus.*

(f) *Etheling, Edeling Nobilis Saxon.*

14. *Waltari* reigned ſeven years, and then gave place to *Audoin*, the ninth King in order, who, not long after, led the *Lombards* into *Pannonia*. Now the grudges formerly conceived betwixt the *Gepidæ* and them broke out into an open War. Both ſides fighting ſtoutly, and it being uncertain to which the Victory would incline, it happened in a fight, that *Alboin*, the Son of *Audoin*, met *Turiſmodus*, the Son of *Turiſendus*, and ſtriking him from his Horſe with his Sword, preſently ſlew him, which the *Gepidæ* perceiving, their King's Son, who had been the great fomenter of the differences, being now dead, took them to their heels. The victorious *Lombards*, when they returned home, deſired their King that he would admit his Son *Alboin* to dine with him, who had been the procurer of ſo great a victory. But he anſwered, that he could not violate the Cuſtoms of his Nation, which did not admit the King's Son to eat with him, except he had firſt received Arms from ſome foreign King. Hereupon *Alboin* takes along with him onely forty young Men, and goes ſtreight to *Turiſendus*, whoſe Son he had lately ſlain, and tells him the reaſon of his coming. He kindly receives and admits him to his Table, placing him on his Right Hand, where his late Son was wont to ſit. Yet when he conſidered with himſelf whoſe place that had been, and called to mind the death of his Son, he could not contain himſelf, but deeply ſighing, ſaid, that ſeat he loved well, but he could not well brook the Perſon that now poſſeſſed it. Hereupon his other Son being preſent, began to affront the *Lombards*, ſaying, they were like Mares that had white Feet, becauſe their Legs were bound about with white bands, or fillets. One of them bad him go along with them to the place called *Asfeld*, and there he ſhould feel how theſe Mares could kick, where his Brothers bones were ſcattered as were wont to be thoſe of ſome vile Carriage-beaſt. This provoked the *Gepidæ* exceedingly, and the *Lombards* laid their hands on their Swords, which the King perceiving, leapt from the Table, and putting himſelf betwixt them, rebuked his own Son and Servants, threatning ſeverely to puniſh him that ſhould firſt ſtrike a ſtroke, and affirming it were a Conqueſt not at all pleaſing to Almighty God, to kill one's Enemy in his own Houſe. The fray being appeaſed, they went on with their Dinner, and *Turiſendus* taking the Arms of his late Son *Turiſmodus*, beſtowed them on *Alboin*, and diſmiſſed him in ſafety. *Alboin* coming to his Father, was now admitted to his Table, where he told all that had paſſed in the Court of *Turiſendus*, to the admiration of all thoſe that heard it, who commended much *Alboin* for his Courage, and extolled the generoſity of the King.

Aud-vin, Vetus vincendi, in voc. Alem. Autoin, Aut-vin.

Audoin King.

Albe-vin, omnia regens.

Thoris-mod, ferox animo.

Thoris-mund, ferox ore.

15. At this time, ſaith *Paulus Diaconus*, *Juſtinian* governed the *Roman* Empire in an happy manner, being in War proſperous, and wonderfull in Civil Affairs. For by *Beliſarius*, a Patritian, he overcame the *Perſians*, and utterly deſtroyed the Nation of the *Vandals*, having taken Priſoner *Geliſmer*, their King, and reſtored all *Africk*, after a ſeparation of ninety and ſix years, to the *Roman* Empire. By the means of the ſame *Beliſarius* he overthrew the *Goths* in *Italy*, taking alſo Priſoner *Withicis* their King. After this he reſtrained the *Moors*, who made Incurſions into *Africk*, and with incredible dexterity uſing the ſervice of *John* the Exconſul, defeated their King *Attila*. Other Nations he alſo maſtered by War, and deſervedly obtained the ſeveral Sirnames of *Alamannicus*, *Gothicus*, *Francicus*, *Germanicus*, *Anticus*, *Alanicus*, *Wandalicus* and *Africanus*. He adds, that he admirably contracted the *Roman* Laws, which were formerly too prolix and diſagreeing. For all the Conſtitutions of Princes, contained formerly in many Volumes, he contracted into twelve Books, which joined together, he commanded to be called by the name of *Codex Juſtinianeus*. Farther he reduced into fifty Books of Digeſts or Pandects the Laws of all Magiſtrates, which anciently made up near two thouſand Volumes. He compoſed four Books of Inſtitutions. New Laws alſo he enacted, which he called

Romanum Imperium felici ſorte regebat, qui & bella proſperè geſſit, & in cauſis civilibus mirificus extitit.

Novels. This ſame Prince alſo built a Church in *Conſtantinople* to Chriſt the Lord, who is the Wiſedom of his Father, which in Greek he named ῾ΑΓΙ΄ΑΝ ΣΩΦΙ΄ΑΝ, or *Holy Wiſedom*, a work which ſo far excells all other Buildings, that in the whole world its like is not to be found. For this Prince was in Faith Catholick, in his works upright, juſt in Judgments, and therefore all things concurred for good. In his time lived *Caſſiodorus*, a man famous at *Rome*, as well for ſecular as divine knowledge, who, amongſt other things excellently written, hath in an eminent manner opened the Myſteries of the Pſalms. He was firſt Conſul, then a Senatour, and at laſt a Monk. At this time alſo *Dionyſius*, an Abbat, by a wonderfull kind of reaſoning, compoſed the *Paſchal Calculus* at *Rome*, and at *Conſtantinople Priſcian* of *Cæſarea* ſearched to the bottom of the Art of Grammar. *Arator* alſo, a Subdeacon of the Church of *Rome*, an admirable Poet, wrote the Acts of the Apoſtles in Hexameter Verſe.

Erat enim hic Princeps fide Catholicus, in operibus rectus, in judiciis juſtus, ideóq; ei omnia concurrebant in bonum.

16. After this and another digreſſion concerning St. *Bennet*, *Paul*, our Hiſtorian, returns to King *Audoin*, whoſe Wife *Rodelinda* brought him his Son *Alboin* a Man every way accompliſht for warlike Enterpriſes. Having ſucceeded his Father with the univerſal conſent and approbation of his People, *Chlotarius*, King of the *Franks*, beſtowed on him in Marriage his Daughter *Chlotſiunda*, by whom he had onely one Daughter, *Alpſiunda* by name. In the mean time dyes *Turiſendus*, King of the *Gepidæ*, whoſe Succeſſour *Gunimundus*, deſiring to revenge old Injuries, renewed the War. *Alboin*, to ſtrengthen himſelf, contracted a perpetual League and Amity with that People, which formerly being called *Hunnes*, came afterward to be known by the Name of *Avares*, which they received from one of their Kings. By virtue of this Confederacy, when the War was begun, the *Avares* invaded the Territories of the *Gepidæ*, which News coming to the Ears of *Gunimund*, he was exceedingly perplexed, but thought fit firſt to engage the *Lombards*, whom having once defeated, he could eaſily drive away the other. But in a bloudy Battel he was ſlain, with almoſt all his Followers. *Alboin* killed him with his own Hand, and of his Skull made him a Cup to drink in, called in the Language of the *Lombards*, *Schala*, and *Patera*, by ſuch as ſpake the Latine Tongue. Yet his Daughter *Roſimunda*, whom, together with an infinite multitude of all ages and conditions, he took captive, he married, his former Wife, *Clotſiunda*, being dead. The *Lombards* grew rich, the booty was ſo great, but the Nation of the *Gepidæ* was ſo diminiſhed, that thenceforth they had no King, but ſuch as eſcaped were either ſubject to the *Lombards*, or Slaves, in effect, to the *Hunnes*, who poſſeſſed their Countrey. As for *Alboin*, he became exceeding famous, both amongſt the Nation of the *Baioarii*, the *Saxons*, and others that ſpake the ſame Language; his Proweſs and Vertue being celebrated in their Poems. And many reported, even to the time of *Paulus Diaconus*, that the chiefeſt ſorts of Weapons were invented by him.

Rode. lindc, quies tranquilla, in voc. Alem. Ruadlind, Ruoadlind, Rudlind.

Alboin

In voce Aleman. Alf-ſuind. Halfſchunte, media forma.

Overthrows the *Gepidæ.*

Schala facta olim ex calva interfecti hominis quæ ſchele, & hooftſchele dicebatur, nobis etiamnum skull. *Poſtea facta eſt ex alia materia ad illius modum.*

17. The Fame of the victorious *Lombards* flying now every where, *Narſes*, the Imperial Chartulary, who had the charge of *Italy*, and was to ingage in War with the *Goths*, ſent to *Alboin*, deſiring his Aſſiſtence, being as King of the *Lombards*, already his Confederate. He ſent him a band of choice Men, who paſſing into *Italy* by the *Adriatick* Gulf, did him ſervice in his Wars, which being finiſhed, they returned home richly rewarded; And ſo long as the *Lombards* inhabited *Pannonia*, they gave aſſiſtence to the *Roman* Emperour, upon all occaſions. But *Narſes*, after all his Services, was envied for his Wealth and Authority, by ſome great ones, who ſent to complain of him to *Juſtin*, now Emperour, and *Sophia*, his Wife, alledging, that the *Romans* had better have ſerved the *Goths*, than the *Greeks*, under this *Eunuch*, who held them in no better a condition than that of Slavery, their moſt pious Prince being altogether ignorant of their Sufferings. They deſired in concluſion, that he would deliver them out of his hands, or elſe they would put both the City of *Rome*, and themſelves, into the Hands of other Nations. *Narſes*, when he underſtood it, anſwered onely in ſhort. *If I have ill treated the* Romans, *let me be ill treated my ſelf.* But the Emperour was ſo much moved againſt him, that he ſent *Longinus* into *Italy*, to take his place; and now he knows not how to diſpoſe of himſelf, for ſtanding in great fear of *Sophia*, the Empreſs, he dares not return to *Conſtantinople*. Being an Eunuch, ſhe had bidden them put him into a *Gyneceum*, and make him diſtribute to the Women that ſpun their Portions of Wool, which, when he heard, it's reported that he ſaid, he would ſpin ſuch a Thread as ſhould find her work as long as ſhe lived, and moved both by diſdain and fear, he ſends preſently to the *Lombards*, inviting them to forſake the poor and beggarly Countrey of *Pannonia*, and come into *Italy*, a fertile ſoil, which abounded with all things.

Paulus Diaconus de geſtis Langob. l. 2.

Sends aſſiſtence to *Narſes*,

Who is envied, and *Longinus* ſent to take his place.

He calls the *Lombards* into *Italy*.

things. And he ſent them ſeveral of the beſt Fruits the Countrey afforded, as Baits to draw them on.

18. This is the Account that *Paulus Diaconus* gives us of the Motives which brought the *Lombards* firſt to invade *Italy*. But there are ſome that doubt much the truth thereof, and conceive it no abſurd thing to queſtion a Report made by one that lived at ſuch a diſtance from this Invaſion, as did our Writer. And they produce another, that both lived and wrote at the very time this Invaſion hapned, *viz. Corippus*, a Grammarian of *Africk*, from whom it appears, that *Narſes* was e'er this recalled to *Conſtantinople*, where he was highly eſteemed by *Juſtin*, at whoſe Inſtallment he was preſent, and attended him when he gave Audience to the Ambaſſadours ſent from the *Avares*. If he was then at *Conſtantinople*, it cannot be imagined he ſhould be about the ſame time in *Italy*, and call in the *Lombards*, who the year following broke into that Countrey. Neither can it be pleaded on the other ſide, that though he was then at *Conſtantinople*, yet the Emperour might ſend him back into *Italy*, with the ſame Power and Employment as formerly, becauſe all Authours agree, that after his Return *Longinus* was ſent to ſucceed him. But upon what account, or by what Motives ſoever induced, into *Italy* they came, and made there ſuch Devaſtations, and brought ſuch Miſeries upon the People, (which had ſcarcely had time to take a little breath, ſince the *Gothick* Wars) that the great miſchiefs they wrought, were to be uſhered in with dreadfull Prodigies. For in the night time were ſeen in the Air, to the Northward, Armies of Men, and Spears of Fire, gliſtering, as it were, with the colour of Man's Bloud, which e'er long was to be ſhed in ſuch abundance.

Some do not believe this report of *Paulus Diaconus*.

In laud. Juſtin. lib. 3.

Armiger interea domini veſtigia luſtrans,
Eminet excelſus ſuper omnia vertice Narſes
Agmina & Auguſtam, &c.

Prodigies uſhering in the *Lombards*.

19. *Alboin* reſolving to invade *Italy*, ſent to the *Saxons*, his old Friends, and confederates for aid, offering them their ſhare in the Conqueſt for their pains, with which Propoſals they cloſed, and ſent him above twenty thouſand Men, with their Wives and Children. Beſides the *Saxons* he ſtrengthened himſelf alſo by the aids of ſeveral other Nations, as the *Gepidæ*, *Bulgari*, *Sarmatæ*, *Pannonians*, *Suevi*, and others, all which had afterwards Lands aſſigned them in the Countrey. Moreover he had contracted a ſtrict Alliance with the *Hunnes*, to whom he left *Pannonia*, with this condition, that in caſe the *Lombards* ſhould return, they ſhould reenter and enjoy their former Seats. And being alſo joined in League and Alliance with the *Franks*, his Intereſt became the more conſiderable; for he was not onely the Son-in-Law of *Clotarius*, whoſe Daughter *Chlothoſinda* he had married, but thereby near allied alſo to four Kings of the ſame Nation. Animated by his own natural Courage, and theſe Aſſiſtences, he removes from *Pannonia*, with all his *Lombards*, their Wives, Children, and all they had, to poſſeſs *Italy*, (which he had already devoured in hope and expectation.) After fourty two years ſtay in *Pannonia*, in the Month of *April*, juſt after *Eaſter*, which fell out that Year on the firſt day of that Month, in the firſt Indiction, in the third Year of the Emperour *Juſtin* the younger, the Ninth of *John* the *Roman* Patriarch, and the five hundredth and ſixty eighth year of our Lord. Why *Baronius* ſhould write, that *this was done after that* Alboinus *had ſeized on* Pannonia, *and there ſtaid fourty two years, who alſo came with his People out of the Iſland of* Scandinavia, (ſeeing he was, as *Paulus Diaconus* counts, the tenth King that reigned over the *Lombards*, after the death of *Ibor* and *Ago*, the Captains that led them out of that Iſland, and not he, but *Audoin*, his Father, brought them into *Pannonia*,) let others enquire.

Other Nations joined with them.

20. *Alboin* having with his Army, and promiſcuous multitude, arrived at the Borders, went up into an high Mountain adjacent, to take a proſpect of *Italy*. The Hill was from this occaſion called *Mons Regis*, on which many Buffes were bred, it reaching as far as *Pannonia*, which abounded with that ſort of Beaſt. Having without any oppoſition entred *Venetia*, the firſt Province of *Italy*, and come to the bounds of the *Foro Julian* City, or Caſtle rather, he began to conſider whom he could truſt with theſe Territories, and at laſt conferred the charge on *Giſulphus*, his Nephew, a man very fit for ſuch an Employment, who ſerved him now as his *Strator*, or Maſter of his Horſe, in the Language of the *Lombards* called *Mar-hais*. Yet he refuſed to accept of the charge, till he granted him ſuch *Faras*, Generations or Families of the *Lombards*, as he ſhould chuſe, which being done, he became the Captain of them; and obtained alſo a number of Mares of an excellent breed. This Year fell in Winter ſuch a vaſt quantity of Snow in the Plain, as was wont to fall on the *Alpes* themſelves; and the following Summer afforded ſuch plenty of all things, as no Age could parallel, if we believe our Hiſtorian. In the ſame Year died *Narſes* the Eunuch, as ſome write, though concerning the place, manner and time of his Death, there are different Relations. The Latin Writers ſay, he retur-

Alboin prefers *Giſulfe* his Kinſman.

Giſel-ulph, Comitum adjutor.

Mar-hais Strator, qui imperat Equis ita meliores Codices, pro Marpahis. Fara, generatio, familia, à verbo Faren, quod eſt progredi; poſt Chriſtianiſmum dicta ſic Parœcia, unde Far-her, nos etiamnum a Sea-faring Man.

ned from *Naples* to *Rome*, and repenting what he had done about the *Lombards*, died there, and that his body being put into a Coffin of Lead, was, together with all his Wealth, carried to *Conſtantinople*. But the Greek Authours will not allow him to have ſtaid at *Naples*, but to have returned to *Conſtantinople*, and there to have raiſed magnificent Buildings. *Cedrenus* writes, that being moſt dear to the Emperour, he built an Houſe called by his own Name, beſides a Manſion for the *Cathari*. The *Hiſtoria Miſcella* relates, that in his Houſe he cauſed to be made a great Ciſtern, and having therein depoſed many thouſand Centenaries of Gold and Silver, killed all that knew of it, one old Man excepted, to whom he recommended the Treaſure, receiving from him an Oath of Secrecy. If ſo, he muſt have lived ſeveral years after the Invaſion of *Italy*.

Vide Baronium ad Ann. 568. num. 10.

21. And that we give credit rather to the Greek than the Latin Writers, in this point, the Teſtimony of *Corippus*, lately mentioned, doth perſuade us. Beſides, *Anaſtaſius* writes how *Narſes* died at the ſame time as died *John* the *Roman* Biſhop, and it's certain that *John* lived four years after this, and in the Letters of *John* is mention made of the Conſulſhip of *Narſes*, which he bore with *Juſtin*, being now Conſul the ſixth time, whereas in this Year, wherein they will have him to have died, *Juſtin* was Conſul onely the ſecond time. Then who can once imagine, that the Body of ſo grand a Malefactour, as the Betrayer of *Italy*, ſhould be carried to *Conſtantinople*, and have honourable Burial, which ought rather to have been hung on a Gibbet, or caſt to Dogs, or in ſome other ignominious ſort to have been treated? The Latin Writers ſeem therefore to have been but ill inſtructed in this particular, and neither had the Greek Authours full intelligence, as to circumſtances, when they ſpeak of his great Piety and Charity, and yet mention another thing wherein he cannot be excuſed from exceſſive Covetouſneſs and Cruelty. This is his hiding the Treaſure where it could doe no good, and killing thoſe that were privy to the hiding. *Procopius*, *Agathias*, *Euagrius*, and others, give him large Commendations, and had ſuch a thing been committed after the Glory obtained by his former Actions, *Euagrius* would probably have mentioned it, or at leaſt not ſo largely commended him. But whereas this Authour brings down his Narrations as low as *Mauritius* the Emperour, and yet makes no mention of *Narſes* his death; ſome ſuſpect he was ſtill alive when he wrote his Hiſtory.

Whether one or two of the name of *Narſes*.

22. And that which much ſtrengthens this ſuſpicion, is, that there was one *Narſes* in the time of *Mauritius*, a Patritian, in Dignity, and renowned for his Counſels and Actions, relating as well to Peace as War, General of the Army alſo, and very remarkable for his Piety. If it was one and the ſame Perſon, he muſt have lived thirty years longer, which if any count improbable, let them conſider whether this doth not carry a greater ſhew of Improbability, that almoſt at the ſame time there ſhould be two of the ſame Name, Order, Dignity and Piety, and both of them renowned for their Victories, both Generals of the Imperial Armies, and yet no remark hereupon made by any Hiſtorian, no diſtinction at all, either by *Major* and *Minor*, *Senior* and *Junior*, or the *Firſt* and *Laſt*. This *Narſes* that lived in the time of *Mauritius*, who overthrew *Barames*, that uſurped the Kingdom of *Perſia*, and reſtored *Choſroes* the younger, loſt his Life under the Tyrant *Phocas*, as we may ſee hereafter. Let us leave *Narſes* therefore, either in his Grave, or elſewhere, and attend the Motions of *Alboin* into *Italy*, who being come as far as the River *Alpis*, was met by *Fœlix*, the Biſhop of *Tarniſium*, to whom he granted, as he was moſt bountifull, all that belonged to his Church, and confirmed by his *Pragmaticum* what he deſired. He took *Vincentia*, *Verona*, and the reſt of the Cities of *Venetia*, *Padua*, *Mantua* and *Monteſilice* onely excepted. Here *Paul* tells you, that by *Venetia* he means not onely thoſe few Iſlands, then called in the plural number *Venetiæ*, at this day *Venice*, but that Countrey which reached as far as from the Borders of *Pannonia* to the River *Addua*. He proves this to be *Venetia*, from ancient Hiſtorians, who affirm *Pergamus* to be a City of *Venetiæ*. The Lake *Benacus* is alſo called *Lacus Venetiarum*, out of which iſſueth the River *Mintius*. In Greek he ſaith, *Eneti*, to which the Latines add one Letter, ſignifieth *Laudable*. To *Venetia* was alſo joyned *Hiſtria*, (ſo named from the River *Hiſter*,) which he affirmeth from the *Roman* Hiſtory, to have been in old time larger than it was in his days,) and both theſe were accounted for one Province. Of *Venetia Aquileia* was anciently the Head, but in *Paul* his time *Forum-Julii* was advanced to that Honour, being ſo called, becauſe *Julius Cæſar* there appointed a Mart, or *Forum Negotiationis*, as our Authour words it.

Alboin takes ſeveral Towns in *Venetia*.

He enters *Milan.*

Pavia holds out three years.

23. *Alboin* having invaded *Liguria*, entred *Milan*, at the beginning of the third Indiction, on the third of the Nones of *September*, in the time of *Honoratus* the Archbiſhop. Then took he in all the Midland Cities, but thoſe upon the Sea ſtood out, and *Ticinum*, or *Pavia*, reſiſted his violence three years. In the mean time he over-runs all as far as *Tuſcia*, *Rome* and *Ravenna* excepted, beſides certain Caſtles, ſeated on the Sea ſhore. There was not any courage or ſtrength now left in the *Romans*, to make any effectual reſiſtence, multitudes having periſhed by the Plague in the time of *Narſes*, and after that Year of Plenty a grievous Famine having invaded and oppreſſed all *Italy*. At length *Pavia*, after it had ſtood out three Years, and ſome Months, yielded to *Alboin* and his *Lombards*. The King making his entry at St. *John's* Gate, at the Eaſtern part of the City, his Horſe fell under him in the middle of the Gate, and by ſpurring and beating could not be raiſed, which being taken notice of by one of his Followers, he adviſed him to break that cruel Vow he had made, and then he ſhould enter the City, which was inhabited by a truly Chriſtian People. He had vowed to put all the People to death, becauſe of their ſtubbornneſs in holding out ſo long, but now breaking his Vow, and promiſing Indempnity to the Inhabitants, his Horſe preſently aroſe, and then paſſing on to his Lodging, he kept his word, the People flocking to him in the Palace built by Kind *Theuderick*. In *Italy Alboin* reigned three Years and five Months, and then was ſlain by the Treachery of his Wife upon this occaſion. Being very merry, as he was feaſting at *Verona*, he commmanded Wine to be given her in the Cup made of the Skull of *Cunimund*, her Father, as with whom he commanded her to drink merily. That this may not ſeem impoſſible, *Paul* religiouſly profeſſeth, that he himſelf had ſeen the very Cup.

Helm-gis, galeæ fortis.
Schilt-forer Scutiger, Schilt, nobis hodie ſhield.
Pered-eu, Latè patentis legis.
eſt & in voc. Alem.

Alboin killed by procurement of his Wife.

24. *Roſemunda* at this was wonderfully incenſed, and preſently conſulted how to revenge her Father's Death, with *Helmichis*, the King's Armour-bearer, or *Schilpor*, as the *Lombards* called him. He perſuaded her to take into her Council *Peredeo*, a moſt valiant Man, who refuſing utterly to conſent to the Murther of his Prince, ſhe knowing he was wont to lie with one that belonged to her Wardrobe, placed her ſelf in her Bed, received and lay with him, when he not at all ſuſpected ſuch a matter. But the Queen demanding of him, before he aroſe, if he knew her Name, he affirmed ſhe was his Sweet-heart; ſhe told him he was miſtaken, that ſhe was *Roſemunda* her ſelf, and that he had now done ſuch a deed, that he muſt either kill *Alboin*, or expect to be killed by him. He conſented then to join in the Murther, to facilitate which, as the King lay aſleep on his Bed at noon, his Wife bound his Sword ſo faſt in his Scabbard, that it could not be drawn. Then was *Peredeo* brought in, and *Alboin* awakened by the noiſe, after he had in vain attempted to draw his Sword, which lay at his Beds-head, defended himſelf valiantly with a Footſtool for ſome time, but was at length overpowered and ſlain by the wicked device of a Woman, whom many Armies had not been able to deſtroy. His Body, with great Lamentations of the *Lombards*, was buried under a certain pair of Stairs near to the Palace. He was tall of Stature and every way fitted for Warlike Actions. In our days, ſaith *Paul*, *Giſelbert*, Duke of *Verona*, opened his Grave, and taking away his Sword, and all his other Ornaments, after his uſual Vanity, boaſted to ſilly People, that he had ſeen *Alboin*.

She flies to *Longinus*, the *Roman* Exarch.

Her deſerved End.

Cleph choſen King in the room of *Alboin*.

Cleph, idem ac Claffo.
Maſſe-na, Modo congruens. Maſſe & Maſe idem. Dialecto differunt, ut Waſſer, Water, & mille alia.

25. *Alboin* being dead, *Helmichis* attempted to make himſelf King, but the *Lombards* oppoſed it to ſuch a degree, that they endeavoured to call him to account for the death of the deceaſed. *Roſemunda* perceiving no good was to be done, ſent to *Longinus*, the Governour, or Exarch, of *Ravenna*, deſiring him with all ſpeed to diſpatch away a Ship to fetch them, which he readily did, and they two being now Husband and Wife, fled away by night, taking along with them *Albſuinda*, the King's Daughter, and all the Treaſure of the *Lombards*. *Longinus* having got them to *Ravenna*, perſuaded her to kill *Helmichis*, and take himſelf to her Husband, which ſhe, without any great heſitation, conſented to doe, out of a deſire of being Lady of that City, and gave a Cup of Poiſon to him when he came out of the Bath. Having drunk it almoſt off, he perceived what it was, and then drawing his Sword, compelled her to pledge him with the reſt, which having done, by the moſt juſt Judgment of God, both theſe Murtherers received the Reward of their Vilany at the ſame moment. They being dead, *Longinus* ſent *Albſuinda*, with the Treaſure, to *Conſtantinople*, whither ſome ſay *Peredeo* was alſo ſent, having accompanied *Helmichis* and *Roſemunda* to *Ravenna*. But the *Lombards*, into the place of *Alboin*, elected one *Cleph*, a Man of great Nobility, who having ſlain many of the chiefeſt *Romans*, and baniſhed others, was, after he had reigned a Year and ſix Months, with *Maſſana*, his Wife, killed by a Boy of his own Family.

The Countrey ſhared.

Zab-an, Lorica indutus. Gloſſ. Zaba Lorica ſcribitur & Zanæ in Legibus. Al-gis, omnino fortis. Euin aliter Eui æquus.

26. After his Death *Paulus Diaconus* tells us, that the *Lombards* for ten years were without a King, and were onely governed by their Leaders, of whom every one enjoyed his own City. In particular, *Zaban* made himſelf Maſter of *Pavia*; *Waillari* of *Bergamum*, *Alachis* of *Brixia*, *Euin* of *Trent*, and *Giſulfus* of *Forum-Julii*, beſides thirty others, whereof each held his peculiar Town. Having thus ſeated themſelves at their Pleaſure, they deſtroyed the *Roman* Nobility, or thoſe that remained they made Tributaries, exacting a third part of their Revenues. They pulled down Churches, killed the Prieſts, demoliſhed the Cities, and deſtroyed the People all over, thoſe parts which *Alboin* had taken excepted, and in ſeven years time in a manner ſubdued all *Italy*. Yet did they not take the City of *Rome*, though they entred the Suburbs, and demoliſhed ſeveral Monuments of the Martyrs, carrying away their Relicks; and they raiſed a great Perſecution againſt Pious and Religious Perſons. But thus was the *Roman* Empire rent in the Weſt, and thoſe Limbs again torn from it's Body, after the former Wounds ſeemed to be quite healed up. And in the Eaſt, it was in little better Condition, where the Head being crazy and out of Order, the inferiour Members could be leſs ſecure, and in a Capacity to defend themſelves. For *Juſtin* the Emperour was taken with a *Vertigo*, and ſuch a diſtemper in his Brain that he could not ſtir abroad, nor receive any Addreſſes; which advantage ſome of the Great ones taking, fell with violence upon the ordinary ſort, and ſpoiled them of all they had. As ſoon as he recovered and went to Church, the diſtreſſed People followed him with Cries and Lamentations. Hereupon he ſummoned ſuch as had been Criminals before him, and admoniſhed them to forbear ſuch Practices, but they were ſo far from making Reparation for what they had already done, that they oppreſſed the poor People worſe than formerly. Then called he the Senate together, and more ſharply reprehended them, telling them, it onely became the Nature of Fiſhes, for the greater and ſtronger to devour thoſe of a leſſer ſize; if he were their Lawfull Emperour, he Commanded them to yield obedience to his Orders, and if they refuſed, bade them chuſe themſelves a new Prince whereſoever they pleaſed.

Juſtin the Emperour taken with a *Vertigo*.

Cedrenus.

Thereupon the People oppreſſed.

27. At this one Nobleman amongſt the reſt ſtands up, deſires him but to make him Prefect of the City, and all ſhould ſpeedily be amended, provided he would Command him to deal impartially, and give him free Acceſs upon all occaſions. This is readily granted, and the next day he ſits in Judgment. A certain Widow comes and complains that a Great man had ſpoiled her of all ſhe had. He ſends him a Summons to appear by the Woman; but he ſends her onely back well beaten, and deals little better by an Officer, diſpatched afterward on the ſame Errand. While the Prefect ſits expecting his coming, the Man is invited to Dinner by the Emperour, which the Prefect hearing, goes alſo to Court and demands of *Juſtin*, whether he did continue of the ſame mind and reſolution, as when he firſt made him Prefect of the City; ſeeing he entertained at his Table guilty Perſons. The Emperour anſwers, he would ſooner quit his Throne than be guilty of ſuch a Crime, and thereupon the Prefect takes away his Gueſt, and carries him into the Court called *Arca*, where hearing the whole matter betwixt him and the Widow, and perceiving how greatly he had injured her, he cauſed him to be beaten, and then having his Head ſhaven, to be ſet naked upon an Aſs and ſo carried through the midſt of the City, having decreed his whole Eſtate unto the Woman. This Example ſo wrought upon all others, that a thorough Reformation was made, and within thirty days no more Complaints were heard of this Nature, which the Prefect making known to the Emperour, he rewarded him with the Dignity of a Patritian, and the Government of the City during Life. This year which was the third of *Juſtin*, was not onely ſignalized with this notable piece of Juſtice, but with as eminent Acts of Charity performed by *Sophia* the Empreſs. For ſummoning in ſuch as were in Debt, ſhe paid her ſelf the Money to the Creditours, and reſtored all Pledges to their former owners.

A Reformation.

Cedrenus.

The *Avares* defeated.

Victor Tunnenſis in Chron. Corippus in Carm.

Ὁ ἐχθρὸς φεύγων ϗ πάλιν μαχήσεται.

28. As a reward for theſe good Deeds, the following Year *Juſtin* had a great Victory over the *Avares*, who were defeated by *Tiberius*, (the *Comes Excubitorum* at preſent, but afterward Emperour) and forced ſubmiſſively to beg Peace. But as he was not conſtant to the ways of Mercy and Goodneſs, ſo his Proſperity forſook him again, and as the Proverb is, an Enemy though he flies, may again rally and renew the Charge. For five years after in the ninth of his Reign, when all *Italy* in a manner was loſt to the *Lombards*, theſe *Avares*, or *Abari*, as the ſame Authour tells us, came as far as the *Danube*, and to be even with them defeated the *Romans*. It ſeems that *Tiberius* was again diſpatched againſt them, but his men would not now as much as look the Barbarians in the Face, and he wonderfully

Defeat the *Romans*.

Euagrius, lib. 5. c. 11.

wonderfully eſcaped being taken Priſoner, having by following the raſh and heady Advice of *Juſtin*, indangered the whole Commonwealth of *Rome*, at leaſt it's greateſt Honour and Reputation. But beſides this defeat received from the *Avares*, the *Perſians* the old Enemies of the Empire recollected themſelves, and were up again upon a Quarrel, which at firſt proceeded from Religion. The People inhabiting *Perſarmenia* or *Armenia* the Great (which *Philip* the Succeſſour of *Gordianus* had delivered up to *Sapor*) being Chriſtians were grievouſly perſecuted for their Religion and Conſcience by the *Perſians*. This cauſed them to ſend to *Juſtin* the Emperour privately, deſiring they might turn Subjects to the Empire, and ſerve God without any let or hindrance. He accepted of their Petition, and Articles being ſworn betwixt them, they (contrary ſure to Religion and Conſcience) ſlew their own Princes, and put themſelves into the hands of *Juſtin*, which Example was followed by their Neighbours, who with *Vardan* their Captain profeſſed their Service and obedience to the *Roman* Empire.

Euagrius, lib. 5. c. c. 7, 8, 9. &c.

The *Perſarmenians* revolt.

29. *Choſroes* preſently received the Alarm, and Charged the Emperour with theſe Clandeſtine and injurious Proceedings. *Juſtin* anſwered poſitively, that the Date of the League was expired, and that it became not the Profeſſours of Chriſtianity to reject ſuch as ſuffered for their Conſcience, and fled to them in the time of War: Yet made he no Preparation for what he muſt needs conclude would follow, wallowing in his wonted Senſualities and Delights. He ſent indeed *Martianus* his Captain into the Eaſt, but without Souldiers, Arms, or any proviſions for War; and he came into *Meſopotamia* not without manifeſt danger to the State, picking up onely a few naked Fellows, of which number ſome were Tributary Pioneers, and Waggondrivers. An inconſiderable party of *Perſians* yet he chanced to defeat before the reſt could be in readineſs, and beſieged *Niſibis*, the Gates of which the Inhabitants would not ſhut, reviling the ſtout *Roman* Army, and eſteeming of them no otherwiſe, than as if they had been ſet there to keep ſheep. But by this time *Choſroes* was furniſhed for a Battel, and bringing his General *Aduarmanes*, as *Euagrius* calls him, or *Artabanus*, as we reade him in *Cedrenus*, on his way as far as the other ſide of *Euphrates*, which was within his own Dominions; ſent him into the Marches of the *Roman* Empire, and Commanded him to ſeize on the Town of *Circeſium*, which ſituate in the fartheſt parts of the *Roman* Dominions was fortified with ſtrong Walls, and more than that with the two Rivers *Euphrates*, and *Aboras* ſtanding as it were in an Iſland. He himſelf with another Army paſſed over *Tigris*, and made ſtreight for *Niſibis*; while *Juſtin* pleaſed himſelf with idle Reports, that *Choſroes* was either already dead, or mortally ſick, and was ſo incenſed againſt *Martianus* for prolonging the ſiege, that he ſent to reproach him, and to require him with all ſpeed, to bring the Keys of the City to his Preſence.

Martianus his Exploits.

30. Becoming exceedingly Ridiculous to all men, for theſe extravagant Conceits: *Gregory* Biſhop of *Antioch* wrote the whole State of Affairs to him, both how impoſſible it was with ſuch an handfull of inconſiderable Men to take ſuch a City, and that *Choſroes* had with all expedition invaded thoſe Countries. But he, drown'd in the filth of his wonted Luxury, gave no heed to *Gregory*'s Letters, thinking that onely to be true, which his own ſick Brain had conceived, and like other intemperate and Riotous Perſons, unwilling to believe any thing that would diſturb them in their Pleaſures. He wrote back to the Biſhop and rejected his Letters for falſe Reports: If they were true, he affirmed the *Perſians* ſhould not win the City, and raiſe the ſiege before his Power came, and in caſe they ſhould win it, they ſhould yet be met with e'er they left the Countrey. Afterward he ſent one *Acacius*, a proud and diſdainfull Man to *Martianus* who meeting him on the Confines according to his Commiſſion, deprived him of all Martial Dignity unknown to the Army. The Officers after the watch was over, underſtanding that their Captain was Caſheired, caſt away their Arms, ſtole into Corners, and quitted the Siege to the great Laughter of all Men. *Aduarmanes* in the mean time paſſing by *Circeſium* with a great Army of *Perſians*, and Barbarians called *Scenitæ*, waſted all the *Roman* Territories with Fire and Sword, without any Mercy or Compaſſion. Caſtles and Towers he took without any oppoſition, both becauſe the *Romans* had none to Head them, and *Choſroes* had as it were beſieged all ſuch Souldiers as lay about *Daras*. His men alſo ſet upon *Antioch*, but beyond all Expectation were repulſed, when very few remained in the City. For the Biſhop flying away with the Holy Treaſure, the City was in a manner left deſolate, the greater part of the Wall lying flat with the Ground, and the People as in ſuch Caſes falling into Diſorder and Tumult; ſo that there was none that either deviſed Engines to repell the Enemy, or was much diſpoſed to reſiſt him any other way.

Acacius ſent to Caſheir him.

31. However

Heraclea burnt, and *Apamia*.

31. However the deſign of *Aduarmanes* againſt *Antioch* not taking, he burnt the City *Heraclea*, afterward called *Gagalica*, and marched to *Apamia* built by *Seleucus* the Son of *Nicanor*; a City ſometime flouriſhing, but now through the Injury of time faln to decay. Having received it upon Articles, he burnt it alſo contrary to Agreement, plundered it, and deſtroyed all, which done he uſed the Countrey adjacent in the ſame ſort, and carried away with him the Biſhop and the Governour. Having done very much miſchief in his paſſage, he returned to his King, who as yet had not taken the City he beſieged. Now joyning their Powers, they made a very conſiderable Army, and quite diſcouraged thoſe within, although the City was very well fortified, ſo that it was taken by Force in the Winter ſeaſon after above a five Months ſiege, ſome ſaid through the Careleſsneſs, others through the Treachery of the Governour. Many he put to the Sword, many he took Priſoners, and having fortified the place which ſtood exceedingly convenient for him returned home. *Juſtin* was now at length convinced; and perceiving, that indeed his Dominions were invaded in ſuch a ſort, took it more heavily than his Conſtitution could bear, and fell diſtracted, ſo as he had no Senſe or apprehenſion of any buſineſs. *Tiberius* therefore a *Thracian* born, one that was in greateſt Authority about him, and had made a fruitleſs Journey againſt the *Avares*, undertook the management of publick Affairs. By his Advice, that what had been loſt by raſhneſs and folly, might be redeemed through ſobriety, *Trajan*, a man of great Eſteem for his Age and Wiſedom, was ſent Ambaſſadour to *Choſroes*, it if be Lawfull to give him that Title.

Choſroes takes *Niſibis*.

Thereupon *Juſtin* falls diſtracted.

32. For, his Embaſſy was not from the Perſon of the Emperour, nor in the Name of the Commonwealth of *Rome*; but onely a Meſſage from *Sophia* the Empreſs. She wrote Letters to *Choſroes*, wherein ſhe lamented the wofull plight of her Husband, and the lamentable Eſtate of the Empire, now wanting an Head, and ſhe inſiſted that it ſtood not with his Honour, to triumph over a ſilly Woman, to inſult over an Emperour that was ſick and Bed-rid, and invade a State utterly deſtitute of defence and Succour; that he in times paſt being ſick, had not onely the like Humanity ſhe now asked ſhewn unto him, but the beſt Phyſicians which the *Roman* Empire could afford, ſent to eaſe him of his Grief. Good nature ſo wrought with *Choſroes*, upon Conſideration of theſe particulars, that although he had determined ſpeedily to invade the *Roman* Dominions, yet he made a Truce for three years, reſpecting the Eaſtern Countries, and conſented that *Armenia* ſhould enjoy the benefit of it. This accord was made in the tenth year of *Juſtin* his Reign, who in his thirteenth, through the Advice of *Sophia* his Wife, took *Tiberius* to be his Collegue in the Empire. *Euagrius* tells us, that at the Promotion he uttered ſuch Words, as no Hiſtory whatſoever can Parallel; God of his mercy granting him ſo much time, as might ſuffice both to confeſs his own ſins, and declare ſuch things as were for the benefit of the Commonwealth. *John* the Biſhop with his Company, the Princes and Magiſtrates, and all the *Prætorian* Souldiers being now aſſembled in the open Hall, where of old ſuch Solemnities were uſually celebrated, *Juſtin* inveſted *Tiberius* with the Imperial Robe and Cloak, ſaying to him aloud as followeth: *Let not the Splendour of this Garment lead them into miſtakes, neither be thou deceived with the Glorious ſhew of ſuch things as are ſubject to the Senſes, wherewith I being intangled, have brought my ſelf into grievous Miſeries. But in Governing the Empire by great Moderation and mildneſs of Spirit, redreſs what I have Fooliſhly committed.* Then, pointing to the Magiſtrates with his Finger. *Thou muſt by no means*, ſaith he, *be ruled by theſe Men, for they are they that have brought me into this ſad Condition, wherein thou ſeeſt me.* Theſe with other ſuch like words he uttered, which ſtruck all the Aſſembly with great wonder and Admiration, and drew from the Auditory abundance of Tears.

A Truce made with him for three years.

Ubi ſuprà, c. 13.

Juſtin makes *Tiberius* his Collegue.

An excellent Prince.

33. *Tiberius* was a man of a wonderfull goodly Stature, and of a Preſence altogether compoſed unto Majeſty. His mind was as richly adorned with mildneſs and Courteſie, which allured all Men at the very firſt Addreſs to love him. For he eſteemed that to be Riches, which ſufficed every man to give not onely for neceſſity, but alſo for plenty and abundance. He was of Opinion, that not onely ſuch as wanted were to receive Relief; but that it became the Emperour of *Rome* to be Munificent, and he took that Gold to be Counterfeit, which was gathered with the Tears and Lamentations of the Subject. Moved by theſe Conſiderations, he remitted one whole years Tribute, and ſuch Lands as *Aduarmanes* had loaden with heavy Taxes, he reſtored to Liberty, and made full Reparation to thoſe that had ſuſtained the loſs; moreover ſuch Exactions as had been made by former Princes, (for which they uſed to deliver, and as it were ſell the People to their Officers, to be

abuſed at their Pleaſure,) he forgave and by Laws forbade, all ſuch Practices for the time to come. Having well beſtowed ſuch Moneys, as had been ill gotten, and ordered his matters at home as true Prudence, and the Duty of his place required, againſt the expiring of the Truce with *Perſia*, he made all Preparations poſſible for War. He made great Levies on both ſides the *Alpes*, and about the *Rhine*; liſted in his Army, many *Maſſagetes*, and ſeveral other *Scythian* Nations out of *Pæonia*, *Myſia*, *Illyricum* and *Iſauria*, and having got together near an hundred and fifty Troops of choice Horſe every way well appointed, he gave the Foile to *Choſroes*, who immediately after the winning of *Daras* in Summer, had over-run *Armenia*, and marched toward *Cæſarea* the Metropolis of *Cappadocia*. *Choſroes* was ſo puffed up with his Succeſs, and the natural haughtineſs of his Humour, that he refuſed to give Audience to the Emperour's Ambaſſadours, but diſdainfully bade them follow him to *Cæſarea*, and there he would hear what they had to ſay. But when he ſaw the *Roman* Army (commanded by *Juſtinian* the Brother of *Juſtin*, that was ſo baſely murthered at *Alexandria*) ſhining all in Armour; when he perceived the Trumpets ſound to Battel, the Armies ready to joyn, and the Clamour of the Souldiers which pierced the very Skies: Laſtly, when he beheld ſuch a Body of Horſe, as before none of the Emperours had ſo much as thought of, he was utterly aſtoniſhed and ſurprized at ſuch an unexpected ſight, ſighed heavily, and would not Charge.

Choſroes abaſhed.

Is miſerably overthrown.

34. Suſpecting his ſtrength, he betook himſelf to Craft, and indeavoured to ſpend time; but *Curs* a *Scythian*, who led the Right-wing of the *Roman* Forces, fell upon him with ſuch violence, that the *Perſians* gave Ground, and great Execution was done upon them. He ſet upon the Rere, where their Baggage and all their Preparations for War lay, took all the King's Treaſure and Jewels, all his Ammunition, great ſums of Money, and drove away the Beaſts with the burthens on their Backs; wherein lay the Fire which *Choſroes* adored for his God. All this while the King ſtirred not, ſo fearfull he was to ingage with *Curs*, and onely ſome Skirmiſhes followed till Night came on, and then he cauſed a mighty Fire to be kindled; and the *Roman* Army being divided, he ſet upon that Party which lay toward the North, which giving back upon the ſurprize, he went forward, and took *Meletina* a City forſaken by its Inhabitants, which having ſet on Fire, he purpoſed to croſs the River *Euphrates*. The *Roman* Armies uniting and following him cloſe in the Rere, in great fear he mounted an Elephant, and ſo paſſed the River; but the greater part of his Army in Swimming and conveying themſelves over, was drowned in the deep Water. Hearing of this misfortune, he got him away with all ſpeed, with all the Company he had left, and returned into the Eaſt, where as yet the League was of Force, and none could aſſault him. *Juſtinian* after this over-ran the Borders of *Perſia*, where he continued all Winter without any diſturbance, and about the latter end of *June* returned back without any loſs of Men, but with great Reputation. *Choſroes* being exceedingly diſcouraged, and out of meaſure diſcontented at this Succeſs, languiſhed under the change of his Fortune, and ſwallowed up in the Gulph of diſpleaſure, died after a lamentable ſort, leaving a Law behind him, that the King of *Perſia* ſhould never after that day take Arms againſt the *Romans*; which was an everlaſting Monument of his flight and overthrow. Thus much *Euagrius*; from whoſe Speech concerning the League yet in Force in the Eaſt, it appears that this his Invaſion was made preſently after the taking of *Daras*, and not after the expiring of the Triennial Ceſſation, as *Baronius* imagined. His deſpiſing the Truce, and yet expecting ſecurity from it, diſcovers to us that inſolent and faithleſs Humour, of which *Procopius* accuſeth him, to whoſe Character of the Man, and this Relation of *Euagrius*, we muſt add ſome things obſervable out of *Agathias*, who lived alſo at this time whereof we Write.

Dies in diſcontent.

Agath. Hiſt. l. 4.

35. This Authour makes him Superiour to all Kings that ever Reigned in *Perſia*, for Succeſs and Felicity of Government, not excepting *Cyrus*, or *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, nor that *Xerxes*, who, as he words it, rode on Horſeback over Seas, and ſailed over Mountains. But as great as he was in his Life, he had a miſerable and inglorious Death, moſt contrary to the Splendour of his Reign. For making his abode at that time about the *Carduchian* Mountains, he retired into a Village of the *Thamani*, convenient to refreſh himſelf in after his Labours in the heat of Summer,

Οὐδὲ μὴν Ξέρξην ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἱππήλατιν μὲν δεικνύντα τὴν θάλατταν ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὄρεσι ναυτιλλόμενον.

Μαυρίκιος δὲ ὁ Παύλου, ὑπὸ Τιβερίου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων Βασιλέως ἄρχειν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἕω ταγμάτων προστεταγμένος. *Hoc ſic interpretatur Vulcanius. Mauricius Pauli filius à Tiberio Conſtantini Romanorum Regis filio Legionibus Orientalibus ut præeſſet juſſus: Peſſimè; non enim Tiberius fuit filius Regis vel Imp. Romani. Thrax fuit, atque Agathias non ſcripſit* Τιβερίου τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου, *ſed* Τιβερίου Κωνσταντίνου. *Tiberio enim Cognomen erat Conſtantinus, atque id vulgare Principibus aſſumere nomen alterius qui rerum geſtarum Gloria claruit, vide infra parag.* 47.

The manner of his Death.

where making ſome ſtay, it happened, that *Mauricius* the Son of *Paul*, who by *Tiberius Conſtantine* the Emperour was ſet over the Armies of the Eaſt, made ſudden irruption into the Countrey of *Araxes*, which joyned to the Territories where he lay, and proceeded ſo far, that he paſſed the River *Zirina*, plundering and waſting all places with Fire and Sword. He went on in this terrible manner, ſo far till *Choſroes* himſelf ſaw the Flame, who never having beheld ſuch a Spectacle, was with fear and ſhame together confounded, ſo as he could make neither oppoſition nor defence, but by immoderate Grief, falling into Deſperation from the Anguiſh of his Mind, contracted a grievous and incurable Diſeaſe, and being in a Litter ſpeedily conveyed to his Palaces of *Selucia* and *Cteſiphon*; not long after this Receſs, or flight rather, ended his days: Concerning the falſe Report raiſed of his great Learning, the Reader if he pleaſe may conſult this Authour, who ſhews the Ground and occaſion of the miſtake in a Digreſſion not proper for us to inſert. But we muſt obſerve, that either *Agathias* or his Tranſcriber was miſtaken, in joyning the fifth year of *Choſroes*, with the twenty eighth of *Juſtinian*, as if he had begun his Reign in the twenty third of that Emperour, ſeeing that he Reigned eight and forty years. For if *Cabades* died, and *Choſroes* made a League with *Juſtinian* in this fifth year; then could he not begin his Reign in the five and twentieth; and foraſmuch as it is plain that he died in the Reign of *Tiberius*, had he begun to Reign in the twenty third of *Juſtinian*, and Reigned eight and forty years, he muſt have reached the Government of *Mauricius*, which things cannot hold together; we conclude therefore with *Baronius*, that he begun his Reign in the fifth year of *Juſtinian*, and ended it in the ſecond of *Tiberius*, though not juſt after the defeat given him by *Juſtinian*, but after *Mauricius* was ſent into the Eaſtern parts (for as we ſaid, the expedition of *Juſtinian* was made before the end of the Triennial Truce, and muſt be caſt back two or three years) in the fourteenth year of *Juſtin*, *A.D.* 579.

Euagrius lib. 5. *c.* 17.

36. The year following being the third of *Tiberius*, about Noon happened ſuch an Earthquake at *Antioch*, and *Daphne* adjoyning to it, that all *Daphne* with the Force thereof fell to the Ground, and many both publick and private Buildings within the City were much ſhaken and diſ-joynted. There happened alſo both at *Antioch* and *Conſtantinople*, as *Euagrius* relates, other Calamities which require a long Diſcourſe, and cauſed great Tumults and Sedition; but ariſing, as he ſaith, from Godly Zeal, and being of Eccleſiaſtical concernment, we ſhall with him defer their Proſecution at this time, and return into *Italy* to ſee how the *Lombards* there behave themſelves. And here we could complain of the Injury of time which hath deprived us of the Monuments of their Actions, having little left us, but what *Paul* has written of this Subject, who not handling it with that Accurateneſs as *Procopius* doth that of the *Goths*, hath paſſed by many things of great Concernment; for he was not an Eye witneſs, but lived two hundred years after in the days of *Charles* the Great. But from the Hiſtory of *Gregory* the Biſhop of *Tours*, he tells us, that after the Captains had cantonized the Countrey, ſome of them invaded *Gall*, which waſting and rifling, they defeated and ſlew *Amatus* the Patritian, the Subject of *Guntramnus* King of the *Franks*, who oppoſed them with an Army, and having made great Slaughter of the *Burgundians*, returned into *Italy* inriched with ineſtimable Booty. This incouraged them to make a ſecond Attempt, and they pierced as far as *Muſciæ Calmes*, near to the City *Ebrodunum*; but there they were met with and incompaſſed by *Ennius*, called alſo *Mummulus*, who with a party of *Burgundians* fell upon them, and killing many took the reſt Priſoners, whom by his Kings order he diſtributed here and there all, except ſome few that eſcaped into *Italy* with the News.

How matters went in *Italy*.

Gregor. Turon. lib. 4. *c.* 36.

Paulus Diaconus de geſt. Long. lib.

37. The *Lombards*, as we ſaid before, beſides other ſorts of People, brought ſome *Saxons* with them into *Italy*; it being accorded betwixt them, that the *Saxons* ſhould have lands aſſigned after the Conqueſt. But they could not well agree together; it ſeems the *Saxons* would not truckle under the *Lombards*, and the *Lombards* would not permit, that they ſhould be a Body Independent of, and diſtinct from themſelves; therefore they reſolved to return to their own Countrey, by the way of *Gall*. In their firſt Attempt, they were ſore diſtreſſed by *Mummulus*, who killing a great number of them, and taking many Priſoners forced them back into *Italy*. Yet for all this, they returned with their Wives and Children, and all they had, purpoſing by the leave and aſſiſtence of King *Sigibert* to return home, and for this purpoſe they divided themſelves into two Parties; whereof one took the way of *Nicæa*, and the other paſſed on by *Ebrodunum* the very ſame way they had retreated. They maintained themſelves by Corn that was now Ripe in the Fields, ſome Cattel alſo they took, and did not altogether abſtain from rifling and burning

The *Saxons* return home.

Defeated by the *Suani.*

the Towns. When they were come to the *Rhone*, *Mummulus* again meets them with a great Force, but permits them with Money to purchaſe their paſſage, and ſo at length they came to *Sigebert*; cheating the People in their way by Counterfeit Gold, and returned to their former Seats, which they now found ſeized by the *Suani*, and other ſorts of People. In great Indignation they fall upon them, and will drive thoſe Intruders out. They offered them firſt the third part of the Countrey; affirming there was room enough for them all, and after, when this would not be accepted, the half, nay two parts of three. Nay rather than Quarrel, they would give them both their Lands and all their Cattel; but the *Saxons* would not be ſatisfied with any thing but fighting, and they agreed before hand, how the Wives of the *Suani* ſhould be diſtributed. But ſee how they reckoned without their Hoſt. They loſt twenty thouſand Men in one Battel, and the *Suani*, remained Victours, miſſing but four hundred and eighty of their number. Six thouſand of thoſe *Saxons* that remained, bound themſelves by a vow never to cut their Hair nor Beards, till they ſhould be revenged upon the *Suani*: But all would not doe; they were again defeated, and at laſt content to ſit down and be quiet.

The *Lombards* make a Fruitleſs expedition into *Gall.*

38. But to return to the *Lombards*, three of their Captains, *Amo*, *Zaban* and *Rhodanus* following the example of the *Saxons*, made alſo an Irruption into *Gall.* *Amo* taking the Road of *Ebrodunum*, came as far as *Machovilla*, a Town beſtowed upon *Mummulus* by his Prince, and there pitched his Camp. *Zaban* by another way came to *Valentia*, and *Rhodanus* ſet upon *Gratianopolis*, or *Grenoble*. *Amo* waſted the Province of *Arles*, as far as the City of *Marſeilles*; and his two other Friends were not leſs buſie in plundering, waſting and burning all places wherever they came. *Mummulus* having Intelligence of their motions, firſt fell upon *Rhodanus* buſie in the Siege of *Gratianopolis*, and killing many of his Men, drove him up into the tops of the Mountains wounded, as he was, with a Lance. Thence with five hundred men through unknown Tracts he paſſed to *Zaban*, who then beſieged the City *Valentia*, and gave him an Account of all that had happened. They joyned their Forces together and waſted the Countrey as far as *Ebrodunum*, where *Mummulus* met with them, and by a notable defeat reſtrained their farther Rapines. Then did *Zaban* and *Rhodanus* return into *Italy*, and came to *Secuſium*; which City *Siſinnius* the *Magiſter Militum* held for the Emperour. Hither *Mummulus* ſent a Youth with Letters, ſignifying he would be with him ſpeedily, which *Zaban* and *Rhodanus* underſtanding departed without any more to doe, to their own Cities. *Amo* informed of what had happened with all his Booty, took the way again for *Italy*, but being ſtopped by the great Snows that fell, was forced to leave a great part of it behind, and paſſing the *Alpes* with much difficulty at laſt got home.

And the *Franks* into *Italy.*

Ralig, Conſilii patiens; aliter Raleigh, & in vocab. Allem. cum Augmento, Perahtlo.

Juſtin the Emperour dies.

39. To be even with the *Lombards*, not long after, the *Franks* invaded their Borders, and took by ſurrender a Fort called *Anagnis* ſomething above *Trent*, which being looked on as a great affront by *Ragilo*, or rather *Raligo* a *Comes* of the *Lombards*, he waſted all the Territories about it, and in his return with his Booty, was encountred by *Charamnichis* a Captain of the *Franks*, who ſlew him with many of his followers, and paſſing to *Trent*, rifled and waſted all places about it. On his back came *Euin* the Captain, or Duke, if ſo you will call him, of *Trent*, and in the place called *Salurnis* in way of Retaliation, cut him off with all his Men, and recovered the Booty; which done, and having expelled the *Franks* from all his Territories; he married afterward the Daughter of *Garibaldus*, King of the *Baioarii*. About this time, that we may now return and viſit the Eaſtern parts, died *Juſtin* the Emperour, after he had Reigned ſixteen years nine Months and an half. Being near his end, he called *Tiberius* his Collegue to him, and in the Preſence of the Senate, and *Eutychius* the Patriarch gave him this Advice that follows.

His Advice to *Tiberius.*

Cedrenus & Hiſt. Miſcella.

40. “ Behold, ſaith he, God Almighty thy Benefactour beſtowed this Habit on “ thee, and not I. Honour alſo thy Mother (meaning *Sophia* the Empreſs) for- “ merly thy Lady, for thou knoweſt thou was firſt her Servant, and then her Son. “ Rejoyce not in Bloud, have nothing to doe with Murther, neither render Evil “ for Evil, leſt thou imitate me in the Evil of Malice. For I being a Man, have “ offended and am a guilty Perſon, and have received according to my deſerts; “ but ſtand in Judgment with thoſe, who have ſo rewarded me at the Tribunal “ Seat of Chriſt. Let not the Habit thou weareſt puff thee up. Have as great a “ Care of all committed to thy Charge, as of thine own Concernments. Conſider “ what thou waſt, and what thou art like to be. Avoid pride, and thou ſhalt not “ ſin. Thou knoweſt well what I have been, and what I am. All theſe are thy

" Children, as well as Servants. Thou knoweſt I have conferred this Honour up-
" on thee, out of Reſpect to thoſe, that are as near and dear to me as my Bowels.
" When thou ſeeſt them, conceive that thou beholdeſt the very Commonwealth.
" Take a ſpecial Care of the Army: Admit into it neither effeminate nor impru-
" dent Men; neither ever regard thoſe that ſay, the Emperours that Reigned before
" thee, were ſuch and ſuch. Theſe things I give thee in Charge, and having dear-
" ly experienced the Truth and Conveniency of them, adviſe thee to act accord-
" ingly. Such as are Rich let them enjoy their Wealth, and ſuch as are poor Re-
" lieve. Then the Patriarch going to Prayers, all the Company concluded with *Amen*; and *Cæſar* falling at the Emperour's Feet ſaid unto him. " I am at your Di-
" ſpoſal, both Life and all I have: To which the Emperour replied; *That God who made Heaven and Earth, put into thy Heart, what I have forgotten*, and proceeding in Words to this purpoſe, he drew abundance of Tears from all the Aſſembly. Not long after, his Diſeaſe returned upon him with violence, and he died. His Body was depoſited in the *Heræum* of *Juſtinian*, in a *Proconneſian* Coffin, and by him was afterwards laid his Wife *Sophia*. *Paulus Diaconus* gives us his Character in ſhort thus: He was addicted to all ſort of Covetouſneſs, a deſpiſer of the Poor, and a ſpoiler of the Senatours; ſo greedy of Wealth, that he cauſed Iron Cheſts to be made, wherein to beſtow the Coin he had ravenouſly ſcraped together. This man deſpiſing the command of God was deprived of Reaſon, and fell mad. Yet if he made ſuch ſober and pious Diſcourſes, both at the Promotion of *Tiberius*, and at the time of his Death; what general Character ſoever is given him by theſe Writers, we muſt think he had his *Lucida Intervalla*, not onely as to his Intellectuals, but his Morals too.

De geſt. Longobard. lib. 3. 11.

41. *Tiberius* now after his Death was, according to the Cuſtome, to go in State to the Shews of the *Circus*, and there many expected his coming, who were of the Faction of *Juſtinian*, the ſuppoſed Nephew of *Juſtinus*, with intention to doe him a miſchief. But he went from Church to Church, and paſſed ſtill through Sacred places, where having performed his Devotions, he ſent for the Biſhop of the City with the Conſuls and Prefects, and ſo entred the Palace. Then being clothed with the Purple, Crowned with a Diadem, and Seated on the imperial Throne; he was confirmed in the Government with great applauſe. The Factioniſts then, who expected his coming to the *Circus*, hearing what was already done, ſtole away, and after a few days *Juſtinian* himſelf came and caſt himſelf at the Emperour's Feet, bringing with him as a Preſent fifteen Centenaries, and he, according to his wonted patience, received and commanded him to attend him in the Palace. Thus he eſcaped this danger in the *Circus*, but not long after, was intangled in greater Difficulties created him by *Sophia* the Widow Empreſs, who forgetting her Ingagements formerly made to him, attempted to promote *Juſtinian* to the Throne, while he according to the Cuſtome of the Emperours, was to paſs thirty days in the Countrey, at the time of Vintage. He having timely notice, returned with all ſpeed to *Conſtantinople*, took her and all her Treaſures Cuſtody, leaving her onely ſo much, as would ſupply her wants. He removed her Attendants, and placed others about her, whom he could truſt; Charging them that the other ſhould never come in her Preſence. He ſorely rebuked *Juſtinian*, and that was all, for he ſhewed he had great kindneſs for him, promiſing to marry his own Daughter to his Son, and that his Son ſhould marry *Juſtinian's* Daughter; although theſe croſs Matches never took Effect.

Tiberius eſcapes a Danger.

Secures *Sophia* the Empreſs.

Gregor. Turon. lib. 5. *c.* 30. & *Paulus Diacon. de geſt. Longob. l.* 3. *c.* 12. *Vocato ad ſe urbis Papa cum Coſſ. ac Præfectis.*

42. Why *Sophia* the Empreſs ſhould be thus changed in her Eſteem and kindneſs for *Tiberius*, other Hiſtorians ſupply us with ſome Womaniſh reaſons. She took it heinouſly, that at his Coronation he named Empreſs his Wife *Anaſtaſia*, whereas ſhe imagined he had no Wife at all, but intended to marry him after her Husband's death, and for that purpoſe procured him to ſucceed him. Thus fruſtrated of her Expectations in a great Huff and diſdain, ſhe quitted the Court, and went to live by her ſelf in the Palace called by her Name. The Latin Writers tell us a ſtory how *Tiberius* for his Piety, and eſpecially his Charity to the poor, had the Treaſure of *Narſes* diſcovered to him by the old Man, that was Conſcious to the hiding of it; but it's much ſuſpected, becauſe the Greek Hiſtorians ſpeak nothing of any ſuch Matter. However, ſuch was his Reputation abroad, that Ambaſſadours were ſent to Court him from ſeveral Princes, and amongſt others, from *Chilperick* the King of the *Franks*, to whom *Tiberius* ſent ſeveral Preſents, amongſt which were remarkable, ſome Medals weighing pounds a piece, having the Emperour's Image with this Inſcription about it; *Tiberii Conſtantini, Perpetui Auguſti*, and on the reverſe a Chariot with four Horſes, and a Driver with theſe Words,

Zonaras & Cedrenus.

Mauritius made General.

Lib. 5. *c.* 19.

Gloria Romanorum. As for *Juſtinian* it's certain, he was put out of Command (*Euagrius* ſaith, becauſe he had not ſuch Succeſs, as formerly againſt the Barbarians, but we know the Throne brooks no Rival) and *Ma[illegible]icius* was made General of the Eaſt, who by Birth and Name was of old *Rome*, but becauſe of his Anceſtours and Parents, he owned *Arebiſſus* a City of *Cappadocia* for his Countrey.

His Character.

43. *Mauricius* was, as *Euagrius* ſets him forth, a very wiſe Man, very diligent and exact in buſineſs, of a firm and conſtant mind, and of a very good Life and Converſation. He ſo bridled his fleſhly Luſts, that he not onely abſtained from ſuch things as provoked to Luſt and Senſuality, but even from neceſſaries themſelves. He would not lend any Ear to ſtories, nor hearken to every Man's tale. He ſtopped his Ears not with Wax (as the Poet hath it) but with reaſon, which he uſed as a Key to open and ſhut them as there was occaſion. Ignorance the Mother of boldneſs, he baniſhed far from him, knowing that in raſhneſs there is Peril, and in Adviſement and Deliberation great Security. Fortitude and Prudence bore in him ſuch ſway, that all buſineſſes he accommodated to time and place, and ſo reſtrained his Appetite, that in all things he never exceeded Moderation; ſuch being his Diſpoſition, with great ſucceſs he made War in foreign Countries. He took both Cities and Caſtles, ſuch as ſtood moſt convenient for the *Perſians*, and ſo great Booty, that with Captives he filled Iſles, Towns and Countries that had lain a long time deſolate and not inhabited, cauſing the Land to be tilled and brought into order. Of theſe men he had numbers ſufficient to make up Armies, which fought ſtoutly againſt other Nations, and furniſhed all Families with Slaves. He waged War with the cheifeſt of the *Perſians*, as *Tamochoſroes* and *Aduarmanes* who brought great Armies into the Field; but after what manner, and how proſperouſly, ſaith our Authour, let others relate, or we in another work perhaps may ſhew, becauſe in this preſent Volume we promiſed to treat of other matters. But neither he nor any other performed this part of ſervice to Poſterity, or if they did, ſome unlucky accident hath deprived us of the fruits of their Endeavours.

His ſucceſs againſt the *Perſians.*

44. Therefore what we our ſelves have not, we cannot give, and the Reader muſt be ſatisfied, though we do not relate all actions with the ſame clearneſs and enumeration of Particulars. For as where we have matter, we ought as fully to inform him as the nature of this Deſign will bear, ſo on the other ſide, we do not pretend to write Romances; But thus much *Euagrius* tells us, he will now ſay, that *Tamochoſroes* was defeated not through the valour of the *Roman* Souldiers, but by the onely Piety of their Captain and his Faith in God, and as alſo that *Aduarmanes* was overthrown by plain force of Arms, and after a great ſlaughter of his men put to flight, and that this was done not onely when *Alamundarus* Captain of the *Scenitæ* had betrayed *Mauricius*, by not coming over *Euphrates*, and fighting againſt thoſe *Scenitæ* that were of the contrary Faction, but alſo when *Theodorich* who commanded the *Scythians* durſt not venture within Bow-ſhot, but fairly took him to his heels, and with his men ran away. What *Euagrius* here relates in ſhort, ſome aſſign to the third year of *Tiberius* preciſely, yet doubtleſs it took up ſeveral years in acting.

Miſcella Hiſt.

Tiberius Dies.

Hiſt. Franc. l. 6. *c.* 30.

Mauricius ſucceeds.

L. 18. *c.* 6. *Vide Baron.*

45. The next year was the laſt of *Tiberius* the Emperour, who died in *Auguſt*, after he had Reigned four years alone, and as much with *Juſtin*, a month onely excepted. An excellent Perſon, and worthy of a longer Reign, the Empire flouriſhing under his Government. *Gregory* of *Tours* aſſures us, he left the People in Tears and Lamentations becauſe of his Departure, for he was mighty good, very Charitable, juſt and wary in Judgment, deſpiſing no man, but bearing every one good will, being loving to, and extremely beloved by all men. To his Title and Dignity of Emperour ſucceeded *Mauricius*, who had three years before been created *Cæſar* very ſolemnly, and adorned with a Diadem. At the ſolemnity, as *Nicephorus* Writes, was preſent *John* the Patriarch, and another *John*, a Rhetour or Oratour, made a ſhort ſpeech to *Mauricius* in the Emperour's name. "He exhorted him from " his Government, to raiſe a beautifull Monument to his Predeceſſour, to adorn " his Sepulchre with his Vertues, and not fruſtrate the expectations of thoſe who " were committed to his Truſt, neither to forget his own Morals, nor quit the " wonted generoſity of his Spirit. See thou reſtrain, ſaith he, by force of reaſon " that Inſolency to which power is ſubject, and by the Arts of Philoſophy wiſely " ſteer the Veſſel of thine Authority. For Empire is an high and lofty thing, puffing up ſuch as are exalted, and obliterating what was formerly well conceived " and intended. Becauſe thou art in Fortune, do not therefore think thou art in " Wiſedom advanced above all others. Endeavour to procure the love of thy Subjects, rather than to keep them in fear and awe, and eſteem downright dealing

“ better than flattery and diſſimulation; for Power will hardly admit of Admonition and Reproof. Let Juſtice be ever before thine Eyes, as that which is able “ to reward all our Actions.

46. “ Let the ſtudy of Philoſophy move thee to account of this Purple, no otherwiſe than as of the vileſt Ragg, and to imagine that the Crown wherewith “ thy Brows are circled, differs nothing from the Pebbles that lie on the Sea-ſhore. “ The ſad colour of the Purple ſeems to hint unto Princes, that moderation of mind “ which they ought carefully to retain in their proſperous Eſtate, that they be not “ too much exalted or be proud in theſe Mourning weeds of Monarchy; for the “ Sceptre tells them not, that they exerciſe any immoderate power, but rather undergo a ſplendid ſervitude. Reſtrain thine Anger by humanity and mercy, and “ all arrogance by fear. For Nature to Bees hath aſſigned their Leaders, and armed “ their Kings with a ſting, as a natural faculty to prick him forward that will not “ doe his Duty, but this ſting is not Tyrannical but Juſt, and accommodated to the “ general utility, and the common good; let us imitate them herein, for reaſon “ it ſelf cannot ſuggeſt to us better Councils. Theſe things ſpeak I to thee as thy “ Parent, and for a witneſs of mine Intentions, thou ſhalt have Authority free from “ all prejudice and Corruption, which rewards Vertue and puniſhes and reſtrains “ whatſoever is contrary to it. This Oration of the Emperour was followed by the tears of the Spectatours, and he adorned *Cæſar* with the Crown and purple Robe, and great Acclamations were made, teſtifying the ſatisfaction of the People in what was done, and their acknowledgment of the merits of him whom they ſaw preferred, but eſpecially of the Wiſedom and forecaſt of their Emperour. Thus was *Mauricius* inaugurated *Cæſar*, but enjoyed not the title of Emperour till the Death of *Tiberius*, which fell out in the fourth Indiction, the eighth year of *Childebert* King of the *Franks*, the ninth of *Pelagius* the Second, the *Roman* Biſhop, and the five hundred eighty ſixth of our Lord, as is commonly computed, but rather in the DLXXXII.

Lib. 5. *c.* 22.

47. *Euagrius* tells us, that when *Tiberius* was ready to yield up the Ghoſt, he aſſigned to *Mauricius* his Daughter *Auguſta* in Marriage, with the Empire for her Dowry, and Proclaiming him Emperour, beſtowed on them alſo his own Names; for *Mauricius* he called *Tiberius*, and *Auguſta* he named *Conſtantina*. *Mauricius* being ſetled in his Throne, made great preparations for Celebration of his Marriage, whereat were preſent his own Father and Mother a circumſtance which, if our Authour obſerve right, never happened to any Emperour before. He affirms that a more Royal and Magnificent ſhew never had been formerly made; and whereas *Plutarch* wrote, that both Valour and Fortune joyned in advancing the grandeur of *Rome*, he is bold to ſay, that true Piety and Felicity ſo concurred in *Mauricius*, that Piety ſuffered Felicity to be joyned with her, and would not permit her to be baffled or overthrown. The Emperour not onely adorned his Head with the Crown, and his Body with Purple, but his mind alſo with pretious Ornaments. For in a manner, he was the onely Emperour who ever commanded himſelf, who baniſhing from his mind all popular Perturbations (ſo he words it,) and ſetling the Dominion of Ariſtocracy in the Seat of Reaſon, made himſelf a perfect Pattern of Vertue for his Subjects to imitate. And our Authour profeſſes he ſaith not this to flatter him, ſeeing he could not poſſibly know what he now wrote, but merely conſtrained by that evidence which the real effects of his proſperous Government carried with them, being abſolutely the bleſſings of Almighty God. He adds, that this Emperour was above all others mercifull, not permitting thoſe to be put to Death that had well deſerved it, as *Alamundarus* Captain of the *Scenitæ* in *Arabia*, who had betrayed him, but was for puniſhment onely baniſhed into *Sicily*. Moreover *Naamanes* his Son who had done infinite miſchief to the Empire, who had waſted the two *Phœnicia's*, and *Palæſtine* he kept onely in free cuſtody when all men deſired his Head, inflicting on him no other puniſhment. And the like clemency he ſhewed to infinite other perſons.

Euagrius his high Commendations of him.

His Generals and their Exploits.

48. One *John* a *Thracian*, he made General of his Forces in the Eaſt, who ſome times did well, but otherwhiles ill, and deſerved no great Commendation. Into his place then he choſe *Philippicus* who had married his Siſter. He made great ſpoil in the *Perſian* Dominions, and killed many of their great men: The Souldiers alſo he brought to exact Diſcipline from Riot and Pleaſure, making them practiſe ſobriety and temperance. He was ſucceeded by one *Priſcus* a man ſo ſupercilious, that none muſt ſpeak with him except upon ſome very weighty matter, being conceited that the leſs familiarity he uſed, the eaſilier ſhould he compaſs his Deſigns, and the Souldiers would more ſtand in awe, and with more readineſs obey him.

The Army Mutinies.

The *Perſians* utterly defeated.

On a time having ſet himſelf into as ſevere and haughty a poſture as he could, with high and diſdainfull looks, and arrogant geſtures, he made them a ſpeech of the patience and perils they were to undergo in War, concerning the neatneſs of their Armour, and of the Rewards they were to receive for their Travel and Service. They heard his impertinent diſcourſe with great Indignation, fell into a Mutiny, and running to his Tent, robbed him of all his Treaſure, and had certainly killed him, had he not ſpeedily taken Horſe and fled to *Edeſſa*. Yet this City they beſieged, commanding *Priſcus* to be delivered up to them, and when the Citizens refuſed to doe it, they laid hold on *Germanus* a Captain in *Phœnicia*, and proclaimed him their General and Emperour beſides. He refuſing to comply with their ſeditious humour, they threatned to kill him; when threats would not doe, they proceeded to whip him and to tear his body, which torments forced him to yield, and with an Oath to promiſe his compliance with them. All other Officers they diſplaced, and put others in their room, and behaved themſelves in their Quarters with all Inſolency, and without any regard to the Laws. *Mauricius* having notice of this Mutiny, ſent *Philippicus* to reduce them into order, but him they rejected, and threatned with Death and Deſtruction thoſe who propounded to liſten to his advice. The Barbarians took heart at theſe diſorders in the *Roman* Army, and in their wonted manner Invaded the Province adjoyning. Yet *Germanus* oppoſed the *Perſians* with ſuch ſucceſs, that if *Euagrius* be to be credited, there was not one of them left to bring home the news of their Defeat.

The *Abares* infeſt *Thrace.*

The Mutiny appeaſed.

49. But the *Abarian Avares* came twice as far as the long Wall, and waſting the Countrey before them, took *Singedon*, *Anchialus*, and all *Hellada* with other Cities and Caſtles, the *Romans* having a great Army lying in the Eaſt to no purpoſe. The Emperour then ſent *Andreas* the Captain of his Guards, to perſwade them to return to Obedience, and take again ſuch Officers as had commanded them before, but they giving no ear to what he ſaid, at length he pitched upon *Gregory* the Biſhop of *Antioch*, the fitteſt man alive to be employed in this buſineſs. For he was both a prudent man, and had got a mighty intereſt in the Souldiers by his great bounty to many of them, both in Meat, Drink and Apparel, which knowing, he ſent to the chiefeſt of them, and procured them to give him a meeting at *Litarbis*, a Town three hundred furlongs diſtant from *Antioch*. Being met, he fell down on his Knees before them, and with gentle rhetorick, inforced by many Prayers and tears ſo wrought upon them, that all their minds on a ſudden were changed, and they went out to deliberate with themſelves what was to be done. Being after a while returned, they told him they would yield to his requeſt, and then he named *Philippicus* whom they ſhould ask for their Captain. They told him they could not petition for him, becauſe they and the whole Army had made an Oath never to doe it, to which he replied, that the Prieſt hath power to bind and looſe in Heaven and in Earth, and recited to them the ſaying of Chriſt to this purpoſe out of the Goſpel. They were perſwaded herein alſo to conſent unto him, and then he fell to his Prayers to appeaſe the wrath of Almighty God, and diſtributed to them the Immaculate Body of Chriſt, it being then Maunday-Thurſday, or the day before the Paſſion. The number of them was two thouſand, yet he entertained them all that night, Couches being made them on the Graſs, and the next day returned home, permitting them to aſſemble where they pleaſed. *Philippicus* who then reſided at *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, he informed how things ſtood, and adviſed him to repair to *Conſtantinople*, whither he ſent an account alſo of his Tranſactions with the Army, and what they had reſolved concerning *Philippicus*. Shortly after, *Philippicus* came to *Antioch*, and the Souldiers meeting him, deſired the Chriſtians to intercede to him in their behalf. They fell at his Feet, and he giving them his Hand, told them, all old Offences were forgiven, which ſaid, they received his Orders and followed him in the Wars.

Antioch ſhaken with an Earthquake.

50. While this Mutiny of the Armies threatned with Ruine the State of the Empire in the Eaſt, the City of *Antioch* was again ſore diſtreſſed by an Earthquake, in the ſix hundred thirty and ſeventh year after it was ſo called, and the ſixty firſt year after that Earthquake which had laſt happened. *Euagrius* tells us this ſtory, that when as he himſelf had on the laſt day of *September*, taken to Wife a Virgin of tender years, and the City therefore kept Holy-day, and flocked to his Houſe with great pomp and ſolemnity; about the third hour of the Night came ſuch an Earthquake, as with great violence ſhook the whole City. It ſo diſjoynted the Foundations, that all the Buildings about the Church tumbled to the Ground, the Hemiſpherical Roof which *Euphræmius* had made of Bay-Trees excepted, which had been ſo ſhaken with the Earthquake, both in the time of *Juſtin* and afterward,

Sixty thouſand Perſons periſh.

that it leaned much to the North, and had thruſt out of their place the mighty great Beams which fell with marvellous noiſe, but now again the Roof ſhrunk to it's own place, and ſtood as it had done before, without bowing to either ſide. The Buildings of St. *Mario* Church were quite overthrown, all but one middle Porch that was miraculouſly preſerved. The places of *Oſtracina* and *Pſeplicum*, and all the parts called *Briſia* were alſo ruinated, with other Churches and the publick Baths. The people periſhed confuſedly together about threeſcore thouſand perſons, as was conjectured by the Bread which was ſpent in the City. But the Biſhop was wonderfully preſerved, with thoſe alone of his Family that were near to him, though the whole Lodging he was in fell to the Ground; for when the Earthquake the ſecond time ſhook the place, and as it were opened the Room, they lifted him up with all ſpeed, and by a Rope let him down to the Ground. God Almighty mixed mercy with his Juſtice in this reſpect, that no hurt by fire followed, though in Kitchins, Baths, and other places there were many kindled, as well for publick as private uſes. In this Earthquake died many Noble and famous Perſons, but the Emperour ſupplied money for the repairing of the City. Thus *Euagrius* of the Earthquake, who had too great cauſe to remember it from a notable circumſtance.

Martyropolis betrayed to the *Perſians*.

51. Not long after that the Souldiers returned to obedience, *Sittas* one of the Senatours of *Martyropolis* took advantage at the abſence of the Garriſon, and betrayed the City to the *Perſians*. *Philippicus* upon notice marched thither, but wanting neceſſaries for a Siege, after ſome vain attempts made to regain the place, the Army drew off, and could not be perſwaded by *Gregory* the Biſhop, whom the Emperour again employed, to return, becauſe they wanted Engins. Care therefore was taken by fortifying the adjacent Caſtles, to intercept all ſuccours that ſhould come from the *Perſians*, and the Souldiers were diſpoſed of into their Winter Quarters. The year following yet the *Perſians* ſent a ſupply, and *Philippicus* ingaging with this party had the better, but ſo many eſcaped into the Town, as ſufficed to reinforce the Garriſon which was their chief deſign. The *Romans* then perceiving there was no winning of the Town by plain force, went and built a Fort upon the top of an Hill at ſeven furlongs diſtance, there to prepare Engins and make all things ready for a Siege, and not long after was *Comentiolus* a *Thracian* Born, ſent to ſucceed *Philippicus* in the command of the Army. He though with danger to his own Perſon had proſperous ſucceſs againſt the *Perſians*, of whom ſuch as were left alive, having loſt all their Captains ran away to *Niſibis*, and fearing to return to their King who had threatned them with Death, except they brought their Captains home in ſafety, began to enter into Conſpiracy againſt his Life. In the mean time *Comentiolus* having beſieged *Martyropolis*, left there the greateſt part of his Forces, and with the reſt went and took a Caſtle called *Ochas*, which ſtood upon the farther Bank overagainſt *Martyropolis* on a ſteep Rock, whence he had a proſpect of the whole City. This being taken in, the *Perſians* deſpaired of holding *Martyropolis* any longer.

Who deſpair to hold it.

Hormiſda ſucceeded his Father *Choſroes*.

52. The preſent King of *Perſia* was *Hormiſda*, who had ſucceeded his Father *Choſroes* according to his appointment. And he ſucceeded him it ſeems in his Vices as well as his Kingdom, though not in his long and proſperous Fortunes. *Euagrius* calls him the moſt wicked and unjuſt of all others; for he not onely robbed his Subjects of their Goods, but plagued them with ſundry kinds of Deaths. *Theophanes* to what *Euagrius* hath written concerning the Conſpiracy againſt this King's Life, adds, that *Barames* his General having had ill ſucceſs againſt the *Romans*, after the King had in diſgrace ſent him the Habit of a Woman was deprived of his command. Inraged hereat, he Conſpires againſt him, ſtirring up the Souldiers by counterfeit Letters, and draws to his Party *Ferrochanes*, whom *Hormiſda* had lately put into his place, with *Bindois* a Noble *Perſian* newly delivered out of Priſon, who ſuddenly entring the Court, pulled the King down from his Throne, ſnatched the Diadem from his Head and committed him to Cuſtody. After this the Nobility commanding *Hormiſda* to be brought out of Priſon, ſawed in pieces one of his Sons and his Wife before his Eyes, then deprived him of his Eyes, and thruſt him into a Dungeon. Yet *Choſroes* his Son treated him very civily, and gave him a large allowance of Diet, which kindneſs he ſo little acknowledged, that he trampled all under his Feet that he ſent him. This inraged *Choſroes* ſo much, that forgetting all obligations of Nature, he commanded him with Cudgels to be beaten to Death.

Vide Baron.

Depoſed.

And killed by *Choſroes* his Son and ſucceſſour.

53. This unnatural action of *Choſroes* ſore troubled the *Perſians*, and procured their hatred againſt him, which was increaſed by his putting ſeveral Noblemen to

Death, on ſuſpicion that they ſided with *Barames* who uſurped, which cauſed the Souldiers to revolt from him, and take the Party of *Barames*. Being now forſaken by all men he fled for his Life, in great doubt whether he ſhould betake himſelf to the Chriſtians or the *Turks*, in which humour he alighted from his Horſe, and laying the Reins on his Neck, reſolved to follow him whitherſoever he ſhould go, and ſo he brought him to the borders of the *Roman* Empire. This account we have from *Theophanes*. *Euagrius* relates that *Hormiſda* being killed by the *Perſians* for his Wickedneſs, and *Choſroes* his Son being Crowned his Succeſſour, *Barames* took Arms againſt him. *Choſroes* with a ſmall Army intended to Ingage him, but perceiving his men fell away from him, he fled to *Circaſium* after he had called upon the God of the Chriſtians, that his Horſe ſhould carry him to a moſt convenient Place. Being arrived there with his Wife, two young Children and certain Noble men of *Perſia*, he ſent and craved favour of *Mauricius* the Emperour, who, after mature deliberation of the matter, conſidering how fickle and inſtable all humane things are, accepted of his ſuit, and inſtead of a baniſhed Man, made him his Gueſt, inſtead of a ſorrowfull Fugitive, his loving Son, and beſtowed on him divers things in a Royal and munificent manner, the Empreſs ſhewing the like bounty to his Wife, and their Sons to the Children he had brought along with him. Moreover *Mauricius* aſſiſted him with his whole Force in the recovery of his Kingdom, ſending a Captain with him, to conduct the Army whitherſoever he ſhould deſire. He ſupplied him with an incredible ſumm of Money, and thus furniſhed he was brought out of the *Roman* Dominions as far as *Martyropolis*, where *Sittas* the Traitour was delivered into his Hands, and being ſtoned by the Citizens, was hanged on the Gallows. The City of *Daras* was alſo given up to him, the *Perſians* being privily ſtoln away, and the *Romans* having in one battel quite defeated *Barames*, who fled away alone with great infamy. Then was *Choſroes* reſtored to his Kingdom, this bloudleſs victory being obtained, as *Theophanes* writes, by the conduct of *Narſes*, whom *Mauricius* ſent General of the *Roman* Army.

Who is driven out, and flies to *Mauricius*.

Mauricius ſends him into his Kingdom with an Army.

He is reſtored.

54. This ſame year that *Choſroes* was reſtored, being the Eighth of the Reign of *Mauricius*, after the Army returned out of the Eaſt, the Emperour himſelf, in the beginning of the Spring, led it down to *Anchialus*, to oppoſe the *Abares*, who, as the Rumour went, were reſolved to waſte the Countrey of *Thrace*, and all as far as that City. At their demand he had ſent them a golden Table, and many Talents of Money, to purchaſe Peace, but this not taking effect, he paſſed to *Perinthus*, then called *Heraclea*, being ſorely diſtreſſed by Tempeſts, and having made *Priſcus* General of the Forces in *Europe*, after great loſs received from the Barbarians, he returned again to *Conſtantinople*. The *Abares* and *Slavini* having croſſed the *Danube*, under conduct of *Chaganus*, an *Hunne*, over-ran *Thrace*, came at length as far as *Heraclea*, and by ſtrategem took *Didymothicum*. The violence of theſe Barbarous Nations the Emperour reſtrained, as our Hiſtorian obſerves, by his admirable Art and Policy. He rigged up his Navy, and made as though he intended to invade their Territories, the report whereof ſtruck them with great fear, and in a great perplexity they returned home. After their departure he put ſtrong Garriſons into the places lying upon the *Danube*, to hinder their paſſage for the time to come, and *Priſcus* returned to *Conſtantinople*, where he was called to account about the Plunder, and put out of his Command, which was conferred on *Peter*, the Emperour's Brother. But he, in the diſcharge of his Office, did nothing anſwer *Mauricius* his expectation, and therefore he ſoon again deprived him, and reſtored *Priſcus* to his former Place and Dignity. To this *Priſcus* is extant a Letter written by *Gregory* the Great, then Biſhop of *Rome*, wherein he congratulates his Reſtitution, and gives him very good Advice.

Nicephorus, *lib.* 18. *c.* 18. *Vide Baron.*

Mauricius his ill ſucceſs againſt the *Avares*.

By his craft he makes them retreat.

Lib. 2. *Ep.* 51. *Indict.* 11. *Baron.*

55. Thus reſtored to his place *Priſcus* returns to the *Danube*, to watch the motions of *Chaganus*, whom finding reſolved to make another Incurſion, he ſends one *Theodorus*, a Phyſician, to him, to perſuade him to embrace Peace and a good Underſtanding with the Emperour. He finds him exceſſive proud, and full of arrogant Conceits and Expreſſions, uſing this amongſt the reſt, *That they ſhould find he would make himſelf Lord and Maſter of all Nations.* *Theodorus* takes him down by an old ſtory, how *Seſoſtris*, King of *Egypt*, having ſubdued ſeveral Kings and Kingdoms, cauſed himſelf to be drawn in a Chariot by four of thoſe unfortunate Princes, whereof one, as he was yoked and drew in the Chariot, would ſtill look back, and keep his Eyes fixed upon one of the Wheels. *Seſoſtris* taking notice of this his conſtant courſe, would needs know what remarkable thing there could be on which he could gaze ſo long together. He told him it was the Wheel, which being ſo unſtable, as in a perpetual ſucceſſion to elevate and depreſs its ſeveral parts,

was a perfect reſemblance of the Vanity and Inconſtancy of all things incident to humane Life; which Saying *Seſoſtris* ſo ſeriouſly weighed, that he would be no more drawn in his Chariot by thoſe Kings. *Chaganus* ſmiled at the ſtory, and knowing his meaning, ſignified to *Theodorus*, that he was not averſe to Peace, which *Priſcus* purchaſed, and the Barbarian drew off his Forces from the *Roman* Territories. This Year, which was the eighth of his Reign, *Mauricius* cauſed his Son *Theodoſius* to be crowned by *John* the Patriarch on *Eaſter*-day, and took him to be his Collegue in the Empire, being a Child about five years old.

Peace bought of *Chaganus* their Leader.

56. *Paul*, the Hiſtorian of the *Lombards*, and other Writers, differ concerning the time of the Death of *Mauricius*, as joyned with other matters, they placing ſeveral things before it, which he ſets after at a good diſtance. That the *Sclavi*, or *Sclavini*, ſome time before his death, invaded *Hiſtria*, *Paul* affirmeth; but this was in conjunction with the *Lombards* and *Avares*. Afterward, about the latter end of *Phocas*, as he tells us, their King *Cacanus*, or *Gaganus*, with an innumerable multitude, invaded the Borders of *Venetia*, but *Baronius* placeth that expedition of the *Sclavi*, and this of *Cacanus*, in the ſame year. *Gregory* the Great, in an Epiſtle to *Maximus*, Biſhop of *Salonæ*, laments that by the way of *Iſtria* the *Sclavi* had already entred *Italy*; but nothing doth he ſay concerning *Gaganus* his Invaſion of *Venetia*, which *Paul* placeth in the Reign of *Adaloaldus*, and a good ſpace after the death of that Biſhop. But whatever waſte or deſtruction ſoever the *Sclavi*, or *Sclavini*, made in the Weſtern Parts, the diſturbance they wrought in the Eaſt was great, where they put *Mauricius* into great Fears and Care. In his eleventh Year they roſe up in great multitudes, to croſs the *Danube*, of which he having notice, ſent away *Priſcus*, with all the *Roman* Nobility, to reſtrain them. Their Captain hereat affrighted, ſent to *Priſcus* to expoſtulate and complain, that the Emperour firſt made War upon his Neighbours. He anſwered, he had no Commiſſion to make War, but onely to reſtrain the frequent Invaſions of the *Sclavi*; yet perceiving that they carried it cunningly, and that *Ardagaſtus* was ſending abroad multitudes to forage, at midnight he ſilently paſſed the River, and fell upon him when he expected nothing leſs, cut off many of his Men, and forced him to deſert them, and hide himſelf before ſuch time as he could mount, which done, the Countrey waſted, and many Priſoners taken *Priſcus* returned in triumph to *Conſtantinople*, where he was received with extraordinary great joy.

Paul and other Hiſtorians differ.

The *Sclavi* invade the Eaſt.

Defeated by *Priſcus*.

57. Three or four years after this Victory was obtained againſt the *Sclavi*, *Mauricius* fell deſperately ſick, and, as one leaving this World, diſpoſed of his Empire to his Children in this manner. To his eldeſt Son *Theodoſius* he gave *Conſtantinople*, with the Eaſtern Provinces; and to *Tiberius*, his ſecond Son, *Rome*, with *Italy*, and the Iſlands of the *Tyrrhenian* Sea. The other Provinces he diſtributed to the reſt of his Sons, who being very young, he made *Domitianus*, his Kinſman, the Biſhop of *Melita*, a man very diligent and fit for buſineſs, their Tutour or Guardian. But this Diſpoſition came to nothing, the great Diſpoſer of all Empires and Dominions having otherwiſe ordained concerning *Mauricius* and his Sons, as we ſhall ſhortly find. But the year following his Recovery, to teſtifie his gratitude to his Maker and Reſtorer, as we have ground in charity to judge, he ſent to *Rome* thirty pounds of Gold to be diſtributed to the poor of that City, with Gowns to be given to the Souldiers as a military Donative, for all which *Gregory* the Biſhop gives him humble Thanks in a Letter full of Duty and Obſervance to him his Prince. The Meſſenger by whom theſe things were ſent was *Julianus Scribo*, who entring upon his Office in *Italy*, oppreſſed the poor People more than did the very Barbarous Nations that invaded their Countrey, having been beaten from *Conſtantinople* by the multitude for violence offered to the *Patriarch* of that City, at ſuch time as the *Sclavini* were on their march thitherward, waſting and deſtroying all things in their paſſage. For that after the defeat given them by *Priſcus*, they yet returned, and in ſeveral years following haraſſed *Illyricum* and *Dalmatia*, with other Provinces, is too clear and evident.

Mauricius being ſick, diſtributes the Provinces to his Children.

Which came to nothing.

Thanks for his Recovery.

Ex Oratione Phocæ, apud Theophylactum. Vide Bar.

Triginta itaq; libras auri, quas conſamulus meus Buſa detulit Scribo, Sacerdotibus egenisq; & aliis fideliter erogavit. Lib. 8. Ep. 2. Indict. 3. Vide Bar.

58. But amongſt the other Barbarians the Emperour rightly judged, that more than an ordinary ſtrict Eye was to be had to the motions of *Chajanus* or *Chaganus*, King of the *Avares*, and therefore *Priſcus* was ordered to lie at *Singedon*, and obſerve his Actions, who had taken up his quarters in the City of *Sirmium*. The Feaſt of *Eaſter* was now come, but the *Roman* Army was ready to be ſtarved, no proviſions being to be had in the Countrey adjacent. *Chajanus* underſtanding ſo much, ſignifies to *Priſcus*, that if he would ſend his Waggons to fetch it, he would give him what was requiſite to the celebration of that high Feſtival, with ſuch chearfulneſs as became the Chriſtian Profeſſion. *Priſcus* ſent him forty Waggons with

The *Avares* waſte *Thrace*.

Seized with the Peſtilence.

with ſuch Preſents as he could make, and received Proviſions ſufficient for the time of the Feſtival, during which all Acts of Hoſtility ceaſed, and without the leaſt fear or Inconvenience they converſed together. But the Feaſt being over, the Barbarians ſeparated themſelves, and waſted the Countrey of *Thrace* at their pleaſure, revelling and feaſting ſplendidly one another. They at *Conſtantinople* were ſo much affrighted, that they conſulted about quitting *Europe*, and removing to *Chalcedon*, and other places in *Aſia*. The Emperour made as good preparations for defence as he could. Having fortified the Wall, he put the ordinary ſort into a poſture of defending the City, and at the requeſt of the Senate ſent one *Armazo* on an Embaſſy to *Chajanus*, with rich preſents, and gentle words, to ſweeten the humour of the Barbarian, but the Ambaſſadour chanced to come in a very ill time, when a great Peſtilence had ſeized on the *Avares*, and in eſpecial manner had afflicted the Family of *Chajanus*, who loſt no fewer than ſeven Sons in one day, and now in anguiſh of mind, being ready to depart home, deſired God to judge betwixt himſelf, the Ambaſſadour, and his Maſter, and offered to releaſe his Captives for a very ſmall matter to be paid him for every head.

Their King kills his Priſoners, and impoſeth a Tax.

Mauricius incurs the hatred of his Souldiers.

They of *Conſtantinople* alſo fall into a ſedition.

59. The Emperour refuſed to pay the Money. *Chajanus* thereupon fell the half in his price, but when *Mauricius* refuſed to give this alſo, he put all the Priſoners to the Sword, and impoſing a Tax of fifty thouſand *Aurei* more upon the *Roman* Territories, went his way. The Emperour, by his carriage in this buſineſs, exceedingly loſt himſelf, and provoked the Fury and Indignation of the Souldiers, whom he otherwiſe alſo incenſed, if we give credit to what is related by *Zonaras*. For owing ſeveral Companies of them ill will upon the account of ſome ſeditious attempts, when he ſent them againſt *Chajanus*, he gave ſecret Inſtructions to *Commentiolus*, their General, to betray them, and expoſe them to ſuch danger as they muſt neceſſarily miſcarry, which taking effect, it ſeems that ſuch as eſcaped the Sword, and had the fortune to be taken Priſoners out of the ſame inveterate malice formerly conceived againſt them, he refuſed to ranſome. The Army mutinies, and ſends certain Deputies to accuſe *Commentiolus* of treachery, amongſt whom appears one *Phocas*, who having Audience of the Emperour in his Preſence Chamber, urged the matter with vehemence, and demeaned himſelf with that ſaucineſs and diſreſpect that he was beaten by the Courtiers that ſtood by. And the Petition of the Army was rejected, *Commentiolus* kept ſtill in his Command, and the Deputies diſmiſſed without ſucceſs, wherewith the Citizens of *Conſtantinople* now began to be concerned, and aſſembled in a tumultuous manner, and caſt ſtones at *Mauricius*, who making a ſearch after thoſe that were principally guilty of the Riot, puniſhed them according to their deſert, but unſeaſonably, as now the times ſtood; for both Army and People began to be weary of his Government, and ſuch Plots were laid, as at length accompliſhed the utter ruine both of him and all his Family.

Cedrenus in Ann. 19. *Mauricii.*

Priſcus notably defeats the *Avares*.

60. In the mean time the *Avares* being clear of the Plague, and ſenſible of the advantages they had upon the *Roman* Empire, betook themſelves to their former practices of waſting the Borders, and *Chajanus* delivers to four of his Sons ſo many Bands of Men, with orders to keep ſtrict watch upon the banks of the *Danube*. Yet the *Romans* got over in Boats, and *Priſcus*, who was again employed in this expedition, ingaging with the King's Sons in a Battel, which laſted from morning to night, deſtroyed four thouſand of the Barbarians, with the loſs of no more than three hundred of his own Men. Three days after this, getting advantage of the ground, he drove thoſe that ſurvived the former battel into the Fenns, where many of them periſhed in the Water, and amongſt them the Sons of *Chaganus*, who now himſelf coming againſt the *Romans*, with a great power of Men, *Priſcus* gives him battel, and adds a freſh Victory to his former Succeſſes. To purſue the courſe of Fortune while ſhe continued in this good humour, he ſent four thouſand Men over the River *Tiſſus*, to watch their opportunity, and by a ſudden onſet to doe ſome notable feat againſt the Barbarians in thoſe parts, who, utterly ignorant of what had lately paſſed, were in the greateſt ſecurity imaginable, and paſſed away the time in Feaſts and Merriments. Falling ſuddenly upon them, they ſlew about thirty thouſand of the *Gepidæ*, and others, and returned to *Priſcus*, enriched with much booty. *Chaganus* troubled at theſe things, reſolves to try his fortune with *Priſcus* another time, and coming to the *Danube*, again ingaged with him; but Fortune ſtill proved unkind, and he had the worſt in battel, many of his Men being ſlain, and many drowned in the River. Three thouſand and two hundred *Avares* were taken Priſoners, beſides two thouſand Barbarians of other Nations. *Chaganus* ſent to *Mauricius* to deſire a reſtitution of Captives, and ſurprized him ſo, that not

having yet received the news of ſo great a Victory, and ignorant what multitudes he had in his Hands, he ordered the Priſoners to be diſmiſſed.

Things portending the Ruine of *Mauricius.*

Tom. 2. die 22. April. Vide Bar.

Ἀπὸ τοῦ φόρου μέχει τῆς χαλκῆς ξιφήρης διαδραμών. *Sic Cedrenus.* Ἀπὸ τοῦ φόρου μέχει τῆς χαλκῆς προσελήλυθεν. *Sic Zonaras, cujus Interpres vertit hoc modo locum: A foro uſq; ad Chalcenprogreſſus, obſcurè & imperitè.*

61. Thus it was clear day with theſe Provinces, when at *Conſtantinople* a diſmal Darkneſs and Tempeſt was gathering over the Head of *Mauricius*, while he celebrated the Nuptials of his Son *Theodoſius*, with the Daughter of *Germanus*, a Patritian. As the breeding of ill weather is perceived by ſome, who from the repugnancy of their Temper and Conſtitutions, can prognoſticate the effects of that change, which they find already made in the Elements; ſo out of ſome antipathy, or from other ſecret Cauſes, the approach of this dreadfull ſtorm was both apprehended by the Emperour, and others. *Surius* tells of a religious Man, to whom it was revealed what manner of death *Mauricius* ſhould die, after that a Lamp which perpetually burned in the Church, went out of it ſelf, and though many times lighted, yet could not be kept in by any endeavours the Monks could uſe. Another Monk holding a drawn Sword in his hand, went as far as from the *Forum* to the Brazen Gate, crying out all the way, that the Emperour ſhould die by that ſort of Weapon. It was by others told *Mauricius*, that he ſhould fall by the Hand of one whoſe name began with *Ph*, which made him ſuſpect *Philippicus*, his Siſters Husband, who with all Oaths and Proteſtations imaginable, diſavowed all Plots and Conſpiracies whatſoever. Theſe things made him look about him, and reflect upon the paſſages of his Life, which doing, he found himſelf much in fault, as to the Redemption of the Captives, which he had refuſed, and all things conſidered, he deſired rather to receive his puniſhment in this World, than in that to come, for which purpoſe he ſent to all Patriarchs, to all Monaſteries, and to *Jeruſalem*, to deſire the Prayers of devout perſons. Prayers being accordingly made in his behalf in all places, one night he dreamed, that he ſtood before the Image of our Saviour, erected at the brazen Gate of the Palace, where a great number of Captives accuſed him: That a voice proceeded from the Image, which commanded him to be apprehended, which being done by the Officers attending, it was demanded of him whether he would be puniſhed in this or another Life. He anſwered, he had much rather in this Life, than that which was to come, receive what he had deſerved, and preſently it was decreed, that he, his Wife, his Children, and his whole Family, ſhould be given up into the Hands of *Phocas*, a Souldier.

62. As ſoon as he awaked he ſent for *Philippicus*, who knowing the Emperour's jealouſies, feared he might poſſibly never return alive, and therefore received firſt the holy Communion, and then went to Court, leaving his Wife at home, weeping in Sackcloth and Aſhes. The Emperour, when he ſaw him, commanded him that waited to withdraw, and falling at his Feet, beſought him to forgive him, telling him he had done him great injury, in ſuſpecting that he had plotted againſt his Life, whereas now he plainly perceived he was innocent. He deſired him to tell him if he knew one *Phocas*, a Souldier in the Army, which he ſaid he did, and that it was he who being ſent about the buſineſs of *Commentiolus*, had demeaned himſelf ſo ſaucily in his preſence. He asked what was the Temper of the Man. He ſaid he was timorous, and yet of a fierce Nature. If he be a Coward, ſaith he, he is a Murtherer, and then told *Philippicus* the whole ſtory of his Dream. Now this very ſame night appears a Comet in the Air, ſuch as from the ſhape of a Sword they called *Xiphius*. And as *Cedrenus* writes, *Magiſtrianus*, whom he had employed in this affair, returning from holy Men, brought him word that God had accepted of his Repentance, that he would ſave his Soul, and place him, and all his Family, amongſt the Saints; but he muſt loſe the Empire with great Infamy and Damage. *Mauricius* having received the Meſſage, glorified God exceedingly.

Cedrenus, Zonaras.

The Souldiers ſalute *Phocas* Emperour.

63. Matters thus ſtanding, he ſent orders to his Brother *Peter*, who commanded the Army, to paſs over the *Danube*, and take up their Winter Quarters in the Enemies Countrey. The Souldiers would not endure to hear of any ſuch thing, but fell into a mutiny, and lifting aloft *Phocas*, the Centurion, upon a Target, with lucky Acclamations ſaluted him Emperour. This as ſoon as *Peter* perceived, he withdrew, and returning to *Conſtantinople*, acquainted *Mauricius* with what had paſſed. The Tidings of the promotion of a new Emperour came to the City almoſt as ſoon as his Intelligence to the Court, and as the multitude is ever greedy of change, and weary even of the beſt things, thereupon they fell into great tumults and diſorders. *Mauricius* perceiving here he could not be ſafe, takes Ship at midnight, with his Wife and Children, and by Tempeſt was driven to St. *Autonomus*, being at the ſame time ſeized with great pains of the Gout. He had ſent before his Son *Theodoſius* to *Choſroes*, to put him in mind of the good Offices he had done him, and in this time of his extremity, to deſire that he might receive the like

kindneſs.

The *Praſini* joyn with him.

He is Crowned.

kindneſs. But as ſoon as it was known in the City that he was gone, the Tumults increaſed, and the multitude reviled him in the *Forum*. When word was brought that *Phocas* drew near to *Conſtantinople*, thoſe of the Faction of the *Praſini* went out to meet him, Congratulated with the Tyrant his Promotion; and invited him to take Poſſeſſion of the *Hebdomus*, or the Palace ſo called. Here *Cyriacus* the Patriarch, and the Senatours made their Addreſſes, and the Biſhop having received from him a Confeſſion of his Faith, with a Promiſe to preſerve the Peace of the Church, Crowned him with the imperial Diadem, and thus was he declared Emperour in the Church of St. *John Baptiſt*, to the great detriment of the *Roman* State, as was afterward found by the Innumerable miſchiefs that followed. Two days after, in an Emperial Chariot he Rode to the Court, and on the fifth day he ſet a Crown on the Head of *Leontia*, or *Leonto* his Wife, and named her *Auguſta* in a great Aſſembly.

The Factions in Tumult threaten *Phocas* to ſend for *Mauricius*.

Mauricius and his five Sons ſlain.

64. As the Cuſtome was, he muſt now go to the *Circus* to be preſent at the publick Shews, and there the *Praſini* and *Veneti* not forgetting their old wont fall a Quarrelling. *Phocas* ſends ſome of his Guard to quiet them, who deal roughly with a Tribune of the *Venetian* Faction; more turbulent it ſeems than the reſt, which his Friends not enduring cryed out Tumultuouſly to the Tyrant, that he ſhould bethink himſelf, that *Mauricius* was not yet dead, and they threatned to ſend for him and make him Umpire in the preſent Controverſie. This ſtartled *Phocas*, and put him into ſuch a fit of Anger and Jealouſie, that he reſolved, that with the Life of *Mauricius* he would no more be reproached. He cauſed him therefore to be brought to *Chalcedon*, to the Haven of *Eutropius*, where firſt he commanded his five Sons to be ſlain before his Face, with which Spectacle he was no otherwiſe affected, than that with great Courage and Submiſſion to the Will of God, he ſaid, *Juſt are thou O Lord, and righteous in all thy Judgments.* And ſo far was he from any murmuring, or impatience at the ſad Eſtate, wherein he now ſtood, that when the Nurſe hid one of his youngeſt Sons, that his Family might not altogether periſh, and placed one of her own in his ſtead, the Good man would not ſuffer this kind Fraud of hers to take Succeſs, but diſcovered it, and then willingly ſubmitted his own Neck to the Executioner. Their heads were caſt on a heap in the Fields near the Tribunal, where they lay till they putrified, and then the Tyrant gave leave they ſhould be buried with their Bodies. Such a lamentable end had *Mauricius* after he had Reigned ſixteen years three Months and odd Days; in the Month of *November*, the ſixth Indiction, the thirteenth of *Gregory* the *Roman* Biſhop, *A.D.* DCII.

Peter his Brother and others.

And *Theodoſius*, *Mauricius* his Son.

Chosroes denounces War againſt the Tyrant.

65. *Mauricius* being thus diſpatched, *Peter* his brother was put to Death. So was *Commentiolus*, with *George* the Son of *Philippicus*, and *Præſentinus* the great Boſom Friend and Councellour of *Peter*. But the Jealouſie and Cruelty of the Tyrant were not confined to *Conſtantinople*, and the places adjacent; there was one yet alive, who for all this might ſpoil the beſt of his ſport, and hinder him from enjoying the Fruits of his Villanies, whoſe Title to the Purple was much more ancient than that of his. This was *Theodoſius*, whom his Father had ſent to beg aid of *Choſroes*, but as Tyrants have long Armes, he reached him e'er he came to the Confines of the Empire, and ordered him to be put to Death, which was Executed at a place called *Leucacta* not far diſtant from *Nicæa*, where he was ſurprized. The Youth deſired the Favour, that e'er he died he might partake of the Holy Myſteries, which being granted, he took a ſtone from the Ground and therewith having three times ſtruck his Breaſt, he prayed and ſaid, *Lord Jeſus, thou knoweſt I never injured any Man, but however deal with me as thou pleaſeſt, and Glorifie thy Power*; which ſaid, his Head was preſently cut off, though others reported, that being ſent by his Father with Letters to *Choſroes*, he miſcarried ſome other way. However, it happened that trouble aroſe to the Tyrant from that very thing whereon he founded his greateſt Security, for what way ſoever *Theodoſius* miſcarried, the incertainty of the manner, brought the matter it ſelf into Suſpicion and as is uſual in ſuch Caſes, thoſe whoſe Intereſt it was to have him alive, gave out, that ſome other Perſon was killed for him. And though *Phocas* ſent according to the Cuſtome to *Choſroes*, to acquaint him with his promotion, and by good Words and fair Pretences, to draw him to an owning, and Patronage of his Cauſe and Perſon; yet the Meſſenger was ſo unwelcome, (*Cilius* by Name, who had with his own hands murthered *Mauricius*) and much more his Meſſage, that the Barbarian moved with a Senſe of Gratitude and Honour, renounced Friendſhip with the Tyrant, and denounced that War which ſhortly after involved the Empire in innumerable Miſeries.

66. But in the mean time, viz. in the Month of *April*, were the Images of *Phocas* and his Wife, as the manner was, brought to *Rome*, where the People rejoycing in Changes, and incenſed by the illegal and violent Courſes of the late Emperour's Miniſters in *Italy*, received them with lucky Acclamations; and *Gregory* the Biſhop commanded them to be laid up in the Oratory of St. *Cæſarius* the Martyr within the Palace, not the *Laterane*, but another ſtanding betwixt the *Via Appia* and *Latina*. This done the Biſhop Writes a Congratulatory Letter to the Tyrant, beginning with "Glory to God on high, who as it is written changeth times, and tranſlates Kingdoms to whom he pleaſeth, by whoſe incomprehenſible Diſpenſation it comes to paſs, that various are the Conditions of humane Life, and ſometimes for the Puniſhment of the ſins of many, one Man is raiſed up, through the hardneſs of whoſe Heart, the Necks of his Subjects are burthened with the Yoke of Tribulation, as we, ſaith he, have in our affliction long experienced. But ſometimes when it pleaſeth our mercifull God, to comfort and refreſh the Hearts of many that are ſorrowfull, in like manner he promoteth one to the Sovereign Power, through whoſe Bowels of Mercy he infuſeth the Grace of his Exultation, or rejoycing in the Hearts of all; by the abundance of which Exultation, ſaith he, we believe we ſhall ſpeedily be ſtrengthened, who rejoyce that the Benignity of your Piety, is raiſed to the imperial Sovereignty. Let the Heavens and Earth rejoyce and all your People hitherto exceedingly afflicted be Exhilarated by your benign Actions. Then he prays that he may have good Succeſs againſt his Enemies; that the Commonwealth may enjoy under him happy times, the Depredations even of Peace, which had been made upon various Pretexts, being now removed: That Deceits and Cheats uſed about Teſtaments, and violent Exactions of Donations might ceaſe; that every one might have the Poſſeſſion of his own-well gotten Goods ſecured unto him, and each one enjoy his Liberty, this being the real difference, that ought to be found betwixt Kings of other Nations, and *Roman* Emperours, that they are Lords of ſo many Slaves, and theſe not of ſuch, but of free Perſons. Thus he, or to this purpoſe, wordeth his Letter, which being anſwered by *Phocas*, *Gregory* ſends another, wherein he again rejoyceth, and giveth God thanks that the Yoke of ſadneſs being removed, they had now arrived at the times of Liberty, under this benign and Pious Emperour. Another of the ſame ſtrain he wrote to *Leontia* the like Pious Empreſs with Words, if not Clawing them, yet exceedingly reflecting upon *Mauricius*: But what ſort of Perſons this *Phocas* and *Leontia* were, let us now ſee by particulars, ſo far as in theſe obſcure times we can receive light from the Hiſtorians that are ſtill extant.

Imagines Aug. mitti ſolitæ ſunt in diverſas provincias & ad Principum Amicos atque dictæ ſunt Laurata, quaſi Laureata. Greg. lib. 11. *Exord.* 10. *Ind.* 6. *ep.* 38. *Vide Bar. & Sigonium.*

Gregory Biſhop of *Rome*, flatters him and his Wife.

Per Cujus miſericordiæ viſcera in cunctorum mentibus Exultationis ſuæ gratiam infundit de qua Exultationis abundantia roborari nos citius, credimus, qui benignitatem veſtræ pietatis ad Imperiale faſtigium perveniſſe. Gaudemus. Lætentur Cœli & exultet terra, &c. Interpretis cura eſt ne vertendo difficilia evertat.

Ep. 45. *Edit. Rom.*

Ep. 46.

Phocas his Character.

Cedrenus ad Phoc. Ann. 1.

67. *Phocas* was a Man of mean Stature, deformed, of a terrible Aſpect, had Red hair, his Eye-brows met, ſhaved his Beard, and had a Scar on his Cheek, which when he was angry grew of a blackiſh Colour. He was given both to Wine and Women, was bloudy and ſowre, fierce in Speech, free from all Compaſſion, furious in his Diſpoſition, and an Heretick. He was not unequally Yoked, having a Wife of the ſame Humour and Inclination, and therefore under them Mankind could not thrive, but was overwhelmed as with a Deluge of Miſeries. For innumerable multitudes both of Men and Beaſts, periſhed partly by Plague, and partly by Famine, and the Winters were ſo ſevere, that the Seas were frozen, and the Fiſh died. He endeavoured to pleaſe the People by celebrating the *Circenſian* Games; but the multitude now in cold Bloud began to think what a Change they had made, and though they had formerly approved the Treaſon, yet now hating the Traitour, they would not be cajolled by him. Having, during the Solemnity of theſe Games, toward the Evening drank abundance of Wine, and delaying to return to the *Circus*, the multitude commanded him to come forth, bidding him riſe up, and when he came not yet at their Call, they cryed out, *Haſt thou again drunk Wine? Haſt thou again loſt thy Senſes?* Hereat he was ſo inraged, that cauſing many to be laid hold on, ſome he diſ-membred, and others he put to Death. But the Rabble caſt Fire into the Caſtle where the Priſoners were kept, whereby in the Tumult they all eſcaped. He to provide againſt all ſeditious Attempts, built an Arcenal near to the Palace of *Magnaura*; and to try his Skill, if by fair means he could get the Love of the People, going as in Triumph to a publick Feaſt, he caſt much Money amongſt them. But he gained nothing.

The People revile him.

68. For ſuch dreadfull Miſeries happened ſhortly after, in the Provinces, as by Sympathy caſt the City into great Tumults and Diſorders. *Choſroes* ſent a great Army to invade the *Roman* Territories, being ſolicited to doe it by *Narſes*; who upon the Murther of *Mauricius* revolted, and ſeizing on *Edeſſa*, ſent to the *Perſian* for

Choſroes defeateth the *Romans.*

Phocas burns *Narſes* alive.

for Succours. *Phocas* hearing of the Invaſion, makes *Domentiolus*, or *Domitius* his Brother, *Magiſter Militum*, and ſends *Germanus* againſt *Narſes*; whereas the *Abares* threatned to renew their Rapines and Devaſtations upon his Subjects, he adds ſomething to the Tribute, formerly paid to *Chaganus*, hoping ſo to quiet him: His great Force there he employs againſt the *Perſian*, but coming to Battel *Germanus* receives a Wound, whereof he dies an eleven days after, and *Leontius* who ſucceeded, having alſo ill Succeſs; *Phocas* was ſo inraged againſt him, that he cauſed him to be led in Chains in an Ignominious manner. Matters thus ill ſucceeding againſt the *Perſians*, when Force would not prevail, *Phocas* betook himſelf to Craft, and left no means unattempted to draw off *Narſes* from his Confederacy, and by many reiterated Promiſes backed with Oaths, perſwaded him at laſt to forſake the Cauſe and Camp of the Barbarians, and to return to his own Countrey. But having got him into his hands without any regard to Oaths or Promiſes, he burnt him alive, to the great diſtaſte, and diſcontent of the *Roman* People, to which he was moſt dear for his many good Services, and to the great Satisfaction of the *Perſians*; who not onely bore him ill Will, for his late forſaking of them, but feared him for his great Abilities in War, with the effects whereof they had ſo ſmarted, that with the Terrour of his Name as a ſufficient Scar-crow, they were uſually wont to fright their Children. The *Perſians* however reſolved to proceed; and this year took in *Daras*, moreover all *Meſopotamia*, and *Syria* they over-ran and waſted, returning home with incredible great Booty.

Miſcella, lib. 17.

Other Cruelties.

69. *Phocas* having now poſſeſſed the Throne for the ſpace of four years, thought to eſtabliſh it more by making Alliances with the Nobility. To *Priſcus* a Patritian, and the *Comes Excubitorum*; he gave his Daughter *Domitia* in Marriage, which being ſolemnized in the Palace of *Marina* for the greater Grace, he appointed a Game, or Exerciſe with Horſes to be held. But the ſport was all ſpoiled, and their Mirth ended with Sorrow. For the People it ſeems ſaluting the Bridegroom, and Bride with the Titles of Emperour and Empreſs; the *Demarchi*, of both the *Venetian* and *Praſinian* Factions, placed their Images at the four Columns by order of the *Menſores* (or *Delineatores* as they were called) being thoſe that had the Charge of managing the Solemnity. The *Demarchi* (*Theophanes* and *Pamphilus* by name) he ſends for, and commands them firſt to be ſtripped, and then beheaded. *Priſcus* trembled to think, what a Caſe he was in, and though without any Fault of his, incurred the Diſpleaſure of the Tyrant; who yet pardoned the multitude upon their Petition. But being now put into a fit of Fear and Jealouſie; it happened, that one *Patronia* coming to wait on *Conſtantina* the Relict of the Emperour *Mauricius*, revealed the Intelligence that paſſed betwixt that diſtreſſed Lady and *Germanus*, and what hopes they nouriſhed, that her Son *Theodoſius* was yet living. The Tyrant cauſeth *Conſtantina* to be tortured, who Confeſſeth in her pains, that *Romanus* a Patritian was of the Conſpiracy. *Romanus* by the ſame means was brought to diſcover others; as *Theodorus* Prefect of the Eaſt, who was put to Death, *Helpidius*, who had his Feet firſt cut off, and was afterward burnt alive. *Conſtantina* with her three Daughters, was put to Death in the ſame place, where her Husband had been formerly murthered. *Germanus* alſo, and his Son were ſent after them, together with *John*, *Ziza* a Patritian, *Theodoſius* and ſeveral others.

Choſroes waſtes the Eaſt.

Glicas in Annal.

70. Theſe diſcoveries increaſed the Rage and Jealouſie of the Tyrant, to ſuch a Degree that like a Wild Beaſt he raged, and fell upon all that he found in his way. Many he caſt into Priſon, upon ſlight and idle Suſpicions, and ſo crowded the Gaol (which having been made rather too little in *Conſtantine's* time, had never ſince been inlarged) that for want of room, with the Noiſomeneſs of the place ſeveral of them periſhed, which ſo affected a certain noble Matron, that ſhe gave freely an Houſe of hers adjoyning for inlarging the Priſon. While *Phocas* thus rageth at home againſt the Nobility, *Choſroes* in the Eaſt paſſeth *Euphrates*, and makes Havock of the poor People in thoſe Provinces, waſting without controll all *Syria*, *Paleſtine* and *Phœnicia*. And as well the Rage of the one, as Fury of the other continued the year following. For the *Perſian* Army, if we credit *Theophanes*, though *Cedrenus* placeth it in the year following, made another Invaſion, and defeating ſuch Forces as were ſent to oppoſe them, paſſed through *Galatia* and *Paphlagonia*, as far as *Chalcedon*, doing all things that Enemies are wont to doe in ſuch Caſes. *Phocas* in the mean time, as if he could ſtop the flux of Bloud in the Provinces, by a kind of Revulſion, and opening the Veins of thoſe about *Conſtantinople*, proceeds in his Murthers of the Nobility, a great Mortality at the ſame time Conſpiring with him, and *Choſroes* together, to rid the World of poor Mortals. After the ſlaughter of ſuch as were related to *Mauricius*;

he

Priſcus the Son-in-Law of *Phocas* Conſpires againſt him.

he put to Death *Commentiolus* the Governour of *Thrace*, and many others, and with this conſtant courſe of Cruelty ſo wearied *Priſcus* his Son-in-Law, that he reſolved to wave all the intereſt he had in him, with all his hopes and pretenſions, and hearing that in *Africk* a Conſpiracy was hatching, ſent to *Heraclius* the Patritian, who now governed that Province, deſiring him to diſpatch away with all ſpeed his Son *Heraclius*, and *Nicetas* the Son of *Gregoras* his Lieutenant, with a ſufficient Army againſt the Tyrant.

The Jews riſe againſt the Chriſtians at *Antioch*.

Chotim iſtum Copanam appellat Cedrenus.

Chaſtized.

The *Praſini* again revile *Phocas*.

He diſarmes them.

71. The Tyrant ignorant of theſe Tranſactions to purſue his own maxims, makes choice of ſuch as he thought as cruel as himſelf for his prime Miniſters. For this purpoſe he creates one *Bonoſus Comes* of the Eaſt, a furious and rugged man, whom he ſends to reſtrain the violence of the *Perſians*, but as he was on his way, he was recalled to extinguiſh the flames of a Rebellion, which now broke out at *Antioch*, where the Jews roſe up againſt the Chriſtians. They ſlew *Anaſtaſius* the Patriarch, which done, they cut off his privy members, and put them into his Mouth, and then dragged his dead Body through the Streets. They killed and burnt many of the Citizens, and proceeded ſtill in their fury till the news being brought to *Phocas*, he ordered *Bonoſus* and *Chotis* the *Magiſter Militum* to chaſtiſe them, which they did to purpoſe, being not able to prevail by fair means, putting many of them to the Sword, and diſmembring many whom they then baniſhed the City. Thus was this ſedition ſuppreſſed at *Antioch*, about the time that diſorders of greater conſequence happened at *Conſtantinople*, where the Heartburnings of the People againſt the Tyrant though for ſome time ſmothered, yet ſo increaſed as to break out into a greater flame. As he was preſent at the Shews in the *Circus*, the *Praſini* could not hold but upbraided him with his Drunkenneſs, telling him that he had again drunk in *Gabaſta*, which was a very large ſort of Cup, and that he had again loſt his ſenſe and underſtanding. In great wrath he cauſed *Coſmas* an Officer to apprehend many of them, of whom ſome he beheaded, others were diſmembred, and ſome put into ſacks and thrown into the Sea. The *Praſini* hereat inraged, as much as he, gathered together, ſet fire to the *Prætorium*, Court, and ſeveral Offices with the Priſons, out of which they let go ſuch as lay in Chains. The Tyrant hereupon in great wrath, cauſed the *Praſini* to be diſarmed.

Puniſheth a Conſpiracy.

Heraclius comes out of *Africk* againſt him.

Phocas put to Death.

Lutum Sanguine maceratum.

72. This year, which was the ſeventh of his Reign, happened ſo ſharp a Winter, that the Seas were frozen about *Conſtantinople*, and now the Tyrant's own Court began to wax too hot for him, where every day Conſpiracies being hatched, for ridding the World of ſo great a Plague. *Theodorus* a *Cappadocian*, the *Præfectus Prætorio*, *Helpidius* the Captain of his Artillery, and ſeveral others deviſed how they might kill him in the *Hippodrome*, but the Conſpiracy was revealed by *Anaſtaſius* the *Comes Largitionum*, and when upon examination it was found, that they had reſolved to make *Theodorus* Emperour, he put them all to Death, *Anaſtaſius* as well as others. But things could not long ſtand in this Condition, though he eſcaped this danger, yet being now ſet againſt all men, and all men againſt him, the controverſie muſt ſhortly be decided. *Heraclius* is ſaluted Emperour in *Africk*, and comes with a great Fleet and Army raiſed in theſe Southern parts toward *Conſtantinople*, while *Nicetas* marches with a great Land Army by the way of *Alexandria* and *Pentapolis*. *Heraclius* had made a contract with *Eudocia* the Daughter of *Rogatus* an *African*, and ſhe was now at *Conſtantinople* with *Epiphania* his Mother, which being told to *Phocas*, he cauſed them to be apprehended, and ſhut up in a Monaſtery. But *Heraclius* holds on his courſe and comes to *Abidus*, which being perceived by *Domentiolus* the Brother of the Tyrant, who had appointed him to keep the long Walls, he fled with the News of his approach to *Conſtantinople*. Having at *Abidus* kindly received ſuch Noblemen as had been exiled by *Phocas*, *Heraclius* purſued his Voyage to *Heraclea* and ſo to *Conſtantinople*, where in the Haven of *Sophia*, he ingaged in Battel with the Tyrant and had the better. *Phocas* being defeated fled to the Court, which being obſerved by one *Photinus*, whoſe Wife he had Raviſhed, with a party of Souldiers he broke in to him, drag'd him ignominiouſly from his Throne, pull'd the Imperial Robe over his Ears, and putting on him a black Veſt, led him in Fetters to *Heraclius*, who after he had asked him, If he had not bravely Governed, and he had anſwered, It was his part to doe better, commanded firſt his Hands and Feet, then his Arms and privy Members to be cut off, and at laſt his Head. What was left of his Trunck, the Souldiers Burnt in the *Forum of the Oxe*, a Market place ſo called, and this end had Baſeneſs and Cruelty, after they had domineered ſomething above ſeven years, in the fourth year of *Boniface* the Fourth, the *Roman* Biſhop, the thirteenth Indiction, *A. D.* DCX.

Heraclius Succeeds.

His Character.

The *Perſians* invade the Empire with others.

Zona

The birth of a young Prince, and the Death of his Mother.

73. *Zonaras* writes that the Brothers and Relations of *Phocas* were alſo put to Death, and that *Heraclius* being Crowned by *Sergius* the Patriarch the ſame day, ſet the Crown on the Head of *Fabia*, whoſe name was changed into *Eudocia*, and that he conſummated the Marriage formerly contracted. *Heraclius* was as to his Countrey a *Cappadocian*, deſcended of a Noble and opulent Family, active and valiant, of a middle Stature, large Breaſted, had ſparkling and grayiſh Eyes, a white Complexion, yellow Hair, and a large broad Beard, but immediately upon his promotion, he both cut his Hair and ſhaved his Beard, as was the cuſtome of Emperours. This year had been very happy in ſuch a change, but that the *Perſians* turned the Joy thence conceived by thoſe of the Eaſtern parts into mourning, for invading *Syria*, they took *Apamea* and *Edeſſa*, and came as far as *Antioch*; the *Romans* oppoſing them with ſo ill ſucceſs, that in a manner the whole Party periſhed in the Attempt, very few eſcaping to carry the News of the Defeat to their Friends and Relations. The *Scythians* alſo and *Abares* invaded *Europe*, which things made the new Emperour very ſolicitous what to doe. For the Legions were quite waſted and gone, very few being found in the Muſter Rolls, inſomuch that of thoſe many thouſands which Rebelled againſt that good Prince *Mauricius*, and ſaluted *Phocas* their Emperour, by a remarkable Providence, no more than two Souldiers were remaining. But *Heraclius* making as good preparations as the weak Eſtate of the Empire would permit, made *Criſpus* General, and ſent him into *Cappadocia*, which the following year the *Perſians* invaded, as well as *Armenia*, and after great waſte and deſtruction of all things, got *Cæſarea* into their Hands, which done, they roved up and down at their pleaſure; the *Roman* Forces being not able to make Head againſt them, at leaſt not any conſiderable oppoſition. While theſe things miniſtred matter of ſorrow at *Conſtantinople*, ſome diverſion was given to the Court by the Birth of a young Prince, *Heraclius* the younger, who was afterward called *Conſtantine* Junior, of which the Empreſs was brought to Bed on the third of *May*. She had before this brought a Daughter named *Epiphania*, and not long after the Birth of her Son Died, an unlucky accident happening at her Funeral. As ſhe was carried with Royal Pomp through the *Forum*, a Girl of ſome Barbarous Nation unwittingly and by accident ſpate upon the Herſe, for which the poor Creature was laid hold on and cruelly Burnt, making thus a lamentable parentation to the Deceaſed Empreſs.

The *Saracens* invade *Syria*.

Heraclius indeavours to Eſtabliſh his Family.

Choſroes hopes to make himſelf Maſter of the Empire.

74. This act of Cruelty was not left unrevenged in the Eaſt, where one miſchief ſtill followed at the heels of another, though the *Perſians*, glutted with bloud and burthened with booty, thought fit to give reſt both to themſelves and the places ſubject to their Invaſions. But the *Saracens* as it were to play their Game, while they were weary and looked on, made Incurſions into *Syria*, which they miſerably waſted with Fire and Sword. *Heraclius* to ſecure in his Family the ſucceſſion of a tottering and uncertain Empire, creates his Daughter *Auguſta* or Empreſs, and within a year following gives a Diadem to *Heraclius* his Son, whom he Sirnamed *Conſtantine*, and cauſed to be Crowned in like manner by *Sergius* the Patriarch. Having thus given them a Title, he reſolved to uphold it as well as he could, and made as good preparations as he might for an expedition againſt the *Perſians*. But they prevented him, being now freſh and fit for new Slaughters, for they took *Damaſcus*, and carried away captive a great multitude of People. Hereupon he ſends to *Choſroes* to perſwade him to admit of moderate Councils, to put a ſtop to that conſtant iſſue of bloud which he made, and ſatisfie himſelf with an Annual Tribute. But he diſmiſſed the Ambaſſadours with a denial, without any reaſons given for his Reſolution, hoping now to make himſelf Maſter of the *Roman* Empire. He ſent a great Army into *Syria* under the command of *Raſmizſus*, which having ſeized on the Paſſages of *Jordan*, waſted *Paleſtine* and took the City of *Jeruſalem.* Here they committed ſuch outrageous acts, as the horrour of them could not be expreſſed. About ninety thouſand Chriſtians they took and ſold many to the *Jews*, who out of their inveterate hatred to their Religion, refuſed to treat them as by the univerſal conſent of Nations, Captives were wont to be dealt with, but inventing all ſorts of Torments, put them to moſt cruel Deaths. *Zacharias* the Patriarch was carried away into *Perſia*, with ſome wood it's ſaid belonging to the Croſs of Chriſt, and vaſt Plunder. And this is all the account we have concerning this lamentable accident, Hiſtorians having given us but a touch of that which deſerved more largely to have been related.

Heraclius marries his own Neice.

75. In the mean time *Heraclius* being now a Widower, Marries *Martina* his own Neice by his Brother, and cauſeth her to be Crowned by *Sergius*, for which inceſtuous Act he is much blamed by Writers, and ſeverely puniſhed as

they obſerve. She brings him a Son who is alſo called *Conſtantine*, at ſuch time as the *Perſians* overrun all *Ægypt* and *Africk* as far as *Carthage*, which having attempted to no purpoſe with their uſual Booty and innumerable Priſoners they return home. At this time moſt lamentable was the condition of ſuch as fled from the danger to *Alexandria*, where there were no proviſions for ſo great a multitude, neither had the *Nile* overflowed according to the cuſtome; but by the care and liberality of *John* the Patriarch they were much relieved. Certainly this was a miſerable Age, and the condition of the *Roman* Empire was moſt calamitous, the Barbarous Nations roving up and down at their pleaſure, and *Heraclius* ſeeming ſo incapable of any effectual reſiſtence, that he appeared as a man utterly dejected and out of hope. This kindled the heat of Ambition in ſome mens Breaſts, who ſeeing him ſo unable to defend the *Roman* Dominions, and perceiving all was in danger, reſolved to get a ſhare to themſelves, rather than ſuffer all to be loſt to the Barbarous Nations. In *Italy*, *John*, the Governour of the City of *Naples*, rebells and kills *John* the Exarch of *Ravenna*, into whoſe place was ſent from *Conſtantinople* when his Death was there heard of, one *Eleutherius* who killed the Tyrant, and reſtored Peace to thoſe Quarters about *Ravenna*. But being warm in his Seat, he began out of ſuch conſiderations as we lately mentioned, to entertain ambitious thoughts of ſetting up for himſelf, having the greater Incouragement, becauſe the Territories ſubject to his command lay at ſuch a diſtance from the Emperour, who not being able to defend the Eaſtern Provinces, how could it be expected that he ſhould protect *Italy*, into the Bowels of which the *Lombards* had alſo inſinuated themſelves? while he contrives in his Head, by what means he may beſt bring about his purpoſe, *Italy*, as ſeldom having time to breathe betwixt one Calamity and another, is ſorely ſhaken with Earthquakes, and afflicted with a diſmal Plague of Leproſie.

The *Perſians* overrun all *Ægypt* and *Africk*.

76. *Heraclius* in the mean time, as if he had been ſeized with ſome lethargick Indiſpoſition, and could fright the Enemies of the Empire by glorious names, neglects his preparations for War, and inſtead of triumphs of the Field, makes choice of Domeſtick ſhews and ſolemnities. All his endeavours he bends to the promoting of his Children, in the ſeventh year of his Reign, conferring the Honour of Conſul on *Heraclius Conſtantinus* his eldeſt Son, who beſtowed on *Conſtantine* the younger, his Brother by *Martina*, the Title of *Cæſar*. Deſirous to be at peace, he ſends now the ſecond time to *Choſroes* offering to purchaſe it though upon very hard terms, but the Barbarian the more he ſubmitted the more inſulted, and utterly forgetting as well the good offices he had received from the *Romans* in his late condition, as the viciſſitude of humane Life, aroſe to that height of Arrogancy, as to require the Emperour and his Subjects, if they would be at quiet to renounce their Crucified Saviour, and with him adore the Sun for their God. Yet this Embaſſy or ſome other motive had this effect, that the *Perſians* ſtirred not the following year, which, notwithſtanding was full of trouble, or fuller than the preceding. For the *Avares* now again invaded *Thrace*, whom to divert or ſend back, *Heraclius* diſpatched away his Ambaſſadours. *Chaganus* their Leader promiſes Peace, whereupon the Emperour with all his train, goes and meets him as far as the long Walls, and with gentle words labours to perſwade him to continue in ſo good a mind, when ſuddenly the Barbarian contemning the Agreement, aud the Oaths wherewith he had ſealed them, falls upon *Heraclius* who eſcaping narrowly to *Conſtantinople*, loſt all his Baggage which he was forced to leave behind with ſome of his men. *Chaganus* having under ſhew of Peace and Amity, taken and plundered many Towns in *Thrace*, and inriched himſelf and followers by ſuch perfidious practices returned home.

The *Perſian* wonderfully inſolent.

Vide Cedrenum ad Ann. 9. *Heraclii.*

The King of the *Avares* perfidious.

77. The year following, the *Perſians* knowing how eaſie a Game they had to play, for their exerciſe and diverſion as well as inrichment, made another Invaſion and took *Ancyra* a City of *Galatia*. He muſt have been prodigiouſly ſtupid, whom ſo many affronts could not move to Indignation, exceſſively negligent and bad natured, whom ſo many Cries and Lamentations of multitudes ſpoiled of their Friends and Goods, and others led into Captivity, could not affect, and poor ſpirited above example, that could hear every day of this Town loſt, and the other Province waſted without being exceedingly concerned, and in pain, till an effectual courſe could be taken, both for repelling the Injury, and prevention of the like for the time to come. Whatever was the matter that *Heraclius* hitherto had ſeemed to be aſleep, yet now he rouzed himſelf and his Animoſity and Reſolution, though hard to be raiſed, yet now raiſed, gave hopes with them that they would not eaſily be laid down. He reſolves to recall if poſſible, the ancient Fortune of the

Heraclius reſolves to be active.

Romans, to reſtore their Valour and Conduct, and to make ſuch an expedition into *Perſia*, as might not onely ſecure the Provinces, but recover the Reputation of the Empire. But it's ill fighting with one Enemy, when a Man has another at his Back, and ingage with two, or more, at the ſame time. He endeavours therefore to take off *Chajanus*, and if not gain his Heart, yet to tie his Hands, that he might ſtand neuter, and doe him no hurt at home, whilſt abroad he provided for the ſecurity of himſelf and Subjects. He ſends once again to him, and having gently reprehended him for his late unkind dealing, once more exhorts him to embrace Peace, and a good underſtanding with him his Neighbour. The Barbarian promiſes to alter his courſe, and now to obſerve the Peace inviolably.

The King of the *Abares* promiſeth Peace.

78. Animated by this Report made by his Ambaſſadours, and now, as he thought, ſecure of the *Abares*, he buckled himſelf to his deſigned Expedition with all Alacrity. His Treaſury was ſo empty that he was forced to borrow Silver and Gold of the Churches, which he ſtamped into Money. He hired the Turks, and other Barbarous Nations, to follow him into *Perſia*, and in his way made ſuch levies as formed up a new Army. At *Conſtantinople* he left his Son to command in his abſence, aſſiſted by *Sergius* the Patriarch, and *Bonus* a Patritian, a Man of great Wiſedom and Experience. *Chajanus* by Letters he ſtill exhorted to keep his Word and Faith, ſo religiouſly given, and the next Evening, after the ſolemnity of *Eaſter* was over, ſet forward for *Perſia*, training his Men as he marched, and diſciplining ſuch Troops as were raw and unexperienced, being newly raiſed. In the mean time, while he prepares for his Journey, *Saes*, the *Perſian* General, ſent by *Choſroes*, waſtes the *Eaſt* without controll, and coming even as far as *Chalcedon*, there ſtays for ſome time, and invites *Heraclius*, under pretext of a Treaty of Peace, to give him a meeting. The Emperour met with him according to his deſire, and truſting too much to his flattering Language, ſent ſeventy of his Nobles with him on an Embaſſy to *Choſroes*, whom the perfidious wretch carried bound with great contumely into *Perſia*, but there being arrived, had his skin pulled over his Ears, for having ſeen *Heraclius*, and not brought him away Priſoner, and the *Roman* Ambaſſadours were caſt into Priſon, and ſeverely handled. *Choſroes* after this ſent another Captain againſt the *Romans*, called *Sarbaras*, who entring *Aſia* with a vaſt number of Men, did anſwerable miſchiefs in the Provinces. But *Heraclius* now having compoſed the differences riſen amongſt his Souldiers, and animated them with courage and confidence againſt his Enemies, purſued his March, and came to the confines of *Armenia*. Here he underſtands he muſt fight for his paſſage, a Body of *Perſians* being ready to give him a ſtop, but there was not much need of troubling himſelf, ſome of his Vantguards eaſily defeating this Party, of which they brought the Captain Priſoner to his Preſence. Winter now drawing on, he held on the way toward *Pontus*, as if he would there take up his Winter Quarters, and the *Perſians* imagining no leſs, he ſurpriſed them, and fell into their Territories.

Heraclius cheated by the *Perſian* General.

79. One of their Commanders had already entred *Cilicia*, to divert him from his deſigned Invaſion, but now perceiving how the caſe was altered, he retreated to defend his own Countrey, and followed *Heraclius* in the rere; yet did him little or no prejudice, though he ſeized on the Mountains, and the moſt advantageous places, ſtill coming off with loſs and Infamy. At length other forces drew up, and then they came to a pitcht battel, wherein the Courage and Alacrity of *Heraclius* ſo animated his Men, that they obtained a notable Victory over their formerly inſulting Enemies, and let them ſee that Fortune had not altogether addicted her ſelf to them and their Cauſe. This done, the Emperour drew down his Forces into *Armenia* to Winter, and he himſelf returned to *Conſtantinople*, whence he was conſtrained, after no very long ſtay, to return again into the Eaſt. For *Choſroes* ſent *Sarnabazas*, or *Sarmanazaris*, to waſte the *Roman* Provinces, as formerly, and being again moved to accept of Peace, and compoſe the differences, for the eaſe and ſecurity of the People for the time to come, he refuſed what was offered, and ſlighted the Meſſage. *Heraclius* therefore ſees he muſt again invade *Perſia*, which he did toward the latter end of *April*, which *Choſroes* underſtanding, recalls *Sarnabazas*, and making greater Levies, joins him and *Sainus*, or *Sathis*, in command, with orders to find out and ingage the Emperour. *Heraclius* purſues his March, and having by Arguments, drawn from religious conſiderations, much elevated the courage of his Men, pierced into the inner *Perſia*, where perceiving that the King himſelf lay at a place called *Gazacum*, (or *Gaza-Cotis*) with forty thouſand ſtout and courageous Souldiers, made haſte to ſurprize him. He ſent ſome *Saracens* before, to eſpie and relate how this might beſt be effected, who fell upon the ſcouts of *Choſroes*,

Heraclius defeats the *Perſians*.

and killing ſome of them, brought others to the Emperour; but ſome eſcaped, and carried news of *Heraclius* his approach, with which the King was amazed, and fled away as faſt as his Horſe could carry him.

80. *Heraclius* ſtill purſues and clears all before him, eaſily conquering whatever oppoſition was made, and takes the City of *Gazacum*, where was the Temple of the Sun, the Treaſure of *Crœſus*, King of *Lydia*, and the Impoſture of Coals. He takes and razeth *Gazacum*. Entring the place, he found therein *Choſroes*, ſo repreſented, as if he ſate in Heaven, with the Sun, Moon and Stars about him, which he worſhipped as Gods; *Cedrenus.* Angels which bore Sceptres encircling him. There were alſo Machines to be ſeen, by which he could imitate Rain, and counterfeit Thunder, all which, together with the Temple, and the whole City, the Emperour burnt to Aſhes, and purſued the King to *Thebatman*, (where *Theophanes* placeth the Temple, and the other ſu- *Vide Bar.* Peirceth through *Perſia.* perſtitious things now mentioned) and ſo as far as to the Straits of *Media*, deſtroying many Towns, and waſting all places through which he paſſed. But now he muſt think of Winter, which drew nigh, and his Souldiers muſt be provided for. Three days he ſet apart to implore the Counſel and Direction of Almighty God, and opening the Goſpels, as the manner was, he thought it was injoined him to winter in *Albania*. In his retreat with much booty he was in diſadvantageous places way-layed, and galled ſometimes by the Enemy but ſtill came off with the better. He was moſt diſtreſſed with Froſt, and hard weather, which moved him to ſuch compaſſion toward his Priſoners, of which it's reported he had no fewer, than fifty thouſand, that he ſet them all at liberty, which ſo affected them, that weeping for joy, they prayed he might not be onely theirs, but the Deliverer of all *Perſia* from the Deſtroyer of the World, the bloody *Choſroes*.

81. For the year following, which was the fourteenth of the Reign of *Heraclius*, *Choſroes* made one *Sarablacas* (or *Sarablancas*) and *Sarbazanes* his Generals, ordering *Choſroes* maketh two Generals. them with joint force to ſet upon the Emperour, who with ſuch ſucceſs as could not be paralleľd, and indeed prodigious, if the Fortune of his Predeceſſours, in reference to the Crown of *Perſia*, be conſidered, had born the *Roman* Eagle diſplayed throughout his Dominions. To *Sarablacas* he delivered the Flower of his Army, called *Choſroites*, and *Perozites*, and ſent him againſt the Emperour into *Albania*, who was no whit diſcouraged at it, but deſired to fight him e'er *Sarbanazas* could join with him. But *Sarablacas* durſt not fight, but ſeized on ſuch places as were convenient to infeſt him as he paſſed into *Perſia*. And when Spring came on, and he could get Proviſions for his Army, away the Emperour marched, but his Men, weary with Travel, and fearfull out of the apprehenſion they had of the difficulty of the Enterprize, began to mutiny, the *Lazians* and *Abaſgians* eſpecially, who refuſed to march any farther. But as here they made delays, and quarrelled with the tedіouſneſs of their Journey, *Sarbazanes* came up, and was almoſt ready to join with *Sarablacas*, which convinced the *Roman* Souldiers of their folly, and how by their delay they were like to draw at once two Enemies upon their backs in the room of one, they come therefore, and with Tears beg pardon of the Emperour, caſting themſelves at his Feet, and deſiring that they might be led againſt the Enemy, leſt their delay, joined with their deſerts, ſhould bring them to moſt certain Ruine. It hapned however very well, that *Sarbazanes* purſuing his orders, would not venture to ingage, till he could join his Troops with thoſe of *Sarablancas*, whom *Heraclius*, having incouraged his Men, indeavoured by all means to fight, but could not provoke him to a Battel, and therefore leaving both theſe Captains, he led on after *Choſroes*. Now do two *Romans* run away to the *Perſians*, and perſuade them, that the cauſe of the haſte made by *Heraclius*, was mere fear he had of ingaging, and at the ſame time comes news, that *Sais*, another of the *Perſian* Captains, was at hand with a very conſiderable force.

82. Hereupon the other two Captains reſolve to ingage the *Romans*, leſt a Victory to them undoubted ſhould be taken out of their hands. *Heraclius*, when he perceived them incamped near to him, and that early the next morning they intended to fight, removed farther in the night, till he came to a place very convenient for him to ingage on, which receſs of his, truſting to the ſtory of the Fugitives, they counted flight, and fell tumultuouſly upon him, as one running away, and *Heraclius* defeats them. this miſtake of theirs he managed to ſuch advantage, that he defeated them, killing many, and amongſt the reſt *Sarablacas*. Yet notwithſtanding, the *Perſians*, by the coming of *Sais*, were incouraged, who joining with *Sarbanazes*, rallied the Troops lately diſperſed, and ſtruck no ſmall terrour into the *Romans*, whom they followed, marching through difficult, and almoſt unpaſſable, ways, into the Territories of the *Hunnes*. Now the *Lazians* and *Abaſgians*, out of cowardly

fear deſerted the *Romans*, and returned home, which once known, the Enemy with more courage and greater expedition purſued them, and it put *Heraclius* to ſome ſtraits; but by Arguments drawn from Religion he again erected the dejected Spirits of his Men, putting them in mind, that though they ſhould endure the utmoſt, and undergo Death it ſelf, their Death would be the Death of Martyrs, and in regard they fought for the Reputation of their Faith, the ſafety of the Empire, and the preſervation of their Brethren, as ſuch they would be admired and honoured by all poſterity. Having by theſe, and ſuch like words, brought them into the ſame good humour as formerly, with great alacrity he put them into the order of battel, as alſo did the *Perſian* Captains their Forces; yet in Battalia both Armies continued, without ſtriking one ſtroke, from morning till night, which being come, *Heraclius* removed, and purſued his Voyage, having the Enemy at his heels, who, to prevent and encompaſs him, went ſomething out of their way, and entangled themſelves in the Fens and Marſhes. By this means he got a ſafe and a quicker paſſage into *Perſarmenia*, into which Countrey the *Perſians* ſtill purſued him, with this comfort, that there they could recruit themſelves with additional Forces, and that, as they imagined, the *Romans* fled in great anxiety and fear.

Gets another great Victory.

83. Yet Winter coming on, they reſolved, after a fruitleſs purſuit, to return home, which being known to *Heraclius*, he purpoſed in the dead time of the night to fall upon them. He ſent ſome ſelect parties to ſtorm the Caſtle, to the defence of which, upon the Alarm, they came in confuſedly, but all that came were cut off, ſcarcely one remaining to carry the tidings. *Sarbanazas* himſelf, naked as he was, leapt upon his Horſe, and fled with full ſpeed, leaving many Officers and Ladies, and indeed the Flower of the *Perſian* Nobility, in the place, who got up to the tops of the Houſes, and there would have fortified themſelves, but he fetched them down, ſetting fire to the Buildings, and ſome he ſlew, others he burnt, and many he took, very few eſcaping his Hands, that had accompanied *Sarbanazas*, whoſe Arms were all found and taken, as his golden Buckler, his Sword, and Spear, his Girdle, ſet richly with Gems, and his neat and ſpruce Shoes. After this the Emperour ſcoured the Countrey of all Straglers, killing ſome, and taking others, which done, he reſolved here to winter. The Year following he took the way that led by Mount *Taurus* into *Syria*, and after vaſt pains undergone in his paſſage, on the ſeventh day came to the River *Tigris*, and thence to the Cities of *Martyropolis* and *Amida*. Here he refreſhed his Souldiers and Captives, and he ſent Letters of his ſucceſs to *Conſtantinople*, where the news was received with as great Joy as the thing required. But in the Spring *Sarbanazas*, to be revenged and redeem his Credit, moves againſt him, who, upon the news received, ſends certain Troops to ſecure the Paſſages, through which he muſt march, and he himſelf goes another way, lying toward the Eaſt, by which he intends to find out and ſurprize his purſuing Enemy.

He paſſeth *Euphrates*.

Defeats the *Perſians* that oppoſed him.

Choſroes enraged.

84. Having paſſed his Army over the River *Nymphius*, he came to *Euphrates*, over which a Bridge had been laid of Ropes and Wool, wrought together, which *Sarbanazas* had cauſed to be broken, and drawn all up to the other ſide. But *Heraclius* found out a Ford, and to the Amazement of all men paſſed over his Army in the Month of *March*, which having done, he ſubdued *Samaſatæ*, and again paſſing over *Taurus*, came to *Germanicia*, and through *Adana* to the River. In the mean time *Sarabazas* purſues him, and when he had paſſed the River *Sanis*, and ſeized on the Bridge, and all the Forts belonging to it, pitched his Camp on the other ſide. The *Roman* Souldiers were ſo elevated with their ſucceſs, that, contrary to the expreſs command of the Emperour, they would venture over the Bridge tumultuouſly, and charge the Enemy, which brought them into great ſtraits, and they had undoubtedly miſcarried, but that the great Valour and Conduct of the Prince preſerved them, who demeaned himſelf ſo in the battel, that his Enemies admired him, and under covert of the night thought beſt to retire. *Heraclius*, all being now clear, leads his Men to *Sebaſtea*, where, having croſſed the River *Halys*, he reſolved to winter. *Choſroes* hearing how his matters daily went down the wind, boiled with anger, and in a great rage took away the Wealth of all the Churches within his Dominions, and to vex *Heraclius*, compelled all Chriſtians, that were his Subjects, to embrace the Hereſie of the *Neſtorians*.

85. Having been ſo many times ignominiouſly beaten, and forced to take his heels, he conſidered how unlike his fortune had been to that of his Predeceſſours, before whom the *Romans* had been wont moſt commonly to flie, and impatient of the diſgrace, for the following year reſolved to apply all his Force and Intereſt againſt *Heraclius*, into whoſe Territories, if he could transfer the War, he thought

Raiſes a vaſt Army.

Theodorus beats *Sais.*

he ſhould compell him to return home, and ſo doe his buſineſs. He raiſed an Army out of all ſorts of Nations, he could compaſs, and out of all conditions of his own Subjects Slaves or free; the choiceſt of which he committed to the conduct of *Sais*, and added to them fifty thouſand ſtout Souldiers out of *Sarbaras* his Army, whom he named the *Golden Company*. *Sais* thus furniſhed, he ſent againſt *Heraclius*, and commanded *Sarbaras* with the reſt of the Forces to march toward *Conſtantinople*, and in his way to draw the Weſtern *Hunnes*, or *Avares* into ſociety with him, and ſo in conjunction with the *Slavini* and *Gepidæ*, to fall upon that City. *Heraclius* his Intelligence was ſo good, that he fully underſtood how his Plots were laid, and therefore divided his Army into three Parts, whereof one he ſent to defend the City, the ſecond he committed to the charge of *Theodorus* his Brother, with order to fight *Sais*, and he himſelf with the third invaded the Territories of the *Lazians*, endeavouring to procure Auxiliaries alſo from the *Eaſtern Turks*, called otherwiſe *Chazari*. *Theodorus* ingaged and routed *Sais*, by help, as they report, from Heaven, a great ſtorm of Hail ſorely diſtreſſing the *Perſians*, with which the *Romans*, were not at all incommoded. And *Sais* having received this notable defeat, as the cuſtome is, with theſe Barbarous Eaſtern Nations, fell into the great diſpleaſure of his Prince, and contracted from grief a mortal Diſeaſe, which having made an end of him, *Choſroes* tyranniſed with ſeveral ſorts of Indignities over the dead Body.

Conſtantinople beſieged by the *Avares.*

The Siege wonderfully raiſed.

86. In the mean time the *Chazari*, or Turks, break through the *Caſpian* Gates into *Perſia*, and pierce as far as the Region of *Androega*, under conduct of *Zeebelus*, who was next in dignity to *Chajanus*. As they waſted the whole Countrey, and roved up and down, *Heraclius* met them in his March from *Lazica*, and made an Alliance with them upon ſuch Terms, as *Zeebelus* therewith ſatisfied, left his Son with the Emperour, and departed home. In the mean while *Sarbarazas* ſets upon *Chalcedon*, and the *Avares* flocking in great numbers out of *Thrace*, beſieged ſtraitly *Conſtantinople*, by Sea and Land, bringing many Veſſels out of the *Danube*. But when they had beſieged the City ten days, a wonderfull thing hapned, which produced full as ſtrange an effect. They thought they ſaw a Lady with a train of Eunuchs iſſue out of the Gate of *Blachernæ*, which ſuppoſing to be the Wife of *Heraclius*, and that in the abſence of her Husband ſhe was coming to their General to treat of Peace, they made way for her, purpoſing to fall upon all ſuch Souldiers as ſhould follow after her. But finding that though ſhe had paſſed the Trench, yet ſhe came not towards the General's Tent, they began to purſue her, and followed her as far as the place called *The old Stone*, where when they had almoſt overtaken her, ſhe ſuddenly diſappeared; but the purſuers immediately fell on quarrelling amongſt themſelves, and from words came to mortal blows, which they laid on till Evening began to part them. The next day the Captain coming to inquire of the Cauſe, found that the moſt part of his Men were deſtroyed by their Fellows, and in great ſhame and diſcontent retired. Then did the Fleet alſo withdraw, and returning homewards, in the *Euxine* Sea was ſo diſtreſſed by Tempeſt, that few eſcaped. Yet would not *Sarbarazas*, though he took the thing much to heart, raiſe his Siege from before *Chalcedon*; but there wintring, haraſſed all the Sea Coaſts, and deſtroyed all the Towns adjoining.

87. In the mean time *Heraclius* having joined to him the Turks, entred *Perſia* in the Winter ſeaſon, and terrified *Choſroes* exceedingly; but the Turks not enduring the ſharpneſs of the weather, and frighted by the many Incurſions and Skirmiſhes of the *Perſians*, began to ſlip away, and at length all of them deſerted the Emperour, and returned home, yet he, by religious Arguments, comforted his Men, and prepared to encounter *Razaſtes*, a Man of great Valour and Conduct, whom *Choſroes* had made General of all the Forces he could raiſe. Having waſted all with fire and Sword in his way, in the month of *October* he entred the Countrey called *Chamaitha*, where he refreſhed his Army ſeven days. *Razaſtes* followed him, but by reaſon that the *Romans* deſtroyed all things as they went along, his Men were much diſtreſſed for want of Victuals. On the firſt of *December* the Emperour, having croſſed the River *Zaba*, ſate down not far from *Ninive*, and *Razaſtes* was inſtantly at his Heels. The Emperour ſent out *Boanas*, his prime Officer, with a choice Party of Men, who light upon the Band or Standard of the *Perſians*, and having killed all about it but ſix and Twenty, brought thoſe away Priſoners, with the Head of their Leader, and, together with his Dagger of maſſy Gold, they took the Armourbearer of *Razaſtes*. He told *Heraclius*, that *Razaſtes* was reſolved to fight, and that three thouſand freſh Men were ordered him by *Choſroes*, but were not yet arrived, which made him reſolve to engage e'er theſe ſuccours ſhould join with the reſt of the Army. He himſelf ſhewed the moſt

Ὁ δὲ εὗρε Βάνδον τῶν Περσῶν, &c. *Cedrenus ad Ann.* 17 *Heraclii.*

Heraclius obtains another great Victory.

moſt alacrity to fight, killing three of the *Perſian* Officers with his own hand, one after another, and a bloudy Battel it was, laſting from morning to night, wherein fell *Razaſtes*, with almoſt all his fellow Commanders, and the greateſt part of the Souldiers; but of the *Romans* onely fifty. *Razaſtes* his Body was found, with a Shield and Armour, all of maſſy Gold.

88. The Emperour, to make uſe of the terrour which this Victory ſtruck into the mind of *Choſroes*, preſently led againſt him, intending, if poſſible, to find him out, or force him to recall his Forces from the Parts about *Conſtantinople*. Paſſing over the Bridges of *Zaba* the leſs, he came to the Palace of *Jeſdemon*, and there kept his *Chriſtmas*. Hence he marched to another Houſe of *Choſroes*, called *Ruſa*, which he demoliſhed, and paſſed on to another, known by the name of *Beclam*, where he found a great number of all ſorts of Beaſts, which he diſtributed to his followers. Here by ſome fugitive *Armenians* he underſtood that *Choſroes*, with all his Elephants and his Forces, ſtaid at *Dyſtagerda*, another of his Manſions, where he expected the coming of the reſt of his Men. Thither therefore he made his way, burning and killing all in his paſſage, and coming to the place, there found the ſeveral Standards which at divers times had been taken from the *Romans*, with abundance of Spices, Hangings richly wrought, and much Silk, whereof as much as could not be brought away he cauſed to be burnt. Hither repaired to him many Captives taken from *Edeſſa*, *Alexandria*, and out of other Nations. All the pleaſant Houſes of *Choſroes*, of which ſome were admirable for Beauty, and rich Furniture, he burnt to the ground, to let him feel, as he ſaid, what he did when he deſtroyed the *Roman* Cities. The King, e'er he came to *Dyſtagerda*, ſtole ſecretly away, with his Wives and Children, having broken an hole in the Wall, and he who formerly in an intire day could not make a Journey of five miles, now could travell five and twenty, and having paſſed beyond *Cteſiphon*, and the River *Tigris*, ſhut up himſelf, with his Wife and three Daughters, in a certain Caſtle.

89. While here he reſides, ſome *Perſians* calumniate *Sarbarus*, or *Sarbarazas*, to him, as if he held intelligence with the *Romans*, whereupon he ſends to *Cardarichas*, his Collegue, then lying before *Chalcedon*, that he ſhould kill *Sarbarus*, and return with the Army into *Perſia*. He that carried the Letter was intercepted by the *Romans*, upon the Borders of *Galatia*, and brought before the Emperour's Son at *Conſtantinople*, who ſends for *Sarbarus*, and ſhews him the Letter, with which he was ſo concerned, as to make Peace with him and the Patriarch, and puts into the Letter of *Choſroes*, that with him four hundred other Officers of the Army ſhould be killed. Then calls he *Cardarichas*, and all the Armies together, and reading the Letter, demands if they thought it convenient that all thoſe perſons ſhould be ſlain, whereat they were all enraged, and renouncing *Choſroes*, made Peace on that condition, that they might return home without impediment. About the ſame time *Heraclius* wrote to *Choſroes*, and offered him Peace, which he refuſed, and thereby increaſed the hatred his Subjects had already conceived againſt him. He levies another Army, which he commands to join with the remainder of *Razaſtes* his Troops, and hovering about the River *Narba*, to break down the Bridge aſſoon as *Heraclius* ſhould have paſſed over. The Emperour hereof advertiſed, returned to the Region called *Siazur*, which he ſpoiled and burnt, and here *Gunduſundus*, who had ſerved under *Sarbarus*, as a Tribune, with many others, join themſelves to him. He acquaints him that *Choſroes* had determined to crown King his youngeſt Son *Merdaſa*, which *Siroes* his eldeſt oppoſed with all his vigour, and had procured to join with him two and twenty *Satrapæ*, with an infinite multitude of Men, which now conſpired to make an end of *Choſroes*, and if that could not be done, all of them would revolt to the *Romans*. *Heraclius* approving the deſign, ſends to *Siroes*, and adviſes him to ſet all the *Romans* they had at liberty, and lead them againſt his Father, which he did, and eaſily took him, though he attempted to eſcape. Now was he bound in Iron Fetters, and having Gives of Iron alſo about his Neck, was caſt into a Dungeon, and fed onely with Bread and Water. *Siroes* ſent the Noblemen to ſcoff at him, and ſpit in his Face, and having killed all his Sons in his ſight, cauſed him, after fifteen days, to be ſhot to death.

Choſroes taken and killed by his Son *Siroes*.

90. This end had Paricide, Inſolence and Ingratitude, by the Hand of him who ought leaſt to have done it, though he revenged the death of his Grandfather, after that *Heraclius* had waged War againſt the Tyrant with miraculous ſucceſs, the ſpace of ſix years. *Siroes* preſently ſent to the Emperour, to give him notice how matters ſtood, made a perpetual Peace, and ſet at liberty all Priſoners, together with *Zacharias* the Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, and the wood of the Croſs taken out of that City. By virtue alſo of this Peace the *Roman* Provinces, on which the *Perſians*

Heraclius returns in triumph after his wonderfull performances.

ſians had lately ſeized, were reſtored to the Empire, as all *Syria*, both the upper and lower, the Garriſons being drawn out of the Cities. Theſe things done, *Heraclius* returned to *Conſtantinople* in triumph, and a triumph he deſerved, equal to thoſe of the greateſt Captains, having recovered the Eaſtern parts of the Empire, and reſtored the poor diſtreſſed People to their ancient Liberty, burnt ſo many Cities, waſted ſo many Countries in the Enemies Dominions, fully revenged upon that Infidel Nation all the Indignities offered to the *Romans*, ſtained the Glory of *Choſroes* his Family, by cauſing him baſely to run away, by burning his Palaces, and driving his Subjects into Rebellion, and that at ſuch a time when the Empire was in a very low and ſad condition, its Treaſure exhauſted, and its *Militia* decayed, and quite out of order. The People hearing of his approach, ran out of the City with a greedy deſire of ſeeing him. There wanted no Prayers, Praiſes, Acclamations and Welcomings, they carried out Olive branches in their Hands, with Lamps, which they almoſt extinguiſhed with their Tears of Joy. His Son *Conſtantius*, accompanied with the Patriarch, fell at his feet, and embracing him, they both watered the ground out of the like Fountains.

He makes a Progreſs to *Jeruſalem.*

The *Perſian* Monarchy ruined.

Heraclius courted by Foreign Princes.

Buſies himſelf with points of Religion, and ſuffers *Mahomet* to riſe.

91. The following year, which was the nineteenth of his Reign, in the beginning of the Spring, he made a Progreſs to *Jeruſalem*, where he reſtored *Zacharias* Patriarch, and the Wood of the Croſs he depoſited in its former place. By an Edict he forbad the Jews to come within three Miles of the City, and having finiſhed his Devotions, made a farther Progreſs into the Eaſtern Provinces. Coming to *Hierapolis* in *Phrygia*, he had the news of the Death of *Siroes*, the new King of *Perſia*, who was now ſerved in the ſame ſort as he had dealt with his Father, being ſlain by *Sarbaras* the General, or *Adeſer* his own Son, who having enjoyed the Title but ſeven Months, received the ſame meaſure himſelf from *Barrazas*, who continued King for eight months longer. Him the *Perſians* ſlew, and preferred to the Throne *Barama*, the Daughter of *Choſroes*, ſome ſay *Barachanes*, his Son, who having reigned but ſeven Months, was ſucceeded by *Hormiſdas*, whom the *Saracens* drove out of *Perſia*, and ſubjected this Kingdom to the *Arabians*, under whom it continues at this day, ſaith *Cedrenus*. Thus in a ſhort time was brought to ruine a Monarchy which ſo lately had been the moſt potent and dreadfull of all others; and by the ſame courſe of mutability, the ſame wheel of Fortune elevated the *Roman* Empire, which ſo lately had lain in the loweſt condition to an high pitch of its ancient Glory. *Heraclius* was now become ſo famous in all Countries, that ſeveral Kings, as well from the Weſt as the Eaſt, ſent to congratulate his good Succeſs, and join in Confederacy with him. As the King of the *Indians*, who ſent him a rich Preſent of Pearl and pretious Stones, and *Dagebert* the Son of *Chlotharius*, King of the *Franks*. But ſee ſtill the viciſſitude of humane Affairs: *Heraclius* now at eaſe and leiſure, having ſubdued his Enemies abroad, aſſiſts in a religious Civil War at home, and makes himſelf a great Party amongſt Churchmen, embracing the Hereſie of the *Monothelites*. As a puniſhment for this grievous crime (as ſome, who take upon them to pry into the ſecret Providence of God, do aſſert) the Empire which had lately been reſtored to ſo high a pitch of greatneſs and reputation, began now again to fall to decay, and ſo by little and little was diminiſhed, till at laſt it came to utter ruine, and into the hands of Barbarians. So that *Heraclius* is blamed, as in a great meaſure the Authour of this miſchief, and is farther taxed upon this account, that buſying himſelf with Opinions and Speculations not proper for him, he took no notice of the greateſt miſchief which ever roſe in the Eaſt, the greateſt Plague that ever happened to *Chriſtendom*, which he might have prevented, and cruſhed as a Cockatrice in the very Egg. For now at this time *Mahomet* was Captain of the *Saracens*, whoſe Power he much advanced, and inſtilled into them the Venome of a new Religion. He died in the one and twentieth year of *Heraclius* his Reign.

92. He left for his Succeſſour *Ebubachar* his Kinſman, who taking occaſion at the low Eſtate to which the *Perſian* Kingdom was brought, advanced as much as he could the Affairs of the *Saracens*. But he continued not long in his place, dying in the four and twentieth year of *Heraclius*, after he had reigned, or been *Ameras*, as their term was, two years and an half, and was ſucceeded by *Humar*, or *Haumar*, who, to improve what *Mahomet* and *Elbubachar* had begun, took *Boſtra*, with ſeveral other Cities, and proceeded in his Conqueſts as far as *Gabitha*. Againſt him *Theodorus*, the Emperour's Brother, made head, but was defeated, and forced to fly to *Heraclius*, then lying at *Edeſſa*, who made *Boanes*, or *Bahanes*, or *Habanes*, General in his ſtead, and beſides this, ſent *Theodorus Sacellarius* with an Army againſt the *Arabians*. Being come as far as *Emeſa*, there the *Ameras* meets him

He is frighted from *Jeruſalem* by the *Saracens*, who beat his Officers.

And take *Damaſcus* with the Regions of *Phœnicia*.

him with a multitude of his *Saracens*, and incamps himſelf upon the River *Bardoniſius*, the Rumour of which frighted the Emperour ſo that taking away the Relicks from *Jeruſalem*, he returned to *Conſtantinople*, ſending Orders to *Bcanes* to remove from *Damaſcus* to *Edeſſa*, to the Aſſiſtence of *Theodorus*; whoſe Army conſiſted of forty thouſand Men. Yet it ſeems he obeyed not the Order, being forced to entertain more provident Councils, for inſtead of aſſiſting *Theodorus*, he had need of calling him to his aid; the *Saracens* in the Spring following, in infinite multitudes flocking to *Damaſcus*. *Theodorus* was ready at his call, but engaging with the *Arabians*, was worſted and forced to retire, after which the Army under the command of *Bohanes*, fell into a Mutiny, and renouncing *Heraclius*, choſe him for their Emperour. Hereupon *Theodorus Sacellanus* withdrew the Forces under his Command, and the *Saracens* rid of him were in better Capacity to grapple with *Bohanes*, whom they deſtroyed with all his Men. For when they ingaged, a ſtrong Wind blew all the Duſt into the Faces of the *Romans*, which made them unfit for fight, and to fly to the River *Jerinochte*, into which they were driven Headlong by the Enemy, and all periſhed either in the Water, or by the Sword. Then did the *Saracens* eaſily take *Damaſcus* with the Regions of *Phœnicia*, which now they began to inhabit, and ſhortly after, with eaſe ſubdued *Ægypt*, which they alſo planted with their own Men. Here we are like to meet with a warlike Nation, which for a long time is to act a moſt conſiderable part upon the ſtage of the World. We ſhall therefore make a pauſe, and inquire who this *Saracen* is, and whence he is deſcended; for all mens Eyes are now upon him, and all the News is concerning his Motions, and the dreadfull Effects of his Victorious Arms.

The Original of the *Saracens*, which Name was not ancient.

Arabians.

Saracens and *Hagarens* the ſame.

Iſmaelites.

See Dr. *Jackſon* upon the Creed, B. I. Ch. 25.

Their Seat.

L. 23.

Cedrenus & Zonaras paſſim eos Agarenos dicunt.

Lib. 16.

93. It's evident out of *Ammianus Marcellinus*, that the Name of *Saracens* was not ancient. The firſt certain mention of it is in *Ptolemy*; who deſcribes a Region called *Saracen* in the Weſt part of *Iſmael's* Territories, as they are ſet out by *Moſes*, and a People called *Saraceni* in *Arabia Fœlix*, near to the Mountains which the *Scenitæ* inhabited. That they were *Arabians*, is moſt evident out of the Greek Annals, which call them indifferently by the one, and the other Name: But farther, in all the Eccleſiaſtick Writers the Names of *Saracens* or *Hagarens* are uſed promiſcuouſly, as Equivalent, and the *Saracens* to the modern *Jews* of *Spain* are beſt known, by that of *Iſmaelites*. The Reader therefore is to conſider, that of *Abraham's* baſe Seed, ſome in Scripture are denominate from their Mother, known by the Name of *Hagarens*; others from her Son their Father, are called *Iſmaelites*, and ſome take their Names from his Sons, as *Kedar*, *Duma*, *Naphiſh*, *Iltur* and others, although not any People in Scripture are named from *Nabaioth*, his eldeſt Son, which adds Probability to their Opinion, who think ſuch as the Heathen called *Nabathæi*, were in Scripture called *Iſmaelites* as ſole Heirs to their firſt Progenitour's Name. Their ſeat was in the beſt part of *Arabia Patræa*, near to the *Midianites*, as is probable from the ſtory of *Joſeph*; who in one place is ſaid to be ſold unto the *Iſmaelites*, in another to the *Midianites*, theſe being near Neighbours it ſeems, and Co-partners in Traffick. And this is obſervable, that as the *Nabathæans* are not mentioned in Scripture, ſo neither do we find the Name of *Iſmael* in any ancient Heathen Writers: All of them it's likely being of *Strabo's* mind, who profeſſeth that he omits the Names of the *Arabians*; partly, becauſe in his time they were out of uſe, and partly, for the Harſhneſs of their Pronunciation; to which Exception the Name of *Iſmael* was very obnoxious.

The Seat of the *Hagarens*, mentioned in Scripture.

Scenitæ Arabes the general Name of *Iſmael's* Poſterity.

Vide I *Chron.* 5, 9, 10.

Ἀγραιοί.

Iſai. 42. 11.

Gen. 25. 10.

94. The ſeat of ſuch, as by the Scripture are called *Hagarens*, was in the Deſert of *Arabia*, betwixt *Gilead* and *Euphrates*: They were by the Heathen called *Agræi* (a Word more Conſonant to their Hebrew name הגרר, than the Latine *Hagareni*) and are rightly placed by *Ptolemy* in *Arabia* Deſert, and by *Strabo* in that very place which the Scripture makes the Eaſtern bounds of *Iſmael's* Poſterity; their Metropolis in latter times, being *Atra* or *Atre*, and the Inhabitans thereof called *Atreni*, unleſs both *Dion Caſſius* and *Herodian*, either miſtook, or have been miſtaken, to have written *Atreni* for *Agreni*. But to omit particular Denominations, *Iſmael's* Poſterity was beſt known to ancient Heathens, from the manner of their Habitation in Tents; for, *Scenitæ Arabes*, was a Name general and Equivalent to his Race, unleſs perhaps the *Midianites*, or *Idumæans* might ſhare with them in this Name, as they were partakers of their Quality, which yet is not ſo to be appropriated unto either, as if they had neither Houſe nor Town, for as the Tents of *Kedar* are moſt famous in Scripture, ſo in it, *The Cities of the Wilderneſs* are alſo mentioned, and, *The Towns that* Kedar *doth inhabit*; nay, in the very times of *Moſes*, *They were named by their Towns*, and, *By their Caſtles*. There were twelve Princes of their Nations, or twelve Heads of ſo many ſeveral Houſes,

Their *Phylarchi.*

Sextus Rufus, Jornandes, Ammianus.

Tribes or Clans, which kind of Government continued amongſt the *Saracens* for four hundred years after Chriſt, or more. For as *Moſes* Writes of ſuch Princes, or Heads of Tribes, ſo of Heathen Writers, the Greek make mention of ᾽Φύλαρχοι ᾽Αράβων, the Latins of *Phylarchi Arabum*, and the later Writers of *Phylarchi Saracenorum*, and *Reguli Saracenorum.*

Scenitæ Arabes, quos Saracenos poſteritas appellavit, lib. 23.

The Seats of the *Scenitæ Arabes* proves them *Iſmaelites.*

Strabo, lib. 2. & *lib.* 16.

Lib. 22.

95. But to give a more clear Proof, whence theſe *Saracens* deſcended, theſe two things are evident. Firſt, that the *Saracens* were the ſame People with the *Arabes Scenitæ.* Secondly, that the *Scenitæ Arabes* were deſcended of *Iſmael.* The firſt is expreſly affirmed by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and every one muſt acknowledge, that compares the ancient and later *Romans* together, that Write the very ſame ſtories: And the ſecond ſufficiently appears, from the Identity of the Habitation, Condition and Quality of the *Scenitæ* and *Iſmaelites.* It's clear enough from *Pliny* and *Strabo*, that the *Scenitæ Arabes* were ſeated Eaſtward about the River *Euphrates*, troubleſome Neighbours to *Chaldæa* and *Meſopotamia*, ſome part whereof in *Strabo's* time they inhabited. On the Weſt they bordered upon *Ægypt* and *Æthiopia*, for *Ammianus* deſcribing the ſituation of *Ægypt*, ſaith; *It bordered on the Eaſt upon the Cataracts of* Nile, *and the* Scenitæ Arabes *whom now we call* Saracens. And in another place, deſcribing the ſituation of the *Saracens*, he makes *Aſſyria* their Border on the Eaſt; and the Confines of *Blemyæ*, and the *Cataracts* of *Nile* on the Weſt. Now *Moſes* ſaith expreſly, that, *The Sons of* Iſmael *dwell from* Shur, *which is towards* Ægypt, *unto* Havilah, *which is toward* Aſhur, *in the way from* Ægypt *thither.* The Land of *Havilah*, or rather (according to the Orthography of the Hebrew) *Chavilah* famous in Scripture for Gold, retained the ſame Name in *Strabo's* time, the Inhabitants whereof called by him *Chaulotæans*, were next Neighbours to the *Hagareans*, or *Agræi*, whoſe Countrey *Severus* ſuſpected to have had good ſtore of Gold.

As alſo their Qualities.

Vide Ammianum, ubi deſcribit mores Saracenorum, lib. 14.

Lib. 16. *p.* 765.

96. For their Condition and Qualities, *Iſmael*, as *Moſes* tells us, was begotten of *Hagar* an *Ægyptian* Hireling. And the Marriage of *Saracen* Women in *Ammianus* his time was Mercenary, and upon Compact for a time. *Hagar* conceived *Iſmael* in *Abraham's* Houſe, but ready to bring him forth in the Wilderneſs; whither he and ſhe were ſent again, after her return to her Miſtreſs. And the *Saracen* Women in *Ammianus* his time married in one place, bare Children in another, and brought them up in third far diſtant; never permitted to live in reſt, and in ſhew of Matrimony, they brought a Spear and a Tent for their Dowry; being a perfect Emblem of their Mercenary roving Life, for theſe by Covenant they might take with them at the end of their Service, and be packing from their Maſters, to ſeek their Food in the Wilderneſs, as their Mother *Hagar* did before them. As *Iſmael* in the Wilderneſs, ſo the *Scenitæ Arabes* were pinched with want of Water, their beſt Drink in *Arabia*, as *Strabo* Writes, and after they had inlarged their bounds, ſet them by *Moſes* even in *Meſopotamia* it ſelf, they were Confined to dry and barren places. *Moſes*, deſcribing the manner of *Iſmael's* Life, ſaith, he was an Archer in the Wilderneſs. *Ammianus* affirms, he knew many of the *Saracens* in his time, that neither knew the uſe of Wine nor Corn. None of them ever ſet his hand to the Plough, but got their living for the moſt part by the Bow, having indeed been famous for Artillery throughout all their Generations. As they were, ſuch was their meat, wild Fleſh or Veniſon, Herbs or Milk, or ſuch wild Fowl, as they could catch in the Wilderneſs: For their wildneſs he compares them to Kites, ready to eſpye a prey, but untame withall, that they would not ſtay by it, as Crows, or other ravenous Birds do by Carrion; but preſently flew with what they had caught to their Neſts. So notoriouſly was their Wildneſs incorporated into their Nature, that the more tame they grew, the leſs Right they ſeemed to have to their Names, as *Strabo* intimates.

And reſembling *Abraham* in many things.

Synod. Nicena ſecund. Act. 4. *in Epiſt. Germani Epiſcopi, ad Thom. Epiſc. Claudiopol.*

Vide Dr. *Jackſon ubi ſuprá.*

Gyraldus de Symb. Pythag.

97. And as they reſembled *Iſmael* and *Hagar* in their Conditions, ſo as fully *Abraham* in their Rites and Religion. *Iſmael* was about thirteen years old, when God eſtabliſhed his Covenant with *Abraham*, and for this reaſon was not Circumciſed, till that year. And the *Saracens* to this day Circumciſe not their Children before that time. *Abraham* erected Altars, and *Jacob* anointed the Stone in the place where God appeared to him. And the *Saracens* celebrated their Sacrifices unto a Stone, with Apiſh and Childiſh Ceremonies. God commanded *Moſes* (Ignorant it ſeems of that Religious and decent Cuſtome, which his Forefathers in like Caſes uſed) to put off his Shoes when he was to tread on Holy Ground; which Rite was afterwards obſerved by the *Jews*, in their more ſolemn Vows: And the *Saracens* to this day have their *Nudipedalia Sacrificia. Abraham*, if *Joſephus* may herein be credited from his ſober Contemplation of the Heaven and the Stars, began to deteſt Idolatry, and to adore that Divine Providence,

Dr. *Jackſon.*

Providence, by which theſe ſuppoſed Gods were guided. And the *Saracens* falling back to Idolatry, adored *Lucifer*, or the Morning Star. And ſome Conjecture that their Habitation in Tents, and wandring Courſe of Life was not continued throughout ſo many Generations, ſo much upon Neceſſity, as in Imitation of *Abraham's* uſing Tents; neceſſary in that time for him that would Travell throughout ſo many Countries, as he was forced to doe.

They take the Name of *Saracens* from *Sarah*, becauſe they would be thought free born.

98. For theſe reaſons therefore we may ſafely with Dr. *Jackſon* conclude, that the *Saracens* were the Off-ſpring of *Iſmael*; and the Names of *Saracens* and *Hagarens* being promiſcuouſly uſed in Eccleſiaſtick Writers, it ſeems probable that that of *Hagarens* had ſometime been common to all the Race of *Iſmael*, and not appropriate to the *Agræi*, or ſuch as the Scripture calls *Hagarites*, who after their good Succeſs againſt *Trajan*, or *Severus* might propagate their Name to all the Sons of *Iſmael*; as whole Nations take new Denominations from the Ringleaders unto revolt. But as for the Name of *Saracen*, both *Sozomen* and St. *Hierome*, who lived not long after this People had aſſumed it, affirm without queſtion, that they uſurped it of *Sarah*, in hope to extinguiſh that note of Baſtardy imparted in their former Name of *Hagarens*: As Great mens Baſtards in few deſcents, attempt the changing of their Ignominious Coats. Whether this Ambition of theirs gave the firſt occaſion, or the Fertility of the Soil of *Arabia Fœlix*, into which ſome of them tranſplanted themſelves, as appears from *Ptolemy*, made this Colony ſcorn their former Name, as it would cauſe them to loath their ancient Seat, or whether given or taken upon other occaſions, the whole Race, as well in *Arabia* the Deſert, as elſewhere was willing to make a benefit of it, as an Argument to perſwade the World they were free born and true Heirs of that Promiſe, from which the *Jews* were fallen. For *Mahomet* as all Writers agree, uſed this plauſible Etymology, as a fair Colour to ſet off his foul Blaſphemies, and the later *Saracens* in the ſiege of *Torutum*, which ſtood a Mile from *Tyre*, uſed this Name derived from *Sarah* as an Argument to perſwade their Legitimate deſcent from *Abraham*, for whoſe ſake they hoped for Favour and Reſpect at the hands of Chriſtians.

Krantzius Hiſt. Saxonic.l.7.c.12.

Troubleſome Neighbours to *Syria.*

Trajan's ill ſucceſs againſt the *Atreni.*

Dio, lib. 68.

99. Now to ſpeak ſomething of the Eſtate of this People from their Original. It appears from the Prophet that Judgments were denounced againſt them from Almighty God, that the Glory of *Kedar* ſhould fail, and the reſidue of the number of the ſtrong Archers of the Sons of *Kedar* ſhould be few. Yet as St. *Jerom* obſerves, they eſcaped the Rod of God's wrath, better than their Neighbours, by reaſon of their ſpeedy removal from place to place, being never out of their dwelling, whilſt they had Tents and Camels and Waſtes to range in. Afterwards they continued troubleſome Neighbours to *Syria*, till it was annext to the *Roman* Empire, by which the ſtrength of theſe Archers was diminiſhed, and the Reign of their *Philarchi* cut ſhort. Their Countrey was firſt brought into the form of a Province by *Trajan*, in whoſe time yet the *Hagarens* growing weary of ſubjection Revolted, and were never again, for what can be known, reduced into perfect Obedience, either to the *Romans* or to any other People. The deliverance of theſe *Agarens* from *Trajan* and *Severus*, both who beſieged them in their own Perſons, was wonderfull and by ſome eſteemed no otherwiſe than miraculous. As oft as the City was beſieged, the Souldiers were annoyed with Lightnings, Thunders, Whirlewinds and Hail, affrighted and dazled with the apparitions of Rainbows; and Flies corrupted and ſpoiled their Meat, even while they did eat it. *Trajan* was forced to give over the Siege, which he had followed with danger of his Life, by coming within thoſe Archers ſhot in viewing the City, and ſhortly after as if formerly he had fought with men, but now againſt God, he himſelf fell into a Diſeaſe whereof he Died.

And that of *Severus.*

100. About eighty years after, the Emperour *Severus* diſdaining as *Trajan* had done before, that thoſe *Atreni* ſhould ſtand out ſtill againſt the *Romans*, when all their Neighbours had yielded, ſet upon them with all the violence he could, and in the ſecond Aſſault after much loſs ſuſtained, overthrew part of the City Wall. Now out of deſign, he cauſed the Retreat to be ſounded, hoping the beſieged ſenſible of their Danger, would intreat for Peace and Liberty, which he reſolved not to grant, but upon condition they would diſcover the hidden Treaſure, ſuppoſed to be conſecrated to the Sun. But they continued reſolute an whole day, giving not the leaſt Intimation of any Treaty for Peace, and the Souldiers were grown ſo diſcontented, that the *Europeans* before moſt reſolute would not enter the breach, and the *Syrians* forced to undertake it, had a grievous Repulſe, ſo as *Dio* obſerves, God Almighty delivered the City, recalling the Souldiers by *Severus* when they might

have entred , and reſtraining *Severus* the ſecond day by the backwardneſs of his men. Yet the Conqueſt ſeemed ſo eaſie , that one of the Captains ſo he might have but five hundred and fifty *European* Souldiers, would undertake to effect it, to which fair profer the Emperour in a diſtracted chaſe, replied *where ſhall I have ſo many ?* and ſo departed into *Paleſtine*. Such was the good fortune of the *Atreni* or *Hagarens*, who might now communicate their Name to the reſt of their Brethren. But what change ſoever they made of their Name, their Nature they could not change, and the greater they grew in Power , the more exactly they fulfilled the Prophecy concerning *Iſmael*, that he ſhould be a wild Man , that his Hand ſhould be againſt every man, and every man's hand againſt him.

With whom they joyned of old.

101. For a long time they continued like forward, but poor Gamſters, not able to ſet at more than one at once, and that for no great Stake, without ſome to go halfs with them, untill at length by their treacherous ſhuffling from ſide to ſide, and banding ſometimes with one, and ſometimes with another, as the Reader may remember they did in *Juſtinian*'s time, they durſt ſet at all, and take *Aſia*, *Europe* and *Africk* to task all at once , as we ſhall ſee hereafter. Sometimes they took part with *Mithridates* , and other Eaſtern Nations againſt *Lucullus* and *Pompey* , and yet were ready to joyn with *Pompey* againſt the Jews. Some of them were for the *Parthians* againſt the *Romans*, others for the *Romans* againſt the *Parthians*. Some for *Peſcenninus Niger* againſt *Severus*, and others againſt *Peſcenninus*; afterwards one while for the *Perſians*, and another while for the *Romans*, as in the times of *Conſtantius* and *Julian*, the later of whom they reverenced more than any *Roman*, yet not ſatisfied in their expectations revolted from him. Afterwards they ſerved the *Romans* in their Wars againſt the *Goths*, and yet while the *Goths* and other Barbarous People graſp with the Eagle in the Weſt, thoſe *Harpies* pluck at her Train in the Eaſt, and not therewith content , take their flight toward the Weſt, to ſnatch the prey out of the mouths of the other Buſſards , as one words it, and beat them one after another from what they had ſeized in *Spain* and *Africk* , attempting the like in *Gall*, *Greece* and *Germany* , diſpluming the breaſts , and ofttimes ready to devour the very Heart, even *Italy* and *Rome* it ſelf. But of theſe particularly hereafter, and thus much of their Original, and their ancient Eſtate now let us reaſſume and proſecute the intermitted ſtory of *Heraclius*.

The *Saracens* make themſelves Maſters of *Ægypt*.

102. When the *Saracens* were on their march toward *Ægypt*, *Cyrus* the Biſhop of *Alexandria* knowing their ravenous Diſpoſition, made a bargain with them for two hundred thouſand *Denarii* by the year to ſpare the Countrey. And the bargain was kept for three years, but in the mean time , the Biſhop is accuſed for beſtowing the Gold of *Ægypt* upon the Barbarians. The Emperour makes one *Manuel Præfectus Auguſtalis*, an *Armenian* by Birth, to whom when the Receivers of the *Saracens* came and demanded the money , he derided them ſaying , they ſhould not find him a Prieſt as *Cyrcus* was, deſtitute of Power , but to all points furniſhed to defend himſelf and not pay Tribute. This anſwer being reported to the *Saracens*, they preſently armed themſelves , took the way for *Ægypt*, and by ſtrong hand made themſelves Maſters of the Countrey , having beaten away the Prefect. The Emperour perceiving the miſtake, ſent *Cyrus* to the *Saracens* to take the buſineſs upon himſelf, and to offer to ſwear that for the time to come , the money ſhould be duly paid ; but they utterly refuſed to quit their new Conqueſts. And thus *Ægypt* which had continued a principal member of the *Roman* Empire, ever ſince the days of *Auguſtus* , was rent from the Body by the Hands of the *Saracens*.

Take *Jeruſalem* and all *Syria*.

With *Antioch*.

103. This rich and fertile Province did not ſatisfie them, but they muſt extend the power and effects of their Arms to all Quarters. The following year *Haumer* invades *Paleſtine*, and beſieges the City of *Jeruſalem* , which after two years was ſurrendred to him. In the mean time he ſends another Army into *Syria*, all which it Conquered, though *Sergius* a *Roman* Captain from *Cæſarea* made ſome oppoſition, who in the very firſt Ingagement loſt his Life. This ſhort account have we from the Greek Annals, of that which deſerved to have been more fully proſecuted, for the Subject muſt needs have been very various, where ſo great matters were atcheived , nor leſs than the ſubduing of whole Nations, alterations of Governments, and overturnings of the whole State and frame of things. But we muſt be content with theſe ſmall Notes, all larger Narrations having periſhed, and ſatisfie our ſelves in this, that now the *Saracens* domineered over the Eaſt , and made nothing of poſſeſſing the *Roman* Provinces. For in the following year , being the twenty eighth of *Heraclius*, having already ſubdued all *Syria* , they took *Antioch* the Metropolis of the Eaſt , which they and their Poſterity held four hundred

and forty years, till the thouſand and ninety eighth year of our Lord. In the mean time the *Perſians* quarrel amongſt themſelves, and prepare a way for the Conqueſt alſo of their Countrey. The King of the *Indians*, to whom it's likely the news of the ſucceſs of the *Saracens* was not yet come, held *Heraclius* ſtill in ſuch eſteem for his management of his Wars againſt the *Perſians*, that he ſends to complement him, and made him very rich preſents of Jewels. This ſomething ſatisfies and diverts the Emperour, who employs himſelf in combats of the Tongue and Pen, about queſtions of Religion, when it would much more have become him to have ſpent his time in ſaving the Provinces committed to his Charge. About this time he had another Son born whom he named *David*, and was made a Grand-Father by a Son born to his Eldeſt Son *Conſtantine* on the ſame day, which Son was called after him *Heraclius*.

Theodorus defeats the *Saracens*.

But covetouſneſs overbalanceth the Victory.

And the *Saracens* like a Torrent overrun *Perſia* and the *Roman* Provinces.

104. Yet to repreſs the violence of the *Saracens*, was ſent *Theodorus* one of the Bedchamber, who had good ſucceſs in one Battel, wherein a great multitude was ſlain, and in the Croud their *Ameras* or Princes who had joyned their Forces to encounter him. Notwithſtanding an ill fate preſſed upon the *Romans*, who having this advantage in Battel, loſt it again by covetouſneſs and folly. For there were ſome *Arabians* that lived on the Borders, and had a Penſion from the Emperour to keep the paſſages of the Wilderneſs, who now demanding their money were paid onely with bad Language, whereupon they joyned themſelves with their Countreymen, whom they conducted into the rich Countrey about *Gaza*, whence an inlet lay into the Deſert near to Mount *Sina*. This they plundered and waſted at their pleaſure, and *Sergius* from *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine* with an inconſiderable party falling upon them, he periſhed with all his followers. *Jadus* had better fortune upon the Borders of *Perſia*, where he got *Edeſſa* by fair means, *Conſtantia* and *Daras* by force, and ſo Conquered all *Meſopotamia*. This was but a Preface to that War which the year following fell upon *Perſia*, when the *Saracens* invaded it, and utterly ſubdued it under themſelves, *Hormiſdas* being run away, and left off all Enſigns of Majeſty: So fickle and inconſtant are the greateſt things in this World. This Kingdom was a very few years agoe ſo mighty, that it in a manner gave Laws to the *Roman* Empire. By a ſudden change of Fortune, *Heraclius* invades and haraſſes it at his pleaſure, and then is it torn in pieces by inteſtine differences, which makes it weak and unable to oppoſe any foreign Power. *Heraclius* as if he had done enough for a whole Age, ſits down and buſies his Head with ſpeculations of Divinity. A Nation before inconſiderable riſes up, and as a torrent overruns *Ægypt*, *Syria* and other Provinces of the Empire, and as if it onely came, ſaw, and then overcame, at one caſt wins ſuch ſtakes as other Gamſters could not compaſs in many Ages.

Heraclius dies.

105. *Heraclius* lives to ſee things come to this paſs, and then as unwilling to expect the Concluſion and the fate of his other Provinces, departs this World in the month of *March* of a Dropſie, which was accompanied with ſtrange and troubleſome Symptoms. Such an alteration there was in the parts of his Body, that he could not make water but it would fly up to his Face, which our Writers account to have happened as a Judgment to him for having inceſtuouſly Married his own Niece. He Reigned thirty years and ten months with various ſucceſs, but that his Reign was not more happy, he himſelf ſeems to have been in fault, not making uſe in his latter days of his own Abilities, which were many and large enough, as appears from his Conduct in the *Perſian* War.

CHAP. IV.

From the Death of Heraclius *to the Depoſing of* Irene, *and the Promotion of* Nicephorus.

The ſpace of an hundred and ſixty Years.

Conſtantine ſucceeds, and is quickly made away.

1. TO *Heraclius* ſucceeded his Son *Conſtantine*, a Man of a weak and ſickly Conſtitution, perhaps through the practices of *Martina* his Step-Mother, who, to prefer her own Son *Heraclonas*, plotted with *Pyrrhus*, the Patriarch, to rid him out of the way, and poiſoned him after he had reigned but four Months. This done, *Heraclonas*, and his Mother, uſurp the Government, and injoy their ill gotten Power for ſix Months, but then the Senate aſſume their courage, and deprive them of the Sovereignty; his Noſe they cut off, and cut her Tongue out of her Head, and ſo baniſh them from the City. *Pyrrhus* alſo is depoſed, and another Patriarch choſen in his ſtead. To the Throne they advance *Conſtans*, the Son of *Conſtantine*, and Grandſon of *Heraclius*, who, as he had reaſon, thanked the Senatours for doing Juſtice upon the Murtherers of his Father, and rewarded them liberally. The beginning of his Reign is not characterized with the note of any eminent Action, matter being either wanting, or the Greek Annaliſts very careleſs, who onely tell us, that in his ſecond Year *Haumar* began to build a Temple at *Jeruſalem*, (with what ſucceſs we ſhall ſee in its proper place,) and in his Third there was an Eclipſe of the Sun; in his Sixth happened great Tempeſts, which overturned great Trees, and, as it ſeems, were as a Prologue to thoſe great Concuſſions which invaded *Africk*. For this Year the *Saracens* got it alſo into their hands, and ſettled it in way of a Province, ordaining what, and how, Tributes ſhould be paid, after they had thence beaten *Gregory*, who had ſeized on the Government of that Countrey. And as if Fortune had now wholly delivered her ſelf up into their Power, the Year following *Mabias*, one of their Captains, with a great Fleet, invaded *Cyprus*, all which he took, with the City *Conſtantia*; and following on his victorious courſe, he did as much in the next Year by *Aradus*, which he diſmantled and burnt, waſting the Iſland, ſo that for a long time after it remained without Inhabitant. The Year that follows is remarkable for nothing, except you will take notice, and believe that it rained duſt.

Conſtantius etiam & Conſtantinus dicitur.

The *Saracens* conquer *Africk*.

Cyprus and *Aradus*.

Κόνις ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατηνέχθη. *Cedrenus.*

2. But that which follows, being the twelfth of *Conſtans*, is famous for *Mabias* (or *Mahunias*) his Conqueſt of *Rhodes*, and his deſtroying there the famous Coloſs of the Sun, full thirteen hundred and ſixty years after the founding of it by *Laches*. It was an hundred twenty ſix foot high, and ſtood aſtride over the Haven, ſo that Ships ſailed betwixt its Legs, but though it was one of the Seven Wonders of the World, as nothing is ſo wonderfull, but time will at laſt put a period to it, being thrown down by an Earthquake it was now broken in pieces by the *Saracens*, and ſold to a Jewiſh Merchant of *Emiſa*, who with the Metal of it loaded nine hundred Camels. While *Mabias* thus employed himſelf in the Iſland of *Rhodes*, his Countreymen invaded *Armenia*, and waſted it far and wide, the Emperour all this while being faſt aſleep, and as if he had received ſome ſecret Inſtructions from his Grandfather, nouriſhing Contentions in the Church, while he ſeemed to have Peace with thoſe that invaded his Territories at their pleaſure, and robbed him of no leſs than whole Provinces at once. *Mabias* ſeeing and wondring at his deportment, thought it might be worth his pains to make for *Conſtantinople* it ſelf, it being poſſible he might find him as unprovided there, as he was negligent in the defence of the Provinces, for this purpoſe he commanded a ſtrong Fleet to be rigged at *Tripolis* in *Phœnicia*. And he might probably enough have done ſomething remarkable, had not the Zeal of two Brothers, both Chriſtians, and the Sons of a certain Trumpeter, who then reſided at *Tripolis*, prevented him. For going to the Common Priſon, they made a ſhift to ſet at liberty many Chriſtian Captives, whom they perſuaded then to ſet upon

Rhodes.

Inſcriptio ita ſe habuit.

Τὸν ἐν Ῥόδῳ κολοσσὸν ὀκτάκις δέκα Λάχης ἐποίησε πηχέων ὁ Λίνδιος.

Ex Coloſſo Incolæ Coloſſenſes dicti ſunt, ſi fides Cedreno.

Mabias his purpoſe of attacquing *Conſtantinople* prevented.

upon the *Ameras*, or Governour of the place, and killing him to deſtroy the Ships, and all Naval Preparations, which they effected, and eſcaped by Ship into the Emperour's Dominions.

The *Roman* Fleet defeated by the *Saracens*.

Conſtans defeats the *Sclavini.*

Cauſeth his Brother to be murthered.

Goes into *Sicily*.

3. *Mabias* thus defeated of his purpoſe for attacquing *Conſtantinople*, went againſt *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*, giving order to one *Abulaures*, or *Abulathar*, to repair the Fleet, who obeyed his Commands, and ſailing to *Phœnice* in *Lycia*, there found the *Roman* Navy with *Conſtans* the Emperour. They ingaged, and the *Romans* received a notable defeat. *Conſtans* was glad to ſhift Clothes with one of his followers, and was conveyed into another Veſſel by one of the Trumpeter's Sons, who fought ſtoutly, and loſt his Life in the Admiral Gally. Being got ſafe to *Conſtantinople*, he reſolved the next Year to doe ſome thing which might repair his Credit, and made an expedition againſt the *Sclavini*, of whom he took and ſubdued many, and ſo returned home. In the mean time the *Saracens*, under Command of *Mabias* fall into a mutiny, ſo great that it brought him, in a manner, upon his Knees to the Emperour, of whom he begged Peace, on Condition, that the *Arabians* ſhould pay him a Tribute of a thouſand *Nummi* by the day, with an Horſe and a Slave. But *Conſtans*, it ſeems, wonderfully affected with his late ſucceſs againſt the *Sclavini*, thought of giving what Laws he himſelf pleaſed, and refuſed his Terms, as of ſmall value, in compariſon of the miſchief done by theſe *Arabians* to the Empire. But what reſpect to the Empire ſoever he pretended, good Nature and Kindneſs could not be Principles on which he moved. For ſhortly after he cauſeth to be murthered *Theodoſius*, his own Brother, whom he had commanded to be ordained Deacon, and from whoſe Hands he had received the ſacred Cup. But ſee how he is tormented by his own Conſcience, and cauſed to caſt off all thoughts of Empire, and every other thing, of what conſequence ſoever. He dreams that he ſees his murthered Brother ſtanding before him, with a Cup of Bloud in his Hand, commanding him to take and drink it. Being perpetually purſued and terrified with theſe Dreams, he reſolves to quit *Conſtantinople*, and go into *Sicily*. He leaves his Wife and three Sons behind him, and having ſet ſail in a Pinnace, turns back in diſdain, ſpits at the City, his Royal Chamber, and the Seat of the Empire.

Vide Baronium.

Some ſay to *Rome*.

Izod the *Saracen* takes *Amorium*.

Which is recovered.

Saporius rebells.

4. From *Anaſtaſius*, the *Vatican* Library-Keeper we are aſſured that he took *Rome* in his way, where he viſited the Churches, being met by *Vitalianus* the Biſhop, and his Clergy, five miles from the City. But the change of place could not divert the pangs of his Conſcience, his Dreams of his Brother ſtill purſue him, yet to *Conſtantinople* would he not return, where he was hated by the People for cleaving with ſo much earneſtneſs to the Hereſie of the *Monothelites*. He reſolves to retranſlate the Seat of the Empire to *Rome*, and for that purpoſe ſends for his Wife and Children; but the Citizens of *Conſtantinople* having ſmelt out the Deſign, would not permit them to remove. While *Conſtans* ſpends his time by night with Terrours, and by day with ſuch Diverſions as he can find, *Mabias*, who had formerly offered to pay tribute, being now rid of *Halys* his *Æmulator*, and reigning alone, began to ſcorn the ſubmiſſive poſture he had lately owned, and now bore himſelf as reſolutely and goodly as ever. He ſent *Izod* his Son into the *Roman* Territories, who proceeded as far as *Chalcedon*, and taking *Amorium*, a City of *Phrygia*, therein left a ſtrong Garriſon, and with much ſpoil departed home. But when Winter approached, the Emperour ſent *Andreas*, one of his Chamber, who by night got over the Walls into *Amorium*, and put all the Gariſon to the Sword. *Conſtans* having in vain attempted to diſpoſſeſs the *Lombards* of *Italy*, was very troubleſome to the Inhabitants of *Calabria*, *Sicily*, *Africk* and *Sardinia*, on whom he laid ſuch heavy burthens, as formerly they had never known, and beſides that, robbed the Churches of their ſacred Veſſels and Furniture. While he exceeds in thoſe Acts of Violence and Sacrilege, *Saporius*, the Governour of *Armenia*, rebells, and ſends to the King of the *Saracens* for aid, one *Sergius*, the *Magiſter Militum*, who at the Court of *Mabias*, which was then at *Damaſcus*, met with *Andreas*, the Bed-chamber-man, whom the Emperour had ſent on the like Errand.

5. The *Saracen* gave audience to them both. *Sergius* inſulted ſo much over the other, and promiſed ſuch vaſt things, that he drew him to his party, and *Andrew* was ſent away in diſcontent, who yet affirmed, that the *Roman* Emperour thus affronted would betake himſelf to Almighty God, in whom he had good Cauſe to put his truſt. And that he ſpoke nothing but what was true, the event proved. For as they returned, *Sergius* fell into the hands of *Andrew*, who hanged him up. Againſt the Uſurper was ſent *Nicephorus*, a Patritian, who marching towards *Adrianople*, where he then lay, it happened, that as the Tyrant expected him, and exerciſed his Men, when, on a time, he was juſt come to the Gate of the City, he

Killed by a Fall.

Conſtans killed in a Bath at *Syracuſe.*

gave his Horſe a laſh with his Whip, which not taking in good part, he kicked, and threw him with his Head forward againſt the Gate, and ſo bruiſed him that he died of the Fall. Thus did *Conſtans* overcome without one ſtroke ſtruck; a favour more due to his Cauſe and Profeſſion, than his own Perſon. Therefore as his Cauſe and Profeſſion was hereby countenanced, ſo his Perſon ſhortly after received a reward, ſuitable perhaps to his merit, though Treaſon, as it proceeded from his hand that did the deed. As he was bathing himſelf at *Syracuſe*, in the Bath called *Daphne*, one *Andrew*, the Son of *Troilus*, knocked him on the Head with a Veſſel, with which they poured hot water upon him, after he had reigned twenty ſeven years, in the fourteenth Year of *Vitalianus*, the *Roman* Biſhop, the eleventh Indiction. *A. D.* DCLXVIII.

Conſtantine his Son ſucceeds.

A Conſpiracy prevented.

Zonaras.

6. He being dead, they of *Syracuſe*, who, as it ſeems, were of the Plot with *Andrew*, named Emperour one *Metius*, *Mezentius*, or *Mizizius*, an *Armenian*, a very beautifull Perſon. But *Conſtantius*, the eldeſt Son of *Conſtans*, underſtanding how matters went in *Sicily*, being formerly made Emperour, by his Father, haſtes to the Iſland with a great Fleet, and eaſily ſubdues his *Æmulator*, with all thoſe of his Party. The Uſurper, though he had been drawn to take the Purple ſore againſt his will, he cauſed to be ſlain with others, amongſt whom was *Juſtinian*, the Father of *Germanus*, afterward Patriarch, whom alſo being juſt then come to years of Puberty, he commanded to be gelded. Having ſettled all things in *Sicily*, he returned to *Conſtantinople*, where the Citizens beſtowed on him the Sirname of *Pogonatus*, becauſe having departed thence onely with ſome down on his Chin, he returned to them with a perfect Beard. But at his return he was received with the news of a Sedition riſen amongſt the Nobility of the Eaſtern parts, who cried out, that his two other Brothers ought alſo to be crowned Emperours, and it ſeems they were more zealous Chriſtians, and more orthodox in their Faith, than regular in their Logicks. For they contended, as there are three Perſons in the bleſſed Trinity, ſo there ought to be three Emperours upon the Throne. The Mutineers being allured to *Conſtantinople* from *Chryſopolis*, where they had aſſembled under ſhew of being preſent at the Coronation, after he had got them into his Power he put them to death, and cut off the Noſes of both his Brothers, whom yet ſome Authours make his Collegues in the Empire. While theſe ſtirs happened at *Conſtantinople*, the *Saracens* invade *Africk*, and uſing the Inhabitants as they pleaſed, led away eighty thouſand of them into Captivity. For theſe things the firſt Year of *Conſtantine* was memorable. His ſecond was onely remarkable for this, that the cold of the Winter was ſo vehement, that therewith periſhed many Men, beſides other Animals: And in his fourth appeared ſuch a Rainbow in the Heavens, as they thought, did ſignifie the end of the World to be at hand. Indeed a great miſchief was not far off, for the *Saracens*, or the Poſterity of *Agar*, as *Zonaras* calls them, with a great and ſtrong Fleet, came into *Cilicia*, and wintered at *Smyrna*.

The *Saracens* invade *Africk*.

Οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἄγαρ ἀπόγονοι.

And *Cilicia* with a Fleet.

Approach *Thrace*.

Retreat, and the Fleet caſt away.

Suphianus the *Saracen* defeated.

7. The Year that followed, being the fifth of *Conſtantinus Pogonatus*, they came up to the Borders of *Thrace*, ſeizing on all that lay betwixt the *Hebdomum*, or Weſtern Promontory and *Cyclobium*. *Conſtantine* brought out his Fleet, and every day they fought from morning till night, betwixt the *Brachiolum* of the Golden Gate, and *Cyclobium*; ſo near were they got to *Conſtantinople*. From the month of *April* till *September*, they pertinaciouſly continued their Siege, and then deſpairing of ſucceſs, departed to *Cyzicum*, where they wintered, and in Spring again renewed the War. And this courſe they held for ſeven years, as the Greek Annals tell us, and yet from them it appears, that in the fourth year a Peace was made. But at length their Courage was quite ſpent, and in great grief they retired, having loſt a great multitude of their Men, after which followed the deſtruction of the whole Fleet, which was in the Winter ſeaſon caſt away near the *Syllæan* Promontory. There was a new Invention of Seafire, as they called it, which much helped the Defendants in the Siege. It would burn under the Water, being the Diſcovery of one *Callinicus*, an *Heliopolitan* of *Ægypt*, who fled with the Invention to the *Romans*, and of him was deſcended one *Lampras*, who made this artificial Fire in the days of *Cedrenus*. But while one Party of the *Saracens* thus employed themſelves againſt *Conſtantinople*, another Captain of theirs, *Suphianus* the Son of *Aphus*, ingaged with the *Roman* Forces commanded by *Florus*, *Petronas* and *Cyprianus*, but to no other effect than that he loſt thirty thouſand of his followers. Within a year or two after the *Mardaitæ* entred *Libanus*, and ſeized on all that Tract lying between the Mountain *Taurus* and *Jeruſalem*. They got into their

The Tract betwixt *Taurus* and *Jeruſalem* ſeized.

their hands, the Watch Towers of *Libanus*; and upon News of the Exploit, ſuch multitudes of Slaves, Captives and Inhabitants of the Countrey adjacent flocked to them, that in a ſmall time they grew to many thouſands.

A Truce for thirty years made with the *Saracens*.

Which makes the Enemies of the Empire in the Weſt to ſubmit.

The *Bulgari* invade *Thrace*.

8. Theſe things ſo terrified the *Saracens*, that Judging verily, that they contended with Providence; and the *Roman* Empire was protected by Almighty God, they reſolved to make Peace with the Emperour at any Rate. *Manias* therefore ſends his Ambaſſadours offering very good Terms, and deſiring a Treaty as to a way to an Accommodation. *Conſtantine* conceives it his Intereſt to cloſe with them, and for that purpoſe appoints one *John* a Patritian, Sirnamed *Pitigandis*, or *Pitzicanda*, a Man famous for his Nobility and Wiſedom, as his Commiſſioner Plenipotentiary to treat with them. In purſuance of his Powers he goes into *Syria*, where being Honourably received, he concludes and ſigns an Agreement to this purpoſe, that for thirty years there ſhould be a Truce inviolably preſerved betwixt the *Romans* and *Saracens*, in every which year ſucceſſively, the *Saracens* ſhould pay to the Emperour thirty thouſand Pounds of Gold, fifty Captives, and as many choice Horſes. This Treaty being ratified in the Eaſt, the Enemies in the Weſtern parts grew ſore afraid, as *Cajanus*, *Avarus* the Exarchs, and the *Caſtaldi*; and ſending to the Emperour, purchaſed their Peace in the like manner as the *Saracens* had done, ſuch Mutability is there in ſublunary things, that theſe who are terrible to day, and ſeem to carry all before them, to morrow fail in their Courſe, and by ſome Accident or other change the Language of an imperious Conquerour, for that of a diſtreſſed Supplicant, and Tributary. But hereby was Peace reſtored both in the Eaſt and Weſt, and the Emperour thought he had leiſure to ſet himſelf to compoſe the Differences in the Church, which for many years had been much out of Order. Yet as there is nothing perfect in this World, no ſuch reſt, but is accompanied with diſturbance; the year following, the *Bulgari* invaded *Thrace*, and defeated a conſiderable party that was ſent againſt them. The Emperour who had lately the Honour to give, now muſt beg Peace, and thereby receives a notable Check in the Courſe of his Fortunes.

Conſtantine buyes Peace.

Makes his Son *Juſtinian* his Collegue.

He dies.

Juſtinian his Succeſſour not like him.

A new Accord made with the *Saracens*, to the loſs of the *Romans*.

9. The very next year, ſome of theſe *Bulgari* ſeparating from the reſt paſſed *Danubius*, and ſeized upon certain Woods and Mountains. Againſt them *Conſtantine* himſelf went, with a good Fleet and a land Army; with which Preparations being affrighted at the firſt On-ſet, they fled and retired to a certain Fort, where the *Romans* were not able for the Difficulty of Acceſs, to doe any thing againſt them. Hereupon they became more daring than ever, and it happened, that the Emperour being very ill of the Gout, retired into *Meſembria* a *Roman* Province, to make uſe of the Baths, leaving the ſiege to the Conduct of his Captains. A Rumour was hence raiſed, that the Emperour himſelf fled; and thereupon his Souldiers without any Cauſe begin to run away. This being perceived by the *Bulgari* out they iſſue, and giving them the Chace kill many in the Rere, which done they boldly enter the *Roman* Provinces, and return inriched with good Booty. *Conſtantine* then was glad to take up the Quarrel, and by a Tribute to make Peace with them, which being done, when all things were quiet at home, and no ſtirs likely to ariſe by ſuch an Action, he depoſed his two Brothers, and made his Son *Juſtinian* his Collegue in the Empire. After this, he lived Peaceably all his time, and died after he had Reigned ſeventeen years, being to be reckoned amongſt the beſt Princes. *Juſtinian* his Son ſucceeded him according to his deſire, though not at all comparable to him for Parts, nor indeed fit for ſo great an Employment; eſpecially at this time, when the Empire was in ſo tottering a Condition. Yet ſuch was God's Providence, that on ſo weak a Body, over which as infirm a Head was ſet, for ſome time no conſiderable Diſtemper ſeized, though for want of Conduct Foundations of great Diſorders, might be laid for the time to come. In his firſt year, *Abimelech* Prince of the *Saracens*, who had ſucceeded *Manias* lately dead, not taking any occaſion preſented him by his Youth and Folly, ſent and confirmed the Peace made his Father, and farther made a new Accord; that *Juſtinian* ſhould repreſs the inrodes of the *Mardaitæ*, which were very troubleſome to the *Saracens*, who for this Act of kindneſs ſhould make a daily Payment to the Emperour of one thouſand *Nummi*, an Horſe and a Slave. To ratifie this Accord under hand and ſeal, *Paulus Magiſtrianus* was ſent, and twelve thouſand *Mardaitæ* were recalled from *Libanus*, to the utter Deſtruction of the *Roman* Power and Authority in thoſe parts, as afterward it happened. For whatſoever the *Arabians* or *Saracens* held as far as from *Mopſueſtia* to *Armenia* the fourth, was alſo haraſſed by the Inrodes of theſe *Mardaitæ*, that it became of no value, being deſerted by the Inhabitants: But they being thus repreſſed, infinite loſs hath the Empire continually ſuſtained from the

Incurſions of the *Arabians*, to this very day, ſaith *Cedrenus*. *Juſtinian* being not above ſixteen years old, he imputes it to his want of Judgment and Conſideration, though it's a wonder he had no wiſer Men about him.

Leontius recovers ſeveral Countries in the Eaſt.

Conſtantine ſpoils all by his Folly.

10. The *Saracens* were however ſo wiſe, as both to procure this to be done, and to ſit ſtill till a very convenient time ſhould come, that they could make a good uſe of this advantage. But in other places, the Fortune of the Empire ſeemed alſo to be Superiour to them, for in this firſt year of *Juſtinian*, *Leontius* was ſent into *Armenia* with a power of Men; and having put to the Sword ſuch *Saracens* as were there ſound, recovered the Countrey, as alſo *Iberia*, *Albania*, with *Hyrcania* and *Media*, which he ſubjected to Tribute, and brought vaſt ſums of Money into the Emperour's Coffers. But ſee the iſſue, *Juſtinian* the following year makes a Progreſs into *Armenia*, and takes the *Mardaitæ* out of *Libanus*, breaking thus down the Brazen wall of his Empire in theſe Parts. Yet diſarming himſelf in this manner, he had the Folly and Confidence to break the Peace, made lately with the *Bulgari*, and having had ſome Succeſs againſt them and the *Sclavini* in Battel, came to that Madneſs, as to renounce the Truce made with *Abimelech*; who by this time had Compoſed all matters in *Arabia*, and brought every Man into Subjection to himſelf, ſo as to be ready for all Foreign oppoſition. Without any reaſon at all, he would ſend a Colony into the Iſland of *Cyprus* contrary to the Articles, and refuſed to receive ſuch Money as *Abimelech* ſent for payment of the Tribute; becauſe it was not ſtamped with the Image of any Emperour, but it ſeems coyned after a new *Arabian* Faſhion. For the Emperours, you muſt know, Challenged to themſelves the ſole Privilege of having their Names and Repreſentations ſtamped upon all Gold Money, though upon cantoning the Empire into particular Kingdoms; the ſeveral Kings had e'er this begun to aſſume to themſelves this Right of Coyning, as we formerly inſtanced in thoſe of the *Franks*, out of the Hiſtory of *Procopius*.

Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐξῆν ἐν χρυσῷ νομίσματι χαρακτῆρα ἐντυποῦσθαι, ἢ τὸν τοῦ Βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων. *Zonaras Annal. Tom. 3. ad Imperium* Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ ῥινοτμήτου.

Breaks the Peace with the *Saracens*.

They beat him in Battel.

Armenia delivered up to them.

And the Provinces waſted by them.

11. For carrying on this War, he would not rely upon the *Roman* Legions, or the Forces already raiſed; but out of the choiceſt of the *Sclavini* whom he had taken, formed a new Army of thirty thouſand Men, which he called his peculiar, or acquired People. The *Saracens* now with reiterated Prayers and Complaints beſeech him, he would not break the League calling God to Witneſs, by the Interpoſition of whoſe moſt Sacred Name it had been confirmed. But he ſtopping his Ears againſt all their Meſſages, drew down his Forces toward *Sebaſtopolis* to begin War, which hearing, they met him e'er he could get into the Bowels of their Countrey, and with the Tables of the League carried as an Enſign on the top of a Spear, ingaged with him in Battel under Conduct of *Moamed*. In the firſt Encounter they had the worſt, and ſtill were like to have, if *Moamed* had not by his Tongue ſupplied the defects of their Hands. He ſends to the Captain of the *Sclavini*, a Quiver over-laid with Gold, and by great Promiſes perſwades him to revolt, and come over to him with twenty thouſand Men. This addition to *Moamed's* former powers, caſt the Balance quite on the other ſide, with ſuch diſadvantage that the *Romans* were not able to ſuſtain the leaſt aſſault, but fled away amain; and after a vaſt loſs *Juſtinian* came to *Leucate*, where out of Rage he cauſed the reſt of the *Sclavini*, that had continued with him, with their Wives and Children to be ſlain, and their Bodies caſt into the Sea. But this Succeſs of the *Saracens* got them ſuch Reputation, that *Sabbatius* the *Armenian*, delivered *Armenia* inſtantly into their Hands, and the following year they ſubdued the inner part of *Perſia*, called *Choroſan*. *Moamed* to be revenged upon *Juſtinian*, and ſtrike a Terrour into his People, invades his Dominions, taking with him the lately revolted *Sclavini*, by whoſe directions he haraſſed the Provinces, and after as much miſchief done, as it lay in the Power of an Enemy to doe, returned home with a vaſt number of Priſoners.

Ἐπεὶ κατὰ τὴν Λευκάτην ἐγένετο, *ſic Zonaras, at Cedrenus ſic,* ἐν τῷ πρὸς Νικομήδειαν Λευκάκτῃ.

12. *Juſtinian* in the mean time, as one not much concerned, was wholly intent upon Building, repaired the Walls of the Palace, and erected a ſtately Banqueting Houſe toward the Eaſt, which long after retained his Name, being called *Juſtinianeum*. Surveyor of theſe Works he made one *Stephen* a *Perſian*, principal of the Eunuchs, a man Cruel above Imagination, who beat and ſtoned the poor Labourers, without the leaſt ſhew of Mercy, and proceeded to that Impudence, as to Laſh with Thongs, *Anaſtaſia Auguſta* the Mother of the Emperour in his abſence. If he ſo handled the Mother, doubtleſs he had ſome Confidence in the Humour and diſpoſition of the Son, from which he could be ſecure of, or at leaſt have great hopes of Pardon, or Impunity. And that the Son's diſpoſition was Cruel, even beyond all bounds of Nature, was ſufficiently evidenced in divers particulars. Such Perſons he preferred, as were of the ſame Temper with himſelf, as appears not onely in

Conſtantine Cruel.

He pulls down a Church to build a Theatre.

in *Stephen*; but *Theodotus* a Monk, whom taking out of his Cell he made his General *Logotheta*. This Fellow puniſhed many of the Nobility without any Fault at all committed, he ſold their Goods, and took delight to hang them up by the Heels, and then cauſe Straw to be ſet on fire under their Heads to torment them with the ſmoak. The Prefect of the City, by command of the Emperour alſo, thruſt many into Priſon without any Reaſon ſhewn, which raiſed extraordinary Hatred in the minds of the Citizens againſt their Prince. But he took all manner of ways to increaſe it. There was a Church dedicated to our Lady called *Metropolitana*, which ſtood very near the Palace: This he would have pulled down, and a Theatre or meeting place for the *Veneti*, to be built upon the Ground; he therefore required the Patriarch that he would ſay Prayers, that the Church might be demoliſhed. *Callinicus* the Patriarch anſwered with Tears, that they were wont to pray at the Building, but not at the demoliſhing of a Church, but conſtrained to doe it, he uſed this Expreſſion: *Glory be to God, who ſuffereth all things, both now and to all Eternity*, and then was the Church pulled down, and a Theatre raiſed; the Emperour cauſing another Church to be erected in another part of the City, bearing the ſame Name of *Metropolitana*.

Gives orders for a Maſſacre.

Ἀνασκαφῆ τὰ ὀςᾶ Ἰȣςινιανȣ͂.

He is depoſed.

13. *Juſtinian* having by theſe Courſes incurred the extreme Hatred of the People, which was likely, and that in a ſhort time to produce ſome dreadfull Effect, reſolved to be before hand with them, and gave Order to *Stephen* a Patritian, and *Rufius* an Officer in the Army to make a Maſſacre, beginning with the Patriarch. At this time it happened, that *Leontius* a Patritian, who having been general in the Eaſt, had managed his matters with very good Conduct and Succeſs, but had been detained by the Emperour in Priſon, two or three years, upon Suſpicion that he deſigned too great things for himſelf, was ſuddenly ſet at Liberty and made General of *Greece*, with Orders to ſhip his Men and be gone that very day. But ſtaying all that Night for a Wind, he had an occaſion to Diſcourſe with his Friends about his own matters; of whom ſeveral of them would undertake to foretell, that the greateſt Fortune would at length befall him, two Monks eſpecially, *Paul* a great Aſtronomer, and *Gregory* a *Cappadocian*. He expoſtulating ſomewhat with them, that they ſhould lead him into a Fools Paradiſe, by promiſing ſuch great matters to a Priſoner, and one that every hour expected the Meſſenger of Death; they all deſired him not to let ſlip the preſent opportunity, than which he could not well deſire a better, all the minds of the Citizens, being ſo alienated from the preſent Prince: He was ſo overpowered by their importunate requeſts, that taking with him his own Souldiers, he went in great ſilence to the Court of Guard, where knocking at the Gate, he pretended the Emperour was come about ſome urgent buſineſs, and ſo cauſing the Officer to admit him, he took him into Cuſtody, then opening the Priſons, he armed ſuch Souldiers as had therein been long detained, and leading them into the *Forum*, made Proclamation that all that were Chriſtians ſhould meet together, at the Church of St. *Sophia*. Thither the multitude ran in Confuſion, to whom the Patriarch ſaid, that this was the day of the Lords making, and the People cryed out, that the *Bones of* Juſtinian *ſhould be digged up*; meaning, it ſeems, that they ſhould pull him out of his Hole, where he had buried himſelf in all Lazineſs and obſcurity. They all ran to the *Hippodrome* or *Circus*, and thither by break of day, cauſed *Juſtinian* to be brought, whoſe Noſe they cut off, and then baniſh him to *Cherſona*, after he had Reigned near ten years. *Theodotus* the Monk, and *Stephen* the *Perſian*, with Ropes tyed to their Feet, they drag through the Streets to the *Forum of the Oxe*, and there burn them to Aſhes. Then with lucky Acclamations they ſalute *Leontius* Emperour.

Leontius made Emperour.

The Provinces invaded, and *Lazica* betrayed.

Africk over-run, regained, and retaken.

14. In the firſt year of *Leontius*, all things were in repoſe. In his ſecond, *Alidis* the Succeſſour it ſeems of *Moamed* (who in the laſt year of *Juſtinian* had made great Depredations in *Armenia*) invaded the Provinces, and returned with great plunder. *Sergius* alſo the Patritian revolted and betrayed *Lazica* into the hands of the *Arabians*. The year that next followed, the *Saracens* making another Expedition over-ran *Africk*, which *Leontius* hearing, ſent *John* a Patritian a Man of great Valour, with all the Ships he could make to drive them out, and that with ſuch Succeſs, as he retook all the Caſtles and ſtrong Holds of the Countrey, and ſending the Emperour the News, he wintred in theſe parts. But the Prince of the *Arabians*, their *Protoſymbulus*, or Preſident of their Council upon notice hereof, with a greater Fleet than ever comes into *Africk*, and eaſily beats out *John* again, who not able to make any conſiderable oppoſition takes ſhip for *Conſtantinople*, to require more Forces. But the Navy touching at *Crete*, the Officers began to enter into new Councils. They thought it would much reflect on them, to quit

Africk in this manner to the Enemy, and fearing the Indignation of *Leontius*, they perſwaded the Seamen to revolt from him, and ſalute Emperour, one *Apſimarus*, the *Drungarius* of the *Cipyrrhæotæ*, whoſe Name they changed to *Tiberius*. This new Emperour comes then with all his Subjects (as yet) to *Cycæ* the Port of *Conſtantinople*, and found the Favour to be admitted, by ſome Countrey Magiſtrates at the Wall of *Blachernæ*, then ſeizing on the City, he cut off the Noſe of *Leontius*, and cauſing him to be kept in a Monaſtery, baniſhed his Friends after he had ſeized on their Eſtates. This Concluſion had the Reign of *Leontius*, after it had laſted ſcarce three Years.

Leontius depoſed by *Apſimarus*, who ſeizes on the Empire.

15. *Apſimarus* or *Tiberius*, thus ſeized of the Empire, immediately made *Heraclius* his Brother General of all the Forces, and ſent him into *Cappadocia*, to watch the motions of the *Saracens*. He taking his opportunity invaded their Territories, and piercing into *Syria* as far as *Samoſata*, waſted all before him, and ſlew as was reported two hundred thouſand of the *Arabians*, leaving a great Terrour of his Name behind him. In the mean time *Abderachman* riſes in *Perſia*, and expelling *Chaganus*, makes himſelf King of that Countrey in his room, but through the aſſiſtence of *Moamed*, whether the ſame we laſt mentioned, or another is uncertain, he recovered his former Eſtate, and *Abderachman* loſt his Life, and Fortunes together. In the third year of *Tiberius*, *Abdelus* fell upon the *Roman* Territories, and beſieged *Antaradus*; but neither his Force nor Arts prevailing, he returned home and built *Mopſuheſtia*, wherein he left a Garriſon. In his fourth, *Boanes* Sirnamed *Heptadæmon* betrayed the fourth *Armenia* to the *Arabians*. And the Emperour baniſhed *Philippicus* a Patritian the Son of *Nicephorus* into *Cephalenia*, becauſe he had ſaid he dreamed, that his Head was over-ſhadowed by an Eagle, as if the Empire was thereby portended to him. But, what was of more Conſequence, in the year that next followed, the Nobility of *Armenia* roſe up againſt the *Saracens*, and killing all they could light on, ſent to *Apſimarus* for his aſſiſtence againſt that Nation; but *Moamed* timely comes in, and after great ſlaughter on both ſides recovers *Armenia*, and having got together the Nobility that remained, burnt them all alive together. But that the *Saracens* might not think to carry all before them without controll; *Azar* invading *Cilicia* with ten thouſand Men, *Heraclius* the Emperour's Brother light upon him, and killing moſt of his Followers, ſent the reſt in Chains to *Conſtantinople*.

Heraclius his Brother makes great ſlaughter of the *Saracens* in *Syria*.

The Fourth *Armenia* betrayed to the *Saracens*.

Various Succeſs.

16. Yet did *Azidas* the Son of *Chumeus*, the following Summer make War againſt *Cilicia*, and taking the Caſtle *Siſium*, demoliſhed it. But *Heraclius* ingaging with him in a Bloody Battel, ſlew twelve thouſand of his *Arabians* in the place. In the mean time *Juſtinian* living at *Cherſona*, was ſo Confident as to affirm, that for all this one day he ſhould recover his former Dignity, which ſo alarmed the Inhabitants of the place, that they reſolved either to kill, or to ſend him to the Emperour. He perceiving their intentions, ſtole out of the Monaſtery, and coming to *Daras* deſired to have a meeting with *Chaganus* the Prince of the *Chazari*; who received him Honourably, and gave him in Marriage his Siſter *Theodora*, perſwading them to go and live together at *Phænogorea*. *Apſimarus* could not be long Ignorant of ſuch a matter, which as ſoon as he had diſcovered he ſent to *Chaganus* with vaſt Promiſes, inciting him either to deliver him up alive, or to ſend him his Head. *Chaganus* promiſed to doe one of them, and ſent a Guard to *Juſtinian* under Pretence of ſecuring him from all violence, that might be offered him by the Inhabitants of the Countrey; but with ſecret Inſtructions to kill him, when ever they ſhould receive from him ſuch Orders. The deſign was revealed by one of his Servants to *Theodora*, and ſhe acquainted therewith her Husband, who calling the Guards to him killed them, and then ſending her back into *Chazaria*, he fled to the *Straits*, and there taking ſhip came to *Symbolum* near *Cherſona*, whither upon notice came to him, *Baſbacurius* his Brother and others, with whom he ſailed to the Watch Tower of *Cherſona*, thence to *Necropula* and the *Straits* of *Danaprium*, and *Danaſtrium*. Here he was ſeized with ſuch a ſtorm, that all that were with him gave themſelves for loſt; whereupon *Myaces* one of his Domeſticks told him, that he ſaw plainly they were in great Danger of Death, and therefore prayed him to make a Vow, that if God Almighty would but reſtore him to his Throne, he would not revenge himſelf upon his Enemies, to which he anſwered in Anger; Here let God drown me, if I ſpare any of them. Then coming to the *Danube*, he ſent to *Terbelis*, King of the *Bulgari* to deſire aid, offering him great rewards with his Daughter in Marriage. *Terbelis* with an Oath undertook to aſſiſt him, and armed the whole multitude of the *Bulgari* and *Slavi*, with which *Juſtinian* went to *Conſtantinople*. Three days he treated with the Inhabitants, till perceiving he was more

Juſtinian eſcapes out of the Monaſtery.

And recovers his Dignity.

more and more affronted, with a few *Romans* he paſſed up the Aqueduct into the City, and digging through it, poſſeſſed himſelf of the Palace in *Blachernæ*, which being once known, *Apſimarus* with a great ſum of Money after he had Reigned about ſeven years fled to *Apolloneas*, and ſo *Juſtinian* recovered his former Power.

His Cruelty.

17. He diſmiſſed *Terbelis* with great Gifts and Royal Furniture, and beſtowed on him part of that *Roman* Countrey, called afterward *Zagoria*. *Apſimarus*, *Leontius* and *Heraclius*, being betrayed into his hands, he put to Death the two former, after he had Ignominiouſly led them as in Triumph through the City; and had in the Shews of the *Circus* ſet his Feet upon their Necks; which while he did, the unconſtant multitude repeated: *Thou ſhalt tread upon the Adder and Baſiliſck*, and that which follows. The Eyes of *Callinicus* the Patriarch he pulled out of his Head, and then baniſhed him to *Rome*, preferring one *Cyrus* to his place, a Monk of the Iſland *Amaſtris*, becauſe he had foretold his Reſtitution. Then in his revengefull humour, did he proceed to the ſlaughter of an innumerable Company of Citizens and Souldiers, which ſtruck all Men with a Pannick fear. He ſent for his Wife, and *Tiberius* a Son lately born to him out of *Chazaria*, and ſet the Crown upon both their Heads. But in the third year of his Reſtauration, forgetting the Benefits he had received from *Terbelis*, he broke the League made betwixt the *Romans* and *Bulgarians*; and with a Party of ſtout Horſe, and a ſtrong Navy invaded *Thrace*. But his Men either ſo Cowardly or unskilfully demeaned themſelves, that they were quite beaten, and he was forced to betake himſelf to his Rampart, where being beſieged three days when he ſaw the Enemy very pertinacious, he Hamſtringed all his Horſes, and getting his men aboard, with great Infamy returned home. Here he had not long been, when calling to mind how thoſe of *Cherſona* the *Boſphorani*, and others had laid in wait for him; he Rigged every ſhip he could make, and on this Fleet ſent an Army with expreſs Order to kill and deſtroy thoſe that lived in theſe parts, and to be ſure not to leave one of them alive.

Breaks the Peace with his Reſtorer, and Ignominiouſly beaten.

Malitiouſly Cruel againſt thoſe of *Boſphorus*.

18. His Orders were executed as far as poſſible, the poor People not being in the poſture of defence, as utterly ſurprized, onely the Children they killed not; but kept them for Slaves. Two and forty of the principal Men, they ſent to the Emperour. Some they Roaſted alive, and others they caſt into the Sea. *Juſtinian* was Mad, when he heard they had ſpared the Children, but was comforted when he heard that, no fewer than ſeventy three Thouſand were deſtroyed. But imagining he had not yet done enough, though he had alſo killed the Children, he ſends his Navy the ſecond time with Charge to lay all the Countrey waſte, and deſtroy what ever was remaining of the People. The remainder of the Nation ſeeing there was no end of their Miſeries, ſecured themſelves in their Forts as well as they could, and renouncing *Juſtinian*, ſaluted Emperour *Philippicus* the Son of *Bardanes*, who had been baniſhed by *Apſimarus* to *Cephalenia*, but now was recalled, and on his way to *Conſtantinople*. *Elias* the Prince of the Countrey had a great hand in this Election; whereat *Juſtinian* upon notice was ſo inraged, that he killed *Elias* his Children, then being at *Conſtantinople* in the Lap of their Mother, and forced her to lye with an *Indian* his Slave and Cook. Then ſent he his Fleet the third time, with battering Rams, and all Inſtruments of Hoſtility to complete the Ruine of this People, which had been perfected, but that the *Chazari* upon their deſire came in to their Relief; who made ſuch effectual oppoſition, that the Army not able to doe that for which they were ſent, and fearing the moſt Savage cruelty of *Juſtinian*, revolted alſo from him, and joyned with the other in the choice of *Philippicus*, whom, being retired for his ſafety to *Chaganus*, they demanded might be ſent to them. *Chaganus* demanded Caution, that they would not betray him, and required a piece of Money from every Souldier, which being given, he diſmiſſed *Philippicus*, and they willingly ſubmitted to him as to their Prince.

Who ſalute Emperour *Philippicus*.

To whom *Juſtinian's* Souldiers revolt.

19. *Juſtinian* when the Fleet was ſo ſlow in returning, gueſſed what was the occaſion; and getting about him ſome *Thracians* and others, went as far as *Sinope*, whence perceiving that it ſailed toward *Conſtantinople*, for Grief and Indignation he rored out, and made what haſte he could to get thither, but *Philippicus* prevented him, and then he retired to *Damatrya*. *Philippicus* preſently ſent *Elias* againſt him, and *Maurus* a Patritian to ſeek out his Son *Tiberius*, whom he found fled with his Grandmother *Anaſtaſia* (for his Mother was dead) to a Church in *Blachernis*, and there Graſped about the Holy Table; but they pulled the Child thence, and dragging him to the little Door of the Gate of *Callinicum*, there laid him on the Threſhold and cut his Throat like a Sheep. *Elias* by Promiſe of ſecurity

Juſtinian is ſlain.

Philippicus ſucceeds.

His Eyes pulled out.

Artemius the Secretary made Emperour.

and other mattets, drew all *Juſtinian*'s followers from him, and being thus deſerted, he took him in great anger by the Throat, and drawing the Scimiter which hung at his ſide, therewith cut off his Head, which he ſent to *Philippicus*, and *Philippicus* made it be conveyed to *Rome*. To this end came this furious and implacable *Juſtinian*, in the eighth year after his Reſtauration. *Philippicus* the Son of *Bardares* as *Zonaras* calls him, or ſirnamed *Bardares* as *Cedrenus* will have it, was eloquent in Diſcourſe, and once had the eſteem of a prudent man, but carrying himſelf lightly and careleſly, and being of an evil Life, he quite loſt all his Reputation. Perſwaded by an Heretical Monk, who had foretold him he ſhould be Emperour; he ſet himſelf to aboliſh the Decrees of the ſixth *General Council*, with which matters while he buſied himſelf, the *Bulgari* without any Noiſe made an Invaſion as far as to the *Golden Gate* of the City, and having killed and taken Captives an infinite number of People, returned home without any oppoſition. This happened in the firſt year of his Reign. In his ſecond, when the *Praſini* had got the better in the *Circus*, it pleaſed the Emperour to make his Entry on Horſeback, to Bathe himſelf in the Bath of *Zeuxippus*, and to Dine with ſome of the moſt Noble Citizens, or as others ſaid, with thoſe that were Victours in the Sports. As he took his reſt at the Noon time of the Day, one *Rufus* Prefect of the *Opſiciani*, with a company of *Thracians* entring by the *Golden Gate* broke into the Palace, and thence taking him out into the Armory of the *Praſini* there pulled out his Eyes, the thing being utterly unknown. But when it was grown publick, the day after being Eaſter day, the People met together in the Great Church, and *John* the Patriarch Crowned Emperour, *Artemius* the principal Secretary, giving him the name of *Anaſtaſius*. This happened after *Philippicus* had Reigned but one year and ſix months.

The Fleet revolts and ſalutes *Theodoſius* Emperour.

Artemius depoſed.

20. *Artemius*, or *Anaſtaſius* was a moſt learned man, and extraordinary fit for buſineſs, and the management of the greateſt Affairs. He made General of the Horſe one *Leo* an *Iſaurian*, a very fit man, and another as fit as he, he ſet over civil Matters, ſo that all his time, he had not much to concern himſelf about. Of *Theodorus* and *Georgius* both Patritians, he cauſed the Eyes to be put out, and confined to *Theſſalonica* for his better ſecurity. The *Arabians* now making War upon the Empire both by Sea and Land, and a report going that they would fall upon the City, he cauſed to be Built all the light Ships his Arcenals could furniſh, fortified all the Walls and Places at Land, and filled the Granaries with Corn. But being informed that the *Saracens* Sailed into *Phœnicia* with a ſtrong Fleet, there to cut down Timber, he alſo ſet out a Navy to deſtroy the proviſion that they made, commanding the Provincials alſo to ſend their Ships to the General Rendezvous at *Rhodes*, and joyn with the main Fleet, which he would have Commanded by *John* the Deacon of the Great Church, and the General *Logotheta*. Being all aſſembled at *Rhodes*, the Admiral commanded them to Sail, but the Seamen, and eſpecially the *Opſiciani* refuſed to obey Orders, and when *John* more ſeverely than prudently animadverted upon them, they fell into a plain Mutiny and ſlew him, and making an halt after a Conſultation, ſome returned home, and others to *Conſtantinople*, who in their way when they were come as far as *Adramyttium* ſaluted Emperour againſt his will, one *Theodoſius* a Publican, or Collectour of the Revenue, a man utterly unacquainted with affairs of State. *Artemius* having notice of the Revolt, fortifies *Conſtantinople* and goes to *Nicæa*. For ſix months the Fleet of *Conſtantinople*, and that of *Theodoſius* skirmiſhed by times. *Theodoſius* at length goes into *Thrace*, and there making great Levies, returns with a powerfull Army to the City, where he corrupted thoſe that watched at the Wall and got in. The City is Plundered for the pertinacious humour of the Inhabitants, and the friends of *Artemius* ſecured, who being brought to him ſtill lying at *Nicæa*, upon ſecurity given for his Life, he entred into Religion, taking the Habit of a Monk, and was conveyed to *Theſſalonica*, after he had enjoyed the Title of Emperour near about two years.

Leo the *Iſaurian* takes the Purple upon him.

Theodoſius reſigns.

21. But *Leo* an *Iſaurian*, Captain General of the Eaſtern Forces, refuſed to ſubmit to *Theodoſius*, having at his Devotion *Artavaſdes* an *Armenian* the Captain of his Nation, to whom he had promiſed his Daughter in Marriage. At the perſuaſion of *Maſalnias* the Prince of the *Saracens*, who had begun to make War upon the Empire, he took the Purple upon him, and with a great Army marched to *Nicomedia*, where he fought with the Son of *Theodoſius*, and defeating him, took both him and the cheifeſt of his Father's Friends Priſoners, aud ſo proceeded till he came to *Chryſopolis*. *Theodoſius* ſaw there was no contending, and employed the Patriarch *Germanus* to *Leo*, from whom having obtained promiſe of Impunity, he reſigned

ſigned the Imperial Dignity, and both he and his Son were ſhaven and entred into Orders, after he had Reigned but one year. He died afterward at *Epheſus*, where he was Buried in the Chapel of St. *Philip*, with this word onely ὑγίια, or Health ingraven on his Tomb. But how great a friend ſoever *Maſalnias* the *Saracen* was to *Leo*, it ſeems he was no friend to the Empire, for he ſet upon *Pergamus* and took it, the Inhabitants by the juſt Judgment of God being delivered into his hands as our Hiſtorians obſerve. For perſwaded by a certain Magician they ripped up a Bigbellied Woman, and ſeething her fruit in a Kettle, as many as would fight againſt the Enemy, dipped the ſleeves of their right Armes in this execrable Sacrifice.

The *Saracens* take *Pergamus*.

22. *Leo* upon the reſignation of *Theodoſius* was owned for Emperour, and took the Government upon him, on the eigtth day before the Calends of *April*, in the fourteenth Indiction, the third year of *Gregory* the Second, Biſhop of *Rome*, and the ſeven hundred and ſixteenth year of our Lord. He was alſo called *Conon*, and ſirnamed *Iconomachus*, becauſe he was againſt the worſhipping of Images. When he was young, there were certain Jews born at *Laodicea*, a City of *Phœnicia*, who pretended to foretell that *Izeth* King of the *Arabians* ſhould Reign over that Nation forty years, but he died ſoon after, and his Son ſought for the Impoſtours to have them puniſhed. They fled to ſave their Lives into *Iſauria*, where meeting with *Leo* then a very Youth, but tall and beautifull at a certain Well, where he was ſet at Dinner, (for he got his living hardly, and had now unladed his Beaſt to give him refreſhment as well as himſelf,) they propheſied that one day he ſhould ſway the Sceptre of the *Roman* Empire. He expoſtulated with them for uttering ſuch a ſtrange Conceit, but they affirmed it would be ſo, and made him ſwear, that in caſe it ſhould come to paſs, he would grant them whatſoever they deſired. Not long after he was taken into the Army by *Siſinnius* the Patritian, and was made within a while a *Spatharius* by *Juſtinian*, and at length either by *Anaſtaſius* or *Theodoſius* was created General of the Eaſt, and ſo in the method and courſe lately mentioned came to be Emperour. In his ſecond year *Soliman* with an Army invaded *Thrace*, but died within a while, and *Humar* was *Ameras* or Prince in his room, who loſt a great multitude both of his Men and Cattel by the extremity of the Winter. In Spring following *Suphiam* from *Ægypt*, and *Izeth* from *Africk* in great Fleets paſſed up to *Conſtantinople*, with an innumerable company of men and quantity of Arms, and the City they beſieged two years, but then all the Ships were partly ſunk by Tempeſts, and partly burnt, and all the men periſhed together with their Veſſels.

Leo owned Emperour.

From what and how he aroſe.

Cedrenus.

Spatharium Cedrenus eſſe Romanis Corporis cuſtodem docet σπαθάριος ὁ σωματοφύλαξ, *Spathariorum Princeps à Curopalate inter Magiſtratus Aulæ numeratur, qui & Imp.* τὴν σπάθην *vel enſem geſtare principem genere proximum ſcribit.*

The Fleet of the *Saracens* loſt before *Conſtantinople*.

23. Yet did *Mardaſane* another *Saracen* Captain from *Pylæ* or the Straits, make another excurſion as far as *Nicæa* and *Nicomedia*, but were ſent back with great loſs received from the *Romans*, who after the manner of the *Mardaitæ* lay in Ambuſh and intercepted them. At this time ſo great a Famine fell upon thoſe *Arabians*, that it compelled them to eat up all their Cattel, and after that to fall one upon another, and feed on Excrements, with the roots of Trees and other unnatural things. And this was followed by ſo great a Plague, as ſwept away an infinite number of men, which were great rebukes, and able if not to deſtroy, yet to weaken and render contemptible very powerfull Nations, yet ſtill they flouriſhed every day, made progreſs in the glory of Arms and Conqueſts, and became more renowned by the poſſeſſion of many, the moſt conſiderable Provinces and Countries of the World, amongſt which they ſet footing in *Spain* about this very time. Not long after, the *Bulgari* made War upon them, and ſlew no fewer than two and twenty thouſand, and many other Calamities followed; but they weathered all thoſe Difficulties, and arrived at that Power and Fame in the World, which was included ſecretly in the promiſe made to *Abraham* about *Iſmael's* Poſterity. We have heard what ſucceſs they had in beſieging *Conſtantinople*, but to another thing of conſequence this Siege gave occaſion. *Sergius*, chief of the *Spatharii* and Governour of *Sicily*, hearing the News, ſaluted Emperour one *Baſilius* the Son of *Onomagulus* changing his Name into *Tiberius*. He diſpoſed of places, and ordered matters thereabout as he pleaſed, but *Leo* having notice, ſends *Paul* one of his Domeſticks to chaſtiſe him, who coming into the Iſland called the People together, and reading a Writing which expreſſed the thoughts and intentions of the Emperour, ſo improved the opportunity he had got of their Attention, that with lucky acclamations they owned *Leo* for their Prince, and renounced the Title and pretences of their new Upſtart, whom with his Relations they delivered up bound into his Hands. He cut off their Heads and ſent them to the Emperour, then by promiſe of pardon brought in *Paul*, who had been the Authour of the Revolt. And ſo the

Another miſcarriage.

Great difficulties the *Saracens* grapple with, yet overcome all.

A Rebellion in *Sicily* ſuppreſſed.

ſo the Weſt was again ſetled in Obedience. Theſe things happened about the firſt and ſecond years of *Leo.* In his third his Wife *Maria* brought him a Son whom he named *Conſtantine*, and the People ſirnamed *Copronymus*, becauſe he bewrayed the Font at his Baptiſm, which was taken as a ſign of much miſchief he would doe to the Church. The chief of the Nobility and Senate were his God-Fathers.

Conſtantine Copronymus born.

24. The ſame year *Artemius* living at *Conſtantinople*, being perſuaded by *Nicetas Xylinites* a man of great Authority, went to the *Bulgari*, and raiſing an Army amongſt them came againſt *Leo* to *Conſtantinople*, but the Citizens refuſing to receive him, the *Bulgari* delivered him up into the Emperour's hands and departed home; *Leo* put both *Artemius* and *Xylinites* to Death, confiſcated alſo the Eſtate of the latter for he was very rich, and cauſed to be Executed very many others that were of the Party, amongſt whom the Archbiſhop of *Theſſalonica*; neither did ſuch as obtained mercy to live, eſcape utterly without Puniſhment, for many he chaſtized by cutting off their Noſes, and others he ſent into Baniſhment.

Artemius put to death for Treaſon, with his Complices.

Having paſſed the danger of this Conſpiracy, he thought of Eſtabliſhing the Empire upon his Poſterity, cauſing *Germanus* the Patriarch to Crown his Son now ſcarcely a year old.

Young *Conſtantine* Crowned.

While theſe things are in hand at *Conſtantinople*, *Humar* the *Ameras* or Prince of the *Arabians* leaves this World, after he had Governed eleven years and four months and his Principality to *Ized.* Much about the ſame time another *Ized* ſirnamed *Mualabis* ſet up for himſelf in *Perſia*, and drew in great numbers to defend him, but the *Ameras* made War upon him, ſlew him and recovered the Countrey. *Leo* the Emperour from this time forward ſet himſelf to remove Images from Churches, and much ſtir aroſe upon that occaſion, inſomuch as *Gregory* the Biſhop of *Rome* rebelled againſt him, and making a League with the *Franks*, ſtopped the Revenue which had formerly riſen to the Emperour out of *Italy.*

Gregory Biſhop of *Rome* Rebells againſt the Emperour.

Ἀποστατήσας οὖν ὡς εἴρηται, τῆς τοῦ Βασιλέως ὑπακοῆς ὁ Πάπας Γρηγόρειος. *Zonaras.*

While theſe contentions were riſing to an height, in the tenth year of his Reign *Maſalnias* takes *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*; and a great Plague rages in *Syria.* In the Summer of the ſame year, a ſtrange thing happened betwixt *Thera* and *Theraſia*, two of the Iſlands *Sporades* of the *Ægean* Sea, a great ſmoak for many days riſing from the bottom of the Sea, like to that of a Furnace, which thickning by degrees, at laſt grew to perfect Stones reſembling the Pumice, which covered not onely the Water it ſelf, but in a manner all the continent of *Aſia Minor*, *Lesbus*, *Abidus* and the maritime parts of *Macedonia.* In the middle of the ſmoak a new Iſland aroſe out of the Sea, and joyned it ſelf to *Hieria*, even as *Thera* and *Theraſia* had formerly appeared on a ſudden, where nothing but water had been ſeen before.

Wonders in the *Ægean* Sea.

25. Whether thoſe diſturbances in the Earth and Air had any influence upon the brains of ſuch as inhabited the Iſlands *Cyclades* we know not, who grew ſo hot upon the Emperour's War againſt Images, that they would needs joyn themſelves to the weaker ſide, and making up a Fleet amongſt themſelves, undertook an expedition againſt *Conſtantinople*, but by artificial fire they and all their Ships periſhed together.

Rebels periſhed by artificial fire.

In the mean time *Haumar* with fifteen thouſand men lightly Armed, made an excurſion into the *Roman* Provinces, and beſieged *Nicæa* the City of *Bithynia*, where *Manias* with no fewer than eighty five thouſand joyned with him, and a long time they beſieged the City, but it was protected by apparitions of Saints, as thoſe who wrote in later Ages do tell us. Whether they were diſcouraged from this ill ſucceſs or no we know not, but about three years, for any thing that appears to us, the *Saracens* continued quiet till the fourteenth of *Leo*, when *Maſalnias* made another Inrode into the Provinces, and coming into *Cappadocia*, took by Strategem the Caſtle of *Charſianum.*

More Inrodes of the *Saracens.*

At the ſame time the Emperour's affairs were in no good condition in *Italy*, where, beſides the Revolt of *Rome*, and the loſs of his Tributes, there was no good Correſpondence betwixt his Exarch of *Ravenna*, and *Luithprand* the King of the *Lombards.* But he ſo ordered the matter, as to bring this King to his beck, and enter into a ſtrict League and Alliance with him, the conditions whereof were theſe, that *Leo* ſhould aſſiſt *Luithprand* in ſubduing the Dukes, or the petty Princes, and ſo promote him to the Monarchy of the *Lombards*, and he on the other ſide, ſhould uſe his utmoſt endeavour to reduce the City of *Rome* to the Emperour's Obedience, which yet could not be effected according to their deſires, though *Eutychius* the Exarch, and *Gregory* the *Roman* Biſhop were reconciled, who had ſo far diſagreed formerly, that the Life of the Prelate was exceedingly endangered.

Anaſtaſius.

Agreement between the Exarch of *Ravenna*, and the King of the *Lombards.*

26. *Leo* being rid of the troubles of the *Lombards*, with whom all things ſeemed now to be ſettled, bent his utmoſt endeavours to ſuppreſs the Worſhippers of Images, and to the eſtabliſhment of his Family. He procured the Daughter of *Chaganus*,

Leo ſcrapes up Money.

The *Scythians* invade.

A dreadfull Earthquake.

nus, the King of the *Scythians*, to be given in Marriage to his Son *Conſtantine*, after ſhe was firſt chriſtened, and named *Irene*. Againſt the revolted Biſhop and City of *Rome* he ſent a very conſiderable Fleet, which periſhed by Tempeſts in the *Adriatick* Sea. He laid heavy Impoſitions upon the People of *Sicily* and *Calabria*, to ſupply his empty Coffers, ſeized on the Revenues which belonged to ſome Churches, and *Rome*, and cauſed Male Children, aſſoon as they were born, to be ceſſed. In the mean time, and afterward, *Suleiman*, the Son of *Iſam*, invades the Provinces bordering on the Dominions of the *Saracens*, and waſtes all with Fire and Sword, carrying along with him in his Expeditions one that called himſelf *Tiberius*, the Son of *Juſtinian*, whoſe Title he advanced againſt that of the Emperour. In the three and twentieth Year of *Leo*'s Reign, with no fewer than ninety thouſand Men, he fell upon the Towns and Caſtles of the Eaſt, and having taken many of them, returned home with his Priſoners and Booty without any diſturbance. Theſe Invaſions of the *Saracens* ſorely afflicted the Eaſtern Parts, and that the more Weſtern might have their ſhare alſo of miſery, and feel the inconſtancy of all humane Comforts, as well as their Neighbours, in the laſt Year of *Leo* a moſt dreadfull Earthquake falls out at *Conſtantinople*, which overturns many Churches, Monaſteries and private Houſes, and buried multitudes of Men, Women and Children in the rubbiſh. Several Statues of ancient Emperours it removed from their *Baſes*, as thoſe of *Conſtantine* the Great, *Theodoſius*, *Arcadius*, and others. In *Thrace* alſo and *Bithinia*, ſeveral dreadfull Effects of this Concuſſion of the Earth were to be ſeen. For beſides many Towns and Caſtles, *Nicomedia*, *Prænetus* and *Nicæa* periſhed, with many Inhabitants. The Sea was ſo much diſturbed with theſe ſubterraneous Vapours that thus diſquieted the World for eleven Months together, that it was driven out of ſome of its ancient Poſſeſſions, and forced to make bold with grounds that lay moſt obnoxious to its violence in other places.

Leo makes an advantage of it for getting Money, and dies.

Conſtantine reigns.

27. This ſo publick and a great Calamity, againſt the effects and terrour of which the Emperour ſhould have found out ſome comfort and ſupply, he turned to his own Lucre, and the greater diſturbance and oppreſſion of the poor People, if our Annaliſts may be credited. He diſſuaded them from repairing the Walls of their Towns, but laid a Tax upon them, which being, as they thought, onely deſigned for this preſent occaſion, was (as oftentimes it happens that an Impoſition impoſed laſts longer than the cauſe that procured it,) continued upon them and their Poſterity. Not long after this *Leo* dies after he had reigned twenty five years, two months, and twenty days, and leaves *Conſtantine* his Son, and Collegue, to the ſole poſſeſſion of the Empire. He as willing to keep and preſerve to his own Family what was left him, in his firſt Year marches againſt the *Arabians*, and as he was in his way, ſtudies how to prevent the deſigns of all Competitours. He had a Brother-in-Law whom he moſt feared, one *Artabazdus*, who married *Anne*, the Daughter of *Leo*, and being ſometime Governour of *Armenia*, aſſiſted him much in obtaining the Empire. *Conſtantine*, to make ſure work of it, that the Empire might not be transferred from the one Family into the other, reſolves firſt to make away his Sons, whom he kindly invites to his preſence, deſirous to ſee them as his Nephews. But the old Man had ſmelt out the deſign, and reſolving to be beforehand with him, falls upon him at unawares, kills ſeveral of his Friends, and forces him to fly for his Life to the City *Amorium*, where, with great promiſes, he perſuades *Longinus*, the Captain of the Eaſt, ſaith *Cedrenus*, or *Lacinus*, the Captain of the *Thracian* Troops, as writes *Theophanes*, or both, as appears from *Zonaras*, to undertake his Protection againſt his Brother.

Artabaſdus uſurps.

28. In the mean time *Artabazdus* ſends to make *Theodorus* the Governour of *Conſtantinople* of his Party, one *Athanaſius*, a Silentiary, who finds him pliable enough, and by telling a Lye, that *Conſtantine* the Emperour was dead, eaſily perſuaded the People to own *Artabazdus* for their Emperour, whom they as much extoll as a pious and orthodox Prince, as they deteſt and revile him whom they vainly ſuppoſed to be out of all poſſibility of revenging himſelf upon them. All things ſeeming now to be clear, and *Anaſtaſius* the Patriarch, who formerly had ſided with *Leo* againſt Images, but now, to curry favour with the riſing Sun, reviled both him, his Son, and his Opinions, perſuading all Men to receive and own him, *Artabazdus* enters *Conſtantinople*, and the firſt thing he does, he ſeizes on the Sons of *Conſtantine*, then makes them be ſhaven, and clapt up in cloſe cuſtody. But the cheat of *Conſtantine* being dead could not long continue, and poſſibly the Diſcovery might have a quite contrary Effect upon the humour of the inconſtant multitude. To prevent all ſuch dangers an expedient is found out by the Patriarch, who moſt ſolemnly ſwears, that *Conſtantine* had uttered moſt horrid Blaſphemies againſt our

Saviour, as that he was not the Son of God, but born after the ſame manner of his Mother *Mary*, as *Mary* his Mother had born him. The People, by this Depoſition of the Patriarch, was ſo moved, as to depoſe *Conſtantine*. Now are there two Emperours. *Conſtantine* is ſtill living in *Armenia*, and *Artabazdus* reigns at *Conſtantinople*, whereupon ſuch a Civil War aroſe, as, if *Cedrenus* ſhould be credited, the like never happened ſince the beginning of the World.

The People depoſe *Conſtantine*.

Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει γεγόνασιν ἐμφύλιοι πόλεμοι οἷοι οὐκ ἐγένοντο ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου. *ad Ann.* 2. *Conſtantini Copronymi.*

29. If ſo, the more to blame he, and other Hiſtorians, who give us ſuch a ſmall ſcantling of ſuch paſſages as deſerved to be related in intire Volumes. This they tell us, that *Artabazdus* being to march againſt the Emperour, cauſed firſt *Nicephorus* his Son to be crowned at *Conſtantinople*. That having made all preparations poſſible, yet he had the worſt in his attempts upon *Conſtantine*, and at length was forced both with loſs and diſgrace to *Conſtantinople*, where he ſent *Nicetas* the younger to try if he could have any better ſucceſs; but he came off with the ſame diſadvantage, and *Conſtantine*, as it concerned him, improved his Victories, and marched up to the City, which he ſtraitly beſieged in the month of *September*, at the beginning of the twelfth Indiction, long it was not e'er the beſieged, who made little or no preparations for a Siege, were ſore diſtreſſed with Famine, which cauſed *Artabazdus* to ſend out *Anaſtaſius*, one of his Secretaries, and *Artabazdus*, the *Comes Domeſticorum*, to procure Corn, and other neceſſaries; but going by Sea, they fell into the Fleet of *Conſtantine*, who commanded their Eyes to be put out. Thus ſucceeding not, *Artabazdus* makes a vigorous Sally, but ſtill came off very diſadvantageouſly, and the Famine ſo much increaſed, that he was forced to let the People go out, and provide for themſelves, which they did, ſome in the habit of Women, and others like religious Perſons, becauſe free egreſs was permitted to ſuch. At the beginning of *November Conſtantine* ſo preſſed upon the City, that he broke it in the Afternoon, having defeated *Nicetas*, the younger Son of *Artabazdus*, whom being taken Priſoner, he had bound in Fetters, and ſo preſented him to the view of his Father upon the Wall. *Artabazdus* eſcaped to a certain Caſtle in the Territories of the *Opſicii*, but was fetched thence, and had his Eyes put out, as alſo had both his Sons. Many of his Complices were put to death, amongſt whom *Boetangius* the Patritian was moſt eminent, not onely for the Nobility of his Houſe, but the extravagancy of the puniſhment inflicted on him. Firſt his Hands were cut off, and then his Head, which, with the body, for thirty years reſted in a Grave, wherein they had been decently interred; but then did *Conſtantine* force the Man's own Wife to dig up his bones, and caſt them into the place where the Bodies of Malefactours were wont to be thrown. The City of *Conſtantinople* the foreign Souldiers were permitted to plunder. As many of *Artabazdus* his Friends loſt their Lives, ſo ſome their Hands, and others their Feet. *Conſtantine* coming into the *Hippodrome*, to the Horſe-races, led *Artabazdus*, with his Sons and Relations, in triumph, and *Anaſtaſius* the Patriarch, having firſt cauſed him to be publickly beaten, he ſet upon an Aſs, with his Face to the Tail, and ſo to be carried up and down in deriſion. Yet did continue this Man in his place, becauſe he could not find out a greater Villain, if you'll believe his Detractours.

Conſtantine takes *Conſtantinople*.

4. *Nonas.*

Artabazdus his Eyes put out, and his friends put to death or maimed.

30. *Conſtantinus Copronymus* having thus in the third year of his Reign recovered his Power and Dignity, that he might ſettle himſelf the faſter in the ſeat of his Empire, which had lately been too hot for him, bent his endeavours to gain the affections of the People, which his cruelty had ſo alienated from him. At the ſame time as theſe Civil Wars made ſuch commotions and diſturbances amongſt Mankind, the ſubterraneous Vapours, as it were, keeping time with them, ſhook the Earth in ſeveral parts of the Eaſt, with ſuch violence, that down fell Cities, Towns and Caſtles, and the Mountains in the Deſert of *Saba* met, and united themſelves together, to take Counſel, as it were, and make the ſtronger defence. And for ſome time they ſeemed to be in repoſe, but not long after, in the ſixth Year of *Copronymus*, theſe Vapours, or whatever other Cauſes, doubled their fury. For in the preceding year, from the fourth of *Auguſt* to the firſt of *October*, as writes *Theophanes*, or as *Cedrenus* more probably, from the tenth to the fifteenth of *Auguſt*, there was a very great darkneſs, and in the eighteenth of *January* following happened ſo great an Earthquake in *Paleſtine*, about *Jordan*, and all *Syria*, that innumerable multitudes of Men periſhed, and many Churches and Monaſteries tumbled down, eſpecially in the Wilderneſs near to *Jeruſalem*. Neither had the Weſtern Parts any cauſe to rejoyce above their Fellows, for a moſt grievous Peſtilence beginning about *Sicily* and *Calabria*, as if it had been a devouring Fire, ſpread as far as *Monobaſia*, *Greece*, and the interjacent Iſlands. Little croſſes, as it were made with Oil, appeared upon the Clothes of Men, and the Veſtments of Churches, and ſuch as had them on their

More dreadfull Earthquakes.

Vide Baron.

As dreadfull a Peſtilence.

their Clothes, certainly died. The number of the dead was ſo great, that the living were ſcarcely able to bury them, but were forced to invent ſeveral things for the eaſier carriage of the bodies. The Plague continued ſtill raging with greater ſymptomes for three years, being called the Plague of *Bubo's*, from thoſe tumours which, it ſeems, aroſe in an extraordinary manner.

A Civil War amongſt the *Saracens.*

Of which the Emperour makes an advantage.

Another Earthquake in *Syria.*

31. It was a ſingular Mercy of Almighty God, that while theſe inward Diſtempers raged in this manner amongſt Chriſtians, the foreign ſcourge of the *Saracens* Sword, though it was not ſheathed, yet was employed to the deſtruction of thoſe that handled it. A Civil War brake out amongſt them in *Syria*, where while they intended nothing ſo much as the deſtruction of one another, *Manias* reduces to his Obedience *Emeſa*, *Damaſcus*, *Heliopolis* and *Jeruſalem*. The Emperour thinks this a convenient time to beſtir himſelf, and while they are buſie in one part of *Syria*, he falls upon another, recovers *Germanicia*, and makes an Invaſion as far as *Dalichia* and *Aſſyria*. Thoſe of the *Saracens* that lived nearer the Sea, to weaken or divert his Power, rigged up a Fleet, which bent its courſe to *Cyprus*, with intent to perform ſome great matters; but the *Roman* Navy there met with them at unawares, and the Admiral having blocked up the Haven, ſo as they could not eſcape, deſtroyed every Ship, except three, which they willingly ſuffered to paſs away with the news of their ſad fortune. The year that followed, being the ninth of *Conſtantine*, on the twenty fifth of *January*, *Irene*, his Wife, brought him a Son, whom he named *Leo*. And now again are the ſad Calamities which had ſo lately happened in the Eaſtern Parts renewed, as dreadfull an Earthquake as ever falling out in *Syria*, ſome Cities were quite ſwallowed up, others half ruined, and ſome from their mountainous ſituations brought down to the levell, and removed, without any conſiderable Detriment, ſix miles, or more, from their ancient ſeats. In *Meſopotamia* a *Chaſme* was made in the ground two miles long, out of which proceeded a whitiſh and ſandy kind of Earth, and (*Theophanes* tells you Eye-witneſſes affirmed it) out of it aroſe a certain Animal in the ſhape of a Mule, which ſpeaking with a voice like that of a Man, predicted, that out of the Wilderneſs a certain People would fall upon the *Arabians*, which accordingly came to paſs.

Vide Baron.

The *Bulgari* make great Depredations.

They defeat *Conſtantine.*

A Comet.

32. In the Year that followed, *Conſtantine* cauſed his young Son *Leo* to be crowned Emperour by *Anaſtaſius* the Patriarch. For ſeveral years all Acts of Hoſtility had ceaſed betwixt him and his Neighbours, but in the eleventh of his Reign he raiſed an Army, wherewith he took *Theadoſiopolis* and *Melitena*. Conceiving the Provinces which lay towards the *Bulgari* to be in no good poſture of defence, he built ſome new Forts upon the Borders, whereat they found themſelves concerned, and ſent their Ambaſſadours to complain, and deſire a Confirmation of the former Leagues; but he ignominiouſly treated the Meſſenger, wherewith they were ſo much offended, that they made a ſudden Irruption into the Provinces, and peircing as far as to the Long Walls, with vaſt plunder returned home, without any let or moleſtation. This provoked *Conſtantine* exceedingly, yet he tempered his paſſion till he could be in a poſture, as he thought, to revenge the Injury, which was not till ſix years after, in the nineteenth of his Reign, and then being, as he thought, ſufficiently provided, he made an Expedition againſt them. But coming to a narrow place, called *Beregaba*, the Enemy took the advantage of the paſſage, and defeated him, which done, he returned home with great loſs of Men, and a greater of Reputation. The next Year a great Comet, which from the likeneſs of a Beam the Greeks called *Docites*, appeared in the Eaſt for ten days, and afterward removed to the Weſtern part of the Heavens, where it ſhone for one and twenty more.

Τῷ κ ἔτει δοκίτης ἀςὴρ ἐφάνη κατὰ τ ἑώαν, λαμπρότατος, &c. *Cedrenus.*

A ſtrange Froſt.

33. The one and twentieth Year of *Conſtantinus Copronymus* his Reign, the Annaliſts make infamous, for his whipping to death one *Andrew*, a famous Monk, *in Blachernis*, for reprehending his Impiety, in reference to Images no doubt, to which our Hiſtorians, as living in later Ages, wherein the practice obtained, were exceedingly devoted. The Reader muſt not think it improper for us to take notice of a violent Froſt, which happened two years after, both becauſe we are too much at leiſure to doe it, and the remarkableneſs of it renders it a fit Subject for an Hiſtorian, though never ſo grave and wary. It began on the firſt of *October*, and froze ſo hard, that both in the Eaſtern and Weſtern, as well as in the Northern, Parts, the Sea, for an hundred miles from the ſhore, was covered with Ice thirty Cubits in thickneſs. On this Ice fell a Snow twenty Cubits deep, which made it paſſable for Men, and all other ſorts of Animals, no otherwiſe than the firm ground it ſelf. In the month of *February* a Thaw came, and diſſolved this Ice, and Snow upon it, into many Heaps, or Mountains rather, which being by Winds driven to *Dampſia*, and the Chapel, crowded through the Straits, and came as far as *Con-*

ſtantinople, nay to *Propontis* and *Abydus*, ſurrounded the Iſlands adjacent in the Sea, and filled all the Maritime Coaſts, as *Theophanes* himſelf was Witneſs, who, with thirty others of his Acquaintance, paſſed down upon one of theſe pieces. One of them did ſome miſchief to the Caſtle at *Conſtantinople*, another ſhook very much the Wall, and then being broken into three other pieces, compaſſed the Town from *Mangana*, as far as *Boſphorium*, being higher than the Walls themſelves. The month following, or that of *March*, the Stars ſeemed to fall from Heaven, and Doomſday was generally thought to be at hand. And theſe wonders were followed by as ſtrange a Drought, which cauſed both Rivers and Fountains to fail.

Vide eund.

34. Much about this time, or a little after, *Conſtantine* made Peace with the *Bulgari*, but it ſeems he did it to ſurpriſe them, for as privately as he could he marched with an Army into their Countrey, but proceeding as far as *Tutia*, did nothing memorable, burnt onely a few Cottages, and ſo returned home with ſmall Reputation. But the Year following he thought to redeem his Credit, and therefore not onely prepared his Land Forces, but a great Fleet alſo, which he commanded to ſail to *Anchialus*, but coming to Anchor in the Road of *Thoris*, ſo violent a North wind ſeized upon it, that it almoſt utterly periſhed, and he commanded Nets to be caſt into the Sea, and as many dead Bodies as could be drawn out to be decently interred. So write *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus*, concerning this expedition, to *Anchialus*, adding, that the Emperour returned with diſgrace to *Conſtantinople*, but *Zonaras* tells us quite another ſtory. The occaſion, he ſaith, of this Expedition was taken from a Sedition lately riſen amongſt the *Bulgari* themſelves, who having put to death all their Leaders, that were deſcended from their Princely Families, advanced one to the Dignity, who was much more meanly deſcended, *Telentza* by Name. He tells us, that the Emperour at this Inſtant ſet upon them both by Sea and Land, particularly at *Anchialus*, where the Fight continuing from eleven a Clock till evening, many were ſlain, the Captain of the *Bulgari* ſaved himſelf by flight, and many Barbarians being killed, and no fewer taken Priſoners, multitudes alſo revolted to the Emperour of their own accord, who, as Conquerour, entred *Conſtantinople* in ſolemn Triumph, in Armour at the head of his armed Troops, with his Captives in Chains, according to the cuſtome, whom, after the pomp and ſolemnity ended, he put to death.

Different Relations concerning *Conſtantine*'s War with the *Bulgari*.

He Crowns his Wife and Children.

35. The next Year being come, he cauſed to be crowned *Eudocia*, his third Wife (for it ſeems he had three) upon a Scaffold of nineteen cubits, and on the firſt of *April*, being the *Monday* in *Eaſter* Week, created *Cæſars* his and her two Sons, *Chriſtopher* and *Nicephorus*. *Nicetas* the Patriarch praying the while that the Emperours inveſted them with their Robes, and put on them the Cæſarean Helmets. Their youngeſt Brother *Nicetas* was alſo created *Nobiliſſimus*, being inveſted with a Robe, and a Golden Crown ſet on his Head, which ſolemnity finiſhed, they went in a ſolemn Proceſſion, caſting ſeveral ſorts of Money to the People, according to the cuſtome. A year after *Irene* coming from *Athens*, was alſo crowned, and married to *Leo*, the eldeſt Son of *Conſtantine*. *Phadalus*, Captain of the *Saracens*, within two years, invaded the *Roman* Provinces, and took five hundred Captives, but the Inhabitants of *Mopſueſtia* laid in wait, and killing a thouſand of theſe *Arabians*, recovered all their booty. The following year *Conſtantine* undertook another Expedition againſt the *Bulgari*, but his Succeſs was ſuch, as inclined him to ſubmit to a Peace, which they, it ſeems, never intended to obſerve any longer than they could get a convenient opportunity to break it. For they ſent not long after twelve thouſand Men to make themſelves Maſters of *Berzetia*, which being made known to the Emperour, he haſted with an Army againſt them, and falling on them at a place called *Lithoſorea*, cut them all in pieces, and then returned home. He was wont to call this his Noble War, becauſe in it not one Chriſtian periſhed, but it ſeems the Victory was obtained by Treachery, and that could not render it ſo noble, as if it had been atchieved by Valour and good Conduct. For *Elerichus*, Prince of the *Bulgari*, found that he was betrayed, but becauſe he knew not the Traitours, he had this device to know their Names. He wrote to *Conſtantine*, telling him, that he was reſolved to quit his preſent Office, and come to him to *Conſtantinople*. He deſired therefore he would ſend him his Letters of ſafe conduct, and to ſignifie to him what Friends he had amongſt the *Bulgari*, that he might commit his Perſon to their Truſt, and with them repair to his preſence. *Conſtantine* overjoyed at his intimation of a Revolt, ſent him the Names of thoſe that held Intelligence with him, which as ſoon as he knew, he put them all to death, laughing in his ſleeve to ſee how he had cheated the Emperour, who could no otherwiſe amend the matter at the preſent, than in a fury by revenging himſelf upon his

His Noble War.

He is deceived by the *Bulgarian* King.

his Beard which he plucked up by the roots in the height of his Paſſion.

36. But counting every Day a Year, till he could put himſelf into a poſture to be revenged, the Spring following he marched againſt *Elerichus* with another Army, but before he could doe any thing of moment, was ſeized with a Carbuncle, or Inflammation of his Thigh, by the Greeks called *Anthrax*, the anguiſh whereof caſt him into an acute Fever. He returned therefore back to *Achadiopolis*, and there took his Bed, and in this caſe was conveyed to *Selimbria*, and thence by Ship to a Caſtle called *Strongylum*, where in the Territory called *Chelandium* he died, after he had reigned thirty four Years, two Months and ſix and twenty Days, coming onely nine days ſhort of the Reign of his Father, if we believe *Baronius*, who in one place will have *Theophanes* to give thirty four Years, three Months and two days to the Reign of *Leo*, whereas formerly treating of *Leo's* Death, he cites the ſame Hiſtorian, reckoning onely twenty five Years, two Months, and twenty Days, of that Emperour. Never was man worſe ſpoken of by *Theophanes*, *Cedrenus*, and other later Hiſtorians, eſpecially by *Baronius*, but how great Credit is to be given to them herein may be impartially examined, when we come to treat of the cauſe of their prejudice, onely ſaying thus much by the way, that where Intereſt and Paſſion bears ſway, Truth uſually truckles to the Pen of the Authour. His Son *Leo*, begot on the *Chazarian* Woman, ſucceeded him, without any trouble, and underſtanding that he had intruſted one *Theophanes* with a great Treaſure, to be employed for the uſe of his younger Children, he ſeized on it all, and left his Brothers deſtitute, and at his own Mercy. This *Leo*, though of his Father's Perſuaſion, as to Images, yet thought it Wiſedom to comply a little with a thoſe of the contrary party, till he could be ſettled in his Government, which the better to effect, he cauſed his young Son *Conſtantine* to be crowned Emperour; upon what occaſion, and in what manner, we ſhall tell the Reader from *Theophanes*.

Conſtantine dies.

Vide Baronium ad An. D. 741. *num.* 1. & 775. *num.* 1.

Leo his Son ſucceeds.

Apud Bar.

37. The whole City of *Conſtantinople*, with all the Nobility, and the People in general were ſo taken with the gentle and bountifull demeanour of *Leo*, that they came and petitioned him to make his Son *Conſtantine* Emperour. He told them, (as the Emperours were wont) that he was his onely Son, and that he was in fear, leſt if any thing happened otherwiſe than well to him his Father, they would deliver him into the hands of ſome Uſurper of their own preferring, being yet an Infant, and not able to ſhift for himſelf. They with Oaths affirmed they would ſtick to him, and in caſe he died, none but this his Son ſhould reign, and from *Palm-Sunday*, till the latter end of the Week, the multitude, in the *Hippodrome*, flocked together, with great earneſtneſs requiring the thing might be done, and then on *Fryday Leo* demanded an Oath of Fidelity and Allegiance of them, which as well thoſe of the Army as the Senate took, and all other ſorts of People, ſubſcribing a Paper, whereby they profeſſed they would admit none but *Leo*, or *Conſtantine*, or their Iſſue, to reign over them. On the morrow then, or *Eaſter*-Eve, the Emperour aſcended a Throne, raiſed nineteen Cubits high, where firſt he created *Nobiliſſimus* his Brother *Eudoxius*; his other Brother, *Anthimius*, having already received this honour from their Father. Then, with the other *Cæſars*, three *Nobiliſſimi*, and young *Conſtantine*, he went in ſolemn Proceſſion to the great Church, where changing his Habit, as his Predeceſſours were wont to doe, he, with his Son, and the Patriarch, mounted the place proper to ſuch ſolemnities, and the People being let in, laid down their ſubſcribed Papers upon the Holy Table. This done, the Emperour thus addreſſed himſelf to them: *Look, my Brethren, I grant your Petition, and give you my Son for your Emperour; ſee you receive him from the Church, and the Hand of Chriſt.* They with earneſtneſs replyed, *Be thou our Surety, thou Son of God, as from thine Hand we receive our Lord* Conſtantine *for Emperour, to preſerve him, and, if occaſion require, to die for him.* On the day following, which was *Eaſter*-day, in the fourteenth Indiction, aſſoon as it was well light, the Emperour and Patriarch went into the *Hippodrome*, where the Patriarch, in the full view of the People, firſt prayed, and then crowned young *Conſtantine*, which done, both the Emperours returned with the ſame Train and State, together with the two *Cæſars*, and the other three *Nobiliſſimi*, to the great Church, not through the Street of *Embolum*, but by the brazen Gate, and the Church of *Catecumenius*, with the Sceptres born by the *Scholarii* before them. After they were paſt, followed *Irene* the Empreſs, and concluded the ſolemnity.

The manner of his making his Son *Conſtantine* Emperour.

8. *Cal. Maii.*

38. This Ceremony happened at the latter end of *April*, and in *May* following *Nicephorus Cæſar*, the Brother of *Leo*, his Appetite after Sovereignty, it ſeems, being whetted by ſuch a ſight, conſpired againſt the Emperour, and being convicted, was, with his complices, who were beaten publickly and ſhaven, baniſhed to *Cherſona*.

His Brother *Nicephorus* baniſhed for a Conſpiracy.

The King of the *Bulgari* baptized.

Leo dies.

Cherſona. But the contrary Operation had a good Conſcience, and a Senſe of Religion upon *Telericus* or *Follerigus*, King of the *Bulgari*, who came to *Conſtantinople*, and was baptized, reſolving to change a temporal Crown, for an heavenly Kingdom. *Leo* received him with wonderfull kindneſs, and having made him a Patritian, gave him in Marriage the Couſin Germane, or Niece of his Wife *Irene* by her Siſter. This it's probable, the King of the *Bulgari* did out of choice, and therefore much more deſerved a kind Reception than *Tellerigus* (ſo *Cedrenus* calls him) King of the *Lombards*, who the preceding year, forced thereto it's to be thought by neceſſity, betook himſelf alſo to *Leo*, and had kind Entertainment. In the third year of this Emperour, an Expedition was made into *Germanicia* by the *Roman* Army; where taking Priſoners a great multitude of the *Syrian Jacobites*: *Leo* gave them convenient Habitation in *Thrace*. Nothing more of moment occurs in his Reign; but that being exceedingly inamoured of Gems, he longed to be Maſter of the Crown of *Heraclius*, which being very Rich, was depoſited and dedicated in the great Church. His longing was ſo violent, that needs he muſt have it, and having taken it out of the Church, he wore it when he went abroad. But on a certain time, when he was returned home, Carbuncles (they tell us) aroſe on his Head, and he was ſeized with a violent Fever, which exacted his Life as the price of his Sacrilege, after he had Reigned five years and ten days.

Irene with her Son *Conſtantine* Reigns.

39. On the ſixth of the Ides of *September*, in the fourth Indiction, and the ſeven hundred and eighteenth Year of our Lord; *Irene* with her young Son *Conſtantine*, a Boy of about ten years old began her Reign over the *Roman* Empire. But forty days were hardly paſt, when the Nobility taking diſtaſte at the Sex of *Irene* and the Youth of *Conſtantine*, notwithſtanding the Oath made to him and his Father, began to enter into Councils, how to prefer *Nicephorus Cæſar* to the Throne, which ſhe in time diſcovered, and after they had been beaten with Rods, baniſhed them from the City into ſeveral Iſlands. Awakened by this danger, to prevent the like for the time to come, ſhe cauſed all her Husband's Brothers, as well the *Cæſars* as the *Nobiliſſimi* to take Orders, and on *Chriſtmas*-day to give the Communion to the People; at which time, ſhe and her Son offered again that rich Crown which *Leo* had taken out of the Church, While ſhe buſied her ſelf thus about ſettling her Family, the Eaſtern Provinces were in danger, which the *Arabians* upon News of the Emperour's Death, and the hopes of diſorders thereupon to ariſe, had invaded, but ſuch Forces as could be got together were ſent againſt them, and quite expelled them out of the Coaſts. Fortune thus favouring her on all ſides, ſhe thought fit to procure a ſtrong Alliance by the Marriage of her Son, and conſidering all the Princes, her Neighbours thought none ſo fit to have Amity with, as *Charles* King of the *Franks* afterward Sirnamed the Great, and Crowned Emperour of the Weſt. She ſent her Ambaſſadours, to deſire his Daughter might be given to *Conſtantine*, and the offer was ſo well liked as our Greek Hiſtorians write, that *Eliſæus* an Eunuch, and Notary was left behind; to teach her the Language, and inſtruct her in the Manners and Cuſtoms of the *Roman* Empire.

Helpidius rebells and is defeated.

The Empire Tributary to the *Saracens*.

The *Sclavini* beaten out of *Greece*.

40. But the proſperity of *Irene* was interrupted this ſame year, by the Rebellion of *Helpidius* the Pretour of *Sicily*, in behalf of the *Cæſars*, for the reducing of whom a ſtrong Fleet was ſent, under Command of *Theodorus* the Patritian, who drove him out of the Iſland, and made him fly into *Africk*: Yet he eſcaped with all his Treaſure, and living ſecurely in that Countrey, was by the *Saracens* in oppoſition to *Conſtantine*, owned for the *Roman* Emperour. They were glad of this opportunity, and having added what Fuell they could to the flame, fell upon the Eaſtern Provinces, which to waſte *Madi* their Prince, ſent *Aaron* his youngeſt Son (his eldeſt was *Moſes*) who managed his Matters with ſuch Induſtry and Conduct, that *Irene* to preſerve the Empire, beſides many Gifts ſhe ſent made it Tributary to this People; an Annual penſion being to be paid to their Prince. Having thus made what Peace ſhe could with the *Saracens*, the year following ſhe ſent *Stauracius* a Patritian, and *Logotheta* againſt the *Sclavini*, who had ſeized on *Greece* and *Peloponneſus*. He brought them all to obedience, and impoſing on them a Tribute, returned in Triumph with great Booty to *Conſtantinople*. Not long after, *Madi* Prince of the *Saracens* dies, and *Moyſes* his Son ſucceeds him, but after little more than a year is taken away alſo by Death, and gives place to his Brother *Aaron*; who being a Man much addicted to Arms, reigned three and twenty years, a moſt deadly Enemy to Chriſtians.

41. *Conſtantine* the Emperour growing now towards mans Eſtate, had his mind all this while fixed on *Rotdindris* the Daughter of *Charles* King of the *Franks*, and impatient he was to Conſummate the Nuptials. But though the Marriage was agreed

A Match betwixt *Conſtantine* and the Daughter of *Charles* King of the *Franks* broken off, and why.

agreed on, the Conſummation was deferred for ſeven years, and at length the matter was abſolutely broke off by *Irene* his Mother. The cauſe the Greek Hiſtorians aſcribe to the Ambition of *Irene*, who having a great deſire ſtill to continue her Power, feared the Acceſſion of the Friendſhip of *Charles* might make her Son too conſiderable for her to Govern. Others that have a kindneſs for the Woman, think ſhe took offence at *Charles*; becauſe he had invaded the Dukedom of *Beneventum* in *Italy*, which the Emperours had taken into their Protection, and that inraged at this Action, ſhe both broke the Marriage, and made War upon *Charles*, wherein ſhe had the worſt; Fortune favouring him in all his Enterprizes. There are others, who out of Reſpect to *Charles* and his Poſterity, thinking it more Honourable for him to refuſe than be rejected, write that he himſelf broke off the Match, and that thereupon *Conſtantine* to be revenged, ordered *Theodorus* a Patritian the Governour of *Sicily*, and other of his Captains to invade the Borders of *Beneventum*, which he got into his Power. But the great reaſon of the Breach ſeems to be fetcht from the Inclinations of *Irene* her ſelf, who had no mind to the Match long before the buſineſs of *Beneventum* happened, elſe ſhe had time and opportunity enough in ſo many years to have had it accompliſhed, and the great Enmity which upon this occaſion fell out betwixt Mother and Son, ſhew plainly, that he thought her to be principally Guilty, ſhe forces him to renounce the Contract made with *Rotdrudris*, though exceedingly in Love with her, and to eſpouſe an obſcure Maid, an *Armenian* by Birth, ſome ſay a *Paphlagonian*, by Name, *Mary*, who had nothing in the leaſt to commend her, not to ſay fit her, for the imperial Throne; but that ſhe was Daughter, or ſome ſay Neice to *Philaretus*, a Man that was very eminent for Acts of Charity.

Καταλιποῦσα διὰ φόβον ϗ φιλαρχίαν, ἵνα μὴ δύναμιν ὁ ὑἱὸς αὐτῆς περιβάληται τὴν τῶν Φράγγων διὰ τὴν ἀγχιστείαν. Zonaras.

Irene forces her Son to Marry an obſcure Maid.

42. Now, as it ever happens in ſuch Caſes, there are not wanting thoſe, who endeavour on both ſides to widen the Breach, and blow up a little heat of Indignation into a flame of Malice. Her flatterers tell her, the Empire cannot ſubſiſt without her, that it is both indecent and unſafe for her, who had now aquired the Art of Government by long Practice and Experience, to quit and reſign it to a young raw Youth, whoſe Age would brook no other Maximes than what were founded upon Eaſe and Pleaſure. His Attendants impatient of delay, till they could have to doe with Offices and Management of Affairs, put him in mind that he is now about twenty years of Age, which ripeneſs though he pleaded not his Quality, was ſufficient to diſcharge him of the Bonds of Pupillage; and they provoke him to take by force that Inheritance which will not voluntarily be reſigned. Their great Spleen was againſt *Stauratius* a Patritian, and *Logotheta*, who Governed all under *Irene* at his Pleaſure; it was reſolved therefore, that he in the firſt place, ſhould be ſeized and baniſhed the Court, and when he was removed they feared not, but they could have Quarter good enough at the Empreſſes hand. But *Stauratius* ſounded the depth of their Deſign e'er it was ripe for Execution, and revealing it to *Irene*, Order was preſently taken with the Conſpiratours; of whom moſt were beaten and ſhaven, and then ſent into Exile. Her Son ſhe chaſtized with her own Hands and Tongue, and conſtraining him to keep within, cauſed the Senate and Souldiers to take an Oath of Fidelity to her ſelf, and not to permit her Son to Reign as long as ſhe lived. This though with great unwillingneſs was ſwallowed by all, but the *Armenian* Legions, who profeſſed they would adhere to *Conſtantine*, as they were bound by Duty and Allegiance.

The Souldiers Mutiny, and will have *Conſtantine* Reign.

43. The report of the Reſolution of theſe *Armenian* Legions, coming to other Souldiers, who were Quartered at a diſtance had ſuch Effect upon them, notwithſtanding the Oath they had lately taken, that conſulting what to doe they cloſed with them, as having more Equity on their ſide; and coming to a Rendezvous, they all required that *Conſtantine* might Reign over them. *Irene* now feared the violence of the multitude, and therefore diſmiſſed her Son out of his honourable Impriſonment, who being received with lucky Acclamations ſet himſelf to recall his Friends out of Baniſhment, to put them into places of Truſt and Profit; and to revenge both his and their Quarrel upon ſuch as had been either Authours, or Inſtruments in their late afflictions. *Stauratius* and others, being beaten and ſhaven were ſent into Baniſhment. His Mother with great Reſpect he led out of the Palace, and brought her to her own Houſe, which ſhe her ſelf had built in *Eleutherium*, and where ſhe had laid up a vaſt Treaſure. While theſe diſturbances happen at Court, and ſhake the whole Empire, an horrible Earthquake as it was ſuitable that Nature her ſelf ſhould expreſs the Horrour and Effects of Man's Ambition, made all things quake and totter at *Conſtantinople*, where the Citizens durſt not ſtay in their Houſes; but pitcht Tents in the Fields, and there continued till the violence was abated.

He depoſeth his Mother.

abated. The Court was alſo diſturbed by a Fire, which burnt to the Ground a very fair Banquetting-Room called *Thomaites*, with all the Rooms under it, wherein lay the Commentaries upon the whole Scripture, written by St. *John Chryſoſtome.* The Emperour animated by his Liberty, and the unexpected Injoyment of his Power, will now make War againſt the *Bulgari* and comes off with the Victory, as writes *Cedrenus*, though *Zonaras* ſaith it was a drawn Battel, and with no great harm either done or received, each one retired to his own Place. Not ſatisfied with the Reputation it ſeems that he got by this Expedition, he undertakes another as far as *Tarſus* againſt the *Arabians*; wherein one ſays, he took many Priſoners, and another affirms, he returned without any memorable thing performed.

44. But all this while he was not ſo Circumſpect over his Mother and her Party, but that they were very cloſe at work; ſo hard a thing it is for thoſe, who have once taſted of Sovereignty and Dominion, to reliſh any thing of a lower *Guſto.* Knowing there was no Force now to be uſed, they betake themſelves to Intreats, and ſeek by little and little to ſcrew up *Irene* into her former place. By Arguments drawn from filial Duty and good Nature, they perſwade him to admit her again into the Court, and to the Title of Empreſs, which the *Armenian* Souldiers, more ſenſible it ſeems of what would follow than any others, vehemently oppoſed, and deſired, that one *Alexius Moſoles* might be ſent them, which *Conſtantine* conſtrued, as he had ſome reaſon, as if they would rather promote him to the Empire, than bear the Domination of a Woman, and therefore he cauſed *Alexius* to be beaten and ſhaven, and committed him to his Cuſtody. Having ſtrengthened himſelf, as he thought, by the Conjunction of his Mother, he betakes himſelf again to Arms, and will needs fall upon the *Bulgari*, being by ſome falſe Prophets incouraged with a Promiſe of certain Victory. This ſo far puffed him up, that he neglected his buſineſs, as thinking it a thing needleſs to be ſolicitous for that which of it's own accord would fall into his hands; and therefore in this ſecurity as he lay, the *Bulgari* took their advantages, and gave him a very notable defeat. Beſides a great number of private Souldiers, many conſiderable Officers, and the chief Men of the Empire loſt their Lives, with *Pancratius* the Aſtronomer, who by his lying Prophecies had given the occaſion of the overthrow. *Conſtantine* having nothing left to clog him, for both Army and Baggage, and all was loſt, fled with all ſpeed; but brought Infamy enough with him to *Conſtantinople.*

Receives her again to Court.

He is defeated by the *Bulgari.*

45. This defeat opened the Mouths of his Adverſaries and Emulatours, who were not wanting to deſcant upon each particular, and more than call his Prudence and Conduct into Queſtion. He himſelf was Conſcious of his Errour; and Conſequently Jealous, that no better an Interpretation was made of it than it deſerved, which Humour thoſe that were near him, indulged with little ſtories put into his Head, and great Dangers ſuggeſted to him, which filled him with ſuch Conceits as were not to be removed without ſome extravagant Diverſion. It was told him, that the Souldiers now lying in Town, had a deſign to promote *Nicephorus* his Uncle to his place, which report ſo diſordered him, that he cauſed not onely his Eyes to be put out; but thoſe of *Chriſtopher* alſo his other Uncle, and cuts out the Tongues of another *Chriſtopher*, *Nicetas*, *Anthimus* and *Eudocimus*; his Mother, and *Stauratius*, finding him in this Humour, ſtrike in, and perſwade him to put out the Eyes alſo of *Alexius*, whom the *Armenian* Legions had demanded to be ſent them at ſuch a time, as they proteſted againſt her Reſtitution; telling him, that in Caſe he were ſpared, the Souldiers would infallibly make him Emperour. But when the *Armenian* Souldiers received the News, they preſently fell into a Mutiny, and committed to Cuſtody, *Camilianus* their Captain. The Emperour diſpatches away againſt them *Conſtantianus Artaſeras*, and *Chryſochires* with a ſtrong party, but they had the miſ-fortune to come by the worſt, and being taken Priſoners had their Eyes put out. *Conſtantine* therefore marches againſt them himſelf, and with better Succeſs. He utterly defeats them in Battel, and getting them all into his Power, the Officers he puts to Death, deprives the reſt of their Eſtates, and a thouſand of the ordinary ſort he cauſeth to be led in Chains to *Conſtantinople*, where they had theſe words, *An Armenian Traitour*, ſtamped with Ink upon their Faces, and then were diſperſed in *Sicily* and other Iſlands.

He is Jealous of his kindred.

46. This ſucceeded to the good liking of *Irene*, who all this while ſeeming to ſatisfie her ſelf with the Title without the Power; yet caſt in her Head, how ſhe might again be Miſtreſs of both. Her great Adverſaries the *Armenian* Legions were now made an end of, yet to attempt any thing againſt the Perſon of her Son, was not altogether ſafe, beſides unnatural; but ſhe rejoyced in his misfor-

tunes, and comforted her ſelf in his want of Reputation, which that he might loſe ſtill more and more, ſhe was reſolved nothing ſhould be wanting on her part, and ſhe hoped to puſh him on to ſuch actions, as ſhould render him odious, and ſo make a kind of neceſſity of returning the Government into her own Hands. Knowing that he had no fancy for his Wife *Mary*, to which he had been preferred by her worthy care and foreſight, ſhe perſwaded him to ſhave her, and put her into a Monaſtery, which done, ſhe finds out for him another honourable Match *Theodota* one of the Maids of her Chamber, which Damoſel is crowned with the Imperial Diadem, and the Wedding kept with great pomp for four days together in the Palace of St. *Mamas*. This unequal Marriage made much for her Deſign, and ſhe improved the advantage to the utmoſt, for great contentions falling out amongſt Churchmen concerning the Lawfulneſs, or unlawfulneſs of the Match, ſhe ſtill ſided with ſuch as ſpake againſt her Son, and promoted their intereſt all ways poſſible, though ſecretly and as much in the dark as ſhe could. But ſome other things happened, which ſeemed to thwart all her purpoſes by recovering the Reputation of her Son. For, renewing his Wars with the *Arabians* he had good ſucceſs, as alſo againſt *Cardamus* or *Cardames* the Prince of the *Bulgari*, who ſending to him to demand Tribute, and threatning if he had it not, to come to fetch it as far as the *Golden Gate* of *Conſtantinople*, he ſent him ſome Horſe-Dung for Tribute, and withall this word, that ſeeing he was an old Man, he would not have him take the pains, nor undergo the labour of ſo great a Journey, but he himſelf would come and wait upon him. And gathering together a conſiderable Army he went, but the Barbarian, when the Armies came in ſight of each other, in a kind of a pannick fear fled away.

He is ſucceſsfull againſt Barbarians.

47. In the ſeventh year of his Reign, (when he Reigned alone,) he waited on his Mother to the Baths of *Pruſa*, and in the following month or *October*, news was brought him that he had a Son born, whom afterward he named *Leo*, Overjoyed at the news, he left his Mother and departed ſpeedily to *Conſtantinople*, giving a fair opportunity to her, to Caball with the Officers of the Army, and what by gifts and vaſt promiſes ſhe ſo improved it, that they promiſed to depoſe her Son that ſhe might Reign alone, and that they would watch for a convenient opportunity to effect it. While ſhe and they gaped after this deſired time, the Emperour reſolves to undertake another expedition againſt the *Arabians*, and with twenty thouſand men accompanied with *Stauracius*, and other Creatures of his Mother in the month of *March* he begins his Journey. *Stauracius* and thoſe with him perceiving both him and the Souldiers, to be full of hopes and courage were very thoughtfull leſt he ſhould return Victorious, and their Plot ſhould not take, they therefore procure the Scouts to report that the *Saracens* were fled, and that it was no purpoſe to proceed. *Conſtantine* fruſtrated as he thought of a glorious Victory, in much diſcontent returns to the City, and on the firſt of *May Leo* his young Son Dies, which overwhelmes him with exceſſive grief. In the middle of *July* thoſe of the Conſpiracy attempted to ſeize on him, which he having diſcovered endeavoured to make his eſcape, but his Mother ſo quickned them by her Letters, threatning that if they did not ſpeedily put a concluſion to the buſineſs, ſhe would reveal the whole matter, that fearing both her and the People, which flocked ſo to him that they were all afraid, and ſhe thought once of ſending ſome Biſhops to perſwade him to retire to a private Life, they laid hands on him and conveyed him to *Chelandium*. On the Saturday morning they brought him to *Conſtantinople*, and there ſhut him up in the Houſe called *Porphyra* where he was Born, and about three a Clock in the Afternoon, moſt wickedly and cruelly though by his Mothers orders, digged his Eyes out of his Head, even in ſuch a manner that Death preſently followed, after he had Reigned ſeven years by himſelf, and ten together with his unnatural Mother. Upon this blinding and Murther of the Emperour, the Sun was darkned for ſeventeen days, ſo exceedingly, that the Ships at Sea loſt their courſe, and all men affirmed that becauſe *Conſtantine* had loſt his ſight, the Sun was alſo hoodwincked, and for this very reaſon withdrew his beams.

He blinded and killed by order of his unnatural Mother.

48. But *Irene* little concerned it ſeems for ſuch a Prodigy being now rid of her Son, thought ſhe could not yet be very ſecure becauſe of her Husband's Brothers, who had taken Sanctuary in the Great Church at the perſwaſion of ſome of their Wellwillers. She ſent them therefore down to *Athens*, where having entertained ſome Councils tending to the depoſing of the Empreſs, and advancement of their own Fortune, they were killed as it's ſaid by the Inhabitants, and ſo the Race of *Copronymus* was totally extinguiſhed, ſhe, to ſhew what manner of Perſon now ſhe is, is drawn into the City by four Horſes in a gilt Chariot which is ſtaid by the

hands of Patritians, and ſhe caſts money amongſt the People, as was uſual at a ſolemn Coronation. But what joy ſoever was at *Conſtantinople* upon this occaſion, there was ſadneſs enough in the Eaſtern Provinces, which the *Saracens* now invaded under Conduct of *Habdimelech*, who refuſed to grant any Peace at the deſire of *Irene*, and as confident to overpower a Woman, marched up through all the Countries as far as *Conſtantinople* it ſelf, the Suburbs of which they Plundered, and having ranged the Countrey without Controll, at length departed home. They were no ſooner gone, but another danger hung over the Head of *Irene*, and ſo much greater as a ſecret Traitour is more dangerous than a known and open Enemy. And who ſhould this be but *Stauracius* himſelf, who in all his Councils for feeding the Ambition of this Woman, had an Eye it ſeems to his own advancement. What Service ſoever he had formerly done her, he now went about to render it all fruitleſs, conſpiring to take the Diadem from her Head to ſet it upon his own, but he was timely diſcovered. She having a regard (it's probable) to his former kindneſſes, (though ſuch an act as this uſually obliterates the greateſt impreſſions of that kind,) onely forbids all men to keep him Company, after which oppreſſed with ſorrow, either for his Fault or for his Puniſhment, he falls into a bleeding from the Lungs, and ſo ends his days, his Ambition and Sorrow altogether.

The *Saracens* rove as far as *Conſtantinople*.

Stauracius purpoſes to Uſurp, and Dies.

49. *Irene* perceiving that thoſe ſhe moſt truſted, had more reſpect to their own advancement, than the ſecurity of her Eſtate, and therefore that ſhe ſtood in a ticklish condition, thought it beſt for her to oblige the People. In her fourth year, ſhe remitted the Tribute wont to be paid by thoſe of *Conſtantinople*, and promoted the Commerce of *Abydus* and *Hierum* by all means poſſible. This had the wiſhed effect, for it procured her the hearts of the Multitude. But it could not procure her the fidelity of her Servants, who all this while had wrought their own ends by her, and made her Service onely an advantage for their future preferment. One *Ætius* an Eunuch ruled all in the Palace, and being by his Commands over the Eaſtern Provinces exceedingly inriched, deſpiſed all the ancient Nobility, carrying himſelf very ſawcily toward them, and thought of no leſs than promoting to the Empire his Brother *Leo*, for whom he had with much labour, procured the Government of *Thrace* and *Macedonia*. The Nobility ſmelt out his deſign, and reſolving to oppoſe it whatever ſhould happen, conſulted how to make Emperour one *Nicephorus* the General *Logotheta*. Getting their Company together, they went to the great Palace, and there telling the Guards, that it was the pleaſure of *Irene* her ſelf that *Nicephorus* ſhould be Emperour on purpoſe to obviate the deſigns of *Ætius*, eaſily got admittance, and ſending their Emiſſaries about the City before Midnight, prepared the People for what they meant to act the day following. When it was day, they clapped up *Irene* cloſe Priſoner in the Palace, and then went and Crowned their new Emperour in the Great Church, having neither Acclamations nor good wiſhes, but Curſes and reproachfull Language from the People. Thus was *Irene* dealt with after a Reign of five years, though not in ſo ſevere a manner as ſhe treated her Son, for ſhe was but ſhut up in a Monaſtery of her own Building. But a circumſtance there was which made the affliction much more grievous. She was juſt now courted by *Charles* King of the *Franks*, who had lately aſſumed the Title of *Roman* Emperour, and deſired by him in Marriage, that the Eaſt and Weſt might in their two Perſons be again happily united. She her ſelf was not averſe; but *Ætius* the Eunuch hindred the concluſion of the treaty, by rubs continually laid in the way, driving that Trade we lately mentioned for his Brother; and then in the mean time happens the Conſpiracy of the Nobility, for *Nicephorus* and his Promotion. The Ambaſſadours of *Charles* were ſtill in Town, and were Eye witneſſes of this ſudden Revolution.

Irene indeavours to get the love of the People.

The Nobility perceiving a deſign of *Ætius*,

The depoſe *Irene* and make Emperour *Nicephorus* the General *Logotheta*.

AN
INSTITUTION
OF
General Hiſtory:
OR
The Hiſtory of the World.

BOOK II.

Of the Kingdom of the *Franks* in *Gall*, (formerly one of the *Roman* Provinces) Contemporary with the *Conſtantinopolitan Roman* Empire.

CHAP. V.

The Original of the Franks, *their Seats, Kings and Exploits, before their coming into* Gall.

SECT. I.

Sect. I.

1. GReat things which proceed from ſmall and contemptible Principles when they have once arrived at their Grandeur are apt to deſpiſe their Originalls, and to gain greater Reputation from ſuperſtitious Minds, ſeek after ſuch Heralds as can draw them ſpecious, though falſe, Pedegrees. Such as of old time amongſt the Heathens arrived at more than ordinary Power, Knowledge or Dexterity, in any reſpect, muſt needs be derived from the Gods themſelves; ſuch Nations as have had a more modern beginning, or the Original of whom is unknown, by reaſon of later Diſcoveries, have been more than ordinarily ambitious to derive their deſcent from the ſo much famed *Trojans*. The flattering Heralds are the Poets who have thus blazoned the Coats of *Romans*, *Veneti*, *Britains*, and others. And in later times the *Franks* have by their flatteries been advanced to the ſame degree of Honour.

The Original of the *Franks*, and whence ſo called.

2. By theſe Impoſtours they are derived, both as to Original and Name, from one *Francion*, a ſuppoſed Son of *Hector*, to doe them Honour. But *John Tilius* rejects both the Project and the Reaſon thereof, affirming, that ſuch as fetch their Original out of *Germany*, do really, and in truth, contribute more to their Reputation

Comment. & Diſquiſ. de Rebus Gallicis, lib. 1. *ad initium.*

Sect. 1. tion than thoſe who make them deſcendants of the *Trojans*. That Countrey having in many reſpects been more renowned, and deſerving more praiſe for oppoſing ſo long a time the warlike *Romans*, and for giving the Mate to that capacious and dreadfull Eagle, than that famed City, for being overcome by ſuch weak Oppoſers. At this day Learning is more prevalent than to ſuffer ſuch Dreams to paſs without contradiction, and therefore all knowing Men now joyn with *Tilius*, in the renunciation of that Title. Yet is there great difference in opinions touching the reaſon of the Name, and the Original of theſe *Franks*. Some (beſides what we have ſaid of that fabulous *Francion*) derive the Name from *Francus* their firſt King, who reigned many Years before the Birth of Chriſt. Others, and thoſe not a few, will have them named *Franks* in the *Attick* Tongue, by *Valentinian* the Emperour, from their Courage and Ferocity; ſome modern Writers held, that the Name was framed upon occaſion, at what time ſuch amongſt them, as proteſted themſelves their Leaders and Abetters, in recovering their Liberty, named themſelves *Franks*, by which word the *Germans* in their Language, underſtand ſuch as are free, and void of ſervitude. *Hotoman*, in his *Franco Gallia*, takes pains by inſtances to make this good; and *Matharell*, in his Anſwer to that Book, (which he terms no better than a ſcandalous Libel) doth aſſent to it; and long before them *Aventine* was of the ſame Opinion, deducing the Name from the ſame, as *Frankheyt* and *Freydome* in the Teutonick Language, which Sirname is yet given to the *Francones*, being vulgarly called *De Freye Francken*, or in Engliſh the *free Franks*.

Hunibaldus.

Ado. Viennenſis, Archiep. Gregor. Turonen. Abbas Urſpurgenſis, Sigibertus, Godofredus, Uterbienſ.

3. But as the Story of *Francion*, the Son of *Hector*, hath no other foundation than that of Lyes and Fables, ſo that of *Valentinian* hath as weak an Argument to ſupport it; for, to ſay nothing of the Etymology of the word, this People had not onely the Name of *Franks*, but as ſuch were very famous, even in *Roman* Writers, before the time of *Valentinian*. Againſt the Opinion of *Hotoman*, and his Fellows, *Joannes Iſacius Pontanus*, a late moſt learned Critick, oppoſeth, that *Frank* ſignifieth free, no more than anciently *Cretian* ſignified a *Lyar*, *Sybarite* denoteth a *voluptuous Perſon*, *Cimber* a *Thief*, to which we may add *Lydian*, by which word was ſometimes ſignified a *Man very effeminate*. For the *Franks* being thoſe who principally above the reſt of their Countreymen, contended for Liberty againſt the *Roman* Encroachments, thence came their Name to be uſed in this ſignification, eſpecially amongſt the *Galls*; and indeed what *Aventine* cites in behalf of his own opinion, doth really make againſt it, *Frank* ſignifying *free*, in caſe that the word *Freye* was added to it, in which ſenſe they ſay at this day the *Vry Freiſen*, or the *free Friſians*, whereas if any one ſhould term them *Francke Freiſen*, or *Frank Friſians*, it would quickly be ſeen, that the word *Frank*, in that idiome, hath not the ſame force and ſignification of that of *free*, and conſequently apprehend a great difference betwixt them. Neither doth *Procopius*, as he is made to ſpeak by *Hotoman*, ſay that the *Franks* were firſt called *Germans*, and then called *Franks*, after they had paſſed beyond the Limits of their own Countrey. For he plainly writes that he would explain firſt how they got this Name, and then how afterwards they invaded *Gall*. And his miſtake of *Tacitus* is as great, in thinking that he makes the *Franks* part of the *Carnifates*, for they lived behind the *Rhine*, in the Continent of *Germany*, but theſe on this ſide this River, within the Limit of the *Roman* Empire, or rather, as *Pliny* hath it, inhabited within the River *Rhine* it ſelf.

Origin. Francorum, lib. 3. c. 1. p. 179.

Lib. 4.

4. Some will have this People called *Franks*, as *frey on cy*, or *free from Tribute*, ſignified by the word *cy*, or *Franſi*, that is *Fry Anſi*, which later word, in the *Gothick* Idiome, denotes *thoſe who excell other Men in Fortune and Wealth*, in reſpect whereof *Hanſi* and *Anſi* are the Appellations of the greater ſort of Nobility onely. But *cy* ought to be writ *Cyus*, and is not of Teutonick but Latine Original, being derived from *Cenſus*. And in writing the word *Franſi*, violence is offered to the word, the latter ſyllable whereof ought to be ſpelled *ci*, and not *ſi*. That Opinion of *Goropius Becanus*, that they were called *Franks*, as *Verranken*, or *Vryranken*, from the *Palm-trees*, which largely extended themſelves; and that of *Lazius*, from the *Fraca* of the Hebrews ſeem too light and ſporting to be ſeriouſly confuted. There have not been wanting who derive the word from *Freyancke*, which they interpret *free Servants* in the Teutonick. But no opinion is ſo ridiculous as that of *Turpin*, a Monk, little more elegant in his Writing than his Name, who, in the Life of *Charles* the Great, delivers it for truth, that he who firſt contributed money to the building of the Church of St. *Denis*, had the name of *Francke*, as if the name had been formerly unknown, and came firſt into uſe in the days of that Emperour. Amongſt all theſe Opinions *Pontanus* interpoſeth his, which he thinketh moſt congruous to the nature of the thing, as well as the ancient ſignification of the

Adrianus Junius Hornanus, cap. 9. Bat. p. 73.

Etymolog. German. Althameii Tacito ſubjectis.

the word. His opinion is that they were called *Franks*, from a certain Weapon they uſed, which hath the name of *Franceſca* in ſeveral Authours. From *Gregory Turonenſis* it appears, that this Weapon was wont to be worn as well by Kings as common and ordinary Souldiers. This being more truly writ and pronounced *Franca* or *Franga*, might by writers not acquainted with the Language, and by other Foreigners be termed *Franceſca*, and by *Tacitus* corrupted into *Framea*, which in this Authour appears to have been a ſort of Weapon peculiar to the *Germans*, and more than that, an Enſign of Reſpect and honour. None might bear Arms till approved by the City wherein they Dwelt. Then in the aſſembly, either the Prince, the Father, or ſome other relations of the party adorned the young man with a Target, and this *Framea*, which was the ſame with them, as the Gown amongſt the *Romans*, and the firſt ſtep to Honour. Now if it be natural that the ſame way things are conſtituted, in the ſame they be diſſolved, as taking off Enſigns of Degree and Order, hath ever been uſed for Degradation, as well as putting them on for Creation, or (as the word explains it ſelf) Inveſtiture, then by comparing this manner of Promotion or Creation of Souldiers mentioned by *Tacitus*, *viz.* by adorning them with this *Framea*, with what *Gregory Turonenſis* mentions of King *Clodonæus* his Exauctorizing or caſheiring a certain Souldier, by cauſing him to caſt away his *Franceſca*, we may Judge them the ſame kind of Weapon, and to have been in great uſe and repute, and that for a long time amongſt the *Saxons*. It was a ſort of Spear or Javelin, whereof the Iron was ſhort and narrow, but ſo ſharp and convenient, that they could either fight therewith *Cominus* at hand-ſtrokes, or *Eminus* after the manner of miſſive Weapons, far off and at a diſtance.

Lib. de moribus German.

5. It is certain that ſeveral other Authours, (as *Procopius* and *Agathias* as well as others,) make mention though not by the ſame name, of ſuch a ſort of Weapon amongſt the *Franks*, and this is to be ſaid in behalf of *Pontanus* his opinion, that theſe *Franks* might as well receive a name from a certain Spear or Javelin, as the *Saxons* their Countreymen from a Skeene or Scimiter, which they called *Saxe* in their Language, for that the *Saxons* were thence ſo called is more probable, being the judgment of moſt Learned men, than what he inſtanceth in the *Quirites* of *Rome*, and the *Gæſatæ* amongſt the *Galls*, whereof the former he would have ſo named from *Quiri* a Spear, and the latter from *Geſis* another ſort of Weapon, theſe Etymologies which we have formerly in their due places given of each, ſeeming altogether as proper both as to name and matter. The formation of the word *Franceſca*, he rightly judgeth as eaſie and natural as thoſe of *Daciſcus* from *Dacus*, and *Syriſcus* from *Syrus*. The Weapon he thinketh might have the name from *Frey* and *Ainke*, *Frey* being Free, and *Ancken*, as *Kikanus* tells us, in the old Netherland Dutch, to run in or faſten in, ſignifying the commodiouſneſs of Fighting, either *Cominus* or *Eminus* with this Inſtrument. But why may it not be objected out of *Iſidore*, that the *Franks* were not ſo named from this *Franceſca*, but this *Franceſca* from the *Franks*? Doth not *Franceſca* ſeem rather Relative to, and Derivative from *Francus*, than *Francus* a more ſimple word be derived from *Franceſca*? The word ſeems to father it ſelf, were it not as eaſie to ſay a *Frank blade*, or *Franceſca Framea*, (if we amongſt others may lawfully ſpend our Verdict, the adjective *Franceſca* having a relation to ſome other word,) as we ſay in Engliſh, a *Bilboa* Blade, or a *Sheffield* or *London* Blade, or for ſhortneſs, this is a *Bilboa*, &c. The Inſtrument receiving it's name from the Place and People, not the People from the Weapon. Neither doth *Pontanus* his reply at all weaken the objection, *viz.* That the *Saxons* themſelves called the Weapon by the ſame name. Why not for diſtinction ſake? Would an Inhabitant or Artiſt in any of thoſe places formerly mentioned, diſdain to call the Swords or Knives there made by their proper names? No diſgrace is it for a People to own by the mark of its own name, any thing which is the product of its own Induſtry and Ingenuity. But on the contrary we may ſhew *Pontanus*, that Nations have been ſhie, though not to give, yet to take a name from ſome ſuch accidental thing, ſome inconſiderable Adjunct or other which their Neighbours diſcovering in them and diſtinguiſhing them moſt by, (as that which appeared to them moſt remarkable,) did thence at firſt denominate them. We can eaſily inſtance in thoſe which call not themſelves by that name whereby their Neighbours know them, which yet the *Franks* never diſowned.

6. To conclude this conteſt about Names, the matter is very much in the dark, and not to be clearly diſcovered by any light we have from Antiquity. Yet what *Pontanus* brings in confirmation of his own opinion, rather makes us eſteem and approve than reject, and condemn that of *Hotoman* and his followers. The inſtance

he maketh in the *Cretians* and *Sibarites* concludeth nothing, for as things in their caſe have been denominated from perſons, (as Drunkenneſs and Lying,) yet it is certain that elſewhere perſons have been alſo denominated from things, as is clear in the caſe of Names and Sirnames, where Sonſhip or Relation is not expreſſed to all who are skilled in ancient Etymologies. If the name of Proteſtant from one ſingle act of Proteſtation hath been given ſo many Profeſſours of Religion, though of ſeveral Nations, and not altogether of the ſame Judgment, becauſe the nature and remarkableneſs of time and affairs was ſuch, as made it ſtick where once it faſtened, and a convenience of diſtinction abſolutely confirmed it; Can we doubt but upon ſuch an occaſion as fighting for Liberty, oppoſing and invading Enemies, a profeſſion of publick concernment and proteſtation againſt the ſecurity and lazineſs of others, might well leave a note upon the agents, and a mark and name upon ſuch as headed an aſſociation for the preſervation of Laws, Rights and Liberty? Eſpecially amongſt a numerous people, ſuch as theſe Northern Nations were, and that rather than a ſort of Spear or other Weapon. His objection that *Francke* without Free, doth not at this day ſignifie Free, is too weak to conclude that it never did ſo, although in Engliſh it ſelf, that ſenſe and ſignification in ſome caſes ſtill remains. Although *Procopius* his meaning may be that they were called *Franks* before they paſſed out of their own Countrey, it concludeth not but there by their profeſſion and indeavours to oppoſe the Incroachments of the *Romans*, a ſufficient occaſion might be had to raiſe this Name. And whether they were part of the *Carinſates* or not, it's not very material to the main Queſtion. Let us therefore paſs on from the Name to the thing, and ſee if we can more clearly make out the perſons and places of theſe *Franks*.

7. Although as we ſaid before, the palate of this age be too quick and ſenſible to reliſh, and approve the inſulſe and obſolete *Trojan* Title. Yet it will not be amiſs to give the Reader a taſte of it, both for that to recite will be to confute it, and he may judge what guſt they had, who in former times have liked and approved it. *The Original of the Nation of the Franks, ſaith Abbas Vrſpurgenſis, is to be fetched from the ancient Stock of the Trojans. For at ſuch time as after the Deſtruction of Troy, Æneas came into Italy, ſome of the ſaid Trojan Exiles in like manner arrived at the Mariſhes of Mæotis, which chuſing for their Seats, they inlarged their Bounds as far as Pannonia. They Built the City Sicambria, and there inhabiting very many years, grew into a great Nation and were firſt of all called Sicambri, for driving away the Alani from the Fenns of Mæotis, Valentinian gave them the name of Franks with remiſſion of Tribute for ten years. Theſe ten years ended, he ſent a certain Captain to them to raiſe Tribute, but they being of a fierce Nature, diſdained to be any longer ſubject to Tribute and ſlew the Meſſengers. Then Reigned amongſt them two who bore the ancient names of Priamus and Antenor. The Emperour being acquainted with their Faction, and too much incenſed, commanded all the Roman Forces, with many Exteriour Nations to fight againſt them. In the Battel, after many had faln on both ſides, the Franks at length overpowered in numbers were put to flight, and there was ſlain Priamus their King; departing from Sicambria they came into the Countrey of Germany, to a Nation the moſt inveterate againſt the Romans, and inhabited ſometimes in Thuringia with Marcomicus the Son of Priamus, and Sunno the Son of Antenor.* The ſame Story is related by *Aimonius*, *Ado* Archbiſhop of *Vienna*, *Gaguinus* and *Æneas Sylvius*, onely *Sylvius* mentions *Francion* for their Leader to the Fenns of *Mæotis*, and whereas he and *Vrſpurgenſis* ſay they came thence into *Thuringia* and *Franconia*; *Ado* brings them into the uttermoſt parts of the *Rhine*.

Their Original from the *Trojans* how.

8. A ſtory moſt a-kin of all others, to the Britiſh Romance of our *Geoffrey of Monmouth*. If *Æneas* and *Antenor* ſecured themſelves, and got ſafe from the Deſtruction of *Troy*. What Poet, not to ſay what Hiſtorian mentioneth any other? Who ever made mention of any ſuch Son of *Hector*, or any other beſides *Aſtyanax* or *Scamander* and *Laomedon*? What Geographer ever found out ſuch a City as *Sicambria* in the Fenns of *Mæotis*, or Hiſtorian met with their paſſage from *Troy* into that Countrey? The ſtory of *Valentinian* his treating of them, and their removal into the inner parts of *Germany*, is as true as that he firſt gave them the name of *Franks*, and ſuch a fardle of lies as none converſant in the Hiſtories of thoſe times can bear. Not one Authour or teſtimony can they produce for ſuch an affirmation, but violate all order of times, making them ſo named firſt by *Valentinian*, and to have firſt paſſed into *Germany* in his time, whereas we can ſhew their name was known above one hundred and ſixty years before, and they inhabited toward the lower parts of the *Rhine*, below *Colein* in the days of *Galienus* the Emperour. In the time of this *Valentinian*, who began his Reign about the year of our Lord four

hundred and twenty. The *Alani* whom the *Franks* are ſaid to have Expelled, lived not near the Marſhes of *Mæotis*, but in the inner parts of *Germany*. In the *Chronicon* of *Proſper* publiſhed by *Pithæus*, we meet indeed with one *Priamus*, but this is no other than *Priamis* mentioned by *Ammianus Marcellinus* as we ſhall ſee hereafter. And whatſoever ſome produce concerning the Ruines of a City *Sicambria* near *Buda*, can alledge no greater Antiquity than the days of *Tiberius Cæſar*, during whoſe Reign *Sabinus Poppæus* making War againſt the *Thracians*, was aſſiſted by the *Cohorts Sicambrica* as they ſeem to have read it, whereas *Tacitus* from a miſunderſtanding and wreſting, of whom this fable is thought to be raiſed, calls it *Cohors Sugambra* which can make nothing for their purpoſe.

Annal. lib. 4.

9. The opinion of *Johannes Goropius Becanus* is half as extravagant, who denying them to be the Poſterity of the *Trojans*, or to have travelled from that Countrey, yet maketh them Originally of the Fenns of *Mæotis*, and thinks them the ſame that *Herodotus* mentions by the name of *Free Schytæ*. This his opinion he frames upon no argument, but a very weak conjecture of their free and large Extention, and propagation of themſelves after the manner of Vines, upon which idle conceit he derives their name from *Vercaucken* or *Vryancken*. As to the time and way of their March and Travel from the Marſhes of *Mæotis*, he neither produceth any thing out of Antiquity, nor pretendeth any knowledge thereof, confeſſing his ignorance, and therefore as an idle fancy, his conceit is to be exploded. *John Bodin* a very Learned Frenchman, but one who careth as little to make falſe Flouriſhes, and uſe adulterate Colours, to ſet off the luſtre of his own, as to caſt Dirt upon other Nations, denieth the *Franks* to have been the off-ſpring of the *Trojans*. And yet by ſtrange ambages and wreſted methods in concluſion derives them from that Original. That he may elude the teſtimony of *Tacitus*, who affirms the *Germans* to have been *Indigenæ*, and leaſt of all others mixed by the Inrodes of other Nations, he makes a retreat and fetcheth all ſorts of people from the *Caldæans*, in the Countrey of whom or near unto it, he ſuppoſeth the Ark of *Noah* to have reſted. Betaking himſelf to *Moſes* and the *Rabbins*, he layeth it down for granted, that the moſt fertile Countries were firſt inhabited, whence after mankind increaſed, Colonies were afterwards ſent into more waſte and barren places. Hence he gathereth that *Aſia* and *Greece* were firſt peopled e'er the Northern places were repleniſhed with Inhabitants; and thence concludeth, that the *Galls* received their Original from the *Greeks* and *Trojans*, and thoſe ſame *Galls* overpowred in proceſs of time with multitudes, and ſtraitned by the narrowneſs of their Countrey, ſent Colonies into *Germany* beyond the *Rhine*, from which Colonies being Inhabitants of *Franconia Orientalis* and Neighbouring unto *Gall*, he will have his *Franks* to have iſſued, and afterwards Conquered their ancient Countrey. And he takes that *Franconia Orientalis* beyond the *Rhine* for part (at leaſt,) of thoſe moſt fertile places of *Germany* whereof *Cæſar* ſpeaks, occupied by Colonies of the *Galls* about the *Hercinian* Wood.

Their Seats where.

Method. Hiſto.

De bello Gallico, lib. 6.

10. *Cæſar* indeed hath ſuch a paſſage, concerning the *Galls* ſending Colonies into *Germany*, but ſo far from aſſerting that this was done into void places, that he expreſly ſaith that they had Wars with the Inhabitants, and that the *Volcæ Tectoſages* ſeized upon thoſe moſt fertile places, which indeed leaſt of all could want poſſeſſours. It's a pretty ſhift in a controverſie, to flie to the firſt Planters and Inhabitants of the World, in whom all Nations muſt needs be United. But why doth *Bodin* bring his *Franks* from the *Trojans*, having firſt denied that they proceeded from them? Will any one if he doth it, imagine that *Germany* and *Gall* were not Planted and Inhabited before the time of the *Trojans*? Were not the Sandy and hot places of *Africk* and *Arabia* inhabited by *Cain*'s Poſterity, as ſoon as the more fruitfull Countries of *Aſia* and *Europe*? If we granted as we readily ſhall, that the *Galls* ſent Colonies into *Germany*, certainly he ſhall not conſtrain us to admit, that therefore the *Germans* were the Poſterity of the *Galls*, more than the *Italians*, *Grecians*, and *Aſiaticks* into the Countries of whom we reade that they ſent out alſo many Colonies. But what truſt is there to be given to *Bodin*, or what ſhall we think of his Cauſe, which muſt ſtand in need of not onely true but falſe and feigned Stories to maintain it? He cannot be content with a few Exemples which *Cæſar* and *Tacitus* ſupply him with, but muſt draw in *Polybius* to his Party, and make his Noble Authour ſpeak that which he never ſaid nor meant. Citing a paſſage out of the third Book of his Hiſtories, that the *Boii*, *Eganes*, *Senones*, and *Avanes* paſſed over out of *Gall* into *Germany*, whereas it is moſt certain from the ſame Authour, that their removal was not into *Germany* but *Italy*, and as for both *Germany* and the *Rhine*, they were utterly unknown to *Polybius*. His fancy that *Ger-*

Fuit tempus cum Germanos Galli virtute ſuperarent ultro bella inferrent ac propter hominum multitudinem agrique inopiam trans Rhenum copias mitterent, itaque eaquæ fertiliſſima ſunt Germaniæ loca circum Hirciniam ſylvam quam Eratoſtheni & quibuſdam Græcis notam eſſe video quam illi Ercineam appellant Volcæ Tectoſages occuparunt, atque ibi conſederunt inter Apeninum & Padum primo Avanes poſt Boii inde Eganes poſt Remoſenones juxta Adriaticum mare extremi Gallorum omnium incoluerunt, lib. 2.

many was peopled from *Gall*, is not framed upon any Authority. It's probable they might both be inhabited by the ſame People, being both known by the name of *Celtæ* of old, and if *Strabo* be credited, the *Germans* being ſo called by the *Romans*, becauſe they ſeemed the *Germaine* or true Brethren of the *Galls*. Certainly it is agreed on by moſt, that their Languages were Originally the ſame as in due place may be diſcovered.

11. But the Gallick Language was not the ſame with the Greek, if we may believe *Varro*, the moſt learned both of *Greeks* and *Romans* who affirm, that the *Maſſilienſes* or Inhabitants of *Marſeilles* in Provence ſpeak three Languages, Greek, Latin, and the Gallick conſiſting of, or bordering on, ſo many Nations. For firſt Colonies of the *Phocenſes* were thither ſent out of *Greece*, then afterwards was a Colony from *Rome* there placed, and the *Galls* if not mixed with them, yet were their next Neighbours, which vicinity and a conſequent entercourſe muſt needs teach them the Gallick Tongue. But *Bodin* in deriving the *Franks* from the *Galls*, and bringing them out of *Franconia* where he will have the *Tectoſages* to have taken up their Seats, is out both in his Geography and Chronology, for they firſt Inhabited about the lower parts of the *Rhine*, lower than the Colonie of the *Ubii*, where *Cæſar* and *Ptolemy* both place the *Sicambri*, then afterwards after many attempts Wars and alterations, having brought under all betwixt the *Rhine* and the *Meuſe* with thoſe about *Strasbourg*, the *Vangiones* and *Nemetos*, they invaded *Thuringia* and *Franconia*, called afterwards Oriental or Eaſtern in relation to the Weſtern, which at this day is called *France*, whither as well as to other places they extended their Victorious Arms. Seeing therefore that before the very name of the Eaſtern *Franconia* was heard of, the name and people of the *Franks* inhabiting their moſt ancient Seats were very well known to the *Romans*, it ill becomes one who pretends to write a method and direction to others ſo far to forget himſelf, and to confound times in ſuch a manner, either through ignorance, or more probable wilfulneſs. As for his *Tectoſages*, it cannot be at all probable that they ſhould doe ſuch Exploits in the World, whom *Cæſar* witneſſeth in his time to have been content with the poſſeſſions they had already gotten; whereas the *Sicambri*, *Suevi*, and others were formidable to all, both *Romans* and their Neighbours. *Beatus Rhenanus* his Opinion is rather to be admitted, who thinks they were ſeated upon the River *Nicer*, where as yet remains an old Caſtle called *Teck*, retaining the firſt Syllable of the Name, that People which ſome rationally Conjecture was the Remnants of thoſe *Galls*; who pierced into *Greece* and *Bithynia*, called by *Stephanus Toliſtobogi*, who are ſometimes confounded with the *Tectoſages*. In Concluſion, for what *Bodin* brings us out of *Ammianus* and *Cæſar*, we may repay him with Intereſt out of the ſame Authours, who tell us, that the *Galls* were partly *Indigenæ*, and partly came out of *Germany* from beyond the *Rhine*; either driven by War, or forced from their Seats by the Incroachments of a troubleſome Sea.

Vid. Pontani Origin. Franc. lib. 2. c. 6.

Florus, l. 2. c. 11. Plin. l. 5. c. 32.

Cæſ. Bell. Gall. lib. 2. Ammia. lib. 15.

Braſidæ memorant Gallos fuiſſe populi partem Indigenam ſed alios quoque ab inſulis confluxiſſe & tractibus trans Rhenanis, &c.

12. As this Frenchman out of his inclination to his own Countrey, makes Authours and Books ſpeak that they never intended, ſo moſt *German* Writers out of the ſame Propenſion, will needs have *Franconia* the moſt ancient Seat of the *Franks*; and ſome of them for that purpoſe, make nothing of wreſting a place of *Strabo*, where Βελγικῶν lying betwixt *Norici* and *Vindelici*, they will needs conſtrain to ſignifie *Franks*. But for Βελγικῶν, in that place they ought to reade Βρέννων, as more agreeable to certain places in *Horace* and *Pliny*, and it's evident from *Florus*, that both the *Norici* and *Brenni* were People living about the *Alpes*, and ſo nothing a-kin to the *Franks*. Neither can *Melancthon* and *Pencer*, poſſibly gather from thoſe words of *Strabo*, that the *Brenni* inhabited betwixt the *Norici* and *Vindelici*, his words being theſe; *The* Vindelici *and* Norici *poſſeſs the exteriour Mountainous places for the moſt part, with the* Brenni *and* Genanni, *who now belong to the* Illyrici: So that their ſight did much deceive them, who not being content to reade *Brenci* in the Room of *Brenni* and *Franci* inſtead of it, make alſo ſo ſtrange a Tranſpoſition of places. Againſt theſe Opinions as well as others, which being of leſs moment it would be both tedious and needleſs to relate, it might ſuffice to oppoſe that of *Procopius*, which affects the Countrey by the *Franks* firſt inhabited, to have lain almoſt at the Mouth of the *Rhine*; where were many Mariſh Grounds. And that generally the *Panegyriſts* in their Orations, tell of the Piracies exerciſed by the *Franks*, ſo that they muſt needs, not onely have lived near to the Mouth of the *Rhine*, but upon the Northern Ocean alſo, and as the *Panegyrick*

Geogr. l. 4.

Noricis animos dabant Alpes atque nives, quo bellum non poſſet aſcendere: Sed omnes illius cardinis populos, Brennos, Sonones atque Vindelicos per privignum ſuum Claudium Druſum perpacavit. lib. 4. cap. 12.

Belli Gothici, lib. 1.

Quid loquar Franciæ nationes non jam ab his quæ olim Romani invaſerant ſed à propriis ex origin. ſedibus & ultimis barbariæ litoribus avulſas & in deſertis Galliæ Regionibus collocatæ partem Romani imperii cultu, &c.

to *Conſtantine* the Great phraſeth it, the farthermoſt Barbarian ſhores. To be ſure *Eutropius* ſpeaking concerning *Carauſius*, tells us, that at *Bologne* in *Gall*, he undertook to ſcowre the Seas on the Coaſts of *Belgium* and *Armorica*, which the *Franks* and *Saxons* by their naval Expeditions had infeſted. *Agathias* however, out in other things teſtifies that they lived about the *Rhine*. An old Chronicle belonging to *Holland*, written in *Rhyme* almoſt four hundred years agoe, ſpeaking of them before they Conquered *Gall* called them *Rhine Franken*. But St. *Hierome*, who lived before either *Agathias* or *Procopius*, and e'er that the *Franks* had paſſed the *Rhine*, and in good earneſt attacked *Gall*, deſcribes their Seat moſt accurately in theſe Words: *Betwixt the* Saxons *and* Alemans, *a Nation not ſo great, as ſtrong, by Hiſtorians called* Germany, *but at this day* Francia.

Initio Hiſt. apud Pontan. origin. Franc. c. ult p. 28.

Inter Senones & Alemanos gens non tam lata quam valida apud Hiſtoricos Germania nunc Francia vocatur in vita Hilarionis.

13. For underſtanding this place of St. *Hierome*, and clearing the Ambiguity of the word *Germany*; it's ſeaſonable to remember, that whatſoever lyes betwixt the lower part of the *Rhine* and the River *Elbe*, and betwixt the Ocean and the *German Catti*, *Tacitus* the Hiſtorian calleth ſimply by the Name of *Germany* or *Germaines*, without any diſtinction of Superiour or Inferiour. He tells us, ſpeaking of the Death of *Varus*, and the ſlaughter of the Legions that the *Germaines* revolted, which word can be taken for no other, than that Tract of ground now mentioned. In another place, he brings in *Tiberius* ſpeaking of his Brother *Druſus*, and ſaying, that in no place except *apud Germanias* was the Title of a General, and a Laurel to be obtained. Neither can he be otherwiſe underſtood, where he deſcribes the River *Rhine* flowing in one Chanel, till it come to the Borders of the *Batavi*; to which he adds, that, *Then it is divided into two Streams, and retains both its Name, and the violence of its Courſe, as it paſſeth by* Germany *flowing towards the* Gallick *ſhoar, in a broader and a gentler Stream.* In this Tract of Land called *Germany*, by a peculiar Name did the *Franks* inhabit, betwixt the *Saxons* and *Alemans*. For on the North and North Eaſt were the *Saxons*, the *Suevi* and *Alemans* poſſeſſed whatſoever lyes about the River *Meyne*, and the Southern part of the *Rhine*, almoſt as far as the *Danow*; whereupon the *Franks* muſt have been ſeated at the Weſtern part of *Germany*, and of the *Rhine*. The *Saxons* therefore lay at their Backs, and the *Suevi* with the *Alemans*, cloſed their Eaſtern and Southern ſides. *Oroſius* tells us, that the *Saxons* being ſeated on the ſhoars of the Ocean, and unpaſſable Mariſhes, and making a dangerous Eruption into the *Roman* Borders, were in the Territories of the *Franks* overthrown by *Valentinian*. St. *Hierome* in the *Chronicon* of *Euſebius* at the Year of our Lord 389. notes that the *Saxons* were beaten at *Deuſon* the Region of the *Franks*, which paſſage *Ammianus* who ſerved under *Valentinian* at that time, placeth to the third Conſulſhip of that Emperour, and his Brother *Valens*, *Pontanus* rationally conceiveth this *Deuſon* the ſame, which ſucceeding Hiſtorians called *Duitſium*, at this day *Duyts* ſtanding over againſt *Coloine*; where long agoe a ſtone was found in a Monaſtery, with an inſcription importing that that Fortreſs was placed in the Land of the *Franks* by the Emperour *Conſtantine*, wherein Souldiers were to lye in Garriſon for the defence of *Gall*.

Annal. l. 1.

Lib. 2.

Apud principium Agri Batavi in duos amnes Rhenus dividitur ſervátque nomen & violentiam curſus qua Germaniam prævehitur ad Gallicam ripam latior & placidior adfluens.

14. *Johannes Jacobus Chifletius*, a learned Phyſician of *Bruſſels* will have this place to be now called *Duisburck*, ſituate on the other ſide of the *Rhine*, about *Colonia Trajana* (a Village of *Cleve* at this day called *Kellen*) but *Micæus* in his *Chronicon* of *Belgium*, interprets *Deuſo* as *Pontanus* doth in Latine *Tintinum*, and *Duyts* in the Language of the place. Whether it was this or that: The Provincial Chart which *Beatus Rhenanus* ſaith he ſaw at *Auſburg* in the hands of *Conradus Pentinger*, and drawn in the Reign of the later Emperours, reconcileth the difference. This Chart or Table publiſhed by *Ortelius* at *Antwerpe*, through the Care and Induſtry of *Marſus Velſerus*; hath from the Mouths of the *Rhine* as far as *Coloine* all along (the ſaid River deſigned ſo plainly, as well may be imagined) from the part of the great or Weſtern *Germany*, this word *Francia* Characterized by Capital Letters, and towards the Mouths of the *Rhine* and the Northern Ocean, theſe *Chamani qui & Franci*, and *Chauci Vapluarii Chrepſtini*, *Gregory Turonenſis* makes the *Franks* oppoſite to *Nineſum* (or as *Micæus* hath it *Noneſium*) a Town now called *Nuys*, and ſeated upon the *Rhine*, as alſo to *Coloine*, or the Colony of *Agrippina*. *Aimoinius* alſo expreſly writeth, that *Clodio* the ſecond King of the *Franks* from *Pharamond*, held his Court at *Dyſpargum*, the ſame Town which *Chifletius* takes for *Deuſo*, called at this day *Duisburck*, and ſeated betwixt *Weſel* and *Dyſſeldorp*. For all the Nations whatſoever, inhabiting over againſt the Sun-ſetting, betwixt the Rivers *Rhine* and *Elbe*, though amongſt themſelves, they had their particular and diſtinguiſhing Names; yet generally, and taken all together, were at this time called by that of *Franks*.

Vindiciæ Hiſpanicæ, cap. 9.

Lib. 2.

Sect. I.

The *Franks* go under the Name of *Sicambri*, *Chauci* and *Chamani*.

Their Seats.

Lib. 7.

15. It's certain, that theſe *Franks* amongſt ancient Authours ſometime go under the Name of *Sicambri*, other whiles of *Chauci*, and *Chamani* : As for the *Sicambri*, both *Suetonius* and *Tacitus* tell us, that *Auguſtus Cæſar* tranſlated them into *Gall*, yet *Strabo* witneſſeth that in his time, they were not quite and altogether removed out of *Germany*, ſaying expreſly, that a little portion of them remained, and that they and the *Cimbri*, were moſt known of all the Nations inhabiting betwixt *Elbe* and the *Rhine*. Their Seat was probably, where at this day are the Territories of *Arnheim*, and *Velaniæ* (eſpecially where it joyns upon the River *Iſala*, now *Iſel*) reaching farther towards *Coloine*, and ſtretching out wide as far as the Rivers *Luppia* (now *Lippe*) and *Rura* whereof that waſhing the Walls of *Weſel* falls into the *Rhine*, and this mixeth it's ſtream with the ſame River at *Duiſburg*. But *Strabo* not onely placeth theſe *Sicambri* upwards upon the *Rhine* ; but maketh them ſtretch alſo as far as the Ocean, which ſeemeth manifeſtly to contradict the Geography of *Tacitus*, who placeth the *Friſii* upon the Maritime Coaſt, from *Rhine* or *Iſel*, as far as the *Chauci*. Yet muſt we ſtick to the Letter of *Strabo*, and with *Pontanus* eaſily ſuppoſe that in the time of that Geographer, and of *Cæſar* the Name of *Friſii* was unknown, and the ſame People known by the other of *Sicambri*, which was then ſo Famous as to ſtrike Terrour into the *Romans* themſelves. The words of *Strabo* do not a little confirm this Opinion, who makes mention of *Melo* a Captain of *Sicambri*, whoſe Name is no other than *Friſian*, as appears by ſeveral others, as *Bonnones*, *Poppones*, *Fanthones* and *Millones*, and as *Ubbo Enimius* a learned Hiſtorian hath evinced in his own Name. Neither doth *Tacitus*, ſeem at the leaſt to weaken this Conjecture, from whom it is evident the Name of *Friſii* became famous in the Reign of *Tiberius*, upon the miſcarriage of *Apronius*.

The *Chauci* where.

Conſule Pontanum ut ſuprà, lib. 2. c. 5.

16. The *Chauci* had their Habitation from *Amaſis* (or *Ems* all along the ſhore as far as *Elbe*) *Ptolemy* divideth them into greater and leſſer, whereof theſe inhabited the ſhore betwixt *Amaſis* and *Viſurgis* (now *Weſer*) and they that Tract lying beyond this River as far as the *Elbe*, ſo that *Tacitus* who maketh them to extend within the *Catti*, admires they ſhould poſſeſs and fill ſo much Ground. The *Chamani* ſome call by the Name of *Camani*, by ſome thought the ſame with the *Campenſes* or *Campani*, at this time differing onely in one Letter ; now to come to our purpoſe. Poets do not onely call the *Franks* by the Name of *Sicambri*, but their Countrey, or *Francia*, alſo by that of *Sicambria*, as is notorious in *Claudian* and others. *Auſonius* includes them, in the other of *Chamani* : But all things conſidered, it's Judged that the *Sicambri* were the true and Germine Mother People (as one may ſay) of the *Franks*. Firſt, if we conſider the ſituation of both, as well the one as the other, having inhabited both the Banks of the River *Rhine* to the Weſt, and the ſhores of the Ocean whence they had ſuch opportunity of Piracy, that the *Franks* not onely therewith infeſted *Spain*, but vexed and plundered *London* the Metropolis of *Britain*, by their Incurſions from their Ships, as the *Panegyriſt* in many words expreſſeth it to *Maximian*, their Predeceſſours having in the time of *Probus* roved about the Coaſts of *Greece*, *Aſia* and *Africk*, whence they were driven back by the Garriſon Souldiers of *Carthage*. Secondly, if we conſider the Authority of the Ancients, not onely thoſe of *Claudian*, and others formerly mentioned. *Trithemius*, the Abbat, makes mention of the ſaying of *Remegius* the Biſhop, ingraven in a Marble and extant at *Rhemes*, who ſpeaking to *Clodonæus* King of the *Franks* being about to be baptized, uſed theſe words, *Mitis deponas colla Sicamber*, or *O Sicamber, gently put down your Neck* ; which paſſage *Gregory Turonenſis* confirmeth, mentioning the very ſame words, but adding thereto, *Adora quod incendiſti & incende quod adoraſti : Adore what thou didſt formerly burn, and burn what thou didſt formerly adore.* And *Venantius Fortunatus* an Authour, rather more ancient, who flouriſhed about the 570 year of our Lord, calleth *Choribert* King of the *Franks*, by the Appellation alſo of *Sicamber*. Neither do the ſeveral diſpoſitions of each Nation compared together leſs perſuade, concerning the ſame Original. *Strabo* noteth the Deceitfulneſs of the *Sicambri*, and *Vopiſcus* taxeth *Franks* with unfaithfulneſs. The *Sicambri* were ſo dreadfull to the *Romans*, that *Auguſtus*, having compoſed all other differences throughout the World, yet delayed to ſhut the Temple of *Janus*, becauſe they committed ſome Hoſtility againſt the *Galls*, and their Neighbours upon the *Rhine*. No leſs terrible, in following Ages, were the *Franks* not onely to the Neighbouring *Saxons* and *Alemans*, but the *Romans* themſelves, which *Egonhardus* Chancellour to *Charles the Great* teſtifieth to Poſterity ; writing alſo a Proverb, that, *One ſhould chuſe a* Frank *for a Friend, but not for a Neighbour* : We might add much concerning their Apparel, their manner.

Τον φράγκον φίλον ἔχῃς γείτον οὐκ ἔχῃς.

ner of Living, the Adornment of their Bodies, eſpecially the wearing of their Hair. But theſe things in another place will be more convenient.

A diviſion of the *Franks* into *Anſuarii Franci.*

17. But having been ſo large in theſe former Diſcoveries, we cannot well paſs the matter over, without taking notice of a more late Diviſion of our *Franks* into ſeveral Tribes or Diviſions, *Anſuarii* and *Salii*, as we have them marked out by *Ammianus Marcellinus*. *Pontanus* thinks them the ſame with the *Anſinarii*, whereof *Tacitus* maketh mention, who having been beaten out of their Habitations by the *Chauci*, got Poſſeſſion of thoſe Territories, out of which the *Friſii* had been driven by Command of *Nero*. The Hiſtorian calleth them a more powerfull Nation, than that of *Friſii*. And *Pontanus* judgeth them to have been a People without any certain place or Poſſeſſion, ready to joyn themſelves to any other as they could find it Advantageous. That by Virtue of this Principle at ſuch time as the remainders of the *Sicambri*, and the other *German* Nations lying toward the Northern Ocean, changed their former and ancient Names for the more honourable Name of *Franks*, theſe *Anſuarii* being given to Arms, willingly aſſociated themſelves with the ſaid *Franks*, jointly to aſſert their ancient Liberty againſt any whomſoever, and hereupon, though received as Partakers in the common chance of War and Fortune, yet did they ſo far ſtill receive their old and honourable Name, that they would be called *Anſinarii Franci*; whether one might not gather from this paſſage of *Pontanus*, that his Judgment at the writing thereof was for the Name of *Franks* to be derived from their profeſſion of freedom, rather than a ſort of Weapon, as in another place he expreſſeth himſelf, we leave it to the Reader to judge. But theſe *Anſuarii* were inrolled amongſt the *Roman* Auxiliaries, being in the *Notitia* of the Empire read *Arupſinarii*, and reckoned among the *Palatine* Guards.

18. What the Original of theſe *Anſuarii* was, ſeeing Antiquity is therein ſilent, and whence they had their Name, we can onely conjecture. The Etymology of the word ſeemeth to point at ſomething extraordinary, which, if it be written *Hanſuarii*, with an aſpiration, a thing neglected and omitted both by *Greeks* and *Romans*, then it betokeneth ſome thing noble and excellent, *Hanſi* in the *Teutonick* and *Gothick* Idiome, ſignifieth thoſe who in Fortune and Riches excelled other Mortals, as being rather of an Heroick Nature, and tranſcending the ordinary bounds of humane capacity. *Jornandes* ſaith expreſly, that the *Goths* having overthrown the *Romans*, and ſlain *Fraſcus* their Captain, *named their Noblemen, as thoſe who had conquered Fortune it ſelf, not mere Men, but Demy Gods, that is to ſay,* Hanſes. Neither is this ſignification of the word wholly at this day aboliſhed, ſignifying alſo ſuch Gentle or Noble Men as are elevated above the common and ordinary ſort. *Anſhelm*, *Ansbrecht*, *Anſwald* and *Ansfrid*, ſeem to challenge no other Original, as neither the *Teutonick Hanſe*, or the *Hanſe Towns* of *Germany* aſſociated and united, as it were, with the League and Oath of the *Anſinarii*. This Etymology much more ſuiteth thoſe Towns than either that of *Anzee*, as it were *ſituate upon the Sea*, ſeeing that moſt of them are at a conſiderable diſtance from the Ocean, or the other of *Goropius Becanus*, who will have them derived from *Anſie*, ſignifying *Society*, from the *German* word *Anſie* to *look back*. For it appears by ſufficient Teſtimony, that the *Anſinarii* were, both as to their Nation, and by reaſon of their Arms, Men of Reputation, but though in one Society ſcattered here and there, without any certain Seat or Habitation, and ſo are theſe Towns ſeparated far from one another, four of them onely are Metropolitical, *Lubeck*, *Dantzick*, *Brunſwick* and *Colen*, yet ſeventy two they are reckoned in number, many other famous Towns having been of old time joyned with them in the communication of Rights and Privileges.

And *Salii Franci.*

19. The *Salii* were the other ſort of *Franks*, who having invaded *Taxandria*, (now *Brabant*, the place where we reſide at the writing hereof,) lying betwixt the Rivers *Meuſe* and *Sceld*, were driven back by *Julian* out of theſe *Roman* Territories into their own place, as *Ammianus* relateth. Some, as *Beatus Rhenanus*, derive them from a River *Sala*, which falls into the *Meyne*. Others, as *Paulus Æmilius*, fetch them from *Sala*, which empties it ſelf into *Elbe*. But *Pontanus* rationally concludeth, that from neither of theſe *Sala's* could the *Franks* be ſo denominated, becauſe the one runs through *Thuringia*, and the other through *Franconia*, (afterward ſo called) whereof a great part of the former, and all, or moſt, of the latter, were at that time held and poſſeſſed by the *Alemans*, *Ammianus* hinting as much, where he writes, that the *Bucinobantes*, a Nation of the *Alemans*, inhabited over againſt *Moguntiacum*, or *Mentz*, near to the *Alemans* the *Burgundiones* inhabited in theſe ancient times, it being out of the Road of all true Antiquity to ſuppoſe the

Lib. 16.

Lib. 19.

Franks then held any part of theſe Countries, their Seat being Weſtward, and lower down upon the *Rhine*, which appears partly from the ſame *Ammianus*, who adds, that whilſt *Julian* was buſie againſt the *Alemans*, the *Franks* taking that opportunity from their own Seats, over againſt *Colein*, paſſed the *Rhine*, and fell upon *Juliacum* (now *Juliers*) and the *Rhemi* or *Rheims* in *Champagne*. It is not worth the while to relate how *Sidonius Apollinaris* derives the word from the Latine *Salio*, as if their Leaping and dancing had procured this appellation. But much more extravagant is that of *Goropius Becanus*, who, according to his Cuſtome of ſtrange alluſions, will have them named *Salii*, from *Sala*, the Ornaments of Horſes, or from *Sadell*, as it is in Dutch, or *Sadle* in Engliſh, as if they firſt had invented and fitted it to Horſes.

20. That is moſt rational which *Pontanus* brings of the *Salii* being ſo denominated from the River *Sala*, at this day called *Iſala*, or *Iſel*, near, or upon, which they inhabite. Hence is alſo to be deduced the name of *Sallandia*, or the Countrey lying beyond this River *Iſel*, it ſignifying no more but the Land or Territory of *Sala*. *Zorimas* the Hiſtorian ſpeaking of *Julian*, by occaſion, maketh mention of the *Salii*, who being part of the *Franks*, and driven by the *Saxons* from their Seats, paſſed over into the Iſland of the *Batavi*, bordering upon them. And *Claudian* the Poet makes them to have inhabited upon the *Rhine*, and there where it divides it ſelf into two branches, over againſt which place that River of *Sala*, or *Iſel*, floweth; ſo that the Countrey of theſe *Salii* not onely comprehended what as yet bears the Name of *Solland*, but took up alſo part of that we now call *Weſtphalia*. Theſe *Salii* alſo, as well as the *Arupſinarii*, were enrolled amongſt the *Palatine* Auxiliaries. But from all the diſquiſitions laid together, we may take a ſhort view of the ancient Seat of our *Franks*, and conclude with *Pontanus*, the old *Francia*, comprized not onely all the ſpace beyond and over againſt *Colonia Ubionum*, (or *Couleines*) betwixt the *Rhine* and the ancient *Sala*, (the old Seat of the *Sicambri Rhenenſis*) at this day taking in part of *Weſtphalia*, and the Dukedom of *Cleve*, but alſo the whole *Tranſiſulania*, and what ground ſoever, as far almoſt as the utmoſt *Chanci*, *Teucteri*, *Tubantes* and *Bructeri*, both the greater and leſſer *Phrygians* poſſeſſed, which at this time are called *Zatphenians*, *Drenterians*, *Tuentenians*, the *Weſtern* and *Eaſtern Frieſelanders*, a large, ample Territory, and inacceſſable of old time, by reaſon of Fenns and Woods about the River *Viſurgis*, now commonly called the *Weſer*. Neither was there any other *Franks*, or *France*, known to *Trebellius Pollio*, *Vopiſcus*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Eutropius*, *Auſonius* and *Claudian*, Poets, the moſt ancient Authour of *Pentingers Table*, or other Hiſtorians, Geographers, or Panegyriſts, to the Age of *Valentinian* the third.

Lib. 3.

21. Having diſcovered their Original and ancient Seat, we ſhall now take notice of ſuch Affairs as the meanneſs of their Condition by degrees preſents unto us. And by the way, though we ſeek for truth and reality, yet we cannot but take a little notice of the Romantick ſtories which are dependents of their *Trojan* Pedegree. *Hunibaldus* is the blazoner of theſe falſe pretended Titles, who though by conſent of all judicious and underſtanding Men he be accounted no other than what he is, fabulous even to Barbariſm, yet ſome have not been wanting to receive, publiſh and cry up his Lyes, and amongſt the reſt, *Trithemius*, the *Spanhemian* Abbat, who as his great admirer, epitomized eighteen Books of his Hiſtories, and fears not to call him the *Solid Hiſtoriographer of the Franks*. But the Fountain of *Trojan* Vanities is of ſuch a depth, that it hath afforded matter for all ſorts of Cheaters, thence to draw and obtrude upon the World, out of which abyſs many, both *French* and *German* Writers, following the Dictates of their Maſter *Hunibaldus*, derive a Series of *French* and *Sicambrian* Kings, ancienter not onely than the Age of Chriſt, but that of *Alexander* the Great. Of theſe Kings they make two Ranks, ſome being *Boſhpharians*, and of the Race of the *Trojans*, who, being accounted ſtrangers, were reckoned amongſt the *Sicambri* by the *Germans*. He that leads the dance is *Marcomirus*, in whoſe Reign the *Trojan Scythiæ* (afterward *Franks*) deſcended through the Countrey of the *Saxons* into *Germany*, and near the mouths of the *Rhine*, (where now the *Weſtfreiſlanders*, thoſe of *Gueledrland* and *Holland* do inhabite) four hundred and twelve years before the Birth of Chriſt, died in the twenty eighth of his Reign, and twenty one after their deſcent into *Germany*. After him, in good rank and order, follows his eldeſt Son *Marcomirus*, in the Year of the World 3500, who deſerves ſpecial notice to be taken of him by us, becauſe he married, you muſt know, *Cambra*, the Daughter of *Belinus*, one of our *Geffrey of Monmouth*'s Kings of *Britain*, from which Woman the People was called *Sicambri*.

Funccius, *Gaguinus*, *Lazius*, *&c.*

A Catalogue of *French* and *Sicambrian* Kings by *Hunibaldus*.

22. After him thoſe *Sicambrian* Kings took their places. *Priamus*, one of *Trojan* Race, *Helenus*, *Diocles*, a moſt doughty Champion againſt *Goths* and *Galls*, *Helenus* the ſecond, who being good for nothing, was forced to give his Diadem, and reſign his Chair to his Brother *Baſanus*, a very brave Man, who built the Caſtle *Baſambucum*, in the Countrey of *Juliers*. Him followed *Clodomirus Nicanor*, *Marcomirus* the Second, *Clodius*, *Antenor* the Second, another *Clodomirus*, *Merodacus*, *Caſſander*, and *Antharius*, who brings up the rere of this firſt Rank or Order. His Son *Francus* begins the Second, from whom our *Sicambri* were named *Franks*, who making a perpetual League with the *Germans*, *Saxons* and *Doringi*, the *Romans*, were ſo affrighted therewith, that they ſent an Army againſt the *Saxons*, the Leader of which, *Lollius*, was ſlain by *Clodio*, the Son of *Francus*, as *Lazius*, *Funccius*, and others, tell the ſtory. *Clodio*, or *Clogio*, as well he deſerved, ſucceeded his Father, in whoſe tenth year, they tell, our Saviour Chriſt was born, and who ſtoutly demeaned himſelf againſt *Tiberius* the Emperour. He was ſucceeded by *Heumerus* his Son, whom followed *Marcomirus*, *Clodomirus*, *Antenor*, *Ratherus*, who, after many Wars againſt the *Galls*, built *Roterdam*, (rather *Ratherodam*) and ſo we are to him beholden for *Eraſmus*, that three-tongued *Coryphæus*, as *Lazius* calls him. Next comes *Richimerus*, who fought ſtoutly againſt the *Galls* and *Romans*; after him *Odemarus*, who took truce with the Enemy, *Marcomirus*, by whom *Francfurt* was built, or rather, now named, being formerly called *Helenopolis*, *A. D.* 149. After him are reckoned *Clodomirus*, *Pharabertus*, *Sunno*, *Hildericus*, in whoſe time it became a Proverb, *Das iſt ein gut all Franchiſck werck*, becauſe then our *Franks* applied their minds to building. Then did *Bartherus* take the Sceptre, in whoſe tenth Year, when the *Romans* under *Galienus* had given themſelves up to Idleneſs and Luxury, the *Franks* undertook an Expedition into *Italy*, deſtroying all with Fire and Sword as far as *Ravenna*. And afterward aſſiſted by the *Saxons* and *Bavarians*, they invaded *Gall*, whence marching by *Tungeren*, and ſo through the *Bellonaci*, or *Beannieiſin*, beyond the *Seine*, they paſſed with flying Colours into *Spain*.

23. The next King in order was *Clodio*, during whoſe Reign the *Franks*, for the ſpace of ſeven years, poſſeſſed a great part of *Gall*, about the Year of our Lord 298. Him followed *Waltherus Dagobert*, and another *Clodio*, who fighting valiantly againſt the *Romans*, was ſlain on this ſide the *Meuſe*, *A. D.* 319. He was ſucceeded by his Brother *Clodomirus*, in whoſe time the *Thoringi* offered the *Franks* a large part of their Countrey, lying betwixt them and the *Suevi* on condition of being protected againſt Invaſions and Injuries of theſe potent Neighbours. The *Franks* cloſing with this offer, about thirty thouſand armed Men, with their Families, departed into this new Countrey, under conduct of *Genebaldus*, the King's Brother, with that condition, that this Colony ſhould ever remain in obedience under command of the *Franks*. And ſo began the Dukedom of the Oriental *Franks*, who were governed four hundred and fourteen years by twenty Dukes, deſcended of the ſame Stock ſucceſſively. But after *Clodomir* followed *Richimir* his Son, in whoſe time a fight was fought betwixt the *Franks* and the *Romans*, under conduct of *Tiberianus*, *A. D.* 338. Next *Richimir* came *Theodomir*, who in the Tenth Year of his Reign was, together with his Mother, taken by the *Romans*. At this time the Kings of the *Franks* dwelt in the borders of the *Timgri*, beyond the River *Meuſe*, in a Caſtle anciently called *Duiiſpergi*, from the Borders of the *Franks* the *Galls* inhabited as far as the River *Ligoris*, or *Loire*, beyond which reigned the *Goths*. After him came *Clodio*, in whoſe time *Julian* had War with the *Alemans*, and the *Franks* poſſeſſed *Gall*, as far as the River *Seine*, and *Valentinian* fought with the *Saxons* in their Borders, on this ſide *Odera*, not far from the Sea.

24. The next in order was *Marcomirus*, during whoſe Reign *Jubalchus*, with fifteen thouſand *Franks*, was cut off in *Aremorica*, or *Little Britain*, by *Maximus* the Tyrant. And *Marcomir* himſelf was ſlain, *A. D.* 393. by the *Romans*, who invaded the *Franks* under Conduct of *Valentinian*. After him (who left no Son behind him) was his Brother *Dagobert* created *Interrex*, in whoſe time *Valentinian* named them *Franks*, rather for their Fierceneſs than their Liberty. The ſecond *Interrex* was *Genebald*, after whom *Pharamond*, the Son of *Marcomirus*, Duke of the Oriental *Franks*, was preferred to the Kingdom, *A. D.* 419. His Son *Clodio* reigned twenty Years, and having invaded *Gall*, died in the Year 446. His Son *Meronius* having governed with much honour, died *A. D.* 458. though *Jornandes* and *Sigonius* place his Death at the Year 455. Him ſucceeded *Hildericus*, who warred with the *Alemans*, who then inhabited betwixt *Italy* and the *Suevi*, and died in the Year 484. or, as *Sigonius* hath it, 481. Laſtly, after him reigned *Clodonæus*

thirty Years, who overthrew the *Alemans*, and being baptized by *Romigius*, died in the Year of our Lord 514. Hitherto *Trithemius* extendeth the Hiſtory of thoſe Kings which *Hunibaldus* had digeſted into eighteen Books, from whom alſo he affirms, that thoſe *Franks* in the City of *Troy* ſpake the Language of that Countrey, in *Scythia* the *Scythian* Language, in *Germany* the *German* Tongue, and in *Gallia* that of *Gall*, in like manner as *Æneas* at *Troy* ſpake the *Trojan* Dialect, and in *Italy* the *Italian* Language.

25. Though *Trithemius*, with his Companions, *Lazius*, *Beroaldus*, *Roſiniocus*, and others, give credit to thoſe tales, induced, as they imagine, by the Antiquity of *Hunibaldus*, the broacher of them, who as they believe him, himſelf flouriſhed in the days of *Clodonæus*, five hundred Years onely after Chriſt, yet can they bring no Evidence, onely his ſingle Teſtimony, which in a Man's own behalf is not to be regarded. On the contrary, it is objected againſt him, that beſides the ſtaleneſs of the *Trojan* Project, which at the firſt ſight the wiſeſt Men are apt to reject, there are very probable, not to ſay pregnant, Arguments againſt his Antiquity. It is firſt alledged, that his ſtyle was barbarous, and ſavours not at all of that Elegancy which yet, in that Age, the Latine Tongue retains, as appears in *Boetius*, *Sidonius Apollinaris*, and others, of whom he is a pretended Contemporary. His talking of *Roterdam*, that noble Town of *Holland*, diſcovers the cheat, which being ſo named from the River *Rota*, or *Rotera*, (as *Amſterdam* from *Amſter*, on which it is ſeated) not yet four hundred years ago, as *Hadrianus Junius*, and others, have obſerved, he yet mentions *Ratherus*, the pretended founder, his twenty third King in order, whom he buries there in the eighty ninth year of Chriſt. Who can be ſo ſtupid as to believe him, that if this City had been built at that time, by ſo great and eminent a King as he makes him, *Tacitus*, *Dio*, *Suetonius*, *Pliny*, and the reſt of the *Roman* Hiſtoriographers, who are very curious in their Remarks upon theſe *Batavian* Countries, would not both have mentioned the Building of the Town, within the *Roman* Pale, and committed to poſterity the Records of ſo great Exploits, as *Hunibaldus* will have this King to have performed againſt the *Romans*? It is alſo a wonder not eaſily to be removed, that *Gregory Turonenſis*, who lived ſix hundred years after Chriſt, and conſequently was *junior* to this *Hunibaldus*, who makes ſuch diſquiſition, and took ſuch pains in ſearching out any thing that might conduce to the diſcovery of the Affairs of the *Franks*, the Names and Succeſſion of their Kings, ſhould not in the leaſt mention *Hunibaldus*, nor take notice of a Catalogue of Princes, ſo elaborate and formally digeſted.

Vid. Pontan. Orig. Franc. lib. 3. *cap.* 3.

Compared with other Authours.

26. But if we examine a little his particular Stories, we ſhall find them altogether diſſonant to the courſe of Hiſtory and Geography, and diſcover them to be *Chimæra's* of an idle and impotent Brain. Firſt, he brings *Marcomirus* the King, out of *Scythia*, whereas his Name is merely *German*, and moſt of thoſe of the ſame *Claſſis* no other than plain *Greeks*. He makes him paſs through the Territories of the *Saxons* to the Mouths of the *Rhine*, as if the *Scythæ* and *Saxons* had been Neighbours, and as if there had been ſuch a Name as that of *Saxons* above four hundred years before the Nativity of Chriſt. Yet there hangeth a tale by this ſtory. *Ado Viennenſis* writes, that in the days of *Valentinian* and *Valens*, the *Franks* paſſing from *Sicambria Mæotidis*, came to the utmoſt parts of the *Rhine*, and there, with their Captains, *Marcomirus* and *Sunno*, took up their Habitation for ſome Years. Which paſſage this Impoſtour hath corrupted to his own Deſign, placing that ſeveral Ages before Chriſt, which indeed in no Age ever happened. It is very fond Geography for him to place the *Sicambri* near the Mouths of the *Rhine*, where now the *Hollanders*, thoſe of *Guelderland* and *Weſtfreiſland* inhabite. Who would not imagine that he was contemporary and acquainted with our *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, and that they too made up the match betwixt *Antenor* and *Cambra* the Daughter of *Belinus*, King of *Britain*, from which the *Sicambri* were forſooth ſo named? They two, and *Beroſus*, (whom *Annius* of *Viterbo* raiſed from the dead) were certainly Companions, and rare Heralds, in deriving the Pedegrees of People, Cities and Perſons, from unknown and unheard of Records. But if they were named *Franks* firſt from *Francus*, the firſt King of the ſecond *Claſſis*, what then becomes of *Francion*, the Son of *Hector*, from whom they muſt have been denominated in the *Trojan* times? but as well from the one as the other; for though this *Francus* is ſuppoſed to have reigned above thirty ſeven years before Chriſt's Nativity, yet at that, and for ſome time after, the Name of *Franks* was utterly unknown, and that of the *Sicambri* very much flouriſhed, till the latter end of the Reign of *Auguſtus*, who, under the Conduct of *Tiberius*, tranſlated a part of them that had yielded, from beyond the *Rhine* into *Gall*.

27. His ſtory of *Lollius* is ridiculous above meaſure, both as to matter of Hiſtory and Geography. Firſt, it is not probable that the Name of *Saxons* was up at that time, if it were, how could *Lollius* come at them, who yet in the days of *Ptolemy*, the Mathematician, lived beyond the River *Elbe*, without invading and infeſting other Nations of *Germany*. But *Lollius* neither invaded *Saxony*, neither obtained any Victory, nor was ſlain in any Rancounter in theſe parts, or elſewhere. For as *Dion Caſſius* expreſly writes, the Battel was fought on this ſide the *Rhine*, (*Germania Ciſrhenana*) theſe Nations of *Germany*, *Sicambri*, *Uſipetæ* and *Teucteri*, having paſſed over that River, and circumvented not the Perſon, but Forces of *Lollius*, upon whoſe preparations for a freſh encounter, they retired into their old places, and *Lollius*, as is evident from *Velleius Paterculus*, was afterwards appointed by *Auguſtus*, Governour to *Caius Cæſar*, his Grandſon, who then warred againſt the *Parthian*, in which Expedition he died. That which follows concerning *Clodio*, Son of this *Francus*, agrees as well as the other with the ancient and authentick *Roman* Writers, from whom it is alſo as evident, that he could not fight with *Tiberius* in the fourth Year of his Reign, who as then had nothing to doe with the *German* War, it being managed by his Brother *Druſus*, as yet living. His ſtory of *Hilderick* his thirty Kings muſt needs provoke Laughter, in whoſe Reign he ſaith the *Franks* firſt began to build and apply their minds to Architecture, whereas he had formerly mentioned the building of *Roterdam*, by *Roterus* his twenty third King, and of *Francfurt* by *Marcomirus* his twenty ſixth in order: Concerning *Bartherus* their King, under whom they ſhould have invaded *Italy*, there is not one ſyllable to be found in any Authour. Neither of *Genebaldus* his leading a Colony into *Thuringia*, and there ſettling a Dukedom in the three hundred and twentieth Year of our Lord, that Countrey being at that time poſſeſſed by the *Alemans* and *Suevi*, neither the Name of *Thoringi* being as yet known. The Caſtle *Duytsburck*, where he writes the King of the *Franks* to have lived, was not in *Thuringia*, but below *Coloine*, ſituate in *Germany* the Great, and upon the *Rhine*, not on the *Meuſe*, as this learned Geographer ſeems to place it. Still as good ſtuff he writes on the *Saxons* being overthrown by *Valentinian* on this ſide *Odera*, which runs its courſe beyond *Elbe*. His Memory, contrary to the Art of Lying, is very bad, in telling the Tale concerning *Valentinian* his naming the *Franks* from their ferocity, having formerly derived the appellation from his doughty King *Francus*. His *Dagobert*'s Perſon is a fiction, as well as his Office of *Interrex*. Indeed in *Thuringia* are many footſteps of ſuch a Name, as *Dagoberſtera* near *Ertford*, and *Dagoberthuſa* near *Marpurge* in *Haſſia*, and another Village of the ſame Name near to *Coloine*, but theſe received their name from other *Dagoberts*, whereof one lived in the Year 632, and the other 716. when the Name of *Oriental France* came to be in uſe, and the *Franks* poſſeſſed all *Thuringia* or *Franconia*, whereas at this time of this ſuppoſed *Dagobert*, or *A. D.* 394. there was no ſuch thing as *Orientalis Francia*, or *Franconia*. But this Impoſtour, perhaps a Native of this Countrey long after, as well as others in later times, to doe it honour, hath not been ſparing to obtrude falſe and coined ſtories upon the World, and brings this *Dagobert* out of that place to inſert him amongſt the Kings of the *Franks*, that from him paſſing to *Genebald*, he might from *Genebald* bring the Title and Honour upon *Pharamond*, as derived from his Dukes of *Oriental France*.

Lib. 54.

Hiſt. l. 2.

Genebaldus the firſt King of the *Franks*.

Aſcaricus and *Radagiſus*.

Malarichus.

Lege Pontan. ubi ſuprà, lib. 3. *cap.* 6.

28. Having already been more tedious than the nature of our deſign may ſeem to require, induced by the Greatneſs and Glory of the *French* Nation, in diſcovering the cheats of *Hunibaldus*, and his Companions, we ſhall addreſs our ſelves to the ancient Monuments of authentick Writers, and thence ſee what may be had concerning the true Series and ſucceſſions of their Kings. To let paſs thoſe of the *Sicambri*, whilſt that Name onely obtained, and come to the time of *Galienus* the Emperour, in whoſe Reign the Name of *Franks* became firſt to be known, the firſt we meet with in any good Authour, that have the Title of Kings, after that time, are *Genebaldus* and *Eſcateck*, during the Government of *Diocletian*, *A. D.* 288. being both named in a Panegyrick of *Mamertinus* to that Prince, and *Maximian* his Collegue. After them are to be found *Aſcaricus* and *Radagiſus*, the ſame *Maximian* governing the Empire, together with *Conſtantius*, *A. D.* 292. who breaking the Peace made with *Conſtantius*, were too cruelly puniſhed by *Conſtantine* the Great, his Son, as *Eutropius* writes, being caſt to wild Beaſts, which Fact yet *Emnonius*, the flattering Panegyriſt, extolleth. In the days of *Conſtantius*, the Son of *Conſtantine*, *A. D.* 342. we meet with *Malarichus* whom *Pontanus* judgeth a King, though called onely by *Marcellinus* the Rectour of his Countreymen in the Emperour's Palace, for *Conſtantius* thought it better Policy to oblige them by good turns, and by promoting them to

Honours

Melobandus.

Honours to keep them in quiet, and uſe them againſt the *Alemans* and other *German* Nations, than to imitate the ſevere example of his Father. After him *Melobandus* flouriſhed with the Title of Tribune in the Court of *Conſtantius*, who in the Reign of *Valentinian*, *Valens* and *Gratian* was King of the *Franks*, at that time the good Friends and Allies of the Empire, and as *Ammianus*, an Eye-witneſs, tells us, was *Comes Domeſticorum*, and a very valiant Man, by whoſe conduct the *Romans* had a great Victory over the *Alemans*, whereof a great number was ſlain, together with *Priarius* their King, and *Gratian* improving the Victory, paſſed over the *Rhine*, and there atchieved ſo much Renown, as the Awe thereof continued in Peace the Weſtern parts of the Empire. Neither was *Melobandus* leſs valiant and victorious at home, *Ammianus* giving him the name of *Bellicoſus*, and for farther confirmation, relating how *Macrianus*, King of the *Alemans*, invading *Francia*, was circumvented and ſlain by his Arts and Policies.

Richomerus.

29. The next that follows is *Richomerus*, or elſe *Theodomerus* his Son. *Richomerus* was *Comes Domeſticorum* to *Gratian*, and did many eminent Services for the *Romans*, but it ſhould ſeem from *Gregory* of *Tours*, the Hiſtorian, that *Theodomerus* revolted, and practiſing ſomething againſt them, was put to death, with *Aſcila* his Mother. *Richomerus* was Conſul the laſt Year of *Gratian*, *A. D.* 384. ſo that the death of his Son muſt have happened afterwards, in the Reign of *Theodoſius* or *Arcadius*, about the Year 400. Theſe two were ſucceeded by *Marcomirus* and *Sunno*, two Brothers, who are mentioned in the Affairs of *Valentinian* the younger, preſently after the Death of *Gratian*. *Gregory* adds *Genebaldus*, a third to them, concerning whom, foraſmuch as the Hiſtory of *Salpitius Alexander*, whom he cites, is loſt, nothing can be certainly affirmed. But as for the other two, their valiant Exploits are upon Record, eſpecially thoſe of *Marcomirus*, who at ſuch time as *Maximus* was beſieged in *Aquileia* by *Theodoſius*, invaded the Lower *Germany*, and making great havock with Fire and Sword, ſtruck great terrour into thoſe of *Coloine*. Afterwards he was baniſhed into *Hetruria*, and his Brother *Sunno* appearing in his behalf, was made away by the People. From this *Marcomirus* (counting from that time when he is firſt mentioned in Hiſtory, during the Reign of *Theodoſius*) unto *Pharamond*, are reckoned about thirty years, which might give occaſion to ſeveral Chronologers, as *Sigebert Gemblirenſis*, *Ado Viennenſis*, and others, to think *Pharamond* the very ſame of *Marcomirus*, although there be no certain teſtimony of ſuch a thing to be diſcovered in Antiquity; for neither *Gregory Turonenſis*, nor the *Chronicon* of *Proſper*, (which *Scaliger* calleth *Conſulare*, and hath added to the later *Chronicon* of *Euſebius*) make mention of *Pharamond*. But of *Clodio*, whom they make the ſecond King of the *Franks*, after *Pharamond*, both *Gregory*, *Sigebert*, *Ado* and *Sidonius Apollinaris* his Contemporary makes ample mention, though ſometimes for the verſes ſake called *Cloro*, now *Clodius*, otherwhile, as by *Caſſiodorus*, *Hlodonicus*, and *Clogio*, but by *Aimoinius*, as he is now commonly read expreſly *Clodio*. After him are reckoned *Meroneus*, *Hildericus* and *Clodonæus* (or *Hlodonicus*, as *Remigius* calls him) the firſt Chriſtian King of the *Franks*.

In Conſularibus legimus Theodomerum Regem Francorum filium Richomeri quendam & Aſcilam Matrem ejus gladio interfectos.

Marcomirus and *Sunno.*

Pharamond.

Clodio.

Meroneus.
Hilderich.

SECT.

SECT. II.

The Atchievements of the Ancient Franks, *from the Reign of* Genebaldus, *to the Death of* Childerick.

The ſpace of one hundred ninety ſix Years.

Sect. 2.

The *Franks* aſſiſt *Poſthumius* againſt *Gallienus* the Emperour.

Paſſing the *Rhine*, are beaten by *Aurelian*.

1. FROM the time of *Gallienus* and *Valerian*, wherein the *Franks* were firſt known to the World, to the Reign of *Clodio*; from which, or elſe from *Pharamond*, the Modern *French* Hiſtorians begin their Annals, paſſed about one hundred and ſeventy Years, in which ſpace of time very Eminent Actions, and great Atchievements were performed by them, on both ſides the *Rhine* againſt the *Romans*. Thoſe effects of theirs tending to the Deſtruction of the Weſtern Empire, and at length effecting it in a great meaſure, are already deſcribed and illuſtrated in their proper place, and therefore we ſhall but here give the Reader a ſhort view of them, for the recalling of them to mind, by preſenting him with a ſhort Recapitulation: The firſt thing therefore we hear of them, is, that they aſſiſted *Poſthumius* againſt the Emperour *Gallienus*, and after that, as well the Traitour as the Prince was ſlain, fell in upon the Fortifications, and demoliſhed thoſe which had been raiſed by the ſame *Poſthumius* ſeven years before; being by *Trebellius* the Hiſtorian, ſometimes called *Franks*, ſometimes *Germans*. Under *Valerian* they paſſed the *Rhine*, and undertook an expedition of no leſs Conſequence, but were after much Miſchief done to the *Romans*, ſet upon by *Aurelian* at unawares, who ſlew of them ſeven hundred, and ſold three hundred for Bond-ſlaves. Some of them ſerved yet under this *Aurelian*, when he was ſent Vicar to *Ulpius Crinitus* in the Eaſt, but when their Countreymen grown bold upon the abſence of the *Romans* from the Borders, roved through *Gall* as far as *Spain*; he being now declared Emperour, clearing all *Gall* of them, drove them back into their own Countrey, and reſtored the Limits of the Empire (*viz.* the *Rhine* and thoſe parts about it) to their Ancient quiet and Security.

2. But this quiet and ſecurity, continued not long, nor *Gall* free from their Incurſions, which in the Reign of *Tacitus* and *Florianus* they renewed, and preſently were with much violence proſecuted by *Probus*; who was reſolved to clear both the upper and lower parts of the *Rhine*, of ſuch ill Neighbours, which made him joyn with *Proculus* and *Bonoſus*, who took then upon them the Purple at *Coloine*: Yet did they betray *Proculus* to him, who had fled to them, and pleaded Kindred with them, as *Vopiſcus* writes. *Probus* having taken many of them Priſoners upon Promiſe, as it ſeemeth, of quiet and dutyfull demeanour, gave them a Territory to inhabit about *Propontis*; but they making as little Conſcience of their Faith to the *Romans*, as thoſe did of their Fidelity to their Princes, and acted by that itch of Glory and Wealth, which in theſe late Ages had ſo irritated thoſe Northern Nations, ſeized on a great Company of Veſſels, wherewith they roved about the Coaſts of *Aſia* and *Greece*, invaded *Sicily*, and took *Syracuſe* it ſelf, ſo Famous for it's naval Victories; then Coaſting about, and doing much damage to the Coaſts of *Africk*, they were at length repulſed, by the Garriſon Souldiers of *Carthage*, and paſſing through the *Straits* of *Gades*, came back by the Coaſts of *Portugal* and *Spain* into the Chanel, and ſo into their own ancient Countrey, which lay part upon the *Rhine*, and part upon the Britiſh and Northern Ocean. But upon report, of the Death of *Probus*, both they and the *Saxons* thought they had an opportunity put into their hands, which they improved to good purpoſe by Inrodes, made into the *Roman* pale; for *Carauſius*, whom *Diocletian* had ſent againſt them, bore himſelf rather as one that would part ſtakes with them, watching his opportunity how he might ſeize upon *Britain*, and aſſume the Title. The *Franks* therefore making uſe of this Diſtraction, infeſted the *Roman* Empire both by Sea and Land, and

Zozim. lib. [illegible]

They ſeize of part of *Batavia*.

Sect. 2.

But being beaten are tranſplanted.

Cum per ſe regnum receperit Genebaldus, Eſateck verò munus acceperit, Mamertinus ad Maximianum.

ſeize upon the more Maritime parts of *Batavia*, where they fix themſelves: This and other Difficulties, cauſed *Diocletian* to make *Maximian* his Collegue, who coming to *Batavia* ſets upon them, though in almoſt unacceſſiable places; and after much ſtrugling of both ſides for the Victory, forceth them to ſubmit. Their Kings *Genebaldus*, and *Eſateck* as he is (corruptly ſure) called by the Panegyriſt, received upon their Submiſſion; the one his Kingdom, and the other ſome great Gift. Yet notwithſtanding, *Maximian* removed a great number of Families into the deſert places of *Gall*, that they might with their own Labour and Service, replant and repair what they themſelves had waſted, that their Countrey might be drained of, and the *Roman* Territory ſupplied with Inhabitants. Or, it being all moſt impoſſible for want of Corn upon the Borders to defend them againſt thoſe Rovers, who ſtill by their continual Wars and Exerciſes, learnt more Experience and Diſcipline, that the Grounds might be Tilled by thoſe had waſted them, and by taking their Youth into the *Roman* Legions, in proceſs of time they might oppoſe *Franks* againſt *Franks*.

A ſecond Invaſion of *Batavia*.

3. Politick Reſolutions, eſpecially if founded upon Martial Actions, meet with many Rubs, and feel moſt commonly the force of the Change, and Viciſſitudeo f humane Affairs. What was thought to have done the Work, and completed the buſineſs about the *Franks*, did but increaſe and ſtir them up to a new Attempt, as ſoon as time and opportunity would favour them. When the *Rhine* now by extremity of Froſt, and a very hard Winter was Frozen over, a great number of them under Conduct of their Kings *Aſcaricus*, and *Radagiſus*, the ſecond time invaded *Batavia*: By this time *Maximian* had given up the Charge of *Gall*, and the Weſtern parts of the Empire to *Conſtantius Chlorus*, who making ready for an expedition into *Britain* againſt *Alectus*, who had killed *Carauſius*, and inveſted himſelf with the Purple, and Authority, had the Work done to his hand by *Aſclepiodatus*, the Prefect of the pretorian Guards; by whom *Alectus* was ſlain near *London*, and a great multitude of *Franks*, having eſcaped into the City, when after they had loaded themſelves with plunder, they thought to eſcape, were put to the Sword; having made up the greateſt part of *Carauſius* his Forces, and maintained the Quarrel ſo long in defence of him and *Alectus* his Succeſſour: Preſently after this, *Conſtantius* making the ſame advantage of a Thaw, as they had done of the Froſt, conveyed his Army over the Rivers, and ſo ſtraitly beſieged them, that they were conſtrained to beg Peace, and a great number of them were again tranſported into *Gall*, to learn Civility, and cultivate their Barbarous diſpoſitions. But *Conſtantius* being Dead, the two Kings deſpiſing the Youth, and Rawneſs of his Son *Conſtantine*, and breaking the League made with his Father, invaded the *Roman* Territories, having paſſed over their Forces near the diviſion of the Stream, into the *Rhine* and the *Wale*. *Conſtantine* conceiving his Honour nearly touched, ſent his Army againſt them, which taking them at unawares made great ſlaughters, and among other Priſoners took *Aſcaricus*, and *Radagiſus* the two Kings; whom with as many of ripe Age as were taken, he ſubjected to various Torments, and finally caſt them to Wild beaſts in the Theatre, for which brave Fact he is extolled, by the flattering Panegyriſts, who yet doe them ſome kind of Honour in comparing them to the two Snakes, which *Hercules* in his Infancy (as *Conſtantine* in his infant Government) is ſaid to have ſtrangled. This being done, *Conſtantine* invaded their Territories, as far as the *Dructeri*, where he made great Havock of the Countrey, and glutted Wild beaſts with the multitude of thoſe *Franks*, who were ſo ſtout by Confeſſion of their Enemies, as not to ſtart at the Terrour of the Puniſhment; but willingly would look Death in the Face, and that in the Countenance of fierce and cruel Lions.

A. D. 292.

Aſcaricus and *Radagiſus* French Kings ſlain.

4. *Conſtantine* having thus ſucceeded, that he might for the time to come, have a free and ready paſſage into their Countrey, or rather to ſhew how little he ſtood in fear of them, and to awe them with the Majeſty of the Empire; built a Bridge over the *Rhine*, where it ran by their Countrey. Yet did not theſe things ſo affright or awe them, but that ſtill they took hold of all fit opportunities to invade the *Roman* pale, which cauſed this Emperour afterwards, being himſelf otherwiſe diverted, to ſend his Son *Criſpus* to defend the Limits againſt their Inrodes. After the Death of the Father, they aſſiſted *Conſtantine* the Son in the Invaſion he made into the Territories of his Brother *Conſtans*, who after *Conſtantine* was Murthered at *Aquileia* waged War with them, and at length compelled them to retreat into their own Countries. After the whole Empire had faln to the ſhare of *Conſtantius*, by the Death of his two Brothers, he ſo far conſidered their Natures, that thinking them not capable of being beaten into better Manners, he reſolved

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A. D. 342.

Malarickus kindly treated by the Emperour.

to try them with Kindneſs. Therefore did he give them what by Force they had ſo long attempted; removing them into the adjacent parts of *Gall* and *Germany*, and preferred the chiefeſt of them to Commands, and honourable Employments about his own Perſon, as *Malarickus* the King, *Mellobandes*, *Laviogaiſus* and *Silvanus*, who Governing the lower *Germany* with great Wiſedom and Courage, was falſly accuſed to *Conſtantius*, as if he affected the Sovereignty, and plainly Forced, when the Emperour could by no means be brought to have a good Opinion of him, and he was made to believe, that the *Franks* his Countrey-men would not harbour him, to take upon him the Purple, which done, he was betrayed, and ſlain by his own Men, who by great Words and fair Promiſes, were corrupted by *Conſtantine*. Beſides the knowledge of Arms, and the Conduct and Valour of a Commander, joyned with an honeſt mind, and the Merits of *Bonitius* his Father (which Commendations, *Ammianus Marcellinus* an Eye-witneſs gives him) *Aurelius Victor*, witneſſeth in his behalf, that he was of a moſt Courteous and affable Diſpoſition, and though of barbarous Extract, ſufficiently adorned with the Learning and Breeding of a *Roman*.

They again infeſt the *Roman* Pale, but are beaten by *Julian*.

5. Either his Conduct, his Intereſt, or both ſufficiently appear in this, that as his Countreymen kept themſelves ſtill, during his Government, preſently after his Death, as if the obſtacle was now removed, they bare down all before them, and paſſing over the *Rhine*, over-ran a great part of *Gall*, having taken forty Cities ſituate upon the River, and therein an unſpeakable number of Slaves, beſides infinite Booty. For this and other Cauſes, *Conſtantius* took *Julian* his Couſin *German* into the Partner-ſhip of the Empire, who e'er he came to the Charge of *Gall* and the Borders, received the News of the taking of *Coloine* by the *Franks*, wherewith he was ſo ſtruck, that he was often heard to mutter to himſelf, that he had gotten nothing more by his late promotion than to periſh in greater Employment. He took *Auguſtodunum* (now *Autun*) which the *Franks* had ſeized on, and thence adventured upon *Antiſiodorum* (at this day *Auxerre*) whence marching to the *Tricaſſini*, he was ſet upon by numerous Enemies, but had the better, taking or putting them to flight, how reſolute ſoever. Piercing farther into the Countries, and ſending far before him the Reputation of a Conquerour, he almoſt as ſoon took as ſaw the City of *Coloine*, having it rendred up by Compoſition after a Peace made with the Enemy. During this Peace, he made uſe of the *Franks* againſt the *Alemans* and others; but it was not long e'er they broke it, and when he was employed elſewhere, ſeized on a Caſtle ſeated on the Bank of the *Meuſe*, which retaining yet it's Name in part (*Keſell*) he beſieged, and fearing that they within might take the advantage of a dark Night to eſcape over the Ice, he cauſed Boats to be continually rowed by the Souldiers up and down to keep a Chanel, and thereby compelled them for want of Neceſſaries to yield. Taking up then his winter Quarters at *Paris*, he returned and unexpectedly fell upon that ſort of *Franks* called *Salii* in the Spring; who not long before, had taken the Boldneſs to plant themſelves in this Countrey of *Taxandria*, now *Brabant* in the *Roman* Soil. Who ſent a Meſſenger to deſire of him, that they might live peaceably in their new obtained Poſſeſſions; but he cauſed them to yield themſelves to his diſpoſal. Having handled the *Chamani*, who followed the Example of the *Salii* in the ſame manner, he repaired the Caſtles, which being formerly built upon the *Meuſe* the *Franks* had razed.

The *Salii* forced to yield.

Lib. 3.

6. But how theſe *Salii* came to take up their Quarters in *Taxandria*, or here about *Breda*, we muſt not fail to take notice out of *Zozimus*. The *Saxons* for ſome reaſon or other unknown to us, bore them mortal Hatred (their onely Crime it's probable, was the Convenience and Fertility of the Soil) and therefore making a ſtrict Alliance with the *Quadi*, a People bordering on the *Sarmatæ*, reſolved utterly to deſtroy them; and ſo they had done, but that they were awed by the Fame and Glory of the common Name of *Franks*. They forced them to quit their Habitations, ſome paſſing over into *Taxandria* or *Brabant* and others, ſeizing on the Iſland of *Batavia* afterwards: The *Quadi* either ſet on by the other, or moved by the deſire of Gain built them Veſſels, and paſſing down the *Rhine* by the old *Francia* entered *Batavia*, whither the *Salii* had been driven back by the *Saxons*, reſolving utterly to diſpoſſeſs them of the Iſland, which they had as it were made their own by primer Occupation. *Julian* received the News of this their Boldneſs with much Stomach, and Commands the *Quadi* to deſiſt from their Enterprize, which they durſt not but obey, and wherewith the *Salii* perceiving themſelves delivered of an imminent danger in way of Gratitude gave up themſelves, and all they had into the Powerand Protection of *Cæſar*. The *Quadi*, though they had loſt their prime Gain, yet were reſolved not to ſit quite out, Robbing and rifling on the

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the Sea-Coaſts privily, and by ſtealth as they could whereby they rather much diſquieted, than endamaged the *Roman* Subjects. *Julian* yet affected that by cunning, which he could not doe by plain Force, and brought them to ſuch ſtraits, that they were forced to ſubmit, which being done, he liſted many both of them and the *Salii* in the Legions, of whom the Companies continued till the time of *Zozimus*. But as for our *Franks*, though the *Salii* had reaſon to be quiet, who were either permitted to continue in *Batavia*, or were removed over the Water to other Convenient Seats: Yet the *Anſinarii* would not contain themſelves, but made Incurſions afreſh into the Neighbouring parts of *Gall*, at ſuch time as *Conſtantius* ſuſpecting that *Julian* aſpired after the Empire ſent Letters to Check and Admoniſh him to keep himſelf within the modeſt bounds of *Cæſar*. Being ſaluted *Auguſtus* by his Army leſt he ſhould be blamed for Idleneſs, having returned a Meſſage to *Conſtantius*, he marched into the Borders of *Germania Secunda*, and paſſing ſpeedily over the *Rhine* fell unexpectedly upon the *Anſinarii*, who expected nothing leſs than ſuch an attack, truſting to the difficulty of the paſſages, through which never yet any Prince had Pierced. He eaſily overcame them, killed and took many, and gave thoſe that remained ſuch Conditions as him beſt pleaſed, having got this advantage by this Expedition, as he imagined, that by the Terrour thereof, the Neighbouring Barbarians would be kept in good Order, and the Borders remain in a ſetled Condition.

The *Quadi* ſubmit.

Ammian. lib. 20.

And *Anſinarii* overcome.

7. As long as he lived it ſo came to paſs, theſe Nations beyond the *Rhine* thought it ſufficient, that none moleſted them within their own Territories. But he being Dead, *Zozimus* tells us, they were preſently up again, reſolving to make War upon the *Romans*. *Ammianus* makes it a Common, and united deſign of them and the *Saxons* together, which that he might be able to withſtand and prevent for the time to come; the Emperour *Valentinian*, not onely diſpoſed his Forces of Horſe and Foot into convenient places and Garriſons, but ſtrongly fortified the Borders of *Gall*, all along the *Rhine* from the *Rhetii*, as far as the Ocean, with Caſtles, ſtrong Forts and Towers. The *Franks* hereupon deſiſted, but the *Saxons* proceeding in their deſign, were firſt overthrown by *Severus* the *Roman* Captain, and after they had ſubmitted, and had Peace given them, were perfidiouſly cut off by an Ambuſh laid for that purpoſe, in the place called *Deuſo*, in the Countrey of the *Franks*, (as is Conjectured) *Deutzium* a place ſituate over againſt *Coloin*. At this time *Mellobandus* or *Mellobandes*, was King of the *Franks*, the *Comes Domeſticorum* as is formerly ſaid, in the days of *Valentinian* and *Gratian*; againſt whom *Macrianus* King of the *Alemans*, having made a Peace with the Emperours, advanced with an Army, waſting all the Countries with Fire and Sword, but was received, and by the Strategems of *Mellobandes* overthrown and killed. Now were the *Franks*, the Allies and Aſſociates of the *Romans*, many of them flouriſhing in ſuch Grace with the Emperour; that *Mellobandes* aroſe to the very Dignity of Conſul, which Honour he obtained, not onely through the Favour of *Gratian*, who was indeed very well inclined towards his Nation; but alſo for his ſingular deſert and good Service performed in the Wars, in reſpect to which he was made General, by *Valentinian* againſt the *Quadi*, and *Sarmatæ*. *Mellobandes* afterwards under *Gratian* overthrew a great Force of *Alemans* at *Argentaria*, a Town ſituate upon the River *Hebellus* above *Strasburg*, in which Battel *Priarius* (by ſome corruptly called *Priamus*) was ſlain, and with him thirty thouſand of his Men, as *Ammianus* writes; who alſo in the War of *Thrace*, which *Valens* unfortunately managed, gives to *Richomeres*, the *Frank*, the greateſt praiſe of preſerving the *Roman* Army. *Valens* miſcarrying in this Expedition, the Northern Nations ſtill continue their Inrodes, which cauſed *Gratian*, who being himſelf but twenty years of Age, had his Brother for his Collegue, but thirteen years old, to ſalute *Theodoſius* with the Title of Emperour. He being ſick at *Theſſalonica*, and the Barbarians out of *Thrace*, invading *Macedonia* and *Pannonia*; *Gratian* was conſtrained to ſend *Banto* and *Arbogaſtes*, two *Franks*, againſt them, who overthrew the *Goths* in *Macedonia*, and forced them to return back into *Thrace*.

Lib. 4.

Lib. 26.

Mellobandus the French King beats the *Alemans*.

8. The year after the Death of *Gratian*, we have *Richomeres* Conſul together with *Clearchus*, and in the next that follows *Banto* joyned with *Arcadius Auguſtus*. But three years after, we have other News of the *Franks*; who at ſuch time as *Theodoſius* beſieged *Maximus* the Tyrant in *Aquileia*, under the Conduct of *Genebaldus*, *Marcomirus* and *Sunno*, paſs the *Rhine*, and invade the upper *Germany*, waſting all things as they march along; and having got much Booty, leave behind them many of their Company to drive the ſame Trade, and return back into their own Countrey. Of thoſe that were left behind many periſhed, and ſuch was the Succeſs

A. D. 384.

They invade the upper *Germany*.

ceſs againſt them, that the *Roman* Captains conſulted, whether they ſhould not improve it by an Invaſion of *Francia* it ſelf. *Nauxius* would by no means yield to ſo dangerous an attempt, and returned to *Mentz*; but *Quintinus* his Collegue (for to them two had *Maximus* committed the Care of his young Son, with the defence of *Gall*) animated by the importunate deſires of the under Officers would needs proceed, and paſſing the *Rhine* about the Caſtle *Nineſium* (at this day *Nugs*) found the Villages void of all Inhabitants, which he Commanded inſtantly to be ſet on Fire. But paſſing farther on, they were cunningly by the Enemy drawn into Bogs, Woods, and unpaſſable places, where by the envenomed Darts of the *Franks* they were out-right killed, or died of lingring Deaths, ſwallowed up by the Quicks, or diſadvantagiouſly fighting, were moſt of them cut off and ſlain, very few eſcaping through the darkneſs of Night and covert of Woods. This overthrow and Diſaſter is by ſome eſteemed not much inferiour to that of *Varus* in the time of *Auguſtus*, conſidering that *Quintinus* would not againſt ſo Valiant a Nation, whereof his Collegue ſtood ſo much in fear, lead leſs than three Legions. And whether *Arbogaſtes* who being appointed General by *Theodoſius*, againſt *Victor* the Son of *Maximus*, and had diſcomfited and ſlain him after the fight, thought that by reaſon of ſo great a Diſaſter received from his Countreymen, he himſelf and thoſe about the Court were in danger, out of hatred to the two Kings *Sunno* and *Marcomirus*, or really being bent according to his Oaths Military and of Allegiance, to advance the affairs of *Rome* though in the deſtruction of thoſe of his own bloud, he adviſed the Emperour to require ſatisfaction for what injury had been done, and to give up theſe perſons who had been the Incendiaries, the procurers, and fomenters of the War.

Gregor. Turnenſis ex Alexand. Sulpitio, lib. 2.

9. The Emperours were ſo prudent, as to conſider what *Tacitus* the Hiſtorian long before had aſſerted, that the onely way to Conquer the *Germans* was to ſet them at odds amongſt themſelves, and therefore gave him Commiſſion, to exerciſe his Enmity or private grudges in ſuch a method as his own Judgment ſhould beſt dictate to him. He marching to *Coloin* in the ſharpeſt time of Winter, reſolved to invade them at that ſeaſon, when the Trees being deſtitute of Leaves ſhould afford as little ſhelter and covert as could be, and paſſing the *Rhine* fell upon the Quarters of the *Bructeri* and *Æſia*, a Village inhabited by the *Chimani* none appearing to make any reſiſtence except a few of the *Anſinarii* and *Catti*, who under Conduct of *Marcomirus* onely ſhewed themſelves upon the Mountains, and as well at this time as upon other occaſions he ſo beſtirred himſelf, that for two years the *Franks* dared not to make any attempt of moment upon *Gall*, or any other place of the Empire, till ſolicited and induced by the ſame perſon, that now ſo zealouſly withſtood their invaſions. *Arbogaſtes* elevated much with his ſucceſs, and that favour and countenance he had received from *Gratian*, was by this time heightned to ſuch confidence and reſolution as to brook no Superiour. Being by *Gratian* preferred to the place next to *Banto* his Countreyman, after his Death he arrogated to himſelf the chiefeſt command, without any commiſſion or conſent of *Valentinian* the young Emperour, having all the Souldiers at his Devotion, whom he ſo much obliged by a ſeeming contempt of money, (though he had great wealth, and through his good Conduct and Proſperity in all attempts,) that he would plainly countermand ſuch Orders as were given by the Emperour how juſt and convenient ſoever. The young Prince patiently enduring what he was not able to remedy, at length when he underſtood that the Barbarians inhabiting about the *Danow* were about to invade *Italy*, reſolved to march in perſon, and uſe his utmoſt indeavour for the relief of that Countrey. He acquaints therewith *Arbogaſtes*, who according to his cuſtome of contradicting whatſoever he propounded, diſlikes the deſign, which ſo inraged the Emperour, that he drew his Sword and had therewith made at him, but being hindered by an Attendant, fell upon him with Reproaches and reviling Language; Boyling ſtill with Indignation againſt him, on a time he gave him into his hands a Paper, whereby he abrogated his power, and revoked his Commiſſion, which after *Arbogaſtes* had peruſed, being moved to a great degree of Paſſion, he plainly told him, *That as he did not give him, ſo neither ſhould he take from him his Authority.*

Caret Gentibus tranſrhenanis ſi non amor Romanorum at certè odium ſui quando urgentibus imperii fatis nihil præſtare fortunæ magis poſſit quam noſtrum diſcordia, lib. de moribus Germanorum.

Marcomirus and the *French* beaten by *Arbogaſtes* a *Frank* but General to the Emperour.

10. By theſe and other means an implacable hatred and capital Enmity was begot betwixt them, which the poor Prince wanting Power could not improve to any real diſadvantage towards his adverſary. *Arbogaſtes* let him feel the firſt effects of his Strength in ſhutting him up in the Palace, and deveſting him of the Honours due to his imperial Dignity, to ſuch a meaſure, that he little differed from a private man, and what attendants and reſpect he had being worſe than none, becauſe

performed by *Franks* and ſuch as obſerved more the nods of *Arbogaſtes*, than the Commands of *Valentinian*; Hereupon the Emperour by Letters implored the Aſſiſtence of *Theodoſius* his Collegue. But the Barbarians hovering over *Italy*, St. *Ambroſe* the Biſhop of *Milan* was deſired to go to *Valentinian*, and invite him to the defence of thoſe Provinces, which he underſtanding rejoyced, hoping the Biſhop by his Authority might interpoſe and get him better Quarter from *Arbogaſtes*. Upon a report flying of the Emperour's coming, *Ambroſe* according to the pleaſure of thoſe who were concerned, put off his Journey, which *Valentinian* underſtanding, deſired him by Letters that he would not defer to come to him. He having received the Meſſage made what haſte he could, but having paſſed the *Alpes* underſtood of his Death, which *Arbogaſtes* procured by corrupting the Eunuchs that waited on him in his Chamber, as we have formerly related, there being but little diſtance, as One more glorious in his ſufferings hath obſerved, betwixt the Priſons and Graves of Princes. *Arbogaſtes* having done the Fact, though already in his mind he had ſwallowed the Imperial Authority, yet would not himſelf take the Enſigns, but therewith inveſted one *Eugenius* his dependent and Servant, (as *Claudian* the Poet calls him,) who had been firſt commended to him by *Richomeres* his Countreyman. Treaſon when once come to ſuch height as to admit no pardon, muſt be Rigorouſly proſecuted. He perſwades his new mock Prince the ſtronger to confirm him in his lame Title, to take to him the Alliance and Aſſiſtence of the Nations beyond the *Rhine*, and to make ſtrict League with the *Franks* and *Alemans*. Having raiſed a conſiderable Force, they ſeize upon the Straits leading to *Italy*, intending to obſtruct the paſſage of *Theodoſius*, who yet removed the obſtruction, and by the mercy of God obtained the Victory againſt the Pagan upſtart, (who bore the banner of *Hercules*,) although the *Franks* and other Barbarous Nations omitted nothing of their Duty. *Arbogaſtes* after the diſaſter and Death of *Eugenius* having fled into the Mountains; when he perceived all ways were laid, and all means uſed for his apprehenſion, fell upon his own Sword, leſt it ſhould be ſaid *that Arbogaſtes was killed by any but Arbogaſtes himſelf*. A great man, a complete General by confeſſion of his Enemies, in whom thoſe abilities which in others are but ſcattered and diſtributed, did truly concentre and unite. And by ſuch true and proper humane means, he ſtill arrived at his end, *viz.* Proſperity and Succeſs, preſerving *Theodoſius* in his Imperial Dignity, depoſing and deſtroying *Victor* the Son of *Maximus*, and now had from a Scribe or a man of very low Condition, advanced and eſtabliſhed *Eugenius* in the Throne, had not God Almighty himſelf interpoſed, and in a miraculous manner (as Chriſtian Writers acknowledge,) daſhed in pieces this Pagan's Project.

11. *Theodoſius* the Emperour Died not long after, leaving two young Sons which he committed to the Cuſtody of *Rufinus* and *Stilico*, with the care of the Eaſtern and Weſtern Empires. *Stilico* in the Weſt made a League with the *Franks*, who when the *Vandals* invaded *Gall*, did what they could to oppoſe them, but being inferiour in number and ſtrength, were forced to retire into their own Quarters. *Stilico* being Dead, they thought themſelves it ſeems looſed from the Tye and Obligation of the League, and leſt the *Vandals* ſhould get all, paſs over the *Rhine*, break into *Gall*, and beſides other Cities, take, Plunder and burn that of *Triers* the Metropolis of that Tract. The *Vandals* as deſirous to keep what they had, as they were greedy to obtain it, make preſently Head againſt them, but were totally defeated, twenty thouſand of them Slain, loſt *Godegiſilus* their King, and had every man been cut off, but that a party of *Alans* ſeaſonably interpoſed. The *Vandals*, *Alans* and *Suevi* having enough of this Rencounter, leſt they ſhould any more have to doe with the *Franks*, made *Gunderick* the Son of *Godegiſilus* King, and march to the *Pyrenæan* Mountains, which having paſſed, they enter *Spain* the firſt day of *October*, *A. D.* 409, where they reduce much of the Countrey under their Obedience. Upon rumour of this notable Victory, the *Britains* fearing ſome attempt upon themſelves, ſtand upon their own Guard, and ſo do ſeveral Cities of *Armorica*, (now little *Britain*) ſhaking off the *Roman* Yoke, and modelling themſelves into a new ſort of Government. Yet did the *Franks* retreat back into their own Countrey, leaving the *Burgundians* alone with a party of *Alans*, to domineer over the Inhabitants of *Gall*.

They beat the *Vandals* killing their King.

12. The *Franks* for two or three years contained themſelves quiet within their own Bounds, onely they ſent a party to the aſſiſtence of *Gerontius* the *Britain*, who had ſlain *Conſtantine* the Uſurper, which was cut off and deſtroyed by *Conſtantius* General for *Honorius* the Emperour, who having ſent *Ulphilas* his Lieutenant againſt them, he cunningly let them paſs by till he could fall in upon their Rere, at ſuch time as he knew *Conſtantius* had reached their Front. *Honorius* by the Conduct of

this *Conſtantius* had by this time deſtroyed the Uſurpers, removed the *Goths* out of *Italy* into *Gallia Narbonenſis*, and the *Vandals* were thence driven away, ſo that he celebrated Games for this Freedom of *Italy* as one overjoyed, onely the *Burgundians* were an Eye-ſore, who having paſſed into *Gall* with the *Vandals*, ſtill continued forſaking their Companions when they underſtood their expedition into *Spain*. *Conſtantius* therefore reſolved to fall upon them, which they being aware of, and knowing themſelves unable to bear the Shock deſired Peace, and to be received into friendſhip and confederacy with the *Romans*. He fearing leſt by ſome ill accident and uncertainty of War, he ſhould blur the glory of his former Atchievements, was not averſe to their Propoſals, and according to their requeſt giving them Peace, entered into a League of Friendſhip and Society. This coming once to the knowledge of the *Franks*, they diſdained exceedingly, that the *Burgundians* a People not much conſiderable either for Reputation or Strength, ſhould there obtain quiet and peaceable Poſſeſſion, where they themſelves hitherto, notwithſtanding ſo many attempts and expeditions, could not fix at all, ſpeedily therefore raiſing a great Army, they paſs the *Rhine* and take and burn *Triers*, under Conduct of *Marcomirus*, if we might believe *Sigonius*, who forgets that *Marcomirus* and *Sunno* had been either baniſhed or put to Death by *Stilico*, as *Claudian* the Poet hinteth not obſcurely. Againſt them was ſent *Caſtinus* the *Comes Domeſticorum*, (foraſmuch as *Conſtantius* returned to *Rome* to take Poſſeſſion of the Conſulſhip,) who haſting into *Gall*, overthrew them in ſeveral Ingagements, and forced them notwithſtanding all their courage and reſolution, once more to retreat and croſs the *Rhine*.

Marcomirus and *Sunno* put to Death.

Pharamond King of the *Franks*.

13. About this time it muſt be that the *Franks* had *Pharamond* for their King, in the room of *Marcomirus* his Father. It's very ſtrange that *Gregory Turonenſis* a grave and diligent Authour, ſhould not once mention this Prince. But *Aimonius* both names him and placeth his Reign at this time, and ſo doth *Proſper Tiro* in his Chronicon publiſhed by *Scaliger* and *Pithæus*, who lived about this time, and therefore good credit is to be given to him. This Chronicon in the Edition of *Scaliger* at the 25 year of *Honorius* hath theſe words, *Pharamundus regnat in Francia*, or, *Pharamond Reigns in France*, after which follows the year 26, and at it this Note, *Solis facta defectio hoc Anno*, *The Sun was this year Eclipſed.* If therefore it be certain that *Pharamond* Reigned the year preceding the Eclipſe, he Reigned in the year of our Lord 417. For there was not any memorable Eclipſe in any of theſe years, except that which happened on the 19th. of *July*, *A. D.* 418. Which was total throughout *Africk* and *Ægypt*, being mentioned by the Chronicon of *Alexandria* with this addition, that it fell out on the 14th. of the Calends of *Auguſt*, on the day of preparation to the Paſover, the eighth hour of the day. *Idatius* alſo aſſigneth the ſame fourteenth day of the Calends of *Auguſt*, but the heedleſs Printer or Writer reckons the fifth *Teria* or Thurſday, whereas Friday was the day, the Noon thereof the time, almoſt two hours later in *Italy* than it fell out in *Ægypt*. *Pharamond* therefore began his Reign in the year 417, not the 420 as *Scaliger* imagined, who thought that this Eclipſe happened in the year 421 following *Bunting* in his Calculations. For in this year, no Eclipſe of the Sun could be ſeen through *Europe* or *Africk*, by reaſon of the Southern Latitude of the Moon, which ſtill increaſed through the acceſſion of the *Parallaxe*.

14. From the Death of *Marcomirus* and *Sunno*, or rather from the time wherein Authours ſpeak nothing of them, the year 395 to the beginning of *Pharamond*, intervene 21 years, during which ſpace it's conceived by ſome that the *Franks* continued quiet, and contained themſelves within their own bounds, as alſo it is probable that they ſo did during the time he Reigned over them, elſe it's a wonder he ſhould not be mentioned by *Gregory*, and ſo little ſpoke of by the reſt of the Hiſtorians. There be ſome who conceive him ſo buſie at home, that he could not attend Foreign matters, ſo taken up with making Laws, that he could not have any leiſure for Warlike Employments, ſo addicted to the Society of his *Wiſegaſt*, *Leſegaſt*, *Widegaſt* and *Solegaſt*, by the aſſiſtence of which Sages he compiled his *Salick* Law, that his Ears were deaf to all other Councellours. But *Chifletius* Phyſician to the Arch-Duke at *Bruſſels*, though in another Book written ten years before, he thinks the *Salick* Law to have been made by this Prince beyond the *Rhine*, yet in his *Anaſtaſis Childerici* he judgeth it agreeable to truth, that he ſeized on that part of *Gall* called *Belgica Secunda*, which contained ten ſorts of People, as the *Remi* (inhabiting about *Rheims* in *Champaigne*,) *Sueſſiones* (thoſe about *Soiſſons*,) *Catalanni* (thoſe about *Cataloni* in *Champaigne*,) *Silvanecles*, *Bellonaci* (about *Beanveiſm*,) *Ambiani* (the Metropolis of whom was *Samarobrina* now *Amiens*,) *Veromandin* (*Veromandois* at this day,) *Atrebates* (*Arteſiens*,) *Nervii* at this day thoſe of *Hannault*, whoſe

He ſeizes on *Belgica Secunda*.

Vide Miræi chron. Belg. pag. 518.

Metropolis according to *Ptolemy* was *Banacum* now (*Banay*,) and the *Morini* inhabiting in part the Weſtern Coaſt of *Flanders*, and ſo called becauſe they Lived amongſt the Fenns then in the Teutonick called *Moeren*, whence our Engliſh *Moores* are derived. This *Belgica Secunda* (the Metropolis whereof was *Darocottorum Remorum*, (or *Rheims* in *Champagne*,) he will have him to have ſeized, being already waſted and weakned by the incurſions of the *Vandals*, and held it to his Death, his Argument being taken out of an old Manuſcript Genealogy, preſerved in the Palace at *Bruxells*, which ſaith *he was Buried according to the Rites and Cuſtome of the Barbarians at Rheims without the City, towards Landunum in a little Hill which in Latin may be called Pyramis*, it being the manner of old, as *Servius* noteth, for great men to be Buried either under great Hills, or in the Hills themſelves, whence it came to paſs that Pyramids or great Pillars were wont to be raiſed upon Graves. Whereſoever he was Buried, *Sigobert* writes that he Reigned eleven years, ſo that his Death muſt then according to the former account fall into the 428 year of our Lord. His name is by ſome thought to have been truly written *Waramund*, ſignifying *the truth of the Month*, *War* being *truth*, and *Mund Month* in the Teutonick. But *Scaliger* denieth that *W* could degenerate into *F*, and bids us enquire of *Peter* the *Lombard* what *Fara*, of which *Faramond* is compounded, doth properly ſignifie. For the Language of *Franks*, *Goths*, *Lombards*, *Vandals* and *Burgundians*, with thoſe of other Northern Nations was the ſame, being all Teutonick in their Original.

Dies.

A la manere barbariſque.

In lib. 11. *Æneid.*

Emendat. tempo, lib. 6.

15. From the ſaid *Peter* therefore we underſtand that *Fara* ſignifieth *a live Generation* or *Off-ſpring*, as alſo from the Laws of *Lombardy* and the common Speech of the *Danes* at this day, who to expreſs the Inhabitants or Generations of ſeveral Countries, to the name of the place add that of *Fara*, as *Selandfar*, *Hollandfar*, and *Irelandfar*, ſo that *Faramond* muſt denote the *Month*, *Source*, *Original or defence of Nations*, *Generations or Off-ſprings*. That many names of Men do end in *Mund*, is moſt notorious to any one meanly skilled in the Teutonick Language, eſpecially the *Saxon* Dialect, to which that of the *Franks* if we may conſider their Neighbourhood, muſt have had a great affinity. And here we muſt take notice that not onely this of *Pharamond*, but of all the other Kings heretofore mentioned are purely Tuetonick, and thereby abundantly evince the Original both of Names and Perſons, to have been no other than truly *German*. But to leave off this Diſcourſe and Etymology of Names, to *Pharamond* ſucceeded his Son *Clodio*, in the fifth year of the Reign of *Theodoſius* the younger. By this time *Ætius* the *Roman* General had fallen out with the *Goths*, who had formerly been removed out of *Italy* into *Gall*, and having beaten them in ſeveral Rencounters, forced them to beg Peace, by which ſtirs the *Franks* thinking they had a fit opportunity preſented, made a new irruption into the *Roman* Territories; *Gregory of Tours* writeth that *Clodio* their King lying incamped at *Dyſpargus* in the Borders of the *Tungri* beyond the *Rhine*, ſending out his Spies as far as *Cameracum*, (now *Cambray* upon the *Schelde*,) after he had underſtood that all was ſafe and paſſable, invaded *Belgica Secunda*, and ſetting upon the City *Cambra*, overpowred the *Romans* there lying in Garriſon, took the City and ſubdued all as far as the *Rivolet Somna*. But as to this Expedition, and the place from whence it is taken, there is much difference amongſt ſome modern Writers, ſome, according to what is alledged from *Gregory*, will have *Pharamond* to have kept himſelf quiet beyond the *Rhine*, and theſe places in poſſeſſion of the *Franks* at this time, on this ſide that River to have been ſeized and injoyed in the Reign and by means of his Son *Clodio*. Others will account *Pharamond* a Prince of ſuch Conduct and Valour, that the *Romans* durſt not attempt any thing againſt him, but that he both obtained and kept what of their Territories he had got into his hands, and theſe ſtirs that happened in the time of his Son, were occaſioned by his Youth, and want of experience, whereof the *Romans* took the advantage.

Lib. 2. *c.* 9. *de geſtis Longobardorum qui Guiſulphus non prius ſe regimen ejuſdem civitatis & populi ſuſcepturum dixit in ſe & quas ipſe eligere voluiſſet Longobardorum Faras id eſt generationes vel lineas tribueret.*

Leg. Longobard. lib. 3. *tit.* 14.

Clodio ſucceeds.

Pontan. orig. Franc. lib. 4. *c.* 12.

Vide Chifletii Anaſtaſ. Childerici, pag. 6.

16. That *Clodio* held his Royal Seat at *Dyſpargus* or *Dysbargus*, is affirmed by *Himonius*, and by neither party can be denied. But one contends this Caſtle was beyond the *Rhine*, and another affirms it was Seated at no leſſer diſtance from that River, than betwixt the Cities at this day called *Bruxells* and *Lorrain*. *Pontanus* alledgeth the teſtimony of *Gregory Turonenſis*, who ſaith it was Seated in the borders of *Tungri*, and *Chifletius* telleth us of a Manuſcript of *Cambray*, or Hiſtory of the Acts of the *French* Kings which hath to the ſame purpoſe, *Habitavit Clodio Rex in Disburgo Caſtello in finibus Tungrorum*; or *King, Clodio lived in Diſpargus a Caſtle in the borders of the Tungri.* Now the *Tungri* lived partly beyond, and partly on this ſide the *Rhine*, in that Territory to which that very place or Caſtle is very near at this day called *Dinsburg*, betwixt *Weſel* and *Dyſſeldorp*; and that the moſt ancient

Lib. 1. *c.* 4.

Lib. 2. *c.* 9.

Copies of *Gregory Turonenſis* read *Tungrorum*, and not *Thoringorum*, (which being ſo corrupted, is ſwallowed by *Sigebert*, and thoſe that follow him,) *Pontanus* appealeth to the Teſtimony and Edition of *Morelius*. Notwithſtanding all this acted, both out of *Gregory* and his own alledged Manuſcript, yet *Chiffletius* recants what he had formerly written in behalf of *Tungrorum*, becauſe he was deceived in thinking this *Disburg* the ſame with *Deiſtheim*, where *Henſchenius* wrote there were two Caſtles, whereof one called *Disburg*, which the Inhabitants themſelves ſtifly denied, affirming the place to be ſimply called *Burg*. But at laſt he thinks he hath found out the matter, by diſcovering two Towns, or Caſtles, bearing the Name of *Duiſburg* amongſt the *Franks*, one beyond the *Rhine* over againſt *Coloine*, at this day called *Duysburgh*, (in old time *Caſtrum Deuſonis*) the ſame which *Philip* the Emperour pawned to *Henry* the firſt, Duke of *Loraine* and *Brabant*, in the Year 1204. Another *Duysborcke*, a large and noble Town near *Tura*, almoſt in the midway betwixt *Bruſſell* and *Loraine*, which his Friend *Wendelin* thinketh might poſſibly be within the Dioceſe of the *Tungri*, ſeeing that St. *Hubert*, a few days before his Death, *A. D.* 727. dedicated a Church at *Tura*, and *Loraine*, with the Territories about it, was certainly of the *Tungrian* Dioceſe, as far as the River *Dilia*, ſo that this *Duisborck* was in the Borders of the *Tungri*, if not within the Dioceſe it ſelf; *Gramaius* alſo in his Antiquities of *Brabant*, makes honourable mention of this *Duyſburg*, noting in the Margent, that it was wont to ſeal with a Caſtle, bearing two Banners or Enſigns.

17. *Chiffletius* adds, that at the writing of his Book (*A. D.* 1655.) there were thoſe alive who could remember the ruines of the old Caſtle of *Dursburg*, in the place where now ſtands the Village of *John de Mulder*, in the Suburb called *Tſeren*, that the Paſtour of the place reported from the teſtimony of ancient Monuments, that two hundred years before *Tura* this *Duisburg* was a Caſtle of the Dukes of *Brabant*, wherein the Princes and Nobility were wont to conſult about State Affairs. He produceth a cutt of the Seal mentioned by *Gramaius*, wherewith the *Scabines* time out of mind have been wont to ſign their publick Inſtruments, and with his Friend *Wendelin*, he affirmeth, that the *Dyſpargus* mentioned by *Gregory*, much more agreeth with this place, than that beyond the *Rhine*, and that this was the very Caſtle which *Clodio* made the Seat of the Kingdom, all this Tract being made famous by the ſeveral Caſtles and Dwelling-houſes which the Princes of *Brabant* (deſcending from thoſe French Kings) choſe and appointed to themſelves at *Bruxells*, *Loxain*, *Fara* and *Duisburg*. But nothing doth *Chiffletius* by his favour produce, which neceſſarily concludeth this his *Duisburg* to have been the place. It is ordinary for Colonies to name the places of which they are the new Poſſeſſours, after thoſe Cities and Towns from whence they came, and whence they are deſcended, ſo that this Caſtle near *Loraine* might be both built and named long after this ſtory of *Clodio*. The Dioceſſes of places have been wont to exceed their Civil Limits, neither can *Wendelin* make out, that the religious Borders are here meant by *Gregory*. It ſeemeth that *Clodio* firſt ſeized on and made this Caſtle the ſeat of the French Kingdom, and he might doe it in either place, becauſe the one was beyond the *Rhine*, and the other within the Limits of his Expedition. But why doth not *Chiffletius* anſwer to the Teſtimony of *Gregory Turonenſis*, that *Duisburg* was beyond the *Rhine*, in reference to him who then lived and wrote in the middle of *Gall* it ſelf? And what will he ſay to the aſſertion of *Ado Viennenſis*, who writes, that *Clodio marching from the Caſtle* Dyſporus, (as he calls it corruptly) *paſſed over the* Rhine, *and worſting the* Romans, *ſeized on* Sylva Carbonaria, *as far as* Camacacum, *and there he took up his Quarters*. If this *Sylva Carbonaria* was part of the *Sylva Arduenna*, or that called now *Boiſd Ardenne*, lying about the *Meuſe*, and the Countrey of *Leige*, *Clodio* muſt have made a fine progreſs, firſt Northwards, from this *Duisburg*, lying betwixt *Bruxells* and *Loraine*, and then backwards again as far as the River *Schelde*, and the City *Cambray*. Certainly had he formerly taken up his Seat in that part of *Brabant*, he would firſt have ſo cleared the Coaſts as not to leave an Enemy at his back, neither could he be ſo little skilled in the Countrey, as to think the neareſt way to the *Schelde*, was to go quite contrary, except intending to leap over it, he took that courſe which thoſe obſerve who leap Ditches, by going backwards to fetch the longer run, and ſo to be carried over with the greater violence.

18. But if *Clodio* placed the Seat of his Kingdom at this *Duisborck* near *Bruſſels*, he can ſcarcely be ſaid there to fix it, ſo ſmall a time did he enjoy his new obtained Conqueſt. For although *Gregory*, *Aimonius*, and the reſt, take no notice of it, yet it appears from the Verſes of *Sidonius Apollinaris*, that *Ætius* the *Roman* hearing of this

Pugnaſtis pariter, Francus qua Clojo patentes Atrebatum terras pervaſerat, hic coeuntes this irruption the *Franks* had made into the *Atrebates* (or *Arteſiens*) in conjunction with *Majorianus*, marched with great ſecrecy againſt them, and overthrew the Army of *Clodio*, which they fell upon unawares as they were celebrating a Marriage in all Security. The Verſes of *Sidonius* make mention of a Village called *Helena*, where this (*Scythian* as he terms her, or) French Virgin was married, as judgeth *Pontanus*, who thinks it the ſame with that at this day called *Hedin le vieux*, ſituate in *Artois*, upon the River *Cancus*, or *Cancius*. But *Chiffletius* blaming all other Expoſitours and Commentatours upon this place of the Poet, for their Ignorance in Geography affirms it; that very ſame which *Baldericus* calls *Lenenenſis Caſtrum*, a Town now known by the name of *Lens*. He will have the whole Expedition and Affair thus managed. *Clodio* having entered the *Sylva Carbonaria* (but that he did it from *Duisborcke* not a word) paſſed on in the military high way leading through *Angia*, *Athus* and *Lutoſa*, as far as *Tornacum*, (or *Tournay*) where others of theſe artificial and publick ways met, as from *Virovacum* (now *Verinck*) *Torenenna*, (*Teroane*) *Nemetacum*, or as *Hortius* calls it *Neinetocenna* (*Arras*) *Cameracum* (*Cambray*) and *Ponſſcaldis*, or the Bridge of *Scaldis*, at this day *Eſcanpont*, all which Ways, High-Streets, or Cauſways, meeting together, *Sidonius* expreſſeth by his *Coeuntes claudebant anguſta vias*. Now *Ætius* and *Majorianus* having in their paſſage taken the Village *Helena*, expected the coming of *Clodio*, and at length joined Battel with him in a very difficult place, betwixt *Tournay* and the Bridge. On the Bridge leading over the *Schelde*, which was but narrow, ſtood *Ætius*, and under, or below it, *Majorianus*; whence, ſaith he, the Wedding which was kept on an hill, nigh the Bank of a River, was diſturbed, and (to the unſpeakable grief no doubt of the Bride) ended in Bloud and Slaughter. That this was a great defeat of the *Franks*, ſufficiently appeareth from *Sidonius*, but whether as a puniſhment of their ſecurity and careleſneſs, they ſuffered expulſion quite out of *Gall*, and were driven back beyond the Rivers *Meuſe* and the *Rhine*, cannot by any thing he ſaith be determined; ſome think the contrary, conſidering that the Poet writing a Panegyrick to *Majorianus*, would not have omitted a thing ſo notable, making for his purpoſe. However * *Proſper* in his *Chronicon* expreſly writeth, that *part of* Gall *near the* Rhine, *which the* Franks *had poſſeſſed, was recovered by the Arms of Count* Ætius. And *Caſſiodorus*, who lived at this time, addeth, that † *in the Conſulſhip of* Felix *and* Taurus, Ætius *having ſlain a great number of* Franks, *recovered that Tract beyond the* Rhine, *on which they had ſeized*. As for Clodio, notwithſtanding this ill ſucceſs, yet Gregory writes, that he was a profitable and moſt noble Prince, *Ado Viennenſis* will have him to have reigned twenty five years, but *Proſper* ſets his death at the 448th Year of our Lord, which contracts his Reign within the number of one and twenty years. As for his being buried at Cambray, the modern French Hiſtorians, who tell the ſtory, have too great a tale to make good that that City was then in the Power of the *Franks*, if not, that his Subjects had the courage thither to tranſlate his Body.

Claudebant anguſta vias, arcúq; ſubactum
Vicum Helenam, fluménq; ſimul ſub tramite longo
Arctus, ſuppoſitis trabibus tranſmiſerat Agger
Illic ſe poſito, pugnabat ponte ſub ipſo
Majorianus Eques. Fors ripæ colle propinquo
Barbaricus reſonabat Hymen Scythicisq; choreis
Nudebat flavo ſimilis nova nupta marito,
Hos ergo ut perhibent ſtravit, crepitabat ad ictus
Claſſis——

Clodio and his French beaten by *Ætius*.

Dies.

* *Chron. Conſ. ad An. Dom.* 419. *pars Galliarum propinquior Rheno quam Franci poſſidendam acceperant Ætii Comitis armis recepta.*

† *Felice & Tauro Conſſ. Ætius multis Francis captis quam occupaverant propinquam Rheno partem recepit.*

19. After *Clodio* reigned *Meroneus*, not his Son, but his Kinſman, one of his Lineage, in the twenty fifth Year of *Valentinian*. The ancient Manuſcript Genealogy of the French Kings, formerly mentioned, and to be ſeen in the King's Library at *Bruſſels*, tells us, that being not the Son of *Clodio*, but his Kinſman, he cauſed himſelf to be made King, excluding the Sons of his Predeceſſour. The Manuſcript of *Cambray*, called *Geſta Regum Francorum*, gives him the name of *Meronechus*, who being of the ſtock of *Clodio*, ſucceeded him. *Pontanus* makes a great Argument to confirm what he formerly had aſſerted, that *Clodio* loſt not all he had got on this ſide the *Rhine*, becauſe this *Meroneus*, preſently after his death, as ſeveral Writers teſtifie, enjoyed what bordered on the River, without any trouble or conteſt, placed ſome of his *Franks* upon the River *Axona* (now *Ayſne* or *Diſne*) in the Borders of the *Rhenni*, and was called upon by *Valentinian* and *Ætius* for ſuccour againſt *Attila*, the common Enemy, to all thoſe that poſſeſſed any thing in *Gall*. He grants therefore that *Ætius* and *Majorianus* might expell *Clodio* out of *Secunda Belgica*, but not out of *Germania ſecunda*, or the Inferiour *Germany*, the *Metropolis* whereof was *Coloine*, and which contained two ſorts of People, eſpecially, *viz.* the *Ubii* and the *Tungri*, to which all, or moſt of the reſt may be referred. For under the Name of *Tungri* are thoſe contained whom *Cæſar* calleth by the common Name of *Germans*, as the *Eburones*, (the Inhabitants of *Luych* or *Leigh*) *Condruſii*, (thoſe about *Condreux* or *Condrox*) *Pæmani*, *Segni* and *Særeſi*, which five Nations, together with the *Adnatici* and *Bateſii*, were in later Ages compriſed under the Name of *Tungri*. But the *Franks* being ſummoned by *Ætius*, fought moſt valiantly in that famous *Catalaunian* Battel, wherein a great number, if not the greateſt part of them,

Meroneus ſucceeds.

Proſper Greg. lib. 2. *c.* 9. *Meroneus qui non erat Clodii filius, ſed ipſi ſanguine conjunctus, fecit ſe creari Regem, Clodii filios duos, qui ætate minores erant, excludendo.*

Vid. Sigon. Chronicon. Bug. & alios.

Sect. 2.

them loſt their Lives, and the remainders returned home with *Meroneus* their King. By *Rocico* the Monk he is called *Meronicus*, who writes, that he was choſen King, inthroned in the City of the *Ambiani* or *Amiens*, and that from him, in reſpect of his Prudence and good Government, thoſe called formerly *Franks* were after him named *Meroningi*, being held in ſuch Veneration, that he was eſteemed no leſs than a common Father. Upon this account he is, in a Manuſcript Book containing the Life of *Charles* the Great, in a Table of the Images of the French Kings thereunto prefixed, made the Head, or Original of the firſt Generation, being wholly ſeparated from *Clodio*. He reigned ſeven Years. The place of his burial is not known.

Geſt. Franc. l. 1.

In Biblioth. Regia Bruxell. ſervat.

Dies.

20. Theſe were the Atchievements of the ancient *Franks* for one hundred and ſeventy years, and ſuch were the beginnings and rudiments of the French Power and Dominion in *Gall*, which if as well the modern as more ancient Hiſtorians of that Nation had duly conſidered, they had not ſo much doted on the vain *Trojan* Title, nor attributed ſo much to the fabulous Narration of thier *Hunibaldus*. By what we have already ſaid, may be ſufficiently diſcovered, which was the moſt ancient Seat of the *Franks*, how by degrees they arrived at their Conqueſt, when, and upon what account, they paſſed the *Rhine*, and that they had many Kings before the time of *Pharamond* and *Meroneus*, though utterly unknown to *Gregory* Biſhop of *Tours*, their moſt diligent Hiſtorian. Now we have brought them into *Gall*, we muſt ſee how they there behaved themſelves, and what Progreſs they made till ſuch time as they became Maſters of that renowned Province. But for a clearer Method and way of proceeding (the greateſt help to Learning, and beſt part of Logick) let us firſt tell the Reader how this Countrey ſtood, and who were thoſe that inhabited it at the time of their Invaſion. At that time therefore *Gall* was poſſeſſed by three ſorts of Nations, or People, *viz. Romans, Burgundians* and *Goths*. The *Romans* held all from the River *Rhine*, as far as *Ligeris*, or *Loire*, in *Gallia Celtica*, except certain Cities of *Aremorica* (now *Britain*) which revolted, and put themſelves under a new form of Government. The *Goths* beyond *Ligeris* poſſeſſed all *Aquitain*. The *Burgundians* whatſoever lies about *Rhodanus*, towards the upper part of the *Rhine*, a few Cities excepted, which retained their fidelity to the *Romans*. The hither part of *Spain* was held partly by the *Goths*, partly by the *Romans*, and the farther and more remote, by the *Vandals*, and their Aſſociates.

The Poſſeſſours of *Gall*.

Childerick ſucceeds.

21. To *Meroneus* then ſucceeded *Hildericke*, or *Childerick* his Son, who was born at *Samarobina*, the City of the *Ambiani* (at this day called *Amiens*) about the Year of our Lord 436. Being fifteen years old he was taken Priſoner by the *Hunnes*, together with his Mother, but was reſcued and delivered by *Wiomadus* a *Frank*. Having ſucceeded his Father in the Year 455. with whom he was continually brought up and learnt the Diſcipline of the Camp, he reſolved to recover what he had loſt, and burnt with deſire of inlarging the Power and Dominions of the *Franks*, having a good opportunity put into his Hands by the death of *Ætius* and *Valentinian*. It may be gathered from the verſes of *Sidonius Apollinaris*, that after their death he added to the conqueſt of *Secunda Germania*, and *Belgica Prima*, (which laſt contained four Cities, or People, *viz.* the *Treveri, Mediomatrici, Leuci* and *Veroduni*, the *Metropolis* being *Auguſta Treverorum* (now *Triers*) made by *Clodio* and his Father, the Triumphs of *Germania Prima* and *Secunda Belgica*, whereof the former contained the *Vangiones* (under whom were of old reckoned thoſe of *Wormes* and *Mentz*, but *Moguntiacum*, or *Mentz*, being afterward built by the *Romans* upon the place where the *Meyne* falls into the *Rhine*, it came to be head of *Germania Prima* and ſo at this day continues) the *Nemetes* and *Tribocci*. Neither yet herewith content, he invaded and ſubdued almoſt all as far as the River *Loire*, with which Enterprize *Anitus*, the *Roman* Emperour, then awakened, committed the care of what remained on the other ſide of that River to *Ægidius* a Patritian, and the *Magiſter Militum*. *Anitus* being laid aſide, *Majorianus* took the Enſigns of the Empire, who having done great things againſt the *Vandals*, and others in *Africk*, entred *Gall*, to clear that Countrey of all Intruders. He reſolved firſt to begin with the *Alans*, as thoſe that were more inconſiderable than either the *Franks* or *Burgundians*. But whilſt this game was playing, *Childerick*, King of the *Franks*, plaid ſuch prancks with the Wives and Daughters of his Subjects, that he ſpeedily turned Banckrupt, both of Kingdom and Reputation, having rendred himſelf very odious to his Nobility for his great Exactions, but eſpecially for his many and notorious Adulteries, he was either forced out of his Kingdom, or foreſeeing a ſtorm, prudently retired out of the danger. *Gregory* of *Tours* writes, that perceiving his Life to be way-laid, he departed into the

Fredeg. cap. 11.

Francus Germanum primum, Belgámq; ſecundi Sternebat, Rhenúmq; ferox Alemanne bibebas, &c.

Goes into exile.

Sect. 2.

the Countrey of the *Thoringi*, as the preſent Copies have it, but *Pontanus* thinks that *Tungri* is to be read, both becauſe the ſame corruption is notorious elſewhere in this Authour, and it was much more eaſie for him to fly to them, and convenient to continue amongſt them, who were near at hand both on this and the other ſide of the *Rhine*, than to make a long Journey into the territories of the *Thoringi*, betwixt whom and the *Franks*, were the *Alemans*, and ſeveral other Nations, not at all inclined to ſhew any Hoſpitality, or afford any Kindneſs to a *Frank*.

Greg. l. 2. *c.* 12.

Papirius, Maſſonus, Annal. lib. 1. *p.* 13.

22. Indeed it appears from the Story, that he intended not in his retirement to be far out of the way. For he left behind him *Wiomadus* (or *Windomalus*) his truſty and faithfull friend, to lie as it were Leiger for him, to obſerve and watch all fit occaſions, to mollifie the Spirits of the People, to aſſiſt time in wearing out all Prejudice and Regret from exulcerated Minds, and then to give him a ſign when there ſhould want onely his Preſence to perfect the good inclinations of his Subjects.

Ægidius got the Kingdom.

He cut in two a piece of Gold, whereof the one part he left with him, and took the other himſelf, commanding him to truſt to no other Token, but ſending that piece carefully to him upon occaſion, thereby to prevent the fraud and cunning of the adverſe Faction. He being thus withdrawn, the *Franks* reject all of their own Bloud, and commit themſelves into the hands of *Ægidius*, a *Roman* Captain, to whom *Anitus*, when Emperour, had given a Command amongſt the *Sueſſiones* upon the River *Loire*, and he governed them as King, for the ſpace of eight years, being a Perſon excellently accompliſhed with all Endowments of Body and Mind, which received greater Luſtre from his Profeſſion of the Chriſtian Religion. All this while *Wiomadus* was not idle, but being for the repute of his Prudence and Induſtry received amongſt the number of *Ægidius* his Friends, improved the advantage thence afforded all manner of ways, to the Service of his old Maſter, and when many of his Enemies were removed out of the way by Death, others brought over to his Party, and the greater part either moderated by time, or touched at length with the ſenſe of ſome Impropriety in the thing, that they ſhould be governed by a mere Stranger, he thought things ripe enough, and ſent him the piece of Money, as had been agreed betwixt them.

A. D. 469.

Returns.

Sigebert tells us expreſly, that his Subjects returned to their Duty, and deſired his Return, wherein he was not ſlack, and being joyfully received by the major part, with little trouble he drove away *Ægidius* his Competitour.

Cap. 11.

23. But *Fredegarius*, in his Epitomized Hiſtory of the *Franks*, tells a ſtory of *Childerick* his betaking himſelf to *Conſtantinople*, to *Mauricius* the Emperour, and of his return thence by Sea into *France*, a very pritty piece of Anacroniſm, the Emperour *Mauricius* living no leſs than an whole Age after *Childerick*. *Wilthomius* his *Chronicon*, written in the Year 810. mendeth the matter by reading it *Martianus*, who though he lived not ſo long before this Exile of *Childerick*, as *Mauricius* did after, yet died in the Year 457. whereas the flight of *Childerick* happened about the Year 461. and his reſtitution eight years after. But were it for no other Reaſon, than that *Gregory* of *Tours*, who was more ancient than the reſt, and lived in the next Age to *Childerick*, makes no mention of it at all, the Story were juſtly to be ſuſpected.

Lib. 1. *cap.* 7.

It makes nothing for his Sea Voyage, what *Aimonius* expreſly writeth, that the King being in the middle of his way, ſent to give *Winomadus* notice of his coming, with orders ſpeedily to meet him, which he as readily performed, with the French Nobility, and found him at the Caſtle of *Barrum*, the Inhabitants whereof he had commanded to receive him with all Reſpect and Honour. They ſo fully complied with his Commands, that they went out to meet him, and conducted him into their Town, with which Office of Duty and Kindneſs *Childerick* was ſo much pleaſed, as in Teſtimony of his Acceptance of ſo ominous a beginning, he remitted to them the Tribute they had been formerly accuſtomed to pay.

Lib. 2. *c.* 15.

Lib. 1. *c.* 5.

This *Barrum Franchett* would have *Barrum Ducis*, or Head of the Dukedom of *Barre*. *Belleforeſt* takes it for *Barr* upon the *Siene*. But thoſe two are far later than this *Barr* now in queſtion; neither was the Dominion of the *Franks* at this time ſo large in Extent, being bounded with the River *Somona*, otherwiſe called *Phrudus*, now the *Somme*; *Olivar Vredius* in his deſcription of the ancient *Flanders*, will have it ſome Fort in *Brabant*, or elſe *Batavia*. *Chiffletius* concludes it was a Town belonging to *Brabant*, at this day called *Per*, it being a Cuſtome of the *Romans* to change their Teutonick *P*, into their *B*, as might be made appear by many Examples. This *Per*, he tells us, was an ancient Caſtle, where now is to be ſeen an Houſe of Nunns, and he is the more ſtrengthened in his Opinion, conſidering that upon ſuppoſal of *Childerick* his flying into *Thoringia*, this place would lye convenient for his Journey. From *Amiens*, the Reſidence of *Childerick* to *Erfurd*, or the Royal Caſtle of *Thoringia*, (the Ruines whereof are yet remaining) are reckoned one hundred and thirty *Brabant* Leagues, in the middle whereof is *Coloine* ſeated on the *Rhine*, where he ſuppoſeth *Childerick* to have ſtaid, and thence ſent to *Wiomadus*, who preſently met him at *Per*, or *Ber*, fifty Leagues diſtant from *Amiens*, and from *Coloine* fifteen. But this is altogether uncertain.

24. What way ſoever he came, he was followed by *Baſina*, the Wife of King *Baſinus*, by whom he had been entertained, a Woman that had broke her Conjugal Faith formerly with him, and finding, as ſhe did not ſhame to tell him, his great abilities that way to ſatisfie her Appetite, came for that very purpoſe, that ſhe might ſtill cohabite with him. To this Relation *Fredegarius* and *Aimonius* add a Story of the ſhapes of ſeveral Beaſts, as Lions, Unicorns, Leopards, Bears, Wolves, Dogs, and leſſer ſorts of Animals, ſeen by *Childerick* on his Wedding night, with the Interpretation made by *Baſina*, upon which account *Trithemius* calls her a Witch, although the *Flemmings* at this day call a wiſe and provident Woman by the name of *Baſinne*, and diminutively *Baſinneke*. But after his Reſtitution *Childerick*, to make amends for his former Looſneſs and Injuries offered to his Subjects, purſued the Wars with all alacrity and vigour. *Baronius*, out of the Acts of St. *Genoneſue*, relates how the City of *Paris* being long beſieged by the *Franks*, the People oppreſſed with Famine were miraculouſly relieved by that Virgin; yet they took the City, and therein *Childerick* placed his Royal Seat. *Sigebert* writes, that the *Franks* invaded *Gall*, not ſo much to plunder and ſpoil, as now to make it their perpetual Habitation, took *Colonia Agrippina*, or *Coloine*, having put to flight *Ægidius* the *Roman* Captain, and ſlain a great number of the *Romans*. *Rocico* the Monk adds, that *Childerick* at this time fell upon the ſame City, which after too much ſlaughter made, he ſubdued, being then governed by *Ægidius* the *Roman*, who, not able to reſiſt ſuch a Force, betook himſelf to flight, and ſo eſcaped the rage and fury of the King. Both theſe Hiſtorians farther tell us, that the *Franks* proceeding, beſieged and took *Triers*, ſituate upon the *Moſſelle*, at which time *Ægidius*, the Tyrant of the *Romans*, as the Monk calls him, died, and *Siagrius* his Son, in the City *Sueſſio*, was advanced to his Father's Throne.

Gregor. Tur. & Rocico, lib. 1.

Ad An. 456.

A. D. 475.

Beats *Ægidius* the *Roman* General.

A. D. 476.

25. The Year following *Childerick*, with his Army, marched as far as *Aurelia*, or *Orleance*, which having with too much cruelty waſted all the Countrey about it, at length he took it, and purſuing his Victory all along the *Loire*, as far as the Mouth of the River *Meduana*, on which ſtands the City *Andeganus*, or *Anjou*, the year following he took it in alſo, and burnt it, putting to the Sword *Paulus*, a Count and Governour of the Town. *Rocico* tells us, that there he deſigned to have met with *Adonagrius*, General of the *Saxons*, who had taken and hazarded the City, but he fled away by boat, and left *Paulus* to keep the City, who therefore thus periſhed in his Stead. Yet from *Sigebert* it appears, that *Childerick* this ſame year made a League with this ſaid Captain of the *Saxons*, whom he calls *Andorackrius*, both of them together ſubdued the *Alemans*. *Gregory* adds, that *Odoacrius* made a League with *Childerick*, and that they ſubdued the *Alemans*, who had invaded part of *Italy*, which *Alemanni* ſome think no other than the *Alani*, being *Gallo Germans*, who in the time of *Tacitus* inhabited betwixt the *Rhine* and *Danow*, afterward paſſing over the River, infeſted *Gallia Belgica* with their frequent Inrodes. *Rocico* the Monk tells us for a concluſion, that *Childerick*, deſirous to return to his own Houſe, or the City of the *Ambiani*, was taken with a Fever, and left his Kingdom to *Clodoneus* his Son. But he omits his laſt Expedition, mentioned both by *Gregory* and *Sigebert*. Having reigned twenty four Years, as *Aimonius* computeth, he died in his Return, at *Ternacum*, or *Tourney*, and was buried there on the left hand of the military way, leading to the Town, at one hundred and fifty foot diſtance from the ſaid way, towards the North, and ſix hundred from the neareſt Eaſtern Bank of the River *Scheld*, being interred according to the *Roman* Cuſtome, which required, that betwixt the Sepulchre and the Highway ſhould be left a ſpot of Ground ſacred to the *Dii Manes*, juſt ſo many foot large, as that betwixt this and the military way. But for the proof of the place of his Sepulture, we have an Argument ſo notable and rare, that it cannot be paſſed over without ſome ſignificant and ſpecial Remarks.

Sigebert. A. D. 477. *Gregor. Rocico, Papirius, Maſſonus, lib.* 1. *p.* 14.

Enlarges his Dominions,

478.

And dies.

26. The City of *Tourney* is divided into two by the River *Schelde*, which alſo parts the Dioceſe of *Cambrey* from that of the *Atrobates* and *Tourney*. On the ſide of *Cambrey* Dioceſe are three eminent Pariſhes, of St. *John*, St. *Nicholas*, and of St. *Brixius*, ſtanding betwixt them both, moſt large and conſiderable, whereof the Parſon *Pattus* perceiving the Houſe of the Treaſurer, and the Alms-houſe of the Pariſh, which ſtood near the Church-Yard, and his own Houſe, to be very ruinous, after he had taken advice with the *Æditici*, or Churchwardens, reſolved to pull

An account of the place and manner of his Sepulture.

Anaſtaſis Childerici per Chiffletium Antwerpiæ, 1655.

pull it down, and build up another ſtronger and upon more deep Foundations. In the Year 1653. the twenty ſeventh day of *May*, at three of the Clock in the Afternoon, when they had digged to the depth of ſeven Foot, or more, lighting of a kind of a ſtony Rock, there was found a Button of Gold, and preſently after a bundle as it were of rotten Leather, wherein were contained more than one hundred Golden Coins, by one *Hadrian Quinquinus*, a Labourer both deaf and dumb, who by his inarticulate Voice and Geſtures, called as well as he could the Neighbours together. *Pattus* with two of the Wardens came to the place, with intention to ſeize on the Treaſure for the uſe of the Church, and furthering the building. There they found moreover about two hundred Silver *Roman* Coins ſo eaten with Ruſt, that they could not be read, and therefore were afterward loſt, no reckoning being made of them. Many pieces of Iron almoſt all conſumed with Age, and the moiſture of the Ground. Two skulls, whereof one of a larger ſize, together with the bones of an humane Skeleton. Then within a matter of five Foot farther, many other things of Art and value; as a Sword, that at the firſt handling it fell into pieces, with the Hilt and Scabbard, *Eſtines*, or a Caſe of writing Inſtruments, the Head of an Oke, with about three hundred Bees (many more it's Conjectured, being carried away amongſt the Rubbiſh) a Bodkin, Buttons, Claſps, Nails, Plates, and Boſſes all of Gold, and ſet with an infinite number of Rubies, beſides the Skull of an Horſe. And that without which, neither the Age nor Perſon, whom they concerned could ever have been known, the Golden Ring of *Childerick*, King of the *Franks*, and therein his Image and Name ingraven.

27. The Golden Coyns were of *Valentinian*, *Marcian*, *Leo*, *Zeno*, *Baſiliſcus* and *Marcus*. But the neweſt was that of *Zeno*, in the ſeventh Year of whom, or there about, died *Childerick* the firſt, ſo that his muſt be the Grave and Relicks, the Subject of this ſtory. Beſides theſe, were found an *Axe*, or *Hatchet of War*, *by* Chiffletius called the King's *Franceſca*, which lay behind him, together with his *Framea*, or a kind of *Dart*; a *piece of an Horſe-ſhoe of Iron*, another *Gold Ring*, a *Cryſtal-Ball* as big as thoſe of the Tennis-Court, an *Oxehead of Gold* (being the King's Idol) and the top of his *Swords-hilt*, wherein is to be ſeen a double *Calves-head*, *a Golden Caſe for the Hilt*, *a piece of an Agate-Cup*, *with ſeveral other things*, of very great Curioſity. The Treaſure was preſented to Arch-Duke *Leopoldus Guilielmus* then Governour of the Low-Countries, for the King of *Spain*; who giving to the poor of the place more than the value thereof, with reward to the poor Man, who firſt diſcovered it, commanded *Chiffletius* to make what Obſervations he could upon the particulars, and commit his Remarks upon ſo eminent and noble a Subject to Poſterity. This he hath done in his *Anaſtaſis Childerici*, or *Reſurrection of* Childerick; a Book furniſhed with much Good, and various, ſometimes impertinent Learning, out of which, it will not be amiſs for us to make ſome Obſervations, which may tend to the Illuſtration of the Subject in hand; the knowledge of theſe moſt dark and confuſed times, and the farther not impertinent Information of the Reader, to whom perhaps it may be ſome Recreation after theſe knotty Diſquiſitions.

28. That it was a Cuſtome of old time, to bury Treaſure and much Riches with Kings, and great Perſons; the Hiſtories of *David*, of *Cyrus*, and many other Princes do abundantly teſtifie, although *Ulpian* telleth us, that Ornaments ought not to be buried with Bodies; the Deſignment of ſuch things by Will being of no Force, and Null by the Civil Law. That as well Chriſtians as Heathens, have been wont to bury their Dead in very rich Clothes, the Conſent of all Antiquity, notwithſtanding the Law, doth ſufficiently evince. Kings and Souldiers were buried in Purple, as *Childerick* in a Robe of Gold, wrought upon purple Silk, as did appear by what remains were found in his Grave; which time and moiſture had not altogether cauſed to change their Colour. Upon his *Signet* or *Gold Ring*, is his Image ingraved, having very long Hair, and large, lying upon both his Shoulders, holding in his Right hand a *Dart*. The Inſcription *Childirici Regis*, not in *Gothick* but *Roman* Letters; a certain Note, whoſe *Ring* it was, and to what times it belonged, even thoſe wherein the *Roman* Elegancies, good Arts and Sculpture amongſt the reſt were not as yet aboliſhed, although remitting much from its ancient Perfection; *G.* in the word *Regis* being changed into *S.* The writing of *Childiricke* was of old uſed, as well as *Childerick*, as of *Sigibertus*, for *Sigebertus*. *I* having ſo much affinity with *E*, that as *Varro* acknowledgeth, the Ancients were wont to make uſe of them indifferently. Neither ought the Ring to be ſuſpected, becauſe the Inſcription is in *Roman* Characters: For the *French* Kings of the firſt Race were skilled in the Latin Tongue; as it appears in *Theodomeres* one of the number, the Son of *Richimeres*, and *Aſila*, expreſſed in a Golden Coyn, publiſhed by

Lib. 14. f. de Religioſis & ſumptibus funeribus & ſervo alieno 113. f. Fin. de legatis. 1.

by *Paulus Petavius* with this Inſcription, *Teudome Rex* of the very ſame Character, as this of *Childerick. Clodonæus* the firſt, *Clotarius* the firſt were both of them Learned in the *Roman* Language, and of the latter *Petavius* publiſhed alſo a Golden Coyn, on which was twice inſcribed *Chlotarius Rex*. The like inſtance might be made in ſeveral others.

29. Indeed granting that to be true, which both *Gregory Turonenſis* and *Aimonius* write, concerning *Chilperick*, the firſt, his adding four new Letters to thoſe formerly uſed, and *Ch* amongſt the reſt, the King with its Inſcription might juſtly be ſuſpected, *Childerick* being Great Grandfather to him, by whom thoſe four ſhould be invented, and therefore his Name written *Hilderick*, the *Ch* not being as yet in uſe. But who can be ſo ridiculouſly credulous, to believe that *Chilperick* brought theſe Letters firſt into the World, which are manifeſtly taken from the Greek Alphabet, and were then in uſe amongſt the *Romans*? from whom perhaps, *Chilperick* might ſo far take them as to Communicate them, to the Orthography of the Vulgar *French*, for as well that, as other barbarous Northern Nations, might be very deficient in Characters and Writing. But to ſay, or imagine that thoſe amongſt them who underſtood Latin, could not uſe *Ch* before his time is more than Extravagant. Therefore, in a Golden Coyn of *Chlotarius* the Father of *Chilperick*, is twice ingraven *Chlotarius Rex*. None that are Learned in the Greek and Latine Tongues, but muſt needs take notice of the great difference in their Writing, and pronouncing the *Roman* Names of Men and Places; for each Language hath its particular Genius and Idiome, not onely of Phraſe, but Pronunciation alſo, to expreſs which, Letters are or ought to be adopted as near as poſſible. The Name of *Childerick* is *German. Huldas*, *Aventine* tells us, is *Love*; *Hulderick*, *Love of a Kingdom*, or *Rich in Love*; or, as *Hadrianus Junius* interprets it, *Rich in Suffrage*, *Hulden* being the ſame, as to *Grace with ones Suffrage*; the Letter *C* being *Euphoniæ gratiâ* added to *H*. But whom the Ancient *Saxons* named *Hylderick*, the *Celtæ* called *Childerick*, and thence might the *Romans* take it, as more agreeable to their Pronunciation. Therefore, not onely *Gregory Turonenſis* writes *Childerick* and *Chilperick*, for *Hilderick* and *Hilperick*, as *Chuni* for *Huni*; but *Claudian* alſo, *Auſonius*, *Sidonius* and *Proſper*.

Lib. 5. *c.* 44.
Lib. 3. *c. H.*
In Nomenclatura.
Hiſt. Bat. cap. 23.
Et Hilperick.

30. As for the long Hair, which *Chilperick* wore, as his Image cut in his Seal repreſents him; the Reader muſt know it was the Cuſtome of the Noblemen, amongſt the *Franks* or *Sicambri* to uſe that Faſhion, which was utterly unlawfull for the Vulgar ſort. The *Romans* when they took any of them, cut off their long yellow Hair, and ſent them to the Women for new Faſhions, which muſt needs be a great affliction to them, conſidering that by the Salick Law, no leſs a mulct than two hundred and fifty *Denarii* were inflicted, on any one that ſhould Poll any Boy without the Knowledge and Conſent of his Parents. But their Beards were as ſhort as their hair was long, being cloſe ſhaved off, as *Sidonius* the Poet deſcribeth them. The Spear which he holds in his Right hand, was not onely for War, but betokened Dominion and Empire; it appearing from *Gregory*, *Aimoinus* and others, that the Kings uſed the delivery of it, as a ſign of Inveſtiture (being indeed the ſame with the ancient Sceptre) to which ſucceeded amongſt the *German* Emperours, a Sword for Kingdoms, and a Banner for Provinces. As to the faſhion of the Signet it ſelf, Kings before the uſe of Arms on Shields, according to the preſent Cuſtome, were wont to ſign and Seal with ſeveral Impreſſes and Repreſentations. The ancient *Perſian* Kings uſed the Image of the preſent King, ſay ſome, others of *Cyrus*, and others ſay of the Horſe of *Darius*, which got him the Kingdom by Neighing. *Alexander* the Great, as writes *Curtius*, ſealed ſuch Letters as were ſent into *Europe*, with an old King, ſuch as were for *Aſia*, with that of *Darius*. *Scylla* cauſed to be Ingraven in his Ring the Image of *Jugurtha*, whom he had Conquered. *Auguſtus Cæſar* at firſt Sealed with a *Sphynx*, and when he perceived that gave occaſion of Diſcourſe, with the Image of *Alexander*, and at laſt with his own (cut by *Dioſcorides*) which laſt Faſhion was followed by his Succeſſours. Yet *Galba* broke the Cuſtome, Sealing with his Paternal device of a *Dog looking from the Deck of a Ship*. And *Commodus* tells *Clodius Albinus*, that he ſhould receive his Letters ſealed with the Seal of *Amazonia*; the ancient Kings of the *Franks* wore their own Images in their Rings, repreſenting onely the Head and part of the Breaſt, by the *Romans* called *Effigies Thoracatus*, and Προτομὰς Βασιλικὰς, by the *Greeks*. Such is this of King *Childerick*, and a later of *Chilperick* his great Grandſon, having after the Faſhion of thoſe of the Eaſtern Emperours, their Breaſt-plates adorned as it were with *Gemms*.

Claudian. in laud. Stiliconis Greg. Turon. lib. 2. *c.* 9. *& lib.* 3. *c.* 18.
Tit. 28. §. 2.
In carm. 5. *Vultibus undique raſis Pro barba tenues perarantur pectine criſtæ.*
Otho Friſingenſis, lib. 2. *c.* 5.
Thucid. Interpr.
Lib. 6. *c.* 11.
Plutarch.
Sueton.
Dio, lib. 51.
Capitolinus in Clodio.

31. But amongſt the other Rarities preſented to the Arch-Duke, was there an Image of the Head of an *Oxe* of pure Gold, whereof the Eyes, Noſtrils and Horns were decked with Rubies. The Brain-pan was hollow and open, having a cover,

and the whole pervious and hollow, as far as the Throat for the receiving (it's probable) of Wine or other Liquors for Adoration. On the cover was a Button, either for to hang on it Magical Toys, for Garlands, Flowers, or the like Gifts, or Offerings. This hung on the Forehead of his Horſe, being faſtened to the Headſtall, from which *Pattus* the Prieſt looſed it, and was indeed the King's Idol, and Companion in his Warlike expeditions. For the *Franks* were at this time *Pagans* (or *Fanaticks*, as an ancient Authour calls them) uſing various ſorts of Images and Repreſentations; and amongſt others, it ſeems this of an *Oxe*, which whether they had it from the *Ægyptian* Cuſtome of worſhipping the Bull *Apis*, or each People received it from a more general abuſe of Religion, at the diſperſion of Nations as ſome conceive, is not fit in this place to be diſcuſſed. *Chiffletius* obſerves, that after Chriſtianity came amongſt them; they were yet much addicted to this ſort of Animal, being wont to be drawn by them in Chariots, which Cuſtome yet continues amongſt the Inhabitants of *Taxandria* or *Brabant*, where the moſt ancient *Franks* firſt ſeated themſelves. He conceives the Idol to be hung at the Forehead of the Horſe out of a Religious humour, which *Tacitus* long agoe obſerved to be in the *Germans* (Predeceſſours and Progenitours of the *Franks*) who attributed much unto the Neighings, or various noiſe made by Horſes, taking thence their preſages, and counting no *Auſpicium*, ſo certain and infallible. But as the Horſe his Face was adorned with this Idol of an Oxes Head, ſo his trappings with a number of Bees of the ſame Metal; there being betwixt the Natures of Bees and Oxen, ſo great affinity, that as Naturaliſts unanimouſly agree, Bees are generated out of the corrupted Carkaſſes of Oxen, and as both *Bernardinus Gomeſius*, and *Kircher* have obſerved in ſeveral Drones, which in their Entrails retain ſomething which manifeſtly bears the ſhape of the Idol of *Childerick*. All thoſe Bees were of one bigneſs, weighing each thirty ſix Grains of pure Gold, having none of a larger ſize, or Kings amongſt them, which Office *Childerick* deſired alone, and without any Repreſentation of a Competitour to enjoy, whilſt the little Bees expreſſed the duty of loving and obedient Subjects.

Geſta Reg. Francorum.

Lib. de moribus Germanorum.

Gomeſius & in illo Voſſius, lib. 4. Obeliſki Pamphili, cap. 1.

32. Hereby ſeaſonably, as *Chiffletius* judgeth, may be determined that Queſtion ſo much of late debated, and by none Satisfactorily determined, *viz.* What were the Arms of the ancient *French* Kings? *Guaguinus* tells us, that it was a conſtant Report continued to his time, that three Toads were born by them in their Armour, which *Papirius Maſſonus* alſo confeſſeth; but affirms the opinion to be grounded upon no Authority. *Nicolaus Gillius* reports, that *Clodonæus* the firſt bore in his Eſcutcheon three Creſcents, which at length he rejected and exchanged for Lilies, but he who lived the laſt Age is not at all to be heeded, relating a thing which happened one thouſand one hundred Years before, without ſome Teſtimony of Antiquity to back him. In like manner, *Paulus Æmilius* tells us a ſtory of *Clodonæus*, who being to be Baptized, inſtead of three red Diadems, which he bore in a White ſhield whilſt he was *Pagan*, took Lilies, which hath no more Foundation in Antiquity than the former. Neither were Lilies then born by the ancient *French* Kings. Firſt, becauſe as now they are the Arms of *France*, they are Golden, which Colour is not natural unto Lilies, envied by *Venus* her ſelf for their Whiteneſs. Again a Lily conſiſts of ſix Leaves, theſe of *France* but of three; and laſtly, none of theſe Kings uſed them, foraſmuch as *Ducheſne*, Hiſtoriographer to the *French* King, confeſſed in a Letter to *Chiffletius*, that he could not obſerve Lilies in any Seal of the *French* Kings before *Philip Auguſtus*. Upon this Account, thoſe both of the Line of *Meroneus*, and *Charles* the Great are excluded, to whom thoſe Lilies in their Tombs are falſly aſcribed, which gave *Peireskius* juſt occaſion, as well as other Circumſtances, to Quarrel with the Tombs of *Clodonæus* at St. *Genoneſue*, and *Chilperick* at St. *Germans*, and to eſteem ſo little of thoſe at St. *Denis*; that he thought all thoſe moſt ancient Monuments to have been built at the ſame time, and not long before the Reign of St. *Lewis*. *Fauchet* Conjectures, that the firſt Heralds that invented the Coat Armour of the *Franks*, intending to denote their Original from the *Sicambri*, who inhabited the Fenns of *Freiſland*, toward *Holland*, *Zeland* and *Guelderland*, gave their Kings the flower *Panilea* or *Iris* (being a little Lily of a yellow Colour, which groweth in Marſh Grounds, and flouriſhing in *May* or *June*) in a blew Field imitating water, which when it ſtands ſtill acquireth the Colour of the Skies. But not to ſpeak of Geography, which gives to the *Franks*, as we have ſeen, dry Ground as well as Marſhes; *Chiffletius* rejects this flower partly, becauſe there is of it no mention in Antiquity. Eſpecially, for what he diſcovered in the Grave of *Childerick*. *Renatus Ceriſerius*, would have them to have been the Head of a Spear, which afterwards came to be changed for its ſimilitude into Lilies: But he

In Clodonæo.

Lib. 3. Annal.

In Clodonæo.

Præfat. ad Tacitum Francicum.

brings no Authours on his ſide,and confounds the Spear or *Framea*, with the *Franciſca* of the *Franks*.

33. Having taken ſo much pains to tell what they were not, at length, he concludes what the Arms were. *viz*, No other but Bees, wherewith the trappings of *Childerick* his Horſe were all over garniſhed, as I remember I have ſeen at *Paris*, in the Church of *Noſtre Dame* the Horſe of St. *Lewis*, (who at the upper end of the Body of the Church, hath there his Statue on Horſe-back at the Right hand, as one goes toward the Quire,) juſt ſo beſtowed, and ſet out with Lilies. His main Argument is taken from *Childerick's* Horſe. The Bees he conceives did at length degenerate into Lilies, for more Reaſons than one. Firſt, becauſe the Lilies of *France* as they are painted, are not much unlike Bees, eſpecially ſuch as are found in the old Coins of the *Epheſians*, and *Delphians*, which have their Wings ſo long and ſtretching out, that together with the Tail, they make a Figure much reſembling the ſhape of the Modern *French* Lily. As many Lilies were born, and in uncertain numbers, by the *French* Kings deſcended from *Hugh Capet*, ſo many Bees were found in the Grave of *Childerick*. The Lilies of *France* are Golden, ſo theſe Bees of pure and ſhining Gold. The Lilies you muſt know, were accounted of Celeſtial Original by the Vulgar, and Bees are not derived from inferiour Pedegree, by thoſe Heralds the Poets. Theſe Flowers *De lis*, (as we Engliſh muſt call them, becauſe the *French* do) are blazoned in a blew Azure field, which is the Element or Camp of our Bees, who exerciſe themſelves continually in the Air. A Bee you know gathers Honey; to which *Pliny* gives grand Epithetes, and which is alſo of a yellow or Golden Colour. A Lily is a Royal flower, and ſo is a Bee a Royal (what ſhall I call it) Inſect. But that we may tell the Reader, how by degrees the Arms, or Devices of *France* came to be changed; he muſt know, that Bees were thus in repute with *Childerick*, and *Clodonæus* his Son, till ſuch time as he turned Chriſtian, which was, *A. D.* 496. Though the ſtory hath gone, that he then rejected the Toads, and exchanged them for Lilies. From this time *Chiffletius* gueſſeth, he and his Son *Clotharius*, uſed no other Image or Repreſentation, than that of the Croſs, for in a Golden Coin of this *Clotharius*, which *Paulus Petavius* (as *Gaſſendus* telleth us) received from *Peireskius* and publiſhed, which alſo *Chiffletius* in his *Vindiciæ Hiſpanicæ* hath exemplified; there is to be ſeen on one ſide his own Image, and on the other a Croſs. The Kings of the ſecond race uſed no other *Symbolum* in their Seals, nor Monuments. As for the third, *Fauchet* writes, that he could not make any certain Obſervation, of any Lilies uſed before *Lewis* the *Groſs*, in whoſe Reign, or a little before thoſe Enſigns called Arms began to be Hereditary. This *Lewis* began his Reign in the Year 1108. and the *Cruſado*, or expedition into the Holy Land (from which Families derive their Arms, or Enſigns of diſtinction) was undertaken in the Year 1096. At which time *Chiffletius* imagines, that unskilfull Heralds being to give Arms to the *French* King, painted the Bees ſo ill-favouredly, that they repreſented Toads, as well as that for which they were deſigned: *Fauchet* produceth indeed an old Coat Armour, wherein Lilies were ſo badly painted, that one might take them as well for Toads as Flowers. At length *Philip Auguſtus*, who travelled to *Jeruſalem*, *A. D.* 1190. Firſt took the Lilies into his Coat Armour, but many in number of ſo late ſtanding are the *French* Lilies, which were afterward reduced to the number of three in the Reign of *Charles* the Sixth, who departed this Life in the Year of our Lord, 1422.

Eſſe apibus partem divinæ mentis & hauſtus Ætherios dixere.

In Originibus.

34. To ſpeak briefly of the other remaining Rarities; the Style or Pin, wherewith he wrote was of Steel, ſuch as the Ancients uſed to write with in Tables, covered over with Wax. It was quite conſumed in its Golden caſe, to which *Chifflet* procured another to be fitted, and affirms it was not onely ſerviceable for writing, but for ſtabbing alſo, if need ſhould require; this *Graphium* or *Stylus*, having been too often employed in ſuch Service, as appears from the *Roman* ſtory. The *Graphiarium*, or Caſe, was all of pure Gold, not ſparkling with Gemms, as the other Royal Ornaments; but ingraven all over with little Croſſes, upon which Account, ſeeing the King himſelf was a Pagan, *Chifflet* conjectureth it was given him by St. *Genoneſue*, the Patroneſs of *Paris*, a Virgin much honoured by him, and for whoſe ſake as the Legend tells the ſtory, he remitted the Sentence of Death to ſeveral Offenders. From the keeping of the *Graphium*, he thinks the *Grafiones* or Graves, which Anſwer the greater ſorts of Counts to have been denominated. But the *Pugillares*, or *Diptycha* (when conſiſting but of two Leaves) or Tables on which he wrote, were conſumed by time and moiſture, onely the Gold caſe remaining, wherein they were ſet. Sometimes theſe Tables were of Box, ſometimes of

Ivory, or other choicer Stuff. According to the Wealth and Quality of the owner.

35. It was the Cuſtome for the Arms of Princes and great men to be Burnt or Buried with them, as appears from *Cyrus Eptiæſtion* and others, and *Tacitus* witneſſeth particularly concerning the *German* Nation. Which gave occaſion ſince the days of Chriſtianity, to the ſetting up of Coats Armours upon Graves, and fixing them unto Herſes, and daubing or hanging the Walls of Churches with them, as is extravagantly practized in the Low Countries, the Provinces of *Holland* eſpecially. Accordingly with *Childerick* was Buried his Sword, the Steel whereof all fell apeices, but was diſcovered to be about two feet and an half in length, having onely one Edge, as intended to Cut and not to Stab. The Gold and ſparkling Gemms which adorned the Scabbard, and Hilt remained intire, weighing twelve ounces and two drachms. Beſides this Sword which had a Golden Hilt adorned with Gemms, ſo as to make it ſutable to the Scabbard, there was the head or Iron of a Battle Axe very much eaten with ruſt, three parts of a foot long, and half as broad, the figure whereof as of all the reſt of thoſe things, *Chifflet* cauſed to be cut in Copper and ſtamped in his Book. This Axe or Hatchet was by the *Spaniards* called *Franciſca* from the *Franks* their uſing of it, as *Iſidore* of *Hiſpalis* affirms, being called *Franciſca* or *Francica* in the ſame ſenſe, as in the Acts of a certain Council, *Charles the Bald*, Emperour, is ſaid to have come in a Golden Robe after the *French* faſhion, *Habitu Franciſco*, with the Legates of the Apoſtolick See. Moſt Authours in deſcribing the *Franciſca* make it a *Bipennis* or two-edged, and their Authority is of ſuch weight, ſome of them being capable of ſeeing them with their Eyes, that we can little doubt of their Teſtimony. Yet this of *Childerick* was a plain Axe, ſo that we muſt believe the *Franks* uſed two ſorts of this Weapon, though *Bipennis* be taken ſometimes for a ſimple, ſingle or plain Hatchet. Beſides this *Franciſca*, was found the head or Iron of a Spear or Javelin of a triangular form, ſuch as *Vegetius* deſcribes, and the ſame which *Tacitus* mentions under the name both of *Framea* and *Haſta*, deſcribing it accordingly to have been a ſhort kind of Spear, with a narrow and light Iron, but ſo ſharp and convenient, that they could fight either *Cominus* or *Eminus* with it as they ſaw occaſion. So that *Pontanus* was groſly miſtaken, imagining the *Framea* to be the ſame thing with the *Franciſca*.

Lib. 18, *cap.* 6.

Act. Concil. Pontegonenſis Aimonius, lib. 5. *c.* 33.

Bipennis per ſe plenum eſt & ſecurim ſignificat. Haſtas, vel illorum vocabulo frameas gerunt anguſto & levi ferro; ſed ita acri, & ad uſum habili ut eodem telo, prout ratio poſcit vel cominus vel eminus pugnent.

36. As it was a Cuſtome for great Perſons to have their Arms buried with them, ſo alſo their Horſes and Grooms, ſometimes their Wives with other Servants and Attendants, as is clear in the Story of the *Indians*, *Scythians*, *Galls*, *Danes* and *Germans*. With *Childerick* was Buried his *Bucephalus*, whom it pleaſeth *Chifflet* ſo to name, not becauſe he had the figure of an Oxe-head upon his Shoulder as he of *Alexander*, but bore on his forehead his Maſter's Idol. The bones of his Head and Jaws were remaining, with a Shoe of Iron almoſt conſumed, yet entire at the firſt view, which ſhewed his Feet to have been none of the biggeſt. And beſides the Golden Bees formerly mentioned, ſo many Golden plates and boſſes were found belonging to his Bridle and Trappings, as diſcover them to have been exceedingly Royal and Magnificent, which the Relatour thinks deſigned rather out of reſpect to the Idol than the Rider. But the Bones of the Horſe diſcovered abundantly, what Man's skull the other was found with that of the King, it being the Cuſtome to have the Groom as well as the Horſe, either Burnt or Buried with his Maſter. The Groom of *Childerick* was very young, as appeareth by his skull compared with the King's. Princes being wont to have ſuch ſmall attendants upon their Stables, (perhaps onely as Pages of the Stirrup for they could not doe the work.) In a certain Diptyck of Ivory belonging to the Cathedral of St. *Lambert* in *Leige*, wherein is deſcribed *Saminanus* or *Sabinianus* the *Comes Domeſticorum Equitum*, and Ordinary Conſul in the year 505, under *Anaſtaſius*, are alſo drawn to the Life two little Dwarfiſh Grooms leading out of the Stable the Emperour's Horſes, and below them other five of the ſame Stature, amongſt whom two having their hands bound behind them, and an Horſe-ſhoe or ſomething of that Nature hanging at their Noſes or Mouths. The whole Deſcription of them is to be ſeen in a Braſs Cutt in *Chiffletius* his Book.

Servius in Virgil. Æneid. Herod. lib. 4. *Cæſar, bello Gall. lib.* 6. *Saxo-Gram. lib.* 8. *Tacitus de moribus German.*

37. The Buckles, Claſps or Buttons belonging to the Ornaments of the Horſe expreſſed in Latine by the word *Fibulæ*, were of pure Gold and ſet thick with Rubies and other Gemms, an Honour peculiar to Sovereign Princes. *M. Brutus* of old complained that Tribunes were ſo luxurious then as to wear Golden *Fibulæ*. *Aurelian* the Emperour was the firſt that gave common Souldiers leave to wear them of Gold, whereas formerly they had onely uſed thoſe of Silver. *Leo* the Em-

Plin. lib. 33. *cap.* 3.

Vopiſcus.

Cod. lib. 11.

perour forbad the wearing of Pearl and Jacinths in Bridles, Saddles, or Girdles, but permitted ſingle *Fibulæ* of Gold to be worn by private perſons, with this caution, that what was Sacred as he terms it to his uſe and Ornament, they ſhould not dare to imitate. *Joannes Rhodius* complains that of the ancient *Roman Fibulæ* none could be found but thoſe of Braſs, and thoſe alſo very rare, onely *Pancirollus* tells us of a Golden one he ſaw, the figure whereof was ſent to *Charles Emanuel Duke of Savoy*. In the Eaſt the ſingle Golden ones were peculiar to Princes and very great men, as appears by the privilege granted to *Simon* the High Prieſt by *Demetrius* to be Clothed in Purple and to uſe a Golden *Fibula*, as *Jonathan* had received the ſame privilege from *Alexander* and *Antiochus*. The ancient *Fibula* of the *Romans* was without an Hook, reſembling a kind of a Bow to which a Bodkin made a String: But thoſe of *Childerick* though various in ſhape, yet for the moſt part imitate the Modern ones in the Hook, and the Ring into which it is inſerted. Had *Pancirollus* lived to ſee this Treaſure, he would have been ſenſible how much Light might thence have been obtained for clearing of the thing ſo much controverted. They were ſo many of them and ſo maſſie, that altogether they weighed 17 ounces of Gold. The form of them is very well repreſented in the Book of *Chifflet*, neither the ſpace of 1200 years, nor the moiſture of the place, having at all corrupted the ſubſtance of the Gold, nor changed the lively and ſparkling Colour of the Gemms. The Cryſtal ball found in the Grave, he thinks was uſed by the King in his Sickneſs, a virtue being aſcribed to thoſe Balls by Naturaliſts of refreſhing and cooling the hands of thoſe that lie ſick of acute Fevers. But we have made too long a Digreſſion.

SECT. III.

From the Death of Childerick, *and the Promotion of* Clodonæus *the firſt Chriſtian King, to the Ruine of his Family, or of thoſe called the* Meroningians.

The ſpace of two hundred ſixty four years.

Sect. 3.

Clodonæus ſucceeds.

1. TO *Childerick* ſucceeded *Clodonæus* his Son, begotten on *Baſina*, and the Heir of his Courage as well as his Kingdom, being by ſome called *Hludouicus*, and by others *Hlodowicus*, *Ludovicus*, and *Ludduin*, according to the diverſity of Nations and Dialects, in the eleventh year of the Emperour *Zeno*, the ninth of *Odoacer* King of *Italy*, the ſecond of *Fœlix* the *Roman* Biſhop, *A. D.* 484, *Theodorich* King of the *Goths*, and *Venantius* being Conſuls.

A. D. CCCCLXXXIV. *Theodoricho & Venantio Coſſ.*

2. *Clodonæus* not onely filled *Gall* with the fame of his Atchievements, but affrighted all *Europe* by the Noiſe of his ſucceſsfull Arms. *Gall* was at this time held by four ſeveral Nations, all which Lorded it over the poor Natives, *viz.* the *Romans*, *Goths*, *Burgundians* and *Franks*. He eſteeming it a thing below him, and unworthy of his Progenitours, to content himſelf with what their Valour had devolved upon him, reſolved to raiſe his Name as high as their Renown by new Conqueſts. The *Romans* he thought fit to begin withall, becauſe their Power now ſeemed utterly decayed, and upon the Invaſion of *Italy* and theſe Weſtern Provinces, the *Præfecti Prætorio* kept to themſelves ſuch Cities as they had formerly Commanded. Having drawn in *Chararichus* and *Ragnacharius* his Kinſmen, and petty Princes of the *Franks*, in the fifth year of his Reign he marched againſt *Syagrius* the *Roman*, who held the City of *Sueſſio* now called *Soiſſons* and provoked him to Battel, who not at all diſmayed with the terrour of ſo great a force as *Clodonæus* brought along with him, came forth and Ingaged, but had the fortune though he fought moſt valiantly to be overthrown, and fled for ſuccour to *Tholouſe*, to *Alaricus* King of the *Goths*, who overcome with the threats of *Clodonæus*, delivered him up into his

Makes War with the *Romans*.

Gregorius Turonenſ. lib. 2. *c.* 27. *Aimonius, l.* 1. *c.* 12.

Sect. 3.

And drives them out of *Gall.*

488 or 489.

Hands, and he cauſed him preſently to be beheaded. Then did the Victorious King ſubdue *Soiſſons* with the other Towns adjacent, and inlarged his Territories as far as the River *Loire*, the *Romans* being utterly diſpoſſeſſed of and driven out of *Gall*, their Dominion over which Countrey now received its period, after it laſted from the time of *Julius Cæſar*, his firſt Invaſion about 546 years, in the year of our Lord 488 or 489, *Probinus* and *Euſebius* being Conſuls.

Greg. l. 2. *c. c.* 40, 42.

Conquers the *Thuringi.*

Falls in Love.

Aimonius, lib. 1. *c.* 13.

3. But amongſt the Allies and Aſſociates of *Clodonæus*, *Chararicus* is ſaid as ſolicitous about the event to have carried himſelf rather as Neuter in this War, though deſcended of the ſame Stock with the King. For at this time there were ſeveral Reguli of the *Franks*, who Reigned in *Gallia Belgica* called *Auſtraſia*, and *Francia Orientalis*, as that Countrey, now called *France*, was known by the name of *Francia Occidentalis*; of theſe *Sigebert* had his Seat at *Coleine*, *Ragnacharius* at *Cambray*, and *Chararicus* in ſome other place, which it ſeems they held as Appendages, being deſcended of the bloud Royal, and acknowledging *Clodonæus* for their Superiour. He having finiſhed the War with *Syagrius* and unwilling to lie idle, fell upon the *Thuringi*, and in the tenth year of his Reign forced them to receive his Commands. And in this ſame year he Married *Clothildis* or *Crotildes*, the Niece of *Gundebaldus* King of the *Burgundians*, of whom he fell inamoured upon this occaſion. He ſent on a time his Ambaſſadours to the Court of the *Burgundian* to eſtabliſh a Peace, who whilſt they made their abode there, took much notice of a Maid that dwelt in the Palace, whom they obſerved to be extraordinary both for beauty and for deportment. They inquire who ſhe is, and have anſwer it is the King's Niece, who takes care of her Education, her Parents being Dead. The Ambaſſadours returning, tell the King they have done all they had in Commiſſion, and fall into large Commendations concerning the Maid, affirming her a Perſon worthy of the greateſt Monarch living. He is hereupon ſmitten, falling in love with her he never ſaw, and withall hoping by a Marriage with her ſo to order his matters, as to make himſelf King of *Burgundy*; he ſends one *Aurelianus* to take more notice of her, and upon liking richly to preſent her, to Wooe her for him, and to know how ſhe could ſtand affected to the Match.

The terms of Marriage.

4. *Aurelian* being entred *Burgundy*, and drawing near to the Court, Commands his followers to hide themſelves in the adjoyning Woods. He Clothes himſelf with the Rags of a Beggar, and goes to make trial if he could ſpeak with *Clothildis*, who was gone to Church, it being then the Lord's Day. He amongſt other Beggars ſtands and expects her coming out, and when Service was done, out ſhe came to give her Alms to the Poor. She reaches money to *Aurelianus*, who lays hold on her Hand, and uncovering it makes as if he would kiſs it. Hereat ſhe is offended, and going into the Palace, ſends for the Beggar and expoſtulates with him for his ſaucineſs, who giving her no anſwer to this Demand, takes the opportunity to doe his Meſſage, telling her that his Maſter the King of the *Franks* hearing of her excellent Vertues, deſired her in Marriage, and he goes to ſhew her his Ring and the other Preſents, but turning about finds that his Bag wherein he conveyed them, and which he had laid behind the Dore was ſtoln from him. But inquiry being made, the Bag was found and reſtored to him as a Stranger, out of which he then takes the Preſents, which receiving ſhe made him this anſwer. *It is not lawfull for a Woman that is a Chriſtian to Marry a Pagan, but if Almighty God be pleaſed ſo to order it, that I may be a means to bring him to an acknowledgment of his Creatour, I refuſe not but ſubmit to his pleaſure.* *Aurelian* anſwered there was no doubt but the King would comply with her, and thereupon ſhe deſired him that all might be concealed from her Uncle. He returns and gives his King an account of his ſucceſs, who is more and more inamoured of her by all Reports he receives, and the more becauſe the Kingdom of *Burgundy* he had already ſwallowed in his hopes. He ſends, and by his Ambaſſadours asks her in Marriage of her Uncle, who without much adoe conſents and delivers her to be conveyed to his Preſence. Not long after *Theodorich*, King of the *Goths* in *Italy*, ſends and demands *Andalfleda* the Siſter, (*Jornandes* ſaith the Daughter) of *Clodonæus*, and obtains her for his Wife. And ſo theſe three potent Nations Invaders and Sharers of the *Roman* Empire, became allied and confederate amongſt themſelves.

Papirius Maſſonus, lib. 1. *p.* 17.

5. *Clodonæus* four or five years after his Marriage undertook a War againſt the *Alemans*, it being as contrary to his reſtleſs humour, as his ambition to lie idle. They foreſeeing the Storm whilſt yet beyond the *Rhine*, reſolved that ſeeing there muſt be a War, the Seat of it ſhould not be their own Countrey, and paſſing the River would give him ſome tolerable pretence to quarrel with them. Some ſay they came into *Gall* to ſeek out new Seats, and entring into *Germania Secunda*, en-

camped at *Tulbiacus* a Village belonging to the *Agrippinenſes*, or thoſe of *Coleine*, according to *Tacitus*. *Miræus* in his Chronicon *Belgicum* calls it a Town of the *Vbii*, at this day known by the name of *Zullich*, and *Pontanus* Writes it *Zulpich*, but whatever was the Name, a great and bloudy Battel was here fought by the *Franks*, for preſervation of their Conqueſts, their fame and reputation, by the *Alemans* for their Liberty and their Fortunes. After much contention and ſlaughter on both ſides, *Clodonæus* ſaw plainly that the Enemy got ground, whereupon with a ſorrowfull Heart and weeping Eyes caſt up to Heaven, ſaith *Gregory*, he devoutly implored the aſſiſtence of *Jeſus Chriſt*, whom as he ſaid *Clotildis* preached to be the Son of God, and who was reported to afford help and aſſiſtence to perſons in diſtreſs, and procure Victory for ſuch as believed in him, vowing faith in his Name, and therein to be Baptized, if by a Victory now obtained over his Enemies, he might but have experience of his Divine Power. This Prayer made, the Face and Poſture of the Battel was inſtantly changed, and the *Alemans* who had lately born themſelves as Victours were conſtrained to flie, and their King being ſlain, humbly to beg pardon and peace of *Clodonæus*.

Overthrows the *Alemans*.

6. *Sigebert* the Prince of *Coleine* received a wound in his Foot, of which he ever after continued Lame. *Lipſius* would have *Adalogerio* King of the *Boii*, amongſt other Princes to have been in this Battel, but *Marcus Velſerus* as well as others deny it, affirming that it doth not appear by the Teſtimony of any ancient Writer, that this Fight touched, or any way concerned that Nation. However, great was the Reputation that *Clodonæus* got by the Victory. *Theodorich* King of the *Goths* in *Italy*, by Letters yet to be ſeen amongſt *Caſſiodorus* his various Epiſtles, congratulated with him, and moved ſome ſay by the intreaties of the *Alemans* interceded for them, adviſing him to uſe his Fortune and Power moderately toward the Conquered, who yet as it ſeems from *Ennodius* had no ſuch good Quarter at his Hands, but that they rather choſe to accept of the offer of *Theodorich*, who kindly invited them into *Italy*. The Ambaſſadours of *Theodorich* brought with them a man ſkilfull on the Harp, as a preſent to *Clodonæus*, who having formerly deſired ſuch an Artiſt of him, he wrote to *Boetius* requiring him to find out the moſt expert in all *Italy*. But *Clodonæus* returning home after his Victory, recounted to *Clotildis* his Wife the ſtory of his Prayer, and what had followed upon it, which opportunity ſhe, who had often ſolicited him heretofore, now taking, ſo wrought with him, that he took upon him the Profeſſion of Chriſtianity, being Baptized by *Remigius* Biſhop of *Rheims*, as will be amply ſet forth in its proper place.

Rerum Boiiar. l. 2. *ad A.* 490.

Lib. 2. *ep.* 41.

In Panegyrico.

L. 2. *ep.* 40.

Turns Chriſtian.

7. At this time Reigned over the *Burgundians Godegiſilus*, in conjunction with *Gundebaldus* his Brother, but fearing that at length he ſhould be ſent after his Brother, *Chilperich* the Father of *Clotildis*, whom *Gundebaldus* had Murthered, he ſends privately to *Clodonæus* and offers him a yearly Tribute, on condition he would ſtand cloſe to him and aſſiſt againſt the Tyrant. *Clodonæus* promiſes him his utmoſt aſſiſtence, and levying a great Army marches ſtreight againſt *Gundebaldus*, who utterly ignorant of what had paſſed betwixt them, ſends to his Brother requiring his aſſiſtence for oppoſing the Injuſtice and Violence of their common Enemy. *Godegiſilus* returns him good words and fair promiſes, but joyning his Forces with *Clodonæus* at *Divio*, they fall upon *Gundebaldus* near the River *Oſcara*, and putting him to flight drive him to * *Avenio*, which done, *Godegiſilus* gives up part of the Countrey into *Clodonæus* his Hands, and departs to *Vienna* lying upon the *Rhoſne*. *Clodonæus* in the mean time purſues the flying Enemy, and beſieges him in *Avenio*, where being reduced to great Straits, he ſends *Aredius* his faithfull Friend to the Beſieger, and he ſo works upon him by arguments drawn from the uncertainty of Fortune, that he perſwades him to raiſe the Siege, which would be tedious and doubtfull, and content himſelf with a yearly Tribute, which *Gundebaldus* ſhould pay him, who thus recovered his former State and Condition, and *Clodonæus* returned into his own Kingdom. So *Gregory* the Biſhop of *Tours* tells the ſtory. *Procopius* writes that the *Germans*, meaning the *Franks*, of their own accord, fell upon the *Burgundians*, and procuring *Theodorich* to joyn with them, they parted the Conquered Countrey according to agreement. However it's ſaid for the preſent, that *Gundebaldus* recovering himſelf refuſed to pay Tribute to *Clodonæus* according to the late Accord, and leading an Army againſt his Brother *Godegiſilus*, beſieged him in *Vienna*.

Forces the *Burgundians* to pay him Tribute.

Divio Metropolis Ducatus Burgundiæ hodie Dijon, de qua hæc Merula inter plura. Divionis conditor habetur vulgo, mihi potius reſtaurator, pomeriique productor Aurelianus Imperator. Nomen ab Divis quîs plurimus ibi fuit Cultus impoſitum putatur. Hac urbe nihil in Burgundia pulchrius, &c. Caſtrum vocatur à Gregorio Turonenſi.

* *Avenio urbs Saliorum hodie Avignon Metropolis Comitatus.*

8. All this while *Alaricus* Reigned ſecurely over the *Viſigoths* or Weſtern *Goths* in *Gallia Narbonenſis*, having under his Dominion the whole Countrey lying betwixt the Rivers *Rhoſne* and *Loire*, as far as the *Pyrenæan* Mountains. *Clodonæus* was ſo incenſed againſt him for holding the *Arian* Hereſie as *Aimonius* believed, or

rather

Sect. 3.

Picks a quarrel with the *Viſigoths.*

rather envied him ſo much for the large ſhare he had of *Gall*, that he reſolved to pick a quarrel with him, and for that purpoſe ſent his Ambaſſadours to him to give him a meeting at the Borders, and to ſettle ſome Rules about the receiving of Fugitives, terms ſo tickliſh as he knew would give offence. And *Alaricus* ſent back the Ambaſſadours both without their buſineſs done, and without any reſpect due to thoſe of their Character, which advantage *Clodonæus* readily took and denounced War againſt him, as well to vindicate and aſſert the Law of Nations, as the Catholick Faith. The Noiſe of this War was quickly blown over into *Italy*, and came to the Ears of *Theodorich* the Father-in-Law of *Alaricus*, who offered himſelf ſtreight as Mediatour betwixt them, writing his Letters to them both, to the Kings of the *Heruli*, *Thuringi* and the neighbouring Nations, (yet to be ſeen amongſt *Caſſiodorus* his Epiſtles) for an Accommodation. "*Alaricus* he adviſeth not to be "too confident upon the reputation of the *Viſigoths*, for the great things by them "formerly atchieved; he bids him conſider what an alteration Peace and Idleneſs "work in the minds of men, and not to commit that to the chance of fortune, "which with infinite labour and travel had been ſo long a time procuring, but ſtay "till he could ſend to the King of the *Franks*, and be content that the quarrel be "taken up by the Interpoſition and Arbitration of Friends. He tells *Lodoin*, (for ſo "is *Clodonæus* there called,) that he could not but wonder he ſhould be ſo eaſily "moved, and upon ſo ſlight an occaſion to make War upon his Son-in-Law, for it "would be the paſtime of the Enemies of both Nations. Bids him conſider they "are both Kings of moſt flouriſhing People, but in the flower of their Age, and "that therefore they ought not lightly and out of love to contention bring their "Kingdoms into extreme hazard; he alſo propounds to him the mediation of "Neighbour Princes, and commands him to lay by the Sword, which he could not in "Honour ſee drawn by either of them. In concluſion, by the privilege of a Father and a "Friend, he threatens that which ſoever of them ſhould neglect his Advice ſhould find "the whole power of his *Goths*, and all his Friends and Allies ingaged againſt him.

Theodorich King of *Italy* interpoſes.

9. *Clodonæus* thought it an extravagant and proud humour of the *Oſtrogoth*, to imagine that he ſate at the Helm of the World, and ſhould take upon him to be Moderatour of Nations, not content to have by his mediation obtained fairer terms for the *Alemans*, than otherwiſe had been granted them. "Contemning his threats "and ſlighting his Admonitions, he anſwers him in ſhort, that he ſtood affected "toward the King of the *Oſtrogoths*, juſt as it was fit he ſhould and no more, for "he perceived him reſolved to give harbour and relief to his Enemies, that he made "no War upon *Alaricus*, but *Alaricus* upon him, which being as good as "denounced againſt him, he demands why he may not defend himſelf, and deſires he "may not farther be provoked to act any thing which may be contrary to his own "Principles, and the dictates of good Nature. This anſwer quite alienated the "mind of *Theodorich* from him, who ſent ſpeedily to the Neighbouring Kings "before mentioned, inveighing grievouſly againſt him as a man that rejected every "thing, that had the ſtamp of Juſt and Right upon it, made his Sword the rule "and meaſure of his Actions, and was abſolutely deaf to all reaſonable propoſals. "He inſiſts upon it as the intereſt of all Nations, to put a ſtop to the growing "Power of the *Franks*, which would procure the Deſtruction of all other "Kingdoms, if after the *Alemans*, the *Viſigoths* ſhould be deſtroyed. He adviſeth that "a Council of Princes be formed, to which *Clodonæus* might be ſummoned to give "an account, and foraſmuch as the ſafety of each was included in the prudence of "all together, each one muſt ſend his Ambaſſadours to deter him from the "execution of what he had but as yet deſigned.

Clodonæus his anſwer to *Theodorich.*

10. *Gundebaldus* the *Burgundian* was not deaf to any Propoſal made againſt *Clodonæus* whom he hated, more for his greatneſs and Power than for his Religion, though he himſelf was a bitter and inveterate *Arian*. For it can ſcarcely be believed that he who had Murthered one of his Brothers already, and had now ſhut up the other in *Vienna*, intending to uſe him in the like ſort, could be much troubled with the dictates of Conſcience; neither doth *Clodonæus* in his anſwer to *Theodorich*, alledge any thing concerning Faith or Religion againſt *Alaricus*, though the Hiſtorians of thoſe times being Churchmen, look upon ſuch Contentions through Religious Glaſſes, (more ſuitable to the Organ than the Object,) being as little skilled as practiſed in ſecular Policy and State Myſteries. By this time *Godegiſilus* and his followers were ſorely ſtraitned in *Vienna*, where Proviſions were grown ſo ſcarce, that

Vienna, hodie Vienne, urbs Allobrogum Delphiniorum circumjacenti tractui nomen dat le pays de viennois. A Venerio Africano exule biennio ædificatam & inde Biennam vocatam in vulgus tradunt. Salsè hoc ridet Merula. Alpinam vocat Auſonius 4. Parental. & Carm. 7. de urbibus. Notat ibi Vinetus ex Plinio & Ptolemæo Viennam Auſtriæ urbem, non ut hodie cognominem huic fuiſſe ſed Viana nomen habuiſſe.

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Godegiſilus thought fit to put out of the Town the mean and the uſeleſs Multitude. This being done, it happened that the Man that had had the charge of the Aqueduct, was thruſt out among the reſt, which ſo inraged him, that preſently he went to *Gundebaldus*, and diſcovered to him how he might eaſily take the City. He led a Company of ſelect Men into the Aqueduct, who following his Directions, with Iron Bars removed the Stones that ſtopped the paſſage, and without much labour opened a way for the Souldiers, who entering the City, ſurpriſed the beſieged, ſet open the Gates to their fellows, and eaſily made themſelves Maſters of the place. *Godegiſilus* fled to a Church of the *Arians*, and there was ſlain, with a Biſhop of that Profeſſion. The *Franks* that ſerved him, all gathered together in a certain Towre, as reſolved to fight it out, rather than be knocked on the Head, but *Gundebaldus* commanded no harm ſhould be done them, and ſent them away to *Alaricus* to *Tholouſe*, as into baniſhment. Such Senatours, and other *Burgundians*, as were of his Brother's Party he ſlew; the Countrey which now is called *Burgundy*, ſaith *Gregory* of *Tours*, he ſettled under his own Authority and Dominion, and to the People he gave milder Laws, that they might not be capable of oppreſſing the *Romans*.

Lib. 2. *c.*

11. *Gundebaldus* elevated upon this ſucceſs, and proud upon his Alliance, denied now to pay the Tribute formerly promiſed to *Clodonæus*, who thence ſeeming to take a juſt occaſion of a Quarrel, was not wanting in the proſecution, which *Gundebaldus* found would be ſo vigorous, as he reſolved not to abide the tryal, but fled to the *Oſtrogoths*, and there died in Exile. *Clodonæus* being hereby freed from much Care and Trouble, reſolved for a time to omit the through Conqueſt of *Burgundy*, which *Theodorich* had for the moſt part ſeized, and bent all his Endeavours againſt *Alaricus*. Paſſing the *Loire*, he pierced through the Coaſts of *Tours* into *Poictiers*, a City ſeated on the River *Clianus* (by *Sidonius* and the Ancients called *Clitis*) ten miles from which, in the grounds called *Campi Vocladenſes*, (which Name they almoſt at this day retain) they engaged in Battel. *Clodonæus* having got ſight of *Alaricus*, and remembring the big words and threats that had paſſed betwixt them, was pricked with a deſire of Glory, as well as revenge, and bore up toward the place where he ſtood to ingage him in a ſingle Combat. This being perceived by two of *Alaricus* his Guard, that they might deliver their King from ſo imminent danger as now threatned him, they directed their Lances, and all the force of their Horſes, againſt *Clodonæus*; but by the goodneſs of his Corſlet, and the ſeaſonable Interpoſition of ſome of his ſtouteſt followers, he eſcaped, having, according to his purpoſe, ſlain his Enemy, after he had reigned two and twenty Years. A great number of the *Ainervi*, which had followed *Apollinaris*, periſhed in this Battel, which was fought in the ſeventeenth Year of the Reign of *Anaſtaſius* the Emperour, in the fifteenth of *Theodorich*, King of the *Oſtrogoths* in *Italy*, A. D. 507. *Anaſtaſius Auguſtus* the third time in the Eaſt, and *Venantius Decius* in the Weſt, being Conſuls.

He overthrows the *Viſigoths*, and kills their King *Alaricus*.

Eſt Vocladum Caſtrum in planis Pictavienſis territorii ſitum, ab urbe Pictavienſi decem milibus paſſuum diſtans, ut notat Hiſtoricus, & quidem adhuc nomen retinens, ſed Pictonica pronunciatione diſtortum, & Voglai dictum; ea planities porrecta in aliquot millia paſſuum patet, locus planè idoneus pugnæ.

A. D.
CCCCCVII.
Anaſtaſio Auguſto & Venantio Decio Conſſ.

12. But *Procopius*, an Authour more ancient than *Gregory* the Biſhop of *Tours*, tells the ſtory a little different from his Relation. He writes how the *Germans*, as he calls them, or *Franks*, having invaded the Countrey of the *Goths*, pitched their Camp about *Carcaſſo*, a City of *Gallia Narbonenſis*. That *Alaricus* having levied very conſiderable Forces, ſate down in a very ſafe and convenient place, expecting, it ſeems, the Auxiliaries of *Theodorich*, his Father-in-Law, out of *Italy*. But the *Franks* behaving themſelves as Souldiers are wont in an Enemies Countrey, and foraging far and near, the *Goths* began to be angry with their King, and charging him with Lazineſs and Cowardiſe, unanimouſly required that he would lead them out to battel, affirming they could eaſily beat the *Germans* without the conjunction and Aſſiſtence of *Theodorich*. *Alarick* thus neceſſitated to fight, led them out, but with ſo ill ſucceſs, that he himſelf loſt his Life, together with the greateſt number of his Men. *Procopius* adds, that the *Franks*, preſently after this Victory, beſieged *Cacraſſio*, wherein the great Riches formerly taken by *Alaricus* the Elder, at the taking of *Rome*, were reported to be kept, amongſt which was the rare and coſtly Furniture of *Solomon*, that had been carried from *Jeruſalem* to *Rome*, at the taking of that City. But hearing of this Siege, *Theodorich* marched thither with all haſte to raiſe it, which the *Franks* underſtanding, durſt not abide his coming, but packed up their baggage, and departed, after which they ſeized on that Tract of *Gall*, which lieth upon the *Rhoſne*, and toward the Ocean, whence *Theodorich*, not able to drive them, there permitted them to ſettle themſelves, and kept that part of the Countrey which he had recovered. This is the Relation in ſhort which *Procopius* gives us, much more probable than the ſtories which *Caſſiodorus* and *Jordanus* do

Carcaſſo, Carcaſſum, Carcaſſio, veteribus nonnullis etiam citra geminationem literæ S dicta, hodie Carcaſſonne urbs Volcarum Atacinorum, eſt Epiſcopalis & gemina. Superiorem & inferiorem interfluit fluvius Atax, (vulgo Aude) unde Populi eum incolentes Atacini dicti.

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Lays Siege to *Arles.*

do tell us, who deſigning to ſpeak well of the *Goths*, the one becauſe of his Relation to *Theodorich*, and the other out of reſpect to his own Countrey-Men, brag of great things atchieved by the *Goths* againſt thoſe *Germans* whom they will have quite defeated, and to have loſt more than thirty thouſand of their Men. That theſe are flouriſhes appears from this, that theſe *Franks* were not onely able to keep the Field, but lay Siege alſo the ſame year to *Arles*, the *Metropolis* of *Provence*, a thing more uſually practiſed by the Conquerours, than thoſe that are ſo ſhamefully beaten, as they would make them to have been.

Takes *Bourdeaux*, and defeats the *Goths.*

13. In the mean time the *Viſigoths* conſidering that *Amalaricus* the Legitimate Son of their deceaſed King, was exceeding young, ſent him into *Spain*, there to be reſerved for better times, and made choice of *Giſelaricus*, his baſe Brother, to reign in his ſtead, being by reaſon of his Age in a better condition to grapple with thoſe difficulties that now preſſed upon them. *Theodorich* was ſo kind, as to take upon him his Protection, and for that purpoſe, as was pretended, ſent his Commanders and great Forces out of *Italy*, whereby, in effect, he became King of the Countrey, as *Procopius* not obſcurely hints, which *Giſelaricus* well enough perceiving, boiled with Diſdain and Anger, and entered into a Conſpiracy againſt *Theodorich*, but being not able to effect any thing, and having few either Hands or Heads to employ, but what were at his devotion, upon diſcovery of his Deſign, was deprived of his Fortunes, and fled to *Tranſimundus*, King of the *Vandals*, into *Italy*, whence not able to procure any conſiderable aſſiſtence, at length he went into *Spain*, and after ſeveral fruitleſs attempts, was at laſt ſlain, and an end was put to all his troubles. But to return to *Clodonæus* and his *Franks*, after the raiſing of the Siege he ſends *Theodoricus*, his Son, to take in the *Gothick* Cities, while he makes himſelf Maſter of ſeveral lying on the Sea Coaſts, and amongſt the reſt, of *Tholouſe*, the *Metropolis* of the Kingdom, and wherein was kept the Royal Treaſure. Having taken *Bardigala*, or *Bourdeaux*, he therein wintered, and in the Confines of this City defeated a number of *Goths*, who having ſurvived the former Battel, had united themſelves in a conſiderable Body, ſo great ſlaughter being made of them, that the place retained the Name of the *Arian* Camp, from this very occaſion.

Cadurci Quercięns Peuple de Querci in Gallia Celtica.
Ruteni item Roüergnois in Gallia Celtica.

After other places ſubdued he returns to *Tours.*

14. But the Conquerour was not content with the Conqueſt of thoſe Cities, nor with the Acceſſion of the *Cadurci*, *Rutheni* and *Arverni*, who yielded up themſelves into his hands; neither yet did ſeveral parcels of *Acquitain* ſatisfie him, on which he had ſeized, having his mind fixed on *Provence*, which he ſorely ſtomached, that *Theodorich*, partly by Force, and partly by conſent of the Inhabitants, ſhould have got into his Power. Impatient of a Competitour in the whole Countrey, he reſolves to drive him out of *Gall*, and for that purpoſe lays a Siege to *Arles*, the chief City of *Provence*, ſituate upon the River *Rhoſne*, over which then lay a wooden Bridge. Here was fought a ſore and bloudy Battel, the great ſhock of which was ſuſtained by *Tolus*, the Captain of the *Goths*, who after much ſlaughter removed the *Franks* from this Poſt, as *Athalarick*, the Succeſſour of *Theodorich*, relates in a Letter to the *Roman* Senate. But the *Franks* though hindered from paſſing the Bridge, got over at another place, and ſtoutly beſieged the City; yet being neither able to ſtorm the place, nor ſtarve out the Inhabitants, they revenged themſelves upon the naked Countrey adjacent, by Plunder and Devaſtation, of which, when they would make no end, *Theodorich* ſent an Army of *Gepidæ* to reſtrain their Excurſions. This obliged them to retreat, which they did, laden with very great booty, and *Clodonæus* flouriſhing with Military Glory, returned, and took up his Quarters at *Tours*.

Apud Caſſiod.

Is made Conſul by *Anaſtaſius* the Emperour.

Cæſarodunum hodie Tours Metropolis Gentis totius Turonum, ad confluentiam Ligeris & Cari (le Cher) ſita. Regio propter amœnitatem incomparabilem hortus Franciæ audit. Ortelio omnino totius orbis amœniſſima vocari merita, vulgo la Touraine cujus Incolæ Tourangeois vocantur.

Lib. 2. c. 38.
Tanquam Conſul & Auguſtus vocitatus eſt.

15. As there he lay, Ambaſſadours arrived out of *Greece* from *Anaſtaſius* the Emperour, who ſent him the Enſigns and Ornaments of the Conſulſhip. For that Prince being then in *Meſopotamia*, and hearing of the great things performed by him, thought it convenient, by ſuch a kind of Empty reſpect, to gain his Favour, and the rather, becauſe *Theodorich*, the *Gothick* King, and the Emperour were at this time at odds about *Pannonia*, on which the *Goths* had ſeized, and the difference betwixt them was riſen to an open War, *Romanus*, the *Comes Domeſticorum*, and others, being about this time ſent to waſte the maritime Coaſts of *Italy*. *Clodonæus* having received the Preſents with the Reſcript of his Election, ſent for *Theodorich* his Son, intending to make a very formal ſolemnity, and in the great Church of St. *Martin*, inveſted himſelf with the *Tunica trabeata*, and the *Chlamys*, and with a Diadem on his Head, rode through the City, caſting, as he went along, Gold and Silver to the People, being from that day forward, as *Gregory* of *Tours* phraſeth it, termed *Tanquam Conſul* and *Auguſtus*. From theſe words *Tanquam Conſul*, as alſo from the want of his Name in the *Faſti*, it appears that by the Conſulſhip now conferred on him

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was not meant the ordinary Dignity and Magiſtracy which gave the characteriſtical Note to the Year, but the *Conſulatus Codicillaris*, or that by Reſcript or Patent, being honorary, and firſt brought up by *Julius Cæſar*. But about this remarkable paſſage in Hiſtory, various are the Opinions and Judgments of Writers, as their Intereſts and Relations do ſeverally biaſs and incline them.

16. *Baronius* will not believe that he accepted of the Honour, becauſe his Name is not found in the *Faſti*, for he concludes, that the Emperour would never offer him the Honorary or Titular Conſulſhip, being a thing much below him, and unuſual to be conferred upon thoſe of his Dignity. But the Cardinal meaſures the Actions of the King by his own Inclinations, and juſt like the ancient Hiſtorians that were Churchmen, looks at them ſtill through a Glaſs of Religion, imagining that a Sword was made of the ſame Materials as a Biſhop's Croſier Staff, or a Cardinal's Cap as a Souldier's Helmet. The reaſon that moves him to believe that *Clodonæus* would not accept of the Offer is this, that the Emperour was an *Arian*, and he would not have to doe with an Heretick, full as probable as the conceits of thoſe People who believed at *Rome*, that when our *Henry* the Eighth, and Queen *Elizabeth* were by them excommunicated, they would not onely be cut off from the Body of the Church, but from Humane Society, and wither away and periſh for want of Commerce with other Princes and Nations. What he farther alledges concerning the meanneſs of the Honorary Conſulſhip, is founded but upon his own Surmiſes; for though it was lower than the Magiſtracy it ſelf, and the Annual Dignity, yet was it wont to be conferred on very deſerving and eminent Perſons, and the thing was ſo new, and unuſual to the *Franks*, that this might be ſome motive to accept it; beſides, we might inſtance in marks of Honour of a more inferiour Nature, and not go far from home, which have been accepted in later times, both by Kings and Emperours.

17. But he was now accounted *Tanquam Auguſtus*, and the *Purple Tunick* and the *Chlamys* were Enſigns and Ornaments of Royal Dignity, as well as the Diadem. *Fauchet* therefore the Preſident interprets them as ſent in token that he ſhould remain inveſted with that Right and Superiority which the Emperours formerly obtained in *Gall*, noting farther, that as the Biſhops of theſe times did dutifully demean themſelves, to the Majeſty of the Emperours, ſo new Kings were not wont to wear Crowns, till ſent as Gifts from ſome greater Perſons. Yet cannot he deny, but the giving of a largeſs to the People, was a thing uſual and ſolemn to them that obtained the Conſulſhip, and he was not thenceforward called abſolutely *Auguſtus*, but *Tanquam Conſul* and *Auguſtus*, to note that his Dignity was but borrowed. But farther, *Fauchet*, and ſome other Modern Writers, will needs that he received the Patritiate alſo, or Honour of Patritian (not unuſual to be given to Kings) from *Anaſtaſius*; and *Papirius Maſſonus* amongſt the reſt, is pretty poſitive, farther obſerving, that this Honour was far different from the other of the Conſulſhip, the Dignity of Patritian being perpetual, or for Life, whereas that of the Conſul was but annual. But *Baronius* tells him, that for all this, the Honour of the Patritiate was inferiour to that of Conſul; and that it was more common; and beſides, he erroneouſly affirms, that all ancient Authours make mention of the one, but are wholly ſilent as to the other. Laſt of all, *Chiffletius*, no friend to the Grandeur of the French Monarchy, ſticks to that of Conſul, as not willing to allow the King of the *Franks* too much Honour. But what he confeſſeth beſtowed and received from *Anaſtaſius*, he uſeth as part of Promiſes, for uſhering in a grand Concluſion, which he much labours, nay ſweats to make out. This is that the French Kings, by Permiſſion and Authority of the Emperours, enjoyed their Kingdom, and ſo held it, though got by force and violence, that as Vaſſals they ſubmitted and ſubjected it unto them, and obſerved and obeyed their Rules and Commands. In ſumm, he would from this and other Inſtances prove, that both the Kings and Kingdom of *France* are obnoxious and ſubject unto the Empire.

Lib. 2. *c.* 22.

And likewiſe the Honour of Patritian.

Hiſt. lib. 1. *p.*24.

Ad An. Chriſti 508. *num.* 2.

Epitaphium ejus à Remigio ut fertur compoſitum, hunc habet verſiculum,
Patritius magno ſublimis fulſit honore.

Vindic. Hiſpanic. c. 13.

18. However, this Ceremony being over, *Clodonæus* departed from *Tours* to *Paris*, where, as *Gregory* words it, he placed the Chair of his Kingdom. There being ſettled, he buſied himſelf with Domeſtick Affairs, and with ſomething ſhortly after which happened amongſt his own Countreymen, the occaſion rather being taken by the King, than given by *Sigebert*, *Canaricus*, *Rachnacharius*, and others of their petty Princes. *Sigebert*, who having his Seat at *Colein*, injoyed no ſmall Dominions on both ſides of the *Rhine*, thought he was not ſufficiently reſpected and rewarded for the great Services he had done *Clodonæus*, and thereat grew diſcontented, when in the mean time *Clodonæus* promiſed his Son *Chlodorick*, that he ſhould certainly ſucceed in the Inheritance after his Father's Death, and find

He ſeizes on the Eſtate and Countrey of *Sigebert*.

him

him both his loving and his conſtant Friend. *Clodorick* whatever the King ſpake or meant, made ſuch an Interpretation as ſuited his Ambition, concluding that he adviſed him to haſten his Father's end; therefore following him over the *Rhine*, he ſlew him in the Wood *Barconia*, the ſame as ſome think with that Forreſt, which at this day is called *Veſterwald*. The feat done, he gives *Clodonæus* notice that his Father is dead, and deſires him, to ſend ſome he could truſt to receive his Treaſure. He gladly ſends thoſe that would bring it away, with what farther Inſtructions it's uncertain; but one of them as *Clodorick* opened a Cheſt, wherein he ſaid his Father was wont to lay his Gold, bade him thruſt down his hand and ſearch it to the bottom, and as he ſo did, and inclined his Body, he up with his *Bipennis* or *Franciſca*, and ſtruck out his Brains. *Clodonæus* having received the News haſtens to the place, and there profeſſing to the People, that he was wholly Innocent as to any deſign againſt Father or Son, eaſily perſuades them to receive his Protection, and lays the Countrey to his own Dominions.

Gregor. Turonenſ. lib. 2. *c.* 40.

Chararick.

19. *Chararick* had as we formerly hinted ſtood Neuter in the Battel, which *Clodonæus* fought with *Siagrius* the *Roman* Captain, and envying his good Succeſs, carried himſelf with little Reſpect toward him; all which the King bore in an exulcerated mind, and by a Wile getting both him and his Son into his hands, compelled them to be ſhaven and take Orders; the Father to be made Prieſt, and the Son to be ordained Deacon. On a time when the Father bewailed his Condition, the young Youth laid his hand upon his Chin, and ſhewing the ſmall Rudiments he had of a ſhaven Beard, affirmed, that thoſe leaves would in ſo flouriſhing a Tree grow again, and prayed, that he who had been the cauſe of cutting them, might as ſpeedily periſh; which Speech coming to the Ears of the King, he thought it fit to make ſure work of it, and commanded them both to be put to Death. He thus made an end of them; but there was one yet behind, the greateſt Object of his Jealouſie and Indignation, which was *Rachnacharius* the Prince of *Cambray*, and the *Atrebates*; a Man of a luxorious Life, and exceedingly puffed up with a Conceit of his noble Extract, which ſo far tranſported him, as to affirm, that the Kingdom of the *Franks* of right appertained to himſelf, being indeed the Great, Great Grandſon of King *Clodio*. By doating on *Faro* his Minion, and his Laſcivious Carriage, he ſo provoked his Subjects, that they conſpired againſt him, and ſent to *Clodonæus*, offering to betray him into his hands. He who onely watched for a convenient opportunity, moſt gladly cloſed with their Propoſals, and to the Conſpiratours ſent good ſtore of Gold as they thought; but it was onely Braſs money cunningly Guilded. *Clodonæus* raiſes an Army, and marches to them; a Battel is pitcht on both ſides, but *Rachnacharius* hath his hands bound behind him, and is ſo preſented to the King, with his Brother *Richarius* in the ſame poſture, both whom he upbraids, that being of the Royal ſtock, they ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be bound, and therewith kills them in the place. They being diſpatched, he procures another Brother they had, *Rignomerus* by Name (otherwiſe called *Ricunirus* and *Ricimirus*) to be ſlain, and ſo poſſeſſeth himſelf of all their Dominions, and their Treaſure. Many other Princes out of Jealouſie he put to Death, and ſo many of his Kindred, that one day as his Nobles ſtood before him, he bemoaned his Condition, that he was an Alien amongſt ſtrangers; having never a Kinſman to ſtand by him in Caſe of neceſſity, which yet ſome thought he ſpake craftily, to ſee if any one would preſent himſelf as of the Royal Race. But the Traitours who complained, how that their Gold was turned to Braſs, he refuſed otherwiſe to requite than with a ſevere reproof, as deſerving Death it ſelf, for their Ingratitude and Treachery to their Prince.

And *Rachnacharius* and others killing them, adds their Countrey to his own.

Clodonæus dies.

20. While *Clodonæus* thus endeavoured to ſecure to his own Poſterity, what he and his Anceſtours with ſo great labour had obtained, about two years after, Death ſummoned him to other Manſions in the thirtieth year of his Reign, and in the five and fortieth of his Age. In ſeveral Authours he hath ſeveral * Names, of which we muſt advertize the Reader, leſt he be confounded and miſtaken in his peruſal of the Hiſtories of theſe obſcure times. In his Epiſtle to the Biſhops after the *Gothick* War, he calls himſelf *Clotonechus*. *Theodorich* King of *Italy*, directs his Letters to him by the Name of *Ludvin*: In his Epitaph recited by *Aimoinus*, he is called *Clodoneus*; in the Teſtament of *Rhemigius* the Biſhop, who baptized him *Hludowicus*; by *Sigebert* the Hiſtorian *Ludowicus*; by *Contractus* and *Albericus*, *Clodonæus*; in an ancient Table at *Bruſſels*, where he is pictured *Claudius*, and *Clovis* with the *u* vowel, commonly by the Modern *French*. In the ſaid Table, as his Father is pictured with his back turned, and with a ſtrange and foreign Cap on his head, to ſignifie his flight and Exile; ſo he is to be ſeen, with his Eyes lifted up towards

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* *Quem hodie Ludovicum Latinè vocant Cæſar Lavicum dixit. Erit itaque Luyt & Wiis genuina & vera vocis notatio, ut nihil aliud ſignificaverit quam Populi Refugium. Luyt enim hodie Teutonicis eſt Populus, Wiick Refugium. Ludwin aut Hlodwin eodem ferè recidit, nam Lod, & Luydt idem quod antè dictum, Populum notabit. Win autem Pulchrum quid & venuſtum, delicias etiam & amorem ſignificat, ut Hlowin hoc pacto intellectus fuerit populi Amor, delitiæ & venuſtas.*

wards Heaven, and his Hands cloſed as praying and imploring divine Aſſiſtence, in Memory, as it ſeems, of the Battel fought with the *Alemans*. He was certainly a conſiderable Man, and for his great Atchievements againſt the *Romans*, *Alemans*, *Goths* and others; and for inlarging to ſo great a Proportion, the bounds of the French Empire deſervedly obtained from Poſterity, the Sirname both of the Warriour, and of the Great: As for his Piety, how it could conſiſt with ſuch particulars as we have mentioned, let *Baronius* and other Church-men, who are moſt concerned look to that. He was buried at *Paris*, in the Church of the Holy Apoſtles St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, founded by himſelf, which is now changed into that of the Abby of St. *Genonefue*, where his Effigies was to be ſeen in the days of *Papirius Maſſonus*. His Death happened, five years after he had ſlain *Alaricus* in the twenty fourth Year of *Anaſtaſius* the Emperour, the twenty ſecond of *Theodorich* King of *Italy*, *A. D.* 514. M. *Aurelius Caſſiodorus*, whom we have ſo often mentioned without a Collegue, being Conſul. So ſome collect, but *Scaliger* perhaps with better reaſon caſts it back to the 509. Year of our Lord.

The diviſion of his Kingdom amongſt his four Sons.

21. He left four Sons behind him, *Theodorich*, *Clodomir*, *Childebert* and *Clotharius*, who divided his Kingdom equally amongſt them. *Theodorich* reigned at *Metz*, *Clodomir* at *Orleance*, *Clotharius* at *Soiſſons*, and *Childebert* enjoyed his Father's ſeat at *Paris*. E'er they were well ſetled, the *Danes* under Conduct of *Chochilaichus* their King, invaded the Maritime Coaſts of *Gall*, and light upon a certain Village belonging to *Theodorich*, which plundering and waſting at their Pleaſure, with their Booty and Captives they indeavoured to put to Sea again; their King refuſing to go aboard, till he ſaw them all ſhipped and put off. But *Theodorich*, having timely notice of this Piracy, ſent his Son *Theodobert* with a conſiderable Power into thoſe parts; who being a young Man of excellent Endowments, ſo ordered his matters, that he ſurprized their King e'er he could get to Sea, and then with a Fleet he had ready at hand, ſet upon the Daniſh Navy and defeating them, recovered all the Booty they had got. At this time, three Brothers reigned over the *Thoringi*; *Badericus*, *Herminefredus* and *Bertharius*. *Herminefredus* firſt ſlew his Brother *Bertharius*, who left a Daughter called *Radegund*, beſides ſeveral Sons. Not herewith content at the Inſtigation of *Almaberga* his Wife, who uſed ſeveral Tricks to increaſe his Jealouſie and Ambition; he called in *Theodorich* to his Aſſiſtence againſt his other Brother, promiſing to divide his Territories equally with him: Joyning therefore their Forces, they fell upon *Badericus*, and eaſily overpowering him, deſtroyed both him and the greateſt part of his Army. This done, *Theodorich* departed home not doubting, but the Conditions of the League would be performed. But *Herminefredus* thought nothing leſs; for being once rid of him, he fortified the whole Countrey, and refuſed to ſurrender the ſhare due to *Theodorich*; who hereupon boiled with Anger againſt him, but for the preſent found no ſufficient opportunity to revenge himſelf.

Divodurum hodie Metz ut Gregorio Turonenſi & aliis Metæ urbs Medio matricum olim Regia & Metropolis Auſtraſiæ, Romani haud ita pridem imperii ſed à Rege Franciæ, Anno 1552. cum aliis occupata: Sita eſt ad confluentiam Selliæ in Moſellam. Genebum alio nomine Aurelii & Aureliani hodie Orleans urbs ad Ligerim Carnutum vadicaſſium. Auguſta Sueſſonum ville de Soiſſons urbs Galliæ Belgicæ. Lutetia Metropolis Pariſiorum & totius Galliæ hodie Paris. Vide Gregor. Turonenſ. lib. 3 c. 4.

22. But it was not long, e'er his thoughts were diverted upon another Subject, by the advice and procurement of his Mother. The Murther of her Parents, ſtill ran in her mind, ſhe had often in vain deſired their Deaths might be revenged; but now ſhe thought Providence had decreed it, giving her ſo many Sons, of whom, though one or two might periſh in the Attempt; yet ſhe concluded the thing would be accompliſhed amongſt them. To perſuade them, ſhe uſed powerfull Rhetorick, ſuch as ſuited the Paſſions both of a Daughter and a Mother, to which ſhe added, as ſhe thought as powerfull Reaſons, drawn from the ſame principles of Ambition, and Cruelty which ſhe affirmed, would produce the ſame Effects towards the Grand-Children, and ſo much worſe by how much the Baits and Allurements of ſo great Territories as they now poſſeſſed, were greater than thoſe of their Anceſtours, overcome (it's probable) rather with hopes of bettering their Condition, than of preventing the miſchief by her objected, they levied Forces and with their joynt Powers reſolved upon an Invaſion of *Burgundy*. Before this time *Gundebald* was Dead, and *Sigiſmond* his Son had ſucceeded him, whoſe firſt Wife was the Daughter of *Theodorich* King of *Italy*, and by her he had a Son called *Sygirius*; but after her Death married another, it ſeems ſome waiting Woman, which as the Cuſtome of Step-mothers is, very much hated, and maligned the Youth. He was ſufficiently ſenſible of it, and ſo imprudent, that on a Feſtival day he upbraided her for wearing his Mothers clothes, which drove her into ſuch a Rage, that ſhe never ceaſed to inflame his Father againſt him, telling him of ſtrange Deſigns he had to uſurp and joyn the Dominions of his Anceſtours, to the *Italian* Kingdom of

Gundebaldus 4°. Calend April. Ann [illegible]. Lugduni Abieno Conſule, leges ab ſe editas tulit, quæ extant, earum & Gregorius meminit.

of *Theodorich* his Grandfather. *Sigiſmund* at length overcome with her Importunities, cauſed the poor young Man as he ſlept to be ſtrangled; and preſently after, though too late repenting, went and ſpent his time in a Monaſtery, bitterly lamenting his cruel Jealouſie and Paricide, which was ſhortly after revenged upon him, as our Authours obſerve.

Burgundy invaded.

King *Clodomir* ſlain.

Gregor. Turon. lib. 3. *c.* 6. *Aimoinus de Geſtis Francorum, lib.* 2. *c.* 4.

23. For the Sons of *Chrotildis* in obedience to her Commands, invade *Burgundy* with a great Army. He made as great Preparations for reſiſtence, as time would give him leave, and Courageouſly oppoſed himſelf againſt the Invaders, but in Battel had the worſt. His Brother *Godomir* eſcaped, but he himſelf was taken together with his Wife and Children by King *Clodomir*, and committed to cloſe Priſon at *Aurelia*, or *Orleans*, where while he remains, *Godomir* gathers together his diſperſed Forces, raiſes new ones, wherewith joyning a freſh Army, he renews the War. Hereupon *Clodomir* being obliged to buckle himſelf to Action, would not be perſuaded to ſpare *Sigiſmund*, becauſe he ſhould leave an Enemy at his back, but, though ſome Church-men foretold that in Caſe he ſlew him, he ſhould miſcarry in his Attempt, and receive the very ſame meaſure, put him to Death together with his Wife and Children. Then the following Spring did he invade *Burgundy*, and as ſoon as *Godomir* appeared in the Field, he put his Army to flight, but giving the Chace, the heat of his Bloud, and deſire of Glory ſo tranſported him, that he came up with the middle Ranks of the *Burgundians* before he was aware, and being known by them was incompaſſed, and when he refuſed to yield to quarter, was immediately ſlain. His Head was ſet upon a Spear, by ſo ſad a Spectacle to terrifie and diſ-hearten his followers; but they were thereby ſtirred up to greater Animoſity, and moved to revenge his Death, which they did to purpoſe, purſuing them ſo far that they utterly defeated them, and then returned home with the News of *Clodomir's* death. *Clotharius* his Brother married *Gundeaca* his Wife, and with her his Kingdom. *Chrotildis* his Mother, as ſoon as Grief would give her leave, ſent for his three Sons, *Theodonald*, *Gunthar* and *Clodonald*, and with all Care imaginable brought them up.

They make War upon the *Thuringi*.

Thuringia Regio eſt Germaniæ cis Albim flumen priſcum hodie nomen retinens.

And ſubdue them.

24. All this while, *Theodorich* his mind was fixed upon *Herminfredus* Prince of the *Thoringi*, whoſe ſhuffling and refuſal to allow him his ſhare in the Booty, they had unjuſtly got, ſo overpowered his thoughts, that theſe Wars were ſcarcely able to give him any diverſion. He perſuaded his Brother *Chlotharius* to joyn with him, promiſing him a ſhare of the Prey, and by a ſet Speech to the principal of the *Franks*, wherein he painted out the cruel uſage of the *Thuringians* toward their Anceſtours, he prevailed with them to undertake the expedition, and that with much alacrity. Accompanied with *Chlotharius* his Brother, and *Theodobert* his Son, he invaded their Countrey; where as he was to paſs, they had digged Pits and covered them over with Earth, and the device took at the firſt, a ſmall number of Men and Horſes falling into thoſe Snares; but the thing being once diſcovered, the *Franks* were ſo cautious in their March, that none of theſe Wiles would farther ſucceed, and coming once to ingage their Enemies, they overthrew them with ſo great ſlaughter, that the River *Oneſtrudis*, is ſaid to have been ſo filled with dead Bodies, that they paſſed over upon them, as on a firm Bridge. *Herminefredus* with much adoe eſcaped, and ſecured himſelf in a Fort, whither after his retreat, *Theodorich* ſent to him, and with great Promiſes and Obteſtations perſuaded him to come to him to *Tulbiacum*, where as they once walked together upon the Wall, he fell down and died of the bruiſe. *Gregory* profeſſes he knew not how he fell, although many affirmed, that *Theodorich* was the cauſe of his Death, *Aimoinus* writes expreſly, that he took his opportunity, as they walked and diſcourſed together, and threw him down Headlong; and this no whit Contradicts the probability of the Fact, that he being Dead, he procured all his Children to be ſtrangled. This done, all the Countrey he ſubdued under the Dominion of the *Franks*, who as *Aimoinus* obſerves, had formerly inhabited the Territories of *Thuringia*.

Difference amongſt the Kings themſelves.

25. That *Theodorich* his Conſcience was not ſo tender, but it could ſufficiently digeſt ſuch a Murther as this, farther appears, from what he attempted againſt his Brother *Chlotharius*, while they yet remained in *Thuringia*. Having a deſign to make him away, he ſent for him to conſult about ſome pretended buſineſs, and behind the Hangings, in a Room where they were to ſit, placed ſome armed Men, who being in good time diſcovered by *Chlotharius*, he refuſed to conſult without his followers at his back; ſo that *Theodorich*, ſeeing his deſign was brought to light, fell off, excuſing himſelf, in which Art he was very expert, and preſented him with a Silver Diſh, which afterward repenting he had been ſo bountifull, he ſent his own Son *Theodobert* to beg of him. *Chlotharius* returned the Diſh, and retires home, ha-

Arverni les Auvergnats le Peuple d' Auvergne, gens inter Celticas olim potentiſſima.

ving married *Radegund* the Daughter of *Bertharius*, late Prince of the *Thoringi*. But ſtill the Invaſion of this Countrey, gave occaſion to farther miſchief. A report was ſpread amongſt the *Arverni*, that *Theodorich* was ſlain; whereupon *Archadius* one of the Senatours, ſent to *Paris* to *Childebert*, and invited him to come and take poſſeſſion of his Brother's Kingdom. He came with all ſpeed, and by the means of *Archadius* got into the City; but upon the Rumour that his Brother was alive, and returned out of *Thoringia*, he ſecured the place, and retired with intention to make a Journey into *Spain*, in behalf of their Siſter *Chrothildis*. This Lady had been at the importunate ſuite of *Amalricus* King of the *Goths* in that Countrey, by her Brothers given him in Marriage; but was not treated in any Faſhion becoming her Birth, or Quality, on the contrary handled like a Slave, affronted upon all occaſions, and Contumeliouſly uſed, upon the Account of her Religion eſpecially. For her Husband moved with his *Arian* Zeal, as well as the violence of his own Diſpoſitions, cauſed Excrements and filth to be caſt in her way, as ſhe went to the Orthodox Church, and beat her ſo cruelly, that the Bloud trickling out of her Body, he therewith dyed an Handkerchief; and as *Gregory* reports, ſent it to her Brother. *Aimoinus* tells us, that tired with thoſe Indignities and cruel Uſages; ſhe wrote Letters to her Brothers, which came to the hands of *Childebert*, as he lay in the City of the *Arverni*, which he had by Force wreſted from the Dominion of *Theodorich*.

Childebert invades *Spain*.

26. *Childebert* exceedingly provoked by theſe Letters, and being a Man expert in whatever concerned War, with all ſpeed marched into *Spain*, hoping to ſurprize *Amalricus*. But he found him not unprovided, either by Sea or Land, and by Land it was agreed, that the Controverſie ſhould be decided. There wanted no Courage on either ſide, but the *Franks* had the advantage in their Horſe, which being too ſtrong for the *Goths*, bore down all before them, and after great Execution utterly routed them. *Amalricus* flying for his Life, made toward a Church of the Orthodox Chriſtians, but before he could enter was overtaken, and ſlain by a Trooper of the *Franks*. *Childebert* hearing he was Dead purſued his Victory, with the Terrour whereof the Citizens of *Toletum* being ſtruck, he eaſily took the place, in which finding his Siſter, and exceeding great Treaſure, with them he returned into *France*; where e'er they arrived, *Chrothildis* died in the way, and being brought to *Paris*, was there buried by her Brother. But while *Childebert* invades the Dominions of another, he looſes what he had lately made his own at home. For *Theodorich* diſdaining to looſe his Towns, on which the other upon the Rumour of his death, had ſo confidently ſeized, thought not himſelf obliged to the manners of ſtaying for his return, but with all ſpeed attempted the recovery of his own Inheritance. Entring the Countrey to puniſh the Inhabitants for their eaſineſs, in ſubmitting to an Uſurper, he waſtes all with Fire and Sword. *Archadius* who had betrayed the City, fled to the *Bituriges*, but *Placidina* his Mother, and *Alchima* his Siſter were taken and confined to *Cadurcum*. There was one *Munderick*, who affirming himſelf the Kings Kinſman, Challenged the Sovereignty as his due, and prevailed with many of the ordinary ſort, to own him for their lawfull Prince. Refuſing to repair to *Theodorich*, as knowing ſufficiently for what purpoſe he was ſent for, he ſecured himſelf in a Caſtle called *Victoriacum*; he and all his followers reſolving to die rather, than to put themſelves into the hands of their Treacherous Enemies. Yet when all other attempts failed, by reaſon of the ſtrength of the place, and valour of the Defendants, *Theodorich* procured *Aregiſilus* to Trepan him, who took an Oath (his hands touching the Sacred Altar) that he ſhould receive no harm. When he brought him forth, upon a Watch-word given, the Souldiers were to fall upon him, which *Mundericus* perceiving upbraided *Aregiſilus*, with his perfidious dealing, and vowing that he ſhould not reap any benefit by his Treachery, preſently ran him thorough with his Lance. Then the Souldiers coming on, he ſo laid about him, that he killed many upon the place, and ſold his Life at ſo dear a rate as could be imagined. Being thus made away, his whole Eſtate was ſeized by *Theodorich*.

Biturices vulgo Berry.

Cadurci, Peuple de Querci quorum Metropolis fuit Dueona.

27. *Theodorich* being thus employed, *Childebert* returns, and whether induced by their own Inclinations or the mediation of Friends the two Brothers make a Peace, giving Hoſtages on both ſides, who within a while were all ſold for Slaves, the League being of no long continuance. But while they were friends *Chlotharius* and *Childebert* reſolved to make another expedition into *Burgundy*, and if poſſible to perfect the Conqueſt of that Countrey. They invited *Theodorich* to joyn with them, but he having Married the Daughter of *Sigiſmund* plainly refuſed, neither would

A War againſt the *Burgundians*.

would he permit any of the *Arverni* to ſerve in the War. Yet did they manage their matters with that dexterity, that they took *Auguſtodunum*, and driving *Godomir* quite away, made themſelves Maſters of all *Burgundy*. Thus *Gregory* tells the ſtory as done in the Life time of *Theodorich*, but *Caſſiodorus* who lived at this very time, and had more reaſon to underſtand how matters went than he, relates other paſſages antecedaneous, which he omits, and ſpeaks of the Death of *Theodorich* before the Conqueſt of that Countrey. From his Letters to the Senate and People of *Rome*, it appears that *Athalarick*, who by this time had ſucceeded his Grandfather *Theodorich* in *Italy*, ſent a great Army againſt the *Franks*, that *Theodorich* Brother of *Clodomir* and King of the *Franks* Died, during the ſtay of the *Goths* in *Burgundy*, and the *Franks* declining a Battel, the *Burgundian* betaking himſelf to the Patronage of the *Goths*, * recovered by intreaty what he had formerly loſt in Fight. However not long after, *Godomir* or *Gundemar* as ſome call him, for all his *Gothick* Alliance, was by *Childebert*, *Clotharius*, and *Theodebert* their Brother's Son beaten quite out of his Kingdom, ſpoiled of all Power and Dominion, and driven into Exile.

The French King Theodorich Dies.

Auguſtodunum Bibracte Cæſari, aliis Auguſta, Julia Æduorum, & Flavia, & Florentia, & Pollia, hodie Autun. Metropolis Æduorum ad ima collis Ceniſii & ad Arotium fluvium in Gallia Celtica. Var. lib. 11. *Sed quamvis ſuperba Natio declinaverit Conflictum, vitare tamen proprii Regis nequivit interitum: Nam Theodoricus ille diu potenti nomine gloriatus in triumphum principum noſtrorum languoris potius pugna ſuperatus occubuit.*

* *Recuperavit enim prece quod amiſit in acie.*

28. So that here the Kingdom of the *Burgundians* receiveth its period, who being a People of *Germany* and living beyond the *Rhine*, had firſt under *Honorius* the Emperour Ground allowed them to inhabit in thoſe parts of *Gall* lying neareſt to that River. After the Overthrow received from *Ætius* under *Valentinian* the third. *Sapandia* was given to ſuch as remained of them, which they parted with the Natives and there planting themſelves, quickly began to ſpread through the Neighbouring Territories, and by degrees made themſelves Maſters of that part of *Gall* called *Lugdunenſis prima*, *Maxima Sequanorum*, *Viennenſis*, the *Alpes Graiæ* and *Penninæ* with the Province lying on this ſide *Druentia* now called *Durance*. Theſe Kings of theirs are mentioned in our Books: *Gundicanus* who aſſiſted *Jovinus* the Tyrant in aſſuming the Purple, and being overthrown by *Ætius* the *Roman* General obtained Peace. *Gunderick* and *Chilperick* his Sons aſſiſted *Theodorich* the ſecond King of the *Goths*, againſt *Reciarius* King of the *Suevi* in *Gallæcia*. *Chilperick* had his Seat at *Genona* (now *Geneva*) upon the lake *Lemanus*. The Sons of *Gunderick*, *viz.* *Gundebald* (or *Gundebad*) *Godegiſil*, *Chilperick* and *Godomar* divided the Kingdom amongſt them. *Gundebald* by degrees having made them all away, Reigned alone as we have lately ſeen, and by *Chilperick* his Brother had two Nieces: *Chrona* made a Nun, and *Chrotildis* whoſe Children fully revenged upon his the Death of their Grandfather. For *Sigiſmund* his Son was taken and Slain by *Clodomir*, who alſo defeated his Brother *Godomar* though he was Slain in the purſuit, and could not perfect the Conqueſt. But this was done for him by *Childebert* and *Clotharius* about the ſixth year of *Juſtinian* the Emperour, and the ſeventh of *Athalarick* King of *Italy*, *A. D.* 532. Thus much we thought to add in a ſummary way concerning the ancient Kingdom of *Burgundy*, both that the Reader's memory might be helped as to the Succeſſion of the Kings, and that by the Territories which this day go under that Name, he might not be miſtaken concerning the true extent of the Countrey.

The Seats, And Kings of the *Burgundians.*

29. To return to our *Franks*, *Childebert* and *Chlotharius* the two Brothers having got poſſeſſion of the fair Territories of the *Burgundians* were not therewith ſatisfied, but this Morſel rather whetted their Appetites, and fitted them for ſwallowing a greater bit, *viz.* The Patrimony of their own Nephews. The three Sons of *Clodomir* were all this while Educated under the tender Eye of their Grandmother at *Paris*, which *Childebert* grudged to ſee, and fearing that by her means they might become more Potent than he thought would well conſiſt with his own Intereſt; he ſent to *Chlotharius* his Brother who having Married their Mother, and with her having got Poſſeſſion of their Inheritance, he doubted not would be moſt ready to liſten to his Advice, to meet him ſpeedily at *Paris* there to conſult, whether they had better ſhave the Boyes, and cauſe them to enter into Orders, or rid them of their Lives, and themſelves of all occaſion of fear and jealouſie at the ſame inſtant. *Chlotharius* needed no Wings to make him flie to *Paris*, where when arrived, there needed as little Conſultation, but calling for that *Archadius*, who by his Treachery had ingratiated himſelf with *Childebert*; they ſent him to their Mother with a pair of Sciſſers and a naked Sword, bidding her make choice of one of the two, to cut out and determine the Fortune of her Grandchildren. She falls into a great Rage, and in her fury lets fall this Expreſſion, that ſhe had rather ſee them Dead than ſhaven, if ſo the caſe ſtood that they muſt not Reign. *Archadius* takes her at her word, and returning ſpeedily to thoſe that ſent him, tells them that the Queen complied fully with their deſires. They hereupon haſte thither where the Children

Lie,

Two of *Codomir's* Sons murthered by their Uncles.

Lie, and *Chlotarius* taking the Eldeſt Boy throws him on the Ground, then runs his Sword into his Body under the Arme, and ſo diſpatches him. He that was next to him in Age affrighted with his cries and lamentations, caſts himſelf at the Feet of his Uncle *Childebert*, and calling him Father, uſeth all the Rhetorick which in ſo great an Agony his Childlike Abilities could afford to ſave his Life. *Childebert* was moved with the Anguiſh he ſaw him in, and with tears in his Eyes beſought his Brother to ſpare him, offering him anything he would ask in return for ſo great a kindneſs. But barbarous and furious *Chlotarius* in great heat upbraids him with his Inconſtancy, that having given Original to this Enterpriſe, he now deſerted the cauſe, and vowed that if he would not put the Boy from him, he ſhould die in his ſtead, which made his Courage fail him, and he deſerting the Child, *Chlotarius* ſeized on him, and Murthered him in the ſame manner he had done his Brother.

The third turns Monk.

30. So periſhed two of the Sons of *Cleodomir*, whereof the Eldeſt was but ten years old, and his younger Brother exceeded not ſeven, which feat accompliſhed, their good Uncles ſent after their Attendants to wait on them in the other World, as had been anciently the cuſtome of Princes. But part of their Pray they miſſed; for, while they were buſie with thoſe two, the third, *Clodoaldus* by name, poſſibly being in ſome other Apartment was conveyed away by his Servants, and rejecting all hopes of an earthly Kingdom ſhaved himſelf, entred into Orders, and being afterward made Prieſt, lived and died with great Reputation for Sanctity, at *Novigentum* a Town diſtant but four miles from *Paris*, which from him received a new Name, and at this day is called St. *Clou*, after the manner of the Abbrevations of the Modern *French*, at preſent the Retirement of the Duke of *Orleance* and the Princeſs *Henrietta* of *England* his Lady. In all this affair we hear nothing of *Theodorich*, which makes us more confident he was Dead before this, whatever ſome of our Hiſtorians write to the contrary. *Theodobert* his Son ſucceeded him in his Kingdom of *Metz* or *Auſtraſia*, having Married *Wiſegarda* the Daughter of *Waco* King of the *Lombards*, over whoſe Head he afterward brought another Wife upon this occaſion. The *Goths* having after the Death of *Clodonæus* recovered much in *Gall* that he had taken from them, *Theodorich* ſent this his Son *Theodobert*, and *Chlotharius* alſo *Guntharius* his eldeſt Son to recover thoſe Territories out of their Hands. *Gunthar* went as far as the *Ruteni*, and then, for what cauſe nobody knows, returned. *Theodobert* proceeded as far as the *Bituri ces* or *Bearne*, where he took the Caſtle *Deas*, and coming before another Town called *Capraria*, one *Deuteria* preſented her ſelf to him to mitigate his diſpleaſure againſt the Inhabitants, and ſhe ſo demeaned her ſelf, that he fell in love and afterward Married her, though he had another Wife, and ſhe an Husband yet living in another place.

Ruteni Roüi ergnois Populus Galliæ Celticæ quorum Metropolis Segodunum hodie Rodes.

Theodobert Son of *Theodorich* like to be ruined by his Uncles.

31. Yet do our Hiſtorians ſpeak much in Commendation of *Theodobert*. His Father having Murthered *Syginald* his Kinſman, ſent and Commanded him to deal in the ſame manner with *Gynald* his Son, but he ſhewing him his Father's Letters, he ſent him out of the way, and when he came to be King reſtored him his Patrimony. His Father Dying after he had Reigned above two and twenty years, *Childebert* and *Chlotharius* his Uncles did all that lay in them to deprive him of his Life and Inheritance, and might have done much if he had not had timely notice of his Father's ſickneſs, and got to the place before he expired. Being ſtoutly defended and ſecured in his Throne by thoſe of his Subjects, living about *Leodium* or *Leige*, his Uncle *Childebert* who was the better of the two, and perceived he could not prevail againſt him, invited him to his Court, made much of him, and preſented him very richly at parting, putting him in hopes that he ſhould ſucceed him being Childleſs. Now he was King, he carried himſelf as a Prince both Great and Good, Governing with Juſtice, reſpecting the Clergy, indowing Churches, relieving the Poor, and beſides many other good deeds, remitting all the Tribute that was due to his Exchequer from the Churches of *Arvernum*. However *Deutheria* whom after his coming to be King he had Married, having a Daughter now Marriageable by her other Husband, was ſo jealous of him, that ſhe cauſed her to be put into a Chariot that was drawn by untamed Heifers, and Drowned at *Virodunum* in the River *Moſa*. This coming to the knowledge of *Theodobert* to gratifie his Diſpleaſure, as well as the earneſt deſires of the People, he put away *Deutheria* though he had by her a young Son called *Theoduald*, and took to him *Wiſegarda* whom he had Married ſeven years before. She Dying not long after, he Married another, but would not have to doe with *Deutheria* any more.

Virodunum hoc in loco non eſt Virodunum Æduorum Virdun ſur Saonne, ſed Virodunum Mediomatricum, ſeu Virdun en Lorreine aſſidens fluvio Moſæ hodie Meuſe.

Sect. 3.

More differences among the *French* Kings.

32. *Childebert* and *Theodobert* his Nephew were now very gratious. Notwithſtanding the Clemency that's aſcribed to the one, and Goodneſs to the other; yet conſidering the temper and cuſtome of their Family, a wonder it were if this friendſhip and alliance did not tend to the Deſtruction of ſome of their neareſt Relations, to the ſhedding of ſome of their own bloud. They now lay their Heads together, and conſult how to out *Chlotharius* of his Kingdom, raiſe Forces with ſuch ſpeed, and march againſt him with ſuch expedition, that being ſurpriſed, he was not in caſe to take the Field, but rather concealed himſelf in a Village about *Orleance*, where yet they diſcovered him, and were about to finiſh their Work, when miraculouſly they were prevented. *Chrotildis* hearing that of her two Sons that remained, the one was about to ſheath his Sword in the Bowels of the other, and calling to mind how ſince the time ſhe had firſt ſet them on work of killing their Relations, her Children had neither ſpared Uncles nor Nephews, nor any others whatſoever, but like Savage Beaſts, the more bloud they taſted, the more they thirſted after it, ſhe exceedingly afflicted her ſelf, and going to the Tomb of St. *Martin*, poured out her tears and Prayers to Almighty God, deprecated his diſpleaſure, and implored his help in this time of extremity, to take up the quarrel betwixt her two Sons e'er it ſhould proceed to farther miſchief. And according to her requeſt, to prevent what ſhe moſt feared, on a ſudden ſuch Storms and Tempeſts of Hail and Thunder aroſe, that overthrew all their Tents, broke the order of their Armies, and beat to the Ground the two Aggreſſours, who proſtrate on their Faces, asked pardon for what they had done, and ſent to *Chlotarius* to deſire all paſt might be forgotten, and a firm League of Amity and Alliance might be Concluded. He at whoſe Quarters not the leaſt diſturbance of Weather had happened, readily granted their requeſt, and ſo through the Prayers of their Devout Mother as our Authours obſerve, all matters were compoſed.

An expedition into *Spain*.

33. *Childebert* being now at leiſure, began to think of his expedition he had made into *Spain*, and how he had taken the City *Toledo*. He thought he had not done enough to revenge the injuries offered to his Siſter, but eſpecially deſired to become Maſter of that Countrey, of which at that time he had but had a proſpect. He eaſily perſwaded his Brother *Chlotharius* who bore a mind as reſtleſs and ambitious as himſelf to joyn with him, and together they march as far as *Cæſarauguſta*, (now *Saragoſſa*;) which refuſing to open to them they cloſely beſiege. Such was the condition of the Town, that the Defendants perceived they had nothing to truſt to but their Prayers, and made their ſolemn Proceſſions about the Walls, which the *Franks* ſeeing at a diſtance, imagined they were about ſome magical Charms and Incantations, and apprehending a Countreyman, demanded of him what might be the meaning of ſuch a ſhew. He anſwered, that they Prayed to Almighty God for the preſervation of their City, which the Kings underſtanding, deſired ſome Reliques of St. *Vincent* the Martyr, formerly a Prieſt of the place might be ſent them, and raiſing their Siege departed into other Quarters of *Spain*, which having ſubdued and waſted they returned home with very great Booty. So lame is the account we have concerning this expedition from *Gregory* of *Tours*, and ſuch as follow him, and as herein they are deficient, ſo they totally omit another affair, the knowledge whereof is more neceſſary to the underſtanding of the State of this Nation. At this time *Beliſarius* as we have in its place ſhewn at large, was about to make War againſt the *Goths* in *Italy*, who being ſore preſſed with the difficulties that impended, *Theodatus* their King ſent and made an Alliance with the *Franks* on theſe terms, that to them ſhould be reſigned all that part of *Gall* which the *Goths* had hitherto poſſeſſed with twenty thouſand *Aurei*, on condition that with the *Goths* they would joyntly manage the War againſt *Beliſarius*.

Provence delivered to them by the *Goths*.

34. But e'er this accord could be perfected *Theodatus* Dies, and *Vitigis* ſucceeds him, who perceiving plainly that he could not call that Army which lay in *Provence*, under the Command of *Martius*, to his aſſiſtence, but the Countrey muſt be expoſed to the Inrodes of the *Franks*, cauſed it to be delivered up into their hands, with ſo much money as *Theodatus* had promiſed to procure their friendſhip, (for they were ever moſt averſe to the *Goths*,) and their aſſiſtence againſt the Emperour *Juſtinian*. *Childebert*, *Chlotharius* and *Theodobert* having received the money and Territories, and divided them amongſt them, imbraced the Amity of the *Goths*, and promiſed them ſuccours, but profeſſed they could not ſend them any of their own Nation, becauſe they had entred lately into friendſhip with the *Greeks*, and promiſed aſſiſtence to *Juſtinian* in this War. But thus became the *Franks* Maſters of *Provence*, and that with conſent of *Juſtinian* the Emperour, who confirmed at their deſire what the *Goths* had granted, as *Zonaras* obſerves out of *Procopius*. Now did they

Tom. 3. *Annal.*

they poſſeſs the famous Colonies of the *Phocians* at *Maſſilia*, at *Aquæ Sextiæ*, and of the *Romans* at *Arelatum*, and as *Procopius* teſtifies, began to ſtamp Gold Coins, not with the Image of the Emperour, as the cuſtome was, but with the Effigies of their own Kings; whereas to the *Perſian* King himſelf it was not lawfull, nor to any other Barbarian to Coin Gold money, though that of Silver was permitted them. Afterwards the War growing hot in *Italy*, *Theodobert* that he might ſeem mindfull of his word, ſent ten thouſand Foot to the aſſiſtence of the *Goths*, but theſe were not *Franks* but *Burgundians*, who were Commanded to ſay, that they came without any Orders received from him, for fear of diſobliging the Emperour. When the War was grown out in length, and both *Goths* and *Romans* were waſted and ſpent, our *Franks* conceived it eaſie to get a good ſhare of *Italy*, and repined to ſit idle at home and be lookers on, while others diſputed a province ſo near adjoyning. Forgetting then their late Oaths and accords both with *Romans* and *Goths*, (for this Nation of all others is moſt faithleſs, ſaith *Procopius*,) with an Army of fifty thouſand men under Conduct of *Theodobert*, they invaded *Italy*. They invade *Italy*.

35. Amongſt them there were ſome few Lanciers to guard their King. The reſt were Footmen without either Bows or Lances, wearing a Sword, a Shield, and a Battle-Axe, the Iron whereof was broad and ſharp on both ſides, and the Handle very ſhort, and this upon a ſignal at the firſt Charge, they were wont to caſt from them to break the Enemies Shields and kill their men. How they deceived both *Goths* and *Romans* we have ſhewed in a more proper place, as alſo how paſſing the *Poe*, they ſacrificed ſuch Women and Children as they found, and caſt them into the River, as the firſt ſpoils of War, retaining yet (as *Procopius* affirms,) though Chriſtians much of their old ſuperſtition, and uſing Sacrifices and other impious Rites in making their predictions. We need here put the Reader in mind how they were ſtraitned for Proviſions, and how *Theodobert* being ſeriouſly admoniſhed by *Beliſarius* to conſider what he was about, reſolved it was beſt for him to quit *Italy*, and ſo returned home, for which relations we are beholding to *Procopius*; *Gregory* of *Tours* ſaying little to the purpoſe of theſe matters, and telling an idle ſtory of the Daughter of *Theodorich* King of *Italy*, begotten on the Siſter of *Clodonæus*, as that ſhe Married a Slave, and for that being proſecuted with War by her Mother, ſhe poiſoned the old Woman in the Chalice, for which being depoſed by the *Goths*, they choſe *Theodatus* King of *Tuſcia* for their Prince, who put her to Death for her unnatural cruelty towards her Mother. This you muſt know the Kings of the *Franks* took moſt heinouſly, and ſent to *Theodatus* vowing to be revenged on him for the Death of their Kinſwoman, except he would compound the matter. He ſent them fifty thouſand *Aurei* to be friends, which *Childebert* and his Nephew *Theodobert* parted betwixt them, *Childebert* ever bearing evil will to *Chlotharius*, who was yet even with them, having got into his hands all the Treaſure of their Brother *Cleodomir*. Notwithſtanding the receit of this money, yet *Theodobert* invaded *Italy*, and being ſtraitned for Proviſions, returned home with very great Spoil.

hlot h.

36. To let paſs this fable of *Gregory*, and apply our ſelves to the Narrations of *Procopius*, who was an eye-witneſs of moſt of theſe Tranſactions, we are told farther by him that the affairs of the *Goths* being well-nigh ſunk, and *Beliſarius* lying before *Ravenna*, *Theodobert* thought to make an advantage of their Neceſſities, and ſent to *Vitigis* their King, offering that if he would divide *Italy* with the *Franks*, he would bring ſuch an Army into it, as ſhould eaſily drive thence *Beliſarius* with his *Greeks*. The noiſe of this Embaſſy coming to *Beliſarius* his Ears, he ſends his Meſſengers to *Vitigis*, who convinced him and his *Goths* that it was their intereſt rather to make an accord with the Emperour, than thoſe perfidious *Franks*, and a reſolution they took accordingly, ſending away the Ambaſſadours with a flat denial. Yet for all their good thoughts of the Emperour's Alliance, was *Vitigis* within a little time deſpoiled of all Dignity, and carried Priſoner to *Conſtantinople*, and *Totilas* was choſen King in his ſtead. He having taken and defaced *Rome*, ſent to *Theodobert* for his Daughter in Marriage, and received anſwer that he could not be eſteemed King of *Italy*, nor ever would be, having taken *Rome* but not able to keep it, having demoliſhed part, and quitted the reſt to his Enemies. This cauſed him to caſt away all thoughts of demoliſhing any more of that City. He ſupplied it with Proviſions, commanded to be re-edified what was beaten down at his firſt taking of it, ſent for the Senatours and others home that were confined in *Campania*, and held the Solemnity of the *Circenſian Games*. Of ſuch Reputation and Authority at this time was *Theodobert*.

Thrace waſted and a quarrel with the Emperour.

Agathias, lib. 1. *ad init.*

37. As he was of great Reputation, he was ſufficiently ſenſible thereof, and as of his own Diſpoſition he was bold and active; he now began to entertain greater Conceits and Imaginations in his Head than formerly. While *Narſes* was buſied in *Italy*, and the Emperour's Forces employed againſt the *Goths*, he thought of no leſs than invading *Thrace*, which having Conquered and waſted he deſigned to lay Siege to *Conſtantinople* it ſelf. He levied great Forces, and that nothing might be wanting to ſo great a deſign, he ſent to the *Gepidæ*, *Lombards* and other bordering Nations to make them ſenſible of the danger they were in, and to ſhew how intolerable a thing it was, that *Juſtinian* in his Imperial Edicts ſhould call himſelf *Francicus*, *Alemanicus*, as alſo *Gepidicus* and *Longobardicus*, beſides other Titles, as if he had indeed Conquered all thoſe Nations. And indeed to ſpeak the truth, as well in behalf of *Theodobert* as others, that *Juſtinian* took the ſeveral Titles of *Alemanicus*, *Gothicus*, *Francicus*, *Vandalicus* and *Africanus*, is evident out of his Edicts. But as for ſome of them he might juſtly doe it. The *Goths* he ſubdued having taken *Vitigis* the King, and made great ſlaughter of that Nation by his two Generals *Beliſarius* and *Narſes*; the *Vandals* alſo he had in a manner quite deſtroyed in *Africk*, which might confer alſo upon him the Sirname of *Africanus*. But to the Title of *Francicus*, if we may ſo ſay, he had no Title at all, having no where given them any except we call that an overthrow, when *Narſes* defeated the *Alemans*, their Clients or Dependants, which was after the Death of *Theodobert*. Of this affront (for no leſs he accounted it,) he was highly ſenſible, and though, as *Agathias* judgeth, in all probability he had periſhed in the attempt, yet left he no Stone unturned to puniſh *Juſtinian* for his Arrogance, and had certainly undertaken the expedition, had not Death put an end to him and his deſigns altogether. But concerning the manner of his Death, there are ſeveral relations. *Gregory* writes as if he died of a Conſumption, or ſome other lingring Diſeaſe, and that his Phyſicians made many applications to no purpoſe. *Agathias* tells us this ſtory, that Hunting on a time in the Woods, a fierce Bull ran with all his force againſt a Tree, which puſhing down, one of the Boughs thereof light upon *Theodobert*, and ſo wounded him in his Head that he died the very ſame day of the hurt. In the fourteenth year of his Reign as *Gregory* reckons, or rather his fourteenth being completed, thirty ſeven years after the Death of his Grandfather *Chlodonæus*, the twentieth of *Juſtinian* the Emperour, and the fifth of *Totilas* King of *Italy*, *A. D.* 546.

Theodobert dies.

Lib. 3. *ad calcem.*

Theodobald his Son ſucceeds.

38. To *Theodobert* ſucceeded *Theodobald* his Son, a Child, and under the Government of his Schoolmaſter. After the Death of *Totilas* in *Italy* ſucceeded *Teias*, who being utterly overthrown, the *Goths* that remained were forced to ſubmit to the Yoke, but preſently growing weary of it they ſent to *Theodobald*, deſiring him to conſider their Condition, and how the Tyrant of the world proſpering in this his courſe of deſtroying Nations, their turn could not be far off, but the old Enmities and Wars would be renewed, ſuch as the *Marii*, *Camilli* and the *Cæſars* had made againſt the ancient *Germans*, who had alſo poſſeſſed themſelves of all beyond the *Rhine*, ſo that juſt perſons their ſucceſſours would ſeem to demand nothing but what was their own. *Theodobald* being utterly unexpert in all things that concerned War, and hating buſineſs and labour, was averſe to their Propoſals, alledging rightly that it was neither Policy nor Piety by ſuch a raſh and needleſs adventure, to caſt themſelves into manifeſt Danger. But *Leutharis* and *Butilinus* notwithſtanding the inclinations of their King, entred into a League and promiſed the Ambaſſadours aid. Theſe were Brothers, *Alemans* by Nation, but of ſo great authority amongſt the *Franks*, that they Governed their Compatriots, being firſt owned and preferred by *Theodobert*. Now if we give credit to *Aſinius Quadratus*, (ſaith *Agathias*) an *Italian* born, but one that wrote moſt accurately the affairs of *Germany*, theſe *Alemans* are a ſtrange and mixt People, which their name ſufficiently teſtifies. *Theodorich* King of the *Goths* having now made himſelf Maſter of *Italy*, had ſubdued them and made them Tributaries. As ſoon as he was Dead, and the War broke out betwixt *Juſtinian* and the *Goths*, the *Goths* flattering the *Franks*, and by all means endeavouring to gain their favour, both loſt ſeveral other places, and were forc't to quit the Nation of the *Alemans*; for being to fight not ſo much for their Dominion as their being it ſelf, they conceived themſelves bound to relinquiſh all their diſtant and ſupernumerary Subjects, and ſquare and limit their affections by the Rules of Neceſſity. The *Alemans* being thus quitted by the *Goths*, *Theodobert* thought it as much his intereſt to gain them, and ſo bringing them under, left the Dominion over them and his other Subjects to his Son *Theodobald*. They began now, eſpecially the wiſer ſort, to be civilized, and in their civil Government conformed themſelves much to that of the *Franks*. As to Religion they differed, beſtowing on

Ubi ſuprà.

The *Alemans* ſubmit themſelves to the *French*.

on Trees, Rivers, Hills and Groves Divine Honours, by cutting off the Heads of Horſes and other Creatures, and Sacrificing them to theſe dumb deities.

39. *Leutharis* then, and *Butilinus*, as we have formerly ſhewn, with confidence enough invaded *Italy*, and had ſuch ſucceſs as was anſwerable to their raſhneſs and Indiſcretion. Before this, *Juſtinian*, while *Totilas* yet lived, had ſent his Ambaſſadour to *Theodebald* to deſire he would joyn with him againſt the *Goths*, the ancient Enemies of his Nation, but received this anſwer, that with the *Goths* an alliance was already made, and that if any thing he retained in *Italy*, it was by conſent of *Totilas* and the free ſurrender of that People; for the Reader muſt call to mind what we have already hinted, that *Theodebert* had moreover made tributary to him the *Cottian Alpes* with thoſe toward the Sea, and *Liguria* and the maritime Coaſts of *Venetia*, without any Right or Title, as the Emperour alledged. With this anſwer he diſmiſſed the Ambaſſadour, *Leonatius*, a man born of a conſular Houſe, and ſent *Leudardus* unto *Cæſar* under the ſame Character; and not long after the defeat of *Leutharis* and *Butilinus*, died without iſſue in the ſeventh year of his Reign. Some tell us that by his Teſtament he left his Great Uncle *Chlotharius* his Heir. But *Agathias*, having told his Reader that he died miſerably of a Diſeaſe which from his very Birth had hung upon him, adds that whereas the Law of his Countrey called *Childebert* and *Chlotharius* his two Uncles to the Succeſſion, a moſt grievous contention aroſe about it, which had like to have deſtroyed the whole Family. *Childebert* was both grown old and very Diſeaſed, ſo that he appeared a mere Sceleton, and he had no Male Iſſue, onely Daughters. *Chlotharius* was not very old and had four Sons, all full of Spirit and Vigour. He objected therefore that the Eſtate of *Theodebald* was not to go to his Brother, whoſe Kingdom in a ſhort time would fall to him and his Sons. Neither did his hopes deceive him, for within a while the old man of his own accord gave up his Inheritance to him, fearing its credible the power of the man, and deſirous not to have any quarrels with him. And not long after he himſelf Died, and ſo the Monarchy of the *Franks* was devolved upon *Chlotharius*. *Gregory* writes that *Childebert* died of a lingring Diſeaſe at *Paris*, where he was buried in the Church of St. *Vincent*, which he himſelf had built. And that *Chlotharius* ſeized on his Kingdom and Treaſures, driving his two Daughters into Exile, whereof the name of one was *Crothberga*, and the other *Crothſinda*, as appears from *Aimoinus*. *Childebert* died in the forty ninth year of his Reign, the one and thirtieth of *Juſtinian*, *A. D.* 557.

Theodebald dies.

Fauſtus in vita Mauri apud Papirium Maſſonum, lib. 1.

Agathias, lib. 2.

Childebert dies.

40. Thus remained *Chlotharius* Monarch of the *Franks*, and Lord of all *Gall*, which had not happened to any of that Nation before him, and ſhews us that the beſt things of this world are ſometimes granted to the worſt of Mortals. Yet was he not contented, but behaved himſelf in that manner, as if all was his due without acknowledgment of the power and intereſt of his Benefactour. *Chramnus* one of his Sons was ordained as a ſcourge againſt him, whom being a young man very ſtout and crafty, he had made Governour of *Aquitaine*. He bore himſelf higher than the quality of a Governour, or indeed that of a King would permit, acting all things like a Tyrant, and taking no other meaſures than from his own mere Luſt and Pleaſure. His Father being informed what courſes he took, ſent for him that he might give him better Counſel, but he inſtead of coming to his preſence, goes to his Uncle *Childebert* at *Paris*, whom he incenſes ſo far againſt his Father, that they enter into a League to deprive him both of Life and Kingdom. *Chramnus* hereupon goes back to *Aquitaine*, and in his paſſage endeavours to bring all places to ſubmit to his Commands, his Father being now employed in a War with the *Saxons*, which hindred him from marching againſt him in Perſon, but he ſent *Cherebert* and *Guntran* two others of his Sons to chaſtiſe their rebellious and unnatural Brother. They ſent to him to reſtore what without any Right or Title he had ſeized, and to gain time he promiſed he would doe it, as ſome write, or as others, anſwered that he could not doe it, yet profeſſed himſelf his Father's Subject and Vaſſal, and deſired to keep what he had with his good leave and bleſſing. They no way ſatisfied with this anſwer prepared to fight, and then ſuch an hideous tempeſt of Thunder and Lightning happened, as diverted them from their Intentions. *Chramnus* then betakes himſelf to craft. He cauſes a Rumour to be ſpread that his Father was ſlain in the War againſt the *Saxons*, to which his two Brothers giving credit haſted away into *Burgundy*. He followed them, and taking in his way *Cabillonum* proceeded as far as the Caſtle of *Divio*. In the mean time his Uncle *Childebert* believing alſo that his Brother was Dead, lead an Army to *Reims* and waſted the Countrey with Fire and Sword, which done, he Died of a Fever, ſaith *Aimoinus*, and was Buried at *Paris* by *German* the Biſhop in the Church of St. *Vincent*, of which he himſelf had been the Founder.

To whom ſucceeded *Chlotharius* Monarch of the *Franks*, and Lord of all *Gall*.

Who makes war upon the *Saxons*.

Cabillonum (*hodie Chalon ſur Saone*) *oppidum Æduorum Cabillonenſium ut Divio Æduorum Divionenſium in Gallia Celtica.*

Reims olim Durocottorum urbs Galliæ Belgicæ.

Sect. 3.

41. *Chramnus* thus deprived of his Uncle's Aſſiſtence, betook himſelf to *Conabus* King of the *Britains* in *Aremorica*, where he preſently renewed the War. His Father having made an end with the *Saxons*, concluded he was now by any means to be ſuppreſſed, and for that purpoſe marched himſelf in the Head of an Army into *Britain*, making his Prayers to Almighty God, that he would be Judge betwixt them, and as formerly to *David* over *Abſalom*, ſo he would pleaſe to give to him the Victory over his unnatural Son. This Prayer he made, but not with that Fatherly tenderneſs which he did, whom he took for his Example. For it pleaſing God to give him the Victory, inſtead of rejoycing for the ſafety and Preſervation of his Son, as we may believe *David* would have done, by the great ſorrow he underwent for his Death, he cauſed him with his Wife and Daughters, (his Labour for whoſe Preſervation cauſed him to neglect taking ſhip, and ſo to be ſurprized) to be ſhut up in a poor Cottage, and therein to be burnt to Death. But if we can believe *Gregory*, he ſhewed abundance of good Nature in his Wars with the *Saxons* lately mentioned. They themſelves gave the occaſion, rebelling and denying the payment of their accuſtomed Tributes. But when he was come near their Countrey, they ſent their Meſſengers to him and offered to pay the Arrears, and what he pleaſed more, ſo he would but withdraw his Army and leave them to their wonted repoſe and quiet. He thought it reaſonable, and adviſed that they ſhould not proceed farther againſt them, leſt they ſinned againſt God; but his Men alledged they were Lyars, and there was no truſt to be given to what they ſaid. Then did the *Saxons* offer the half of their Goods to purchaſe Peace, which the King willingly would have accepted, and uſed the ſame Argument as formerly to his Souldiers: But they would not therein Acquieſce. Then did the poor People offer their Clothes, their Cattel, and all other moveables they had, with half their Lands, ſo they might have their Wives and Children free, and Peace to live with them. The King then was very earneſt with his Men foretelling their Ruine, if they would not reſt ſatisfied with ſuch unreaſonable Propoſals, and flatly refuſed to accompany them in the War. Hereupon they fell into a great Mutiny, and running with violence to his Tent tore it in pieces, and loaded him with reproachfull Words; affirming they would kill him, if he refuſed to go along with them. He was forced to go, but Battel being joyned after an innumerable Company ſlain on both ſides, the *Franks* recovered a mighty overthrow. *Chlotharius* in great trouble then asked Peace, profeſſing that he was drawn into the Action by Conſtraint. Which having obtained he returned home.

Invades *Britain*.

And ſurprizing his rebel Son burns him.

42. So is the ſtory told by *Gregory* and *Aimoinus*, both favourers of the *Franks*, to the advantage of *Chlotharius*, which little ſuits with the conſtant Deportment of his whole Life. Twice he committed Paricide: Firſt killing his Nephews, and afterward his own Son, with his innocent Wife and Daughters. Beſides Whoredom and Polygamy; of Inceſt he was guilty, in marrying two Siſters, the one while the other lived, and he frequented her Bed. *Redegund* was his firſt Wife, who was deſcended of the Royal Bloud of *Thuringia*, as we ſaid before, after her the Wife of his Brother *Clodomir*, and the Wife of his Nephew *Theodobert*. Beſides theſe he married *Ingundis*, by whom he had five Sons. *Gunthar*, *Childerick*, *Charibert*, *Gunchramn*, *Sygilbert*, and *Chlotſinda* a Daughter. Then when this his Wife recommended her Siſter *Aregundis* to him, to provide her a wealthy Husband; he himſelf fell in Love with her, and took her to Wife, and by her he had *Chilperick*; beſides *Chramnus*, by another Woman called *Chunſena*. Having this load upon his Conſcience, no wonder, if he was a little ſenſible thereof, eſpecially when he knew he could not live much longer. He came, as *Gregory* tells us, to *Tours*, where at the Sepulchre of St. *Martin* he earneſtly prayed, that his ſins might be forgiven. Then went he and hunted in the Foreſt *Cotia*, where being ſeized with a Fever he returned to the Village called *Compendium*, where as he lay deſperately ſick, he uttered theſe words: *Woe is me, what think you? What kind of heavenly King is he, who kills ſo great Kings in this manner?* which expreſſion *Papirius Maſſonus* ſo interprets, that being a deſpiſer of God, and impious all his Life, he could not die otherwiſe, but with his laſt Breath accuſed him as grudging Life to mortal Men. Yet he died not till the one and fiftieth Year of his Reign: Or rather, that compleated, and was buried by his four Sons at *Soiſſons*, in the Church dedicated to St. *Medard* of his own founding, in the thirty fourth Year of *Juſtinian*, the nineteenth after, the Conſulſhip of *Baſilius*, *A. D.* 560.

His Character.

And Death.

Compendium (*hodiè Compeigne*) *oppidum vero Manduorum* (*le Peuple de Vermandois*) *ad Confluentiam fluviorum Axonæ* (*Aine*) & *Oeſiæ* (*Oiſe*) *in Gallia Belgica*.

43. For four Sons he left to ſucceed him and no more, *Gunthar*, *Chramn* and *Childerick* being dead before him. *Cherebert* Reigned at *Paris*, *Chilperick* at *Soiſſons*, *Guntramn* at *Orleance*, and *Sigebert* at *Metz*, over the *Mediomatrices*. But this diviſion

The Kingdom divided among his four Sons.

ſion was not made before ſome Quarrelling betwixt the two Brothers, for *Chilperick* was before-hand with them, and ſeizing his Father's Treaſures, which lay at *Paris*, therewith hired Souldiers, and began to uſurp upon them all. But they timely gathered together, and forced him to quit his pretenſions, and come to an equal diviſion of the Kingdom by Lot, which fell out as we have obſerved. *Cherebert*, (or *Charibert*) married *Ingoberga* a very devout Woman; who having two Maids called, *Marconeſa* and *Meroſidis*, he fell ſo deſperately in Love with them, that he rejected their Lady. For this *German*, the Biſhop of the place, ſeverely rebuked him, and as ſome ſay, excommunicated him, but he remained incorrigible, and therefore by the juſt Judgment of God both of them were ſpeedily taken away, with a Son he had by one of them; and himſelf not long after dyed at a Caſtle called *Blavia* in *Aquitaine*, and was buried in the Church of St. *Romain*. *Gregory* mentions another Wife he had, *Theodogildis* by Name, the Daughter of an Herdsman, as the other two were deſcended from a Cottage, who after his Death ſent to his Brother *Gunthcramn*, offering her ſelf to him in Marriage with all her Treaſures. He ſeemed to comply with her offer, and receiving the Treaſures thruſt her into a Monaſtery at *Arles*, were tired quickly with the Auſterities of that ſort of Life, ſhe ſent privily to the *Gothick* King of *Spain*, making the ſame offer, ſhe had done to *Gunthcramn*; but the Abbeſs ſurprized her as ſhe was going out of the Monaſtery, and cauſing her to be ſoundly beaten committed her to cloſe Cuſtody, where in great Trouble, ſhe ſpent all her Weariſome days. This is the Account we have from *Gregory* and *Aimoinus*, concerning *Cherebert* King of *Paris*, which ſhews him Guilty of one of his Father's vices, although otherwiſe, as appears from other Writers, he excelled in Virtue, both him and all his Predeceſſours. Amongſt many other things worthy of Memory, he is celebrated for his kindneſs towards *Vultrogotha* the Wife, and his two Couſin Germans, the Daughters of *Childebert*, whom he very much eſteemed, though not onely outed of their Inheritance, but baniſhed by his Father. He is farther ſaid to have hated War and Contention, and to have been a great lover of Peace, Juſtice and good Letters. For he was the firſt of thoſe Kings that underſtood Latin, his Father, Grandfather all before him, having onely ſpoken the *Sicambrian Dialect*, as appears from *Venantius Fortunatus*. Being dead, his three Brothers ſeized on his Kingdom and divided it amongſt them.

Aimoinus Pariſiis Gregorius verò Theſauros aſſervatos ſcribit in villa Brannaco.

Aimoinus. l. 3. c. 2.

Reginol. 1. *Chronic.* & *Ino Camotenſ. in fine partis* 5'. *Decreti.*

Cheribert dyes.

Blavia (*hodie Blais*) *oppidum Santonum ad Sarumnæ maritimum Æſtuarium Gallia in Celtica.*

His Character.

His three Brothers ſucceed him.

Lib. 6.

44. And as they made themſelves the Heirs of his Kingdom, ſo of his vitious Courſe of Life, for all were Inheritours of their Father's intemperance; two of thoſe that ſurvived eſpecially. *Gunthcramn* (or *Guntrann*) had four Sons by divers Concubines; the Names of which, we are of *Aimoinus* his mind, that it is not worth the while to mention, being ſuch like as they were, and all dying with their Iſſue before him. Yet this vice excepted, he is otherwiſe reported to have been a very good Man, a Prince both very juſt and upright, and of him this very ſtrange ſtory is related. Being on a time hunting in the Woods, and his followers diſperſed here and there, as the manner is, with one of his moſt truſty Servants, he ſate down under a Tree, and leaning his Head in his Companion's Boſom fell aſleep. As thus he ſlept, a certain Animal crept out of his Mouth, and made toward the Bank of a Rivolet adjoyning, as if it would go over, which his Servant perceiving, he drew his Sword and laid it a croſs the Brook as a Bridge for it to paſs, which accepting it went over upon it, and entering at the Foot of a certain Mountain after ſome hours ſtay, returned by the ſame Bridge into the Mouth of the King. Hereupon he preſently awaked, and told to his Companion a ſtrange Dream he had had; as that he beheld a vaſt River, over which lay an Iron Bridge, which having paſſed, he entred into a certain Cave at the bottom of a Mountain, wherein he beheld ineſtimable Treaſures, the hidden *Gaza* of the ancient Fathers. Then the other tells him, what he had ſeen come out his Mouth, and it's agreed that the Mountain be ſearched, wherein juſt as he ſaid a Cave was found, and therein an unſpeakable quantity of Gold and Silver, out of which the King at firſt intended to ſend a very rich Veſſel to *Jeruſalem* to our Saviour's Sepulchre; but conſidering the difficulty of the Journey, and how the *Saracens* infeſted thoſe Coaſts, he changed his mind, and beſtowed the Preſent on the Church of *Cabilo*, which he had cauſed to be built over the Sepulchre of St. *Marcellus*, and as long as the Tomb of the Martyr continued in *Gall*, nothing for Workmanſhip could be found that was comparable to it. This Dream of *Guntram* hath been much written and ſpoken of in later times. *Marius* tells us, that it's at this day to be ſeen (he wrote but in the Year, 1635.) ingraven on a Marble in a very ancient Nunnery, in a Town called

Guntram fleſhly given.

Chron. Belg. ad A. D. 594. *Decimo miliari à Veſontione.*

called *Palme* ten miles diſtant from *Beſançon*, an imperial City ſituate in the middle of the County of *Burgundy*. Some that think it not altogether impoſſible, for the rational Soul to be ſeparated from a Man's body, and yet the Body live, a certain kind of Life flowing from that Temperature into which a ſpiritual ſubſtance can have no Energy or natural influence, do much concern themſelves about the Creature that went in and out at the King's mouth.

Sigebert Marries *Bruna* the King of *Spains* Daughter.

Chilperick Marries her Siſter.

Galſonta al. Walſonta & Galſuintha.

But ſtrangles her in Bed.

45. But, to our buſineſs. *Sigebert* knowing, that as to the matter of Women all his Brothers were much blamed, reſolved not to ſplit his Reputation upon the ſame Rock, and therefore ſent into *Spain* to *Athanagild* (or *Athanahild*) King of the *Goths*, to ask his Daughter *Bruna*, or *Brunia*, in Marriage. Having received her with a very rich Portion; for that ſhe was an *Arian*, he cauſed her to be Chriſtned, ſaith *Gregory*, or baptized ſaith *Aimoinus*, and the later adds, that cauſing her to be inſtructed in the Catholick faith, he changed her Name from *Bruna* to *Brunechild*; whereas the other calls her *Brunehild* at firſt, making no mention of any change of Name. The noiſe of this Match being ſpread abroad, and, as in ſuch Caſes is uſual, the fame of the Ladies worth being very great, *Chilperick* the other Brother who was already provided of a great number of Women, ſent into *Spain* to procure her elder Siſter, promiſing that if he could be ſo happy as to enjoy her, he would diſmiſs all his other Wives. *'Atavaſild* believing him, ſent his Daughter to him, *Galſonta* by Name, with a great deal of Treaſure, and his Ambaſſadours at the delivery of her demanded of *Chilperick* an Oath, that he would never put her from the Dignity of Queen. He readily gave it, but being of a very fickle and inconſtant Humour, *Fredegundis* one of his former Wives, again wound her ſelf into his Favour, and prevailed to be once more reſtored to his Bed. Having got ſo great an opportunity of working her ends, ſhe ceaſed not to improve it, and knowing ſhe had got faſt hold of him, carried her ſelf as Queen, and put all affronts imaginable upon *Galſonta*. She poor Lady hereupon makes her Complaints, and for a time is put off with good Words; but at length, the difference increaſing, at the Inſtigation oft he Strumper, he, who had ſhe been taken by an Enemy, was in Honour ingaged to have redeemed her with his Sword, nay if the Caſe had ſo required, with his very Life, as *Aimoinus* obſerves, was not aſhamed, when ſhe thought nothing leſs, in their common Bed to cauſe her to be ſtrangled; a Villany unknown to a Tyrant, a *Frank*, and much more to a King, in ſuch a manner to violate the Dignity of Marriage. His Brothers were inraged at the Fact, and thinking themſelves highly obliged to puniſh it, agreed together to deprive him of his Kingdom. And that the thing took not, *Chilperick* was not ſo much beholding to his own Policy, as the ſlightneſs of the Council, and Advice upon which the Deſign it ſelf was founded.

The *Hunnes* overthrown in Battel.

Albis, Ptolemæo ἄλβις, Germaniæ Celeberrimus fluvius. Germanis Elbe, Bohemis verò, apud quos Originem ſumit, Labe. Elue & Elbe Germanis undecim ſignificat, atque tot Amnes in Albin influunt unde nomen ſortitus eſt ut aliqui atumant.

46. But, to leave the wiving of thoſe Kings, and come to ſomething more fit for them to Practiſe, and us to Write, not long after the Death of *Chlotharius* their Father; the *Hunnes* reſolved to invade *Gall* out of *Pannonia*, with intention there to Plant themſelves, as *Attila* long before them had attempted. *Sigebert* having notice of their Motions and delighting in War, for which Nature had very well qualified him, determined to paſs the *Rhine*, and if they ſtill proceeded to give them Battel in the fartheſt parts of *Thuringia*, which was then ſubject unto his own Juriſdiction. At the River *Albis* they met and fought, where *Sigebert* remained Victour over a moſt fierce Nation, having ſlain many thouſands of them in the place; and returning home, expected thanks from his Brothers, as the common Protectour of all their Dominions. But on the contrary he found, what in the leaſt he never could have expected. *Chilperick* in his abſence had faln upon his Towns, and amongſt others, had made himſelf Maſter of *Reims*, ſo that his Sword which was not yet fully dry, he muſt again bathe in the Bloud of his Countreymen and Relations. *Sueſſio* or *Soiſſons*, the ordinary reſidence of his Brother he takes by Force, and therein *Theodebert* his Son whom he ſent to ſafe Cuſtody, then ingaging in Battel with him himſelf, he routs his Army, puts him to flight, and immediately recovers what was his own before his expedition. Having done thus much, he was ſo good Natur'd, as to make a Peace with him, and not onely reſtored him his Son, whom he ſent away with great Gifts, but the City of *Soiſſons* alſo; and then being at his eaſe, he ſent *Goga* the *Major Domus*, or his principal Miniſter into *Spain* to fetch *Brunchildis*, which he did to his ſorrow, as the event proved. For after ſhe came to have once an Intereſt with the King her Husband, ſhe alienated his mind from him by degrees, and at laſt perſuaded him to put him to Death; from which Act proceeded ſuch Effuſion of Noble, yea alſo of Royal Bloud amongſt the *Franks*, and ſuch ſlaughters were made, that in *Sibylla* her

Prophecy they now accounted to be fulfilled, which foretold, that *Bruma* ſhould come from the parts of *Spain*, before whoſe Face the Nations, or rather, the Kings of the Nations, ſhould periſh; but ſhe her ſelf ſhould be kicked to death by Horſes.

Venantius Fortunatus, l. 7.

The *Saxons* twice beaten by *Sigebert.*

47. In the mean time the *Saxons* being Neighbours to *Thuringia*, did much miſchief to that Province, ſo that *Sigebert* was obliged to ſend one *Lupus*, an induſtrious Man, and a very good Souldier, to reduce them to reaſon, which not being able to doe without blows, he fell upon them, and on the Bank of the River *Bordaha*, cut in pieces many thouſands of them, beſides multitudes that were drowned in the River. Yet notwithſtanding this People would not contain it ſelf within its own bounds, but playing again the ill Neighbour, *Sigebert* himſelf, with a compleat Army, marched againſt them, and ſending away his Horſe, fought on foot at the Head of his Men, which ſo animated them, that they got another notable Victory. At this Battel was preſent one *Conda*, now very Aged, but formerly an excellent Souldier, who loſt two Sons in the Fight, young Men of very great valour. *Theodorich*, the Son of *Clodonæus*, in conſideration of his worth, firſt made him a Colonel; then *Theodobert* having more experience of Conduct, gave him the place of Great Maſter of his Houſhold, and after his Death he was, in a manner, Tutour to *Theodobald*, during his Minority. Afterward he ſerved *Chlotharius* in the ſame capacity, he had one *Theodobert*, who did nothing of moment without him, and at laſt, having outlived ſo many Kings, he was ſo dear to *Sigebert*, that he, and he alone, ſate with him at his Table, than which, amongſt the *Franks*, a greater Honour could not be conferred on a Subject. On the Death of his Sons *Venantius Fortunatus* wrote an Elegant Poem, from which we have this Account of the Battel, and the Fortune of this excellent Captain, which otherwiſe had been buried in eternal oblivion. *Gregory* and *Aimoinus* writing of the Wars againſt the *Saxons*, ſpake nothing of this *Conda*, but great things of *Mummolus*, who obtained ſeveral notable Victories over them, and the *Lombards*, which the Reader may find in the Hiſtory of this People, who at ſeveral times and under conduct of ſeveral Captains invaded *Gall.*

Civil Wars among the Brethren Kings of *France.*

Burdigala, hodie Bourdeaux, oppidum Biturigum Vibiſcorum, de qua conſule Sincerum in appendice ad Itinerarium Galliæ. Bituriges Celtici, ductis duabus ſuæ gentis Coloniis in Aquitaniam, altera Boiorum, Vibiſcorum altera, huc attribuerunt, agrum Burdigalenſem, illi Tarbellicum. Ut innuit Monetus in Geographia Galliæ.

48. Not long after the finiſhing of theſe Wars with the *Saxons* and *Lombards*, the Brothers fell at odds amongſt themſelves, the quarrel beginning betwixt *Sigebert* and *Chilperick*, whoſe Son *Clodonæus* ſeized upon *Burdigala*, but was thence expelled by one *Sigulfus*, who concerned himſelf in behalf of *Sigebert*. In the mean time a difference alſo aroſe betwixt *Sigebert* and *Guntram*, who aſſembled all his Biſhops together at *Paris*, to determine the Controverſie, but the Civil War being to grow into greater flames they refuſed to ſtand to their determination, ſo great were their ſins, as *Gregory* obſerveth. *Chilperick* after this fruitleſs Mediation was ſo far incenſed, as to ſend *Theodobert* his eldeſt Son, who had, when a Priſoner, given his Oath never more to fight againſt his Uncle, to invade the Countries of the *Turoni*, *Pictavi*, and all the other places beyond *Ligeris*, which having formerly been part of the Inheritance of *Cheribert*, had faln to *Sigebert*. At *Pictavi* or *Poictiers* he gave Battel to *Gundobald*, who endeavoured to put a ſtop to his Cariere, and gave him a notable overthrow, with which ſucceſs animated, he waſted with Fire and Sword the greateſt part of the Countrey about *Tours*, and if they had not yielded themſelves in time, had utterly deſtroyed them. Thence he removed to the *Lemonices*, and *Cadurci*, the Territories of whom he invaded, waſted, deſtroyed, burnt their Churches, cauſed their Service to ceaſe, killed their Clerks, demoliſhed the Monaſteries of Men, deluded the Women, overturned all things, ſo that in the Opinion of *Gregory*, the groans of theſe Churches were greater than they had been in the very days of *Diocletian*. *Sigebert*, as he had ſome reaſon, being moved with theſe violent Courſes of his perfidious Nephew, ſent and raiſed Forces beyond the *Rhine*, out of *Thuringia*, and the neighbouring Nations, which making up a great Army, he led them againſt *Chilperick*, who fearing that his Brother *Guntram*, had deſerted him, becauſe overcome by the Threats of *Sigebert* he had let his Forces paſs the readieſt way through his Countrey, deſired Peace, which being granted, he capitulated that the places his Son had waſted, might not be called to account, having done nothing but what they were conſtrained to doe by Acts of ſuch a violent and terrifying Nature.

49. By Virtue of the Accord, he was to give up all that *Theodobert* had lately Conquered, which done, the Army of *Sigebert* was to diſband and march away. But being ſtrangers, and having no other motive to the Service, but the deſire of pay and Booty, they reſolved, ſeeing their time was to be ſo ſhort, to make the

beſt uſe of it they could; and therefore rifled all the Towns about *Paris*, and ſo returned, being nothing pleaſed with *Sigebert* for his ſo ſhort Entertainment, who overpowered ſome with good Words, and others with harſh Deeds, cauſing ſeveral Mutineers to be ſtoned. Now all differences were compoſed betwixt the Brothers, and nothing was expected but a perpetual Amity, and a good Correſpondence not to be infringed. But ſee the natural Diſpoſition of theſe *Franks*: *Chilperick* the Year after raiſes Forces, and again makes Excurſions into the Dominions of *Sigebert*, making waſte of all things he light upon as formerly, which obliged his Brother to recall the Army, he had lately remitted into *Germany*. He himſelf marches toward *Paris*, and ſends Orders to his Subjects living about *Tours* and other places, to make head againſt *Theodobert*, who having no mind to the Employment; he ſent *Godegiſilus* and *Guntram*, two of his Officers againſt him. Upon their appearance in the Field moſt of his Men deſerted him, yet would he with a few , in Compariſon, give them Battel, and being ſlain was carried by *Arnulfus* to the City of *Engoliſme* and there buried. *Chilperick* upon the approach of *Sigebert*, when he heard that his Brother *Guntram* had made his Peace with him fled, to *Tournay* with his Wife and Children, and therein fortified himſelf. *Sigebert* took in all Towns on this ſide *Paris*, and came as far as *Rothomagus* or *Rouen*, whence returning to *Paris* again, thither came to him his Wife *Brunchildis* with her Children.

Tornacum, hodie Tournai, oppidum Belgarum ad Scaldim fluvium.

Rotomagus Roüen hodie Metropolis Venetio Caſiorum in Gallia Celtica.

King *Sigebert* ſtabbed.

50. Now did theſe *Franks*, who had formerly been ſubject to *Childebert* the Elder, ſend to him, offering to renounce the Title of *Chilperick*, and to put themſelves under his Government. Incouraged by this Addreſs, he ſent a Party to beſiege his Brother in *Tournay*, reſolving himſelf to follow with a greater force. At a certain Village called *Victoriacum*, his Army came to a Rendezvous, and here ſetting him upon a Target, (according to the cuſtome of theſe Northern Nations, for ſo *Vitigis* was by the *Goths* inaugurated) they ſaluted him firſt King of *Paris*. Thus far all things tended to his wiſh; but the Fortune of the greateſt Monarchs is very inſtable. Two young men corrupted with gold by *Fredegundis*, the Wife or Strumpet of *Chilperick*, while he prides himſelf in his new Title, and receives the congratulations of his Officers, even in the midſt of the Army, with poiſoned Knives, in thoſe days called *Scramaſaxi*, ſet upon him on each ſide, and wounded him ſo, that he died ſpeedily in the place, in the fortieth Year of his Age, and the fourteenth of his Reign. *Chilperick* having received the News, came out of *Tournay*, and buried him at a Village, called *Lambrus*, near *Doway*, whence he was afterward removed to *Soiſſons*, to the Church of St. *Medard*, which being founded by *Chlotharius*, his Father, had been finiſhed and beautified by himſelf. *Chilperick* thus, by the wickedneſs of other Men, being ſaved from imminent Ruine, from *Tournay* went ſtreight to *Paris*, where finding *Brunichild*, and her two young Daughters, he baniſhed the Mother to *Rouen*, and the Daughters to * *Meldi*, a Town lying upon, or rather a People living near, the River *Matrona*; as for *Childebert*, the Son of *Sigebert*, *Gundebald*, his moſt faithfull Friend, had beforehand with all ſecrecy imaginable conveyed him unto *Metz*. † *Chilperick* by *Andonera*, his firſt Wife, had three Sons, *Theodobert*, *Meroneus* and *Clodonæus*. *Meroneus* he ſent againſt the People living about *Tours*, being the Subjects of his Brother *Guntram*; but coming to that City under pretence of going to viſit his own Mother, who lived baniſhed amongſt the *Cenomani*, he went to *Rouen*, and there he married *Brunichildis*.

Is ſucceeded by *Childebert* his Son.

* *Meldos Papirius Maſſonius ait eſſe oppidum ad Matronam fluvium; at verò Meldi ſive Meldæ ſunt Populi, quorum alii ſunt Belgo-Celtici, ad dextram ſcilicet ripam Matronæ, alii propriè Celtici Sequanam inter & Matronam fluvios; Les Briois Celtiques, le Peuple de Brie Celtique, aut our de Meaux, & deſſa & deſſus la Riviere Mame. Alii ſunt Meldi Maritimi atque Belgici, uti Strabo diſertè ait, & Cæſar ipſe indicat cum ſcribit, ſuo juſſu fabricatas Naves in Meldis, ad ſubvehendos exercitus in Britanniam.*

† *Chilperick ut Venantius tradit, l. 9. potentem & validum adjutorem ſonat. Abjecto litera C, quod in aliis nominibus, Scaligero monente, fieri debet, eſt Hilp-rich, Hilpe Anglis etiamnum* Helpe *auxilium*, Rich *dives aut potens.*

Hilperice potens ſi interpres Barbarus extet,
Adjutor fortis hoc quoque nomen habes.

51. *Chilperick* was inraged upon hearing thereof, fearing the Craft and Wit of the Woman, who he knew would never be reconciled to him, nor his Wife *Fredegundis*, but would work his Son to her own Will, and thruſt him on to dangerous attempts againſt his Family. He goes down therefore with ſome Forces to *Rouen*. They take Sanctuary in a Church of St. *Martin*, whence they refuſe to depart, till he had given his Oath, not onely for the immunity of their Perſons, but of their Marriage alſo. The Accord is made, and being come out of the Church, he feaſts them for two days together, but then takes away his Son, not at all regarding

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ding his Oath. As he returns, News is brought, that thoſe about *Campania* and *Reims*, had riſen up in Arms, and taken from him the City of *Soiſſons*, which raiſed in him ſuch Indignation, that ſpeedily increaſing his Forces by new Levies, he goes againſt them, overthrows them in Battel, and retaking *Soiſſons*, puts many of the Nobility to death. Then ſends he his Son *Clodonæus* againſt the People inhabiting about *Tours*, joining with him, as his Couſellour and Aſſiſtent, one *Deſiderius*. Againſt them *Mummolus*, the Patritian of King *Guntram*, made head, and giving them battel, got the better, killing, *Aimoinus* ſaith, no leſs than fifty thouſand of their Men, with the loſs of twenty thouſand of his own followers, though *Gregory* mentions but twenty four thouſand on the one ſide, and five thouſand on the other. This put *Chilperick* much out of humour, and *Fredegundis*, his Wife, obſerving it, thought it a fit time to turn his Rage and Diſpleaſure upon *Meroneus* his Son, whom ſhe accuſed of Treachery, and abetting the Intereſt of *Brunichildis*. At her inſtigation he is ſhaven, and being thruſt into a Monaſtery in an Iſland called *Aniſola*, near to the *Cenomani*, there it is commanded that he be ordained Prieſt. But by the perſuaſion of one *Guntram*, a Count, he makes his eſcape thence, and reaſſuming the Habit of a Lay-perſon, comes to *Tours*, and takes Sanctuary in the Church of St. *Martin*, where *Gregory* the Biſhop, our Hiſtorian, refuſed to give him the Communion, till he threatned to cauſe a Maſſacre of the People thereabout to be made. He continued here for ſome time, to the great regret of his Father, and *Fridegundis* his Step-Mother, who uſed all means poſſible to intrap him. Being by her Wiles drawn out of this Church, with intention to be ſlain, though he eſcaped the danger, at length, after he had had recourſe to *Brunichildis*, but was rejected, he was circumvented by the People called *Tarabannenſes*, who pretending they would revolt to him from his Father, he uſed all ſpeed imaginable to put himſelf into their Hands. But having him once in their Power, they ſent his Father notice, who uſed all expedition to come at him, which he dreading, and expecting to be cruelly handled, he prevailed with one *Gailenus*, his follower, to kill him, which he did with a Knife, run into his ſide. The King coming after he expired, cauſed *Gailenus* to be tortured to death, with ſeveral others of his attendants. The Report went, that this Train was laid for this unfortunate young Man by *Guntram Boſo*, who was very dear to *Fredegundis*, becauſe he had ſlain *Theodobert*, another Son of *Chilperick*, and by *Ægidius* a Biſhop, who had been a long time very familiar with her.

Aninſula Monaſterium eſt Cenomannorum cui Carileſo hodie Nemen non procul à Ripa Ledi fluminis (le Loir) & Vindocino (Vandome) urbe Ptolemæo cognita.

Qui Tarabannenſes Gregorio ſunt Tarnanenſes Aimoino. Eſt autem Tarnanna ſeu Tarnenna oppidum Morinorum, hodie Teroane.

52. *Childebert* all this while reigned in the room of *Sigebert* his Father, a Child of ſcarcely five years old when the Succeſſion was devolved upon him. By the procurement of *Gundebald* his faithfull Friend, the Eſtates reſolved to ſtick cloſe to him, rejecting all Propoſals which could be made by *Chilperick* his Uncle, who ſeeing that he had eſcaped his Hands, and that his Subjects were not to be moved from their Fidelity, made a Virtue of Neceſſity, pretended great kindneſs, and at his demand releaſed *Brunichildis* his Mother, and ſent her to him. *Guntram*, his other Uncle, ſeemed more ſerious and ſincere in his pretenſions, who having loſt all his Children, after that grief would give him leave to conſider the ſtate of his Affairs, caſt his Eye upon this his young Kinſman, as him whom both Nature and Providence deſigned for his Heir, and therefore he ſent to him, offering him all kindneſs, and deſiring that he would do him the favour to ſee him. Thoſe about the youth weighing all circumſtances, were of opinion, that conſidering he had no Children of his own, he could have no Plot upon him, and ſo they came to an Interview, at a Bridge called *Petreus*, where there wanted no expreſſions, nor other ſigns, of Joy and Affection. After long Embraces, *Guntram* told him, that ſeeing that his Sins had pulled down the Judgment of being Childleſs upon him, and that thoſe who proceeded from the Loins of others were to inherit his Territories, and his Treaſures, he thought none ſo fit as himſelf, his Nephew, whom he now adopted for his Son, deſiring that ſuch affection might grow betwixt them, as became ſo near a Relation, that one Buckler might protect them, and one and the ſame Lance defend them againſt their Enemies. In caſe it ſhould ſo happen, that he ſhould have Children, he promiſed he would look upon him as his Son, and have the ſame kindneſs ever for him as he had at preſent, expecting the like from him, which his Nobility promiſed in his behalf. After this they dined lovingly together, and making each other rich Preſents, parted aſunder, having agreed upon a joint Embaſſy to *Chilperick*, to require that he would reſtore ſuch parcels of their

Childebert courted by his Uncles.

Dominions as he had got into his Hands, or otherwiſe to expect and prepare for War. *Chilperick* ſlighted the Meſſage, ſpending his time in making Cirques both at *Soiſſons* and *Paris*, for entertaining with Shews the People of thoſe parts.

Stirs in *Britain.*

53. About this time happened ſome ſtirs in *Britain*, upon this occaſion. *Maclianus* and *Bodiccius*, both Counts of that Countrey, had by Oath covenanted betwixt themſelves, that whoſoever was the longer liver, ſhould patronize and defend the Sons of the other, no otherwiſe than his own Children. It happens that *Bodiccus* dies firſt, and leaves behind him a Son, named *Theodorick*, whom *Maclianus* treats ſo contrary to his Oath, that he outs him of his Inheritance, and lays it to his own Demains. *Theodorick* thus abuſed, wanders a long time up and down in a deſolate condition; but at laſt the *Britains* took pity on him, and fell with ſuch violence upon the Uſurper, that they kill him, together with *Jacob* his Son, and ſettle *Theodorick* in what was left him by his Father, *Warochus*, another Son of *Maclianus*, ſtoutly making good his own Inheritance. In the mean time *Chilperick* buſies himſelf with *Prætextatus* the Biſhop of *Rouen*, whom accuſing of having conſpired with his Son *Meroneus* againſt him, he brings him to his Tryal before a Synod of Biſhops. *Prætextatus* denied all that was objected. The Biſhops either flattered the King, or at leaſt held their peace, onely *Gregory* of *Tours*, the Hiſtorian, as he himſelf tells us, ſtood to the truth, and for ſo doing came into trouble, but he told the King his own freely. *Chilperick* ſeeing he could not prevail, but that the Biſhop juſtified himſelf ſufficiently, ſet ſome upon him, who perſuaded him that an end might ſpeedily be put to his troubles, and he might not in vain conteſt with the King, to confeſs himſelf guilty, which he did, caſting himſelf at his feet, acknowledging that he endeavoured to depoſe him, and ſettle his Son (whoſe Godfather he was) in his Throne. *Chilperick* moſt unworthily takes advantage at this confeſſion, and falling at the Feet of the Biſhops, demands Juſtice againſt him, and afterward ſends them a Book of Canons, wherein this was contained, *That a Biſhop being taken in Murther, Adultery, or Perjury, ſhould be depoſed.* He required that either his Coat or Rochet might be torn in pieces, or that the hundred and eighth Pſalm, containing the Curſes of *Iſcariot*, might be read over his Head, or that they would proceed to excommunication. The Biſhop of *Tours* withſtood all theſe demands, urging the Canons, againſt which the King had promiſed that he would act nothing. But *Prætextatus* was taken from them, and committed to Priſon, whence endeavouring to make his Eſcape, he was grievouſly beaten, and ſent into an Iſland of the Sea, near adjacent to the City *Conſtantina*. This happened a little before the death of *Meroneus*.

Heavy Taxes impoſed on the Subjects of *France.*

Lemonices ſive Lemonici, hodie Limoſins, Populus Galliæ Celticæ.

54. Not long after *Samſon*, the youngeſt Son of *Chilperick*, died of the Dyſentery, joyned with a Fever. He was born then when *Chilperick* was beſieged in *Tourney* by his Brother, and *Fredegundis* being in great apprehenſion of death, neglected the Infant, aſſoon as it was born, and in a deſperate humour would have ſuffered it to periſh, but he reviled her for her neglect, and commanded it to be baptized, after which it ſcarcely lived four years. *Fredegundis* alſo her ſelf was at this time very ſick, but recovered, to the ruine almoſt of her Huſband's Family, through her implacable Malice againſt his Sons. He, though his Charge and Care by the death of his Children might have been leſſened, yet grew more covetous than ever, at the inſtigation of his Wife, laying ſuch heavy Taxes upon his People, that many of them made the beſt of what they had, and departed out of his Dominions. The *Lemonices* made an Inſurrection, had ſlain (*Aimoinus* ſaith they did ſlay) *Mark* the Collectour, but that he was reſcued by the Biſhop; and burnt all the Books and Papers they could come by, that concerned the Tax. To ſuppreſs this Rebellion, the King ſent certain of his Officers, with competent Forces, who puniſhed the Rioters with great ſeverity, and Churchmen, amongſt others, whom the Courtiers, as *Gregory* tells us, falſly accuſed; which done, more heavy Impoſitions were laid upon the Countrey. Not long after, *viz.* in the fifth year of *Childebert*, which was the nineteenth of *Chilperick* and *Guntram*, ſeveral Prodigies appeared, and were followed by a violent Diſeaſe, which raged all over *Gall*, being that which Phyſicians call *Cholera Morbus*. The Parties were taken with a Dyſentery and Vomiting, which were accompanied with a great pain in their Reins, and in their Heads or Necks. That they vomited was yellow or green, and many thought they were poiſoned, it's certain that ſuch Herbs as are accounted to reſiſt Poiſon,

Then followed a Peſtilence.

did relieve moſt that made uſe of them. Beginning in *Auguſt*, it firſt deſtroyed a multitude of Children, and then invaded thoſe of riper years. *Chilperick* himſelf was brought very low with it, and when he recovered, his youngeſt Son, as yet not baptized, fell ſick, whom when they ſaw in danger, they cauſed to be chriſtned. When he grew ſomething better, his Brother *Chlodobert* was ſeized with the Diſeaſe, whom his Mother *Fredegundis* perceiving in danger of death, began to conſider, and entertain more ſerious thoughts than formerly.

Which deſtroyed vaſt numbers.

55. In this good fit, which was not like long to continue, ſhe became a Preacher of Mercy to the King her Husband, ſhe deſired him to conſider in what danger they were to be bereaved of their Children, and affirmed that the Cries and Tears of Orphans and Widows pulled down theſe Judgments upon their Heads; therefore ſhe beſought him that he would no more burthen his People, but commit to the Fire the Books of the late Tax, which he did with his own hands. Not long after this their youngeſt Son died, whom from the Village *Brennacus* they conveyed to *Paris*, and cauſed to be buried in the Church of St. *Denis*, *Chlodobert*, their other Son, being very weak, they carried in a Litter to the Church of St. *Medard* in *Soiſſons*, and laying him at the Sepulchre of the Saint, made Vows for his Recovery; but he died at midnight of a Conſumption, and was buried in the Church of St. *Criſpin* and *Criſpinian*, Martyrs, the whole City being in deep mourning, as for their neareſt Relations. Of this Diſeaſe alſo died *Auſtrigildis*, the Wife of King *Guntram*, ſo wicked at her death, that unwilling to die alone, ſhe procured two of her Phyſicians to be ſent after her, through her falſe Accuſations. *Chilperick*, by the loſs of his Children, was grown very charitable, giving much to the poor, and liberally endowing many Churches. Yet the bewitching words of his Wife *Fredegundis* made him forget natural Affection it ſelf; for whereas he had but one Son remaining, *Chlodonæus* by Name, ſhe cauſed him to be ſent to *Brennacus*, a place, as ſhe thought, infected, for there her own Children had yielded to Nature. Here, as he lay, he let ſlip ſome fooliſh words concerning his future greatneſs, (for he thought he had reaſon to expect to be King) and the puniſhment he would inflict upon his Enemies. The report hereof being brought to her Ears, ſhe was filled with Rage and Jealouſie, and accuſed him of very wicked Deſigns unto his Father, who was ſo uxorious and unnatural, as to give him up into her Hands. Within a while ſhe cauſed him to be ſtabbed with a Knife, and gave out, that he had killed himſelf, which his miſerable Father eaſily believed, and rejoiced in his deſtruction. His Mother was put to a cruel Death, his Siſter condemned to a Monaſtery, and all their Eſtates were ſeized to the uſe of the Queen, who cauſed a young Woman, with whom *Chlodonæus* was ſaid to be in Love, to be burned alive, and others that favoured his Cauſe, with various torments to be deſtroyed.

The *Britains* invade *Gall*.

56. During theſe Domeſtick Miſeries, which if he could have underſtood it, happened to *Chilperick*, the *Britains*, under conduct of *Warochus*, their Count, invaded his Dominions with Fire and Sword, againſt whom ſome oppoſition was made, but onely with this Effect, that exaſperated them the more, and made them commit great outrages in their Incurſions. He attempted alſo ſomething againſt his Nephew *Childebert*, though to no purpoſe, whoſe Officers had both honeſty and ability faithfully and ſucceſsfully to ſerve him. Betwixt his Brother *Guntram* and him, there was no good Intelligence, and it happening that *Miriothe*, King of *Gallicia*, who there reigned over the *Suevi*, ſending his Ambaſſadours to *Guntram*, he intercepted at *Poictiers*, and cauſed them to be conveyed to *Paris*, where he clapt them in Priſon, and diſmiſſed them not till after a whole years durance. With *Lewigildus* the King of *Spain*, he ſeems now to have been at Peace, notwithſtanding the juſt offence given to the Nation of the *Goths* in the matter of *Galſuintha*; for that King ſent his Ambaſſadour to him, *Egilanus* by name, with whom, being at preſent a violent Arian, though afterward in his miſery he recanted, *Gregory* our Hiſtorian had a diſputation, which *verbatim* he has publiſhed in his Book. Not long after the Ambaſſadours, which *Chilperick* had ſent to *Tiberius* the Emperour, returned, after three years ſpent in their Employment, and after ſo much labour and toil, were ſhipwreckt in the Haven. For not daring to put into the Port of *Marſeilles*, by reaſon of the Diſſentions riſen amongſt the *French* Kings, they made for that of *Agathe*, a Town belonging to the *Goths*, and before they could land, their Ship was by a Tempeſt driven, and ſtriking upon ground was broken to pieces. The Ambaſſadours, and moſt of their followers, yet eſcaped upon Boards ſafe to land, and moſt of their baggage was ſaved, though, as uſually

happens in wrecks, that the adjoining Inhabitants, inſtead of relieving thoſe in diſtreſs, rob them of what the fury of the Waves hath ſpared, the Townſmen pilfred all they could. *Gregory* the Biſhop tells us, he then waited upon the King at *Novigentum*, where he ſhewed him a Jewel he had, made up of Gold and pretious Stones, weighing fifty pounds, for the adorning and ennobling the Nation of the *Franks*, as he ſaid, adding, that if he lived, he would doe more in that kind. He ſhewed him alſo certain *Aurei*, ſent him by the Emperour; whereof each weighed a pound, being ſtamped with the Emperour's Image, encircled with this Inſcription, *Tiberii Conſtantini Perpetui Auguſti*: and having on the reverſe a Chariot with four Horſes, and a Driver, with theſe words, *Gloria Romanorum*. Beſides many other things the Ambaſſadours had brought him.

Civil Wars again amongſt the Kings.

57. Mention being here made of the Diſſentions of the Kings, we are told by our Authour, that while the King lay ſtill in this Village of *Novigentum*, or Saint *Clou*, Ambaſſadours came to him from his Nephew *Childebert*, making offers of Peace and a ſtrict Alliance, by virtue of which they were to out *Guntram* of his Kingdom, and part it betwixt them. *Chilperick* was very glad of the overture, being very deſirous to beget an ill Underſtanding betwixt his Brother and Nephew, and ſoothing them with good Words and large Promiſes, of making *Childebert* his Heir, (foraſmuch as he had not now any Sons left him,) diſmiſſed them with very great rewards. The cauſe of the Quarrel betwixt *Childebert* and *Guntram*, it ſeems, was this: *Guntram*, after his Brother's death, had given part of *Marſeilles* to his Son *Childebert*, but now thought fit to deprive him of it, which the young man much ſtomaching, firſt ſtrengthened himſelf by this New Alliance, and then ſent to him, requiring he might be put into Poſſeſſion of what was his own, elſe he lets him know the keeping of this inconſiderable thing ſhould coſt him the looſing of far greater matters. *Guntram* however refuſes to put him in Poſſeſſion, and aware of ſome force to be attempted, ſecures all the Avenues of his Kingdom. *Chilperick* takes his opportunity at theſe their Diſſentions, and ſends *Deſiderius* with an Army into the Territories of *Guntram*, who takes **Petrogoricum*, † *Aginnum*, and all other Towns in thoſe Quarters of *Aquitaine*.

Several Prodigies.

58. The following Year, which was the ſeventh of *Childebert*, and the one and twentieth of his two Uncles, in the Month of *January*, there was great Thunder and Lightning, Flowers appeared upon Trees, and a Comet appeared, encircled, as it were, with Darkneſs, having a terrible Tail. On *Eaſter*-day, at *Soiſſons*, the Heavens ſeemed to burn. Not far from *Paris* it rained Bloud, and ſo ſtained the Clothes of many, that it could not be got out. Theſe Prodigies were followed by a grievous Contagion, which ſwept away multitudes of People, dying ſuddenly, aſſoon as the *Bubo* appeared on their Groins. This ſame Year, wherein alſo *Tiberius* the Emperour died, had *Chilperick* another Son born, after ſo many he had loſt, which ſo affected him, that he commanded the Priſons to be ſet open, and forgave many Debts owing to his Exchequer. His Son he would have baptized at *Paris*, whither he went on *Eaſter*-Eve, and becauſe by the common Agreement of the Kings, a Curſe was laid upon him that ſhould come into that City without the Knowledge and Conſent of the reſt, to avoid the Curſe he was ſo cunning, as to have ſeveral Reliques of Saints to be carried before him at his Entry. All this while the difference about *Marſeilles* continued betwixt *Guntram* and his Nephew, who now again ſent his Ambaſſadours to *Chilperick*, with offers of entring into a more ſtrict Alliance; and deſires to join with him in an Invaſion of *Guntram*'s Dominions, to force him to reaſon with dint of Sword. The Agreement being confirmed on both ſides by Oath, *Chilperick* being of himſelf ſufficiently inclined to the War, preſently raiſed an Army, and marched to *Paris*, where having done much harm to the Inhabitants, he entred his Brother's Territories, and waſted all where he came with Fire and Sword. Some of his Officers he ſent to take an Oath of Fidelity from the *Biturices*, who refuſing to break their Faith, gave Battel to *Deſiderius* his Captain, and ſo great ſlaughter was made, that of both Armies periſhed more than ſeven thouſand. But it ſeems the *Biturices* had the worſt, for *Chilperick* his Men proceeded toward their *Metropolis*, and made ſuch havock and deſtruction of all things, as, if we can believe an Hiſtorian, and a Biſhop, the like was never heard of in former times, not ſo much as an Houſe, nor a Vine, nor any other Tree,

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* *Petrocorii ſunt ſatìs auguſtus Populus Les Perigordiens, quorum Metropolis Veſſuna, Ellæ amni impoſita Perigneus.*

† *Aginnum, hodie Agen, Metropolis Volcarum Nitiobrigum, ad dextram Garumnæ Ripam, ſupra ipſius & Oldi fluminis confluentem.*

being left ſtanding, and as great Indignities being offered to all hallowed places, by which theſe Forces did paſs.

After the Civil war a great Murrain on Cattel.

59. This did *Chilperick* by himſelf without the conjunction of his Nephew's Arms, which might more imbolden his Brother *Guntram* to make head againſt him, and that he did with ſuch ſucceſs, that falling upon his men in an Evening, he cut off the greateſt part of his Army, and compelled him the day following to ſend, and deſire a Peace, which was granted, the matter being put into the Hands of certain Commiſſioners appointed on each ſide. Then did *Chilperick* recall all his men he had ſent into ſeveral Quarters, who yet in their paſſage did very great miſchief to the Countrey People. This deſolation by War was followed by a great Murrain and Death of Cattel, which raged in ſuch a meaſure, that it became a ſtrange ſight to ſee a Cow, or any other ſuch like Creature. In the mean time, *Childebert* got his men together, and made up a conſiderable Army, which fell ſuddenly into a Mutiny, crying out that the Biſhop of *Rheims*, and ſome others of the prime Miniſters were Traitours, ſelling his Countries, and Cities unto his Enemies, and Tumults aroſe to that height, that they came to the King's Tent, demanding them to be delivered up into their hands, and they with much adoe eſcaped, the Biſhop amongſt the reſt flying as faſt as his Horſe could carry him, and leaving one Shoe behind him for haſte. What this Mutiny of the Army procured we know not, but *Childebert* in the Ninth year of his Reign, had his ſhare of *Marſeilles* delivered up to him by his Uncle *Guntram*. What content ſoever he received hereby, his Uncle *Childebert* about the ſame time had his former ſorrows renewed, his young Son now ſcarce a year old being taken away by a Dyſentery. This cauſed him to give cool Entertainment to the Ambaſſadours of *Lenvichild* the *Spaniſh* King, who being ſent to ask his Daughter in Marriage, for the Son of that King, though he had already conſented to the Propoſals, yet upon notice of his Son's Death, he recalled back the Ambaſſadours, who were now on their way homewards and would needs change the Bride, pitching, inſtead of his Daughter begotten on his beloved *Fredegund*, on another which he had by *Audonera*, lock't up in the Nunnery of *Poictiers*. But the young Lady was averſe, *Radegund* the Abbeſs exceedingly concerning her ſelf, and affirming, that it was a thing altogether improper, for a Maid that had dedicated her ſelf to Chriſt, again to return to theſe Earthly pleaſures.

60. But there wanted not ſome flatterers who made the Queen believe that her young Son was bewitched to Death, and that by the eſpecial procurement of *Mummolus* a great Officer, whom ſhe had of a long time mortally hated. Many of the Women of *Paris*, which either ſhe or her Attendants pretended reaſon to ſuſpect, ſhe ſubjected to various Torments, burning ſome, and breaking others upon the Wheel; then went ſhe with the King to *Compendium*, where ſhe took her opportunity to lay the load upon *Mummolus*, who was inſtantly ſent for, loaded with Chains and grievouſly tortured. Yet did not he confeſs any thing which had relation to the Death of the Child, though he could not deny but that ſeveral Ointments and Potions he had received from thoſe Women, to procure favour and reſpect from the King and Queen. After an increaſe of Torments, when the Hangmen themſelves were weary of their Office, and an end was to be put to their pains, and his ſufferings by the impending Sword, by the wonderfull bounty and kindneſs of the Queen he was reprieved, though carried in a Cart to *Bourdeaux*, and utterly deſpoiled of his whole Eſtate, the loſs of which he not long ſurvived. *Fredegund* to put an end to her ſorrow by deſtroying what was an occaſion of it, burnt all the Clothes and Furniture that belonged to the Child, four Waggons full as was reported, neither would ſhe ſpare ſuch Gold and Silver as had belonged to him, but made it paſs the fornace to alter and deface its former faſhion.

Mummolus tortured through the malice of Queen *Fredegund.*

61. As ſoon as grief would give him leave, *Chilperick* conſidering that his Brother and Nephew were reconciled, and meaſuring the deſires of others by his own Inclinations, preſumed that they would fall upon him to wreſt out of his hands thoſe Towns which upon their difference he had invaded. He therefore ſent to the ſeveral Governours to bid them ſtand upon their Guard, he himſelf went to the City of *Cambray* where he reſolved to ſecure both his Perſon and all his Treaſure; while he here mues up himſelf, he has another Son born to him, whom he commanded to be cloſe kept in the Town called *Victoriacum*, leſt appearing abroad any miſchief ſhould befall him. *Childebert* at this time was in *Italy*, having been formerly hired by *Mauricius* the Emperour for fifty thouſand *Solidi*, to make War up-

The *Lombards* ſubmit themſelves.

on the *Lombards* in that Countrey. *Gregory* tells us that they being apprehenſive of his great Power ſubmitted themſelves to his Commands, gave him great gifts and promiſed fidelity, which done, he returned home having thus deluded the Emperour, who demanding the money to be repayed, he confiding in his own ſtrength, returned him no anſwer at all as to that matter. This Summer many Prodigies appeared, and all the Corn and Wine was deſtroyed by ill weather, a great Murrain alſo raging amongſt Cattel. But the Eyes of the People were ſomething diverted from theſe ſad ſpectacles, by a ſplendid Embaſſy ſent from the *Goths* to *Chilperick* about the Marriage of his Daughter. Nothing was wanting to ſet out the Bride in ſuch an Equipage, as might demonſtrate the Wealth and Magnificence of her Family. An incredible quantity of Gold and Silver he gave her, and her Mother out with ſuch abundance that ſhe her ſelf had hoarded up, that the King himſelf imagined ſhe had utterly exhauſted his publick Treaſure. But ſhe went away with the curſes of the people, of which ſome whole Families were thruſt into Waggons and compelled to accompany her, and as ſhe paſſed out of the Gate of *Paris*, the Axletree of her Chariot brake, which was interpreted as an ill Omen. Fifty Horſemen of her Train ſlipped away, and went to *Children* with their Golden Bridles and Chains, and every day almoſt ſome of her Company left her. The Army that attended her for fear of any attempt from the other two Kings, being about four thouſand men, rifled and pillaged the Countrey, and committed all ſorts of Outrages in their paſſage.

62. While the Bride was thus on her way toward her Nuptial Enjoyments, *Fredegund* her Mother enjoyed her beloved *Lauderick* the *Major Domus* of the Palace, with whom ſhe was ordinarily unclean, carrying it ſo cunningly, that nothing was leſs expected by her Husband, who ſtill in an extravagant meaſure doted on her. But on a time when he was gone out to Hunt, ſhe thinking he was ſure, retired into the inner Room of her Apartment to waſh her ſelf, when the King, either changing his mind as to Hunting or upon ſome other account, ſpeedily returned and followed her into her Chamber, where as ſhe lay upon her face, he in jeſt gently ſtruck her with his Rod. She imagining it had been *Lauderick* called him by that Name, and asked him why he did ſo, or uſed ſome more wanton kind of expreſſion, which *Chilperick* having heard, fell into a violent fit of Jealouſie, and thence into ſo great a Rage that the Houſe could not hold him, but out he would go into the Woods to cool himſelf and vent his paſſion. She underſtood very well by his words and geſtures in what Eſtate ſhe was, and adding boldneſs to her Crime, called for *Lauderick*, told him her miſtake and bid him think of his Grave and not of her Bed any more. He fell into a great unquietneſs curſing the day they had begun their unlawfull Pleaſures, and cried out that he knew not what way to turn him or to eſcape the danger. She in ſhort takes him up and tells him what ſhe would have him to doe to ſave both their Lives, and this was no leſs than to procure ſome to kill the King, as he came home in the dusk of the Evening from Hunting. He approving her advice, which their common danger in his opinion made neceſſary, ſent ſome he could truſt upon the Errand, who as the King lighted from his Horſe diſpatched him in the dark without diſcovery, and when it was done, gave out that the Fact was committed by ſome that had been ſet on by his Nephew *Childebert*, who, they ſaid, were fled amain into the Woods, taking the advantage of the Night and thickets.

Chilperick Murthered by contrivance of his Wife *Fredegund* and her Stalion.

Aimoinus, lib. 3. *c.* 56.

Ita quidem ille rem refert. Chronographi autem Gallici alii aliter. Audi vnum pro omnibus.

Du Haillan dans ſon Hiſtoire de France. Il approcha ſecrettement d' elle, & d'une bagnette qu'il tenoit en la main, luy donna un Coup ſur le derriere de la teſte. Elle qui penſoit quece fut ſon adultere Laudry, luy dit. Il me ſemble mon Laudry qu' un bon Chevalier doit tonſiours frapper par deuant, & non par deriere D'autres diſent qu' elle dit Laudry, pourquóy trappez vous pur derriere, frapper par deuant, ſi vous en avez envie, carie croy que le Roy ſoit parly. Quoy qu'il en ſoit, l' euxe ni l'autre reſponce ne vault gueres, & ne pouuoit eſtre gueres plaiſante a un Mary.

63. Theſe No-bodies were by ſome body purſued with as great ſucceſs as the Reader can imagine, *Lauderick* and *Fredegund* laughing in their Sleeves, and rejoycing that through the ſecret management of the affair, they had not onely eſcaped Death, but ſhould Reign together with her, (it's probable alſo his) Son *Chlotharius*; for ſo was the young Child called. *Madalulphus* the Biſhop of *Sylvaneata*, who attended three days but could not be admitted to his preſence, (he carried himſelf ſo haughtily) hearing he was killed, came to the place and cauſing the body to be waſhed, and better Clothed, carried it by water from *Cala* where the Murther was committed to *Paris*, and there Buried it in the Church of St. *Vincent*, now St. *Germain Dezprez*, where as yet is to be ſeen his Tomb with his Image, cut upon an hollow ſtone, in the Walk that lies before the high Altar toward the North. His left hand is ſtretched out toward his Beard and Throat, as if, as ſome imagine, he

Who is buried at *Paris*.

Locum iſtum quem Gregorius appellat Villam Calenſem, Du Haillan nobis, innuit eſſe Chelles pres Paris.

he would ſignifie that in that part he had been Murthered. But *Philip Lautery*, Maſter of the *French* King's Mint, had his very Seal wherein he was cut in this very poſture, which makes it more probable that it was familiar to him, it having been the ordinary courſe when long Beards were in faſhion, for all ſorts of men as they walked or muſed, to handle them and put them into ſhape. Round about his Sepulchral-ſtone are theſe words ingraved, *Rex Chilpericus hoc tegitur Lapide*, or *King Chilperick lies under this Stone*. In the Table of the *French* Kings to be ſeen ſtill in the Library at *Bruſſels*, he is Pictur'd in an ordinary travelling Coat, ſuch as *Capitolinus* writes that the Emperour *Verus* uſed, or an Hunting Garment, ſuch as *Virgil* ſaith *Dido* was wrapped in when ſhe went out to that ſport, (by him called *Chlamys*, but by *Juvenal Cucullus*, and *Martial Bardocucullus*,) and that in ſuch an ordinary Habit he was ſlain appears by what is written concerning the Biſhop, that he cauſed his body after it was waſhed to be adorned with more Royal Veſtments. He was the firſt of thoſe *French* Kings that applied their minds to Poetry, and without the help of an Interpreter could diſcourſe in ſeveral Languages, if *Venantius Fortunatus* doth not flatter him.

His Character.

64. *Gregory*, the Biſhop, and from him *Aimoinus* writes, that he thought himſelf wiſer than all men living, and in imitation of *Sedulius* compoſed two Books of Verſes, which were very lame in their feet, or *Scazontes*, as *Aimoinus* calls them, ſhort ſyllables being put for long, and long ones for ſhort, through his exceeding great Ignorance in things of this Nature. Yet from the Epitaph he made for St. *German*, ſome plead that he wanted not a Poetical genius, and they grieve that theſe two Books of Verſes are not extant to anſwer for themſelves. It's certain that the Orthography of the *Franks* lame before for want of certain Letters, he made upright by addition of ſuch as anſwered to † ω, χ, θ, φ, or *Omega*, *ch. th. ph.* in the Greek Language, ſending his Edicts abroad, whereby he commanded that Children ſhould be taught them, and ſuch Books as wanted them, to be razed and tranſcribed. But whatever he was as to his Intellectuals, his Morals were naught, as *Gregory* inſtanceth, and we already have ſeen in ſeveral particulars. The Biſhop calls him the || *Nero* and *Herod* of his time, and thus he makes good the names he gives him. As *Nero* of old, ſo he rejoyced in the burning and devaſtation of Cities and Provinces. He animadverted upon perſons on purpoſe to confiſcate their Eſtates. He made his Belly his God, hated the Poor, deſpiſed and reviled the Clergy, upbraiding the Biſhops with their Riches * and Honours, and affirming that all reſpect was from Kings transferred upon their perſons. Out of ſuch a kind of principle, he nulled ſuch † Teſtaments as were made in favour of the Church, as alſo many Orders made by his Father, believing that his own Rules would be infringed after his Death. As for Luſt and Luxury, that in thought cannot be imagined which he indeed did not practiſe. Never was he wanting in deviſing new Arts and Myſteries to oppreſs the people, and if any were found blame-worthy, it was nothing with him to bid their Eyes to be pulled out of their Heads, this being one of his eſpecial directions given to his Judges againſt ſuch as diſobeyed his Orders. In concluſion, he never cordially loved any man, nor ever did any love him. He died in the 23 year of his Reign, the ſecond of the Emperour *Mauricius*, the tenth of *Pelagius* the ſecond Biſhop of *Rome*, the year of our Lord 587, according to the common account, although if according to the computation of *Joſeph Scaliger*, we fix his beginning at the 560 of our Lord, and he Reigned but twenty three years, his Death muſt have faln at fartheſt but into the beginning of the year 584. But conſidering that *Gregory Turonenſis* makes mention of the Emperour || *Mauricius*, before the Death of *Chilperick*, and that he had Reigned ſome time, (ſome years it's poſſible,) whereas the beginning of *Mauricius* is placed but at the 586 year of our Lord, had *Chilperick* Died in the 584, at that time there muſt have been no ſuch Emperour; and therefore this account cannot be true, or the ſeries of the years of the Emperours muſt be alſo unravelled, as upon farther conſideration we ſhall find they muſt; *Tiberius* the Emperour Dying, and *Mauricius* ſucceeding him, rather in the 582 year of our Lord.

Σκάζω Claudico Scazontes verſus, id eſt, Claudicantes, qui numeris ſuis non perficiuntur. *Papirius Maſſon.*

† *Gregor, lib.* 5. c. 44, *apud quem errore Librariorum in Editione Pariſiana,* 1610, *falsò ſcribuntur,* θ, ᛦ, Z, π, *Rectè Aimoinus ut hic, lib.* 3. *c.* 40.

|| *His itaque cum hac præda pergentibus, Chilpericus, Nero noſtri temporis & Herodes, ad villam Calenſem quæ diſtat ab urbe Pariſiana quaſi centum Stadiis, accedit.*

* *Nulli penitus niſi ſoli Epiſcopi regnant, periit honor noſter, & tranſlatus eſt ad Epiſcopos civitatum, Greg. lib. 6. c. ult.*

† *Obſcurè hic ſcribit Gregorius, Teſtamenta quæ in Eccleſiis conſcripta erant, plerunque diſrupit. Sed ſeipſum interpretatur, lib.* 7. *c.* 7. *ubi ait de Guntram no. Teſtamenta defunctorum qui Eccleſias hæredes inſtituerant & ab Chilperico compreſſa fuerant, reſtauravit.*

|| *Ab Imperatore autem Mauricio ante hos annos quinquaginta millia ſolidorum acceperat ſcil. Childebertus, ut Longobardos de Italia extruderet.*

65. *Chilperick* being Dead, the Murtherers notwithſtanding their former hopes by ſome freſh accidents, found themſelves obliged to make their Addreſſes to *Guntram*

tram

Fredegund applies her ſelf to King *Guntram.*

Who enters the Dominions of his Brother *Chilperick.*

tram, who they knew, upon the rumour of the Murther if once it ſhould come out, would be ſpeedily upon them. To colour therefore the matter, as well as to make a vertue of Neceſſity, *Fredegund* having taken up her abode in the Church of *Paris*, ſends him Letters moſt full of fawning and flattery, calling him her Lord, and deſiring him to come and take Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of his Brother, whoſe Son an Infant ſhe was ready to put into his Armes, and fully accommodate her ſelf to his will and pleaſure. *Guntram* it's ſaid, as he ever ſhewed more good Nature than any of his Brothers, wept bitterly at the report of his Brother's Death, and as ſoon as grief would give him leave got together ſome Forces, and therewith marched to *Paris*. *Childebert* his Nephew having notice of what had paſſed, was perſwaded alſo to go thither and ſee what Markets he could make out of the late Calamity, but the Citizens of *Paris* would not admit him into the Town, whereupon he was forced to ſend his Ambaſſadours on his Errand, which was to flatter *Guntram* with the Title of moſt pious Father, and to deſire that the League made betwixt his Father and him might be now moſt ſtrictly obſerved. *Guntram* received them as they had deſerved, charging them with perfidious Dealings, who had never ſuffered his Nephew to ſtand to any Agreement, but lately cauſed him to break all Leagues and Alliances by a late Compact made with *Chilperick*, for driving him out of his Kingdom, and ſharing his Cities betwixt them, and therewith he ſhewed them the very Articles themſelves ſigned with their own hands, and therefore demanded of them how they could be ſo impudent, as to deſire that now he ſhould friendly entertain his Nephew, whom they by their tricks and deviſes had rendred ſo much his Enemy. They intreated him then that if he would not be pleas'd to grant his Nephew what he had once promiſed him, yet he would let him enjoy theſe Towns that had faln to his ſhare by the Death of *Charibert*. To this he replied and ſhewed them the Writings, whereby it was agreed that which ſoever of the Brothers without the conſent of the reſt ſhould go to *Paris*, ſhould looſe his ſhare, and that *Polioctus* the Martyr, with *Hilary* and *Martin* the Confeſſours, ſhould be Judge and Avenger betwixt them. Yet did *Sigebert* his Brother enter that place, and periſhing by the Judgment of God, loſt his ſhare, and ſo alſo did *Chilperick*, ſo that both of them having forfeited their parts, the whole Kingdom of *Charibert* together with his Treaſures was by Law devolved upon him, and that he was reſolved to have it as his right, not having any one to enjoy any parcel of it, except by his own bounty and free gift. With this anſwer, he bade them begon, like diſſembling and perfidious Perſons as they were, and make a relation thereof to his Nephew their Maſter.

Chlotharius ſucceeds *Chilperick* as King.

66. Theſe Ambaſſadours being returned, others were ſent within a while to demand *Fredegund* the Queen might be given up into his Hands, which had procured the Death, as they ſaid, of his Aunt, and had Murthered his Father, his Uncle, and his Couſin Germans; but *Guntram* thinking ſhe might be ſerviceable for ſetling the Affairs of her Son gave anſwer onely, that he would conſider of it, and made much of her, promiſing he would protect her againſt all her Enemies. Now did the Nobility aſſemble themſelves to their King of four months old, whom they called *Chlotharius*, and ordered that all the Towns which had been ſubject to *Chilperick*, ſhould ſwear fealty to *Guntram* and *Chlotharius* his Nephew. *Guntram* as a means to keep all in quiet as well as to ſatisfie Juſtice, cauſed Reſtitution to be made of what had been unjuſtly taken away from any in his Brother's time, gave much to Churches, and confirmed ſuch gifts as having been made to them by Teſtaments, had been aſſigned by *Chilperick* to other Uſes; he carried himſelf to all with much affability, and was very bountifull to the Poor. Yet knowing ſufficiently the humour of his Nation, would not he truſt himſelf amongſt them without a ſtrong Guard where e'er he came. On a certain Lord's day when he was at Church, and the Deacon had injoyned to the People ſilence that the Service might begin, he took the opportunity to ſpeak to them, "adjuring them to be true to him, and not
" Murther him as they had lately done his Brothers; that he might live though it
" were but three years longer to foſter his young Nephews, which were now be-
" come his Adoptive Sons, leſt it ſhould come to paſs (which God forbid,) that he
" and they being made away, all the People ſhould alſo Periſh with them, there
" being none left of their lineage to protect them. This he having ſaid, the
" whole multitude poured out their Prayers to Almighty God for his Preſer-
" vation.

67. While matters thus went about *Paris*, the Daughter of *Chilperick*, *Riguntis* by Name, having proceeded in her Journey toward *Spain* as far as *Toloſe*, and being now upon the Borders of the *Gothick* Territories there made a ſtop to reſt her ſelf and followers, and put her Train into ſome better order and *Decorum*, being wearied and diſordered by the Travel, and Accidents of ſo long a Journey. Here while they made an hault, News comes of *Chilperick* his Death, which when *Deſiderius* a great Officer of the Countrey underſtood, he got together a Company of ſtout Fellows, and entring *Toloſe* ſeized upon all the Treaſure the Lady was carrying along with her, and committed her to cloſe Cuſtody till his return. He then goes and enters into Council with *Mummolus*, with whom he had entred into a ſtrict League and Confederacy two years before, who then lay at *Avinion* with one *Gundebald*, who bore himſelf for one of the Bloud Royal. And ſo it ſeems he was, being a Baſtard Son of King *Clotarius*, who not owning him; his Mother having Educated him after the Royal Faſhion, with his Hair grown in length, preſented him to *Childebert* as his Nephew, and his fleſh and bloud. He having no Sons of his own, receives him and keeps him with him, which being made known to *Clotarius*, he ſent and demanded him of his Brother, and being brought to his Preſence, cauſed his long Hair to be cut off; affirming, that he never begot him. After the Death of *Clotarius* King *Charibert* received him, afterward *Sigebert* got him into his hands, and ſent him to *Coloine* to Priſon, as *Aimoinus* and the *French* Chroniclers will have it. However, thence he made his Eſcape and went to *Narſes*, who then Commanded in *Italy*, for the Emperour; his Hair being grown again, like thoſe of the *Frank* Bloud Royal. In *Italy* he married, begot Children, and afterwards went to *Conſtantinople*, when long after he was invited by ſome (by *Guntram Boſo* 'tis ſaid) to come back into *Gall*, and Landing at *Marſeilles* was entertained by *Theodore* the Biſhop, who furniſhed him with Horſes to convey him to *Mummolus*, who then alſo lay in *Avinion*. Hereupon *Guntram a Dux* (as *Gregory* calls both him, *Deſiderius*, and *Mummolus*) the ſame with *Boſo*, as appears from *Aimoinus* a great Officer of thoſe parts, to conceal it ſeems what he had done, apprehends the Biſhop, and commits him for having admitted a ſtranger into the Countrey, and made way for betraying the Kingdom of the *Franks* into he Emperour's hands, and though he produced a Letter written by ſome Noblemen of the Subjects of *Childebert*, to teſtifie he had done nothing but what he was Commanded to doe, yet came he to great trouble, as alſo did *Guntram* the Officer himſelf, whom King *Guntram* had ſuſpected to have ſent for *Gundobald*.

Mummolus and others enter into a Conſpiracy.

Gregorius, lib. 7. *c.* 24.

68. For *Guntram* the Officer, ſharing with another Officer of King *Guntram*, the Treaſure of *Gundobald* (who had retired for his Security into a certain Iſland of the Sea adjoyning) after he had carried much Gold and Silver to the *Metropolis* of the *Arverni*, where it ſeems his Command lay; went to ſpeak with *Childebert*, and in his return was intercepted by King *Guntram*, who threatned him with Death, for inviting *Gundobald* into *Gall*. He laid the fault upon *Mummolus*, and as a Teſtimony of his Innocency, delivered his Son as an Hoſtage into the King's hand, till he took *Mummolus* and brought him before him. Hereupon he diſmiſſed him, and he gathering a numerous Army went and beſieged him in his City, but to no purpoſe, for after ſome vain Attempts, *Childebert* ſent *Gundulfus* one of his Captains, and raiſed the Siege; *Mummolus* he brought to *Arvernum*, whence after ſome time he returned to *Avinion*, and there joyning with *Deſiderius*, as was ſaid, they conveyed *Gundobald* to a place called *Briva Curretia*, and there according to the Cuſtome, lifting him aloft upon a Target proclaimed him King. But carrying him a third time about the Army, he and the Target fell together, ſo that he could ſcarcely be raiſed by the Standers-by. Now was it *October*, when Bunches of Grapes appeared upon Vines, and Flowers upon other Fruit-Trees. Several ſtrange Lights alſo appeared in the Heavens, the Earth quaked, and ſeveral other ſtrange things fell out, which in the opinion of Men, were foreruners and ſigns of the Ruine of *Gundobald*.

Set up *Gundobald* for King.

69. In the mean time, King *Guntram* ſent his Captains to take in ſuch Cities as having formerly belonged to *Charibert*, his Brother *Sigebert* had reduced to his own obedience. Thoſe of *Tours* and *Poictiers* were inclined toward *Childebert*, *Sigebert* his Son; but the *Biturici* fell into their Territories, and forced them to ſubmit themſelves, at leaſt for a time, to the Government of *Guntram*. *Childebert* his Affairs thus going to wreck, he ſent his Ambaſſadours once more to his Uncle to require, that his Towns might be reſtored, and *Fredegund* given up into his hands, to re-

Comites ſuos habet Greg.

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ceive her Condign puniſhment. But he ſent thoſe that he had formerly employed, who being very unacceptable to *Guntram*; very ſharp words paſſed betwixt them, and from Words it came to Deeds, the King cauſing Dung and other kinds of filth to be caſt out upon their Heads at their departure. *Fredegund* perceiving how much ſhe was favoured by the King, was more imboldned to follow on that Courſe of Cruelty and Bloud, to which her wicked Nature did incline her. Such as came from her Daughter now at *Toulouſe*, though but to bring her the News of her misfortune, ſhe handled with all Indignities imaginable. *Prætextatus*, the Biſhop of *Rouen*, ſhe ſtill perſecuted, who appealing to *Guntram*, it was found that he never had been by any Synod depoſed, which ſhe objected, and ſo he was remitted to his See. The King being now very ſenſible of her unquiet and turbulent Humour, cauſed her to retire to a Village called *Rotboiale* near to *Rouen*, whither ſhe was Conducted by her Husband's Nobility, who uſed her with all Reſpect, and promiſed her to uſe all diligence and fidelity in the Education of her Son. But this Confinement ſhe took in great diſdain, and perceiving her ſelf out of requeſt and Power, began to think of *Brunechild*, whom being in good Eſteem in the Court of her Son *Childebert*, ſhe much envied and hated, and to that degree her more than Womaniſh Emulation roſe, that ſhe perſuaded a certain Clerk to go to her Houſe, and getting into her Family by degrees to inſinuate himſelf into her Preſence, and when he had got a convenient opportunity, to kill her. He cunningly enough obſerved her rules, but by ſome means or other the Plot was diſcovered, and the fellow was ſent back Ignominiouſly to her, whom for his Labour ſhe rewarded, by cutting off his Hands and his Feet. Whether the report of theſe Acts of Cruelty, made *Guntram* ſuſpect ſhe had an hand in her Husband's death or no, we know not, but preſently after, he began to make Inquiſition after it. But ſhe ſo craftily ordered her Affairs, as to caſt the whole load upon *Eberulfus* the Chamberlain, with whom ſhe was faln out, becauſe after the Death of *Chilperick* he refuſed to live with her. This *Eberulf* was a very bad Man indeed, as appears from the Character given him by *Gregory*, who had too much occaſion to underſtand him, and whether Guilty or no, took Sanctuary in the Church of St. *Martin*, his Eſtate being diſpoſed of by the King. Here he had not long continued, when *Guntram* ſent one *Claudius* with great Promiſes to *Tours*, perſuading him, either to take him alive or kill him; yet ſo, as not to violate the Privileges of the place. This *Claudius* being covetous, goeth to *Fredegund* and gets Money of her for doing the feat, then with many Oaths doth he promiſe Friendſhip to the man, and grows ſo Familiar with him, that getting a convenient opportunity he kills him within the Sanctuary. A great Tumult hereupon ariſing, the Servants of *Eberulf*, coming in to reſcue their Maſter, ſeeing him already diſpatched kill *Claudius*, who thus received the reward of his Perjury, and thoſe that belonged to the Church and the Abby, mixing themſelves with the multitude, much more Bloud was ſpilt in the place.

The Inhabitants of *Poictiers* ſubdued.

70. This Year being the tenth of King *Childebert*, thoſe of *Poictiers* revolted again from *Guntram*, againſt whom he ſent a ſtrong Army, and conſtrained them after much hurt done to the Countrey, to return to obedience. This done, the Army had Orders to march againſt *Gundobald*, who improved his time in riſling ſeveral Cities; ſome whereof willingly received him, and others ſhut their Gates upon him, as did *Toulouſe*, though to no purpoſe, not able to withſtand the Power he brought along with him. He perceiving he was like to have a great Task of it, a ſtrong Army being already on its march againſt him, ſent two Meſſengers, or Amballadours as he would call them to *Guntram* with conſecrated Rods in their hands, as was the Cuſtome of the *Franks*, that none might touch them; but having done their Meſſage, they might return in ſafety with the Anſwer. But they were ſo indiſcreet as before they came to the King's Preſence, to blab out the Errand on which they were ſent, which coming to his Ears they were met in the way, and being bound with Chains, were then brought before him. They concealed nothing of their Meſſage, but told him that *Gundobald* who lately arrived out of the Eaſt, and affirmed himſelf the Son of *Chlotharius*, had ſent them to demand his ſhare of his Father's Kingdom, which if by fair means it could not be granted; they were to let him know, that with a numerous Army he would ſpeedily be with him, for all the Men of Courage which inhabited beyond the River *Doronenia*, had joyned themſelves with him, and this he ſaid, that when once they came into the Field, then God Almighty would determine the Controverſie, whether indeed he was the Son of *Chlotharius*. *Guntram* fell into a great Rage, and Commanded

them to be tortured. In their pains, they confeſſed that his Niece the Daughter of *Chilperick* had given up the Treaſures, at *Toulouſe*; that *Gundobald* was earneſtly deſired as King, by all the Nobility of King *Childebert*; for *Guntram Boſo*, who ſome years agoe had made a Journey to *Conſtantinople*, had invited him to come into *Gall*.

Guntram adopts *Childebert* his Heir and Succeſſour.

71. King *Guntram* was very much ſtartled to hear what they ſaid, concerning the Noblemen of *Childebert*, and thought fit to ſend for him, that he might hear the Confeſſion of the Meſſengers. In his Preſence they conſtantly affirmed the ſame thing, and ſome of thoſe that were Guilty abſented themſelves, not daring to be preſent at the meeting. *Guntram* ſeeing how his Nephew was betray'd, in a great Paſſion of Pity and Commiſeration, delivered a Spear into his hands, telling him thereby, he delivered over to him his whole Kingdom; and bidding him go, and what Cities ſoever belonged to him to uſe them, no otherwiſe than his own, for as much as he onely remained of his Lineage, being his Brother's Son; and therefore deſigning him his Succeſſour, utterly diſclaiming all elſe whatſoever. Then taking the Youth apart, he diſcourſed with him in private, Conjuring him, that he ſhould not reveal what he propounded to him. He told him, whom he ſhould make of his Council, whom he ſhould truſt, of whom to beware, whom to employ, and whom to remove from places of truſt and Employment. Eſpecially, he gave warning to beware of *Egidius* the Biſhop, who ſaid, had ever been an Enemy to him, and had forſworn himſelf very often to his Father. Then Dining together, he turned to the followers of his Nephew, and bade them look upon him now no more as a Child, but Reſpect and Reverence him as their King. Having ſpent three days together, they parted with all Expreſſions and Tokens of love and kindneſs. *Guntram* gave Order, that whatever Towns had been ever his Father's ſhould be given up into his hands, and bade him beware of *Brunechild* his Mother, whom he ought not to truſt, though his neareſt Relation, in matters which concerned *Gundobald*.

Gundobald's Baggage taken.

72. *Gundobald* hearing of the great Army that was coming againſt him, and being now forſaken by *Deſiderius*, came with *Mummolus*, *Bladaſtes* and others to *Connenæ*, a City ſeated beyond the River *Garumna* upon a very high Rock; the Inhabitants whereof he informed, how great a force would preſently be with them, and therefore as a Friend he adviſed them, that whatever Proviſions, or other things they had in the Countrey, they ſhould not fail to fetch them in. This when the Inhabitants had done, after a little time he told them, the Enemy was come, and perſuaded them to iſſue out againſt him, which they innocently did, and then ſhuts the Gates upon them, and keeps them out. The Army which we ſaid had incamped it ſelf upon the River *Dordonia*, hearing that *Gundobald* lay on the farther Bank of the *Garonne*, were reſtleſs to be at him, upon a Rumour, that there he lay with all the Treaſure which had belonged to *Rigundis*, the Daughter of *Chilperick*. Leaving the more inconſiderable ſort, with the Baggage behind them, the reſt ventured to paſs the River, and though many of them were drowned, yet a ſufficient number got ſafe over to the other Bank, where they found a multitude of Camels and Mules loaden with Gold and Silver, which having ſhared and incamped themſelves before *Connenæ*, and not ſatisfied with their former Booty, plundred and waſted all the Countrey adjoyning. Then began they to jeer and revile *Gundobald*, calling him *Bellimeres*, for ſo King *Guntram* affirmed he was rightly called, and that his Father was a poor Artificer, naming him both a Miller and a dreſſer of Wooll. He from the Walls laboured to take them off from their violent Proſecution, telling them, he was the true Son of *Chlotharius*; and how by *Guntram Boſo* he had been invited from *Conſtantinople*, upon Pretence that the Royal Family was much diminiſhed, *Guntram* his Brother (as he called him) onely ſurviving now of all his Father's Children; beſides *Childebert* the Son of his Brother *Sigebert* was but young, and *Chilperick* his other Brother had lately left an Infant behind him. He inſiſted much upon the Hardneſs of his Caſe, and ſaid he was willing to appear before his Brother *Guntram*, and ſtand to his Judgment and Award.

73. This nothing moved the Souldiers, who perceiving the Town was not to be ſtormed, thought beſt to ſend to *Mummolus*, and try whether they could work him off, and perſuade him to oblige King *Guntram*, by deſerting and delivering up into his hands this Counterfeit, as they termed him. *Lendegiſilus* then who Commanded the Army (being by Office the Over-ſeer of the King's Horſes, whom they commonly call *Comeſtabilis* ſaith *Aimoinus*) procuring Speech with him up-

braided him for quitting his Allegiance to his King, and ſerving an Uſurper; asked him what it was he could expect, whether to periſh miſerably, the Town being once taken; and adviſed him by all means to return to his Maſter, who was very mercifull, and whom he might oblige by removing theſe Difficulties and Intanglements, into which he had been the great means of bringing him. *Mummolus* promiſing he would conſider of the matter, goes back into the City and reſolves with *Sagittarius* a Biſhop, and *Waddo* (for *Bladaſtes* fearing what might happen, had ſet Fire to an Houſe belonging to the Church, and while they were buſie in quenching it eſcaped) to yield both the Town and *Gundobald* into the King's hands. *Lendegiſilus* promiſing them Pardon and Indemnity. *Mummolus* then tells *Gundobald*, he had tried the minds of the Beſiegers, and found them not at all averſe to him; but they admired he would not have recourſe to his Brother *Guntram*, whom he knew would be Friendly to him, and he uſes many Arguments to put himſelf into the King's hands. The poor Man ſaw well enough his drift, and fell into a Paſſion, upbraiding him and his Companions, for inviting him into *Europe*, taking his Treaſures from him, when he arrived, and now betraying him into the hands of his Enemies. Perceiving it was no contending he went out with them, and being delivered up after a Prayer, wherein he deſired Almighty God to be the Avenger of his Cauſe, he was by one *Bollo* Count of the *Bituriges*, tumbled down the Rock into the Valley, and by *Boſo* brained with a ſtone.

And he himſelf betrayed by thoſe of the Conſpiracy is Murthered.

74. The Rabble inſulted over the dead Body, ſtabbing it with their Lances, which done, they tyed a Rope to the Feet, and dragged it throughout the Camp; after which having the Hair and Beard torn from the Head, it was caſt out unburied in the ſame place, where he had been ſlain. The Town they plundered, put all to the Sword they found in it, and then burnt it, no kind of Perſons, things or places being ſpared. *Lendegiſilus* returning to the Camp with his Priſoners, *Mummolus*, *Sagittarius*, *Cariulfus* and *Waddo*, ſent privately to the King, to know what ſhould be done with them. *Guntram* returned word they ſhould be put to Death, for a Terrour to others in time to come, which was executed ſpeedily upon *Mummolus* and the Biſhop; for *Waddo* and *Cariulfus* having left their Sons as Hoſtages were got away, *Waddo* who was the *Major Domus* of *Rigunthis*, afterward betook himſelf to *Brunichild*, and being kindly entertained was diſmiſſed with great Gifts; *Cariulfus* took Sanctuary in the Church of St. *Martin*. Of all the Treaſure which *Lendegiſilus* brought home, *Guntram* beſtowed the greateſt part upon Churches and the Poor, and of another vaſt ſum (two hundred and fifty Talents of Silver, and above thirty of Gold, which being an old Treaſure was found by *Mummolus* as it was thought, and was now by his Wife diſcovered) that part which fell to his ſhare (for he divided it betwixt himſelf and his Nephew *Childebert*) he beſtowed (or the moſt of it) upon ſuch like uſes. Thoſe that had been too ſlow in the expedition againſt *Gundobald* were fixed, and amongſt the reſt, ſuch as belonged to a Cell of St. *Martin*, which our Hiſtorian, the Succeſſour of that Saint takes, very ill. This year was there great Famine throughout all *Gall*, many of the poorer ſort periſhing for want of Victuals.

Mummolus and the reſt faring little better.

75. *Childebert* having received Money from the Emperour to fight againſt the *Lombards*, was ſo wearied with the Importunities of the Imperialiſts, or aſhamed to have received the Money, and not performed this part of the Bargain, that he ſent his Army into *Italy*; but his Captains it ſeems being too many, and equal in Power, quarrelled one with another, and returned without having any thing of moment performed. This year was notable for the great Rains, which ſeemed to turn Summer into Winter; but neither they, nor the Water of the Sea it ſelf was ſufficient to extinguiſh two Fires, which if we may Credit our Authour, conſumed two Iſlands, in the ſpace of ſeven days, with the Inhabitants, and all other things upon them. In another Iſland near *Vienna* was there a Pool, which being full of Fiſh, the Water of it was for the depth of an Ell turned into Bloud, ſo that for many days together multitudes of Dogs, Fowls, and ſuch like Creatures came and fed upon it. The year after, *Guntram* ſent his Armies to invade *Spain*, and revenge the Death of *Ingundis* his Niece, the Siſter of *Childebert*; who having been married to *Herminichild*, the Son of *Lennichild*, the King, was grievouſly perſecuted for her Orthodox Religion, and her Husband being put to Death, was before (or after) delivered into the hands of the Emperour's Officers, (he having an Army in thoſe Quarters) and died in *Africk*, as ſhe was going with her young Son to *Conſtantinople*, who, as others write, after his Mother was dead in *Italy*, was thither conveyed

in

An Army ſent into *Italy*.

Spain alſo invaded by the *Franks*.

Gregorius hac in re non ſibi conſtat.

Sect. 3.

in ſafety to the Emperour's Court. The Armies of *Guntram* and his Nephew *Childebert* made ſeveral Inrodes and Attempts upon certain places, upon the Fronteers, but uſually with bad Succeſs, and one time with very great loſs of Men. Of this defeat *Fredegund* was thought to be a principal Cauſe, by the cloſe Intelligence ſhe was preſumed to have in *Spain*, though nothing could be proved againſt her. However, ſhe attempted to Murther *Childebert* by her Emiſſaries, whom ſhe furniſhed with poiſoned Knives, and though this her deſign was diſcovered by the Men themſelves, who confeſſed ſhe had ſent them to doe the Deed, under the diſguiſe of Beggars; yet *Prætextatus* the Biſhop of *Rouen*, againſt whom ſhe had long time born a great Grudge, ſhe procured to be wounded to Death in his own Church, as he was celebrating Divine Service.

76. About this time, the whole City of *Paris* in a manner was burnt, yet were the Churches and the Houſes of the Prieſts ſaved; a Report going, that the City was ſo Conſecrated of old, that no Fire ſhould abſolutely prevail againſt it, neither any Mouſe nor Serpent be found in it; but in his time *Gregory* tells us, the River about the Bridge being cleanſed, a Serpent and a Mouſe of Braſs were found in it, after which both Mice and Serpents appeared without number, and it was thenceforth ſubject unto Fire. This ſame Year, which was the eleventh of *Childebert*, was a Son born unto him, and called *Theodobert*, at whoſe Birth King *Guntram* ſo very much rejoyced, that upon the News received, he ſpeedily ſent away his Ambaſſadours with great Gifts to the Child: “Saying, that if it pleaſed God, that Father and Son ſhould live together, the Boy might prove a great Inſtrument for advancing the Honour and Reputation of the *Franks*. *Fredegund* was much out of Humour, to ſee the Family of her Rival thus proſper, and though of late ſhe had had but ill Succeſs, as to the Bloud Royal; yet ſhe reſolved to make another Tryal, and that now upon the Perſon of *Guntram*, thinking that if he were once out of the way, ſhe ſhould be better able to deal with young *Childebert* and his Relations; but neither would this Project take, for the Man was diſcovered in the Church e'er he could come at the King as he went to Prayers, and rewarded as he had deſerved. The ſame Year, which was the twelfth of *Childebert*, he had another Son born, who was named *Theodorick*, and a little after by the means of his Uncle *Guntram*, he diſcovered a dangerous Conſpiracy for taking away his Life, entred into by one *Rauchingus Urſio*, and *Berthefred*, Men of prime note and Employment in his Kingdom. Not long after, was *Guntram Boſo* by both Kings at a meeting judged to Death for Treaſon; whoſe Death broke the Heart of *Agenius* Biſhop of *Verdun*, that paſſed his Word for him. About this time the *Britains* inhabiting *Aremorica*, made great Devaſtations in the Countries about *Nantes* and *Renes*, and though upon apprehenſion of an Invaſion to be made into their own Territories, they humbled themſelves, and condeſcended to terms, yet when the Danger was over, they again renewed their Hoſtilities. The *Lombards* now courted *Childebert*, and deſired a Marriage betwixt their King and his Siſter *Clodoſuinda*, to which he at firſt was minded to condeſcend; but *Leunieldus* the King of *Spain* being lately Dead, *Richardus* his Son and Succeſſour, having abjured the *Arian* Hereſie, purged himſelf of the other Siſters Death, who had been married to his Brother, and moſt earneſtly deſired his Alliance. This made him break his Promiſe made to the *Lombards*, and becauſe he knew not well how to excuſe himſelf, and come off by fair means, he reſolved to begin the Quarrel firſt, and in Complyance with the Emperour's pretenſions, ſent an Army to invade *Italy*.

Gregor. Turon. lib. 9.

The *Britains* make great Devaſtations about *Nantes* and other places.

77. This Army had the ſame Succeſs, as others that had been ſent before, and was to be expected from the joynt and equal Command of ſeveral Officers. So great ſlaughter was made of them, as if we may Credit an Hiſtorian, and a Biſhop, the like never had happened unto this Nation. *Childebert* upon the News of the defeat, was touched with ſo great a Senſe of the Diminution of his Honour, that he reſolved to raiſe another Army, and lead it himſelf into *Italy*, of which deſign they having notice given them, ſent to him, gave him fair Words, and by a Promiſe of Tribute diverted him from his purpoſe; though when they ſaw the ſtorm was over, they never became ſo good as their Word. *Guntram* his Uncle had adviſed him to a Peace, as indeed being more favourable to the *Lombards* than the *Goths*, whom he diſtaſted for the Cruelty ſhewn to his Neice, the Wife of *Herminfredus*; and for that in the ſeveral Attempts he had made to revenge her misfortune, and to gain upon the Territories of the *Goths*, he had moſt commonly come off with diſadvantage. Notwithſtanding what his Nephew *Childebert* had deſigned

Two expeditions in *Italy*, but with loſs.

deſigned about the Match, he ſent another Army into *Septimania*, where it was ſurprized, lying in great ſecurity, by the *Goths*, and utterly routed, above two thouſand being taken Priſoners. This made *Guntram* ſuſpect his Nephew of having held Intelligence with the Enemy, and, as it was uſual with thoſe Kings, upon any miſunderſtanding he ſhut up his frontier Towns, and denied all paſſage to his Subjects, and this increaſed his jealouſie, that *Childebert* had lately thoughts of ſending his eldeſt Son *Theodobert* to reſide at *Soiſſons*, which he interpreted as done with deſign to make, as it were by ſtealth, a paſſage to *Paris*, by which means gaining the Hearts of the Citizens, he would puſh then for the whole, and deprive him, if it might be, of his Kingdom. He ſpake now very harſhly of *Brunichild*, as having laid the platform of this deſign, and affirmed ſhe had ſent for one of the Sons of *Gundobald* to marry him. He cauſed a Synod of Biſhops to be ſummoned to meet on the firſt of *November*, and many were on their way from the utmoſt parts of *Gall*, when News was brought that *Brunichild* had purged her ſelf by Oath of the things laid to her charge. Hereupon they returned, and the ways were again opened to any of *Childebert* his Subjects, that had occaſion to paſs into theſe Quarters.

Several Prodigies.

78. *Childebert* now dared to ſend his Son to *Soiſſons*, without fear of giving Offence and matter of Jealouſie to his Uncle. Keeping his own Court with his Wife and Mother near *Stratzburg*, he conſented he ſhould reſide there, at the earneſt deſire of the principal Inhabitants, who received him with all demonſtrations of Kindneſs and Affection, with his Train and Equipage, which was every way appointed as for the Son of ſo great a King. Preſently after a diſcovery was made of a Conſpiracy betwixt *Sunegiſilus*, his *Comes Stabuli*, and others, who had made a compact with *Septimina*, the Nurſe of his Children, to poiſon or bewitch *Failenba* his Queen, which being done, when he had married another Wife, they thought they ſhould rule him as they pleaſed; if not, he was alſo to be ſent out of the way, and then, as Guardians and Protectours of his Children, they were to ſhare the Government. This Year, which was the fourteenth of *Childebert*, after *Eaſter*-Week, ſo great Rains fell, that in the ſpace of three Hours great Rivers ſeemed to run through the Vallies. In Autumn the Trees bloſſomed, and Apples appeared as in the Spring. In *September* Roſes were found to grow, and Rivers overflowed their Banks to ſuch an height as never formerly had been known, to the great hindrance of ſowing the Winter Corn. But theſe Overflowings not onely happened in *Gall*; for *Gregory* tells, that the year following his Deacon returning from *Rome* with certain Reliques, made relation, that the River *Tiber*, in the ſelf ſame Month, had, by an unheard-of Inundation, drowned all that City, deſtroyed the ancient Buildings thereof, and overturned the Barns belonging to the Church, wherein ſome thouſands of Meaſures of Wheat were laid up. A Multitude of Serpents, with an huge Dragon, as big as a Beam of Timber, ſwam down the River into the Sea, and being ſuffocated in the ſalt Water, were caſt dead upon the ſhore, and then followed a dreadfull Plague (called *Lues Inguinaria*, from the *Bubo's* that aroſe in the groin) which ſwept away a great number of People. This is the Plague wherewith many being ſeized, fell into a fit of ſneezing, and ſuddenly died, whence ſome would derive the cuſtome of praying for ſuch as ſneeze, which Opinion we confute in another place. As for this Dragon which ſwam down the River, it could not be of that ſort of Creatures which Naturaliſts properly call Dragons, but ſome other Serpent, monſtrous for bigneſs, and therein exceeding all ſuch creeping things, by *Pliny* called *Boæ*, which he himſelf relates to have been ſometimes ſeen in thoſe parts of *Italy* which lie upon *Tiber*. From the noiſome Vapours iſſuing out of their Carcaſſes, a Venome might be tranſmitted into the Air, already ſubject to putrefaction through exceſs and moiſture.

Lib. 8. *c.* 14.

79. About this time *Childebert* ſent his Ambaſſadours to *Mauricius* the Emperour, who touching at *Carthage* in their way, there happened a great Fray betwixt their Train and the Townſmen, a French Boy having taken ſomething out of a Tradeſman Shop, and refuſing to reſtore it. The Magiſtrate of the Town, to revenge the injury, which was utterly unknown to the Ambaſſadours, fell upon them and their followers at their Lodgings, and though they promiſed to ſpare their Lives, if they would ſurrender their Perſons, yet in the heat of their Fury two of them they killed, *Bodegiſilus* and *Evantius* by Name, and *Grippo*, the third Man that bore this publick Character, hardly eſcaped their violence, ſtanding upon his guard, and ſo gaining time to reaſon the matter with them, and ſhew them the

danger they had incurred. Moved with his Arguments they pacified themſelves, and at length withdrew to their Houſes, and the Magiſtrate came to *Grippo*, and would have excuſed, or at leaſt extenuated the Fact, offering him his utmoſt aſſiſtence for his ſafe travel to the Emperour's Court. Thither being come, after the ſignification of the buſineſs for which he was ſent, he complained of the violence offered to the Law of Nations in the Murther of his Fellow-Ambaſſadours, of which *Mauricius* ſhewed a great Reſentment, promiſing to give all ſatisfaction that *Childebert* ſhould require, who being ſatisfied with what *Grippo* reported at his return, by virtue of the League lately renewed, ſent twenty Captains into *Italy*, to deſtroy the *Lombards*. Several of theſe Officers uſed in their paſſage their fellow-Subjects and Countreymen no otherwiſe than as *Lombards* indeed, acting all things Souldiers are wont to doe in an Enemies Countrey, and when they were come into *Italy*, through their variety of Opinions, and ſeparating themſelves, did little of moment, but being expoſed to the Strategems and Arts of the *Lombards*, after a vain expectation of ſuccours from the Emperour, which was promiſed would be with them after three days, having ſpent three Months in the Countrey, and moſt of them being conſumed with Sickneſs and Famine, the reſt returned home. And before they could reach the ſeveral places of their abode, they were forced to ſell their Arms and their Clothes to buy them Victuals.

80. The Army of the *Franks* being thus retreated, *Apracharius*, the King of the *Lombards*, to prevent all farther Inconveniences of this nature, ſent his Ambaſſadours to King *Guntram*, hoping by his Authority to prevail with, and pacifie his Nephew *Childebert*. *Guntram* by his good words was moved to recommend Peace as a deſirable thing to his Nephew, but while the Ambaſſadours expected their diſpatch in his Court, News came that the King their Maſter was dead, whereupon *Childebert* reſolved to take farther time to deliberate, and telling them he would after mature conſideration ſignifie his Mind to thoſe concerned, therewith diſmiſſed them. *Mauricius*, the Emperour, mindfull of the Affront which had been offered *Childebert*, ſent twelve Men, who were conceived the guiltieſt in the violence made upon his Ambaſſadours in *Africk*; but he, whether to reſerve an occaſion to make uſe of againſt the Emperour, or for other reaſons, ſent the Men back unhurt, ſaying, he could not accuſe them particularly as Authours of the Injury, and that he would ſend Meſſengers of his own to him about this Affair. While theſe Tranſactions were in hand, the *Britains* inhabiting *Aremorica* renewed the uſual Devaſtaſion into the parts about *Nantes* and *Remes*, where committing all ſorts of Inſolencies, King *Guntram* ſent an Army againſt them, under Command of two Captains *Beppolenus* and *Ebracharius*, who being equal in Authority, a pernitious courſe, which yet our *Franks* ordinarily practiſed, fell out by the way, and thereupon the expedition had a ſucceſs ſuitable to thoſe principles. In their march yet they agreed in this one thing, to commit all manner of Villanies upon the Countrey, and having paſſed the River *Vicinonia*, came as far as the other called *Ulda*. It happened *Fredegund*, that Fury of *France*, had a grudge to *Beppolenus*, and therefore hearing that he was employed againſt the *Britains*, ſent to the Aid of *Warocus*, their Prince, a Party of *Baio Caſſine Saxons*, with their Hair cut, and apparelled after the Britiſh Faſhion. *Beppolenus* ingaging with both Nations, though forſaken by *Ebrachartus* his Collegue, who would not come near him out of deſign he ſhould miſcarry, for two days together had good ſucceſs, and ſlew many of them, but the third day was overpowered and ſlain; which done, *Warocus* flattered *Ebracharius*, and ſent him back with fair words, promiſing to ſubmit himſelf in all things unto *Guntram*. Yet forgetting both his Oath and Hoſtages, he had delivered, he ſent *Canaon*, his Son, to fall upon ſuch of the Army as loitered, which he made Priſoners, killing thoſe that reſiſted him. The *Franks* in their retreat fearing to come nigh the Countries they had ſo much injured, leſt they ſhould be prepared for them, took other ways, and did as much miſchief where they came unlooked for. Some accuſed *Ebracharius* the *Dux*, and *Wiliacharius* a *Comes*, as having for money betrayed the Army, whereupon the former was ſorely taken up by *Guntram*, and diſcharged the Court; the other withdrew, and concealed himſelf till the ſtorm ſhould be over.

The *Britains* again infeſt the Countrey.

81. The Year following being the fifteenth of *Childebert*, and the twenty ninth of *Guntram*, this King, who was eminent otherwiſe for his Mildneſs and Moderation, (conſidering the fierceneſs and precipitancy of his Nation and Anceſtours,) committed a Fact, for which he was taxed even by himſelf, with great cruelty

and

An Act of Cruelty in King *Guntram.*

Cabillonum (*Chalon ſur Saone*) *oppidum Æduorum Cabillonenſium. Alluitur fluvio Arari hodie Saone.*

The Villanies of *Fredegundis.*

and raſhneſs. Hunting in the Royal Wood or Foreſt, called *Woſac*, he perceived by ſome evident tokens, that a Deer had been killed, and examining the Keeper, he accuſed *Chundo*, the King's Chamberlain. *Chundo* being taken into cuſtody, ſtiffly denied the Fact, and the other as earneſtly maintaining that he did it; for deciding the Controverſie, the Combate was appointed to them. The Chamberlain had a Nephew which undertook it for him, who wounded the Keeper mortally, but falling upon him, the other received him upon the point of his Dagger, and ſo they periſhed together. *Chundo* ſeeing this, and that his Innocency was left as doubtfull as before, made his eſcape towards the Church of St. *Marcellus*, at *Cabillonum*, but the King being in a great Paſſion, commanded him to be purſued and apprehended, e'er he could reach the Sanctuary, and then to be tied to a ſtake, and ſtoned to death, which he much afterward lamented, and blamed himſelf, that in ſo precipitous and violent an humour, for ſo ſmall a fault, he had cauſed to be made away a very faithfull and uſefull Servant. In the mean time young *Chlotharius*, the Son of *Chilperick*, fell dangerouſly ſick, and all hope of Recovery was over, which cauſed *Guntram* to take a Journey towards *Paris*, to ſettle matters, and prevent all diſorders, in caſe he died, but e'er he reached his Journeys end, news was brought that he was on his Recovery, a great means whereof was a rich Preſent his Mother had made to the Church of St. *Martin*, in the Opinion of our *Gregory* his Succeſſour, who farther tells us, that *Fredegund* her Devotion being now very warm, ſent to *Warocus* into *Britain* to diſmiſs thoſe that had been taken Priſoners when the Forces of *Guntram* made the laſt Invaſion, whereby he judges it was evident, that by her tricks and devices *Beppolenus* had been ſlain, and the Army defeated in that Ingagement. The temper of the Woman conſidered, a very ſlight occaſion might juſtly miniſter matter of ſuſpicion, for about the ſame time when *Childebert* was come into his Chapel, a fellow was there taken upon ſuſpicion, and being tortured, confeſſed he was ſent on purpoſe by her to kill him. He affirmed her Emiſſaries were twelve in all, whereof ſix were come thither, and the reſt were ordered to *Soiſſons*, to intrap, if poſſible, his young Son, there as then reſiding. Such of thoſe Men as could be found, were ſubjected to mutilations of Members, and ſeveral ſorts of Torments; and ſome, to prevent ſuch Sufferings and Indignities, killed themſelves. Above all, *Sunnigiſilus* was moſt plied with tortures, his wounds being ſtill again opened when they began to heal. In his pains he confeſſed not onely what related to the death of *Chilperick*, but ſeveral other Villanies, and diſcovered that *Egidius*, the Biſhop of *Reimes*, was a party with *Raningus Urſio*, and *Buthefred*, for taking away *Childebert* his Life. The Biſhop was ſummoned before a Synod of his Equals, who upon the King's Command, convened for this purpoſe, and being not onely found guilty of this, but of other notorious Treaſons, was depoſed, and afterward baniſhed his Countrey, another being put into his place.

82. *Fredegund* was become ſo obdurate in cruelty, at leaſt had brought her ſelf into that opinion with the People, that no Murther ſcarcely could be committed, no Bloud ſhed, but ſhe muſt be thought to have an hand in it. The People of *Campania*, upon ſuch an occaſion, fell into a Mutiny, deſiring *Childebert* that ſhe might be apprehended, and put to death, and ſhe was forced to make uſe of her Friends and Dependents for her removal to another place. To divert theſe ſtorms, at leaſt to procure her ſelf ſhelter againſt them, ſhe betook her to her flatteries, and now wrote to *Guntram*, to whom giving the Title of *her Lord*, ſhe beſought him to take the pains to come to *Paris*, and there cauſe her Son to be baptized, and be Godfather to him, looking no otherwiſe upon him than as his other Child. The King ſhe had often heretofore amuſed with this Complement, but had ſtill put him off from time to time, he ſuffering her not onely to enjoy her Life, and a Fortune becoming her condition, but alſo to order her young Son's matters, out of reſpect to the place ſhe had born, and her preſent quality of a King's Mother. Now aſſoon as the Gout would give him leave to *Paris* he went, and commanding a Font to be prepared at the Village called *Nemptodore*, where attending the ſolemnity, Ambaſſadours come to him from his Nephew *Childebert*, who no ſooner had received the News of his Uncle's Progreſs, but was ſeized with a fit of Jealouſie and Emulation. They expoſtulate with him for joyning himſelf in Friendſhip and Amity with his Enemies, contrary to their former Accords, and complain that he deſigned to inthrone the Child in the City of *Paris*, a thing which conſidering what regard was ever had to that place by all former Princes could not but tend to the diſrepute and damage of *Childebert* and his Succeſſours. *Guntram*

gave them good words, profeſſed he would make good to a tittle what he had ever promiſed their Maſter, who had no reaſon to be offended at ſo good a work, as being Godfather to his own Brother's Son, an Act of that Piety, that no Chriſtian ought to refuſe. He called God to witneſs, he did it not with any deſign, but in the ſimplicity of his heart, and out of fear of divine Vengeance. In ſumm, he bad them go and tell him, that he would keep the Agreement inviolable, and would never in the leaſt infringe it, except he firſt gave ſome juſt occaſion. Coming then to the Font, he gave the Child the Name of *Clotarius*, wiſhing that he might grow to that Height, Eminency and Power, as he did formerly whoſe Name he bore. Then, after mutual Feaſting and Preſents, he returned to *Chalon*, where, about two years after, he died in the three and thirtieth year of his Reign. In goodneſs he ſeems to have ſurpaſſed all his Predeceſſours, his bounty to the poor, his Piety toward the Church was remarkable. Leaving onely one Daughter, *Chlothiardes* by Name, *Childebert* his Nephew, the King of *Auſtraſia*, ſucceeded him in his Kingdoms of *Orleance* and *Burgundy*. He was buried in the Church of St. *Marcellus*, (which now they call a Priory,) at *Chalons*, of his own foundation, being ſo well accounted of by Poſterity, as to have his Name put into their Martyrology, in which the eight and twentieth day of *March* is conſecrated to his Memory. His Death fell in or about the thirteenth Year of *Mauricius*, the ſeventh of *Gregory* the Great Biſhop of *Rome*. *A. D.* 596.

Clotarius chriſtened at *Paris* by *Guntram.*

King *Guntram* dies.

Childebert ſucceeds him.

Appendix ad Gregor. Turonenſ. Hiſt. & Aimoinus lib. 3. *c.* 81.

83. *Childebert* his Dominions being enlarged by the Acceſſion of two rich and powerfull Kingdoms, had the ſame Itch of Ambition and Covetouſneſs in his bloud as had been uſually in his Anceſtours. To cover yet this Paſſion of his Mind, he was not deſtitute of very ſpecious pretences. *Fredegund* was yet alive, not onely his Enemy in particular, but the Plague and Bane of his whole Family. To revenge the Death of his Father and Uncle he would take up Arms, both who had periſhed by her Villany, not to mention others of their bloud, as the ſeveral Sons of her Husband, whom, as the moſt wicked of all Step-Mothers, ſhe had cauſed moſt cruelly to be made away. He raiſes his Forces, and commits them to the Conduct of two Captains, *Gundoald* and *Wintrio*, whom he commands to invade the Enemies Territories, to plunder and burn all before them, and take as many Priſoners as they could lead away, and with theſe Inſtructions they march from *Campania*, lying about *Reims*, to *Soiſſons*, which they beſiege. In the mean time *Fredegund* knowing how much ſhe was concerned to beſtir her ſelf, omitted nothing requiſite for an effectual reſiſtence. Having called together ſuch of the *Franks* as had been ſubject to her Husband, ſhe ſhewed them their young King hanging at her Breaſt, and by words and geſtures, fitted every way to the preſent occaſion, moved their Pity toward the Infant, and their Indignation againſt thoſe that had no regard to his Tenderneſs and Innocency. She promiſed large Rewards to ſuch as ſhould ſhew themſelves zealous and courageous in his behalf, and deſiring them to obey the Orders of *Lauderick*, (whom King *Guntram*, as *Aimoinus* writes, had left Guardian to her Son,) told them, ſhe her ſelf would find out a Strategeme, whereby they ſhould eaſily overpower their Enemies. Having in the night ſeaſon entred a Wood, *Lauderick* their Captain takes an Hatchet, and cuts down a bough of a Tree, which done, he hangs a little Bell at the neck of his Horſe, and commands all his Followers to doe the like. This they did, and marching all the Night, by break of day came up with the Enemy.

Who prepares an Army againſt *Fredegund* and her Son King *Clotair.*

84. One of the Sentinels that belonged to *Childebert*'s Army, when the day dawned, perceived ſomething he had not ſeen before, and ignorant of what had really happened, demanded of his Companion what ſhould be the matter, for here was a Wood all on a ſudden grown up in that place, where the night before not ſo much as one ſtick appeared. His Companion told him he was drunk the day before, and having not yet digeſted the crudities of his Intemperance, had forgot what he had formerly ſeen; for he affirmed they were in a Foreſt where he might hear the Bells that hung about the necks of the Cattel that were feeding, it being a cuſtome amongſt the *Franks*, eſpecially thoſe of *Auſtraſia*, to hang thoſe Bells at their Necks, that if they wandered far, or were got amongſt Thickets, they might eaſily be diſcovered by the ſound. But while the Centinels continued their diſcourſe, down fell the Wood, and inſtead of green Trees Men appeared in bright Armour, who advancing, fell upon their Enemies unexpected, and taking them at this advantage, while ſome were aſleep, and others lay upon their Pallets, but all were well wearied with their Travel the day before, killed very many, ſome ſay thirty thouſand Men, and put the reſt to flight, amongſt which the Captains

He is overthrown.

themſelves hardly eſcaped. *Fredegund* having obtained ſo great and ſo unexpected a Victory, with *Clotair* her Son, and a numerous Army invaded *Campania*, by *Rheims*, waſting all as ſhe paſſed with Fire and Sword, which done, in a triumphant manner ſhe returned to *Soiſſons*. Such was the ſucceſs *Childebert* had in his deſign againſt her and her Son. The Year following his endeavours againſt the *Britains* had little better fortune, for he loſt as many of his own men, well-nigh, as he ſlew of the Enemy. But his ſucceſs againſt the *Varui* or *Varni*, made him ſome amends, who attempting to rebell, he put almoſt all the whole People to the Sword. He ſurvived this their defeat not long, periſhing, together with *Faileuba* his Wife, by Poiſon, as was reported, (for they both died on one day) in the fourth year of his Reign over *Burgundy*, and the twenty third of that over *Auſtraſia*, the five and twentieth of his Age, *A. D. 600*. *Aimoinus*, the Monk, gives us this Account of his Death. The Continuatour of *Gregory* the Biſhop his Hiſtory, ſaith nothing of the Poiſon, but tells us onely that he died in the fourth year after that he had ſucceeded his Uncle *Guntram*. Some of the modern French Chroniclers, after their manner of Haranguing, uſe many words, and as generally they make more of every ſtory than ancient Authours do warrant, deſcant upon his defeat, and will have him to have died of Melancholy, and they make his Uncle *Guntram* to have outlived this Battel. To be ſure *Childebert* left a great miſs of him amongſt his Subjects, not onely for that his Sons were young, and the inconveniences uſually happening in the Reigns of Children, ſtruck them with apprehenſion of future troubles, but out of reſpect of the worth of his Perſon, and his fitneſs to govern.

King *Childebert* dies.

Aliis Faleuba, aliis Falumbe, & nonnullis Sedelande.

85. He left two Sons behind him, *Theodobert* and *Theodorick*, and one Daughter, named *Tandellema*. Some write that he had both his Sons by his Wife *Faleuba*, others ſay, he had *Theodobert* by a Concubine, and they found their conjecture upon this, that *Brunechild*, their Grand-mother, made *Theodorick* afterward believe, that he was not his Brother, which ſhe would never have attempted, had they been born of the ſame Mother; but hereupon *Theodorick* ſought his Life, and alſo deſired to marry his Daughter. By what ties of Bloud ſoever they were related, their Father's Dominions were divided betwixt them. To *Theodobert*, being twelve years old, fell his Grandfather's Kingdom of *Auſtraſia*; to *Theodorick*, but ten years of Age, the Kingdom of *Guntram*, his Great Uncle, to which his Father ſucceeded by right of Adoption; the one reigned from the *Moſelle* to the *Rhine*, and thence to *Albis*, or *Aube*, far and wide, and the other over *Burgundy*, and down the Rivers *Arares*, *Saone* and the *Rhoſne*, as far as to the *Sardoan* Sea. *Brunechild*, their Grandmother, had the Protection of them, and by her conduct their matters ſeemed well ſettled, which muſt needs be a great Eye-ſore to *Fredegund*. To bring them into trouble, if not into danger, ſhe, ſay ſome, procured the *Hunnes* (or *Avares*) to invade *Thoringia*, which having done out of *Pannonia*, they could not thence be driven, but by a receipt of great ſumms of Money. Before this, while the Reputation got by the defeat of *Childebert*'s Army was yet freſh and vigorous, ſhe ſeized on *Paris*, and the other Cities of thoſe Parts, in a barbarous manner, as our Authours phraſe it, and ſent an Army againſt the Forces of the two new Kings, which taking them at unawares, made great ſlaughter of them. This was the ſame Year that *Childebert* died, and in the ſecond Year of *Theodorick*, (for by his Reign our Writers chuſe to count) ſhe her ſelf was ſummoned to give an account of all her Murthers and Villanies in another World, (for by a ſtrange Fortune ſhe eſcaped Judgment in this) being the moſt wicked of all Women that ever breathed the Gallick Air. But dying thus peaceably in her Bed, her Son, or his Governours for him, buried her honourably by her Husband, in the Church of St. *Vincent*, now St. *Germain des prez*, where yet at the Feet of *Chilperick* her Monument is to be ſeen, on which her Image was pourtraicted, but is now ſo worn out with treading, handling, or with age, that the Lineaments thereof cannot be diſcerned.

Vide Tillium in Comment. & Diſquiſit. de Rebus Gallicis, pag. 16.

Theodobert and *Theodorick* his Sons ſucceed him.

Author Appendic. ad Gregorii Turonenſ. Hiſt. & ex illo Aimoinus, lib. 3.

Fredegund, Mother to *Clotair*, dies.

86. The news of her Death brought no little Joy to *Brunechild*, who though as yet ſhe was ſhort of her in reſpect of Villanies and Murthers, yet bore as high a mind (as well ſhe might,) and was of a very reſtleſs and ambitious temper. Her Carriage toward her Grand-Son *Theodobert* and his Nobility was ſo uneaſie, that they drove her out of that Kingdom, and that in ſo deſolate a Condition as the ſtory is told, that ſhe was alone found in the Fields by a certain poor Man, with whom ſhe prevailed to bring her to the Court of *Theodorick* her other Nephew. *Theodorick* received her with that reſpect which became her Quality, and ſo near a Relation, and of her Guide ſhe was ſo mindfull, as of a poor Shepherd (it may be,) ſhe

made a rich Biſhop of the Dioceſe of *Auxerre*. Whether by her Importunity, or their own Inclinations induced, the two Brothers now longed to be revenged on their Couſin *Clotair*, for the advantage he had taken of their Youth, and the unſetledneſs of their Affairs. Matters growing ſtill worſe, at length they come to an open declared War, and to an Ingagement, near the River *Arvenna*, not far from a Village called *Doromell*, where ſo great a ſlaughter was made, that the River was filled with dead Bodies, and was ſtopped in its Current. But *Clotair* had the worſt of it, who not able to ſee his Men Butcher'd in that manner fled away, and coming to *Milidunum*, a Caſtle ſeated in an Iſland of the River *Seine*, thence paſſed to *Paris*, his two Couſins following him, but not ſo faſt, but that they took in a great part of the Cities belonging to him in their paſſage. They forced him to ſubmit to terms very diſadvantageous, giving him no time to breathe, nor well to conſider what he did. For by this accord the Kingdom of *Theodorick* was inlarged, betwixt the *Loire* and the *Seine* as far as the very Ocean, and the limits of *Aremorica* or *Little Britain*. And betwixt the *Seine* and the River *Iſara*, the entire Dukedom of *Deutelenus*, as far as the Sea, fell to the ſhare of *Theodobert*, ſo that twelve Villages in thoſe parts were onely remaining ſubject unto *Clotair*.

Clotair beaten by his two Couſins *Theodorick* and *Theodobert.*

Hic miſerè moderni quidam Francorum Chronographi tempora & res Confundunt.

Milidunum ſeu potius Melodunum hodie Melun oppidum Carnutum Vaſtiniorum Vadicaſſium.

Iſara, hodie Iſere, Amnis Allobrogum utrorumque.

87. After this, the two Brothers ſubdued the *Waſcons*, and ſet over them a Duke called *Genialis*, concerning which People, here we muſt make a little Enquiry. This the Reader is firſt to underſtand, that the *Waſcons* or *Vaſcons* were anciently ſeated, where now is the Kingdom of *Navar*, than which yet their Countrey was more large and ſpacious; and under the name of *Vaſcones* the *Cantabrians* are, by reaſon of ſome Conqueſts the *Vaſcones* made in *Cantabria*, included; for whom the *French* called *Baſques* and *Biſcainers*, and the *Spaniards Vaſcongados* now, amongſt Learned men, is a common Cuſtome to call by the Latine Name of *Cantabri*, their Language being by the *French* called *Baſque*, by the *Spaniards Vaſquenze*, and *Cantabrica* in the Latin Dialect. In what State and Condition theſe *Vaſcones* lived before the coming of the *Carthaginians* into *Spain*, is utterly unknown, as indeed the General Condition of that Countrey, but that after the taking of *Saguntus*, in conjunction with *Hannibal* they invaded *Italy* and fought againſt the *Romans*, is evident from divers paſſages in *Silius Italicus*, who reckoning up the ſeveral ſorts of People, that came with that Punick General, mentions them amongſt the reſt, and takes notice of them upon ſeveral occaſions during that War. But this alliance with the *Carthaginians* ſeems not long to have continued, our *Vaſcons*, as well as the other Nations of the hithermoſt *Spain*, imbracing the Friendſhip and Society of the *Romans*, as may be gathered from *Livy*. And that their Faith once given they kept inviolable, notwithſtanding all the other Nations of *Spain* almoſt Rebelled, no War being by them undertaken againſt the Commonwealth, onely in that betwixt *Sylla* and *Marius*, the *Calagurritani*, and not one other ſort of People amongſt the *Vaſcons* joyned with *Sertorius*, for whoſe ſake they indured great Miſeries, but could not be the leaſt ſhaken in their fidelity. Therefore did they ever retain their Native Liberty; for no Colonies do we reade of that were ſent into their Countrey, nor any of their Cities made ſubject to Tribute and Impoſitions, which were laid upon moſt of the Nations of *Spain*. And in this freedom without any alteration in any reſpect, did they continue down till the coming of the *Goths*, as may be made appear by ſeveral Teſtimonies. That their Valour was highly prized by the *Romans*, and made uſe of in long and difficult expeditions, appears from *Tacitus*, who relates, how in the War managed by *Vitellius* his Men againſt the *Britains* and *Germans*, the Leader of whom was *Civilis*, when the Enemy was in a fair way to become Conquerour, the *Romans* were reinforced and made Maſters of the Field, by the gallant demeanour of the *Vaſcon* Cohorts.

The Original of the *Vaſcons* or *Waſcons* or *Cantabri.*

Nec Cerretani, quondam Tyrinthia Caſtra.

Aut Vaſco inſuetus galeæ, ferre arma morati, Lib. 2. Vide eundem lib. 5. in narratione prælii contra Flaminium Conſulem geſti, item, lib. 9. de pugna Cannenſi, & lib. 10. de eadem pugna & Paulo Conſule.

88. Theſe *Vaſcons* lived in *Spain* beyond the *Pyrenæan* Mountains, which is agreed on all hands; but when they came into *Gall*, and when they ſeized on part of *Aquitain* is difficult to be determined. *Joſeph Scaliger* was of opinion that the *Cantabri* and *Vaſcones* being overthrown by *Meſſala*, paſſed over the *Pyrenæans*, and placed themſelves in the Seats of the *Tarbelli*; but *Strabo*, *Ptolemy* and *Pliny*, who all lived after *Meſſala*, place both theſe Nations in *Spain*, and neither of them in *Aquitain*, neither is there any other Authour that makes mention of any War betwixt them and *Meſſala*. *Tibullus* indeed celebrates the Triumphs which *Meſſala* had over the Inhabitants of *Aquitain*, but not a ſyllable is to be found in that place, concerning the *Cantabri* and *Vaſcones*. Some tell a ſtory of *Pompey*, that having ſubdued the *Vaſcones* in *Spain*, and fearing the reſtleſs humour of this fierce People, he forced them to tranſplant themſelves into that part of *Aquitain* where the *Convenæ* now inhabit

Their Seats.

Lib. 1. c. 6. Lection. Auſon.

Lib. 1. Eleg. 8.

inhabit, and thence was the name given to their City; but this opinion having none more ancient to patronize it, than *Iſidorus Hiſpalenſis*, and the current of all ancient Geography running againſt it, which after the time of *Pompey* finds the *Vaſcones* in *Iberia*, (or that part of *Spain* on this ſide *Iberus*,) and no ſuch People in *Aquitain*, it is as obnoxious to exception as the other. As for that People of *Aquitain* called *Convenæ*, they derived their Original from the *Vectones Arrebaci*, and *Celtiberi*, Nations inhabiting the farther *Spain*, and not from the *Vaſcones* as *Iſidore* believed, for ſo we are taught by St. *Hierome* in his Book againſt *Vigilantius*. Others more probably gather from *Auſonius* the Poet, that as long as till the Reign of *Gratian*, the *Vaſcones* contained themſelves within their own bounds, and that that part of *Aquitain* which after they poſſeſſed, was then held by the *Tarbelli* the ancient Inhabitants, for * he in his Epiſtles to *Paulinus* both calls the Countrey *Arva Tarbellica*, and placeth the *Vaſcones* in a Countrey far differing from that there, both in ſituation and Cuſtome, even in *Iberia*, or the *Pyrenæan* Mountains, which the anſwer of *Paulinus* to him doth ſufficiently confirm.

The Original of the *Convenæ*.

C. 2. Unde & Convenarum nomen accepit. Huc uſque latrocinetur contra eccleſiam Dei & de Vectonibus Arrebacis Celtiberiſque deſcendens incurſet Galliarum eccleſias, &c.

* *Vide Auſonii Epiſt.* 23. & 25. *& proxima Paulini Carmina Auſonio reſpondentis.*

89. But after the Death of *Gratian*, the *Roman* Empire mightily declining even to Ruine in *Gall* and *Spain*, and eſpecially the Coaſts about the *Pyrenæans*, being waſted by the *Alans*, *Vandals*, *Suevi* and other barbarous Nations, then might our *Vaſcons* a Warlike People, and ambitious of inlarging their Bounds, ſeize on that Mountainous part of *Gall*, which adjoyns to the *Pyrenæans*. But by what degrees, and in what method and manner it's very difficult, if not impoſſible for any to aſſert, we may conjecture with others, that beſides that Region which the *Baſques* or *Biſcainers* hold at this day, the Principality of *Bearne*, and the County of the *Bigerrians* were now taken and held by them, for this very reaſon, that at this day are to be ſeen the Ruines of old Towers, in thoſe Mountainous tracts, diſpoſed as our Beacons one againſt another, to receive and give warning by Fire upon any Invaſion. But the plain Grounds together with the fortified Towns, as *Lapardum* now *Baion*, *Benearn* or *Orthes*, which gave name to the Principality; *Bigorra* of old the Metropolis of the Countrey, and now a Village, and *Convenæ* now St. *Bertrand* were yet under the Dominion of the Kings of the *Franks*, as may be underſtood from ſeveral places of *Gregory Turonenſis*. Thence came it to paſs, that ſo Mountainous and barren a place not being able to maintain ſo numerous a People, they were conſtrained to make ſeveral Inrodes into *Novempopulania*, which was then alſo ſubject to the Dominion of the *Franks*. Hereof *Gregory Turonenſis* aſſures us, where he writes that the *Vaſcones* deſcending from the Mountains, depopulated the Fields and Vineyards, burnt the Houſes, and led ſome Men and Cattel away with them, to incounter whom *Aſtronaldus* the Duke was ſent, but was able to doe little againſt them. * *Venantius Fortunatus* alſo after his manner hints to us the Incurſions they were wont to make. But before this expedition of *Aſtronaldus*, we find in *Gregory* that *Blandaſtes* by Command of *Chilperick* the firſt, made War upon them, but with ſuch ſucceſs, that having done nothing of moment he loſt his Life, together with the greateſt part of the Army. Theſe Events ſhewed that this Strenuous and Magnanimous People was not to be overcome, but by the power of two Kings in conjunction together. *Theodorick* and *Theodobert* having overthrown *Clotair*, and become Maſters of the greateſt part of *Gall*, eſpecially of *Aquitain* they were unable to reſiſt their Power and Majeſty, and ſo were forced to ſubmit and accept of a Duke called *Genialis*. How afterward they ſhook off the Yoke and invaded and made themſelves Maſters of *Novempopulania*, which from them received the name of *Gaſcoigne*, as alſo concerning the places they left, we ſhall ſpeak upon a fitter occaſion.

Bigerrionum vel Bigerronum.

Vide Notitiam utriuſque Vaſconiæ ſcriptam ab Arnaldo Oibenarto Mauleoſolenſi, & Philibertum Monetum Jeſuitam in Geograph. Galliæ Aquitanicæ.

Lib. 9. c. 7.

* *Cantaber ut timeat, Vaſco Vagus arma timeſcat.*
Atque Pyrenææ deſerat Alpis opem.

Lib. 10. *c.* 22.

The *Vaſcons* ſubdued.

Lib. 6. *c.* 12. & *Fredegarius in Hiſt. Franc. Epitom. c.* 87.

Hujus cap. § 2. *paragr.* 14, &c.

90. The two Brothers having this ſucceſs againſt the *Vaſcons*, farther ſtrengthned their intereſt by a ſtricter League and Alliance with the *Lombards*, the Daughter of *Theodobert* being contracted to their King's Son, and ſo Peace and Proſperity now ſeemed to be returned to the *Franks*. But all things were again put out of order by the wicked practices of *Brunechild*, who being as we ſaid expelled the Court of *Theodobert*, was kindly entertained by *Theodorick* her other Grandſon, and now began to play her Pranks more dangerouſly and with greater ſucceſs. Being vitiouſly inclined her ſelf, ſhe hated and oppoſed all about him that were vertuouſly given, *Egila* a Patritian, a man of great Integrity and excellent parts, for no other fault but becauſe he was rich, ſhe loaded with grievous Complaints, and cauſed to be put to Death, and his Eſtate confiſcated. *Deſiderius* Biſhop of *Vienne*, a Prelate eminent for Holineſs, ſhe procured to be removed from his See, and, one *Dommilus* being put into his place, to be recalled out of Exile and cruelly Murthered,

Brunechild's Vilanies.

Sect. 3.

red. He that ſtood moſt in her way was *Bertoald* the Major of the Palace, a perſon of great Wiſedom, Conduct, Fortitude and Fidelity, whom though ſhe endeavoured to remove, yet armed by his Innocence and Prudence, for a time he withſtood all her Aſſaults, till a furious luſtfull paſſion ſeized on her, which rendered her ſo fierce and violent, that he muſt needs at length give way and periſh. There was one *Protadius* a *Roman* by Birth, with whom as old as ſhe was, ſhe was wont to be too familiar, and out of her filthy love to him, had already advanced to the dignity of a *Dux* or Patritian, in the parts that lay beyond the Mountain *Jura*. But thinking this too ſmall Preferment for her Minion, as ſhe burnt with Luſt towards him, ſo with greater Envy and Malice toward *Bertoald*, whom ſhe muſt now by one means or other ſend to another World, that in this *Protadius* might enjoy his place and Dignity; and for this purpoſe, ſhe had the impudence to move her Nephew that he might be put to Death, upon ſlight and trivial pretences. *Theodorick* whether to gratifie her in her humour, in ſuch a way as the Vulgar could not diſcover, or to divert her purpoſe, ſent *Bertoald* away into *Neuſtria*, or that part of it which called him Maſter, to protect the Countrey, but with ſo ſmall a Power, as if he intended he ſhould want protection himſelf, for he allowed him no more than three hundred men. He as fortified againſt the Event, and ſenſible for what Encounters ſuch an Army was moſt proper, ſpent his time in the Hunting of wild Beaſts, which *Clotair* underſtanding, and hearing what numbers of men he had with him, imagined, as well he might, that he was come to affront him upon the Borders.

Et ob id in pago Ultra jurano, poſt Wandalmarum, ab ea Dux conſtitutus. Sic Aimoinus, lib. 3. c. 90. at vero Author Appendic. ad Gregor. Hiſt. hoc modo: Defuncto Wandalmaro duce in Pagó ultra Juranum & Scotingorum Protadius patritius ordinatur, inſtigatione Brunechildis & c. 23.

Pagus hoc in loco idem eſt ac Ducatus. Pagus Comitis eſt Comitatus Gallicè Pays & Comtè dividebatur in Vicarias, Centenas & Decanias, in quibus Judices erant Vicarii, Centenarii (Belgis Honderſteman) & Decani. Sed de his alibi.

91. He diſpatches againſt him his Son *Meroneus*, together with *Lauderick* his Mothers Minion, of whoſe Villany as to his reputed Father's Death, he ſeems all this while to have been Ignorant, or elſe muſt have ſpared him out of a more than ordinary, (if not filial) ſympathy. *Bertoald* was ſo wiſe as upon notice of their approach, to leave off his Sport and ſeriouſly to betake himſelf to *Orleance*, where he was kindly received by *Auſtronus* the Biſhop. *Lauderick* diligently purſues and brings his Army before the Gate, where he upbraids him with Cowardiſe for running away, and challenges him to come out and Fight. *Bertoald* ſends him word, that he made an hypocritical ſhew of Valour, knowing how much he was ſuperiour in Numbers, but if he would demonſtrate himſelf a true Cavalier, he ſhould ſet his Army aſide and fight with him a ſingle Combat, to which he ſent him a formal Challenge. *Lauderick* refuſing to accept it, he then gave him to underſtand, that for the affront and injury he had offered to *Theodorick* his Maſter, in invading his Dominions, he was very certain that ſatisfaction would be demanded in an high manner, and that a ſtrong Army would ſhortly be in the Field, where when the Battel joyned he would meet him, deſiring they might put on ſuch Clothes, as might diſtinguiſh them, and make them known to each other, and then he ſhould find proofs of the Cowardiſe wherewith he charged him, and have opportunity to give a full evidence of his own ſuppoſed Valour. *Lauderick* would not reject this Propoſal, and promiſing to meet him, both laid heavy curſes on themſelves if they failed of their word. This paſſed on the Feaſt of St. *Martin*, and *Theodorick* having notice of the Invaſion, on *Chriſtmas*-day following began his March, and coming to *Stampa*, a Town ſtanding upon the River *Junna*, there expected his Couſin *Clotair*, who was nothing ſlow in his preparations for the Encounter, for before *Theodorick* could paſs all his men over the River, the fight began. Here was *Bertoald* mindfull of his promiſe, and amongſt the Ranks of Armed men, ſought for, and provoked his Adverſary to make good his word, but he thought fit to ſave one, and by degrees giving back into the Rere, declined the Combat. *Bertoald* inraged hereat ſtill bore forward, and conſidering what Ginns were laid to intrap him by *Brunechild*, and that he muſt looſe his Office, thought it better to Die an Honourable Death in the Field, than to end his Life in an ignominious manner, and ſo ruſhing amongſt the Troops of the Enemy, after he had killed many men, was at length overpowred by multitudes and ſlain. But *Theodorick* got the day, *Clotair* and *Lauderick* being put to flight, and *Meroneus* taken Priſoner, or as ſome ſay killed. He entred *Paris* in triumph, and had purſued his Victory, but that *Theodobert* being jealous of his Power, thought fit to balance him, and therefore joyning his Forces with the remainders of *Clotair* his Army, came with him to *Compendium*, and obliged his Brother to return home, without having any thing farther attempted.

Junna ſeu potius Juina fluvius Carnutum Vadicaſſiorum Pariſiorum (hodie Juine) Salioclitam ſeu Stampas (hodie Eſtampes) oppidum interfluit medium atque ad Metioſedam oppidum, ſeu Joſſedum vel Corbilium, ad meridiem Sequanæ (nunc Seine) infunditur.

Clotair beaten again by *Theodorick*.

92. *Brunechild* therefore in effect was the onely Perſon, whoſe Deſigns ſucceeded by the Death of *Bertoald*, into whoſe place of Maſter of the Palace, or *Major Domus*, *Protadius* her Gallant was ſpeedily advanced, in the tenth year of *Theodorick* his Reign. This yet would not ſatisfie this wicked Woman, whoſe paſſions would not be terminated by the ſatisfaction given to Ambition and Luſt, to theſe ſhe muſt joyn Revenge, elſe all things ſeemed to be nothing to her. Her expulſion from the Court of *Theodobert* ſhe ſtill bore in an exulcerated mind, and no Plaſter was large enough for the Sore, but the utter Deſtruction of himſelf and Family. Calling in then to her aſſiſtence her Friend *Protadius*, (whom ſhe had by her tricks brought into great grace and favour with her Nephew, though for his Pride and Covetouſneſs, he was grievouſly hated by all the Nobility of *Burgundy*;) ſhe inſtilled by degrees the venome of Jealouſie and Malice into the mind of *Theodorick*: She tells him that *Theodobert* had got into his hands all their Father's Treaſure, and that it was a diſhonour for him to be ſo ſleepiſh, as to let him run away with it all, without once demanding his ſhare; ſhe perſwades him he was altogether alienated from him in his affections, and (taking occaſion of what had lately paſſed,) makes him believe that all his inclinations are for their Couſin *Clotair*, in ſum, that he envied him for his parts, (conſcious to himſelf how meanly he was furniſhed,) and had reſolved upon his Ruine, as ſoon as time and opportunity ſhould ſerve, but it was no wonder for one of the bloud Royal to be hated by the Son of a raſcally Gardner, who had not onely robbed him of his Father's Treaſures, but gaped alſo after his two Kingdoms. *Protadius* ſupplying this flame continually with Oil, *Theodorick* burns with that rage and malice againſt his Brother, that nothing but Fire and Sword in the Bowels of his Territories can allay his fury. An Army he raiſes and comes as far as *Cariacum*, where he incamps himſelf, prepared the next day to incounter *Theodobert*, who was not far off with a very ſtrong force of his *Auſtraſians*. In the mean time, his *Leudi* or *Leudes* as our ancienter Hiſtorians call them, meaning his Subjects or the Nobility of *Burgundy*, remonſtrated to him how unnatural a quarrel he had undertaken, at the ſuggeſtion of ſome violent Spirits, and petitioned him, that in a friendly manner it might be compoſed. *Protadius* finding himſelf concerned took the wrong Courſe, and diſſwaded him from making a Peace, affirming the quarrel to be good, and a War the fitteſt means for reſtoring a perfect underſtanding betwixt the two Brothers.

Aſſerins illum non Childeberti ſed cujuſdam hortulani filium fuiſſe, Aimoinus, lib. 3. c. 91.

Theodorick and *Theodobert* quarrel.

93. The Nobility bearing him implacable malice before, was now out of all meaſure inraged, finding him to be the man, who upon all occaſions thwarted what ever they propounded for the publick good, and they began to lay their Heads together, affirming it were better that one man periſhed, than that ſo many ſhould loſe their lives as muſt inevitably be killed the day following. The King underſtanding they held ſuch conſultations would himſelf in Perſon have gone to diſſolve their meeting, but being hindred by thoſe about him, for fear of danger he ſent one *Uncelenus* to forbid them expreſly to attempt any thing againſt *Protadius*, but he found them already to have ſurrounded the King's Tent, where *Protadius* was playing at Tables with one *Peter*, a Phyſician. Coming to them he changed his tale, and ſaid it was the Command of King *Theodorick* his Maſter, that *Protadius*, as an Enemy to Peace, ſhould be put to death, which heard, they all unanimouſly ruſhed in with their Swords drawn, and there ſlew him. By this Act (though illegal, and of dangerous conſequence) the impending miſchief was diverted, and *Theodorick* was compelled inſtead of a War, to make a Peace, and to return home, as he came, without having any thing performed. But however he bore it out, *Brunechild* neither could nor would digeſt the Injury. Beginning with *Uncelenus*, who had prevaricated away the Life of her Friend, ſhe procured him to have one of his Feet chopped off, and to be reduced to the condition of a Beggar. *Wolfus*, a Patritian, who had been a principal Agent in the Murther, ſhe alſo, by command of *Theodorick* cauſed to be killed, reſerving *Theodobert* to a more convenient ſeaſon. And the late defeat ſhe had received in the death of her Minion, did but incite her to other Acts for the Eſtabliſhment of her threatned and tottering Power. All this while *Theodorick* lived moſt unchriſtianly in Whoredom, having no lawfull Wife, but gratifying his Luſt by ſuch Imbracements as were moſt pleaſing to him, and by ſuch unlawfull Copulations had got four Sons. At length he bethought himſelf what infamy he incurred, and how uncertain the ſucceſſion might be for want of Legitimate Iſſue, he caſt his thoughts then on *Hermenberga*, the Daughter of *Bertrick* King of *Spain*, and ſent his Ambaſſadours to deſire her in Marriage, giving Oath that he would never deprive her of the Society of his Bed, nor of the Royal Dignity.

Which concludes in a Peace.

Theodorick Marries.

94. Upon this Condition *Bertrick* ſends her with a Portion ſuitable to her Quality, and *Theodorick* receives her with as much Love and Reſpect, as becomes a Royal Bridegroom. But his Grandmother was far from wiſhing them Joy, for though to bring her ſelf into a better Opinion with the People, ſhe might ſeem to have Conſented, nay propounded the Match, yet now ſhe found her ſelf in danger of a Rival, who by her Royal condition, the Beauty of her Perſon, and her conjugal Alurements might make her Husband totally her own, and exclude her from that Domination. Of which his Reverence to her Perſon, as a near (but neither ſo near, nor dear) Relation had poſſeſſed her. She goes to work, and by her Inchantments ſhe effects that, how much ſoever he deſired it, he could never enjoy his Bride; and this bringing him into ſome diſlike with her, ſhe follows him cloſe, cauſes him to diſcard her, for I wot not what Womaniſh impotency, and to ſend her back to her Father without her Portion. *Bertrick* finding himſelf concerned no otherwiſe, than as Nature and Reaſon required; proteſted to the World his Reſentment of ſo foul an Injury, and ſent to *Clotair* to complain of the affront, and invite him to joyn in a League with him for Chaſtiſing a Prince, who had no regard either to Conſcience or *Decorum*, and doubtleſs, would as little ſcruple to commit any other piece of Injuſtice againſt the reſt of his Neighbours, when he ſhould be tempted to it, by any thing that gratified his Luſt or Appetite. *Clotair* entred into the League, and promiſing him Aſſiſtence, ſent ſome of his own with his Ambaſſadour to the Court of *Theodobert*; who moved with the ſame Arguments entred into League, as alſo did *Ago* King of the *Lombards*, who when he had given his Faith, that he would joyn his Forces for depriving *Theodorick* both of Life and Kingdom; the Ambaſſadour, having diſpatched as he thought all effectually, for which he was ſent, returned by Sea into *Spain*. But Alliances of thi Nature made for Puniſhment of a fault, which redounds to the Detriment but of one of the Parties, and elſe carries onely ill Example with it, ſeldom take Effect; and *Theodorick* accordingly ſlighted this, as a Scar-crow, the King of *Spain* dying not long after.

Another difference betwixt them.

95. Yet had this League ſuch Effect upon *Theodobert*, as to incourage him to ripen ſome Deſigns he had in his Head, though thereby he extremely ſerved his Grandmother in the Machinations, ſhe laid for his own Deſtruction. Thinking himſelf ſecure of thoſe that would back him, he complained of a moſt unequal Diviſion of his Father's Dominions, and required that a New and more equal Partition might be made. The matter proceeded to that height, that had not ſome of the wiſeſt on both ſides moſt diligently interpoſed, all had been ſuddenly in a Flame; but they procured both Kings to hold their hands, and agree to come to an Interview at a place appointed, for a fair and Friendly deciding of the Controverſie. *Theodorick* came with ten thouſand Men, with pure and ſimple Intenſions, altogether free from Deſign and Treachery; but *Theodobert* brought with him a far greater number, wherewith having incompaſſed and caught his Brother as in a Net, he forced him to ſubmit to ſuch terms as he himſelf propounded: Theſe were to quit ſeveral Provinces, as that of *Champaigne*, *Tours*, *Artois*, and that which in the days of *Aimoinus* had the Name of *Sugitenſis*, and ſo they parted with ſeeming Love and Friendſhip, though covered by deep flattery and Diſſimulation. For *Theodorick* being got out of his Brother's hands, and coming ſeriouſly to ruminate upon what he had, was ſo inflamed with deſire of Revenge, that he renounced the Agreement as wreſted from him by force and Terrour, and ſet himſelf ſeriouſly how to Revenge the affront; *Brunechild* ever being at hand, and ſpurring him on to that, to which of his own Diſpoſition he was ſufficiently inclined. In the mean time, *Theodobert* by an Act full of wickedneſs, provoked the hatred of God and Man againſt him, and made way for that Deſtiny, which was but ſutable to his Actions.

96. He had to Wife one *Bilechilde*, a Woman indeed much inferiour to him in Birth and Quality, for his Grandmother, while ſhe reſided in his Court, bought her of certain Merchants, and for the rareneſs of her Beauty as ſhe made him believe, but indeed that ſhe might have none to controll her, this Woman by reaſon of the Obligation being wholly at her Devotion, married her to him. By her he had ſeveral Children, but falling in Love with another called *Theudechilde*, he Murthered her to be in a Capacity to marry his new Miſtreſs. But long he had not reaped the Pleaſures of this new Conjunction, when he was diverted by the noiſe of his Brother's Arms, and forced to exchange the Combats of *Venus* for thoſe of *Mars*. Their Couſin *Clotair* was ſo near a Neighbour, and of ſuch Power, that to which

ſide ſoever he would pleaſe to incline, in all Probability he ſhould bring the Victory. *Theodorick* therefore, reſolving not to miſs the advantage thence offered, ſent to him, and by a promiſe of reſtoring to him the Dukedom of *Deutelenus*, which as he ſaid, *Theodobert* detained unjuſtly from him; he perſuaded him to ſtand Neuter. He muſtred then all his Subjects that were very fit to bear Arms, in the month of *May*, and the ſeventeenth year of his Reign, and from the *Lingones* coming through *Vernona*, to a place called *Tullum*, in the County adjoyning he met with his Brother, and they joyned Battel. *Theodobert* was beaten, but eſcaping with his Life, fled to *Coloine* upon the *Rhine* with intenſion to renew the War, and hopes of better Succeſs in the next Ingagement, for which he provided himſelf of freſh ſupply of *Saxons*, and other Nations of the upper *Germany*. *Theodorick* aware hereof, made what haſte he could after him, and diſdaining he ſhould prevent him from reaping the Fruits of his late Victory, fell upon him with all Fury imaginable. Yet he uſed ſuch diligence, as that he was not ill provided to receive him; and another Battel was fought with equal Valour and Animoſity. Our Authours report, that ſo great was the Croud through the Pertinacious reſolution of the Combatants, that ſuch Troopers as were killed ſate upon their Horſes, no otherwiſe than as Men alive, being kept up ſo as they could not fall. But *Theodobert* was ſo unfortunate as to looſe this day alſo, and fled again to *Coloine*, his Brother purſuing him with reſolution, that now he would not be hindred from finiſhing the War. Entring the Territories of the *Ripuarii* that lay upon the *Rhine*, he deſtroyed all things in his way, and refuſed to give over till they ſhould bring *Theodobert* to him, either alive or dead.

Wherein *Theodobert* is twice beaten by his Brother.

In Campania Tulenſi adverſus fratrem congreſſus. Aimoin. lib. 3. c. 97. Tullum hodie Toul oppidum eſt Leucorum Moſellæ appoſitum. Lingones ſunt hodie les Langrois qui ad Ortum determinantur Matrona fluvio & aſſidentibus ipſi Campanis Belgicis, tenuiore juxta Matronam ſemita prementibus Mediomatricis ſeu Lotarenis.

97. This perfidious People, thinking the Price not too great wherewith to purcaſe their Security, ſend ſome into *Coloine* to *Theodobert*. The Meſſengers make great Complaints of the Miſeries they had undergone by ſuch Devaſtations, Rapines and Murthers, as never had formerly been committed. They tell him a formal ſtory, that his Brother complained of the defrauding him of his ſhare of his Father's Treaſures, which if he might but receive, he would be Friends with him, and remand his Forces. *Theodobert* conſidering his preſent Eſtate and Condition, was glad he could come off ſo well, and giving them Credit carried them into his Treaſury, where he buſied himſelf in ſearching and Collecting ſuch things as he intended to Preſent the Conquerour, which as he was doing, and bowed down his Head, one of them drew his Sword and ſlew him. His Head was cut off, and ſhewed about upon the Walls, which done, *Theodorick* was received into the Town without any impediment, and in the Church of St. *Gerion* took the Oath of Allegiance of the Inhabitants. As he was doing this, he thought that ſome Body ſtruck him on his ſide, and knowing the treacherous Humour of the *Ripuarii*, commanded the Doors to be ſhut, and a ſtrict inquiry to be made after him that did it. But upon ſearch no ſuſpicious Perſon could be found, and his Clothes being removed, no Wound was there to be ſeen, onely a Purple ſpot appeared, as *Aimoinus* gueſſeth the ſign of his Death, which ſpeedily followed; with the Treaſures, and Children of his Brother he returned in Triumph to *Metz*, where his Grandmother *Brunechild* found him, and congratulated with him for his Victory. To make the Triumph complete, ſhe would have him put to Death his Priſoners. And ſhe prevailed for the Sons of *Theodobert*, whereof the youngeſt *Meroneus* by Name an Infant that ſucked, ſhe her ſelf took by the Heels, and daſhed out his Brains againſt a ſtone; but his Daughter eſcaped, for which ſhe was not to thank her Grandmother, but attribute her Life to the rare Beauty of her Perſon. And ſuch was the end of *Theodobert* according to the general Opinion; though ſome wrote, that after his defeat he retired beyond the *Rhine*, where he was apprehended by *Bertarius* the Chamberlain of *Theodorick*, who had ſent him to make the diſcovery, and confined to *Cabillona*. Here ſome add, that *Brunechild* cauſed him to be made a Monk, and that he was afterward put to Death.

Theodobert kill'd.

98. By Virtue of the late Agreement, *Clotarius* was now to ſtand poſſeſſed of the Dukedom of *Deutelenus*, and he accordingly got Poſſeſſion of it. But *Theodorick* having as he thought done his buſineſs, and elevated with his Succeſs, and the Acceſſion of his Kingdom of *Auſtraſia*, began to grudge not onely that he enjoyed that Dukedom, but indeed any thing elſe in *Gall*; and reſolving to pick a Quarrel with *Mennaces*, required him to quit what he had newly got into his hands. So great was his Ambition, that no moderate or ordinary Matter could divert him; but a certain Fire had of late begun to kindle in his Breaſt, which by indulging and continually Ventilating, within a little time grew to that ſtrength, as to conſume and obliterate

Theodorick ſeizes on his Kingdom.

Sect. 3.

obliterate all other Paſſions. He fell grievouſly in Love with the beautifull Daughter of *Theodobert*, but was ſo honeſt withall, as to deſign the Satisfaction of his Deſires, no other way than by that of Marriage. *Brunechild* was wonderfully concerned at it, and ſenſible in what danger her domineering Authority ſtood, uſed all the Arts and Devices ſhe could to hinder it, and at laſt, as her utmoſt refuge declamed againſt it, as a moſt wicked and Inceſtuous Copulation of an Uncle with his Brother's Daughter. He grew to ſuch impatience upon hearing this, that calling her a Woman hatefull to God and all good Men, he demanded whether ſhe had not told him that *Theodobert* was not his Brother, and why ſhe had cauſed him to commit ſo great a Crime as that of Fratricide? And he was ſo far tranſported as to draw his Sword and make at her, but ſhe was ſaved by thoſe that ſtood by, and conveyed to ſome place out of the Houſe, where thinking it time to beſtir her ſelf, ſhe reſolved to kill rather than be killed. It's certain, that ſhortly after he died, being as was generally believed, taken with a Dyſentery. It was ſaid by ſome, and thought by moſt, that ſhe hired his Attendants to poiſon him in a Cup of Drink, when he came out of the Bath. Others reported, that he periſhed with Thunder; that Breaſt being pierced by Fire, which already burnt with Ambition, Luſt and Cruelty. He married *Heronneberta* the ninth Daughter of *Berterius*, or *Terius* King of the *Viſio Goths*, by whom he ſeems to have had no Children at leaſt that lived, but by Concubines he had four Sons, *Sigebert*, *Chorbus*, *Childebert* and *Meroneus*. He died in the eighteenth Year of his Reign, about the ſeventh Year of *Heraclius* the Emperour, *A. D.* 618.

Jonas Abbas in vita Sancti Columbani, c. 28.

Theodorick dies.

99. *Brunechild* now thought her Condition as ſecure as ever, not doubting but to Domineer as ſhe had done formerly, in the Minority of *Theodorick* his Children. *Sigebert* the eldeſt ſhe named King, but her Trade could not always hold, this was the third time ſhe had Uſurped the ſupreme Power. The Nobility could ill brook the Domination of theſe, whom all knew to be Baſtards, and they were quite tired out with her Cruelties and Inſolence. Two of the chiefeſt of them, *Arnulph* and *Pipin*, began now to hold Intelligence with *Clotair*, and they prevailed with him, to come as far as to *Captoniacum*. *Brunechild* hearing the News was ſufficiently alarmed, and lying then at *Wormes*, ſent to him to expoſtulate his Invaſion of the Dominions of King *Sigebert*. He anſwered, that he would doe nothing, but what the Nobility of the *Franks* aſſembled together ſhould approve, and promiſed to ſtand to their Determinations, for which purpoſe he willed her to call them together. She was too old and cunning to be lulled aſleep by fair Words, and therefore to provide againſt the worſt, ſhe ſent *Sigebert* into *Thoringia*, attended by *Warnarius* the Major of the Palace, and *Alboinus* moſt eminent for Nobility of all the *Auſtraſians*, to hire Souldiers from amongſt the Nations, inhabiting beyond the *Rhine*. But not long after their departure, ſhe imagined ſhe had reaſon to believe that *Warnarius* was ſecretly inclined toward *Clotair*, and out of Jealouſie ſent a Letter after them to *Alboinus*, wherein ſhe deſired him, to take ſome fitting opportunity to make him away. *Alboinus* having read the Letter, tore it in pieces, but did not ſo much deface it, but that one of his Servants out of Curioſity gathered the pieces together, and perceiving the Contents, therewith acquainted him, who was moſt concerned. *Warnarius* perceiving the danger he was in, was very carefull to ſecure his Perſon in the firſt place. Then reſolving to uſe his utmoſt endeavour for the Deſtruction of *Brunechild* and her Race; thoſe Nations he went to ſolicite about ſuccours, he quite alienated from the Service. After this, going with her and *Sigebert* into *Burgundy*, he held private Caballs with the Nobility and Prelates, into whom he ſufficiently inſtilled the Doctrine of Revolt. Then ſent he to *Clotair*, to come with an Army, promiſing on Condition to be maintained in his former Eſtate and Dignity, to deliver the two Kingdoms of the *Auſtraſians* and *Burgundians* into his hands.

Sigebert his Son King of *Auſtraſia* and *Burgundy*.

100. *Clotair* was not ſlack in his endeavours, to become ſole Lord and Maſter of *Gall*, and with his *Neuſtraſians* as *Aimoinus* calls them, met *Sigebert* and offered him Battel, in *Champaigne* near the River *Axona*, or *Aiſne*; where when the Armies faced each other, *Warnarius* according to former Agreement with the greateſt part of the Army revolted to him. The reſt ran away as far as the River *Araris*, (*Clotair* being not eager after the perſuit of thoſe he now looked on as his own Subjects) which putting a ſtop to their flight, three of *Theodorick* his Sons were there taken, *viz. Sigebert*, *Chorbus* and *Meroneus*, for the fourth *Childebert* by Name eſcaped, and was never after heard of: With them he returned to a Village called *Sion*, upon the River *Vincenna*, whither at the Inſtance of *Warnarius* and the other Great

In Campania Catalaunenſi ſuper fluvium Axonam.

Ad Ararim uſque fluvium (qui nunc Ragonna dicitur) per.

Sigebert is overthrown and killed by *Clotair* with *Brunechild.*

ones, *Brunechild* and *Theudelina* the Siſter of *Theodorick* were ſent for. In her ſight he commanded *Sigebert* and *Chorbus* to be killed, ſparing *Meroneus*, becauſe he was his Godſon; then *Brunechild* her ſelf being condemned by Sentence of the whole Army, as well *Burgundians* and *Auſtraſians*, as thoſe that came out of *Neuſtria*, was for three days together ſubjected to various Tortures, and then ſet upon a Camels back, and ſo carried in deriſion like a Witch up and down the Camp. At laſt, having ripped up her Life paſt, he laid to her Charge, that ſhe had procured the Death of no leſs than ten Kings, reckoning up her own Husband *Sigebert*, *Meroneus* the Brother of *Clotair*, and Son of *Chilperick*, with *Chilperick* himſelf, whom miſinformed it ſeems, as to the true ſtate of his Family, or willing to conceal the Vilanies of his own Mother, he affirmed to have periſhed by her Devices. Having ſummed up her Crimes, he demanded of the Souldiers, what Puniſhment was fit for her to undergoe. All cryed, that ſome one unheard-of was but ſuitable to her Deſerts: Whereupon he commanded a wild Horſe to be brought, to whoſe Tail the miſerable Woman was made faſt by her Hair and Armes, and then was the Horſe let looſe and provoked to take his Heels, wherewith having firſt daſhed out her Brains, he drew her Carkaſs over Thorns, Stones, Hills and Dales, till it was daſhed and all torn in pieces. Such pieces yet as could be found were gathered together, and buried in a Church at *Auguſtodunum*, or *Autun* of her own founding.

Brunechild's Buildings.

101. Such was the end of this wicked and miſerable Woman, not too ſevere, if we fully conſider the merits of her Life and Actions. Yet together with her prodigious Vices, were great Vertues joyned as ſome eſteem them, and theſe were Magnificence and Devotion, which appeared in the Religious reſpect ſhe gave to Saints, and the very many Churches ſhe built, and dedicated to their Memory. *Aimoinus* tells us, that the *Fabricks* which ſhe raiſed and remained till his time were ſo numerous, that it ſeemed incredible, that one Woman ſhould build ſo many, not onely in *Auſtraſia* and *Burgundy* where ſhe Reigned, but in ſo many ſeveral parts of *France* at great diſtances. In our days theſe poſſibly may be decayed, yet in the Low Countries there ſtill remain ſome Monuments of her Manly Spirit. Theſe were the Military High-ways of the *Romans*, which through *Gallia Belgica* and *Burgundy* ſhe cauſed to be repaired, being by the *Gallo Belgæ* ſtill after her called *Chauſſeos de Brunehault*, by the *Flandro Beligæ*, *Groote Caſſie* (in Engliſh *Great Cawſeys*) and by the Modern *Franks Chemins ferrez* in their ſeveral Dialects. Now the Reader may take notice, that theſe *Roman* Cawſies, or High-ways, were firſt in *Gall* begun, to be made by *Agrippa* the Son-in-Law of the Emperour *Auguſtus*, who cauſed four to be raiſed and paved, one from *Lugdunum Seguſianorum* (*Lyon ſur Saone*) leading toward *Spain*, through *Aquaitain*; another toward the *Rhine*; a third through the Countries of the *Bellonaci*, and *Ambiani* to the Ocean, and a fourth through *Gallia Narbonenſis*, extending it ſelf towards *Italy*. Afterward other Emperours, and *Roman* Captains applied their minds, and the Hands of their idle Legions to this work, and through *Gallia Belgica*, cauſed other High-ſtreets to be raiſed; being either paved with four-ſquare Stones, or ſtrewed with Gravel or ſmall Flints. Of theſe ways, the remainders of ſeveral are to be ſeen in many places throughout *Hainault*, *Artois*, *Flanders*, *Brabant*, *Loraine*, *Champaigne*, *Picardy*, in the Countries belonging to *Luxenbourg*, *Leige*, *Cleeve*, *Juliers*, *Coloine*, *Triers*, *Mentz* and others, the ſtructure whereof ſtrike all lookers on with Admiration. From *Banacum* (now *Mons ex Hainault*) the *Rome* of *Belgium*, where in the middle of the *Forum* was erected a Column, as anciently in that and other Cities, at the beginning or end of Miles, eight of theſe ſeveral Cawſeys took their beginning or Centre. But theſe and the reſt being by length of time decayed, and by the Irruption of Barbarians into *Gall* neglected, did *Brunechild* the Queen Regent of *Auſtraſia* and *Burgundy*, repair as we ſaid before, whereby her Memory, however her Body was uſed, remains whole and entire, they being by Learned men in the Latin Tongue ſtill called *viæ Brunechildicæ*, and by the *Burgundians* and others, *Chauſees de Brunehault*.

De viis iſtis Militaribus Banacenſibus conſule Aubertum Miræum in Chron Belgico ad A. 613. de reliquis verò per Arteſiam, Flandriam aliáſque Provincias Vicinas ducentibus Typum Galliæ Belgicæ veteris, Antuerpiæ, An. 1633. Cura ejuſdem Miræi æri inciſum.

102. But ſo fell the Family of *Sigebert* with *Brunechild* his Wife, and *Auſtraſia* with *Burgundy* were united to the Dominions of *Clotair*. Here we find our ſelves obliged for the better underſtanding of the Reader, to tell him what we particularly mean by the ſo often repeated Word of *Auſtraſia*. He muſt know then, that the Victorious *Franks* having wreſted a great part of *Gall* out of the hands of the *Romans*, divided it into *Auſtraſia* and *Neuſtria*. *Auſtraſia* (by St. *Remigius* in his Teſtament called *Auſtria*) reached from the Borders of *Burgundy*, as far as the *Friſian* Sea incloſed by the Rivers *Rhine*, *Meuſe* and *Schelde*.

Auſtraſia what.

Sect. 3.

A Catalogue of the Kings of *Auſtraſia.*

Clotair ſole Monarch of the *Franks.*

Therefore it comprized the ſeveral Countries of the *Mediomatrices*, *Treveri* and *Ubii*, thoſe about *Mentz*, *Cleeve*, *Gelderland*, *Brabant*, *Hainault*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Haſburg*, the *Eburones* and *Tungri*, the Dukedoms of *Lauenbourg* and *Luxembourg*, with *Alſatia*, *Loraine*, the *Palatinate* of the *Rhine*, *Burgundy* and *Ardenne*; the *Metropolis* being the City of the *Mediomatrices*, afterward called *Metz*. Now *Neuſtria*, or *Weſtraſia* being the Weſtern Kingdom of the *Franks* in *Gall*, as the other the Eaſtern, comprized *Flanders*, *Artois*, *Picardy*, the County of *Boloigne*, *Normandy*, and all other Countries lying betwixt the *Schelde*, the *Seine*, and the *Loiere*, the *Metropolis* being *Paris*; ſo that they mightily err, who would reſtrain this ample Kingdom within the narrow bounds of ſingle *Normandy*. But of *Auſtraſia*, the firſt King as we have formerly ſeen was *Theodorick* the natural Son of *Clodonæus* the Great, to whom ſucceeded his Son *Theodobert*, as to him *Theodebald* his Son. *Theodebald* dying without iſſue, *Clotair*, the Legitimate Son of *Meroneus*, held *Auſtraſia* with his other Kingdoms. Afterwards a Partition of his Dominions being made amongſt *Clotair* his Children, it fell to *Sigebert*, who by *Brunechild* had *Childebert*, and left him his Succeſſour. He left two Sons *Theodobert* and *Theodorick*, whereof the later outed the former; but leaving no Legitimate iſſue, *Sigebert* his natural Son was, as we ſee, deprived both of Life and Kingdom by *Clotair* the ſecond, the Son of *Chilperick*, who hereby obtained the Monarchy of the *Franks*. Afterward *Auſtraſia* had other Kings, as in due place may be diſcovered; and then as time altereth all things, this Kingdom exchanged the Name of *Auſtraſia*, for that of *Lotharingia* or *Loraine*, which it received from *Lotharius* the Son of the Emperour *Lotharius* the firſt, whom it had for King, as after him many others in Order, and at length exchanged Kings for Dukes, the Title of whom, though not the extent of the Dominion, at this day continueth.

Aimoinus, lib. 4. *c.* 1.

Settles his Kingdom.

Ultrajurani qui Ultra guram habitabant. Jura autem ſive Juraſſus Mons eſt Sequanorum vetere Celtico vocabulo ab Indigenis quondam vocatus eſt Jou quo Mons exprimitur ac nominatim Mons Sylvaſus quo eodem nomine Montanæ Sylvæ appellantur. Celſo jugo ab ripa Rhodani, lacu Lemano ad Genevam egreſſi, Sequanos inter & Helvetios verſus Boream obliquè porrigitur ad fines Mediomatricorum; contra occaſum verò in varia promontoria tributus Sequanorum oppida & agros frequentibus clivis & Vallibus diſtinguit. Hodie Mont jou, Mont gura Accolis.

103. So many Kings of the *Franks*, who had Reigned for the ſpace of about fifty Years, periſhing in ſeveral manners; *Clotair* now remained the ſole and Legitimate Inheritour of all their Kingdoms and Dominions. Having got ſo great a Charge, and ſo heavy a Burthen upon his Head (ſo good Kings really eſteem their Crowns) he provided himſelf of the beſt Supporters he could find, and firſt having had good experience of the Abilities of *Warnarius* by his Conduct of the late great Revolution, which he had effected without any conſiderable expence of Bloud, Treaſure or Time, he made him *Major Domus*, or Governour of *Burgundy* for Life, ingaging by Oath that he would never remove him. Over *Auſtraſia* he ſet *Rado*, a Perſon of great Deſert, and one *Erpo* over the *Ultrajurani*, who by his Love of Juſtice became inſupportable to the Rabble, and was killed through the Inſtigation of *Aletheus* a Patritian, and *Leudemund* the Biſhop of *Sedunum* (or rather *Segodunum*, at this day *Rhodes*.) The King happening at this time to lye not far off, cauſed a ſtrict Inquiſition to be made of the Murther, and puniſhed many that were found Guilty, and the proceſs went ſo far that *Aletheus* apprehending that now all muſt be diſcovered, adviſed *Leudemund* to try if he could prevent it by a Trick wrought upon *Berthtrude* the Queen. The Biſhop tells her a Tale of a Revelation he had, that *Clotair* muſt infallably dye this Year; he would make her believe, that her Affairs ſtood in a dangerous Condition, and that there was no way to provide ſufficiently for her ſelf, but by retiring with her Treaſures to ſome ſtrong Town, and chuſing ſome Perſon eminent for Nobility, and Intereſt in the People wherewith to marry; and to make Application of his Ghoſtly diſcourſe, he tells her, *Sedunum* his City was the fitteſt place, and *Aletheus* that Noble *Burgundian*, the moſt proper Perſon. The Queen, who was eminent for her Modeſty and other Vertues, heard him with great Indignation, and ſtarting from him as ſome dangerous infecting Perſon diſcovered the whole Matter to her Husband, who ſpared the Biſhop out of Reſpect to his calling, and at the Interceſſion of a certain Abbat, permitting him to return to his See. But *Aletheus* he Commanded to be tryed by the Nobility, and being able to ſay little for himſelf to be put to Death.

104. Thus by the fidelity of his Wife, and his ſeaſonable ſeverity, he evaded the danger, and eſtabliſhed his Power; but through the corruption of thoſe about him, and his own remiſſneſs, ſhortly after committed an errour, which tended to the diminution both of the greatneſs of his Name and Nation. The *Lombards* having formerly made Incurſions into *Gall*, were ſo received by the Kings of the *Franks*, that they not onely drove them back, but followed them into *Italy*, and conſtrained them to purchaſe Peace, by parting with ſeveral of their own Towns, and a yearly payment of twelve thouſand *Solidi*. This Tribute had been duely paid in the Reigns of *Guntram*, and *Childebert*, and downward, till the time of *Agi-*

Releaſes the Tribute that was formerly paid by the *Lombards.*

lulſ, the King of the *Lombards*, who feeling the burthen heavy, and not conceiving himſelf in a capacity to be eaſed by Steel, reſolved to try what he could effect with Gold and good Language. Having picked out ſome fit Men for the Errand, he ſent them to the Court of *Clotair*, where having ſtopped the Mouths of his principal Miniſters, they had the better opportunity to open their own, and cunningly effected what they were ſent for. They much inſiſted upon this plauſible Argument, That *the Friendſhip of any People is better founded upon Love and Goodwill, than Force and Servitude: That the* Lombards *quit of this ingratefull duty, would exchange it for others more generous and ſincere of Gratitude and Fidelity.* In concluſion, by their pleaſing Language and Deportment, and paying down 3600 *Solidi*, (beſides 3000 wherewith they had bribed three of the principal Miniſters,) they ſtruck up the Bargain, and bought off the perpetual Tribute at three years purchaſe.

Makes *Dagobert* his Son King of *Auſtraſia.*

105. Herewith *Clotair* of what conſequence ſoever it was, reſted ſatisfied, but ſhortly after, in the ſix and thirtieth Year of his Reign, he was overwhelmed with grief at the death of his Queen, who for her excellent Vertues and Endowments, left a great miſs of her amongſt the People. To make up this loſs, aſſoon as ſorrow would give leave, he married another Wife called *Sichild*, by whom he had a Son called *Hairbert*; and conſidering what Jealouſies and Enmities are wont to ariſe in Families where Step-mothers have opportunity to ſhew their biaſſed Inclinations, he thought fit to ſend away *Dagobert*, whom he had by his former Wife, and made him King of *Auſtraſia*, delivering all the Countries formerly ſubject to that Crown into his Hand, except *Ardenna* and *Voſagus*, lying toward *Neuſtria* and *Burgundy*, which he thought fit to keep to himſelf. Having given him a Kingdom, in the next place he provided him a Wife, and ſuch an one as by the Alliance was likely to preſerve Unity, and a good Underſtanding in their Family. Sending for him to *Clippiacum*, a place near *Paris*, he married to him *Gomadinde*, the Siſter of *Sichild* his Wife, and two days together they kept the Wedding with all Joy and Magnificence ſuitable to ſuch an occaſion. But the third day the Bridegroom fell into a diſcontent, not that he was now tied and bound by the Bonds of Matrimony, but ſtraitned and confined within the limits of too narrow a Kingdom. He complained that he was not rightly called King of *Auſtraſia*, whereof the beſt and principal Parts were withheld from him, though, if his Judgment did not flatter him, he was now of Age and Abilities ſufficient to take the Government of the whole.

Ardenna Sylva, Voſagus Mons.

And of all the reſt, except *Provence.*

106. Such were the complaints of the Son, but the Father thought he had no reaſon to make them, who had no right to any thing, nor could claim one foot of ground as his due, but had received all from his mere bounty. The Conteſt grew high, and the difference ſeemed to threaten the *Franks* with miſchief, of which being aware, they interpoſed, and the matter being committed to twelve of the Nobility, they perſuade the Father for Peace and Quietneſs ſake, to yield to the youthfull heat and ambition of his own Son, (whoſe all muſt be at laſt,) and ſo they were throughly reconciled, the whole Kingdom being delivered into *Dagobert's* Hands, except that Region called *Provence*, and thoſe places that lay on this ſide the *Loire*. The following Year *Warnarius* the Governour of *Burgundy* died, who was hardly cold in his Grave, when *Godinus* his Son married the Widow his Step-mother. This coming to the knowledge of *Clotair*, he commands him as an Inceſtuous Perſon to be put to death, but the noiſe of the Sentence anticipating much the Execution, he flies to *Dagobert*, and eaſily obtains of him to intercede for his Life, which at length was granted, in conſideration of the great and eminent Services of his Father. His Life he was content to purchaſe with a Divorce, but ſhe was not therewith ſatisfied, but as if it more behoved him to gratifie her ſenſual Appetite, than to deſire Life it ſelf, fell into an implacable Paſſion and Hatred, which ſo far tranſported her, as to accuſe him of deſigns againſt the King's Life. The King being in this point credulous enough, commanded him to make Oath, he had no ſuch Intention, which, at the importunity of *Chranulph* and *Wandalbert*, he did, both in the Church of St. *Medard* at *Soiſſons*, and St. *Vincent* at *Paris*; yet this would not ſatisfie, they would compell him to reiterate it at *Orleance*, in the Church of St. *Anian*, and at *Tours* in that of St. *Martin*, whither as he travelled to doe it, thoſe fawning Courtiers, the King conniving at it, ſet upon him as he ſate at Meat with ſeveral Friends, and, notwithſtanding their oppoſition, cruelly murthered him.

Provincia Phocenſi, ut quidam interpretatur.

107. *Clotair* being exaſperated by this imaginary Conſpiracy, or his hand being now in, reſolved to be very ſevere. This ſame Year he baniſhed one *Palladius*, with *Sedocus* his Son, the Biſhop of *Tolouſe*, as being privy to the Rebellion of the *Vaſcons*, and having laid to the charge of one *Boſo*, an Inhabitant of *Stampa*, that

he had debauched *Sichild* his Queen, cauſed him to be put to death. Aſſembling the Eſtates of *Burgundy* together, for the Election of a new *Major* of the Palace, into the place of *Warnarius*, they declared, that they deſired to be governed by none but God and himſelf, which he took kindly, and would not impoſe any new Governour upon them. In the mean time *Dagobert* highly concerned himſelf about the *Saxons*, who deſpiſing his Youth, diſdained to be ſubject to him. He diſdained as much to bear the affront, and getting an Army ready, paſſed the *Rhine*, and ingaged in battel with *Bertoald* their Captain. Here he was ſo hard put to it, that fighting manſully in his own Perſon, he received a wound in his Head, from which a piece of his Helmet was cut, with part of the Skin, Hair and all, which, having retreated to his Camp, he ſent with the Skin, bloudy as it was, unto his Father, deſiring him to make all the haſte he poſſibly could to his relief. *Clotair* then was making a more gentle ſort of War with wild Beaſts, but the ſight of the Preſent ſent him by his Son quickly diverted him to a ſerious Hoſtility, and he rather flew than went to his ſuccour, not giving himſelf reſt, day nor night, till he reached the place. His preſence filled the *Franks* with exceſſive Joy, of which they were not wanting to give ample demonſtrations, and the noiſe eaſily reached the Ears of the *Saxons*, the two Camps being but parted by the River *Viſcere*. *Bertoald* was unwilling to believe (at leaſt that his Souldiers ſhould) that *Clotair* was ſo near them, and gave out that the Enemy did but dream, foraſmuch as he had certain Intelligence, that the old King was dead. Hereupon he ſhews himſelf upon the Bank of the River, uncovering his Head, that his reverend grey Hairs, known to all, might convince them of his preſence, but kept ſilence, to ſtrike them with the greater apprehenſion of his Deſign.

The *Saxons* rebell.

108. *Bertoald*, to make amends for his miſtake or fraud, fell into opprobrious Language, uſing this Expreſſion, *Art thou there, dumb Beaſt?* Wherewith *Clotair* inflamed, takes the water, and over he will paſs, to be revenged, which his Men ſeeing, ſwim after him, and to ſhore he gets ſafe and ſound, and ſets upon his Enemy. *Bertoald*, not able to ſuſtain the violence of their Fury, takes his heels, and *Clotair*, though burthened with his Armour, and with his Boots, which were full of water, follows after ſo faſt as almoſt to come up with him. *Bertoald* ſeeing the danger he is in, now expoſtulates, then chides downright, and ſtill profeſſes himſelf his ſlave and vaſſal. But *Clotair* not giving heed to his hypocritical Expreſſions, which he knew a mere ſenſe of neceſſity wreſted from him, ſtill preſſed forwards, and getting ground, at length came up with him, and ſlew him, being the ſecond *Frank*, if a modern Authour rightly obſerveth, who obtained the *opima Spolia*. Having cut off his Head, he returned back to his Son, and the reſt of the *Franks*, whom he found all in ſorrow and lamentation, becauſe they could not keep pace with him, and had given him over for a loſt Man. The *Franks* at the ſight of him reaſſuming their courage, and under his Conduct invaded the *Saxons*, where waſting the Countrey, all Males they put to death, which exceeded the length of *Clotarius* his Sword. This Exploit and his Retreat he not long ſurvived, dying *A. D.* 631. in the four and fortieth Year of his Reign, and the fifteenth of his Monarchy over the *Franks*, and was buried in the Suburbs of *Paris* in the Church of St. *Vincent*, now St. *Germans*, where as yet his Tomb (by whom, and at what time ſoever built) is yet to be ſeen on the South ſide, overagainſt that of his Father *Chilperick*, *Bertrude* his Wife being buried a little higher. He had two Wives, as we have ſaid, *viz.* this *Bertrude*, or *Berotride*, by *Fortunatus*, in his *Epithalamium*, called *Richilde*, a *Saxon*, and of the Family of *Athanachild*, King of the *Viſigoths*, who makes mention alſo of *Clotair*, her Husband; this diverſity of Names, as *Tily* obſerves, flowing from diverſity of Speech, as he inſtanceth in particulars of the *French*, and we might as eaſily of our own Language. By this Lady he had his Son *Dagobert*, and a Daughter named *Biltilde*, married to *Aribert*, a Duke of *Auſtria*. His ſecond Wife was *Sichild*, and by her he had *Aribert*, *Haribert* or *Charibert*, another Son. As for *Meroneus*, who was taken or killed at the Battel near *Stampæ*, he ſeems to have been baſe born.

But are ſubdued by *Clotair*.

Who dies.

Tune hic muta aderas Beſtia? Sic Aimoinus, lib. 4. *c.* 18. *Alii hoc modo O vetulum & Canum Jumentum adésne hic? Lingua ſcilicet Vernacula, unde liquet Francorum & Saxonum idioma inter ſe affine fuiſſe. Convitii formula & ratio apud Danos adhuc obtinet, qui vulgò ſuâ linguâ hominem ſenem probroſè volentes excipere, Thet Gammel Oegh, id eſt, hoc vetulum Jumentum ſolent dicere.*

109. *Dagobert* having notice of his Father's death, ſent with all ſpeed certain ſelect Perſons to the Nobility of *Neuſtria* and *Burgundy*, to ſecure his Intereſt. They without much heſitancy cloſed with him, as the rightfull Heir, and received him at *Reims* with great concourſe and ſolemnity, *Aribert*, his younger Brother, and for him *Brunulf*, his Uncle by the Mother's ſide, in vain contending for the Inheritance. The Eſtates thought *Aribert* far inferiour to *Dagobert* in parts, and for that reaſon, as well as others, declined his Intereſt. *Dagobert* having ſettled his matters,

Dagobert ſucceeds him.

Sect. 3.

And makes his Brother *Aribert* King of *Aquitain.*

matters, took occaſion to be revenged upon *Brunulf*, but was ſo good natured, as by the Advice of the Nobility, to give his Brother a good ſhare out of his Dominions, *viz.* all the Countries lying betwixt the River *Loire*, toward *Waſconia*, as far as the *Pyrenæan* Mountains, covenanting with him by writing, that content with this Portion, neither he, nor any of his, ſhould ever lay claim to any other Part of their Father's Kingdom. *Arilert* having taken Poſſeſſion, choſe *Tolouſe* for his Seat, and buckling himſelf to his buſineſs, ſhortly made it appear he was not the Man for which the Nobility had taken him. He proved exceedingly induſtrious, and ſharp witted, and in the third Year of his Reign increaſed his Dominions, by the Conqueſt of all *Waſconia*. *Dagobert* reſerving for himſelf the intire Kingdoms of *Auſtraſia*, *Burgundy* and *Neuſtria*, and uſing the Counſel and Direction of his Tutour, *Arnulf* the Biſhop of *Metz*, with other ſober and judicious Perſons, ordered his matters at firſt with great Prudence, Juſtice and Moderation. Into *Burgundy*, not long after his Father's death, he made a Progreſs, where he got great Fame by his impartial acting betwixt all Parties. But after his return to *Paris*, entertaining new Favourites, and giving ear to the Whiſpers and Inſinuations of the Paraſites about him, he began to enter into a contrary courſe, whereat the good Biſhop diſcontented, and not able to obliterate the Impreſſions which, ſuiting his Appetite, the Courtiers had made upon him, with grief departed home to his See. Pretending that *Gomatrude* his Wife was barren, he married another by their Advice, *Nantilde* by Name, whom he took by force out of a Monaſtery. But this being as barren, it ſeems, as the other, or her Fruit miſcarrying, he married a third, called *Raguetrude*, by which he had a Son by the years end. The Child was offered to the Font by *Aribert*, the King of *Aquitain*, ſo was he ſtyled, and being baptized at *Orleance*, by the Name of *Sigebert*, when none would ſay *Amen* to the Prayers of the Biſhop that officiated, he himſelf is ſaid to have opened his Mouth and have done it, though he was not above thirty days old.

110. After this our Authours complain, that *Dagobert* forgetting all the good Leſſons his Tutour had taught him, turned an open Robber of Perſons and Places, both ſacred and civil. Under pretence of giving to that of St. *Denis*, which he founded, he took away from other Churches, and his Luſt, by gratifying it, grew ſo extravagant, that beſides his three Wives which he maintained, both in the Title and Port of Queens, he kept a great number of Concubines. Theſe Vices of his were but rather ſtrengthened and increaſed by Proſperity and good Fortune. In the ninth year of his Reign, his Brother *Aribert*, the King of *Aquitain*, dies, who having a young Son, called *Chilperick*, he ſtaid not long behind, but, in the Opinion of Men, was ſooner ſent after him by his Uncle's Procurement than Nature had intended, which done he diſpatched an Officer to ſeize upon his Kingdom and Treaſures. His Coffers being now full, what with the Rapines he had made, and what by the Death of his Nephew, he took an occaſion ſoon after to empty them, and firſt by the War he made with the *Sclavi*. Theſe were a People inhabiting that Part of *Pannonia*, formerly called *Pannonia Valeria*, and *Interamnia*, now appertaining to *Hungary*, lying betwixt the two Rivers *Dravus* and *Savus*. The *Roman* Empire going to decay, firſt the *Goths* pierced into this Countrey, and quitting it upon better hopes, theſe *Sclavi*, a Hunniſh Nation, barbarous and fierce, whoſe Dominions extended as far as *Odeſa*, and were ſeparated from the *Saxons* onely by the River *Albis*, as wrote *Helmoldus*, though others ſay, formerly ſeated upon the Lake of *Mæotis*, invaded and made it their Habitation. *Sclave*, it's ſaid, ſignifieth in their ancient Language *Glory*, or *Glorious*, but afterward an accident happened, which might well cauſe it to be taken and uſed in a quite contrary ſenſe, and to denote a Man ſubjected to the higheſt degree of Servitude. For theſe *Sclavi*, or *Vindi*, * *Vinidi*, or *Vinduli*, (for ſo alſo they were called, and from them the place, as ſome think, which at this day retaineth the Name of *Vindiſchland*,) after their fixing in this Countrey, were conquered by the *Hunnes* properly ſo called, and oppreſſed in no ſmall degree of miſery, but with ſuch ſort of bondage as fully anſwers to the word of *Slavery*. Firſt, they ſerved them as Auxiliaries, then as Tributaries and Stipendiaries, and at laſt as the vileſt Slaves indeed, or Bondmen; in Summer in the Field, in Winter in their own Houſes, where not onely they lived upon the ſpoil, and took what they had, but abuſed their Beds, lying with their Wives and Daughters at their pleaſure.

Aribert and his Son dying, *Dagobert* adds their Dominions to his.

Then he makes War upon the *Sclavi.*

Dravus Δρᾶβος *Straboni* Δάρος, *Ptolemæo* Draus, *Plinio vulgò Dra, teſte Lazio, Pannoniæ fluvius quem Danubius excipit.*
Savus Plinio & Straboni Σάος, *ſed Ptolemæo* Σάυος *&* Σαύιος, *Pannoniæ flumen, in Danubium etiam ſe exonerans, hodie Saw. Strabo ſcribit Savum in Dravum influere, ſed errat.*

* *Aut cum duplici V Winidi ut apud Aimoinum, lib.* 4. *c.* 23.

111. An Offſpring in this manner begotten of ſlaviſh Women, but by lording and domineering *Hunnes*, the bloud of their Fathers, it ſeems, being predominant, and boiling in their Veins, ſcorned, if not the Name, yet the modern ſignification

of *Sclaves*, and being come to ripeneſs of Age ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the Liberty of themſelves, and the Nation, on which they were ingrafted, maintaining a long and tedious War. While this was hotly managed on both ſides, it happened that one *Samo*, a *Frank*, or *Gall* by birth, of the *Senones*, being a Merchant, and following his buſineſs in thoſe parts, was importuned by theſe *Sclavi* to put himſelf into the Army. Being prevailed with, he behaved himſelf with that Valour and Conduct, that thinking none ſo fit to rule as the moſt valiant, who could keep as well as get, they choſe him for their King. And he carried himſelf ſo as they had no reaſon to repent them of their choice, being beloved at home, and terrible abroad. He eſpouſed with the Title and Dignity their whole Intereſt, not ſticking at Religion it ſelf, which he exchanged for Paganiſm, after the manner of the Nation, marrying twelve Wives, and he ſo far forgot all reſpect for his native Countrey, and his firſt trade of Life, that ſuch French Merchants as came into *Sclavonia* to traffick, he ſpoiled of their Wealth, and cauſed ſuch as made reſiſtence, and appealed to the Law of Nations, to be put to death. *Dagobert* herewith much offended, ſent one *Sicharius* as his Ambaſſadour, to demand reſtitution of the Goods, and ſatisfaction to Juſtice, for violence offered to his Subjects. Of *Samo* he demands audience, but can have none, till he puts himſelf into the Habit of the Countrey, and ſo in a diſguiſe gets into his Preſence, where diſcovering himſelf, he complains of the Injury, and demanding ſatisfaction, flies into reproachfull Language, telling them, they were the Subjects of *Dagobert*, not onely the Tributaries, but the Bondmen or very Slaves of his Maſter.

Samo, a Gall, choſen King of the *Sclavi.*

Senones, hodie Senonois, quorum fines quondam ita laxi fuere, ut in circumjectis Tricaſſium, Æduorum Biturigum, Carnutum agris, multa oppida, ipſas verò Medas univerſos obtinerent.

112. *Samo*, with more temper, replied, that he was ready to comply with the King of the *Franks* in all things, not becauſe the Nation was at all obnoxious to him, as Vaſſals, but by virtue of their ancient Friendſhip and Alliance. The Ambaſſadour indiſcreetly anſwered, there could be no Alliance nor Communion betwixt *Chriſtians* and *Dogs*. Be it ſo, ſaid the other, you are the Servants of Chriſt, and we are Dogs, but remember, that Dogs do often revenge upon Servants what they have ſaucily and naughtily committed againſt their Maſter; and therewith he commanded the Ambaſſadour to be hurried from his preſence, and out of his Dominions. *Dagobert* with the report hereof was ſo exaſperated, that he reſolved to raiſe a mighty Army, and ſubdue this malapert Nation. The *Lombards* and *Alemans* alſo under Conduct of *Rotbert*, he procured to join with him, who demeaned themſelves with that courage, that they eaſily overthrew the *Sclavi*, and returned home, inriched with booty, and many Captives. The *Auſtraſians* being now left to themſelves, beſieged a Fort, called *Vogaſtrum*, to which many of the moſt valiant of the Enemy had fled for their ſecurity. But they managed the Siege with remiſsneſs, that thoſe within acted by neceſſity, and deſperation made ſo effectual a Sally, that having killed many of them, the reſt moſt ſhamefully ran away, leaving their Camp, Baggage and Proviſions, a ſeaſonable Prey, to the almoſt ſtarved Enemy. The *Sclavi* incouraged by ſo unexpected good fortune, purſued their Victory, and invading *Thoringia*, and other Parts of *Germany*, ſubject to the *Franks* made ſuch deſtruction of all places, and ſtruck ſuch terrour into all round about, that *Dervanus*, who commanded certain Cities of the *Sclavi*, that were in the Dominion of *Dagobert*, out of deſperation, revolted to them; there being ſmall hopes of any effectual ſuccour to be had from the King, who was now altogether enervated by his Luxurious practices.

113. Luxury is accompanied often with Cruelty, though ſeldom with true and ſubſtantial Valour. At this time there happened a contention betwixt the *Bulgari* (a People which from the Banks of the River *Volga*, had paſſed into the inferiour *Mœſia*, and there ſeated themſelves) and their Neighbours the *Avares*, or *Hunnes*, with whom they had joined and embodied themſelves, out of which Nation their King ſhould be choſen. To blows it came, and the Victory remained with the *Hunnes*, who dealing now with the *Bulgari*, as with abſolute Enemies, many of them fled their Countrey, and humbly beſought *Dagobert* to beſtow on them ſome place to inhabite. He ordered them into *Baioaria* (or *Bavaria*) there to winter, till he might conſult where to beſtow them, and they were accordingly diſperſed in the ſeveral Houſes of the Inhabitants, whom at laſt, by advice of thoſe about him, for fear, as was pretended, that they ſhould attempt ſome dangerous matters, he commanded to kill them, every Houſholder, his Gueſt, with his Wife and Children. This was done according to his command, all their Throats being cut in one and the ſame night, as they innocently ſlept, onely ſome ſeven hundred eſcaped, and by one *Alticeus* were brought unto the *Sclavi*. About this time *Siſebodus* the

A Maſſacre.

Dagobert ſends an Army into *Spain.*

the King of *Spain* died, and was ſucceeded by *Sentila*, who by his cruelty and other vices, quickly alienated the minds of his Subjects from him. Amongſt them *Siſenendus* a Nobleman, more unwilling to bear his Inſolency than the reſt, came to *Dagobert*, and deſired his Aſſiſtence for expelling *Sentila* out of *Spain.* He was willing enough to doe miſchief to whomſoever, and appointed the whole Force of *Burgundy* to attend him, which being noiſed abroad in *Spain*, all forſook *Sentila*, being already offended at his Carriage, and aſſoon as *Siſenendus* arrived made choice of him for their King. *Abundantius* then and *Venerandus*, the Leaders of the *Franks*, having brought him as far as *Cæſar-Auguſta*, where he received the Homage of the Nobility, returned home with good rewards. But *Dagobert* was not therewith ſatiſfied, for *Siſenendus* had promiſed, in caſe the Deſign took, to give him a great veſſel of Gold of five hundred pound weight, adorned with Gems and pretious Stones, which formerly had been preſented to *Toriſmund*, King of the *Goths*, by *Ætius*, the Patritian of the *Romans*. *Dagobert* therefore ſends back *Venerandus*, with *Amalgarius*, to demand a performance of the condition. *Siſenendus* very willingly delivered the Veſſel into their hands, but in the way, the *Goths* having had notice of it, took it from them by force, not enduring that their Nation ſhould be deprived of ſuch a Monument. Therefore did *Siſenendus*, in ſatisfaction of the loſs, pay afterward to *Dagobert* two hundred thouſand *Solidi* in Silver, which he beſtowed in building and beautifying the Church of St. *Denis*, a work which put him to very great Expence.

114. Hitherto, with the Affront received from the *Sclavi*, *Dagobert* ſlept ſupinely; but at length awaking, and coming to himſelf, it roſe upon his Stomach, and he could not poſſibly digeſt the Injury. In the tenth Year of his Reign he raiſed a choice Army, and himſelf, in Perſon, reſolved to lead it. Having paſſed through *Arduenna*, the Foreſt, as far as *Moguntia*, or *Mentz*, and being now ready to paſs the *Rhine*, the *Saxons*, though Tributaries, and in perfect Peace with him, yet fearing the Approach of ſo great a force, came and offered their ſervice for the chaſtiſement of the malapert *Sclavi*, profeſſing themſelves ever to be at his Devotion, and without an expectation of Reward, onely they deſired that he would remit the yearly Tribute they paid, of five hundred Cowes, called *Vaccæ Inferendales*, which Petition he granted, by advice of his Counſellours, on this condition, that they ſhould, for the time to come, faithfully protect theſe Borders of his Dominions. Oath hereof was made (as they were wont to ſwear) upon their Arms, but was never confirmed by any Act, though they got free of the Tribute, and nothing came of this expedition. The *Sclavi* therefore finding they had been more ſcared than hurt, the following year renewed their Incurſions into *Thoringia*, which put *Dagobert* upon new Counſels, finding that thoſe former, relating to the *Saxons*, had not ſucceeded. By the Advice of his Counſellours, he ſet over the *Auſtraſians* his Son *Sigebert*, in Name as King, but in Effect Governour, by direction and management of his two Tutours, or Guardians, *Chimibert*, the Prelate of *Campania*, or *Rheims*, and *Adalgiſus*, the *Major* of the Palace. He aſſigned them a ſufficient Revenue, and other things, all which he cauſed to be inſcribed into his Teſtament, and ſealed. Thenceforth, ſo long as *Sigebert* lived, by the Prudence and Induſtry of the *Auſtraſians*, all Irruptions of the *Winidi* were reſtrained.

Collegit lectam è Franciæ bellatoribus Scaram, quam nos turmam vel Cuneum appellare poſſumus. Aimoinus, lib. 4. *c.* 26.

Scara Teutonica vox, quamvis moderni Franci eâ utuntur ut Fauchetus in Carolo magno: il commanda aux plus habilles Scares Francoiſes enclorre par derriere les Italiens, &c.

Quæ ideo, inquit Aimoinus, inferendales dicebantur: eò quòd ſingulis annis inferrentur. Ibid.

Et quæcunq; conceſſit teſtamento cuncta inſeri ac ſigilli impreſſione ſignari mandavit deinceps, &c. Ibid.

Sigebert his Son made Governour of *Auſtraſia*, by which means the Incurſions of the *Sclavi* are reſtrained.

115. In the twelfth Year of *Dagobert* his Reign, he had another Son born by *Nautilde*, his beloved Wife, called *Clodonæus*, or *Hludonicus*, betwixt whom and *Sigebert*, his elder Son, by advice of his Nobles, he deſigned an equal Diviſion of his Dominions. *Sigebert* he left, as now he found him, King of *Auſtria*, and therefore to *Clodonæus* the younger, he aſſigned *Neuſtria* and *Burgundy*, together with the Dukedom of *Deutelenus*, which hitherto had been unjuſtly, as was accounted, poſſeſſed by the *Auſtraſians*, who, though ſorely againſt their Wills, yet for fear of *Dagobert*, confirmed the perpetual annexion of it unto *Neuſtria*. In the Year that followed, News was brought that the *Vaſcons* rebelled, who having been found guilty of the ſame Crime by his Brother *Aribert*, and forced to ſubmit to the yoke, had, after his death, deſpiſed *Dagobert*'s Orders, and infeſted all the Countries adjoyning, with Murthers and Rapine, till *Sadrageſilus* being made Governour of *Aquitain*, reſtrained their Incurſions, and cauſed them to keep at home. But he (whether by the knowledge of *Dagobert*, we know not, who formerly bore him Malice) was privily murthered, and his Sons being idle, or worſe, and not proſecuting with Arms thoſe that were guilty, were in a publick Aſſembly of the *Franks*, as *Aimoinus* tells us, according to the *Roman* Laws, deprived of all his Eſtate, which the King then conferred on the Church of St. *Denis.* He being made away,

The *Vaſcons* forced to beg Peace.

away, the *Vaſcons* thought they might renew their former Trade of Life, but *Dagobert*, as looſely as he had lately lived, would not ſuffer the Affront to paſs uncontrolled, but gathered a great Army out of *Burgundy*, which he committed to the conduct of no fewer than twelve ſeveral Captains. They ingage in Battel with the *Vaſcons*, put them to flight, which done, they waſted their Countrey, and having driven them up for ſhelter into the Mountainous places, returned with Honour untouched, but for one Accident. *Arembertus* one of the Captains as he ingaged indiſcreetly, or ſtaid too long in the Valley called *Robola*, was cut off with the greateſt part of the Nobility, and the old Souldiers that followed him: But *Audoenus* (or *Audonius*) the chief of the twelve who was eminent for many Battels, fought in the time of *Theodorick*, and was now held by all in chiefeſt Rank of Subjects, ſo demeaned himſelf, that the *Vaſcons* were forced to beg Peace, and Promiſe obedience for the time to come; whereupon he drew off his Army.

Robola Aimoino ſed aliis Subola quæ hodie Sola. Audoenus aliis Chodoinus. Vide Othenarum in Notitia Vaſconiæ, lib. 3. c. 1.

116. *Dagobert* a little elevated with his Succeſs againſt the bold *Vaſcons*, began to conſider who there were, that by the like Fault committed, had merited a ſuitable Puniſhment, which he thought himſelf able now to inflict by means of his lately Victorious Army. The *Britains* of *Aremorica* or *Armorica*, had often made Incurſions into his Dominions, and as well ſince his coming to the Government, as before, had contrary to ſeveral Leagues and Agreements, made great Waſtes and Depredations in the adjoyning Countries. *Dagobert* ſends to *Judicahil* their Prince (or King, as our Hiſtorian calls him) *Eligius* a Perſon of great Prudence and Integrity, by whom he demands Satisfaction might be made for former Injuries, or he muſt expect the whole force, which was coming from *Vaſconia*, would be ſent to fetch it. *Eligius* ſo wrought upon *Judicahil*, that he not onely prevailed with him to conform himſelf to the Pleaſure of the King of the *Franks*, but to come with him to the Court of *Dagobert*, who then lay at the Village *Clippiacum*, where he not onely Promiſed an Amendment of what was paſt, but ſubjected himſelf and his People, to the obedience of the King, and made a perpetual Peace with him. *Dagobert* being now at his eaſe, and having brought to his beck all the Nations round about him, was, as is reported, bettered by his Proſperity, and, contrary to the common Inclination of Mankind, his good fortune kindled in him a Zeal after Piety and true Religion. In a place called *Bigargium*, on the one and twentieth of *April* he ſummoned a General meeting of all the Nobility and Prelates of *France*; to whom, and to his two Sons he ſignified his Intenſions, to leave ſomething to moſt of the Churches within his Dominions, for his Souls health, ordering that of his Teſtament, one Copy ſhould be kept at *Paris*, a ſecond at *Lyons*, a third at *Metz*, and a fourth in his own Treaſury; and charging his Sons to ſee his Will performed, as they ſhould expect the ſame Office of Duty from their Poſterity. Whether he had a Proſpect of death which put him into ſo good a Mood, or by a true Senſe of things he was brought into a due eſtimate of earthly Enjoyments, he died the Year following, of a Flux in a Village called *Spitrogillum* upon the River *Seine*, not far from *Paris* after he had Reigned fourteen Years. Perceiving his laſt hour to approach, he ſent for *Ega* his Councillour, and the Major of the Palace, and to his Care and Government recommended his Son *Clodonæus* with *Nautildis* his Mother, deſiring all the Nobility and Prelates alſo of *Neuſtria* and *Burgundy* to be aſſiſting to them. He died on the nineteenth of *January*, and was with much Solemnity buried in the Church of St. *Dionyſius*, or *Denis* near *Paris*, which he himſelf with very much Charge had built and endowed, about the the fifth Year of the Emperour *Conſtans*, the fifth alſo of *Theodorus* Biſhop of *Rome*, *A. D.* 646.

The *Britains* of *Armorica* ſubmit.

Dagobert dies.

Tillio Spinæum.

117. Hitherto the *Franks* had been Governed by their Kings, who though they had Miniſters under them, by whom they acted; yet had the Adminiſtration ſtill in their own hands. But from this time, the Majors of the Palace reigned in Effect, thoſe Kings (of this Race) which followed, enjoying nothing but the Title, which may partly be attributed to this ſolemn Act of *Dagobert*, whereby as it were he inſtated *Ega* in the Government, and left a Preſident to future times; but eſpecially, it is to be aſcribed to the Sloth, and voluptuous Life of ſome of the Princes themſelves, who being on purpoſe by theſe their Governours, indulged in their ſenſual Courſe of Life had little Mind, and much leſs Ability for publick Employments. *Dagobert* being dead, *Sigebert* continued in the Poſſeſſion of *Auſtraſia*, and *Clodonæus* ſucceeded to *Neuſtria* and *Burgundy*, being called *Ludovicus* the firſt, though *Clodonæus* and *Ludovicus* be the ſame Name, and the firſt Chriſtian King of this Nation, is Conſequently to be called the firſt; but to ſhun Confuſion, we muſt

He is ſucceeded by *Sigebert* and *Clodonæus* his Sons.

with *Tily* ſubmit to, and follow the vulgar Errour, though ſome Learned men do call him *Clodonæus* the ſecond. So were his Dominions parted, but his Treaſure was all ſtill in the hands of *Ludovicus*, or his Governours. By advice therefore of *Pipin*, who after his Father's death had betaken himſelf to him, and in Conjunction with *Chumbert* the Biſhop, Governed all about him; *Sigebert* ſent and demanded an equal Partition to be made of it, which *Lodovick* and his followers not able to refuſe, all the Wealth was brought forth, and by *Ega* at *Compendium* was weighed, and an equal diviſion made betwixt the two Brothers, onely a third part of what *Dagobert* had got ſince their Marriage, was conferred on *Nautild*. This is to be aſcribed to the Juſtice, and Integrity of *Ega*, who indeed was a very worthy Perſon, and however he was accuſed of Covetouſneſs, by ſuch as are never ſuffered with any in Authority, demeaned himſelf with all uprightneſs, and procured ſuch things as had been by violence, and without any right taken away by *Dagobert*, to be reſtored to the right Owners.

118. But to the great loſs of the King, in the third Year of his Reign, *Ega* dies of a Fever, and *Erchinoaldus* the Kinſman of *Dagobert*, by his Mother is advanced to his place of the Major of the Palace; a Man given to Peace, of a modeſt Temper, and exceedingly beloved; things under his Circumſpect eye went very well, till by the means of *Nautilde*, who rightly thought it the Intereſt of her Son and the Nation, not to have too much Power inveſted in one Man, troubles began unfortunately to ariſe. Going with him to *Orleance* the *Metropolis* of *Burgundy*, where he received the Acknowledgments and Homage of the Nobility and Clergy, ſhe procured one *Flancatus* a *Frank* by Birth, to be made Major of the Palace for that Kingdom, giving him in Marriage *Ragnoberta* her Niece. *Erchinoaldus* and he joyned together, and kept all *France* in very good Order, adminiſtring Juſtice with all Impartiality, till one *Willebald* a Patritian of the parts beyond the Mountain *Jura*, a Man of great Nobility, and as great Wealth began to ſtomach, and take it in great ſcorn to be ſubject to him, and obey his Orders. He gave ſufficient Demonſtrations of his diſdain, but *Flancatus* took no notice of it, and went with *Clodonæus* to the General meeting held at *Cabillonum*, whither *Willebald* followed with ſo great a Train as ſeemed to threaten a War, or ſome great deſign he had formed in his Head. Yet would not he enter the Palace, knowing what advantage his Enemy might there have againſt him, which *Flancatus* perceiving, went toward him with intenſion to kill him where he was, but he was diverted by the advice and Intreaties of *Amalbert* his Brother, though onely reſolved to defer the Revenge, and wait ſome more convenient occaſion. This was given him within a little time: *Nautilde* the Queen dying this Year, whom they buried in the Church of St. *Denis* by the King her Husband.

Nautilde the Mother of *Clodonæus* dies.

119. She being buried, he carries the King from *Paris* to *Autun*, accompanied with *Erchinoaldus* and ſeveral other Noblemen, where a Summons is ſent for *Willebald* ſpeedily to appear: He ſuſpects the matter, and not daring to diſobey the King's Commands puts himſelf upon the way, but with a ſtrong band of Men, and a Meſſenger meets him, to perſuade him to haſten to his Prince his Preſence, and to Promiſe him all ſecurity, both in coming and returning, He holds then on his Courſe; but to make all as ſecure as he could, he ſends before one *Agilulfe* a Biſhop, and *Wiſco* a Count, to diſcover how matters ſtood, and to give him ſpeedy Intelligence. But *Flancatus* cauſes them to be ſecured as ſoon as they had entred the City, and then with a ſtrong party haſtens out againſt *Willebald*, who encounters him, and makes ſtout oppoſition, but is ſlain manfully fighting at the Head of his Troop, and his followers killed or put to flight. *Flancatus* having plundered the Camp, returned to the Court, but the next day left *Autun*, and went to *Cabillonum*, where he had not ſtaid two days, but the Town hapned to be on Fire, which it ſeems kindled ſuch a Fever in his Veins, that being carried by Boat down *Aratis* to *Dijon* there he died, and ſo had but ſmall time as well as any real cauſe to rejoyce in the Revenge he had taken upon his Adverſary; ſo went matters in *Neuſtria* and *Burgundy*, through the Minority of the King, and the too great Power and Intereſt of a particular Subject. In *Auſtraſia* things were not in a much better poſture, occaſioned by the Death of *Pipin* the Major of the Palace, who left a great miſs of him to the People. He had a Son called *Grimoaldus*, a Perſon of great Courage and very active, who for his Father's ſake was in high Favour, both with Prince and Subjects, and he worthily ſeemed to appear as a Candidate for his place. But there was in the Court one *Otho*, who by his Familiarity with *Sigebert* (whoſe Attendant and Play-fellow he had been in his Infancy) thought

to obtain the Office, and having ever before emulated and hated *Grimoaldus*; now he ſhewed it openly, and made all oppoſition he could againſt him. But the Fame and Reputation of old *Pipin* prevailed, and though he could not now expell him the Court, yet *Grimoaldus* procured him afterward to be ſlain, and ſucceeded his dead Father in his Employment.

The *Thuringians* rebell againſt *Sigebert.*

120. *Grimoaldus* being ſetled in his place, *Sigebert* the King ingaged himſelf in War upon this occaſion. *Rodulphus* the Prince of *Thuringia*, having been formerly a Vaſſal and Tributary to this Kingdom of *Auſtraſia*, now deſpiſed *Sigebert*, and contracting a ſtrict League and Alliance with the *Sclavi*, denied obedience. *Sigebert* taking this in great diſdain, levied a ſtrong and numerous Army, and therewith having paſſed the *Rhine* gave Battel to *Faro* the Captain of the *Thuringians* and quite defeated him. *Rodulphus* upon this retires to a ſtrong Fort on the top of the Mountains, and *Sigebert* follows and cloſely beſieges him, with intenſions to take him, and put an end to the War. But a Council being called to deliberate what Courſe ſhould be taken, ſome, and thoſe the better ſort were for ſtorming the Caſtle; others, amongſt whom were *Grimoaldus* and *Adelgiſilus*, were for delaying the thing, and drawing out the matter into a tedious Siege, and accordingly while the other party was ready to ſet upon the Fort, they withdrew to their Camp, and there fortified themſelves, having the King with them. *Rodulphus* all this while was not aſleep, nor wanted Intelligence: By ſome Fugitives underſtanding what difference there was riſen amongſt the Beſiegers, he took his beſt advantage, and fell upon them with ſuch Execution and Succeſs, that he put them all to flight that ſurvived the great ſlaughter which he made, and forced the *Auſtraſians* remaining with their King, to accept of his Service and Obedience as it had formerly ſtood, which indeed ſignified as good as nothing; he being in Name a Tributary, but in reality an abſolute Lord and Independent of any other. After this, *Sigebert* ſpent the reſt of his days in Peace, but wanting Children lay open to the Arts and Projects of his Major of the Palace, who perſuaded him to adopt his Son *Ildebert* by Name, to which he was drawn, partly by Inconſiderateneſs, and partly by that Reſpect, if not awe or fear which he bore to the Name of *Grimoaldus*. But after his Adoption was over, the King had a Son born, whom after his Grandfather he named *Dagobert*, and died not long after he had Reigned ten years. *Sigebert* being dead, *Grimoald* ſhaved the young Child for a Monk, and delivering him to *Dido*, the Biſhop of *Poictiers*, who was travelling into *Scotland*, proclaimed and maintained his Son *Ildebert* for King.

King *Sigebert* dies.

Clodonæus dies.

Clotair ſucceeds.

Who dies.

121. This was for a little time, but then the Nobility of the *Franks* taking it in high diſdain to be ſubject to one of his Condition, roſe up in Arms, and ſeizing on *Grimoaldus* brought him before *Clodonæus* the King at *Paris*, by whom he was Sentenced to death as a Traitour, and Execution accordingly was done upon him in a ſevere manner. *Clodonæus*, or *Ludovicus*, from a Prince of good hopes fell into the great diſpleaſure of the People, giving up himſelf to all Exceſs of Gluttony, Wine and Women, for which nothing can be pleaded in his excuſe, but that toward his latter end he was crazed in his Brain, onely our Authours were Church-men or Religious Perſons, and upon that Account they bore him no Good Will for ſome Reaſons, we ſhall diſcover in their proper place. He Reigned ſixteen Years, and by *Baltilde* his Wife a *Saxon* by Birth, both a beautifull and Vertuous Perſon; he had three Sons, *Clotair*, *Childerick*, and *Theodorick*, whereof the Eſtates proclaimed *Clotair* the eldeſt King in his ſtead, and made his Mother Regent, or rather joyned her in the Adminiſtration with *Erchenoald* the Major of the Palace. Matters ſeemed now to be in a ſetled Condition, when to the miſchief of *France*, *Erchenoald* dies, and after a great Conteſt, his place is conferred on one *Ebroinus*, a Man of neither Conſcience nor Honeſty, who for a while covered his Inclinations and Deſigns by Diſſimulation, fearing the Queen, and not altogether ſecure of the young King's Favour. But the King dies, when he had ſcarcely Reigned four Years, and by his Death gave occaſion to the Major of the Palace, to bring about what he had deſigned. The Nobility and People were for *Childerick*, the ſecond Brother to ſucceed, but he found the youngeſt moſt for his purpoſe, and in deſpight of them preferred him to the Title: *Childerick* being ſent as King into *Auſtraſia*, under the Tuition and Conduct of *Vulfoaldus* a Duke. But the Nobility could not ſwallow this Indignity. They riſe in Arms, and laying hold on *Theodorick* cut off his Hair, and depoſe him; and as for his Miniſter *Ebroinus*, they ſhave him too, and put him into a Monaſtery. Then ſend they for *Childerick* out of *Auſtraſia*, and with univerſal Applauſe they make him King. But they did

Theodorick being ſhaven.

Childerick is made King.

not their Work for all this: They had not made ſure enough of *Ebroinus*. And as for their new King, he fell into all ſorts of Debauchery, and ſo Proudly and Tyrannically demeaned himſelf, as gave them cauſe rather to repent of what they had done, that they had made ſuch a choice, as did not in the leaſt anſwer their Expectations.

122. For ſome time yet things were kept from extremity by *Leodegarius* the Biſhop of *Autun*, whoſe Wiſedom and Sanctity ſtruck ſome Reverence into the King, ſo as he ran not to ſuch Exceſs of Riot, as elſe he would have done; and gave ſuch force to his Words, as made them prevalent to keep the Nobles in their Duty and Alliance. But he being quite tired out, withdrew from Court to his own See, and then, as if the Bank or Fence had been removed, a Deluge of miſchiefs broke in, and bore down all before them. The Debauchery, Pride, and Tyranny of *Childerick* increaſed, and with them the diſdain and Impatience of his Subjects. One of the Nobility *Bodilo* by Name, he cauſed to be tyed to a Stake, and beaten like a Slave for ſome frivolous matter, which put them into ſuch a Rage that they conſpired againſt him; but *Bodilo* prevented all other Deſigns, by meetting him in a Wood, as he was diverting himſelf with a very ſmall Train, and there killing him; which done, he cruelly Murthered *Bilitilde* his Queen, though great with Child. *Childerick* being thus made away, they pull *Theodorick* out of his Cell, and reſtore him to his former Eſtate. *Leudeſius* the Son of *Erchinoald* they make Maſter of the Palace, by the advice of *Leodegarius* the Biſhop, and *Gerinus* his Brother, and this they doe in haſte to prevent the recalling and Reſtitution of *Ebroinus*, towards whom they had ground to believe that the King's favour ſtill continued. But *Ebroinus* reſolved to render this Policy inſucceſsfull, and though there was not means left to out-wit them, yet to doe that by force, which Cunning and Art could not effect. He caſts off his Cowl, abjures the Monaſtical Life, and gathering together a multitude of his Friends ſets upon the Court, overtakes the flying King at *Cariſiacum*, after he ſeized his Treaſures, and taking upon him his former Employment, kills *Leudeſius*, tortures to death *Leodegarius* the Biſhop, with *Gerinus* his Brother, and having put to Death many others, baniſhes the reſt, and Confiſcates their Eſtates. This done, he permits *Theodorick* to enjoy his Life with the Title, but uſurps the whole Power and Authority over the Kingdom.

Childerick is ſlain, and *Theodorick* reſtored.

123. In the mean While *Auſtraſia* was governed by *Vulfoaldus*, who after the Death of *Childerick* had fled thither, and he dying ſoon after, by *Martin* and *Pipin* the Sons of *Anſegiſilus* a Noble man. They had not been long in Power, but they began to conſider the Greatneſs, and demeanour of *Ebroinus*, and as well for prevention of miſchief intended toward themſelves, as to yield to the Importunity of the *Franks*, who groaned under his Tyranny, levied an Army with reſolution to bring him to Condign puniſhment. They marched toward him, and he being aware of their Deſign had made good proviſion for a Battel, wherein he defeated them after a great ſlaughter on both ſides, and they fled for their Lives; *Pipin* into *Auſtraſia*, and *Martin* to *Laudanum*, where he fortified himſelf, which *Ebroinus* hearing ſent and invited him to Court, promiſing him not onely his Life, but other matters of great Conſequence, but could not overcome him without the Strategem, he was wont to uſe in all other Caſes. He cauſed Oath to be made for his Security, upon the Relicks of ſome Saints, as was imagined, but there were in Truth no Relicks there, onely empty Coffers; and therefore accounting this no Oath, he Circumvented *Martin*, and cauſed him to be Murthered with all his followers. Being now as he thought pretty ſecure, he had leiſure to meditate what farther Courſe he ſhould take, for gratifying his Ambition and his Cruelty. There was one *Ermenfrid* a *Frank*, who was a great Eye-ſore to him, and he reſolved to remove him out of the way, which being made known to him, *Ermenfrid* reſolved to begin with him, and preſerve his own Life by the Death of his Enemy; at the worſt, he could but periſh. He was ſo proſperous in his Enterprize, that ruſhing upon him when he leaſt thought it, he eaſily killed him, and not well aſſured of impunity for the Fact, fled to *Pipin* into *Auſtraſia*.

Civil Wars at home.

124. He being Dead, the *Franks* with the King's Conſent, made choice of one *Warato* to ſucceed him, who for ſecuring his Employment made a ſtrict Alliance with *Pipin*, from whom he received Hoſtages for his Faith and Sincerity. Thus was he ſecure as to matters abroad, but in his domeſtick Affairs was very unhappy. He had a Son called *Giſlemar*, a young Man of a furious Spirit, impatient of quiet, and as undutifull as could be imagined. He takes the Reins out of his Father's hands, and will needs manage the Kingdom. He breaks the Alliance made with *Pipin*,

makes War upon him, brings the Kingdom into great troubles and inconveniences, but for his undutifulneſs, and other Sins, as our Authours obſerve, was ſmitten by God Almighty, and called to give an account in another World. He being removed, his Father reaſſumed the Government, and managing matters very calmly and proſperouſly, died after ſome time, leaving behind him *Auſeſlidis* his Wife, a Woman very Nobly deſcended, and of very great Parts. She procures *Bertarius* her Son-in-Law to ſucceed him, one that was as mean in his Intellectuals as he was in his Perſon and Stature, to which, though the *Franks* at firſt conſented being it ſeems ſurpriſed, yet afterwards conſidering how bad a choice they had made, they fell into a Mutiny, of which *Pipin* takes advantage, and invades the Kingdom with a great Army and ſuch ſucceſs, that he defeated *Bertarius* in Battel, and forced both *Theodorick* the King and him to run for their Lives. Yet did he uſe this Victory moderately, for no harm do we hear that was done, but *Bertarius* not long after was ſlain by his greateſt Flatterers, and that through the inſtigation of *Auſeſlidis*, who was aſhamed ſhe had preferred a man ſo deſpicable. He being gone, *Pipin* was ſent for out of *Auſtraſia*, and made Major of the Palace, the whole Government of the *Franks* being now in his Hands. But he judged it moſt for his intereſt to reſide in *Auſtraſia*, and therefore left one *Nordebert* as his Deputy with the King, and returning, of the two Sons he had by his Wife *Plectrudis*, viz. *Drocus* and *Grimoaldus* he made the former being the Eldeſt, Duke of *Campania*.

Theodorick dies.

Clodonæus firſt, and then Childebert ſucceeded him.

125. *Theodorick* at length Dies, after he had Reigned ſome ſay nineteen years, ſome almoſt three and twenty, and others no fewer than twenty eight. He left by *Clodoilde* his Wife two Sons, whereof the Eldeſt though a Child *Clodonæus* by name was King in his ſtead, but died after four years, and *Childebert* his Brother ſucceeded in his Title being very hopefull. Shortly after *Nordebert* alſo leaves the World, and then *Grimoaldus* the younger Son of *Pipin* is made Major of the Palace. *Pipin* having thus the whole power of the *Franks* in his hands, and ſecure at home, reſolved by his Victorious Arms to make himſelf terrible to his Neighbours. He firſt ſet upon the *Friſii* an ancient people of *Germany*, ſituate upon the Ocean beyond the *Rhine*, the Prince of whom *Radbodus* a Pagan he overthrew in Battel, which done, he ſubdued the *Suevi* and other ſorts of People, of which our Authours have not left us ſo much as the names, ſo negligent were they in Writing, what their Anceſtours were ſo induſtrious in performing. But the joy and triumph of *Pipin* for theſe publick felicities were within ſome time interrupted by Domeſtick ſorrow. *Drocus* his Eldeſt Son departing this World without Iſſue, and he himſelf falling ſick not long after, his other Son *Grimoaldus* coming to viſit him was Murthered by *Langarius* a Pagan and attendant on *Radbod*. *Grimoaldus* Married the Daughter of this *Radbod* the Prince of the *Friſians*, but by her had no Children, onely one Son by a Concubine named *Theudoaldus*, whom his Grandfather procured to ſucceed in the Office of Major of the Palace. In the mean time *Childebert* dies, *A. D.* 718. after he had Reigned thirteen, ſome ſay ſeventeen, but others twenty years, a Prince both of good Morals and Intellectuals, however ruſted over by idleneſs, and clouded by the extravagant Authority of the Majors of the Palace. He left a young Child called *Dagobert*, who ſucceeded to the naked and empty title of King.

Childebert dies.

Dagobert ſucceeds.

Sepultus eſt Atrebatibus in æde Vedaſti ubi ex rudi at inciſo in antiquum lapidem elogio apparet uxorem illi fuiſſe Dodam nomine, ſic enim habet.
Rex Theodoricus ditans ut verus amicus
Nos ope multimoda, jacet hic cum conjuge Doda.
Vide plura apud Papirium Maſſonum, p. 83.

Aimoinus & Annales ab Ann. 714. Uſque ad Ann. 83. ab Anonymo ſed vetuſto Auctore ſcripti & à Petro Pithæo editi unde quibuſdam Annales Pithæani Audiunt. Sed eoſdem titulo Annalium Fuldenſium recudendos curavit Margnardus Freherus cum aliquot Annorum Acceſſione. Auctor vixit Moguntiæ Lothario imperante Rabani Mauri ævo.

126. At length *Pipin* having been King in effect, or King of thoſe Kings for the ſpace of ſeven and twenty years and an half, as *Aimoinus* computeth, breathes out his Soul in the heats of a very acute and briſk Fever. He being dead, *Plectrude* his Wife had the courage to ſeize upon the Government, making uſe of the names of King *Dagobert* and *Theudoald* her Nephew the Major of the Palace. The *Franks* either ſurprized or to trie concluſions, for ſome time were ſilent, not diſdaining to be commanded by a Woman, and ſhe ſo ordered her matters as by one means or other to keep them in obedience. Having as ſhe imagined ſetled her ſelf in the Government, ſhe began (as well ſhe might, being very old) to think of Death, and how to eſtabliſh her power in the hands of her own Relations. Her Husband by another Wife, (rather by a Concubine,) had a Son called *Charles*, a Man excellently qualified for the greateſt buſineſs, the more therefore ſhe had him ſuſpected, and

Aimoinus paſſim eum Principem appellat.

De eo ſic Aimoinus: Habuit quoque præfatus Princeps Pipinus filium ex alia uxore nomine Carolum Virum elegantem, egregium atque utilem. Plerique tamen eum ſpurium apertè dicunt cui mater fuit Alpais concubina quæ Pipino Herſtillio peperit etiam Childebrandum patrem Nebelungi: qui Nebelungus ſcripſit chronicon nondum tipis Editum ut Quercetanus in ſua Hiſt. Burgundiæ, l. 2. c. 1. tradit. Alpais verò demum pœnitens, Orpii in Gallo-Brabrantia Monaſterium ſtruxit, in eoque ut credebatur veteris vitæ delicta eluit, & Hungardienſe Canonicorum Collegium inchoavit, Miræus in Chron. Belg.

Sect. 3.

this jealouſie added to the uſual paſſions of a Stepmother, ſo far tranſported her as to lay hands on him, and commit him to cloſe Cuſtody. But thence roſe her Troubles, whence ſhe promiſed her ſelf the greateſt ſecurity. As well as ſhe thought ſhe had ordered her matters with the people, and ſecured their fidelity, ſuch as either had been diſobliged by her Husband, or were now tempted by their own ambition began to repine firſt, and afterward openly to declame againſt the preſent poſture of Affairs, and in concluſion, raiſed ſuch tumults as procured a War wherein her party was born down, *Theodoald* hardly eſcaping with his Life from a Battel, fought in the Wood called *Cocia*. Hereupon the Victours deſpiſing his Title, chuſe for their Major of the Palace one *Reganfredus*, and entring into an offenſive and defenſive League with *Ratbode* the *Friſian*, they invade *Auſtraſia* with a great Army, waſting all things as far as the *Meuſe*, while *Plectrude* keeps her ſelf cloſe in *Coloine*.

Who dying *Daniel* or *Chilperick* is ſet up.

A. D. 723.

Annal. Pith. Aimoinus.

127. Not long after dies *Dagobert*, after he had Reigned ſome five years, leaving a Child behind him who was Nurſed in a Monaſtery. The *Franks* waved him becauſe of his Age, and gave the Title of King to one *Daniel*, a ſhaven Clerk, whoſe name for greater grace they changed into *Chilperick*. *Reganfredus* ſtill thought it his intereſt to weaken, and if poſſible, to deſtroy the remainders of *Pipin*, his intereſt and power in *Auſtraſia*, and for that purpoſe levied another Army. But he preſently found he had not to deal with a Woman onely. There was a Youth ſprung from the Loins of *Pipin*, who had ſo much courage as to bid him defiance and ſtrenuouſly to maintain his Father's cauſe againſt all oppoſers, even *Charles* whom we lately mentioned, who proved the *Achilles* of the *Franks*, and the *Mars*, or rather if you will the Marteau or Hammer of all their Enemies. He had eſcaped out of Priſon, and wound himſelf out of the hands and devices of *Plectrude* his Father's Wife, which having done, he could not be idle nor ſuffer the Enemies of his Houſe to doe their pleaſure without reſiſtence. He raiſed an Army, and made Head againſt them, but it was his fortune to be bred a perfect Souldier, and therefore he muſt lay the Foundations of his Military excellencies in adverſity, being in the firſt ingagement defeated, and forced to run and ſhift for his Life. The Enemy incouraged by this ſucceſs, and ſmiling at the attempts of this young Adventurer, renewed their Hoſtilities, and the ſecond time carried their Victorious Enſigns as far as the *Rhine* and *Coloine*, deſtroying all things in their paſſage, and forcing *Plectrude* to redeem the liberty of that City, and her own Life with a vaſt Sum of money. Yet did *Charles* lie in ambuſh, and ſetting upon them as they returned, looſely and without all care of Order or apprehenſion of Danger, made great ſlaughter of them in their retreat, at a place called *Amblana*. This they looked upon onely as a misfortune, altogether accidental, and far from the product either of Valour or good Conduct, and therefore to chaſtiſe him who durſt offer ſuch an indignity to the King of the *Neuſtrians*, they make new levies and oblige *Charles* to trie his fortune, and ſhew his proweſs the ſecond time. He offered them good terms, and deſired to compoſe the difference betwixt the Kingdoms, but they were bent upon a Battel, as not doubting to put an end to his Life, his boldneſs and the War altogether. But in the Battel (which was fought at a place called *Vinciacum* the Lord's day before Eaſter,) they were defeated, and Victorious *Charles* after he had purſued the flying Enemy as far as *Paris*, remembring he had an Enemy at his Back, returned and beſieged *Plectrude* his Stepmother, as ſome call her, in the City of *Coloine*.

Vinciacum in Pago Cameracenſi hodie eſt villula vulgo la cenſe de Vincy, ad Abbatiam Sancti Auberti Cameracenſem pertinet, ſita prope Crepicordium oppidum.

128. He had no paſſion in him, which tempted him to deſtroy or deface the Town, and therefore ſet upon it with arguments and good Language, whereby he ſo won upon the Inhabitants, that notwithſtanding all the oppoſition ſhe could make, he had it delivered up to him, and therewith his Father's Treaſures which were great at his Death, but were now much increaſed by her parſimony and ſcraping. Having diſmiſſed her with expoſtulations onely and rebukes, for the humour ſhe bore of a true Stepmother, he began to conſider how to eſtabliſh himſelf, and finding his intereſt too weak, either to aſſure the Title and Government of a King both together, or the Power and Authority without ſuch a Title in ſome Perſon, he complied with the humour of the times, and as in *Neuſtria* they had ſuch an Image they worſhipped, ſo in *Auſtraſia* he ſet up the like Idol, giving the name of King to one *Clotair* deſcended of the bloud Royal, but how, and in what degree we find not expreſſed. The *Neuſtrians* now perceived they had no Fool to deal with, but foraſmuch as his Authority was but green and freſh, they concluded it was to be ſuppreſſed, before it ſhould ariſe to maturity, and knowing he was not

Clotair made King in *Auſtraſia.*

to be deſpiſed, they ſtrengthned themſelves with the acceſſion of *Eudo* the Governour or Duke of *Aquitain*, who not onely commanded the *Vaſcons* that had broke into this Countrey, but having governed the bordering Regions of the *Volcæ* both inſeriour and ſuperiour, for the King of *Spain*, when the intereſt of that Crown went to wreck, had repreſſed the inſolence of the victorious *Saracens*, and now held them in his own Right. He was willing enough to engage in the Controverſie, though it had been for no other reaſon than to divert the *Franks* from the incroaching *Vaſcons*, and to cauſe them to ſpend their fury one upon another, joyning therefore with *Erganfredus* they began their march, *Charles* was aware of their coming, and would not ſo far gratifie either their Ambition, or diſcourage his own men, as to ſuffer them to pierce into the Bowels of *Auſtraſia*, and make that the Seat of the deſigned War, but met them and gave them Battel with ſuch induſtry and Conduct, that he routed their Army, and forced them to flie to *Paris*, whence *Eudo* carried the King *Chilperick* and his Treaſures with him as far as *Orleance*, and thence by degrees returned into his own Countrey with great difficulty, *Charles* ſtill preſſing him at the very heels.

Clotair of *Auſtria* dies.

Chilperick of *Auſtria* dies.

Theodorick Cala made King of *Auſtria*.

Hodie Chelles *in agro Pariſienſi, A. D. 729.*

129. He being got ſafe home, *Charles* thought it not prudence by an Invaſion, too much to provoke thoſe Warlike Nations which he ruled, eſpecially at this time, when he underſtood that *Clotair* whom he had advanced to the title of King was lately Deceaſed. That he might not want another mock King, to keep the People in good humour, (which could not be without the diverſion of ſuch a Pageant,) and to be a Rival to the like mock Prince, *Daniel* or *Chilperick*, he indeed thought it beſt to retreat, but yet in his paſſage thought fit to ſet upon *Audeganum*, whither *Erganfredus* had betaken himſelf after the Battel. He took the City, and therein his Enemy, whom all men expected he would diſpatch out of the way, not onely out of deſire of Glory as his Æmulatour, but out of a principle of ſelf preſervation, and from the immediate Dictates of natural Policy. But his Heroical Diſpoſition, and his innate Generoſity and Courage, being inconſiſtent with all dark Clouds of jealouſie and fear, he not onely gave him his Life, but the Government of that Town wherein he took him. Shortly after this he made Peace with *Eudo*, receiving from him *Chilperick* the King, though not all his Treaſures. *Chilperick* died not long after, in the ſixth year of his Titular Royalty, which cauſed *Charles*, for that the temper of the times ſo required, to fetch the Son of *Dagobert* out of the Monaſtery of *Cala*, where we ſaid he was bred, and to give him the Honour of King, which he bore by the name of *Theodorick Cala*, this addition for Deſtinction ſake being given him from the place of his Education. He either through the arts of *Charles*, uſual to all the Majors of the Palace, or his own dull and ſlow diſpoſition, gave himſelf up to ſloth and idleneſs, not regarding any thing tending to Government. Therefore *Charles* having now in his hands the whole power of the *Franks*, and being ſecure at home, caſt in his mind how he might obtain glory and renown by foreign Conqueſts.

The *Saxons* reduced to obedience.

The Countrey of the *Alemans Suevi* and *Bavaria* waſted by the *Franks*.

De Plectrude nihil aliud niſi quod vitæ à Carolo acceptæ demum finem impoſuit & ſepulta eſt Coloniæ Agrippinæ ubi tumulus ejus viſitur ſic inſcriptus:
Legali thalamo Plectrudis juncta Pipino Drogonem genuit, magnúmque ducem Grimoaldum.

130. His firſt adventure was againſt the *Saxons*, whom e'er they could perfect a deſigned Revolt, he ſurpriſed and forced to return to their former obedience. A year had ſcarcely paſſed after this Victory when he was called into *Germany*, where work was made for him by *Plectrude* his Stepmother, whom with *Sinichilde* her Niece, he had diſmiſſed after the Siege of *Coloine*. Carrying with her her old novercal hatred, (which an act of ſo great generoſity as he had ſhewed toward her could not diminiſh,) into the inner parts of that Countrey; ſhe ſtirred up the ſeveral Nations againſt him as a Baſtard, who had baniſhed his Father's true and legitimate Wife in her old Age, to beg her Bread in a ſtrange Land. She ſo moved the hearts of the unwary Multitude, that *Charles* perceived there was a Storm impending, and to drive it off from his own dore, reſolved to paſs the *Rhine*, and ſuppreſs them e'er they could be quite prepared. Without much labour he effected this upon the *Alemans* and *Suevi*, and paſſing as far as the *Danow* up the Countrey, waſted *Bavaria*, and beſides many others, with rich ſpoil brought *Plectrude* and *Sinichilde* away Priſoners. Such were the beginnings of *Charles*, which being Crowned with ſucceſs, inabled and prompted him on to greater matters. *Eudo* repenting it ſeems of the League and Alliance he had made with him, out of confidence of his own ſtrength, and the aſſiſtence he could procure out of *Spain*, utterly renounced it, which as ſoon as he perceived, judging expedition the greateſt advantage in all performances, he thought it requiſite to begin firſt, aand paſſing the *Loire* ſpeedily invaded *Aquitain*. *Eudo* either ſurpriſed, or to let the heat of his fury abate, retired into the moſt fortified place he had, and ſuffered him to haraſs

the Countrey at his pleaſure, which daving done, with much booty he returned home.

An Invaſion of the *Saracens.*

131. *Charles* thus trained up, and prepared for great Atchievements, a moſt conſiderable Subject ſhortly after preſented it ſelf, whereon he muſt make a trial of his Valour and Conduct, and this was a War he was forced to undertake with the victorious and terrible *Saracens*, who having ſubdued a vaſt part of *Aſia* and all *Africk*, had tranſported their victorious Arms over into *Europe*, and made themſelves Maſters of the *Gothick* Kingdom in *Spain*. The Reader muſt know, that moſt Authours the ancient eſpecially write, that *Eudo* to be revenged upon *Charles*, and to put a ſtop to the Carriere of his good Fortune, invited them firſt into *Gall*. Others affirm, that from *Spain* they invaded the *Vaſcons*, *Aquitain*, and the Province of *Narbon*, and having defeated *Eudo* himſelf, next invaded the Territories of the *Franks*, having paſſed *Garumna* or the *Garonne*. Conſidering the fierceneſs of the People, the ſucceſs they had had in *Spain*, the hopes which their good fortune, together with their numbers, (whereby they bore down all before them,) had raiſed in them, and the Rapacity of the Nation, we cannot but incline to their opinion, who think that they needed no invitation, but having overrun all as far as the *Garonne*, were by their own deſires induced to make a trial upon the *Franks*, the rich Territories of whom they had ſome kind of reaſon to promiſe to themſelves. However it was, that having once paſſed that River they took *Burdeaux*, and having burnt all Churches, as well as other things they could not carry with them, that thence they marched to *Poictiers* is agreed on all hands, where having dealt in the ſame ſort with the Church of St. *Hilary*, they held on their courſe to handle in the ſame manner that of St. *Martin* at *Tours*. But here *Charles* put a ſtop to the progreſs of their Confidence, having raiſed as conſiderable an Army as all *Auſtraſia*, *Neuſtria*, *Burgundy*, and other parts could afford, the flour of the Nobility, as well as the ſtrength of the Commons flocking to him; foraſmuch as the Controverſie now in hand, was not on their part for Glory or Dominion, but their very Lives and Fortunes, and what was dearer to them their Religion, for thoſe Infidels having thus far proceeded, and deſtroyed Chriſtian Worſhip, *France* is now the Wall and Rampart to ſtop their Current, elſe all Chriſtendom muſt ſpeedily be overwhelmed.

Aimoinus Annal. Pith.

132. To what number of men his Levies amounted is utterly uncertain, thoſe Writers who have taken upon them to be Publiſhers of his worth, having tranſmitted but a mere ſcantling of his Actions, and an unperfect account of his great performances to Poſterity. As for the *Saracens*, we are told they were no fewer fighting men than four hundred thouſand, beſides Women and Children, for in *France* they intended to plant themſelves. Now ſome will have it that *Charles* and *Eudo*, by common danger were induced to an hearty accommodation of their Differences, and with joynt force to attacque this ſtupendous Multitude. Near to *Tours* they met them, where *Charles* ſo formed his Battalia, as to place his Horſe, wherein his greateſt hope remained, in two Wings to protect his Infantry, which elſe might ſoon have been overrun and troden down by the numbers of the Enemy. The method that was uſed in fighting, we cannot deſcribe, neither the particular paſſages in the Battel, becauſe we reſolve not to write Romances, nor to imitate the Modern *French* writers, who deviſe Harangues of Generals to their Souldiers, and feign ſuch ſtories as poſſibly might agree with the nature of the Enterpriſes whereof they write, but have no Foundation in any Monuments of the Ancients. 'Tis certain *Charles* had the better which way ſoever. There are that tell us, that while he ſtrugled with the confuſed Multitude, *Eudo* ſet upon their Camp, and plundring the Baggage, and killing ſome of the weaker Sex and Age which there they had left, the Women made ſuch an hideous lamentation, that their Husbands hearing it, were put into ſuch a diſorder, as gave ſufficient opportunity to *Charles* to doe effectual Execution upon them, and then *Eudo* coming in and falling upon the Rere, the Victory in proſpect before was fully completed. *Abderaman* the King of the *Saracens* or *Moors*, (for ſo alſo the Reader muſt take notice they are called in Authours from *Mauritania* whence they came,) was ſlain and with him three hundred and ſeventy five thouſand of his followers as ſome compute, who to take off from the wonder tell you, that the Battel was fought on both ſides with that Animoſity, that fifteen hundred *Franks* alſo periſhed, amongſt whom many of the choiceſt of the Nobility. Time has been ingratefull in burying in Oblivion the gallant demeanour of particular Perſons, but doubtleſs many deſerved exceeding well, and *Charles* moſt certainly who obtained the Sirname of *Martell* or *Hammer*, from this Victory

Who are overthrown by *Charles* the Major of the Palace.

Pallus eo prælio trecenta hoſtium & ſeptuaginta millia cecidiſſe autor eſt: ſed Eudo literis ad Gregorium ſecundum Papam (quarum mentio fit in vita ejuſdem Gregorii) trecenta ſeptuaginta quinque millia.

Marteau Franciis hodiernis, an Hammer.

ry which indeed deſerves to be eternized, (and he by it) as having prevented infinite miſchiefs wherewith the Chriſtian World might elſe have been overwhelmed.

133. Yet though he had got ſuch a Reputation by this and his other Victories, and had the whole management in his hands, did he not take the title of King, but left it to *Theodorick*, contenting himſelf with that of Prince, which our Authours give to him, as to his Father *Pipin*. Having now ſecured *France* as to matters abroad, like a good Prince, he reſolved to free it from all inteſtine Diſtempers, and for that purpoſe made a progreſs into *Burgundy* firſt, as having moſt need of his helping hand, where he delivered the Borders into the hands of *Leudes* or *Feudataries* for its better ſecurity, and made eſpecial proviſion for the ſafe keeping of the City of *Lyons*, the Key of the Countrey. While he buſied himſelf in thoſe and the like matters; it happened that *Eudo* the Duke of *Aquitain* died, whereupon he burnt with a vehement deſire of adjoyning that Region to the Dominions of the *Franks*, and the thing being approved by the Nobility, he raiſed an Army, paſſed the *Loire*, and thence marching to the *Garonne*, made himſelf Maſter of *Burdeaux*, and a Fort called *Blanium* (now *Bloye*,) and ſo in order of all the Countrey, notwithſtanding the reſiſtence of the three Sons of *Eudo*, one whereof, *Aznar* by name, went to ſeek his Fortunes in *Spain*, where having overthrown the *Saracens*, and ſubdued many Towns, he laid the Foundations of the Kingdom of *Aragon*, which for many Ages continued ſubject to his Poſterity. *Charles* was ſcarcely returned from this Expedition, when news was brought him that the *Friſians* rebelled, whereupon he rigged up a ſtrong Fleet, and having ſeized on *Amiſtrachia* and *Auſtrachia*, two Iſlands belonging to that People, paſſed up the River *Burdo* into the middle of their Territories, where in fight he overthrew their Captain *Radbode*, (ſome ſay *Popo*, for that *Radbode* was dead,) and then deſtroying their Pagan Temples with other Monuments of Idolatry, with great ſpoils and as much fame returned into *France*, which now ſtood in great need of his Preſence. A great multitude of People out of the Weſtern parts had poured themſelves into *Gall*. *Aimoinus* makes onely mention of the *Vandals*, who he ſaith deſtroyed Churches, ſubverted Monaſteries, took Cities, pull'd down Houſes, demoliſhed Caſtles, and made ſlaughter of an innumerable multitude of men.

Aimoinus, lib. 4. *c.* 53. *&c.*

Aquitain added to the Dominions of the *Franks*.

The *Friſians* corrected for Rebellion.

Burdo nonnullis Amiſia fluvius eſt.

Radbodus iſte Frizonum ſeu Rex ſive Princeps mortuus eſt Idololatra. Inde Belgis Rabbont idem eſt ac Nequam hodiernum diem uſque.

134. Others make this Invaſion the product of the Revenge, and machinations of *Eudo's* other two Sons *Hunnold* and *Gaifer*, who while *Charles* was employed abroad, invited the *Moors* and *Spaniards*, eſpecially thoſe of the Province *Bætica* to make an Inrode, propounding the Plunder of rich Provinces, as a reward of their Travel, and wiſhed ſucceſs, not in the leaſt to be doubted over a moſt contemptible People if compared with themſelves. Whatever gave the occaſion to the Invaſion, like a furious Tempeſt it bore all down before it, ſparing as to Perſons neither Sex, Age, nor Condition, nor as to places, and things either Sacred or prophane. They proceeded as far as *Lyons*, waſting all the Countrey far and wide, yet *Vienna* or *Vienne* by wonderfull providence eſcaped their fury, to which at length a ſtop was put by the *Senones*, the Biſhop of whom *Ebbo* by name fortified himſelf in his City, and ſo cheared up the hearts of his People, that in all Aſſaults they ſtill had the better, and when the Beſiegers had loſt many men, and were all quite tired with their frequent Attacques, he cauſed ſuch a ſally to be made, as after very great ſlaughter obliged them to quit their Poſts, to raiſe their Siege, and to be gone. *Charles* had hereby the work half done to his hands, for ſetting upon them when they had loſt many of their men, and even all their Courage, he eaſily expelled them out of all the Coaſts of *Burgundy* and recovered *Lyons*, which done, and the Countrey ſetled, ſo as might beſt ſecure it againſt all future Inrodes, he returned into *France*, for ſo they call *Auſtraſia* and *Neuſtria*, as contradiſtinct to the other Dominions of the *Franks*. Here he could not reſt, but conceiving himſelf affronted by the Refractary *Saxons*, who refuſed to perform the accord formerly made with them, with great expedition he paſſed the *Rhine*, and ſpeedily reduced them to obedience.

The Rebellious *Saxons* once more chaſtiſed.

135. Thus proſpered *Charles*, and flouriſhed in Martial Glory, carrying Victory along with him whitherſoever he had occaſion to move. But in the late action with the *Saracens*, his hands more than his Head (although they not very much neither) ſeem to have been employed. For the miſchief ariſing from the Sons of *Eudo*, he was concerned in policy to have paſſed into *Septimania*, and to have cut off the ſource and Original of it by ſuppreſſing them and their Intereſt, but either his great Inclinations to the War with the *Saxons* carried him away, elſe ſome reaſon

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we are not able to diſcover, or he committed this Errour through Inadvertency, of which the wiſeſt of Men are not always guiltleſs. Whereever the fault lay the Cauſes remaining the ſame, ſpeedily produced the ſame effect, for *Eudo's* Sons, irritated with the late defeat, now drew into Confederacy *Mauricius* the Count of *Marſeilles*, one who envied *Charles* his Glory and Authority, and all of them in conjunction together, invite *Ancupa* the new *Mooriſh Governour of Spain*, (who was as ambitious to propagate his Mahometan Superſtition, as to inlarge the bounds of the *Saracenian* Power,) to make a new Invaſion, promiſing him great matters in caſe he were Maſter of the City of *Avinion*, which they affirmed would ſecure the parts of *Septimania*, and the whole Province of *Narbon* unto himſelf. He being with them in a manner as ſoon as called, had by the means of *Mauricius Avinion* betrayed into his hands, and as the Rampart and Bulwark of theſe Countries uſed his utmoſt endeavour to fortifie it. *Charles* having notice, haſtned his Levies as much as he could, but reſolving not to be too haſty, ſtaid till he could form together a ſufficient Army, and in the mean time to be doing and divert the Enemy, ſent away *Childebrand* (his Brother or Kinſman) with conſiderable Forces.

The *Saracens* again invade the Countrey of *France*.

136. He was not long behind them, but coming up with all ſpeed ſate down before the City. Here after ſome Conſultation he reſolved to try it by a way of Storm, as more convenient for his Deſigns, and ſuitable to his Diſpoſition, than a tedious and lazy Siege. And his proviſions of Ladders and Engins were ſo good, his Courage ſo great, and his Dexterity ſo ſucceſsfull, that notwithſtanding the Defendants made very ſtout oppoſition, yet he carried the place, having promiſed the Plunder of it to his Souldiers, as a great means to animate them. Having here ſetled matters as he ſaw convenient, he purſued the flying *Saracens*, and paſſing the *Rhone* invaded the late Territories of the *Goths*, wherein he beſieged *Narbon* their Metropolis, and therein *Athima* the Mooriſh Captain, for all this tract or the *Inferior Occitania* the *Saracens* had lately ſubdued. Here he found he had not to doe with *Avinion*, a City ſituate in an Hilly Countrey, and very convenient to aſſault and batter. *Narbon* was ſeated in a mooriſh Ground incompaſſed when the Inhabitants pleaſed with water, beſides fortified with a very ſtrong Wall, and by a moſt ſelect Garriſon of *Saracens*, who fought not as they had done at *Avinion*, for Booty, Conqueſt and Reputation; but for their Lives and Liberties, for all that was neareſt and deareſt to them. *Charles* therefore perceiving he muſt ſtarve them out, accommodated himſelf accordingly, drawing a Line round the Town, to ſtop up all the Avenues, and in the River placing Engins like Rams upon Stakes driven down into the bottom to hinder all paſſage of Veſſels, and whatſoever might convey Relief to the beſieged. The news of this Leaguer flew faſt into *Spain*, where the *Saracens* were deeply concerned for their Friends and Relations in ſo great danger, and as much for the loſs that was threatned of ſo conſiderable a Province. They beſtir themſelves and raiſe new Forces, which they commit to the Conduct of *Amonus* another Captain, who animated his men by words, preſuming that the *Franks* were already tired out with the Siege, and would not abide the firſt Onſet.

But are beaten.

137. But ſo far were the *Franks* from declining the Combat, and refuſing to receive their firſt Onſet, that they haſted to ſet on them, and were very greedy to give them Battel; For *Charles* hearing of their coming, thought it better to meet them, and by a ſudden and unexpected Charge to try his Fortune, than ſuffer them to come up to the Leaguer, and while he ſtrove to defend his Camp againſt them, to have the beſieged iſſue out upon his back. The main thing was ſecrecy, that thoſe within the Town ſhould not know of his Departure, and he muſt leave a ſufficient number ſtill to make a ſhew of a Siege. In theſe points it ſeems he failed not, but imitating therein the glorious Adventure of the *Roman Nero*, (who beſieging *Annibal*, went and defeated *Aſdrubal* his Brother, and that with ſuch privacy and expedition, that *Annibal* knew nothing of the Adventure, till he perceived the ſucceſs by the Head of his ſlain Brother, caſt over into his Trenches,) went as far as the River *Birſa*, and the Valley *Corbaria* to find them out. Here they joyned Battel, which was fought on both ſides with Courage enough and Animoſity, but *Charles* ſtill in Fortune as well as Valour was Superiour and got the Day, the *Saracens* being utterly diſcouraged after the Death of *Amonus* their Captain. Many of them fell in the Fight, but many more in their Flight, for being to paſs by Boat or ſwim over the River, they periſhed both ways, being ſwallowed up by the Waves, either through their unſkilfulneſs, the violence of the Water, or the overcharging of the Veſſels; the Enemy looſing no time all the while, but preſſing ſtill upon them,

And in their own Countrey receive a great overthrow.

and conſpiring for their deſtruction with that watry Element. *Charles* with great booty, and a multitude of Priſoners, triumphantly returned to the Siege of *Narbon*, which revenging with all violence imaginable, after *Athinus* had, upon report of the defeat of the ſuccours, fled away by Sea, be eaſily took it with other eminent Cities of thoſe Parts, as *Nemauſam*, *Biterræ* and *Agala*, as *Aimoinus* calls them, which, as infected with the venome of Mahometiſm, he burnt to aſhes, and then returned with his victorious Army into *France*.

Sunt oppida Volcarum Arecomicorum. Nemauſus hodie Nimes. Blitera & Bliteræ. Beſiers ad Obrim fluvium & ad mare. Agathe Rhoe, hodie Age in ora & peninſula inter Araurarim & Ledum fluvios ipſúmq; mare. Aimoinus, lib. 4. c. 57.

Another Invaſion by the *Saracens*, but with loſs.

138. It might have been imagined that this Nation of the *Saracens*, by ſo many Rebukes would have been deterred from any farther Attempts upon *France*, but having multitudes of People to ſpare, and allured by the Riches and pleaſantneſs of the Countrey, they make another Inrode firſt into *Gallia Narbonenſis*, their own late Poſſeſſion, then take *Arles*, and in conjunction with *Mauricius*, the Count of *Marſeilles*, invade *Provence*, and pierce as far as the River *Varus*. *Charles* finding himſelf perpetually intangled with this troubleſome People, thought fit to call to his Aſſiſtence ſome foreign Prince, and having none at preſent more in his Eye than *Luitprand*, King of the *Lombards* in *Italy*, to him he ſent an honourable Embaſſy with *Pipin* his Son, who was now grown up to years of Puberty, that according to the cuſtome of Chriſtians in thoſe Ages, he might firſt cut his hair, and by ſuch a Religious Ceremony, become his ſpiritual Father. *Luitprand* took this as a great honour, and ſending the youth back with rich Preſents, in return to the Embaſſy he undertook an Expedition into *Gall*. *Charles*, e'er his Arrival, had ſent his Brother *Childebrand* before him to *Avinion*, and afterward in Conjunction with the *Lombards*, marched himſelf; but his Fame and Reputation got thither firſt, and alone effected what was the deſignment of ſo great preparations; For the *Saracens* hearing of his Approach forſook the Countrey and ſhifted away. *Mauricius* being left to himſelf, who, conſcious of ſo great Treachery as he was guilty of, both toward the *Franks*, and the Chriſtian Religion, quitted *Marſeilles*, and hid himſelf in the rocky and mountainous places, near the Sea. *Charles*, with eaſe enough cleared all the Countrey and forced the *Saracens* once more to contain themſelves within the *Pyrenæans*, which done, and all Chriſtendom freed from the impending ſlavery, both temporal and ſpiritual, he once more returned home.

Ut more fidelium Chriſtianorum, ejus capillum primus attonderet, ac pater illi ſpiritualis exiſteret. Aimoinus, lib. 4. cap. 57. Paulus Diaconus.

139. Shortly after this *Luitprand* being returned, took or found occaſion to quarrel with *Gregory* the third, the *Roman* Biſhop, for protecting *Traſimund*, the Duke of *Spoletum*, who being his Tributary, renounced his Obedience, and fled to *Rome* for ſuccour. Betwixt the King and the Prelate enſued an heavy War, and *Gregory* was ſo much put to it, that he implored the aſſiſtence of *Charles*, and conjured him by all things ſacred, not to hold dearer the Friendſhip of the *Lombard*, than the Good of the Church, but haſten with all ſpeed to its Relief. But whether that *Charles* diſtinguiſhed betwixt the Cauſe of the Church, and the Miſtakes and Paſſions of *Gregory*, or was ſo unmoveable in point of Honour and Generoſity, as to be deaf to all incitements againſt his Friend and Allie, who had ſo well deſerved of him, he was not at all moved by *Gregory* his Arguments to ſet one foot towards *Italy*, whatever he might doe by his Pen and Ambaſſadours, to recover a good Underſtanding betwixt the Parties. But neither had he much time to doe any thing this way; for ſhortly after his return from the Expedition againſt the *Saracens*, he fell ſick of a Fever, at a place called *Verberia*, ſituate upon the River *Iſaca*, which caſt him into a Conſumption, whereof, after he had removed to *Cariſiacum*, at length he died, on the twentieth of *October*, in the fifty fifth Year of his Age, and the twenty fifth of his Rule or Domination, for his Reign we muſt not call it, though in effect, it was really ſuch, yet doth not onely *Aimoinus*, but our *Beda* alſo, give him the Title of *Rex*, or King, and in the Church of St. *Denis*, where he lies interred, his Tomb is to be ſeen thus inſcribed, *Carolus Martellus Rex*, ſo that Pope *Gregory* may ſeem not to have been altogether well adviſed in his Letters of Addreſs, whereby he deſired aſſiſtence againſt the *Lombard*, to give him the diminutive Title, and pitifull Complement of *Subregulus*. But elſewhere the ſame *Gregory*, with *Paul* the Deacon, and the Continuatour of the Hiſtory of *Gregory* of *Tours*, call him *Prince of the* Franks, as alſo doth *Ludovicus Pius*, the Emperour, his Great Grand-Son. Though his Title was but Prince, or *Major* of

Verberie ſur la Riviere d' Oiſe, qui donne le nom d Pontoiſe.

Charles Martell dyes.

In Epitome.

Literis ad Hild. ſcriptis.

Sect. 3.

the Palace, (which he himſelf ſeems to have uſed,) yet ſuch was his Government, and ſo renowned his Actions, which concerned War, that Poſterity gratefully looks upon him as worthy of any Appellation that words (which ought to expreſs things as emphatically as may be) can confer upon him.

Diploma donationis factæ monaſterio cuidam Trajectino prout recitatur ab Heda in Hiſtoria Epiſcoporum Ultrajectinorum habet has ſubſcriptiones: ſignum Illuſtris Viri Caroli Majoris Domus. S. Carlomanni filii ejus, &c.

140. He left ſeveral Children, both legitimate and illegitimate, behind him. By *Suanichilde*, the Niece (or Daughter) of *Odilo*, Duke of *Baioaria*, he had *Carloman*, *Pipin* and *Gripho*; by others, we know not whom, *Bernard*, St. *Remedius*, (Archbiſhop of *Roan*,) *Hierome*, *Hildrude*, (or *Altrude*,) the Wife of *Odilo*, Duke of *Baioaria*,) and *Landrada*, married to *Sigiramnus*, or *Sigramnus*, a Potent Man in *Hasbania*. Before his death he diſpoſed of the Dominions of the *Franks* (by conſent of the Nobility) to ſome of them, in this manner. To *Carloman*, his Eldeſt Son, he aſſigned *Auſtraſia*, with *Thuringia*, or the Nations inhabiting beyond the *Rhine*, ſturdy and active People to a ſtout and reſolute Perſon; and to *Pipin Burgundy*, *Neuſtria*, *Provence*, or the other parts of *France*, Nations more ſoft and gentle to a ſuitable Nature. His other Sons he paſſed by, whether as ſpurious, or for other Reaſons, we know not, but the indignity would not down with *Gripho*, whoſe Mother (*Sunahilde*, ſome ſay, the Mother onely of him and *Ægidius*,) was as impatient as himſelf, and ſeeing he was not admitted as a ſharer, perſuaded him to puſh for the whole Inheritance. They were both more forward than wiſe, and he ſo fool-hardy, as without any conſiderable preparations, to break out into Rebellion, and to ſeize on the City *Laudunum*, which he ſlightly fortified, as the ſhortneſs of the time and opportunity would permit him. For the two Brothers, upon notice given of his Revolt, ſpeedily raiſed a conſiderable Army, wherewith they laid Siege to the Town, and within a while obliged him to ſurrender and yield himſelf to Mercy, without any terms or conditions whatſoever. This danger was thus happily over, but the Brothers had their handfulls elſewhere; for thoſe People that, living upon the Borders, had by the victorious Arms of *Charles* been ſubdued, and forced to ſubmit to the yoke, upon his death reſolved to withdraw their Necks, and, as they judged, with ſecurity enough, concluding, that though he had left his Power and Dominion to his Children, yet ſcarcely his Fortune, at leaſt, not his Courage and Dexterity in War.

Aliis Sunabilde.

Aliis Ægidius & Remigius.

Carloman Governour of *Auſtraſia, &c.*

Pipin in *Burgundy* and *Neuſtria, &c.*

Laudunum (hodie Laon en Picardie) oppidum Veromanduorum.

Who ſubdue all their revolting Neighbours.

141. Amongſt the reſt *Hanoldus*, the Son of *Eudo*, bore himſelf very high, having, while *Charles* was yet living, began to practiſe a Revolt, and held *Lanfred*, the Abbat of St. *Germans*, who was ſent to perſuade him to deſiſt, as an Enemy, and a Spie, many months in Priſon. The Brothers reſolved to reduce him betimes, e'er he rendred himſelf too conſiderable; and when they were ready to march, to prevent miſchief in their abſence, by advice of *Carloman*, they committed their Brother *Gripho* cloſe Priſoner to a ſtrong Caſtle, near the Foreſt *Arduenna*. They invade *Aquitain*, and having taken a certain Caſtle, called *Lucas*, preſently obliged their Adverſary to come in, and ſubmit to Terms, which were, that with the Title of Duke he ſhould hold *Aquitain* as a Tributary to the *Franks*. This danger being alſo over from without, to prevent all Jealouſies and Miſunderſtandings betwixt themſelves, e'er they quitted this Province, at a place called *Vetus Putavis* they parted the Territories of the *Franks*, according to the Preſcript left them by their Father. Each then departing to his own Poſt, *Carloman* invaded the *Alemans*, who had lately revolted, and waſting their Countrey with Fire and Sword, reduced them to obedience, which done, they jointly ſet upon *Odilo*, the Duke of *Baioaria*, who renouncing obedience, had uſurped the Title of King, and taken their Siſter *Hiltrude* to Wife without their conſent. They ſo managed the War, that they made him aſk pardon and leave to retain his Wife with *Baioaria*, not as an abſolute King, but as a Tributary Duke. This done, *Carloman* invaded the *Saxons*, who, upon his Father's Death, had alſo renounced obedience, and having taken the ſtrong Caſtle, called *Hoſcoburg*, forced *Theodorick*, their Captain, to crave Peace. This, upon reaſonable terms, was granted; but no ſooner was *Carloman* withdrawn, but he defied the *Franks* as formerly, which obliged the Brothers once more to unite their Forces, and jointly to ſet upon him, which they did to ſuch purpoſe, that they ſpeedily wreſted from him another Recantation. Yet did he this ſecond time obtain pardon, it being hard to ſay whether the Love and Union, or the mercifull Diſpoſition of theſe two Brothers was moſt remarkable.

Loches.

Leviel Poictiers.

142. Thus flouriſhed theſe two Sons of *Martell*, as Succeſſours to his Conduct and Fortune, as well as his Arms, when in the middle of their Glory a thing happened ſo ſtrange, as ſtruck the whole World with admiration. This was, that a Man, a young Man, in the flower of his Age, a *Major* of the Palace, or rather a Prince, a King, amongſt his Pleaſures, Conqueſts and Triumphs, when he had no reaſon to be melancholy, but to be contrarily affected with his Condition, that ſuch an one ſhould exchange his Robe of Eſtate for the Cowle of a Monk, and the Wealth and Glory of a Kingdom for the Poverty and contemptible Eſtate of a Religious Beggar. But ſo did *Carloman*, and having given up all into the hands of his Brother, no otherwiſe than as about to die, (as all doe to the World, that take upon them Religion, in which reſpect, before their entrance, they make their Teſtaments,) he went into *Italy*, and there took upon him the Monaſtical Habit, which, with extraordinary ſelf denial and hardſhip, (though conſidered otherwiſe than as the Son of *Charles*,) he is ſaid to have retained to his dying day. Such was the temper of *Carloman*, but *Gripho*, though his Brother, was nothing at all of his Opinion; for being by the favour of his Brothers ſet at liberty, and living in very good Equipage with *Pipin*, he could not therewith be ſatisfied, nothing on this ſide Sovereignty could content him. He made his eſcape, and went to the *Saxons*, whom he knew ſo inclinable to Troubles and Rebellion, that he could eaſily perſuade them to make a War. And for a War they made preparation, putting an Army into his Hands, who incamped himſelf upon the River *Onacra*, expecting his Brother. *Pipin* did not much deceive his Expectations, but haſtened with formidable Forces into *Saxony*, whither when come, he ſo wrought upon the affections of the young Man, as well as thoſe that aſſiſted him, that Pardon being granted for what was paſt, they laid down their Arms, and *Gripho* was as kindly received, and liberally entertained by his Brother as formerly. But here his Ambition could no more terminate it ſelf than heretofore. *Odilo* his Brother-in-law was dead in *Baioaria*, having left a young Son, *Taſſilo* by name, to the Tuition of his Wife *Hiltrude*. Thither he goes, and being by his Siſter kindly received, in way of requital, turns her and her Son out of all, and uſurps the Government. *Pipin* having notice hereof, was more enraged at this baſe Act, than at any thing formerly he had committed, and with a very great Army invades the Countrey, depoſes *Gripho*, and returns the Government into the Hands of his Siſter, for the benefit and behoof of her young Son the Duke; yet deals he no more ſeverely with his unruly Brother than formerly, but coming back into *France*, ſtrives to win him with kindneſs, making him a Duke, and according to the cuſtome, giving him the Government of twelve Counties. But neither did this ſignifie any thing to him. He fled once more, and betook himſelf to *Wacfarius*, the Duke of *Aquitain*, whoſe beautifull Wife, when he tempted to lie with her, had the Modeſty to refuſe him, with the Diſcretion to acquaint her Husband, who yet had no patience to endure the affront, but took his Life for reparation, though ſome reported, that making a Journey into *Italy*, after he was baniſhed *Acquitain*, to provoke the *Lombards* againſt *France*, he was killed, as he travelled over the *Alpes*, by ſome of his Brother's Followers.

Carloman turns Monk.

Pipin ſole Governour.

Onacra vel Ovacra quidam eundem eſſe putant cum Neccaro fluvio.

Griſonem more Ducum duodecim Comitatibus donavit. Aimoinus, l. 4. *c.* 61.

Annal. Pith.

143. All this while here's ſuch a noiſe of the Maſters or Majors of the Palace, that ſcarcely is there any muttering of the poor Kings of *France*, for ſuch there were who to this very time wore the Habit and bore the Title. *Theodoricus Cala* died before *Charles Martell*, though how long, amongſt ſeveral Opinions, it's uncertain. Some ſay he died ſeven years before *Charles*, who governed till his death, without ſuch an Image of Authority, ſo that for ſo long a time there was a ridiculous *Interregnum*. Then did the Sons of *Charles*, they not as yet daring to aſſume the Name, ſet up another Idol or repreſentation of Royalty, one called *Childerick the Third*, whether the Son or Kinſman of the late *Theodorick* it's uncertain, nothing more being upon record concerning him, than that he was ſet up for a time, and then pulled down again, according to the Occaſions and Intereſts of thoſe that promoted him. Such was the condition and ſtate of this Royalty, that no man of Parts or Spirit could poſſibly endure it. The Name of King, the long Hair, the Robe and Idleneſs were the things peculiar to it, onely once a year like a Pageant he muſt be drawn into the City, to be gazed on, in a princely Chariot, according to the cuſtome of theſe times, and afterward returned to the Village or Farm from whence he came, there to be ſhut up from the Eyes of the People, and the Noiſe of all buſineſs, while the *Major* of the Palace carried it like a King indeed, diſpoſing of all things concerning Peace and War, Life and Death, and all other Rights of Majeſty,

Childerick the third made King.

Majeſty, as he himſelf pleaſed, without controll. The onely thing that prolonged the continuance of this Mock Royalty, was the wonderfull Zeal and Devotion the *Franks* had to the Name and Lineage of *Clodonæus*, accounting it the fouleſt Crime in Nature, to be guilty of the leaſt Act of Diſloyalty toward it. But the Name of *Clodonæus* now began to decay with time, and that of *Martell* was ſo freſh and flouriſhing, as had drawn all Mens Eyes and Expectations upon it. *Pipin* his Son had the whole Power in his Hands, was in the flower of his Age, was bleſſed with an hopefull Iſſue, and by his own Atchievements had got ſuch Reputation, as this, added to his Father's Name, ſeemed ſufficient to merit the Title of what in effect he was already poſſeſſed. Beſides the whole Nobility, both Churchmen and others, were, by reaſon of their Preferments, obnoxious to his Family.

144. Theſe Conſiderations joined with the Natural temper and Inclination of Mankind to Honours, put him upon the reſolution of aſſuming the Title, and diſpoſing ſome other way with him that at the preſent bore it, who, that he might be puniſhed, muſt needs beforehand be made guilty. He inveighs againſt his ſloth, and the meanneſs of his Capacity, inſiſts upon the grand diſproportion there was betwixt the great Name he bore, and the Abilities he had to diſcharge the Duty, and preſſes it as a thing which mightily reflected upon the Nation of the *Franks*, to be thought to have ſuch a Ruler as was not in any tolerable capacity to govern himſelf. The truth is, theſe Kings did not govern, neither poſſibly had abilities to doe it; but who was in the fault, whether themſelves, or their Grand Miniſters, the *Majors* of the Palace, (the Intereſt of whom it was to have them idle and enervated in their minds,) there needs not much ſcrutiny to determine. But it's eaſie to trample upon ſuch as are already down. *Pipin* inſinuates theſe things into thoſe Noblemen, of whom he could be moſt confident, and they into the People, and at length it is generally affirmed, that it is moſt convenient for the ſafety and grandeur of the Nation, that his ſhould be the Title to whom already belonged, by Cuſtome and Uſage, the whole Power and Juriſdiction. This ſomething ſatisfied their Conſciences, as to the Allegiance they ought to the Houſe of *Meroneus*, that little more damage could hereby accrue to *Childerick*, who would be deſpoiled of nothing but a vain and empty Title; and it was beaten into their Ears, that *Pipin* himſelf was deſcended of the ſame Houſe, by *Biltilde*, the Daughter of *Clotarius* the Great, married to a certain Duke, *Aribert*, or *Arbert*. But to gain complete ſatisfaction and countenance to the thing, Ambaſſadours are ſent to *Zachary* Biſhop of *Rome*, to lay open theſe matters before him. He, without hearing the other Party, adjudgeth *Pipin's* pretenſions to be very good, and ſends order to *Boniface*, the Biſhop of *Mentz*, to anoint him King accordingly, which was done at *Soiſſons*, and he was carried out upon a ſhield, as the ancient cuſtome was, unto his Throne; *Childerick* being ſhaven, and thruſt into a Monaſtery. So here the Line of the *Meroningi*, or of thoſe that deſcended from *Meroneus*, receiveth its period, in the tenth Year of *Conſtantinus Copronymus*, and the tenth of *Zachary* the *Roman* Biſhop. *A. D.* 751.

But is ſoon after ſhaven by *Pipin*, *Major* of the Palace.

Fuit autem Childericus detruſus in Monaſterium Berlinenſe; ut in Fontanellenſi, Marchianenſi & Bertinenſi Chronicis legitur.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

From the Ruine of the Royal Family of the Meroningi, *and the Riſe of that of the* Carlovingi, *to the ſupreme Height of its Grandeur.*

From the Promotion of Pipin, *the Son of* Charles, *to the Title of King, to the Advancement of* Charles, *the Son of* Pipin, *to that of Emperour, by the ſame means.*

The ſpace of fifty Years.

Sect. 4.

Pipin King.

His Pedigree.

1. THis ſecond Family which from the famous Atchievements of *Charles Martell* is known by the addition of his Name, was yet joined, as we ſaid, in Affinity with that of *Meroneus*. For *Clotair* the Great, the Father of *Dagobert* the Firſt, married his Daughter *Biltilde*, or *Blitilde*, to Duke *Aribert*, to whom ſhe bore a Son called *Arnold*. This *Arnold* was Father to St. *Arnold*, or *Arnulf*, the Archbiſhop of *Metz*, who, before he entred into Orders, begat four Sons, *Fendulf*, or *Ferdulf*, *Anſigiſus*, or *Anchiſus*, *Arnolf*, or *Clodulf*, Biſhop of *Metz*, (who lies buried in *Lay*, a Village of *Lorrain*, but one mile diſtant from *Nancy*) and *Galiſius* (or *Galchito*, or *Walchito*, or *Wandregiſil*, or *Walgiſus*, for all theſe names we meet with) the Father of St. *Vandril* (ſome call him St. *Wandregiſil*) the Abbat. *Fendulf* begot *Martin* Duke of *Auſtria*, who was killed by *Ebroinus*, the *Major* of the Palace of *Neuſtria*, and *Pipin*, ſirnamed *Craſſus*, or *the Groſs*, who by *Joane* his Wife had St. *Gertrude*, the Abbeſs of *Nivel*, founded by her Mother, beſides ſeven Sons, and a Daughter, married to *Anſegiſus*, by ſome called *Beggua*, and by others *Begga*, with the addition of Saint, for this is ſhe that founded the Order of the *Beguinns*, or *Nuns*, not unknown to any that have viſited the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, and lies buried at *Audenna*, in the Countrey of *Namur*, in the Church of the Monaſtery which ſhe her ſelf had built. *Grimoaldus*, the Son of *Pipin the Groſs*, called alſo *Laudenſis*, being *Major* of the Palace of *Auſtria*, in the Reign of *Sigebert* the Second, endeavouring to diſpoſſeſs *Dagobert* his Son of his Inheritance, that he might prefer his own Son *Ildebert* to the Kingdom, was juſtly put to death, and *Ildebert* was ſlain in the Reign of *Ludovicus*, or *Clodonæus* the Firſt. Therefore did *Anſegiſus* ſucceed to *Pipin* his Father-in-law, after he was ſlain by *Godanus*, or his little Son, as they called him, to whom he was Godfather, and whom he had preferred to the greateſt Honours.

Vide Joan. Tilium in Comment. de Rebus Gallicis, lib. 1. De Rege Pipino & Majoribus ipſius. Vide etiam ſtemma Pipini Regis apud Aubertum Maſſonum in Chronic. Belg. qui illud hauſit ex Genealogia Regum ac Principum, Anno 1261 ſcripta, quam titulo Genealogiæ S. Arnulfi P. Pithæus primus edidit. Vide & Notitiam Eccleſ. Belg. c. 3. 20, & 26.

Quem Godanus ut vocant filiolus, hoc eſt ab ipſo oblatus ſacro baptiſmati, ſic Tilius.

Sed pro Godan certè legendum Godſon, ſive Godtſon, ita enim appellatur Teutonibus quibuſdam ille qui oblatus eſt ſacro baptiſmati.

2. *Anſegiſus* on *Begga* begot *Pipin* the Second, (from the place of his Birth it's probable, *viz. Hariſtall*, or *Herſtall*, near *Leige*, where was a ſtately Palace in the time of *Charles* the Great,) ſirnamed *Heriſtallius*. This *Pipin*, by *Plectrude* had two Sons, *Drogo*, or *Druides*, who by *Auſonde*, the Daughter of *Warento*, the Prefect of the Palace of *Neuſtria*, had *Hugo*, who in his Father's Lifetime was *Major* of the Palace of *Neuſtria*, and died in the Mock Reign of *Childebert* the Third, through his Wife's jealouſie, and the careleſsneſs of *Tierdaldes* his Son, who ſucceeded his Grandfather *Pipin* in the Government, but was hindred by *Ermanfredus*. *Pipin*'s ſecond Son by *Plectrude* was *Grimoaldus*, and by *Alpais*, or *Elpida*, his Concubine, he had a Son called *Charles*, and ſirnamed *Martell*, beſides another named *Childebrand*, begotten, as *Tilly* thinketh, of another Concubine, though *Aimoinus* calls him his *Germanus*, or *full Brother*. *Charles Martell* had four Sons and a Daughter by *Sigibert*, called *Lanladra*, and by *Aimoinus Hiltrude*, who being

ſtoln by *Odilo* or *Bacillo* bore him two Sons *Taſſilo*, who ſucceed him in the Title and Office of Duke, by the favour of his Uncle *Pipin*, and afterward ingratefully rebelled againſt him, and his Son *Charles* the Great, and *Grodogand* Biſhop of *Metz*, who founded the Abby of *Gorza* in *Loraine*. The four Sons of *Charles* were *Carloman*, *Pipin* the little, and by ſome Sirnamed *Pius*, *Ægidus* or *Remigius* the Arch-Biſhop of *Rouen*, and *Grypho* begot on his Concubine *Nachilde* the Niece of *Odilo* Duke of *Bavaria*. *Tilly* thinks it probable, that the Arch-Biſhop and *Grypho* were Baſtards, becauſe in the Partition of *France*, they were left out by their Father, ſo great incertainty is there both of Names and other Circumſtances in theſe Genealogies. To be ſure *Pipin* after the Receſs of *Carloman* became Maſter of the Kingdom of the *Franks*, and at length dared to take the Title as well as the thing, being thereto incouraged by his good Friend the Biſhop of *Rome*: And ſo much of the Pedegree of the Kings of that ſecond Line, from *John Tily*, which how far it agrees with the former Hiſtory the Reader is to conſider, though for the main he cannot but approve it.

He invades *Saxony*.

3. *Pipin* having thus aſſumed the Title of King, and rejected that of *Major* of the Palace, after he had held it about ten Years from the Death of his Father, with a great Army invaded *Saxony*, either to take Mens minds and Tongues off from the late Revolution, or to let them ſee that he very well deſerved the Title; and the expedition ſucceeded according to his Wiſhes, the *Saxons* being beaten at the River *Veſera* notwithſtanding they made ſtout oppoſition. By the late Incouragement and Aſſiſtence which Pope *Zachary* had afforded him, in obtaining the Crown he had contracted ſuch a Debt to that See, as very difficultly could ever be diſcharged; for though *Zachary* died ſoon after, yet the Biſhop of *Rome* being alive again under the Name of *Stephen*, exacted it as his proper Creditour. It happened that a Quarrel aroſe, betwixt *Aiſtulphus* the *Lombard* and him (upon what account in the Hiſtory of that Kingdom, we ſhall more nearly enquire) which came to that height, that the King having taken *Ravenna*, and baniſhed the Exarch out of *Italy*, ſeized on *Narnia*, and brought his Army before *Rome* it ſelf. *Stephen* was at his Wits end, not knowing what Courſe to take, but remembring how his Predeceſſour had obliged *Pipin*, he ſends to him, deſiring he would, as the phraſe was, *Undertake the Protection of the Prince of the Apoſtles*, and by ſome means or other make way for his ſpeedy coming to his Preſence. *Pipin* ſends his Ambaſſadours and gets the Biſhop out of *Rome*, *Aiſtulph* being perſuaded for the preſent to forbear Hoſtility, and to *Pipin* he comes, who as he was obliged receives him with very great Reverence, intending to make farther uſe of him, for ſtrengthening that lately received Title, which by the means of *Zachary* he had firſt procured.

Is anointed King by Pope *Stephen*.

4. That the matter might proceed with the greater Shew of Religion, he is lodged in the Monaſtery of St. *Denis* near to *Paris*, where he falls dangerouſly ſick; but by the Procurement of St. *Peter*, St. *Paul*, and that Saint is reſtored again to Health, for ſome notable end, ſome great Work doubtleſs to be performed. He was ſo much in the favour of thoſe Saints as to obtain his Life and Health, and in ſo much eſteem farther with them, as by Revelation to underſtand that it was by their means, and ſpecial Procurement; what Credit therefore ought not to be given to ſuch a Perſon, who in any thing of the greateſt Conſequence could not be ſuppoſed, but to be indued with an infallible Spirit. After his recovery, he ſends for *Pipin*, his Wife, and two Sons, *Carloman* and *Charles* to be preſent at the Conſecration of a new Altar, which he had erected as a Monument of his Gratitude to theſe Saints, and this muſt not be in private, but a great Concourſe of People muſt be admitted. There, and then takes he occaſion ſolemnly to anoint and inaugurate afreſh *Pipin* for King, together with his two Sons, and *Bertrude* his Wife for Queen; openly pronouncing him a true and Legitimate King, his Sons Heirs of his Kingdom, and that it was utterly unlawfull for the time to come for the *Franks* to chuſe any but of his Lineage. *Pipin* we are told endured this, good Man, with Patience, having been formerly anointed by *Boniface*, and ſubmitted to it out of Prudence, knowing that the Opinion of the great Sanctity of the Man, and the mighty Reverence that was born to his high place and Dignity, would be as a Religious Curb upon the People to reſtrain them from any Attempt, which might be Inconſiſtent with his Royal Intereſt.

5. But being paid his Wages before-hand, he could not be ſo unjuſt as not to doe his Work, and therefore an Aſſembly of the *Franks* is held, to deliberate upon the War to be made againſt the *Lombards*. Here the matter found great oppoſition;

A Conſultation about the War with the *Lombards.*

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Eginhartus.

for many of the Nobility conſidering what danger might ariſe from ſuch a Quarrel, declared that *Charles Martell* his Father out of his great Wiſedom, and forecaſt had refuſed to undertake the Expedition againſt *Luitprand*, and they plainly declared, that in Caſe he was reſolved to make a War he ſhould go alone for them, for they would inſtantly depart to their Houſes. But there was a greater rub than this in the way, which had not been thought of, and with much greater difficulty could be removed. *Carloman* the Monk, and Brother of *Pipin* lived at this time in the Monaſtery of *Caſinum* within the Dominions of *Aiſtulph* the *Lombard* King, who bethinking himſelf what Service he might doe him in this Caſe, ſent to the Abbat and Commanded him to ſend his Monk into *France* to his Brother, to diſſwade him from aſſiſting *Stephen*, vowing elſe to fire the Monaſtery over his Head, and utterly to deſtroy the Neſt and Harbour of ſo many Traitours. *Carloman* by Virtue of his Holy obedience is bound to comply with the Abbat, and into *France* he comes, where he is no doubt lovingly received by his Brother. He lays the Law ſorely to him, and both to him and the Aſſembly affirms it, to be a point of the greateſt Wickedneſs for the ſake of *Stephen* to have War made upon ſo famous a Seminary, and that brought to Deſtruction, which had been the Nurſery of ſo many Saints. And *Stephen* himſelf ſeemed to be wonderfully afflicted with the thought of War, like a pious Biſhop, conſidering that he was the Father of all, as well the Prodigal as the obedient Children, and therefore with the greateſt Reſentment imaginable, the good Man abhorred the Effuſion of Chriſtian Bloud.

Chronicon Caſinenſe, lib. 1. *c.* 7.

6. But *Pipin* having already taſted of Royalty, his Appetite was thereby inflamed with a greater deſire of Honour and Dominion, and having had hitherto very good Succeſs in *France*, by dealing with the Biſhop of *Rome*, ſhould his Arms prove Succeſsfull againſt the *Lombards*, he knew not what great uſe he might make of his Friendſhip in *Italy*, for laying the Foundations at leaſt of more Empire and Glory, to his Poſterity in the time to come. He reſolves to undertake the War at any Rate: The good old Man he perſuades at length to admit of Conſolation, ſeeing this Expedition would tend to the Eſtabliſhment of the Right of the *Prince of the Apoſtles*, and the Advancement of the Church. His Brother *Carloman* he permits not to return into *Italy*, but when he would needs retire from Court, perſuades him to live in the Monaſtery at *Vienne*, where the Religious Prince died not long after, and ſo put an end to all difficulties, which had ariſen on his part. There wanted nothing now, but to make the Nobility ſwallow the Pill, which at length was effected by the guild of Religion, an Holy and meritorious War, being of ſo great moment with the King, that he vows he will go in Perſon, though it were with no more than one or two Attendants. He affirms, he was not biaſſed by private Reſpects, but was ingaged for the good of the Church, to which he promiſed to deliver the Exarchate and *Pentapolis*, as ſoon as he had recovered them by Arms, which he confirmed by a publick Inſtrument, Signed and Sealed by him and his Sons, and ſolemnly ſworn to. And to give clear and full Satisfaction, as well to the Biſhop as others, he ſent once or twice to *Aiſtulph*, offering him Peace upon ſuch Terms as he might well aſſure himſelf he would not accept.

Pipin reſolves upon it.

7. Now nothing but the ſound of Trumpets, and the Neighing of Horſes, and the ratling of Armour is to be heard: The Nobility are aſhamed to deſert ſo meritorious a Cauſe, and the Biſhop is at laſt perſuaded to accept of St. *Peter's Patrimony*, though redeemed by the price of Chriſtian Bloud. *Pipin* marches toward the *Alpes*, and *Aiſtulph* being deaf to ſuch Propoſitions as come out of *France*, prepares as effectually as he can for Reſiſtence. But *Anaſtaſius* the Popes Library Keeper, here makes him a Fool as well as a Knave; to be guilty of ſo great an Overſight, as to leave open the paſſages of theſe Mountains, which he might eaſily have ſeized, and ſo barred to the *Franks* all Acceſs into the Countrey. He adds that perceiving too late his Errour, he ſent multitudes of armed Men againſt them, but they eaſily maſtered them, and broke into *Italy* with that violence, that *Aiſtulphus* himſelf who beheld the ſight, concluded they were not to be reſiſted, and putting Spurs to his Horſe, never ſtopt till he came to *Pavia* the *Metropolis* of his Kingdom. But *Aimoinus* writes, that the Straits of the *Alpes* were before-hand ſeized, and guarded by the *Lombards*, and he (or ſome other, for it's evident, that the Book that goes under his Name, was compoſed by ſeveral Authours) is ſo faithfull to his Countreymen, as to give them the full Honour of the Enterprize, which the more difficult it was the greater muſt needs be the Conduct of the General, and the Courage of his Souldiers. He tells us, they were conſtrained to fight in a place moſt difficult of Acceſs to them, and moſt advantageous for

And forces the *Lombards* to agree to his Terms.

their Enemies, whom yet they beat off from their Poſts, made them run away, and with great Glory, and ſome prey became Maſters of their Camp. This Victory thus obtained, *Pipin* reſolved to follow it on, and marching to *Pavia* there beſieged *Aiſtulphus*, who bethinking himſelf what advantage the *Franks* had againſt him, the *Alpes* now lying open to all the Inrodes they would pleaſe to make, reſolved to grant ſuch terms as they ſhould be obliged to accept, and cut off all their Pretences. Theſe were to doe Juſtice to the See of *Rome*, in order to which he ſwore to give up the Exarchate and *Pentapolis* to *Stephen*, and in Confirmation of the Agreement, delivered up into the hands of *Pipin*, forty Hoſtages.

Which being not performed,

He makes another Journey with his Army, and ſees it done.

8. *Pipin* hereupon returned home, after whoſe departure the Quarrel betwixt the King and the Biſhop revived, and returned to that height, that *Aiſtulph* refuſed to give up the places formerly mentioned, and in Concluſion went and laid Siege to *Rome* it ſelf, as unjuſtly alſo detained from him. *Stephen* cloſely beſieged, and not knowing of any help nearer at hand, writes and ſends once more into *France*, giving to the King thereof, his Sons and Nobility mighty good Words, and perſonating St. *Peter* and the Bleſſed Virgin with melting Arguments inviting them, to take upon them the defence of the Church, promiſing them in recompence not onely Happineſs here, but alſo in that World which is to come. *Pipin* was not deaf to this Charmer, but raiſing an Army with ſpeed, returned into *Italy*, but in his way was encountred by an Ambaſſadour ſent from *Conſtantinus Copronymus* the Emperour, who expoſtulated with him for endeavouring to deliver the Exarchate, and *Pentapolis* into the hands of the *Roman* Biſhop, to whom they did not at all belong, but were the Inheritances of the Empire, and had been Governed by Deputies or Exarchs, for the ſpace of no leſs than two hundred Years. He put off the Ambaſſadour with Words, profeſſing a deep Senſe of Religion, and a Zeal for the Church, and he followed on his Journey; which underſtood by *Aiſtulph* he broke up his Siege, and got him again to *Pavia*, where being beſieged as formerly, he perceived there was no way to cut off the Pretence of the Invaſion of *Italy*, and the Ruine of his Kingdom from the *Franks*, but by delivering up the places in Contention; which he really did, and ſo ſufficient Order being taken therein, and *Pipin*'s work being done at preſent nothing farther remained, but to return home.

More Francico in manus Regis Vaſſalicum manibus ſuis ſemetipſum commendavit: fidelitatèmque tam ipſi Regi Pipino quam filiis ejus Carolo & Carlomanno jurejurando ſupra Corpus ſancti Dionyſii promiſit, &c. *Lib.* 4. c. 64.

He gives another defeat to the *Saxons*.

Stirs in *Aquitain*.

9. After his return, he held an Aſſembly of the Eſtates at *Compendium*, from which ſome idlely Divine the Original of the *French* Parliaments. Thither came *Taſſilo* his Nephew the Duke of *Bavaria*, with the chief of his Nobility, and did Homage to the King according to the *French* Cuſtome, as *Aimoinus* Words it, which what it was, we ſhall Diſcourſe in another place more proper to a Diſquiſition about the Nature of *Feodataries* and *Vaſſals*. *Pipin* much ſatisfied with this Honour done him by his Nephew, marched againſt the *Saxons*, who being Idolaters, and bearing minds truely *German*, or impatient of the Yoke, continually rebelled. He pierced far into their Countrey, and though they oppoſed him to the utmoſt, conſtrained them once more to beg Peace, which they were to purchaſe by a yearly Tribute of three hundred Horſes to be ſent to the Annual Aſſembly of the Eſtates, a means both to furniſh the *Franks* with War, and to weaken them by a conſtant Diminution of the numbers of ſo fit a Creature for that Service. Thus ſucceeded his Projects which way ſoever he turned him, when new Work was made for him in *Aquitain* through the differences that were riſen betwixt *Gaiffar* his Vaſſal the Duke of that Countrey, and the Church-men, who complained that he dealt violently and injuriouſly with them, not ſuffering them to enjoy thoſe Poſſeſſions, which the Bounty and Piety of good Chriſtians had conferred on their Predeceſſours. He anſwered to theſe Criminations, that *Aquitain* having been lately held by the *Saracens*, and before that by the *Viſiogoths*, that were *Arians*, the bounds of the Inheritances and Poſſeſſions, as well of the Eccleſiaſticks as private Perſons, were confuſed and uncertain, that it was a difficult matter to diſpoſſeſs thoſe who had long been ſeized of Contentious Titles, which they affirmed to be very good, and that it was better to let things reſt as they were, than out of Countenance to ſome extreme Pretenſions to imbroil the State with ſuch a multitude of Suits as muſt needs follow, if a Door ſhould ever be opened to this violent and conceited ſort of People.

10. *Pipin* not ſatisfied with this Anſwer, thought that a Convenient opportunity was offered, for abating the height of *Gaiffar* and his Adherents, and raiſing a very conſiderable Army invaded *Aquitain*, *Gaiffar* was ſurprized, as not having imagined the King would either have brought ſuch a Force, or uſed ſuch Expedition, and found himſelf obliged to try all means poſſible to ſend him back; therefore he promiſed

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promiſed to reſtore the Church-Lands to thoſe, to whom of Right they belonged, and for that purpoſe gave up into the hands of *Pipin*, two Hoſtages of the prime Nobility of the Countrey. The Satisfaction being adequate to the complaint, *Pipin* could not but ſeem ſatisfied, and receiving the Hoſtages returned back to *Cariſiacum*, where he wintred and kept his *Chriſtmaſs* and the *Eaſter* following. In Summer, he held the Aſſembly of the Eſtates in a Village called *Duria*, whither News was brought him, that *Gaiffar* notwithſtanding his Oath, and the delivery of the Hoſtages, to be revenged for the former Invaſion of his Territories, had made an Excurſion into *Burgundy* as far as *Chalon*, which troubled him the leſs, becauſe the Eſtates being now met together, he could have the better, and more ſpeedy Aſſiſtence for another Expedition. And another expedition he made, wherein ſome places he took by Force, as *Borbonum*, *Cantilla* and *Clarus Mons*, and others yielded themſelves, eſpecially ſuch as belonged to the *Arverni*. All that he found unfortified he burnt in his paſſage as far as *Lemonices*, and then returning home kept his *Chriſtmaſs* and *Eaſter* in the ſame place, where he had celebrated theſe Feſtivals the Year preceding. But all the while his mind ran upon the Inſolence of *Gaiffar*, which he thought he had not yet ſufficiently chaſtiſed, and therefore the Summer following he made a third Voyage into *Aquitain*, where he took the City *Bituricum* with the Caſtle *Toarcum*.

Quel'on penſe eſtre Crecy ſur Oiſe.

Pipin **makes three expeditions into** ***Aquitain.***

Bourbon ſurnomme le Noble, Chanteles, Clermont d'Auvergne Limoges.

Bourges & le chas teau de Touars.

11. *Gaiffar* perceiving he was not able to keep ſo many places, either for that they wanted due Fortifications, or he Men to Garriſon them, or becauſe he durſt not truſt the Inhabitants, diſmantled ſeveral of them, thinking to render them uſeleſs to the Enemy, not perceiving that hereby he gave him a notable Advantage. For thoſe that were moſt tenable, *Pipin* cauſed to be repaired and Garriſoned by his own Men, and chaſing all that belonged to the Duke out of the Countrey, lying betwixt the *Loire* as far as *Limoges*, he returned to *Crecy*, where having paſſed *Chriſtmaſs* and *Eaſter*, in the Spring following he was fit for another Voyage. He appointed the Rendezvous to be at *Nivernæ*, and by that way entred *Aquitain* deſtroying all with Fire and Sword he met with as far as *Cadurcia*; which done, he returned to *Limoges*, where he gave ſeveral Lands to the Churches, and to that of St. *Martial* the *Bannum Aureum*, he had taken from *Gaiffar*. In this laſt Expedition *Taſſilo*, who as his Vaſſal had all this while ſerved under his Uncle, pretended Indiſpoſition of Body, and getting him home afterward, denied to pay that Service, which was due to him. That put *Pipin* to a ſtand, not knowing what Reſolution to take, for ſhould he go about to chaſtiſe the Temerity of his Nephew. *Gaiffar* might recover all again in *Aquitain*, and render uſeleſs the Travel of ſo many Years; and ſhould he march to perfect his Work in this Countrey, he feared an Invaſion from the *Bavarian* Duke, who had newly married the Daughter of *Deſiderius* King of the *Lombards*, and he knew not what farther Alliance with the *Saxons*, and others of his Neighbours he had contracted.

A fourth.

Nevers.

Cahors.

Je croy la banniere d'or.

12. He was ſo diſtracted in his thoughts, that after an Aſſembly of the Eſtates held at *Wormes*, he reſolved neither to march one way nor other, but keep himſelf at home, as appears from *Aimoinus* he did the Year alſo following, wherein he held the uſual Aſſembly at the Village *Actiniacum*, and wintred at *Aquiſgranum*. But *Sigebert* writes that this Year he made another Expedition into *Aquitain*, and Conquered *Agennum*, *Petrogorica* and *Engoliſma* with almoſt all the Countrey; and *Fauchet* the Preſident it ſeems had a Copy which hinted farther, that he made one *Apto* his Arch-Chaplain Biſhop of *Engoliſma*, which promotion of his, he thinks might poſſibly give occaſion to the Privilege, challenged ſtill by the Biſhops of that place, that as ſoon as the Kings ſet Foot in *Aquitain* they are chief Chaplains, which yet *Lewis* the younger would not grant to *Lambert*, the Biſhop of the ſame See, who when the King was in *Germany* laid claim to it. To be ſure the Year following, *Pipin* being inflamed with a deſire of ending this War, commanded his Forces to meet at *Orleance* whence he marched again into his Enemies Countrey, and in his way cauſed the Caſtle of * *Argentomagna*, which *Gaiffar* had demoliſhed, to be built up again, and having both therein, and in the City of *Bourges* procured Garriſons of his *Franks* to be placed to hold theſe parts of *Aquitain* in Subjection, he returned and celebrated the Nativity of our Lord at † *Salmontiacum*, and at *Gentiliacum* kept his *Eaſter*, where he cauſed a Synod to meet, to debate ſome Queſtions riſen about the Bleſſed Trinity, and the Worſhipping of Images.

Palais d'Atigny. Aix la Chappelle Ad A. D. 765. Agen Perigueux & Angouleſme.

A fifth.

** Argenton.*

† Salmontiacum Fauchet conde eſtre Mont Saulgeonon chas leau prochain & appertenant al Eveſque de Langres. Gentiliacum l'on peuſe eſtre le village vois in de Paris portant ce nom.

13. *Sigebert* tells us, that in this late Expedition *Remiſtanius* the Brother of *Eudo*, and Uncle of *Gaiffar* was taken Priſoner, and for his often turning, ſometimes to his Nephew and ſometimes to the King, was hanged by his Command upon a

Gibbet. Now alſo the report of his Succeſs was ſo ſtrong amongſt the *Saracens*, that *Amyrmonon* their King in *Spain* ſent an Honourable Embaſſy with great Preſents, deſiring a Peace and Alliance with him. Winter being over, he once again renewed the War, and reſolved to make one Expedition more into *Aquitain* by the way of *Narbon*, which he took with *Toulouſe* and *Arles* and many other places, and then returned to *Vienne* to refreſh his Army; which having done for ſometime, not willing to looſe the latter end of the Summer, he again marched to *Bourges*, and there held an Aſſembly of the Eſtates, as ſome Authours ſay, in the Field according to the ancient Cuſtome of the *Franks*. Thence marched he as far as the River *Garonne*, and having taken many Forts and Retirements, where the Enemy had fortified himſelf, he returned back to *Bourges* and there wintred. Aſſoon as the Seaſon of the Year would permit, he haſted to perfect his Conqueſt and came to the City * *Sanctonica*, where the Mother and Siſter with a Niece of *Gaiffar* were preſented to him, whom Commanding to be Civilly treated, he returned to the *Garonne*, and coming to a place called *Montes*, there *Eronnicus* came in to him with another Siſter of *Gaiffar* ſuppoſed to be his Wife. Having done ſome few more Exploits he returned, and in a place called *Fels* kept his *Eaſter*, which Feſtival being finiſhed he marched back to *Sanctonica*, and there leaving his Wife and Family; reſolved before his return to find out *Gaiffar*, who had put him to ſo much trouble which he did in the Territories of *Petragoricum*, and having ſlain him in Battel, or otherwiſe it's not very certain how, his Work being done, he returned thither from whence he had ſet forth.

Nos Auciens, dit Fauchet, appelloyent ce Seigneur, Miramamolin, jazoit q'uille faille dire Emir Momin, C'eſt a dire Empereur en langue Arabeſque.

Et priſt de force Arles que je penſe eſtre la ville de Provence pour je ne Scay queile raiſon appelle le bluna par tous nos anciens Francois.

* *Xainctes.*

Having ſlain *Gaiffar* Duke of *Aquitain* he finiſhes the War.

14. Such is the general Account of this War, which is given us by very good Hiſtorians. But as to the particular Nations or People, that were ingaged, *Fredegarius* by Name mentions the *Vaſcons or Waſcons, who, when Pipin marcht the laſt time to the Garonne, inhabiting beyond this River came to his Preſence, and gave both their Oaths and Hoſtages, that for the time to come, they would ever be Subject and Obedient to him, his two Sons* Charles *and* Carloman, *and their Poſterity. He adds, that ſeveral others who had followed* Waifar *or* Gaiffar *did the like, and that King* Pipin *kindly accepted of them.* Now by theſe Words, *Vaſcones qui ultra Garonnam Commorantur, The* Vaſcons *who dwell beyond the* Garonne, is hinted, that this ſort of People had at this time Conquered and ſeized on that part of *Aquitain* called *Novempopulania*, which is bounded by the River of *Garonne*. This is confirmed by Teſtimony of an ancient Authour, of the Life of *Ludovicus Pius*, who reckoning up the memorable things performed by *Charles* the Great; and making mention occaſionally of the *Garonne* lets fall this Expreſſion, that, *It bounded thoſe of* Aquitain *and the* Vaſcons. That they now inhabited that Countrey, we do little doubt, but at what time they ſhould make this Invaſion and Conqueſt is the great Queſtion. An ancient Parchment of the great Church of *Auſes*, written by a Prieſt thereof, near ſix hundred Years ſince, relates that the *Vaſcons* in the days of *Clodonæus* the Firſt, left the Mountains, and invading *Aquitain*, having ſlain thoſe Counts and Viſcounts which that King there had placed, put others in their Room. *Elias Vinetus* would have this to have happened about the Year 590; but his, and the Conjecture of the Prieſt are both built upon weak Foundations, for in the Reign of *Dagobert* that they inhabited yet about the *Pyrenæans*, and were not deſcended into the Plain, is evident from ſeveral ancient Authours, particularly from the *Chronicon* of *Fredegarius*, the Life of St. *Amaidus* written about the ſame time, and *Iſidorus Hiſpalenſis* who lived in the days of that ſaid King. Some there are who Fanſie that they were invited by *Eudo* the Duke of *Aquitain*, and placed by him in that Region now called *Gaſcoigne*, but without any Ground at all, upon frivolous Suggeſtions. The Authour of the Life of St. *Julian* the Biſhop of *Bearne*, refers this bold Attempt of the *Vaſcons* to the time of *Ebroinus* the *Major* of the Palace, when, as he ſaith, they and other Neighbouring Nations made choice of one *Lupus* for their Prince, who did much miſchief to the Kingdom of the *Franks*. This probably is that *Lupus* who about the Year 670, aſſiſted *Paul* againſt *Wamba* the King of the *Goths*, as St. *Julian* the Archbiſhop of *Tolouſe*, hath left recorded in the Hiſtory which he writ concerning the ſaid *Wamba*.

The *Vaſcons* ſubmit to him.

Ad Ann. 767. *Prædictus rex Pipinus uſque ad Garonnam acceſſit, ibi Waſcones, qui ultra Garonnam commorantur, ad ejus præſentiam venerunt, &c.*

Garumna nobilis Aquitaniæ fluvius ex Pyrenæo oritur, ſcil. Auræ ſaltu: Toloſam primum alluit. Inde Aginnum & Burdigalam nobiliſſimas Aquitaniæ urbes perlabitur, unde æſtuoſus & majorum navium patiens in Aquitanicum ſinum fertur.

C. 78.

Hi (Vaccei quos cum Vaſconibus confundit) Pyrenæis jugis peramplam montis habitant ſolitudinem, iidem & Vaſcones quaſi Vaccones C. in S. literam demutata.

Vide Notitiam Vaſconiæ, p. 393.

15. Some there are, who will have this *Lupus* Father to *Eudo* the Duke: Others will have him not the Son of this, or any other *Lupus*, but of *Bertrand* the Duke of *Aquitain*. All theſe are mere Conjectures founded upon no material Arguments, and therefore no otherwiſe than as ſuch are to be regarded. We may conclude ſafely yet, that in the latter time of the firſt Race of the Kings, when the

UMI

The time of their coming thither.

Valour of *Clodonæus* his Poſterity was degenerated, when the Majors of the Palaces contended amongſt themſelves, and ſeeking to eſtabliſh their Power at home, little regarded what was done upon the Borders, that then the numerous and Courageous *Vaſcons* took the Advantage, and pouring in themſelves into *Novempopulania*, there fixed; the Officers of theſe parts being not able to reſiſt them, or content to let them alone, on Condition, that in theſe Turbulent times they might have their Governments ſecured to them. This we are apt to believe from the Caſe of *Eudo* and his Succeſſours, *Hunald*, and *Waifar* or *Gaiffar*, who in theſe great Wars they managed againſt *Charles Martell*, *Pipin*, and *Charles* the Great, ſeldom made uſe of any other Souldiers than the *Vaſcons*, to the chief of which Nation they committed their principal Towns and Caſtles, as appears ſufficiently from the Appendix of *Fredegarius*, the ancient Annals publiſhed by *Pithæus*, *Marquardus*, *Freherus*, *Andrew du Cheſne*, and others. Now that from theſe *Vaſcons* the Countrey was called * *Gaſcoigne* or *Gaſcony*, *V* being changed into *G* (as is ordinary in other Words) is confeſſed by † *Elias Vinetus Sancto* lately mentioned, as alſo by the Natives of that Countrey, as || *Belleforeſt*, * *Scipio*, *Dupleix*, and † *Joſeph Scaliger* himſelf, although he ſeems to have erred in this point, that he thought them placed in this Countrey partly by *Pipin* after his Conqueſt of them, and afterward by *Ludovicus Pius*.

* *Petrus Chiniacenſis in Provincia Novempopulana, quæ vulgo Guaſconiæ vocatur.*
† *In Auſon. ep.* 25. *num.* 493.
|| *Lib.* 3. *c.* 43. *deſcript.* 4. *orbis partium.*
* *Comment Rerum Gallic. l.* 4. *c.* 16. & *in Annal. in vita Clotarii.* 4.
† *In Notitia Galliæ.*

Aquitain what, and how ſo called.

16. But theſe People ſeated themſelves in *Novempopulania*, a part of *Aquitain*; we are therefore obliged to tell the Reader firſt, what is meant by *Aquitain*, and then by *Novempopulania*. The Name of *Aquitain* Originally, and properly was given to that Tract of Ground lying about that City, which the *French* at this day call *Acs*, the *Gaſcons Dacs*, by *Ptolemy* named *Aquæ Auguſtæ*, by *Vibius Sequeſter Tarbella*, in *Bentingers Itinerary Table*, *Aquis*, and *Aquiſe* in the *Baſque* Language. It took this Name from the hot Waters iſſuing out of the Earth, which were famous in the times of the *Romans*, as appears from thoſe ſtately Marble Seats, yet to be ſeen on the Brink of the Fountain, as *Vinetus* relateth. The frequent Concourſe out of *Italy* to theſe Waters, after the *Romans* had ſubdued the Countrey, in probability gave occaſion to the building of it, for that it was the Work of the *Romans*, we are perſuaded not onely from the Latine Name, but the Aqueduct and ſeveral others of ſuch like Monuments yet remaining. That this Countrey was in the Poſſeſſion, and Power of that People long before the coming of *Cæſar* into *Gall*, is both evident from * himſelf, and from another † Teſtimony; I mean that which is terminated by the River *Garonne*, the Ocean and the *Pyrenæan* Mountains, that part eſpecially lying upon the Sea and the Hills, and probable it is, that then this received the Name of *Aquitain*, which by degrees was Communicated to all thoſe Parts that lye beyond the *Garonne*, as appears from || *Pliny*; who farther informs us, that before this Region had this Name of *Aquitain*, it was called *Arecomica*, or *Aremorica* rather, as others reade it with better Reaſon, becauſe from * *Cæſar* it appears, that all the Cities of *Gall* which lay upon the Sea, were of Cuſtome, called *Armoricæ* the Word it ſelf † expreſſing their ſituation.

Ubi hodie eſt Præfectura Aquenſis Seneſcall. Landarum dicta.
* *De bello Gall. l.* 3. *c.* 20.
† *Livii epitom. l.* 93.
|| *Vide Plin. l.* 4. *c.* 17. & 19.
* *Lib.* 7. *de bello Gallico. e.* 14. & *l.* 8. *c.* 5.
† *Armor enim ad mare vel ſupra mare ſitum ſignificat ex eo forte Poſteriores aviti Idiomatis memores Lemonicum quod eſt Aquitaniæ primæ oppidum, etſi in interiori ejus parte, in Armoricana Regione ſitum dixere. Ut bene innuit Alteſerra Rer. Aquitanic. lib.* 1. *c.* 1.

17. To Water therefore it hath been ſtill beholding for its Name. As from the Sea it was firſt in the *Gallick* Language called *Armor* or *Armorica*, ſo afterwards *Aquitania* from the Medicinal Waters found therein, which flowed out of the Earth in ſeveral other places beſides *Acs*, for we reade of *Aquæ Bigertonum*, *Thermæ Oneſiæ*, *Aquæ Convenarum*, *Aquæ Calidæ in Armoricorum finibus*, beſides others of which it is not here proper for us to inſiſt. And if the Conjectures of ſome be true, the laſt name of *Guienne* given to that part of it which remains in the juriſdiction of the Senate of *Bourdeaux*, at ſuch time as a Conteſt aroſe about the Countrey, betwixt the *Engliſh* and the *French* Nations, owneth no other Original; ſome affirming it corrupted from the word *Aquitain*, and others deriving it from *Aigne*, which in the Language of the very place ſignifieth Water. They tell you the firſt ſyllable is cut off according to the Cuſtome of the *French* with Vowels when they are to meet with *Le* and *La*. To be ſure others more improbably derive it from the *Guilielmi* or *Williams*, the Dukes thereof, as if it were *Guielmia*, (this being the ordinary Name of thoſe Princes, as thoſe of *Pharaoh* and *Ptolemy* for the Kings of *Ægypt*.) For in their days there was no ſuch Name as *Guienne*, nor to be ſure till that of the *Williams* was quite forgotten. We ſhall diſmiſs *Aquitain* with this farther

hint to the Reader, that till *Auguſtus* his time, it was terminated with the *Garonne* and the *Pyrenæans*; But he inlarged it as far as the *Loire*, and then was it divided, and afterwards otherwiſe altered, that which retains the Name at this day, containing not above a third part of what was ſo called by the Emperour.

Garumna Cæſari Veteris Aquitaniæ terminus, ſed ex quo auctior facta uſque ad Ligerim, & diviſa in primam, ſecundam & tertiam quæ Novempopulania dicta eſt, tandémque Vaſconia, tertiæ Aquitaniæ ſeu Vaſconiæ terminus fuit Garumna: unde in vita Ludovici Pii, Garumna fluvius Vaſconum & Aquitanorum conterminus dicitur. A Garumna fluvio Cæſari Garumni dicti populi hujuſce fluminis Accolæ, vulgo le pays de Riviere. Alteſerra Rerum Aquitan. lib. 1. c. 21.

18. But that part of *Aquitain* (or *Aputain* more properly ſo called) lying betwixt the *Garonne*, the *Pyrenæans* and the Ocean, which our *Vaſcons* ſeized, was alſo called *Novempopulania*, ſometimes reckoned a Province of it ſelf, and *Aquitain* taken as contradiſtinct to it, being divided onely into two, the firſt and ſecond, and otherwhile called *Aquitania Tertia*, or reckoned as the third part of this Diviſion. Whence it ſhould be called *Novempopulania*, from what Nine ſeveral People is not agreed; for in the Notice of the Provinces, twelve ſeveral People are attributed to it; ſome therefore think the true Name of the Province to be *Duodecimpopulania*. Others would have it's name *Undecimpopulania*, from the eleven Dioceſes of *Auſcs* the Seat of the Metropolitan, as if the Limits of Provinces and Nations which were ſet long before there were any ſuch things as Dioceſes ſhould be regulated and bounded by them, than the Rules and bounds of which nothing can be more uncertain. For Dioceſes by no certain Law are meaſured, but ſometimes like Wedges, otherwhiles obliquely are inſerted into Neighbouring Provinces, nay ſometimes run far into foreign Nations, as it's certain ſome *Gallick* Dioceſes bordering upon *Spain*, *Italy* and *Germany*, penetrate into thoſe very Countries, as theirs again do into *Gall* it ſelf. Now it would be excellent Logick, thence to infer that *France* is in *Germany*, *Spain* or *Italy*, or part of them are in *France*, ſo ſilly is the courſe of determining of Provinces and People by the limits of Dioceſes, which yet is practiſed by moſt of the *French* Writers. The way to aſſign the Names of People is not to expreſs the ſeveral Towns of the Dioceſes, as the Authour of the Book of the *Roman* Provinces practiſed, but the Names of the Nations themſelves which in *Novempopulania* (ſo called after that *Adrian* the Emperour had reduced them into the form of a Province) were theſe: the *Meduli*, the *Vibiſci*, *Boii*, *Tarbelli*, *Vaſalii*, *Bigerri*, *Tabali*, *Auſcii*, *Convenæ*, and *Datii*.

Novempopulania what.

Qua in re etiam Cæſar erravit Belli Gallici libro tertio, ibi enim gentes tres duntaxat Aquitanicas recenſet, pro gentibus autem oppidanos & paganos novem hoc probat Monetus Jeſuita in Geographia Aquitanica, p. 102.

19. Since we have brought the *Vaſcons* into *Novempopulania*, and have diſcovered the Names, Situation, and nature of this their new Seat; we muſt not be forgetfull of thoſe they left behind them, for that the Elder ſort of People ſtaid behind, and that thoſe are their Poſterity which ſtill live about the *Pyrenæan* Mountains, and are called *Vaſci* or *Baſques*, cannot be doubted by any that have been the leaſt converſant amongſt ancient Hiſtorians. Betwixt the Names of *Vaſcones* and *Vaſci* there is no difference, but that of Declenſion, as might be made evident by ſeveral particulars, but this may ſuffice, that thoſe People that live at the bottom of the *Pyrenæans*, and at this day are both by *French* and *Spaniards* called *Vaſci*, were known in old time by that of *Vaſcones*. Both the *Gaſcons* and *Baſques* or *Biſcainers* alſo in ſome Authours paſs under the Name of *Vaccei*, corruptly framed from *Vaſcei* or *Vaſci*, although in later times it be appropriated unto the *Vaſci*, who are alſo diminuitively called *Vaſculi*, and by way of Contraction *Vaſcli* and *Baſcli*. Their Countrey by ſome called *Vaſcitania*, although lately annexed to *Gaſcoigne*, and reckoned to be in *Aquitain*, yet anciently was a Territory diſtinct, and now the Inhabitants differ both in manners, Cuſtomes and Language from the *Gaſcoigns* and their Neighbours. It's Situate in the utmoſt part, and as it were an Angle or Corner of *Gall*, there where it borders upon *Spain* to the North-weſt; On the Weſt it is bounded by the Ocean, on the South by the River *Bidaſſus*, and the *Pyrenæan* Hills, on the Eaſt by the Principality of *Beame*, and on the North partly by the ſaid Principality the River *Aturris* and otherwiſe. In length it contains about fifty Miles, in breadth four and twenty. It's divided into three parts, whereof the firſt is that of *Lapurdus* or *Baion*, the other that of the lower *Navarre*, and the third that of *Sola*. *Baion* and *Sola* are governed by the King's Governour of all *Aquitain*, and the lower *Navarre* by his Lieutenant of *Beame*. *Baion* and *Navarre*, for Juſtice have recourſe to the Parliament of *Bourdeaux*, and *Sola* to the Parliament of *Pale*.

Vetus Auctor vitæ Ludovici Pii ad Ann. 809 & 816.

Confer Iſidorum Hiſpalenſ. Authorem vitæ Sancti Amandi atque Iſidorum Pacenſem cum Appendice Fredegarii, ad Ann. 766.

The Language of the *Vaſcons*.

20. The Language of theſe People by the *French* called *Baſque* and *Biſcaine*, and by the *Spaniards* *Vaſquenze*, *Joſeph Scaliger* in Latine calls *Cantabriſmus*, and reckons it among the Mother Tongues of the *Europeans*. He adds that the ſpeech of it begins not far from *Baion*, and reaches ſix or ſeven days Journey within the Mountainous parts of *Spain*, that the *French* call thoſe that uſe it *Baſci* and *Baſculi*, and the *Spaniards* the Countrey wherein it is ſpoken by the General Name of *Baſcuença*, that it hath nothing of Barbariſm wharling or puffing in it, but is moſt mild and ſweet, and without doubt the moſt ancient; and in thoſe parts in uſe before the times of the *Romans*. In ſhort, thoſe that ſpeak it are, on the *Spaniſh* ſide of the *Pyrenæan* Hills, the Inhabitants of the greateſt part of *Navarre*, all *Ipuſena*, *Alava* and *Biſcay*, and on the *French* ſide thoſe three Diviſions of *Baion*, the lower *Navarre* and *Sola* lately mentioned. Some give this General account of it, that moſt of its words in the ſingular Number end in *A*, and in the Plural in *Ac*, but others tell them they are miſtaken, for when they ſo end, *A*. and *Ac*. added to them, ſupply the places of ſyllables onely, as in the word *Guiçon a Man*, *Guiçona* ſignifieth *the Man*, and *Guiçonac the Men*. Their Poſterity that ſeated themſelves in *Novempopulania*, or *Gaſcoigne* by degrees forgat this Language, and learnt the Romance or corrupt Latine, though much differing now from that of the *French*. But enough of the *Vaſcons*, the Motions and Conqueſts of whom we could not omit, without a great gap and overſight committed in Hiſtory.

In tractatu de Europæorum linguis & diatriba de hodiernis Francorum linguis.

Marin. Sicul lib. 4. c. ult. Rerum Hiſpanic. ex eo alii.

Arnaldus Oihenartus in Notitia utriuſque Vaſconiæ

King *Pipin* dies.

21. To our buſineſs. *Pipin* having ſubdued the *Vaſcons*, with the other People adjoyning to the *Garonne*, and killed *Gaiffar* his Enemy, returned home; From *Sanctonæ* he came ſick to *Tours*, where having done his Devotions he removed to *Paris*, and having in the Church of St. *Denis* fitted himſelf for another World, on the twenty fourth of *September* he died of a Dropſie, in the fifty fourth year of his Age, and in the eighteenth of his Reign. A great Man, though but four Foot and an half in length; for he laid the Foundations of great Power and Sovereignty, and like another *Philip*, made way and gathered materials for that Grandeur, at which his Son afterwards arrived. He was Buried in the Church of St. *Denis*, and had this Inſcription made upon his Tomb, *Pipinus Rex Pater Caroli Magni*, but this was ſometime after, for that his Son had the Sirname of the *Great*, preſently after his Death cannot be imagined. By *Birtha* his Wife, (called *Birtha with the great Foot*, becauſe one of her Feet was bigger than the other;) he had three Sons, *Charles*, *Carloman* and *Pipin*, who died before his Father, being ſcarcely three years old, beſides *Ægidia* a Nun, to which ſome add *Rotende* and *Altende*, Buried in the Church of St. *Arnald* at *Metz*; as for the ſecond Wife which *Lazius* mentions, and the ſeveral Children he had by her, we think them not of that Credit as to relate their Names. Of his two Sons, *Carloman* had thoſe Provinces which had formerly belonged to *Carloman* his Uncle, and *Charles* ſucceeded to the remainder of the Dominions of the *Franks*.

Obiit Ann. 783 juxta Ms. Chronicon Ultrajectinum.

Alii dicunt filium Pipino fuiſſe Ægidium Monachum in monte Soracte in Italia & aliam filiam nomine Giſlam quæ fuit Abbatiſſa.

Charles and *Carloman* ſucceed.

22. They were both Crowned on the ſame day, *Carloman* at *Soiſſons*, and *Charles* at *Noviodunum*, or as ſome ſay at *Wormes*, the one over *Auſtraſia*, and the other over *Neuſtria* and the Territories thereto belonging. *Charles* whoſe *Tyrocinium*, or firſt Foundation of matters of Arms had been laid in the War of *Aquitain*, or that againſt *Gaiffar*, was immediately upon his Promotion preſented with a new Subject, whereon to employ his skill and valour from that very Countrey. For the Sons of *Eudo* being all Extinct, one *Hunoldus* as he called himſelf, its uncertain who he was, or of what Family, but the Name he thought would be a great means to bear him out, affected the Sovereignty of that Province, and eaſily perſwaded the People to accept of him for their Duke. *Charles* to whom *Aquitain* fell at the Diviſion of the Provinces, thought himſelf concerned as well in Honour as in Intereſt, to follow the Example of his Predeceſſours, in not ſuffering any ſuch Uſurpers and unruly Neighbours there to reſt, and reſolving to march, and endeavour to reduce him, ſent to his Brother to joyn with him in the Attempt wherein though not ſo much, and ſo nearly, yet by way of Conſequence, he muſt alſo be concerned. But *Carloman* made no haſte to joyn with him, his Courtiers having done ill Offices betwixt them, and raiſing ſtill jealouſies in his Head, of his Brother's reſtleſs and ambitious Spirit. *Charles* was no whit pleaſed to find him of ſuch an humour, and to remove all miſunderſtandings, deſired an Interview and a Conference which was granted, and given at a place called *Duaſdines*, but without any good Effect, for *Carloman* returned back, but *Charles* purſued his Voyage and came to *Angouleſme*, where he drew up his Forces and then went in queſt of *Hunoldus*.

Noviodum hodie Noyon.

De iſto loco ſic Fauchetus ex Aimoino: les freres ſe virent en Poitou, enon lieu nominè Duadines, que il n'ay pew remarque.

23. *Hunold* was not ſo wiſe, as to be ready and well prepared before he broke out into Rebellion, and therefore durſt not ſtand his ground, but fled from place to place; *Charles* ſtill dogging him at the Heels, till he forſook the Countrey, and fled to *Lupus* the Duke of the *Vaſcons*, thoſe which at this day are called *Baſcli*. *Charles* thither alſo purſued him by a Meſſage, Commanding *Lupus* to deliver him up, or to expect him ſpeedily to fetch him with a great Army. He was ſo ſenſible of his diſability to grapple with the King, that he not onely delivered him up with his Wife and Children, but promiſed all farther obedience to his Commands; *Charles* in the mean time, while this buſineſs was agitating, laying the Foundations of a Caſtle upon the River *Domonia*, called as *Aimoinus* tells us *Frontiacum*, or as *Eginhart* will have it *Franciacum* from * the *Franks* that Built it, which Original is more probable than that of *Gillius*, who would have it ſo named, becauſe it was formerly known by that of *Fons Saracenorum*. Having received *Hunold*, he returned with him into *France*, where he kept him in free Cuſtody, that he might doe no farther miſchief, without any other Puniſhment inflicted. This year he kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Dury*, and his *Eaſter* at St. *Lambert* near *Liege*, paſſages which we ſhould not relate, but that from thence we may hint theſe two things to the Reader. The firſt is, that about theſe times when Authours take ſuch notice of the places where *Pipin* and his Son *Charles* celebrated theſe Feſtivals, Kings began in an extraordinary manner, with great Pomp, Magnificence and Bounty to perform this Duty, this *Charles* afterward known by the addition of *the Great*, being wont to ſit in his Robes with his Crown on his Head, upon theſe occaſions. The other is, that from his keeping his *Eaſter* at this place of St. *Lambert*, it appears as *Fauchet* obſerves, that the two Brothers had not yet made any certain and determinate Diviſion of the Provinces. For *Liege* and conſequently that Village or Palace lies beyond the River of *Meuſe*, and ſo belonged to the Kingdom of *Auſtraſia*, this River being ever accounted the limit and Border betwixt *Neuſtria* and it.

Fauchetus hic dicit : ſe ſanna ex Gaſcoigne es bras de Loup. male. Gaſconia enim & Aquitania hoc tempore deerant, atque vox Gaſconia non niſi aliquot abhinc ſæculis reperta. Si fugiſſet in Gaſconiam, fugiſſet in Aquitaniam. Repete quæ ſupra de his Regionibus notantur.

* *Sed negat hoc Dominus de Scala, quia non legitur* Franciacum *ſed* Fronciacum *vel* Frontiacum. *Addit Gallis veteribus in uſu fuiſſe hoc nomen Acum adjungere nomini illius qui villam condidit vel ejus Poſſeſſoris ut Martiniacus, Lucaniacus, Frontiniacus, quod nihil aliud ſonat niſi Martini Villa, Lucani villa, Frontini Villa. Vbi invenitur Acus prior pars nominis denotat nomen proprium hominis ut in lingua Teutonica Martins dorph, Hanſdorp, & in lingua Angloſaxonica Normanton, Normanby, Ketelthorpe, & centum alia.*

24. The Brothers were divided in their affection, and ſo ſtill continued, however the limits of their Juriſdictions were Indiſtinct. This grieved their Mother *Bertha* not a little, who to bring them to a good underſtanding, omitted nothing becoming a Parent's care, travelling from the Court of one to that of the other for this very purpoſe. They both were Batchellours, and none but the Daughters of Kings ſeemed fit for their Royal Beds. No King was there in view, who was in a Capacity to ſuit them, but *Deſiderius* King of the *Lombards* in *Italy*; his Daughters would fit them as to their Dignity, and having one for each, their Mother thought this double Marriage would be the greateſt means imaginable to reſtore them to a good and perfect underſtanding betwixt themſelves. To the Court therefore of *Deſiderius* ſhe haſtes, and eaſily obtains what ſhe came for. But there happened to be a Rub in the way, which might eaſily have been foreſeen by any one that underſtood the Affairs of *Italy*. The Biſhop of *Rome* was wonderfully concerned at this new Alliance, dreading nothing more than that the Houſe of *Pipin* which had done ſuch Services for his See againſt the *Lombards*, ſhould be drawn off to their Party, it being his onely Refuge, and danger now threatning him from the ſame hand every moment. He takes his Pen and writes a moſt paſſionate Letter, which cannot but affect him that reads it, though perhaps in a very far different manner. From top to bottom it's full fraught with Religious pretences and Expreſſions. " He begins with a ſerious admonition, that they were of the ſnares " and deceits of the Devil, who entiſed firſt, and deceived Man by the means and " Inſinuations of a Woman; then after this Preface coming nearer to the Matter, " affirms, that if what he heard were true, *viz.* That one of them was perſwaded " by *Deſiderius*, to take his Daughter to Wife, it was properly a Diobolical Im- " miſſion or Inſinuation, and ſeemed no Matrimonial Conjunction, but a Fellow- " ſhip of a moſt wicked Invention.

A marriage propoſed to the Kings, with the Daughters of *Deſidireus* King Lombardy.

Extat apud Baronium ad Ann. D. 770 *num.* IX.

The Pope's Letter upon that account.

Quod certè ſi ita eſt hac propriè diabolica eſt Immiſſio & non tam matrimonii conjunctio ſed conſortium mequiſſiæ adinventionis eſſe videtur.

25. " His Arguments to prove it are theſe. From Scripture it appears, that " ſuch grievouſly ſinned as mixed in Wedlock with ſtrange Nations, and with a " Nation ſtrange indeed ſhould they mix, the moſt generous and Noble bloud of " the *Franks*, the glory of whom excelled the Beauty and Luſtre of all other Peo- " ple, muſt be polluted, which God forbid, by the perfidious and moſt ſtinking

---perſida (quod abſit) & fætentiſſima Longobardorum gente polluatur, &c.

“ Nation of the *Lombards*, a Nation not reckoned in the number of Nations, and
“ from which Nation it's certain, ſaith he, that a ſort of Leprous Perſons do iſſue;
“ he adds, that none in his right Wits can imagine, that Kings of ſo great a Name,
“ ſhould be involved in ſo deteſtable and abbominable a Contagion; for what fellowſhip
“ is there betwixt Light and Darkneſs, and what Communion betwixt a
“ faithfull Perſon and an Infidel? The next Argument he uſes is of more weight,
“ though it make leſs Noiſe, (and little Noiſe indeed it may well make, for not the
“ leaſt whiſper of the thing is to be perceived in any other good Authour,) and
“ that is, that they were already joyned in Marriage by their Father's procurement,
“ with two beautifull Ladies of their own Nation. Having been formerly anointed
“ with Holy Oil, by the hands of the *Vicar of St. Peter*, and being ſanctified
“ with Heavenly Benediction, he bids them beware how they involved themſelves
“ in ſo great guilt. Then comes the Argument indeed, to which the other Reaſons
“ are but ſubſervient. They muſt remember they had ingaged themſelves to St. *Peter*,
“ and *Pope Stephen his Vicar* and his Succeſſours, that they would be Friends
“ to their Friends, and Enemies to their Enemies; he demands then how they can
“ now act againſt their Souls, and make ſuch a Conjunction as they were about to
“ do, with the pernicious Nation of the *Lombards*, who were manifeſtly their Enemies,
“ in that they had ſet upon the Church, and had invaded their *Roman* Province.
“ This he inforces with inſtances of their Father, who when *Conſtantine*
“ the Emperour would have had their Siſter *Ghyſila* for his Son, anſwered, that it
“ was not lawfull for you to be joyned with a ſtrange Nation, neither durſt act any
“ thing againſt the Will and Pleaſure of the Biſhops of the Apoſtolick See. He
“ asks them then how it comes to paſs, that they ſhould indeavour to act contrary
“ to the Will of the Vicar of the Prince of the Apoſtles, which thing their Father
“ never attempted, and whether they were not ſenſible that it was not him, unhappy
“ man, but bleſſed St. *Peter*, whoſe Vicegerent he was, though unworthy
“ whom they deſpiſed, foraſmuch as it is written: *He that receiveth you receiveth*
“ *me, and he that deſpiſeth you deſpiſeth me.*

26. “ After this as the whole Letter abounds with Tautologies, he again inculcates
“ their promiſes of Obedience made to St. *Peter* and his Predeceſſours, and
“ himſelf both by Letters and Meſſengers. He puts them in mind how *Stephen*
“ had written to them a little before his death, and by terrible adjurations, had admoniſhed
“ them firmly to abide in their love towards God's Holy Church, and
“ the Apoſtolick See, and that they performed to a Tittle what they had ingaged to
“ God's Apoſtle. And is this now your promiſe, ſaith he? O what Labour did
“ that moſt bleſſed and beſt *Stephen* undergo! what a dangerous Journey did he
“ undertake when he was in ſo weak a Condition! and except the Lord be ready
“ at Hand, his pains ſhall be now fruſtrated, and that Journey which that our Predeceſſour
“ took into *France* will prove miſchievous to us, our Enemies being now
“ more Elevated than formerly they were, in the height of their Pride and Arrogance.
“ Behold, that which we feared is come to paſs, our Joy is turned into Lamentation,
“ the laſt miſchief is greater than the former, and whence we expected
“ Light to ariſe, thence Darkneſs hath broke out upon us. Now comes he to the
“ buſineſs. Wherefore, he adds, bleſſed *Peter* the Prince of the Apoſtles, to whom
“ the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven are delivered by the Lord God, as alſo
“ Power is given to bind and looſe in Heaven and in Earth, by our Infelicity earneſtly
“ admoniſheth your Excellency, and we alſo together with all Biſhops, Preſbyters
“ and other Prieſts, and all the Nobility and Clergy of our Holy Church,
“ as alſo the Abbats and all Religious Perſons, thoſe of chiefeſt Rank or Judges,
“ and our whole People of this Province of the *Romans*, by denouncing of Divine
“ Judgment, conjure you through the living and true God, who is the Judge of
“ Quick and Dead, and by the ineffable Power of his Divine Majeſty, and by the
“ tremendous day of the Judgment to come, when we ſhall have all Princes and
“ Powers, and all Mankind to ſtand by trembling, as alſo by all Divine Myſteries,
“ and by the moſt Sacred Body of bleſſed *Peter*, that neither of you in any-wiſe
“ preſume to take in Marriage the Daughter of the ſaid *Deſiderius* King of the
“ *Lombards*, nor give your Siſter *Ghyſila* to his Son, nor dare to put away your
“ own Wifes. Then follows, that, remembring what they had promiſed to St. *Peter*,
“ they ſhould reſiſt the *Lombards* his Enemies, and force them to reſtore what
“ belonged to the Holy Church, to the Commonwealth of *Rome*. For all their
“ promiſes they have broken, ſaith he, and they inceſſantly afflict and oppreſs us,
“ are nothing inclined to reſtore any thing to us, and now as is notoriouſly known

“ invade our Borders, in preſence of your Ambaſſadours, making a ſhew of Juſtice, “ but nothing is brought to Effect, neither can we receive any thing of our Right. “ Having admoniſhed them to give eard to his Meſſengers, at length he concludes “ with an Anathema, to any that ſhould act contrary to this his Admonition, who is “ hereby cut off from the Kingdom of God, and appointed with the Devil and his “ moſt deteſtable Pomps, and all other wicked Perſons to everlaſting Burnings. On “ the contrary, who obſerves and keeps to his Exhortation, ſhall by our Lord God “ be made remarkable with Heavenly Bleſſings, and be found worthy to be partaker of the reward of Eternal Joys, with all the Saints and Elect of God.

27. Thus far the Zeal of *Pope Stephen*, as to the Reaſon of which its ſource and Original we ſhall ſay nothing, but leave the Reader to his Meditations on the Affairs of *Italy*, how they ſtood at this Conjuncture. For his Arguments; the Examples he produces out of Scripture, where Marriage with Foreigners was always forbidden and curſed, how they are pleadable in this point is above my Capacity, and perhaps even the Reach of ſome who are moderately verſed in Theological Speculations. The opprobrious Language he gives to the *Lombards*, not to thoſe onely that had offended him, but the Nation it ſelf, and ſo to many Innocents, as to the matter in hand, how Civil or Chriſtian it is, I had rather his Friends ſhould Judge than I; but one thing we may hence learn by the way, that the *Jews* are not the onely People that have ſtunk, but the *Lombards* were involved in the ſame Puniſhment, becauſe guilty of the ſame Crime, for as they were, and are Rebellious againſt Chriſt, ſo theſe *Lombards* were againſt his Vicar. Our late Authour of the Heroick Poem called *Gondibert*, had certainly little Judgment, to leap over the moſt Noble Nation of the *Franks*, and omit ſo many other fit Subjects of wit, and pitch upon ſuch a vile and ſtinking Nation as this, whereon to Paint out and Imbelliſh thoſe rare and excellent Qualities, which make Princes Glorious both for Peace and War; we ſhall hear by the next *Ragguagli*, that he hath ſmarted ſoundly for it in *Parnaſſus*. But the greateſt wonder is, the News he tells us of *Charles* and *Carloman*, being e'er this Married to two beautifull Virgins of their own Countrey, a thing which no Hiſtorian, or other Authour doth in the leaſt hint at, though the Life of *Charles* hath been written by ſome that lived in his own time, and ſome later Writers have uſed all diligence imaginable, to give us an account of his Wives and Iſſue. Indeed there are that tell, that, while he was Prefect of the Palace, he had ſeveral Concubines, whoſe Names are unknown, by ſome of which he had a Daughter called *Botede*, and *Pipin* the Baſtard, who Conſpired againſt his Father's Life. If the good old Man took theſe for Wives, (it being poſſible that true Stories might tire through the length and tediouſneſs of the way, e'er they could get over the *Alpes*, and Lies flie to *Rome* before them,) to put them away, he certainly neither ſtood in need of his Connivence or Diſpenſation.

Johan. Tillius in Diſquiſit. de Rebus Gallicis in Carolo Magn.

The Marriage conſummated.

28. Notwithſtanding ſuch an Impediment, and what was more this thundring Letter, the two Brothers not dreading that which hath cauſed Nations, if not Devils to tremble, Married their Wives; yet we are told by the Importunity of their Mother, more than out of their own Inclinations, for this Reaſon, that they were already Married to others. That this may appear, they inſtance in the matter of *Charles*, (for as for *Carloman* his Marriage as to the Perſon is very obſcure,) that his Wife *Birtha* by name he put away not long after, as they would make us believe out of remorſe of Conſcience, foraſmuch as they ſay, no cauſe at all is alledged of their parting. But the thing that was alledged was Womaniſh Impotence, as at laſt it appeared, (though ſomething elſe might be in the Bottom,) and now *Charles* was to take his lawfull Wife again, and had ſo done doubtleſs, if he had not been Satisfied in the lawfulneſs of this laſt Conjunction, except perhaps the poor Woman in the mean time died Heartbroken with ſorrow. Had he had a Wife before, ſo great offence would not have been taken at the leaving of this, which was indeed never his Wife, and St. *Adelradus* his Kinſman would never have left the Court for being ſcandalized with ſo great a Crime, as we are told he did by thoſe that have written his Life. Neither can it be ſaid that *Hildegardis* whom he afterward Married could be his true Wife, which he reaſſumed, for all Writers with one conſent affirm, he Married her after the putting away of *Birtha*, and her Epitaph produced by * *Baronius*, if it was hers indeed, ſhews that ſhe was his Wife but twelve years, and therefore ſhe dying in the year of our Lord 786; ſhe could not be Married to him till he had Conquered *Italy*, and had both that Countrey and the City of *Rome* in his Power, as is by the Cardinal confeſſed. The *Roman* Biſhop therefore ſeems to have wanted good Intelligence, and at this time not to have been infallible

Baronius Tomi 9. Editione prima qui demum invenit ante Editionem alteram in duobus libris Rerum Geſtarum Caroli Magni à Monacho Sangallenſi Conſcriptis cauſam divortii fuiſſe, quia eſſet Clinica, & ad propagandam prolem Inhabilis. Vide Bar. ad Ann. 771. n. 3. qui eam Bertam vocat. Alii ſcribunt uxorem Carlomanni fuiſſe Bertam nomine & ſororem ejus Caroli Conjugem nonnulli dicunt fuiſſe Hermangardem.

* *Alter ab undecimo rurſum te ſuſtulit annus, &c. extat apud Baronium ad Ann. 786. n. 7.*

fallible in matters of Fact, which one ſort of People now begin to aſcribe to him. He was not onely miſtaken in this particular, but in that alſo of the number of *Deſiderius* his Daughters, for he heard but of one, that was to be Married to one of the Brothers, whereas the ancient Annals make it manifeſt that the two Brothers Married two Siſters. How would he have ſtormed at this double Alliance! But as much as he ſtormed at the Conjunction, he was calm enough at the ſeparation, and what Noiſe ſoever other Godly men made, the intereſt of God's Church (which he foreſaw now might be advanced, goodman,) ſtopt his mouth and perſwaded him to Patience.

Carloman dies.

Charles ſeizes his Kingdom.

Carlomannus Rex deceſſit 11. *Nonas Decemb. in villa Salmuntiaco ſepelitur Remis. Ita Annales Pith. ad Ann.* 771.

29. The true reaſon of his Divorce we may gueſs at hereafter, noting this at preſent, that what Reputation with good men he loſt thereby, was ſcarcely repaired in the opinion of Loyal and ſober Perſons, by another Revolution which ſhortly after happened. *Carloman* his Brother not long after died, and left at leaſt one Son behind him. *Aimoinus* writes he had Children, one he might have by his late Marriage, and his Wife might by this time be great with another. But *Charles* aſpires after the Inheritance, and either finds or makes ſuch a Party in his Brother's Court, as cloſeth with him out of pretence that the dangers are great, which threaten a Nation in the Infancy of its King, and that it was better for the *Franks* univerſally to be Governed by a Monarch. He being advanced, the Widow of *Carloman* flies with her rejected Children, and ſuch of the Nobility as deteſted the Treaſon into *Italy* to her Father, who by theſe Forerunners might eaſily gueſs what in a ſhort time would follow after. The thoughts of *Charles* were not bounded by the limits of *France*, theſe were too ſtrait and narrow for his ambitious Soul, yet had his Brother lived, little out of fear of him, could he abroad have attempted, and to what purpoſe ſhould he ſeek out Foreign Countries to Conquer, when he was but Joynt Tenant at home, and in his own? This therefore was eſpecial Service the Nobility of *Auſtraſia* did him, and now that Fortune had ſo luckily put him in a way, he was reſolved not to diſoblige her by neglect, but to purſue his opportunities to the utmoſt. The firſt was preſented by the *Saxons*, whom the Neighbourhood of their Countrey made obnoxious rather than any fault, that at this time they had committed. Having called an Aſſembly at *Wormes*, he invaded their Countrey, and deſtroying all things in his way with Fire and Sword, took the Caſtle *Eresburg*, and deſtroyed a famous Idol named *Irminſul*. Here as it's ſaid was his Army miraculouſly delivered from Imminent Ruine. The ſeaſon and the place wherein they incamped, both Conſpired to kill them with Thirſt, when in the heat of the Day, as according to the Cuſtome they took their reſt, a great Torrent of Water poured it ſelf down from the Mountain whereon the Idol ſtood, into the Valley where they lay, which abundantly ſatisfied their parched Bodies. Then the Idol being deſtroyed, he marched to the River *Wiſara*, where he received twelve Hoſtages from the *Saxons*, and ſo returned into *France*.

And invades *Saxony*.

The *Lombards* and the Pope quarrel.

30. By this time, the Quarrels betwixt the *Lombards* and the Biſhop of *Rome* were come to an height, and the two Daughters of *Deſiderius* being returned home, the one as a forlorn and rejected Creature, the other like a poor Widow with her Children at her back ſpoiled of their Patrimony, and turned out of Houſe and Harbour, had raiſed, as well they might, ſtorms of Anger and Revenge in their Father's Breaſt. Yet having digeſted his Anger, he reſolved to go Calmly to work, and try if by fair means he could compaſs what elſe Nature obliged him by force to attempt, and that was the Reſtitution of his Nephews. He applies himſelf to *Adrian* the Succeſſour of *Stephen*, who he hoped might entertain more milder Councils, and prove more Neighbourly than the former Pope, and knowing in what Repute his See was abroad, eſpecially in *France* with the Kings and Princes, of which his Predeceſſours had done wonders, he deſires him to acknowledge their Title, and doe his indeavour for their Reſtitution, as a means whereunto he deſired they might be anointed by his Hands. *Adrian* was not ſo ill inſtructed, nor unacquainted with what was paſt, as to be ignorant in how fair a way he was for gaining a farther intereſt in *Italy*, and by what means his Predeceſſours had got what he now enjoyed. He refuſed to diſoblige *Charles*, and by his anſwer *Deſiderius* perceived that he had rouzed a ſleeping Lion, who in expectation of aſſiſtence from *France*, would not ſtick at doing him all miſcheif imaginable. He thought it his intereſt to begin firſt, knowing in caſe he could bring the Biſhop and his Adherents to a compliance, his work with *France* would be the eaſier. He therefore attacques and takes ſeveral places belonging to the Exarchate, making as if he would beſiege *Ravenna*, and upon ſome farther diſguſt *Rome* it ſelf. Hereupon to procure delay,

Adrian ſent him ſome frivolous Meſſage, but an effectual one into *France* to *Charles*, to haſten away relief with all ſpeed imaginable.

The Pope ſends to *Charles* for aſſiſtence.

31. *Peter* his Meſſenger or Legate *à Latere*, if you pleaſe, found the King at *Thionville*, where he expoſed to him the danger wherein the Holy Church at preſent ſtood, and the Example of his Predeceſſours upon ſuch occaſions, backed with this ſtrong Motive, that this preſent Attempt was made upon him for his ſake, for refuſing to anoint his Nephews. *Deſiderius* fearing what might come of *Peter's* Negotiation, thought fit to ſend Ambaſſadours of his own to recriminate the Biſhop and excuſe the late Hoſtility. *Charles* gave Audience to the one Party, as well as the other, but knowing how nearly he was concerned to abate the Power and Intereſt of the *Lombard*, and that if his Neighbours houſe was burnt, his own might ſpeedily be on Fire, reſolved to prevent it with a ſpeedy Invaſion. Yet to uſe the ſame Arts *Deſiderius* had done, he ſent Meſſages to him, requiring ſuch things as the King thought himſelf obliged not to grant, and vailing his own Deſigns and Intereſt, with the great Zeal he had for the Church. “ *Deſiderius* receives the Ambaſſadours kindly, profeſſes his Actions warrantable before all equal Judges, both “ in reference to the Recovery of his Rights in *Italy*, and the Reſtitution of his “ Grandchildren; and he deſires his Brother *Charles* would not give heed to the Biſhops “ of *Rome* intereſſed Perſons, and his profeſſed Enemies, but ſeriouſly weigh what “ Juſtice he had on his ſide, and that he would be Chancellour betwixt himſelf and “ his two young Nephews (for Uncle he was unto them both) whether their “ Fathers Inheritance could juſtly be detained from them. This ſaid, he ſent his Ambaſſadours to *Rome*, to try if he could bring the Biſhop off to his Party. But this not ſucceeding, he himſelf reſolved to go thither in Perſon, as to perform his Devotions with his Wife and Children, and an ordinary Train; which *Adrian* underſtanding, commanded the Gates and Walls to be manned againſt him, and becauſe the Churches of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* ſtood without the Walls, he ordered they ſhould be faſt locked up. And to ſtop his proceeding he ſent certain Churchmen to meet him on the way, and denounce the Eccleſiaſtick cenſures againſt him, in Caſe he would not deſiſt. He obeyed, and after the Ambaſſadours had gone betwixt them ſeveral times to no purpoſe, they returned into *France* to him that ſent them.

Who prepares for an Invaſion of *Lombardy*.

32. *Charles* to make the World believe how unconcern'd he was to any Intereſt of his own, and that the Protection of the Church was the onely thing he ſtudied, ſent once more to him, offering him ſuch a ſum of Money in exchange for the Towns he had taken, as would have been much to his loſs to have received. Upon his refuſal, he thought he had made Proviſion enough for his Reputation, and reſolving upon an expedition before-hand, aſſembled his Eſtates together to Conſult. The *Franks* were not all of the ſame mind; for many declared againſt the War, and ſome perhaps addicted to the party of the Sons of *Carloman*, flatly refuſed therein to ſerve him. This notwithſtanding, he was ſo bent upon his Journey, as he reſolved by no advice or other rubs to be hindred, and for this purpoſe made ſuch Levies, and got together ſuch a Company of Men as evidently ſhewed (which *Sigonius* obſerves) that the deſire he had to Conquer *Lombardy* rather was the Motive that ſpurred him on to this Enterprize, than any Zeal he had for the defence and ſecurity of the Church. The Rendezvous was at *Geneva*, and there he alſo held the Aſſembly of the Eſtates, though in *Aimoinus*, as now we reade it, it be ſaid that he held a Conſultation at *Germana*, a City of *Burgundy* upon the *Rhoſne*, and that there alſo he divided his Forces. But this City has had the misfortune to lye under miſtakes, as to its Name, as well as of late Years, in reference to its Government and Laws in force, before the laſt Revolution. It's moſt probable, that as well the little Province, as Territories about it were in ſucceeding Ages ſometimes under the ſame Lord; yet it is clear from Hiſtory, that ſix hundred Years agoe or more, they were under ſeveral Princes or Potentates, yet neither in this ſpace of time, nor that which went before, nor that which followed (to uſe the words of a learned [*] Jeſuite) was the Town of *Geneva* ever under the Power and Juriſdiction of any of her Biſhops.

The ſituation of *Geneva*.

33. This City is ſeated at the Weſtern Head of the Lake *Lemanus*, where the River *Rhoſne* iſſueth out of it, at the Confines of five ſeveral People (as they were reckoned of old) there meeting with the Angles of their Territories, *viz.* the *Antuates*,

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[*] *Neque tamen aut illo, aut priore aut poſteriore tempore Genevam oppidum in ullius ſuorum Epiſcoporum fuiſſe poteſtate. Monetus in Geograph. Galliæ Celticæ, p.* 312.

tuates, *Focunates*, *Genevenſes* on the left ſide of *Rhoſne*, and the *Brannovii* and *Latobrigi* on the right. Its Name hath been variouſly changed and corrupted by unskilfull Hiſtorians and Geographers. As beſides this of *Aimoinus*, in Authours of a thouſand Years ſtanding or thereabout, for *Geneva* you ſhall ordinarily find, *Genava* and *Jenoba*; but thoſe that have ſcribled within theſe three hundred Years, as unskilfully, as commonly call it in Latine *Gebenna*, and its Citizens with the Inhabitants of the places adjoyning *Gebennenſes*, moſt corrupt Words forged in the ignorant Heads of ſome Pedants, who had read a moſt groſs and ſilly Interpretation of that paſſage in *Lucan: Qua Montibus ardua ſummis, Gens habitat cava pendentes rupe Gebennas*: This taught them that *Gebenna* was a Mountain, which ſeparated the *Arverni* from the *Helvetii*, and had a City upon it called by the ſame Name. By this fond Comment the Youth was generally cheated throughout *Europe*, which drunk in the Notion as proceeding from an Oracle, and in ordinary writing uſed the word *Gebenna*, rejecting the old and true one of *Geneva*. This filthy Errour was eſpecially propagated amongſt the Eccleſiaſticks, ſuch as commonly wrote, their Books lying open to the Cheat above all Men. But to undeceive the Reader; theſe Mountains * *Gebennæ* or *Cebennæ* (in French *les Ceneines*) in no reſpect appertained to the City of *Geneva*, nor yet to the *Helvetii*, from which they are diſtant above fifty Leagues; but lye amongſt the *Helvii* (not *Helvetii*) the *Arverni*, *Volci*, *Ruteni* and *Cadurci*, of which People † *Lucan* ſpeaks, and not of *Geneva*, the Inhabitants whereof with others adjoyning he had mentioned before.

34. *Charles* at *Geneva* divided his powerfull Army into two Parties, whereof one he committed to the Conduct of his Uncle *Bernard*, to march before by the way of *Mons Jovis*, or *Jupiter* his Mount (by *Fauchet* called *Mont jou*, by others, ſaid to be that which now is known by the Name of *Genebra*, the Top of the *Alpes Cottiæ*) to ſeize upon the *Straits*. The other he purpoſed to lead himſelf by the Road which lay toward the Hill *Caniſius*. *Deſiderius* upon Notice of their Intenſions, had ſent ſome Companies to ſecure the narrow Paſſages, he himſelf with his Army marching after and expecting what ſhould be the event: The *Franks* coming to make their paſſage, found ſuch oppoſition as diſcouraged them; and here, if you pleaſe to believe thoſe that favoured one of the Parties, a great Miracle was wrought; and doubtleſs it was in his behalf. For the *Franks* not knowing what Courſe to take, as utterly unable to break through, ſtood gazing with their Fingers in their Mouths, when all on a ſudden to their no little wonder, they ſaw their Enemies run away in a Panick fear without any at their Heels, without as much as one Man got through the paſſage to look at them, or any Accident at all arrived to affright them. Seeing ſo great a Miracle was wrought, they muſt not be wanting to it, and themſelves, but through they paſs, and Manfully hew down all before them. Poſſibly ſome might diſcover a new Path, and climbing over the Mountains come upon the Backs of thoſe that poſſeſſed the *Straits*, a thing as the Reader may remember practiſed in other places of this Nature, and they being either killed or running away the Army might take a falſe Alarm, and run for Company, as hath been uſual. *Deſiderius* was now in an ill Caſe, as *Aiſtulph* his Predeceſſour had often been upon the like occaſion, and no wonder he and his Countreymen might ſmell unſavourly, being put into ſuch and ſo many frights by Procurement of thoſe, who firſt cryed foh and ſtopt their Noſes.

Vide Anaſtaſium.

Charles beats the *Lombards.*

35. *Deſiderius* with *Aldegiſus* his Son, and the Captains of his Army ran towards *Pavia* as faſt as their Horſes could carry them, whom when the fit of Wonderment was over, the *Franks* followed, and there cloſely beſieged him. The King thinking it not prudence to venture all in one bottom, ſent his Son, a young Man of ſingular hopes, together with the Widow and Children of *Carloman* to *Verona*, he himſelf ſtaid in *Pavia* which was very well fortified, and to inable it the better to endure a Siege he had ſent out into the Countrey all the Weak, and unprofitable multitude. *Charles* perceived the Town would endure a ſhock, and thinking it no good Husbandry to have all his Men idle here, when fewer would ſerve the turn, and there was Work elſewhere, left his Uncle before *Pavia*, and led part of the Army againſt *Verona*. *Adalgiſus*, the Son of *Deſiderius*, finding this City in no Caſe to hold out, made his Eſcape, and got him to *Conſtantinople*, hoping to reſerve himſelf

Alii ut Godefridus de Viterbo Gaguinus & Paulus Æmilius aiunt magnum prælium fuiſſe commiſſum quo multa millia ceciderunt.

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* *Gebenna Mons Cæſari, Cebenna Plinio, Cemmenus Straboni, Aquitaniam à Gallia Narbonenſi dividit, ut definiunt idem Strabo, Plinius & alii, & Arvernos ab Helviis diſcludit ut ſcribit ipſe Cæſar. Cebennarum pars Loſera vulgo Lozere, Mons altiſſimus in finibus Gabalorum, Caſei laude celebris, ex eo Tarnis fluvius Oritur.*

† *Et ſparſas Cæſar per Gallica rura Cohortes,*
Evocat & motis Romam petit undique ſignis.
Deſeruere cavo tentoria fixa Lemano,
Caſtráque, quæ Vogeſi curvam ſuper ardua rupem.
Pugnaces pictis cohibebant Lingones Armis. Lucan. lib. 1.

himſelf to better times, which the Inhabitants perceiving, thought it not amiſs to provide for themſelves alſo in the contrary way, and upon good Terms yielded to him, who they had good reaſon to believe would prove the Conquerour. The Wife and Children of *Carloman* became his prey, whom having got into his hands he ſent away ſpeedily into *France*, and as the *French* Annals will make you believe there they were entertained very Honourably, though how, and in what manner, they either cannot or will not, or rather dare not tell you; to be ſure they paid well for their Entertainment be it as good as could be, for we do not hear that they were ever reſtored to their Inheritance. *Verona* being thus delivered up, all the reſt of the Cities of *Lombardy* followed their Example, onely *Pavia* ſtill held out, being every way furniſhed for a Siege of long Continuance. *Charles* perceiving this, and reſolved to tire them out, having now ſpent ſix Months in the Siege, and *Eaſter* drawing nigh, reſolved to ſatisfie his Curioſity in ſeeing *Rome*, as well as pay his Devotions at the Sepulchres of the Apoſtles.

And ſubdues all *Lombardy*, except *Pavia*.

36. How he was there entertained, and what farther paſſed betwixt him and the Pope, will be more proper for us to enquire in the Hiſtory of that Countrey; here we ſhall onely ſay, that eight days after his coming to *Rome*, he returned to the Siege of *Pavia*. Here within a while his Work was done to his hands; thoſe whom his Arms could not Conquer, were conſtrained to yield to Death, that Conquers all Men, many of the ſtout Defendants periſhing by a Plague, and as it were attending the Expiration of the Kingdom of the *Lombards*. *Deſiderius* ſeeing it was to no purpoſe to ſtand out, and that the longer he did it, his Terms might be the worſe, yielded himſelf with his Wife and Children unto *Charles*, who ſent them to *Liege* in *Gallia Belgita*, where they wore out their days in Honourable reſtraint, and then as ſome ſay, in order to the Settlement of this his new Kingdom, made another Journey to *Rome* to conſult with the Pope, which done, and all things ordered as ſeemed moſt convenient, he returned back into *France*. Here more work was cut out for his itching hands, for the *Saxons* irritated with what he had done to them, and preſuming upon his abſence had invaded their Neighbours, and made great waſte and ſlaughter where e'er they came. To reſtrain them he ſent three Parties ſo many ſeveral ways into their Countrey, which did them very much miſchief by burning and plundering their Houſes, and killing and taking Priſoners as many as they could meet with. But this did not ſatisfie the King, he reſolves either wholly to Conquer them, and bring them to Chriſtianity, or to root out and quite deſtroy the Nation. As a means to accompliſh this, he Summons the Eſtates to meet and lay their Heads together at *Duren*, or *Duria*.

Which is ſurrendred to him, with their King *Deſiderius*.

The *Saxons* invade *France*.

37. The meeting diſſolv'd, and an Army prepar'd, he paſſes the *Rhine*, and preſently takes a Fort called *Sigeburg* by ſtorm, wherein was a Garriſon of the *Saxons*. *Eresburg* another Caſtle which they had demoliſhed, he cauſed to be rebuilt and Garriſon'd with a Party of his own Men. Then paſſed he on to the River *Wiſara*, where he found a great Company met together at a place called *Brunesberg*, with intenſion to put a ſtop to his March; but in vain, for at the firſt rencounter they were worſted, put to flight, and many ſlain. The place where *Charles* incamped, *Krantzius* tells us, in his time was ſtill to be ſeen diſtinguiſhed into the Quarters or Diviſions. Paſſing then the River after this Obſtacle was removed, he came to another called *Onacer* or *Onacra*, where he was met by *Heſſi* one of the Princes of the Countrey, who together with the *Oſtfali*, or thoſe that lived toward the Eaſt ſurrendred themſelves into his hands, and gave ſuch Hoſtages as he demanded. Hereupon he retreated, and coming to a place called *Buki*, the *Angarii* preſented themſelves, and followed the Example of the *Oſtfali*, in ſwearing Obedience, and delivering Hoſtages. But part of his Army he had ſent to the River *Wiſara*, and that met not with ſo good Fortune, by reaſon of their Careleſneſs and Negligence. For at a place they called *Hadbeki* incamping themſelves, and ſending out their Foragers the *Saxons*, who ſpake the ſame Teutonick Language with them, and it ſeems had clothed themſelves on purpoſe after their Faſhion, joyned themſelves and mixed with them, which done, without any diſcovery they returned with them into their Camp, and expecting an opportunity when the *Franks* were aſleep, fell upon them and killed a great number, yet by the Valour of ſuch as eſcaped the danger, were beaten again out of the Camp. *Charles* having notice of the Strategeme marched with all ſpeed toward the Camp, and cut off a great multitude of thoſe that fled, which having done, and waſted ſo the Countrey, that he forced alſo the *Weſtfali* to beg Peace, and give up their Hoſtages, he thought it convenient to return and take up his Winter Quarters in *France*.

Aimoinus, lib. 4. c. 70.

But are forced to beg Peace.

38. He

Charles chaſtiſes the Rebels in *Lombardy.*

Another Invaſion of the *Saxons.*

38. He was ſcarcely arrived at his Palace, when News was brought him out of *Italy*, that *Rotgand*, a Duke of the *Lombards*, whom after the defeat of *Deſiderius*, he had preferred to the Government of *Forumjulii*, had rebelled and drawn back many of the Cities of *Lombardy*, under pretence of returning to the government of their own Kings; for *Adalgiſus* at *Conſtantinople* had watched all opportunities, and hovered over *Italy* for a convenient ſeaſon to re-enter. After a little conſideration he cauſed his moſt active and reſolute men to make ready, and with little noiſe, but great expedition, haſted into *Italy*, where he preſented himſelf, and gave Battel to *Rotgand*, when they thought he had been ingaged in the ſame manner in *Saxony.* He eaſily overpowered him, and receiving the Towns which had revolted, upon their ſubmiſſion, re-ſettled all things, and returned as ſpeedily and unexpectedly into *France*, as he had thence departed. He knew he had good reaſon ſo to doe, for he expected fully to hear that the *Saxons* had once more rebelled, and ſo he did, aſſoon as he had paſſed the *Alpes*; for they had taken the Caſtle of *Ereſbourg*, and had laid Siege to the other of *Sigiſbourg* where they found greater oppoſition. The Garriſon made very gallant Sallies, and did great Execution upon their Enemies, who were more affrighted by a Viſion, two fiery Helmets appearing, it's ſaid, on the Top of the Church: which ſtruck them with ſuch amazement, and ſo powerfully convinced them that God Almighty fought againſt them, that in a Panick fear they quitted the Siege, and fled as for their Lives, which yet many of them loſt; for the *Franks* iſſuing out of the Fort, purſued them as far as the River *Lippia.*

Who are forced to beg Peace, and give up Hoſtages.

39. *Charles* ſummoned the Eſtates to meet at *Wormes*, where it was reſolved a ſudden Invaſion ſhould be made into *Saxony.* And ſo ſudden it was, that he ſurpriſed them, and prevented all their preparations for reſiſtence, ſo as they were forced to uſe the Skin of the Fox, not being now able to compaſs that of the Lion, and meeting him at the Head or Spring of *Lippia*, in a moſt ſuppliant poſture begged pardon for what was paſt, and many of them hypocritically offered themſelves to be baptized. Upon this ſubmiſſion he readily forgave them, and cauſing ſuch to be baptized as preſented themſelves, received their Hoſtages. Then commanded he the Caſtle of *Ereſbourg* to be repaired, and another Fort to be erected upon the River *Lippia*, wherein he placed a ſtrong Garriſon, as a Curb upon the Countrey, which done, he marched back into *France.* But this was with a purpoſe of returning the Year following. For aſſoon as *Eaſter* was over, he again invaded *Saxony* with a great Army, and to ſettle the People in his Obedience, which he ſtill very much diſtruſted, appointed a general Aſſembly of them to be held at *Paderborn*, a City of *Weſtphalia.* Here all the Nobility, as well as the People, met, except one *Widichind*, who conſcious to himſelf how much he had diſobliged and incenſed the King, durſt not adventure to be preſent, but fled to *Sigifrid*, the King of the *Danes.* All the reſt that were preſent ſubmitted themſelves fully to his Commands, and deſired Pardon on this condition, that if ever after they rebelled, they ſhould forfeit both their Lands and Liberty. Many of them now again, but onely upon deſign to pleaſe him, renounced Paganiſm, and were baptized. He cauſed to be ſeized *Angrye*, the principal Town belonging to *Widichind*, and for Inſtruction of ſuch as had been baptized in the Chriſtian Faith, founded an Epiſcopal See at *Oſnaburg.*

Le Latin des Annales de S. Martial dit Ingenuitatem & Alodem guerpierunt, d' ou vient noſtre d' Eſguerpir, qui ſignifie aſchir: & celles de langage ruſtic: Ingenuitatem & Alodem manibus dulgtum fecerunt, qui ſignifie le Meſme. Carie n'ay nuſicy ces mots que pour margne de l' antiquitè, & repreſenter noſtre langue. Pauchet. en Charle maigne.

Charles makes an Expedition into *Spain.*

40. But while he was making an end with the *Saxons*, an Addreſs was made to him by one *Ibnalorabi*, a Petty *Saracen* Prince in *Spain*, who, with ſeveral others of his Countreymen, was come to complain of his Neighbour, to deſire his aid, and give up himſelf and his Dependents wholly to his Power, on condition he would go and make War againſt the Aggreſſour. He conſidered ſeriouſly of the matter. The *Saxons* now ſeemed to be quieted, *Italy* was alſo in repoſe, and in as good a condition as he could wiſh, and in *France* it ſelf was no appearance of any trouble, he could not be idle, his military Men would ruſt and grow unſerviceable, if they had nothing to doe, and above all things Dominion was agreeable anſwering his Deſires, Opportunities and Abilities, hoping therefore by this means to get ſome footing in *Spain*, he reſolved upon the Enterpriſe. His reſolution being fixt he made all poſſible haſte to be there, and would not defer his Journey till *Eaſter*

Tunc ex perſuaſione prædicti Saraceni ſpem capiendarum in Hiſpania Civitatum haud fruſtrà concipiens, &c. Aimoin. l.4. c.72.

Eaſter was over, but reſolved to celebrate that Feſtival in *Aquitain*. This done he paſſed on to the *Pyrenæans*, through the Territories of the *Baſques*, or *Biſcainers*, and in his way took in the Cities, and ſubdued the Countrey, as far as the River *Iberus*, which ariſing in *Navarre*, pours it ſelf by the City *Dertoſa* into the Mediterranean Sea. Then paſſing the River, he took *Cæſar-auguſta*, the principal City of theſe parts, over which he made *Ibnalarabi* King, and ſo having ſettled matters as to him ſeemed convenient, and received Hoſtages, he returned to *Pampelo*, the Walls of which he demoliſhed, to hinder a Revolt, and then put himſelf on the way toward the *Pyrenæans* in order to his return home. Coming to the ſtraits and precipitous places, the Army was conſtrained to march, not in the order it was wont, but drawn out in length as the nature of the ways required. In theſe difficult places, which were alſo full of Wood, did the *Vaſcons* (thoſe of *Iberia*, or of *Navarre*,) lie in wait, and falling on a ſudden on the Rere, made great ſlaughter of the Waggon-drivers, and ſuch as followed the Camp, and plundered the Baggage. Then did they advance farther, and in a Valley called *Roncavallis*, ſet upon the Party it ſelf, and notwithſtanding all the Officers could doe, put it all to the Sword. Though in Numbers they were inferiour to the *Franks*, and very ſlightly armed, yet had they the Advantage by their knowledge of the place, their being accuſtomed to climbing, and the lightneſs of their Weapons. In the fight fell moſt of the great men the King had about him, of whom the moſt remarkable were *Eghart*, the Overſeer of his Table, *Anſhelme*, a Count of the Palace, and *Rotland*, or * *Roland*, Governour of the Borders of *Britain*, of whom many Romantick Stories have been † written. But the worſt was theſe *Vaſcons* could not be puniſhed, nor Vengeance taken on them for ſo foul an Affront, for having done the feat they ſecured themſelves in the Woods and Mountains, and not a Man of them was to be ſeen. This much troubled *Charles*, and gave a notable check to his triumphant fortune. But ſeeing here he could not make up the buſineſs, nor obliterate the diſgrace, he returned home, expecting ſome good opportunity to doe it elſewhere.

But in his return his Army is overthrown by the *Vaſcons*.

Eginhartus in vita Caroli.

41. At his return his Melancholy was ſomewhat mitigated by the ſight of a young Son; for *Hildegardis* his Queen was newly brought to bed of Twins, whereof one died; this other that ſurvived he named *Ludovicus*, or *Lodowick*. But the News of the Defeat he had received by the *Vaſcons* had reached the Ears of the inſtable and rebellious *Saxons*, who rejoiced exceedingly at it, and thought they had now a convenient opportunity offered for revenging upon his Friends and Subjects the many Injuries they had received from him and his Predeceſſours. They invaded their Territories, and deſtroyed all the parts of *Germany* with Fire and Sword, as far as the River *Rhine*. No place or Perſon, ſacred or prophane, did they ſpare, but managed their work with ſo much Rage and Cruelty, as plainly demonſtrated, in the opinion of *Aimoinus*, that they came not for plunder, but were drawn on by the more pleaſing allurement of Revenge. The News was brought to *Charles* as he lay at *Antiſſiodorum*, who with ſpeed commanded ſome Companies of *Franks* and *Alemans* to march, and, if poſſible, to intercept them with their booty. But they knew the fault they had committed, and unwilling to be called to an account, made what haſte they could to get home; ſo that the Forces of *Charles*, with much adoe, overtook them in a Village of the *Haſſii*, ſtanding upon the River *Aterna*; but there overtaking them, as they were paſſing the River, made of them ſuch ſlaughter, that ſcarcely any remained to carry home the News. But the King thought neither this a full chaſtiſement, nor a ſatisfaction to his Honour. Having kindly wellcomed *Hildebrand*, the Duke of *Spoletum*, who came to wait on him out of *Italy*, with great Preſents, he buckled himſelf to another expedition into *Saxony*. The uſual Aſſembly of the Eſtates he held at *Duren*, and ſo with his Army paſſed over the *Rhine*, which he had ſcarcely done, when the bold *Saxons* oppoſed his March at a place called *Buocholt*. But here alſo they were miſerably beaten, and put to flight, and the King entring the Countrey of the *Weſtfalians*, they all yielded

Another Invaſion of the *Saxons*.

But with the loſs of the whole Army.

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* *Rowland*, or *Rou-land*. The reſt of the Land or Countrey. In French *Roland*, in the Netherlands *Roeland*, and *Orlando* for *Rolando* in Italian.

† *Come Orlando Furioſo Mid. Ludovico Arioſto. Che Comincia:*

Le donne i Cavallier, l' arme i amori
Le Corteſie, l' audaci impreſe io canto
Che furo altempo, che paſſaro i Mori
D' Africa il mare ein Francia nocquer tanto
Segnendo l' ire eil giouenil furori
D Agramante lor Re; che ſi die vanto
Di vendicar la morte di Trojano
Sopra Re Carlo Imperator Romano.
Diro d' Orlando in un medeſmo tratto
Coſa non ditta inproſa mai ne in rima
Che per amor venne in furore e matto
D' huem, che ſi ſaggio craſtimato prima, &c.

The *Weſt* and *Eaſtfalians* with the *Angarii* ſubdued by *Charles*.

yielded themſelves to him. Thence he moved toward the River *Wiſera*, and incamping in a place called *Nuduſulli*, there reſted himſelf and his Army for ſome days, and thither the *Angarii* and *Eaſtfalians* thought it beſt to come to give up their Hoſtages, and ſwear Obedience, which being paſt, the King returned over the *Rhine* to *Wormes*, and there he wintred.

42. But he thought not his work to be yet completed, and inwardly fretting that this ſtubborn Nation ſhould perpetually create him trouble, he was reſtleſs in his Mind, till he could bring them once into a ſettled courſe of Fidelity and Allegiance, and therefore aſſoon as the ſeaſon of the Year would permit, once again he led a ſtrong Army into *Saxony*. The Eaſtern *Saxons* he commanded to give him a meeting at the River *Onacer*, which Summons they obeyed, and a great multitude counterfeiting Chriſtian Religion, were here baptized in a place called *Orehim*. Thence he marched to the confluence of the two Rivers, *Ora* and *Albia*, where he ſettled matters, as well amongſt the *Sclavi*, who inhabited beyond, as the *Saxons*, that lived on this ſide the Water, which having done, he returned home. But at home in Idleneſs he could not reſt; having no matter now left in *Saxony*, to work upon, nor at home to diſturb his foreign Expeditions, his mind was wholly bent upon *Italy*, having had better fortune, and therefore more encouragement in paſſing the *Alpes*, than he had had in retreating over the *Pyrenæans*. Here our Authours that were Churchmen, would fain make themſelves and us believe, that his Deſign was purely religious, that he went to *Rome* to pray, and pay ſome Vows. But not to queſtion his Religious Inclinations, he might well be induced to undertake this Journey, for other very grave and political Reaſons. He had planted a new French Kingdom, as it were, in an Italian and foreign ſoil, and for it to thrive and proſper, there was requiſite a little looking after. The *Lombards* he had no reaſon to believe ſo much in love with him, as that their affection would not faint and cool by diſcontinuance of ſight and commerce. *Aldegiſus*, the Son of the late *Deſiderius*, hovered over *Italy*, and expected when a convenient opportunity would be preſented of repoſſeſſing himſelf and family of his Father's Kingdom.

Charles goes for *Italy*.

Thence to *Rome*.

43. He thought it not amiſs to carry his Sons along with him, having had by *Hildegardis* three, *viz. Charles*, *Pipin* and *Lodowick*, beſides other Children of the female Sex. He had found by experience, that the Authority of the *Roman* Biſhop had not been unſerviceable in the crowning of him and his Brother *Carloman*; and he reſolved now to deſire the preſent Pope, who he knew would hardly refuſe him any thing to give them the ſame Caſt of his Office. To *Rome* he came, after he had ſettled matters in *Lombardy*, where he was kindly entertained, and according to his deſire *Pipin* was firſt baptized, and then anointed King of *Italy*, and his other Son *Lodowick* over *Aquitain*. In his Return at *Milan* he had a Daughter baptized by *Thomas*, the Archbiſhop of that See, and named *Giſla*. But amongſt other things agreed on betwixt him and Pope *Adrian*, it was reſolved jointly to ſend to *Taſſilo*, the Duke of *Bavaria*, to put him in mind of the Oath of Duty and Allegiance he had made to *Pipin*, and his Sons and Succeſſours, the Kings of *France*. They that were ſent ſo effectually managed their buſineſs, that he promiſed immediately to repair to the King, if he could but be ſecured of his Life by fitting Hoſtages. The Hoſtages being ſent he came, as he had ingaged, and receiving the Oath of Fidelity, gave up twelve of his own for good and faithfull performance of it, which done, he returned into his own Countrey, but not long continued in Obedience. *Charles*, ſecure of him, now, as he thought, found reaſon in Spring to make a Progreſs into *Saxony*, reſolving to hold a general Aſſembly of the States, as he was yearly wont to do in *France*. At *Coloin* he paſſed the *Rhine*, and with all his Army came to the head of the River *Lippia*, where he incamped, and continued many days.

Where his Sons are baptized, and anointed by Pope *Adrian*.

After his return he goes to *Saxony*.

44. Here, amongſt other buſineſs of Importance, he gave Audience to the Ambaſſadours of *Sigefrid*, King of the *Danes*, as alſo to thoſe of *Caganus* and *Jugunus*, Princes of the *Hunnes*, ſent to deſire his Friendſhip and Alliance. But the Aſſembly being diſſolved, and the King returned back into *Gall*, *Widikind*, who, as we ſaid, fled to the Daniſh King, returned home, and put all into diſorder, which had in appearance been formerly ſettled. At the ſame time News was brought to Court, that the *Sorabi*, or *Slavi*, who inhabited betwixt the two Rivers, *Albia* and *Sala*, had made Incurſions into the neighbouring Territories of the *Thuringi* and *Saxons*, and had waſted certain places with Fire and Sword. *Charles* hereupon gave ſpeedy order to three of his Miniſters, *Adalgiſus* his Chamberlain, *Geilo*

The *Slavi* make Incurſions on their Neighbours.

the

Sect. 4.

The Treachery of the *Saxons*.

the *Comes Stabuli*, and *Woradus* a Count of the Palace, to raiſe a ſufficient number of the Eaſtern *Franks* and *Saxons*, and therewith to chaſtiſe the Inſolence of theſe Rovers. They, when they came upon the Borders of *Saxony*, to their wonder and diſappointment, inſtead of Aſſiſtence, found the *Saxons*, by the Practices of *Widikind*, ready to fight againſt them. It happened well that they met with *Theodorick*, a Count, the King's Kinſman, who hearing of the Revolt, had levied Forces all on a ſudden in *Ribuaria*. He offered to join with them, and ſet upon the *Saxons*, who had incamped on the North ſide of an Hill, called *Suntel*, and they ſeeming to cloſe with him, ordered him to take one way, and they would march another, ſo as to incompaſs the Hill, and ſurpriſe them. But they feared leſt he ſhould have the Honour of the Victory, and therefore reſolved to fall upon the Enemy by themſelves, before he could come up and meet them. And on the Enemy they fell, not in any order, but confuſedly, every one putting Spurs to his Horſe, and ſtriving who ſhould be the foremoſt to ſeize the Prey, which they doubted not but would fall into their Hands. They were ſo warmly received by the *Saxons*, that they were all in a manner ſlain, thoſe few that eſcaped betaking themſelves to the Army of *Theodorick*. Amongſt others fell *Adalgiſus* and *Geilo*, beſides four Counts, and twenty Noblemen.

Who are ſoundly beaten in the next Expedition.

45. The News of the defeat being brought to *Charles*, in great indignation he raiſed an Army, and entred *Saxony*, where calling before him the Nobility, he inquired into the Authours of the Revolt. All the blame was laid upon *Widikind*, but he, aware of what would follow had again withdrawn himſelf into *Danemarke*, or amongſt the *Normans*, as our Authours call them, and no example of ſeverity could be ſhewn upon him. Of thoſe therefore which, moved by his Perſuaſions, had riſen in Rebellion, and deſtroyed ſo many *Franks*, no fewer than four thouſand and five hundred Men were delivered up, whom he commanded all in one day to be beheaded upon the River *Alarus*, at a place called *Fredi*. This ſeverity was great enough, and poſſibly too great, for inſtead of awing the *Saxons*, it drove them into a rage, and cauſed an univerſal Defection. Then was more work made for the King, who being in honour obliged to proſecute the buſineſs to the utmoſt, made preparations in Spring for another Expedition, when by a Domeſtick Accident his Journey, for ſome time, was retarded. The laſt day of *April* was the laſt of the Life of *Hildegardis* his Queen, whoſe Funerals he ſtaid to ſee Royally ſolemnized, and then he began his march for *Saxony*, where the Natives were prepared to receive him at a place called *Theothinelli*, as *Aimoinus* hath it. He fell on them ſo ſuddenly, that he made a very great ſlaughter, and of ſo vaſt a multitude very few eſcaped. From the place of the Battel he marcht to *Paderborne*, where making ſome ſtay for other Forces, which he had appointed to follow him out of *France*, he underſtood there was another Party of *Saxons* aſſembled at the River *Haſa*, with Intention to give him Battel, if he came that way. The ſupplies being arrived, he marched thither, and had the ſame ſucceſs, putting to the Sword an innumerable multitude, and taking very many Priſoners. Thence triumphantly he marched Eaſtward, firſt to the River *Wiſara*, and then as far as *Albia*, waſting all things in his paſſage. This done, he returned with his Victorious Army into *France*, where he preſently married *Faſtrada*, the Daughter of one *Radulf*, a Count, a *Frank* by Nation, by which he had two Daughters. The ſame year he married her he loſt *Bertrada*, his Mother, who died on the twelfth of *July*. All the Winter he ſpent in the Village called *Heriſtall*, and there kept both his *Chriſtmas* and *Eaſter*.

Charles endeavours to finiſh the War with the *Saxons*.

46. Thence aſſoon as the ſeaſon would well permit, he reſolved to return, and finiſh the War with this ſtout and pertinacious People. Paſſing the *Rhine*, he waſted *Weſtfalia*, and coming to the *Weſere*, when he perceived he could not doe the ſame by the Northern Party of *Saxony*, by reaſon of the Waters which overflowed the Countrey after great Rains, he himſelf went into *Thoringia*, commanding his Son *Charles* to ſtay with part of the Army in the Borders of *Weſtfalia*. Through *Thoringia* he marched into the Champion Parts of *Saxony*, being near the two Rivers *Sala* and *Albia*, and waſting all the Eaſtern Countries, he then retreated into *France*, His Son *Charles*, in the mean time fought very proſperouſly with a ſtrong Party of Horſe, which gave him battel, with hopes, that though he was the King's Son, he might not be Heir to his good Fortune, but having made great ſlaughter, of them, he followed his Father to the City *Wormes*. But there his Father would not keep him company; for into *Saxony* again he marched, having no patience till

he could conquer and ſubdue this ſtubborn Nation, and in his Camp, in a Village called *Huthagoe*, upon the River *Amba*, he kept his *Chriſtmas*. The Feſtival being over, he waſted the Countrey, as far as the place called *Rum*, at the confluence of the two Rivers, *Weſere* and *Waharne*, and the ſeaſon of the year, with the great Inundations, prohibiting him to paſs farther, he returned to the Caſtle of *Eresburg*, and there ſpent the remaining part of Winter.

47. The remaining part he ſpent not idly; ſecuring his Wife and Children, whom he had ſent for, by a ſtrong Garriſon placed in the Caſtle, into all parts, as he could, he made Excurſions, killing every Perſon he could light on, and burning all the Villages. Sometimes in his own Perſon, and otherwhiles by his Captains, he ſo plied the *Saxons*, that all Winter long they had no reſt, and when Spring appeared, for their farther comfort, a freſh Army out of *France* arrived. Having thus abated their Spirit, as he thought, he held an Aſſembly at *Paderborne* in a ſolemn manner, which being concluded, he removed to a Village called *Bardengoe*, where he underſtood that *Alboin* and *Witichind*, the chief Authours of ſo much trouble, were retired beyond the River *Elbe*. He ſent to them by ſome of their own Countreymen, adviſing them as the beſt for them, when all was conſidered, to come to him, and own him for their Sovereign Lord, which ſo wrought on them, together with the late miſeries ſuſtained by the War, that they refuſed to appear, upon no other grounds, than that they had no Hoſtages for their ſecurity. He ſent them Hoſtages by one *Amalwin*, a Courtier, and then he returned into *France*. They were not long after him, for having received the Hoſtages with *Amalwin*, they came to the Court at *Atigny*, where all controverſies were ended by their receipt of Baptiſm, and *Witichind* was made Duke of *Angrie*, being, as ſome have thought, the Progenitor of *Hugh Capet*. Thus Clemency effected that which the Severity of War and Revenge for ſo long a time could not bring about, and the *Saxons* for ſome Years continued in Obedience. Which at laſt he effects,

48. But theſe being over wearied, as it were, with Eaſe and Fidelity, they returned to their old rebellious humour, and then returned the like ſlaughters and devaſtaſions, as formerly had been committed. Neither could this humour be quite ſubdued by ſo many and grievous Calamities, till Induſtry completed that which Force and Arms had in vain attempted, almoſt for thirty years together. Such as lived on this ſide the *Elbe* were by the more frequent Incurſions of the *Franks*, ſooner tamed, their humours were ſooner ſoftened by their converſation, and their fury and violence calmed by the powerfull Charms of Chriſtian Religion, once cordially imbraced. But they that lived on the farther ſide this River, being ſeparated from the reſt, leſs accuſtomed to commerce, and dwelling in no great apprehenſion of Chaſtiſement, upon every occaſion were prone to their old wont of Rebellion. *Charles* therefore paſſing over the River, cauſed them to aſſemble together, and eaſily procured them to take the Oath of Fidelity, to which they had been as much accuſtomed, as to break it. This done, he perſuaded them to make an Exchange of this their Countrey, which was cold and barren, for better Lands, which he would find out elſewhere. Ten thouſand of the moſt ſtout and conſiderable among them, with their Wives and Children, he tranſported over the *Rhine*, and planted them amongſt the *Franks* in *Brabant*, *Flanders*, and other places. And that theſe that remained might not return to their perfidious practices, and the grounds lie waſte and uſeleſs, he cauſed the *Abroditæ*, a People he could truſt, and the next Neighbours, thither to remove themſelves. Moreover he ſettled a Council in the place, which was to uſe great ſeverity toward ſuch as falſified their Faith, the Image of which continued in thoſe parts many Ages after. The Concluſion of this War, and this Tranſplantation of the *Saxons* happened ſome time beyond the period of this preſent Volume; ſome ſay in the thirty third year of the War; but we were unwilling to leave the Reader altogether in the dark, as to its iſſue. By tranſplanting them.

49. *Charles*, by his Clemency to *Witichind* and his Party, ſettled the Affairs of Saxony for a certain time, when his contrary carriage to the Oriental *Franks* or thoſe of *Franconia*, living beyond the *Rhine*, procured a quite contrary effect amongſt them. His ſecond Wife, *Faſtrade*, was of a quite different humour from that of his firſt, of an high and turbulent Spirit, intermeddling with Affairs of State, and diſquieting both her ſelf and Husband, as ſuch Women are wont to doe, if her ambitious, envious and covetous deſires were not in every point obſerved. Overcome by her vexatious Importunities, he entred upon ſome ſevere Courſes, which caſt the Nobility of *Franconia* into a Conſpiracy, through the perſuaſion of one *Hardrade*, a Count. But herein, as in his other Affairs, the good fortune of *Charles* A Conſpiracy.

appeared, that he had notice of the Plot, e'er it could break out into any open Act, and by his Prudence and Expedition prevented the miſchief intended, the Conſpiratours being timely apprehended and committed to Cuſtody, with whom, as conſcious that his contrary acting had given them ſome provocation, he reſolved not to proceed with cruelty. Some were deprived of their ſight, others ſent into baniſhment, ſome abſolutely pardoned, and none put to death, onely three were killed by the Officers, from whom they fled. *Charles* having ſo happily prevented this deſigned miſchief, as the Foſter Child of Fortune was ſtill led on from one felicity to another. The Inhabitants of *Armorica*, or *Little Britain*, for all his great Succeſſes and Name, were unwilling to pay their accuſtomed Tribute, which the Kings had accounted their due, ever ſince this People being expelled by the *Saxons* and *Angli* out of the Britiſh Iſland, and having ſeated themſelves in the Territories of the *Veneti* and *Coroſolitæ*, had from *Scylla* faln upon *Charibdis*, and flying from the Yoke of one, had been forced to ſubmit their Necks to that of another. Sometimes they refuſed to pay their Money, with what ſucceſs we have formerly ſeen; now and then, as they ſaw their opportunities, they would rebell, and turn open Enemies invading and ranſacking the neighbouring French Territories, but ſtill in the end were forced to return, and join themſelves in the yoke of Servitude with the reſt of the conquered or truckling Nations. *Charles* diſdained to bear that Indignity which the meaneſt of his Predeceſſours would not endure, and diſpatched away *Audulfe*, the Overſeer of his Table, with Forces ſufficient for chaſtiſing and reducing them, who had ſuch ſucceſs, that without much adoe he brought them to crave Pardon, and promiſe all good demeanour for the time to come, for confirmation whereof they gave up their Hoſtages, whom, with many of the Nobility, he preſented to the King, then lying at *Wormes*.

The *Britains* of *Armorica* reduced to Obedience.

50. *Gall* was wholly now in repoſe, and in perfect Obedience, not the leaſt ſtir nor accident happening, which might make him work. Being ſo much at leiſure, he thought it as profitable as gratefull to his Humour, to make another Voyage into *Italy*, and viſite thoſe foreign Dominions, which he had not of ſo long a time beheld. He had ſome reaſon, for *Aragiſe*, Duke of *Beneventum*, began to grow very formidable, making up again a little ſhew of a Kingdom, and having never thoroughly ſubmitted himſelf, nor owned the Authority of the *Franks*. Upon him *Charles* reſolved to fall on a ſudden, and take him unprepared, to which purpoſe in the middle of Winter he took his Journey, and having made his paſſage over the *Alpes*, and through the Snow, kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Florence*, which over, he departed with all ſpeed to *Rome*. Here having for ſome time conſulted with *Adrian* the Biſhop, and the reſt of his Friends, he buckled himſelf to his March toward *Beneventum*, the Seat of the Dukedom, a City of *Samnium*, to which was ſubject *Campania*, the *Salernitani*, with all *Calabria*. *Aragiſe* knowing himſelf ſurprized, and at beſt inferiour to the King in ſtrength, betook himſelf to craft and policy. He ſent to him *Runold*, his eldeſt Son, with Gifts and good Words, to divert him from his purpoſe, but he was too tenacious of it to be ſo put off, and taking the Meſſenger along with him, marched to *Capua*, the chief City of *Campania*, which he beſieged. *Arigiſe* perceiving what muſt be the Iſſue, left *Beneventum*, and betook himſelf to *Silernum*, a Town both ſtronger, and ſtanding upon the Water; whence he ſent to him *Grimoald*, his other Son, to deprecate his Diſpleaſure, and promiſing him to obey him in all things he ſhould require, which good language and condeſcenſion ſo wrought upon him, that retaining *Grimoald*, as an Hoſtage, he ſent his elder Brother home to his Father, with ſome Noblemen of the French Army, who were to receive the Oaths and Hoſtages of the ſeveral Cities, which being done, he drew off his Army, and returned to *Rome*, where he kept his *Eaſter*.

He makes another Voyage into *Italy*.

51. Having diſpatcht his Affairs thus in *Italy*, though all was clear on that Coaſt, when he came out of *Gall*, yet now another ſtorm was gathering in *Bavaria*, where *Taſſilo* the Duke plaid faſt and looſe, being merely by fear and awe kept from openly violating that Agreement he had formerly made with *Pipin* and his Poſterity, and ever and anon ready to renounce obedience, when he perceived there was any probability, either by reaſon of his own Advantages, or the Incumbrances of *Charles*, to ſucceed in his Deſigns. But hearing now that the *Lombards* were abſolutely reduced, and that his Kinſman would be at leiſure to call him to an Account, he ſent his Ambaſſadours to *Rome*, where *Charles* ſtill reſided, to deſire of the Biſhop, that he would beget a perfect underſtanding betwixt them. The Biſhop was very ready to become Authour of ſo good a work, and *Charles* was not ſo averſe, but that he eaſily brought him to cloſe with the Offer, ſo that there wanted

He invades *Bavaria*.

ted nothing but to ſign the League, and confirm the Agreement. But the Ambaſſadours being demanded what Power they had to conclude or ratifie the Treaty, denied that their Inſtructions or Commiſſion extended any farther than merely to underſtand the Pleaſure of the King and Biſhop, and return their Anſwers to their Maſter. *Adrian* hereat conceived great Indignation, as fooled by a trifling Meſſage, and ſent them away with Threats of Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, in caſe *Taſſilo* ſtood not firm to the former obligations he had made to the Houſe of *Pipin*. *Charles* thought it beſt not to be long after the Meſſenger, and taking his leave of the Biſhop, departed to *Wormes*. Here finding his Wife and Family, he called an Aſſembly of the Eſtates, wherein the whole matter relating to his late Exploits in *Italy*, and the buſineſs of *Taſſilo* was reported, and foraſmuch as it was reported and feared, that this *Bavarian* Duke would call in the *Hunnes* to his aſſiſtence, it was unanimouſly reſolved to raiſe a very conſiderable Army, wherewith *Bavaria* in three ſeveral places ſhould be invaded.

52. On one ſide *Pipin*, the Son of *Charles*, with his *Italian* Forces, was ordered to march over the *Rhetian Alpes*, and invade the Countrey from the South. From the North the Oriental *Franks* and *Saxons* were to give the Onſet; and the King himſelf, with the third Party, reſolved to fall on where the River *Leccus* divided the *Bavarians* from the *Alemans*, at the City *Auguſta*, ſo that *Taſſilo* ſhould have no way to eſcape, except he took that of the Eaſt, toward the Territories of the *Hunnes*, which if he did, then would the *Franks* enter, and ſeize upon his Dominions. *Taſſilo* found himſelf ſo intangled, that he laid off thoughts of invading *France*, wherewith, at the Inſtigation of his Wife, and the Promiſes of the *Hunnes*, he had flattered himſelf, and caſt himſelf at the Feet of *Charles*, begging Pardon for his paſt Errours, and renewing his uſual Proteſtations. The King for this time yielded to his importunity, and receiving his Son *Theodo*, with twelve others, for Hoſtages, returned into *France*, and wintred in a place near to *Mentz*, called *Ingilinheim*. Here in the Spring following he held an Aſſembly of the Eſtates, whereat all his Subjects and Vaſſals were commanded to be preſent, and *Taſſilo*, the Duke of *Bavaria*, amongſt the reſt. He made his appearance; but his own Subjects afraid, it ſeems, of the War which threatned their Countrey with devaſtation, in caſe he ſhould revolt, laid heavy Crimes to his Charge, as that ſince his laſt ſwearing Obedience, at the importunity of his Wiſe *Liutberga*, the Daughter of *Deſiderius*, he had tampered afreſh with the *Hunnes*, to procure a ſtrong alliance with them, in order to a Rebellion, with other things and words, which were ſo aggravated, that he was, as a Traitour, condemned to Death, he not being able to deny what was objected. But the Clemency of the King procured a mitigation of his puniſhment, for that Head which was to be cut off, was covered onely with a Monk's Hood, and *Theodo*, his Son, was ſhaven alſo, and for company ſhut up with him in the Monaſtery, thoſe *Bavarians* that had been of the Conſpiracy being baniſhed into ſeveral places. The *Hunnes*, as they had promiſed, raiſed two Armies, whereof with one they invaded the Marches of *Forum Julii*, and with the other made an Inrode into *Bavaria*, but in both places were worſted, and driven back with great loſs of Men. This loſs inraged them, and to be revenged, with more numerous Forces they again invade *Bavaria*, but the Inhabitants receive them with ſuch Conduct and Reſolution, that having put to the Sword an innumerable Company of them, many of the reſt, for fear, took the River *Danubius*, and thinking to ſwim ſafe to land, are overwhelmed with the flouds.

And ſhaves the Duke and his Son.

53. *Charles* having fully reduced *Bavaria*, put the Government into another poſture. He made no one Duke over the whole, leſt he ſhould commit too much Power into the Hands of one Man, but many Counts or Governours, that their number might render them weaker, and more contemptible. His Hands being now again idle, he muſt ſome other way employ, and rather than want work, he will travell to ſeek it as far as the very *Baltick* Ocean: There where it paſſes by *Germany*, in the Territories now belonging to *Pomerania*, *Mecleburg* and *Holſatia*, lived a Nation of the *Hunnes*, fierce and barbarous, in their own Language called *Welatabi*, and in the French *Wiltzi*, or *Vultzi*, always adverſe to the Intereſt of the *Franks*, if we believe their Authours, and infeſting ever and anon their beſt Friends and Confederates, particularly the *Abroditæ*. The King not able any longer to indure their Inſolence, reſolved to make them feel the Effects of his Diſpleaſure, and gathering a vaſt Army together, paſſed the *Rhine* about *Coloine*, whence travelling through *Saxony*, he came to the *Elbe*, and pitching his Camp upon the River, over it he laid two Bridges, whereof one on both ſides he fortified, and thereon

He ſubdues the *Vultzi*.

thereon placed a Garriſon. Then marching forwards, at length he entred the Enemies Countrey, which he waſted with Fire and Sword, till ſuch time as the Inhabitants being terrified with his Name, and his manner of proceeding, began to conſult how to appeaſe him, and laying their Heads together, the *Reguli*, Nobility and Senate, though they were a Nation Stout and Warlike, gave up themſelves into his hands, promiſing all Fidelity and Allegiance from which they never in the leaſt departed. This Conqueſt ſo happily performed, he returned back the ſame way he came, and in *Wormes* kept both his *Chriſtmas* and the *Eaſter* following. And that year, which was a wonder, he made no expedition at all, but reſiding in that City, gave Audience to the Ambaſſadours that came from the *Hunnes*, and ſent ſome of his own to them; a great Controverſie having ariſen about the Borders of their Dominions, which became the Original of ſuch Heats and Malice as could not be ended but by a War. Farther, to buſie and divert himſelf, he paſſed up the River *Menus*, to his Palace of *Saltz* in *Germany*, built upon the River *Sala*, and down again he Rowed to *Wormes*, where Wintering, his Houſe wherein he lived accidentally was ſet on Fire in the Night and Burnt. Yet he ſtill continued in the place, and as magnificently as ever ſolemnized the Feaſt of *Chriſtmas* and *Eaſter*.

Picks a Quarrel with the *Hunnes*.

Alias Magnifrid.

54. Theſe *Hunnes* we lately ſpoke of, were part of the Poſterity of thoſe who in the Reign of *Honorius* powered themſelves into *Europe*, and being a moſt direfull Plague to the Inhabitants thereof, had ſeized on both the *Pannonia Superior* toward the Weſt, where are now the Provinces of *Carniola*, *Carinthia* and the greater part of *Auſtria*; and the *Inferior* alſo toward the South, which at this day contains *Boſnia*, *Sclavonia* and that part of *Hungary* lying towards *Iſter* or the *Danube*, ſo named from thoſe People which were called both *Hunnes* and *Avares*, and as we are told from both words joyned together, known by the name of *Hungari* or *Hungarians*. So long as *Bavaria* continued a Dukedom of it ſelf, there was no occaſion of quarrel miniſtred betwixt theſe *Hunnes* and the *Franks*, but this Countrey being fully ſubdued, and laid to the reſt of their Dominions, *Charles* and they began to quarrel about the limits of their Territories. The quarrel aroſe to that height, that *Charles* diſdaining to receive the leaſt diſadvantage, and elevated by the conſtant ſucceſs he had had over their Neighbours, from ſo ſmall a beginning, raiſed a moſt tedious and grievous War, which continued full eight years, and then was completed with the Deſtruction almoſt of the whole Nation. Making Levies throughout all his Dominions, he divided his Forces into two Parties according to his Cuſtome, to diſtract and amuſe the Enemy the more, whereof the one he committed to the Conduct of *Theodorick* a Count, and *Magnafrid* his Chamberlain, with Orders to invade the Countrey at the Northern Bank of the *Danube*; he himſelf led the other, reſolving to make an Invaſion on the Southern part by the way of *Bavaria*, the Inhabitants whereof he Commanded to convey Proviſions for the Army down the River.

Waſting this Countrey with Fire and Sword.

Alias Rabus.

Alias Beamnii.

Alias Reginum. Ravensburg.

55. Thus appointed he began his March, and made his firſt incamping upon the River *Ariſus*, which ſeparated *Bavaria* from the Territories of the *Hunnes*, and there he ſpent three days in Prayers and Supplications to Almighty God, for a bleſſing upon his Expedition. Then invading the Countrey, he waſted all with Fire and Sword, the Enemy not daring to give him Battel, but ſecuring himſelf in his Forts, whereof two were very conſiderable; one upon the River *Cambus* wherewith it was exceedingly Fortified, and another near the City *Comageni*, upon a Mountain called *Cameoberg* moſt difficult of Acceſs: But the Reſolution of *Charles*, and the Valour of his Souldiers Conquered both thoſe places, and he went on deſtroying all things as far as the River *Arrabo*, over which paſſing his Men, he came to the confluence of it and the River *Danubius*, where he made ſome ſtay, purpoſing to return by the Countrey of *Gabaria*. To *Theodorick* and *Magnifrid* he ſent Orders to Retreat by the way of the *Begamini* as they came, and then having laid waſte a great part of *Pannonia*, he returned into *Bavaria* without any loſs or diſadvantage in all this expedition, except in Horſes, amongſt which raged ſo great a Contagion, that ſcarcely the tenth part remained alive of ſo many thouſands. Having diſmiſſed his Souldiers, he himſelf ſaith *Aimoinus* came to the City *Regimini* which now is called *Reganesburg*, where he reſolved to Winter, and there to celebrate the Feſtivals both of our Lord's Nativity and his Reſurrection.

56. While here he yet reſided, Conſulting how with beſt ſucceſs he might farther proſecute the War with the *Hunnes*, he was in danger of his Life at home by a Conſpiracy. He had a Baſtard Son named *Pipin*, one of a beautifull Face, but Hutch-back'd, and as deformed it ſeems in his mind as in his Body, for ſeveral great Men

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Another Conſpiracy.

Men wearied with the cruel demeanour of *Faſtrade* the Queen, conſulted with him how to prevent her practices by her Husband's Death, and by ſending the Father into another World, to make way for his Son's advancement in this. He being either an Authour or the pretext of this Conſpiracy, they expect a convenient ſeaſon to execute their Deſigns, when the whole Plot and Contrivance is diſcovered to the King by one *Fardulf* a *Lombard*, and they as Guilty of High Treaſon were ſome of them Beheaded, and others Hanged, *Pipin* being ſhut up in the Monaſtery of *Prumium*, and *Fardulf* rewarded with that of St. *Denis*. This Conſpiracy thus hapily blown over, he cauſed a Bridge to be laid over the *Danube*, continuing ſtill in *Bavaria* and intent upon the War with the *Hunnes*, for which he reſolved in the ſame place to ſpend the ſecond Winter. When he began to prepare for another Expedition, News was brought that the Forces under the Command of *Theodorick*, in their return through *Friſia* in a Village called *Hiruſtri* near the River *Wiſara* were intercepted and deſtroyed. This cauſed him to put off his Journey into *Pannonia*, though to keep up his Reputation he diſſembled the greatneſs of the Loſs.

His endeavours to promote Navigation.

Aliis Ardantia & Alemo.

57. But leſt he and his Men ſhould be idle, he gave ear to the Project of ſome about him, who pretended they had found out a rare Expedient for the inriching of *Germany*, and the Neighbouring parts of *Europe*, by promoting Commerce betwixt the ſeveral Countries. Of the *Rhine* and the *Danube*, the two greateſt Rivers of thoſe parts of the World, the one falls into the *German* Ocean, and the other runs Eaſtward into the *Euxine* Sea. Betwixt theſe lay two more inconſiderable, in the days of *Aimoinus* or the Authour of that Hiſtory called *Radantia* and *Alomora*, whereof the one mingles its Waves with the *Danube*, and the other empties it ſelf into the *Rhine*. Betwixt theſe two they adviſed a Ditch three hundred foot broad ſhould be cut, ſuch as would receive large Veſſels, and accordingly the whole Autumn many men were employed, who digged ſuch a Ditch three hundred foot in breadth, and in length two Miles. But all this was loſt Labour, it being hard for Mortals to alter that courſe of Nature, which God Almighty has appointed to ſublunary things. What they digged on the Day, was by Night filled up again, partly by Earth the Ground being Fenny and looſe, and partly by Water, great Rains as is uſual at that time of the year falling in thoſe Parts, lying ſo near to the *German* Ocean. While he thus made himſelf work in this part of *Germany*, he had other work made to his hands elſewhere by the *Saxons*, who univerſally Revolted, and the *Saracens* who having entred *Septimania* defeated in Battel ſuch Counts and others as oppoſed themſelves in defence of the Countrey, and having put many of the *Franks* to the Sword, returned Victoriouſly to their own Homes.

The *Saxons* revolt.

58. In the beginning of the following Summer another Accident happened, which however he took it to his Subjects ſeemed not unluckly, and that was the Death of his Wife *Faſtrade*, who was Buried at *Mentz* in the Church of St. *Alban*. Having taken care for her Funeral, and held an Aſſembly of the Eſtates, he divided his Forces into two, and reſolved to renew his ancient Hoſtility with the *Saxons*, giving order to his Son *Charles* to paſs the *Rhine* at *Coloin*, and with one half to invade the Countrey on the Weſt, while he himſelf by the way of the South, with the reſt of the Army ſhould attacque them. This being done, although the *Saxons* had pitched their Camp in the place called *Smetfeld*, and there in appearance expected his coming as ready to give him Battel; yet the matter was ſo carried, that deſpairing of that Succeſs which they had lately promiſed to themſelves, they caſt away both their Arms and Courage, and as univerſally begged pardon, as they had committed the Offence, and without fighting a ſtroke, both gave up their Hoſtages, and according to their old Trade took the Oath of Fidelity. This being over, the King returned into *France* and Wintred at *Aix*, and in Spring following not being unmindfull of the perfidious humour of the *Saxons*, held another General and ſolemn Aſſembly of his Eſtates, beyond the *Rhine* in a Village called *Caſfeſtin* not far from *Mentz*, and thence with an Army re-entred and waſted almoſt all *Saxony*, and coming to a Village called *Bardengum*, he encamped near the place called *Bardenhunck*, and there expected the coming of the *Sclavi* whom he had ſent for.

But are reduced to Obedience.

Bardenwick.

Bardenhunck.

59. In the mean time News was brought him that *Wizin* the King of the *Abroditæ* as he was paſſing the River *Elbe*, was intrapped and ſlain by the *Saxons*, which fact farther inraged and provoked him to be revenged on this perfidious Nation. All that he could doe was again to waſte their Countrey, and receive more Hoſtages, of which doubtleſs having ſo often broken their Faith, they were not at

all

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all ſparing; while he was about this work, one *Tudun* a man of chiefeſt Rank amongſt the *Hunnes* came Ambaſſadour to him out of *Pannonia*, and willingly offered himſelf to receive Baptiſm, and to be inſtructed in the Chriſtian Religion. Into ſo good an humour this Barbarian was frighted, by the ſucceſs which the Arms of *Charles* though not preſent in Perſon, had lately had in that Countrey. For *Henry Duke of Forum Julii* being ſent thither had made very great ſpoil, and in particular taken and rifled the Royal Palace of the *Hunnes* called *Rhing*, whence he brought to the King a very great Treaſure, a great part whereof he was ordered to carry as a preſent to the See of *Rome*, or as they phraſe it to St. *Peter*, and the reſt was liberally diſtributed amongſt the great Officers and Courtiers, having been the flower as it were of that vaſt Wealth which this vagrant and thieving People had pilfred out of *Aſia* and *Europe*. *Pipin* alſo his Son he had ſent into *Pannonia*, with Forces raiſed both in *Italy* and *Bavaria*, wherewith he beat the *Hunnes*, and drove them beyond the River *Tiza*, which done at his eaſe and pleaſure, he waſted and ſpoiled their Territories, and what was left untoucht and rejected by *Henry*, all in a manner fell as booty into his Hands, with the Palace *Rhing* which he totally deſtroyed. *Eginhart* to this Relation of *Aimoinus* adds, that the *Franks* hitherto poor, as poſſeſſing nothing but their Arms and the fruits of their Grounds, from this plunder became very Wealthy, and *France* full of Gold and other things of value and wonder to them. *Pipin* preſented it to his Father, who was then returned victoriouſly out of *Saxony* to *Aix*, where *Tudun* and all that came with him were Baptiſed though to no purpoſe on his part as afterward appeared.

He beats the *Hunnes*.

And returns loaden with rich Booty.

Eorùmque Regia quæ ab eis dicta eſt Rhingus à Langobardis autem Campus vocatur, ex toto deſtructa Aimoinus, lib.4.c.86. Lé païs conquis bien avant juſques aux confins de Drave & Danube fuit appelle Oeſtrich Oeſt à dire en Thiois Royaume Oriental, ayant eſgarda Bauieres & partie duguel regardant l' Occident & la Rivere de Lech ſ'apelle encores Auſtriche. Fauchet, Aimoinus, c.87.

60. About this time, as if all things and places conſpired together to render *Charles* Fortunate and Victorious, the City *Barcinona* ſituate on the confines of *Spain*, having been ſometimes in the hands of the *Franks*, and otherwhiles of the *Saxons*, was reſtored to him by *Zatis* one of that Nation, who had lately got it into his hands. This incouraged him to ſend *Lodovick* his Son to lay Siege to *Oſca*, he himſelf having no patience till he was again in *Saxony*, which he waſted throughout as far as the utmoſt limits of it, where it lay bounded by the Ocean betwixt the two Rivers *Elbe* and *Weſere*. Thence returning to *Aix*, he gave audience to *Abdella* the Son of King *Abimenanga* who was come to him out of *Mauritania*, and to *Teockſtus* ſent from *Nicotes* the Governour of *Sicily* with Letters from the Emperour dated at *Conſtantinople*. But ſuch was his propenſion toward the puniſhment of the *Saxons*, that in their Countrey he reſolved to Winter, and paſſing thither, ſate down by the River *Weſere*, in a place which he would have called *Heriſtall*, and our Authour tells us was ſo called to his very time. Having diſtributed his Army into their Winter Quarters, he ſent for his two Sons *Pipin* and *Lodovick*, whereof the one was returned from his *Italian*, and the other from his *Spaniſh* Expedition, and entertained the Ambaſſadours of the *Hunnes*, ſent to him with great preſents. The like he did to the Ambaſſadours of *Hadefonſus* King of *Auſtria* and *Gallicia*, who neither came empty handed, and then remitted *Pipin* into *Italy*, and *Lodovick* into *Aquitain*, with whom he ſent *Abdella* to be conveyed into *Spain* on his way homeward.

Saxony again waſted by *Charles*.

Al. Aſturia.

61. *Charles* paſſed all this Winter in *Saxony*, to the great terrour of the Inhabitants, as very well might be imagined. But that this was not common to all thoſe that inhabited beyond the *Elbe*, ſufficiently appeared in this, that e'er the ſeaſon came, that there was Graſs enough for the Army to take the Field, they fell upon certain of his followers, whom he had ſent to doe Juſtice amongſt them, and preſerving a few for Ranſome killed the reſt, and with them *Godeſcalcus* who was in his way returning from his Embaſſy to *Sigefrid* King of the *Danes*. Inraged hereat, above all meaſure, he muſtered his Forces, and whatever lay betwixt the *Elbe* and the *Weſere* he deſtroyed with Fire and Sword. But thoſe that lived beyond the *Elbe*, elevated with the cowardly attempt they had made upon the Perſons lately mentioned, for which as yet they could not be called to account, went about to make War upon the *Abodritæ*, who ever after their firſt Conjunction had continued faithfull to the *Franks*. But the prudence and expedition of *Theſco* the Captain of the *Abodritæ* prevented them, who having timely notice of their motion met, and gave them Battel in the place called *Suentana*, where he made great ſlaughter, and forced thoſe that eſcaped with their Lives to run for them, with all the haſte they could make to their own homes. *Charles* returning to *Aix*, received

The *Saxons* fall upon the *Abodritæ* but are beaten by the aſſiſtence of the *Franks*.

ved the Ambaſſadours of *Irene* the Empreſs, who having put out the Eyes of her Son, had reaſſumed the Government, and at their regret releaſed *Siſinnius*, the Brother of *Taraſius* the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, who had been taken Priſoner in Battel. They were ſcarcely diſpatched, when others arrived out of *Spain* from *Hadeſonſus*, with a ſmall part of the ſpoil he had lately taken at his Conqueſt of the City *Olyſſepona*; theſe were ſeven *Moors* with ſo many Mules and Corſlets, being as one obſerves rather marks of Victory than any conſiderable Preſent. But the bringers he kindly received, and ſent back with rewards. Now were the Iſlands *Baleares* afterward called *Majorica* and *Minorica*, overrun and waſted by *Mooriſh* Pirates. *Charles* ſpent this Winter at *Aix*, and there celebrated the two uſual Feſtivals.

Lisbon.

Another expedition into *Saxony*.

62. The Spring following, when he was again preparing for a freſh Expedition into *Saxony*, he was a little diverted by diſpleaſing News brought him from *Rome*. There *Leo* the Biſhop had been moſt inhumanely treated by the Kindred of his Predeceſſours, and after much Cruelty and Malaie ſhewed upon his Body, was clapt up cloſe Priſoner in a Monaſtery, but thence making an eſcape over the Walls, was kindly received by *Winigiſus* the Duke of *Spoletum*. The King hearing the News, with great ſorrow and indignation took care that he ſhould be Honourably brought to his preſence, yet reſolved not to put off the War, which he intended once more againſt the *Saxons*. Removing then to the *Rhine*, there in the place called *Lippia*, he held the uſual aſſembly of the Eſtates, and expected the coming of the *Roman* Biſhop, ſending in the mean time his Son *Charles* with part of the Army to the *Elbe*, to diſpoſe of ſome matters relating to the *Wiltzi* and *Abodriti*, and to receive ſome *Saxons* of thoſe called the *Nordluidi*. Not long after his departure the Biſhop came, and after a kind entertainment for certain days, he ſent him back to *Rome* with certain of his own men, who reſtored him to his See. He being diſmiſſed, he gave audience to a Meſſenger ſent from *Michael* the Patritian from *Sicily*, and preſently after received the unwelcome news of the defeat and Death of two of his Captains, whereof one * *Geroldus* by name, being a Governour in *Bavaria* was ſlain in Battel againſt the *Hunnes*, and the other called *Erick* or *Henry* famous for his many Victories, was by the Inhabitants of *Tarſus* or *Tarſa* a City of *Liburnia* circumvented and cut off. † But for this bad news, recompence was made him as ſoon as he returned to *Aix* where he Wintred. For *Wido* or *Guido* a Count and Prefect of the *Britiſh* Coaſt, || having with others his fellow Counts and Captains overrun *Britany*, brought him the Arms of the great men he had ſubdued on which their Names were ingraven. Other Trophies were preſented him from thoſe that had reſtrained and puniſhed the Mooriſh Rovers, about *Majorica*; and *Azan* the *Saracen* Governour of *Oſca* ſent him the Keys of the City with other gifts, and a promiſe to deliver it up into his hands if opportunity ſhould ſerve.

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* *Gerold Duc de Bavieres frere de Hilderic Duc de Suane & de Hildegarde premiere femme de Charles prim mignon du Roy Fauchet.*

† *Henry Duc de Frioul tuè pres Tranſiſca une ville de Liburnie (C'eſt de Frioul) Fauchet, at Aimoinus habet apud Tarſaticam Liburniæ civitatem, lib. 4. c. 89.*

|| *Guy Comte de la Marche, ou Marquis de Bretaigne.*

63. As ſoon as Spring appeared toward the middle of *March*, *Charles* left *Aix* and viſiting the Coaſts of the *Gallick* Ocean, appointed a Fleet to be prepared for ſcouring thoſe Seas of the *Nordman* Pirates, who had now begun to be very troubleſome, and placed Garriſons where he ſaw convenient. His *Eaſter* he kept at *Centulum* belonging to St. *Richarius*, whence he Coaſted again by the Sea ſide, and ſo turned off to *Rouen*, where croſſing the River *Seine*, he travelled to *Tours* to doe his Devotions in the Church of St. *Martin*. Here he was confined for certain days by reaſon of the ſickneſs of his Wife *Liutgarda*, which Lady here died on the fourth of *June*, and was Buried in St. *Martin's* Church. Thence by *Orleance* and *Paris* he returned to *Aix*, and at the beginning of *Auguſt*, held a General Aſſembly at *Mentz*, wherein he declared he would take another Journey into *Italy*. Accordingly with an Army at his back he came to *Ravenna*, where he made no ſtay but for ſeven days, ſending his Son *Pipin* with the Army into the Countrey of *Beneventum* whom he accompanied as far as *Ancona*, and then took the way for *Rome*. But in his way into *Italy* we are told by ſome that he took *Liburnia* or *Frioul*; where he puniſhed the Inhabitants of *Tarſatica*, for the Murther of *Henry* their Duke, and put one *Codelac* into his place. And indeed the inſolence committed by them upon that man, together with the Rebellion of *Grimoald* the Duke of *Beneventum*, and the outrage againſt *Leo* the Biſhop, whatever elſe he deſigned ſeem ſufficient motives for his return into this Countrey. For they were evident ſigns of the ſtirring if not

De puis Bra ban juſques en Bretagne, dit Fauchet.

Centulum Cœnobium Sanct Richarii in Picardia. Sic notatur in Aimoinum. Fauchet ſic, Centulo, lieu proche de St. Richer appartenant à Engilbert ſon gendre benayme c'eſt adire du Roy Charles.

Charles goes for *Italy*.

Thence to *Rome*.

Sect. 4.

if not the growth of the Party contrary to his Intereſt, and ſeemed to threaten the Authority of a Prince, whoſe abſence incouraged a People as yet not fully ſetled to a Revolt.

Where he is magnificently received by Pope *Leo*.

And Crowned Emperour.

64. The day before he arrived at *Rome*, twelve miles off at *Nomentum* Pope *Leo* met him, and having Supped with him that Night, returned to the City to be ready for his ſolemn reception the next day. He rode on Horſeback to the Stairs of St. *Peter*, where *Leo* with all his Biſhops and Clergy received him, and with ſolemn proceſſion conducted him into the Church of that Apoſtle. After ſeven days he called the People together, and laid open to them the cauſe of his coming, the Principal whereof was, as he ſaid, to make Inquiſition about thoſe Crimes which were laid to the Charge of their Biſhop. But no Accuſer appearing, *Leo* with the Goſpel in his hand went up into the Pulpit, and there in preſence of all the People purged himſelf by Oath of the things objected. On *Chriſtmas*-day, the King being come to St. *Peter's* Church to hear Divine Service, as he kneeled before the Altar, *Leo* ſet a Crown on his Head, and all the People Acclamed to *Charles Auguſtus*, *Crowned of God the mighty and peaceable Emperour of the Romans*, *Life and Victory*, which Acclamations over, he was according to the Cuſtome of the ancient Princes adored by the Biſhop, and leaving off the name of Patritian, was ſaluted *Emperour and Auguſtus*. So was the Title of Emperour revived again at *Rome*, from what Inducements, how legally, and in what manner we ſhall conſider more properly and fully in the Hiſtory of that Countrey. Here we ſee the *Franks* advanced above all the reſt of the Weſtern Nations, and a King but of the ſecond Head raiſed prodigiouſly to ſo ſublime a pitch of Grandeur, how and by what Degrees both Nation and Family arrived at this height, we have as fully diſcovered as the nature of this Work will bear. Here we muſt leave *Charles* upon his Imperial Throne, but e'er we take our leave for altogether, we are obliged to return to his Cradle and take ſome notice of the Tongue he firſt ſpake, with other things belonging to the moſt ancient State and Cuſtomes and Polity of this conſiderable Nation, which in the precedent Hiſtory could not but too abruptly and confuſedly be performed.

The *Sicambrian* or *Teutonick* Dialect was their Language.

Menſibus juxta patriam Linguam nomina impoſuit quum ante id tempus, &c.

The Names of the Months.

Hæc confer cum iis quæ ſcribimus de lingua Saxonica veteri.

Of the Winds.

65. To begin with their Language, as the great both Effect and Sign of their Original on which we have already ſo largely inſiſted, it's certain it was the *Sicambrian* or *Teutonick Dialect* at their firſt coming into *Gall*, and ſo even to the time of *Charles* it continued. There were other Languages indeed ſpoken in the Countrey where they inhabited, one whereof at length partly ſwallowed up, partly expelled theirs, but this could not be but by degrees, and in many years uſe and converſation, ſo that though many words were ſtoln in upon both, and thoſe that were Learned or Nobly Educated, ſpake as well the one as the other, yet for the Rule or ſubſtance, the *German* or *Teutonick* ſtill continued in ordinary uſe and practice. Nay, it was the Language of the Court, as appears from what we are told concerning *Charles* the Great himſelf. *Eginhart* an Authour beyond all exception teſtifies, that he gave Names to the Months according to his own Language; the *Franks* before that time having known them partly by Latine, and partly by Barbarous words. To the twelve Winds alſo he gave Proper Names, whereas formerly ſcarce four words were in uſe to expreſs them. Of the Months *January* he called *Vunthermonat*, *February Hornung*, *March* he named *Lentzmonet*, *April Oſtermonet*, *May Wunnemonet*, *June Brachmonet*, *July Heumonet*, *Auguſt Aernmonet*, *September Herbſtmonet*, *October Vuynmonet*, *November Vuindtmonet*, and *December Heiligmonet*. On the Winds he impoſed the Names following; on that by the *Romans* called *Subſolanus Oſtrenwindt*, on *Eurus Oſtſunderen*, *Euroauſter Sundoſtren*, *Auſter Sundren*, *Auſtroafricus Sundweſtren*, *Africus Weſtſundren*, *Zephyrus Weſtren*, *Corus Weſtnorden*, *Circius Norduneſtren*, *Septentrio Nordren*, *Aquilo Nordoſtren*, *Vulturnus Oſtnorden*. He adds that, certain Baracons and moſt ancient Verſes whereby were Sung, the Acts and Warlike Exploits of ancient Kings he wrote down and committed to Memory, and farther began a Grammar of his Mother Tongue. If any one deſire farther ſatisfaction in this particular, and ſee what the very Language was, he may know that *Orfrid* a Monk of *Waſſenbury* in * this Language of the *Franks* Tranſlated the New Teſtament into Verſe or Rythme, ſome of which together with the Lord's Prayer are to be ſeen in ſeveral Authours, particularly in *Pontanus his Origines Francicæ*, with Verſes in Commendation of the Nation of the *Franks*. He may alſo there ſee part of *Tatianus* his Harmony

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* *Nu vuil ih Scriban Unſer heil*
Evangeliono deil.
So Unir nu biar bigunnun,
In Fren Riſgu tungen.
Præf. in Evangel.

So will I write (the *Dutch* ſay yet Sciven) our health (for which the word Salvation is lately crept in) of the Evangel the deal (for which is crept inpart.)

mony of the four Goſpels Tranſlated into this *French* Tongue, which continued thus *German* or *Teutonick*, at leaſt till the Ruine of the Family of *Charles* the Great. This is evident from *Willeramus* Abbat of *Mersburg* his * Tranſlation of the *Canticles*, out of Latine into this old *French*, in the time of *Henry* the third Emperour, about the year of our Lord 1010, one of the Chapters whereof he begins thus; *Stand uph Friundinna min ilego. Min duna Min ſcona aud Kim.* Such like Language is all the reſt, and hereby it may be ſeen as one of our Modern Writers obſerves, that the old *French* and the old *Engliſh*, had then as great Affinity together as our Northern and Southern *Engliſh* have at this day. Now none will deny that our old *Engliſh* or ancient *Engliſh Saxon* was *German* or *Teutonick*.

So we now here begin,

In the *French* Tongue.

* *Typis Plantinianis editum Extat Opera Pauli Merulæ.*

Stand up ſhe Friend mine Speedily
My Dove my fair and come.

Friundinne Saxonicè Amica
Schone hodie utuntur
Verſtegan Belgæ
pro pulchro
Inde noſtrum Sheen.

66. Such therefore was the true and ancient *French*, a *German* or *Teutonick* Dialect, before it was corrupt, mixed and at laſt aboliſhed by another Speech, which overpowred it by the multitude of Speakers. For in conqueſts of Countries this rule is to be obſerved in point of Languages, that where the Invaders in Numbers prevailed, either in a ſmall ſpace of time puſhing in multitudes upon a weaker Nation, or in a long continuance of time perpetually ſupplying their firſt Planters, there though they mixed with the People Conquered, their Language followed the Fortune of their Arms, and at length, getting Ground every day, became Victorious, but where a far leſſer invaded the greater, and the Courage or good Fortune of a few prevailed over a Cowardly effeminate or unfortunate Multitude, there the ſucceſs was not the ſame, for as the Vulgar is Maſter of Language, which is founded upon Uſe and Cuſtome, more Voices or Words carried it, and the Tongue had better fortune than the Hand, as far greater Sounds or Noiſes do drown the leſſer. The former part is ſufficiently evidenced in the *Roman* Conqueſts, eſpecially in the Weſtern parts, as alſo in the Invaſion of the *Saxons* made into this Iſland of *Britain*. The later part not onely in the matter of the *Franks*, who Conquered a People much more vaſt in Numbers than themſelves, but in the caſe of the *Goths* in *Spain*, and *Lombards* in *Italy*, where the Languages prevailing in the Countries, at laſt got Ground, and prevailed over thoſe they brought in with them, and not to ſtir far from home, we ſee the truth hereof abundantly manifeſted in the caſe of the *Normans* who coming into *France*, and bringing in with them a Northern or *Teutonick* Language of their own, firſt made Shipwreck of that there as the *Franks* had formerly done, and then having got inſtead of that the *Romantick* or *Baſtard Latine* now called *French*, when they Conquered here the *Engliſh Saxons* loſt that alſo, and returned to their ancient *Teutonick*, (though altered by their Invaſion,) and this they did notwithſtanding all Arts imaginable uſed by them for aboliſhing the *Engliſh*, and propagating that other amongſt a People to which their Poſterity in this point was conſtrained at laſt to yield their Tongues, though not their unjuſtly got Poſſeſſions.

67. The *Franks* therefore by mixing and imbodying with a far more numerous People, loſt their Language, what then the ſpeech ſpoken by the Natives at this time was we muſt enquire. The Language of ſuch of them as were Originally *Galls*, was the firſt that was ſpoken (as far as man can know) in this Countrey, being that which was in uſe when *Cæſar* invaded them, *viz.* the *Celtick* or the *Gallick*, which though it might receive an inſenſible impreſſion and alteration from the Touching of the *Phœnicians* upon the Sea Coaſts, the planting of ſome Greek Colonies alſo on the Maritime Parts, the Neighbourhood of the *Spaniards* and *Germans*, and the recourſe made by the *Italians* to the Medicinal Waters in *Aquitain*, yet till his time in the Body of the Land continued pure and uncorrupted. What this Language was is the great queſtion much debated by certain Learned men, and that in two reſpects eſpecially, *viz.* Whether it was the ſame Originally with our ancient *Britiſh*, or the *Welſh* Tongue, or whether it was the ſelf ſame in ſubſtance with the *Teutonick* or ancient *German* Language, differing onely from it in Dialect, in ſome variety of phraſes and terminations of words. For the firſt, that the Language of the old *Galls* was all one with the *Britiſh*, unleſs perhaps in variety of Dialect, *Cæſar* himſelf ſheweth, where he writes that it was the cuſtome of the *Galls* who deſired farther knowledge or inſtruction in the Learning, or Diſcipline of the *Druides* to go over to them into *Britain*. Now foraſmuch as they had no uſe of Books, the *Druides* in teaching muſt have uſed the ſame Language the *Galls* did, which *Tacitus* farther confirmeth, alledging that the *Britiſh* Speech, and that

The *Gallick* and *Britiſh* Language compared.

of the *Galls* differed not much. But ſeeing the Language it ſelf is loſt, ſome ſcattered words onely remaining as the broken Boards of a Shipwreck, by comparing thoſe words with the preſent *Welſh*, our Learned *Camden* evinceth this truth, and that not by any wreſting or ſtraining but very eaſily, and without violence he proves them to agree to our *Britiſh* both in ſound and ſenſe.

68. To give the Reader a ſhorter account of what he makes out more at large, that *Divona* a Fountain at *Bourdeaux* of which *Auſonius* Writes, that in the *Gallick* Tongue it ſignified God's Fountain, the *Britains* would have called by the ſame Name, for God to them is *Dyw*, and a Fountain *Vonan*, in the Latine *Divona*, by Analogy and for Verſe ſake. *Jupiter Tonans* or the *Thunder*, by the *Galls*, as many witneſs, was worſhipped by the Name of *Taranis*, and *Taran* with the *Britains* betokneth *Thunder*. The *Galls* had another God called *Heſus*, *Heus* or *Anubis* painted like a Dog, and *Huad* with our *Welſhmen* ſignifieth a Dog. Certain it is that the *Galls* worſhipped *Mercury* under the Name of *Teutates*, as the Inventer of *Arts*, and guide of their *Journeys*. And *Diw Taith* in the *Britiſh* Tongue, is as much as the *God of Travelling*. The *Galls* as *Polybius* informs us in their own Language called their *Mercenary Souldiers Gæſatæ*, and at this day the *Welſh Britains* call their *hired Servants Gueſſin*. As *Phalanx* was the *Macedonian Legion*, ſo was *Caterva* peculiar to the *Galls*, as may be ſeen in *Vegetius*. Neither is this word Obſolete amongſt the *Britains*, who yet uſe to call a Troop *Caturſa* and *Warkad*, and the ſtrength of War which lieth in a Legion *Kaderne*. The *Galls* that marched with *Brennus* into *Greece*, named that order of Horſe-fight, which conſiſted of three Horſes, as *Pauſanias* tells us *Trimarkaſia* or *Trimarſia*, for an Horſe they called *Marca*, which in that ſignification is mere and pure *Britiſh*. For *Tri* ſignifieth *Three*, and *March* an *Horſe*.

Divona Celtarum lingua fons addite Divis.

De tribus iſtis Gallorum Diis ſic, Lucanus:

Et quibus immitis placatur ſanguine diro
Teutates, horrénſque feris altaribus Heſus,
Et Taranis Scythicæ non mitior ara Dianæ.

69. The Name of *Circius* given to that *Windo*, to which *Auguſtus Cæſar* both vowed and built a Temple in *Gall*, *Phavorinus* the ſame Philoſopher of that Nation, as we have it from *Gellius* declared to be *Gallick*, and he ſuppoſed it was ſo called from the *Whirling* or *Whiſtling* which it makes. This Wind indeed is known to be moſt Boiſterous and Violent; and *Cyrch* with the *Britains* betokeneth Violence as may be ſeen in their Litany. The *Pennine Alpes* by *Cæſar* called the Higheſt, had that name impoſed as *Livy* writeth, not from *Hannibal* the *Pœnus* or *Carthaginian*, but from the *Higheſt Top* which the Mountaineers of *Gall* named *Penninus*. But *Pen* with the *Britains*, even in theſe days, ſignifieth the *Tops of Hills*, whence the higheſt Mountains they have, *viz.* *Penmon-maur*, *Pendle*, *Pen* and *Pennigent*, got their Names. Neither have the high Mountains *Appennini in Italy* theirs from any other Original. The Cities and States of *Gall* ſituate upon the Ocean, were as *Cæſar* notes after the cuſtome of the *Galls* called *Aremoricæ*, and with them the *Welſh* accord in the very ſame thing, *Ar-more* being as much as *By the Sea*, or *Upon the Sea*. The ancient and excellent Scholiaſt upon *Juvenal* acquaints us, that the *Allobroges* were ſo called, becauſe *Broga* in the *Galliſh* Tongue ſignified a *Land* or *Territory*, and *Alla* another, as one would ſay *Tranſlated out of another place*. But *Bro* in *Britiſh* is a *Region* or *Countrey*, and *Allan Without* or *Eternal*, ſo that the Etymology in both Tongues holds very well.

Eodem ſenſu Strabo eas Ἀπωκεανίδας *vocat.*

70. *Pliny* tells us that there is an Herb like to *Plantane* in *Gall* called *Glaſtum*, wherewith the *Britains* Died or Coloured themſelves as ſeveral Writers teſtifie, being that we term *Woad*, and giving a blew Colour, which the *Welſh* at this day call *Glaſſe*. This was the Greek *Iſatis* and *Vitrum* by the Authority of *Oribaſius*. The *Galatæ* who ſpake the ſame Language with the ancient *Galls* as St. *Hierome* witneſſeth, had a little ſhrub called *Coccus*, of which that deep red Scarlet Colour was made, and this very Colour the *Britains* uſually name *Coch*. If *Feſtus Pompeius* tell true, *Bardus* in the Tongue of the *Galls* ſignified a *Songſter*, and this is a mere *Britiſh* word. And like as *Bard* is *Britiſh*, ſo the other part of *Bardocucullus* which as *Martial* and others teach us, was the *Cloak* that the *Galliſh Bardi* wore, remains intire among the *Welſh*, who call ſuch a Cloak by the very name of *Cucull*. The Herb which of its five Leaves the *Greeks* called *Pentaphyllon*, was as *Apuleius* ſheweth by the *Galls* named *Pempedula*. Now *Pymp* in *Britiſh* is five, and *Deilen* a Leaf. And as the *Galls* by *Pymp* meant the Number of *five*, ſo by *Petor Four*, for as we learn out of *Feſtus Petoritum* was a *Chariot* or *Waggon* of theirs ſo called of its four Wheels, and the word *Pedwar* in the *Britiſh* Tongue ſignifieth *Four*. Among woodden Inſtruments a *Leaver* was among the *Galls* as *Iſidore* writes called *Guoia*, and the ſame in our *Britiſh* Language named *Gwif*. A *Birds Bill* the *Galls* as we reade in *Suetonius* called *Becco*, and the *Britains* name it *Pic*, *Galba* ſigni-

fieth *exceeding fat* and the *Britiſh* word *Galuns* betokneth *very big*. *Diodorus Siculus* his Drink called *Zithum*, might be reduced to their word *Sider*, and *Cerviſia* unto *Keirch* or *Oates*, whereof the *Britains* in many places make their Drink or rather to *Cwrf* which we *Engliſh* term *Ale*.

71. To omit many other words, we ſhall farther take notice of what he obſerves concerning the ancient names of Places, which end with both People in the ſame termination as in *Dunum*, *Briva*, *Ritum*, *Duram*, *Magus* and the like. From ſuch he gathers that theſe were Originally the ſame Nation, in the ſame manner as a very good reaſon may be drawn that *Engliſh men* are deſcended from the *Germans*, becauſe the later and more Modern names of our Towns end in *Burrow*, *Berry*, *Ham*, *Stead*, *Ford*, *Thorp* and *Wich*, which carry a juſt and equal Correſpondence unto the Terminations of the *Dutch* Towns, *Burg*, *Berg*, *Heim*, *Stadt*, *Furdt*, *Dorp* and *Wic*. Farther he affirms, that the reaſon of old *Galliſh* words may be ſo fitly given out of our *Britiſh* Tongue, the property and nature of the thing agreeing alſo thereunto, that of neceſſity we muſt confeſs, either they were Names impoſed by the *Britains*; or elſe that the *Britains* ſpake the *Gallick* Language. Whence the *Galls* were called *Celtæ* and *Gallathæ*, the beſt learned of the *French* could never as yet tell. He bids them therefore conſider whether not from the *Britiſh* word *Gualt* which even yet among the *Britains* betokeneth the Hair or Buſh of the Head, as alſo *Gualtock* that ſignifies *Comata* or with *long Hair*. That the *Celtæ* were called *Comati* from the long Hair they ſtudiouſly nouriſhed all learned men do confeſs; and as for the letters *C* and *K*, *Q* and *G* how ſhould one conſidering their force and Native ſound put a difference between them? *Garonne* the River ſo rapid and violent, that the Poets give it the Epithetes of *Validus*, *Æquoreus* and *Rapidus*, he deriveth from *Gaw* which in the *Britiſh* Tongue importeth *ſtrong*, and *ſwift*. The River *Arar* ſo gentle that it can ſcarcely be diſtinguiſhed which way the ſtream goes, and by the Poets termed *Araris tardior* and *Lentus Arar*, he deduceth from *Ara* which with the *Britains* betokeneth *ſtill* and *ſlow*. *Rhodanus* into which *Arar* falls on the contrary runs down with a violent Current, in which reſpect it is ſtyled *Incitus*, *Celer* and *Præceps*, which words do not diſagree from the *Britiſh Rhedeck* that ſignifie the *ſpeedineſs in Running*.

72. The Hills *Gebennæ* run out into *Gall*, in the manner of a long continued Ridge. And *Keven* among our *Britains* ſoundeth as much as the *Back* or *Ridge of an Hill*, and there is a long Chain of Hills in *Yorkſhire* which the Inhabitants call the *Kevin*. Stones being of old time erected in *Gall* by the Highways ſide, at the diſtance of every thouſand and five hundred Paces, and the *Galliſh Luca or League* containing juſt ſo many, he bids them conſider whether it took not its name from *Leach*, which in the *Britiſh* Tongue betokeneth a *Stone*. That part of *Gallia Narbonenſis*, where as the fabulous ſtory goes *Hercules* and *Albion* fought, and where lie ſo many Stones that one would think it had rained them, the *French* in theſe days call *Les Craux*, knowing not the reaſon of the name, but Stones in *Britiſh* are termed *Craig*. The *Morivi* were ſo called from *Mor* the *Sea*. *Arles* or *Arelatum* ſeated in a moiſt and watery Soil, from *Aripon* and *Laith*, *Moyſture* in the ſame Language. *Uxellodunum*, which as *Cæſar* writes was ſituate on an high Hill difficult of Acceſs, from *Uchell*, *Steep*, or *Lofty*, and *Dunum* an *high place or hill*. The Promontory on which the City *Tolon* ſtands was called *Cithariſtes*, and if you ask our *Welſh Britains* what *Cithara* is in their Language, they will by and by tell you *Telen*. Such is the opinion, and ſo pregnant are the reaſons of our famous *Cambden*, wherein moſt learned Writers conſpire with him as *Beatus Rhenanus*, *Geſner*, *Peter Daniel*, *Picardus* and many others. But ſome there are albeit in compariſon of the other but few, who would have the ancient *Gallick* much the ſame with the *Teutonick* or *German* Language.

The *Gallick* and *German* Language corrupted.

73. Of theſe the moſt remarkable is *Pontanus*, one who by reaſon of his Birth, ſpeaking the *German* Tongue, had more cauſe to know the Roots and Originals of ſuch words, and to underſtand the Etymologies than any either *French* or *Engliſh*, or other not fully acquainted with that Language. He denies not, but that the *Gallick* and *Britiſh* were the ſame, but yet contends the *Germans* were near akin to them both, and that for theſe Reaſons. He cites a place of *Tacitus*, which relates, how the *Æſtii* a People of *Germany* in their Rites and Habit, were more like the *Suevi* their Neighbours, but their Language was nearer that of the *Britains*. He alledges a ſaying of * St. *Jerome*, that the *Galatians* or *Gallogræcians*, except the Greek Tongue, which was ſpoken through all the Eaſt had a Language of their own, the ſame which the *Treviri* uſed, which could be no other than the *German*, they

Dextro Suevici maris litore Æſtiorum Gentes alluuntur, quibus Ritus Habituſque Suevorum, lingua Britanicæ propior.

* *Comment. in Ep. Pauli ad Galatas.*

they being of that Original. To this he adds Arguments, taken firſt from the Habit of *Galls* and *Germans*. Secondly, from the Names of men, Places, People, and words common to both; and Thirdly, from a promiſcuous uſe of Words which he tells us, would make up an entire Dictionary. The firſt he proves from *Strabo*, who more than in one place ſpeaks how like the *Germans* and *Galls* were in their Manners, Cuſtomes and way of Converſation. For the ſecond he obſerves, that *Cæſar* being to make Latine the proper Names of ſuch *Galls* that ended in *Ch*, was ſomething put to it, for that the Latine Speech very difficultly admits that final Termination. Such then as ended in *Rich*, he turned into *Rix*, as *Orgetorix*, *Dumnorix*, *Ambiorix* and others, for which the *Galls* themſelves it's probable, were wont to pronounce *Ereutrich*, *Dumerich*, *Einberich*, or *Heimrich*. So in *Tacitus* we meet with *Malorix* Prince of the *Friſians*, but in *Ammianus*, *Malaricus* or *Malarick* a *Frank*. And *Deuderix* a *Sicamber* in *Strabo*.

Lib. 4. & 7.

74. *Livy* preſents us with a certain *Regulus* of the *Galls* in *Aſia* called *Lutarius*, which *Cæſar* changes into *Luterius*, and both are plainly *Teutonick*, not unlike thoſe of *Lotharius*, *Lotarius* and *Clotharius*. *Lutanicus* alſo in *Cæſar* is the ſame with *Ollonicus*, *Lodovicus* and *Chlodovicus*. The *Germans* had many Names ending in *Marus*, as *Othmarus*, *Wolmarus*, and *Thietmarus*; ſo amongſt the *Galls* we find *Civiſmarus*, *Combolomarus*, *Indutiomarus*, *Virdumarus* and *Virdomarus*. As for People and Places, many we reade of amongſt the *Galls*, like to which it cannot be denied, but ſeveral are found amongſt the *Germans*, for as in *Gall* we find *Santones*, *Pictones*, *Turones*, *Sueſſones* and *Lingones*; ſo *Jubones*, *Semnones*, *Caviones*, *Jugenones* and the like in *Germany*. For the Names of Winds he ſaith, they are ſtill common, both to the *Germans* of *Belgium*, to the *Britains*, and the *Galls*, whereof he renders this reaſon, that they alone continued ſound and ſafe without any Alteration, becauſe that the *Romans* making War againſt the *Galls*, rather by Land than Sea, this People preſerved the Appellations of things belonging to the Sea and Navigation, as out of the reach of the Invaders. But now as to matter of Fact that they did keep them, and that the Names of theſe words ſtill continue the ſame amongſt the *Galls*, *Germans* and *Britains*, how doth it appear? He inſtanceth in that called *Occidentalis* in Latine, which the *Engliſh* naming *Weſtwint* (*Winde* he means) the low Countreymen term it *Weſten*, and the *Galls* (*Galli* not *Franci*) *vent de Oveſt*. In like manner, that which the *Romans* knew by the Name of *Auſter*, the *Germans* call *Suyden-Windt*, the *Engliſh Soutwindt*, and the *Galls Sud*. Moreover *Orientalis* as to the *Germans* is *Ooſten*, ſo to the *Engliſh* it's *Eaſt*, and *Eſt* to the *Galls* or *French*, which Dialect mightily agrees with the words of *Tacitus* lately mentioned, who calls them *Æſtii*, who in Language more reſembled the *Britains*, agreeable alſo to their Speech, who inhabit nearer to the North-Eaſt. In Concluſion, that Wind known in Latine by the Name *Septentrionalis*, the *Engliſh* and all others, even *Charles* the Great himſelf called *Noort* and *Noorden*; but the *French* term it *vent de biſe*. Yet though herein they ſeem to depart from us, and imitate the word *Boreas* in uſe with *Romans*, yet have they but exchanged one *Teutonick* word for another. For *Bieſen* and *Biiſen*, to the low Countreymen is the ſame, as *to be toſſed up and down, and diſturbed*. The *Scarabeus* or *Beetle*, from the noiſe it makes with its Wings, and the violence of its flight they call *Biesbout*. And in the Tranſlation of the Latine Pſalter into the *German* Language, made about the time of *Ludovicus Pius*, *Biſa* is uſed to ſignifie *Turbo*, or *a Whirlewind*.

Livius, lib. 38. *Cæſar belli Gallic. l.* 7. & 8.

The *Gallick, German* and *Britiſh* Language agree, and are near akin, if not the ſame.

75. But the reaſoning of *Pontanus* in this point is very Pleaſant, though in other things he muſt be acknowledged, a very rational and learned Man. The thing to be proved from this Inſtance in the Winds, is that the *Britains*, *Germans* and *Galls*, ſtill retain the ſame words they did of old, and therefore it's thence probable, their Languages were the ſame, not much different or near akin at the leaſt. Now whereas by the *Britains* muſt be meant, the true *Britains* in the time of *Cæſar* and before, the *Britains* that had the *Druides* amongſt them, the *Britains*, the Poſterity of whom are our *Welſh*-men, he makes uſe of the Language not of them, but of the *Engliſh* or *Engliſh Saxons*, who came out of *Germany*, and brought with them the *German* Dialect, to prove that the *Britiſh* Language was the ſame with the *German*. In like manner the thing to be proved, being that the ancient *Gallick* or *Celtick* Tongue was the ſame, or near akin to the *German*; he produces not the *Celtick* Names of Winds, but the *French*, or thoſe that *Charles* the Great and the *Franks* uſed, who alſo came out of *Germany*, and no wonder if they brought a Language with them, which was the ſame, and as near akin as could be to it, and to that of the *Engliſh Saxons*, though nothing related to the other of the *Welſh* or *Britiſh*,

which is the matter in hand. His Succeſs is better in the laſt Branch of his Proof, and that is from the many words, which in Authours appearing to be *Gallick* or *Celtick*, in ſound and Signification came near to the *German*. For this he refers you to his Gloſſary of ancient *Gallick* words, added to the Itinerary of *Gallia Narbonenſis*. Without coming to his particulars, which would be too tedious, we can avouch his Teſtimony to be true in many Inſtances, and undertake for him to the Reader. Nay amongſt thoſe produced by Mr. *Camden*, we can find ſeveral, which without more wreſting or force, thanhe himſelf profeſſeth to uſe, we can for *Pontanus* his ſake eaſily make ſpeak the *Teutonick Dialect*. *Taranis* the Name of *Jupiter*, or the *Thunderer*; however, it may agree with the *Britiſh* word *Taran Thunder*, yet no doubt was the ſame with that of the *German* God *Thaar*, whence the *Danes* call the fifth day of the Week *Thaarſda*, or with the *Saxon Thor* or *Thur*, whence we call it *Thurſday*. The *Germans* by ſome Variation call it *Donderdack*, *D* and *Th* being promiſcuouſly uſed in the *Teutonick*, whence as we ſay *Thunder*, they ſay *Donder*, but the Original was the ſame in both.

76. Whatever affinity there be, betwixt *Teutates* the Name of *Mercury* and the *Britiſh Taith*, certainly that from which our *Tueſday* was derived, may ſeem to bear as great Proportion to it, being *Tuiſco* the Great Idol of the *German* Nation, from whom as they call themſelves *Tuytſh* or *Duytſh*, ſo the *Italians* ſtill name them *Tudeſci*. The word *Geſſatæ*, by which the *Galls* meant *Mercenary Souldiers*, comes as near *Teutonick Gaeſts* or *Gueſts*, whereby *Strangers* are ſignified as it doth to the *Welſh-Britiſh Gueſſim*; and *Geſſa* the *Galliſh* Weapon may well have hence received its Original, as being firſt taken notice of to be worn by ſuch. *Trimarſia*, whereby a fighting with three Horſes was meant, may as well Challenge a *German*, as a *Britiſh* deſcent, for if *Tri* be *Britiſh*, ſo is it alſo *German*, ſignifying *Three*, in this as well as the other Language; for our *Saxon* Anceſtours called the pleaſant Month of *May*, by the Name of *Tri-milki*, becauſe in it they began to Milk their Kine three times a day. And though *Marca* in *Welſh* ſignifieth an *Horſe*, ſo *Mara* or *Mæra* in the *Teutonick*, being uſed of old to ſignifie the whole *Species*, as ſome Learned men have obſerved, as *Horſe* now doth with us, who alſo think verily that inſtead of *Trimarſia* in *Polybius*, it ought to be read *Trimaraſia*. As *Mor* in *Welſh* betokeneth the Sea, ſo in the *Teutonick Moeren* ſignifyeth Mooriſh as we ſay, or Wateriſh places, whence from the Lowneſs and Flatneſs of their Habitations, the *Morini* might be ſo named. As *Glaſſe* in the *Britiſh* Tongue ſignifieth *Woad*, which giveth a blew Colour, by the *Greeks* called *Statis*, and by the Latines *Vitrum*; if an *Engliſh* School-boy be asked what the *Saxon* Engliſh of *Vitrum* is, he will anſwer *Glaſſe*.

77. We could note ſomething more upon *Camden*'s Catalogue, but we have tranſgreſſed already in the length of this point, and it's our Duty to give the Reader but a proſpect of the Controverſie. As for what Objections are made on both ſides from Authority, concerning the main Queſtion, whether the *Celtick* was the ſame with the *German* Tongue, they may be anſwered with this Aſſertion, that there may be many words common to ſeveral Languages, which we have no reaſon to believe were ever the ſame, as alſo that of thoſe People, the Language of whom is Originally and ſubſtantially the ſame, the Dialects through diſtance of place, and length of time may be ſo divers, as the difference of Pronunciation added, very difficultly may they underſtand each other. The truth of the former part of the Aſſertion hath been ſufficiently made out by the almoſt impertinent Labours of ſeveral late Learned men, who have taken pains to ſhew how many words there are in our Modern Languages, which are almoſt the ſame in ſound and Signification, with ſeveral of the Greek Tongue, particularly in the ancient *Engliſh Saxon*, the preſent *Engliſh*, *French*, and the *Dutch*. Some find many *Arabick* words, others very many *Phœnician*, where yet they muſt confeſs the bulk and ſubſtance of the ſeveral Speeches are far different. It's certain, that Languages moſt remote in ſome points agree. And *Busbequius*, who was Ambaſſadour from the Emperour to the Great *Turk*, obſerves, that many *Dutch* and *Engliſh* words were in his time in uſe, in the very *Taurica Cherſoneſus*. On the contrary, a Language may be for root and ſubſtance the ſame, and yet the Dialects ſo different, and the Pronunciation ſo divers, as with difficulty can the People that ſpeak them underſtand each other living at diſtance, and obnoxious to Impreſſions, made by Strangers with other Accidents. This appears ſufficiently in thoſe that make uſe of the *Teutonick*, of whom the *Engliſh* underſtand not the *Dutch*, nor the *Dutch* the *Engliſh*, when they ſpeak words merely of that Original, little more do the *Dutch* underſtand

ſtand the *Swediſh* or *Danes*, nay the Low Countreymen, thoſe that inhabit the upper parts of *Germany*.

78. To conclude the Controverſie ſo far as concerns us, it appears evident that, the *Celtick* and *Britiſh* were the ſame, both from the Teſtimony of unqueſtionable Authours, and the remains of that Language, which Antiquity like broken Boards of a Shipwreck hath caſt upon us. The Conſideration of the little diſtance betwixt the Iſland and *Gall*, brings no ſmall Addition of weight to the Argument; for that *Britain* was planted from that part of the Continent, is rather more than probable, as alſo that as the Iſland received its Inhabitants firſt from *Gall*, ſo alſo its Dialect from the *Celtick* Language. That the *Galls* and *Germans* ſhould have many things common, both Words, Names and Cuſtomes, ſeeing they were ſo near Neighbours, it's no wonder, ſuppoſing there was Commerce betwixt the Nations. The *Galls* were an active ſtirring People, made many Inrodes into ſeveral Countries,and no wonder at their return they ſhould be ſomething changed in their Manners, and their Tongues tip'd with ſome Words, Accents or Terminations witneſſes of their reſtleſs, light, and mutable Humours, to which the Inhabitants of that Air and Soil are ſubject whenceſoever they come. But to examine whether the *Celtick* and *German* Tongues were the ſame,or near akin we take in the *Britiſh*,which we can be throughly Confident was the ſame with the *Celtick* in ſubſtance, and compare it with the Modern *German*, we ſhall hardly be induced to incline to the Affirmative, conſidering what a vaſt difference there is betwixt our *Welſh* and the preſent *Dutch* Language, and yet that for a thouſand Years and more, neither is the *Welſh* nor *German* ſo changed in themſelves, but that at the firſt ſight one may eaſily perceive the Names and Words to be ſubſtantially the ſame, however the *Teutonick* be ſomething altered by Communication with other Speeches.

The *Gallick* and *Hebrew* compared.

79. As for the Opinion of thoſe few, who thought that the ancient *Galls* ſpake Greek, it carries ſo manifeſt abſurdity with it at the firſt look, of any one that's but meanly skilled in Antiquity, that it deſerves not a ſerious Refutation, eſpecially conſidering what *Varro* hath written concerning the Citizens of *Marſeilles*, that they ſpake three Languages, *viz.* the *Gallick*, the *Greek*, and the *Latine*; the *Gallick*, becauſe that was the Language of the Countrey where they inhabited, the *Greek*, becauſe they were a Colony of the *Phocenſes* planted here, and *Latine* as they were Subjects of the *Roman* Empire, and had conſtant Entercourſe with that People. That moſt Learned man *Bochartus*, tracing the Footſteps of the old *Phœnicians* finds them in *Gall*, and many Names of Places, Rivers, and things he deduceth from their Dialect, remainders whereof he finds alſo in our *Britiſh* Iſlands, being the true *Caſſiterides*, to which that induſtrious Nation traded for Tinn in very remote times. But though he maketh it appear, that many things were common to both Languages, yet would not he have it thought, that the *Phœnicians* and *Galls* had one and the ſame Tongue, or onely differed in Dialect. For from *Polybius* it appears, in the Caſe of *Autaritus*, and otherwiſe that the *Galls* learnt the Language of the *Carthaginians*, by long uſe and Cuſtome, otherwiſe they had no Entercourſe with them, but by an Interpreter, as is evident from a paſſage in the ſame Authour, that in the Army of *Hannibal*, *Magilus* a certain *Regulus* of the *Galls*, declared what his Coutreymen had reſolved by the means and aſſiſtence of a *French*-man. Although by reaſon of Commerce, of common Wars, or which he rather ſuſpects of ſome ancient Colony of the *Phœnicians* planted in *Gall*, they borrowed words one Nation from the other, yet that they had ſeveral Languages, and peculiar abundantly appears in the Names of Men in uſe amongſt the *Galls*, moſt of which are quite different from the *Genius* of the Sacred Language, though well nigh all the Punick Names be merely Hebrew. * He concludes with this Aſſertion, that there is no need of proving by Examples, a matter which is ſo manifeſt in it ſelf. But enough (if not too much) of the ancient *Gallick* or *Celtick* Tongue.

* *Nihil opus eſt ut exemplis probemus rem per ſe manifeſtam Geograph. part.* 2d. *ſeu Chanaan, lib.* 1. c. 42.

The Latine Tongue introduced by the *Romans* when they Conquered *Gall*.

80. The *Gallick* Tongue being ſuch before the coming of the *Romans* was forced to truckle to their Latine, as well as the Countrey to their Victorious Arms, but this not on a ſudden, but by long uſage and Continuance of time. The *Romans* wherever they ſubdued a Countrey eſteemed it a Maxime of State never to be left unpractiſed, to procure the Natives their new Subjects, to learn their Language, to bring them to a nearer Familiarity and acquaintance with them, and their Government, without which more Difficultly could they be kept in Obedience and Civil order. For this purpoſe they ſet up ſeveral Schools to inſtruct the Youth, as for ſubſtance in *Gall*, at *Autun*, *Beſancon* and *Lyons*, of which we are informed, both by

Augueſtoduni, Veſontione Lugduni.

Sect. 4.

by *Tacitus* and *Auſonius*. The Natives perceiving there was no ſtrugling, and that they muſt needs ſubmit unto the Yoke, to make the burthen as light as might be, accommodated themſelves to the deſires of the Conquerours, and learnt their Language, eſpecially knowing that no preferment could be got without it. *Latine* then began to be the Gentile ſort of Speech, and the *Celtick* to be accounted Clowniſh, and by degrees to grow out of Faſhion: But as it decayed in Reputation and Practice, it made great Alteration alſo in the Latine, it being impoſſible, but that amongſt ſuch multitudes of Speakers, there ſhould be diverſity of Words and Phraſes, and a great mixture and medley be produced, for it was hard to obliterate thoſe Impreſſions, which long Cuſtome and daily Practice have acquired. Therefore though great violence was offered to the ancient *Gallick* Tongue, the words of which were diſcarded, and Latine intruded into their places, yet by a certain ſort of Re-action, the *Gallick* forced alſo ſome of it's own upon the Latine, and that very early, when the Conteſt betwixt them was but newly begun.

81. For *Cicero* in his time complains that a ſtrangeneſs of Speech was infuſed into the City, ſo that no remainders of the ancient quaintneſs of Language was to be found. The *Roman* Oratours and Poets began to affect *Celtick* words, and by degrees made them free of the Commonwealth, as *Rheda* and *Petoritum*, whereof *Cicero* himſelf for all his complaints uſes the former, and *Horace* thinks fit to ſerve himſelf of the latter. If then ſuch Alteration was made at *Rome* it ſelf, how muſt that Latine be handled, what mixtures muſt that receive, which was ſpoken in the Provinces? The *Celtick* Language went to wreck, but the *Roman* by its Conqueſt, was alſo weakened and reduced to ſuch a Conſtitution and Temper as eaſily to be obnoxious to the Impreſſions that were made upon it by other ſtrange and Barbarous Speeches. For the *Roman* power as well as the Purity of the Language, decaying in *Gall*, the *Goths*, the *Vandals*, *Burgundians*, *Allemans*, and laſt of all the *Franks*, made their ſeveral Invaſions, and brought almoſt as great an Alteration into the Language, as they did a change into the Power and Government of the Countrey, ſo that the true Genius of it was deſtroyed, and the ancient Face and ſhew of it quite obliterated, a Foreign and ſtrange ſort of Declenſion and Phraſe, as well as multitudes of words being brought in. And the ſame fate had the Latine Tongue at the ſame time in *Spain* and *Italy*, where by its Conjunction with the Mooriſh Language, the *Gothick* and other *Teutonick* Dialects, thoſe Baſtard Speeches we now call *Spaniſh* and *Italian* were begot.

Epiſt. ad famil. lib. 7. ep. 15.

Vide Quintilian. Inſtit. & Orator, lib. 1. c. 5. Caſnar aſſectator è Gallia ductum eſt. Plurima Gallica valuerunt, ut Rheda ac Petoritum quorum altero Cicero, tamen altero Horatius utitur. Locus Ciceronis eſt in Orat. pro Milone, hæc ſunt verba: Obviam fit ci Clodius expeditus in equo nulla Rheda nullis impedimentis, nullis Græcis comitibus ut ſolebat. Horatii locum vide l. 1. Serm. 6. —Plures calones atque Caballi, Paſcendi, ducenda petorrita; & Rheda & Petoritum genus vehiculi Gallici ſignificat. Petoritum è quatuor rotis Conſtabat.

82. This Hodgpodge or Medley, was at ſuch time as the *Franks* were well ſetled in *Gall*, called the *Ruſtick* in oppoſition to the pure *Latine*, which was preſerved in Books and underſtood, and written by Learned men, onely as it is at this very day. And yet ſo great were the Impreſſions made, by theſe many Foreign Dialects, that even the Latine writings of the moſt Learned men of theſe times, compared with the beſt Authours, appear little better than Barbarous. What a ſtrange ſtyle, and what odd Words do we find in *Caſſiodorus*, one of the beſt Scholars of his Age. By him we may perceive how the *Roman* Tongue was then decaied in *Italy*: And for *Gall* what ſlender Latine was written by the moſt Learned amongſt them, is ſufficiently evident from *Gregory Turonenſis*, and what a number of *Gallicismes* and *Franciſmes* were broken in upon them in his time. To give the Reader a Taſte, the word *Parens* and *Parentes* in the plural throughout his Book, he uſeth not in that Senſe, that good Latine Authours do, but as the Modern *French*, to ſignifie Kindred in general, wherein he is imitated by *Aimoinus*; *Repedare*, he uſeth for to retreat or go back. The word *Reclauſus*, as now they do for one retired or ſhut up cloſe, which they (and therefore we muſt) call a Recluſe; *Metatus* for a dwelling or Habitation. *Aripennis* the old *Gallick* word, for a certain quantity of Land, which as *Columella* informs us, was *half an Acre*, *Mala hora* in that Senſe as they ſay, *Malheure for ill Luck*, and thence *Malheureux*, for *Miſerable, unfortunate or unlucky*: *Levare* in that Signification they now uſe *Leur* to *raiſe, lift up* or *carry away*, as an eminent Tranſlatour of our own moſt ſtrangely miſtaketh it. *Placitum* for *Pleas* or *Pleading often*, and *Placitare* to *Implead* as our Engliſh *Norman* Lawyers now do phraſe it. *Leudes* and *Leodes* are with him the ſame with thoſe whom the *Dutch* now call *Lieden*, *Vaſſals* or ſuch as are obnoxious to their Prince. *Cupæ* are *Wooden Barrels* or *larger Veſſels*, in which Senſe with the *Dutch* the word ſtill remains, and thence call they the Workman that

Which Hodgpodge is termed the Ruſtick in oppoſition to the pure Latine Language.

Lib. 4. c. 10.

Lib. 5. c. 17.

Ibid. c. 27.

Lib. 5. de Ruſtica, c. 1.

Lib. 6. c. 45.

Lib. 7. c. 4.

Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, *Latine donata ubi hæc verba in Titulo. De exercitu contra Regem levato.*

Lib. 7. c. c. 13. 14. 23.

Lib. 3. c. 23. l. 8. c. 9. & alibi.

Lib. 7. c. 37.

makes ſuch Veſſels *Cuper*, and we Engliſh a *Cooper*, though Cup with us ſignifies a a leſſer ſort of Veſſel to drink in, the ſame which in another place he calleth *Bacchinon*, whence the *Dutch Back*, and our and their *Beker* is derived. In his Writings we find *Morganegoba* ſignifying a *Mornings Gift*, as *Morgengaue* and *Morgengabe* now do in the *German* Tongue, a Gift given to the Bride by the Bridegroom the Morning after their Marriage.

Lib. 9. *c.* 38.
Ibid. c. 20.

83. The *Ruſtick Roman* or *Romance* (as they called it in *Spain*) being the Medley Language generally ſpoken when the *Franks* had ſeated themſelves in *Gall*, could not for a long time expell or ſwallow up theirs, but by degrees, as it had diſpatched the ancient *Celtick*. For as we formerly ſaid in the days of *Charles* the Great, the old *French* was the Language of the Court, and after him (there at leaſt) it continued reaſonably pure, and unaltered during the Reigns of his Grandchildren, a Specimen whereof we ſhall preſent the Reader, to give him full Satisfaction, and a more diſtinct apprehenſion of this matter in hand. * The Sons of *Ludovicus Pius*, had great Diſſentions betwixt themſelves, but at length a Reconciliation and perfect Union being made, each of them took a ſolemn Oath for Confirmation thereof, and *Charles* particularly in the *Theotiſch* Language (for ſo was it called) in theſe very words. *In Godes minua induithes Chriſtianes folches ind unſer bid hero Gealtenisſi fon theſemo dage framinordeſſo fram ſo mic Gat gennis ci indi madh furgibit ſe haldjihtis an minam bruher ſcal inthi utha Zormigſoſo madno indimit lukerem in nothe in mit hing nege gango theminam uvillon imo ce ſcadhen merhen.* The Orthography of this Oath is very odd, and many Words by often Writing and Printing of *Nithardus* the Hiſtorian his Copy are corrupted, but to any one that underſtands the *German* Language or the *Teutonick* Dialects perfectly, it cannot but appear of that Original. The Imprecation is contained in the Confeſſion of the ancient *German* Church with very little difference, and the *Danes* have at this day a Phraſe, and Words not much differing from it. But the whole is to be explained, but out of ſeveral Speeches or Dialects of this ancient Language, for as *Rodericus Toletanus* near five hundred Years agoe obſerved, the *Teutonick* (properly ſo called, or *German*,) the *Daniſh*, *Norwegian*, *Suediſh*, *Flemmiſh*, and *Engliſh* Tongues were the ſame, diſtinct onely in *Idioms*. To this Oath of *Charles* we ſhall add, that Fealty or Allegiance, which their People took, and *Nithardus* hath alſo related in theſe very Words, as we have them from the Edition of *Pitheus*. *Oba Karl theu eid theu er ſineno bruedher Ludhuwige geſuor geleiſtit, inde Ludhuwig min herro theu er imo geſuor forbrichit, ob ih ina nes aruvendenne mag, no ih, noh thero, no hein themihes incuenden mag nuidhar karle imoſe follus tine nuirdhit.* *Pontanus* has turned both this and the other into the *Belgick* Dialect, whereby the Reader if he pleaſe may ſee that near Affinity and Proportion, which one of the Speeches beareth unto the other.

* *Vide Nithardi Hiſt. de Diſſentionibus filiorum Ludovici Pii, lib.* 3. *p.* 353. *Authorum Pitheanorum, Tom.* 2.

Sic Belgicè quidem interpretatur: In Godes minne ende des Chriſtlii cheu volcks ende ouſer beid er belteniſſe vau deſen dage af, ende voorts ſo my Godt Wetenſchap ende macht, verlene ſe Haldt ich au mi juenbruder, &c. Halten enim & Rehaten eſt ſervare.

In Confeſſione veteris Eccleſiæ Alemannorum, Tom. 2. *Aleman. Antiqu. edante Goldaſto.*

Frammordeſſo fram: Vdi fram tiden, Belgice voorts en voorts Anglicè from, *deinceps lat.*

P. 354.

Orig. Franc. lib. 6. *c.* 24.

84. The ſame *Nithardus*, who himſelf lived in theſe days, and was the Nephew of *Charles* the Great by his Daughter *Bertha*, hath alſo left us upon Record the Oath which *Lodowick* the other Brother took in the *Ruſtick Roman* Speech, a very choice Monument, whereby the Reader may ſee the two quite different Languages ſpoken at the ſame time upon the ſame place, by two ſeveral ſorts of People, the *Franks*, and the *Romanized Galls*, though by the better ſort, both of them were underſtood and ſpoken. This is the ſame Oath in the *Romance*, *mutatis mutandis*, which we formerly preſented in the *Theotiſch* or *French* Tongue. *Pro do. amur & pro Xpian poblo & noſtro Commun ſalvament diſt di en avant in quant dis ſavir & podir me dunat ſi Saluarui eo ciſt me on fradre Karlo, & in adiudha & in cadhuna coſa, ſi cum om per dreit ſon frada ſalvar diſt ino, quid il mi altro ſi fazet & abludher nul plaid nunquam prindrai qui me on vol eiſt me on fradre Karle in damnaſil.* The People moreover which underſtood and ſpake this ſame Language, made in it the ſame Oath with the former, which becauſe it is not long we ſhall alſo here preſent to the Readers Eye. † *Si Lodhauig Sagramnent que ſon fradre Karlo jurate Conſervat, & Karlus meros ſerodra in ſuo part rales tanit, ſi jo returnar non lint pois ne jo neulſlui eo, returnar jut pois in nulla ajudha contra Lodhuvig nun li iner.*

Pour l' amour de Dieu & pour le Peuple Chreſtien & noſtre Commun ſauvement de ceſte journie en avant en quant-que Dieu ſavoir & pouvoir me donnera ainſi je le ſaueray mon frere kar, & en aide & en Chacune choſe ainſi comme l' hom per Droict, &c.

† *Si Louis le ſerment q'uil á ſon frere Charel jurè Conſerve, & Charle mon Seigneur de ſa part ne le tient, ſi je detourner ly ne puis ni je, ni nullui detourner luy ne puis, en nulle aide contre Louis avec luy iray.*

85. Thus we ſee what both the *Ruſtick Romance*, and the *Theotiſch* were, into which a Canon of the Council of *Tours* orders that the Biſhops ſhould cauſe the Homilies

Epiſcopus homilias apertè transferre ſtudeat in Ruſticam Romanam Linguam, aut Theotiſcam, quo facilius poſſent cuncti Intelligere.

lies to be tranſlated, that they might be underſtood by all. And hereby may the Reader perceive how great a change in all Sublunary things time produceth. That Language which is neweſt is always counted the beſt and moſt Gentile. The *Celtick* was firſt eſteemed Clowniſh and laid aſide; the *Roman* being moſt in requeſt, and happy he that could ſpeak it. Then when the *Franks* came in, their Language called the *Theotiſch* being that of the Court, became the Gentileſt for a while, and the ordinary *Roman*, as well in reſpect to it, as to the pure Latine onely preſerved amongſt the Learned, was termed *Ruſtick*: Yet as we formerly noted, the Language of the multitude prevailed at length, over that of a few Invaders, and what was once counted Gentile and Courtly, became neglected and out of Practice, Cuſtome, as *Pindar* the Poet ſaith, being King of all things. But behold ſtill more to admire. The *Theotiſch*, that is the *Tuitſch* or *Duitſch*, or *Teutonick* Dialect was at this time, whereof we write, called the *Frankisga*, *Taugen* or *French* Tongue; but afterward the Caſe was quite altered, the *Franks* by degrees forgot this their Language, accuſtomed themſelves to that of the Provincials, or Native *Galls* mixed with *Romans*, which had the ſame Succeſs over it, as it had formerly over the *Celtick*. This they own, this they hugg and embrace, this they admire, eſteeming all others Barbarous, and forgetting their own Original. This ſtill corrupted Latine, though it be, to uſe their own fine Words, a *Jargon* and *Meſlange*, or *Hodgpodge* of *Celtick*, *Roman*, *Gothick*, true *French* (or *Theotiſch*) and other Speeches, they think they can never trim, adorn and poliſh enough. But thou ſeeſt, Reader, what the true and firſt *French* was. How now by degrees this being forſaken, the Baſtard *Roman* was eſpouſed, and having got the Name of *French*, how it altered to what it is at preſent, and what its Conſtitution was and is, I think it not altogether impertinent to tell thee, to make our Diſcourſe more complete in Sum, to preſent thee with the Memoirs of the *French* Tongue, a Tongue moſt dear unto thee if thou beeſt not a Pedant, a mere *Engliſh*-man, art a Traveller, or haſt any thing in thee of good breeding.

Three ſorts of Languages in uſe among the *Galls*.

86. Know then, that being adopted as it were into the Name of *French* by the dying Language of the *Franks*, it conſiſted as we formerly hinted, and now again are forced to repeat, moſt of Latine, but yet had many words out of ſeveral other Speeches impoſed on it, however againſt its *Genius*. The ancient *Celtick* though ſo long agoe driven out of *Gall*, yet left ſome remainders of Words behind it, which by their near Affinity to the *Britiſh* ſufficiently ſhew what was their Original. To inſtance in a few: *Guerir* to *Heal*, which *Guerif* ſignifieth amongſt our *Welſh*-men. *Guaine* with the *French* is a *Sheath*, and ſo is *Gwain* with the *Britains*. They ſay *Derechef* for *Again*, and the *Welſh Dercheſu*: The *French* have *Camur* for *Crooked*, and the *Britains Cam*, the one Nation uſeth *Bateau*, and the other *Bad* for a *Boat*, the one *Gourmand*, for *an over great Eater*, and the other *Gormod* for *over much*; the *French Baſton*, the *Britains Paſtcon* for a *Staff*, the *French Accabler*, the *Welſh Cablu* to *Oppreſs*, the *French* call an *Haven* by the Name of *Haure*, and the *Britains* by that of *Aber*; and the word *Comb* is uſed by both Nations for a *Valley*. And as this Language retained many of the old *Celtick* words, ſo many more of the *Teutonick*. The Names of Rivers, Towns, and Places, are moſt of them *Gallick*, but the Chriſtian Names of men, when not out of Scripture, particularly of their Kings, are generally of the *German* Original, as are a great quantity of common and ordinary words, of which it would be too tedious here to make a recital. The General and moſt probable Eſtimate is this. The preſent *French* Tongue may be divided into four parts, whereof one half is to be aſcribed to the Latine, as to any one that is meanly skilled in both, it cannot but evidently appear. The other half is ſo to be diſtributed, as that one part may be allotted to the ancient *Gallick*, another to that of the *Franks*, and the laſt and leaſt to the *Greek*, betwixt which as *Henry Stephen* has abundantly ſhewed, and the Modern *French* there is great Conformity, by reaſon of the Commerce with the *Maſſilienſes* or old Inhabitants of *Marſeilles*. So weak is the ſaying of *Matharell*, who reſolves to oppoſe *Hotoman* whether right or wrong, that the preſent *French* is nigh the ſame Speech with the old *Gallick*, becauſe forſooth he finds ſome words the ſame with thoſe *Gallick* that are mentioned in ancient Authours, and becauſe the Names of Rivers and Places are very much the ſame.

The Compoſure of the *French* Tongue.

Hotomani Franco-gallia, c. 2.

In reſponſ. ad Hotom. Franco-gall.

87. To come then to the Latine, it had much more Conformity to it, in the time of *Charles* the Great, and thereabout than it hath at preſent, the *Teutonick*, or that of the *Franks*, e'er it ſelf became extinct giving very much Alteration to it. And indeed from the *Teutonick* hath it received its Phraſe, Form and Declenſion,

though moſt of its words from the Latine. For no otherwiſe do the *French* at this day expreſs their minds, than the *Germans*, *Low Countreymen*, and *Engliſh* by the adjutant Verbs, *Am* and *Have*. For Example, a *Roman* would have ſaid *Tu feciſti*, which if a *French*-man imitate or tranſlate, he muſt ſay, *Vous avez fait*, nor otherwiſe then the *German* would ſay, *Du habſtes gedaen*, and an *Engliſh*-man, *You have done*; which way of Speech in Latine would be Intolerable, for who would ſay in that Tongue, *Tu habes illud factum?* The Reader by comparing the Oaths lately mentioned with the Modern *French* may be farther ſatisfied in this particular. We come to the Latine words, to ſee how they came into that form and ſhape we now behold them. This was by changing *A* ſometimes into *E*, as writing for *Æſtas Eſtè*, *Bonitas Bontè*; ſometimes into *I*, as *Ceraſum* into *Ceriſe*, *Vacuus Vvide*; ſometimes into *Ou*, as for *Tangere*, *Toucher*; otherwhile into *Ea* as *Aqua* into *Eaue*, and into ſeveral other Diphthongs, as *vice verſo Ea* into *A*, as in many Inſtances we could ſhew; as alſo their change both of the Vowels, *I* and *O* into *A*, and indeed mutably the ſame Alteration in them all. For Conſonants the ſame thing may be obſerved, as for a taſte, *B* into *C*, as *Cubare* into *Coucher*, *Cubile* into *Couche*. So alſo into *F*, as *Babalus* into *Boufle*, *Trabs* into *Treffs*; into *G*, as *Ruber* into *Rouge*; into *P*, as *Turba* into *Troupe*; and into *V*, as *Caballus* into *Cheval*, *Debitus* into *Deuë*, and *Ebrius* into *yure*. The like might be ſaid of all the reſt of the Conſonants well nigh, and an whole Dictionary made, but that's not our work, and the Reader if he deſire full Information may conſult the *French* Grammar of that Learned *French*-man *Robert Stevens*.

88. But herein the ancient Speakers of this Language imitated the *Romans* as in other reſpects, that they joyned not Articles with Words, as the Modern *French* doe in Conformity to the *Teutonick*, and ended divers Genitive Caſes in *S*, as for *Liber Cæſaris* in Latine, they would ſay and write *Lieure Cæſars*, whereas now they write *Le liure de Ceſar*. From this Correſpondence with the Latine comes it to paſs, that there are many proper Names ending in *I*, becauſe they were called by the Name of their Family, more eſpecially in *Italy*; but in *France* alſo ſome, they being ſo named in their Contracts made in Latine. But to note farther the Inconſtancy and Alteration of this Tongue, thoſe, who anciently ſpake it, ended many words in *Erre* and *Eſſe*, which now-a-days are terminated in *Eur* and *Euſe*. For example they ſaid *Semerre*, *Gaignierre*, *Trichierre*, *Sannerre*, *Vainquierre*, *Luitierre Vergierre*, *Pechierre*, *Conoiſſierre*, *Decomerre*, for what is now written, *Semeur*, *Gagneur*, *Trompeur*, *Sauneur*, *Vainqueur*, *Luiteur*, *Vengeur*, *Pecheur*, *Conoiſſeur* and *Deconeur*. They ſaid *Taucereſſe*, *Trounereſſe*, *Lechereſſe*, *Mangereſſe*, *Repentereſſe*, *Demonſtrereſſe*, for what now they ſay, *Tauceuſe*, *Trouneuſe*, *Friande*, *Mangeuſe*, *Repentante*, and *Demonſtreuſe*. Sometimes they ended their words in *Oiſſe*, as *Aideroiſſe*, *Conforteroiſſe*, and the like. To ſuch words as end now in *Eau* they added *Aux*, though they ſpake in the ſingular Number, as in *Biaux*, *Oiſiaux*, *Touiaux*, *Aniaux*, ſometimes they left out the *u*, terming them *Biax*, *Oiſax*. On the contrary from plurals they took the Letter *S*, as ſaying *li autre*, which is now changed into *les autres*, *li enchantement*, now *les enchantements*. Such as now end in *jeu*, they terminated in *ex*, writing *Diex* and *Liex*, for *Dieu* and *Lieu*. More anciently they wrote and ſaid, *Soye* and *Moye*, which now is altered into *Sienne* and *Mienne*, *Sor* for *Sur*, *Ot* for *Eut*, *Pot* for *Peut*, *Seaut* for *Seut*, *Veaut* for *Veut*, *Fui* and *Bui* for *Je fus*, and *Je beus*. In ſome words they placed *H* after *C*, where the Modern *French* now leave it out, and on the contrary had no *H* there, where it is at this day placed; for Example they ſaid *Cha*, *Embracher*, *Merchy*, *Conchut*, *Puche*, *Cheler*, *Piecha*, for which now you have *Ça*, *Embraſſer*, *Mercy*, *Conceut*, *Puce*, *Celer*, *Pieça*; on the contrary they called that *Reproce*, *Duceſſe*, *France*, *Blance*, which now is *Reproche*, *Ducheſſe*, *Franche* and *Blanche*. They ſaid *Sentu* for *Sentir*, *Creez* and *Veez*, for *Croyez* and *Voyez*, *S'ame*, *T'ame*, *M'ame*, *S'image*, *T'image*, *S'angoiſſe*, *T'aucelle*, *M'aucelle*, *S'oſteſſe M'eſped*, whereas now they write and ſpeak *Son ame*, *Ton ame*, *Mon ame*, *Son Image*, and the like for thoſe that follow.

Voyez les Recherches des Antiquites de la Langue Francoiſe ou Dictionaire Gaulois par Pierre Borel Medecin de Paris imprimè, 1667.

89. As more conformable to the Latine, they ended ſuch words in *Ous*, which their Poſterity now have changed into *Eux*, ſaying *Pious* and *Religious*, for *Pieux* and *Religieux*. On the contrary they changed the *V* into *O* in ſeveral words, to which thoſe that came after again added the *V*, and ſo retained both *O* and *V*, ſaying *Poue* and *Pooir*, inſtead of the *Pource* and *Pouvoir*, and *Molt* and *Cort*, for *Moult* and *Court*. Many words they terminated in *El*, which ſince have been ended by *Eau*, as *Cremel*, *Mantel*, *Corbel*, *Chamel*, *Veel*, *Cheurel*, *Morcel*, *Pel*, *Moncel*, *Vaiſſel*, *Fournel*, *Bel*, *Fourrel*, *Chapel* and *Tumbel* more agreeable to the Latine, inſtead

of which now if you will ſpeak proper *French*, you muſt ſay *Cerneau*, *Manteau*, *Corbeau*, *Chameau*, *Veau*, *Chevereau*, and the like. Many they ended in *On*, as *Meſpriſon*, *Achoiſon*, *Delivereſon*, for which *Meſpris*, *Occaſion*, and *Deliverance* are now in requeſt. For *Dirent*, *Mirent* and *Occirent* they ſaid *Diſtrent*, *Miſtrent* and *Occiſtrent*, *Enſoigne* for *Enſeigne*, *Pointure* for *Peinture*, *Teche* for *Tache*, and *Plaigne* for *Plain*. The Latine *O* now and then they changed into *V*, ſaying *Cuel* which now is *Col*, *Cuer* now *Coeur*, and to *O* added *V*, as *Repous* and *Propous*, now written *Repos* and *Propos*. Moſt of the words ending now in *Eur*, they terminated in *Or*, as *Trouveor* and *Chanteor* they wrote not *Trouveur* and *Chanteur*, and *Jougleor* not *Jougleur*. The Particle *de* they often omitted, or underſtood as *Les fils Iuain* for *D'yuain*, which yet is continued as they ſay ſtill at *Paris*, *l' Hoſtel Dieu*, not *l' Hoſtel de Dieu*; and lately *Le Palais Cardinal*, as in the Northern parts of *England*, they ſeldom put the Letter *S*, as the ſign of the Genitive Caſe, but inſtead of my *Father's Horſe*, *Stable*, *Houſe* or the like, ſay my *Father Horſe*, my *Father Stable*, and my *Father Houſe*; and here in *London*, not *Somerſet's Houſe*, *York's Houſe*, *Kirk's Houſe*, but *Somerſet Houſe*, *York Houſe* and *Kirk Houſe*. Their *Dux* was afterward changed into *Duc*, their *Salus* into *Salut*, and their *Capel* into *Capet*, their *Nuis* into *Nuit*, and their *Pous* into *Pout*.

Their Contraction, or Abreviation of words.

90. The Obſervations of this Nature might be infinite, but this may be ſaid in General, that the remoter times in the uſe of Words, went ſtill farther from the Latine, although in ſome Caſes this Rule muſt admit of an exception. One thing by no means is to be omitted, and that is the ſtrange Affectation of brevity in words, in writing by Contraction of Syllables, and in Pronunciation by leaving out the Conſonants. *Quadrageſima* muſt be *Quareſme*, and then *Careſme*, *Perdere* contracted into *Perdre*, and *Pudicelle* into *Pucelle*, *Scribere* into *Eſcrire*, *Chriſtianus* into *Chreſtien*, and Thouſands of others ſo abreviated. But neither would theſe *French*-men content themſelves with ſuch a Contraction of words, but theſe words thus contracted, they muſt again in their Pronunciation contract, leaving out many Conſonants; as for Example the *S* in all theſe we have now mentioned. The Humour and Cuſtome of the moſt ancient *French* was to omit in their ſhort writing the Vowels, whence afterward proceeded new words, as *Quareſme* they were wont to write *Qureſme*, *Quarrel*, *Qrel*, for *Moult Mlt*, and for *Chevalier Chr*. But late days their Poſterity thinks fit in their Writings, to omit the quieſcent Conſonants, eſpecially the *S* before the *T*, as for *Eſtant* they wrote *Etant*, for *Eſtè Etè*; ſo *S* before *C*, as for *Eſcrire* now you find *Ecrire*, and the like in other Words. If we compare not onely ſome of their preſent words with the Latine, from which they are derived, but with thoſe in uſe about *Charles* the Great his time, we cannot but a little wonder at this Affectation. We find in the Oath taken by the People in this Romance Tongue, and lately mentioned, that one of the Brothers was called *Ludhuvig*, as *Ludovicus* in *Latine*, and *Lodowick* or *Hlodvick* in the *French* or *German*. Now is it ſo Metamorphoz'd, that one living in that time could not know it, for they write it *Louis*, and pronounce it *Loüi*. He that was called *Clodonæus* in like manner they write *Clouïs* and pronounce *Cloui*. And what is more, *Theodorick* they write *Thierry*, *Landerick Landry*, and the latter part of the Name of *Brunichild*, they have quite mangled and changed, calling her *Brunehault* in their modern Hiſtories.

Or qu'il ne ſoit vray que l' Etymologie ſe perd. par la nouvelle Orthographe, conſiderez ſi le mot doibt ne monſtroit pas qu'il venoit de debet, pluſtoſt que l' Eſcrivant doit; & Eſcripture venoit de Scriptura, plutoſt que Ecriture: Soubs venoit de ſub, pluſtoſt que Sous, & ainſi d'une infinitè d'autres mots que je paſſeray ſous ſilence. Ils voudroient cacher l'origine de leur Langage qui n'eſt que le Latin corrumpu ou vn jargon de meſlange, comme nous avons dit, fait par l' irruption des Barbares dans les Provinces Romaines.

91. They are ſo poſſeſſed with an humour of refining this Baſtard Latine, that there is no end of their fancies and attempts this way. The word *Mademoiſelle* the great Courting word of this elegant and neat Courting Language as they would have it eſteemed, they have as is congruous made ſo effemitate, that whereas not long ſince they pronounced it out in length, of late to ſoften it in the Ears of their Miſtreſſes they pronounced *Madmoſelle*, but this being too long, now *Mamoſelle*, and it's to be expected that in a little time it will come to be *Melle*, and afterwards

Pource qu'on conçoit quelque haine pour vn mot, on veut l' appeller vieux, & le rejeter, & faire vn langage á la mode, comme on fait des modes de toutes les Choſes du monde qui ne font qu' appauvrir le Royaume, & faire paſſer les Francois pour ridicules parmi les meſmes Nations des habits deſquelles ils ſe parent en leurs Farces. Eſt ce done que nous parlons mieux que nos peres & avons plus de Jugement? Rien moins. Mais c'eſt que nous ſommes preoccupez d'autres mots qu'on nous Enſeigne, & que nous nous y ſommes accouſtumez tellement, que le langage ancien nous choque incontinent. Si encore on en demeuroit la ou l'on en eſt, on pourroit prendre patience. Mais les Changements dureront autant que le monde, & ceux qui par leur eloquence preſente croyent avoir acquis une reputation eternelle, paſſeront pour ridicules dans moins d'un ſiecle. Hæc verè & ingenuè fatetur Borelus Pariſienſis Medicus.

Me-aire, wholly Spiritual or Angelical; ſo airy is their fancy, and light is their temper, that to avoid harſhneſs, they run upon the other extreme of Effeminacy. Certainly a due mixture of Vowels with Conſonants, and an open pronunciation of both, provided there be no rude harſhneſs ſuch as is that of the *Italian* Tongue, is more majeſtick and manly, and more ſuitable to the Organs of Man's Voice, as that Muſick is not always the beſt, which departs the moſt from the Baſe in ſound and proportion. But ſo great a deſire have they to poliſh this Speech with Eloquence, becauſe to them there ſeems nothing to want to the felicity of their Kingdom, but to ſeparate from the Number of Barbarous Languages, that Tongue which they ſpeak, and which all their Neighbours too will ſpeak e'er long, (they are their † own words) if their Conqueſts continue as they have begun. For ſo brave a Deſign, one of the greateſt Miniſters of State they ever had, founded a Society called the *French Academy*, conſiſting of the choiceſt and moſt refined Wits of *France*, the Conferences of whom he looked upon as the moſt aſſured means to bring it about. Foraſmuch as their Tongue which was then more perfect than any other which was ſpoken at that time, might as well at length ſucceed the Latine, as the Latine did the Greek, if there were more care taken than had been thitherto of Elocution, which is not indeed the whole of Eloquence, but makes a very conſiderable part of it.

† See *Pelliſon's* Hiſtory of the *French* Academy founded by Cardinal *Richlieu*.

92. Such are their hopes and expectations that their Conqueſts ſhall increaſe, and their Neighbours be forced to ſubmit both to their Language and Empire, which they think is in a fair way to ſucceed that of the *Romans*, as the *Romans* did the other of the *Greeks*. Now both *Greeks* and *Romans* found it a very great expedient for the Continuation of their Empire, to propagate their Language, and ſuppreſs by degrees the Original Speeches of the ſeveral Conquered Countries. They like great and perfect Stateſmen conſider this, and are ſo prudent as to conclude that it's in vain to expect and attend an after Game, where there is hope they may be beforehand. If the Speech of the Conquerours propagated amongſt their Subjects be a great means to keep them in Obedience, by rendring their Perſons and their Government familiar to them, then it muſt alſo be a means to facilitate their Conqueſts, and draw in a People not yet ſubdued, their Language making way for their Arms by communication of Councils, and a convenience of inſinuating thoſe things there, where want of underſtanding what each other ſays, increaſes a ſtrangeneſs, and ſtrangeneſs ever procures a diffidence and an Averſion. Therefore did they not onely ſet about the poliſhing of their Language as they imagined, to make it more charming and effectual; but having begot a good opinion of it in thoſe who, ignorant of better, travell into their Countrey for gallant Breeding, tranſlate all the moſt conſiderable Authours which ſpeak either the Greek or Latine into it, to render thoſe Languages uſeleſs, and to advance their own into the place of both. What their ſucceſs in this kind of Conqueſt of their Tongue hath been, and is daily we have largely ſeen; the *French* being now the Courtly gentile Language, and in as great Reputation in ſome other parts of *Europe*, as it's parent was once in *Gall*, it obtruding its words, and phraſes ſtill upon thoſe of the Countries, and giving good hope to its Maſters to obliterate them wholly at the length, it is already become the Gentile, and as to the Commerce of Strangers has already in a manner diſplaced the Latine, which by imprudent People, who never think nor conſider whither things drive, now begins to be drolled at as the Language of Pedants. Could it once attain to be the learned Language, the work would be accompliſhed, and this it would quickly be were it once impoſed upon the Univerſities, and had the Keys of the Arts and Sciences delivered into its Cuſtody, a fair way to which they have already made by their Tranſlations, and as they hope by the dints of their Swords. But what progreſs they have made in that other ſort of Conqueſt, *viz.* by Arms, it's more proper for others to conſider than my ſelf, as alſo how far this may farther confer to it, that the Latine Tongue begins to be deſpiſed, and *Europe* is generally Frenchified, being one would think bewitched and running a madding, both after the Speech and the Faſhions of that Nation.

93. Whatever the iſſue may be, the danger is not very much apprehended, as we may judge by the univerſal demeanour of the Chriſtian World; and however the caſe may ſtand upon a formal Examination and ſcrutiny by the principles of ancient, and therefore now-a-days dull and deſpiſed prudence, it may be hoped their whole deſign will no more ſucceed than hath the project of their Academy, for refining of the Language, in order to which by all means a Dictionary muſt be made

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made of true and Authentick words and phraſes. But their Founder before his Death often complained that he was fruſtrated in his Expectations, and that they did little or nothing of moment. The People in deſpight of their Rules, and Obſervations ever was and will be Maſters of Speech, which is framed by cuſtome and generality of Expreſſions, any one word in it ſelf ſignifying no more one thing than it doth another. Therefore though a Dictionary hath been promiſed and expected above thirty years, yet cannot we yet have the happineſs to ſee it, and to ſpeak truly it's *Siſyphus* his Work, for as they add ſtill new words to it, the firſt and oldeſt will become out of uſe and faſhion. But there is no great need of their Travel in this matter, for be it what it will, being *French*, it is and will be both greedily received and admired, witneſs the raſcally Bagatells, which come out every day, and by our People are bought up becauſe *French*, as the greateſt treaſures of Wiſedom and Ingenuity, though not one word of truth or ſenſe in them. This, Reader, is the cauſe of our ſo great prolixneſs upon this Subject, for I thought I could not doe thee a more eminent Service, than in drawing the Pedigree though at length, of that whereof thou art ſo exceedingly inamoured. Take with thee at parting, and diſpoſe of it next thy Heart, or where elſe thou pleaſeſt, the true and lively portraicture of it drawn in little, by no worſe Pencil than that of him who underſtood it well, the moſt skilfull and dextrous *Joſeph Scaliger.*

Si Homuncio aliquis Francus Francicè Crepitum edat, noſtrates ilico arrigunt aures, plaudunt & admirantur.

94. Art thou ignorant ſaith he, that the Tongue thou now uſeſt like as the *Italian* and *Spaniſh*, is an Abortive Brat of the Latine? The Materials of it came from *Latium*, which have now acquired a depraved form, are ſtuft with adſpirations, the ſounds of the Vowels being diſtorted to the forming of deformed Diphthongs, inſomuch that even at this time you cannot agree amongſt your ſelves, with what Elements (or Letters) you ſhould Write. How much more purely do the *Suiſſers* ſpeak who uſe no Diphthong at all? Farther, the Accents and Quantities are adulterated, the Conſonants devoured in pronunciation, in which if there be any ſenſe, why ſhould not the Orthography be the ſame, and omit them as well as doth the ſpeech? Of the Declenſions I ſay nothing, for they are nearer akin to the *German* ſound, whence the *Franks* are deſcended. But go to, if you will ask any thing requiſite for Eating and Drinking, or for War, of which neceſſary things you are very ſtudious, you muſt (though barbarouſly) ask for them in Latine, as *Piſcis, Caro, Panis, Vinum, Spatha, Scutum, Lancea, Caballus & Coriacea*, for this muſt come from *Corium*, as with them *Lorica* from *Lora*. As for theſe Madmen, who would derive you from the *Greeks* becauſe of the *Druides*, their inconſiderateneſs often makes thoſe laugh, who are furniſhed with more acute Judgments. Thus much, and too much indeed of this Language, but Reader as I ſaid thou muſt thank thy ſelf.

An ignoras linguam veſtram, qua nunc utimini, Latinæ linguæ abortum eſſe quemadmodum & Italicam & Hiſpanicam, &c. in Præf. ad Theſaurum de lingua hodierna Gallica. Vide Pontanum, in Origin. Francic. lib. ult. c. ult.

The Government Monarchical.

95. We ſhall ſpend the remainders of what we have to ſay, upon the Cuſtomes and Polity of the ancient *Franks*, and herein as it is fitting give their Kings the Honour of *precedency*. That they had Kings from that very time that we have the firſt knowledge of them in Antiquity is very evident, their being is certain, the onely queſtion is concerning the manner, and firſt how they came to that Dignity; the opinion of ſome Learned men is that the Kingdom was not hereditary, but in conformity to that Nation from which they had their Original, was conferred by the choice and ſuffrages of the People. That the Kings of the *Germans* were created after this manner, * *Tacitus* affirms, where he tells us that they choſe their Kings for their Nobility, and the Captains for their Valour. This cuſtome is yet retained by the *Germans* themſelves, and the *Polonians*, and lately both by the *Suedes*, and *Danes*. Yet have the Sons † of the Kings ever had the prerogative, or been firſt conſidered in the Choice, a great mark of the excellency of ancient Prudence. For as skilfull Hunters according to the Obſervation of || *Plutarch*, do not ſo much deſire a Whelp begot by a Dog of generous or Noble Breed, but ſuch a Dog himſelf; ſo good Stateſmen will not chuſe a man who is to be a Prince, but one who is a Prince already. To this may be added, that the Parents of ſuch Children upon hope of ſuch Election, and leſt they be rejected by the People, will have eſpecial care of their Education. But to prove the matter in hand, that the Kings of the *Franks* were Elected they produce theſe Teſtimonies. Firſt from *Aimoinus* they alledge theſe words: * *The* Franks, *according to the cuſtome of other Nations chuſing a King, advance* Faramund *to the Throne*; again, † *The* Franks *eſtabliſh a certain Clerk* Daniel *by Name, his hair now growing, in the*

* *In libello de moribus Germanorum Reges ex nobilitate, Duces ex virtute ſumunt.*

† *Inſignis nobilitas, aut magna patrum merita principis dignationem etiam adoleſcentulis aſſignant.*

|| *In Sylla.*

* *Lib.* 1. *c.* 4. *Regem, cæterarum more Nationum, Franci ſibi eligentes Faramundum ſolio ſublimant regio.* † *Lib.* 4. *c.* 51. *Franci Danielem quendam Clericum, cæſarie Capitis creſcente in regnum ſtabiliunt, atque Chilpericum nuncupant, Lib.* 4. *c.* 67.

Kingdom, and name him Chilperick. Out of another place, *King* Pipin *being Dead his Sons* Charles *and* Carloman *by conſent of all the* Franks *are made Kings*; and out of another, *Pipin being Dead, the* Franks *in a ſolemn meeting, make both his Sons their Kings, on that condition that they ſhould part the Kingdom equally betwixt them.* So much out of *Aimoinus*, according to what we have formerly written upon theſe occaſions.

96. The like Teſtimonies they produce out of *Gregorius Turonenſis*, as where he writes, *that the* Franks *having rejected* Childerick, *unanimouſly make choice of* Egidius, *and then the* Franks *who formerly had an Eye to* Childebert *the Elder, ſend a meſſage to* Sigebert *that in caſe he would come, they would deſert* Chilperick *and make him King.* A little after he adds *all the Army came unto him, and ſetting him upon a Shield made him their King.* In another place, *Sigebert conſenting to the* Franks, *and being according to the cuſtome of the Nation put upon a Shield was ordained King, and obtained the Kingdom of his Brother* Chilperick. To ſtrengthen theſe Teſtimonies, they produce the laſt will of *Charles* the Great, publiſhed by *John Nauclerus* and *Henry Mutius*, out of which they urge this paſſage. *In caſe any of theſe my three Sons have a Son, to him whom the People ſhall make choice of, we will that his Uncles conſent that he ſucceed in his Father's Inheritance, and permit their Brother's Son to Reign in the portion of his Father's Kingdom.* All this they enforce by what *Regino* hath written concerning this ſame *Charles*, his Diſpoſition of his Dominions to his three Sons while he yet lived; namely that, *He held a Conſultation with the Nobility of the* Franks, *concerning the partition of his Kingdom amongſt his Sons; and a Diviſion being made into three parts, of this he made his Teſtament, which was confirmed by the Oaths of the* Franks. Laſtly, *Eginhart* relates in his Life that *ſending for* Lodovick *the King of Aquitain, who onely remained of the Sons of* Hildegardis, *in a ſolemn Aſſembly of the Nobility, met from all parts of the Kingdom of the* Franks *by advice of them all, he made him his Collegue or Partner in the Kingdom.* *Francis Hotoman* in his * *Franco Gallia* produceth many more examples, but reſpecting the times later than thoſe whereof we write, they are not ſo proper for our Cogniſance and Diſquiſition.

Lib. 2. c. 12. Franci ejecto Childerico, Egidium ſibi unanimiter adſciſcunt.

Lib. 4. c. 51.

C.

* *Libellus ſtatum veteris Reip. Gallicæ, tum deinde à Francis occupatæ, deſcribens. Editio Secunda ex Officina Hieronymi Bertulphi.* 1574.

97. *Hotoman* having in his *Franco Gallia* publiſhed this amongſt other Doctrines, at ſuch time as in the Civil Wars in *France* he had ſided with that Party which took Arms againſt the King, and had withdrawn himſelf out of the Kingdom, a * great Alarm was taken by his Adverſaries, and the Book looked upon and that not undeſervedly as a thing contrived, and deſigned for no other end than to overturn the Government, by infuſing ſuch Notions into the Heads of the People. *Papirius Maſſonus* wrote his Cenſure upon it, but the intire † anſwering of it was referred to *Anthony Matharell*, the chief Procurer or Attorny of *Catharine de Medicis* the Queen Mother, who deſerves Commendations for the great Loyalty or Zeal he ſhews for his Prince and Countrey, and however in ſome particulars he may come ſhort of *Hotoman* both in Judgment and Learning, being tranſported with Zeal and oppoſing every thing almoſt becauſe the other affirms it, as jealous that it was written out of Deſign, yet hath generally the better of him both in his Cauſe and the Proofs he brings to Eſtabliſh it. He denies that from any of theſe Inſtances, it can be proved that the Kingdom of the *Franks* in *Gall* was *Elective*. To that of the Promotion of *Pharamond* he anſwers, that the words are to be taken as meant of Inauguration, and not of Election, or if they be it forces not much, for he might be choſen, becauſe the former Race of the Kings had failed. But after him Reigned his Son *Clodio*, who dying without iſſue Male, *Meroneus* his Kinſman was King not by Election, but Succeſſion, for *Aimoinus* writes, that he took the Government of the *Franks* upon him. After him Reigned his Son *Childerick* to whom by right of Inheritance ſucceeded his Son *Clodonæus* the firſt Chriſtian King, who being Dead, his four Sons *Theodorick*, *Clodomir*, *Childebert* and *Clotair*, equally parted his Kingdom amongſt them to uſe the words of *Aimoinus* * who, he tells *Hotoman*, four times Condemns him for lying.

And yet Hereditary not Elective.

In Scaligeranis nuper Editis hoc invenimus in litera H. Hotomani Franco Gallia eſt bonne, i'y ay aideè.

**Differit ſexto capite Hotomanus utrum Regnum Franco-Galliæ hæreditate an ſuffragiis deferretur, & de Regum creandorum more: quam quæſtionem movet ille, non ut hiſtoriam nobis aperiat, ſed ut Franco galliam ſatis ſeditionibus agitatam funditus evertat.*

† *Ad Franc. Hotomani Francogalliam Antonii Matharelli Reginæ Matris à rebus procurandis primarii, Reſponſio. Lutetiæ ex Officina Federici Morelli Typographi Regii,* 1576. *Cum Privilegio.*

* *Regnum interſe æqua lance dividunt ut verbis Aimoini utarqui te jam Hotomane quater mendacii arguit.*

98. Of theſe *Childebert* dying without iſſue, *Clotair* Reigned alone, who alſo as the ſame Authour teſtifies, left four Sons the Heirs of his Kingdom, *viz. Cherebet, Guntran, Chilperick* and *Sigebert*, the Poſterity of whom inherited as their Anceſtours had done before them. As for *Daniel* the Clerk, who was by the *Franks* choſen King, his Hair being ſuffered to grow, and named *Chilperick*, he takes notice, and

Complains that *Hotoman* ſhould ſweat ſo much to eſtabliſh a lie. He tells him a Lawyer (ſuch *Hotoman* was, and that a great one) ought to conſider that Laws are fitted and framed to ſuch things as frequently happen, and not ſuch as fall out very ſeldom; for from *Pharamond* whom he calls the firſt King of the *Franks* to this *Daniel* the Clerk paſſed three hundred years, in which ſpace of time the Kingdom was devolved not by Election, but Inheritance. And by this Election of *Daniel* and ſuch like, he puts him in mind that he never conſiders how that not ſucceſſion it ſelf, but the ſucceſſours were Condemned; foraſmuch as good Princes may have very bad Heirs, and yet the Succeſſion and Inheritance be juſt and good. It happened that the laſt three or four of the Family of *Meroneus* were lazy and Drones, and ſtupid, which gave occaſion to *Charles Martel* with eaſe, though he himſelf be ſaid to have refuſed the Crown, to transfer the Government upon his Children. They being not of the Royal Family, this was effected partly by force, and partly by conſent, of thoſe whom they had obliged by many good Offices, and *Pipin* by means of *Zachary* the *Roman* Biſhop, obtained to be Crowned and anointed King; as his two Sons *Charles* and *Carloman* were by the Hands of *Stephen* who was then in Exile, which thing he accuſes *Hotoman* for omitting and making mention onely of the conſent of the People, as deſiring to make out his Election from that place of *Aimoinus*, which place yet he affirms, makes nothing for his Lie and figment as may be evident to any that's half blind.

99. As neither doth the Teſtament of *Charles the Great*, by which it's certain he made *Ludovicus Pius* King of *Franco-gallia*, *Bernard* his Nephew being made King of *Italy*, as is clear from the Teſtimony of *Nauclerus*. This is farther confirmed from what *Aimoinus* writes of this very Subject, that *Lodovick* being in *Aquitain*, when News was brought him of his Father's Death, came to *Aix*, and there by Conſent and good liking of all the *Franks* he ſucceeded him, where the word Conſent can by no means be referred to Election, but ſignifies the wiſhes, expectation, and deſire of all the People. In like manner the ſtirs being pacified, which were riſen betwixt *Pius* and his Sons, to the great detriment of *Francogallia*, and which produced an horrid Example, the Kingdom was divided by *Pius* amongſt his Sons, as *Aimoinus* farther witneſſeth, and not by the Election of the People, ſo great a truth is it, that not onely in the times of the *Meroningi*, but the *Carloningi* alſo, the Sons ſucceeded their Fathers in the Kingdom. But as all humane things are inſtable and mutable, and nothing can laſt always, in like manner as the *Meroningi* when they degenerated were deprived of their Power, and their Authority transferred upon the Family of *Pipin*; ſo by a certain viciſſitude, and the ſecret Judgment of God, the *Carloningi* behaving themſelves no leſs idly and luxuriouſly, it paſſed from them to *Hugh Capet*, either as a Puniſhment of their firſt perfidiouſneſs and Rebellion, or becauſe the Sons of *Pius* had ſo impiouſly demeaned themſelves toward their Father, for God puniſhes Sons for their Diſobedience to their Parents, though it may come late.

100. That which *Hotoman* cites from *Gregory Turonenſis*, concerning *Childerick* the Father of *Clodonæus* his being expelled by his Subjects, no way proves that the Kings in thoſe times were made by Election, it being one thing to depoſe and expell, another thing to Elect a King. He upbraids him for inſtancing in a Pagan Prince, and in the endeavour of *Sigebert* for expelling *Chilperick* out of *France*, a thing rather to be Buried in ſilence, than revealed to the People. He tells him that *Sigebert* was ſent to, and provoked by ſuch like wicked perſons as himſelf, neither was it a wonder if having deſpiſed the Council of *Saint German* the Biſhop, he came to ſuch a Tragical end, and was puniſhed for his Infidelity, as *Hotoman* had ſeen from that place of *Turonenſis*, yet ſhamed not to produce it. As for what *Hotoman* affirms that *Sigebert* conſenting to the *Franks* was made King, and obtained the Kingdom of his Brother *Chilperick*, it's repugnant to what is written by *Turonenſis* in the place that's cited. For there he affirms, that *Sigebert* deſpiſing the advice of St. *German*, and being come to the Village *Victoriacum*, all the Army aſſembled before him, by which he was put upon a Target and ſaluted King; then two young men with ſharp Knives ran him into each ſide, whereupon he crying out fell down, and ſhortly after expired, and together with him *Charegiſilus* his Chamberlain. "Thou haſt here the reward of Perfidiouſneſs and Treachery, and what happened "to one that gaped after another Man's Kingdom, and thou perhaps, ſays he, ap"proveſt it, and ſaiſt it is lawfull by the Law of the *Franks*. By this the Reader may ſee what to judge of the reſt. Neither is that of any moment that we often find in *Turonenſis*, *Ado*, *Aimoinus* and others, how the *Franks* were wont when re-

ſolved to have ſuch a King, to raiſe him, to lift him up on high, to ſet him upon a Target, and the like; for all theſe Expreſſions ſignifie onely Inauguration, and not Election. Upon ſuch an occaſion the Nobility was wont to meet, to ſalute the new King, and ſwear Fealty and Obedience to him, which cuſtome yet continues, as may be gathered from the ſaid Authours, which yet it's certain do not in the leaſt argue an Election. To this may be added the Teſtimony of Foreigners; particularly of *George Cedrenus*, the Greek Hiſtoriographer, who in his *Compendium* of Hiſtory writes: ‘ It's reported that the King of *France*, according to cuſtome, ‘ receives his Kingdom by Succeſſion from his Anceſtours. So much *Matharell* in his Anſwer to *Hotoman*, beſides much other opprobrious and reviling Language.

101. But though to an indifferent Perſon, his Language would make his cauſe ſuſpected, yet in this point he really hath the advantage. For the Inſtances of *Faramond* and *Pipin* conclude nothing, but in an extraodinary Caſe, neither do thoſe of *Daniel* the Clerk, of *Ægidius*, or any other produced out of the Hiſtories of the *Meroningi*; and we are taught by *Julian* the Lawyer, that things extraordinary, or which rarely happen, are not eaſily to be reckoned of, or eſteemed to conclude any thing in queſtion. The *Franks*, like as their Kings, were a fierce and untamed People for a long time; and if they ſome time depoſed lawfull Princes, and ſet up others in their Rooms, it was not ſo much as has been practiſed in other Kingdoms, not to go far off; where yet there is no ſuch thing as Election, and the Succeſſion by right of Inheritance has ever been out of doubt. The calling of the Eſtates together, and having their Conſents was a matter of Prudence, as elſewhere it is a thing of Courſe, that the Nobility be preſent at Inaugurations, to have them ſwear to defend that Crown on which they lay their hands, nay to have the People asked, whether they will have ſuch an one for their King; and yet none can have the Face to ſay that the Kingdom is Elective. Theſe Ceremonies were uſed at the entrance of the Kings of the *Franks* upon the Government, and thence at their Inauguration the People were ſaid to make them Kings, and yet they did it no more than thoſe who now proclaim or Crown our modern Princes. Whatever the poſture of Affairs and Convenience might ſuggeſt to *Charles* the Great, in ordaining that ſuch a Grandſon ſhould be King as the People ſhould chuſe, he never deſigned to put it into the power of the People to chuſe any whom they pleaſed, or one out of his own Family; or to imitate herein the Cuſtome of the *Germans* mentioned by *Tacitus*, that Sons of Kings ſhould but be firſt conſidered. For whoever ſeriouſly weighs that long and uninterrupted Poſſeſſion of the Sovereign power, by the Family of *Meroneus*; and that wonderfull Zeal all the *Franks* had for it, which affrighted the Majors of the Palace from aſſuming the Title, will eaſily perceive it never entred into their thoughts, from the time of *Childerick* to make any Innovation, nay they eſteemed it a point of great Wickedneſs to think of any other Houſe or Lineage, till *Martel* and his Sons had ſo far inſinuated themſelves into the power, that they were forced to make a Virtue of neceſſity, and forſake thoſe who were neither in a Capacity to help themſelves nor them. We ſhall diſmiſs this Point as *Matharell* hath done it with the clear Teſtimony of another Foreigner, more to the purpoſe than that of *Cedrenus*, who was not born till about two hundred Years after the Death of *Charles* the Great. This is *Agathias*, who wrote more than ſo many Years before *Charles* was born, and therefore his Teſtimony is more direct to the times, whereof we write. He teſtifies that it was the Cuſtome or Law amongſt the *Franks*, for the Sons to ſucceed their Fathers in the Kingdom, or rather to receive it from them as by Deſcent.

Ea quæ rarò accidunt, non temerè in agendis negotiis computantur D. de diverſis Regulis juris, l. 64.

Non temerè id eſt non facilè: Quod etiam apud bonos Authores in hac ſignificatione reperitur. Sic enim Quintilianus: Illud ingeniorum præcox genus non temerè, id eſt, non facilè unquam ad frugem pervenit, vide Bronſhorſt. in locum. Corona Oſtentat Regem, non facit.

Long Hair very much worn, eſpecially by their Kings.

102. From the ſame Authour, and ſeveral others we may obſerve, that ſuch Males as were of the Royal Family were not wont to cut their Hair, but have it lye diſ-ſheveled about their Shoulders, being perfumed with ſweet Ointments, as a Mark of diſtinction betwixt them, and the Inferiour ſort. This admits of no diſpute, but is accorded on all hands, and the Reader may be ſatisfied by the Courſe of the preceding Hiſtory, as alſo in this, that ſuch as were to be deprived of the Kingdom, or of the Succeſſion, had their Locks cut off, a thing which *Clodonald* or St. *Clon* practiſed upon himſelf, when he reſolved to forſake the World and enter into Orders. The Cuſtome of wearing long Hair, they brought * with them into *Gall*, where it had alſo been long † practiſed, inſomuch that part of it, hence got the Name of *Gallia Comata*, as any one meanly Converſant in Antiquity, cannot

but

* *Ex Chaucis ſeu Chaycis orti ſunt Franci. Lucanus autem:*

Et vos Crinigeros bellis arcere Chaycos
Oppoſiti, petitis Romam, &c.

† *Claudianus verò lib. 2. in Ruffin.*
Inde truces flavo Comitantur vertice Galli,
Quos Rhodanus velox, Araris quos tardior ambit.

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but obſerve. Afterward the uſe was confined to the Bloud of the Kings, who as ſome obſerve, from what *Dagobert* did in the Battel with *Bertoald* the *Saxon* Captain, were wont in fight to tye up their Hair and lay it upon their Helmet, as a Creſt and a farther Mark of diſtinction. Hence it came to paſs, that ſome Foreigners who bore them no Good-will, gave the Kings of the *Franks* the opprobrious Epithete of *Setati* or *Briſtled*, and whereas the *Setæ*, or ſtrong and upright Hairs, or Briſtles are common, not onely to *Lions*, *Horſes* and the like, but to *Hogs* alſo; thence came the Fable, that on their Back-bone, the *Rachis* or *Spina Dorſi* they had Hairs growing, as hath that kind of Creature. A paſſage which we learn from the Hiſtory of * *Cedrenus*.

103. But we leave this Mark of the Bloud Royal, as a thing not ſo conſiderable, and come to the Signs and Tokens of the Royal Prerogative, a thing much Bandied betwixt our two Antagoniſts, but with more Partiality and deſign, than evidence of Truth, more flouriſhes, and Digreſſions than real Arguments, like the *Andabatæ* we reade of, ſo much are they, or rather is the matter in the dark. Yet if we may judge of the Concluſion by the Premiſſes, and of the Superſtructure by the Foundation, *Hotoman's* Fabrick and Model of Government cannot ſubſiſt; for he makes the Sovereign power to have lain in the People, to whom he aſcribes Authority, both of electing and depoſing Kings at their Pleaſure, a thing he ſuppoſes for weak Reaſons, and to be exploded upon that account, we have already given unto the Reader. He confounds the Forms of ancient Governments, making thoſe the ſame which were far different, commends the Extravagant Liberty, the *Ephori* uſurped over the Kings of *Sparta*, whom yet he can never prove to have had any hand in Election, it being notoriouſly known to every Novice almoſt, that the Kingdom of *Lacedæmon* was Hereditary. Inſtead of a Government, he would aſſert a Medley of Power, which would never hang together, never thinking he can leſſen the Royal Power enough, and not conſidering that a Prince may have as well too little, as too much, to protect himſelf and his People, and keep all from running into Confuſion. The truth is, he would allow the Kings of the *Franks* no more than what the later *Meroningians* enjoyed under the Licentious and Extravagant Actings of the Majors of the Palace; but as to matter of Fact, to prove it was ſo, he is not able, and therefore flyes out, and keeps nothing cloſe to the matter in queſtion. True Royalty, or a Prerogative above the Inſolence of the Rabble, he accounts Tyranny, commending that Form of Authority, he cites out of *Cæſar*, that amongſt the ancient *Galls*, before they were Couquered by the *Romans*: The People had as great Authority over the Petty and Nominal Kings, as theſe ſhadows of Royalty had over the People.

104. Then gives he you three ſpecial Notes, or Marks of Tyranny; whereof the firſt is a forced Command over Subjects, when they ſubmit to them unwillingly, and merely by Conſtraint; the ſecond is, when they keep a Guard of Foreigners about their Perſons; and the laſt, when the Profit and Welfare of the People are not conſidered, but the ***Emolument*** and Arbitrary will of him that Reigns. By theſe, as ſo many Touch-ſtones he tries the Government, to ſee if it be true and Natural, or to diſcover the Sophiſtication, as he accounts it, which the Luſt and Ambition of ſome Men hath made. For the firſt he concludes, the Authority of the Kings of the *Franks* was not forced, or by conſtraint, becauſe the People had Sovereign power in chuſing and rejecting them at their Pleaſure. As to the ſecond worthy and infallible Mark, he will undertake to prove out of *Gregory Turonenſis* and *Aimoinus*, though he doth not doe it, that theſe Kings uſed no Guards about their Perſons: And for the third he has a ſufficient Argument to the contrary, that Matters were not ordered according to their Arbitrary Will, but for the good of the People, becauſe the chief Adminiſtration of this *Franco Gallick* Kingdom was in the publick and ſolemn Council of the Nation, which later Ages have called a Convention or Aſſembly of the three Eſtates.

105. To defer a little the matter of Fact, as to the Kings of the *Franks*, and omit *Matharell's* reply as too dilute, it will not be amiſs to try the Infallibility of theſe his Marks, and to compare them with his other Principles. The firſt either may be, or not be, and yet the Government may be exceeding good. For ſometimes the Commands of a Prince may be very reaſonable, his Maximes highly juſt, his Deſigns tend as well toward the defence of their Liberties, as his own Prerogative, and yet the People, or rather the prevalent Faction may not underſtand it: A matter which a very mean Hiſtorian may make evident by many particulars. On the other ſide it hath been found, that Monarchs who (to ſpeak to his Principles) neither

* Ἐλέγοντο δὲ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γένους ἐκείνου καταγόμενοι κριστάτοι, ὃ ἑρμηνεύεται τριχοραχάτοι. Εἶχον γὰρ κατὰ τῆς ῥάχεως αὐτῶν τρίχας ἐκφυομένας, ὡς χοῖροι.

neither could be elected by the People, nor (juſtly, and according to the Model of the Government of the Land) could be depoſed, have Reigned over the Subjects without any forced Command, any other (for the main) than to which without conſtraint or unwillingneſs they have ſubmitted. In this reſpect there are Nations, the Laws of which conſented to, or made by the People, both are againſt Election and Depoſition; and yet ſay the King can doe no wrong, acting according to the ſaid Laws, and Conſtitutions of theſe Kingdoms. The ſecond, or that of a foreign Guard is trivial; for moſt of theſe Uſurpers we meet with in ſtory, have ſeized on the Power, and maintained themſelves in it, by ſtanding Guards of their own Nations. And as to the work of this Touch-ſtone, ſcarcely is there at this preſent, any one Monarch or Sovereign Prince Elective or not Elective, who hath not theſe Protectours of his Perſon about him; a thing not denied to Vice-Roys, and very Generals of Armies. For the laſt we muſt ſay, it is a certain Mark of a Tyrant (though the Government according to Law eſtabliſhed, may not be Tyranny) when he acts all things according to his mere Luſt and Will, not conſidering the advantage, or diſadvantage of his People. But muſt needs every Prince, who is not merely Nominal as he would have him, and to be ſet up and kicked down at the Will and Pleaſure of the unconſtant multitude, needs act all things in this manner? No, a Prince may have as well too little as too much Power, to Protect himſelf and his Subjects from the violence of unreaſonable Men, and we may ſay, that without flattery to ſuch Princes, there both have been and are, who are neither Elected, neither can be depoſed by the People, but ſucceed by Inheritance, as proceeding from the Loins of their Anceſtours, who do not make their Luſt a Law, but propound the Good and Welfare of the People generally to themſelves in their Actings. When any otherwiſe diſpoſed do happen, the Men, not the Government is to be blamed; foraſmuch as Accidents, and ſuch things as do rarely fall out, are not to be reckoned on in ſuch Caſes.

106. Therefore as to the matter of Fact, we anſwer, that the ancient Kings of the *Franks* were not Elective but Hereditary, and yet their People willingly ſubmitted to them, not forced, nor by Conſtraint and Terrour. The Rules and Methods of their Government, were ſuch as the People approved, and generally they obſerved, and kept cloſe to them; when they did not, they blamed the Men, as we find, not the Ordinances and Cuſtoms of the Realm, as knowing that there will be Perſons of ſeveral Humours; and not any one Courſe of Adminiſtration can be found out, which will have no Inconveniences attending it. His deſign to Tax the Cuſtome of the Modern *French* Kings, in having a few *Scots* and *Swiſſes* for their Guards, is extremely ridiculous. What grand Feats of Tyranny could they atchieve in ſo great a Kingdom againſt ſuch multitudes, by ſo ſmall and inconſiderable a number? *Hotoman* had read how *Piſiſtratus*, *Agathocles* and other Tyrants of petty Cities or petty States, got ſome Troops of *Satellites* about them, ſufficient indeed, to awe and terrifie their fellow Citizens; and thence he preſently concludes, that where a few Souldiers Watch and Guard a Kings Perſon, though by reaſon of the ſmallneſs of their number, they cannot be fit for any conſiderable Attempt; yet they are a manifeſt ſign of Bondage and Tyranny. But the ancient Kings of the *Franks*, however he be ſo poſitive in affirming the contrary, were not without their Guards about them, no more than the Conſuls of *Rome* (not to ſpeak of the Dictatours or Emperours, for theſe perhaps with him were Tyrants) nor the leſſer ſorts of Magiſtrates, who had their Lictours with bundles of Rods and Hatchets. From *Gregory Turonenſis* the very Authour, he would wreſt to his purpoſe (but very inconſequently and ridiculouſly, as if becauſe a King doubles his Guards upon ſome imminent danger, he never had Guards before) it is evident, that *Clodonæus* had theſe *Satellites* and Guards about him: And if he, why not his Succeſſours in the Throne, upon the ſame Account; for the ſame Reaſons? That *Clodonæus* uſed ſuch *Satellites Matharell* doth well obſerve, to which we ſhall add this Obſervation farther, that thoſe whom *Gregory* calleth *Satellites* a little before in the ſame Chapter, he nameth *Pueri*, this word by Writers of theſe times, being uſed to expreſs ſuch kind of Attendants in general, who were uſually choſen out of young Men now called *Pueri*, in like manner, as when the *Roman* Tongue decayed, *Infans* came not onely to ſignifie a young Child, but a Son in general, though grown to Maturity, as at this day do *Enfans* and *Infante* in the *French* and *Italian* Tongues, and *Infante* a Kings Son in *Spain* and *Portugal*, as *Infanta* a Kings Daughter of any Age in both theſe Kingdoms. Now if *Pueri* and *Satellites*, when applicable to the Attendants about theſe Kings were the ſame, let any one who hath been

Quod Satellites audientes & Deo gratias agentes, &c, l. 2. c. 37.

Maturantibus autem pueris & ad locum accedentibus, &c.

been Converſant in that Authour, but conſider how many times he ſpeaks of theſe *Pueri*, and conſequently of the Guards about their Perſons.

107. As for *Hotoman*'s third and laſt Mark, we cloſe with him, that the ancient Kings of the *Franks* ruled not merely according to their Wills and Appetites; but we muſt needs differ from him, about the evidence or the reaſon of this our apprehenſion. For what we can gather from the ancient and faithfull Hiſtorians, we muſt ſay the bounds that were ſet to their Wills, were ſet by their Conſciences, and their Conſciences were regulated by the good Laws and Cuſtoms of their Countrey, which directed them in the Management of Affairs, but never awed them by the Terrour of Depoſing, nor by any Punctive or Coercive power, the People ought to exerciſe over their Perſons and Authority. But he is quite of another Opinion, he believes they did not rule merely after their own Wills and Appetites, becauſe they could not doe it, that they did not bite becauſe they had no Teeth, did not puſh becauſe they had no Horns, at leaſt but very ſhort ones; foraſmuch as they could doe nothing of Conſequence, nothing amounting to Empire and Sovereignty, but all this was to be tranſacted by the Convention of Eſtates, which he tells you every Year, met on the firſt of *May*. Here he admires the Wiſedom of his Anceſtours, and from this Rapture falls to an Enumeration of ſuch things as were handled and determined by the Sacroſanct Authority of this publick Council, as he words it. Theſe were no leſs, you muſt know, than electing or depoſing a King, which he is never weary of inculcating, determining about Peace or War, making Laws, beſtowing the greateſt Commands, Honours and Government, providing Patrimony for the Sons of the deceaſed Kings, and Portions for their Daughters, which by a *German* word they called *Abannagium* as an excluſory Part; in ſum, here were determined all thoſe things they vulgarly call matters of State, becauſe nothing that related intimately to the State or Commonwealth could legally be done any where, but in this Council. If the Caſe ſtood thus, the Kings were indeed but Idols of Wax or Puppets, which moved their Lips, Eyes and Hands, according as they had motion given them. But the boldneſs of his Aſſertion, quite over Balances the weight and Efficacy of his Arguments.

108. Indeed his Reaſons to ſpeak indifferently are very frivolous. The making and marring of Kings, he ſtrengthens by one other Teſtimony out of *Aimoinus*; but one ſo ridiculous, that we ſhame for him to produce it. This is, that *Charles* the *Bald* in a general Aſſembly held at *Cariſiacum* or *Creſſy*, girt his Son *Charles* with a Sword, and ſetting a Royal Crown on his Head, gave to him *Neuſtria*, and to *Pipin Aquitain*. A fit evidence to be joyned to thoſe he formerly made uſe of. A King is Crowned in a great Aſſembly of Nobles, and the common ſort, therefore the People elect him, and beſtow the Crown upon him, as their own Gift. It ſeems *Charles* their Father was the Oratour or Speaker of the Aſſembly, and how can you chuſe but believe that after a great debate, the Queſtion was put, and it was carried in the affirmative, that their ſaid Speaker *Charles* (who poſſibly had no Vote, neither as our Chancellours and Keepers have not in the Houſe of Lords, when they are not Peers themſelves) ſhould in their Name, and by Virtue of their Command, as their Miniſter ſolemnly inveſt them in their Royal Offices, which ſhould be but Conditional neither, held during Pleaſure, or at fartheſt, ſo long as they ſhould well demean themſelves therein, that is till this multitude ſhould ſay they did otherwiſe, for who I pray muſt Contradict them, if they affirmed a Wart to be an Horn? Almoſt as weak is the next that follows, about the ſaid *Charles*, now going to *Rome*, he held a general Aſſembly on the firſt of *June* at *Compendium* or *Compeigne*, where he ordained in certain *Capitula*, or Heads, after what manner his Son *Lodowick*, with thoſe were truſty to him and the Nobility of the Land, ſhould govern the Kingdom till his return. This he calls *Inſigne Teſtimonium*, concerning the power of this Council, in diſpoſing of the Kingdom; and judge, Reader what it amounts to. It is not ſaid, that they ordain in his Preſence, or together with him, but in the ſingular number: He ordains, uſing their Councils and Direction. But he ſubjoyns, that the Nobility finding *Charles* the Simple, by reaſon of his young Years uncapable to Govern, choſe *Odo* his Protectour or Guardian. Another wonderfull Teſtimony of the Peoples power in diſpoſing the Kingdom. If he was not able to Govern, ſome muſt; they offered not to depoſe him, and Elect another in his place. A Guardian he wanted; and he had not Judgement and Diſcretion enough to chuſe one himſelf; in ſuch a Caſe of neceſſity therefore, why might not they doe it for him?

Lib. 5. *c.* 17. *Hic fœde memoria lapſus eſt Hotomanus, locus enim Aimoini eſt de Ludovico Imp. qui filium ſuum Carolum in hoc conventu armis virilibus id eſt Enſe cinxit.*

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109. As worthily doth our Authour diſcharge himſelf, in reference to the ſecond thing, wherein he aſſerts the ſupreme Power of this Council, and that is in the point of making Laws. Would not the Reader expect ſome ſuch Proofs as theſe. The Council by its own Authority enacted ſuch and ſuch things, ſuch Laws were made by the Council, the King not being at all conſidered therein, being unwilling, abſent or the like; theſe were ſome Foundations for ſuch high Confidence and Preſumption. But what think you is his Evidence? a certain place in *Gagainus*, which hath theſe words concerning St. *Lewes*, and you muſt mind them well. *Lewes* being come to *Paris*, and having aſſembled a general Convention, reformed the Commonwealth, excellent Laws being made concerning the diſtribution of Juſtice by the Judges, prohibiting the Sale of Offices with other matters. Behold here *Lewes* reformed the Commonwealth, how? By making Laws; for though it be ſaid, *Statutis optimis Legibus*, abſolutely without a reſtriction to his Perſon, yet it's ſaid, *Habito generali Conventu*, now who called and aſſembled the Meeting but himſelf? That in ſuch Meetings there uſed to be debated the making of Laws is moſt Evident, even in later times, when the Government was grown more highly Monarchical, as in *Francis* the Firſt, and *Francis* the Second's time, little more than one hundred Years ſince, ſuch a Deſign was ſet on Foot in the time of *Francis* the ſecond, and completed at *Orleance*, in the beginning of the Reign of *Charles* the Ninth, in a full Aſſembly of the Nobility, Eccleſiaſticks and inferiour ſort of Men, the product of which was a Book of Laws publiſhed the ſame Year; which work was renewed by the ſaid *Charles* ſeveral times after. But to ſay, that all the Power and Authority of making Laws remained with the Eſtates without the King is moſt abſurd. Certainly it's one thing for a matter to be Tranſacted or done in an Aſſembly, by its Council and Direction, another to be enacted and ordained by the ſole Virtue and Authority of ſuch a Meeting.

Cum Pariſium Ludovicus veniſſet Conventu generali habito, Rempub. reformavit, ſtatutis optimis Legibus de jure à Judicibus dicendo, & de Officiis non emendis, &c.

A. D. 1560.

A. D. 1566. & 1572.

110. If in any Authour, he can but find after his diligent ſearch any impudent Act, any Seditious and unlawfull Attempt, any Violence and Uſurpation committed by the People, or a party of the Nobility, he hath both the Logick and the Modeſty to argue from the Fact, to the Right and Authority of the Actours; with as good reaſon as from the Robberies of the *Banditi*, and the force they many times put upon the Inhabitants of the Countrey, he may conclude they have a Title to the Territories, and a Legitimate Sovereignty over thoſe Perſons, which are the Subjects of their Rapines. Becauſe *Charles* the *Bald* had diſcontented ſome of the Great ones, about the diſpoſing of Offices and Preferments, that is, had not preferred themſelves, they met together, they entred into a Conſpiracy againſt *Lodowick* his Son, who was to ſucceed, but after ſome Meſſages, ſent to and fro they agreed, and he was Conſecrated and Crowned by the Conſent of all, as well Abbats and Biſhops, as the Nobility of the Kingdom. That they mutined it appears, but that they themſelves had right to diſpoſe of Preferments appeareth no where. Neither can *Hotoman* conclude any thing we hope from this place, that they Elected him King, the words being that by their Conſent he was Conſecrated and Crowned, and that they ſware fealty to him. He received the Kingdom from his Father, concerning whom there is a paſſage in this very place he quotes, which *Hotoman* would not mention, and therefore we ſhall doe it for him. Before the Agreement fully concluded, and the Coronation, *Richildis* came to *Lodowick* to *Compeigne*, and thither brought him the Precept, whereby his Father before he died, had delivered up the Kingdom to him, together with the Sword of St. *Peter* as they called it, whereby he inveſted him in the Kingdom, and a Royal Robe, a Crown and Staff, or Sceptre, of Gold and pretious Stones: His Father it ſeems thought he could herewith inveſt him in the Kingdom before any Ceremony paſſed from the People. As much to his purpoſe, is what he cites out of the Appendix to the Hiſtory of *Gregory* concerning *Clotair*, his referring it to the Eſtates of *Burgundy*, to chuſe a Major of the Palace to ſucceed *Warnhar*. The Reader may remember, that the *Burgundians* had of their own accord ſhaken off the Yoke of *Brunichild*, and revolted to *Clothair*. In way of Gratitude, and to bind them to him he grants them this Privilege, and paſſeth this Complement, which had they had a Right to chuſe, it would have behoved them not to wave it; but they deſired to be excuſed, chuſing rather to live under his immediate Government, without ſuch an intervenient Miniſter.

Aimoinus, lib. 5. c. 36.

Attulit ei Præceptum per quod Pater ſuus illi Regnum ante mortem ſuam tradiderat: & Spatham quæ vocatur ſancti Petri, per quam eum de Regno inveſtiret; ſed & regium veſtimentum & coronam ac fuſtem ex auro & gemmis.

C. 54.

111. As little wonder is it, that in times of Contentions and Factions, thoſe that thought the Eſtates would be on their ſide, ſhould refer the matter in queſtion to the Determination of this Council, as *Clothair* did knowing *Brunichild* to be

mortally hated by all the Nobility. Neither can we blame *Charles the Great*, if to ſecure to his Sons thoſe ſhares of the Empire he had deſigned them, he ſhould require the advice and conſent of the Eſtates, as that which would oblige them to Obey ſuch as they had received to be their Kings, and as a means to keep his Sons in Order, and hinder them from incroaching one upon another. From that ſingle example of *Clothair*, whereby to ſhun Odium, and the thought of Malice and Revenge, he referred the caſe of *Brunechild* to the Army and Nobility, (which he calls by the Name of this Council,) he fairly draws this General Concluſion; that it was a Cuſtome, if any Prince or great Perſon was accuſed of a Crime, to be arraigned before this Aſſembly. And from all put together, that the whole Government lay in this Aſſembly, which was called *Placitum*, becauſe after the cuſtome of the Latine Tongue that was properly ſo called, which after much deliberation was ſetled and agreed upon, as for Example, in *Cicero* and other ancient Writers we meet with *Placita Philoſophorum*. Hence he inforces that Conjecture which he had made in other Books he had formerly Written, that the common Form uſed by the King's Clerks at the end of Laws and Edicts, *viz. Quia tale eſt Placitum noſtrum*, had its Original from this *Placitum* whereof we ſpeak. This being written in Latine, (as he conjectures it appears from *Aimoinus*, the Capitulary of *Charles* the Great and other Monuments;) theſe Clerks or Scribes coming to uſe the Speech of the Countrey, by ignorance, or rather through an evil purpoſe turned it into this Expreſſion: *Car tel eſt noſtre Plaiſir*, *For ſuch is our Pleaſure*. That which confirms him in his Opinion is this. The People was interrogated concerning the *Capitula* or Heads to be added to the Laws, and after they had conſented, they confirmed them by Subſcriptions. Hence it appears, that the People were bound to no Laws but what they made themſelves. Laſtly, he obſerves again from one ſingle Teſtimony and inſtance and no more, that Foreign Princes were wont to refer their Controverſies to the Cogniſance and Determination of this Council, ſo great was its Fame and Authority.

Vide Appendic. ad Gregorii Turon. Hiſt. c. 37.

112. So great a Noiſe he made, for Noiſe it is conſiſting of words, which conclude nothing of that his Aſſertion, that the ſupreme Adminiſtration of affairs lay in this Aſſembly, which they did indeed call by the Name of *Placitum*. But as *Matharell* very well excepts againſt him, there's no need that the ordinary Form *Cartel eſt noſtre plaiſir* now uſed, ſhould at all be derived from this *Placitum*, but from the ancient cuſtome of *Roman* Emperours, Kings and Popes who generally uſed ſuch an Expreſſion at the end of their Edicts, to take away all doubt and Ambiguity. *Juſtinian* hath this expreſſion at the cloſe of his Conſtitutions. *Quæ igitur placuerunt Nobis tua ſublimitas operi effectuique dare feſtinet*; ſome times this: *Quæ à Nobis diſpoſita ſunt*, or *Quæ igitur præclare Nobis & Religioni placuerunt*; but *Quæ placuerunt Nobis* moſt commonly. Nay it's to be hoped ſo great a Lawyer as he could not affirm, that the Emperours of *Rome* held ſuch *Placita* wherein lay the ſupreme Adminiſtration, and without which they could neither make Laws, nor doe any thing elſe. But ſo great is his Deſign and *Studium Partium* in this matter, that one cannot but with admiration and diſdain perceive how right or wrong he drives all things in by Head and Shoulders. Surely he had never read, or he deeply diſſembles that place of *Gregory Turonenſis*, where he ſpeaks concerning *Chilperick*, who in his Edicts or Precepts ſent to the Judges added this Clauſe; if any ſhall Contemn our Commands, let him be puniſhed by pulling out his Eyes. He may anſwer us that this *Chilperick* was a Tyrant, or as *Gregory* calls him, the *Nero* and *Herod* of his time, and ſo indeed he is accounted by our Hiſtorians, but any one may ſee what was the reaſon, they were ſuch men as he was no Friend to; he complained they had got all the Revenues, and his Exchequer was poor, and ſuch Princes as he who have had the luck in theſe dark times to have their actions related and tranſmitted to Poſterity, by no other than Religious Perſons, are never well ſpoken of but rendred infamous, a thing which hath happened from Monkiſh Authours, to ſome Princes of our own Nation.

Conſtit. 2, 8, 11, 18, 19, 20, *&c.*

Si quis præcepta noſtra Contempſerit, oculorum avulſione mulctetur, lib. 6. *c. ult.*

113. But to make an end of this Controverſie as it's more than time, by peruſal of *Gregory Aimoinus* and others of thoſe ancient Writers, to any unbiaſſed and indifferent Reader it will appear, that the *Meroningian* Kings of the *Franks* had *Jura Majeſtatis*. Theſe are ſuch as theſe, Power of Peace and War, to make Laws, power to raiſe Money, and of Life and Death. The Wars of *Clodonæus*, of *Theodorick*, and in general of all thoſe that Conquered *Gall*, and made War in *Italy* and other Countries, nay, of *Charles Martel* who was no King, but the Prime Miniſter, or Majour of the Palace, ſufficiently evidences this thing, for who will ſhew us that it

was done by a previent Vote or decree of this General Aſſembly, except he will ſay that when this preſent *French* King for example makes war in the Low Countries, becauſe his Nobility and Gentry accompany him in the Expedition, becauſe they do not refuſe to joyn with him, but ſerve him in this Employment, therefore Peace and War are in their power, and they are the General aſſembly or *Placitum* which hath the ſupreme Adminiſtration of Affairs; for this would well ſuite the way of *Hotoman's* Arguing, to be ſure, if the King ſhould make a Speech to them at the Head of his Troops, and they applaud his purpoſe, and incourage him to the Undertaking. For the power of making Laws, the famed *Salick* Laws no man hath yet ſaid to have been framed in a *Placitum* or aſſembly of the Eſtates, but by *Wiſogaſt* and his few Companions. If the Kings could make Laws for raiſing of Money and payment of Tribute, certainly they might do it in other Caſes; *Clothair* required the third part of the Fruits of the Grounds, even to be paid by Churches. And we find that *Chilperick* laid new Taxes upon the Subject, and ſeveral ſorts of ways increaſed the former Revenues of his Crown. He is blamed for this by the Hiſtorians, and we are told it cauſed a Mutiny, but what was the reaſon, *viz.* the exceſſive burthen he laid upon the People. Every *Arepennis* or half an Acre of Land muſt pay an *Amphora* of Wine. *Gregory* tells us, if he tell true, the Impoſitions were ſo great they could not be born. The thing that offended was the quantity, not the Impoſition it ſelf, not the Authority; they do not complain that he broke the Laws of Government, that he uſurped the Power which belonged to the *Placitum* or the aſſembly of Eſtates, that he took that upon him which his Predeceſſours never challenged, and the Laws forbade, but his Impoſitions were heavy and could not be endured.

Denique Clotharius Rex indixerat ut omnes Eccleſiæ Regni ſui tertiam partem fructuum fiſco diſſolverent, Gregor. lib. 4. *c.* 1. *Idem Aimoinus, lib.* 2. *c.* 17.

Statutum enim fuerat, ut poſſeſſor de propria terra unam amphoram vini per Aripennem redderet. Sed & aliæ functiones infligebantur multæ tam de reliquis terris quam de mancipiis: quod impleri non poterant. Gregor. l. 5. *c.* 27.

114. The like is objected as to the Puniſhments inflicted by him, not that he did *punire* or take the cogniſance of the caſe to himſelf, but *injuſtè punire*, and that for to ſeize on the Goods of the Perſons condemned. Nothing is more ordinary than to meet with examples of this kind, how not onely he but all the other Kings of the *Meroningian* Family, before ſuch time as the Majors of the Palace came to uſurp the Government, took this Power of Condemning or abſolving, Puniſhing or Pardoning at their own Wills or Diſcretions. When they did without cauſe, as *Guntran*, put to Death his beſt Servant, then are they blamed, but never for taking the Authority of the thing it ſelf, of depriving men of their Lives or Eſtates, when the Parties deſerved it. The moſt wary of them conſidering what a matter of weight the Life of a Man and the ruine of a Family is, were wont to call to their aſſiſtence, their Nobility or attendants to ſift out the matter, and give their advice for a more certain and juſt way of proceeding, it being indeed a very hard and dangerous practice for one man to aſſume the Cogniſance of matters relating to Life and Death alone. So the Tryal of *Injurioſus* about killing of a certain *Jew* his Creditour was held before King *Childebert*, and this was called *Placitum*, as indeed any meeting in General, as the Treaty betwixt *Guntran* and his Nephew *Childebert* is called by this very name. So doth *Aimoinus* uſe it to ſignifie a Colloquy or Treaty betwixt *Clodonæus* and the *Goths*, and an Enterview, Debate, or Colloquy betwixt the ſaid *Guntran* and his Nephew *Childebert*. The firſt time we meet with it in him when it ſignifies an aſſembly of the Eſtates, is when *Dagobert* ſummoned a General aſſembly together for making of his Teſtament. The cauſe was not that he could not make it himſelf without their authority, but as he tells them, that he alone might not applaud himſelf. He had already determined and reſolved what to doe, but he would have it ſigned not onely with his own Hand, but thoſe of his two Sons, whom this day ſaith he in ſo many words I make and ordain Kings, and by the Hands of the Biſhops alſo and Princes. Now *Hotoman* will not ſay the Subſcription of the Sons of the Kings was neceſſary, to eſtabliſh or enact a thing in the Aſſembly. Yet this he requires eſpecially and for this reaſon, that he was afraid after his Death his two Sons would endeavour to invalidate his Will. There lay his fear, therefore he conjures them to keep it inviolable, as they ſhould expect the like Duty and Obedience from their Succeſſours. No arguments, no perſwaſions doth he uſe to the Aſſembly, as having ſummoned it to give Countenance to the thing, the better to keep his Sons to their preſent promiſe and Ingagement.

Vide lib. 8. *c.* 36. *in caſu Magnovaldis juſſu Regis interfecti. & lib.* 9. *c.* 35. *de filiô Waddonis qui à Rege obtinuit res patris.*

Vide etiam lib. 10. *ejuſdem Gregorii de caſu Chuldericí Saxonis qui à Rege auditis ejus improbitatibus juſſus eſt interfici.*

Greg. Turon. lib. 7. *c.* 23.

Lib. 1. *c.* 20.

Lib. 3. *c.* 57. & *c.* 61.

Lib. 4. *c.* 30. *ut de iis quæ pro remedio animæ meæ agere inſtitui, non ego ſolus mihi applauderem. Conſtitui etiam fieri uno tenore exemplaria & ea manibus ſubter firmare, non tantum meis ſed etiam filiorum meorum Sigeberti ac Hludovici, quos hodie Reges Conſtituo, veſtris quoque qui eſtis Sanctiſſimi Pontifices, nec non gentis noſtræ Principes. Pater filios Reges Conſtituit non itaque electus eſt à Populo Clodonæus vel Hlodovicus, quamvis Hotomanus hoc affirmet, quomodo vero probati pulchre ſcil. ex iſtis Append. Verbis Omneſque Laudes eum in Maſolana villa ſublimant in Regem. euge.*

115. Indeed before this we find in the ſame Authour mention made of a Convention of the Nobility of the *Franks*, but not by the name of *Placitum*. This *Clothair* the Son of *Chilperick* adviſed *Brunichild* to ſummon to debate the matter of Succeſſion, having held Intelligence with them, and knowing moſt certainly they would be at his Devotion, and therefore he would make them Umpires in the caſe, not that by any right and authority they were ſo, neither do we find that ſhe owned or followed his advice. Not long after this time, I am verily of the opinion that thoſe Aſſemblies began to be things of courſe. Of the yearly *Placita* or Conventions of the Eſtates in *Gregory Turonenſis* not one word is to be found; neither can it be perceived by him that the *Placita* were held of courſe, but onely as occaſion required the Kings ſummoned theſe Conventions. Towards the decay of the Monarchy they came into faſhion, when the Majors of the Palace to gain more Power, ſought to pleaſe the Nobility by referring matters to their Cogniſance, and determination. The firſt hint we have out of *Aimoinus* that they were Annual, is given upon occaſion of the *Saxons*, whom *Pipin* having brought to terms; cauſed them to ingage to preſent every year three hundred Horſes at the General meeting. *Pipin* to obtain the Crown which he ſo much longed for, omitted nothing to court the People, and having once obtained it, that it migh ſit faſt upon his Head and thoſe of his Succeſſours, thought it ſafeſt to follow ſtill on the ſame courſe. So did his Son *Charles*, to prevent Seditions during his abſence in *Saxony*, *Italy* and other places, knowing very well that he was an Emperour of the firſt, and a King but of the ſecond Head. After his Death moſt grievous Troubles aroſe, through the differences and Wars of his Poſterity, Æmulation betwixt Competitours ever producing this Effect, that People gain and the Crown loſes, while every one that contends for it, is glad to make Friends and part with one or more Flowers of it, to purchaſe a quiet Poſſeſſion of the reſt, through the favour and aſſiſtence of the Eſtates. This gave incouragement to theſe Aſſemblies, to take ſtill more upon them, and the differences, through their ſidings and bandyings, of *Charles* his Poſterity came to ſuch height as to give incouragement to *Hugh Capet* a man of another Extract to ſet up for himſelf, there being none thought worthy to Reign that remained of the *Carloningians*, who were thus puniſhed in their kind, for their Uſurpation and Revolt from the *Meroningian* Line.

Idem ibid. c. 1.

Coegitque ut promitterent ſe omnem voluntatem illius eſſe facturos & annis ſingulis honoris cauſa, ad generalem conventum equos trecentos pro munere daturos. Lib. 4. c. 64.

116. Thus did the uſe and Authority of this *Placitum* or Aſſembly of Eſtates ariſe and increaſe, through the diminution of the Royal Authority, the ambition of the Majors of the Palace, the Uſurpation of *Pipin*, and the Judgments which enſued upon his Family. But from particular extravagant and illegal actions *Hotoman* would draw general Concluſions; So weak are his Arguments, and ſo palpable his Deſign, that his Book upon a ſevere examination, can hardly eſcape the cenſure of a Libell, which Name by certain Perſons is thought moſt fit to be conferred on it, and they confirm to us the truth of what *Cujacius*, that great Lawyer paſſed upon his Works, that they do *Scutica indigere, need ſomething fit to chaſtiſe and correct them.* A very learned Lawyer indeed he was, but addicted to a Party which was too fruitfull in this kind, and about the ſame time brought forth ſeveral ſuch Brats as this, for inſtance, *Junius Brutus*, and the Treatiſe *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, forged doubtleſs upon the ſame Anvil, though not perhaps by the ſame hands, which ſufficiently betray the extraordinary Heat and turbulent Humour of the Contrivers; what he farther Writes concerning the Majors of the Palace in part we muſt approve, and in part reject: That they came up but towards the latter end of the Reign of the *Meroningians* is certain, I mean to that Power and Dignity which they uſurped. For towards *Clodonæus* his days, who hears any thing of ſuch an Officer? and in the very Reign of *Lotharius* and *Childebert*, where have we any mention of theſe Majors, except by the bye upon occaſion of ſome other thing, for they were then but Domeſticks and Officers in the Palace?

Franci ut plurimum non Meroningorum modo, ſed & Carolingorum adhuc temporibus ſemita idiomatis ſui ad Latinitatem nonnihil inflexi indole hoc Placitum etiam Mallum vocârunt: Hic notandum quod Dani quorum ſermo Dialecto tantum à Theutonum idiomate differt, vocem Maul non tantum pro Convivio ut Germani & Belgæ, nos etiam Angli (nam Meal hoc ſenſu utimur) ſed pro idiomate ſine ſermone quoque uſurpant. Ipſis Theutonibus Malthen erat dicere ac ſermocinari. Franci hodierni non abs re itaque Parlamentum nuncupant. Belgicum Maul & Maultidt & noſtrum Mealſmeat pro convivio & convivendi tempore ab eodem mallo dimanaſſe haud ambigendum, cum ſermo & confabulatio convivii quaſi coagulum & vita ſit. Hinc quoque exiſtimat & quidem non abſque ratione Pontanus quod noſterioribus exinde poſt Carolum M. ſeculis hujuſmodi Imperialia colloquia conventuſque apud Germanos Diata cœperint nominari.

117. Therefore do we find that their Dignity and Place was inferiour to that of a Biſhop, as appears from *Gregory Turonenſis* in the caſe of *Badechiſil*, who from a Major of the Palace was preferred to that Sacred Function, and from the ſame Authour it is evident, that not onely Kings but Queens alſo had ſuch Officers, as had *Bogundis* whom *Waddo* ſerved in this capacity. *Hotoman* obſerves out of Hiſto-

Gregor. lib. 9. c. 27.

ry, that beſides this they had ſeveral other Names or Titles, being called *Magiſtri Regii Palatii*, *Præfecti Aulæ*, *Comites*, and *Comites Domus Regiæ*. But as he is out in comparing them for the Nature of their Office to the *Præfecti Prætorio* of the *Romans*, ſo in this alſo that he makes the *Major Domus*, and the *Comes Palatii* to be the ſame. For *Gregory* makes mention of *Florentianus* the *Major Domus Regiæ*, and of *Romulfus* the *Comes Palatii*, both which were ſent by King *Childebert* at the Invitation of *Meroneus* the Biſhop into *Poictou*. About the time of *Clothair* the Second, they began to aſpire after an extravagant Power, and the careleſneſs of ſome Princes gave them opportunity to increaſe it to that grandeur, at which at laſt it arrived. Yet were not all the Kings of the *Meroningian* Race, in general, ſuch Sots as *Eginhart* the Chancellour of *Charles* the Great, (and from him *Sigebert*) out of flattery to his Maſter, and to palliate the Treaſon of *Pipin* would make them, witneſs the great things atchieved by them againſt the *Romans*, *Alemans*, *Goths* and other Nations before ever theſe Majors were heard of. As I hinted before, the Authority of the *Placitum* or General Aſſembly increaſed with theirs, as well that of the one as the other being not heard of till later times, whatever *Sigebert* Writes that once a year on the firſt of *May*, the Kings were wont to ſhew themſelves to the People, to ſalute and be ſaluted by them. They found it a good expedient to preſerve and increaſe their Power thus to cajoll the People; then *Pipin* concluded that as naturally things are preſerved the ſame way they are obtained, it was convenient to uſe the ſame means for keeping the Crown on his Head, which he had ſerved himſelf of in the ſetting of it on; and what in him and his Son *Charles* was highly convenient, the Diſſentions and Quarrels of their Poſterity did afterward render as highly neceſſary.

Lib. 9. *c.* 30.

118. To underſtand yet more fully the Polity of the ancient *Franks*, to that of the Kings and Majors of the Palace, we muſt add the knowledge of the Dukes and Counts, a Subject proper to have been conſidered by *Hotoman* in his *Franco Gallia*, but that he could find nothing in it fit to drive on his great Deſign. That *Duces* were Generals of Armies amongſt the *Romans*, and afterward Commanded Forces upon the Borders, we have already ſufficiently diſcovered. After the *Goths* had ſeized upon part of *Gall*, although deadly Enemies to the *Romans*, yet did they not much alter the State of the Provinces, ſetting after their Example Dukes over the Provinces, and Counts over the General Cities. So do we find that King *Eurick* appointed *Victorius* to be Duke over ſeven Cities and the *Arverni*: And about the ſame time we find that *Marſeilles* was under the Government of a Count, mentioned by *Sidonius* upon a particular occaſion. Afterwards we find *Goianius* and *Timotheus* famous upon this account, that the Breviary of *Theodoſius* his Code being finiſhed, *Alarick* ſent it unto them to be made uſe of in Adminiſtration of Juſtice, as appears by the Commonitory prefixed to the Work. In like manner the *Franks* having vanquiſhed the *Romans*, *Goths* and *Burgundians*, and become Lords of *Gall*, did not change the State and Polity of the Provinces, as they found them framed by the *Romans*. They neither aboliſhed the uſe of Dukes nor Counts, leſt by a new poſture of things they ſhould diſcontent and alienate the affections of the Provincials, but on the contrary accommodated themſelves to the *Roman* Cuſtoms, as both *Procopius* and *Agathias* do teſtifie, and thereby though Conquerours ſubmitted to the Conquered. Neither can this ſeem ſtrange, for the *Franks* ſerving in the Wars, and being in the *Satellitium* of Guard of the Emperours, had ſufficient opportunity to make the Cuſtomes of the *Romans* familiar to them; *Ammainus*, as we have formerly ſhewn, witneſſing that a multitude of them flouriſhed in the Court, and *Gregory Turonenſis* confirming this to us by this paſſage, that *Valentinian* being ſhut up in a private Houſe of *Vienna*, and almoſt reduced to the State of a private Man, the care of the *Militia* was committed to the *Franks*, who were *Satellites* or of the Guard about him.

Dukes.

Counts.

Gregor. Turon. lib. 2. *c.* 20.

Lib. 7. *Ep.* 17.

Lib. 15.

Lib. 1. *c.* 9.

119. The *Franks* as they found ſo continued thoſe of Dukes and Counts, and that from the firſt founding of their Kingdom in *Gall*, for *Aimoinus* makes mention of *Winomadus* a Duke under *Childerick*, and of *Aurelian* under *Clodonæus*, to whom the Kingdom of *Milidunum* was delivered. From the beginning of this Sovereignty of the *Franks*, this was the difference betwixt Dukes and Counts; that Dukes had the Command of many Cities, or of particular Provinces, whereas the Counts ruled the particular Cities or parts of Provinces. This is ſo evident from * *Gregory Turonenſis*, that nothing can be more; and thence came it that Counts are † compared to Biſhops in Dignity, and Dukes to Arch-Biſhops. The Power of Dukes was larger than that of Counts, but their Office and Duty was the ſame for ſubſtance.

The difference betwixt Dukes and Counts in their Power, Duty and Office.

* *Conferto l.* 8. *c.* 18. & 26. *l.* 9. *c.* 7. *cum l.* 6. *c.* 26.

† *Walafridus Strabo de Reb. Eccleſ. c.* 31.

ſtance. Dukes had charge of matters || concerning War, and gave Order out to the Counts concerning the levying of Forces. It was incumbent upon * both Dukes and Counts, to fortifie and protect the Cities and Places under their charge. In times of Peace Dukes precided in hearing † and deſiding Controverſies. Thence is it that in the form of the Office of a Duke extant in *Marculſus* the Monk, it's required that ſuch an one Govern the People committed to his truſt, whether *Franks*, *Romans*, or *Burgundians*, according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of each Nation. || Dukes alſo took care of the yearly Tributes of the Provinces, as did the * Preſidents and Governours of Provinces amongſt the *Romans*. Such as anſwered not to the Summons to the War, the Counts † puniſhed. In Peace alſo they were employed as well as Dukes in || Adminiſtation of Juſtice. It was their concern to have * the Province kept in quiet, to take care alſo of the † Tributes and publick Revenues, in which Employment they uſed the Miniſtery and aſſiſtence of their *Vicarii* or *Vicars*.

|| *Vide Gregor. l. 7. c. 7.*

* *Lib. 6. c. 41.*

† *Juſtitiam pauper nunquam te Judice perdit, Nec poterit pretio vertere vera potens. Sic Fortunatus ad Bodeſigilum Ducem Maſſiliæ.*

|| *Marculfus.*

* *Cod. de Præfect. Ægypti* § 1.

† *Biturigum quoque Comes miſit pueros ſuos ut in domo B. Martini, &c.*

|| *Gregorium Vide, lib. 8. c. 18. & l. 10. c. 6. Eundem de miraculis Sanctorum, l. 2. c. 16. Fortunatum, l. 10. c. 2. Concilium Vernenſe c. 23. Cabillonenſe Secundum, c. 21. & Triburienſe, c. 9.*

* *Lib. 5. c. 15.*

† *Gregor. paſſim.*

Vicarii, Centenarii, Decani.

120. For the * *Vicarii* were their Deputies, as were alſo the † *Centenarii* and || *Scabinei* or *Decani*, in the leſſer Towns or Villages, the Count's *Pagus*, *Place* of his Juriſdiction or County, being divided into *Vicariæ*, *Centenæ* and *Decaniæ*. Farther, let the Reader take notice theſe ſeveral Counties and Provinces alſo made up the *Miſſatici* or *Miſſatica*, which were certain Regions or Tracts, through which certain Miniſters of Princes from their ſending called *Miſſi*, were diſpatched abroad and diſtributed. From theſe *Miſſi* came the Title of *Commiſſarii*, and they were of ſeveral ſorts. As *Miſſi Dominici*, who were extraordinary Commiſſioners, ſent by the Prince into divers parts of the Kingdom for Adminiſtration of Juſtice. *Miſſi diſcurrentes* who were ſent into the Provinces for diſpatch of ſome particular Affair, and ſo called becauſe they ſtaid not in their *Miſſatica*, as did the *Miſſi Dominici*, but having diſpatched their buſineſs, quickly returned, moſt like to our Juſtices of Aſſize. *Charles the Bald* diſtributed all his Kingdom, (except *Aquitain* which was Governed apart, and *Britannia Aremorica* which had lately Rebelled,) into twelve of theſe Regions or *Miſſatici*, and in theſe inſtituted ſo many Colleges of *Miſſi Dominici*, whereof each according to the cuſtome had one or two Biſhops belonging to it, as alſo one Abbat and one Count, or more of each ſort as the caſe required. For example, in the third *Miſſaticum* of theſe are theſe *Pagi* to be taken notice of by the Inhabitants of the Low Countries: *Noviomiſus* or rather *Noviomenſis*, now *Nogonnois*, *Vermandiſus Vermandois*, *Advertiſus Artois*, *Curtriciſus Courtray*, and *Flandrenſis Flandres*. Of the *Cortoriacenſes* the *Notitia Imperii* maketh mention, and of *Flanders Ludovicus Pius* in the diviſion which he made of his Kingdom amongſt his Sons, and is extant in *Pithæus* his Collections.

Miſſi.

* *Vide Capitular. Caroli M. l. 2. c. 28. & Concil. Arelat. quarti, c. 23.*

† *Tales etiam Tungini erant. Sal. leg. tit. 48. Hoc obſervare Convenit, ut Tunginus vel Centenarius mallum indicet. Gloſſ. vet. Tunginus qui poſt Comitem eſt, dictus forte à Ting, quod forum Judiciale olim Germanis & nunc adhuc Danis ſignificat.*

|| *Gloſſ. latino. Thootis. Judex Scepeno. Quæ hodiéque vox eadem adhuc notione apud Germanos Belgáſque uſitata retinetur. Nec aliunde Francorum Eſchevius deducuntur.*

121. But to return to the Counts, the cogniſance of more weighty cauſes belonged to them, and thoſe of the leſſer to the *Vicars* and *Centenaries*. For ſome reaſon therefore are theſe *Vicars* of Counts and *Centenarii* compared to Parochial Presbyters, which held Baptiſmal Churches, and commanded the inferiour ſort of Prieſts, by *Walafridus Strabo*. The Dignity of a Count was a ſtep to the promotion of a Duke, which was accounted the Top or higheſt pitch of his Preferment. That the *Ducatus* or Dukedom contained ſeveral *Comitatus* or Counties is certain, but how many is not agreed on by Learned Men. *Pithæus* reckons no fewer than twelve, as neceſſary to the making up of a Dukedom, and herein he follows the Annals of *Pipin*, and *Aimoinus* which inform that the ſaid *Pipin* gave to *Griffo* his Brother after he was taken Priſoner, twelve Counties and this was according to the cuſtome of Dukes. But others contend that the Number was varied according to the pleaſure of the Prince, neither was the account of Dukedoms certain in this reſpect, as almoſt an infinite Number of places in *Gregory Turonenſis*, do abundantly teſtifie which ſeldom aſſign more than three or four Counties to a Dukedom, and conclude nothing certain. *Bignonius* that he may not contradict *Aimoinus*, very cautiouſly would fix this cuſtome of twelve Counties upon the Reign or Age of *Pipin* as peculiar to it. But *Alteſerra* doubts not to affirm, that theſe words *Ducum more*, according to the cuſtome of Dukes, are a Comment of the unskilfull Monk, there appearing in this Age not any one Footſtep of ſuch a Cuſtome. Nay this ſame Authour acknowledges, that in the next following Age of *Ludovicus Pius*, the Dukedom of *Forum Julii* or *Friuli* was divided into four Counties. Or *Aimoinus* might be deceived by the Conſtitution of *Pelagius the Second*, which

A Dukedom what.

Vide Capitular. Caroli M. l. 3. c. 79. & Sangallenſem de geſtis ejuſd. Caroli. l. 1. c. 31.

C. ult.

1 *Advers.* 8.

Auton. Dadinus Alteſerra in libro de Ducibus & Comitibus Provincialibus Galliæ.

Lib. 5. c. 12.

gives ten or eleven Cities to a Province, whereupon he might think a Dukedom was to conſiſt of ſo many, or one more. But he ought to have obſerved, that a Province was here deſigned, rather according to the Eccleſiaſtical than Civil form, and that in *Gall* the meaſure of Dukedoms was as has been ſaid, in no place certain.

122. At firſt the Duration of the Offices of theſe Dukes and Counts was various, limited onely by the Will and good Pleaſure of the King to a certain time. This is abundantly evident from *Gregory Turonenſis*, as well as others, who has frequently theſe forms of Speech, *ex Duce*, *ex Comite*, *ex Vicario*, ſignifying thoſe who formerly diſcharged ſuch Employments; but now were ſuperſeded. It were needleſs to reckon up thoſe many, which by Name we could mention to have been made Dukes and Counts of ſuch and ſuch particular places. In Caſe any one died in his Employment, the Prince appointed him his Succeſſour whom he pleaſed, ſo *Charles* the *Bald* beſtowed the Honours of *Gerard* Count of the *Biturices*, upon *Boſo* the Brother of his Wife *Richildis*, and *Ludovicus Balbus* diſtributed the Employments of *Bernard* the Marqueſs of *Gothia*. The firſt that began to Change this Courſe, and to take more upon him, was *Bernard* the Duke of *Septimania*, catching hold of the opportunity preſented him by the War which then raged betwixt *Lotharius* and his Brothers, *Charles* and *Lodowick*. Confident in his own ſtrength, he ſate as an indifferent Perſon and looker on, and then by his Son *William* recommending himſelf to *Charles* the *Bald* the Conquerour, required that his place and Honours he had in *Burgundy*, might be confirmed and ſettled on him. Afterward the Authority and Empire of the ſecond Race, or the *Carloningi* declining, and *Charles* the ſimple Reigning but precariouſly in reſpect of his Age, our Provincial Dukes and Counts began to Challenge their Governments by way of Dominion and Propriety, and tranſmitting them to their Heirs, made the Kings *Vaſſi* to be their *Vaſſalls*.

Their Honours during Pleaſure.

De Leudaſte Comite Turonenſi: Tu verò Ducatum totius Regni ejus annis quinque tenebis, l. 5. *c.* 14. *Vide etiam, l.* 9. *c.* 7. *l.* 4. *c.* 36. *&c.*

Vide Alteſerram ubi ſuprà, cap. 5.

Continuator Aimoini, l. 5. *c.* 27.

Idem ibid. c. 37.

Nithard. l. 3.

123. After this manner did *Robert* ſucceed *Odo* his Brother in the Dukedom of the *Franks*, and becauſe ſome part of the Principality which *Odo* had held before he was choſen King was not reſtored to him, he began to conſpire againſt *Charles* the *Bald*, and affect the Kingdom. In like manner *Richard* the Duke of *Burgundy* had for Succeſſour *Rodulph* his Son, and *Herbert* Count of *Vermandois* his Son of the ſame Name with himſelf. This now was univerſally Challenged as a thing of Right, but ſuch as were more dutifull to their Kings, when they divided their Governments amongſt their Children, would deſire their Conſent to the Diſtribution. So in *Regino* we reade, that *Uto* the Count at his Death, whatſoever Preferment or Governments he had by Permiſſion of the King, he divided as an Inheritance amongſt his Sons. About the ſame time ſeven Dukes or Provincial Counts, raiſed themſelves to the Power of ſo many petty Princes or *Reguli*, as the Duke of the *Franks*, the Count of *Paris*, the Dukes of *Burgundy*, *Normandy* and *Aquitain*, the Counts of *Flanders*, *Champaigne* and *Tolouſe*, who in a manner contended with the Kings for Dignity, and by their Ambaſſadours would diſpute with them as upon even Ground. At length *Hugh Capet*, having ſeized the Sovereignty, in ſome meaſure made up the Breaches of the Kingdom, but very cautiouſly like a prudent Phyſician gently handling theſe great and feſtered Wounds of the Common-wealth. Accommodating himſelf to the times, he let paſs ſuch as had been of longer Continuance, leſt he ſhould diſcover his own weakneſs, and made them with the other leſſer *Feuda*, as perpetual and Hereditary, reſerving to himſelf and Succeſſours the Sovereign Juriſdiction, Allegiance and Military Services. By this Agreement and League, as it were, the Face of a Kingdom was reſtored, and the Dukes and Counts became faithfull and obedient; but yet the Majeſty of the Kingdom recovered not, till ſome time after, theſe Noblemen retaining the *Regalia* or Royal Privileges, which during the Diſturbances they had uſurped. What theſe *Regalia* were it's too long for us to inſert, and the Reader may have abundant Satisfaction out of *Alteſerra*. Thus much at preſent we obſerve, that contrary to the Aſſertions of *Hotoman*, the Power of the *Meroningians* was free and uncontrolled; thoſe Dukes and Counts being wholly at their Devotion. And that the Wars, Seditions and Changes of Government which followed, brought forth theſe Extravagancies and Innovations for which he pleadeth.

Aimoini Continuator, l. 5. *c.* 41. *Willielm. Gemitic. l.* 8. *c.* 26.

Ad. A. D. 940.

Vide Frodoardum in Chronic. ad Ann. 924.

124. To omit the *Seneſcallus* & *Comes ſtabuli*, as Officers conſiderable onely in latter Ages, and ſo not proper to our preſent Work, as neither to this Diſquiſition tending to the diſcovery of the Polity and Government of the ancient *Franks*, we ſhall after the Governours, inform the Reader a little concerning the Ranks and Diſtinctions of the People. They were diſtinguiſhed into *Edelingi*, *Frilingi* and

Laſſi,

Sed vide ſuprà Paragr. 71.

The People are diſtinguiſhed into;

Laſſi, as were the *Saxons* their Neighbours. The *Edelingi* were the Nobility, *Edel, Ethel* and *Etheling* in the *Teutonick*, and our ancient Engliſh *Saxon* Tongue ſignifying *Noble*. Of theſe *Edelingi* mention is made in the Rythmes, Compoſed in the true and ancient *French* Language, ſent to King *Ludovicus*, and in the *Offridian verſion* of the Goſpel. *Marculfus* the Monk, who lived about the Reign of *Dagobert, A. D.* 660. mentions the order of the Nobility, and ſhews how Biſhops were wont to be Elected out of it, which is obſervable alſo in *Sidonius*, and *Gregorius Turonenſis*. The *Frilingi* were ſo named, becauſe they were *Fry*, or as we ſay Freemen, anſwering to our *Teomen*, as did the *Ethelingi* to our *Edelmen*, *Noble* or *Gentlemen*; and of them mention is often made in the Laws of the *Franks*. The *Laſſi* were Slaves, or rather anſwered fully to our *Villains*, who Tilled the Ground as Hirelings, and Tributaries to the Condition of which, that of the old *Lacedemonian Helotæ*, and the preſent *French Peaſants* doth much anſwer. Such of theſe as were Manumitted or ſet Free, were termed *Frilaſſi*, or in their own Language *Frigelaſſene*, concerning which the Reader may ſee enough in the *Formulæ* of *Marculfus*, and the Notes of *Hieronymus Bignonius* upon them, who obſerves, that there were three ſorts of theſe Manumiſſions, or three ſeveral ways they were made Free. One was by a *Denarius* or piece of Money, another was in the Church, and a third by a Paper or a private Letter, concerning which we have abundant Satisfaction from the *Salick* Laws, *Gregory Turonenſis*, and the *Formulæ* of *Bignonius* and *Pithæus*. Beſides theſe *Laſſi*, in Writers of the ſame Age we meet with *Liti*, who are thought to have been a ſort of *Villains* alſo little different from the other, except in this, that they parted with their Freedom for Money.

Edelingi.

Frilingi.

Laſſi.

Liti.

Formular. l. 1. *c.* 5.

Pontana. Orig. Franc. l. 6. *c.* 15.

125. Something we muſt add concerning their Laws, and then it will be more than time to diſmiſs our *Franks*. And to fetch things a little higher in reference to *Gall* it ſelf, we muſt know that the Conquerours were not onely wont to impoſe their Language, but their Laws, alſo upon the Conquered. Therefore as *Livy* tells us, the *Crotoniatæ* refuſing to ſubmit to the Dominion of the *Brutii* affirmed, they would rather dye, than mixing and imbodying themſelves with them, they would exchange their own for the Cuſtoms, Rites, Laws and Language of Strangers. The *Romans* uſing the political Courſe impoſed not onely Tributes and their Language, but their Laws and Magiſtrates, upon thoſe they had once reduced under their Subjection; whereupon their Law, called the Civil Law by way of Excellency, was propagated together with their Empire through all Quarters, and the Provincials ſtudied it, as their greateſt Comfort, as that to which of neceſſity they muſt have Recourſe. The firſt part of *Gall*, which received this Law in this manner, was *Gallia Narbonenſis* called formerly *Bracchata*, which being Conquered by *Fabius Maximus* had the *Jus Italicum* beſtowed upon it with Immunity from Tribute: Many of the beſt Inhabitants were taken into the Senate before the time of *Auguſtus*, and from the Privilege it received of wearing the *Roman* Gown, it obtained alſo the Name of *Gallia Togata*. Moreover *Aquitain*, the *Daulphinate* and *Savoy* were Provinces before *Julius Cæſar*, and all of them received the *Roman* Laws, being governed by Preſidents and Proconſuls, as long as till the Reign of *Honorius* the Emperour, who gave up his Right in them to *Athaulphus* the *Goth*. At length all *Gall* being Conquered by *Cæſar*, followed this Example. This appears firſt from the Anſwers, which the Emperours returned to the Preſidents of the Provinces, who conſulted them upon occaſion yet extant in our Law Books. Secondly from this, that the Youth of *Gall* frequently reſorted to *Rome*, there to ſtudy the Law, as appears from *Rutilius*, *Sidonius*, and *Altiſſiodorenſis* and others, who inſtance in *Palladius*, *Eutropius*, *Germanus* and the like. Thirdly, the new Conſtitutions of Princes were wont to be publiſhed at the Tribunals of the Judges in *Gall*, and entred amongſt their Records. And laſtly from *Zozimus* it appears, that at the Declenſion of the Empire, *Britain*, and ſome Provinces of *Gall* having by their own ſtrength cleared themſelves of the *Germans*, without the Aſſiſtence of the *Romans*, rejected their Laws, and returned again to their own Cuſtoms. Hence it is evident, that *Gall* with the Empire received the Law of *Rome*, although ſome Free Cities were permitted at firſt to live according to their own Cuſtoms. As were the *Arverni* and *Rutæni* by order of the *Roman* People, the *Hedei* and *Atrubetes* by *Cæſar*: the *Maſſilienſes* alſo retained their old Laws and Cuſtoms, whereof ſome Footſteps remain in *Strabo*, *Valerius Maximus* and others. The firſt *Roman* Lawyer that *Gall* ſaw after *Cæſar's* Invaſion was *Trebatius*, with whom *Cicero* makes himſelf very Merry.

The Civil Law impoſed on them by the *Romans*.

Lib. 24.

In Panegyr. ad Origen.
Gregorius Thaumaturgus Ep. Neocæſarienſis magnum id Viaticum eſſe prædicat, μέγιστον ἐφόδιον τὴν μάθησιν τῶν νόμων. *Et Gregor. Nazianzenus ait.* Ῥωμαίων μὲν νόμων μηδενὶ ἀγνοεῖν ἐξεῖναι. *Orat.* 21.

Ut l. milites D. de cuſtod. Reor. l. Spadonem §. *Imp. D. de excuſ. Tutel. l.* 2. *c. de municip. & Originar.*

Lib. 1. *Itiner.*
Lib. 1. *ep.* 6.
Lib. 1. *de vita Sancti Germani*
Philoſtratus de vita Apollonii l 7. *c.* 17.
Auguſtin. Confeſſ. l. 6. *c.* 8. *de Alipio.*
Sidonius ad Nammatium l. 8. *ep.* 6.
L. 6. *p.* 827.
Cæſar de bell. Gall. l. 1. *c.* 10.
Idem c. 10.
Idem, ibid. l. 7. *c.* 14.
Lib. 7. *epp.* 10, & 16.

126. The

Sect. 4.

126. The *Roman* Empire going to Ruine, and the *Goths* having ſeized on *Aquitain*, with the Province of *Narbon*, they indeavoured to remove, as other Marks of the *Roman* Dominion, ſo alſo that of the Laws. But in reſpect of the Laws, the Provincials deſpiſed them, keeping to thoſe of *Theodoſius*, and raiſed heavy Complaints againſt *Seronatus* the Prefect of *Gall*, as treading upon thoſe of *Rome*, and Conſpiring with the *Goths* for their Extirpation. At length *Alaricus* the laſt King of theſe *Goths*, perceiving the Minds of the People ſo addicted to the Laws of *Theodoſius*, that there was no hope of bringing them to have any *Guſto* of the *Gothick*, cauſed a Breviary of *Theodoſius* his Code, to be Compoſed by ſome Select Perſons, and to be publiſhed by *Anianus* his Chancellour; and leſt he ſhould diminiſh his own Majeſty, by admitting this Foreign Law, made it his own as appears by the Commonitory to *Timotheus* the Count prefixed to it. This *Alarick* being ſlain, *Aquitain* with part of the Province of *Narbon*, was ſubdued by *Clodonæus*, but *Septimania* for the preſent eſcaping the Conquerours hands, remained in the Power of the *Viſigoths*, as did the Province of *Arby* in the hands of *Theodorick* the *Oſtrogothian* and *Italian* King. In theſe Countries yet remaining to the *Goths*, to be ſure the *Roman* Law Continued ſafe, of which *Theodorick* himſelf is more than once Witneſs in *Caſſiodorus*. *Clodonæus* alſo, either becauſe he thought it impoſſible, or unſafe to make ſuch an Alteration, or unwilling to ſhew any Harſhneſs to thoſe who had invited him into the Countrey, or rather for that he had no better to obtrude upon them, ſuffered them to enjoy their beloved Civil Law, with all Freedom.

Lib. 3. *epp.* 17. & 43.

127. Hence came it to paſs, that the Provincials of *Aquitain* and others beyond the *Loire*, were by the *Franks* called *Romans*, as alſo the whole Countrey on that ſide of the ſame River, *Romania*, *Romana Terra*, and *Gallia Romana*. Moreover King *Clothair*, under the Name of *Romans* by an Edict, permitted them the uſe of *Roman* Laws, as alſo did *Guntran*, *Chilperick* and *Sigebert* by their Approbation. As agreeable hereto, did ſeveral Biſhops and others, make their Wills fully conformable to the Rules of the Civil Law which *Gregory Turonenſis* witneſſeth; and *Aimoinus* tells us, that *Sadregiſilus* the Duke of *Aquitain* being ſlain, his Sons for that they would nor proſecute and revenge the Murther, were according to the appointment of the *Roman* Laws, deſpoiled of all their Father's Goods. In the days of *Clodonæus* the ſecond, and the Son of *Dagobert*, flouriſhed this Law as is fully manifeſt from *Marculfus* his Forms of Codicils directed to the Rulers of Provinces. In the Age alſo of *Childerick* the ſecond it is evident enough, that the Civil Law was in high Eſteem, both in the Courts and the Schools of the *Arverni*. *Charles* the Great, following the Example of his Predeceſſours of the firſt Line, eſtabliſhed the uſe of it to thoſe that lived beyond the *Loire*, Commanding the Code of *Theodoſius* to be mended for their uſe, as appears from the laſt words added to the Commonitory of *Alaricus*, and prefixed to the ſaid Code. Nay he was ſo great a Friend to this imperial Law, that many things out of this Volume he cauſed to be transferred into his own Capitularies. The ſame Courſe was obſerved, by thoſe of his Family to the Ruine thereof, a notable Inſtance of which we have in *Gerard*, a certain Count of *Aquitain*, who that he might not break the famous Law called *Fuſia Cialia* (and *Mundialis* in our Authour) by his Teſtament refuſed to Manumitt more than one hundred of his Slaves. At that time flouriſhed many eminent Men in *Aquitain*, who were great Proficients in this Science. Particularly *Abbo* the Father of *Odo Cluniacenſis*, is ſaid by *Joannes Italus* the Writer of the Life of the Son, to have had by Heart the Hiſtories of the Ancients, and the Novel of *Juſtinian*. In *Septimania* indeed, by an Edict of *Cindaſuindus* King of the *Viſigoths*, the *Roman* Law was as it were turned out of Doors, and the *Gothick* prevailed ſo long as the *Goths* poſſeſſed that part of *Gallia Narbonenſis*, but after the Countrey was ſubdued by the *Franks*, they recalled the *Roman* as we may eaſily gather from the perpetual Laws of *Charles* the Great, *Ludovicus Pius*, and *Charles* the *Bald*.

Fredegarius in Chronica Ligeris alveum tranſeunt, Romanos proterunt, uſque Biturigas urbem accedunt, &c. Concilia item paſſim. Fortunatus, Luitprandus alii.

Lib. 4. *c.* 28.

Ex vita S. Prajecti Arvernenſis Ep. & ex vita S. Boniti itidem Arvernenſis Ep. apud Surium, Tom. 1. *Januar.* 15.

Et iterum Anno XX *regnante Carolo Rege Franc. & Longobard. & Patricio Romano. Juſtum inquit eſt ut lex Mundialis in hoc obſervetur, & ideo numerum in eadem lege præſtitutum prætergredi non debere.*

Odo Cluniacenſis vit. S. Gerald. lib. 3.

Leg. Wiſig. l. 2. *c.* 8.

128. But we are told by *Eginart*, that the *Franks* had two Laws very different in many places. The Reader muſt know then, that beſides this of the *Romans* they found in *Gall*, they made or brought with them another of their own which is the *Salick Law*, ſo much ſpoken of in later Ages. Who were the Authours of it, is ſufficiently ſet forth in the Preface, and *Sigebert* moreover informs us; as that it was Compoſed by four of their Noblemen choſen out of many, and known by the Names of *Wiſogaſt*, *Boſogaſt*, *Salogaſt* and *Widogaſt*, in theſe Villages of *Germany*, *Salachaim*, *Bodochaim* and *Wingehaim*. We are told that theſe four meeting in three

The *Salick Law.*

Nam Franci duas habent leges plurimis in locis valde diverſas.

Sigebertus Gemblacenſis ad Ann. 422.

Malli,

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Malli, or ſo many ſeveral places of Aſſemblies, very carefully handled and diſcuſſed Cauſes, reſolving to Judge according as the *Salick Law* declareth. Whence it ſhould be called, there are different Opinions. Some derive the Name from *Sal* and *Sala*, ſignifying a *Court* or *Hall*, as if for *Salica* ſhould be meant *Aulica*. So *Aventinus* interprets *Lex Salica*, *Terra Salica*, *Salica Prædia*, and *Salici Clientes*, and indeed ſtill at this day the *Dutch*-men have this word *Salbuch* frequently in their Mouths, whereby they mean *Salicus Codex* or a *Salick Book*, wherein are deſcribed the Grounds belonging to the King or Church, together with the Tributes and Revenues. Moreover in the Laws of the *Alemans* and other Nations, the word *Sala* is often uſed for an *Houſe*, as *Hall* now is uſed by us *Engliſh*, and not onely for the greateſt Room or dining Room, as *Salle* in *French* alſo ſignifies. In this Senſe the *Salick Land* ſhould properly be that Land or Ground, which being Conquered was aſſigned to the Court or Courtiers, wherein the Female Sex could not ſucceed, as unable by Arms to defend and ſecure it. *Lindebrogius* cites an old Gloſſary, wherein *Terra Salica* is explained by the *Teutonick* word *Selilant*, as the Ground or Soil belonging to the Court or the King's Houſe.

Whence ſo called.

Vide Pontanum in Orig. Francic. l. 6. c. 17.

Leg. Alaman. tit. 81.
Leg. Longobar. tit. 3, 4.

129. Others derive the word from the *Franci Salii* mentioned by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who writes that Cuſtome called them *Salii*, who formerly took the boldneſs to fix their Habitations in the *Roman* Pale at *Toxiandria locus*, and when *Julian* was come to *Tungri*, he adds, that there it was, that their Ambaſſadours met him. Betwixt theſe Opinions there's no Repugnancy, they may both be true. This Law might be called *Salick* from the People; and the People called *Salii*, from the *Sal* or *Sala* lately mentioned. But this *Toxiandrialocus* in the Judgement of ſeveral Learned Men, is that very Village in the lower *Loraine*, which to this day is called *Teſſanderlo*. For the People called *Tungri* in the ſame Tract, and the River *Moſa* flowing along are moſt certain Notes of the Habitation of theſe *Franci Salii* in the time of *Julian*, betwixt the Rivers *Sceld* and *Meuſe*, wherein during the Reign of *Pharamond*, the *Law Salick* was Compoſed. Theſe three Villages mentioned by *Sigebert*, in the Opinion alſo of very judicious Perſons are ſtill remaining in the Countrey of *Brabant*, and now known by the Names of *Zelheim*, *Boderſheim* and *Winderſhoven*. For the firſt *Zelheim*, with a little Variation of Dialect in the *Teutonick* Tongue ſounds no other than the Habitation of the *Salii*, over againſt which on the other ſide of the River *Tamera*, ſtands a *Salick* Village called *Zelck*: There lyes alſo a Region betwixt *Herkam* and *Halen*, at this day called *Vranckriick*, or the Kingdom of *France*; and beneath that the *Salick* Meadows, known by the Names of *Zeelbemden*, which manifeſtly prove thoſe to have been the firſt Seats of the *Salick Franks*.

Petiitque omnium Primos Francos quos Conſuetudo Salios appellavit, auſos olim in Romano ſolo apud Toxiandriam-locum habitacula figere, lib. 17.

Petrus Dinæus Rer. Brabant, l. 2. Chriſtoph. Bronwems Annal. Trevirenſ, l. 4. Nicolas Vigneſius Biblioth. Tom. 1. p. 881. Johannes, Jacobus Chiffletius Vindic. Hiſp. c. 5.

Germani pro S utuntur Z zel itaque pro Sel vel Sal. Heim idem cum noſtro Ham, quo terminantur multa oppidorum vocabula. Inde etiam Home. Sic Zelheim eſt Sal ham. Habitatio Saliorum.

130. But *Julian* the Emperour himſelf writing of theſe *Franks*, which living at *Toxandria* had made their Addreſſes to him, calls them a part of the *Salii*, which hints that another part of them inhabited elſewhere. Now that any which dwelt beyond the *Rhine* were called *Salii*, appears not at all; therefore *Chiffletius* thinks, that thoſe of the *Franks* which had paſſed that River, and now fixed on this ſide, were ſo named from the River *Salia*, which riſing out of the Lake by him called *Lindrius Lacus* at the City of *Metz*, empties it ſelf into the *Moſelle*. Now that this River had it's Name from *Sal* or *Salt*, *Fortunatus* tells us, where he Enumerates the Rivers of *Gallia Belgica*. *Chiffletius* adds, that this Etymology is founded upon very good Reaſons. For not far from the River are the Salt Fountains of *Loraine*, which Spring up at *Dieuze*, *Marſal*, *Mogennic*, *Salone* and *Chaſteau-ſalin*, at which places they boil the water into Salt: Neither is far diſtant, the Monaſtery of the *Salt Valley*, of the Order of St. *Norbert*. That greateſt Conteſts of old happened betwixt the *Burgundians* and *Allemans*, the *Catti* and *Hermundari* about ſuch Salt waters we are aſſured by ſeveral Writers, as well out of a ſuperſtitious Conceit they had of ſuch impregnated Waters, for the great Gain that ariſes out of ſuch Traffick; and why might not they have the ſame Deſires? why might not the ſame Endeavours be uſed by the *Franks*? But that from this *Salia* they were ſo named, this renders it ſtill more probable, that in the parts of *Loraine* ſeveral other People may be found, which took their Names from the adjoyning Rivers: As from the River *Monus* (by *Regino* called *Mogonus*) the *Mogonciaci* from *Rura*, the *Ribuarii*, in old French, *les Ruyers*, from *Elellus* the *Elſatii*: From *Haina* the *Hainonii*, and from the *Moſella* the *Moſellani*. Why then not as well from

In Epiſt. ad Athenienſes.
Μοίραν τῶν Σαλιῶν.

Iſara, Sara, Chares, Scaldis, Saba, Somona, Sura: Seu qui Mettin adit, de ſale nomen habens, lib. 7. c. 4.

from *Salia* the *Salii*. To ſpeak indifferently this is very probable, and *Papirius Maſſonus* was of this Opinion, that the *Salick Law* was ſo denominated from *Salia* the River of the *Mediomatrici*, as alſo *Hotoman*, that the People received this Appellation from the River.

131. From very many Inſtances and Examples, *Chiffletius* proves that in thoſe Countries, lying within the Rivers, *Meuſe*, *Moſelle*, *Scelde* and *Somona*, or the *Somme*, the *Salick Law* was uſed and in Force for many Ages, amongſt thoſe who were firſt called *Salii*, then *Auſtratii*, and afterward *Lotharingi*. Upon the very ſame account, *Conrade* the ſecond Emperour was long after called *Salicus*, becauſe he was born in the *Salick Land*, in the Territories of *Wormes*, within the Borders of the Eaſtern *France*, or the ancient Kingdom of *Loraine*. In like manner, St. *Norbert* born in the Countrey of *Cleeve*, in the Dioceſe of *Coleine*, is by *Hugo Cameracenſis*, his firſt Aſſociate and Succeſſour in the *Pramonſtratenſian* Monaſtery, ſaid to be deſcended of the Illuſtrious Off-ſpring of the *Franks*, and the *Salick Germans*, that is to ſay of the *Auſtraſians*, who were the Eaſtern *Franks*, called afterward *Lotharingi*, the Kings of whom were intituled, *Reges Orientalis Franciæ: Kings of Oriental France*. To theſe in the Opinion of *Cujacius*, truly and properly belonged the *Salick Law*, by Virtue whereof Males alone ſucceeded their Anceſtours in their Inheritances. For ſo a branch of it runs: But of the *Salick Land* no Portion of the Inheritance paſſeth to a Woman, but this the Male Sex acquires; that is to ſay, Sons ſucceed in the Inheritance. This is that paſſage, whereupon has been raiſed ſuch a noiſe in the World, and has coſt two Neighbouring Nations, ſo much Bloud and Treaſure.

In vita circa Annum 1140.

De terra verò Salica in mulierem nulla portio Hæreditatis tranſit, ſed hoc virilis ſexus acquirit: Hoc eſt filii in ipſa Hæreditate ſuccedunt.
Tit. 62. §. 6.

132. But *Cujacius* very well obſerves, and ſo doth *Hotoman* in his *Franco-gallia*, that in ſeveral Books are written the *Law Salick*, and the Law of the *Franks*: And that this belonged to thoſe of the Weſt, and that to the other of the Eaſt, or the *Auſtraſians*, and *Lotharingians* as they were afterwards called. *Chifflet* affirms, the *Salick Land* to be the Dukedom of the upper *Loraine*, the right of Succeſſion in it, by Virtue of this Law belonging to Males onely, as alſo in the Dukedom of the lower *Loraine*, till ſuch time as by Indulgence of the Emperours, the Succeſſion was alſo devolved upon the weak Sex. As by many Inſtances, he proves that the *Salick Law* belonged to the Eaſtern *Franks*, ſo by as many and more doth he ſhew, that it no way concerned the Kingdom of the Weſtern, which at this day we call *France*. That ſometimes the Kingdom was transferred to the Males, when there were Females remaining, *viz.* the Daughters of the late deceaſed Kings cannot be denied, as we have ſeen in the Caſe of *Guntram*, who though he left a Daughter called *Clotilde*, yet his Kingdom went not to her, but to his Brother *Sigebert*. So *Childebert* the third dying, the Crown came to his Brother *Clothair*, though he left two Daughters; and *Cherebert* the fifth being deceaſed, the Succeſſion was devolved upon *Sigebert* his Brother, and his three Daughters were excluded. Theſe Inſtances and Teſtimonies yet he over-rules by a far greater number on the other ſide, whereby he doubts not, but that he demonſtrates that the *Law Salick* was never obſerved nor practiſed, there where ſome in later Ages for their own Intereſts, have ſo much pleaded and contended for it.

Separatis libris habetur lex Salica & lex Francorum: Hæc eſt Occidentalium, illa Orientalium. Lib. 1. *de Feudis tit.* 1.

*Vindic. Hiſp. c.*6.

133. Firſt, had any ſuch Law been regarded as Sacred and Inviolable, it would have awed the *Franks* ſo much, that after the Death of *Clodio* they would not have paſſed by his Children, and transferred the Kingdom to *Meronæus* his Kinſman, probably deſcended of the Bloud Royal by the Female Sex. It would alſo have been a Bridle to them, againſt their rejecting of *Childerick*, and making choice of *Ægidius* the *Roman* Patritian, whoſe Mother or Wife probably was a *Frank*, becauſe we find that his Son *Siagrius* poſſeſſed the City of *Soiſſons* by right of Inheritance. Had there been ſuch a kind of Curb, a Reverence to ſuch a Law, it would have been more effectually joyned at leaſt with their Duty and Allegiance, than to ſuffer them to reject the Male Line of the *Meroningians*, and promote the Family of *Charles Martell*, which was deſcended of it by a Female, as we have formerly ſhewed, *viz.* by *Blithilde* the Daughter of King *Clothair*, Married to *Anſbert* the Duke of *Auſtraſia*. The like Example we find in *Wido*, Duke of *Spoletum* who was choſen King, though he was deſcended from *Charles* the Great, by a Daughter onely of *Pipin* the ſecond; but for this very reaſon that he was a Kinſman by his Mother, of *Charles* the Simple. *Odo* Moreover obtained the Crown of *France*, for being deſcended from the ſaid *Charles*, though by his Concubine, for which and no better a Reaſon, *Rodulph* the Kinſman of him and King *Robert*, thought himſelf worthy and capable of a Crown, which he put on his Head, and cauſed him-

Poſteros Clodionis Regis qui hactenus ignoti fuerunt habes in veteri Stemmate, quod ex MS. codice legis Salicæ Cheſneus publici juris fecit.

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ſelf to be ſaluted King of *Burgundy*. The ſaid *Robert* pretended to the Kingdom by the ſame Title and none other, as had done his Brother *Odo*, who as he affirmed, had Reigned by as good Right as had King *Pipin*. For the ſame reaſon was *Rodulphus* made King of *France*. Neither could *Hugh Capet* himſelf challenge the Crown by any better Title. All theſe were actually poſſeſſed of the Crown. Where was then the *Salick Law*, which the Modern *French* ſo much boaſt of, as firmly eſtabliſhed, and ſprung up together with the Kingdom, by which alone the Liberty and Dignity of the Name of *France* hath ſubſiſted, as that which hath preſerved it from being oppreſſed by the Empire, and Juriſdiction of Strangers?

Vindic. Gall. cap. 16.

134. From the Rights and Pretenſions of others, it appears that this *Salick Law* was not in this point at all acknowledged in ancient times. *Henry* the firſt of that Name being dead, *Baldwin* Sirnamed *Pius* the Count of *Flanders*, who had married *Adela* his Siſter, was made Protectour or Guardian to *Philip* his young Son on this Condition, that in Caſe the Child *Philip* ſhould dye without Children, he ſhould ſucceed to the Crown in Right of his Wife, the Aunt of his young Pupill. Here Authours ſay, he ſhould be King in Right of his Wife, and that the Nobility ſwore fealty to him, as the juſt Heir of the Kingdom, in Caſe *Philip* ſhould dye without Iſſue. Now no Right can be againſt ſuch a poſitive Law, and Juſt and Legitimate flowing from Law it ſelf; how could he be ſaid to be King in Right of his Wife, of a Juſt or Legitimate Heir, in Caſe of ſuch an Illegality? In like manner, the Nobility after the death of *Lewis* the eighth, diſdaining to be governed by *Blanche* his Wife, in the Minority of his Son *Lewis*, reſolved to confer the Crown on *Enguerran* Lord of *Coucy*, for no other Cauſe, than for that he was deſcended from the Loins of their Kings in a double Line, but in both by Women, as appeareth by his Pedigree to be ſeen in *Chifflet* his Book. The firſt time that ever the *Salick Law* was objected and made uſe of in this Caſe, was after the death of *Lewis Hutin*, who left his Wife *Clementia* Great with Child of a Son called *John*, that died the eighth day after he was born. He left a Daughter alſo named *Joanna*, begotten on *Margaret* the Daughter of *Robert* Duke of *Burgundy*, for whom her Uncle *Odo* Son of this *Robert*, challenged the Kingdom of *France* in Right both of her Father and Brother. But *Philip* Sirnamed the *Long*, took off this *Odo* by Marrying to him his own Daughter *Joanna*, and as *Du Haillan* obſerves, *Philip* having a Controverſie with a young Virgin deſtitute of Help and Succour, and having bribed the Nobility by great Promiſes eaſily had the better of her. Yet did her Aunt the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* proteſt againſt the promotion of *Philip* in Right of her Niece, neither would the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Flanders*, though Peers of *France* be preſent at the Inauguration. *Odo* yet afterward as we ſaid renounced the Right of his Niece, being taken off by a Marriage with *Joanna*, who brought with her the Inheritances of the other *Burgundy*, and *Arteſia*; though had this *Salick Law* been known amongſt the Weſtern *Franks*, he would ſcarcely have aſſerted her Right at all. But now was it firſt cited and objected, almoſt nine whole Ages after it was firſt enacted in the *Salick Land*.

Vetus Flandriæ Chronicon apud Chiffletium ubi ſuprà, c. 7. Ea conditione ut ſi infantem ſine Hæredibus mori contingeret prædictus Comes Balduinus Francorum Rex eſſet ex parte uxoris ſuæ, &c. Aliud vetus Chron. MS. Monaſterii Sancti Giſleni- ſin autem omnino utpote juſto hæredi Regni per uxorem. Chronica vet. apud eundem à proceribus decretum jam fuiſſe Enguerrannum Couciacum facere Regem Franciæ. Poſtquam oblatam regnandi occaſionem amiſiſſet uſus eſt iſto Lemmate. Je ne ſuis Roy ne Duc auſſi je ſuis ſire de Coucey. Sire quidam derivant de voce Græca κύριος, hodie attribuitur Regi ſoli, olim vero uſurpata fuit eodem ſenſu quo vox hodierna Sieur, ut ex iſto loco probat Balzacius.

When the *Salick Law* was firſt made uſe of.

A. D. 1316.

135. *Odo* the Duke of *Burgundy* gave up the Cudgels, as we ſaid, as to the Right of his Niece; but when his own turn came, he was not willing to be ſo ſerved. For *Philip* the *Long* being dead, he Challenged the Kingdom for *Joanna* his Wife, Daughter to the ſaid *Philip*, and contended though in vain, he himſelf having helped to make a Preſident, with *Charles* Sirnamed the *Fair*, the Brother of the King deceaſed. Not long after, *Charles* had the ſame fate as had his Brother to dye without iſſue Male, which Accident procured that famous Conteſt betwixt the two Nations of *France* and *England*. Our King *Edward* the third, the Nephew of *Charles* by his Siſter *Iſabell*, juſtly contended that the Crown belonged to him, rather than to *Philip* of *Valois* the Couſin *German* of *Charles*, who laid claim to it. He affirmed, that though the pretended *Salick Law* were admitted; yet would the End and Deſign of it be accompliſhed in his Perſon, who though deſcended from the *French* Kings by his Mother, yet was a Man, and ſo fit to Govern; Women by it being excluded from the Inheritance, but not Men who derive their Pedigrees by Women. He produced the Example of *Pipin*, the Father of *Charles* the Great, urged thoſe of *Odo* and *Robert*, and inſtanced in *Hugh Capet*, who were promoted for this very reaſon, that by their Mothers and Grandmothers, they drew their deſcent from the Kings of the *Franks*. His Right and Title to the Crown, to be better than that of *Philip* he ſhewed, in that he was the Grandſon of *Philip* the *Fair*, begotten on his Daughter, and therefore it was fitter that he ſhould ſucceed his Grandfather and his Ucles, than *Philip*, who deriving his deſ-

A. D. 1322.

cent from the Father of *Philip* the *Fair*, was more in Bloud remote, though he ſeized on the Kingdom. He quartered the Arms now of *France* and *England* together, and defied *Philip* the Invader of the Kingdom, calling him by no other Name than *Philip* of *Valois*. Then what Wars followed none can be ignorant, than which *Æmilius* affirms none ever was more grievous, none more long, none more Bloudy and Contentious, nor any more frequently repeated. A later Writer adds, that this Contention involved the *French* and *Engliſh*, by reaſon of a tedious War, in the greateſt Calamities: Hence the Kings of *England* have taken the Title and Arms of the Kingdom of *France*, and as yet do take them; and affirm the Controverſie as yet not to be decided.

Aubertus Miræus in Chron. Belg. ad An. 1328.

136. While *John* the ſecond of *France* was here Priſoner in *England*, *Charles* King of *Navar*, Son to the Daughter of *Lewis Hutin*, renewed the Claim of his Mother, and the *Dolphin* then Regent, was glad to buy him off with that part of *Normandy* he had got into his hands, before the Kings Captivity; by Virtue of which Bargain his Right was then extinguiſhed. But *Charles* the ſixth could not ſo ſtop the Mouth of our *Henry* the fifth, but Marrying to him his Daughter *Catharine*, ordained him Regent of the Kingdom during his Life, and after his Death Succeſſour to it. The *French* Writers here except that *Charles* was not well in his Wits; but its a wonder that the Eſtates of the Realm ſhould be ſo mad with him for Company. For it's certain enough it was done by their Conſent; if Madneſs was the Cauſe, this Madneſs neither died nor was buried with him. His Body being laid in his Grave, in the Church of St. *Denis*, *The Officers of his Houſe brake their Staves, and caſt them into the Grave, turning their Keys alſo downwards, then the Heralds coming to the Graves ſide cryed out: Reſt the Soul of the moſt high and moſt excellent Prince* Charles *King of the* Franks, *of that Name the ſixth, our Natural and Sovereign Lord: then with an higher Voyce added; God lengthen the Years of* Henry *by the Grace of God, King of* France *and* England *our Sovereign Lord.* Then erecting their Keys and lifting up the Lilies or their Coat Armours toward Heaven ingeminated theſe Words, *Let the King live.* Had the *Salick Law* been of ſuch Sacred and inviolable eſteem, it's not to be ſuppoſed, the Eſtates would have Conſented, eſpecially *Philip* the good Duke of *Burgundy*, who being himſelf iſſued from the Houſe of *Valois*, had no reaſon to make Shipwreck thus of his Hopes and Expectations. But in proſecution of the Right which roſe from the Title of our *Henry* the fifth, his Marriage with *Catharine*, and the Agreement upon that Marriage, *Henry* the ſixth his Son ſome thirteen Years after came to *Paris*, and there with the ſame Conſent was ſolemnly Crowned and anointed.

Monſtrolet Tom. 1. *c.* 267.

Idem, Ann. 1431.

137. The Governour of *Paris* with the flower of the Citizens went out to meet him, and did him Reverence. They were followed by the chief Preſident, habited like a Prince with the Members of Parliament, clad in Purple and Scarlet. Next to theſe went the Maſters of Accounts, after them they that had the Charge of the Treaſury, the Maſters of the Requeſts, and the Secretaries: All theſe kneeled before him, and acknowledged him for their Sovereign. The Provoſt of Merchants, and the *Eſchenius* or Sheriffs brought a Canopy of blew Silk poudred with Golden Lilies, and carried it over his Head all the while he paſſed through the City. On the ſeventeenth of *December* he went to the Church of *Noſtre Dame*, and there was Conſecrated by the Cardinal of *Wincheſter*. Thence returning to the Palace, he entred as it were into Poſſeſſion of the Royal Dignity, the Doors were ſet open, he ſate on his Bed of Juſtice, heard and determined Cauſes, and executed the Office of a King. Letters Patents were ſealed with his Seal Royal, and he had two Crowns, the one on his Head, and the other ſtanding by him, to ſhew openly that he was King of ſo many Kingdoms. Where was then the *Salick Law*? In the ſame Eſteem doubtleſs as it was more lately, not yet one hundred Years ago after the Death of *Henry* the third, the *French* King. The greateſt Faction would willingly have Cancelled it out of Enmity to the Family of *Bourbon*. Some were for the Duke of *Loraine* or one of his Children, others for the Duke of *Savoy*, as the Son of a Daughter of *France*; but moſt caſt their Eyes on *Philip* the ſecond King of *Spain*, as deſcended from the Loins of *Charles* the Great, and ſixteen *Pariſians* who had then the Care of the State upon them, wrote to him Letters full of Duty and good Wiſhes, to be ſeen in the Book of *Chiffletius*. What cauſe the Modern *French* have to bragg as they do, of the Obſervation of their *Salick Law*, inviolably preſerved ſince the founding of the Monarchy it ſelf; let the Reader judge by theſe Inſtances, which howſoever they tranſcend the Period, we have allotted to this Volume, yet in ſo material a Subject which

Caſſanus, lib. 2. *c.* 5.

we here handle once for all could not be omitted. We aſſure our ſelves, that during the Reigns of the Kings of the firſt and ſecond Lines, it was never thought of, and it was ſo far from being a Check upon the *French* in aſcertaining the Succeſſion, that the contrary Doctrine, *viz.* that the Deſcent from the Royal Family by the Female Sex, gave a Right and Title to the Crown, was no ſmall Incouragement to the ancient *Franks*, to commit thoſe extraordinary and extravagant Practices, upon which *Hotoman* founds his Doctrine of Election, and opened the Door to the Succeſſion of *Pipin* and his Family, if not of that alſo of *Hugh Capet*.

138. All this is abundantly confirmed from the Succeſſions of ſeveral Dukedoms, and Counties of the Weſtern or Modern *France*, which have often deſcended *from the Spear to the Diſtaff*, have been poſſeſſed both long ſince, and lately by Women and their Children: He that deſires Satisfaction may conſult the Book of *Chifflet* written upon this Argument, where he may find the ſeveral Examples, and the Pedigrees he produceth for the Proof and Evidence of his Aſſertion. We ſhall here give the Reader onely a Taſte of it. Firſt, he produceth the Teſtimony of *Otho Friſingenſis*, who writes that it's the Cuſtome in *Burgundy* (as almoſt in all the Provinces of *Gall*) that ever to the elder Brother and his Children, whether Males or Females, the Right of the Father's Inheritance belongs; others looking upon them as their Lords. He obſerves, that the Particle *Pene*, or almoſt, excludes the *Salick Lands* of the Eaſtern *France*. Then for Inſtances, *Conrade* Count of *Paris* was Duke of *Burgundy*, in Right of his Wife *Adelais*, the elder Daughter of *Hugh* the Baſtard Son of *Charles* the Great. So was *Hugh* the Son of *Conrade* in Right of his Father and Mother. After *Hugh* ſucceeded *Alaydis* his Niece by his Brother, her Husband *Richard* the Count of *Autun*, being in her Right made Duke of *Burgundy*. In their Right ſucceeded *Hugo Niger* their Son, betwixt whom and *Hugo Albus* there aroſe a difference, for he pretended to the Dukedom, becauſe his Mother was *Beatrice* the Daughter of *Richard* and *Alaydis*, Married to *Robert* the firſt King of the *Franks*: The Conteſt grew ſo high, that they divided *Burgundy* betwixt them. *Hugh* the *Black* dying without Iſſue, *Gilbert* Count of *Dijon* the Son of *Manaſſes*, who had Married another Siſter ſucceeded, and in like manner left the Dukedom to *Otho* his Son-in-Law. Long after this continued the Succeſſion of *Hugh* the White in the Male Line; but at length Duke *Philip* Sirnamed *Roboretanus* dying without Iſſue, the Dukedom fell to *John* the *French* King, by Right of *Joanna* his Mother, great Aunt to *Philip* the laſt Duke, though there were ſeveral of the Male Line remaining; therefore certainly not by any Right he claimed by Virtue of the *Law Salick*.

A. D. 1362.

139. Which Law in the Succeſſion of *Burgundy*, was never heard of till *Lewis* the eleventh of *France*, indeavoured to exclude *Mary* the Daughter of *Charles* the *Bald*, ſlain in the Battel of *Nancy*; and this, ſaith *Chifflet*, is the Fountain of that Right, whereby the *French* King retains from her Poſterity the moſt noble Region of *Burgundy*. But to proceed, the Province, ſaith he, which the King of *England* aſſerts at this day as his Right, and which his Anceſtours throughout all the Kingdom of *France* enjoyed quietly in times paſt, belong to him no otherwiſe than by Right derived on the Female ſide. For the County of *Maine*, *Fulco* Earl of *Anjoy* married *Eremburgis*, the Daughter of *Helias* Earl of *Maine*, together with her receiving the County, and by her had two Sons and as many Daughters, whereof one married to *William* the Son of *Henry* King of *England*. His two Sons were *Geoffrey* and *Helias*, whereof the elder married *Maud* the Daughter of our *Henry* the firſt, the Siſter of the ſaid *William*, and Dutcheſs of *Normandy*: And at length *Henry* Son of *Geoffrey* and *Maud* (being Duke of *Normandy* by his Mother, Earl of *Anjoy*, *Touraine* and *Maine*) took to Wife *Elianor* the Daughter of the Duke of *Aquitain*, or *Guienne*, formerly called Wife to *Lewis* the ſeventh King of *France*, and by her became Lord both of *Guienne* and *Poictou*. The Hiſtorian writes, that *Guienne* by little and little withdrew it ſelf from the Dominion of the *Franks*, and paſſed into the hands of the Duke of *Normandy* by reaſon of his Wife: The *Franks* pining with Envy, but not able to hinder the effect of his Right. Our King *Henry* by the ſame Right, being Lord of *Poictou* could lay juſt Claim to the County of *Toloſe*, derived from the Grandmother by the Fathers ſide of his ſaid Wife *Elianor* by Name *Philippa*, the Heir of Count *William*, and Wife to *William* the eighth Duke of *Guienne*. And no other Right had *Alphonſus*, Brother to *Lewis* the *French* King, to the County of *Toloſe*, than for that he had married *Joan* the Daughter of *Raimond* the fifth Count of that Countrey.

A. D. 1477.

Willielmus Gemmeticenſis, lib. 8. *c.* 34.

Hiſtorici Normannorum & Anglorum.

Guliel. Neubrigenſis, l. 1. *c.*31. *Ratione conjugis in ducis Normanni poteſtatem tranſivit: Francis quidem invidia labeſcentibus, ſed impedire non valentibus ejuſdem juris provectum.*

Fratres Gammarthanus, l. 6. *c.* 8.

Bernardus Guido apud Gulielm. catel. in Hiſtor. comitum Toloſæ.

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140. As for *Bretagnes*, the Dukedom of it hath four times deſcended to Females, Males and Uncles being ſometimes excluded. As to the two firſt *England* was concerned, and therefore we ſhall preſent the Reader with the Writers words. Concerning *Peter*, Sirnamed *Mauclere*, Brother of *Robert* the ſecond Count of *Dreux*, it muſt be known that he married *Aleydis* Counteſs of *Bretagne*, whoſe Grandfather *Conan* Sirnamed the *Groſſe*, had one onely Daughter *Conſtantia* by Name, which married to *Jeoffrey* the Brother of *Richard* King of *England*, and brought him a Son Named *Arthur*, together with a Daughter *Elianor* by Name. King *Richard* dying, the Kingdom was devolved upon *Jeoffrey*, who deceaſed alſo before ſuch time as he could receive the Homages of his Subjects. Therefore *John Lackland* his younger Brother ſeized on the Kingdom, procuring his Nephew *Arthur* afterward to be drowned, and detaining his Niece *Elianor* in Captivity, out of which ſhe never eſcaped. *Jeoffrey* being Dead, the Counteſs *Conſtantia* married to *Almarick* Count of *Anjou*, who begat on her this *Aleydis*. She then poſſeſſed of the County married *Peter Mauclere*, who had by her one Son and a Daughter. Thus we ſee how twice this Inheritance deſcended to Women. Another example we have in *Charles* the younger Son of the Count of *Blois*, who marrying *Claudia* the Niece of *John* the Duke of *Bretagne* by his Brother, in Right of his Wife aſſumed the Title of Duke, though *John* the laſt of the Brothers of the deceaſed Duke contradicted it, denying that this Countrey could in Equity fall back to the manly Sex. This *John* was in Right of his Mother Count of *Montfort*, whence aroſe a moſt ſharp War, King *Philip* aſſiſting *Charles* his Siſters Son, and the *Engliſh Monfort*. *Froiſſart* affirms, that by the Judgment of the Peers of *France*, *Blois* was preferred before *Montfort*, becauſe *Claudia* was neareſt akin to the deceaſed Duke. He had the better therefore upon his Wives account, and in her Right, by Virtue of which he had alſo received the Vicounty-ſhip of *Limoſin*. As for *Anne* the Daughter of *Francis* Duke of *Bretagne*, later Writers Conſent that ſhe was not onely the Legitimate Heir of her Father, but would never permit the Kings her Husbands to diſpoſe of her Duchy. And for *Claudia* her Daughter, ſhe was rightly enough betrothed to *Charles* of *Auſtria*, but was married to *Francis* of *Valois*, leſt ſo goodly an Inheritance ſhould fall into the hands of Strangers.

Balduinus Aveſnenſis in Chron. M. S. Hainon. apud Chiffletium.

Joannes ſine terra ita audit apud noſtros etiam Scriptores.

Papirius Maſſonus in Annal. ad A. D. 1340.

Sammarthani Fratres l. 9. c. 3.

141. Farther the County of *Champagne*, as Pope *Honorius* the third decided the Queſtion of Right, appertained to the Queen of *Cyprus*, which was *Aleydis* the eldeſt Daughter of *Henry* the ſecond, Count of this Province, married to *Hugh Luſinian* King of that Iſland. Her Couſin *Theobald* by ſtrength of Arms carried it from her. But the matter ſucceeded better in behalf of the Women in the Reign of *Philip* the *Fair*, to whom this County fell in the Right, and upon the account of his Wife *Joan*. The like might be demonſtrated concerning the ancient Counties of *Creſpy* or *Valois*, of *Burſur*, *Aabe* and *Vermandois*, of the County of *Provence*, of *Flandres*, which fell to *Philip* the *Bald*, in Right of his Wife, as alſo afterward to *Maximilian*, the Husband of *Mary* of *Burgundy*. It would be too tedious to expatiate upon the County of *Arthois*, paſſed to a Daughter by decree of the Parliament of *Paris*, notwithſtanding the endeavours of the dead Brothers Sons, *viz.* to *Margaret* Counteſs of *Burgundy* and *Artois*, who was as a Peer preſent at the Inauguration of *Charles* the fifth at *Paris*, putting her hand to the Crown, as the reſt did while the Archbiſhop prayed for the King. In like manner, it were eaſie to inlarge upon the Counties of *Nevers*, *Auxerre*, and *Tonnerre*, the Dutchies of *Rethel*, *Montpenſier*, *Touteville*, *Joyeuſe*, *Aumale*, *Mayenne* and *Aiguillon*, very lately in the hands of Women. The County of *Meſconnois*, to which the Privilege of Peerage is annexed, was bought by St. *Lewes* of *Aleydis*, the Widow of *John* Earl of *Dreux*. *Helia*, the Siſter of *Robert*, gave the Duchy of *Alençon* to *Philip Auguſtus*. *Albret* fell alſo in the laſt Age to *Joan* the Wife of *Antony* of *Bourbon*, and Mother to *Henry* the fourth. Now by theſe Inſtances, to mention no more, let the impartial Reader judge whether *Caſſanus* hath reaſon to write that by the *Law Salick*, not onely all acceſs to the whole Crown is barred by Women, but even to parts of the Crown alſo, as Dukedoms, Counties and other Fees, becauſe they are of the ſame Nature with the ſtock, from which they proceed. Of the ſame Nature they are indeed, but what this Nature is this Diſcourſe hath made very evident.

Extravag. de Ord. Cognitionum C. Aduam.

Belleforeſt in Chron. Tom. 1. l. 4. c. 54.

Lib. 2. c. 5.

142. But the Reader muſt know, that they which are for this Succeſſion cannot agree amongſt themſelves, ſome affirming, that the *Law Salick* onely concerns the Crown, others the Crown, and the other *Feuda* or *Fees* we have lately mentioned, and others that it neither concerns the Crown, nor any *Fees* neither, but the Excluſion of Females they lay upon an Inviolable Cuſtome, which hath the form of Law, as

Vide Hotomanni Franco Galliam & Reſponſ. Mathurelli.

as doth *Hotoman*, whoſe Foundation how weak it is, we way perceive by thoſe Examples he never ſufficiently conſidered. It's not in vain to take notice of what *Chifflet* preſſes upon us, that by the Ambiguity of the Word *France*, the Modern *French* have endeavoured to impoſe upon the World in this particular. For there being three ſeveral Countries which have born this Name, the one beyond the *Rhine*, called by St. *Jerome* the Region of the *Franks*, and by others *Antiqua Francia*, the Habitation of the *Anſinarii*, and two more on this ſide that River, the one Oriental, the Inhabitants whereof were the *Salii* called *Auſtria*, *Auſtraſia*, *Francia Orientalis*, *Lotharingia* and *Media*, *Pars Franciæ*; and the other *Occidentalis*, *Nova*, *Latina*, *Romana* and *Neuſtria*, the Inhabitants whereof were called *Romani*, from the Baſtard *Roman* Tongue, the Modern *French* Writers have applied to themſelves or the Weſtern *Franks* indiſtinctly whatever was written concerning the other; making the inconſiderate World believe the new Kingdom was the very ſame with the old. An advantage and Incouragement to this, they had from this following Accident, that the Name of *France* onely remained with the Weſtern or their Countrey, where it had fixed before the days of *Sigebert*; whereas in the days of *Charles* the Great, under the Name of the Kingdom of the *Franks*, beſides the three *Frances* lately mentioned, all *Germany* was included. But as the *Franks* were *Germans* Originally, ſo their Tongue prevailing againſt the Baſtard Latine aboliſhed the Name of *Franks* in the two Countries firſt mentioned, and in the Occidental *France*, the Baſtard Latine being adopted into the Name of *French* carried away that Name, and blinded thoſe that were not well ſkilled in Antiquity, as if that had been the onely true *French* Tongue, and ſuch as ſpake it were *French* alone. But moſt true is that ſaying of *Paulus Æmilius*, that the *Germans* may with more Right Challenge the Glory of the ancient Kings, Dukes and Emperours of the *Franks* to themſelves as deſcended from them, for the Oriental *Franks* are ſtill amongſt them, and the Occidental or Weſtern, are onely their Progeny.

Ad Ann. 845.

Hiſt. Franc. l. 3.

143. From all that has been ſaid upon this Argument, whether or no we have reaſon to be of the ſame Opinion with *Du Haillan*, their own Hiſtoriographer, a Councellour or Secretary to King *Henry* the third, let the Modern *French* be Judges. Concerning the *Law Salick* he hath this Expreſſion, that it was aſcribed to *Pharamond* by thoſe who, that they might make themſelves Kings, deſired to found their Right of Convenience upon a very ancient Law, by this Antiquity to give it more Luſtre and Authority. He demands, why *Pharamond* ſhould be thought to have made this Law for this Modern Crown of *France*, who never entred *Gaul* which now bears that Name, to which he neither had Right, nor the leaſt pretenſion, never paſſed the *Rhine*, but always contained himſelf in his Province of *Franconia*. By that Article of Succeſſion, ſo far is it, that any thing ſhould be meant of the Succeſſion of Kingdoms, that it ſpeaks not of *Fefs*, but onely of thoſe Tenures they call *Allodia*. In another place, he tells his Reader plainly, that the more ſevere Cenſurers of their Hiſtory, affirm that the *Law Salick* was not framed by *Pharamond*, but invented by *Philip* the *Long*, to deprive his Niece the Daughter of *Lewes Hutin* of the Inheritance of the Kingdom, which to obtain he muſt ſtrengthen that his Act by the precept and Obſervation of ſome Law or other. Nay he ſays plainly, that although this Law be one of the braveſt that ever was made in any Kingdom, yet it hath no power in *France*, but by Force or ſtrong hand, on which moſt Laws in all Dominions are founded. Of the ſame Opinion was *Scipio Dupleix* one of his Succeſſours, both in the place of Councellour and Hiſtoriographer, a Man who by his Writings and Collections, hath very well deſerved of that Nation. He counts it groſs Ignorance in thoſe that imagine the *Salick Law* was made in favour of Males, to exclude the Females from the Succeſſion to the Crown, foraſmuch as in the whole Book there is not one Law, nor Title, nor Article which makes mention of it, as neither of any Right of the Kingdom or Dominion of it; but onely of the Rights of Subjects, and Puniſhments ordained for Crimes: Nay the Prologue moſt manifeſty declares, that theſe Laws were made for no other purpoſe, than to provide for the Government of Subjects, their Peace and quiet.

Eſte appellee Salique, & a Pharamond attribuee, par ceux qui pour ſe faire Roys ont voulu fouder leur droit de bienſe auce ſur une lay bien ancienne, pour luy donner par ceſtò antiquite plus luſtre e dauthoritè. Car pourquoy, cet Pharamond fait coſſe loy pour ladite couronne, veu que jamais il à entrè en Gaule maintenant appellee France ſur laquelle, &c. Hiſtoire de France. Tom. 1.

De ſtatu Rerum Franc. lib. 3.

In Prolegom. Hiſtor. Franc.

144. That there was ſuch a Law as the *Law Salick*, before *Philip* the *Long*, we muſt confeſs, but that this Law concerned any place, but *Auſtraſia* or the Eaſtern *Franks*, we may with good reaſon utterly deny, as that it any way reſpected the Crown, or had any thing to doe with the Succeſſion. As for *Chiffletius* he makes this uſe of all that has been ſaid: This Weſtern or Modern *French* uſe this *Salick Law* like a Ball, they ſtrike it out of the Tennis Court, and again bring it in as

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they pleaſe, to delude Poſterity. For the firſt nine Ages after it was made, they never took notice of it (in this Senſe he means) in the fourteenth Age they defended it Tooth and Nail againſt *Edward* the third, King of *England*: Again in the fifteenth they forgot the ſame Law, in favour of the two *Henries* the fifth and ſixth Kings alſo of *England*: In the ſixteenth *Francis* the firſt renounced it's Decrees and Abdications, by the Treaties of *Madrid*, *Cambray* and *Creſpi*, which Renunciation of his, afterward *Henry* the ſecond tacitely confirmed by another Treaty at *Cambray*, and *Henry* the fourth by that of *Veruin*. Then preſently again, though thus over and over rejected, they reduce it into Play again, giving it the Epithetes of *Eternal* and *Immutable*, though it doth not at all concern them, but as *Du Haillan* witneſſeth, is made uſe of by force and violence. Then follows ſomething, wherewith we ſhall not meddle as unconcerned in either of the Parties, whether *French* or *Spaniſh*. Thus teadious, we have been to give the Reader ſatisfaction concerning that Law, which has made ſuch a noiſe in the World, and about which our Forefathers ſpent ſo much Bloud and Treaſure.

Artic. 5.
Artic. 16.
Artic. 22.
Artic. 1.
Artic. 1.

145. The *Law Salick* conſiſts of ſeventy and one Chapters. To it are added the Agreement or Treaty of Peace, betwixt the Kings *Childebert* and *Clothair*, as alſo an Edict or Decree of *Clothair*, together with certain *Capitula* or Chapters of *Charles* and *Lodowick* Emperours. There were other Laws of the *Alemani*, *Bajoarii* and *Ripuarii*, compoſed by order of *Theoderick* King of the *Franks*. What was wanting in the Laws of the *Franks*, *Alemans* and *Bajoarii* he added, what was amiſs or ſavoured of Heatheniſm, he repealed, and what he by reaſon of the long rivited Uſe and Cuſtome, could not amend, afterward *Childebert* attempted, and *Clotair* fully performed. All theſe King *Dagobert* by aſſiſtence of the Illuſtrious men *Claudius*, *Judomagus* and *Agilulfus* reviſed, renewed, put into better Form, and delivered in Writing to every Nation. Of the Laws of the *Ripuarii*, here is not any mention, but Learned men believe them to be of the ſame Original. Theſe *Ripuarii* or *Ribuarii* (not *Riparii*) inhabited the Region *Ripuaria* lying upon the River *Rura*, whence the City of *Ruremund* took its Name, which flows betwixt the *Meuſe* and the *Rhine*. That they took their Name *à Ripis*, from the Banks of the Rivers, ſome have been of Opinion; but then they ſhould have been rather called *Riparii*, which they never are in ancient Authours, and whereas the firſt Syllable in *Ripa* is long and alſo in *Riparia*, in the Word *Ripuaria* we reade it ſhort. Of theſe Laws of the *Ripuarii* are extant, eighty nine Chapters. There are other Laws or *Capitula*, of *Charles* the Great, and other Chriſtian Princes collected by *Anſogiſus* the Abbat, and *Benedictus Levita* in ſeven Books, certain new *Capitula* of *Lothair*, and *Charles* the *Bald* being added. All theſe Laws firſt by *Tillius*, and then by *Francis* and *Peter Pithon*, being publiſhed apart were afterward Collected into one Body, together with the Laws of the *Wiſigoths*, *Burgundians*, *Saxons*, *Lombards*, *Angili* and *Werini* and other Nations, by *Frederick Lindebrogius*, and are now every where extant.

Other Laws in uſe amongſt the *French*.

Alias Bajuvarii ut in Prologo.

Hoc conſtat ex Frodardo in Chron. ad A. D. 923. & Rhegin. ad Ann. 870. 881.

146. Amongſt them all this is obſervable, that what *Tacitus* tells us of the ancient *Germans*, counting the time not by Days but by Nights, as our *Saxon* Anceſtours uſed, and we at this day ſay Seven-night and a Fortnight, not a ſeventh day and a Fourteenth day, is by theſe ancient Writers practiſed. The ſame was in uſe in the time of *Charles* the Great, as appears by his Capitulary; where the Reader meets with the word *Allodium*, he muſt by it underſtand an Inheritance, which a Man might give or ſell away as his own. In the puniſhment of Crimes they followed the ſame Courſe as our *Saxon* Anceſtours, not to puniſh a Man with Death for Theſt, and other Faults as at this day practiſed. To forſake the Prince or run away from their Colours, was reckoned amongſt Capital offences, which were Crimes moſt infamous amongſt the *Germans*, in the days of *Tacitus*. The Nation of the *Germans* being known to be given to drink, it was ſeverely prohibited that none ſhould invite their Fellow Souldier, or other to that diverſion: If any were found Drunk, he was to drink Water till he acknowledged his Fault. Dice were likewiſe prohibited, Familiarity uſed alſo by the old *Germans*. Beggars there were none ſuffered, each Town being to maintain their Poor, or ſet them on work. Schools in all Cities were opened for Inſtruction of Youth. Uſury was unlawfull as in the times whereof *Tacitus* wrote. Adultery was puniſhed both by Gelding and Whipping. The ancient *Franks* uſed, the way of Tryal by cold and hot Water, and by Red hot Irons, as did the Engliſh *Saxons* and the *Danes*, a Cuſtome of old much impugned by Religious men. They were wont alſo to decide their Controverſies by *Duells*, as *Agathias* informs us; amongſt the *Lombards*, Noblemen

Their counting of time.

***Allodium* what.**

Their puniſhments of Crimes.

Lege Gloſſar. Lindelirogii.

Allodia Germanico vocabulo ſic dicta quod familiæ velut Coagmentata ſint & conjuncta hoc eſt inſeparabilia à familia: Ein Anlod.

Id flagitium Heiozlas appellabant. Her enim ſive Heir eſt exercitus, & Caſſen deſerere.

men uſed this way, and Slaves hot Water to purge their Innocency. Such were the Laws of the *Franks* in General, beſides which we muſt not omit to tell the Reader, that the Law of *Feſs* or *Fees* in theſe times whereof we Write, ſeem to have been introduced, if not ſetled and perfectly formed amongſt them, for we reade in *Gregory Turonenſis* and *Aimoinus*, of Grounds aſſigned to Dukes and Great men, and the later expreſly writes, that *Clodonæus* did deliver a place called *Milidunum Caſtrum* to one *Aurelian*, together with the Dukedom of the whole Region *Jure Beneficii*. Hence hear we ſo often of the *Leodes* or *Ludes*, which the Age following called *Vaſſi*, and thence *Vaſſals* came to be ſo named. Some contend, that from theſe our *Franks* the Tenures of *Fees* received their firſt Riſe and Original; but this is a Paradox, and the General apprehenſion being that they came from the *Lombards*, concerning both the Original and Nature of theſe *Fees*, the Reader is to look for Satisfaction out of that part of our Hiſtory, which reſpects *Italy* and the Kingdom of that People, we have dwelt too long upon this Subject; but that great part which this Nation hath acted, and ſtill continues to act upon the Stage of the World, may excuſe us: And here we diſmiſs the Hiſtory of the *Franks* for this Period.

Lib. 4. c. 39.

Lib. 9. c. 14.

Alteſerra in libro cui Titulus Origines Feudorum pro moribus Galliæ.

CHAP. II.

The Dominion of the Viſigoths *in* Spain *and* Gall, *Contemporary with the Conſtantinopolitan* Roman *Empire.*

SECT. I.

From the beginning of this Dominion to the Death of King Eurick.

The ſpace of fifty ſeven Years.

1. THE *Roman* Provinces every where being waſted, and the Empire going to Ruine, as we formerly ſhewed, on all ſides and Quarters, one *Marcus* was by the legionary Souldiers ſaluted Emperour here in *Britain*, and preſently again by the ſame light Humour removed out of the way, *Gratian* being ſubſtituted in his Room, who was alſo ſlain within four Months after his Election, and *Conſtantine* advanced to the Purple. *Conſtantine* being in much Favour with the People, rather for a Fancy and Inclination they had to his Name, than that his Actions much deſerved, a great part of *Gall* and alſo of *Spain* was at his Devotion; the minds of the Provincials being much of late exaſperated, by the heavy and daily increaſing Tributes and Impoſitions laid upon them by the Emperours. In *Spain* yet there were two Kinſmen of *Honorius*, by Name *Didymus* and *Verinianus*, who adhered to their Allegiance, and gathering together an Army confuſedly, and as they could prepared to give ſtop to *Conſtantine*, who was reported to have a Deſign to paſs the *Pyrenæans* out of *Gall*, but were by his Son *Conſtans* defeated and ſlain. The Army of this *Conſtans* conſiſted for the moſt part of thoſe Nations, which having broken out of *Germany* into *Gall*, from the League and Agreement they had made with *Honorius*, were called *Honoriani*. By permiſſion of *Conſtans*, they over-ran and ſpoiled *Spain*, as far as to *Palentia*, and when he returned back to his Father, were appointed to Watch and Guard the *Straits* of the Mountains, to the great Indignation of the *Spaniards*, who Grudged exceedingly that Strangers ſhould be thus truſted before themſelves, whoſe Fidelity to the *Roman* Name and Intereſt, was ſufficiently known, and from inward Grudges they proceeded to contumelious Words and to Threats, that *Spain* would ſhortly provide it ſelf of new Maſters.

Vide Oroſium, lib. 7. c. 40. Caſſiodorum & Proſperum in Chronicis & Joann. Marianam de Rebus Hiſpania, lib. 5.

2. But new Maſters were ſhortly provided to their hands. For the *Honoriaci* we lately mentioned, whom Nature it ſelf obliged to be kind and Friendly to the

Sect. 4.

An Irruption of the Barbarians into *Spain*.

A Famine.

A Plague.

The diviſion of the Kingdom amongſt them.

Vandals, *Alans*, *Suevi* and *Silingi*, not long before let by *Stilico* into *Gall*, privily made an Alliance with them; and opening this paſſage which hitherto had been ſhut againſt them, brought them into *Spain*. The cauſe of theſe Nations, their changing their Habitations, was the great Fear they were in of the *Goths*, who by Virtue of the Agreement made with *Honorius* being to ſettle in *Gall*, they ſuſpected their ſufficiency to Grapple with them, and make good their Ground. Their Irruption into *Spain* was attended, as is uſual, with the greateſt Calamities. With all Barbariſm and Cruelty, they invaded the Fortunes and Eſtates, both of *Spaniards* and *Romans* without any difference, the Towns they plundered and demoliſhed, and depopulated all the Countrey. Hence inſued a Famine, and that ſo great, that one Man was conſtrained to feed upon another, and Wild beaſts on him. Famine by reaſon of ſuch unnatural Feeding, ſeldom goes without a Plague, which was now ſo grievous, that innumerable multitudes were deſtroyed, yet not at all pityed but envied by the Survivers, who were to conflict with many Miſeries worſe than Death it ſelf. *Spain* therefore being left in a manner deſtitute of Inhabitants, the barbarous Invaders with all Freedom, might chuſe out places to themſelves, wherein to fix. To the *Suevi*, and part of the *Vandals*, *Galæcia* fell, being then much larger than afterward, for it comprehended within its bounds all the old *Caſtile*. *Luſitania* with the Province of *Carthagena*, fell to the ſhare of the *Alans*, the *Carpetani* and *Celtiberians* excepted, who continued in their Fidelity to the *Romans*. To the *Vandals* and *Silingi*, *Bætica* was aſſigned. The King of the *Suevi* was *Hermenrick*, the King of the *Alans*, *Ataco*, and *Gunderick* of the *Vandals* and *Silingi*. This Partition being made, they concluded a Peace with the *Romans*, the ancient Traffick returned, and the Cities began to be inhabited as formerly. For the *Spaniards* partly out of Novelty, partly provoked by the Burthens laid on them by the *Romans*, preferred their new Slavery before their old; although ſome refuſed earneſtly to ſubmit to the Barbarian Yoke, eſpecially in *Galæcia* where the *Suevi* had to doe. This Irruption happened *A. D.* 409. or thereabouts in the fifteenth Year of *Honorius*, and the ſecond of *Theodoſius* Emperours, the ſame time that *Alaricus* beſieged *Rome*, *Honorius* the eighth time, and *Theodoſius* the third time being Conſuls.

Herman-riick, militibus pollens, idem quod Ermanarick. Gund-riick, Rich in Good Will.

3. In the mean time one *Maximus* in the hithermoſt *Spain* is ſaluted Emperour by the means of *Gerontius*, a Count, who thus ſerved his ends of Envy and Malice againſt *Conſtantius*. He marched into *Gall*, but both he and all other Tyrants quickly miſcarried, and that Countrey became fully again at the Dovotion of *Honorius*, who for a Guard to both the Provinces, appoints the *Goths* to the Roots of the *Pyrenæan* Mountain. By this time *Alaricus* their King was dead, and *Athaulfus* had ſucceeded him, who by the Allurements of his Wife *Galla Placidia*, was drawn to make a Peace with *Honorius*, and by Virtue thereof drew his Forces out of *Italy*, into theſe Confines of *Gall* and *Spain*, both which being by *Honorius* given to the *Goths*, he placed the Seat of his Kingdom at a Town known afterward, by the Name of St. *Ægidius* in the Province of *Narbon*. Hence have we that part of *Gall* ſometimes ſignified to us by the Name of *Gallia Gothica*, and great Wars happened betwixt theſe *Goths* and the *Romans*, ſometimes alſo with the *Franks*, as we have ſeen, who at length expelled them out of theſe Quarters. But at this time, neither did they make any great ſtay in *Gall*, for as *Oroſius* writes, they were expelled out of *Narbon*, and conſtrained to go into *Spain* by *Conſtantius* the Count; the Cauſe ſeeming to be this, that they had provoked the *Romans*, by ſetting up again *Attalus* the Uſurper in *Gall*, whom formerly they had compelled to quit the Title. *Athaulfus* was a Man not made for much oppoſition, being of a peaceable Temper and Inclination, acted by which as he endeavoured to compoſe the difference lately riſen with the *Romans*, his Men conſpired againſt his Life, and one *Vernulfus* ſome call him *Debbius*, a fellow of a Dwarfiſh ſtature, but pregnant Wit took his opportunity and ran him thorough, to revenge the Death of his Maſter formerly ſlain by the King's Command; with him periſhed ſome Sons, as appears from his Epitaph at *Barcetona*, which ſome count Authentick, but others eſteem it made in much later times. It ſignifies, that this *Athaulfus* was the firſt who dared to deſcend down the Mountains into *Spain*. Which he did in or about the 414*th*. Year of our Lord, the twentieth of *Honorius*, and the ſeventh of *Theodoſius*, *Conſtantius* and *Conſtans*, Father and Son being Conſuls, as ſome reckon, who muſt not be accounted the ſame with the Tyrant, and his Son lately mentioned, but that *Conſtantius*, to whom *Honorius* a little after gave the Title of Emperour.

Alaricus King of the *Goths* dyes, *Athaulfus* ſucceeds.

Who is Stab'd.

Otho Friſingenſis Chron. lib. 6. *c.* 21. *Ado Vienenſis ad A. D.* 410. *Inde univerſæ Provinciæ Narbonenſi ſive Gothiæ nomen, Provincia Sancti Ægidii.*

Lib. 7. *c.* 43.

Atha-ulf. Juratus Auxiliator. A ſworn helper, *Atha* in Engliſh Oath, *hulf* & *ulf.* help.

Bellipotens valida natus de gente Gothorum,
Hic cum ſex Natis Rex Ataulphe jaces.
Auſus es Hiſpanas primus deſcendere in oras,
Quem comitabantur millia multa virum.
Gens tua tunc natos & te invidioſa peremit,
Quem poſt amplexa eſt Barcino magna gemens.
Ambroſ. Moralis Chron. Hiſp. l. 11.

Sect. 4.

Sigerick ſet up for King;

But made away. *Walia* next choſen.

Sege-ryick, victoriis pollens, Rich in victories.

Wal-lia, bene patiens, well-ſuffering.

4. Into the place of *Athaulfus* was *Sigerick* promoted, a Man of approved Conduct both in Peace and War, and of beautifull Perſonage, onely a little lame, his Thigh having been bruiſed by a fall from his Horſe. However his former demeanour might win upon the Souldiers when King, they now interpret all things in the worſt ſenſe, and lay the ſame things to his charge, which they had done to his Predeceſſours. He was blamed as lazy, at leaſt as too much inclined to Reſt and Peace, and as guilty of the ſame Crime they impoſed on him the ſame Puniſhment, making him away, when he had not reigned one full year. The next they made Choice of was for their turn, as unquiet and buſie as any one living, his Name *Walia*. At his very beginning he attempted an expedition into *Africk*, ſome thought out of Deſperation, the *Romans* by *Conſtantius* preſſing him hard on one hand, and the Barbarians, which had already ſeated themſelves in *Spain* on the other. Others aſcribe it to his deſire of Conqueſt; but however it was, his Fleet gathered together in the ſtraits of *Gibraltar*, was broken ſo, and ſhattered by a Tempeſt, that he was forced to retreat into *Spain*, and there made a Peace and Alliance with *Conſtantius* upon theſe Terms: " That *Placidia* the Wife of *Athaulfus*, " promiſed to *Conſtantius* by the Emperour her Brother ſhould be reſtored; that " the *Goths* ſhould proſecute with War theſe Barbarous Nations that had ſeized on " *Spain*, and what Places and Territories they could recover out of their hands, " ſhould fall to and be annexed to the Roman Empire; they retaining what they " had already got in *Gall* and *Spain*. In proſecution of this League *Walia* made an Expedition againſt the *Alans* in *Celtiberia*, who now aſpired after the Empire of whole *Spain*, and killing *Attace* their King, with many of his Followers in Battel, forced ſuch as remained alive to forſake *Luſitania* (now *Portugal*) and to betake themſelves into *Galatia*, where being mingled amongſt the *Suevi*, they loſt both their Name and Nation. But ſee the viciſſitude of ſucceſs, and of Humane Affairs! The *Alans* had not long before domineered over the Neighbouring Nations, conſtraining the *Vandals* and *Silingi* to forſake *Bœtica*, and to flie for Refuge into *Galatia*, to the *Suevi*, that joining their Forces with them, by their Aſſiſtence they might recover their former Seats. With this ſucceſs they were ſo puffed up, that our *Alani* ſet upon the *Romans*, and recovered ſeveral Cities out of their hands. But now are they ſunk and buried in Oblivion by the means of *Walia*. Onely * *Alanquer*, a Town ſituate not far from *Liſbon* (formerly called *Jerabrica*) and *Alanis*, a Village in the Mountains of *Hiſpalis* or *Sevil*, are by ſome thought to have taken their Names from them.

Who deſtroys the *Alans*.

* *Ab Alanis Alanqueram patriam ſuam dictam non inſcitè putat Damianus a Goes, dictam vero Alanqueram corrupto vocabulo, pro Alan per quam hoc eſt Alanorum Fanum. Kerck Scotis hodie.*

Drives out the *Vandals*.

Dies.

5. The deſign of *Walia* was not completed with the Conqueſt of the *Alans*; from them he converted his Victorious Arms againſt the *Silingi*, a ſort of *Vandals* inhabiting *Bœtica*, whom in like manner he ſubdued, and by their Example the other *Vandals* and the *Suevi* were perſuaded to truckle and give good words to the *Romans*, the Hirelings of whom the *Goths* onely ſeemed to be in perſecution of the Quarrel. *Walia* in reward for his good ſervice had the ſecond *Aquitain* beſtowed on him, or rather reſtored by the Emperour, together with ſome Neighbouring Cities, *viz.* of *Novempopulania*, even all as far as from *Toloufe* to the Ocean. Here he reigned in quiet, but would not ſuffer the *Vandals* in *Spain* to enjoy their reſt, but ſo ferreted them from one Receptacle to another, that finding this Countrey too hot for them, they paſſed over into *Africk*, glad to accept of a ſlender Invitation, where making great devaſtations, they ſetled themſelves for ſome years, till at length, as we ſhall ſee at large, they made Shipwreck of all their Fortunes. *Walia* died at *Toloufe*, the Royal Seat of the *Goths*, but at what time, or after how many years we cannot certainly tell the Reader. *Iſidore* aſcribes but three to his Reign, as now we reade him, and accordingly do moſt of the Modern Hiſtorians reckon, though * *John Vaſæus* pretendeth to have diſcovered an Errour in the Text of *Iſidore*, as alſo in *Sigebert*, where inſtead of two ought to be read two and twenty; for ſo many doth he affirm that *Walia* Reigned, ſtrengthening himſelf as he alledgeth with the Teſtimonies of *Proſper* and *Oroſius*, whom he would draw in as Patrons of his Opinion. Others give ten years to his Reign, ſo obſcure are the Teſtimonies we have of theſe Ancient Times, that whereas alſo ſome place the attempt of *Walia* to invade *Africk* at the beginning of his Reign; Others fix it at the end thereof, affirming that his Hatred againſt the *Goths* was not terminated with the bounds of *Spain*, but that had he not been prevented by death, it would alſo have purſued them into that part of the World.

Proſper in Chron. Idacius, Iſidorus, Sidonius Apollinaris.

Ita intelligendus Idacius ex Editione Sermundi, cum ſcribit Conſtantium Gothis ſedes poſuiſſe in Aquitania à Toloſa uſque Oceanum, hi enim ſunt fines Aquitaniæ ſecundæ & Novempopulaniæ. Sed ampliores longe fines ditionis Gothicæ ponas, ſi qua fides Idacio edito à Sceto & Scaligero, nempe â mari Tyrrheno & Rhodano uſque ad Ligerim & Oceanum quibus finibus continetur utraque Aquitania, prima & ſecunda, ſed cave ne credas.

* *In Hiſp. Chron.*

Theodorick ſucceeds.

6. To *Walia* ſucceeded *Theodored*, as ſome call him, or *Theodorick* as others, to others known alſo by divers Names. His Predeceſſour had been ſo true to the *Ro-*

mans, that according to Agreement, he had put the Places Conquered by him into their hands, and therefore in *Spain*, where the *Suevi* now carried all before them, the Dominion of the *Goths* was included within narrow bounds, where now inhabit the *Catalauni*. But in *Gall* he became very formidable, taking now more delight to inlarge his Territories on this ſide the *Alps*, where breaking the League with the *Romans*, he laid ſiege to *Arles*, one of the moſt noble Cities of the Countrey, which with all induſtry and reſolution he attacked, but was by *Aetius* the Patritian forced to raiſe up and withdraw his Army. After this he attempted *Narbon* but with the ſame ſucceſs, *Aetius* ſtill attending his motions and fruſtrating his deſigns. He had better ſucceſs againſt *Littorius*, a Roman Captain, who taking to his aſſiſtence the *Hunns*, with all Animoſity made War upon the *Goths*. As he paſſed through the Countrey of the *Arverni*, *Avitus* met him, put his Forces to flight, and killed an Hunniſh Trooper in a Duell, as *Sidonius* tells at large in the Panegyrick he wrote to him. By this Defeat *Littorius* was not diſcouraged, but conſulting the Aruſpices, he ventured to give Battel to *Theodorick* at *Tolouſe*, and that with ſuch Courage and Conduct, that he ſlew a great number of the Enemy, and the Victory had been uncertain, but that being taken Priſoner, he reaped the due Fruits of his Credulity and Superſtition. So write with one conſent *Proſper*, *Aquitanus*, *Idacius*, *Iſidore*, *Sigebert*, and *Rodericus Toletanus*. Onely *Jornandes* relates that they came off on equal terms, and the Controverſie was taken up by agreement, making no mention of the Caſe of *Littorius*, which conſidering he was a *Goth*, and a Friend to ſuch, is very ſtrange.

Who beſieges *Arles*.

And *Norbon* but is forced by *Aetius* the Roman General to quit them.

Gregorio Turonenſi Theudo, Iſidoro Theudoridus, Idacio Theodores, melius Jornandi Theodoricus.

Proſper, Idacius, Iſidorus.

Theude-riick, *Populis pollens contracte Theudo ſive Theodo ut apud Caſſiodorum. Sic Gregorio Turonenſi Theudericus.*

De *Rebus Get.* c. 34.

7. It appears from *Salvian* that *Theodorick* before the Battel had uſed all means for a Reconciliation, having ſent ſeveral Biſhops to *Littorius* to perſuade him, and bring him unto terms. Moved now by the ſame Reaſons, he made uſe of his late Victory to obtain an Honourable Peace, which was immediately clapt up betwixt the *Goths* and the *Romans*. This Peace was prudently concluded for the benefit and advantage of the *Goths*, though this their Society with the *Romans*, proved fatal to their King himſelf. Within three or four years *Attila* with an innumerable multitude of *Hunns* breaks into *Gall*, where he takes and burns the Towns, ſpoils the Countrey, and kills the Biſhops as well as other Lay-Perſons at his pleaſure. *Avitus* hereupon is by *Valentinian* diſpatched on an Embaſſy to *Theodorick* to lay open the common danger, wherein all thoſe that had any ſhares in *Gall* were involved. *Anianus* the Biſhop of *Orleance*, being beſieged in his City, betakes himſelf to him, and to *Aetius*, deſiring that by a ſpeedy ſuccour they would prevent the ruine of the place. *Theodorick* then leaving four of his Sons at home, *viz. Frederick*, *Turick*, *Rotemir* and *Himmerit*, takes his two eldeſt *Thoriſmund* and *Theodorick* along with him, and joins his Forces with thoſe of *Aetius*, and *Meroneus* King of the *Franks*. *Attila* is obliged to raiſe his Siege, and into the Catalaunian Fields they all draw off to diſpute the Quarrel, where, as we have already hinted, *Theodorick* was wounded with a Dart, and falling from his Horſe, was by the ſtroaks of his Heels diſpatched, after he had Reigned two and twenty years, leaving behind him ſix Vigorous and Courageous Sons, beſides two Daughters, one Married to *Hunnerick* the Son of *Generick*, King of the *Vandals*, who out of jealouſie that ſhe had a deſign to poiſon him, cut off her Noſe, and ſent her thus deformed back to her Father, as *Jornandes* tells us. Another Married into *Spain*, to *Recciarius* King of the *Suevi*.

De Gubern. lib. 7.

An Invaſion of the *Hunns*.

Frid-riick, Rich in Peace. *Turick*, Durable. *Rotemir*, Prince of Quiet. *Him-reit*, Having Domeſtick Horſe. *Him*, Home, *Reita Equitatus*. Thence *Rheiter* a Rider, and a Knight in Dutch. Our Rider not much altered from it.

Theodorick kill'd.

8. *Theodorick* being ſlain, *Thoriſmund* his Son was by *Aetius* craftily diverted from purſuing the War againſt the *Hunns*, whom he deſired not to have utterly overthrown, but to keep them as a Balance and Check upon the *Goths* and *Franks*. By his advice he haſted to *Tolouſe*, leſt his Brother ſhould attempt any thing contrary to his Intereſt, and there by univerſal conſent was received as King. Being impatient of reſt, or out of diſdain that by *Aetius* he had been diverted from revenging his Father's death, he broke the League made with the *Romans*, and laid ſiege to *Arles*, but by the perſuaſion of *Ferreolus*, the Governour, was ſo wrought upon, that he broke up his Camp and departed; which paſſage *Sidonius* mentions in an Epiſtle to the Governour, uſing this expreſſion, That he removed this moſt fierce King from the Gates of *Arles*, by a Dinner, whom *Aetius* could not have ſtirred with an Army. From the ſame *Sidonius* we may learn that at this time the Dominions of the *Goths* reached as far as the River *Rhodanus*, the Gueſt of which he calls this *Thoriſmund*, who ſhortly after had an occaſion offered him of ſhewing the Zeal he had for the revenging his Father's Death. *Attila* on a freſh invaded *Gall*, and by *Aetius* his permiſſion marched againſt the *Alans*, who had ſeated themſelves beyond

Thoriſmund ſucceeds.

Thoriſ-mund Ferox ore. Mund, Mouth, *Saxonicè; hinc Eadmund*, Peace of the Mouth.

Jornandes c. 41.

Ep. 12. *lib.* 7.

Sect. I.

beyond the *Loire*. *Thoriſmond* perceived the weight of the War would fall at length upon himſelf, and therefore took the beſt Courſe to begin it, and drive it off, before it ſhould come to his own Doors, which he did ſo effectually, that he drove it not onely from his own Doors, but from *Gall* it ſelf, obliging *Attila* to quit the Countrey.

Who drives *Attila* and his *Huns* out of the Countrey.

9. This ſucceſs he had abroad, made him Cruel and Tyrannical at home, as by ſome Authours he is repreſented, and that to ſuch a Degree, that his Brothers and Subjects could not bear him. Being fallen into a Diſtemper, and for that Let-bloud, he was ſlain in his Chamber by ſome, that the Conſpiratours had perſwaded to the Treaſon; but to the Murtherers he ſold his Life at a dear rate (as our *Richard* the ſecond is ſaid to have done) diſpatching ſome of them in the Conflict with a Footſtool, or rather with his * Penknife. *Iſidore* tells us, that he Reigned one year, and carrying himſelf inſolently, was ſlain by his Brothers *Theodorick* and *Frederick*. Thus happens it, that when a Man is ſlain, whether Murthered or in a Duel, to preſerve the Life and Fame of the Living, the dead is uſually killed over again in his Reputation: However *Thoriſmund* might in ſome Reſpects be to blame, we are informed by *Gregory Turonenſis*, that the *Goths* having not yet ſhaken off Barbariſm, had this deteſtable † Cuſtome, that if any of their Kings diſpleaſed them, they made no difficulty to kill him, and appoint whom they pleaſed to ſucceed him. Therefore did the Fathers in ſeveral Councils aſſembled at *Toledo* by many Canons, provide for the ſecurity of thoſe Kings that Reigned over them, as by their Chriſtian Duty and Allegiance, they were obliged. *Iſidore* to the Government of *Thoriſmund*, gives but a Year. Others ſay he died in the third Year of his Reign, and there are that lengthen it to the ſixth, though with much leſs probability.

Thoriſmund murthered.

* *Scalpello, ita enim legendum apud Jornandem, non Scabello monet non nemo, ut Joannes Vaſæus Hiſp. Chronic. ad An. D.* 456. *ex eo alii.*

† *Sumpſerant gothi hanc deteſtabilem conſuetudinem ut ſiquis eis de Regibus non placuiſſet, Gladio eum appeterent, & qui libuerit animo hunc ſibi ſtatuerent Regem* Lib. 3. c. 28.

Concil. Toletan. 4. c. 75. Tolet. 5. c c. 3. & 18. Tolet. 6. c.c. 14. 17, 18. *Tolet.* 16. c. 1.

10. To *Thoriſmund* thus murthered ſucceeded *Theodorick* the ſecond, his Brother, a Prince whoſe Morals were ſtained by his Brother's bloud, and his Religion with the *Arian Hereſie*, but otherwiſe of excellent Accompliſhments both of Mind and Body, if we give Credit to an elegant Epiſtle of *Sidonius*. He had a Wife called *Ragnachild*, for whoſe uſe in bathing *Euodius* procured a ſilver Veſſel to be made, and *Sidonius* ſome ingenious Verſes to be ingraven on it, which he left written amongſt his Epiſtles; whence ſome Conjecture, that this is ſhe which is meant by *la Reyne Pedanque*, which the vulgar of *Colouſe* have ſo often in their Mouths, as mightily delighted with Baths and Water. Not long after the Succeſſion of *Theodorick* was *Valentinian* the Emperour murthered, and *Maximus* invaded the Purple and Government, who made *Avitus* formerly mentioned, an *Arvernian* by Birth, his *Magiſter Militum*. At this time *Avitus* was Ambaſſadour at *Theodorick* his Court about making a ſtrict League and Alliance, who uſed ſuch Arguments, and gave him ſuch Incouragement, that he aſſumed the Title of Emperour at *Colouſe*; afterward was both by *Goths* and *Romans*, ſaluted *Auguſtus* at *Arles*, or rather at a Caſtle called *Ugernum* near to that City, which done, he went to *Rome* and was kindly received. In Conſideration of the aſſiſtence afforded him at this time by *Theodorick*, he gave him Liberty to enter *Aquitain*, which he did with a very great Army, and there demeaned himſelf, as he himſelf pleaſed. But the Gratitude of *Avitus* was not confined within the Bounds of *Gall*, but reached to *Spain* alſo, where he granted to the *Goths* whatever Territories could be recovered out of the hands of the *Suevi*. After the departure of the *Vandals* into *Africk*, the power of this People became very terrible under the Conduct of *Hermenerick* their King, who dying at length of a tedious Diſeaſe, was ſucceeded by his Son *Rechila*, a Young man of extraordinary Courage and Activity.

Theodorick the ſecond ſucceeds.

Lib. 1. *Ep.* 2. *ad Agricolam.*

Lib. 4. *Ep.* 8.

Idacius.

Sidonius Carm. 7.

Iſidorus.

Who Haraſſes *Gall* and *Spain* at Pleaſure.

11. Treading his Father's ſteps, he conceived the like hopes of bringing whole *Spain* to his obedience. *Andebolus*, who was ſent by the Emperour to ſecure his Intereſt in the Countrey, he overthrew and killed at the River *Singilis*. Having by this Victory got much Riches, he fell upon and ſubdued all *Bætica*, having defeated the *Silingi*, and got the City *Hiſpalis* or *Sevil*, which had at this time been much diſtreſſed, and weakened by the Wars. Thence turned he his Victorious Arms upon *Luſitania* where he took the City *Emerita* and deſtroyed quite the ſmall remainders of the *Alans*, a great Advantage being given to the Increaſe of his Power by the departure of *Sebaſtian* the moſt valiant *Roman* General; who going into *Africk*, was there ſlain by the *Vandals*. *Rochila* that he might take off the Emperour and keep him quiet till ſuch time as he had diſpatched his other buſineſs, put into his hands *Carpentania* and the Province of *Carthage* or *Carthagena*, which he had lately Conquered, according to Agreement; then not long after was taken off in the middle of his Carriere, dying at *Emerita* a *Pagan*, as we have

Marries his Daughter to *Recciarius* King of the *Suevi.*

it from St. *Iſidore*, after he had Reigned about eight Years. His Son *Recciarius* ſucceeded him, the firſt Chriſtian King of this Nation, who having obtained in Marriage the Daughter of *Theodored*, or *Theodorick* King of the *Goths* was thereby much elevated in his Hopes and Expectations. Some have delivered it for a Truth, that he was preſent at the Battel fought with *Attila*, following therein the Example of his Father-in-Law. It's certain that he fell upon the *Vaſcons*, who lived under the *Roman* Obedience in that part of *Spain*, where now *Navarre* is ſituated, and afterward going to viſit *Theodored* procured from him ſuch aſſiſtence, that invading the *Tarraconenſian* Province ſubject to the *Romans*, he took the City *Cæſar Auguſta*; he haraſſed the Province of *Carthage*, which his Father had reſigned to the Emperour, and afterward returned home being Maſter of *Bætica*, *Luſitania* and *Galæcia*, and aſpiring to the Dominion of the other parts of *Spain*.

12. But as the Alliance of *Theodorick*, gave him opportunity and advantage to raiſe ſuch Hopes of Dominion, and Sovereignty to himſelf, ſo by a Change of Fortune came they to be blaſted and overturned by *Theodorick* his means, not the Father but the Son, one who would not account himſelf obliged to ſtand to the ſame Terms of the Alliance. *Avitus*, as we ſaid, had for the Aſſiſtence afforded him in obtaining the Imperial Dignity, paſſed over to him, whatſoever of *Spain* could be recovered from the *Suevi*. He reſolved no link of Marriage or Alliance ſhould divert his Inclinations to inlarge his Dominion; but ſome ſpecious pretext muſt be found for making a War. Conſidering the Temper of *Recciarius*, he takes this Courſe. "He admoniſhes him by a ſolemn Embaſſy, not to tranſcend the "bounds of Modeſty, not by injuring and oppreſſing his Neighbours, to provoke "the Indignation and Hatred of other Nations. He tells him, that Kingdoms "and Empires are beſt founded upon Equity and Juſtice, that by Ambition and "Cruelty they fall and dwindle to nothing, and in Concluſion, that if he did not "deſiſt from offering violence to the Subjects of the *Roman* Empire, he muſt not "be wanting to that Duty which he ought it, being ſo exceedingly obliged by "thoſe great and many Favours he had received from thoſe which now ſate at the "Helm thereof.

13. The Device took according to his Wiſhes, for *Recciarius* received the Meſſage with great Stomach and ſcorn, returning for Anſwer, "that ſhortly he would be at "*Tolouſe* and make Tryal whether the Nation of the *Goths*, or that of the *Suevi* was "more valiant, and decide the whole matter by dint of Sword. *Theodorick* hearing this reſolved to prevent him, and joyning to his own Forces the Auxiliaries of the *Burgundians* and *Franks* paſſed the *Pyrenæans*. He marched on to the River *Vrbicus*, which flows by the City *Hiberia* and *Aſturica*, twelve miles from which in the Borders of *Gallicia*, he gave Battel to *Recciarius*, whom after a vaſt ſlaughter made of his Men, he compelled to run for his Life, and not daring to truſt to any place in *Spain*, to take Ship for *Africk*. The winds were ſo contrary, and his approaching Fate ſo preſſing, that he was driven into the Port of *Cale*, where the River *Durius* falls into the Ocean (called by Writers the City *Portugal*, or *Portugal*) and there being taken, was put to Death by Command of *Theodorick*. The Conquerour after this Victory took the City *Bracara* ſuppoſed by ſome to have been the Royal Seat of the *Suevi*: He ſubdued all *Gallicia*, and extending his Victorious Arms into *Luſitania* departed back into *Gall*, leaving one *Acliulph* Governour of his new Conqueſts in *Gallicia*, who being no *Goth* (as *Jornandes* is concerned to tell us) but deſcended of the Bloud of the *Warni*, and ſo neither regarding Faith, nor Liberty, preſently began to uſurp and ſet up for himſelf, drawing the *Suevi* into the Conſpiracy. *Theodorick* was now ſufficiently buſied in *Gall*, where falling out with *Majorianus* the Succeſſour of his Friend *Avitus*, he waſted the *Roman* Territories as far as the *Rhoſne*, and taking the City of *Lyons* plundred and much defaced it with Fire. But he ſent two Captains *Nepotianus* and *Nericus* into *Gallicia*, againſt the Uſurper, having ordered *Ceurila* into the Province of *Bætica*.

Ric-Are, Honore dives.

He beats *Recciarius* out of *Spain.*

Ex Jornand. & Iſidoro qui tamen fugæ Maritimæ non meminit. Ad locum Portalem capitur, ad quæ verba in margine apponit Grotius: Portum Cale. Hinc nomen toti Regno poſtea attributum. Sed de hoc alii aliter, derivant enim Portugalliæ nomen à Portu Galaciæ.

Subdues *Gallicia.*

The Governour whereof revolts.

14. To *Ceurila*, who on a ſudden, and when they leaſt imagined ſuch a thing fell upon them, the Inhabitants of *Bætica* preſently ſent Meſſengers giving up themſelves to the Dominion and Authority of the *Goths*. They deny that they had conſented to the Practices of the reſt of the *Suevi*, that they had conſpired againſt the *Romans*; they offer to give Hoſtages and aſſiſt with Proviſions the *Gothick* Army. So was *Bætica* reduced without any Effuſion of Bloud, while in *Gallicia* there was much oppoſition: But at length *Acliulph* was defeated in Battel, and being taken was put to Death. The *Suevi* thought now it was high time to ask pardon, which they procured by the Interceſſion of certain Religious Perſons,

Agi-hulph, Sibi Auxiliator.

But at length is ſubdued by *Theodorick* the third.

and not onely that but which was ſomething ſtrange, Licence and Authority to make choice of a King or Regulus to govern the remainders of their Nation. Coming to the Election they could not agree amongſt themſelves. Some choſe *Franta*, for their Prince, but another Faction would have *Maſdra* or *Maldra*. But within two years or thereabout *Maſdra* was ſlain by his own People, and had for Succeſſour *Remiſmund* (ſome call him *Rechimund*) his Son, who entring into League with *Franta* (yet ſome ſay *Franta* died before *Maſdra*) with joynt Forces invaded *Luſitania* now again, it's uncertain how, reduced to the obedience of the *Romans*. *Franta* dying not long after, *Frumarius* was choſen in his Room, betwixt whom and *Remiſmund* fell out great Contentions about the Sovereignty. But *Frumarius* dying, he then with eaſe obtained the Monarchy, and with great Forces invading *Luſitania*, took *Conimbrica* by Treachery, and had *Oliſipo* (*Liſbon*) delivered up into his Hands.

Vide Joan. Vaſeum Hiſp. Chron. ad Ann. 458, 460.

15. He now contemned the Power of the *Romans* in *Spain*, but that of the *Goths* he dreaded from late experience. He ſent to *Theodorick*, deſiring to enter into a ſtrict Alliance with him, profeſſing all Friendſhip and obſervance, as a tye and Link of which he deſired his Daughter in Marriage. *Theodorick* ſhewed no Averſeneſs to a Complyance, but ſent him his Daughter under Conduct of *Salunus* one of the chief of his Nobility, who at his return found the Affairs of the *Goths*, in a quite different poſture from what they were at his departure: *Theodorick* having taken advantage at the Stirs and Diſturbances, which were ever and anon ariſing amongſt the *Romans*, whoſe Power was now almoſt dwindled to nothing in the Weſt, reduced *Narbon* under his obedience, having by great Promiſes prevailed with *Ravennius* the Governour to yield it up. But as his matters proſpered in this manner, his Dominions being inlarged in *Gall*, and the greateſt Potentates in *Spain*, Courting him, Juſtice though it came ſomething late, yet paid him home at laſt, for the violence and Treachery he had uſed toward his Brother, being murthered in like manner by his other Brother *Euricus* after he had Reigned thirteen Years. *Eurick* eaſily made himſelf Maſter of the Kingdom, who conſidering that *Remiſmund* King of the *Suevi*, might be induced by his Wife, and the flatteries of his proſperous Fortune, to attempt a revenge of his Father-in-Laws Death, thought it beſt to be before-hand with him. Being Ambitious alſo and Haughty, he burnt with deſire of expelling the *Suevi* out of *Luſitania*, and by a clear removal of the *Romans*, to become Maſter of all *Spain*.

Theodorick the third Marries his Daughter to *Remiſmund* King of the *Suevi*.

Takes *Narbon* from the *Romans*.

He is murthered by *Euricus* his Brother who ſucceeds.

In ejus nomine variant Scriptores Jornandi & Iſidoro Euricus, Sigiberto & aliis Eoricus, Sidonio & Gregorio Turonenſi Euarix. Ewarijck, Legibus pollens.

16. *Spain* was at this time cantoniſed under three ſeveral Nations. *Gallicia* with part of *Luſitania* obeyed the *Suevi*. *Bætica* and the *Catalauni* were ſubject already to the *Goths*; and the *Carthaginian Tract* with the *Carpetani*, and almoſt all the reſt of *Spain* continued ſtill in obedience to the *Romans*. *Eurick* having firſt made an Alliance with *Leo* the Emperour, who Reigned in the Eaſt, with a great Power of his *Goths* invaded the farther *Spain*, where he over-ran *Luſitania* without any conſiderable oppoſition, by his Lieutenants took *Pompelona* and *Cæſarauguſta*, then in the hands of the *Romans*, and in his retreat after a long Siege ſubdued the City *Tarracon*, which he levelled with the Ground. So were the *Romans* driven quite out of *Spain*, and their Empire there utterly overthrown and removed after well nigh ſeven hundred years Continuance, all this Countrey now remaining to the *Goths*, except *Gallicia* which as yet acknowledged the *Suevi* for Lords. *Eurick* his Appetite was the more Whetted by this Succeſs, and having done ſo much in *Spain*, was unquiet to think that his Neighbours in *Gall* ſhould not at all feel and acknowledge the effects of his Valour, but the facility of the Enterprize added to his Impatience, the Weſtern parts of the *Roman* Empire being now all full of Confuſion, while each barbarous Nation caught what it could, and being intent upon what it had fixed its Eyes, neglected what lay at a farther diſtance. The *Roman* power now expiring, *Arvandus* and *Seronatus*, who commanded the Forces in *Gall*, underſtanding his ſtrength, to curry Favour with him, invited him to ſeize on the adjoyning Provinces, while he might ſo eaſily accompliſh what he ſhould but undertake. The Treaſon of theſe two Miniſters was diſcovered and puniſhed; that of *Seronatus* by Death, and that of *Arvandus* by exile, as it had deſerved; but a greater Inſtrument was now alſo at work, which moved with far more Intereſt and Succeſs.

Spain under a threefold Goverment.

Eurick King of the *Goths* drives the *Romans* quite out of *Spain*.

Qui aliis Arvandus Caſſiodoro eſt Ardaburius Paulo Diacono. Et Sigeberto Servandus.

Rem fuſe narrat Sidonius, l. 1. *ep.* 7.

17. This was *Genſerick* the *Vandal* King in *Africk*, who, that he might keep what he had got in that Countrey indeavoured to make work enough for the *Romans* on this ſide of the Sea. He propounded great matters, not onely to *Eurick* and his Weſtern *Goths*, but to the *Oſtrogoths* alſo, the Captain whereof *Vindemir*

having had ill ſucceſs in *Italy* came into *Gall*, and there joyned with *Eurick*, who was now waſting the Countrey far and wide with Fire and Sword. *Epiphanius* the Biſhop of *Pavia*, in vain requeſting him to hold his hand. The *Cadurci*, *Lemovices* and *Gabalitani* were forced to ſubmit unto the *Goths*, and notwithſtanding the aid which *Riothimus* the Regulus of the *Aremorican Britains* brought to the *Romans* at the Solicitation of *Athemius* their Emperour, yet he ſtill proceeded in his Conqueſts. *Arvernum* (now *Clarmont*, not far from that Hill on which ſtood *Gergonia*) was delivered up after a tedious and fruitleſs Siege, the chief City of *Aquitain*, which had been the Rampart and Fence againſt his Fury: He had before Conquered the beſt part of *Gallia Narbonenſis*, having made himſelf Maſter of *Arles* and *Marſeilles*, the two moſt noble Cities, and now by Virtue of the Agreement made betwixt him and *Nepos*, all that lay betwixt the two Rivers, *Rhodanus* and *Ligeris* he was to enjoy, Writers obſerving that with this River he bounded *Aquitain*. Over the *Arverni* he made one *Victorius* Governour by *Gregory Turonenſis* called a Duke, and by *Sidonius* mentioned with the Title of Count. His principal Councellour and Miniſter of State was *Leo* born in the Province of *Narbon*, a Man very learned amongſt Barbarians, and celebrated by *Sidonius* for his Eloquence, and his excellent Skill both in Poetry and the Civil Law. As for *Eurick*, he died when he had Reigned ſeventeen Years, being the firſt King who gave written Laws to the *Goths*, (ſo as his Name may ſeem given to him in way of Prophecy) who were formerly governed by Cuſtome onely. In his Reign the *Theodoſian Roman* Code was diminiſhed in Reputation, and the Laws called *Leges Theodoricianæ*, were advanced and obtruded upon the Provincials, *Seronatus* the *Roman* Governour conniving at it, or rather furthering the deſign, as *Sidonius* complains of him. Theſe *Gothick* Laws were called *Theodoricianæ* from the *Theodoricks*, Kings of that Nation, not that they were Authours of them, for *Eurick* publiſhed them, as *Sidonius* knew well enough, but by a *Paronomaſia* he terms them *Theodoricianæ*; becauſe the other were called *Theodoſianæ*. Being now firſt publiſhed by *Eurick*, they were ſome Years after inlarged and amended by *Lennegild*, as we ſhall farther hint in due time and place.

Carm. 23. *Epiſt. l.* 8. *ep.* 3. & *lib.* 9. *ep.* 13.

King *Eurick* dies.

Iſidorus, *Sidonius*, *lib.* 8. *ep.* 3.

Leges Theodoſianas calcans, Theodoricianaſque proponens. Sidonius, lib. 2. *ep.* 1.

SECT. II.

From the Death of Eurick *to that of* Roderick, *and the Ruine of the Kingdom of the* Goths *in* Spain *and* Gall.

The ſpace of two hundred and forty years.

1. EVrick being dead, *Alarick* his Son ſucceeded by the univerſal Conſent of the People, about the time that *Theodorick* the *Oſtrogoth* had made himſelf Maſter of *Italy*. This Prince having obtained the Dominion of that Countrey, was not wanting to himſelf by fit means and methods to ſecure his Intereſt. Conſidering that the *Franks*, *Burgundians*, and his Kinſmen the *Viſigoths* were all powerfull Nations, who now had cantoniſed *Gall* amongſt them, he endeavoured by Alliances and Affinity to unite their minds, and prevent thoſe Troubles, which he knew the fierceneſs of their Spirits, as yet half Barbarous, might elſe raiſe in the Weſtern parts. Therefore did he marry the Daughter of *Clodonæus* King of the *Franks*, who was now made a Chriſtian, and of two Daughters which he himſelf had by a Concubine, the one he gave in Marriage to *Alarick*, and the other to *Gundibald* the *Burgundian*. But theſe ties were too weak, to bound and reſtrain the Appetite of the *Franks*, whoſe King impatient of Reſt, gladly caught hold of the advantage which the difference of Religion afforded. The Provincials, or the People which were ſubject to the *Goths*, being of the Orthodox party, were indeed much irritated by the *Arian* Zeal of their Kings, *Eurick* eſpecially, which Tranſported him ſo far, as to raiſe a very great Perſecution. *Pagans* they deſired to ſubmit to, rather than *Hereticks*, knowing that that Idolatry and Superſtition were now become out of Faſhion, the Deriſion of the World, and therefore there could

Alarick King of the *Goths*.

Al-riich, Omnibus rebus pollens, Rich in all.

could no inconvenience ariſe from thence, which in any Probability could be laſting. The fury of *Eurick* his Perſecution drove many, eſpecially Religious Perſons from their Habitations, who flying for refuge into thoſe parts of *Gall*, that were ſubject to the *Franks*, carried the heat of Indignation along with them, which kindled the Deſires of that People, and cauſed the Ambition of *Clodonæus* to break out at length into a mighty flame; *Alaricus* though otherwiſe an accompliſht Prince, ſought not how to extinguiſh the Flame by withdrawing the matter that gave the firſt occaſion, as he might have done, but ſuffered the great diſcontents about Religion to continue, either acted by an erronious Conſcience, or being confident of his own ſtrength, and glad to meet any occaſion of Quarrelling with *Clodonæus* in the half way.

2. The difference was inlarged by another accident: *Syagrius* the Count, the Son of *Ægidius*, whom *Clodonæus* had defeated in Battel fled to *Alarick*, and was kindly entertained by him. *Clodonæus* thereat ſtormed exceedingly, and procured him to be delivered up into his hands, which ſeemed to reſtore them to a good underſtanding, and perfectly to make up the breach. But the Religious Zeal of *Clodonæus*, or rather his Envy and Ambition, quickly diſcovered that the Caſe of *Syagrius* ſerved him but onely for a pretence and Colour to his deſign. Not able to endure, that theſe *Arians* ſhould hold any part of *Gall*, he perſwaded his men to undertake the War, to reduce their Territories under their own Power. To make his enterpriſe plauſible at his ſetting forth, he Commanded by an Edict, that no violence ſhould be offered to Sacred, whether Perſons or Places, which he ſignified to the Biſhops then aſſembled in a Synod at *Orleance*; as appears by the Epiſtle it ſelf, prefixed before the Council. In his paſſage he ſpared the Territories of *Tours* for the ſake of St. *Martin*, whom conſulting as the manner then was concerning his expedition, being ſatisfied that the iſſue would be good, he proceeded on his way as far as the River *Vigenna*. Here the River overflowing by reaſon of abundance of Rain, he knew not what Courſe to take, where by an Hart which took the Water, and after her arrival at the other Bank, is ſaid to have diſappeared, he was directed to a Ford, and ſo got ſafe over with his Army. Thence marched he ſtreight to *Poictiers* where *Alarick* now reſided, who appointed to give him Battel in the Plains called *Campi Vogladenſes*, lying from *Poictiers* about ten miles. There wanted no Animoſity nor Valour on either ſide. *Alarick* performed all the parts both of a prudent General, and a Courageous Souldier, but had the fortune to be diſmounted by *Clodonæus*, who then alighted and ſlew him, as he endeavoured to riſe from the Ground. The *Goths* utterly diſcouraged by the Death of their King, were moſt of them cut in pieces: *Engoleſme* which was held by a Garriſon of *Goths*, quickly yielded to the Conquerour. Such of them as had not been at the Battel, met together at the Borders of *Bourdeaux*, to prevent the Ruine of their Dominions, but giving there Battel to the *Franks*, received ſo great a defeat, that from them and their Religion, the place received the Name of the *Arian* Field.

Ait ſuis valde moleſtè fero, quod hi Ariani partem teneant Galliarum, eamus cum Dei adjutorio & ſuperatis redigamus terram in ditionem noſtram, Greg. Turonenſ, c. 2. c. 30. Aimoinus, l. 1. c. 20.

Is kill'd by *Clodonæus* the *French* King.

3. *Clodonæus* purſuing his good Fortune took in *Bourdeaux*, after which the *Veſates*, *Cadurci*, *Rutheni* and *Arverni*, yielded themſelves to his Son *Theodorick*. In the beginning of Spring he beſieged *Tolouſe*, which he took, and therein the Treaſures of the *Gothick* Kings, which done, he removed to *Engoleſme*, and having reduced the other Towns, and put ſufficient Garriſons therein, returned to *Tours* to perform his Devotions at the Tomb of St. *Martin*. So do the Hiſtorians of the *Franks*, and generally all Latine Writers relate the Story. *Procopius* makes the Caſe to be a little different, writing, that the *Franks* whom he calls *Germans*, invading the Territories of the *Goths*, took up their Station about *Carcaſſon*. *Alarick* expecting ſuccours from *Theodorick* his Father-in-Law kept himſelf at a diſtance, till his Men ready to Mutiny upbraided him with Lazineſs: Whereupon he gave Battel to the *Franks*, and therein periſhed with moſt of his followers. The *Franks* elevated with their good Succeſs beſieged the ſtrong City of *Carcaſſon*, where they heard the Spoils of the Temple of *Jeruſalem* lay, which *Alarick* the elder had tranſported from *Rome* into *Gall*. But *Theodorick* drawing toward the Siege with great Forces, they broke up their Camp, and departing ſeized on that part of *Gall*, which reacheth from the River *Rhoſne* to the Ocean. Then *Theodorick* deſpairing to regain that which they had got into their hands, ſatisfied himſelf with keeping that part of *Gallia Narbonenſis*, which ſtill remained to the *Goths*. But ſuch was the end of *Alarick*, who did not end his Life by the Halter before the Gates of *Tolouſe*, as one ridiculouſly has left written; for all ancient Authours agree, that he died in Battel, and *Gregory Turonenſis* with others, by the hand of *Clodonæus* particularly. He Reigned three and twenty years, and in his laſt but one, perceiving that the new *Gothick* Laws

Gregor. Turon. l. 2. c. 37. *Aimoinus, l.* 1. c. 22. *Ado Viennenſis Flodoardus, Sigebertus, Abbas Urſpergenſis, Otho Friſingenſis, alii.*

Petrus Valliſſernenſis Hiſt. Albig. cap. 1.

Laws ſuited not the Humour of the Provincials, who had been accuſtomed to the *Roman*, cauſed the Code of *Theodoſius* to be abreviated by ſome prudent and learned Men, and then to be publiſhed by *Aimoinus* his Chancellour in a full Aſſembly of the Biſhops and Nobility at *Aduris* a City of *Novempopulania*.

4. *Alarick* left a Son of five years old, begotten on his Wife that died a little before him, called *Amalarick*, and another named *Geſaleich* which he had by a Concubine. The Nobility deſpiſing *Amalarick*, by reaſon of his Age, made *Geſaleich* King. This could not but be highly diſpleaſing to *Theodorick* the *Oſtrogoth*, who to vindicate the cauſe of his Nephew, ſent eighty thouſand ſtout Men into *Gall* under the Conduct of *Ilba*, the Count of the *Gepidæ*, who had orders alſo to repreſs the Inſolence of the *Franks*. *Geſaleich* hearing of ſo great an Army, and having lately loſt *Narbon*, which *Gundibald* the King of the *Burgundians* intent upon Booty at this time of Extremity had taken from him, fled Cowardly into *Spain* to *Barcelona*, where he could dare to be Cruel to thoſe that were under his Power, though he durſt not look an Enemy in the Face; for with his own hands he murthered *Goerick* in the Court. *Ilba* marched ſtreight for *Gall*, where he gave Battel to the *Franks*, and by aſſiſtence of the *Viſigoths*, killed twenty thouſand of them, whereby *Provence* fell as a reward to the *Oſtrogoths*, and to the *Viſigoths Aquitain* was recovered. He took in *Narbon*, and was now ready to march into *Spain*, when *Geſaleich* hearing the News, and deſpairing of the Fidelity of his Souldiers, whom he had diſobliged by his Cruelty, paſſed over the *Straits* into *Africk* to *Thraſimund*, the *Vandal* King, who kindly entertained him, though he had married the Siſter of *Theodorick*, either pitying the Man's diſtreſſed condition, or thinking it ſeaſonable to give a Check to the Power of the *Oſtrogoth*, which was now grown ſo high as to threaten all the Neighbour Nations: He aſſiſted him with Money, wherewith repaſſing into *Gall* after a Years hiding himſelf, he hired Souldiers and re-entred *Spain*, where he was overthrown in Battel by *Ilba* twelve miles from *Barcelona*. Eſcaping himſelf he fled back into *Gall*, and there died of Grief at ſome place ſituate upon the River *Druentius*, in the fourth Year after he had been declared King.

Geſaleich ſucceeds.

Hunc alii Gæſalaricum, alii Geſeleycum, alii Geſaleicum, Procopius Gaſelicum appellat. Amalriick, In cœlo pollens. Geſellick, Socialis.

But flying his Kingdom,

Dyes with Grief.

5. So he died, but who ſucceeded him is not fully certain: Writers differing in their Opinions. Moſt hold that *Theodorick* the *Oſtrogoth* was now King of the *Viſigoths* in *Spain*, into which Countrey ſome ſay, that he paſſed. Indeed the Synods which at this time were held in *Spain*, have his Name before them, and tell us of the very Years of his Reign. But others think, rather that *Amalarick* was King, and that his Grandfather governed onely as his Guardian, who having all the Power in his hands, thence he was alſo preſumed to have the Title. To ſpeak indifferently, this is more probable of the two; and as for the expedition of *Theodorick* into *Spain*, we can look at it no otherwiſe than as a mere Fable, for who can be ſo prejudiced, as to imagine that ſo remarkable a thing ſhould be paſſed over in ſilence by *Caſſiodorus* and other eminent Writers, who have tranſmitted the particular Acts of this King to Poſterity? This is an Invention of *Spaniſh* Authours, ſome of whom tell you other fine tales hereon depending; as that *Theodorick* at *Toledo* married a Wife of the ancient *Spaniſh* Race, by the intreaties whereof being overcome, he reſtored to the ancient *Spaniards* their Liberty; and that of this Marriage was born *Severianus*, the Father of *Leander* and *Iſidore*, a Story as unconſiſtent with the Courſe of time as repugnant to truth it ſelf. It's more certain, that *Theudas* or *Theudius* Armour-bearer formerly to *Theodorick*, was by him made Governour of *Spain*, and Protectour of *Amalarick* in his Nonage; who when he came to the Government himſelf, it ſeems made uſe of ſuch a Deputy, one *Stephen* being ſaid to be Prefect or Governour of *Spain*, and in the third year of his Command, to have been diſcarded in a Council. *Amalarick* married *Clotilde* or *Crotilde*, the Daughter of *Clodonæus* King of the *Franks*, and by this Alliance a firm Peace ſeemed to be made, which he himſelf through his Fury and Indiſcretion cauſed to be broken.

Amalarick King.

Lucus Tudenſis.

Annotationes libri Alcobacienſis apud Vaſæum ad A. D. 530.

Who Marries a Daughter of *Clodonæus* the *French* King.

6. His Wife being a Catholick, and he himſelf of the *Arian* perſwaſion, he could not at all bear with her Faith, but treated her with all Indignities imaginable. As ſhe went to Church, he cauſed filth to be caſt upon her, and at length ſo Cruelly beat her, that the Bloud guſhed out in abundance, wherewith ſhe ſtained an Handkerchief and ſent it to her Brother **Childebert**, deſiring ſhe might by ſome means be delivered from the miſery ſhe underwent. **Childebert** being naturally full of Activity and Courage, made no ſmall haſte to her deliverance; which her Husband underſtanding prepared no Arms and Souldiers for reſiſtence, but Ships for his Tranſportation,

Gregor. Turonenſ. lib. 3. c. 9.

But uſing her ill,

He is killed by the *Franks*.

ſportation, and was ready to go aboard, when he remembred he had left many pretious Stones in his Cloſet of ſuch value with him, that he could as eaſily part with his Life as looſe them. Returning into the Town to fetch them, before he could get back, the Army of the *Franks* was at the Gates, by which forced to return, he would have taken Sanctuary in a Church of the Orthodox Chriſtians, but in his way one of *Childebert* his Souldiers, killed him with a Lance: He Reigned five years by himſelf, twenty in all if his Reign be computed from the Death of *Geſaleich*. His Wife *Clotilde* died before ſhe reached *Paris*, and there ſhe was buried near to the Monument of her Father.

Theudis choſen King.

Is invaded by the *Franks*.

Procopius, alibi Theodim, alibi Theudam appellat. Latini Scriptores alii Theudium. Teudhais Populis imperans Theudiſch, Popularis.

7. *Amalarick* dying without iſſue, the Royal Race of the *Viſigoths* failed. Being then elſewhere to provide themſelves, the choice fell upon *Theudis*, he that had been Guardian to *Amalarick*, though an *Oſtrogoth* by deſcent, for his great Skill and Dexterity in Government. From *Procopius* it ſhould ſeem that he Uſurped, while *Theodorick* King of *Italy* was yet alive, and that this King to provide for the Affairs of *Amalarick* his Nephew, indeavoured by all means to get out of *Spain*; but to no purpoſe. For during his Government he had provided himſelf ſufficiently, both of Wealth and Intereſt; and that eſpecially, by a Marriage with one of the Nobleſt and Richeſt Ladies of the *Spaniſh* Nation. But the Kings of the *Franks* thought themſelves not yet ſatisfied, for the Injury offered to their Siſter. The year following, *Childebert* and *Clotair* invade *Spain*, and waſting all the *Tarraconian Province*, lay Siege to the City of *Cæſar Auguſta*, which the Devotion of the Inhabitants merely preſerved from Ruine, for therewith *Childebert* was affected, that he is ſaid thereupon to have raiſed his Siege. But in their retreat they were badly rewarded for their kindneſs, being in the Straits of the Mountains ſet upon by *Theudiſlus*, who Commanded a party of *Goths* for *Theudis* their King, a Prince ſo ſlenderly provided, that he durſt not ingage on even Terms. They loſt many of their Men, and were forc'd with Gold to purchaſe the ſafety of the reſt. This War was followed by a great Plague, which for two years ſo raged, that in *Spain* an innumerable multitude of poor Mortals periſhed.

8. *Theudis*, either to redeem his Credit, which ſeemed much impaired with the late Invaſion, or to aſſiſt the *Vandals* in *Africk*, who ſeemed now to go down the wind, paſſed over the Straits, and there laid Siege to *Septa*, a City facing *Spain* as ſtanding over againſt it upon the Water. His Siege he long continued, and was in good hope of carrying the Place, till refuſing to uſe any Acts of Hoſtility on a Lords Day, the beſieged took their opportunity, and making a Sally with ſuch execution, that they killed all that then were in the Camp; *Theudis* himſelf with a ſmall part of the Army, by benefit of his Ships eſcaped: This happened at ſuch time, as *Beliſarius* warred in *Africk* againſt *Gelimer*, who though as yet not reduced to great ſtraits, ſent ſhortly after to *Theudis* to deſire Aſſiſtence. By reaſon of contrary Winds, or ſome other Accident; the Ambaſſadours ſailed very ſlowly, and made little Progreſs in their Voyage, ſo that e'er they could have Audience ſome other Ships were arrived, and brought News of the taking of *Carthage*, and the Deſtruction of the *Vandal* Kingdom there. When they came to make the demands, *Theudis* asked in what Condition their Maſters Affairs now ſtood, to whom they replyed, that they were in a very good poſture. Whereupon he told them, that they ſhould return into *Africk*, and there they ſhould have a pertinent Anſwer. Being entertained by the King at a Feaſt, where all both eat and drank plentifully, they imputed the ſtrangeneſs of his Anſwer to the exceſs of Wine, and the next Morning demanded another Audience, which granted, they heard but the ſame Words repeated, and thereupon ſuſpecting the matter, found their Suſpicion not to have been ill founded at their return. Not long after, *Theudis* after he had Reigned ſeventeen Years and about four Months, was ſlain by one that Counterfeited madneſs for that purpoſe. Before he expired, he Commanded the Murtherer ſhould not be puniſhed, calling to mind that he himſelf had killed his Captain, to whom he had when a young Man ſworn Fidelity.

Theudis murthered.

Theudiſelus.

Theudiſelus ſive Theodiſelus Jornandi, Thiodigis, gloſſa.

Iſidorus.

9. He being dead, *Theudiſelus* his General was choſen King of the *Viſigoths*, a Man that had got much Honour in the War againſt the *Franks*, and of good Eſteem otherwiſe, as being the Nephew of *Totilas*, King of the *Oſtrogoths* in *Italy* by his Siſter. His good beginnings were within a little time quite blemiſhed by his Prodigious Luſt which hurried him into Cruel and Treacherous Acts, procuring for feigned Crimes and otherwiſe, ſeveral of the Nobility to be made away, that with Freedom he might enjoy their Wives. This cauſed thoſe that apprehended themſelves in danger, and had otherwiſe reaſon to be concerned, to enter into a Con-

Who is murthered.

In his place *Agila* elected.

A-geld, liber, Immunis, non ſolvens. Geld ſive gelt, nummus.

Aten-gild, commeatus tribuens.

But is ſlain by *Athanagild*, who ſucceeds him.

And dyes.

ſpiracy for taking away his Life, which was done at *Hiſpalis* or *Sevil*, in the midſt of his Cups and Jollity, after he had Reigned a year or ſeven months, though others extend it beyond a year and an half continuance. Into his place was elected *Agila*, who all his whole Reign contended with adverſe Fortune. At his firſt beginning the Inhabitants of *Corduba* denied obedience, which obliged him to lay Siege to their City, but they iſſued out upon him, and quite defeated him, killing his Son upon the place. As the merits of Men are meaſured merely by Succeſs, he began preſently to be deſpiſed, which incouraged one *Athanagild* to rebell, who to ſtrengthen himſelf ſent to *Juſtinian* the Emperour, deſiring aid for to accompliſh his revolt, and promiſing to reduce a good part of *Spain* to the obedience of the *Roman* Empire. *Liberius* a Patritian was accordingly ordered to march out of *Spain*, who about *Sevil* gave Battel to *Agila*, where the King being overthrown fled to *Emerita* and there was ſlain by the Nobility, after he had Reigned ſome ſay five Years and ſix Months, others five and three Months, and *Sigebert* with leſs Probability nine Years. *Athanagild* ſucceeded in the Kingdom, but had work enough to find him doing all his Life, made by the Army of *Juſtinian*, which he had called in to his aſſiſtence. For now having obtained what he deſigned, he reſolved to forget his Promiſe, and indeed he muſt either break it, or looſe that which was the end he propoſed; the *Gothick* Nobility being highly concerned, that the *Romans* had once again got footing in *Spain*, of which a very conſiderable part by Virtue of the League with him, and by force of Arms they had recovered, their Dominions being terminated by both the Seas. He had by his Wife *Galſuinda* two Daughters, *Galſuinda* married to *Chilperick* King of *Soiſſons*, and *Brunichild* the famed Wife of *Sigebert* his Brother, King of the *Mediomatrices* or *Auſtraſia*, of which we hear enough in another place. He died at length at *Toledo*, after he had Reigned ſome ſay fourteen, others fifteen Years with ſix Months. In the Kingdom of *Portugal*, ſixteen miles from the City *Guimarane*, (by the Ancients called *Idania*) is a Village yet extant, that bears his Name, poſſibly built in his time, where are to be ſeen Ruines of buildings, which perfectly ſhew they were of *Gothick* work.

Linva King.

Liwa, Leo.

Leunigild his Partner.

Lewi-gild, Leoni Par.

Who drives the *Romans* out of *Spain*.

**Ubi ſit iſta Sabaria plane neſcimus. fatetur Mariana; an Sabaudiam & Sabaudos, legendum ſit? Ita intelligere locum videtur Jacobus Valera, Johannes Abbas.*

Linva dyes.

10. After the death of *Athanagild*, followed an Interregnum for ſix Months, though in *Lucas Tudenſis*, we find ſeven Years and as many Months, which place is doubtleſs corrupted. The ſtate of the Kingdom could very ill bear the want of a Governour for ſo many days, but ſo long the Factions of the Nobility continued. At length they agreed to promote *Linva* (ſo he is called in ancient Coins) who then at *Narbon* Commanded thoſe parts of *Gall*, which ſtill remained ſubject to the Weſtern *Goths*. Having been accuſtomed to theſe parts for ſeven Years, he had no Inclination to move into *Spain*, and therefore in the ſecond Year of his Reign he made *Leunigild* his Brother Partner with him in the Kingdom, committing to his Care and Government the other Provinces that were ſubject to the *Goths*. This *Leunigild* by *Theodoſia* his former Wife, the Daughter of *Severianus* Governour of the *Carthaginian* Province, had two Sons, *Ermenigild* and *Reccared*, but ſhe being dead about the time that his Brother was made King, he had married *Goſuinda* the Wife of *Athanagild* his Predeceſſour. Being a man of great Courage and Conduct, and ſeeing what danger lay from the *Romans*, who had got ſo much of the Countrey into their Power, he could not forbear but preſently led againſt them; and in the Region of the *Baſtetani* gave them Battel, with ſuch Succeſs that he beat them out of this whole Countrey: The Territories of *Malaca* he waſted with Fire and Sword, had *Aſſidonia* a Town ſtanding upon the Straits, betrayed to him by *Framidanius* the Governour, reduced *Corduba* to obedience, which ever after the defeat given to *Agila*, had refuſed to ſubmit, with ſeveral other Towns, and all the Tract of * *Sabaria*. While he thus employed himſelf in *Spain*, his Brother *Linva* or *Linba* as others call him, died in *Gall* after he had Reigned five Years, or as others but three, of this Opinion being *Iſidore*.

Leunigild makes War upon *Cantabria*.

Then *Aquitain*.

Biclarenſis apud Marianam de rebus Hiſp. lib. 5. c. 11.

11. *Leunigild* having ſetled the Affairs of *Bætica*, and driven the *Romans* out of all the Province, turned the War upon *Cantabria*, where he took the City *Amaia*, (by others called *Aregia* and *Varegia*) having waſted all the Countrey to the Gates, and killed many that denied Submiſſion. From *Cantabria* he moved into *Aquitain*, where he forced *Aſpidius* to ſubmit, and put himſelf his Wife and Children into his hands, who had held the City *Agen* againſt him. We are told by a certain Authour, that this *Aſpidius* was a *Senior* in this Countrey, uſing this word as a Note of Dominion and Principality. A Senate was ſo called from *Senes*, or *Seniores*; for that ſuch Conſult and govern is moſt proper and wholeſome for a State. Therefore

in

Sect. 2.

in ſucceeding times, as well in the Monuments of *Spain*, as in the Acts of ſuch Councils as were held about the time of *Charles* the Great in *Gall*, Lords and Princes are termed *Seniores*, which cuſtome being derived into the Baſtard Latine Tongues of *Spain*, *Gall* and *Italy*, thence the Titles of *Sennor*, *Signior* and *Signeur* in thoſe Modern Languages received their Original. The ſame year that *Linva* died, *Miro* or *Ariamyrus* ſucceeded his Father *Theodomir* in his Reign over the *Suevi*, who died two years before. We have heard nothing of a long time of theſe Kings ſince *Remiſmund*, of whoſe Succeſſours either as to their Names or Actions we know little or nothing, thoſe Monuments which ſhould have tranſmitted them to us having periſhed.

In Chronic. ad Æram 402.

Joannes Abbas.
Lucas Tudenſis.

12. But *Iſidore* puts us off with this ſcantling account, after he had told us ſome ſmall matters concerning *Remiſmund*, and how the Hereſie of the *Arians* was propagated amongſt the *Suevi* by one *Ajax*, that many Kings of the *Suevi* afterwards remaining in the profeſſion of that Hereſie, at length *Theodomir* came to be King, who by the aſſiſtence of *Martin* a famous Biſhop, reſtored the Catholick Religion. After *Theodomir* reigned *Miro*, who reigned thirteen years, and in his ſecond made War, as the Copy now hath it, upon the *Roman Roccones*. Another Authour tells us it was againſt the *Aragones*, and a third calls them *Vaſcones*, with more reaſon the ſame with thoſe that now inhabit part of *Navarre*. *Leunigild* being returned out of *Aquitain* into *Spain*, began every day more and more to grudge and diſdain, that the *Suevi* or any others beſides himſelf ſhould have any thing of that Countrey. He could not forbear attempting ſomething upon their Borders, which *Miro* ſenſible of, and knowing his own ſtrength, took the beſt courſe to ſend a ſubmiſſive Meſſage, but he could not prevail for any thing more than a Truce. Then turned he his Arms upon the *Roman* Forces, which *Juſtin* the Emperour had ſent to protect the Limits of *Spain*. Their cheif reſidence was upon the Mountains called *Oroſpedæ*, which riſing at the roots of the Hill *Cannus*, run through *Molina Coucha* to *Segura*, and the Borders of *Granado* as far as the Straits of *Gibraltar*. Truſting to the Steepneſs and Cragginеſs of the place, they refuſed to ſubmit, but he reduced all the Forts and Caſtles, and the whole Province under his Dominion, whereby it came to paſs that the *Romans* were in a manner driven out of *Spain*, little now being left them but a ſmall tract of Ground upon the Mediterranean Sea.

Leunigild makes *Ermenigild* and *Reccarde* Partners with him in the Kingdom.

Erman-gild militibus tribuens. Reke-reden, ultor cum ratione, To wicked read his ear, *i. e.* To Evil Council. *Reede etiam Saxonice Doctrina. Ita Recaredum interpretatur Grotius, ego autem potius hoc modo. Riſch-reden vel Riſch-rede, pollens Conſilio. Vocatur enim Ricared adeo bene ac Reccarede.*

Ermenigild converted to the Faith.

13. His matters being in ſo hopefull a poſture, in reference to Foreign Potentates, he was the more concerned to think how they ſtood at Home in relation to his own Family, for whether it or ſome that never had taken any care and pains, ſhould reap the fruit of his Labours was utterly uncertain, Kings being wont to be choſen by the ſuffrages of the Nobility, and no way of Succeſſion at all Eſtabliſhed. To prevent this, he declares his two Sons *Ermenigild* and *Reccarde* his Partners in the Kingdom, the former being to reign at *Sevil*, as ſome, or as others ſay at *Emerita*, and the latter at the confluence of the two Rivers *Tagus* and *Guadiela* near *Paterniana* or *Paſtrana*, *Leunigild* building a City which after him he called *Reccopolis* (vulgarly *Ripol*,) as ſome imagine, in *Celtiberia*. He himſelf placed the Seat of his Kingdom at *Toledo*, whereupon it began to be called the Royal City, and to be the Seat of the Kingdom, as formerly had been *Hiſpalis* or *Sevil*. *Ermenigild* Married *Ingundis* the Daughter of *Sigebert* King of the *Mediomatrices* by *Brunichild*, a device as 'twas thought very proper for ſtrengthning his Intereſts, for ſhe being the Grand-daughter of *Athanagild* and *Goſuinda* hereby the Bloud and power of both theſe Royal Families were conjoyned. The Maid being brought to her Grandmother, ſhe ſoothed her up with extraordinary flatteries, to win her to imbrace *Arianiſm*; but when this would not doe, treated her with as great indignities, not onely with words, but blows, and once tumbled her down into a Fiſh-pond, to the great danger of her life; which notwithſtanding ſhe not onely kept her Religion, but is thought to have brought *Ermenigild*, now her Husband, to the imbracement of the truth, to which the long diſtance of King *Leunigild* gave a good opportunity, who had now taken a Journey to the *Carpentani* in the hithermoſt *Spain*; at what time *Ringundis* the daughter of *Chilperick* and *Fredegund* was coming to be married, according to Covenant, to *Reccarde* the other Son. But having reach't *Toloufe*, ſhe heard of her Father's death, procured, as was thought, by *Laudrey*, and ſo returned again to her own Countrey; which known, *Reccarde* married one *Bada*, the Genealogy of which Woman cannot be drawn by any mortal hand.

Is perſecuted by his Father with War.

14. But the Grandmother ſo plied *Leunigild* with Solicitations and Arguments drawn from Piety and Religion, that he muſt needs chaſtiſe his Son with War, if otherwiſe he could not reduce him. “ He ſends a Menacing Letter, accuſing him “ of ingratitude and diſobedience, arguing him of folly for renouncing ſuch a Faith “ as the *Goths* had hitherto profeſſed with great proſperity and ſucceſs; and tells “ him, that if now he did not comply, he muſt expect no paternal compaſſion for “ the time to come. The Son returns a modeſt, but reſolute Anſwer, “ That “ there was one higher than him, whom he muſt needs obey, if their Commands “ were contrary, and praying him to doe nothing whereof he might have occaſion to repent him all his life, and which would bring a perpetual Infamy upon “ their family. But the Father not remaining ſatisfied with his Son's anſwer, they both provide for War. The Son gets the *Romans* on his ſide, but they preſently again for money renounce the Alliance made with him, and promiſe their aſſiſtence to the Father. They ſpent three years in ſeeking Friends and making Alliances, till at length *Leunigild* in an Hoſtile manner invades *Bætica*, and lays Siege to *Hiſpalis*, for ſtarving of which he conſulted how he might divert the Courſe of the River *Bætis* upon which it ſtands, and fortified a place four miles off, where the Walls of the Ancient City *Italica* formerly ſtood, where now is to be ſeen a Monaſtery of St. *Iſidore*, the *Moors*, it's probable, after the times of the *Goths* having deſtroyed the City. *Miro*, King of the *Suevi*, though of the contrary perſuaſion as to Religion, joyned with *Leunigild*, and was (as a puniſhment for ſo great a crime as ſome believed) taken away by Death in the time of the Siege. *Eburick*, or *Eborick* his Son, ſucceeded him in the Kingdom of *Gallicia*, whom not long after *Audeca*, a wealthy man, deprived of his Kingdom, and thruſt into a Monaſtery, having married *Siſegatia*, the Relique of *Miro*. But ſee the juſtice that attended the Uſurper. *Leunigild* within a year or two diſdaining that the Son of his Friend and Ally ſhould be ſo ſpoiled of his Inheritance, invaded *Gallicia*, took *Audeca* alive, and cauſing him to be ſhaven, put him alſo into a Monaſtery, and made him receive Orders. He ſeized on all the treaſure, and reduced *Gallicia* into the form of a Province; the Kingdom of the *Suevi* being thus overturned after it had continued one hundred and ſeventy four (ſome ſay ſeventy ſeven) years.

Johannes Abbas.

Turonenſis autem ſcribit dum in Patria defunctum, fœdere pacto cum Leunigildo.

The Kingdom of the *Suevi* overturned.

15. But to return to *Hiſpalis*, the drawing of the River away from it brought it into extreme neceſſity, which *Hermengild* not able any longer to ſtruggle with, ſecretly ſtole away to the *Romans*, not knowing they had dealt ſo perfidiouſly with him already as to join with his Father. *Leunigild* quickly got the Town into his poſſeſſion, and not long after his Son into his hands. Some think he was betrayed by the Inhabitants of *Corduba*, whither he had retired upon notice how matters ſtood betwixt his Father and the *Romans*. Others ſay it was at a place called *Oſſetum*, which being ſtrong, he ſeized with three hundred ſtout men, hoping to make ſome oppoſition, but the Town was taken, and he fled into a Church for Sanctuary, whence being by the kind words of his Father drawn out, he was afterward put to death, one *Sisbert* being Executioner, when he refuſed to receive the Communion at the hands of an *Arian* Biſhop. But Authours differ about the place of his death, ſome affirming he was made away by *Sisbert* at *Tarracon*, and that before that he had been baniſhed to *Valentia*. Others, that he was Martyred at *Sevil*, where they ſhewed a Tower near to the Gate of *Cordova*, wherein they ſay he was kept Priſoner, horrible for ſtraitneſs and darkneſs, and they honour him as a great Saint, celebrating his Feſtival on the thirteenth of *April*, by virtue of a Bull of *Sixtus Quintus*. *Ingundis* his Wife full of tears and ſorrow, with her young Son, fled into *Africk*; the *Roman* Captains, to whoſe Cuſtody ſhe was committed, purpoſing to convey her to *Mauricius* the Emperour as ſome notable booty taken in War.

Ermingild ſlain.

Joannes Abbas, Gregor. Turonenſ. lib. 8. c. 28. Baclarenſis Gregorius Dialog. lib. 3. c. 31.

16. *Childebert* her Brother, and *Guntran* her Uncle, Kings of the *Franks*, were ready to plead her Cauſe by dint of Sword, when *Reccarede* the younger Son of *Leunigild* diverted them from *Spain* by making an Inroad into their Territories in *Gall*, where he took a ſtrong Caſtle called *Ugernum* in thoſe belonging to *Arles*, and waſted the Countrey in a dreadfull manner. This brought both Parties to liſten after an Accommodation, when other things happened which incenſed the *Franks* to an higher degree of Indignation. Some of their Ships as they were Trading to *Gallicia*, were intercepted by thoſe of the *Goths*, and as well the Men as the Veſſels and Goods belonging to them were made prize. This made the two Kings give deaf Ears to what was pleaded by *Leunigild* his Ambaſſadours; and *Mariana* tells us he has an Authour which affirms that *Reccarede*, now again from *Narbon*, made an Incurſion into the *French* Dominions, waſting many fruitfull and pleaſant places of *Gall*.

Gall. It's certain that *Childebert* was ſo moved as to enter into a League and Alliance with *Mauricius* the Emperour, whoſe friendſhip he had formerly deſpiſed for driving the *Lombards* and *Goths* out of *Italy* and *Spain.* And being, it ſeems, obliged firſt to begin with *Italy*, he ſent thither a conſiderable Army, which was defeated with ſo much loſs, that *Childebert* was much cooled in his deſign of making the ſame Attempts upon the *Goths*, eſpecially when he heard that ſhe, for whoſe ſake he had imbraced the quarrel, was dead, either in *Africk* or *Sicily*, and perceived that the Emperour would lend his Name and Reputation, but not his helping hand to any enterprize conſiderable. Her Son, we are told, was carried to *Conſtantinople*, where what became of him, is utterly unknown, but probably he had the happineſs not to ſtay long behind his Mother. Much about the ſame time died alſo *Leunigild* in the eighteenth year after he had began to reign with his Brother. He had the happineſs before his death to reduce and take Priſoner *Malarick* or *Amalarick*, who had the confidence to Uſurp in *Gallicia*, and ſet up again the Kingdom of the *Suevi*. He was cruel in his diſpoſition, having, beſides his Son, put ſeveral other Noble men to death. He firſt of all thoſe *Gothick* Kings filled his Treaſury with the Goods of the Church, and the Eſtates of private men as well as Enemies. He firſt uſed a Throne and Royal Robes, whereas thoſe before him ſate and were habited like the Nobility. The Laws made by *Eurick*, he mended, taking away and adding as to him ſeemed moſt convenient.

Leunigild dies.

Iſidorus Lucas Tudenſis.

17. *Reccardus*, or *Ricared*, ſucceeding his Father, ſet himſelf to reform Religion, aboliſhing *Arianiſm*, and eſtabliſhing the Catholick Faith, and that with as little noiſe and trouble as could be expected in a matter of ſuch concernment. For eſtabliſhing a firm and laſting Peace to his Dominions, he deſired to be friends with the Kings of the *Franks*, and as a more powerfull way to effect it, his Wiſe *Bada* being dead, he deſired in Marriage *Clodoſinda*, the other Siſter of *Childebert*, King of *Auſtraſia*, utterly denying that he was of Council with his Father, or had any hand in the misfortunes of his Brother, his Wife and Son. The thing could not preſently be accompliſhed; for *Guntran* the Uncle had not yet digeſted the affront offered to his Family, but would by Arms be revenged, ſending *Deſiderius* with conſiderable Forces to waſte the Territories of the *Gothick Gall*, where the *Goths* at firſt had the worſt, and ſhut up themſelves within the City *Carcaſſon*, but afterward took their opportunity, and made ſuch a ſally upon the triumphing and ſecure beſiegers, that they ſlew their Captain, and killing moſt of them, the reſt ſecured themſelves by ſhamefull flight. This Defeat did but more exaſperate the ſpirit of *Guntran*, who to recover his credit, the year following ſent no fewer than ſixty thouſand men under Command of *Boſo* into the *Gothick* Borders. News being brought into *Spain* that ſuch a ſtorm was approaching, *Claudius* the Governour of *Luſitania* deſcended of *Roman* Bloud, was ſent away to protect the Borders, who finding the *Franks* near *Carcaſſon*, the happy place of their late defeat, reſolved there again to fall upon them, and with the like ſucceſs. For he defeated them in Battel, killed many in the fight, and not a few in the purſuit, took their Camp with all their Baggage, and obtained ſuch a victory, that if *Iſidore* be not partial, a more eminent one never had happened in *Spain*, the glory whereof was increaſed by the ſmallneſs of the number of thoſe that fell on the *Gothick* ſide. For you muſt know this defeat of threeſcore thouſand *Franks* was effected by the Valour of three hundred *Goths*, ſo powerfull was the Tongue, ſharp the Sword, and prevalent the Example of *Claudius* their Captain.

The *French* worſted in two Expeditions againſt the *Goths*.

18. *Ricared* having the good fortune to be Victour both in the field againſt his publick Enemies, and at home againſt ſuch Conſpiratours, as out of hatred to his Religion had contrived his deſtruction, obtained ſo much repute in the World, that at length his ſuit was admitted, and *Antharis* the *Lombard* being put off, to whom ſhe had been as good as promiſed, *Clodoſinda* was ſent to him, and a ſtrict Alliance and League was made betwixt the Nations. What time the Marriage was Conſummated, Authours do not agree amongſt themſelves; but evident enough it is, that toward the latter end of his Reign the League was made betwixt the *Franks* and him. This farther added to his Glory, That the *Romans* which ſtill remained in *Spain*, were by his endeavours reduced to an inconſiderable Number and Power. By the ſame good fortune he reduced the *Vaſcons* to obedience, when they had entertained Councils of dangerous conſequence. He was a Man of great goodneſs as well as felicity, being ſingularly good natur'd, and very pious, to which being added excellent wit, and great endowments both of body and mind; he left a great miſs of him behind him, dying at *Toledo* after he had reigned fifteen years, one month

A League and Alliance ſtruck up 'twixt theſe two Nations.

Ricared dies.

month and ten days. He had two Wifes, as we have ſeen, *viz. Bada*, Daughter, as they ſay, to *Arthur* our famed King of *Britain*, and the *French* Lady lately mentioned; and he left three Sons, but by what Mother or Mothers, cannot be determin'd. The eldeſt was *Linva* (*Luiba* or *Loiba*) whom ſome will have the Son of *Bada*, but *Iſidore* writes that he was begotten of an Ignoble Mother, ſo that ſome conjecture he was baſe born. And as for the other two, *viz. Suinthila* and *Geila*, their Original as to the Mother's ſide is rather more obſcure.

Ignobili quidem matre progenitus, ſed virtutum indole inſignitus. In Chronic. ad Æram 639.

Swint-las, Potentia exutus. Geld-wilar, Pecuniam expectans potiùs cupiens.

Linva the Second ſucceeds.

19. *Linva* his eldeſt Son ſucceeded him, and being very young (not twenty years old, ſome ſay hardly fifteen) was ſo obnoxious to the plots and devices of bad men, his Father's great Merits could not protect him, although he gave to all men very good hopes that he would not tread but in his ſteps. He was circumvented and ſlain by the treachery of one *Witterick*, accuſtomed to ſuch Villanies, when he had ſcarcely reigned two years. Being a goodly perſon, and taken away in the flour of his youth, he was exceedingly lamented by his Subjects. In *Spain* there were not long ſince extant ſome Golden Coins ſtamped with his Image, and words which argued his eminent piety; in which Coins, leſt he be thought the ſame with *Linva* the Firſt, his great Uncle, he has on his Head a Royal Crown, a thing not uſed by any of thoſe *Gothick* Kings till the time of *Leunegild*, as we before hinted. *Witterick* having ſeized on the Kingdom, held it for the ſpace of ſix years and ten months, or thereabout, being a Souldier good enough, which he teſtified by the Wars he managed with the *Romans*, though the ſucceſs he had againſt them was not anſwerable to that great Ambition he had to drive them quite out of *Spain*. He was moreover ingaged againſt *Theodorick* King of *Burgundy*, to whom having married *Hermenberga* his Daughter, ſhe was diſgracefully ſent back to him, for what reaſon, and upon what account, we conſider in the Hiſtory of that Kingdom. Whatever the Cauſe of the Separation was, it could not, in his opinion, take off the injuſtice of the Fact, and the affront was ſo intolerable, as nothing could expiate it but the Ruine of him that had given the offence. And he ſo plied his buſineſs, that he made a very promiſing League and Alliance betwixt himſelf *Agilulf* King of the *Lombards*, *Clotair* the inveterate Enemy of *Theodorick* and *Theodebert* the King of *Auſtraſia* his Brother, for the Conquering of the Kingdom of *Burgundy*. But *Theodorick* had at this time the good fortune to draw off his Brother, and thereby it came to paſs that this terrible Conjunction and Confederacy dwindled by degrees to nothing. This brought the Uſurper into ſuch diſgrace with his People, that calling to mind his ill title, and the means he had uſed to advance himſelf, the Multitude ruſhed into his Court, and ſlew him as he ſate at meat, having performed nothing ſutable to his pretences, nothing memorable, but that his Captains took *Seguntia* from the *Romans*.

But is ſlain by the treachery of *Witterick*.

Aliis Vintericus, Beitericus, Detericus, Vietericus & Tiutericus.

Who ſeizes on the Kingdom.

Wicht Riſch, Pondere dives.

Upon whoſe death *Gundemar* is elected King.

20. He being ſlain, one *Gundemar* obtained to be King, whether as a reward of what he had performed againſt *Witterick*, or by the ſuffrages of the Nobility, is uncertain; ſome do very probably conjecture, that it was not without the aſſiſtence of the *Franks*; for they owed malice to *Witterick*, and it appears that *Gundemar* paid them an Annual Tribute from ſome ancient Records which were extant but in the days of *Mariana*. We find farther, that the Ambaſſadours of *Gundemar*, though ſacred by the Law of Nations, yet were violated or abuſed by them; and although juſt occaſion of War was thence afforded, yet he ſent others who neither could get any Audience of the Kings. Herewith *Bulgaranus* the Count, who governed the *Gothick Gall* as Lieutenant to *Gundemar*, found himſelf ſo concerned as to ſtop the Ambaſſadours of *Theodorick*, and deny them acceſs into *Spain*, and was ſeeming to be now coming on, to be before-hand with the *Franks*, he took by ſtorm two Towns in *Gallia Narbonenſis*, which by virtue of an Agreement made by *Ricared*, were aſſigned to the uſe and ſervice of *Brunichild* the Queen, who dying not long after, they never were re-demanded of the *Goths*. *Gundemar* in the mean time reduced the *Vaſcons* which had rebelled in *Spain*, and had good ſucceſs againſt the Captains and Forces which were ſet to protect the limits of the *Roman* Empire in that Countrey. This having done, he fell ſick and died at *Toledo*, having reigned no more than one year, ten months and thirteen days, leaving no iſſue behind him by his Wife *Hilduara*, at leaſt that is known to us. He was an Excellent Prince and much bewailed, Fortune having but ſhewn him and his Vertues to the World, and then as envying his People ſo great an happineſs, having again ſuddenly withdrawn him from their ſight.

Argumento Vectigalis annui quod Francis à Gundemare ſolvi conſueviſſe ſatis conſtat ex Bulgarani Comitis Galliam Gothicam pro Rege ea ætate gubernantis literis, quæ ad hanc diem Compluti & Oveti inter veteres ſchedas libriſque ſervantur, lib. 6. c. 2.

Who reduces the *Vaſcons* to Obedience,

And dyes.

21. The

Sect. 2.

Suſſe Butte, dulcis cupa, labrum.

Siſebatus choſen in his place.

Reduces the *Aſtures* and *Ruccones* to obedience.

Weakens the *Roman* Power in *Spain*.

And dyes.

21. The grief that all good men conceived for the loſs of him was mitigated by the good hopes of the Vertues of his Succeſſour, one *Siſebatus* upon that account choſen by the Suffrages of the Nobility. And their expectations he both confirmed and increaſed by the Courſe of his Actions. The *Aſtures* and *Ruccones* who had rebelled, truſting to the places they inhabited, which were very difficult of Acceſs, he ſpeedily reduced to Obedience. The Remainders of the *Roman* Power being now driven up to the Straits of *Gibraltar*, and the Shore of the Ocean he proſecuted and leſſened, giving them two notable defeats, and taking not a few Towns from them in *Bætica* and *Luſitania*, part of which Province they ſtill held, but were now reduced to ſuch a low condition, that they were ready to pack up and to depart. The Glory of his Arms he increaſed by the Fame of his Clemency and good Nature; for ſuch Priſoners as he took, he would often diſmiſs without Ranſome, and pay the price of the Redemption of Souldiers out of his own Treaſury. While he behaved himſelf in this manner, and diſcharged all Offices of a good and pious Prince, he was taken away by Death, after he had reigned eight years, ſix months and ſixteen days; but how he came to his end, is utterly uncertain, ſome reported that he died of an *Hypercatharſis*, or too violent a purgation by Phyſick he took, others ſaid that he was poiſoned by his Phyſicians, as happens uſually in the death of Princes, eſpecially if their departure be ſudden, or if they be loved and admired by the People.

22. There are two Laws of this *Siſebate* mentioned in the twelfth Council of *Toledo*. “One prohibiting his Succeſſours under an heavy Curſe to ſuffer a Chriſtian to be a Slave to a Jew, or to ſerve him. The other depriving him of all Enſigns of Honour, who in time of War ſhould either refuſe to go out in Perſon, or forſake his Colours, which as too ſevere, was mitigated by *Flavius Eringius*. To this ſame *Siſebate* is alſo aſcribed the beginning of Naval preparations, whereas the *Goths* had heretofore been ſtrangers to the Sea; but now the *Roman* Power in *Spain*, being even quite extinguiſhed, there was means and opportunity enough to apply themſelves to Sea matters. *Siſebatus* being dead, *Reccared* his Son ſucceeded, an Infant, who bearing the Title of King but for three months, after which time he died, or was depoſed, thereupon it came to paſs that by ſeveral Authours he is not put in the Catalogue of Kings. Both Father and Son being removed, one *Suinthila* who had Commanded the Army of *Siſebate*, and by Arms obtained great eſteem, was choſen King by the Nobility. Some write that he was the Son of *Recaned* the Firſt, and married *Theodora* the Daughter of *Siſebate*. He was a man of great Courage, and indefatigable Induſtry; very prudent in Conſultation, and of a mind ſo propenſe to all Acts of Munificence, that he was ordinarily called *the Father of the Poor*. In his time the *Vaſcons* forgetting the ſmart of that chaſtiſement he had formerly when a Subject inflicted on them, again rebelled, and with Fire and Sword invaded the *Tarraconian* Province, but he marching againſt them, they were by his very preſence affrighted into good manners, and ſubmitting themſelves as a puniſhment or expiation of their offence, he cauſed them to build a * City called *Oligitus*, or *Oligitis*, as a Rod for their own back, to be a curb and a check to their Rebellious humour for the time to come.

Vide Joann. Vaſæi Chronic. ad Ann. 621.

Reccared his Son ſucceeds.

Hunc Iſidorus Pacenſis ait tres tantum menſes regnaſſe. Rodericus Toletanus ſeptem, quem ſequitur Alſonſus.

Who being made away, *Suinthila* is choſen King.

A. S. Iſidoro & Luca Tudenſi in Catalogo Regni non ponitur.

Who chaſtiſes the rebellious *Vaſcons*.

**Hanc civitatem alii in Navarra dicunt eſſe eam quæ vulgo dicitur Olit, alii in Caſtella veteri, quæ vernaculo nomine Valladolit nuncupatur. Sub judice lis eſt.*

Is ſole Monarch of all *Spain*.

He makes *Rechimir* his Son his Partner in the Kingdom.

23. *Suinthila* had farther the good fortune to make himſelf Monarch of all *Spain*, a thing which had not happened to any of the *Gothick* Kings. For now was the time of Dominion of the *Romans* in this Countrey expired, one of the Patritians or Governours being drawn off to the King's party, and the other overcome by force, after they had for ſeventy years held part of *Luſitania* and *Bætica* with various fortune; and a wonder it is they ſhould ſo long hold out and keep their poſſeſſion of thoſe parts lying upon both the Seas ſo long as they did; but as ſome very well conjecture, that which maintained their Power, was the ſupply they conſtantly had out of *Africk*, for which they lay ſo convenient; which when it came to be ſubdued by the *Saracens*, the Intercourſe ceaſed, and conſequently for want of maintenance their ſtrength and intereſt quickly fell into irreparable decay. Theſe things were atchieved by *Suinthila* within five years compaſs of his Reign, whereby having ſo well provided for his Kingdom, he thought he might now make proviſion alſo for his family. The Kingdom, as we have ſeen, was Elective, or in the diſpoſal of the Nobility; but he to eſtabliſh it in his own Houſe, made *Rechimir* his Son his Fellow or Copartner in the Title and Government. This was plainly an alteration of the Political frame, which the *Goths* would not endure, but were ſo alienated in their minds and affections from him, that falling into moſt grievous diſorders, they drew confuſion upon themſelves, and forced him to quit the Title.

24. As

For which he is depoſed.

24. As there never wants ſome, who make their Markets out of publick Calamities, and raiſe themſelves out of the Ruines of others, there was one *Siſenand* a very good Souldier, who took the opportunity to ſet up for himſelf. His Ambition carried him into *France*, where by reviling *Suinthila*, and urging the eaſineſs of the Enterprize, he obtained Forces of *Dagobert* for outing him of his Power, under the Command of *Abundantius* and *Venerandus*. Theſe Forces appearing before *Cæſar Auguſta*, the Nobility forſook *Suinthila* and his Son and received *Siſenand* for their Prince, which Renunciation was afterward confirmed by the Fathers of the fourth Council of *Toledo*, adding thereto an Excommunication and Deprivation of all his Eſtate, other than what it ſhould pleaſe his Succeſſour, their moſt Pious Prince as they call him out of his Piety to beſtow upon him and his. What ground there was for this heavy cenſure cannot be underſtood, for that he was a very good Prince at leaſt at his beginning, we muſt believe from *Iſidore*. Indeed there are that lay Vice to his Charge, and it is not a thing ſtrange to the Nature of man, to be puffed up and enervated by Proſperity. After his Succeſs againſt the publick Enemies, ſome ſay, he gave up himſelf to be governed by *Theodora* his Wife, and *Agilan* his Brother, which procured him the Indignation and Hatred of his Subjects. The Fathers in Council aſſembled may a little be ſuſpected of Partiality, not to ſay injuſtice, for cutting off from the Communion of their Body, a Prince who could not offend in ſeeking to maintain that power, to which he had been legally Elected. But hence ſeems the miſchief to have proceeded: He indeavoured to ſettle it upon his own Family by the aſſociating of his Son, without the Authority of the uſual Election interpoſed. *Iſidore* here makes a ſtop of his Hiſtory, as unwilling to relate the diſgrace and Miſeries of a King formerly very famous, and whom he had commended to Poſterity for his Vertues, being alſo his Kinſman. He Reigned ten Years: His Son *Rechimir* dying much about the ſame time, or rather being depoſed with him, is not reckoned amongſt the Kings (as neither *Henry* the Son of our *Henry* the ſecond, becauſe he died before his Father) but is confounded with him, as ſome of the *Spaniſh* Writers have obſerved.

Rodericus Toletanus. Michael Ritius.

And *Siſenand* obtains the Kingdom.

25. *Siſenand* having obtained his Deſires as to the Succeſſion, was ſolicitous to keep what he had got how juſtly or unjuſtly ſoever, as knowing that ſome other might write againſt him after the Copy, which he himſelf had ſet. Sufficiently aſſured, that no pretence is ſo plauſible and effectual as that of Religion, in the third Year of his Reign he ſummons the Biſhops to meet in Council, making ſhew of Zeal for having the Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline reſtored, which through the iniquity of the times had much gone to decay, but intending to procure the Acts of *Suinthila* to be condemned by the Fathers, and conſequently bring thoſe of his party to acquieſce in the Alteration lately made. Accordingly his Poſture, Habit and Geſtures were fitted, in mean Clothes, preſenting himſelf to the Synod, where kneeling on his Knees with Tears which he had at Command, he deſired their Prayers to Almighty God in his behalf. Here now amongſt other things of Eccleſiaſtical Concernment, it was decreed, that none ſhould be King, but he that was admitted by the free choice of the Nobility and Prelates, and *Suinthila*, as we hinted, his Wife, Sons and Brother were curſed after the Chriſtian manner, for what they had impiouſly and Cruelly committed in the abuſe of the Royal power. Another thing is ſaid to have been done in this Synod, reſpecting the Civil as well as the Eccleſiaſtical ſtate of the Kingdom, and that was the publiſhing of that Volume of *Gothick* Laws, which hath been wont to be called *Forum Judicum*. Many learned Men and very good Antiquaries have been of this opinion. But others chuſe rather to aſcribe the thing to *Egica*, one of the leaſt of the *Gothick* Kings; foraſmuch as many are therein extant, which have the Names of following Princes. As for *Siſenand* there is nothing now that is memorable of him; but that there's a difference about the length of his Reign, ſome counting it to have conſiſted of three Years, eleven Months and ſixteen days; but others extend it to the ſpace of five Years and more.

Dyes.

Chintila Elected in his ſtead.

26. Into his Place according to the method preſcribed by the Council, was one *Chintila* elected, who thought it a very wiſe Courſe to follow his example, of ſummoning the Fathers together by their Reputation to gain farther ſtrength unto his Title. The ſtate of the Church being of Courſe in the firſt place provided for, the laſt in Execution, but the firſt and principal in his Intention and Deſign was accompliſhed as much as in them lay, the ſafety and Proſperity of his Perſon and Government. His election is confirmed, and Care is taken of his Sons, that after his Death they be no way injured nor moleſted. The Curſe is renewed upon him,

who ſhould arrive at the Sovereign power, by any other means than that of Election, which is alſo reſtrained to the ancient Nobility of the *Goths:* And it is made utterly unlawfull to attempt it, during the Life of the preſent King, as that which would open a Door to all ſorts of Tumults, Seditions and Treaſons. This Synod being held in the firſt Year of his Reign, conſiſted but of two and twenty Biſhops, in ſuch great haſte he was to have his matters ſetled, and therefore in that following, he aſſembled another Council conſiſting of above fifty, called the ſixth Council of *Toledo*, wherein the Decrees of the former Synod were confirmed. And by this Political courſe he attained his end, the People being kept in order by this ſhew and pretence of Religion. For nothing elſe is he memorable. He died after he had Reigned three Years eight Months and nine days.

Dies.

Then is *Tulga* choſen King.

His Character,

And Death.

Alii Tulcam & Tulganem appellant.

27. His empty place was ſoon filled by one *Tulga*, who was no whit unworthy of the place, nor of the Suffrages of thoſe that elected him. He was a Man young in years, but old in prudence, Valour, and in all well grounded Principles of Vertue and Honour, furniſhed with all Abilities requiſite to ſo high a Calling, which no way puffed him up, nor made him forget ſuch as miſery and want had plunged to the loweſt condition of Mortals, whom by his extraordinary Clemency and Munificence he raiſed and refreſhed, eſteeming his Royal Treaſures to be in this way beſt employed. He was extraordinary belov'd by the People, and their love being ſo great, the greater was their ſorrow that they could not any longer enjoy him, for he continued with them but two years and four months, dying then of ſickneſs at *Toledo*. So write and conſent the *Spaniſh* Writers generally, onely *Sigebert* the Abbat hath publiſhed another Doctrine, as that he was a young man of a light and frivolous diſpoſition, and by his Licentious Courſe of Life, ſo provoked his Subjects that they depoſed and forced him to take Orders; but a certain Biſhop who lived in thoſe very times, who both heard and ſaw, and accordingly made Relation as we have no reaſon otherwiſe to judge, is in this matter of Report to be preferred before a ſtranger, who either out of prejudice againſt the Nation, (ſo the *Spaniards* imagine) feigned this ſtory, or received it from other hands, which e'er it could reach the true Hiſtory through the diſtance of place was quite altered, as in other Caſes is too uſual.

Chindaſuinthus Uſurps.

Summons the ſeventh Council at *Toledo*.

Makes his Son Partner with him in the Kingdom.

Dyes.

De tempore Iſidorus Pacenſis, Lucas Tudenſis, alii differunt Antiqui, uti ex Recentioribus Joan. Vaſæus & Mariana.

28. The Commonwealth upon his Deceaſe, being toſſed by the Waves of Tumult and Ambition, and ready to periſh, one *Flavius Chindaſuinthus* by force of Arms made himſelf Maſter of the Helm, for it's ſafety and Preſervation as it happened. Having illegally and Tyranically invaded the Kingdom, he governed it in a quite different manner, as one that deſired to aboliſh the Memory of his coming in, by a conſtant Tenour of Juſtice and Moderation. He knew ſufficiently how much the Countenance of a Synod would contribute to the Settlement of his Intereſt, and reſolved as ſoon as things were ripe, as ſpeedily as the Temper of the Nation would bear it, to call together ſuch an aſſembly. But he durſt not attempt it at firſt, he could not truſt the Biſhops, whom he knew much averſe to what he had practiſed about the Kingdom, till by his Acts of kindneſs and good Government, he had taken off the edge of their prejudice, and had at leaſt laid the Foundations of their good Opinion towards him. Having done this, in the ſixth Year of his Reign, ſome ſay the fifth, he ſummoned the ſeventh Council to *Toledo*. He ſo effectually did his buſineſs by this and other Expedients, that what had proved fatal not long ſince to one of his Predeceſſours, he durſt Attempt with all Confidence and Alacrity. After he had governed alone for the ſpace of ſix Years eight Months and twenty Days, as ſome compute, he declared *Flavius Receſuinthus* his Son his Aſſociate in the Kingdom. After this he lived three Years four Months and eleven Days, which time is reckoned to his Sons Reign, (by reaſon that he governed all in the extreme Age or Dotage of his Father) and died at *Toledo*, ſome ſay of a natural Diſeaſe, others by Poiſon. His Body together with that of his Wife *Richerga* was buried in the Monaſtery of St. *Romain*, upon the River *Durius* betwixt *Taurus* and *Tordeſylla*.

Receſuinthus ſucceeds in the Kingdom.

29. *Receſuinthus* obtaining the Kingdom by Succeſſion, was the more concerned to take Care how to keep it in the Poſſeſſion of his Family. He uſed the ſame means his Predeceſſours had done, aſſembling the Biſhops and Nobility for the Settlement both of Church and State. For the Reader muſt take Notice, that theſe Councils, though commonly they be eſteemed merely Religious meetings, were indeed the *Comitia* or General aſſembly of the Nation, Lay-Perſons meeting and Voting in them as well as Eccleſiaſticks, as in the firſt which this King called together commonly known by the Name of the Eighth Council of *Toledo*, we reade of

Who calls the eighth Council,

And ninth at *Toledo.*

Subdues the *Vaſcons.*

And dyes.

fifteen Counts and illuſtrious Perſons, that joyned with the Biſhops and Abbats. Whereas other Princes had uſually got ſome Decrees in their own behalf for the inlarging or ſtrengthening of their Authority, he to pleaſe the People and preſerve his Title, which he was conſcious was illegal, parted with ſomething whereof his Father had ſtood poſſeſſed, a Regulation of Tributes, and Exactions being made for the eaſe of the Subject, who in times of diſturbance had been oppreſſed, and not eaſed in time of Peace, Impoſitions once laid on being very ſeldom taken off in any Government. Two years after another meeting was held, called in Books the ninth Council of *Toledo*, upon the like occaſion, and for the ſame reaſons as the former, as alſo in the year that followed another meeting which bears the Name of the tenth. Not onely did *Recceſuinthus* provide for making of new Laws, but reviſed the old ones, which had been depraved by the Injury of time, repealing many and adding more as appears from the Volume it ſelf, wherein the Laws made by this Prince, exceed in number all the Sanctions of the other Kings. All theſe matters related to Peace, but he ſhewed himſelf as fit for Military Affairs. For he repreſſed the Inſolence of the *Vaſcons*, who again made Incurſions into the Neighbouring Provinces and obliged them to reſt in obedience, and duty as before. He died after he had Reigned twenty three Years ſix Months and eleven Days, the time he Reigned with his Father being computed, and was buried as ſome write in his Village then called *Gerticos* and now *Bamba.*

Calendis ſeptembris ut ſcribit Rodericus Toletanus.

In Territorio Palentino.

Wamba choſen King.

But againſt his Will.

30. The Kingdom of the *Goths* which exceedingly flouriſhed in his time, was by his Death reduced into a very tottering Condition, the effect of its Conſtitution for being not ſetled upon any Family, but ſtill Elective as it ſeems they would have it, notwithſtanding the late precedent of *Recceſuinthus*, the hopes and Ambitions of the ſeveral Competitours drove all into Faction and Diſturbance. To put an end to theſe miſchiefs, the Nobility made choice of one *Bamba* or *Wamba*, a man very well accompliſhed for the place, but ſo prudent as to foreſee the danger of it. He earneſtly deſired to be ſpared, and ſo long till a certain Nobleman drew his Sword and vowed if he would not be King, he ſhould be no more a man: Yielding to the Threats rather than the Prayers and Deſires of the Nobility, he yet refuſed to be Crowned before he came at *Toledo*, hoping in the mean time their minds might change, or ſo to compoſe differences, that he might take the Diadem with univerſal aſſent and ſecurity. After he had taken the uſual Oath to maintain the Laws and Liberties, and was anointed by *Quiricus* the Biſhop of the place, a Vapour is reported to have riſen from his Head, and a Bee to have flown up aloft, which paſſage might have more ſeemed fabulous, if *Julian* the Biſhop of *Toledo* had not affirmed it in the Book he wrote of the War of *Narbon.* He was born in that part of *Luſitania*, which to the ancients was known by the Name of *Igeditavia*, where there's yet a Town extant and called *Idavia*, and a piece of Ground wherein is to be ſeen a Fountain incloſed with ſquare ſtone, which bears alſo the Name of *Wamba*; the Inhabitants believing, that the Ground was formerly in the Poſſeſſion of this King. Some reported, that he was an Husband-man, and by extraordinary Deſignment and Revelation was drawn rather than led to be King, but this ſeems no other than a Fable, none of the ancient Writers making mention of any ſuch matter, which being ſo remarkable, they would not have paſſed over in ſilence.

The *Vaſcons* renew their Hoſtilities.

A Conſpiracy in the *Gothick Gall* againſt him.

31. No ſooner was *Wamba* fixed in his Seat, but News was brought him which ſhewed his apprehenſions of trouble and danger not to have been vain or frivolous. The *Vaſcons* incouraged by the differences raiſed about the Succeſſion renewed their Hoſtilities, which cauſed him to raiſe an Army with all ſpeed, and ſuppreſs the miſchief e'er it too far proceeded. As he employed himſelf herein on the Borders of *Cantabria*, a matter of more dangerous Conſequence was brought to his Ear, that a great Conſpiracy was made againſt him in the *Gothick Gall*, by ſuch as envied him the Royalty. The Head of this Conſpiracy was *Hilderick* the Count of *Nemanſus*, who preſuming upon the great diſtance of place, and his great power in theſe parts, drew in *Gumild* the Biſhop of *Magalona* and *Remigius*, an Abbat, both his Neighbours. *Aregius* the Biſhop of *Nemanſus* refuſing to joyn with them, was removed and baniſhed into *Gall*, and *Remigius* put into his place. They turn now all things into Confuſion: The *Jews* who had been baniſhed they recall, conceiving they would not a little ſtrengthen their Intereſt. *Wamba* as ſoon as he could conveniently ſent one *Paul* againſt them, a *Grecian* as they ſay, both as to Birth and Fidelity, though a man of good Conduct, both in matters relating to Peace and War. He inſtead of extinguiſhing added Fuel to the Flame, entring ſpeedily into

Confederacy with the Rebellious *Goths*, and drawing to his party *Ranoſindus* the *Tarraconian* Duke and *Hildigiſus* called alſo *Gardingus*, a word denoting Magiſtracy and Power. By their Council and Aſſiſtence *Barcelona*, *Gerunda* and *Auſa* are ſeized in the entrance into *Spain*; and now they are for *Gall*, where they doubt not to be too ſtrong for the King's Friends.

32. Being come to the City of *Narbon*, *Paul* calls both the Citizens and the Souldiers together, to whom he accuſes *Agebandus* the Biſhop of the place, for having cauſed the Gates to be ſhut againſt him and his followers, as indeed at firſt he did, till ſatisfied more of his own Inability to contend with them, than of the righteouſneſs and Juſtice of their Cauſe, he commanded that they ſhould be admitted. He indeavoured to prove it Lawfull, to renounce obedience unto *Wamba*; who he affirmed was not legally choſen, but onely by the raſh adventure of a few Perſons, and at length came to the point, that they ſhould make choice of another, whom being legally Elected, they might as legally and Chearfully obey, and follow, to ſuppreſs the Faction of the Uſurper *Wamba*. Hereat *Ranoſindus* not by chance, nor on a ſudden, doubtleſs with a loud Voice and much Earneſtneſs affirmed, that a more worthy Perſon than *Paul* himſelf could not be found, which was received and approved by divers that were there ſet on purpoſe; the confuſed multitude embraced it, and the Wiſer ſort in ſuch Confuſion and Danger thought it beſt for them to be ſilent. Then was *Paul* pronounced King, and the Crown ſet on his Head, which formerly *Reccared* had dedicated to *Fælix* the Martyr, for the Rabble that promoted him, ſpared nothing, either ſacred or prophane. *Hilderick* the firſt Authour of the revolt was eaſily drawn in to own him, though he could have wiſhed himſelf the Man; and ſo all the Cities of the *Gothick Gall* readily ſubmitted, as alſo did no ſmall part of the *Tarraconian Spain*, drawn by the Authority of *Ranoſindus*. *Paul* now thinking himſelf ſecure, and ſwelling with the Pride of his high preferment, wrote Letters to *Wamba* full of opprobrious Language; and from them and the great Faction which now prevailed, ſome very rationally think, that the Fable proceeded of his being an Husbandman, and taken from the Plow-tail to wear a Crown, whereas he was of the prime Nobility of the *Goths*, and of higheſt place and Eſteem with the former Kings.

Paul Uſurps.

33. *Wamba* upon notice of the Treaſon of *Paul*, called the Nobility together to conſult what was to be done. Some were for marching preſently againſt the Rebels, to prevent the farther ſtrengthening of themſelves, urging that Expedition in War doeth the greateſt wonders. Others were for deferring the Expedition, till he could gather more ſtrength by ſetling his Affairs, and increaſing his Army, the weakneſs whereof was evidently ſeen in this, that as yet the *Vaſcons* were not fully reduced to obedience. He made choice of the former Courſe as the ſafer, both in reſpect of the Enemy, who if let alone might grow too formidable, and the minds of his own Men who being now full of Anger and Deſire of revenge, he thought it not fit to let them cool; but incenſe them farther as he did, by laying before them as well the Horridneſs of the Rebellion it ſelf, as the Miſeries which their Friends underwent, that lived within the reach of the Uſurper. By his words the Souldiers were ſo confirmed and animated to fight, that within ſeven days they quite ſubdued the *Vaſcons*, a fierce and warlike Nation, as a good beginning and Omen of future Victory. As ſuch receiving it, with incredible Alacrity and ſpeed they marched through *Calagunis* and *Oſca*, into the Borders of *Catalaunia*, where they were divided into three parts; whereof one had Orders to make for *Caſtrolibya*, the Metropolis of the *Ceretani*, another was ſent againſt the *Anſetani*, and a third was Commanded to waſte the Countrey lying by the Sea, the King himſelf marching after with a ſtrong party, and executing Diſcipline ſeverely againſt ſuch as raviſhed Virgins, and made Depredations contrary to Command.

Wamba ſubdues the *Vaſcons*.

Then marches againſt the Uſurper.

34. Coming to *Barcelona*, he took it with much eaſe, and reſerved the Authours of the Revolt to puniſhment. *Gerunda* was delivered up by *Amator* the Biſhop, who had received Letters from *Paul*, bragging that he would ſpeedily be with him, and adviſing him to receive and own him as King, who ſhould firſt be there; which having read, *Wamba* not improperly ſaid, *He has Propheſied concerning us and our coming*. Thence after two days, they entred and paſſed the Straits of the *Pyrenæans* without any Lett or Moleſtation, having taken by ſtorm *Cancoliberis*, *Vulturaria* and *Caſtrumlibya*, the plunder of which was given to the Souldiers, beſides *Clauſara* a Town, as the Name declares, ſituate in the very Strait it ſelf, wherein were taken *Ranoſindus*, *Ildigiſus* and others of the chief Conſpiratours. From *Sordonia Wittimir* fled, leaving it to the Conquerour, to bring News to *Paul*,

Takes ſeveral Towns, and ſome of the Conſpiratours.

who was all this while making Preparations at *Narbon*, and firſt thought to meet *Wamba* and give him Battel, but afterwards changing his Opinion, left that City to the Care of *Wittimir*, and betook himſelf to *Nemanſus* there to receive the Succours he expected from the *Galls* and *Germans*. The King being deſcended into the plain, ſtaid two days to Rendeſvouz his men, who were to come ſeveral ways over the Mountains. Then did he diſpatch away four of his beſt Captains to reduce *Narbon* with Competent Forces, furniſhing out moreover a Navy to block it up by Sea. The Land Army got firſt thither, and having in vain ſolicited the Inhabitants to return to obedience, took it by plain Force, and therein *Wittimir* who to their Summons had returned nothing but reviling words. The taking of this Town quite ruined the Faction, the People now beginning to reflect upon *Paul* and his Title, and to talk of the mild and peaceable Temper of *Wamba*. In the ſame Courſe of Victory were alſo taken by force *Magalona*, *Agatha* and *Biterris*, and therein ſeveral of the principal Conſpiratours.

35. *Paul* ſtill kept himſelf within *Nemanſus*, a City in thoſe times much flouriſhing with multitudes of Inhabitants, ſtately Buildings, and the ſtrength of the Walls, as conſiderable as any other in *Gallia Norbonenſis*; having many Monuments in it of the *Roman* Empire, and amongſt the reſt a ſpacious Theatre, which adjoyning to the Wall ſerved very well in the room of a Caſtle. Four Captains were ſent before by *Wamba*, who being elevated with the late Succeſs and good Souldiers, though not much skilled in what concerned Sieges, impatient of delay fell upon the Town as ſoon as they ſaw it, with the Force of thirty thouſand Men, they brought along with them. No Courage, no Animoſity ſutable to their ſeveral Concernments was wanting to either party, Night onely parting them for the preſent. But the beſiegers retiring, thoſe within thought themſelves Victours, and one of them in the heat of the fight inſulting over the Kings Souldiers boaſted, that ſhortly would arrive to their Relief, ſuch multitudes of *Germans* and *Franks*, as would drive them up like Deer and cut their Throats. A ſmall matter oftentimes in War adminiſters occaſion to ſome extraordinary Occurrence. The News hereof was ſent to *Wamba* with Deſire of ſpeedy ſupplies, foraſmuch as all hope of Victory was placed in expedition. He diſpatches away ten thouſand Men more, under the Command of *Wandemir*, who marching all Night reached the place the next day, before the Aſſault was renewed. At the ſight of them *Paul* was quite out of heart, yet made a Speech to his men full of Words, ſignifying Confidence and reſolution; and the ſtorm was renewed with great fury, which pertinaciouſly continued till the day was far ſpent, and the beſieged were quite tired out. Then did the beſiegers ſcale the Walls, ſet fire to the Gates, and batter the Walls. At the entry, the Citizens and *Franks* imagining, that the Town was betrayed by ſuch *Spaniards* as *Paul* had brought along with him, to gain pardon from the King, fell upon and killed many of them. Being therefore beaten down and ſlain before by the King's Souldiers, and behind by their late Friends within; this promiſcuous ſlaughter afforded a miſerable Spectacle, nothing being to be ſeen but Bodies weltring in their Bloud, to be heard, but the Groans of dying Men, the ſhrieks of Women, and the miſerable crying of Children in all places.

At laſt *Nemanſus*, wherein the Uſurper was.

36. *Paul* who had been the Cauſe and Authour of ſo great a Calamity, putting off his Robe retired with a ſelect Company to the Theatre, where truſting to the ſtrength of the place, he reſolved to obtain honourable Terms, or to dye Courageouſly upon the ſpot. It's obſerved of him, that he put off the Royal Enſigns the very day of the Year, namely the firſt of *September*, whereon *Wamba* at the inſtance of the Nobility had put them on. Part of the City being taken, the Officers would not proceed till the King came, that he might have the Honour of the Conqueſt. The Townſmen thought fit to ſend out *Arbegundas* their Biſhop to mediate for their pardon, who meeting him four miles off from the City, on his bended Knees with Tears and Lamentations, indeavoured to mitigate his Anger, which in great meaſure he effected. For *Wamba* triumphantly entring the City, which now yielded wholly to him, *Paul* himſelf and above twenty other Officers, notwithſtanding his former reſolution ſubmitted to his Mercy. He pardoned the multitude, and took three days time to conſider how to puniſh *Paul*, and his chief Adherents, in the mean time taking Care for the cleanſing of the City, and the repairing of the Fortifications on that ſide, that lay toward the *Franks*, who were reported to be on their way, with a deſign to have raiſed the Siege. Some of that Nation and of the *Saxons*, who had either remained there as Hoſtages, or had been drawn in to ſide with the Rebels at the beginning,

The Uſurper's Tryal.

he ſent away not empty handed. The three days being paſt, he mounts a Throne more elevated than uſual, and the Priſoners are brought before him. He firſt trod upon all their Necks, and then demands of *Paul*, whether by any Injury he had been provoked to contrive this wicked deſign againſt his King and Countrey. He denied he was at all injured, on the contrary affirmed he had received much kindneſs from the King. Then was his oath of Allegiance to *Wamba* recited, and the oath which he exacted from the People at his Uſurpation. Then was pronounced the Sentence againſt Rebels, according to the Laws of the Councils, *viz.* "Ignominious "Death, with the Confiſcation of all their Eſtates, with this Promiſe, that in Caſe "the King had pardoned them their Lives, yet they ſhould at leaſt be deprived of "their ſight. Yet did the King out of his innate Clemency and deſire to win the affection of the People, inflict no other Puniſhment upon them, than to cauſe their Hair to be cut off, which in thoſe times was taken for the chief Mark and token of Nobility.

37. All this while *Chilperick* King of the *Franks*, was reported to be at hand with a conſiderable Army. He thought fit therefore, to ſtay and expect him for ſome time; but having ſtaid four days to no purpoſe, he concluded he had done enough, both for the reaping the Fruit of the late Victory, and his own Reputation, and leſt by provoking the *Franks* he ſhould ſeem firſt himſelf to have broken the League, he reſolved to prepare for his removal out of *Gall.* But while this was in hand, News was brought him, that one *Lupus* a Captain of the *Franks* waſted the Countrey about *Biterris*, which obliged him to move towards him with his Army, although it did not much retard his Journey. For the Rovers hearing of his coming in a confuſed manner fled to the Mountains, leaving their plunder behind them, ſo that the *Gothick* Army had nothing to doe, but to kill and take pillage, wherewith inriched, it marched back to *Narbon* without having received any wound. Hence part of it was ſent to re-inforce the ſeveral Garriſons of the Countrey, and the reſt of it being commended much for Valour in a Military Oration, was disbanded at *Canaba*, a Town belonging to *Narbon*. The King returned into *Spain*, and in great Triumph entred *Toledo*, the ſixth month after he had thence departed, with mighty Honour for his late Atchievements. The Rebels went before upon Camels, with their Heads and Beards ſhaven, in ragged Clothes: *Paul* in greater deriſion wearing a Crown of black Leather. The King's Souldiers followed after very well clad, and carrying Joy and Triumph in their Countenances, the King himſelf bringing up the Rere, and by his reverend gray Hairs, and the Reputation of his late Actions increaſing the Majeſty of his Royal Office. The whole City ran out of the Gates to meet him, and aſtoniſhed at the Spectacle followed him with their lucky Acclamation; and the Solemnity ended by conducting the Criminals to perpetual Priſon.

Wamba returns Victoriouſly to *Toledo*, with his ſpoils and Captives, who are condemned to perpetual Impriſonment.

He fortifies the Town.

38. *Wamba* being now at reſt and ſecure as to Foreign matters, applied himſelf to the inriching and adorning his Kingdom, that it might reap the Fruits of that Peace which at preſent it enjoyed. His Royal ſeat of *Toledo* he inlarged and compaſſed, *With a perpetual Wall*, as one terms it, reaching from the Suburbs of St. *Iſidore* to both the Bridges. For this City is more than three parts of it waſhed by the River, which betwixt exceeding high Banks runs headlong amongſt the Rocks and Stones. The other part of it has a moſt difficult acceſs from the Plain, being before the time whereof we write, Fenced with a narrower Wall, the remains of which were to be ſeen in the time of *Mariana.* Now by the diligence of *Wamba*, were the Suburbs taken in, and to make it more ſure, a lower Wall was added to the former, Marbles which were taken out of the *Roman* buildings, being to be ſeen in it, wherein are ingraven Images repreſenting *Wheels or Roſes*, thought by the Vulgar to have been *Wamba* his Arms, but erroniouſly, foraſmuch as they are placed in no Order at all, but confuſedly as they happened to be brought to hand. But in a certain Tower he cauſed ſome * Verſes to be ingraved, as a Teſtimony of his publick Spirit, and as his Monument to poſterity, and on the tops of Towers erected ſtatues to ſome of the Saints, of white Marble, to which as *Tutelaries* or Patrons, by other † Verſes, he recommended the City, which Verſes being obliterated, and the ſtatues decayed and fallen down by the force of that, which brings to a Period all ſublunary things, Philip *the ſecond King of* Spain, in the laſt Age commanded to be repaired.

* *Erexit fautore Deo Rex inclytus urbem*
Wamba, ſuæ celebrem protendens gentis Honorem.

† *Vos Domini Sancti, quorum hic præſentia fulget,*
Hanc urbem & Plebem ſolito ſervate favore.

39. *Wamba* his delight in things of this Nature, was at laſt interrupted by a report of a mighty Fleet of *Saracens*, coming out of *Africk*: For this People having in a manner Conquered all that Countrey, with no fewer than two

Defeats the *Saracens.*

Is poiſoned by *Eringius.*

Turns Monk.

hundred and ſeventy Ships infeſted the oppoſite Coaſts of *Spain*, againſt which *Wamba* making as early oppoſition as he might, rigged up his own Fleet, and manned it out with ſo reſolute Souldiers and Seamen, that they quite defeated the *Saracens*, and either took or burnt all their Ships. Some, and not without reaſon, ſuſpect, that by the ambitious practices of Count *Ernigius* this Fleet was brought againſt *Spain*, to make way for his promotion, by the deſtruction of *Wamba*. In the Reign of *Cindaſuinthus* one *Ardanaſtus* being baniſhed by the Emperour his Maſter, came out of *Greece* into *Spain*, and committed himſelf into the hands of the King, who kindly entertained him, and gave him to Wife his own Kinſwoman. Of this Marriage was born *Ernigius* (or *Eringius* as ſome call him) who being brought up at Court, could not content himſelf with the Title of Count, but aſpired after the Regal Diadem; of compaſſing which, he was not without advantages, being in great favour with the Nobility, which he both got and preſerved by his affable carriage and humour, well accommodated to the temper and diſpoſition of the times. Yet knowing he could not accompliſh his deſires ſo long as *Wamba* lived, nor yet after his death, if the Nobility ſhould be allowed a free choice, becauſe *Theodefred*, the Brother of *Reccesuintha* was ſtill living, who had at the laſt Aſſembly been onely omitted for his tender Age, he reſolved in ſome extraordinary manner to attempt it. The buſineſs of the *Saracenian* Navy having miſcarried, he procured poiſon to be given to the King, who falling thereby into great torments and danger, when he now ſeemed ready to give up the ghoſt, had his Hair cut off, and put on the habit of a Monk by the perſuaſion of *Ernigius*, who when his head was light and intoxicated by the force of the poiſon, eaſily * procured him to nominate him his Succeſſour, which was done by a Writing ſealed with the King's Seal. *Ernigius* perſuaded him to take the Habit, hoping by that means to unking him, though he ſhould recover. And he was not miſtaken in his Apprehenſions, for *Wamba* the next day coming to himſelf, yet reſolved to accept of the Religious kind of life, either through his greatneſs of mind or deſpairing to reſettle himſelf; *Ernigius* having in this time, in a manner, ſeized on the Sovereignty. Therefore did he betake himſelf to a Monaſtery in a Village called *Pampliga*, where he moſt devoutly ſpent the remaining part of his life, *viz.* ſeven years and three months, or as others ſay above. He reigned eight years, one month and fourteen days.

Ernigius obtains the Kingdom.

He calls the twelfth,

And thirteenth Council of *Toledo.*

Cap. 5.

40. *Flavius Ernigius* thus by indirect means obtained the Kingdom of the *Goths*, and knowing that things ill got ſeldom proſper, ſet himſelf with the greater care and induſtry to the preſervation of it. He remembred that in ſuch caſes as his, and at a dead lift Religious Pretences had done wonders, and therefore he will be as zealous as any of his Predeceſſours, the Cauſe of Religion and Privileges of the Church are now much in his mouth, as moſt dear unto him, for which purpoſe he muſt alſo call the Fathers together. The Fathers loved to meet one another often, and being eaſily made to believe that *Wamba* reſigned his Crown to *Ernigius*, confirmed out of gratitude and prudence the poſſeſſion of it to him, for they wiſely concluded that it was good ſleeping in a whole skin; and why ſhould not they ſubmit to Providence, and own him that was in poſſeſſion? To this they were more induced, or as we may ſay, hired by a privilege granted by this Uſurper from the Crown, that whereas heretofore *it belonged to the King alone to make Biſhops, he granted it to the Archbiſhop of* Toledo. Scarcely were two years paſſed and gone when he calls them together the ſecond time to make farther proviſion for his good Government. In this Meeting of Eccleſiaſticks and Seculars, which is called the *Thirteenth Council of* Toledo, an Act of Oblivion paſſeth for ſuch as had taken part with *Paul* the Uſurper, and becauſe little money was ſtirring, and too heavy burthens lay on the People, certain Impoſitions are taken away, and the Arrears forgiven. For now (as in all ſuch caſes of Uſurpation, Uſurpers ever making beſt Laws) not the King, but *Ernigius* was concerned, the Controverſie was not whether the Privileges of the Crown be maintained, but whether the Houſe and Family of him that wore it was to be preſerved. Whereas men of mean Parentage, had by indirect practices crept into places of Dignity and Honour, and the Bloud of the ancient Nobility of the *Goths* was even quite imbaſed by promiſcuous and unequal Marriages, care is taken for prevention hereof for the time to come. To theſe was another Law added in favour of *Linbigotona the Queen and her Children, to protect their Perſons and their Eſtates; that they might not feel the effects of that Popular Scorn and Indignation which they had too good ground to fear might fall upon them after his death.*

41. All

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* *Ita quidem conciliandi ſunt omnes Rerum Hiſpanicarum Scriptores cum Actis Concilii Toletani duodecimi in cujus capite primo confirmatur Electio Regis Ernigii & univerſa Synodus teſtatur ſibi & ſcriptis & teſtimoniis conſtare Ernigium à Wambane (ita enim appellat) electum Regem antequam ſe monaſticæ vitæ Conſecraret & Conſecrationem ipſius ab eodem Rege Juliano Præſuli ſtudioſe Commendatam.*

In Mugnoni valle ſitum? an prope Burgenſem civitatem?

And fourteenth Council of *Toledo*.

And as much as in him lay provides for his family.

And dyes.

41. All this Proviſion yet did not ſatisfie the mind of *Ernigius*, but the following year he muſt Summon another Aſſembly, which is called the Fourteenth Council of *Toledo*, a good occaſion being preſented of confirming the Acts of the Sixth General Council held at *Conſtantinople*. Beſides the trade of Councils whereby he knew that he obliged the Eccleſiaſticks (the beſt part of the State) more than by any courſe he could take, he reſolved to provide farther for his Family by an Alliance with the Family of *Wamba*, Marrying his Daughter *Cixilo* to *Egica*, the Kinſman of the injured and deceaſed King. He took an Oath of him, that in caſe of his death he ſhould by all means poſſible procure the quiet and ſafety of the Queen his Mother-in-law and her Children, not ſuffering any one to invade the Rights or Eſtates of the Orphans. His Family being ſetled, as well as in prudence he could deviſe, he ſet himſelf to the amendment of the Laws, repealing ſeveral made by *Wamba* as too ſevere, eſpecially that concerning the Raiſing of Souldiers. And ſo at length he died of Sickneſs at *Toledo* on the thirteenth day of *November*, being *Friday*, *A. D.* 687. after he had reigned ſeven years and five and twenty days, notwithſtanding all his endeavours bearing the Title of Famous, rather than Honeſt (or of Good Report) to poſterity, although the Commendation of Clemency and Liberality much practiſed by him are wont to cover very great faults. In his days *Spain* was ſorely vexed with Famine, which gave him a very fit occaſion to be Popular for his liberality. The Walls and Bridge of *Emerita* were Magnificently repaired.

Egica ſucceeds.

Who Summons the fifteenth Council of *Toledo*.

42. The day preceding his Death he declared *Egica* his Succeſſour, abſolving the Nobility from the Oaths they had taken in his own behalf. *Egica* being anointed and confirmed in his ſeat, could not perſuade himſelf that his Predeceſſour and Father-in-law had by his late Acts of kindneſs to him in particular made amends for the grand injury offered to his Family; but thinking it moſt juſt and auſpicious to begin with revenging its Cauſe, put away *Cixilo* his Wife, though he had a Son already by her named *Witiza*. Some have believed that *Wamba*, being yet living, perſuaded him to doe the thing, having ſome ſparks of Malice and Revenge yet covered under his Religious Zeal. Some of the Nobility alſo, by the means of whom *Wamba* had been ſo handled at his Impriſonment, were puniſhed as they had deſerved. Except this leachery of Revenge be accounted a ſtain in his Eſchutcheon, *Egica* may paſs for one of the beſt, wiſeſt and moſt moderate Princes, being a Perſon very well accompliſhed both for the Arts of Peace and War. He was not wanting to himſelf in that ſecret of his Predeceſſours of Cajolling the Churchmen, but Summoned the Fifteenth Council of *Toledo*. Here he propounded a great Caſe of Conſcience, and prayed he might be effectually reſolved. He had taken an Oath *to protect the Wife and Children of* Ernigius *in their Lives and Fortunes*; but ſo the caſe ſtood, *that much of their Eſtates had been unjuſtly got*; *whether then might he not diſpence with his Oath in relieving ſuch as had been unjuſtly oppreſſed?* To this it was gravely anſwered, *That the ties of his Oath ought not to be ſo ſacred as to hinder the execution of Juſtice*; he being doubtleſs left Judge to determine matters of Fact and Right in things reſpecting Perſons he ſo greatly hated.

The Archbiſhop whereof conſpires againſt him.

Ex Luca Tudenſi ſolo.

But in the ſixteenth Council ſummoned by *Egica*, he is puniſhed accordingly.

43. Againſt him conſpired *Sisbert*, the Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, a man of an haughty and aſpiring humour, nothing befitting the Place or Dignity which he bore in the Church. To his Ambition was not wanting the neceſſary Concomitants, *viz.* Diligence and Courage, which he employed to ſuch purpoſe, that the Kingdom being by reaſon of the difference about Succeſſion full of diſcontents and factions, he drew into the Conſpiracy both a great Number of the Nobility and others. He drew to his Aſſiſtence the *Franks* alſo, with whom the Loyal *Goths* fought three Battels, and every time came off with loſs, though by the injury of time we are deprived of the Account of the Number of the ſlain, and the particular Accidents on both ſides. This we know, that the External difficulties *Egica* removed, by applying an effectual remedy to the inward diſtempers. *Sisbert* had not cajolled his Brethren the Biſhops, either out of his pride diſdaining to ſtoop to his Inferiours, or becauſe they emulated and ſcorned his towring Imaginations. The King therefore calls them together the ſecond time to that Aſſembly which bears the Name of the *Sixteenth Council of* Toledo, by the Decree of which *Sisbert* is depoſed, baniſhed his Countrey, deprived of all his Eſtate, and ſo excommunicated as not to be Abſolved, except *in articulo mortis*, according to the Proviſion of the Ancient Canons. For greater ſecurity of the King and his Succeſſours, it is farther ordained, "That what Religious Perſons ſoever, of any Religion, Order or Degree, ſhould be guilty of ſuch a crime, ſhould be ſubject to the ſame penalties.

In this Synod the *Gothick* Laws were more diligently reviſed than formerly, and Prayers were ordered to be made every day in all Churches for the King's Perſon and Iſſue, which we may perhaps exempliſie in a more proper place.

He calls the ſeventeenth Council of *Toledo.*

44. The year following was held at *Toledo* the ſeventeenth Council, wherein the *Jews* being ſaid to have conſpired with their Brethren of *Africk* for the deſtruction of the Kingdom of the *Goths*, were condemned to perpetual ſlavery, and their Children, when ſeven years old, ordered to be taken from them, and brought up in the Chriſtian Religion. Proviſion was made for *Cixilo*, though put from her Husband, as indeed care had formerly been taken for all Queen-Mothers, that after the death of their Husbands they might enter into a Monaſtery. *Egica* having reigned ten years by himſelf, took his and her Son *Witiza* to be his Partner in the Kingdom; but leſt a continual ſociety ſhould beget unkindneſs and differences betwixt them, ſent him to govern the Kingdom of the *Suevi* in *Gallicia*. In *Spain* were extant not long ſince Coins ſtamped with both their Names, and in that Countrey in a pleaſant Valley near to the City *Tuda*, abounding with Oranges and Limons, was lately to be ſeen the Ruins of his Houſe of Pleaſure, that City being appointed the ſeat of his Kingdom by his Father. To this place was Baniſhed *Faſila*, the Duke of *Cantabria*, the Son of *Cindaſuinth*, for fear of Commotions upon his Account. *Witiza* was no ſooner come, but he fell into a liking of his Wife, as ſhe alſo did of him, and amid their impure imbraces it's reſolved that *Faſila* dye, which he did by a blow on the Head given him by *Witiza*, near the River *Vrbicus*, in a Town called then *Duodecim Manus*, now *Palatium*. This *Faſila* was Father to *Pelagius*, the Reſtorer of *Spain*, as we ſhall ſee anon.

And makes his Son *Witiza* Partner in the Kingdom.

Lucas Tudenſis. Rodericus Toletanus.

Egica dying, *Witiza* his Son ſucceeds.

45. Five years after his being made King of *Gallicia*, *Witiza* ſucceeded his deceaſed Father in the entire Kingdom of *Spain* and the *Gothick Gall*. At the beginning of his Reign he notably covered his vitious inclinations, and diſſembled that Humour which in time came to rage in him. He recalled ſuch as had been baniſhed, and reſtored them to their former Intereſts: He commanded the Records of Offences committed in turbulent times to be burnt, that no memory might remain of them, that no Infamy or other puniſhment might follow them. But by his following Actions he endeavoured to render all Acts of Sobriety and Clemency ridiculous, fully giving himſelf up to the Power and Sovereignty of thoſe temptations, which accompany a youthfull Age, backed with Supreme power and affluence of all things. He delivered up himſelf, as all ſuch doe in this caſe, into the hands of Paraſites, by whom being incouraged, nay thruſt forward into all ſorts of Luſts, he left nothing of extravagancy unpractiſed, and openly ſhewed that a fear of his Father, and not dictates of his own Conſcience had kept him from running hitherto into all exceſs of Riot. He took many Wives, and more Concubines; and to propagate the miſchief, made a Law, "That it ſhould not onely be "lawfull for the Common people and Nobility to doe the like, but for Church-"men alſo; which liberty, ſuiting with the corrupt inclinations of man's nature, was taken by many. As in his Father's time he had begun to root out the Race and Poſterity of *Chindaſuinthus*, ſo now he thought he had much more reaſon to accompliſh it, becauſe that thoſe who could not like his courſes, caſt their eyes upon thoſe Princes as the onely ſurviving hope of the *Gothick* Nation.

His character.

He allows Polygamy.

46. *Faſila* or *Favila* he ſlew, as was lately mentioned. There was another Brother of *Chindaſuinth* yet living, the Brother of King *Receſuinth*, viz. *Theodefred* the Duke of *Corduba*, where he lived a retired life, in a Palace there built by himſelf, on purpoſe to ſhun the Envy and Jealouſie of the Court. This *Theodefred* he procured to be deprived of his ſight, and would ſo have treated his Son *Ruderick*, as alſo his Nephew *Pelagius*, the Son of *Favila*, but that they happily eſcaped the Tyrant's hands. Knowing the People to be much incenſed by his lewd practices, to render their Anger and Indignation vain, he reſolved to diſarm them, and therefore under a pretence of Peace cauſed the Walls of all the Cities of *Spain* to be raced except thoſe of *Toledo*, *Leon* and *Aſtorga*, which he either thought he might truſt, or rather feared to provoke them. *Roderick* the Archbiſhop of *Toledo* adds, that he took from his Subjects the uſe of Arms, that they might be in no capacity to reſiſt him, but another aſcribes this Practice to *Roderick* his Succeſſour. To theſe crimes he added the Reſtitution of the *Jews*, who had been ſo ſolemnly baniſhed, giving them greater Privileges than ever, and violated thoſe of the Church, thruſting *Sindered* Archbiſhop of *Toledo* out of his Chair, and putting in by force *Oppas*, whom moſt make his Brother, and ſome his Son. To his life ſuch an end happened as was moſt juſt and agreeable, though as to the manner of it, Authours do not

Diſarms moſt of his Subjects.

Lucas Tudenſis.

Olpam alii appellant.

Rodericus Toletanus.

not agree. Some tell the Story how *Roderick*, the Son of *Theodefred*, flying from that miſchief which had overtaken his Father, went to the *Romans*, and from them obtained forces for the ſuppreſſion of the Tyrant. Whom having defeated and taken in battel, he uſed in the ſame manner his Father had been ſerved, putting out his Eyes, and confining him to *Corduba*. And there have not been wanting who aſcribe this Act of Revenge to *Coſta*, the Brother of *Roderick*, whom they affirm to have reigned five years, whereas neither the Account of time ſuffers any ſuch thing, neither have *Iſidorus Pacenſis*, *Lucas Tudenſis*, *Rodericus Toletanus*, or King *Alfonſus* the Tenth, the beſt Writers of the *Spaniſh* Hiſtory, placed *Coſta* in the Catalogue of *Gothick* Kings, nay ſo much as made any mention of him. Thoſe Writers who for Number and Diligence exceed others, affirm that *Witiza* died of Sickneſs at *Toledo* in the tenth year of his Reign, leaving two Sons, *Eba* and *Siſebate*, the Title of whom while moſt maintained, and others oppoſed, it involv'd the State in great Calamities.

Dies.

47. Yet had theſe Calamities an higher riſe than from the Titles of theſe Ambitious Princes. The fate of the *Gothick* Monarchy now preſſed heavy upon it, and this fate was inforced by that which cauſeth and precedeth the Ruine of all States and Empires. When Kingdoms once come to an height by the force of Arms and prudent Conduct, eaſe and wealth beget ſloth and luxury, which at length wholly enervate the minds of Princes and People, and procure the overthrow of that Dominion which their Anceſtours with ſo great expence of bloud and treaſure had raiſed. Such was the condition of the *Goths* of *Spain* at this time. Their minds and bodies were both enervated and out of order; for all their time they ſpent in drinking, eating or whoring, the Prince had no care of the State, the Nobility thought they might juſtly follow his example, and the Common ſort could not but write after ſuch Copies. Hence lay they expoſed to all ſorts of Seditions, like drunken men, fit to quarrel with one another, but not able to grapple with any bye-ſtander or looker-on; ſo that that Empire and Dominion which had been obtained by their Forefathers, who had made all Countries where they came to tremble before them, now became the bait of Foreigners, and an eaſie prey to thoſe that would but adventure for them. Yet *Roderick*, who by the Suffrages of the Nobility, as many believe, had aſcended the Throne, gave not any great occaſion at firſt to cauſe the moſt conſiderate ſort of men to deſpair upon his account; for he was endowed with many notable qualities both of mind and body. He was a man fit for buſineſs. Of an able head to contrive, and a reſolute heart to execute, aſpiring after the greateſt things, and excelling in Acts of Magnificence and Liberality: He had a body fit for ſuch a ſoul, moſt able to incounter all difficulties attending labour, hunger and thirſt, heat and cold in their extremity. But theſe Vertues were equalled by as great Vices, which appeared upon his preferment to the Crown. He never forgot any Injury, was moſt Intemperate in his uſe of Women, and as if the Crown had infected his head with the diſeaſe of his Predeceſſour, became ſo indiſcreet in the management of publick buſineſs, that he reſembled *Witiza* more than his Father, or any other of his Anceſtours.

Roderick choſen King.

His character.

48. Having, as he thought, ſetled his Affairs, he applied his mind to the inlarging and beautifying of the Palace in which his Father had lived near to *Corduba*. On his Couſin *Pelagius* he had pity, as involved formerly with him in the ſame calamity, and recalling him from Baniſhment, made him Captain of his Guard, an office at this time of greateſt Dignity and Honour next the King. But the hatred he had of a long time conceived againſt *Witiza*, he could not now conceal nor forbear to turn it upon his Sons, but put all the affronts and diſgraces he could poſſibly upon them, which not able to bear, and ſuſpecting they would at length end in extremity, they thought it ſafeſt for them to quit *Spain*, and paſſed over into that part of *Africa Tingitana*, which then was ſubject to the *Goths*, commanded by *Regnila* the Count, the Deputy, as is believed of Count *Julian*. This *Julian* married the Siſter of *Witiza*; and after the death of *Favila* and the flight of his Son *Pelagius*, who had executed the place, was made by him *Protoſpatarius* or Captain of the Guard. Now he was Governour or Lieutenant of that part of *Spain* which lies next to the *Herculean* Straits, from which there is ſhorteſt paſſage into *Africk*, and was poſſeſſed of many Towns thereabout, ſo that for Wealth and Power he gave place to no *Gothick* Subject, and became formidable even to the King himſelf. The Sons of *Witiza* being ſo greatly provoked in their paſſage, began to entertain ſecret intelligence with him and others, for changing the face of Affairs, and outing *Roderick* of his Government, *Oppa* the Archbiſhop their Un-

He is ſevere towards the Sons of *Witiza*, who with others conſpire againſt him.

cle being conſcious, who by his birth and his preſent great Wealth and Authority could doe much; and their party was increaſed by many of the Nobility and others, who either deſired to be revenged for former injuries, or gaped after Innovation upon the Hope of future profits and advantages.

49. *Roderick* lying under theſe diſadvantages, and threatned by the danger of ſuch an Alliance and Conjunction, though he could not be ſo ſottiſh as to be utterly ignorant of his Eſtate, yet neglected them when he might have ſuppreſſed the danger in the beginning. But he was ſo far from healing the wound by any proper and effectual applications that he widened, and by a fatal Act of luſt and violence made it deadly and incurable, provoking his Enemies to put in practice that horrid piece of revenge which hitherto in their minds they had but deviſed. It was the cuſtome of *Spain* in thoſe times that the Children of Noblemen were brought up at Court. Their Sons waited on the King at home, and followed him in his Wars, by which means were bred many eminent Captains. Their Daughters in like manner ſerved the Queen, learnt to Sing and Dance, till being fit for Marriage, they were beſtowed according to the quality and diſcretion of their Parents. Amongſt theſe Maids was *Cava*, the Daughter of Count *Julian*, a Virgin of extraordinary Beauty, who, upon a time as ſhe was playing with her equals, chancing to uncover her Body farther than uſual, the King then looking out of a Window, deſperately fell in Love with her. Nothing elſe doth he now meditate, on nothing elſe he looks, and each look doth not allay, but increaſe his grief, ſending freſh darts of luſt and fury unto his heart. At length he gets an opportunity, and enjoys her by force, when neither intreaties nor commands, promiſes nor threats could procure a compliance.

Roderick raviſhes the daughter of Count *Julian*.

50. The Maid boiling with the Rage of hatred and revenge, as much as ever he did with that of brutiſh luſt, writes to her Father, who was then ſent upon ſome extraordinary Errand into *Africk*, in modeſt expreſſions telling him what had happened, and by as pathetick as ſhe could, exciting him to revenge. This was no hard matter to doe, conſidering how he and his Relations ſtood formerly affected. He returns ſpeedily into *Spain*, and being an extraordinary Artiſt in Diſſimulation, gets him to Court, where he betrays not the leaſt ſign of ſorrow or regret, but gives his Attendance with as much diligence, and as ſmooth a countenance as ever; and is admitted to all ſecret Councils as formerly, ſomething out of reſpect to his own Merits, but much more out of Love unto his own fair Daughter. He takes his time, and inſinuates to the King, that foraſmuch as *Spain* was now in perfect peace, and the *Franks* and *Moors* did often moleſt the Countries bordering upon them, he would ſend all his Horſes and Arms into *Gall* and *Africk*, where they might doe ſervice againſt the Foreign Enemy, rather than lye idle and ruſting at home. Having perſuaded *Roderick* to doe it, and ſee the thing performed, he then pretends that his Wife left by him in *Africk* was there ſick, and that nothing but the ſight of her Daughter, whom ſhe dearly loved, could recover her. With much adoe he obtained leave for her to croſs the Sea, and they took Ship at *Malaca*, where there is an Haven bearing the name of *Cava*, which Tradition will have to have been ſo called from this Lady. In the mean time *Roderick*, as ſome have written, by his Covetouſneſs and Curioſity makes preparations for the meeting and haſtening of his intended ruine, by opening a certain Palace in *Toledo*, which was made up faſt with the ſtrongeſt Locks and Irons that could be deviſed, becauſe at the opening thereof the Deſtruction of *Spain* was portended to follow. He could not be brought from believing that vaſt Treaſures by the provident care of the former Kings were there depoſited, and his curioſity to ſee could not be overcome by the prayers and intreaties of all ſorts and conditions of men, who out of a Religious reſpect abhorred the thought of opening the Palace. But no treaſure was found therein, onely a Cheſt with a Cloth, whereon were painted the ſtrange and uncouth faces and habits of men, with an Inſcription, whereby was ſignified, that *Spain* ſhould be ſhortly after conquered by thoſe to whom ſuch viſages and garments then belonged. Both the habits and faces ſeemed to be thoſe of *Moors*, whereupon the King and Nobles were fully perſuaded, that the miſchief threatned was to come from *Africk*, and he too late repented of his unlucky curioſity. Some much contend for the verity of this Story, others contemn it. A third, ſome ſay the wiſeſt ſort ſhew an indifferency both as to the one and the other part.

Who ſtudying revenge.

51. *Julian* having conferred with his fellow Conſpiratours in his way, croſſes the Straits into *Africk*, and betakes himſelf to *Muza*, who being a man of prompt boldneſs, and very ſagacious, governed *Africk* at this time as the Lieutenant of *Ulit*, the

Conſpires with the *Moors* for the Invaſion of *Spain*.

the *Miramamolin* or chief Prince of the whole Nation of the *Saracens*. He tells him a long Story of the unſufferable Tyranny of *Roderick*, inſtances in the Sons of *Witiza*, who were in a deſtitute condition through his ill uſage, forced out of their Native Countrey. He lays open to him the whole State of *Spain*, with the eaſineſs of obtaining it, by which a way would be opened for the Conqueſt of all *Europe*, to which it ſtood hitherto as a firm Rampart; in concluſion, he offers if he might have, though a ſmall yet a ſpeedy aſſiſtence to bring this about, having very many of the Nobility at his Beck, and being Governour on both ſides the Straits over which the Forces muſt be conveyed. The Barbarian was not diſpleaſed to hear of Conquering *Spain*, he onely doubted of the means to compaſs it, having the fidelity of a Chriſtian in ſuſpicion. Communicating the Deſign with the *Miramamolin*, he thought it not amiſs to try *Julian* firſt with an inconſiderable Force, and either ſupply him with more, or reſt there as he ſhould ſee occaſion, the rather becauſe he had work enough for his men in that large Province. He ſent him an hundred Horſe and four hundred Foot, which waſting and plundering the borders of the Continent and the Iſlands, when he ſaw that the thing ſucceeded according to his wiſh, at the farther Inſtance of *Julian*, and under Conduct of one *Tariff*, ſirnamed *Abenzarea*, who had but one eye, he Shipped away twelve thouſand more in Veſſels belonging to Merchants, the better to prevent diſcovery.

Marianæ Miramamolin. Joh. Vaſæo Miramolin, Roderico Toletano Amiramomen. Interpretatur Credentium Princeps. In hiſtoriis Arabum nunc Calipha dicitur, quod Romana Interpretatione ſucceſſor eſt.

Which is undertaken to the ruine of the Countrey.

52. With theſe the ſaid *Tariff* or *Tarac*, the Son of *Atodalla*, ſeized on the Hill *Calpe*; and hence the City *Heraclea* ſtanding upon it, received the Name of *Gebaltariff* (now *Gebraltrar*) from *Tariff* and *Gebal*, which in the *Arabian* Tongue ſignifieth an Hill; and a Neighbouring Town came to be known by that of *Tariffa*, whereas it was in ancient times called * *Tarteſſus*. *Roderick* underſtanding the *Moors* were come over, thought ſeaſonably to ſuppreſs them by ſending away † *Sanctius* with an Army. But ſuch an Army it was, as from it one might ominouſly preſage what would be the Iſſue of the quarrel. It conſiſted of the Refuſe and Dregs of the People ſuddenly hudled together, having neither bodies nor minds fit for ſuch a buſineſs, impatient of heat, duſt and bad weather, not at all diſciplin'd, wretched Souldiers, and fully as wretched Arms and Horſes. This raſcally Company coming to face the enemy, in all skirmiſhes came off ſtill with the worſt, and in a total ingagement was at length quite baffled and defeated, having loſt their leader. The Barbarians elevated by the ſucceſs, quickly waſted *Bætica* and *Luſitania*, taking many Towns, and amongſt the reſt *Hiſpalis* or *Sevil*, which by the wiſe foreſight of King *Witiza* had been deprived of its Walls and Fortifications. Having done ſo great things, *Tariff* and *Julian* return into *Africk*, where they require of *Muza* a greater ſupply of men, that they might give battel, and in one fight decide the Controverſie with *Roderick*. Leaving Count *Regnila* as an Hoſtage, they obtain far greater ſupplies than they had got before, while *Roderick* in the mean time inflamed with the injury and diſgrace, prepares warmly to receive them. He Summons in all able to bear Arms, under heavy penalties, the fear of which drew together more than an hundred thouſand men, with which multitude meanly armed, and as ill provided of courage and skill, he marched into *Bætica*, and finding the Enemy at a place called *Cæſarianum*, he ſate down on the Plain by the River *Lethes*.

* *Quam alii Carteiam alii Mellariam priùs dictam contendunt. Vaſæus.*

† *Aliis Enecus, Eneco & Inachus.*

53. Seven days they ſpent in Skirmiſhes, whether to try the Manhood and Reſolution of their Souldiers, e'er they would venture for the main chance, or becauſe each ſide watched for ſome fit advantage. The *Goths*, though neceſſity put ſome vigour into them, being to fight for their lives and liberties, yet were again dejected by ſad thoughts preſaging the ruine and overthrow of their Kingdom. On the eighth day, which happened to be the Lord's day, the ninth of the *Arabian* month *Xavel*, the eleventh of *November* being the Feaſt of St. *Martin*, in the year of our Lord ſeven hundred and fourteen, they came to a total Engagement. The King ſeated in an Ivory Chariot, and cloathed with a Robe of Cloth of Gold, as the cuſtome of the *Goths* was, before they came to join battel, made an Oration to his Souldiers, wherein he uſed arguments taken from Religion, and the ancient Valour of their Anceſtours to make them valiant. *Tariff* was not wanting on the other ſide by thoſe drawn from Neceſſity (the Enemy being before them, and the Sea at their backs) and the deſpicable condition of their oppoſers to quicken the appetites of his men after wealth and honour. The *Goths* with Trumpets, the *Moors* with Brazen (or Kettle) Drums begin the fight, which laſts long, and continues dubious all the while. At laſt when he ſees it convenient, *Oppa* revolts according to agreement, and carries all his men over to the Enemy, at which ſight the *Goths* were ſo amazed,

A. D. 714.

Sect. 2.

And the overthrow of the *Goths* with the ruine of the King and Kingdom.

that though they now ſeemed to have drawn fortune to their party, they caſt away both their courage and weapons, and being ſlaughtered on all ſides, ran away as faſt as they could. The King having diſcharged the office both of an able Commander, and a valiant Souldier, when he ſaw all deſperate, removed himſelf out of his Chariot, and mounting an Horſe called *Orelia*, got out of the danger, as ſome ſay, though his Robe, Crown, and Shooes adorned with Gems being found by the River *Lethes*, others conclude more probably, that he was either drowned or killed in the battel, none knowing ever what became of him. Yet in a City of *Portugal*, called *Viſeum*, was long after found a Stone with this Inſcription: *Here lies* Roderick *the laſt King of the* Goths. *Curſed be the Impious fury of* Julian *becauſe pertinacious, and his Indignation becauſe extravagant. He was mad with fury, fierce with rage, forgot his Allegiance, was unmindfull of Religion, a Contemner of Divinity, Cruel againſt himſelf, a Martherer of his Lord, an Enemy of his own Domeſticks, a Deſtroyer of his own Countrey, Guilty in reference to all. Let his Memory wax bitter in every man's mouth, and may his Name rot for ever.*

Hic jacet Rodericus, ultimus Rex Gothorum, *maledictus furor impius Juliani, quia pertinax,* &c. *Vide Joh. Vaſæum ad A.* D. 714.

54. And well he deſerved ſuch a Curſe, who to his own particular revenge could once have ſuch a thought as to ſacrifice the entire intereſt of his Countrey. By this one battel were ſuch a multitude of *Goths* deſtroyed, that Authours are at a loſs, and can give in no certain account of their Number. It's certain that this one battel ſtripped *Spain* of all its Ornaments; that here the Name of the *Goths* was extinct, their Glory in War, the Renown they had got in former Ages quite defaced, and more than this, all hope for the future quite cut off, and that Dominion of theirs ſubverted, which had now ſtood for above three hundred years together. Unſpeakable are the miſeries which befell the poor Provincials, more miſerable than other Conquered People in this reſpect, that their new Maſters were *Moors*, whoſe Souls, by reaſon of their *Mahometan* blaſphemies, were as ugly and frightfull to them as were their Bodies. But the *Moors*, though with the loſs of no fewer than ſixteen thouſand Men, are Conquerours, and now they are ſo prudent as to enforce the proſecution and improvement of their victory; ſuch of the *Goths* as eſcaped from the battel, betook themſelves to *Aſtiga*, a City not far diſtant, ſtrong in its Walls, and the number of its Inhabitants. The Citizens full of ſorrow and deſperation, in a confuſed manner iſſue forth with them, reſolving to give the Infidels battel, and if poſſible (who could know but it might be ſo?) redeem the liberty of their whole Nation. But the ſucceſs did not anſwer their zeal; they were defeated as before, and thoſe that eſcaped, diſperſed themſelves into ſuch places as they could moſt conveniently reach, not ſtaying to ſee the deſtruction of their City, which followed its falling into the Enemies hand. Now by the advice of *Julian* were the Forces of the *Moors* divided into two Parties, whereof one was committed to the Conduct of *Magnedus* a Duke, a Renegado that had abjured the Chriſtian Religion, and the other to *Tariff*, the Captain that firſt brought them over. *Magnedus* marched to *Corduba*, and eaſily took it, the Inhabitants being fled to *Toledo*, for a Shepherd conducted his men to a part of the Wall ſtanding near the Bridge, which was not hard to be paſſed over in the ſilence of the night, when they had once killed the Sentinels. The Governour fortified himſelf in the Church of St. *George*, and held it out three months; after which flying away, he fell into the hands of the *Moors*, but his men fought it out to the laſt, refuſing to yield.

55. *Tariff* in the mean time waſtes all the reſt of *Bætica* with Fire and Sword. *Menteſa* he took by ſtorm, and levelled it with the ground. Into *Malaca*, *Eliberis* and *Granata* he put Garriſons. The Governour of *Murcia* (then called *Oreola*) was worſted by the *Moors*, but being a very expert Souldier, put all the Women in the Town into Man's Apparel, and placed them on the Walls in ſuch Numbers, that the Enemy thinking him yet very ſtrong, gave him very honourable Conditions. The *Jews* now being confuſed amongſt the *Moors*, had *Corduba* and *Granata* aſſigned them to inhabit, the Chriſtian Inhabitants being driven into other places. *Toledo*, a City placed in the middle of *Spain*, and by ſituation impregnable, the ſeat of the *Gothick* Kingdom was after a Siege of ſeveral months taken, but the manner is not agreed on. Some ſay it was betrayed by the *Jews*, others that it was yielded up on very good conditions, as that ſuch as would continue there might live after their own Religion and Laws, and ſuch as would not, might take what they had along with them. The reſt of the Cities, few excepted, ſpeedily underwent the like fate with theſe already mentioned, which done, the Conquerours placed Garriſons where they thought convenient, for bridling the Natives, faſtning the new yoke to their Necks, which will they nill they, they muſt now endure. *Tariff*

having done his work, brings his victorious Army, gluttted with bloud, and even ſatiated and burthened with wealth, back to *Toledo*, there to pauſe a little, and conſider whether they were not in a dream all this while, for they could ſcarcely believe that condition to be ſubſtantial and real at which they had arrived. Thus was *Spain* in a manner ſubdued about a year after the Arrival of the *Moors*, and at the ſame time we find that *Narbon* in the *Gothick Gall* was reduced alſo by that People.

SECT. III.

The Dominion of the Saracens, Arabians *or* Moors *in* Spain, *Contemporary with the* Conſtantinopolitan Roman *Empire.*

From the Conqueſt of Spain *by* Tariff *the Captain of* Ulit Miramamolin, *to the Reign of* Abdeirakman *the Second.*

The ſpace of One hundred and ſeven Years.

Spain in confuſion.

1. THE Conqueſt of *Spain* was ſo ſudden and ſurprizing, that thoſe whom the Arms of the victorious *Saracens* had not as yet reached, were as men out of their wits, and ſo beſotted with fear, that they knew not how to conſult for the good of their Countrey being diſperſed abroad, and no one body uniting ſo as to make any conſiderable oppoſition. Particular Towns concerned onely for their own ſafety, choſe them Governours, for quicker diſpatch and more effectual execution committing all things concerning both Peace and War into their hands. Theſe Governours being thus abſolute within themſelves, and acknowledging no Superiour abroad, are upon this account termed Kings by ſome Hiſtorians.

Muza with a ſtrong Army enters *Spain*.

2. The News of the Conqueſt flying over into *Africk* was very welcome, but yet not received with ſuch joy by the Governour as the greatneſs of the Enterprize, and the conſequence of the thing might ſeem to have required. *Muza* was glad that ſo Noble a Province was ſubdued, eſpecially with ſo little charge and trouble, and that the Empire of the *Moors* was now propagated into *Europe*, an happineſs they had had much more cauſe to wiſh, than to expect or hope for. He lik'd well of the thing, but diſliked the man. It vexed him above meaſure that *Tariff* ſhould be the inſtrument, that he himſelf ſhould not have had the fortune to carry away the honour and profit of ſuch an undertaking. Diſturbed by the Paſſions of Covetouſneſs, Ambition and Envy, he paſſes over into *Spain* with a freſh Army of *Moors*, conſiſting, ſay ſome, of twelve thouſand. Being arrived, he conſulted how to carry on the War. Some were for joining with *Tariff*, and finiſhing with his victorious Forces the remainder, but the fugitive Chriſtians cloſed with *Muza*, and perſuaded him with his own ſtrength to ſet upon the work. Count *Julian* now it ſeems being little in favour with *Tariff*, the reward at laſt of all Traitours and Betraiers of their Countrey being to be ſcorned and vilified as execrable Creatures by ſuch as ſet them firſt on work. On *Adonia* he firſt made trial of his men, who took it by ſtorm after great loſs and labour. From thence they removed to *Carmona*, once the ſtrongeſt Town of all *Bætica*, where toiling a long time to no purpoſe, *Julian* the Count, who was already too much engaged not to proceed, counterfeited himſelf a Fugitive; and being received into the Town, upon that account betrayed it to the Barbarian. This is the account that *Roderick* the Archbiſhop gives of this Siege. *Raſis* the *Arabian* will have theſe things to have happened after that *Muza* and *Tariff* met together at *Toledo*; and whereas the other writes that *Julian* did his buſineſs by counterfeiting a flight of his Souldiers, he ſaith it was done by men in the ſhew and habits of Merchants.

Takes *Adonia*.

And *Carmona*.

3. *Hiſpalis*

Subdues *Hiſpalis* or *Sevil*. And *Pax Julia*.

3. *Hiſpalis* or *Sevil*, though the poor diſtreſſed *Goths* had betaken themſelves thither for ſhelter, yet upon the approach of the Army was deſerted by its Citizens, and ſo eaſily became a prey to the Infidels, the *Jews* being admitted to live in equal right with the *Mahometans*. The ſame was the Fate of *Pax Julia*, ſeated in the Confines of *Luſitania*, to which the diſtreſſed Inhabitants of *Hiſpalis* had fled, but whether it was taken by force, or delivered up upon Articles we know not, onely this is certain, that after the reduction of it, a great multitude of *Chriſtians* there long continued. The next Town they fell upon was *Emerita* a *Roman* Colony, and carrying as venerable an aſpect as any other of *Luſitania*, however batter'd and defac'd by the fury of the late Wars. Many of the Townſmen fell with *Roderick* in the fatal Battel; and yet had the reſt that Courage and Reſolution as now to go out to meet *Muza*, and encounter him, which having done with ſuch Succeſs as might juſtly be exſpected, they retired into their City. *Muza* viewing the place was much taken with its Situation, and perceived at length, that a ſtony Quarry which was by the Walls, would give convenient ſhelter to an Ambuſh, which there accordingly he placed, and with ſuch Succeſs, that the Citizens making a Sally were many of them cut in pieces, and the reſt caſting themſelves into the form of a Wedge, hardly eſcaped within the Fortifications. *Muza* not being able to compaſs the Town by this Strategeme applied his mind to all Courſes, by which it could be forced, ſparing no Labour nor coſt, for getting of battering Rams, and all ſorts of Engines uſefull upon ſuch occaſions. The Defendants by their indefatigable pains and induſtry elude their deſigns, being preſent at all places, and watching with all diligence to obviate the Strategems and Practices of the Enemy.

Lays ſiege to *Emerita*.

4. But they were men, and being as lyable as others to the Inconveniences which attend ſuch hard Services, they were reduced to ſuch a ſmall number, that they thought themſelves upon good terms obliged to yield. But the terms they demanded were ſuch as *Muza* would not give, who being now extreme old, the Deputies upon their return into the Town, affirmed, that all their hope was placed in the decrepit Age of the General, who could not in probability live many days longer. *Muza* hearing this, dies his Beard and Hair of another colour, whereat the Deputies at their return were aſtoniſhed, as being no leſs than a Miracle, and perſuaded their fellow Citizens to give place to him, who gave Laws to Nature it ſelf. They covenanted therefore, that of ſuch of their fellows as had been ſlain in Battel, or died during the Siege, the Eſtates ſhould be in the power of the Conquerour. That his ſhould be the Revenues of the Churches, and the ſacred Utenſils of Gold or Silver. That ſuch as would ſtay might keep what was theirs, and thoſe that would go away might have leave to go whither beſt pleaſed themſelves. About this ſame time it happened, that the Inhabitants of *Pax Julia*, and *Ilipula* being in a deſperate Condition, reſolved upon as deſperate a Courſe, for perceiving *Hiſpalis* to be but meanly provided of men, they ſet upon the Town, and forcing out the Mooriſh Garriſon, or killing thoſe that reſiſted, quite maſtered the place. But their Conqueſt was not of long continuance. *Abdalaſis* the Son of *Muza* was come into *Spain*; and blaming his Father for ſo ſlow a proſecution of the War, procured leave, and a ſufficient power of men to try his Fortune. Into the Borders of *Valentia* firſt he peirced, and fighting proſperouſly againſt the People, had *Valentia* it ſelf, *Dianium*, *Alicantium*, *Orilinela* and *Octa* delivered up unto him on theſe Conditions, that he ſhould abſtain from offering any injury to Churches, that Liberty of Conſcience ſhould be allowed all Chriſtians, and that each man ſhould enjoy his own, paying to the Conquerour a moderate Tribute. By this ſucceſs he was incouraged to go againſt *Hiſpalis*, which he reduced, putting all thoſe to the Sword that had been Authours of the revolt; and thence paſſed he to *Ilipula*, where he ſlew a great number of men, and for a Terrour to others, as it ſeems, levelled the City with the ground, for from a great and powerfull City, it's now become a little Village by the Name of *Pennafloris*, betwixt *Cordova* and *Sevil*. *Raſis* the *Arabian* wrote, that the Garriſon at *Emerita* was cut in pieces, and that the Inhabitants of *Hiſpalis* conſpired with thoſe of *Pax Julia* and *Ilipula*.

Abdalaſis the Son of *Muza* ſubdues *Valentia* and the places adjoyning.

The Garriſon of *Emerita* cut in pieces.

Thence they march to *Toledo*.

5. From *Emerita* the great General *Muza*, marched to *Toledo*, and *Tariff* went to meet him as far as beyond *Ebora*, in the Countrey of the *Carpentani*. At the River *Tietares* they met with great ſhew of Contentment on both ſides, though with minds as malitious and averſe as can be imagined; *Muza* was even mad with Envy, and *Tariff* exceſſive Melancholy with fear of looſing his preſent Intereſt.

Afterwards to *Cæſar Auguſta* reducing all *Spain.*

Muza and *Tariff* return to *Vlit* the *Miramamolin.*

Aliis Abdulaziz Rhaſi Abelaaziz.

Muza laid heavily to his Charge that he had not obeyed his Rules and Orders in managing the War, wherein though hitherto he had proſpered, it was not to be aſcribed to his Skill or Dexterity in Military matters, but to the mere fawning and temerity of Fortune: when they came to *Toledo*, the covetous old man compelled him to give a ſtrict Account, both of what he had ſpent in the War, and what the Booty thereof amounted to, which he bore with Patience, and by all means endeavoured to pleaſe and gain his good opinion. However they differed betwixt themſelves, they agreed with joynt to Forces march againſt *Cæſar Auguſta*, which without much difficulty they took. They had the ſame Fortune in their attempts upon other Towns of *Celtiberia* and the *Carpentani*, moſt of which they brought under Subjection, without one bloudy Noſe. And ſo now all *Spain* ſeemed to be Conquered, three years not yet having paſſed from the firſt coming over of the *Moors*, a thing to be compared with a Miracle, and merely to be reſolved into extraordinary Providence. For the inner parts of the Countrey they could not without great difficulty come at; and it is notoriouſly known that thick Woods, high and inacceſſible Mountains and Cliffs, Fence and protect the moſt parts of *Spain*. *Vlit* the *Miramamolin* was raviſhed at the report of the Succeſs which he had much ſuſpected, by reaſon of the Diſcord of the Captains. Now he ſent for them both over, and *Muza* having made his Son *Abdalaſis* Governour in his ſtead, over they went laden with that Wealth which the Nation of the *Goths*, had been ſo long a time in gathering.

Abdalaſis Governour.

Reſides at *Sevil.*

Proceeds farther to invade *Gall.*

6. *Abdalaſis* prudently diſcharged the Employment, wherewith his Father had intruſted him. Out of *Africk* now flocked multitudes of their own accord, beſides many that were ſent for by the Conquerours, to plant thoſe places which the War had rendred deſtitute of Inhabitants. To them he aſſigned Grounds and Towns, according as their Qualities and Families required; and made choice of *Sevil* for the Seat of the Mooriſh Empire in *Spain*, for the Conveniency of its ſituation, and the ſtrength of the Caſtle. Living now at eaſe, and being in the flower of his Age he began to caſt an Eye upon *Egilona* the Widow of *Roderick*, a Lady of extraordinary beauty, and ſhe perceiving his Paſſion made uſe of it, not to the gratifying of his Appetite, but to the advantage of her ſelf and her Friends, and of her Religion. But he might well now live at his eaſe, all *Spain* being at his Devotion; onely *Cantabria* and that part of the *Pyrenæans*, which bordered upon the *Vaſcons* and *Arragon*, with the greateſt part of *Gallicia* the Chriſtians held, and there had a ſhew of Government, rather for that the *Moors* neglected them, becauſe of the Barrenneſs and Ruggedneſs of the places, than that the *Goths* had any Courage or Power to defend them. The Barbarians, as we before hinted, when two years were not fully paſt from their firſt Invaſion of *Spain*, not content with the Conqueſt and Dominion of that Countrey, in great multitudes flocked over into *Gall*, with reſolution to unite thoſe parts which hitherto had obeyed the *Goths*, with the other Territories they had taken from them, and with hope from thence to paſs into the other Provinces, which at preſent called the *Franks* their Maſters. They had the ſame reaſon to expect Succeſs there, as they had lately in *Spain*; for there the Government, if not the Governours were quite out of Order. The Kings minded no buſineſs at all, being given wholly up to ſloth and Pleaſures. The Majors of the Palace did all that was done, and ſeemed now to have caſt in their Heads, how to compaſs the Title as well as they had already the Power.

The *Goths* reflect on their Condition.

7. What ſucceſs they had againſt the *Franks*, we ſhew in the Hiſtory of that Nation; at preſent it's proper for us to obſerve, that their being employed in that *Gallick* War, gave occaſion to thoſe *Goths* that were left alive, and had betaken themſelves to the Mountainous Countries to think of the Redemption of their Liberty. We may eaſily imagine how Irkſome was to them their preſent ſtate, with what trouble they called to mind their late Injoyments, and compared them with their preſent Conveniences. Eaſe and ſecurity made them looſe their Countrey; now a Senſe of miſery, and of the lubricity of humane Affairs, put them into ſuch a true eſtimate of things, that by preſent Care and Activity they ſeemed to burn with Deſire of taking revenge upon themſelves; all ſeemed inſpired with new thoughts and Capacities for ſome great Atchievements, they onely wanted a Captain to incourage and lead them on. The War had conſumed in a manner all that were eminent, both for Valour and Conduct; onely *Pelagius* the Son of *Favila*, of whom we have formerly ſpoken, remained, a Perſon of Royal Extract, and of ſuch Magnanimity and Courage, that he was not at all dejected with his adverſe Fortune. It luckily happened at this time, that out of *Cantabria*, whither he had retired upon the late Revolution, he came in *Aſturia*,

it's uncertain upon what occaſion, whether ſent for, or of his own accord to wait for a convenient opportunity, of doing ſomething worthy of himſelf, and the Race of which he was deſcended: Here as he continued all their Eyes were upon him, and as it happens to a multitude all are ready to Talk, but to be up and be doing they are ſlow enough. They ſtill ſtay, and would find ſome fit and convenient occaſion. But while they attend a loitering Conveniency, a certain Accident fell out, which put them upon a kind of neceſſity of Action.

8. *Pelagius* had a Siſter more than ordinarily handſome, and of ſuch Deportment as was very Charming; with her *Numuſa* (or *Numatius*) a Chriſtian by profeſſion, but Confederate with the *Moors*, and for that reaſon made by them Governour of the Countrey about *Gegio*, fell in Love, but in reſpect of the meanneſs of his Birth and his Humour, which was diſpleaſing to *Pelagius*, he was in no hope of obtaining her for his Wife as he deſired. He takes therefore occaſion to ſend her Brother out of the way on a meſſage to *Tariff*, or ſome ſay *Muza*, who was not yet returned into *Africk*. He being gone, he married and enjoyed her, which gave not ſo great content to him, but it as much tormented *Pelagius*, who yet reſolved to play the part of a Wiſe man, and conceal his Indignation, till he could find ſome opportunity effectually to ſhew it. At length he conveys away his Siſter on a ſudden, and carries her to the Borders of the *Aſtures*, where he knew the People to be of a moſt propenſe Inclination to him and his Family. *Numuſa* preſently took the Alarm, and being the more concerned, becauſe of the loſs of his Wife, gives ſpeedy notice of it to *Tariff*, who diſpatches away ſome Souldiers from *Corduba*, to ſuppreſs the Deſigns and indeavours of *Pelagius*, before they ſhould come to any Maturity. And very near they were to ſuppreſſing them, by ſurprizing his Perſon altogether as yet unprovided; ſo great expedition they made. He had onely ſo much timely notice as to make his Eſcape, but they followed him ſo cloſe, that he was glad to take the River *Pionia*, over which his Horſe having carried him ſafe to Land, the Purſuers thought him not ſo great a prize, as to purchaſe with ſo manifeſt a danger of their Lives, and ſo he got ſafe to the Valley of *Canica*, which at this day bears the Name of *Cangas*. Here he found in little time a great number which gave their Names for the recovery of their Liberty, of which they deſpaired not by the means of ſuch a General. He adviſed them that they would Act ſtrenuouſly and betimes, e'er the Dominion of the *Saracens* ſhould by continuance be confirmed, it being as yet tottering by reaſon of the newneſs of it. For their Comfort the Garriſons they had put into the Cities were but very ſlender, all the lately conquered People, where e'er they ſhould come were their Friends; and the Forces of the Enemy were diſperſed, moſt of them being gone over the Mountains into *Gall*. He put them in mind of the Valour and Glory of their Anceſtours, and that Death it ſelf was by much to be preferred before the Calamities, which they and theirs now underwent.

Under the Conduct of *Palagius* they unite in Order to the recovery of their former State.

9. Though their apprehenſions of danger were great, his words did much erect their minds, and he prevailed with them to enter into a Military oath, to undertake and proſecute the War againſt the *Moors*. By the univerſal Conſent and Suffrages, both of Nobility and People, he was choſen Captain General, and King of *Spain*, in the ſeven hundred and ſixteenth year of our Lord, to which ſome add two years more or thereabout; ſo great a matter it is to take hold of opportunity, and not to be wanting to ones ſelf. When all things ſeemed now to be deſperate and beyond humane poſſibility, to repair the deſolate Eſtate of the late Conquered *Goths*, the Foundation of a laſting Kingdom is laid, by which the *Moors* are in time though long before, again outed of their Poſſeſſion. *Pelagius* knowing that from the firſt beginnings and Attempts, men ordinarily take their Grounds for fear or hope, ſpared no pains to preſerve the Majeſty of that Title, which he had received. He made many Inroads into the Countrey of the *Moors*, plundering and killing them, as he could conveniently. On the contrary he fortified all the Towns belonging to his new Dominions, relieved ſuch as were in diſtreſs, and every way to his power provided for the Eaſe and Convenience of all his Subjects, ſparing no pains; for he had a Body fitted for Labour, his Countenance being martial, rather than beautifull, and all his Limbs every way proportionable. By this time the News of his Motions had arrived at the Ears of *Alchama* a notable Captain of the *Moors*, who came over at firſt with *Tariff*, and during the War gave many proofs of his Courage and Dexterity in Martial matters. He haſtes to ſuppreſs him, e'er he ſhould complete his numbers, with a very good Army, conſiſting of both *Moors* and *Chriſtians*; *Oppas* the Biſhop of *Toledo* coming along with him, who all the

And chuſe *Pelagius* for King.

Who is encountred by *Alchama* a Captain of the *Moors*.

Sect. 3.

the way indeavoured by fair words to preſerve the Provincials in their Duty and Allegiance toward the Infidels.

10. The noiſe of *Alchama* his coming grievouſly diſordered *Pelagius* his Army, the *Goths* having again loſt that Chearfulneſs and Alacrity, which their own Meditations, and the words of their King ſeemed lately to have wrought in them, and behaving themſelves no otherwiſe than Slaves, afraid to look their Lords and Maſters in the Face. He perceiving their Temper, thought it not fit to expoſe ſuch a Company of men naked in Body, and as unprovided of Courage to certain Ruine, by a formal Ingagement, but choſe out a thouſand ſtout Souldiers from amongſt them, wherewith he poſſeſſed himſelf of a ſpacious Cave in the Mountain *Auſena* (at this day called the Cave of St. *Mary* of *Conadonga*) which he furniſhed with all things neceſſary for a Siege, in Caſe he ſhould be diſcovered, intending thence to make Sallies, and doe what miſchief he could by ſudden and unexpected Aſſaults. But he was quickly diſcovered and purſued to the place of his Retirement, where *Oppas* was firſt ordered to ſet upon him with an Oration, for they thought it better to reduce them by fair words, than ingage a deſperate ſort of People in the Straits.

And forced to a retiring place.

Where *Oppas* Biſhop of *Toledo* ſets upon him with an Oration.

“ He ſought to perſuade him to yield, by reaſons drawn from the preſent potent
“ Fate of the *Goths*, which however it had formerly raiſed them to a great height,
“ was now ingaged to tumble them down as low; and if when all was well with
“ them, and the whole ſtrength of the Kingdom was entire, they could not then make
“ good their Party, how ſhould he think to doe it at ſuch a miſerable Ebb of For-
“ tune. He ſpake Contemptibly of their number, and affirmed the Enemy to be
“ ſixty thouſand ſtrong. Told him, that Almighty God for the ſins of their Na-
“ tion blinded their minds, not yet ſatisfied with the Effuſion of Bloud, which
“ the late paſt Actions, and now this raſh adventure of theirs ſufficiently declared.
“ And he ended with an Exhortation to quit this their ſtubborn reſolution, and
“ prefer Death to Life, or Slavery before Liberty, and the confluence of Honours,
“ Riches, and all other good things, which in the Name of his new Maſters he
“ promiſed them, if ſo be they would lay down their Arms, quit theſe Moun-
“ tainous places of refuge, and ſubmit to the Conquerours, which doing, they
“ ſhould therein follow the Judgment, Example and Deſire of all *Spain*.

Palagius his Anſwer.

11. “ *Palagius* anſwered him as he deſerved, that the diſpleaſure and Vengeance
“ of the Almighty was to be feared by him, his Brother *Witiza*, and his Children,
“ although at preſent their matters ſeemed to proſper according to their Wiſhes.
“ That by their wickedneſs the Divine Majeſty was provoked, all things ſacred
“ through the whole Province contaminated, and the Laws Sacroſanct for their
“ Antiquity broken and reſcinded. That from theſe beginnings of Vilany, they
“ came at laſt to that fury and unheard-of Madneſs, as to draw the *Moors* a fierce
“ and cruel Nation into *Spain*, whence their Nation had received ſo many overthrows
“ and ſuch Effuſion of Chriſtian Bloud had followed; for which Vilanies if Almighty
“ God take care of humane Affairs, you muſt be grievouſly puniſhed, both alive
“ and dead, eſpecially thou thy ſelf, who forgetting the place thou beareſt, haſt
“ been the moſt principal Authour of all theſe miſchiefs, and now by an impudent
“ Speech, dareſt adviſe us to receive the Yoke upon our Shoulders more grievous
“ than any Calamity, *viz.* to undergo again thoſe Calamities and Hardſhips, of
“ which we have had ſo late experience. Theſe are the wonderfull rewards, theſe
“ the Honours to which even now thou invited'ſt our Souldiers. Know, *Oppas*, we
“ neither think, that Almighty God hath turned his Ear from, nor is his mind
“ averſe, to us, ſo as to truſt to thy Promiſes; but we hope he will turn the ſharp-
“ neſs of Puniſhment into Mercy, as he is continually wont. But in Caſe we are
“ not yet ſufficiently puniſhed, and he will not deliver us, who pray unto him
“ and are deſtitute of defence, we are reſolved to change theſe Calamities for
“ Death, and a moſt grievous ſlavery (ſo we hope) for endleſs Felicity.

12. When fair words cannot perſuade them to yield, rough Deeds and Blows muſt beat them out of the Hole, wherein ſo much, though with ſo little cauſe, they now confided. Such were the thoughts and reſolution of *Alchama*, who Commanded all ſorts of Batteries to be made againſt the mouth of the Cave, but God Almighty whom *Oppas* had injured, by making his Providence as it were ſerve his ends of Revenge and Malice, ſo wrought, it's ſaid, for the beſieged, that the Stones and Darts ſhot againſt them, recoiled upon the heads of the Shooters, and being firſt preſerved in a miraculous manner, in as miraculous a way, they afterward quite defeated their Enemies, of whom very few eſcaped alive, twenty thouſand being killed in the fight and purſuit, and the reſt drowned in the River *Dena*, into which

Alchuma and his Forces deſtroyed.

Numuſa knocked on the head.

Muza dyes with Grief.

Abdalaſis murthered.

part of the Mountain *Auſena* fell, on which they ſtood. *Alchama* was ſlain in the Battel, and *Oppas* was taken Priſoner, and put to ſuch a Death, doubtleſs, as he had deſerved, for henceforth we hear nothing of him. *Numuſa* confounded at the report of ſo unexpected a defeat fled from *Gegio*, the Inhabitants he knew to bear him no Good Will, and coming to a Village called *Olalie*, was there knocked on the Head by the People. About the ſame time, *Muza* in way of Retaliation was accuſed to the *Miramamolin*, and being conſtrained to give an Account of all the Money ſpent and received in the *Spaniſh* War, was made to pay back great Sums he had hoarded up, and died of Grief. *Abdalaſis* his Son having governed *Spain* three years, incurred the heavy diſpleaſure of his Countreymen, for the many Rapes he had committed upon the Wives and Daughters of the Nobility, and was ſlain in the entry of one of their *Moſques*, it's thought by the means and procurement of *Egilona* his Wife inraged at his new Loves ſo far as to perſuade him to take the Enſigns of Royalty, and puſh him on to thoſe Courſes, ſhe certainly knew would procure his Ruine. But the Authour of the murther was *Arub* his Kinſman, who governed *Spain*, for one Month, and, as *Roderick* the Archbiſhop writes, built *Calatainba*, a Town of good note in *Celtiberia*.

Vlit dies, *Zuleiman* ſucceeds as *Miramamolin*.

The Seat Royal removed from *Sevil* to *Corduba* by *Alahor* the Governour of *Spain*.

The Death and Deſtruction of *Julian* and his Family.

Alii Vlit adhuc ſuperſtite miſſum dicunt.

Hoc quidam Muza quoque adſcribunt.

13. Not long before this died *Vlit* the *Miramamolin*, or chief Prince of the *Saracens*, and was ſucceeded by *Zuleiman* his Brother, who ſent one *Alahor* into *Spain* to ſucceed *Abdalaſis*. This *Alahor* was a man exceeding cruel, both to *Moors* and *Chriſtians*. The Citizens of *Corduba* he outed of almoſt all their Eſtates, and made Inquiſition after ſuch as he ſaid had defiled themſelves with the ſpoils of a Conquered Nation. From *Sevil* he tranſlated the Royal ſeat of the *Moors* to *Corduba*. The Sons of *Julian* and *Witiza* he ſuſpected (or pretended ſo) of having betrayed the Army at the late defeat received in *Aſturia*, and having firſt ſpoiled them of their Eſtates, when they had nothing left them to live on, put them to death, and ſo completed the revenge of that execrable Treaſon of betraying *Spain* into the hands of theſe wicked Infidels. For *Julian* had received his reward before this time, as is moſt probable, becauſe he is now no where mentioned, although the manner of his death is not certainly known. But a report hath gone without any conſiderable Authour, that his Wife was by the Barbarians ſtoned to death, that his Son was caſt headlong from a Tower near to *Oſca*, on the Coaſt of *Africk*, and that he himſelf was committed to perpetual Priſon, in a Tower of *Loarres* near to the ſame place by Command of the *Moors*, where without the Church of the Caſtle is ſhewn his Tomb made of ſtone. *Roderick* the Archbiſhop, and *Lucas Tudenſis* write that he was ſlain, and all his Wealth confiſcated. And indeed when men conſider of ſo great and dreadfull Vilanies as he committed (and he committed ſuch in betraying *Spain*, as the Conſequence thereof cannot for the weight of it be conſider'd ſufficiently) they are apt to conclude, without this reflexion, that God's Judgments and ways are Inſcrutable, nay they are unwilling to think, that the Anthours came to any peaceable or timely ends.

Pelagius grows ſtrong in *Aſturia*, and other places in *Spain*.

14. But to return, and viſit *Pelagius*; we find his Intereſt exceedingly ſtrengthened by the late defeat given to the *Moors*. For his Authority and Government was not onely confirmed in *Aſturia*, but multitudes now flocking in to him, who before ſtood aloof off, expecting the event, with conſiderable Forces he deſcended into the Plain, where he plundred and burnt all Towns belonging to the *Moors*, the Perſons of whom he never ſpared as they came in his way, and took by Force the City *Legio* (afterward *Leon*) ſtanding at the bottom of thoſe Mountains, which part *Gallicia* from the *Aſtures*. Some are of opinion, that at this time he took the Title of King of *Leon*. But others deny it with greater reaſon and Teſtimony of Antiquity, which confirms this truth to us, that *Pelagius* and his Succeſſours were Kings of *Onetum* onely. The Sepulchres of the Kings yet extant at *Onetum*, and other places in *Aſturia* before the time of *Hordonius* the Second, who firſt called himſelf King of *Leon* favour this Aſſertion. That opinion is more worthy of Credit, which will have *Pelagius* now after the taking of *Legio* or *Leon*, to have changed the former Badges or Arms of the *Gothick* Kings, *For a Lyon Rampant Gules in a Field argent* (as we foreſooth muſt blazon, becauſe our Maſters the *French* doe ſo) which ſtill continues to be the Coat Armour of that Kingdom, and foraſmuch as the City, and that Ammal are both in the *Spaniſh* Tongue expreſſed by one Name of *Leon*, the underſtanding of Arms but Ignorance in matters of Antiquity, have given occaſion to groſs miſtakes. Within a while after the Conqueſt *Legio*, beſides *Aſturia*, *Manſilia*, *Tineus* and other Towns in *Gallicia* and *Aſturia*, were taken from the *Moors*; *Pelagius* made himſelf Maſter alſo of *Gegio* a City very ſtrong

both by Art and Nature. Thence ſome ſuſpect that he and his Succeſſours might be called Kings of *Gegio*, and ſo might come the miſtake of *Legio*, it being very eaſie to fall into ſuch an errour in ignorant times; the Alteration being but of one letter.

Zuleiman dying *Homar* and *Izit* ſucceed.

Homar dyes, *Izit* ſole Monarch ſends *Adham* to govern *Spain*.

Who is ſlain at *Tolouſe*.

Abderrahman choſen in his place.

Alii Izid.

15. Much about this time died *Zuleiman* the *Miramamolin* of the *Saracens*, having adopted two his Nephews by his Brother *Ulit*, *viz.* *Homar* aud *Izit*. Theſe two were to enjoy the vaſt Empire of theſe *Arabians* in *Aſia*, *Africk* and *Spain* by equal Right, a thing new and of dangerous Conſequence: But it happened well for them, that all danger of Envy and Emulation was prevented by the death of *Homar*, who within a ſhort time followed his Uncle. *Izit* being Monarch, ſent one to govern *Spain*, who has as many Names almoſt as *Spain* had Provinces. Some call him *Adham* the Son of *Melic*, and others *Abrahem* and *Azam*, and the Chronicle of King *Alphonſus* mentions him by the Name of *Zama* or *Zamam*. This *Moor* whatſoever was his Name, was a man of great underſtanding in all things, relating to Peace and War, and being as covetous as any of the reſt, laid greater burthens than ever upon the conquered Cities; nay, if *Raſes* his own Countreyman told true, from the *Moors* themſelves he exacted the fifth part of all their Goods, under pretence of relieving the poor, but indeed that he might bring them ſo low, that they might not be able to riſe, or doe any thing effectual againſt him. Being furniſhed with Treaſure, he paſſed the *Pyrenæan* Hills, and having re-inforced *Narbon* with a ſtrong Garriſon, laid Siege to *Tolouſe* to his Ruine as it proved. For *Eudo* the Duke of *Aquitain* coming upon him, raiſed the Siege, and killed him with moſt of his men after he had governed about two years. Thoſe that ſurvived made choice of one *Abderrahman* to command them, till ſuch time as a new Governour ſhould be ordered them out of *Africk*, which was done as ſoon as the News of the defeat and Death of the former arrived. Now this new Officer ſome call *Aza* and *Adha*, and the Chronicle of King *Alphonſus* makes *Zama* the ſame with him; ſo that ſome account theſe men the ſame, although one died at *Dertoſa*, and other was ſlain in Battel, as it's ſaid, and ſome make them ſeveral, though both they write were ſent by *Izit* the *Miramamolin*. There is ſo great Confuſion of Names in Authours, relating theſe Mooriſh matters, that as *John Vaſæus* a very diligent and judicious Writer obſerves, very difficultly can any thing certain be diſcovered. One grand reaſon he thinks is, that at the ſame time there were many Mooriſh Governours in *Spain*, over which yet one had the Command and over-ſight, who had his Seat at *Corduba*, as far as can be gathered from ancient Monuments.

Izit dying, *Iſcam* his Brother ſucceeds.

A. D. 724. *Imperii Arabum*, 107.

Abdiramam Galli Scriptores appellant.

16. What we have written concerning him that was killed at the Siege of *Tolouſe*, is reported of this new Governour, whom they will have by a Conſpiracy of his own men killed at *Dertoſa*. He oppreſſed with new and unheard-of Taxes, both *Moors* and *Chriſtians*. Cauſed a Bridge to be made at *Corduba*, and having made War upon that part of *Spain*, lying near the Mountain *Caunus*, took by force and raced *Turiaſo*, and was afterward killed after he had ruled *Spain* two years and ſix months. He left for his Succeſſours, as *Roderick* the Archbiſhop tells us, *Ambuza*, *Odra* and *Jahea*, ſo that ſome think *Spain* was now divided into three parts, or elſe they muſt have governed but few months a-piece, but here is ſuch multiplicity and Confuſion of Names, as was ſaid, that nothing certain can be pitcht on. It's more certain, that about this time, *Izit* the *Miramamolin* dying left *Iſcam* his Brother his Succeſſour, on that Condition he ſhould adopt *Abulit* his Son for his Heir, which he performed. When *Iſcam* came to be Soveraign, he made *Odayſa*, *Himen*, *Autuma*, *Alhaytan* and *Mahomad* his Deputies in *Spain*, the ſeveral Governments of whom if they ſucceeded one another, muſt have been but of ſmall continuance. For in the ſeven hundred and thirty firſt year of our Lord *Abderrahman* was Governour, perhaps the ſame we not long ſince mentioned. This man was an excellent Souldier, but fierce of Nature, and cruel, ſevere in his place, as well to his own Nation, at this time exceeding vitious, as to the poor diſtreſſed *Chriſtians*. This ſeverity, or rather Tyrannical Carriage, procured him many Enemies of both ſorts, and amongſt the reſt, one *Muries* a Commander of the *Moors*, of great Intereſt and Courage, found himſelf ſo far concerned as to riſe againſt him, drawing into his Aſſiſtence the *Gothick Gall*, which truſted to the diſtance of place, the *Corretani* in *Spain*, and *Eudo* the Duke of *Aquitain*.

17. This *Eudo* ſeems to have been a man of great Wiſedom and Courage, as any of his time, onely one thing he is blamed for, not as he was a man, but a *Chriſtian*. To ſtrengthen his intereſt, he married his Daughter to this *Muries* a *Mahometan*, but the device proſpered as it had deſerved. For *Abderrahman* having notice of *Muries*

Gall and *Aquitain* invaded by the Governour of *Spain*.

Vide Marianam de Reb. Hiſp. lib. 7. *c.* 3.

his purpoſe, and how the *Gothick Gall* ſtood affected, haſted with a competent force to the Borders of *Spain*, and ſhut up his Enemy in the City *Ceretania*, whence not able to eſcape, nor deliver himſelf by ſtrong hand, he ended his own Life himſelf, that it might not be at the Mercy of the Conquerour, which done, the Town yielded, and his head was ſent into *Africk* to the Emperour of the *Moors*, together with his beautifull Wife now in the flower of her Age, an acceptable preſent to the *Miramamolin*. *Abderrahman* elevated with his Succeſs invaded *Gall*, and proceeded by the *Mediterranean* Sea, as far as the River *Rhoſne*, and laid Siege to *Arles* the principal City of thoſe parts. *Eudo* with as great a force as he could compaſs, came to raiſe the Siege, but was defeated with ſo great loſs as ſeldom we have read of, maniſeſted by thoſe great heaps of bones which long time were ſeen before that City. Then turning toward the left, he carried his Victorious Arms through a great part of *Gall*, and came into *Aquitain* to be revenged upon, or to brave *Eudo* his great Enemy at his own Doors.

Carrying all before him.

Is at length encountred by *Charles* King of the *Franks*.

18. Paſſing the *Garonne*, he came before *Burdigala* or *Bourdeaux*, which having taken, he uſed with no more Mercy than Angry Conquerours are wont to doe: Not far off he was again encountred by *Eudo*, as well upon the common Account of Chriſtianity as his private Quarrel, but with the ſame Succeſs as formerly. Then were over-run theſe ſeveral People the *Engoliſmenſes*, *Petragorii*, *Sanctones* and *Pictones*, and all Chriſtendom it ſelf lay at the ſtake; for who could be imagined to be of ſufficient power to oppoſe and repulſe thoſe who had ſubdued no leſs than *Aſia*, and *Africk*, and the Empire of the once formidable *Goths*? Many Nations trembled afar off, and ſome ſeemed already conquered by the mere fame of their Actions. But there was one *Charles* Sirnamed *Martell* in *France*, the Maſter of the Palace, a ſubject in Name, but Sovereign in effect, him God Almighty reſerved as a Scourge for theſe Victorious Infidels. Moved by the common danger, but ſolicitous for his own Houſe, which being next Neighbour was now almoſt on fire, he reſolved to extinguiſh this dreadfull flame, for which purpoſe he gathered an Army as ſtrong as he could, out of *France*, *Germany* and *Auſtraſia*, many of their own accord, giving in their Names to obviate that miſchief, by which elſe they were ſure to periſh. With theſe he marched to *Tours*, where he paſſed the River *Loire*, that having it on his back he might not be incompaſſed by the numerous forces of the Enemy.

Who defeats the *Mahometans*.

19. The Infidels excelled in numbers, the *Chriſtians* in their cauſe and Military Skill. *Eudo* now like a good *Chriſtian* forgot the Injuries he ſaid he had received from *Charles*, and preferring the publick Good before his private Reſpects joyned with him, and gave him great Aſſiſtence in the Battel, though as to the thing that moved him to doe it Authours differ. The *French* Writers tell us, that by the Invitation of *Eudo* himſelf, the *Moors* came into *Gall*, and that when the Infidels had invaded his Dukedom, and ſo perfidiouſly broken the League they had made with him, out of revenge he changed his mind. Herein the ancient Hiſtorians of *Spain* are ſilent, but the later take *Eudo*'s part, though they will certainly affirm nothing, charitably believing that though his Principality was in *Cantabria*, and he held but *Aquitain* in way of Dower, yet becauſe he had lately fought no leſs than two Bloudy Battels againſt the *Moors* (to which we ſhall add that he was ingaged with *Muries* his Son-in-Law againſt *Abderrahman*) he did not invite them into *Gall*, nor changed his mind upon account of the Breach of any League he made with them. However it was, his coming was ſeaſonable. The *Moors* were no fewer than four hundred thouſand, many having brought with them their whole Families allured by the report of the Pleaſantneſs and Fertility of *Gall*, there to inhabit. The Armies being joyned, the Victory for a long time remained doubtfull, but at length the multitudes of the *Mahometans* gave way to the Valour of the *Chriſtians*, who got the day.

Killing their Leader amongſt the reſt.

20. Of the Infidels were ſlain no fewer than three hundred and ſeventy five thouſand, and *Abderrahman* amongſt the reſt, which added to the joy conceived for the victory. And well might the joy be great, conſidering the effects and fruits of it; no leſs than the preſervation of the Chriſtian Name and Intereſt, and an evident proof that this People of the *Moors*, how terrible ſoever they had hitherto been, might be overcome. The number of the ſlain on the Chriſtian ſide amounted to a thouſand and five hundred, a loſs greater, in reſpect that thoſe that were ſlain were of the beſt Families, and moſt valiant Perſons, in reſpect of the quality, rather than the quantity of the men. Amongſt thoſe that did worthily, none ſurpaſſed *Eudo*, by confeſſion of *Charles Martell* himſelf, and by his coming in and falling

ling upon the Rere in the heat of the Fight the victory principally was obtained. But ſuch was the ſucceſs of the Chriſtians againſt the *Mahometans*, in the ſeven hundred and thirty fourth year of our Lord, and the one and twentieth after the loſs of *Spain*. Into the Office of *Abderrahman* was preferred one *Abdelmelic* who governed *Spain* four years, and was famous for nothing but the vertues proper to thoſe of his place, *viz.* Cruelty and Covetouſneſs; and herein he had the advantage of the reſt, that whereas his Predeceſſours had pilled and rifled a State that was already down, and at the loweſt ebb of fortune, he by his Rapines checked it now when it was about to revive and make ſome progreſs towards its former flouriſhing condition. He was commanded to make ſome attempt upon *Gall*, which as he was about to doe, he loſt many men at the Straits of the *Pyrenæan* Hills, and remembring the fate of his Predeceſſour, fairly retreated.

A. D. 734.

Abdelmelic Governour of *Spain*.

21. About the ſame time (ſome ſay the ſeven hundred thirty fifth, others the thirty ſeventh of our Lord) died *Pelagius* the new titular King of *Spain* at *Canica*, and was buried at a Monaſtery near at hand of his own building; where his Wife *Gandicſa*, by name alſo was interred. His Son *Favila* ſucceeded him without any oppoſition, for his Father's ſake, not his own merits. He reigned but two years, aud during thoſe moſt unlike his Father. He preferred his own pleaſure before the Publick profit, ſpending his time in a mock war againſt wild Beaſts when he ſhould have been exerciſed in a ſerious hoſtility againſt the Enemies of his Countrey, and in ſuch a ſort of battel died, not by the hand of a noble Gallant enemy, but by the teeth of a Savage wild Boar which he too hotly and raſhly purſued. He being dead without iſſue, according to the laſt will of *Pelagius*, *Alfonſus* and *Ormiſinda* were declared Kings with univerſal conſent and applauſe of the People. *Alfonſus* was the Son of *Peter* Duke of *Calabria*, ſprung from the Noble bloud of King *Ricarede*. He had commanded Forces during the Reigns of *Egica* and *Witiza* when young, and of late brought a ſtout band of *Cantabrians*, and joyning himſelf with *Pelagius* had done excellent ſervice againſt the *Saracens*, whereupon he gave him his Daughter *Ormiſinda* to Wife, and from this marriage have the Kings of *Spain* proceeded in an unqueſtionable line; Son from Father, as writes *Mariana*. He was a man of excellent Parts moſt fit for government, a great States-man, and an excellent Souldier, well arm'd againſt adverſity, but to be admired for his rare felicity and ſucceſs in all his undertakings, and very religious, whereupon he had the ſirname of *Catholick*, a Title formerly given to *Ricarede* his Anceſtour for his renouncing the *Arian* Tenets, by the Synod then held in his City of *Toledo*.

Pelagius dies.

Favila ſucceeds,

Then *Alfonſus*.

Aldefonſus Toletano, & alii.

22. About this time died *Eudo* the Duke of *Aquitain*, whoſe Dominions in *Gall* *Charles Martell* ſeized, and therein placed Garriſons to defend them. His three Sons *Aznar*, *Hunnold* and *Vaifer* or *Gaifar*, ſenſible of the injury, and as Heirs to their Father's Courage as well as his Territories, preſently take Arms. *Aznar* makes an Expedition in thoſe parts of *Spain* which border upon the *Vaſcons*, where he takes the City *Java*, with many other Towns from the *Moors*, and gives Original to the People and Kingdom of *Aragon*, which ſome derive from the River *Arago*, which running through theſe Countries, joins it ſelf with *Ega*, though others will have it framed of *Taracon*, whence the *Taraconian* Province was ſo called. *Hunnold* and *Gaifer* paſs the *Rhoſne*, and with great Terrour invade *Gall*, ſparing nothing that Fire or Sword could deſtroy, not ſucking Babes, nor ſuch as Age had placed more than half in the Grave already. The *Allobroges* they haraſſed moſt cruelly, and *Vienna* being with much adoe kept from them, they pierced into the more inward Parts of *Gall*. Not content with what they could doe themſelves, they join with *Mauritius*, the Count of *Marſeilles*, and all three to doe miſchief to *Martell*, once again call in the *Moors*, who were ready enough to come uncalled; the laſt knock that they got not having ſo ſmarted, but that their longing after ſo pleaſant a Countrey made them quickly forget the pain. By this time one *Aucapa* had ſucceeded *Abdelmelic* in the Government of the *Mooriſh Spain*, after he was accuſed of ill adminiſtration, and in Bonds conſtrained to plead his Cauſe by a certain Noble man of that Nation, and a man moſt zealous of their ſuperſtition. *Aucapa*, by the aſſiſtence of *Mauritius*, took the City *Avinion*, and miſerably waſted all the Countrey about it, which happened five years after the Defeat at *Tours*, in the firſt of the Reign of King *Alfonſus*. The Countrey was indeed very much waſted and diſtreſſed by the Conjunction of theſe Great ones; but by the extraordinary Valour and Conduct of *Martell*, all was again recovered; *Avinion* and *Narbon* both recovered, and ſcarcely any thing left either to the *Moors* or *Goths* in *Gall*.

The Original of the Kingdom of *Aragon*.

Aucapa Governour of the *Mooriſh Spain*.

23. In

Sect. 3.

Belgi Abe[illegible] *Roderico Toletano.*

23. In *Africk*, at this time, were as great Diſorders carried on with more tumult and pertinacious wilfulneſs. One *Belgius Abembexius*, a Duke of great Intereſt amongſt the *Moors*, raiſed a Rebellion againſt *Iſcam* the *Miramamolin*, for what reaſon we know not; but probably whatever was pretended, moved by the common motive of Ambition. Many battels were fought, wherein he being often Victour, croſſed over into *Spain*, which then was again governed by *Abdelmelic*, whom his Adverſary *Aucapa* upon his death-bed had ordered to be let out of priſon. *Belgius* not long after his Inlargement arriving in *Spain*, had ſent before him *Abderrahman* with a ſtrong band of men, who drove him into *Corduba*, and there taking him alive, miſerably tortured him to death to ſatiate his malitious mind. In the ſame year, which was the forty third, or the eighth Age, died *Iſcam* the *Miramamolin*, after he had reigned nineteen years, a Prince renowned for the vaſtneſs of his Empire, and his great ſucceſs, but ſo exceſſive covetous, that he omitted no way of ſcraping wealth together, excelling in riches all his Predeceſſours. For this reaſon he was ſo hated by ſeveral of the Provinces, that they refuſed to pay him obedience for the ſpace of four years, during which time, notwithſtanding all the force he uſed, he could not reduce them into order. But to ſee the extent of his Dominions, we ſhall preſent the Reader with an Account of the Provinces ſubject to him and the *Mahometan* ſuperſtition, as we have it from *Rodericus Ximenius* the Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, who wrote the Hiſtory of thoſe *Arabians*. He begins with *Iconia*, the Metropolis whereof was *Iconium*; then follow *Lyſtria*, whoſe Metropolis was *Lyſtris*; *Alapia*, that had a Metropolis of its own name; *Chaldæa*, whoſe Metropolis was once *Babylon*, but then deſtroyed; *Aſſyria*, the Metropolis being *Ninive* of old; *Media*, the Metropolis of which was *Ecbatane*; *Hyrcania*, whoſe Metropolis was *Anthiolas*; *Perſia*, its Metropolis being *Suſa*; *Meſopotamia*, the Metropolis of which was *Aram* or *Carra*; *Syria* the upper, with its Metropolis *Damaſcus*; *Cœloſyria* or *Phœnicia* with *Tyre*; *Syria* the Inferiour with *Antioch*; *Judæa* with *Jeruſalem*; *Ægypt* with *Alexandria*; *Arabia* the Greater with *Baldac* its Metropolis; *Æthiopia* with *Nadaver*; *Africk* with *Carthage*; *Spain* with *Toledo*. All theſe Provinces did the Sect and Sword of *Mahomet* ſubdue. Sometimes alſo *Sicily*, whoſe Metropolis was *Panormus*; and *Calabria*, whoſe ancient Metropolis was *Rhegium*, part of *Apulia*; *Gallia Gothica*, whoſe Metropolis was *Narbon*; and the *Vaſcones*, the Metropolis of which were *Auxis* and *Bourdeaux*. So vaſt was grown the Empire and Rule of thoſe Sons of *Iſhmael*, the Hiſtory of which it's a great pity, we have little farther than as it concerns Chriſtian Affairs.

Iſcam the *Miramamolin* dies.

His Dominions.

Roderic. Toletan. Hiſt. Arabum, cap. 12.

Alulit ſucceeds.

24. To *Iſcam* ſucceeded *Alulit*, ſirnamed the *Fair*, the Son of *Izit*, with greater applauſe than ſucceſs, as the Sequel ſhewed. In *Africk* he was ſorely put to it by the Arms of *Belgius*, and in *Spain* by *Doran*, one of the Complices of that Rebel. Againſt *Doran* was ſent *Albulcatar*, in the beginning of the Reign of *Alulit*, who much appeaſed the Countrey, ſending the greateſt part of the Mutineers into *Africk*, under pretence of ſupplying the force of that Province. But within a ſhort time the *Moors* roſe up againſt him, and he was ſlain by the means and procurement of one *Zimael*; which done, they advanced one *Roba* the chief Favourer and Aſſiſtant of *Zimael* into his place, who lived not long to enjoy his Uſurped power, being by the contrary Faction ſlain with a greater Number of his followers. About the ſame time dies *Alulit* the *Miramamolin*, or Sovereign of the *Arabians* in their Hundred, and twenty ſeventh year, according to *Roderick* the Archbiſhop, which fell into the ſeven hundred and forty fourth year of our Lord, and was ſucceeded by *Ibrahem* his Brother with as bad ſucceſs. For *Maroan*, another *Arabian* of the *Humeian* family conſpired againſt him and murthered him in his Palace, when he had reigned little more than one year. In his time *Toba* governed *Spain*, but dying within a year, all the Senate of the Palace of the *Arabians* (as our Authour words it) made choice of one *Juzeph* (or *Tuceph*) to ſucceed him. He was a very old man, and as it is familiar to old age, was highly covetous; but what is not familiar, was alſo infamous for luſt, whereby he obliterated the glory of his former Actions; and was ſo contemptible, that the *Spaniſh Moors* roſe in Rebellion againſt him. During his Reign were ſeen at *Corduba* three Suns, a ſight which mightily diſturbed the ignorant people, which underſtood not the Philoſophy of a thick and opace Cloud, and ſhapes of men were ſeen carrying Forks in their hands. This might portend the Invaſion of *Angli*, by the depredations of whom the Borders of *Spain* were afflicted with a dreadfull Famine, as alſo the Tumults and Wars which ſhortly after befell the *Moors* in *Africk*.

Roderico Toletano Toban. aliis Proba.

A. D. 744.

Then *Ibrahem*, who is murthered by *Maroan* the Uſurper.

Roderico Mardan.

Al. Toaba & Thoba.

Al. Juzaph. Juzeph Arabibus, quem nos Joſephum appellamus.

Roderic. Tolet. Hiſt. Arabum, cc. 27, 28.

25. For

But is ſlain by the forces of *Abdalla.*

Roderico Alabeci hinc Abdalla Benallabeci apud eum.

25. For *Abdalla* deſcended of the moſt Noble Family of the *Alavecins*, looking upon *Maroan* no otherwiſe than as an Uſurper, conſpired againſt him, which he underſtanding, with the publick treaſures fled from his Palace into *Libya*, there to prepare himſelf for War. *Abdalla* fearing nothing, by perſuaſion of the Nobility was Inagurated, and ſent his Uncle *Zali* with an infinite number of *Arabians* and *Perſians* againſt *Maroan*, who purſued him from place to place, for he had ſo ill treated the *Saracens* in his Government, that no where could he find any ſhelter. At length paſſing the *Nile*, in a place by them called *Azan* or *Azimum*, they came to an Engagement with miſſile weapons, which laſted for two days, and on the third was *Maroan* ſlain, with many of his followers. Now *Roderick* the Archbiſhop tells us, that from *Mahomet*, till theſe times, the *Arabians* on both ſides the Seas were governed by one Sovereign Prince, whom he calls their *Amiramomen*, and that thoſe that were deſcended from the family of *Benelabec*, depoſed or drove from the Sovereignty ſuch as drew their Pedigree from that of *Abenhumey*, and endeavoured utterly to deſtroy them. Theſe Families of *Humey* and *Alabeci* came of the two Daughters of *Mahomet*, whence aroſe the emulation and diſcord betwixt them. Others reported that *Mahomet* had but one Daughter called *Fatima*, which married *Alyabrietalep*, the Scribe or Secretary of *Mahomet*, who reigned the fourth in order from him four years and eight days; and it's ſaid, that from him and *Fatima* proceeded theſe two Potent and Contending Families.

26. But, in the mean while, *Alfonſus* (that we may ſee how the lately revived Kingdom of the *Goths* proſpers) made good uſe of the differences and confuſions amongſt the *Moors*, enlarging his Kingdom by Arms, which hitherto had been very narrow. He had the better opportunity to doe it, becauſe the Chriſtians which inhabited amongſt the *Saracens* were ſo weary of their new Lords, that eſteeming death better than that unſupportable bondage they underwent, they thought fit to venture and try whether they could both prevent the one and ſhake off the other, by betaking themſelves to him, and fighting under ſo hopefull and encouraging a General. In *Gallicia*, *Lucas*, *Tuda* and *Aſturia* were recovered; in *Luſitania*, *Portus Cale* (which ſtanding upon the mouth of the River *Durius*, afterward changed the Name of *Luſitania* into *Portugal*) *Pax Julia*, *Bracara*, *Viſeum*, *Flavia*, *Bletiſa* and *Sentica*, which two laſt Cities are now known by the Names of *Ledeſma* and *Zamora*. Beſides theſe he reduced *Septimaneæ*, *Dominæ*, *Miranda*, *Segobia*, *Abula* and *Sepulneda* ſtanding at the foot of the Hill *Oroſpeda*, and upon the bank of the River *Durato*, a Town ſtrong by its natural ſite, formerly called *Segobriga*, being a *Municipium* of good eſteem. Carried by the ſame courſe of victory into remote Parts, he conquered ſome Towns amongſt the *Vandali*. Amongſt the *Vaſcons Pampolo*, and in *Cantabria* that part which is now called *Alava*, although the various fortune of War in following times carried back again moſt of theſe Cities to the *Moors*, by reaſon of erecting of their Kingdom of *Corduba*, begun in thoſe times to the great damage of Chriſtianity, and afterward to its greater detriment carried on and inlarged. Thus much did *Alfonſus* doe for the recovery of the ancient Poſſeſſions of the Chriſtians; but ſome would have him doe more than he did, writing that by force of his Arms all *Cantabria* was conquered and recovered from the *Moors*; wherefore it may evidently appear from more ancient Monuments, that the *Moors* never came beyond the place commonly called the *Rock with the Hole* by the *Cantabrians*. At length he died in the ſeventy fourth year of his Age, and the nineteenth of his Reign, in the ſeven hundred and fifty ſeventh year of our Lord, and was buried where he died, *viz.* at *Canica*. By his Wife *Ormiſinda* he had four Sons, *Froila*, *Bimaran*, *Aurelius* and *Uſenda*; and one by a Concubine named *Mauregatus*. He had a Brother, *Froila* by name, happy and famous for nothing ſo much as that he was Father to *Aurelius* and *Veremund*.

Alfonſus recovers ſeveral places from the *Moors*.

Dies.

A. D. 757.

Froila ſucceeds.

27. To *Alfonſus* ſucceeded his Son *Froila*, according to his Birth-right, and the deſires of the People, a Prince whom one can hardly call either Good or Bad, ſo mixt, it's ſaid, was his Government, and his Actions different. By nature he was fierce, rigid in his manners, and by his flatterers put upon ſuch courſes as they called wholeſomely ſevere, but others could not but mark them with the name of Cruel. Amongſt his good deeds he is commended for founding the Noble City *Onetum* in *Aſturia*, the praiſe of which ſome erroniouſly aſcribe unto his Father. The liberty of Marriage brought in by *Witiza*, he took away, for which ſome think him worſe ſpoken of than he did deſerve. For in Military matters, though he did not equal, yet he ſeems to have imitated his Father. In the ſecond year of his Reign, *Juzeph* the *Mooriſh* Governour having invaded the borders of *Gallicia* with a

Defeats *Juzeph* the *Mooriſh* Governour.

vaſt Army, he met and gave him battel and defeated him, fifty thouſand men periſhing in the place; no Age knew a greater victory, nor more ſeaſonable for the Intereſt of Chriſtianity. This overthrow was not more ſeaſonable for the Chriſtians, than convenient for the deſign of *Abderrahman*, who being of the family of *Humey*, and ſorely perſecuted by *Abdalla*, him that had lately brought the Soveraignty to the Houſe of *Alabeci*, and by all means endeavoured to root out the whole ſtock of the contrary faction, fled into *Spain*, where for the favour they bore to his Family, for the many good offices his Anceſtours had done to the Countrey, he was kindly received. Onely *Juzeph* oppoſed him, and gathering an Army, met him in the field, but was defeated, and fled to *Toledo*. *Malaca*, *Aſſidona* and *Sevil* had before this yielded to *Abderrahman*, and now he laid Siege to *Bela*. *Juzeph* privately ſtole away to *Corduba*, where making no long ſtay, he paſſed to *Granata*, and there *Abderrahman* got him into his hands. But uſing him, it ſeems, too mercifully, from *Corduba* he fled to *Emerita*, where getting together nigh twenty thouſand men, he made Incurſions into the Territories belonging to the Friends of *Abderrahman*, till by a ſtronger force he was reſtrained, and driven to *Toledo*, where thinking himſelf in ſecurity, he was ſlain. The Town quickly yielded to *Abderrahman*, who by univerſal conſent of the *Moors*, begun a Kingdom at *Corduba*, to which they all ſubjected themſelves without any dependence upon, or duty acknowledged to, any other *Miramamolin* or Potentate whatſoever. This New Kingdom, by the means of this *Abdarrahman Abenhumeia*, ſirnamed *Adahil*, began in the hundred and forty ſecond year of the *Arabians*, in the ſeven hundred fifty ninth year of our Lord.

Abderrahman begins a *Mooriſh* Kingdom at *Corduba*.

Roderico Toletano Abderramen.

A. D. 759.

28. Againſt this New *Mooriſh* King, *Valentia*, a City of the *Edetani*, in the *Tarraconian* Province, was the onely place that ſtood out, and refuſed to acknowledge his Juriſdiction. But e'er long it found reaſon to yield, and whereas ſome of his own Nation rebelled againſt him, he had the good fortune to ſuppreſs the Rebellion, and animadverted upon the principal offenders by ſeveral ſorts of exemplary puniſhments. The Barbarian elevated by ſo great felicity, made War upon the People of *Gallicia*, and laid Siege to *Pax Julia*, a place of *Portugal*, at this time called *Beja*. But he had to doe with one in thoſe places, who knew as well to keep, as he to get, viz. *Froila*, by whoſe victorious Arms he was repulſed, as well as all the Mutineers which poſſibly held intelligence with him. For *Froila* by the ſame courſe of felicity reduced to obedience the Inhabitants of *Gallicia*, as alſo the Rebellious *Vaſcons*, in which expedition he married *Menina*, ſome call her *Momerana*, the Daughter of *Eudo* Duke of *Aquitain*, and Siſter to *Aznar*. Thus he proceeded, and might be ranked amongſt great and good Princes, but that he blemiſhed all by cruelly murthering his Brother *Bimaran*, a Prince beloved by the People for the beauty both of his Body and Mind, with his own hand, though probably he might not want provocation. Indifferent perſons ſuſpect there might be Ambition in the caſe, and that thoſe whom the King's ſeverity alienated from him, might puſh on *Bimaran* to ſome dangerous attempt. Whatever the cauſe was, he could not waſh away with all he could doe, the crime of reputed Paricide, being ill thought and ſpoken of, both alive and dead upon this account, although to redeem his credit he adopted *Veremund* for his Succeſſour, the Son of his ſlain and lamented Brother. But this would not doe the work, whatever he did was either ill done or ill taken, ſo that running out of one fault and inconvenience into another, he was killed at laſt at *Canica*, and was buried at his *Onetum*. He reigned eleven years, five months and twenty days, as ſome ancient * Hiſtories relate, although † *Roderick* the Archbiſhop gives to his Reign no fewer than thirteen years complete.

Is beaten by *Froila*.

Who is murthered.

* *Alcobacienſis Codex; Aliud Chronic. perantiquum & Hiſtoria Compoſtellana.*

† *De Reb. Hiſp. lib.* 4. *c.* 6.

29. *Froila* by his Wife *Menina* had a Son named *Alfonſus*, and a Daughter called *Ximena*. But *Aurelius* who ſlew him to revenge the death of *Bimeran* (his Brother or Couſin, it's uncertain, for ſome make *Aurelius* the Son of *Froila*, *Alfonſus* his Brother) by conſent of the Nation was made King in the ſeven hundred ſixty eighth year of our Lord. He reigned ſix years and as many months, being famous for no great matters performed. He ſuppreſſed indeed the Slaves, which now truſting to the confuſion and uncertainty of the times, rebelled. But the fame of this Action, and more than this could not equal the diſhonour he got by the League which he made with the *Moors*, by virtue whereof he was to pay a yearly tribute of Virgins to thoſe Infidels. The terrour of *Abderrahman's* Name was ſo great, that it frighted them into this compliance, leſt he, a man very fierce and active, ſhould bring all his ſtrength againſt their weak and ſcarcely ſetled Kingdom. *Aurelius* having no children (it doth not appear he had any Wife) gave his Siſter *Adoſinda* in

Aurelius choſen in his place.

marriage

Next *Silo* is made King, who takes *Alfonſus* the Second for his Partner.

marriage to one *Silo*, a man of great Nobility, with hopes to ſucceed him. His hope was not vain, for *Aurelius* being dead, for the ſake of his Wife he was admitted King, and reigned nine years, one month and a day. He reduced into order the mutinous People of *Gallicia*, but being either by reaſon of his Age or his own temper unfit for Government, by perſuaſion of his Wife he took *Alfonſus* the Son of *Froila* to be his Partner in the Kingdom, ſuch being the miſfortune of the times, that when the State, by reaſon of its weakneſs, and ſo powerfull a Neighbour, required the moſt able and moſt active Princes to govern it, weak and idle men happened to preſide and move the Helm.

Alfonſus reigns alone.

But outed by *Mauregatus* with the aſſiſtence of the *Moors*.

A. D. 788.

Abderrahman dies.

Toletano Hiſſem, Alfonſo Regi Ixeca, Raſi Iſmien, Marianæ Iſſem.

Iſſem ſeizes on the Government of the *Moors*.

30. After *Silo*'s death, *Alfonſus* was confirmed in the Government, the People having forgot his Father's faults, which his own and excellent demeanour had in a great meaſure alſo covered. Onely *Mauregatus* his Uncle (and that by a Concubine) found himſelf concerned, alledging that he himſelf was nearer in bloud to the former Kings, and there wanted not ſome Male-contents, who flattered him with continual ſuggeſtions that he was injured. But finding not ſtrength enough at home, he betook himſelf to the *Moors*, and to get aſſiſtence from them, offer'd, that in caſe they made him King, to pay them a yearly Tribute of fifty Noble Virgins, and as many out of the Inferiour ſort. Theſe Infidels being a people above all others given to leachery, to gratifie their luſt, and out of Ambition to have a Chriſtian King, their Tributary, granted his requeſt, and by permiſſion of their King an Army was levied, which *Alfonſus* finding himſelf unable to reſiſt, being as yet unſetled in his place, gave way to fortune and his Competitour, and returned into *Cantabria*, being now twenty five years old, hoping there to find good friends, by reaſon of his Mother's kindred. *Mauregatus* then obtained the Throne, and was eminent for nothing but the diſhoneſty and filthineſs of his manners, wherein having ſpent five years and ſix months, he then left this world, and was buried at *Pravia* in the ſeven hundred and eighty eighth year of our Lord. In the ſame year died *Abderrahman* King of the *Moors* at *Corduba*, having reigned nine and twenty years, and adorned that City with an excellent Caſtle, rarely contrived Gardens, and ſuch a Moſque, as being now turned into a Cathedral Church for its beautifull Structure, multitude and variety of Pillars ſeems miraculous. He left eleven Sons and nine Daughters. Of the Sons, the eldeſt *Zuleman* he had made in his life time Governour of *Toledo*, and at his death appointed him his Succeſſour. But *Iſſem* his ſecond by his preſence at *Corduba*, having got the opportunity of Cajolling the People, ſet up for himſelf, and what he juſtly or unjuſtly got, in the ſame manner kept and preſerved.

To *Mauregatus* ſucceeds *Veremundus*.

Who makes *Alfonſus* the Third his Partner in the Kingdom.

A. D. 791.

31. Againſt *Zuleman* he ſo ſtoutly defended himſelf, that he forced him to ſell his Pretenſions for ſixty thouſand *Aurei* and to go into *Africk*, as did his other Brother *Abdalla*, with whom he alſo compounded, after he had made an Inſurrection. Having conquered all oppoſition, he lengthened out his Reign to ſeven years, ſeven months and ſeven days. To *Mauregatus* ſucceeded *Veremundus*, though upon what title is not agreed, for Authours differ about his Genealogy, ſome making him the Son of *Bimaran*, who was killed by his Brother *Froila*, and others of *Froila* the Brother of *Alfonſus* the Catholick, which ſeems moſt probable, being moſt approved by learned men, and atteſted by the Chronicle, which hath gone under the Name of *Alfonſus* the Catholick. He reigned three years and five months, and of his Wife *Numilo* (or *Vſenda*) begat two Sons *Ramir* and *Garſias*; but foraſmuch as he was in Orders, and a Deacon, he is ſaid afterwards to have abſtained from her company. Otherwiſe he was a modeſt and temperate man, by confeſſion of ſuch as were againſt his marriage, of a peaceable ſpirit, neither by art nor nature fit for Arms. But herein his care for the Publick appears, that being not fit himſelf for buſineſs, he choſe for his Collegue ſuch an one as to whom thoſe things were moſt proper, *viz.* *Alfonſus* his Kinſman, whom *Mauregatus* had baniſhed into *Cantabria*, ſolemnizing his Inauguration or Reſtitution on the nineteenth day of *July*, in the ſeven hundred ninety firſt year of our Lord. *Alfonſus* after this governed a long time, and was ſecond to none for his perpetual felicity, his Clemency, Munificence, his Religion and his Skill in matters relating to War.

32. The hope of this his Skill was much confirmed by the victory he obtained over the *Moors*, in the third year after his Reſtitution. For whereas by virtue of the agreement made by *Mauregatus*, ſuch a Number of Chriſtian Virgins was yearly to be delivered to them as a Tribute, he abhorring it as a moſt wicked thing, when for want of payment they made Inroads into the Countrey, he met and gave them battel at a Town called *Ledes*, where they received ſo total a defeat, that ſeventy thouſand men were ſlain, and his Subjects now began to lift up their heads

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as freed from bondage. For the *Moors* were hereby ſo weakned, that having work made them elſewhere, they had no opportunity or power to revenge the loſs; the *Vaſcons* putting them to it on one hand, and the Arms of *Charles* the Great, who now began to grow famous, much moleſting them on the other; ſo that by one means or other they loſt many Towns upon the Borders. This cauſed *Iſſem* the *Miramamolin*, to ſend away *Abdelmolic* a Captain of great Note, to reſtore his Intereſt in thoſe Quarters, who retook *Gerunda* and *Narbon*, whence he had Slaves to help to perfect the ſtructure of the *Moſque* at *Corduba*. He cauſed another Bridge to be built to the Caſtle in that City. He firſt of all the Mooriſh Kings uſed three thouſand of Renegado Chriſtians as a Guard, and had conſtantly two thouſand Eunuchs that followed his Court. He died in the ſeven hundred and ninety fifth year of our Lord, leaving *Alhaca* his Son his Succeſſour, who Reigned ſix and twenty years, ten months and fifteen days, being a Prince of great prudence, Juſtice and Liberality as can be imagined amongſt that People. And to him ſome aſcribe the Guard of five thouſand men, Apoſtate Chriſtians and Eunuchs, which others ſay, was firſt raiſed by his Father.

Iſſem the *Miramamolin* dies leaving *Albaca* his Succeſſour.

Alhaca Toletano aliis Hilibata.

Veremund dies leaving *Alfonſus* the Monarch.

33. In the mean time died *Veremund* and was buried at *Onetum*, where the Monuments of him and his Wife were ſeen long after. Then did *Alfonſus* govern alone, and abſtaining from the imbraces of his Wife, *Bertha*, obtained the Sirname of the Chaſte. His former Glories were within a little while ſomething obſcured, at leaſt ſo he thought, by a Clandeſtine Marriage of his Siſter *Ximena* to *Sandias*, or *Sanctius* the Count of *Soldania*; from which Marriage proceeded *Bernard*, who had the Sirname of *Carpenſis*, and is much celebrated for his great Atchievements by the Writers of the *Spaniſh* Story. *Alfonſus* for all his Vertue could not bear ſuch an Indignity offered to his Family, but calling the Count to *Leon*, upon pretence of the Aſſembly of the Eſtates, he was accuſed of Treaſon, and having his Eyes put out, was condemned to perpetual Priſon, there to bewail his own Ambition, or rather the Cruelty of the King. *Semena* was conſtrained to go into a Monaſtery; but the Infant he well provided for, bringing him up with as much Care and Reſpect, as if he had been his own Son. In the mean time the *Moors* could not be quiet amongſt themſelves. *Zuleman* and *Abdalla* the Uncles of the new King grudged him his preferment, and left nothing undone to remove him from it. Some ſay, that *Abdalla* craved aid of *Charles* the Great, who ſent his Son *Ludovicus* to aſſiſt him, and that the Army of the *Franks* pierced into *Spain*, as far as *Oſca*. Others write, that both the Brothers at this time came over out of *Africk*, *Abdalla* having by connivence of the Citizens firſt ſeized upon *Valentia*, and then ſent for the other. Making frequent Irruptions into the Countrey, they made great waſte round about, and at laſt had the Boldneſs to give Battel to *Alhaca* the *Miramamolin*, who had the good Fortune after great Effuſion of Bloud, to get the Victory. *Zuleman* was ſlain in the Battel: *Abdalla* eſcaped to *Valentia*, where ſeriouſly conſidering of his Affairs, thought it beſt to be quiet, and made Peace with his Nephew on this Condition, to have ſuch an allowance as might maintain him according to his Quality. To the King he ſent his Sons, who uſed them with great Reſpect as his Couſin *Germans*, and to one of them he Married his Siſter. Theſe things happened in the fifth year of the Reign of *Alhaca*, in the hundred and eighty fourth of the *Arabians*.

A Rebellion amongſt the *Moors*.

34. Theſe diſturbances amongſt the *Moors*, made well for *Alfonſus*, who had thereby opportunity to ſtrengthen and inlarge his Kingdom. Some Writers now relate, how by the Aſſiſtence of *Charles* the Great he recovered *Oliſipo*, or *Lisbon* the principal Town of *Luſitania* out of their hands, as alſo *Barcelona*; and that *Alfonſus* ſent to *Charles* a very ſplendid Embaſſy, the Embaſſadours being *Fruela* and *Baſilicus*, who carried with them a rich Preſent of Horſes, Arms and Slaves, beſides a Pavilion of admirable ſize and Workmanſhip, the ſpoils of the conquered City of *Lisbon*. But ſuch Writers as tell theſe ſtories, are * Strangers concerned for the Honour and Reputation of *Charles*, the *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians being herein wholly ſilent. *Barcelona* indeed in theſe times, was by *Charles* the Great taken from the *Moors*, and twice was *Lisbon* freed from the Tyranny of the *Moors*, and each time the thing was done by an *Alphonſus*. But this was long time after, *viz.* it was firſt taken by *Alphonſus* the ſixth, him who alſo recovered *Toledo*, about the one thouſand and ninety third year of our Lord, and again by *Alphonſus Henricus* the firſt King of *Portugal* about fifty years after. That it was taken by *Alphonſus* the Chaſte, (for no other *Alphonſus* lived in the time of *Charles* the Great) is no where to be found in any *Spaniſh* Monument of Antiquity. This we find conſtantly

* *Jacobus Mayerus in Chronico rerum Flandricarum Platina in vita Leonis tertii.*

Codex Alcobacienſis, & vetus Chronicon apud Joh. Vaſæum ad A. D. 791.

Sect. 3.

ſtantly reported, that *Charles* the Great was more than once in *Spain*; Firſt immediately after his Father's death, ſolicited by *Ibnabala* the *Moor*, with hope of taking *Spain* from that People, and at this time they will have him to have made himſelf Maſter of *Pompelona*, which he diſmantled at his retreat after that he had ſetled *Ibnabala* King of *Saragoſſa*. In his return, as he paſſed the Straits of the *Pyrenæan* Mountains, he was ſet upon by the *Vaſcons*, and with the loſs of his Treaſures, and many men, returned with ſmall Reputation into *Germany*. He had *Gerunda* and *Barcino* put into his hands by the *Moors*, and thence came the Counts of *Barcelona* and the Original of the *Catalonians*, the *Cathelauni*, who lived formerly about *Toloſe* now coming and planting themſelves in this part of *Spain*. For as for their Opinion, who make *Catalaunia* a word compounded of *Goths* and *Alans*, and theirs who derive it from *Catalo* a Goverour of *Aquitain*, at ſuch time as *Charles Martell* ſeized on that Dukedom, and outed the Sons of *Eudo*, they ſeem improbable to Learned men.

The Original of the *Catalonians* whence.

Quaſi Gothalania.

35. A certain *French* Authour hath written, that *Charles* after a little time having taken *Narbon* from the *Moors* returned again into *Spain*, and made himſelf Maſter of that which hath the Name of old *Catalaunia* amongſt the *Ceretani*, and gave the *Moors* Battel in that Valley, which afterward received a Name from him. Others add that he came into *Spain* again, to view the Body of St. *James*, which they ſay was now found at *Compoſtella*, and that the Prelate of that place, by his Order and Command was made Primate over the reſt of the Churches of *Spain*; Stories that have no Foundation in Antiquity. After this he went to *Rome*, where by means of *Leo* the Biſhop, he was ſaluted *Auguſtus* or Emperour, as we ſhew at large in its proper place; and then again returning into *Germany*, they thence bring him into *Spain* upon this occaſion. *Alfonſus* being now old, and tired with the tedious War, he had conſtantly with the *Moors*, wherein his Succeſs anſwered not his great pains and Travel, invited *Charles* into *Spain*, to whom he offered the Succeſſion in his Kingdom, as a reward, he himſelf having no Children. He, although he was alſo ſtricken in years, yet deſigning *Spain* to *Bernard* the Son of his deceaſed Son: *Pipin* whom he had already made King of *Italy*, refuſed not the terms, but with a great power of men, began his march, not doubting to carry all before him, when the Councils of both the Princes, as it's hard to conceal the purpoſes of ſuch Expeditions, were betrayed. The Nobility of *Spain* preſently began to exclaim, they ſhould never endure to be ſubject to the *Franks*, an inſolent Nation, and Cruel, for thereby they ſhould not ſhake off the yoke they underwent, but onely change for an heavier. Every one muttered theſe things in private, yet none publickly dared to reſiſt the King's intentions, till *Bernard* Sirnamed *Carpenſis* his Nephew, a man whoſe Bloud boyled in his veins, and the more by reaſon of the hope he had hitherto had of his Uncle's good Inclinations towards him, offered himſelf as Captain to all that would follow him; and then began *Alfonſus* to cool in his Deſires he had to *Charles* his coming. *Marſilius* the *Moor* King of *Cæſar Auguſta*, who was at Enmity with the Emperour, upon the Account of *Ibnabala*, whom he had driven away, was drawn to the *Spaniſh* ſide. Now the Tide is turned, and *Charles* not willing to put up ſuch an affront marcheth forward.

Thornichus apud Marianam, de Rebus Hiſp. l. 7. c. 11.

Alfonſus invites *Charles* the *French* King into *Spain*.

Duodecimo ab urbe Salmantica lapide, quibus locis Alba ſita eſt, Carpium Arcem adificavit, unde illi Carpenſis Cognomentum factum.

36. Here now we are at a loſs, if he be not, wanting a certain guide to Conduct us in the Relation of this adventure. The *French* Writers tell us, that he pierced into *Spain*, and returned not till he had waſted the Countrey far and wide, after a Victory obtained in a ſet Battel, which done, he was oppoſed at the Straits in his retreat. On the contrary, the *Spaniſh* deny that he ever reached the Inwards of the Countrey, but in the Valley of *Roſcida* in the Foreſt of the *Vaſcons*, a ſtop was put to his Expedition. The Battel of the *Franks*, was led by *Roland* the Count of *Britain*, *Anſelme* and *Eginard* principal men in the Court of *Charles*; but the place would not give them leave to open their Ranks, or march in any bredth; the *Spaniards* therefore, before they could get themſelves into any poſture of fighting from the higher ground killed many. In the firſt encounter *Rolland* was ſlain, concerning whom many Romances or fabulous Stories have been told, and written by both Nations. *Charles* hereat exceedingly ſtartled, is ſaid by a Speech to have reprehended and quickened his men, as forgetting their former Trade of Victory, and by his Art to have put them into as good a poſture, as the place and Inconveniency of it would ſuffer him. Then followed a moſt bloudy Conteſt, wherein a great number of the beſt and nobleſt *Franks* fell; being diſcouraged by a report, that the *Moors* were come to the Aſſiſtence of the *Spaniards*, and had got

beyond them, and were ready to fall upon their backs. No place, now cry our *Spaniſh* Writers, was ever more noble or famous for an overthrow of the *Franks*, but they are ſo ingenuous as to tell you, that *Charles* did not take revenge, and wipe off the diſgrace of this defeat, becauſe he was prevented by Death, dying at *Aquiſgrave* not long after, *Roderick* the Archbiſhop writes, that *Alfonſus* was preſent at the Battel. The *Vaſcons* affirmed, that the Victory was obtained by the means of *Garſias* of the King *Suprarbis* eſpecially. On the contrary, the Writers of the *French* Hiſtory do not aſcribe this Victory at all to the Valour of the *Spaniards*, but to the Treachery of one *Gatalon*, ſuch diverſity of Opinions there is founded upon that of Intereſt; and while both Nations ſtrive one to get the renown, and the other to prevent diſgrace, they have ſo confounded the ſtory, that by-ſtanders can find nothing that's certain in it. And to ſpeak Impartially, not onely the Circumſtances, but the ſubſtance of the thing may juſtly be called into queſtion: As thoſe Hiſtorians that have written of it, can ſcarcely in one accident as to time and place agree, ſo thoſe who had moſt reaſon to know, write nothing at all of it. *Eginhart*, who was Secretary to *Charles*, and from whom nothing could be hid, never makes mention of the Fight, in the Hiſtory he wrote of his Life yet extant. The *Spaniards* might have ſome cauſe herein to ſuſpect his Partiality and Malice, but that if they turn over the Chronicle of their own King *Alfonſus* the Great, which not long after theſe times, he dedicated to *Sebaſtian* the Biſhop of *Salmantica*, though by reaſon of his living ſo near to thoſe days, he might have opportunity to know the truth, and it concerned him not to omit any thing that tended to the Glory of his own Nation, yet they ſhall therein find as deep a ſilence. Let the Reader therefore, either take the ſtory of this Expedition, and defeat of *Charles* the Great for a truth, or let him if he pleaſe joyn it as an Appendix, as near akin to the famous Adventures of *Orlando Furioſo*, the iſſue of the fruitfull Brain of *Arioſto* the Poet.

37. To return into *Spain* and take our leave, the reſt of his time *Alfonſus* paſſed with Quiet and Tranquillity, giving him ſufficient opportunity to practiſe the Arts of Peace and Religion, as he had done formerly that of War. And this was his great Commendation, that whereas other Princes too often make the publick Intereſt truckle to their private concerns, whether of Profit or Pleaſure, he meaſured every thing by the Standard of the Kingdom, Sacrificing his own particular advantages of Pomp and Revenue, to the Enrichment and Ornament of his Countrey. The diſſention and Enmity which afterward aroſe betwixt him and his Nephew *Bernard*, ſeems to have been the greateſt part of his infelicity. *Bernard* having done ſo great Services in the Field, thought he had deſerved ſo great a favour at his Uncle's hands, as the ſetting at Liberty of his blind Father, and when it would not (out of ſome deep Myſtery of ſtate doubtleſs) be granted, conceived ſo great Indignation thereat, that firſt obtaining a diſmiſſion from Service, he departed to *Saldania* his Father's Town, reſolving to watch for an opportunity to be revenged. And the extreme Age of the King, together with the good Inclinations of the People to him gave him opportunity enough of making Incurſions and Depredations in his Territories, without controll. This proved very unhappy for them both, for whereas *Bernard* if he had had but a little patience might within a little while have expected to have been in Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom it ſelf, and all other his Wiſhes with it, now was *Alfonſus* ſo provoked with the revolt, that in the Aſſembly of the Eſtates in his extreme Age, he procured *Ramir* the Son of *Veremund* to be choſen his Succeſſour, and *Bernard* to be laid aſide, who could never after make good his Pretences, but notwithſtanding all his Indeavours died without ever obtaining that Crown he had had ſo great reaſon to expect, though where, or in what condition Writers differ. As for *Alfonſus*, not long after he had made ſuch a choice, as neither ſuited his Judgment, nor his Relation as an Uncle, he ſhortly after died when he had lived eighty five years, and Reigned fifty two, five months and thirteen days, in the eight hundred forty fourth year of our Lord, which Account differs a little from the Copy of the Chronicle of *Alfonſus* the Great, who began his Reign but eighteen years after, but agrees with the Liſt of *Compoſtella*, and other ancient Monuments of Hiſtory.

Bernard revolts, which makes *Alfonſus* chuſe *Ramir* his Succeſſour.

Aſlonſus 3d. dies. *A. D.* 844.

38. The Quiet and Peace which we ſaid *Alfonſus* enjoyed, was very much effected by the Seditions and Troubles under which the Kingdom of the *Moors* laboured at the ſame time. Eaſe and plenty make a People tumultuous, and a ſtate if it have no Enemies without it, will not very long ſtand without bringing ſome fourth out of it's own Bowels. The Inhabitants of *Toledo* for no ſufficient cauſe

muſt be quarrelling with the Government, many burthens and Grievances are pretended. *Alhaca* their King being a cunning and very cloſe man, and knowing *Ambroſius* the Governour of *Oſca* to be very acceptable to them, ſends him to them with Letters, wherein he caſts all the blame upon his Officers. They being more inclinable to rebell than furniſht with the Abilities of prudence and reſolution to carry them through a bold attempt, admit him int otheir Town, ſuſpecting nothing. He as cunningly Counterfeits himſelf the King's Enemy upon the account of ſeveral pretended diſobligations, and perſuades them to fortifie the City, by building a Caſtle (there where now ſtands the Church of St. *Chriſtopher*) and receiving a Garriſon. Theſe things being noiſed at Court, the King ſends *Abderrahman* his Son now twenty four years of Age to tame theſe Rebels, and he Counterfeiting the ſame Diſſatisfactions as *Ambroſius* had done under a ſhew of diſcontent revolts to them in the like manner, and is alſo received in. Now all things being prepared, five thouſand of the principal Townſmen are invited to a Feaſt, and when they leaſt thought it, have their throats cut, and ſo the Revolt of *Toledo*, as was congruous, Tragically ended. This might have been an example to their fellow Subjects; but yet ſuch as inhabited the Suburbs of *Corduba* were not hereby deterred from renouncing their obedience to *Alhaca*. To reduce them, one *Abdelcarin* was ſent who had got reputation by taking the City *Calagunis*, and waſting the Countrey round about it, he with leſs trouble reduced the Mutineers, the whole Controverſie being decided, by hanging three hundred of them, all *Moors*. And this was at ſuch time as the Chriſtians obtained a double victory over the *Moors*, who had invaded the Territories of the Chriſtians in a double body. As a conſequent of this victory, *Ores* the Governour of *Emerita* thought himſelf obliged to raiſe the ſiege of *Beneventum*, upon the coming of *Alfonſus*; and *Alcama* the *Moor*, the Governour of *Pax Auguſta*, was conſtrained to riſe from before *Sentica* which he had beſieged. Not long after, one *Mahomet* an eminent Citizen of *Emerita* for what cauſe is uncertain, yet out of fear of *Abderrahman* committed himſelf to the Protection of *Alfonſus*, and had a place aſſigned him to inhabit within the Territories of *Gallicia*: But eight years after he rebelled and ſeized on the Town of St. *Chriſtine*, yet were his deſigns fruſtrated by the timely coming of the King, and fifty thouſand were ſlain on both ſides, amongſt whom *Mahomet* himſelf, the Great revolter. *Alhaca* had the happineſs to ſee this Rebellion quieted, and then died in the twenty ſeventh year of his Reign, the two hundred and ſixth year of the *Arabians*; the eight hundred and twenty firſt year of our Lord. He left behind him nineteen Sons, and one and twenty Daughters, and was ſucceeded by *Abderrahman* his Son now above the Age of forty years.

A Maſſacre at *Toledo*.

Rem totam fuſius Rodericus Toletanus proſequitur in Arabum Hiſtoria & poſt illum in Chronicis Alfonſus Rex.

The Inhabitants of *Corduba* reduced to obedience.

A. D. 821.

Alhaca the *Miramamolin* dies, leaving *Abderrahman* the Second his Succeſſour.

39. So went the Affairs of *Spain*, and ſuch was the State of the *Saracenian* Kingdom, which containing the greateſt part of that vaſt Countrey, gives denomination to this Part of our Hiſtory. The other Kingdom began by *Pelagius*, and the riſe and progreſs of which we have ſeen was ſo ſmall and contemptible, in reſpect of that which was in being before the Coming of the *Moors*, that though it was founded by thoſe of the ſame ſtock, and its Subjects conſiſt of men of the ſame Nation with the former, yet bore not the Name of the *Goths* as the other had done, but that of the *Aſtures*, *Gallicia*, *Legio* (or *Leon*) or *Onetum*. But beſides this newly raiſed Kingdom, there was another ſtart-up at this time, of which hitherto we have taken no notice. For that of the *Goths* being broken in pieces as out of the Ruines of a vaſt building, ſeveral little ones were erected. Some of the poor diſtreſſed *Spaniards* flying as far as they could from the publick calamity, went into *Aſturia*, and there ſet up the Kingdom of *Leon*, as we have already ſhewed. Others ſeized on the tops of the *Pyrenæan* Hills and the places difficult of Acceſs, where the *Cantabri* and *Vaſcons* were ſeated, beſides the *Lucetani*, *Ilergetes* and *Ceretani*, where now are ſeen *Ripagorſa*, *Suprarbe* and *Vrgelia*. The fame of one *John*, a Religious perſon, cauſed many more to flock to thoſe parts, where being encouraged by the natural ſtrength of them, and invited to emulation by what their brethren had done in the Countrey of the *Aſtures*, they began to lay their heads together, how not onely to protect themſelves where they were, but to doe ſomething for caſting off the yoke of the *Saracens* from the neck of their Nation in general. After long and ſerious deliberation they reſolved, as *Pelagius* reigned in *Aſturia*, to have a King of their own to govern them, and made choice of one *Garſias Ximenius* to be the perſon, whom ſome will have deſcended of the Noble bloud of the *Goths*, otherwiſe nothing a-kin to the Royal family, but rather a *Spaniard*, as ſhould ſeem

Several petty Kingdoms.

Garſias Ximenius King of *Suprarbia*.

ſeem by his Name, yet doubtleſs of a moſt Noble Race, the *Regulus* of *Ameſena* and *Abarſuſa*. His Wife by Name *Eneca* was of as great Nobility.

40. At what time he began his Kingdom, Authours do not agree, though the moſt knowing place the Original of it near to the Advancement of *Pelagius*. But neither do they conſent about the Name or Title of this New Kingdom, ſome calling it the Kingdom of *Suprarbis*, others of *Navarre*, and others of the *Vaſcons*, ſo great is the obſcurity we have been forced to ſtruggle with in theſe *Spaniſh* matters. The Arms of this Kingdom was *a plain white ſhield*, without any Pictures, ſay the Learned, or Charges, that we may not be blamed by our Heralds for ſpeaking improperly. But *Garſias* having, it's ſaid, no greater an Army than ſix hundred men, with them did wonders. He took ſeveral Towns from the *Moors*, as *Jaſa* and *Suprarbis*, the chief of all *Municipia* or free Towns which afterward had the honour to be eſteemed the Metropolis of a Kingdom. This is agreed on on all ſides, that he did much for his time, and died after he had reigned, ſay ſome two and forty years, and was buried in a Church called St. *John a Pegna*, from the high Rock where it was built by *John* the *Anchoret* firſt, but was much enlarged, beautified and enriched by *Garſias*, and afterward became the *Mauſoleum* of the Kings his Succeſſours. He dying in the ſeven hundred and fifty eighth year of our Lord, was ſucceeded by his Son *Garſias Enecus*, who took his two Names from both thoſe of his Father and Mother. This was a Prince of great abilities, and as great felicity. By his induſtry and valour were the *Vaſcons*, who hitherto fluctuated betwixt the Kings of the *Aſtures*, the *Moors* and the *Franks*, fully ſetled in the obedience of him and his poſterity. He recovered *Pompolona*, the chief City of *Navarre*, with many other Towns and Forts, and extended his victorious Arms as far as that part of the bordering *Cantabria*, which bears the name of *Alava*. He is ſaid to have reigned forty four years, and then in the eight hundred and ſecond year of our Lord *Fortunius Garſias* to have ſucceeded, of whoſe actions many Romantick Stories are told by the Hiſtorians of the *Vaſcons*. He was at the Defeat (if a Defeat there was) of *Charles* the Great in the Valley of *Roſcida*. He reigned thirteen years, and then gave place to *Sanctius Garſias* his Son.

Who dying, *Garſias Enecus* his Son ſucceeds.

Who ſubdues the *Vaſcons*.

Recovers *Pompolona*.

Dies.

Fortunius Garſias ſucceeds.

Then *Sanctius Garſias*.

41. This *Sanctius* was a man of great Renown, did many things againſt the *Saracens*, out of the hands of whom he recovered the greateſt part of *Navarre*. He is ſaid to have reigned twenty years, and whether he left a Son or not, is uncertain. But either at or not long after his death his line failed, and then the Nobility is ſaid to have conſulted with Foreign Princes, as well as amongſt themſelves, what Conditions to put upon him who was to be elected. Leſt the next ſhould abuſe his power, they enacted ſeveral written Laws, commonly called in Latin *Forum Suprarbis*, tending to the keeping of the King in order, who ſhould doe nothing of moment without the conſent of twelve Noblemen to be choſen for that purpoſe; to the maintenance of their Liberties, and to this proviſion, that ſuch Lands as ſhould be taken from the *Moors* ſhould be divided betwixt the King and the Nobility. For the better effect of this, a middle perſon was choſen, commonly called the *Juſtitia* of *Aragon*, who having a power like to that of the Tribunes, and armed by the Laws and the Inclinations of the People, ſhould reſtrain the exorbitant Power of the King. He that was firſt elected, and ſubmitted to theſe Conditions, was *Enecus Sanctius*, from his ſwiftneſs ſirnamed *Ariſta* Count of *Bigorræ*, or of the *Bigerriones* in *Aquitain*. But theſe things are beyond the extent of this preſent Volume, we onely deſired not to break off abruptly, but to leave the Reader in as much clearneſs as can be, who muſt farther know, that at this ſame time there were Counts of *Aragon*, deſcended from *Aznar* the Son of *Eudo*, as we before hinted, who mixed their bloud by intermarrying with the Kings of *Suprarbis*, and at length the title of the Kingdom was altered from this of *Suprarbis*, to that of *Aragon*. At the ſame time there were alſo Counts of *Caſtile*, from whom proceeded many Kings afterward as well as Noble families, which to this very day continue. Theſe ſeveral Houſes and Kingdoms by degrees got ground of that of the *Saracens*, and at length being united, drove the Infidels quite out of *Spain*. But this happened many Ages after the time whereof we write.

Who recovers the greateſt part of *Navarre* from the *Saracens*.

His line failing.

The Nobility enact the *Forum Suprarbis*.

And the *Juſtitia* of *Aragon*.

And elect *Enecus Sanctius* for their King.

And the Counts of *Aragon*.

Counts of *Caſtile* joyning with others, drove the *Saracens* out of *Spain*.

FINIS.

THE
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Bavaria,

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FINIS.

UMI

AN INSTITUTION OF General Hiſtory, OR THE HISTORY OF THE Eccleſiaſtical Affairs OF THE WORLD.

Contemporary with The Second Part.

v. 2, pt. 2

CONTAINING
That of the *Roman* Empire, its firſt countenancing
and receiving Chriſtian Religion.

FROM
The Converſion of *Conſtantine* the *Great*, to the Fall of *Auguſtulus*,
and the Ruine of the Empire in the Weſt.

WITH
An Account of the Polity of the Church, and the
ſeveral Laws and Canons of Moment made, during the Reign of the Emperours both in Eaſt
and Weſt to this period.

By WILLIAM HOWEL, LL.D ſometimes Fellow of *Magdalen* College in *Cambridge*.

LONDON,
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UMI

TO THE
HIGH and MIGHTY
PRINCE,
JAMES the II.

King of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*,
Defender of the Faith, *&c.*

GREAT SIR,

AMONG the Crowds of Loyal Counties and Corporations that Addreſs themſelves unto Your MAJESTY, vouchſafe to permit a Deſolate Widow to approach into Your Sacred Preſence, to congratulate Your Happy and moſt Juſt Poſſeſſion of the Throne of theſe Kingdoms, by laying a ſmall Preſent at Your Royal Feet.

Which is due to Your MAJESTY by a double Title: both by Right of Succeſſion to our Late Gracious Soveraign, by whoſe Royal Bounty this Work was encouraged, and alſo by the Deſignment of the Author, who intended, had not His Death prevented it, to have Dedicated this Book *to His Royal Highneſs* JAMES *the Duke of* York, which I now moſt Humbly offer to *the Sacred Majeſty of King* JAMES *the Second.*

Whom I beſeech the King of Kings long to Preſerve Beloved of all His Subjects, Dreaded by all His Enemies, and Renowned to all Poſterity in the Hiſtory of future Ages.

So Prayeth with due Reverence,

Your Majeſties

Moſt Loyal Subject

Mary Howel.

PREFACE.

THE *Author having all along in his* firſt part, *intermixed the Eccleſiaſtical Affairs with the Secular, thought it would be moſt uſeful now, to repreſent them by themſelves, ſeparately, in a diſtinct Volume, which is here preſented to the Reader ; wherein he hath brought down his account of them, to the* Fall *of* Auguſtulus *and the* ruine *of the* Empire *in the* Weſt (*where the* Second part *ends*) *ſetting forth how the Great Emperour* Conſtantine *was converted to the Faith, and what means and methods he took to propagate the* Chriſtian Religion, *and deſtroy by degrees the long practiſed Idolatry of the* Pagan *World. With an account of the* Church Polity ; *what was its* Government, *who were its* Governours, *their ſeveral* Offices, Degrees, *and* Orders. *The Affairs of the Church follow from the* firſt *General Council of* Nice *againſt the* Arians, *to the Apoſtacy of* Julian ; *thence to the* Second *General Council, ſummoned by* Theodoſius the Firſt *at* Conſtantinople, *againſt the Hæreſie of* Macedonius : *thence to the* Third , *call'd by* Theodoſius the Second *to meet at* Epheſus ; *againſt the Hæreſie of* Neſtorius ; *and thence to the* Fourth, *called by* Martianus *to* Chalcedon , *againſt the Hæreſie of* Eutyches *and* Dioſcorus ; *and ſo down to the depoſing of* Auguſtulus, *and the Fall of the* Empire *in the* Weſt, *with the diviſion of the* Church *into the* Eaſt *and* Weſt. *The* Decrees *and* Canons *of each Council are ſet down, both for the ſettling good Order and Government, and for ſuppreſſing thoſe Schiſms and Hæreſies which the Devil raiſed by his aſpiring Agents, that by ſowing ſuch* Tares *he might ſpoyl* Chriſts Husbandry.

In particular, that ſupream Authority *uſurped by the* Roman Biſhop *is repreſented, how, and by what means it was firſt pretended to, but ever rejected by the whole* Catholick Church: *Which gives to each* Metropolitan *the ſole juriſdiction over his own* Flock, *not any* General Commiſſion *to any* one *whatſoever, for the ſuperviſing of* all, *their* Authority *being* equal, *and their* Power *the* ſame.

Thus far he proceeded, and left it finiſhed under his own hand, as we teſtifie, who have ſeen the Original.

H. London.
Tho. Ruffen.
Sy. Patrick D. D,
Will. Denton M. D,
Rich. Aſhfeild Gen.

THE
Church Hiſtory,
OR THE
ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS
Contemporary with the
Conſtantinopolitan Roman
EMPIRE.

Chap. I.

The Hiſtory of the Reformation of Religion by Conſtantine.

1. Sufferings had hitherto been the Character of the Church, and the Profeſſors of Chriſtianity, the more Active and Vigorous they appear'd, the more exquiſite Torments they were ſure to undergo; the Kings and Potentates of the Earth inſtead of being her Nurſing-Fathers, had all along made uſe of their utmoſt Power and policy not only to Curb and Check her growing Greatneſs, but utterly to extirpate her from off the face of the Earth; ſo that what Advances ſhe yet made were in deſpight of the Malice of her Perſecutors, and the Fruits ſhe brought forth were the bleſſed product of the Blood of her Martyrs. But now in compaſſion to her Afflictions, and in pity to the Pangs and Struglings ſhe laboured under, God raiſes up *Conſtantine*, not only to be a Protector, but himſelf a Profeſſor of Chriſtianity, that ſo his Church might have ſome reſpite, and enjoy at leaſt a breathing-while in the midſt of theſe her Terrours and Agonies.

The Church and State united.

2. The Name of Chriſt had mightily prevail'd, and the Church of God was upheld by a moſt powerful Support before ever ſhe leaned on the *Roman* Scepter, the Wings upon which ſhe was Born, and under which ſhe was Cheriſhed and Defended, were ſtronger and more large then thoſe of the *Roman* Eagle, which hitherto had improved the Vigour of its Eyes, ſtrength of its Beak, and ſharpneſs of its Talents in vain, againſt this Bird of Paradiſe. Neither was it out of need of Reputation, that the *Roman* Faſces now was to be vailed to the Croſs, the Churches Majeſty and Glory never more appearing, than when ſhe was moſt clouded by Sufferings and Worldly Prejudice; as the deepeſt and blackeſt Clouds are moſt capable of receiving the reflection of the Suns Beauties, and a thick Air the beſt Medium to diſcover the Brightneſs of Heavenly Bodies. Theſe ſtupendious Miracles that ſtopped and diverted the courſe of Nature her ſelf, both in the bigger and leſſer World; in that by the production of Wonders to the outward Senſes, in this by working Effects perceivable both by the outward and inward Sight, to ſuch as were not blinded by ignorance, prejudice or affectation, demon-

monſtrated ſuch incomparable Beauty, as would dazle all the Glories of the World though contracted into one Sun. Miracles wrought upon material Subjects, and ſuch as neither the Art of *Pagans*, nor Skill of the Falſe Gods (who were alſo obnoxious to the ſame Commands) could work, carried with them ſufficient Evidence; but thoſe that appeared in Mens minds, transformed quite from their ordinary Condition, by ſuch Virtues as were but Antiently Pictured on the greateſt Philoſophers, carried along with them abſolute demonſtrations to unprejudiced Judgments, and left others without excuſe. But contempt of the φόϐερων φοϐερώτατον made much more ſure by the Circumſtances attending it; Triumph I ſay over Death, maniſeſted not only the Reality but Glory of the Truth,. which ſtruck the World with admiration and conviction, for that the only Prodigy now, that Man ſeemed, who could be ſo ſtupid as not to believe. Greater were the Conqueſts the Church made by her Spiritual Weapons, *viz.* Prayers and Tears, than by the acceſſion of Secular Arms, and ſtronger her Natural Power (that is alſo Spiritual) Reputation, than that ſhe obtained by the addition of a Temporal Crown.

3. Yet was ſhe to try all Conditions, and be now refreſhed after ſo great Conflicts as ſhe had ſuſtained. Gods Power is alſo ſeen in calling thoſe that have the greateſt Temptations, and in giving ſight to ſuch whoſe Eyes are put out by too near Approximation to Worldly, but dazling Objects: Neither were ſuch Functions as he Eſtabliſhed by his own Inſtitution to be diſowned by a want of real and the beſt Acknowledgments, nor ſuch as were Gods in this Life by his appointment, to be the only Perſons that were to be Devils in that to come. Therefore after 312. Years or more (during which ſpace we have no aſſurance that any *Roman* Prince unfeignedly became a Chriſtian) *Conſtantine* the Emperour the Son of *Conſtantius* and *Helena* a Britiſh Woman Converted to the Faith by a Viſion of a Croſs ſeen in the Air, wherein was this *Greek* Inſcription, ἐν τȣ́τω νικᾶ, or, *In this Overcome*, as he Marched againſt *Maxentius* the great Perſecutor of Chriſtians. This all Chriſtian Writers affirm, and as (*a*) *Euſebius* tells us, *Conſtantine* himſelf by Oath affirmed; neither need we at all to queſtion the Truth of it; For that God made uſe of Miracles upon extraordinary Occaſions, we muſt not doubt, and ſuch we muſt confeſs this to have been, if the extraordinary Condition of the Perſon, and the vaſt Conſequences be duly conſidered. That Miracles as at this time were not ceaſed utterly, we may believe from that reaſon which was ever the final Cauſe of them, and from the Teſtimony of ſeveral Writers, who diſcourſe of the firſt Plantation of Religion amongſt Barbarous Nations long after this Seaſon, whom it is little leſs than arrogance to Condemn of Falſhood (although perhaps too Credulous in ſome Particulars) becauſe as extraordinary means ſeem neceſſary for the Converſion of Later, as were uſed for the Conviction of former Diſciples. This Converſion of *Conſtantine* was in the Seventh of his Reign, the Fourth Year of the 272. Olympiad, of *Rome* the 1065. *A. D.* 312. He himſelf the Second time, and *Licinius* his Colleague alſo the ſecond time being Conſuls.

Conſtantine Converted to the Faith.

(*a*) *In vita Conſtantini, cap.* 22.

4. Being fully inſtructed in that way into which he had been ſo Miraculouſly led, he reſolved to proceed in deſpight of all oppoſition, he found the Church in ſuch a Caſe as required an Healing, helping and delivering, not an adorning hand, her Wounds were deep and her Enemies ſtrong, and many who lately had got ſuch ſucceſs, as they eſteemed it, that puffed up in their Imaginations they determined to think of oppoſition for the future, although the Blood of the Martyrs, contrary both to their expectation and deſire, ſtill proved the Seed of the Church. Knowing therefore, like a Skilful Phyſitian, the true Method of her Cure, he firſt applyed ſuch a Medicine, as both ſhould heal her Wounds, and what was more, make her Sword Proof for the time to come; Publiſhing an Edict both in his own Name and that of *Licinius*, (after the Victory obtained againſt *Maxentius*) whereby it is declared, that (*a*) *Liberty henceforth be denied to none, of Chuſing or Following the Chriſtian Service and Religion; but that Liberty be granted to every one, to addict his mind to that Religion, which he thinketh fit for him.* A ſlow but ſure pace in things of ſuch Conſequence and difficulty is the beſt, all ſudden and Violent Mutations are as to the Body Natural, ſo alſo to the Civil and Spiritual very dangerous, one very Pletherick and weak is gently to be Purged, leſt together with ſome Humours, Life it ſelf is forced out; neither is a quite contrary Dyet allowed all on a ſudden, by that genuine ſaying of *Æſculapius Feſtina lente*, *Conſtantine* had learnt from one of his Predeceſſors; and *ſat cito, ſi ſat bene*, he knew agreeable to Chriſtian Politicks. It is true that Idolatry is not to be

By an Edict gives Liberty of Conſcience.

(*a*) *Euſebius Hiſt. Lib.* 10. *cap.* 5.

per-

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permitted a Moment, and the firſt Minute is the fitteſt to aboliſh it: But a poſſibility muſt then be allowed. Idolatry had taken too deep Root to be Eradicated in an inſtant, nay, many Years were required to do it as we ſhall ſee in due time and order, Long Preſciption and preſent Poſſeſſion are great obſtacles to diſſeiſin, eſpecially when backed with Dignity and Power. And ſuch was the Tenure Idolatry held by at this time, Fool-hardineſs and fury are the greateſt Enemies to Religion; a thing of the greateſt Sobriety and profound Prudence in the World.

Orders the Church Lands to be reſtored, and is further kind to the Church.

Omits the Celebration of the Secular Games.

5. *Conſtantine* having thus ſecured the being, as much as in him lay, provided for the well-being (*a*) of Chriſtians, not only by his private Contributions; but by an (*b*) Edict in his Name and that of *Licinius*, directed to *Anulinus* Proconſul of *Africk*, whereby it is decreed that Poſſeſſions or any Goods belonging to the ‘Church in former Times, ſhould be reſtored, (*c*) and Freeing the Biſhops and ‘Clergy-men from publick Burthens, ſuch (*d*) as were Baniſhed into Iſlands, or elſwhere, or (*e*) Condemned to the Mines, were reſtored to their Natural Freedom; ‘Honours (*f*) both Military and Civil, were reſtored to ſuch as had loſt them upon ‘this account. The (*g*) Eſtates of Martyrs, Profeſſors of Religion, or ſuch as forſook their Country for the ſake of it, were appointed to the next a Kin; and ‘to (*h*) thoſe that had not Kindred, the Church became Heirs; provided that whatſoever they gave in their Life-time ſhould ſtand good. Thoſe (*i*) that poſſeſſed their ‘Lands, Orchards and Houſes, were Compelled to reſtore them back, but not ‘to make any ſatisfaction for the Rents or Fruits which they had received. (*k*) All ‘Church Lands or Goods in poſſeſſion of the Imperial Crown, he reſtored. He ‘(*l*) deſired all Men to be Chriſtians, but compelled none, ſtriving by the greatneſs ‘of his Example to draw them to the Truth; for his Palace (*m*) reſembled a Church, ‘where Godly People aſſembled together; and he refuſed to celebrate the Secular ‘Games which fell in his Third Conſulſhip, to the great grief of the *Pagans*, ‘who accounted them Inſtituted by their Gods, and preſented by the Sybilline ‘Oracles for remedies againſt Famine Plague and VVar, they accounted therefore this Omiſſion of them as an Ominous ſign of the Ruin of the Empire, and *Zozimus* moſt bravely avoweth it ſuch, having no other Deſign as he himſelf witneſſeth of Writing his Hiſtory, then to ſhow forſooth that the Ruin of the Empire came by the means of Chriſtians.

(*a*) *Euſeb. Hiſt. Lib.* 10. *Cap.* 2. & 6.
(*b*) *Idem. ibid. Cap.* 5.
(*c*) *idem ibid Cap.* 7.
(*d*) *Idem in vita Caſ c.* 30. 31.
(*e*) *Idem ibid Cap,* 32.
(*f*) *Cap* 33. 34.
(*g*) *Cap.* 35.
(*h*) *Cap.* 36.
(*i*) *Cap.* 37.
(*k*) *Cap* 39
(*l*) *Idem l.* 2. *Cap.* 55.
(*m*) *Idem l.* 4. *c.* 17.

6. The Original and cauſe of all Miſchiefs, he maketh the Omiſſion of this Solemnity by *Conſtantine*, whom like an Heathen and prejudiced Perſon, he loadeth with all ſorts of Calumnies out of Malice; whereas it's clear by Teſtimony of all Writers, that the Ages wherein theſe Secular Games were Celebrated, neither wanted Plague, Famine nor War, but conflicted with all ſorts of Miſeries; and in the contrary, this preſent was vow'd of them being very Fortunate both to the City and the World; ſo many Tyrants and Barbarous Enemies being Suppreſſed; but when through the importunity of the *Gentiles* theſe Games were reſtored by permiſſion of *Honorius* the Chriſtian Emperour, the former Evils returned as we ſhall ſee in due place. But the *Pagans* greviouſly Troubled and Afflicted with this proſperity of Chriſtianity, which they ſaw could not be Extirpated by ſuch and ſo many Perſecutions, to divert their Grief, invented certain Greek Verſes, as given out to one that conſulted an Oracle wherein they declared *Chriſt* innocent of this Error of Sacriledge as they called it, but accuſed St. *Peter* as Author of that wickedneſs that he might be Worſhipped in Chriſts Name, for the ſpace of 365. Years, after which time this Worſhip was to have an end without delay.

Prohibits Chriſtians to be ſold for Proſtitution.

7. *Conſtantine* continuing his Reformation as the Times and import of the matter would bear, in the Tenth Year of his Reign, and the Third of his Converſion, he publiſhed an Edict whereby he prohibited, that any Chriſtian Maid-Servants ſhould be delivered into the hands of Bawds, which (*a*) is yet extant. He made alſo another mentioned by (*b*) St. *Hierome* and *Sozomenus*, though not extant in the ‘(*c*) Code, whereby he put down the filthy Stews in the Fornices where amongſt ‘Whores, Boys alſo ſtood and were publickly expoſed as Merchandiſe for Luſt: As alſo another mentioned by (*d*) *Lampridius*, hath periſhed which forbad Eunuchs (the plague of Princes of thoſe times) to bear any Offices of Majeſtracy, he alſo thought a thing ſutable to Chriſtian moderation (that we may mention a thing not altogether ſo proper to this Subject) to mitigate the Severity of puniſhment formerly due to Malefactors, Repealing by an Edict of this ſame Year, that (*e*) Law and Cuſtom whereby ſuch as were condemned to the Gladiator's School, and the Mines were to be branded in the Face, ordering the Cauſe of their Condemnation

(*a*) *c. th. de lenon. Lib.* 1.
(*b*) 2. *in Eſaiam.*
(*c*) *Lib.* 1. *cap* 8.
(*d*) *in. Alex.*
(*e*) *L.* 2. *cod. th. de pœnis.*

ſhould be marked either in their Hands or Legs, leaſt as he ſaith the Face which is formed according to Celeſtial Beauty, ſhould be disfigured, which Cuſtom by him thus brought in, is ſtill obſerved amongſt us, except in caſes of ſome Hainous offence deſerving a publick Character of Infamy; although the (f) *Thracians* accounted it (ſuch is the diverſity of thoughts and manners) a note of Nobility to have their Hands Marked (whence came the Proverb *Thraciæ notæ*) as alſo the *Sarmacians* and *Dacians*, according to (g) *Pliny*, and the *Tentans* as (h) *Tertullian* writeth. The *Syrians* (i) were wont alſo to be Stigmatized in their Hands or Necks.

(f) *Cælius Rhodig. Antiq. lect. l. 7 cap.* 31.

(g) *Lib.* 22. *cap.* 1.

(h) *de virg. veland.*

(i) *Lucian in nova Syria.*

Reſtrains the Inſolence of the *Jews*.

8. This Year alſo (that we may return to our proper Subject) *Conſtantine* by an (a) Edict, reſtrained the Sawcy impudence of the *Jews*, who were wont when any of their Sect turned Chriſtian, to throw Stones at him and abuſe him, with other ſorts of Violence. Such as ſhould do the like for the time to come, he commands to be Burnt whith all their Abettors; and ſubjects all Chriſtians to the ſame puniſhment that ſhall turn to their Religion. About this time it appeareth from *Chryſoſtom*, that the *Jews* Rebelled though in what Year is not expreſſed, for which crime *Conſtantine* Cauſed their Ears to be cut off, and led up and down in all places, as Fugitive Slaves that their Brethren might be adviſed how to carry themſelves towards Chriſtians; but afterward they were quiet, and living in Dutiful Obedience, had the ſame favour as other Subjects, which his Reſcripts made in their behalf ſufficiently declare.

(a) C. *Th. l.* 1. *de Judæis.*

9. Such was the Progreſs *Conſtantine* made in the Reformation of Religion, whilſt as yet he Governed the Empire in Conjunction with *Licinius*, which at firſt ſeeming to joyn with him, afterwards turned Perſecutor in thoſe Dominions that were ſubject to him. He being overthrown, taken Priſoner, and put to Death, he proceeded with greater Vigour, having by ſeveral Edicts recalled Chriſtianity, Baniſhed as it were out of thoſe Parts; Eſtabliſhed the Church almoſt utterly Overturned and Deſolate, reſtored ſuch as had either been forced or Fled for ſafety from their own Countrys, Releaſed them that were Condemned either to Priſon or the Mines, reſtored ſuch to Liberty as had been made Slaves upon the account of Conſcience; reſtored all to their Eſtates and Dignities, and provided for the Heirs of Martyrs that they ſhould Succeed them according to Law and Conſcience; and if they had no Kindred, then their Eſtates ſhould fall to the Church, provided that whatſoever they gave in their Life-time ſhould ſtand Firm. All thoſe things were included in an Edict, which preſently he put in Execution, diſanulling whatſoever the Tyrants had done, ſo that reſtitution was made to the right Owners according to Law and the Tenour of the ſaid Edict.

Conſule Euſeb. in vita Conſtantini cap. 19. *uſq; ad.* 42

He prefers Chriſtians to places of Honour and prohibits Idolatry.

10. Now the Biſhops were reſtored to their Sees, and Idolatry was more oppoſed then ever. *Conſtantine* (a) proceeding to other matters of great Moment, conferring many Dignities on Chriſtians, and making them Governours of divers Provinces, but ſuch as were devoted to Heatheniſm he prohibited to ſacrifice to Idols: For he made a new Law, that if they were Chriſtians all Governours of Provinces ſhould behave themſelves as became that glorious Title; but if they were otherwiſe affected, he commanded that they ſhould not Sacrifice to Idols. Not long after he publiſhed an Edict (b) againſt *Aruſpices* or South-ſayers, who privately in other Mens Houſes followed their Trade: And about the ſame time he freed (c) all Clergy-men from Offices, except ſuch who for to ſhun all civil Imployments, had upon deſign betaken themſelves to that Function. But when many abuſed this Priviledge and Immunity granted to the Clergy, the Emperour (d) commanded afterward that ſuch only ſhould Succeed them that Dyed as were poor and not liable to publick Imployments.

(a) *idem ibid. cap.* 43.

(b) *l.* 1. & 2. *c. Th. de malef.*

(c) *c. Th. l.* 2. *de Epiſc. & cler. l.* 16. *tit.* 2. §. 3.

(d) *c. Th. l.* 16. *tit.* 2. §. 3.

He makes an Edict concerning the obſervation of the Lords day.

11. The Year following being the 16 of his Reign, the 13 of his Converſion, *Claudius Cæſar* the ſecond time and *Conſtantinus Cæſar* alſo the ſecond time being Conſuls, he publiſhed an Edict for the obſervation of the Lords Day (a) forbiding all Artificers to work in Cities, but permitting the Exerciſe of Agriculture (b) as alſo Manumiſſions and Mancipations to be made on that day.

Euſebius in the Hiſtory (c) of his Life (a Treatiſe written in an Encomiaſtick way without Method or order) tells us how he ordained that the Lords Day ſhould be Conſecrated unto Prayer, being the chief and firſt Day of the Week, choſe Grave Religious Men to be Deacons and Chaplains in his Court, and had a ſtrong Guard about his Perſon, who as they were faithful to their Prince, ſo by his example learnt to be Religious towards God, and to obſerve the Lords Day, by devoting it to Prayer. And this Gracious Prince, ſaith he perſuaded others to this pious Duty; ſtill praying that by degrees he might bring all Men to the knowledge

(a) *c. Juſt. l.* 3. *tit.* 3. §. 12.

(b) *c. Th. l.* 2. *tit.* 8. §. 1.

(c) *Lib.* 4. *cap,* 18, 19. &c

ledge of God: Wherefore he Commanded that throughout the *Roman* Empire, they ſhould forbear to Labour on the Lords Day, and that they ſhould have a reſpect to the days immediately preceeding the Sabbath, in regard of our Saviours memorable Actions performed on thoſe days; here is the Sixt *Feria* or that we call *Fryday*, eſpecially meant as *Sozomenus* (*d*) telleth, is becauſe on that day Chriſt was Crucyfied. But whereas *Conſtantine* in his Edict calls it not the Lords Day after the Eccleſiaſtcal manner, but *Dies Solis* or Sunday, thence ſome (*e*) collect that this Law was impoſed as well upon *Gentiles* as others.

(*d*) *Lib.* 1. *cap.* 8.

(*e*) *Baronius ad*

A. D. 321.

12. (*a*) *Euſebius* indeed tells us that he inſtructed his whole Army to reverence and obſerve this Holy and Happy day, which was called Sunday, giving Liberty to thoſe by a Divine inſtinct, who had imbraced the Faith, that they might freely frequent the Church of God; and there without any Moleſtation offer up their Prayers unto him. But others that had not yet taſted the ſweetneſs of Divine Knowledge, he commanded that on the Lords day they ſhould go into the Fields, belonging to the Suburbs of the City where they ſhould meet, and joyn together in Prayer to God: For he ſaid that they ought not only to uſe their Spears, or put their confidence in Weapons or ſtrength of Body, but to acknowledge God to be the giver, and as of all other things, ſo of Victory; to whom with Hearts and Hands lifted up to Heaven, we ought to render due Praiſe and Prayer, to beſeech him who is the giver of Victories, to Keep, Protect and Defend us. He preſcribed alſo to his Souldiers a certain Form of Prayer in Latin, which he commanded them to uſe after this manner. (*b*) *We acknowledge thee the only God, we confeſs thee to be our King; we invoke thee as our helper; by thee we have obtained Victories, by thee we have overcome our Enemies, from thee we enjoy our preſent Happyneſs, And hope we ſhall obtain one that is to come, we all become thy Suppliants, beſeeching thee to preſerve long our Emperour* Conſtantine *ſafe and Victorious, with his hopeful Progeny.* This Form of Prayer he commanded his Souldiers to uſe on Sundays, and in their daily Devotions; (*c*) cauſing alſo the Sign of the Croſs to be Ingraven upon their Armour, and to be carried before the Army, which it was to follow, and not any Golden Standard as formerly. And he not only ſent this Edict for obſervation of the Lords Day to all Governours of Provinces, but alſo for (*d*) keeping ſuch Holydays as were Conſecrated to the Memory of the Martyrs; and for the ſolemn obſervation of the Feaſts of the Church, all which was performed according to the Emperours Commands.

(*a*) *Lib.* 4. *vitæ Conſt. cap.* 19.

(*b*) *Idem. ibid. cap.* 20.

Preſcribes a prayer to be uſed by his Souldiers.

(*c*) *Idem. ibid. cap.* 21.

(*d*) *Idem. ibid. cap.* 23.

13. This Year he alſo publiſhed a (*a*) Conſtitution againſt Witches, Inchanters, and ſuch as by Invocation of Devils, raiſed Tempeſts or diſturbed the Brains of Men. By (*b*) another he gave Liberty to any one to leave by his Will to the Church whatſoever he pleaſed, whereby the Riches of the Clergy ſo vaſtly increaſed with time to the great detriment of the Civil State, that Succeeding Princes, were forced to make Laws of Mortmain, for reſtraining of ſuch Liberality as we ſhall ſee hereafter, by an Edict (*c*) alſo he preſſed the Re-edifying of Churches. But he ſeemeth in the latter end of this Year, to have pulled down ſome of the Buildings he had raiſed, by another Conſtitution (*d*) or Reſcript to *Maximus* Præfect of the City, whereby then reſiding at *Sardica*, he commanded the *Aruſpices* or *Soothſayers* to be Conſulted about ſome Prodigies that had lately happened, and permitted this to be done publickly by all others, a Fact unworthy of a Chriſtian Emperour, eſpecially ſo Zealous as he ſeemed to be, for it's one thing to Connive at a fault, which there is not ſufficient power and opportunity to puniſh, and another to reſtore an unlawful Cuſtom formerly prohibited, and to Eſtabliſh Iniquity by a Law. Hence *Zozimus* might be ſo bold as to aſſert that *Conſtantine* till this time although againſt his will, to pleaſe the Senate followed the Pagan Superſtition.

Enacts a Law againſt Witches &c. and is farther kind to the Church.

(*a*) *l.* 4. *c. de malef.*

(*b*) *c. Th. l.* 4. *de Epiſc. & cler. & l.* 16. *tit.* 2. §. 4.

(*c*) *c. Th. l.* 15. *tit.* 1. § 2.

(*d*) *c. th. l.* 1. *de Pagan.*

By another he commands the *Aruſpices* to be conſulted.

14. That this his Aſſertion is falſe, the former Laws ſufficiently declare, and not only our own Hiſtorians. Yet hence take occaſion to obſerve that *Conſtantine* by reaſon of difficulty and importance of the thing, was Conſtrained to Act with great care and Circumſpection, both towards the Senate as yet *Pagan* for the moſt part, and the People, and ſo to have obſerved his own Religion as in ſo tickliſh a time, not to undo all by once doing, but inſinuating things by degrees, as the publick Affairs and Exigence of times would Comport, to have conſtrained none to his own (though beſt) way, and proceeded but ſlowly and warily in overthrowing Idolatry, as we ſhall farther ſee hereafter, however ſome Writers out of their own Zeal magnifie what they themſelves deſired, meaſuring his Commendation by the Standard of their own inclinations, whilſt they looked more at what ſhould, then what could be, and being better Church-men and

Politicians (even in a Chriſtian Sence) by their Panegyrical Flouriſhes, extoll that for zeal, which had it been practiced might through the unſeaſonable application, proved the overthrow of that they moſt deſired ſhould be eſtabliſhed.

15. By their præcipitancy and imprudence (as in ſuch Caſes Princes never want thoſe about them of ſuch Temper, and would be at their Journeys end e're they can well ſet out) might the Emperour be brought to do what he might be tempted afterwards to recall, and thereby both Sin in Eſtabliſhing that by a Law, which it might have been no Sin to permit with ſorrow, when he could not hinder it: As alſo diſcourage Profeſſors, and caſt a great blemiſh upon Religion; or elſe not only venture the overthrow of Religion, and reducing it to its former afflicted Condition, but endanger his Crown and Dignity by Seditions. For the occaſion of this Reſcript, appeareth to have been a great ſuſpicion the *Pagans* had, that by degrees he would Eradicate their Superſtition; becauſe about a Year a go he had the ſecond time written againſt *Aruſpices*, which exerciſed their Art in private Houſes. Leaving them to be accordingly Alarmed, hereby it is probable that by an Inſurrection or ſome dangerous attempt, he recalled what he had formerly done, and eſtabliſhed the thing he prohibited. For as (x) one obſerveth, ſeeing that in this Reſcript he declareth that all have Liberty to follow that way of Divination, ſo they abſtain from private Superſtition and Domeſtick Sacrifices; he plainly ſignifieth that by ſome other Edict he had prohibited the publick Exerciſe of *Aruſpicina*, which it ſeems had wonderfully incenſed the *Pagans* and excited them to Seditious Attempts, the *Aruſpicina* being of vaſt Eſteem and Authority at *Rome*, as it is evident from the Law of the 12 Tables which (x) *Cicero* reciteth and explaineth. But ſome pretend to obſerve that after this ungodly Edict, whereas *Conſtantine* formerly had all things according to his hearts deſire, ſo that none ever were more happy and proſperous in Government, now began to feel Gods indignation, ſuch a Domeſtick Fewd ariſing (as *David* formerly had been puniſhed) that he polluted his hands with the Blood of his deareſt Relations, and was in danger of utter Ruin, had he not expiated the Offence committed againſt Chriſtian Religion, by a certain Remedy.

The occaſion thereof.

(x) *Baronius ad,* *A.D.* 322.

(x) *de legibus, lib.* 2.

Which tending much to the prejudice of the Church.

16. For, whereas by the forementioned Reſcript, he had ordered the *Soothſayers* to be Conſulted, the *Gentiles* taking heart hereat, were ſo puffed up that hoping the Emperour had returned to their Superſtition, they endeavoured to force the Chriſtians to a partaking of their Myſteries: Whereupon *Conſtantine* publiſhed this Conſtitution following.

The Emperour *Conſtantine Auguſtus* to *Helpidius*.

Whereas we have found that certain Eccleſiaſticks, and the reſt that obey the Catholick Party. are compelled to the Sacrifices of the Luſtra, by Men of ſeveral Religions; We Ordain by this Conſtitution, that if any one go about to Compell thoſe who are Subjects to the moſt Holy Law, to any Rite of a ſtrange Superſtition, if his State and Condition bear it, he ſhall be beaten with Rods publickly; but if the Condition of his Degree or Honour do withſtand this as an Injury, let him be Fined to publick uſe, as much as poſſibly he may. Given at Sirmium. *on the* 8. *of the Calends of* June, Severus *and* Rufinus *being Conſuls, that is,* A. D. 323.

By another Law he forbids Chriſtians to be forced to partake thereof.

17. From this Conſtitution we ſhall firſt obſerve, that the *Gentiles* had their Sacrifices and Heatheniſh Rites, either Entire or for the moſt part preſerved as ſuch to this time, and that publickly Celebrated, eſpecially in *Rome* and *Italy*; which were moſt Tenacious of *Pagan* Superſtition throughout the *Weſt*, as appeareth alſo by other (a) Conſtitutions of *Conſtantine*. For *Helpidius* to whom the Conſtitution is directed, for the prevention and puniſhment of the Injury, was then Vicar of the City or *Italy*, being two Years before called the (b) vicegerent of the *Prſæctus Prætorio*, and in (c) another directed to him, mention is made of the Port of the City of *Rome*, and (c) another Law which hath the ſame Inſcription, is propounded to the *Carali* a City of *Sardinia*. But by thoſe Sacrifices of the *Luſtra* (*Luſtrorum Sacrificia*) are not to be meant the Luſtrations of private and common Solemnities, properly ſo called and Celebrated on certain days proper thereunto, neither ſuch as Fathers of Families made in their Corn Fields, that theſe Calamities, *Mors labes nubula impetigo peſeſtas* (or Peſtilence) which were moſt proper Terms as (d) *Feſtus* witneſſeth to theſe ſorts of Solemnities; might be prevented, as in an old Ruſtick (e) Calender it's found Written, in the

The ſeveral kinds of the *Luſtra*

(a) *Tit. de maleficis & Mathematicis Paganis, Sacrificiis & Templis.*

(b) C. *Juſtin, l.* 6. *de edificiis privatis.*

(c) *&* C. *Th. l.* 4. *de naviculariis.*

(c) C. *Th. l.* 1. *de feriis.*

(d) *in voce Peſeſtas.*

(e) *vide Jacob. Gothofred. de interdict. chriſtianorum cum Gentilibus communicatione.*

the Month of *May*, *Segetes Luſtrantur*, and in that of *April*, *Oves Luſtrantur*. Neither are in this place, to be underſtood the *Luſtra*, which were wont to be Celebrated at *Rome* by the *Cenſors*; after the *Cenſus* of Citizens was made by a Sacrifice of the *Suonetaurilia*; for they had ceaſed long ago, as appeareth by what *Cenſorinus* writeth in his Book *de Die Natali*; at which time the Office of *Cenſors* alſo Ceaſed, which ſome endeavoured, though in vain, to re-eſtabliſh.

18. By the Sacrifices of *Luſtra*, here are meant Publick and Solemn Luſtrations, which were Celebrated about the *Pomærium* of the City and the Fields, in a Proceſſion called *Amburbia* and *Amburvalis*: The Beaſts to be Sacrificed, being led about with certain Verſes uttered in a Set and Solemn Feaſt-day; theſe were Solemnized upon ſeveral Occaſions, as for the Fruitfulneſs of the Earth, and Plenty of Grain; upon inſpection of the Sybiline Books, and a *Lectiſternium* made for the procurement of the Peace of the Gods, as it was termed, or upon Threats of great Dangers, for Defence of the Country againſt Foreign Enemies; in which Solemnities there was a Luſtration by intervention of a Torch, Sulphur, and Water, and Water was ſprinkled according to *Tertullian*; of this ſort Anciently were the *Armiluſtra*, whereby the Army in the *Campus Martius* was Luſtrated by Sacrifice, as were *Navies*, *Temples*, *Altars*, and Pipes called *Tubæ*, whence came the word called *Tubiluſtria*, concerning which the Teſtimonies of the Antients are very obvious.

The Gothick ſports are celebrated by the *Pagans*.

19. That this Conſtitution not only reſpecteth ſuch *Luſtra* as were made againſt the Plague, or for benefit of the Villages; but alſo for Victory againſt an Enemy, the Characteriſm of the Date of it ſeemeth ſufficiently to Witneſs. For this ſame Year, and the Conſulſhip of *Severus* and *Rufinus*, the *Goths* made an Incurſion into the Empire, and waſted *Thrace* and *Mæſia*, whom *Conſtantine* Repulſed, and thence were Celebrated the Gothick Sports, whereof *Porphyry* in his Panegyrick, Ancient Coins, and other things written concerning thoſe Times bear mention, as the Calender called *Calendarium Hemagianum*, the Author of *Conſtantine*'s Life, and an Anonymous of *Sirmundus* or *Valeſius*. Now the *Pagans* thought they could more eaſily force Chriſtians to thoſe Solemnities, becauſe they were Celebrated without the more Superſtitious Rites and Ceremonies; as perhaps without mutations of the *Victimæ*, and Circumductions already aboliſhed, neither Sacrifices of the *Hoſtiæ* (for it is requiſite to expreſs thoſe things in their proper Latin Terms) ſo that it ſeemed not ſo clear, but that Chriſtians, without wounding their Conſciences, might be preſent at them: And the publick Profit was pretended, as the welfare of the Prince and Empire; in which caſe to them, as *Apuleius* ſaith in his firſt Apology, nothing ſeemed Criminous.

Nihil quod ferendum ſalutis gratia fit criminoſam.

And in ſome ſort countenanced by the Emperour.

20. And indeed *Conſtantine* himſelf in another buſineſs, ſeemed to Subſcribe to their Opinion, before the making of this Law; by giving way to thoſe Spells and Inchantments which were uſed for the Health of his Subjects, leſt Divine Favours or the Labours of Men ſhould be aboliſhed. Which Conſtitution *Juſtinian* is juſtly wondred at for putting into his Code, and *Leo Philoſophus* aboliſhed out of as juſt Indignation. Although that *Conſtantine* afterwards receded from it: The Learned *Gothifred* doth not doubt, ſeeing he Abrogated the uſe of the *Aruſpicina*, which he had formerly Tolerated as we have ſeen, under pretence therefore of publick Safety, eſpecially the *Gentiles* believed that Chriſtians were to be Compelled to the Sacrifices of the *Luſtra*, Old Cuſtoms and Rites uſed by Anceſtors Time out of mind, carrying ever a great ſhew of Reaſon, if meant out of Devotion to Prince and Commonwealth; which pretence *Theodoſius Junior* Condemneth by a Conſtitution, concerning the obſervation of the Lords-day, as we ſhall ſee in due time and place. So that the *Pagans* objected to Chriſtians Impiety and Irreverence towards their Prince and Country, who on the other ſide refuſed to joyn in this Solemnity, or be defiled by Idolatry; rejecting Communion in all ſuch Caſes, however ſuch things were covered by a ſpecious Pretence of the Publick Safety; whence the Calumny of *Zozimus* appeareth manifeſt, who writes that *Innocent* Biſhop of *Rome*, in the Time of *Honorius* amongſt ſuch Fears and Dangers as were then great, becauſe of the *Gothick* War, concented to certain *Pagan* Rites for defence of the Empire, *preferring the Publick Safety*, ſaith he, *before his own opinion*. And like to this is his other ſlander of *Conſtantine* himſelf, who he ſaith till this time gave Credit to the *Aruſpices* though a Chriſtian. But by thoſe Slanders of *Zozimus* we may learn that the true and proper Judgment of Chriſtians, was to abſtain from Communion with *Gentiles*.

C. Th. l. 3. de. maleficis & Matth.

Novella. 65.

C. Th. de. Spectaculis in l. dominico ult.

Lib 5. p. 816.

21. But

Who they were that were protected by the forementioned Law.

21. But it's made a queſtion who they were that the *Gentiles* would compel to thoſe Solemnities, and conſequently whom the Emperour protects from their violence by this Law. He nameth *certain Eccleſiaſticks and the reſt that Serve the Catholick Sect*, then afterward *ſuch as Obey the moſt Holy Law*, by whom it's queſtioned, whether the Clergy alone, or all Chriſtians promiſcuouſly be meant. But who can believe that Eccleſiaſtical Perſons are barely meant, or that they only rejected Communication in thoſe Sacrifices, and not alſo the reſt of the Chriſtians? The general Inhibition of the Law ſufficiently declares it, which takes care that no ſuch be compelled to the Rite of a ſtrange Superſtition, who ſerve the moſt Holy Law, wherefore the Phraſes *Catholicæ Sectæ ſervientes*, and *Sanctiſſimæ legi Servientes*, are ſuch as Imbraced the Chriſtian Faith and lived accordingly, not ſuch only as Miniſtred in Sacred Offices. But *Conſtantine* by a great Penalty prohibits this Diſorder, *viz.* by beating them with Clubs, if of vile condition, or impoſing on them an heavy Fine, if Noble, which ſhould Iſſue to the Publick not to the *Exchequer*, but the publick *Treaſury* of the Cities concerned, as this ſame Emperour allotted another Fine two Years after; and then the Cities, of *Italy* muſt here be meant, wherein *Helpidius* was *Præfectus prætorio*, to whom the Law is Inſcribed.

C.Th. di. in. l. null. 2. et judiciis 1.

A Canon prohibiting Sacrifices to Idols, concurring with the Emperous Edict.

22. Hereby may both the Mind of *Conſtantine* and the Diſcipline of that Age be fully diſcovered; there being Canons alſo made at *Ancyra*, by a Council held there Ten Years before, to this ſame purpoſe, whereby not only Sacrificing ‘ to Idols but alſo eating in their Temples and Feaſting with *Pagans* is forbidden, ‘ the Ninth Canon being made againſt ſuch as Conſtrained their Brethren to do it, or gave cauſe of that Compulſion; not to ſpeak of thoſe pretended to be made at *Eliberis*, of the Credit of which many juſtly doubt. *Julian* the Emperor afterwards knowing the Careſulneſs and Shineſs of Chriſtians in this reſpect, laid what Gins and Snares he poſſibly could for them, expoſing the Faces of Princes (afterward called *Labratæ*) amongſt the Images of their Gods for the People to Worſhip; and putting them upon offering Incenſe which he knew was all one with denying Chriſt.

The taking of *Pagan* Offices objected to Chriſtians.

23. As for that which ſome object concerning ſeveral Offices born by Chriſtians, and mixed with Idolatry, whereby they would make it appear that all Communion with the *Gentiles* was neither forbidden nor ſhunned, it's apparent that the Offices of *Centenarii* and *Dendrophori*, were never born by Chriſtians, but at length aboliſhed as Fragments of *Pagan* Superſtition, and the other of *Synarchæ* and *Aſiarchæ* were not at all contaminated by any Superſtition belonging to the care and overſight of Game and publick Mirth, which though at firſt might have been Inſtituted upon Superſtitious Grounds, yet now was only improved to innocent Recreation, whereof this Age was very cautious, eſpecially *Antioch* the Metropolis of *Syria*, where the *Synarchæ* reſided, and the Games called *Synarchia* were exhibited.

Vide Jacobum Gothofredum de interdicta Chriſtianorum cum Gentilibus communione.

And that *Conſtantine* and his Succeſſors were ſtiled *Pontifex Maximus*.

24. But the main objected in this Argument, and that which requires a ſerious ſcrutiny in this matter of Reformation is, that *Conſtantine* as alſo his Succeſſors *Valentinian*, *Valens* and *Gratian* for ſome time bore the Title of *Pontifex Maximus*, and therefore neither eſteemed a *Pagan* Name, nor imployment unfitting for him. For this Accuſation *Zozimus* is brought as a Witneſs, who Writes (*a*) ſo much in expreſs words, with whom accords (*b*) *Baronius* in his Annals, though formerly in his Notes on the *Roman* Martirology, he gave him the lye as to this particular. And more reaſon he had ſo to do, then at length thus to paſs over to his Party, that Hiſtorian having neither any probable Author or Ground for his Aſſertion, he himſelf confeſſing that he had not this Fable from any Creditable Perſon, but taken it upon hear-ſay and common Diſcourſe, then which nothing is more vain and uncertain. Then what a worthy Author *Zozimus* is, how much to be Credited in ſuch Caſes we may ſee, both by his inveterate hatred to Chriſtianity? moved wherewith he wrought his Book, which is ſtuffed with ſuch Fables and Calumnies againſt Chriſtian Emperours, and others of that Religion, eſpecially *Conſtantine* and *Gratian*, becauſe he began the Reformation, and this Emperour more effectually inforced it by ſtopping the allowance formerly given to Superſtitious Ceremonies, the Stipends allowed to Prieſts, deſtroying the Altar of *Victory*, and other Portentous Images, as St. *Ambroſe*, St. *Hierome* and *Symmachus* do Teſtifie.

(*a*) *Lib.* 4. *p.* 760. 761.
(*b*) *ad*, *A.D.* 321.

25. Yet could it be granted that *Zozimus* was not at all guilty of Spleen and Malice, how can he be Credited who ſo palpably Erred in a matter of greateſt Concernment? Concerning *Gracian*, Writing that for fear of *Maximus* the Tyrant

Both which are ſufficiently confuted.

rant; having paſſed the *Alps*, *Rhetia*, *Novicum*, *Pannonia* into the upper *Myſia*, he was ſlain at *Singidunum*, whereas other Hiſtorians unanimouſly agree that being worſted near *Paris*, he fled and was Slain about *Lyons*. Farther if we Conſult other Writers, a deep ſilence there is, not one word of this Story of the Pontificate which Zozimus tells us, but in a matter of ſuch Moment, who can imagine they ſhould ſay nothing? Would *Pagan* Writers, eſpecially the Panegyriſts, whereof thoſe Times were Fruitful, have omitted this Title ſo great, ſo plauſible, when they Extol Chriſtian Emperours to the Skies, and paſs not over things of ſlight conſequence? On the other ſide would the Fathers and Eccleſiaſtical VVriters have omitted to reprehend them for ſo ſcandalous an Office and Title, who are not wont to diſſemble leſſer Faults of Princes? Or who can think that by *Hereticks*, or one or another, this would not have been laid to their Charge?

From the Conſtitutions and Coyns of thoſe Chriſtian Princes.

26. Then if we look on the Conſtitutions of thoſe Chriſtian Princes, their Coyns and Medals, as alſo ſuch Inſcriptions as are not Falſified, there's nothing in them that gives the leaſt pretence to this Aſſertion, although by them, eſpecially the Titles of Emperours be largely ſet out. If we conſider their minds and Inclinations, we ſhall find that by various Conſtitutions, they endeavoured to Eradicate *Paganiſm* out of the minds of their Subjects, as the Times and neceſſity of Affairs would permit, forbiding to all Chriſtians Communion with the *Gentiles*, in their Superſtitious Rites; how then could they themſelves practice what they diſapproved in others? and by ill examples Enervate their own Laws? Eccleſiaſtical VVriters as (*a*) *Theodoret* and (*b*) *Sozomenus* note it in *Julian* as a new thing, that he called himſelf *Pontifex Maximus*, as he alſo ſtiles himſelf in a (*c*) Fragment yet extant, not to mention Inſcriptions where this Title is found. Theſe things ſeem ſufficiently to Convict *Zozimus* of Calumny and Falſhood, as to his Aſſertion that thoſe Chriſtian Princes aſſumed this Title. As for what he adds that *Gratian* rejected it, who can believe that ſo memorable a thing would have been utterly forgot, or never mentioned by Chriſtian VVriters, who are ready enough to give Commendations where due, as mightily extoll the Piety and Chriſtian Zeal of *Gratian*, eſpecially St. *Ambroſe* and *Auſonius*; then the diſtance of place makes againſt this Aſſertion. For if the Pontifical Habit was obſerved to *Gratian*, by the inferiour Pontifices, and preſently rejected by him, then muſt this have been done at *Rome*, where they reſided and where we do not Read that *Gratian* ever came.

(a) *Lib.* 3. *cap.* 1

(b) *Lib.* 5. *cap.* 1.

(c) *pag.* 546.

27. Notwithſtanding ſome there are who go about to gain Credit to *Zozimus* his Story, being willing to believe that *Gratian* firſt rejected this Title, and for this reaſon you muſt know, becauſe the Biſhops of *Rome* then began to Challenge it as their due, Baronius a main Stickler for it in his Annals, though of another mind in his Notes upon the Martyrology, brings his firſt Teſtimony out of *Auſonius*, whence he will make in his return of thanks to call *Gratian*, *Pontifex Maximus*. But this ſaith *Gothofred*, is ſaid *gratis*. For in two Places (*a*) indeed *Auſonius* equalleth *Gratian* with a *Pontifex Maximus*, but for his Religion and Chaſtity as he plainly expreſſeth it. And in a (*b*) third he calleth him *Pontifex Maximus*, but by a certain alluſion in reſpect of the Old *Pontifical Comitia*, to which *Gratian* by Letters ſeemed to allude. The Second Teſtimony he fetcheth from Ancient Inſcriptions; wherein beſides other Titles of Emperours, this of *Pontifex Maximus* is found, and he inſtanceth in ſeveral, to be met with in the Collection of Inſcriptions, by *Graterus*. Great heed is indeed to be given to ancient Inſcriptions; but we muſt alſo conſider that in them theſe Emperours aſſume not that Title to themſelves, but it's given them by others, *viz.* The Superſtitious *Romans and Italians*, as *Pagans* in this Age; Sacrificers who made Inſpections into the Entrails of Beaſts; for Chriſtian Emperors (who certainly approved no ſuch things) as we have hinted formerly from (*c*) *Ammianus*. And we muſt further know that ſome of thoſe Inſcriptions, had been formerly made for *Pagan* Emperours, whoſe Names being Eraſed, afterward thoſe of Chriſtian Emperours were Ingraven in their places.

(a) *cap.* 10. *vol.* 20. & *ca.* 18. *ſeu.* 28.

(b) *cap.* 12. *ſeu.* 18.

(c) *Lib.* 2.

28. This is evident from an (*a*) Inſcription belonging to *Conſtantine*, and taken notice of by (*b*) *Baronius* himſelf, wherein in a Marble at *Rome* is read, *Magno & Invicto Imp. Cæſ. C. val. Aurelio Conſtantino Pio, Fel. Invicto, Aug. Pontif. Max. Trib. Poteſt. Cos. III. PP. Proc. D. N. Corpus Coriariorum &c.* That this Inſcription firſt belonged to ſome *Pagan* Prince, is evident becauſe in the left ſide of the ſame Baſis are alſo read *Dedicata Kal. Jan. DD. NN. Diocletiano III. & Maximiniano Coſſ.* For this Conſulſhip was before the time of *Conſtantine* as is moſt clear to all, and his Name afterwards inſerted; for there are *C. Val. Aurel.* VVhich

(a) *fol.* 283.

(b) *ad* A. D. 312.

Prænomina never belonged to him, his *Prænomen* being *Flavius*, but are proper to *Maximianus*, not *Diocleſian* as *Baronius* imagined. This change of Names is alſo found in Money which was ſtamped anew with the Name of another Prince, and was uſed alſo in Statues and Images, which were made to ſerve for the Honour of another Perſon, their Heads or Titles being changed, as *Gothofred* obſerves, and is clear from many Witneſſes.

29. So weak are the Teſtimonies brought by *Baronius* and *Morinus*, (*a*) who follows him herein; of no greater ſtrength are their Arguments. They believe that Chriſtian Princes reſerved this Title, and might lawfully do it, without any Spot ſticking on them from the Ceremonies, for the amplitude of Power therein contained; not out of love to Superſtition, but for preſervation of their Authority, without the Crime of Idolatry; not to perform any Ceremonies, but for the maintenance of their Prerogative. They urge, that without this Title, the Emperours ſhould have been as no body, for that the Senate and People of *Rome*, would have preſently Conſpired againſt him, as one who was not a Follower of the Religion of their Anceſtors and Country. That the Authority of this *Pontifex*, was moſt ample above the Conſuls, and therefore ſeemed neceſſary to the Emperours, that thereby they might, as by the chiefeſt Point of Religion, curb and reſtrain the Senate, which was often refractory towards Princes: and it ſeemed more neceſſary to them, as Chriſtians, who might well perceive they reigned againſt the mind of the Senate; and by their Religion, raiſed the Envy and Malice of the *Gentiles* againſt them.

(a) *In Eccleſia liberata.*

30. But to Divines this we leave to be diſcuſſed, whether it were an innocent Myſtery of State only, or a Crime; and whether Chriſtian Princes could, with a ſafe Conſcience, and without Idolatry or Superſtition, envy the Title and Office of *Pontifex Maximus*. Concerning the neceſſity and utility of this Sophiſm, it is not amiſs to ſay ſomething. It is true that the old *Pagan* Emperours aſſumed this Title, as a ſtrengthening of their Powers, ſo that they themſelves, ſometimes, performed the Ceremonies, and indeed exerciſed the Function of a *Pontifex*, as (*a*) *Domitian*, (*b*) *Adrian*, and (*c*) *Alexander Severus*. Yet for the imbracing of this Title, which could not poſſibly be ſeparated from a mixture of *Pagan* Superſtition, there was no neceſſity for Chriſtian Princes, as if otherwiſe they could not be ſecure; ſeeing that then at *Rome* their Party became daily ſtrangers, and *Pagan* Superſtition daily decreaſed, which by the omiſſion of ſuch a thing, could not gather much advantage, the *Pagan* Superſtition being reſtrained, and the Imperial Power confirmed, ſo that the Senate and People from *Conſtantine*, looked on them as Protectors of the City, and Authors of Peace and Quietneſs, receiving them gladly, and celebrating their Praiſes with all ſorts of Pomp and Commendations; being permitted to enjoy ſome of their Follies, leſt too great ſtrictneſs and ſeverity ſhould raiſe ſuch a Tempeſt, as could not eaſily be diſpelled, though by degrees a Reformation might be tolerated.

(a) *Plin. l.* 4: *ep.* 11.
(b) *Spartianus*, p. 11.
(c) *Lampridius*, p. 118.

31. As for *Conſtantine*, could he take the name of *Pontifex*, a *Pagan* Title; (who (as the Author of his Life falſely heretofore thought to be *Euſebius*, witneſſeth) profeſſed himſelf Biſhop, τῶν ἔξω, or thoſe that are without) certainly it ſmally agreed with thoſe Conſtitutions that were made againſt the Sacrifice of the *Luſtra*, and his neglecting the Secular Games. *Baronius* addeth that the Chriſtian Biſhops granted theſe Emperours Power to aſſume that Title, but whereby doth this appear? Becauſe they do not blame them upon this account, as for ſeveral other things; but it may juſtly be Argued on the contrary, that this was never done by Chriſtian Emperours, becauſe we do not find them, upon this account, Chidden by the Fathers, who are not wanting to reprehend them for leſſer Faults. For that which *Baronius* urgeth as his greateſt force, that Chriſtian Emperours did not, as *Pagans*, aſſume the Robe and Title of *Pontifex Maximus*, being not initiated as others were, by drinking Bulls Blood, and otherwiſe, nor by Sacrificing to *Jupiter Olympius*, or other gods, (which had been an open Apoſtacy from Chriſtian Religion, and not to be covered or diſſembled by any pretext) but only as *Zozimus* ſaith, that receiving the Robe, he uſed alſo the Title. But *Zozimus* his meaning is, not only the Habit and Title was aſſumed, but he mentions the Habit, as the Enſign of the Pontificate, as Princes by receiving the Purple, took on them alſo Imperial Power.

32. However, we mean not here the moſt hainous Crime of Apoſtacy (although *Baronius* objects that alſo to *Conſtantine* very ſtrangely) nor inquire into the moſt wicked act of Superſtition that could be thought; from which

Baronius would endeavour to clear the aſſuming of this Title. But Superſtition he muſt be guilty of, had he aſſumed it; neither can one be accounted free from Idolatry, that is not guilty of the higheſt Crime of that nature, that doth not Sacrifice himſelf, or incourage that abominable Rite by his Authority. Although a Prince uſed only the Habit and Title in *Baronius* his Senſe, yet conſider ſeriouſly what this Habit was; a Pontifical and Prieſtly Stole, ἱερατικὴ στολὴ, as *Zozimus* calls it, a *Sacred Veſtment*, *Sacerdotal and Pagan Ornament*; a painted Robe, not with any Hiſtory out of the Goſpel; doubtleſs as *Aſterius* writes, the Clothes of Rich Men in *Cappadocia*, in his time, were wont to be neither wrought with the Images of Emperours as that *Trabea* or *Palmata* was, which *Gratian* ſent to *Auſonius*, when he had deſigned him Conſul; but were wrought and painted after the *Pagan* Faſhion, ſuch as was Myſtical, and ſuch as the *Pontifex Maximus* received from the hand of inferiour *Pagan Pontifices*, as *Zozimus* witneſſeth, which for a Chriſtian to put on, was counted wickedneſs by *Gratian*, as that *Pagan* Author relates.

33. What account is to be made of *Zozimus* his Story, and the defence of *Baronius*, we may perceive by thoſe things, both who make this Title to have ceaſed in *Gratian*. But there are ſome that proceed farther, and will have the Title of *Pontifex Maximus* uſed by Princes after his time, which they would prove from an Edict of *Valentinian* and *Marcian*, inſerted into the third Action of the Council of *Chalcedon*, wherein theſe Emperours are called *Pontifices Inclyti*; ſo the Edition (*a*) of *Colain*, and ſuch as have been printed from it: But that this is falſe, appears from the (*b*) *Greek* Copies, wherein no ſuch matter appears, but thoſe Princes are only ſtiled αἰώνιοι Αὔγουστοι. That it was added by ſome fooliſh Writer or Printer it is clear, from other Demonſtrations of his Folly; as there it is ſaid that *Marcian* had repeated the Tribunitial Power ſeven and twenty times, whereas he Reigned but ſix Years and ſix Months; and the Tribunitial Power being a Conſequent of the Imperial, now had been left off, and not mentioned. And there we find *Conſul Semel*, a Form of Speech that was never uſed.

(*a*) P. 826.
(*b*) P. 442.

34. From all that has been ſaid, it appears that *Conſtantine*, though the Year foregoing he had permitted the uſe of *Aruſpicina* to the *Pagans*, yet neither allowed Communion with them in himſelf nor other Chriſtians, but diſapproved of whatſoever carried Superſtition or Paganiſm with it in ſhew or Title. As for ſuch things as had been Inſtituted by the *Gentiles*, yet in their name had no appearance of Superſtition they continued, as certain Temples cleanſed of all Superſtition afterwards when Paganiſm by degrees was baniſhed, were ſuffered to continue for Ornament to the places where they ſtood. Naked and ſimple Names and Appellations of Things, Times, Temples and Places, were ſtill uſed by Chriſtians without any harm, or any Fellowſhip in Heatheniſh Rites, being eſtabliſhed by common Converſation and Uſe (the Law and Rule of Speech.) The Holy Ghoſt hath not diſdained to apply unto Sacred Purpoſes words of Art as it were, uſed by *Pagan* Writers, as *Paradiſus*, *Hades*, *Apoſtolus*, *Clerus*. The falſe Divinities of the *Gentiles* they ſtill called *Dii* or Gods. So the firſt day of the Week they ſtill called (*a*) *Sunday*, although ſometimes adding ſomething whereby it might appear that they could like better the Chriſtian name, as *Theodoſius* the younger choſe rather to call it abſolutely the (*b*) *Lords-day*. So the *Panthæon* was ſtill ſo called, and the *Atrium* of *Minerva*, where alſo Chriſtian Princes expoſed to view their Conſtitutions, becauſe of the concourſe of People thither made; all which things (*c*) *Tertullian* long before, when the Emperours were *Pagan*, although ſevere in his Cenſures, would not condemn, ſo that there were Approbation not Participation in the thing.

Several *Pagan* Names and Places kept up, but their Superſtition aboliſhed.

(a) C. *Th. de feriis l.* 1.2. & *l.* 1. 3. *de exact. l.* 2. *de ſpectaculis.*
(b) C. *Th. l. ult. de ſpectaculis.*
(c) *Lib. de idol. c.* 20.

35. *That we ſhould uſe this Form of Speech,* ſaith he, *Cuſtome and Converſation exacts from us. For we muſt ſay, He is in the Temple of* Æſculapius, *in the Street of* Iſis, *and he is made* Jupiter's *Prieſt, and many other things of this nature, ſeeing that Men are thus named. Neither do I honour* Saturn, *if I call any one by that name; nor* Mars, *if I call him* Mars. *If Gods are to be mentioned, ſomething is to be added, whereby it may appear, that I of my ſelf, do not ſo count them, as the Scripture names Gods, but adds,* their Gods, *or of* the Nations. As *Tertullian* thus excuſeth theſe things, ſo he affirms it to be a Prevarication in Faith, for any Chriſtian to ſwear *by the Gods*, which Cuſtom and Ignorance ſometimes extorted. But as in other things, Chriſtian Princes took ſpecial care, not to joyn in Communion with *Pagans*; ſo they

Chriſtians not ſuffered to ſwear *by the Gods,* or *by their Genius.*

would not ſuffer their Subjects to ſwear *by their Genius*, yet *by their Health* or *Safety*, they did according to the ancient Cuſtom of Chriſtians, by which kind of Oath they witneſſed that the thing was as true and certain, as they deſired the Safety and Proſperity of the Emperour.

But *by the Emperours Health or Safety* was permitted.

36. But (to return to our Proſecution of ſuch particular Acts of *Conſtantine*, as reſpected the Reformation) our Emperour, in the Twentieth of his Reign, by an (*a*) Edict, commanded the bloudy Combating of Gladiators to be taken away, willing, that ſuch as for Offences committed againſt the Laws, had been wont to be ſubjected to ſuch Conflicts, ſhould be condemned to the Mines; although the Times were ſuch, that this Exerciſe could not preſently be aboliſhed, continuing a long time, but at length it was quite taken away, upon what occaſion we ſhall ſee hereafter. The Puniſhment of Malefactors by the Croſs, he alſo forbid, as (*b*) *Sozomenus* tells us, who addeth, that he cauſed his Image upon Coins or in Pictures to be done with a Croſs; as the Lance he was wont to uſe in Battel, ſome ſay (*c*) he cauſed to be faſhioned into the Form of a Croſs, which being left to his Succeſſors, deſcended as low as *Henry* the Emperour, and his Son *Otho*.

He takes away the combating of Gladiators by an Edict.

(a) C. *Th. l.* 1. *de gladiat.*

(b) *L.* 1. *c.* 8.

(c) *Baron. ad A.D.* 325.

37. After the Celebration of the *Nicene* Council, which was in the ſame Year, the former Edict was made, he more vigorouſly proſecuted Idolatry, though he conſtrained no Idolaters, as we ſaid, to his own Religion, but only exhorted and ſought to turn them by gentle means. *Eurapius Sardianus* complains that he overturned the moſt Famous Temples in the whole World, and every where erected Chriſtian Structures. That this was done preſently after the Council of *Nice*; *Euſebius*, or the (*a*) Author of his Life teſtifies, as alſo *Socrates*. The former tells us, that ſome of the *Pagan* Temples, were, by his command, untiled, and the Gates pulled down; others were quite demoliſhed, and the Tiles and Timber carried away. And ſome Graven Images, which the Heathens had of a long time ignorantly adored, were erected in the Market-place of *Conſtantinople* as opprobious Spectacles. Here *Pythius* was placed, there *Sminthius*, in the *Cirque* the *Tripos* of *Delphos*, and the *Heliconian* Muſes in the Palace. Having once reſolved, he thought not fit to effect his Intentions by any hoſtile Violence, but making choice of certain truſty and approved Perſons, ſent them into all Places to ſuppreſs their inveterate and anciently received Errors. This they did, which muſt be underſtood in part, and as the times would give leave, for all Idolatry was not aboliſhed, nor all *Pagan* Temples broken down a long time after.

He farther Proſecutes Idolatry, by deſtroying their Temples.

And removing their Images.

(a) *L.* 3. *c.* 52. *&c.*

38. But mention being made by the forecited Writers of *Conſtantinople*, how Images were in deriſion erected in the *Forum* of it, we muſt not forget to ſignifie, that the Reformation of Religion gave occaſion to the building of that City, if *Zozimus* may be believed. He writeth, that a certain Feſtival-day being come, wherein it was the Cuſtom for the Army to aſcend into the Capitol, he ſpoke againſt the Ceremony contumeliouſly, and contemning it, incurred the Hatred both of Senate and People, whoſe Curſes not able to bear, he ſought where he might find a City equal to *Rome*, wherein to fix his Imperial Seat, and at length pitched upon *Byzantium*, which happened to be Dedicated afterward in the Five and twentieth Year of his Reign. In his One and twentieth Year, having taken away the publick Schools of Luſt, he publiſhed an (*a*) Edict againſt private Uncleanneſs, Ordaining, that if any Woman lay with her Slave, ſhe ſhould be put to death, and he burnt. A little after he took away the uſe of (*b*) Concubines, which yet came in faſhion again, and was permitted in the time of *Juſtinian*, ſo a Man was unmarried, and had but one, which thing being a great flaw of that Age, and very ſcandalous to Chriſtianity, was by *Leo Philoſophus* removed, (*c*) Ordaining, that it ſhould not be lawful for Chriſtians to have Concubines, ſubjoyning that excellent Reaſon out of *Solomon's Proverbs*: "That it was an unworthy thing, when Water might "be had out of a pure Fountain, to ſeek for a muddy a diſtempered one; "neither could it be difficult for any to find a Conſort and Yoak-fellow. Whoſe example *Conſtantinus Porphyrogenneta* imitating, that amongſt Chriſtians there ſhould no difference be accounted betwixt a Concubine and an Whore; and that it ſhould not be lawful for any Chriſtian to have one, as *Harmenopulus* witneſſeth.

He fixeth his Imperial Seat at *Byzantium* or *Conſtantinople.*

Where he prohibits publick Bawdy-houſes, and the uſe of Concubines.

(a) C. *Th. l.* 1. *de muliere quæ Ser.*

(b) *L.* 1. *C. de Concub.*

(c) *Novella*, 91.

(d) *L.* 4. *c.* 7.

39. *Conſtantine* his new City being perfected, was a great Monument and Teſtimony of the Reformation. For he (*a*) purged it from all Superſtition and Idolatry, ſo that no where therein were Statues of Idols in their Temples, nor Altars defiled by the Blood of impure Sacrifices, nor Feaſts of Devils celebrated. St. *Auguſtine* (*b*) reckoning up the ſeveral parts of *Conſtantine*'s Felicity; amongſt other Accounts this not the leaſt, That God granted his deſires in building a City, which ſhould be as the equal or Daughter of *Rome*, but without any Temple or Image of Devils. He Adorned it with many Churches, whereof one was called the *Church* (c) *of the Apoſtles*; another of *Peace*, being alſo called *Sapience*; and another (*d*) built without the City, and named *Michaelium*, in memory of St. *Michael the Archangel*, who is ſaid, there to have appeared; beſides others mentioned by (*e*) *Nicephorus*; all which he took care ſhould be well furniſhed with Books, the charge of which Work, he impoſed on *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* by this Letter.

Adorns his new built City with divers Churches.

(*a*) *Euſeb. ſive Auth. vitæ Conſt. l. 3. c. 47.*

(*b*) *De civit. Dei. l. 5. c. 25.*

(*c*) *Socrates, l. 2. c. 12.*

(*d*) *Sozomenus, l. 2. c. 2.*

(*e*) *L. 7. c. 49, 50.*

40. *Seeing* (a) *that by God's Divine Providence, a great multitude of People in this City, which is called after me* Conſtantinople, *have devoted themſelves to the true Church; it is fit, that as their number increaſeth, ſo more Churches ſhould be erected. Know therefore, that we thought it neceſſary to ſignifie to your Wiſdom, that you ſhould provide fifty Church Books, containing thoſe parts of Scripture which you think moſt uſeful and profitable to the Church, and moſt portable, being fairly and legibly writ in ſmooth Parchment. And we, out of gracious Clemency, have ſent our Letters to the Governour of your Province, to furniſh you with all things neceſſary for the charge thereof; you ought only to take care the Books be written with all ſpeed. And we give you Power and Authority, by theſe our preſent Letters, to take up two Waggons for carriage of the Books. Moreover, when they are fairly written, I would have them brought to me by a Miniſter delegated to that purpoſe out of your Church, whom when he comes, we will reward. God keep and preſerve you dear Brother.* The Emperours command was ſpeedily performed, ſo that we ſent him, ſaith our Author, fifty Books curiouſly written in Parchment, as may appear by his Letters of Anſwer, wherein he ſignified his joy and gladneſs when he heard that *Conſtantia* (formerly called *Gaza* in *Paleſtine*, but upon this change, named by him after his Siſter) was Converted from Idolatrous Superſtition, to the true Religion.

(a) *Euſeb. in vit. Conſt. l. 4. c. 50.*

Furniſhing them with Books.

41. But not only at *Conſtantinople*, but in *Italy*, at *Rome*, and throughout the Empire, great was his Magnificence in the building and endowing of Churches, concerning which, a Book was written, which *Anaſtaſius* the *Vatican* Library keeper publiſhed out of it; ſeveral are mentioned by the Author of his Life, and other Writers. He commanded one to be built in the very place where our Saviour's Sepulchre was, which the Heathens endeavouring to deface, had there built a Chappel to *Venus*. Vaſt was the Magnificence of this Church, as it is deſcribed in his (*a*) Life; wherein are alſo mentioned others built at (*b*) *Bethlem*, and on the Mount of *Olives*, at (*c*) *Nicomedia*, and other Cities; one at the (*d*) Oak of *Mambre*, where it was thought our Saviour appeared to *Abraham*; another at (*e*) *Heliopolis* in *Phœnicia*, where was demoliſhed the Image of *Venus*. Others ſpeak of the (*f*) ſtately Church from the former called *Conſtantiniana*, but more commonly *Saviour's* at *Rome*, below his Palace on Mount *Cœlius*, having before cauſed to be built a more ſtately one at the Confeſſion of St. *Peter*, where he himſelf firſt opened the Ground, and in memory of the Twelve Apoſtles, bore upon his ſhoulders ſo many Burthens of Earth; as *Veſpaſian* had formerly done, at the re-edifying of the Capitol. Many, beſides theſe, were raiſed in *Italy*, *Gall*, and other Parts, ſo Manificently built, ſplendidly furniſhed, and plentifully endowed, that *Pagan* Hiſtorians hence accuſe him of immenſe Profuſeneſs, and extravagant Building of unprofitable Places.

Builds another Church at our Saviour's Sepulchre.

With ſeveral others in divers places.

(a) *L. 3. c. p. 28. &c.*

(b) C. p. 40. 42.

(c) C. 49.

(d) C. 50.

(e) C. 56.

(f) *Acta Sylveſtri apud Baronum ad A. D.* 324.

His Abſtinence in not meddling with the Wealth of the Idol Temples near *Rome*.

42. Yet notwithſtanding theſe vaſt Expences, ſuch was the Abſtinence both of him and ſeveral his Succeſſors, that having the Wealth of the Idol-Temples in their Power, though ſuch a thing might have been done upon a Religious account, and to make amends for all the Injuries and Loſſes the Chriſtians had ſuſtained from the *Pagans*, for above three hundred Years, they abſtained from it at *Rome*; although in the laſt, where the Influence of the Senate was not ſo great, ſometimes *Conſtantine*, as he juſtly might make bold with it, as the Author (*a*) of his Life writes concerning Golden Images which he cauſed to be melted, and reſerved the Mettal to his own uſe. Such alſo was his Modeſty, that

(a) *L. 3. c. 52.*

His Modeſty in refuſing his Name to be engraven on any of the new Buildings.

that although he had Erected ſo many Monuments of his Glory, yet upon none of them was his Name ingraved, contemning that which moſt of his Predeceſſors had ſo earneſtly thirſted after, of whom *Trajan*, though accounted the beſt, cauſed his Name to be affixed to all his publick Works, ſo that *Conſtantine* facetiouſly and wittily called him *herba parietina*, as *Aurelius Victor* tells us.

He encourages and provides for thoſe that turn Chriſtians.

And exhorts all men to embrace the Faith of Chriſt.

43. Such was *Conſtantine*'s Care and Coſt for the publick Worſhip. For the encouragement of private Perſons, we read, (*a*) that (beſides what we have formerly mentioned) he Ordained, that ſuch Sons or Slaves that were born in Superſtition, ſhould not be forced to keep to it againſt their minds: that Maintenance out of the Exchequer was plentifully allotted to ſuch as turned Chriſtians: in the firſt place a white Garment for Baptiſm, and twenty *Solidi* were allowed, provided (you muſt know) that they brought for their admittance, a Ticket from the Biſhop of *Rome*. (*b*) *Nicephorus* writes, that in one year at *Rome*, were Baptized above twelve Men, beſides Women and Children. In the former Treatiſe is found, that *Conſtantine* at the ſame time in the *Vlpian* Palace, made an Oration to the *Roman* Senate and People, 'Concerning the Faith of Chriſt to be imbraced by all, leaving yet a free choice to ' every one, what Religion they would cleave to; but declaring, that they ' were more acceptable that turned Chriſtians. To the ſame purpoſe he publiſhed an Edict, which we have exemplified in his (*c*) Life, directed as well to the Princes of the Eaſt, as thoſe of the Weſt, wherein he aſſerts the truth of divers Arguments firſt, and then invites all to imbrace it, declaring that none ſhould be forced, but received if coming on their own accord, and permitting others to frequent the Temples of their Idols, and uſe their Rites. From which it appears that ſuch are miſtaken, who ſuppoſe that all Temples were ſhut up, and their Ceremonies baniſhed utterly, eſpecially in *Italy*, and thoſe places where the *Roman* Senate had the moſt Influence. Yet did he forbid ſuch Magiſtrates, publickly to Sacrifice to Idols, as were choſen from amongſt the *Pagans*; by a Law prohibited Divinations, and Commanded, as we have ſaid, Churches to be built, as he had given example at *Rome*, larger than ever.

(a) *Acta Sylveſtri ubi ſuprà.*

(b) *L.7.c.34.*

(c) *L.2.c.47.* &c.

He gives Food to the Inhabitants of *Conſtantinople.*

44. We muſt alſo account the Munificence of *Conſtantine*, which he ſhewed towards his new Citizens of *Conſtantinople*; not only an incouragement to ſuch as ſhould inhabit that City, but alſo to the Profeſſion of Religion, if we conſider the reaſon alledged by *Zozimus* for the founding of it, and the great care the Emperour took to have it clear from Idolatry, making it a Chriſtian Colony, and the firſt Chriſtian City (univerſally ſuch) throughout the Empire. Firſt of all he beſtowed Bread (*a*) on ſuch as had Houſes at *Conſtantinople*, which Loaves were called (*b*) *Palatine*. Others (*c*) he aſſigned to Souldiers that alſo had Adorned the City with Buildings. And other Loaves (*d*) that year wherein he was Conſul, he cauſed every day to be diſtributed to the common ſort, to which he added Wine, Fleſh, and Oil, as *Suidas* (*e*) tells us, which was obſerved for many years. (*f*) One ſays he dayly beſtowed on the Poor eighty thouſand Loaves, (*g*) another eighty thouſand Modii of Wheat. This Bread was courſe, weighing two Ounces and an half. But *Valentinian* gave it pure weighing ſix Ounces, and the allowance was increaſed afterward, both by (*h*) *Theodoſius* the Great, and (*i*) *Marcian*. For the diſtributing of it, Scaffolds were erected in many places, to which the Poor aſcended by Steps. For one only place being not capable of ſuch a vaſt Multitude, one hundred and ſeventeen Marble Stairs or Steps throughout the fourteen Regions of *Conſtantinople* were made, as we find in the Ancient Deſcription or Survey of that City placed before the *Notitia*, whence this Bread was termed *gradilis*, it being unlawful for any to receive it, but on the Stairs according to aſſignment.

(a) C. *Th. de annon. Civit. l.* 8. & 9.

(b) C. *eodem l.* 12. & 13.

(c) C. *eodem l.* 1. & 10.

(d) *De anno Civit.*

(e) *In voce* *παλατῖνοι.*

(f) *Metaphraſtes in Paulo Patriarcha* Conſtan*tinop.*

(g) *Socrates.*

(h) C.*Th.l.*5.

(i) C. *Th. l. penult.*

45. For to every Tribe certain Stairs were aſſigned, which it was unlawful to change; the Officials of the *Præfectus Annonæ*, to whom (*a*) the caſe of this diſtribution was committed, ſtrictly looking into it. Theſe Loaves are called *Civiles*, becauſe they were beſtowed on *Cives* or Citizens in diſtinction, from the Palatine, and others that were given to certain Schools or Academies of War: this *Annona* or Proviſion was alſo called (*b*) *Popularis* and *Civica*. The ſame ſort of Liberality, but not in ſuch a meaſure, had *Trajan* ſhown at *Rome*, allowing Food to (*c*) twelve thouſand Boys and Girls, of which *Aurelian* increaſed the number, as *Vopiſcus* ſaith; whereupon in moſt of the Coins of *Trajan* and *Hadrian*, theſe Stairs are ſeen, by which the People aſcended to receive Bread, on the top whereof is ſeen a Scribe, and another with a Badge

of

(a) C.*Th.l.*2.

(b) *De annon.* C*ivit.* l. 2.

(c) *Plin. in Panigyrico.*

of diſtinction, who diſtributed the Loaves. At firſt this Allowance could neither be alienated, nor transferred from one to another; but afterwards being alienated, *Theodoſius* confirmed the Contracts, and permitted it to be removed from one to another, ſo that afterward they might both be alienated otherwiſe, and given in Dowry.

He provides for the Interment of the Dead.

Novell. 59. & 43.

46. Yet his care extended not only to the Living, he thought it a Point of Chriſtian Prudence and Piety to provide for the decent Interment of the Dead; and therefore Inſtituted a company of Men, who were to take care of it *gratis*, being called *Lectuarii*, for carrying the Dead out on Beds, and *Decani*, perhaps becauſe they were divided into Decads or Tens. For the maintenance of this Company, he gave to the greater Church of *Conſtantinople* Nine hundred and fifty Shops, to which *Anaſtaſius* afterward added One hundred and fifty, with certain other Revenues. The Prefect of the City had the inſpection over them, whom *Juſtinian* ordered to reſtore ſome of them to the Church which had been uſurped by private Men, and appoint to the Defenders of the Church (*Defenſores*) Eight hundred, to the *Oeconomi* or Stewards Three hundred, who out of their Revenues ſhould monthly allow Four hundred Aurei to Religious Perſons, *viz.* to the *Decani* One hundred eighty two, thoſe called *Aſcetrii* or Eight *Moniales*, who ſung after the Beire Ninety one, to *Acclythi* that carried Lights Ninety one, to *Canonical Women* that ſerved the Hoſpital and Sung, Thirty ſix; which Sum yearly amounted to Four thouſand eight hundred Aurei. Such as would be at a greater Expence, both for Beds (or Biers) and more *Aſcetria* too, were to pay what is ſpecified in the Novel of *Juſtinian*, which will have an *Aſcetrium* to conſiſt of Eight *Moniales* and Three *Acclythi*. But the *Lectuarii* bore the Body, made the Grave, and did other things belonging to this Office, whereupon they were called κοπιαταὶ or Labourers, being put in their places by the Præfect of the City. At *Conſtantinople*, it is not certain where their Reſidence or Habitation was, though it be probable that they lived together, that ſo they might the more eaſily be found out, as at *Rome*, where they lived in one place (in the Fourteenth Region of the City) called *Caſtra Lectuariorum*. As for their number, it doth not appear.

His further kindneſs to Chriſtians and its Religion.

47. Thus much did *Conſtantine* really do for a Reformation, firſt removing Penal Statutes againſt Chriſtians, then incouraging them by Reſtitution of their own, afterward by diſcountenancing Idolatry, as much as the neceſſity of times would permit, and by his Liberality towards Profeſſors of the true Religion. The Paſtors or Biſhops thereof, he imbraced with ſingular kindneſs, and a tender Fatherly care, not ſowing amongſt them Diſcord, but compoſing their Differences, not by owning a Monarchy in a Monarchy, or making one Lord of the reſt, and of all Gods Inheritance; by giving him incouragement in earthly Dominion, or affording fewel to that flame of Ambition, which ſhould at length prey upon the whole Chriſtian World. Yet ſome Men have proceeded to that Vanity, as having firſt fancied to themſelves a Spiritual Monarchy by Divine Right, in the next place, to impoſe a neceſſity upon the ſame Providence, for the maintenance of it in a Secular way, and *Conſtantine*, the firſt Reformer, Incourager and Indower, muſt have the Honour, not only to provide for the Body due maintenance, but a Crown alſo for the Pride and Haughtineſs of a Suppoſititious and Prodigious Head. The good Man dreamed of nothing leſs. He knew no Head of the Church but him in Heaven, and though priority of place he might account reaſonable to him who governed the Church in the Metropolis of the Empire, yet he perfectly underſtood the quality and limits of his Power, not judging his own concernments in Religious Matters, leſs than thoſe of the Kings of *Iſrael* in old time, nor imagining that our Saviour, who ſaid his Kingdom was not of this World, had deſigned the leſſening of Temporal Power, or ſubduing it wholly to a Spiritual Empire.

48. Yet is he made a great and voluntary Agent in ſuch a prodigious Deſign, and as a Teſtimony thereof, a Conſtitution of his is produced, whereby a vaſt Temporal Dominion is beſtowed on *Sylveſter* Biſhop of *Rome* and his Succeſſors. Great difference there is amongſt the Aſſertors of the Spiritual Empire, concerning the Authority of the Edict, and even the verity of the Donation, the reputation of it being almoſt extinct, till a little revived of late times by one *Marta* a Doctor of *Naples*, who is ſo confident of the certainty and truth thereof, that he ſaith, *Non eſſe ulterius dubitandum*, None ought hereafter to doubt, but that it was really made by *Conſtantine*. But that which gives greateſt countenance to the Edict, is the Decretal Epiſtle of Pope *Leo*

the Ninth, who *verbatim* almoſt, repeats it whole ſo far as concerns the Donation.

A forged Edict of *Conſtantine*'s, to *Silveſter* Biſhop of *Rome*.

Epiſt. I. *Leon.* 9. *c.* 12, 13, 14.

49. "As namely how *Conſtantine* wrote in his Edict, that he would exalt "the moſt Holy See of *Peter* more than his own Empire or earthly Throne, "giving unto that See, *Poteſtatem dignitatem & honorificentiam Imperialem*, "Imperial Power, Dignity, Vigor and Honour, (whereby the Pope, of a "Biſhop, is made an Emperour, and above the Secular Emperour himſelf.) "How he Decreed, that the *Roman* See *Principatum teneat*, ſhould be Chief "of other Churches, and have Principality above the See of *Alexandria*, "*Antioch*, *Jeruſalem* and *Conſtantinople*, and of all other Churches in the whole "World, (whereby the Spiritual Principality above other Patriarchs and Biſhops "is conferred on the Pope.) How he gave to *Sylveſter* and his Succeſſors "for ever, his *Lateran Palace*, which is preferred above all Palaces in the "World, his Diadem and Crown, his *Mandilion*, his Cloak, his Coat, & "*omnia Imperialia indumenta*, all Imperial Robes which he himſelf wore, his "Imperial Guard, his Imperial Scepter, & *omnem proceſſionem Imperialis culminis*, & *gloriam poteſtatis noſtræ*, and all the reſidue of his Imperial Dignity, "Honour and Power. There is his Eſtate ſuch, and ſo Pompous, that *Conſtantine* himſelf, (as the Charter ſaith) held the Pope's Bridle, and performed "*officio Stratoris*, the Office of a Groom of the Stable, or Yeoman of the "Stirrup unto the Pope. Here to the end that the Pontifical Height ſhould "not ſeem vile, but be Adorned more than the Dignity and Power of the "earthly Empire; he gave unto *Sylveſter* and his Succeſſors for ever, both "the City of *Rome*, and all the Provinces, Places and Cities of *Italy*, and the "Weſtern Countries, Decreeing all theſe his Grants to be kept inviolable "and unchangeable, *uſque in finem mundi*, even to the end of the World. Here's the Popes Revenues, and the Rich Patrimony of St. *Peter*.

50. Thus much and far more doth Pope *Leo verbatim* recite, out of the Edict or Charter of *Conſtantine*, all which he ſaith, he ſets down, leſt any ſcruple of doubt ſhould remain, touching the Popes earthly Dominion, *Neve leviter ſuſcepiſcemini ineptis & anilibus fabulis ſanctam Romanam ſedem velle ſibi inconceſſum honorem vendicare & defenſare aliqua tenus*; Leſt any ſhould ſo much as but lightly ſuſpect, that the *Roman* See would challenge, or any way defend their Honour, by fooliſh and uncertain Fables. Yea, he adds of this Edict, and that which he cites out of it, that he therefore relates it that hereby, *Veritas fundetur & confundatur Vanitas*; That Truth may be confirmed, and Vanity confounded, and that all Catholicks may know, *nos*, himſelf and other Popes, to be the Diſciples of that *Peter*, who ſaith of himſelf, We *have not followed Vnlearned, or ſophiſticated or falſely deviſed Fables*. And yet more to Commend this Edict, he adjoyns; "Know ye that we do inculcate unto you theſe "things which we have not ſo much recovered, *Relatu quolibet*, by any Re-"lation or Hearſay, *quam quæ ipſo viſu & tactu comperta ſunt*; as which we have "found out by our own ſight and feeling. Thus writes Pope *Leo* for the Certainty, Truth and Credit of this Charter of Donation, ſo Pontifically and Aſſuredly, as one ſaith, as if he had ſeen *Conſtantine* ſet his Seal unto the ſame, or lay it with his own hand upon the Body of St. *Peter*, as the ſame *Leo* ſaith he did.

Dr. *Crackanthorp* in his Defence of *Conſtantine*. p. 127.

Which is plainly proved to be ſuch upon theſe accounts.

51. This Charter carries in its own Face ſuch manifeſt Tokens of Forgery, that the recital may well enough ſeem a ſufficient Confutation of it, and to ſuch as are converſant in Hiſtories, and not ignorant of the State of *Rome*, and all the Weſtern Provinces long after *Conſtantine*'s time, and how they were governed, it cannot but ſeem exceedingly Ridiculous. But farther obſerve, that the very Ground and Occaſion why *Conſtantine* is ſaid to have made this Charter, is falſe and forged, *viz.* the ſuppoſed Leproſie, Perſecution and Baptiſm of *Conſtantine* by *Sylveſter*, as we ſhall ſee in due time and place. Secondly, who can abſtain from ſmiling, to find the See of *Conſtantinople* mentioned in this Edict, as one of the Patriarchal Sees, whereas neither had it Patriarchal Dignity, before the ſecond General Council, (that is more than fifty Years after the Donation is ſuppoſed to be made) nor was there at that time ſo much as the name of *Conſtantinople*; for the City was then called *Byzantium*, and ſeveral Years after, not changing its name till after the *Nicene* Council, as *Baronius* acknowledgeth. But this Donation of *Conſtantine* being made a little after his ſuppoſed Baptiſm by *Sylveſter* (the fourth day, as the Acts of that Pope declare) fell into the Twenty ninth year of his Reign, and that preceding the *Nicene* Council.

One would therefore think that there was ſome Fraud uſed in the inſerting of this name, but that there is an uniform Conſent in all the Forms and Copies of the Charter, both *Greek* and *Latin*, kept ſafely in their Vatican, as they affirm, and ratified by the Decretal Epiſtle of Pope *Leo* for true and Authentical; ſo that there can be no ſuſpition of Corruption in thoſe words of the Edict. The Errour and Corruption was in the Author alone, who forged ſuch a groſs and uncreditable Untruth.

52. But Thirdly, had *Conſtantine* given Principality to the *Roman* See above all Churches in the World, as the Charter ſaith he did, what Folly was it in *John* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, *Cyriacus* and others, to ſtrive for that Preheminence? Why did not *Boniface* the Third ſhew this Charter made by *Conſtantine*? Why did he uſe ſo much intreaty and means to *Phocas* a Murtherer (as *Platina* ſaith he did) that the Church of *Rome* might be called Firſt of all Churches? When the ſame was long before almoſt three hundred years, granted by a fair Charter to the *Roman* See, by ſo worthy and renowned an Emperour. Fourthly, In this Edict *Conſtantine* is made ſolemnly to give to Pope *Sylveſter* the *Lateran Palace* which *Sigonius*, *Baronius* and *Binnius* (all) will have beſtowed long before on Pope *Miltiades* his Predeceſſor, in the Seventh year of *Conſtantine*, *viz.* twelve years before he was either Baptized, or made this Charter of Donation. Fifthly, In this Edict *Conſtantine* is made to ſay, that he will have all People in the World to know, that he had builded unto Chriſt within his Palace of *Lateran*, a Church from the very Foundation, together with a Font; yet was the Edict made, as they themſelves profeſs, in the fourth day after *Conſtantine* was Baptized, and how then was it poſſible that ſuch a Stately Fabrick ſhould be raiſed in four days? Eſpecially conſidering that the Acts of *Sylveſter* having declared what *Conſtantine* did all the ſeven days he was in *Albis* after his Baptiſm, ſay, that he laid the Foundation of this Church on the eighth day. Whether then could that Church be builded on the fourth day, whoſe Foundation was but begun and the Earth firſt digged on the eighth day after his Baptiſm?

53. Further, Sixthly, This Edict, as by the words of it are evident, followed the Leproſie of *Conſtantine* ſuppoſed, and his Baptiſm, and therefore could not be made before the ninth year of his Reign, wherein both theſe, *Baronius* and *Binnius* account to have happened. Yet is it dated *in the fourth Conſulſhip of* Conſtantine, *which he exerciſed with* Gallicanus, whereas his fourth Conſulſhip was in the Tenth year of his Reign, by which account he ſhould have made this Edict and Donation eight or nine years before the occaſion and cauſe thereof was preſented; beſides (ſee the Stupidity of the Forger) not *Gallicanus*, but *Licinius* the fourth time was Conſul with *Conſtantine* in his fourth Conſulſhip, as appeareth both by the *Faſti* and many Imperial Conſtitutions of this Year. And indeed foraſmuch as *Gallicanus* was never Conſul with *Conſtantine*, as by the *Faſti* is evident, this Edict ſuppoſed to be made in their Royal Conſulſhip was never made.

From the Teſtimony of Cardinal *Baronius.*

54. To theſe reaſons may be added the Teſtimony of their Cardinal *Baronius*, with whom agreeth *Gretzer*, who hath written an Apology for him in this very Point. He (*a*) proves it a meer Figment and Forgery, becauſe firſt the antient Popes ſince *Conſtantine*'s time, though having many occaſions to diſpute againſt Princes touching the Rights and Prerogatives of the Church, yet none of them before the thouſandth year after Chriſt, is read to have defended the ſame by Authority of this Edict, and yet they knew and make mention of *Sylveſter*'s Acts. 2. It is certain that the Emperours make no mention of that Edict of *Conſtantine*'s Donation, and yet in the Charter of *Henry* the Firſt, there is mention made of all the former Emperours who had made ſuch ample Donations to the *Roman* See. 3. This Edict was not in the Ancient Acts of *Sylveſter*, but was by Forgery inſerted into them after the thouſandth year of Chriſt, being feigned by ſome *Græcian* under the Name of *Euſebius*, and publiſhed by *Theodorus Balſamon*, whereas till then no *Græcian* had ſet it forth: and from the *Græcians* it came to the *Latins* and Weſtern Church: *Leo* the Ninth being the firſt Pope that makes mention of it. Thus by the Cardinals acknowledgment, we may ſee what Truth there is in Popes, eſpecially in *Leo*, who in his Decretal Epiſtle moſt ſolemnly commends this Edict for an Ancient and undoubted Evidence, ſuch as he knew by ſight and ſence to be the true Deed of *Conſtantine*, which yet the Cardinal, after long ſifting of Monuments and Records, teſtifieth to be a Forgery, and that of the *Græcians* firſt of all deviſed, as he ſaith, about Seven hundred, and publiſhed Eight hundred years after the Death of *Conſtantine*. *Stenchus* (*b*) againſt this

(a) *Baron. ad An.* 1191. *Num.* 52. *&c.*

(b) *De Don. Conſtant.*

Date aſſerteth it for marvelous Impudence in any to deny that this Donation or Edict is ſet down in thoſe Acts of *Sylveſter*, whereof *Gelaſius* ſpeaketh, ſaying, I can produce all Libraries for witneſs hereof, all which have, together with the Hiſtory of *Sylveſter*'s Baptizing *Conſtantine*, this Donation Priviledge or Edict.

And *Stenchus* the Vatican Library-keeper.

55. This *Stenchus*, who was alſo Library-keeper to the Pope, convinceth as an eye Witneſs his Fellow *Baronius* of Impudence and Untruth, for denying this Donation to be mentioned in theſe Acts of *Sylveſter*, of which *Gelaſius* ſpeaks, and for ſlandering the *Greeks* as deviſers of it about the Year 1000, which to have been in their Vatican before that in the time of *Gelaſius*, he for a certainty aſſures us. Hence a Learned Man deſervedly breaks forth into this Exclamation: How may we truſt any Vatican Library-keeper, if *Stenchus*, an Eye-witneſs, be not to be truſted in this Caſe? And if we credit him, who ever hereafter will truſt his Fellow *Baronius*, who thus notoriouſly downſaceth the Truth? However one may rightly affirm that both of them do in part ſay truth, and both of them in part do err. That this Edict of Donation is a very Figment, *Baronius* rightly avoucheth, but *Stenchus* and the reſt holding the contrary with him, ſpeak far amiſs. Again, that this Edict was of Ancient time in the Popes Library, and in thoſe Acts of *Sylveſter*, which *Gelaſius* mentioneth, in this *Stenchus* deſerveth to be credited. But *Baronius*, in ſaying it was not extant till the 1000 year after Chriſt, nor publiſhed till *Balſamon*'s time, in thoſe the Cardinal ſaith far amiſs. So with *Stenchus* we profeſs, and have proved alſo the ſame Edict to be nothing elſe but a Forgery and Figment. What they ſay amiſs we reject in either: what they rightly affirm, we accept of either, and upon the true Confeſſion of *Baronius*, we conclude it to be a Forgery. And upon both theſe Truths, which they ſeverally profeſs, we rightly and ſafely conclude it to be an Ancient Forgery.

Dr Crackanth. *quo ſupra.*

Another Popiſh Argument for the Donation

56. But though the Edict or inſtrument of the Donation be forged or falſified, yet the Donation it ſelf may be good, ſaith (*a*) *Gretzer*, who for ſuch Labours to defend it, telling us that the Popes have other undoubted Charters for their Temporal Dominions, (which Cardinal (*b*) *Albanus* flatly denies) though their Rights juſtly rely alſo upon the Donation of *Conſtantine*. His ſtrange reaſoning lyes in *perhaps*, an acute Logician, ſaith he, will ſay, *That perhaps the Donation was made by witneſſes only without any Inſtrument.* But though a frivolous caviling Sophiſter may, yet no ſober Man will ſay ſo. Where are theſe Witneſſes, or who ever heard of them? Why may not the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* plead the like Donation by word of Mouth, of *Rome* and *Italy* from *Conſtantine* to him and his Succeſſors for ever; and ſay it is proved by Witneſſes, that now are dead without any Deed or Inſtrument to teſtifie the ſame? And how can an acute Logician effectually overthrow the one and defend the other Donation? But to ſilence the Jeſuits acute Logician, three ſeveral Popes, *viz. Adrian*, *Leo* the Ninth, and *Nicholas* the Third, are Witneſſes that the Donation of *Conſtantine* was made by a Charter and Inſtrument, whereof the firſt ſaith of that Conſtitution, and others that they were kept in *Lateranenſi Scrinio*, in the *Lateran* Regiſtry; and this was about the Year 790. The ſecond tells us he ſaw and handled the very Charter of *Conſtantine*'s Donation, which was about the Year 1050. And the third ſaith that *Conſtantine* left unto *Sylveſter* the City of *Rome*, and declared *Per Pragmaticum Conſtitutum*, by a Pragmatical Conſtitution or Writ of Record, that he and his Succeſſors ſhould have the diſpoſing or Government thereof; which was about the Year 1280. To theſe might be added the Teſtimonies of Cardinal *Albanus* and ſeveral others, of whom ſome profeſs they were Eye-witneſſes of that (forged) Conſtitution.

Drawn from perhaps.

(a) *Append. ad lib. de munific. Princip.*
(b) *Lib. de Don. Conſtant.*

57. *Gretzer* his acute Logician will farther ſay. *It may be that the Inſtrument or Charter is either periſhed or corrupted by long Continuance.* A Saying every whit as worthy and rational as the former. So may alſo another, and as good a Logician ſay of the Donation of *Rome* and *Italy* made by *Conſtantine* to the Biſhops of *Conſtantinople*. And whether is *Stenchus*, with all Libraries, Pope *Gelaſius*, and *Leo* the Ninth, ſo aſſuredly teſtifying the forged Charter not to be loſt or periſhed: or *Gretzer*'s Logician, coming in with another *perhaps* more to be credited in this Cauſe? After theſe ſo furious Aſſaults of Logick, he leads on his great and prevalent Arguments, which he is forced to call *Probabilities* or *Conjectures*. One of the beſt is taken out of *Baronius*, who ſaith. *It is not for nothing that the French Kings in their Writs of Donation do profeſs that they reſtore to the* Roman *Church the Dominions which they took from the* Lombards.

And from Probabilities and Conjectures.

But the Inference thence made, is neither neceſſary nor probable. They might be reſtored, though the Popes had got them by Invaſion, wrongful Intruſion, Fraud, Robbery, Rebellion or Treaſon, as the Popes got them in very Deed, from the Eaſtern Emperour, not poſſeſſing them by Right or by any Donation, much leſs that of *Conſtantine*, as is clear from *Sigonius* an Hiſtorian of their own, and we ſhall particularly diſcover in due time and place. His other Conjecture is, *Seeing it is moſt certain that before* Pipin's *time, yea before* Aripert's (*that is before the* 704. *year of our Lord*) *the Popes had divers Provinces ſubject to their Dominion, and there appears no Evidence for any other Title, whereby they ſhould have and hold thoſe Lands, it followeth that the right to have them is not unprobably derived from the Donation of* Conſtantine.

58. His Proof is only of the Patrimony of the *Cottian Alps*, and his Concluſion is of many Provinces, whereas that Patrimony was ſo far from (*a*) containing many or any one Province, that it was but certain Villages or Farm-houſes in the Northweſt Part of the *Alps*; and what is this to the Donation pretended from *Conſtantine*? A few Cottages or Farm-houſes, as he himſelf calls them, to *Rome*, to all *Italy*, to all the Weſtern Provinces and Kingdoms. And were there not many other means how the Pope might get them beſides *Conſtantine*'s Donation? Beſides it is clear from *Sigonius*, that *Aripert* and *Litprandus* gave of their own to the *Roman* See, as well as reſtored thoſe Farms, and how could they give what was its Right before? And farther, what is this Patrimony which their own Writers confeſs to have owned ſubjection to the Emperour by Tribute, to an Imperial Monarchical Supream and Independent Dominion in all *Italy* and the Weſtern Provinces? Theſe Arguments are too frivolous to be inſiſted on: we ſhall come to thoſe of our own againſt this Donation, which carry with them much more weight, and will, to any indifferent Perſon, put the queſtion out of all Diſpute. The firſt is drawn from the Teſtament of *Conſtantine*, wherein he is ſaid to have divided the whole Empire amongſt his Sons. To be ſure whether it was divided before or after his Death, the Weſtern Part fell to *Conſtantine* and *Conſtans*, the Eaſtern to *Conſtantius*, even by conſent of the Pope's greateſt Diſciples *Sigonius* and (*c*) *Baronius*. Then is it at all to be believed, that if *Conſtantine* had formerly made, either by Word or Writing, an abſolute Donation of *Rome*, *Italy*, and the Weſtern Provinces to the Pope (and that ſo Solemnly, that as *Leo* the Ninth ſaith, he Decreed that Donation to abide firm and inviolable unto the end of the World) ſo Pious and Prudent an Emperour would within twelve Years after do contrary to his own Act? Eſpecially in his laſt Will and Teſtament, wherein he would rather have teſtified his Religious Affection and Love to the Church, by an Addition of ſome other Gift, than leave ſo eternal a Blemiſh upon his Name, of Inconſtancy, Injuſtice, Impiety, Sacrilege, and making his own Children Inheritors of what he knew was neither his to give, nor which they, without open Injuſtice (if he had right to give it) Impiety and Sacrilege might accept, hold or Poſſeſs.

(a) *Sigonius de Regn. Ital. lib.* 1.

Which are ſilly, and as ſuch proved by three convincing Arguments.

(b) *De occident. Imp. l.* 5.
(c) *Ad Ann.* 337.

59. A ſecond reaſon is, the perpetual Poſſeſſion and Dominion which the Emperours had of *Rome* and *Italy*, with the Government thereof, which continued ſtill in them, not only after *Conſtantine*'s time, but even whilſt he lived, till it was unjuſtly firſt taken from them by the Popes, and then confirmed by *Pipin*, *Charles* the Great and others. In the very next Year after this ſuppoſed Donation, was (*a*) *Severus* Præfect of *Rome* appointed by *Conſtantine* to govern it, with the Cities belonging thereunto, by Imperial Authority as it formerly had been: The next year after was (*b*) *Maximus*, the two following (*c*) *Ancius Julianus* and *Optalianus*, and throughout all *Conſtantine*'s time, every Year he had his Lieutenants to Govern the City of *Rome* for him and in his Right. It were eaſie to expreſs almoſt in each Year the ſeveral *Præfecti urbis* under *Conſtans*, *Conſtantius*, *Valentinian*, *Theodoſius* and other Emperours, for more than One hundred Years after *Conſtantine*, and ſeveral have according to occaſion been mentioned. After the time of *Valentinian* the Younger, when the Weſtern Empire, through the Corruption of Barbarous Nations, began to decay, that the Supream Government of *Rome* and *Italy* ſtill remained in the Emperour his appointing Kings of *Italy*, after them Dukes of *Rome*, and Exarchs of *Ravenna* is a ſufficient proof, and this is evident, not only from other Authors, but *Sigonius* (*d*) the Popes own Servant. Now can it be imagined that all theſe Emperours would ſo injuriouſly intrude into St. *Peter*'s Patrimony? Can any one imagine that the Popes, Men of high Courage to defend their Right, would have put up ſo great Wrong, without ſo much as once checking

(a) C.*Th.l* 2. *de judiciis.*
(b) C.*Th.l.*2. *ad legem com. de falſo.*
(c) Onuph. *in Faſtos. l.* 2.
(d) *L.* 14, 15, *&c.*

checking the Emperour for ſo open Injuſtice, Sacrilege, and Uſurpation? May not the ſilence of ſo many Popes, and continued Poſſeſſion by ſo many Emperours, be thought a juſt reaſon to condemn that pretended Donation?

60. But the third Proof, that *Conſtantine* made no ſuch Donation, is the Teſtimony of their own Writers, who ſeeing that neither *Euſebius*, *Rufinus*, *Theodoret*, *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, *Eutropius*, *Victor*, St. *Jerome*, St. *Auguſtin*, St. *Baſil*, St. *Chryſoſtome*, nor *Ammianus*, the *Tripertite Hiſtory*, *Damaſcen*, *Bede*, nor *Oroſius*, nor any who have moſt diligently written the Acts of *Conſtantine* (being Authors of good Credit) not only do make no mention of this Donation, but further declare that he ſo divided the *Roman* Empire amongſt his Three Sons, that all *Italy* was alotted to one of them. And own it as a Fable concerning the Teſtimonies of whom, as alſo the Arguments offered by *Marta* and others in vain, to confirm the Fictitious Donation, amongſt many others who have written abundantly to ſatisfaction in this Argument, Dr.* *Crackanthorp* a moſt Learned Church Antiquary is eſpecially to be conſulted, we having rather by ſaying ſo much, tranſcended the Nature of our Deſign.

61. *Conſtantine*, though not guilty of ſuch a Crime, as to found or eſtabliſh a Spiritual Tyranny, yet ſufficiently provided for the Patrimony of the Church, firſt by (*a*) reſtoring, as we formerly ſaid, its Ancient Poſſeſſions, of which it had been robbed in times of Perſecution, the Oblations and Treaſures of the Church being before his time ſo very great, that the Biſhops of *Rome* might eaſily purchaſe much more than that one Patrimony in the *Cottian Alps*, containing a few Farms or Villages. He became a very great Benefactor by that Law mentioned by the (*b*) Author of his Life, by Virtue whereof; If none of the Kindred of Martyrs Confeſſors and Exiles were alive, who might ſucceed them as Heirs, it was Enacted, that every where, and for ever, the Church ſhould have and enjoy their Poſſeſſions. Theſe Incouragements his own Example and the Religious Inclination of Chriſtians, always affectionate in their firſt Converſion, were ſufficient Foundations for ample Structures. Many private Men gave not only Goods, but Lands and fair Poſſeſſions both to other Churches and that of *Rome*. *Proſper* (*c*) writes, that the Church of *Arles* was inriched with the Poſſeſſions that many beſtowed on it. So many and ſo ample Donations of Lands were made to the Church in St. *Auſtin*'s time, that both *Aurelius* (*d*) his Predeceſſor, and (*e*) himſelf alſo ſometime, refuſed Lands that were offered to be given, ſometimes reſtored them, and that unasked, after they were given. The like Donations might be ſhewed in other Churches, eſpecially in the *Roman*, to which they were ſo uſually made, that Chriſtian Emperours (as *Valentinian*, *Gratian* and *Theodoſius*) by their (*f*) Edicts did reſtrain them; and the like Laws were made in *Spain* and *France* in after-times, which were imitated by the Famous Statute of *Mortmain*, Enacted here in *England Novemb.* 4. in the Seventh Year of *Edward* the Firſt. But thus much of the Reformation of Religion by *Conſtantine*, carried on as the Times and Affairs would comport, the Progreſs and Perfection of it we ſhall diſcover in due time and order.

Such large Gifts to the Church, that enforceth a Statute of *Mortmain.*

* In his Defence of *Conſtantine* and his Treatiſe of the Popes Temporal Dominion

(a) *Euſeb. Eccl. Hiſt. l.* 10. *c.* 5. *& vita Conſtant. lib.* 2. *c.* 39.

(c) *L.* 2. *c.* 36.

(c) *De vita Contemp. l.* 2. *c.* 9.

(d) *Serm.* 49. *de diverſ.*

(e) *Poſſidonius in vita Aug. c.* 24.

(f) *C. Th. l.* 20. *de Epiſt. Eccl. & clericis.*

Chap. II.

The Church Polity.

Order and Government abſolutely neceſſary.

1. THat Government and Order are neceſſary for the well being of Mankind, however diſtinguiſhed into Parties and Societies, is too evident to be diſputed; the Effects of them, and of their Contraries, are ſo convincing, that they equal the Cauſes of the moſt clear Demonſtrations. Such is the Depravity of Mens Minds and Inclinations, ſo violent their Tendency to all Miſchief, that they can no more ſubſiſt without Government, that live without Diſorders (if left to themſelves) and mutual Injuries. Therefore hath the wiſe Creator and Diſpoſer of all things, that he might regulate our Inconſtancy, and bridle the Extravagance of our wild and violent Affections, ordained his Deputies in the World, with a Rule for Direction, and a Rod for the Corruption of Manners, with that to lead, and this to drive us on in the right way, leſt the diſturbance of Order ſhould bring Confuſion, and Confuſion certain Ruine and Deſtruction.

2. Such being Gods Ordinance and Conſtitution in Civil Society and external Commerce, can it be ſuppoſed that equal Care ſhould be wanting for the Government of his Church, which is the *Houſe of God*, the *City of the living God*, the *Kingdom of his moſt dear Son*. He that takes ſuch Care for Kingdoms of the World, would he not make as good Proviſion for ſuch as he hath taken out of the World? If Diſorder, Confuſion and Anarchy be a thing to be dreaded in the State, is it not as much to be feared in the Church? God is no where the Father of Confuſion, but of Order and Peace, how much more than in that Spiritual Community? Where he Commands that all things be done Decently and in Order? But what Order can there be, where there is no Governour, where there is none that obeys, where every one may do what is lawful in his own Eyes? Therefore hath he appointed Stewards over his Family, Leaders over his Flock, Labourers over his Harveſt, Husbandmen over his Field, in ſum, Diverſities of Adminiſtrations both for the Building and Preſerving of his Church, which is the Body of Chriſt. In it hath he placed, as in the Humane Body, ſeveral Principal Members in Subjection and Subordination to himſelf the Head, which being as Eyes, Ears, Mouth and Hands, the Body might not ſeem Deformed and Maimed, nor be unable, for want of Help and Conduct, to look to it ſelf, or provide for its own Health and Security. But we muſt not ſuppoſe that Diſcipline is neceſſary in the Church meerly for to contain the People in Obedience, for regulating the Flock, and not for the Government of the Paſtors. This were to ſecure the Feet, and neglect the upper and moſt Principal Parts, which by how much they are more Excellent, the Diſeaſes of them are more Dangerous? The Houſe cannot ſtand, if the Builders themſelves pull it down, the Harveſt muſt be loſt, if the Labourers Scatter, and Gather not. If the Salt have loſt its Savour, wherewith ſhall it be Seaſoned? If the Light of the day be Darkneſs, how great is the Darkneſs of the Body? If the Leaders themſelves go Aſtray, the Souldiers muſt needs go aſide and Wander.

For Regulating the Paſtors as well as the Flock.

3. Yet in a thing of ſuch Conſequence, and wherein no leſs than the Welfare of the Body of Chriſt himſelf is concerned, a Polity and Government is not to be Framed according to the Pleaſure of Man, neither is his Fancy to be the Standard where Decency and Order are the utmoſt Bounds. An indeavour is to be uſed ever, that the ſame Adminiſtration of External Diſcipline be uſed in the Church, which our Lord himſelf hath taught, and from the Beginning of the World approved. Now that Polity which God appointed at the Beginning for the External Government of his People (the Internal by his Spirit in the Hearts of the Faithful we own and meddle not with) conſiſted in the Authority and Power given to Fathers over their Families. For he would that the Fathers ſhould be both Inſtructors and Governours to their Children, Nephews, and all under their Power, commanding their whole Off-ſpring to pay them Honour, Obedience and Obſervance, to acknowledge the Will of God revealed to their Fathers, and obey their Admonitions and Inſtructions in his Worſhip. A moſt certain

Paternal Government firſt appointed by God himſelf.

Conſule Bilſonum Epiſcop. Vintonenſem lib. de perpetua Eccleſiæ Chriſti Gubernatione cap. 1. &c.

certain Reward of this Obedience, was the Bleſſing of God pronounced by the Mouths of Parents, who alſo foretold the Curſe of God againſt Diſobedient and Rebellious Children. The Patriarchs of old were Prieſts and Prophets for their Progeny, and Magiſtrates alſo for the Government and Reſtrainment of them, it being the Will of God in thoſe times to have his People ruled only by Paternal Power. Hence in the Decalogue *Moſes* comprehends Princes *per Magiſtrates* in the name of Parents, and in the Old Teſtament almoſt every where Princes and Goverours are ſtiled Fathers, the Holy Ghoſt ſignifying that Princes ought to imbrace and tender their Subjects with the ſame Love and Care that Parents bear to their own Children, for as much as by Divine Inſtitution all the Power of Princes flowed from Paternal Authority. From *Adam* to *Moſes* we have deſcending a Power of Fathers over their Children, and Eldeſt Sons (except where by an extraordinary Providence the Caſe was altered) over their Brothers and the reſt of the Family, in a continued Series for the Government of the Church eſtabliſhed and approved by God, but of Equality or Colation in Government, neither any Precept nor Example.

A Select Tribe choſen to the Exerciſe of Holy things.

4. The Family of *Jacob* being grown into a Nation, that Domeſtick Diſcipline, as more agreeable to a Family than a Nation or Region, was abrogated; and out of Twelve Tribes one was choſen for the Exerciſe of Prieſthood, and the Charge of all Holy things; wherein, according to the Number and Order of ſuch Princes as deſcended from their common Progenitor *Levi*, God Ordained ſeveral Degrees and Dignities, for the Interpretation of the Law and the Service of the Altar, which Degrees were ſo regulated, that not only the *Levites* were under the *Prieſts*, but alſo of both ſorts ſome were inferior and ſubject unto others. Of the *Levites* were Princes ſuch as were Chief of the Families of *Gerſhon*, *Kohath*, and *Merari*, the three Sons of *Levi*, after whom followed other Fathers who directed their Brethren the *Levites* in their Miniſterial Function, and whereof ſome were made Judges and Magiſtrates, as well elſewhere as in their own Cities, not only in the work of the Lord, but the Kings buſineſs alſo. And ſome of them were Aſſiſtants in the Great Council or *Synodrium* of *Hieruſalem*, to the Princes of the Prieſts and Tribes. Amongſt the Prieſts themſelves the Prime Dignity remained in the High Prieſt, who by Divine Inſtitution was Chief or Prince of the Princes of *Levi*, and was over the Chiefeſt Judges at *Hieruſalem*, as well Prieſts as others, in the Lords buſineſs. Which Honour was given him, not becauſe herein he was a Type of Chriſt, but becauſe this Form of Government was fitteſt for the Jewiſh Church: For neither *Aaron* nor any of his Succeſſors repreſented the Kingly Office of Chriſt; otherwiſe our Saviour had been a Prieſt after the Order of *Aaron*, as well as that of *Melchiſedeck*, if *Aaron* as well as *Melchiſedeck* had obtained as well the Dignity of King as Prieſt: but it is ſufficiently clear, that the Scepter belonged to *Judah*, and not to *Levi*.

Who govern it with equal Power, but are of different Orders and Degrees.

5. To the High-Prieſt (who ever ought to be of the Family of *Eleazar* and *Phineas*) was adjoyned another, as his Second or Deputy out of the Progeny of *Ithamar* the other Son of *Aaron*, to whom were ſubject the *Gerſhonites* and *Merarites* in the Miniſtery of the Tabernacle. And from theſe two Roots as it were ſprung thoſe Four and Twenty (*a*) called Heads and Fathers of the Prieſts, amongſt whom *David* cauſed Lots to be caſt, that they might by turns ſerve in the Houſe of the Lord. And as they were ſubject to the former two Princes or Heads, ſo had they others (*b*) ſubject to them, as well Prieſts as Levites, whoſe Service they uſed in the diſcharging of their Courſes. Their number ſometimes failed both by reaſon of frequent Exile, and the decay of Families; but in the Old Teſtament they were called (*c*) Fathers and Heads of the Prieſts, and in the New Chief Prieſts or 'Αρχιερεῖς. Of both ſorts we ſaid not only Prieſts but Levites were Judges appointed and Governours of Cities as well others as their own Forty eight. And many Cauſes of greateſt moment were brought before them alone, or for the moſt part, as thoſe concerning Leproſie, Jealouſie, Secret Homicide, Falſe Witneſs and the like, in which Matters the People and Magiſtrates were bound to conſult and expect the Sentence of the Prieſts. But we muſt not forget that the moſt Doubtful Intricate and Weighty Matters were referred to the greateſt and graveſt Council or Sanhedrim, which being to ſit by Gods Command at the place where the Ark of the Teſtimony abode, in the time of King *Jehoſhaphat*, conſiſted of the Levites, Prieſts, and Heads of the Families of *Iſrael*, had *Amariah* the High Prieſt, Prince or Chief in all Matters of the Lord, and *Zebadiah* Prince of the Houſe of *Judah*, chief in the Kings buſineſs.

This

(a) 1 *Chron.* 24.

(b) *Nehem.* 12.

(c) *Ibid.*

(d) *Mat.* 12. *v.* 16. *Mark* 11. *v.* 14.

This Sanhedrim thus Conſtituted in the time of *Jehoſhaphat*, a Prince moſt obſervant of the Moſaical Law, was but a continuation of that great Council of Seventy Elders whom God Ordained as Aſſiſtants to *Moſes* in the great Burthen of Government. Now although we ſhall not deny, that by reaſon of the peculiar Conſtitution of the Jewiſh Commonwealth under the Moſaical Law, no * neceſſary Conſequence can be drawn from the diverſe degrees of Prieſts and Levites, to the framing of the very ſame Polity in the Church of Chriſt, yet for Preſervation of good Order, that the Paſtors and Governours of Gods Flock may the better do their Duty, and not be found unworthy of their calling, either in reſpect of Depravity of Manners, or unſoundneſs of Opinion, the Wiſdom of God that evidently appeareth in the Levitical Polity, is not lightly to be eſteemed or rejected. For if in every well conſtituted Society Order is very neceſſary; and Confuſion, of which God never is Author, is with all Induſtry to be ſhunned; we neither ought to inquire for, neither can we find a more excellent or perfect Pattern of Church Government (ſo far as time, place, and the Condition of Perſons will bear) than what by God himſelf was ſettled and confirmed in the Church and Commonwealth of the *Jews*. And although that Government be not thoroughly known, neither is there neceſſity of being fully conformable to it, by reaſon of the many and various Differences and Diſproportions betwixt that Commonwealth and the Chriſtian Church, ſpread ſo far and wide amongſt ſo many and various Nations; yet this is clear, that God would not have that Church governed by all the Prieſts and Levites qualified with equal Power and Authority, but that he ſubjected ſome to others, as well in the Sacred Function as the Civil Government, and that all ſate not promiſcuouſly in that great Sanhedrim of the Seventy Elders, but ſuch only were choſen into that Aſſembly who were eminent for their Virtue, or Nobility of their Extraction. Hence it is evident from the Levitical Diſcipline, that the Government of the Church by Miniſters of unequal and differing Orders and Degrees, is more agreeable to the Wiſdom of God revealed in his word, than that which indifferently allows to Paſtors equal, or one and the ſame Authority.

* *Vide eund. cap. 4.*

Subordinate to each other.

6. Whilſt our Lord himſelf was upon Earth, although all Power in Heaven and Earth was given him, yet did he not manifeſt or challenge it till he was riſen from the Dead, but the External Government of the Church he left to others, as not ſo proper to the Son of God as to Mortal Men. His Kingdom was not of this World, but Spiritual, exerciſing his Authority over all in the Power and Majeſty of the Spirit, protecting and defending his Subjects againſt all outward and inward Enemies, and carrying on his work notwithſtanding all Oppoſition, in an irreſiſtible, though Secret and Spiritual way. The external Adminiſtration of Power, ſuch as was convenient for the Peace, Order, and Decency of his Church, he delegated to thoſe whom he made Leaders of his Flock and Stewards of his Houſhold, upon the removal of his Corporal preſence. Thoſe were his Diſciples of whom whilſt yet he was upon Earth he made two Orders or Ranks, one of Apoſtles, being Twelve Meſſengers inveſted with chiefeſt Authority; another of Seventy Perſons more in number, but with leſs Power, whom he ſent before him to Preach in each City or Town whether he ſhould come. They (not thoſe) were his conſtant Followers and Domeſtick Attendants, heard all his Sermons, ſaw all his Works, being choſen for this purpoſe to be certain and Eye-witneſſes to the World of his Doctrine, Miracles, Afflictions, Death and Reſurrection. They and no others were at Table with him at his laſt Supper, heard the Prayers he made, received his comfortable and incouraging words, and the large Promiſes he made at parting. To them did he aſſign the whole World as a Province to Teach and Baptize; and thoſe did he ſend as Ambaſſadors *à latere* not only to Preach the Heavenly Truth, and Found Churches throughout the World, but to direct and order in his Name and by his Authority, all the Faithful in all things concerning Faith and Manners; to preſcribe Order in Government of his Church, and therein Eſtabliſh what might be neceſſary for its Increaſe, Peace and Unity, for reſtraining the Rebellious and Refractory, Proviſion of Faithful Paſtors, ſtopping the Mouths of gainſayers, and delivering up to Satan ſuch as were incorrigible in Wickedneſs and Blaſphemy. And for all thoſe things they had moſt ample Gifts of the Spirit, and were indued with Power from on High.

Chriſt appoints his Apoſtles and the Elders in like manner.

7. In this manner of chuſing Diſciples and gathering the firſt beginnings of his Chriſtian Church, our Saviour ſeemeth to have reſpected the Jewiſh Polity, wherein Twelve Princes by Gods appointment were choſen out of the Tribes, one out of each, and afterwards Seventy Elders were joyned with the reſt in Council. By which diverſity both of number and degree, a difference appears clearly in the Dignity of Governours, both in the People of God and Chriſt's Church, and is evident in the promotion of *Matthias*, after the Treaſon and end of *Judas*, who was one of the Seventy. The Apoſtles had under them certain Diſciples, whom they ſtill took with them as well for eaſe as Company, and when they had been ſufficiently inſtructed, they partly ſent to plant other Churches, when they themſelves were called away into other places, ſometimes imployed in perfecting what was begun, reſtoring what was decayed, or otherwiſe as occaſion required: And for that they knew by reaſon of their conſtant Converſe the whole ſenſe and mind of the Apoſtles, they were appointed (as *Timothy* by St. *Paul*) to Ordain and Govern other Paſtors and Teachers, than whom they were therefore more eminent and of greater Dignity in the Church.

Nam qui provehitur de minori ad majus provehitur.

Par in parem non habet imperium.

8. The Apoſtles were all of the ſame † Dignity and Power, not one placed above another as to Authority. Their Lord forbad them all Ambitious Deſires, which before his Reſurrection they were not free from harping ſtill upon a ſplendid Temporal Dominion, as their Country-men do at this hour, which the *Meſſiah* ſhould enjoy. As he checked ſuch Imaginations, and denied them the uſe of the Temporal Sword, (which as he found ſo he left to the Magiſtrate,) he was ſo far from forbidding them the exerciſe of juſt Authority over others, that he placed them in Dignity above all others in his Church, neither forbad them to receive any Names or Titles of reſpect, but ambitiouſly to ſeek after and deſire them. Neither did he joyn in equal Authority any Presbytery or Society of inferior Paſtors for the Government of the Church, much leſs any Lay-perſons, an Invention that bears not the Date of One hundred and fifty years, and never was heard of till of late time in the Church of God, whatever is pretended. The Apoſtles were furniſhed with admirable Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, but ſuch as were requiſite for the laying of ſuch conſiderable Foundations as thoſe of Chriſtianity; for converting the Incredulous that never had heard of *Chriſt*, and when they did, would be too apt to ſtumble at his Sufferings; for ſtrengthening the Faithful, who were but ſadly entertained by the unbelieving World; and for furniſhing ſo many Churches newly planted with careful and able Paſtors. The Church being ſettled, there was no neceſſity of the continuance of ſuch Miraculous Power. The Scripture is ſufficient in all Ages to declare the Truth; the Miracles then wrought give it ſufficient Teſtimony; the Authority of that firſt Commiſſion is ſtill continued by Succeſſion: The Abilities of Paſtors do not now appear on a ſudden, but ripen with time if they be induſtrious. Yet thoſe parts of Apoſtolical Office which lye in Teaching, Baptizing, Adminiſtring the Lords Supper, looſing and binding, laying on of Hands in the Ordination of Paſtors and Miniſters, theſe ſtill continue in the Church, and ſo muſt as long as the Church it ſelf continues. Theſe we may in fewer words diſtinguiſh into Doctrine and Diſcipline, Adminiſtration of the Word and Sacraments, and the Power of the Keys and Ordination.

† *Nam Apoſtoli omnes pari Conſortio præditi erant & poteſtate. Cyprian de unitate Eccleſiæ.*

Claves Regni cælorum acceperant, & ſuper eos Eccleſiæ ſoliditate æquo fundata eſt. Hieronym. adverſus Jovinianum.

Vide Bilſonum ut ſuprà c. 7. &c.

9. The former did belong indifferently to all Paſtors and Miniſters of the Church, Preaching the Word and Adminiſtring the Sacraments, was their general Office and Duty whilſt the Apoſtles yet lived, who reſerved Power of the Keys and Ordination to themſelves. Such they choſe at firſt for Paſtors and Teachers, as were for their Age and Gravity moſt capable of Reverence and Honour, in which reſpect they were called *Presbyters* (from which word is derived the French *Preſtres* and our *Prieſts*) or *Elders*. Afterwards ſuch Young Men as were of ſpecial Abilities were admitted, and yet retained the old Name which uſe had made Familiar. The Apoſtles themſelves are ſometimes called *Presbyters* or *Elders*, as (*a*) St. *Peter* taketh that Title upon him, and thoſe Presbyters from their inſpection or overſight are termed *Epiſcopi* or *Biſhops*, thoſe Names being (*b*) promiſcuouſly uſed at the firſt Plantation of Chriſtian Churches, which were governed by all thoſe Presbyters in common under the Apoſtles. But afterwards, as (*c*) St. *Hierome* writes, Factions and Parties being made by ſuch as training and Baptizing ſought to draw Diſciples after them, it was Decreed throughout the whole World, that for the removing of Schiſm and Diſſentions, one of thoſe Presbyters ſhould be choſen and ſet over the reſt, and him to whom the

(a) 1 *Pet.* 5.

(b) *Philip.* 1. *Tit.* 1. *Act.* 20.

(c) *Ad Evagrium & in Tit.*

Schiſms ariſe in the Church by reaſon of the Equality of Presbyters.

the whole Care of the Church ſhould belong, they named (in a peculiar and eminent way) *Epiſcopus* or *Biſhop*. Indeed the Apoſtles at their firſt Preaching of the Goſpel, might not think it neceſſary to commit the Government of Churches unto *Biſhops*, becauſe the chief Authority of Impoſition of Hands, and binding and looſing they would keep in their own Hands; and being by *Chriſt* himſelf made Univerſal Biſhops and Overſeers; as alſo becauſe they would not commit ſo great a Charge to any, before they had had ſufficient Experience of their Fidelity, Gravity, Prudence and Learning; and alſo leſt they ſhould ſeem rather to ſtudy the Honour and Preferment of their Diſciples than the Converſion of Souls; therefore they ſuffered the Churches firſt to make trial of many Governours, from the equality of whom great Diſturbance and Confuſion ariſing, and they being called ſtill away into other places by freſh Occaſions, were neceſſarily conſtrained to ſet over each Church a Paſtor of approved Fidelity, which willingly received him, having by ſad Experience learnt what Diſturbances Hereſies and Schiſms the Wickedneſſes and Diſcord of Teachers had produced, and how unfit the confuſed Rule and equal Power of Presbyters was to prevent or remove thoſe Diſtempers.

Epiphanius.

For prevention thereof Biſhops are made.

10. That thoſe Factions and Diſſentions ſpoken of by St. *Jerome* happened in the time of the Apoſtles, is evident from the Epiſtles written by St. *Paul* to the (*a*) *Corinthians*, (*b*) *Romans*, (*c*) *Galatians*, (*d*) *Philippians*, (*e*) *Coloſſians* and (*f*) *Theſſalonians*, and the Writings of (*g*) others of the Apoſtles. And St. *Hierome* himſelf (though thought none of the greateſt Friends of Epiſcopacy) beareth witneſs in that he compareth the Polity of the Chriſtian Church to that of the Jewiſh, and ſaith, the *Apoſtolical Traditions were taken from the Old Teſtament*, (h) *and what* Aaron *his Sons and the Levites were in the Temple, that may Biſhops, Presbyters and Deacons challenge to themſelves*; clearly hinting, that as in the Temple amongſt Prieſts, ſo in the Church of Chriſt the Apoſtles made a difference betwixt Biſhops and Presbyters; as he doth in another place plainly affirm, that (*i*) *the Safety of the Church hangs on the Dignity of a Chief Prieſt (or Biſhop) to whom, if a free and eminent Power, after all the reſt, be not granted, as many Schiſms as Prieſts will be made in the Church.* Elſewhere, (*k*) *That afterwards one was choſen who ſhould be ſet over the reſt; a remedy was made in Schiſms, leaſt every one drawing to himſelf, ſhould break the Church of Chriſt. Now at* Alexandria *from* Mark *the Evangeliſt unto* Heracles *and* Dionyſius *the Biſhops, the Presbyters ever named ſome one Biſhop that was choſen from amongſt themſelves and placed in an higher degree.* Hence it appears plainly, that Epiſcopacy is of Apoſtolical Inſtitution, which the ſeveral Succeſſions of Biſhops in ſeveral Sees before the death of St. *John* make evident; ſo that the Superiority in Biſhops, which he ſaith was brought in rather by the Cuſtom of the Church than Divine Diſpoſition; rather reſpect ſuch Cuſtoms as were afterwards brought in by Cannons (ſuch were, that Presbyters could not Baptize without the Biſhops Licence, nor Preach in his preſence) at leaſt if the Apoſtles had no expreſs Command for it, as St. *Paul* (*l*) diſtinguiſheth betwixt that and his own Opinion and Judgment in the matter of Virgins; yet muſt we not think (as the Apoſtle in modeſty expreſſeth himſelf) that they had the Spirit of Chriſt, who would not doubtleſs leave them to a Fallible and Humane one, in a buſineſs of ſuch Conſequence, as the Government and well ordering of his Church.

(a) 1 *Cor.* 11.
(b) *Rom.* 16.
(c) *Gal.* 1. & 3.
(d) *Philip.* 3.
(e) *Coloſſ.* 2.
(f) 1 *Theſſ.* 2. 2 *Theſſ.* 2.
(g) 2 *Pet.* 2. 1 *John* 2. &c. 2 *John*.
(h) *Ad Evagrium.*
(i) *Adverſus Lucif.*
(k) *ad Evagr.*
(l) 1 *Cor.* 7

Epiſcopacy of Apoſtolical Inſtitution.

The manner of chuſing or electing a Biſhop.

11. Such an Officer by the name of *Epiſcopus* or *Biſhop*, was choſen after this manner: When a Biſhop was dead, whoſe Church was furniſhed with many Presbyters fit to ſucceed him, the Biſhops neareſt to him of the ſame Province meeting together, agreed upon a day for an Election, which day they divulged both to the People and Clergy. At the day appointed both People and Clergy meeting in the Church, as many Biſhops as poſſibly could be preſent (but without Three nothing could be done) gave their attendance on the Election, and took notice of ſuch as the People and Clergy choſe. If all or the greater part of any Sort or Order unanimouſly pitched upon one Perſon, he was declared Elect, and a day was named for his Conſecration, his Name and the time of his Conſecration being affixed to the Doors of the Church, with warning, that if any one would object any thing againſt the Party to be choſen, they ſhould appear ſufficiently furniſhed for ſuch an Affair at ſuch a time and place. At the ſecond time of their meeting, ſuch Biſhops as aſſembled for Conſecration and Impoſition of Hands, if after diligent inquiry into the Manners of the Party, they found him ſuch a one as the Apoſtle had deſcribed, they

Cypr. l. 1. *ep.* 4.

Ordained him Paſtor, and gave him a ſtrict Charge in the preſence of all the Multitude. If any Crime was objected, and proved againſt him, they judged him unworthy, and proceeded to the Election of ſome other whom both the Clergy and People did unanimouſly deſign to this Office. The Care of the Ancient Chriſtians in chooſing their Paſtors was ſo remarkable to the Heathens themſelves, that *Alexander Severus* the *Roman* Emperour is ſaid by *Lampridius* to imitate it as that of the *Jews* in this manner: For when he would make any Governours of Provinces or Chief Commanders, he publiſhed their Names, deſiring the People, that if any of them were guilty of any Crime, it might be evidently proved: And he ſaid it was a ſad thing that this ſhould not be done in the Provinces which Chriſtians and Jews practiced toward ſuch of their Prieſts as were to be Ordained.

In Alex. Sev.

Of Poſtulation or calling for a Biſhop.

Cann. 4. & 6.

12. But it happening that in certain places there were very few Clerks, or ſuch as were not fit for ſuch a Calling, in ſuch a caſe they betook themſelves to the Biſhop of the Metropolis or Mother City of that Province, and of him they deſired either ſuch a Perſon as they themſelves made choice of, or one whom he himſelf ſhould commend to them. This way of looking after a Biſhop was called *Poſtulation* as the other *Election*. At their Petition the Metropolitan having adviſed with that Biſhop whoſe Clerk they choſe, and called to him other Biſhops (two at leaſt) Examined and Conſecrated him in like manner as the former, or ſome other, if juſt cauſe required, of more approved Integrity and Worth. For the reſtraining of the Factiouſneſs of the People, and the Ambition of the Clergy, the Biſhops of the ſame Province were commanded to be preſent, that they might take care leſt Corruption, Ambition and Tumult prevailed. And for a curb to thoſe Biſhops, leſt Hatred and private Favour ſhould diſturb or pervert the Work, the Metropolitan was to be made acquainted with the whole Proceeding before they could lay Hands on him: as if any one accuſed them as far more prone, and not indifferent as to the Parties concerned, it was proper to the Metropolitan to hinder their Attempts, and with the aſſent of the greater number of Biſhops to hinder the Election, if, upon Examination, they ſaw it requiſite. The *Nicene* Council, as to this Matter, Decreed, That *a Biſhop ſhould be Conſecrated by all the Biſhops of the ſame Province; at leaſt, that Three ſhould meet together and have the conſent of the reſt expreſſed by Letters before they ſhould lay Hands on him. And that if any were Conſecrated without the knowledge and Conſent of the Metropolitan, he ought not to be owned as Biſhop, and that upon diſſent the Matter was to be decided by the major part.*

A difference in Degree and Power amongſt Biſhops.

The Chief called *Metropolitan* who præſides over the reſt in Church Matters.

13. From this moſt Antient of all General Councils, we muſt obſerve, that at that time there was a difference in Degree and Power amongſt Biſhops themſelves, that an Inſpection was given to ſome one over ſeveral others, that he was called *Metropolitan*, and the place of his Authority and Juriſdiction his *Province*: The *Metropolitan* was ſo named from the *Metropolis* or *Mother* City, ſo called either in reſpect of Colonies ſent abroad, which owned her as their Mother, or by reaſon of Power and Preheminence over and above the adjoyning Cities. This difference and relation being betwixt ſuch places long before the beginnings of the Chriſtian Church, when it came to be Eſtabliſhed, it found a neceſſity of modelling its Government according to the Secular Form. For long before Princes gave their Names to the Chriſtian Profeſſion, when the Church had no other means of diſtinguiſhing right from wrong, and Truth from Falſhood, but only by Synods, or the Meetings of Religious and Prudent Paſtors, there being no Chriſtian Magiſtrate, but the Swords being imployed not for, but againſt the Faithful in many exquiſite Perſecutions; ſuch Meetings were thought moſt convenient to be called by the Biſhops of ſuch Principal Cities or Metropolies, and for that ſome muſt neceſſarily præſide in them as Moderators and Governours, they were thought moſt fit ſo to do, and by ancient Councils are called *Metropolitans*, as alſo *Archbiſhops*. After the Converſion of *Conſtantine*, when Princes never had owned and imbraced the formerly diſputed and perſecuted Name of Chriſtians, they began to increaſe the number of Synods, and confirmed not only the Decrees of General Councils, but what was alſo reſolved on in Provincial Meetings, as wholeſome Remedies againſt Diſorders both of Church and State. And as by their Edicts, which had the Power of Laws, they referred Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes to Eccleſiaſtical Judges; ſo did they take Care, that according to the Cannons, thoſe Metropolitans ſhould twice in a Year aſſemble the Biſhops of their reſpective Provinces,

and in thoſe Synods determine ſuch Differences and Conteſts as had happened in Matters of Religion. In proceſs of time buſineſs growing every day more large and intricate, and Biſhops neither being able to defray the Charges of ſo frequent and great Journeys, nor being well ſpared from their Sees, there was neceſſity of reducing Provincial Synods to one yearly Meeting, and in the mean time of committing the Cognizance of ſuch Matters as would bear no delay, would prove too tedious for the ſmall time allowed to their meeting, to the Metropolitan of that Province where they aroſe.

The Original of Metropolitans.

14. Some think the Original of Metropolitans of as high a Date as the time of *Timothy* and *Titus*. That it was moſt Ancient, appears from the Cannons as well of the firſt *Nicene*, as other General Councils which ſpeak of thoſe kind of Governours, not as lately ſet up, but as ordinary Officers of the Church, and take care (*a*) every Metropolitan City retain its ancient Dignity. And ſuch was the Government of the Church when perſecuted: After that *Conſtantine* had vailed the Faſces and Eagle of the Empire to the Croſs, and had quite changed the ancient Form of Subordinate Majeſtracy, the Form of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction was alſo much altered: as well in the changing of Cities for Metropolitan Power, as erecting of new ſorts of Governours. The Eaſt felt the greateſt force of this alteration, (though the extravagance of the Emperours eſpecially ſay their *Roman* Æmulators,) but the Weſt alſo found a neceſſity, though not in ſo large a meaſure, of conforming the Eccleſiaſtical way of Adminiſtration to that of the Civil. For another Form of Provinces being made, and other Cities Erected into Metropolis, to the Biſhop of thoſe newly upſtart Cities was given the Title of Metropolitans, yet had they but the meer Title and place; no Metropolitical Authority or Juriſdiction, preceding their Colleagues of their ſeveral Provinces, and placed next to the Metropolitans, but ſubject to them as the reſt of their Fellow Biſhops. The Emperours might at their pleaſure divide and multiply Provinces, which if the Biſhops indeavoured to do, they incurred the pain of Depoſition.

(a) Τὰ πρεσβεῖα σώζεσθαι ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, Can 6.
Τῇ μητροπόλει σωζομένου τοῦ Οἰκείου ἀξιώματος, Can.7

Conſule Cann. 12. & 17. *Concilii Chalced.*

15. It was conſidered that the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors had delineated and aſſigned the Limits and Borders of Church Government, according to the Dignity and Order of the ſeveral Cities, and that the reaſon was now the ſame, if poſſibly an Alteration without great Inconvenience could be obtained; that the leſſer Cities are dependent upon the greater, to which is dayly great Confluence upon the account of Traffick and publick Buſineſs; and much intercourſe neceſſarily being betwixt the ſeveral Biſhopricks and Pariſhes and Metropolitan Cities, it neceſſarily muſt follow, that there it is moſt convenient the Metropolitan ſhould have his See, where was the Metropolis for Civil Matters, that the ſeveral inferiour Officers of his Province might have the more eaſie acceſs to his Perſon: the force of which Conſequence appears manifeſtly in this, that where Cuſtom or a certain Veneration of particular Places or Perſons has confined the Metropolitan See to ſome private City in the Province, yet is the Prelate neceſſitated to reſide for the moſt part in the Civil Metropolis. To thoſe Reaſons as are moſt weighty, may be added that Honour and Eſteem that all Chriſtians have to the Perſon and Memory of *Conſtantine*. If the Apoſtles and Apoſtolical Perſons imitated in their Church Polity the Method and Order of Heathen Perſecutors, much more did it ſeem fitting and convenient to the Biſhops, to follow the pattern of ſo Pious and deſerving a Prince.

The place of his Reſidence.

16. Before this time therefore Biſhops being ſet over ſeveral Cities, and Metropolitans, or Archbiſhops over Provinces: When as the Civil Dioceſſes were appointed, whereof each contained ſeveral Provinces, it was thought fit that over every Dioceſs ſhould alſo one Biſhop be appointed to govern the Archbiſhops, as the Archbiſhops did the Biſhops. Where the *Preſidents*, *Conſolares*, and *Correctores* were, there ſate the *Metropolitans*. And when the *Vicarii* were brought up and ſet over the Governours of Provinces, *Primates* were conſtituted in the Church to overſee Metropolitans and other inferiour Officers. The *Vicarius* was over ſeveral Provinces, ſo was the *Primate*; the *Vicars* Charge was called *Diœceſis*, ſo was that of a *Primate*. From the *Conſulares* and *Preſidents* of Provinces, there lay Appeal to the *Vicars*, ſo did there to the *Primates* from the *Metropolitans* or *Exarchs*. From the Sentence of *Vicars* lay Appeal to the *Præfecti Prætorio*; and ſo from the *Primates* and *Exarchs* to the *Patriarchs* hereafter to be ſpoken of. But that in imitation of the *Vicars*, the Office and Dignity of *Primates* was Inſtituted, ſeemeth to ſome moſt demonſtrable from this, that before the time of

Primates Superior to Archbiſhops or Metropolitans.

Conſulas Morinum Exercit. lib. 1. 19.

Conſtantine there are no Teſtimonies nor Footſteps of any Juriſdiction of thoſe *Vicars*, neither in Eccleſiaſtical Writers any mention of *Primates*, *Enarchs* or *Dioceſſes* in this Senſe: All Hiſtories, Councils, that of *Nice* give only Priority of place to the Biſhops of *Rome*; *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and *Jeruſalem* own no *Biſhops* above *Metropolitans*, no *Dioceſſes* above *Provinces*, no *Dioceſſan Councils* above *Provincial*. But preſently upon the Inſtitution of the Vicars, and a diſtinction of their Dioceſes from Provinces, there is moſt frequent mention made of *Enarchs*, *Primates*, *Dioceſſes*, and *Dioceſſan Councils* in Eccleſiaſtical Authors; ſo that the firſt *Conſtantinopolitan* Council ſpeaks of them as already made and confirmed. Theſe *Primates* were called *Primates Patriarchales*, but in a ſtrict Senſe are not to be confounded with *Patriarchs*.

Patriarchs choſen in the Church.

17. The *Jews* had their *Patriarchs*, to whom were ſubject all the Synagogues in the World, which ſo far owned their ſubjection, that they paid them Tribute, as appears from the (*a*) Code of *Theodoſius*. This Tribute was called (*b*) *Apoſtole*, and ſuch as gathered it *Apoſtoli*, whoſe Office it was to execute the Commands of theſe *Patriarchs*, the Original of whom is to be derived no higher than the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and the Univerſal Captivity of that Nation. The *Montaniſts* it ſeems, in imitation of them, had alſo their Patriarch, as we learn from (*c*) St. *Jerom*, as ſome (*d*) obſerve from *Herodotus*, that the Heathen *Ægyptians* called their Chief Prieſt by that Name, of whom is to be underſtood that Saying of (*e*) *Hadrian* in *Vopiſcus*, and neither of a Chriſtian Patriarch nor the Jewiſh, as ſome would have it. The Chriſtian was of much a later Date, though the Romaniſts from ſome forged Writings will needs have them Inſtituted and Seated by the Prince of the Apoſtles. If they ſpeak by way of Anticipation, and will contend that ſuch Sees as were firſt appointed by the Apoſtles, came to be afterwards Patriarchal; we ſhall not at all contend, that the Patriarchal Sees (though not as Patriarchal) were by Apoſtolical appointment. But the Patriarchs themſelves were of a later Date than the firſt *Nicene* Council, no mention being made of them by any Chriſtian Writer of Credit, till about or after the Death of *Conſtantine*. As for the Epiſtles of *Anacletus* Biſhop of *Rome*, from whom the Cardinal Annaliſt, and others, would prove the Series of the firſt three Patriarchal Sees, and the Supremacy of the *Roman*; it and all the reſt of the Epiſtles of the old Popes are Spurious, being unknown to the World before the Ninth Century, and then ſuch were, as they are vented out of *Spain* into *Europe*, as (*f*) many have ſufficiently evinced. Of as ſmall Credit are the Councils held under them: And the Sixth Cannon of the *Nicene* Council, though it takes care for the Power and Precedence of thoſe Biſhops of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, conforming them to him of *Rome*; yet doth it not ſpeak of them under the Name and Title of *Patriarchs*, but as *Metropolitans* or *Primates*.

In Imitation of the *Præfecti Prætorio*.

Five in all.

18. *Patriarchs* therefore ſeem to have been ſo named and obeyed, in Imitation of the *Præfecti Prætorio*, though there be no full conformity as to their number, there being at firſt but Three of them, and Four of the later. The firſt Three were the Metropolitans of *Rome*, *Antioch* and *Alexandria*, the preciſe time of whoſe Promotion is not known. Afterwards the Metropolitan of *Conſtantinople* by the Decrees of the Councils of *Conſtantinople* and *Chalcedon* obtained that Dignity as moſt congruous to that Imperial Seat, which had the Title and (*a*) Priviledges of *New Rome*. After this the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* was dignified with the ſame Title, who had anciently been graced with particular Reſpect and Honour, yet ſo that the Biſhop of *Cæſarea* (ſo unwilling were the Ancient Fathers to change the Cuſtoms of the Church) retained all Rights and Priviledges of *Metropolitan*, which the *Nicene* Council alſo confirmed. But at length Favour prevailed for this moſt Ancient Church, which as a (*b*) Romaniſt obſerves, is ſtiled by *Theodoret*, *Mother of all Churches*, and by *Juſtine* the Emperour, *Mother of the Chriſtian Name and Profeſſion*; upon this account, that from Her all other Churches were diffuſed throughout the World. And after many endeavours uſed, this Honour was obtained for her, as we read in the Acts of the Council of *Chalcedon*, notwithſtanding the violent reſiſtance of *Leo* the Great, Biſhop of *Rome*, who, as one ſays, alluding to the Speech of *Lyſander*, and that Popes Name, to the Lyons skin ſewed the Foxes, and omitted nothing that might hinder the Promotion of thoſe two Sees; inſomuch that ſome grounding their Opinion on a place in *Gulielmus Tyrius*, have thought that Dignity was not Eſtabliſhed and Confirmed to *Jeruſalem* before the Fifth Council in the time of *Juſtinian*.

19. Such

(a) C. *Theod. l. ult. de Judæis.*

(b) *Vide Berterii Pithanon. l.* 2. *c.* 1.

(c) *Epiſt.* 54.

(d) *Baron. Ann. ad annum.* 111.

(e) *Ipſe ille Patriarcha cùm Ægyptum veneret ab aliis ſerapidem adorare ab aliis cogitur Chriſtum.*

(f) *Poſt alios fuſe Blondellus in Pſeudo Iſidoro & Turriavo vapulantibus.*

(a) Τὰ τῆς νέας Ῥώμης πρεσβεῖα.

(b) *Betlerius Pith. Diatr.* 2. p. 150.

The Church and State alike in its Government.

The Eaſtern Diviſion of the Church.

19. Such was the Polity of the Ancient Church, conformable as to place and Dignity with that of the State, then which a more Commodious could not be invented, both for preſerving Peace, and ſafe to every Biſhop his proper Juriſdiction. But we ſhall ſee how the Partition of Dioceſſes and Provinces agreed. As the *Roman* Empire was divided into two general Parts or Worlds (ſo (*a*) ſometimes they ſtiled them) ſo was the Church diſtinguiſhed generally into Eaſtern and Weſtern. As in the Eaſt there were Seven Dioceſſes, and Six in the Weſt, beſides the Præfecture of *Rome*, in like manner the Church had of old its Fourteen Dioceſſes. Thoſe of Eaſtern both Church and Empire were, firſt *Egypt*, the Provinces whereof, as alſo thoſe of *Libya*, *Thebais* and *Pentapolis*, were ſubject to the Patriarch of *Alexandria*. 2. The Eaſt more particularly ſo called, ſubject to the Patriarch of *Antioch*. 3. *Aſiana*, whoſe Provinces belonged firſt to the Primate of *Epheſus*, afterward to the *Conſtantinopolitan* Patriarch. 4. *Pontica* the Metropolis whereof was *Cæſarea*. 5. *Thracia*, which with its Provinces *Greece*, *Achaia*, and others, were under the Inſpection anciently of the Biſhop of *Theſſalonica* as Primate of the Dioceſs, afterward ſubject to the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*. 6. *Macedonia*. 7. *Dacia*.

(a) *Conſpirant gemini frænis communibus ab Claud. Gemini commercia mundi. Vide Berterium & Uthorpum contra Spalatenſem Morinem in Exercitationib.*

The Weſtern.

20. In the Weſt we alſo found Seven Dioceſſes. Hereof the firſt was the *Roman*, which contained the * *Suburbicarian Provinces*, ſubject in Civil Matters to the *Emperours Vicar*, in Eccleſiaſtical to the *Roman Patriarch*, and are in any wiſe to be diſtinguiſhed from the Provinces of *Italy*, and were Ten in number: Three Iſlands, *Sicily*, *Corſica* and *Sardinia*, with Seven others in that Tract of *Italy* lying on the Eaſt and South, as 4. *Campania*, 5. *Tuſcia*, 6. *Picenum Suburbicarium*, 7. *Apulia* and *Calabria*, 8. *Brutium*, 9. *Samnium*, and 10. *Valeria*, all which were ſubject to the *Roman* Patriarch, and Conſtituted his proper and peculiar Dioceſs, and extended no farther Weſtward than the River *Magra*, the limit of *Hetruria*, and that called *Aſius* (but *Eſis* by *Pliny* and *Blondus*) not far from *Ancona*, which manifeſtly appears in that one part of *Picenum* is called *Picenum Suburbicarium*, and the other *Annonarium*; ſo that in that Country the *Suburbicarian* Provinces were terminated. The Second Dioceſs of the Weſt, was the *Italian*, containing Seven other Provinces of *Italy*, *viz. Venetia* with *Iſtria*, *Æmilia*, *Liguria*, *Flaminia* with *Picenum Annonarium*, and *Rhætia Secunda*, all which in Civil things obeyed their Vicar, and in Eccleſiaſtical the Metropolitan of *Milaine*; in which reſpect this City is called by St. *Athanaſius* the Metropolis of *Italy*, as *Rome* of the *Roman* Juriſdiction. The Third Dioceſs, the *African*, wherein ſometime were numbered more than Two hundred Biſhops and ſeveral Metropolitans, all which with their Provinces, were ſubject to the Biſhop of *Carthage* as their Primate. The Fourth *Illyrium*, which formerly had its Primate and Provinces, but was afterwards ſubjected to the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*. The Fifth *Gall*, which once owned *Auguſta Treucrorum* or *Triers* for its Metropolis, and the Biſhop of *Triers* for its *Primate*, but thence transferred the Dignity to *Arles*. The Sixth *Spains*, the Metropolis whereof *Hiſpalis* ſeems firſt to have been, but afterwards, together with the Royal Seat, the Dignity was transferred to *Toledo*. The Seventh *Brittains*, in the Plural number alſo, the Metropolis of which was anciently *York* as it is conjectured, where the Emperours, when in this Country, reſided. But many agreed, this Honour was conferred on *Canterbury*, the Biſhop whereof is Primate, or (to uſe the words of (*a*) *Malmsbury*, and the Gloſs (*b*) of the Cannon Law) *Patriarch* of the whole Dioceſs; and in a ſober Expreſſion *alterius orbis Papa*, Pope of another World. Thus was anciently the Church divided into Dioceſſes, according to the Form of the Empire, much altered in following Ages by Emperours and Councils, as we may ſee hereafter, eſpecially by the *Roman* Patriarch after his Incroachment and Uſurpation; ſo that the Marks of thoſe ancient *Dioceſſes* are hardly to be found out, or the Footſteps of their *Patriarchs* and *Primates* not eaſily diſcovered.

* *Nec obſtat differentia à Morino inter urbicarias & Suburbicarias allegata.*

(a) *In Prolog. de geſtis Angl. Pontif.*

(b) *Cap. cleros Diſtinct.* 21.

The Power of *Patriarchs*.

21. Thus we ſee the Church its Polity, in reference to the Diviſion of Places under their ſeveral ſorts of Prelates. Now muſt we conſider their Power, and ſo deſcend to inferior Miniſters. The *Patriarchs* Power was great in the Creation of *Metropolitans* and *Biſhops*. From *Metropolitans* Appeal lay to his Tribunal; he appointed Judges, and took cognizance of their Cauſes, called Synods of his Dioceſs, and decided other great and weighty Affairs. Of all theſe Five the *Roman*, becauſe of the Quality and Antiquity of the City, was firſt in Order, but in Dignity and Juriſdiction Collateral, not Superior. For the *Nicene* Council gives as much Power and Authority to him of *Alexandria* in

Conſule Berterium ubi ſuprà.

Et Morinum.

in *Egypt*, *Lybia* and *Pentapolis*, as the *Roman* had over the *Suburbicarian* Provinces,and *Juſtinian* the Emperour ordained that the Biſhop of *Juſtiniana Prima* in *Pannonia Secunda*,ſhould have the ſame Right and Priviledges over the Biſhops, ſubject to him,as the *Roman* Pope had over the Biſhops within his juriſdiction ; and on the *Patriarch* of *Conſtantinopole*, were conferred equal priviledges; as his City was advanced to the ſame Dignity with *Rome*, though the Elder in order præceded the Younger. As for the Titles given to the *Patriarch* of *Rome*, however Glorious they may ſeem to ſome, and to portend ſome Principality, Juriſdiction and Power over others,yet are found but common to him with others. Great are the Epithetes given to St. *Peter*, from whom his Holyneſs would derive his Pedigree; yet as great are given to St.*Paul*,his Colleague. “ Is St.*Peter* called head of the Church? ſo are all the (*a*) Apoſtles. Is he ſtiled *Pontifex* or Biſhop of the Church? ſo is St. *Paul* of the (*b*) whole World: Who hath alſo as good reaſon to be called (*c*) *Pilot*,and Governour of the whole World,as one Ship,(*d*) and *Pilot* of the Church ſtronger and more ſolid then *Peter*; who was ſhaken grieviouſly by Temptation, both to deny and diſſemble. Had St. *Peter* the care and charge of the whole Church? ſo had (*e*) St. *Paul* of the whole World, which to preſent unto God, ſo as it might be acceptable to him was his great endeavour. If *Peter* be ſaid to have had abſolute and moſt ample power over the Church, ſo had all the Apoſtles, as the Romaniſts themſelves confeſs; (*f*) was *Peter* called Prince of the Apoſtles? ſo alſo was *Paul*.(*g*) All the Apoſtles were (*h*) *Petræ* as well as he: St. *Paul* ſaith himſelf he was (*i*) nothing inferior to the chiefeſt Apoſtles. And therefore with good reaſon doth St. *Cyprian* affirm that all the (*k*) Apoſtles were furniſhed with equal Conſortſhip and Authority.

That of *Rome* but equal, not ſuperiour to the other four.

22. No Title of Honour was anciently given to the Biſhop of *Rome*, but the ſame was alſo beſtowed upon others. Is he called *Papa* or *Pope*, ſo is alſo (*a*) St. *Auguſtine*, and this Title was anciently common to all Biſhops, as thoſe indifferently converſant in Antiquity do know: But as the word *Tyrannus* was once (*b*) common to all Kings, but afterwards through the inſolence of ſome particular Perſons became proper to ſuch whom the Modern ſignification doth moſt concern, ſo came this Title to be chalenged in after Ages, and yielded to the *Roman* Uſurper; is he ſtiled *Pater Patrum* and *Epiſcopus Epiſcoporum*, which Honour (*c*) *Tertullian* grudgeth him; ſo is *Lupus* the Biſhop of *Gall* by (*d*) *Sidonius*, as (*e*) *Magnericus* Biſhop of *Triers*, *Culmen honorificum*, and *Patrum Pater Archſacerdos*. In general Councils (*f*) *John Biſhop of Hieruſalem*, (*g*) *Sergius* of *Conſtantinople*, By *Theodore Balſamon*, (*h*) *Marck Biſhop of Alexandria* are called *Patres Patrum*, as indeed all not only *Patriarchs* but even *Arch-Biſhops* and *Metropolitans*, becauſe ſet over many *Biſhops* are called both *Patres Patrum* and *Epiſcopi Epiſcoporum*. We grant the Biſhop of *Rome* had not only the Dignity of *Patriarch* but is alſo ſtiled *Patriacharum Epiſcopus*, Biſhop of *Patriarchs*; but ſo might in ſome ſence, not only he, but all other *Patriarchs*; to whom *Metropolitans* were ſubject, who becauſe they preſided over many Biſhops or Fathers; therefore were anciently called *Patriarchs*.

Their Titles of Honour the ſame.

23. He of *Rome* is ſtiled *Summus Sacerdos*, *Pontifex Maximus* and *Princeps Sacerdotum*: High Prieſt, greateſt Pontifie and Prince of Prieſts; ſo is (*a*) St. *Athanaſius* called Chief Prieſt of Chief Prieſts; (*b*) *Fælix* ſaid to have overthrown the Government of Chief-Prieſt-hood; the Fathers in the Council of *Orleance* ſtiled (*c*) *Summi Antiſtites*, and others (*d*) elſwhere *Pontifices in ſummo ſacerdotio Conſtituti*, as the Biſhop of *Antioch* and he of *Alexandria* is termed by (*e*) *Rabanus*, *Summus Epiſcopus*, *Princeps Epiſcoporum*, and *Pontifex Maximus*. By *Gelaſius* every Biſhop is called *Summus Sacerdos*, and in old Time that Title and the other of *Summus Pontifex* was ordinary and common, as that of *Princeps Sacerdotum* to a *Metropolitan*, order being taken in the (*f*) Council of *Carthage* that for the time to come, none ſhould be called either *Princeps Sacerdotum* or *Summus Sacerdos*, but only the *Biſhop of the firſt See*. Farther as he aſſumeth the Title of *Chriſts Vicar*, this is applyed by a (*g*) Father to all Biſhops; if he be termed *Pillar of the Church* ſo is (*h*) *Athanaſius* by *Nazianzen*, and all (*i*) Biſhops by a Pope himſelf, as all Biſhops and Preachers are called by *Gregory* the *Foundation of the Church*. He had the Name of *Head of the Church*, but St. *Athanaſius* is alſo ſtiled by (*k*) *Baſil head of all*; and is ſaid by *Nazianzen*, to *have given Laws to the World*: *Venantius* the Poet giveth the Epithets of *Splendor*, *Apex fidei*, *caput Pontificum* to *Nicetius* of *Triers*. *Conſtantinople* is by *Chryſoſtome* called *Metropolis of the whole World*, by *Nicetas*, *Queen of Cities*, and by *Juſtinian*, *of all the Cities the Head*.

* *Vide Trileſacum de Sacr. Epiſt. author. c.* 9.

ἴσα πρεσβεῖα.

(a) *Beb.lib* 1. *or Pontif.c.* 11.

(b) *Chryſoſt. hom.* 2. *in Tit.*

(c) *Idem hom.* 25. *in* 2. *ad corin.*

(d) *Idem hom.* 2. *ad* Roman.

(e) *Idem de præfect Evang. & hom.* 1. *de laud. Pauli.*

(f) *Beb. lib.* 1.*de Pontif.* 11.

(g) *Idem ibid. c.* 27. *v. Greg.* 7. *apud Stat.*

(h) *Origin. hom.* 1 *in Matth.*

(i) 2.*Cor.*12.11.

(k) *de unitate. Eccleſiæ.*

(a) *Heron epiſt. ad Auguſt. quæ eſt* 3. *inter Epiſt. Aug.*

(b) *Vide Partis Inſtit. primæ. Lib.* 2. *c.* 2. §.1. *Paragr.* 2.

(c) *de pudic. lib.* 1.

(d) *L. b. Epiſt.* 1.

(e) *Venutius. lib.* 3.*c.* 11.

(f) *Sub Menua Act.* 5.

(g) *In gennali* 6. *Act.*13.

(h) *L.*5.*Reſp.*

(i) *Evagrius L.* 4. *c.* 11. *Berter.Diat* .2. *cap.* 4. & *Baron. ad ann.* 533. *num.* 36. *Caſſidd. l.* 9. *Epiſt.* 15.

(a) *Nazianz. Orat.* 22. *ad Heron.*

(b) *Ambr. epiſt.* 5. *l.* 1.

(c) 1. *cap.*3.

(d) *in Conc. Agath. can.* 6.

(e) *L.* 1. *de Juſt. cler.*

(f) *can.* 26.

(g) *Chryſoſt. hom.* 7. *in Matth.*

(h) *Orat.* 18.

(i) *Ep.* 3.

(k) *Epiſt.* 52.

24. All Biſhops, as well as he, are termed (*a*) *Paſtors of Chriſts Sheep*, (*b*) Athanaſius *Governour of Gods Houſe*, of whom *Nazianzen* Writes that the *Præfectſhip, or Government of the univerſal World, was intruſted with him*; St. Cyprian *Doctor of all Chriſtians*, and (*c*) *Oracle of the univerſal Church*, and (*d*) *Succeſſor of the Apoſtles*, as all Biſhops are who were *ſeated in their places, throughout the World*, and received the Titles of (*e*) *Spouſes of the Church*. He takes the Title of *Univerſal* or *Oecumenical Patriarch*, and ſo was ſtiled *John* of *Jeruſalem* by the whole (*f*) *Conſtantinopolitan Synode*, as *Mennas* often by a (*g*) *General Council*, and by (*h*) *Juſtinian* the Emperour, ſo was *Sergius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, in the (*i*) *ſixth general Council*; and *Tharaſius* in the (*k*) Second held at *Nice*, and not only by the Biſhops of the *Eaſt*, but by (*l*) *Hadrian* of *Rome* himſelf. To all Biſhops indeed, (*m*) *care of the univerſal Church is committed* by *Chriſt*; as ſeveral Popes confeſs, and therefore by Argument drawn from the (*n*) greateſt Champion of their Uſurpation, they are *Univerſal Biſhops* in a ſober ſenſe: But in any other, that one ſhould have Juriſdiction and Authority over all the reſt; neither the *Roman* nor any other can challenge that Title.

His pretended Supremacy rejected by all.

25. Neither was he in moſt Ancient Times, accounted ſuch an *Oracle of Faith*, as to be reckoned Maſter of *Eaſt* and *Weſt*; as appeareth from St. *Cyprian*, who refuſed to be inſtructed by him; in the Caſe of Re-baptizing, from *Familianus* and the whole *Eaſtern* Church in the ſame cauſe, which call him *proud Fool* and a *Counterfit Chriſtian*: From St. *Irenæus* and *Polycarpe* in the Controverſie about *Eaſter*, who accuſe him of raſhneſs and perverſeneſs; ſuch an Oracle was he accounted by the *Africans* in the time of St. *Auguſtine*, when endeavouring to eſtabliſh his Supremacy by the way of *Appeal* in thoſe Provinces, he was branded by them with Pride and Fraud in Corrupting, and Perfidiouſneſs in violating the *Nicene Cannons*. Such was the Infallibility eſteemed, when *Liberius* was taxed for *Arianiſm*, *Vigilius* for *Neſtorianiſm*, and *Honorius* for the Hereſie of the *Monothelites*, by the whole Church; when *Hildebrand* for his Doctrine of depoſing Kings, and abſolving Subjects from their Allegiance, was by all good Men and ſeveral Councils eſteemed a Violator of all Divine and Humane Laws, as Maſter of Perfidiouſneſs and Perjury, a Tyrant and even Antichriſt himſelf; when *Leo* the Tenth his opinion of his own Holyneſs, his Superiority above a Council, was cenſured as Heretical by all Orthodox Men, and for 1400. Years none had ever doubted of the contrary: What Authority he had in ancient Times, either in promoting or degrading his fellow *Patriarchs*, we may ſee clearly in the Caſe of the Patriarchate of *Conſtantinople*, which notwithſtanding the utmoſt endeavours of *Leo*, was confirmed by a general Council; in that of *Meletius* Biſhop of *Antioch* (an admirable Perſon if *Baſil* may be believed) whom *Damaſus* of *Rome* had by his Sentence deprived, which Sentence was rejected by the ſecond general Council; and in that of *Athanaſius*, who was not reſtored after his ſeveral Baniſhments and Perſecutions by the Biſhop of *Rome*, (as *Sozomen* falſly Writes of *Julius*) but by Imperial orders, and the judgment of the Council of *Sardis*; how great an eſteem the ancient Fathers had for his Infallibility or Authority we find when *Cyprian* and *Formilian* being rebuked by *Stephen*, they reply upon him, as an arrogant Fool and a Counterfeit Chriſtian; when the Eaſtern Biſhops rebuked by *Julius* Excommunicate, deprive him, and by their Letters, ſignifie to all other Biſhops that they neither admit him into Communion, Write to him, or receive any Letters from him: When *Dioſcorus* the *Alexandrian* Patriarch, cenſured (and juſtly) by *Leo*, durſt give ſentence againſt, and Excommunicate him; when *Vigilius*, whilſt Orthodox was Synodically Excommunicated by the African Biſhops, and when he turned to be a Defender and Patron of the three Chapters, was condemned and Anathematized as an Heretick, by the fifth general Council: Infinite were examples in this kind. Well might the *Roman* Patriarch have precedence in order, as agreeable to the Dignity of the City, which though ſhe was Queen of the Empire, yet could not create him any Title to one ſingle (not to ſay a Triple) Crown.

Inſtances of their Coequal Power.

Enſigns of Honour pay'd then to *Patriarchs*.

26. To (*a*) *Patriarchs* only, after the Emperours, was that Royal Ceremony of having Fire or Lights carried before them, an ancient Cuſtom in the time of *Balſamon*, and taken firſt out of *Perſia*. Other Enſigns of Honour they had, which became afterwards common to the *Metropolitans*, as Croſſes, Palls, &c. Next to the Patriarch was the Primate, and although not in Dignity, yet in Power equal to him, if we believe (*b*) *Gratian*; but this opinion ſeemeth to have proceeded from the ambiguity and promiſcuous uſe of the Words, which in this Controverſie of Church Government hath begot ſtrange Errors and Contentions,

as

(a) *Cyprian l.* 3. *Ep.* 13.
(b) *Naz. Orat.* 18.
(c) *Spolat. de Rep. Eccleſ. l.* 2. *c.* 7.
(d) *Rabanus ubi ſuprà c.* 4. & 5.
(e) *Euariſt. Ep.* 2.
(f) *Sub. Menna Act.* 5.
(g) *Act.* 4. & *alibi.*
(h) *Novel.* 42
(i) *Act.* 13.
(k) *Act.* 3.
(l) *Epiſt. ad Tharas. in Conc. Nicen. Act.* 2.
(m) *Johanni & Eleutherius in Epiſt.*
(n) *Bel. lib.* 1. *de Pontif. c.* 31.

(a) *Balſam. in reſpons. ad Patriarch. privileg.*
(b) *Diſtinct.* 99. *De primat.*

as will be ſeen hereafter ; ſeeing there were other *Primates* beſides the five *Patriarchs*, who owed ſome ſort of obedience to them receiving , and performing their orders in aſſembling Councils and other buſineſs. And as theſe *Primates* were diſtinguiſhed from *Patriarchs*, properly ſo called, ſo alſo Conſtituted a peculiar Degree and Dignity above other *Metropolitans* ; notwithſtanding what ſome Object from an Epiſtle of Pope *Boniface*, that *two Provinces could not be ſubject to one and the ſame Perſon*: For not to make uſe of what might be objected againſt theſe Epiſtles ; this expreſſion may well be admitted in this ſence, that no one Perſon could ſo præſide over two Provinces, as to exerciſe the Function of a *Metropolitan* in any other than his own Province: For when Primates were ordained any where, care was taken to preſerve the Rights of *Metropolitans* inviolate, as appears from ſeveral examples. But though Preſidents ſhould fail in this Caſe, yet the nature of the thing doth evidently demonſtrate it : For if the Primate ſhould exerciſe the office proper to a *Metropolitan*, what need were there of a *Metropolitan* ? if a *Metropolitan* that of a Biſhop in his Province , what need were there of a Biſhop ? Therefore the Biſhop his Paræcia is ſubject to him in a certain and peculiar manner , wherein it is not ſubject to a *Metropolitan*: The Caſes of Viſitation, Appeal, and others Canonical excepted, otherwiſe there would be Biſhops, but all Biſhops, Vicars, or Vicegerents only of *Metropolitans* ; but as St. *Cyprian* ſaith, there is one Biſhoprick, whereof all are partakers in *Solidum* : So is a Province in ſo peculiar a manner, ſubject to a *Metropolitan*, as not to a *Primate*, except in Caſes expreſſed in Law ; and whatſoever a *Metropolitan* may do in his Province, a *Primate* may not ; elſe there would be no *Metropolitans*, but all Vicegerents of *Primates*. And ſuch is the eaſe of a *Patriarch*, in reference to that of *Primates* ; the ſeveral Rights Patriarchical, Exarchical, Metropolitical and Epiſcopal being diſtinct and ſeveral, whereof none could be juſtly invaded : The *Patriarch* in his own Parœcia exerciſe Epiſcopal juriſdiction ; viſited thoſe under him, aſſigned them Governours, and did other matters too long to be recited : In his own Province he had Metropolitical juriſdiction, not Epiſcopal ; in his Dioceſs Exarchical or that of a *Primate*, not Metropolitical nor Epiſcopal ; in his Patriarchate, he had Patriarchical, not Exarchical, Metropolitical or Epiſcopal.

Conſulas Morinum Exer. 23. & 24. l. 1.

Patriarchical, Exarchical, Metropolitical, Epiſcopal Juriſdiction diſtinct.

27. To *Primates* therefore firſt, this is obſerved to have been due as a Priviledge to approve and confirm Biſhops and *Metropolitans* Canonically Elected. Secondly, They examined and paſſed judgment on ſuch matters as had been determined and judged in Provincial Synods. For from Provincial Synods, appeal lay to *Primates* ; and Thirdly, To them belonged the Celebration of *Dioceſan* Councils, ſummed out of ſeveral Provinces , *Primates* having Authority, when they judged it convenient, to make ſuch Aſſemblies. Fourthly, They were appointed as Watch-men in ſo many Watch-Towers ; and Overſeers in the Name of the *Patriarch*, to inquire and obſerve, whether Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline was diligently obſerved ; and affording, an helping and healing hand where it was wanted. Inſomuch, that they had not only power of calling Synods of ſeveral Provinces , but in urgent Affairs, to ſend for Biſhops out of divers Provinces, and with them to debate and ſettle Matters ; which was given to the Biſhop of *Arles*, by ancient cuſtom in the days of *Gregory* the Great, who defines twelve to be a compleat number of ſuch Aſſiſtants. Fifthly, They gave Certificates of Letters, commendatory to all *Clerks*, *Metropolitans* and *Biſhops*, travelling out of their Dioceſs ; by vertue whereof they might be received into Communion with other Churches : That thoſe things were always and univerſally true cannot be ſaid, but often or for the moſt part, and never juſt except the Authority of Princes was therein duly conſidered ; who, beſides their undoubted right of being nurſing Fathers to the Church, are owned by thoſe * that would rather place that honour in the Biſhop of *Rome*, as Author of new Sees in the time even of *Juſtinian*.

Idem ibid.

The Priviledge and power of Primates in the Church.

* *Fileſacus ex Demetrio Chomatero Balſamone & aliis l. de ſacr. Epiſt. author.* C. 7.

28. It appears from the Preface to (*a*) one of the Emperours Conſtitutions, that this Power then reſided in Princes, to change and make new Sees of *Metropolitans*, the Authority of whom, we are next to conſider : of *Metropolitans* there were two ſorts, in latter times, one, which was ſubject to the Primate, and another that acknowledged no Subjection ; ſuch thoſe Arch-Biſhops accounted themſelves, that were not ſubject to any Primate. And ſuch were all the *Metropolitans* of *Africk*, who were called Primates, but never Exarchs ; as (*b*) one obſerves, as if this name was only proper to the Primates of Dioceſſes (not of Provinces) ſuch as the Biſhop of *Carthage*, who by (*c*) *Leo* the Ninth, is ſtiled *Maximus Africæ Metropolitanus, the greateſt Metropolitan of Africk*: And yet (*d*) *Juſtinian* glories that he had ſet that Biſhop over all *Africk*, and the ſame Perſon obſerves, that he

The Authority of Metropolitans.

Two Sorts of them.

(a) *Novel.* 11.

(b) *Berterius Pythan. Diatr.* 1.

(c) *Epiſt.* 4.

(d) *Novel.* 131.

he rather reſtored him to his Dignity, after the *Vandals* were expelled that Country, than beſtowed any new honour on that See ; ſo that if the other Biſhops were ſubject to him, they muſt be ſubject to him not as a Patriarch, but a Primate, and therefore could not properly and ſtrictly be ſtiled Primates themſelves : However, if they owned no ſubjection to Primates, their Power though not their Dignity, was ſuitable to theirs. If under their inſpection their juriſdiction was ſubordinate to theirs, as that of the Primates to the Patriarchs in matters of Synods, Appeals, and other matters, lyable to the cognizance of Superiours ; they preſiding in the manner and Governing thoſe Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops, that were within the limits of their Metropolitical juriſdiction.

29. For in the *Greek* or *Eaſtern* Church, it's manifeſt that for ſome time there was a diſtinction betwixt Metropolitans and Arch-biſhops, who Conſtituted a peculiar Rank or Order betwixt them and Biſhops. And for that time the Arch-Biſhop was within the juriſdiction of the Metropolitan : At length thoſe Arch-Biſhops were exempted from their power, and ordained by the Patriarch, as appears from *Balſamon* and the *Notitia* of Metropolitans and Arch-Biſhops ſubject to the *Conſtantinopolitan* Patriarch, to whom *Innocent the Third* Biſhop of *Rome*, after *Conſtantinople* was ſubjected to the *Latins* willingly aſcribes that Office. But excepting this caſe of the *Greeks*, Arch-biſhops were the ſame with Metropolitans, having the ſame power of Ordination, aſſembling Synods, and receiving Appeals within their reſpective Provinces, if in Priviledge and Authority they were really ſuch ; for we find that in the Eaſt towards the decay of the Empire, there were ſome called Arch-biſhops, who had no juriſdictioon over other Biſhops, meerly titular, and ſo named only becauſe they had honour and præcedence before their fellow Biſhops of the ſame Province.

Chalced. conc. can. 12. *vide Morinum p.* 77. & 217. *Berterium pith. diatrib.* 2. *c.* 3.

Titular Metropolitans.

30. The Power, Office, and Authority of a Biſhop (wherein all thoſe ſorts agree) being in power and juriſdiction, not in order diſtinct from one another) is moſt weighty and conſiderable, moſt controverted, and of late impugned. At firſt the Presbyters as we ſaid under the Apoſtles in common care and Council Governed the Church ; but by degrees neceſſity of Peace and Order brought the Goverment upon one mans ſhoulders, though ſupported by the aſſiſtance of others ; for what St. (*a*) *Cyprian* ſaith of after times, may well be applyed to the moſt Primitive, that thence *Hereſies and Schiſms aroſe, becauſe Gods Prieſts was not obeyed, and ſome one was not thought of, who for a time ſhould be Judge of the Church, in the room of Chriſt* ; by which words he means not the Biſhop of *Rome*, as ſome vainly imagine but himſelf.

The Power, Office and Authority of Biſhops in the Church.

31. The moſt certain note of difference betwixt Biſhops and Presbyters, this became, that in every City were ſeveral or many Presbyters, but only one Biſhop, except any by force intruded and made a Schiſm, or the Biſhop by reaſon of Sickneſs or Age, was neceſſitated to have an aſſiſtant ; who yet in his preſence was of no Authority. Another note and a part of his power was impoſition of hands upon Biſhops and Presbyters, called Conſecration and Ordination, which (*b*) St. *Jerome*, otherwiſe thought no friend, makes peculiar to him in the moſt Primitive times, although in his own, the Cannons had given much more authority to a Biſhop, in this duty, the Presbyters preſent (at the Ordination of a Presbyter) as appeareth from the Fourth Carthaginian Council, were to lay their hands alſo on the Head of the Ordained, whilſt the Biſhop held his thereon, and bleſſed the Party, rather in teſtimony of their conſent, than as partakers in the Office of Conſecration, which the Church believed ſo proper to Biſhops, that Presbyters of themſelves could not perform, and therefore (*c*) declare ſuch as was performed by them as null, nay although the (*d*) Biſhop impoſed his hands becauſe a Presbyter read the words of Conſecration ; Sometimes it happened that a Biſhop had (*e*) but one Presbyter under him, who might for juſt cauſe be removed elſewhere, yet that this Biſhop having not a Presbyter left, might ordain others if he would, and if he could make none of his own, might have elſwhere ſome to ordain according to the number he had loſt : Whereby it appears that a Biſhop though he had not a Presbyter at all to Celebrate the Office of Ordination with him, might alone by himſelf either ordain his own Clerks, or thoſe procured from other places : All Laws Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, which have been made againſt the Corruptions in ordaining Prieſts and Deacons, ſpeak in the ſingular number of one, not in the plural of many ; as pointing at the Biſhop as the Agent, who if any offence againſt the Cannons was committed, was ever puniſhed ; not the

Conſecration and Ordination being peculiar to them.

(a) *Lib.* 1. *Ep.* 3

(b) *Ad Evagrium Quid facit excepta Ordinatione Epiſcopus, quod Presbyter non facit.*

(c) *Athas. Apol.* 2. *in tit. Presb. Marit ad Canos & Philagr.*

(d) *Concil. Hiſpal. Can.* 4.

(e) *Vide Concil. African. c.* 56. & *Carthag.* 3. *c.* 45.

Presbyters who were not parties, but only Acceſſories or Witneſſes to the Principal.

Other priviledges.

32. From the end of their Inſtitution (which was to prevent Schiſms, and eſtabliſh Power and Peace in the Church) we may well gather, that beſides the power of Ordination, they had the other Priviledges (and Tasks) by St. *Paul* conferred on *Timothy* and *Titus*, viz. Of examining, reproving and removing ſuch Presbyters as were guilty of unſound Doctrine, and corrupt Manners; which were to continue till the coming of Chriſt, not ending with thoſe two, and therefore if belonging to any as their Succeſſors, certainly to Biſhops, who præſiding in their ſeveral Churches, had Paſtoral and Fatherly Power over both People and Presbyters under them, according to their Office: They had and have the Authority of the (*a*) Apoſtles in the Church, to bind and looſe, elſe how could they puniſh and Conſtrain, and without puniſhment no awe, and without awe, none can preſerve Peace and Order. Where they could not be themſelves preſent, to Preach and Adminiſter the Holy Sacraments, they provided for ſuch places, fit and convenient Paſtors, that they might be Rightly and Chriſtianly inſtructed; took care leſt any Hereſies, Errors or Diſſentions crept up amongſt them; afforded them their Council in doubtful matters, their aſſiſtance in difficult, and without troubling the whole Province, put an end to their private Controverſies and Contentions, excellent effects of Paſtoral Care and Vigilancy. Beſides thoſe things that were connative with their Office, ſucceeding Ages for the ſame reaſons thought fit to enlarge the Bounds of their Power and Priviledges; that all things might be done in Peace, Decency and in Order. Hence came it that by proviſion of Cannons and Cuſtom of the Church, they had many other Prerogatives; as Reconciliation of Penitents, Confirmation and Impoſition of hands on the Baptized, Dedication of Churches and the like: And ſo great was the power intruſted with them, that (*b*) no Presbyter could baptize without the Biſhops Licenſe, nor Preach if he were preſent, in ſome places.

(a) *Greg. hom.* 26.

(b) *Hierom contra Lucif. & ad Nepotianum.*

Having the ſole power of their Dioceſs, in Preaching and giving Licenſe ſo to do.

33. Nay, as ſoon as Eccleſiaſtical Matters came to ſome Form, Regulation and Order, and the Government by Biſhops Prieſts and Deacons eſtabliſhed: Biſhops within their own Dioceſs had the ſole power of Holy Functions, and (although at the firſt beginning of Chriſtianity, moſt things might be common to Presbyters and Biſhops) Prieſts and Deacons might be added to them, to aſſiſt them, and be employed according to occaſion, and their Abilities by their overſight and diſcretion; ſo that a Prieſt might not Baptize nor Adminſter the Holy Communion, nor Teach nor interpret the Scriptures; *de loco Superiore Eccleſiæ*, as St. *Auguſtin* calls it, or *de Cathedra*, as St. *Ambroſe*, as a διδάσκαλος or a Doctor (for ſo they were then called, that did it either of their own Authority as Biſhops, or was allowed it as Prieſts, according to the Preaching now in uſe) without peculiar allowance of the Biſhop of that Dioceſs. In many places Prieſts were not allowed to do it; it was not then thought to belong to them, but the task of the Biſhop alone, becauſe he in his Office repreſenting more immediately Chriſt himſelf, was looked upon as him from whom Holy Offices were derived: Which made him ſo abſolute in his Dioceſs, that it was accounted great Uſurpation for any Man to challenge any power in Spirituals (as ſuch) but under him, and by his deputation. By reaſon alſo of the inſufficiency of every Prieſt, for ſuch an imployment, as Preaching or Teaching by way of Authority (ſuch as our Pulpit-preaching) which gave them the Title of διδάσκαλοι or Doctors as witneſſeth (*a*) St. *Chryſoſtome*, who tells us, that *to preach the Goſpel of Chriſt* (in this manner) *it's well if one or two may be found that are fit: But to baptize, any man that is a Prieſt*, and *therefore*, ſaith he *to this day we commit Baptizing* (which he only mentions, though much more did belong to a Prieſt, becauſe St. *Paul* only mentions it in the place he explains) *to the weaker, but the buſineſs of Preaching or Teaching to them that are more Learned or Wiſe.* And *Balſamon* upon the Cannons affirms that to *teach the People* (in this manner) *was granted unto Biſhops alone*, that *to teach the People of God, and interpret divine Decrees, was granted by the grace of the holy Spirit unto the Biſhops only, and to them that are permitted and Authorized by them.*

(a) *Ad* 1 *Corinth. c.* 1.

34. Both by *Sozomen* and *Socrates*, we are aſſured that in *Alexandria*, the Biſhops only did Preach or Teach the People in this manner; and in the numerous *African* Churches, as witneſs both St. *Jerome* and St. *Auguſtin*, till *Valerius* his time (by whom *Auguſtin* was conſecrated) Prieſts were not allowed to preach;

this Office being accounted one of the Biſhop his peculiar priviledges) at leaſt not in the preſence of their Dioceſan: Nay, ſo ſtrict was the Ancient times in preſerving the abſoluteneſs of a Biſhop in his Dioceſs, that by ſome Cannons ſuch Biſhop was puniſhed with Depoſition, as preſumed to preach in anothers Dioceſs, without Licence firſt obtained, much leſs could any Prieſt belonging to any other Biſhop do it, who by the Canonical Laws, could not exerciſe his Function or Prieſthood without approbation, to which were required Letters Commendatory from his Prelate; in thoſe times Biſhops whether at home or a broad, if no lawful impediment (as Age, indiſpoſition of body, urgent occaſions, publick buſineſs (ſtrong enough to procure Diſpenſation) did hinder, thought themſelves bound to preach every Sunday, and by ſome Cannons of Councils in ſome places were bound ſo to do; which Cuſtom was much followed in the days of our Famous Queen *Elizabeth*, and eſpecially by that (*a*) Jewel of *Salisbury* (one of the greateſt Divines, and moſt pious Biſhop that ever lived) who to the intreaties of his Friends, adviſing him to preach ſhort and more ſeldom, that he might preach long, was wont to oppoſe that ſaying of (*b*) *Veſpaſian* altered and fitted to his own office, *Oportet Epiſcopum Concionantem mori*.

And puniſhable if without Licence of the Dioceſan.

(a) *conveniunt rebus nomina ſæpe ſuis.*

(b) *Oportet Imperatorem, ſtantem mori.*

35. But as Biſhops, their proper work ſeemeth to be Government rather than preaching, and ſo much the Etymology of their name hinteth to us. Indeed being the Miniſters of Chriſt in an eſpecial manner, their office includes all univerſal Duties; which as the ſtate of the Church requireth according to its neceſſities, are to be diſcharged by them, ſo that in times of Ignorance they ought to preach, and other whiles as others Comport, behave themſelves in their general practice, not only acting themſelves, but overſeeing alſo others; directing and ruling Prieſts in their Eccleſiaſtical Functions: By which Acts they are chiefly diſtinguiſhed from inferiour Miniſters. Now beſides theſe *Epiſcopi* or Biſhops, there were *Choreipiſcopi*, ſo called from the Country or Villages which they Governed. Their original is by ſome fetcht from Apoſtolical Inſtitution, as if they were made as Succeſſors to the Seventy Diſciples, as Biſhops are to the Apoſtles; but it's uncertain both what time they began, and when preciſely they came to their period. *Gratiancites* (*a*) Pope *Damaſus* telling the Biſhops of *Africk*, that they were then forbidden throughout the World; but his Succeſſor, *Nicolas* writes an Epiſtle to *Hosbaldus* as *Chorepiſcopus*, ſo that *Sormandis* (*b*) the Jeſuit with reaſon affirms both the Epiſtles of *Damaſus* and *Leo* the firſt, concerning theſe *Chorepiſcopi* to be ſpurious, and from Pope *Nicolas* in his Epiſtle to *Radulphus* quotes thoſe words in imitation *of the ſeventy, Chorepiſcopi were ordained, concerning whom, who can doubt but they had the Offices of Biſhops?* *Gratian* aſſigns this difference betwixt them and Biſhops, that Biſhops could not be ordained but in Cities, but they in Villages; Biſhops granted Letters called *Formatæ* or *Dimiſſoriæ* (by which one was exempted from the juriſdiction of his Biſhop, which were wont to be given with great Solemnity) the *Chorepiſcopi* could only grant Letters Commendatory (called alſo *pacificæ*, granted to Clerks travelling, whereby they were commended, that they might quietly execute their Office in other Dioceſſes) although the Gloſs denies they could grant them, and makes them only proper to the Biſhops, who alſo had the right of Conſecration, whereas the *Chorepiſcopi* could only confer the leſſer orders. That pretended Epiſtle of *Leo*, reckons up Ten ſeveral things which belong to the Office of Biſhops, the *Chorepiſcopi* were not to meddle with. (*c*) *Fileſacus* tells us that, a Biſhop being ordained by Hereticks, if afterward he became Catholick, was made *Chorepiſcopus*: But thoſe ſorts of Prieſts which we may call puny Biſhops (being betwixt a Biſhop and a Presbyter) grew out of uſe by degrees, and Rural (*d*) Deans came in their room (as it's ſaid) but with a more reſtrained power.

Biſhops govern as well as preach.

Chorepiſcopi ordained.

(a) *Quem conſule diſt. 68. & 50. ſtudeat.*

(b) *Antioch. 2. contra Patrum Aurelium.*

(c) *Ex conc. Regienſi in Gallia Narbonenſi can. 3. tract. de orig. paræch. c. 2.*

(d) *vide moreuſim in cucchi Juſt. Canon lib. tit. 3.*

The office of Presbyter, Prieſt or Curate.

36. The next in the order of this Hierarchy, was the Presbyter or Prieſt, who by direction and under the inſpection of the Biſhop, Celebrated Divine Service, Adminſtred the Sacraments, and preached Gods Word; of all thoſe the *Paræcus*, Parſon or Pariſh Prieſt, is moſt conſiderable. *The rank of Curates* (the ſame with our Parſons, in French called *Curès*, *ſaith* Gerſon, (*a*) *is the next in order to that of Biſhops; it's manifeſt, in that the ſame Hierarchical duties are incumbent upon them as upon the other, although not in ſo excellent a degree: For it's their duty to Puriſie thoſe committed to their charge by conviction and reproof, to illuminate them by Teaching and Preashing, and to adminiſter the Satraments; and they are bound, if occaſion be, as well as Biſhops, to lay down their life for their Sheep*

(a) *Patre. 3. de Concil. Evaagel. & ſtatu perfectionis.*

Sheep; ſo that when Chriſt ſent abroad the Seventy Diſciples, to whom ſucceed Curates, both according to the opinion of Divines and Lawyers, he committed in effect the ſame Charge to them as he did to the Apoſtles. Elſewhere (*b*) he writeth that *this rank of Curates was figured in the old Law by the Levites, that it was Inſtituted by Chriſt and his Apoſtles in the very beginning of the Church, which Inſtitution became more evident by the Declarations of Popes, and as well General as Particular Councils.* So doth *Gerſon* deſcribe this ſort of Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters, and without any Partiality, although being Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Paris*, he was alſo *Curè* or Pariſh Prieſt of St. *John* in *Grave* in the ſame City, as his Learned Country-man *Fileſacus* (*c*) engageth himſelf to evince.

A *Pariſh Prieſt* deſcribed

Their Original.

Their ſeveral ſorts of Names.

Curatus whence.

37. He deſcribes our *Paræcus* or Pariſh-Prieſt, to be *one aſſigned to ſome certain Churches, as having the overſight of a People, in behalf of which he officiates, which he is obliged to teach, and to Adminiſter the Holy Sacraments, and who for ſo doing ought to be maintained by the Offerings of thoſe that are committed to his charge.* Concerning their Original, he ſuppoſes certain Prieſts to have been Ordained at firſt by St. *Peter*, as the number of the Faithful increaſed in *Rome*, and from the Pontifical Hiſtory of Pope *Damaſus*, indeavoureth to prove that they were reduced to a certain number by *Cletus*, and he Proſecutes their Hiſtory as well to other places as *Rome*, proving that in moſt antient times, Pariſhes in many Countries were Eſtabliſhed. Here let our Reader take notice of the ſeveral ſorts of Names by which this Prieſt is called. Sometimes *Paræcus* and *Parochus*, ſometimes he is ſaid to be a *Presbyter, Ordained or Inſtituted in a Pariſh or Church*, for by the Sixth Cannon of the Firſt Council of *Chalcedon*, no Prieſt is to be Ordained, but to ſome certain Place or Church, which Law was indeed of force in the moſt Primitive times. At *Rome* it being ſometimes requiſite to have ſeveral Prieſts in one Church, over them all one was ſet, who was therefore called *Presbyter Cardinalis* or *Principal Prieſt*, which Title was not confined to the City, but given alſo to other Prieſts, whoſe charge lay in the Country. Sometime he is called *Presbyter* or *Prieſt* ſimply without any addition; other whiles he is underſtood by the word *Sacerdos*, ſometimes ſtiled *Rector Eccleſiæ, Proprius Presbyter, Presbyter Parochianus, Presbyter Plebis*, and *Plebanus, Presbyter Parochitanus* and *Parrochialis, Clericus Paræcialis, Clericus Localis*. And, as in Councils he is diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Presbyter* not ſeldom, as being more truly ſo than others under him, ſo is he called ſimply *Clericus*, as Principal or above other Clerks. In more late times we meet with the names of *Curio* and *Curatus*, not derived from the antient *Roman Curiones*, as ſome have imagined, ſeeing it was never heard of till thoſe latter Ages, but from the care and ſollicitude they ought to have for their Flocks; and it was firſt brought up by the Cannons of the *Gallican* Church. We in like manner have the word *Perſona* or *Parſon* peculiar to us in *England*. And it muſt not be omitted, that this ſame Prieſt is ſometimes called *Presbyter* and *Clericus Dioceſanus*.

Dioceſis and *Paræcia* what.

38. For in the antient Monuments of the Church, it is often found that the words *Dioceſis* and *Paræcia* are promiſcuouſly uſed. *Dioceſis* ſometimes ſignifies the ſame thing which we in the preſent Modern Sence call a Pariſh, although moſt commonly by it is meant a Territory of great Extent both in an Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Senſe, as formerly we have obſerved. By *Paræcia* (rather to be written † *Paroecia*) at the beginning of Chriſtian Religion, and not a few Ages after, was not meant a Society or Communion of Neighbours meeting at the ſame Church, but that which we call now a Dioceſs or a Biſhoprick. *Fileſacus* traces it down beyond the Nephews of *Charles* the Great, as far as *Arnulphus* the Emperour. This promiſcuous uſe of Names which we find to be very frequent in the Hierarchy, is to be attributed partly to the extent of their ſignification, many being applicable to the ſame Perſon and thing in ſeveral reſpects, partly to the viciſſitude of all Humane Affairs, wherein Language hath a very great ſhare, nothing more depending upon the Fancy of the Vulgar: and partly to the Latitude of the Chriſtian Church, which extending it ſelf through all places and Countries, no wonder that it receives diverſity of Terms, for we ſee particular Regions, though of the ſame Language in groſs, yet have ſeveral Dialects and Idioms. Notwithſtanding the promiſcuous uſe of words, the things themſelves are not ſo hard to be diſtinguiſhed, but that their diverſity may be

diſcourſed

(b) *De Statutis eccleſiaſticis tit. de ſtatu curatorum conſid.* 1.

(c) *De Paræciarum Orig. c.* 4.

† *From the Greek* παροικία.

diſcovered by unprejudiced minds, although with that difficulty which ever accompanies matter remote, and of ſo large a diſtance.

The Office of a Deacon in the Church.

39. At length we arrive at the loweſt ſtep of thoſe Sacred Promotions, and that is the Office of a Deacon. To a Deacon it (*a*) belonged to aſſiſt the Biſhop and Prieſt, and miniſter in all things concerning the Sacraments of Chriſt, to receive Offerings, and Preach (or read) the Goſpel, the New Teſtament being delivered to him for this purpoſe. To him alſo belonged the Offices of Prayer, writing of the Names of ſuch as were to be Ordained, Baptized, the Dead and Excommunicate. He was wont to exhort unto Prayer, and give notice in the Celebration of Divine Offices, give the uſual Bleſſing, and publiſh the Feſtivals of the Church. Such was the Polity of the Antient Primitive Apoſtolick Church for the main, Ordained and Eſtabliſhed by Chriſt's Apoſtles, circumſtantiated according to the Exigence of Affairs, and that Liberty which our Saviour hath left to his Officers in Matters of Prudence, Decency and Order. And no other ſorts of Orders dare we acknowledge of Divine Right; the (*b*) *Romaniſts* themſelves confeſſing that the leſſer ſorts have no ground in Scripture. *Dionyſius* who calls himſelf the *Areopagite* owneth only the Three Orders of Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons. The Cannons that go under the name of the Apoſtles, reckon but Five, of Biſhops, Prieſts, Deacons, Readers and Chanters. The Maſter of the Sentences himſelf confeſſeth that the Church in ſucceeding times Ordained Sub-deacons and Acolythi, ſo that farther the Canoniſts for their number of Nine, nor the Divines for that of Seven, can bring any certain thing out of the beſt and pureſt Antiquity. But how theſe might come in, as alſo concerning the nature of their Offices, beſides concerning the Original and Nature of other Dignities, which the Prudence of latter Ages thought fit to Eſtabliſh, we ſhall ſpeak upon occaſion in their due and moſt proper place.

(a) *Diſt.* 25. *Perlectis.*

Dominus vobiſcum pax vobiſcum.

(b) *Forinus Jeſuita cont.* 26. *n.* 2.

(c) *Lombard.* 4. *diſt.* 24. *lit.* I.

The Sallary of the Spiritual Souldiers.

40. But having given a proſpect of this ſtately Primitive Building, it remains to ſhew, how in an Humane way it was maintained, how theſe Officers ſubſiſted, what was the Sallary of theſe Spiritual Souldiers, and what ſtrength the Secular Arm afforded to the Spiritual, in the erecting of its Authority and Power. At firſt all things were common amongſt Chriſtians, afterward this Community ceaſing, when the cauſe was removed, this Cuſtom was introduced, that all Contributions towards the Maintenance of the Miniſtry ſhould be at the diſpoſal of the Biſhop. This being divided into Four parts, he himſelf had one, his Clergy another, the Third was diſtributed to the Poor, and the Fourth was reſerved for the Repairing of Churches; thoſe times of Perſecution affording all ſorts of Diſcouragements to needy Perſons, and being ſo far from Contributing to the ſupport of thoſe Religious Edifices, that they rather were imployed in Burning the Temples and Worſhippers together. At this time Prieſts were Arbitrarily ſent into ſome certain place or Pariſh by the Biſhop, whoſe Revenues and Work were not then ſo great, but that he could eaſily undergo the trouble of Inſpection over his whole Dioceſs, inſomuch that all Dues were paid to him, and by him to his Clergy; which Dues, if Credit may be given to an Arabick Cannon of the Firſt *Nicene* Council, were Collected by the care of the *Chorepiſcopus.*

Beda lib. 1. *c.* 27.

41. After that Chriſtianity was more diffuſed and ſettled, and that particular Churches were aſſigned to Reſidentiary Incumbents, a more certain way of Livelyhood was obtained, and the Maintenance of the Miniſter became the Burden of the Soil. When Kings once became Nurſing Fathers and Queens Nurſing Mothers to the Church, Biſhops were preſently provided of an ample and certain Revenue. Their Endowments conſiſted not in Tithes, but in good Temporal and Forable Land beſtowed on them by Princes and other Benefactors. This appeareth out of the Code (*a*) where we find ſeveral Laws of *Conſtantine* the Great, and other Emperours, down to the time of *Juſtinian* himſelf, both for conferring of Lands upon the Church, and ſuch Lands as ſhould neither be Barren, nor burdened with Statute or other Debts of the Exchequer, as alſo for the preſerving of Lands in ſuch manner conferred: and if thoſe Emperours had any occaſion to change the Lands of the Church, they would ever (*b*) allow them ſuch as ſhould be of as good value or better. Pariſh Prieſts were maintained by Tithes which were paid even before the Reformation by *Conſtantine*, as appeareth from St. *Cyprian* (*c*) who adviſeth the Clergy of his time, ſeeing they had

(a) *Lib.* 1. *de ſacros. Eccleſ. & de Epiſc. & clericis tot. tit.*

(b) *Authent. de non alterand. herred. Eccleſ. &c.*

(c) *Epiſt.* 66.

UMI

had Tithes allotted for their Maintenance, that they ſhould not withdraw themſelves from the Service of God. The orderly aſſignment of Tithes to every Pariſh is aſcribed to *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Rome*, who in imitation of St. *Paul's* appointing Biſhops in Cities, is ſaid alſo to have made and diſtinguiſhed Pariſhes about the Year 266, into ſuch Form as now they retain. *Cod. lib.* 1.

Juriſdiction in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs given to the Church.

42. Then foraſmuch as it was neceſſary that the Spiritual Power ſhould be ſtrengthened and aſſiſted by the Temporal, purity of Doctrine in the Church not always procuring goodneſs of Manners, that which to ſome is Religion, being to others no more than Faction, and Love being too cold to procure perfect Obedience, except it was backed by awe and fear; to Biſhops was granted peculiar Juriſdiction by Chriſtian Emperours, Thoſe extended to Perſons and Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, ſuch as touched the Soul and Conſcience, and appertained to Charitable and Godly Uſes: To the Laity alſo ſo far forth as it either concerned their Souls Health, or the external Government of the Church in things decent and comely; or as reſpected poor and miſerable Perſons, ſuch as Widdows, Orphans, Captives, and ſuchlike helpleſs People, or where the Civil Magiſtrate could not be come by, or willfully delayed Judgment, in which Caſes the Prelate was to diſcharge the Office both of an upright Judge and an Holy Biſhop. Againſt Hereticks and thoſe that diſturbed the Peace of the Church, they had Power alſo granted, not only to confute them by Learning and rational Diſcourſe, but alſo to ſuppreſs them by Authority. All which the Fourth Book of *Juſtinian's* Code doth ſufficiently declare.

CHAP. III.

From the firſt Nicene *Council called by* Conſtantine, *to the Apoſtacy of* Julian.

The ſpace of Thirty ſix Years.

Arius a diſcontented Heretick.

Niceph. l. 8. *c.* 9. *Theodor. l.* 1. *c.* 1. *&c. Sozom. l.* 1. *c.* 14. *Epiphan. l.* 2. *Tom.* 2. *Her.* 69. *Soc. l.* 1. *c.* 6.

1. *Conſtantine* having delivered the Church from Perſecution and other external Preſſures, it began ſpeedily to be more afflicted than uſual by internal Evils. The pinching Cold of Adverſity makes us keep cloſe and unite together, nipping the Paſſions of Strife and Æmulation in their Bloſſoms, but in the Sunſhine of Proſperity we ſeparate our ſelves, and the evil Roots of Pride, Vain-glory, Hatred and Contention, then put forth and ſprout amaine. One *Arius* gave the occaſion to theſe Diſtempers, a Man born (for publick Miſchief) as moſt Writers ſay in *Alexandria*, Educated at School in *Antioch*, where he attained a Competency of Humane Learning, and having by his good Parts grown into Fame for Philoſophy, fell to the Study of Divinity. Thence furniſhed with competent Learning, he returned to *Alexandria*, where he ſo well behaved himſelf, that he was admitted to be a Deacon by *Peter* the Biſhop, but joyned himſelf with the Diſciples of *Meletius*, who had made a Separation from that Church, accuſing the Biſhop of Auſterity, for not having received *Meletius* too readily to Communion after he had, for fear of Death, offered Incenſe to the Heathen Gods. After the Martyrdom of *Peter*, at his return to *Alexandria*, he was by *Achillas* his Succeſſor, reſtored to Communion with them, and ſo continued till he was become one of the Presbyters there, and till *Achillas* died. He ſeemed then a Competitor with *Alexander* the following Biſhop, and failing of his Expectation, grew diſcontented, and thence fell into the itch of diſputing certain Principles of Religion, and hard Points (as Hereticks are obſerved to do) in the concourſe of People.

Diſputing about the *Trinity* gains ſeveral Proſelytes.

2. Having the Advantage which ſo abſtruſe and high a Point as the Myſtery of the *Trinity* affords, beſides the Ignorance of the Times, and the eaſineſs of Vulgar Spirits, he made ſuch progreſs in his deſign, that he had ſoon gained Seven hundred Women, ſuch as placed Sanctity in the Profeſſion of Virginity, beſides Seven Presbyters and Twelve Deacons, before *Alexander* the Biſhop took any notice of it. At length *Miletius* having diſcovered it by the Poyſoning of certain of his own Sect, *Alexander* by Preaching and Argument endeavoured to obviate the growing Miſchief, wherein *Arius* found himſelf ſo concerned, that he fell into a Conteſt, and poſſeſſed the People with an Opinion that their Biſhop maintained the Doctrine of *Sabellius*, ſo that *Alexander* was conſtrained to Aſſemble a Provincial Synod, as well to juſtifie himſelf from ſuch unjuſt Aſperſions, as to determine the Matter concerning *Arius*. But he managed the Affair with too much mildneſs, inſomuch that the *Arians* were rather emboldened. For although the Synod determined againſt the *Arian* Tenets, and inhibited *Arius* from further publiſhing any ſuch Opinions, yet, when they came to Subſcribe, Ten Perſons refuſed, as well as *Arius*, of which number Five were Presbyters, and as many Deacons: The Multitude was ſtill for the neweſt Opinion, and was prejudiced much againſt the Truth by that Reverence which now it bore to the Perſon of *Arius*. For he had a ſmooth and flattering Tongue, was of a winning Behaviour, though ſerious Aſpect, and indeed every way a goodly Perſon; a very prevalent means to procure reſpect (even *Cæteris imparibus*) from ordinary Capacities, eſpecially thoſe of the weaker Sex.

But is condemned by a Provincial Synod.

His Tenets.

Philaſtr. de hæreſ. Caſſiod. trip. hiſt. lib. 1. *c.* 12. *&c. Niceph. l.* 8. *c.* 5. *&c. Hieron. Aug. &c.*

3. Now therefore he held and publiſhed theſe following Doctrines with more Reſolution and Animoſity. "First, That the Son of God is like unto God in
"Name only, but not in Subſtance. Secondly, That the Father, Son, and Holy
"Ghoſt, are not of the ſame Nature, Power and Majeſty, inaſmuch as the Father
"alone is the Inviſible God, and alone to be Worſhipped; the Son may be called
"God,

" God, but is a created God, being the Son of God by Adoption, and not by " Nature, for there was a time when he had no being at all. Thirdly, That yet " the Son of God was the firſt Creature that ever God made, and was made " of thoſe things which have no exiſtence, and is the moſt excellent of all " Creatures. Fourthly, That the Son of God is the Inſtrument of God his " Father; by whom he made all other Creatures, yet doth he not know his " Fathers Secrets, nor comprehend his Nature and Eſſence. Fifthly, That the " Son is not Infinite as his Father is, for when he lived in the World with " Men, he was not then in Heaven with his Father, and that his Kingdom ſhall " end with the World. Sixthly, That the Holy Ghoſt is a Creature, Created of " the Son of God, knowing neither the Secrets and Nature of the Father nor the " Son, being much Inferior in Nature and Dignity to them both, their Subject " and Servant.

4. *Arius* refuſing to ſubſcribe the Decrees of the *Alexandrian Synod*, and proceeding in the publication and owning of his Opinions, was with his Followers He is Excommunicated. ejected from their ſeveral Benefices, and from Communion with the Church. Yet, as it happened in ſuch caſes, being eſteemed Confeſſors for this their Suffering, and more eſteemed by the Ignorant and prejudiced ſort, was he ſo much flocked after, that Tumults aroſe, and ſeveral Outrages were committed, to the great Scandal of the Chriſtian Faith. The Proceedings of the *Alexandrian Council* were now the general diſcourſe of the Chriſtian World. *Alexander* the Biſhop, to prevent and avoid falſe Repreſentations, was conſtrained by Letter to ſeveral Churches to make Relation of Particulars, which gained belief according to the Inclination of the Receivers; and ſtill the *Arians* ſeemed to get ground. The Biſhop then conſidering what influence Preaching hath upon the Multitude, and how the Pulpits were made to ſerve the Deſigns of Factions and Heretical Spirits, Humour, Paſſion, Ignorance, and all Diſtempers paſſing under the Vizard of Gods Word, he ordained that no Prieſt in *Alexandria* ſhould Preach without eſpecial Licenſe firſt obtained. This proved ſo efficacious a Counter-plot to their Devices, that *Arius* forſook his Poſt, and departed into Goes into *Palæſtine*. *Palæſtine*, where meeting with leſs oppoſition, he got opportunity to Preach and gather Companies together, as he and his Party had been accuſtomed.

5. Yet were thoſe of *Palæſtine* ſo ſenſible of the good Effects of Order and Government, that they preſſed *Arius* to ſubmit to his Biſhop, and return into Applies himſelf to *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Nicomedia*. Communion with him. But he not able to ſtoop ſo low, repairs to *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Nicomedia*, his old Acquaintance when he ſtudied at *Antioch*, who having heard his Tale, ſo far complies with him, as to repair to the Emperour, and miſrepreſent to him the Dealings of the Council of *Alexandria*. *Conſtantine* became ſo taken with *Euſebius*, that ever after he had much his Ear, and in Church Matters had great Application made to him. Thinking himſelf no mean Man, he writes to *Alexander*, adviſes him to paſs by the matter concerning *Arius*, and receive him and his Followers again into Communion, other Churches he ſtirs up to reſiſt the Proceedings of the *Alexandrian*, and ſtrengthens the Hands of the *Meletians* in their Faction and Schiſm. By this means the buſineſs came to more Heat and Contention, and *Sylveſter* Biſhop of *Rome* much Upon which a General Council is ſummoned at *Alexandria*. concerned himſelf in it; by his endeavours a General Council is appointed at *Alexandria*, over which præſided *Hoſius* Biſhop of *Corduba* in *Spain*. He taking *Nicomedia* in his way, where the Emperour then reſided, received his Letters to *Alexander* and *Arius*, wherein one may perceive the Finger of *Euſebius*, ſo ſlight a matter they make of the Difference betwixt them two. But *Hoſius*, notwithſtanding his great Abilities and Endeavours, could do little good, the Council ending without any conſiderable Concluſion. Yet the ſeveral Caſes of *Iſchyras* *Athan. Apol. 2.* and *Coluthus* are remarkable, of whom *Coluthus* a Prieſt, bearing himſelf as a Biſhop, and *Iſchyras* a Lay-perſon, as a Prieſt, was reduced into Order by the Fathers. The Hereſie of *Sabellius* alſo, though formerly condemned, yet in thoſe Parts having again got ground was now exploded, and for that he had confounded the Three Perſons in the *Trinity*, taking away all diſtinction by means of this Synod, one οὐσία or Eſſence was ſaid to be in the Bleſſed *Trinity*, and three ὑποστάσεις or Perſons, from which Terms afterwards a great Controverſie aroſe.

6. Little

Who do nothing in that Matter.

6. Little good proceeding from the Council of *Alexandria*, or any other means of Reconcilement, the Empire began to be generally infected with the Diſtemper of *Arianiſm*, ſo that againſt a Diſeaſe ſo Epidemical as this was like to prove, ſome Catholick Remedy was to be provided; ſuch, an Univerſal or General Council out of the whole Empire ſeemed to be, which *Conſtantine* at length reſolved ſhould be Summoned to *Nice*, a City of *Bithinia*, as moſt convenient for all Parts, by reaſon of its Scituation. Now in this reſpect was the Scene of Affairs happily changed. Formerly in great Fear and Secreſie did the Biſhops and others aſſemble to compoſe Differences ſprung up in the Church; Great and Solemn Meetings would have given occaſion of Jealouſie and Cruelty to have been exerciſed upon ſo many Paſtors ſo opportunely met at one time and place. Before thoſe times Differences went not out of one City, or at the moſt out of a Province: now by reaſon of the Liberty of meeting together they extended themſelves over the whole Empire; wherefore it was neceſſary that Councils (the uſual remedy) ſhould alſo be aſſembled from places at a farther diſtance.

Another Council at *Nice* in *Bithinia*.

Vide Paulum Venetum in Concilii Tridentini Hiſt.

Which is ſtiled a General Oecumenical Council.

7. Hereupon a Council of the whole Empire being Aſſembled, now by the (ſole) Authority of the Prince, it had the Name of the Holy and Great Synod, and a little after was called the General and Oecumenical Council, though it were not Aſſembled from all parts of the Church, a conſiderable part whereof, even long before this time, having extended it ſelf beyond the Limits of the *Roman Empire*, but becauſe it was the Cuſtom of thoſe Ages to call the Emperour Lord of the whole habitable Earth, although the Tenth part of it was not ſubject to him. After this pattern were Councils called by the Succeſſors of *Conſtantine*, upon all ſuch urgent Occaſions, as well after that the Empire was divided into Eaſtern and Weſtern, as before, the Affairs thereof being ſtill managed under a common name as well Secular as Eccleſiaſtical. But when the Eaſt came ſo to be divided from the Weſt, that there remained no more Communion in the Soveraignty, as it happened after the promotion of *Charles the Great*, after that, the laſt was for the moſt part poſſeſſed by *Saracens*, and the Weſt Cantonized into many Kingdoms and Signories, the name of an Oecumenical and Univerſal Council was no more derived from the *Roman Empire*, but amongſt the *Græcians* from the Aſſembly of the *Five Patriarchs*, and in the more Weſtern parts from the Unity and Communion of ſuch Kingdoms and States as obeyed the Biſhop of *Rome* in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical. And the aſſembling of thoſe for the moſt part, hath been not principally for the deciſion of Religious queſtions as formerly, but either to make War in the Holy Land, or to compoſe Schiſms and Diviſions in the Church of *Rome*, or for the ending of Controverſies between the Biſhops and Chriſtian Princes. All which we ſhall ſee in their proper places.

The Perſons ſummoned who.

8. Councils for about (*a*) Eight hundred years were called by Chriſtian Emperours and Kings. Unto them firſt, and in the chief place were ſummoned Biſhops, as the moſt proper Paſtors and Rulers of the Church. After them (*b*) *Prieſts* or *Presbyters* had the next place ſitting together with the *Biſhops*, and giving their voices. *Deacons* were preſent alſo of old, but ſtood by with the reſt of the People. In (*c*) the moſt antient times Chriſt and the Holy Ghoſt preſiding, and Charity prevailing againſt all Heat and Paſſion, they adviſed and reſolved without Ceremonies or Forms preſcribed. Before the days of *Conſtantine*, there being a neceſſity to govern them with ſome order, that Biſhop chiefeſt for Learning, or the greatneſs of his See, or for ſome other reſpect of eminency, had the charge to propoſe and guide the Action and collect the Voices. Afterward the Action was guided by thoſe Princes or Magiſtrates that had called them together, who alſo were perſonally preſent, propoſing, governing the Diſpute, decreeing interlocutorily the occurring Differences, but leaving the Deciſion of the principal Point to the major part of Voices. *Conſtantine* ſo ordered Matters in this of *Nice* and others elſewhere, as will be ſeen upon occaſion.

The Management of Matters in Diſpute.

9. Of old, ſometime the Matter was ſo eaſie, that all was diſpatched in one Meeting. Sometime by reaſon of the difficulty or multiplicity of buſineſs, there was neceſſity of making many Seſſions in the ſame Council. But this was done without Ceremony, or with intention only to publiſh what was done before, or digeſted elſewhere, but that the opinion of every one might be underſtood, and the Colloquies, Diſcuſſions, Diſputes, and whatſoever was done or ſpoken, was called *the Acts of the Council.* The Notaries appointed to Collect the Voices when a Biſhop ſpoke and was not contradicted, wrote not his proper Name, but this *The*

(a) *Cuſanus Omnia octo univerſalia Concilia per Imp. Congregata leguntur.*

(b) *Conſule Filoſacum de paroch. orig. p. 66. &c.*

(c) *Vide Paulum Venetum quo prius.*

Holy Synod ſaith; when many ſaid the ſame thing, it was written *The Biſhops acclaim, or affirm,* and the things ſo ſpoken, were taken for Deciſions; if they ſpake in a contrary Senſe, the contrary Opinions were noted with the Names of the Authors, and the Preſidents pronounced. After the Diviſion of the Empire, ſome marks of theſe ancient Councils yet remained in the Weſt, many were celebrated in *France* and *Germany* under the Poſterity of *Charles* the Great, and not a few in *Spain* under the *Gothick* Kings. At laſt the Biſhop of *Rome* his Power prevailing, Princes were abſolutely debarred from medling in Church Matters, whereby the former ſort of Councils grew out of uſe, and that alone remained which was called by Eccleſiaſtical Perſons themſelves, the Convocation of which Provincial Councils was almoſt wholly aſſumed by the *Pope*, who ſent his Legates to preſide whereſoever he heard that a Council was to be held.

Over all one preſides.

10. At length he aſſumed to himſelf that Power which the *Roman* Emperours had formerly uſed to convocate a Council of the whole Empire, and preſide himſelf if he were preſent, or in his abſence to ſend Legates to be Preſidents and govern the Action. The Prelates aſſembled, being freed from all fear of a Secular Prince by reaſon of many Indecencies which were multiplied as worldly reſpects increaſed, began to digeſt and order their Matters in private, that they might obſerve more decency in the publick Meeting. In proceſs of time this became a Form, and in Councils beſide the Seſſions, they began to make Congregations of ſome Deputies to ſet in order ſuch Matters as were to be treated of, which in the beginning, if many, were divided, and a proper Congregation aſſigned to every one. But all Indecencies being not hereby removed, becauſe thoſe that were abſent having different Intereſts, raiſed Difficulties in publick; beſides the particular Congregations, they made a general one before the Seſſion, where all were preſent, which according to the antient Rite, is the Conciliary Action, becauſe the Seſſion, every thing being done before, is but a pure Ceremony. But after an Age or two, National Intereſts being different, cauſed Diſſentions amongſt the Biſhops of diverſe Countries; whereupon thoſe that came from far, being few, and judging it unreaſonable to be outvoted by the neighbouring Prelates, who were more in number, to make the ballance equal, it was neceſſary that every Nation ſhould aſſemble by it ſelf, as formerly the Tribes in the *Roman Comitia*, and reſolve according to the number of Voices, and that the general Deciſion ſhould be Eſtabliſhed, not by the Suffrages of particular Men, but by the Plurality of the Voices of the Nations. This courſe was obſerved in the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil*: which uſe, as it was good where the Government was Free, as it was when the World owned no *Pope*, ſo it ill befitted *Trent*, where they deſired a Council ſubject to him.

11. But at *Nice* met Three hundred and eighteen Biſhops from all parts of the Empire, amongſt whom many carried about them the Trophies of their Chriſtian Warfare, Scars all over their Bodies, and mutilation of Members. The Emperour with a ſhort Speech opened the Council, and after general Admonitions commended Two things eſpecially to their Care: the one was for Eſtabliſhing one ſettled Practice in the Church in the Point of keeping *Eaſter*, and the other was concerning the *Arian* Doctrine, the principal cauſe of their meeting. The firſt was effected with little or no Conteſt, the Cuſtom of the Weſtern Churches being Eſtabliſhed, and that of the *Aſian* aboliſhed by Decree of the Council and the Emperours Edict; although from the Acts of the Council now Extant, little appears concerning this Matter. The buſineſs about *Arius* held them long in Debate, who according to Summons appeared, and maintained his Opinions. The Diſpute againſt him was chiefly managed by *Alexander* and *Athanaſius* his Deacon, who charged him with ſuch Tenets as he had formerly maintained at *Alexandria*. The Council examined his Book called *Thalia*, wherein were found ſo many of his Opinions, and ſuch Wantonneſs (he being much ſuſpected of Uncleanneſs, in his ordinary Converſation with Women, which he called his Virgins) that it was condemned by the Council and burnt by command of *Conſtantine*. But when the Fathers ſhould come to eſtabliſh the Orthodox Faith, after they had reſolved againſt *Arius* his Hereſie, it coſt them ſome labour to invent what Terms were fit to expreſs the co-equal Divinity of God the Son with his Father, ſo as no hole might be left for the *Arians* to creep out at. At length they reſolved upon the Greek word ὁμοούσιος or *Conſubſtantial*, which they had obſerved to be much feared and avoided by the *Arians* from an Epiſtle of *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Nicomedia* read in the Synod.

Eaſter ſettled.

Author vitæ Conſtant. c. 16, &c.

The Hereſie of *Arius* condemned.

12. The *Arians* perceiving themſelves foiled by the addition of this, thought to reinforce the charge, by putting in the word *Unbegotten*, with relation to the Father; as thence deducing by conſequence, that the Son was made and Created. But the Fathers aware of their deſign, receiving this word added to it, that the Son was ſo *begotten, that he was not made*, by which their deſign was quite daſhed; then was drawn up a Formulary of the Catholick Faith: whereof *Hoſius*, who præſided in the Council, was Author, now called the *Nicene Creed*, and paſſed *June* 19. on *Saturday*. But in this Council, nothing appears to have been added to the *Apoſtles Creed*, concerning the *Holy Ghoſt*; which happened by reaſon that nothing was now urged againſt his Divinity by *Arius*; which courſe was formerly taken up by his Followers, and more privately before this had been practiced by him, it being very ready and in a manner conſequential to him, who denied the Divinity of *Chriſt* to reject that of the *Holy Spirit*. Having happily finiſhed the Affair concerning *Arius*, they ſettled the matter concerning *Eaſter*; and for that ſeveral Countrys obſerved ſeveral Cuſtoms and Calculations of time, it pleaſed the Synod to commit the charge of the Paſchal Cycles to the Biſhop of *Alexandria*, in giving notice of the time of Celebation, which was done every Year præceeding; ſeeing that the Letters concerning the time were wont to be publiſhed by the Deacons, on the day of the *Epiphany*, and by the Biſhop of that City, to be ſent up and down to the Churches of the Weſt.

The *Nicene* Creed paſs'd

Athanat. Ep. ad ſolit. Soc. Lib. 1. *c.* 5 *Leo. Ep.* 64.

13. Having for the better Calculation of time, Eſtabliſhed the Golden Number, containing the period of Nineteen Years, they came to diſcuſs the cauſe of *Meletius*, the Schiſmatical Biſhop of *Lyco*, in the Province of *Alexandria*. This Man for Sacrificing to Idols, in the time of *Diocletian*, and other cauſes had been deprived of his Biſhoprick by *Peter* the Metropolitan, who afterwards ſuffered Martyrdom; at which cenſure conceiving great indignation, he ceaſed not to rail againſt *Peter*, and his Succeſſors, and made a ſeparation from the Communion of the Church; continuing Schiſmatical with a multitude of Followers to this very time. The Synod now tell the Church of *Alexandria*, and their Brethren throughout *Egypt*, *Lybia* and *Pentapolis*, that they had dealt with him, with more clemency than he deſerved; having decreed that he ſhould remain in his own City without any Epiſcopal power, retaining only the bare, Name and Title of his Office and Dignity, and they reſolved that the Clergy ſhould ſubmit wholly to *Alexander*, or elſe be deprived of their Spiritual Offices; being alſo to give place to thoſe whom the Metropolitan had ordained: And becauſe that by reaſon of this Schiſm *Meletius* had throughout *Egypt* at his pleaſure made many Ordinations, the Synod by a Cannon forbid that in *Ægypt*, *Lybia* or *Pentapolis*, any ſhould be ordained Biſhop without the knowledge of the Metropolitan, (this being the ancient priviledge of the *Alexandrian* Church) as the Cuſtom was obſerved towards the *Roman* Biſhop.

Soc. l. 1. *c.* 6 & 9. *ubi vide Epiſt. Synodicam.*

Meletius puniſhed.

Council. Nic. c. 6.

14. By this Council were framed Twenty Cannons in all, and no more are to be found in any good and certain Author: *Turrian* the Jeſuit tells us of Eighty, which having found in the Arabick Tongue he Tranſlated, and *Ruffinus* counts 22. But *Theodoret* affirms there were but 20. And whereas many things are cited by Writers of ſucceeding times, as from the *Nicene* Council, they rather are to be underſtood of the Acts, than the Cannons thereof, rather of paſſages which happened, not directly but accidentally, and recorded in Story, than of the ſolemn decrees of the Fathers; beſides this being the firſt great and Oecumenical Council, all opinions were ambitious, from it to derive deſcent and pedigree; and the Acts afterwards coming to be loſt and imbezeled, whether through the negligence of the Keepers thereof, or which is more likely, through the practice of Hereticks, who were unwilling to be upbraided with ſo urgent a Teſtimony; great latitude was given for pretenders to enlarge the number of the Cannons, and out of them to forge Arguments for the raiſing or upholding of their particular Sects and Opinions.

Lib. 1. *c.* 8.

The twenty Cannons of the firſt *Nicene* Council,

15. The firſt of the Twenty received Cannons (*a*) depoſeth ſuch Clerks, as had voluntarily made themſelves Eunuchs, and prohibits ſuch to be ordained for the future; excepting ſuch as either neceſſity of Cure, or of Force and Violence, had undergone Mutilation from (*b*) Phiſitians, their imperious Lords, or Cruel and Barbarous Enemies. The Second taking notice, that many contrary to Rule, leapt out of the Font into the Epiſcopal Chair, or the Seat and Office of a Prieſt; having been but lately Catechized (*c*) or Inſtituted in the Chriſtian Faith; ſtrictly forbids ſuch practice for the time to come, concluding from (*d*) Apoſtolical

(a) *Diſt.* 55. *Siquis à Medicis.*

(b) In the Latin Cannons its *Medicis* by which both here and in the Imperial Laws, Chyrurgions are underſtood, not thoſe Learned in the Thæory of Phyſick.

(c) *Diſt.* 48. *quoniam multa*

(d) 1 *Tit.* 3.

cal caution againſt a *Novice*, that a new Convert ſhould both ſtand as a *Catechumenus* a convenient time, and a *Probationer* after Baptiſm. If in proceſs of time ſuch an one committed Scandal, and was Convicted by the Teſtimony of two or three Witneſſes, he was to be depoſed, as alſo any ſuch that ſhould Act contrary to this Cannon; which yet, afterwards was diſpenſed with, upon notable occaſions for appeaſing of Tumults, or when the extrordinary worth of a Perſon required it, as in the Caſe of St. *Ambroſe* and *Nectarius*. The Third (*e*) forbids any Biſhop, Prieſt or Deacon, or any Clerk whatſoever, to receive any Woman * as Inmate into his Houſe, except it be his Mother, Grandmother, Siſter or Aunt; in which, and ſuch like Perſons, ſuſpicion may eaſily be declined. By which Cannon nothing was decreed againſt Marriage, that deſign being utterly daſhed by the interpoſition and endeavours of *Paphnutius*, who diſſwaded the Fathers from laying the unſupportable burthen of Cælibate, upon the back of thoſe whom God and his Church had left free. The Fourth (*f*) Cannon præſcribes the manner of ordaining or Conſecrating a Biſhop, affirming the Action ought to be performed by all the Biſhops of that Province, if poſſible, but if that may not be, three at leaſt ought to meet for that purpoſe, bringing with them in Writing the conſent of the reſt, and the confirmation of every Province, was to belong to the Metropolitan.

(e) *Diſt.* 32. *Interdixit.*

* *Subintroductam habere mulierem.*

(f) *Diſt.* 94 *Epiſcopi ab omnibus.*

16. The Fifth Cannon (*a*) forbids thoſe that are Excommunicated by ſome, to be received into Communion with others; but to redreſs ſuch inconvenience as might riſe from any Contention or Heat of any Biſhop uſing this cenſure; “ it ſeemed good to the Fathers to ordain that twice every Year a Council of “ Biſhops ſhould be held in each Province, who urgently ſhould examine if any “ complained of ſuch grievance, that ſuch as appeared juſtly cenſured, might be held and eſteemed as Excommunicated Perſons by the reſt, till ſuch time as publickly, or by their own Biſhop they were abſolved. (*b*) One of thoſe Annual Councils they thought fit ſhould be held before Lent; that all grudges, if any there were, being laid aſide, they might preſent themſelves a Pure and Solemn Offering to Almighty God. The Second Meeting they thought fit ſhould be about Autumn. Now this command concerning the rejecting of thoſe by *all* that had been Excommunicated by *one* Biſhop, was not out of conſideration of the ſole Juriſdiction of any particular Biſhop, but of the Nature of the Cenſure, which the Church eſteemed as a thing which ought to be of that great ſtrength and influence that by whomſoever it was applied it might obtain univerſal Force.

(a) 11. *qu. Servetur iſta ſententia.*

(b) *Diſt.* 18. *Habeatur ſuum conciliam.*

17. The Sixth Cannon is of very extraordinary remark, as a great Eye-ſore to certain Noveliſts, who ſeek all manner of ways to cover it by their Gloſſes and Expoſitions, as their adverſaries on the other ſide, ever caſt it in their Diſh. It commands that the Ancient Cuſtom be obſerved throughout *Ægypt*, *Lybia* and *Pentapolis*; ſo that the Biſhop of *Alexandria*, have Power or Authority over all theſe, foraſmuch as ſuch was the manner or uſe of the *Roman* Biſhop. In like manner at *Antioch*, and in the reſt of the Provinces, ſay the Fathers, let every Church enjoy its own Dignity or Honour: However it's manifeſt, that if any be ordained without the conſent and knowledge of his Metropolitan, this great and Holy Council judgeth that he ought not to be a Biſhop. Indeed if two or three out of Animoſity and Contention, ſhall contradict what is generally and rationally and Canonically agreed on, the moſt voices of Prieſts carry it; for Biſhops themſelves are ſo called. The Romaniſts jealous of their Great Biſhops Honour and Authority, labour all ways poſſible to perſwade their Readers that theſe words, *for ſuch is the manner* (*Cuſtom or uſe*) *of the* Roman *Biſhops*, no way do imply any equally of Power or Juriſdiction bitwixt him and the other of *Alexandria*, ſome would make them an Argument of his Authority over the *Ægyptian* Churches, as if *ſuch is the Cuſtom of the* Roman *Biſhop, was to be joyned* to thoſe words *viz. over, or in the Churches of* Alexandria, Pentapolis, &c. And if this will not do, with other of the like ſort, a *Latin* Edition, of thoſe Cannons, is urged wherein it is read not. *Foraſmuch as ſuch is the Cuſtom of the* Roman *Biſhop*; but, *Foraſmuch as this ſame is the Cuſtom of the* Metropolitan *Biſhop.* But their Adverſaries ſcarcely think themſevles in Honour obliged to anſwer ſuch ſlight and palpable Gloſſes; although they might oppoſe ſo many ancient *Latin* Copies, to an obſcure pretended one of *Marcellus* a *Tridentine* Legate, not to mention the *Greek*. And as for the ſence of the words, they ſay it is ſufficiently evinced both by univerſal conſent of pureſt Antiquity, and the Teſtimony of other Councils, eſpecially that of the General Council of *Chalcedon*, which we ſhall ſcan in its proper place. Thus much at preſent we may obſerve, as a learned Man hath learnedly made out in a peculiar Treatiſe, that firſt Cuſtom introduced the Rights and privi-

Diſt. 65. *mos antiquus.*

Vide Annot. ad. Conc. Nic. Can. 6. in editione Carania pag. 102.

Priviledges of *Patriarchs* or *Metropolitans*: Secondly, Councils confirmed this Cuſtom; and laſtly Emperours who could not but approve of a near agreement and ſimilitude, betwixt the Models of Church and State, Enacted and Confirmed it by their Imperial Authority and Laws.

Dr. *Barier De antiqnâ Eccleſiæ Brit. libertate. τὰ ἀρχαῖ ἔθη κράτειτω.*

18. The Fathers out of the ſame principle of keeping up Good and Ancient Cuſtoms, as ſenſible of the great Influence of change, further Enact by their Seventh (*a*) Cannon, that foraſmuch as by ancient Cuſtom and Tradition, Honour was given to *Ælia* or the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, he ſhould conſequently enjoy the ſaid Honour, provided that the Dignity of the Metropolitan City be preſerved. The Eighth (*b*) Cannon gives directions how *Novatians* which returned to the Catholick Church ſhould be received, concluding, that if a Biſhop came over to a Biſhop, if he thought not fit to receive him as ſuch, he ſhould procure him a place either of a *Chorepiſcopus* or a Prieſt, that he might aſſuredly have ſome Clerical Function, leſt in one and the ſame City, there ſhould be found two Biſhops; this againſt two Biſhops in one City was decreed with very good reaſon, to prevent the Contentions and Emulation, a Biſhops Chair, no more then a Kings Throne, brooking Rivals, although the contrary practice may be found before this time; and St. *Auguſtin* as he himſelf confeſſeth (*c*) out of ignorance acted contrary to this Cannon, being both Conſecrated before the Death of *Valerius*, and ſitting with him in the ſame See. The Ninth (*d*) Cannon decrees that if any Prieſts were promoted without examination, after this confeſſed their Sins, and after confeſſion yet had hands laid on them (by the Metropolitan and others to be made Biſhops) ſuch were not to be owned by the Eccleſiaſtical Order. The Tenth (*e*) near of kin to the former, doth Enact, that whether ſuch Criminals were ordained ignorantly, or with the knowledge of Biſhops contemptuouſly, they ſhould be depoſed.

(a) *Diſt. 65. Quoniam mos. ubi vide gloſſam inſulſam de Etymologia Eliæ & Hieroſolymorum.*

(b) 9. 7. *Si qui.*

(c) *Ep.* 110

(d) *Diſt.* 81. *Si qui ſine examine.*

(e) *Diſt.* 81. *quicunq; ex his. vide Gloſſam.*

19. The Eleventh Cannon, preſcribes Rules of Penitence to ſuch as fell through Frailty during the perſecution of *Licinius*, allowing the Biſhop to mitigate the Penance where he ſhould find juſt occaſion. The Twelfth Ordains that the Ancient Courſe be obſerved concerning an Excommunicate Perſon, that if any one dye, he be not defrauded of his *Viaticum*; but if any deſperate Perſon ſhould overlive the Communion, he was only to be admitted to Prayer; and the Biſhops were to approve and judge of thoſe dying Perſons to whom the Communion was to be Adminſtred. The Thirteenth Ordains concerning ſuch *Catechumeni* as fell, that they ſhould be for the ſpace of three Years amongſt ſuch only as heard the Word, and afterwards ſhould Pray with the *Catechumeni* who being but *Novices* or Probationers in Religion, were admitted to hear the Word, but excluded the Congregation at time of publick Prayers and Service. The Fourteenth Reforms a Cuſtom crept into certain Places, of Deacons giving the Sacrament to Prieſts, and receiving it before the Biſhops themſelves, forbidding the like practice for the time to come, on pain fo Depoſition; and that Deacons ſit amongſt Presbyters. In the Fifteenth, the Fathers taking notice of Commotions and Tumults, which happened by reaſon of Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons, Fleeting and Changing from City to City, they inhibit this practice for the time to come, and require that an Offender be remanded to that Church wherein he was Ordained; and if this Decree be not ſufficient, in their Sixteenth Cannon they enjoyn that ſuch an one be Expelled and Conſtrained to return to his Church; which if he refuſe obſtinately to do, he is to be Excommunicated.

Cauſ. 26. *q.* 6. *De his qui.*

Diſt. 93. *Prevenit ad ſanct.*

7. *q.* 1. *Non oportet epiſcopum.*

7. 9. 1 *ſi qui vero.*

20. The Holy and Oecumenical Synod in its Seventeenth Cannon (*a*) Decrees, that if any one ſhould dare to Ordain any Clerk in his own Church, which belong to another Biſhop, without the ſaid Biſhops aſſent, ſuch Ordination ſhould be void. The Eighteenth (*b*) forbids Uſury to the Clergy, upon pain of Depoſition. The Nineteenth (*c*) commands that ſuch as returned to the Catholick Church, from the Hereſie of the *Paulianiſts* and *Cataphrygians*, ſhould be Rebaptized; as alſo ſuch as were Clerks amongſt them ſhould be Re-ordained, but their ſhe Deacons continue lay as they were. The Twentieth (*d*) Cannon containeth an Appendix to the Decree, concerning the Feaſt of *Eaſter*, by occaſion of the *Quarto Decimarians*, or thoſe who were for Celebrating this Feaſt on the Fourteenth Moon according to the Jewiſh Cuſtom, and that of the Eaſtern Churches, and therefore taking no notice of the Reſurrection at that time were wont to kneel at Prayer, as at other times not Feſtival, the Synod therefore Ordains that for Uniformity ſake, on the Lords day, and in the days of *Pentecoſt*, all pray ſtanding; for it is to be noted that to the Reſurrection the Primitive Church had ſo chearful a regard, that not only at thoſe times here mentioned, but alſo during

(a) *Diſt.* 71. *ſiquis auſus fuerit.*

(b) *Cauſ.* 14. 9. 4. *Quoniam multi Clerici.*

(c) 1 *q* 1. *Siquis confugerit.*

(d) *d.* 3. *quoniam ſunt.*

during thoſe Fifty Holy-days betwixt *Eaſter* and *Whitſontide*, no Man did ſo much as *de geniculis adorare*, Worſhip God or Pray on his knees. Thoſe days, though now neglected, were then, when the memory of the Reſurection, and the benefits thereof was more freſh, carefully obſerved, and *Tertullian* conſidering their number, takes notice that they were more than the Superſtitious Heathen obſerved throughout the whole Year.

Act Conc. Nic.

Subſcribed firſt by *Hoſius* Biſhop of *Corduba* &c.

Ruffinus lib. 1. *c.* 5.

And confirmed by the Emperours Edict.

21. All things being concluded which the *Nicene Council* thought fit to Ordain, the Fathers came to Subſcribe both the Cannons and the Creed. *Hoſius* Biſhop of *Corduba* was the firſt that Subſcribed, not the Legates of *Silveſter* Biſhop of *Rome* viz. *Victor* and *Vincentius*, two Presbyters of that City. Seventeen yet are ſaid to have refuſed being infected, it ſeems with the Principles of *Arius*, which when the Emperour underſtood, as highly affected with the concluſion of the Council, he declared he would Baniſh all refuſers, whereupon Eleven of the Diſſenters were frighted into a Subſcription, of which Diſſemblers *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Nicomedia* was chief; ſo the Decrees being confirmed by Imperial Authority, the Council which had Aſſembled on the Eighteenth of the Calends of *July* (*June* the Fourteenth) was diſſolved, on or about the Eighth of the Callends of *September* (*Auguſt* 25*th*.) having began and ended in the Twentieth Year of *Conſtantine*, the Firſt of the 276, *Olympiad*, the 1078. Year of *Rome*: Of Chriſt 325. *Anicius Fauſtus Paulinus*, and *P. Pubilius Ceionius Jalcanus Camænus* being Conſuls.

*Socr.l.*1. *c.*5 .8.

Lib. 1. *c.* 4.

Socr. lib. 1. *c.* 8.

Soz. lib. 1. *c.* 22.

Lib. de Continent.

22. Beſides *Hoſius* who præſided at the Council, firſt Subſcribed, and is not in the Acts at all taken notice of, as the Legate of the *Roman* Biſhop, the moſt eminent of thoſe *Nicene* Fathers was *Alexander* Patriarch or Metropolitan (the other Name being ſcarcely yet in uſe) of *Alexandria*, *Euſtathius* of *Antioch* and *Macarius* of *Jeruſalem*, all of them Famous for their Chriſtian Faith, Courage and Sanctity: Amongſt thoſe Biſhops which *Alexander* brought along with him, none were ſo Eminent; as *Potamon* Biſhop of *Heraclæa* in *Ægypt*, and *Paphnutius*, one as good as many, who as he equalized the former in the loſs of his (Right) Eye in the Perſecution of *Maximinus*, ſo he went beyond him in the loſs of his left Leg, and his Condemnation to the Mines. He is reported by *Ruffinus* to have been alſo Famous for Miracles, and in ſuch Veneration with all good Men, that *Conſtantine* the Emperour, himſelf would often moſt kindly and familiarly imbrace him, and greedily kiſs that empty place which had formerly held his Martyr'd Eye; and this is not the leaſt of his Commendations that he ſtood up for the Liberty of Clergy-men, when ſome went about to have enſlaved them under the Yoke of forced Continence; although *Caſſiodorus*, *Epiphanius*, *Socrates*, *Sozomen* and *Nicephorus* moſt of them, if not all, Grave and approved Authors for but reporting one piece of Hiſtory in Favour of Prieſts Marriages are ſpit upon and diſcarded with diſgrace by certain Grandees of the contrary opinion. But *Eſpencæus* a Learned and Sober Writer defends their Authority about *Paphnutius*.

The Birth place of *Athanaſius*.

23. As *Ægypt* affording ſuch Biſhops, made ſome amends to the Church, for that detriment is ſuſtained through *Arius* a Clerk of the ſame Province; ſo in producing the moſt powerful Adverſary that Arch-Heretick ever had, and one whom Patience and Magnanimitty, as well as Faith commend as a great Pattern to all Ages; it ſeemed to overballance the inconvenience, as no Country can be blamed for the Generation of a Poyſonous and Venomous thing which carries not its Appology *viz.* a proper Antidote, in its own Boſom. This was *Athanaſius* a Perſon who though he aſſiſted at this Council, but in quality of *Alexander* his Deacon is yet to Act the moſt conſiderable part in this Troubleſome and Tempeſtuous Scene, and for that purpoſe muſt needs change his Quality and dreſs ſucceeding *Alexander* the moſt Worthy Biſhop of *Alexandria*, who about five Months after the concluſion of the Synod, changed this Life, and went to enjoy that Bleſſed Trinity which he had ſo Faithfully and Induſtruouſly defended. *Athanaſius* was born at *Alexandria* about the Riſing and Spreading of *Arius* his Tenets, being a Boy by conſent of all Writers when *Alexander* was Biſhop of that See; and when he was yet a Boy (but Twelve Years old, as *Baronius* gueſſeth) his Genius diſcovered it ſelf, even then ſtrongly bent to an Epiſcopal Demeanure, as appears by a remarkable paſſage.

Soc. lib. 1. *c.* 15. *Sozom.l.* 2. *c.* 16.

Ruffin. l. 1. *c.* 14.

24. The Church of *Alexandria* had a Cuſtom of keeping a Solemn Feſtival, and Thankſgiving on that day whereon *Peter* their Biſhop had ſuffered Martyrdom; one day amongſt the reſt (the Anniverſary that happened about that Age of *Athanaſius*) after they were come from Church, as *Alexander* expecting certain of the

beſt Rank to Dine with him, by chance looked out at a Window, he eſpied certain Boys on the Sea ſhore, who as he thought were in their ſport Baptizing one another, having called ſome of thoſe that were preſent with him to behold the ſight, he ſent for the Boys, and asked them what they had been doing by the Sea-ſide, and when they being abaſhed and ſilent he urged them to ſpeak, they told him that one of them there, *Athanaſius*, as chief in their ſport, had Baptized ſome of them who had not formerly been Initiated, and that he had made ſome of them Prieſts, others Deacons to aſſiſt him in that Service; having examined them before, and given them inſtructions how they ought to demean themſelves for the future, and ſo they told him the whole Story: *Alexander* together with the Prieſts conſidering the ſubſtance of the Work, concluded the Baptized Boys were not to be Re-baptized, but adding what he thought further neceſſary to be done, he ſent for their Parents, and charging them to Educate them for the Miniſtery, he eſpecially took care of *Athanaſius*, requiring he ſhould be now and then brought to his preſence, that he himſelf might take notice of his Proficiency in Learning. He is ſaid to have much profited at School, being well grounded in Grammar, Skilled in Philoſophy, and Studied in the Law; but thoſe he made but ſubſervient to Divinity, in the Study, whereof having good aſſiſtance from many worthy Confeſſors, who could teach him the Practick part by their own example, as well as the Speculative by Arguments and Precepts; he gave ſuch pregnant Proof of his Induſtry, that beſides other Teſtimonies, he had the Books both of the Old and new Teſtament in Memory without book.

His proficiency in Learning.

25. *Alexander* finding *Athanaſius* his Proficiency to have ſurmounted his expectation, took him into his own Family, and made him his *Amanuenſis*, in which Imployment after he had continued ſome time, and made further Progreſs in his Studies, he took him into the Number of his *Deacons* at *Alexandria*, and carried him along with him to the Council of *Nice*, where he aſſiſted him in his Proſecution of *Arius*, when the Blaſphemous Doctrines he had uttered at the Council of *Alexandria* were produced, and ingaged againſt the Hereticks in a Solemn diſputation publiſhed amongſt his other Works: He was now grown in great eſteem for his Abilities and Integrity amongſt all thoſe of the beſt and Orthodox Party, when *Alexander* dyed, who having more intimate knowledge of him than any other, is thought deſigned him his Succeſſor; the good old Man lying at the point of Death, called for *Athanaſius*, which one of that name hearing, and coming to him, he looked on him, and turned away his Face, and continuing ſtill to call, at laſt ſaid, *thou thinkeſt* Athanaſius *to eſcape, but it ſhall not be*; which words whether he ſpoke Prophetically as ſome imagined, or as deſigning him to his Chair as others think, he ſoon after Expired. *Alexander* being dead, *Athanaſius* in a Provincial Council was choſen his Succeſſor, not *Thæonas* and *Achillas*, as *Epiphanius* alone tells the Story. *I was*, ſaith Athanaſius, *choſen by the whole City and Province of* Alexandria; *Biſhops, Prieſts, and People aſſembled together, with Prayers to God, publick Acclamations, Exhortations, Intreaties, Perſwaſions yea Obteſtations for ſeveral Days and Nights without reſt either to themſelves or me, not ceaſing till they had prevailed with me to accept of their Choice.*

He is made a Deacon.

Vide Athan. Diſput. cnt. Arian.

And upon Alexanders death Solemnly choſen his Succeſſor.

Athan. Apol. 2.

26. In the beginning of the Government of *Athanaſius*, was the Goſpel Preached to the *Lower Indians*, by *Frumentius* a *Tyrian*, who when he was yet but a Boy, being carried thither by *Meropius* a Chriſtian Philoſopher, after his death (for he was Slain by the *Indians*) was entertained and preferred by that King, together with *Ædeſius* his School-fellow, and for his great dexterity in managing publick buſineſs, had in a manner that whole Government put into his hands; having this opportunity he firſt procured Liberty for Chriſtian Merchants to meet together and build Churches; afterward he himſelf returning into his own Country, firſt made a Journey to *Alexandria*, to move that Patriarch that ſome fit Perſon might be ſent Biſhop into *India*: *Athanaſius* being lately Conſecrated, thought none ſo fit as *Frumentius* himſelf, who being Ordained and ſent thither, is ſaid by his Preaching and Miracles to have Converted an infinite Number of that People, and there to have Founded a Church: Thus much in more words and with more Circumſtances relateth *Ruffinus* * who ſaith he had the Relation from *Ædeſius* the Companion of the ſaid *Frumentius* and *Socrates* as much more, hath it from him, as alſo *Sozomen* and *Theodoret*; all of them moreover unite that about this ſame time were the *Iberians* converted to the Faith, by the religious Preaching, example, and Miraculous Acts of a certain Captive Chriſtian Woman. *Ruffinus* ſaith he had it from *Bacarius* their King who came to *Conſtantinople*

The *Lower Indians* Converted.

* *L.* 1 *c.* 9. *Soc. L.* 1. *c.* 15, *Soz. lib.* 2. *c.* 23. *Theo. l.* 1. *c.* 23.

And the *Iberians*.

nople to deſire of the Emperour that Prieſts might be ſent to inſtruct his Nation, of whom he not only obtained what he came for, but was dignify'd with the Office alſo of *Comes Domeſticorum*, and *Dux* or General of the Paleſtine Limit. *Baronius* thinks him the ſame that (*a*) *Ammianus* calls *Bacarius* or *Balarius* the *Iberian*, created by the Emperour *Comes Domeſticorum*, and leader of the *Scutarii* and *Sagitarii*: But whereas that part of *Iberia* which lay toward the *Pontick* Sea, was long before Converted by the Preaching of *Clement* the *Roman* Biſhop, driven thither by Perſecution in the days of *Trajan*, thoſe now Converted muſt be the *Lower Iberians* inhabiting thoſe places near the Mountains of *Caucaſus* and the *Caſpian* Sea. Two things there were which of old mightily contributed occaſions to the Converſion of Barbarous Nations, the one was the Wars againſt ſuch People, who were often conquered by their Captives, that ceaſed not out of their Chains and Dungeons to Preach unto them: The other thoſe tedious and exquiſite Perſecutions of Heathen Emperours, who forcing the Faithful ones to fly for ſhelter amongſt fierce and Barbarous People, God ſtopped the Mouths of thoſe *Lions* and *Tigers* who entertaining thoſe Strangers, entertained Angels or the Meſſengers of glad Tidings for a reward; and though ſome Miſcarried, and as a reward of their Sufferings, received the Crown of Martyrdom (ſuch the Primitive Chriſtians really accounted it) yet through deſignment of Almighty God, the Blood of the Martyrs ſtill became the Seed of the Church.

(a) *Lib.* 31. *ad An.* 327.

27. But the Preferment of *Athanaſius* vehemently diſturbed the minds of the *Arians*, who knowing him a Perſon moſt likely of all others to ruin their Cauſe, left no Stone unſtirred to remove him. *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Nicomedia* eſpecially, who by means of *Conſtantia* the Widdow of *Licinius*, and Siſter of *Conſtantine*, had through his great Induſtry and Diſſimulation, not only recovered the Emperours favour, but inſinuated himſelf much into his good eſteem; he often told him how unfit a Man *Athanaſius* was for ſuch a place, leſſening him all ways poſſible, and when this would not take, reſolved to tamper with the Biſhop himſelf, and try whether he might not bring him about to his own Party, or at leaſt perſwade or fright him into ſuch Actions as might weaken the Catholick Intereſt: He adviſeth him by Letter to re-admit *Arius* and his Partiſans into their Churches, or otherwiſe expect great inconveniencies to follow. When neither by intreaty nor threats he could move *Athanaſius*, whoſe anſwer was, he could not receive into Communion ſuch as had been held for Hereticks by the Council, and to this purpoſe enraged at the Repulſe, animated by his Heretical Zeal, and confident upon the account of his intereſt in *Conſtantia*, and power with *Conſtantine*, he begins to patronize Diſputes and Preaching againſt the determinations of the late Council, which that he might do with leſs cenſure of inconſtancy and Knavery, he and his party never left till by indirect practices they got into their hands the Acts of the Council from him, to whoſe Fidelity the Emperour had committed them, and having Obliterated their Subſcriptions, ſo ordered the matter, they deprived Poſterity of any view of them, although concerning the matter of their Fact there was ſufficient Teſtimony. And thus revived the *Arian* Schiſm, which though it ſeemed ſuppreſſed by the Council, yet revived, and ſo increaſed as almoſt to take away Schiſm or Diviſion, the whole World, as one ſaith, admiring to ſee its ſelf all turned *Arian*; thoſe that continued Orthodox were counted Singular, and as *Elijah*, formerly eſteemed themſelves as *only* (b) *left*: Such contentions and horrid diſtractions ſo unexpectedly followed this and other Councils, that to ſome ſober Perſons all (*c*) Chriſtianity ſeemed to be laid aſide, and although of ſuch Meetings there be very much uſe (*d*) in the Church of God, yet ſome very (*e*) Eminent Perſons were ſo much diſguſted as to conclude (at leaſt) from the abuſe, againſt the uſe and deſignment of them.

Arius the Heretick rejected by *Athanaſius*.

Sozom. Lib. 2. *c.* 20.

(b) *Non ſi ego ſolus ſum idcirco minor eſt ratio fidei. Liberius Ep. Rom. ad Conſtant. Imp. Arianum.*

(c) *Dum alter alteri anathema eſſe Cœpit prope jam nemo Chriſti eſt. Nil erat niſi pugna in verbis, quæſtio de novitatibus, de Authoritatibus quærela, de Studiis certamen, in conſenſu difficultas. Hilarius ad Conſtantinum. cæs.* (d) *Concilionum in Eccleſia Dei Saluberrimam authoritatem eſſe Aug. ep.* 118. (e) *Nazienz. Ep. ad procopis. ait ſe* φύγειν πάντα σύλλογον ἐπισκόπων, *quam nullius unquam Synodi bonum & Felicem Exitum vidiſſet præterea aſſerit non tam* λῆσιν κακῶν *quam* προσθήκην *habuiſſe.*

28. But *Euſebius* knowing the Power of the Prince of moſt weight for the ballancing of any Party, feared leſt *Athanaſius*, ſhould to begin with, and ſecure himſelf of the Emperours favour; he therefore with his Companions reſolved to ſtrike home and unbiſhop him if poſſible, having in vain tryed formerly to diſgrace the Man, now they queſtion his Title, and quarrel with his Election, as brought about by the Faction and Combination of a few Perſons therein concerned, they Remonſtrate to *Conſtantine*, that after the Death of *Alexander* fifty and four of the Suffragan Biſhops being aſſembled to an Election, when they had upon their Oaths given their Votes for one Perſon, nevertheleſs Seven of the

Uppon which they endeavour to unbiſhop him.

the Number perfidiouſly ſeparated from the reſt, made choice of *Athanaſius*, and Ordained him, upon which account many of the *Ægyptians*, both Clergy and Churches, altogether refuſed Communion with him; and they could not but in Duty further inform their Prince that he was Pragmatical, and Turbulent, occaſioning Diſſentions and Fomenting Diviſions amongſt the People.

29. *Athanaſius* eaſily ſatisfied the Emperour, both that *Arius* who had been forbidden by the Council to return to *Alexandria*, and was the Arch-Hæretick, ought not to be received into Communion, and concerning thoſe Accuſations, having as it fortunately happened, ſent two of his Presbyters to the Court to excuſe his not waiting on the Emperour by reaſon of his more than Ordinary Employments at his firſt coming to the See, and to reſel any objections that might be made againſt him. They ſo dexterouſly diſcharged what they had in Commiſſion, as obtaining Audience they cleared all Doubts and Surmiſes, both as to the Biſhops Legal Election, and his Perſonal Carriage and Deportment. This device of *Euſebius* not taking, he grew inraged at the ſucceſs, and reſolved if he could not ruin *Athanaſius* at a diſtance from Court, he would make yet his Seat too hot for him, by kindling a Flame within his own Province. *Meletius* the Schiſmatick being favourably handled by the *Nicene Council* returned to his See at *Lycopolis* in *Ægypt*, and there not only Ordained *Arſenius* contrary to the Canons thereof, Biſhop of the *Arſenitans* (which place he himſelf had formerly held) but being urged to Name his Succeſſor, made choice of one *John* his familiar Friend, to Succeed him: This begetting a Contention, for ſo much as the Juriſdiction of the Metropolitan was thereby much infringed, the *Arians* obſerving their opportunity, ſtrike in with the *Meletians*, and under their Name and Pretences, reſolve to try the utmoſt with *Athanaſius*.

And make Diſturbances in the Province of *Alexandria*.

Soz. Lib. 2. *c.* 21.

Athan. Apol. 2. *Soz. lib.* 2. *c.* 20. *Soc. l.* 1. *c.* 3.

30. The *Meletians* therefore ſeeking Patronage of their Schiſm from the Emperour, as *Epiphanius* Writes, ſent to him *John Calinicus* and *Iſchyras* formerly mentioned (the one a *Meletian* Biſhop, and the other made again as good as a Prieſt) to obtain a Toleration, and being barred of Acceſs, betook themſelves to *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia*; He making advantage hereof, undertook their Patronage under condition of their receiving *Arius* into their Communion; and not only procured them Audience but a Licence for their Separation, which *Baronius* denies, affirming that *Epiphanius* had this ſtory from ſome Writer that favoured the *Meletians*, alledging that *Conſtantine* is cleared of this Calumny, by his Letters to *Athanaſius*, and the Teſtimony of *Euſebius* (a Writer in the Cardinals judgment prone enough to the *Arian* Hereſie) who witneſſeth that he after the Council, did his endeavour to preſerve the Authority of the Canons, and laboured to Compoſe thoſe Diſſentions in the Churches of *Ægypt*. To be ſure this is agreed on all hands, *Athanaſius* went about to bring the *Meletians* to the obſervation of the *Nicene Canons*, which they again reſiſting, *Euſebius* and the reſt of the *Arians* ſtruck in with the Schiſmaticks and Levelled all their Engines againſt *Athanaſius*.

31. *Euſebius* and *Thæognis* laying their heads together, aſſume as Aſſociates and Councellors in the attempt, their old Companions *Maris* Biſhop of *Chalcedon* and *Valens* and *Urſatius* Biſhops in *Pannonia*, formerly condemned by the Council. Thoſe five preſent the Articles of the Schiſmaticks againſt *Athanaſius*, "wherein is objected that he is the great Cauſe and Fomenter of the troubles "in the *Ægyptian* Church. That like a falſe Traitor he endeavoured a Collection "in *Ægypt*, Levying Money, and therewith ſupplying *Philumenius*, who attempted the imbroyling of that Country in Sedition and Tumults; and that he "oppreſſed the People of *Ægypt*, exacting of them Linnen Cloaths or "Veſtments for the Church of *Alexandria*. His two Presbyters then lying at *Conſtantinople* eaſily refelled the objection concerning this Tribute of Linnen, ſuppoſed to be exacted by him, ſhewing that this was no new thing (as indeed there are many Examples) to require Linnen for the Ornament of Churches. But judging it moſt ſafe Perſonally to appear and make his Defence himſelf, he haſted to Court, and preſenting himſelf to the Emperour, ſo plainly and clearly evinced thoſe Articles of Forgery, that he was diſmiſſed with great Countenance and Reſpect, and with Letters Teſtimonial and Commendatory to the *Alexandrian* Church; all the Members whereof, are ſeveerly injoyned to receive and own him as their True, Loyal, and Pious Metropolitan. Some ſay the Emperour was ſo inraged at the double dealing of *Euſebius* and *Theognis* his Aſſociate, that remembring how upon refuſal to Subſcribe they had been Sentenced and

Several Articles againſt *Athanaſius* preſented to the Emperour by the Schiſmaticks

Which being cleared.

Euſebius and the reſt are baniſhed.

afterward Singing a Palinody at his Interceſſion, were freed from the danger of Exile, now in deteſtation both of their Relaps and Malice he cauſed to be Executed on them the former dieræ of Baniſhment, and *Amphion* and *Chiroſtus* were Subſtituted in their Places.

Theod. l. 1. *c.* 20. *Athan. Apol.* 2.. *Socr. l.* 1. *c.* 27.

32. However their Baniſhment was not long, being within a Year or two recalled, by the interceſſion of *Conſtantia* as (*a*) *Baronius* thinks, though other Chronologers place her Death Four Years before, (*A. D.* 327.) which Lady at her laſt Funeral earneſtly Commended her *Arian* Chaplain to her Brother, who by this means had notable opportunities to ſerve both the Perſon and Cauſe of *Euſebius*. Being recalled a little after the Dedication of the New City of *Conſtantinople*, they found new Matter wherewith to Charge *Athanaſius*. *Iſchyras* the pretended Prieſt whom *Coluthus* the pretended Biſhop had Ordained, being found lurking about *Meotis*, where he acted the part of a true Miniſter; *Athanaſius* had ſent *Macarius*, one of his Presbyters who defended his Cauſe ſtoutly at *Conſtantinople*, to bring him to his preſence, who finding *Iſchyras* ſick in Bed, left only word with the Father that he had been there, whom he adviſed to Council his Son not to intermeddle any more with the Miniſterial Function till he had ſpoken with the Metropolitan. *Iſchyras* finding he could not continue there, betook himſelf to *Euſebius* to whom he complained, that being a Prieſt he had been outragiouſly abuſed and wronged by *Athanaſius*, his Church by him “being Villified and Prophaned, his Alter overthrown, his Chalice broken in pieces, “ his Bible burnt, and himſelf threatned with Cenſures and Perſecution. *Euſebius* “ having this advantage, as he thought againſt the Biſhop, yet thought good to add greater Calumnies both that ſomthing might be ſure to ſtick according to the * Proverb, and that they might not utterly loſe the Emperour upon whom they had ſeveral times impoſed with their deviſed Fables.

(a) *Ad An.* 331.

(b) *Jacobus Capellus hiſt. Eccles. cent. quinq; ad A.D.* 327.

Being recall'd they charge him with new matter.

Socr. lib. 1. *c.* 20. *Sozom. l.* 2. *c.* 22.

* *Fortiter calumniari ut aliquid hæreat.*

And add thereto Murder.

33. To the other therefore about *Iſchyras*, they joyn the moſt impudent Calumny of all others, accuſing him of having Murdered *Arſenius* a Biſhop of the *Meletian* Faction: Whom that the device might take, they hid in a ſecret place, and produced a Mans Hand, which as barbarouſly cut from the dead Body of *Arſenius*, they ſhewed to the People. But their ſport was partly ſpoiled by the Confeſſion of *Iſchyras*, who being ſharply reprehended by ſome honeſt Men, confeſſed the Forgery about *Macarius*, and the Emperour was quickly ſatisfied that it was a trick, yet as to the buſineſs of *Arſenius*, he wrote to *Dalmatius* to enquire about it, one that then was *Cenſor* at *Antioch*, foraſmuch as he was bound to take notice of any Complaints concerning the violent death of his Subjects. This was the ſame Year that *Macarius* the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* dyed, after he had ſitten in that See Nineteen Years, whoſe Memory is Celebrated by the *Roman* Church, on the Tenth of *March*. He Succeeded *Maximus*, whom he had not long before Ordained Biſhop of *Dioſpolis*; but the People of *Jeruſalem* would not ſuffer there to ſettle, but reſerved him as a Succeſſor to *Macarius*, who knowing to be an earneſt Defender of the Concluſions of the *Nicene* Council, and fearing ſome of the *Arian* Faction might get into his Chair, willingly acquieſced in their Choice. That *Dioſpolis* was a City of *Palæſtine*, in the Tribe of *Ephraim*, formerly called *Lydda*, which Name it changed when it grew Famous for the Idol of *Jupiter* there Worſhipped; in after times was more taken notice of for a Council there held againſt *Pelagius*, and by reaſon that St. *George* the Martyr who ſuffer'd under the Perſecution of *Diocletian*, the Engliſh Patron who had large Poſſeſſions in this Country, was here Buried, it was by the Chriſtians dwelling thereabouts, called St. *Georges* by way of Conſecration to his Memory.

Jacobus de vitriaci Hiſt. Hieroſol. c. 57. *Dr.* Heylin.

34. *Athanaſius* being warned from *Dalmatius* to provide for his Tryal, ſo Induſtriouſly ordered the Matter, that purſuing him from place to place, by good eſpials at length he was detected at *Tyrus*, and though he denied himſelf, yet being brought before *Paul* the Biſhop of the place, was forced to confeſs himſelf the ſame Man, and how he had been wrought upon by *Euſebius*. The Emperour being hereof certified by *Macarius* a Prieſt whom *Athanaſius* had diſpatched to the Court for this purpoſe, commanded *Dalmatius* to deſiſt from any further Proſecution, and rejecting his Accuſers, by very obliging Letters deteſted theſe Calumnies raiſed againſt him which wrought this effect, that both *Arſenius* and *John* the late Ordained *Meletian* Biſhop confeſſed their fault to *Athanaſius*, begged his pardon, and were reconciled to the Catholick Church. And ſo as *Athanaſius* tells us, the Conſpiracy of the *Meletians* here had its period. But the *Arians* ſtill conſidering what an Adverſary their Cauſe had of *Athanaſius*, and how

Athan. Apol. 2.

But their Villanies are detected.

much Credit they had loſt by receiving the foil ſo many times, would not here give over, but leſt they ſhould be deprived of ſo fit an Inſtrument as *John* was, brought him about again to their Party. Then do they afreſh ſollicit the Emperour, telling him of freſh Complaints dayly coming in againſt *Athanaſius*, both many, and of great Conſequence: they aſſure, the Witneſſes that would now appear were not mean Perſons, and they pray his Majeſty that a Synod may be called, and the Criminal heard in a legal way.

The *Arians* ſollicit the Emperour againſt *Athanaſius*.

35. Though *Conſtantine* (as at this diſtance one may well imagine) might have had ſufficient cauſe both to ſuſpect their Malice, and acquit the Biſhop in his own Conſcience; yet growing now old he became more eaſie to be wrought upon, both by the Importunities of his own Relations, and the Flatteries and Courtſhip of thoſe about him, Juſtice withall ſeeming to call upon him, which the name of Five Biſhops, who were ready to give in the Information, ſeemed very much to induce him to believe. He granted therefore their Petition, and appointed a Council to be held at *Cæſarea* in *Palæſtine*, a place picked out on purpoſe by *Euſebius* for the temper of the Clergy by whom he was to be judged, *Athanaſius* ſeeing very well as Matters were deviſed, and how they would end; there being ſcarce Four Orthodox Biſhops in that Conntry, gave his reaſons to the Emperour why he might juſtly decline his appearance at that place. Hereat the Emperour was nettled, as conceiving his Authority injured by ſuch a refuſal, yet he betrayed not his Indignation much further than changing the place of meeting from *Cæſarea* to *Tyre* (for which change alſo ſome pretence was made, that the Biſhops might conſecrate that Famous Church lately builded at *Hieruſalem*) he commanded him to appear there at his peril, and leſt he ſhould make a default, orders the Commander in chief of thoſe Parts to bring his Perſon before the Council.

Whereupon a Council is Summoned to *Cæſarea*.

Another at *Tyre* where *Athanaſius* is to appear at his peril.

36. To this Council were aſſembled ſuch as had been of the *Arian* Faction at *Nice*, and as *Euſebius* thought might be moſt for his turn, Sixty only as *Socrates* informeth, over whom he appointed *Dionyſius* the Count to preſide with a Band of Soldiers for a Guard. *Athanaſius* perceiving the Emperours mind to be alienated from him, and that he was to be convented before his Enemies under the Moderatorſhip of Soldiers, whereby neither could the Council, ſuch as it was, be free, debated with himſelf, whether he ſhould preſent himſelf, and for Three Months not Thirty (as the Copy of *Sozomen* now hath it) deferred his appearance, by which he gained time to underſtand the Matters wherewith he was charged, and how to anſwer them. Yet leſt he ſhould give his Enemies occaſion to inſult, and freſh Advantages whereby further to calumniate him to the Emperour, he appeared, and with him Forty ſeven of his Suffragan Biſhops amongſt whom *Potamon* and *Paphnutius* formerly mentioned, and *Macarius* his faithful Presbyter was thither brought in Chains by the Souldiers. The Accuſations were taken from the former Depoſitions againſt him in the Caſe of *Iſchyras* and *Arſenius*, which though he demonſtrated to be frivolous, and that Mans Ordination null, yet did he profit nothing, his Enemies being reſolved, the Count taking away all Freedom, and his Souldiers offering Violence to all of the Defendants Party.

37. When the buſineſs concerning *Arſenius* came to be opened, the Dead Mans Hand pretended to be cut off from his Dead Body, was produced, whereat *Arſenius* who came to teſtifie in the behalf of the Biſhop, preſented himſelf ſhowing both Hands ſound and entire to the Judges. The *Arians* confounded at this ſight, inſtead of Confeſſion, broke out into a rage, facing him out that this was meer Inchantment and Deluſion, and falling upon him, they had torn him in pieces, had not the Count interpoſed. As for the breaking of the Chalice, to all the ſober Party the Story ſeemed ſufficiently confuted by its own Vanity; but the *Arians* would not be content to hear, except they ſend ſome of their own Faction to ſee and report the Matter. This Reſolution was proteſted againſt by the two *Ægyptian* Biſhops, who importuned both the Council and Count that ſo ſtrange a Reſolution might not take effect, but that all things might be reſerved to the cognizance of the Emperour. But when neither the *Arian* Biſhops would alter their Reſolutions, nor *Dionyſius* the Count recall thoſe whom they had diſpatched to *Mæotis*, *Athanaſius* departed from *Tyre* towards *Conſtantinople*, to lay open to the Emperour thoſe Outragious Proceedings. Thoſe that were ſent in the mean time to *Mæotis* aſſiſted by *Philagrius* the Prefect, and the Soldiers addicted to the *Arian* Party, refuſed ſuch Clerks and others as were ready to appear in behalf of *Athanaſius* and *Macarius*, but taking their

After ſeveral falſe Accuſations.

Athan. ut ſuprà. Sozom. l. 2. c. 24. alii.

The *Arian* Biſhops deprive *Athanaſius* of his Biſhoprick.

Evidence from *Jews*, *Catechumeni* and *Heathens*, at their return to *Tyre* gave up to their Maſters a ſuitable Verdict, whereupon enſued a Sentence correſpondent, that *Athanaſius* ſhould be deprived of his Biſhoprick, be ſuffered no more to reſide at *Alexandria*, but *John* the Principal of the *Meletian* Faction, with others of that Gang, ſhould be received into Communion, and all reſtored to their former Dignities and Preferments. Of this their Sentence and Decree they inform *Conſtantine*, as alſo other Biſhops, whom they forbid to have any Communication whatſoever with *Athanaſius*.

38. Several of the honeſt Party ſhewed their diſlike of thoſe Proceedings at that Council with Indignation. *Paphnutius* evidently perceiving the drift of *Euſebius* and his Party, and heard they had got a Guard ſuitable to their Deſign, ſtepping to *Maximus* Biſhop of *Hieruſalem*, who being his Brother Confeſſor had loſt alſo an Eye and a Leg in the Perſecution of *Maxentius*, and taking him by the Hand, bad him riſe up, telling him it was not fit for them who had ſuffered ſuch things as they had for Chriſt, to abide in the company of ſuch wicked men, foraſmuch as he could not but clearly perceive how contrary to Juſtice the buſineſs was managed; and ſo departing, he told him the whole Story concerning *Athanaſius*, to whom *Maximus* ever after continued a moſt faithful Friend. And *Potamon* ſeeing *Euſebius* ſit in State as Judge, who formerly had denied his Saviour, and *Athanaſius* ſtanding as a Delinquent without any reſpect, though of ſo high a Dignity in the Church as Metropolitan of ſuch a See, he could not refrain himſelf, but upbraided therewith the proud and inſulting Prelate. But all to no purpoſe, *Athanaſius* muſt be ruined, that *Arius* might return, and with him *Arianiſm*, into the *Alexandrian* Province. This year died *Sylveſter* Biſhop of *Rome* at the laſt day of the Year, having governed that Church One and twenty Years; to whom ſucceeded *Marcus*, on the Eighteenth of the Calends of *February*. He died on the Nones of *October*, (*October* 7.) and after the See had been void Twenty days, *Julius* ſucceeded on the Sixth before the Calends of *November*, *A. D.* 336. *V. C.* 1089. the Ninth Indiction, the Fourth of the 278. *Olympiad*. *Fl. Popilius Nepotianus* and *Facundus* being Conſuls.

Sylveſter Biſhop of *Rome* dies.

Is ſucceeded by *Marcus*.

Then *Julius*.

Damaſus.

39. The Fathers having diſpatched this buſineſs, removed to *Hieruſalem* to the Conſecration of the Church upon *Calvary*, where they performed the Ceremony with much exactneſs according to the Emperours Orders. It happened in the mean while that *Arius*, by procurement of that Prieſt whom *Conſtantia* at the point of Death had commended to her Brother, was permitted to come before the Emperour, who promiſed him reſpect and countenance, provided he adhæred to the Determinations of the *Nicene* Council. He profeſſes to acquieſce in thoſe Determinations, and offers to *Conſtantine* a Confeſſion of his Faith in Writing, whereat many of the Orthodox Party quarrelled, for that it wanted the word *Conſubſtantial*. Hereupon the Emperour reſolving to reſerve the Examination of it to competent Judges, ſent it to *Jeruſalem*. The Orthodox there plainly perceived that by this new Creed, and leaving out the word *Conſubſtantial* (however he called the ſecond Perſon God, and Begotten of his Father before all Ages) he overthrew all that the *Nicene* Fathers had Eſtabliſhed, yet could they do no good, *Euſebius* his Party being ſo ſtrong, that they approved of his Confeſſion, and Decreed he ſhould be received into Communion. *Athanaſius* e're this was got to the Emperour, before whom he ſo laid open the Original and Progreſs of the Calumnies deviſed againſt him, that *Conſtantine* in great diſpleaſure commanded his Judges to appear before him. There *Euſebius* the Ringleader, with Five others of the moſt bold appeared, the reſt ſlipping away to their own Churches. Now made they no mention of the breaking of the Chalice, or the matter concerning *Arſenius*, but preventing the danger of being called to account for what had paſſed at *Tyre*, charged him with new and ſtrange Matter. This was no leſs than *that he ſhould ſtop the Corn which from Ægypt* (the Granary of the Empire) *was wont yearly to be ſent to Conſtantinople*.

Athan. de Synod.

Soc. l. 2. c. 22. &c Athan. Apol. 2.

Another charge againſt *Athanaſius*.

40. This being atteſted by Five Biſhops, which being formerly of his Party, had now apoſtatized to the *Arians*, the Emperour gave them credit as his Favourers, and in great wrath refuſing to hear his Apology, baniſhed him to *Triers* a City of the *Belgick Gall*, now the See of one of the Eccleſiaſtical Electors of the *German* Empire. He being baniſhed, the *Arians* alſo procured the ſame Judgment to be given againſt his Orthodox Suffragan Biſhops, and this being paſt, and the way made for *Arius*, they procure him Licenſe to return to *Alexandria*. There he had not long been, but he raiſed a Tumult in the City, moſt of the Inhabitants

Upon which he is baniſhed to *Triers* in *Gall*

Arius returns to *Alexandria*.

Thence is ſent for to *Conſtantinople.*

Socr. lib. 1. *c. penult. Theod.* l. 1. *c.* 14.

Inhabitants whereof refuſed to Communicate with him, affirming that as to Religion they were of the ſame Judgment as formerly, and being much exaſperated for the Baniſhment of their Biſhop. The news coming to *Conſtantinople*, the Emperour ſends for *Arius* and *John* the *Meletian* Biſhop his great Friend and abetter. Much of the blame lighting upon the *Meletians*, he was baniſhed, and *Arius* kept ſtill at *Conſtantinople*, where preſently great ſtirs happened again about him, ſome remaining ſtedfaſt to the *Nicene Creed*, and others affirming the opinion of *Arius* moſt agreeable to the Truth. At this time *Alexander*, who a little before had ſucceeded *Metrophanes*, governed that Church, a Man very Pious and Orthodox. Him *Euſebius* threatened ſore, in caſe he would not receive the Arch-Heretick into Communion, which he as conſtantly refuſing, till the Matter was brought before the Emperour. *Conſtantine* calls for *Arius*, and taking notice that where-ever he goes ſtill Tumults follow him; he asked him whether or no he did really imbrace and hold the *Nicene Faith.* He profeſſing that he did, the Emperour required his Subſcription, and when he had as willing, ſet his Hand to the Articles, to take away all ſcruple from *Conſtantine*, made Oath alſo, as he was enjoyned. But it is ſaid that he equivocated in this latter, having his private Opinion in his own Senſe in Writing under his Arm when he made his Oath, and that he Sware in relation to that, and not to what he Subſcribed in the Emperours preſence.

And the Biſhop commanded by the Emperour to receive *Arius* into Communion.

Which is prevented by *Arius* his ſudden death.

L. 2. *c.* 26.

41. The Emperour now ſatisfied about *Arius* his Judgment, commands *Alexander* the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* to receive him into Communion. He ſeeing now his Diſputes would not prevail, and that there was no ſtrugling with the Emperour, betook himſelf to Prayer, wherein he ſpent ſeveral days and nights, deſiring of Almighty God, that if it was his pleaſure to permit *Arius* to come to the Communion, he might be taken firſt out of the way, and never ſee it; but if he intended Mercy to his Church, to cut off that Man. The Lords day being come, he paſſed early in the Morning (that he might get into the Church before *Alexander*) being conducted in great State, till he came to *Conſtantine*'s *Forum*, where whether naturally or out of fear (which ſometimes produceth ſuch an effect) he found himſelf ſeized with a Laske, whereupon being directed to the common Privy near at hand, there together with Excrements he voided his Entrails, Guts, Spleen, Liver and all, and was found dead in a ſtrange and horrible manner. *Sozomen* Writes that this place for a long time continued very remarkable, ſo as to be pointed at by all Paſſengers, and ſo execrable that no Man would make uſe of it; till at length a rich *Arian* that he might aboliſh the memory of the thing, purchaſed the Houſe, pulled it down, and raiſed other Buildings in the room of it. But the horror of this Mans Death had this effect, that many formerly iu Error ſeeing God thus bear witneſs to the Truth, were Converted to it; thoſe of *Euſebius* his Party were ſtricken with great Terror, and the Emperour himſelf was more confirmed in the Orthodox Faith.

Conſtantine is Baptized at *Nicomedia.*

* *Soc.l.*1. *c.ult. Soz. l.* 2. *c.* 32. *Theod.l.*1. *c.* 31. *Hieron. contin. Chr. Euſeb. An.* 340. *Ambroſ. Orat. in obitum Theodoſii Pomponius latus alii.*

42. But he himſelf lived not long after, a Judgment as ſome ſuppoſed for his too much eaſineſs (to ſpeak modeſtly) towards that Heretick, and his very unequal carriage towards *Athanaſius.* Feeling himſelf ſick, he left *Conſtantinople* and ſailed to *Helenopolis*, where he made uſe of the hot Baths near the Town, but when they gave him no Relief, growing ſtill ſicker, he left them, and went to *Nicomedia*, where in the Suburbs he called the Biſhops together, and ſignified to them his deſire of Baptiſm, ſaying it is now time that at laſt we ſhould receive that Sign of Immortality, telling them that he had ſo long deferred it, becauſe he intended to have been Baptized in the River *Jordan*, after the Example of our Saviour. His Baptiſm being performed, he gave great ſign of incredible Joy, and a little after that died; as writeth *Euſebius* or the Author of the Hiſtory of his Life, with whoſe Narration do conſent all the Antient * Eccleſiaſtical Writers, both as to place and time, that his Baptiſm happened both a little before he died, and that at *Nicomedia*; although Pope *Hadrian* and ſome Modern Writers, as *Baronius*, *Genebrard*, and others contend that he was Baptized at *Rome* in the Nineteenth Year of his Reign; and *Binius*, who hath made Annotations upon the Councils ſtrangely affirms that the *Nicene Council* by the conſent of all Writers was held after that *Conſtantine* was Baptized. Their Arguments are drawn from a ſuppoſed Leproſie, wherewith they make the Emperour to be ſtruck for his hainous Sins, as Perſecuting of the Chriſtians till about that time, and the Murder of *Criſpus* his Son, with others whom he moſt unjuſtly put to death. *Sylveſter* Biſhop of *Rome*, who as they pretend Baptized him, is ſaid to have fled to the Mountains, being forced from his Flock by his

Perſecution, whereas not only the conſent of Hiſtory, but all the ſeveral Edicts of *Conſtantine* by their Date do clearly evidence that he was converted long before this time, and *Criſpus* his Son, as appears by the Conſular Tables, was alive after this Year. But for the ſupportment of a ſpurious Council, which making much for the Papal Intereſt, they would have to follow this Baptiſm and held at *Rome* by *Silveſter*, as alſo to gain credit to the Donation of *Conſtantine*, which as an act of Gratitude muſt alſo have enſued this his Baptiſm; they take thoſe Arguments from *Zozimus* a profeſſed Enemy both of this Emperour and of all Chriſtianity, to the diſparagement of the Catholick Cauſe, which they would make truckle under that of a Private Church. But to all their Arguments and Weak Pretences, our Dr. *Crackanthorp* hath abundantly anſwered in his Defence of *Conſtantine*.

He is cleared from the Aſperſion of *Arianiſm.*

His adhering to the *Nicene* Creed.

43. The Baptiſm indeed of *Conſtantine* at *Nicomedia* being performed by *Euſebius* Biſhop of that *City*, as is ſuppoſed at the firſt ſight would ſeem to determine that queſtion, whether or no all his actions againſt *Athanaſius*, and his ſiding with that Biſhop and his Party, may not juſtly denominate him an *Arian*, at leaſt as to us, whoſe Capacity reacheth no further than the bounds of Probability. But although we may obſerve that in his old Age he was more eaſie and lay open to the Craft, Inſinuations and Flatteries of thoſe about him (and amongſt the reſt thoſe of that Courtly Prelate *Euſebius*) which Heathen † Writers have alſo taken notice of, yet have we ſufficient evidence to acquit him from the guilt of that Hereſie. For his conſtant adhering to the *Nicene* Faith is even in the Story of *Athanaſius* all along perſpicuous, againſt whom *Euſebius* never durſt ingage, whatever his private deſigns were, in the Notion of an *Arian*, pretended a love only to good Order, Diſcipline and Tranquillity of the Church, and upon pretence of *Athanaſius* his Male-adminiſtration, raiſed ſuch a Storm againſt that good Biſhop. The Emperour having to do with ſo ſtrong a Faction in his Court, which was formerly bred through his natural affection to his Siſter, and now carried on by the cunning of *Euſebius*, was drawn to do many things which really tended to the Service of that Party. But theſe Perſons appeared not to him in their true Dreſs, they acted not this part but in Diſguiſes and Vizards, they walked one way, but he being in ſight ever looked another. During his whole Reign *Euſebius* and his Party durſt not recant, his Recantation ever pretending an adherence to the Determinations of the *Nicene* Fathers. The Emperours Inclinations were for Peace, and for burying of all old Diſpleaſures, his Age deprived him of his former Activity and Sagacity, whereby he was more eaſily wrought upon, but it is clear that he never countenanced *Euſebius* but as a Catholick and Orthodox Biſhop.

† *Victor ait Conſtantinum* 10. *annis præſtantiſſimum,* 11. *ſequentibus latronem,* 10. *ultimis pupillum fuiſſe.*

And his Laws againſt Hæreticks.

44. The Laws alſo made by him, declare him to have been of this Diſpoſition. For in his One and twentieth year, in his own and his Childrens name, he (*a*) forbids that ſuch Priviledges and Immunities as he had conferred upon Orthodox Clerks, ſhould be transferred upon Hæreticks, by which muſt be meant the *Arians*, as well as others, who the foregoing year had been declared ſuch by the *Nicene* Fathers. Being ſenſible alſo what Heartburnings, Diviſions, Scandalous Words and Works thoſe Differences in Religion had raiſed, not only betwixt Chriſtians and Heathens, but Chriſtians themſelves, anathematizing and nicknaming one another, by a Law made in the Twenty third year, he commands that Infamous Libels ſhould not be examined and canvaſed but burnt, as he formerly at the Council of *Nice* had never looked in, but burnt ſuch Complaints and Petitions as the Biſhops had preſented againſt one another. Indeed the time was late to which he deferred his Baptiſm, but it was not his ſingle and peculiar fault, it was a bad Cuſtom which much obtained at that time amongſt all ſorts of Profeſſors; not only Emperours but others who afterwards did eſpecial Service in the Church, long deferring the receiving that Chriſtian Character, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. This may diminiſh if not quite remove the blame caſt upon this Emperour, who for further excuſe pleaded a deſign (though not neceſſary yet ſomething plauſible) of being Baptized in that place where his Saviour had formerly ſubmitted to that Ordinance. However, the Church of Chriſt having received ſuch and ſo great things from his Patronage and Protection, who was the firſt Baptized if not the firſt Chriſtian Emperour of all others; the great diſtance of time betwixt his Age and ours ought not ſo to aboliſh our Sence of thoſe Matters, as either to deſpiſe him, or be unthankful to God for ſo excellent an Inſtrument, much leſs ought we to quarrel with thoſe Writers who having felt as well the ſmart of the former Perſecutions, and undergone the

(a) *Cod. Inſt. l.* 1. *tit.* 5. §. 1.

Cod. Theod. l. 9. *t.* 34. §. 1.

the heat of the day of Trial, as the comfort of thoſe Refreſhments the Church received from God by his means, both praiſe the Author and commend the Inſtrument.

Euſebius Biſhop of *Cæſarea* vindicated from the Calumny of the Cardinal Annaliſt.

45. But the Cardinal Annaliſt warm in his Purple, and not ſo ſenſible of the benefit received by *Conſtantine*, becauſe he never felt the need of it, falls very foul upon *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* the Author of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, and as he ſuppoſed, of the Book called the Life of *Conſtantine*. His Language towards ſuch a Reverend Biſhop cannot be excuſed of Incivility, giving him the Lye, ſo often calling him the *Architect and Deviſer of Lyes*, with many other extravagant Epithets, as making his Hiſtories but a Fardle of Lyes, and compoſed rather for the everſion than the Publication of true Story; though he will have them truly and clearly to hold out and maintain his own Aſſertion againſt their Author, that *being not only a Lyar but an Hæretick, an Arian and Theopaskite, one worthily caſt out of the Church, and as ſuch to be rejected by all Readers.* But all have not been of the Cardinals opinion, though *Euſebius* be not to be patronized in all Particulars. St. *Hierome* who was a more capable Judge, as living near thoſe times, ſaith, *He hath excellently written the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, and commends him both for that and his Chronicon. Evagrius Scholaſticus* beginneth his own Hiſtory thus: Euſebius Pamphilus *a Man without all peradventure as in other things profound, ſo in Penning excellent, is of ſuch efficacy in his Works, that although he cannot make the Readers perfect Chriſtians, yet can he ſo draw them by perſwaſion, that with prompt and willing minds they will imbrace the Chriſtian Faith. Euſebius, Socrates, Sozomenus and Theodoret, have written moſt exquiſitely of the Incarnation of our moſt loving Saviour,* &c. And to paſs by many Modern Writers of the Cardinals perſwaſion as to Religion, remarkable is the opinion of one of their moſt † Grave and Judicious Authors, whoſe judgment is, that *Euſebius was a Man of great diligence and labour, of exceeding variety of reading, and of very grave judgment. Neither do I know,* ſaith he, *whether any Author either in the Latin or Greek Church, though he ſtrive never ſo much, can leave more excellent Monuments of time.*

Temporum everſor, calumniator malicioſus, profuſus adulator, &c.

Eccleſiaſticam Hiſt. politice texuit. Ep. ad Pammach. & Apol. 1. *adverſus Ruffinum.*

† *Cænus loc. Theol. l.* 11. *c.* 6.

And Pope *Gelaſius* by conſent of good Authors.

46. Pope *Gelaſius* indeed with his Seventy two Biſhops doth cenſure the Hiſtory of *Euſebius*, but it is only in reſpect of the Story of *Abgarus* and ſome few things more, not condemning the whole or the greateſt part thereof. But the Fathers of the Second *Nicene* Synod ſtruck him dead by their Decree that rejects and anathematizeth his Book, yea, all that read them, calling him *Hæretick*, an *Arian* and a *Theopaskite*, or *one who taught that Chriſt had no Soul, but the Godhead ſupplied that Office, that ſo the Deity might be ſaid to ſuffer.* But his Crime was, he † had taught that no Image could fully expreſs Chriſt, being both God and Man, and the good Fathers not enduring that any ſhould croſs their Doctrine of Images, thus brand him, making him both an *Arian* and a *Theopaskite*, that is both an *Arian* and not an *Arian*, both a *Theopaskite* and not a *Theopaskite*; for if an *Arian*, then could not the Deity inform the Body, Chriſt not being really God, according to him, and if a *Theopaskite*, then the Deity informing the Body, he muſt have been perfect God though not perfect Man, and of the ſame ſubſtance with the Father, or elſe there muſt have been two real and perfect Deities. This Hæreſie (*a*) of the *Theopaskites* ſprung not up till about the Five hundred and thirteenth year of our Lord, more than One hundred and ſixty years after the Death of *Euſebius*, who in all his Writings doth rightly and truly teach two diſtinct (*b*) Natures to be in Chriſt, and the (*c*) Divine Nature to be incapable of Paſſion, Affection or Mutilation. It is true that he inclined to *Arianiſm* before the *Nicene* Council, and was an earneſt defender of *Arius*; but this was but till that Synod, he being Reformed, continued Orthodox ever after, as both his own Writings and other (*d*) Authors abundantly teſtifie, together with the Suffrage of *Conſtantine* the Emperour himſelf, (*e*) who gives not only his own opinion of the Man, but that alſo of the Catholick Church. Of late times (*f*) *Sixtus Senenſis* a Man of infinite Reading, yet (abating his Parts) of great judgment, is of the ſame mind; whence it appears that no time indeed he was an Hæretick. By ignorance and Infirmity, falling into that Error, he did not through Pride, Arrogance, and Obſtinacy therein continue; but now the caſe being defined by the Church, he both conformed his Belief and Deportment to its Decrees, and dying a Catholick, was Canonized for a Saint by the Greek Church, the Commemoration of his Death being celebrated on the Twenty firſt day of *June* in *Palæſtine.*

† *Citantur verba Act.* 6.

(a) *Prateol. in Theop.*

(b) *Euſeb. Hiſt. l.* 1. *c.* 1.

(c) *Apud Soc. l.* 1. *c.* 5.

(d) *Idem ibid. & l.* 2. *c.* 17. *Theod. l.* 1. *c* 12.

(e) *Epiſt. Conſt. ad Euſeb. vita Conſt. l.* 3. *c.* 59.

(f) *In Bibliotheca in Euſebio.*

Conſule Dr. Crackanthorp *omnino lib. Cui titulus.* The Defence of *Conſtantine.*

So little did the Conſideration of his having been againſt Images, his telling the plain truth about the Baptiſm of *Conſtantine*, and his not telling that which never was (*viz.* about the Donation) work with unintereſted and unbyaſſed Perſons.

Vit.Conſt.l.4. c.52.

47. It is not the leaſt part of the Apology for *Conſtantine*, that he cauſed his Three Sons *Conſtantine*, *Conſtantius* and *Conſtans* to be trained up in the Orthodox Faith. Of thoſe Three two retained the Principles they had been bred in, *viz. Conſtantine* and *Conſtans*, but *Conſtantius* revolted and turned a bitter Perſecutor of the Church. It happened very ill that his Father made him the Executor of his Will and Teſtament, which he committed to the Hands of his Siſters Prieſt, whom ſhe at her Death had commended to his care, commanding him to deliver it to no Mans Hand but to his Son *Conſtantius*, hereby as it were commending the Man to his Son, if not as a Counſellor yet as an eſpecial Friend, whereby he got opportunity to inſinuate into the Son, and inſtill thoſe Principles which he durſt never own to the Father. Hereupon enſued moſt ſad and diſmal Conſequences to the Orthodox Party, this Prieſt having gained Intereſt by Degrees; for firſt he tampered with the Courtiers, then having made a Party amongſt them, betook himſelf to the Empreſs and the Ladies, but eſpecially he inveigled the Eunuchs about the Emperour, who were the great Inſtruments which he and *Euſebius* uſed for carrying on their Deſigns, being near to the Perſon, and having perpetually the Ear of the Prince. But in the mean time *Athanaſius* is releaſed from Baniſhment by the Emperour *Conſtantine*, in whoſe Dominions the City *Triers* was, to which he had been confined. He ſent him back to *Alexandria* with his Letters Commendatory to the Inhabitants, telling them they could not but know that his Father did not baniſh their Biſhop out of diſpleaſure, but ſent him out of the way of danger, and that when he died, he left it to him in charge, that *Athanaſius* ſhould be reſtored, in purſuance of which command, and to anſwer their deſires, he now ſent him to them. And ſo returned *Athanaſius* to his See, after he had been abſent two Years and four Months, and was received by his People with great Joy, all ſorts and degrees flocking about to ſee him.

Athanaſius is releaſed from Baniſhment.

Soc. l.2. c.2. Theod.l.2.c.1

48. *Conſtantius* did not at all hinder his Reſtitution, nor the return of thoſe other Biſhops which had been his Companions in Faith and Sufferings, both leaſt he ſhould ſeem to withſtand his dying Fathers orders, and ſhould thereby diſoblige his Elder Brother. But long it was not before *Euſebius* the Prieſt, and others of that Party began to inſinuate into this Prince, that he was by all means to be driven from that Church. "Beſides their old Ca-
"lumnies they alledge great Seditions and Slaughters to have happened at
"*Alexandria* through the unwillingneſs of the People to receive him again;
"they affirm that being deprived by one Council, he cannot Canonically be
"reſtored without another, and they again accuſe him of defrauding the
"Poor of *Ægypt* and *Lybia* of that Corn which through the Munificence of
"*Conſtantine* was wont to be beſtowed upon them. To make their Party more ſtrong, they ſend their Meſſengers into the Weſt to the other two Emperours, whom they labour to poſſeſs with the ſame prejudice againſt *Athanaſius*, as alſo *Julius* the Biſhop of *Rome*; but all this to no purpoſe, the Biſhop alſo ſending ſome of his Clerks, who eaſily wiped off all theſe Slanders. But, Matters grew ſtill worſe, the *Arians* inſinuating themſelves more and more into all Offices of the Church, and by feigned Accuſations thruſting out ſuch of the Orthodox Party as would moſt oppoſe their deſign. *Alexander* the good Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* they much grudged his Seat, but let him alone, as expecting Death ſhould ſave them the trouble of outing him. This ſhortly came to paſs, and when the old Man ſaw his end approaching, as careful to have ſome honeſt Man to ſucceed him, he named two: one *Macedonius* whom he thought moſt acceptable at Court, and *Paulus* whom for his Principles of Religion he commended to his Clergy.

Alexander Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* dies.

Paul choſe in his ſteed, but outed by the *Arians*; and *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia* tranſlated thither.

Soc. l.2. c.4. Soz. l.3. c.4.

49. *Paul* a Prieſt of his Church, and a Man eminent for Learning and Piety was accordingly choſen, Admitted and Ordained by the Biſhops there Aſſembled, according to the Canons of the *Nicene* Council. The *Arians* having ſtickled for *Macedonius* were very much concerned for the Defeat, and *Conſtantius* the Emperour at that time coming to the City, moſt willingly eaſed them of their grief, calling an Aſſembly of *Arian* Biſhops, wherein *Paul* was removed, and to his place preferred *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Nicomedia*, the great Patron of the Faction,

than which they could not have a more notable advantage: For now he hath not only an opportunity for reſiding conſtantly at Court, but more Power and Authority to back his purpoſes, which he quickly improves to the Deprivation of *Euſtathius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, who had been very eminent in the Council of *Nice*, and therefore they concluded that as well he as *Athanaſius* and *Paul* were to be removed; laying to his Charge Adultery, *Sabellianiſm* and other leſſer Crimes, they got him Baniſhed to *Trajanople* a City of *Thrace*, where he died and was Buried. After him they ſent many others into Baniſhment, ſome under pretence of various Crimes, others without any thing laid to their Charge, but all in truth for defending the *Nicene Faith*, thoſe of the *Arian* party though never ſo deſpicable, being put in their Places. And from this time it is, as *Baronius* obſerveth, that, what St. *Hierome* hath ſaid in his Continuation of *Euſebius* his Chronicon, concerning the *Arian* Perſecution, is to take Place, *viz.* That henceforth this Impiety being ſupported by *Conſtantius* the Emperour, Perſecuted with Baniſhment Impriſonment and other various ſorts of Afflictions and Miſeries firſt *Athanaſius*, and then all other Biſhops that were not of that Hæretical Party. This was the Fourth Year of *Conſtantius* (though St. *Hierome* places the beginning of thoſe things in his Second) *A. D.* 340. of *Rome* the 1093, the laſt of the 279. *Olympiad*, the 13 Indiction, *Fl. Septimius Acyndinus*, and *L. Aradius Rufinus Valerius Proculus* being Conſuls.

Athan. Apol. & ep. ad ſolit. agentes.

50. This ſame Year dyed *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, Author of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, of whom we lately ſpoke, to whoſe Character had *Baronius* added his Induſtry in this particular, and confeſſed how much he was beholden to that very Perſon whom he had endeavoured to render ſo odious, it might have ſerved for an Epitaph more expreſſive both of the Biſhops deſert and the Cardinals gratitude. But whilſt theſe Biſhops leave either their Sees or this World, *Athanaſius* (as great Bodies have ſlower motions) a Perſon though more envied and Maligned, yet of more Intereſt and Authority, was not ſo eaſily removed from his Biſhoprick. *Julius* Biſhop of *Rome* receiving complaints againſt him from the *Arians*, as alſo his defenſive Arguments, is by both Parties choſen Arbitrator in the controverſy, and deſired to call a Synod, wherein *Athanaſius* his Cauſe might again be debated: He accordingly as he was Impowered calls a Synod at *Rome*, and appoints a time for all concerned to be preſent; *Athanaſius* made his appearance, and was ready to anſwer, but none of his Accuſors would come, though he ſtaid for them a Year and a half, during which time he is ſaid to have Communicated to the *Italians* thoſe Monaſtical præcepts which he had received from *Antony* in the Wilderneſs, with a Copy of the Creed, ſtill going under his Name, which being written in Latin continued long in the Archives of the *Roman* Church as *Baronius* tells us. The *Arians* unbethought themſelves that they ſhould aſſuredly receive the Foil at *Rome*, the Biſhops of the Weſtern Church being generally Orthodox, they conſidered the Cauſe ſhould only be decided by Eccleſiaſticals, where there ſhould be no Count to præſide, nor any Soulders to affright and threaten their Antagoniſts, by which means they had formerly had the better of him. They pretended they could not ſafely Travel to *Rome* by reaſon of the *Perſian* War, and detaining the Meſſenger which *Julius* the Biſhop had ſent for them, beyond the very day appointed, for their appearance, procured *Conſtantius* to ſummon them to *Antioch*, to the Dedication of that magnificent Church called *Aureum Dominicum*, formerly began by *Conſtantine* and now finiſhed by *Conſtantius* his Son.

Euſebius Biſhop of *Cæſarea* dies.

A Synod is call'd at *Rome*, where the *Arians* come not

Athan. Apol. 2

Al An. D. 340.

51. The *Arians* glad of ſuch excuſe for going to the *Roman* Synod, aſſembled together, to the Number of Thirty Six Biſhops, with whom met ſo many of the Orthodox Party as to make it up Ninety Seven, or Ninety Nine. But many refuſed to be preſent (as *Maximus* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* for one,) knowing before hand how matters would be determined; others were ſeized on in their Journey and Impriſoned, and as for *Julius* the *Roman* Biſhop, he neither was preſent, nor ſent any in his room; however there met enough and more to do the buſineſs deſigned by the *Arians*, who overpowered the Orthodox, though not in Number, yet in Confidence, Reſolution, and the favour of the Emperour, by whom their Decrees and Reſolutions were made Authentick though Excanonical. Now "beſides the charge formerly laid againſt *Athanaſius* at *Tyre*, they make the ſame "complaints againſt him which they had ſent to *Julius*, as that he had broken "the Canons, thruſting himſelf into his former Function without the Admiſſion "and Conſent of the Council, ruſhing into the Church of *Alexandria*, after his re"turn from Exile; moreover that he had done many acts of Violence and In-

Another at *Antioch*, where the *Arians* prevailed.

Socr. c. 8. *Græc.*

"juſtice, having raiſed Tumults among the People, wherein ſome were Slain, "others Impriſoned and beaten, and others he had forced to anſwer at the Bar. As for the matters objected againſt him at *Tyre*, they had been over and over Confuted, partly by their own Folly, and partly the confeſſion of the Parties themſelves that were brought againſt him. The report concerning the Tumults was Convicted of Falſhood, by the Letter of the *Alexandrian* Church, wherein *Conſtantius* is told that true Catholicks uſe no ſuch Weapons in their Warfare as Death, Impriſonment, Bonds or corporal Puniſhments; concerning which the Civil Magiſtrate can give beſt account: And as for the buſineſs concerning his intruſion into his Church, without leave or order; it's clear enough that he was not baniſhed by the Emperour, in order to what was done at *Tyre*, the Matter whereof depended upon Appeal before him: but upon new Matter Originally riſing before him, which being of a Political conſideration, concerning the publick Peace, the Emperour might as well reſtore *Athanaſius*, as baniſh him, without a Council.

And *Athanaſius is* condemned both as Guilty and contumacious.

52. *Athanaſius* appeared not himſelf on purpoſe as ſome think, that the matter might not be decided. *Conſtantius* ſent to Apprehend him, but he kept himſelf out of the way, and thereupon was Condemned both as guilty and Contumacious. To Succeed him was choſen one *Euſebius*, born at *Edeſſa* in *Meſopotamia*, who knowing well how he ſhould be received at *Alexandria*, whilſt *Athanaſius* was yet alive, plainly refuſed their offer: He then is made Biſhop of *Emiſa*, and *Athanaſius* his Chair is conferred on one who will not refuſe it, as made of fit Mettle for ſuch an Exploit, by Name *Gregory*, a Man altogether unknown, both to the Church and Province of *Alexandria*. Having diſpatcht *Athanaſius*, they go about to overthrow the *Nicene Faith*, but ſuch Reputation it had got, and they themſelves had hitherto made Profeſſion of it, that it muſt be covertly by degrees and by way of Inſinuation; as all Parties and Sects hate to be called by the Name of their Founders, they diſclaim that of *Arius*; even the Dignity of their Epiſcopal Office forbidding they ſhould become Proſelites to a Presbyter: They frame a Creed of their own, as ſcorning to Truckle under the *Nicene Council*, which is ſo plauſibly Penned, as yet to beware of the word *Conſubſtantial*, or to own the Son of the ſame Subſtance and Eſſence with the Father. This Creed they ſend in an Epiſtle to the Churches throughout every City. But continuing at *Antioch* a little longer, and unbethinking themſelves, they in a manner condemn it, framing a new one; for being conſcious that they had ſpoken too Jejunely concerning the Divinity of the Second Perſon, and thereby could not poſſibly ſhun that Cenſure which they had indeavoured to prevent, they now profeſs to hold that Faith which had been delivered by the Holy Scriptures Prophets and Apoſtles, and ſo own the God-head of the Son, and yield to the word Subſtance; yet they acknowledge him not of very ſame Subſtance with the Father, but as it were the Image thereof without any diſſimilitude. To thoſe they ſubſcribed and amonſt them *Gregory* with the Title of Biſhop of *Alexandria*, though as yet he had not ſeen the place; but not content with thoſe two (thinking it ſeems that by the later they had given too much to the Son of God, as by the firſt they had aſcribed too little) *Theophronius* Biſhop of *Tyara* compoſed another Form to which they aſſented; and ſtill not ſatisfied, as not knowing where to fix, *Athanaſius* tells us, they compoſed a fourth Form of Confeſſion, which they ſent to *Conſtans* the Emperour into *Gall*, and diſperſed all over the Weſtern Churches.

The *Arians* here make four ſeveral Creeds,

Soc. l. 2. *c.* 10. *Gr.*

And Twenty five Canons.

53. Beſides thoſe four Creeds, they framed Twenty five Canons, againſt which, though ſeveral of the Ancients except, as compoſed by Hereticks, yet by old Collectors of Canons have they been gathered together, as made by Orthodox Biſhops, and in the Council of *Chalecdon* two of them are cited word for word. For Hereticks may decree other things orthodoxly which are not material to the thing in Controverſie, and the *Arians* cunningly cauſed the Names of Biſhops eminent for their Zeal towards the *Nicene* Faith, to be ſet to the Epiſtle præfixed to the Canons, omitting thoſe of *Euſebius*, *Theognis*, *Mæris* and others, the moſt notorious of all *Arians*. And that they might not ſeem in the leaſt to thwart the Council of *Nice*, but as concerned for its Authority, their firſt Canon makes it unlawful to Celebrate *Eaſter* otherwiſe than that Council had determined. The Second ordains that Perſons Excommunicate ſhall not be abſolved without ſatisfaction made, the contrary being now practiced by a new Sect lately ſprung up, called *Anthropomorphites*; as alſo that none Communicate with Excommunicated Perſons. The Third commands that no Clerk remove to another Church, without his Dioceſans leave, and there continue. The Fourth

7. q. 1. Si quis Presbyter.

Ordains that no ſuſpended Biſhop or Clerk offer to execute his Function. The Fifth forbids Prieſts to ſeparate themſelves, and erect Altars amongſt themſelves in contempt of the Biſhops. The Sixth prohibits any to receive ſuch as are Excommunicated by the Biſhops, till they be either reconciled to them, or reſtored by Synods. By the Seventh, no ſtranger (Clerk) is to be received without Letters Commendatory. By the Eighth the *Chorepiſcopi* are only Licenſed, no Inferiour Prieſts, to give general Letters. The Ninth ſets Limits to the power of a Biſhop, thoſe of his own Dioceſs forbidding him to meddle with matters appertaining to the Metropolitan, whom it forbids to deal in things proper to him, as ſuch, without the Council and Aſſiſtance of the reſt of the (Prieſts or) Biſhops.

11. q. 4 Siquis Epiſcopus.

11. q. 3. Siquis a proprio.

Diſt. 71. Nullus atq; 6. q. 1 per Singulas.

Sacerdotum by which Biſhops are often meant.

54. Their Tenth Canon is for the Reſtrainment of the *Chorepiſcopi*, who though they were Conſecrated as Biſhops, yet it pleaſed the holy Synod (as theſe Men call themſelves) that they ſhould recognize the mean of their Power, governing the Churches in the Country Villages committed to them, and content themſelves with that Imployment, and the ordination of Readers, Subdeacons and Exorciſts, not preſuming to Ordain Prieſts or Deacons without the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, upon pain of deprivation. And the *Chorepiſcopus* they command be ordained by the Biſhop to whom he is ſubject. The Eleventh puniſhes ſuch Biſhop or Clerk with depoſition, as without the Letters of the Synod and Biſhops of the Province, eſpecially the Metropolitan, ſhall go and ſolicit the Emperour about buſineſs. This they did to take away benefit of Appeals from the Orthodox. And this Canon was objected againſt *Chryſoſthom* by his Adverſaries, to whom he replied that it was made by *Arians*, and therefore was deſervedly repealed by the Council of *Sardica*. But more to their purpoſe by their Twelfe Canon they deprive ſuch Prieſts and Biſhops of all hope of reſtitution, who being condemned by their Biſhops or by Synods ſhall not abide by their determinations, but have recourſe unto the Emperour. The Thirteenth prohibits Biſhops to Ordain out of their own Province, except they be ſent for by Letters from the *Metropolitan* and his Suffragans, under Penalty of the Ordinations being Null, and Cenſures inflicted upon their own Perſons. The Fourteenth determines that in caſe of Tryal of a Biſhop by his Comprovincials, part be for him, and part againſt him, the Metropolitan is to call other Biſhops to his aſſiſtance out of other Provinces, who in conjunction with the former are to decide the controverſy. The Fifteenth Confirms what is done againſt any Biſhop by the Univerſal conſent of the Biſhops of the ſame Province.

23. q. 8. Siquis Epiſcopus.

10. q. 5. Siquis a proprio.

9. q. 7. Nullum Epiſcopum.

6. q. 4. Siquis Epiſcopus.

Ibid,

55. The Sixteenth Canon commands that if a Nominal Biſhop (having no Dioceſs) intrude himſelf into a Vacant Church without the Conſent and Decree of a compleat Synod, he ſhall by force be thence ejected, although the People make choice of him for their Paſtor. Now a perfect Synod, that is to be underſtood where the Metropolitan præſides. By the Seventeenth it is decreed that if any Biſhop ordained to a particular Dioceſs, neglectt the charge thereof, or refuſe to take the care upon him, he ſhall be removed from Communion till ſuch he either execute his Office or the pleaſure of a Provincial Synod concerning him be known: But in caſe he be thence kept by force, or otherwiſe not by any fault of his, the Eighteenth Canon takes care that he be elſwhere capable both of Honour and Miniſterial Function, provided that he be not pragmatical in the Church where he is, and ſubmit himſelf to what ſhall be determined in the Provincial Synod. The Nineteenth Enacts that no Biſhop be Ordained without a Synod, and the preſence of the Metropolitan. The Twentieth Ordains that for diſpatch of Church buſineſs, that Biſhops meets in Synods twice a Year throughout the Provinces. By the Twenty firſt Biſhops are forbidden to change their Pariſhes Dioceſs *i. e.* either by conſtraint of the People or compulſion of their Fellow-Biſhops, according to the ancient appointment in this Caſe. By the Twenty Second they are Inhibited from intermedling in anothers Dioceſs; from ordaining any Prieſts or Deacons ſubject to any other Biſhop, without his directions and conſent, upon pain of a Nullity, and Cenſures to be inflicted by the Synod.

Diſt. 91. Si quis Epiſcopus.

Diſt. 92. Siquis Epiſcopus per manu.

Diſt. 9 1. Siquis Epiſcopus ordinatus.

Diſt. 65. Epiſcopus noneſt Diſt. 18. *propter.*

7. q. 1. Epiſcopum.

56. The Twenty Third Canon makes it unlawful for any Biſhop to appoint his Succeſſor although at point of Death: This being a breach of the Law Eccleſiaſtical, which makes this appertain to a Synod, and the reſolution of Biſhops, who in a Vacancy have Authority to promote ſuch as be worthy. The Twenty Fourth gives charge to Prieſts and Deacons to take notice of Goods belonging to Churches, that in caſe of the Death of the Incumbent Biſhop there be no confuſion, that neither his Goods be ſeized on in right of the Church, nor ſuch as

8. q. 1. Epiſcopum non liceat.

9. q. 21 quæcunque res.

really belong to the Church be imbezell'd by pretence of his Intereſt. The Twenty Fifth and laſt gives power to the Biſhop to diſpence the Goods of the Church to thoſe that have need, and to ſupply himſelf with things neceſſary, but in caſe either he himſelf or his Domeſticks, Sons or Kindred, by his permiſſion make waſt of thoſe things, and convert them that belong to the Church into their own private uſe, either the Biſhop or his Presbyters ſo doing to the great loſs of the Power and Scandal of the Miniſterial Function, it ſubjects them to the Cenſure of a Provincial Synod. To theſe Canons Thirty Biſhops are ſaid to have Subſcribed, amongſt which ſome were of the Orthodox Party; although ſome, if not moſt of them, as is clear from the Hiſtory of this affair were made to entrap them. The Sum of the Councils made by *Carranza*, tells us that this Council of *Antioch* was approved by the Sixth general Council ſummoned to *Conſtantinople*, and Celebrated in *Trullio*; as appeareth by the Second Canon of the Greek Edition, concerning which we ſhall enquire hereafter: And alſo by Pope *Dionyſius*, as appeareth by *Euſebius* in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory-book 7. * *Ch.* 24 and 25. Than which nothing can be more ridiculous: For how could *Euſebius* write of this Council who was dead the Year before? That Council which *Euſebius* writeth of in thoſe Chapters was held againſt the Hæreſie of *Paulus Samoſatanus*, about the Twelfth Year of *Gallienus* the Emperour, when *Dionyſius* was Biſhop of *Rome*, *A. D.* 264. Juſt Seventy ſix Years before this other, for which this *Sciolus* ſtrangely miſtakes it.

12. *q.* 1. *Epiſcopus Eccleſiaſticarum rerum.*

* *Ch.* 27.21. after the Greek

Andæus and his Hæreſie condemned.

57. But ſome of thoſe Canons were alſo deſigned againſt certain Hereticks newly crept up in the Church, a ſign that Thieves may fall out when they have ſeveral Ends and Intereſts. There was one *Andæus* born, as *Epiphanius* writes, in *Meſopotamia*, who being of a very ſtrict Life and Zealous, did ſo declaim againſt the looſneſs of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, that for his freedom of Speech being hated and perſecuted, he ſeparated from the Church, and in his old Age was baniſhed by *Conſtantius* into *Scythia*; the Biſhops having accuſed him of a deſigned Rebellion: Having many Followers he is ſaid in *Scythia* to have Erected many Monaſteries, and Travelling farther into *Gothia*, by his Preaching to have Converted many to the Faith; in great admiration amongſt all Men for his extraordinary Zeal and Sanctity. But his zeal was not according to knowledge, teaching that becauſe it is ſaid *God made Man after his own Image; God had the former Shape and Members of a Man.* He alſo taught that *Eaſter was to be kept on the Fourteenth Moon*, as the *Jews* obſerved it, to oppoſe which oppinion, the Firſt of thoſe Canons ſeemeth to be made, and that *abſolution was to be granted to Offenders without any ſatisfaction to the Church in token of Penitence*; to obviate which Doctrine they framed their Second Canon. He is blamed for condemning the Riches of the Clergy, for holding that darkneſs, Fire and Water were uncreated. His Followers from his own Name were called *Andiani*, but eſpecially from his opinion concerning the Form of God *Anthropomorphites*. They kept themſelves ſeparate from the Church, becauſe Uſurers and wicked Men were ſuffered therein, but very few of them remained in the time of *Epiphanius*.

Vid Epiphan. hær. 3.70. *Theodoret. l.* 4. *c.* 10. *Aug. ad quod vult deum. Niceph.*

Euſebius the *Arian* Biſhop dyes.

Tumults upon the account of a Succeſſor.

58. But the Synod of *Antioch* being concluded after ſome Months, the Biſhops returned to their Sees, and *Euſebius* the Ringleader of the *Arians* went to his long Home, or to his own Place; dying immediately after the Council broke up, as * *Socrates* tells us. Being rid of him the Orthodox party now again made choice of *Paul*, who had been formerly Elected; and the *Arians* pitcht upon *Macedonius*, whereupon enſueth ſuch Tumults that many of both ſides thereby periſhed, and *Hermogenes* a Commander, who taking a journey into *Thrace*, was ordered to take *Conſtantinople* in his way, and diſplace *Paul*, had firſt the houſe wherein he was Fired over his head, and then was pulled out and kil'd by the incenſed Multitude. *Conſtantius* upon report hereof, came from *Antioch* to *Conſtantinople*, where he thruſt *Paul* out of the Church, and to puniſh the Citizens took from them 40000 meaſures of Corn, *viz.* half of the quantity that his Father had given them daily for ever, to be ſent from *Alexandria*, and charged upon the Imperial Revenue riſing from *Ægypt*: He deferred to nominate *Macedonius* their Biſhop, being very angry not only for accepting the Place without his knowledge and conſent, but in reſpect of thoſe that were ſlain in the Conteſts betwixt him and his Antigoniſts; yet he gave him leave to execute his Function, in that Church only where he had been choſen Biſhop, and returned back to *Antioch*. And now muſt we return with him, and thence where we left, proſecute the Story of *Athanaſius*.

* *Lib.* 2. *c.* 12.

59. The *Arians* having held their Meeting at *Antioch*, and refuſed to appear at *Rome* at a Synod, to the calling of which they themſelves had given occaſion, by referring the Matter to the cogniſance of *Julius*; he in a Synod of Fifty Biſhops examined the Matter concerning *Athanaſius*, pronounced him innocent, and received him into Communion, together with *Marcellus* Biſhop of *Ancyra* in *Galatia* the leſſer, and many other Biſhops and Presbyters condemned and outed by the Hæretical Party. But the *Arians* hearing this news at *Antioch* where yet they continued were very wroth, and ſending back the two Prieſts he had ſent to them, whom they had retained on purpoſe all this while, ſomewhat ſharply expoſtulated with the Biſhop. They complained that the time ſet them for appearance was too ſhort, and that he had taken upon him to abſolve *Athanaſius* and the reſt, ſignifying that if any were baniſhed the Church, and Excommunicated by their Decree and Cenſure, it was not his part to intermeddle, nor to take cogniſance of their Sentence, no more than when his Predeceſſor had removed *Novatus* out of the Church of *Rome*, they had reſiſted and contraried his doings. In the mean time *Gregory* the appointed Succeſſor of *Athanaſius* goes down to take Poſſeſſion of the Church of *Alexandria*, where he is gladly received by the *Arians*, and as earneſtly rejected by the Orthodox, who were the more concerned becauſe *Athanaſius* their true and lawful Paſtor was now amongſt them, being returned from *Rome* upon notice of the Reſolution taken at *Antioch* to aſſert his juſt Title and Intereſt againſt this Intruder. But *Gregory* had the advantage, bringing with him Letters from the Aſſembly of *Antioch*, the Emperours Mandate, and being guarded by *Philagrius* the *Præfectus Auguſtalis*, who according to orders received from the Prince, had with an Army of Five thouſand Men brought him to *Alexandria*. Horrid Outrages were committed by both Parties to the diſgrace of the Chriſtian profeſſion, but eſpecially by the *Gregorians* for the better Celebration of *Eaſter*, which this Year fell on *April* 11. *Athanaſius* finding the City too hot for him, was forced to fly, and returned as faſt as he could to *Rome*, whence, that he might not be prevented by ſome falſe account from the *Gregorians*, he wrote his Epiſtle to all Orthodox Chriſtians a little before the Death of *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Nicomedia*, for publick ſatisfaction he wrote in this Epiſtle ſuch things in haſte as in his other Writings he communicates more fully, eſpecially in his Epiſtle to thoſe that lived Solitarily, or Monaſtical Lives wherein he compriſeth ſuch things as were done by the *Arians* againſt the Orthodox Party, eſpecially thoſe of the Church of *Alexandria*.

Athan. Apol. 2. *& ad ſcholerius.*

The Council at *Rome* clear *Athanaſius* and receive him into Communion.

Gregory intrudes into the See of *Alexandria*.

Athan. Ep. ad Orthodoxos.

60. *Gregory* being got into Poſſeſſion of that Church, made a Progreſs in the Government thereof ſuitable to his beginning, managing his Office like an Hæretick and a Tyrant. In the mean while thoſe of his Party perceiving that whatever they had pretended, yet they ſuffered in Reputation as *Arians*, a Character they ſhunned, as ignomineous to their Epiſcopal Degree, to receive a Denomination from a meer Presbyter, and one who was Infamous both in his Life and Death, they therefore agree once more to meet at *Antioch*. There they frame another Confeſſion of Faith, ſo exceeding long and tedious, that it got the Epithete of μακρόστιχον, and this they ſent to the Weſtern Biſhops for their Approbation. But they miſſed of their deſign herein alſo, being ſtill unfortunate in all their Creeds. For the Cheat was eaſily perceived, they having again in this omitted the word *Conſubſtantial*, although they heaped great Epithets and Titles upon the Son of God; and this ſeems the true reaſon why the Weſtern Biſhops rejected their Creed, though they might pretend they were not well skilled in their Terms and Propriety of the Language, and thereby put them off, referring themſelves to the *Nicene* Council as ſufficient without any new Gloſſes and Interpretations; but that their Ignorance in the Greek Tongue ſhould be the only cauſe, as *Socrates* ſaith it was, is very improbable, the times were not ſo Illiterate, nor Intercourſe betwixt the Eaſtern and Weſtern Churches ſo ſtopt up, as to give the leaſt countenance to ſuch an Aſſertion. This Synod (to which aſſembled Biſhops from almoſt all the Eaſt) was held Three years after the other, wherein were framed the Four Creeds, in the Eighth year of *Conſtantius*, *A. D.* 344. *Saluſtius Autor* and *Leontius* being Conſuls.

At another Council at *Antioch* the *Arians* frame four new Creeds more.

Διὰ τὸ ἀλλόγλωσσον εἶναι, *vide Socr. l.* 2. *c.* 19. *Athan. de Synodis. Sozom.* l. 3. c. 10.

61. *Athanaſius* all this while continued at *Rome*, where *Julius* the Biſhop could do him little good for Three years together, nor *Paulus* the Elect of *Conſtantinople*, nor any of the Orthodox Party, though he eſpouſed their quarrel and wrote into the Eaſt on their behalf. But now their Caſe became more underſtood by *Conſtans* the Emperour, who could not but take notice of all this

Athanaſ. ad Conſtantium. Soc. l.2.c.20. Soz. l.3. c.9.

A General Council at *Sardica.*

noiſe betwixt the Weſtern and Eaſtern Prælates, and thereupon bethink of the Publick Peace, which is not ſooner broke any ways than through Heats and ſiding about Religion, which were alſo more unſeaſonable at this time when the *Perſian*, the Common Enemy from without threatened the Tranquillity of the Empire. This was a convenient Seaſon for *Athanaſius* to lay open his Griefs, being commended to the Emperour with all advantage poſſible both by *Julius* Biſhop of *Rome*, and *Hoſius* of *Corduba*, who alſo earneſtly ſollicited him about the calling of a General Council. Being ſent for by *Conſtans*, he went to *Millain* where then the Court was, and he and his Friends ſo wrought that they obtained a Letter from the Emperour to his Brother *Conſtantius* about the Summoning of a Council. He ſhewed him the neceſſity of Summoning the Biſhops of both Empires together, amongſt whom there ſeemed to be difference both in matters of Opinion touching ſome Points of Faith, as alſo for Supremacy and Juriſdiction, he deſired him to uſe his Power in getting together the Prelates of the Eaſt, who, that they might be the eaſilier perſwaded, he nominated *Sardica* a City of *Illyricum* as very convenient ſcituate upon the Borders of both Empires, but more commodious for them, with whom he would take care that thoſe of the Weſt ſhould meet at the time appointed. In the mean while was a Synod held at *Colein May* 11. againſt *Euphrates* Biſhop of that City, who for denying the Divinity of Chriſt, with *Photinus* and *Marcellus*, was depoſed by the unanimous conſent of the Biſhops of *Gall*, amongſt whom *Athanaſius* is ſaid to have been preſent.

Conc.Tom.1.

62. In the Eleventh year after the Deceaſe of *Conſtantine*, and the Conſulſhip of *Fl. Euſebius*, and *Fl. Rufinus*, in the Eleven hundredth Year of *Rome*, the Third of the 281 *Olympiad*, the Fifth Indiction, *A. D.* 347. there met (as *Athanaſius* wrote) about Three hundred Biſhops out of the Weſt, and (as *Sabinus* counted) Seventy ſix out of the Eaſt, to the Council ſummoned at *Sardica*, amongſt whom was *Iſchyras* ſo often mentioned, whom the Depoſers of *Athanaſius* had preferred to the Title of a Biſhop. The reaſon why no more met out of the Eaſtern Churches, though the place lay more convenient for them, and in the Territories of their own Empire, was deſpair of any Iſſue ſuitable to their former Atchievements. Some alledged infirmity of Body, and others complained of the ſhortneſs of time, blaming the Biſhop of *Rome* for not letting them have more timely notice, whereas an whole Year and an half intervened from the Date of the Summons to the time of the Meeting. When the Council met, the *Arians* perceiving how things were like to go, withdrew to *Philippi* a City about a days Journey diſtant from *Sardica*, whence they ſent to the reſt frivolous Excuſes why they could not be preſent, and withall ſignified that they could not joyn with them as long as *Athanaſius* and *Paulus* Perſons formerly condemned at *Antioch*, were permitted to ſit amongſt them. *Hoſius* who præſided in the Council, ſent them word that the Council was reſolved, though in their abſence, to proceed in the Examination of the Cauſe of theſe Biſhops, and willed them to be preſent, that they might if they could make good thoſe Charges againſt them, which never yet ſeemed juſtly proved, and prevent the Condemnation of themſelves for their unjuſt Cenſures. This warning doing no good, the Orthodox Party fell to the Examination of Witneſſes, and after a full and indifferent Hearing acquitted *Athanaſius* and *Paulus*, reſtored them to their Churches, and inflicted upon the Contumacious Biſhops the ſame Cenſures which they had formerly executed upon theſe Innocent Perſons.

The Orthodox Biſhops ſtick to the *Nicene* Creed.

63. After this when it was moved that a New Confeſſion of Faith ſhould be framed, it was reſolved in the Negative, foraſmuch as Multiplication of Creeds would beget Confuſion and Uncertainty, whilſt variety of Terms and Phraſes perplexed the Readers, who would not know where to reſt, or wherein to fix, and by this means all thoſe that followed might pretend to amend what their Predeceſſors had done, and ſo as well the *Nicene Creed* as others ſhould be thought Inſufficient and Imperfect. They reſolved therefore to ſtand by the *Nicene Creed*, only for to prevent miſtakes, to lay open the cunning of the *Arians*, and prevent their Subterfuges, they explicated (as ſome have written) the Clauſe of one Subſtance, and ſet forth the Hæreſie of that Aſſertion *that the Son of God is not of the ſame Subſtance with the Father.* This they publiſhed in their Acts or a Narrative of their Proceedings, wherein alſo they ſhewed their Reaſons why they acquitted *Athanaſius* and the reſt, with the cauſeleſs departure of the *Arian* Biſhops, and their obſtinate refuſal to joyn with them. They in the mean time are not idle, but act quite contrary to the Proceedings, condemning

But the *Arians* make a new one.

demning ſuch as had abſolved *Athanaſius*, and *Julius* Biſhop of *Rome* amongſt the reſt, and make a new Confeſſion of Faith, againſt which the other had firmly reſolved. By reaſon of this contrary proceeding of thoſe ſeveral Parties, the Reſolutions and Acts of this Council have been variouſly accepted and reported in latter times, many things being cited as Decreed by the *Sardican* Council, contrary to the Teſtimony of *Athanaſius* himſelf, who had reaſon to know what paſſed, although St. *Auguſtin* and others grant thoſe Decrees to have been of this Council, but except againſt it as Hæretical and *Arian*. So that great Confuſion and uncertainty even in theſe times appears to have been amongſt the beſt knowing in reference to this Council, which ſeizes *Baronius* with admiration. Many alſo ſince the time that he wrote, conſidering the Summons was univerſal, would gladly with him give it the name of a General or Oecumenical Council. But when they conſider how it was divided into ſeveral Parties or Factions, how many guiltleſs were condemned, and how many guilty were acquitted by both Parties, and for theſe reaſons of Ambiguity and Injuſtice, how the Orthodox for many Ages were ſhy of receiving any of its Acts as Authentical, they conclude that the Cardinal in giving ſo high a Title to this Synod, hath not at all advantaged the Opinion concerning the Infallibility of General Councils.

At this Council at *Sardica* 21 Canons are made.

Diſt.8. *Male conſuetudo.*

64. For they acquitted *Marcellus* of Hæreſie laid to his charge by the *Arians*, from which Orthodox Antiquity is far from abſolving him: And ſo uncertain were this Synods Determinations, that all Parties made uſe of them, and renounced them when it ſtood moſt with their own advantage, as *Baronius* himſelf inſtanceth in ſeveral Particulars. So that granting the Summoning of the Council to have been Oecumenical, yet if we call Antiquity to give Teſtimony, little of certainty can it produce upon which to found any Catholick Aſſertions, the Relations of *Athanaſius* being moſt Authentick, which were as much known to others as us, and yet they follow other Authors. However as to Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline theſe Fathers are ſaid to have made One and twenty Canons; whereof the Firſt upon the Propoſition of *Hoſius* taking notice how little good former Synods had done by their Prohibitions in this Particular, ordains that ſuch Biſhops as flitte and remove from one Church City or Dioceſs to another be Excommunicated even from the Laity; and the Second at the inſtance of the ſaid Perſon decrees the ſame Cenſure to be inflicted, although they be ſollicited to this remove by the Importunity of the People, which eaſily may be by Corruption wrought into ſuch an humour. The Third Canon forbids that any Biſhop remove out of one Province into another, except he be invited by his Brethren, and if any Biſhop think himſelf agreived in any Cauſe determined by his Comprovincials, upon *Hoſius* his motion, it was reſolved he might appeal to the Biſhop of *Rome*. Indeed his Reputation was not a little inhanced by his continuing Orthodox in thoſe times of Trial. So that the Dignity of that City receiving fair advantage from theſe Controverſies, whilſt the *Arians* juſtly denied his right, yet the Orthodox might aſſert his capacity (not Authority) to determine their Differences. And hence were afforded Opportunities and Advantages for that Supremacy which viciſſitude of times, and the comportment of Affairs ſuggeſted afterward to the *Roman* Prælates. But the Canons of this Council in behalf of the Biſhop of *Rome* for the advancement of his Authority, the Fathers of the *African* Council univerſally aſſert to be Suppoſititious, who affirm in their Letters to the Pope that no ſuch thing can be found in any Synod of the Fathers. Now had there been any ſuch Canons, doubtleſs they could not have been ignorant of them.

6.*q* 4. *Oſius Epiſcopus.*

Vide Whitakerum.

Diſt.63. *Qua.*

65. Upon the motion of *Gaudentius* a Fourth Canon was made, which forbad the Ordination of a Biſhop into his room, who being depoſed, appealed to the Biſhop of *Rome*, till the Matter was heard and adjudged by the ſaid Biſhop. The Fifth Canon at the inſtance of *Hoſius*, takes care that in caſe one Biſhop in a Province be remaining, wherein formerly were ſeveral, and this Biſhop at requeſt of the People, wanting Paſtors, refuſe to ordain any more, the neighbouring Biſhops contribute their aſſiſtance to their juſt deſire, and ordain them a Biſhop. The Sixth expreſly forbids the Ordaining of a Biſhop for one Village or ſmall City, to the care of which one Prieſt ſufficeth, leſt thereby the Dignity and Authory Epiſcopal incur contempt; which it ſeemed to have done by means of *Iſchyras* whom the *Arians* had ordained Biſhop, but to ſuch a See as formerly did belong to a ſimple Pariſh, being not a Pariſh of it ſelf, but a Village or Hamlet appertaining to another Town. The Seventh Canon gives

liberty, in caſe of an Appeal, to the Biſhop of *Rome*, the Appellant deſiring it; to that Biſhop to ſend thoſe who may joyn with the other Biſhops in judging the Appellant. The Eighth inhibits the Cuſtom of Biſhops flying to the Court, without the Commendation of their Brethren, or the Summons of the Emperour, whereby much Scandal had been lately given. The Ninth gives directions how a Biſhop may ſend his Deacon to the Metropolitan, and he commend him to thoſe Biſhops where the Court reſides. Or he may by his Deacon ſollicite his Friends at Court if he have any. And if it be at *Rome*, the Synod orders that the Petitions be delivered to their moſt Holy Brother and Fellow Biſhop of the *Roman* Church, who upon Examination finding them juſt and fitting, is to uſe care and diligence that they be conveyed to the Emperours preſence.

66. At the inſtance of *Alipius*, it was by the Tenth Canon made Lawful for Biſhops to betake themſelves to the Court in behalf of Infants and Widows. But leſt under ſpecious Pretences ſuch Liberty be abuſed, and ſuch Scandal happen as formerly the Impudence of ſome had brought upon the Church; the Eleventh Canon ordains that ſuch as ſhould break the former bounds be deprived. And that this Canon might take effect, *Gaudentius* the Biſhop further propounded, that ſuch Biſhops as lived in *Canali*, or the way of the publick Poſts, ſhould ſtop ſuch of their Brethren as travelled towards the Court, and upon Examination according to the Merit and Purport of their buſineſs, either forbid upon pain of Excommunication, or allow their Journey, which was unanimouſly Decreed. Yet leſt any ſhould through Ignorance of this Canon be ſurprized, at the requeſt of *Hoſius*, the Twelfth Canon provides that ſuch ſhould have notice of it. Then foraſmuch as great Inconvenience happened by the ſudden Promotion of Perſons to the Epiſcopal Function, and to prevent ſuch damage as may happen to the Church by Novices, the Fathers agreed to a Thirteenth Canon recommended by *Hoſius*, forbidding any to be made a Biſhop *per ſaltum*, or except he had paſſed through the Offices of *Reader*, *Deacon* or *Prieſt*, whereby his Abilities and Virtues might be throughly known before his Præferment to ſo high a Calling. Becauſe much Miſchief and Scandal had happened by reaſon of the ſtay of Biſhops out of their own Dioceſſes and Provinces too long a time; *Hoſius* alſo adviſed the Fathers, that foraſmuch as in a former Synod they deprived ſuch Lay-Perſons of Communion as ſhould abſent themſelves for three Lords days or three Weeks together from Church in the Cities where they dwelt: the ſame might be Decreed concerning a Biſhop, who without great neceſſity was abſent from his Church that ſame ſpace of time, and it pleaſing them well, a Fourteenth Canon was framed to this purpoſe. For the further inlargement of which, a Fifteenth was added at the motion of the ſaid *Hoſius*, wherein is alſo contained, that a Biſhop, if he cannot be in his own Territories, he ought to go to the next Church where there is a Prieſt, leaſt he ſhould paſs over a Lords-day without going to Church at all; but he is ſo to order his buſineſs where his Revenues lye, that he be not abſent from his Cathedral above three Weeks.

67. For the preſerving of Peace and Concord *Hoſius* procured the Sixteenth Canon, forbidding any Biſhop to receive any Clerk into Communion, Excommunicated by another, upon pain of being Cenſured by a Synod. But leſt through the paſſion and haſtineſs of any Biſhop innocent Perſons ſhould at any time ſuffer; Power is given by the Seventeenth Canon to the Neighbouring Biſhops to hear and determine ſuch Matters, and ſeverely to rebuke ſuch as they ſhould find to have carried themſelves irreverently towards their Biſhops. The Eighteenth at the motion of *Januarius*, forbids the enticing of Clerks from other Biſhops, and Ordaining them in their own Dioceſs: Which *Hoſius* found ſo reaſonable, that by a Nineteenth Canon he obtained a Nullity decreed on the Ordination of Miniſters, ſubject to other Biſhops, performed without the conſent of their Dioceſans, with Admonitions and Cenſures to be inflicted upon the Ordainers. The Twentieth Canon renews former Decrees made againſt the ſtay and abode of Clerks, ſuch as were Strangers, at *Theſſalonica*. The Twenty Firſt and laſt Canon at the motion of *Hoſius*, but ſuggeſtion of *Olympius*; decreed that ſuch as were Perſecuted for the Teſtimony of a good Conſcience, and for bearing Witneſs to the Orthodox and Catholick Faith, forced into other Cities, ſhould be received with Humanity and Benevolence. And the whole Synod ſaid, all thoſe Conſtitutions, let the Catholick Church diſperſed throughout the World receive; and all the Biſhops which had met together from divers Provinces, Sub-

ſcribed ſaith the Latin Edition of this Council to the Number of 121. But *Balſamon* in his Greek Copies hath no ſuch Number, but writes that 341 Biſhops met at *Sardica*, and Decreed thoſe things, but in his Copies the Eighteenth Canon is wanting.

The Church as the State divided.

In Eaſt and Weſtern.

Ad ſol.:

l. 2. c. 22.
qu.

68. The Council of *Sardica* being broken up, and each one departed towards their proper Sees, great Outrages were committed by the *Arians*, againſt all ſuch of the Orthodox party as they could light off; whereof *Athanaſius* gives ſeveral examples. And ſuch was the iſſue of this, as well as other Councils, that the breach was ſo far from being made up, that it was much more enlarged. For the Eaſt and Weſtern Churches were, as *Socrates* telleth us, now divided, the place which ſevered their Communion, being the Mount *Tiſucis*, between *Illyrium* and *Thrace*, where every of them among themſelves, though they differed about the Faith, yet the quarrel being laid aſide, Communicated together; but beyond that, there was no Communion of the contrary Parties. They were called Eaſtern and Weſtern, eſpecially out of the reſpect to the two Empires ſo Named; not upon any exact Geographical account: As if the North and South parts of the World might not juſtly challenge their Share in the Provinces; but the Church, as ſhe took the Model of her Præcincts from that of the State, ſo herein alſo followed that Diviſion of the Empires.

Conſtans ſends to his Brother *Conſtantius* about *Athanaſius* his return to his See.

Soz. l. 3. c. 19. Athanas. aa ſolitar. Theod. l. 2. cc. 9. 10.

69. The determination of the Synod for reſtitution of the Biſhops to their own Sees. Notwithſtanding *Conſtantius* purſued the inclinations of the *Arian* Party, rather perſecuting thoſe that were already in, than reſtoring the ejected, till ſuch time as his Brother *Conſtans* found himſelf more than ordinarily concerned. Having found that more difficulty than ordinary was made about *Athanaſius* his return to his See, he ſent for him from *Naiſſus*, whether he had betaken himſelf, and commanded him to abide at *Aquileia*, under his own Protection: Then wrote he to his Brother *Conſtantius*, more earneſt Letters than formerly, minding how deeply the Honour of them both was concerned, in putting the determinations of that Council which had been ſummoned by their Joynt Authority to *Sardica*, to Execution; however he told him, that for his part he was very ſenſible, what ever he might be, of his duty in that particular, and being reſolved effectually to proſecute that deſign, he adviſed him to regard his own Honour, and reſtore *Athanaſius* and the reſt to their places, if not, he told him he would in Perſon make an Expedition, and ſee them reſtored to their Sees, whether he would or no. Thoſe Letters were ſent with the determinations of the Council by two Biſhops *Euphrates* and *Vincentius*, whom the Synod had choſen to go to *Conſtantius*, with whom *Conſtans* joyned *Salianus* a Count. Coming to *Conſtantinople*, and finding the Emperour was at *Antioch*, they Travelled thither, but before their arrival, their coming was known to *Stephen* Biſhop of that City, who had been a Member of the *Arian* Conventicle at *Philippopolis*.

The Meſſengers abuſed by the Villany of *Stephen*.

70. He as well to fruſtrate their Errand, as to blaſt the reputation both of their Perſons and Party, ſubborns a Rude young Fellow called *Onager* to bring a Common Strumpet into the Inn where the two Biſhops lay, and privily convey her into their Chamber: The Villany was ſo far managed as to convey the Whore into the Room where *Euphrates* was then in Bed, *Vincentius* being alſo at his reſt in an inner Chamber, and according to agreement, the Company ready at the Door entred the Chamber, and finding her there where they had put her, exclaimed abundantly, and a Tumult was raiſed: *Vincentius* upon this getting up, the Gates of the Inn were ſhut, yet *Onager* and other of the Clerks made their eſcape, but the Strumpet together with ſeven of the Conſpirators they ſeized on, and carried them before the Magiſtrates, where upon Examination the whole Plot was diſcovered, which *Stephen* alſo the Biſhop had not ſo much impudence to deny: Hereupon by command of the Emperour, ſuch Biſhops as then were at *Antioch* deprived him of his Biſhoprick, into which was choſen one *Leontius*, a Man not much better, who had caſtrated himſelf, as it's ſaid, that he might the more ſafely without ſcandal keep Company with a certain Woman whom he pretended to be a Virgin; and this Fellow they promoted expreſly contrary to the firſt Canon of the *Nicene Council*.

71. The Villany of *Stephen* had this effect upon *Conſtantius*, that conſidering with himſelf, how the *Arians* might have dealt in this ſort with others of the Orthodox Party, it made him ſeriouſly to reflect upon the Contents of his Brothers Letters. Having viewed the determinations of the Council, and received the advice of his own Biſhops, rather to permit the return of *Athanaſius*, than Ingage upon his account in a War, now at ſuch time as the *Perſians* were upon the

Conſtantius his reply.

Borders, he ſent his Orders to his Lieutenants in *Ægypt*, not to moleſt thoſe of his Party. His anſwer to his Brother was, that he was very ready to comply with him, in the executions of the Decrees of the late Synod; that he was not againſt the reſtitution of *Athanaſius*, for whom he kept the Church of *Alexandria* vacant, to which he might return at his pleaſure. *Athanaſius* not knowing well how to truſt to his Meſſage, removed to *Millain*, where he received a Letter from *Conſtantius* himſelf, wherein he tells him, that he commiſerated his long Sufferings, that he had long e're this ſent for him to *Conſtantinople*, but that he expected he ſhould have made application to himſelf; which becauſe he thought he had not done, rather out of fear than any neglect of his Perſon or Authority, he now out of his good inclinations to him, aſſured him the kindneſs unasked for, of reſtoring him to his Native Country, and his Biſhoprick: When he demurred yet a little, as thinking if the Emperour had a real kindneſs for him, or intended him any good, he would rather have ſuffered him to take the neareſt way by Sea to *Alexandria*, than call him to *Conſtantinople*, and thereby force him upon a dangerous Journey, wherein he might be way laid by his Enemies; a ſecond Letter came, and a third, enforced by thoſe of ſome Noble-men his Friends, and brought by a Prieſt and a Deacon, whom *Conſtantius* had ſent to encourage him to the Journey.

Vide Athan. & Socrat. l. 2. c. 23.

72. *Athanaſius* hereupon betook himſelf to *Rome*, where adviſing further with the Biſhop and his other Friends, they were clear for his venturing to *Conſtantinople*, and *Julius* ſent by him Letters of Recommendation and Congratulation for his return to the Churches of *Alexandria*, to be ſeen in the Hiſtory of *Socrates*. He took his way then to *Conſtantinople*, where when he found not the Emperour, he followed him to *Antioch*, and getting eaſily Audience, was received by him very Courtiouſly. He found the Emperour conſtant to what he had written, and when he laid open his Caſe, and the many injuries he had undergone, through the Calumnies of his Enemies, he ſeemed to acquieſce in what he ſaid, and ſwore to him for the time to come, he would not harken to any complaints againſt him. His diſpatch for *Alexandria* he obtained ſooner through the jealouſie of his Enemies, who knowing his parts, were unwilling he ſhould contract any familiarity with *Conſtantius*, and his preſence ſeemed mightily to encourage the Orthodox Party at *Antioch*, with whom he Communicated privately, refuſing to joyn in the publick Worſhip with the *Arians*, who were by far the more prævalent Party in this City, and with whom the Orthodox Chriſtians were forced to joyn, having no Liberty of Conſcience as to Publick and Solemn Meetings. Yet through the connivance of *Leontius*, they had their liberty to honour the Son of God, according to their Profeſſion; for when the *Gloria Patri* was Sung, and the *Arians* Phraſed it *Glory be to the Father in the Son*, the Orthodox Chriſtians would add, *and to the Son*, declaring that the ſame Glory was due to the Son as to the Father. But *Athanaſius* conſidered his place and Sphear, and how to the ſin of joyning with Hæreticks, he ſhould add ſcandal and bad Example.

Ibid.

Athanaſius returns.

73. The *Arians* being conſtrained to reſtore *Athanaſius* in this manner, not only perſwaded their Emperour to the policy of making a Virtue of neceſſity, but to make ſome advantage alſo out of ſo bad a bargain. This was by deſiring of *Athanaſius* at his departure, when they thought good Nature and Gratitude would work, he having his Letters to the Churches, and all he could deſire; that thoſe of the *Arian* perſwaſion might have ſome one Church wherein they might publickly meet at *Alexandria*. To which when he could not in a manner deny, he anſwered, as not preſuming to diſobey the Emperour, but made bold unto his deſires, to return his humble Petition, that ſeeing there were many Chriſtians in that City of *Antioch*, which alſo in ſome points differed from *Leontius*, that they by his Imperial favour might obtain the like Indulgence. *Conſtantius*, though he diſliked the anſwer, was gravelled by the Equity of the propoſal; and the *Arians* conſidering that by granting the requeſt of *Athanaſius*, they ſhould looſe more ground at *Antioch* than they got at *Alexandria*; the whole matter was waved and paſſed over in ſilence. And much more reaſon they had, if it be true what we have from *Socrates*, that his Petition extended to the Catholicks, diſperſed all over, under the Government of *Arian* Biſhops. But thus did *Conſtantius* reſtore *Athanaſius*, abrogating what ever had been done againſt, and ſent him away with three Letters Commendatory; two to the Church of *Alexandria*, and a third to the Governours of *Auguſtomnica*, *Thebais* and *Lybia*; wherein he commands that all that Communicate with him ſhall enjoy their full

Athan. Apol. 2. ſocr. ubi ſuprà.

And with the Emperour Letters goes to *Alexandria*.

full Franchize and Liberty; With him were ſeveral others reſtored, as *Paulus Marcellus*, *Aſclopas* Biſhop of *Gaza*, and *Lucius* Biſhop of *Adrianople*, whom their ſeveral Churches were commanded to entertain.

74. *Athanaſius* in his way homeward paſſed through *Syria* and *Palæſtine*, and came to *Jeruſalem*, where upon his deſire, *Maximus* the Biſhop called a Synod of Biſhops out of *Syria* and *Palæſtine*, by the decree of which he was received into Communion and reſtored. Now, as it ever happens to Men in Proſperity, he is courted on all hands, even by Enemies, *Urſatius* and *Valens* two of the moſt Factious *Arian* Biſhops ſending to beg his Pardon, and renouncing the Doctrine of *Arius*; which that they might ſeem to do Cordially they take a Journey to *Rome*, and make their Recantation before that Biſhop, whom they thought for the Dignity of his See, and his Orthodox judgment, to have been moſt Eminent in the Weſt, during thoſe Controverſies. But at *Alexandria* he is received with joy above the expreſſion of Tongue or Pen, ſuch as was manifeſted by publick Thankſgivings, Feſtivities, Feaſtings and other ſigns too pregnant to eſcape either to the view, or then envy of the *Arians*, who begin afreſh to load him with Calumnies to *Conſtantius*. This they thought they might now do with the better ſucceſs, becauſe *Conſtans* the Weſtern Emperour, his great Patron was e're this Murdered by the Treaſon of *Magnentius* and his Followers; who, to the great ſcandal of Religion, were the firſt Chriſtian Rebels, daring to riſe up againſt their Soveraign; a thing not once thought of by the Ancient Chriſtians, though they groaned under the Perſecution of Ethnick Princes. The Multitude of Orthodox Chriſtians being increaſed at *Alexandria* at his return, and the Churches, where they uſually met, being not large enough now to receive them, he was forced to make uſe of a large and ſtately one, built by *Conſtantius*, but not yet Conſecrated; and this they interpreted as done out of pride or preſumption, and in deſpight of the Emperours Authority, whom he would not deigne as much as to acquaint with his deſigned Dedication. They accuſed him alſo of holding intelligence with *Magnentius*, becauſe that Uſurper had ſent certain *Italian* Biſhops of *Athanaſius* his Acquaintance on an Embaſſy to *Conſtantius*, whom in their Journey, taking *Alexandria* in their way, had been entertained by him; and they had laid to his charge that he had many times conferred Orders out of his own Dioceſs and Province, contrary to the Canons.

where he is received with all the joy imaginable.

But is again Accuſed by the *Arians*.

75. Such were the difficulties that *Conſtantius* wreſtled with at this time, having his hands full of *Magnentius*, and about to grapple with the *Perſian*, that he thought it not ſeaſonable to meddle with *Athanaſius*, by diſobliging whom he might procure to himſelf freſh troubles in *Ægypt*, a Country he knew to be much at the Biſhops Devotion; inſtead therefore of bad Deeds, he gave him good Words, and thrice did he Write to him encouraging Letters, after the death of *Conſtans*, remembring it's probable what Promiſes and Oaths he had made to him. For two or three Years *Athanaſius* remained in quiet at *Alexandria*, during which time *Maximus* his old Friend the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* dyed, concerning whoſe Succeſſors who were *Arians* a long time, there is great confuſion amongſt Writers, which *Baronius* attributes to the Strife and mutual Hatred betwixt the *Arians* themſelves: For as it uſually happens to all great Factions, that if they continue long, they part and divide aſunder into leſſer Diviſions; ſo happened it amongſt thoſe Hæreticks, of whom ſome thinking more honourably of the Son of God than others, although they denied alſo his Conſubſtantiallity, yet coming nearer to the Orthodox Doctrine, were called *Semiarians*. But *Conſtantius* having extricated himſelf out of his former difficulties by the ſuppreſſion of the Uſurpers, returned to his wonted humour, receiving impreſſions as formerly from the *Arian* Biſhops. E're his return to *Conſtantinople* he ordered *Philip* his Liuetenant to remove *Paul* the Biſhop thence, and reſtore *Macedonius* to that See, who fearing a Tumult of the Citizens, ſent for him privately and letting him down into a Boat, conveyed him ſecretly to the place of his baniſhment. This good Biſhop having long run the Fortune of a conſtant Confeſſor, at laſt arrived at the Crown of Martyrdom, being firſt baniſhed into *Pontus*, by procurement of *Euſebius* and his Party, then by *Conſtantius* into *Meſopotamia*, where he was kept at *Singra*, thence he was removed to *Emeſa*, and thence to *Cucuſus* a Town of *Armenia*, about *Taurus*, where he was ſtrangled by the *Arians*. His Body *Theodoſius* afterward cauſed to be tranſlated to *Conſtantinople*, and Buried in the Church which had been built by *Macedonius* his Adverſary, but was afterward known by the Name of *Paul*.

Maximus Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* dyes, and is ſucceeded by an *Arian*.

Paul of *Conſtantinople* baniſhed, and afterward murdered by the *Arians*.

Athanaſ. ad ſolit. Socr. l. 2.

76. Things going thus with *Paul*, *Athanaſius* his turn could not be far behind; but the *Arians* firſt uſe wiles and tricks before they come to force. *Vrſacius* and *Valens*, who as we ſaid pretended to be Converts, went to *Rome* to make their Submiſſion and Acknowledgments to the Biſhop. There they defie *Arius* and purge *Athanaſius*; but for his greater Honour they adviſe *Julius* to call him to *Rome*, that his Virtue and Integrity might be the more apparent, and greater ſatisfaction might be given to the World; concluding with themſelves, that this the Biſhop would not refuſe to do, it being an occaſion of ſhewing his Intereſt, and getting Credit to his Authority; and that *Athanaſius* would in vindication of juſt freedom as earneſtly refuſe to come, and ſo a breach would be made betwixt the two Orthodox Biſhops and their Churches, at which the *Arians* might Triumphantly enter. *Julius* could not do this being prevented by death after he had ſate in that See near Sixteen years. To him ſucceeded *Liberius* a *Roman*, who as ſome write, readily undertaking what he thought might make for the reputations of his See, Cited *Athanaſius* to *Rome*, under pain of Excommunication. *Athanaſius* though he had honoured the *Roman* Biſhop, and in reſpect to his Faith more then the Dignity of his See, had given him the right hand of Fellowſhip, and willingly admitted him Umpire in thoſe controverſies betwixt him and his Enemies, yet he refuſed to obey his Summons (which ſeemed to be made Authoritatively) and thereby gives ſo dangerous a Præſident for the founding of an Uſurped Supremacy.

Julius the Biſhop dyes, *Liberius* ſucceeds who cites *Athanaſius* to *Rome*.

Hilarii fragmenta.

Bibliotheca patrum tom. 3. *col.* 125.

77. Upon this refuſal *Liberius* proceeds to Excommunicate him as Contumacious, and receives the Eaſtern Biſhops into Communion; which coming to the knowledge of the *Ægyptian* Prælates, they call a Synod of Eighty Biſhops, wherein they reſolutely defend *Athanaſius*, maintaining his Cauſe againſt all, and confirm him in his See; which when conſidered by *Liberius*, he was aſhamed of his inconſideration and præcipitancy. But theſe things made much for the *Arian* Party, being good præparatives for what *Conſtantius* had deſigned, to whom now they could Characterize *Athanaſius* as a Man ſo troubleſome and turbulent, that even his old Friends the Weſtern Biſhops had forſaken him; *Conſtantius* having overcome his Enemies, and ſo proud of his ſucceſs, that he aſcribed that to himſelf which he would not allow to the Son of God, calling himſelf *Æternal*, and *our Æternity*, as a prælude to thoſe ſad Tragedies which followed, calls a Council at *Arles* by the advice of his Biſhops, wherein *Athanaſius* was Excommunicated. To this ſubſcribed amongſt the reſt *Vincentius* Biſhop of *Capua*, the Legate of *Liberius* Biſhop of *Rome*, who now in his Letter to *Hoſius* Biſhop of *Corduba*, diſlikes their proceedings. The Catholicks to divert them from their purpoſe, propoſed firſt to handle matters of Doctrine, but *Valens* (who together with *Vrſatius* his Companion had recanted his recantation,) and the reſt withſtood that proportion, and reſolving at preſent to wave the matter of Faith, carried it for the condemnation of *Athanaſius*, and of ſeveral others who were ſent into baniſhment.

And upon refuſal to come Excommunicates him.

Upon which *Conſtantius* ſummons a Councel at *Arles*, wherein *Athanaſius* and others are ſent in baniſhment.

78. This was a good Foundation for what was intended by the *Arians*, but whether this meeting was not ſolemn enough to carry a ſufficient ſhew of reputation, or at the deſire of *Liberius* and other Catholicks, another Council is ſummoned to *Millaine* the year following, where met of the Eaſtern Biſhops but few, by reaſon of the length of the journey, but of the Weſtern above thre Hundred, what the *Arians* wanted in Number was abundantly ſupplyed in the preſence and Authority of *Conſtantius*, who committed the abſoluteneſs of his Power into their hands, for ruin of the Orthodox Faith. They improved it ſo far as to depoſe all the Orthodox Biſhops, of which were moſt notable *Euſebius* of *Verſailes*, *Paulinus* of *Triers*, *Lucifer* of *Calarita* in *Sicilie*, and *Dionyſius* of *Milan*, who that they might not by their preſence in their ſeveral Countries, reſiſt the Decrees of the Synod, were ſent into baniſhment, where ſome of them were Murdered. *Liberius* being at *Rome*, thither the Emperour ſent *Euſebius* the Eunuch his Chamberlain, both by fair and foul means to perſwade him to joyn with the *Arians*, and when that would not do, ſent for him to *Milan*, where they had a diſcourſe recited by *Theodoret*, wherein the Emperour laboured by all arguments to draw him to his party; when he preſſed him to ſubſcribe to the Condemnation of the wicked Man (as he was pleaſed to call him) *Athanaſius* whom he charged with Treaſon and Sedition, he refuſed to Condemn him as a Man unheard, and when he preſſed him with the general practice of the World (which now ran all after *Arius*) he replied with an inſtance in thoſe three Perſons that withſtood *Nebuchadnezars* publick Edict, and that his ſingularity (as he termed it)

And another at *Millaine*.

There the Orthodox are baniſhed and the *Arians* take their places.

L. 2. *c.* 16. *Athan. ad ſolit & de fuga. Soc. l.* 2. *c.* 36.

could not weaken the Truth he profeſſed, ſo little was he moved by Arguments drawn from viſibility. When he ſaw he could not prævail he baniſhed him to *Berea* in *Thrace*; and in his place was put *Fælix* a Deacon of the *Roman* Church, as *Auxentius* into the See of *Milan*, both *Arians* we may eaſily believe, if we queſtion not the cunning and Policy of that Party.

79. *Athanaſius* his doom we may be ſure was very heavy, when the Defence of him was a great part of the Crime for which theſe Biſhops were ſo ſeverely cenſured. By their endeavours to clear him *Conſtantius* was ſo inraged, that he publiſhed a moſt ſevere Edict againſt him, whereby Sentencing him to Death, he commanded he ſhould be Executed whereſoever he was found, ordering the Churches of *Alexandria* to be delivered up to the *Arians*, whom he licenſed to do even what they pleaſed. In purſuance of this Decree he ſends down *Syrianus* a Captain with ſome Thouſands of Men to *Alexandria*. The Inhabitants begged of this *Syrianus* that he would act nothing till they had ſent a Meſſage to the Emperour. He gave them both his Word and Oath, but a little afterward, he came upon them when they were not aware, being at Church, aſſembled with their Biſhop upon an Holy Vigil, and purpoſing to ſpend that night in Devotion, being the next day to participate of the Holy Euchariſt. He beſet the Church round with his armed Men when it was now late at night, and breaking in, made moſt horrid ſlaughter of all Perſons, no Sex Age or Quality conſidered. But he, whom they moſt aimed at, being earneſtly beſought to ſave himſelf by thoſe about him, when they firſt perceived the Treachery, refuſed to make his eſcape, reſolving to fare as the reſt did, yet in the Crowd he paſſed through undiſcovered, and by Gods great Providence got into the Wilderneſs. Thence he was minded to go to the Emperour and lay open his Caſe, before he perceived his ſettled Reſolution for his Deſtruction, which being firſt apprehended by what Quarter the reſt of his Brethren had in *Ægypt*, was fully confirmed to him by the Edicts ſet out againſt himſelf, whereby orders are given to apprehend him in all places, and reward offered to ſuch as could produce him alive, or bring in his Head to the Magiſtrate. The *Alexandrian* Churches are commanded to look upon him no otherwiſe than as the Emperours Enemy, Penalties are inflicted on ſuch as comfort, relieve, or harbour him. Thus had he no place wherein to reſt in ſafety, all the World being as it were in Arms againſt this one Man. All Officers and Soldiers are to enquire for him, ſome hunt after the prey to obtain a reward, and others would purchaſe him with Money, that by ſuch a Preſent they might procure Intereſt and Eſteem. *But they are ſafe whom God keeps.*

Alexandria delivered to the *Arians.*

Athanaſius condemned by the Emperour.

80. Though he eſcaped, ſo did not his Flock, which (though his Enemies objected his Flight againſt him) yet was better provided for by his removal, than poſſibly it could have been by his ſtay, which would have brought him to certain Deſtruction, whereas his Flight preſerved him, and thereby ſecured his Abilities for a better time and further Service. Inraged at his eſcape, they revenge it to purpoſe upon his Friends and Followers in *Alexandria* and *Ægypt*. *Heraclius* a Count of the *Arian* ſtamp, with *Sebaſtian* an Officer, and a Manichee, executing to the full ſuch Orders as they had received from the Emperour. Into the places of the exiled Biſhops they thruſt Men as deſpicable for Parts and Abilities, as Hæretical in their Judgments; and into the See of *Alexandria* one *George* lately come from *Cappadocia*, and as ſome have written originally of that Country, though *Ammianus* tells us he was born at *Epiphania* a City of *Cilicia*, in a fulling Mill as was reported. Indeed he is very often in antient Authors confounded with *Gregory* the *Cappadocian*, who being put into the place of *Athanaſius* by the *Juncto* of *Antioch*, was depoſed by the Council at *Sardica*, and died, as *Athanaſius* writes, Ten Months after the finiſhing of that Council. The likeneſs of their Names confounded Tranſcribers, who often put the one for the other; they are ſaid by ſome to have been Country men, they were both *Arians*, both great Adverſaries of *Athanaſius*, and Intruders into his See, and being great Perſecutors of the Orthodox Chriſtians of *Alexandria*, were both killed as ſome ſay by that injured and inraged People. It is neceſſary therefore to uſe great caution and diſtinction in the reading of Authors, who write of them both. But they may be ſufficiently diſcerned from each other by what we have formerly ſaid of *Gregory*, and what we now come to ſpeak of *George*.

George ſupplies his place.

His Character.

Orat. 21.

81. *Gregory* was of a Clergy-man made Biſhop of *Alexandria*, but this *George* being a Lay-perſon, having knaviſhly diſcharged a ſordid Sæcular Imployment, was thought good enough by the *Arians* for the Epiſcopal Function. *Nazianzen* tells us, that he was of a bad Stock, and worſe Qualities, not at all endowed with ingenuous Knowledge, or affable in his Converſation, not ſo much as prætending to godlineſs, or cloaking his Villanies with ſpecious Prætexts, yet fit for any bold Attempt, and a proper Inſtrument to diſturb the Publick Peace. Such an one in his beginnings as might be properly termed a Paraſite, haunting good Tables; all his Deſigns ſeeming to be laid for the filling of his Belly. His firſt Præferment was moſt baſe and ſordid, being the Proveditor General of Hogs Fleſh for the Army. And here, ſaith he, he left off his rogueing, and began his Villanies. *Athanaſius* writes that he was a keeper of Proviſions at *Conſtantinople*, where being found to have abuſed his Truſt, and converted the Commodities to his own advantage, he was forced to run, and fled into *Cappadocia*. But it ſeems he was taken notice of for a ſubtile headed Man, and fit for buſineſs, and (being an *Arian*,) for ſuch work as was to be done at *Alexandria*, which none but a Knave and Huckſter would, and none but a cunning and reſolute Fellow could, go through. Hereupon he was commended to *Conſtantius*, had his Peace begg'd, and was Ordained Biſhop of *Alexandria*, where he muſt aboliſh the Memory of, and expiate his former Crimes, by the Service to be performed againſt the Orthodox Chriſtians.

82. Being put into Poſſeſſion by the Emperours Officers in the time of Lent, he ſtaid till the Week of *Eaſter* was paſt, and then began his Villanies. Then were the Sacred Virgins clapt in Priſon, the Suffragan Biſhops haled and toſſed too and fro by the Soldiers, and the Houſes of Poor and Rich pillaged and ſacked. After the *Whitſun* Week the People aſſembling to the Celebration of a Faſt, would not for all this be frighted into Communion with him, but refuſing to joyn with him in the Holy Myſteries, gathered together in the Church-yard, which he underſtanding, procured that *Sebaſtian* to fall upon them, which he did, though on a Sunday as they were at Prayers. Enraged that he found but few, (for the hour being paſt, many were retired) he cauſed a Fire to be made, before which were brought the Virgins, and threatened with Death, except they would imbrace the Hæreſie of the *Arians*. When he could not overcome them by the humour of the Fire, he ſtripped them naked, and cauſed them ſo to be beaten and buffeted, that ſcarcely could their Friends know them a long time after. Forty Perſons he ſcourged ſo with the Twigs of Palm Trees newly cut, and having on their pricking knobs, that many lay long under the Chirurgions hands, and others died of their Wounds, whoſe Bodies they would not reſtore to their Friends, but let them lye unburied. Such as remained were baniſhed together with the Virgins. This done to fright the Multitude, they proceed againſt their Faithful Paſtors, that the Orthodox Doctrine might fail for want of Teachers, baniſhing ſeveral Biſhops of *Ægypt*, and *Lybia*, mentioned by *Athanaſius*, with certain Prieſts whom they handled ſo roughly, that ſome died in the Journey, and others in Exile. But above Thirty Biſhops they made away.

The Cruelty of *George*.

Athan. de fuga & apud Socr. l. 2. *c.* 28.

Athanaſius writes two Apologies for himſelf.

83. *Athanaſius* eſcaping in the Wilderneſs there lay in great ſolitarineſs, but good ſecurity a long time, ſix years it is ſaid, where he improved this ſad opportunity in Writing ſeveral Treatiſes in his own Vindication, and for the ſtrengthening of Orthodox Chriſtians. Underſtanding that his Enemies calumniated him for flying, and leaving his Flock in time of danger, he wrote that piece concerning his Flight, wherein he proves it lawful to ſhun thoſe imminent and certain perils deviſed for him, and clears himſelf of other Calumnies. And becauſe not only the *Arians*, but the Emperour alſo, to prævent the cenſure of Cruelty and Injuſtice, had accuſed him of grievous Crimes, and given him the Character of a moſt profligate Perſon, he wrote another Apology to him, wherein he confutes thoſe Slanders, relating in thoſe two, and his Epiſtle to ſuch as lived ſolitary Lives in the Wilderneſs, the whole Series of all thoſe Sufferings and Troubles which he and the Orthodox Party underwent. But this laſt ſeems written after the Synod held at *Ariminum*, about which time he alſo wrote his ſecond Apology to *Liberius* the Biſhop of *Rome*, then reſtored to his Biſhoprick In the mean time, a year after the Synod held at *Milan*, a Meeting of the Biſhops was ſummoned at *Biterris* a Town in *Gall* at the procurement of *Saturninus* Biſhop of *Arles*, the Ring-leader of the *Arians* in thoſe Parts, wherein *Hilary* Biſhop of *Poictiers*, for his former refuſal to joyn in Communion with the Hæreticks,

At a Council held at *Biterris* *Hilary* Biſhop of *Poictiers* is Baniſhed.

Hil. Col. 286.

and for putting up a Bill againſt them at this time was cenſured and baniſhed into *Phrygia*, the Faith of thoſe, who formerly were zealous in their Profeſſion, now waxed cold, and giving way to the great Deluge of *Arianiſm*, which out of the Eaſt bore down all before it even in the Weſtern Countries.

Leontius of *Antioch* dies.

Is ſucceeded by *Eudoxius*.

Suidas.

Socr. l. 2. c. 35, &c.

Aetius and his Hæreſie condemned.

84. This ſame year died *Leontius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, of whoſe Death when *Eudoxius* Biſhop of *Germanicia* a City of *Syria* heard, being then at *Rome*, he deſired leave of the Emperour (who now reſided there, having triumphed over his Enemies) to return to his own Dioceſs, which he pretended had great need of his Ghoſtly Council and aſſiſtance. Coming to *Antioch*, by the aſſiſtance of thoſe of the Emperours Chamber, he craftily inſinuated himſelf into that See, and calling a Synod of Biſhops, endeavoured to reſtore *Aetius*, who being formerly a Deacon in that Church, had, for his Hæreſie and Impiety by the *Arians* themſelves, been Excommunicated. This Man being of mean Parentage, was in his Youth taught the Trade of a Goldſmith, afterward getting a ſmack of the liberal Arts, betook himſelf to *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Antioch*, with whom he continued ſo long as the Biſhop lived, but applying himſelf to fallacious ways of Diſputing, and querks of Logick, he was by his Adverſaries drived from that City, when *Eulalius* was Biſhop, returning after the promotion of *Leontius*, he was made Deacon by him. Although he maintained the ſame things, yet did he ſeparate himſelf from the *Arians*, becauſe that after *Arius* his Perjury, they had received him into Communion, when he ſo lyed and diſſembled with *Conſtantine* the Emperour. By reading the *Elencha* of *Ariſtotle* he got ſuch a faculty of Diſputing captiouſly, as amazed meanly intelligent Perſons, and he would propound ſuch Fallacies, as he himſelf through his half Learning of *Ariſtotle's* Principles could not reſolve. He had read over ſome of the Antient Commentators, but condemned *Clemens*, *Africanus* and *Origen*, as illiterate Perſons. He would exclaim againſt the Divinity of the Son of God, becauſe he could not underſtand how there was an unbegotten Birth, as he ſaid, or how to imagine that the Begotten could be co-eternal with the Begetter. Incurring hatred with the Orthodox for thoſe Opinions, and with the *Arians* for his conceited knowledge, he was further branded with the Title of Atheiſt. For he held, as *Epiphanius* tells us, that *the perfection of Man conſiſted in the knowledge of Divine things alone, without the acceſſion of Virtue*, which he ſo far diſcarded, as he commended (inſtead of condemning) fleſhly Luſts and Pleaſures, affirming that Fornication and ſuch unlawful acts, had no more hurt in them, than picking of the Ears, blowing the Noſe, or other ſorts of avoiding Excrements.

Epiphanius.

And *Photinus*.

*Socr. l. 2. c. 29.

85. He eſteemed himſelf of far greater Merit than *Arius*, and accordingly had the Honour of giving name to an Hæreſie as well as he, his Followers being after him called *Aetiani*, though he had the ill luck of breeding a Scholar, who ſo far it ſeems outſtript his Maſter, that from his name *Eunomius* were they afterwards called *Eunomiani*. His great Abetter and Friend *Eudoxius* was ſo good a Proficient alſo in his Learning, that he had well nigh robbed him of his Glory. For priding himſelf much in being the Son of *Cæſarius* a Martyr of the leſſer *Armenia*; he alſo improved his Intereſt and Reputation for the Cauſe Hæreſie and Impiety of *Aetius*, as well as his Perſon, and being both remarkable for Dignity and Luxury, his Companions and Followers, inſtead of *Aetiani*, came to be called *Eudoxiani*. But all he could do was inſufficient for the recalling of *Aetius*, whom the *Arians* were reſolved to Sacrifice to their Reputation, affecting much the Title of Catholicks, and thinking to eſcape the odious Imputation of Hæreſie, by ſubjecting thoſe unto the Puniſhment who were ſcarcely their Superiors in the Guilt. But their Severity fell eſpecially upon *Photinus* Biſhop of *Sirmium*, who being formerly Principled by *Marcellus*, * maintained the Opinions of *Sabellius* the *African*, and *Paulus Samoſatenus*, affirming, “That “God is one, and alone, and not ſubſiſting in Perſons: That Chriſt is a Man “begotten by a Man, and not from Eternity, being neither of the Subſtance of “the Father, nor altogether like him. That the Holy Ghoſt is God, and no “diſtinct Perſon. The *Arians*, though they held the Son of God to be but a Creature, and therefore their Opinion was a little more ſound than his, yet ſhewing much Zeal for the Similitude of the Son of God, as if that would heal and make up all, procured *Conſtantius*, then at *Sirmium*, to call a Synod to that City.

Several Anathematiſms.

86. The Hæreſie of *Photinus* being condemned, the Biſhops drew up a ſhort Form of Faith, to which they added thoſe Anathematiſms to comprehend as well that of his, and other opinions. "Firſt, Thoſe that affirm that the Son of things which are not, or of any other ſubſtance, than of God the Father, let them be accurſed. Second, Or that there was Time or Age when he was not. Third, Or that the Father and the Son are two Gods. Fourth, Or that Chriſt was God before all Ages, and yet the Son of God, did not with the Father make all things. Fifth, Or that the Son of God, or any part of him is begotten of *Mary*. Sixth, Or that the Son is born of *Mary*, according to the foreknowledge, and not before all Ages begotten of the Father, and was with God, and that by him all things were made. Seventh, Or that the ſubſtance of God may be dilated or contracted. Eighth, Or that the Eſſence of God dilated makes the Son, or ſhall call the Son as it were dilating of his Eſſence. Ninth, Or ſhall call the Son, the Word of God ſeated in the mind of the Father, or the Word brought forth. Tenth, Or that God Man is begotten of the *Virgin Mary*, underſtanding thereby, that God is begotten. Eleventh, Or that ſhall expound theſe words [beſides me there is no God] to exclude thereby the only begotten, who is God from everlaſting. Twelfth, Or theſe [the Word made Fleſh] to be tranſmutation into Fleſh. Thirteenth, Or by Crucifying the only begotten Son of God, ſhall underſtand, that the Son of God did undergo Paſſion, Diſtruction, Change, Diminution, Annihilation. Fourteenth, Or that ſhall expound theſe words [let us make Man in our own Image] as ſpoken by God the Father to himſelf, and not to God the Son. Fifteenth, Or ſhall affirm that *Jacob* wreſtled with God, as God, or with God the Father, and not with the Son as Man. Sixteenth, Or whoſoever underſtandeth this, *the Lord rained from the Lord*, not to be meant of the Father and the Son, but that the Father rained from himſelf.

Vide Socr. l. 2. 3. Soz. l. 4 c. 30.

87. Or Seventeenth, "Whoſoever ſhall expound theſe Forms of Speech, the Father Lord, the Son Lord, as if the Father being Lord, be both Lord and Son. Eighteenth, Whoſoever when he ſaith Lord of Lords ſhall thereby underſtand two Gods. For we do not place the Son, ſay they, in the ſame degree with the Father, but we make him ſubject to the Father. Nineteenth, Whoſoever ſhall affirm the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, to be one Perſon. Twentieth, Whoſoever, when he calleth the Holy Ghoſt, the Comforter, ſhall thereby mean God unbegotten. Twenty firſt, Whoſoever ſaith there is no other Comforter beſide the Son. Twenty ſecond, Or that ſhall affirm the Holy Ghoſt to be part of the Father and the Son. Twenty third, Or that the Son, as one of the Creatures, is made by the Will of the Father. Twenty fourth, Whoſoever affirmeth the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, to be Three Gods, let him be accurſed. Twenty fifth, Or that the Son is begotten contrary to the Will of the Father. Twenty ſixth, Whoſoever affirms that the Son had neither begetting, nor beginning, and ſo conſequently affirm, that there are two without beginning, and two without begetting, and ſo appoint two Gods. The Son is the head and the Original of all Creatures, and the head of Chriſt is God, for ſo we refer all things reverently by the Son unto one principle of all things which is without beginning. Laſtly, Weighing deeply with our ſelves that clauſe alſo of Chriſtian profeſſion, we ſay, that whoſoever affirmeth Chriſt Jeſus the Son of God who Miniſtred unto the Fathers at the Creation of all things, not to have been before all Worlds, but only ſince the time that the Son was born of *Mary* to have been Chriſt, and then his Deity to have begun, as *Paulus Samoſatenus* was perſwaded, let him be accurſed. This we have tranſcribed, that once for all it may appear how abſtruſe was the Hæreſie of the *Arians*, how much it gave to the Son of God above other Hæreſies, in allowing him a Deity, confeſſing his being before all Worlds, which the Father made by him; ſometime, though not in the ſecond Confeſſion, they talk of Subſtance too and a perfect Similitude. But ſtill they deny his *Conſubſtantiality*, that critical term which ever limits and determines their Doctrine, though it ſhow never ſo high in the Epithets they give the Son of God. And not knowing what to ſay, or where to fix, they are guilty of prodigious uncertainty, whence ſo many Creeds and Forms of Faith, and ſo many Synods to make and marr, that Heathen Writers take notice of *Conſtantius* his Reign as very ridiculous in this reſpect.

88. *Photinus* was ſufficiently cenſured, but this confeſſion ſeeming too Orthodox, a ſecond Model was drawn, wherewith the *Semiarians* were offended, for that the word *Subſtance* was left out, and meeting afterwards at *Anzyra* a City of *Galatia*, they condemned this Model, aſſerting the word *Subſtance*, wherein they

A difference amongſt the *Arians* themſelves.

Hil. de ſyn. Epiph. hær. 73.

L. 2. *c.* 03.

Jacobus Capall. ad A. D. 351. 357. 359.

affirmed the Son was like the Father. This was quite contrary to the Second Decree of them at *Sirmium*, who, as *Socrates* writes, after a long contention about the ſignification of the Greek word οὐσία, and the Latin *Subſtantia* ; about the equality or unity of Subſtance, reſolved that the Church of God ſhould no longer be troubled with the interpretation thereof; and that for two Cauſes, both for that the Scriptures of God make no mention thereof, and becauſe the meaning thereof exceeded the capacity of Man; the Scripture teſtifiing, that no Man is able to ſet forth the Generation of the Son, in theſe words, *his Generation who ſhall declare*. This act therefore of the *Semiarians*, ſeeming ſo contrary to the publick Cauſe, another meeting was had at *Sirmium*, in the ſecond year after, where the Parties to agree, came to a compoſition, that the one ſhould leave out the word *Subſtance*, and the other yield this to be inſerted in the room of it, *In all things like to the Father*; and accordingly a third Form was drawn up, to which *Conſtantius* forced ſome Diſſenters to ſubſcribe. Now *Baronius* refers the firſt meeting at *Sirmium* to the Twenty firſt year of *Conſtantius*, the 357. of our Lord, although *Socrates* and *Sozomen* place it in the year after the Conſulſhip of *Sergius* and *Nigrianus*, which happened *A. D.* 351. He takes his argument from the Subſcription of *Hoſius* Biſhop of *Corduba*, to the Decrees of this Council, and the baniſhment of *Athanaſius*, which could not be before the Exile both of that Biſhop and *Liberius*, as alſo from the preſence of *Conſtantius* at *Sirmium*, which from *Ammianus* he gathers, fell out in this year. Others make there meetings held at *Sirmium*, viz. one *A. D.* 351. another the preſent 357, and another *A. D.* 359. Which produceth ſo many Forms of Faith, whereof the firſt was more tollerable, allowing the word *Subſtance*, but the Second utterly baniſhed it, as never more to be uſed, and by the third they found a middle way, leaſt *Satan* ſhould be too much divided againſt himſelf.

Hil. frag. Martyol. Rom. Jùl. 29. *Athan. ad ſolitarios.*

De. Scrip. Eccleſiaſt.

89. But when the Second Confeſſion came to be ſubſcribed, *Hoſius* Biſhop of *Corduba*, an ancient and Valient Souldier of *Jeſus Chriſt*, became a remarkable example of humane Frailty, who refuſing to ſet to his hand, was by Scourging and racking at length compelled to it, though a few years after, as is probably conjectured, he died at his See in the Orthodox Faith. *Liberius* alſo Biſhop of *Rome*, who formerly had ſtood out againſt Deprivement and Exile, was conquered with thoſe Baciline Arguments of the *Arians*, and ſubſcribed both to the Confeſſion of Faith, and the baniſhment of *Athanaſius*. The Cardiual Annaliſt labours hard to clear St. *Peter's* Chair from the guilt and ſcandal of Hæretical pravity, telling us, that it was the firſt Confeſſion of Faith to which *Liberius* ſubſcribed, wherein was contained the word *Subſtance*, and that having nothing but Orthodox in it, according to the natural ſignification of the words, he was not obliged to conſider what might be the meaning of the *Arians*. He endeavours to render invalid, what ever may make him guilty of Hæreſie, by aſcribing to the ſophiſtication and Tricks of the *Arians*, whatſoever is found to his diſadvantage in the writings of the Orthodox. But there are others, who from the credit of ſuch Authors, as they conceive were never tempted to Lye, do much otherwiſe conceive of this action of *Liberius*. For *Felix*, who had ſucceeded him after his baniſhment, perceiving himſelf to be mortally hated for his *Arianiſm*, and that none upon that account would Communicate with him; that he might ingratiate himſelf with the People, thundred out *Anathema's* againſt the *Arians*. *Liberius* perceiving this, when he was not only threatened with the extremity of Torments, but ſaw there was hopes of recovering his Biſhoprick, by complying with the Times, wrote Letters full of flattery to the *Arians*, calling them the Sons of Peace, and both condemned *Athanaſius*, and ſubſcribed to the Second Confeſſion of Faith made at *Sirmium*, hereby he recovered his Biſhoprick, thruſting out *Felix* as an intruder, whom he cauſed to be ſtarved to death: Upon which account *Hilarius* grieviouſly reprehended and Anathematized him, and *Felix*, (though upon another account ſaith *Baronius*,) was accounted a Martyr. The firſt that debaucht *Liberius*, was one *Fortunatianus*, as St. *Hierome* tells us.

Soz. l. 4. *c.* 13. *Theod. b. l.* 2. *c.* 26.

90 But *Conſtantius* the Emperour, underſtanding what *Edoxius* the Biſhop of *Antioch* had done, both in reference to the Biſhoprick, and *Ætius*, wrote unto the Inhabitants of that City againſt him, as one who had crept into that See without his knowledge and conſent; and as to the Hæreſie of *Ætius*, thinking he had not yet ſufficiently provided by the late Tranſactions at *Sirmium*, he reſolved to call

Another Council held at *Ancyra.*

another Council: Being ſo reſolved, he was perſwaded by the Favourers of *Eudoxius*, to ſummon the Biſhops to *Nice*, thinking, it ſeems, that this City, being as yet famous for the late Council thither aſſembled, would obliterate that Creed, and give reputation to his Hæreſie, by obtruding that for the Orthodox Faith; but afterwards the Emperours mind changed, and it was ſummoned to *Nicomedia* a City of the ſame Province. Here, when they ſhould aſſemble, ſo great an Earthquake happened, that it deſtroyed well nigh the whole Town, and this conſtrains them to think again of *Nice*. But hither alſo the Earthquake comes, and ſo prevents them, that they know not whether to turn themſelves. Some from St. *Hierom* gather that thence, the Aſſembly was removed to *Ancyra*, whither when the Prælates were travelling, *Hilary* wrote his Book of Synods in *Phrygia*, wherein he bewailes the backſliding of thoſe times, which he affirms to be ſo great, that in Ten Provinces of *Aſia* ſcarcely was one Biſhop to be found who knew and feared God. And now it was, that the *Samiarians* might make their proteſtation againſt the Second Form of Faith, agreed on at *Sirmium*. But the favourers of *Eudoxius* and *Ætius* perceiving things to go too favourably in behalf of the Catholick Cauſe, the word *Conſubſtantial* being only wanting to joyn to it, the *Semiarians* obtained of the Emperour that two places ſhould be appointed for the Eaſtern and Weſtern Biſhops to meet at. The pretence was, that both ſorts might have the more convenience of Travel; but the deſign, that they might not be united in one Body, for then they feared the Orthodox Party would be prævalent; but being divided into two Aſſemblies, divers forms of Faith and Decrees might paſs them, whereof they doubted not, but ſome they might either eaſily draw or wreſt to their purpoſe. In theſe changes and removes was ſpent this year, which was the Twenty Second of *Conſtantius*, the Fourth of *Rome*, the firſt Indiction. *A. D.* 358. *T. Fabius Decianus*, and *Naratius Ceræalis* being Conſuls.

An Aſſembly held at *Seleucia.*

Socr. l. 2. *c.* 39.

91. The places determined for the Eaſtern Biſhops, was *Seleutia*, a City of *Iſauria*, and for the Weſtern *Ariminum* in *Italy*, where Four Hundred Prælates, ſome ſay Six hundred aſſembled. But firſt this ſame year which was the Twenty third of *Conſtantius*, was the third Creed made at *Sirmium* (as we formerly hinted) on the Twenty ſecond of *May*, where after great Conteſts, the Parties agreed to leave out the word *Subſtance*, upon condition, that Chriſt might be ſaid in all things *like* the Father, which held them in diſpute till the very Night preceeding the Feaſt of *Whitſuntide*. The Emperour *Conſtantius*, who was preſent at the making of this Confeſſion, ſix days after, ſent it away to *Ariminum*, where the firſt Seſſion was held on the Twenty firſt of *July*. There aſſembled ſo many of the Orthodox Party, that do what the *Arians* could, they carried it quite for the recognition of the *Nicene Creed*, and Condemnation of *Arius*, and his Doctrine, rejecting beſides all others Forms and Confeſſions of Faith, this new one come from *Sirmium*: And they depoſed *Valens* and *Urſacius* the Ringleaders of the Hæretical Party, together with *Auxentius Germanius*, *Caius* and *Demophilus*, becauſe they refuſed to joyn with them. Theſe Men who were wont to carry all before them, becauſe backed with the Emperours Authority, in a great fume poſt to him, to whom they lay open the danger of further troubles, after that the Council at *Sirmium* had taken ſo hopeful a courſe for the peace of the Church, which thoſe Men leavened with the Principles of *Athanaſius*, went about again to diſturbe. The Council ſent alſo their Meſſengers to the Court, deſiring, that having diſpatched thoſe matters for which they were called, they might have leave to depart to their own Sees. *Conſtantius* was about this time moving Eaſtward againſt the *Barbarians*, who broke violently into the Empire, and therefore telling them he could not at preſent attend thoſe Controverſies, he appointed them to expect his return at *Adrianople*.

Socr. ut rep. c. 36. *Soz. c.* 28. *Theod. c.* 19.

The *Arians* meet at *Nice* in *Thrace*, and make a new Creed.

92. The *Arians* in the mean time met at *Nice* in *Thrace*, where they drew up another Form of Faith, like unto the third made at *Sirmium*, leaving out both *Subſtance* and *Conſubſtantial*, and in ſome of them, *in all things like*, putting *like* only. *Socrates* tells us, that *Urſatius* called this Aſſembly together, and therein publiſhing that Confeſſion read in *Ariminum*, and forged at *Sirmium*, afterward ſet it forth as agreed to by a General Council, gave it the Name of the *Nicene Faith*, to the intent, that uſing the Name of *Nice*, he might enſnare the ignorant and ſimple ſort of People, who verily thought it the ſame Creed which had formerly been Compoſed at *Nice* in *Bithynia*; till at length the treachery of theſe Deceivers

was diſcovered, and the Impoſture derided. This ſame Author writes, that the Biſhops at *Ariminum*, having anſwered the Emperours Letter, wherein he ſignified his pleaſure that they ſhould abide there till his return from the War, departed all to their own Sees. But *Sulpicius Severus* (who as he ſaith himſelf, had the knowledge of what paſſed in this Synod, from *Gaudentius* a Biſhop) reports, that *Conſtantius* having diſmiſſed the Meſſengers of the Council, who being young, unlearned, and imprudent, were drawn in to ſubſcribe the Creed of *Sirmium*, gave order to his Præfect not to ſuffer the Fathers to depart from *Ariminum* till they had alſo ſubſcribed the ſame Confeſſion. At firſt they refuſed to Communicate with their Apoſtate Meſſengers; but old Age, the cold of Winter, want of Neceſſaries, with threats of Tortures, ſo changed, if not broke them, that all in a manner ſubſcribed, and twenty who remained, were entrapped by *Valens*. Being allowed to add what proteſtation they pleaſed, he joyned to their Proteſtation, *that Chriſt was not a Creature, as the reſt of the Creatures*, whereby he meant, though they perceived not his drift, that *he only was a Creature, though more excellent and perfect, as the reſt*. When they had received and admitted this Clauſe, *Valens* and his Companions triumphed, ſaying, they had not affirmed the Son of God, not to be a Creature, but only the moſt Excellent of Creatures, and herein like the reſt. Now carried they all before them, inſomuch that the World groaned, and admired to ſee it ſelf all turned *Arian*. And from thoſe ſo contrary proceedings of this Council, it came to paſs, that ſomtimes it is imbraced by ancient Catholicks ſomtimes it utterly rejected as Erronious and Hæretical.

Sub. finem lib. 2.

Ingemuit totus orbis & Arianum ſeeſſe miratus eſt. Hierou. ad Lucif.

93. No better was the concluſion at *Seleucia*, where a Synod of about 160. Biſhops was opened on the Twenty ſeventh of *September*. Here the *Arians* themſelves were divided into two Factions, whilſt ſome would have matters of Faith firſt handled, and others would take into conſideration the Caſes of Criminals, (whereof ſeveral, out of fear, pretending frivolous reaſons, ſtaid at *Seleucia*) both Parties alledging the Authority of the Emperours Letters, which were Ambiguouſly written. Some cryed out againſt the making of new Forms of Faith, approving, as a Pattern, that which had been formerly drawn up at *Antioch*, at the Encænia or Dedication, which being to be ſubſcribed, the other Party headed by *Acacius*, who had importuned them to aboliſh the *Nicene Creed*, and make a new one, would not ſubſcribe themſelves but by their Deputies, the Deacons, and Readers. This was done the firſt day of meeting, the Doors of the Church being faſt locked, againſt which *Acacius* afterward proteſted, and by the aſſiſtance of *Leonas* a great Courtier, (who præſided by the Emperours order) having got the Factions again together, when they thought he was about to read ſomthing elſe, produced a Creed with a Præface to it. Herein after he had inveighed againſt his Adverſaries, he rejects quite the clauſes of *Unity and Equality in Subſtance*, both as having no ground in Scripture, and as the occaſions of great Contentions, yet withall accurſing the Clauſe of *Inæquality*, and holding all the Patrons and Favourers thereof as Excommunicated Perſons. When he had ſaid, *Sophronius*, Biſhop of *Pompeiopolis* in *Paphlagonia*, told him plainly, that if the new devices and daily invention of his brain were laid down for Creeds, it could not otherwiſe fall out, but that ſhortly they ſhould be found without one grain of Faith. In his Creed he had affirmed the Son of God to be *like* his Father, in the midſt of diſputation he was asked wherein? To which he anſwered, that the Son was *like* the Father, not *in ſubſtance*, but only in Will and Mind, to which when it was replied, that in Books by him formerly written, he had held the Son to be *in all things like* the Father, he returned this anſwer, that no Man that ever was, of old time, or of late days, is wont to be tryed by the Books he wrote. To ſuch prodigious incertainty and inconſtancy doth Hæreſie ſubject Mens minds. One while the *Arians* admit *ſubſtance*, ſomtimes not, one while *like in all things*, another only *like*, ſomtimes any thing but *Conſubſtantial*, other whiles ſcarcely any thing at all will be admitted.

Vide Soc. l. 2. c. 39. 40. gr. ex Sabino.

94. *Leonas* provoked by thoſe Diſſentions above all patience, refuſed flatly to præſide any more, and diſſolved the Council, permitting them yet amonſt themſevles to meet in the Church where the *Samiarians* aſſembling, deprived *Acacius*, with *George* of *Alexandria*, and others of his Party. Depoſing amongſt the reſt, *Eudoxius* of *Antioch*, they placed one *Arianus* in his See, whom after his Conſecration, their Adverſaries procured *Leonas* to baniſh, againſt which proceedings, after they had in vain proteſted, they ſent ten Meſſengers to plead their Cauſe

before the Emperour. Thus much writes *Socrates* of this Council, who ſpeaks of it as Compoſed altogether of *Arians*, whereas *Hilary* in his Book againſt *Conſtantius*, makes mention of the Biſhops of *Ægypt* their ſtanding faſt to the buſineſs of one Subſtance, all except *George* their Metropolitan. He explains further the meaning of *Acacius* his Creed, which rejecting both Conſubſtantiality and likeneſs of Subſtance, yet withall condemned Diſſimilitude in the Son of God. For although they allowed him not to be like God as God, yet ſeeing he was the Son of his Will, rather than the Divinity, they allowed him like to his Father as ſuch. But in that they held him neither to be God, nor begotten of the Subſtance of the Father, therefore they would not admit of the likeneſs of Subſtance. And here they diſputed that in God there could be no Generation, becauſe there was no Female, and they proceeded to ſuch irreverent Terms as juſtly offended all Godly Ears.

Soc.l.2.c.41.gr.

Theod. l.2.c.27.
Soz.l.4.c.23,&c

Another Synod at *Conſtantinople*, and a new Creed.

Soc. ibid.c.42.

Ut ſuprà c.41.

How many Creeds were made ſince that of *Nice*.

95. But though the *Semiarians* had diſpatcht their Meſſengers to the Emperour, *Acacius* was got before them, and ſo told his Tale, that *Conſtantius* who ever inclined to the worſt and moſt rigorous Party, eſpouſed his Quarrel. Yet muſt another Synod be called at *Conſtantinople*, whither were ſummoned out of the neighbouring *Bythinia* about Fifty Biſhops, and a new Creed muſt be formed, wherein were aboliſhed as formerly the word *Ouſiæ* or *Subſtance*, and the Subſiſtence of Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt, forbidden once to be named. Having ſubſcribed this Creed, they took the ſeveral Cauſes of Biſhops into Conſideration, but firſt after much Diſputation condemned *Aetius* the Arch-Hæretick. Then proceeding againſt ſuch as they hated upon the account of private Grudges, in the firſt place they depoſed *Macedonius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, partly becauſe upon his account ſome Slaughter had been committed, but indeed to revenge the Emperour of him who ſought an occaſion to do him a miſchief; it was alſo objected againſt him that he had admitted into Communion a certain Deacon taken in Adultery. They depoſed alſo *Baſilius* or *Baſillas* who had ſucceeded *Marcellus* in the See of *Ancyra*, for tormenting a Man, for forging Slanders, and diſparaging divers Perſons, but indeed for that he withſtood them ſo earneſtly, being one of the Meſſengers ſent from *Selencia*. After this, as well they that came from *Selencia* as thoſe that from elſewhere were aſſembled at *Conſtantinople*, were commanded by the Emperour to ſubſcribe that Creed which was lately ſent from *Ariminum*, though different from the other of *Conſtantinople*, and to be obſerved in the Weſt as this in the Eaſt. So dreadful was the condition of the Church at this time, whilſt every year produced almoſt a new Creed, and by virtue of thoſe,all Churches were ſo diſturbed,as neither could they know what to believe,nor any Paſtor left to teach them,ſuch changing and rechanging of Biſhops happened in every Province. *Socrates* in admiration of this number of Creeds, reckons up how many had been made ſince the Council of *Nice*. After that made by the *Nicene* Council, ſaith he, the Biſhops framed two others at *Antioch* when they aſſembled to the Dedication of the Church. The Third was made by the Biſhops in *Gall*, which were with *Narciſſus* who exhibited it to the Emperour *Conſtantius*. The Fourth was ſent by *Eudoxius* to the *Italian* Biſhops. Three were in Writing publiſhed at *Sirmium*, whereof one being glorioully ſet out with the Names of the Conſuls was read at *Ariminum*. The Eighth was publiſhed at *Selencia* by the Complices of *Acacius*. The Ninth was this ſet forth at *Conſtantinople* with this addition, that thenceforth there ſhould be no mention made of the Subſtance or Subſiſtency of God. Whereunto *Vlphilas* Biſhop of the *Goths* then firſt ſubſcribed, having till this time imbraced the Faith eſtabliſhed by the Council of *Nice*, and been an earneſt Follower of *Theophilus* his Predeceſſor, who was at that Council and ſubſcribed the Creed.

Soc. l.2.c.45.

96. *Hilary* Biſhop of *Poictiers* incenſed againſt *Conſtantius* for thoſe things, when he was now in Exile, wrote bitterly againſt him, which notwithſtanding for reaſons of State, the Emperour ſent him hence to his own Biſhoprick. *Macedonius* being baniſhed *Conſtantinople* and ſucceeded by *Eudoxius*, (who had formerly intruded into the See of *Antioch*,) now at length began to magnifie the clauſe of one Subſtance, but denied to the Holy Ghoſt the Honour of partaking thereof, together with the Father and the Son, affirming he was a Creature, and one of the Miniſtring Spirits, being only in Degree and Dignity above other Angels. The *Arians* gladly imbraced this opinion, being ſo conſonant to their own, that the noiſe of Contention about the Son of God, and the buſying

their brains about that Hæreſie, ſeemeth indeed the only cauſe why we hear no more of this. Into the See of *Antioch* after the removal of *Eudoxius* was elected both by the Orthodox and *Arians*, *Meletius* formerly Biſhop of *Sebaſtia* in *Armenia*, each Party having a confidence in him, though he had formerly ſubſcribed the Form of Faith which *Acacius* his Party framed at *Selencia*. For ſome ſpace after his Tranſlation he meddled not with any Myſteries of Faith, but preached to his People ſuch Doctrine as conduced to Virtue and a good Life; but afterwards he preſſed them to the belief of the clauſe *of one Subſtance*, and to adhere to the *Nicene* Creed. Herewith the *Arians* much inraged, complained to the Emperour, who being then at *Antioch*, as well for this as other reaſons, another Council was called. *Socrates* writes that the Faction of *Acacius* procured it, that they might have an opportunity of renouncing the Opinion they had formerly held, that the Son is in all things like the Father. After the depoſition of *Meletius*, whom the Emperour baniſhed, *Euroius* (who formerly had been depoſed, together with *Arius*) was by his order promoted to the Church of *Antioch*.

97. The *Arians* met together cannot but fall upon Matters of Faith, and it pained them to think of breaking up without the Production of a new Creed. They call in queſtion what they had Decreed in time paſt, they affirm that the Clauſe of Likeneſs paſſed the Synods of *Ariminum* and *Conſtantinople*, is quite to be abandoned, and not once to be named any more; they now think it time to ſpeak plain, and no more conceal their opinion that the Son is altogether unequal and unlike the Father, not only in Subſtance but alſo in Will, as alſo that, as *Arius* braved, he had his Original from nothing. They were therefore from holding this Hæreſie, that the Son is unlike the Father called *Anomius*, and from maintaining him to have proceeded from nothing named *Exucontius*. And ſo fruitful is Hæreſie of other monſtrous Births, that from the Hive of *Arius* proceeded many other Swarms, diſtinguiſhed either by the names of their Leaders, or the particular ways and methods which they took, as the *Euſebians*, *Photinians*, *Eudoxians*, *Acacians*, *Eunomians*, *Macedonians*, *Aetians*, *Pſatyrians Cyrtians* and *Dulians*. But when it was demanded of thoſe *Acacians* why formerly they had given Chriſt the ſtile of God of God, that profeſſed they meant it in that ſence the Apoſtle wrote, when he ſaith all things are of God. And therefore the Son is of God, inaſmuch as he is included in the word *All*, for which cauſe they added in their Creed, *According to the Scriptures*. The Author of this Fooliſh Gloſs was *George* Biſhop of *Laodicea*, with whom the *Acacian* Faction joyning, though they were ſoundly charged with Sophiſtical dealing, yet weighed neither the Scandal nor the Cenſure. They repeated again the Form of Faith compoſed at *Conſtantinople*, which being done every one departed home.

An account of ſeveral Hæreticks.

98. Such was the liberty which this prophanely conſcious Age took to it ſelf, of prying into the Myſtery of the Holy Trinity, that innumerable were the Hæreſies it produced whilſt ſuch as were out of the way never could agree to walk together, and almoſt every particular Man made choice of a peculiar Path: Some that agreed to the clauſe of one Subſtance, yet fancied ſtrange things as to the Incarnation, concerning which another Hæreſie was about this time broached by one *Apollonanus* a Prieſt, and a Son he had of the ſame Name. Theſe two uſing too much the Familiarity of *Epiphanius* the Sophiſt, when upon admonition they would not forbear his company, *George* Biſhop of *Laodicea* fearing leaſt they might by his means be drawn to Paganiſm, Excommunicated them both. Diſcontented hereat, or as ſome wrote, being ſcandalized with the *Arian* Doctrine of the Biſhop, they fell off from the Church, and being not heeded, endeavoured to eſtabliſh a new Doctrine. Firſt they taught that God the word was Incarnate, without a Soul in a meer Body, again recanting the ſame, they affirmed, that he took a Soul, yet not the Mind nor Reaſon, but that the Godhead ſupplied the place thereof. Secondly, That he brought that Body with him from Heaven, and made it of the ſame Subſtance with his Divine Nature, and that this Body, when it came on Earth, was paſſible viſible and mortal. Thirdly, That Sin is part of a Mans Eſſence, and therefore if Chriſt had been a perfect Man, he muſt needs have been a Sinner. But beſides thoſe a worſe Sect aroſe in *Meſopotamia* about this time, from their Praying and Devotion called *Maſſalani*, *Spirituales*, and *Euchaitæ* or *Præcatores*, the Founders of the Sect

Soc.l.2.c.penult. Greg.Nazianz. Ep. ad Nectarium Baſil. ep. 7. Hieron. in Catal.Ruffin. Soz.

Epiph. hær. 80.

*Theod.l.*4. & 6.

Sect being certain Monks who lived in the Deſerts of that Country. They *Damaſc.hær.*80 placed all Religion in Praying, miſled by a miſunderſtanding of that of the Apoſtle, *Pray without ceaſing*, eſteeming all other Offices of Devotion, Piety, and Virtue, as uſeleſs and unneceſſary. They held that every Man had a Devil in him, even the Apoſtles themſelves, which can no otherwiſe be ejected, than with this Spiritual Engine; that every Man had two Souls, whereof one more than Cæleſtial, and that by this, even with their bodily Eyes they were capable of beholding the Bleſſed Trinity. They prætended to ſtrange Revelations, whereby they attained high Perfection, even as high as Chriſt himſelf, as alſo to triumph over Devils, upon which account they were called *Enthuſiaſts*.

99. But a Covetous Devil ſo far poſſeſſed them, that they denied any Almes ought to be given to any other, but themſelves, becauſe they were the truly poor in Spirit. They held it lawful to ſwear, and forſwear, and taught Children, that it was lawful to diſobey their Parents, ſo that the Gift or Corban were but brought into their Box. They pretended to Perfection in this Life, to ſo high a degree, that they could be impeccable in thought; had a ſtrange fancy concerning Spiritual Purgation, as if a Sow and Pigs were ſeen to go out at a Mans Mouth; and viſible Fire, yet without the Propriety of burning, to enter in. Such a virtue they made in Prayer, that it thruſt out Devils in Excrements, through the Mouth, and other parts, being quite contrary in this opinion to the Doctrine of other Monks in *Ægypt* about the ſame time, who refrained from avoidance of all Excrements, as a Sin, becauſe Chriſt ſaid, that *thoſe things which come out of a Man, defile a Man*, never conſidering the Explication of the Text, in which reſpect they condemned Marriage. So ſtrangely did the Spirit of Error poſſeſs Monks at this time, who by their Devotions and Solitary Life, contracted as much of Spiritual Pride, as Melancholly, that ſome would, as too Holy, pray with no others, and therefore both celebrated, though Lay-men, Holy Offices, and Ordained themſelves Biſhops, others caſtrated themſelves, ſome Rebaptized ſuch as turned from *Arianiſm*, and others behaved themſelves ſuitably to thoſe Extravagancies as *Epiphanius* hath related.

100. So fruitful was *Conſtantius* his Reign of Hereſies and Schiſms, that the Church could ſcarcely perceive her ſelf free from thoſe Calamities which the præceding *Pagan* times had inflicted. For though her Sufferings from without were removed, yet ſhe laboured under ſuch inward Preſſures, as almoſt equalled her former Troubles. Her beſt and moſt genuine Sons being ſo roughly handled by thoſe who challenged the ſame Original, that ſhe ſeemed even to ſlight the Friendſhip of the Scepter, which had defended her indeed from her ſworn and proteſted Enemies, but had ſtill kept her Eyes as moiſt as ever, by aſſiſting her falſe, though highly prætending Friends, in the Perſecution of thoſe moſt dear unto her. Her cries were at length heard, and his days were accompliſhed, who was the furtherer of her ſorrow. For *Conſtantius*, who had ſo long robbed the Son of God of his Glory, was now well nigh deprived of his own Earthly Diadem, and although he eſcaped Deprivation, yet it was by no leſs charge and price, than of his own Life, giving place to him who had ſought it, and unwillingly reſigning his Seat to that Perſon, for whom, he had in his thoughts deſigned no other Manſions, than thoſe of the dead. He according to the depraved Cuſtom of thoſe times, deferred alſo his Baptiſm to his death, and then receiving it at the Hands of *Euzoius* the *Arian* Biſhop of *Antioch*, ſealed as it were that Doctrine at his end, which he had ſo much defended in his Life. Yet did he much advance the common name and Intereſt of Chriſtianity, improving his Power and Authority for the Suppreſſion of *Pagan* Superſtition, and carrying on that Reformation which his Father ſo happily had begun. This becauſe the continued Series of thoſe *Arian* Controverſies permitted us not hitherto to deſcribe, we ſhall now ſee what Laws he made in reference to Religion. For by them the State and Condition of times is more fully known, than otherwiſe. Particular Relations of private Perſons may fail, their diſcovery being more uncertain, their Fear, Affection, and other Impediments more prævalent. But from the nature and courſe of the Remedy, we may beſt diſtinguiſh and judge of the Diſtemper.

Conſtantius being baptized by *Euzoius* the *Arian* Biſhop of *Antioch*, dies

His Laws Eccleſiaſtical.

101. And the firſt we ſhall take notice of is that Crime of Adultery, a Sin, which becauſe ſuch, it concerned Magiſtrates to prevent as Chriſtians, and becauſe of ſuch a nature as to confound genitures, and procure ſo great Thefts and Robberies, as of whole Inheritances, it behoved them to prevent, as Fathers of their Country. The Emperours therefore, in the Third Year of their Reign, and the Conſulſhip of *Conſtantius* and *Valens*, by a (*a*) Conſtitution, inflict death upon Adulterers as Sacrilegious againſt Marriage, not fearing the cenſure of Hæreſie for ſo doing, which had they lived in the time of (*b*) *Binnius*, they had certainly incurred. This ſame year they (*c*) forbid Chriſtian Women to marry with Jews, as thereby caſting themſelves into great Temptations. And by another (*d* Conſtitution, taking care leſt inceſtuous Marriages, a thing to frequent in thoſe days, ſhould defile the Chriſtian Faith, they forbid that any Man Marry his Brothers or Siſters Daughter. Perceiving how Religious Zeal is apt to run into the other extream, that whilſt it mends, it is always thereby apt to marr, and to change Superſtition for Sacrilege, Deſolation, and Rapine, in their Fourth Year, and the Conſulſhip of *Acyndinus* and *Proculus*, they were conſtrained to obviate that humour which ever rages in Reformations. Chriſtianity now having ſpread far and wide throughout the Empire, and Chriſtians incouraged by the Profeſſion of Princes, very zealouſly oppoſed whatever they thought tended to Idolatry, and therefore having in their Grounds many Sepulchres Conſecrated, as was the Cuſtom of old to the *Dii Manes*, thoſe without any regard to the Memory of their Anceſtors, or Piety to the Dead, they did not only demoliſh, but convert all Ornaments of Sepulchre to vile and baſe uſes. To ſtop therefore this current, and to prevent the objection of Pagans, that Chriſtianity diveſted its Profeſſors of Humanity, (*e*) a Law was made at *Milan*, againſt ſuch who ſhould violate thoſe Monuments of the Dead, and convert the Marble and Pillars thereto belonging to other uſes.

(a) *Cod Theodoſ. l.* 11. *c.* 36. §. 4.

(b) *Adulteros morte mulctari debere docere, non modo notoriam injuſtitiam verum etiam hæreticam doctrinam eſſe. Binnius in notis ad Concil. veneticum.*

(c) C. *Th. l.* 16. *tit.* 6. § 6.

(d) C. *Th. l.* 3. *tit.* 12. §. 1.

(e) C. *Theod. l.* 1. & 2. *de ſepul. violand.*

102. Neither could the Heathens take any incouragement hereat, whilſt a diſtinction was made betwixt Superſtition and Irreverence. Indeed notwithſtanding what had been done by *Conſtantine*, and the diſcouragement given by the preſent Princes, yet very many, and thoſe of the greateſt Ranks, as Senators, and others, were both at this time Pagans, and continued ſuch a long time after. But that by degrees the work might be brought to perfection, *Conſtantius* in the Fifth Year of his Reign, and the Conſulſhip of *Marcellinus* and *Probinus*, Enacts a (*a*) Law againſt Idolaters, which forbids all ſorts of Perſons to offer Sacrifice. This notwithſtanding, the old Inhabitant was ſo unwilling to be diſpoſſeſſed and ſpoiled of his Goods, that Five Years after, there was need of another Edict, (*b*) whereby the Emperours *Conſtantius* and *Conſtans* command the Temples of *Pagans*, which ſtood within the Walls of Cities, to be ſhut up, not thinking it fit to proceed further, but permitting thoſe that ſtood without, to remain in the ſame condition as formerly. Yet this Conſtitution ſeemeth to have had this effect, that the Year following the ancient Centenary *Sæcular Games*, of which we have already ſpoken largely, were not celebrated, the *Pagans* it ſeems being diſcouraged, or fearing to be hindred, if they went about it. Notwithſtanding what *Conſtantine* had done, for the incouragement of the Clergy, in freeing them from publick Offices of charge and trouble (which he even granted to the Jewiſh Prieſts) yet this was ſo far forgotten, that *Conſtantius* in his Thirteenth Year makes another Law, (*c*) whereby he ſets free Clerks and their Sons from all *Curial* Imployments, and from all diſturbance of Civil Offices.

(a) C. *Th l.* 2. *de Pagan.*

(b) C. *Th. l* 16. *tit.* 8. §. 3, 4.

(c) C. *Th l.* 16. *tit.* 2 §. 9.

103. The Traytor *Magnentius* before the Commiſſion of his execrable parricide againſt *Conſtans*, in compliance with the times, made Profeſſion of the Chriſtian Faith. But when he had ſet up for himſelf, either out of his own Inclination, or which is as probable, to ſtrengthen his Party againſt *Conſtantius*, he ſeems to have revolted from it; for he then reſtored thoſe Sacrifices which formerly had been forbidden, as appears from the (*a*) Code of *Theodoſius*. Theſe Crimes procuring vengeance from Heaven upon him, his Reign was not of ſuch length, as thereby much to endamage Chriſtianity, to which ſome amends was made by *Gallus Cæſar*, who ſeemed for the ſmall time he continued in Power, to be very zealous for Religion, and contributed to the Reformation. This appeared as ſoon as he was promoted to be *Cæſar*, when lying at *Antioch* he took occaſion to rid that place of a very notable piece of Idolatry. There was in the

(a) *De Paganis ut ſuprà.*

The Grove of *Daphne* deſtroyed.

Vide Baronium ad A.D. 351.

Suburbs of that City the famed Grove of *Daphne*, ſo much celebrated by Poets, and other Heathen Writers, for its Conſecration to *Apollo*, and a Temple and Oracle of the Devil. Being much haunted ſtill by the Superſtitious *Gentiles*, he concluded he ſhould ſpoil all their ſport if he removed thither the Body of *Babylas* the Martyr, ſome time Biſhop of that See. This being done, both what he had deſigned did ſucceed, and what was much more obſervable, that the Devil could not utter thence any Oracle as long as the Body there continued, which he confeſſed to *Julian* afterwards, whereas it was commonly thought, that this happened becauſe no Sacrifices were offered. Thus did *Gallus* effect that which his Uncle *Conſtantine* ſeemeth to have purpoſed unſucceſsfully, who to aboliſh the Memory of *Apollo* in *Daphne*, had there erected his Mother *Helena*'s Statue, had called the place *Auguſtale*, and after himſelf *Conſtantiniana Daphne*, giving alſo to the Twenty third Legion, which he had lately raiſed, the name of *Conſtantiniana Dafnenſis*, as from ſeveral ancient Medals, and Inſcriptions, it doth appear.

104. But *Conſtantius*, that he might prævent all Treaſon againſt his Perſon, or remove that, which otherwiſe, through Gods diſpleaſure, might indanger his Cauſe, when he undertook his Expedition againſt *Magnentius*, and *Verannio*, caſhired all his Souldiers, who were not already, or now refuſed, to be Baptized, though he himſelf deferred it till his Death. It happened upon this occaſion, that ſuch as refuſed Baptiſm, were called *Pagani* or *Pagans*, which word being firſt peculiar to thoſe that were not Souldiers, in contradiſtinction to Military Men, became after this, a common name of all *Ethnicks*. *Baronius* thinks that the *Gentiles* might ſo be called from this reaſon, that when the Idol-Temples were ſhut up in Cities, they retired into the *Pagi* or *Villages*, to perform their Superſtitious Rites, which they did till the time of *Honorius* or longer. *Honorius* the Emperour uſing the word in this ſence, interprets it, as meaning the *Gentiles*, ſo that it had not been long in uſe, as applicable to Idolaters. *Baronius* tells us, the firſt he finds thus to uſe it, is *Optatus Milenitanus*, who wrote againſt *Parmenianus*, in the Reign of *Valentinian* and *Valens*, and he contends againſt ſuch as would produce *Tertullian* to the contrary. The word *Gentile* was taken from the *Jews*, but at this time the *Romans*, when they uſed this word, underſtood thereby *Barbarians*, as appeareth by the Reſcripts of *Valentinian* and *Valens*, out of the Code of *Theodoſius*.

Pagani who.

Vide annot. ad l. 1. *Cod. Inſt. de Paganis.*

de nupt. Gentil.

105. In the time of *Conſtantius* it ſeemeth, that Sæcular Judges drew Biſhops into their Courts, and would take cogniſance of Matters peculiar to them, and purely Eccleſiaſtical, which upon complaint of *Hilary* Biſhop of *Poictiers*, the Emperour taking into Conſideration, by a (*a*) Conſtitution dated on the firſt of *October*, in the Nineteenth Year of his Reign, and the Conſulſhip of *Arbetio* and *Lollianus*, forbids Biſhops to be accuſed in Sæcular Courts, permitting their Cauſes to be decided by their Brethren, which is to be underſtood of Eccleſiaſtical. The next Year after, taking notice how much Idolatry yet was practiced, notwithſtanding all former Laws, he in conjunction with *Julian* (who though a *Pagan* in his Heart, was at this time glad to diſſemble) publiſheth ſevere (*b*) Reſcripts againſt *Aruſpices*, *Mathematicians*, *Magicians*, *Diviners*, and ſuch like Creatures, with thoſe that ſhould conſult them; as alſo againſt ſuch as ſacrificed to Idols, or worſhipped their Images, making thoſe Crimes Capital, like a ſevere vindicator of the Chriſtian Religion, as he ſtiles himſelf; But this was done rather in terrour, the Rod was ſhaken, but ſeldom or never did it ſtrike Idolaters, however it might reach the Fortune-tellers, againſt whom the Emperour might be acted by other reaſons beſides thoſe of Religion. The Emperours in the following Year, and the One and twentieth of *Conſtantius*, (*c*) except from the general Collation to which Tradeſmen were bound, the Clerks called *Clerici Copiatæ*, that is the *Libitinarii*, or thoſe that ordered Matters belonging to Burials, *Veſpillones* or *Bearers*, *Pollinctores*, or thoſe that waſhed and anointed dead Bodies. They alſo confirmed Priviledges formerly granted to the *Roman* Church, out of conſideration of the Dignity of that ancient Metropolis. This ſame Year alſo *Conſtantius* wrote a Reſcript to the People againſt Inchanters, ſuch as diſturbed the Elements and raiſed Spirits; and to *Orſitus* Præfect of the City, againſt ſuch as exhibited the old ſhews of the Gladiators. It was in the Præfectſhip of this *Orſitus*, that the great Obelisk was removed by order of *Conſtantius* from *Alexandria* to *Rome*, and there placed in the Great Cicque, which

(a) *C. Theod. l.* 12. *de Epiſc. & Cler.*

(b) *C. Th. l.* 16. *t.* 8 §. 6. *l* 9. *t.* 16 §. 4, 5. *De malef. & Pagan.*

(c) *C. Th. l.* 1. *tit.* 1. §. 1. *de Epiſc. & Cleric.*

C. Th. l. 5. *de malef. L.* 1. *de gladiat.*

long time after *Sixtus Quintus* tranſlated into the *Lateran Pallace*, and made Chriſtian by a Croſs erected on the top thereof.

106. The Year following being the Two and twentieth of his Reign, and in the Conſulſhip of *T. Fabius Dacianus*, and *Neratius Ceroalis*, he publiſhed, amongſt other Conſtitutions, another Law againſt the ſeveral ſorts of Diviners, and Fortune-tellers, whom if they were found in the Court, he ſubjected to Tortures. It is probable that ſomething he had ſmelt out, concerning *Julian*, and what tricks he plaid at this time in *Gall*, where and elſewhere, when he could privately, he gave up himſelf to Magick, as we have formerly ſhewed out of *Ammianus*, who cannot, though a *Pagan*, forbear to accuſe him of exceſs in this Particular. From him alſo we may learn, that *Conſtantius* was about this time much moved againſt Idolaters, who ſtill continued their Sacrifices, and conſulted Oracles, notwithſtanding all his Laws formerly publiſhed againſt thoſe Superſtitions, which carried him out to that Severity, that ſuch as ſhould but be found to wear Amulets about them againſt Diſeaſes, as the *Quartan Ague*, or were ſeen to wander about the Tombs, he ſubjected to Condemnation. And as he bent his endeavours thus to eradicate *Pagan* Superſtitions, ſo did he curſe the *Jews*, with whom he would not have Chriſtians to Marry, or have Communion. *Hieron. in Chron.* The Inſurrection they made in his Seventeen Year was ſo provoking, that *Gallus Cæſar*, to ſuppreſs their Rebellion, deſtroyed many thouſands of Men, Women, and Children, and burnt many of their Towns. In the ſame Year died *Rabba*, their great Doctor both in the School called *Surana*, and the other named *Pambitana*, to whom ſucceeded *Nachman* the Son of *Iſaac*. In the Two and twentieth Year of *Conſtantius*, *Hillel* the Second, the Son of *Judas*, began the Computation, which the *Jews* uſe at this day. *Jacobus Cappellus ex Zacuto & Abrahami Cabbala.* He built upon the Foundations laid formerly by *Hillel* the Firſt, his Progenitor, who died *A. D.* 10. He took this for a Principle, that the Vernal Æquinoctial fell out on the Twenty third of *March*, which was true in the days of *Hillel* the Firſt; but the caſe was altered in the time of the Younger, and the ſaid Two and twentieth Year of the Emperour *Conſtantius*.

CHAP. IV.

From the Reign and Apoſtacy of Julian *to the Second* Oecumenical *Council held at* Conſtantinople.

The ſpace of Twenty Years wanting five Months.

1. THe Tares of Arraniſm were now grown ſo forward and flouriſhing that there wanted a Winter to check their growth, leſt they ſhould choak the Corn, and quite overrun the Lords Husbandry. As Friends, when they fall out, give advantage to ſuch as ſeek the ruin of both Nations,and formerly allied, being once grown wanton through Proſperity, firſt quarrel and weaken each other, then lye open to Forraign attempts, and in contention for the Fenns, and the right of Soveraignty, are made a prey by one that hovers above them both, for a fit advantage ſo happened it to Chriſtians after the death of *Conſtantius*. *Flavius Claudius Julianus* his Couſin German and Succeſſor (though againſt his will) having been Educated in the Chriſtian Religion, yet from a Child, if we believe *Ammianus*, was much inclined to Paganiſm, and if we credit himſelf, had for the ſpace of Ten years, though privately for fear of *Conſtantius*, yet Really and Cordially addicted himſelf to that Superſtition, reſolving that if ever his Stars ſo wrought as to make him Maſter of the *Roman* Empire, to recall from Exile his baniſhed Gods, reſtore them their Temples, rebuild their Altars, and kindle again thoſe Fires which the late zeal of his Prædeceſſors had almoſt extinguiſhed, without any hopes of reſuſcitation. But this he thought he muſt effect by degrees, and uſed ſuch arts as in contemplation of thoſe means which he perceived had formerly been applied unſucceſsfully,were moſt proper and likely to bring about his deſign.

Julian the Emperour.

2. His ſeverity againſt the Eunuchs and other Courtiers of *Conſtantius*, though proceeding from private indignation and revenge, yet being joyned with Juſtice, and meeting with the ſame paſſions and intereſts in others (who had ſmarted under the late grievances,as well as himſelf) procured him applauſe and good eſteem. He ſeemed to be ſenſible of the injuſtice of the *Arians*, and the hard uſage of the Orthodox, whom he reſtored to their Countries, Sees, Livings, and Eſtates. But though at firſt he compelled none to his own way, and never lived to ripen thoſe projects which he had laid as prævious to that deſign, yet did he take the courſe of all thoſe who prudently reſolve to turn the ſtrong Current of the Multitude, firſt to diſcountenance diſſentions, and give an indifferent liberty to all, yet ſo as to ſhew by his practice, what he himſelf approved, till by ſecuring himſelf of the main chance , and getting firm poſſeſſion of the Soveraignty, having once gained the Poſts of greateſt concernment, and made himſelf Maſter of all the avenues, he could turn the Engines of Peace, which are the Laws, againſt thoſe who had lately been poſſeſſed of them,and then at length enjoy,nwhen had Obedience within his beck. His indulgence therefore extended as well to Hæreticks as Orthodox. Some of that ſort, as *Ætius*, and others being in Exile. To all alike he gave liberty of Conſcience, Inhibiting Conſtraint and Force, which he knew,if it came once to blows, would be firſt put upon his own Party, when the Chriſtians, who filled all places within the Empire, ſhould betake themſelves to other Weapons beſides their ancient Prayers and Tears. He commanded the Temples of Idols to be opened, offered himſelf at the Sacrifices, and not content with the Devotion and Attendance of an ordinary Pagan, both took upon him the Office and Title of *Pontifex Maximus*, according to the cuſtom of his Heathen Anceſtors, (in which he was Initiated with the ordinary Ceremonies,) and was alſo made *Pontiſe* over the *Eleuſinia*, and ordained other inferiour *Pontifes* which he diſtributed into the Provinces.

He tollerates all Religions.

3. In

Sozom.

Athanaſius returns to *Alexandria* upon the death of *George*.

3. In complyance with this opportunity, offered the Exiled Biſhops return to their own Sees, and amongſt the reſt *Athanaſius* the great Champion of Chriſts Divinity. Some ſay he appeared in his Church ſoon after the Death of *Conſtantius*, but *Gregory Nazianzen*, in the work which he conſecrated to his praiſe, ſaith, he returned thither after the Death of *George*, who being both hateful to God and Man, came to ſuch an end, as his Carriage and Demeanour had deſerved. For beſides what we have formerly ſaid of his Cruelties, his Avarice and Extorſions were great, wherewith he haraſed the *Alexandrians*. *Epiphanius* writes, that he ſpoyled many of them of their Patrimonies, that he ingroſſed to himſelf the trade of *Nitre*, and of the Salt-pits, procured the Monopile of Paper, and making a gain out of the vileſt ſorts of Materials, brought up a new Order of *Lecticarii* or Biere-Carriers in the Church, which he reſtrained to a certain Number to be at his Devotion, ſuffering none, but thoſe by himſelf appointed, to be employed in the Burial of the Dead. This was far from any care of ſeeing Chriſtians decently Interred, his deſign was only his own profit, not to ſpeak, ſaith he, of his laſt Cruelties. Being depoſed in the Council of *Seleucia*, by the *Semiarian* Faction, he regarded not at all the Cenſure, but returned to *Alexandria*, where not at all daunted, he fell upon his former Courſes, plagueing as well the *Gentiles* as the Orthodox Chriſtians. By theſe means he became ſo odious to all Parties and Conditions, that a fit occaſion only was wanting to diſpatch him out of the way, and that at length preſented it ſelf; about which, though there be ſome Variation in Writers as to the manner, yet all agree in the Subſtance.

The manner of his death.

4. That the Emperour had given him Licence to Convert the ancient Temple of *Mithras* or *the Sun*, which had layn a long time deſolate, into a Chriſtian Church, is affirmed by Eccleſiaſtical Writers, and that great heaps of Slaughtered Bodies which had been offered to that Idol, being found therein, were by the Chriſtians expoſed to publick view, to render the more odious the Irreligion and Impiety of the *Gentiles*. Hereby grievouſly incenſed, and formerly provoked, by his inſolencies having got advantage, and encouraged by the profeſſion of *Julian*, they fell upon him, and ſlew him in the place. *Ammianus* tells the Story thus, that paſſing once by the Goodly Temple, dedicated to the Genius of the place, with many People according to the Cuſtom waiting on him; caſting his Eyes upon it after a ſcornful faſhion, how long, ſaid he, ſhall thoſe ruines continue undemoliſhed? Upon report hereof, the *Pagans* furiouſly inraged, and hearing in the very nick of time, that their Governour was newly dead, they gladly laid hold on the opportunity, not quieting themſelves till they had torn a Man ſo generally hated, into almoſt a thouſand pieces. *Ammianus* relates, as cauſes of the Peoples fury, that he had incenſed the Emperour againſt them, accuſing them as ſpurning againſt his Government, that he was an Informer, and to curry favour with the Prince, had buzzed into his credulous Ears, that all Houſes in the City built by *Alexander* the Founder at the publick charges, he might juſtly appropriate to his Exchequer. Some imputed his death to the favourers of *Athanaſius*, but it is generally agreed on, that he was killed by the Univerſal conſent both of Chriſtians and Heathens, for the reaſons we have recited. The Emperour ſeemed at firſt exceedingly incenſed, threatning bitter things againſt the Murderers, but at length quallifying his paſſion, it ſuffized him to chide them by a Letter, * wherein he lays the fault upon all in general, for thoſe Cauſes before mentioned, theſe take from him the reputation of a Martyr, ſeeing it is the Cauſe, not the Puniſhment, that maketh ſuch, and deny him the Title of Saint. Upon which account we cannot have ſuch hard thoughts of Tradition, as to think him the ſame with St. *George* the Engliſh Patron.

* *Apud Socr. l.* 3. *c.* 3.

5. *Athanaſius* coming to his See, after the removal of *George*, was received with all joy imaginable. The *Arians*, baniſhed from the Congregation, held their Conventicles in private Houſes, and Elected *Lucius* to ſucceed in the Biſhoprick, which notwithſtanding, he went on in his way without impediment in the diſcharge of his Epiſcopal Function. In the mean time *Lucifer* Biſhop of *Caralitanum* in *Sardinia*, and *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Vercellæ*, a City, as *Socrates* tells us, of *Ligurian Italians*, being amongſt others recalled by the Emperours Edict, conſidering how they might recover their Biſhopricks with moſt quiet, and agreeably with the Canons, reſolved that the one ſhould go to *Antioch*, and the other to *Alexandria*, to procure a Council wherein thoſe matters might be debated. *Lucifer* ſending his Deacon to *Alexandria*, to ſignifie his aſſent to the Decrees

of the Synod departed for *Antioch*, where he found the State of that Church much out of order, a great variance and diviſion being in the People, as well, as by reaſon of the Hæretical opinions of *Euzoius*, as alſo becauſe the Favourers of *Meletius* and the Orthodox were at odds, thoſe looking upon him as Ordained by *Arians*, though he held not their opinions. *Lucifer* Ordained *Paulinus* Biſhop of that See. *Euſebius* arriving at *Alexandria*, dealt earneſtly with *Athanaſius* about the ſummoning of a Council, to which many Confeſſors, who had lately dared to ſhew their heads, being ſummoned, they Condemned the ſeveral *Doctrines* of *Arians*, *Apollinarians*, and *Macedonians*. They affirmed the Divinity of the Holy Ghoſt, as being of *one ſubſtance* in the Bleſſed Trinity, and that the Son of God at his Incarnation, took not only Humane Fleſh, but a reaſonable Soul alſo, as the ancient Fathers had delivered.

Vide Socr. ut ſuprà. c. 6. &c.

A Council held at *Alexandria.*

6. The Fathers perceiving that there was ſome difference of terms betwixt the Greek and Latin Churches, in the word *Eſſence*, and *Subſtance*, and *Hypoſtaſis*, though they agreed in ſubſtance by reaſon of the ſeveral proprieties of Speech; by the perſwaſion of *Athanaſius*, ſubſcribing to the ſame thing in ſubſtance, were contented to lay aſide thoſe words which occaſioned the difference, and to uſe no other than thoſe found in the Scriptures, except in caſe of Errors, for a clearer diſcerning and judging of them. Taking into conſideration the Multiplicity of Creeds, they concluded to lay all aſide, except that of the *Nicene Council*, rejecting the Confeſſion made at *Sardica*, as well as the reſt; *Athanaſius* being alſo very ſenſible what imputations the *Arians* had laid upon his retirement in thoſe times of Perſecution, which they called deſerting of his place and truſt, he took this occaſion of clearing himſelf, and recited his Apology for his flight into the Wilderneſs. But there was an other thing which gave greater occaſion to this Meeting, and took up the greateſt debate, occaſioned by the late *Arian* Perſecutions. Several through infirmity had ſubſcribed, and acted againſt their Conſciences, the Terrors of Exile, and Tortures, having wreſted from them a Complyance, which notwithſtanding thoſe that had made reſiſtance and ſtood out, ſo cenſured them, that they held them unworthy of Communion, as alſo ſuch as had any charitable opinion of them. This proved ſuch a growing Evil, as ſtood in need of a ſpeedy Remedy, for which Cauſe many out of all parts, both *Aſia* and *Italy*, as well as *Africk*, had recourſe unto this Council. After much debate, wherein ſome would have debarred thoſe that had fallen from the Sacred Orders; it was reſolved, that ſuch as had relapſed through infirmity, or miſcarried through ignorance, ſhould upon repentance be received into Communion, and to their former Places. By this Decree, which was but conformable to what the Church had practiced in the like Caſes of *Samoſatenus*, the *Novatians*, and *Donatiſts*, the World was reſcued out of the Jaws of the Devil, ſaith St. *Hierome*.

Nazianz. Cucon. Ath.

Ruffin. 9.

7. The Reſolutions and Decrees of the Council, being diſperſed amongſt the Churches, did much good. But as God works good out of Evil, ſo the Devil will be ſure to work Evil out of Good, and turn that to poyſon, which was intended as a Remedy. *Euſebius*, after the Council was broken up, went to *Antioch*, where finding much difference about the Election of *Paulinus*, he endeavoured to Compoſe them to no purpoſe, and ſo got him home to his own Biſhoprick. From the State of affairs, he found reaſon to diſlike of the Ordination of *Paulinus*, which *Lucifer* underſtanding, took it as a diſparagement to his Judgment, and growing impatient, refuſed to Communicate with *Euſebius*. From this Indignation he aroſe to that height, as to quarrel with the determinations of the Synod, and made a Schiſm from the Church, wherein he died, giving Name to a Sect, which continuing to the time of *Socrates*, were from him called *Luciferians*. *Euſebius*, from *Antioch* paſſed through the Eaſtern Countrys, ſtrengthening ſuch as were weak in the Faith, and inſtructing them in the Doctrine of the Church, whence he travelled into *Illyrium*, and coming into *Italy*, in like ſort he dilligently preached the word of God. *Athanaſius* in like manner ſo managed his buſineſs at *Alexandria*, that the Church proceeded in a very flouriſhing Condition, till the *Arians* envying him this Fælicity, joyned with the common Enemy, and moved *Julian* againſt him, who by this time had ſo far ſettled his buſineſs, and carried on his Deſign, as to be almoſt ripe for Blood and Slaughters. We muſt a little obſerve his Methods, and trace his Steps; for his Pollicies in his own judgment were very refined, and ſuch as noted his Prædeceſſors of indiſcretion.

Socr. c. 9.

The Sect of the *Luciferians.*

8. His

Julian's policies and practices againſt the Chriſtians.

8. His firſt Principle was, that Chriſtians were not to be compelled to his Religion, concluding with himſelf, that ſhould he proceed to Death and Tortures, they would, as he had obſerved of former Perſecutions, and as he himſelf was wont to Phraſe it, flye as faſt, and as thick to Martyrdom, as Bees to a Hive; and thereby gain both greater Reputation and Acceſſion to Chriſtianity. He thought that thoſe whom death could not fright, yet Diſgrace and lingring Penury might drive to Idolatry. Therefore he barred to them all acceſs of Honours and Employments, and when he was about to march towards *Perſia*, took from all ſuch Souldiers the Military Girdle, as refuſed to Sacrifice to the *Pagan* Deities. He thought Scoffing and Deriſion Engines able to batter that Faith, which the Sword could not reach, and accordingly made it his buſineſs to flout at, and jear both the Chriſtian Name and Profeſſion, giving *Chriſt* himſelf no other Title than that of *Galilæan*, calling the Worſhippers of him *Galileans*, and this he did not only in his ordinary talk, but in his Epiſtles and Reſcripts, and at length commanded by a Law, that no otherwiſe they ſhould be called. He thought that if once he could deprive them of their Teachers, their Zeal, which thoſe continually kept warm, would at length inſenſibly cool, and come to nothing. This made him take away ſuch Stipends, Lands, and publick Sallaries, as formerly had been granted by *Conſtantine* and his Sons, to the publick Miniſtry. And that as well Prieſts as People, might, through ignorance, have their Spirits abaſed, and their Wits without edge; whereby they might be expoſed as well to the Contempt, as inſinuations of their Enemies, he forbad they ſhould be inſtructed in any of the liberal Arts and Sciences.

9. The Glorious advantages of Chriſtian Religion, being (as an Apoſtate) known unto him, he endeavoured to transfer upon his *Pagan* impiety. Being Conſcious to himſelf of the Virtues of Chriſtians, and how much they adorned their holy Profeſſion, he preſſed, upon all ſects of Philoſophers, whom as the Champions of his Cauſe, he much cheriſhed, the advantages of a good Life, which was to be anſwerable to their Pretences. To this purpoſe he appointed, that ſome ſhould be ſet apart to inſtruct the People throughout the Towns and Villages, and in a familiar way, to reduce the ſpeculative part of Philoſophy into Præcepts. The Poor he alſo took care for, that ſuch as could not work might be relieved, and the Sick not periſh for want of things neceſſary to their recovery. Reputing thoſe means moſt effectual, and as deep and prævalent Myſteries for accompliſhing that, in a Calm and Serene manner, which all the fury of ſo many Ages could not compaſs, he added ſome little Arts and Tricks to cheat the Chriſtians, and trappan them into Idolatry. Having removed the Croſs, which *Conſtantine* had added to the *Labarum* or Standard of the Empire, and reduced it to the ancient *Pagan* Model, he alſo added to the Images of himſelf, ſome Pictures of his Gods, as *Mars*, *Mercury*, and *Serapis*, that in the Ceremonies paid to his own Majeſty the reverence of thoſe Idols might be included. Such Victuals as were ſold in the Market, he would cauſe to be polluted by things offered to his Idols, and Springs to be ſprinkled with their Holy Water.

10. By theſe Courſes præſuming he could undermine Chriſtianity, he Vigorouſly proſecuted the reinforcement of decayed Paganiſm. This was both by his own example, by opening the Doors of Præferment to *Pagans*, and them alone, and alſo by taking from Chriſtian Diſcipline ſuch Patterns of prudential Orders, Rites, and Cuſtoms, as he thought might be productive of Peace, Security and Eſtabliſhment. To this purpoſe, he intended to erect publick Schools in each City; in the Temples he would have obſerved ſuch manners of Worſhip, ſuch Seats and Benches as the Chriſtians uſed, placed one above another; reading and explanation of prophane Authors, both in the Theoretick and Practick part, with Alternate Prayers, and Hymns, Animadverſions upon Offenders, with penitence and ſatisfaction injoyned. He purpoſed to build Hoſpitals, as alſo Monaſtaries both for Men and Women, exhorting the Pontifices to ſet about it at the publick and private charge, as *Nicephorus* writes, and approving much the way of Letters-Commendatory for diſtreſſed Perſons, he took this courſe of tranſmitting them from one Place and Country into another. Then did he ſpur thoſe on, who were ready enough to run of themſelves, to the reſtitution of Temples, Sacrifices, and other rites of the *Gentiles*, and herein when many Chriſtians, who had been inſtruments in demoliſhing thoſe Buildings, which the Laws had ordered to be pulled down, were miſerably abuſed, and Murdered; he not only connived at thoſe

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things, but incouraged them in ſuch Outrages. Many alſo, whom their Zeal ſo far tranſported, as to revile him for his Apoſtacy, and oppoſe his Actions, he commanded to be put to death, and applauded moſt horrid Murders and Maſſacres upon this account committed throughout the Empire. Such as refuſed to Sacrifice, and threw away the Military Girdles, though upon other Pretences, he would find ſome opportunity or other to diſgrace, and even put to death, if he perceived they were of Intereſt to oppoſe his Deſigns, and if he could ſpare them in his Wars. At length when he had ſo far brought about his deſign, as to be ſomething ſecure of his Cauſe, the Chriſtians continuing ſtedfaſt to their old Principle, of ſuffering rather than Rebelling, though they oppoſed his Proceedings now and then, as to particular places and things, and ceaſed not to tell him his own plainly; he purpoſed to make away the moſt eminent Biſhops, ſuch as were Fathers of the Church, and Props of the Chriſtian Religion. For this purpoſe, though at the firſt he pretended to be a Lover of Union and Peace, now he began to cheriſh their Differences, and uſe them againſt one another. And had he returned from the *Perſian* War with good ſucceſs, it was his Reſolution for that Victory, to have offered an Holocauſt of *Galilæans* to his Gods, and have tied Chriſtianity to his Triumphal Chariot.

11. The effects of all theſe Arts and Myſteries, was a change of the Scene for ſo ſhort a time as he play'd his Tragedy, whereby one might behold nothing but Sacrifices and Incenſe upon the Stage, which was changed into a Temple, the Diadem transformed into a Miter, and the Scepter into a Sooth-ſayers Rod; Dumb Devils in ſeveral ſhapes running too and fro, but in great Anxiety, as afraid of thoſe, who were now conſtrained to act the Parts of Fools, and forced to put on the Vizards of Idiots, that they might afford matter of Triumph, and Inſultation. The Prieſt wearing a great Beard, and a Stole, whereon were wrought Images of Bulls-heads, taking great pains to reſtore decay'd Altars, then cringing, and conjuring his obliged Deities to grace him with a verbal Incouragement, that he might know they were ſtill in being, and aſſert their right againſt the late Intruſion of thoſe miſerable Sacrilegious Wretches, whom (the Gods approving, and proſpering their own Cauſe, and Reſtitution to their antient right, againſt which no Præſcription could be pleaded,) he doubted not by moſt likely means, and due methods, to remove quite out of the way, being, as he well underſtood, a great eye-ſore to *Apollo*, for whom he had furniſhed and prepared his Antient and Royal Pallace. *Apollo* knowing his Reign was at an end, and a period ſet to his Uſurpation, would fain have put him off, as unwilling to ſhow his weakneſs; and having been Dumb for ſo many years, it was grown even a trouble to him to ſpeak; but unwilling he ſhould know the true cauſe, and thereby diſcover his weakneſs, as well as Treaſon, he gave him ſuch an anſwer, as ſhewed his Antipathy to the Servants, and Loyal Subjects of his Lord and Maſter, whereby he might ſtir him up to Perſecute them, and carry on his own work, which he was glad to ſee done, though more ſorry to think it would be but for a moment. For the Prieſt hereat inraged, and many Scuffles enſuing betwixt him, his Servants, and thoſe whom he termed Varlets, and Sacrilegious, when his Choler was up, and he had reſolved to renew the ancient Devices of his Prædeceſſors againſt them, by adding Violence to his former Stratagems. The Lord and Maſter both of *Apollo*, of him, and all his, did but becken to an Enemy of the Prieſt, whom he had reſerved behind the Curtain, and he breaks into the Houſe of the Prieſt, upon which news he retires, lays aſide his Miter, and reſumes his Diadem. After a little expectation, word was brought that the ſport was at an end, for the Prieſt was ſlain; whereupon *Apollo* gave up all for loſt, yet reſolved to play at ſmall Games rather than ſit out, and promote the differences he knew full well to be amongſt his Enemies, which proſperity he thought would not at all leſſen. And ſo the Act abruptly ended.

12. Such, if the Gravity of Hiſtory permit us to uſe thoſe Terms and Reſemblances, was the Tragedy to which *Julian* fitted all his Præparations. The Religion countenanced, and therefore Rampant was the *Pagan* Impiety Authority and Laws, trampling upon Chriſtianity, and expoſing it to the deriſion of its profeſſed Enemy. The Emperour, though taking care for Reſtitution of all Idol-Temples, yet was eſpecially concerned for the Temple of *Apollo* at *Daphne*, which he knew his Brother, his Uncle, and Couſins had moſt deſpighted, becauſe of the Oracle, which, although ſince the coming of Chriſt, the Devil had been dumb for the moſt part, as appears from many Teſtimonies, and eſpecially from that Book of *Plutarch*, which would fain reſolve the queſtion why Oracles

He is much concerned for the Temple of *Apollo* at *Daphne*.

were ceaſed, yet it ſeems did ſometimes, for the Incouragement of *Pagans*, give them anſwers. For thoſe Christian Writers which make mention of thoſe Paſſages, tell us, how the Body of *Babylas*, being removed into the Grave, though it drove him not quite away, yet put the Devil to ſilence, and that ſeveral reaſons were given thereof, amongſt which this obtained moſt credit, that it was becauſe *no Sacrifices were offered. Julian* being now at *Antioch*, made an experiment, offering Sacrifices in abundance, but *Apollo* ſtill continued dumb, at which the Emperour much diſquieted, when he provoked him to anſwer, at length had this return, *That the Grove was defiled with dead Bodies.* There needed no Expoſition upon this Oracle, *Julian* knowing that the Body of *Babylas* was hereby meant, which he commanded to be removed. Yet he did not offer any Indignity to the Reliques of that Holy Martyr, which the Citizens of *Antioch*, with great Solemnity, carried back into the City, ſinging *Pſalms* in the way, and this Verſe amongſt others, *Confounded be all they that worſhip carved Images, and that delight in vain Gods*; whereupon many were laid in hold, and ſome were tortured.

Lege Chryſoſt. Orat. cont. Gentes.

Pſal. 97.7.

13. *Sozomen* here relates a remarkable Paſſage of one *Theodorus* a young Man, whom being ſet upon the Rack, amidſt his Torments an Angel comforted, allaying his pains, wiping off the Sweat, and refreſhing his Limbs with cool Water. He thus ſtrengthened and aſſiſted, ſung the ſaid Verſe with greater Alacrity, which invincible Reſolution being made known to the Emperour, he conſidered, that if he proceeded in his courſe, he ſhould looſe, and the Chriſtians gain Reputation, and gave order they ſhould all be diſcharged. The reaſon why he was the more ready to diſmiſs them, as alſo to ſuffer the Body of *Babylas* to be removed with ſuch Honour, might very well be the experience he had had of the Divine Vengeance upon ſome of his own Relations, as *Julianus* his Uncle, Præfect of the Eaſt, and *Fælix*, Præfect of his Exchequer, whom being formerly Chriſtians, he had by his example drawn into the Fellowſhip of Apoſtacy. Theſe two being ſent by him to the *Dominicum Aureum*, as it was called, that ſumptuous Church built at *Antioch* by *Conſtantine*, to fetch thence the Treaſure; *Julianus* firſt cauſed *Theodoritus* a Prieſt that kept it, when he refuſed to diſcover it, to be tortured, and when that would not do, to be Beheaded, piſſed againſt the Holy Table, gave *Euzoius* a box on the Ear, who would have hindred him, and ſate him down upon the Holy Veſſels, whereof *Fælix* viewing their Magnificence, ſaid, *Look with what ſumptuous Veſſels is the Son of* Mary *ſerved!* But Vengeance preſently ſeized on them both, *Julianus* his Members and Bowels putrifying in ſuch a ſort, that he could thence void any Excrements, which he vomited through his Blaſphemous Mouth, till he miſerably periſhed. *Fælix* ſuddenly died by Bleeding at the Mouth. And other Apoſtates by ſudden death began to receive the reward of their Impieties.

L.5.c18,19.& vide Theodoret. l.2 c.1, 12. Socr. l.3. c.19. Ruffino.

The remarkable death of ſeveral Apoſtates.

14. But when *Julian* had purged the Grave and Temple of *Daphne* from all Impurities, as he and his God accounted them, by removal of *Babylas* his Body, whether at the Interceſſion of the Martyr's Soul, as ſome conceive, or otherwiſe, the Temple was better purified by Fire, which the Chriſtians of thoſe times affirmed was ſent from Heaven, and conſumed the Roof and the Idol to Aſhes. *Julian*, though by Tortures he could not get any more out of the Prieſt, than that it was conſumed by that means, yet took this occaſion to ſlander the Chriſtians, *Ammianus* alſo, amongſt other opinions (which we have formerly mentioned) delivering this as one, that it was fired by their procurement, yet did certain Country-men affirm, that they ſaw a Thunder-bolt fall from the Air upon the Temple. However the Burning of it was much bewailed by all the *Pagans*, and *Libanius* a Sophiſt of *Antioch* compoſed ſome mourning and ridiculous Ditties. *Julian* more concerned than any, to divert the Joy of thoſe he thought would triumph over the Ruines, bent his Wits how to plague the *Antiochians*, by defiling their Fountains, and mixing things ſacrificed with their Victuals, which he practiced at *Conſtantinople* with more ſucceſs, for there the Citizens abſtained from them, but the Inhabitants of *Antioch* followed the Apoſtles Rule, asking no Queſtions for Conſcience ſake, which the more nettled the Emperour. Certain it is from all Hands, that *Julian* both ill treated, and was ill treated by the *Antiochians*. He wrote a twitting Libel againſt them, called *Miſopogon* and *Antiochica*, becauſe the Chriſtians of *Antioch* jeared him for his Beard, to which they made as ſawcy returns, being a little (which we cannot but take notice of) removed from that dutiful demeanour of the ancient Profeſſors even to their *Pagan* and Perſecuting Princes. Such force hath Proſperity over the Tempers and Conſtitutions of the very beſt.

The Temple of *Apollo* burnt.

The *Antiochians* Libel *Julian*.

15. He laid to their charge in that Libel, that they were wont to curſe him, and wiſh for another *Conſtantine* to chaſtize his Impiety, that they frequented the Tombs of Martyrs to pray to God to deliver them from his Tyranny, and followed him with noiſe and clamours when he went to the Temples. They upbraided him with his Religion, ſaying that *X.* and *K.* never hurt the City in the leaſt, by which two Letters they meant *Chriſt* and *Conſtantine*, thoſe being the firſt Letters of their Names. This oppoſiton he met with in Chriſtians did but whet his Courage, and inflame his Paſſion to a greater degree of Malice. Underſtanding that there were ſome Churches built at *Miletus* near the Temple of *Apollo Didymæus*, he wrote to the Præſident of *Caria*, to ſee them burnt, and levelled with the Ground. *Artemius* an old Soldier of *Conſtantine*, being ſent for from his Government of *Ægypt*, and finding the Emperour in Examination of ſome Prieſts of *Antioch*, for upbraiding him with his Apoſtacy and Impiety, was after various Tortures put to death. He incouraged the *Pagans* in their revenge, who to the Chriſtians making oppoſition, returned Wounds, Tortures, and Death it ſelf, in all places. At *Aſcalon* and *Gaza* the Prieſts and Virgins they horribly abuſed, ripping up their Bellies, which ſtuffing with Barley, they then caſt them quick and breathing to the Hogs. At *Heliopolis* a Town of *Phœnicia*, they pulled in pieces *Cyril* a Deacon, and refrained not from eating his Liver. They were ſo highly incenſed againſt him, becauſe in the Reign of *Conſtantine* he had deſtroyed their Images, but Vengeance overtook them, the Teeth and Tongues of thoſe who did the Fact rotting away, and the Eyes of ſuch as beheld the Spectacle; *Mark* the Biſhop of *Arothuſa*, being for the ſame cauſe ſought after to be put to Death, firſt removed out of the way, but underſtanding that ſome of his Friends were apprehended for him, returned. He had formerly in the Reign of *Conſtantius*, deſtroyed a ſtately Temple in that place, and now condemned to re-edifie it by *Julian*, refuſed. Unſpeakable were the Torments he underwent, being at laſt beſmeared all over with Honey, and hung up to the Waſps, for which *Julian* was noted of Ingratitude, who was ſaved from Deſtruction by the care of this Biſhop, when he and all his were ſought for to be deſtroyed, ſome ſay he at laſt eſcaped, and both by his Example and Inſtruction, converted his Tormentors. *Amachius* Governour of a City in *Phrygia*, as a Puniſhment for breaking their Idols, after long and various Tortures, was roaſted with a ſmall Fire. Such was the carriage of the Vulgar, backed by the encouragement of the Prince.

Τὸ χ οὐδὲν ἠδίκησε τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲ τὸ Κ. *Soz. l.* 5. *c.*19. *Theod. l.*3.*c.*17. *alii.*

His Cruelties.

16. When the Chriſtians complained of thoſe Outragious Dealings, his Impious anſwer was, that Afflictions rendred them more fit for the Kingdom of Heaven, as alſo to ſuch as Petitioned him for their Goods which his Officers had ſeized on, under pretence of their having converted the Materials of the demoliſhed Temples to their own uſes; for he executed upon them the old Laws made againſt Sacrilege. Rendring them uncapable of Offices when he was undertaking his Expedition againſt the *Perſians*, the better to furniſh himſelf with Money, he ſet Fines upon all ſuch as ſhould refuſe to Sacrifice, which Tax was very grievous, as *Socrates* writes, and duly demanded of Chriſtians, not only where the Emperour travelled, but alſo in ſuch Countries as he came not near. Then did the *Gentiles*, ſaith he, inſult over the Chriſtians; the Philoſophers celebrated their frequented Conferences, they ſolemnized certain deteſtable Rites and Ceremonies: they made ſlaughter of Infants, ſparing no Sex, they uſed their Entrails for Sooth-ſaying, and taſted of their tender Fleſh, which horrible Practices were both at *Athens*, *Alexandria*, and other places. *Julian*, in the mean time ſcoffed at Chriſtians for their belief, ſaying, all their Wiſdom lay in the Verb *Crede*, and as the Heathens of old, ſo he now derided them for worſhipping Croſſes. But he thought he had ſtill a notable device, which he kept ſecret till times were ripe for its accompliſhment. Knowing what bitter Enemies the *Jews* were to Chriſtians, which they had lately ſhewn alſo in his time, by burning many of their Churches, that by owning and preferring their Worſhip, he might depreſs Chriſtianity, render invalid our Saviour's Prædictions, and advance the Trade of Sacrificing, to which he himſelf was ſo much addicted, he reſolved to re-edifie the Temple at *Jeruſalem*, which had lain waſte and demoliſhed ever ſince the days of *Veſpaſian*. By his commandment the Coſt and Charges were awarded out of the publick Treaſury, and all Neceſſaries provided to the Work, which the *Jews* to think of, were raviſhed with Joy, and got them, for the Honour thereof, Silver Inſtruments.

He lays heavy Taxes upon Chriſtians.

His Fruitleſs attempt to re-build the Temple at *Jeruſalem.*

17. At the ſame time *Cyril* Biſhop of the Church, who was lately returned from Baniſhment, exerciſed his Faith in reference to the prædiction of *Daniel* the Prophet, confirmed by our Saviour, concerning the deſolation of the place, which the event failed not. For, as they were about their work, an Earthquake happened, and great Balls of Fire iſſued out of the Earth, which drove away, confounded, or deſtroyed the Workmen and Overſeers, tore up the old Foundations of the Temple, from the very bottom, and is further ſaid to have broken and melted the Tools of the Artificers. Hereby though the *Jews* were conſtrained to deſiſt, and confeſs the Power of *Jeſus Chriſt*, yet would they not forſake their *Judaiſm*; and notwithſtanding the thing was ſo notorious, that it was acknowledged by the *Pagans*, and confeſſed by their Hiſtorians, of whom *Ammianus* hath related the matters with ſome Particulars, yet had it not that effect, as to work any great alteration in behalf of the Chriſtians. Many Perſons indeed coming from far to behold the Spectacle, went away both convinced, and converted; but as it happeneth to ſuch as ſin with an high hand againſt knowledge, *Julian* became the more inraged and reſolute. Perceiving that the Temple could not be re-edified, he cauſed the Materials to be gathered together, and therewith commanded a Theatre to be built, wherein after his return from *Perſia*, he purpoſed to expoſe the Chriſtians of that Country to Wild Beaſts, as * *Oroſius* tells us.

* *L. 7. c. 30.*

He forbids the burying of the dead by day-light.

C. Th. l. 9. tit. 19. l. 5.

18. But his own fate preſſed him hard on to the *Perſian* Expedition, which before he Proſecuted, he publiſhed as was congruous, a Reſcript to the People, bearing date on the Twleſth of *February*, from *Antioch*, againſt the Violation of Sepulchres, and alſo carrying out dead Bodies to be Enterred by day-light. Hereby he ſeemeth to ſtrike at Chriſtians, who, by their too forward Zeal againſt all manner of Paganiſh Superſtition, defacing what Inſcriptions were made to the *Dii Manes*, were injurous to the memory of the Dead, and drew out a Reſcript of this nature, formerly from *Conſtantius.* The Burial of the dead in the day-time he condemns as ſtrikeing the Eyes with an unlucky Proſpect, and making the lookers on unfit for the Service of the Gods, whereas privacy was fitter for Mourning, and it being a thing indifferent to the Dead, to be buried by Night or by Day, and to ſhun Oſtentation, he thought it fit the Eyes of the People ſhould be delivered from ſuch Objects. Hereby he alſo ſeemeth to reprehend no others but the Chriſtians, who were wont to accompany their dead Friends to the Grave in great Companies, with ſinging of Pſalms, and that in the day time, concluding this laſt Office with Prayers and Praiſes to Almighty God. In latter times came in many Ceremonies; to the uſe of *Incenſe*, of which (a) *Tertullian* ſpeaks, afterwards were *Lights* added, in which and the *Clergy* (b) *Stapleton* aſſerts *Seemlineſs*, *Solemnity* and *Sanctity* to conſiſt. (c) *Rebuffius* affirms it to be contrary to good manners, to deſire to be buried without Ringing of Bells, for it would ſavour of Singularity. Yet *Budæus* a Man both very Learned and of good Repute for Morals, would be buried without any Ceremonies, as *Slerdan* writes, with *Turnebus* and others.

Quis enim dies eſt bene auſpicatus à funere, aut quomodo ad deos & templa venietur?

Ideoq; quoniam & dolor in exequiis ſecretum amat, & diem functis nil intereſſe, utrum per noctes, an per dies efferantur, liberari convenit populi totius aſpectus, ut dolor eſſe in funeribus, non Pompa exequiarum nec oſtentatio deatur.

(a) *Apologet. c.* 42. (b) *In expoſit. Evang. Lucæ.* 7. *Dominica* 15. *poſt Penticoſt.* (c) *l.* 202. *de verb ſignif.* *Petr. Paris Conſil.* 91. *vol.* 4. *de orig. Campanarum & uſu vide Hoſpin. de origin. temp. c.* 14. *l.* 2. *de ſepeliendi rit. vid.* Bettranchami *Ep. famil. l.* 2. *Ep.* 2. *Alciat. in l.* 2. *c. de SS. Eccleſiis.*

Burying in Churches when introduced.

19. Of old time Sepulchres were out of the Cities to the *Jews* and *Romans.* So *Cicero* deſcribes the Tomb of *Archimedes*, and *Pauſanias* in his perambulation of *Greece*, mentions many without, but none within the City. Therefore it was an extraordinary favour granted to *Poplicola* and his Family, mentioned by *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, to *Cæſar*, as writes (a) *Dio*, and *Adrian* to be buried in the Forum; anciently none were buried in Churches, as appears both by the (b) Imperial and Canon Laws; at length they came to bury in Church Porches (ſo was *Auguſtine* the firſt Biſhop of *Canterbury* buried) and ſo they got at laſt into Churches * (whereof yet that part called the *Baptiſterium*, where the Font ſtood, was excepted) and Chancels; a Cuſtom that ſome think neither decent nor wholſome, in Populous places eſpecially, ſo that though ſuch as offended herein by former Laws, were to be puniſhed arbitrarily, yet Cuſtom prevailed ſo much to the contrary, that they became rather antiquated than repealed, which Cuſtom the (c) Canon Law ſo far gives way to, as to ſuffer a faithful Lay-Perſon to be buried in the Church. Anciently the Cæmiteries or burying-places, were (d) out of the Towns, both for cleanlineſs and health, as that Chriſtians might be put in mind that the dead are gone out of this World, have left thoſe Cities, and are made Citizens in Heaven. But as Superſtition and Covetouſ-

(a) *Lib.* 44. *p.* 243.

(b) *c. de. SS. Eccleſ l.* 2. *c. ul. c. th.* 17. *Concil. Braccar.* 36. 13. *q.* 2.

(c) *nullus & gloſſa Carolus M. in th. libr.* 1. *c.* 15 9. *Non licet in Baptiſterio Corpora Sepelire. Conc. Antiſſodor. can.* 14.

D. c. nullus.

(d) *Theod. l.* 2. *c.* 14. *vola t. l.* 22.

Covetouſneſs increaſed about the time of *Gregory* the Great, they began both for convenience of Ceremonies, and for Gain and Advantage, to bury in the Cities: Although the Canon Law forbids any thing to be Exacted for the Ground, yet is it the obſervation of *Hoſpinian* ſo true (*viz.* that never was there found out a more profitable device, than the ſale of Graves) that in ſome Reformed Churches this Cuſtom is become both burthenſome and ſcandalous; as in ſome Cities of * *Saxony* ſcarcely can a Grave be purchaſed for One hundred *Joachims*, and in other places which I need not mention, it ſhall coſt a Man nigh as much to bury his Son, as in *Ægyt* of old time (if *Herodotus* tell true,) his whole Education would have amounted to, but to our purpoſe.

De ſepult. c. penult.

L. 3. c. 1. de orig. templ.

* *Eberharti a weihe Meditam pro federib l. 2. p.* 47. &c.

20. *Julian* e're he ſet forward for *Perſia*, ſent to *Delphos*, *Delus*, and *Dodona*, to enquire of the Oracles concerning his ſucceſs, as *Cræſus* of old had done, and had ſuitable anſwers, if not ſo ambiguous, yet as deceitful. *Maximus* the Philoſopher; whom he prized above all Men, and as an Oracle, little leſs Infallible than the other, promiſed him the ſame, if not greater Matters, of which he was ſo confident, as ſtudying only to be grateful, he vowed at his return to offer up the Chriſtians as Sacrifices to his Gods, to deſtroy and root out the whole Party, and place the Images of *Venus* in their Churches. Thinking verily, that according to the Pythagorial *Metamſychoſis*, *Alexander*'s Soul was paſſed into his Body, he rejected all Auxiliary ſupplies offered from other Princes, only to *Arſaces* King of *Armenia*, becauſe a Chriſtian, he wrote Letters (deſcribed by *Sozomen*) full of contempt of *Conſtantius* his Prædeceſſor, reproach of *Arſaces*, and Blaſphemy againſt *Chriſt*, threatning, that in caſe he failed to attend him with his Forces, the God whom he worſhipped, ſhould not be able to defend him. In his expedition he ſate up late writing Commentaries in imitation of *Julius Cæſar*, and as St. *Hierome* tells us, now he Compoſed ſeven Books againſt Chriſtian Religion, which were abundantly anſwered by *Cyril* of *Alexandria*. Being affrighted with ſome Prodigies, he is ſaid to have cut up a Woman to conſult her Entrails about his ſucceſs, and to have had a familiar Devil, which upon occaſion, ſent by him into the Weſt to bring him intelligence, coming to the place where a certain Monk called *Publius* inhabited, was ſtopped there, not able to proceed any farther. His Gods indeed, if ſo far they were permitted, did not ceaſe, by ill Omens, to lay his danger before him, but nothing could deterr him from proſecuting the means of his wretched end, which ſome Heathens aſcribed to the Chriſtians, ſome Chriſtians to an Angel, and others to the Enemy, but generally they agree in the incertainty of the Executioner, of that Divine Vengeance which took him away. *So let thine Enemies periſh O Lord!*

He conſults the Oracles about the ſucceſs of his *Perſian* expedition.

Theod. l. 3. c. 18. Nazianz. contra Julian *orat. 2. Chryſoſt. adverſus Gentes.*

Cedremus.

Julians death.

21. *Theodoret* writes, that having received the Wound, he filled his hand with Blood, and caſting it up into the Air, cryed out *viciſti Galileæ. Nicophorus*, that his words were *Saturate Nazarene.* It is reported alſo, that he complained much of his Gods, probably of *Mars*, which *Ammianus* confeſſeth; but he was ſo deſirous to be reckoned into the Number, and enjoy that eſteem amongſt the Vulgar, which *Libanius* gave him in his Oration, of being reckoned amongſt their Divinities, that the report goes, he would have caſt himſelf into ſome River, and ſo on a ſudden diſappearing, as *Æneas* of old, *Romulus*, and others; a report might have been plauſibly ſpread by his Followers, that he was taken up into Heaven, but the deſign was diſcovered, and daſhed by one of his Eunuchs. His Body brought back, was received every where with Scoffs and Deriſion. The Philoſophers and Magicians, his boſom Friends and Councillors, were no better treated, and the Victory of the Croſs, or Chriſt Crucified, was all over owned and magnified. His Character is variouſly taken, according to the affection and Party of the Deſigners, of which elſewhere we have ſaid enough, but much more in this Eccleſiaſtical account, the length thereof may be excuſed by the Importance of the Subject. Only at parting we may take a view of him, as he is deſcribed to us by *Solomon*, very aptly both as *Baronius*, and others judge, which will ſeem an exact Epitome of what has been at large diſcourſed. *A naughty Perſon* (ſaith our Tranſlation, but *Homo Apoſtata*, an Apoſtate *Baronius* reads it) *a wicked Man walketh with a froward Mouth, he winketh with his Eyes, he ſpeaketh with his Feet, he teacheth with his Fingers; frowardneſs is in his Heart, he deviſeth miſchief continually, he ſoweth diſcord; therefore ſhall his Calamity come ſuddenly, ſuddenly ſhall he be broak without remedy.*

See this book ch. 2. out of *Ammian. &c.*

Prov. 6. 12. &c.

His Character.

Homo Apoſtata, vir inutilis, graditur ore per verſo, annuit oculis, terit pede, digito loquitur, pravo corde machinatur malum, & omni tempore Jurgia ſeminat, huic extemplo veniet perditio ſua, & ſubito conteretur nec habebit ultra ultra medicinam.

22. Into

Jovian ſucceeds.

22. Into the Throne of *Julian* was Elected *Jovian*, by univerſal conſent, ſay Chriſtian writers, though *Ammianus*, who is very partial in behalf of *Julian*, makes his Election difficult, and attributes thoſe difficulties and hard conditions, with which he was conſtrained to purchaſe Peace, to his weakneſs, whereas all indifferent Perſons muſt neceſſarily aſcribe them to the temerity of his Prædeceſſor. Being a Tribune, when *Julian* caſhiered all Chriſtians, he willingly quitted the Military Girdle; but for his Abilities he took him into Service again, and when he was now Elected, he refuſed the Purple, crying out he was a Chriſtian, and would not command a Pagan Army, at which the Souldiers cryed out that they alſo were Chriſtians. According to this beginning he proceeded ſo far as his ſmall time would permit, revoking what ever had been done by *Julian*, againſt Chriſtian Religion, reſtoring all the Profeſſors thereof to their ancient Priviledges, and opening all ways for the baniſhed Biſhops to return to their own Sees. Amongſt thoſe moſt eminent, was great *Athanaſius*, againſt whom, as we formerly ſaid, the *Arians* and *Pagans* Conſpired, and moved *Julian* againſt him. *Julian* therefore lets him know, that being baniſhed, he had not only returned to *Alexandria* which was lawful, but had poſſeſſed himſelf of his Church and Government without his Warrant, which he ought not to have done; but this was not the matter, there was another thing which galled the Emperour, and that was the Converſion of ſeveral Families, and amongſt the reſt ſome *Pagan* Prieſts to Chriſtianity. *Julian* therefore is reſolved to rid the World of him, which though at firſt it did not appear, yet *Athanaſius* expecting the worſt, and no good from Apologies, reſolved to quit *Alexandria*, and that in an open way, that his Friends might not fare worſe for being thought to conceal him. The Conjurers and Magicians rejoyced exceedingly at his departure, confeſſing their Arts failed them when he was reſident; but the good Chriſtians lamented the departure of their Paſtor, to whom he anſwered, *be of good Courage my Brethren, it is but a ſmall Cloud that will quickly paſs over*, and ſo he took Boat for the Wilderneſs.

Soc l.3 c.14. Theod. l. 4. c. 9. Sozom l. 5.c. 15.

23. He had not been long upon the Water, when the Governour underſtanding he was gone, took Boat with an Executioner to follow, and diſpatch him, being afraid to put him to death in *Alexandria*, the place where he was ſo exceedingly beloved. Of this he had timely notice from his Friends, upon which Meſſage, thoſe in the Boat deſired him to Land, and make his eſcape into the Wilderneſs; but he took a contrary courſe, reſolving to turn back again, and thereby deceive him, from whom he could hardly fly; which being done, they preſently met the Purſuers, who little ſuſpecting who was there, demanded only if they ſaw *Athanaſius*, they anſwered they ſaw him a little above upon the River, whereupon the Governour purſued with all the Sails and Oars he could make, and *Athanaſius* eſcaped thither, where he hid himſelf, and lay ſecure all the while the ſhort ſtorm continued. The *Alexandrians* afterward laboured to mediate in his behalf to *Julian*, who being reſolved upon other courſes now, beſides thoſe of meer Policy, returned nothing but Rebukes and Blaſphemies to all Complaints, anſwering, that their Religion teacheth them to ſuffer patiently. But he being gone to his own place, the Cloud paſſed over, and the Skies clear, *Athanaſius* returned the third time out of Baniſhment, being met with acclamations and other expreſſions of infinite joy by the Multitude.

Athanaſius returns out of baniſhment.

24. Now all flock to adore the newly riſen Sun, and, as the Cuſtom is, all Sects and Factions labour to ingratiate themſelves, and if they cannot make him wholly their own, yet render him favourable to their Party. The *Arians* ſtickled hard, but the *Semiarians* or *Macedonians* got before them, meeting the Emperour in his return from *Perſia*, to whom, when they complained of the *Acacians*, or rigid ſort of *Arians*, the Emperour rejected them, ſaying, he was for Peace, and an Enemy to Contention. *Acacius* himſelf perceiving how Matters ſtood, and that the Empire was devolved upon a Perſon who encouraged *Athanaſius*, and had ſent to him to draw up a Creed or Form of Faith, which he aſſembling his Suffragan Biſhops, did as he was enjoyned, according to the *Nicene* Rule, was reſolved not to make tryal of that condition to which he had been the Author of bringing many Orthodox Biſhops. Fearing Baniſhment or the diſpleaſure of the Prince, who yet declared he would force none, he brought ſeveral of his Followers to *Antioch*, where joyning with *Meletius*, they held a Council, and therein, as ſaith *Socrates*, acknowledged the Faith of one Subſtance, and ratified the

Nicene Creed; yet, as appeareth from St. *Hierome*, rejected the word *Homouſios*, or of the ſame Subſtance with the Father, as alſo *Anomæos*, or of a diverſe Subſtance, and choſe the word *Homoiouſios*, as a mean betwixt both, as aſſerting the Son neither of the ſame, nor of diverſe, but of like Subſtance with the Father, and ſo herein cloſing with the *Semiarians*. Their Faith they ſent in a Supplicatory Letter to the Emperour, whoſe anſwer was, that he was for Peace, and ſhould countenance and eſteem ſuch as were of that Principle and Opinion, for which *Themiſtius* the Philoſopher, in the Oration intituled *Conſul*, and made in his Commendation, extolled him to the Skies, becauſe that in granting every Man his Liberty, he ſtopped the Mouths, as he ſaid, of Paraſites and Sycophants, which kind of Men (ſuch as was *Acacius*) worſhip not the King of Heaven, but the Earthly Crown and Scepter, much like to *Euripus*, ſometimes carried this way, and ſometimes that.

25. But *Euzoius* Biſhop of *Antioch* (of his own Faction,) and other *Arians*, little obſerved thoſe Rules, who remembring their old Trade, endeavoured to bring *Athanaſius* into an evil opinion of the Emperour, laying to his charge heavy Crimes, which the Emperour little regarded, yet either ſent for by him, or of his own accord, (both which are written) he came to Court and fully ſatisfied him. Though the Emperour was for Peace and Liberty amongſt Chriſtians, yet made he a diſtinction betwixt them and *Pagans*, commanding the Idol Groves and Temples to be ſhut up, whereat the *Ethnicks* wandered abroad and hid themſelves, and ſuch as wore the *Pallium* or Philoſophical Habit laid it aſide, and put on the uſual and common Attire; the Bloody and deteſtable Sacrifices, wherein they had taken their fill, during the Reign of *Julian*, were alſo taken away. And yet though he was very cordial for Chriſtianity, and abhorred the Religion of *Pagans*, yet did he favour *Maximus* and *Priſcus* the Philoſophers, who had been of Council with *Julian*, and were the great Enemies of his Faith, for which, as alſo for his intention to adorn *Julian*'s Sepulchre at *Tarſus*, ſome who pry into the Secrets of God Almighty, think him taken away ſo ſhortly after by ſudden death. However thoſe Hiſtorians that write of theſe times condole his caſe, and it is their judgment, that as well the Eccleſiaſtical Affairs of the Church, as the Politick State of the Empire, would have much flouriſhed, had it ſo pleaſed the great Diſpoſer of all things, under his Government.

Jovian dies.

Vide ſupra & Socr. l. 3. c. ult.

26. *Valentinian* and *Valens* who ſucceeded him, were his Fellow Confeſſors, having both caſt off the Military Girdle, and refuſed to Sacrifice to Idols. They proſecuted the Magicians, eſpecially *Maximus* they handled roughly, who had not been only the cauſe of much miſchief in general to Chriſtianity, but had created trouble and danger to *Valentinian*. At their firſt beginning alſo they made a Law againſt Idolaters, forbidding the Celebration of their Myſteries by night. But it ſeems their Zeal was too quick, the times would not bear it, ſuch an alteration in mens minds had the courſes of *Julian* effected. Therefore by the violent importunity of *Prætextatus* a Pro-Conſul, and a vehement defender of *Paganiſm*, they rather diſpenſed with, than abrogated it, as *Zozimus* writes. For the *Pagans* might take it the worſe, becauſe *Valentinian* in the beginning of his Reign, had publiſhed an Edict, whereby he granted liberty of Conſcience to all, in which reſpect he is much commended by *Ammianus*. But ſuch learned Chriſtians as profeſſing the Sciences, had been inhibited by *Julian*, they reſtored to their antient Liberty and Priviledge, by a Law enacted for that very purpoſe. Notwithſtanding they were both Chriſtians, there was great difference as to their Faith. *Valentinian* clave to the Doctrine of the *Nicene* Council, and troubled none of the contrary Perſwaſion. *Valens* being Baptized by *Eudoxius* the *Arian* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, eſpouſed not only the Opinions, but the Quarrels of that Party, raiſing a great Perſecution againſt ſuch as owned the Clauſe of *One Subſtance*.

Valentinian and *Valens* ſucceed.

C. Th. l. 7. de maleſ.

C. Th. l. 9.

C. Th. l. 6. de med. & profeſ.

Socr. l. 4. c. 1.

27. *Valens* lying at *Conſtantinople*, the *Macedonians* waited on him, and were not ſo forgetful as not to move him about the calling of another Synod, for the Eſtabliſhment of the Faith. He thinking them of the Party of *Acacius* and *Eudoxius*, gave them Licenſe to meet together at *Lampſacus*, a Town ſcituate on the *Helleſpont* toward *Aſia*, where aſſembled, they eſtabliſhed the Form of Faith long before publiſhed at *Antioch*, and confirmed at *Seleucia*. They condemned *Acacius* and *Eudoxius*, who were not in capacity at this time either to hinder this cenſure, or to revenge themſelves by reaſon of the Commotions and Wars raiſed by *Procopius* the Tyrant. It ſeems that however theſe *Semiarians* ſpoke fair for the Son of God, yet they rather denied the Divinity of the Holy Ghoſt, which *Socrates* thought was a reaſon why ſo many of the *Macedonian* Sect in his days

Idem ibid. c. 2. & 4.

Valens calls a Synod at *Lampſacus*.

continued at *Lampſacus.* But their Decrees they ſend abroad to Biſhops of their own Confeſſion, and certain Legats to the Weſtern Biſhops, who in their Names ſubſcribe to the *Nicene* Faith, and the Clauſe of *one Subſtance.* The Letter directed to *Liberius* Biſhop of *Rome*, *Socrates* hath exemplified, as alſo his, in return to the Eaſtern Biſhops, congratulating with them, that thoſe who had formerly been drawn aſide at *Ariminum*, and elſewhere, had now acknowledged the Truth, and made Reparation to the Honour of the Son of God. Thus was he impoſed on, by the cunning eſpecially of *Euſtathius* Biſhop of *Sebaſtia*, one who had been often depoſed, and very skillful in ſuch Arts as were conducing to make advantage of times and Perſons, which he alſo did of this Letter. It ſeems that *Liberius* alſo had not let ſlip the opportunity afforded him under the time of *Julian*, of openly declaring againſt the *Arians*, which had reconciled him to his Flock, and obliterated the Memory of what he had done Eight Years before.

Socr. c. 11.

28. In this ſame year which was the Second of their Reign, of Chriſt the 365. they themſelves being Conſuls, the Emperours made many Conſtitutions of Religious concernment. As one (*a*) which exempted Religious Virgins, Widows, and Pupils, from paying of Poll Money. Another (*b*) that Chriſtians ſhould not on the Lords-day be convened before the Officers of the Exchequer, in Proſecution of what *Conſtantine* had formerly Decreed concerning the obſervation of this day. A third (*c*) againſt Magical Arts. Another whereby was forbidden the Condemnation of Chriſtians to the Gladiators, which Cuſtom formerly aboliſhed, had been revived by *Julian.* By a Fifth they increaſed the Authority and Juriſdiction of Biſhops, formerly conferred on them by *Conſtantine*, and added to their Antient and Primitive Power. For when Perſecutions ceaſed, and Chriſtian Religion came once to be incouraged by the Prince, Biſhops were conſtrained to erect Tribunals, which were much frequented, becauſe as Temporal Commodities ſo Suits did increaſe. The Judgment, though it was not juſt the former in regard of the Form, many things being determined by the opinion of the Church, yet was it as * one obſerves, of the ſame ſincerity. Whereupon *Conſtantine* ſeeing how profitable it was to determine Cauſes, and that by the Authority of Religion, which was moſt dear to the Profeſſors thereof, captious Actions were diſcovered, which the Judges could not penetrate, made a Law that there ſhould lye no Appeal from the Sentences of Biſhops, which ſhould be executed by the Sæcular Judges: And if in a Cauſe depending before a Sæcular Tribunal in any State thereof, either of the Parties, though the other contradict, ſhall demand the Epiſcopal Judgment, the Cauſe ſhall be immediately remitted unto him. Here the Tribunal of the Biſhop began to be a common Pleading place, having Execution by the Miniſtery of the Magiſtrate, and to gain the name of Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, Epiſcopal Audience, and ſuch-like. Now the Emperours *Valentinian* and *Valens*, did much increaſe their Power, giving Biſhops the care over all the Prizes of vendible things, and Authority to over-rule the Sellers in their Sale. How this their Power was either increaſed or diminiſhed we ſhall ſee hereafter.

Several Conſtitutions of Religious concernment now made.

(a) C.Th.l.4. *de cenſ.*

(b) C Th l.10. *de exact.*

(c) *L.8. de malef.*

De pænis l. 8.

* *Author. Hiſt. Conc. Trid. l 4.*

L. 1 C. de Epiſc. audient.

29. But perceiving what influence the Reputation of a Monaſtical Life had at this time into the Affairs of the State, they command ſuch Perſons to be ſought for, and pulled out their lurking places, as had deſerted Civil Offices, and betaken themſelves into the Wilderneſs. And (what ſeems of greateſt importance as to the State of Religion of this preſent time) though the neceſſities of Affairs had conſtrained them to tolerate a Liberty, yet leſt Chriſtians might be conſtrained to defile themſelves with the *Pagan* Superſtitions, they took care, that they ſhould not be ſet to the Cuſtody of Idol Temples by a Conſtitution directed to *Symmachus* Præfect of the City, and dated on the Seventeenth of *November*, in theſe words, *Whatever Judge or Apparitor ſhall appoint men of the Chriſtian Religion to the Cuſtody of Temples, let him know that neither his Life nor Fortunes ſhall be ſpared.* By which Law the *Æditui* or ordinary Keepers of Temples cannot be underſtood, who anciently of courſe were appointed to watch the Treaſures, Images, Furniture, and other things Sacred to ſuch Employments, from Thieves and Robbers; for ſuch were not appointed by Magiſtrates, but either by lot and deſignment out of the number of Prieſts, or by the Teſtaments, or appointment of the Founders. But extraordinary Keepers ſeem here to be meant, extraordinarily appointed by Judges and Magiſtrates, to preſerve thoſe Temples from Force and Violence. For it may well be ſuppoſed, that Chriſtians, who were ſo ill treated during the Reign of *Julian*, and ſuffered infinite Indignities, offered both to their Religion and themſelves, perceiving many lately erected in his time, perhaps out of the Spoils of Churches, and vexed moreover

by

C. Th. l. 1. *de fide Catholica. Quiſquis judex ſeu Apparitor ad cuſtodiam Templorum hominem Chriſtianæ Religionis adpoſuerit ſciat non ſaluti ſuæ, non fortunis eſſe parcendum. Dat. 15. cal. Dec. Med. valentin. & valente Coſſ.*

Vide Jacob. Gothofred *de interdicta Chriſtianorum cum Gentilibus communione.*

by Toleration granted to their Perſecutors, and ſomething altered in their Tempers from the patience of their Prædeceſſors, would hardly hold off their Hands from executing their Indignation and Spleen againſt the *Pagan* Rites and Temples, and that within the Præfectſhip of *Rome*, holden at this time by *Symmachus*.

30. Hereupon grievous Complaints being made by *Pagans* to the Magiſtrates, they (it is very probable) appointed their Officials Apparitors or Serjeants, to preſs Men to watch and guard the Temples, being very many, if not moſt of them both now, and long time after of that Religion, ſuch as this *Symmachus* himſelf was. Now they, though they had Officers enough of their own (for Cities eſpecially) or had the Power of preſſing ſufficient numbers, yet out of Envy and Revenge, they would puniſh Chriſtians by the Preſervation of what they ſo deſired to deſtroy, and forced them to this Employment, wherein their Eyes, Ears, Noſes, and all their Sences could not but be contaminated, vexed, and provoked by their Sacrifices, Incenſe, Prayers, and other Rites, their Complaints making Melody to the *Pagans*, who thereby had opportunity to inſult. How grievous to a Chriſtian thoſe abominable Rites were, *Valentinian* himſelf was very ſenſible, who having, when an Officer about the Perſon of *Julian*, waited on him to a Temple, was ſprinkled by the Prieſt with their Holy Luſtral Water, which he received with ſuch Indignation, as he returned the affront with blows. Being ſenſible therefore of the Indignity hereby both intended and offered to Chriſtian Religion, he forbad the thing by this ſevere Edict, at the Suit and Petition of *Liberius* Biſhop of *Rome*, or ſome of that City where this intollerable Servitude was impoſed. Therefore was this Conſtitution directed to *Symmachus* now Præfect there, as alſo that we have even now hinted againſt the Condemnation of Chriſtians to the ſport of Gladiators, which ſport as yet could not be removed; but ſeeing the *Pagans* were ſo tenacious of it, he would not have them double their pleaſure by ſuch objects. But as all Chriſtians were not free from Crimes, ſo did he not exempt them from all Puniſhments, but only ſuch as were opprobious to their Profeſſion. They were therefore lyable to that of the Bakers, a Body of Malefactors ſerving the City in that Imployment inforced alſo by another Reſcript of this ſame Emperour, to the ſaid *Symmachus*, which ſeems with thoſe other two to have made one entire Conſtitution, in which we have longer inſiſted, to make out the State and Condition of the times.

Soz. l.6.c.6.
Theod. l.4.c.5.

Valens is Baptized.

31. *Valens* being to undertake the Expedition againſt *Procopius*, thought fit to be Baptized, and received that Sacrament from the hands of *Euzoius* the *Arian* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, commended to him by his Wife, to whom he ſwore to defend that Hæreſie to the utmoſt. Not long after he called a Synod at *Singedinum* a City of *Pannonia*, wherein it was accounted ſufficient to aſſert the Sons *Likeneſs* to the Father. But the Legates ſent into the Weſt by the Council of *Lampſacus*, maintained the Controverſie againſt thoſe *Arians*, finding no greater countenance than in *Illyricum*, where a Council being aſſembled by the Authority of *Valentinian*, that Legates ſhould be ſent back to the *Orientales*, both in the Emperours Name and theirs, to take notice of their former Meſſage, to applaud their Faith and Courage to aſſert it, and promiſe them all conſtancy on their part, with all good Offices to be performed. This ſame Year died *Acacius* Sirnamed *Luſcus* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Palæſtine*, the *Anteſignanus* of the *Arians* who choſe to ſucceed him *Euzoius* another of that Profeſſion, not the ſame with him, who in the time of *Conſtantius*, as we ſaid, was ordained Biſhop of *Antioch*.

Theod.l.4.c.8,9.
Socr. l.4. c. 11,
Vide Jacob. Cappellum *ad*
A. D. 366.

Liberius Biſhop of *Rome* dies.

A Tumult about the Succeſſion.

32. The Year following, which was the Fourth of theſe Emperours, died *Liberius* Biſhop of *Rome*, into whoſe See was *Damaſus* elected, after it had been void ſix days. But he being of *Fælix* his Party, though conſtituted Vicar by *Liberius*, great Diſſentions aroſe, and the Diſſenting Party made choice of *Urſicinus* a Deacon of that Church to ſucceed *Liberius*. Such a Schiſm and Tumult hence aroſe, that both Parties armed with Power as well as Animoſity, betook themſelves at length to their Weapons, to the great Scandal of Chriſtian Religion, and Inſultation of the *Pagans*, of whom *Ammianus* obſerves, that in one day were taken up out of one place, no fewer than One hundred thirty and ſeven dead Bodies, and *Vinentius* Præfect of the City, not able to quiet them, was forced to withdraw into the Suburbs. But *Damaſus* got the better of his Adverſary, and *Urſicinus* was baniſhed to *Naples*, where he ceaſed not to foment the

Damaſus

Vide quæ ſupra ex Amiano.

the Schiſm, and promote his own Intereſt, againſt that of *Liberius*. This ſame year the Emperours, by their Reſcript dated *May* the Fifth, commanded all Goals to be delivered at *Eaſter* of all Malefactors, except Sacrilegious Perſons, Traytors, Poyſoners, Adulterers, ſuch as committed Rapes or Murder; and forbad any one to be removed from Priſon to the Theatre to be puniſhed.

C. th. l. 9. tit. 38. §. 3. & tit. 20 §. 11.

33. About this time dyed *Donatus*, made Biſhop of *Carthage* by the Faction of the *Donatiſts*, of whom he was the head, and main Actor, into whoſe place they choſe one *Parmenianus*, as earneſt a zealot of the ſame Sect. He preſently brandiſhed his Quill againſt the Orthodox Party, and for that being challenged to a publick Diſputation, refuſed to entertain ſuch Commerce with the Biſhops, as *unclean Creatures*, whereas he eſteemed himſelf and his Followers as the only *pure*, *undefiled*, and the *Children of God*. But *Optatus* Biſhop of *Milenis* in *Numidia*, grappelled with him at his own Weapon, writing ſeven Books againſt him, wherein he chaſtized his Folly to purpoſe, yet treated his Perſon as a Brother; againſt that uncharitable and Hæretical opinion of his, that the Catholick Church was only in *Africk*, and that within the Communion of the *Donatiſts*, *Ticonius* an *African* alſo wrote, whom *Parmenianus*, having in vain exhorted by a Letter to revoke his opinion, did Excommunicate, as St. *Auguſtine* teſtifies in his Writings alſo againſt *Parmenianus*. During thoſe ſtirs in *Afrrick*, *Italy* was ſtill diſquietted by the Schiſms in the *Roman* Church, though *Prætextatus* the Præfect of *Rome*, and an Heathen, uſed all means poſſible to compound the differences, amongſt which was baniſhment of ſome of the Party of *Urſicinus*: The Emperour gave him order to prohibit all of that Faction, any ingreſs into the City, thinking this would be ſufficient, but they ſtill continuing reſolute, and chuſing rather to meet together privately, and in Conventicles, than to communicate with thoſe that ſided with *Damaſus*; he commanded they ſhould not be ſuffered to come within Twenty Miles of *Rome*.

The Sects of *Donatiſts*.

Hieron. de ſcript. Eccleſ.

Ammian. l. 27.

34. This was much about the ſame time that *Valentinian* the Emperour, having diſpatched the War againſt the *Allemans*, came to *Milan*, where granting out a Reſcript in behalf of *Auxentius* Biſhop of that City, a notable *Arian*; the zeal of *Hilarius* Biſhop of *Poictiers*, was much ſtirred up to undeceive the Prince as to his apprehenſions of him, and therefore came and accuſed him of Blaſphemy, whereupon a time was appointed for them to be heard, by two certain Commiſſioners, aſſiſted by ſome Biſhops. *Auxentius* ſo worded it in this Aſſembly, by condemning the Perſon of *Arius*, and colouring his profeſſion, that he went away with the credit, and *Hilary* was eſteemed as an envious Perſon, a ſlanderer, and ſower of diſcord, who dyed not long after, having given an account of the conference, in an Epiſtle directed to all Catholicks, that they might ſhun the Communion of the ſaid *Auxentius*. *Hilary* dyed at his own See at *Poictiers*, and became ſo famous for his writings, and adherings to the Orthodox Faith, that he hath obtained the Reputation of a Saint, having a Church in the upper part of the City conſecrated to his memory, wherein they ſhew a Room appointed to the keeping of a certain Trunk of a Tree made hollow, they ſay by his Bile or Choler, called the Cradle of St. *Hilary*, into which they put Mad-men, and think that by virtue thereof they recover their Senſes. Hereupon ſuch as upbraid one another with madneſs, bid them to be gone to St. *Hilary*'s Cradle, though they tell ſuch like ſtories alſo at St. *Tubery* another Town of *France*, in the Province of *Narboune*. In the great Church alſo of *Poictiers*, dedicated to St. *Peter*, and founded by our *Henry* the Second, they ſhow part of that Apoſtles Beard, which they ſay was brought thither from *Rome* by St. *Hilary*, at his return from a Council held there againſt the *Arians*.

de.St Hilarie.

Vide Itimetta. Gallier. p. 90.

35. The warning which *Hilary* had given concerning *Auxentius*, ſeems to have had this effect, that ſome Councils were called, wherein he, and others of his Complices, were condemned, yet he kept his Biſhoprick till he reſigned his life and it together. Much about the ſame time that *Hilary* dyed, *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia* left this life, into whoſe place was brought *Baſil* with much adoe, who foreſeeing what would follow, had withdrawn himſelf out of the way, but was elected notwithſtanding, by the procurement eſpecially of *Gregory Nazianzen*. His Brother *Gregory* was about the ſame time Ordained Biſhop of *Nyſſa*, a City of the ſame Country, who is gently blamed by *Nazianzen* for giving his mind to the ſtudy of Rhetorick, rather more than became a Chriſtian Man. But they were ſcarcely warm in their Sees, when they forced to diſllodge by

Naz. in conc. Baſil & Ep. 21. 23.

Valens baniſhes the Orthodox Biſhops

Valens, who though he had ſtood rather neuter, before his Baptiſm by the *Arian* Biſhop, yet afterward remembring the vow he had made to promote that Hæreſie, and continually encouraged by his Wife, which the *Arians* were ſo wiſe as to make their own, he firſt Patronized that Sect, and then fell upon perſecution of the Orthodox. He publiſhed an Edict for the baniſhment of ſuch as being formerly ſent into Exile by *Conſtantius*, had returned upon the promotion of *Julian*; and foraſmuch as many ſince that time had been ordained, care was taken that they ſhould be condemned in Synods called for that purpoſe; by virtue of thoſe tricks were driven into Exile, *Gregory* Biſhop of *Nyſſa*, *Baſil* his Brother, *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Samoſata*, *Pelagius* of *Laodicea* and others. About which time *Eudoxius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, the Confident and Ghoſtly Father of the Emperour, went to his own place, after he had held that See Eleven Years. In the third Conſulſhip of *Valentinian* and *Valens* Emperours, the Seventh of their Reign, of the *Rome* 1123. *A. D.* 370.

Sozom. l. 6. *c.* 12.

36. Into his place the Orthodox party Elected *Evagrius*, a Man of their own opinion, who having been called out of Exile by *Jovian*, at that time remained in ſecret at *Conſtantinople*, to aſſiſt and confirm ſuch as were of the Faith of *one ſubſtance*. But the *Arians* made choice of *Demophilus*, whereupon aroſe ſuch Conteſts and Diſorders, that *Valens* then lying at *Nicomedia*, fearing worſe, ſent great numbers of armed Men into the City, and drove *Evagrius* into baniſhment. The *Arians* grown inſolent at this ſucceſs, and as knowing whom they had to back them, heap all publick affronts and injuries upon their Adverſaries, who thereupon betake themſelves to the Emperour for redreſs, ſending Eighty of the Prieſtly rank to *Nicomedia*, amongſt whom *Vrbanus*, *Theodorus* and *Menedemus* were moſt eminent. When they had opened their griefs, though he concealed much of his diſpleaſure, yet he was ſo inraged as to give order to *Modeſtus* an Officer to apprehend, and put them to death, which order he executed in ſo ſtrange a manner, as *Socrates* thought he was obliged to leave a deſcription of it to Poſterity: *Modeſtus* fearing to Execute them publickly, made them believe they ſhould be baniſhed, and for that purpoſe got them into a Ship, and thereby to be conveyed into Foraign Countries; but gave in charge to the Seamen that as ſoon as they came upon the Main, they ſhould fire the Veſſel and there leave them; they obeyed their orders to the full, for after they were come into the *Aſtacen Sea*, they conveyed themſelves into a Boat, and ſet fire to the Ship, which was driven by a ſtrong Eaſtern Gale into the Haven called *Dacidazus*, where, together with her Fraight, ſhe burnt down to the Water. This cruelty, ſaith *Socrates*, was revenged from Heaven by a grievous Famine, which ſorely afflicted *Phrygia*, whence the Inhabitants were forced to flye to *Conſtantinople*, and other Provinces for relief. Of which Famine St. *Hierome* alſo maketh mention at the Seventh year of the Emperour *Valens*.

His cruelty to thoſe at *Conſtantinople*.

Vide Socr. l. 4. *c.* 13.

In Chron.

37. Some Biſhops yet eſcaped the rage of theſe tempeſtuous times, rather ſecured by that veneration which their ſanctity ſtruck into the Perſecutors, than out of any merciful inclination; amongſt which where *Paulinus* of *Antioch*, *Epiphanius* Biſhop of *Salamina*, and *Baſil*, who being tampered with to no purpoſe to change his Religion, was condemned to baniſhment, when the Son of *Valens* the Emperour fell ſick, upon which accident execution of the ſentence was ſtopped, and he was ſent for to pray for the Health and recovery of the Child, of ſuch force is Conſcience to force an owe and acknowledgment, where Intereſt and paſſion are prædominent, ſome ſay, he promiſed recovery of the Child, on condition the Emperour would turn to the Orthodox Faith, which he refuſing, *Baſil* left off Praying, and ſo the Child dyed; others write that the condition was of bringing up the Boy in the Catholick Religion, ſome make it of not Baptizing him by *Arians*, others of their not praying for him; but however the Child miſcarried. *Theodoret* delivers it for a truth, that *Valens* taking Pen in hand to ſubſcribe to the baniſhment of *Baſil*, could not cut one Letter, but ſpoyling three Pens one after another, at laſt proceeding to attempt it, he was ſeized with a trembling in his hand, whereat aſtoniſhed, he tore the Paper; yet proceeded he to perſecute at *Cæſarea*, ſuch as held the Doctrine of *one ſubſtance*, and removing to *Antioch*, drove *Meletius* into Exile, turned the Prieſts out of their Churches, and here, as well as in other places throughout the Eaſt, tormented them, and made them away by ſeveral ſorts of deaths, eſpecially by drowning in the Sea.

He perſecutes others.

Socr. Sozom Theod.

38. The Orthodox Chriſtians in thoſe times of Perſecution not knowing well where with ſafety to meet together to ſerve God, repaired to the Church of St. *Thomas* the Apoſtle, at *Edeſſa* in *Meſopotamia*, in great numbers, which being underſtood by *Valens*, who in his Journey to *Antioch*, went to ſee that ſtately Fabrick, he gave the Governour a blow with his Fiſt, becauſe he had not ſcattered thoſe Conventicles, according to his former injunctions: He notwithſtanding ſo publick an affront, gave notice to thoſe Chriſtians of the Emperours pleaſure, as unwilling to put them all to death, but they nevertheleſs would not give over their meetings, which continued as full and frequent as formerly. Hereupon with a ſufficient power of armed Men he marches down to execute his Orders upon ſuch as he found in the Temple, and in his way meets a poor Woman, which having her young Son in her hand, haſted thither, and unwilling to be put out of her way, thruſt her ſelf into the midſt of the ranks to march along with them; he beginneth to ask her queſtions, to tax her folly, and expoſtulate with her, for her raſh thruſting her ſelf into moſt certain deſtruction, ſhe plainly tells him, ſhe was going where the People of God were met, and was ſo far from being deterred with his threats, that ſhe ſaid ſhe made what haſte ſhe could, leſt ſhe ſhould come to late, and fail of ſerving God by Martyrdom; he then demanded of her, wherefore ſhe carried with her the little Child, to which ſhe replyed, that he might alſo meet with the ſame meaſure, and receive the like reward. Hereat as way laid, this Officer repairs to the Emperour, and telling the ſtory, lays before him the reſolution of the whole company, and the infamy to which he would expoſe his Reign by ſuch a Maſſacre. Hereupon he deſiſts, having ſo far already proceeded in thoſe Cruelties, that ſome Rivers bluſhed at the Bloody Maſſacre of Innocents, receiving a crimſon tincture from their ſlain Bodies.

Deſigns a Maſſacre.

39. The Edict concerning the Baniſhment of Biſhops, who had been Exiled formerly by *Conſtantius*, it may well be ſuppoſed fell as foul upon *Athanaſius* as any. This Edict being backt with threats of ſevere proceedings againſt ſuch Officers as ſhould fail to execute what was enjoyned, the Præfect of *Ægypt* lets *Athanaſius* know what he was to expect, and prepare for it accordingly. The *Alexandrians* aware of the ſtorm, had reſolved to ſecure him from it, if poſſible, and ſend word back to the Governour, that *Athanaſius* was not comprized in the Edict; for though he was baniſhed by *Conſtantine*, yet had *Conſtantius* reſtored him, and he had been driven into Exile by *Julian*, ſuffering rather more than any other Biſhop by his direct command, from which he had alſo been reſtored by *Jovian*. When this would not ſatisfie, they plainly ſignified their reſolutions to protect him by force, which ſo moved the Governour, that fearing a revolt, he demurred, and promiſed all ſecurity to *Athanaſius*, till he could further underſtand the Emperours pleaſure; but the Biſhop was too much verſed in ſuch buſineſs, to be ſo lulled a ſleep, for either diſcovering by his own foreſight, what would follow, or receiving intelligence from ſome private Friend, he was aware of the Governours coming, and removed himſelf thither, where he was not eaſily to be found, the Governour coming in a dark and Tempeſtuous night, and finding the Bird flown, was much diſturbed with the diſappointment, and when all Men admired where he could lye ſo cloſe, they variouſly diſcourſed of the matter; his Enemies ſaid, as formerly upon ſuch occaſions, that he was a Conjurer and dealt with the Devil, ſome of his Friends attributed it to Divine Revelation, and indifferent Perſons could not but very much apprehend his Sagacity. But he lay hid, it's ſaid, in his Fathers Monument for ſome Months, till *Eudoxius* being dead, *Valens* became more peacably inclined towards the Orthodox Biſhops.

Soz.l.6.c.12.

Athanaſius forced to ſhift for himſelf.

40. The Eaſtern Church groaning thus under Perſecution, could not but juſtly expect ſome aſſiſtance and comfort from that of the Weſt. The Orthodox Biſhops having conſulted together, Commiſſionate *Baſil* to write to their Brethren, requiring their aſſiſtance, eſpecially that of the *Italians* and *French*, who were nearer the Emperour *Valentinian*, and of greateſt Intereſt with him, who, they deſired, might be moved to write to his Brother, and take him off from this ſevere courſe; but little good came of it, more than ſome com-

Baſil. Ep. 78. &c,

comfortable Letters written to thoſe under Perſecution. The Biſhop of *Rome*, who by reaſon of his See, was firſt in order, and moſt concerned to ſtickle in their behalf, meddling little, or rather ſtifling thoſe complaints, leſt by offending *Valens*, he ſhould make him his Enemy, and cauſe him to Patronize the Plea, and pretence of *Urſicinus*, who having been baniſhed into *Gall*, was now permitted to return into *Italy*, on condition that he came not within the *Suburbicarian* Countries; therefore might *Baſilius*, as he did, write again and again, inſomuch that when ſome preſſed for a fourth Meſſage to be ſent into the Weſt, he diſſwaded it, bidding them reſt contented, and leave off their intreaties, for he was proud, and no good was to be expected. *Baſil* had a large ſhare of trouble, not only in reſpect of the *Arian* Perſecution, but through miſunderſtandings of the Orthodox Party, being accuſed of ſeveral Errors, by reaſon of the obſcurity or ſtrangeneſs of ſome expreſſions about the three ſubſiſtencies of the bleſſed *Trinity*, which miſtakes he cleared ſufficiently by ſeveral Writings, and after his death, his great Friend and admirer *Gregory Nazianzen* wiped off ſuch aſperſions as lay upon his memory, who was alſo of the Party in ſome other troubles which he underwent.

Ep. 10.

41. This *Gregory* was the Son of *Gregory* Biſhop of *Nazianzum* in *Cappadocia*, whence he had the Syrname of *Nazianzen*, being born * after his Father was in Orders, and as it ſeems, after he was made Biſhop of that place, which was about the Year 325. From which, to the time we now write of, intervened Forty five. He had a younger Brother called *Cæſarius*, and a Siſter, alſo younger than himſelf, by Name *Gorgonia*, of whom, he ſeems a very accompliſhed Perſon, and was very well eſteemed at Court: *Gregory*, as alſo his Brother, being well ſeen in Learning already, went in his Youth to *Athens*, at this time the moſt flouriſhing Univerſity of the Eaſt, where he contracted a familiarity with *Baſil*, and had occaſion of making ſuch obſervations upon *Julian*, who ſtudied there alſo at the ſame time, as enabled him to give him that Character we have formerly mentioned; at *Athens* he was detained ſome time, to read Oratory, but withdrawing himſelf thence, he was afterwards invited to Court by *Julian*, who had taken eſpecial notice of him; but deteſting his Apoſtacy and Principles, he refuſed the Attendance, and drew off his Brother from the ſame Imployment: Retiring to a ſolitary life with *Baſil*, he compoſed two Orations againſt *Julian*, and being e're this ordained Prieſt, was afterward called home by his Father, to aſſiſt him in his Epiſcopal Function, in which Imployment he continued, till *Baſil* drew him very unwilling into the Epiſcopal Rank. For *Cappadocia* being divided into *Firſt* and *Second*, as *Baſil* was Biſhop of the former, his See being at *Cæſarea*, ſo *Authimicuus* was of the later, whoſe Seat was at *Tyana*, betwixt them happened great Controverſies, about the extent of their Juriſdiction, which cauſed *Baſil* to erect ſome other Biſhopricks within his Dioceſs, and amongſt the reſt one at *Saſima*, over which with much adoe was ſet *Gregory*. But this compoſed not the differences, ſo that he perceiving he ſhould offend, both by the one and the other, *Authimicuus* being reſolute and chollerick, he withdrew himſelf again to a ſolitary life, bnt this diſpleaſing his Father, he obeyed his commands, returning to his aſiſtance as long as the old Man lived.

* οὔπω τοσοῦτον ἐκμεμέρηκας βίον ὅσος διῆλθε θυσιῶν ἐμοὶ χρόνος, *&c. Ita Patrem inducit eum alloquentem latine de vita ſuæ edit. Morelli Paris. Tom.* 2. *p.* 9. *alibi paſſim.*

42. But we muſt return to *Athanaſius*, and take our laſt farewel of him, who having now finiſhed his long and troubleſome courſe, was to receive his Crown. *Valens* wearied with his own Perſecutions, or rather underſtanding how the *Alexandrians* were affected towards their Biſhop, for fear of Commotions ſuffered him to return in quiet to his See, and there ſpend his laſt days, which he knew could not be very many. This was two or three years which he ſpent not only in Affairs of his own Province, but of the Catholick Church alſo, aſſiſting by his advice and Council his Fellow Biſhops, and contending for the *Nicene* Faith, where there was occaſion. His Maſter found him ſo doing after he had governed the Church of *Alexandria* Six and forty Years, and weathered out ſo many Storms of Perſecution under *Conſtantine*, *Conſtantius*, *Julian*, and *Valens*, that for Labours and Suffering

Socr. l. 4. *c.* 16.

Valens ſuffers *Athanaſius* to return to *Alexandria.*

Suffering next after the Apoſtles, he ſeemeth to diſcern the firſt place, and living in the Memory of Chriſtians to all Poſterity hath juſtly obtained the Syrname of the *Great.* He was a Pillar, ſaith *Nazianzen,* holding forth the Myſtery of Godlineſs againſt Spiritual Wickedneſſes in high places, meek and gentle, ſeldom angry, for which cauſe he was not unacceptable to his very Enemies, of a couragious Spirit, eſpecially in danger; not ambitious, yet of excellent Parts both for Learning and Prudence. His Perſonage was comely, his Countenance Angelical, Affable and Courteous, yet Grave. His Speech was proper, conciſe and acute, his delivery pleaſing. His Doctrine came to be accepted of by the Churches, and his Confeſſion of Faith a Rule to theirs, even to this preſent day. Such was his Sagacity, that by Gods Bleſſing he miraculouſly eſcaped all ſuch Plots, Devices, and Ginns, as were laid for him, which made the *Arians* ſay he was a Conjurer, and foraſmuch as in the Legend of St. *George,* we read that he was oppoſed by a Conjurer of this Name, we may conclude that they corrupted the true Story, changing *George* the *Saint* for *George* the *Arian* Uſurper, as they dealt with all other ſorts of Hiſtories. The death of *Athanaſius* fell into the Ninth Year of *Valentinian*; of *Rome* the 1125. *A. D.* 372. *Fl. Modeſtus* and *Fl. Arintheus* being Conſuls.

'Αγγελικὸν τὸ εἶδος, ἀγγελικὴν τὴν διάνοιαν.

Who dies.

Is ſucceeded by *Lucius* an *Arian.*

Vide Socr. l. 4. *c.* 16. *Theod. l.* 4. *c.* 18. *Ruff. l.* 2 *c.* 3.

43. Into the See of *Alexandria* the Catholick Party elected *Peter,* an ancient Presbyter of that Church. But the *Arians* produce *Lucius,* whom formerly they had choſen to ſucceed *George,* and reſolving now that they would not be defeated, they ſend, and give an account to *Valens,* both of *Athanaſius* his death, and what had enſued, who fully complying with them, appoints *Euzoius* the Biſhop of *Antioch,* being aſſiſted by a great Officer (ſome name *Magnus* the Quæſtor, others *Palladius* Præfect of the Province, and a *Pagan,*) to ſee *Lucius* poſſeſſed of the Chair. Accordingly they either Impriſon or drive away *Peter,* who perceiving no good was to be done, (ſome ſay he eſcaped out of Priſon) got himſelf to *Rome,* and by his Epiſtles gave account to the World, of the moſt horrid Outrages committed by the *Arians,* by Killing, Impriſoning, and Baniſhing the Orthodox, no Sex, Age, nor Condition being ſpared. Therefore the *Arians* being few in number, yet backed by the Emperours Authority (who by an Edict commanded all ſuch as hold the Clauſe of *one Subſtance* to be expelled) got Poſſeſſion of all the Churches of *Alexandria.* Then were Religious Houſes in the Deſert ſpoiled and beaten down to the Ground, thoſe who inhabited them making no reſiſtance, and being ſlaughtered by the Soldiers in ſo Savage a manner, as cannot well be expreſſed.

Socr. c. 17.

St. *Hillary* Biſhop of *Milan* dies.

Hieronym. in Chron.

Vita Ambroſii Theodoret. Socr. alii.

44. So ſad a change was made in the Eaſt, from St. *Athanaſius* to *Lucius.* But in the ſecond year after happened ſo happy a one in the Weſt, as made a great Compenſation to the Church, for her loſs of ſo excellent a Paſtor. *Auxentius* the *Arian* Biſhop of *Milan,* whom St. *Hillary* had in vain laboured to remove, was now taken away by death, and great endeavours were uſed by both Parties for the choice of ſuch a Man to ſucceed him, as might ſerve their Deſigns and Intereſts. *Valentinian* obſerving his rule not to meddle with Church Matters, had called to him the Biſhops, and given them free Power to chuſe whom they ſhould think fit; but ſuch a Tumult happened in the Church, in the heat of Contention, the People having a ſhare in the Election, that *Ambroſe* Governour of that Province, then in Town, fearing ſome great Inconvenience would follow, came to appeaſe it. Having admoniſhed them calmly to go to work about ſo ſerious a buſineſs, it came to paſs that he himſelf was named to be Biſhop, which he heard with much trouble, excuſed himſelf from the unfitneſs as well of his Perſon, as Abilities, being but a *Catechumeniſt,* whereas it was flat contrary to the Cannon of the *Nicene* Council, for ſuch to be ordained. When no excuſes would ſerve his turn, the Multitude being violently inclined towards him, he withdrew himſelf; but the Matter being referred to the Emperour, he acknowledged a particular Providence in the caſe, and foraſmuch as it was contrary to the Laws, for any in Publick Imployments of the State, to be received into Orders, he moſt willingly granted a Diſpenſation.

C. Th. de Epiſc. & Clericis. l. 3.

45. *Ambroſe* in the mean time having made his eſcape from thoſe whom the People had ſet to watch him; but upon notice of the Emperours pleaſure, was brought forth, and then apprehending it his duty to ſubmit to ſo ſignal a Providence, was Baptized on the laſt day of *November*, and conſecrated on the Seventh of *December* following, both which days fell upon the firſt *Feria*. Though this Election was againſt expreſs Cannons, yet was there much joy amongſt all of the Orthodox Party, and Congratulatory Letters written too and fro. And ſo highly were the Citizens of *Millaine* pleaſed with it, that as * *Socrates* tells us, being formerly at diſcord amongſt themſelves, they thenceforth imbraced Peace and Unity. *Valentinian* it is ſaid acknowledged the goodneſs of God towards him, that he had ſuch an Officer as was fit to be made a Biſhop; but he lived not long to ſee the happy Fruit of this Election, dying the year following at *Bergutium*, as we have already deſcribed the manner of his death. His humour was not to interpoſe much in Matters of the Church, as to the Government thereof, ſaying, *It was not proper for him, being a Lay-Perſon*, and it is certain he did not meddle enough, ſuffering his Brother to act his pleaſure againſt the Orthodox Party, of which yet he ſeemed to be a Member. But as he was unequally Yoaked with his Brother in the Empire, ſo with an *Arian* Wife in his Bed, which unlucky Conjunction ſo overpowered him, as to intercept and hinder that influence which elſe he might have had into the Peace and Tranquillity of the Church. Though he meddled little himſelf with the Diſcipline, yet as Emperour he joyned with his Brother in the enacting of ſeveral Conſtitutions, which being of an Eccleſiaſtical Nature, and ſo conducing to the knowledge of the State of ſuch Affairs, we muſt add to thoſe we have formerly mentioned.

Is ſucceeded by *Ambroſe*.

* C. 25.

Valentinian dies.

46. The firſt of theſe ſufficiently diſcovers how unwilling he was to meddle with Church Matters in the caſe of *Chromatius* a certain Biſhop, who being condemned in a Synod of Seventy Biſhops from them appealed to the Magiſtrate. For ſo doing by a Reſcript in the Sixth Year of his Reign, he and his Colleagues impoſe upon him a pecuniary Mulct, and take care for preventing the like in time to come. But as he was earneſt for maintaining Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, finding what eaſe it procured to his Government, ſo was he ſenſible of the forward Zeal of Chriſtians, who according to the Nature of Mankind, which is ever prone to one of the Extreams, though they could never give enough to the Church, and that Women eſpecially acted by that fervent Devotion which is commonly ſeen in firſt Reformations to overrun diſcretions, lay open to the covetous deſigns of certain Church-men. For prevention hereof, in the Seventh year of his Reign, *Valentinian* and his Colleagues make the firſt Law of *Mortmain*, directed to *Damaſus* Biſhop of *Rome*, whereby Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, Clerks, or Monks, are inhibited to receive any Inheritances, Legacies, or other Gifts from Women. Both *Hierome* and *Ambroſe* take eſpecial notice of the Cauſe, rather than the Edict it ſelf, falling very foul upon the great and ſordid Avarice of many Prieſts and Monks of that time, who accounting Gain to be Godlineſs, devoured Widdows Houſes, and made a prey of ſilly Women laden with diverſe Luſts. But this Law was afterward repealed, and others elſewhere of the ſame and larger nature, enacted according to comportment of times, and the inclination of ſuch as were poſſeſſed of Supream Power.

C. Th. l. 20. *appel.*

C. Th. l. 20. *de Epiſc. & Cler.*

His Laws.

47. This ſame year by another Reſcript, they take care for the Reformation and Improvement of the Schools at *Rome*, wherein they forbid any Youths to ſtay longer than the Twentieth year of their Age, out of a Senſe of the vitiouſneſs of that City it ſeems, although the placing of Univerſities in Capital Towns, contributes much to the breeding of Youth, by acquainting it more with the World and Men, and prevents that Ruſticity, to which Solitary and Monaſtical places are more ſubject. But the Year following ſeveral Conſtitutions were made, which ſhows the Temper of *Valentinian* very indulgent to *Pagans*, and indeed would make us jealous, that his ſuffering the Orthodox to be Perſecuted, and his not medling with Matters of the Church, proceeded from a great indifferency as to all Religion,

C. Th. de ſtudiis liber. Rom. l. 1

C. Th. l. 1. *de ſcen.*

gion, and unwilling to trouble himſelf with things of that nature. For whereas Chriſtians could not be Stage-players, but upon their Baptiſm changed that courſe of Life, he ſignified his Pleaſure to be, that thoſe *Scenici* being publick Slaves, deſtinated to the common Theatre, ſhould not be Baptized before the point of Death. By another he conferred upon Prieſts of the *Gentiles*, the Honour that was wont to be given to *Excomites*. But what was of moſt Conſequence, by another Conſtitution they permit to *Pagans* the uſe of the *Aruſpicina*, provided it were executed without Magick, and give therewith liberty to every Man to profeſs what Religion he pleaſed. Theſe things vehemently inculcate a ſuſpition of his lukewarmneſs, or (which is fully as probable) declare to us the Conſtitution of the times, to have been ſuch as inforced him to ſlacken the Reins of his Government, *Paganiſm* being yet ſo common and prævalent as to make ſuch a Party for ſtrength and Intereſt, as the Scepter was not in any fair Capacity to cruſh it.

C. Th. l.7. de decur.

C. Th. l.9. de malef. tit. 16. § 9.

48. For this reaſon in Charity we may believe, he ſuffered the Altar of *Victory* ſtill to remain in the *Capitol*, and thereto the *Pagan* Senators to pay their Devotions, for we cannot well imagine he could be ignorant of ſuch a practice: And permitted the *Ethnicks* ſo far to abuſe his Indulgence, as not only to uſe the old, but erect new Altars for freſh Sacrifices, as it appears they did by ſeveral Inſcriptions. The Year following being the Ninth of his Reign, he makes a ſharp Law againſt the *Manichees*, prohibiting their Meetings, fining their Teachers, and confiſcating the Houſes where they held their Conventicles; whilſt his Brother *Valens* imploys himſelf in furniſhing Libraries at *Conſtantinople*. In that following, by another Law he reſtrains the Practice of Rebaptizing, uſed ſo much by the *Donatiſts* in *Africk*. And although leave was given to *Pagans* to ſin againſt the Law of Faith, yet not againſt that of Nature; if as Chriſtians the Emperours would not reſtrain them, yet as Princes and as Men. Therefore whereas they aſſumed the Ancient Barbarous Power of Life and Death over their Children, thinking it a ſmall matter to kill their Infants by a Conſtitution in the Eleventh of *Valentinian*, that unnatural Cuſtom is taken away. As for that Law mentioned by *Socrates*, whereby out of love to *Juſtina*, he ſhould give liberty to all Perſons to Marry two lawful Wives, it may juſtly be ſuſpected of falſehood. For by Heathen Writers he is ſaid to have been very Chaſt, that *Juſtina* which *Socrates* would have a Virgin, had been Wife, as appears from *Zozimus*, to *Magnentius* the Tyrant, and Married to *Valentinian* after the Death of *Severa*. It was a thing ſo contrary to Chriſtianity, that Heathens themſelves diſapproved it. Neither do the Hiſtorians of thoſe times make mention of ſuch a Paſſage. Only *Socrates* who lived long after, and ſuch as received it on truſt from him. For *Valentinian* it may be ſaid that he was a Chriſtian Emperour, and had been a Confeſſor before he reached that Dignity. On the other ſide it may be believed, that through his connivance at his Brothers Actions, the *Pagans* had far better quarter during his Reign, than had the Orthodox Chriſtians themſelves.

Ambroſ. Ep. ad Valentin. Jun.

Vide Inſcript.

C. Th. l.3. de hæret.

C Th l.14. de ſtudiis liberalibus tit. 9. §. 2.

C.Th. l.9 tit. 14. §. 1.

49. At the ſame time as *Valentinian* died, his Brother *Valens* then at *Antioch*, with greater violence Perſecuted the Orthodox Party, till *Themiſtius* the Philoſopher took off the edge of his hatred, by ſhewing him that there were greater and many more Diſſentions amongſt *Pagans*, in reference to Religion, than amongſt Chriſtians about Matters of Faith. Yet did he but divert the Storm upon the Monks of this time, upon whom he looked as Fugitives from the Commonwealth, and ſuch as caſt off thoſe Obligations which nature and their Country had laid upon them, to betake themſelves to a courſe of idleneſs. Having formerly laid ſuch Burthens upon them again, as *Conſtantine* and *Conſtantius* had taken from off their ſhoulders; by another Reſcript he now commands them to be pulled by the Ears out of their Monaſteries, and liſted in the Army, or upon refuſal to be knocked in the Head, whereupon great Outrages were committed upon this ſort of People about this time, and they received Letters full of comfort from ſeveral eminent Eccleſiaſticks of this Age, who were generally affected to the Monaſtical Life. At the ſame time *Gratian*

Soz. l.6. c.25. Socr. l.4. c.27.

C.Th. de Decur.

Valens ſevere towards Monks

Oroſ. l.7. c.33. Hieron. in Chron.

tian in the Weſt ran a contrary courſe, who ſucceeding to his Fathers Principles, as to Religion, yet, out of a ſence it ſeemeth of his remiſneſs in point of Diſcipline, and too great Indulgence towards the *Arians*, the Year after his death, forbids their Aſſemblies under the notion of Hæretical Conventicles, and confiſcates the places of their Meetings. The ſame Year alſo the Three Emperours, *Gratian*, *Valentinian*, and *Valens*, joyn in a Conſtitution for the regulating of Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, ordaining that the leſſer ſorts of Faults ſhould be heard and determined in Dioceſan Synods, but greater Crimes by higher Powers. In the mean while *Paganiſm* rather recovered ſtrength than otherwiſe, the *Gentiles* erecting many Monuments of their Superſtition, as to the *Mother of the Gods*, *the Great Gods*, (*Dii Magni*) and at this (the Daughter of *Gnaeus*, which gave name to the Country of *Attica*) the Emperours conniving at this Practice, as not able to reſiſt that Impiety, which had been foſtered to ſuch a degree of vivacity by *Julian*, as was to be dulled and abated by time, before the Scepter could give it its fatal ſtroak.

C.Th. de hæret. l. 4.

*C.Th.l.*16.*tit.*2. §. 23.

*Inſcript. Gruteri p.*28.

50. But *Valens*, being at length taught ſome Moderation by Afflictions, having received a great overthrow from his Enemies, which was ſeconded with dreadful Peſtilence and Famine, began to be more favourable to the Orthodox Biſhops, recalling them out of Baniſhment, though he did not reſtore them to their Sees. Yet they at *Alexandria* took heart, and being encouraged by the Letters which *Peter* their Biſhop brought from *Damaſus* Biſhop of *Rome*, they expelled *Lucius* from the Biſhoprick, who got him in all haſt to *Conſtantinople*, and confirmed *Peter* in his Seat, wherein he ſate but a ſhort time, for he died not long after, and left his Brother *Timothy* to ſucceed him. This ſame Year the Emperours, by a Conſtitution, exempt all Clerks from Perſonal Imployments. And *Gratian* by another Reſcript, reſtrains the *Donatiſts* in *Africk* from their common practice of Rebaptizing, as alſo the Aſſemblies of the *Manichees*, amongſt whom was *Auguſtine* a young Man of the Age of Three and twenty, of which number the odd Three he had ſpent as an Auditor and Novice in their Diſcipline. He was born, as he himſelf writes, at *Tagaſte* a Town of *Numidia*, in the Nineteenth year of *Conſtantius*, and the Conſulſhip of *Arbetio* and *Lollianus*, on the Thirteenth of *November*. His Mother *Monica* being left a Widdow about the Seventeenth year of his Age, a moſt Religious Matron, was much afflicted for him, ſeeing him run ſuch a courſe of Hæreſie and looſeneſs. And not only by her importunate Prayers and Tears laboured for his Converſion; but dealt with ſuch as ſhe thought moſt able to convince him of his Folly, to reaſon him out of the *Manichæan* Errors, and urged thereunto a certain Orthodox Biſhop, eſpecially, who thinking it not ſeaſonable as yet to incounter him whilſt young, hot, and newly entred into that courſe, he abounded ſo much in his own ſence, ſhe ſtill followed him, weeping and bewailing her Sons condition. With which when the good Man was wearied, and could not put her off, he bad her, *Go her ways, for it could not be, that a Son of thoſe Tears could periſh*; as we ſhall ſee it came to paſs.

Hieron. in Chron. Oroſ. l. 7. *c.* 73.

C. Th. l. 16. *t.* 2. §. 24.

C.Th. ne ſanct. bapt. iter.

De vita beata & Confeſſ.

51. But ſuch is the condition of this preſent life, that as one comes upon the Stage of the World to act his part, another paſſeth off, having done his duty, which was the lot of *Baſil*, the great Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, who dyed on the firſt day of *January*, and of the following Year: A Man of ſuch eſteem in his life time, that what ever he did was accounted a ſufficient and warrantable Pattern, and even ſuch paſſages as in another would have been accounted defects, as proceeding from him, were taken for no other than perfections; when dead, ſo precious was the memory of him, that through the great crowd at his Funeral, whilſt Multitudes flocked to pay him their laſt reſpects, many were preſſed to death. His Abſtinence and Auſterity of life, were ſuch, that he only fed upon Bread and Salt, and drank nothing but pure Water; contented himſelf with one Coat and Gown, and made the ground his Bed; he was of tall and upright Stature, dry and lean in his Body, blackiſh wanniſh Complexion, had a large Noſe, a round Forehead, wrinckles in his Face, long

Baſil Biſhop of *Cæſarea* dies.

Ὁ Κόσμος σκηνὴ ὁ Βίος πάροδος.

Naz.

Baron. ex Anonym. codicem vatican.

long Vizaged, had hollow Temples, wore a great Beard, was ſomthing gray, and looked thoughtfully; he is ſaid to have præſcribed Rules of living to Monks, Clerks, and Lay-Perſons: Yet this *Aſſetica* aſcribed to him, are not to be found amongſt the reſt of his Works, in the Catalogue of *Nazianzen*. And *Euſtathius* who Inſtituted the Monaſtical life in *Armenia*, hath been by ſome eſteemed the Author of them; the Rule alſo going under his Name, is juſtly ſuſpected, foraſmuch as there is no mention of it in *Nazianzen*; and there is another ſaid alſo to be his, which contains only Thirty five Chapters. In the midſt of his Book concerning the Holy Ghoſt, *Eraſmus* thinks ſome things inſerted which are no wiſe like his. His Epiſtle to *Cæſarea Patricia* is alſo ſuſpected. And the Book written of his life, under the Name of *Amphilochius* is by all Parties accounted ſpurious, being full of Fables and things repugnant to other good Hiſtories, and therefore unworthy of credit in the opinion of *Baronius* himſelf.

Sozom. l. 3. c. 13.

Vide Juell. Duplicat. contr Hardart. 1. §. 33. Ad. A. D. 378.

Valens burnt alive by the *Goths.*

52. A Month after the death of *Baſil*, dyed alſo *Ephræm* the Deacon at *Edeſſa*, on the firſt day of *February*, a Man of extraordinary Sanctity, whoſe Vertues are much ſet forth by *Gregory Nyſſen*, in an Anniverſary Oration. And this year was the laſt alſo of *Valens* the Emperour, whom as we may ſay, the *Goths* burning a live after a defeat in Battel, thereby revenged upon his Body the injury he had done to their Souls, by ſeducing them from the Orthodox Faith to the *Arian* Hæreſie. His death brought a new life and reſuſcitation of the ancient Heat and Vigor into the Eaſtern Churches; which *Gratian* by a ſeaſonable Law for Reſtitution of all baniſhed Perſons to their proper Places, ſo cheriſhed, that the Catholick Doctrine began ſpeedily to flouriſh again. Yet ſo powerful was the *Arian* Faction, that he thought it unſeaſonable to apply any ſudden remedy to that Sore, and therefore he gave liberty of conſcience to all excepting the *Euxomians*, *Photinians* and *Manichees*, the groſſer ſort of Hæreticks. But that the Catholicks might not be overpowered by Faction or Intereſt, and receive the full benefit he intended them, *Theodoret* tells us, he ſent into the Eaſt one *Sapores*, a Man of great note, who publiſhed an Edict at *Antioch*, and turned the *Arians* out of thoſe Churches into which they had intruded. The Orthodox Biſhops incouraged by his preſence, and the favour of *Gratian*, met together at *Antioch*, where conſulting how they might beſt improve the opportunity God had given them for the reſuſcitation of the true Faith, and proſperity of the Churches, they firſt compoſed differences betwixt *Meletius* and *Paulinus*, both Biſhops of that Church, ordaining, that the Survivour ſhould be immediately ſeized of the Biſhoprick upon the others deceaſe, without any farther Election, to which award they bound by oath Six of the Principal Presbyters of the Church, who ſeemed moſt fit to ſtand as Competitors at the next Vacancy of the See.

Gratian reſtores the baniſhed Orthodox in the Eaſt.

Socr. l. 5. c. 2.

Soz. l. 7. c. 1.

L. 5. c. 2.

Some Hereſies revived.

L. 5. c. 5.

53. Hereby was removed much matter of Scandal, for the caſe of thoſe two Perſons had occaſioned great Tumults and Seditions. The Friends of *Meletius*, as *Socrates* writes, would have joyned them together in the Epiſcopal Function; but *Paulinus* objected it was againſt the Canons, for any Ordained *Arian* Biſhops to execute that Office, and when he would not conſent, the People endeavoured to effect it by force, making preparations for his Inſtallment in a certain Church within the Suburbs. This being done, all the City was in an uproar, and great diſſentions continued amongſt the People, till this means of reconciliation was found out, wherewith the Multitude was fully quieted, only the Favourers of *Lucifer*, who had Ordained *Paulinus*, were offended with this Manner of dealing, and took hence occaſion (to make (ſaith *Socrates*) or rather) to continue Schiſm, pretending that *Meletius* being Ordained by *Arians*, could not poſſibly be admitted to the Government of that See. But the Biſhops having thus removed this notorious Eye-ſore, appointed certain eminent Biſhops to viſit other Churches of the Eaſt, and to *Conſtantinople* was *Gregory Nazianzen* ſent, which of all others ſtood moſt need of an able Phyſician. Yet, as it

happeneth to thoſe, who have to do with ſuch diſtempered Perſons, as account their Diſeaſes health ; his kindneſs was returned with opprobrious Language : And as *Licurgus* of old, when he acted the Phyſician of the State, they caſt Stones at him, all which Indignities he bore with great pity and patience, continuing three years in this employment, wherein he made thoſe five famous Orations, concerning *Theology*, which deſervedly procured him the Syrname of *the Divine*.

Carm. de vita ſua.

A diſcourſe about *Hypoſtaſis.*

54. At this time there was much ado made about the word *Hypoſtaſis*, which ſome underſtanding in the ſame ſence as *Subſtance*, condemned ſuch as aſſerted three Hypoſtaſes in the Bleſſed *Trinity*, as thoſe that hold three Gods; and on the contrary thoſe, who took the word as it is uſed for *Subſiſtance* or *Perſonality*, it condemned ſuch as rejected it, as guilty of the Hæreſie of *Sabellius*. Of this ſort it, ſeems was *Meletius*, who importuned *Hierome* to confeſs the *Hypoſtaſes*, but he refuſed to comply with him therein, and conſulted *Damaſus* Biſhop of *Rome* by Letters. This Perſon whom the Church in all Ages ſince his time hath, and that deſervedly ſo much eſteemed, was born at *Stridon*, a Town of *Dalmatia*, where his Parents lived in good rank. In his Youth he travelled to *Rome* with *Bonoſus* his Foſter Brother, a young Man of a very great Fortune, where they became Auditors to *Donatus*, and performed their exerciſes in declaming, and otherwiſe, according to the Cuſtom. Here when he arrived at ripeneſs of Age, he was Baptized, and then leaving that courſe of life, which formerly had been none of the ſtricteſt, he betook himſelf to great ſeverities and laborious neſs in Study : Afterwards he travelled *Gall*, *Pontus*, *Bithynia*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Thrace*, to improve himſelf by the Converſation of learned and Pious Men, and being much taken with the Lives and Rules of ſuch as profeſſed the monaſtical life in *Syria*, he was ſo allured by their example, that he choſe the Deſert of *Chalcis*, a Province lying betwixt the *Syrians* and *Saracens* for his abode. Here beſides the conſtant practice of Scleragogy, he followed his book with great diligence, having got togather in this place a good Library, through the aſſiſtance of *Evagrius*, one of his Aſſociates, a very rich and noble Prieſt, afterwards Biſhop of *Antioch*. But that which much Crucified the contentment he received from this courſe of life, was the jealouſie and ſuſpicion, which he being a Weſt-Country Man, incurred with the Eaſtern Monks, and the contention which followed about the word *Hypoſtaſis*.

In Ep. paſſim. in chron. alibi.

55. Having been formerly, whilſt at *Rome*, acquainted with *Damaſus* the Biſhop (with whom he continued as *Amanuenſis* for ſome time, till he was wearied with the vitiouſneſs of the place) he conſulted him by Letters, and at length tired with the importunities of *Meletius* and his Party, againſt whom, he ſeemed to patronize *Paulinus*, he returned unto him to *Rome*, after he had ſpent ſix or ſeven Years in that ſolitary courſe of life. Some ſay he firſt went to hear *Gregory Nazianzen* at *Conſtantinople*, where he ſpent three Years, and ſaw *Jeruſalem* before his return to *Rome*. *Nazianzen* at the ſame time was viſited by another Perſon of great Fame, one *Maximus* of *Alexandria*, a Chriſtian made of a Cynick Philoſopher, who boaſted himſelf born of Martyrs, and had got repute for being baniſhed for his Faith, into the Deſert of *Oaſis* ; coming loaded with Fame to *Conſtantinople*, he was kindly received by *Gregory*, who honoured him with an Oration, made in his Commendation, of which afterward he changed the Title as written in praiſe of *Hero* his Companion ; but in ſhort time his deſign was diſcovered, which was to creep into the See of *Conſtantinople*, for which he had the incouragement of *Peter* the *Alexandrian* Patriarch ; although he had formerly pretended to favour the cauſe of *Gregory*, who was very much deſired by the People. Seven Biſhops by him ſet on, when *Gregory* lay ſick in the Suburbs, uſing the help of ſome *Alexandrian*

Vide Baronium ad Ann. D. 378.379.

Vide Naz. Contra Maximum & in carm. de vita ſua ut ſuprà Edit. morell.

andrian Marriners, whom they had hired for their purpoſe, privily in the Night endeavoured to thruſt him into the Epiſcopal See; but the *Alarm* being given, they were beaten out of the Church by the Multitude; yet nothing hereat diſmayed, afterward they cut of his Hair, which he wore now after the Cynick faſhion, (for neither he, nor *Hero*, though they were Chriſtians abandoned their former Habit, and Deportment, as *Nazianzen* reports of them) and Ordained him Biſhop, in the houſe of a Player, which practice being abhorred by all, as well *Arians*, as others, he was driven out of the City: Betaking himſelf to *Theodoſius*, from whom he received no incouragement, and being rejected alſo by *Peter* of *Alexandria*, he thereupon fell into diſcontent, and the Hæreſie of *Apollinaris*.

Theodoſius made Emperour.

L. 5. c. 6.

56. This ſame Year which was the Fifteenth of *Gratian*, and the Fourth of *Valentinian* the Second, was very auſpicious to the Church, in the promotion of *Theodoſius* to the Empire, who mended much what had been marred by *Valens*. *Socrates* writes, that falling into a very dangerous Diſeaſe at *Theſſalonica* (in the Second year) he was very deſirous of Baptiſm, for of old he was trained up in Chriſtian Religion, and addicted himſelf wholly to the Faith of *one Subſtance*. Having ſent for *Acholius* the Biſhop of the place, he demanded of him, of what Faith he was, to which *Acholius* anſwered, that the opinion of *Arius* prevailed not throughout *Illyrium*, neither was the new-found invention of his peſtilent Brain planted in the Churches of that Country, but that all Chriſtians throughout thoſe Coaſts retained that ancient Faith, which had been delivered by the Apoſtles, and continued by the Council of *Nice*; which the Emperour hearing, willingly received that Sacrament at his hands: A few days after being ſomewhat recovered, he went towards *Conſtantinople*, the Twenty fourth of *November*, in his firſt Conſulſhip, and the Fifth of *Gratian*, where in the following Month he reſtored to the Catholicks thoſe Churches which for forty years had been unjuſtly detained by the *Arians*, who in vain fretted at ſo great both diſgrace and loſs, eſpecially of the great Church, which by force they were ready to maintain, till overpowered by a Band of Souldiers, ſent by the Emperour. Thus by deeds did he confirm what he had formerly profeſſed to the World, having at *Theſſalonica* publiſhed a Law, wherein Prohibiting and condemning all Hæreſies, he commands all his Subjects to imbrace that Faith which had by St. *Peter* the Apoſtle been commended to the *Romans*, and which at preſent *Damaſus* Biſhop of that See, and *Peter* of *Alexandria* (both whom he knew as, their Prædeceſſors for the moſt part to have been Orthodox in their opinions) owned and imbraced. At the ſame time and place, by another Reſcript, he diſcountenanced all Violators, and breakers of Divine Law. And forbids by another, any Criminal Inquiſitions to be made in Lent. This ſame year alſo thoſe Emperours reinforcing the former Chriſtian Cuſtom, forbid ſuch as were baptized, to be drawn back to the Service of the Stage.

Is baptized.

Soz. l. 7. c. 5. Marcel. in Chron.

And is kind to the Church.

C.Th.l. 2. de fide Catholica.

C. Th. l. 25. de Epiſc.&cler.

C. Th. l. 4. de quæſt.

C. Th. l, 15 de ſcenicis. §. 4.

57. The following year was fully as propitious to the Orthodox, wherein the Emperours proſecuting their Patronage already undertaken by another Law, commanded, that in all places their Churches be reſtored to them, prohibiting the *Arians*, *Photinians*, *Eunomians*, with other Hæreticks, to hold any Aſſemblies within the Towns. But *Theodoſius*, who was the prime Author and procurer of thoſe Laws, that he might not ſeem to carry on all things by force, and the terror of Imperial Authority, knowing how the *Arians* were addicted to Councils, and ſufficiently underſtanding the intereſt and univerſality the Catholick Faith at this time obtained throughout the World, and not doubting of the good effects of a Council, which ſhould be indifferent and free, and not clogged with the late force, and partiality of the *Arians*, he reſolved to ſubdue them by their own Weapons. The Hæreſie of the *Macedonians* who denied the Divinity

of the *Holy Ghoſt*, he eſpecially intended to eradicate by this Council, having never had any ſuch effectual proper Remedy as yet applyed, perſwading himſelf that they were not of ſuch obſtinate and refractory principles as the *Arians*. And whereas the promotion of *Gregory Nazianzen* was much ſtomached by ſome ſorts of Perſons, upon the account of *Maximus*, *Demophilus*, and for other private reſpects, he reſolved by this Council, which he ſummoned to *Conſtantinople*, to provide for the filling of that See. Accordingly he ſummoned the Biſhops to Meet, though **Damaſus* Biſhop of *Rome* was againſt the holding of this Council.

Summons a general Council to *Conſtantinople*.

* *Repugnante Damaſo Baronius ad A.D. 553. num.* 2.

CHAP.

Chap. V.

From the Second Oecumenical *Council ſummoned by* Theodoſius *the Firſt to* Conſtantinople, *to the Third called by* Theodoſius *the Second to the City of* Epheſus.

The ſpace of Fifty Years.

1. THE Second *Oecumenical* Council, ſummoned by *Theodoſius* the Emperour to the City of *Conſtantinople*, met together in the Month of *May*, the Fifteenth year of *Gratian*, the Sixth of *Valentinian* the Second, the Third of *Theodoſius*, Emperours, of old *Rome* the 1134. of *New Rome* the One and Fiftieth, the Seven and fiftieth after the Aſſembling of the *Nicene Synod*, the Firſt of the Two hundred and ninetieth *Olympiad*, the Ninth *Indiction*, the Four hundred and nineteenth of the *Æra Hiſpanica*, *A. D.* 381. *Fl. Siagrius* and *Fl. Annius Eucharius* being Conſuls.

2. Of thoſe which imbraced the *Nicene Creed*, here met *Timothy* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, who had ſucceeded *Peter* his Brother, after he had poſſeſſed that Chair Eight years, (however *Socrates* ſaith, he continued but a ſhort time,) *Cyril* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, who now after his Recantation addicted himſelf to the Faith of *One Subſtance*; *Meletius* who had been called hither a while before to the Enſtallment of *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Acholius* Biſhop of *Theſſalonica*, *Gregory Nyſſen*, with others, to the number of One hundred and fifty Biſhops. Of the *Macedonian* Sect alſo aſſembled to the number of Six and thirty, whereof the greater part from the *Helleſpont*, and thoſe of moſt note were *Eleuſius* Biſhop of *Cyzicum*, and *Maxianus* of *Lampſacus*. It being a very neceſſary Ingredient to the Legality and Authority of a General Council to have it free, we cannot imagine that *Theodoſius* ſhut the Doors againſt the *Arians*, ſuch as had been fairly poſſeſſed of their Biſhopricks, or that he ſummoned this Council of ſuch Biſhops only as were of his Faith, which *Socrates* ſeemeth to affirm. But a good riddance had been made of the *Arians* out of the Churches, by thoſe Laws enacted for Reſtitution of the Catholicks to their proper Sees, and the Cuſtom of Titular and Supernumerary Biſhops, (who cannot challenge ſuch Intereſt in Church Matters) their thruſting into Synods to give voices not yet being received; their Party was inconſiderable, (if they adventured to be preſent, who were only valiant when backed with Authority,) and therefore no notice is taken of it.

Socr. l. 5. *c.* 8. *lat.*

Arians as well as others admitted to this General Council:

Seaven Canons now made

3. In this Council, at the beginning whereof *Gregory Nazianzen* præſided, were framed Seven Canons, “The Firſt of which confirms the Faith of the Three hundred and eighteen Fathers, who aſſembled at *Nice* in *Bithynia*, to anathematize all Hæreſie, eſpecially of the *Eunomians*, *Arians*, *Macedonians*, *Photinians*, and *Apollinarians*. The Second prohibits Biſhops to meddle with Matters which lye out of their Dioceſſes, and thereby confound Churches, which formerly had been regulated and bounded. Accordingly they ordain that the Biſhops of *Alexandria* govern only the Churches in *Ægypt*. The Oriental Biſhops thoſe of the Eaſt alone, reſerving the Honour of Primacy to the Church of *Antioch*, according to the Rules of the *Nicene Synod*. And the Biſhops of the Dioceſs of *Aſia* they charge to concern themſelves only therein, as alſo thoſe of *Pontus* and *Thrace* in the Dioceſſes thereto belonging. The Third prohibits Biſhops, without Invitation,

9. *q* 2. *Epiſcopi qui extra diæceſim quem Can. Caranza mutilat.*

9.q.2.c.9. Non invitati Epiſcop. ubi ex hor. videre eſt diff. inter hunc can. Græcum, & Dionyſianum. Diſt.21. c.3. Conſtantinopolitanæ civitatis.

" to move out of their Dioceſſes either for Ordination, or any other diſpoſition of Eccleſiaſtical buſineſs, in obſervance of the Rule concerning every Dioceſs before recited; for it is manifeſt that in every Province the Provincial Synod ought to order and govern all things according to what was deſigned in that of *Nice*. The Fourth Decrees that the Churches of God which are ſettled in Barbarous Nations be ordered and governed according to the Cuſtom of the Fathers. The Fifth declares the Biſhop of the City of *Conſtantinople* ought to have the Honour of Primacy next after the *Roman* Biſhop, and thereof renders this reaſon, becauſe it is *New Rome*, even the ſame which procured to the other the Primacy of Order, *viz.* becauſe he was Biſhop of the Old, or *Mother Rome*. The Sixth determines concerning *Maximus* the *Cynick*, and his inordinate Ordination made at *Conſtantinople*, that he neither be taken for a Biſhop, neither ſuch for *Clerks* as had been ordained by him in any degree, all things appearing null which had been done by him. The Seventh Canon contains a Confeſſion of Faith agreeable to that of the *Nicene* Council, which having not ſpoken fully concerning the Divinity of the Holy Ghoſt, the Fathers now add, *And in the Holy Ghoſt, the Lord and Giver of Life, proceeding from the Father, together with the Father, and the Son, to be worſhipped and glorified, who ſpake by the Prophets.*

Several Hereſies condemned.

4. Not only were the Hæreſies againſt the Divinity of the Son and Holy Ghoſt condemned, but ſuch as had been the Authors of them, wherein the *Semiarians*, though they had been ſummoned by the Emperour, refuſed to joyn, who together with the Biſhops of his opinion, uſed all means poſſible to perſwade *Eleuſius* and the reſt of the *Macedonians* to reconcile themſelves to the Catholick Church. They put them in mind of the Meſſage which *Euſtathius* and others in their names carried to *Liberius* Biſhop of *Rome*, and the reſt of the Weſtern Prælates, that not long before they had communicated without exception in all Churches with ſuch as profeſſed the Faith of *One Subſtance*, and they preſſed them with what they had formerly owned and decreed, proteſting that this their averſion was neither Godly, nor Chriſtian, ſeeing they had formerly ratified the ſelf ſame opinion and Faith with them. But neither admonition nor reprehenſion would prevail, they ſaying flatly, *That rather than they would ſubſcribe to the Faith of* One Subſtance, *they would joyn with the* Arians, and having made this anſwer, they left *Conſtantinople*, and ſent Letters abroad into all Churches, that they ſhould not in any wiſe conſent to the Faith of the *Nicene* Council.

Socr.l.5.c.8.

Idem ibid.c.9. Naz. carm. de vita ſua.

Meletius Biſhop of *Antioch* dies.

A difference about his Succeſſor.

5. Though the buſineſs of the Council was finiſhed, yet certain accidents happened, which held the Fathers ſtill together. It happened that *Meletius* the Biſhop of *Antioch* died, whom *Gregory Nyſſen* commended in a Funeral Oration. Now according to former agreement, *Paulinus* was to ſtand poſſeſſed of the See as the Survivour; but certain Factious Perſons named *Flavianus* a Prieſt of *Antioch* to ſucceed him, which was received, and inforced by the younger ſort of Biſhops, hot, and accommodating themſelves to the times, and the courſe of Preferment, who urged that it was not to be endured, that a Perſon ordained by a Weſtern Prelate (ſuch *Lucifer* was) ſhould be Biſhop of *Antioch*, and ſtrenuouſly aſſerting the worth of the Eaſtern Church before that of the Weſt, in that *Chriſt* himſelf had honoured the Eaſt with his Nativity. *Gregory Nazianzen* endeavoured to compoſe the Tumults hereupon raiſed, by propounding that *Paulinus* might be ſuffered to enjoy the Chair for that little time he was to live, and then the Orientals might maintain their right in the Election of his Succeſſor. But hereby he incenſed thoſe of the contrary Faction againſt himſelf, as favouring the Occidental Biſhops in the Cauſe of *Paulinus*. Whereupon he began to ſettle in that Reſolution he had e're this taken up, of quitting the See of *Conſtantinople*, and in much diſpleaſure departed from the Synod. He being withdrawn, they choſe *Flavianus* Succeſſor to *Meletius*, by which means the former Diſſentions and Tumults were continued, the Church of *Antioch* being again divided, though one and the ſame People was ſubject to two Biſhops, who both of them ſeemed to hold *in Solidum*.

6. This diſpleaſed *Timothy* Biſhop of *Alexandria* alſo, who, whilſt thoſe things were in hand, came to *Conſtantinople* with ſome of his Suffragans, and certain Biſhops of *Macedonia*. He declaimed alſo againſt the Confirmation of *Gregory* in the See of *Conſtantinople*, as done by *Meletius* of *Antioch*, whereas he challenged that right, as belonging to the Chair of *Alexandria*, which had precedence next that of *Rome* before the meeting of this Council. Herewith *Gregory* was ſo nettled, that now he perfected his Reſolution, and making ſeveral Orations to the Fathers, abdicated himſelf from that See, and having hereby obtained leave of *Theodoſius* the Emperour, departed into his own Country with ſuch diſdain and ſtomach, that he took up another Reſolution never to come more into ſuch Aſſemblies, and though he was the year following urged with much importunity to return to *Conſtantinople*, where theſe ſame Biſhops were again aſſembled, he flatly refuſed, as having never ſeen, as he ſaid, any good to come by Synods. After the departure of him, and ſuch as were addicted to him, at the procurement of *Diodorus* Biſhop of *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, was choſen *Nectarius* a Native of that City, a *Catechumeniſt* as yet, well ſtricken in years, a Courtier, therefore however well ſkilled in Secular buſineſs, yet little acquainted with the concernments of the Epiſcopal Function, which to teach him, he kept with him one *Cyriacus* a *Cilician* Biſhop, as *Sozomen* writes, who tells us, that the Biſhops having written down the names of thoſe they thought fit for the place, he was from amongſt them all choſen by the Emperour. *Socrates* ſaith, he was of noble Linage, whoſe Anceſtors had been Senators, that he was a Man of unblameable Life, Pious Converſation, and though he was by Office a Prætor, yet the People made choice of him for their Biſhop. and by the approbation of One hundred and fifty Prælates he was enſtalled Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*.

Gregory Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* quits his See.

A Synod at *Conſtantinople*

Ep. ad Procop.

Nectarius choſen in his place.

7. The Council yet depending, *Theodoſius* the Emperour on the Nineteenth day of *July* publiſhed an Edict, "whereby he forbad *Arians*, *Eunomians*, and "ſuch like Hæreticks to build Churches, either in, or without Cities, which, "ſince they were outed of their Poſſeſſions unjuſtly got, they had attempted "to do. By another he alſo inveighs againſt *Manichees*, *Eucratites*, *Apotacticks*, and *Hydropaſtes*, other Hæreticks, making them infamous, and "uncapable of making Teſtaments, as he did *Apoſtates* about the beginning "of the Synod. But that we may come to the concluſion of the Council, *Socrates* ſumming up what was done therein, tells us in ſhort, that then it was decreed, that the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* ſhould have præcedence next after the Biſhop of *Rome*, the reaſon being, becauſe that City was called *New Rome*. Again, ſaith he, they ratifie the Faith of the *Nicene* Council, they divide Provinces, and ordain Patriarchs, they decree that no Biſhop ſhall leave his own Dioceſs, and intermeddle with Foreign Churches, for unto that time, by reaſon of the great ſtorm and heat of Perſecution, it was at every ones choice and liberty. *Nectarius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* had that great City, together with all *Thrace*, allotted to his Juriſdiction; the Patriarchſhip of *Pontus* was aſſigned to *Helladius* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, after *Baſil*. Unto *Gregory*, Brother of *Baſil*, fell *Nyſſa*, a City alſo of *Cappadocia*; unto *Otreius* the Biſhoprick of *Meletina* in *Armenia*. *Amphilochius* Biſhop of *Iconium*, and *Optimus* of *Antioch* in *Piſidia*, had the Patriarchſhip of *Aſia*. The Province of *Ægypt* fell to *Timothy* Biſhop of *Alexandria*. *Pelagius* Biſhop of *Laodicea*, and *Diodorus* of *Tarſus*, are appointed over the Eaſtern Dioceſs, reſerving the Prerogative of Honour to the Church of *Antioch*, the which then preſently they granted unto *Meletius*. They decreed moreover, that if neceſſity did ſo require, a Provincial Synod ſhould determine Provincial Affairs. The Emperour gave his Aſſent to all aforeſaid, and ſo the Council was diſſolved. Thus *Socrates*, whoſe words concerning the diviſion of Dioceſſes, are to be underſtood according to thoſe Rules we have formerly laid down.

Several Edicts of the Emperor againſt Hereticks.

C. Th. de hæret. l. 8.

L. 7.

C. *Th. de Apoſtatis l.* 1.

L. 5. *c.* 8.

8. This Council which had begun in *May*, thus concluded about the end of *July* following, on the Thirtieth day whereof *Theodoſius* the Emperour publiſhed a ſevere Law againſt the *Macedonians*, as well as others, being then condemned Hæreticks. "Herein he commands that forthwith all Churches ſhould "be

The *Macedonians* condemned Hereticks.

Cod. Theod. l. 3. *de fide Cathol.*

“ be given to thoſe who held *the one and equal Majeſty of Father, Son, and* “ *Holy Ghoſt, and were of the ſame Faith with* Neſtorius, Timothy, Gregory, “ *and other Biſhops in that Synod*, and whoſoever diſſented in Faith from “ them, ſhould all be expelled as manifeſt Hæreticks, never to be readmitted. In which Law, ſeeing the *Macedonians* are called manifeſt Hæreticks, that is, ſuch as are convicted and condemned by a General Council, it is not to be doubted, that at the promulgating of this Law, both the Emperour and Catholick Church hold that *Decree* of the Second Council, as a * Learned Man obſerves againſt the *Macedonians*, to be the Judgment of an *Holy, Lawful,* and *approved Oecumenical Synod*, ſuch as was the moſt ample Conviction of an Hæretick, and manifeſtation of an Hæreſie. Now this Edict was publiſhed before *Damaſus* Biſhop of *Rome* either approved this Council, or ſo much as knew what was done in it, the firſt news what was done herein not coming to him till after the Synod of *Aquileia*, (as both *Sigonius* and *Baronius* himſelf affirms) which was held on the Fifth of *September*, a Month after this at *Conſtantinople* was ended. Seeing then it is certain that this General Council was ended, and the Decrees thereof not only approved, but put in execution by the Church, not only before the Pope of *Rome* confirmed it, but before he knew what was done and Decreed therein, it is a Demonſtration that a General Council, or a Decree thereof, may be, and *de facto* hath been judged by the Church, both of them to be of full and Synodical Authority, and approved by the Church, when the Pope had confirmed and approved neither of both.

* Dr. Crackanthorp *of the firſt General Council*, c. 18. §. 19.

This Council held without the approbation of the Biſhop of *Rome*, yet Oecumenical.

9. Nay, neither *Damaſus*, nor any of his Succeſſors, till *Gregory*'s time, approved this Council, as this Biſhop witneſſeth, who writes in one of his Epiſtles, That *The Canons of the* Conſtantinopolitan *Council condemn the* Eudoxians, *but who that* Eudoxius *was, they do not declare; and the* Roman *Church hitherto neither hath, nor receiveth thoſe Canons, or the Acts of that Synod, but herein it accepteth it, in that which was defined againſt the* Macedonians *by it, and it rejecteth theſe Hereſies, which being therein mentioned, were already condemned by other Fathers.* Hence it appears that the *Romans* did not approve the condemning of the *Macedonians*, becauſe it had been Decreed in this Council, for then they ſhould have approved the Canon againſt the *Eudoxians*, and all the reſt of the Canons, ſeeing there was the ſame Authority in Decreeing them all; but the reaſon why they approved that againſt the *Macedonians* was, becauſe Pope *Damaſus* had in a *Roman* Synod, wherein *Peter* Biſhop of *Alexandria* was preſent, diverſe Years before this Council of *Conſtantinople* condemned that Hæreſie, and what Hæreſies were by former Fathers condemned, thoſe, and nothing elſe did the *Roman* Church approve in this Council. Untill the Age wherein *Gregory* lived they did not receive this Council, for the word *Hactenus* which he uſeth, muſt refer to that, not to the time of his Writing this Epiſtle, which was in the Fifteenth Indiction, for in the Ninth Indiction, or Six Years before, he himſelf profeſſeth to imbrace this Second Council, as one of the Four Evangeliſts, which alſo to have been the Judgment of that Church he witneſſeth in the Eleventh Indiction. And as the Council it ſelf was rejected by them of *Rome*, ſo eſpecially that Canon which gives Patriarchal Dignity to the See of *Conſtantinople*, and to the Biſhop thereof præcedence before theſe Patriarchs of *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, and Authority over the Churches in *Aſia Minor*, *Thracia*, and *Pontus*.

Ep. 31. *l.* 6. *Et vide Notatam omnino ad Diſt.* 22. *cap.* 3. *Conſtantinopolitanæ Canon his ex iis eſt quos Apoſtolica Romana ſedes à principio & longo poſt tempore non recipit, quod ex Epiſtola* 51. *alias* 53. *Leonis Papæ* 1 *ad Anatolium Conſtantinopolitanum & aliis ejuſdem Epiſtolis facile eſt cuivis cognoſcere. itemq; ex* 2. *Epiſtolis Leonis* ix. *una adverſus præſcriptiones Michaelis & Leonis c.* 28. *altera ad eundem* Michaelem, *ſed multo clariùs ex* 8. *Gregorii Epiſtola* 31. *l.* 6. *ad Eulogium Alexandrinum & Anaſtaſium Antiochenum atque ex Epiſtola Nicolai* 1. *ad* Michaelem *Imp. quæ incipit Præpoſueramus. Quanquam* Conſtantinopolitani *Epiſcopi Imp. potentia freti ſecundum locum Patriarchalium ſedium ſibi uſurparunt idq; tandem pacis & tranquillitatis cauſa fuit ipſis conceſſum. Sicut in c. antiqua. de privi. Inno.* 3. *Papa diclaravit.*

Hactenus nec habet nec recipit.

10. How great averſion the Church of *Rome* had to the meaning and deſign of this Canon, and how far it was from approving it, appears from ſeveral Epiſtles of Pope *Leo*, eſpecially that to *Anatolius*, wherein he rejects it, as contrary to the *Nicene* Decrees, which he there defineth (erroniouſly ſure) to be immutable, as if one General Council could not undo, what another had done in things circumſtantial and indifferent. The Legates of this *Leo* in the

Vide Not. ſupra

the Council of *Chalcedon*, according to their Inſtructions, proteſted that the Canons of this Council were not accounted for Synodal, and by command of the Apoſtolick See, as they ſaid, earneſtly oppugned this eſpecially, againſt which alſo *Damaſus*, as *Turrian* the Jeſuite obſerves, had in a *Roman* Synod formerly made a Decree. And others of them ſay it was not allowed of till the Council of *Lateran* under *Innocent the Third*, which was ſix hundred years after the death of *Gregory*. Yet all this while was this Canon (which ſome make the Third, others the Fifth, as *Gratian* hath it), approved by the Church, and Authority aſcribed to it, as of a General Council. By warrant hereof *Anatolius* in the Council of *Chalcedon* and *Eutychius* in the Fifth Synod, in the right of their See of *Conſtantinople*, took place of the Patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, none in thoſe Councils repining thereat, nay God himſelf, as there is ſaid, approving that præcedence. And whereas this order had not been obſerved in the *Epheſine Latrocine*, *Flavianus* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* being placed after thoſe of *Antioch* and *Jeruſalem*, the Fathers in the Council of *Chalcedon* ſtormed hereat, demanding why *Flavianus* did not ſit in his proper Seat? which was next to the *Roman* Biſhop or his Legates.

Act. 16. *p.* 136. & 137.

Lib. de Synodis 6, 7, 8. *p.* 65. *Notat. ubi ſupra & Sanderus de viſibili Monarchia.*

A. 1215.

Vide Dr. Crackanthorp *quo ſupra.*

The Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* next to *Rome.*

11. By Authority of the ſame Canon, *Chryſoſtome*, when Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, depoſed Fifteen Biſhops in *Aſia*, ordained others in their rooms, celebrated a Council at *Epheſus*, and to it called the *Aſian* Prælates, about Twenty Years after the making of this Canon, which had they not counted authentick, they would not, by obeying him, have broken the other laudable orders of the Church. The Judgment of the whole Council of *Chalcedon*, and conſequently of the whole Catholick Church of that Age was, that this Canon was to be received and approved. They both knew there was ſuch a Canon, and that Cuſtom and Practice did concur with it; whereupon the *glorious Judges, after full diſcuſſing of this cauſe* (when the truth of this Canon had been diligently examined) *teſtified and ſentenced, that the Biſhop of* Conſtantinople *had rightful Authority to ordain Metropolitan Biſhops in the Dioceſſes of* Thrace, Aſia, *and* Pontus, *and the whole Synod conſented to them, firſt proclaiming, This is a juſt Sentence, This we all ſay*, and then in the very Synodical Epiſtle to *Leo* teſtifying the ſame, *viz. that they had confirmed that Cuſtom to the Biſhop of* Conſtantinople, *that he ſhould ordain Metropolitans in* Thrace, Aſia, *and* Pontus, *and thereby had confirmed the Third Canon of the Second Council.* And this they did, though the Legates following their Inſtructions received from *Leo*, were ſo averſe, that they ſaid not without ſome choller, *Let our contradiction cleave to theſe Acts. Juſtinian* the Emperour, One hundred and ſixty Years after, confirms this Canon amongſt the reſt, commanding it to be written in the Diſticks or Eccleſiaſtical Books, and publickly to be read in the Churches, in token of publick and univerſal approbation of the ſame. The Emperour doubted not of obedience to be performed, as well by thoſe of *Rome* as others, and they were ſilent, none contradicting or ſpeaking againſt this Canon, till after his time, being loath to exaſperate him. Yet did they not approve it, as appears from what hath been ſaid, although the General Council of *Chalcedon*, and the Catholick Church both approved, and eſtabliſhed it. So little neceſſity was there for a particular Biſhop to approve or confirm what had been Decreed by the Major part in a Council; although ſuch as *conſented* were ſaid *to confirm the Decres*; as a Synod held at the *Helleſpont* ſaith of this Synod of *Conſtantinople*, that *Timothy, with the other Biſhops then preſent, confirmed it*, calling the *Conſent* and *Subſcription* of the Biſhops preſent thereat, a *Confirmation of the Council.* But to return to our buſineſs.

Concil. Chalc. Act. 11. *in fine. Act.* 16. *p.* 136.

Poſt. act. 16. *Rel. ad Leon.*

Ibid. p. 137.

Novel.

A General Synod may make Canons without Confirmation of any particular Biſhop, or of the Pope.

Vide p. 168. *inter Epiſt. poſt Concil. Chalc.*

12. This ſame Year, by command of *Gratian* the Emperour, and at the earneſt deſire of *Palladius* and *Secundianus* two *Arian* Biſhops, a Council was held at *Aquileia*, whereat were preſent Two and thirty Biſhops, and amongſt the reſt *Ambroſe* of *Milan*, and *Philaſtrius* of *Brixia*, two Legates from the *African* Church, and Three from the *Gallican*. Herein the ſaid *Palladius* and *Secundianus*, though they appealed to a General Council, and to the Sæcular Powers, were with their Hæreſie condemned, and all the work finiſhed in one Action, from One a Clock till Seven. And in this ſame year (if *Baronius* gueſs it rightly)

Gratian calls a Synod at *Aquileia.*

Tom. 1. *Con*

An other Cæſar-Auguſtus wherein Priſcillianus the Arch-Heretick is condemned.

rightly) fruitful in Synods, was another Synod held at *Cæſar-Auguſta* or *Saragoſſa* in *Spain*, on the Fourth of *October*, againſt *Priſcillianus* the Arch-Hæretick and his Diſciples. This Man, as *Severus* writes, being a *Spaniard* born, wealthy, and of very good parts, but given much to vain Glory, and above meaſure to Magical Arts, had been infected with the Hereſie of the *Gnoſticks*, which one *Mark* an *Ægyptian* of *Memphis* brought firſt into *France*, and afterward into *Spain*; being once poyſoned himſelf, he uſed ſuch Arts and Induſtries as Inſtill the Venom into the minds of many others, of all ſorts of Sexes, ſome Biſhops being alſo drawn in, as *Salvianus* and *Inſtantius*. Here-at the Churches being ſtartled, after ſome private oppoſition made by certain Biſhops, a Council was got together, wherein the Parties not daring to appear, were condemned abſent, yet had they ſo much reſolution and courage as to Ordain *Priſcillianus* Biſhop of *Avila* in *Spain* (the See long after of *Toſtatus* that voluminous Writer) and though the Orthodox procured a Reſcript fom *Gratian* the Emperour to baniſh them *Spain*, as condemned Perſons, yet uſed they ſuch Induſtry, that having in vain ſought aſſiſtance and incouragement from the Biſhops of *Rome* and *Milan*, at length, they corrupted *Macedonius* the *Magiſter Officiorum*, and by his means obtained the former order to be reverſed, their Sees reſtored, and their Perſecutors baniſhed in their rooms.

The opinions of this Sect.

Jura perjura Secretum prodere noli.
Aug. de hæres Hieron. in chron.

13. Theſe *Priſcillianiſts* held an hodge podge of all Hæreſies together, raked out of the filth of the *Gnoſticks*, *Manichees*, and others. They taught Lying to be no ſin, and lawful to Swear and Forſwear, rather than reveal any thing to their diſadvantage; they hold with *Origen*, that Souls ſinned before they came into Bodies. With the *Gnoſticks* and *Manichees*, they made two Gods, one Good and the other Evil. They taught with *Bardeſanes*, that every Man had his fatal Star, and that our Bodies are compounded according to the operation of the Twelve Signs of the *Zodiack*. They confounded the Perſons of the bleſſed *Trinity*, with *Sabellius*; they declaimed againſt Wedlock, ſeperating married Perſons, and with *Tatianus* and the *Eucratitæ* cryed out againſt the eating of Fleſh, as an unclean thing, and made by the Evil God, or malignant Angels. It was their Doctrine and Practice to faſt on the Lords day, and on *Chriſtmas* day, becauſe they held that *Chriſt* did not take true humane Fleſh, againſt their faſting on the *Lords Day*, the Synod Decreed and Anathematized all ſuch as faſted on that day, whether in reference to any time, miſperſwaſion or Superſtition.

Cauſa temporis aut perſuaſionis aut ſuperſtitionis can 2. Tom. 1. canc.

Die dominico jejunium nefas eſſe ducimus. de Corona mil. c. 3.

Idem ad uſus Pſychicos c. 15.

14. To faſt on the Lords day, it was ever accounted an abominable thing, in *Ignatius* his Epiſtle to the *Philippians*, he is called a killer of *Chriſt*, who faſts on the *Lords day*, and on the *Sabbath* or *Saturday*. *Tertullian* ſaith expreſly, that they counted it wickedneſs to faſt on the Lords day, nay even the *Montaniſts* themſelves, though otherwiſe frequent in their Faſts, and exceſſive in their Scleragogy, yet excepted this day out of their Auſterities. But the *Manichees* toward the end of the Third Age, out of their Singularity, changed the Cuſtom, and faſted on this day. Of whom St. *Ambroſe* ſaith, that they could not do it, becauſe they juſtly condemned them for ſuch a Practice; which *Auguſtine* alſo at this ſame time witneſſeth to have been a great ſcandal. *Euſtathius*, as *Socrates* calleth him, or *Eutactus*, as *Baronius* will have him, renewed the practice of the *Manichees*, which was preſently condemned by a Provincial Synod, held at *Gangra* in *Paphlagonia*, which Decreed, that if any upon pretence of abſtinence faſted on the Lords day, he ſhould be *Anathema*. Now whereas the Synod of *Saragoſſa* condemns faſting on the Lords day, in reference unto times; this ſeems to have reference to the time of *Lent* it ſelf, wherein it was accounted unlawful to faſt on this day, as is clear from many Teſtimonies of Fathers and Synods. Therefore whereas from the firſt *Sunday* in *Lent*, unto *Eaſter* day, intervene juſt Forty two days, the Church of this Number faſteth only Thirty ſix, and to make it up Forty, according to the example of our Saviour; the four days between *Shrove Tueſday*, and the firſt *Sunday* in *Lent*, are added, as long ago * *Rupertus* (who lived at the beginning of the Twelfth Century) obſerved. But thus much of the Hereſies of *Priſcillianus* and his Followers, who the better

Ep. 86.

L. 2. c. 33. lat. or c. 42. gr.

Faſting on the Lords day condemned.

Can. 18. Tom. 1. conc.

Vide Ambro de jejunio. c. 10 Hier. ad Lucin. Epiphan. expoſtid. num. 22. Chryſoſt. hom. 11. in Gen. 2. Syn. Agath. c. 12. Aurel. 4. c. 2
* *De divin. offic. l. 4. c. 9.*

better to maintain their Singular and Hæretical Tenets, beſides the Scriptures received other Apocryphal Writings.

The *Pagans* forbidden to Sacrifice.

C.Th.l. 7. *de Pagan*

C.Th.l. 8. *de Pagan.*

15. This ſame year the Emperours, taking notice how much Paganiſm through the encouragement of *Julian*, and connivance of *Valentinian* had increaſed, forbid their Sacrifices and Meetings. But this Law ſtood but as Probationer till the year following, being then abrogated in part by another, which gives them leave to meet, yet ſo as they wholly ſhould abſtain from Sacrifice. The truth is, they found their Zeal too ſtrong for the Intereſt, Peace and Security of the Empire, wherein Paganiſm had yet ſuch a Party, that moſt of the Senators were of that perſwaſion, and about this time the Conſul and his Wife both *Ethnicks*. Another Law they made againſt the Clandeſtine Conventicles of the *Manichees*. And they publiſhed alſo an Edict for the reſtraining and puniſhing Luſty Sturdy Beggars, which as ſome have obſerved, had been much increaſed ſince the times of Chriſtianity: For the ancient Chriſtians endeavoured nothing more than the manumiſſion of Slaves, upon which account, out of deſire of Liberty, many of that condition became Proſelytes. Out of the Hiſtories of *Africk*, we are told that *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Nola* ſold all that he had, and at length himſelf to the *Vandals*, therewith to get Money to redeem Chriſtian Captives. Hence came Manumiſſions to be made in Churches by the Biſhops, and that on the Lords day, and after the time of *Conſtantine*, eſpecially the number of poor and Indigent Perſons, having nothing they could call their own but liberty, increaſed to ſuch vaſt Multitudes, that no greater grievance lay upon Cities, than ſuch Confluence of beggerly Perſons, having no Trade nor courſe to live.

Hieron. ad Marcellum Zoz

C.Th.l 9. *de Hæretic.*

Vide Bodinum. de republ. l. 1. *c.*5.

An Edict againſt Sturdy Beggars.

C. de Epiſcopis & clericis. tot. tit.

16. Hereupon at the earneſt deſire of the Biſhops, Hoſpitals and Alms-houſes for the ſuſtenance of Strangers, Infants, Aged, Sick and Lame, unknown to former times, began to be erected by Princes or others. St. *Baſil* complaining in his Sermons, that the ſighs and lamentations of ſuch as languiſhed in the Churches, were confounded and mingled with the Prayers of Prieſts and People. *Julian* the Apoſtate, as we have already ſaid, perceiving this was a very taking and plauſible means to procure reſpect to Religion, reſolved to Erect alſo ſuch Hoſpitals, and to this piece of Policy excited his *Pagan* Prieſts. And for as much as thoſe indigent *Liberty* or *Freemen*, did commonly expoſe their Children, as knowing that upon the Chriſtian Principles and profeſſion of kindneſs and mercy, they would be provided for, *Gratian* made a Law that they ſhould remain in Servitude with thoſe that educated them. Not long after *Valens* his Uncle permitted by an Edict, that Vagrants and Beggars ſhould be reduced to Servitude, forbidding alſo upon pain of death, his Subjects to betake themſelves into deſert places, there to lead an idle life, which he commanded ſhould be inflicted upon many, who contrary to the Laws, had withdrawn, and lived in thoſe times ſolitarily in the Wilderneſs; yet had not thoſe Laws ſuch effect, but that Beggars ſtill increaſing, and luſty Fellows able to work, chuſing rather to live in idleneſs and penury, the Emperours re-inforced the former Edicts, by theirs of this Year, which was that following the Synod of *Conſtanoinople*.

*C.l.*1. *& ſeq. de Infant. liberis.*

A Synod held at *Rome.*

Ad A: D. 382. *ex collectione Creſconianā*

17. But although *Damaſus* Biſhop of *Rome* was againſt the ſummoning of that Council, yet this year immediately ſucceeding, he had a deſire to have a General and Oecumenical Synod held at his own City, and for that purpoſe ſollicited the Emperours; they having conſulted the Eaſtern Biſhops, anſwered it was neither neceſſary nor convenient to have ſo many General Councils called in ſo ſhort a time; for this would make them cheap and contemptable, as Synods had been in the *Arian* days, and by the Journeys, and long abſence of Biſhops, the ſeveral Flocks ſhould be expoſed both to want and danger. However *Damaſus* and other Weſtern Biſhops, are ſaid to have held a Synod at *Rome*, the acts whereof are loſt, but amongſt others, one Canon was made, as *Baronius* tells us, quite contrary to what had been determined in the Council of *Conſtantinople*, in favour of that See; giving the firſt place to the Patriarch of

Rome; the Second to him of *Alexandria*, his See having in the name of St. *Peter* been Conſecrated by *Mark* his Diſciple and Evangeliſt; and the Third to the Patriarch of *Antioch*, becauſe St. *Peter* there reſided before he came to *Rome*, and there the Faithful were firſt called Chriſtians; a reaſon indeed ſufficient to have given him Præcedence above the other two, had not the Polity of the Church imitated that of the Empire, and the Biſhop of *Rome* obtained præcedence for the Dignity of that City, to which *Conſtantinople* now being *Second*, or *New Rome*, the Fathers had as much reaſon to alter the Caſe, and advance the See to the ſame place and Dignity.

Gratian withdrew the allowance for *Pagan* Sacrifices and Prieſts.

Which cauſed them with *Maximus* the Tyrant to murder him.

18. The Year following was very fatal to Paganiſm, wherein *Gratian* the Emperour withdrew the former allowance for Sacrifices and Stipends allotted unto Prieſts, and ſo by taking away all incouragement, and removing the Fuel which hitherto maintained the flame, ſtruck at the Root of that Superſtition. For this cauſe (and not for having rejected the Title of *Pontifex Maximus*, which neither he nor any of his Chriſtian Prædeceſſors ever uſed) his Heathen Subjects might take part with *Maximus* the Tyrant, by whoſe Treaſon he was this year murdered at *Lyons*; his Piety and worth is very much extolled by St. *Ambroſe*, and *Auſonius* his Schoolmaſter, whom he dignified with the Honour and Imployment of Conſul, and otherwiſe very gratefully rewarded, having as *Baronius* obſerves, ſo much worth in him, as to underſtand and conſider that Maſters equally with Parents, can never be ſufficiently requited. This *Auſonius Gallus* was a great Rhetorician, and an excellent Poet, as appears by what he hath written, and a Chriſtian he ſhows himſelf by his Religious Poems, however his Amorous Verſes have procured him, with ſome Readers, the repute of a *Pagan*; his pains were ſo well beſtowed upon *Gratian*, that *Theodoſius* wanting a Tutor for his young Son *Arcadius*, whom he had named *Auguſtus*, and aſſumed as his Partner in the Empire, deſired of *Gratian* that he would ſend to him out of the Weſt, a fit Perſon for ſo great a Truſt. *Gratian* herewith acquainting *Damaſus* Biſhop of *Rome*, he commended to him *Arſenius* a Deacon of that Church, a Perſon very remarkable for Piety and Learning, who was ſent accordingly to *Conſtantinople*, when he undertook his charge, *Theodoſius* giving the Youth into his hands, ſaid, *Hence forth thou art more his Father than I.* Coming upon them at a time into the School, he found *Arcadius* ſitting, and *Arſenius* ſtanding by, as he was teaching him, for which he chode the Maſter, as not maintaining the Authority and *Decorum* of his place, to whom, when *Arſenius* anſwered, that it was not fitting he ſhould ſit, and teach an Emperour, *Theodoſius* out of diſdain, took from his Son the Badge of his Imperial Dignity, cauſed *Arſenius* to ſit down upon the Throne, and *Arcadius* to ſtand bareheaded before him, ſaying, *Then his Son would be worthy of Empire, if with knowledge, he were alſo indued with Piety.*

furius.

In a Synod at *Conſtantinople* the Hæreſie of the *Saccophori* is condemned.

19. This year was another Synod ſummoned by *Theodoſius*, to *Conſtantinople*, the Decrees of which, againſt the Hæreticks were followed and re-inforced by his Edict, wherein amongſt others, mention is made of the *Saccophori*, who were the ſame with *Maſſalians*, and ſo called from wearing Sackcloath, againſt which Hæreticks, one or two Synods were alſo holden about this time. But whilſt *Theodoſius* thus advanced the Orthodox Faith in the Eaſt, Chriſtian Religion it ſelf was in a little danger in the Weſt, where at this time a great Famine raged, eſpecially in the City of *Rome*. *Symmachus* the year following being Præfect of the City, a Man exceedingly affected to *Gentiliſm*, but otherwiſe of good repute, and exceedingly eloquent, taking the advantage afforded him by the death of *Gratian*, and Power of *Maximus*, when he thought *Valentinian* the young Emperour, would be very unwilling to diſoblige his People, preſented him a Petition in the Name of the Senate, for reſtitution of the Worſhip of the *Pagan* Gods, put down by the late Laws of *Gratian*. According to the old Cuſtom of *Pagans*, who if any diſaſter happened to the Commonwealth, laid the blame upon Chriſtianity, and the neglect of the Gods; he imputed the late Famine to no other cauſe, than the taking away the maintenance of Prieſts, and Veſtal Virgins; but the device was quickly ſmelt out by *Ambroſe* of *Milan*, who writing to the Emperour and re-felling all

C.Th.l. 11. & 12. *de hæret.*

Chriſtianos ad Leones.

Amb. ep. 30.

all the Arguments and Objections of *Symmachus*, prevailed ſo far as that an abſolute denyal was returned.

Damaſus Biſhop of *Rome* dies.

A. D. 384. *Valentin.* II. 9. *Theod.* 6.

20. This Year, as *Baronius* gathereth from the Date of certain Reſcripts, died *Damaſus* Biſhop of *Rome*, though *Marcellinus Comes* placeth his death Two years before, at the Month of *October*. *Damaſus Portuenſis* in his Book of Popes Lives, of Popes falſely aſcribed to this Biſhop, will have his Death to have happened on the Eleventh day of *December*, after he had ſitten in that See Seventeen years and three Months wanting Four days. The See was vacant One and thirty days, and then ſucceeded him *Siricius* a *Roman* by Birth. About this time *Theodoſius* taking into his conſideration, that *Jews* made Slaves of *Chriſtians*, and many of them thereby became Proſelytes to their Impiety, forbids by an Edict that any Chriſtians be in Servitude to them. And by another preſcribes *Arians*, *Macedonians*, *Eunomians*, and *Apollinarians*, formerly expelled, who ſtill had the boldneſs to return and boaſt of their Doctrine. In the Weſt *Priſcillianus* ſtill created trouble to the Orthodox Biſhops, to obviate whoſe Hæreſies, at the importunate Suit of *Ithacius* a Biſhop and great oppoſer of that Hæretick, a Synod was held at *Bourdeaux* in *Aquitaine*, by command of *Maximus* the Tyrant. So ſoon as *Maximus* had entred *Triers*, *Ithacius* puts up to him great Complaints againſt *Priſcillian*, wherewith the Emperour (as *Severus* calls him) throughly moved, writes his Letters to the Præfect of *Gall*, and the Vicar of *Spain*, commanding that all Perſons tainted with that Hæreſie, ſhould be conveyed to the Synod at *Bourdeaux*. Of theſe *Inſtantius* being brought to his defence, when he could ſay nothing conſiderable for himſelf, was pronounced unworthy of the Epiſcopal Function. *Priſcillian* from the Biſhops appealed to *Maximus*, and that by their permiſſion (for which the Hiſtorian blames their Fatherhoods) and therefore to him go both the Criminals and their Accuſers, of whom *Idacius* and *Ithacius* Biſhops are much blamed for their too violent Proſecution, and the later as Audacious, Impudent, Talkative, Profuſe, and given much to his Belly, whoſe cuſtom it was to accuſe them that were either Studious, or uſed Faſting and Scleragogy, as the Aſſociates and Diſciples of *Priſcillian*, and was ſo bold as to object the Crime of Hæreſie to *Martin* a Biſhop of that time, and a Man to be compared with the Apoſtles themſelves.

Siricius ſucceeds.

*C.Th. l.*3. *tit.*1. §. 1.

*L.*13. *de hæret.*

A Synod held at *Bourdeaux.*

*Sulp. Severus Hiſt. l.*2. *p.*174. &c. *Edit. Giſſelini.*

21. For *Martin* (Biſhop of *Tours*) being now at *Triers*, continually urged *Ithacius* to deſiſt from this Proſecution, and beſought *Maximus* to abſtain from the Blood of thoſe Wretches, whom it ſufficed to have Excommunicated by Sentence of the Biſhops, being declared Hæreticks, alledging it was a new and unheard of Crime, for a Sæcular Judge to decide Cauſes of the Church. As long as *Martin* continued at *Triers*, the Tryal was deferred, and when he departed, he got from *Maximus* a Promiſe, that he would not take their Lives, but afterward the Tyrant was drawn to the contrary Perſwaſion by *Magnus* and *Rufus*, two Biſhops, and committed the procedure to *Evodius* a Man bitterly ſevere, who after two Hearings of *Priſcillian*, wherein he was Convict, and confeſſed he had made Uncleanneſs his buſineſs, kept Meetings of lewd Women by Night, and accuſtomed to Pray naked, he pronounced him Guilty, and committed him to cuſtody till the pleaſure of the Prince was known. *Maximus* was clearly for condemning him to death, which after *Ithacius* ſaw reſolved, and the matter brought beyond poſſibility of prevention, to decline the Odium he ſaw would fall upon him, withdrew out of the way. But for Form ſake, to conclude the Proceſs, *Maximus* appointed another Accuſer to demand Sentence, which was accordingly pronounced, and executed upon *Priſcillian*, *Feliciſſimus*, *Armenius*, *Latronianus*, and *Euchrecia* the Wife of *Dolphidius* the Rhetorician, whoſe Daughter *Procula*, had been got with Child by *Priſcillian*. *Inſtantius* the Biſhop, and *Tiberianus*, were baniſhed into the Iſland *Sylina* beyond *Brittaine*, and others were either put to death, or for a time confined to certain places in *Gall*.

Wherein *Priſcillian* and others are condemned and executed.

22. Thus ſaith *Severus*, were thoſe Men, who were indeed unworthy of Life, by the worſt of Examples, either put to death or baniſhed, this Tyrant *Maximus*, being the firſt that made Hæreſie Capital, contrary to the judgment not only of *Martin*, but *Ambroſe*, *Auguſtine* and other Pious Men of this Age. And, as it uſually happeneth in this caſe, the Hæreſie of *Priſcillian* was not only not ſuppreſſed by his death, but more ſtrengthened, and farther propagated. For his Followers, who formerly honoured him as a Saint, now reverenced him as a Martyr. The dead Bodies were conveyed back into *Spain*, and their Funerals celebrated with great Devotion. It became the greateſt Point of Religion to ſwear by *Priſcillian*, and amongſt the Orthodox ſuch Differences continued, and ſuch abominable Diſſentions, as could not be ſtilled for Fifteen years. And then, when by reaſon of the diſagreement of Biſhops eſpecially, all things ſeemed to be diſturbed and confounded, every thing being carried either by hatred or Favour, Fear, Inconſtancy, Envy, Faction, Luſt, Avarice, Arrogance, Drowzineſs, and Sloath; at laſt many contended madly, and pertinaciouſly againſt a few diſcreet and ſober Perſons. And in the mean while the People of God, and every good Man, became a by-word, and a mocking ſtock. With theſe words *Sulpicius Severus* concludes his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, concerning the Excellency whereof, *Joſeph Scaliger* and *Giſſalinus* eſpecially, a Learned Phyſician, who publiſhed it with Annotations, are to be conſulted. Though all good Men out of an averſion they have to Vice, and by reaſon we are only ſenſible of preſent things, are apt to eſteem their own times the moſt vitious, yet his complaints confirm much to us the Character which *Eraſmus* gives of this Age, that *It was a matter of Wit to be a Chriſtian, that Faith was rather in their Papers, than their Souls, and there were almoſt as many Creeds, as Profeſſors.*

Severus Hiſt. quo priùs & Dial.3. Ambroſ. Ep.27. Aug. in Creſc. l.3. c.50.

Which Severity encreaſes the Hereſie.

Illis temporibus ingenioſa res fuit eſſe Chriſtianum. Illa ætate in chartis erat fides potiùs quam in anima, ac penè tot erant ſymbola quot profeſſores. Præf. in Tom. 2. Hieronymi.

23. *Ithacius*, who had been the great Proſecuter againſt *Priſcillian*, continuing at *Triers*, where ſeveral Biſhops, who approved what he had done, and eſpouſed his cauſe as common, were aſſembled, *Martin* the Biſhop of *Tours* was in behalf of ſeveral who had, according to their Allegiance, taken the part of *Gratian*, conſtrained to go to Court. *Maximus* who protected the Biſhops, by their advice had reſolved to ſend ſome Officers into *Spain*, furniſhed with ſufficient Power, to make Inquiſition after Hæreticks, and ſpoil them of their Lives and Eſtates, by which courſe there is no doubt but a very great number of Holy Men would have been deſtroyed, little diſtinction being made amongſt the ſeveral ſorts, judgment being given from the eye alone, and one eſteemed an Hæretick rather for his pale Face or Garment, than his Faith. The Biſhops knowing how little pleaſed *Martin* would be with theſe things, yet were very much concerned leſt he ſhould refuſe their Communion, as foreſeeing that his Example and Authority would eaſily procure him many Followers. Conſulting therefore with *Maximus*, they think fit that certain Officers ſhould be ſent to meet him, with orders not to come to the City, except his purpoſe was in a peaceable manner to demean himſelf toward the Biſhops there reſident. He craftily overreacheth them, profeſſing that he came in the Peace of Chriſt, and entring the City by night, went to the Church to his Devotions, and the next day to the Court, to ſollicite the Tyrant in behalf of many Perſons, of whom the chief were *Narſes* a Count, and *Leucadius* a Præſident, who both had been of *Gratian*'s Party.

Ad comitatum ire compulſus. Severus. Dial. 3. §. 15.

24. But being as well deſirous to preſerve the Hæreticks, as ſuch Orthodox Chriſtians as would ſuffer with them, he made it his greateſt buſineſs to prevent the diſpatch of the Tribunes into *Spain* with ſo ſevere a Commiſſion. *Maximus* held him in ſuſpence a day or two, either for that he would put weight upon the buſineſs, or by reaſon of his implacable diſpoſition, or which was then generally gueſſed, out of Covetouſneſs, to which Vice, although otherwiſe he was indued with many good qualities, as *Severus* reports, he was much addicted, except in his excuſe it be alledged, that the Treaſury had been exhauſted by former Princes, and the great expence he was put to by

Pia enim erat ſolicitando Martino ut non ſolum Chriſtianos, qui ſub illa erant occaſione teſtandi, ſed ipſos etiam hæreticos liberaret.

Martin Biſhop of *Tours* perſecuted by the Heretical Biſhops.

by the Civil Wars, and perpetual Marches neceſſitated him to ſuch courſes as were burthenſome to the People. But in the mean time thoſe Biſhops, with whom *Martin* refuſed to communicate, being ſenſible of the danger to which they ſhould be expoſed, in caſe the earneſtneſs of *Theogniſtus*, who alone had publickly condemned them, ſhould be backed by the Authority of *Martin*, come trembling to the Emperour, complaining that Matters thus ſtanding, they were præcondemned and loſt Men, that this Man ought not to have been received within the Walls, who was become not only a Protector of Hæreticks, but their Avenger, and in truth that they had profited nothing by the death of *Priſcillian*, if *Martin* might be ſuffered to revenge his Cauſe. In ſumm, they caſt themſelves at his Feet, and with many Tears, and great Lamentations, implore his Royal Authority and Power to be imployed againſt this one Man, who in Conjunction with *Theogniſtus*, as they had good cauſe to apprehend, might procure the overthrow of their Cauſe and Fortunes.

25. Little wanted of *Martin* his being condemned to the ſame Lot with the Hæreticks. But though *Maximus* too much favoured theſe Biſhops, yet he had him in ſo great eſteem and reverence for his Piety, that he reſolved to try another courſe, and therefore talks with him in private very lovingly, and labours to perſwade him that the *Priſcillianiſts* had been condemned, rather by publick Juſtice, than the Proſecution of the Clergy, and that there was no cauſe why he ſhould ſhun the Communion of *Ithacius*, and the reſt of his Party: That *Theogniſtus* had done it more out of Malice, than for any good reaſon, and was ſingular in this Separation; in concluſion, that *Ithacius* had been acquitted by a Synod, which had met a few days before. *Martin* being nothing moved with theſe fair words, *Maximus* was very angry, and ſtarting away from him, gave orders that Executioners ſhould be ſent to diſpatch thoſe for whom he had interceded; which as ſoon as he underſtood, though in the night, he got back into the Court, and promiſed, that in caſe they might be ſpared, and the Journey of the Officers into *Spain* countermanded, he would communicate with *Ithacius*. All this was inſtantly granted by *Maximus*, and the day following *Martin*, who judged it fit for him to comply, that he might divert the Sword which hung over the Necks of thoſe formerly condemned, communicated with theſe Prælates at the Conſecration of *Fælix* a moſt Holy Biſhop, and one that deſerved to have been ordained in better times in the opinion of *Severus*. But the Biſhops having got *Martin* amongſt them, with all earneſtneſs imaginable preſſed him to ſubſcribe to what they had done, but could not wreſt it from him; He departed the next day, and in his Journey as he much bewailed his communicating with thoſe Men, though for ſo little a ſpace, *Severus* tells us, that an Angel appeared to him, comforting and exciting him to re-aſſume his former Virtue and Conſtancy. From this time he never communicated with any of *Ithacius* his Faction, confeſſed afterwards with Tears, that by ſo doing, though but for a moment, yet he had loſt ſome of his former Power over the *Evergumeni*. And although he lived Sixteen years longer, yet he never came at any Synod, but ever ſhunned the Meetings of Biſhops, being of the ſame judgment herein with *Gregory Nazianzen*, and ſenſible of the great Corruptions of the times.

And forced to communicate with them.

Sedecim poſtea vixit annos, nullam Synodum adiit, ab omnibus Epiſcoporum conventibus ſe removit

26. The year following being the 385. of our Lord, the Tenth of *Valentinian* the Second, in the firſt Conſulſhip of *Fl. Arcadius* the Emperour, and *Fl. Banto*; the Year after the Birth of *Honorius*, *Timotheus* Biſhop of *Alexandria* departed this Life, and was ſucceeded by *Theophilus*. Concerning *Timotheus* this is memorable, that he ordained *Ammon* a moſt Holy Monk, though to prævent being a Biſhop, he had cut off one of his Ears, alledging, that the Law which was objected to the contrary, had been obſerved by the *Jews*, and profeſſing that if he found a Man that had loſt his Noſe, but retained his Piety, he ſhould not at all ſtick to ordain him Biſhop. This Year *Valentinian* the Emperour publiſhed an Edict for releaſing Priſoners at *Eaſter*, whereat *Ambroſe* Biſhop of *Milan* took occaſion to upbraid him with Impriſoning Godly Men

Socr. l.5. c. 12.

Timotheus Biſhop of *Alexandria* dying, *Theophilus* ſucceeds.

Balſam.

C. Th. l.8. de indulg. crim.

Men at the ſame time, wherein it was the Cuſtom to ſet Malefactors at Liberty. For the Year following he ſet forth another Edict, whereby he granted to the *Arians* liberty to meet together, at the Inſtigation and Procurement of *Juſtina* his Mother, a Woman ſo addicted to that Hæreſie, that ſhe uſed all indeavours poſſible to promote it, and for that purpoſe indeavoured to take from the Catholicks the great Church in *Milan*, and deliver it to them, which *Ambroſe* oppoſing, ſhe raiſed a great Perſecution againſt him. *Theodoſius* in the Eaſt, bent his endeavours againſt *Paganiſm*, which ſtill ſeemed to revive, and recover ſtrength, notwithſtanding all the fatal ſtroaks it had received. In the ſame Year wherein *Valentinian* publiſhed his Edict about emptying the Goals, he gave out another Reſcript againſt Idolaters, and ſuch as conſulted the Entrails of Beaſts, for the knowledge of things to come. Yet were the times ſtill ſo bad, and the minds of his Subjects ſtill ſo addicted to that Impiety, that the Temples, and a great part of the *Pagan* Superſtition, for all theſe Laws, he was conſtrained ſtill to permit, and the year following, he with his two Colleagues, *Valentinian* and *Arcadius*, inſtead of diſſolving, decide a Controverſie about the Adminiſtration of the Heatheniſh Rites, in a Conſtitution directed to *Florentius* the *Præfectus Auguſtalis* to this purpoſe.

Valentinian favours the *Arians* in the Weſt.

But *Theodoſius* endeavours to ſuppreſs them.

C *Th. de fide Cath. l.* 4.

Paul. in vita Ambr.

Socr. l. 5. *c.* 11.

C. Th. de Pagan. l. 9.

27. *In obtaining the* Archyeroſyna, *or Chief Prieſt-hood, let him firſt be conſidered, who has done moſt Service in his Country, provided he have not forſaken the Service of the Temples, by applying himſelf to Chriſtian Religion. For it is unſeemly, yea, to ſpeak more truly, unlawful that Temples, and the Solemnities thereof ſhould appertain to their care, the Conſciences of whom have been wrought upon by a true Senſe of Divine Religion, and whom it became, although they were not prohibited, by all means to ſhun ſuch an employment. Given at* Conſtantinople *on the Sixteenth day of* June, Honorius *the moſt noble Child* (at this time about a Year and three quarters old) *and* Evodius *being Conſuls*, viz. *A. D.* 386. the Eleventh of *Valentinian*, of *Theodoſius* the Eighth, the Fourteenth Indiction, of *Old Rome* the 1139, of the *New* the 56.

In conſequenda Archieroſyna ille ſic potior, qui patriæ plura præſtiterit, nec tamen à Templorum cultu obſervatione Chriſtianitatis abſceſſerit. Quippe indecorum eſt, imo, ut verius dicamus, illicitum, ad eorum curam Templa, & Templorum ſolemnia pertinere, quorum conſcientiam vera ratio [vera ratio vel veneratio] divinæ Religionis imbuerit, & quos ipſos decebat tale munus, etiamſi non prohiberentur, effugere emiſſa 16. *Calend. Jul. Conſtantinop. Honorio NO. P. & Evodio Coſſ.* 1. *E. A.D.* 386. *Cod. Th. de decurion. l.* 12.

28. This *Archyeroſyna* or *Chief Prieſthood*, was not the Præſidency in the College of Prieſts, as ſome have imagined. But thoſe that bore this Office, as we may learn from the Epiſtles of *Julian* in this Age, had it incumbent upon them to *overſee and order the Temples, appoint what was convenient to each, take care of their external Ornament, and govern, and moderate the Prieſts therein Miniſtring*. Such Chief Prieſts, in Greek 'Αρχιερεῖς, were of old *Scopilianus* in *Aſia*, whoſe Life is written by *Philoſtratus*, under *Julian* the Apoſtate, *Arſacius* in *Galatia*, *Theodorus* in *Aſia*, (to whom he wrote two Epiſtles yet Extant, the 49. and 63.) and *Chryſanthius* in *Lydia*, as *Euvapius* ſignifieth in the Life of *Maximus*. Thoſe Solemnities of the *Pagan* Temples (as *Tertullian* ſtileth them, beſides others) were the Celebrations of Publick and Religious Mirth, and Vows, Feſtival Aſſemblies, Games and Solemnizations of Antient Sports; to which adhered ſomewhat of *Gentiliſm*, and Superſtition belonging to the Temples. Feaſts and Banquets which were eſpecially univerſally and Religiouſly obſerved on *New-years-day*, as beſides many more ancient, ſeveral Writers of this Age do teſtifie. Vows made on the Third of *January* in the Temples, with Feaſts and well-wiſhes for the Health of the Prince. Such alſo were the *Saturnalia*, the *Brumæ*, or, as the Canon of the Synod in *Trullo* hath it, he *Bromalia*, celebrated in Honour of *Bacchus*, Syrnamed *Bromius*, and the Sacrifices of the *Luſtra*. Theſe, and ſuch like, were the *Pagan* Solemnities, to the obſervation and care of which, the *Gentiles* endeavoured at this time to force the Chriſtians, who alſo many of them of their own accord joyned in the Celebration of thoſe Myſteries, whereof the Chriſtian Writers of thoſe times complain, and as *Tertullian* of old exhorted Chriſtians to fly from ſuch Impurities, ſo both Synods and Emperours by Canons and Laws endeavoured to obviate this their Scandalous and (in many reſpects) pernicious Practice.

Archyeroſyna what.

Vide Jacob. Gothofredum ubi ſupra.

Aug. Serm. 6. *de urbis Domini*

De fidelatria c. 17.

29. For this *Archyeroſyna* or Superſtitious employment being conferred on ſuch as were Senators, and bore the greateſt Offices in Cities, or had performed beſt ſervice to their Prince and Country was much ſought after, even by ſome Chriſtians themſelves, who ſtudied more their reputation than the diſcharge of a good Conſcience, eaſily being perſwaded, that Prævarication and unlawful Communication in Heatheniſh Myſteries, would not ſtick to this Action, which only reſpected the Decency and order of Adminiſtration, and was void of Superſtition in it ſelf; however it had regard to the *Pagan* Temples, and the Solemnities thereof. Now by the Inſcription or Direction of this Law, to the Præfect of *Ægypt* (who as we formerly ſhewed, was called *Auguſtalis*) this vicious Cuſtom, as we may learn, was moſt prævalent in that Country, which having of old, been more than any other addicted to Idolatry, was ſtill more tenacious of it, as appears by a Law made the præceding Year, which notwithſtanding yet the year following, *viz. A. D.* 387. So little Reformation was wrought, and former Conſtitutions ſo little obeyed, that to inforce them was ſent *Cynegius* the *Præfectus Prætorio* into *Ægypt*, who prohibited Sacrifices, as *Zozimus* with great grief witneſſeth, as alſo *Idacius*. And notwithſtanding all thoſe indeavours, yet were not theſe Sacrifices wholly forborne, and laid aſide, till the Year 391. through the indeavours of *Evagrius* the *Præfectus Auguſtalis*, and the Count of *Ægypt*, at the earneſt importunity and procurement of *Theophilus* the Biſhop of *Alexandria*, as appears from *Eurapius*, in the life *Ædeſius*. *Zozimus*, our own Eccleſiaſtical Writers, and a Law Extant in the Code of *Theodoſius*. Neither is it to be doubted, but that *Theophilus*, by whoſe mediation and indeavours, Sacrifices at length were prohibited and taken way, procured alſo that the Chriſtians, within his Patriarchal care, ſhould be forbidden to diſcharge any more this *Pagan* and ſcandalous Office, whereof we treat.

C. Th. de Paganis l. 9.

L. 4 *p.* 764.

Chron.

Pp 73. & 77. *L.* 5. *p* 799

11. *Cod. Th. de Paganis.*

This Office of chief Prieſthood forbidden to Chriſtians.

30. For although they themſelves defiled not their Perſons and profeſſion, by the Superſtitious Worſhip uſed in and about the Temples, and neither thoſe Solemnities full of groſs Idolatry and *Pagan* Impieties, yet as the Law expreſſeth it, it was unſeemly, or to ſpeak more truly, unlawful for Chriſtians to have charge of Temples and their Solemnities, who ought to ſhun ſuch an employment, though not thereto obliged by any prohibition. This becoming in thoſe times a caſe of Conſcience; the practice was condemned as unlawful by *Gratian*, as *Zozimus* the Hiſtorian witneſſeth, and *Tertullian* had long before ſo decided it, in ſeveral places of his Book concerning Idolatry, for this charge, though it could not be called Sacrificing, yet as he terms it, might juſtly have the name of *Adſacrificium*, which word being rightly adjudged, and reſtored to him by a learned Man, he might as well uſe as *Admilitia* is uſed by the Lawyer. Had theſe Solemnities been harmleſs mirths, deſtined only to Recreation, no ſuch prohibition had been laid on Chriſtians, but the very end and deſign of them was *ſuperſtitious* and *Pagan*. As the Celebration of Games and votive Sports were in honour of their Gods obſerved, in memory of their Nativities, and Dedication of their Temples, as *Lactantius* writes, who thereupon concludes, that what Chriſtian ſoever was preſent at the *Spectacula*, or ſhews which were made for a Religious end, ſuch an one departed from the worſhip of the true God, and betook himſelf to the *Pagan* Deities, whoſe Nativities and Feſtivals he ſo Celebrated. For the *Pagan* uſed to keep holy the *Eucania*, or days of the dedication of their Temples, and had their Feaſts and Banquets (*Sympoſia*) in honour of their Gods; whence alſo proceeded their Confraternities.

All *Pagan* Superſtition for bidden to Chriſtians.

Ad cap. 16. *L. vaic.* π *de offic. Præf. præt. Admilitia commilitium ſeu* Συστρατεία *ut ad ſacrificium.*

Συνθυσία.

Συμπόσια

Φρατρεῖαι.

31. As Chriſtians of themſelves were too forward to undertake the charge of *Archyeroſyna*, tempted with the reputation thereof, ſo at theſe Games and Feaſts, they were ſtill conſtrained by the *Pagans* to be preſent, in other Countries beſides *Ægypt*, inſomuch that the *African* Fathers a little after, about the year 399. could not but take notice of it, and ordain that *the Emperours be Petitioned, that ſeeing in many places, theſe Feaſts were kept contrary to Divine Præcepts, and which taking their Original from* Pagan *Error, Chriſtians were compelled by Ethnicks to Celebrate*, whereupon another Perſecution ſeemed ſecretly to be made under Chriſtian Emperours, they would pleaſe to forbid ſuch Cuſtoms, and cauſe them

Cuſtoms of *Pagan* Original or reſemblance forbidden to Chriſtians.

In concil. Cath. ſub. Honorio. cc. 60. & 61. *cod. Afr.* Ἐκ τῆς ἐθνικῆς πλάνης προσενεχθέντα Ἀρχὴν ἐσχηκότα ἐςὶ τῆς ἑλληνικῆς πλάνης them to be prohibited in Cities and Countries, under a certain Penalty, alledging, that Chriſtians ought not to be compelled to thoſe things which are contrary to Gods command, and in doing which they ſhould incurr great and apparent danger of their Souls. By ſuch like means as this, it came to paſs, that whereas by permiſſion of ſome Conſtitutions of Chriſtian Princes, thoſe votive Feaſts and Solemnities had been obſerved through the parts of *Africk*, with this caution, that they ſhould be Celebrated without any Sacrifice, or other damnable Superſtition, as *Honorius* limits them (which Law is ſtrangely retained in *Juſtinian*'s Code) yet Nine years after they were utterly removed, taken away, and prohibited by the ſame Emperour in another Conſtitution, together with the other Reliques of *Pagan* Superſtition, who makes it utterly unlawful to hold thoſe Feaſts, or any other Solemnities; giving unto Biſhops Power and Authority to prohibit them, by the ſame Law which *Tribonianus*, though he retained the former, yet hath omitted in *Juſtinian*'s Code.

Cod. th. de Paganis l. 17.

C. th. de Paganis l. 19.

32. So jealous were the Fathers of the Church, leaſt Chriſtians ſhould defile themſelves with *Pagan* Impurities, and thereby give matter of ſcandal both to Infidels and Profeſſors, that by their own Writings, Canons, and Imperial Conſtitutions by them procured, they laboured by all means to cauſe them to ſhun all appearance of evil in this reſpect. And for thoſe reaſons they were alſo ſometimes ſo moved, as to condemn, forbid, and put down ſuch Cuſtoms and Actions, as were taken from *Pagan* Præcedents, though well intended and directed to a good end. So *Ambroſe* Biſhop of *Milan* at this time, perceiving how by the heedleſneſs of Church Officers, many *Pagan* Cuſtoms had crept in amongſt the Chriſtian Rites, both ſet himſelf withall his might to eradicate them, and with all expedition; therefore he not only declaims earneſtly againſt ſuch as ſuperſtitiouſly obſerved the Calends, or firſt day of *January*, procured, that on that day wherein the *Pagans* Feaſted, Chriſtians ſhould faſt and afflict themſelves, and cauſed Acclamations and Shoutings which had wont to be made at the eclipſe of the *Moon*, to be wholly left off, but aboliſhed the *Agapæ* or Chriſtian Feaſts wont to be kept in Churches, becauſe they had ſome reſemblance to the *Pagan Parentalia*; by whoſe example *Auguſtine*, when Biſhop of *Hippo*, was ſo moved, that he alſo procured them to be put down in the Church of *Africk*. Yet notwithſtanding was it impoſſible to ſhake off ſuddenly all that might ſeem to have reſemblance to *Pagan* Cuſtoms. For thoſe habits ſtick cloſe to Nature, wherewith ſhe is firſt of all endowed; as an empty and hungry ſtomack, moſt imbraces and ſucks ſuch Juices as are firſt powred into it, and the Veſſel retains that ſavour which being yet freſh and new, it had firſt imbibed with the Liquor, ſo doth the mind of Man moſt delight it ſelf with the memory of thoſe things, places, and times, wherewith in its Infancy it was acquainted, and however education and more ripe judgment may inform the underſtanding, yet the fancy is ſtill tickled, and the affections inſenſibly overpowered, by ſuch apprehenſions as were moſt familiar and coetaneous to their ſimple and naked Originals.

Idem ſerm. 30.

Aug. conf. 6. 2. *Ep.* 64. *conc. Carth.* 3. *c.* 30.

33. Hence it came to paſs, that notwithſtaning all thoſe Laws, Canons, and Præcepts, yet old Cuſtoms were ſtill continued for a long time after, of ſuch a Nature and Deſign, as could not but ſavour of *Pagan* Superſtition, as worſhipping of the *Sun*, with others which we may have occaſion hereafter to mention. And the Fathers of the Church, eſpecially the *Roman* Biſhops were content to take off the Profeſſors of Chriſtian Religion from ſuch practices, by not only permitting them to apply certain Cuſtoms to Chriſtian ends and purpoſes, but to Inſtitute alſo and Ordain ſeveral Rites and Ceremonies which had ſome reſemblances to Ancient though Ethnick patterns, as appears abundantly from what *Polydore*, *Virgil*, and others have written of their Originals. And if in their Natures they were indifferent, if honeſt in their Deſigns, effectual in their Methods, for removal of impious Cuſtoms, if every way innocent, and in the main conducing to make impreſſions in the minds of Men, and introduce ſuch Ideas as would obliterate old præjudices, and eſtabliſh Pious affections, they were ſo many arguments of Chriſtian Prudence, which ought to mode-

Several *Pagan* Rites and Ceremonies nevertheleſs uſed.

rate, and ſway the Councils of thoſe in Authority, according to time and place, the exigencie of affairs, and the good or ill uſage of ſuch Cuſtoms and Inſtitutions. *Julian* made uſe of ſuch Chriſtian Rites as he ſaw were prudent, and conducing in their very Nature and drift to order, ſettlement, and exegetical impreſſions, and why might not Chriſtian Governours, as well as he, aſſume the quality of the Serpent, which is not inconſiſtent with the nature of the Dove? and having to do with ſuch Perſons as had been inured to ſuch Cuſtoms, by a change of the deſign, and propoſal of a new end, render them not only Innocent, but ſignificative, and edifying, all Creatures being the poſſeſſion of God, and the uſe of them as applicable to his Glory, as to vain and impious purpoſes.

34. But as there are no certain and particular Rules for individual actions, theſe things being left to the care and charge of Governours, who are only limited by decency and order, and confined within the borders of Ædification; ſo accordingly were they affected, and ſteered the Helm as variouſly directed by Comportment of things, times, and Perſons, in thoſe primitive and more pure Ages of the Church; yet may we obſerve that the vulgar, as in all other caſes, ſo in this, would be Maſter of Words, Phraſes, and Terms. Therefore though *Pope Silveſter*, as *Polydore Vergil* is of opinion, out of hatred both to the Names and Memory of the *Gentile* Gods, gave order that the days of the week ſhould be called by the name of *Feriæ*, and the diſtinction to be made by *Prima Feria, Secunda Feria, Tertia Feria*, &c. Yet ſo that the *Sabbath* and the Lords-day ſhould hold their Jewiſh and Chriſtian Names, and Places, as they did before; this became no certain Rule to Chriſtians, Writers, or others. For though that day we ſtill call *Saturday*, had amongſt them the name of *Sabbath*, which was peculiar to it, and applicable to no other day whatſoever, for many Ages; and although that day on which our Saviour aroſe from the Dead, be by St. *John* called by the name of the *Lords-day*, by St. *Paul* the *firſt day* of the Week; yet *Juſtin Martyr* gives it the appellation of *Sunday*, which it ſtill reſerves, as alſo *Tertullian* by whom it is ſtiled ſomtimes *Dies Solis*, and ſometimes *Dominicus*, and in many Edicts of Chriſtian Emperours, in the Synod held at *Dixſoluſinum*, in the *lower Bavaria, A.D.* 772. It hath alſo the name of *Sunday*, not to ſpeak of Writers, and the ordinary ſpeech of the Vulgar, with which this ſame name hath prevailed in all Ages downward. In like manner the Months have retained their ancient *Pagan* names, though at firſt given to them, as well as to the days of the Week in memory of their Fictitious Deities, the uſe of which, neither as to the one, nor other ſort, did the Fathers forbid and condemn, although perhaps they could better have liked others; for if we keep the name of *March*, and yet think not on *Mars*, why may we not, *ſaith a* Father*, preſerve the name of *Saturday*, without thinking of *Saturn*. So long hath this Cuſtom of Speech continued, that the innocency of the preſent deſign, together with the ignorance of the Vulgar, as to its ancient ſignification, may juſtly remove all ſuſpition of the prophaneneſs, and conſequently the unlawful uſe thereof. The *Holy Ghoſt* it ſelf hath not diſdained to apply unto ſacred purpoſes, words of Art uſed by *Pagan* Writers, as *Paradiſus, Hades, Apoſtolus* and *Clerus*.

De invent. l. 5. c. 6.

The days.

ἡ τȣ̃ ἡλίȣ ἡμερα

And Months called as by them.

* *Aug. contra. Fauſt. l. 19. c. 5.*

35. But to return to the ſeries of Church matters, in this ſame year, which was the Eighth of *Theodoſius*, dyed *Cyril* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, who had much experienced the viciſſitude of humane affairs, and the condition which attends thoſe that will live Godly in this preſent World, having been often driven from his See, and reſtored again, from the times of *Conſtantius*. There are extant certain Catechiſmes, which, as it's ſaid, he made in his Youth, but are ſuſpected. He was ſucceeded by *John*, who as *Hierome* writes, (inveighing againſt him, under the name of *Prætextatus*) had formerly joyned with the *Arians* and *Macedonians*, and now of late, had been drawn off to the Orthodox Party, by the hopes of a Biſhoprick. This year was alſo the laſt of *Philaſtrius* Biſhop of *Brixia*, who wrote againſt Hæreſies a good Book, wherein yet go under that name certain Tenents which this Age will eaſily excuſe from error. *Auguſtine* by this time was reclaimed from his erronious and looſe courſe of life, having the præceding year, and the Thirty firſt of his Age, began at *Milan* to be touched with a ſenſe of the Orthodox Faith, and reality of Chriſtian Religion. For there wanting a Profeſſor of

Cyril Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* dyes.

Hieron. de ſcript. Eccl.

John ſucceeds him.

Idem ep. 61.

Philaſtrius Biſhop of *Brixia* dyes.

Aug. confeſſ. l. 8. c. 9. & 5. 13. & 6. 11.

Auguſtine reformed from his looſe courſe of life.

Ep. 84. *de doctr. Chriſt.* 25. *Retract.* 2. 4

Rhetorick in that City, and *Symmachus* Præfect of *Rome*, being deſired to ſend a Man fit for ſuch an imployment, by the aſſiſtance of his Friends the *Manichees*, he procured to be ſent, being now Thirty years of Age, where falling into the Company and Familiarity of *Ambroſe* the Biſhop, by degrees he began to apprehend and diſlike the errors of the *Manichees*; yet for the time, this change conduced ſo little to his proficiency in Chriſtian Religion, that he did but make an alteration hereby to Antichriſtianiſm, being much inveighled by the Academick Philoſophers, who at this time were in great eſteem, and thereby hindred the progreſs of the Chriſtian Doctrine. For they openly ſtuck not to affirm, that Chriſtians had taken many Sentences out of *Plato*, and particularly St. *John the Evangeliſt* the Exordium of his Goſpel, foraſmuch as *Plato* talks much about *the word* or λόγος, but in ſo vaſt a different manner from that *word*, as it is ſacred in Chriſtianity, that ſuch as are but meanly converſant in both, may eaſily diſcover the cheat, that it is in vain to inſtance in particulars; however this prejudice was in this Age whereof we write, none of the leaſt remora's to the progreſs of Chriſtianity, though ſome of later times have ſo canted in Platonick expreſſions, and doated upon his miſapprehended Myſteries, as to conjoyn them with the *Magnalia* of our Faith; and more miſchief had been the effect hereof, had not *Ambroſe* obviated the deſign, by his Books written concerning Philoſophy, againſt *Plato* and thoſe his Followers, wherewith *Auguſtine* when older and wiſer, confeſſed himſelf much edified.

Confeſſ. paſſim.

Is Baptized at *Milan* by *Ambroſe* the Biſhop.

Vide poſſ. in vita Aug.

36. *Monica* his Mother, following him to *Milan*, omitted no means ſhe thought proper for his effectual Converſion, which was better and more eaſily accompliſhed, after the return of his Concubine into *Africk*, by whom he had a Son called *Adeodatus*. At the entrance of *Banto* upon his Conſulſhip, he made a Panygyrical Oration, before *Valentinian* the Emperour, upon occaſion whereof, afterward, he bewailed the ſtate of his Soul, at that time, which with ſome impetuoſity was carried out in the Proſecution of Carnal and Ambitious purpoſes, and wholly taken up in a diſquiſition of *Academick* queſtions, and *Platonick* Speculations. But at length, by the reading of St. *Paul*, and the fruitful converſation of *Simplicianus*, a Pious and Learned Prieſt, it pleaſed God, by degrees, to inſtil into his heart the knowledge and love of the truth, ſo that being as we ſaid converted in the Thirty firſt year of his Age, after he had continued a *Catechumenus* for two years or more, he was baptized in his Thirty fourth year at *Milan*, by *Ambroſe* the Biſhop of that City, in the Feaſt of *Eaſter*, together with *Adeodatus* his natural Son, a Youth of about Fifteen years of age, of extraordinary parts, who dyed not long after in *Africk*, and *Alipius* of *Hippo* his dear Friend; after which they departed for *Rome*, and there, expected till the year following, a convenient time for returning into their own Countries.

The ſeveral Ranks and Degrees of the primitive Converts.

As Audientes.

Euſeb. l. 6. *c.* 2.

37. We have often made mention of the *Catechumeni*, concerning whom, though the Reader, by the Circumſtances of the Story, may apprehend ſufficient for the knowledge of their condition in reference to Chriſtianity, yet for his clearer inſight into theſe Eccleſiaſtical affairs, it ſeems requiſite to ſpeak ſomthing more, both concerning thoſe Perſons, and other ſorts, and ranks of Men, as they ſtood in relation to the Church. For there were ſeveral ranks and degrees, through which the ancient Chriſtians thought fit that Converts ſhould paſs, for the information of their minds, and the ſubjecting of their Spirits to the holy Diſcipline, before they would admit them to the Sacrament of Baptiſm, the *Euchariſt*, or Holy Orders. The firſt rank was of thoſe, who were to learn the firſt Rudiments of Chriſtianity, who were admitted to their Schools to hear the Chatechiſts (ſuch as *Origen* was in the Church of *Alexandria*, though not in Holy Orders, and but Ten years of Age) concerning whom *Euſebius* writes, that many Gentiles came to hear him Preach, and were converted, as *Plutarch* and *Heracles* his Brother, the firſt of whom ſuffered Martyrdom, and the other became afterward Biſhop of *Alexandria*. Such as were bred up thus in Schools, were called *Educati*, and they and others being admitted to Homilies, Expoſitions, and Inſtructions in the Church, were called *Audientes*, this being the firſt ſtep in the Chriſtian School, and it pleaſed God, by his Preaching and Inſtruction to convince ſuch as came

Catechumeni.

Ambr. de iis qui init. c 4. Aug. in lib. de ſymbolo ad Catechum.

rather for Novelty many times, than love to the truth, or perhaps to Scoff and Deride; if they began to like of the way, and judge it worth their while to lift at (though not juſt take up) the Croſs of Chriſt, they were admitted to the rank of *Catechumeni*, for a more clear and full underſtanding of the Myſteries of Faith, being permitted to ſtand in a more convenient and honourable place, than the *Audientes*, and as appertaining to the Church, though not yet fully received into her boſome, they were ſigned with the ſign of the Croſs at their Admiſſion. Theſe were the Chriſtian Embrio's, who increaſing in the knowledge and the Holy Diſcipline, received from the Church ſuch wholſome nouriſhment, as thereby to grow to the perfection of Children, vivacious and ready for the birth at what time they were regenerated by Baptiſm.

Competentes.

Symbolum etiam placuit ab omnibus Eccleſiis una die, id eſt ante octo dies dominicæ Reſurrectionis publice in Eccleſia competentibus prædicari

Perſicus. Demonſtr. Problem. p. 31.

Ambro. de Sacrum. l. 2. c. 7.

Tertull. adverſus Prox. c. 16.

Baſil. de Sp. Sancto l. 2. c. 15. & 27.

Concil. Tolet. 4. c. 5.

De conſecr. diſt. 4. c Papa eſt tantum.

Greg. l. 1. Ep. 41

38. For which, when they were thought fit, and ſufficiently inſtructed, they gave up their names to the Biſhop, and humbly deſiring to be partakers of that Holy Sacrament, they had the name of *Competentes*, to whom the Ninth Canon of the Council of *Agatha* ordains, that the Creed be publickly Preached in the Church Eight days before *Eaſter*, or on *Palm-Sunday*, which was performed in that part called *Baptiſterium*, the place where the Font ſtood. This Creed (which was not read at the Service to which the *Catechumeni* were admitted) they were thoroughly to learn and underſtand, and for thoſe days intervening before *Eaſter*, to faſt and abſtain wholly from Corporal Pleaſures, as a means for Humiliation and Præparation to ſo ſolemn an Ordinance. On *Eaſter* Eve in ſome eminent place they recited the Creed, the Articles whereof (of the Apoſtles Creed) were not at this time whereof we write digeſted into that order and method which they now retain, it being obſerved by Learned Men, that St. *Auguſtine* in his Book concerning the Creed to the *Catechumeni*, therein neither maketh mention of *the deſcent into Hell, neither of Life Everlaſting*. The Party being brought to the Font, it was demanded of him, if he believed in God the Father, and upon anſwer, that he believed he was dipped once; then was he asked, whether he believed in *Jeſus Chriſt* our Lord, and upon the reply, being dipped the ſecond time, the laſt demand was, if he believed in the *Holy Ghoſt*, and upon the like return, the dipping was the third time repeated: This Cuſtom of dipping thrice in the more Primitive times, was introduced in remembrance of the Reſurrection of Chriſt on the Third day, afterward, to ſignifie the Bleſſed *Trinity* in oppoſition of the *Arian* Tenents. In proceſs of time, when Hæreticks abuſed this Threefold dipping, to ſignifie Three Natures of the Three Perſons, *Gregory the Firſt*, being conſulted by *Leander* a *Spaniſh* Biſhop, declared, that whether the Party were dipped Thrice or but once, he received that Sacrament, the Threefold Action ſignifying the Three days Sepulture of Chriſt, and the Three Perſons in the Bleſſed Trinity; ſo alſo one ſingle Act denoting the Unity of Subſtance in the Trinity of Perſons. But leſt by complying with the Cuſtom of Hæreticks who dipped Thrice, they might ſeem to conſent to their deſign, he adviſed, that in *Spain* the Baptized Perſon ſhould be but once dipped. Which Advice was afterward confirmed and inforced by the Fathers of the Fourth Council of *Toledo*.

39. The Subſtantial part of the Sacrament being performed by dipping (whether Once or Thrice) in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, having been enjoyned to renounce the Devil and all his Works, the Pomp and Vanity of the World, they were Signed with the Sign of the Croſs, by which Solemn Ceremony, the Ancient Chriſtians teſtified their Faith in the Croſs, that is, the Death of Chriſt, being not aſhamed to own him for their God and Saviour, even by ſuch a Token as was matter of Scandal to the World, and thereby they would alſo excite themſelves, and admoniſh thoſe newly initiated, to a remembrance of their duty ingaged in this Virtual Stipulation, and to diſcharge their Baptiſmal Vow. That they might better perform this duty, they were aſſiſted by Confirmation, wherein were uſed Prayer, and Impoſition of Hands, which if uſeful then for thoſe that were Perſons of full Age, hath this advantage beſides in ſuch as are Baptized Infants, that now as it were by a repeated Act, they renew their Baptiſmal Vow, and take upon themſelves, what others in their names had promiſed,

Inſtructi, Neophyti. Tirones.

Fideles.

a ſtrong inducement and tye upon them to diſcharge that duty which now they have owned, and to which they have publickly profeſſed to adhere. Being thus Baptized and made Chriſtians, they were termed, *Inſtructi*, *Neophyti*, and by alluſion to the Sæcular Warfare, *Tirones*. To expreſs the Effects of Baptiſm, they wore White Garments, till the *Octaves* of *Eaſter*, the Lords-day following, or *Low-Sunday*, which hereupon was called *Dominica in Albis*. Now were they reckoned amongſt the *Fideles or Faithful*, being permitted to ſtay after the Sermons and Reading of the Scriptures, allowed to behold the Holy Myſteries of the Altar, and partake of the Lords Table, all which had been denied to them when *Catechumeni*, to whom after the ſaid Sermons and Readings, *Miſſa eſt* was pronounced, being not permitted to view the Sacraments. Yet were not thoſe *Novices* for all this, permitted ſuddenly to enter into Holy Orders, it being againſt expreſs Canons, for ſuch to be made Prieſts and Biſhops, although in the caſe of St. *Ambroſe* and ſome others, the publick utility procured a Diſpenſation and Exception to this General Rule.

Aug.Confeſſ. Poſſid.in vita.

Lib. 1.

Gregory Nazianzen dies.

Græcus codex vatican. apud Bar. ad A. D. 389.

40. But (to return from this Digreſſion) the Year following, wherein *Timaſius* and *Promotus* were Conſuls, the Fourteenth of *Valentinian* the Second, and the Eleventh of *Theodoſius A. D.* 389. *Auguſtine* having wintered at *Rome*, paſſed down to *Oſtra*, intending there to Sail over into *Africk*, but there he was kept for ſome time by the Sickneſs of his Mother *Monica*, which Pious Matron here ended her days. Having performed the laſt Offices of Duty to her, he ſailed over with a proſperous Gale, together with *Alipius* and *Evodius* his Companions, who accompanied him into the Country, where they ſpent their time in diſcharge of all Godly Exerciſes, and *Auguſtine* wrote ſeveral Books before he entred into the Orders of Prieſthood, which he mentioneth in his Retractations. This ſame Year alſo departed to a better Life, in the Sixty fifth Year of his Age, *Gregory Nazianzen* Syrnamed the Divine, his Death happening Three Years before St. *Hierome* wrote his Book concerning Eccleſiaſtical Writers, which the Author himſelf affirms to have been in the Fourteenth Year of *Theodoſius*. He was of a middle Stature, a ſweet and pleaſant aſpect, ſomething pale, his Hair on his Head very thin, yet his Beard thick, his Noſe ſomewhat flat, eye-brows high, his right Eye being a little contracted by a Skar. Though he ſeemed to be of a robuſt Conſtitution, yet was he ſorely broken by continual pains of the Gout, and other Infirmities, which confining him to his Bed, he therein refreſhed himſelf with ſeveral Elegant and Witty Poems made concerning himſelf upon various Occaſions, of which moſt are yet Extant. He complains not ſo much of his Bodily Infirmities, as the pricks of the Fleſh wherewith he was ſorely afflicted, which having eaſily conquered in his Youth, by all the means and endeavours he could uſe, he could very hardly ſubdue in his old Age. He had made his Teſtament ſome years before, by which he gave all he had to the uſe of the Poor of the Church of *Nazianzen*, except certain Legacies left to his Kindred. Therein mentioning *Alypiana* by the Name of his Daughter, and *Meletius* his Son in Law; *Baronius* is careful to put us in mind, that neither was ſhe indeed his true Daughter, nor he his Son in Law, foraſmuch as he himſelf profeſſeth, that he retained his Virginity inviolable. But ſhe, together with *Eugenia* and *Nonna*, were the Daughters of *Gorgonia* his Siſter, Married to *Vitalianus*, to whom ſhe bare alſo Two Sons *Peter* and *Phocas*. *Alypiana* was Married to *Nicobulus* an eminent Perſon, and was the Mother of *Nicobulus* the Younger, of whom *Gregory* alſo maketh mention. But although *Nazianzen* being a Biſhop, had no Children, yet his Father had, who was a Biſhop too, and begot them in Wedlock after he was initiated in the Holy Orders, which we are content, ſeeing he himſelf hath no mind to it, to obſerve for the Cardinal. Amongſt his Works which paſs under the Name of *Nazianzen*, the Tragedy doth not at all ſavour of his Style, nor obſerves the ſtrict Rule of *Iambicks*, according to his Cuſtom, imitating rather *Euripides* as our *Fulke* hath obſerved.

Several Edicts of *Theodoſius.*

C. Th. l. 18. *de hæret. l.* 11. *de Malef.*
C. Th. l. 5. *de paſt.*
L. 19. *de hæret.*

41. About this preſent time, *Theodoſius* the Emperour gave out a Reſcript againſt the *Manichees*, aſwell inhabiting in the City as other places, Commanding that “ Every where they ſhould be expelled. Another Edict he publiſhed at *Rome* “ againſt Enchanters. Another at *Milan*, Forbidding execution of Malefactours “ in *Lent*, wherein abſolution of Souls (as he Phraſeth it) is expected: And “ at the ſame place by another Reſcript in the month of *November* he Prohi“ bits the Aſſemblies of all Heretical Clerks. But as the Emperour took care for the checking of thoſe new roots of bitterneſs, which elſe would have ſprouted more, and endangered the true and genuine Corn, ſo this year he laboured as much for the eradication of the old ſtock of Paganiſm, which notwithſtanding all the Blows it had received, yet ever and anon ſeemed again to take freſh Root and bloſſome: *Symmachus* the famous Senatour and Oratour having clawed him by a Panegyrick, as he had formerly flattered the Tyrant *Maximus*, thought he had brought him by his pleaſing Language into ſo good an humour, that he dared to requeſt of him, that the Altar of *Victory* formerly in the Senate Houſe might be reſtored. Hereat he conceived ſuch Indignation againſt him, that he Baniſhed him his Preſence; and although afterward he was ſo far reconciled to him either through his Apology of the Mediation of a Novation Biſhop (as *Socrates* would have it) as both to paſs by the Offence, and the following year to honour him with the Title of Conſul, yet he proceeded more vigorouſly againſt that Superſtition, for which he had interceded. For it appears from *Prudentius* the Poet, that after his arrival at *Rome* he made it his chiefeſt care to purge that City from Paganiſh Superſtition and Idolatry, taking order with the Citizens, that Sacrifices and Heatheniſh Feſtivities ſhould be aboliſhed, and the Statues of Idols be broken in pieces, except ſuch as were moſt notable for the exquiſiteneſs of the Workmanſhip and fame of the Artificers.

Who endeavours to ſuppreſs Paganiſm.

Socr. l. 5. *c.* 14. *Prudent. carm. adverſus Symmachum.*

42. Hence it came to paſs, to the great grief of the Pagans, that the Capitol was deprived of its Gods, the Neſts where they had harboured, being all rent, and broken. And if *Zozimus* ſays true, Avarice cloathed it ſelf with the appearance of Zeal; as it ever happens in Reformations: For *Stilico*, he tells us, took away the Plates of Gold from the Door of the Capitol, and his Wife *Serena*, depriving *Rhea* the Mother of the Gods, of thoſe Jewels which hung about her neck, apply'd them to her own private uſe and ornament. But had the Chriſtian zeal of *Theodoſius* ſtayed here, the Pagans had not ſorrowed to ſo high a degree. Still remained the Temple of *Serapis* at *Alexandria*, one of the greateſt Marks and Encouragements of their ſuperſtition yet ſtanding, famous throughout the whole World for the ſtatelineſs of its Structure, the Solemnity of its Worſhip, and the antiquity thereof; but this very Temple this ſame year, by command of the Emperour, was utterly deſtroyed. The Pagans of *Ægypt* (as we noted before) were of all others moſt tenacious of their Heatheniſh Rites, and comported themſelves leſs than any others to the practice and courſe of the preſent times, not forbearing to teſtifie their diſlike by extravagant practices upon occaſion, as they did at this ſeaſon, raiſing great Stirs and Tumults againſt the Chriſtians their Neighbours, who had diſcovered and laid open the wickedneſs of ſome of their Gentile Myſteries. The deſtruction of the Temple had been predicted by *Beſſarion* an Abbat, as alſo by *Antoninus* an Ethnick Philoſopher or Magician, which foretelling of his did very much incourage and confirm the Pagans, and open their Mouths in pleading for their Gods, though otherwiſe the loſs they had ſuſtained by the deſtruction of their Temple, had ſhut them with Shame and Conſternation. This gave occaſion to St. *Auguſtine* to write a Book concerning the Divination of Spirits, as he himſelf teſtifieth at the beginning of that Work.

Lib. 5.

Demoliſhing the Temple of *Serapis* at *Alexandria.*

Ruffin. Marcellinus.

Eunapius in vita Ædeſii.

Which very much inrages the Pagans.

43. What indignation was conceived by the Pagans, for the ruine of this famous Temple, appears from *Eunapius Sardianus* the Compiler of the Lives of Philoſophers, a Man extremely addicted to Heatheniſh Superſtitions and Magical Arts, and who lived at this time whereof we write. He rails exceedingly againſt *Theophilus*, whom he calls a Piacular Man, and the reſt that were employed in that work deriding them for making War againſt the Stones, Statues, with other Materials, and twitting them for their Avarice, Sacrilege and Impiety, in ſpoiling the place of its rich Ornaments and Treaſure. But he hath no patience when he comes to relate how into theſe ſacred places, as he calls them, were Chriſtian Monks introduced, men in appearance (ſaith he) but living as filthily as Swine. He adds, that they did publickly commit infinite and un-

ſpeakable Villanies, yet was it held a piece of Piety in them to Conculcate and defile the eſteem and reverence of the Holy place; for at that time (ſo he goes on) every one that wore Black, and ſhamed not to appear publickly in bad Cloathes, obtained a certain Tyrannical kind of Authority, into ſuch an opinion of Vertue was that ſort of men advanced, of whom alſo is ſpoken in the Commentaries of Univerſal Hiſtory. They placed Monks (ſo he proceeds in his Ethnick fury) at *Canobus*, that for Gods who are ſeen no otherwiſe than by the mind, they might give divine Honours to Slaves and Flagitious perſons, for they ſhewed for Gods the ſeaſoned and ſalted Heads of ſuch, as for the multitude of Villanies, had by the Judges been put to death, to thoſe they bowed the Knee, thoſe they received into the number of Gods appearing all ragged and naſty at their Sepulchres: Amongſt theſe ſome were Martyrs, others Deacons, and were accounted Meſſengers and Arbitratours of Prayers and Petitions with the Gods, whereas they were perfidious Slaves, ignominiouſly ſubjected to Stripes, and bearing Scars in their Bodies, the Marks and Tokens of their Wickedneſs and Villanies. Yet ſuch Gods doth the Earth bring forth. Thus the Impious Wretch out of his blaſphemous mouth belcheth Lies and Slanders againſt the glorious Martyrs; a very fit Authour for the Cardinal Annaliſt to uſe in behalf of his Catholick Religion and Worſhip of Relicks, againſt the Hereticks of this Age (us poor *Proteſtants*) if all be conſidered: Juſt ſuch another as *Apion* or *Tacitus*, or ſome ſuch lying and railing *Rabſhekah*, in the Jewiſh Matters.

44. But *Ruffinus* hath deſcribed, together with this moſt Magnificent Temple, *L.* 2. *c.* 22, &c. theſe moſt Flagitious Myſteries wont to be celebrated with thoſe privy Frauds therein uſed to deceive the People. *Socrates* writes, how *Theophilus* the Biſhop *L.* 5. *c.* 16, 17. of *Alexandria* being authorized by the Emperour to deſtroy theſe Cages of unclean Beaſts, ſhewed forth to the open face of the World the vain and ridiculous Practices uſed both in the Temple of *Serapis* and others, cauſing ſuch things among them as reſembled the Yards of men to be carried through the *Forum*, to their utter Shame and Ignominy. That the Pagans inhabiting *Alexandria*, and above the reſt ſuch as profeſſed Philoſophy, ſeeing how things went, could no longer contain themſelves, but added new and far more grievous Offences to their former Acts, both Tragical and exceeding in Cruelty. They all jointly ſet upon the Chriſtians, who ſtanding upon their defence, a great Fray enſued, wherein died a far greater number of the Faithfull, than of the Pagans, who now in their cold bloud conſidering what they had done, and apprehending the Emperour's ſore diſpleaſure, ran away and hid themſelves in ſeveral lurking places, of which number were *Helladius* and *Ammonius*, both Grammarians, of whom *Socrates* ſaith, he was Scholar in his younger years.

Cauſing them to fall upon the Chriſtians, of whom a great number are ſlain.

45. But the Fray being over, the Governour of *Alexandria* and the General of the Army came to aſſiſt *Theophilus* in the overthrow of the Temples, which now went down apace, the Idols of the Gods being turned into Kettles and other neceſſary Veſſels, for the Emperour commanded they ſhould be ſold for the benefit of the Poor. Yet did *Theophilus* order that ſome one Idol ſhould be reſerved and ſet up in ſome publick place of the City, therewith to diſgrace the Ethnick Religion in after-time. *Socrates* aſſures us, that to his knowledge *Ammonius* the Grammarian was much troubled thereat; ſaying, that the Pagan Religion thereby was ſubjected to much Infamy and Reproach. This was the greateſt blow that the publick profeſſion of Paganiſm had received, this place of *Alexandria* being, as it were, the Fountain of that Worſhip and Superſtition, which being deſtroyed and removed out of the way, the other Houſes, which were but as Chapels in compariſon of this Temple, were more eaſily demoliſhed. But the Gentiles acted with deſpair and rage, aſſembled all men for de- *Sozom. l.* 7. *c.* 15. fence of their Gods, and killed many Chriſtians, amongſt whom was *Marcellus* Biſhop of *Apamea* in *Syria*, by whoſe care the famed Temple of *Jupiter* in that City was demoliſhed. *Sulpicius Severus* tells us alſo of ſeveral Temples razed by procurement of St. *Martin* in *Gall*, ſo that the Weſtern Biſhops were not behind their Brethren in contributing their utmoſt diligence for eradicating of this Superſtition which held them yet ſtill ſeveral years e'er it could univerſally be accompliſhed, ſo difficult a matter it was to enter into the ſtrong Man's Houſe to bind him and ſpoil his Goods.

Amongſt whom was *Marcellus* Biſhop of *Apamea* in *Syria*.

46. About

L. 5. c. 19.

The Function of the Shriving Prieſt laid down upon what account.

46. About this time it ſeemed good unto the Church, (ſo *Socrates* expreſſeth himſelf) to take away the Office of ſuch Prieſts, as were appointed throughout every Church, to receive Penitents after Confeſſion, unto the Company of the Faithfull; and that for this occaſion. Since the time that the *Novatians* ſeparated themſelves, and refuſed to communicate with ſuch as fell in the Perſecution under *Decius*, the Biſhops added to the Eccleſiaſtical Canons, that in every Church a Prieſt ſhould be appointed, for the re-admiſſion of Penitents, to the end that ſuch as had fallen after Baptiſm ſhould in his hearing confeſs their Sin and Infirmity; which Canon is as yet in force among other Sects, onely the true Chriſtians imbracing the Faith of *one Subſtance*, together with the *Novatians* have Baniſhed this Penitential Function. Neither did the *Novatians* at the beginning allow of this addition; but the Biſhops now governing the Churches, although they retained this Cuſtome of a long time, yet removed it out of the Church in the time of *Nectarius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, by reaſon of an heinous offence committed in the Church, in ſuch ſort as followeth. A certain Noblewoman came to ſuch a Prieſt and confeſſed orderly the Sins ſhe had committed after Baptiſm, at length accuſed her ſelf of another Crime, declaring that a Deacon of that Church had abuſed her Body. For this Offence, by this means brought to light, the Deacon was Baniſhed the Church, and the People was much moved, aſwell in regard of the heinous offence committed, as that the Church was thereby much loaded with Reproach and Infamy. But the Prieſts being ſharply rebuked, and the aforeſaid Crime objected to them, *Eudæmon* Miniſter of that Church adviſed *Nectarius* the Biſhop to take away the Function of the *Shriving Prieſt*, and grant free liberty to every one as his Conſcience ſerved him, to partake of the Holy Myſteries, to prevent the like Scandal for the time to come. So much did *Socrates* hear of this matter from *Eudæmon's* own Mouth.

Theodor. l. 5. c. 17. Sozim. l. 7. c. 24 Niceph. l. 12. c. 40, &c. Ambr. Ep. 28. & in fun. Theod. Aug. de Civit. Dei l. 5. c. 26. alii.

Theodoſius commits an act of Cruelty for which he undergoes Eccleſiaſtical cenſure.

47. About the ſame time *Theodoſius* the Emperour committed ſuch a piece of Severity as gave occaſion to ſuch an act of Church Diſcipline, which as for the Dignity of the Subject hath been remarkable to all Poſterity. The thing was this. The Inhabitants of *Theſſalonica* quarrelling with *Botherictus*, the *Præfectus Militum* in *Illyricum*, about their Waggon-driver, whom being impriſoned, he refuſed to releaſe at their deſire for the running of a Solemn Race, roſe againſt him and ſlew him, which thing brought to the Ears of the Emperour did much incenſe him, yet at the interceſſion of *Ambroſe* and other Biſhops attending him at *Milan*, his Choler ſeemed to be allayed, and he promiſed to paſs by and forgive the Fact. But the Courtiers coming to talk with him perſwaded him not to let goe unpuniſhed a Matter of ſo bad Example, and thereupon the People being invited to the Circenſian Games, were compaſſed about with Souldiers, who without any difference of Age or Sex, Guilty or Innocent, fell upon them, and running through the Streets killed all, aſwell Strangers as Citizens, whom they met; ſo that about 7000 Perſons were thus ſlaughtered in a matter of three Hours ſpace. The News coming to *Milan*, where the Biſhops were aſſembled in a Synod, *Ambroſe* in the Name of all, firſt by Letters ſignified to the Emperour, how horrid a Fact he had committed, and that thereby he had rendered himſelf unworthy of Chriſtian Communion, and when *Theodoſius* came to give ſatisfaction, and remove the Scandal, he publickly and ſtoutly refuſed him entrance into the Church for eight Months, till his Penitence might fully appear, enjoyning him withall to make an Edict, whereby Sentence of Death and Confiſcation of Goods ſhould be ſtopped from Execution for thirty days, that the Merit of the Cauſe might in ſuch a ſpace of time be throughly weighed and examined.

In Anthropog.

Vide Hoſpinranum de origine, &c. templorum. l. 2. c. 1.

48. The Emperour received this Chaſtiſement with wonderfull Humility, Patience and Moderation, ſetting thereby ſuch a Copy and Pattern of ſubmiſſion to Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, as St. *Ambroſe*, St. *Auguſtine*, with the reſt of the Churchmen and Writers of that Age, and all ever ſince have both applauded and admired. But *Eraſtus* an eminent *German* Phyſician, ſo learned in his Art that *Riolan* eſteems him the greateſt man that hath lived ſince *Femelius*, whatever his ſucceſs was in Theology, wherein he travelled much alſo, hath paſſed a ſharp Cenſure upon this Diſcipline ſo ſeverely preſſed upon the Imperial Majeſty of *Theodoſius*, terming it an unjuſt Act, and affirming, that it can never be maintained by any true and ſolid Reaſons. However the Humility of *Theodoſius* aſwell herein was eminent as in another point, wherein St. *Ambroſe* alſo largely ſhewed his Eccleſiaſtical Authority. It was the Cuſtome at *Conſtantinople* for the Emperours

And is removed from ſitting in the Chancel by St. *Ambroſe* of *Milan*.

perours to ſit within the Chancel amongſt the Clergy, at celebration of Divine Service, which *Theodoſius* thinking with as little difficulty to doe at *Milan*, the Biſhop would not ſuffer him to enjoy that privilege and convenience in his Church, but bade him go out and ſit with the reſt of the Laicks in the body of the Church, to which order he not onely ſubmitted whilſt he there reſided, but at his return to *Conſtantinople* is ſaid there alſo to have obſerved it, though invited by the Biſhops to reaſſume his former Seat: and *Sozomen* tells us, that his Succeſſours herein followed his example, of which this Hiſtorian himſelf was an Eye-witneſs. But here for the underſtanding this and other paſſages more fully, we ſhall ſpeak ſomething concerning the form and faſhion of their Churches in thoſe Primitive times, with the order of their ſitting, and how each Perſon was placed according to his calling and function, being much aſſiſted in the diſquiſition of this matter from what our moſt Learned *Mountague* hath written of this Subject.

The firſt places dedicated to Divine Service.

49. The firſt place we meet with wherein Chriſtians made their Aſſemblies was that Ὑπερῷον, or upper Room, mentioned in Scripture, where the Diſciples aſſembled preſently after our Lord's Paſſion. Yet according to convenience, and as they might doe it with ſafety they met ſometimes in one place, and ſometimes in another. In proceſs of time, divers devout Chriſtians gave their own Manſion Houſes to be Meeting places for their *Synaxes* or Holy Aſſemblies, which *Theophilus* (he to whom St. *Luke* Dedicateth his Book) is ſaid to have done at *Antioch*, being if not the very firſt, yet one of the firſt of thoſe Benefactours, which example was followed by *Claudius Pudens* a Senatour at *Rome*, who conſecrated his Houſe to Divine Service, with the Title (as they called it) of *Eccleſia Paſtoris*, or the *Shepherd's Church*. By little and little in ſucceeding Ages Houſes were built for this very purpoſe, eſpecially in peaceable times, as under *Titus*, *Adrian*, *Antoninus Pius*, *Commodus* and others. Theſe they called *Ædes Sacræ*, *Oratoria*, Εὐκτήρια, *Martyria*, Κοιμητήρια, *Domus Orationis*, *Eccleſiæ* and by ſome other Names, never in thoſe ancient times *Templa* or Ναοὶ, *Templum* and *Eccleſiæ* ſtanding ἐκ διαμέτρου, in oppoſition, before the time of *Conſtantine*: yet even in theſe times were ſome called Κυριακαὶ, built and adorned more than ordinary, all which were demoliſhed by Edicts of *Diocleſian* and *Maximinus*. After the converſion of *Conſtantine* they began to be built ſumptuouſly, and to be called *Templa*, but not *Monaſteria*, *Semnæa*, *Synagogæ*, or the like. Yet in *Ignatius* his Epiſtle to the *Trallians*, the Chriſtian Aſſembly is termed *Synagoga*, contrary to what is affirmed by *Gregory Martin* a certain Literator, who brauls againſt us for ſometime uſing the word Congregation for the Church (which we did in that notable Collect before the late Reviſing of the Liturgy) as if they two were incompoſſible.

Their appellations.

The order and method of ſeating the Congregation.

50. The moſt ancient Chriſtian Churches were of an Oval Figure, or Ἐπιμήκεις, like ſome ſort of Ships (upon which account the Body of the Church by Canoniſts is ſtill called *Navis*) long, narrow before and behind, bulked out on both ſides in the middle. In the midſt was the Biſhop's Seat, ſtyled Βῆμα for the Aſcent to it, and Θρόνος for its eminency. At the Eaſt was placed the Altar, though at *Antioch* ſometime in the Weſt. In the middle was alſo the *Ambo* or Deſk where the Old and New Teſtament was Read to the People by the *Anagnoſtes* or Reader. Round about the Biſhop's Seat ſate the Presbyters, and behind them ſtood the Deacons, except the *Primicerius Diaconorum*, or the Archdeacon, who conſtantly attending the Biſhop ſtood cloſe by him, being ever the Eldeſt in time, and not preferred out of affection; excepting alſo thoſe Deacons who by courſe attended at the Women's Seats to ſee all things decent and in good order. On one ſide ſate the Lay-men, and on the other the Women, ſeparated from the Seats of the Biſhops and Prieſts by *Cancelli* or Rails, as alſo from each other. At the Mens Seats attended the *Oſtiarii*, as the Deacons at thoſe of the Women. Young Men, if there was room ſate, if not, ſtood; Boys were with their Fathers, Girls with their Mothers. Widows and Elder Women ſate foremoſt, Married Wives and Mothers by themſelves. The Younger ſort of Women, if there was room, ſtood among the Grave Matrons; if not, behind them. The Deacons took care that none talked, whiſpered, laughed, coughed or ſneezed aloud, ſlept or otherwiſe miſdemeaned themſelves in the time of Divine Service, every one being to demean himſelf with deſcretion, as underſtanding the buſineſs in Hand, with ſobriety, watchfulneſs and attention to what was done or ſaid. As for private Oratories or Chapels they had none, for private Houſes or ſeveral Families, which uſe when afterward it crept into the Church, being-

Ἐπιστημόνως, νηφαλέως, ἐγρηγορότως, ἐντεταμένας τὰς ἀκοάς.

Private Chapels forbidden.

De Conſec. Q. 1. c. *clericos qui miniſtrant vel baptizant in Oratoriis quæ intra domos ſunt, cum conſenſu Epiſcopi loci hoc facere præcipimus. Si quis vero hoc non obſervaverit deponatur.*

ing forbidden, and the Uſer cenſured by a Council in the *Greek* Church, we find prohibited alſo in *Gratian*'s Decree, by the thirty firſt Canon of the ſame Council in *Trullo*. Such Clergymen were declared Excommunicate, that adminiſtred Baptiſm, or uſed Prayers in Oratories or private Houſes, which in opinion of the *Greek* Canoniſts is forbidden in the fifth Canon of the Council of *Antioch*, and the Thirty firſt Canon Apoſtolical (as they are called) and held no better than a Schiſmatical Conventicle, erecting Altar againſt Altar. However we ſee both by the *Roman* Canon Law, and our own Provincial Conſtitutions and Cuſtoms, that Liberty was afterward indulged of having private Oratories or Chapels to Noble Men and others, a thing perhaps of leſſer inconvenience than another practice crept very lately into our Churches, both contrary to Primitive Patterns and the practice of all Churches, aſwell Reformed as others. Every Man muſt now (as if like Horſes, each Chriſtian would kick another) have his own Stall ſo elevated, that he can ſcarcely look over it, as fit onely for lolling and ſleeping, ſo that if all kneeled when they Pray to their Maker (which certainly is the humbleſt poſture) a Stranger coming in ſhould not ſee one Man in the Church beſides the Miniſter. A Cuſtome which is both the effect and the cauſe of pride, ſloth, irreverence and contempt of all good order. But enough to our purpoſe.

C. *Juſt. lib.* 9. *Tit.* 47. *c.*20.

51. The Law made by *Theodoſius* for deferring execution Thirty Days, is yet extant both in the Code of *Theodoſius* and *Juſtinian*, directed to *Flavianus* the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Illyricum* and *Italy*, in the Name of *Gratian*, *Valentinian* and *Theodoſius* from *Verona*, in the Conſulſhip of *Antonius* and *Syagrius*, which is eight years before the true date thereof, for elſe *Theodoſius* muſt have come into *Italy* before the Expedition of *Maximus*, which is againſt the teſtimony of all Antiquity, or the Law muſt have been made by ſome other than him, which at length was abrogated by *Nicephorus Botoniates*. But to paſs to other matters. At this time great ſtir was made by *Jovinian* a Monk of *Milan*, who holding Wedlock equal in Honour with Virginity, was oppoſed and condemned as a great Heretick by *Siricius* Biſhop of *Rome*, *Ambroſe* of *Milan*, and *Hierome*, the later of whom in writing againſt him ſeemed ſo to extoll Virginity, as with the *Manichees* to deſpiſe and caſt duſt upon Marriage, which being very ill reſented by many good Men, he was forced to write an Apology and explain himſelf. Theſe ſtirs were followed or accompanied by others about the writings of *Origen*, of which *John* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* was the great Defender. To him firſt wrote *Epiphanius* Biſhop of *Salamina* the chief City of *Cyprus*, againſt whom he had conceived great Indignation, both for ordaining *Paulinianus* the Brother of *Hierome* in *Paleſtine* out of his own Dioceſe, and eſpecially when he prayed for uſing this expreſſion, *Lord grant to* John *that he may Believe aright*. *Epiphanius* in his Letter ſo excuſeth himſelf, that he alſo reckons up many errours of *Origen* maintained by him; and ſignifieth, that the true offence he had given him was, his reprehending him for ſo doing.

Stirs about *Jovinian*.

Siric. Ep. 1. *Am. Ep.* 80, &c. *Hier. adverſus Jovin.* & *Ep.* 51, 52.

And *Origen*.

Op. Hieron. tom. 3. *Ep.* 16. & 64.

52. This Letter paſſing from one to another, *Euſebius* of *Cremona* deſired *Hierome* to Tranſlate it into *Latin*, and keep it private, which he did about eighteen months. But then *John* made means to get it into his Hands, and accuſed *Hierome* both as an unfaithfull Tranſlatour, and a turbulent Perſon, who ſought to encreaſe differences in the Church, by adding Oil to the Flame of that Controverſie, which might elſe have been extinguiſhed. *Hierome* herewith netled, writes againſt him two Letters to *Pammachius* his great Friend, a Man of Noble extract, as deſcended from the ancient Family of the *Camilli*, wherein he vindicates himſelf as to the Tranſlation, having uſed no greater liberty than a faithfull and Learned Man juſtly might. And then he accuſeth *John* as addicted to the Errours of *Origen*, which he ſheweth to have been many, and more bitterly inveigheth againſt them than *Epiphanius* had done two years before, though he himſelf had tranſlated many of *Origen*'s Books, on which he had not been wanting to beſtow very large Encomiums. But upon this account he alſo began to ſpeak and write very ill of *Rafinus* and others whom formerly he had extolled to the Skies. Toward the latter end of one of his Epiſtles he makes mention of a Solar Eclipſe, which had happened a few months before, to the great conſternation of thouſands of people, about *Whitſontide*. This fell out on the ſixth of *June* one and twenty days after *Whitſontide*. And in the ſame year the Sun was again obſcured on the ſecond of *December*, which *Cabricius* erroneouſly, if *Capellus* be Judge, caſteth back to the twentieth of *November*; and becauſe this Eclipſe preceded the Coronation of *Honorius* forty days, *Proſper* and *Marcellinus* write as if it had faln out the very day of that Solemnity.

Eod. tom. Ep. 17. & 64. & *Tom.* 1. *Ep.* 5. & 25.

Ep. 17.

53. A-

Valentinian the ſecond murthered by *Arbogaſtes* a *Frank.*

Obiit ſine baptiſmo & tamen vita fruitur æterna.

53. About this time in the ſeventeenth year of his Reign was *Valentinian* the ſecond murthered by procurement of *Arbogaſtes*, the *Frank. Ambroſe* Biſhop of *Milan* made his Funeral Oration, wherein he hath this expreſſion, *He died without Baptiſm, and yet enjoyeth Eternal Life*, for he was but a *Catechumenus* though ſo long a Chriſtian, and born of Chriſtian Parents, ſo prevalent was as yet that bad cuſtome of deferring Baptiſm. *Theodoſius* was now got back to *Conſtantinople*, where having Built a Church in Honour of St. *John Baptiſt*, *Baronius* tells us, that the year preceding the Birth of *Valentinian*, he cauſed the Head of that Saint which had been found in the time of *Valens* to be therein depoſited. Concerning this Ceremony, ſuch Writers as mention it agree not amongſt themſelves neither as to the time nor manner. Other Tranſlations alſo of this Head are ſaid to have been made into *Alexandria* and *Gall* by other Perſons. The *Rhemiſts* tell us in their Teſtament, that St. *John Baptiſt*'s Head is at *Amiens* in *France*: others ſay his Head is in St. *Silveſter*'s Abbey in *Rome*, beſides the ſcattered pieces of it in other places. There were alſo kept two Anniverſaries for two ſeveral Findings of his Head, whereof one was in the Ruines, you muſt know, of *Herod*'s old Palace, and another in the Field of *Emeſa*. It's more worth the while to take notice that this year *Auguſtine* was ordained Prieſt by *Valerius* Biſhop of *Hippo*, to the great content and ſatisfaction of the People, though to his own regret and trouble. Being now Prieſt, the Biſhop cauſed him to Preach in his preſence quite contrary to the Cuſtome of *Africk*, which permitted not Presbyters to Speak in the Church when the Biſhops were there; but after this example given, it began to be broken and antiquated in other places.

Auguſtine ordained Prieſt.

Poſſid. in vita c. 5.

54. *Eugenius* whom the Murtherers of *Valentinian* had put in his Place, being cheated by the Promiſes of the Pagan Prophets, who made him confident of his ſucceſs, gave them ſome liberty and encouragement in their Superſtition, which cauſed *Ambroſe* to write to him, and blame him for ſo doing; as alſo *Theodoſius* to make a new Edict for obviating the progreſs of their Religion, forbidding them abſolutely in any place to Sacrifice. He made alſo ſeveral Laws againſt Hereticks, and ordained that ſuch Debtours as fled to Churches ſhould either preſently be taken thence, or that ſuch Biſhops as protected them ſhould pay their Money, which once fell to the ſhare of St. *Auguſtine* when Biſhop. He being but Prieſt as yet, had a great and publick Diſpute at *Hippo* with *Fortunatus* a *Manichee*, concerning the Original of Evil, wherein he gave him ſo eminent a foil, that he durſt not any more appear in that City. At this time *Parmenianus* the Biſhop of the *Donatiſts* dying at *Carthage*, *Primianus* was firſt choſen in his room, and then afterward *Maximianus* by others, whereupon aroſe a great Schiſm amongſt the *Donatiſts* themſelves, of which *Auguſtine* often taketh notice. The matter being brought before three Councils, *Maximianus* in them all had the better of his Adverſary, but in a Fourth conſiſting of three hundred and ten Biſhops, held on the Eighth before the Calends of *May*, two years after the beginning of the Diſpute, *Primianus* had the upper Hand, which great variety of paſſions and inclinations very much confounded the *Donatiſts*. The year after theſe things happened the Death of *Theodoſius*, to the great detriment of Chriſtian Religion, had not his Sons *Arcadius* and *Honorius* at their firſt entry by ſeveral new Edicts eſtabliſhed and ſecured the Profeſſion thereof, receiving as a reward of their Zeal protection from the treacherous attempts of *Ruffinus* and his Companions.

A new Edict againſt the *Pagans.*

C. Th. de Pag. l. 12.

C. Th. de his qui confug. ad Eccleſ. l. 1.

Theodoſius the Emperour dies.

C. Th. paſſim.

55. The ſame year that *Theodoſius* died, was *Auguſtine* in the forty firſt year of his age made Biſhop of *Hippo*, though *Valerius* the Incumbent was yet living. He was for his Piety and Abilities grown by this time into ſo great eſteem, and ſo much taken notice of in all Countries, that *Valerius* fearing he might be called to ſome other place, and the Chruch deprived of ſo good a Paſtour, dealt with the Primate of *Africk* that he might be Conſecrated in his life-time, it being a thing highly convenient, and not altogether without precedent. When he had prepared the matter thus, and made the deſign known to the People, they received it with great applauſe, and in a manner conſtrained *Auguſtine* to accept thereof, though it was flatly againſt the Canons of the *Nicene* Council for a ſecond Biſhop to be ordained to a Church of which he confeſſeth that both he himſelf and *Valerius* was at that time ignorant. About this time *Fritigildis* a Queen of the *Maxomanns* hearing of the fame of *Ambroſe*, imbraced (as *Paulinus* writes in his Life) the Chriſtian Faith, and procured from him a certain Catechetical Treatiſe for her fuller information therein. At the requeſt of the Biſhop, ſhe perſwaded her Husband to ſubmit to the *Romans*, and came to

Auguſtine made Biſhop of *Hippo.*

Poſſid. in vita. Proſper. in Chron. Aug. Ep. 33. 110.

Milan to ſee that good Prelate, but he had left this life e'er her arrival there, dying not full three years after the departure of *Theodoſius*, the day preceding the Nones of *April* and *Eaſter*-day, after he had ſitten in the See of *Milan* 23 years and about 4 months, and ſcarcely completed his grand Climacterical. As St. *Ambroſe* wrote ſome Books which are not extant, ſo many now extant under his name he never wrote as is confeſſed on all ſides. Amongſt the ſpurious things aſcribed to him it's obſervable that the *Miſſale* going under his name makes mention of the Feaſt of the Aſſumption which was not received till After-ages. Neverthe-leſs his ſervice Book or *Officium Ambroſianum* ſuppoſed made by him was long in reſpect and uſe, till *Pope Hadrian* calling a Council with Aſſiſtence of *Charles* the Emperour aboliſhed and burnt it commanding that of *Gregory* univerſally to be uſed. But not long continued this in ſuch eſteem but that the *Roman* Service came to be of two faſhions, the new and old, as may be ſeen in *Pamelius* his Preface before *Micrologus*, who reporteth alſo out of *Radulphus de Rivo* that about the year 1277 Pope *Nicholas the third* removed out of the Churches of *Rome* the more Ancient Service Books and brought into uſe the *Miſſals* of the Friars *Minorites*, inſomuch that about 100 years after the ſaid *Radulphus* happening to be at *Rome* found all the Books to be of the new ſtamp. But of later chopping and changing hereafter.

Durand. l. 5. c. 2.

56. St. *Ambroſe* was followed into a better World by *Nectarius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, who died on the 27 of *September* of the ſame year, and *Martin* of *Tours* who departed this Life the night intervening betwixt th 10*th.* and the 11*th.* of *November*. To St. *Ambroſe* ſucceeded *Simplicianus* and in the Room of *Nectarius* was conſecrated, *Feb.* 26. *John* a Prieſt of *Antioch*, for his Eloquence ſirnamed *Chryſoſtome* notwithſtanding the oppoſition of *Theophilus* of *Alexandria* who pretending a right in the Election of Biſhops to that See endeavoured to bring in *Iſidore* a Presbyter of his own Church. To St. *Martin* that wonderfull Biſhop of *Tours* (whoſe miraculous Life is Written by *Sulpicius Severus* a *Roman* Citizen, a Man Noble, as *Gennadius* calls him, both in Birth and Learning) ſucceeded *Briccius* on the 29*th.* of *November*, though *Baronius* contendeth that this happened not till the fifth year after, rejecting the Teſtimony of *Gregory* one of *Martin*'s Succeſſours and alledging that of *Severus*. And all theſe were followed to another Life by *Siricius* the *Roman* Biſhop who died *February* 21. of the following year having ſate in that See 13 years and about two months. He firſt received Monks into the Clergy whereas formerly they were reckoned but amongſt the Laicks. In the Weſt alſo as ſome obſerve he diſallowed the Marriage of Prieſts, admitting ſuch to Orders as were Married, but forbidding after Orders received the uſe of Wedlock. The See was void 20 days and then was Elected *Anaſtaſius* and conſecrated on the 14 of *March* the firſt *Feria*, being by Birth a *Roman* and however his Predeceſſour had inveighed againſt Marriage of Eccleſiaſticks, a Prieſt's Son, as *Baronius* himſelf gathereth from his Epitaph.

Nectarius of *Conſtantinople* dies. *Martin* of *Tours* departed this Life. To *Ambroſe* ſucceeded *Simplicianus*. To *Nectarius John*. To *Martin Briccius*.

Siricius Biſhop of *Rome* dies.

Anaſtaſius ſucceeds.

Sozom. l. 6. c. 2.

Hoſpinian. lib. 3. de orig. Monach. c. 12.

57. The year wherein St. *Ambroſe* died was the third Synod of *Carthage* held counting from the time of *Conſtantine* as the Compiler did who yet ought rather to have called this the ſecond, and that which he calls the ſecond he ought to have reckoned for the ſixth, as *Baronius* gathereth from certain circumſtances. In this Synod are ſaid to have been enacted 50 Canons, amongſt which none is more remarkable than the 26 which ordains that the Biſhop of the firſt See be not called *Princeps Sacerdotum* Prince of Prieſts, or *Summus Sacerdos* the Chief Prieſt, or any ſuch thing, but onely *Biſhop of the firſt See*. This Canon *Gratian* hath put into his Decree *a* to which is added *b* neither may the *Roman* Biſhop be called *Univerſal*, for Confirmation of which he brings in firſt *c Pelagius the ſecond* prohibiting any Patriarch to be called Univerſal, and then part of an *d* Epiſtle of *Gregory* to *Eulogius* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, wherein he expoſtulates with him for giving him the Title of *Univerſal*, deſiring him that he would doe ſo no more for this reaſon, *Quia vobis ſubtrahitur, quod alteri plus quam ratio exigit præbetur, Becauſe ſo much was taken from him as without cauſe was given to another*; and then having told him that he deſired rather to be eminent in goodneſs than glorious Titles, he backs or rather illuſtrates his former reaſon by a ſecond, adding, *Si enim univerſalem me papam veſtra ſanctitas dicit, negat ſe hoc eſſe, quod me fatetur univerſum; ſed abſit hoc, recedant verba quæ vanitatem inflant & charitatem vulnerant. For if your holineſs call me Univerſal Pope, you deny your ſelf to be that which you confeſs me to be, Univerſal, which God forbid. Forbear thoſe ſpeeches which puff up vanity and Wound Charity.* No more of the Epiſtle hath *Gratian* tranſcribed, this making ſufficiently for his purpoſe, but the Gloſſars think themſelves concerned to tell you

A Synod held at *Carthage*.

One of whoſe Canons prohibits any Biſhop of the firſt See to receive the Title of Univerſal.

a Diſt. 99. *c.* 3.
b Univerſalis autem nec etiam Romanus Pontifex appelletur.
c Can. 4. *Nullus Patriarch.*
d Can. 5. *Ecce in præfatione. lib.* 7. *Ep.* 30 *Indict.* 1. 5.

you farther that *Gregory* in that part which follows lets him know that this Title had been offered to his Predeceſſours in the Council of *Chalcedon* and from other Fathers, but they refuſed it; and they inſtance in ſeveral Popes, who have had glorious Titles given them by other Biſhops. *Baronius* is fearfull you ſhould think thoſe words *Neither may the* Roman *Biſhop be called Univerſal* ſhould be part of the Canon, aſſuring you they are *Gratian's* own, neither appoſite for explication of this Canon but onely as a hint or contents of what follows. He diſclaims any right the *African* Church had to give Laws to that of *Rome* Superiour to it; tells you the Biſhops of *Rome* might have ſome reaſon to refuſe the Title of *Univerſal*, which yet was their due, and concludes it was out of modeſty that even the *African* Fathers refuſed thoſe Titles which both as *Metropolitans* and Biſhops belonged to them.

58. But, what if this Title had been given to ſeveral of *Gregory* his Predeceſſours, ſo was it to others alſo as we have * formerly ſhewed eſpecially to the Patriarchs of *Conſtantinople.* Neither is it material whether the words formerly mentioned were part of the Canon or *Gratian's* own words, for if they were his, and contents of what follows, yet being true contents and being ſufficiently made out by what *Pelagius* and *Gregory* ſay in the following Canons, we hope the Cardinal will allow the effect and purport of them to be Authentical, though theſe words be not, the Authour of which they will commend and diſpraiſe, allow and reject at their pleaſure, as he ſpeaks for or againſt them. To let paſs what the Cardinal takes for granted, and which we ſhall never yield, that the *African* Church was ſubject to the *Roman*; though the *African* Fathers had nothing to doe to give Laws to that of *Rome*, yet they might doe it (perhaps) to their own People, for the Canon is not againſt ſuch as ſhould take, but rather thoſe that ſhould give this Title which thoſe of *Africk* might doe to him as well as others. Whatever reaſons *Baronius* alledgeth for the *Roman* Biſhops their refuſal of this Title is not very material, ſeeing both *Pelagius* and *Gregory* aſſign a true and urgent cauſe, *viz.* the wrong and prejudice that ſhould thereby be done to other Biſhops, which, however out of complement and aſſentation ſuch Titles may have been given both to him of *Rome* and others, yet is a ſufficient Bar to all ſuch real and ſerious pretenſions. And if the deſign of the Canon was to remove or to prevent arrogance in Biſhops, it cannot well be imagined againſt whom this Engine ſhould be levelled, whoſe Pride it ſhould be deſigned to batter ſooner than that of *Rome*, the eminency of which City together with other conſiderable accidents Elevated the Biſhop's Reputation, and drawing the Eyes as well of the *Africans* as others upon him, drew out alſo expreſſions which *puffed up vanity* and *wounded charity* as *Gregory* expreſſeth it.

* *Suprà, c.* 8. *Paragr.* 24.

Another ordains that decrees of Councils be read at Conſecration of Clerks and Biſhops. Feaſting in Churches forbidden by another.

Another pretended one counting thoſe Books of Scripture Canonical which really are Apocryphal.

59. To ſpeak of one or two more of thoſe Canons which are moſt worthy of conſideration, the third ordains that Decrees of Councils be read to ſuch Biſhops and Clerks as are to be conſecrated for their better information how to demean themſelves, which as *Poſſidius* tells us in his Life St. *Auguſtine* procured out of a ſenſe that he himſelf and ignorantly at his conſecration offended againſt the *Nicene Council.* The 30 Canon which forbids feaſting in Churches ſeemeth alſo to have been made through his mediation, for being very ſenſible of the diſorders which were committed by occaſion of this junketing in memory of Martyrs, and at the Graves of deceaſed Perſons, he had formerly written to *Aurelius* Biſhop of *Carthage* to put them down. But there's another Canon we muſt not paſs over with ſilence becauſe they of *Rome* make noiſe enough about it, and that is the 47 which reckoning up the Canonical Books of Scripture amongſt them count thoſe which we call Apocryphal. But that this Canon is ſuppoſititious, at leaſt Dubious, our Divines contend for theſe reaſons. Firſt becauſe it is commonly called the 47 of this third Council of *Carthage*, yet in ſome Books reckoned the 24*th.* of another Synod held under *Boniface*, as *Surius* Witneſſeth. Then in this Catalogue are received five Books of *Solomon*, which number doubtleſs is faulty. Again the Synod in *Trullo* approves both this Synod of *Carthage* and that of *Laodicea*, which it could not doe if this Council held for Canonical what the other judgeth no better than Apocryphal. And laſtly, this Synod could not juſtly receive any Books, as Canonical but as the Fathers had received before it, who rejected thoſe Books as it were eaſie to ſhew, particularly from * *Athanaſius*, † *Cyril*, || *Cyprian*, *Epiphanius*, * † *Gregory* || *Nazianzen*, *Hierome* and others. Farther we ought to take notice that Canonical amongſt the Fathers is ſometimes taken abſolutely and ſimply ſometimes more largely and generally, as it is oppoſed to profane and ſecular writings. In the firſt ſenſe the Holy Scriptures, as we count them, are Canonical onely,

Cap. 8.

Eph. 46.

* *In Synopſ.*
† *Catecheſ.* 4.
|| *In expoſitione.*
* *Symbol. de menſur. & ponderibus*
† *In carm. de genuinis ſ. Scripturæ locis.*
||*Præf in. Eſdram & Nehe. Quæ non habentur apud Hebræos nec de* 24 *ſenibus ſunt procul abjicienda.*

onely, in the ſecond not onely they but ſuch Books as were compoſed out of them and contained Hiſtories relating to this Church and in this ſenſe the Canon might ſay we take all thoſe for Canonical which we have received from the Fathers to be read in the Church.

Two other Synods held at *Carthage.*

60. The year following on the twenty ſeventh of *May*, was another Synod of 73. Biſhops held at *Carthage*, in Books called the *Fifth*, but which ought rather to be counted the *Third*, wherein a Canon was enacted concerning baptizing of Infants, and a Petition ordered to be put up to the Emperours, for the rooting out of Idolatry. And this ſame year in the *8th.* of *November*, was the Fourth *Carthaginian* Synod celebrated by 214 Biſhops, who enacted 104 Canons, amongſt which the 64 ordains, that he ſhould not be accounted a Catholick, that deſignedly faſteth on the Lord's Day, the 100 forbids Women to baptize, the 44 commands that Clerks neither wear long Hair, nor long Beards, and the 84 Orders the Biſhop do forbid none to come into the Church, and hear God's word, whether *Gentile*, *Heretick* or *Jew*, till the *Miſſa* of the *Catechumeni*, or that Service was finiſhed, whereat ſuch were ſuffered to be preſent. Thus did Chriſtian Religion not onely ſubſiſt, but thrive, and get ground, notwithſtanding all the Arts and Devices which *Pagans* could uſe. For this you muſt know, was the terrible year wherein the Ethnicks had foretold the Worſhip of *Chriſt*, ſhould receive its Period. Perceiving as St. *Auguſtine* tells us, that it was ſo far from being rooted out by perſecutions, that on the contrary it wonderfully increaſed, they deviſed certain *Greek* Verſes, as given in anſwer to ſome *Pagan*, who conſulted an Oracle. Theſe acquitted *Chriſt* of this Sacrilege (as they impiouſly ſtyled it) and laid all the blame upon St. *Peter*, who they foretold ſhould by the Name of Chriſt be worſhipped 365 years, and then the Religion ſhould ſpeedily and infallibly ceaſe. Theſe years added to the 33 years, Our Saviour is ſuppoſed to have lived upon Earth fix the end of this term, according to the vulgar Computation, in the 398 year of our Lord, the *6th.* of *Honorius* the Emperour, of *Rome* the 1151, the 11 Indiction *Fl. Honorius Auguſtus* the fourth time, and *Fl. Eutychianus* being Conſuls.

De Civitate Dei, lib. 18. *cap. ult.* ------- *Chriſtum quidem ab hujus tanquam Sacrilegii crimine faciunt innocentem, Petrum autem malefacia feciſſe ſubjungunt ut coleretur Chriſti nomine* 365. *Annos, deinde completo memorato numero Annorum ſine mora ſumeret finem.*

The *Pagan* Superſtition and Temples put down and demoliſhed, both in the Weſt and Eaſt.

61. How vain were the Hopes founded upon this lying Oracle appeared the following year, wherein Paganiſm it ſelf received another ſtroak, by putting down the obſcene and filthy ſhew of the *Mamma*, which having been formerly forbidden by an Edict, had been again reſtored three years agoe, but now either at the Interceſſion of *John Chryſoſtome* the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, who ceaſed not to declaim againſt theſe *Spectacula*, or it being found by experience, hard to ſeparate the Sport from its obſcenity which had been pretended, was now by another Edict quite aboliſhed. But this was but a Rite or Appendix of Pagan Superſtition, which now it ſelf this very year as St. *Auguſtine* obſerveth, went to wreck in all Places, the Temples of the Gentile Gods with their Idols, being every where demoliſhed, eſpecially in *Africk* by *Gaudentius* and *Jovius*, two Counts of *Honorius* the Emperour. Now as it ordinarily happeneth upon ſuch occaſions, the Multitude ſhewed more Zeal than Prudence, for being licenced by the Edicts of the Emperours, to demoliſh thoſe Temples of Idols they fell upon many excellent and ſtately Buildings, and thereby very much defaced the Cities. This drew forth a Reſcript from *Honorius*, commanding the People to abſtain from publick Buildings, and permitting lawfull Sports, and ſuch Recreations as were harmleſs and free from Pagan Impurities: *Arcadius* in the Eaſt gave them liberty to demoliſh ſuch Temples as were in Countrey-Towns, and though in Cities they were permitted to ſtand for an Ornament of the Places, yet did Chriſtians remove their Idols, and convert them to the uſe of their own Religion, which was generally done in all Places, though ſome were granted to private Perſons, as appears by a Reſcript, dated 16 years after this, and directed to the People of *Carthage*. Here the moſt magnificent and ſtately Temple of their *Dea Cæleſtis*, was turned into a Chriſtian Church, and received the Chair of *Aurelius*, the Biſhop of that City. This *Dea Cæleſtis* of the *Carthaginians*, was the ſame with *Aſtarthe* the Queen of Heaven, and Goddeſs of the *Sidonians*. The Idol which gave Oracles, as *Capitolinus* tells us, was placed upon a Lion, and contained moſt of the Names of all the Pagan Deities, being worſhipped by ſeveral ſorts of

C. Juſtin. lib. 11. *c.* 45.
C. Th. de pœnis leg. 17.
C. Th. l. 15. *c.* 16. §. 2.

C. *Juſtin. c.* 1. *c.* 11. §. 3.
Sicut ſacrificia Templorum prohibemus ita volumus publicorum operum ornamenta ſervari.

Ibid. §. 4. *Ut profanos ritus tam ſalubri lege ſubmovimus, ita feſtos conventus civium & communem omnium lætitiam non patimur ſubmoveri inde abſq; ullo ſacrificio atque ulla ſuperſtit. damnabil. &c.*

Ibid. §. 5. *C. Th. l.* 16. *Herodian lib.* 5. *cap.* 15.

Λίβυες μὲν οὖν αὐτὴν Οὐρανίαν καλοῦσι, Φοίνικες δὲ Ἀστροάρχην ὀνομάζουσι Σελήνην εἶναι θέλοντες.

of People, by reaſon of the Diverſities of Names, rather than diſtinction or variety of things, as St. *Ambroſe* informeth. For though this Goddeſs was married by *Heliogabalus* the Emperour to his God, we do not hear ſhe was fruitfull.

Contra Symmachum.

62. Chriſtians having the liberty either to demoliſh or rifle thoſe Pagan Temples, had opportunity to pry into, and diſcover the inwards and moſt ſecret Myſteries of their Superſtition. Hereby was the impoſture of the wooden Snake diſcovered at *Rome*, where a quick one, or that of *Æſculapius* (who had many hundred years before, becauſe of the Plague been pretended to be brought from *Epidamnus*) was ſaid to live in a Cave. And the Privacies of *Apollo Palatinus*, being now unlocked and ſearched, the Books of *Sibylla*, wherein the remarkable Accidents and Fatalities of the City were ſaid to be predicted, were found and burnt by *Stilico*, which *Rutilius* a Pagan Poet of that time ſadly laments. Neither did the Gentiles take this patiently, ſit ſtill and look on, but in ſeveral Places made Inſurrections, attempted the Reſcue of their Idols and Temples, and ſuffered not the Chriſtians to overcome without a bloudy Triumph. At the ſame time the Church was vexed by Inteſtine differences and diſputes. For in *Africk* the *Donatiſts* plaid ſuch Pranks, that the Emperours Command by an Edict, that the *Royſters* which roved up and down ſhould be puniſhed and reſtrained by the Sword. Whereupon *Petilianus* complaining, and crying out againſt Perſecution, *Auguſtine* replies that Thieves and Robbers were not to be heard if they quarrelled with Migiſtrates for reſtraining their Villanies. The *Manichees* were alſo ſo inſolent, that this ſame Biſhop who had more reaſon to underſtand them than moſt others, ſound himſelf concerned at this time to write 33 Books againſt *Fauſtus*, a Ringleader amongſt thoſe Hereticks. The contentions about the Writings of *Origen*, rather increaſed than otherwiſe, againſt which *Hierome* was the main Combatant falling foul, eſpecially on *John* the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, with whom to ſome Perſons he ſeemed rather to be offended than with *Origen* himſelf, yet did the Epiſcopal Dignity of *John* ſomewhat repreſs his Choler which flew all out upon *Ruffinus*, whoſe Perſon was not guarded by any ſuch Circumſtance. But he bitterly inveighs not onely againſt him but all *Origeniſts*, who ſome years before had in appearance made up the far greater part of the Chriſtian World. When *Theophilus* Biſhop *Alexandria*, conceived they were to be wone and reduced by fair means, *Hierome* tells him by Letter, that ſuch Levity diſpleaſed many good Men, and ſo far wrought with him, that he not onely expelled them out of *Egypt*, but that they might be ſo uſed in other places, wrote his paſchal Letters againſt them, by which for the following year he appoints *Eaſter* to be kept on the 19*th.* of *Pharmuth*, or the 14*th.* of *April*, requiring *Epiphanius* to procure his Letters to be publiſhed throughout *Iſauria*, *Pamphilia* and *Thrace*. Hereupon the *Origeniſts* are alſo condemned by the Reſcripts of the Emperours.

Proſper.

Aug. ep. 202, *&c.*

Which cauſed Inſurrections in divers Places.

The *Royſters* puniſhed by the Edict of the Emperours.

C. Th. de Epiſcop. lib. 31. *Aug. adverſus literas Petil. l.* 2. *c.* 43, *&c. De correctione Donatiſt. c.*11.

*Hierom. Tom. Ep.*30, 31, *&c.*

The *Origeniſts* condemned.

63. In the 400*th.* year of the ordinary *Æra* of *Chriſt*, the Conſulſhip of *Fl. Stilico* and *Fl. Aurelianus* in the Month of *September*, was the firſt Provincial Council held at *Toledo*, a City of *Tarracoma* in *Spain*, conſiſting of 19 Biſhops, for ſetling matters about the *Priſcillianiſts*, wherein were compoſed twenty Canons for eſtabliſhing Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline. Hereof the ſecond is obſervable, which *Gratian* hath inſerted into his Decree, forbidding Penitents to be admitted into the Clergy except upon Neceſſity, and then amongſt Door-keepers and Readers, yet ſo as not to reade the Epiſtle or Goſpel. And if any had been formerly ordained Deacons, they were to be reduced amongſt the Subdeacons, ſitting with them as the *Gloſs* expounds it in the Quire, and at meat, but without performing any thing of the Office. Now they explain whom they mean by a Penitent, *viz.* ſuch as ſolemnly did Penance, for having after Baptiſm committed Murther, or other grievous Sins, and had been reconciled to the Church in Hair-cloath. The 8*th.* Canon forbids any one who had ſerved in the Wars againſt Chriſtians to be received ſo high as the Degree of a Deacon. Several of the reſt concern the Wives and Children of Biſhops, Prieſts and other Clerks, which whilſt the Fathers were enacting, and endeavouring for Peace and Unity in *Spain*, the Difference ſtill continued in the Eaſt, concerning the Opinions and Books of *Origen*. From the Eaſt the Contention flew into *Africk* and *Italy*, and in *Rome Origen* found many Favourers, amongſt which *Melania* was very eminent, who much favoured the Cauſe and Perſon of *Ruffinus*. But *Marcella* a notable ſtickler for the other Party, with *Principia* were ſo addicted to *Hierome*, that they ceaſed not to inſtigate, by all means poſſible, *Anaſtaſius* the *Roman* Biſhop againſt *Ruffinus*, whom they procured him to cite to render a reaſon why he had tranſlated the Books

A Provincial Council held at *Toledo*.

Or for convenience *Gratian* hath it. *Diſt.* 50. *c. penult. Placuit.*

of *Origen* περὶ ἀρχῶν at *Rome*, and after he had mightily extolled them to the World, had preſently thence withdrawn himſelf. He anſwered without making appearance by Letter, that he had not fled from *Rome*, but returned into his own Countrey, which he had not ſeen for full thirty years; that he was now weary and broken with Travel and Old Age, and thereſore reſolved there to fix, and that he had not been the firſt Tranſlatour, nor had firſt extolled and commended to the World the Works of *Origen*. This refuſal provoked *Anaſtaſius*, not onely to condemn *Origen* but *Ruffinus* too, and the following year he renewed his Cenſure. Afterward he ſeemed ſomewhat to relent and incline a little to the *Origeniſts*, but as *Hierome* writes, was then tranſlated, leſt by intreaty he ſhould be brought to alter his Sentence formerly given. For he died on the twenty ſeventh of *April* of this preſent year, as ſome gather from certain Writings of St. *Hierome*, after he had governed but three years, though *Baronius* contends that he died not till *April* following, and ſo ſate in the See of *Rome* four Years, a Month and thirteen Days. Of his Actions recorded this is moſt remarkable, that he compelled Prieſts to ſtand whilſt the Goſpel was reading. For at this aſwell as at other times, there being great emulation betwixt Prieſts and Deacons in the *Romiſh* Church, the Deacons puffed up by the continual Addreſſes made to them from the People, becauſe they diſpenſed the Goods of the Church, preſſed upon the Prieſts, preſuming to ſit amongſt, and give them their Bleſſing in the ordinary Feaſts, and the Prieſts on the other hand acted by too much Indignation, diſdained to ſtand upon their feet, when the Goſpel was read by the Deacons.

Anaſtaſius Biſhop of *Rome* dies.

64. We have formerly told the Reader, that *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Alexandria* being by *Hierome* incenſed againſt the *Origeniſts*, baniſhed ſuch Monks as were of that Perſwaſion out of *Ægypt*. Theſe men betake themſelves to *Conſtantinople*, the Biſhop whereof they acquaint with their grief, and indeavour to ſet him againſt *Theophilus*. Having the advantage of ſpeaking face to face, they brought him into a good Opinion of their Cauſe, and made him patronize their perſons by writing to the Biſhop, whereby a very ill underſtanding was begot betwixt the two Prelates. But the Monks perceiving that they had profited little by ſeeking the Patronage of *John Chryſoſtome*, and that *Theophilus* was rather the more incenſed both againſt themſelves and him, made their Addreſs to the Emperour, to whom they accuſed their Biſhop of ſo heinous Crimes, as very much indangered his Head. *Chryſoſtome* being ſuſpected to have an hand in the deſign, was very ill ſpoken of by the Party of *Theophilus*, and now *Epiphanius* ingages himſelf openly in the Quarrel, who having ſent the Decrees of the Synods held at *Alexandria* and *Cyprus* againſt the *Origeniſts* to *Conſtantinople*, when he perceived he profited nothing, but thoſe men were rather kindly entertained, reſolved to go thither and oppoſe them in Perſon. In performing his Reſolutions great Conteſt happened betwixt him and *Chryſoſtome*, concerning which, various, uncertain and ſeveral incredible Reports are made, but *Epiphanius* in one reſpect had a great advantage of the other, for *Chryſoſtome* by the ſeverity of his Carriage and Reproofs had incurred the diſpleaſure of many perſons, but eſpecially the hatred of the Great Ones at Court. His rigorous Exaction of Diſcipline made his Clergy hate him. His refuſal to eat with other men, and to be preſent at Feaſts and lawfull Divertiſements increaſed the rumours, and gained credit to the Reports which they had raiſed, when he fell upon the Magiſtrates and Courtiers, they by their Countenance and Intereſt gave reputation to his Accuſers, but when he came to fall out with *Eudoxia* the Empreſs, that utterly loſt him. The inſulting Invective he made againſt *Eutropius* the Eunuch, who took Sanctuary in the Church after he had procured the Emperour to take away the Privilege of thoſe places, being againſt a man in miſery, though a guilty and obnoxious perſon, got him the Repute of Ill-natur'd and Cruel. The thing that preſerved his Reputation and life was his excellent Preaching, which yet was the leſs eſteemed of by reaſon of an Æmulatour he had in the City.

Socrates l. 6. *c.* 4, *&c.*

65. This was *Severianus* a *Syrian* Biſhop of *Gabale*, who underſtanding that *Antiochus* his Countreyman the Biſhop of *Ptolemais* had got good ſtore of money by preaching at *Conſtantinople*, made him a ſtock of Sermons, wherewith he came and ſet up in that City. At firſt by his Flatteries he prevailed much upon *Chryſoſtome*, and got his good eſteem, but being popular for his Sermons, when the Biſhop had withdrawn himſelf to *Epheſus* for filling that See, then vacant by the death of the Dioceſan; he began to make a Party for himſelf, and draw the affections of the People from their proper Paſtour to himſelf. The Jealouſie which hereupon aroſe was increaſed into Enmity it ſelf by means of *Serapion*, an inſolent

lent and turbulent Deacon of that Church, who on a time refuſing to riſe up and ſhew reſpect to *Severianus*, though a Perſon ſo far above him as dignified by the Character of a Biſhop, *Severianus* thereupon could not forbear from reviling him, and brake into this Expreſſion, *If* Serapion *die a Chriſtian, then Chriſt was not made Man.* The latter part of theſe words *Serapion* relates to *Chryſoſtome* as ſpoken by themſelves, who thereupon having this advantage as he thought againſt him, flew out into great Paſſion and Invectives, neither would be reconciled to him till *Eudoxia* the Empreſs in the Apoſtles Church caſt her young Son *Theodoſius*, if *Socrates* was well informed, at his feet. Whatever ſhe did in this caſe, if ſhe was not already, long it was not e'er ſhe fell out with him, and conceived an implacable hatred againſt him. The Emperour *Leo* in his Oration in praiſe of *Chryſoſtome* aſſigneth the original cauſe to his rebuking of her for ſpoiling the Widow of one *Theognoſtus* of part of her Husband's Eſtate, who had been unjuſtly condemned, and defrauding another Widow of *Alexandria* of a Sum of Money due to her. It's reported of her, that ſhe fell out with *Epiphanius* at his coming to *Conſtantinople*, becauſe he would not condemn *John* of Hereſie, threatning to open the Idol Temples and permit the Pagans the exerciſe of their Superſtition. However it's reported from ſeveral hands that *Chryſoſtome* and he parted in diſpleaſure, and at his departure they mutually propheſied, he that *John* ſhould die in Exile, and *John* that he ſhould not live to return to his own See, both which it's ſaid came to paſs, though there be no great certainty concerning the time of *Epiphanius* his death. Amongſt the Writings which go under his Name, the Oration in praiſe of the *Virgin Mary* is none of his, though cited by *Baronius*, *Caniſius*, and *à Caſtro*, but a Declamation of another *Epiphanius* of later time, ſmaller Learning, poorer Credit and Authority in the Church, one of the Conveners at the ſecond *Nicene* Council.

Mountague.

Tom. Conc. 1.

Two Councils held at *Milenis* in *Numidia.*

66. This ſame year, *viz.* the CCCCII. of the ordinary *Æra* of *Chriſt*, was a General Council of the *African* Biſhops held at *Milenis* in *Numidia* under the preſidentſhip of *Aurelius* Primate of *Carthage*. There was another held at this place ſome fourteen years after, and the Canons of both are confounded by the compilers, as alſo with thoſe of other Synods, for the firſt eight in order which reſpect Pelagianiſm can hardly be thought to have been made by the Fathers at this time wherein that Hereſie was ſcarcely born, at leaſt known unto the World. In the date the Collectours give the title of *Clariſſimi* to the Emperours, which how ridiculous it is, appears by what we have formerly diſcourſed of ſuch titles of honour, they had found *V.C.* in the Copies, which ſtanding for their fifth Conſulſhip they thus ignorantly interpret. In the mean while the enemies of *John Chryſoſtome* proceeded in their plots and deſigns againſt him. *Socrates* and others tell us, that being diſpleaſed with the Empreſs for taking the part of *Epiphanius*, he flew out into invectives againſt all Women, and ſpake ſo deſpitefully of them in his Sermons, particularly from that Text, *Gather to me thoſe that eat of the table of* Jezebel, that ſhe being made to believe he meant no other than her ſelf, and *Antiochus* and *Severianus*, whom ſhe maintained in the City, complained of him to the Emperour. It happened opportunely for them that *Theophylus* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, being then ſummoned to Court as a criminal, was on his way thither. He is received not as ſuch, but in triumphant manner lodged in the Palace, ſay ſome, and now private Cabals are held for the methods and ways of deſtroying *John*. They ſent ſome Spies to inquire out the faults of his youth, thence to get ſome reflecting matter, but the deſign not taking, ſeven and thirty of them met together at *Chalcedon*, whither they cite him four times to appear before them, and when he refuſed them as unequal Judges, and was defended by forty other Biſhops which aſſembled to him at *Conſtantinople*, they condemned him as contumacious and depoſed him from his Biſhoprick. When word hereof was brought to *Conſtantinople* all the City was in an uproar, watching day and night leſt their Biſhop ſhould be taken from them, but the importunity of the Empreſs was ſo preſſing upon her Husband, that by his command a guard of Souldiers took him by force, and putting him by night into a Boat, carried him to *Pretenum* a Mart Town of *Bithynia* over againſt *Nicomedia*, the People following and oppoſing the Souldiers to no purpoſe.

John Chryſoſtome of *Conſtantinople* depoſed.

67. This violent hurrying him away ſo inraged the Multitude that a great Sedition followed. As thoſe in adverſity are generally pitied, many that formerly had ſpoken againſt him, began now to take his part, and the Sermons of *Severianus* did but add Oil to the Flame, who ceaſed not to declaim againſt him, not as a Man that had been condemned for any Crime, but onely as a proud and inſolent perſon. Things came to ſuch a paſs, that the Emperour with thoſe about him thought it requiſite to recall

But recalled.

Lib. 5. c. 34.

Is in diſpleaſure of the Empreſs *Eudoxia.*

Socr. l. 6. *c.* 16. *Lat. vel* 18. *Gr.*

recall him, and accordingly *Briſo* an Eunuch belonging to the Empreſs was ſent and brought him back to the City. *Theodoret* lays the cauſe upon a great Earthquake which happened at this time, by which *Eudoxia* was terrified and driven into this reſolution. At his return he would gladly have remained without the City till he could be acquitted by another Aſſembly, and ſolicited the Emperour in that affair, but the People compelled him to go to his Church, and to preach to them as at other times, whence his Adverſaries gathered matter again wherewith they charged him upon the next opportunity. He continued in his Chair for about the ſpace of a year, preaching to the People thoſe excellent Diſcourſes, which being taken from his Mouth in Short-hand by ſome on purpoſe appointed, were afterwards publiſhed, to the great edification of the Church in all ſucceeding Ages: At length he ſplit himſelf upon the ſame Rock, incurring afreſh the diſpleaſure of the Empreſs upon this occaſion. The People erected her a Statue of Silver upon a pedeſtal of Porphyre very near to the Church of *Wiſedom*, and at the Dedication celebrated Shews and Plays after the accuſtomed manner. Now either for that there was ſomething in this Solemnity which ſavoured of Impiety and Superſtition, the bonds of Chriſtian liberty, and Imperial Laws made concerning ſuch matters being violated, or becauſe the place being too near the Church the noiſe and tumults made a diſturbance in Divine Service, and in a manner prophaned the Ground; or out of his innate prejudice againſt all manner of *Spectacula*, and the ſevere auſterity wherewith his beſt friends cannot deny but he was much tranſported, he declaimed earneſtly againſt the thing. The Empreſs herewith being ſore netled, and with the many ſcoffs and taunts he uſed againſt ſuch as were Authours of the Solemnity, threatned him depoſition and death alſo, and eaſily perſwading *Arcadius* her Husband to lend her his Imperial Authority, wrote to the Biſhops his Enemies requiring them to meet with all ſpeed at *Conſtantinople.* *Chryſoſtome* upon notice hereof ſo far accommodated himſelf to the humour and condition of the times as to make another Sermon againſt her with this *Exordium*, Herodias *rageth afreſh, ſtomacheth again, danceth as formerly; ſtill ſeeketh the Head of* John *to be preſented her in a Platter.*

And in a Council held at *Conſtantinople* is baniſhed.

Lege Palladii Dial. de Vita Chryſoſtomi. Aug. de laudibus.

To *Anaſtaſius* ſucceeds *Innocent* in the See of *Rome.*

68. His Enemies the Biſhops being re-aſſembled conſulted all manner of ways how to accompliſh the buſineſs for which they were called. In concluſion, when they had examined many Witneſſes but found no teſtimonies ſtrong enough to convict him of any crime, they fell upon that point upon intruding into his See, and produced againſt him the Canon of the Council of *Antioch*, which ordains, *That whoſoever being depoſed juſtly or unjuſtly ſhould repoſſeſs himſelf of his See, without a Synod conſiſting of a greater number than thoſe who depoſed him ſhould be again expelled and made irregular.* Againſt this Canon he juſtly excepted that it was made by the *Arians* on purpoſe to intrap *Athanaſius* and therefore ought not in conſcience to be urged againſt him, but they eaſily overruled his Plea by intereſt in the Emperour, whom having wearied with their importunities they procured to remove him. At firſt he was commanded to keep his Houſe, but when he refuſed to neglect his duty in the Church, except compelled ſo to doe, and his Enemies ſtill urged his expulſion to *Arcadius*, he was at length carried bound like a Malefactour into exile, thoſe Biſhops that were of his Party being impriſoned, and the People in vain bemoaning as well their own loſs as the ſufferings of their Paſtour. Preſently after happened a dreadfull Fire, which beginning in the Church flew thence into the Palace where the Senate ſate and did very much miſchief. The followers of *John* the exiled Biſhop accuſed the Partizans of *Theophilus* as Authours thereof, and they again charged them with it, whom they branded with the Name of *Johanites.* *Socrates* indeed lays it upon them as done out of indignation at what the Biſhop ſuffered, however ſuch inquiſition was made, and ſuch tortures inflicted upon them by *Optatus* a Pagan, the Prefect of the City, that ſeveral of them upon this account have had the Honour to be reckoned amongſt Martyrs. *Chryſoſtome* ſeeing no relief could be obtained in the Eaſt, where *Theophilus* his bitter Enemy was ſo potent, betook himſelf to the Biſhop of *Rome*, whom by Letters he acquainted with his caſe. This was *Innocent* who ſucceeded *Anaſtaſius*, after the Church had been vacant one and twenty days. He would gladly have promoted and ſhewed the Power and Intereſt of his See, in giving him aſſiſtence, but his endeavours aſwell as aims were to no purpoſe.

Arſaſius choſen in the Chair of *Chryſoſtome* at *Conſtantinople.*

69. For the Enemies of *Chryſoſtome* to fill his Chair, and cut off all hope of his Reſtitution, elected Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* *Arſaſius* an old decrepit Man, of fourſcore years of Age, Brother to *Nectarius* who had formerly governed that See, a Man leſs Eloquent than Fiſhes, and a worſe Singer than the Frogs, if

Palla-

The Secular Games Celebrated.

Vide Part 1. *p.* 661. *ſect.* 19.

And the *Spectacula* of the *Gladiators.*

Prudentius adverſus Symmach. c. 2.

Palladius be Judge, but of ſingular modeſty and of meek behaviour, in the opinion of *Socrates*, who thereupon obſerveth, that the Church in his time enjoyed great eaſe and quietneſs. But many contemning him for the vaſt difference they found betwixt his parts and thoſe of his Predeceſſour, and eſpecially induced by a ſenſe of that wrong which they conceived to be done to *John*, refuſed utterly to communicate with him, and ſeparated themſelves from his Church, which ſo provoked thoſe of his Party, that great Perſecutions were raiſed againſt them, ſome Imperial Edicts being procured for correction and reſtrainment of thoſe who refuſed to communicate with him and his Fellow Biſhops. In the mean time, whilſt Chriſtians by perſecuting one another, and rending the ſeamleſs Coat of Chriſt, gave matter of ſcandal to the Enemies of their Religion, a greater matter of ſcandal was offered to ſuch in the Weſt, by renewing a great and ſolemn act of the old Pagan Superſtition. This was the Celebration of the old Secular Games, which had been omitted ever ſince the Converſion of *Conſtantine* the Great, but now by permiſſion of *Honorius*, who was made to believe that the omiſſion of them would be fatal to the City, were for this one time more reſtored. Concerning theſe Solemnities, we have heretofore ſufficiently ſpoken. This was the two hundredth year from that wherein *Severus* the Emperour celebrated his Games of an hundred and ten years, whereby it came to paſs that they were confounded with the Centenaries, but the *Romans*, out of a fond reſpect to their old Superſtition, deſired to have them this way celebrated rather than not at all; and *Claudian* in the name of other Pagans, overcome with joy in Poetick Raptures, celebrates the praiſe of the Emperour for this ſo great an expreſſion of kindneſs to his Subjects of the old ſtamp. But the Pagans having this Inch of liberty given them, improved it (as the Proverb hath it) to an Ell broad, procuring the old *Spectacula* of the *Gladiators* alſo to be reſtored, to the view of which the Veſtal Virgins went out in a ſolemn Proceſſion. For theſe and other things, as Divines obſerve, the Land groaned, and both Emperour and People ſuffered the dreadfull effects of God's Anger and Indignation, which within a year or two abundantly ſhewed themſelves in the Invaſion of *Italy* and other Parts of the Weſt by the Barbarous Nations.

Arſacius of *Conſtantinople* dies.

Atticus elected in his ſtead.

John Chryſoſtome dies in exile.

Socr. l. 5. *c.* 17.
Soz. l. 8. *c.* 27.
Palladius ubi ſuprà.

Socrates.
Soz. l. 8. *c.* 2.
Niceph. l. 10. *c.* 2.
Theodoret. l. 5. *c.* 28.
Palladius Metaphraſis.

70. The ſame year that *Chryſoſtome* was driven into exile, St. *Auguſtine* the Biſhop of *Hippo* diſputed publickly in his Church two days together with *Fœlix* the *Manichee*, who overcome with his Arguments, confeſſed the truth, and renounced his errours. The year following, being the four hundred and fifth year of our Lord, in the ſecond Conſulſhip of *Stilico*, and the firſt of *Anthemius* on the eleventh of *November*, *Arſacius* the pretended Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* died, having held the See a year and two months. About the Succeſſion great heats and contention aroſe, and the Diſputes continued for four months, after which in the next year, in the ſixth Conſulſhip of *Arcadius* and the firſt of *Probus* was *Atticus* Elected, a Man born at *Sebaſtia* in *Armenia*, brought up in the Monaſtical courſe of life by thoſe of the *Macedonian* Hereſie, from which afterward turning to the Catholick Faith he was made Prieſt of the Church of *Conſtantinople*, and became a ſtickler againſt *Chryſoſtome*; of mean learning, but of very good natural parts, and fit for buſineſs. By this means was *Chryſoſtome* kept out of his See, and ſtill impriſoned, very hardly uſed, and removed at length from *Arabiſſus* toward *Pityventis* on porpoſe to haraſs him to death, in which Journey he died, and paſſed to an heavenly Countrey, whom in this World neither his eminent Piety, ſingular Learning, nor incomparable Eloquence could protect from the calumnies of Sycophants and unjuſt oppreſſion. He was born at *Antioch* in *Cœloſyria* upon the River *Orontes*, of a Noble Family, his Father's Name *Secundus*, and his Mother's *Anchuſa*. He ſtudied at *Athens*, where applying himſelf to *Libinaus* for Rhetorick, and *Androgathius* for Philoſophy, he profited in Learning to the admiration of the whole Univerſity, being yet a Pagan. Afterwards he and his Parents were converted, though he was very well learned in the Laws, yet reſolving to betake himſelf to the Monaſtery, he ſtudied Divinity under conduct of *Diodenis*, *Carterius*, *Euſebius*, *Emiſenus*, and *Baſil* the Great. Then was he made Reader of the Church of *Antioch* by *Zeno* Biſhop of *Gara*, a Deacon by *Meletius*, after three years by *Euagrius* a Prieſt, and at length Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, and Patriarch of the Churches throughout *Thrace*, *Aſia* and the Maritime Coaſts. A moſt excellent both Man and Chriſtian, but as ſuch want not their failings, ſo is he obſerved to have been too rigid and auſtere, by which defect he ſeems partly to have brought much trouble upon himſelf. He wrote ſome Books whilſt yet a Reader, ſome when Deacon, others

when Prieſt, but moſt after he came to be Biſhop. His Works yet extant were by *Eraſmus* digeſted into five Tomes, ſince that publiſhed in an Excellent Edition by our Sir *Henry Savil.* Many Spurious pieces bear his name, which *Sixtus Senenſis* and others have detected. The *Liturgie* ſaid to be his is of the ſame ſtamp, for it hath a Prayer for *Alexius* the Emperour who was Born long after his death, and for *Nicholas* the Pope or elſe the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*. The Copies much differ one from another. Amongſt the Saints there remembred mention is made of *Chryſoſtome* himſelf. Worſhipping the Image of *Chriſt* is ſpoken of, whereas he in his genuine writings as his *50th* Homily upon *Matthew* accounts the Art of Painting Superſtitious; and the ſecond *Nicene* Synod though it ſcrape up all the Teſtimonies it can in behalf of Images, yet never citeth the *Liturgie* of *Chryſoſtome*.

Several Judgments upon his Perſecutours.

71. Eccleſiaſtical Writers obſerve that many and remarkable Judgments fell upon his perſecutours not long after they had accompliſhed the effects of their Malice. Obſervable is that ſtory told of *Cyrinus* Biſhop of *Chalcedon*, on whoſe foot *Maruthas* Biſhop of *Meſopotamia* treading againſt his will, when they were aſſembled in a Synod againſt *John*, it ſo corrupted of the bruiſe that he was forced to cut it off, but the putrefaction running over his whole Body, and falling at length into his other Foot he was conſtrained to loſe both and miſerably died. *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Alexandria* whoſe carriage in this buſineſs makes us ſuſpect he too much deſerved the Character given him by *Socrates*, notwithſtanding that *Baronius* would fain make him a good and holy Man, not long after was taken with a Pain in his ſide and died. *Antiochus* and *Severianus* ſcarcely overlived him. Hail of an unuſual bigneſs fell at *Conſtantinople*, four days after which was taken away *Eudoxia* the Empreſs by a miſerable manner. Neither were other Calamities wanting, as Plague, Famine, Inundations, Earthquakes, Droughts, Wars and ſuch like miſeries as ſhortly after befell *Greece*. However *Chryſoſtome* was looked upon in the Eaſt whilſt he lived, when dead his memory preſently began to be very pretious throughout the whole Church, which *Innocent* the Biſhop of *Rome* perceiving excommunicated *Arſacius* his Succeſſour, though already departed this World, together with the Emperour *Arcadius* and *Theophilus* the Biſhop of *Alexandria*, if credit may be given to the later *Greek* Hiſtorians, and a Book in the Vatican Library cited by *Baronius*, whereas the more Ancient Writers and thoſe of better Note relate no ſuch matter, and *Theophilus* whom they will have depoſed ſate faſt in his See till his death, not to ſpeak that the Synod which Condemned *Chryſoſtome* how unjuſtly ſoever, could not with more Juſtice be condemned by *Innocent* without an hearing.

Vide Socr. l. 6. Cap. 14 Lat. Sozo Niceph. Th

Several Edicts againſt the Pagans, *Cœlicolæ* and *Jews*.

72. The year following, being the 408 of the ordinary *Æra* of Chriſt, *Honorius* the Emperour publiſhed ſome Reſcripts againſt the *Donatiſts* and *Pagans*, which upon the death of *Stilico* were become high and domineering in *Africk* to ſuch an height that pretending ſuch Laws as had been made formerly againſt them to have been his mere device without any Imperial Authority, they roſe up againſt the Orthodox Chriſtians and murthered certain Biſhops. In one of thoſe Reſcripts of the Emperour together with the *Donatiſts* are the *Cœlicolæ* condemned, who are alſo in another Edict of the following year joyned and ſentenced with *Jews*. What theſe *Cœlicolæ* ſhould be is very obſcure, the name being new and unheard of as the Edict it ſelf bears mention, though they are joyned alſo in an Edict of *Conſtantine*. Some have thought them Pagans and Worſhippers of the *Dea Cœleſtis* formerly mentioned, ſome a ſort of *Eſſeni* amongſt the *Jews*, who Worſhipped the *Hoſt of Heaven*; but that they were Chriſtians herein appears becauſe they were Baptized. Yet are they not reckoned amongſt Hereticks by thoſe that have made Catalogues of ſuch, ſo that they ſeem to have been a ſort of Judaiſing Chriſtians or Chriſtianized *Jews*, and to ſhun the *Odium* of Judaiſm might take upon them this name of *Cœlicolæ* living under their *Majores*, as the *Jews* did under their Patriarchs. But this ſame year alſo *Theodoſius* the Emperour gave out another Edict againſt the *Jews* who upon pretence of celebrating the Memory of the hanging of *Aman* dragged Croſſes up and down the Streets and burnt them in deriſion and deſpight of Chriſtian Religion. He requires the Governours of Provinces to prevent this Scandal and upon Commiſſion of the like Offence threatens the *Jews* with forfeiture of their remaining Privileges. About this time died *Porphyrius* Biſhop of *Antioch* a great Adverſary of *Chryſoſtome*'s, who after the death of *Flavianus* had invaded that See by fraud and Tyranny. For whilſt the whole City in the grove of *Daphne* was intent upon the *Spectacula*, he was ordained Biſhop by *Severianus*, *Acacius* and *Antiochus* thoſe of his faction with ſuch ſpeed that

C. Th. de hæret. c. 19. & de Paganis.

Ut ſuprà, l. 43. Cod. Juſt. lib. 1. tit. 9.

Cœlicolarum nomen inauditum quodam modo nonum crimen ſuperſtitionis vindicavit. Vide gloſſam in leg. 12. tit. dict. Aug. Ep. 163.

Vide cod. Juſt. lib. 1. tit. 9. leg. 3.

Tit. eod. l. 11.

Porphirius Biſhop of *Antioch* dies.

Sozom. l. 2. c. 24. Niceph. l. 13. c. 30. Theodor. l. 5. c. 35.

that many accuſtomed Rites were thereby omitted, for which fact the People was ſo inraged that they had ſet fire to his Houſe and burnt him, but that by ſtrong hand they were overpowered by the Governour of the Town, whom he had corrupted with Money. In his place was choſen *Alexander* a Man brought up in the Monaſtical courſe of Life, and of great repute for Piety and Learning, who by joyning in one the parties of *Paulinus* and *Meletius* reſtored Peace to that Church, and made an end of that Schiſm which had laſted ſixty years, from the Ejection of *Euſtathius*.

Alexander ſucceeds him.

Alaricus lays Siege to *Rome*.

73. The next year was the City of *Rome* beſieged by *Alaricus*, upon which occaſion when as the *Pagans* betook themſelves to their falſe Deities, *Zozimus* their Hiſtorian relates that *Innocent* the Biſhop of that City did ſecretly conſent to certain ſolemnities of that ſuperſtition induced by the great proffers made by the *Tuſcan Aruſpices*, for which report as a mere Scandal *Baronius* is exceedingly concerned. Conſidering the temper of the relater we cannot but joyn with the Cardinal in his charitable opinion, (though this be not ſo much a reaſon to him as ſomething elſe, and he refuſe on Authority how vile ſoever of which he may make uſe againſt us Hereticks) yet cannot but wiſh that he who ſhewed ſo much zeal in behalf of a particular Biſhop would have employed a little in oppoſing ſome Reliques of thoſe Heatheniſh impieties which yet cleaved to the Profeſſours of Chriſtianity. For not to ſpeak of that Deluge of Wickedneſs of which *Chryſoſtome*, *Hierome* and other Fathers of this time complain, which ſpread both over the Eaſtern and Weſtern Empire, the Emperours though Chriſtians as well as their *Pagan* Predeceſſours ſuffered their Images to be adored, and this very year according to the old Cuſtome ſpeak of themſelves as Gods, and Attribute Divinity to their Perſons, none opening his Mouth in reprehenſion of ſo unwarrantable a pratice. Notwithſtanding the Fathers of the Church, to give them their due in this particular, ceaſed not to declaim againſt the *Spectacula* and the Licentious practices of the Stage, of which the Pagans, as *Auguſtine* obſerveth, were the firſt Founders, yet Chriſtians ſtill too much loved and retained theſe obſcene Sports, frequenting Bawdy Houſes, *Salvian* alſo complains, and the Emperour *Honorius* is noted as guilty of inceſt for having Married two of *Stilico's* Daughters Succeſſively. Yet amidſt thoſe great difficulties wherewith at this time he was incumbred, he forgot not to publiſh ſeveral wholeſome Laws againſt *Magicians*, *Pagans*, *Jews* and the lately mentioned *Cælicolæ*, which are yet extant in the Code of *Theodoſius*; in behalf of Priſoners alſo, commanding that every Lord's day they ſhould be let out of Priſon to receive the Almes of good People, and to the publick Bathes for the Improvement of Religion; the conſideration of which made St. *Hierome* deny it was for his Sins that ſo great Calamity now befell his People, and lay the Siege and Captivity of the City of *Rome* at the Doors of the obſtinate and perfidious Gentiles.

Honorius ſends forth his Edicts againſt *Magicians*, *Pagans*, *Jews* and *Cælicolæ*.

Nulli habetur ambiguum etiam ab hæredibus & pro hæredibus poſſe reſcripta noſtri numinis allegari. c. Th. l. 1. t. 2. l. 10.

Tit. de mulct. Pagan. de cuſtod. reorum.

Ruffinus dies.

74. The year following wherein *Rome* was taken by *Alaricus* being the 410 of the ordinary *Æra* of Chriſt, *Ruffinus* the Prieſt of *Aquileia* and great Patron of the Perſon and Works of *Origen* died in *Sicily*, having retired himſelf thither upon aproach of *Alaricus*. Againſt him St. *Hierome* unhandſomely inſults being now dead, and not able to anſwer for himſelf; but he had given him ſuch Nick-names whilſt alive, that no wonder he ſhould maintain what he had formerly ſaid and done: For in his Writings he ordinarily gives him the name of *Scorpius*, ſometimes he calls him *Grunnius*, the forerunner of *Pelagius*, and other good Epithetes he gives him, by the conſent and Approbation of *Baronius*, who over and above accuſeth him for foiſting into the Books he Tranſlated things quite different from the Deſign of the Authour. Indeed his Tranſlations of *Greek* Authours as now extant ſeem to have been the products of a moſt negligent, ignorant and diſſolute Interpreter, but the Annaliſt hath no great reaſon to condemn him in this Point having made ſo much uſe of him in reading thoſe which he could not underſtand in their own Language. This makes him accuſe *Joſephus* moſt falſely for contradicting himſelf about *Salome*, as if he ſometimes called her *Herod's* Siſter, and ſometime his Wife, whereas the very place he quotes is Siſter, but herein he follows *Ruffinus* his Tranſlation, and having no ſkill in the Language (which certain it is he had not, ſaith one who was able to judge) or otherwiſe relying upon Interpreters he is often plunged upon Abſurdities as in due time and place may be made apparent. In the mean time we ſhall take notice that *Theodoſius* the Emperour this year publiſhed ſeveral Reſcripts againſt *Priſcillianiſts*, *Eunomians* and *Montaniſts* to be ſeen in the Title of Hereticks in the Code of *Theodoſius*. As alſo that about this ſame time *Syneſius* whoſe Epiſtles are yet extant was made Biſhop

of

Tom. 1. Ep. 16. 59. Præf. in Hieron.

Bp. Mountague, Appar. c. 4.

Theodoſius publiſheth ſeveral Reſcripts againſt the *Priſcillianiſts*, &c.

Syneſius made Biſhop of *Ptolemais*.

Vide Euagrium, l. 1. *c.* 15. *Syneſii Epp.*

of *Ptolemais*, concerning whom ſome admire he ſhould be reckoned amongſt Eccleſiaſtical Writers, much more intruſted with ſo great a charge. He was Born a *Greek* and *Pagan*, of a Noble Family, in his Youth given to Hunting and the ſtudy of the Liberal Sciences, wherein he excelled being of the Platonick Sect. *Euagrius* who calls him Biſhop of *Cyrene* deſiring not to forget him, that the excellency of his vertues, as he ſaith, might ſet forth the ſimplicity of his Style, writes, that he was ſo eloquent and ſo profound a Philoſopher that being had in great admiration by impartial Chriſtians they perſwaded him to be Baptized, and take upon him the Prieſtly function, though he neither admitted nor would be brought to believe the Article of the Reſurrection; and this they did, hoping very charitably of him, that thoſe things would follow after his other vertues, and that the grace of God would ſuffer nothing to want in him that belonged unto his Souls health, which hope of theirs, ſaith our Authour, was not in vain. For how Excellent he proved, both the learned Epiſtles he wrote, after he was Prieſt, and the Book he dedicated to *Theodoſius*, with other notable Monuments of his induſtry, do declare.

75. This that *Euagrius* writes of him is but agreeable to what he ſaith himſelf in his Epiſtles; yet *Baronius* concludes that aſſuredly there was no ſuch matter as his being ordained by *Theophilus*, the Biſhop of *Alexandria* holding ſuch an opinion concerning the Reſurrection, pronounces thoſe highly miſtaken that believe it, and as knowing fully his mind affirms he did but jeſt and not write what he thought, his deſign herein being to prevent the impoſition of the Epiſcopal function upon him, which he as much as death abhorred. Certainly *Euagrius* and *Nicephorus* might by living nearer to his Age have as good opportunity, to know the meaning of *Syneſius* as the Cardinal, whoſe good opinion of *Theophilus* (for Men muſt be good or bad as maketh for his great deſign) hath no good foundation in Antiquity. *Syneſius* not onely refuſed to be Biſhop upon the account of the Reſurrection (for Hereticks ſeldom refuſe ſuch conditions as may enable them better to propagate and countenance their errours) but out of a Lazy humour which very hardly would admit of buſineſs, and eſpecially becauſe he flatly refuſed to live without his Wife in the Miniſtery (which ſince the promotion of *Siricius* had become too commendable) neither converſe privately with her as a Concubine, whom both God, the Law and the ſacred hand of *Theophilus*, as he ſaith himſelf, had given to him. Notwithſtanding this his Proteſtation yet the People was ſo importunate that *Theophilus* ordained him Biſhop, not hoping that he would change his mind as to keeping his Wife, but in his belief as to the Reſurrection; for the Cardinal is not ignorant (however he conceals all he may) that notwithſtanding the Cuſtome which at this time obtained in *Theſſaly* (introduced by *Theodorus* a Prieſt of *Triva* and Authour of certain wanton and amorous Books intitled *Æthiopica*) *that a Prieſt uſing the Company of his Wife which he Married when a Lay-man ſhould be depoſed*, yet ſuch Biſhops and Prieſts in the Eaſt as refrained their Company did it at their own choice without any Law or Compulſion, and many of them notwithſtanding their Government and Adminiſtration of their Epiſcopal function, in the time of *Socrates* begat Children on their lawfull Wives, which we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew that in the Eaſt they ever did, and in the Weſt for many Centuries yet downward, till the Decrees of the *Roman* See at length with much adoe obtained. As for *Syneſius* after his Conſecration he contended againſt Hereſies indeed, and exhorted his Presbyters ſo to doe. Of his Writings few are extant, except a Volume of his Epiſtles, from which it appears that he thought ſoberly and orthodoxly concerning the Holy Trinity, concerning other Doctrines he ſpeaks not much, but of this little whatever he thought of the Reſurrection, ſome things cannot be commended, as that the Mind of Man is the Seed of God, that Angels by their converſation with Men have contracted ill affections, that thereupon the Son of God came down, that ſins are purged by puniſhment. When Biſhop he wrote ſome Books concerning hunting, much buſied himſelf about the works of *Homer* and ſuch frivolous things. In adverſity he was ſo overcome with paſſion and dejection that he was near killing himſelf for the death of his Son. It repented him that he had ſuffered the Epiſcopal function to be impoſed on him. He lived ſtill with his Wife, and begat Children after his Conſecration, and was of a candid, free and open ſpirit. But enough of *Syneſius*.

Lib. 5. *c.* 22.

His Works and Character.

76. The year following, which had *Theodoſius* the Emperour alone for Conſul, by reaſon of the Diſorders in the Weſt, a Conference was held at *Carthage*, betwixt the *Catholicks* and *Donatiſts*, which though it had the uſual effect upon the Diſputants themſelves, yet of the ordinary People, and thoſe called *Circumcel-*

Aug. Brev. Coll.

Theodoſius publiſheth an Edict againſt the *Donatiſts*.

C. Th. de Hæret. l. 52.

Theophilus Biſhop of *Alexandria* dies.

Cyril ſucceeds.

Lib. 7. cap. 7.

Peſtifero vomuit coluber Sermone Britannus. Proſper Aquit.

Morgan or *Pelagius* an Heretick.

Camden. in Ceſtria. Uſſerius de primord. Eccleſ. Britan.

Cœlum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt.

liones, very many are ſaid to have been reduced into the Right way; and the Emperour following on the ſtroke lately given by the Orthodox Biſhops to this Hereſie, in the next year publiſheth a ſevere Edict, which inflicts exile and moſt grievous Fines, upon ſuch as ſhould ſtill pertinaciouſly continue in that Schiſm. This ſame year on the fifteenth of *October*, died *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, of a Lethargy, after which followed a great Conteſt about the Election of his Succeſſour, ſome ſtickling hard for *Timothy* the Archdeacon, and others for *Cyril* the Nephew of *Theophilus*. Though *Abundantius* Governour of the Town uſed his utmoſt endeavour for promotion of the former, yet *Cyril* carried it three Days after the deceaſe of his Uncle, and if *Socrates* deal fairly with us, aſſumed to himſelf more Power than he ever had enjoyed. From this time forth, he tells us, the Biſhop of that See beſides the Government of his Clergy and Juriſdiction in Eccleſiaſtical matters, took alſo upon him the management of temporal Affairs, as a token whereof *Cyril* preſently ſhut up the *Novatian* Churches in *Alexandria*, and not onely rifled them of all their Treaſure, but robbed alſo *Theopemptus*, their Biſhop of all his Eſtate. But from theſe differences at *Alexandria* a Diſſention of greater Conſequence diverts us, a notable Hereſie ſpringing up in the Church at this time, the Sower of which Cockle had his Birth and Original in this our Iſland of *Britain*. His *Britiſh* Name was *Morgan*, in *Greek* and *Latin Pelagius*, ſignifying in *Engliſh*, near the Sea. He was a Monk of the Monaſtery of *Bonium* or *Bangor* in *Flintſhire*, wherein lived two thouſand Perſons famous for their diligent labour, aſwell as their ſolitary Courſe of Life; but quitting that Place travelled up and down the World, and contrary to the obſervation paſſing the Seas changed his mind, aſwell as the Air, and either received from others, (for *Baronius* would lay the load upon *Ruffinus*) or himſelf conceived many and grievous Errours, which now diſturbed the Peace of the Church, after her Triumphs over the *Arian* Hereſie.

First taken notice of by St. *Chryſoſtome*.

In Chron. de peccat. merit. l. 3. cap. 1.

De peccator. meritis & Ep.

* *Demſter. Hiſt. Scot. l. 15.*

Ep. ad Cteſiphontem.

Being ſummoned to *Dioſpolis*, he hypocritically recants his aſſertions.

77. The firſt that took notice of his heterodox Opinions, St. *Chryſoſtome* ſeemeth to have been in his fourth Epiſtle to *Olympias*, wherein he lamenteth his fall, whom formerly he had looked upon as an Holy Man. This was two years before the death of that good Biſhop, the ordinary year of our Lord, 405. about ſeven Years before the time that *Proſper* aſſigneth for the Worlds taking notice of this Hereſie, though St. *Auguſtine* alſo much about that time, as we may eaſily perceive had ſmelt it out. But all this while for fear of a diſcovery, and the brand he ſhould infallibly receive from the Hands of the Pious and Learned Fathers of the Church, he publiſhed his Tenents in the Names of other Men, by the means and procurement, eſpecially of *Cæleſtius* his chief Diſciple. Not onely St. *Auguſtine* (whom as * ſome obſerve how truely I know not, by Divine diſpenſation, *Africk* brought forth the ſame day, that he was born in *Britain*, as an Antidote againſt the Poiſon) both by Words and Writing oppoſed this Doctrine. But St. *Hierome* alſo, though concealing both the Names of *Pelagius* and *Cæleſtius*, yet hinting at his Original by twitting the Iſland of *Britain* as fertile in Tyrants, and the *Scotiſh* Nation. He deduceth the Pedigree of theſe Errours, from the School of the *Stoicks*, all along through the Succeſſions of *Origen* (who yet certainly was rather a Retainer to the Academy than the Porch) *Euagrius*, *Ponticus*, *Ruffinus*, and others of that perſwaſion, taking in the Alliance of the *Manichees* and *Priſcillianiſts*, and deſcending to *Jovinianus*. At length *Cæleſtius* publiſhed his Hereſies at *Carthage*, yet craftily under the notion of queſtions onely, where aſſoon as publiſhed, they were refelled and condemned by an Aſſembly of Eccleſiaſticks, there gathered together. After this *Pelagius* not able to hold any longer pulled off the Vizard of an Orthodox Prieſt, and openly maintained his opinions, upon ſpreading whereof and advice from *Carthage*, a Synod of Biſhops was held at *Lidda* or *Dioſpolis* a City of *Paleſtine*, under *Eulogius* Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, and Metropolitan of that Province where *Pelagius* recanted, and out of fear hypocritically anathematized his former aſſertions.

Which are theſe.

78. Thoſe were twelve in number as *Baronius* findeth them in the *Creſconian* Edition, inſerted after the Epiſtle of *Aurelius* Biſhop of *Carthage*, to thoſe of the *Provincia Bizacena*. 1. "That *Adam* was created mortal, ſo that whether he had "ſinned or no he ſhould have died. 2. That his Sin hurt onely himſelf, and not his "Poſterity. 3. That Infants newly born are in the ſame State, that he was before "his Fall. 4. That neither through his Death and Prevarication do all Men "die, neither through Chriſt's Reſurrection ſhall riſe again. 5. That Infants "though they ſhould never be baptized, yet may obtain Eternal Life. 6. That

“Rich men though baptized, yet except they renounce all they have cannot obtain the Kingdom of Heaven. 7. That the Grace and Aſſiſtence of God is not afforded to the ſeveral Acts, but they depend upon free Will, belong to the Law and Doctrine. 8. That the Grace of God is given according to our Merits. 9. That none could be called the Sons of God, except they were made utterly void of all Sin. 10. That the Will is not free if it ſtand in need of God's Aſſiſtence, it being in the Power of every one to doe or not doe any thing. 11. That our Victory is not from the Help and Aſſiſtence of God, but proceeds from our own free Will. And 12. that forgiveneſs of Sin is not given to thoſe that ask it, for the Grace and Mercy of God, but according to the Merits and Endeavours of ſuch as by their Repentance do deſerve it. Thoſe Aſſertions are of the very ſame Nature, with ſuch as are found in the Books of St. *Auguſtine*, St. *Hierome*, *Proſper* and others, who have had occaſion to mention them in their Writings, and ſpeak of ſome other Tenents, moſt of which are rather Conſequences of thoſe, as ſome of thoſe are of others, than really divers and diſtinct from them; the Summ of all being this, that as we are born without Goodneſs and Vertue, ſo abſolutely without vice or flaw in our Wills and Inclinations. For if all depend merely upon our own Will, the Law might ſend them to Heaven who lived under it, aſwell as the Goſpel can do us, and if they really were not, yet they might have been without Sin; and to what purpoſe ſhould the Church put up her Prayers and Petitions for Infidels, and ſuch as reſiſt the Truth, or that thoſe who are already converted, ſhould grow in Grace and Vertue, and perſevere in them till the end, if we receive not theſe things from God, but are endowed ſufficiently with Power within our own ſelves, and the Grace of God be onely conferred on us according to our own Merits and ſelf Sufficiency? what need Saints pray to have their Sins forgiven if they live without them, or not to be led into Temptation, if they ſtand not in need of God's Aſſiſtence, but have Power enough in themſelves, and their Wills be ſufficient to weather it out againſt all hardſhips and oppoſition? As for the Grace of God, it appears from the fourth Canon of the Council of *Milevis* (which as we ſaid before muſt have been holden not till the diſcovery made of this Hereſie) that *Pelagius* and his moſt thorough paced Diſciples, underſtood no more by it than the Revelation of the Divine Will, whereby a Man might know what was agreeable or diſſonant to it; but as for the Power of fulfilling God's Command, that a Man hath for his own natural ſtrength, ſtanding in no need therein of his Grace and Aſſiſtence. Though *Pelagius* by his great diſſimulation impoſed upon the Fathers aſſembled at *Dioppolis*, yet their jealouſie thereof ſeems not utterly wanting, in that they gave him no Letters teſtimonial of his Repentance and Sincerity, which happened well both for themſelves and other Orthodox Chriſtians, he in a ſhort ſpace recanting what he had before them renounced, and licking up his Vomit, which he had in appearance ſpued out in their preſence.

A Tumult at *Alexandria*, but ſuppreſſed.

79. Whilſt *Pelagius* a falſe Brother raiſed ſuch ſtirs and Contentions amongſt Chriſtians themſelves a notable Tumult happened at *Alexandria*, betwixt ſuch as bore that Name there, and the *Jews* and *Pagans* of that City upon this occaſion. A certain Dancer ſhewed his feats of activity upon a *Saturday*, which being the Sabbath of the *Jews*, they thereat took great offence, and burning ever with hatred againſt Chriſtians raiſed a Tumult, which for this time was appeaſed by the Care and Endeavours of *Oreſtes* the Prefect of the City. But it happening that *Oreſtes* fixing upon the Theatre, ſome Decree or Law to be for the future obſerved by the People, ſome of *Cyril* the Biſhop's Friends were curious to peruſe it, and amongſt the reſt one *Hierax* a Grammarian in great grace with him, whom as ſoon as the *Jews* beheld they cried out upon him, that he came thither for no other end than to move Contention betwixt Chriſtians, and thoſe of their perſwaſion, and laying hands on him, haled him to *Oreſtes*. He being a Pagan and a great Enemy of *Cyril*, whom he hated as well upon account of his Faith as Profeſſion, becauſe that the Power of the Biſhops in *Alexandria* had much abridged the Authority of the Governours, cauſed him to be ſeverely beaten. *Cyril* upon notice hereof, ſends for the moſt eminent amongſt the *Jews*, and threatens them with condign Puniſhment, in caſe they gave not over theſe mutinous Courſes, wherewith they were grievouſly offended, and ſet themſelves more carefully than ever, to work ſome natable feat, and ſhew their utmoſt rage and ſpleen againſt the Profeſſours of Chriſtianity. One certain Night having prepared themſelves for this purpoſe, they ſet ſome to crie Fire in the Streets, and to give out it was in the Church of *Alexander*, which aſſoon as the Chriſtians heard,

Socrat. l. 7. *cap.* 13. &c. *Niceph. l.* 14. *cap.* 14.

Another upon which the *Jews* are diſ-driven and driven thence.

they iſſue out of their Houſes, and from all Coaſts making toward that place, fall amongſt the *Jews*, lying in Ambuſh for them, by whom they are miſerably ſlain without reſpect to any Condition. Hereupon *Cyril* the Biſhop gets him to the Synagogue of the *Jews*, of whom ſome he causeth to be put to death, the Eſtates of others to be ſeized, and baniſheth the reſt, whereby they who had inhabited the City from *Alexander's* time, were now diſperſed into all Countries.

Upon which a Quarrel 'twixt the Governour and the Biſhop ariſeth.

80. *Oreſtes* the Governour taking the thing it ſelf in ill part, as depriving the City of thoſe People, which by their egregious cunning in trade and practice in brokage, make their Company deſirable to ſeveral Places, and worſe as done by him, makes a great complaint hereof to the Emperour. *Cyril* was not wanting to himſelf on the other hand, in laying open the Inſolence and Cruelty of the *Jews*, yet deſired to be friends with *Oreſtes*, which offer the other would not cloſe with, either merely by reaſon of his Ethnick, and inveterate prejudice, or for that he intended to act the ſecond part of what the *Jews* had formerly performed. But their Enmity daily increaſing, the Monks that inhabited the Mount *Nitria* took notice thereof, and being at leiſure, alſo as hotly diſpoſed, as lately when *Theophilus* armed them againſt the Party of *Dioſcorus*, reſolved to maintain the Quarrel of *Cyril* his Succeſſour, and fifty of them coming to *Alexandria* aſſaulted the Governour as he rode in his Chariot, calling him *Sacrificer*, a *Heathen*, and giving him much other opprobious Language. He to appeaſe them, told them he was a Chriſtian, having been baptized by *Atticus* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, but they would give no credit to his words, and proſecuting what they had begun, one amongſt them, *Ammonius* by Name, gave him ſo ſore a blow on his Head with a ſtone, that the bloud guſhed out about his Ears, and the Officers and Sergeants attending him out of fear ſhifted for themſelves, the Governour continuing in this danger, till the Citizens came in to his reſcue, and ſeized on *Ammonius*, whoſe Fellows had made a ſhift to get away. Him the Governour cauſed to be tortured to death, and both he and *Cyril* again by writing, make their caſe as good as they can poſſibly to the Emperour. But the Biſhop buries the Corpſe of the Monk in a peculiar Church, changeth his Name from *Ammonius* to *Thamnaſius*, and in a kind of Funeral Sermon extolls the noble Courage of the Man, the great Combat he endured for Godlineſs, and gives Command he ſhould be called a Martyr, which gave offence to the more moderate and ſober ſort of Chriſtians, that knew how to diſtinguiſh betwixt the Cauſe, and the Puniſhment, and were ſatisfied that the Monk died not for Chriſt, but ſuffered what was due to his ſeditious and unwarrantable Enterprize.

Which is ſcandalouſly carried on.

81. Theſe juſt and ſober Sentiments of the judicious ſort of Chriſtians, cauſed *Cyril* to ſuffer the thing to dye, and be forgotten with the Monk, but ſtill the grudge continued betwixt him and *Oreſtes*, which produced another piece of imprudence, and ſcandal on the Chriſtian Part, after this manner. There was a Woman at *Alexandria*, by Name *Hypatia*, the Daughter of *Theon* the Philoſoper, who trained up in her Father's way excelled all the Philoſophers of that time, continued in *Plato's* School the exerciſe formerly practiſed by *Plotinus*, publickly read the Doctrine of all Philoſopers to ſuch as from all Countries flocked to hear her, and was had in extraordinary Honour and Eſteem, not onely for her Learning, but exceeding Modeſty, Gravity and Courage, which ſhe had ſucked in from her Philoſophical Principles. Many Letters of *Syneſius* to her are yet extant, who calls her Lady and Miſtreſs, and *Suidas* takes notice of her, as a moſt chaſt Virgin. This Perſon it ſeems being in great favour with the Governour, the People grew jealous, that ſhe did ill Offices betwixt him and the Biſhop, and in concluſion certain frantick and raſh Fellows headed by one *Peter* a Reader of the Church, watching her as ſhe came home to her Houſe, pulled her out of her Chariot, and dragging her into the Church called *Cæſarium*, ſtripped her ſtark naked, with ſharp ſhells rent the Skin from her Body till ſhe died, then quartering her brought the Quarters to a place called *Cinaron*, where they burnt them to Aſhes. This diveliſh Act brought great ſcandal to Chriſtianity in general, aſwell as the Church of *Alexandria*, and the Perſon of *Cyril*. *Socrates* is ſo preciſe in the Account thereof, that he notes it was committed in the fourth year after *Cyril's* Conſecration, the tenth Conſulſhip of *Honorius*, and the ſeventh of *Theodoſius* (which was the 416 of the ordinary *Æra* of Chriſt) in the Month of *March* and the Ember-days. Yet *Baronius* admoniſheth his Reader not to give credit to the Relater of thoſe Stories, whom being a *Novatian* he concludeth prejudiced againſt the Biſhop, for what at his firſt coming to his Office he had

done againſt thoſe of that perſwaſion. However we commend the Cardinal for his Charity to a Perſon of ſo eminent Dignity in the Church, or rather, if one might dare to judge, to his Champions the Monks, of whoſe bald Skulls (if they ſhaved themſelves at this time) he is as tender as of the Biſhop's Mitre, yet out of a principle of indifference we muſt alſo tell the Reader, that others converſant in Antiquity do obſerve, that as this Age was generally very corrupt, ſo no greater Plague happened to the Church and Common-wealth, than that of the Monaſtical Life, which for about an Hundred years had filled the World with ſo many drones, that ſcarcely did any hope he could be ſaved except quitting his ſtation, in which God's Providence had placed him, he expoſed the Church and State to the Luſt and Tyranny of Robbers and Thieves, who at this time broke into all Places. And becauſe Faithfulneſs is the moſt requiſite Quality in an Hiſtorian, we cannot but farther alledge in *Socrates* his behalf, that thoſe times whereof he now wrote, were as the Morning to his own Day, and therefore however, he or any other might Counterfeit what there was no clear Light to diſcern, and tell Stories which none could contradict, being beyond the Memory of any alive, yet at ſuch time as the Knowledge of matters muſt needs be freſh, it were extreme Folly to aſſert ſuch Fables as both their freſh Date, and Eminence of Perſons by whom, and of Places where, they ſhould be acted muſt neceſſarily lay open to the Contradiction and Deriſion of Eye-witneſſes and By-ſtanders.

The *Jews* grown more inſolent, are puniſhed by Edicts from the Emperours.

82. But as for the *Jews*, their ſufferings were ſo far from humbling them, that inſtead of making amends for what they formerly committed, they perpetrate other outrageous acts, which draw down more ſevere puniſhments upon them. For ſhortly after in a place betwixt *Chalcis* and *Antioch* in *Syria*, called *Inmeſtar* at the time of their Plays and Interludes, in deriſion of Chriſt and Profeſſours of Chriſtianity they nail a Child of that Profeſſion to a Croſs, lift him up into the Air, and having derided and other ways abuſed him, ſcourge him to death; which being known procured great diſorders betwixt the Chriſtians and them. And the Emperours acquainted with the horrible Fact, gave orders to the Magiſtrates of the Countrey to make diligent inquiſition, and ſeverely puniſh it; whereby it came to paſs (as the Hiſtorian phraſeth it) that the *Jews* inhabiting thoſe Parts, for what they had ſhamefully committed in jeſt were puniſhed in earneſt. The Reſcript it ſelf is not extant in either of the Codes, but this year *Theodoſius* by an Edict ſtill remaining in his own Book, commands the Honorary Prefectſhip to be taken from *Gamaliel* (whom *Baronius* rationally conjectureth to have been their Patriarch mentioned by St. *Hierome*) and other puniſhments to be inflicted on that vagabond People, which example *Honorius* following in the Weſt, a little after publiſheth ſuch another Law againſt *Jews* having any Civil or Military employment.

Socr. l. 7. c. 16.

C. Th. de Jud. l. 22, & 24.

John Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* dies, *Praylus* ſucceeds.

Innocent Biſhop of *Rome* departs this life. Ordained the Sabbath or Saturday for a Faſt.

83. In the twenty fourth year of the Reign of *Honorius*, the four hundred and ſixteenth of Chriſt, died *John* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, after he had governed that See thirty years, into whoſe room *Praylus* was elected. And the year following was the laſt of *Innocent* Biſhop of *Rome*, who died on the twentieth of *July*, after he had ſate in that See fifteen years, one month and ten days. *Platina* telleth us in his Life, that buſying himſelf much with things appertaining to Chriſtian Religion, amongſt other things he ordained that the Sabbath or Saturday ſhould be a Faſt, both becauſe our Lord lay that day in the Grave, and for that his Diſciples thereon faſted. This we find in a Decretal Epiſtle to *Decennius* Biſhop of *Eugubium* going under his Name, wherein the reaſon for Faſting on Saturday is given, becauſe that day and the day before were ſpent in ſorrow and heavineſs by the Apoſtles, who alſo hid themſelves for fear of the *Jews*. As for theſe Decretal Epiſtles of his, Learned Men do very much ſuſpect them forged, becauſe they contain many Traditions utterly unknown to the Divines and Writers of that Age; and intire Paragraphs are found in them, which are alſo to be ſeen in the Writings both of the preceding and following Popes. The third Epiſtle to *Exuperius* makes mention of five Books of *Solomon*; the twenty ſecond talks of the Epiſcopal *Infulæ*, which then were not in uſe amongſt Chriſtians. The Epiſtle to the Council of *Carthage* is ſilly and ridiculous; the ninety firſt and the ninety third amongſt thoſe of St. *Auguſtine* are eſteemed no better than ſpurious by *Eraſmus*. However we muſt own this Faſting on Saturday to have been a Cuſtome in the *Roman* Church before this Decretal of *Innocent*, if ſuch there were. Indeed in the Eaſtern Church the Sabbath or Saturday was kept as a Feſtival, as appears by one of the Canons going under the Name of the Apoſtles, and it

Tom. 1. *Conc.*

Can. 65.

Εἴ τις κυριακὴν ἢ σάββατον νηστεύει πλὴν ἑνὸς σαββάτου, οὗτος χριστοκτόνος ἐστί.

was unlawfull to Faſt on it, if we give credit to it and the Epiſtle which bears the Name of *Ignatius*, to the *Philippians*, inſomuch that this practice in after times was charged as a fault upon thoſe of *Rome* by the Sixth Council of *Conſtantinople*, and *Photius* Patriarch of that See; yet in the Weſtern Parts where there were fewer converted Jews (whoſe ordinary meeting on that day might give occaſion to the Cuſtome, as alſo a deſign to draw in thoſe of their Nation) and where thoſe Hereticks mentioned by *Irenæus*, who held themſelves bound to Faſt on the *Saturday*, becauſe they fanſied the Evil God who created the World had finiſhed his work, and that day was the beginning of all evil; where theſe, I ſay, gave no occaſion to croſs their Folly and Superſtition by a contrary Cuſtome, it was deſtinate and appointed to a Publick Faſt.

L. 1. c. c. 20, &c.

84. Some have conceived the Cuſtome thence taken, that St. *Peter* being on the Lord's Day to conteſt with *Simon Magus*, the Church of *Rome* ſet the preceding day a part for faſting and humiliation, to implore the Bleſſing of God upon a buſineſs of ſo great importance, which yet moſt of the *Romans* themſelves did not believe. Others thought the difference of Cuſtoms proceeded from the different Apprehenſion and Senſe which Chriſtians had of Chriſt reſting in the Sepulchre, whereupon the Eaſtern People in memory of his Reſt would not make it a faſting day, whereas thoſe of the Church of *Rome*, in ſign and token of his humiliation choſe to faſt upon it. But the reaſon given by the Decretal of *Innocent*, ſeems more full and proper than any. Now when we ſpeak of the Weſt, we do not mean that all Weſtern Churches followed herein the Church of *Rome*, for as they were inclined ſome obſerved one, ſome the other Cuſtome. In many things it's clear, that the *Britiſh* Churches conformed themſelves to the manners of the Eaſt, which it's evident alſo that *Milan* did in this particular. For *Paulinus* aſſures us in the Life of St. *Ambroſe*, that he never uſed to dine but on the Day of the Sabbath, the Lord's day, and the Anniverſaries of Saints and Martyrs, yet ſo as when he was at *Rome* he would not be ſingular, but conform himſelf to their Faſhions and Cuſtoms. In *Africk* alſo we are informed by St. *Auguſtine*, that ſome Churches in the ſame Province dined, and ſome faſted on this day, and ſo continued the difference, thoſe of the Eaſt fretting in vain againſt the Church of *Rome*, till after various ſtrugling in ſeveral reſpects this Church got ground, and in this as other matters impoſed her Cuſtoms as Laws upon the reſt of the Weſtern World. But, enough of this. *Platina* tells us farther, that he ordained certain Rules concerning *Jews*, Pagans and Monks, that by conſent and approbation of *Theodoſius*, he either baniſhed the City or drove into Monaſteries the *Cataphrygæ* Hereticks, of whom *Montanus*, *Priſcilla* and *Maximilla* were Founders. And he dedicated a ſtately Church to *Gervaſe* and *Protheſius*, for which a certain Matron called *Veſtina*, had left a great Summ of Money. Concerning the Furniture and Endowments of this Church, the Reader if he pleaſe may conſult that Authour. *Innocent* after he had at four ſeveral times conferred Orders, and therein ordained 30 Presbyters, 12 Deacons, and 54 Biſhops, died, and was buried in the burying place at the *Bear with the Cap* in *Rome*.

Which hath been otherwiſe obſerved in ſome parts of the Weſt and all the Eaſtern Churches.

Theodoſio annuente.

In Cœmeterio ad Urſum pileatum.

Zozimus choſen Biſhop of *Rome*.

He admits *Pelagius* and *Cœleſtius* upon their appeal to him.

85. On the 29*th.* of *Auguſt* following, was *Zozimus* choſen to ſucceed him, the Son of *Abraham*, and a *Greek* by Birth. Upon this alteration in the See of *Rome*, *Pelagius*, and *Cœleſtius* his Scholar beſtir themſelves, and make application to the new Biſhop, whoſe aid and aſſiſtence they implore, as unreaſonably condemned by the *African* Fathers, and thoſe of *Dioſpolis*. *Pelagius* tells him their opinion onely was, that as Man always ſinneth, ſo may not ſin thereby, acknowledging him but to have Freedom of Will; and cunningly ſubmits all to the opinion and cenſure of the Biſhop, who hereupon admits his aſſertion, imbraces his Perſon as innocent, and receiving *Cœleſtius* upon the ſame ſubmiſſive appeal, writes to the Biſhops of *Africk*, commending theſe Hereticks to them as Catholick Men, and accuſing their Accuſers as Calumniatours, and infamous Perſons. The *African* Fathers having received his Letters, therein find fault with two things, firſt, that he had commended and approved an erroneous Sentence; ſecondly, that he had uſurped Power of abſolving them who had been condemned in *Africk*, and they had now the more cauſe to complain, by reaſon of another appeal made about this ſame time to him. One *Apiarius* a Prieſt of the Church of *Sicca*, very infamous upon ſeveral accounts, not onely by his own Biſhop, but by other Prelates met together, upon this occaſion was excommunicated. He betakes himſelf alſo to *Zozimus*, complaining he was much injured, who without hearing his Accuſers, admits him to Communion, and underſtanding that the

And alſo *Apiarius* ſending his Legates with a pretended Canon to ſet forth his Title to ſuch Appeals.

African Fathers were about to aſſemble in the ſixth *Carthaginian* Synod (as it is called) he diſpatcheth toward them *Fauſtinus* a Biſhop, with *Philip* and *Aſellus* two *Roman* Prieſts, to whom he giveth in Commiſſion (the *Latin* word for it is *Commonitorium*) to plead the Cauſe of *Apiarius*, to procure *Urbanus* the Biſhop of *Sicca* to be excommunicated, or to cite him to *Rome*, there to anſwer, except he would ſubmit, and by all means to plead his own Right as Biſhop of *Rome*, to receive Appeals from Biſhops and Prieſts, cenſured either by their Biſhops, Metropolitans or Synods, and to ſend his Legates into *Africk*, to take Cognizance of the Cauſes of ſuch Appellants. As an Argument he commands them to urge a Canon of the *Nicene Council*, whereby this Privilege was granted to the *Roman* See.

86. The Legates pleading by Word of Mouth, the Cauſe for which they were ſent; urged alſo the *Nicene Canon*, a Copy of which they pretended to produce. The Fathers perceiving whither the Matter drove, upon ſearch proteſted there was no ſuch Canon in their Archives to be found: What had been propounded concerning *Apiarius* and his Biſhop, they were troubled to admit, declared plainly, they could not ſubmit to any ſuch Juriſdiction of the *Roman* See, till they ſaw better proof; and to ſearch out the truth, were reſolved to ſend to *Alexandria*, *Antioch* and *Conſtatinople* to inſpect the moſt Authentick Records of that Council, deſiring the Legates alſo, that they would either take the pains to go or ſend to thoſe Places. In the mean time they were content, that Biſhops might appeal to the *Roman* See, and the Cauſes of Clerks be determined by the Biſhops of their Provinces, but no longer than till a ſearch could be made into the *Nicene* Decrees. This they would doe for quietneſs ſake, and write Letters to *Zozimus* himſelf, who dying e'er the return of the Legates, or ſhortly after (that we may join together for the better underſtanding, what was done under ſeveral Popes about this Affair) *Boniface* his Succeſſour reſolved to maintain the ſame cauſe, and ſent the ſame Perſons back to the *Carthaginian Council.* There followed much Diſpute betwixt the Fathers and them; but to the ſame purpoſe, the Synod adhering to its former reſolution, to give liberty of appeals, onely till they could receive a certain Information concerning the *Nicene Canons*; for procurement of which, they deſire of *Boniface* by Letter, that he alſo would improve his Intereſt. But it ſeems both the Legates, and he that ſent them, were Deaf on that Ear, and Conſcious to themſelves of the goodneſs of their Cauſe, they are ſuſpected to have been ſo far from ſending, that by their Procraſtinations they hindred others from going into the Eaſt for ſome time, ſo that a Return of the Meſſage was not made till the fourth year, wherein the Biſhop of *Alexandria* ſent to the *African* Biſhops, the ſo much deſired Copy of the Canons, together with notice, that the *Eaſter* following was to be kept on the 15 of *April*. Theſe Canons are recited in the firſt Tome of the Councils, wherein is not to be found one Syllable concerning Appeals to the *Roman* See, or the Primacy of the *Roman* Biſhop, over foreign Churches. The Fathers having peruſed them, procure them to be ſent to *Boniface* for his ſatisfaction.

Which is admitted till ſuch time as the truth did more fully appear.

Zozimus dies.

Boniface his Succeſſour puts in the ſame Clame.

But is rejected there being not any ſuch Canon ever made in the *Nicene* Council.

87. *Boniface* dying not long after, the Controverſie was not buried with him, being revived by *Cæleſtinus*, the following Biſhop, upon the ſame occaſion as it had begun. For *Apiarius* having betaken himſelf to the *Tabraceni*, was there again for his good deeds excommunicated, which not enduring, he betakes himſelf to his old Refuge, and appeals to *Cæleſtinus*, who receiving him into Communion, ſends once more the former Legates to expoſtulate with thoſe of *Africk*, and require that what had been demanded by his Predeceſſours, as to the Privilege of the *Roman* See might be made good. They according to their Inſtructions, complaining that the Privileges of the *Roman* See were infringed, and the Decrees of *Nice* broken, had ſtill the ſame anſwer as formerly, and after three days contention, the Biſhops adhered to their former reſolution agreeable to that of their Foreſathers againſt the See of *Rome*, in the year 255, and what the Biſhops of *Spain*, in the year 255 had reſolved. At length *Apiarius* diſtruſting his Patronage, and conſcious of his Guilt falls down on his Knees, confeſſes the Crimes laid againſt him, and begs Pardon of the Synod, which afterward decrees, that none hereaſter in *Africk*, having Metropolitans of their own, appeal to the Biſhop of *Rome*, the firſt Cognizance of the Cauſe remaining with the Biſhops and Metropolitan, the ſecond with a Provincial Council, and the final Reſort to be to an univerſal one; and that for the time to come, no Right or Juriſdiction of the *Roman* See, over the *African* Churches be owned. Moreover they write to *Cæleſtinus* himſelf Letters, wherein having given him an account of

He dying *Cæleſtinus* revives it.

And receives the ſame Anſwer from the *African* Biſhops.

of *Apiarius* and what he had confeſſed, they earneſtly deſire him, that for the time to come he would not eaſily admit any flying from them, nor receive any Perſon to Communion whom they had excommunicated. Foraſmuch as he might eaſily perceive, that this was ſo defined by the *Nicene* Synod. They intreat he would reject all Prieſts and other Clerks which ſhould flie from them, ſeeing that by Decree of no Council, there was any thing derogated from the Church of *Africk*, and the Decrees of *Nice* moſt manifeſtly leave as well inferiour Clerks as Biſhops to their Metropolitans, moſt prudently and juſtly providing, that all buſineſs whatſoever ſhould be determined in the Places where they riſe, the Grace of the Holy Ghoſt not being wanting to any Province, which thing as equitable ought to be obſerved by the Prieſts of Chriſt with all Conſtancy imaginable, eſpecially conſidering that any one may freely if he find himſelf agrieved, appeal either to the Synods of his own Province, or to a General Council.

Prudentiſſimè enim juſtiſſiméq; providerunt quæcunq; negotia, in ſuis locis ubi orta ſunt, finienda: nec unicuiq; Provinciæ gratiam ſancti Spiritus defuturam quæ æquitas. à Chriſto ſacerdotibus & prudenter videatur & conſtantiſſimè teneatur: maximè quin unicuique conceſſum eſt, ſi judicio offenſus fuerit cognitorum, ad Concilia ſuæ Provinciæ, vel etiam univerſale provocare.

88. They * think this they write to be Reaſon, except there be ſome who believe, that God can inſpire every particular Man with a Spirit of diſcerning, and deny the ſame to an innumerable Company of Prieſts gathered together in Council. They demand how a tranſmarine Judgment can be good, whether ſufficient Witneſſes, either by reaſon of their Sex, their Age or Infirmity, or many other intervenient Accidents cannot come? And || as for him that ſhould ſend any Legates, they did not find it was ſo ordained by any Synod. They tell him plainly, that the Canon he had ſent them by *Fauſtinus* the Biſhop, they could not find in the Authentick Copies of the *Nicene* Synod received from *Cyril* of *Alexandria* and *Atticus* of *Conſtantinople*, which they had heretofore tranſmitted to *Boniface* his Predeceſſour. They bid him ſend no more his Clerks called *Executores*, leſt the ſmoaky pride of this World ſhould be brought into the Church of Chriſt, which ſhews all that deſire to ſee God, the light of Simplicity and Humility. And expecting that he would not ſend *Fauſtinus* any more into *Africk*, they take their leave of him with a Prayer for his long Life, and the kind appellation of *Domine Frater*. Thus do the *African* Fathers, reaſon and plead with *Cæleſtinus*, with ſuch fairneſs and Chriſtian Lenity, that *Baronius* makes this, and that mild Courſe which St. *Auguſtine* takes to diſſwade the Biſhop of *Rome*, an Argument of their obnoxiouſneſs to their Juriſdiction. By this Letter it ſelf, let the indifferent Reader judge whether the Cardinal have any Reaſon to affirm, that they do not deny his Authority to receive Appeals, and that their words manifeſtly declare they onely are grieved with the manner of proſecution. Doth the Teſtimony they cite from the Council of *Nice*, I pray, reſpect the manner of the proſecution, or the buſineſs of Appeals themſelves, and the concluding of Controverſies? Doth their exception concerning the Holy Ghoſt's inſpiration, concern the Method of Appeals, or the referring of Cauſes to Synods? We may without offence ſuppoſe that the Decrees of *Nice*, which they quote were not made concerning the manner of Appeals, but the very being of them; but it's in vain to contend with a Perſon reſolved to ſay any thing.

* *Niſi fortè quiſquam eſt qui credat, unicuilibet poſſe Deum noſtrum examinis inſpirare juſtitiam & innumerabilibus congregatis in concilium ſacerdotibus denegare.*

|| *Nam ut aliqui tanquam à tuæ ſanctitatis latere mittantur, nulla invenimus Patrum Synodo conſtitutum.*
Vide Can. 101. *Concilii Africani.*

89. If the *African* Biſhops intended not to derogate from the *Roman* Right to Appeals, as he would have them, why did they make ſuch a Canon as we find to be the twenty ſecond of the Synod of *Milenis*, and the ninety ſecond of the Council of *Africk*, which *Gratian* alſo has taken into his Decree, ordaining that *Prieſts, Deacons, or others of the inferiour Clerks if they find themſelves agrieved by the Judgements of their own Biſhops in their Cauſes, might be heard by the neighbouring Biſhops, who by conſent of their own Prelates, being allotted them as Judges, might decide their Controverſies. But if they thought fit to appeal, they ſhould appeal to none except the African Councils, or the Primates of their Provinces. And if any thought fit to appeal to any beyond the Seas, he ſhould be received to Communion by none in Africk.* The Gloſs preſently puts you in mind of *Gratian* his Reſtriction of this Canon, who indeed comes in afterward with his *Niſi forte*, Except they appeal to the *Roman* See, for proof of which he then produces the

Cauſ. 2. *quaſt.* 6. *c.* 35. *Placuit.*

ſeventh Canon of the *Sardican* Council, which giving leave to the Biſhop of *Rome* to interpoſe his Authority, we have formerly mentioned. But let any Perſon reade the Letter of the Fathers to *Cæleſtine*, and withall conſider, that about this very time this Council of *Milenis* was held, as *Baronius* himſelf proves, and if he judge whether all circumſtances conſidered, *Gratian's Niſi forte* be of any value, and whether the Biſhops intended that the See of *Rome*, againſt whoſe Juriſdiction they had ſo ſtrugled, ſhould be excepted. As for the Canon of the Synod of *Sardica*, the Cardinal to vindicate his Popes from forgery (of which ſome Innovatours, as he calls the Centuriatours, do accuſe them) thinks it miſtaken by them for ſome other of *Nice*, or ſome one of *Nice* put amongſt thoſe of *Sardica*, or becauſe the Synod of *Sardica* was held to confirm the Council of *Nice*, it was accounted, as it were, the ſame with it, nay in ſome reſpects prefers it before that of *Nice*; for as it was equal with it in being Oecumenical, ſo there was in it thirty five Biſhops, together with *Gratus* Biſhop of *Carthage*, whereas in the *Nice* Council no more *African* Fathers are found than onely one *Cæcilianus*, whereupon he concludes that the *African* Biſhops could not without breach of the Catholick Peace reject the Canon of the Synod of *Sardica*.

90. But if this be not plain ſhuffling, let any indifferent Perſon tell what is. Perhaps and perhaps the Cardinal may ſay now; but ſurely he could not think that in all theſe Debates and Pleadings *pro* and *con*, if they had meant this or that, found the thing here or there, upon denyal that there was any ſuch matter as the *Nicene* Canon, it would not have been mentioned, inſtanced, and thereupon Iſſue have been joyned. But, to ſee how *Baronius* takes and refuſeth, accepts and rejects, imbraces and ſcorns every thing, any thing, the ſame thing, as they make for or againſt his great Deſign, let but the Reader conſider what he writes of that Council of *Sardica*, how he confeſſeth that by reaſon of the contrary manner of proceeding in that Council, the Reſolutions and Acts thereof have been variouſly reported and accepted of in later times, that many things are cited as decreed by the *Sardican* Council contrary to the teſtimonies of *Athanaſius*; and that St. *Auguſtine* and others granting ſeveral Decrees to have been made by this Synod, yet excepting againſt it as Heretical and Arian: in concluſion, ſo great was the uncertainty and confuſion, in thoſe times themſelves, amongſt ſuch as had beſt reaſon to know, in relation to this Synod, that the Cardinal writing of it is thereupon ſeized with admiration. Now it's not onely an Oecumenical Synod, but ſuch an one as though all Orthodox Chriſtians in the beſt times were ſhie of receiving its Decrees, yet the *Africans* muſt under pein of Schiſm ſubmit themſelves to its Canons and Decrees. But what if there were no ſuch Canons made by this Synod; what if neither that of *Sardica* nor any other Council ever ordained any ſuch matter about the *Roman* Juriſdiction, and Appeals to that See, from the time of Chriſt, to that of this Controverſie? By the deciſion of that Queſtion before an impartial unprejudiced Judge we are content to abide, and our Witneſſes are thoſe *African* Fathers, who it any ſuch thing had been, they had certainly better reaſon to know than any of theſe laſt Ages, hear therefore their Teſtimony. The ſeventh pretended Canon of the Council of *Sardica* ordains, that in caſe of Appeal the Biſhop of *Rome* may ſend *à Latere* his Legate or Legates to hear, and by his authority to determine with other Biſhops the matter in Controverſie; but the Biſhops of *Africk* in their Letter to *Cæleſtine* ſay in ſo many words, *Ut aliqui tanquam à tuæ ſanctitatis Latere mittantur nulla invenimus Patrum Synodo conſtitutum*: *viz.* that any may be ſent as *à Latere* from your Holineſs we do not find ordained in any Synod of the Fathers. They were in the words immediately preceding ſpeaking of the inconvenience of Tranſmarine Judgments. But one might object though it be ſo inconvenient for Perſons to go over Sea, yet the Biſhop of *Rome* may ſend his Legates to them, to Anſwer which Queſtion or rather prevent it, they come in with a *Nam ut aliqui, &c.* as in the foregoing words, and then proteſt in particular againſt that pretended *Nicene* Canon. This is ſufficient to diſcover as well the truth it ſelf as the Cardinal's ſhuffling, without this reſerve, that had there been any ſuch Decree of *Nice* or of *Sardica*, it ſpeaks not as owning any ſuch Authority in the *Roman* See as formerly inveſted in it upon any account whatſoever, but for convenience of Tryals *de novo* this forged Canon erects a Tribunal for the *Roman* Prelate.

Who declare that the Pope hath no power given by any Synod of the Fathers to receive Appeals from or ſend his Legates into any part of *Africk*.

91. But *Zozimus*, that we may return and take the reſt along with us, died after he had ſate in the *Roman* See a year, four months and ſeven days, and was buried in the *via Tiburtina*, by the body of St. *Laurence*. Of this Biſhop two De-

cretal Epiſtles are extant, one to *Iſychius* Biſhop of *Salonæ*, and another to the Clergy of *Ravenna*. He forbad ſlaves to be made Clerks, and amongſt ſome other trifles made this Decree. *Againſt the Ordinances of the Fathers, the Authority of this very See cannot make or change any thing. For with us Antiquity flouriſheth firmly rooted, to which the Decrees of the Fathers have procured reverence.* If this be true, and the ordinances of the Council of *Nice* quite ſpoil the Pope of his ſo large pretended Juriſdiction. Two or three days after his Death two were choſen in his room, *Eulalius* the Archdeacon, and *Boniface* a Prieſt. *Symmachus* being at this time Prefect of the City, gave notice of the Schiſm to *Honorins* the Emperour, to whom he alſo ſignified that *Eulalius* was moſt legally choſen, and was the true and rightfull Biſhop of *Rome*. But *Boniface* his Friends pleaded for him on the other ſide, and Letters were ſo multiplied, that *Honorius* thought fit to ſummon them both to *Ravenna* on the fiſteenth of *January*, whereas *Zozimus* died on the twenty ſixth of *December*. The Emperour cauſed alſo many Biſhops to meet together for deciſion of the Controverſie, but ſuch factions, heats and conteſts appeared, that it was impoſſible to reconcile the difference, whereupon *Honorius* commanded them both to forbear the City. Yet notwithſtanding *Eulalius* attempted to celebrate the Feaſt of *Eaſter* (which this year fell upon the thirtieth of *March*) and raiſed ſuch a Sedition that ſcarcely could be expelled by *Symmachus* the Prefect, whoſe Perſon had been brought into extreme danger. *Symmachus* ſending a Relation of theſe things to the Emperour, he writes back to him to bring *Boniface* into the City, and there eſtabliſh him in the Chair as the true and undoubted *Roman* Biſhop, *Eulalius* being ſentenced uncapable of the Office by the Emperour and a Synod on the ſeventh of *April*.

Contra Statuta Patrum condere aliquid, nec hujus quidem ſedis Romanæ poteſt authoritas, apud nos enim reconvulſis radicibus vivit antiquitas, cui Decreta Patrum ſanxere reverentiam. Tom. 1. *Conc. cauſa* 25. *q.* 1. *c.* 7.

Upon the death of *Zozimus* a diſpute aroſe 'twixt *Eulalius* and *Boniface* for the See.

Which is decided on behalf of *Boniface* by the Emperour's order.

92. This ſame year being the four hundred and nineteenth of our Saviour, many Cities and Towns of *Paleſtine* are ſaid to have been overthrown by Earthquakes, and he himſelf to have appeared over Mount *Olivet* near to *Jeruſalem* in a Cloud, upon ſight and hearing whereof, many Pagan Nations were converted to the Truth. This year alſo *Cryſantius* the Novatian Biſhop died at *Conſtantinople*, after he had governed ſuch Congregations as were ſubject to his diſcipline ſeven years, to whom *Paul* ſucceeded, of whom *Socrates* relates ſuch an Act as he thinks worthy to be Ingraved in Marble, and to remain to all Poſterity; the thing was this: A certain *Jew* feigning a deſire to become a Chriſtian, was often Baptized, and by that means got much Money. After he had couzened ſeveral Sects as the *Arians* and *Macedonians*, he comes to *Paul*, from whoſe Hands he beſeeches him he may receive the Holy Sacrament of Baptiſm, who granteth his requeſt on theſe conditions, that he learned the Articles of Faith, and gave himſelf to Faſting for many days. The *Jew* being conſtrained to Faſt, called every day for Baptiſm, and *Paul* moved by his importunity, made all things ready for it, providing him a white Veſtment, and cauſing the Font to be filled with Water. But when the *Jew* approached, all the Water by a ſecret operation was ſuddenly dried up; at which amazed, they yet thought it might poſſibly run through the hole at the bottom of the Font through which they were wont to let it goe, and therefore ſtopped all the holes and chinks, and poured in freſh Water: yet when the *Jew* was brought the ſecond time, and hanged his Head over the Font, the Water again vaniſhed every drop, which *Paul* the Biſhop beholding, told the Man that he horribly diſſembled, or had been unwittingly Baptized; but when upon the noiſe of the Miracle many flocked unto the place, one among the reſt happened to know the *Jew*, and ſo the truth came to light.

Marcellinus in Chron.

Lib. 7. *c.* 17.

93. At this time a great Perſecution raged in *Perſia* againſt the Chriſtians of that Countrey: the occaſion this. *Arcadius* the Emperour before his Death made *Iſdegerdes* the *Perſian* King, Tutour or Guardian to his Son *Theodoſius*, which buſineſs cauſed many Embaſſies to be made to and fro, wherein on the *Roman* part amongſt others was *Maruthas* a Biſhop of *Meſopotamia* employed, by whoſe Piety and Induſtry the Villanies and Impoſtures of the *Magi* being diſcovered, Chriſtian Religion was much propagated, and the King almoſt perſwaded to become a Chriſtian. But after his death the Friendſhip betwixt the *Romans* and that Crown was broken, and a great Perſecution enſued under his Son, as *Socrates* writes, others ſay it began under *Iſdegerdes* himſelf, and *Vararanes*, *Bararanes* or *Gararanes* his Son continued it; under whomſoever it began, the imprudent Zeal of *Audas* a Biſhop in *Perſia* firſt kindled the flame which devoured ſo many Martyrs. He cauſed to be demoliſhed the *Pyræum* or Temple dedicated to Fire, which as their God was held in great reverence by that Nation, and refuſed to repair it though commanded by the King, who putting him to Death, gave order that

A Perſecution againſt the Chriſtians in *Perſia*.

Socr. l. 7. *cc.* 8. & 18. & 20. *Theod. l.* 5. *c.* 38. *Diaconus Niceph. l.* 14. *c.* 48.

that the Churches of Chriſtians ſhould be demoliſhed, and then moſt cruelly raged for ſeveral years againſt the Profeſſours of the true Religion. Many are the kinds of Torments which the Faithfull underwent in this fiery tryal. Of ſome they flay'd the Hands, others the Backs; from others they pulled the skin over their Ears down to their Shoulders. Some thus deveſted of their natural Covering they tormented by ſharp Reeds ſtuck into their fleſh. Many they ſhut up in pits, and put therein Rats and Mice to devour them alive, having bound them ſo as they could neither with their Hands or Feet defend themſelves. Notwithſtanding all that Devils and the *Magi* their Inſtruments could invent, yet were the Faithfull ſo far from being terrified, that as in the moſt Primitive times, they rather offered themſelves and ran to meet the Crown of Martyrdom. Of theſe *Hormisda* and *Saene* were eminent Courtiers, together with *James*, who by the King's perſwaſion firſt renounced his Religion, but was again reduced by his Wife and Mother, and ſtoutly confeſſing his Faith in his Saviour, had by the angry King's order all his Limbs cut from his Body, of which the Trunk and Head onely remaining; when by theſe Torments he could not be forced to renounce his Religion, this was at laſt ſmitten off with a Sword.

94. *Marcellinus* in his Chronicon fixeth the beginning of this Perſecution in the ninth Conſulſhip of *Theodoſius Auguſtus*, and the third of *Conſtantius Cæſar*, which *Socrates* will have continued for two years till the thirteenth of *Honorius* and the tenth of *Theodoſius*, but *Theodoret* prolongeth to no leſs than thirty. At length certain Chriſtians eſcaping out of *Perſia*, related to the *Romans* the miſerable and afflicted eſtate of the Churches, and imploring their aid and aſſiſtence, *Theodoſius* very readily cloſed with their Requeſt, and when the *Perſian* demanded his Fugitives, anſwer was made, that he was reſolved to try the utmoſt rather than ſuffer his Chriſtian Brethren to be ſo cruelly intreated. The *Perſians* taking this in evil part ſeize as many *Romans* as they can, whom they condemn to the Mines, and on the Goods of Merchants contrary to all former Treaties. *Theodoſius* therefore ſends his Forces to invade them, who hired a vaſt number of *Saracens* to aſſiſt them; but the *Saracens* ſeized with a Pannick fear ſlew one another and fled, and the *Perſians* being overthrown in ſeveral Engagements, thoſe Select Troops, called *Immortal*, miſerably periſhed. *Theodoſius* though he had good advantage, and might have proſecuted the Victory, yet for the ſake of the Churches made Peace, and the Perſecution ceaſed. To the Story of this War belongs a Preſident of Chriſtian Charity related by *Socrates*, which muſt not be paſſed over in ſilence. The *Romans* having taken Priſoners above ſeven thouſand *Perſians*, refuſed to releaſe them, and had ſo little care of their ſubſiſtence, that they were ready to ſtarve with Hunger; which *Acacius* Biſhop of *Amida* conſidering, called together his Clergy and told them, that God ſtood not in need of either Cups or Diſhes, that therefore foraſmuch as their Church had many Utenſils of Gold and Silver beſtowed on her by Religious and Pious Benefactours, he thought it requiſite the Captive Souldiers ſhould therewith be redeemed, and reſcued from the miſery of Captivity and Hunger. Having ſaid thus much, he cauſed the Plate to be ſtamped into Money, whereof one part he ſent as a Ranſome, a ſecond to relieve the Neceſſities of the Priſoners, and a third to bear their Charges into their own Countrey. The *Perſian* King was exceedingly ſtruck with admiration at ſo Noble an act, perceiving that the Chriſtians knew how to overcome him with Engines of mercy and goodneſs, aſwell as thoſe of Hoſtility, and deſired to ſee ſo excellent a Perſon, which by the Interpoſition of *Theodoſius* he obtained. And it is not to be doubted but by this Chriſtian Office many *Perſians* were perſwaded to imbrace the Chriſtian Religion, as alſo by the Journey of *Acacius*, who having fed them with the Bread which periſheth, no doubt would uſe all means to make them Partakers of that which endureth to Eternal Life; and as a Reward of his Piety and the Gift of true Wiſedom, obtained long Life, (for he ſurvived to a great Age) and alſo (true) Riches and Honour.

Which is ſtopt by the interpoſition of *Theodoſius*.

Socr. lib. 7 *c.* 21. *Niceph. l.* 14. *c.* 22.

And the Charity of *Acacius* Biſhop of *Amida*.

95. At the ſame time that this Perſecution began to rage in *Perſia*, *viz.* the CCCCXX year of our Lord, that great and famous Light of the Church St. *Hierome* departed this Life at *Bethlehem* on the laſt day of *September*, and was there buried. Concerning his Age, which certainly was great, there is no ſmall difference amongſt Writers; ſome will have him to live ninety eight years, *Proſper* ninety one, but *Baronius* more probably no more than ſeventy eight. For Learning he rather excelled than equalled any one Father. The Books he wrote were very numerous yet not all extant as appears in ſeveral mentioned

St. *Hierome* dies.

Marcell.

by (a) *Caſſiodorus*, (b) St. *Auguſtine* and (c) himſelf. To thoſe that are extant many Suppoſititious have been added, which have been detected by *Marianus Victorius*, *Eraſmus*, *Sixtus Senenſis* and others. And as many have been feigned as written by him, ſo others as to him, amongſt which are notorious thoſe from him to *Chromatius* and *Heliodorus*, and from them to him. His Epiſtle to theſe two Biſhops concerning the Nativity of our Saviour, hath been often branded in the *Roman* Schools, as by *Melchior Canus*, *Molanus* and *Sixtus Senenſis*, who affirmeth it a Fiction of the *Valentinian* and *Gnoſtick* Hereticks; yet *Chriſtophorus à Caſtro* a *Spaniſh* Jeſuite in his *Deiparæ Hiſtoria*, undertakes the protection and defence of that impious Impoſture. And both from this and the *Protoevangelium Jacobi* (which as *Bellarmine* confeſſeth, was never received and acknowledged in the Church, and is rejected and condemned by *à Caſtro* himſelf) both Lying Fabulous Legends, wherein is much ſtuff to be found concerning the Bleſſed Virgin and her Parents, *Damaſcene*, *Germanus*, *Nicephorus*, *Sergius* of *Heliopolis*, *Andreas Hieroſolymitanus*, *Hippolytus* with other *Homilians* and *Rhapſodiſts*, have borrowed Materials with very poor judgment and diſcretion, and therewith imbelliſhed their Legends, Hiſtories, Homilies and Panegyrical Harangues. And after them (ſaith our Biſhop *Mountague*) *Baronius* comes in the Rere, who more than once lays his Judgment at Stake upon the Relation of ſuch forged Fopperies, which he takes up by Retail upon their Word and Credit, without examining what authority they had to relate them.

His Works.

(a) *Juſt. diu lect. cc.* 2. 3, *&c.*
(b) *De hæreſ. ad Quodvultdeum.*
(c) *Contr. Jovin. l.* 2.

In particular his Tranſlation of the Holy Scriptures.

96. But, amongſt all the Works of St. *Hierome*, he deſerved more of the Church by none than his Tranſlations of the Holy Scriptures. For though they were tranſlated into the Languages of (a) many Nations, yet the Fountains of theſe Tranſlations had not been too pure, and ſo various, aſwell as corrupt, were thoſe in the Latine Tongue eſpecially, that they could hardly be (b) numbred, all being taken from the Greek Interpreters, not the Hebrew Text. The firſt Tranſlation of this Text, as is known almoſt to every Man, was that of the LXXII through procurement of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, called in the round Number the *Septuagint*, being in ſuch eſteem in the Chriſtian Church, that (c) *Epiphanius* holds them for no leſs than Prophets, and (d) *Juſtinian* the Emperour enjoyning the *Jews* his Subjects to uſe eſpecially the Tranſlation of the Seventy, gives this reaſon, that this number of Interpreters was as it were enlightened with Divine Grace. Yet as men they ſometimes ſtumbled, in ſome places adding, and in others taking away, which made the Apoſtles leave them often when they left the Hebrew, and to deliver the ſenſe thereof according to the truth as the Spirit directed them. In concluſion, this Tranſlation not contenting, no not thoſe of the *Jews*, *Aquila* a Proſelyte fell in hand with a new Tranſlation in the time of *Adrian* the Emperour. After him *Symmachus* a *Samaritan* an *Ebionite* made a third attempt. *Theodotion* an *Epheſian* and a *Marcionite* a fourth under *Commodus*. A fifth Edition was made by an uncertain Tranſlatour found in the ſeventh year of *Antoninus Caracalla* in *Jericho*, hidden in a Tub together with other Hebrew and Greek Books. A ſixth was alſo made by an uncertain hand, and found as the former in Barrels at *Nicopolis* in the Eaſt, or the *Actiacan* Shoar in the Reign of *Alexander Severus*. Theſe Tranſlations coming into the hands of *Origen*, he took care that the Bible ſhould be written out in this manner. To the Hebrew Text placed in one Column he adjoined another Column of Hebrew but written in Greek Letters and Characters, that it might be read by *Grecians*; to theſe two Columns he added four other, *viz.* thoſe of *Aquila*, the *Septuagint*, *Symmachus* and *Theodotion*, placing that of the *Septuagint* in the middle, as *Epiphanius* thinks for its excellency, and called this Edition the *Hexapla*; to which afterwards adding the fifth and ſixth anonymous Tranſlations formerly mentioned, he called the ſecond Edition the *Octapla*. Now from all theſe bad Greek, many Tranſlations had alſo been made in Latine, as we ſaid before, and ſo bad that it provoked *Hierome* to make a new one. For as the *Septuagint* it ſelf was imperfect, the reſt could not be exceedingly good, *Aquila*, *Symmachus* and *Theodotion* being Judaizing Hereticks, as he * termeth them, in particular *Aquila*, whoſe Tranſlation was the beſt, and is onely allowed by *Juſtinian* to the *Jews* next after the *Septuagint*, of a *Greek* firſt became a Chriſtian, then giving himſelf more than was meet to curious Queſtions of Aſtronomy,

Vide Epiphan. dicto loco.

* *Præf. in lib. Job.*

(a) *Multarum gentium linguis Scriptura ante tranſlata docet falſa eſſe quæ addita ſunt, &c. Hieronym. præf. in* 4 *Evang.*

(b) *Latini Interpretes nullo modo numerari poſſunt. Aug.*

(c) *Vide eund. de ponderibus & menſuris.*

(d) *Sacrorum librorum traditionem fecerunt tanquam prophetiæ gratia circumfulgente, ex Novel.*46. *cap.*1. *ad quam vide quæ notantur per Interpr.*

being caſt out by the Church he betook himſelf to the *Jews*, and that he might endamage the cauſe of Chriſtians endeavoured to corrupt the Tranſlation of the Seventy, and ſuch places of Scripture as bear manifeſt Teſtimony unto Chriſt. Therefore St. *Hierome* ſet upon the Work and made a Tranſlation out of the Fountains. For as he himſelf † affirmeth to *Lucinius Bæticus* and *Gratian* from him in his Decree, as the credit of the old Books (of the Old Teſtament) is to be tried by the Hebrew Volumes; ſo thoſe of the New by the Greek Tongue. Of the Vulgar and other Latine Tranſlations we ſhall ſpeak in due time and place.

* *Ut veterum librorum fides de Hebræis voluminibus examinanda eſt, ita novorum Græci ſermonis normam deſiderat. Diſt. 9. c. 6. Ut veterum & Hieron. ad Lucinium Bæticum. Ep.* 28.

An Edict of the Emperour *Theodoſius*, declaring the Prerogative of *Conſtantinople.*

97. The following year which was the 421 of our Lord, in the Conſulſhip of *Euſtathius* and *Agricola*, an Edict was publiſhed by *Theodoſius* the Emperour directed to *Philip* the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Illyricum*, *for removing of Innovations, obſervance and vigorous Execution of the Ancient Eccleſiaſtical Canons through all the Provinces of that Countrey; that if any doubtfull matter aroſe it ſhould be determined in a Synod not without the Cogniſance of the moſt Reverend Biſhop of* Conſtantinople, *which City enjoyed the Prerogative of old* Rome. *Baronius* the Champion of *old Rome* mightily quarrels with this Law, as publiſhing falſe Doctrine through the ſuggeſtion of *Atticus* the Biſhop of the *New*, who for the advancement of his See feigned Canons ſo Ancient that indeed they never had any beginning. He not onely queſtions the being of ſuch Canons, but denies alſo that by any other Authority than that of the Secular Prince, by Decrees of any Council, the City of *Conſtantinople* enjoyed the prerogative of *old Rome* in matters Eccleſiaſtical. As to the buſineſs of *Illyricum*, he both affirms this See never to have had any Juriſdiction over it before this time, nor for many years after enjoyed any. But if *Atticus* his concern for his own See ſo far Tranſported him as to impoſe upon the credulity of the Emperour, the Cardinal's zeal for that of *Rome*, ſometimes alſo bribes his Underſtanding to caſt Miſts before the Eyes of his Incautelous Readers, which he may doe at a cheaper rate than *Atticus* ſurely could in Matters of ſuch Conſequence abuſe his Prince. Had any ſuch Canons been made for the Intereſt of the *Roman* Church, he would have told us that ſuch they were, but they are loſt, for the Council of *Nice* doubtleſs made more than thoſe twenty which are commonly aſcribed to it; that the Canon of *Sardica* cannot be found, which, doubtleſs, once had a being, becauſe ſeveral Popes did not fear to cite it to the *African* Fathers in behalf of their Right to receive Appeals; that an Edict of the Emperours was a thing more ſolemn than to be founded upon light Surmiſes, Lyes, and Falſhood; that many things were which do not at this diſtance appear to us; that if no credit be to be given to Authentick Laws, there is no heed to be taken of any publick Monuments; in concluſion, that *Atticus* never would have dared to broach ſuch a thing which he knew could not be concealed, but coming to the Ears muſt needs open the Mouths of his Æmulatours, eſpecially thoſe in *Italy*.

Omni innovatione ceſſante vetuſtatem & canones priſtinos Eccleſiaſticos qui uſq; nunc tenuerunt, etiam per omnes Illyrici Provincias ſervari præcipimus: ut ſiquid dubietatis emerſerit, id oporteat (non abſq; ſcientia viri Reverendiſſimi ſacroſanctæ Legis Antiſtitis Eccleſiæ urbis Conſtantinopolitanæ quæ Romæ veteris prærogativa lætatur) conventui ſacerdotali ſanctóque Judicio reſervari. D. Prid. Id. Jul. Euſtathio & Agricola Conſſ.

Cod. Juſtin. lib. 1. *Tit.* 2. §. 6. *de Sacroſanctis Eccleſiis, & C.Th. Epiſcopis & Clericis, l.* 46.

98. Whether the Cardinal tell true, when he writes, that the City of *Conſtantinople* at this time did not enjoy any Prerogative of *Old Rome* by virtue of the Canons of any Synod, let the Reader judge by what we have ſaid at the beginning of this Chapter concerning the *Conſtantinopolitan Council*. As great heed is to be taken of what Reflexions he makes upon a buſineſs which happened the year following. *Patroclus* a certain Biſhop by the favour and aſſiſtence of *Conſtantinus* the *Magiſter Militum*, with whom he was very familiar, having diſplaced *Herotes* a good man and Diſciple of St. *Martin*, had thruſt himſelf into the See of *Arles*, and not therewith content had invaded the Rights of another Metropolis, ordaining a Biſhop in the Province of *Narbone*. *Boniface* the Biſhop of *Rome* not onely repreſſed this Inſolency, but by Letters dated on the 28 of *January* to *Hilary* Biſhop of *Narbone*, commands him to uſe the Right of Metropolitan, to conſider what was to be done, and make Report thereof to the Apoſtolick See, ordaining that every Metropolitan ſhould content himſelf with the Exerciſe of Juriſdiction within his own Precincts, and not thruſt his Sickle into the Corn of another man. Thus the good Mother deſires that her Daughter may be more wiſe and vertuous than her ſelf, and the Diſſolute Preacher cries, *Doe as I ſay,*

Patroclus thruſts himſelf into the See of *Arles*. And ordains a Biſhop in the Province of *Narbone*.

Which is taken notice of by *Boniface* who preaches contrary to his own Practice.

Proſp. in Chron. Bonif. Ep. 2.

ſay, but doe not as I doe. He writes this at the ſame time as he endeavoured by all means to intrude into the Affairs of *Africk*, and challenged the Privilege of Appeals upon pretence of a *Nicene* Canon, which the Biſhops rejecting as forged, had ſent to *Alexandria* for authentick Copies, which this ſame year were ſent by the Patriarch of that See. As for what he ordains about the Metropolitan he tells him, he acts according to the Preſcript of the *Nicene* Canons, the ſixth indeed of that Council taking care of the Juriſdiction of the Metropolitans. Whence *Baronius* will perſwade his Reader, that he moſt manifeſtly ſees that the *Nicene* Council ſo took order for having the ſeveral Provinces ſubject to Metropolitans, that yet the Apoſtolical See as he calls it, ſhould *Jus dicere* or exerciſe Juriſdiction over all. Certainly his Reader cannot but ſee moſt manifeſtly that this is a mighty Conſequence, let him ſhew where any *yet ſoe*, any ſuch *proviſo* or *ſalvo* is made by any true Canon of that Council. He will find it perhaps written on the back ſide of that other Canon concerning his Popes Juriſdiction over the *African* Churches. It is certainly a courſe ſo weak as any one may moſt manifeſtly diſcern it, to argue from pretence to true Title, from intruſion to rightfull and juſt poſſeſſion; which would have notably ſerved the deſign of *Patroclus*. It ſeems becauſe *Boniface* and his Fellows thruſt their Sickles into the Corn of the *Africans* and *Galls*, therefore they had a Right to reap their Harveſt, and in truth the one aſwell as the other by permiſſion (nay Ordination of the *Nicene* Canons.

99. The enſuing year *Theodoſius* the Emperour ſet forth ſeveral Edicts againſt *Hereticks*, *Jews* and *Pagans*, yet to be ſeen in his own Code. As to the latter *Theodoret* tells us, that he commanded all footſteps of their Superſtition to be removed, that nothing might remain to the obſervation of future times, and indeed two years after by a Reſcript he forbad all Pagan Worſhip upon pain of Death, commanding all their Temples, Chapels and Oratories, if any remained, to be demoliſhed and expiated, by placing there the ſign of Chriſtian Religion; which Edicts had not the wiſhed effects, as appears from others publiſhed long after by *Martianus* and *Valentinian*, *Leo* and *Anthemius*, to be mentioned in their proper places. This ſame year which was the laſt of *Honorius* the Emperour, died *Boniface* Biſhop of *Rome* on the 25*th* of *October*, after he had governed five years all but two Months and three Days, and was buried in the *Via Salaria* near the Body of St. *Felicity* the Martyr. *Platina* tells us of great matters ordained by him: *viz.* That a Woman or Nun ſhould not touch the Sacred *Palla* or Surplice, nor the Frankincenſe: That no Slave or Indebted Perſon ſhould be received into the Clergy. He built an Oratory in the *Cœmetery* of St. *Felicity*, and adorned her Sepulchre with Marble, gave a Silver Platter of twenty Pounds, a great Cup to the value of ten, three Silver Crowns, and of the leſſer ſort of Chalices two. Under his Name are extant three Epiſtles, One to the Emperour *Honorius*, wherein having mightily applauded the Vertues of that Prince, he prays him to preſerve the Peace of the Church of *Rome* againſt ambitious and factious Perſons; to which the Emperour anſwered, that his pleaſure was, and hereby declared it to be, that if in a Schiſm two chanced to be elected, neither of them ſhould hold, but a third Perſon freely and Legitimately choſen. His ſecond is directed againſt one *Maximus* a Biſhop and a *Manichee*, accuſed of Impiety, Murther and Contumacy, againſt whom he orders the Biſhops of *Gall* to proceed, whether he appeared or not; concluding, that whatſoever they reſolved was neceſſarily to be confirmed by his Authority, ſo cunningly ambitious were the *Roman* Prelates at this time, that if any Church out of reſpect to the Dignity of their See or Ability of their Perſons asked them any advice, they would preſently pretend to Juriſdiction, this being their ſlight wherewith at firſt they began to lay the Yoke upon the Provinces. His this third Epiſtle he wrote to *Hilary* Biſhop of *Narbone*, about the buſineſs whereof we have already ſpoken. Beſides theſe in his Letters, the firſt Tome of the Councils mentions five other Conſtitutions. “ 1. That none ſhould be ordained Prieſt before
“ he had completed thirty years of Age, how worthy ſoever, becauſe Chriſt be-
“ gan not to Preach untill that time. 2. Differences ariſing amongſt Biſhops
“ ſhould be decided by the Metropolitan, and if they would not ſubmit to his
“ Award, the Primate ſhould determine the Controverſie without Appeal.
“ 3. Whatever had been Conſecrated to God be it Man or Beaſt or any other
“ thing, ſhould remain in the power of Prieſts, the Offender againſt this Decree
“ to be Excommunicated as Sacrilegious. 4. Biſhops, Prieſts, and the like Per-
“ ſons, diſagreeing amongſt themſelves, ſhould be Excommunicated till Repen-

L. 5. *c.* 36.

C. Th. de Epiſc. & Cleric. de Judæis de Paganis.

C. Th. de Paganis. l. ult.

Boniface Biſhop of *Rome* dies.

In vita Bonifacii primi.

Tom. 1. *Concil.*

His Works.

“ tance, and not reſtored till they had ſpent as much more time in Penance as “ they had done in Quarrelling. The *5th* requires, That a Biſhop removed from “ his Biſhoprick daring either to return or depart from the place to which “ he had been confined, ſhould be thruſt into a Monaſtery in ſome other “ Province.

Cœleſtinus ſucceeds him.

Atticus Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* dies.

100. In the time of this *Boniface* begun the Seventh Council of *Carthage*, as it is called, or the *African Council*, which it ſeems continued a long time, the Prelates going and coming as there was occaſion. But theſe *Carthaginian Councils* are ſtrangely conſounded one with another, and probably the ſixth and ſeventh were the ſame. After the death of *Boniface* the *Roman* See was vacant nine days excluſively, and then was choſen and ordained *Cœleſtinus* a *Campanian* by Birth on the fourth of *November* the firſt *Feria*, being the forty fifth Biſhop of *Rome* according to *Platina*, the forty firſt after the account of *Proſper*, and the forty third in the Opinion of *Marianus*, ſo great certainty is there of this Succeſſion ſo much talked of. Two years after on the tenth of *October* in the eleventh Conſulſhip of *Theodoſius* and the firſt of *Valentinian* the third, *Anno Dom.* CCCCXXV. died *Atticus* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, after he had held that Chair nineteen years and ſeven months wanting three days. He is commended as a Wiſe and Religious Governour, extolled for his Bounty to the Poor, wherein he had onely reſpect to want not to any Party, but chiefly regarded ſuch as were aſhamed to beg. Underſtanding that certain *Novatians* who differed from the reſt in the keeping of *Eaſter*, had tranſlated the Corpſe of *Sabbatius* out of the Iſle of *Rhodes*, buried it ſolemnly, and prayed upon his Tomb, he procured in the Night the Body to be removed to another place, which being done they ceaſed to pay any more honour to his Sepulchre. He was lucky in aſſigning Names to ſeveral things. The *Rode* in the Mouth of the Euxine Sea, formerly called *Poyſon*, he named *Medicine. Chryſopyle*, being a Rode at the head of the *Boſphorus* mentioned by *Strabo*, *Nicolaus*, *Damaſcenus* and *Xenophon*, and aſſigned for payment of Tribute, in imitation of it he gave to a part of the Suburbs of *Conſtantinople* the Name of *Argyropyle. Socrates* magnifies the good opinion he had of *Novatus*, and his kindneſs to that Sect. He reduced into Communion the *Johannites* or Followers of *Chryſoſtome*, by receiving his Name into the *Dyptica*, and commanding his Memory to be celebrated at the time of Divine Service, as the manner was of other Holy Biſhops deceaſed. Notwithſtanding what *Socrates* writes of his favouring the *Novatians*, he is commended by St. *Auguſtine* and *Proſper* for his Orthodox Doctrine.

Vide ejus Epiſt. ad Calliopium Epiſc. Niceæ apud Socr. l. 7. c. 25.

Aug. contra Jul. l. 1. Proſp. de Ingratis.

Socr. l. 7. cc. 26, 27, 28.

Siſinius ſucceeds him, who appoints *Proclus* to the See of *Cyzicum*, but is oppoſed by the Laity who elect *Dalmatius*.

101. After his death there was much ſtir made about the Election of another Biſhop, ſome being inclined towards *Philip*, others towards *Proclus*, both Prieſts of that Church, but the generality much deſiring the promotion of *Siſinius* a Prieſt of *Elæa* a Church in the Suburbs over againſt the City, where the Citizens were wont to celebrate the Feaſt of our Saviour's Aſcenſion. At length the conſideration of his Piety and Charity towards the Poor prevailed, and the Laity getting the upper hand he was conſecrated on the twenty eighth of *February* in the twelfth Conſulſhip of *Theodoſius*, and the ſecond of *Valentinian*, which *Philip* his Competitour ſtomaching exceedingly inveyed bitterly againſt it in an impertinent and confuſed Work he wrote againſt *Julian* the Emperour, called *The Chriſtian Hiſtory*. *Proclus* the other Competitour upon the death of the Biſhop of *Cyzicum*, was appointed by *Siſinius* to ſucceed him, but the People hearing of his coming elected one *Dalmatius* a Religious man to govern the Biſhoprick, neglecting (ſaith *Socrates*) the Law and Canon which commandeth that no Biſhop be appointed and ordained without the conſent and authority of the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*. They made no account of that Canon, becauſe it commanded, as they thought, that the ſaid Authority ſhould be given to *Atticus* alone. That ſuch a Canon there was the Hiſtorian confeſſeth, who lived about this time; but the People the Laity it ſeems, which as appears in the ſtory of *Siſinius*, was moſt prevalent in thoſe Elections, having little skill in the Canons of the Church applied it ignorantly to *Atticus* alone. Now whether any thing here concludeth, that the Biſhops of *Conſtantinople* pretended not to their Juriſdiction from any Canon of an Oecumenical Council, let the Reader judge, for *Baronius* would gladly have him ſo reaſon. Becauſe the People ſurmized that ſuch a Canon onely belonged to *Atticus*, he is ready to ſwear it, though had the Honour of *Rome* been concerned, the People and Laity muſt have been ſcorned and derided, as no Competent Judges in ſuch a caſe. If it was made for *Atticus* alone he it ſeems was not ambitious of ſuch a Privilege, old Canons being by the Emperour alledged;

alledged, and as the Cardinal ſurmizeth at his Suggeſtion, for his Authority over *Illyricum.* And if we have more reaſon to believe ſolemn Laws, than hearken unto the Prejudicate Opinions, as certainly we have, and conſider what Juriſdiction was exerciſed by *Chryſoſtome* over the Biſhops of *Aſia,* we ſhall not doubt to extend it to *Cyzicum* and the other Cities of the *Helleſpont.*

St. *Auguſtine* chuſeth *Eradius* as his Coadjutor.

Ep. 110. 7. 2. *& Poſſid. in vita.*

102. This ſame year St. *Auguſtine* being in the ſeventy ſecond year of his Age, on the twenty ſixth of *September* the firſt *Feria,* in the preſence of his Clergy and People thereto conſenting, choſe *Eradius* one of his Prieſts, his Coadjutour in the Epiſcopal Function, and deſigned him his Succeſſour. And now, turning over the Books he had written, this year and the next he wrote his Retractations, beſides theſe, at the requeſt of divers, he undertook pieces of ſeveral Subjects, as about the Predeſtination of the Saints, the Good of Perſeverance, and others, neither had he yet fully completed his Books *de Civitate Dei,* which the year following were brought to a period after ſixteen years, being begun in the year 410. On the twenty fourth of *December* of the ſaid following year *A. D.* 427. died *Siſinius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople,* a man of ſimple Sanctity and holy Simplicity, as *Marcellinus* calls him, after he had ſcarcely been Biſhop two years, after whoſe deceaſe it ſeemed good to the Emperour, becauſe of the ambition of certain Perſons to chuſe none of that Church (though many put in for *Philip,* and not a few for *Proclus*) but determined with himſelf to ſend for a Stranger from *Antioch.* And who ſhould this prove but *Neſtorius,* a Man too well known afterward, born at or near *Germanicia* a Town of *Syria,* whence coming to *Antioch* he applied himſelf to ſtudy, but never had any bottom nor laid any ſolid foundation, contenting himſelf with ſuperficial endeavours, and never applying himſelf to the ancient Fathers. But for his voluble Tongue and grave Demeanour he came in credit with the People, and his Name being up at Court, had the hap to be promoted to this high Dignity. Immediately after his Inſtalment, the Solemnity whereof was performed on the tenth day of *April,* and the Conſulſhip of *Fœlix* and *Taurus, A. D.* CCCCXXVIII. In the hearing of all the People he uſed ſuch words as theſe to the Emperour: *Give me the Earth purged of Hereticks, and I will repay thee with Heaven in lieu thereof: Aſſiſt me in foiling the Hereticks, and I will aid thee in ſubduing thine Enemies.* Though this pleaſed ſome Orthodox Perſons, yet others ſoon made a judgment of what he would ſpeedily prove. The *Arians* he perſecuted with too great violence, and the *Novatians* evil intreated, if we credit *Socrates,* for no other reaſon than becauſe *Paul* their Biſhop was in great repute for his Zeal and Piety. He much vexed and diſquieted ſuch as celebrated the Feaſt of *Eaſter* on the fourteenth Moon throughout *Aſia, Lydia* and *Caria.* The great Zeal he pretended for the Orthodox Faith and ſuppreſſing of Hereticks was but to colour and ſweeten thoſe pernicious Doctrines which he himſelf intended ſhortly to broach.

Ut patet ex l. 18. *c.* 28.

Siſinius of *Conſtantinople* dies.

Socr. lib. 7. *cc.* 28, 29.

Neſtorius ſucceeds him.

Beda.
Acta Germani
Uſſerius de primord. Eccleſiæ Britanicæ.

103. About this time *Germanus* Biſhop of *Auxerre* in *Gall* (*Epiſcopus Antiſiodorenſis,* or *Altiſiodorenſis* in Latin) a Dioceſe of *Lugdunenſis* IV. and ſubject to the Archbiſhop of *Sens* at the ſolicitation of the Inhabitants, as is very probable, was ſent hither into *Britain* by the *French* Biſhops, to withſtand and eradicate (if poſſible) the Hereſie of *Pelagius,* which had taken here aſwell as in other places too much root. This *Germanus* was born in the ſaid Town of *Auxerre,* of Noble Parentage, and from the Schools of *Gall* was ſent to *Rome* to ſtudy, where after he had furniſhed himſelf with competent skill in the Laws, he returned and practiſed them in his own Countrey, where he was honoured with the Magiſtracy of his Native place, and afterward choſen for his Succeſſour by *Amator* the Biſhop. Being ſent on this errand into *Britain,* he had for Companion *Lupus* Biſhop of *Troyes ſur Seine* (a Biſhop of the ſame Province) the Brother of *Vincentius Lirinenſis,* and Husband to *Pimeniola* the Siſter of *Hilary* Biſhop of *Arles,* one of ſuch learning and ſanctity, that *Sidonius Apollinaris* calls him a *Father of Fathers,* a *Biſhop of Biſhops,* and another *Janus* of that Age; the moſt cried up *Primipilaris of the Spiritual Camp,* the *Rule of Manners,* a *Pillar of Vertue,* and *Prince of the* Gallican *Biſhops.* Arrived in *Britain,* they foiled the *Pleagian* Doctours in Diſputation at the Town now called St. *Albans,* where at this day is ſtanding a ſmall Chapel dedicated to the Honour of St. *German.* Hereby having ſetled the doubting, and reclaimed many whom the Pelagian Hereſie had drawn aſide, they converted alſo many Pagans to the Chriſtian Faith, whom they Baptized at the Solemnity of *Eaſter* Feſtival in the River *Alen.* Then did they turn from fighting againſt Satan to combat with ſuch as were yet enſlaved by him

Epiſcopus Tricaſſenſis, & Tricaſſinus.

Lib. 6. *Ep.* 1.

Germanus comes over into *Britain* and confounds the *Pelagians.*

Beda l. 1. *c.* 20.

him in behalf of thoſe they had ſet at liberty, their aid having been implored againſt the Heatheniſh *Picts* and *Saxons*, towards whom they led their New Converts. *German* choſe, as a place of advantage, an hollow Dale, encompaſſed with Hills, near a Village called at this day *Mold*, by the *Britiſh Guiderue* in *Flintſhire*, where (as a very Learned perſon tells us) the Field at this preſent time retains the Name of *Maes Garmon*, or *German's Field*. *Germanus* having placed his Men in Ambuſh, commanded them upon a ſignal given to ſhout *Hallelujah* three times, which being echoed on all ſides from the hills made their Enemies believe them twice as many as they really were, with apprehenſion whereof their Courages fell, and without ſtriking one ſtroke they betook themſelves to their Heels. Of this Victory *Gregory* the Great makes mention in his Comment upon *Job*, upon theſe words, *Can any underſtand the noiſe of his Tabernacle?* Having performed all this, he is ſaid to have depoſited in the Grave of St. *Alban* ſeveral Reliques he had brought over with him, and taking along with him ſome of that Martyr's Duſt, returned into *Gall*. Some have reported that he carried over St. *Alban's* Body to *Rome*, whence ſome hundred of years after *Otho* the Second's Empreſs brought it to *Colen*, where yet they ſay it lyes uncorrupted. Yet the Monks of *Ely* have pretended to it, as alſo thoſe of *Ottonium* or *Oſell* in *Danemark*.

Uſſerius ubi ſuprà, p. 333.

Cha. 36. *v.* 29, 30.

Surius Tom. 3. *vit. Sanct. Junii* 22.

104. About this time lived *Faſtidius* ſirnamed *Priſcus*, born in this Iſland of *Britain*, who being very learned in the Chriſtian Doctrine was made Biſhop of the Metropolitical Church of *London*, and preached the Goſpel throughout the Iſland. For the clearneſs of his wit, the excellency of his memory, and integrity of his life he is ſaid to have excelled all the Clergy of this Countrey, and to have written certain Pieces, of which voracious time has deprived us. And about this ſame time or not long after lived *Nynias* or *Nynna*, by ſome called *Nynianus Venedota*, born of the *Britiſh* Bloud Royal, who when young went to *Rome* to ſtudy, and there being inſtructed by the Clergy of that Church in the Chriſtian Religion, returned into his own Countrey, and ſpent all his life in painfull Preaching to the *Britains* and *Picts*. *Beda* writes, that the Southern *Picts* were by this moſt Reverend Biſhop and Holy Man converted to the Faith, whoſe Epiſcopal Seat famous for the Name and Church of St. *Martin* the Biſhop (where he with other Saints reſteth) the *Engliſh* Nation now obtaineth in the Place, which belonging to the Province of the *Bernicii*, is commonly called, *At White Houſe*, or *Ad Candidam Caſam*, becauſe he there built a Church of Stone, contrary to the *Britiſh* Cuſtome. He wrote Meditations on the Pſalms, a Book of Sentences of Holy Men, yet extant; the reſt of his Works being loſt. He is commended for his aſſiduity in reading the Scriptures, for his ſingular Charity to the Poor Fatherleſs and Widows. Some ſay he was famous for Miracles; he died in a good Old Age. That we may joyn theſe matters of *Britain* together, we ſhall here tell the Reader that *Germanus* had not been long in his own Countrey when the Pelagian root of Hereſie again beginning to repullulate, the Pious and Orthodox Clergy again deſired his return to them, who would not be wanting to ſo good a work, but croſſed the Seas again in company of *Severus* the Scholar of *Lupus*, who Preached to the inhabitants of *Germania Prima*, and was ordained Biſhop of *Triers*. Having repreſſed the Inſolence of the Hereticks, and wrought a Miracle (as *Beda* tells us) upon the Lame Son of *Eluſius*, he returned into *Gall* and died not long after.

Gennadius, Trithemius, Balæus.

Nynianus Venedota a famous Churchman of *Britain*.

Lib. 3. *c.* 4. *Chronologia Saxonica ad A. D.* 559. *Hiſtor. Magdeburg. Cent.* 5. *c.* 10.

Beda. l. 1. *c.* 21.

105. After the firſt Journey of *Germanus* into *Britain*, the Year of our Lord CCCCXXIX. was *Palladius* a Deacon of the *Roman* Church ſent by *Celeſtine* the Biſhop to Preach the Goſpel to the *Scots*, who proſpering ſo much in his work that this Nation began to ſhake off that Pagan and Idolatrous Superſtition wherewith it had formerly been blinded; he had the Honour to be called the Apoſtle of the *Scots*. He ſtrenuouſly alſo oppoſed Pelagianiſm in the Iſland, againſt which he wrote a Book, beſides other Works. Aſſiſtant to him in this Pious Work was *Servanus*, born in *Scotland* of *Scotiſh* Parents, who was afterward ſent to Preach the Goſpel to the *Orchades*, of whom he was alſo called the Apoſtle. Now he being born of *Scotiſh* Parents, the Reader muſt know that many of that Nation had long before this embraced the Chriſtian Faith, the Goſpel having been preached and received there in the time of *Victor* Biſhop of *Rome*. Whilſt the Goſpel thus flouriſhed in the Northern Parts, and the errours of *Pelagius* met with ſuch as diſcovered their rottenneſs and danger, the Devil was ready to begin another aſſault upon the Church, and had already furniſhed himſelf with a freſh Champion, for *Neſtorius* by this time, warm in his Patriarchal See, began now to vent thoſe Doctrines which for want of fit advantages he had hitherto concealed.

Palladius Preaches the Goſpel to the *Scots*.

Servanus to the *Orchades*.

Idem ib. c. 13. *Chronol. Saxon. ad A. D.* CCCCXXIX. *Proſper. Sozom. l.* 8. *c.* 26. *Niceph. l.* 13. *c.* 32. *Trithemius, Balæus. Balæus Hiſt. Magdib. Cent.* 5. *c.* 10.

Evagrius lib. 1.*cap.*2. *Cyril de Incar. Virg. Suidas. Socrates, lib.*7. *cap.* 32.

The Hereſie of *Neſtorius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople.*

Being of old principled by *Theodorus* Biſhop of *Mopſueſtia* and *Diodorus* of *Tarſus* he had the luck alſo to be Nephew of *Paulus Samoſatenus*, whoſe opinions did him no good, though he pretended to be a great Enemy to them, and an earneſt Maintainer of the *Nicene* Faith. He broached not his Hereſie firſt himſelf, but *Anaſtaſius* a Prieſt whom he had brought with him from *Antioch*, whom he highly eſteemed, and uſed as a Councillour in all his matters. This Prieſt on a certain time taught publickly in the Church, that none ought to call the Virgin *Mary Theotocos*, or the Mother of God, becauſe ſhe was but a Woman, and of a Woman God could not be born. This raiſed a marvellous diſorder amongſt both Laity and Clergy, who had had it of a long time inculcated into them, that Chriſt was true God, but when they blamed *Anaſtaſius*, and expected he ſhould be called to an account for ſuch Language, *Neſtorius* became his Patron, and not onely his but the Patron of his Opinion, not mincing at all the matter, but in his Sermons maintaining what he had aſſerted, that the Bleſſed Virgin could not be the Mother of God. This put the People beſides their Wits. Some ſaid one thing ſome another, many thought he was of opinion that Chriſt was but a mere Man, and that he went about to revive the Hereſie of *Samoſatenus* and *Photinus*. Not onely diſputing there was, as happeneth upon ſuch occaſion, but ſo great were the heats and diſſentions, and the Schiſms came to ſuch an height, that the ſummoning of a general Council ſeemed needfull for deciding the Controverſie, and appeaſing the minds of Men.

Is anathematiz'd in a Provincial Synod at *Alexandria.*

106. But *Neſtorius* not contenting himſelf with publiſhing his opinions in his own Dioceſe, divulged them by Books ſent into all Places, and *Ægypt* amongſt others, where ſome Monks were intoxicated with this new Doctrine. Hereupon *Cyril* the *Alexandrian* Patriarch beſtired himſelf, as appears by this Epiſtle. Yet with caution, for knowing that *Theodoſius* the Emperour had been the Promoter of *Neſtorius* to that See, at firſt he ſent to *Conſtantinople* onely a Confutation of ſuch Opinions, not naming the broacher of them; at length when all the World began to take notice of them he wrote to himſelf the Heretick ſeveral times, deſiring him to beware of ſuch aſſertions, to which he anſwered with very great ſcorn and ſtomach. *Cyril* ſeeing there was no good to be done, and having by Letters conſulted with *Cæleſtinus* the Biſhop of *Rome*, and others, he reſolved to call a Provincial Synod of Biſhops to *Alexandria*, wherein the opinion of *Neſtorius* was condemned as Heretical, and twelve Anathematiſms formed, which were afterwards ſent to *Neſtorius*, therewith if poſſible to reclame him from his Errours. Theſe becauſe directed againſt his Tenents, diſcover what they were to us, and therefore we ſhall ſummarily repeat them. 1. “He that ſhall not confeſs God to be *Immanuel*, and therefore the Bleſſed Virgin to be *Theotocos*, *Deipara*, or *Mother of God*, according to the Fleſh let him be *Anathema*. 2. As alſo ſuch as ſhall not confeſs, that the word of God the Father was hypoſtatically united to the Fleſh, and Chriſt to be one with his own Fleſh, *viz.* both God and Man. 3. And ſuch as after union diſtinguiſh the Hypoſtaſes, and conjoin them onely in reſpect of Dignity, Authority or Power, not according to natural Union. 4. And ſuch as attribute to two Perſons or two Hypoſtaſes, thoſe words which occur in Evangelical and Apoſtolical Writings being ſpoken either by the Holy men concerning Chriſt, or by Chriſt concerning himſelf; and ſometimes aſcribe them to a Man, conſidered a part from the Eternal word of God; otherwhiles as appropriate to God and the word of the Father. 5. Such alſo as ſhould call the Man Chriſt *Deifer* or *Theophorus*, and not true God as the onely and natural Son of God, inaſmuch as the Word being made Fleſh, communicates as with Fleſh and Bloud. 6. And thoſe who ſhould call the Word of the Father, the God or the Lord of Chriſt, and not rather confeſs the ſame to be God and Man, foraſmuch as the word was made Fleſh according to the Scriptures. 7. If any affirmed that Jeſus Chriſt being a mere Man was acted or aſſiſted by God the Word, and ſhould fanſie the Glory of the onely begotten, to belong to the Man as another beſide the word. 8. In like manner, if any ſhould affirm that the Man aſſumed ought to be adored with the word of God himſelf, to be glorified with him, and to be called God as one Perſon with another (for this Particle *with* neceſſarily hinteth ſo much) and with the ſame adoration, Worſhip not *Emanuel*, and give one Glory to him, according to that ſaying that the Word was made Fleſh. 9. Such as ſhould ſay, that our one Lord Jeſus Chriſt was glorified by the Holy Ghoſt, as by a Power aliene from himſelf, and the Virtue he uſed

“ againſt unclean Spirits, and in working Divine Miracles he had it from him,
“ and that the Spirit was not his own by which he wrought ſuch Miracles.
“ 10. Seeing we are taught by Scripture, that Chriſt was the High Prieſt and
“ Apoſtle of our Profeſſion, and offered himſelf for us a ſweet Savour, to God
“ the Father, If any ſhall ſay that the Word of God himſelf was not our High
“ Prieſt and Apoſtle after he was made Fleſh and Man like unto us, but that
“ Man which was born of a Woman, as ſome other divers from him ; Or who
“ ſhall affirm that he offered a Sacrifice for himſelf and not for us onely, he ha-
“ ving no need of an oblation who was void of Sin. 11. If any confeſs that
“ the Fleſh of our Lord was not quickning, or the proper Fleſh of the Word of
“ God himſelf,but of ſome other beſides him joyned with him in Dignity, having
“ Divine Inhabitation alone and not rather quickning, as being made the proper
“ Fleſh of the Word, able to quicken all things. 12. Laſtly, if any deny the
“ Word of God to have ſuffered in the Fleſh, been Crucified in the Fleſh, taſted
“ of Death in the Fleſh, and to have become the Firſt-born from the Dead, in
“ that he is Life, and enlivens all things as God,let him be accurſed.

Neſtorius accuſeth *Cyril* as an Heretick to the Emperour.

Tom. 1. *Concil.*

107. Theſe Anathematiſms being brought to *Neſtorius*, that he might ſubſcribe them he was ſo far from doing this,that he not onely defended the Doctrine by them condemned, but accuſed *Cyril* as an Heretick of the Sect of *Apollinaris*, and afterwards drew up twelve Anathematiſms againſt him, to which he ſufficiently anſwered. At preſent he could not be condemned, foraſmuch as he impeached his grand Accuſer of the ſame Crime, nay it was ſo far from that that vehemently accuſing *Cyril* to the Emperour, as a turbulent and ambitious Perſon, he procured Letters to be written to him, wherein he was chidden and threatned, except he would ſtudy Peace and Union with *Neſtorius*. *Cyril* nothing herewith terrified,ſet himſelf with all Alacrity to write to the Emperour, and his Siſters,and laying before them the dangerous Principles of their Patriarch, deſired an univerſal Council might be called,for the full and clear examining of the Truth. *Theodoſius* perceiving matters come to that paſs, that no Peace could be elſe expected, by his Imperial Letters dated *November* 20, ſummons an univerſal Synod, to meet at *Epheſus* againſt *Whitſontide*, adding after the Precept that he ſhould not excuſe any that failed to be there by that time either to God or Man, foraſmuch as ſuch as refuſed to be preſent at the ſacred Meeting of Biſhops could not poſſibly bear any good Conſcience : Not onely were the Biſhops of the Eaſt ſummoned,but ſuch of the Weſt alſo as were moſt eminent,amongſt whom St. *Auguſtine*, who yet e'er the Meſſenger arrived at *Carthage*,was departed to a place void of all diſſention and errour. For God had removed this moſt Reverend and Learned Biſhop, this moſt eminent orthodox Chriſtian, out of the way, leſt he ſhould either ſee or feel the Cruelty of the *Arian Vandals*, who had now beſieged *Hippo* above two Months. He lived 76 years, whereof 36 he ſpent in the Epiſcopal Function. He preached to his laſt, and prayed in his Church beſeeching God either to remove the Siege, give his Flock patience to endure it, and ſubmit to his good pleaſure, or take him out of the World to himſelf. Falling ſick of a Fever, he ſhut himſelf up, permitting none to come to him, but at ſuch time as the Phyſicians viſited him, or when he muſt neceſſarily take ſome refreſhment, ſpending ten Days in continual Prayers and Tears; for his Judgment was that a good Chriſtian, eſpecially a Prieſt, ought not to die without ſome remarkable ſigns of Repentance and Humiliation.

Who ſummons an univerſal Synod at *Epheſus*.

St. *Auguſtine* dies.

Vide Baron. ad An. 430.

Poſſidius in vita.

His Works.

108. As for a Teſtament he made none, having nothing to diſpoſe or bequeath thereby, nor ever had any intention to inrich his Kindred. His Books and Library he had committed to the Church, there to be preſerved for the benefit of Poſterity, and concerning his own Works this is very remarkable, that about a year after when the City was taken and ſet on fire, yet they were wonderfully preſerved. Thoſe that were written againſt *Pelagius* and his Tenents had various reception, not onely as the World were inclined to, and againſt that Heretick ; But they were maligned and oppoſed by ſeveral in *Gall*, who pretended to abhor thoſe Errours againſt which he wrote, and they were as earneſtly defended by *Hilary* Biſhop of *Arles* and *Proſper* of *Aquitain*. To his Works which are very many, are added many ſpurious and ſome doubtfull, which have been detected, and branded by *Eraſmus* and others. Amongſt the former ſort is the 14 Homily, *de Nat. Domini*, of which he was not the Authour, the Learned *Molanus* with the Divines of *Lovain*, having rejected and cenſured it to be as it is the Work of an unlearned Novice, yet *Baronius* cites it to prove that *Joſeph* was unacquainted with any Matrimonial Act, which is now brought to be the Com-

Bp. Mountague.

mon Tenent of the *Roman* Schools. Amongſt the Books which he wrote himſelf, there is one which is not to be read without caution; and that is his Book *de ordine*, from the Authority of which ſome *Romaniſts* will prove Stews to be tolerated in a Chriſtian State. But when *Auguſtine* wrote that Book as our *Jewel* obſerves, he was not St. *Auguſtine*. He was yet a very young Man, and but a Novice in the Faith, not yet well inſtructed, not yet baptized in the Name of Chriſt, himſelf as yet keeping a Concubine, and living in Whoredom. What matter then if he ſay in it, take Harlots away from among Men, and ye fill all the Countrey with Ribaldry and Villany. Afterwards fully inſtructed, Chriſtened and grown older and wiſer, he was of another mind as appears from a place in his Book *De Civitate Dei*, * which Work he finiſhed but four years before his Death. As all his Works are large Teſtimonies of his Learning, Ingenuity and Piety, ſo that of his Retractations of his Candour and Humility in an eſpecial manner, wherein of his own accord he confeſſeth and revoketh his former ſlips, faults and errours. Long before him *Hippocrates* had done the ſame. After him *Cardan* and many other great Perſons, yet few in compariſon of thoſe, who rather againſt their Conſciences plead for, than own and retract their Errours. The Example of thoſe Worthies, every one knows, every one commends rather than Opiniaſtrity; but when it comes to the effect not many practiſe. The day of the Death of St. *Auguſtine*, and the Anniverſary appointed to be obſerved to his Memory, was the 28*th.* of *Auguſt.*

* *L.* 14. *c.* 18. *Iſtam in uſu Scortatorum terrena civitas licitam fecit turpitudinem.*

CHAP. VI.

From the third Oecumenical Council *ſummoned by* Theodoſius *the Second to the City of* Epheſus, *to the fourth* Oecumenical Council *ſummoned by the Emperour* Martianus *to the City of* Chalcedon.

The Space of Twenty Years and about Four Months.

The third Oecumenical Council ſummoned at Epheſus.

1. THE third *Oecumenical Council* ſummoned by *Theodoſius* the Second to the City of *Epheſus*, aſſembled at *Whitſontide* or *Pentecoſt*, in the 24 year of the Reign of that Emperour, the 7 of *Valentinian* the Third, his Collegue, of Old *Rome* the 1184, of the New 101, the third year of the 302 Olympiad, the 14 Indiction, 107 years after the firſt *Nicene* Synod, 50 after the ſecond *Oecumenical Council* ſummoned to *Conſtantinople*, *A.D.* 431 *Anicius Baſſus* and *Flavius Antiochus* being Conſuls.

2. In obedience to the Imperial Edict, the Biſhops aſſembled from their ſeveral Churches. *Neſtorius* with a great Multitude of People, took his Journey preſently after the *Eaſter* Holy-days. *Cyril* the Patriarch of *Alexandria* came to *Epheſus* about *Whitſontide*, and the fifth Day after *Pentecoſt*, *Juvenalis* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. Theſe with others coming in good time, ſtaid for *John* the Patriarch of *Antioch*, who with his ſuffragan Biſhops loitered out of deſign, leſt he ſhould be compelled either to condemn *Neſtorius*, or with him to undergo the ſame cenſure; after fifteeen Days expectation, the Metropolitans that were with him came to *Epheſus*, and ſignified to the Fathers, that his preſence was not to be expected. Above two hundred Biſhops are ſaid to have convened, and all as well Occidentals as Orientals, either themſelves or by their Legates, to have been preſent at this Aſſembly. Yet the Prelates of *Africk*, hindred by the dreadfull devaſtation made at this time by the *Wandals*, could not be there; neither were in any

Socrates lib. 7. *cap.* 33. *Acta Concilii.*

any Capacity to ſend any conſiderable Legation: onely *Capreolus* Primate of *Carthage*, doing aſmuch as in him lay, ſent *Baſſulas* a Deacon of his Church with Letters of excuſe to the Synod. Very many Biſhops indeed were perſonally abſent, and preſent onely by their Legates or Agents, as almoſt all the Weſtern Biſhops, and by Name *Cœleſtine* Patriarch of *Rome*, whoſe Legates came not till the 10*th.* of *July*, and the Council had done moſt of their Work. Some its probable upon other occaſions neglected this buſineſs, as the Biſhops of *Gangra* and *Heraclea* in *Macedonia*, who were not at this Synod. Divers others wilfully and obſtinately refuſed to be preſent at this Holy Synod, as *Neſtorius* himſelf the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, *John* Patriarch of *Antioch* and ſome forty Biſhops, who at the ſame time while the Holy Council was held in the Church of the Bleſſed Virgin at *Epheſus*, held a Conventicle by themſelves in an Inn in the ſame City, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. Yet, notwithſtanding the perſonal abſence of the firſt, the negligent of the ſecond, and wilfull abſence of the laſt, and although no Preſbyters at all were therein, not in their own right, this Holy General Council ſaith of its Synodical Judgment given by thoſe that were preſent, that it *was nothing elſe but * the common and conſenting Judgment of the whole World.* For the Council was lawfully called, all were ſummoned univerſally, it was free for all to be preſent, and therefore all the Biſhops in the World did either perſonally, by their Agents expreſs, or elſe in a tacit and implicit manner, wrap up their Judgment in the ſynodal Decree made by the Biſhops preſent in the Council, of which *Cyril* was Patron or chief, aſwell after as before the coming of *Cœleſtine* his Legates to the Synod.

* *Nihil aliud quam communis & concors terrarum orbis ſenſus & conſenſus.*

Epiſt. Concil. Epheſ. ad Imp. Tom. 2. *Act. Conc. Epheſ. Ep.* 17.

Wherein *Cyril* Biſhop of *Alexandria* preſides.

3. For prevention of Tumults the Emperour ſent thither *Candidianus* a Count, and to keep diſorderly Perſons from the Council, to ſee that no diſſention and private Quarrels might hinder their grave Conſultations, with the free and exact diſcuſſion of the Cauſes propoſed, and to provide, that every one might freely and with leiſure propound what was needfull, and to have ſcope to refute all doubts propoſed by others. At the firſt opening of the Synod *Neſtorius* was preſent, whom *Cyril* when they came to fall upon the buſineſs in hand, did vehemently tax, and with other Biſhops contended earneſtly for Chriſt's Divinity, affirming him one and the ſame Son of God, begotten of his Father before all Ages, and in the laſt times made Man of a Virgin, that he was not one and another, and that the Bleſſed Virgin ought properly and truely to be called Θεοτόκος, or the Mother of God. Hereat *Neſtorius* roſe up, told them plainly he would not own a God, that grew to Man's Eſtate by two and three Months and ſo forth, and that therefore he waſhed his Hands of their Bloud, and thenceforth would come no more into their Company. With ſix other Biſhops he ſtreight departed out of the Aſſembly, and kept himſelf afterward private with thoſe Men and others, he thought fit for his purpoſe. And when the Day after, three Biſhops were ſent by the Council to cite him to appear, and he was called once and again afterward, yet he flatly refuſed to come to them, uſing the Meſſengers contumeliouſly, and frighting them by the armed Guards he had got about him by his great Intereſt in *Irenæus* a Count he had brought with him, and *Candidianus*, both whom he had infected with his Hereſie. The Synod perceiving how contumaciouſly he bore himſelf, reſolved to proceed to the Merits of the Cauſe. They cauſed to be read the *Nicene* Faith, the Epiſtles of *Cyril* and *Neſtorius*, written upon the Controverſie, with another ſent from *Cœleſtine* the *Roman* Patriarch. *Theodotus* Biſhop of *Ancyra* and *Acacius* of *Melita*, depoſed on the blaſphemous words they had heard him utter publickly at *Epheſus*. Other Speeches were alledged, the Teſtimonies of Scriptures and Fathers for Incarnation of the word, and the Divinity of Chriſt were cited, all which being done after adviſed and mature deliberation, the Fathers thereto compelled by the Canons, and an Epiſtle received from the moſt Holy Father, and their Collegue the Biſhop of the *Roman* Church, with many Tears they came to this Reſolution and ſentence. He who by him therefore hath been blaſphemed, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath decreed by the preſent Holy Synod, that *Neſtorius* be depoſed from his Epiſcopal Dignity, and baniſhed from all Society of Prieſts.

Tom. 1. *Act. Concil. Epheſ. cap.* 32. *Ut diligenter proſpiciat, &c.*

Neceſſitate nobis à Canonibus & ſanctiſ. Patris collegæq; noſtri Romanæ Eccleſiæ Epiſcopi, Epiſtola impoſita diu multúmque lachrymantes, &c.

And *Neſtorius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, is depoſed and baniſhed the Society of Prieſts.

4. After the Condemnation of *Neſtorius*, about four or five Days, on the 27 of *June*, came *John* the Patriarch of *Antioch* to *Epheſus*, with a Company of Biſhops and Prieſts, and railing againſt *Cyril* for making ſuch haſte in cenſuring *Neſtorius*, immediately aſſociated himſelf with him and his Partiſans. Now at the ſelf ſame time in one and the ſame City of *Epheſus*, as one obſerves were held two ſeveral Councils, and Altar erected againſt Altar, Council againſt Council,

He with other Heretical Biſhops joins in a Conventicle at *Epheſus*.

Dr. Crackanthorp.

Patriarch againſt Patriarch, Biſhops againſt Biſhops, and Synodal ſentence againſt Synodal ſentence. The one conſiſted of Holy, Orthodox, and Catholick Biſhops, whoſe Preſident was *Cyril:* the other of Heretical, Factious, and ſeveral (*a*) depoſed Biſhops whoſe Preſident was *John.* The former was held in the Church of the Bleſſed Virgin, the latter in an (*b*) Inn or Tavern, a fit place for ſuch as denied Chriſt to be God. The former proceeded in all Reſpects orderly and ſynodically, the latter did all things tumultuouſly, preſumptuouſly, and againſt the Canons, ſupporting themſelves by Lies, Calumnies and Slanders. In ſumm the one was truely an holy, a general, an Oecumenical Council, wherein was the Conſent of the whole Catholick Church, the other was nothing elſe but an heretical, ſchiſmatical Conventicle, a Faction or Conſpiracy of ſome thirty or forty Perſons unworthy the Name of Biſhops, inſolently oppoſing the Holy Council, and the whole Catholick Church, in which Number and Faction beſides others, were *John* Biſhop of *Antioch*, the Ringleader of the Rout, *Paul* Biſhop of *Emeſa*, *Theodoret* the Biſhop of *Cyrus*, and *Ibas* ſome three or four years after Biſhop of *Edeſſa*.

Oppoſing the Canonical Synod.

And anathematizing them.

Acta Concilii.

5. This notwithſtanding, as the Holy Council depoſed *Neſtorius* for an Heretick, the Conventicle depoſed *Cyril* for an Archheretick alſo, condemning his twelve Chapters as Heretical, which the Council had approved as Orthodox. As the Council excommunicated and anathematized *John*, *Paul*, *Theodoret*, *Ibas*, and all the reſt of their Factious Adherents, the Conventicle anathematized *Cyril* and all his Adherents, arrogating to themſelves the glorious Name of the Holy *Epheſine* Council, and ſlandering them that held with *Cyril* as a Conventicle, an unlawfull and diſorderly Aſſembly, terming them *Arians*, *Apollinarians* and *Cyrillians*, aſwell as thoſe with *Cyril* called themſelves, as indeed they were the Holy and Oecumenical Council, and termed *John*, with his Adherents a Faction and heretical Conventicle of *Neſtorians.* In fine, as the Council conſtantly refuſed to communicate with them, till they conſented to the depoſing of *Neſtorius*, and anathematizing his Hereſie, the Conventicle not onely refuſed Communion with *Cyril* and other Catholicks, but bound themſelves by many ſolemn Oaths, and that afterward in the preſence of the Emperour, that they would never communicate with the *Cyrillians*, except they would condemn the twelve Chapters of *Cyril*, adding that they would rather die than conſent to any one of the twelve Chapters. But though the Fathers of the true and genuine Council, wrote their Encyclical Epiſtle to all Chriſtians, and continually upon urgent occaſion humbly informed the Emperours of their proceedings, ſending Letters after Letters, yet either were the Meſſengers ſtopt or their Letters intercepted, ſo that not the leaſt notice of them came to their Majeſties, whereas on the other ſide the frequent Letters of the Conventicle fraught with Lies and Slanders, had every day acceſs and great applauſe at Court; for Count *Candidianus*, whom the Emperours made their Deputy and Preſident of the Council, to ſee all good and Canonical Orders therein obſerved, ſo far was faulty to his truſt, as being moſt partial to *Neſtorius* and his Hereſie, he not onely was Privy and aſſiſtant to the ſtopping of the Councils Letters, but by his own diſpatches, ſeconded and confirmed all the Lies which the Conventicle had writ unto the Emperours. Hence it came to paſs that the Emperours miſinformed, commanded all things done againſt *Neſtorius* and others, as done againſt Reaſon and their Command to be revoked, and a new Courſe taken, telling them that their Majeſty could not hold or eſteem thoſe things done ſo diſorderly for firm and ſynodal, nay decreeing, that all thitherto done ſhould be accounted of no force, but utterly void and fruſtrate.

Sending their Calumnies to the Emperours.

Who being miſinformed order that whatever was done againſt *Neſtorius* ſhould be utterly void.

Majeſtas noſtra ea quæ acta ſunt pro ratis & legitimis habere non poteſt, pro irritis & nullis habenda eſſe. Imp. ad Synod. cap. 17.

Et Neſtorii & Cyrilli & Memnonis exauctorationem à Sanctitate veſtra nobis inſinuatam calculo noſtro approbavimus.

6. By this means alſo it came to paſs, that the Emperours knowing nothing of the Diviſions amongſt the Biſhops, and how beſide the Holy Council there was a factious and ſchiſmatical Conventicle of *Neſtorians* held in the City, thought whatever was done aſwell againſt *Cyril* and *Memnon* in depoſing them, as againſt *Neſtorius*, had been the Act, Judgment and Sentence of one and the ſame Council, upon which miſinformation they confirmed at firſt the condemnation of all three. This put the Fathers upon ſuch a ſhift as this, to ſend a Letter to *Conſtantinople* by a faithfull Meſſenger, who to avoid ſuſpicion put on the Habit of a Beggar, and carried the Letter in the hollow of a Cane, which as a ſtaff he had provided for his Journey. As ſoon as, by this means, the Report of the late diſorders came to *Conſtantinople*, the City was much moved, and *Theodoſius* at the ſolicitation of his Siſter and other Catholicks, commanded certain Biſhops of either

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(*a*) *Ex quibus alii erant extorres vagi propriis ſedibus deſtituti, &c. Synod. Epiſt. ad Cæleſtinum. Tom. 4. Act. Epheſ. Cap. 17.*

(*b*) *Johanne in diverſorio manente, ſacráque illius Synodo præſente.*

ther ſide to appear before him at *Conſtantinople*, fully to inform him of the truth of all the proceedings; and the truth being accordingly found out after diligent Examination, the Emperours by their Imperial Authority nulled all the Acts of the Conventicle, reſtored *Cyril* (who at this time wrote a full anſwer to all that had been objected againſt him) and *Memnon*, approved the Judgment of the Council againſt *Neſtorius*, adding to his depoſition baniſhment from *Conſtantinople*. But the ſynodal Sentence of depoſition againſt *John*, and the reſt of his Aſſociates they ſuſpended for a while, partly to prevent a greater Schiſm, which *John* by his great intereſt might procure, but eſpecially in hope that as well he as the Eaſtern Biſhops might in time be brought off, and reduced to Unity with *Cyril* and the Catholick Church, which in the height of their preſent heat and ſtomach could not be expected. And thus was the Council at *Epheſus* diſſolved, a far greater Rent being by this means left at the end, than had been at the beginning thereof, and ſo that Malady for which it was called not preſently cured but increaſed. *Neſtorius* was permitted to ſtay as yet in the Monaſtery of St. *Euprepius* at *Antioch*, to ſee if he would recant his opinions, but growing more obſtinate, was at length after ſome three or four years baniſhed into the Wilderneſs of *Oaſis*. The Emperour alſo animadverted upon his Courtiers who had been falſe to their truſt, and done ſo ill Offices for the *Epheſine* Fathers.

But after a full underſtanding how matters went the Emperours null the Acts of the Conventicle, and add Baniſhment to the depoſing of *Neſtorius*.

Evagr. l.1.c.7.

7. But beſides what theſe Fathers did directly againſt *Neſtorianiſm* we muſt not omit certain Canons of this Synod of *Epheſus*, mentioned after a Preface, wherein they ſignifie, that being called together by the Emperour's Edict, above thirty of their Number had ſeparated themſelves in behalf of *Neſtorius*, and therefore remained excommunicate and depoſed. Then follow ſeven Canons of which this is the Summ, that if any Metropolitan Biſhop or Clerk imbraced the Hereſie of *Neſtorius* or *Cæleſtius*, he ſhould be excommunicated and degraded; if a Lay-perſon he ſhould be excommunicated; And the ſame to extend againſt ſuch as produced, wrote or compoſed any form of Faith, beſides that of the *Nicene Council*; As alſo ſuch Perſons as ſhould appear of *Chariſius* his opinion who thought not aright of the Humanity of Chriſt. The eighth Canon was made upon occaſion, that the Patriarch of *Antioch*, took upon him to ordain in the Churches of *Cyprus*, *which thing being an innovation contrary to Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions, and the Canons of Holy Fathers, and for that Epidemical Diſeaſes require a greater Remedy*, becauſe *they are more dangerous than others, therefore the Fathers decree that it be taken for a Rule in all Dioceſes and Provinces whatſoever, that no Biſhop invade or occupy any Province, which and from the beginning hath not been under his Juriſdiction or that of his Predeceſſours. If any hath already invaded any ſuch Province and by force made it his own, the Holy Synod commands he do reſtore it, leſt the Canons of the Holy Fathers be neglected, and leſt under pretence of Adminiſtration of Holy things, the Arrogance of ſecular Power creep in, and by degrees we imprudently loſe that Liberty which our Lord Jeſus Chriſt the Saviour of all Men, by the price of his own Bloud hath beſtowed upon us. Therefore it pleaſeth the Holy Synod, that the Rights of every Province, which according to the Ancient Cuſtome it hath had from the beginning, be preſerved to it pure and inviolable, every Metropolitan having liberty to take Copies of thoſe Acts for his Security. And if any Perſon ſhall produce any Sanction contrary to what is here defined, it is the pleaſure of all the holy and univerſal Synod, that it be void and of none effect.* That this Canon was made tacitely againſt the Incroachments of the *Roman* Patriarch, ſome do gather not obſcurely from the Acts of this Council, it evidently from them appearing, that this Canon prevailed and was of force, notwithſtanding the Epiſtle of *Innocent* the Firſt to *Alexander*, whereby he declared that the *Cyprians* did not carry themſelves like faithfull Men, except they ſubjected themſelves to the Patriarch of *Antioch*. Yet we ſee this Canon of this Oecumenical Council, is quite contrary to the Sentence of the *Roman* Biſhop, for it decrees that attempt to have been made upon *Cyprus* by him of *Antioch*, againſt Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions and Decrees of the Fathers, and therefore all Sanctions or Epiſtles in this Caſe to be utterly null. But beſides thoſe Canons (that we may conclude with this Synod) the Fathers made another Conſtitution againſt the *Maſſalian* Hereticks, *Euchytæ* and *Enthuſiaſts* (having in the ninth Seſſion condemned the *Pelagians*) and anathematized a Book of thoſe Hereticks, going under the Name of *Aſceticon*, which ſome think near a-kin to the *Aſcetica*, reckoned amongſt the Works of *Baſil*.

Several other Canons.

Tom. 2. *Epheſ. Synod. append.* 1. c. 4. *Ep.* 18.

8. *Neſtorius* being depoſed by the Council, that Decree was ratified (*a*) and eſtabliſhed by the Emperour, aſwell as other matters according (*b*) to his Promiſe and their Petition, whereby *they* (*c*) *earneſtly deſired his Piety, that he would command that all which was done by this Holy and Oecumenical Council againſt that Heretick, might ſtand in force being confirmed by his Royal Aſſent*. For in their proceedings, the Emperour's (*d*) Letters were their Direction, and as they themſelves profeſs, a Torch to all their Actions, and in all the Affronts and Contumelies they endured from the Conventicle, they betook themſelves to him, beſeeching him to be Judge betwixt them, and examine their doings. The See of *Conſtantinople* being therefore void, there (*e*) aroſe a difference about the Election of a new Biſhop. *Proclus* had in all probability been the Man, but that ſome in power were his back friends, and pretended that the Canons of the Church forbad any Biſhop to be tranſlated from one See to another, which though either ignorantly or malitiouſly ſpoken (the Canons for the better Edification of the Church allowing it, and many Examples of theſe ancient times approving it) yet was of ſuch force, that the People was therewith ſatisfied and appeaſed. *Maximianus* then, three Months after the Depoſition of *Neſtorius* was choſen Patriarch, by function a Prieſt, who led a Monaſtical Life, one that of late had purchaſed a good Name by building at his own Charge Sepulchres, where Godly Men ſhould be interred, but altogether unlearned, and who had determined to lead a quiet Life, free from all Care and Moleſtation. Thus was the Place of *Neſtorius* filled, but the rent and diviſion he had made in the Eaſtern parts of the World, not yet made up and conjoyned. This diſturbance of the Church, much diſquieted the mind of the Religious Emperour *Theodoſius*, who the very next year after the ſhutting up of the Council, when he thought time and better conſideration, to have alleyed the heat of the Eaſtern Biſhops, began to ſolicite that Union which before he had purpoſed to effect, profeſſing his reſolution to be not to deſiſt from this ſo good a Work, till God ſhould vouchſafe to reſtore Unity and Peace to his People. To this end he wrote a very religious and pathetical Letter to *John* Patriarch of *Antioch*, by many reaſons perſwading, and by his Imperial Authority requiring him, and with him the reſt of the faction to ſubſcribe to the depoſition of *Neſtorius*, the anathematizing of his Hereſie, and ſo to imbrace Holy Communion with *Cyril*, and the Catholick Church.

Maximianus choſen Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, in the room of *Neſtorius*.

Ep. Imp. ad Acatium Beræenſ. Epiſc. Johanni mandavit, &c.

9. *John* and the other Eaſtern Biſhops, upon the Emperour's motion ſought to make an Union with *Cyril*, but laboured to effect it by drawing him over to them, and their Hereſies, not by paſſing over to him, and cloſing with him according to the Decrees of the late Council. They cauſed *Acatius*, Biſhop of *Beræa*, to write to him in all their Names, offering Unity and Concord, but on this condition that he ſhould aboliſh and condemn whatever he had written againſt *Neſtorianiſm*, and conſequently both his twelve Chapters, the *Epheſine* Decree, and all of that nature. *Cyril* anſwered with Reſolution and Courage, that what he had written was in defence of the Catholick Faith, and therefore he ſhould never recant it, ſo that this Art failing they attempted to effect the Union by *Paul* Biſhop of *Emiſa*, whom they ſent to *Alexandria* to agitate by word of Mouth, and another Letter, wherein though they were not ſo violent as in the former, yet they found fault with the *Epheſine Council*. *Cyril* ſeeing they added as he ſaid Contumelies, who ſhould have asked pardon and recanted, would neither admit of their ſecond Epiſtle, but when *Paul* earneſtly endeavoured to excuſe them, affirming upon his Oath, that their purpoſe was not to exaſperate, but cloſe with him in Charity, he was content to admit this excuſe, *Paul* having in Commiſſion to work him off as much as could be, but however to make an Agreement with him conſented to anathematize *Neſtorius* and his Hereſies, to the depoſing of him and the Election of *Maximianus* into his place, which when he had ſubſcribed with his own hand, *Cyril* received him into Communion. Now he would have perſwaded *Cyril*, that ſeeing he came in the name of the reſt, and had ſubſcribed for them all, and as in the common Perſon of all the Orientals, that this his ſubſcription might ſerve for thoſe that were abſent, and that requiring no more of them, he would be content with their Letters he brought with him. *Cyril* would by no means hear of this, telling *Paul* his ſubſcription could ſatisfie onely for himſelf, as for the reſt,

Union in the Church promoted by the Emperour *Theodoſius*.

Epp. Cyrilli ad Acatium & Dignatum. Tom. 5. cc. 7. 16.

(*a*) *Imperator ſententia Synodi publicè approbata, Neſtorio exilium indicit. Act. Conc. Tom. 5. cap. 11. & C. Th. de Hæret lib. ult.*

(*b*) *Ac tum demum à noſtra Pietate confirmationem expectate. Tom. 3. c. 17.*

(*c*) *Ut jubeat ea omnia per veſtræ pietatis nutum & conſenſum confirmata. Act. Conc. Epheſ. Tom. 4. c. 8.*

(*d*) *Primo omnium Actorum monumentis reverendas pietatis veſtræ literas quaſi facem quandam præmiſimus. Ep. Synod. ad Imp. Tom. 2. Act. Conc. Eph. c. 22.*

(*e*) *Socrat. l. 7. c. 34. lat. vel 35. gr.*

reſt they muſt perſonally and for themſelves ſubſcribe before they could be received into Communion. Hereupon he wrote an orthodox Confeſſion of Faith to the ſame effect as *Paul* had ſubſcribed, and ſent it to *John*, requiring his perſonal ſubſcription to it.

10. *Paul* returning to *Antioch*, brought this reſolute Anſwer of *Cyril* to *John* and his Biſhops there aſſembled in Synod, who perceiving there was no other way to make an Union, and that *Paul* had both ſubſcribed himſelf, and promiſed for them that they ſhould doe the like, at length yielded to all *Cyril's* Demands, and for an aſſurance of their ſincerity herein, wrote a Synodal and Encyclical Epiſtle to *Cyril*, which they likewiſe ſent to *Sixtus* Biſhop of *Rome* (for *Cæleſtine* was e'er this time dead) to *Maximianus* and other Principal Biſhops, wherein having firſt made a ſound and orthodox confeſſion of their Faith, they give their willing aſſent and ſubſcription to the depoſing of *Neſtorius*, and anathematizing of his Hereſies. This Letter they prevailed with *Paul* to carry and make a ſecond Journey to *Alexandria*, to conclude a final Peace and Union. At whoſe coming thither this ſecond time, and bringing with him the undoubted teſtimony of the orthodox belief of *John*, and the chief of the Eaſtern Biſhops, and that they had now done all which the Emperour and *Cyril* had required, they were welcomly received, and the union being perfectly concluded, Peace was reſtored to the Church. In token whereof *Paul* preached at *Alexandria* in *December*, and made before *Cyril* and all the People ſo orthodox a Profeſſion of his Faith, that his Auditours for joy interrupting him four or five times, cryed out *Orthodox* Paul *thou art welcome to us*; Cyril *is Orthodox*, Paul *is Orthodox*. And in Congratulation with *John* the *Antiochian* Patriarch and the reſt, *Cyril* wrote a notable Epiſtle, which begins, *Let the Heavens rejoyce, and let the Earth be glad*: and publiſhing this as an Hymn of Joy and Thankſgiving for the Union ſo happily effected, ſung, *Glory to God, and peace amongſt Men*. This is the ſum of the whole proceedings betwixt *Cyril* and the Eaſtern Biſhops, touching the matter of the union, as to any one who conſults the Epiſtles of *Cyril* to *Acatius* Biſhop of *Melitene*, to *Dynatus* and *John*, and compares them with the Epiſtle of *John*, and that of the Synod of *Antioch* ſent to *Cyril* and *Xiſtus*, will clearly perceive. Yet ſo impudent were the *Neſtorians* as to ſlander *Cyril* to have at the time of the union conſented in all points to them and their Hereſie, and to have condemned his former Doctrine with the *Epheſine* Council. For knowing that *John* and the Eaſtern Biſhops had written to *Cyril* ſo reſolutely, that unleſs he condemned his own Chapters they would not conſent to any Peace or Union; and ſeeing that *Cyril* afterwards and in the ſame year conſented with *John*, and made an union with him; thereupon they took occaſion to boaſt that *Cyril* did it upon the condition required by *John* at the firſt, which was the condemning of his former Doctrine, wilfully and maliciouſly concealing both how *Cyril* utterly denied to yield unto them, or to that condition required by them, and how at length *John* and ſo many of them as were received to Communion conſented wholly unto him, and ſubſcribed to the Catholick Faith. All this they not onely ſuppreſſed, but to colour the matter, forged alſo a Letter under *Cyril's* name, whom therein they made to conſent to the condemnation of his own Doctrine; which Letter *Ibas* in his Epiſtle incloſed and ſent unto *Maris* the Heretick. All theſe things our Learned Doctour *Crackanthorp* had detected, evinced and confuted, and hath moreover diſcovered how *Baronius* hath perverted the narration of this union, and ſtrengthned the calumny of the *Neſtorians* by his miſreporting of the ſame, and all to ſerve the great deſigns of his Pope *Vigilius* his infallibility, and to make him appear orthodox and right in the Faith, but to how little purpoſe in due time will be diſcovered.

Which is effected, *John* complying with *Cyril* and the true Orthodox.

St. *Patrick* by *Cæleſtine* Biſhop of *Rome* ſent into *Ireland* to convert the *Iriſh*.

11. About the time of the celebration of this *Epheſine* Synod, was *Patricius* ſent by *Cæleſtine* Biſhop of *Rome* into *Ireland*, to convert that Iſland to the Chriſtian Faith. This *Patricius*, it's ſaid, was a *Britain* by Birth, ſome ſay, a *Scot*, the Son of *Calphurnius* a Noble Deacon, and of *Couche* the Siſter of famous St. *Martin*. At his Baptiſm he was called *Suchar*, or (as *Bale* will have it) *Succet*. *Germanus* the *Gallick* Biſhop changed it into *Mangonius*; and *Cæleſtine* Biſhop of *Rome* altered this into *Patricius*. Being inſtructed by his Uncle St. *Martin* and St *German*, he went to *Rome*, where for his eminent worth he came to be known to the Biſhop, by whom he was ſent with ſome other Aſſiſtants to convert the Nation of the *Iriſh*. Being a Man of great Zeal, Piety and Induſtry, famous alſo for Miracles, as thoſe who write his Life too laviſhly talk, he brought the whole Iſland to embrace the Chriſtian Faith, and overſaw the Flock which he had converted, ſome ſay, about ſixty years. This is the famous St. *Patrick* the Apoſtle, and *Tutelary* Saint of

Bal. Sigebert, Uſſerius de prim. Eccleſ. Britan. & Of the Religion profeſſed by the ancient *Iriſh*.

of the *Iriſh*, who had him in ſo great eſteem whilſt yet living, that they compared him with St. *Peter* himſelf, as appears by what *Secundinus*, or (as they call him in that Countrey) St. *Scachlin*, about the year CCCCXLVIII. wrote of him in a certain Hymn: *He is conſtant in the fear of God, and unmoveable in the Faith, upon whom the Church is builded, as upon* Peter; *whoſe Apoſtleſhip alſo he hath obtained from God, and the gates of Hell ſhall not prevail againſt him.* Chriſt is there ſaid to *have choſen him for his Vicar.* And his See of *Armagh* is by one *Calvus Perennis*, in the days of *Brian* King of *Ireland*, who was ſlain in the year of Our Lord M.XIV. termed the See Apoſtolick; as *Deſiderius* Biſhop of *Cahors* in *France* is by their Countreyman *Gallus* ſaluted both *Papa* and *Apoſtolicus*; and the Biſhop of *Kildare* in *Ireland* honoured by *Cogitoſus*, with the ſtyle of *Summus Sacerdos*, and *Summus Pontifex*, the *Higheſt Prieſt*, and *Higheſt Biſhop*; theſe Titles and Prerogatives which the Pope now peculiarly challengeth as Enſigns of his Monarchy, being heretofore uſually communicated to other Biſhops, when the univerſal Church was governed in an *Ariſtocratical* way.

Who compare him with St. *Peter*.

And ſtyle him *Summus Pontifex, &c.*

Uſſerius ibid. ex vet. Cod. Eccleſ. *Armach. c.* 7. *Idem ibid.*

12. Now a Countreyman of our own would make us believe, that *When* Ireland *firſt received* Chriſtendom, *they gave themſelves into the Juriſdiction both Spiritual and Temporal of the See of* Rome. But in this reſpect is told that he ſpeaks without Book, by as Learned a Perſon in theſe matters as ever that Countrey bred, of the Spiritual Juriſdiction untruly, of the Temporal abſurdly. For from this firſt Legation of *Palladius* and *Patricius* (ſome ſay *Palladius* firſt Preached in *Ireland*) who were firſt ſent to plant the Faith in this Countrey, it cannot be ſhewed (ſaith he) out of any monument of Antiquity, that the Biſhop of *Rome* did ever ſend any Legates to exerciſe Spiritual Juriſdiction here (much leſs any of his Deputies to exerciſe Temporal Power) before *Gillebertus*, *Who firſt* (they ſay) *exerciſed the Legantine Function of the Apoſtolick See*, as a Contemporary of his words it, even *Bernard* himſelf in the Life of *Malachias*. We reade, moreover (ſaith he) of ſundry Archbiſhops that have been in this Land betwixt the days of St. *Patrick* and of *Malachias*, What one of them can be named that ever ſought for a Pall from *Rome*? *Joceline* indeed, a late Monk of the Abbey of *Furneſs* writes of St. *Patrick*, that the Biſhop of *Rome* conferred the Pall upon him, together with the exerciſe of Legantine Power. But he is well known to be a moſt fabulous Authour, and for this particular, *Bernard* who was more Ancient, informeth us far otherwiſe, that from the very Beginning till his time the Metropolitical See of *Armagh* wanted the uſe of the Pall, with whom the Authours of the Annals of *Mailroſs* doth fully accord, noting that in the year M.CLI. *Pope* Eugenius (to whom *Bernard* wrote his Books *de Conſideratione*) *did by his Legate* John Papiron *tranſmit four Palls into* Ireland; *whither a Pall had never been brought.* Hereupon *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, though he acknowledgeth that St. *Patrick Did chuſe* Armagh *for his Seat, and appointed it to be, as it were, a Metropolitical See, and the Proper place of the Primacy of* Ireland; *yet withall affirms, that indeed there were no Archbiſhops in* Ireland, *but that Biſhops conſecrated one another till the bringing of four Palls by the ſaid* Papiro, *or* Paparo, *the Pope's Legate.* And ſome of the Chroniclers after him note concerning *Galaſius*, then Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, that *He is ſaid to have been the firſt Archbiſhop, becauſe he uſed the firſt Pall, and that others before him were Archbiſhops in Name onely, for reverence of St.* Patrick *as Apoſtle of that Nation.*

Ireland not under the Juriſdiction of the See of *Rome*.

Campion Hiſt. of Ireland l. 2. *c.* 2. *Uſher. quo ſuprà. c.* 8.

Metropoliticæ ſedi deerat adhuc & defuerat ab initio pallii uſus. Bernard. vita Malachiæ

13. The complaint made by *Anſelm* in his Letters to *Muriardach* King of *Ireland*, that *Biſhops there were conſecrated by Biſhops alone*, might ſeem ſomewhat to juſtify *Giraldus* his Relation; if we did not find a farther complaint there alſo, that they were often ordained by one Biſhop onely. But as this later argueth not the want of a competent number of Biſhops in the Land (for they had more than a ſufficient number of ſuch) but a neglect of the obſervance of the *Nicene* Canon, ſo can it not rightly be inferred out of the former that they had no Archbiſhops there at that time, but that rather the Biſhops failed much in the reſpect they ought to their *Metropolitan*. For that the *Iriſh* had their Archbiſhops, beſide many other pregnant teſtimonies that might be produced, Pope *Hildebrand's* own Brief ſufficiently manifeſts, directed to *Terdeluachus* (or *Tirlagh*) *the Illuſtrious King of* Ireland, *the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbats, Nobles, and all Chriſtians inhabiting* Ireland. And for the Archbiſhops of *Armagh*, it appears moſt evidently from *Bernard* in the Life of *Malachias*, that they were ſo far from being Metropolitans and Primates in Name onely, that they exerciſed much greater Authority before they were put to the charge of fetching Palls from *Rome*, than ever they did afterward, and that they not onely conſecrated Biſhops, but erected

Anſelm. l. 3. *Ep.* 142.

Greg. 7. *Ep. ad Hib. MS. in Biblioth. Cotton* alſo new Biſhopricks and Archbiſhopricks too ſometimes, according as they ſaw convenient. *Nennius* writes, that St. *Patrick* founded in *Ireland* three hundred ſixty five Churches, conſecrated three hundred ſixty five Biſhops, and ordained three thouſand Presbyters. In proceſs of time, the number of Biſhops was dayly multiplied, at the pleaſure of the Metropolitan (whereof *Bernard* complains) and that not onely ſo far that almoſt every Church had a ſeveral Biſhop, but that alſo in ſome Towns or Cities were ordained more than one, nay ſometimes made without any certain place aſſigned to them. As for the erecting of New Archbiſhopricks, if the Legends may be credited, King *Eugus* and St. *Patrick*, with all the People did ordain, that in the City and See of *Albeus* (now *Emelye*, annexed to *Caſhell*) ſhould be the Archbiſhoprick of the whole Province of *Munſter*. In like manner *Brandubh* King of the *Lagenians*, with the conſent aſwell of the Laity as of the Clergy, appointed that in the City of *Fernes* (the See of *Moedoy*, otherwiſe called *Edanus*) ſhould be the Archbiſhoprick of all the Province of *Leinſter*. But *Bernard's* teſtimony we have no reaſon not to believe, relating what was known to be done in his own time: that *Celſus* the Archbiſhop of *Armagh* had of new conſtituted another Metropolitical See, but ſubject to the firſt See, and the Archbiſhop thereof. Whereby we may ſee, ſaith Archbiſhop *Vſher*, that in the erection of New Archbiſhopricks and Biſhopricks all things were here done at home, without conſulting with the See of *Rome* in the matter.

Having Archbiſhops and Biſhops ordering all things at home.

Edm. Camp. Hiſt. Hibern. l. 1. *c. ult. ad Ann.* 948.

14. Our ſaid Countreyman confeſſeth, that *To the Monarch was granted a Negative in the nomination of Biſhops at every Vacation: the Clergy and Laity of the Dioceſe recommending him to the King, the King to the Monarch, the Monarch to the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury; which laſt clauſe is erroneouſly by him extended to the Biſhops of the whole Nation, which properly belonged to the *Oſtman* Strangers that poſſeſſed the three Cities of *Dublin*, *Waterford* and *Limrick*. But as the Kings and People of this Land (our Authour proceeds) in thoſe Elder times kept the nomination of their Archbiſhops and Biſhops in their own Hands, not depending on the Pope's proviſion that way, ſo do we not find by any approved Record of Antiquity, that any viſitations of the Clergy were held here in the Pope's name, much leſs that any Indulgences were ſought for by our People at his Hands. For as for the Charter of St. *Patrick* (by ſome intituled, *de Antiquitate Avalonica*) wherein *Phaganus* and *Dervoianus* are ſaid to have purchaſed ten or thirty years of Indulgence from Pope *Eleutherius*, and St. *Patrick* himſelf to have procured twelve years in his time, from *Celeſtine* it might juſtly be demonſtrated were this a fit place, a mere figment deviſed by the Monks of *Glaſtenbury*. Neither do I well know what credit is to be given to that ſtragling ſentence which I find aſcribed to the ſame Authour: *If any Queſtions ariſe in this Iſland, let them be referred to the See Apoſtolick*; or to that other Decree attributed to *Auxilius*, *Patricius*, *Secundinus* and *Benignus*. *When any difficult Cauſe, and unknown to all the Judges of the* Scotiſh *Nation ſhall ariſe, it is rightly to be referred to the See of the Archbiſhop of the* Iriſh (viz. *to* Patrick) *and to the examination of the Prelate thereof. But if by him and his Wiſe Men a Cauſe of this nature cannot eaſily be made up: we have decreed, it ſhall be ſent to the See Apoſtolick; that is to ſay, to the Chair of the Apoſtle* Peter, *which hath the authority of the City of* Rome. Onely this I will ſay, that as it is moſt likely that St. *Patrick* had a ſpecial regard unto the Church of *Rome*, from whence he was ſent for converſion of this Iſland; ſo if I my ſelf had lived in his days, for the reſolution of a doubtfull Queſtion, I ſhould as willingly have liſtned to the Judgment of the Church of *Rome* as to the determination of any Church in the whole World, ſo reverend an eſtimation have I of the Integrity of that Church as it ſtood in thoſe good days. But that St. *Patrick* was of opinion that the Church of *Rome* was ſure ever afterward to continue in that good eſtate, and that there was a perpetual privilege annexed unto that See, that it ſhould never err in Judgment, or that the Pope's Sentences were always to be held as infallible Oracles; that will I never believe: ſure I am that my Countreymen after him were of another Belief, who were ſo far from ſubmitting themſelves in this ſort to whatſoever ſhould proceed from the See of *Rome*, that they oftentimes ſtood out againſt it, when they had little cauſe ſo to doe. For proof whereof I need to ſeek no farther than to thoſe very allegations which have been lately urged for maintenance of the ſupremacy of the Pope and Church of *Rome* in this Countrey. Thus much of St. *Patrick*.

Without any Viſitations from thence, or Indulgences ſought for by any of the *Iriſh* from *Rome*.

Chart. St. Patric. in Gulielm. Malmesb. libello de Antiq. Claſton. Eccleſiæ M. S. Vet. Collect. Canon. Biblioth. Cotton. Vet. Codex. Eccleſ. Armagh.

15. About the time of this *Epheſine* Synod, died *Paulinus* the famous Biſhop of *Nola*. And the year following, *April* the 6*th*. *Cæleſtine* the Patriarch of *Rome*, after he had born that Office eight years, five months, and three days, and was

Paulinus Biſhop of *Nola* dies.

Baron. ad An. CCCCXXXII.

Celeſtine Patriarch of *Rome* dies.

Who does many good things.

And is ſucceeded by *Sixtus*.

Platina.

Urſpergenſis.

Lib. 7. *c.* 11.

buried in the Cemetery of *Priſcilla*, in the *Via Salaria*. He ordained, that the Pſalms of *David* ſhould be ſung by way of Antiphony before the Communion, which formerly had not been done, the Epiſtle of St. *Paul* and the Goſpel being onely read; as alſo that the Prieſt at the beginning of the adminiſtration of that Sacrament ſhould recite the forty ſecond Pſalm, *Judica me Deus*, in which Pſalm you muſt know *David* prays againſt his Enemies that perſecuted him. The *Gradual* alſo, as it's called, which they ſing in the Maſs, is attributed to him. Some add, that he cauſed alſo to be chanted in the Liturgy or Maſs, *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus*. He dedicated the beautifull Church of *Julius*, and to it gave ſeveral pieces of Plate, the Catalogue of which, if the Reader think it worth his while, he may find in *Platina*. This Biſhop is very much to be commended for his zeal againſt *Pelagianiſm*, and *Neſtorianiſm*, for ſuppreſſing of which he took great pains and care, for ſending *Palladius* and *Patricius* to convert the Northern Nations, as alſo for the ſuppreſſing the *Novatians* at *Rome*, from whom he took their Churches, and conſtrained *Ruſticula* their Biſhop to hold private Conventicles. For unto that time (ſaith *Socrates*) the *Novatians* flouriſhed at *Rome*, enjoyed there many Churches, and had under them great Congregations. To this he adds this note: *But then they began to be hated out of meaſure, whenas the Biſhop of* Rome (*no otherwiſe than the Biſhop of* Alexandria) *paſſing the Bounds of his Prieſtly Order, preſumed now to challenge to himſelf Secular Power and Authority.* Beſides his Epiſtles and the Decrees therein contained, *Gratian* hath four which are hardly worth relating, onely one of them inflicts puniſhment upon the Biſhop or Prieſt that ſhould lye with the Woman whoſe Confeſſion they heard, which Cuſtome, to prevent the like villany, had been formerly abrogated by *Nectarius* of *Conſtantinople*. There are extant of his two Epiſtles to the Biſhops of *Gall*; one to them of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, and the fragment of another to the *Epheſine* Council. To him ſucceeded *Xiſtus* or *Sixtus* of that Name, the third Son of *Sixtus* a *Roman*, *April* the twenty ſixth, the See having been vacant twenty days.

Several *Jews* deceived by an Impoſtour.

A Synod held at *Rome*.

Polychronius Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* ſuſpended.

Socrat. lib. 7. *c.* 37.

Tom. Concil.

Platina Hiſt. Magdeb. Cent. 5. *c.* 10.

16. About this time many *Jews* in *Crete* being deceived by an Impoſtour, who told them he was *Moſes*, and was come the ſecond time to conduct them through the Sea to the Land of Promiſe, caſt themſelves into the Water. Some periſhed, others were ſaved by Fiſhermen, and the reſt convinced of their credulity by the ſad example of their Fellows, kept themſelves on dry land, and all that remained alive, convinced by ſuch a calamity, renounced Judaiſm, and imbraced the Chriſtian Faith. The year following, a Synod of fifty ſix Biſhops was held in *Rome*; the occaſion was, *Sixtus* the Biſhop his being accuſed by *Baſſus* and *Marinianus* of having defiled *Chryſogenites* a Nun: but he was abſolved in the preſence of *Valentinian* the Emperour, and *Placidia* his Mother. The cauſe of his abſolution ſome make the ſpeech of an *Exconſul*, who ſaid, that Sentence ought not to be paſſed againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*; which words *Sixtus* catching at, ſaid, It was indeed in his Power whether or no he would be Judged, yet would he not but that the truth ſhould be brought to light. By this ſeeming Piety and Humility the Emperour was ſo moved, that he referred the buſineſs wholly to *Sixtus*, who now become both Judge and Party, condemned both his Accuſers, neither upon their repentance to receive them to favour, when one of them pleaded that Chriſt teacheth us thus to pray, *Forgive us our treſpaſſes as we forgive them that treſpaſs againſt us*; he replying, that it was alſo written that the ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt ſhould neither be forgiven in this World, nor that which is to come. *Baſſus*, as Principal in the ſlander was Baniſhed, and his eſtate ſeized to the uſe of the Church, three months after which he died, and then the Biſhop, as it ſeems, relenting, cauſed him to be Imbalmed, and (as *Platina* tells us) with his own hands Buried him near to St. *Peter* in the Sepulchre of his Anceſtours. At this ſame time *Sixtus* accuſed *Polychronius* the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, as having for a Reward in Money ordained ſeveral Biſhops and Miniſters, and cauſed him for ſome time to be ſuſpended from his Function, being condemned by this *Roman* Synod. It's reported he was angry with him for having once ſaid that it was more fitting the City of *Jeruſalem* ſhould obtain the preeminence than *Rome*, being the place where Chriſt taught and ſuffered, and where the Holy Ghoſt was ſent down firſt upon the Diſciples. But in a time when *Jeruſalem* was Beſieged, this Biſhop ſelling his Lands, and diſtributing the price amongſt the Poor, *Sixtus* procured the Emperour to reſtore him to his Biſhoprick.

Maximianus Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* dies.

Socrat. lib. 7. *cap.* 39.

17. The year following being the Four Hundred Thirty Fourth of Our Lord, the twenty ſeventh of *Theodoſius* II. and the tenth of *Valentinian* III. *Maximianus*

the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* deceaſed, after he had peaceably governed the Church the ſpace of two years and five months, in the Conſulſhip of *Arebindus* and *Aſpares* on *Good-Friday*, being the twelfth of *April. At that time* (they are the words of *Socrates*) Theodoſius *the Emperour plaid a very wiſe part. For leſt tumult and diſſenſion ſhould again be raiſed in the Church, without any delay, whilſt the Corpſe of* Maximianus *was above ground, he procured the Biſhops then preſent to enſtall* Proclus *in the Biſhop's See. To this end the Letters of* Cœleſtinus *Biſhop of* Rome *were brought unto* Cyril *Biſhop of* Alexandria, *unto* John *Biſhop of* Antioch, *and* Ruffus *Biſhop of* Theſſalonica, *certifying them that there was no cauſe to the contrary: but that one either already nominated Biſhop of ſome certain City, or inſtalled in ſome proper See, might be tranſlated to another Biſhoprick.* Theſe be the words of *Socrates*, who ſpends a whole Chapter upon occaſion of the repulſe formerly given to *Proclus*, on purpoſe to prove that it was neither againſt the Canons, nor example of ancient times, for a Biſhop to be tranſlated from one See to another, and reciting the pretended Canon, plainly ſhews it meant no ſuch thing as to inhibit ſuch a removal. Let the Reader then conſider how truly *Baronius* affirms that *Socrates* ſaith this Tranſlation of *Proclus* was made by diſpenſation of the Biſhop of *Rome*, becauſe the Canons forbad ſuch Tranſlations, and concludes from *Sixtus* his interpoſing his Judgment and Advice to a Right and Juriſdiction. This ſame year *Vincentius* a *Gall* by birth, who having paſt over the prime of his Youth in Secular warfare and buſineſs relating to the World, afterwards had betaken himſelf to a Monaſtical kind of life in *Leria*, an Iſland of the *Icarian* Sea, whence he had the Sirname of *Lerinenſis*, wrote a notable Commentary againſt all Hereticks, for the antiquity and univerſality of the Catholick Faith, which *Baronius* ſaith was very accommodate to theſe times whereof we write, and will be profitable againſt Innovatours in all Ages. This we moſt readily muſt admit, out of reſpect to his great κριτήριον of Catholick Doctrine, that famous ſaying of his, that *We ought to hold faſt that which* by all, always *and* in all places *hath been believed, this being truly and properly Catholick, as the force of the word and reaſon it ſelf doth declare, all which it truly and univerſally comprehendeth.* Obſervable alſo is his Opinion, that *The Canon of the Scriptures is over and above ſufficient in all reſpects.* By theſe Rules let all Innovatours be Tried, Abſolved or Condemned.

Proclus is tranſlated thither.

Cap. 35.

Vincentius Lerinenſis in Præf. Anno 30. *ab Epheſina Synodo.*

In ipſa Catholica Eccleſiâ magnopere curandum eſt, ut id teneamus quod Ubique, *quod* Semper, *quod* ab Omnibus, *creditum: hoc eſt enim verè proprièque Catholicum, quod ipſa vis nominis, ratióque declarat, quæ omnia verè univerſaliter comprehendit. cap.* 3. * *Scripturarum Canon. ſolus ſufficit ad omnia ſatis ſuperque. c.* 41.

The Books of *Neſtorius* burnt.

Cod. Th. de Hæret. l. ult. & Acta Conc. Epheſ.

18. The next year, or the Four Hundred Thirty Fifth of Our Lord, were the Books of *Neſtorius*, which he had written in exile, condemned to be burnt by an Edict of *Theodoſius*. And when he himſelf was ſo far from amendment, that by his tenacious principles he infuſed venome, and raiſed commotions whereever he came; the year following he was removed from the Monaſtery of *Euprepius*, two Furlongs diſtant from *Antioch*, to *Petræ*, a place in the Wilderneſs of *Oaſis*. Being afterward (as *Euagrius* tells us) ſet at liberty by the People called *Blemmyes* in *Libya*, and *Theodoſius* having by his Edicts ordained he ſhould return, as he wandred from place to place about the fartheſt Part of *Thebais*, bruiſing and beating himſelf to the ground, he had ſuch an end as was agreeable to the life he had formerly led, and thereby ſhewed himſelf a ſecond *Arius*. For, as this Authour relates, (after a recitation of his complaining Letters to the Governour of *Thebais*) from his *Amanuenſis*, when he could not be brought to any reaſon or humility by all his miſeries, but rather ſpurned againſt the Authority of the Emperour and his Magiſtrates, his Tongue was eaten off by Worms, and ſo by the juſt Judgment of God he paſſed, ſaith he, from bodily to ſpiritual, from thoſe temporal to eternal puniſhments. The enſuing year was a great Perſecution raiſed againſt Orthodox Chriſtians in *Afriek* by *Genſerick* the *Arian* King of the *Wandals*, wherein *Arcadius*, *Probus*, *Paſcheſius* and *Eutychus*, Noble *Spaniards*, received the Crown of Martyrdom. The next after this being the Four Hundred Thirty Eighth of Our Lord, and the ſixteenth Conſulſhip of *Theodoſius*, *January* the twenty eighth, the Corpſe of St. *John Chryſoſtome* was tranſlated from *Comanum* to *Conſtantinople* five and thirty years after his depoſition. The occaſion, as *Socrates* tells the ſtory, was a great deſire that *Proclus* the Patriarch had to reconcile to the Church ſuch as upon the ſcandal of his ſufferings had ſeparated themſelves, whom to oblige he perſwaded the Emperour to tranſlate his Body, and with great Pomp and Reverence to place it in the Apoſtles Church; by which means thoſe that

Lib. 1. c. 7.

His miſerable death.

A Perſecution in *Africk*.

Proſper. in Chron.

The Corpſe of *Chryſoſtome* tranſlated to *Conſtantinople*.

formerly had ſeparated themſelves were reduced to order, and became conformable. Thus is the naked ſtory told by him, to whom do aſſent * *Theodoret*, † *Marcellinus* the great ‖ Menology, their * *Roman* Martyrology, and others.

* *Lib.* 5. *c.* 36.
† *In Chron.*
‖ *Die* 27. *Jan.*
* *Die* 27. *Jan.*

19. But his Body being (*a*) tranſlated from *Conſtantinople* to *Rome*, to make his Reliques of more value, they have made the manner of his Tranſlation very miraculous. *Nicephorus* relates the Summ of it, borrowing it, as *Baronius* (*b*) doth not obſcurely hint, from the Luculent Oration of one *Coſmas Veſtiarius*, Whether a *Vatican* or *Baronian* Authour, ſo ignoble and unworthy, that *Poſſevine* judged him not worthy to be named in his *Bibliotheca*, or reckoned amongſt his *Teſtes Veritatis*. Yet out of this Tailor's Oration (ſaith our Great *Crackanthorp*) hath the Cardinal ſticht a very pretty Anile, whereof the Summ is this: *Proclus* making a Panegyrical Oration in praiſe of *Chryſoſtome*, the People were ſo inflamed with a longing deſire after him, that they interrupted the Biſhop, and not ſuffering him to make an end of his Sermon, cried out with many Vociferations, that they would have *Chryſoſtome* and his Reliques. *Proclus* herewith ſore moved, prevailed with the Emperour to ſend divers Senatours, nay ſome ſay an Army with Clerks and Monks to fetch his Body from *Comana*, where it was kept in a ſilver Coffin. Once and again, nay very often they labour and ſtrive with their whole might and skill to lift up the Coffin, but all in vain, the ſacred Body being no more moveable than a Rock. Of this therefore they certifie the Emperour, who calling *Proclus* and other holy Men ſeriouſly to adviſe about the matter, they counſel him to write a Letter to *Chryſoſtome*, in way of a Petition, asking him forgiveneſs for the Sins which *Arcadius* his Father had committed againſt him, and moſt humbly to beſeech him that he would return to *Conſtantinople*, and re-aſſume his See, praying him withall no longer to afflict them by his abſence, being not onely deſirous of his Body, but of his Aſhes, yea of his ſhadow. This the Emperour religiouſly performed, writing a Letter or Petition expreſſed both by *Nicephorus* and *Baronius*, though both the Cardinal and the Tailour *Coſmas* be unwilling to give to *Chryſoſtome* the Title of Patriarch and *Pater Patrum*, which *Nicephorus* as his due aſcribes unto him. The Emperour's Letters were brought to the dead Corpſe, and with great Reverence laid upon the Breaſt of *Chryſoſtome*, which done the next day with eaſe the Prieſts took up the Body, and bringing it to *Conſtantinople*, placed it in the Church of the *Holy Apoſtles*.

(*a*) *Martyrolog. Rom. Inde poſtea Romam tranſlata eſt.*
(*b*) *Ad An.* 438. & *in Annot. ad Martyrol. Rom.*

The miraculous manner of its Tranſlation.

20. Here firſt, as the Cardinal relateth from *Nicephorus*, the Emperour with the People made an humble Prayer for his Parents, and more eſpecially intreated for his Mother, that her Grave which had ſhaken and been ſick of a Palſie, and made a noiſe and ratling for thirty five years, might now at length ceaſe; and the Holy man heard the requeſt and granted it; the Graves Palſie was cured, ſo that it ſhaked no more. After this did *Proclus* place dead *Chryſoſtome* in the ſame See and Epiſcopal Seat with himſelf, all the People applauding and crying, *O Father Chryſoſtome receive thy See*; then by a Miracle beyond the Degree of Admiration, the Lips of *Chryſoſtome* (five and thirty years after he was laid in his Grave) opened and bleſſed all the People, ſaying *Peace be unto you*; and thus both the Patriarch *Proclus*, and the People ſtanding by teſtified that they heard. Such is the Relation of *Baronius* from *Nicephorus* and *Coſmas* his Tailour, a ſtory which puts down *Heliodorus*, *Orlando*, and all the Fictions of the Poets. Not to ſtand to refute ſuch a lying legend, the Cardinal's Friends may conſult *Tilmannus* their *Carthuſian* Monk, and ſee the Cenſure he gives of it, and of *Nicephorus* the onely Authour he knew, till *Baronius* pull'd this blind Tailour out of a Corner. *Though I believe*, ſaith he, *God to be omnipotent, yet I believe not all which is here written of Chryſoſtome. Let the Reader chuſe whether he will believe it or not, for the Writers of Mens Lives who lived before* Nicephorus (and he writ not till about the year 1328) *would not have concealed or ſmothered in ſilence a matter of ſo great moment.* This his Judgment is the more weighty becauſe there is no Ancient Father (I ſpeak it confidently ſaith our Dr. *Crackanthorp*) that hath had more fabulous Writers than are *Palladius* (as he is called) *Leo* and *George* the Writers, or rather Deviſers of *Chryſoſtom*'s Acts, his Life and Death. Any one of them doting after ſuch miraculous Reports, would have painted out this Miracle of Miracles with all the wit and words they had. That which I onely obſerve is, the ſtrange, and if you pleaſe, miraculous lewd dealing of *Baronius*. This Epiſtle of *Theodoſius*, though it was written to *Chryſoſtome* more than thirty years after his Death, the Cardinal approves, applauds, and for a rare Monument commends it, and all that appendant

Ipſe Chryſoſtomus labiis rurſum apertis ad Populum dixiſſe fertur Pax vobis, Coſmas apud Bar. ubi ſuprà.

Parænеſis Carthuſiani poſt vitam Chryſoſtomi.

dant fable to all Poſterity. Why? It is an excellent ſtory, indeed to perſwade the Adoration of Reliques, Innovation of Saints, Prayers for the Dead and ſuch like. Had the Epiſtle of *Theodoret* (hereafter to be mentioned) contained ſuch ſtuff, it ſhould have had every way the like applauſe from his Cardinalſhip, becauſe it wants ſuch matters, and croſſeth in very many things the Cardinal's Annals; oh! it is nothing but a Fiction, and a very forgery of ſome naughty Varlet. Thus Dr. *Crackanthorp*, upon occaſion of Tranſlation of St. *Chryſoſtome*'s Bones.

On the fifth Council.

21. We have not for many years heard any thing of the Pagans, and their Superſtition, which it might be expected before this time ſhould have dwindled into nothing, Chriſtianity having ſo long been the owned and legal Religion. But notwithſtanding all former Laws, and the Example aſwell as incouragement of the Emperours, yet did Satan find ſome holes wherein to creep, and upon occaſion ſhew himſelf more publickly, as the Comportment of Affairs would permit. At this time when the diſtreſſes of the Weſtern Empire muſt neceſſarily afford greater Liberty to Souldiers, we find that *Cyrus* the Commander of the *Roman* Army, now when *Carthage* was beſieged, was of that ſuperſtitious perſwaſion, being afterward honoured with the *Prefectſhip* of the *Prætorium* and the *Conſulſhip*. *Littorius* alſo who commanded the *Hunns*, was addicted to the predictions of the *Aruſpices*, and more than this the *Pagans* were ſo bold, as publickly to offer Sacrifice. As this practice grieved the Fathers of the Church, and drew forth ſeveral Pieces declaming againſt ſuch impious practices from *Cyril*, *Salvian*, *Chryſologus* and others, ſo *Theodoſius* in the year 439 on the laſt Day of *January*, publiſhed an Edict againſt *Pagans*, *Samaritans*, *Jews* and *Hereticks*, which ſubjects them to divers pains and forfeitures. And not onely did *Paganiſm* recover in ſome meaſure its dying ſtrength at this time, but the *Arian* Hereſie again became rampant in *Africk*, where a very great Perſecution was raiſed againſt the Orthodox Chriſtians, after the taking of *Carthage* by the *Wandals*, who were infected with that Venome. *Quod vult Deus*, the Biſhop of that City preſently after it was taken, and a great Company of his Clerks were put into leaking Ships and committed to the Mercy of the Sea, which yet by God's mercy tranſmitted them to *Naples* in *Campania*. The ordinary Rule was, either to quit the Countrey or remain in perpetual ſlavery; yet this good came of ſo great an evil, that Paganiſm which had endured the ſhocks of ſo many Edicts was quite caſt down, and pulled up by the roots at *Carthage*, where they utterly defaced the Temple of Memory, and the *Via Cæleſtis*.

An Edict againſt Pagans, &c.

Theod. Nov. Tit. 3.

Victor de perſec. Vandal.

The Temple of Memory, and the *Via Cæleſtis* at *Carthage* demoliſhed.

22. About this time died *Folinus* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, into whoſe room the Citizens deſiring *Proclus* the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, that another might be elected, when he muſed with himſelf, whom he ſhould aſſign them for their Biſhop, and on *Saturday* was in the Church for that purpoſe, all the Senatours came thither to ſee whom he would elect, and amongſt the reſt *Thalaſſius* the *Præfectus Præterio* of *Illyricum*, on whom he pitched, and ordained him Biſhop of that See, whereat though the Emperour at firſt fretted, yet afterward as *Nicephorus* writes, he confirmed the Election. Here *Socrates* tells us he will cut off and make an end of his Hiſtory, conſiſting of ſeven Books, of which the laſt contains the Eccleſiaſtical Affairs of two and thirty years, the whole work compriſing thoſe of an hundred and forty, beginning at the firſt year of the 271. *Olympiad*, when *Conſtantine* was proclaimed Emperour, and ending the ſecond of the three hundred and fifth (more rightly the third of the three hundreth and fourth) and the 17 Conſulſhip of *Theodoſius Auguſtus*. In his Collections he was not Indiligent, though *Euagrius* accuſeth him of Oſcitancy, very partial toward the *Novatians*, a *Greek* by Birth, and born at *Conſtantinople*. To this ſame year alſo being the 439 year of our Lord, *Hermias Sozomenus* of *Salamina* continued his Hiſtory, as himſelf affirmeth in his Preface, which plainly ſhews much of the latter end of that work to be loſt. *Gregory* the Great Biſhop of *Rome* tells us, that his See received not his Hiſtory, becauſe in many things he lies, and he too much commends *Theodorus* the Biſhop of *Mopſueſtia*. *Melchior Canus* tells him his Memory failed him, for they are *Theodoret*'s words which he cites for *Sozomen*'s, and *Baronius* anſwers in his behalf, that though in ſuch matters as *Gregory* excepts againſt, he be not to be received, yet neither to be rejected in other matters, the Cardinal being the rather of this opinion, becauſe Pope *Gelaſius* receiveth him, and accounts him more worthy of credit than *Euſebius*, as *Photius* values him above *Socrates*. To this may be added from *Canus*, that his Teſtimony was both cited and approved

Folinus Biſhop of *Cæſarea* dies.

Thalaſſius ſucceeds him.

L. 14. *c.* 4. 2

Lib. 6. *Ep.* 31.

proved in the *Florentine Council* at which *Palæologus* was preſent. To theſe times alſo *Theodoret* (of whom we ſhall have too much occaſion to ſpeak more hereafter) continued his Hiſtory conſiſting of five Books, the Style of which is more Hiſtorical than either that of *Socrates*, *Sozomen* or *Euagrius* in the opinion both of *Photius* and *Voſſius*. Theſe *Greek* Authours were firſt Tranſlated into *Latin* by *Epiphanius* an eloquent Man, and the friend of *Caſſiodorus*, who having procured this to be done, of them three he compoſed the Tripartite Hiſtory, leſt eloquent *Greece*, as he ſaith, ſhould inſult above thoſe of the Weſt, injoying thoſe neceſſaries which they wanted.

Divin. Lect. c.5 & 17. quos à viro Epiphanio diſertiſſimo in uno corpore 12 Libris fecimus Deo auxiliante transferri: ne inſultet habere ſe facunda Græcia neceſſarium quod vobis indicet eſſe ſubtractum. pag. 901. Edit. Genevæ. 1622.

A Synod held at *Rhegium* in the Province of *Narbone*.

23. This ſame year or that following was a Provincial Synod of thirteen Biſhops held at *Rhegium* in the Province of *Narbone*. Of which are 7 obſcure Canons extant. The fifth of them ordains that upon the death of a Biſhop, the Neighbour Biſhop at the time of the Funeral ſhall come and take care of the Church, till the place be legally fitted. The laſt commands that Biſhops, all excuſe ſet apart, fail not to meet twice in the year. The enſuing year being the 440 of our Lord, on the 28*th.* of *March* died *Sixtus* the *Roman* Biſhop, when he had governed that Church eight years wanting 30 days. He built a ſtately Church to the honour of the Bleſſed Virgin called *Maria Major*, as appeared to *Platina* by an Inſcription upon an Arch. How he furniſhed it at his great Coſt, the Reader if he pleaſe may find in that Writer, as that he ſpent all he had either this way, or in his Liberality to the Poor, making his own Eyes his Executours, and having ordained 28 Prieſts, 12 Deacons and 52 Biſhops was buried in a Vault in the *via Tiburtina*, by the Body of St. *Laurence*. This being vacant more than forty days, at length, on the 10*th.* of *May* was *Leo* a Deacon of the *Roman* Church, choſen for Biſhop and Paſtour of it. He was a *Tuſcan* born and the Son of *Quintianus*. Having very good natural parts he adorned them in his Youth by good Literature: uſing himſelf to declaiming, by that conſtant exerciſe he became very eloquent, being alſo ſtudied in Divinity above moſt of his time. Under *Sixtus* who made good uſe of his Abilities in his defence againſt *Baſſus*, he was ſent upon ſeveral meſſages of importance, and was now abſent having been diſpatched into *Gall*, to compoſe the difference betwixt *Aetius* and *Albinus* two eminent *Roman* Captains. The year following had for Conſul alone *Cyras* the Pagan of whom we lately ſpake, who at length being diſgraced by *Theodoſius* the Emperour turned Chriſtian, took Orders, and as *Nicephorus* tells us was made Biſhop of *Smyrna*. He was an excellent Poet, and pleaſed thereby *Eudocia* the Empreſs to ſuch a degree (for this Lady was a great Friend and Servant of the Muſes) that thinking him worthy of the greateſt countenance. She brought him in, and gave occaſion to his Advancement to ſo great Honours.

Tom. 2. *Conc.*

Proſper.

Sixtus Biſhop of *Rome* dies.

Leo Succeeds him.

Another Synod held at *Orange*.

24. This ſame year which was the 441 of our Lord, was another Provincial Synod held at *Orange*, or *Aranſio* in *Gall*, in the Province of *Narbone*, called *Concilium Aranſicanum*, whereof are extant 29 Canons of no great importance, beſides a form of Excommunication, and another of Abſolution, aſcribed by *Gratian* to this Synod. The form of Excommunication is this: (*a*) *Following the Canonical Inſtitutions and Examples of the Holy Fathers, by the Authority of God and Judgment of the Holy Ghoſt, we baniſh from the Boſome of our Holy Mother, the Church, and the ſociety of all Chriſtians the violaters or Robbers of God's Churches. Till they repent and give ſatisfaction to the Church of God.* Here the Gloſs moves the Queſtion whether all Sacrilegious Perſons be excommunicate *ipſo Jure*, and reſolves it in the affirmative onely as to thoſe violatours. As for the manner of Reconciliation. (*b*) *When any Excommunicated or Anathematized Perſon asketh pardon and promiſeth amendment: the Biſhop that Excommunicated him ought to come to the Church Door, and twelve Prieſts to ſtand about him, as alſo thoſe againſt whom the offence was committed, and now are to be repaired, who if they have been already ſatisfied and thereof to give Teſtimonial; Then let the Biſhop demand of him if he be willing to undergoe ſuch penance as the Canons do enjoyn to his offences. And if he being proſtrate on the ground do ask pardon, confeſs*

(*a*) *Canonica inſtituta & Sanctorum Patrum exempla ſequentes, Eccleſiarum Dei violatores auctoritate Dei & ſtudio ſancti Spiritus à gremio ſanctæ matris Eccleſiæ & à conſortio totius Chriſtianitatis eliminamus quoad uſq; reſipiſcant & Eccleſiæ Dei ſatisfaciant. Can.* 11. *Qu. III. c.* CVII.

(*b*) *Cùm aliquis Excommunicatus, &c. c.* CVIII.

feſs his fault, deſire penance and give caution for the future, then let the Biſhop lead him by the right hand into the Church, and reſtore him to Chriſtian Communion and Society, then ſing the ſeven Penitential Pſalms with theſe Prayers, Kyrie Eleiſon, Pater noſter, ſalvum fac ſervum tuum : *then this Prayer grant Lord we beſeech thee to this thy Servant fruit worthy of Repentance, that obtaining Remiſſion of ſins he may be reſtored guiltleſs to thy Church from the integrity of which by ſinning he had deviated. Through,* &c. Upon this the Gloſs notes that an Heretick is alſo to give Oath that he will no more tranſgreſs, as alſo all guilty of ſo grievous Crimes. And foraſmuch as at this day by virtue of later Laws, Excommunication may be pronounced in one ſimple word, ſo alſo Abſolution, it being a Rule that every thing may be diſſolved or ended by the ſame cauſes by which it was made or received its being. After this in the collection of Councils follows how the Biſhop is to make publick his Reconciliation.

Extran. de Reg. Juris Omnis res.

Another at *Vaiſon.*

25. The next year, or the 442 of our Lord, was another Provincial Synod of the Province of *Narbone* held at *Vaſio* a Town of the *Vocontii Salyones*, at this day *Vaiſon*, the Canons whereof, as *Baronius* obſerves, being altogether uncertain are confounded with thoſe of another Council held at this place in the days of *Conſtantius*, a Third in the Reign of *Decius Junior* in the year 463. About this time (ſome two years after) died *Cyril* the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, having governed that See 32 years leaving a good name behind him to all poſterity. For his manifold Learning as well Divine, as Humane, his painfulneſs in Preaching and Writing againſt all Hereticks and Pagans, and his great zeal in governing his flock. After his death *Theodoret* the Biſhop of *Cyrus* is ſaid to have written an Epiſtle to *John* Biſhop of *Antioch* wherein he exceedingly rejoyceth for the death of *Cyril*, and prates in ſuch a manner that it may more truly be called a Satyr or an infamous Libel than a Letter. This Epiſtle is inſerted near the laſt end of the fifth Collation of the fifth Synod ; yet *Binius* eſteems it no better than the forgery of ſome wicked and obſcure Heretical Eutychian, and by fraud and ſurreption thruſt into the Acts of that Council. *Baronius* more than once paſſeth upon it the ſame cenſure, avowing it to be the figment of ſome *Neſtorian* Heretick and giving him the Lye that ſhould ſay it was *Theodoret's*. The reaſon is, for that *John* the Patriarch of *Antioch* to whom this Epiſtle is directed, was dead ſeveral years before *Cyril*, *Baronius* demanding how *Theodoret* could write to *John* about the death of *Cyril* ſeeing *John* was dead ſeven years before him, which, ſaith the Cardinal, is ſure and certain both by *Nicephorus* and others, who write the ſucceſſion of Biſhops, as alſo by an Epiſtle which *Cyril* writ to *Domnus* the Succeſſour of *John*, both which proofs *Binius* alſo alledgeth. With both theſe Champions, our as Learned Dr. *Crackanthorp* grapleth, and with what ſucceſs (for nothing can be added to the ſtrength of his Arguments) the impartial Reader ſhall be Judge.

Cyril Patriarch of *Alexandria* dyes.

Liberatus. Nicephorus.

Theodoret's Epiſtle to *John* of *Antioch* urged by *Binius* and *Baronius* as a Figment.

Bin. in 5 *Concil.*

Which is anſwered by Dr. *Crackanthorp.*

26. His firſt anſwer is that if this be a Demonſtration of forgery becauſe an Epiſtle is written to one that is dead, the Papiſts themſelves and not we ſhall be the greateſt loſers thereby. For, firſt there is a Decretal Epiſtle written by *Clement* Biſhop of *Rome*, to *James* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, the Brother of our Lord, wherein he tells him that “ *Peter* being ready to be Martyred took *Clement*, ordain- “ ed him Biſhop, gave him the Keys, and ſeating him in his own Chair ſaid unto “ him, O *Clemens*, I beſeech thee before all that are here preſent that thou write “ unto *James* the Brother of our Lord, how thou haſt been my Companion in “ my Travels and Actions from the firſt beginning, write alſo what thou haſt “ heard me Preach in every City, what order I have uſed in my Preaching, “ and how I end my life in this City. And fear not that he will be ſorry for “ my death, for he will not at all doubt but I die for Pieties ſake, nay it will “ be a great comfort to him to hear that I leave not my charge to one that “ is ignorant or unlearned. This and much more wrote *Clement* to *James*, after his death, and of the life and death of *Peter*. Now *James* to whom he wrote was dead, ſix or ſeven years before *Peter*, *James* being ſlain in the ſeventh, and *Peter* in the thirteenth year of *Nero*, as out of St. *Jerome*, *Euſebius*, *Joſephus* and others is evident, and *Baronius* and *Binius* not onely profeſs but rightly prove ; nay more, becauſe this Decretal Epiſtle and Apoſtolical writing, as *Turrian* calls it was not ſent from Pope *Clement* till the tenth year of *Domitian* as is proved by *Baronius*, it followeth that it was not writ to *James* till thirty years after his death. Yet notwithſtanding muſt not this Epiſtle be rejected as a forgery. *Binius* calls it the Epiſtle of Pope *Clement*, *Baronius* affirms that it is not onely Pope *Clement's*, but that this and the other written to the ſame *James* the dead Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* are his intire and incorrupted writings. In their Canon its vouched for no

Epiſt. 1. *Clem. tom.* 1. *conc. p.* 25. &c.

Ad A. D. 93. *num.* 2.

Ep. 1. *Clem. Pap.*

leſs, and that what is there related muſt ſtand for the words and Doctrine of St. *Peter*, yea the Authority of it as of other Decretal Epiſtles is affirmed every way equal to the Canons of *Nice*, of *Chalcedon*, and other holy Councils; nay farther what St. *Auſtin* ſaith of the very ſacred and Canonical Scriptures indited certainly by the Spirit of God himſelf, that doth *Gratian* (wretchedly abuſing his words) apply to this and the reſt of the Popes Decretal Epiſtles ſaying that *They are to be reckoned amongſt the Canonical Scriptures*, which *Bellarmine* not onely defends in general, but by the Authority of *Ruffinus* defends this to be the true Epiſtle of *Clement* to St. *James*. More particularly the Jeſuite *Turrian* to whom *Baronius*, *Binius*, *Gretzor* and others refer us for the credit of theſe Epiſtles, has writ a whole Book in defence of them all, wherein he calls them moſt holy, moſt true Epiſtles, moſt worthy of their Authours (in particular mentioning and defending this of *Clement* to *James*) that is Men Apoſtolick, conſecrated by the Reverence of the whole World, full of all Gravity, Learning and Sanctity, confirmed by the Teſtimony and uſe of all Ages: and which is moſt pertinent to our preſent purpoſe, the Jeſuite words it thus: *What if in theſe Epiſtles ſometimes we meet with ſuch matters as are not eaſie to all? muſt we therefore doubt of their Authority? by no means.*

Diſt. 80. *c.* 2. & 6. *qu.* 1. *c.* 5.

11. *Qu.* 3. *c.* 12. 6. *qu.* 1. *c.* 5. *Diſt.* 20. *Can. Decretales*

Lib. 2. *de Doctr. Chriſtiana c.* 8.

Pro epiſt. Pontificum. lib. 2. *præf. p.* 152. &c.

27. If any Man therefore underſtand not how the Epiſtle of *Clement* could be written to St. *James* who was dead ſo long before, ſuch an one according to his Doctrine, if a learned, modeſt and temperate Man muſt ask of others, and in the mean time contain himſelf within his own bounds, that is, he muſt as the Jeſuit explaineth it, ſo firmly believe it to be written by *Clement* that he eſteems it a great ſin to doubt thereof. But beſides this *Turrian* hath writ a large Chapter on purpoſe to defend this Epiſtle to be truly *Clement*'s though written to *James* long after his death, whereas ſome there were (followed by *Baronius*, *Poſſenine* and *Binius*) who thought it to be written indeed by *Clement* not unto *James* but to *Simeon* his Succeſſour. Againſt thoſe, he held that it was writ to none but *James*, and whereas ſome would think it madneſs to write to one that was dead (for who ſhould be carrier of the Letter) eſpecially to write to him as a Governour in the Church militant and to adviſe him what he ſhould doe. *Turrian* tells you of divers great and weighty reaſons why St. *Peter* commanded *Clement*, and why *Clement* wrote to a dead Man, and having given very wiſe and worthy reaſons thereof, one taken from Transfiguration, another from imitation, a third from voiding hatred; which he would have incurred had he writ to any alive, a fourth to be a Teſtimony of the Reſurrection; and ſuch like; at length he concludes that no Catholicks muſt doubt of the truth of this Epiſtle though they ſee no reaſon why it ſhould be written to a dead Man; and withall that with Men who have reaſon and Judgment, ſuch muſt aſſure themſelves both that St. *Peter* and *Clement* knew reaſons for writing to a dead Man. Both the Cardinal therefore and *Binius*, had they been Men of reaſon and Judgment, and conſidered this tract of *Turrian* to which they refer us, might therein have ſeen divers reaſons why *Theodoret* might write to *John* though he was dead, they being as forcible to defend this Epiſtle of *Theodoret* as to excuſe *Clement* for writing to St. *James*. But the cauſe is now altered, the Cardinals Demonſtration holding in thoſe things alone which diſtaſte him, or make for us and againſt their cauſe. But if any ſuch writing bring, as all the Decretals do, either honour to the *Roman* See, or gain to that Court, though they were writ to one that was dead, not ſeven onely but ſeven times ſeven years before, they ſhall be honoured as the true and undoubted threatnings of the Authours. If any one ſcruple to yield his aſſent to this truth let him but add to this the other Example about *Chryſoſtome*'s bones, the writing of a Letter to that Patriarch thirty five years after his death by the Emperour *Theodoſius*, and he will find it ſuch an one as cuts all the Sinews, yea the hartſtrings of the Cardinals Demonſtration. He muſt confeſs it either to be fallacious or proclaim the Epiſtle of Pope *Clement* and the other of *Theodoſius* with that whole narration to be fictitious, and the Cardinals Annals a Fabulous Legend.

28. The Doctours ſecond anſwer is that though *John* was dead to whom the Epiſtle was directed, yet that onely proves the Title or inſcription to be amiſs, or that *Theodoret* wrote not this Epiſtle to *John*; it cannot prove (which the Cardinal undertook to doe) that the Epiſtle is forged and not written by *Theodoret*. For that it was truly *Theodoret*'s own Sermon publickly preached at *Antioch* before *Domnus* after the death of *Cyril*, and mentioned in the Synodal Acts next after this Epiſtle, doth clearly manifeſt the very ſcope and purpoſe of that Sermon being the ſame which is expreſſed in the Epiſtle. As in the

Col. 5. *p.* 559.

Epiſtle *Theodoret* declareth his eagerneſs for defending the Doctrine of *Neſtorius*, and inſulteth over dead *Cyril* as the chief Oppugner of that Hereſie, the very ſame eagerneſs for *Neſtorianiſm*, and love to his Hereſies, as alſo the like joy for *Cyril's* death, doth his Sermon expreſs, and that more fully with ſuch Expreſſions as theſe: *None doth now compell any man to blaſpheme*, ſeeing *Cyril* is dead, *Where are thoſe who teach that God was Crucified. It was the man Chriſt and not God who was crucified. It was the man Jeſus that died, and it was God the Word who raiſed him from the dead. Now there is no contention* (ſeeing *Cyril* is dead) *the Eaſt and Ægypt* (that is, aſwell thoſe who are under the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, as ſuch as are ſubject to the Patriarch of *Antioch*) *are all under one Yoke*, or all ſubmit themſelves to one Faith, *viz. Neſtorianiſm. Envy is now dead and all Contention dead and buried with him. Let now the* Theopaſchites (that is the Catholicks who taught God to have ſuffered and died) *let them now be quiet.* Now who can imagine but that the Epiſtle which maintains the ſame Hereſie, and inſults in the ſame triumphing manner at the death of *Cyril* was written by *Theodoret* when he publickly in a Sermon before a Patriarch uttered the ſame Matter? Would he forbear to write that in a Letter which he neither did fear nor forbear to profeſs openly in a Sermon, and that in ſo ſolemn a place and Aſſembly? Or was *Theodoret* Orthodox, and a lover of *Cyril* in his Writings before his death (as *Baronius* alledgeth) who was Heretical and ſo big with *Neſtorianiſm* after his death, that he muſt vent them, and with them diſgorge his malice and ſpite in an open Pulpit, and ſuch an Audience? It is not the Inſcription or Title of the Epiſtle, but the Epiſtle it ſelf, which the Fifth Council and we after it ſtand upon. But that they knew the Epiſtle to be *Theodoret's*, they needed not by it to have proved that he after the Union, yea, after the death of *Cyril*, was eager, violent, yea, virulent in defence of the Hereſies of *Neſtorius*, his Sermon had been a ſufficient demonſtration of that: But becauſe they were ſure this was the true Epiſtle of *Theodoret*, they thought good to teſtifie that he was the ſelf ſame man in writing that he was in preaching, and in both a malitious *Neſtorian*; that long after the Union made betwixt *John* and *Cyril*, yea after *Cyril's* death he continued both to write and ſpeak the ſame.

29. Next the Doctour obſerveth the fraudulent dealing of *Baronius* and *Binius* in this Cauſe, who though they carp not at the Sermon, yet deny the Epiſtle, whereas though the Epiſtle had never been extant, yet the Cardinal's Poſition for *Theodoret's* Orthodoxy and Catholick Faith ever after the Union betwixt *John* and *Cyril* is clearly and certainly refuted by his Sermon made twelve years after the Union. Then whereas the Cardinal ſtrongly urgeth the Epiſtles, which in their *Vaticane* or *Minthouſe*, are ſtamped with the Name of *Theodoret*, to prove his Orthodoxy for ſix and twenty years, this Sermon alone convicts them of falſehood, wherein he Vomits out in a moſt Solemn Aſſembly, together with the Blaſphemies of *Neſtorius*, moſt ſlanderous Revilings, not onely againſt *Cyril*, at whoſe death he inſulteth, but againſt all Catholicks, whom after the *Neſtorian* Language he ſtiles *Theopaſchites* and *Hereticks*: With ſuch falſe, feigned and lying Writings doth the Cardinal fight againſt the Fifth Synod and the Acts thereof. After this to meet with the Objection which *Baronius* might make againſt the Epiſtle from the falſeneſs of its Superſcription, by many Inſtances our Authour proveth an Epiſtle may be true, when yet the Title is falſe and erroneous. As 1ſt. in the Epiſtle of *Clement* to *James*, the Inſcription whereof, though both he and *Binius* confeſs to be falſe, yet held the Letter it ſelf to be *Clement's*. Excuſing it they ſay it was onely an errour in writing *James* inſtead of *Simeon*, and had they not been too malitious againſt the Fifth Synod, they would as eaſily have ſaid the Epiſtle is truly his but in the Inſcription, in the Acts, the Name of *John* is by the Writers miſtaken for that of *Domnus*. 2. In *Theodoret's* Hiſtory and the *Venice* Edition of the Councils by *Nicholinus* Pope *Damaſus* is ſaid to have writ an Epiſtle to *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Theſſalonica*, whereas it ought to be read, as *Baronius* and *Binius* confeſs, Biſhop of *Antioch*. 3. The ſixteenth Novel of *Juſtinian* is directed to *Anthimus* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, whereas *Mennas* at that time governed that See. 4. The Epiſtle of *Fœlix* the fourth to *Sabina*, was dated on the twelfth of the Calends of *November*, at which time *Fœlix* was dead, whoſe Name as the Cardinal ſaith might eaſily creep in for that of *Boniface* his Succeſſour. By ſeveral other inſtances not neceſſary here to be expreſſed, doth he make the Cardinal's Exception againſt this Epiſtle of *Theodoret* very ridiculous.

*Ad An.D.*318.
Ad Concil. ſub Damaſo.

Ad An. 530.

30. And no leſs ridiculous doth he ſhew the Cardinal's reaſons to be why *John*

died before *Cyril.* He confeſſeth it true that *John* did die before him, becauſe of many undoubted teſtimonies of the Council of *Chalcedon,* not one of which the Cardinal had the grace to alledge, but his reaſons are ſo weak, and withall ſo full of fraud and untruth, that the Doctour counts it worthy of conſideration to ſee his blindneſs and perverſeneſs, even in proving that which is true. He firſt tells us: *I have ſhewed this moſt manifeſtly that* John *died ſeven years before* Cyril, *by the Epiſtle which* Theodoret *wrote to* Domnus *four years ſince* (that is four before this year 444) *in the behalf of one* Fælicianus, *whoſe eſtate* Theodoret *recommends to* Domnus. *Ad Ann.* 444. *num.* 16. The Doctour obſerves how egregious a trifler the Cardinal hath ſhewed himſelf hereby. For neither in the four hundred and fortieth, nor in any four years either before or after that doth he ſet down any Epiſtle of *Theodoret's* to *Domnus* in behalf of *Fælicianus.* The Epiſtle which the Cardinal dreameth of, is in behalf of *Cœleſtianus,* and that is indeed expreſſed *Ann.* 440. where note, I pray, that the Cardinal by a ſlip either of his own Pen or Memory (as I verily ſuppoſe) or of his Scribe, names *Fælicianus* inſtead of *Cœleſtianus.* God even by this demonſtrating how unjuſtly he carps at the Synodal Acts, for that very errour or ſlip of a Pen, which the Cardinal himſelf falls into, even while he for the like ſlip declaimeth againſt theſe Holy Synodical Acts. And yet there's a worſe fault in this Reaſon. For it is no more ſhewed that *John* died before *Cyril* by that Epiſtle than by *Tully's ad Atticum.* That Epiſtle having neither date nor any Circumſtance to induce that, and may aſwell be written *Ann.*448. as 440. His ſecond Reaſon is: There are Letters extant of *Theodoret* to *Domnus* the year following (*Ann.* 437.) and that Epiſtle I will ſet down in its due place, the next year. Now in the next year, *viz. Ann.* 437. there is no Epiſtle of *Theodoret* ſet down by the Cardinal, nor is either *Domnus* or *Theodoret* ſo much as named in all his diſcourſe of that year. Is not this now ſhewed *moſt manifeſtly*; you may be ſure he would not have feared to perform his promiſe, but that there was ſomewhat in that Epiſtle which would have bewrayed his lewd dealing in this Cauſe. His third Reaſon is drawn from the Teſtimony of *Nicephorus,* from whom he ſaith it is certain. No it is ſure and certain by *Nicephorus* that *Baronius* is erronious in this matter, for he accounteth *John* to have been Biſhop of *Antioch* 18 years, and the Cardinal will allow him no more than 13, now the firſt year of *John* cannot poſſibly be before the year 427, for in that year *Theodotus* his next Predeceſſour died, as *Baronius* himſelf proveth. Add now unto theſe 17 more, and then the death of *John* will be *Ann.* 444. which is the ſelf ſame year wherein *Cyril* died.

31. But ſee farther, how the Cardinal is infatuated in this Cauſe. *John* (ſaith he) *died* Ann. 436. *having been Biſhop* 13 *years.* John *ſucceeded to* Theodotus *who died* Ann. 427. Say now in truth is not the Cardinal a worthy Arithmetician, who of 427 and 13 can make no more than 436? And is not this a worthy reaſon to refuſe *Nicephorus?* But this is not all, for *Baronius* gloſſing upon *Theodoret's* Letter to *Dioſcorus,* which, as he ſaith, was written *Ann.* 444, there obſerves with a Memorandum, that by this Paſſage of *Theodoret,* you may ſee how long *Theodotus, John* and *Domnus,* had ſitten in the See of *Antioch, viz.* 26 years in all, from that time that *Theodotus* was made Biſhop unto that year 444, *viz. Theodotus* 6, *John* 13, and *Domnus* 7, untill that year. *Theodotus,* as *Baronius* will aſſure you was made Biſhop *Ann.* 423. Add now unto theſe 6 of *Theodotus,* 13 of *John,* and 7 of *Domnus,* and tell me, whither you think the Cardinal had ſent his Wits when he could ſum thoſe to be juſt 444. Or will you ſee the very quinteſſence of the Cardinal's Wiſedom? *I will* (ſaith he) *ſet down the next year* (viz. Ann. 437.) *the very Epiſtle of* Theodoret *to* Domnus, *which was then written unto him, and I will ſet down in his due place* (viz. Ann. 444.) *that Epiſtle of* Theodoret *to* Dioſcorus, *whereby is ſhewed, that* John *was Biſhop of* Antioch *juſt* 13 *years.* Thus the Cardinal, who by theſe two Epiſtles of *Theodoret* will prove both theſe. As much in effect as if he had ſaid, I have already proved that *John* began to be Biſhop of *Antioch* Ann. 427. and this being ſet down for a certainty; I will now prove by *Theodoret's* Epiſtle to *Domnus,* that *John* died *Ann.* 436, that is, in his ninth year; and then I will prove again by *Theodoret's* Epiſtle to *Dioſcorus,* that he died in his thirteenth year, and ſo died not till the year 440. Or, as if he had thus ſaid, I will firſt prove that mine own Annals are untrue, wherein it is ſaid, that *John* died in the year 436, which is but the ninth year of *John,* becauſe he died not, as *Theodoret* in one Epiſtle witneſſeth, untill his thirteenth year, which is *Ann.* 440. And then I will prove unto you, that mine own Annals are again untrue, wherein it is ſaid that *John* was Biſhop 13 years, and ſo died not till *Ann.* 440. (beginning the firſt *Ann.* 427.) becauſe *Theodoret* in another Epiſtle witneſſeth, that *John*

died *Ann.* 436. Or thus, I will firſt prove that *John* was dead *Ann.* 436, though he was alive *Ann.* 440, and then I will prove unto you that *John* was alive *Ann.* 440, though he was dead *Ann.* 436. Is not this brave dealing in the Cardinal? Is he not worthy of a Cap and Feather too, that can prove all theſe, and prove them by *Theodoret's* Epiſtles? Or do you not think theſe to be worthy Epiſtles of *Theodoret*, by which ſuch Abſurdities, ſuch Impoſſibilities may be proved?

32. Doth not this alone if there were no other evidence, demonſtrate theſe Epiſtles of *Theodoret* to be Counterfeits? If that to *Domnus* be truely his as *Baronius* aſſures you, whereby *John* is ſaid to have died *Ann.* 436, then certainly the other to *Dioſcorus* muſt needs be a forgery, whereby *John* is ſhewed to live *Ann.* 440. Again if that to *Dioſcorus* be truely his as *Baronius* aſſures you, wherein *John* is ſaid to live 440, then certainly the other to *Domnus* muſt of neceſſity be a forgery, wherein *John* is ſaid to be dead *Ann.* 436. And as either of theſe two Epiſtles demonſtrates the untruth and forgery of the other, ſo they both demonſtrate the great Vanity of *Baronius*, who applauds them both, and who will make good what they both affirm; that is the ſame Man to be both dead and alive, a Biſhop and no Biſhop at the ſelf ſame time; and by theſe worthy Reaſons doth the Cardinal refute his own witneſs, *Nicephorus*, who by giving eighteen years to *John*, ſhews plainly that *John* and *Cyril* died within one year, which account perhaps gave occaſion to the Exſcriber of the Synodal Acts to thruſt in the Name of *John*, whom upon *Nicephorus* his account he thought to live after *Cyril*, whereas in very deed he died ſomething before *Cyril*. His fourth and laſt Reaſon is drawn from a Canonical Epiſtle of *Cyril* to *Domnus*, ſet down in the additions to *Theodore Balſamon*, where he concludes it *out of doubt that John died, ſeeing one Cyril writ to his Succeſſour Domnus*, yet are there two great doubts in it. The firſt whether that Epiſtle be truely *Cyril's*, what the Cardinal brings being much againſt it, the Epiſtle aſcribing ſo great Anthority to *Domnus*, as to put out Biſhops and reſtore them at his pleaſure, quite contrary to the Canon of the Council of *Antioch*, which requires that the Metropolitan doe nothing in ſuch Cauſes without the advice and conſent of the other Biſhops of that Province. The other doubt is whether *Domnus*, to whom this Epiſtle is written be *Domnus* Biſhop of *Antioch*, and Succeſſour to *John*. In removing hereof the Cardinal is much troubled, winding himſelf divers ways, and concluding that *He who had ſuch Authority muſt needs be ſome eminent Biſhop, and not one of an inferiour See*, although he might be a Metropolitan, though no Patriarch, and ſo have inferiour Biſhops under him.

Concil. Antioch.ſub Julio 1. *Can.* 9.

33. But he adds that, *There is no* Domnus *elſe, but this* Domnus *Biſhop of* Antioch, *mentioned either in the Council of* Epheſus *or* Chalcedon, *who had ſuch Authority as to depoſe and reſtore Biſhops ad libitum.* But in ſuch lawfull manner as *Domnus* of *Antioch* might doe it, there were others called by the Name of *Domnus* mentioned in thoſe very Councils, who might upon juſt cauſe, and by due and Canonical proceeding, depoſe and reſtore their inferiour Biſhops. Look but into theſe Councils, and you will admire both the ſupine Negligence of the Cardinal in this point, and his moſt audacious down-facing of the truth; for, to omit others both in the Conventicle of *Epheſus*, and the Council of *Chalcedon*, there is often mention of *Domnus* Biſhop of *Apamea*, a Metropolitan Biſhop. And that you may ſee how fraudulently the Cardinal dealt in this very point, he neither would ſet down that Epiſtle, nor acquaint you with that which in *Balſamon* is expreſly noted; that *Peter* the Biſhop, whom that *Domnus*, to whom *Cyril* writeth, had depoſed, was *Alexandrinus Sacerdos*, a Biſhop of the Patriarchate of *Alexandria*. Now what had *Domnus* of *Antioch* to doe with the *Alexandrian* Biſhops? So clear it is by *Balſamon*, that this *Domnus*, to whom *Cyril* wrote, was not *Domnus* of *Antioch*, as the Cardinal I fear againſt his Knowledge avoucheth. But thus you ſee all the Reaſons the Cardinal bringeth to prove *John* to be dead ſeven years before *Cyril*, not onely to be weak and unable to enforce that Concluſion, but alſo to be full fraught with frauds and untruths. So that if I had not found more ſound and certain Reaſons to perſwade this, I could never by the Cardinal's proofs have been induced to think that an Errour in the Inſcription of *Theodoret's* Epiſtle. But ſeeing upon the undoubted Teſtimonies in the Council of *Chalcedon*, it is certain that *John* died before *Cyril*, I willingly acknowledge a ſlip of ſome Writer in that Inſcription, but yet the Epiſtle it ſelf muſt be acknowledged to be truely *Theodoret's*, which is all that the Synod avoucheth, and that which the Cardinal undertook to diſprove, but by no one Reaſon doth offer to prove the ſame. And even for that Errour alſo in the Inſcription,

Act. 3. *Conc. Chalc. p.* 75. 6.

ſcription, I doubt not but thoſe who can have a ſight of the *Greek* and Original, nay perhaps ſome ancient Copies of the Acts of the fifth Council, ſhall find either no Name at all, or which I rather ſuppoſe, that of *Domnus* expreſſed therein; inſtead of which, though ſome ignorant audacious Exſcriber hath thruſt in the Name of *John*; it is not nor ought not to be any Impeachment at all to the Synodal Acts, unleſs the Cardinal will acknowledge his own Annals to be of no credit, becauſe in them *Paſchalis* is written by ſome ſuch errour for *Pelagius*, *John* for *Vigilius*, *Juſtinus* for *Juſtinianus*, *Theodorus* for *Theodoſius*, *Sexta* for *Quinta*, *Fœlicianus* for *Cœleſtianus*, and a Number the like in other Cauſes, moſt of theſe ſlips pertaining to this very Cauſe of the three Chapters of which we do entreat. Thus Dr. *Crackanthorp* the *Baroniomaſtix*, to whoſe Arguments nothing can be added, it's pity any thing ſhould be detracted, but that we onely write an Inſtitution. In due place we ſhall again hear of him.

To *Cyril* of *Alexandria* ſucceeded *Dioſcorus*.

Proclus of *Conſtantinople* dies. *Flavianus* ſucceeds.

Eutyches and his Hereſie.

34. *Cyril* the Patriarch of *Alexandria* was ſucceeded by *Dioſcorus*, of whom we may hear too much hereafter. *Leo* Biſhop of *Rome*, in the mean time vigorouſly proſecuted the *Manichees*, as alſo *Valentinian* the Emperour, who by an Edict commanded them to be puniſhed as ſacrilegious Perſons. At this ſame time *Leo* interpoſing himſelf into the Eccleſiaſtick Affair of *Gall*, was earneſtly oppoſed by *Hilary* the Biſhop of *Arles*, a Man very famous in this Generation, who being a Monk of the *Lerinenſian* Monaſtery had for his Merit been promoted to the Archbiſhoprick of *Arles*. All he could get together he diſtributed to the Poor, and the better to inable himſelf to be charitable toiled much at Huſbandry and Countrey-work, yet without neglect of his particular Calling. A year or two following died *Proclus*, Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, when he had governed that Church ſomething above twelve years, and was ſucceeded by *Flavianus* a Prieſt of the ſame Church. Much about this time were held ſeveral Synods in *Spain* againſt the *Priſcillianiſts*, of which one held at *Toledo* firſt added that Paſſage concerning the Holy Ghoſt to the Creed, *Proceeding from the Father and the Son*, which was not for a long time after received by the Church of *Rome*. The year following *Theodoſius* the Emperour to appeaſe the Wrath of God which much appeared at this time in the Deſolations and Waſtings of ſeveral Countries by the Invaſion of the barbarous Nations as otherwiſe, publiſhed Laws againſt Heathens and *Neſtorians* commanding the Books of *Porphyry*, and others made againſt the Writings of *Cyril* to be ſought out and burned. But the Devil being driven out of this hold betook himſelf ſtreight to another Device, and made uſe herein of the Zeal wherewith Catholicks were inflamed againſt *Neſtorianiſm*, turning it ſo far into the other Extreme, as out of an extravagant deſire to ſhun *Charybdis* they ſtruck upon *Scylla* and made a change from one Hereſie to another. The Ringleader of this Party was one *Eutyches* an Abbat or *Archimandrita*, as the *Greeks* called it, of *Conſtantinople*, who ſo far contended againſt two Perſons in Chriſt, that he alſo denied two Natures. At firſt he ſaid Chriſt was not Conſubſtantial with us according to the Fleſh, but brought his Body with him from Heaven, afterward he held that the Natures which were before the Union two, and diſtinct each from other, after the Union became one and the ſame. According to the former Aſſertion *Theodoret* tells us he revived the Hereſie of *Valentinus*, who imagined that the Son of God took nothing from the Virgin, but being made fleſh paſſed onely through her Body, *Eutyches* began to publiſh this his Opinion to the World in or about the year of our Lord 448, the Conſulſhip of *Flavius Poſthumianus* and *Flavius Zeno*.

Novel. Valen. Tit. 2. *de Manich.*

Proſper. Gennadius. alii.

Niceph. in Chron. & *Niceph. Caliſtus. lib.* 14. *cap.* 47.

Concil. Tolet. in fine.

Acta Concil. Epheſ.

Liberatus Breviar. c. 11. *Theod. in hæreticis fabulis. Flavian. Ep. inter Leonis. Leo variis ut* 11. 19. *Euagrius libb.* 1. 2. 3. 4.

Is condemned in a Synod held at *Conſtantinople*.

35. *Eutyches* his Doctrine being early diſcovered at *Conſtantinople*, was condemned by a Synod aſſembled there by *Flavianus* for that purpoſe. This ſame year were two Synods held at *Tyre* and *Berytus* about *Ibas* Biſhop of *Edeſſa* in *Syria*, who was accuſed of *Neſtorianiſm*, and as *Baronius* tells us, was thereof acquitted, not onely at *Berytus* but alſo afterward in the General Council of *Chalcedon*, how truly we ſhall hereafter declare. In the mean time the Friends of *Eutyches* knowing what diſreputation the late Synod at *Conſtantinople* had procured him, laboured by all means to null the Decrees thereof, eſpecially *Chryſaphius* the Eunuch out of a particular Grudge to *Flavianus*, upon whom he ſtudied how to devolve all the Odium and Infamy. This *Chryſaphius* at firſt was much diſpleaſed with his advancement to the See of *Conſtantinople*, and to pick ſome Quarrel ſent to him to tell him it was fitting he ſhould preſent the Emperour with ſome gift at his promotion. He ſent him accordingly ſome White-Loaves, whereat the Eunuch being diſpleaſed, and pleading for Gold as moſt worthy of the Prince, the Biſhop affirmed he had none but what belonged to the Church, and dedicated to the

Acta Conc. Chalc.

Niceph. lib. 14. *cap.* 47.

Service of God, and uſe of the Poor. *Chryſaphius* rather irritated by this his reſolute Anſwer ſtudies all ways how to out him of his See, and perceiving he ſhould profit nothing in any ſuch attempt as long as *Pulcheria Auguſta* the Siſter of *Theodoſius* ſate at the Helm, by falſe Suggeſtions he brings her into diſcredit with *Eudocia* the Empreſs firſt, and then with the Emperour himſelf, and contrives how to deveſt her of her Imperial Power, and reduce her into a condition no better than that of the Deaconeſſes of the Church, which being made known to her by *Flavianus*, ſhe of her own accord quitted the Government and retired to a private life. *Chryſaphius* therefore joyns himſelf with *Eutyches* and *Dioſcorus* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, the great Patron of this Heretick. *Eutyches* incouraged by his aſſiſtence complains that he had not been fairly dealt with in the late Synod of *Conſtantinople*, that the Acts of it were changed and altered at the pleaſure of his Enemies, and all things falſly and diſadvantageouſly recorded and repreſented on his ſide. He petitions the Emperour that the Records might be diligently ſearched and examined.

But appealing to the Emperour.

36. His ſuit was very eaſily granted through the intereſt of *Chryſaphius*, who ſo far alſo prevailed in his behalf, that though the Fathers of this new Synod called for examination of this matter oppoſed it, he procured him a diſpenſation as to appearance, and the matter to be examined in the preſence of his Proctours, which favour yet could not be granted to *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Dorylæum* his Accuſer. But by this Aſſembly of thirty Biſhops, who as *Evagrius* writes ſifted out the doings of *Flavianus*, were the Records found true and confirmed. *Eutyches* to bring *Flavianus* into greater diſcredit with the Emperour, and all good Men, accuſed him as a Fautor of *Neſtorianiſm*, whereupon *Theodoſius* demanded of him a Confeſſion of his Faith, which inveighing againſt and anathematizing as well the one as the other Hereſie, perceiving he nothing profited by any of theſe ſhifts, being adviſed and governed by *Dioſcorus* and *Chryſaphius*, he deſires a general Council ſhould be called, whereof *Dioſcorus* ſhould be Preſident or Moderatour. *Chryſaphius* by the Mediation of the Empreſs eaſily obtaineth his ſuit, openly pretending to clear the difficulty in the Cauſe of *Eutyches*, but in his mind deſigning aſwell the advancement of his opinions, as the depoſiting and Ruine of *Flavianus*. By his means the Emperour appointed a Council to be held at *Epheſus* by the firſt of *Auguſt* (*A. D.* 449) over which he commanded *Dioſcorus* to preſide, and bring with him ſeveral Biſhops, but *Theodoret* of *Cyrus* and *Ibas* Biſhop of *Edeſſa* were forbidden to be preſent. *Leo* Biſhop of *Rome* was alſo ſummoned, but not finding it convenient to come himſelf ſent his Legates, who brought with them an Epiſtle to *Flavianus*, wherein the Hereſie of *Eutyches* was condemned, and which *Dioſcorus* the Preſident ſuppreſſed, not willing it ſhould be read. On the tenth of *Auguſt* the Biſhops met, to the Number of about 128, beſides ſome that were onely preſent by their Legates. Beſides *Dioſcorus* the Head of the Faction appeared *Juvenalis* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, *Domnus* of *Antioch*, *Stephen* of *Epheſus*, *Flavianus* of *Conſtantinople*. *Dioſcorus* brought a rout of his own *Egyptian* Biſhops, and procured a Military Guard under Command of *Elpidius* and *Eulogius*, moreover a great Company of *Eutychian* Monks, Men clamorous, importune and audacious, gave their attendance at this Synod, which becauſe all things were carried irregularly, unjuſtly, and by force and violence in latter Ages, hath obtained the Name of the *Epheſine* Latrociny.

Lib. 1. *c.* 9.

*Liberatus in Breviario.c.*11.

Obtains a Council to be call'd to *Epheſus.*

37. *Dioſcorus* the Moderatour would permit no Clerk to take the Acts of the Synod but one of his own making, yet permitted thoſe of his own faction to take what notes they pleaſed. At the opening of the Aſſembly was read the Emperour's Letters, wherein he permitted ſuch as had formerly condemned *Eutyches* in the Synod of *Conſtantinople* to be preſent, but with injunction of ſilence, becauſe their Acts were now to be examined, he alſo commanded all things to be done according to the preſcript of the *Nicene Faith*, and that they would doe their utmoſt to extirpate all Hereſie. They confirmed the *Nicene* Creed, and receiving a Paper from *Eutyches*, wherein he had written his opinion, after it was read, up ſtands *Dioſcorus*, and cries out *Eutyches* his Faith is very good, agreeable to that of the 318 Fathers. *Eutyches* believeth aright, and we profeſs the ſame opinion. *Eutyches* incouraged by this Patrociny, makes a long invective againſt *Flavianus*, and the late Synod of *Conſtantinople*, and complains he was much injured by them. The leſſer part moved that the Acts of that Synod might be read, but the Legates of *Leo* firſt required they would hear his Letters, which yet at the inſtance of *Eutyches* was denied, he being jealous of the Legates, becauſe they had been entertained by *Flavianus*. In ſhort, *Eutyches* was reſtored,

Acta Concil. Chalced. Evagrius lib. 1. *cap.* 10.

Wherein *Eutyches* is reſtored, but *Flavianus* and the Orthodox are excommunicated.

Which is confirmed by *Theodoſius* the Emperour.

reſtored, with the Monks of his faction excommunicated juſtly by *Flavianus*. *Flavianus* and *Euſebius* of *Dorylæum* were excommunicated, and the former ſo cruelly handled, that he died ſhortly after. The Biſhops by Threats and Terrour of Death and Tortures, were forced to ſubſcribe to this Sentence. *Domnus* Patriarch of *Antioch* having ſubſcribed, afterward recanted, and for that was condemned and depoſed. The ſame meaſure had *Ibas* Biſhop of *Edeſſa*, *Daniel* of *Carræ*, *Irenæus* of *Tyre*, and *Aquilinus* of *Biblus*, and *Theodoret* of *Cyrus*, for they raged aſwell againſt thoſe that held the other Extreme, as the Orthodox Biſhops. The worſt was, *Theodoſius* the Emperour was ſo overreached by *Chryſaphius* and others, that he confirmed the Acts of this Pradatorian Aſſembly by his Imperial Authority, and ſo this ſecond Oecumenical *Epheſine* Council, as *Baronius* ſtyles it, had an end.

Theodoſius dies.

Martianus choſen Emperour, who puniſheth the Sect of *Eutychians*.

Summons a General Council at *Nice* in *Bithinia*.

But removes it to *Chalcedon*.

38. *Leo* the *Roman* Patriarch certified how things were carried in this Aſſembly ſummoned a Provincial Synod, wherein was condemned the Hereſie of *Eutyches*, which notwithſtanding, *Dioſcorus* the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, gathering together ſome of his own Faction and Dependants thundred out the Sentence of Excommunication againſt *Leo* himſelf. Not long after *Theodoſius* the Emperour died, having as *Nicephorus* writes, given ample Teſtimony of his Repentance for what he had done in behalf of *Eutyches*, being convinced and perſwaded to abandon that Cauſe by *Pulcheria Auguſta* his Siſter, who moved with Indignation to ſee how things were carried, returned from her retirement to the care of the publick, and after her Brother's death procured the Empire to be conferred on *Martianus*. The new Emperour following either his own inclination or the Dictates of his Wife, preſently publiſheth * an Edict againſt the *Eutychians*, on whom he commands the puniſhments to be inflicted which by former Laws had been decreed againſt other Hereticks, adding baniſhment out of the *Roman* Territories. He recalls the Biſhops Confeſſours out of Exile, and cauſeth the body of *Flavianus* dead in Baniſhment to be tranſlated to *Conſtantinople*. Then doth he conſult with *Leo* Biſhop of *Rome* eminent for his Orthodox Faith as much as the dignity of his See, and at length reſolves to call another General Council, at which he intended to be perſonally preſent. *Leo* both in the time of *Theodoſius* and now, had a great deſire to have ſuch a Synod called in *Italy* as appears by ſeveral of his Letters to theſe two Princes, in which he alſo deſires to be excuſed that he came not himſelf, and prays them not to take it ill that he ſends his Legates. But that Requeſt being judged unreaſonable, *Martianus* by a publick Sanction dated *June* 22, commands all Biſhops to meet at *Nice* in *Bithynia* by the firſt of *September* next following. Many Prelates came thither accordingly, and expecting his coming, ſome days petitioned him, that out of reſpect to their Age and Infirmities he would give order for opening the Council. He ſtill deferred to doe it, out of the great deſire he had to be preſent himſelf, for the Invaſion made by *Attila* into *Illyricum* gave him work at *Conſtantinople*, from which City at length perceiving that he could not be far abſent becauſe of this War, he gave order to the Fathers to remove themſelves to *Chalcedon*.

Acta Conc. Chalced.

Lib. 14. *c.*49.

Tom. 2. *Conc. p.* 40. 32. 44. *&c. Epp.* 23. 24, *&c.*

* *Cod. lib.* 1. *tit.* 7. *leg. ult. & extat in Actis Conc. Chalc. Eos qui Catholicarum Eccleſiarum clerici vel Orthodoxæ fidei monachi, relicto vero Religionis cultu, Apollinaris vel Eutychetis hæreſim & dogmata abhominanda ſequuti fuerint, omnibus pœnis quæ prioribus legibus adverſus hæreticos conſtitutæ ſunt, jubemus teneri & extra ipſum quoque Romani Imperii ſolum repelli ſicut de Manichæis precedentium legum ſtatuta ſanxerunt. Dat. Cal. Aug. Valentiniano A. vii. & Aviano Coſſ.*

CHAP. VII.

From the Fourth Oecumenical Council *ſummoned by* Martianus *the Emperour to the City of* Chalcedon, *to the Depoſing of* Auguſtulus, *and the Ruine of the Weſtern Empire.*

The ſpace of Twenty five Years.

A General Council held at *Chalcedon.*

1. THE Fourth General Council ſummoned by the Emperour *Martianus* to *Chalcedon* a City of *Bithynia*, aſſembled in the Month of *October* in the ſecond year of the Reign of that Prince, the 27 of *Valentinian the Third*, of *Old Rome* the 1024, of *New Rome the* 122, the fourth Indiction, 127 years after the firſt *Nicene* Synod, 70 after the ſecond General Council called to *Conſtantinople*, 20 after the Celebration of the third Oecumenical Synod at *Epheſus*, of the ordinary *Æra* of Chriſt the 451, *Martianus Auguſtus* and *Adelphius* being Conſuls.

The Perſons who met there.

2. From all parts the Biſhops aſſembled to the number of 630, as generally Writers do agree. Here were preſent as Legates from *Leo* the *Roman* Patriarch *Paſchaſinus* Biſhop of *Lilybæum* in *Sicily*, *Lucentius* of *Aſculum*, with *Boniface* and *Baſilius* Prieſts, and *Julianus* Biſhop of *Coa.* *Anatolius* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, who had ſucceeded *Flavianus*, here alſo appeared, as alſo *Dioſcorus* the *Alexandrian* Patriarch, *Juvenalis* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, *Domnus* the late Patriarch of *Antioch*, and *Maximus* who enjoyed his place. The *African* Church and that of the *Saracens* were not wanting to ſend their Repreſentatives, *Zachary Rhetor* reported that *Neſtorius* was ſummoned to appear, but *Euagrius* contradicteth him, telling us it was plain it could not be ſo, for that *Neſtorius* was commanded under pein of being accurſed, not to ſhew his face in the Council, which *Euſtathius* Biſhop of *Berytus* wrote plainly in his Letters to *John* the Biſhop and *John* a Prieſt, touching the Canons of this Council, wherein he uſeth theſe words: *There came to the Council ſuch as diligently ſearched for the Relicks of* Neſtorius, *and with open mouths they exclaimed againſt the Council. What Reaſon or Conſcience is there that holy men ſhould be accurſed? So that the Emperour was greatly incenſed againſt them, and commanded his Guard to ſet them packing.* Wherefore I cannot ſee (ſaith *Euagrius*) how *Neſtorius* being dead ſhould be called to the Council. Sometimes *Martianus* the Emperour himſelf with *Pulcheria Auguſta* was alſo preſent; but becauſe he could not always be preſent in perſon, he deputed certain Secular Judges to execute the uſual Imperial Preſidency, to ſee that all things ſhould be done lawfully without Force, Fraud or Tumult. Theſe were *Anatolius* a *Magiſter Militum*, *Palladius* a *Præfectus Sacrorum*, *Tatianus* the Prefect of the City, *Vincemalus* the *Magiſter Sacrorum Officiorum*, Count *Martialis*, *Genethlius* the *Comes Rerum Privatarum*, *Florentius* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, *Senator Patricius*, *Patricius Nonius*, *Protogenes* the Prefect, the Prefect *Zoilus*, *Theodorus*, *Apollonius*, *Romanus Præfectus Sacri Cubiculi*, *Theodorus* Prefect of *Illyricum*, *Conſtantinus* the *Præfectus Prætoriorum*, *Artaxerxes* the *Præpoſitus Sacri Cubiculi*, and *Eulogius* Prefect of *Illyricum.*

Lib. 2. *c.* 2.

3. On the eighth of *October* the Biſhops met in the Church of St. *Euphemia* the Martyr, where being placed before the *Cancelli Altaris* (which place *Liberatus* calls the *Secretarium*, and thence the ſeveral Seſſions therein held *Secretaria*) the Emperour *Martianus* together with *Pulcheria* his Empreſs came into the Synod. He told them *he could ingenuouſly proteſt that he no ſooner came to the Government, but his mind was fully bent to eſtabliſh the true Religion in the purity and ſincerity thereof. That this was the cauſe of their meeting at this time, from which he promi-*

Cap. 13.

The deſign of their Meeting.

ſed himſelf all good and juſt things reaſonably to be expected, as from thoſe who would act to the utmoſt of their duty for purging and clearing the truth of Chriſtian Religion from thoſe Miſts and Errours which either the Avarice or Ambition of ſome light Perſons had brought upon it. That they might with more Facility obtain this end he would impoſe this as a Law upon them that now ſhould dare to diſpute or argue concerning the Perſon of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt contrary to the Faith of the three hundred Fathers laid down in the Nicene *Synod. As for himſelf he aſſured them he came not thither for the Oſtentation of his Power or Authority, but to confirm the Faith, and ſuppreſs all ſtrife and diſſention that might ariſe.* Having ſpoken to this purpoſe the Fathers ſet about their Synodical Work. At the beginning the Legates of *Leo* Patriarch of *Rome* began much to take upon them, willing that *Dioſcorus* the *Alexandrian* Patriarch might be put out of the Aſſembly, and ſaid, Either let *Dioſcorus* depart, or we will be gone. The Judges gravely reproved this their unreaſonable humour, telling them, If they would be Judges, they muſt not proſecute as Accuſers; neither did they ſuffer *Dioſcorus* to depart, but commanded him, as was fitteſt, to ſit in the Place of the *Rei*, or accuſed Perſons. Then did *Euſebius* of *Dorylæum* ſtep forth and accuſe him of Injury done to himſelf aſwell as the Death of *Flavianus*, giving into the Synod the Petition he had put up to the Emperour, which being read, together with the Acts of the *Epheſine Latrociny*, by all which *Dioſcorus* appeared aſwell guilty of the Blaſphemous opinion of *Eutyches* as of what *Euſebius* had laid to his charge. The Synod therefore condemned him, with his principal Aſſiſtants: *Juvenalis* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, *Thalaſſius* of *Cæſarea*, *Euſebius* of *Ancyra*, *Euſtathius* of *Berytus*, and *Baſilius* of *Seleucia*. To the condemnation of *Dioſcorus*, who had been the Ring-leader, the Eaſtern Biſhops moſt willingly aſſented, but interceded for ſuch as had been by threats drawn to joyn with him, that their depoſition might be ſuſpended. The Synod commands, that the ſeveral Biſhops ſhould ſeverally and apart make Confeſſions of their Faith, according to the preſcript of the *Nicene* Synod, and the writings of *Baſil*, *Gregory*, *Hilary*, *Athanaſius*, *Ambroſe*, and the two Epiſtles of *Cyril* publiſhed in the Council of *Epheſus*. The Action was furniſhed with Acclamations of the *Triſagion* to Almighty God, Well-wiſhes to the Emperour, and Curſes againſt *Dioſcorus*.

Aut ille Egrediatur aut nos Eximus, Act. 1. *p.* 4. *B.*

Dioſcorus Biſhop of *Alexandria* and his Adherents condemned.

Acclamations uſed at the end of General Councils.

4. This Cuſtome of Acclamations in Council at the end of the ſeveral Seſſions or Concluſion of the Synod ſeems taken from the practice of the Senate and People, in which Aſſemblies after the Debate and Conſultation ended, extraordinary Acclamations were wont to be made to the Honour of the Emperours. For though the word doth ſignifie a vocal aſſent given by any one to what is ſaid by another, yet there were Acclamations extraordinary and ſolemn made upon certain Occaſions, a Cryer or Officer dictating to the Multitude. So *Trebellius Pollio* tells us in the Life of the Emperour *Claudius*, that after the reading of his Letters in the Temple of *Apollo*, it being ſaid, *Claudius Auguſtus, The Gods keep thee*, the Aſſembly acclaimed it ſixty times. Claudius Auguſtus *We have ever wiſht for thee, or ſuch an one as thou art to be our Prince*; this was reiterated forty times. Claudius Auguſtus *the Commonwealth ſought after thee*; this was repeated forty times. Claudius Auguſtus *thou haſt been a good Brother, Father, Friend and Senatour, thou art truly a Prince*; this was acclaimed eighty times. Claudius Auguſtus *avenge us of* Aureolus; five times. Claudius Auguſtus *avenge us of the Palmyrenians*, five times. Claudius Auguſtus *deliver us from* Zenobia *and* Victoria; ſeven times. Claudius Auguſtus, Tetricus *did nothing*; ſeven times. In like manner when *Tacitus* the Emperour by a Speech in Anſwer to the Senate, had excuſed himſelf by his Old Age from taking upon him the Government, the Senate made theſe Acclamations: Trajan *alſo came Old to the Imperial Dignity*; this they ſpoke ten times. Adrian *in like manner came Old to the Government*; this they pronounced ten times. *In like manner did* Antoninus; ten times. *Thou alſo haſt read (viz.* Virgil *Æneid.* 6) *Incanaque menta Regis Romani*; ten times. *And who Rules better than an Old Man?* ten times. *We make thee an Emperour, not a Souldier*; twenty times. *Do thou give orders, let the Souldiers fight*; thirty times. *Thou art prudent, and haſt a good Brother*; ten times. Severus *ſaid, The Head ought to Govern, and not the Feet*; thirty times. *And we make choice of thee for thy Mind, not thy Body*; to which they acclaimed twenty times. Theſe forms of Acclamations being Recorded, Hiſtorians copied them out of the Rolls, and ſome Coins have been ſtamped with a Memorial of them, ſo much did Princes think they tended to their Fame and Reputation, as in a medal of the Emperour *Conſtantius*, wherein is read, *Gaudium Populi Romani*, or *The Joy of the* Roman *People*; being words of Acclamations whereby the People teſtified the publick

What they were.

Flavius Vopiſcus Syracuſ. in Tacito.

Joy, and within a laurel Crown, *ſic V. ſic X.* or *ſic Quinquies, ſic Sexies,* that ſo ſix, or ſeven times the People acclaimed. *Triſtanus* mentions a medal of *Conſtans* the Emperour with the ſame notes, which he interprets, *ſic Quinquennalia, ſic Decennalia,* and indeed *Antiquaries* took no notice of theſe Acclamations expreſſed upon Coins, till *Jacobus Chiffletius* began to obſerve them, as appears in his Book called *Anaſtaſis Childerici.*

Tom. 3. p. 607.

Cap. 19.

The deſign of them.

5. No wonder then that in ſo Solemn and Holy Aſſemblies, wherein the Prayers of the Faithfull availed much, ſuch Religious Acclamations ſhould be made, expreſſing praiſe and glory to Almighty God, and prayers for the welfare of the Emperours, the nurſing Fathers of his Church. It was the ancient Cuſtome of the Eaſtern Churches to handle matters in Councils in a publick meeting of all, and upon occaſion popular Acclamations did often happen, and ſometimes tumultuous, which notwithſtanding did conclude in concord, and in the end the Biſhops tranſported with Joy, for the uniform Determinations, did paſs to Acclamations, in praiſe of the Emperours, who had aſſembled and favoured the Council, in commendation of the Doctrine declared by it, in prayers to God for his continual aid and aſſiſtence afforded to his Church, for the welfare of the Emperours, and the health and proſperity of the Biſhops, which were not premeditated, but as the Spirit did excite ſome Biſhops more zealous to break out fitly into ſome of theſe Expreſſions, ſo the multitude acclaimed or cried with him. This was imitated of late in *Trent*, yet not giving place to the extemporary Spirit of any, but meditating what ſhould be propoſed and anſwered, and repeating it out of a Paper, the Cardinal of *Lorain* took upon him to be the *Præco* or Cryer, not onely being chief in compoſing the Acclamations, but thundering them out alſo, which was generally accounted lightneſs and vanity, not beſeeming ſuch a Prelate and Prince to doe an Office belonging rather to the Deacons of the Council, than to ſo principal an Archbiſhop and Cardinal. But the Cardinal roared, and the Tridentine Fathers anſwered ſuch things as will not edify the Reader toknow, and if he pleaſe he may find them in the excellent Hiſtory of that pretended General Council. Thus much by the way concerning Acclamations, once for all, and perhaps not unprofitably.

In the ſecond Meeting *Dioſcorus* is Baniſhed to *Gangrena.*

In the third the Biſhops give an account of their Faith.

6. At the ſecond Meeting, *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Dorylæum* renewed his complaint aſwell in behalf of *Flavianus* as himſelf, and after ſeveral things petitioned, deſired that *Dioſcorus* might be ſummoned to anſwer for himſelf, for, this ſecond time, he had not appeared. Three ſeveral times was he ſummoned by three Biſhops and a Notary, but as often excuſed himſelf, and in the mean time came certain Prieſts and Deacons of his own Church, accuſing him aſwell of Blaſphemy as Robbing them of their Goods. Upon this occaſion being ſummoned again, and refuſing to appear, he was condemned as Contumacious, and depoſed; the Legates of *Leo* by the conſent of the Synod pronouncing the Sentence, wherein they attributed enough to his Authority that ſent them. With theſe things the Emperour was made acquainted, and under his Authority the form of Depoſition was ſent to *Dioſcorus* who was Baniſhed to *Gangrena* a City of *Paphlagonia*, and his Sentence being written to the ſeveral Churches, was confirmed by Imperial Authority. On the thirteenth of *October* was the third Seſſion held, wherein moſt of what had formerly paſſed being repeated, the ſeveral Biſhops were commanded to give an account of their Faith. *Florentius* Biſhop of *Sardis* as wavering, deſired reſpite, but *Cecropius* Biſhop of *Sebaſtopolis* publickly declared his Faith to the Fathers, aſſerting that of the *Nicene* Council confirmed by the Fathers, and lately by *Leo* the *Roman* Patriarch. After this were read and approved the *Nicene* Creed; the Decree of the Synod of *Conſtantinople*, wherein the Hereſie of *Eutyches* had been condemned, the Faith of the Firſt *Epheſine* Council held againſt *Neſtorius*, the two Epiſtles written by *Cyril* to *Neſtorius* and *John* Patriarch of *Antioch*, with the Confeſſion of the ſaid *John* approved by *Cyril*, in which writings the middle and ſafe way betwixt the errours of *Neſtorius* and *Eutyches* was pointed out. Next was read and approved the Epiſtle of *Leo* to *Flavianus*. Then whereas ſome Biſhops doubted concerning ſome expreſſions in *Cyril*'s Letters, by the advice of *Anatolius* certain Biſhops who had already ſubſcribed were appointed to explain and give ſatisfaction to ſuch as ſtaggered.

In the fourth Seſſion the Biſhops are required to ſubſcribe the Epiſtle of *Leo.*

7. The Fourth Seſſion was held on the ſeventeenth of *October*, wherein firſt it was demanded by the Secular Judges, Whether the *Nicene* Faith, and the Decree of the Synod of *Conſtantinople* were agreeable to the Epiſtle of *Leo*, to which an Anſwer being given in the affirmative, the Biſhops were required to ſubſcribe it, for therein being plainly and expreſly condemned the Hereſie of

Eutyches this was judged a more certain expedient to try the minds of the Fathers; foraſmuch as ſuch as are content to cloſe with the more general expreſſions of a Council and wreſt them to their own ſenſe cannot ſo eaſily evade the drift of a particular Paper deſtined to the Condemnation of an Heterodox opinion. Then were admitted into the Synod, ten *Ægyptian* Biſhops, and the Confeſſion of Faith which they had written to the Emperour was read, wherein they profeſſed to imbrace the Doctrine of the Apoſtles, the *Nicene Creed*, with the Faith of *Athanaſius*, *Theophilus* and *Cyril.* Condemning all Hereſies, particularly thoſe of *Arius*, *Eunomius*, the *Manichees*, *Neſtorius* and ſuch as affirmed the fleſh of Chriſt to have come from Heaven, not to have been truly Born of the *Virgin Mary*, which was indeed the Doctrine of *Eutyches.* The Synod command them to ſubſcribe the Epiſtle of *Leo*, but they refuſed it, denying that they repreſented all the *Ægyptian* Biſhops, wherefore they would not preſcribe to them, nor could they doe it legally having no Archbiſhop ſince the depoſing of *Dioſcorus.* The Synod had well nigh pronounced a raſh ſentence againſt the Biſhops, crying out that they were Heretical. But the Judges knowing well that they forbore to ſubſcribe becauſe of a Cuſtome they had that they might doe nothing without their Patriarch not then choſen, and not as thinking Heretically in the Faith, moderated the Synod, telling the Fathers that to them it ſeemed reaſonable and agreeable to good nature not to condemn them but ſtay till their Patriarch be choſen, to whoſe grave and ſober ſentence the Synod conſented, making a Canon for this ſame purpoſe, and ordaining that in caſe they would give ſecurity not to depart out of the City, or that as ſoon as they had a Patriarch choſen, they would ſubſcribe, they ſhould be diſpenced with as to preſent ſubſcription. At the end of this Seſſion ſeveral *Eutychean Monks* petitioned the Synod and made great ſtir about *Dioſcorus*, their Patriarch, being Headed by *Barſumas* the principal *Archimandrita.* But the Fathers after much contention found reaſon ſtill to Anathematize *Dioſcorus* and caſt out their Petition, giving the Monks three days time to conſider and revoke their Heretical Tenents.

The *Eutychean* Monks Petition for *Dioſcorus* rejected.

8. In the fifth Seſſion more contention happened about the Perſon of *Dioſcorus* whom *Anatolius* if poſſible would have cleared as to the Crime of Hereſie. The Emperour perceiving there was no end to be expected in thoſe perſonal cauſes, and that the Biſhops ſpent all there time therein, ordained that ſix Eaſtern Biſhops, three of *Pontus*, three of *Aſia*, three of *Thrace*, and as many of *Illyricum*, together with *Anatolius* and the Legates of *Leo* ſhould conſult together and lay down ſuch a form of Faith as the reſt ſhould own and ſubſcribe. A form of Faith they accordingly compoſed in writing, whereof the firſt part contained a cenſure of the Hereſies of *Neſtorius*, *Eutyches* and the *Macedonians.* To the Condemnation of their opinions was added a confeſſion of Faith to this purpoſe: according to the example of the Holy Fathers, *We confeſs one and the ſame Son of God, Chriſt our Lord, and unanimouſly affirm him perfect in the Divinity, and perfect in Humanity: true God and true Man, having both a rational Soul and Body: Coeſſential with the Father according to Divinity, and Coeſſential to us according to Humanity, in all things like to us, ſin excepted: begot of his Father before all Ages, as to his Divinity: in theſe laſt times for us and for our Salvation manifeſted, being born of the* Virgin Mary *the Mother of God according to Humanity, one and the ſame Jeſus Chriſt the Son of God, the Lord and onely begotten, in two Natures, without confuſion, converſion, divulſion or ſeparation: the difference of Natures being no wiſe taken away by unity, but rather the propriety of both Natures concurring to one Perſon, and one Subſiſtence being preſerved, not that he is parted or divided into two Perſons, but is one and the ſame onely begotten Son, God the word, and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and in old time the Prophets foretold, Chriſt himſelf hath taught us and the Fathers have delivered to us.* This being read, the whole Synod Acclamed: *This is the Faith of all the Fathers, let the Metropolitans ſubſcribe it, this is the Faith of the Apoſtles, let us all follow this: we are all of this Judgment.* Then did the Synod decree that what had ſo univerſally paſſed and pleaſed the Fathers ſhould be reported to the Emperour *Martianus.* Notwithſtanding this final Accord, in making the Definition of Faith, a great diſſention there was in the Synod, ſome would have it one way, ſome another way ſet down, inſomuch that the Legates of *Leo* were ready to make a Schiſm, to depart from the Council and hold another Synod by themſelves. The glorious Judges then (as they are ſtiled) propoſed this proper expedient to have the matter peaceably delated and concluded. But outcryes and Tumults prevailing, the Judges complained of theſe diſorders to the Emperour, and *Martianus* injoyned them to follow the direction

In the fifth Seſſion a Confeſſion of Faith compoſed.

Suggerentur Imperatori Clamores iſti.

rection of the Judges, wherein they obeyed him, and ſo at length came to a full concluſion and definition of Faith.

In the ſixth Meeting it is confirmed by the Edicts of the Emperour.

9. At their ſixth meeting came *Martianus* with the Empreſs into the Synod where he ſpoke to the Fathers firſt in *Latin* (according to the Cuſtome of preſerving the repute and grandeur of *Old Rome*, and then in *Greek* to the ſame purpoſe as formerly. After he had made an end, *Aetius* the Archdeacon of *Conſtantinople*, in the name of the Synod briefly recounted what had been hitherto done, and then read a writing which declared the Faith of the Fathers to be agreeable to that form we lately mentioned. The Emperour demanded if that was the Act and Judgment of the whole Synod, and upon anſwer that it was, and that they all believed accordingly, he publiſhed his Edict importing that whereas the Catholick Faith was now explained, and defined by the holy and univerſal Synod, according to what had been deliver'd by the Apoſtles and Fathers, he thought it neceſſary to cut off for the future all occaſions of diſputes in matters of Religion. Therefore he commanded and declared that no Perſon whatſoever whether Clerk, Souldier or others (called *Idiotæ*, *Plebeians* or *private Perſons*) ſhould move any queſtion publickly concerning the Faith, under Pein of Baniſhment to a private Perſon, to Clerks and Military Men or of the Senatorian rank loſs of their Degree and Dignity, with other penalties. This was applauded by ſeveral Acclamations of *Many years to the Emperour*, *Many years to the pious and Chriſtian* Auguſtus, *Many years to the Orthodox Empreſs*, and Anathema to *Dioſcorus*, and the like. After this he told them there were certain things which he thought fit to propound to them as for their nature being proper for their Cogniſance, which reſpecting Clerks and Religious Perſons we ſhall mention when we come to ſpeak of the third, fourth and fifth Canons of this Council. *Euagrius* writes that the Emperour now commanded the Biſhops to continue there three or four days more, and prepare more matter ſuch as they ſhould think to be expedient. And they ſtaid not onely three or four days but many more, new matter ſtill ariſing before them.

Lib. 2. c. ult.

In the ſeventh *Juvenalis* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* hath Patriarchal power confirmed to that See.

10. In the ſeventh Seſſion an Agreement betwixt *Maximus* Biſhop of *Antioch* and *Juvenalis* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, was propounded to the Fathers and ratified. The Reader muſt know the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* had long before this time the mere Name and Title of a Patriarch as both *Bellarmine* and *Binius* acknowledge, and though his See was but a ſingle Biſhoprick, Subject, as both St. *Jerome* and the *Nicene Council* declare, to the Biſhop of *Antioch* as Patriarch, and to the Biſhop of *Cæſarea Paleſtina* as Metropolitan, yet out of reſpect to our *Saviour* he had the name of a Patriarch, and place in Councils above the Biſhop of *Cæſarea*. But the Authority and power of a Patriarch he had now by Decree and Judgment of this Council of *Chalcedon*. *Juvenalis* had moved about it in the *Epheſine Council*; but the Patriarch of *Antioch* as it ſeemeth, ſaith our Dr. *Crackanthorp*, being unwilling to manumit him, and as it were free him from his ſubjection, *Cyril* reſiſted it, and wrote to Pope *Leo* to doe the like. But after long contention both parties being ſatisfied, the matter was in this Seſſion brought to this Council before which *Maximus* and *Juvenalis* profeſſed they were both willing that the *Biſhop of* Antioch *ſhould hold the two* Phœnicia's *and* Arabia, *and the Biſhop of* Jeruſalem *the three* Paleſtina's, *and they both deſired the Synod to decree, confirm and ratifie their Agreement*. The whole Council upon their Petition ratified it, all the Biſhops crying, *We all ſay the ſame and conſent thereunto*. And after them the moſt glorious Judges in the Emperour's name added the imperial Authority and Royal aſſent to their Decree, ſaying, *This by our Decree and Judgment of the Council ſhall abide firm for ever, that the Church of* Antioch *have under it the two* Phœnicia's *with* Arabia, *and the Church of* Jeruſalem *have under it the three* Paleſtina's. *Euagrius* witneſſeth that this Agreement betwixt *Juvenalis* and *Maximus after Conſultation had both by the Judges and Biſhops was confirmed*. *Nicephorus* teſtifieth the ſame. So untrue it is that *William* of *Tyre* and from him *Baronius* avoucheth that the Church of *Jeruſalem* was firſt made a Patriarchal See or had the Provinces and Metropolitans of *Cæſarea* and *Scythopolis* annexed unto it by the fifth Council, that it is undoubtedly certain, that it had together with the Title and Dignity, true Patriarchal Authority and power over divers Provinces with their inferiour Biſhops conferred upon it, by a plenary conſent of the whole Church in this Council of *Chalcedon*.

Lib. de Pontif. Rom. l. 1. c. 24.
Ad Epiſt. Anacleti 3. tom. 1. Conc. & ad Conc. Nic. c. 7.
Ep. ad Pammachium.
Conc. Nic. c. 7.
Of the fifth Council, ch. 31.
Leonis Ep. 62.
Act. 7. p. 105.
Lib. 3. c. ult. verſus finem.
Nic. Calliſtus lib. 15. c. 30.

11. That

Which is falſly objected againſt by *Baronius* and *Binius*.

11. That you may ſee the ſhamefull dealing both of *Baronius* and *Binius* in another place (Reader they are *Crackanthorp*'s words) where their Choler againſt the fifth Council was not moved they acknowledge that truth, for intreating of the Council at *Chalcedon*, *In this ſeventh Seſſion*, ſaith *Baronius*, and the like doth *Binius*, *was the controverſie compoſed betwixt the Biſhops of* Antioch *and* Jeruſalem, *and the cauſe being judged, the two* Phœnicia*'s and* Arabia, *were given to the Biſhop of* Antioch, *and the three Paleſtines were adjudged to the Biſhop of* Jeruſalem, *whence it doth evidently appear that the right of the* Metropolis *which before belonged to the Biſhop of* Cæſarea *was tranſlated to the Biſhop of* Jeruſalem. So they, who yet in hatred againſt the Acts of the fifth Council (the reaſons of their hatred ſhall be declared in due place) with Faces of Adamant deny that truth which here upon this occaſion they confeſs to be clear and conſpicuous. But the Cardinal objecteth that this Decree of *Chalcedon* was made *Poſt abſentiam Legatorum*, when the Popes Legates were now gone, and ſo they being abſent, is to be held invalid. O the forehead of the Cardinal! were the Pope's Legates abſent? were they gone? Truly they were not onely preſent at this Decree and conſenting to it, but after it was propoſed by *Maximus* and *Juvenalis*, they were the very firſt that gave ſentence therein, the Council following their ſentence. For thus runs the ſtory, Paſchaſinus *and* Lucentius *the moſt Reverend Biſhops, and* Boniface *the Preſbyter holding the place of the Apoſtolick See, ſaid by* Paſchaſinus; *Thoſe things betwixt* Maximus *and* Juvenalis *are known to be done for their good and peace, & noſtræ humilitatis interloquutione firmantur, and are confirmed by the Interloquution of our humility, ut nulla in poſterum in hac cauſa ſit contentio, that never hereafter there ſhould be any contention about this matter between theſe Churches.* Is it credible that the Cardinal ſhould be ſo audacious and impudent as to utter ſuch palpable untruths? unleſs he had quite put off, I ſay not Modeſty, but Reaſon, Senſe, and almoſt Humane Nature.

Ad An. 451. *num.* 124. *Nich. ad hoc Conc. p.* 184. *Vide etiam Baron. ad An.* 451. *num.* 26.

Ad An. 553. *num.* 246.

Act. 7. *p.* 105.

12. *Baronius* following on his charge, in the ſecond place objecteth that Pope *Leo* himſelf withſtood this Decree of this Council of *Chalcedon*, becauſe it was prejudicial to the Rights of other Churches, and by reaſon of his Averſeneſs, it was not put in Execution as it was after the Decree of the fifth Synod, Dr. *Crackanthorp* coming in here alſo to the relief of the Council, affirmeth that had the Cardinal and his Friends been well adviſed they would have been afraid and much aſhamed once to mention the reſiſtence of Pope *Leo*, to the Council of *Chalcedon*, either in theſe Patriarchs or the other of *Conſtantinople*: for firſt, the reſiſtence of *Leo* which was merely ineffectual, demonſtrates that the Popes contradiction, with all his might and power, can neither diſanull nor infringe the Judgment of a general Council, which is no ſmall prejudice to his principality or Princely Supremacy. Again it convinceth *Leo* of a very foul and inexcuſable Errour, judging the *Nicene* Canons concerning matters of Order, Polity, and Government of the Church (ſuch are theſe concerning the extent of Sees or Superiority of one Biſhop above another) to be unalterable and Eternal, no leſs than the Decrees of Faith. *The condition*, ſaith he, *of the Nicene Canons* (pointing in the margent to the ſixth and ſeventh both which concern the Limits of Sees) *being ordained by the Spirit of God, is in no part ſoluble; and whatſoever is divers from their conſtitution, omni penitus authoritate vacuum eſt, is utterly void of all Authority by whom ſoever it be Decreed.* Much more in this and the following Epiſtle he addeth to the ſame purpoſe. Particularly concerning *Juvenalis* who was truly at this time made a Patriarch, for keeping the Statutes of the Holy Fathers, which in the *Nicene Synod* are confirmed *inviolabilibus decretis* by Inviolable Decrees, I admoniſh your Holineſs ſaith he, that the Laws of the Churches may continue, let no Man's Ambition covet what's another Man's, let no Man ſeek by impairing another to advance himſelf, for though they ſeek Aſſiſtence from Councils, *Infirmum atq; Irritum erit quicquid à prædictorum Patrum Canonibus diſcreparit; whatſoever differs from theſe* Nicene *Canons ſhall be void.* And to *Maximus* Biſhop of *Antioch*; Let it ſuffice that I pronounce this in general, *ad omnia, as to all matters*, concerning Limits of Sees and the like, that, If any thing be attempted by any Man, in any Synod againſt the Statutes of the *Nicene* Canons, *nihil præjudicii poteſt inviolabilibus inferre decretis*, It can bring no prejudice to theſe unalterable and inviolable Decrees. Thus *Leo* erroniouſly judging the order preſcribed in the *Nicene* Canons for the bounds and pre-eminence of Biſhops to be Eternal, and not to be altered by any Council whatſoever.

Quo priùs.

Leo Epiſt. 53.

54

Ep. 61.

Ep. 62.

13. Behold the wiſedom of the Cardinal in alledging Pope *Leo*. If the Decree of *Chalcedon* was not of force becauſe *Leo* contradicted it, then neither can that other Decree, ſuppoſed to be made in the fifth Council, be effectual, becauſe *Leo* contradicteth it alſo, ſeeing that by the Judgment of *Leo*, at no time, by no Perſon, by no Council, by no Authority can the order of *Nice* be changed. If this at *Chalcedon* was not in force, to which the Pope's Legates conſented, how can the Cardinal think that of the fifth Council to be of force, to which neither Pope nor Legate conſented, nor was ſo much as preſent in the Council? If the Judgment of *Leo* ſtand for good, then neither is, nor ever was either *Conſtantinople* or *Jeruſalem* Patriarchal Sees; and then the Decree of the eighth Council and the Lateran, and I know not how many more muſt be rejected as unlawfull and Impious. If the Judgment of *Leo* be (as by their eighth Council and the Lateran it is adjudged) Erroneous, then was *Jeruſalem* a Patriarchal See, notwithſtanding the contradiction of *Leo* to that Decree. In a word, if *Leo* his Judgment be of force, it repeals the Decree of the fifth, eighth, and all other General Councils decreeing this; if it be not of force, it neither did nor could infringe the Decree of *Chalcedon*. But to ſatisfie the Cardinal yet a little more fully, it is an untruth which he ſaith, that the Decree of *Chalcedon* was not put in Execution, before the time of the fifth Synod and the ſuppoſed Decree thereof. For this Council of *Chalcedon* decreed that their ſentence in advancing *Jeruſalem* to a Patriarchal See, ſhould ſtand in force *in omni tempore*, and therefore doubtleſs even then, and from that very time it was truly a Patriarchal See, the contradiction of *Leo* no more hindering it the very next or ſecond year, than it did two Hundred or two Thouſand years after that Decree made. Again, as it is certain that the See of *Conſtantinople* both before and after the Decree of *Chalcedon* (which was not introductive but confirmative in that point) exerciſed Patriarchal Authority, *Juſtinian* alſo by his Imperial Law made ſome twelve years before the fifth Council confirming the ſame; ſo it is not to be doubted but the Church of *Jeruſalem* did the very like in it's own Patriarchal Dioceſe, eſpecially conſidering that *Juſtinian*'s Imperial Law is as forcible for the one as the other. So that for any one to have denied, or ſought then to have infringed the Patriarchal Authority confirmed to *Conſtantinople*, conferred to *Jeruſalem* by this Council of *Chalcedon*, had brought him into danger, not onely of the Eccleſiaſtical cenſure; but of civil puniſhment with the Emperours high indignation.

Novel. 131. *c.* 1, 2.

14. But if the Cardinal will not be ſatisfied, unleſs he ſee the practice of that Patriarchal Authority, let him look into the General Council under *Mennas*, and there he ſhall ſee *John* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, hold a Provincial Synod of the Biſhops of the three *Paleſtines*, *qui ſub eo ſunt*, *who were under him*, two whereof as by their ſubſcriptions appear, were the Metropolitan Biſhops of *Cæſarea* and *Scythopolis*, with thirty more; ſo many were then ſubject to the Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*. Again in another Provincial Synod held at *Jeruſalem* in the tenth year of *Juſtinian*, *Peter* Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, was Preſident over all the Biſhops of the three *Paleſtines* there aſſembled with him, two of which were the aforeſaid Metropolitans. So untrue it is, which *Baronius* to maintain the falſe Teſtimony of *Guil. Tyrius* avoucheth, that this Decree of *Chalcedon* was not put in Execution, before the fifth Council. Another untruth is, that which he pretends in his Fragments of the Fifth Council, that it had no other means to erect this Patriarchſhip of *Jeruſalem*, but by taking part from both thoſe of *Antioch* and *Alexandria*; for there was another means as both the Decree of *Chalcedon*, and the Event did ſhew, and nothing at all was taken from that of *Alexandria*. That is alſo as falſe as the reſt, that the Fathers took from *Alexandria* the Metropolitan Sees and Provinces of *Ruba* and *Berithus*, for neither of theſe Sees belonged to the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, but of *Antioch*. Of them both *Berterius* (refuting this Fragment, at which the Cardinal and *Binius* ſo gladly ſnatcht) ſaith, *Certainly* Ruba *is placed by* Ptolemy *in* Syria, *and it's manifeſt that* Berithus *is the* Metropolis *of* Phœnice *near* Libanus: *Syria autem & Phœnicia orientis Provinciæ omnibus notæ ſunt:* Now that *Syria* and *Phœnicia* were Provinces of the Eaſt (and conſequently belonging to the See of *Antioch*) *all do know*. For *Berithus* the matter is certain that it is not near the Limits of *Alexandria*; for that it is in the Province of *Phœnicia*, not onely *Ptolemy* ſhews, but the Subſcriptions of the Biſhops, both in the * *Nicene*, the firſt *Conſtantinopolitan* † and *Chalcedon* ‖ Councils, in all which the Biſhop of *Berithus* is ſet in the Province of *Phœnicia*; whence another untruth is to be obſerved in that Fragment of *Tyrius*, which ſaith that *Berithus* was granted to the new Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*; whereas

Act. 5. *p.* 455. &c.

Contra Severum & alios. Tom. 2 *Conc. p.* 472. *Præſidente ſanctiſſimo Patriarcha Petro aſſiſtentibus Epiſcopis trium Paleſtinarum.*

Pith. Diatrib. 2. *c.* 2.

* *Lib.* 5. *c.* 15.
† *P.* 310.
‖ *P.* 513.

whereas it is clear, that it was in *Phœnicia*, and that the two *Phœnicia's*, both by the Agreement of *Maximus* and *Juvenalis*, and by this Decree of this Council of *Chalcedon*, did belong to the See and Biſhop of *Antioch*, and not of *Jeruſalem*.

In the 8*th*. *Theodoret* Biſhop of *Cyrus* anathematizing *Neſtorianiſm* is reſtored.

15. In the eighth Seſſion *Theodoret*, the Biſhop of *Cyrus* came to clear himſelf, and to be reconciled to the Church. Hitherto he had been received and admitted by the Synod no otherwiſe than as Plaintiff, accuſing *Dioſcorus*, for injuriouſly outing him of his See, and placing another in it. For when he firſt came into the Council the Biſhops of *Egypt*, *Illyricum* and *Paleſtine* exclaimed againſt him, crying *The Canons exclude this Man, out with him, thruſt out the Maſter of* Neſtorius, *the* Orthodox *Council doth not receive* Theodoret, *call him not a Biſhop, he is no Biſhop, he is a Fighter againſt God, he is a Jew, out with him; he accuſed, he anathematized* Cyril; *If we admit him we reject* Cyril. *The Canons exclude him, God deteſteth him.* Knowing him to have formerly imbraced and defended the *Neſtorian Hereſie*, they would not be ſatisfied otherwiſe than by the appointment of the Judges, he ſhould ſit onely as an Accuſer of *Dioſcorus*, not as one having Judicatory Power, or a deciſive Voice, till his own cauſe ſhould come to be heard and thoroughly examined. Now in this eighth Seſſion when he appeared for this purpoſe, no ſooner was he eſpied but the Biſhops cried out again, *Let* Theodoret *forthwith anathematize* Neſtorius, *let him do it ſpeedily and without delay.* He offered to them a Paper containing a Confeſſion of his Faith, but they refuſed to hear it. Then began he at large to clear himſelf, telling them he came thither out of a ſenſe he had, that he was calumniated as if he had taught Hereſie, that as he had been bred and educated amongſt the Orthodox, ſo he had ever taught, being averſe to *Neſtorius*, *Eutyches* and all others who held falſe and heterodox Opinions. But as he was proceeding, the Synod ſuſpecting that he uſed theſe delays as unwilling to anathematize *Neſtorius*, cried out, *He is an Heretick, He is a Neſtorian, put out the Heretick*, and out they had put him, but that leaving all Circuition and delay, he preſently cried out *Anathema to Neſtorius, and to them that either do not confeſs* Mary *the Virgin to be the Mother of God, or divide the one onely begotten Son into two.* He told them alſo, that he ſubſcribed to the Definition of Faith, and the Epiſtle of *Leo* the moſt Holy Archbiſhop. With this the Synod was fully ſatisfied, the glorious Judges ſaying, *Now all doubt is quite removed concerning* Theodoret, and receiving him into Communion as Orthodox reſtored him to his See, of which in the *Epheſine Latrociny* he had been outed, all crying out, *Theodoret is worthy of his See, let the Church receive their Orthodox Paſtour, To Theodoret a Catholick Doctour, let the Church be reſtored.*

Act. 1. *p.* 6.

Act 8. *Nihil relegi volumus, anathematizet Neſtorium.*

In the Ninth *Ibas* Biſhop of *Edeſſa* renouncing his Hereſie,

16. In the Ninth Seſſion was examined the Cauſe of *Ibas* Biſhop of *Edeſſa*, who had alſo been depoſed by *Dioſcorus* and his *Epheſine Juncto*. He had formerly held the Hereſie of *Neſtorius*, and after the Union betwixt *Cyril* and *John*, had written a Letter full fraught of Hereſie and Blaſphemy, to *Maris* a *Perſian*. About this his Hereſie a Synod was held at *Berithus*, before *Photius*, *Euſtathius* and *Uranius*, where the Epiſtle and Contents thereof were condemned. But being commanded to imbrace the firſt *Epheſine Synod*, which that impious Epiſtle rejecteth, and to condemn and accurſe *Neſtorius* with his Followers commanded by that Epiſtle, he conformed himſelf to their order, profeſſing that he believed as the Letters of *Cyril* unto *John* did teach, and that he conſented to all things done by the firſt *Epheſine Synod*, accounting their Judgment as inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt. Moreover, at the Inſtance of *Photius* and *Euſtathius* he publiſhed in Writing, what he now profeſſed for full ſatisfaction of ſuch as had been ſcandalized by his former Doctrine. And on his own accord he promiſed before theſe Judges, that he would in his own Church at *Edeſſa*, and that publickly accurſe *Neſtorius* as the Ringleader in that Impious Hereſie, and thoſe alſo who were of his Judgment, or who uſed his Books or Writings. The Acts of theſe matters being read in Councill, *Eunomius* told the Fathers that ſeeing *in poſterioribus* or *in poſtremis*, *Ibas* had made a right Confeſſion, (though he did formerly write againſt *Cyril* and the Faith) he judged him worthy of his Biſhoprick, provided he accurſed *Neſtorius*, *Eutyches* with their wicked Hereſies, and conſented to the Writings of *Leo*, and this General Council. Now the Orthodox Confeſſion of *Ibas* made before *Photius* and *Euſtathius*, the accurſing of *Neſtorius* and his Hereſie, and the imbracing of the *Epheſine* Council is that which *Eunomius* calleth *poſteriora* or *poſtrema*, as following by many years, not onely that which *Ibas* did or ſaid before the Union made between *John* and *Cyril*, but even that impious Epiſtle written

*Apud Act. Conc. Chalced. Act.*9.*p.*108.*A.*

written after the Union. By this Confeſſion being *poſterius*, or later, than the Epiſtle, *Ibas* had refuted all for which he was formerly blamed, in effect refuting, condemning and accurſing that whole Epiſtle with all the Hereſies and Blaſphemies in all parts thereof. For this Cauſe, and in regard of this Holy Confeſſion, the fifth Council afterwards ſaid, that thereby *Ibas had anathematized his own Epiſtle, being in every part of it contrary to the Faith, both in the beginning and the end.*

Coll. 6. p. 564.

Is reſtored in the tenth by the Fathers.

17. That this was the meaning of *Eunomius*, the Interlocution of *Euſebius*, Biſhop of *Angra*, in this ſame Council of *Chalcedon* doth make apparent, who expreſly mentioning theſe Acts before *Photius* and *Euſtathius*, and the Confeſſion of *Ibas* then made (called by *Eunomius Poſteriora*) ſaid thus in the following Seſſion, to which the Concluſion of this matter was adjourned: The reading of that Judgment before *Photius* and *Euſtathius* doth ſhew, that *Ibas* in that Judgment accurſed *Neſtorius* with his impious Doctrines, and conſented to the true Faith. Wherefore I receive him for a Biſhop, if he do now condemn *Neſtorius*. This was applauded by *Diogenes* Biſhop of *Cyzicus*, *Thalaſſius* of *Cæſarea*, *John* of *Sebaſtia*, to which all acclaimed, We all ſay the ſame. So clear it is, that upon this Confeſſion of *Ibas* made firſt before *Photius* and *Euſtathius*, and after that by this whole Council of *Chalcedon*, and not upon his Epiſtle nor any part firſt or laſt thereof, *Ibas* was acknowledged and received as a Catholick. Whereby appeareth not onely the Errour, but extreme fraud of *Baronius*, who in excuſe of *Vigilius*, not onely affirmeth an heretical Untruth, that the latter part of the Epiſtle is Orthodox, but labours to uphold that untruth by malitious perverting and falſifying, both the words and meaning of *Eunomius*, as if he had ſaid or meant by the *Poſteriora*, the latter end of that Epiſtle. This and more in Confutation of the Cardinal about that Epiſtle, and in defence of the Fifth Council, and the Acts thereof the Reader may ſee in the Book of Dr. *Crackanthorp* formerly mentioned, and we ſhall have too much occaſion again to ſpeak of this Subject. As for *Nonnus* who had been put into *Ibas*'s place, the Synod referred it to the Biſhop of *Antioch* to take care of him. The moſt glorious Judges confirmed what the Synod had done, ſaying, that *what the Holy Council had judged concerning the Reverend Biſhop* Ibas, *ſhould retain its own Strength.* And ſo ended the Tenth Seſſion.

In the eleventh the *Epheſine* Latrocine Orders are made void.

At the twelfth the Conteſt 'twixt *Stephen* and *Baſſianus* decided.

18. At the Eleventh Meeting the Synod decreed all things, which had been done in the *Epheſine Latrociny* under *Dioſcorus*, ſhould be void and of no effect, the Ordination of *Maximus* Biſhop of *Antioch* excepted, and they petitioned the Emperour, that ſuch things as there had paſſed ſhould not be taken for Authentical. At this Seſſion alſo contended *Stephen* and *Baſſianus*, about the Biſhoprick of *Antioch*, both challenging it as his due, and recriminating each other. The Emperour upon the earneſt Petition of *Baſſianus*, commanded the Synod to examine the Cauſe. The Fathers were ſo much divided in their opinions, that they were forced to put it off till their next Meeting. Yet would they generally have given Sentence for *Baſſianus*, ſaying that Equity and Right called for him to be Biſhop of the place; but the glorious Judges conſidering more ſeriouſly, and ſeeing farther into the matter, thought that neither of them both could indeed be Biſhop, and the whole Council directed by them altered their Opinion, and ſaid, *This is a juſt ſentence*, this *is the very Judgment of God* It was therefore reſolved that both of them ſhould be removed from the See of *Epheſus*, yet ſo that they ſtill retained the Epiſcopal Dignity, and to each ſhould be paid out of that Church, the Annual ſtipend of 200 *Solidi* for their maintenance. Now a *Solidus* after the time of *Conſtantine*, as our Learned *Brierwood* hath obſerved, was worth of our Money Eight Shillings Six-pence Halfpenny Farthing, and Six parts of a Farthing, till the time of *Valentinian*, who increaſed it to the Value of juſt ten Shillings. At the thirteenth Seſſion was compoſed, the difference betwixt *Eunomius* Biſhop of *Nicomedia* and *Anaſtaſius* of *Nice*, by a Decree, that foraſmuch as *Nicomedia* had ever been the *Metropolis*, and *Nice* had onely obtained that Title by favour of Princes, the Metropolitan Rights ſhould be, and continue in the See of *Nicomedia*, according to the Ancient Canons. The fourteenth Meeting was employed in the Cauſe of *Athanaſius* Biſhop of *Paros*, who being accuſed of ſundry Crimes, had been ſummoned before a Provincial Synod called to *Antioch* by *Domnus*, Biſhop of that See, to whoſe Patriarchal Authority the Biſhoprick of *Paros* was ſubject. Refuſing to come though thrice cited to appear, he was depoſed by that Synod, and *Sabinianus* put into his place. In this Seſſion he complained of wrongfull Extruſion, and petitioned the

In Greek Νόμισμα. *De Antiq. Nummis Roman. c.* 15.

At the thirteenth the difference 'twixt *Eunomius* Biſhop of *Nicomedia*, and *Anaſtaſius* of *Nice* compoſed.

In the fourteenth the Cauſe of *Athanaſius* Biſhop of *Paros* diſcuſſed.

Council, that his See might be reſtored to him, excuſing himſelf that he appeared not at the Synod of *Antioch* according to ſummons, becauſe *Domnus* the chief Judge therein was his Enemy, and thereupon he could not eſteem him an equal and indifferent Judge, though he could not but acknowledge him his Patriarch. The Glorious Judges that the matters laid to the charge of *Athanaſius*, ſhould be examined in Synod by *Maximus* then Patriarch of *Antioch*; and in caſe he were found guilty of theſe Crimes, he ſhould for ever ſtand debarred from his Biſhoprick. But if either in that ſpace of time they examined not the Merit of his Cauſe, or upon Examination found him innocent, he ſhould then as unjuſtly depoſed be reſtored to his See of *Paros*, and *Sabinianus* ſhould remain his Subſtitute till *Maximus* could provide him of another Biſhoprick. This Sentence of the ſecular Judges, the whole Council approved, crying out, *Nothing is more juſt, nothing is more equal, this is a juſt Sentence, you judge according to the Mind of God.*

At the fifteenth Meeting were made 27 Canons.

19. At their fifteenth Meeting were twenty ſeven Canons made, of which we
ſhall in ſhort deliver the ſubſtance. “ The Firſt confirms ſuch as had been by the
“ Fathers ordained in former Synods. The Second cenſureth that Biſhop that ſhould
“ ordain for Money, depoſing him and nulling the Orders to him, on whom
1. “ they are conferred. In the Third the Synod taking notice at the inſtance of the
2. “ Emperour, how ſeveral in Orders hired Lands for Lucres ſake, undertook ſe-
3. “ cular employments, and through lazineſs neglected Divine Service, betook
“ themſelves to ſecular Perſons, and for profit became their Steward, and over-
“ ſaw their buſineſs, decreed that thenceforth it ſhould be unlawfull for any Bi-
“ ſhop, Clerk or Monk to hire any Poſſeſſions, or meddle with any ſecular E-
“ ſtates, excepted ſuch as the Laws did not excuſe from the Charge of Tutours
“ or Curatours, or the Biſhop of the City ſhould entruſt with the Adminiſtra-
“ tion of Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, the overſight of Widows or Orphans, or ſuch
“ Perſons that ſtood in need of the aſſiſtence of the Church in the fear of
“ God. If any acted contrary to this Canon, he ſhould be liable to Eccleſiaſti-
“ cal Cenſures, by which the Gloſs in the Decree tells us, that Excommunication
4. “ and Suſpenſion is underſtood. The Fourth Confeſſeth that ſuch as chuſe true-
“ and purely a ſolitary Life are worthy of convenient honour. But certain
“ Perſons in the Habit of Monks, careleſly and preſumptuouſly paſſing from
“ City to City, and Monaſtery to Monaſtery, and thereby condemning them-
“ ſelves, it pleaſeth the Synod that no Monaſteries or Oratories be builded
“ or made without the Knowledge of the Biſhop of the City, as alſo that ſuch as
“ in Cities or Villages live in Monaſteries ought to be ſubject to the Biſhop,
“ be quiet and continuing in theſe places where firſt they devoted themſelves
“ to God, be conſtant in Faſting and Prayer, not medling either with Eccleſiaſti-
“ cal or Secular Affairs, or forſaking their Monaſteries, except thereto injoy-
“ ned for urgent Reaſons by the Biſhop of the Dioceſe. Alſo that no Slave be
“ taken in to be a Monk, without conſent of his Lord. Such as act contrary
“ to theſe things they excommunicate, that the Name of the Lord be not blaſ-
“ phemed, and reſolve that the Biſhop take care, and have inſpection over the
“ Monaſteries.

Act. Conc. & 25.91. *A ſanctis Patribus,* 19. 1. *ſi quis Epiſcopus.* *Diſt.* 86. *c.* 26. *Pervenit ad ſanctam Synodum.*

16. *q. c.* 12. *Qui verè & purè* & 18. *q.* 2. *c.* 10. *Quidam Monachorum.*

Μήτε δὲ ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς μήτε βιωτικοῖς παρενοχλεῖν πράγμασιν ἢ ἐπικοινωνεῖν.

20. “ In their fifth Canon the Fathers Decree by reaſon of thoſe Biſhops and
5. “ Clerks that paſſed from City to City, that the Canons made by the Holy Sy-
“ nods retain their ancient force and vigour; which former Synods, as we have
“ ſeen before, ordained, that No Eccleſiaſtical Perſon without ſome lawfull and
“ weighty cauſe ſhould forſake his Calling and Station in
6. “ one place, to remove into another. The Sixth enjoyns,
“ that No Presbyter or Deacon be ordained abſolutely or
“ without a Title, nor out of a publick place, as a Church
“ or a Monaſtery. Such as are ordained without Title,
“ it pleaſeth the Holy Synod that the Impoſition of Hands
“ upon them be void and null, to the reprehenſion of thoſe
7. “ who ſo ordain them. The Seventh Forbids Clerks or
“ Monks to turn Souldiers, or aſpire to Secular Honours, Anathematizing ſuch
“ as having ſo done ſhould not return to their former ſtation. As to the latter
Part concerning Honours, the *Gloſs* tells us here is meant onely ſuch places of Honour wherein Juriſdiction of Bloud is exerciſed, or filthy lucre, or perſonal ſervice is required; elſe it appears by other Laws that a Biſhop or Clerk may enjoy Secular Dominion, ſo he exerciſe what belongs to Bloud by his Deputy. The
8. Eighth Canon declares, that “ Clerks whether in Hoſpitals, Churches dedicated
“ to

7. *q.* 1. *Propter eos Epiſcopos. c.* 26.

Diſt. 70.

Εἰ μὴ ἰδικῶς ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ πόλεως ἢ κώμης ἢ μαρτυρίῳ ὁ χειροτονούμενος, &c.

20. *q.* 3. *Eos qui Semel. c.* 3.

Ut 88. *Diſt. Epiſcopus gubernationem* & 5. *q.* 4. *quia Johannes.*

“ to Martyrs, or Monaſteries, are according to the tradition of the Holy Fathers “ under the Power of the Biſhop of the City, from which they ought not pre- “ ſumptuouſly to withdraw themſelves. Therefore ſuch as ſhall reſcind this “ order, and refuſe to be ſubject to their own Biſhop; if Clerks, it ſubjects “ them to the puniſhments inflicted by the Canons, according to their quality; “ if Monks or Lay-perſons, it deprives them of Communion. 9. The Ninth decrees, that *One Clerk having a quarrel againſt another, the matter ſhall be decided by their Biſhop. If a Clerk have a Controverſie with his own Biſhop or another, it ſhall be judged by the Provincial Synod, or* (as Theodore Balſamon expounds it) *by the Metropolitan of the Province. But if any Biſhop or Clerk have any Controverſie with the Metropolitan, let him betake himſelf to the Primate of the Dioceſe, or to the See of the Royal City of* Conſtantinople, *and there be Judged.* That this is a true and genuine Canon *Nicholas* the firſt of that Name Biſhop of *Rome* confeſſeth, but both he and the later *Romaniſts* miſerably torment themſelves in expounding it, as not knowing how to evade the ſtroke which it gives to their pretended Supremacy.

Ep. 1.

The ninth whereof giving appeals to *Conſtantinople* very much perplexeth the *Baronians* and the *Romaniſts* to expound for their turn.

21. They are forced ſo to expound the word Dioceſe, as meant of the whole word it ſelf, as if any one meanly converſant in Church Antiquities knew not there were many Dioceſes of old. And by the *Primate* they will mean none other than him of *Rome*, though the Sun be not clearer than this, that there were ſeveral other Primates beſides him, and they ſo ridiculouſly expound this Canon, as commanding all Appeals to be made from the Metropolitans to the Pope in all places of the World, and permitting onely the ſame to be done to the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* by thoſe who inhabited near to that City. Now can it be imagined that theſe Fathers ſhould forbid Appeals from the Metropolitan to the Patriarch of the Dioceſe, whenas by a Decree of thoſe of *Nice* Appeals lye to him? In no caſe but by the ambiguous titles given to Primates, theſe *Romaniſts* impoſe upon unwary Readers. For as we ſaid formerly, there being fourteen Dioceſes in the Church, over each of them one Biſhop preſided with Patriarchal power, under ſeveral Names and Titles, as ſometimes of Patriarch, ſometimes of Metropolitan, otherwhiles of Primate, Exarch or Prince, which laſt is given to *John* the Patriarch of *Antioch* in this very Council of *Chalcedon.* All theſe fourteen Primacy Biſhops had the ſame equal Patriarchal power, although at firſt three and afterwards ſix of them were eſpecially and by way of eminence called Patriarchs. So inſulſe and ſilly is that plea that the *Roman* Biſhop is here meant, becauſe the word *Exarch* is uſed, that (as *Berterius* himſelf obſerveth) in this very Council this ſame word is uſed to ſignifie the (*a*) Primate of the Eaſt or him of *Antioch*, and for proof that the Primates had this title he alledgeth (*b*) this very ninth Canon upon which we inſiſt, withall proving, that even the Byſhop of (*c*) *Tyre* in the eighth Synod hath given him the Title of *Exarch*, who yet was not reckoned in the number of Patriarchs or Primates.

Act. 1. *p.* 22.

Pithan. Diatrib. 2. *c.* 1.

(*a*) *Rurſus ab Exarcho Orientis Diœceſis evocatus eſt.*

(*b*) Καταλαμβανέτω τὸν Ἔξαρχον τῆς διοικήσεως.

(*c*) Ὅρος Θωμᾶ μητροπολίτου Τύρου πρωτοθρόνου καὶ Ἐξάρχου, καὶ τοποτηρητοῦ τῆς Θεουπόλεως.

22. The meaning therefore of theſe *Chalcedonian* Fathers was this, that ſeeing (as appears from * a conſtitution of *Juſtinian de foro Clerici & Epiſcopi accuſati*) the Council of *Nice* or ſome other had preſcribed the form and method of Appeals to be, that firſt they ſhould lye from the Biſhop to the Metropolitan, from him to the Primate, the Prince, Exarch or Metropolitan of the Dioceſe, and to no others, a General Council onely excepted; out of reſpect to the Dignity of the Imperial Seat they conferred this Honour on the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, that it ſhould be lawfull for any Biſhop in any Dioceſe whatſoever at his choice, if he thought he ſhould not be indifferently heard, to appeal from the Metropolitan of the Province or the Provincial Synod, to the ſaid Biſhop inſtead of the Exarch or Primate of the Dioceſe. Another meaning of theſe Fathers ſeems to have been this: that whereas formerly it was unlawfull to appeal from the Definitive Sentence of the Primate or Patriarch to the Tribunal of any other Patriarch or Biſhop, to doe Honour to this Imperial Seat, they gave leave to appeal to the Biſhop thereof from any Sentence of Primates or Patriarchs, which the words themſelves, *Let him repair to the Exarch of the Dioceſe, or the Seat or Biſhop of the Royal City*, ſeem, though obſcurely to hint, but practice and the Imperial Law formerly mentioned plainly declareth, wherein is enjoyned that *If after appeal to Patriarchs or Metropolitans, or any other Biſhop ſentence be pronounced which diſpleaſeth any party, if this party appeal, the appeal muſt lye to the See of* Conſtantinople, *wherein, as the Cuſtome was, the matter is to be determined.* To the Patriarch of *Conſtantinple* there-

* *L. Sancimus ut nemo de Epiſcopali Audientia. L.* 29. *Cod. Juſtin.*

fore from the ſentence of any other Patriarch or Dioceſan Primate Appeal was
granted, and from him none, except to a General Council, to which, as the *Afri-
can* Fathers, in their Letters to * *Cœleſtine*, affirm it lawfull
to appeal, ſo theſe of *Chalcedon* never intended to barr any
one concerned of that liberty. And particularly as a † Lear-
ned Proteſtant obſerveth, as from any Province, ſo alſo
from that of the *Roman* Patriarch himſelf Appeal is allowed
by this Holy and Oecumenical Council, to the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, but on
the contrary from him of *Conſtantinople* or a Primate of any other Dioceſe to the
Roman Biſhop the liberty of appeal is granted in no cauſe whatſoever.

10. 23. The Tenth Canon * prohibits " Clerks to paſs from
" a Church in one City to one in another; or if a Clerk
" be tranſlated to another, to have to doe with the former
" upon pein of Depoſition. How the *Gloſs* endeavours to reconcile this Canon
with later Laws and Practice is too long here to be ſhewn, and therefore the
11. Reader may at his leiſure conſult it. The Eleventh " † Forbids a Clerk or Rea-
" der to Miniſter in any ſtrange place whatſoever without Letters commenda-
12. " tory from his own Biſhop. In the Twelfth the Synod taking notice that certain
" Perſons had procured Pragmaticks or Reſcripts from Princes, for dividing one
" Province into two, ſo that two Metropolitans happened to be in one and the
" ſame Province, forbad any Biſhop to attempt the like for the time to come,
under pein of Depoſition. This Canon the *Gloſs* reſtraineth and limiteth, in
13. * caſe the multitude of People encreaſeth in the Province. The Thirteenth,
or rather the Eleventh, ordains, that " All Indigent Perſons ſhall have *E-*
14. " *piſtolia* or *Pacifick* Letters, and not Commendatory. The Fourteenth for-
" bids *Pſalmiſts* and *Readers* to take Wives of another Sect. If any hath
" already ſo done, the Synod commands, that Their Children Baptized by
" Hereticks be preſented to the Catholick Church, therein to communicate.
" If they be not yet Baptized, they are in no wiſe to be Baptized by Hereticks,
" neither to be Married to any *Heretick*, *Jew* or *Pagan*, except ſuch Perſon
15. " to whom they are Married engage to conform to the Orthodox Faith. The
" Fifteenth declares, that A Deaconeſs ought not to be ordained till forty years
" of Age, and then not without diligent examination. If being ordained ſhe had
" ſerved at all in this Miniſtry and married afterward, the Canon anathematizeth
" her, and him that married her. At this Age indeed a Woman might know
" whether ſhe could bear the condition of *Cælibate*, and conſequently thoſe great
" diſorders would be prevented, which have been too common amongſt Girls
" inſnared in this courſe of life. But foraſmuch as Chaſtity is the gift of God, and
in the power of none perfect in either Sex, the humour of this Age is hereby diſ-
16. covered too much admiring and doting on forced Virginity. This the next or Six-
teenth Canon farther evinceth, which "Commands that no Virgin which had dedica-
" ted herſelf to God, or Monk, ſhould Marry, under pein of Excommunication; yet
" they decree that they be gently dealt with if the Biſhop of the place think fit.

17. 24. " The ſeventeenth enacts that Biſhops retain thoſe Countrey Pariſh Church-
" es whereof they are in Poſſeſſion, eſpecially if they have kept them without
" violence the ſpace of thirty years. But if within this term of years there
" hath been or ſhall happen to ariſe any controverſie about them, it ſhall be law-
" full for ſuch as think themſelves aggrieved to traverſe their cauſe in a Pro-
" vincial Synod. And if any think himſelf injured by his own Metropolitan, he
" may either betake himſelf to the Primate of the Dioceſe, or to the See of *Con-
" ſtantinople*, as was ſaid before, *viz.* in the *9th.* Canon. But if any City be al-
" tered by the Authority Imperial or ſhall be altered for the time to come, the
" order of Pariſh Churches ſhall be conformable as to Civil and Publick Orders.
18. " The eighteenth forbids upon pein of Depoſition all Aſſo-
" ciations and Conſpiracies amongſt Clerks or Monks a-
" gainſt Biſhops, made it ſeems in behalf of *Eutyches* and
19. " his Doctrine. The ninteenth commands the Biſhops to
" hold Provincial Synods twice a year, according to Anci-
20. " ent Canons. The twentieth commands a Clerk ordained
" in one Church there to ſtay, and not betake himſelf to
" another, except out of Neceſſity when they loſe their
" former places. If any Biſhop hereafter receives any ſuch Clerk belonging to
" another Biſhop it pleaſeth the Holy Synod that both the Clerk and the Recei-
" ver remain ſo long Excommunicated till the Man return to his former Church,

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* *Conc. Afric. Can. ult. vel* 105.

† *Crackanthorp. Defenſ. Eccleſiæ Angl. contra Spalat. c.* 31.

* 21. *q.* 1. *c.* 2. *Clericum in duarum Eccleſiis civitatum eodem tempore conſcribi non oportet.*

† *Ibid.* 2. *c.* 3. *Signis jam.*

Diſt. 17.

Diſt. 110. *c.* 1.

* *Ut* 16. *q.* 1. *Præcipimus, & Diſt.* 99. *Nulli.*

Diſt. 32. *quoniam in quibuſdam.*

27. *q.* 1. *Diaconiſſam non debere c.* 23.

27. *q.* 1. *ſiqua virgo. c.* 22.

16. *q.* 3. *c.* 1. *Per ſingulas Eccleſias.*

11. *q.* 1. *c.* 1. *Conjurationum & conſpirationum quod apud Græcos, φρατεία dicitur, &c.*
Diſt. 18. *c.*6. *Pervenit ad noſtras aures.*
Diſt. 11. *Clericos. c.* 4.
Cauſ. 2. *q.* 7. *c.* 49. *Clericos aut Laicos.*
12. *q.* 2. *c.* 43. *Non liceat Clericis.*

“ agreeable to what the *Nicene* Fathers had formerly decreed in their 16 Canon.
21. “ The one and twentieth requires that ſuch as accuſe Eccleſiaſtical Perſons be not
22. “ lightly admitted except they be Men of known repute. The twenty ſecond forbids
“ Clerks to rifle the goods of their deceaſed Biſhop (which it ſeems was at this
“ time practiſed and had been prohibited by former Canons) under Pein of incurring
“ Depoſition. This Canon was long after reinforced by the *Laterane*
23. “ *Council* (*Cap.* 4.) under *Innocent the ſecond*. In the twenty third the Holy Synod
“ taking notice that certain Monks without any order from their Biſhop and
“ ſometimes by him Excommunicated, repair to the Royal City of *Conſtantinople*,
“ where they diſturb the Peace of the Church, and corrupt ſeveral Houſes, ordaineth
“ that they firſt be admoniſhed to depart the Town, if they refuſe,
“ to be forced out and compelled to return to their own places by the *Defenſor*.

16. *q.* 1. *c.* 17. *Quidam Monachi nihil habentes.*

24. “ The twenty fourth Canon commands that ſuch Monaſteries as had been ſo
“ made by conſent of the Biſhops continue ſuch and be not again changed to ſecular
25. “ uſes. By the twenty fifth notice being taken how certain Metropolitans neglected
“ their Flocks, and deferred the Ordination of Biſhops, it therefore ordains
“ that Conſecration of Biſhops be made within three Months except there be
“ abſolute Neceſſity of protracting the time, under pein of heavy cenſure. As
“ alſo that the whole Revenue of the vacant Church be collected and laid up by the
26. “ Stewards thereof. In their twenty ſixth the Fathers ſignifie
“ how they are informed that in certain Churches, Biſhops
“ manage the Revenues thereof without any Oeconomus
“ or Steward, therefore they reſolve that every Church
“ having a Biſhop have alſo its Steward, or *Diſpenſator*,
“ one of its own Clerks who by the conſent of the Biſhop ſhall Adminiſter the
“ Income thereof that there may be witneſs how it is managed, leſt waſte be
27. “ made of its ſubſtance and the Prieſtly dignity be ill ſpoken off. The twenty
“ ſeventh cenſureth ſuch as commit Rapes and thereby get themſelves Wives, as
“ alſo ſuch as aſſiſt them if Clerks with Depoſition, if lay Perſons, with the Anathema.
“ Beſides theſe 27 Canons are three more extant in the Tome of the
Councils whereof the firſt confirms the former Decree of the *Epheſine Synod* about
the Privileges of the See of *Conſtantinople*. *For, following in all things*, as the Canon
runs, *The Decrees of the Holy Fathers and acknowledging that lately read, of
the* 150 *Biſhops lovers of God, we alſo decree and ordain the ſame things concerning
the Privileges of the moſt holy Church of* Conſtantinople *being* New Rome.
For on the throne of Ancient Rome, *becauſe that City was the ſeat of the Empire,
the Fathers deſervedly beſtowed Privileges. And the* 150 *Biſhops moved by the
ſame conſideration gave equal Privileges to the moſt holy Throne of* New Rome, *rightly
judging that the City which was honoured with Empire and a Senate and enjoyed equal
Privileges with the Ancient Lady* Rome, *ought to be extolled and magnified
no loſs than ſhe alſo in Eccleſiaſtick matters, being the next to her, and that the Metropolitans
onely of the Dioceſes of* Pontica Aſiana *and* Thracia, *as alſo, the Biſhops
of the ſaid Dioceſes amongſt the Barbarians ſhould be ordained by the foreſaid Throne
of the moſt holy Church of* Conſtantinople, *each Metropolitan of the ſaid Dioceſes
together with the Biſhops of the Province ordaining the Provincial Biſhops, as it is
delivered in the Divine Canons. But as is ſaid the Metropolitans of the forenamed
Dioceſes are to be ordained by the Archbiſhop of* Conſtantinople *convenient Elections
being made according to Cuſtome, and thereof Notice being given to him.*

19. *q.* 3. *Quæ ſemel ſunt* c. 4.

Diſt. 75. *c.* 2. *Quoniam quidam Metropolitanorum.*

Diſt. 89. *c.* 3.

Quia in quibuſdam. & *cauſ.* 16. *q.* 7. *c.* 21. *Quoniam in quibuſdam ubi vide quæ notantur in gloſſa de Epiſcoporum & aliorum Oeconomis.*

Cauſ. 36. *q.* 2. *c.* 1. *Eos qui rapiunt.*

Three Canons more.

The firſt concerning the privileges of the See of *Conſtantinople*.

Can. 206. *Eccleſiæ univerſalis.*

Πανταχοῦ τοῖς τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ὅροις ἕπεσθαι.

Οἱ πατέρες ἀποδεδώκασι τὰ πρεσβεῖα διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην.

Ἴσα πρεσβεῖα ἀπονεῖμαι τῷ τῆς νέας Ῥώμης ἁγιοτάτῳ θρόνῳ.

26. By this Canon the firſt dignity and Precedence was confirmed to the *Roman* Patriarch as beſtowed on it by the Ancient Fathers, not out of any conſideration that his Church was founded by St. *Peter or any other*, but out of a ſecular reſpect to the Dominion and Sovereignty of that City, as Miſtreſs or Sovereign of the Empire; the Polity of the Church correſponding as near as poſſible with that of the State. Now that *Conſtantinople* was put into the ſame Capacity with *Old Rome* as to Majeſty, Sovereignty and Dominion, the Fathers found the ſame reaſon for conferring the ſame Privileges upon her, though much to the regret and ſtomach of *Leo* his Legates, who not being preſent when the thing paſſed, came into the Council the next meeting and proteſted againſt it. But this would not doe, their alledging the *Nicene Canons* ſignified little, the Fathers having in their Memory what had paſſed between the Biſhops of *Africk* and the former *Roman Prelates*. They urged that the ſubſcriptions to this Canon were forced and wreſted from the Biſhop by plain conſtraint which was flatly denied by ſuch as had ſubſcribed. Then did the glorious Judges interpoſe and gave ſentence that the chief Honour

was to be given to the See of *Old Rome*, yet Primacy and the like Privileges to that of the *New*, which now as well as the other was ordained with the *Faſces* of the Empire, ſo that the Biſhop thereof ſhould have power to ordain Metropolitans in *Aſiana*, *Pontica* and *Thrace*, leaving the Authority to the Metropolitan of each Province to conſecrate Biſhops. Yet would not the Legates be ſatisfied, but required that the Decree might be ſuſpended till the Judgment of *Leo* might be had about it, to which it's ſaid the Synod Aſſented. But *Liberatus* affirms that the contradiction and Proteſtation of the Legates was rejected, and how little account was made of it, or of the oppoſition of *Leo* himſelf appears by the practice of following times, as well as what formerly has been ſaid of this Subject. As for this Canon none either have called in queſtion the truth or the force and validity of it, except thoſe concerned in behalf of *Rome*. Its found in all *Greek* Copies, beſides ſeveral *Latin* ones, as one above a thouſand years Old in *Juſtellus* his Library, another in that of *Monſieur de Thou*, which abundantly diſcovers to us the truth and ſincerity of thoſe *Roman* Copies wherein it is wanting. " There are " beſides thoſe 28 Canons two other mentioned, whereof the firſt forbids a Biſhop " to be reduced to the Decree of a Prieſt making it Sacrilege and requiring that " if any Biſhop be for juſt cauſe degraded, he loſe alſo the Prieſtly Office. The " laſt contemns what the Fathers reſolved concerning the *Ægyptian* Biſhops who " deſired their ſubſcription to the Epiſtle of *Leo* might be reſpited till their Me" tropolitan was choſen.

Quod vidiſſe teſtatur Dr. Baſier.

All which are confirmed by the Emperour's Edict.

An Epiſtle ſent to *Leo* to ſubſcribe to what had been done at this Seſſion.

27. All buſineſs being now diſpatched, the Synod deſired of the Emperour that he would confirm what they had done. He accordingly gave his Royal Aſſent which was followed by Acclamations often ingeminating *Thou haſt confirmed the Orthodox Faith.* The Fathers alſo cauſed their Synodical Epiſtle full of reſpect to be written to *Leo* the *Roman* Patriarch wherein letting him know that they were aſſembled by the Sanction and Decree of the Emperour, they tell him what they had done and deſire him to honour * them with his Approbation. For it was requiſite for the Peace of the Church that ſuch Biſhops as could not be preſent in theſe Oecumenical Councils ſhould approve and confirm what had been done therein. Not that there was any need of judicially determining and defining any controverſie or giving the Deciſion full and perfect Authority, for that had been already done in the General Aſſembly wherein all Biſhops were either perſonally preſent or implicity and juſtly ſuppoſed to be there. But when they ſhould give their expreſs conſent to what they had formerly ratified but implicitly, this would ſtop their mouth for the time to come, remove or prevent all objections ariſing from difference and oppoſition, and whereas we are apt to be drawn more by Example than precept, gain greater repute and conformity to the Decrees. Therefore did this Council ſeek the Approbation of *Leo*, who being moſt eminent for the dignity of his See, and very conſiderable for his perſonal Qualifications, might be more capable through his Example of doing good or hurt; after by conſenting to procure Peace and Conformity, or by diſſenting to make a rent and ſchiſm in the Church. On this ſame account did *Theodoſius* the Emperour and *Cyril* labour ſo much to have *John* the Patriarch to conſent to the Decrees of the *Epheſine Synod* againſt *Neſtorius*, for they knew it would be a great means to draw in the reſt of the diſſenters, as indeed it proved. The truth was, all the Fathers could doe was little enough to preſerve the Church in quiet, and prevent that extravagance both in opinion and practice which the luſts and paſſions of Men ſo frequently procured. Therefore to revive the Memory of former Decrees did each Council, as it were, preſent a new Table of what had paſſed in ſuch as had been before it. So did the Council of *Conſtantinople* confirm that of *Nice* with the Faith decreed therein, and this of *Chalcedon* all three preceding Oecumenical Synods, and the ſecond *Nicene* Synod or Conventicle all the ſix which had been before it, although each of them was of as great Authority before, and as to their intrinſick value needed not the Confirmation of the ſubſequent eſpecially of the later *Sancto*.

In perpetuum quæ à vobis terminata ſunt ſerventur. Orthodoxam fidem confirmaſti.

* *Rogamus tuis decretis noſtrum honora judicium, Ep. Synod. ad Leonem, poſt Act.* 16.

Can. 1.

28. Farther, the Ancient Chriſtian prudence of theſe Fathers, for theſe very reaſons, directed them to make uſe not onely of General Councils but of Provincial Synods, not onely of Patriarchs but particular Biſhops to confirm their General Synods, and the Decrees thereof. Thus the great *Nicene Council* was confirmed, as they themſelves phraſe it, by *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Nicomedia* and *Theognis* of *Nice* two exiled Biſhops for the cauſe of Hereſie in token of their repentance and converſion. So the Synod Aſſembled at *Milan* confirmed the Acts of the *Firſt Epheſine Council*, as *Binius* himſelf obſerveth. And this very Council of *Chalcedon*

Confirmare decrevimus, apud Socr. l. 1. *c.* 10.

Not. in Conc. Rom. 3. *ſub Sylveſtro.*

Chalcedon at the inſtance of Pope *Leo*, when ſome began to carp at its Decrees, was confirmed by an Edict of the Emperour *Leo*, who commanded alſo the ſeveral Biſhops to declare their Judgments concerning its Doctrine, that the Council of *Chalcedon* might be again confirmed, ſaith *Binius*, by the Conſent and Confeſſion of all theſe Biſhops. In obedience to his Command ſome did it of themſelves, as *Anatolius*, *Lucianus*, *Sebaſtianus* and *Agapetus*, beſides ſeveral others, ſome jointly as the Biſhops of *Egypt* and *Europe* in their Synodal Epiſtles, which are joyned to the Acts of this Council. It is not to be imagined, that the Teſtimony of ſingle Biſhops could give any Authority to an Oecumenical Synod, nor yet Provincial Councils which conſiſted but of 19 Biſhops as that of *Milan*, or but of ſeven as that of *Syria*, or ſix as that of *Mœſia*, five as that of *Syria Secunda*, or no more than four as that of *Oſroena*. But much advantage was gained by theſe Teſtimonies, and this may be added to what we have formerly mentioned out of Dr. *Crackanthorp*, that every one hereby either approved himſelf to be Orthodox in Judgment, or upon refuſal appeared to be heretical in Doctrine, and ſtood ſufficiently convicted, ſo that ſuch a Wolf could not doe miſchief in Sheeps cloathing, the Church having ſufficient notice and warning of him. But thus as the forementioned Learned Perſon obſerveth, Confirmation of Synods by Biſhops was twofold. The Confirmation of thoſe preſent in Council is *Judicial*, the latter Confirmation by the Abſent is *Pacifical*. The former *Authoritative*, ſuch as gives the whole Authority to any Decree, the latter whether by ſucceeding Councils, or abſent Biſhops is *Teſtificative* witneſſing them to be Orthodox in that Decree. The former joyned to the Imperial Confirmation (which is neceſſary to the making of a Lawfull Council) is *Eſſential*, eſſentially making both the Council an approved Council, and all the Decrees thereof approved Synodal and Oecumenical Decrees: the latter is *Accidental* which graceth a Biſhop, but little or nothing the Synod, and being denied doth neither diſgrace the Council, nor impair the Dignity or Authority thereof, but extremely diſgracing the party that denies it, pulls down upon him both the juſt Cenſures of the Church, and the Civil Puniſhments due to Hereticks and Contumacious Perſons.

A twofold Confirmation of Synods by Biſhops.

29. So ſmall reaſon is there for *Baronius* to infer, that becauſe the Fathers deſire the Aſſent of *Leo*, therefore they thought their Acts invalid without his Confirmation. But thus ended this famous *Chalcedonian Synod*, which our Learned *Crackanthorp* tells us he never read or almoſt remembred, but with a kind of Amazement; he admired the rare Piety, Prudence, Integrity, Moderation and Gravity of thoſe moſt Glorious Judges, who ſupplying the Emperour's place in his Abſence were the Imperial Preſidents in this Council. Had they or ſuch been wanting at this time it may juſtly be feared, conſidering the eagerneſs and temerity, not to ſay the inſolency of the Pope's Legates in this Synod, that this Council of *Chalcedon* had proved a worſe Latrociny, than was that ſecond of *Epheſus*. All being diſpatched, the Fathers returned to their ſeveral Churches. *Dioſcorus* was baniſhed to *Gangra*, a City of *Paphlagonia* where he died. In memory of the Condemnation of the *Eutychian Hereſie*, the *Greeks* ordained an Anniverſary ſolemnity on the 16*th.* of *July*, as appears by their Menology. And *Martianus* the Emperour to follow on the ſtroke, and add the ſecular Arm to the Spiritual ſword, publiſhed an Edict directed to *Palladius* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, bearing date on the 26 of *January*, or the 6*th.* of *February* next following. For it is extant at large in the Acts of the Council, and part of it in *Juſtinian's Code*, being there falſly aſcribed to *Valentinian* and *Marcian* together, and here falſly dated with the Conſulſhip of *Patricius* and *Richimeres*, whereas it appears by the *Faſti Conſulares*, that in the ſecond year of *Marcian*, *Heraclianus* and *Aſporatius*, bore the Conſular Office. This Law, ſeveral expreſſions whereof are taken out of the Synodal Acts, forbids all Perſons whatſoever to diſpute of Chriſtian Religion in Aſſemblies, ſeeking thereby occaſion of tumult and perfidiouſneſs. He adds a reaſon that this would offer manifeſt Injury to the Judgment of the moſt Reverend Synod aſſembled lately at *Chalcedon* by his (a) Command, which followed therein the Apoſtolical Doctrine according to former Decrees of the *Nicene* and *Conſtantinopolitan Councils*. The Offenders both as Factious and (b) Prophaning the venerable Myſteries before *Jews* and *Pagans*, if Clerks ſhould be depoſed, if Souldiers de-

An Edict condemning the *Eutychian* Hereſie.

Act. 3. *Cod. de ſumma Trinit l.* 4. & *in Synop. ſi Baſilicon.* 1. *Tit.* 1. *c.* 4. *Adde huic legi titulum integrum, Cod. Theod. de his qui Religione contendunt, lib.* 16. *Tit.* 4.

(a) *Qui Chalcedone convenerunt per noſtra præcepta.*

(b) *Sed etiam Judæis & Paganis ex hujuſmodi certamine prophanant veneranda Myſteria.*

prived of the Military girdle; Others if Free ſhould be baniſhed from *Conſtantinople*, and otherwiſe puniſhed, if Slaves chaſtized with the greateſt Severities. Thus much of the Fourth Oecumenical Council, concerning the Integrity of the Acts whereof let the Reader Examine what Dr. *Crackanthop* applieth to the frivolous objections of *Baronius*. This and the three former, as made in the pureſt Ages have been deſervedly had in greateſt eſteem, and of ſtrongeſt Authority by all ſober Chriſtians. The Pope of *Rome* at his promotion (as appears from what *Deusdedit*, the Cardinal noteth in his Collection of Canons) of old time ſwore, according to a former, exemplified by *Gratian* in his Decree out of his Day-book, *To obſerve theſe four Councils to a Tittle, profeſſing to follow and preach what they held and decreed, and both with Heart and Mouth, to condemn what they condemned.* This ancient Oath as our Divines obſerve, badly agreeeth with the late *Bulla lænæ*, wherein the *Roman* Patriarch forbids Appeals from himſelf to a General Council. So doth the Profeſſion of *Zozimus*, formerly mentioned. But from that ancient Oath, a Learned Man inferreth that the *Roman* Biſhop cannot juſtly plead that he is ſuperiour to theſe Councils, except he arrogate to himſelf Power over the four Goſpels

Canones 4 *Concil. pro legibus habeantur, vide c. de ſacroſanctis Eccleſiis. l.* 4. *l.* 12. §. 1. *Novel.* 131. *c.* 2.

Diſt. 16. *c.* 8.
Ex diurno Libro Profeſſio Romani Pontificis.

Seſchaſſerius in Conſult. Venet.

Another to the ſame purpoſe, but ordering the Writings of *Eutychius* to be burnt.

30. The Imperial Edict of *Martianus* againſt the *Eutychian* Errours did ſo little good, that he was conſtrained to enforce it by another, bearing date on the 13*th.* of *March* following, wherein he ſubjects them to the ſame Pains and Penalties as formerly. Yet would not all this doe, for ſuch Tumults were made in *Egypt*, and the Eaſtern Parts, that he was forced afterwards in this ſame year to add greater Puniſhments, and command the Books and Writings of the *Eutychians* to be burnt. By a particular Reſcript alſo, he aſmuch as in him lay aboliſhed the Memory of the Arch Heretick, and revived that of *Flavianus*, becauſe honoured as he ſaith by ſuch, and ſo great a Teſtimony of almoſt innumerable Prieſts, in the Synod of *Chalcedon*. Into the Seat of *Dioſcorus*, baniſhed by the Emperour's Command, was elected *Proterius* by the General conſent of the Council, as *Evagrius* writes, about which great Tumults and Bloud-ſhed happened at *Alexandria*, ſome of the People cloſing with his promotion, and others being for the recalling of *Dioſcorus*. The Commander of *Thebais* placed his Guards to keep the Peace, but the Inhabitants ſet upon the Magiſtrates, and drove the Souldiers into the old Temple of *Serapis*, where they burnt them alive. The Report hereof coming to Court, the Emperour ſent down to *Alexandria* three thouſand diſciplin'd Souldiers, who ſetting upon the Townſmen, and raviſhing their Wives and Daughters, a more fierce and cruel Uproar happened than the former. At length *Florus* the Governour of the Garriſon, gratifying the Multitude in the Reſtitution of the Corn he had taken from them, their Baths and ſolemn Shews for which they moved, quieted their Minds, and reſtored Peace for a certain time. But whilſt matters thus were ordered at *Alexandria*, the Monks of *Paleſtine* inhabiting the Deſarts near to *Jeruſalem*, who had been at the Council and diſſented from it, returning home and complaining of the form of Faith laid down by the Synod, by their ſtories exaſperated thoſe of their Profeſſion, perſwading them that the Fathers who had made the Decrees were all *Neſtorians*. *Juvenalis* the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* they expelled, and in his room elected *Theodoſius* the Captain of the Rout, a cunning and reſolute Fellow, who had drawn *Eudoxia* the Empreſs Dowager to the Hereſie of *Eutyches*, whilſt ſhe recided in that City. Having invaded the Chair, he took upon him to place new Biſhops in the Sees of thoſe who were not yet returned from the Council, and viſiting the Cities of *Paleſtine*, as Metropolitan, compelled them to receive other Paſtours addicted to his Hereſie and Faction, uſing ſuch with great Cruelty as reſiſted his proceedings.

Act. Conc. Chalc. Act. 3.

Cod. lib. 1. *Tit.* 3. *de Epiſcop. & Clericis. l.* 23.

Proterius elected in the Seat of *Dioſcorus*, upon which a Tumult ariſes at *Alexandria*.

Lib. 2. *c.* 4. *ex Priſco Rhetore.*
Liberatus in Breviar. c. 15.
Niceph. lib. 5. *c.* 19.

Juvenalis Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, depoſed by the Monks, who ſet up *Theodoſius*.

Who commits ſeveral Outrages there.

31. *Severianus* Biſhop of *Scythopolis*, for ſo doing he drove out of the City, and then procured him to be ſlain. *Athanaſius* a Prieſt after various Tortures he cauſed to be beheaded, his Body to be dragged up and down the Streets of *Jeruſalem*, and at laſt caſt to the Dogs. Some he killed, others he plundered or burnt their Houſes, ſo that *Jeruſalem* repreſented a Town lately taken by an Enemy. When *Martianus* heard of theſe diſorders, he commanded this Villain to be apprehended and brought to his preſence, and ſending down *Juvenalis* with a ſufficient Power to redreſs the former Abuſes, commanded him to depoſe as many as *Theodoſius* had advanced to the Prieſtly Order. But the Bird was flown

By the Emperour's Protection and Power *Juvenalis* is reſtored to his See.

flown e'er the Souldiers could lay hands on him, and though he was gone, yet the effects of heretical and cruel demeanour ſtill continued, as in other places the ſame furious humour raged amongſt the *Eutychian* Hereticks, where they could get advantage. This ſame year being the 454 of our Lord, *Valentinian* and *Martian*, the Emperours publiſhed an Edict, whereby *They decreed that the Privileges granted to all Churches by their Predeceſſours, ſhould remain firm and inviolable. All pragmatick Sanctions, which through Favour or Ambition had been procured againſt the Eccleſiaſtical Canons, they command to be void, and of no effect. And becauſe it concerned them in point of Humanity, to have a care of thoſe that ſtand in need, and take order they want not maintenance, the Salaries which divers ways had been formerly paid to the Churches out of the publick ſtock, they command ſtill to be continued and diſcharged without any failing or defalcation whatſoever.*

Privilegia quæ generalibus conſtitutionibus univerſis ſacroſanctis Eccleſiis orthodoxæ religionis retro Principes præſtiterant firma & illibata in perpetuum decernimuscuſtodiri.

Omnes ſane pragmaticas ſanctiones quæ contra Canones Eccleſiaſticos interventu gratiæ vel ambitionis elicitæ ſunt, robore ſuo & firmitate vacuatas ceſſare præcipimus, &c. Cod. lib. 1. *Tit.* 2. *l.* 12. *inſcript.* Palladio *Pp. Dat.* Aetio *&* Studio *Coſſ.*

By this Edict it appears, that all Privileges granted by Emperours which were agreeable to the Senſe of the Church, conducing to Order and Government, and not contrary to the Canons were ſo far from being nulled and revoked, that they were ſtrengthened and confirmed, onely thoſe which had clandeſtinely and ſurreptitiouſly contrary to Eccleſiaſtical Decrees, been as were wreſted from Imperial Powers. What reaſon then *Baronius* hath to conclude that this Reſcript was purpoſely, and at the Requeſt of *Leo* Biſhop of *Rome* granted againſt *Anatolius* and the See of *Conſtantinople*, the Reader will eaſily apprehend, ſeeing that the Primacy and Juriſdiction thereof, was ſo far from being procured *Contra Eccleſiaſticos Canones*, that it was founded upon the Canons of two ſeveral Oecumenical Synods, neither ought the Cardinal to object the Decrees of the *Nicene Council*, except he will plead that the ſame Power that makes a Law cannot reſcind it, or that the Church Univerſal ſuppoſed it to be in the Synods of *Conſtantinople* and *Chalcedon*, aſwell as that of *Nice* cannot according to the Exigency of times, and Comportment of Affairs, bind and looſe and change its own poſitive Laws in things indifferent. The Canons of *Nice*, whatever *Leo* or thoſe of his party pretend, were of force to bind any particular Biſhop or Patriarch whatſoever, but not a Council as General, as Lawfull, and conſequently as Authoritative as it ſelf.

An Edict concerning the Ancient privileges to Churches.

32. But becauſe there is nothing in this Edict which can poſſibly perſwade the Reader to be of the Cardinal's opinion, he tells him that this which we find now in the Code he conjectures to be but a parcel of that which the Emperours publiſhed this year, meaning indeed that though there be no mention of *Conſtantinople* in this, yet in the other Part there was, and *Juſtinian* ſeems to have left it out at the publiſhing of his Code, becauſe he intended to make a new Law contrary to it, which is that of his thirteenth Novel, the ſecond Chapter. From this muſt neceſſarily follow then that *Juſtinian*, contrary to former Canons, and conſequently contrary to the four firſt Councils, and the practice before his own time, gave Prerogative and Precedence to the See of *Conſtantinople* after that of Old *Rome*; for if this fragment (as he would have it) which is left contradicted not that which is loſt, then nothing was therein forbidden but what was contrary to the Eccleſiaſtical Canons; and *Juſtinian* again recalling what *Baronius* will have *Martian* to have diſanulled, muſt have acted contrary to the ſaid Canons, Councils and, as we may conclude, former practice. See therefore how bravely the forementioned Novel cited by the *Annaliſt* makes this out. In the firſt Chapter of that Novel the Emperour decrees, that * *The Holy Eccleſiaſtical Canons have the force or nature of Laws,* he means *thoſe which had been made or confirmed by the four Holy Councils, viz. that of the three hundred and eighteen Fathers aſſembled at* Nice, *the hundred and fifty at* Conſtantinople, *in the firſt* Epheſine *wherein* Neſtorius *was condemned, and at* Chalcedon *where* Eutyches, *together with* Neſtorius, *was anathematized. For the Doctrines of theſe four Synods we receive as the Holy Scriptures, and their Rules (or Canons) we obſerve as Laws:* this is the firſt Chapter of the Novel. Then follows the ſecond in theſe words: † *Therefore according to their Definitions we decree, that the moſt Holy Pope of the Elder* Rome *be the firſt of all Prieſts: and the moſt Bleſſed Archbiſhop of* Conſtantinople

[*] *Sancimus igitur vicem legum obtinere Sanctas Eccleſiaſticas Regulas quæ à ſanctis* 4 *conciliis expoſita ſunt aut firmata, hoc eſt in* Nicæna 318, *& in Conſtantinopolitana Sanctorum* 150 *patrum, & in Epheſina prima in quâ Neſtorius eſt damnatus, & in Chalcedonia in quâ Eutyches cum Neſtorio anathematizatus eſt. Prædictatum enim* 4 *Synodorum dogmata ſicut Sanctas Scripturas accipimus, & regulas ſicut leges obſervamus.*

[†] *Ideóque ſancimus ſecundum earum definitiones ſanctiſſimum ſenioris* Romæ *Papam primum eſſe omnium ſacerdotum: beatiſſimum autem Archiepiſcopum Conſtanti-*

being New Rome, *have the Second Place after the Holy Apoſtolick See of Old* Rome; *but be placed before all other Sees.* Theſe words, *Therefore according to their Definitions*, manifeſtly ſhew that what the Emperour *Juſtinian* did, was not contrary to the four Councils, but agreeable to, and founded upon their Decrees, and what the Emperour *Martian* prohibits being onely contrary to them, the Primacy of *Conſtantinople* could not be meant by that Part of the Edict. Then for the practice before *Juſtinian*'s time, let the Reader conſider what we have formerly ſaid of that ſubject, and how Appeals lay to the ſee of *Conſtantinople*, from another Novel of that Emperour.

nopoleos novæ Romæ ſecundum habere locum poſt ſanctam Apoſtolicam ſenioris Romæ ſedem: aliis autem omnibus ſedibus præponatur. Auth. Collat. IX. *tit.* XIV. *Novel.* CXXXI. *p.* 184. *Cod Juſtin.*

33. In the latter Part of that Edict of *Valentinian* and *Martian*, they take care that the *Accuſtomed Salaries be paid to Churches*, and that || out of conſideration that it became them as an *Act of Humanity* to provide for thoſe in diſtreſs, and doe their endeavour that maintenance may not be wanting to the Poor. Seeing therefore that Churches were long before this time endowed not onely with Titles, but with good Laws and Revenues; this Law ſeems eſpecially to provide for the Inferiour ſort of Clerks or Miniſters in the Churches, ſuch as the *Clerici copiatæ* formerly mentioned. That ſuch proviſion had been formerly made by Chriſtian Princes out of their Cuſtoms or Tributes throughout the Cities, which being taken away by *Julian* were reſtored by *Jovian* the Emperour, the * Hiſtory of thoſe Times bear mention. So *Numa*, as † *Livy* tells us, aſſigned Penſions to the *Veſtal Virgins* out of the publick Revenues, and the Kings of *Ægypt* paid the third part of their Tributes to the maintenance of the Prieſts, as we have in the Hiſtory of that Ancient Kingdom obſerved out of || *Diodorus*: *Plato* thinks fit and juſt that thoſe who ſerve the Publick, ſhould be maintained at the Publick charge. But thus much did *Martianus* the moſt Religious Emperour for preſervation of the Doctrine of the Church in its purity, the diſcipline thereof in its true decorum and vigour, as alſo for the comfortable ſubſiſtence of the Miniſters thereof. And all this was in Relation to the Church it ſelf, in things Intrinſical and Domeſtick. Here it's convenient alſo to take notice what he did for her relating *ad extrà*, or reſpecting the old Pagan Superſtition, of which we have not heard a long time. The very ſame year therefore that he aſſembled the Council at *Chalcedon*, for the rooting out of Hereſie, he publiſhed an Edict for the utter deſtruction of Paganiſm, its Rites, Temples, Images and Sacrifices, commanding in the name of his Collegue and of himſelf, that *None ſhould dare to open thoſe Chapels which had now been long ſhut up, with an intention to pay there any Worſhip or Adoration. Let it be far from us in this Age* (ſay they) *to give the ancient Honour to infandous and execrable. Images, to have the impious poſts of Temples trimmed with Garlands, profane Fires kindled on Altars, Incenſe to be burned thereon, Beaſts to be killed for Sacrifice, Wines to be offered, and Sacrilege to be accounted Religion. But if any one contrary to this Sanction of our Serenity, and the Interdicts of moſt Holy and Ancient Conſtitutions ſhall offer to Sacrifice, let ſuch an one be legally indicted before the publick Judge, and being convicted, forfeit both his Eſtate and Life. Let ſuch alſo as are Acceſſories or Miniſters in Sacrificing undergo the ſame penalties, that being deterred by the Severity of this our Law, they may forbear to Sacrifice for fear of puniſhment. And if the Rector of the Province after legal Accuſation and Conviction forbear to puniſh ſo great a Crime, let the Judge himſelf be fined * fifty Pounds of Gold, and as much his Office to the Exchequer. Given on the twelfth of* November, Martianus Auguſtus *and* Adelphius *being Conſuls.* Directed to *Palladius* the *Præfectus Prætorio.*

|| §. 2. *Et quia humanitatis noſtræ eſt egenis proſpicere, ac dare operam, ut pauperibus alimenta non deſint: ſalaria etiam quæ ſacroſanctis Eccleſiis in diverſis ſpeciebus de publico hactenus miniſtrata ſunt jubemus nunc quoque inconcuſſa & à nullo prorſus imminuta præſtari: liberalitatíque huic promptiſſimæ perpetuam tribuimus firmitatem.*

* *Theod.* 4. 4. *vide quæ annotantur ad hanc legem per Interp.*

† *Lib.* 1.

|| *Lib.* 2.

An Edict against Paganiſm.

Setting forth the Ceremonies thereof.

Nemo venerandi adorandíque animo delubra, &c. Cod. *Juſtin. l.* 1. *tit.* 11. *l.* 7. *De.* Paganis.

* *Libra Argenti valet* 3 *l. Auri* 36 *l: obrizi* 37 *l.* 10 *s. continet libra* 12 *uncias ponderat grana* 6012. *Budæus de Aſſe lib.* 5. & *Brierwoodus noſtras de Nummorum pretiis c.* 21.

34. From the wording of this Law the Reader may obſerve, as to the ſtate and condition of the times, that the Old Pagan Superſtitions were not quite defunct, elſe there had not needed any ſuch Edict againſt the Superſtitious Ceremonies thereof. Yet that it was at the laſt gaſp appears by the long time the Chapels had been ſhut up, expreſſed by the word *Olim*, and eſpecially from the ſevere remedy provided by this Reſcript againſt the evil. For in this caſe there is ſome conformity betwixt the ordering of the Body Natural, and the Body Civil. In both, deſperate, acute and ſudden diſtempers muſt have deſperate remedies, quick and active applications, ſuch as ſearch, and either kill or cure. But in diſtempers of a ſtate which have been long and general, which uſe and cuſtome have rendred ſeemingly legal, as well as habitual, the Phyſician muſt proceed as

in inveterate Diſeaſes which are founded in the Bloud, and radicated in the complexion of the Parts, in the curing of which he muſt proceed *pedetentim*, and Purge gently, leſt by evacuating the bad he drive out alſo the good humours, and practiſe rather an altering than a purging courſe, leſt in a very foul and plethorick Body the humours being ſet afloat and driven into a firmentation, prove too head-ſtrong and turbulent for nature to govern. This appears from what *Conſtantine the Great* preſcribed in this caſe, who at the beginning of the Reformation ordained the terrour of death as a Medicine againſt this Sacrificing Evil, puniſhing in like manner the Governours of the Provinces if they neglected to apply this Cautery to that Cancrous diſtemper. But his Succeſſours who had time and opportunity to ſee the opperation found it too violent and therefore laid it aſide till by applying of more gentle and altering Medicines the whole body was able to bear it, and therefore now did *Marcian* renew (rather than make any new Law) when the ill humours were ſo diminiſhed that by putting them into a motion and diſturbance no dangerous fever or other Symptome could be feared. But neither did this ſuddenly effect the cure without ſome other Applications as we ſhall ſee hereafter. In the mean time from this Law, the Reader may obſerve what were the Ceremonies of Paganiſm and the Worſhip of Idols in their Temples, and Chapels.

Placuit omnibus locis atque urbibus univerſis claudi protinus templa, &c. Dat. Cal. Decembris. Conſtantio IV. & Conſtante, A.A.Coſſ. viz.A. D. 342. Cod. Juſtin. lib.1. tit. 11. l. 1.

Proſper concludes his Chronicon.

35. About this time *Proſper* a Prieſt of *Aquitain* in imitation of *Euſebius* compoſed his *Chronicon* wherein he briefly notes what paſſed from the beginning of the World to the eighth Conſulſhip of *Valentinian* (which was the laſt year of his Life) and that of *Anthemius* or the 455*th.* year of the ordinary *Æra* of our Lord. The third Edition as *Bucherius* and *Miræus* obſerve reached to this year. For there had been two former whereof the firſt ended at the 14 Conſulſhip of *Theodoſius* which he bore with *Maximus* or the year 433, as appears from his ſumming up the *Epocha*'s of all the former years, which is not uſually done but at the end of Books. The ſecond Edition contained the ſpace of 12 years more reaching as far as the 6 Conſulſhip of *Valentinian* and that of *Nonius* or the year 445, at which his ordinary Chronicon wont to be joyned with thoſe of *Euſebius* and *Jerome* receiveth its period. The third Edition reaching as low as the year above mentioned, of which *Miræus* mentions three ſeveral Manuſcripts, is much better than the two former, containing beſides a ſhort and pithy account of things from the beginning of the World the *Faſti* of the Conſuls from the 15*th.* year of *Tiberius* downward. But in this Age flouriſhed three or four ſeveral Perſons bearing the name of *Proſper*, concerning whom *Bucherius* diſputeth at large.

In Chron. Belg. ad Ann. 455.

Ad Victorii canonem 6. *vide Miræum.*

Several Edicts of the Emperours concerning Teſtaments.

36. This ſame year, *viz.* 455 before the Death of *Valentinian* did he and *Martianus* publiſh an Edict or a General Law as they call it whereby they reſtore Eccleſiaſtical Perſons to their Ancient Liberty of having and enjoying what ſhould be left by the Teſtaments of Women, which as we have formerly ſeen had been taken away by former Emperours. This Law directed to *Palladius* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, *Juſtinian* hath put into his Code, but the Note upon the Text tells us that at this day the Caſe is altered by two Authenticks immediately following which the Reader may conſult at his leiſure: The year following *Martianus* made another Edict, whereby he gave (*a*) liberty to the Actour or Plaintiff to implead the Clerks of *Conſtantinople* either before the Patriarch or the Secular Judge, for where the *Reus* or Defendant hath ſeveral Courts not privileged *jure Communi* or by Common Law the Election is in the power and diſcretion of the Plaintiff. The next year by a conſtitution in *Greek*, (*b*) he declares that thinking it to be a point both of Humanity and Piety he permits Hereticks to be buried in the Sepulchres of their Anceſtours. There's yet another Edict of this good Emperour which becauſe it reſpects pious uſes and is very ſhort, though it bear no date, we ſhall add to the former. This ordains that what is left to the Poor either by Teſtaments or Codicils ſhall not come to nothing as left to uncertain Perſons, but remain good and firm to all intents and purpoſes. For though their Perſons be uncertain yet the Poor never failing there are always certain objects of charity, and as *Baldus* noteth upon the place, the Poor are like a College, which repreſents a certain Perſon. The Legacy

Generali lege Sancimus ſine vidua, &c. Cod. lib. 1. *tit.* 2. *l.* 13.

(*a*) *Cod. lib.* 1. *tit.* 3. *c.* 25.

Dat. 8. *April. Varari & Joanne Coſſ.*

(*b*) Ἀνθρώπινον καὶ ὅσιον εἶναι λογισάμενοι, τοὺς αἱρετικοὺς ἐπιτρέπομεν θάπτεσθαι ταῖς νενομισμέναις ταφαῖς. *Lib.* 1. *tit.* 5. *l.* 9. *Vide tamen C. Sacris.* 12. *extra, de ſepultura.*

Id quod pauperibus Teſtamento vel codicillis relinquitur, non ut incertis perſonis relictum evaneſcat, ſed omnibus modis ratum firmúmq; conſiſtat. Cod. lib. 1. *Tit.* 3. *l.* 24.

gacy may be ſaid to be certain as left to God himſelf: it may be done alſo by privilege; or the Teſtamentary Executour, or the Executour by Law, *viz.* the Biſhop, may eaſily find out certain poor Perſons on whom to confer the deſigned Legacy.

37. Thus went matters in the Eaſtern parts under the care and Inſpection of *Martianus* the Emperour. In the Weſtern and Southern there was no ſuch ſerenity, a diſmal Cloud of perſecution having overſpread *Africk*, ſince the invaſion of that Countrey by *Genſericus* that *Arian* Captain. Moſt glorious were the confeſſions and ſufferings of many Martyrs as well here as in other places, as *Italy*, *Sardinia*, *Greece*, *Epirus*, *Illyricum* and *Spain*, or wherever the foreſaid Rover touched. *Deogratias* the Biſhop of *Carthage* removing in this direfull perſecution to a place of more repoſe and ſecurity, after he had ſteered that weather-beaten Church ſome three years, the Tyrant would ſuffer none to be choſen in his place, who having driven the Prieſts and other Miniſters of the Church ſeveral ways as they ſhifted for themſelves, commanded the Doors of the Church to be ſhut, and plainly forbade any Biſhops to be ordained in other Provinces, ſo that when *Victor* wrote the ſtory the number of 164 was reduced to three. But this good came of ſo great an evil, that theſe Orthodox Confeſſours retiring farther into the Inland Countries there preached the Goſpel, and though they became Martyrs many of them for ſo doing yet their Bloud as in other caſes proved the ſeed of the Church, many Barbarians who had never formerly heard of *Chriſt* being converted to the Faith and incouraged by the conſtancy of their Teachers. At ſuch time as this mighty Tempeſt raged in *Africk* a ſtorm was alſo raiſed in *Ægypt* by another and contrary ſort of Hereticks who, as *Genſericus* denied the Divinity of Chriſt, would not acknowledge his Humanity. Theſe were of the faction of *Dioſcorus* whoſe Depoſition as they extremely grudged, ſo they ſought all ways to be revenged on *Proterius* his Succeſſour. At length they underſtood that *Martian* the Emperour was dead, through whoſe incouragement they had been condemned in a Synod by *Proterius*, they came down to *Alexandria* headed by one *Timotheus Ælurus* formerly a Monk, ſince that a Prieſt of *Alexandria*, whom they Create Biſhop of that See though *Proterius* was yet living. But long they intended he ſhould not be, for ſetting upon him in the Church being then in the Baptiſtory on the high Feaſt of *Eaſter*, and the day whereon the Supper of the Lord was to be ſolemnized, they there Cruelly murthered him, dragged his dead body through the ſtreets, tore it in peices, taſted of his Intrails, and burning at laſt what remained ſcattered the aſhes in the Wind. The Villain *Timothy* to bring about theſe deſigns putting on black Clothes wandered up and down by night in the Cells of the Monks, and calling each of them by their names through an hollow Cane that his voice might not be diſcerned, told them he was one of the Miniſtring Spirits ſent expreſly to tell them all that they ſhould not Communicate with *Proterius* but make *Timotheus Ælurus* Biſhop of *Alexandria*.

A Perſecution in the Weſt.

De Perſecut. Vandal. lib. 1. & *Procopius de bello Vandal. lib.* 1.

And ſtirs at *Alexandria* by the faction of *Dioſcorus*.

Euagrius lib. 2. *c.* 1. *Liberatus in Breviar. c.* 15. *Theodorus lector collectan. l.* 2. *Epp. viror. ill. pro conc. Chalced.*

Proterius Biſhop thereof murthered by *Timotheus Ælurus* who ſeiſes on the See.

38. Being thus proſperouſly though wickedly ſeated in the Chair, out of fear of a Competitour, and leſt he ſhould receive the ſame meaſure he had given to others, he ſought to prevent his own ruine by the deſtruction of thoſe whom he had ſufficient cauſe to believe incenſed againſt him. Therefore did he rage in *Alexandria*, and all *Ægypt* with a cruel Perſecution againſt the Orthodox of all Ages, Sexes and Conditions, baniſhing ſuch Biſhops as he could not otherwiſe Maſter. On the dead Emperour he railed exceeedingly, reviled the *Chalcedonian Council*, and vilified the ſeveral Fathers aſſembled therein. The Orthodox Chriſtians herewith acquainted the new Emperour *Leo*, giving him a perfect account of what had paſſed. But thoſe *Eutychian Hereticks* were as buſie as they, writing Letters to the Emperour by Meſſengers of their own, wherein taking no notice at all of the Murther of *Proterius* they magnifie that peace and ſettlement which the Government of *Timotheus* had brought to the Church of *Alexandria*. And whereas the Emperour required that all Metropolitans ſhould give him an account of their Faith, to ſee how they ſtood affected to the Council of *Chalcedon*, they gave him boldly an account both of their own belief and that of *Timotheus*, profeſſing to receive the *Nicene Creed* and the *Epheſine* Synods (as well the ſecond or Predatory as the firſt) but abſolutely rejecting the *Chalcedonian*. *Leo* the Emperour not knowing how in this caſe to ſteer his courſe, by his Encyclical or Circular Letters conſulted not onely all the Biſhops (whereof *Anatolius* eſpecially) but other Perſons eminent for learning or Godlineſs at this time. *Leo* the *Roman* Patriarch blaſted their project of having another Council aſſembled, by ſhewing that there would be no end in gratifying Hereticks by thoſe very things wherewith the univerſal Church had been once ſatisfied, and whereas they ſo much

Vide epiſt. apud Euagrium lib. 2. *c.* 8.

Leo Epp. 73, &c.

much talked of the Council of *Nice*, he proved that this Synod defining onely the Controverſies at that time, relating to the Divinity of Chriſt, when his Humanity was not once queſtioned, it was not ſufficient to own its Creed, but the Profeſſion of the Fathers of *Chalcedon* alſo, wherein matters relating to his humane Nature were determined. Not onely *Leo*, but all the reſt diſallowed of the Election of *Timothy*, as contrary to the *Canons* of the Church, and approved the Decrees of the Council of *Chalcedon*. Onely *Amphilochius* Biſhop of *Sida* wrote an Epiſtle to the Emperour, wherein he inveighed againſt the Election of *Timothy*, yet approved not the Council of *Chalcedon*, which things (ſaith *Euagrius*) are written by *Zachary Rhetor*, together with the Epiſtle of *Amphilochius*. *Simeon* alſo (he meaneth *Simeon Stylita*, who at this time lived in a Pillar) a Man of worthy Memory wrote concerning the aforeſaid Controverſies, two Letters, one to *Leo* the Emperour, another to *Baſilius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, whereof that to *Baſilius*, being but ſhort, he reciteth.

Lib. 2. *c.* 10.

39. This year being the 457 of our Lord upon occaſion of the Controverſie about *Eaſter* two years before, *Victorius* or *Victorinus* of *Limoſin* in *Aquitain* (both which at this time were held by the *Wiſegoths*) being then at *Rome*, as he himſelf witneſſeth in the Preface, publiſhed his Paſchal Canon, which *Bucherius* a Jeſuit cauſed to be printed at *Plantin*'s Printing-preſs in *Antwerp*, with a Commentary thereto adjoined of his own Labour and Study, in the year 1633. This year died *Baſilius* the lately mentioned Patriarch of *Antioch*, in his ſecond year, to whom ſucceeded *Acacius*: As alſo *Anatolius* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, after he had governed that See almoſt Nine years, into whoſe place was promoted *Gennadius* an eminent Prieſt of that Church, not the Eccleſiaſtical Writer, but a Man very Witty, Eloquent and Learned. The year following his Election was held at his City of *Conſtantinople*, a Synod of 73 Biſhops ſummoned out of the neighbouring Provinces, wherein the Legates of *Leo* being preſent, the late *Chalcedonian Council* was confirmed. The Acts of it are all loſt, one Canon made againſt Simoniacal Perſons excepted. This ſame year died *Acacius* the newly ordained Biſhop of *Antioch*, and was ſucceeded by *Martyrius*. And the next after when *Leo* the Emperour was now fully ſatisfied concerning the *Chalcedonian Synod*, and the Hereſie aſwell as other Villanies of *Timotheus Ælurus*, he commanded him by a Reſcript directed to the *Præfectus Auguſtalis* to be baniſhed (ſeveral mention ſeveral places) and then was choſen into his place, another *Timothy* ſirnamed *Baſilius Solifaciolus* or *Albus*. At this time died *Simeon* called *Stylita* from his having lived in a Pillar about 80 years, who by *Theodoret* and others is celebrated as the wonder of the World, for his extraordinary Sanctity. To him ſucceeded in the like ſtrictneſs of Monaſtical Life, *Daniel*, who not far from the Borders of *Conſtantinople*, aſcended the Pillar. The year following was the laſt of *Leo* Biſhop of *Rome*, who died on the Eleventh of *April*, a Man of unblameable Life, excellent Endowments of Mind and indefatigable Induſtry, not onely for the Primacy of his See (wherein he ſhewed himſelf zealous far above reaſon) but the good of Chriſtian Religion. Out of his Epiſtles the *Centuriatours* of *Magdeburg* have collected many Decrees, which the Reader if he pleaſe may conſult, there being nothing in them ſo highly material as to bring them into our Inſtitution. His eminent Parts, and his great diligence have got him in later Ages, both the Name and Reputation of the Great.

Baſilius Patriarch of *Antioch* dies, *Acacius* ſucceeds.

Anatolius Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* dies, to whom *Gennadius* ſucceeds.

A Synod held there.

Niceph. l. 15. *cap.* 22. *Euagrius lib.* 2. *cap.* 11.

Apud Balſam.

Acacius of *Antioch* dies, *Martyrius* ſucceeds him.

Timotheus Ælurus baniſhed and *Timothy Solifaciolus* is made Biſhop of *Alexandria*.

Conſulas Surium ſi placet & Baronium ad hunc Ann.

Leo Biſhop of *Rome* dies.

40. After the Death of *Leo*, the See was vacant ſeven days, ſaith *Platina*, but rather ſo many Months as *Baronius* gathereth both from *Marianus Scotus*, and a *Roman* Council aſſembled under his Succeſſour, from which it appears that the Chair was not filled by another Biſhop, till *November* following. This was *Hilarus* the Son of *Criſpinus* a *Sardinian* by Birth, whom when yet a Deacon, *Leo* ſent one of his Legates to the Synod of *Epheſus*, being the 48*th.* Biſhop of *Rome* according to *Platina*, the 45*th.* according to *Panvinius*, and as *Marianus* reckons the 46*th.* This Biſhop is very much commended, for vigorouſly executing his Paſtoral Office amidſt all the great Troubles, wherewith *Italy* in his time was imbroiled. For repairing the Churches which the Barbarous *Hunns* had defaced when they took the City. In his expences he was rather profuſe than ſparing. He built ſome Monaſteries, and added to certain Churches the Chapels which he called *Oratories*. He alſo as *Sabellicus* will have it collected the Pontifical Decrees into one Body, and diſperſed them into all Countries. To him certain Epiſtles are attributed, wherein he confirms the three General Synods of *Nice*, *Epheſus* and *Chalcedon*, condemns the Hereſies of *Neſtorius*, *Eutyches* and all others, and according to the Cuſtome of his Predeceſſours

Hilarus ſucceeds him.

deceſſours lately taken up, aſſerts the Primacy of his own See. In his fifth year he held a Synod in the Church of St. *Mary*, about ſome queſtions propounded to him out of *Spain*, concerning the Ordination of Clerks, and againſt Biſhops their deſigning of their Succeſſours. To the Decrees next after him ſubſcribed *Maximus* Biſhop of *Turin*, not that he was next in Dignity, there deing ſome Metropolitans alſo preſent, but the Cuſtome generally was, that the Fathers took place according to their Seniority, not in Age, but Conſecration, yet ſo as the Principal Patriarchs were excepted. *Hilarus* (for ſo he is to be read, and not *Hilarius*) died on the tenth of *September*, when he had governed the *Roman* See five years and ten Months all but two days. Much about the ſame time died *Proſper*, having been Biſhop of the *Rhegienſes*, *Reienſes* or *Retenſes* in *Provincia Narbonenſi ſecunda* about 24 years, to whom ſucceeded *Maximus* Abbat of the Monaſtery of *Lerinum*. The ſame year alſo departed this Life *Criſpinus* Biſhop of *Pavia* in *Inſubria*, into whoſe place was elected *Epiphanius*, one equal to him in Sanctity, and his Superiour in Learning, in the Judgment of *Baronius*. To *Hilarus* the *Roman* Patriarch ſucceeded *Simplicius* the Son of *Caſtinus* a Citizen of *Tibur*.

Who holds a Synod at *Rome*.

Tom. 2. *Conc.*

Dies.

Proſper Biſhop of *Rhegienſis* dies, *Maximus* ſucceeds him.

Papienſis aut Ticinenſis Notit. Eccleſ. univerſalis Dioceſ.

To *Hilarus* ſucceeds *Simplicius*.

41. In the laſt year of *Hilarus* Biſhop of *Rome*, and the tenth of his own Reign, *A. D.* 466 did *Leo* the Emperour publiſh a large Edict, concerning the Privileges of Churches, granting them ſuch as had been taken away by former Emperours, and conſtituting them Aſylums or Sanctuaries as formerly, to all out of *Conſtantinople*, Slaves excepted, and giving Rules to the *Oeconomi* of the ſaid Churches, how they ſhould order thoſe that fled to them, in reference to the ſatisfaction of their Creditours. Three years after, in the Conſulſhip of *Martianus* and *Zeno*, he publiſhed another Edict concerning the Election of Biſhops, making therein what Proviſion he could againſt Simoniacal Intruſion. This ſame year on the 13*th.* of *December*, he publiſhed another Law enjoyning the obſervation of Holy-days in general, but eſpecially of the Lord's Day, as to which he doth very much inlarge himſelf, in the particulars he forbids to be practiſed on it. The Emperour *Conſtantine*, as we have formerly obſerved in its due place, had commanded all Judicial proceedings and Servile works to ceaſe on this day, tilling of the ground excepted, by reaſon of the uncertainty of weather. Afterwards *Gratian*, *Valentinian* and *Theodoſius*, prohibited all publick Shews upon this day, and added to what *Conſtantine* had commanded concerning Judges, that none ſhould arbitrate any litigious Cauſe, or take Cognizance of any pecuniary matters on this day. Five years after this, *Valentinian*, *Theodoſius* and *Arcadius* publiſhing a Law concerning Holy-days, and reckoning up the Calends of *January*, the Birth-days of the greateſt Cities, *viz.* the *Old* and *New Rome*, ſeven Days before and as many after *Eaſter*, *Chriſtmaſ*-day, that of the *Epiphany*, the days of the Martyrdom of the Apoſtles, and their own Birth-days with the days of their coming to the Empire, reckon amongſt them *Sundays*, or rather, as their Anceſtours rightly called them the Lord's Days, wherein they forbid Arbitrations to be practiſed. *Theodoſius Junior* five and thirty years after, as the *Carthaginian* Fathers had deſired, ordained by another Edict, that aſwell upon the Lord's Day as on *Chriſtmaſ*-day, the *Epiphany*, *Eaſter*-day, and from thence to *Whitſuntide*, the Theatres and Cirques ſhould every where be ſhut up, that the Minds of Chriſtians might be wholly intent on the Service of God.

Præſenti lege decernimus, &c. Cod. lib. 1. *Tit.* 12. *l.* 6.

Several Edicts of the Emperour concerning the Lord's Day, and Holy-days.

Lib. 1. *Tit.* 3. *l.* 31.

Cod. l. 3. *Tit.* 12. *l.* 3. *A. D.* 321.

Cod. Theod. lib. 8. *Tit.* 8. *A. D.* 384.

Cod. l. 3. *Tit.* 12. *l.* 7. *A. D.* 389.

In eadem obſervatione numeramus Dies Solis quos Dominicos ritè dixere majores.

Cod. Theod. lib. 15. *Tit.* 5. *A. D.* 425.

42. So ſtood the Lord's Day in reference to Imperial Laws, till this Edict of *Leo*, wherein confirming what had been done as to Holy-days in general, he commands all Judiciary proceedings to be ſtopt on this day, wherein he will have Adverſaries meet without fear. Neither forbidding buſineſs doth he give way, as he ſaith, thereby to obſerve pleaſures, prohibiting the Theatre and Cirque to be opened, and the *Spectacula* of wild Beaſts. Nay if a Solemnity happen upon his Birth-day, or of his Promotion it muſt be deferred. If any ſhould be preſent at the *Spectacula* on this day, or any Apparitor Act contrary to what he had ordained either upon account of publick or private buſineſs, he puniſheth him with loſs of his Employment, and Proſcription of his Patrimony. Beſides theſe Laws reſpecting Religion made by this Emperour *Leo*, there are ſeveral others without date, which the Reader if he pleaſe may find in the Code of *Juſtinian de Sacroſanctis Eccleſiis, & de Epoſcopis & Clericis*, concerning Churches, Eccleſiaſtical Perſons and their Profeſſions, which to relate would be too tedious for our preſent

Nec hujus tamen Religioſi diei otia relaxantes, obſcœnis quenquam patimur voluptatibus detineri. Nihil eodem die ſibi vindicet. Scena theatralis, aut Circenſe certamen, aut ferarum lachrymoſa ſpectacula, & vide quod notant Interp. ad hanc legem quæ eſt ult. Tit. 12. *Lib.* 3. *Cod. Juſtin. de feriis.*

Lib. 1. *Tit.* 2. 3.

The Acts of *Baſiliſcus* the Tyrant made void.

preſent deſign, and make not ſo much for our purpoſe. Onely one we cannot but mention, and that is a Conſtitution whereby the extravagances committed during the Tyranny of *Baſiliſcus* were reſcinded, and thoſe things recalled which had been in uſe before his flight into *Iſauria* for fear of the ſaid Tyrant. For this *Baſiliſcus* ruling, as we have formerly written, matters in the Eaſt according to his will and pleaſure, rejected the Council of *Chalcedon*, and what *Leo* the Biſhop had written in defence thereof by his circular Letter written to all Biſhops, which *Euagrius* and *Nicephorus* call συλλαβαὶ ἐγκυκλίους. From *Acacius* the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* the Succeſſour of *Gennadius* who oppoſed his doings, he took ſeveral Provinces, formerly ſubject to him, and had almoſt driven him from his See, as he had dealt with many Biſhops, as of *Antioch*, *Alexandria*, *Epheſus*, *Tarſus* and others. Therefore by this Edict doth he antiquate and make null, as we ſaid, all things done under the Tyranny againſt the God of the Orthodox Religion, againſt Churches, particularly thoſe under the government of the moſt Bleſſed and Religious Patriarch his Father *Acacius*, all Innovations in the Rights of Creation, expulſion of Biſhops, their Prerogative in Councils and out of Councils of Place, or as Metropolitans or Patriarchs. *As for the Sacroſanct Church of that moſt Religious City* (theſe are the Phraſes of the Edict) *both his Mother and of all Chriſtians of the Orthodox Religion, with the moſt Holy See of that Royal City he adjudgeth and decreeth in contemplation of the ſaid Royal City that it enjoy for ever all Privileges and Honours aſwell in Creation of Biſhops, as ſitting above others; and all other Rights which it was known to have either before or under his Reign.*

Suidas in voce Βασιλίσκος *& vide quæ notantur per Interp. ad hanc legem quæ eſt 16. tit. 2. libri, 1. de Sacroſanct. Eccleſiis.*

Decernimus ut antiquatis ac infirmatis funditus his quæ contra ipſum orthodoxæ Religionis Deum quodammodo facta ſunt, &c.

And precedence given to *Conſtantinople.*

Sacroſanctam quoq; hujus Religioſiſſimæ civitatis Eccleſiam & matrem noſtræ pietatis & Chriſtianorum orthodoxæ Religionis omnium & ejuſdem Regiæ urbis Sanctiſſimam ſedem, &c.

43. This Conſtitution is dated on the 17*th* of *December*, in the Conſulſhip of *Armatius* alone, who bore that Office with *Baſiliſcus* the Tyrant, who yet is not mentioned here, nor named in the *Faſti*, becauſe he was an Uſurper, and was condemned by *Zeno*. This Conſulſhip fell in the 476 Year of our Lord, and conſequently the third after the Death of *Leo* the Elder, ſo that it muſt belong to his Grand-Son the Young *Leo*, and made by his Father *Zeno*, though *Baronius* place it at the 472, and the 16*th* of the Old Emperour. However, it being made (as the Cardinal ſaith) in behalf of the See of *Conſtantinople*, and the precedence of all others next after the Patriarch of *Rome*, it is manifeſt that by the antiquating of Innovations, and reſtoring the ancient Rights of this Church, it had and enjoyed this precedence before the making of this Law. If it was procured through the ſolicitation of *Acacius*, and that *Simplicius* the *Roman* Biſhop was much concerned about it, be it ſo, If it was *Acacius* his due, as it verily ſeems to have been, he had more right to ſeek it than the other to grudge it. But this is certain aſwell from this Law as others, that this Privilege was granted in conſideration of the *Royal*, and if that was the Reaſon why the See of Old *Rome* obtained the Firſt Dignity, as we have ſeen it was from good teſtimony, certainly there was no reaſon they ſhould quarrel. But ſuch are the humours and paſſions of Men otherwiſe good: and as here we leave them, ſo we ſhall find them again engaged in this quarrel about the Primacy. About this time was *Sidonius Apollinaris*, that Man ſo famous for his nobility and excellent wit, made Biſhop of the *Arverni* or *Auvergnais* in *Gallia Celtica*. He had Married *Papianilla* the Daughter of *Avitus* the Emperour, and ſhe was ſtill living. Though in mighty eſteem, yet he thought ſo meanly of himſelf, that in his Epiſtles he often complains of his unworthineſs for ſuch a Calling, and betook himſelf from his wonted Feſtivity to a more ſober Converſation. Much about the ſame time alſo died *Gennadius* Biſhop of the *Rhemeſes* or *Soiſſons*, to whom ſucceeded *Remigius*, afterward called the Apoſtle of the *Franks*; neither this *Gennadius*, nor he of *Conſtantinople* was he whoſe Book is extant concerning Eccleſiaſtical Writers, and was of *Marſeilles* in *Provence*. As the Death of *Leo* the Elder wrought a great change in the State, ſo alſo in the Church, by reaſon that *Zeno* his Son-in-Law too much favoured if not the Doctrine, yet the Perſons of Hereticks.

Sidonius Apolinaris Bi- of *Arverni* in *Gallia Celtica.*

Gennadius Biſhop of *Rhemeſis* dies. *Remigius* ſucceeds.

Zeno the Emperour recalls *Fullo* a heretick, expelling *Martyrius* Biſhop of *Antioch* placeth him in the See. And alſo *Timotheus Ælurus* into *Alexandria* expelling *Timotheus Solifaciolus* the Orthodox Biſhop.

44. He recalled *Fullo* an Apollinarian and Eutychian Heretick, who had been Baniſhed by *Leo*, and expelling *Martyrius*, who was formerly driven away by the ſaid *Fullo*, and again reſtored, placed him in the See of *Antioch*. *Timothy Ælurus* alſo that villanous Uſurper, and Baniſhed in like manner by *Leo*, he ſent back to the Church of *Alexandria*, whence he expelled *Timotheus Solifaciolus* the Orthodox Biſhop, and committed many outrages againſt ſuch as had own-

ed and received him. At this time the condition of the Churches in *Gall* was very ſad, the Arian *Goths* making havock of all things. And not onely there, but in the *Weſt*, generally things both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil had a very bad face, the Barbarous Nations overturning all, and filling all places with their Cruelties and Hereſies. Theſe diſaſters put an end to the *Roman* Empire in the Weſt, *Auguſtulus* being depoſed by *Odoacer*, and confined to a Caſtle near to *Naples*. The Church, bleſſed be God, had not juſt the like meaſure; but Church and State are ſo nearly allied, and ſo much ſympathize, that if the one languiſh, the other can ſcarcely be in an healthy condition. As the ſame cauſes produce the ſame effects in both, ſo aſwell the remedies are alike, as ſuch preſervatives as keep both in life and vigour. Therefore did Ancient and Primitive prudence as Twins cloth them with the like forms and faſhions of Government, which dayly experience applauds as moſt agreeable. And becauſe ſuch is their Alliance and agreement we ſhall limit and terminate our obſervations of both with the ſame Periods, thoſe matters laſt mentioned falling out the year preceding the depoſing of *Auguſtulus*.

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FINIS.

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FINIS.

UMI

AN INSTITUTION OF General Hiſtory: OR THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

The FOURTH PART. pt. 4

CONTAINING

The Original and Kingdoms of the *Heruli*, *Goths*, *Lombards* and *Franks* in *Italy*; the Affairs of *Britain*; the Original of the *Saxons*, *Angles* and *Jutes*, their Heptarchy; the Monarchy of the *Engliſh Saxons*, that of the *Danes*, with its end in reſtoring of the *Engliſh Saxon* Line down to that of *William* the *Norman*, with the Polity, Cuſtoms, Laws and Language then in uſe.

AND ALSO

That of the *Conſtantinopolitan Roman* Empire, from the Promotion of *Nicephorus* to the Death of *Conſtantine Ducas XII.* *A. D. MLXVII.* being the Year after the Conqueſt of this Nation by Duke *William* the *Norman*.

By WILLIAM HOWEL, LL. D. *ſometime*
Fellow of Magdalen College *in* Cambridge.

LONDON,
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UMI

TO

The High and Mighty PRINCE

JAMES II.

KING of *Great Britain, France* and *Ireland,*
Defender of the Faith, *&c.*

GREAT SIR,

AMONG the Crowds of Loyal Counties and Corporations that Addreſs themſelves unto Your MAJESTY, vouchſafe to permit a deſolate Widow to approach into Your Sacred Preſence to Congratulate Your Happy and moſt Juſt Poſſeſſion of the Throne of theſe Kingdoms, by laying a ſmall Preſent at Your Royal Feet.

Which is due to Your MAJESTY by a double Title, both by right of Succeſſion to our late Gracious Sovereign, by whoſe Royal Bounty this Work was encouraged; and alſo by deſignment of the Authour, who intended, had not his Death prevented it, to have Dedicated this Book *To His Royal Highneſs* JAMES *the Duke of* York, which I now moſt humbly offer *To the Sacred Majeſty of King* JAMES *the Second.*

Whom I beſeech the King of Kings long to preſerve beloved of all his Subjects, dreaded by all his Enemies, and renowned to all Poſterity in the Hiſtory of Future Ages.

So prayeth with due Reverence

Your Majeſty's moſt Loyal Subject

Mary Howel.

THE PREFACE TO THE READER

Giving an Account of this VOLUME.

WHICH *contains the Hiſtory of the Kingdom of the* Heruli *in* Italy *to the Conquering thereof by the* Goths, *then their Original and Kingdom to the Deſtruction and Ruine thereof by* Narſes *the* Roman *General and the coming in of the* Lombards, *with the Original and Kingdom of them down to the Conquering of it by* Charles *King of the* Franks, *who Governed there, and was Crowned Emperour by* Leo *Biſhop of* Rome: *Next the Affairs of* Britain *from the departure of the* Romans *out of the Iſland to the Deſtruction thereof, and forcing the Inhabitants into the Mountainous places by the* Picts, Scots *and* Saxons: *the Original of the* Saxons, Angles *and* Jutes *that ſeized on this Land, their Heptarchy, which was united in the Monarchy of the* Engliſh Saxons, *and carried on till Conquered by the* Danes, *their Original and Kingdom here to its end, in reſtoring of the* Engliſh Saxon *Line to the end thereof, being Conquered by Duke* William *the* Norman, *giving an Account of the Polity, Cuſtoms, Laws and Language then in uſe, taken from the Original Tongue, with other critical Remarks ſuitable to the nature and uſefulneſs of ſuch an Undertaking.*

With the Conſtantinopolitan Roman *Affairs from the Depoſing of* Irene *and Promotion of* Nicephorus *(where the Third Part ends) to the Death of* Conſtantine Ducas XII. *Ann. Dom. MLXVII. being the year after the Conqueſt of Duke* William *the* Norman, *ſetting forth the ſeveral Actions, Polities, Laws and things of Moment during*

ring the Reign of each Emperour, *with ſuch* Kingdoms *as fell off from the* Roman *power and protection, and thoſe that ſtarted up to the terrour of it and all its* Neighbours, *all linked together in ſuch manner and method as never was yet* Extant, *being the* Labour *and* Study *left under his own hand in* Writing *by the* Authour, *whereof we have been Eye-witneſſes,*

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A N

AN INSTITUTION OF General Hiſtory:

OR

The Hiſtory of the World.

The Fourth Part.

BOOK I.

Of ſuch Kingdoms and Principalities as were Founded by Barbarous Nations in the Late *Roman* Provinces now contemporary with the *Conſtantinopolitan Roman* Empire.

CHAP. I.

Of the Kingdoms of the Heruli, Goths, Lombards *and* Franks *Erected in* Italy.

SECT. I.

The Kingdom of the Heruli *in* Italy,

The ſpace of Eighteen years.

Sect. I.

Odoacer King of *Italy* and *Rome*.

1. ODOACER King of the *Heruli* and *Turcilingi* having, as we have formerly ſhewn, Conquered and deſtroyed *Oreſtes*, and depoſed *Auguſtulus* his Son, became Maſter of *Italy*, and of *Rome*, formerly the Miſtreſs of the World, which hereby was alſo degraded, together with *Auguſtulus*, the Imperial Diadem being plucked from her Head, and the Robe torn from about her Shoulders. The Conquerour viewing the Remains of her Ancient Majeſty, and contemplating the Lines of that Beauty wherein ſhe had ſurpaſſed all Rivals, as much as the Light of the Moon doth that of the obſcure and twinkling Stars, was confounded and amazed, could ſcarcely believe what he had done, or where he was; and conſcious of the Extravagancy of his own Fortune, as well as of the viciſſitude of humane Affairs in ge-

neral, durſt not, it ſeems, be ſo bold as to take up and aſſume the Imperial Enſigns which now lay at his Feet, but contented himſelf with an Inferiour Dignity. Thinking the Imperial Robe now to be threadbare or infected with ſome deleterious Quality, which of late had ſuffered none to wear it long, though he might have choſen another, which by its newneſs might have been both warm and ſafe, yet he onely changed the Imperial for Royal, the Title of Emperour for the more modeſt and leſs envied one of *King of Italy*, refuſing utterly all Enſigns of Royal Majeſty. The Ancient Lady in her great affliction was pleaſed to ſee this humility in a barbarous Robber, comforted her ſelf with the good Fortune of her Daughter, which ſtill in the Eaſt retained her Imperial Dignity; ſhe purpoſed to remove lower down towards the River, and quit thoſe ſeven Hills on which ſhe had been ſo much and ſo often expoſed to Northern Blaſts, and ſhe had thoughts of taking another Courſe, which ſhould be honourable as well as the former, gain her more applauſe and more ſuitable to her Age, and the Gravity of her preſent Aſpect, to change the Title of Prince for that of Prieſt, and the Imperial Diadem for a Pontifical Miter.

2. Our new King of *Italy* as he thought to eſtabliſh a new Kingdom, which ſhould call him Founder, ſo of fixing the Seat thereof at ſome new Place, and of building a new City which he intended to call after his own Name *Odoacria.* But either finding the Vanity of this Project, or being diverted from it by greater Cares, he took other Courſes, for ſecuring his Intereſt. The *Goths* which had been called into *Italy* by *Valentinian*, to defend the Countrey againſt the *Hunnes*, he endeavoured to oblige by beſtowing on them thoſe Lands which formerly, but ineffectually, had been promiſed them. He granted to *Eurich*, King of the *Viſegoths*, that part of *Gall* lying betwixt the *Alpes* and the River *Rhodanus*, and onely remaining under the Authority of the *Romans*. With *Gundobade* King of the *Burgundians* he made a League and Alliance. On the *Italians* he laid Taxes and Impoſitions ſufficient to maintain an Army againſt foreign Invaſions. Then to prevent inteſtine broils, he deprived the *Roman* Senate of its ancient Authority, and took away at firſt the uſe of *Conſuls*, that he might diminiſh the *Roman* Spirit and Courage, by aboliſhing ſuch Rites as put them in mind of the great Performances of their Anceſtours. As to other matters, he retained the old Names and Offices of Magiſtracy, and maintained the Church in its ancient Rights and Immunities. When he had done theſe things, and as he thought laid laſting Foundations of his new Dominion, he left *Rome* to the Government of *Baſilius* the Prefect and *Patritian*, and removed his Court to *Ravenna.* There he had not been long ſetled, when *Zeno* the Emperour, hearing how his matters ſucceeded, envied his good Fortune, grudged him his new Poſſeſſions, and utterly refuſed to own, acknowledge or ratifie his Kingly Title to *Italy*. Such therefore was the Reverence as yet born to the Imperial Name, that this got him the Repute of an Uſurper, a Tyrant and an unlawfull Prince; which made him enter into new Councils for ſtrengthning himſelf, and add Fear and Awe to that Love which hitherto he had eſpecially deſired to gain from his Subjects. For an Example of terrour he put to death at *Ravenna Brachilus* a *Comes*, who ſome ſay ſpurned againſt his Government. Hereby it was perceived that he knew his meaſures, and underſtood how to manage his Affairs, and thereupon he began both to be feared and reſpected at home and abroad; inſomuch that *Genſerich* King of the *Vandals* in *Africk* deſired his Friendſhip, and to obtain it granted *Sicily* to him to be held in Tribute.

Takes Courſes to ſecure his intereſt.

Vide Sigonium de Occidentali Imperio.

He fixes his Seat at *Ravenna.*

He puts to death *Brachilus.*

3. *Odoacer*, as we ſaid, refuſed to name any *Conſul* for the Weſt, and it happened for ſeveral years that ſometime one ſingle one was created in the Eaſt, and ſometime there was none at all. The *Italians* reſented it, that by the wilfulneſs of their preſent Maſter, they ſhould be deprived of that higheſt Office of Magiſtracy and Honour, and therefore to pleaſe them, he preferred *Baſilius* the Prefect to that Name and Dignity, which he alſo executed without a Collegue, in the year of our Lord CCCCLXXX, in the ſeventh of the Emperour *Zeno*, and the fifth of *Odoacer*. Now was it five years ſince *Julius Nepos*, being depoſed from the Empire of the Weſt, lived quietly in *Dalmatia* by the knowledge and approbation of *Odoacer*, who wiſhed him all repoſe and ſecurity imaginable. But at this time *Viator* and *Ovida*, who had the Title of *Comites*, bearing him malice, circumvented him at his Countrey-houſe, ſet upon him and murthered him. *Odoacer* whether acted by generoſity of Nature, or by Jealouſie, and apprehenſion of ſo evil an Example, took it in great Diſdain, and the year following, for which he named *Placidius* Conſul, ſent ſome Forces againſt them, and

He makes *Baſilius* Conſul.

having

He put *Ovida* to death for the Murther of *Julius Nepos.*

having eaſily overcome them put *Ovida* to death. This ſame year the Inhabitants of *Liguria* complained to him by *Epiphanius Biſhop of Pavia*, that *Pelagius* the *Præfectus Prætorio* had doubled the Impoſitions upon the Countrey. By the Interceſſion of the ſaid Biſhop they obtained a Relaxation, and this Prelate having beſtowed much coſt and pains in repairing the Churches formerly ruinated in his City by the Wars, obtained alſo of *Odoacer* a Remiſſion of Tributes for five years, as an incouragement to the Citizens to rebuild their Private-Houſes.

Odoacer conquers the *Rugi.*

Theodorich purpoſeth to conquer him.

Two ſeveral opinions as to the Inducement.

4. After this, *Odoacer* found an occaſion for employing his Arms, and it was againſt the *Rugi* a Northern People. He did it with ſuch ſucceſs, as we are told, that he took Priſoner *Phœbas* their King, together with his Wife, and led them in triumph to *Rome*; but *Frederick* their Son made his Eſcape, and went to *Theodorich* King of the *Oſtrogoths*, who then lay in *Mœſia*, and by this time had his thoughts ſo much upon *Odoacer* and *Italy*, that he preſently ſhewed they were very ſerious and active. This *Theodorich* had been ſome time in *Zeno*'s Court at *Conſtantinople*, and was, it's ſaid, highly honoured by him, inſomuch that he made him *Conſul*, and not long after he took a reſolution to invade *Italy*. But as to the Inducement there are two different Aſſertions. The one is of thoſe who affirm that *Zeno* had always a great Kindneſs for *Theodorich*, and freely granted *Italy* to him to reign there, after he ſhould have driven out the *Heruli* with *Odoacer* their King. The other makes *Theodorich* to have been ingratefull towards the Emperour, from whom he endeavoured to wreſt the Empire of the Eaſt, to have brought into danger the City of *Conſtantinople* by Fire, and burnt many other Places. Having miſſed of his Aims there, he turned himſelf upon *Italy*, envying the proſperous Eſtate of *Odoacer*, who had lately overthrown the *Rugi*. From what *Euagrius* writes, one may gueſs that *Zeno* was not always his friend; but what ſhould be the occaſion is uncertain. *Euſtathius* an Hiſtorian it ſeems laid the blame upon the Emperour, and *Marcellinus* on *Theodorich*. The Writers that were his Countrymen will have him ſent by the liking, well wiſhes, and incouragement of *Zeno*: we ſhall preſent the Reader with the Story cloathed with ſuch Circumſtances as we find it.

His Army mutinies.

5. Whilſt *Theodorich* therefore ſolaced himſelf with the Pleaſures of *Zeno*'s Court, his *Oſtrogoths* lived at a quite different Rate, being by a League tied up from making any Depredations in the *Roman* Dominions; and not ſufficiently provided for by the pay which the Emperour had agreed to give them, They curſe the League, cry out againſt their King's Alliance, and to *Conſtantinople* they ſend Meſſengers, who with tears in their Eyes complained to him of the Poverty and Neceſſities to which they were reduced, and deſire him to quit thoſe pleaſures wherein he had intangled himſelf, and, if he regarded his own Intereſt, and their Preſervation, to return to them with ſpeed; for elſe they muſt enter into ſome new Courſe, and ſeek out other Habitations. Now ſay the *Gothick* Hiſtorians, and thoſe that follow them, *Theodorich* moved herewith betook himſelf preſently to *Zeno*, to whom he laid open the ſad Eſtate of his Countrymen, and told him that ſeeing *Italy* was overrun by the *Turcilingi* and *Rugi*, and *Rome* the late Miſtreſs of the World, and ancient Seat of the Empire, was now inſlaved to the *Heruli*; if he pleaſed to give him order to redeem and recover it out of their Hands, he would doe his utmoſt endeavour, and therein employ his idle and indigent *Oſtrogoths*. If he ſhould accompliſh his Deſigns, the Honour and Renown would belong, as due, to his imperial Majeſty; and if he miſcarried, he would be rid of ſo many Stipendiaries, and ſave his money in his Coffers. This *Zeno* heard with Trouble, being very unwilling to part with him, but as well to give him content, as in Compliance with the publick Intereſt, he gave him leave, and diſmiſſed him with great preſents, to his deſigned Expedition.

6. Thus writes *Jordanus* the *Goth* from the relation of *Caſſiodorus*, or out of reſpect to his Countrymen, and ſuch as follow him. But *Sigonius*, all relations conſidered, cloſeth with that of *Marcellinus*, that *Theodorich* now ſatiated with the Honours and Favours heaped upon him, conſented to the Petition of his Countrymen, and returning into *Mœſia* made war upon the Emperour, whilſt his men were freſh, and their appetites were ſharpned by the prevalent Power of neceſſity, and expectation. He marched as far as *Conſtantinople* and *Melanthias*, and waſting the Countrey round about returned to *Novæ* a Town of *Mœſia*, from which he had ſet forth. At this time *Odoacer*, being told that *Frederick* the Son of *Phœbas*, or *Feleteus*, King of the *Rugi*, was after his flight returned home into his own Countrey, ſent *Onulſus* his Brother with a ſtrong party of men againſt him. Hereupon *Frederick* not able to endure the ſhock retired to *Novæ*, and made his

appli-

Onulſus removes the *Rugi* into *Italy*.

application to *Theodorich*. *Onulſus* eaſily conquered the *Rugi*, whom he conſtrained to paſs into *Italy*, and then the *Lombards* under Conduct of *Gudeach* their King ſeized on their Countrey. *Zeno* all this while, as *Sigonius* tells you, was highly ſenſible of the Affront done him by *Theodorich*, but prudently conſidered there was no dealing roughly with ſuch a Spirit; and therefore in the year when *Dinamius* and *Siphodius* were *Conſuls*, or the CCCCLXXXVIII of Our Lord, he wrote to him moſt loving Letters, and kindly invited him to return to Court. *Theodorich*, if thou wilt look into it, Reader, notwithſtanding all the Miſchief he had done, cloſed with his invitation, went to *Conſtantinople*, and there excuſed his Miſdemeanours by that neceſſity to which his *Goths* had been reduced. *Zeno* was as ready to give as he was to ask Pardon, and to grant him any other thing for the employment of his Men, and the raiſing of his own Fortunes. Animated by this Reception, he moved the Conqueſt of *Italy* to him, uſing ſuch Arguments as we formerly mentioned, inculcating that it would be more ſeemly, that he his faithfull Servant, and his Son, ſhould poſſeſs that Countrey; than *Odoacer* keep the Senate and Common-wealth in ſlavery. *Zeno* to free *Illyricum* from the *Goths* was very willing he ſhould try his Fortune, and by an Authentick Writing paſſed *Italy* over to him, beſtowed on him a ſacred Cap, and recommending to him the *Roman* Senate and People gave him leave to depart and begin his Journey.

Theodorich overthrows the *Gepidæ* and *Bulgari*.

Invades *Italy*.

Beats back *Odoacer*.

7. *Theodorich* and his *Goths* were ready for their march, when an unexpected Accident diverted them, and for ſome time retarded their Expedition. *Tranſilla* King of the *Gepidæ*, and *Buſa* of the *Bulgari* either jealous of his growing greatneſs, or ſolicited by *Odoacer*, who deſired to remove the danger from his own Doors, indeavoured to cruſh his Deſign by falling upon him on a ſudden, when he little expected ſuch Treachery. Yet was he not at all daunted with the great danger which impended, but boldly attaching them when they were divided, in one ingagement overthrew *Tranſilla*, and in another battel defeated the *Bulgari*, a ſort of People newly come out of *Scythia*. Animated by his Succeſs as an *Omen* of his future Grandeur, with greater vigour he prepared for his *Italian* voiage, and when all things were ready, ſet forth from *Mœſia* in the middle of Winter, in the Conſulſhip of *Probinus*, and *Euſebius* in the CCCCLXXXIX year of Our Lord, as is evident from the *Chronicon* of *Caſſiodorus* who lived at this time, though *Sigonius* caſts this Expedition into the following year. From *Mœſia* the whole Multitude of *Oſtrogoths* removed with their Wives, Children and Baggage, and travelling through *Syrmium* and *Pannonia*, came by Land to the Borders of *Italy*, for they had no Ships to tranſport them in the neareſt paſſage. Proceeding as far as the River *Sontius* which runs not far from *Aquileia*, they there made a hault and incamped, becauſe of the convenience of paſture. Here *Odoacer* preſented himſelf on the farther ſide, reſolving to ſtop their progreſs, and for that purpoſe he ſecured the Bridge, where at this day is ſeen a Town called *Goritia*. But notwithſtanding all he could doe, *Theodorich* forced his way over, and preſently giving him battel drove him back into his Camp, which to ſtorm he made all Preparations. *Odoacer* perceiving his Intentions, and that he was unable to maintain it, quitted the place, and taking advantage retired to *Verona*, for there was no Fort nor Garriſon near at hand; the Devaſtations made by *Attila* not being yet repaired. Whilſt he was thus employed in defending his Borders againſt the *Goths*, *Gundobade* the King of the *Burgundians*, pretending he was circumvented in a League made with him, took the Advantage now offered, and invading *Liguria* and *Æmilia*, waſted and plundered the Countrey; then hearing of *Theodorich* his Succeſs and Progreſs, he haſtily retreated with his Booty into *Burgundy*.

Defeats him again, and takes *Verona*.

A third time.

8. *Theodorich* having taken order for ſecuring the Borders, as he ſaw agreeable to his own Intereſt, followed *Odoacer*, and ſate down before *Verona*. *Odoacer* had by this time rallied his diſperſed Forces, and recruited them ſo with new Levies, that ſeeming to himſelf as able to graple with him as before, he came out of the Town and gave him battel; wherein he was again overthrown with great ſlaughter of his Men, and forced to betake himſelf to his heels; and a great number of his Soldiers, which eſcaped the Fight, took the River *Atheſis* in deſperation and haſte, and were ſwallowed by the Floods. *Verona* was quickly delivered by the trembling Citizens to the Conquerour, who made no ſtay in the Town; but ſtill purſued *Odoacer*, and near the River *Abdua* forced him the third time to ingage, with the ſame Succeſs as formerly. *Odoacer* in ſo great Straits yet comforted himſelf a little in the City of *Rome*, of which if he continued Maſter, he hoped he might maintain his Reputation, and better endure the ſhock

Odoacer kept out of *Rome.*

Theodorich takes *Milan.*

of Fortune, which he would fain believe could not be laſting, it was ſo violent and ſevere. He reſolved therefore to haſten thither, but when he came he found the Gates faſt locked and bolted, and the Walls manned againſt him, the Senate and People ſome think having intimation of the Emperour's pleaſure concerning *Theodorich*. Inraged at this Repulſe, he burnt and demoliſhed as much of the Suburbs as the time would give him leave, and then made for *Ravenna* as his laſt Refuge. This City alſo one *Libitta* kept for *Theodorich*, and lay incamped before it for that purpoſe. But *Odoacer* acted by the indignation as well as extreme Neceſſity of his Affairs, reſolved to drive him from his Poſt, and after a ſharp conflict, wherein many periſhed on both ſides, he ſlew *Libitta*, and took both his Camp and *Ravenna*, which he entred on the tenth of *July*. Here he labours to fortifie himſelf, when in the mean time *Theodorich* marches to *Milan*, which having got into his hands without much trouble, a great part of the *Italian* Soldiers there came to wait on him as the true and rightfull Lord of *Italy*. Amongſt others was *Epiphanius* Biſhop of *Pavia*, whom he received with great reſpect.

Odoacer beſieges him in *Pavia*, but riſes preſently.

Theodorich beſieges *Odoacer* in *Ravenna.*

Takes *Ariminum* and other Cities.

9. Here when he ſeemed to have conquered the greateſt Difficulties, and to have arrived almoſt at the pitch of his good Fortune, an untowardly Accident plucked him by the ſleeve, and put him in mind of the Inconſtancy of humane Affairs. For his *Italians*, who ſo lately came to acknowledge him for their Prince and Sovereign, perſwaded by one *Tuffa* a man of *Conſular* Dignity, revolted again to *Odoacer*; which ſtruck him with great terrour and amazement, and cauſed him to quit *Milan*, in the fidelity and ſtrength whereof he could not ſo much rely, and go to *Pavia*, where he thought he could better ſecure himſelf and his Friends. *Odoacer* takes the opportunity, and ſits down before the Town. *Epiphanius* the Biſhop labours all he can to compoſe the Difference, and procure ſuch Priſoners to be reſtored as were taken on both ſides, without Ranſome. Now whether by his Ghoſtly Counſel *Odoacer* was moved, or rather diſcouraged by the Valour and Succeſs of the *Goths* whom Heaven ſeemed to favour, he raiſed his Siege and marched back to *Ravenna*. *Theodorich* ſpirited afreſh by ſo unexpected a Retreat, reſolved not to trifle in that manner with his Fortune, and ſlight his opportunities, but leaving the Women and Baggage at *Pavia* followed the Enemy to *Ravenna*, which he blocked up in three ſeveral Places, not being well able for the ſituation to get up and ſtorm it. For the City lying two Furlongs diſtance from the Sea is hardly acceſſible on any part: the Haven full of Rocks and Shallows, the ground about it fenny and wateriſh, as well by the flowing in of the Sea, as Rivers taking their Courſe thorough it. Therefore *Theodorich* took up one Poſt at *Pinetus* three Miles from the Town, placed another Party at *Palatiolum*, and had a third Guard at the Bridge of *Candidianus*, waiting for ſuch opportunities as the Siege ſhould produce. *Odoacer* perceiving he was over matched in Valour and Conduct, if not in numbers, was unwilling to make any Sallies, yet conſtrained to doe ſomething for his Reputation, he iſſued out, and fell upon the Party lying at the Bridge, where he was ſo warmly received, that he found it expedient to make a quick retreat into the City. *Theodorich* foreſeeing, that the Siege was likely to be drawn out in length, would not ſpend all his time in ſo lazy an employment, but leaving ſufficient Guards to maintain his Poſts, marched to other Towns poſſeſſed by the Enemy, became Maſter of them, and having taken *Ariminum*, improved the Advantage offered him thereby of ſtopping all Proviſions from being carried by Sea to *Ravenna*. Theſe things got him ſuch Reputation, that *Gundamund* King of *Africk*, (the Succeſſour of *Hunerich* that *Arian* Perſecutour who was eaten up of worms) ſent Ambaſſadours, made peace with him, and left off waſting *Sicily*, which he had invaded.

10. The Siege was carried on very gently; few conſiderable Acts of Hoſtility intervening, onely light skirmiſhes which the Beſieged made to exerciſe his men, and tire out the Enemy, till *Theodorich* returned from his Expedition againſt the other Cities. Having taken them all, *Cæſarea* excepted, which *Odoacer* had furniſhed with a very ſtrong Garriſon, he returned to his former Poſt at *Palatiolum*, on the twenty ninth of *Auguſt*, and removing his Family thither from *Ticinum* or *Pavia* vigorouſly renewed the Siege. Hereby *Odoacer* was ſo ſtraitned for want of Proviſions, that having made many ineffectual Sallies, at laſt, armed by Neceſſity and Deſperation, in the ſilence of the Night he led out his whole Army, which *Theodorich* was not ſo negligent as not to perceive, and therefore drew his Forces together, and made himſelf ready to receive him. Here evidently appeared what influence Neceſſity and Paſſions have upon humane Actions. Such as formerly

Driven to his Camp by *Odoacer.*

But he reinforces the Siege.

were not able to receive a charge from the *Goths*, now bow them all down before them, and compelled him who had been wont to give them the chaſe to take him to his heels, and fly amain towards his Camp. Hither when he came, his Mother preſented her ſelf in the Gate with intention to ſtop him, asked him whither he was going, and told him there was no place of ſafety for him, except ſhe ſhould take up her Clothes, and receive him into that part from whence he was brought forth into the World; with theſe words he was both aſhamed and irritated to ſuch a Degree, that rallying as many of his Men as he could get together, he charged the Enemy with ſuch violence, that he drove him back into the Town, and reinforced the Siege as ſtrong as ever.

An Agreement that they ſhall reign together.

Odoacer ſlain.

II. Now were all the Difficulties and Hardſhips, which uſually attend a tedious League, renewed both to thoſe without and them within: in the City great ſterility bordering upon extreme Famine, in the Camp wearineſs and Impatience contracted by ſo many fruitleſs labours and skirmiſhes. The Biſhops fail not to interpoſe their Indeavours for an amicable compoſure; through their Interceſſion Meſſages are ſent from both ſides, and at length, at the deſire of *Theodorich*, *Odoacer* conſents that he ſhall reign with him in equal Authority and Power as King alſo of *Italy*. Hereupon on the twenty ſeventh of *February* the Siege is raiſed, and *Theodorich* entring *Ravenna* lived friendly and peaceably with *Odoacer* his Collegue for ſome little time. But then he grew weary of that Fellowſhip, of which the Throne is wont to be impatient, and having invited him to a Feaſt, when he demanded his ſhare conſigned to him by the League, pretending ſome Conſpiracy againſt his own Perſon, he cauſed him to be ſlain together with his Son and the Principals of his Friends, about ſeventeen years after the Depoſing of *Auguſtulus*, A. D. CCCCXCIII. *Procopius* plainly writes that he was treacherouſly ſlain, but *Caſſiodorus* and *Jordanus* ſeem to make it more than a pretence of *Theodorich.* Nay the * former ſays that *Odoacer* did really plot againſt his life, and the † latter barely relates that he put him to death. But the one was in great favour with him, and executed the place of Secretary in his Court, though a ſober and grave Writer; and the other being a *Goth*, and his Countryman might be cautious of ſaying any thing which might reflect upon his Nation. But *Odoacer* ſo died, and *Theodorich* eaſily made himſelf Maſter of *Italy*, whoſe Government we are now to relate. But foraſmuch as the *Goths* made now, and had made ſuch a noiſe and buſtle in the World, had done ſuch things, made ſuch Conqueſts and founded ſeveral Kingdoms, its highly requiſite that we premiſe ſomething concerning the Original and firſt Motions of this People, taking in alſo thoſe of other Northern Nations in the way as they fitly preſent themſelves. For out of the North they ſwarmed like ſo many *Vultures*, *Kites* and other *Birds of Prey*, fell upon the *Eagle*, and after ſore bickering, having ſpoiled him of his Weſtern Plumes, at length outed him of the *Neſt* it ſelf, and ſo held it and the Regions about it, till a Cock of generous breed, though alſo of Northern extraction, cleared *Italy* and other Countries of them, and trimming himſelf with the Weſtern Plumes, ſet up, and was owned, for a Weſtern *Eagle*.

* *Hoc Conſ. (i. e. Albino) Theodoricus Ravennam ingreſſus Odoacrem molientem ſibi inſidias interemit.*

† *Poſtmodum hac luce privavit.*

SECT. II.

The Original of the Goths *and other Barbarous Nations, that invaded and ſeized* Italy.

Sect. II.

From *Scandia* the *Goths* and other Nations iſſued.

Vide Grotii Prolegomena in Hiſtor Gothorum, Vandalorum, &c.

1. THE Northern *Clime* out of which theſe *Goths* and others derived their Deſcent, who invaded the Southweſtern Parts of the *Roman* Empire, was that Tract of ground which the Ancients thought an Iſland, but ſince has been found to be a *Peninſula*, known by the Names of *Scandinavia*, *Scandia*, *Scanza*, *Scanzia* and *Scantia*, becauſe the Inhabitants made uſe of high and ſteep Rocks in the Room of Caſtles which they called *Scanzen*, to which the Word being added which ſignifies Land, thence came that of *Scandinavia*. The *Greeks* called it *Baltia* from the inward Sea, for an Irruption of the Sea it ſignifies; and *Procopius* thought it to be *Thule*. It's a great ſpace of ground compaſſed on the North, and the Eaſt by the Sea; and the *Botnick* Bay and the *Baltick* Sea fence it on the Weſt and South; as alſo by Rivers which pour themſelves out into the *Botnick* Bay, and the *Ruſſian* or *white Sea*.

Two Kingdoms therein of the *Sueones* and *Sittones*.

Oſtrogoths *and* Weſtrogoths.

2. *Tacitus* placeth two Kingdoms in this Tract, *viz.* of the *Sueones* and the *Sittones*. The former are alſo variouſly called *Suiones*, *Suethani* and *Suethidi*, by our Engliſh Writers *Suedi* and *Suethedi*, by others *Suithonæ*, *homines Suetici*, and *Sueci* worſt of all. The *Sueones* or *Suethi* were ſo called as laborious and getting their livings by *the ſweat of their brows*; and the *Sittones*, on the contrary, from a *ſitting ſedentary or idle Courſe of Life*. The Kingdoms were divided by the Mountain *Seno* ſo named *from the ſeven Hills*; and the Countrey of the *Sittones* was called *Norwegia* or *Nordwege* becauſe ſituate to the North. After *Tacitus* his time other Nations might peirce themſelves into *Scanzia*, as did the *Heruli* and *Rugi*, and afterwards the *Dani* who had been a Colony of the *Suedi*, but retained and poſſeſſed themſelves of part of the Countrey not long before *Juſtinian's* time, *Procopius* and *Jornandes* being the moſt ancient Writers that mention them, and the latter ſaying that they drove the *Heruli* out of the Seats which they had poſſeſſed in *Scanzia*. Now beſides the *Sueones* and *Sittones*, ſeveral other People are found to have been Inhabitants of *Scanzia*, as the *Goths* which from their Habitations Eaſtward and Weſtward, carried the Names of *Oſtrogoths* and *Weſtrogoths*, by the Latines corruptly called *Viſigothi*. They had the Name of *Goten* or *Guten*, which ſignifies *Good*, from Strangers for their great humanity to ſuch as they entertained. That the *Goths* inhabited *Scanzia* is evident from all ſorts of Writers and other Teſtimonies, and there had their Name, as other People for their inhumanity to Strangers received contrary appellations, as the *Zuadi Witti* and *Thaifali*. Of the *Goths* other Nations deſcended, or were the ſame with them, and from ſome Accidents received other Names as the *Longobards*, and *Wandals*. And theſe Names they took after the Migrations of thoſe *Scanzian* Nations which they made far and wide, and thereby made themſelves ſo conſiderable as to be known both by their old and new Names, and much more by the Effects of their victorious Arms.

Sheringham in Diſceptat. de Origine Gentis Anglorum.

3. For their firſt Motion or Expedition we are in the dark, and as in the Originals of all Nations, ſome truth is involved in many and great Fictions and Poetick Romances, ſo we may probably conjecture in this of theirs. One ſtory we are to mention, becauſe a late learned and ingenious Writer hath taken much pains to make it probable. And it hangs upon this hinge of Truth, that the *Goths* or *Getes* in moſt ancient times out of *Scandia* made Inroads not onely into the *Cherſoneſus*, the Iſlands of the *Baltick* Sea and the more Northern Parts of *Germany*, but into ſeveral Parts both of the *Aſian* and *European Sarmatia* and *Scythia*, whence driving out the Inhabitants they there ſeated themſelves, as well as in *Thrace* and ſeveral other Provinces. Upon this Foundation the Northern Writers raiſe particular ſtories, which we cannot tell how to call falſe as to the main of them, but are very Romantick in their Circumſtances. As into other Regions, they ſay the *Goths* pierced (in very old time it muſt be) into that Part of the *Aſian Scythia* where there was a City afterward called by them *Aſgard*,

A Colony out of *Scandia* to *Aſgardia.*

the Inhabitants whereof *Aſgardiani* are by ſome thought the ſame with thoſe whom the *Greeks* knew by the Name of *Aſpurgiani*, both ſorts of Authours placing them near to the Lake *Mœotis*, where the River *Tanais* with great fury empties himſelf into it. Some think *Ptolemy* the Geographer called the City by the very Name of *Aſcard* or *Aſgard*. The Countrey in which it ſtood was in a peculiar way called *Aſia* by *Strabo*, and the People *Aſæi* and *Aſiotæ* by other Writers, being alſo called *Turcæ* whom *Mela* makes the ſame with the *Tyrſagetæ*, thoſe whom at preſent we call *Turks*, having long time after entered into thoſe quarters after they were deſerted by the *Goths*, upon their return back into *Europe*. Theſe *Aſpurgiani* had their Kings, the Dominions of whom extended to the farther Mountains of *Scythia* within *Imaus*, where the *Auſones*, *Syebi* and *Iotæ* inhabited, whom *Strabo* comprehends under the very Name of *Aſpurgiani*.

Woden.

Wonderfull things ſaid of him.

4. Of this *Aſgardia* or *Aſpurgia* in proceſs of time was King one *Othin*, who had many other Names, according to the ſeveral *Gothick* Dialects, but that whereby he is commonly known is *Woden*, from which the third day of the week is called *Wodenſday*. Now moſt wonderfull things are ſaid of this *Woden*, no more Famous and Romantick ſtories being told of any *Heroe*. What wonderfull Power he had in *Magick* in transforming himſelf and other things, is not fit here to be related; his ways of enchanting were peculiar. Of his Government fine things are told; as alſo his Acts and Conqueſts in the Eaſtern and Northern Parts are celebrated, he being ſaid to be Lord of that part of *Scythia* lying toward the South. At what time the *Romans* grew terrible to the World, by his Magick knowing that he and his Poſterity ſhould for a long time Reign in the Northern Parts of the World, he committed to his two Brothers *Ve* and *Velir*, the Government of *Aſgardia*, and went into *Ruſſia*, whence he proceeded into *Saxony*, and thence into *Gothia Suetica* or *Suethland*. The Prince of this Countrey was one *Gyluo*, by whoſe conſent he and his followers planted there. Here, by his Inchantments, Rhimes and Songs, he did ſuch incredible things, that his Name became famous and reached all Countries, and afterward the *Suedi* and other Northern Nations ſacrificed to him and his twelve Aſſiſtants, which he choſe to keep him in Magical Rites and Government, and wickedly paid to him their Duty and Devotion which was due to the Lord of Heaven and Earth alone.

What Judgment is to be made of his Story.

5. Now to make a Judgment of this Story, it is very probable that ſome famous Man or Men there was of this Name, which indeed became wonderfully revered by the Northern and other *German* Nations. Theſe Countries, as is obſerved and is ſufficiently evident, have been much given to Magick and Inchantments, Charms and Tricks, many Monuments of their ancient Places of Burial, with their *Ruuick* Inſcriptions ſufficiently teſtifying enough of this matter at this very day. That ſome of the *Goths* were called *Turcæ* we hear, and it is not improbable, that in this return out of thoſe *Scythian* Quarters ſome retained this Name, though the reaſon of it was in the dark. For in the County of *Lincoln* upon the River *Trent*, a few Miles from *Gainsborough*, there is a Town now called *Torkſey*, which the *Saxons* in their Language knew by the Name of *Turkeſigga* or the Iſland of *Turks*. In the Northern Countries many places bear the Name of *Woden*. It is not utterly to be neglected, that the Removals and Travels of the *Goths*, out of the more Northern Parts into *Germany*, and the adjacent Iſlands are ſaid farther to be made out, both by the Inſcriptions in *Ruuich* Characters, which are extant both in the ſaid Iſlands and in *Sueden*, as well as by the Annaliſts of theſe Quarters. Moreover great Pillars were in *Sueden* not long ſince to be ſeen, which the Inſcriptions upon them manifeſted to have been erected by them in Memory of their Worthies, which had loſt their Lives in *Greece*, *Thrace* or other places. It's believed by ſome that from *Woden*, and his Companions who were *Scythians*, *Suedia* came to be called *Nova Scythia*, and the Inhabitants of the *Cherſoneſus* or the *Cimbri* to be termed by the *Greeks*, *Celtoſcythæ*, being firſt known to them by the Name of *Cimmerii*, and why by this? but that becauſe they were firſt in *Scythia* called *Cimmerii*, and into *Germany* and thoſe parts travelled from the *Boſphorus Cimmerius*.

6. To be ſure the People inhabiting *Scandia*, had thoſe of the ſame Names with themſelves, living in the *Scythian* Regions, and which muſt neceſſarily be deduced from the ſame Original. That thoſe three ſeverally denominated People which invaded and conquered this our Iſland were of *Scandian* Original, none can doubt, *viz.* the *Jutes*, *Gutes* or *Getes* (the ſame with the *Goths*) the *Angli* and *Saxons*; and from *Ptolemy* the Geographer it appears, that in *Scythia* or *Cimmeria* there were three ſeveral People which were known by theſe very Names. He

ſpeaks of *Iotæ* lying upon the Sea of the *Rhiminii*. Of the *Saſones* under the *Maſſæan* and *Alan* Mountains. And though by name he mentions not the *Angles*, yet the *Suebi* he doth, or *Suevi*, part of which Nation the *Angli* are rationally thought to have been, being ſo called from the *Angle* or Corner on which they ſeized in *Germany*. This is accounted no ſmall Argument, that theſe People came into the Northern Parts of *Germany* at no other time, nor under any other Conduct than that of *Woden*, that before the time of his Expedition no ſuch Names as theſe do occur in Northern Writers, but after they became famous, eſpecially the *Saxons*. In the *Sacogothick* Annals, thoſe of *Norway* and *Denmark*, the memory of them flouriſhes; but amongſt the ancient *Greek* and *Roman* Writers the *Saxons* are known, as alſo the *Jutes* by the Name of *Cimbri*, though the *Suebi* by that of their own. In *Sarmatia*, and eſpecially in *Livonia* are many Towns, the Names of which are *Saxon*. And for the Maritime Parts, they ſpeak the Language there at this very day; the ſame which about *Pontus* and thoſe Northern Quarters of *Aſia*, was ſpoken even in the time of *Ovid*, the Poet, who being baniſhed thither, became a Proficient in the Language of the *Getes*. Well, this might be when *Strabo* placeth the *Macropogones* or *Longobards* in *Cimmeria*, about *Syndica*, near to which *Woden* is ſaid to have reigned in *Aſpurgia*. In *Germany* there is *Trier's*, in *Saxon Die Trier*, and ſuch there were in *Scythia* alſo. The *Chatti* alſo lived in *Germany*, not far from the *Suevi*, *Angli* and *Chamani*, and *Ptolemy* placeth them alſo in *Scythia* next the *Maſſagetes*, without the Mountains *Imai*.

7. To theſe things might be added, that the Humours, Manners and Inclinations of the *Gothick* Nations or *Cimbri*, did much ſuit with thoſe of the *Aſiatick Scythians*. And all conſidered, that there were migrations there can be little doubt, the ſame People being found at ſo great diſtance. Now whether firſt theſe Nations paſſed from *Scandia* into *Scythia*, or out of *Scythia* into *Scandia*, may be ſome queſtion; but it ſeems not difficult to be reſolved, that ſetting aſide the firſt planting of the World, they firſt went from *Scandia*, becauſe the vaſt Tracts of that Countrey *Germany*, and the Iſlands ſpeaking that Language, challenge the other ſorts of People of the *Aſiatick Scythia* to have been their Colonies, for they were but few in number in compariſon of their Neighbours, who ſpake in Language and lived far differently from them. Admit it then as poſſible, that ſuch a man as *Woden* there might be, it would be of conſequence, if we had any light concerning his return into *Scandia*. A Tradition there was amongſt the *Saxons*, that they came by Sea into *Germany*, but it is urged that no Footſteps of any other Invaſion or Migration is to be found, but this of *Woden*. Some make it to have happened four and twenty Years before the Birth of Chriſt, about the time that *Pompey* waſted *Syria*; but if *Woden* delivered *Denmark* to his Son *Skiold*, whence the Kings of that Countrey were anciently called *Skioldinger*, this *Skiold*, according to the *Daniſh* Cronology, lived almoſt a thouſand Years before *Pompey*; and accordingly *Woden* with his *Aſiaticks* muſt have preceded the *Daniſh* Kingdom, and to *Saxony*, *Suevia* and *Jutia* have given their proper Names. By this account *Woden* muſt have been ancienter than *Homer*; but how will this conſiſt with the Genealogies of our own Engliſh *Saxon* Kings, the Founders of the ſeven Kingdoms here, all which are derived in deſcent from *Woden*? But *Hengiſt*, the firſt that came into *Britain*, arrived not till about CCCCL Years after Chriſt's Birth, and he is ſaid to have been but the *Abnepos*, or Great Grandchild of *Woden*, as *Cerdic*, the Founder of the Kingdom of the *Weſtſaxons*, the Tenth from him: Whereas by the former account, *Woden* muſt have preceded the Birth of our Saviour above a thouſand Years.

8. To diſpatch therefore this Story of him, let us cloſe with the opinion of them, who think that as amongſt the *Greeks*, there were ſeveral there bore the Name of *Hercules*, but were all confounded together, and what was done by all was aſcribed to one. It fell out in the ſame manner as to the matter of *Woden*. It's thought that there were three which bore this Name, all deified by Idolaters. The firſt, deſcended from *Saturn* and the *Trojan* Kings, called *Aſianus*, and *Odin hiogainte* or *Woden* the Ancient, who never came into *Europe*, but his Name and Rites were hither brought by others. The ſecond of *Upſall*, to whom in *Swedeland* was a Temple dedicated ſhining with Gold, who was alſo called *Aſianus*, but a ſtranger of the *Scythians*. The third was called *Mathodin* or *Midlewoden*, of whom *Saxo Grammaticus* maketh mention, who, the other *Woden* being abroad, play'd tricks, and took occaſion to feign himſelf a God, but after his return fled into *Phaonia*, and there was ſlain by the Inhabitants. Some produce a fourth *Woden*, who being beaten by *Pompey* out of *Aſia* into the Northern Parts, taught

Wodens.

the People the Arts and Laws of the *Aſiaticks*, and was therefore had in eſpecial Honour. And yet this flight from the *Romans* is aſcribed to him of *Vpſall*, though they lived in far different Ages. Let us take then or leave this Story of *Woden*, with the Migrations into *Aſia*, and back again out of that Countrey, and returning alſo to *Scandia*, take notice of theſe Motions of the *Gothick* Nations, which are warranted by unqueſtionable Hiſtory, or probable at leaſt.

9. It is not amiſs to premiſe, that upon paſſing into other Countries, the ſame People got ſeveral Names; as either Strangers made terminations to their old ones, or as they obſerved ſomething they thought moſt remarkable in them: According to the way of ſeverally terminating words, and bringing them as near as can be to the *Genius* of a ſtrange Language, the ſame *Goths* are in ſeveral Writers called *Gutæ*, *Gutones*, *Gothones*, *Gythones*, *Guttones* and *Guttonici*, as the ſame Countrey is termed *Gotthia* and *Gudlandia*. And in like manner, the *Franci* and *Francones*, *Vaſci* and *Vaſcones*, *Friſii* and *Friſones*, *Suedi* and *Sueones* are the ſame. After the firſt migration of them North Eaſtward to the Lake of *Mæotis*, where even at this very day they retain both the Names, Manners and Language of *Goths*, as their Countrey that of *Gotthia*, they ſeem to have ſent out that Colony which planted it ſelf between the Rivers *Albis* (by thoſe *Goths* called *Gotthelba*) and *Viſtula*, where they preſerved their Countrey Name. *Grotius* gueſſeth that above three Hundred years before our Saviour, they firſt went out of *Scanzia*, *Godonavia* or *Gothland*; and coming into the Continent of *Germany*, drove out the *Vlmirugi*, and there left a Colony which *Tacitus* calleth *Gotthones*. That the Iſlands adjoining they very anciently Peopled, there is no doubt, as alſo the Sea coaſts, where the *Æſtii* inhabited, who had this Name, and their Countrey that of *Æſtonia*, from lying Eaſtward from them. Hence he believes they made Incurſions as far as *Mæotis*, and into *Dacia*, but when he cannot ſay; but that it was before the time of the *Antonini*. He ſaith he learns this from *Spartianus*, who in the Life of *Caracalla* writes that the *Gotthi* were called *Getes*, as many others alſo have hinted, becauſe the nearneſs of the Name deceived the *Romans* (though *Gete* be a Name of *Thrace*, and *Goth* a German word) and the *Goths* held thoſe places which anciently bore the Name of the *Getes*. Hence in the Reign of *Philip*, *Jornandes* brings them into *Mæſia* and *Thrace*, and it appears that from this time, Part of the *Goths* remained in *Mæſia*, who by *Jornandes* are called *Gothi Minores*, and who receiving Letters from the *Greeks*, delivered them to the other *Gothick* Nations.

The Migrations of the *Goths*.

Ex hac igitur Scanzia inſula quaſi officina Gentium, aut certè velut vagina nationum cum Rege ſuo nomine Berig, Gothi quondam memorantur egreſſi. Jornandes de Rebus Geticis. c. 4.

Capitaneatus Gothiæ dicitur in publicis monumentis, vide Grotium ubi prius ex relatu Joſophati Barbais nobilis Veneti, qui in illis vixit Regionibus.

10. Amongſt the *Roman* Writers, after *Spartianus*, he obſerves, that the firſt mention of the *Goths* is made by *Aurelius Victor* (publiſhed by *Schottus*,) in the Reign of *Decius*, at what time out of *Dacia*, they poured out themſelves into the neighbouring *Thrace*, being by *Zoſimus* and *Zonares* called *Scythians*, as by their Original they well might, and did paſs for ſuch. In the time of *Aurelian* and *Gallienus* they proceeded farther, and waſted *Greece*, *Macedonia*, *Pontus* and *Aſia*, ſeveral particulars being related by divers Authours. From others it appears that *Claudius* being Emperour they fell upon *Marcianopolis* in *Mæſia*, and then waſted both *Macedonia* and *Illyricum*, beſieging *Caſſandria* and *Theſſalonica*. Both *Maximian* and *Conſtantine* the Great received them into friendſhip and ſociety, and the latter made uſe of them againſt the *Sarmatæ*, and under *Theodoſius* the younger, part of *Thrace* fell to their ſhare. *Procopius* tells us that the *Goths*, called *Tetraxitæ*, lived near to the ſhore and ſtraits of *Mæotis*, and farther from them, the *Goths* and *Viſigoths*, and *Vandals*, and all the other *Gothick* Nations anciently named *Scythians*, as all the other Nations of thoſe Parts with ſome difference, in ſome of *Sarmatians*, *Melanclænians* and other Names. On the other ſide of the Lake lived the *Cimmerians* or *Hunnes*, who it's ſaid being perſwaded by two young Men, that purſued a Stag, that the water was fordable(which they had not thought before) inſtantly took Arms and paſſed over. He adds that the *Vandals* were gone before and ſeated in *Africk*, and the *Viſigoths* were in *Spain*. And ſo they fell upon the *Goths*, who dwelt in the Champian, killed many and chaſed away the reſt. Such as eſcaped paſſed the River *Iſter*, with their Wifes and Children into the *Roman* Territory, where they did much miſchief. Afterward the Emperour planted them in a Countrey of *Thrace*, and ſometimes they aided the *Romans* in quality of Confederates, receiving yearly Penſions, whereby it appears that the *Goths* (ſo *Procopius* obſerves) came not as Men conquered, but upon the Articles of a League. Sometimes alſo they made cauſeleſs War upon the *Romans*, till under *Theodorich* they removed into *Italy*.

Their Invaſions.

Hiſt. Gothic. lib. 4.

Sect. 2.

11. Great Miſchiefs did the *Goths* bring to the *Roman* Provinces by their Invaſions and Inroads; but the greateſt miſchief of all happened by the Empire, its opening it ſelf to receive them. I mean when *Valens* received them into *Thrace*, as we have at large related in our ſecond Part, in the year CCCLXXVI. Having by his leave paſſed the *Danube*, whither they were driven from their own Seats by the *Hunnes*, they preſently turned head againſt their Entertainer, and afterward proved ſo many Vipers in the Bowels of the Provinces, ſtill taking occaſion to ſtir, and could not be quieted by any Seats or Entertainment given them, no though the greateſt of them were preferred to the greateſt place of Magiſtracy and Dignity, till they made themſelves Leaders or Kings, and travelling Southweſtward, at length ſeized upon the Provinces as Lords and Maſters thereof. This the Reader may remember, from what hath been copiouſly related to him in this work, concerning their Motions in the time of *Honorius*, the Invaſion of *Italy*, and taking of *Rome* by *Alarick*, their Actions in *Gall* and in *Spain*. It is to be obſerved that the Story told by *Procopius*, concerning the Deer being purſued by the young men, and (what thereupon happened) the Invaſion of the Seats of the *Goths* by the *Hunnes*, and their flying to the *Danube*, is by *Jornandes* made the ſame with their flight thither in the Reign of *Valens*, whom they petitioned to be received within the *Roman Pale*, what ever *Procopius* talk of the *Vandals* being now ſeated in *Africk*, and the *Viſegoths* in *Spain*. It is alſo farther to be taken notice of, that the Migrations out of *Scandia* were in more ancient times, and that thoſe irruptions which brought ruine to the *Roman* Provinces, and gave beginnings to the Principalities erected by theſe Barbarous Nations therein, were from the Eaſtern quarters. *Jornandes* diſtinguiſheth thus of their Habitations: Thoſe that aboad in the firſt part of *Scythia* by *Mæotis*, are known to have had *Filimer* for their King; they that inhabited in the ſecond ſoil of *Dacia*, *Thracia* and *Mœſia* had *Zamolxes*, whom moſt Writers of Annals teſtifie to have been a wonderfully learned Philoſopher. Beſides this he had formerly ſpoken of their planting in that part of *Scythia*, which bordered on the Sea of *Pontus*. But now at the time that they grew ſo terrible to the Empire, after that of *Valens*, they began to be known to the World, by the afterward terrible Names of *Viſegoths* and *Oſtrogoths*.

C. c. 24, 25.

Whence came the Names of *Oſtrogoths* and *Weſtrogoths*.

12. They were known indeed more by theſe Names, after their parting into ſeveral Quarters of the Empire, but the Names were much ancienter. And that from their ſituation of Weſt and Eaſt, they were firſt called *Weſtrogoths* and *Oſtrogoths* in their own Countrey is moſt probable, and *Grotius* concludes it from *Jornandes* his Deſcription of *Scandia* (who therein indeed mentions the *Oſtrogoths* though not the other,) and from *Vopiſcus*, who about the time of *Claudius* makes mention of the *Auſtrogoths*, with whom the *Oſtrogoths* are the ſame. They were joined together till the Reign of *Ermaurick*, and that of *Valens*, the Emperour; but then the *Viſegoths* or *Weſtern Goths* departed from the *Oſtrogoths*, and frighted by the *Hunnes*, asked *Valens* leave to paſs the *Danube*. And the *Weſterngoths* (corruptly called *Wiſeſigoths* and *Viſigoths*) they were who being received, and treated ill as they pretended contrary to the Agreement defeated and killed *Valens*. After this they ſeized on *Thrace* and *Dacia Ripenſis*, not by a precarious Right, but by way of Dominion, and even in the time of *Gratian*. Afterward part of them under Conduct of *Fridigern* invaded *Theſſaly* and *Achaia*, and another part led by *Alatheus*, and *Safrack* fell into *Pannonia*, and compelled *Theodoſius* to make a Peace. This Peace being not laſting, *Alarick* their King having waſted *Thrace* and *Greece*, after *Radagaiſus* invaded *Italy* through *Pannonia*, as we have ſhewn at large, and firſt after the *Galli Senones* took *Rome* in the time of *Honorius*. He that ſucceeded *Athaneſe* did the like, and preſently invaded *Gall*, which was forſaken by the *Wandals*. There the *Weſtern Goths* ſetled a Dominion, and afterward transferred it over the Mountains into *Spain*, where they alſo erected a Kingdom. Of which Dominion and Kingdom we muſt treat particularly, and therefore here muſt leave the *Weſtrogoths* for a time.

Weſtrogothia confinis eſt Provinciæ Danorum quæ Sconia dicitur, à qua ferunt diebus ſeptem perveniri uſq; ad Civitatem Gothorum magnam Scaraxe. Deinde Oſtrogothia protenditur juxta mare quod Balthicum dicitur uſq; ad Byrkam. Adamus Bremenſis apud Grotium Prolegomenis.

The Progreſs of the *Weſtrogoths*.

The Kings and Progreſſes of the *Oſtrogoths*.

Amalus.
Iſarna.
Oſtrogotha.

13. The *Oſtrogoths* ſeem to have been the more conſiderable Party, the race of the ancient Kings, obeyed by both ſorts till this Deceſſion, proceeding from them, and namely the Family of the *Amali*, ſo much celebrated among them. *Amalus* (to paſs by ſome other Kings more ancient, the Names of whom are to be found in *Jornandes*) was the Son of *Augis*, and it ſeems ſo eminent as to give a Name to his Succeſſours. He was the Father of *Iſarna*, and *Iſarna* of *Oſtrogotha*, who in the Reign of *Philip* the Emperour with his *Oſtrogoths* (*Jornandes* yet knowing not, whether from him or their ſituation they received this Name,) for

Amali Cœleſtes. Iſar-na, ferro propinquus. Ooſt, Angl. Eaſt, Latini hinc formarunt Auſtriam.

that

The *Gepidæ* of *Gothick* Nation.

Malè Gepanta pro Gepaita nunc legitur. Eſt enim Gepait Germanis is qui moram fecit. Grot.

Vandal. lib. 1. *ad initium.*

that being Confederates of the Empire their Stipends were not paid them, paſſed the *Danube*, waſted *Mœſia* and *Thrace*, and forced *Marcianopolis* to compound with him, and redeem it ſelf. The Nation of the *Gepidæ* ſeeing him thus victorious envied him this good Fortune, and made war upon their Kinſmen, as *Jornandes*, calls them, though by the word *Patrules*, and how they came to be their Kinſmen he tells you, he ſaith, in ſhort if you ask the queſtion. He puts his Reader in mind, that at the beginning of his Book, he ſhewed how the *Goths* proceeded out of the Iſland *Scanzia* with *Berick* their King, tranſported onely in three Ships to the Bank of the hither Ocean. Of theſe three Veſſels, one, as often happens, ſailing ſlower than the reſt, gave Name to the People; (which landed in an Iſland of the River *Viſtula*, and afterward proceeded farther) for in their Language *Slow* is ſignified by *Gepanta*. Hence came it to paſs that by little and little, and corruptly it came to ſtick to them by way of reproach. For the *Gepidæ* without doubt derive their Original from the Stock of the *Goths*; but becauſe, as was ſaid, *Gepanta* ſignifieth *ſomething ſlow and ſluggiſh*, the Nickname of the *Gepidæ* thence aroſe, which I dare not believe, ſaith he, to be the falſeſt thing that is. For they are of a ſlow humour and diſpoſition, and more heavy as to motion of the Body. Such is the Relation of *Jornandes* concerning the Name and Original of the *Gepidæ*. He agrees with *Procopius* herein, who declaring which were the greateſt and moſt famous of the *Gothick* Nations, reckons the *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Viſegoths* and *Gepædes*. He adds, that anciently they were called *Sarmatians* and *Melanchlenians*; that they varied all in Names, and nothing elſe, being all fair bodied with yellow hair, tall and with good faces; that they had the ſame Laws, Cuſtoms and Religion, being all *Arians*, and all ſpake the *Gothick* Language. He ſuppoſes them to have been anciently one Nation, and their Names to have been diſtinguiſhed afterward by their ſeveral Princes. Formerly, he ſaith, this People inhabited about the *Danube*; then the *Gepædes* held the Places about *Singedon* and *Sirmium* on both ſides the River, where they were when he wrote his Hiſtory.

Cniua.

14. There are other Teſtimonies ſufficient to prove, that the *Gepidæ* were a *Gothoſcanzian* Nation. They alſo as we have ſeen, invaded and waſted the *Roman* Empire. They were once Aſſociates with the *Romans*, but joined with the *Lombards* and broke Truces, after which they made great ſtirs in the World till they were overcome, and in a manner deſtroyed by the *Lombards*, in the time of *Alboin*, who married *Roſamunda* the Daughter of *Cunimund* their King. But to return to our former Story: *Faſtida* the King of the *Gepidæ* being puffed up with the good Succeſs he had againſt the *Burgundians*, whom he almoſt deſtroyed, broke the League with the *Goths* his Kinſmen. He ſent to *Oſtrogotha*, to whom both the *Oſtrogoths* and *Viſegoths* were ſubject, to tell him, that he was too much ſtraitned in room, and he muſt give the *Gepidæ* Land, or prepare for War. He anſwered he ſhould be ſorry to make War upon his Kindred, but he would part with no Land, and thereupon a bloudy Battel was fought, wherein the *Gepidæ* were ſhamefully beaten, and the *Goths* contenting themſelves with Victory, moved not during the Reign of *Oſtrogotha*. After his death, *Cniua* divided them into two Armies, and ſending one into *Mœſia*, with the other conſiſting of ſeventy thouſand Men, he himſelf fell on *Euſteſium* or *Nonæ*; whence being removed by *Gallus*, a Captain, he went to *Nicopolis* a City *Trajan* had built upon overthrowing the *Sarmatæ*, near the River *Jater*. But *Decius* the Emperour marching towards him, he removed into the Parts of *Hæmonia* near adjoining, purpoſing for *Philippolis*. *Decius* intended to purſue him, and reſting his Men at *Berrhœa*, *Cniua* with his *Goths*, fell like a Thunderbolt upon him, and forced him to fly into *Mœſia*. *Cniua* having long beſieged *Philippolis*, at length got the Governour *Priſcus* to join with him, and purſued *Decius*; where *Gallus* being Captain of the Limit had recruited his Army. And they came to an ingagement, wherein firſt the Son of *Decius*, and afterward the Emperour himſelf was ſlain, and ended his Life and Reign together.

Ararick.
Aurick.
Giberick.

Ara-rick, honore pollens. Aur-rick, vetuſtate pollens. Haiſt-Dingen, celer in

15. After this the *Goths* invaded *Aſia*, where having burnt the Temple of *Diana* at *Epheſus*, and demoliſhed *Chalcedon*; they retired into *Thrace*, and waſted that Countrey. They aſſiſted *Maximian* the Emperour againſt the *Parthians*, and *Conſtantine* the Great againſt *Licinius*, forty thouſand of them ſerving under him, who continued in the *Roman* Army by the Name of *Fœderati*. Theſe things they did under the Conduct of their Kings *Ararick* and *Aurick*, after whom came *Giberick* a notable Perſon. He overthrew the *Wandals* his Neighbours with *Viſumar* their King, who was deſcended of the Race of the *Aſdingi*, renowned amongſt them. Such of the *Wandals* as remained after the Overthrow, begged *Pannonia*

of *Conſtantine* the Emperour, to whoſe Succeſſion they were obedient forty years, till being invited by *Stilico* they fell upon *Gall*, but ſetled not therein. *Giberick* being dead, after ſome time *Hermanarick* was King, one deſcended of the moſt noble Family of the *Amali*. He conquered ſo many Northern Nations, that by ſome he was compared to *Alexander* the Great. Having ſubdued many (the Names of whom *Jornandes* gives us, but might have as well ſuppreſſed them; ſo ſtrange they are) he could not omit the *Heruli*, but needs muſt fall on them alſo. The Hiſtorian tells us from a far better Authour, *Ablanius* whoſe work hath miſcarried, that this Nation of the *Heruli*, dwelling near the Fenns of *Mæotis* in wateriſh places, had its Name from them, which by the *Greeks* are called *Hebe*: a People, he adds, by how much more ſwift and agile, ſo much more abundantly proud; for there was then no Nation, which choſe not its light armed Soldiers out of them. But formerly in the ſame work *Jornandes* writes, that they were driven out of their Seats by the *Dani*, which Seats were in *Scanzia*, for of the Inhabitants thereof he ſpeaks in that Chapter. With him *Procopius* agrees, that they inhabited formerly beyond the River *Iſter*, ſerving many Gods, and holding it no impiety to appeaſe them with humane Sacrifices. He adds, that they had Laws different from other Men, when Men were grown aged or ſick, they were not to live; but intreat their Kindred to put them out of the World. The Kindred made a Pile of wood and ſet the Man on the Top, and ſent one who was a ſtranger to him in bloud to diſpatch him, then ſet they the Pile on fire, and the flame being done gathered up his bones and buried them. When one of the *Heruli* died, his Wife (if ſhe would be thought virtuous) was to ſtrangle her ſelf over her Husband's Tomb; otherwiſe ſhe was eſteemed infamous, and an Enemy to her Husband's Kindred.

Hermanarick.

Judicio publico. Gib-rick, Donis pollens. Here, exercitus. Hereman, miles. Hermanarick. Militibus pollens.

The Original of the *Heruli*.

C. 3.

De Bello Goth. lib. 2.

16. In time they over-topped the bordering Barbarians in Populouſneſs and Power, and vanquiſht them in fight one by one, foraged their Countries, and kept them under. They ſubdued the *Lombards* being Chriſtians, and made them pay Tribute either out of Covetouſneſs or Vainglory, it being a thing not uſed by the Barbarians in theſe Parts. In the Reign of *Anaſtaſius*, having none left to ſubdue, they remained quiet for three years, but for that reviling and provoking their King *Rodulph*, he made an unjuſt War upon the *Lombards*, not charging them with the breach of Treaties or any other Pretence. The iſſue was that many of the *Heruli* were ſlain with their King, and the reſt flying were almoſt all cut in pieces. Upon this they left their Countrey, and paſſing through all the Land beyond the River *Iſter*, ſate down in the Countrey of the *Rugi* who had left it, and were gone with the *Goths* into *Italy*. But the Land being waſte they removed to the *Gepidæ*, who at firſt permitted them to plant by them, but afterwards wronged and abuſed them, which moved them to paſs *Iſter*, to dwell by the *Romans* there. *Anaſtatius* received them, and afterward when they committed wicked Acts, he killed moſt of them, ſending an Army, and would have deſtroyed them all, but their Leaders begged their Lives, and to be taken for Auxiliaries and Servants of the Empire, and ſo ſome eſcaped alive; yet neither aided nor ſerved the *Romans*. *Juſtinian* coming to the Empire, gave them a fertile Countrey and Goods, made them alſo his Aſſociates, and perſwaded them to be Chriſtians; upon which they grew civiler, and applying themſelves to the Laws of Chriſtianity, ſerved the *Romans* as Auxiliaries. But ſtill, ſaith *Procopius*, they are falſe to us and covetous, not thinking it any ſhame to wrong their Neighbours. They uſe impious Mixtures with Men and Beaſts, being indeed the wickedeſt of all Men and Wretches, wretchedly to periſh: Some of them continued the League with us, and the reſt revolted upon this Occaſion. To ſhew the ſavageneſs of their Nature, they killed *Ochon* their King ſuddenly; without alledging any thing, but that they would no more be under a King.

Their Wickedneſs.

17. And indeed their King before had onely the Name, otherwiſe little advantage above a private Man. All ſate at meat with him, and put licentious Affronts upon him, the *Heruli* being the moſt indiſcreet and lighteſt Men alive. But this foul fact they inſtantly repented, finding no poſſibility to live without Governours and Generals. After much conſultation they reſolved to ſend for one of the Bloud Royal, from the Iſland of *Thule*. For the *Heruli* being overthrown by the *Lombards*, and leaving their Native ſoil, ſome dwelt in *Illyricum*, but others paſt not the River *Iſter*, but thought it better to plant in the uttermoſt borders of the habitable World. Theſe conducted by many of the Bloud Royal, paſſed through the Nations of the *Slani*, a large deſart Countrey, the *Varni*, and thoſe of the *Danes* (the Barbarians uſing no violence againſt them) and coming to the

Sect. 2. the Ocean, and getting ſhipping arrived at the Iſland *Thule*, where they ſtaid. Thus writes *Procopius* of the *Heruli*, who by *Thule* means the *Peninſula* of *Scandia*, which he calls ten times bigger than *Britain*, ſaith moſt of it was waſte, but in that which was inhabited, were ſeated thirteen populous Nations, and over every Nation was a King. Amongſt them the *Herulian* wanderers planted themſelves; and thoſe who continued amongſt the *Romans*, having murthered their King, ſent ſome of their chief Men to the Iſland of *Thule*, to bring over one of the Bloud Royal if they could find any there. From amongſt many they brought one, who dying by the way of ſickneſs, they went back and brought another named *Todaſius*, accompanied with his Brother *Aordas*, and two hundred *Heruli*. They being long upon their Journey, the *Heruli* about *Singedon*, conceiving it might be inconvenient to introduce a King from *Thule* without *Juſtinian's* conſent, ſent to the Emperour to *Conſtantinople* to give them what King he pleaſed. He ſent them *Suartuas* one of their Nation, who had long lived at *Conſtantinople*, and him at firſt they received joyfully, adored him as King, and obeyed him in the uſual Directions. But within few days hearing of the coming of the Ambaſſadours from *Thule*, they revolted from *Suartuas* (who had commanded them to goe out and kill them) to the New Comers, and he was forced to fly back to *Conſtantinople*. The Emperour ſet himſelf to reſtore him, and thereupon the *Heruli* revolted to the *Gepidæ*. So much writes *Procopius* of this People, of whom we often ſpeak in the Courſe of our Hiſtory upon occaſion. It ſeems they lived beyond the River *Iſter*, and afterward ſome of them paſſed into *Scandia*, from which poſſibly alſo they deſcended amongſt other *Gothick* Nations; for amongſt *Gothick* Nations *Procopius* reckons alſo the *Scirri* and *Alani*, amongſt whom he puts *Odoacer*, as one of them, and ſaith he was of the Lifeguard to the Emperour; and him other Authours call King of the *Heruli*, who invading *Italy* were we ſuppoſe more Civiliz'd, than thoſe of whom *Procopius* writes. *De Bello Goth. lib.* 1. *initio.*

18. Well! upon the *Heruli*, *Hermanarick* King of the *Oſtrogoths* made war, and though their ſwiftneſs prevailed againſt other Nations; yet it ſubmitted to the ſlowneſs and ſtability of the *Goths*, and they ſerved *Hermanarick* amongſt other Nations. After them he ſubdued the *Veneti* who became his Servants, though afterward in the time of *Jornandes*, becauſe of the Sins of his Age they raged every where, being, though ſprung from one Root, germinated into three Names of *Veneti*, *Aules* and *Sclani*. By his prudential valour he conquered the *Æſtri*, who inhabited on the longeſt bank of the *German* Ocean, and as if it had been effected by his own Labours, he commanded all the Nations, both of *Scythia* and *Germany*. Not very long after, as he relates from *Oroſius*, the Nation of the *Hunnes* raged againſt the *Goths* with more than bitter fury; and to be revenged on them for that and their other Pranks, he gives you an account of their Original alſo, as he found it related by Antiquity. *Filimer* King of the *Goths* the Son of *Gandarick* the Great, being their fifth Prince after their going out from the Iſland of *Scanzia*, having with his People entred into the *Scythian* Territories, found amongſt them certain Witches, which in his Countrey Language he called *Aliorumnæ*, and having them ſuſpected he thruſt them away from his Company, and compelled them to depart into the Wilderneſs far from his Army. Unclean Spirits ſeeing theſe Women wandering in the Deſart lay with them, and procreated this moſt furious brood, which at firſt continued in the Fenns ſmall and inconſiderable, as it were a kind of Men, neither known by any other word than that which ſignified an Image of Mankind. From *Priſcus* the Hiſtorian, he adds, that in the Fenn of *Mæotis*, this Cruel Nation poſſeſſed the farther Bank being expert in hunting and no other labour, onely when it grew into Multitudes, with Frauds and Rapines it diſturbed the neighbouring Nations.

The Original of the *Hunnes* according to *Jornandes*.

19. Concerning the Original of the *Hunnes* we muſt leave *Jornandes* to himſelf, but concerning their Seats his Relation is confirmed by other Writers. *Procopius* tells us, that the two Straits of Mount *Caucaſus*, which let in the *Hunniſh* Nations upon the *Romans* and *Perſians*, were called the one *Tzar*, and the other the *Caſpian Gates*. That the Countrey extending from Mount *Caucaſus* to the *Caſpian Gates* the *Alani* held, ſubject to none, but as Confederates they ſerved the *Perſians* againſt the *Romans* and all the World. That under Mount *Caucaſus* dwelt the *Gabrian Hunnes*, and ſome other *Hunniſh* Nations; and hence they ſaid iſſued the *Amazons*, and made a Camp at *Themiſcyrus* by the River of *Themidon*, near where in his Days ſtood the City of *Amiſus*. But now ſaith he are left no *Amazons* in the Countries about Mount *Caucaſus*. *Strabo*, he adds, and ſome others have *Hiſt. Goth. lib.* 4.

made

The Occaſion of feigning *Amazons.*

made much diſcourſe about them, but they ſeem to ſpeak moſt truly, who think that there was never any ſuch Manniſh Race of Women; nor that Nature in Mount *Caucaſus* onely ſwerved from its ſacred Laws, but that the Barbarians of theſe Parts making an Expedition againſt *Aſia*, brought their Wives along with them, whom they left in a Camp near *Thermedon*. That they themſelves overrunning much of *Aſia* were ſo encountred and defeated, that none eſcaped to the Camp; and that there their Wifes being ſorely put to it by the fear of the People adjoining, and by want of Victuals, took on them Countenances of Men, and armed themſelves with the Furniture left by their Husbands, and with the ſame performed ſome commendable Actions, compelled by neceſſity, till they were all ſlain. This is his opinion, and that the *Amazons* were Wives that went to war with their Husbands, the Experiment whereof, he ſaith, happened in his own time. And commonly the addictions which deſcend to Poſterity, are the Images of thoſe which were before. For the *Hunnes*, in their Inroad upon the *Romans*, often coming to a Battel wherein ſome of them were ſlain, and the *Romans* ſearching the dead Bodies, have found Women among them. Other Armies of Women were never, neither infeſting *Aſia* nor *Europe*. Neither was it ever heard that the *Caucaſian* Mountains had all their Men waſted at any time. Afterward, ſpeaking of ſeveral other Nations, he ſubjoins that beyond the *Sagini*, were many *Hunniſh* People in a Countrey called *Eulyſia*, poſſeſſed by theſe Barbarians in the maritime and in-land Parts thereof to the Lake *Mæotis*, and the River *Tanais*, which diſembogues into the ſaid Lake, and the Lake into the *Euxine* Sea. Anciently the Inhabitants were called *Cimmerii*, but in his time *Vturgurians*. But the Reader may remember how we have already ſpoken much of the *Vturgurian* and *Caturgurian Hunnes*, from the ſame *Procopius*, who gives another Character of the *Hunnes* in general than *Jornandes* doth; for ſpeaking of the *Autæ* and *Sclani* amongſt other things, he ſaith that they were remote from knaviſh Craft and Malice, being like to the *Hunnes* in this very Innocence alſo. At length they drove out the *Lombards*, and planted themſelves in *Pannonia*. But let us hear what other dreadfull things *Jornandes* relates in his Account of the War betwixt them and the *Goths*.

Jornandes his Deſcription of an Hunn.

20. They being Hunters, ſome of them exerciſing themſelves this way on the farther Bank of *Mæotis* found a Deer, and purſued her, as was ſaid, before to the farther ſide; for here he brings in that Story. Having by this means diſcovered the way into *Scythia*, they fell like thunder upon ſeveral People he mentions, the Names of whom are hard to be underſtood, and amongſt others they ſubdued the *Alani* equal to them in Valour and Skill but unlike, as to Humanity, Courſe of Life and Shape. For whereas poſſibly they could not by force have maſtered them, having afrighted and aſtoniſhed them by the Terrour of their Countenances, they ſcared them into flight. They were fearfully black to look on, but carried upon their Shoulders a deformed Lump (if it be fit to call it ſo) and no face which had rather little pricks or holes than any Lights or Eyes. Their ugly aſpect betrayed the boldneſs of their minds, who were cruel againſt their own Children, the firſt day they came into the World. For they cut and mangled the Cheeks of their Sons, that before they ſhould receive the Nouriſhment of Milk, they might be conſtrained to endure the pain of a wound. Hence they grew old and beardleſs, and became youths without Comlineſs, their faces being ſo furrowed with the Knife, that the ſcars hindred the growth of Hairs. They were little in ſhape, but active and nimble, and Excellent Horſemen, broad ſhouldered and fit for ſhooting and caſting of darts; they had ſtrong Necks, and proudly they bore them. In humane ſhape they lived in beaſtly Cruelty.

21. The *Getes* at the ſight of a People the moſt active of all others, and the Controller of Nations were afraid, and conſulted with their King how to be freed from them. *Hermanarick* though Conquerour of many Nations, yet when he deliberated concerning the coming of the *Hunnes*, was deceived by the treacherous *Roxolani*, who took occaſion to ſhew their falſeneſs, though they ſerved him amongſt others. Puniſhing one *Saniolk* a Woman of that Nation, her two Brothers *Sarus* and *Ammius*, to revenge her death, gave him a wound in the ſide of which he languiſhed; and thereat *Balamir* King of the *Hunnes* taking advantage moved againſt him. With thought of this and the anguiſh of his wound, as alſo old Age, he was overcome, and died in the hundred and tenth Year of his Age. The *Viſigoths* now had left their fellows, though formerly they had been joined with the *Oſtrogoths*, and againſt them the *Hunnes* prevailed upon his

death,

Winithar.

Wint-hari Venedorum Dominus.

Hunnimund.

Hundreda contracte Hun Centuria Hunnimund centuriæ os ſine Præpoſitus.

Thoriſmund.

Thoriſ-mund Ferox ore.

death, who were ſeated in the Eaſtern Coaſt and called *Oſtrogoths*, the *Viſigoths* being by the leave of *Valens* gone over the *Danube*, and received within the *Roman* Pale. The *Oſtrogoths* after their departure continued in the ſame place ſubject to the *Hunnes*, and were governed by *Winithar* of the Poſterity of *Amalus*, who imitating the Valour of his Grandfather *Ataulf*, though inferiour in felicity to *Hermanarick*, fought proſperouſly againſt the *Autæ*, and at firſt againſt the *Hunnes*, though *Sigiſmund* another great Man would not break his Faith, but joined with them. But in the third Ingagement *Winithar* was ſlain, and *Balamber*, King of the *Hunnes*, kept under the *Goths* in quietneſs, yet ſo as by his Conſent they had ſtill a *Regulus* of their own. After *Winithar* they were governed by *Hunimund*, the Son of the moſt potent *Hermanarick*, who fought proſperouſly againſt the *Suevi*, and was ſucceeded by his Son *Thoriſmund*. He obtained a great Victory againſt the *Gepidæ*, and is ſaid to have been killed by a fall of his Horſe. He died in the flour of his Age, and the *Goths* ſo lamented him, that for the ſpace of forty Years they had no King in his place, his Kinſman *Wandalar* the Brother's Son of *Hermanarick* was famous for his three Sons deſcended of the Race of the *Amali*, viz. *Walamir*, *Theodemir* and *Widemir*, who loved each other with Brotherly affection. But they were ſubject to the Commands of *Attila* King of the *Hunnes*, and neither they nor any *Scythian* Nation could be freed from his Dominion, but by his death ſo much deſired by all Nations in common, and by the *Romans* too, a death which was as profitable as his life, had been wonderfull.

22. After his Death his numerous, or as *Jornandes* calls them, innumerous Sons, fell out about his Conqueſts, and loſt them all, being overthrown by *Ardarick* the King of the *Gepidæ* in *Pannonia*. For *Ellac* the Eldeſt was ſlain, and the reſt after the Defeat fled to the ſhore of *Pontus*, where the *Goths* had formerly lived. Many Nations were joyſull to be freed from ſo grievous a Yoke, and ſeveral of them were kindly received by *Marcian* the Emperour, and had Countries diſtributed amongſt them. The *Gepidæ* had the Seats of the *Hunnes*, and being Maſters of all *Dacia*, required no more of the Empire but Peace and yearly Preſents, as valiant and deſerving Men; which he willingly granted, and which continued to be paid till the time of the Hiſtorian. The *Goths* ſeeing that the *Gepidæ* challenged the Territories of the *Hunnes*, and that the *Hunnes* alſo kept their ancient Seats, choſe rather to ask Territories of the *Roman* Empire, than to indanger themſelves by invading thoſe of others, and received *Pannonia*, which being ſtretched out in a long Champian had on the Eaſt *Mœſia* Superior, on the South *Dalmatia*, on the Weſt *Noneum* and the *Danube* on the North. The Countrey was adorned with many Cities, of which the Chief was *Sirmis*, and the laſt *Vindomina*. The *Sauromatæ* or *Sarmatæ*, the *Cemandri* and ſome of the *Hunnes* ſate down in grounds aſſigned them at the Caſtle *Martena*. The *Sciri*, *Satagarii* and others of the *Alans* with their Captain *Candax* received *Scythia the leſs* and the *inferior Mœſia*, the Notary of which *Candax* the Grandfather of *Jornandes* was; and *Gunthages* the Son of his Grandfather's Siſter was his *Magiſter Militum*, being deſcended alſo of the *Amali*. And he tells us that he himſelf though unlearned, had been a Notary before his Converſion. The *Rugi* obtained *Scandiopolis*. Of the Sons of *Attila* remaining, one planted in the utmoſt Part of the *Leſſer Scythia*, and two others in *Dacia Ripenſis*. And many of the *Hunnes* every where put themſelves into the *Roman* ſoil. There were other *Goths*, who, as he ſaith, were called *Minores* or the *Leſſer*, a vaſt People who had *Vulſilas* for their Biſhop and Primate, who was ſaid to inſtruct them in good Letters, and in this time of the Writer they were in *Mœſia*, inhabiting *Eucopolitana*.

The *Oſtrogoths* have *Pannonia* aſſigned them.

The *Gothi Minores.*

Their Brothers and Kings, *Walemir, Theodemir, Widemir.*

Wal-mir Benè Princeps, Theud-mir Populis ſuperans, Widemir latè Princeps.

23. We have now brought the *Oſtrogoths* into *Pannonia*, and there *Jornandes* tells us that ſuch as were ſubject to *Walemir*, and his two Brothers *Theodemir* and *Widemir*, though the Places of their Habitation were divided, yet their Councils were united. But the Sons of *Attila* now regarded them as ſo many Slaves run away, and came on purpoſe to look after them. They fell upon *Walemir* alone, his Brothers knowing nothing of it, but he gave them ſuch Entertainment that few of thoſe that attacqued him eſcaped with their lives, but *Hunnimund* Captain of the *Suevi* paſſing on to harraſs *Dalmatia*, made bold with ſome of the Herds of Cattel belonging to the *Goths*, *Suevia* being Neighbour to *Dalmatia* and not far from *Pannonia*, eſpecially that Part where the *Goths* then reſided. *Theodemir*, the Brother of *Walemir*, thought this was not to be endured, not ſo much for the Cattel, as leſt the *Suevi* ſhould thence take heart, and grow more inſolent; therefore he waylaid them by night, and taking them napping by ſo unexpected an Attacque ſo maſtered them, that *Hunnimund* he took Priſoner, and ſuch as eſca-

UMI

Walemir ſlain.

ped the Sword he made Servants to the *Goths*. Yet he was ſo mercifull as to pardon what was paſt, and being reconciled to the *Suevi* adopted their King for his Son, and ſent him home with them. But *Hunnimund* was ſo ungratefull, as forgetting the paternal obligation, he ſtirred up the *Sciri* who lived above the *Danube* to join with him, to take up Arms and invade the *Goths*, with whom they had lived in Peace. The *Goths* looking on both as Friends were ſurprized with the War, but compelled by neceſſity, betook themſelves to their Weapons and revenged the Injury. They had the miſhap to loſe *Walemir* their King, who in the Battel riding hard to animate his Men, his Horſe fell, and the Rider being caſt to the ground, was ſlain by the Lances of the Enemy. But to revenge his Death and themſelves, they managed the Fight with that earneſtneſs, that almoſt all the *Sciri* were cut off.

Theodorich doth wonders.

25. *Hunnimund* and *Alarick* Kings of the *Suevi* fearing what might be the effect of this Succeſs, rallied the remainders of the *Sciri*, and with the aſſiſtence of the *Sarmatæ*, *Gepidæ* and *Rugi*, made War upon the *Goths*. *Walemir* being dead they betook themſelves to his Brother *Theodemir* as their Head, who calling to his aſſiſtence his Brother *Widemir*, gave Battel to the Confederates and obtained a notable Victory, killing ten thouſand of them upon the place. To be revenged on the *Suevi*, in the Winter he paſſed a Foot Army over the *Danube* upon the Ice, and fell ſuddenly into their Territories, which on the Eaſt had for neareſt Neighbours the *Barobari*, on the Weſt the *Franks*, the *Burgundians* on the South, and the *Thuringi* on the North. With the *Suevi* the *Alemanni* were Confederate and joined, but *Theodemir* overthrew, waſted and almoſt ſubdued them both, and then he returned into *Pannonia* where he joyfully received his Son *Theodorich*, whom the Emperour *Leo* had ſent from *Conſtantinople* with great Gifts. This *Theodorich*, being now in the eighteenth year of his Age, got together of his Father's Guard and ſuch as loved him, almoſt ſix thouſand Men, and without his Father's knowledge, paſſing the *Danube*, fell upon *Babai* King of the *Sarmatæ*, who was grown proud for a Victory he had got over *Camundus* a Captain of the *Romans*, killed him, and plundering his Houſe, and getting what other booty he could, returned with Victory. Then fell he upon *Singidonum*, a City which the *Sarmatæ* had ſeized, and getting it into his hands, reſtored it not to the *Romans*, but kept it in his own Dominion.

Widemir dies.

Theodemir dies.

26. The neighbouring Nations were now ſo waſted that no more booty remained to be got, and the *Goths* being inured to War were ſo diſtreſſed in Peace, that they wanted both Cloaths and Victuals. With a great noiſe they all flocked to their King *Theodemir*, and prayed him to lead them out into what Quarter he pleaſed. He ſent for his Brother, and caſting lots appointed him to go into that part of *Italy* where *Glycerius* acted as Emperour, and he himſelf as the ſtronger would march againſt the ſtronger Empire, or that of the Eaſt. *Widemir* preſently invaded *Italy* and died, leaving for his Succeſſour *Widemir* his Son, whom with Gifts *Glycerius* perſwaded to quit that Countrey, and going into *Gall* there to join himſelf with the *Viſigoths* his Kinſmen; and with them he made up one Body, and ſo they held *Gall* and *Spain* that no other prevailed againſt them. *Theodemir* the elder Brother paſſed the River *Saus*, and threatened to make War upon the *Sarmatæ* and others if they moleſted him in his paſſage; aed none daring to oppoſe him, he took *Naiſſus* the chief City of *Illyricum*, and ſent his Son and other Captains to other places, who became Maſters of *Vlprana*, with *Heraclia* and *Lariſſa*. *Theodemir* yet was not content with this proſperous eſtate of himſelf and his Son, but leaving *Naiſſus* with a Garriſon went and laid Siege to *Theſſalonica*, wherein he incloſed *Clarianus* a *Patritian* ſent thither by the Emperour with an Army. *Clarianus* ſeeing himſelf unable to grapple with him, ſent to him, and by Gifts procured him to remove the Siege. Now was a League made betwixt the *Romans* and him, whereby he had given up to him places to plant his *Goths* in, of hard Names; as, *Ceropellæ*, *Europa*, *Mediana*, *Petina*, *Bercum*, and others called *Siam*. There the *Goths* with their King lived in quietneſs; but not long; for *Theodemir* fell deadly ſick in the City *Cerræ*, and having called to him the *Goths*, and appointed *Theodorich* his Son to ſucceed him, departed this world.

27. The Emperour *Zeno* underſtanding that *Theodorich* was King over his Nation was well pleaſed with it, and ſending for him to *Conſtantinople*, held him in great eſteem amongſt the chief Nobles of his Court. After ſome time *Jornandes* tells us farther, that he adopted him for his Son in way of Arms, or to increaſe his Martial honour, gave him a Triumph in the City at his own charge, and made him Ordinary Conſul, which was eſteemed the chiefeſt Good, and the firſt Digni-

ty in the world; and not onely did he doe this, but erected alſo a Statue to the fame of ſo great a Man before his Palace. *Theodorich* thus enjoyed plenty and all good things, but knowing his *Goths* in *Illyricum* to be ill at eaſe, he choſe rather to get his Living by labour according to the cuſtome of his Nation, than to enjoy the good things of the *Romans* in idleneſs, when in the mean time his Countreymen fared meanly. He applied himſelf therefore to the Emperour, and humbly deſiring liberty to ſpeak, demanded what reaſon there was why the Weſtern Parts, which had been ſubject to his Predeceſſour, ſhould now lie under the tyranny of the King of the *Turcilingi* and *Rugi*. He prayed him to ſend him and his Nation thither, and thereby to rid himſelf of ſo great charge; and if by God's aſſiſtence he ſhould ſucceed in his Enterprize, the Glory would be his. He told him it was better that he being his Servant and his Son, if he overcame ſhould hold that Kingdom as by his Gift, than that one whom he knew not ſhould under the yoke of a Tyrant oppreſs his Senate and part of the Commonwealth with a ſlaviſh Captivity. If he overcame he would hold it as his Gift, and as by his Favour; and if he miſcarried, the Emperour ſhould loſe nothing but be a gainer by the bargain, being delivered from ſuch expence as he was at. The Emperour hearing this, though he was ſorry to part with him, yet would not diſpleaſe him but granted his Requeſt, commending to him the *Roman* Senate and People. Hereupon *Theodorich* departed to his *Goths*, and led them into *Italy*, as we have formerly ſhewn; where beſieging *Odoacer* in *Ravenna*, he ſo ſtraitned him, as this ſame Authour writes, that he begged pardon, which firſt he granted him, and afterward deprived him of Life. And in the third year after his Invaſion of *Italy*, having privately adviſed with the Emperour *Zeno*, laying off the Habit of his Nation, he took Regal Ornaments, as one who reigned over both *Goths* and *Romans*.

Theodorich becomes Maſter of *Italy*.

The Habit of a *Goth*.

The *Wandals* of the ſame original with the *Goths*.

28. Thus we have ſeen the Original of the *Goths*, and have drawn down their ſtory to their coming to found Kingdoms in the *Roman* Empire. Concerning their Manners and Diſpoſitions they had their Name from being *Good* as it imports, and *Grotius* hath taken ſome pains to prove that ſo they continued when in great power. Of this in the courſe of our Hiſtory we have ſeen ſomething, and more are to ſee e'er we have done with them. For their aukward Habit take it as *Sidonius Apollinaris* deſcribes it. “They are red with Saffron, they are ſhod with high Shoes made of Hair which reach up to their Ankle-bones: Their Knees, Thighs and Legs are without any covering: Their Garment high and ſtrait, of divers colours, ſcarcely reaching to the Hamm ſtretched out: Their Sleeves onely cover the tops of their Armes: Their Caſſocks green, with a red Welt: Their Belts hang on their Shoulders: Their Ears are covered with wreaths of Locks: they uſe hooked Lances and miſſile Hatchets. Here we cannot but take notice that the *Wandals* and *Longobards*, or *Lombards*, were of the ſame Original with the *Goths*. *Procopius* ſaith expreſly that they were *Gothick* Nations as well as the *Gepidæ*, and he had reaſon to be inſtructed in their deſcent, being acquainted with *Gelomir* their King, and the Nobles brought Priſoners to *Conſtantinople*. He tells us the Language of the *Wandals* was *Gothick*, and doubts not but that they were anciently one People, diſtinguiſhed in Names, but agreeing in Original and Manners. He relates that together with the *Goths* they came out of their ancient Countrey to the Fen of *Mæotis*. *Jornandes* reckoning up the People of *Scandia* mentions the *Vinoniloth*, which, as *Grotius* obſerves, ſignifies the Poſſeſſion of the *Winoli*, for ſo they are alſo called; and *Winili*, and *Vinili* by ſome Authours. *Wandal* ſignifies a *Wanderer*, who continues not in one place; and ſo they ſeem indeed for ſome reaſon to have had the Name: and not onely they, but other people in *Germany* and elſewhere might be ſo called alſo for the ſame reaſon: but no where means thoſe *Wandals* who for ſome time held *Spain* and *Africk*, as we have largely ſeen, and were ſubdued by *Beliſarius*.

29. Of thoſe that were originally of *Scanzia*, part as was ſaid in old time ſate down with the *Goths* at the Fen of *Mæotis*. Of them who invaded *Spain* and *Africk* the Anceſtours in the ſpace of a year came from the Ocean where they inhabited, into *Dacia* ſo much vexed by Incomers. *Jornandes* ſaith theſe *Wandals* were called *Aſdingi*. They came into *Dacia* in the Reign of *Aurelius Antoninus* the Emperour. In the time of *Aurelian* they inhabited at the *Danube*, and making a League with the *Romans*, promiſed them Succours. *Conſtantine* gave them part of *Pannonia*, and hence they poured out themſelves into *Gall*, when *Honorius* was Emperour. Thence they proceeded into *Spain*, ſuch of them as were called *Silingi* into *Bætica*, and the reſt into *Gallæcia* and the neighbouring Regions, *Godigiſchis* being their King. *Gontharis* ſucceeded him, who ſubdued the *Alani* that then were potent in *Spain*. To *Gontharis* ſucceeded *Gowrick* commonly called *Genſerick*

the Conquerour of *Africk*, who confirmed his poſſeſſion thereof by a League with *Valentinian* the Emperour. What things he did, and how far he reigned, the Reader may remember, as alſo what was done by, and happened to, his Succeſſours out of that account we have given of them in our Second Part; for there being little of conſequence concerning them, but what alſo involved the Affairs of the *Romans*, we thought it not fit to make a particular Hiſtory of that their Kingdom in *Africk*, which was ſoon again reduced by *Juſtinian*. Now we ſhall onely add concerning them farther what *Grotius* hints, that ſome memory of the Dominion of the *Wandals* in *Spain* is ſtill preſerved in the Name of *Andaluſia*, which anciently was *Wandaloſia*, and in the *Wandalick* Tongue was *Wandaloth*.

And the *Longobards.*

30. As there might be ſeveral People which had the Name of *Wandals*, from their changing of Seats and Habitations, ſo alſo in *Germany* and elſewhere, others to whom that of *Longobards* was given, from the length of their Beards. But thoſe who made ſuch a noiſe in the Empire, and ſeated themſelves in *Italy*, from whom *Lombardy* ſtill is ſo called, were of *Scandia* alſo, deſcended from the *Gepidæ*, of whom, if *Grotius* obſerve right, firſt mention is made in the time of *Theodoſius*, by *Proſper Aquitanus*. From *Procopius* it appears, that with the *Gepidæ* their Parents, they had Seats on this ſide the *Danube*. *Paulus Warnotridus* writes that they were called firſt *Winili* before they had the Name of *Longobardi*. In the ſixth year of *Juſtin* the Emperour the *Gepidæ* were utterly cruſhed by them, and their Kingdom came to an end. By theſe ſame *Longobards* was the Son-in-law of *Juſtin* and *Pandarius* overthrown. After *Tiberius* had ſucceeded *Juſtin* they came into *Italy* and made *Antarick* King over them. What progreſs their Arms made there in the times of *Tiberius* and *Mauritius* we have ſeen already, and how they founded a Kingdom, and that they held all *Italy*, in a manner, except *Rome* and *Ravenna*, and continued their Dominion for two hundred years, God willing, we are to ſee in the particular Hiſtory of their Kingdom. But the *Goths* were their Predeceſſours therein, and their Kingdom firſt is to have place; for we have brought already *Theodorich* into *Italy*, and there placed him on the Throne of *Odoacer*.

SECT. III.

The Kingdom of the Oſtrogoths *in* Italy.

The ſpace of Sixty years.

Vide Sigonium de Occidentali Imperio. l. 16.

1. ODoacer being dead, *Theodorich* eaſily made himſelf Maſter of *Italy*; which done, *Dalmatia* and *Rhœtia*, formerly in the Hands of his Enemy, ſubmitted alſo themſelves to his Power. *Sicily* was ſomething ſtubborn and unwilling to acknowledge her new Lord; but by the means of *Caſſiodorus* his Lieutenant he brought her into ſubjection peaceably and without bloud-ſhed. There remained now onely one Rub to be removed, and that had been laid in his way by the raſhneſs and folly of his own Men, who being left in *Pavia*, upon notice of his Succeſs at *Ravenna*, tranſported with the News, flew out of that City to congratulate with him; which the *Rugi*, who had ſerved *Odoacer* perceiving, took the advantage, and ſeizing on the Town, plundered it with all the Countrey adjoining. But the Stars of *Theodorich* were too powerfull to ſuffer him to miſcarry in this adventure, and make ſhipwreck of his Fortunes in the very Haven; therefore leading his Army down to *Pavia*, within a few months he eaſily reduced it, uſed his Victory with moderation, and by the ſequel of his Actions ſhewed, that though War ſeemed to be his Maſterpiece, yet he delighted not in it for its ſelf, but uſed it as a means to procure a firm and laſting Peace. Sheathing then his Sword and taking the Sceptre, he firſt endeavoured to confirm his Eſtate, by Leagues and Alliances with his Neighbour Princes. In the firſt place with the Emperour, who readily admitted of his Friendſhip and Society; then with *Clodonee* King of the *Franks*, whoſe Daughter *Andefleda* he deſired and obtained in Marriage.

Theodorich reduceth *Pavia.*

Sect. 3.

Maketh Alliances.

age. His own two Daughters which he had by a Concubine he beſtowed, the one on *Alarick* King of the *Weſtrogoths* in *Gall*, and the other on *Sigiſmund* Son of *Gundobald* King of the *Burgundians*. When he had thus ſecured his Government, both within and without, he ſet about the modelling of his Polity, and herein he uſed the advice and diligence of *Aurelius Caſſiodorus* , a moſt learned man, whom he had made a *Patritian*, and adorned with the greateſt honours of *Comes*, *Conſul*, and *Præfectus Prætorio*. Him he retained by him as his Counſellour, both for modelling the State, and governing it when he reduced it into form and order. By his advice he made new Laws, it's ſaid, and reformed bad Cuſtoms, and by his direction, if not his Hand, were written his Letters and Commiſſions, the choiceſt of which he preſerved and publiſhed in twelve Books ſtill extant, being ſo many monuments, not onely of this new *Gothick* Model, but even of the ancient *Roman* Polity it ſelf.

He made very little alteration in the Government.

2. Indeed the greateſt alteration which *Theodorich* made in *Italy* ſeems the waving of the Imperial Title, and ſettling and continuing that which *Odoacer* had begun and aſſumed before him. Otherwiſe the ſame form of Government, and the ſeveral ſorts of Magiſtrates he left as he found them : *viz.* the *Senate*, *Conſuls*, *Patritians*, *Præfecti Prætorio*, *Prefect of the City*, *Quæſtor*, *Comes Largitionum*, *Comes Rerum privatarum*, *Domeſticorum*, the *Magiſtri Militum*, *Equitum* and others, as is evident from the forms of their Commiſſions, wherein the Nature of their Offices is expreſſed, and fuller and better than any other Authour now extant, (as the Reader may perceive by what he hath already peruſed in our Second Part,) to be ſeen amongſt the *variæ Epiſtolæ* of *Caſſiodorus*. Theſe Offices with others he ordinarily conferred on *Romans*. Suits and Controverſies ariſing in the Provinces, if amongſt *Goths* he would have determined by *Goths*, if amongſt *Romans* by *Romans*, and if betwixt a *Goth* and a *Roman* by thoſe of both Nations, ſent down into the Countrey for that purpoſe; all which he overſaw himſelf, and adminiſtred Juſtice with all Severity and Impartiality. To ſuch *Heruli* and other Barbarous People, as being brought in by *Odoacer*, deſired to continue in the Countrey he aſſigned new Seats and Poſſeſſions, giving thoſe they had formerly enjoyed to the *Goths* his Countreymen. Thoſe *Italians* who had kept their Faith once given to *Odoacer* immutable he not onely pardoned, but ſome of them he promoted to the greateſt Honours. Indeed ſuch as broke Faith to himſelf by revolting he abhorred, and according to the *Roman* Law took from them the Power of making Teſtaments. What Tributes *Odoacer* had impoſed he ſtill required, and laid a new Impoſition upon the People called *As publicus*, which yet he would remit to ſuch as any Calamity had rendred inſolvent, or as he ſaw occaſion. Following the Example of the late Emperours, and *Odoacer*, he made *Ravenna* the Seat of his Kingdom, to which having now a Title not onely by Conqueſt, but by the Gift of the Emperour, as is ſaid, and the Conſent and Choice of the Senate, he laid aſide his own Countrey Habit, and aſſumed the Purple with other Enſigns of Royalty; to accommodate himſelf to the Humour of the *Italians*, and remove that prejudice which different Habits and Faſhions might beget in the fancies of the People. And though in his Opinion he was an *Arian*, he not onely not troubled but favoured the Orthodox, ſtriving every way to gratifie them as he did indeed all his Subjects; as well by the former Methods of Conduct, as by releaſing Priſoners, redeeming Captives, and other Acts of Clemency and Bounty; whereby all manner of ways he obliged his People, and obtained their Love and hearty affection.

His way of governing excellent.

He obliges all his Subjects.

3. But as humane Councils are imperfect and uncertain, even as all ſublunary Affairs are ſubject to change and perpetual Inconſtancy, that he was deficient in his Meaſures, appeared quickly in one or two particulars. The *Burgundians* having invaded *Liguria*, had thence led away Captive all the Inhabitants, and thereupon the Countrey lay altogether waſte, and remained in a deſolate Condition. He had taken, as formerly was ſaid, the Benefit of the Law from ſuch as had revolted from him, who being very conſiderable not onely for their Number, but Intereſt and Relations, it made a great diſturbance, diſcompoſed the Affairs as well of his Friends as others, and much diſcouraged the People in all Places. At the Solicitation of *Laurentius* Biſhop of *Milan*, and *Epiphanius* of *Pavia*, he publiſhed a general Pardon, and thereby ſeaſonably applied a Remedy to one of the Diſtempers, and becauſe there was no Courſe to be taken, for replanting of *Liguria* out of *Italy* it ſelf, which the Wars had ſo much exhauſted, he reſolved rather to have empty Coffers than to ſuffer that Countrey to lye deſolate, to be both an Eye-ſore, and obnoxious to the Attempts of any Enemy. He ſent *Epiphanius* whoſe Vertues he knew to be much admired by the King of

Some Errours.

the *Burgundians* on an Embaſſy to him, furniſhed with money for redemption of the Captives, and he being very welcome improved the advantage afforded by his Reputation to ſuch an height, that by his Chriſtian Eloquence and Fatherly Exhortations, he perſwaded *Gundobade* to releaſe the Priſoners without Ranſome. The King alledged that it was quite contrary to his Intereſt, both as a Prince and as a Souldier, and granted his requeſt with this reſtriction, that ſuch as had been taken in Fight ſhould pay their Ranſome to thoſe that took them, leſt he ſhould diſoblige and utterly diſcourage his Souldiers, by remitting what was their due and not his, and taking from them the price of their Lives and Fortunes. Upon publication of the King's pleaſure, ſo great multitudes returned home, that the Towns of *Gall* ſeemed to be unpeopled. Out of the Territories of *Lugdunum* or *Lyons* alone in one day departed four hundred men, and out of thoſe of *Saxony*, and the places adjacent, ſo many in all as made up the number ſix thouſand. Toward the ſumm that was to be paid for the redemption of ſuch as had been taken by private Souldiers, *Syagria* a Woman of great ſanctity, and *Avitus* Biſhop of *Vienna* contributed: how many theſe were could not be computed, becauſe many of them fled away. Alſo in his way homeward, *Epiphanius* took the City of *Geneva*, whither *Godegiſal*, imitating the King his Brother, diſmiſſed ſuch as were in his power; with which ſtream as it were, the former great current being enlarged, filled all the ways leading into *Italy*. *Epiphanius* returned in the Head of them as in a glorious Triumph, and coming to *Theodorich* obtained a relief of the neceſſities of his Captives, eſpecially thoſe of the better ſort. All which *Euodius*, an eye witneſs and fellow Traveller, hath related in the Life of that Biſhop.

Theodorich goes to *Rome.*

4. But long is it ſince we heard any thing of *Rome*, formerly the Stage of the greateſt Triumphs, as well as the Seat of Council, and the School of Policy. Now at length arriving at the D. year of our Lord, the Eighth of the Emperour *Anaſtaſius*, and the Eighth of *Theodorich*, an Idea and Reſemblance of the former Triumphs preſents it ſelf unto us; an Image of its ancient ſplendour, and that infinite concourſe of people which of old from every Nation flocked unto her, when yet all ſhe received were but her own Citizens and Domeſticks. The thing that draws us thither is a Journey of *Theodorich* himſelf, whom we cannot but follow in this kind of Pilgrimage undertaken to pay his Devoirs of Admiration to that Queen of Cities, of which he had often heard, read much, but had never had the contentment to ſee her. All *Italy* at the news of this Progreſs ſeemed to be moved, and ambitiouſly ready to encourage that zealous reſpect he bore to the ancient Seat of its Empire and Majeſty. There ſeemed to be a contention betwixt thoſe that inhabited in and about *Ravenna* and ſuch as lived at *Rome*, whether they ſhould bring, or theſe ſhould fetch their King to the City. With a moſt ſplendid Train, and ſuch an appearance as of a long time had not been ſeen, he made his Entry, and was received with incredible joy and applauſe of the Citizens, who omitted nothing wherein they could doe him honour. At the Court he was welcomed by an eloquent Oration, made by *Boëtius* the moſt eloquent Scholar and Oratour of this Age, to which he anſwered in a very obliging Speech, proteſting his ſtudy and endeavours for advancement of the Dignity and all poſſible advantages of the Senate. Thence proceeding into the *Circus*, as far as the place called *Palma Aurea*, he ſpake moſt lovingly to the People; which done, he entertained the Senatours at a triumphal kind of Feaſt, and gave a Largeſs of Corn to the Commoners. Several days he ſpent in viewing the Antiquities of the City, with which his eyes could not be ſatiated, profeſſing that the *Forum* of *Trajan* alone, though to one that ſaw it every day, could appear no leſs than a miracle, and that when he had mounted the *Capitol*, he ſaw all humane wit and policy ſurmounted. He took eſpecial notice of, and commended the admirable Fabrick of the Baths, and the wholeſomeneſs of the Waters. He grieved to ſee the ruines of the Buildings, but chiefly of the Walls, to the repairing of which he contributed great ſumms of money. Neither did his care extend to *Rome* alone; to all the Cities of *Italy* his munificence reached, wherein he took order for building ſtrong Caſtles, and ſtately Palaces; and to this end wrote his Letters to all his Subjects to ſuffer Stones to be gathered out of their Fields, and to preſerve old Marbles which had formerly been uſed in decayed Houſes. He ſeemed ſo far raviſhed with the remains of the Majeſty of old *Rome*, that he ſaid it was a piacular crime, for any one who could fix his habitation there, to be long abſent. Yet his Affairs calling him away he returned to *Ravenna*, having much quieted the ſtirs raiſed about the election of a *Roman* Biſhop, which, joyned with his great deſire to ſee the place, had called him thither.

Sect. 3.

Anaſtaſius the Emperour invades *Italy* by Sea.

5. In the mean time *Anaſtaſius* the Emperour, ordering his matters quite contrary to the Maxims of *Theodorich*, had the quite contrary fortune, being as much hated as the other was beloved by his Subjects. Whether out of envy to the King, or bearing him a grudge for holding from him *Pannonia*, which he claimed as belonging to the Eaſtern Empire, he took occaſion to quarrel with him; and as *Marcellinus* hints, in the Eighteenth Year of his Reign, ſent out a Fleet to Sea, with orders to waſte the coaſts of *Italy*. To balance his power the better, he encouraged *Clodonee* King of the *Franks* in his Attempts againſt the *Goths*, and the more to court him deſigned him Conſul for the ſaid year, of which honour it's ſaid he would not accept. As for *Theodorich*, not onely his demeanour towards his Subjects, but his rules and methods of waging War were diametrically oppoſite to thoſe of the Emperour. His cuſtome was to be preſent himſelf in Expeditions, except ſome notable matter hindered; and to purchaſe Peace not with Gold and Silver, but with Steel and Wood, his Sword and Bow. The *Bulgari*, whom *Anaſtaſius* had bought off from waſting his Dominions, having nothing elſe to doe, paſſed out of *Thrace* into *Pannonia*, which waſting and haraſſing at their pleaſure, they ſeized on the City *Sirmium*. *Theodorich* having notice could not goe in perſon againſt them, the Affairs of *Italy* and *Gall* requiring his ſtay at home, and his Eye to be upon the motions of the *Franks* and the *Burgundians*; but to preſerve the place of his Nativity, and keep the War from his own doors, rather than out of any reſpect to the Emperour, whoſe hands were now full with the *Perſian* War, he ſent *Petza* a *Comes* with conſiderable Forces, who the year following very happily finiſhed the War, recovering both *Sirmium* out of the hands of the *Bulgari*, and the whole Province. Having ſo happily diſpatched this War he relieved *Mundas*, whom *Sabinianus* had beſieged in a certain Caſtle in *Illyricum*. *Theodorich* gave the government of *Pannonia* to *Coleſſeus* a *Comes*, a Copy of whoſe Commiſſion *Caſſiodorus* preſerved, and is ſtill extant amongſt his various Epiſtles; from which the Reader may perceive what the power was which thoſe Governours exerciſed, extending both to matters of War and Peace, and that the girding with a Sword was the mark and badge of their Office. After this Commiſſion follows a Letter directed to all Barbarians and *Romans* inhabiting *Pannonia*, acquainting them that he had made *Coloſſeus* their Governour, and requiring them to take notice of and obey him as ſuch.

Theodorich reduceth *Pannonia*.

Makes *Coloſſeus* Governour.

Lib.3. Ep. 23. Commiſſam tibi provinciam armis protege, jure compone. Proſperis initiatus auſpiciis ad Sirmienſem Pannoniam quondam ſedem Gothorum proficiſcere Illuſtris Cinguli Dignitate præcinctus. Vid. Ep. Var. lib. 3. *Ep.* 1, 2, 3, 4.

6. There being a quarrel betwixt *Alarick* King of the *Viſigoths* in *Gall*, and *Clodonee* King of the *Franks*, and both of them being his near Allies, he omitted no arguments to perſwade them to take up the matter, denouncing War in a manner to the aggreſſour, and promiſing relief to the oppreſſed, as is to be ſeen in his Letters collected by *Caſſiodorus*. As it uſually happens in ſuch a caſe, he who was leaſt in fault, and moſt unfit to decide the controverſie by force of Arms gladly accepted the mediation, but he who had more reaſon to be confident, rather upon the ſtrength of his Sword than the goodneſs of his Cauſe, made Excuſes, framed Delays, and in concluſion utterly refuſed to be concluded by Arbitration. *Theodorich* addreſſes himſelf to the *Burgundian* King, as alſo to thoſe who commanded the *Heruli* and *Thuringi* then inhabiting near the *Alpes*, and invites them to join with him in the Mediation, uſing Arguments drawn from the Exigency of their own Affairs, which would not be a little indangered by ſuch Succeſs as the *Frank* promiſed to himſelf. But while theſe Neighbour Princes thus think of Mediation and Balancing, *Clodonee* reſolves not to looſe his opportunity but paſſing the *Loire* begins the War, and in a great and bloudy Battel deprives *Alarick* both of Life and Kingdom, whoſe Son *Amalarick*, things being in ſo deſperate a Condition, withdrew himſelf into *Spain*, there to expect when an opportunity of recovering his Eſtate ſhould be preſented by better Fortune. *Theodorich* pitying the Condition of the Youth ſent *Theudas*, an Officer of his own, to take care of him, and reſolved if he could not recover thoſe Cities of *Gall*, which were already loſt, to prevent the Progreſs of *Clodonee*, and ſecure the reſt which ſtill remained in the Power of the *Goths*.

Sends *Theudas* to protect *Spain*.

7. To this purpoſe he publiſhed his Proclamation, that the *Oſtrogoths* his Subjects ſhould be ready by the latter End of *June* to begin their Journey, clawing them with ſuch Expreſſions as theſe, *There is no need of perſwading* Goths *to fight, onely of acquainting them with the thing, which is rather a Pleaſure to a warlike People.* In the Conſulſhip of *Venantius* and *Celer*, or the DVIII. Year of our Lord, his Army, under Command of *Hibba* a *Comes*, paſſing the *Alpes* raiſed the Siege before *Carcaſſon*, relieved *Arles*, and taking in *Tolouſe*, *Orange* and *Marſeilles*, left that Part of the Countrey lying upon the *Rhone* in the Hands of *Clodonee*, from whom *Theodorich* was not

Significanda magis ſunt Gothis quam ſuadenda certamina.

able to recover it. Sending many Thouſands of Priſoners to *Ravenna*, he ſeized on ſuch as he recovered, to the uſe of *Amalarick* his Nephew, placing Governours where he ſaw occaſion as well in *Gall* as in *Spain*, which was divided betwixt the ſaid *Amalarick* and *Giſalerick*. But while he thus buſied himſelf in *Gall*, *Romanus* the *Comes Domeſticorum*, and *Ruſticus* a *Comes Scholæ*, with and hundred armed Ships and as many Flyboats, wherein were aboard Eight Thouſand Soldiers, invaded the Coaſts of *Italy*, as was formerly hinted, and having attacqued *Tarentum* to no purpoſe, got good booty and ſo retired; whether ſent on purpoſe, or on their own accord, *Sigonius* accounts it uncertain, though *Marcellinus* wrote that they were ſent by *Anaſtaſius*, and it doth not ſeem probable that Robbers and Pirates ſhould put to Sea with ſo great a Power without the Knowledge and Approbation of the Prince. *Theodorich* having little or no Diverſion given him hereby, the Year following hired a great Number of *Gepidæ* to reinforce his Garriſons in *Gall*, and took ſpecial care that in their Paſſage through *Liguria*, and the Countrey of the *Veneti*, they ſhould doe no injury to the Inhabitants. To this purpoſe he directed his Letters yet extant to *Veranus Saio* to ſee them keep good Order in their March, and wrote to the Army it ſelf, acquainting them that he was once minded to give them Proviſions for their Journey *in Specie*, but afterwards conſidering that Victuals either might not conveniently be had, or elſe ſpoiled by the way, he had now ordered them three *Solidi* in Gold by the week; a ſmall Allowance one would think, or elſe his Forces were not very numerous.

Sends *Gepidæ* into *Gall*.

Caſſiod. var. l. 5. *Ep.* 10, 11.

8. *Theodorich* having allowed his *Gepidæ* three *Solidi* a Week for their Paſſage, gravely, and like a Prince that was ſolicitous for the good of his People, admoniſhed them by Letters to carry themſelves moderately, and as became thoſe that fought for the Safety of all *Italy*. But they meaſuring Decency by Convenience alone, and accuſtomed to Depredations, could not keep their Hands from pillaging the Inhabitants of the *Cottian Alpes* in their way, which Miſdemeanour touched the King as near as if he in his own Perſon had been the Sufferer. And as a prudent Prince who ought to neglect his Profit for a time, rather than utterly to looſe his Revenue, he cauſeth his Letters to be written to *Fauſtus* the *Præpoſitus*, or *Præfectus Prætorio* (to whom he giveth the Title of *Illuſtris Magnificentia tua*) wherein he lets him know that he remitted to the ſaid Inhabitants of the *Alpes Cottiæ* the publick Money payable in the third Indiction. He compares the Army to a River, which though it doe much good flowing in its own peculiar Chanel, yet inlargeth its Paſſage and doeth much Miſchief, when it riſeth beyond its due Proportion, bearing down all before it. By the third Indiction is meant the third Year in fifteen, according to which Number the Emperours computed the times, after that the reckoning by the *Olympiads* came to be obſolete. Who began this Computation is uncertain. It's commonly aſcribed to *Conſtantine* the Great; but *Cedrenus* will have it invented by *Theodoſius*. Of thoſe who father it on *Conſtantine*, *Panninius* fetcheth the Original of the Indictions from his Victory over *Maxentius*, *Joſeph Scaliger* from his Exhibition of his *Munera Quinquennalia* to the time of his *Vicennalia*, thinks the Number of *fifteen* was invented. *Baronius* affirms that there is no reckoning of Years by the Indictions to be found before the ſeventh Year of *Conſtantine*, wherein he overcame *Maxentius*; that *Cenſorinus*, who writes of all manner of Supputations, ſaith nothing of them, nor do any Eccleſiaſtical Monuments till the ſitting of the *Roman* Council under *Julius* the Succeſſour of *Sylveſter*; but from the *Greek Faſti* it manifeſtly appears that from the ſaid ſeventh Year of *Conſtantine*, and the Conſulſhip of himſelf, and *Licinius*, the Indictions began to be reckoned in the Calendar.

Providentiſſimi Principis eſt, &c. *Caſſiod. variar. lib.* 4. *Ep.* 36.

He pardoneth the Tax due in the third Indiction to the Inhabitants of the *Cottian Alpes*.

Several Opinions about the Original and Number of Indictions.

Quem vide ad An. 312.

9. Now for better underſtanding this matter it is to be conſidered, that the Indictions were famous for two things, *viz.* the Payment of Tribute or the Ordinary Tax, and the Supputation of Years or Diſtinction of times. In reſpect of the firſt, they ſeem of a much earlier Date than the times of *Conſtantine*, and introduced by *Auguſtus Cæſar*, who, as *Dion Caſſius* witneſſeth, a little before Our Saviour's Birth began a Reſcription or Tax; firſt of ſuch as lived in *Italy*, and were worth *Ducentia Seſtertia*, omitting then ſuch as were not ſo rich or inhabited the Provinces, for fear of Inſurrections. From which ſhortly after being delivered by the ſettlement of his Affairs, when his Treaſury was now very low, he impoſed the Tax upon all the World. Perceiving that Commotions might hereupon be raiſed, ſeveral Perſons were ſent away into ſeveral Provinces to look to the Peace, and amongſt the reſt *Sulpicius Cyrenius* was taken from his Attendance upon *Caius Cæſar*, and diſpatched into *Syria*, *M. Lollius* being appointed Governour to young *Cæſar* in his room. That in this ſenſe Indictions were not of a much later date, appears

1562 *l.* 10*s.*

from *Julianus* and *Paulus* the Lawyers, from what they anſwer concerning Lands obnoxious to this Indiction or Payment. But what ſort of Payment this was or how it was ſeſſed, whether by Poll or a Tax upon the Eſtate, hath been doubted. It's moſt probably conjectur'd that it was levied both ways, at firſt, a certain Eſtate in Land and a certain Age (though various at ſeveral times) being required of thoſe that paid it. For the Chief Collectour took notice of all Perſons who were to pay and who not, and at what time they had already begun or were to begin to pay, regiſtring their Names. The *Syrians*, as appears from *Ulpian*, were obliged to pay Tribute, the Males at fourteen and the Females at twelve Years of Age, or the time of Puberty. Afterward, the way of payment by Poll called *Capitatio*, came to be more diſtinguiſh'd from the Land Tax called *Jugatio*, and that in the time of *Ulpian.*

D.l.3. de Cenſibus.

10. Granting then that the Indictions, as they noted or impoſed Payment of Money, were before the time of *Conſtantine*, yet that ſo anciently they were made uſe of for Supputation of times doth not any where appear. But how ſhould they come to comprize the Period of fifteen Years, or ſo many together to be called the firſt, ſecond, third Indiction and ſo forward, till the fifteenth be reckoned, and then to begin again? Some with *Scaliger* gueſs the reaſon to have been, becauſe *Conſtantine* reckoned from his *Quinquennalia* to his *Vicennalia.* Others, as *Paulus Petavius*, becauſe Men being not ſeſſed of old, till they were fourteen Years old complete, the Seſs or Tax could not be laid or eſtimated but for fifteen Years at moſt, thoſe who ſhould be taxed at the next fifteenth Year being yet unborn. And *Baronius* cannot poſſibly (he ſaith) aſſign any other reaſon than this, that whereas ſixteen Years were formerly required for a Soldier to ſerve before he could challenge a Miſſion, Freedom from the *Capitatio*, or the Privilege of the *Emeriti*, *Conſtantine*, who had much kindneſs as he himſelf profeſſeth for the *Veterane* Soldiers, cut this term ſhorter by one Year, and appointed fifteen for their Service. That all theſe fifteen Years ſhould be reckoned by ſo many Indictions thence probably came to paſs, becauſe of every of theſe Years *Annona indicebatur*, Proviſions either *in Specie* or in Money were impoſed and laid upon the Provinces by Reſcript or Edict of the Prince, and ſo they were called Indictions *ab indicendo*; care being taken by ſeveral Laws, that before the beginning of the Indiction, true and Authentick Breves ſhould be made for prevention of Fraud and Cheating in the Collectours. Hence this Indiction came to be called *Diſtributio* and *Fuſio.* *Baronius* farther conjectureth, that the Reaſon why the Indictions began on the twenty fourth of *September* was, becauſe that then Harveſt being every where got in, the Emperours were wont at that time to *indict, impoſe or lay the Taxes upon the ſeveral Provinces.* But *Petavius* affirms that the beginning of an Indiction was the ſame with that of a Year, and that thereupon the *Romans* computed their Indictions from after the Winter Solſtice, but the *Greeks* from the firſt new Moon after the Autumnal Æquinoctial, who having not their Months fixed as had the *Romans* but moveable, and their firſt Month beginning with the firſt New Moon after the Autumnal Æquinoctial, which moſt commonly happened on the twenty fourth of *September*, it came to paſs that the *Roman* Indiction had a divers Epoche from that of the *Greeks.* The Emperours that ſucceeded *Conſtantine* followed the *Greek* Account, as alſo did their Subjects; but the Biſhops of *Rome* always obſerved their own, and ſtill retain, we are told, their ancient Cuſtome. The Indictions were ſo notable, and the Supputation by them, that it was very convenient to make this Digreſſion upon them. But of their beginning diverſly in divers Countries we have ſpoken in our ſecond Part; Let us return to the Kingdom and Government of *Theodorich.*

Vide Baron.

Fœlix made Conſul with *Secundinus.*

11. For the Year ſollowing or the DXI. of Our Lord, in the fourth Indiction, *Theodorich* to oblige the Countrey of *Gall*, and reward the Virtue of *Fœlix* a deſerving Perſon of that Nation, joined him in the Conſulſhip with *Secundinus*, who was named for the Eaſt. Concerning this Perſon he wrote an Epiſtle Commendatory to *Anaſtaſius* the Emperour, ſtill extant, for his approbation, together with another directed to *Fœlix* himſelf, both Commonitory and in way of Commiſſion. Herein he commends him for his frugality, which had inabled him to undergoe the Expences of the Dignity to which he doth alſo incourage him, they being great. For the ſame Year and the ſame fourth Indiction he made *Argolicus* Prefect of the City, that he might, as he tells him in his Patent, ſucceed to his Father's Honours, bidding him conſider how great a matter it was in the beginning of his Preferments to have grayheaded *Rome* committed to his Government, and charging him to carry himſelf ſo juſtly, modeſtly and generouſly, that he might no way diſgrace his Employment, but maintain his Dignity amongſt ſo

Caſſiod. var. l. 2. Ep. 1. Piiſſimo Anaſtatio Imp. Theodericus, Ibid. Ep. 2.

Caſſiod. var. lib. 3. Ep. 11.

many grave and underſtanding Perſons as the *Roman* Senate afforded. In another Epiſtle he commands him to give all furtherance to one *John*, with whom he had agreed for cleanſing the common Sewers of the City of *Rome*, concerning the prodigious Magnificence of which he ſpends many words, affirming that they exceeded even the Miracles of other Cities. In a third he orders him to give leave to *Paulinus* a Patritian to re-edifie the publick Store-houſes, which were fallen down for Age and want of Care, that they might be preſerved for the uſe of Poſterity. About the ſame time he wrote to the Senate of *Rome*, and having aſſured the Fathers, that as he took care for redreſſing all grievances, eſpecially ſuch as concerned their City, ſo he could not but mind them of ſeveral Omiſſions, which by Information of divers well meaning Perſons were come to his knowledge. As that the waters of the *Formæ* were now made uſe of to turn Mills and to water Gardens; that the ſlaves appointed by Princes to that ſervice were ſeized and employed by private Men, and that Braſs and Lead which had made Eternal *Jones* King of *Theſſaly*, and *Midas* King of *Phrygia* their firſt Inventours, being employed by adorning the Walls, were pilfred away and imbezelled. He tells them therefore that he had ſent one *John*, (probably the ſame with the other) to have information, concerning theſe matters, and bids them join with him, to promote that for which they of their own accord ought to have petitioned,

Ibid. Ep. 30.

Theodorich reprehends the Senate at *Rome.*

12. Being now much intent upon Acts of Charity and Publick Works,as he had before been kind to the *Gravaſiani* and *Pontonates*, he remitted the Tribute of this fourth Indiction to the Inhabitants of *Arles*, who endured the penury of that glorious ſiege as he expreſſeth it, and with them to all in *Gall* under his Power, giving many reaſons to *Gemellus* to whom the Order is directed, for his dealing ſo favourably with that People; but chiefly this, that rather the Equity of their Cauſe, than good Nature induced him ſo to doe. About this ſame time he ſent one *Maradas* a *Comes*, to protect and defend thoſe of *Marſelles* from all Acts of Violence and Oppreſſion, commanding them to receive and obey him in ſuch Capacity. The year following foreſeeing in what danger *Italy* might be through the many Excurſions and Depredations made by the Northern Nations, and conſidering how he himſelf had ſhewn the way, to any that would invade theſe Quarters, he cauſed the Caſtle of *Veruca* ſituate upon the River *Atleſis* to be fortified. Moreover at this time, as *Sigonius* will have it, he married his Siſter *Amalafreda* to *Traſamund* the *Vandal* King of *Africk*, as alſo his Neice to *Herminfred* King of the *Thuringi*. And taking notice of *Symmachus* a Patritian, how excellent an Architect he was, and how induſtrious he had been in adorning the Suburbs of *Rome*, with private Buildings, he thence takes occaſion to perſwade him to imbrace a more Noble Subject of his Abilities, in repairing the Ancient Theatre, which through Age, the conſumer of all things, was ſo much decayed. In the Letter the King, or rather *Caſſiodorus*, fell into a Rapture, when he conſiders the force of time, which one would have thought, ſhould ſooner have worn out Mountains than ſo ſtrong and admirable a Fabrick. Having admired its arched Roofs, he falls into a Diſcourſe of the Original of Theatres, becauſe he hath to doe with a Learned Man. He tells him that when of old, Countreymen in Feſtivals were wont to ſacrifice in their Groves to ſeveral Deities, the *Athenians* firſt brought up this Countrey practice into the City, calling that a Theatre in the *Greek* Language,which may be expreſſed in *Latin* by the word *Viſorium*, as which at a diſtance, and without any impediment might be ſeen by the People. The Front hereof was called *Scona*, from the darkeſt ſhade of the Grove, where, at the Spring, Shepherds were wont to ſing their Songs to ſeveral tunes. In thoſe times flouriſhed Muſick and Sage Sentences of thoſe moſt prudent Ages,but afterwards this honeſt Diſcipline,avoiding the Converſation of naughty Perſons out of Modeſty, retired.

Doeth ſeveral Acts of Charity.

Ibid. lib. 3. *Ep.* 32. & 40.

Ep. 34.

Caſſiod. Var. l. 4. *Ep.* 51.

The Original of Theatres.

13. Thence he comes to ſhew both whence the Tragedy and Comedy received their Names, to ſpeak of the *Muſes*, the *Mimus* and *Pantomimus*, wherein we muſt not follow him, and at length tells *Symmachus*, that whether it ſhould be thought fit to underprop the Fabrick or repair it by new Buildings, the Expenſe ſhould be out of his Chamber, both that the Architect might be renowned for ſo good a work, and Antiquity ſeem decently repaired in his own time. And this we thought fit to inſert, that the Reader may ſee the generous Humour of *Theodorich*, and the Learning of *Caſſiodorus* though a little affected, whoſe ſtyle is not ſo much barbarous as was the time, wherein *Latin* through long continuance, which altereth all things, and much more through the mixture of foreign and exo-

tick words, if we look at the true idiome and phraſe, was quite changed from it ſelf, and acknowledged its vaſſalage and ſubjection to the barbarous Northern Nations as well as the Cities and the Countrey it ſelf. And hereof this learned and worthy perſon was ſo ſenſible, that in his Preface to his Epiſtles he both acknowledgeth it, and deprecates the diſdain and indignation of his Reader. This ſame year ſo fruitfull in acts of Clemency and Magnificence, *Theodorich* did ſtill more good in remitting to the Inhabitants of *Campania* the Tribute they were wont to pay, and this he did in conſideration of the loſs they had ſuſtained by the eruption of the Hill *Veſuvius*. Concerning this there is a Letter or Order extant directed to *Fauſtus* the Prefect, wherein he tells him that the *Campanians* having received this damage had petitioned him to that effect. That he was ready to grant their requeſt, if he could be rightly informed of the accident, and how to judge of the particular damages done thereby. He commands him to ſend ſome perſon of approved fidelity into the Territories of *Nola*, or *Naples*, to ſurvey the Grounds, and take an eſtimate of the loſs, that he might know how to make a proportionable allowance out of the Tribute.

Theodorich remits Tribute to the *Campanians* becauſe of the Eruption of *Veſuvius*.

Caſſiod. Var. lib. 4. *Ep.* 50.

14. Then doth he tell the Hiſtory, and recount the ſad circumſtances and effects of the uſual Eruptions. He premiſeth that the Countrey, leſt it ſhould enjoy perfect felicity, was continually allarmed with that calamity, yet was it not ſo terrible as elſe it would have been, becauſe it gave fair warning of the impendent and approaching miſchief. For ſuch ſtrugglings and motions there were within, that Vapours breaking out with a mighty noiſe terrified all round about the place. The Air, ſaith he, is all thickened and darkened with that ſooty Exhalation, ſo that it gives notice of its riſing to all *Italy*. Aſhes throughly calcined flie throughout the great Sea, and terrene Clouds being gathered, it rains drops of Duſt in the tranſmarine Provinces: it being then clearly diſcovered how much *Campania* it ſelf ſuffers when the miſchief is felt in another part of the World. You might there behold, as it were, Rivers of Duſt to run along the ground, and dry Sand to flow with fervent violence, as if it had been liquid ſtreams. You would be amazed to ſee the plain Fields ſwell as high as the tops of Trees, and thoſe Meadows ſadly waſted with hot Embers which lately by their pleaſant greenneſs allured the Eye. That everlaſting Furnace belcheth forth purple but barren Sand, which though aduſt with continual burning, yet cauſeth to take Root and fructifie thoſe ſeveral Seeds or Stalks it receiveth, and with great celerity repaireth what it had formerly waſted. What ſtrange Exception is this to the general rule and courſe of Nature, that one Mountain ſhould roar to ſuch a degree, that ſo many parts of the World ſhould be terrified by the change of the Air; and that ſo it ſhould caſt about its own ſubſtance that yet it ſhould receive no loſs nor diminution! It bedews the Regions far and near with Duſt; vomits out heaps upon the Neighbourhood, and yet this Mountain, exhauſted by ſo many and ſo great evacuations, continues to be an Hill for ſo many Ages. Who would believe ſo great pieces of Earth, lying in the plain, ſhould have bubbled up out of ſo profound depths, and no otherwiſe than as light Chaff ſpit or blown out of the Mountain's mouth? Elſewhere great Mountains burn privately, and in their own place; here almoſt the whole World muſt know of the matter. Wherefore ſeeing that the Inhabitants are not to be credited in a thing which may be atteſted by the Univerſe, let your prudence make choice of a man who may both rehearſe them, and prevent all fraudulent and ſurreptitious dealings. Thus doth *Caſſiodorus* though in an odd ſort of Latine elegantly deſcribe and paint out to the life all the Accidents of this Eructation, which, and that deſervedly, makes *Baronius* reprehend *John Bodin* for taxing *Procopius* of lightneſs and inconſideration, in that he writes how the Aſhes of another Eruption flew as far as *Conſtantinople*.

A Deſcription of its Eruption.

Ad Ann. 471.

A Deſcription of *Veſuvius*.

15. This too famous *Veſuvius* takes its riſe from a pleaſant and open Champion (being made or nouriſhed of Earthquakes and Burnings) where the pleaſant *Sebetus* empties its Waters into the boſome of the *Tyrrhenian* Sea, and that in the lower part of *Campania* the *Happy*, a Countrey never ſufficiently commended for its admirable fertility, in which reſpect *Pliny* calls it the place of perpetual contention betwixt *Ceres* and *Bacchus*, and by *Merula* it is ſtyled the Paradiſe of *Italy*. This Mountain, or Hill rather, elevates its ſelf for about four miles, its higheſt top not being one mile perpendicular from the Sea, in compaſs about twenty four, ſo ſeparated from all other Hills as if it ſcorned their conjunction and alliance, or rather they were afraid of it as a dangerous Neighbour. The skirts of it are beſet with fruitfull Vines, beautifull Trees, pleaſant Flowers, and wholeſome Herbs, all over but where it looks upon the Eaſt, which ſide being either originally, or through

Vide Schotti Itiner. Ital. lib. 3. *Gioviano di Lucca dell' Incendio fattali nel Veſuvio, &c.*

through the acceſſion of this new adventitious Earth, more ſteep than the other, bears onely wild Trees and bruſhy matter. On the top it is divided, or rather incompaſſed with another hollow Hill, ſhaped in the figure of an Half Moon, from which it is parted but with a ſmall Valley or Plain called the *Atrium*, it being probable that anciently it was all united in its ſelf, and plain and even, as both *Strabo* deſcribes it and *Dion Caſſius* witneſſeth; in proceſs of time this diviſion being made by Stone and Aſhes, which it vomited out of its own Bowels. From this Plain, as well the one as the other of thoſe higheſt Ridges, is barren, naked, and all covered with Aſhes and broken Stones, which continually rowl downward, which makes it very difficult to climb up, ſo high, as to come to the proſpect of the ancient *Vorago* or Hole, although there grows Broom, which affords ſome ſhelter againſt the Torrent, and here and there cauſeth better footing.

Of the Countrey about it.

16. At this day the Mountain is incompaſſed with a well peopled Countrey, and noble and elegant Cities, adorned with rich and ſumptuous Edifices, and in many places with large and ſtately Palaces, each whereof ſeems rather the Habitation of a King than the Pleaſure-Houſe of ſome private Nobleman; ſo rich are they in their Furniture, exquiſite in their Fabrick and Workmanſhip, and deliciouſly ſeated amongſt Gardens, Grotto's and Fountains. But as nothing is perfect in this World, but the beſt and moſt pleaſant things ſubject to change and inconſtancy, *Campania* the *Happy* is in this reſpect unfortunate, that it foſters ſo great a miſchief in its own boſome, which Time, the finiſher as well of miſeries as pleaſures, hath had no power to conquer and ſubdue. Whether this Fire find matter within the Bowels of the Mountain it ſelf, or rather burning below in ſome inferiour Valley makes onely a paſſage through it, and a vent for diſcharging the Vapours and Aſhes which ariſe from the bituminous matter, Sulphur and other Minerals lying in the Countrey round about, and by its hot Fountains and otherwiſe giving arguments of terreſtrial Fires, as *Seneca* was of opinion, it's not our work here to enquire. If we could tell the Reader when either the Eructations of this Mountain or *Ætna* began, it would be more proper to our Deſign; but here we are deſtitute of Intelligence; for the inward cauſe having been the ſame in all Ages, many ſuch Accidents may have happened before theſe Monuments of Antiquity received their Being, which communicate to us the moſt ancient Obſervations about this Countrey. It's ſcarcely worth the while to take notice what the pretended *Peroſus* of *Annius* tells us, that in the laſt year but one of *Aratius* the Sixth, King of *Aſſyria*, *Italy* burnt for many days in three ſeveral places about the *Iſtri*, *Cymei* and *Veſuvii*, and that theſe places were by the *Janigeni* called *Paleuſana*, that is, *the burned Region*.

Ep. 70. de Ætna.

17. This is indeed agreeable to the Etymology of the word *Veſuvius*, ſignifying *Fire* or *Spark*, in the Greek Tongue, as a late Writer tells us, in which reſpect the *Volſci* in their ancient Speech called it *Veſbia*, which as thoſe who are skilled in that Language affirm, is the ſame with *Fire*. Several others write of the Antiquity of theſe Fires proceeding from this Mountain, and whence the Countrey ſhould be called *Campi Phlegræi*, but when they firſt began, they do not take upon them to tell us. *Diodorus Siculus* and *Strabo* ſeem to ſpeak of them as having happened in times remote, ſuch as they had heard and read of, and the Hole and Aſhes onely demonſtrated to the eye, that formerly ſuch things had been. This perhaps was alſo the reaſon, why *Pliny* who was ſo diligent in reckoning up the ſeveral places of this nature, yet makes no mention of this though it was ſo near him, and his curioſity at length, to pry into the myſteries of ſo great a wonder, brought him to his end. But he intended onely to make mention of ſuch as continually vomited forth their flames, which this *Veſuvius* doth not; and perhaps it might have ſmoaked in his time, but becauſe it did not much endamage the neighbouring Countrey he paſſed it over in ſilence. To be ſure, *Tacitus*, deſcribing the pleaſantneſs of the Iſle of *Capri*, the place of the ſenſual and voluptuous retirements of *Tiberius*, ſpeaks of this Hill as not having formerly done that miſchief, which it did afterward in the time of *Titus*. Hence Writers conclude, that before the time of *Tiberius* there happened no ſuch burnings as to deſtroy the natural beauty of the Mountain, at leaſt had not been ſo long a time as ſuffiſed to the reparation of it. And this they inforce from a Verſe of * *Martial*, which ſeemeth to hint at ſome ſuch thing.

The ſeveral Eruptions when.

Annal. l. 5. Proſpectabátq; pulcherimum ſinum, antequam mons ardeſcens faciem loci verteret.

** Hic eſt pampineis viridis veſuvius umbris. l. 1. epigr.* 105.

18. *John Boccace* ſpeaking of *Veſuvius*, tells how it broke out into flames before the reign of *Titus* in the time of *Nero*, having firſt ſent forth a thick ſmoak, which ended at laſt in a ſhower of Aſhes that filled all *Campania*, and the Sea it ſelf. *Seneca* ſpeaking of this very time, which fell in the LXV. year of our Lord, in the

Lib. di Mont.

Nat. l. 6. co. 3. 27.

Conſulſhip of *Regulus* and *Virginius*, and on the fifth of *February*, makes no mention at all of the burning out of that portentous Earthquake which ruined a great part of *Pompeia*, and much endamaged all the Countrey. It's ſuppoſed therefore that *Boccace* miſtakes the Name of the Emperour, although the experience of modern times aſſureth us, that ſuch Earthquakes are ordinarily accompanied with Eruptions of *Veſuvius*. But to be ſure ſixteen years after, about the year of our Lord LXXXI. in the time of *Titus*, happened ſuch an one as could not be concealed; it's effect being ſo ſharp, as made thoſe that lived in that time both to feel and ſpeak. Of this have written *Pliny junior*, *Suetonius*, *Zonaras*, *Oroſius*, *Tacitus*, *Valerius Flaccus*, *Statius*, *Silius Italicus*, *Martial*, *Auſonius*, *Euſebius*, and many others. So ſtrange were the accidents, circumſtances and effects of this Eruption, as cannot well be expreſſed. *Suetonius* gives an Abſtract of them, but *Xiphilin* the Epitomizer of *Dio* is more expreſs, who having firſt deſcribed the Mountain, and then the ordinary and common ſigns and effects of its conflagration, affirms that they were nothing in compariſon of what happened at this time.

The dreadfull one in the time of *Titus*.

19. Before the Eruption a great number of men of unuſual bigneſs, ſuch as Giants, its ſaid, were ſeen to wander about the Hill, the Countrey and neighbouring Cities, both by day and night. After followed a very great drought, and preſently ſo dreadfull Earthquakes, that the tops of Mountains became level to the adjoining Grounds. Then were heard ſubterraneous ſounds, like to Thunder and the bellowing of Beaſts, the Sea roared, the Heavens made a noiſe, and great crackings and ruſhings were heard, as if the Mountains had all fallen together. Then firſt of all began mighty Stones to be caſt up to the top of the Hill, which being removed out of the way, ſuch vaſt quantities of Fire and Smoak burſt out, that the Air was filled, and the Sun darkened no leſs than in the greateſt Eclipſe, the Day turning into Night, and Light into ſo prodigious Darkneſs. Hereupon the people, according to the ſuperſtitious humour of thoſe times, thought the Giants were fallen out amongſt themſelves, the rather becauſe the Image and repreſentation of them were to be ſeen in the Smoak, and a noiſe of Trumpets ſeemed to be heard. Some thought the World now returned into its ancient Chaos, or was to be conſumed by Fire; yet unwilling to die, and covetous of Life, when the whole World ſeemed to periſh with them. They ran out of their Houſes into the High-ways, out of the Ways into their Houſes; from Sea they haſted to the Land, and from the Land to the Sea, ſtill imagining, according to the reſtleſs humour of mankind, that new things would be better than the preſent condition.

20. So vaſt a quantity of Aſhes at length fell, that both Land an Sea, as well as formerly the Air, ſeemed therewith overwhelmed, which did great miſchief, not onely to Men, their Fields and Cattel, but deſtroyed in a manner all Fiſh and Fowl. Two Cities, *Herculanum* and *Pompei* it covered, and buried therein the Inhabitants alive, as they were ſitting in their Theatres. Nay ſo incredible was the quantity, that it flew as far as *Ægypt*, and *Syria*, not to mention the nearer parts of *Africk*; as for *Rome* it ſo thickened and darkened the Air there, that the Sun was thought to be eclipſed, to the ordinary ſort, and the more underſtanding were confounded at the accident, knowing nothing of what had happened in *Campania*: therefore they imagined that Nature was diſſolved, and that Heaven and Earth would come together. And although at *Rome* they were more ſcared than hurt for the preſent, yet afterwards a grievous Peſtilence followed, as the dreadfull Effect of ſo diſmal a Cauſe. The beginning of this Eruption fell on the firſt of *November*, about one a clock, in the firſt year of *Titus* his Reign, as appears from an Epiſtle of *Pliny junior*, wherein, ſetting down the occaſion and manner of the death of his Uncle (who wrote the Natural Hiſtory, and going too near to pry, was choaked with the Smoak and Duſt) he reſembles the firſt appearance of that huge and ſtrange Cloud unto a Pine Tree, for to no other, he ſaith, he could fitly compare it, it ſeeming to have, as it were, a long Trunk, and Boughs ſpreading out above it. Sometimes it appeared white, otherwhiles dusky and ſpotted, according to the mixed proportions of Earth and Aſhes. Reckoning up the ſeveral accidents which accompanied this Prodigy, amongſt the reſt he ſaith that the Pumice Stones flew about the Ears of men in the open Fields, yet having conſulted together what to doe, they held it ſafer during the Earthquake, when their Houſes tottered and reeled as if they had been drunken, to be without than within doors, arming their Heads with Pillows and Bolſters againſt the blows they expected. In concluſion, ſo dreadfull was this Conflagration, as well in its ſelf as circumſtances, that *Cluverius* affirms the Hill ever ſince to

Lib. 1. c. 24.

Joel. 2. 30.

have burned, and others that from this time it became forked or horned at the Top. Eccleſiaſtical Writers make uſe of it to expreſs the Infernal Fire, and particularly our Learned Doctor *Jackſon* upon the Creed affirms this burning of *Veſuvius* to have been as a Beacon to give warning to all Fleſh, and from the admirable Conformity betwixt the Predictions of the Prophet *Joel* and the Narration of *Pliny*, he doubts not to ſay that now was fulfilled that Prophecy, *I will ſhew Wonders in the Heavens, and on the Earth, Bloud and Fire and Pillars of Smoak*, as alſo that this was the beginning of the terrible Day of the Lord foretold by the Prophet, wherewith the World was a long time ſhaken by fits, as it were by a deadly fever, as may appear from the like Calamities in *Trajan*'s time, recited by *Dion Caſſius*.

Another in the time of *Severus*.

De Prodigiis, l. 2.

Of *Diocleſian*.

L. 1. *Coll.* 16. *p.* 284.

Others.

Dottor di Leggi, è Protonotario Apoſtolico.

In Napoli per Secondino Roncagholo.

21. The next Eruption of this ſubterraneous Fire that is taken notice of, happened in the time of *Severus*; and as *Lycoſthenes* gueſſed in the Year CCIII. and the tenth of that Emperour. The Hiſtorian relates that now *Veſuvius* ſhined with mighty flames, and roared with ſo huge a Noiſe that the ſound reached as far as *Capua*; this being poſſibly the time whereof *Galen* writes, that a great Quantity of Aſhes was carried from it as far as the Sea. The next breaking forth of this combuſtible matter was in the time of *Diocleſian*, about the Year CCCV. when it flew over all *Europe*, if *Maiolus* be to be credited, who writes that the Fire was extinguiſhed by the Prayers of St. *Januarius*, how truly, ſeeing no other Authours make mention of this Eruption, we ſhall not enquire. Of that which followed next after, and happened on the ſixth of *November* in the Year CCCCLXXI. many Authours have written. We are told that adjoining Towns and Regions were laid waſte by this burning, and that ſuch a Fear and Conſternation ſeized the People, that they betook themſelves for many Years to Supplications and Proceſſions, that they might avert the Wrath of Almighty God. Beſides what happened in this Year two other Eruptions are ſpoken of in the CCCCLXXII. and CCCCLXXIII. of Our Lord, which ſome conjecture to have been one and the ſame, and that it either continued or broke out at ſeveral times for ſo long together. However the matter ſtood in reference to time, moſt dreadfull were the Accidents of this, or theſe Conflagrations. *Marcellinus* affirms the day to have been turned into Night, and that all *Europe* was covered with the ſmall duſt which flew about in the Air, and the Inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*, to prevent the like Judgment for the future, kept an Anniverſary day of Prayer and Supplication the ſixth of *November*. This confirms what *Procopius* relates of the flying of the Aſhes as far as that City, for which he is raſhly taxed by *Bodin*, though *Leo* the Emperour was ſtruck with ſuch Conſternation, that he could not reſt quiet in the Town, but went and ſojourned at *Mamantis*, and theſe Aſhes were blown into *Africk* as far as *Tripolis*, if not in the ſame Year, in that which followed. The next Conflagration was that which gave occaſion to this Diſcourſe, and happened in the Days of *Theodorich*, which ten others have followed in ſucceeding Ages. But the greateſt by far as can be known was, that which fell out lately in the Year M. DCXXXI. on the ſixteenth of *December*, the manner whereof and the direfull Effects, are deſcribed in the *Italian* Language by *Gioviano di Lucca*, a Doctor of the Laws and Apoſtolical Protonotary as he is ſtyled, who hath taken pains to collect out of Hiſtory all the other Conflagrations mentioned. But we have made too long a Digreſſion, which the remarkableneſs of the Subject extorted.

Theudas Victorious in *Spain*.

Theud-hais, Populis imperans.

Troſt. Mund, Conſolans os.

22. *Spain* being now at this time held, and governed by the two ſeveral Intereſts of *Giſalarick* and *Amalarick*, the two *Gothick* Kings, the former it ſeems not content with his ſhare, reſolved to have all or none, and for that purpoſe took Arms againſt his young Neighbour. But his Deſigns were not ſo deeply laid, nor his Preparations ſo quick and ſurpizing, but *Theudas* the Governour or Protectour of *Amalarick* eaſily diſcovered them, and was ſo well provided, that he gave him Battel and a great Overthrow, and forced him to quit the Countrey. *Giſalarick* betook himſelf to *Traſamund* the *Vandal* King of *Africk*, who kindly entertained him, and jealous of the Power of *Theodorich* ſupplied him with Money. This *Theodorich* much ſtomached, and wrote a Letter to him, wherein he upbraided him with ingratitude; in that having been ſo obliged by him he requited him by entertaining his Enemy. He had honoured him, by beſtowing his own Siſter on him in Marriage; whereas he had given but his Daughters or Nieces to other Princes: which Siſter he extolls not ſo much for her high Birth and Quality, though ſhe was deſcended of the Stock of *Amalus*, as the Excellency of her Mind, being a Woman equal to him her Husband in Prudence, and not ſo

conſiderable for her Royal Eſtate, as admirable for her rare Policy and Councils. He admoniſheth him ſeriouſly to conſider of the Injuſtice he had done; leſt the King of *Italy* ſhould be provoked to doe ſomething, which might manifeſtly break that good underſtanding, and peace that had been formerly betwixt them, for as much as an unlooked-for Injury, and the finding of Treachery where one expected Friendſhip and good Offices cannot be endured. He deſires him to give heed, to what he had ordered his Ambaſſadours to ſay to him by word of mouth. *Giſalarick* (or *Geſaleck*) it ſeems by this Letter, having got what ſupply of Money he deſired, was gone into other Countries to find out ſome good Advantage for recovery of his former and better Fortunes. Yet *Traſamund* excuſed himſelf ſo plauſibly, that he gave full and abundant ſatisfaction to *Theodorich*, which he expreſſeth in another Letter publiſhed by *Caſſiodorus* next after the former, wherein is mentioned alſo a Preſent of Gold ſent by the *Vandal* King. This *Theodorich* refuſeth to accept, expreſſing what great delight he took in reſtoring it, and ſome Vanity, in ſetting forth his own Commendations for ſo doing, concluding with an Exhortation to his Brother-in-Law to be more cautious and exact for the time to come. In the mean time *Theudas*, by his order, governs all *Spain* in the Name of *Amalarick*.

Caſſiod. Var. lib. 5. Ep. 43. Amal, Cœleſtis, unde Amalfrida cœleſtis pax, Amal-ſchuente, cœleſtis forma.

Fecimus utiq; Regalia, &c. ibid. Ep. 44. ſine ult.

Caſſiodorus made Conſul.

23. The year of Our Lord DXV had M. *Aurelius Caſſiodorus* Senatour for Conſul, of whom we have already ſpoken, and by whoſe means and procurement we have diſcourſed ſo much other matters, eſpecially of *Italy*, and the Weſtern Provinces. To ſo high a Dignity he did not come *per ſaltum*, or leaping over the Heads of ſuch as were far above him, through the wantonneſs of Fortune, but by degrees and as Vertues themſelves are wont to increaſe, for ſo *Theodorich* his Maſter expreſſeth it in his Letter to the Senate. His firſt ſtep in preferment was the *Comitiva privatarum*, which Office having managed prudently, innocently and without Corruption, he was advanced to the *Comitiva ſacrarum Largitionum*. Having in this place alſo demeaned himſelf with ſuch Moderation, that he ſhewed what was juſt and equal, both by his Example and Precepts under the former King, by *Theodorich* he was preferred to the Dignity of *Prætor*, in diſcharge of which Truſt, having left a pattern of Modeſty and Moderation to ſuch as ſhould come after, he came to be *Corrector* of the *Brutii* and of *Lucania* his own Countrey. At length he aroſe to the Dignity of *Præfectus Prætorio*, as alſo the ſupreme Honours of a *Patritian* and *Conſul* diſcharging the Office of *Secretary* ſtill as appears by the Letter lately mentioned, wherein aſwell as in that which precedes it he is commended, though truly, for the greatneſs of his Family, the honourable Actions of his Anceſtours, and his own Perſonal Vertues. But it was the Cuſtome for Princes to extoll their Candidates, and blazon their Vertues and great Atchievements to the Senate, that they might ſeem not to have conferred Dignities and Preferments, upon unfit and undeſerving Perſons.

Caſſiod. var. lib. 1. Ep. 4.

His Preferments.

Theodorich ſubdues the *Allemans*.

24. About this time, it's uncertain what Year, *Theodorich* ſubdued the *Allemans*, and forced them to pay Tribute, as *Agathias* hath written, and appeareth from the Kings Letters directed to the Inhabitants of *Suevia*, wherein he lets them know that he had made one *Fridelade* their Governour, for reſtraining thefts and robberies wherewith they were much diſturbed. Within a year after the Conſulſhip of *Caſſiodorus*, while he ſtill cheriſhed the Fortunes and Hopes of *Amalarick* his Nephew in *Spain*, he was informed that *Eutharick*, the Son of *Viterick* and Grandſon of *Beremund*, lived in that Countrey. For *Beremund* the Son of *Thuriſmund* deſcended of the Family of *Amalus*, leaving *Scythia*, as *Jornandes* writes, went and lived in *Gall* with *Theodorich* the Succeſſour of *Vallia* King of the *Weſtrogoths*, by whom being honourably entertained, he left a Son called *Viterick*, who was Father to this *Eutharick*, a Perſon excellently qualified both in Body and Mind. *Theodorich* hearing him much commended was very deſirous to ſee him, and when he had the ſatisfaction, glad he had found out one who was both of his own line, and every way deſerving his Alliance, he gave him in Marriage *Amalaſuenta* his Daughter. Two or three Years after he made him Conſul, and *Anaſtaſius* the Emperour, to pleaſe and oblige the Old Man, preſented him with the Robe called *Tunica palmata*, and adopted him as his honorary Son in the way of Arms. In the mean time *Herminfrid*, King of the *Heruli*, put to death his Brother *Berthar*, and after that calling *Theodorich* King of *Gall* to his aſſiſtence made an end of *Belderick* his other Brother; but when he had done his work, and *Theodorich* demanded part of the Countrey conquered according to the Articles of their Alliance, he refuſed to make good what he had ingaged, and thereupon mortal and irreconcileable differences aroſe betwixt them.

He married his Daughter *Amalaſuenta* to *Eutharick* his Kinſman.

Eutharick being Conſul viſits *Rome.*

25. Betwixt the Emperour *Juſtin* and *Theodorich*, there was maintained from the firſt a good Intelligence and Correſpondence, as appears from mutual Offices of Kindneſs and Amity. *Juſtin* himſelf bearing the Title of *Conſul* in his ſecond Year, took *Eutharick* the Son-in-Law of *Theodorich* for his Collegue, and farther graced him by a titular Adoption, as a Letter ſhews, which afterward was written to the Emperour by *Athalarick* the Son of *Eutharick*, whom *Amalaſuenta* his Wife bore the Year preceding his Conſulſhip. Being deſigned *Conſul*, *Eutharick* went to *Rome*, there to enter upon his Office, which before he approached he was met by all the Ranks and Degrees of the City, who ſtrove by all means to doe him Honour, as one whom they expected to ſee ſhortly upon the Throne. He on the other ſide omitted nothing to gain their good Opinion, diſcharging his Office with all poſſible Liberality and Magnificence; for ſome way or other he gratifyed the Senatours both *Goths* and *Romans*, and pleaſed the People with Shews on the Theatre, particularly with ſuch wild Beaſts procured out of *Africk*, as *Rome* had never ſeen till that time. Having done this at *Rome* he returned to *Ravenna* to his Father-in-Law, and there alſo ſtrove to exceed himſelf in Liberality and obliging Actions. Some time after *Theodorich* was vexed in his mind by News received out of *Africk*, where the *Wandals* had impriſoned his Siſter *Amalfreda* after her Husband's Deceaſe, and put all the *Goths* to death who went over with her upon the Account of the Alliance, under pretence of a Conſpiracy. *Theodorich* having not ſufficient ſtrength at Sea for Invaſion of *Africk*, could not revenge the Injury as he deſired, and in the mean time *Hilderick* the King contracted a faſt friendſhip with *Juſtinian*, Nephew to the Emperour, and who managed all Affairs in the Extreme Age of his Uncle.

Theodorich turns cruel to *Boetius*,

A moſt excellent perſon.

26. Hitherto we have beheld *Theodorich* ſo to demean himſelf, that one might not fear to propound him as a pattern to other Princes, and his Actions as ſo many Copies for them to write after, ſuch his prudent Conduct, his Valour, Magnificence, Bounty, and which Cemented all, his Juſtice, Equity and Moderation. Now we muſt ſee him degenerating from himſelf, and blurring thoſe Lines of Government which he had ſo exactly drawn; ſo hard is it for Man that is placed on high, not to be giddy and intoxicated with Eaſe, and the Fumes of continual Pleaſure. Yet had he ſhewn any diſcretion in the choice of a Subject, wherein to exerciſe the mutability of his humours, he had been the leſs unfortunate, becauſe more excuſable; but the hard Meaſure he made, falling upon one who deſerved better than any of that Age wherein he lived, in this reſpect Fortune it ſeems ow'd, and paid him a very ill turn. This Perſon was *Boetius* a Patritian who had twice or thrice been *Conſul*, and ſuch a Man as one ought carefully to deſcribe, leſt we doe him injury. Of ſo noble an Extract, that therein he excelled all his Contemporaries, deriving his Pedigree from *Manlius Torquatus*, which of later times had been enobled more by *Anicius* his Great Grandfather, and others of that moſt potent and noble Houſe, to behold the Power and Intereſt of which moſt Eminent Perſons came into *Italy*; an Houſe which ſo abounded with Wealth, that *Zoſimus* the Hiſtorian envying the Greatneſs thereof, writes that this Family of *Anicii* poſſeſſed in a manner the Riches of all the *Romans*. In his younger years he ſtudied at *Athens*, where the Profeſſion of Philoſophy had been reſtored, which as he neglected not in general, but ſearched into the depths of all Sects and Opinions, ſo eſpecially he addicted himſelf to that of *Ariſtotle*, and therein ſpent moſt of thoſe Eighteen years which he paſſed away in that Univerſity. The Name of that Philoſopher, was formerly ſcarcely known to thoſe that were merely skilled in *Latin*, as he himſelf ſaith; but he tranſlated his works, and illuſtrated them with Commentaries in that Language, hereby ſufficiently evincing that of all *Roman* wits, he beſt underſtood the Scale, and could fathom the Depths of the Peripatetick.

Vide Baron.

27. For the Reader muſt not think that the Philoſophy of *Ariſtotle*, which in theſe later Ages hath obtained the Principality in the Schools, was always of ſuch Reputation as we have ſeen it in our time. At the beginning of Chriſtianity the Sect of the *Stoicks* much prevailed, but eſpecially, the Opinions of *Plato*, which in the primitve times were of ſuch Repute, that the greateſt Rubs, the true Religion met with, were laid by thoſe Prejudices that were thence received. For although much furtherance it received from ſuch Philoſophers as were converted, in refuting the Vanities and Impieties of *Paganiſm*, yet the great Writers againſt it were of that Sect, and both *Tertullian* and *Origen* of old complained, all or moſt of the Hereſies which crept into the Church, took their Original from the Tenets of (this) Philoſophy. Long was it e'er the Schools became

Sect. 3.

The progreſs of Peripatetick Philoſophy.

Peripatetick, and Philoſophy had ceaſed to be *Pagan*, e'er ſhe forſook the Accademy and the Porch. At length ſhe courted *Ariſtotle* ſo much, that ſhe made him ample amends for her former Neglects; and here, as formerly ſhe had done much miſchief as well as good in the School of *Plato*, ſo ſhe indeavoured to obtrude the Opinions and Notions of *Ariſtotle* upon the Chriſtian Faith, witneſs *Gilibert* or *Giſlebert*, the Biſhop of *Poictiers*, of whoſe Profeſſion of Philoſophy and the Hereſie he thence ſucked, let Eccleſiaſtical Writers ſpeak. We ſhall onely obſerve farther concerning this Subject, that the *Peripatetick* Philoſophy was vehemently believed and promoted by the Schoolmen who found it moſt agreeable to their Quirks and Niceties, and poſſibly the real and eſſential Difference and Subſiſtance it placeth betwixt Subſtances and their Qualities (upon which Doctrines ſome Novelties in the Church have been founded) was the great Reaſon it hath been advanced, not onely above true Reaſon but the Holy Scriptures themſelves. As much concerned are they to anſwer a text or place in the Philoſopher, as in St. *Peter* or St. *Paul*; and Theology hath not onely received its Model and Method but even Rules from him. So hath this Sect prevailed in later Ages, that from it Writers have received their Terms and Manners of Speech, which makes it neceſſary that young Students be therein firſt inſtructed and well grounded before they advance to other Exerciſes, and make any Attempts upon Experimental Philoſophy, or Divinity it ſelf.

Vide Caſſiod. Var. lib. 1. *Ep. penult.* & *l.* 2. *Ep.* 40.

28. But to return to *Boetius*, none draws his half fac'd Picture ſo much to the life, as he who afterward deſtroyed the Archetype, I mean *Theodorich* the King who gives him ſuch Encomiums, and heaps ſuch Commendations upon him, as the ſenſe and apprehenſion thereof could onely be obliterated by the Power of Jealouſie. He not onely commends him for his skill in the Precepts of *Ariſtotle*, but for his perfections in all manner of Learning, whereof he makes him ſo great a *Helluo*, that he uſeth a word applicable to ſuch Creatures, as upon which the Nouriſhment they have received hath been very well beſtowed. The knowledge he aſcribes to him is as well practical as ſpeculative, and herein appeared his worth, that he was not content to be Learned alone; but would have others partake of that which made him ſo conſiderable. Therefore he taught to ſpeak *Latin*, whatſoever Authour was conſiderable amongſt the *Greeks*; for inſtance *Pythagoras* the Muſician, *Ptolomy* the Aſtronomer, *Nicomachus* the Arithmetician, *Euclid* the Geometrician, *Plato* the Divine, *Ariſtotle* the Logician, and *Archimedes* the Mechanick, about whoſe Works the King, or *Caſſiodorus* for him, ſpends many words, the effect of which is this that *Boetius* perfectly skilled in his Doctrine of Motions ſhould make two Clocks, whereof one ſhould explicate the Motion of the Spheres, and the other the Diurnal Courſe of the Sun, both which were to be preſented to the King of the *Burgi*. Such is the Teſtimony given by one that turned his deadly Enemy, but this as we formerly termed it is but an half fac'd Picture, repreſenting onely an *Idea* of his Intellectuals, what he was for his Morals we muſt alſo diſcover, to preſent him in all his Proportions. Firſt then as a means to make him good aſwell as knowing, to the former ſecular Learning he added the Knowledge of Theology and the Holy Scriptures, as appears from his Books concerning the Bleſſed Trinity, and againſt the Errours of *Neſtorius* and *Eutyches*.

Multa eruditione ſaginatum.

Greek Authours tranſlated by *Boetius*.

29. What Influence this Knowledge of Chriſtianity and true Philoſophy had into his Life and Actions is ſufficiently evident from his Management of Matters during his laſt Conſulſhip, and the great hatred he contracted by his Impartial Juſtice, and defending private Perſons from the Injuries and Oppreſſions of unreaſonable Men how powerfull ſoever. Such were *Conigaſtus* and *Triguilla* the Maſter of the Kings Houſhold, and other greedy and ravenous *Goths*, from the Claws of whom he reſcued many miſerable *Italians*, and to the great Indignation of ſuch Monſters, protected his innocent Countreymen, aſwell from publick as private Impoſitions and Rapines. When during the Rage of a moſt Cruel Famine, a great Summ of Money was required of the Inhabitants of *Campania* to their utter undoing, he oppoſed the Project of the *Præfectus Prætorio* with ſuch Zeal and Conſtancy even before the King, that it was quite daſhed and laid aſide. When the greedy Courtiers had already devoured the Eſtate of *Paulinus*, a Man of Conſular Dignity, in hope and expectation, he reſcued it out of the Mouths of thoſe greedy Leeches. *Albinus* a Perſon of the ſame Quality, he defended againſt the Accuſations of *Cyprianus* the Informer, and by his Wit and Eloquence, protected him when the King accuſed him of High Treaſon, and referred his Trial to the whole Senate at *Verona*. Thus ſwimming againſt the ſtream he met with great oppoſition, both from King and Courtiers, and having inraged them by croſſing their Deſigns,

His Morals.

Vide Sigonium de Occid. Imp. l. 16. *Boetium de Conſolatione.*

Deſigns, he was at length ſwallowed up in the Gulph of his Princes Jealouſie and Indignation. Once out of his Office, in the ſucceeding Conſulſhip of *Maximus*, he was accuſed by *Baſilius*, *Opilio* and *Gaudentius*, of whom the firſt for no good deed had been diſmiſſed the King's Service, and undertook this Employment to redeem himſelf from his Creditours, and the other two having been condemned to Baniſhment had taken Sanctuary, and thereupon were ordered by the King's Edict, if by a day prefixed they departed not from *Vienna*, to be ſtigmatized in the Forehead and then driven away. Yet the very ſame day did theſe Villains accuſe *Boetius*, and their Accuſation was admitted; which tended to this effect, *that he had endeavoured to advance the Power and Intereſt of the Senate above that of the King, having hindered an Informer from bringing in an Impeachment of Treaſon againſt the Fathers: and Letters were forged to make out his Intentions and Aims to be for the Recovery of the* Roman *Liberty.* *Theodorich* either privy to this Villany, or lightly giving credit to thoſe ſuborned Witneſſes and feigned Crimes, raſhly condemned this Innocent Man, and confiſcating his Eſtate baniſhed him to *Ticinum* or *Pavia*, where comforting himſelf aſwell as he could with his Philoſophy, he made a Book concerning that Conſolation, and committed to writing thoſe paſſages for information of Poſterity, aſwell as of the preſent Age.

His pretended Crime.

He is baniſhed to *Pavia*.

30. Having impriſoned *Severinus Boetius* at *Pavia*, he cauſed *Symmachus* his Father-in-Law, and a Perſon of great Learning and other worth to be apprehended, committing them both to ſafe Cuſtody, for they were not both committed at the ſame time, as ſome have thought, but *Symmachus* enjoyed his Liberty, whilſt *Boetius* had too ſad occaſion to bewail his own Condition, and congratulate the Liberty of his Father-in-Law, as he doth in his Book *de Conſolatione*. Not long after *Theodorich* cauſed them both to be beheaded, and if thou wilt believe, Reader, the Relation of *Martianus*, who wrote his Life, and received it as a Tradition from the Church of *Pavia*, *Boetius* after his Head was off, took it up with both his Hands, and being asked who it was that ſtruck him, anſwered *The Vngodly*, and ſo walking into the Neighbouring Church and kneeling down before the Altar, when he had received the Sacred Myſteries, he expired, and after his Death was honoured for a Saint. And why may not this Story be as true as what we find concerning St. *Denis*, which whoſoever will not believe may goe and ſee, if he pleaſe, the Croſſes erected in the ſeveral Places where he reſted himſelf with his Head in his Hand, betwixt *Paris* and the Town which now bears the Name of that Martyr. The very ſame is alſo told of our St. *Alban*, who was beheaded for his Religion as St. *Denis* was. But ſo fell this Noble Pair of Senatours, ſurpaſſed by none other in any Indowment whatſoever, which renders Mortals both Excellent and Glorious. Concerning one of them we have already ſeen, what their great Enemy (as he proved) teſtifies, and for *Symmachus*, the ſame Hand gives him large Commendations, true no doubt, becauſe *Procopius* ſaith in few words the ſame things and more, although the reaſon the King gives in one of his Epiſtles, be not ſo ſolid as were the Buildings for which he ſo much extolls him, when he deſires him to take upon him the Care of repairing the Theatre formerly mentioned. That he was well skilled in Theology appears from *Boetius* his dedicating his writings to him concerning the Trinity, wherein he makes him Judge and Cenſour of his Books; and that he was well ſeen in all the Sciences, from *Priſcian* the Grammarian of *Cæſarea*, who taught about this time at *Conſtantinople*, and dedicated alſo to him the Book he wrote of Weights and Meaſures.

Beheaded together with *Symmachus* his Father-in-Law.

The Character of *Symmachus*.

Antiquorum diligentiſſimus imitator, Modernorum nobiliſſimus inſtitutor, &c. Caſſiod. var. lib. 4. *Ep.* 51.

Ex Priſciano Grammatico qui noſtro tempore Conſtantinopoli Doctor fuit, iſta collecta ſunt. Caſſiod. de Orthographia. c. 12. *pag.* 101. *totius operis impreſſi Geneva.*

Hiſt. Goth. lib. 1. *ad initium.*

31. But concerning the Worth and Innocency of them both, there is one Teſtimony behind, and that is the too late Repentance of *Theodorich*, whoſe ſorrow, as *Procopius* tells the ſtory, was in its occaſion and height full as remarkable as the Puniſhment had been unjuſt. Not many days after their Execution, when the King went to Supper, he had ſerved up to his Table the Head of a Fiſh of an unuſual bigneſs. This *Theuderich* (as he calls him, and by his right Name) fanſied to be the Head of *Symmachus* lately put to death, who, as it were biting the nether Lip, ſeemed to threaten him in a gaſtly and cruel manner. Seized hereupon with Horrour and Amazement, and falling into a Cold-ſweat he haſted to his Chamber, and lying down upon his Bed commanded his Attendants to cover him with many Clothes. Then did he reveal the whole matter to *Elpidius* his Phyſician, lamenting the Sin he had committed againſt *Symmachus*, and ſoon after died, this being the firſt and laſt wrong he ever did his Subjects, in pronouncing ſentence thus againſt men without Examination. Thus *Procopius* both excuſes and commends, cenſuring him for the Raſhneſs and Injuſtice of the Fact, and yet herein exceedingly praiſing him, that the Fact was ſingle, the whole Courſe of his Life and Government having been regulated and poiſed by Juſtice and Moderation. Though his putting thoſe

Theodorich dies of Melancholy for having put them to death.

That ſet aſide a moſt Excellent Prince.

two Perſons to death was inexcuſable, yet his ſorrow and repentance was remarkable, though the thing ſavoured of Raſhneſs and Cruelty, yet his after-thoughts were ſigns of Mercy and good Nature; beſides, the Extravagance of his Fancy as to the Head of the Fiſh, ſeems to have been an Effect of the Fickleneſs or tenderneſs of his Conſcience. This however muſt be ſaid, that *Italy* never enjoyed more ſerene and happy Days, never more Splendour in the higheſt pitch of her Greatneſs, never more ſolid and laſting Peace with Eaſe, Pleaſure and Security, than under his Government. That few which obtained a Kingdom by Force and Violence, preſerved themſelves and it by ſuch Calmneſs and Sweetneſs of Councils and Actions: In concluſion, that few ſo beloved by their Subjects were ſo terrible to their Enemies, both which *Procopius* teſtifies of him. He died it's ſaid on the Second of *September*, in the 34*th.* of his Reign, and the Seventy ſecond of his Age. When he ſaw his end approaching, having ſent for the chief of the *Gothick* Nobility, he declared for his Succeſſour *Athalarick* the Son of his Daughter *Amalaſuenta* by *Eutharick* lately deceaſed, commanding them to receive and obey him as ſuch; to love and cheriſh the *Roman* Senate and People, and to maintain Amity, and good Correſpondence with the Emperour. His death is reported to have been portended at *Naples*, by the fall of the Head from off his Statue.

Athalarick ſucceeds his Grandfather.

Athal-rick, nobilitate pollens.

32. *Athalarick* then a boy of Eight Years of Age, ſucceeded his Grandfather. His Mother was the Regent of the Kingdom, being a Woman adorned with all Beauties and Accompliſhments both of Mind and Body. Of Countenance and Aſpect compoſed to ſuch Majeſty, as would ſtrike the beholder with Veneration. Of ſuch fluence and ſweetneſs of Speech, that being skilled both in the *Latin* and *Greek* Tongues, ſhe raviſhed the Minds and Affections of her Hearers; in ſum, for Wiſedom and other Indowments which fit and qualify a Perſon for Government, far above her Sex. By her order, Ambaſſadours and Letters are diſpatched, in the Name of the young King to the *Roman* Senate and People, and to the neighbouring Princes, in League and Amity with her Father, ſignifying his death, and how the Child ſucceeded by virtue of his laſt Will and Pleaſure declared in the preſence of the Nobility, whence the choice was ſo unanimouſly approved, that it ſeemed rather a manifeſtation of the Will and Pleaſure of Almighty God. That this Example of the Nobility, was readily and chearfully followed by both his *Gothick* and *Roman* Subjects, who had not onely promiſed but ſworn Obedience to him. The Senate therefore he deſires to imitate ſo good a Pattern, telling them he had ſent to them *Sigiſmer* a *Comes* with others, who in his Name ſhould alſo make oath to preſerve to them their Rights and Privileges, and he bids them ask boldly of him whatſoever they thought would increaſe the Security of their preſent Eſtate. The People he courts in like manner, requires alſo from them an Oath of Fidelity and Allegiance, and promiſes under no leſs an obligation all Offices of Juſtice, Equity and Clemency; to cheriſh the *Goths* and *Romans* alike, and maintain them in Equal Rights and Privileges, making no other diſtinction, than that the *Goths* undergoing the Travails and Dangers of War for the Publick good, the *Romans* ſhould enjoy quiet and ſecurity within the Walls of their own City. He puts them in mind, how by the mutual Oath of Prince and People, the Memory of *Trajan*'s Government was renewed, who as appears from the Panegyrick of *Pliny*, at his Entrance upon the Conſulſhip, both ſwore himſelf and received the Oaths of the Magiſtrates, Senate and People. To *Tiberius* the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Gall*, and the Provincials, as they are called, under his Juriſdiction, he promiſeth by Oath the like good Government, having exhorted them to Fidelity and Obedience, and written his Letters to *Victorinus* their Biſhop, to ſtir them up, and provoke them to be good Subjects, both by his Precepts and Example. He beggs alſo his Prayers, that the Heavenly King would be pleaſed to confirm to him his Earthly Kingdoms, that he would ſuppreſs his Adverſaries, forgive him his Sins, and mercifully conſolidate and preſerve what he had ſo bountifully and glorioully conferred upon his Parents.

Letters written by the Regent to Senate and People.

Adi & conſule Caſſiod. Variar. lib. 8. *Ep.* 1, 2, 3. *uſque ad* 9.

33. Such was the beginning of *Athalarick*, or rather *Amalaſuentha* (or *Amalaſuntha*, as ſhe is commonly called) his Mother; who, either as pious and humble Penitents are wont to doe, conſcious of the Frailty of Humane Nature, impoſed upon her ſelf and Son the ſtrong Bonds of an Oath, to check and pull them back when they ſhould exceed the Bounds of Equity and Moderation; or, not ignorant what Diſorder and Difficulties fall upon Kingdoms in the Minority of Princes, provided for his Security and Eſtabliſhment as prudently as ſhe could, courting thus his Subjects into the ſtrongeſt bonds and ties which could be laid upon their Conſciences, by this plauſible Stipulation and Exchange of Oaths. That the

Her care for his Education.

Vide Caſſiod. variar. lib. 9. *Ep.* 1.

the latter Conſideration effectually moved her, the Dictates of Nature may ſufficiently ſatisfie, and that the former did not want its effects alſo, the Courſe of her Actions doth ſufficiently manifeſt. For her principal care ſeemed to be for his good Education, and the ſeaſoning of his tender Years with good Learning and religious Precepts; committing him to the exact Diſcipline of moſt grave and ſober Maſters, who ſhould inſtruct him according to the *Roman* Cuſtome, and their manner of the Inſtitution of Youth, though the *Goths* were therewith offended. That ſuch there were at this time who could very well doe it, we cannot doubt, becauſe of that Publick School which had lately flouriſhed at *Rome*, wherein were profeſſed Law, Eloquence, and the Liberal Arts by moſt Learned Men, maintained at the publick Charge. But of late their Stipends had either been denied or very badly paid, which coming to the Knowledge of the Regent, ſhe directed Letters in the King's Name to the Senate of that City, expoſtulating the neglect of ſo conſiderable a matter, and requiring the punctual payment of theſe Salaries for the time to come. Foraſmuch as Arts are nouriſhed and maintained by Rewards, ſhe tells them it is Wickedneſs to defraud the Teachers of Youth of any thing due to them, who ought rather to be farther excited by an Augmentation of their Incouragements. She commands for a greater certainty of their Allowance, that they be paid every half year, and that if any Officers retain the Money longer than that time, they be reſponſible both for Principal and Intereſt. Her Reaſons are, that Learned Men are not to depend upon the proud and diſdainfull Humour of others, that it is a ſhame that Players ſhould be provided for, who ſerve onely for pleaſure and recreation, and they be neglected who are the Formers of good manners, and breeders up of Eloquent Wits for the Service of the Court. But eſpecially that they may not be diſtracted by ſolicitous thoughts, and neceſſary Cares for a Livelyhood, which muſt render their pains more ineffectual.

She makes Reſtitution.

Var. lib. 8. *Ep.* 1.

Vide Baron. ad Ann. 527.

34. Having ſufficiently provided for her Son's Inſtruction by way of Precept, ſhe her ſelf became his Miſtreſs in the other more ſignificant and effectual part of Example. She not onely kept off her Hands from invading the Lives, Rights, Privileges and Eſtates of the Subject, but reſtored to the Children of *Symmachus* and *Boetius*, what had been ſo unjuſtly taken from them, and in general protected and ſecured the *Roman* and *Italian* People from the Rapacious practices of the *Goths*; who as Strangers that have their Fortunes to make in a conquered Countrey, ſought to build their Families upon the Ruines and Deſolation of the Natives. To *Amalarick* the King of *Spain*, and her Nephew by her Siſter, who ſtood in need of ſome Incouragement and Aſſiſtence, (*Theudas* his Guardian having, by his Marriage with a great Lady of the Countrey, made himſelf in effect more King than his Pupil,) ſhe gave part of *Gall* lying beyond *Rhodanus*, and retained that on the neareſt ſide for her Son; what her Father had taken away from the Inhabitants of *Carcaſſon*, ſhe reſtored, and remitted the Impoſitions he had laid upon them. Foreſeeing alſo that by retaining that Part of *Gall* now mentioned, ſhe ſhould draw an heavy War upon the Kingdom, and the *Franks* into the Bowels of *Italy*, ſhe yeilded to their King's pretenſions, and delivered it up into his Hands. Shortly after *Juſtinian* came to the Government in the Eaſt, being aſſumed as Collegue in the Empire by his Uncle *Juſtin*. Aſſoon as his promotion was heard of in the Weſt, *Amalaſunta* diſpatched Ambaſſadours to him, to congratulate his good Fortune, and to deſire a Continuance of that Friendſhip and Alliance which had been betwixt their Predeceſſours; if the Epiſtle be rightly directed as now we have it in *Caſſiodorus*. And what ſhe deſired on her Son's behalf was readily granted, as we may conclude from that good Correſpondence, that was betwixt them as long as *Athalarick* lived, and the Coins which were ſtamped at this time, whereon is on one ſide to be ſeen the Image of *Juſtinian*, and on the other the Name of King *Athalarick*.

Hujus vol. lib. 1. *c.* 2.

Theodatus King.

35. We have already ſhewn how the *Goths* miſliked of the breeding of their young King, and deſiring to wrong the Subjects, would have him brought up after the Barbarian way. How hereupon he was debauched by ill Company. How *Amalaſunta* his Mother was brought into great Difficulties, and purpoſed to deliver up *Italy* into the Hands of *Juſtinian*. How *Athalarick* her Son died of a Conſumption, and thereupon ſhe procured *Theodatus* the Nephew of *Theodorich* to be King, and how in way of requital he baſely cauſed her to be murthered. We ſhewed in its proper place, that *Juſtinian* upon this occaſion reſolved to make war upon the *Goths*, having lately ſubdued the *Vandals* in *Africk*; that Meſſages paſſed betwixt him and *Theodatus*, who put a Guard upon the Emperour's Ambaſſadours,

Sect. 3.

Vitigis.

Ildebald.

Erarick.

Totilas.

Teias.

and in concluſion that *Beliſarius* by order paſſed from *Sicily* into *Italy*. The Reader muſt alſo remember that he preſſing upon the *Goths*, they choſe for King one *Vitigis*, who cauſed *Theodatus* to be murthered. *Vitigis* drew the *Franks* to his Party, but made war, though valiant enough, unſucceſsfully againſt *Beliſarius*, who at length carried him and his Wiſe along with him to *Conſtantinople*. Into his Room was *Ildebald* the Nephew of *Theudas* King of the *Weſtrogoths*, and Governour of *Verona* preferred, who killed *Uræas* the Siſters Son of *Vitigis*, and was himſelf killed by *Vilas* a *Gepida*. After him was made King one *Erarick*, by Birth a *Rugian*, and conſequently of a *Gothick* Nation, a Man of good reputation amongſt the *Barbarians*. He would for a good Reward have delivered up *Italy* to the Emperour, but after a ſhort Reign of five Months was killed by the *Goths*, who choſe *Totilas* to be their King. He proved a ſevere Scourge againſt the *Greeks*, then warring in *Italy*. He was the Brothers Son of *Ildebald*, a Man very Warlike and Active, as we have deſcribed his Actions at large. He carried himſelf with much Gallantry and Juſtice. He took *Rome* more than once, waſted *Sicily*, and at length died of his wounds, after the Battel fought with *Narſes*, received by one *Asbades* a *Gepida*. He Reigned eleven Years, and in him fortune ſhewed Fickleneſs and Inconſtancy. The next and laſt King was *Teias* the Son of *Fridigern*, who did wonders in Battel againſt *Narſes*, but was killed, and the Kingdom of the *Goths* in *Italy* received its period with him.

The Kingdom of the *Goths* in *Italy* wholly deſtroyed.

36. So was the Kingdom of the *Oſtrogoths*, overturned in *Italy* by the Vigilancy and Conduct of *Narſes*, that famous Eunuch, after it had continued ſome fifty nine Years. How this was done, hath been diſcourſed at large in our Account of the Wars of *Juſtinian*, to which here we have nothing to add, little occurring concerning the later *Gothick* Kings, but in reference to the Wars of *Italy*, managed againſt them, chiefly by *Beliſarius* and *Narſes* the Officers of that Emperour. The *Goths* after the Death of *Teias* were headed by *Aligern* his Brother, but without the Title of King, and they ſtrugled ſome time to no purpoſe, though they called in the *Franks* to their Aſſiſtence. Their Kingdom being deſtroyed, the Sovereignty and Command of *Italy* returned to *Juſtinian* the Emperour, who governed it by *Narſes*, as a Province of the Eaſtern Empire. *Narſes* having ſuppreſſed the *Goths* and driven out the *Franks*, ſet himſelf as to Actions of Piety and Religion, ſo to repairing Towns which had been demoliſhed in War, to the reſtoring of Buildings both ſacred and profane in *Rome*, and other places. But as of other things, ſo of theſe we have no particular Account, for the following Years are ſo barren of any Hiſtory, that as *Sigonius* witneſſeth, in all the Antiquities of *Italy* and the Weſt, nothing is more rude and uncertain, our beſt guides *Procopius* and *Agathias* having taken their leave. But, from the overthrow of the *Gothick* Kingdom in *Italy*, which happened in the Year DLIII. to the coming in of the *Longobardi*, or *Lombards*, which fell out in the DLXVIII. paſſed fourteen Years, all which time *Narſes* ſeems to have governed, and ſpent it well, as we are told, in mending what had been marred by the former Wars. In theſe Wars that great miſchiefs happened both to Places and Perſons cannot be doubted. That thoſe that were faithfull to the Emperour ſuffered much may eaſily be conceived, and particularly we are told of the Family of the *Titiones*. This Family flying their Countrey, loſt all they had, leaving a great Eſtate, and when the *Goths* were driven out, it ſeems made their Application to *Juſtinian* to be reſtored to their Lands and Poſſeſſions. Now it was a Rule in Law, that a Preſcription of thirty years was a ſufficient Bar againſt any pretender, let the Eſtate be come by how it would, and this it ſeems was pleaded by ſuch as had got into poſſeſſion. But the Emperour taking the caſe into conſideration, granted a Reſcript of Privilege to the ſaid *Titiones*, which broke the Preſcription; and this Reſcript, being the onely Monument of that dark time, *Cujacius* hath communicated to us, who received it as he tells us, from the moſt Learned and acute P. *Galeſius* a *Spaniard*. It being a Rarity in ſeveral reſpects, we ſhall not conceal it from the Reader. To *Narſes* it is directed thus.

Obſ. lib. 10. *c.* 12.

37. ‘ *Flavius Juſtinian, Cæſar, Imp. Alanicus, Goticus, Wandalicus, Africanus, ever*
‘ *Auguſtus* to *Narſes* the Patritian in *Italy*. With great anguiſh of mind we perceive,
‘ that our City of *Rome* having been in former times much emptied, hath continued
‘ long deſert, and in a manner deſolate, and that from it almoſt an infinite
‘ Number of Illuſtrious Families, have betaken themſelves to divers Climates of the
‘ World, to ſhun the direfull Cruelty and ſavage madneſs of the *Goths* and *Wandals*,
‘ amongſt which the moſt Eminent and moſt Noble Family of the *Titiones*, leaving
‘ the City in which it had happily flouriſhed before for many Ages, in the glorious

A Reſcript of Reſtitution granted to the *Titiones* by *Juſtinian.*

‘ ous Equeſtrian Order, was forced to fly to foreign Nations. Namely out of that
‘ Family, above an hundred and twenty Perſons paſſed over to the *Vindelici* and
‘ *Retii*,chuſing rather valiantly to undergoe hard Exile, than enjoying at home with
‘ the Enemy of the *Roman* Empire their own goods, to live in filthy and diſhoneſt
‘ ſlavery. Now we being deſirous to obviate ſuch Calamities and Miſeries diſpatched
‘ away the moſt glorious *Beliſarius* the Patritian into *Italy* againſt the *Goths*,that by
‘ him we might free the City,and *Italy* it ſelf, from ſo great Slavery, Captivity and
‘ Slaughter. And ſo it fell out, that in that Ingagement which *Beliſarius* had with
‘ *Vitigis* King of the *Goths*, and wherein he remained Victor, the King being taken
‘ Priſoner, the Strenuous, Valiant and Noble L. *Galbinus Titio*, valiantly diſcharging
‘ the Duty of a Tribune of Soldiers, died gloriouſly fighting, leaving three Sons,
‘ *Aulus Anduatius*, C. *Tubero*, and L. *Reucardus*, who all under thy Command in
‘ *Italy*, fought for us and the *Roman* Empire with the greateſt Fidelity againſt our
‘ Enemies. Wherefore ſeeing that in a Prince there can be nothing more Clement,
‘ nothing more Decent, nothing more glorious to be wiſhed for, than to have a
‘ reſpect for, and confer juſt and gratefull Favours on ſuch, whoſe Parents, by fighting
‘ manfully for the Empire and their Countrey, moſt religiouſly died; and
‘ whereas thoſe Brothers and their Progenitours were ſpoiled of their large Eſtate,
‘ by the wicked Enemies of the *Roman* Empire, which they enjoyed in the City,
‘ amongſt the *Cemomani*, eſpecially the *Inſubres*, *Vercellenſes*, *Taurini* and *Lugares*,
‘ for long ſpaces of time, We will, Command and require, as thou eſteemeſt our
‘ favour, and art zealous for our Honour, that having made a diligent ſearch,
‘ thou put them again into poſſeſſion of their Eſtates, and goods of their Anceſtours,
‘ having no regard at all to thoſe by whom they are ſeized,and reſtore theſe Brothers
‘ to the City, their Honours and Dignities; and eſpecially the Equeſtrian, in which
‘ they have flouriſhed with great Commendation from their Great and Great great
‘ Grandfathers, and to place them again in their Houſes, removing any that may
‘ detain them. For all thoſe who from the beginning take Poſſeſſion by force,
‘ and thereby lay unjuſt Foundations, do not acquire juſt Poſſeſſion by the uſe of
‘ time, neither they who derive action from them; and we will not that ſuch Occupiers
‘ be aſſiſted by any Preſcription, although of the longeſt time, from which
‘ we derogoate, and by our fulneſs of Power will have Derogation made, that the
‘ ſaid Brothers may ſerve us with the ſame Fidelity and Valour, which they have
‘ derived from their Parents. We will have therefore this our Pleaſure, or rather
‘ juſt and deſerved Reſtitution, inviolably obſerved under Penalty of an hundred
‘ pounds of Gold, and have commanded it to be ſtrengthned by our Imperial
‘ Seal. From the City of *Conſtantinople* on the *Ides* of *February*, in the ſix and
‘ thirtieth Year of our Reign, in the Year of our Lord DLXV, ſigned *Juſtinian*,
‘ and underneath,*Procopius*. This is very remarkable, and little or nothing is there
‘ farther of *Italian* matters, till the coming of the *Lombards* into *Italy*; of the occaſion
‘ thereof, and their progreſs till their ſetling therein a Kingdom, we have already
‘ diſcourſed amongſt matters relating to the *Conſtantinopolitan* Empire.

SECT. IV.

The Kingdom of the *Lombards* in *Italy*, from the Expiring of the Command of *Duces*, and the Promotion of *Authari* to be King, to the End of this Kingdom.

The Space of 206 Years.

Sect. 4.

Authari made a King.

1. THE *Lombards* having ſetled their Domination in *Italy*, were ten Years, as we have ſaid in the Hiſtory of the Empire, without a King and under *Duces* or Captains. But theſe ten Years expired, into the Dignity and Title of King they advanced *Authari* the Son of *Clepho* formerly mentioned, whom they ſirnamed *Flavius*, for the more grace of the matter, as *Paul* their Hiſtorian tells us, or to mollify the ſound of his barbarous Name, with a ſirname familiar and eaſie, as others conjecture; for this of *Flavius* became afterward common to all their Kings. Now all the Great Men contributed half they had to the maintenance of his Port and Dignity. And this is to be admired in the Government of the *Lombards*, that there was no ſuch thing amongſt them as Violence and Oppreſſion. No Treachery, no Compulſion was practiſed. No Man was deprived of what he had by Thefts or Robberies, but every one went about his buſineſs ſecurely, without the leaſt fear or apprehenſion of Danger. So *Paul* writes; but we remember that he himſelf was a *Lombard*, and ſpeaks poſſibly in ſavour of his own Nation, ſo he doth when he commends and applauds, for their Valour and Deportment, the Party which fought under *Narſes*, whereas *Procopius* tells us, that they were ſent back in diſgrace for their unrulineſs. And however he conceals their Faults, and commends them for ther great Juſtice and Moderation, it appears from Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, that after they were become Maſters of *Italy*, they did many horrid Acts; and upon this account *Gregory* the Great calleth them a moſt wicked Nation. But poſſibly the truth lies betwixt both Extremes.

Childebert being hired againſt the *Lombards*, he hath Money on both ſides.

2. *Mauritius* the Emperour, not being in a Condition himſelf, hired *Childebert* King of the *Franks* for fifty thouſand *Solidi*, to diſpoſſeſs them. The King with a vaſt Army breaks into *Italy*, but *Paul* ſaith, that the *Lombards* dealt with him by Meſſengers, and perſwaded him to take Money and be gone. He promiſed to return the *Solidi* to *Childebert*, with whom the *Lombards* made a League, but had work enough cut out for them by *Droctulf*, who being a *Suebian* or *Alleman* by Birth, for his Goodlineſs of his Stature had got the Honour of a Duke; but to revenge his Captivity had lately revolted to the Emperour, and carried over to his Party a conſiderable Number of their Men. Lying now at *Broxillus* a Town ſituate upon the *Poe*, thither *Authari* removed with his Army, and ſtraitly beſieged him. The ſiege continued long, and he held them to it; but at laſt he was compelled to quit his Quarters and betake himſelf to *Ravenna*; which having done, *Authari* took *Broxillus* and diſmantled it, and made truce with *Smaragdus* the Patritian the then Exarch of *Ravenna*, for three Years. This notwithſtanding, *Mauritius* ſent the ſecond Time his Ambaſſadours to *Childebert*, and perſwaded him to break the League and fall upon the *Lombards*. He invaded *Italy*, but as they were on their march toward him, the *Alemans* that were in his Army fell out with the *Franks*, and the Diſſention grew ſo great, that they parted and returned back without having any thing done.

Druckt-ulf, fidelis Auxiliator Druck & Trud. Trouwe fides, Trucktin Dominus, ſæpe occurrit in novo teſtamento vetere Germano. Angloſaxonibus noſtris Drickteu Dominus. Suedis Regina Drotning fortaſſe quia fides eis data eſt, ut qui fidem dederunt. Drudos, Drudi, Druides. Scribitur hoc nomen in ex. Allem. Tructolf. Truktolf. Thrutolf. contracte Truto.

Another fruitleſs expedition of *Childebert*.

Dreadfull Inundations.

3. At this time happened ſuch Inundations in ſeveral Parts of *Italy*, as the like had never been heard of ſince the Univerſal Deluge. Multitudes of Men, beſides other living Creatures, were deſtroyed. The River *Atheſis* flowed as high as the Windows of St. *Zeno's* Church near *Verona*, part of the Wall of which City was alſo broken down; and after two Months it periſhed almoſt all by Fire. The River *Tiber* was ſo overcharged, that it roſe higher than the very Walls of *Rome*, defaced ancient Buildings, and overturned the Granaries belonging to the Church, wherein great Quantities of Wheat were loſt. A Multitude of Ser-

pents together with a Dragon of a vaſt Bigneſs, ſwom down the River (*Paulus Diaconus* ſaith through the City) into the Sea, where killed with the Saltwater, they were caſt upon the ſhore. This happened in the Month of *November*, and in *January* following a dreadfull Plague called *Peſtis Inguinaria*, from the Privy parts which it invaded, fell upon *Italy*, eſpecially *Rome*, and deſtroyed an infinite Number of People, on whom Arrows were ſeen to be darted from Heaven, if credit may be given to no leſs a Man than Pope *Gregory*. This was the Plague, as ſome would have it, wherewith Men being ſeized fell into great fits of ſneezing, and ſo ſuddenly died, whence the Cuſtome proceeded of praying, as ſtill we do, for ſuch as ſneeze. But that this was in uſe long before amongſt the Pagans, who invocated their Gods upon the ſame occaſion, is atteſted by *Pliny*, not to ſpeak of more ancient Writers, and therefore it could not take its riſe from the Mortality whereof we now ſpeak.

The *Peſtis Inguinaria* follows.

Nat. Hiſt. l. 28. *Vide Bar.*

4. Much about this time *Authari* King of the *Lombards*, ſent *Euin* the Duke of *Trent* to waſte *Hiſtria*, whence he brought very rich Plunder. Others of his ſubjects were then employed in beſieging *Francio*, one of *Narſes* his Captains, in the Iſland *Amacina*, where he had continued twenty Years, but after a ſiege of ſix Months, was forced to yield it up, and to depart with his Wife and Baggage to *Ravenna*. *Authari* aſwell as his People being much inriched began to look high, and asked the Siſter of *Childebert* King of the *Franks* to be given him in Marriage. *Childebert* receiving his Preſents, promiſed he would ſend her, but failed of his word being ſued to by the *Gothick* King of *Spain*, to beſtow her on him; and ſenſible it ſeems of the Injury, and how good Cauſe he had given *Authari* to be angry with him, he ſent to the Emperour, and promiſed now he would doe his utmoſt for removing the *Lombards* out of *Italy*. And he ſent an Army to make good his promiſe, but the *Lombards*, concerned now more than ordinary to ſhew their Valour, made greater ſlaughter of them, than ever was heard to have befaln that Nation, and very few returned home. *Flavius Authari* now incouraged by this Succeſs ſends his Ambaſſadours into *Baioaria*, to ask in Marriage *Theudelinda* the Daughter of King *Garibald*, who readily granted their ſuit, and after their return *Authari* himſelf makes a Journey thither Incognito to ſee her. Not long after his return, troubles ariſing betwixt *Garibald* and the *Franks*, *Theudelinda* with her Brother *Gundoald* retired into *Italy*, where *Authari* met her with Royal Pomp, and conſummated his Marriage at a Place called *Sardis* above *Verona*, on the *Ides* of *May*.

Franks deſtroyed.

Authari Marries.

Theude-linda, Populis mollis.

Gunduald, Benevolentia potens.

5. At this time, for what Cauſe is uncertain, *Auſul* the King's Kinſman was ſlain at *Verona*, and not long after *Childebert*, to gratify the Emperour *Mauricius*, ſent another Army of twenty thouſand Men to ſubdue the *Lombards*. Of theſe Men *Andual*d, *Olo* and *Cedinus* were the chief Captains, whereof *Olo* laying ſiege to the Caſtle of *Bilitio*, was ſhot with an Arrow under his Pap and died, many of his Countreymen in their Excurſions being met with and ſlain. *Anduald* with ſix inferiour Officers came before *Milan*, where he met with the Emperour's Ambaſſadours, who promiſed him relief after three days; but three and three they expected them to no purpoſe. *Cedinus* going the way toward the left hand took five Caſtles from the Inhabitants of which he exacted an Oath. They pierced by *Placentia* as far as *Verona*, and many Towns they demoliſhed contrary to Articles, leading away the Townſmen Priſoners. But the Summer now grew very hot, and the *Franks* not accuſtomed to the *Italian* Air, were much afflicted with the Dyſentery whereof many of them died, and having been three Months in the Countrey to little purpoſe, the *Lombards* ſecuring themſelves in their ſtrong holds, and their King particularly in *Pavia*, they were neceſſitated to return home, which they did with ſo great Difficulty, that they were firſt conſtrained to ſell their Cloaths off from their backs, and then their Arms to purchaſe Victuals in their paſſage. About this time it is that *Paul* thinks the famed Conqueſts of King *Authari* happened, as that through *Spoletum* he proceeded as far as *Beneventum*, and having made himſelf Maſter of all that Countrey, kept on his Progreſs as far as *Rhegium*, the laſt City of *Italy*, and neareſt to the *Sicilian* Iſland. There, as the ſtory went, ſtood a certain Pillar within the water, to which he rode ſo near as to touch it with the Point of his Lance, and ſaid, *Thus far ſhall extend the Borders* of the *Lombards*. The Pillar was reported to be ſtanding in the days of the Hiſtorian, and to be known by the Name of *Authari* his Column.

Anſ-huld, Gratiæ fidelis.

Another fruitleſs Expedition of the *Franks*.

The Conqueſts of *Authari*.

6. The firſt Duke of the *Lombards* which ſetled in *Beneventum*, was *Zotto*, who held the Government for twenty years. *Authari* ſent to make a League with *Guntram* King of the *Franks*, who referring them to *Childebert* his Nephew, e'er they could

Zotto, Suavis nunc ſtultum ſic vocant Angl. a Sott mutatâ in pejus ſigni-

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Authari dies.

Agilulf ſucceeds.

could finiſh their Negotiation, *Authari* dies at *Pavia*, by poyſon as was reported, on the *Nones* of *September*, after he had reigned ſix Years. Aſſoon as he expired, notice was ſent away to *Childebert*, and a Peace deſired of him, who at length yeilded unto the requeſt of the *Lombards* in this matter. They had ſo much Kindneſs for *Theudelinda* their Queen, that they permitted her to retain her Royal Port and Dignity, and to chuſe out of their own Nation a fitting Man to be her Husband, and their King; whereupon after good advice had with the wiſeſt of them, ſhe made choice of *Agilulf* Duke of *Taurinum*, the Kinſman of *Authari*, a very valiant Man, and in every reſpect fit for Government, who was married to *Theudelinda* and her Kingdom in the Month *November*, and afterward publickly crowned at *Milan*, in a full Aſſembly in *May* following. *Agilulf*, or *Ago*, as he was called for ſhortneſs, being confirmed in his Power, ſent *Agnollus* Biſhop of *Trent* into *France*, to redeem ſuch as had been taken Priſoners in the Territories lying about that City, and ſome he brought back, whom *Bramhildis* the Queen of the *Franks*, had ranſomed with her own Money. *Euin* alſo, the Duke of *Trent*, he ſent Ambaſſadour to make an Alliance and Confederacy with that Court, which he effected. The ſame Year happened a great Drought from *January* to *September*, which was followed by as great a Famine, and a great ſwarm of Locuſts covered the Countrey about *Trent*, of a greater bigneſs than uſual, but fed onely upon the Graſs, doing little prejudice to the ſtanding Corn.

ficatione ut in multis. Sweete tamen manet in priſtina ſignificatione apud Anglos. Soote apud Belgas.

*Agel-hulf, Liber Auxiliator. Idem contracte Ago, Paulo hic monente. Paulus Diaconus. lib.*4.*c.*1.

Agilulf his Succeſs againſt ſeveral Dukes.

7. *Agilulf* in the mean time puts to death *Minulf*, Duke of the *Iſland St. Julian*, for having revolted formerly to the *Franks*; and reduces *Gaidulf*, who had rebelled and fortified himſelf in his City of *Pergamus*. Though he gave Caution now that he would be quiet, yet he ſecured himſelf again in the Iſland *Comacina*, whither the King purſued him, and beating out his Men got into his Hands a Treaſure, which had been there laid by the *Romans*. But *Gaidulf* eſcaping him returned to *Pergamus*, where after ſome oppoſition he again made his peace, and was received into favour by *Agilulf*, who was alſo ſo fortunate about this time, as to reduce into order *Ulfari*, another Duke or Captain who had revolted. The ſame Year the Plague called *Peſtis Inguinaria*, again broke out at *Ravenna* and other places, killing as many Men as it had formerly done. *Agilulf* makes peace with the *Avares*, and a Winter follows ſo exceſſively cold, as the like had not been known. Moreover in the Countrey of the *Brioni*, bloud inſtead of water dropped from the Clouds, and Rivers ſeemed to flow with it as preſages of thoſe Miſeries, which were ſhortly again to fall upon *Italy*, the Peace being broken. For not long after *Romanus* the Patritian and Exarch of *Ravenna* goes and viſits *Rome*, and in his return takes in ſeveral Cities, that had belonged to the *Lombards*. *Agilulf* inraged hereat, marches ſpeedily from *Pavia*, with a ſtrong Power of Men, and lays ſiege to *Peruſium*, wherein lay *Mauriſio* a Duke of his own Nation who had revolted to the *Romans*. Him he took and put to death, poſſibly becauſe he had betrayed the Towns lately mentioned into the Hands of the Exarch; and he caſt them at *Rome* into a very great fright, particularly *Gregory* the Biſhop, from whoſe Writings it appears, that the Army of the *Lombards* invaded alſo the Territories of that City, and did great Miſchief, though *Paul* the Hiſtorian paſſes all by, and tells us he ſetled his matters, and returned after the taking of *Peruſium* unto *Pavia*. *Gregory* was conſtrained to break off his Cuſtome of preaching, and betake himſelf to the Law of the City, the Liberty and Safety whereof he was forced to purchaſe with Money, and through the Intervention of *Theudelinda* the Queen, made a firm Peace for his *Romans*.

Minn-ulf, Fæminis Auxiliator. A Man. Fæmininum Menne, nam quod Angli hodie dicunt in plurali Men, antiquis erat Mannum. Inde Meerminne, maris fæmina & nutrix, fæminam per excellentiam & Minnen fæminarum amore tangi, id enim Grotio monente proprie & antiquitus ſignificat.

Gaid-ulf Conjugis Auxiliator.

Ulf-ari, Auxilii Dominus; Welf-hari, Luporum Dominus.

Mauriſch, Niger.

Vide Baron.

8. From an Epiſtle of this Biſhop to *Conſtantina* the Empreſs, it appears that the Miſeries which the Emperour's Subjects in theſe Parts endured under his cruel Officers, were as great as any of them almoſt ſuffered from the Barbarous *Lombards*. The Burthen of the Taxes and Impoſitions were ſo heavy upon thoſe of *Corſica*, that they were forced to ſell their very Children to make Money, and all little enough to ſatisfie the Ravenous Collectours, which not able to bear, they fled to the *Lambards* in *Italy*, and in a manner left the Iſland deſolate. In that of *Sicily* one *Stephen* the *Chartulary* of the Sea Coaſts committed ſuch Rapines, as the Biſhop affirms all his particular Acts of Violence and Injuſtice could not be contained in one Volume; and deſires her to be a means to the Emperour, that thoſe things might be redreſſed for the preventing of Judgments otherwiſe like to fall upon himſelf, and his Sons, and that *Italy* might rather want ſupplies of money, than that they ſhould be raiſed in that ſinfull manner. From *Gregory* his Writings it is farther evident, that the Emperour's Miniſters who being at a great

Lib. 4. *Ep.*33. *Indict.* 13.

The Emperour's Officers drive his Subjects to revolt.

diſtance

Sect. 4.

diſtance from their Maſter, promiſed themſelves impunity in their evil courſes, oppoſed him in his endeavours for making peace with the *Lombards*, who, whatever *Paul* the Deacon hath written, for two years and more waſted the *Roman* territories with fire and ſword, and did great miſchief in *Campania*, where many Captains being taken, he took care for the redeeming of ſuch as were too poor to pay their Ranſome, ſeveral Prelates of this time contributing to ſo good a work. In the third year, having often attempted to make a Peace, at length he obtained a Truce, with hope that the King would at length ſign the whole Treaty; but not willing to be cheated with good words and fair promiſes, he orders all his Friends to ſtand upon their Guard. This Truce continued till the year following, and then a Peace was made, or another Truce rather, ſeeing it ſcarcely deſerves the name of a Peace, which was to endure but for two years, and yet the Biſhop rejoycing that poor *Italy* ſhould have but ſome time to breathe in, by Letters ſtill extant gives the King thanks that he had heard his petition. That this Peace he ſo much rejoyced in was in effect almoſt as good as none appears from this; after the ſigning of the Treaty he ſtill complains of his being preſſed with the ſword of the Barbarians, beſides the pains of the Gout and other loads of Cares that lay heavy upon him. The reaſon was this: though *Agilulf* the King had ſworn poſitively, yet *Arnulf* the Duke of *Spoletum* would not ſwear but with reſtrictions, and upon conditions, which caſt the good Biſhop into great fears again, as appears by his Letter written to *Theodorus* the *Curator* of *Ravenna*, wherein he alſo expreſſeth the Jealouſie of King *Agilulf* that he favoured too much the Cauſe and Party of the Exarch being indeed Mediatour betwixt them.

Gregory Biſhop of *Rome* makes a Peace with the *Lombards*.

Lib. 7. *Ep.* 30. *Indict.* 2.

Arenulf idem quod Ari-ulf, ſed à plurali, Honoris Auxiliator. In voc. Alem. Arolf.

Lib. 7. *Ep.* 102. *Indict.* 2.

9. About this time a blazing Star was ſeen for a month together, at morning and evening. Not long after, *Euin* Duke of *Trent* died, and was ſucceeded by *Gaidoald* a very good and religious man. The *Baioarii* in thoſe days fell upon the *Sclavi* with two thouſand men, but were all met with and put to the Sword by *Cacanus*; and now firſt of all, ſaith our Authour, were wild Beaſts reſembling Horſes and Oxen, brought firſt into *Italy*, and gazed on as wonders by the people. Not long after *Cacanus* King of the *Hunnes* ſent and made a League with *Agilulf* at *Milan*, and *Romanus* the Patritian dying, *Gallicinus* ſucceeded him as Exarch, and made peace alſo with this King, as alſo did *Theuderick*, King of the *Franks*. *Agilulf* had the more reaſon to embrace the amity of his Neighbours, becauſe his own Subjects indangered his Eſtate at home. For *Zangrulf* Duke of *Verona* rebelled, whom he over-powered and put to death, as alſo *Gaidulf* Duke of *Pergamus*, whom having twice ſpared, he now took in the ſame fault again; as alſo *Warnecaut*, whom that he might by this ſeverity give ſome ſtop to this growing miſchief, he commanded to be executed at *Pavia*. Much about this time another great Plague ſeized *Ravenna* and other maritime places, and the following year a great mortality to the people that lived near *Verona*: Spears, as it were, of bloud were ſeen in the Air, and the Nights were as light as Day. The year following *Ariulf*, who had ſucceeded *Faroald* in the Dukedom of *Spoletum* died, and *Faroald*'s two Sons contending who, ſhould poſſeſs his Father's place, *Theudelap* obtained the Victory and It together. *Zotto* the Duke of *Beneventum* in like manner dying, King *Agilulf* ſent one *Arigis* to ſucceed him, a Kinſman of *Giſulf* Duke of *Forum Julii*, whoſe Sons he had brought up. Shortly after, the Daughter of *Agilulf* was together with *Godeſcalck* her Husband, of the City of *Parma*, taken priſoner by ſome of the Exarch's men and carried to *Ravenna*, her Father buſying himſelf in gathering together Ship-Carpenters, which he ſent to *Cacanus*, King of the *Avares*, to make him ſome Veſſels, wherewith he tranſported men, and made himſelf Maſter of a certain Iſland in *Thrace*.

Gaide-wald, conjugi Imperans.

Tunc primùm Caballi ſilvatici & Bufali in Italiam delati Italiæ populis miracula fuerunt.

Zangr-ulf, Infirmis Auxiliator.

Warne-gaut, cuſtos Auri.

F[illegible]-wald, familiæ parens, Faro idem contracté.

Theud-tolap, ad populum accurrens.

Argis, Honore fortis.

Giſel-ulf, Comitum Adjutor.

Gode-Schalck, Dei Servus.

Nam Deum non aliter quam Bonum nominare mos erat Germanis.

Scalck, Servus in novo fœdere ſæpe. Hinc Marſchalck & alia.

10. In the mean time *Theudelinda* the Queen diverts her ſelf with magnificent Buildings. At *Modicia* twelve miles from *Milan*, ſhe cauſed to be erected a beautifull Church, which ſhe dedicated to St. *John Baptiſt*, and richly endowed it, in the ſame place where formerly *Theodorich* King of the *Goths* had built a Palace, it being near the *Alpes*, and cool and temperate in the heat of Summer. In the ſame Town ſhe alſo made a Palace for her ſelf, wherein ſhe cauſed to be painted the Atchievements of the *Lombards*, which paintings plainly ſhewed that at this time they cut their Hair, and ſhaved all up from the Neck to the upper part of their Head, their Locks hanging down upon their Faces to their Mouths, which they parted and laid on each ſide their Foreheads. Their Cloaths, ſaith *Paul*, were looſe and for the moſt part of Linen, ſuch as the *Angli-Saxons* wear, having large Seams and interwoven with various Colours. Their Shoes were open almoſt to the end of their Toes, and buttoned or laced together. Afterward they began

The Queens magnificent Buildings.

The Habit of the *Lombards*.

Poſtea vero cœperunt hoſis uti ſuper quas equitantes tubrugos birreos mittebant. l. 4. *c.* 23.

Padua demoliſhed by them.

began to wear Hoſe, over which when they rode they drew a ſort of Breeches called *Tubrugi birrei*, but this faſhion they received from the *Romans*. Hitherto the City of *Padua* had valiantly ſtood out againſt them, but now it was all burnt, and by order of King *Agilulf*, levelled with the ground, the Garriſon Souldiers being permitted to goe to *Ravenna*. *Agilulf* his Ambaſſadours returning from *Cacanus* brought the ratification of a perpetual Peace and Amity made with the *Avares*, who ſent theirs alſo to the Kings of the *Franks*, requiring them in the League made betwixt the two Nations, to comprize alſo the *Lombards*. Now did the *Lombards*, *Avares* and *Sclavi* invade *Hiſtria*, which they waſted with fire and ſword, at what time *Theudelinda* bare a Son to *Agilulf*, whom being born in the Palace of *Modicia*, they named *Adaloald*. After this the *Lombards* took the Caſtle of Mount *Silex*, and much about the ſame time *Gallicinus* being beaten from *Ravenna*, *Smaragdus* returned, who had formerly been Patritian, as *Paul* calls him, or Exarch of that City for the Emperour.

Adal-wald, nobilitate pollens. Idem contractè, ut monet Paulus Ado.

11. That ſort of Peace which we find was made betwixt *Agilulf*, *Gregory* the *Roman* Biſhop, and the Exarch, was openly broken by the latter, who took *Parma*, and therein *Godeſcalck* and his Wife, the Son-in-law and Daughter of the King; at which time alſo he ſent ſome Troops and ſeized on *Brexillum*, which had been forſaken of the *Lombards*. *Agilulf*, as he had reaſon, was very much concern'd, and reſolved to ſet upon the *Romans* with greater fury than ever, and take from them thoſe Towns which the Arms of fierce *Alboin* had left unconquered. From *Milan* then in the month of *July* he ſet forward and laid ſiege to *Cremona*, being aſſiſted by the *Sclavi*, which *Cacanus* King of the *Avares* had ſent him, and took it on the nineteenth of *Auguſt*. He levelled it with the ground as he had done *Padua* before, and then turned upon *Mantua*, the Walls of which he ſo long battered alſo, that he took it about the middle of *September*, ſack'd it and defac't it in a lamentable manner. Afrighted hereat, they that held the Caſtle of *Vulturnia* yielded it up, and thoſe that had ſeized on *Brexillum* ſet fire to it and departed. Matters thus proceeding, the King's Daughter was ſet at liberty by *Smaragdus* the Exarch, who by command of *Mauricius* the Emperour, had ſucceeded *Callinicus*, together with her Husband, and all that belonged to her; and a Truce was made from the month of *September* till the *April* following. The King's Daughter from *Ravenna* went to *Parma*, and falling into Travail, thereof died, to the no ſmall diſcontentment as well of her Father as her Husband.

Cremona levelled.

Mantua defaced.

Paulus Diaconus de Geſtis Longobard. l. 4. *c.* 29.

A Truce betwixt *Agilulf* and the Exarch.

12. So great were the Troubles in *Italy* betwixt the Exarchs of the Emperour and the *Lombards*, that the people were miſerably haraſſed betwixt them, and little or no reſt could they have by virtue of any Treaty or Truce that could be made. *Gregory* the Biſhop of *Rome* having a deep ſenſe of theſe miſeries, and having often in vain expected aid from *Conſtantinople*, when he heard of the death of *Mauricius* rejoyced, and ſent away ſpeedily a Meſſenger with Letters to claw *Phocas* the Murtherer and his Wife, that he might obtain ſome effectual means for reducing the *Lombards* into order, and quieting the Countrey; and on the twenty fourth of *April* the Images of *Phocas* and his Wife were ſolemnly brought to *Rome*, and after the Senate and Clergy had made their Prayers for their proſperity with great joy, the Biſhop cauſed them to be placed in the Palace, in the Oratory of St. *Cæſarius* the Martyr. About this time *Theodelind* bare a Son to *Agilulf*, whom he called by the name of *Adaluald*, being Chriſtened upon *Eaſter-day*. Now the Truce was at an end, and an heavy war ſeemed to threaten the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, when yet *Agilulf* conſidering how hard the enterpriſe of taking that City would be, ſtill gave his conſent that the Truce ſhould be renewed. And there was great need of it both in reſpect of the preſent ſeaſon, and the ſtate and condition to which *Italy* had been before that reduced. The Summer was ſo exceſſive hot and dry that all the Corn was burnt up and ſpoil'd, and ſuch a dreadfull cold Winter followed, as in a manner deſtroyed all their Vines.

Exaudi Chriſte. Phocæ Auguſto & Leontiæ Aug. vita. Adal-wald, Nobilitate pollens, idem contractè Ado ut monet Paulus.

The Truce renewed.

13. But ſuch had been the lamentable Eſtate of poor *Italy* for ſeveral Years before, that this might ſeem to give the laſt blow to it already in a dying Condition. So *Gregory* the *Roman* Biſhop, who died this very year, in his Expoſition of the Prophecy of *Ezekiel*, deſcribes it to us. "We every where ſee nothing "but mourning, hear nothing but grones, Cities are deſtroyed, Caſtles demoliſhed; "the Countrey depopulated; the whole Land reduced into a Deſart. In the fields "there are no Husbandmen, in the Cities no Inhabitant, and yet the ſmall Remainders of Mankind, are even now ſtruck at without Intermiſſion; ſome led "into Captivity, ſome maimed, and others ſlain. And in what plight *Rome* is, "though once the Miſtreſs of the World, we ſee, even ſpent with great and manifold

Vide Baron.

“ fold miſchiefs, by loſs of Citizens, Incurſion of Enemies and frequency of Threats. “ All potent Perſons are taken away from her. Where is now the Senate? Where “ is the People? All order of Dignity in her is extinct, and yet as that remains “ every day the Sword, daily innumerable Tribulations do preſs her, and after “ that men fail the very Walls do fall. So dreadfull a face of things was in *Italy*, the effect of the late Conqueſt, for when the Victory is obtained, and the Countrey won, the miſeries of the conquered People are not then ended but begun, more grievous are the courſes which Conquerours take to preſerve, than thoſe whereby they firſt obtained. But now *Agilulf* by means and perſwaſion of his Wife eſpecially, ſeems to be well inclined for peace, and applies himſelf to other Methods, tending to ſettle and ſecure that in his Family by love, which hitherto had been kept by terrour.

Agilulf makes his Son a Child King.

Tribute to the *Franks* bought off.

Paulo Balneum Regis & Urbs vetus. Paulus ubi ſuprà, c. 33.

Agilulf enlarges *Ferrara.*

Truce with the Exarch renewed.

14. He began to think of his own Mortality, and how he might provide for the ſecurity of his young Son *Aldonald*, which at length he concluded would be beſt effected, by ſetting the Crown upon his Head in his own life time. For this purpoſe he aſſembled the Eſtates together at *Milan*, where in the open Cirque the Infant was ſaluted King by the People, in the Preſence of the Ambaſſadours of *Theodebert* King of the *Franks*, and inveſted with Royal Ornaments. With the *Franks* the Peace was renewed, and a perpetual League ſworn on both ſides, a more joyfull day was never ſeen in *Italy*, ſo bright and pleaſant a Sun-ſhine, after ſo great and terrible a Tempeſt. But though a League, as we ſaid, was made with the *Franks*, it was upon very uneven Terms. For the *Lombards* paid to the *Franks*, and ſo had long done a yearly Tribute, which *Agilulf* diſdaining, as much below him who had made himſelf famous by ſo many Victories, ſent three Ambaſſadours with abundance of money into *Gall*, wherewith the Principal Courtiers were ſo bribed, that *Clothair* the King was perſwaded for thirty thouſand *Solidi* to ſell it, and releaſe the Nation for the time to come. There was much about this time ſome Action betwixt the King's and the Exarch's Forces, for the *Lombards* as ſoon as the Truce was out, ſuddenly ſurprized *Orbitum* and *Balneoregium* belonging to the *Romans*. But *Smaragdus* the Exarch got them reſtor'd, and for twelve thouſand *Solidi*, the Truce to be renewed for another year. Being now ſecure and at his eaſe he began a worthy work, for whereas hitherto *Ferrara* had been but an inconſiderable Village, but very conveniently ſeated upon the River *Padus*, or *Poe*, he compaſſed it about with walls, and brought it into ſuch Reputation, that it daily increaſed as well in bigneſs as fame, and afterward became the ſeat of moſt potent Princes, and ſo hath a long time continued. This ſame year, which was the ſix hundred and ſixth of our Lord, died *Boniface* the Third, Biſhop of *Rome* (the Succeſſour of *Sabinian*, as he of *Gregory* the Great) and *Boniface* the Fourth of that Name ſucceeded him. He was conſecrated in the Month of *Auguſt*, and in *November* following the Truce betwixt the King and the Exarch was renewed for three years longer.

The Duke of *Forum Julii* ſlain by the *Hunnes.*

Giſel-ulf, Comitum adjutor.

Vide Paulum Diaconum hujus Eccleſiæ qui rem fusè narrat. lib. 4. c. 38.

15. For two years following though *Italy* reſted from war, yet was it ſorely afflicted by Famine and Sickneſs; the Effects of too exceſſive moiſture by reaſon of abundance of Rain. In that following, a Peace and Confederacy was made betwixt *Agilulf* and the Emperour *Phocas*, which continued for about two years, ſo long as the Tyrant lived. He being ſlain by *Heraclius*, *John Lenugius* a Patritian, was ſent to ſucceed *Smaragdus* at *Ravenna*, who being a Man of a peaceable diſpoſition, and finding *Italy* in quiet, laboured earneſtly ſo to keep it, by the ſame means his Predeceſſour had done, conſtantly renewing the Truce with the *Lombards*, as there was occaſion. By this means *Italy* continued in good repoſe for four or five years more, till it was diſturbed again upon a foreign Account, after this manner. *Cacanus* the young King of the *Hunnes*, impatient of reſt and greedy of booty, with a ſelect Party of Soldiers, came out of *Pannonia*, and fell on a ſudden into the Dukedom of *Forum Julii*. The news thereof being brought to *Gilulf* the Duke, he was not at all wanting to himſelf, but gathering an Army, as he could, met the *Hunnes*, and adventur'd to give them battel, wherein his Fortune anſwered not his Courage, for being incompaſſed by the Multitude of the Enemy, he was ſlain in the Place with almoſt all his Men. This being known, *Romilda* the Duke's Wife with his Sons, and the choice of the Nobility ſhut up themſelves in *Forum Julii*, and the other Towns were reinforced by others, that fled out of the Countrey. The *Hunnes* having waſted all at their pleaſure, at laſt came before *Forum Julii*, and laid ſiege to it. Here it happened that *Romilda* the Dutcheſs getting a ſight of *Cacanus* from the Walls, was ſo taken with the beauty of the young man, that falling deſperately in love with him, ſhe offered to him by a Meſſenger in caſe he

Romilda the Dutcheſs deſervedly put to death.

Hæc inſuper exprobrando inquiens, talem dignum eſt maritum habere.

would marry her, to deliver the Town into his hands. He promiſed her Marriage, and accordingly got into the Town, but then breaking his word he plundred and burnt the place, made the *Lombards* priſoners, and giving her the ſatisfaction of enjoying him for one Night, then delivered her up to twelve *Hunnes* to be ſatiated with what ſhe had deſired, and at laſt, thinking her not fit to live, cauſed her to be hanged upon a Gibbet. Her Daughters fared better for their Chaſtity, being ſpared by the *Hunnes*, who thought they ſtunk, becauſe out of deſign they had bound putrified Chickens betwixt their Breaſts.

Tato, Taſo, & Tazo apud Procopium Trazo coacervator.

Caco contractum ex Caganhaut ut in voc. Alleman, aut Cakanhart, Cibo ſimile id eſt dulce.

The Exarch killed.

Eleutherius, ſent in his room.

Gundualdͅ, Benevolentia potens.

Agilulf dies.

Theude-linda, Populis mollis.

16. The Sons of the Duke, *Tato*, *Caco*, *Rodoald* and *Grimoald*, when they perceived the King's treachery privately withdrew themſelves and reſolved to fly. *Grimoald* the Child being not able, as they concluded, to ſit his Horſe, one of them was about to kill him leſt he ſhould alive fall into the Enemies hands. But he crying out, and promiſing to ride as faſt as the beſt of them, he ſet him upon his Horſe without any Saddle and bade him follow. But he could not ride ſo faſt, but the reſt eſcaping he was overtaken by an *Hunne*, and being by him carried back toward the Camp did a thing which one would not have expected from a Man, much leſs from him. For as the Trooper went before him with the Child's Horſe in his hand, he gave him with his Sword ſuch a blow on the Head that he left him for dead upon the ſpot, and turning his Horſe he put him to his full ſpeed, and ſo at length reached his Brothers. The *Hunnes* departing out of the Dutchy, led away Captives many Men, Women and Children, promiſing to beſtow them in convenient places in *Pannonia*, but when they came upon the Borders, perfidiouſly put all the Men of ripe age to death, and led away the Women and Children. After their Retreat, the Sons of *Giſulf* returned, and *Tato* and *Caco* the eldeſt ordered the matters relating to Government. While this diſaſter happened to the *Lombards* they at *Ravenna* were not in quiet, where *John* the Exarch bearing himſelf very haughtily, and laying on the people heavier burthens than formerly they underwent, was by the Multitude killed in the Palace with ſuch Judges as he had called together for deciding Cauſes. Neither were the Affairs of *Campania* more ſettled, where *John Conſinius* the Duke of *Naples*, contrary to his Faith formerly given to the Emperour, ſeized that City, and with a ſtrong Garriſon held it out againſt him. The News hereof being carried to *Conſtantinople*, *Heraclius* ſent as Exarch into *Italy*, one *Eleutherius* a Patritian, and his Chamberlain, a man of great wiſedom and vertue. This ſame year was too remarkable for ſeveral other accidents. In *Auguſt* there was a great Earthquake, and this was followed by as great a Plague, a kind of Scab called *Elephantia*, which ſo disfigured the Faces of the diſeaſed, that they could not be known from dead Bodies. Three eminent perſons alſo died, the Biſhop of *Trent*, Duke *Gundoald* the Brother of *Theodelind*, and King *Agilulf* himſelf, after he had reigned twenty five years: a perſon famous for his Wars, and as acceptable upon the account of his Orthodox Religion. This was the DCXV. year of our Lord.

Adaluald his Son King after him.

Agilulfus Rex qui & Ago eſt appellatus.

Paulus Diac. lib. 4. *c.* 43.

A baſe Act of *Gregory* the Emperour's Officer.

Gros-hulf, Grande Auxilium. Rodwald, Quietis compos. Grim-wald, Iræ potens. Ar-gis, Honore fortis.

17. *Agilulf* (or *Ago*) being dead, the Kingdom was confirmed to *Adaluald* his Son, who reigned under the Government of *Theodelind* his Mother. No Wars now are heard of, ſhe as became her Sex applying her ſelf more to the works of Religion than thoſe of *Mars*, for which ſhe is deſervedly celebrated by Church-men. But her Neighbours could not be quiet. There was one *Gregory* a Patritian who governed thoſe parts for the Emperour which lay near the Dutchy of *Forum Julii*. He pretended great kindneſs to *Tato* the Son of the deceaſed *Giſulf*, made him believe he would adopt him for his Son, and enticed him to *Optigerium*, the place where he lay to perform the Ceremony by cutting his Beard according to the *Lombard* cuſtome. But having got the poor young man into the Town, with *Caco* his Brother and others of their followers, he cauſed the Gates to be ſhut, and then ſent Souldiers to fall upon them, whom they repulſed and ſo long defended themſelves, till being purſu'd from Street to Street they killed many they had to doe with, and at laſt were themſelves ſlain; which great atchievement being performed, *Gregory* ſent for *Tato* his Head, and then cut off his Beard to perform his godly promiſe. The report of this villany being ſpread abroad, *Graſulf* their Uncle haſted and ſeized on the Dutchy, *Rodoald* and *Grimoald* being yet ſo young as not to be fit for the management of matters, who within a while, for that their Uncle was, or they ſo thought or pretended, very ſevere to them, fled to *Arichis* the Duke of *Beneventum*, with whom they had been brought up in their Infancy, who kindly entertained them. The ſame year, which was next to the death of *Agilulf*, *Eleutherius* the Exarch came to *Ravenna*, where he made inquiſition after the death of *John*, and puniſhed with death ſuch as were found guilty of the Murther.

Thence by the way of *Rome*, where he was honourably received, he went to *Naples*, where not being received, he beſieged the other *John Conſinius* in the City, which being at laſt conſtrained to ſurrender, he was put to death, and pardon was granted to the Citizens, who were forced to receive a new Governour.

Eleutherius the Exarch thinks to uſurp.

Is ſlain by his Soldiers.

18. With this Succeſs *Eleutherius* was ſo puffed up as to forget that Vertue and Moderation once ſuppoſed to be prevalent in him, and to approve that Vice in his own Perſon, which he had ſo declaimed againſt, and puniſhed in other Men. Having opportunity, the great Corrupter of Mankind, by reaſon of the great diſtance betwixt theſe Countries and the Emperour, he reſolved to make for the Sovereignty of *Italy*, and knowing he muſt have the Soldiers at his beck to aime at this, he paid them their full wages, a thing they had not been much uſed to, and by all other means poſſible endeavoured to oblige them. While he muzed and contrived how to accompliſh this great Deſign, the death of *Deuſdedit* the Biſhop, preſented him as he thought with a fit occaſion to begin the Work. In the interval, before the Election of another he reſolved to ſeize on that City, and led his Men thitherward to get him poſſeſſion, but in the way met with the News of *Boniface* the Fifth his Promotion, which made him alter his Councils, and make a flattering Speech to the Army, by which and great promiſes for this time he inveigled them, and aſſumed the Title of King, which to have farther confirmed, by inveſting himſelf with Royal Enſigns of Majeſty, he would go on to *Rome*, the fitteſt place he ſaid of all others to receive them. But when they were come as far as *Luceoli*, the Soldiers had better conſidered of the matter, and upon better thoughts deteſting the Treachery fell into a Mutiny, which grew to that height, that they ſlew him as a Traitour on the twenty fourth of *December*, and returning to *Ravenna*, ſent his Head to the Emperour. The Emperour *Heraclius*, named *Iſaacius* a Patritian, his Exarch in his Room for the Government of *Italy*; and now being reſolved of a War with *Perſia*, made peace with *Cacanus* the *Hunniſh* King. Some four years after, one *Euſebius* came or pretended to come Ambaſſadour from the Emperour, about ſome weighty affairs to King *Adaluald*. He getting intimacy with him one day when the King came out of the Bath, either following the Directions of *Heraclius*, or on his own Head gave him ſomething to drink, which drove him into a Melancholy or Dotage. Perceiving this Plot to have taken, he made uſe of his Youth and Madneſs, and feeding his Extravagant fancy, perſwaded him to kill all his Nobles for his own ſecurity. He followed his Advice, and twelve he procured to be ſlain, which gave ſuch an Alarm, that the *Lombards* fearing the miſchief would increaſe, accuſed him as one that acted the part not of a King but of a Tyrant, and the year following growing more tumultuous, removed him and his Mother from the Government; which done they put into his place *Arioald* the Duke of *Taurinum*, who had married *Gundeberg* the Siſter of *Adaluald*. A.D. DCXXIIII.

Adaluald depoſed, and *Arioald* made King.

Ar-walt, Honoris tenax.

19. This Revolution caſt the whole Kingdom of the *Lombards* into very great Troubles, all that were concerned not conurring with thoſe that did the Fact. The Biſhops beyond the *Poe* were earneſt for *Arioald*, and laboured to draw the reſt to their ſide. But *Honorius* the Biſhop of *Rome*, and *Iſaacius* the Exarch, either by his procurement, or the Inſinuations of *Theodelind* were for reſtoring *Adaluald*, and the rather induced, becauſe the New King was of the *Arian* perſwaſion. *Iſaacius* with an Army endeavoured his Reſtitution, and *Honorius* wrote to him, that as ſoon as he had done his work he ſhould ſend the Diſſenting Biſhops to anſwer their Rebellion at *Rome*. But *Iſaacius* failed of his Deſign, and *Arioald* kept his poſſeſſion, governing himſelf with that prudence and temper, that notwithſtanding the Attempts of the Exarch, yet he was ſo true to the Intereſt of his Kingdom, as not to break the Peace with the *Romans*. The ill Succeſs caſt *Theodelind* into ſo great a Fit of Melancholy, that, not able to bear up againſt it, it brought her into a Conſumption of Spirits, and this to her Grave the year following. She was much lamented by all good Men, for her Excellent qualifications both of body and mind, and above all the great reſpect ſhe bare to all things Sacred. Several years did *Arioald* Reign with great Peace both at home and abroad, till ſomething happened in his own Court, which gave him and his Family great diſturbance. One *Adalulf* a Nobleman ſolicited his Queen *Gundeberga* for unlawfull pleaſures, and was with much Scorn and Indignation rejected. He fearing ſhe would accuſe him, to prevent her, got to the King, and tells him a formal ſtory, how *Tato* the Duke of *Etruria*, had conſpired to take away his Life, and marry the Queen. *Arioald*, burning with rage and jealouſie, ſhut up his Wife cloſe

A. D. 627.

Gundiberga, Benevola hoſpita.

cloſe priſoner in the Caſtle of *Amellum*, where ſhe continued three years, till ſhe was releaſed and reſtored to her former reputation. For *Cletair* King of the *Franks* taking pity of her, ſent and expoſtulated with her Husband for condemning a Lady deſcended of the Royal Bloud of the *Franks*, and deſpoiling her of her dignity without any cauſe or crime committed. *Arioald* anſwered it was not without cauſe, to whom *Anloald* one of the Ambaſſadours replied, that they would agree with him if he would but permit one of her Friends to try it with her Accuſer in a ſingle Combat. The cuſtome of the *Lombards* was, as indeed of all theſe Northern Nations, to decide Controverſies concerning Accuſations in that manner; therefore he not being able to refuſe the offer, *Aripert* her Kinſman produced one *Pitto*, *Paulus Diaconus* calls him *Carell*, as her Champion, who got the better of *Adalulf*, and ſo the Queen's innocency being clear'd, ſhe was reſtored to her former Eſtate and Honour. And this added to her Fame, that ſhe out-lived her Husband, who died ſome four years after, and had the honour to make another choice both for her ſelf and the Kingdom.

Anſ-huld, gratiæ fidelis.

Ar-preht, honoris copioſus.

Agi-hulf, ſibi auxiliator.

Arioald dies.

Rothari choſen King.

Wreſts the *Alpes Cottiæ* out of the Emperour's hands.

Gives a grievous defeat to the Exarch.

Iſaacius the Exarch dies.

Theodorus Calliopa in his room.

Rot-hari, quietis dominus.

20. For *Arioald* dying without Iſſue, the Eſtates aſſembled about an Election, and giving her the ſame reſpect as they had done to *Theodelind* of chuſing her ſelf an Husband, and the ſame a King for them, ſhe pitch'd upon one *Rothari*, fit every way for ſo great an Employment, but tainted alſo with the *Arian* Hereſie. There lay at this time within *Italy* and ſome Territories of the *Lombards* two Provinces, as yet ſubject to the Emperour; *viz.* the *Alpes Cottiæ* and *Opitergium*, with all the Towns adjoyning as far as *Tarinſium*. *Rotharis* or *Rothari*, as *Paul* the Hiſtorian calls him, with a great Army invaded the *Alpes Cottiæ*, and wreſted this rich patrimony out of the Emperour's hands, whence bending his Forces into *Venetia* he took *Opitergium*, and the other Towns by ſurrender. The Exarch being ſurprized, and not able ſo ſoon to get his Troops together as to doe any thing effectual for preſervation of theſe places, yet thought himſelf in honour obliged to fall with all violence he could upon the Dominions of the *Lombards*. *Rothar* was ſufficiently aware thereof, and having taken *Peruſia*, with greater numbers of Men haſted to *Æmilia*, and ſo homeward to give him battel, and found him out upon the borders at the River *Scultamna*. Here they engaged in Battel with this ſucceſs that eight thouſand of the *Romans* were ſlain and all the reſt fled: a Defeat of ſuch conſequence that it put an end to all Wars betwixt the Kings of the *Lombards* and the Exarchs, till the time of *Luitprand*. The chief Inhabitants about *Opitergium* having loſt their Dwellings and Eſtates, imitated the ancient *Veneti* and betook themſelves to the *Æſtuaris* of the Sea, and at the mouth of the River *Planis* built them a City, which after the Emperour's name they called *Heraclia*. Certain Countrey-men with their Cattel followed them, and becauſe they could not all be contained within the Walls of the new City, built themſelves a Town alſo which they named *Egnilium*. About this time *Iſaacius* the Exarch, having happily ſuppreſſed a Sedition raiſed at *Rome* by one *Mauritius* a Chartulary againſt him, died ſuddenly. The year following, his Death being known at *Conſtantinople*, *Conſtans* the Nephew of *Heraclius*, who having driven away *Heracleonas*, was owned Emperour by the Senate, ſent *Theodorus Calliopa* his Exarch into *Italy*.

The Edict of *Rotharis*.

Ann. Dom. DCXLIII.

21. Now arrived the ſeventy ſixth year from the Entrance of the *Lombards* into *Italy*, who all this while being more intent upon matters relating to War than Peace, and ſo concerned in ſecuring their publick Eſtate from their Neighbours without, that they ſcarcely had time to contend amongſt themſelves about private Intereſts, had never been governed by any written Laws but onely by Cuſtome and ſuch Rules as were kept in memory and deſcended by Tradition. But now having Peace abroad, as it ever happens, they became the more contentious at home, and eaſe and plenty made them quarrel and begat ſo many Suits that the former Cuſtomary Laws ſeeming inſufficient, *Rothar* applied himſelf to collect them in Writing, and adding to them many other Decrees to anſwer ſuch Caſes as they could not reach, he publiſhed them under the name of an Edict at *Pavia*, in the ſix hundred and forty third year of our Lord, with this Preface. "Here begins "the Edict which I have renewed with my principal Judges, I in the name of God, "King *Rotharis*, the moſt Excellent Man, the Seventeenth King of the Nation of "the *Lombards*, by the goodneſs of God, in the Eighth year of my Reign, and "the thirty eighth of mine Age, the ſecond Indiction, and after the coming of "the *Lombards* into the Province of *Italy*, ſince *Alboin* King at that time by Divine Clemency came, the ſeventy ſixth, happily, given at *Pavia* in the Palace. "How great our care and anxiety is and hath been for our Subjects, that hitherto

“annexed doth declare. Then he tells how he was moved to make theſe Laws by the daily oppreſſions of the poor, and the inſolence of thoſe that had power to afflict their Neighbours, that every one might live in peace and keep what was his own without intrenching upon others. He concludes with a Sanction that theſe Laws and no others ſhould be in force, always ſaved and reſerved a power to himſelf to add thereto ſuch as by himſelf, or by ancient Men could be called to mind. He commands that ſuch Cauſes as were already ended ſhould not be called again in queſtion; but ſuch as were not yet decided, or from that preſent twenty ſecond day of *November* ſhould take their riſe, ſhould be ordered and determined according to this Edict. And this he commands in general, that no advantage be taken by reaſon of any fault of the Writer, and to prevent all inconveniences of that nature, credit ſhould not be given to any other Copies but ſuch as ſhould be written, approved or reviſed by *Anſuald* his Notary, who had ſufficient licence and authority in that behalf.

22. Some five years after the publication of this Edict died *Arichis* the Duke of *Beneventum*, after he had held the Dukedom fifty years, who left a Son, *Aio* by name, but he being a Man of a crazy Brain (*Paul* tells us by reaſon of a Potion given him by the *Romans* at *Pavia*) he commended to his *Lombards*, *Radoald* and *Grimoald* the Sons of the Duke of *Forum Julii*, who, as we ſaid, had fled to him, and now were in the flower of their Age, affirming it were better for them that they governed than *Aio*. Yet *Aio* ſucceeded his Father in the Government of the *Samnites*, as *Paul* calls them, and the other two obeyed him in all things as their elder Brother and their Lord. The following year the *Saracens* and the *Sclavi* invaded *Italy*. The *Saracens* came from *Africk*, who having much haraſſed the Iſland of *Sicily* led away multitudes of Captives. The *Sclavi* from *Dalmatia*, on which they had ſeized, paſſed over to *Sypontus* and waſted *Apulia*, where they encamped themſelves; and about their Camp digged Ditches, which they covered over with light Earth as if it had been firm Ground. *Aio* hearing of their Invaſion, with a party of Men, but without the knowledge of *Radoald* or *Grimoald* his Governours went out againſt them, and thinking to fall upon their Camp, he fell into one of the Ditches, and therein was overpowered and ſlain, after he had been Duke a year and five months. *Radoald* within a little time, hearing what had happened, gathers together a ſufficient power, and coming upon them more warily than the other had done, kills of them a great number, revenges the Death of *Aio*, and drives the reſt out of all the Dominions of the Dukedom, of which now he took the Title and the Protection. But he did not long enjoy the Honour, dying within leſs than two years, and left his Brother *Grimoald* his Succeſſour. The ſame year *Olympius* the Exarch having beaten the *Saracens* out of *Sicily* died of ſickneſs he had contracted by too much pains he had taken; which *Conſtans* the Emperour having underſtood, ſent for *Theodorus Calliopa* and ordered him once more to go Exarch into *Italy*. This was the ſame year that the *Saracens* took *Rhodes*, and caſt down the famous *Coloſſe* which was dedicated to the Sun, whereof we have already ſpoken: The ſix hundred and fifty firſt year of our Lord.

Lib. 4. *c.* 45.

Ay, inſulanus. Ai, Ei, inſula ab ovi ſimilitudine. Sic Grotius. Ea autem eſt Aqua Saxonicè, atque Inſula eſt Ealond nobis Iland, ab Ea Francicum Eau. c. 46.

The *Saracens* invade *Italy*. And the *Sclavi*.

Olympius the Exarch drives the *Saracens* out of *Sicily* and dies.

A. D. 651.

23. In that which followed King *Rothari* died, after he had obtained much honour both for the Wars he had managed, and the Laws he had made; and left *Rodoaldus* his Son his Succeſſour, a Man of a peaceable diſpoſition, making no Wars, but ſome religious Conteſts with the Orthodox Biſhops, being tainted, as his Father had been, with the *Arian* Hereſie. There is little or nothing memorable of him, but that after he had been King five years and ſeven days he was killed by a *Lombard* whoſe Wife he had debauched. He having left no Children, though *Paul* tells us he married *Gundiberg* the Daughter of *Agilulf* and *Theudelind*, the Eſtates met about a new Election, and the choice fell upon *Aribert* (or *Aripert*) the Son of *Gunduald*, who was Brother to *Theudelind*. Neither is there any thing memorable of him, but that he built at *Pavia* the Oratory of St. *Saviour*, and died after he had reigned nine years, ſaith *Paul*, although *Sigonius* allows him not above five at moſt. He moſt imprudently divided his Kingdom betwixt his Sons, two young Men, *Bertarid* (or *Pertharit*) and *Godebert*, or *Gundebert*, which gave occaſion to very great Commotions. *Bertarid* was to reign at *Milan*, and *Godebert* at *Pavia*. But the latter not content with the Part allotted him quarrelled with his Brother, and as in all ſuch ambitious practices is common from leſs to come to more, and at length nothing would ſatisfie him but the whole Kingdom; which though he himſelf by plain ſtrength could not compaſs, yet by the means of Friends he doubted not but at length to be poſſeſſed of the whole. He ſent *Garibald* the Duke of *Taurinum* to *Grimoald* the Duke of *Beneventum* to deſire his

King *Rothari* dies, and *Rodoald* his Son ſucceeds,

Rod wald, quietis compos.

And *Aribert* him,

*Ar-prebt, honoris copioſus. Paulus Diaconus, l.*4.*c.*53. *Breht-reid, latè equitans. Berd, Brehd, Breed & noſtrum Broad idem. Reita eſt equitatus in Legibus. Goede-breht, bonorum copioſus. Gund-breht, benevolentia abundans.*

Who divides his Kingdom betwixt his two Sons.

his help, and in caſe he would give him his utmoſt aſſiſtence, to offer him his own Siſter to Wife. But the Ambaſſadour acted quite beſides his Inſtructions, adviſing *Grimoald* to come himſelf, and to decide the Controverſie betwixt the two Brothers, by making himſelf Monarch of the *Lombards*, being as to Age more ripe, as to Counſel more prudent, and as to Strength , of greater Intereſt than either of them.

24. *Grimoald* being a man of an active and ambitious temper could not but liſten to him, and at length his ambition quite conquered other paſſions, ſo that he became a Competitour for the Kingdom, and to make himſelf a Title, with a very powerfull Army marched toward *Pavia*, having appointed his Son *Romoald* to be Duke of *Beneventum* in his ſtead. When he came to *Placentia* he ſent *Garibald* before to declare his coming to *Godebert*, who conſulting with *Garibald* about a fit place wherein to lodge *Grimoald*, he anſwered none was ſo fit as his own Palace for him, to whom he had promiſed his Siſter. Accordingly *Grimoald* came and was received into the Court, but *Garibald* that was the evil Inſtrument betwixt them, perſwaded the King that he ſhould not admit him to his preſence without having put on privy Armour, and then *Grimoald* he told on the other ſide, that except he came well prepared *Godebert* had a deſign and would kill him, wearing privy Armour for that purpoſe. Accordingly the next day when they came to meet, *Grimoald* found the King armed, and thinking it was upon deſign, as he had been informed, drew his Sword and ſlew him in the place, which done he made himſelf Maſter of his whole Dominion and all his Treaſures, though he left a young Son named *Reginbert*, whom his faithfull Friends concealed and reſerved, if it might be, to another time, *Grimoald* making no great inquiſition after him becauſe an Infant. *Bertarid* the other Brother, hearing how matters went, deſpaired of withſtanding ſuch an Adverſary as *Grimoald*, and ran away from *Milan* to *Cacanus* the King of the *Avares*, leaving his Wife *Rodelind* and *Cunibert* his young Son behind him, whom *Grimoald* baniſhed to *Beneventum*. As for *Garibald* the Authour of all theſe miſchiefs ſuch an end he had as he deſerved. For there was one of the Family of *Godebert*, little in ſtature but a Man of extraordinary courage and reſolution, who living in *Taurinum*, and hearing that he would come to Church on *Eaſter* Day, placed himſelf near the Font with a naked Sword under his Clothes, and as he came near the place, with all his might laid at him and ſlew him. He himſelf by the followers of *Garibald* was incompaſſed quickly and ſlain; but ſo he revenged the Death of *Godebert* his Lord. And with their two Lives *Paul* the Deacon concludes his fourth Book of the Geſts or Actions of the *Lombards*, to whom, as his Countreymen, he bears no ſmall affection.

Rom-wald vel Rum-wald, Fama potens.

Grimoald kills *Godebert* and ſeizes on the Kingdom.

Regin-breht vel Ragin-breht, Puritatis copioſus. Ragin & Regin idem quod Rein purus.

Garibald deſervedly ſlain.

25. *Grimoald* having killed the one Brother, and driven the other with his Wife and Son into baniſhment married their Siſter, and with great applauſe of the *Lombards* declared himſelf King; which done, he ſent back his fortunate Army to *Beneventum* , retaining onely the principal Officers to doe them honour. He did not doubt now to ſecure his Eſtate if he could but deſtroy *Bertharid* (or *Pertharit*) the other Brother, for which purpoſe he ſent to *Cacanus*, or the King of the *Hunnes*, requiring him upon pein of his diſpleaſure, and an abſolute rupture betwixt the two Kingdoms, to baniſh him his Dominions. *Cacanus* not thinking fit to be at difference at this time with his Neighbour, commanded the poor Prince to quit his Territories, which he perceiving he muſt out of neceſſity doe, and that he could not promiſe himſelf whereever he ſhould go any conſtant maintenance or effectual aſſiſtence, thought it moſt fit to goe to him who had the moſt reaſon of all to ſupply him, and ſent before him one *Unulf* his Friend to give him notice of his coming. *Grimoald* was very joyfull to hear of it, and commanded an Houſe to be furniſhed at *Pavia* every way fit for his Reception. But his Friends were too friendly, flocking in great numbers to him night and day and ſhewing ſo much kindneſs as caſt the Uſurper into a very great fit of jealouſie, which wrought ſo far that he appointed him a Guard, and the next night intended to make an end of him. Now it wonderfully happened that *Bertarid* had notice of the Deſign, and ſuch a ſagacious Wit as that of *Unulf* to aſſiſt him, by whoſe advice he changed his Cloaths, and paſſing by the Sentinels, got over the River, and ſo taking in the Paſtures ſuch Horſes as he could come by, with ſuch Companions as *Unulf* had provided him, eſcaped to *Haſta*, thence to *Taurinum*, and at laſt into *France*; where when *Grimoald* heard that he was arrived, he fretted much, as at a thing which had happened quite contrary to his expectations. Yet was he ſo generous and incomparably mercifull withall, that he did not onely not blame or quarrel with *Unulf*, but commended him highly for his conſtant fidelity to his Maſter, and gave

Paulus Diac. Lib. 5. *c.* 2.

Idem ibid. c. 3, 4.

him and another of his Servants leave, either to ſtay or go to him as he ſhould think convenient. The King of the *Franks*, to whom *Bertarid* made his application, was ſo touched with a ſenſe of his affliction, that the Year following he ſent a ſtrong Army, to replace him in his former condition. *Grimoald* buckled himſelf to reſiſtence, but perceiving he was too weak to graple with ſuch a Power, when ſtrength would not doe, he uſed Craft, and thereby became Superiour to his Enemies. He himſelf made as if he fled out of fear, but left his Camp well furniſhed with all Neceſſaries, eſpecially Wine in great Quantity, by which bait he hoped to catch the inconſiderate *Franks*. And ſo he did, for they coming and finding no body there but ſo good chear ready for them, inſtead of purſuing the Enemy fell on it, and when their Bellies and Heads were full, betook themſelves to their reſt. *Grimoald* having notice hereof, after the ſecond Watch, when they were in a dead ſleep, came upon them and made ſo great a ſlaughter, that he left very few of them alive, to carry home the News of the defeat.

Cap. 5.

26. The year following, *Conſtans* the Emperour came into *Italy*, upon what account Opinions are various. Some, as we have already ſaid, thought him by terrible Dreams and a frightfull Conſcience, about his Brother whom he had murthered, driven from *Conſtantinople* to ſeek Diverſion. Others believed he departed from that City out of hatred to the Inhabitants, who bore him no good will upon the account of Religion. And ſome, as *Anaſtaſius* and *Paul*, were of opinion, that he came to drive the *Lombards* out of *Italy*. With a Fleet exceedingly well furniſhed he arrived at *Tarentum*, and thence led his Army to *Beneventum*, taking *Luceria* and ſeveral other Towns belonging to the *Lombards* in his way, and ſate down before it, reſolving to uſe all force and art imaginable, for ſtorming of it. *Romoald* the Son of *Grimoald* the King was now Duke thereof, who aſſoon as the Emperour approached, ſent away to his Father *Seſuald* who had been his Governour, to let him know the great danger he was in; and now refuſing to venture for the main chance, diverted the Beſiegers, as he could, by frequent Sallies, and obviating their Strategems and Deſigns. *Grimoald* receiving the News with all ſpeed he could got an Army together, and with as much haſte marched toward *Beneventum*, ſending the Meſſenger back with News of his coming, who being near his Journeys end, fell into the Hands of the *Romans*, who brought him to the Emperour's preſence. *Conſtans* demanding what he was and whence he came, he without concealing his buſineſs told him he was ſent by the King to give his Son notice of his coming, which caſt the Emperour into a mighty fear, and cauſed him to treat about Peace with *Romoald*, that before his Father's coming, he might get ſafe to *Naples*, for performing the conditions of which he received, *Giſa* the Siſter of *Romoald* as an Hoſtage. But to deceive him he commanded *Seſuald* to goe to the walls, and tell him nothing of his Father's approach, but on the contrary to affirm that he could not poſſibly give him any relief. He promiſed he would doe ſo, but coming to the walls and asking for *Romoald*, he bad him be of good comfort, for his Father would ſhortly be with him, being that Night to encamp at the River *Sangius*, deſiring him to be good to his Wife and Children, for theſe perfidious People would not ſuffer him to live. Accordingly the Emperour commanded his Head to be cut off, and with an Engine to be caſt into the Town, where *Romoald* cauſed it to be brought to him, and, having with Tears and Lamentations kiſſed it, to be decently buried.

C c. 6. *&* 7.

Conſtans the Emperour comes into *Italy*.

Jeſualdus Sigonio, Seſualdus autem Paulo. Sitswald, Sedum potens. Sigonius cum eſſet Linguæ Teutonicæ ignarus, in propriis nominibus ſæpe errat.

Idem. c. 8. *Giſa contractum ex Giſelbreht (unde Gilbert) comitum copioſus.*

27. *Conſtans* having done this great feat, for fear of *Grimoald* his coming departed for *Naples*, and in his way received ſome loſs by *Tranſemund* the Count of *Capua*, his falling on his Men, and taking them in a diſadvantageous Poſture. Whether to be revenged for this or for other reaſons, *Saburrus* one of his Nobility deſired he might have but twenty thouſand Men, ingaging with them to defeat *Grimoald*, of which the whole Court had ſo great apprehenſion. *Grimoald* being come to *Beneventum*, and having notice of this his undertaking, though he thought at firſt to have gone againſt him in Perſon, yet at his earneſt deſire ſent *Romoald* his Son, who met him at *Formiæ*, and gave him battel. For a long time the Succeſs was doubtfull, till one *Amelingus* a *Lombard*, that carried the King's Spear, ſtruck down a certain *Greek* from his Horſe, and afterward taking him up on the Point of his Spear, held him aloft over his Head to the great Admiration of all the Beholders, and the Conſternation of the *Greeks*, who preſently began to run, and left an undoubted Victory to *Romoald*. *Conſtans* perceiving it labour in vain to meddle any more with the *Lombards*, that he might not ſeem to have come into *Italy* for nothing, reſolved to goe and viſit *Rome*. Both the Biſhop and all the Citizens were glad to hear the News, it having been a long time ſince

Paulus, lib. 1. *cap.* 9. *Tranſemundus Sigonio, Paulus autem eum vocat, Mittolam Capuanum Comitem, dicítq; eum juxta fluenta Caloris fluminis in loco qui ad ſuum uſq; diem Pugna vocabatur vehementer exercitum Conſtantis attriviſſe.*

His men defeated.

Idem, ibid. Cap. 10. *Ameling, cœlo ortus. Cap.* 11.

He is ſacrilegious at *Rome*.

A. D. 663.

Paulus quo ſuprà.
Cap. 16.
Troſt-mund, Conſolans os.

ſince an Emperour had therein ſet his foot, and they reſolved to receive him with Extraordinary Honour. *Vitalianus* the Biſhop with all his Clergy, and the *Roman* People met him at five Miles diſtance from the City, on the third day before the *Nones* of *July* in the ſixth Indiction, and the ſix hundred and ſixty third year of Our Lord. Having done his Devotions at the Churches, and viſited all the places worthy of his Notice, after twelve days ſtay in the City; he departed and carried along with him all the braſs he could find, defacing many great Monuments of Antiquity, and the Majeſty of *Rome*, and not abſtaining from the very Coverings of Churches. From *Rome* by Land he went to *Naples*, and thence by Sea paſſed into *Sicily*. *Grimoald* to reward the ſervice done by *Traſemund* the Duke of *Capua*, gave him his Daughter to Wife, and *Zotho* the Duke of *Spoletum* dying, that Dukedom as a Portion, which done he returned back to his Houſe at *Pavia*.

Lupus revolts.

He is ſlain.

And his Son.

Lup. alias Laof quies. Hinc. Lupfrid, Lupwald in vocab. Alleman.

Cap. 17.

Cap. 18.

Cap. 19.

Cap. 20.

Paulus Diac. lib. 5. *c.* 21.
Warne-frid, cuſtos Pacis.
Cap. 22.
Cap. 23.
Paulo Theude-ruda, Theude-rada, Populis conſulens.

28. During his Abſence *Lupus* the Duke of *Forum Julii*, had plaid many pranks which were not to be paſſed over in ſilence. Into the Territories of the *Veneti*, he marched with a Party of Horſe, and plundered the Church of *Aquileia*, with the wealth of which not contenting himſelf, being left by *Grimoald* in *Pavia*, he committed there many outragious Enormities, verily believing that the King would never return alive from the Expedition. But hearing that he returned with a kind of triumph, he durſt not abide his coming, but flying to *Forum Julii*, there he revolted and renounced his Allegiance to *Grimoald*, who being highly incenſed againſt him reſolved to reduce by force, and puniſh him, but unwilling in the leaſt to bring his *Lombards* acquainted with Civil wars, he hired *Cacanus* the *Hunn* to come upon him, who accordingly the following year with an infinite Multitude invaded his Territories, and waſted all far and wide with an hoſtile Courage. *Lupus* was not yet backward to defend his People, but with ſuch Forces as he could make oppoſed himſelf, and that with ſuch ſtrange Succeſs, that fighting four days together, *Cacanus* at firſt received more loſs, than he brought damage to the *Lombards*. But at this incenſed, as at the greateſt Infamy, with all Violence and better Conduct he ſet upon them again, and not onely defeated them, but killed *Lupus* in the Battel. Accounting now all his own he overran the Countrey, and waſted all parts of it at his pleaſure, till *Grimoald* being made to underſtand it ſent to him, and putting him in mind of their former Covenant, admoniſhed him, his work being now done, to draw his Forces out of the Dutchy of *Forum Julii*: *Cacanus* anſwered plainly, that he would not ſo quit a Countrey, which he had obtained by Arms, and with ſo much bloud of his followers, with which anſwer *Grimoald* was highly offended, and got together as good an Army as he could, but nothing to be compared for Numbers to that of his Adverſary. Being therefore ſo inferiour in Numbers, he invented a way how to have his Forces repreſented to the *Hunniſh* King far more numerous than they were. The Ambaſſadours of *Cacanus*, being preſent when he muſtered his Souldiers, he cauſed them the next day to change their Cloaths, and ſo he did twice or thrice, which made the Ambaſſadours fully believe they were thrice as many as indeed they were, and they reporting it to their Maſter out of fear, he retreated into his own Kingdom. *Lupus* being ſlain, *Warnefrid* his Son by the aſſiſtence of the *Sclavi*, ſought to obtain the Poſſeſſion of his Fathers Dukedom, but by the procurement of *Grimoald* was overpowered and ſlain. He then made one *Weclari* Duke of *Forum Julii*, and married *Theodorata* the Daughter of *Lupus* to his Son *Romoald*.

Grimoald revengefull.

C c. 26, 27, 28.

Cap. 29.
* *Gaſtalde exponitur qui curtim gubernat, propriè poſitus, qui vicem gerit. Ga & Ge augmenta ſunt & pro Dialectis variant. Alii Ca habent ut Caſtaldus. De Duce Gaſtaldium vocitari præcepit. Eui uſque hodie in his ut diximus locis habitantes,*

29. *Grimoald* being now at his eaſe, thought it time to animadvert upon thoſe who in Expectation of a Change, had forſaken him in his march againſt the Emperour *Conſtans*. A Town called *Forum Popilii* belonging to the *Romans*, he depopulated becauſe the Inhabitants had been very troubleſome to his Men, during the War in their paſſing, and repaſſing to *Beneventum*. Pretending an Expedition another way in the time of Lent he paſſed over the Hill *Bardo* into *Treſcia*, and on a ſudden, when none expected it from the *Apennine*, fell down upon it on *Eaſter* Eve; at ſuch time as they were buſie in baptizing Children, and filled the City with ſuch ſlaughter, that the very Deacons, that miniſtred at the Sacrament, were not ſpared. After this remembring how his two Brothers *Tato* and *Caco* had been circumvented and baſely killed at *Opitergium*, he deſtroyed it alſo for Company. Two Years after *Alzeco* the Duke of the *Bulgari* came with many Followers, but peaceably into *Italy*, and deſired of *Grimoald* ſome grounds to inhabit, which requeſt the King granted, aſſigning them the Towns *Sepia*, *Bonianum* and *Æſernia*, which at this time were not inhabited in the Dutchy of *Beneventum*, and commanded his Son to admit him as * *Gaſtald*, or the Count of them. The year following

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ing *Grimoald* kept himſelf at home, and applied his mind to the fitting of Laws to the wants and temper of the People, to which purpoſe he reviſed the Edict of *Rothari* formerly mentioned, repealing ſome things, and adding many, which his Judges ſuggeſted to him to be both wanting, and neceſſary for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice. The Year that followed was *Conſtantine* the Emperour ſlain in the Month of *July*, and *Conſtantine* his Son continued his Reign as he had begun. *Grimoald* lived ſome three years after him, and then died after this manner. He had been let bloud, and nine days after going to bend a bow to ſhoot at a Pigeon, three Veins in his Arm broke, and, as was reported, his Phyſicians applied ſome poyſonous Plaſter to the Sore, and ſo made an end of him; after he had reigned nine Years, as *Paul* the Deacon writes, but *Sigonius* begins his Reign in the ſix hundred and ſixty firſt Year of Our Lord, and ends it not till the ſeventy ſecond. He was a Man of very ſtrong Conſtitution of Body, and had an Head as well furniſhed.

quanquam & latinè loquantur, linguæ tamen propriæ uſum minimè anteferunt. Sic Paulus.

Menſe Julio, Anno Regni 6. Indictione 11. *A. D.* 668. *Paulus, lib.* 5. *cap.* 33.

Grimoald dies.

A. D. DCLXXII.

30. He left a Son by the Daughter of *Aribert*, named *Garibald*, who was very young. At the ſame time *Bertarid* was making a Journey from *France* into *Britain*, to viſit the *Saxon* Kings. He had ſcarcely put off to Sea, when a Voice was heard from Land which asked for him, and adviſed him to return home, for *Grimoald* had been dead three days. Returning with ſpeed to the ſhore, the Perſon that ſpake it could not be found; he therefore interpreted it as a Voice from Heaven, and preſently put himſelf upon his Journey. And his Expectation deceived him not, for when he came to the *Alpes*, he found there the Guards, and all the Officers of the Court ready to receive him, whither he haſted with a chearfull mind, and depoſing the Boy *Garibald*, in the third Month after the death of his Father, with the great Joy and Expectation of the *Lombards*, he reaſſumed his Royal Eſtate, and called back his Wife *Rodelinde*, and his Son *Cunipert* from *Beneventum*, where they lay in Exile. Having reigned above ſeven Years, in his eighth he made *Cunipert* his Partner in the Kingdom, and with him reigned ten more, if *Paul* our Hiſtorian be in the right. Many years they lived in great tranquillity, and the State proſpered; till at length their Quiet was interrupted by *Alachis* the Duke of *Tridentum* or *Trent*, who having overmaſtered the Count of the *Baioarii*, was ſo puffed up with his Succeſs, that depoſing the King he fortified his City all manner of ways againſt him. *Bertarid* hereupon, with what forces he could get together, beſieged him in *Trent*, but he made ſo violent a ſally out againſt him, as obliged him to break up his ſiege, and after great loſs of Men to fly away for his Life. Notwithſtanding this yet *Cunipert*, having had great Friendſhip and Familiarity with him from his youth, perſwaded his Father to pardon and receive him into favour, and ſo true was he to the ſacred Rights of Friendſhip, that when *Bertarid* ſeveral times contrived his Ruine, yet ſtill he diverted the Execution, nay hoping ſtill he would at laſt be faithfull, and with intention to conquer him by kindneſs, he perſwaded him to make him Duke of *Brixia*; though the old King bid him ſtill take heed what he did, and told him he did not ſo much by theſe good Offices oblige to him a Friend, as ſtrengthen an Enemy to his own deſtruction, for he would by the freſh help and aſſiſtence of the *Brixians* (who made a powerfull Intereſt among the *Lombards*) at length puſh for the Kingdom it ſelf. About this time one *John* was ſent to ſucceed *Theodore* in the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, and ſome three years after *Bertarid*, the old King of the *Lombards*, died, a Prince to be commended for his Piety towards God, his Juſtice toward his Subjects, and his Charity to the Poor.

Bertarid recovers the Kingdom.

Rode-linde, quies tranquilla.

Cun-breet, Animi abundans, ſic Grotius.

Cun autem & Kenne ſcientiam denotant. Inde Cunning, adeo ut Cunbreet interpretari poſſit Scientia abundans.

Hic dum Dux eſſet in Tridentina civitate, cum Comite Baioariorum, quem illi Gravionem dicunt, qui Bauzanum & reliqua caſtella regebat conflixit, eúmque mirificè ſuperavit. Paulus Diaconus. lib. 5. c. 36.

Bertarid dies.

Cunibert his Son King.

31. *Canibert* his Son then continued his Reign, having married *Hermelinda* a Lady of the Stock of the *Anglo-ſaxons*. No ſooner almoſt was his Father dead, but he found how true a Prophet he had been in the Caſe of *Alachis*, who in return to all his kindneſs, and more than Brotherly-love, plotted how to deprive him of his Kingdom, and get the Crown upon his own Head. Having drawn into the Conſpiracy two Brothers *Aldo* and *Granſo*, the moſt conſiderable Citizens of *Brixia*, and ſeveral other *Lombards*, he watched his time when the King was abſent, and contrary to his Oath of Fidelity ſeized on his Palace in *Pavia*, which done he took upon him the Royal Title. *Cunibert* having notice of this Treaſon, and altogether unprovided, as having never expected any ſuch thing, went and fortified himſelf as well as he could in the Iſland *Comacina*, in the Lake *Larium*. In the mean time the Tyrant carries himſelf as he had begun, and hurried by his own Inclinations, never conſidered how it behoved him by a fair demeanour, to keep what he had already obtained. To the Churchmen he carried himſelf with great pride and ſeverity, and could not conceal his Tyrannical and Ingratefull Humour,

Alachis rebels.

Paulus Diaconus, lib. 5. *c.* 38.

Humour, toward thoſe that had been the Authours of his Advancement. On a time as he was telling Money in his Palace, the Son of *Aldo* happened to be there, and a piece falling down upon the Table, took it up and officiouſly gave it to him. He imagining the Child could not underſtand his meaning, ſaid to him, thy Father hath many ſuch as this, which if it pleaſe God, he ſhall e'er long give to me. But the Boy at his Return home told this, and other paſſages to his Father, from which *Aldo* concluded he had been groſly miſtaken in his meaſures, and that if he did not by ſome ſpeedy Act prevent it, death and the Ruine of his Family ſhould be the Reward of all his Services to the Tyrant. Having communicated his thoughts with *Granſo* his Brother, and others of his Friends, they thought fit to perſwade *Alachis* to go out to hunt, and take his pleaſure in the Foreſt, promiſing they would keep the City of *Pavia* for him, and moreover at his Return, preſent him with the Head of *Cunibert* that drunken Sot. *Idem ibid. c. 39.*

32. He was perſwaded, and out he went to recreate himſelf in the Foreſt, which while he did, *Aldo* and his Brother repaired to *Cunibert* in the Iſland. Falling at his Feet they bewailed their Crime and Misfortune together, and begging his pardon, agreed on a day whereon to put *Pavia* again into his Hands. This they performed to the great Joy and Satisfaction of the Inhabitants, the Clergy eſpecially, and to the as great diſſatisfaction of *Alachis*, who after he had ſpent the heat of his Rage againſt *Aldo*, went into *Iſtria* to raiſe Forces. Several Cities, ſome by perſwaſions, and others by force, he brought to join with him and the Army of *Forum Julii*, which was marching to the Aſſiſtence of *Cunibert*, by a ſtrange wile he diverted from their purpoſe, for, ſtanding at a Bridge they were to paſs, lying over the River *Liquentia*, as they marched ſtragling one from another, he forced them to ſwear Fidelity to him, and then kept every one from returning to his Companions to tell them the cheats, and give them notice of whom to beware. Not long after having got together a conſiderable Power, he moved againſt *Cunibert*, and they incamped the one againſt the other in the Fields of *Coronata*, where *Cunibert* ſent and challenged *Alichis* to a ſingle Combat, to ſave the Lives of ſo many which elſe of neceſſity muſt be deſtroyed. But *Alachis* remembring his Strength and Courage, when they were young together refuſed the offer, though he was alſo ſolicited to it by one of his followers, who upon his refuſal diſdaining to ſerve ſuch a Maſter, forſook him, and went over to his Enemy. The two Armies then being to decide the Controverſie, when *Cunibert* was about to charge, *Zeno* a Deacon of the Church at *Pavia*, bearing him great affection, and afraid he ſhould miſcarry, came to him, told him all their Safety conſiſted in his, and that if he periſhed in the Battel, the Tyrant would by divers ways of Torment put them to death, therefore he prayed him to give him leave to put on his Armour to counterfeit his Perſon, and to goe for him: if ſo be he periſhed the loſs would not be great, and if he lived the thing would redound unto his Honour, having by his Servant obtained the Victory. *Cap. 40.*

33. The King very earneſtly refuſed, but overcome by the Prayers and Tears of ſeveral of the By-ſtanders, at length yielded, and *Zeno* being much of his height and ſhape, when he had put on his Armour, he could not be known from *Cunibert* himſelf. The Battel was fought with great Animoſity on both ſides, and *Alachis* bending all his malice, and the utmoſt force he could make toward the Wing, where, as he imagined, *Cunibert* ſtood, came up with and ingaged his diſguiſed Adverſary, whom but little skilled in ſuch affairs he ſlew, and in great jollity and triumph commanded his Head to be cut off, and ſet upon the Point of a Spear, that the Soldiers on both ſides might perceive it. But when he came to take off his Head, the Head of a Clerk not that of a King appeared, whereat he was much amazed, and from his amazement fell into a great paſſion againſt all Churchmen vowing in caſe he got the Victory, he would fill a Pit with their Teſticles. In the mean time *Cunibert*, perceiving his Men much dejected at the Report of his death, and that they began to fly, ſhewed himſelf to them, and revived their Spirits to ſuch a meaſure, that they were ready and chearfull for a ſecond ingagement; when *Cunibert* again ſent to *Alachis*, and to avoid the Effuſion of Bloud, once more offered to decide the Quarrel by a Duel. But he refuſed, joyned battel the ſecond time, and therein was ſlain, and with him moſt of his followers; ſuch of them as eſcaped, being ſwallowed up by the flouds of the River *Adua*. The Army of the Dutchy of *Forum Julii*, was not at the Battel, for having ſworn to *Alachis*, and yet it being againſt their Conſciences to fight for him, they neither aſſiſted the one nor the other, but when they came to ingage, departed home. *Alachis* being thus ſlain, King *Cunibert* in triumph returned to *Pavia*, and having *Cap. ult.* Is ſlain.

having made a ſumptuous Funeral for *Zeno* the Deacon, reigned with all Proſperity, Juſtice and Moderation. In the Field of *Coronata* where the Battel was fought, he built a Monaſtery to St. *George*.

A Monaſtery built to St. *George*.

34. About two years after *Romoald* the Duke of *Beneventum*, for what cauſe is uncertain, invaded *Calabria* belonging to the Emperour, and being without any conſiderable Fortification or Defence he took *Tarentum*, *Brunduſium* and the whole Countrey round about, and not long after died, when he had Governed ſixteen years, and left his Dukedom much inlarged to his Son *Grimoald*, who held it for three years longer, having married *Wigilinda* the Siſter of *Cunibert*, and Daughter of King *Bertarid*. After the Death of *Grimoald*, *Gaſulf* his Brother was Duke, and held the place ſeventeen years, whoſe Wife was *Winiberta* the Mother of *Romoald* his Son. But much about the ſame time that *Romoald* invaded the Territories of the Emperour great ſtirs happened in the Dukedom of *Forum Julij*; where *Rodoald* had ſucceeded *Landar*, as he did *Weclari*, who was made Duke by King *Grimoald* as we ſaid before. In the abſence of *Rodoald* from the City one *Anſfrid*, from a certain Caſtle called *Reunia*, ſeized on the Government and Title of Duke without any Warrant or Authority from the King. *Rodoald* in much trouble at the Report, departed into *Iſtria*, and thence Sailing to *Ravenna*, he ſo came to *Pavia* to *Cunibert*, who ſhortly had Intelligence that *Anſfrid* intended to be his Rival alſo for the Kingdom; but as he was making preparations for ſo great an Enterprize, he was taken at *Verona*, and being brought before the King, was deprived of his ſight, and ſo baniſhed. Then was *Aldo* the Brother of *Rodoald* made Duke of *Forum Julij*, and held it ſeven years, as *Sigonius* gathers from ſome other circumſtances, though *Paul* the Hiſtorian writes that he Governed by the Name of Preſervator or Protector of the place but for one year and ſeven months. Such proſperity had *Cunibert* during his Life, which laſted twelve years after that of his Father. He was a man very eminent for his neatneſs and goodneſs, and no leſs remarkable for his courage and dexterity in War.

Anſ-frid, Gratioſa Pax. Ans, vel Anſt, Gratia in Novo Teſtamento & Dictionario.

Foro Julianorum autem ducatum poſthac. Ado frater Rodoaldi loci ſervatoris nomine per annum & menſes ſeptem gubernavit. lib. 6. c. 3.

Cunibert dies.

35. His Succeſſour he appointed his Son *Liutbert*, and becauſe he was young, left one *Aſprand* a man of great Nobility and Wiſdom to be his Governour, who held the place and managed it with great ſincerity for the ſpace of eight months. Then did *Godebert*'s Son, *Ragunbert* by Name, whom when *Grimoald* ſlew him he left young, and who now was Duke of *Taurinum*, thinking he had good opportunity preſented by the Infancy of *Liutbert*, ſet up for himſelf, and defeating *Aſprand* and his Aſſociates in battel, obtained the Sovereignty. During his adminiſtration of affairs, *Giſulf* the Duke of *Beneventum* with a ſtrong Army invaded *Campania*; which waſting with Fire and Sword, he took thence great numbers both of Cattel and Captives, and proceeded ſo far that *John* the Biſhop of *Rome* was ſorely frighted, and knowing the City was not ſtrong enough to make any reſiſtence, betook himſelf to intreaties, and he and his Clergy going out to meet him, prevailed with him to return back and diſmiſs his Priſoners. *Ragunbert* died within the year, and was ſucceeded by his Son *Aribert*, who more effectually proſecuted his Intereſt, than did his Father. He renewed the War with *Liutbert*, who had by this time got a very ſtrong Party, for not onely *Aſprand* but *Otto*, *Tazo*, *Faro*, and *Rotharit* Duke of *Bergomum* joyn'ed with him. But all theſe he defeated in one battel at *Pavia*, *Liutbert* he took Priſoner, *Aſprand* and *Rotharit* fled, the one to the Iſland *Comacina*, and the other to his City of *Bergamum*, whither *Aribert* purſued him, and having taken *Landis* a Town in the Territories, laid Siege to the City, and uſing all violent courſes, at laſt took it by ſtorm, and therein *Rotharit*, who by this time had aſſumed the Title of King. Having cauſed his Head and Beard to be ſhaven, he ſent him away to *Taurinum*, where not long after he was killed by the King's command, who alſo preſently after cauſed *Liutbert* his young Competitour to be ſtifled in a Bath. Then ſent he his Army to *Comacina* againſt *Aſprand*, who having timely notice, got him thence to *Ravenna*, and eſcaped to *Theudebert* the Duke of the *Baioarij*, with whom he continued nine years. But the Army of *Aribert* took the Iſland, and *Aſprand* being eſcaped he raged cruelly againſt his Relations; he pulled out the Eyes of his Son *Sigibrand*. His Wife *Theuderada* by name, who in her womaniſh tattle had given out ſhe ſhould one day be a Queen, he disfigur'd by cutting off her Noſe and her Ears, and dealt with *Aurona* her Daughter in like manner. Onely *Luitprand* his youngeſt Son, becauſe he was a child, he ſpared and ſuffered him to go to his Father, Providence, as *Paul* the Hiſtorian obſerves, preſerving him for great things in time to come.

A. D. 703. Luit-brcht vel Luit-preht, Subditis copioſus non Luitpert ut apud Sigonium. Haiſt-ſpar, citò comparcens, utrumque Anglica Teutonicum.

Ragunbert gets to be King.

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Aribert his Son ſucceeds him.

Cap. 19.

Rotharit, quiete pollens.

Cap. 20.

Cap. 21.

Lib. 6. c. 22. Sige-brand, victoria incenſus. Au-runa, Campeſtris fæmina. Runa fæmina. unde Friderun in vocabulario.

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36. *Aldo* being dead, who, as we were told by *Paul*, was *Præſervator* of the place of *Forum Julij*, *Ferdulf* obtained to be Duke, a man proud and inconſtant, deſigning to get renown by ſome notable action againſt the *Sclavi*, he ruined himſelf and almoſt the whole Dukedom. He hired ſome of that Nation underhand to bring an Army of their Countrey-men into his Province. But before this was brought about, ſome of the *Sclavi* came on pilfring into the Territories of *Forum Julij*, and made prey of ſome ſheep and the Shepherds that kept them. The Governour of that place, *Argaid* by name, but by reaſon of his Office in their Language called *Schuld-hais*, a man of Noble Extract, and otherwiſe very eminent, purſued after them, but to no purpoſe. In his return he was met by *Ferdulf*, who demanding what was become of the Thieves, upon his anſwer that they were fled, replied: How canſt thou doe any thing gallantly, who beareſt the Name of *Argaid*, which is derived from *Arga*? The other exceedingly vexed, and being a man of great courage, hereupon pray'd that they might live ſo long till the world by ſome eminent token might ſee which of the two was moſt *Arga*. Not long after came an Army of *Sclavi*, procured as we ſaid by *Ferdulf*, which incamped on the top of an high mountain, moſt difficult of acceſs on all ſides. *Ferdulf* came with his Army and compaſſed the Hill, conſidering on what place he might moſt conveniently attack them; to whom *Argaid* then ſpake and bade him remember how he had called him a lazy and unprofitable man, and by the vulgar word of *Arga*; but now ſaith he, let God's curſe fall on him who laſt of us two comes up to the *Sclavi*; with that he turns his horſe and up he rides, where it was moſt ſteep and craggy, toward the Enemies Camp; and *Ferdulf* for very ſhame followed him, which his Army perceiving, up alſo it marches, eſteeming it an heinous thing not to follow their Captain whitherſoever he led them. The *Sclavi* ſeeing them climb up ſuch ſteep and almoſt impaſſible places, wondring at their reſolution, prepare to receive them with Stows and Axes, rather than any thing elſe, and thus they ſtruck them off from their Horſes, and ſlew them all in a manner, getting a Victory, not by their Valour, but ſuch a ſtrange Adventure. There fell *Ferdulf*, *Argaid* his Adverſary, and all the Nobility of *Forum Julij*, and ſo many valiant men beſides, upon the occaſion of their fooliſh Emulation, as under ſafer Conduct would have put to the rout many thouſands. Onely one *Lombard* of note, *Munichis* by Name, the Father of *Peter*, afterward Duke of *Forum Julij*, and of *Vrſus* the Duke of *Cenetum* eſcaped home. For though he was ſtruck from his Horſe, and one of the *Sclavi* had ſeized on him and tied his hands, yet bound as he was, he ſnatched a Lance from the man's right hand, and therewith ſtriking him down, got away through the precipitous places with his hands ſtill tied together.

Ald, vetus, Old.
Paulus lib. 6. *cap.* 24.
Ferd-ulf, Longè auxilium ferens.
Far help.

Sculd-Hais, Debiti Præfectus, qui non de capite ſed de pecunia judicat, manet in hunc diem nomen variè corruptum. Scultheizo, Sculdaſius, Scultes, Sculter, Scouter & Scout apud Belgas.
Arga, Ignavus, nunc malitioſum ſignificat.

The *Sclani* defeats them of *Forum Julii*.

37. *Ferdulf* being thus dead, one *Corvulus* was made Duke, but continued ſo but a ſhort ſpace; for having offended the King, his eyes were pulled out, and he lived afterwards in diſgrace. Then was one *Pemmo* preferr'd to the place, to which being an ingenious man he was very ſerviceable. He was born at *Bellunum*, whence for raiſing a Sedition he was driven away, and coming to *Forum Julij*, there peaceably lived. He had a Wife named *Ratberga*, whoſe face being nothing comely, ſhe often deſired him that he would diſmiſs her, and marry ſome other that might be a Wife fit for ſo great a Duke. But he being a wiſe man, anſwered that her good qualities, her humility and modeſty more pleaſed him than any external bounty of the Body. By her he had three Sons, *Ratchis*, *Ratchais*, and *Ahiſtulf*, men of renown, the Nativity of whom, as *Paul* expreſſeth it, advanced their Mothers humility unto glory. This Duke *Pemmo* ſeeking for the Sons of all the Nobility that had been ſlain, educated them with, and not otherwiſe than as if they had been his own Children. As for *Aribert* though he was cruel at firſt, yet afterward he is ſaid to have governed with much Prudence and Juſtice, beſides his Liberality to Churches, the *Roman* eſpecially, to which he reſtored, as their Writers tell us, many Lands, and particularly the Patrimony of the *Alpes Cottiæ*, taken from them formerly by *Rothari*, the inſtrument of which donation he ſent written with golden letters. But however he carried it now to Churchmen, *Aſprand* could not be reconciled to him, who ſtill lying in Exile, longed to return to his own Countrey, which to effect, the Duke of *Baioaria*, with whom he ſojourned, offered him a competent force to be revenged on his Enemy. With this Army he went into *Italy* and engaged with *Aribert* in ſo bloudy and tedious a Battel that Night onely parted them; yet *Aſprand* and his *Baioarians* had clearly the worſt of it, *Aribert* his loſs not being comparable to that of theirs. However, *Aribert* would not keep the Field, but would needs remove to *Pavia*,

Idem, ibid. c. 25.
Cap. 26.
Pemmo meliùs in vocabulario Allem. Penno, Pennhok, vertice eminens, Penne, vertex. Inde Penninus Jupiter in Alpium vertice. Hok, Hoch, High, Sublimis. Ratberga, concilii celaris, in vocab. Allem. Ratbirg.
Paulus, ibid. c. 28.
Cap. 35.

Aribert drowned.

which as a ſign of fear, as uſually it is of weakneſs, miniſtred matter of deſpair to his own men and confidence to his Enemies. Perceiving his errour, he then reſolved to fly into *France*, there to hire a new ſupply, and for that purpoſe took good ſtore of gold out of the Palace, with which he would needs ſwim over the River, and attempting ſo to doe was drowned, as thoſe about him had concluded. The day following, his Body was found and buried in the Church of St. *Saviour*, founded by *Aribert* the Firſt. He was wont to go out diſguiſed in the night and hear himſelf what his People ſaid of him, and how his Officers miniſtred Juſtice. To Ambaſſadours of Foreigners he always gave Audience in bad Clothes, and never would entertain them with delicate Wines, or other coſtly things, that he might not bait them by ſuch Allurements to invade *Italy*. He Reigned with his Father and by himſelf about eleven years, as *Paul* informs us. And yet *Sigonius* begins his Reign in the ſeven hundred and fifth year of our Lord, and ends it but in the ſeven hundred and twelfth. His Brother *Guntbert* fled into *France*, and there continued till his death, whoſe eldeſt Son *Raginbert* in the days of *Paul*, Governed the City of *Orleance* for the King.

Anſprand ſucceeds.

Him after three months his Son *Liutprand*.

Ans-brand, gratia fervens.

Liutprand, ſubditos accendens.

Cap. 30.

Far-wald, familià potens. Faro idem contractè. Wachi-lap, viæ curſor. Wach nob. Way, Lap, Leape, Lapon enim vel (ut apud Belgas) Lopen antiquitus erat; currere.

Cap. 38.

38. *Aribert* being dead, *Anſprand* ſucceeded him without oppoſition, but reigned onely three months; a man of as great accompliſhments as one can imagine The *Lombards* perceiving him deſperately ill, made King his Son *Liutprand* (who as we ſaid by permiſſion of *Aribert* went to him into *Boioaria*) to the great contentment of his Father, and after his death confirmed their choice. Much about the ſame time died *Tranſimund* the Duke of *Spoletum*, into whoſe place ſucceeded *Faroald* his Son, and Governed joyntly with his Brother *Wachilap*. *Liutprand* coming to Govern, ſhewed himſelf a man of Ability in matters relating both to Peace and War. He had a difficulty to ſtruggle with at the beginning of his Reign, which he conquered much to his reputation: He had a Kinſman called *Rothari*, who invited him to a Feaſt at his Houſe in *Pavia*, but had men there ready concealed to kill him when they ſhould have the word. But before he went he had the good fortune to be informed of the Treaſon, and ſent for *Rotharit* to his own Palace, whom according to his intelligence he found privily armed. Finding himſelf diſcovered, he leaped back and drew his Sword to kill the King, who therewith drew alſo, and his Guard coming in they diſpatched the Traytor. *Liutprand* was a man of very great courage, which farther ſometimes tranſported him, than was convenient for his own ſafety and the concernments of the Kingdom. On a time two of his Attendants agreed when a fitting opportunity ſhould preſent it ſelf, to kill him, which he alſo underſtanding, went with them two alone into a thick Wood, and drawing his Sword upbraided them with their treachery, bidding them begin and make a tryal upon him. They were ſo ſtruck with ſo ſudden a thing and his generoſity, that falling down at his feet they told him the whole truth, and as well they as others, to whom he demeaned himſelf in the like ſort, obtained his Pardon.

Ait tamen Paulus C. ult. Hic imitio Reg ni ſui Boioariorum plurima caſtra cepit.

He publiſheth a new model of Laws.

39. Having conquered his Enemies at home by his valour and kindneſs, and married out of gratitude as well as to ſtrengthen himſelf from abroad, the Daughter of the Duke of *Baioaria*, who had received him and his Father in their diſtreſs, he ſet himſelf to reform the Laws of the Kingdom. All the Judges he ſummoned to Court to give in their opinions concerning a new model, which being done, it was publiſhed the laſt day of *February*, in the eleventh Indiction in the firſt year of his Reign, as he himſelf teſtifies in the Preface to this purpoſe, *viz.*
“ Remember how our moſt Mighty Predeceſſour, and moſt Eminent King *Rothar*, as
“ he himſelf ſpeaks in his Writings, renewed and ordained an Edict for the *Lombards*,
“ wherein he prudently cauſed to be inſerted this Paſſage, that any Prince of
“ the *Lombards* his Succeſſour, if he found therein any thing ſuperfluous, might
“ wiſely take it away, and what he found wanting he might add by the aſſiſtence
“ of God. After him the moſt glorious King *Grimoald*, accordingly added and aboliſhed
“ what to him ſeemed fit, whoſe example we following, as we hope, inſpired
“ by God, in like manner ſuch things as according to God's Law have appeared
“ to us convenient to be done we have decreed to be added and omitted, according
“ to what we have commanded to be written in this preſent Volume. Therefore
“ in the Name of the Omnipotent God, I *Liutprand* the moſt Excellent, the
“ Chriſtian and Catholick King of the Nation of the *Lombards*, beloved of God,
“ in the firſt year of my Reign, through God's goodneſs, the day before the *Calends*
“ *of March*, in the eleventh Indiction, together with all the Judges from the
“ Parts of *Auſtria* and *Neuſtria*, and the borders of *Tuſcia*, with others of my
“ faithfull *Lombards*, and all the People aſſiſting thoſe according to the fear
“ and

Auſtria and *Neuſtria* what.

“ and love of God have appeared good to us, and therewith we are pleaſed. The Style is ſo difficult that hardly can it be brought to correſpond with the *Engliſh* Idiome; but the Reader may take notice that this was the third Edition of the Laws of the *Lombards*, whereof we muſt ſpeak more anon; he may obſerve alſo the Titles theſe Kings took, and that even in *Italy*, there was *Auſtria* and *Neuſtria*, as well as in *France* and in *Pannonia*, Parts of the Kingdom ſo called in reference to their Situation. For the word *Ooſtriick*, which in Latin they barbarouſly, as I may ſay, turned into *Auſtria* and *Auſtraſia*, to thoſe *Teutonick* People ſignified the *Eaſtern Kingdom* or Dominion. So was the Kingdom of the *Mediomatices* called by the *Franks*, and *Pannonia* by the *Germans*, part of which ſtill, and that alone, retains the Name of *Auſtria*. In like manner *Weſtriick* or *Weſtreick*, they changed into *Neuſtria*, it ſignifying the *Weſtern Dominion* in oppoſition to the *Eaſtern*. From their Situation ſome were called *Æſtij*, Eaſt with us, and thoſe that ſo called them being the ſame with what others pronounced *Ooſt*. The *Nortmanni*, *Northendi*, *Alpes Noricæ*, and *Norici* the People, from their Northern Situation had their Names.

Stirs amongſt the *Lombards*.

A. D. 718.

Paulus Diaconus, lib. 5. *c.*44.

Troſt-Mund, conſolans Os. Draſamunt in Vocab. Alleman. & Thraſamunt, contracte Theuſo, Thriuſo, ibid.

40. For the ſpace of about three years we hear little more concerning *Liutprand*, whom we may conclude intent upon the Laws, and ſuch farther Reformations as tended to the well being of his Subjects. But in the fifth year of his Reign, noiſe enough was made in *Campania* by the Duke of *Beneventum*, who by a Wile got *Cumæ* into his hands. Thoſe of *Rome* were highly concerned at it, and the *Biſhop* dealt with him both by fair words and money to reſtore it, and when that would not doe, thundred againſt him by excommunication. But this alſo he deſpis'd, whereupon the Biſhop was forc't to betake himſelf to the Secular hand, procuring *John* the Duke of *Naples* to ſet upon it by might, which he did, and ſurpriſing it, killed therein three hundred *Lombards* with their *Gaſtald*, and took Priſoners more than five hundred which he led away to *Naples*, and ſold the Town to the *Biſhop* for ſeventy Pounds of Gold, as had been agreed. The year that followed *Faroald* the Duke of *Spoletum* took *Narnia* by cunning from the *Romans*, and pretending a Journey to the King ſurprized *Claſſis*, another Town belonging to *Ravenna*; but he was commanded by *Liutprand* to reſtore them both. Though the King did not, his own Son *Traſemund* puniſhed him for his temerity, depoſing him ſhortly after, and compelling him to take Orders that he might have his place. About the ſame time the *Sclavi* made another Irruption into the Territories of *Forum Julij*, called **Lauria**, where *Pemmo* the Duke ſet upon them, and with loſs but of one old man, *Siguald* by name, who in a former Fight betwixt them and *Ferdulf* had loſt two Sons. Once and again he had done great Execution upon them, and now the third time, though his Captain and other *Lombards* forbade him, yet would he not be kept from ſpeaking openly to the *Sclavi*: *Now I have ſufficiently revenged the Death of my Sons, if Death ſhould come I ſhould chearfully undergo it.* And accordingly it came to paſs; for he was the onely man that died in the Fight; *Pemmo* having ſlain many Enemies, and unwilling to looſe any more of his own men, made Peace with the *Sclavi* in the ſame place. And from this time forward they began more to ſtand in awe of the Arms of *Forum Julij*.

Liutprand invades the Exarchate.

41. Now for many years had the Kings and Kingdom of the *Lombards* been in peace, except ſome petty broils betwixt them and their neareſt Neighbours, or that they contended one with another. The *Exarchs* and they had ſince the time of *Rothari*, maintained a very good correſpondence together, the *Romans* and *Lombards*, though Neighbours, perfectly agreeing. But now was this Kingdom at the higheſt pitch alotted for it, and upon the brink of proſperity, which never continues but changes moſt commonly to the other extreme. Wealth and Eaſe had made the King and the Subject both confident and overweening, thoſe ever thinking they have the greateſt ſtrength, who never made any tryal of it; yet did they think their preſent condition mean in compariſon of what they were in capacity to attain, and therefore they muſt up and be doing, and involved themſelves in ſuch a War as deſcending to their Succeſſours, at length procured the ruine of their Name and Dominion. *Liutprand* having prepared all things beforehand for ſo great an enterprize, Invades the Exarchate on a ſudden, and lays Siege to *Ravenna* the ſeat of the Governour. *Paul* who at preſent by favour of *Leo* the Emperour held that place, we are told by *Sigonius*, was very much ſurprized, as from the higheſt proſperity being on a ſudden caſt into the greateſt difficulty. But there was no ſuch cauſe of his being ſurprized, if we conſider but what the ſame Authour had related but a little before, he tells us in many words that

Vide Sigon. de Regno Italiæ. lib. 3. Pp. 99. & 100.

that *Leo* the Emperour being at odds with *Gregory* the *Roman* Biſhop, upon the account of Images took ſeveral Courſes to make him away, and for that purpoſe ſent *Paul*, as Exarch into *Italy*, who having once attempted it, but to no purpoſe, the Emperour the following year ſent him a Meſſage, that if he could not kill, yet he ſhould remove him from his Office and put another in his Room. *Paul* thus importuned by his Maſter, and bearing himſelf hatred to *Gregory*, becauſe he had forbidden the Tribute to be paid which he had laid upon the Churches, ſent one *Maricius* the *Spatharius* of *Leo*, and whom he had made Duke of *Rome*, to that City with order to lay hold on the Biſhop, and commit him to Cuſtody. But matters were not ſo privately carried but that the Biſhop, whoſe Power and Intereſt now began to be mighty in *Italy*, had notice of it. Therefore he hires the *Lombards* out of the Dukedoms of *Spoletum* and *Tuſcia* for great Rewards, to ſtop the paſſage of the Exarch's Army. They with much Alacrity marching to the City poſſeſſed themſelves of the Bridges *Salarius* and *Milvius*, and oppoſing themſelves to the Forces of *Ravenna*, not onely hindred them from returning to *Rome*, but conſtrained them and their Leader to return back to their own City.

Takes *Ravenna.*

42. This happened but the year before the Siege of *Ravenna*, and therefore whether the Exarch had reaſon to be ſurprized, or rather ought not to have expected ſome ſuch matter, and whether the Biſhop of *Rome*, who had already joyned the *Lombards* with him, was not concerned, we leave the Reader to judge. However *Paul*, whether aware or not of Hoſtility from the *Lombards*, moſt gallantly demeaned himſelf in the keeping of *Ravenna*, ſhewing himſelf ready to undergoe any thing rather than to yield up the place; inſomuch that *Liutprand* deſpairing to doe any good, broke up his ſiege and departed to *Claſſis*, which being but ſlenderly provided he eaſily took, and having plundred it, laid it level with the Earth. But upon the Report of what had happened to *Claſſis*, the Citizens of *Ravenna* began to be very fearfull and dejected as if their turn was not far off; which being underſtood by *Liutprand*, their fear became his confidence, and he drew back his Army to the City, which having had ſome taſte of the fruits of Conqueſt, he thought now would fall upon it with more Alacrity. And ſo it proved, for they tired out by their frequent Aſſaults both the Garriſon Souldiers and the Townſmen, which when *Paul* perceived, and deſpaired of receiving any Succours from abroad, he left the Town to the Diſcretion of the Inhabitants. The Beſiegers having notice of his flight, knew it a fit time to renew their Violence, and with little more trouble carried the Place, which *Liutprand* permitted his Souldiers to plunder. And here they got plunder enough, wealth ſufficient to glut their minds, and take off their edge from any farther adventures, contrary to the true Policy of a Captain, who ought to uſe his Men in this caſe as Huntſmen deal with their Hounds, to give them ſuch a taſte of the Prey as to ſtir up their Appetites, and make them more eager after the game, but not to fill them and make them lazie. This City being the ſeat of the Exarch, of Kings, Emperours and great Prelates, abounded with all Riches imaginable. *Liutprand* ſpoiled it of many rare Monuments of Antiquity, amongſt which the moſt remarkable was a braſen Statue of an Emperour on Horſeback, a Piece of admirable Contrivance and Workmanſhip, which he cauſed to be tranſlated to *Pavia*, where it remains, and by its rareneſs ſomething comforts the Citizens, for the decay of the Glory of that Place.

The Exarchate of *Ravenna* turned into a Dukedom.

Hildeprand & in vocab. Allemanico Hildibrand, Eximiè fervens.

43. *Ravenna* being taken, moſt of the Cities of the Exarchate preſently yielded, and from an Exarchate it was changed into a Dutchy, over which was ſet *Hildebrand* the King's Nephew, who becauſe he was young, *Peredeus* a Duke was made his Governour. *Paul* the Exarch thus outed of *Ravenna*, betook himſelf to the *Venetians* at *Heraclia*, where he implored the Aſſiſtence of *Urſus* the Duke. All this while *Gregory*, the *Roman* Biſhop, was a Looker on, after he had ſet the *Lombards* and *Paul* together by the Ears about his buſineſs. He had a deſign to chaſtiſe the Exarch, but not to encreaſe the Power and Dominion of the *Lombards*; his ſpleen excited him againſt the Emperour, and his Intereſt cauſed him to wiſh that both ſides were more weakened and humbled, that his own Authority already in a fair way, might make the greater progreſs in *Italy*. *Liutprand* had made ſuch a progreſs in the war as made him tremble, and he perceived it was high time to put a ſtop to the Carreire of his good Fortunes. He writes his Letters to *Urſus*, the Duke of the *Venetians*, exhorting him to give aid to the ſaid *Paul*, and now quite alters his ſtyle, making thoſe be black who formerly were white, and him white whom before he could not enough tax and load with opprobrious Language. He tells him that by reaſon of ſin the City of *Ravenna*, which was the Head of many Churches, was taken by the wicked Nation of the *Lombards*, and his worthy Son the

The Biſhop of *Rome*, jealons of the growing Power of *Liutprand*, turns againſt him.

Extant literæ apud Sigonium quo ſuprà. P. 101.

Lord Exarch, as he underſtands makes his abode at *Venice*, therefore tells him that he ought to ſtand by him and with him in his ſtead, that the City of *Ravenna* might be reſtored to the ancient Eſtate, and the Imperial ſervice of the Lords his Sons *Leo* and *Conſtantine* the Great, Emperours, and that for the Love of their Holy Faith.

44. The *Venetians* had good reaſon to be concerned alſo at the growth of ſo potent a Neighbour, and therefore the better to balance him, reſolved to give their utmoſt aſſiſtence to *Paul*, rigging up a Fleet under pretence of fighting againſt the *Saracens*, at the Inſtance of the Emperour. *Paul* having ſped at *Venice* according to his Wiſhes; yet, as having been repulſed, gathered together ſome Forces, and made as if he would beſiege *Imola*, and under this pretence increaſing his Army as much as he poſſibly could, removed on a certain day appointed betwixt him and the *Venetians*, and laid ſiege to *Ravenna* by Land, the *Venetian* Fleet doeing the ſame by Sea almoſt at the ſame inſtant. *Hildebrand* and *Peredeus* though exceedingly ſurprized, yet forced all that were able to bear Arms to the walls, where they behaved themſelves with much reſolution; but while they fought ſtoutly on the Land-ſide againſt *Paul*, the *Venetians* broke open the Water-gate and got into the City. The Defendants having notice made ſtout oppoſition here alſo, and a terrible Fight followed; till *Paul* coming about to the Aſſiſtence of his Friends decided the Controverſie, and took the Town. *Peredeus* was ſlain, and *Hildebrand* fell alive into the Hands of the *Venetians*, who having thus gallantly demeaned themſelves, departed home, before ſuch time as *Liutprand*, having received Intelligence, could move from *Pavia*. Not long after this, *Leo* the Emperour, and *Gregory* the Biſhop of *Rome* falling out about the Worſhip of Images, the Biſhop excommunicated the Prince, abſolved all his Subjects of *Italy* from their Allegiance, and commanded them neither to pay him Tribute nor any other Teſtimony of Duty or Allegiance. Hereupon the *Romans*, *Campanians*, and thoſe of *Ravenna* and *Pentapolis* revolted, and riſing in great Tumults laid violent hands upon their Governours. *Paul* the Exarch was killed at *Ravenna*, *Peter* the Duke of *Rome* had his Eyes put out, and in *Campania* the Duke *Exhilaratus* was with his Son *Hadrian* ſlain by the *Romans*, who were ſent thither for that purpoſe.

Ravenna recovered by the Exarch.

Pered-eu, latè patentis legis.

The Biſhop excommunicates the Emperour. *Paul* is killed. Great Rebellions.

A. D. 727.

45. The year following *Liutprand*, taking advantage of theſe Tumults, made war upon ſome places of *Æmilia*, betwixt *Imola* and *Mutina*, which hitherto had been untouched by the *Lombards*. He eaſily made himſelf Maſter of *Monsbellus Ferionianum*, *Buxetum* and *Perſicetum*, and at length of *Bononia* alſo, a Town built by the *Etruſci* when they poſſeſſed the Region on this ſide the *Apennines*, afterward the Seat of the *Galli Boii*, and then made a *Latine* Colony by the *Romans*, from whom it was taken by the *Goths*, then recovered, and now at length conquered by the *Lombards*. Thus far *Liutprand* having proſpered as he could deſire, paſſed by the Dominion of *Ravenna* and fell upon *Pentapolis*, which he overran from *Ariminum*, as far as *Auximum* without any reſiſtence; and at length made a ſtop at *Vicus Pileus* for ſetling the Government of it, whither the Cities appointed their ſeveral Deputies to repair, but as they were on their way, a Party of *Roman* Souldiers light upon them, and cut them off every man. The Rumour of the Revolt in *Italy* coming to the Emperour's Ears, was received with ſuitable regret, and he ordered *Eutychius* a Patritian, to go thither as his Exarch, with Inſtructions how to puniſh the chief Authours and Contrivers of it; which going about, he was alſo ſtrucken with the Thunder-bolt of Excommunication by *Gregory*. This did the more incenſe him, for that having eaſily reduced *Ravenna* to the Emperour's obedience, he drew the *Lombards* to his Party, who the Year following took *Sutrium* by ſome Arts from the Church, for ſo we muſt call it now, *Gregory* having procured the *Romans* to renounce their Obedience to their Sovereign, and ſwear Obedience to him and his Succeſſours; whereby *Rome* and the *Roman* Dukedom became transferred upon the *Roman* Prelates; of which more, in a more proper place. *Gregory* again got *Sutrium* out of their hands, but *Eutychius* made a ſtronger League with *Liutprand*, from whom *Traſemund* the Duke of *Spoletum* having revolted, they covenanted, as well to ſuppreſs him as *Gregory*, and reduce the Rebels to their former duty owing to their ſeveral Lords. Falling firſt upon *Traſemund* he ſubmitted himſelf, knowing he was not able to bear up againſt the Shock, ſo that the whole work now was with *Rome*, which they cloſly beſieged. *Gregory* found himſelf in the ſame condition as to reſiſtence, and therefore reſolv'd to take the ſame courſe to rid himſelf of the danger impending. He went out of the City to *Liutprand*, to whom he uſed many flattering words, telling him he did this for his ſake, upon the account of his Eminent Piety, whereas had *Leo*'s Army alone beſieged the City,

Eutichius the new Exarch excommunicated.

The Exarch and the *Lombards* join and beſiege *Rome*.

The ſiege raiſed.

City, he would not have ſtirred one foot out of it. He ſpake vehemently againſt the Emperour, and propounded to the King the Example of *Attila* a furious *Barbarian*, who by the deſires of a *Roman* Biſhop, was diverted from *Rome*. He ſpake ſo effectually, that he not onely procured *Liutprand* to break up the Siege, but made a ſeeming agreement and friendſhip betwixt him and the Exarch.

Friendſhip betwixt *Charles Martell* and *Liutprand*.

Death of great Men.

46. About this time *Charles Martell* the Major of the Palace in *France*, conceiving the Friendſhip of the *Lombards* to be very convenient for ſtrengthening of the intereſt of his Family, ſent his Son *Pipin* to *Liutprand*, that by the cutting off his hair, as the cuſtome was, he might adopt him for his Son. And ſuch were the fruits of this Friendſhip, that the *Saracens* invading *Gall* the year following, *Liutprand* at his requeſt aſſiſted him in Perſon with a conſiderable Army, and contributed no ſmall matter to the Victory obtained over the Infidels. At his return he found new work made for him by the Exarch, who taking the advantage of his abſence, reſolv'd if poſſible, to re-take *Pentapolis* and *Æmilia*. He himſelf invading *Pentapolis*, defeated the Army of the *Lombards*, and reduced the Cities. But *Agatho* the Duke of *Peruſium*, whom he ſent into *Æmilia*, had the quite contrary ſucceſs, being forced with great loſs from *Bononia*, which he had beſieged. The five or ſix years that followed, were famous for little but the Death and Succeſſion of Great Men. *Romuald* the Duke of *Beneventum* died after ſix and twenty years Government, leaving a young Son named *Giſulf*, whom ſome went about to make away, but the People always faithfull to their Governours preſerv'd his life, and put to death them that had conſpired againſt it. *Liutprand* coming to the City took the Boy away with him, being too young for Government, and placed in his room *Gregory* another of his Nephews. Some time after, *Rachis* the Duke of *Forum Julii* invaded *Carniola*, which *Paul* our Hiſtorian calls the Countrey of the *Sclavi*, where he ſlew a great multitude of them, and waſted it far and wide. On a time they made a ſudden Aſſault upon him, and his Armourbearer had his Lance, but he killed the firſt of them that gave the Onſet with a Cudgel he had in his Hand, and therewith ſo afrighted them that they retreated. From this time he became every day more celebrated for his Valour.

47. At the ſame time broke out into Rebellion, *Traſemund* the Duke of *Spoletum*, and made a ſtrict League with *Gregory* the Third the *Roman* Biſhop, and Succeſſour to him who had aſſumed the Dominion of *Rome*, and the places to it belonging. As a Condition of this Alliance he gave up to the Biſhop the Caſtle of the *Gallienſes*, upon the Account of which he had formerly had much trouble from the Dukes of *Rome*. Truſting to this Alliance, he refuſed to obey the Orders of the King, who conceiving that ſuch a Revolt touched the very Inwards of his Concernments, ſpeedily raiſed an Army and led it againſt him. But the Rebel durſt not abide his Coming, but getting out of the City fled to the Biſhop, who now gliſtered with his new Principality; deſiring him to undertake his Patronage, who had protected his Predeceſſour from the Violence of the Exarch, and had entred into a moſt ſacred League and Alliance with himſelf. The Biſhop asking advice of Duke *Stephen*, with the Conſent of the *Roman* Souldiers (who doubtleſs could not but deſire Action) undertook his Protection; when in the mean time *Liutprand* ſeized on his Dukedom, and beſtowed it on his Nephew *Hilderick*; which having done, he ſent his Ambaſſadours to *Gregory*, requiring him to give up the Traitour into his Hands, or to expect him with an Army to fetch him. The Biſhop thought it below him, and no way conſiſtent with good Nature to give him up, and returned ſuch an anſwer to the King, who when Winter was over, removed his Forces from the Dukedom of *Spoletum* into that of *Rome*, where having taken *Ameria*, *Orta*, *Polimartium* and *Bleda*, he laid ſiege to the City it ſelf, and incamping in *Nero*'s Fields, drew many of the Nobility to him, the Hair of whom he cut after the *Lombard* faſhion. *Gregory* being put to ſore ſtraits, firſt betook himſelf to the Artifice of his Predeceſſour, thinking by good Words and intreaties to remove the Enemy from the Walls; but this device failing him, he had recourſe to a more ſevere remedy; ſending to *Charles Martell*, the Major of the Palace in *France*, the Keys of the Holy Sepulchre and other things of great requeſt; beſeeching him to ſend relief to him and the diſtreſſed Church, and free the City from the ſiege of the *Lombards*. *Charles* readily embraced the offer, as tending to the Advancement of his Reputation in the World, and ſent a Meſſage ſo acceptable to *Liutprand*, that he aroſe from before *Rome*, and keeping onely in his Hands four Towns which he had ſeized, departed to *Pavia* in the Month of *Auguſt*, and the ſeventh Indiction. *A. D.* DCCXXXIX.

Ad Pontificem novo principatu fulgentem confugit, atq; eum, &c. Sigonius de Regno Italiæ. lib. 3. p. 110.

Liutprand beſieges *Rome*.

Exercitum ex Ducatu Spoletano in Romanum traduxit.

At the perſwaſion of *Charles Martell* raiſeth the Siege.

48. *Traſemund*, when the Siege was raiſed, reſolved to make again for his Dukedom, being readily aſſiſted by the Biſhop, who by this means hoped to recover his four Towns, and by *Godeſcalc*, lately advanced to the Dukedom of *Beneventum*, by the People againſt the King's mind, in the room of *Gregory* deceaſed, who thought hereby to weaken the King, and ſtrengthen his own illegal Title. At his firſt Invaſion of the Countrey, he eaſily recovered ſeveral Places, and at length in *December*, and the Eighth Indiction, took *Spoletum* by ſurprize, and therein killed *Hilderick* the young Duke. He had a great Advantage for managing his Affairs preſented by the Sickn of *Liutprand*, which was ſo grievous, that the *Lombards* deſpairing of his Recovery took *Hildeprand* his Nephew, and carrying him to our Ladies Church without the Walls, inaugurated him King. But an odd Accident happened at the Ceremony; for having a Spear delivered into his Hands,according to the Cuſtome,a Cuckow came and ſate thereon,which by Wiſemen was looked on as prodigious,and betokening a mean Reign to their young King. *Liutprand* when he was recovered and had notice what was done, took it ill, but becauſe the ſolemnity was paſt, made *Hildeprand* King together with himſelf. The following year was eminent for the Ends of three mighty Men in the World, *Leo* the Emperour, *Charles Martel* lately mentioned, and *Gregory* the *Roman* Patriarch; to whom ſucceeded one *Zachary* a *Greek* by birth. This *Zachary* was ſcarcely ſetled in his Chair when he ſent to *Liutprand*, and demanded the four Towns to be redelivered, to which Meſſage he anſwered, that when he ſhould come to the Places, he would give him abundant ſatisfaction. *Liutprand* in the mean time reſolved, not to ſuffer *Traſemund* ſo to carry the Dukedom of *Spoletum*; but the Year that followed made war upon him by the Aſſiſtence eſpecially of *Rachis* the Duke of *Forum Julii*. *Traſemund* aware of their coming, went to meet them at the Place he thought they would land their Men, and when there he miſſed of his opportunity followed them to *Forum Sempronii*, and reached them in the middle of the Foreſt. *Rachis* and his Brother *Aiſtulf*, with their *Forojulians* brought up the Rere, and being firſt ingaged, though the Commanders omitted nothing of their Duty, many of them were ſlain. *Rachis* by one *Berto* of *Spoletum*, was challenged to a ſingle Combat, wherein he diſmounted his Enemy, and ſuffered him to creep away on his Hands and Knees into the Wood. *Aiſtulf* was by two ſet upon on a Bridge, both whom he tumbled down into the River, and eſcaped. *Traſemund* found himſelf concerned to retreat to *Spoletum*, where he was beſieged, and at length being forced to yield, was compelled to enter into Orders. Then did the King beſtow the Title, and Office of Duke upon *Aſprand* another of his Nephews.

Death of three great Perſons.

A. D. 741.

49. In the mean time *Liutprand* reſtored not the Places before mentioned to the Biſhop, who wondering thereat, reſolved to doe as *Gregory* the ſecond his Predeceſſour had done before him; to go himſelf in Perſon and ſpeak with him, then lying at *Interamna*, in the Territories of *Spoletum*. *Liutprand* hearing of his coming ſent *Grimoald* with a Complement and order to bring him on his way as far as *Narnia*, where he was to be received by the Army. He himſelf when he drew nigh to *Interamna*,went out to meet him, and after ſome friendly diſcourſe diſmiſſed him to his Lodgings. The next day coming again together, the Biſhop clawed him with good words. “He related how for his Predeceſſours ſake he had raiſed his
“ Siege from before *Rome*, and commending him for his Juſtice and holy demeanour
“ towards all men,put him in mind what a blot it would be upon his Memory,
“ as well as a wound upon his Conſcience, to break his word given to St. *Peter*, and
“ to rob him and the Church, to which he had pretended to bear ſo good affection:
“ In ſumm he deſired he would give up the four Towns he had ſo long held in his
“ hands, and farther make a League with the Church, which if he did, he might
“ be ſure to have everlaſting Salvation after death, and eternal Renown with all Poſterity.
“ We are told the Device ſo took, that *Zachary* obtained whatſoever he deſired, not only the four Towns, but a League with the Church for twenty years; and moreover ſome Lands in *Sabinum*, which thirty years before had been taken away with others in *Narnia*, *Ancona*, *Auximum* and *Humum*, which they called *Patrimonies*, and the Valley known by the Name of the *Great*, in the Territories of *Sutrium*. The next day having lovingly dined together, the Biſhop departed to receive the Towns from the Kings Commiſſioners, who were *Hildebrand* his Nephew Duke of *Cluſium*, *Tacpert*, *Raning*, and *Grimoald*, *Gaſtalds* of *Etruria*. Firſt he recieved *Ameria*, then *Orta*, afterward *Polimartium*, and at length through the Borders of *Tuſcia* belonging to the *Lombards* and the *Sabini* they came to *Bleda*. Thence returned he to *Rome*,where,as well he might, for joy be made a Solemn Proceſſion.

Anaſtaſius.

Liutprand perſwaded to be kind to the See of *Rome*.

ceſſion. And theſe things were thus tranſacted in the Tenth Indiction, if we believe *Anaſtaſius* who was Library keeper to ſome of his Succeſſours.

Gode-ſchalck, Dei ſervus. Nam Deum non aliter quam bonum nominare mos erat Germanis. Schalc ſervus in Novo Teſtamento ſæpe, hinc Marſchalck & alia. Paulus Diaconus, Lib. 6. Cc. 57, 58.

Invades again the Exarchate.

50. *Liutprand* all this while did not forget *Godeſcalck*, who both had ſeized on the Dutchy of *Beneventum* without his leave, and had aſſiſted *Traſemund* alſo in his Rebellion. Having rid his hands of *Traſemund*, he led an Army againſt him, but he durſt not abide his coming, but reſolved to fly into *Greece*, which as he attempted, and had put his Wife and Houſhold-ſtuff into the Ship, when he himſelf was to go aboard he was killed by thoſe Citizens of *Beneventum*, that bore good will to *Giſulf*, and his Wife eſcaped ſafe to *Conſtantinople* with all ſhe had. *Liutprand* coming to the City reſtored *Giſulf* his Nephew to the Title and Office of Duke, whom he had formerly removed for his Youth and Inability to govern: The following year and the eleventh Indiction, as *Anaſtaſius* aſſures us, either impatient of reſt, or out of an ambitious deſire of farther Conqueſt, he again invaded the Exarchate, and having taken *Cæſena*, openly ſhewed that he intended once more to be Maſter of *Ravenna*. *Eutychius* the Exarch, as well as *John* the Arch-biſhop, with the Citizens and the Cities of *Pentapolis* and *Æmilia* knowing themſelves too weak to make reſiſtence, betook themſelves to *Zachary*, whoſe authority they knew to be ſo ſacred and inviolable with the King, that he would deny him nothing. He ſent a Meſſage to him to reſtore *Cæſena*, and to leave the Exarchate in repoſe, and it being rejected, he himſelf made a Journey firſt to *Ravenna* and thence to *Pavia*, where he cauſed the King to conquer his Inclinations, to reſtore *Cæſena*, and promiſe not any more to offer violence to the Exarchate. The Biſhop ſhortly after his Return (of which, as alſo his Journey, *Paul* the Deacon makes no mention, though by reaſon of the Age he liv'd in he could not be ignorant of ſo notable a matter) had News brought him of the ſudden death of *Liutprand*, who left this life after he had reigned one and thirty Years and ſeven Months. A man of great worth, if his extreme thirſt after Conqueſt and Domination be excepted, though *Paul* to other great Commendations adds this, That he was a lover of Peace, which muſt be reſtrain'd to what he coucludes his Book with, that with the greateſt care he preſerved Peace with the *Franks* and *Avares*. For together with his Life *Paul* ſhuts up his Hiſtory of the Acts of the *Lombards*. He was Deacon of the Church of *Forum Julii*, in the Territories of which *Leuphis* his Great Grandfather's Father ſeated himſelf, when with the *Lombards* his Country-men he came into *Italy*. He dying there, left five Sons who were all taken away into Captivity by the *Avares* at that time, that *Romilda* the Wife of *Giſulf* betrayed *Forum Julii* into the hands of their King. Of theſe five only *Lupicis* returned into the place of his Nativity (of the ſtrange Circumſtances of his Return, let the Reader if he liſt conſult the Authour himſelf) where he married and begat a Son named *Arichis*. This *Arichis* had a Son named *Warnefrid* who by *Theudelinda* his Wife had our Hiſtorian, (beſides another Son called *Arichis*) whom we can eaſily believe to have been a *Lombard* by deſcent, though he had not told us. For *Jornandes*, the Hiſtorian of the *Goths*, and he, by the manner of their writing, ſufficiently diſcover that Natural affection which men bear to the Stocks from whence they proceed.

Liutprand dies.

The Hiſtory of *Paulus Diaconus* endeth with him.

Liup-gis, Amore fortis. Liup, Amor, Anglis Love. Hinc Liupman & alia in vocab. Allem. Leupichis idem quod Liup-gis. Lib.4. c.39. Warne-frid, cuſtos pacis.

Hildebrand his Nephew ſucceeds.

Vide Sigonium.

51. *Liutprand* being dead *Hildeprand* or *Hildebrand* his Nephew (*i. e.* his Grandſon, as *Sigonius* interprets it) ſucceeded him in the Government, whom being formerly choſen by the People he had confirmed, as we formerly ſhewed. But his former Election and Confirmation were not of ſuch moment with the *Lombards*, but that rejecting him of whom they themſelves had made the choice, after ſeven months they depoſed him, and made King in his room *Rachis* the Duke of *Forum Julij*, a man much admired for his Virtues. *Rachis* with univerſal applauſe having aſcended the Throne, ſhewed that though he was fit for War, yet he deſired Peace; and became the great Patron of Churches. And in the ſecond year of his Reign finding the Laws (notwithſtanding the ſeveral Alterations made by his Predeceſſours) to be defective, he ſummoned all the Judges of the *Lombards*, both out of *Auſtria* and *Neuſtria*, and according to their Judgment and Approbation, amended and added what was faulty or defective. The year which followed this, being the ſecond of his Reign, on the firſt of *March*, and the fourteenth Indiction he publiſhed his Amendments with a Proeme, wherein he takes notice how *Rothair*, *Grimoald* and *Liutprand* his Predeceſſours had taken the ſame care before him; but he having ſeriouſly conſidered of what they had publiſhed, found ſome things good, and other things fit to be purged and corrected. Some five years he ſpent in the Studies of Peace and Laws, and then a fit of War took him, being no longer able to ſubſiſt without ſome Martial Diverſions. He invaded *Pentapolis*, where having at the

Makes War on the Biſhop of *Romes* Towns.

the firſt onſet taken moſt of the Towns, he paſſed thence into the Dukedom of *Rome*, and the Territories belonging to the Biſhop, and laid cloſe Siege to *Peruſia.* The Emperour was far off, and ſeemed not much to regard how matters went in *Italy.* The Exarch had Will enough, but wanted Might to protect the Borders of his own Juriſdiction; much more to give aſſiſtence to his Neighbours at a diſtance. *Zachary* therefore ſaw it was incumbent upon him, ſeeing he could not doe it by force, to try if he could drive the danger farther from himſelf by his Authority, and undertake another Journey, his former having been ſo ſucceſsfull.

52. He came to *Rachis* as he lay incamped before *Peruſia*, and there ſorely laid the Law unto him, urging how unbecoming, not to ſay wicked, a thing it was for a Catholick Prince, and one who had been ſo eminent a Law-maker to invade that to which he had no right, to injure other Chriſtians, who had never by any Miſdemeanour provoked him, and eſpecially violate the Goods and Poſſeſſions of St. *Peter.* He is ſaid to have made ſo copious and convincing an Oration concerning Juſtice and Oppreſſion, and the Rewards and Puniſhments of another World, that *Rachis* not onely raiſed the Siege from before *Peruſia*, but reſtored the places he had taken in *Pentapolis:* Nay, the Preſence and Authority of the *Biſhop* had ſuch incredible influence upon him, that taking his Wife and Daughter along with him, he muſt needs the following year go to viſit him at *Rome*, where he took Orders from the hands of *Zachary*, and became a Monk in the Monaſtery of St. *Benedict* at *Caſſinum;* his Wife and Daughter beſtowing themſelves in a Nunnery not far off, of their own founding. Thus *Zachary* made Monks of Kings much at the ſame time, one at his own deſire, and another ſore againſt his will, at the Suggeſtion and Importunity of others; one by his own Reſignation, and another at the ambitious ſolicitation of other perſons: For this very year, as *Sigonius* reckons, did he by his Authority declare *Chilperick* King of the *Franks*, to be no King, and *Pipin* the Major of the Palace to enjoy the Title, as well as the Power; after which *Chilperick* was depoſed, and thruſt into a Monaſtery. But *Rachis* having thus outed himſelf after he had reigned about ſix years, the *Lombards* meeting together choſe *Aiſtulf* his Brother to ſucceed him, a man as fit for the place as any, both in reſpect of his Wiſedom and Courage. Yet in the beginning of his Reign he followed the footſteps of his Brother, preferring Peace before Martial Actions, and was perſwaded by *Stephen* the Biſhop of *Rome*, to enter into a League with his Church for forty years: No ſooner had he taken upon him a Royal Crown, but *Anſelme* the Duke of *Forum Julii*, whoſe Siſter *Giſeltrade* he had married, renounced his Ducal Coronet, and entred into a Monaſtery; into whoſe place *Peter* the Son of *Munichis* was preferred.

Perſwaded by the Biſhop he reſtores all,

And turns Monk.

A. D. 750.

His Brother *Aiſtulf* made King.

53. But *Aiſtulf* having ſetled well his matters, in the ſpace of two years, had then as reſtleſs a fit upon him as *Liutprand* or *Rachis* his Predeceſſours, and as violent a paſſion for inlarging his Dominion. After the example of *Liutprand* he reſolved to ſet firſt upon the Exarchate, becauſe he thought *Conſtantine* the Emperour did not much concern himſelf with the Affairs of *Europe*, and if he ſhould, he could leaſt doe it at this time when he was engaged in another War, and all *Greece* and *Aſia* were miſerably waſted by a raging Peſtilence. With greater preparations than ever formerly had been made he marched to *Ravenna*, and with all the ſtrength the *Lombard* Kingdom could afford, ſet upon it. *Eutychius* who was ſtill Exarch there made all the reſiſtence he poſſibly could, arming the Townſmen, oppoſing force to force, and ſtrategem to ſtrategem, till ſeeing the Town exhauſted and no hope of any ſuccours from abroad, he reſolved to yield, and without any hope of recovering the place as formerly, withdrew himſelf into *Greece.* The Head of the Exarchate or Metropolis being thus taken, all the inferiour Members eaſily were reduced to the ſame condition, together with *Pentapolis.* So here ends this Government of the Exarchs, or Lieutenants of the Emperours which had preſerved, in an eminent height of luſtre and dignity, a ſhew and repreſentation of the ancient *Roman* Empire, for near two hundred years, from the time that *Narſes* left his Employment. And here doth the conſtant Domination or Empire of *Revenna* receive its period, which began at ſuch time as *Honorius* removed his Seat from *Rome* to this City.

Falls upon *Ravenna.*

Which being taken,

The Exarchate falls.

A. D. 753.

54. Now did the Kingdom of the *Lombards* comprehend all *Italy*, *Rome* onely, and the *Roman* or Pontificial Dominions excepted. *Aiſtulf* being Maſter of the Exarchate and *Pentapolis*, notwithſtanding the League made with *Stephen*, grudged that ſo good a ſhare of the Countrey ſhould be kept from him, and eaſily made himſelf beleive he had a Title to it, ſeeing the Exarch formerly had Authority as well over the *Romans* as others, and how they came to be abſolved from

their obedience to the Emperour, whoſe Succeſſour by right of War he was, he could not well ſee; notwithſtanding the Hereſie that had been laid to the charge of *Leo*, and the pretended power challenged by *Gregory* and his Succeſſours of diſpoſing of other mens Eſtates. In the fourth month therefore after the making of the League he entred with an Army the Territories of *Narnia*, which Town he preſently took, and thence ſent to the Biſhop to let him know that he would by Arms reduce their Countrey and City to his abſolute obedience, except they would yeild to pay him a yearly tribute of a golden *Solidus* for every Head. The Biſhop being extremely ſtartled at the Meſſage, ſent two Abbats of good Report back to him, to put him in mind of the League he had lately made, and by all Arguments and Perſwaſions to move him not to commit ſo perfidious, and otherwiſe wicked an act as he was about; and beſides they went not empty handed: but the King rejected both the Meſſengers and their Preſents. *Stephen* upon the firſt Irruption made by *Aiſtulf* into the Exarchate had diſpatched away his Letters to *Conſtantine* to let him know what the *Lombard* deſigned, and to remonſtrate to him how pernicious it would be to his Empire, and how great a blot would lye upon his memory to all poſterity if he ſuffered theſe Dominions in *Italy* to be loſt. The year after came *John* a Silentiary with Letters from the Emperour, written both to the King and the Biſhop, whom *Stephen* ſent away with his own Brother *Paul* to *Aiſtulf*, who then wintred at *Ravenna*, joyning with *Conſtantine* in this requeſt, that he would reſtore ſuch Places as he had already taken, and remove the danger from thoſe which had reaſon to apprehend an impending miſcheif.

Aiſtulf invades the *Roman* Territories.

55. To this he onely ſaid, that he would return anſwer to the Emperour by an Ambaſſadour of his own, which the Biſhop underſtanding, ſent to *Conſtantine* the ſecond time, to let him know that Intreaties would doe nothing, and that therefore he was obliged in honour, by virtue of the Dignity which he bore, with Arms and Force to reduce the proud *Lombard* into order. No ſooner were the Meſſengers diſpatched, but *Aiſtulf* was in the Bowels of the *Roman* Territories, which he waſted with Fire and Sword, took their Towns, led away the Inhabitants into Captivity, and now at length removed to the City it ſelf, where he denounced Ruine and Servitude, both to the *Romans* and their Prelates, except they would yeild up both their Cities and their own Perſons into his Power. The Biſhop in ſo great a ſtrait, after his Prayers made, bethought himſelf of Foreign Aid, foraſmuch as there was none could be hoped for out of *Italy*. He remembred the obligations which *Zachary* his Predeceſſour had put upon *Pipin* the new King of the *Franks*, by procuring him no leſs than the Kingdom, at leaſt it was believed that it came by his means. He choſe out a truſty Servant, who in the habit of a ſtranger eſcaped by the *Lombards* and got to *Pipin*, with this Errand, "That the Biſhop would gladly meet him in ſome ſafe and convenient "place, but ſeeing he was Beſieged and could not come at him, he deſired he "would ſend his Ambaſſadours to procure him liberty to come to his preſence. *Pipin* was very willing to pleaſure him, not ſo much out of gratitude to his See, for what *Zachary* had done (by whoſe authority and reputation the depoſition of *Chilperick*, a thing not to be believed had been made juſt and lawfull, though he had nothing committed which deſerved ſo great a cenſure, and the fault was not his that was objected againſt him) as in forecaſt to ſerve himſelf of this preſent Pope in the behalf of his two Sons, *Charles* and *Carloman*, to ſettle the Succeſſion upon them. Glad of ſuch an occaſion, he ſent a Duke and an Abbat on the Embaſſy, who met with *John* the Silentiary, returned back with the Biſhops Meſſengers from *Conſtantinople*, and joyning with him obtained leave for *Stephen* to come forth of the City. On the twenty ſecond of *October*, the ſeventh Indiction he came forth, and with the Ambaſſadours took the way for *Pavia*, to which when he approached, *Aiſtulf* ſent a Meſſage to him, requiring that he ſhould not ask of him *Ravenna*, or the Exarchate, or any thing which had been taken by the *Lombards*, "yet not affrighted he ceaſed not to importune him to "reſtore what he had unjuſtly got from other men, and particularly *Ravenna* the "Seat of the Empire in *Italy*; which the very Barbarous *Alboin* and *Authair* "had ſpared, leſt he ſhould be branded by Poſterity, with more odious Epithetes "than thoſe of Heathen and Heretick. The Ambaſſadours of *Conſtantine* made the ſame demand, but *Aiſtulf* was deaf to all their charmes, and very unwillingly, as he had reaſon, permitted the Biſhop to goe for *France*.

The Biſhop of *Rome* goes into *France*.

56. On the fourteenth of *November* he ſet forward toward the *Alpes*, and coming to *Pipin*, eaſily prevailed with him to undertake a War with the *Lom-*

bard for the Church, and the Redemption of the Exarchate; and becauſe one good turn requires another he was prevailed with to ſtay till Winter was over, and the Army could be ready to march, and in the mean time to anoint Kings of *France*, *Charles* and *Carloman*, the more effectually to recommend them to the People. *Aiſtulf* all this while as a Man unconcerned about War, applied himſelf vigorouſly to the Affairs of Peace, making another Amendment of the Edict or Body of Laws formerly publiſhed, and ſo oft amended by his Predeceſſours. “In “the Preface he ſignifieth, that having ſeriouſly weighed what had been done by “them; he found ſome things wanting, which defect was the Original of great “Errours. Therefore in the fifth Year of his moſt happy Reign, in the Name “of God, on the firſt day of *March*, the ſeventh Indiction; having called together his Judges from the ſeveral Parts of his Kingdom, he cauſed to be affixed to “the Leaves of the Edict, what ſeemed juſt to his Excellency, and agreeable to the “mind of the Lord. The Biſhop of *Rome*, being all this while in *France*, fell ſick, and therefore the Expedition was put off till the Month of *Auguſt*, wherein he anointed *Pipin*, his Wife and both their Sons. Then in Order to his Return, finding theſe Kings, and their Subjects ſufficiently propenſe to gratifie him, whereas at his firſt coming he had ſo worded it, that *Pipin* underſtood the Exarchate was to be reſtored to the Commonwealth or Empire, now making uſe of his time he turned his Tale, and though he had ſo much preached the Doctrine of Reſtitution to the right Owners, unto *Aiſtulf*; he contended that neither the Exarchate nor *Pentapolis* was to be reſtored to the Emperour, for this reaſon, becauſe *Conſtantine* was unworthy to have any thing to doe in *Italy*, who had forſaken it, and exerciſed open Enmity with the Church. If ſo be *Pipin* would diſcharge the Duty of a gratefull Man, or conſult his Souls Health, or give any reward to the Biſhop for the danger he had undergone, and the pains he had taken for the good of *Italy* and the Church, he ſhould grant both the Countries to St. *Peter*. He ſo prevailed upon *Pipin*, that he openly promis'd, that in caſe it pleaſed God to make him victorious over the *Lombards*, to obtain the Remiſſion of his Sins, he would take away the Exarchate, and *Pentapolis* from the Commonwealth of *Rome*, and deliver them to St. *Peter*, and his Succeſſours, to be poſſeſſed by them for ever. This he cauſed the Clerk to record, and confirmed it farther by his own Oath, and the Oaths of his two Sons, *Charles* and *Carloman* then preſent.

Que Præcellentiæ noſtræ ſecundum Dominum juſta comparuerunt.

Proxima æſtate exercitum trans Alpes trajecturum, & Aiſtulfum, ſi ultro nolit, per vim Exarchatum & cætera. loca juri Reip. reſtituere coacturum. Sigon. de Reg. Italiæ. lib. 3. *p.* 126.

Nè ea redderetur Imp. contendit. Quippe Conſtantium propter deſertam Italiæ tutelam, & inimicitias cum Eccleſia apertè ſuſceptas, indignum eſſe, qui rerum in Italia potiretur. Quod ſi Pipinus aut grati hominis officium præſtare, aut, &c. p. 127.

57. During the Preparations for War, we are told that *Aiſtulf* was once and again importuned, and with great gifts allured to ſurrender the Cities; but when neither gifts nor intreaties would prevail, in the eighth Indiction, *Pipin* cauſed his Armies to begin their march through the Territories of *Vienna*. Now again it pleaſed the Biſhop out of his Abhorrence of the Effuſion of Bloud, and hope that he might by the report of ſo great an Army be frighted into a Compliance, to ſend once more to *Aiſtulf*, to invite him to doe by fair means, what elſe he ſhould be compelled. By the Ambaſſadours of *Pipin* he ſent his Letters, wherein by the Holy Myſteries, and the dreadfull day of Judgment it ſelf, he beſought him that peaceably and without bloud, he would reſtore what he had taken to the Holy Church, and the Commonwealth of the *Romans*. This he obſtinately again refuſed to doe, adding Threats both againſt *Stephen*, *Pipin*, and his Followers. *Pipin* then proceeding towards *Italy*, ſent a Party to the *Alpes*, to ſeize on the Straits, and ſecure his Paſſage, which *Aiſtulf* underſtanding, and deſpiſing the *Franks* for their Number, with a Multitude of his *Lombards* he haſted thither, and very confidently fell upon them; but the *Franks* having the Advantage of the Ground, and being a Party of choice Men picked out, ſo warmly received him, that they made great ſlaughter of his Men, which he not enduring is ſaid to have ran away to *Pavia*, there to abide the Storm that was coming upon him. *Pipin* finding the Paſſage clear, marched on without any Moleſtation, and with the Accidents uſually accompanying ſuch Invaſions, came and ſate down before *Pavia*, whence perceiving that the King would not ſtir, he haraſſed the Countrey round about, and made his ſiege as ſtrait as could be. *Aiſtulf* ſeeing what advantage the other had againſt him, within a ſhort ſpace thought it beſt to come to a Treaty, wherein it was agreed, that by a corporal Oath he ſhould ingage to reſtore the Exarchate with *Pentapolis*, and whatſoever other Places he had taken, and for farther Confirmation hereof, give up forty Hoſtages which were to be ſent into *France*. This done, *Pipin*, though in the middle of Winter, returned back into his own Countrey, and *Stephen* the Biſhop with great Joy and Expectation to his See.

Pipin at his Requeſt invades *Italy*.

And forces *Aiſtulf* to Terms.

58. They

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Aiſtulf again for fear of *Pipin* quits *Rome*.

58. They being returned and the Tempeſt quite blown over, *Aiſtulf* repented of what he had done, and was ſo far from delivering up the Places, that gathering an Army together at *Ravenna*, he brake into the *Roman* Territories, and doing therein all violence poſſible came before the City, having ſeized on *Narnia*, which not long before he had reſtored. He thought that *Pipin*, having already diſcharged the Duty of a Friend, would no more paſs over the *Alpes* in behalf of the Biſhop; who, having quite other thoughts, ſent away his Meſſengers by Sea, that they might have a more ſafe and ſpeedy paſſage, by all things ſacred conjuring the King, that he would make good what he had promiſed to St. *Peter*. *Pipin* in great wrath denounces War afreſh, and for that purpoſe makes new Levies, which *Aiſtulf* hearing and ſurprized with the News, after three Months ſiege leaves *Rome*, and hurries away to defend his own Quarters. It was now Autumn, when *Pipin* being in a readineſs began his march, and paſſing the *Alpes* with little Difficulty, came and beſieged *Aiſtulf* in *Pavia*, as formerly. It was not yet known at *Rome*, that he had paſſed the Mountains, where were arrived from the Emperour two Ambaſſadours, *George* a Protonotary and *John* the Silentiary, who were to deal with *Pipin* about reſtoring the Exarchate and *Pentapolis* to the Empire; for they had heard at *Conſtantinople*, how the *Roman* Biſhop had been tampering about them. From *Rome* they ſtreight departed for *Marſeilles*, where being arrived, they had News of *Pipin's* being in the Territories of the *Lombards*. *Stephen* had alſo ſent his Meſſengers with them, whom, becauſe they might probably hinder his buſineſs, *George* cauſed his Fellow *John* there by ſome Arts to detain, and he went before to *Pavia*, where having Audience of *Pipin*, he delivered his Meſſage as advantageouſly as he could. But *Pipin* with the greateſt Piety (ſo the Biſhop's Favourers write) anſwered, that by no humane Rewards he was induced to doe what he did, but inflamed with a deſire of procuring the Favour of Almighty God, he had received the Church of *Rome* into his Protection, perſwading himſelf it was for the Health of his Soul, and would avail for the Remiſſion of his Sins. In caſe he ſhould recover the Exarchate and *Pentapolis*, he had ſworn to deliver them to St. *Peter*, and his Succeſſours; and by no reaſons or Arguments whatſoever would be drawn from being as good as his word, and diſcharging his Duty.

And gives up the Exarchate and *Pentapolis* to the Biſhop.

The Cities of the Exarchate.

Of *Pentapolis*.

59. In the mean time *Aiſtulf* was cloſely beſieged, and ſo much ſtraitned, that fearing the Effects of a Storm, he ſent out to *Pipin* his Plenipotentiaries to make an Agreement, who offered not onely to reſtore the Exarchate and *Pentapolis*, but *Comachim* alſo to redeem his Peace. *Pipin* accepted of their Propoſals, and the Agreement was ratified by Oaths, and giving up of new Hoſtages; which done, *Pipin* again ſurrendred the Exarchate and *Pentapolis* to St. *Peter*, and his Succeſſours to be held by them for ever, and commanded Inſtruments of the Donation to be drawn accordingly. Leaving *Fulrade* the Abbat to receive all agreed on from *Aiſtulf*, and to put them into the Biſhop's Hands; he ſhortly after departed into *France*. *Fulrade* going with the Commiſſioners of *Aiſtulf*, received all the Cities of the Exarchate and *Pentapolis* from their Hands, except *Ferraria*, *Faventia* and *Caballum*, and having from every one of them Hoſtages, he took along with him to *Rome* the Principal Inhabitants, and he laid up the Keys of the ſeveral Cities together with the Inſtruments of the Donation in the Confeſſion of St. *Peter*. Now to underſtand theſe matters more clearly, the Reader may know, that in the Exarchate were compriſed theſe Cities: *Ravenna*, *Bononia*, *Imola*, *Faventia*, *Forum Popilii*, *Forum Livii*, *Cæſena*, *Bobium*, *Ferraria*, *Comachim*, *Adria*, *Ficolæ* and *Gabellum*. *Pentapolis* contained theſe: *Ariminum*, *Piſauram*, *Concha*, *Fanum*, *Senogallia*, *Ancona*, *Auximum*, *Humana*, *Æſium*, *Forum Sempronii*, *Mons Feretri*, *Urbinum*, the *Balnenſian* Territory, *Calles*, *Luceoli* and *Eugubium*, with the Forts and Territories to theſe Cities belonging, all which had afterward the Name of the Marquiſate of *Ancona*. But thus the Biſhop of *Rome* became poſſeſſed of other Mens Goods, the Reader ſees how, and for what Reaſons the Emperour the Right owner was deprived, by what Arts and Devices is alſo manifeſt. *Stephen* committed the Government of *Ravenna* to the Arch-biſhop, and the Tribunes of the City, whereupon the Archbiſhop afterward wrote himſelf Exarch. As for *Aiſtulf* who was but juſtly compelled to ſurrender, having had as little right to theſe Eſtates as he who now poſſeſſed them; we are told that the following year he ſpent in Conſultations how to break the Agreement, and toward the end of it, being in hunting either thrown by his Horſe, or as others wrote wounded by a wild Boar died within a few days after, whoſe Actions we might poſſibly have had related with more favourable Circumſtances, had either

756.

Aiſtulf dies.

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Paul the Deacon continued his Hiſtory ſo far, or any other of his Nation written his Life, or any indifferent Pen had tranſmitted theſe Revolutions to Poſterity. But *Paul* living in the time of *Charles* the Great, the Son of *Pipin*, when it was a Crime to write any thing well though truth of the *Lombards*, (for looſers in theſe caſes of Conqueſt have not leave to talk) durſt not burn his fingers by medling with matters of ſo late concernment; and therefore wiſely left off where theſe things began, which brought deſtruction to the *Lombard* Kingdom. His Countreymen for the ſame Reaſon were all ſilent. They onely were Publiſhers of theſe tranſactions, who were joyned both in their Affections and Intereſts with the Prevalent Party.

Deſiderius makes himſelf king.

60. Now was *Aiſtulf* dead, and none left to whom the Kingdom by right of Succeſſion or Inheritance appertained. Therefore *Deſiderius*, who had been his *Comes Stabuli*, or Maſter of the Horſe, as alſo promoted to the Dukedom of *Tuſcia*, ſet up for himſelf by the favour and aſſiſtence of the People of that Countrey. *Rachis* was ſtill living, and ſo enraged at his Exaltation, that he exchanged his holy Zeal for Indignation, and purpoſed to leave acting the part of a Monk, and reaſſume his former dreſs of Royalty; and he wanted not either Adviſers or Aſſiſtents to ſuch an Undertaking, the Inhabitants of *Liguria*, *Æmilia* and *Venetia*, flocking to him. *Deſiderius* hereat ſtartled, as being in danger, not onely to miſs of the Kingdom, but to looſe his Dukedom too, took the right courſe to prevent both the one and the other: He betook himſelf to *Stephen* the *Roman* Biſhop, and bargained with him to reſtore *Faventia*, *Caballum* and *Ferraria*, which *Aiſtulf* had ſtill kept in his hands, if either by his Arms or Authority he could maintain him in his poſſeſſion of the Kingdom. The Biſhop having communicated the matter to *Fulrade*, the Abbat, reſolved to attempt the thing, and ſending him with his Brother *Paul* into *Etruria*, made a firm League and Alliance with *Deſiderius*, and admoniſhed *Rachis* now the Monk, to hold him to his preſent courſe of life, and not diſturb him whom he had named King and taken for his Alley and Confederate. And if all ſhould fail, *Fulrade* had got an Army of *Franks* and *Romans* together, to diſpute the Controverſie by dint of Sword. So *Rachis* gave over his Enterprize, and therewith the *Lombards* of his Party being diſcouraged, *Deſiderius* enjoyed what he had got; and going to *Pavia*, where he ſolemnly entred upon the Government, he reſtored *Faventia*, *Caballum* and *Ferraria*, to the Church, according to Articles. Not long after died *Stephen* on the twenty fifth of *April*, a man ever to be had in remembrance by his Succeſſours, for his inriching his See with the goodly Poſſeſſions of the Exarchate and *Pentapolis*, to be compared (as *Sigonius* writes) with *Gregory*, ſirnamed *Dialogus*, who procured for it the Dutchy of *Rome*.

61. *Paul* his Brother ſucceeded him, and renewed the League made with *Deſiderius*, who, in the third year of his Reign, took his Son *Adulgiſe* to be his Partner in the Kingdom. *Giſulf* the Duke of *Beneventum* dying, he beſtowed the Dutchy on *Agariſme*, who had married his Daughter *Adelperga*. For ſeveral years he bore himſelf with great reſpect to the *Roman* Church, and with a mind ſo devoted for Religious matters, that his own Daughter *Anſilberga*, he made Abbeſs of an Abby of his own founding, and otherwiſe he ſhewed himſelf a great Patron of that Profeſſion. Thus he continued for ſome ten years, and then they tell us he began to ſhew himſelf another man; as if Ambition had been hereditary to theſe *Lombard* Kings. *Paul* the Biſhop dying, he cauſed a Schiſm to be made by the illegal promotion of one *Conſtantine*, and when this Device was fruſtrated by the means of *Chriſtopher* the *Primicerius* (or Aſſeſſor to the Biſhop, as was the *Secundicerius* alſo, they ſitting next to the Duke of the City) who to remove the Schiſm cauſed *Stephen* the Third to be Canonically choſen, he himſelf went to *Rome* under a ſhew of Devotion, and there dealt with *Affiarta* the Duke of the City, to accuſe *Chriſtopher* and his Son the *Secundicerius* of ſome feigned Crime, and then having ſeized and made them away, to impriſon or drive thence the moſt Eminent Citizens, and ſo to tame the reſt, as that they ſhould not have courage to attempt any conſiderable matter: At the Inſtance of *Bertrade* Wife to the late *Pipin* of *France*, he gave his Daughter to *Carloman* one of her Sons, or rather two of his Daughters to her two Sons, for both are affirmed to have married this way. About two years after *Carloman* died, whoſe Widow *Berta* finding her ſelf and young Sons not treated after the beſt faſhion by *Charles* his Brother, they came into *Italy* to her Father, who was vehemently incenſed againſt *Charles*, for putting away his other Daughter; and, deſirous to imbrace any occaſion of revenge, purpoſed to get the Boys Conſecrated Kings by

the new *Roman* Biſhop. One of theſe things he hoped would follow: Either he ſhould thereby procure an ill underſtanding betwixt *Charles* and the Biſhop, or ſome Tumults and Stirs in *France*, which would preſent him with a fit opportunity of conquering *Rome* and all *Italy*.

62. But not knowing how *Adrian*, at preſent Pope, ſtood affected, he would firſt try him, whether he would renew the League. He anſwered, he was willing to have all Chriſtians his Friends, and the *Lombards* amongſt the reſt, upon thoſe terms, whereon their Predeceſſours had founded their Alliance; but as for *Deſiderius*, he had learnt ſo much of his falſeneſs from *Stephen*, who had lately occupied that See, that he could not truſt him; and when the Ambaſſadours promiſed with Oath, that he ſhould give him full ſatisfaction; he ſaid, that he would return Anſwer by Meſſengers of his own. *Deſiderius* judging by this Reply, that he was not to be truſted, would get by force what he could not obtain by Intreaties; and when *Adrian* had not ſate two full Months, he brake into the Exarchate, where he ſpeedily took *Ferraria*, *Comachim* and *Faventia*; making open ſhew that he would attack *Ravenna* it ſelf. *Adrian* having notice ſent order to his Meſſengers that were on their way, as far as *Peruſium*, to make demand of the places lately taken. The King anſwered, that if the Biſhop would come to him he ſhould command him; which he refuſing to doe, he in great wrath invaded *Pentapolis*; where he waſted the Countrey belonging to *Senogaltia*, *Æſium*, *Monsferretri*, *Urbinum*, *Eugubium*, and other Cities, killing the principal Inhabitants of *Bleda*, who were gone out to reap their Corn, and carrying away much booty and Captives. *Ocriculi* alſo, within the Borders of *Rome*, underwent the ſame and worſe fortune. Hereupon the Biſhop ſent to him the Abbat of St. *Vincent*, with twenty Monks of great Reputation for their Sanctity, who coming to *Pavia* caſt themſelves at his feet, and beſought him with many tears, to give over thoſe violent courſes, and reſtore ſuch Places as he had taken from the Church. To them he anſwered as before, that he would doe both if *Adrian* would come to him.

Deſiderius breaks into the Exarchate.

63. To this purpoſe he ſent Ambaſſadours of his own, who deſired a meeting. *Adrian* made a ſolemn and religious Proteſtation, that if he would but reſtore the Towns of St. *Peter*, he would either give him a meeting at *Rome*, or where elſe he pleaſed, and conſult with him for the quiet and Repoſe of *Italy*; and if he did not, it ſhould be lawfull for him to re-invade the Places at his pleaſure. But in caſe he would not reſtore them, he would never ſee his face, and he ſent two to receive the Cities; but having proteſted the ſame, they received the ſame Anſwer as before. After their return others were ſent, whom he refuſed to ſee, and with great threats diſmiſſed, that he would bring his Army before *Rome*. *Adrian* then looking for extremity, cauſed the City to be fortified as well as it might be, and as *Stephen* his Predeceſſour had done, reſolved to advertiſe *Charles* the King of the *Franks*, in what eſtate he was, and to deſire his aſſiſtence. "He ſent one *Peter* " by Sea to intreat him that, after the Example of his Father and Grandfather, he " would ſuccour the Church now in diſtreſs, and the City of *Rome*, which was " threatned with deſtruction. The cauſe of ſo wicked an undertaking he told him " was palpable, to compell him to anoint the Sons of *Carloman*, which how it " ſtood with his Concernments he left it to him in his wiſedom to judge. To this Crimination *Deſiderius* anſwered in an Edict which he ſent to *Grimoald* the Count of *Viterbium*, wherein he ſhewed he had well deſerved of *Italy*, * contrary to what *Adrian* had laid to his charge. He reckons up many places built and repaired by him, and concludes, that this is not to deſtroy *Etruria*, as *Adrian* accuſeth him, who refuſeth Peace offered by him. He commands therefore *Grimoald*, that ſo long as Peace continueth doubtfull, he order all the Souldiers of *Tuſcia* to be in Arms, and to furniſh them with Proviſions and Pay plentifully, that they may not onely be ready to receive an Enemy, but prepared alſo to make an Invaſion. And he requires him not to burthen the People with new Exactions.

64. *Adrian* his Meſſenger got ſafe to *Charles*, and eaſily obtained a promiſe to ſtand by his Maſter in all his difficulties whatſoever; for *Charles* remembred what advantages his Anceſtours had got by adhering to the Church of *Rome*, and had no reaſon to hope leſs than any of them, conſidering how the World went at this time. He ſent to *Deſiderius* requiring him to reſtore to the Biſhop what was belonging to him, who promiſed to give him full ſatisfaction; but he was reſolved to try another courſe. Taking his Son *Adulgiſe* along with him, with his Daughter *Berta* and her Sons, in a peaceable manner he went towards *Rome*, under pretence of paying a Vow at the Sepulchres of the Apoſtles, which when he

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* *Nos enim non ſumus Tuſciæ deſtructores ut nos apud Gallos accuſat Hadrianus Papa, nam in Tuſcia ædificavimus à fundamentis,* &c. *Vide Sigonium, p.* 138. *Hoc itaque non eſt Etruriam deſtruere, ut nos arguit Hadrianus, qui pacem ultrò à nobis oblatam reſpuit; quare tibi Grimoalde Præfecte Viterbienſis præcipimus,* &c.

came as far as *Spoletum*, he cauſed to be ſignified to the Biſhop. *Adrian* cauſed the Walls and Gates to be ſtrictly guarded, forbidding he ſhould have any entrance, and the Churches of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* without the Walls, to be faſt locked and barred up; which notwithſtanding, when he proceeded on his way, he ſent to him as he lay at *Interamna*, denouncing unto him by all things ſacred, that without his leave he ſhould not ſet his foot within the *Roman* Territories. He had before compoſed a Song of heavy Curſes againſt him, his Family, and thoſe that accompanied him in his Journey. But this Denunciation cauſed him to go back, though with an angry and revengefull mind. For now came Ambaſſadours from *Charles* to ſee whether he had ſatisfied the Biſhop, who at their return ſent ſome of his own back with them, and ordered them to call upon *Deſiderius* at *Pavia*, where they had as cool welcome, and as reſolute an Anſwer, as thoſe that had been before them. Proceeding then in their Journey, they ſolicited *Charles* for help to recover the Cities, which to obtain by fair means, he is ſaid, once more to have ſent to *Deſiderius*, offering him fourteen thouſand *Solidi* to ſatisfie the Biſhops pretenſions, but to no purpoſe; reſolving therefore to force him to it for nothing, he call'd an Aſſembly of his *Franks*, and related to them the whole matter. There was none preſent who did not load *Deſiderius* with Invectives, and give his Vote for ſending ſpeedy relief to the Church. Then was the War reſolved on, and Levies of Souldiers were made greater for number, and with more care and accurateneſs than ever formerly had been known, which clearly ſignified to any intelligent Perſons, that how ſpecious ſoever their pretences were, the *Franks* buckled themſelves to this Expedition, not ſo much for the relief of the Church, as to put a Period to the Kingdom of the *Lombards*.

65. The whole Army coming to the Rendezvous at *Geneva*, *Charles* divided it into two Parties, whereof the one he committed to the Conduct of his Uncle *Bernard*, and the other he led himſelf another way. *Deſiderius* having certain Intelligence of his Motions, ſent ſome Troops with ſpeed, to make good the Straits, then did he gather out of the Dukedoms of *Forum Julij*, *Beneventum*, *Spoletum*, *Etruria*, and his whole Kingdom, a vaſt Army, which he ordered to march to *Auguſta* and *Taurinum*, to give *Charles* Battel, in caſe he ſhould deſcend from the Mountains. *Charles* drawing nigh the *Alpes*, once more (they ſay) ſent to him, offering him the ſame Sum of Money as formerly, and requiring but the Sons of his Judges, as Hoſtages, for delivery of the Towns, but he gave the ſame reſolute Anſwer; which received, the *Franks* continued their March till they came to the Straits, which they found ſeized by the *Lombards*. *Charles* perceiving they ſtopt the Paſſage, ſent a Party over the Mountains another way, to come upon the back of *Deſiderius*, which Device took very well; for it put the King into ſuch a fright, that by Night he left his Camp and ran away, which *Charles* underſtanding, followed him as faſt as he might, and in the purſuit killed many of his followers. But here we arrive at a piece of difficulty, our Authours not agreeing amongſt themſelves concerning what followed, though as we ſaid, being of the contrary Party, they are no ways favourable to the poor *Lombards* who had no Writers to diſcover their partiality. One ſaith that a great Battel was now fought in a Field lying betwixt *Novaria* and *Papia*, where *Deſiderius* received a great Overthrow, and thence the place had the name of *Mortaria*. Others will have *Deſiderius*, without giving Battel, to have fled (ſcarcely looking behind him all the way) to *Pavia*, where he ſhut himſelf up, having ſtrongly fortified the City. His Son *Adulgiſe*, with *Berta* and her Children, he ſent to *Verona*, the ſecond place for ſtrength and convenience in the Kingdom.

Charles King of the *Franks* invades *Italy*.

66. Before ſuch time as *Deſiderius* went towards the *Alpes*, we are told that ſome of his Subjects of *Spoletum*, and of the *Reatines*, deſpairing of his Succeſs, went to *Rome*, and put themſelves into the hands of the Biſhop, whence followed ſome out of every City (like good Subjects doubtleſs) and in St. *Peter's* Church, proſtrating themſelves at his feet, ſwore perpetual Fidelity and Obedience to the *Roman* Church, cutting their Beards and their Hair after the faſhion of the place. But after it was once noiſed that *Deſiderius* was beaten back from the Straits, all the reſt, in a manner, fled to *Rome*; where binding themſelves with the ſame Oath, they were kindly entertained. The Biſhop uſing moderation, with the approbation of the Inhabitants, made *Hildebrand* Duke of *Spoletum*; and to ſuch *Lombards* as would dwell at *Rome*, he gave a place to Inhabit, which from them received the Name of *Lombard-ſtreet*. The Example of thoſe of *Spoletum*, was followed

Verona yielded.

Charles goes to *Rome*.

followed by the *Firmani*, thoſe of *Auximum* and *Ancona*, with the Citizens of the Caſtle of *Felicity*, who cut their Hair, and ſurrendered themſelves into the Dominion of the Church. But *Charles* perceiving *Deſiderius* would not fight, beſieged him cloſe in *Pavia*, whither he ſent for his Wife and Sons; and there in the Camp ſpent the former part of a ſharp Winter, till *Chriſtmas* was over. The Solemnity being paſt, he committed the Siege to the care of his Uncle *Bernard*, and went himſelf and beleagured *Verona*, where *Adulgiſe* deſpairing of holding out, fled, and went into *Greece*; after whoſe departure the Inhabitants quickly ſurrendered the place, and therein *Berta* and her Sons, into the hands of *Charles*, who we are told, ſent them into *France*, and treated them very honourably; and well he might, conſidering what an Intereſt they had in that Countrey. *Verona* being gone, upon Summons the reſt of the Cities beyond the *Poe*, yielded themſelves to the Conquerour, who then returned and reinforced the Siege of *Pavia*. *Eaſter* now began to approach, the Feaſt whereof *Charles* had a great deſire to celebrate at *Rome* with the Biſhop. Leaving the Siege to be carried on by *Bernard*, with a ſplendid Train he took his way thither, and being honourably received in every place he paſſed, on *Eaſters* Eve he arrived at the City.

67. *Adrian* conceived himſelf obliged in the moſt honourable way he could, to receive a King ſo great, who had done ſo mighty matters for the Church, and was in a fair way to effect more. Firſt, all the Judges went out and received him with Banners thirty Miles from the City. A Mile off all the Schools met him, the Children bearing in their hands the Branches of Palmes and Olives, and ſinging out his Commendations. The Rere was brought up by many Croſs-bearers, as it was the Cuſtome of old for Exarchs and Patritians to be received. The Biſhop himſelf early in the morning, with all the Clergy and People, went to the *Vatican* Church, where ſitting with his Clergy upon the Steps, he received him. *Charles*, as ſoon as he ſaw the Croſſes, alighted from his Horſe, and with his Judges went the reſt of the way on foot, till he came to the Steps, to every of which (you muſt know) giving a kiſs, he mounted up to the Biſhop, by whom being lovingly received, after mutual Imbraces and Congratulatory Speeches, he was brought into the Church, all the Clergy ſinging, and calling him the Authour of the Publick ſafety and Liberty, and merrily acclaiming, *Bleſſed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord.* Afterward with a Train of Biſhops, Abbats, and the Followers of *Charles*, they came to the Confeſſion, where proſtrate on the ground, they rendred thanks to God and St. *Peter* for ſo great a Victory; which done, the King deſired he might go into the City to perform a Vow, and viſit the Churches, which the Biſhop permitted; each having firſt ſworn over the Holy Body of the Apoſtle, that he intended no harm to the other. Firſt, he went to our Saviour's Church in the *Laterane*; where ſeeing the Biſhop adminiſter Baptiſm, after a little ſtay, he returned to the *Vatican*. The day following being *Eaſter* day, he made a ſolemn Entry into the City, the ſecond time being received by the Judges and the *Roman* Souldiers, and came to the Church of St. *Mary ad Præſepe*, where after Service he dined with *Adrian* in the *Laterane*. On the third day in the *Vatican* after Prayers, the Biſhop cauſed ſolemn thanks to be given him in an Oration. Herein the kindneſſes of *Pipin* and *Martell* to the *Roman* Church were commemorated; the great Piety, Faith and Fortitude of the Family were gloriouſly ſet forth, and therewith was joyned great Commendations of the whole Nation. It was told the Auditours that *Charles* (not in the leaſt degenerating from the worth of his Anceſtours) was come with a mighty Army againſt the Enemies of the Church; and by the help of God, had been as proſperous as he had been ready to undertake the work. And it was to be hoped, that within few days all *Italy* would have cauſe to congratulate his complete Victory, as now both *Italy* and the Church gave him hearty thanks for what he had already performed.

Charles makes a new Donation to the See of *Rome*.

68. On the fourth day *Charles* was preſent at Service in the Church of St. *Paul*. On the fifth the Biſhop procured him to meet him in the Palace of the *Vatican*, where in the preſence of their Judges he deſired him to make good what *Pipin* his Father, he himſelf, and his Brother *Carloman* had ingaged to *Stephen* at *Cariſiacum*. Hereupon *Charles* cauſed the Inſtruments of the Ingagement to be read, afterward with his Judges approved them, they containing a Grant of the Exarchate and *Pentapolis*. *Iterius* his Secretary he commanded to add a new Grant, and therein to add *Corſica*, *Sardinia*, *Sicily*, the Territory of *Sabinum*, the Dukedoms of *Spoletum* and *Tuſcia*, with the Revenues paid formerly for theſe Dukedoms

to the *Lombard* Kings; always excepted the Royal Prerogative and Authority, over theſe Dukedoms. The Inſtruments of this Donation being ſigned with his own hand, and atteſted by the Biſhops, Abbats, and his Secretaries, he depoſed upon the Altar of St. *Peter*, and in the Confeſſion, as Monuments in time to come, binding by Oath himſelf and his to the obſervance of them; and took a Copy of them along with him. For this Donation the Teſtimony of *Anaſtaſius* the Popes Library-keeper is produced, an Epiſtle of *Adrian* himſelf to *Conſtantine* the Emperour and his Empreſs *Irene*, and the Inſtruments of *Ludowick* the Son of *Charles*, wherein it is more fully expreſſed, and whence it appears that the *Lombard* Dukedom of *Tuſcia*, comprehended the Caſtle of *Felicity*, *Orbitum*, *Balneoregium*, *Ferenti Caſtrum*, *Viterbium*, *Marchia Tuſcana*, *Populonium*, *Soanæ* and *Roſellæ*. Theſe things thus appointed, when *Charles* had made a ſtay of eight days in *Rome*, and in this ſpace ſatisfied the deſires of the Church-men as well as his own Curioſity, he returned to the Camp at *Pavia*.

69. Here *Deſiderius*, in a moſt fortified City, reſolved to hold out, knowing that all the Kingdom would be loſt with it, and if it were ſafe the reſt might eaſily be recovered. Though there was ſmall hope of ſtarving the place, or carrying it by any ſtrategem, yet the reaſons that made *Deſiderius* reſolved on one ſide, made *Charles* as peremptory on the other, reſolving not to raiſe the Siege till he ſhould have ſome good account of it. But that which breaks ſtone Walls, broke at laſt the reſolution of *Deſiderius*, and broke open the Gates to the *Franks*, not onely the Townſmen but Souldiers too, being conquered by Hunger, which being accompanied by a raging Peſtilence, drew neceſſity upon the King, a thing too powerfull for him to withſtand; ſo that at laſt he yeilded up himſelf, his Wife and Children, and all he had into the Power of *Charles*. By ſo doing, if we believe the flouriſhes of *Sigonius*, he was more famous, *viz.* by looſing his Kingdom, than either was *Alboin* for beginning it, or *Agilulf* for reducing it into form and order, ſo much fame and favour did the greatneſs of the Conqerour procure unto him. But here was the period of the Kingdom of the *Lombards* in *Italy*, in the two hundred and ſixth year after their ſeizing on that Countrey, the ſeven hundred and ſeventy fourth year of our Lord. However ſome Biſhops of *Rome* have beſpattered the Nation, and the ſucceſs of *Charles* both eclipſed their glory and ingaged all Pen-men on his ſide and the Pope's (ſo that this late Revolution is deſcribed to us with unworthy and unprobable circumſtances on the Part of *Deſiderius*) yet were they a People very Warlike and conſiderable. Their Domination being barbarous and cruel at firſt, after they came to taſte of Chriſtian Religion grew more mild and benign: witneſs their good and wholeſome Laws, whereby Theft, Robberies, Murthers and Adultery were ſeverely puniſhed, and the Liberty and Property of private men moſt carefully provided for; witneſs the magnificent Churches, rich and ſpatious Monaſteries, wherewith as Monuments of their Religion they adorned that part of *Italy* where they had moſt power; the ſumptuous Palaces and endowments of Biſhopricks, the notable Towns they either built from the ground or repaired, the many men eminent for ſanctity, which they highly cheriſhed; and even the Biſhop of *Rome* himſelf whom they greatly inriched. And though with *Sigonius* we conclude that Ambition, and a luſt of Reigning caſt them down from the Royal height of Dignity and their ancient Dominion in *Italy*, yet we ſhall conclude alſo that the enjoyment of other mens Rights, Succeſs and Conqueſt, though they varniſh over Names and Titles, to wiſe and ſober Perſons argue neither true worth, nor ſolid Felicity.

Deſiderius delivers up himſelf and all he hath to *Charles*.

The Kingdom of the *Lombards* ends.

70. But having lately mentioned the Laws of the *Lombards*, we muſt not diſmiſs them without ſome farther reflexions upon that Subject. They had not onely written Laws purely digeſted and ſupplied by their ſeveral Princes upon occaſion, but cuſtomary, whereby Lands and Poſſeſſions were held by Services. Theſe are called *Feuda* or *Feoda*, concerning which, both as to the Etymology of the word and the original of the thing, opinions are various. Some derive the word from *Faida* (whence our *Fewde*) ſignifying enmity, ſtrife, war or diviſion, in the Tongue of the *Lombards*; ſome from the word *Fœdus*, a League or Alliance; ſome from *Fieri*, and others from *Fides* or *Fidelitas*. Accordingly the word is variouſly written ſometimes, (*Feodam* and *Feudam*) otherwhile *Foeudum*, and *Fœdum* alſo. It properly ſignifies a Salary, or Stipend, and Secondarily, or by way of Tranſlation, the Lands or Territories, which by the good will and bounty of the Lord, the Vaſſal enjoys in the place or room of a Stipend or Salary. It ſeems therefore to be derived from the *Saxon* or *Teutonick* word,

(*Feoda* whence ſo called.)

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word, ꝼo, ꝼeh, or ꝼeoh, which the ancient *Franks* called *Fe*, and we at this day *Fee*, for ſo was and is called a Salary, Stipend, or Reward. The *Saxon* letter h might well be changed into ꝺ, or rather *hade* or *hod* might be added, which in *Saxon* ſignifies a State, Order, or Condition. So might it be called *Feodum* from ꝼeohaꝺ or ꝼeohoꝺ, as that which was poſſeſſed in the quality or condition of Reward or Stipend. So our *Saxon* Anceſtours called the Military Order, cnẏꝣꝼhꞇ-haꝺ, as we at this day Knight-hood, and many other things in like manner, as we now ſay Father-hood, Child-hood, Man-hood, and the like.

71. Whenceſoever the word had its Original, the Original of the thing hath been as much controverted; ſome derive it from the Laws and Cuſtoms of the *Romans*, from their Patrons and Clients; it being the cuſtome from the time of *Romulus* for *Plebeians* to make choice of certain Patritians for their Patrons to protect them, as we have formerly ſhewn out of *Dionyſius*, they being to ſerve them with their lives and fortunes upon occaſion. In imitation of them the Provincials, and the Aſſociates of the People of *Rome* had their Patrons in the Senate. Others will have the Stipends of the *Roman* Souldiers in the Civil Law called *Militiæ* to have reſembled theſe *Feuda*, and ſome compare the *Coloni Glebæ aſcriptitii*, to theſe Vaſſals and Feudataries. But their opinion moſt reſembles the truth, who in this point of the *Romans*, think the *Feuda* to have begun under *Alexander Severus*, at leaſt under *Conſtantine* the Great. For *Severus*, as *Lampridius* the Hiſtorian informeth us, to the Captains and Souldiers of the *Limits*, gave thoſe grounds that had been taken from the Enemy to be poſſeſſed by their Heirs, in caſe they ſerved in the Wars, wiſely concluding that they would be more carefull and induſtrious to defend their own; which *Conſtantine* perceiving not to have been practiſed without reaſon, ordered that theſe grounds ſhould paſs alſo to the Heir called *Hæres Paganus*, the more to oblige his Souldiers to him. But all theſe Remarks conclude nothing as to the Nature of the *Feuda*, as they are now received amongſt the ſeveral Nations, being conſtituted in a moveable thing, or ſuch as come near thereto, the uſe and *Vtile Dominium* whereof, is onely granted to the Client, but the Propriety or direct Dominion, neceſſarily remains in the Granter and his Heirs, and beſides that Fidelity which the Client by oath promiſeth to his Patron (from which the one is called *Dominus*, and the other *Fidelis*) or Lord, is reſerved a certain Juriſdiction over the Client or Vaſſal in caſe he acted or omitted any thing contrary to their Agreement, and the Nature of the Action of a *Feudum*, of which there is nothing to be found either in the Laws or Cuſtoms of the *Romans*. A Perſon very eminent in his Profeſſion writes, that he had looked over all *Roman* Treatiſes, and thoſe Books alſo which have been written of theſe *Feuda*, and from them all (a very few onely excepted) he pronounces that the *Feuda* were utterly unknown to the *Roman* Laws, and not the leaſt Footſteps of them are to be found in that of *Juſtinian*, but that they roſe up from the Manners and Cuſtoms of other Nations after the *Roman* Empire was ruined in the Weſt.

Vid. Dr. Duke, de Auth. Juris civilis, lib. 1. cap. 6.

Molinæus des Fefs. n. 5.

72. But of what Nations it is farther controverted. The ſame learned Perſon is concerned for the Honour of his own, and beſides him ſome few others contend that the *Feuda* were introduced by the Kings of the *Franks*, before the Domination of the *Lombards* in *Italy*. It appears indeed from *Gregory Turonenſis* and others, that there were Dukes and Counts which held certain Territories, and that there were *Leudes* which are interpreted Vaſſals. But yet from the Nature of the Offices of theſe Dukes and Counts, can nothing certain be concluded to make them *Feuda*; ſo uncertain was their Tenure and Succeſſion therein, and ſome Image or Reſemblance there might be of theſe *Feudataries*, but no perfect *Idea* of theſe *Leudes*. The general opinion of Authours is that the *Feuda* had their Original from the *Lombard* Kings in *Italy*, who, as the Reader may diſcover by what we have written, were wont to grant Cities, Towns and Territories to Dukes and Captains to uſe and enjoy, the direct Dominion ever reſerved to themſelves. For farther Confirmation hereof, and in anſwer to what is objected on the *French* Part, there is one who proves, that the greateſt part of the Cuſtoms, and moſt of the words which the *French* themſelves uſe about theſe *Feuda*, were taken from the *Lombards*. The words are *Teutonick*, and ſavour not onely of the *German* Tongue, but its moſt ancient Dialect or the old *Saxon*; whence, and becauſe the *Lombards* were a *Teutonick* Nation, ſome will have the firſt Original of *Feuda* to have been in *Germany* it ſelf, and they fanſie they find ſomewhat of the Condition of Vaſſals in the Story of *Tacitus*, which he tells concerning the *Comites* amongſt the *Germans*; who brought Council and Authority to the Princes of

Gregor. Turon. l. 8. c. 9.

They had their Original from the *Lombards*.

Equinarius Baro, de jure benefic. lib. 1. in præf. ad Joan. Bertrand. Franc. Cancel.

Spelmanni Gloſſar. in voc. Feudum.

Sect. 4. of the Villages, and they think this adds ſome force to their Conceit, that Vaſſal is derived by ſome Etymologiſts from the *German* word *Geſſel*, by which is expreſſed the *Latin* word *Comes*.

73. The truth ſeems to be this. There was ſomething of this ſort of Service and Dependence practiſed by the ancient *Germans*, which being by all the Barbarous *Teutonick* Nations partly brought out of that Countrey, were mightily ſtrengthened and confirmed by certain practices, which at that time the Neceſſity of Affairs put the *Roman* Emperours and other Princes upon. *Severus* and *Conſtantine* the Great, and after them others found it highly convenient for the Safety of their Territories, to beſtow part of them upon Captains, and Souldiers as Wages, or Fees, or Rewards, and placed them upon the Borders where moſt danger lay, that by protecting what they now looked upon as their own, by one and the ſame Act they might alſo defend the whole Empire. Barbarous Princes taking up this cuſtome, as highly neceſſary, formed it according to their own, and ſhaped it into a Service and Dependence ſuitable to their own *German* practices. Hence came it to paſs that not onely the *Lombards*, but in truth the *Franks* had ſome Services of this Nature, and this is to be obſerved, that theſe *German* Nations the nearer they were to the *Romans*, and the more ſubjected to Invaſions, the more perfect and formal were theſe Vaſſalages and Services. Therefore do we hear little or nothing of *Feuda* amongſt our *Saxon* Anceſtours here in *Britain*, nor amongſt the *Goths* in *Spain*. The *Lombards*, being neareſt the *Romans*, learnt the fore-mentioned Cuſtome from them, and being as in a Pit invironed with Adverſaries, were put upon joining it with their own, and framing them into a *German* or *Teutonick* Model. As the Emperours of old aſſigned Lands to their Captains by way of Fee or Stipend, and to protect the Borders, ſo did they. But they added a peculiar Oath of Fidelity and Homage, and not onely Grounds upon the Limits in the Mouth of Danger, but even all their Countrey they diſtributed to be held by Fidelity and Services, as we ſee by the many Dukedoms into which it was divided. And mutual at laſt, by practice and continuance, began the Obligations of Lord and Vaſſal. At firſt it was in the Power of the Lord to take away what he had granted in *Feudo* when he pleaſed. Afterward it was to be certain to the Vaſſal for a Year, and a Year onely, and at length the Poſſeſſion was extended to the Term of Life. But his Poſterity being ſtill unprovided for, it was brought down to one of his Sons, on whom the Lord would pleaſe to confer it, and at laſt came to be diſtributed equally amongſt them all. *Lib.* 1. *Tit.* 1.

74. Afterwards *Conradus Salicus* the Emperour, in the Year 1025, going to *Rome* to take the Crown from the Hands of *John*, the twentieth, his Vaſſals petitioned him to exact by a Law, that the *Feoda* might deſcend to Grandſons, and that a Brother or his Son might ſucceed to one that died without lawfull Iſſue, in that which had been poſſeſſed by their Father. But in caſe one of the Brothers received a Fee (ſo now will we call it) from the Hands of a Lord; he dying without a lawfull Heir, his Brother could not ſucceed in the Fee, and although it were received in general, yet could not one ſucceed the other, except it was expreſly by Name ſo provided; *viz*, that one dying without lawfull Heirs the other ſhould ſucceed, to be ſure an Heir being left the other Brother ſhould be excluded. Its farther to be underſtood, that a Fee or *Beneficium* collaterally went anciently no farther than Couſin-Germans, but in ſucceeding times came to be ſtretcht as far as the ſeventh Degree, and to Males in a deſcending Line *in infinitum*. And this is to be noted, that though Daughters as well as Sons ſucceed their Fathers, by the Laws yet they are prohibited to ſucceed in a Fee, as alſo their Sons except eſpecial Proviſion be made for them. This little Hiſtory of Fees is given us by the Compiler *Gerard Niger*, wherein is to be obſerved, that as to what he writes concerning their deſcending upon Males by a new Law *in infinitum*, that in *France* theſe inferiour Fees, as well as Dukedoms, Counties, Baronies, and the like came to be hereditary under *Hugh Capet*, who began his Reign eight and thirty years before the Law made by *Conradus*. From this time forward Noblemen (the leſſer Nobles or Gentlemen are included) from their Fees began to take Sirnames to themſelves, and to their Names to add *de ſuch a place*, a thing ſo ridiculouſly practiſed in *France* to this day, that if a mean man that can write himſelf but *Sieur*, have five or ſix Sons, if he have ſo many little Hamlets or even Cottages erected in ſeveral Grounds, each muſt be denominated from one of them. In caſe he be not ſo wealthy, if he have a Mill in his Ground, a Rock in his Field, or a Meadow belonging to his Cottage, one muſt be called *de Moulin*, another *de la Roche*, and anothet *des Prez*, whereby you would

take them for Perſons of Extraordinary Extract and Revenue, Perſons indeed that deſerve, as Lords to impoſe Manners, Faſhions and Language upon a World ſo inconſiderate.

75. But by ſuch Degrees came Vaſſals to be poſſeſſed of Fees, which they loſt again by many Acts of Ingratitude and Unfaithfulneſs, ſeveral Crimes which are not here to be related at large, but onely to be touched on. As firſt in caſe after the Death of the Lord or Vaſſal, the Heir came not within a year and a day to ſwear fealty,and deſire Inveſtiture. If three times being cited to the Lord's Court, to receive Inveſtiture and ſwear Fealty he refuſed it. If he refuſed to perform the Services due, or renounced his Fee. In caſe he ſold it without conſent of his Lord; For ſo the Services due to the Lord ſhould come to nothing, the Vaſſal being reduced to Want or Beggary. If he infeoffed any other Perſon with other Conditions, than he himſelf held the Fee, or ſuch a Vaſſal as was not in a Condition to ſerve it. If he took Holy Orders, or a Religious Vow upon him. If he acted contrary to what was expreſſed in his Oath of Fidelity. In caſe he committed another Felony by betraying his fellow Vaſſal, ſo as he could not appear in Court. Theſe Crimes or Felonies reſpected the Fee it ſelf, ſuch as follow the Lord of the Fee himſelf. As in caſe he made an Aſſault upon his Lord's Perſon, or by Sword or Poiſon contrived his Ruine: or by Force and Arms ſet upon any Caſtle or Town, in which his Lord or Lady reſided. If in any Fight or Battel he forſook his Lord, or when it was in his Power, he freed him not from the danger of death or a Siege. If knowing any one to contrive the Aſſaulting, Taking, the Death or great Damage (in his Patrimony) of his Lord, he did not make him acquainted therewith, as ſpeedily as might be. In caſe he turned Enemy to his Lord, or adhered to his Enemies. If he turned Accuſer of his Lord, or brought him into any great danger. If he accuſed him, or bore witneſs againſt him. If he betrayed his Councils or Secrets. If he made him a Cuckold (*Si Dominum Cucurbitaverit*) and wantonly ſported with his Wife. If he lay with his Daughter, his Son's Daughter, his Son's Wife; or the Siſter of his Lord remaining in his Houſe. In caſe he would not doe him Juſtice. If he committed Felony againſt or Cuckolded one of the Lords, of whom he was the Common Vaſſal, he was onely to forfeit that Part. If ſo be the Vaſſal killed his own Brother, or his Brother's Son to get the Inheritance: or betrayed his Fellow Vaſſal, ſo as he could not ſtand any more in Court, he ſhould be deprived of his Benefice or Fee; but foraſmuch as this Felony was not committed againſt the Lord, the Fee ſhould not fall to the Lord, but to the next Kinſman by the Father's ſide. If he killed the Brother of his Lord, it ſeemed no Felony, for he loſt not his Fee. Neither indeed ſeems that to be Felony, properly ſo called, which the Lord committed againſt his Vaſſal, although it was equally puniſhed. Nor was Felony always puniſhed with a perpetual loſs of the Fee.

Lib. Feud. paſſim & vide Spelman. Gloſſar. in voc. Felonia.

76. Beſides the looſing of the Fees, to which Vaſſals were by theſe means obnoxious, they were alſo ſubjected to many, and often very heavy Services. Firſt, they ſwore a moſt ſtrict Fealty and Allegiance to their Lords, whence in ſome Hiſtories they are to be known by the Name of *Fideles*, and performed their Homage in a very humble, if not ſervile manner, the forms and faſhions whereof we cannot here diſcover. Upon Summons from the Lord they were obliged to arm themſelves, to follow his Standard, and ſtand by him in all Dangers of the Field. Beſides they were obnoxious to the payment of many Tributes, Aids or Subſidies. And when they died, their Lords were to have Cuſtody of their Fees with the Gardianſhip, and Manage of their Heirs under Age. And from thoſe that were Adult, Relief for their Conſent to enter upon the Inheritance; at leaſt in ſome places. The manner of Inveſtiture into Fees, was ſolemn and various. The Greater by delivery of a Banner; in *France* by ancient Cuſtome both Biſhopricks, and all other Fees by a Ring, and a Staff, by them *Rain* and *Baſton*. Sometimes it was done by delivery of a *Sword*, an *Inſtrument* in *Writing*, a *Clod of Earth*, an *Arrow*, a *Rod* or other things. Fees were variouſly diſtinguiſhed, as ſome were Imperial and Regal conferred by Emperours and Kings, as, Dukedoms, Marquiſates, Counties which were held *in Capite*, or from the Prince, whence the Poſſeſſours were called *Capitanei*. Others were of a middle Nature,being conferred by theſe *Capitanei* to inferiour Vaſſals, as Barons, Valuaſſours and *Caſtellani*. Another ſort was Military, conferred by theſe Barons, Valuaſſours and *Caſtellani*. Yet was not this Diſtinction ſo ſolemnly obſerved, but that the *Capitanei* conferred Fees, ſimply Military, and Princes as well one ſort as another. There were ſeveral other ſorts

diſtinguiſhed according to the Nature of the Fees themſelves, and of thoſe that received them, of which its not our part here to diſcourſe.

77. It's more proper for us farther to acquaint the Reader, that theſe Cuſtoms being various and growing to Multitudes, Judges in the Determination of Controverſies concerning Fealty and Obedience of Vaſſals, became confounded in their Sentiments and Judgments, as in Cuſtoms not written it ever happens. Therefore about the Year of Our Lord 1152, one *Obertus Ortenſius* of *Milan*, aſſiſted by *Gerard Niger Capagiſtus*, under the Reign of the Emperour *Frederick Barbaroſſa* digeſted theſe Cuſtoms concerning the uſe of Fees, into two * Books. Unto theſe Uſes of Fees compiled by him, were afterwards added the Conſtitutions of *Lotharius* the Firſt, *Lotharius* the Second, *Henry* the Fourth, *Lotharius* the Third; and *Frederick* the Firſt and Second; after which the Books of Fees became of ſuch requeſt in all Countries, that they equalled in Reputation the very *Roman* Laws of *Juſtinian* himſelf. From them by univerſal Conſent, all Controverſies not onely concerning meaner Fees, but Dukedoms, Marquiſates, and the like were decided. And although ſome there have been that contended, that the *Lombards* Laws of Fees have no place in *France*, where they will have theſe Fees to have been Patrimonial, and in the free Diſpoſition and Dominion of Clients, being called *Allodia*, yet other very eminent Lawyers of that Nation contradict them, who affirm that theſe Laws of Fees take place in all the *French* Provinces, eſpecially thoſe which are *Juris Scripti*, where the Cuſtoms of the particular places do not oppoſe them; for in ſeveral Provinces of *Italy*, as that of *Monsferrat*, and *Mantoua*, the *Lombardick* Fees are changed into Patrimonies and *Allodia*, Alienations paſſing without the Knowledge of the Lord, Daughters ſucceeding, and ſeveral other things wherein the Provinces rejecting the ſtrict Doctrine of Fees in theſe Points, have returned to the Directions and Practice of the Civil Law.

78. Out of *France*, the uſe of Fees was by *William* the Conquerour brought into *England*, where he diſtributed the conquered Countrey amongſt his Souldiers; the *Scots* pretend to have received them about ſixty Years before, in the Reign of *Malerline* the Second, but by Learned Men it is eſteemed no more than a Pretenſion. That our *Saxon* Anceſtours had ſome ſort of Knowledge and Practice of them, being Couſin-Germans to the *Lombards*, may be granted, but this knowledge and practice was very ſmall, for the Reaſons we have already alledged. Concerning the Fees brought in by the Conquerour; what peculiar Rules and Practices they have acquired different from all the World beſides, let our Municipal Lawyers tell if they pleaſe. It ſufficeth me (who have already ſaid too much) to put the Reader in mind, that the *Feuda* or Fees reduced into ſome Order came from our *Lombards*. The Conſent of Authours, ſo will have it. This is ſtrengthened by this Obſervation, that the *Lombards* were addicted to this Courſe, more than any other People. That *Obert* and *Gerard* were of *Milan* in that Countrey, and that in *Italy*, theſe Laws moſt flouriſhed from the time of *Otho* the Great, to that of *Lotharius* the Third, while the Civil Law was wholly ſilent. But theſe Fees were founded as we ſaid upon Cuſtome, and therefore amongſt the ancient written Laws of the *Lombards*, we never meet with the word *Feudum*, and the other word *Beneficium* ſignifying the ſame, is very rarely to be found.

SECT. IV.

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* *Præter hos Hotomannus obtrudit unum, Cujacius tres alios.*

SECT. V.

The Kingdom of the *Franks* in *Italy*, from the Captivity of *Deſiderius*, to the Promotion of *Charles* King of the *Franks*, to the Title of Emperour.

The Space 27 *Years.*

Sect. 5.

Charles Crowned King of *Italy*.

1. D*Eſiderius* being conquered and taken, and all the reſt of the *Lombards* having after his Example yielded up themſelves and their Towns, *Charles* the Conquerour by right of Victory, challenged to himſelf the Kingdom of *Italy*, which that he might eſtabliſh to himſelf by a new Title, he made uſe of the old Decree of *Gregory* the *Roman* Biſhop, as it was accounted. At *Modoſtia* he cauſed himſelf to be Crowned with an Iron Crown, by the hands of the Archbiſhop of *Milan*, and ordained, that the ſame courſe ſhould be uſed by his Succeſſours. And it was performed with great Ceremony, as appeared from an ancient Ritual called *Ordo Romanus*, which *Sigonius*, as it concerned this matter, tranſcribed to this purpoſe, the King was out of his Chamber led into the Church by Biſhops, and being conducted to the high Altar, after ſome ſolemn Prayers the Archbiſhop demanded of the People, whether they would ſubject themſelves to ſuch a King, and with conſtant Fidelity obey his Commands. The People anſwering, Yes; with holy Oil he annointed his Head, Breaſt, Shoulders, and the Joynts of his Arms; praying that both in War and in Iſſue he might be proſperous. Having then girt him with a Sword, put upon him Bracelets, a Robe, a Ring, and a Sceptre into his hand, he ſet the Crown upon his Head; and having through the Quire led him to his Throne, thereon he placed him, and having given him the kiſs of Peace, then celebrated Divine Service. This Ceremony was now performed to *Charles* by *Thomas* the Archbiſhop of *Milan*, and hence he and his Succeſſours accounted themſelves ſo conſiderable, and to contend for Dignity with him of *Ravenna*.

Goes to *Rome*.

2. The Ceremony of Coronation being thus over, *Charles*, now as Lord of *Italy*, thought it is duty to ſettle the Frame and Polity thereof, and for this purpoſe reſolved to go to *Rome* to conſult with *Adrian*. He having notice of his Intentions, called an hundred and fifty Biſhops together, with many Abbats, and ſolemnly receiving him into the City, conſulted with them what Honours to beſtow upon him. They were unanimous in this, that a King ſo potent, and who together with his Father and Grandfather, had ſo much deſerved of the *Roman* Church, was to be rewarded with ſome extraordinary mark of Honour. It was univerſally then agreed and conſented to by all the Nobility, that he ſhould be a *Roman* Patritian; that throughout the Provinces he ſhould inſtitute Archbiſhops and Biſhops; ſo that except commanded and inſtituted by him, they ſhould not be Conſecrated by any: That he ſhould chuſe the Biſhop of *Rome*, and regulate the Apoſtolick See. Now *Sigonius* tells us, that the Order and Dignity of a Patritian was, ſince the time of *Conſtantine* the Great, moſt ſplendid and honourable in the *Roman* Empire. That what we called but now Inſtitution of Biſhops, they called Inveſtiture, and pleaſed it ſhould be performed by the giving of a Ring and a Rod. As for the choice of the Biſhop of *Rome*, it ſeems to be granted to him for preventing of Seditions and Tumults amongſt the *Romans*. For theſe differences, the ancient Diſcipline by little and little decaying, by reaſon of ambitious ſeeking of ſo great a Place and Dignity, had quite ſpoiled the Meetings for Elections, to the great ſcandal of all good Chriſtians; no Perſon at *Rome* having any Power or Authority to reſtrain them. But this right of chuſing the Biſhop, *Charles* uſed with great moderation, and remitted to the old way of the Aſſemblies of Clergy and People; provided the thing was done without tumult and indirect Practices.

Is made Patritian.

Hath power to chuſe the Biſhop of *Rome*, and regulate the Apoſtolick See.

Sect. 5.

He Modells the Kingdom of *Italy*.

Obliges the Dukes by an Oath of Fidelity.

3. After the receiving of theſe Honours, he addreſſed himſelf to the Modell of the Kingdom. Firſt, *Apulia* and *Calabria* he left to the Emperour as they had been after the Victory of *Juſtinian*; which afterward being ſeized on by the *Normans*, were reduced into another form of a Kingdom, which at length got the Name of *Neapolitan*. The Dukedom of *Beneventum*, he permitted to be held by *Aragiſe* the Son-in-Law of King *Deſiderius*; that of *Spoletum*, by *Hildebrand*, and the other of *Forum Julij* by *Rodgand*, as *Fiefs* from him, as formerly from the Kings of the *Lombards*. The Exarchate of *Ravenna* and *Pentapolis*, with the Dukedoms of *Peruſium*, *Rome*, *Tuſcia* and *Campania*, the chief Right, Principality and Sovereignty retained to himſelf, he yielded to the *Roman* Biſhop: The reſt he kept to himſelf in the ordinary way of a Kingdom. This was whatſoever the Kings of the *Lombards* had poſſeſſed in *Liguria*, *Æmilia* and *Venetia*, the hithermoſt *Tuſcia* (as they accounted it) and the *Cottian Alpes* being reckoned in. That part they called *Longobardia*, or as afterward *Lombardia*, or *Lombardy*. The Exarchate they called by the Name of *Romania*, or *Romaniola*. *Italy* being thus divided, the Government thereof he ordered ſhould be after this manner. The Dukes he would have free, bound onely by the Bond of a Royal Fee; with which whoſoever tied themſelves, were annually to take this Oath: *I promiſe that I will be faithfull to my Lord* Charles, *and his Sons, as long as I ſhall live, without any fraud or manner of deceit:* And, *I ſwear by theſe Holy Goſpels, that I will be faithfull to him, as a Vaſſal to his Lord, neither to my knowledge will I divulge any thing which he ſhall commit to me, in the Name, or by Virtue of my Allegiance.*

He ſettles the Government.

Three ſorts of Laws in uſe, *viz.* That of the *Romans*, the *Lombards*, and the *Salick*.

4. If ever it ſo happened that they brake this Oath, or died without Sons, the Dukedoms were conferred upon others, and this Tranſlation, or Collation, as in Biſhops and Abbats, was called Inveſtiture; the ſame being obſerved in other Vaſſals or Feudataries, as Counts, Captains, and Valuaſars, the Modell of the Services and Tenures of whom was afterward perfected by the *Germans*. The People and Cities were after this manner to be governed. The Limits of the Kingdom and the Towns, he committed to the government of Counts, aſſigning to them all publick and private Juriſdiction. The Limits or Borders they called *Marchæ*, or *Marches*, whence the Governours of them, obtained the Titles of Counts of the Marches, and Marqueſſes. Some extraordinary Commiſſioners he ſometimes ſent into the Kingdom, whom having greater Authority than Counts, they called *Miſſi*. The Grounds of the ſeveral Cities being confuſed or litigious in the Reign of the *Lombards*, he would have ſeparated and limitted, bounding them for the moſt part with Mountains, Fenns, or Rivers. The Cities he would have take an Oath of Fidelity to him, theſe words being added to it, *I will preſerve his Life, Member, Mind, and true Honour.* On the Feudatary Cities, Churches and Monaſteries, he laid certain Services, called *Foderum*, *Parata* and *Manſionaticum*, to be paid to him, eſpecially when he came into *Italy*, which by him and his Succeſſours were afterward either much diminiſhed, or wholly remitted. To Biſhops and Abbats he confirmed the Poſſeſſion of Churches and Monaſteries, formerly granted by the *Lombards*, and added new to ſuch as deſerved them. And that he might ſeem to have given liberty to *Italy*, when he came thither he was wont to aſſemble the Biſhops, Abbats, and Noble men together, and with them to deliberate of the great Affairs of the Kingdom, after the manner of the *Franks*. Into *Italy* he brought alſo the *Salick* Law; ſo that from this time forward, three ſorts of Laws became of uſe to it; that of the *Romans*, the other of the *Lombards*, and this *Salick*. But this was the cuſtome, that by what Law every man would live, he ſhould profeſs, and then according to that, Juſtice ſhould be adminiſtred to him; which Cuſtome prevailed in *Italy*, till the time of the Emperour *Lotharius* the Second.

Returns into *France*.

Duke *Rodgand* Rebells.

5. Things being thus ſetled, *Charles* returned to *Pavia*, where leaving a ſtrong Garriſon, he took *Deſiderius* and his Wife along with him, and returned into *France*. Yet did he not ſo well ſettle his Matters, but that within a year or two he was in danger to be diſturbed, the Reputation he got by Arms, not being ſufficient to bridle the Minds of the *Lombard* Dukes, who impatient, that the Kingdom ſhould be taken from them, began to make diſturbance in the Cities. The chief of the Conſpiracy was *Rodgand* Duke of *Forum Julij*, which *Charles* underſtanding, as he returned out of *Saxony*, reſolved betimes to obviate the miſchief, and by the terrour of ſeverity cauſe thoſe who had not yet diſcovered themſelves, to keep themſelves in their Duty. Having kept his *Chriſtmas* in

Alſatia,

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Alſatia, with a powerfull Army he paſſes the *Alpes*, and marches ſtreight into the Dutchy of *Forum Julij*, where he gave Battel to *Rodgand*, who was defeated, taken Priſoner, and put to death, as having affected the Sovereignty. Such Cities as were faulty begging pardon, eaſily obtained it. Going then to *Tariuſium* to hold his *Eaſter*, he annexed the Dutchy of *Forum Juliij* to the Kingdom; committing the Government of the ſeveral Cities to Counts; and then returned into *France*, much about the ſame time that *Leo* the Emperour at *Conſtantinople* made *Conſtantine* his Son his Collegue and Aſſociate. For ſeveral years after, *Italy* remained quiet. The fourth, the return of *Charles* produced two memorable things; another Progreſs he made into *Italy*, and the Death of the Emperour *Leo*, whoſe Son *Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus* governed with his Mother *Irene*, a Woman of a Maſculine Spirit, and Diſpoſition. *Charles* perceiving, that being diverted by other continual Wars, he could not probably keep *Italy* in quiet, except he ſet a King over it, who by his Preſence ſhould adminiſter Juſtice, and caſt an awe as well upon Domeſtick as Foreign Enemies, reſolved to make *Pipin* his Eldeſt Son King with him. Returning out of *Saxony*, taking with him the ſaid *Pipin*, his Wife *Hildegardis*, and *Lodowick* his other Son; a little before *Chriſtmas* he came to *Pavia*.

Is defeated and put to death.

A. D. 776.

A. D. 780.

He makes *Pipin* King of *Italy* with him.

6. The Holydays being over, he ſummoned an Aſſembly of the Spiritual and Temporal Nobility, and made by their aſſent ſeveral Laws yet extant; and publiſhed on the firſt of *March*, concerning Biſhops and Abbats, their Rights, and their Diſcipline; as alſo concerning the puniſhment of Murthers, Robberies, Perjuries, and for the right Adminiſtration of Juſtice by the Counts, and the *Vaſſi Dominici*. This done, he went to *Rome*, to procure the Biſhop to anoint his Sons, who being very ready to beſtow what would coſt him nothing, anointed *Pipin* King of *Italy*, and *Lodowick* King of *Aquitain* on *Eaſter* day; and to another *Pipin*, he himſelf was Godfather. At their return to *Pavia*, the Ceremony was there renewed by *Thomas* the Archbiſhop, who Crowned *Pipin* with an Iron Crown, and was Godfather to a Daughter named *Giſla*. *Italy* was generally very well pleaſed with the Advancement of their new King, as one who would continue with them, and conſequently adminiſter Juſtice as there ſhould be occaſion, and protect them from the Inrodes of the *Hunnes* and *Saracens*. And *Pipin* did not fruſtrate their Expectations in any thing they could reaſonably require, beſtirring himſelf, and doing all good Offices of a King, as he had opportunity. He incouraged all publick Works, and made ſuch new Laws as were requiſite; ſeveral of his, as of his Father *Charles*, being ſtill extant, made in a full Aſſembly of the Nobility, concerning the ordering of Churches, repairing of Monaſteries, Hoſpitals, Bridges and High-ways, the ſecurity of ſuch as travelled to *Rome*, the Adminiſtration of Juſtice by Counts and their Judges. When he was in *Italy* he commonly reſided at *Ravenna*, either taken with the ancient famouſneſs of the City, or for convenience of managing Naval matters. This great Repoſe and ſatisfaction, was after ſome five years interrupted by the ambitious Practices of *Aragiſe* the Duke of *Beneventum*, who being Son-in-Law to *Deſiderius*, and puffed up with conceit of his own greatneſs, revolted. He was ſo proud, that he would be called Prince in the room of Duke, and be anointed and Crowned as King by his Biſhops, ſubſcribing his Diploma's, *From our moſt Sacred Palace.* Contemning *Pipin*, to inlarge his Dominion, he invaded the *Roman* Territories, not fearing the power of *Charles*, or the Cataſtrophe of *Deſiderius*. *Charles* being inform'd of his Motions by *Adrian*, having diſpatched his other Wars, reſolved to paſs into *Italy* and chaſtiſe his Folly. At the beginning of Winter he paſſed the *Alpes* with ſuch expedition, that he kept his *Chriſtmas* in *Etruria* at *Florence*, a City formerly deſtroyed by *Totilas* King of the *Goths*, and now ſaid, by command of *Charles*, to have been re-edified.

Enacts ſeveral Laws.

Aragiſe of *Beneventum* rebells.

7. From *Florence* he went to *Rome* to conſult with *Adrian* about the chaſtiſement of the Rebel, who now unbethinking himſelf, ſent his Son *Romuald* to beg peace with great preſents, and promiſe to give all ſatisfaction to the Biſhop. The King by the Biſhop's advice denied his requeſt, and led his Army into the Territories of *Capua*, which he compelled to ſurrender after he had waſted the Countrey round about. The report hereof terrified *Aragiſe*, who expecting the Storm to come upon *Beneventum*, quitted that place and returned to *Salernum*, a Sea-Town, whence if need were he might have a convenience of Eſcape. Now he ſent another Meſſage, offering to give up his other Son *Grimoald* alſo for an Hoſtage, and farther to doe whatſoever he ſhould be commanded. This was accepted by the King, who taking an Oath of Allegiance from him, and the Inhabitants

But begs Peace, which is granted.

habitants of *Beneventum*, diſmiſſed *Romuald*, and kept *Grimoald* with him as an Hoſtage. After this he viſited *Rome* again, and granting to ſeveral Church-men confirmation of their former Eſtates and Privileges, he returned into *France*. There he found that *Taſſilo* Duke of *Baioaria* had ſolicited the *Hunnes* to invade his Dominions, which they did with two Armies, the one whereof peirced into *Forum Julii*, but was repulſed with diſgrace and loſs. It happened about this time, that *Charles* having promiſed to give his Daughter in Marriage to *Conſtantine* the young Emperour, afterward, its ſaid, denied to ſend her, which ſo inraged him, that having *Adulgiſe* the young *Lombard* King in his Court, who had been honoured with the Dignity of a Patritian, he ſent him with conſiderable Forces into *Italy*, which he expected would revolt at the ſight of their former King, by bloud, and his former Intereſt, allied to them.

Adulgiſe the *Lombard* King, invades *Italy*.

8. *Grimoald* was at this time, his Father being dead, Duke of *Beneventum*, by the favour of King *Pipin*, whom in way of gratitude or conſulting his preſent Intereſt, he advertiſed of this purpoſed Invaſion, though he was Nephew by the Siſter to the Pretender *Adulgiſe*; *Pipin* commanded *Hildebrand* the Duke of *Spoletum* to be in Arms, and ordered *Winigiſe* his General to march to him both with Horſe and Foot, deſiring *Grimoald* to be of good Courage, and to reſiſt the Enemy ſtoutly, if he ſhould break into his Quarters. *Adulgiſe* in the mean time landed in *Calabria*, with intention firſt to ſet upon the Dutchy of *Beneventum*, and thence to Invade the Dominions of the Church, which being underſtood, *Winigiſe*, *Hildebrand* and *Grimoald* haſted, and uniting their Forces, reſolved to give him a ſtop in *Calabria*, before he ſhould proceed any farther. And in *Calabria* was fought a moſt bloudy Battel, the *Greeks* endeavouring to approve themſelves for valour, and the *Lombards* themſelves for fidelity to thoſe that employed them. For a great while the ſucceſs remained doubtfull, but at length the *Greeks* were worſted, many ſlain, and more taken, amongſt whom was *Adulgiſe* himſelf, who died in his tortures. Four years after this, *Italy* continued free from War, but was then diſturbed by ſtirs raiſed in the Dutchy of *Beneventum*, by means of *Grimoald* the Duke, as is ſuſpected; it ſeemed to be of ſuch conſequence that *Charles* wrote to his Son *Pipin* to gather an Army in *Italy*, and promiſed to ſend to him another out of *France* by his Brother *Lodowick*, who came to him by great Journeys to *Ravenna*, and there kept his *Chriſtmas*. Then joyned they their Forces and invaded the Borders of *Beneventum*, where having taken one Fort, they wintred and then returned. It's probable that *Grimoald* was frighted into obedience, and complied with their Propoſals, elſe would not two Kings have ſo ſoon drawn back their Armies; but of this as of many other things, the Annals of thoſe times are ſilent.

Is overcome and tortured to Death.

Another Revolt by *Grimoald* Duke of *Beneventum*.

To *Adrian* ſucceeds *Leo*, in the See of *Rome*.

9. Some three years after died *Adrian*, the Biſhop of *Rome*, and was ſucceeded by a Prieſt who had the Name of *Leo* the Third. Immediately after his Conſecration he ſent to give notice to *Charles*, ſending him the Keys of the Confeſſion, the Banner of the City, and other great Preſents, to which *Armonias* adds, that he deſired him to ſend to *Rome* ſome one of his Nobles, who by Oath might confirm the *Roman* People in their fidelity and ſubjection. Not long before this time *Charles* had from a Province reduced *Forum Julii* into a Dukedom, and removing the Counts, had placed there as Duke, *Henry* a *Frank*, it's ſuppoſed out of deſign to reſtrain and keep the *Hunnes* in order. By command of King *Pipin* ſome years after, he Invaded *Pannonia*; and falling on them unexpectedly, killed *Iring* with other of their Dukes, and Plundering *Rhing* their Palace, ſent away the Treaſure to *Charles*, which they had been a long time hoarding up, moſt whereof he ſent to *Rome*, and then paſſed with an Army into *Saxony*: The *Hunnes* having loſt their Dukes made themſelves a King, under whom they prepared themſelves with all earneſtneſs to renew the War, which *Pipin* underſtanding, ſent notice thereof to his Father, and with a choice Party of Men brake into their Territories, took and plundered again their Royal Seat, and with a great booty went to his Father then lying at *Aix*, from whom he returned not into *Italy* till the year following, wherein *Irene* cauſed the eyes of her Son *Conſtantine* to be pulled out, that She might Reign without Controll. By this time the *Romans*, the Fear and Awe of the *Lombards* being removed, began to flow with Wealth, and grew wanton with Idleneſs and Luxury, and not content with the preſent poſture of Affairs, hatched deſigns to ſhake off the Biſhop, and recover their ancient Liberty.

A. D. 796.

Pipin makes War upon the *Hunnes*.

A. D. 796.

10. The main Authours and Promoters of this Deſign were the Kinſmen of the late *Adrian*, *Paſcalis* the *Primicerius*, and *Campulus* the *Sacellarius*, the Princes of

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A Conſpiracy againſt *Leo* the Biſhop.

of the City. The firſt were inraged at *Leo* for endeavouring to reſcind ſome Acts of *Adrian*; and the two laſt becauſe he taxed their naughty manner of Life. They firſt objected ſome crimes to him in way of accuſation, and when they could make nothing of them, then entred into a Conſpiracy againſt his Life, and on a time, as he was going in a ſolemn Proceſſion, fell upon him with ſome of their Creatures they had laid in Ambuſh, and having indeavoured to cut out his Tongue, and pull out his Eyes, carried him into a Church, and before the Altar ſorely beat and wounded him. *Albinus* his Chamberlain found him in a Monaſtery, and brought him back to the *Vatican*, where he recovered, which ſo inraged the Conſpiratours that they pulled down *Albinus* his Houſe. Upon the report of theſe Diſorders in the Countrey, *Winigiſe* Duke of *Spoletum*, who had been ſubſtituted in the room of *Hildebrand*, came to *Rome* and carried him ſafe to *Spoletum*, whence he conveyed him into *France* to *Charles*, according to his own deſire. *Charles* honourably received him, and granted his requeſt to afford him his aſſiſtence againſt the Enemies of the Pontifical See, for he told him he had none elſe to whom he could betake himſelf; the Emperour, whoſe Duty it was to protect the Church, having lately rather been againſt it, and no good being to be hoped for from a Woman that now held the place at *Conſtantinople*. At length by the advice of ſuch Churchmen as came to *Leo* into *France*, it was reſolved that he ſhould be ſent back to *Rome*, and there the Merits of the Cauſe ſhould be ſearched into. At the time appointed *Charles* his Ambaſſadours held an Aſſembly with the Biſhops and Counts of *France*, in the Palace, and heard what the Conſpiratours could ſay, who pleading nothing but what was judged vain and frivolous, they cauſed them to be committed, and ſent them in Chains into *France*. The ſame year, *Henry* Duke of *Forum Julii*, after many Victories over the *Hunnes*, was murthered by the Inhabitants of *Tarſatica*, a Town of *Liburnia*.

A. D. 800.

11. *Charles* holding an Aſſembly of his Eſtates at *Wormes*, propounded theſe Caſes to them, the firſt concerned *Grimoald*, who had lately again revolted, the ſecond the death of *Henry*, and the third the violence offered to the Perſon of *Leo*, all which deſerving the preſence of a King, to puniſh them, he reſolved (and for one thing more doubtleſs) to goe again into *Italy*. *Autumn* now declining, with *Pipin* his Son he paſſed the *Alpes* and went ſtreight into *Liburnia*, where he puniſhed the Inhabitants of *Tarſatica* for the death of *Henry*. One *Cadolack* he made Duke of *Forum Julii*; which having done, he departed thence to *Ravenna*, where having ſpent ſeven days in preparation for the War of *Beneventum*, he came to *Ancona*. From *Ancona*, *Pipin* with an Army marched againſt *Grimoald*; and *Charles*, through the Dutchy of *Spoletum*, went for *Rome*; *Leo* and the Senate met him at *Nomentum*, twelve miles from the City, where having diſcourſed and feaſted with him, he returned to *Rome* to take Order for his Reception, after this manner. The next day the Croſſes and Holy Reliques, with the Banners of the City, were ſent out to meet him; In certain places were placed certain *Chori* of Citizens and Strangers who ſang his Praiſes. The Biſhop himſelf ſate upon the ſteps of the *Vatican* Church incircled by his Clergy, where he received him, and with ſinging conducted him into the place appointed for Prayers, and thence into the Confeſſion. After ſeven days *Charles* called the People together, and ſignifying the cauſe of his coming, appointed a day to hear their Biſhop's Cauſe. On the day appointed, by the advice of the Biſhops, both *Franks* and *Italians*, the Accuſers and Accuſed were cited to appear, and he himſelf ſate as Judge with the reſt. The Accuſers told their Tale, but the Biſhops would not ſuffer *Leo*, in reſpect of his Dignity, to anſwer formally as other Criminals were wont to doe, whereupon he ſaid he would uſe that courſe which the Laws allowed to purge ones ſelf of a Crime objected. On another day, he mounted the Pulpit, and in the preſence of them all, his Hands laid upon the Holy Goſpels, by a ſolemn Oath he proteſted that he was clear from the crimes they had ſlanderouſly laid unto his charge. This by the Auditours was counted enough, he was eſteemed Innocent, and ſolemn thanks were given to Almighty God and the Saints on his behalf.

Which is tryed before *Charles*.

And the Biſhop acquitted.

12. Now comes the principal Scene and the Parts which the Biſhop and *Charles* were to Act in this Comical expedition. *Leo* had been freed and abſolved before *Charles* his coming. The Inhabitants of *Tarſatica* were not ſo conſiderable, but that he might have eaſily puniſhed them by his Officers, and as for *Grimoald*, *Pipin* might have dealt with him as well, if his Father had been in *France*, as where now he remained at ſuch a diſtance. There was another greater thing for which *Charles* undertook this Journey: He had made broad * ſigns in the

time

* *Quin etiam Carolus vi-*

time of *Adrian*, but that Biſhop either could not or would not underſtand him. But *Leo* knowing his mind, and being as ready as able to ſerve him in this affair, ſet about the work in this manner. He could not for ſhame but to bethink himſelf what way he might ſhew himſelf gratefull to him, who to free the Church from ſo great danger and Infamy, had not grudged to take a Journey out of *France*. He found that ſince *Gregory* the Second his Predeceſſour, had begun to be Perſecuted by the Heretical Emperour, there never were wanting ſome who earneſtly contended that ſome other Defender of the Church was to be found out, that is ſome other Prince to be dignified with the Imperial Title. That without doubt, if any one ſo great an honour was to be conferred, either it was due to King *Pipin*, or at leaſt to *Charles* his Son, who in aſſerting the Catholick Faith, and in perſecuting Infidels, Hereticks, and Rebels againſt the Church had excelled Kings, yea all Emperours whatſoever. What *Adrian* had omitted, and the King himſelf in his time, he knew, had affected from the tumults at *Rome*, he reſolved now to take occaſion to perfect, that he might oblige ſo powerfull a King, and obtain a Protectour and Patron to the *Roman* Church. The Ceremony he reſolved ſhould be on *Chriſtmas* day as a greater grace to the Fact, and that it might be more ſolemn and ſtately. *Pipin* himſelf, having committed the War againſt *Grimoald* unto Duke *Winigiſe*, came to the City, drawing with him an infinite number of Mortals to behold the ſight.

vente Hadriano eum affectaſſe titulum videtur, ſiquidem cum Beneficia Ecleſiis indulgeret, ita præfari conſuevit: Carolus Dei Gratia Rex Francorum & Longobardorum, & Patricius Romanorum, ſi Eccleſiarum Dei Servis Munificentiam noſtram impertimus, eorumq; ſtudiis libenter obſequimur, id nobis ad Auguſtatis excellentiæ culmen proficere credimus, & quod cunctis pretioſius eſt dignitatibus, æternum Retributionis præmium capeſſere non diffidimus. Vide Sigonium ubi ſuprà. p. 160.

Charles is made Emperour, and *Pipin* Crowned King of *Italy* by *Leo.*

13. The day being come, *Charles*, early in the morning went to the *Vatican* Church, and thence to the Confeſſion, where having finiſhed his Devotions, the Biſhop, who by former agreement was preſent, put on him an Imperial Robe, and ſet on his Head a moſt pretious Crown of Gold, which had been prepared for this purpoſe: At this the People three times acclaimed, *To* Charles Auguſtus, *Crowned of God, the Mighty and moſt Pious Emperour of the* Romans, *Life and Victory*. God and the Saints being then invoked, this Imperial Title was confirmed by the People, and their Acclamation being over, the Biſhop anointed both the Father and the Son ſtanding by, the one for Emperour, the other for King, and then ſet upon Celebrating of Divine Service. This ended, both *Charles* and *Pipin* offered in the *Vatican* Church, a Cupboard of Silver, and ſeveral Veſſels for the Service thereof, of pure Gold: in that of *Lateran*, a Croſs of excellent Workmanſhip made of Jacinths, which *Leo* in compliance with *Charles*, ordered to be carried in ſolemn Proceſſions. Such was the order of the ſolemnity, by which it appears, as *Sigonius* obſerves, how untrue the ſtory of thoſe is, who wrote that all this was done by *Leo*, *Charles* neither knowing any thing before, nor conſenting, as who ſhould ſay often, that had he perceived any ſuch thing, he would not that day have gone to the *Vatican*. But this Imperial Title having failed in the Weſt almoſt three hundred years before, at the Depoſition of *Momyllus Auguſtulus*, the Biſhop of *Rome* now renewed it in *Charles*, that his Church might have a Patron and Defender, obliged by ſuch a courteſie as we ſaid before. This is ſufficiently evidenced by the form of the Oath, which the Emperours of this Edition at their Coronations, had by theſe Biſhops impoſed on them: J. N. *Emperour, in the Name of Chriſt, promiſe and ingage before God and St.* Peter *the Apoſtle, to be the Protectour and Defender of this holy Roman Church, in all its concernments, as I ſhall be aſſiſted by Divine helps, to my knowledge and Power.*

Sigonius ex antiquiſſimo commentario qui Ordo Romanus dicitur.

14. And as *Leo* for his own reſpects, and thoſe of his Succeſſours was ready to give, ſo *Charles*, to ſerve his own Ambition and the Dignity of his Family, was willing to receive, though from him, this Glorious Title. For, now rejecting that of Patritian, he wrote himſelf *Roman* Emperour, and *Auguſtus*. Being placed in this high pitch of Majeſty, he thought it agreeable to his Office, not onely to look after the ſettlement of *Italy*, but all Chriſtendom, and in that ſtudy ſpent the Winter following. The Accuſers of *Leo* he condemned to death, but at the requeſt of the Biſhop, exchanged this puniſhment for that of Baniſhment. To the Edicts of the *Lombards*, he added ſuch Laws as he perceived from complaints whereas he came were wanting, and by others reformed Eccleſiaſtical matters. *Sigonius* tells us that the aforeſaid Laws were in his time to be ſeen at *Mutina*, with this Title in the Preface. Charles *by Divine conſent* (*or Order*) *Crowned, Governing the* Roman *Empire, moſt Serene* Auguſtus, *to all Counts, Gaſtalds, or to all that by our meekneſs have been appointed Officers of the Common-Wealth throughout the Province of* Italy, *in the year eight hundred and one, from the Incarnation of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the ninth Indiction, in the thirty third year of our Reign over* France, *and over* Italy *the twenty eighth, the firſt of our Conſulſhip.* Being now Emperour, he calls *Italy* not a Kingdom, but a Province, and

The Conſpiratours are condemned to Baniſhment.

Sect. 5.

and to make the world believe he was Emperour Indeed, a *Roman* Emperour, revives old Titles and Names, Styles himſelf *Auguſtus*, and talks of the Conſulſhip; but he entred it ſeems at the ſame time that he commenced Emperour, and ſo ſhews himſelf not to be of the true and genuine Stock, few, theſe excepted, who invaded the Empire, and the Titles of whom were precarious, but were Conſuls before they came to be Emperours. And whether in ſtictneſs his Title was not precarious, whether he was a Legitimate *Roman* Emperour, or can be ſo called is a Moot-point, may admit of a little Diſquiſition.

15. If he were an Emperour (take the word as one poſſeſſing or reigning over divers Kingdoms) yet could he be called by any other addition, better than that of *Roman*. The *Roman* Empire was now almoſt quite extinct in the Weſt, little or nothing left except a few Iſlands in the Mediterranean, and perchance a few Maritime Towns lying towards *Sicily*. The Emperour had been beaten out of this Countrey by the *Lombards*, who having made a Prey at laſt of the Exarchate, became themſelves a Prey to Victorious *Charles*, and the Exarchate, by what right ſoever was challenged as the Churches Patrimony. Grant then that the *Romans* had Power to name him Emperour, to confer that Title upon him or any other, a worthleſs empty Title muſt it be, ſignifying a Sovereignty over the City of *Rome*, and the ſmall Territory of the Exarchate (the reſt was quite alienated) ſuch a Dominion they had at the Baniſhment of their Kings, the Names of one of which would more have fitted him, as *Servius*, *Tarquinius*, or the like, than that of *Cæſar*. That they could give any thing of the Eaſtern Empire to him or any other, we cannot believe, after that *Conſtantinople* had been by Imperial Authority made a ſecond *Rome*, and all Co-equal Majeſty and Privileges conferred upon it. *Rome* of late had loſt the Imperial Title, been a Captive to Barbarians, a Member of a Kingdom, being though reſtored to her Liberty afterward, yet it was by the Help and Aſſiſtence of her Daughter, had all along hitherto truckled under her, and acknowledged the Sovereignty of her Princes, and ſubmitted to the Government of a Duke; till under ſhew of Religion, ſhe became diſloyal, and advanced her Biſhops from the Epiſcopal Chair to the Princely Throne.

CHAP. II.

The Affairs of *Britain*, lately a *Roman* Province, Contemporary with the *Conſtantinopolitan Roman* Empire.

SECT. I.

From the Departure of the Romans *out of the Iſland to the Deſtruction of* Britain, *or the forcing up of the Inhabitants, into the Mountainous places by the* Picts, Scots *and* Saxons.

The ſpace of One Hundred Ninety Seven years.

Sect. 1.

The *Picts* and *Scots*, invade *Britain*.

The Character of the *Britains* in thoſe days.

1. THE *Britains* being again forſaken by their Friends the *Romans*, who as we ſaid were called into *Gall*, the Neceſſities of the Empire there and then requiring it, became ſpeedily again a Prey to the ravenous *Picts* and *Scots*, who no ſooner was their fear and awe removed, but like Wolves they returned, and without any Pity or Compaſſion renewed their Slaughters, and the Havock they had made of a worſe than tame and ſheepiſh Nation. For, ſuch Qualities as are the certain Preſages of the Ruine of a People, had long e'er this manifeſted themſelves; Luxury, Effeminateneſs, and all ſorts of vitious Habits and Practices which weaken mens Hands, and enervate their Minds, which in all Ages have deſtroyed Families, and overturned Governments, abounded amongſt them: Never ſcarcely did a Kingdom, Empire or Eſtate miſcarry, but its Period was uſher'd in with Looſeneſs and Luxury. Let the Example of *Sardanapalus*, of the Army and Court of *Darius*, of *Cleopatra*, and her *Egyptian* Train, and that of the *Romans* after the times of *Lucullus*, ſpeak for the *Aſſyrian*, *Perſian*, *Macedonian* and *Roman* Empires. As for Kingdoms and States, Examples ſo abound, as it would be too tedious to relate them. Beſides the Juſt Judgment of Almighty God, who in the Deſtruction of thoſe that pervert Nature, and apply their Strength and Faculties to other things and ends than for which they were made, vindicates the Sovereignty and Right, which he neceſſarily hath over his Creatures. Luxury and vitious Habits in their own Natures, and by way of Efficiency procure what are the certain Cauſes of Ruine and Deſtruction.

2. For if things be preſerved by the ſame means they are got or obtained, this cannot be done but by Labour and Induſtry. Now Luxury brings Idleneſs and Lazineſs, renders Men effeminate and impatient of Toil or Induſtry. This is to be noted of vitious Perſons in all Ages. Firſt, ſuch Perſons conſcious to themſelves, that by all Rules of Sobriety they were condemned, found themſelves concerned for their Reputation (though this two at laſt they come oftentimes to ſlight) to excuſe, nay plead for what they were inclined to practiſe. Hence Sobriety was ever by them branded for Folly and foppiſh formality, and becauſe they could not out-reaſon, they were put upon it to jeer, or as they ſay to droll at all things and Perſons ſerious, and the moſt ſolid, ſubſtantial, and every way moſt worthy, they endeavoured to repreſent and render ridiculous. Learning, Diſcipline, honeſt Studies and Endeavours they ſcoffed at, cried up natural Parts, and flaſhy trifling Wits, becauſe they could not endure to take pains themſelves, being a kind of Euthuſiaſts in this reſpect, as expecting Inſpiration or *Mahomet's* Pidgeon, for the

Infuſion of ſuch Abilities as cannot be obtained but by time and labour. Hence all Seriouſneſs being diſcouraged, none were preferred but vitious and ſuperficial Paraſites. When any able Perſons ſpake their Judgments they were derided, and all their good Councils by one twitting and drolling Speech rendred ridiculous. This cauſed them either to hold their Peace, or comply with the prevalent Humour, and then all good Council being diſcarded and raſh hare-brained Opinions admitted, Reaſon was baniſhed, Induſtry and Pains driven away and drew along with them, what are the uſual Effects and Products. The wiſe Man knew what he ſaid when he affirmed, that the Scorner, as it is tranſlated, or the Derider or Droller deſtroys the City, not the open Enemy, not the Traitour, for Governments uſually recover themſelves out of ſuch Hazards; but when all Sobriety is ſcoffed at, when diſſolute Perſons manage Affairs, and by their drolling render ſober and wholſome Councils ridiculous, then is a Kingdom or State in the ready and certain way to Deſtruction. Theſe are the certain Symptoms of its mortal Infirmity.

Lege Comment. Verulamii in hoc Proverbium. Deriſor perdit Civitatem.

3. Such was the State of the *Britiſh* Affairs; their Sobriety and Proſperity, if ever they enjoyed either, aroſe and decayed together. But if *Gildas* their Countreyman hath not injured them, they never much could pretend either to the one, or to the other. For the firſt, he tells us in General, that they neither behaved themſelves well towards Almighty God, towards one another, nor ſuch foreign Princes as had ſubdued them, and their Subjects. For the other, they ſubmitted to the triumphant *Romans*, and received their Commands without any reſiſtence, a weak and an unfaithfull People, ſubdued not ſo much by Sword, Fire and Engines of War (as were other Nations) as by Threats, Puniſhments and Edicts, and onely in outward ſhew pretending Obedience. Accordingly, when the *Roman* Souldiers were moſt of them departed, having left ſome Governours behind to eſtabliſh their Power, and not the leaſt thinking of a Rebellion, a wily * Lioneſs ſlew theſe Rulers. When the Senate had notice hereof at *Rome*, and ſent an Army to be revenged, nor Fleet was there prepared to fight for their Countrey, nor ſquared Battallion or Right wing (to uſe his words) was there to be ſeen, nor any other warlike Preparation on the ſhore; their backs were for ſhields toward ſuch as purſued them, their Necks trembling, and like Women they ſtretched out to their Swords, and offered their Hands to be manacled, ſo that it became a byword, and in Deriſion was wont to be ſpoken, *That the* Britains *were neither valiant in War, nor faithfull in Peace.*

They Rebell againſt the *Romans.*

Are beaten.

Hæc erecta cervice & mente ex quo inhabitata eſt, nunc Deo, interdum Civibus, nonnunquam etiam tranſmarinis Regibus & ſubjectis ingrata conſurgit. Gildas. p. 7. Impreſſ. Londini, 1568. Operâ Joan. Joſſelini.

**Leæna trucidavit doloſa. Si per Leænam non ipſam Inſulam intelligit (ſæpè enim hoc genere dictionis utitur) virilis fæmina Bunuica ſive Voadicia eſt intelligenda, quæ apud Dionem 80000, apud Tacitum 70000 Romanorum, regnante Nerone, dicitur interemiſſe.*

4. The *Romans* having killed many of theſe perfidious Men, and condemned others to ſlavery, that the Land might not turn into a Wilderneſs, quitted again the Countrey that wanted both Wine and Oil, and returned into *Italy*, leaving a ſufficient Power behind them, to be as whips for the Backs, and Yokes for the Necks of the Natives, to afflict and tire them not ſo much with a military Hand as with ſtripes, but if need were to thruſt the Sword into the ſides of the Nation; and however to make the Name of *Roman* Slavery ſtick to the Soil, ſo that it ſhould be accounted not *Britannia*, but *Romania*, and what Braſs, Silver or Gold it could get, ſhould be ſtamped with *Cæſar*'s Image. Having received the Goſpel in the time of *Tiberius*, it cannot be denied but that this Nation afforded ſeveral glorious Martyrs, but when *Arianiſm* once came to ſpread abroad, readily received the Venome of every Hereſie, being ever greedy of Novelty, and never ſtable in any thing. After this a vaſt wood of Tyrants (ſo he phraſeth it) ſprung up, and the Iſland retaining the *Roman* Name indeed, but little of the Manners or Laws, ſent into *Gall Maximus*, accompanied with many Souldiers, but ſuch as were tumultuous and over and above adorned with Imperial Enſigns which he never decently wore; not obtained legally, but as Tyrants were wont to compaſs them. This Man by craft rather than any Valour, having brought the Neighbouring Provinces into his Net, and by Perjury and Lies adjoined them to his wicked Dominion; ſtretched one of his Wings as far as *Spain*, and the other into *Italy*, and eſtabliſhing the Throne of his moſt wicked Empire at *Triers*, raved with ſo great Madneſs againſt his Maſters, that of two lawfull Emperours, the one at *Rome*, and the other elſewhere, he bereaved of his Religious Life. But preſently as he proceeded in ſuch curſed and audacious practices, was he at *Aquileia* ſmitten on the Head (he means ſlain) who had caſt down the honoured Heads of the whole World, from their Sovereignty.

A vaſt Number accompany *Maximus* the Tyrant into *Gall.*

5. But by this means became *Britain* bereaved of her Souldiers and Military Men, as alſo of her Governours (how cruel ſoever) and in a manner all her Youth, which following the Tyrant into *Gall*, never more returned home, and there-

Another Invaſion by the *Scots* and *Picts*.

Upon which a Meſſage is ſent to *Rome* for aid.

thereby growing utterly unſkilfull in matters of War, firſt was invaded by two tranſmarine and cruel Nations, the *Scots* from the Weſt, and the *Picts* from the North, under which ſhe groned for many years. Being haraſſed with their Inrodes, and the direfull Effects thereof, ſhe ſent to *Rome* with Tears, requiring that Succours might be haſtned away to her Relief, vowing in caſe the Enemy were removed to remain conſtant in Fidelity to the Empire. A Legion unmindfull of the former Miſchief was ordered her, which having paſſed the Seas preſently ingaged the Rovers, and having made of them a great ſlaughter, quite drove them out of the Countrey, and thereby freed the Inhabitants from cruel Death, or Imminent Captivity. This done, it ſet them upon making a Wall overthwart the Iſland to defend them from theſe Inrodes; but it being made by the Rabble without any Inſtructour, and not of Stone but of Earth, for the moſt part did them little or no Service. This Legion being returned with great Joy and Triumph, the ſame Rovers like ſo many greedy and ravenous Wolves came again upon their former Prey, no Shepherd appearing to protect the ſheep, bore down and trampled on all in their way like ſtanding Corn. Now again are Meſſengers diſpatched to *Rome* with their Clothes rent, and Earth upon their Heads, like as fearfull Chickens betake themſelves to the Wings of their Damms, beſeeching them not to ſuffer their afflicted Countrey abſolutely to periſh, nor the *Roman* Name (now indeed merely a Name) to be loſt, and extinguiſhed in the Iſland. The *Romans* receiving as great an Impreſſion from the Story of this Tragedy, as humane Nature was capable of, made aſmuch haſte to their Reſcue, as an Eagle can do in the Air, an Horſeman on the Earth, or the moſt expert Mariner can do upon the Sea; and like as a mighty Torrent falling from the Mountains, removes heaps of Sand which lye in its way, ſo did they ſweep and cleanſe the Countrey of theſe greedy Rovers.

A third Invaſion.

6. They now plainly tell thoſe, for whoſe deliverance they came, that they muſt not for the future, expect any ſuch tedious and laborious Journeys from them; and that the *Roman* Legions, or ſuch an Army, was not to be endangered by Sea and Land, for the driving away a ſort of inconſiderable ſtragling Thieves. They bid them apply themſelves to the ſtudy and practice of Arms, that by their own Valour and Conduct they may be able to protect their Countrey, their Wives, their Children, (and what ſhould be more dear to them) their Lives and Liberty; to ſtretch out their hands, not naked and diſarmed to be pinioned by the Enemy, but furniſhed with Swords, Spears, and ſuch like Inſtruments of War ready to aſſault and ſlaughter theſe Nations, which could not be more valiant and powerfull than themſelves, except ſloth and idleneſs made them ſo. They preſcribed them the way how they ſhould make another Wall, not according to the former Model, propounding couragious Exploits to a fearfull People, and a pattern to ſuch as were not willing to write after it. Upon the Southern Shore where their own Ships lay at Anchor, and the Invaſions of theſe Barbarous People were feared, they build watch Towers at a certain diſtance one from another, and bid farewell to *Britain*, as never more to return into the Iſland. They were no ſooner gone, but Swarms of *Scots* and *Picts* again appeared upon the Shore, and like a Swarm of Caterpillars overſpread the Face of the Earth; differing indeed in manners and Cuſtoms from each other, but both alike greedy to ſhed bloud, having their Faces more covered with Hair than their ſecret Parts with Cloaths; and they confidently ſeized on the Northern part of the Iſland, as their own, from the utmoſt bounds thereof, as far as the Wall. Upon the Wall the *Britains* ſet a Guard, but fitter to Eat than to Fight, trembling at the ſight of an Enemy, and pining away for the very thought of War. The Barbarians had certain Hooks, wherewith they would pull down to the ground, the unwary and helpleſs Defendant; who in ſo great a misfortune was in this reſpect happy, that he lived not to ſee thoſe dreadfull Calamities, which ſhortly after befell his Relations.

A ſevere Famine followed.

7. In ſhort, the Guard e'er long quitted both the Wall and the Towns adjoyning, and then followed the uſual Flights and Diſperſions of a poor ſheepiſh and miſerable People; for, to no other than ſuch a preying of Wolves and wild Beaſts, can this thing be compared; the miſerable *Britains* running away, and when eaſily overtaken, being ſlaughtered like Sheep with Complaints, but no oppoſition. Thoſe that remained alive, in another manner felt the dreadfull effects of this Invaſion, ſo ſevere a Famine following that havock which had been made of all things, that no food could be obtained, but what ſmall pittance could be got by hunting. The miſerable Remnant of the *Britiſh* Nation in this deſolate condition, having cauſe to apprehend another Invaſion, writes to *Agitius* a *Roman* Officer,

ficer after this manner. “To *Agitius* thrice Conſul, the Groans of the *Britains*: “then after a few Complaints: The Barbarians drive us to the Sea, and the Sea “drives us back upon the Barbarians. Betwixt theſe two ſorts of death, we “have either our Throats cut, or are drown'd. But no ſuccour or relief could be obtained. In the mean time the Famine was ſo violent, that many gave up themſelves to the cruel Enemy, purchaſing a little bread with everlaſting ſlavery; others more valiantly betook themſelves to the Mountains, Caves and Woods, whence they made Sallies upon the Rovers: and now firſt of all betaking themſelves to Almighty God, and truſting in him, had for many years ſucceſs againſt, and killed many of them as they ranged abroad for Booty. Now (ſaith our Authour) the boldneſs of the Enemy for a little time ceaſed, but not the wickedneſs of our People, it being ever, as it now is, the cuſtome of the Nation to be weak to repell an Enemy (to blunt his Weapons as he expreſſeth it) but ſtrong enough to ſupport Civil Wars, and the heavy burthen of their ſins; infirm to execute the effects of Peace and Truth, but able to practiſe wickedneſs and Lies.

Agitio ter Conſuli gemitus Britannorum: & poſt pauca quærentes: Repellunt Barbari ad Mare, repellit Mare ad Barbaros. Inter hæc duo genera funerum aut jugulamur, aut mergimur. Hunc Agitium Beda vocat Ætium.

All things tending to ruine.

8. The Ravenous *Scots* then return into *Ireland* for a ſhort time. The *Picts* fixed themſelves now in the Northern part of the Iſland, and there continued making ſome Incurſions now and then. During the Truce, the Scarr of the Famine was healed up, another and more virulent Soar ſecretly growing. For theſe Hoſtilities ceaſing, ſo great a Plenty and abundance of all things followed in the Iſland as no paſt Age could parallel; and this was accompanied with every way proportionable as great Luxury. So greatly did this evil root ſprout up and increaſe, that at this time it might be truly ſaid, *Abſolutely ſuch Fornication is heard of, as is not reported amongſt the Gentiles.* But not onely this Vice, but all others that are incident to Humane Nature, and eſpecially (which alſo at this time ſaith he undoes all) hatred of the truth, and them that ſpeak it, lovers of Lies with thoſe that forge them; the taking of good for evil, veneration of evil for good, the deſire of darkneſs inſtead of the Sun, and the entertainment of *Satan* for an Angel of Light. Kings were anointed without any reſpect to God, but if there were any more cruel than their Fellows: And not long after they were murthered by thoſe that anointed them, without any examination of the matter, and more cruel ones were choſen in their rooms. If any of them had but a ſhew of mildneſs or ſeemed the leaſt inclinable to truth, the hatred and violence of all was upon him, as the Subverter of *Britain.* What was pleaſing or diſpleaſing to Almighty God, was all one and alike to them; but rather, what diſpleaſed him moſt pleaſed them: So that that Saying of the Prophet, may be well fitted to our Countrey, which was denounced againſt that ancient People. *Children ye have forſaken God without a Law, and provoked to anger the Holy one of Iſrael. Why ſhould ye be ſmitten any more ye workers of Iniquity? All the Head is ſick, and the Heart faint, from the ſole of the foot to the crown of the head there is no health in it.* So they acted all things contrary to health, as if the Univerſal Phyſician afforded no Medicine to the World. And theſe things were not onely practiſed by Secular men, but by the Lord's Flock and the Shepherds thereof, who ought to be an Example unto the People. They were debauched and grown ſottiſh by Drunkenneſs, fell one upon another, with Contentious Brawlings, and Emulations, having no diſcretion to diſcern betwixt good and evil.

Iſaiah, 1. 5.

9. In the mean while it pleaſing Almighty God to purge his Family, and by a Report onely of Tribulation, to cure it of ſo miſchievous an Infection, a ſwift noiſe pierced all mens ears of the ſudden approach of the ancient Enemy, who was now reſolved to deſtroy all the Natives, and himſelf to plant and inhabit the whole Countrey. Yet for all this did they not amend their manners, but like to fooliſh Aſſes biting upon the Bit of Reaſon, left the right Path, and hurried on the broad ſteep way which leads to deſtruction. Therefore, as *Solomon* ſays, *When the Servant is not amended by words, the fool is whipped and doth not feel it*; for a dreadfull Plague fell upon this fooliſh People, which in a ſhort time, without any aſſiſtence of the Sword, did ſuch execution upon them, that the living ſufficed not to bury the dead. Neither yet were they ever the better, that the Saying of *Iſaiah* the Prophet might in them alſo be fulfilled. *And God called them to ſorrow and mourning, to baldneſs and the girdle of Sackcloath: but behold they fell to killing of Calves and ſlaying of Rams, to eat and drink, and they ſaid, Let us eat and drink, for to morrow we ſhall die.* And why? the time approached wherein their Iniquities, as in old time thoſe of the *Ammorhites* ſhould be fulfilled. For they fell into a Conſultation, what might be the beſt and moſt effectual courſe to prevent the ſo diſmal and frequent Invaſions of the forenamed Nations. Then were all the

Prov. 29. 19.

Iſaiah 22. 12.

Sect. I.

The *Saxons* are invited.

the Counſellours, together with the proud Tyrant himſelf, blinded, deviſing not a Protection, but the deſtruction of their Countrey; namely, that thoſe moſt fierce and curſed *Saxons*, hatefull both to God and Man, ſhould as Wolves into the Sheepfold be ſent for to repulſe theſe Northern Nations. Than which nothing was ever more pernicious, nothing more bitter. Oh the groſſeſt darkneſs of underſtanding! Oh the moſt deſperate dulneſs and blockiſhneſs of mind! Thoſe whom abſent they dreaded more than death, theſe fooliſh Princes invited under the ſame Roof, giving as 'tis ſaid fooliſh Council unto *Pharaoh*.

Who Land here.

10. Then did a Kennell of Whelps in three Veſſels, called by them *Cynlæ*, in our Language, ſaith he, Long Ships, ruſh out of the barbarous Lioneſſes Den, with a proſperous gale, and lucky *Omen* and Auguries, whereby it was foretold by a certain Preſage, *That for three hundred years they ſhould poſſeſs that Countrey, unto which they directed their courſe; and for an hundred and twenty, or half that ſpace of time, often waſte and depopulate the ſame.* Theſe having Landed, by Commandment of the unlucky Tyrant, firſt fixed their Claws upon the Eaſtern part of the Iſland, as with a deſign to protect it, but truly meaning to offer violence to it. And their forementioned Dam finding that her firſt Kennel proſpered, ſent after them a greater rabble of Dogs, which having paſſed over in Pinnaces, joyned with the former miſ-begotten Crew. Thence it is that the Sprout of Iniquity, the Root of Bitterneſs, the Virulent Plantation, but ſuitable to our Deſerts, ſprings up in our Soil, with their extravagant Buds and Branches. But theſe Barbarians being admitted into the Iſland as Souldiers, and ſuch (ſo they ly'd) as were to undergo great hazards for their Entertainers, obtained what was neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence; which being allowed for a long time (as it's ſaid) ſtopped the Dogs mouth. Howbeit afterward, they complain that they were but ſlenderly provided for, ſeeking for colourable Pretences to quarrel; and except their Allowances were increaſed, they threaten to break the Peace, and to haraſs the whole Iſland. Without delay they back their Threats by ſuitable Actions. For the cauſe, *viz.* their wickedneſs ſtill continuing the ſame, and being nouriſhed, the fire by the hands of theſe Eaſtern Sacrilegious men, was kindled from Sea to Sea, and conſuming the Neighbouring Cities and the Countries adjoyning, ceaſed not, till having in a manner deſtroyed all the Land with a red and terrible flame, it touched upon the Weſtern Ocean. In this violent Invaſion, comparable to that which the *Aſſyrians* made into *Judah*, is alſo fulfilled in us according to the Hiſtory, what the Prophet by way of Lamentation uttered: *They have burnt thy Sanctuary with fire, they have polluted in the Land the Tabernacle of thy Name.* And again: *O God the Gentiles are come into thine Heritage: they have defiled thine Holy Temple*, &c. Inſomuch that all the Colonies by the frequent battering of Engines, and all the Inhabitants together with the Prelates of the Church, the Prieſts and People, by Swords glittering on every ſide, and cracking Flames, were at once laid flat upon the ground; and which was a dreadfull Spectacle to behold, in the midſt of the Streets the ſtone-works of Turrets and high Walls, ſacred Altars, and pieces of Carkaſſes, cruſted over with a purple bloudy Dye, as in one horrible Wine-preſs to be ſeen mixed together. Neither was there any Sepulchre other than the Ruines of Houſes, and the Bellies of wild Beaſts and Fowls; with Reverence be it ſpoken to Holy Souls, if many ſuch were then found, which were carried by Angels up into Heaven. For that Vine which was formerly good, had ſo degenerated into bitterneſs, that according to what the Prophet ſays, Seldom could a Cluſter, or Ear, be found after the Gatherers or Reapers.

But find fault with their Quarters.

Item quærun-tur non affluenter ſibi Epimenia Contribui. Pro Epimenia voce Græca Polydorus Virgilius aliíque ponunt Annonas, ſed monet Joſſelinus in Saxo. lib. de vocabulis interpretari neſt, *i. e.* Nidos *ſive habitationes.*

Pſal. 73. 7.

Pſal. 79. 1.

Making havock of their Entertainers.

11. Some miſerable Remains being found upon the Mountains, were butchered by heaps: Others, almoſt ſpent with Fame, gave up themſelves to the Enemy into perpetual Slavery, if they were not preſently killed, which was eſteemed the greateſt favour imaginable. Others went into Parts beyond the Sea, inſtead of the Mariners *Celeuſma* (or Song at their firſt ſetting out) howling and roaring under their ſpread Sails, this Ditty: *Thou haſt given us, O Lord, as Sheep to be devoured, and haſt ſcattered us among the Nations.* Others ſtayed in their own Countrey, but betook themſelves to Mountains, to craggy places, and difficult of Acceſs, to thick Woods, and the very Rocks of the Sea, ever trembling for fear, and having their ſafety in ſuſpicion. A little time being paſt, when the cruel Rovers had retired, thoſe that were left behind being ſtrengthened by God, to whom now they flie from all places, as Bees to an Hive upon the approach of a Tempeſt, moſt heartily beſeeching him, and ſending up innumerable Prayers, that they might not utterly be deſtroyed from the face of the Earth; under

Pſal. 43. 12.

Conduct

Sect. 1.

Conduct of *Ambroſius Aurelianus* a modeſt Man, who of the *Roman* Nation alone had ſurvived this Calamity, having loſt his Parents therein, who were clad with Purple, and whoſe Poſterity has now degenerated from their Grandfathers goodneſs; under him they take Arms and Courage, provoke the Conquerours to Battel, and by the Aſſiſtence of Almighty God obtain the Victory. From this time forward, ſaith *Gildas*, now the Natives, and then their Enemies have the better, that this Nation might be tryed, as formerly *Iſrael* was; whether it would love the Lord or not: even to the Year wherein Mount *Badon* was beſieged, and the laſt defeat given to theſe Rogues, the forty fourth year (*viz.* of the *Saxons* their coming into *Britain*) as I well know, one Month thereof being paſt, the ſame as of mine own Nativity. But even now the Cities of our Countrey are not inhabited as formerly, but lye waſte and deſolate, for though External Wars are ceaſed, yet Civil ones are not. However the remembrance of the Deſperate Condition of the Iſland, and of the unhoped for Relief, ſtuck faſt in the minds of thoſe who were witneſſes of both the Miracles: as in this reſpect Kings, publick and private Perſons, Prieſts and Eccleſiaſtical Men, every one in his Order.

12. But they being dead, and a Generation ſucceeding which was ignorant of the condition of the time paſt, and had onely felt the Serenity of the preſent, all Rules of Truth and Juſtice were ſo ſhaken and ſubverted, that I may not ſay no footſteps, but no marks at all of them remain in the late mentioned Orders, few, and they very few, excepted, who in reſpect of the loſs of ſo great a Multitude which daily runs Headlong to Hell, their Number is ſo ſhort, that in a manner our Venerable Mother the Church, cannot of thoſe that lye in her Boſome, perceive which are her true and onely Sons. After a few more words, he demands why that ſhould be concealed, which not onely is known, but upbraided by the Nations round about. *Britain*, ſaith he, hath Kings but Tyrants, Judges it hath but wicked ones, often fleecing and puniſhing, but Innocent Perſons, vindicating and patroniſing, but guilty Perſons and Thieves, having very many Wives, but theſe Whores and Adultereſſes, often ſwearing but forſwearing, vowing and then preſently breaking, waging Wars, but thoſe Civil and upon unjuſt Accounts, proſecuting Thieves mightily throughout the Countrey, and having ſome of them ſitting at their own Tables, whom they not onely love but reward, beſtowing Almes liberally, but on the other ſide, heaping up vaſt Mountains of Wickedneſs, ſitting in the Seat of Arbitratours, but ſeldom enquiring after any Rule of right Judgment, deſpiſing the Innocent and Humble, but aſmuch as in them lies, and as opportunity ſerves, extolling to the Skies all bloudy Perſons, proud, guilty of paricide, unlawfull Company-keepers and Adulterers, the Enemies of God, and who with the very Name it ſelf were to be deſtroyed and blotted out; keeping many bound in Priſon, whom by their own Craft, they oppreſs and load with Chains, rather than for any thing, wherein they have really offended: continuing with Oaths amongſt Altars, which within a little time they deſpiſe as dirty Stones.

Its Character in general.

13. After this, our Authour comes to the Reprehenſion of particular Perſons. Firſt he accuſes *Conſtantine* (whom he terms the Whelp of the *Pannonian Lioneſs*) of killing, notwithſtanding a corporal and moſt ſolemn Oath, ſomes Boys of Royal extract betwixt the Altars. Of living many years before in Adultery, having put away his own Wife contrary to Chriſt's Command. He affirms that he had planted in his Heart, which was like an Earth unable to bear any good Fruit, a ſlip of Unbelief and Folly taken from *Sodom*, which being watered by many known, though Domeſtick, Impieties, as ſo many poyſonous ſhowres brought forth to the offence of God, this impudent Crime of Paricide and Sacrilege, that ſtill intangled in the Nets of his former Miſchiefs, by his ancient faults he increaſes his preſent Enormities. * After this, ſaying that he reprehends him as preſent whom he knows yet to be alive, by laying before him the Eternal Puniſhments which were to inſue, and the promiſes made for his Salvation, he earneſtly exhorts him to the amendment of his ſinfull life. Now after him he takes *Aurelius Caninus* to task, whom he terms a Lion's Whelp, and demands of him whether he be not worſe than the former, ſwallowed up in the Filth of Paricides, Fornications and Adulteries. Whether hating the Peace of his Countrey, as a Serpent or ſome deadly thing, by thirſting after Civil Wars and unjuſt Depredations, he do not ſhut againſt himſelf the Gates of Heavenly Peace and Refreſhment. Seeing he was left alone as a withering Tree in the middle of a Field, he bids him remember the idle fancy of his Fathers and Brothers with their juvenile and immature Death. And bidding him not to think to live to the Age of Me-

As to particular Perſons.

**Age jam quaſi præſentem arguo quem adhuc ſupereſſe non neſcio. f. 25. 6.*

Quid tu quoq; ut Propheta ait, Catule Leonine Aureli Canine Agis? Alii Aurelium Conanum vocant, Author noſter Caninum ut hic quem docti viri ſequuntur. Ego eum de induſtria ita nomen mutaſſe exiſtimaverim, quod ingenio hujus ſatyræ ſatis quadrat.

thuſalah, by the ſame Arguments, as formerly excites him to a ſpeedy Repentance. The next he undertakes is *Vortiporius*, whom he compares to a ſpotted Leopard, for the Multiplicity of his Crimes and his gray Hairs, being from the top to the bottom, defiled with Paricide and Adulteries, the Son not of a good King, as of *Hezekiah* was *Manaſſes:* He accuſes him for putting away his own Wife, and burthening his Conſcience with defilement of an impudent Daughter, concluding with the like Exhortation to amendment. Then falls he upon *Cuneglaſus*, whoſe Name in the *Roman* Language he ſaith importeth a *Yellow Batcher*, terming him a Bear, the Contemner or Oppoſer of God, who had wallowed in the Dregs of Wickedneſs from his very youth. He demands why he creates ſo much trouble to his Countreymen by his Civil diſſentions, and to God Almighty by his infinite Crimes? why he had driven away his own Wife, and taken her wicked Couſin-German to his Bed, which had promiſed perpetual Chaſtity unto God. Then by propoſing the like Terrours and Allurements, he endeavours to bring him to a better life.

14. But moſt pains he takes with *Maglocunus* the laſt in the Catalogue, but neither the laſt nor the leaſt in Crimes, whom he calls by the Title of the Dragon of the Iſland, terms the Suppreſſour of many Tyrants, but the firſt in Miſchief, greater than many both in Power and Malice, free in giving but more profuſe in Sin, in Arms powerfull, but more valiant in ſuch attempts as deſtroy the Soul, as one who ſottiſhly wallows in the Lake of his old Wickedneſs, as drunk with Wine preſſed out of the Sodomitical Grape. He demands of him, why he heaps ſuch loads of Sins as ſo many high Mountains upon his Royal ſhoulders? and why he doth not carry himſelf better than others, nay why he behaves himſelf worſe than others towards that King of all Kings, who had made him higher than all other Captains of *Britain*, aſwell in reſpect of his Kingdom as in Stature, and the Lineaments of his Body? He upbraids him for having by Fire and Sword deſtroyed the King his Uncle with moſt valiant Souldiers, the Countenances of whom ſeemed not unlike to thoſe of the Whelps of Lions: but eſpecially for devoting himſelf to a religious Courſe of Life, after his Violence had ſucceeded, and breaking thoſe Oaths which he had taken to that purpoſe; and then returning as the Dog to his Vomit, to as greedy a Proſecution of vitious Courſes as ever. He inſtances in his deſpiſing his own Wife, and loving the Wife of his Brother's Son, and the double Paricide which thereupon followed, and at laſt the Murther alſo of her by whoſe Suggeſtions and Solicitations, his Wife and her own Husband had been made away. He farther upbraids him with being inſtructed by an excellent Maſter, and having produced many Threatnings to him out of Scripture, he then leaves off the Proſecution of the Hiſtory of his Times, and to deter his Countreymen, as well thoſe of the Laity as his own Profeſſion, he proceeds in the Quotation of Scriptures full of Threats, and applies them to his Purpoſe. His *Latin* is Barbarous, and his Style vehement, and troubleſomely Luxuriant, but ſuch as diſcovers great Wit, and a mind full of Zeal both for his God, and for his Countrey.

Sed monita tibi profectò non deſunt, cum habueris præceptorem penè totius Britanniæ magiſtrum elegantem. Caveto igitur ne tibi quod à Salomone notatur accidat. Quaſi qui excitat dormientem de gravi ſomno, ſic qui enarrat ſtulto ſapientiam, &c. p. 33.

15. His Zeal was no whit extravagant, but adequate to the miſchief impending, *viz.* the deſtruction of his Countrey, and founded not onely on pious, but political reaſons; for Vice, as we could be infinite in ſhewing, has been the forerunner of the Ruine, both of States, Kingdoms and Families. But to come to our buſineſs, and to inlarge upon this Text of *Gildas*. The *Romans* having taken their farewell of *Britain*, the Natives were, we ſee, utterly at a loſs, not knowing how to behave themſelves, wanting both heads and hearts for the withſtanding ſo great a Storm as fell upon them: The Countrey having been drained of all its Inhabitants, which had either Skill or Courage. Their heavy caſe required able and faithfull Leaders; glad they were to accept of any that would undertake their Patronage, and to purchaſe their Conduct and Protection at what rate ſoever. Hereat it ſeems many took occaſion to ſet up for themſelves, and inſtead of Legitimate Princes and Fathers of their Countrey, their Countrey abounded with Tyrants, with Theives and Robbers which owned the Title, but diſowned the Duty of Rulers, were ravenous after the reward, but utterly careleſs of the work of Governours; Shepherds who ſpent all their time in Fleecing, never buſied themſelves about feeding or protecting the Flock farther than their own mere Intereſts carried them, to have ſome remaining over which they might domineer and tyrannize. That they had not one Monarch, but ſeveral Kings, appears ſufficiently both from the ſtory of thoſe times whereof we now write, and of thoſe which followed, and that this cuſtome began near as ſoon as the *Romans* had quitted them, is very probable, when like a ſick man they were glad

to ſhift from one ſide, and from one thing to another, reſtleſs, by reaſon of that miſery which ſtill preſſed upon them. At length, haraſſed and tired out with the Inſolencies and Cruelties of many Tyrants; ſome of them they oppoſed, others they ſlew; but ſtill finding that ſeldom came the better, they thought it beſt to have one Supreme to curb and check, if need were, the other in their Extravagancies. The Iſſue of this Reſolution was, that one *Vortigern* was choſen King, whom we can grant to *Polydore Virgil* to have been moſt eminent amongſt them, for Authority and Nobility, but ſcarcely for Vertue; not to alledge any thing againſt his Valour.

Vortigern choſen King of the *Britains.*

Plures judicabant id decus deferendum Vortigerio, quod eſſet vir inter viros authoritate, nobilitate, virtute ſummus. Angl. Hiſtor. lib. 3.

16. Otherwiſe the Complaints of *Gildas* of the corruption of theſe times, muſt be interpreted rather too ſcant and narrow; for by the greater number of creditable Authours, he is deciphered to have been a proud and unfortunate Tyrant; and yet was he well enough beloved by the People, becauſe his vitious Inclination ſuited ſo well with theirs. In War he was neither skilfull, nor in Council prudent, but as *Gildas* deciphers others, Covetous and Luxurious, as inſatiable in Luſt, as prone to all other Villanies; in Gluttony and Riot he waſted the publick Revenues, and no otherwiſe endeavoured to propulſe common impendent dangers, than by an ungrounded confidence and ſupine ſecurity. Yet the frequent Inrodes of the *Scots* and *Picts*, and the dreadfull effects thereof, awakened the People, and the Clamours of the Multitude him, and cauſed him at length to ſummon a great Council, to conſult how ſome better courſe might be taken, for prevention of theſe *Northern* Miſchiefs. They had had all along great thoughts of their own Valour and Abilities (as all People have which are deſtined to a Conqueſt) but the ſtill continued ſmart was ſo great, which they received from ſo many reiterated blows, that it made them, though againſt their wills, feel their weakneſs and inability, to repell their Enemies. By general conſent therefore it was reſolved to call in ſome foreign Power to their relief, and hire an Army, which ſhould repell theſe Rovers with ſuch ſignal marks of their Valour, that they ſhould not dare any more to look upon thoſe grounds which contained the Carkaſſes of their ſo many ſlain Relations. The name of the *Saxons* was at this time very great, by reaſon of their ſeveral Exploits both at Sea and Land, their numerous Depredations and Invaſions, they had made into moſt Countries lying toward the Sea. It was reſolved to invite ſome of them over. They thought them poor, and wanting Habitation. They imagined they would be glad of an Employment, to take off their ſuperfluous numbers, and get them a Livelyhood abroad. They concluded they would be ſatisfied with reaſonable pay, their neceſſities were ſo great. At the moſt they believed they would take it as a mighty favour to have ſome ſhare of the moſt barren and inconſiderable part of that Countrey to inhabit, which by their toil and the expence of their bloud, they ſhould protect.

His Character.

He calls a Council.

Who agree to require aid of the *Saxons.*

Nec manu promptus nec conſilio bonus, imò ad illecebras carnis pronus omniúmque ferè vitiorum mancipium: quippe quem ſubjugaret avaritia, inquietaret ſaperbia, &c. Malmesbur. *de geſtis Regum Angl. l.* 1.

17. Ambaſſadours are accordingly ſent, and thoſe of the moſt eminent of the Nation, with great Rewards. But this was but to deſire their aid and aſſiſtence, over and above a ſtrict League and Alliance with them. Though our *Britains* were poor-ſpirited enough, yet not ſo ſlaviſh and baſe minded as to offer them ſubjection, and the Dominion of themſelves and their Countrey, can we believe, as the *Saxon* Authours for honour of their own Nation have recorded. One of them is ſo confident as to tell us the very Harangue the Ambaſſadours uſed, which was this: *Worthy* Saxons, *the diſtreſſed* Britains *tired out, and overpowered by a perpetual invading Enemy, and hearing the fame of your valour, have ſent us hither to deſire your aid. Their Cauntrey is both fertile and ſpatious, which they have ordered us to ſubmit to your Commands. Heretofore we lived with freedom under the obedience and protection of the* Roman *Empire. Next to the* Romans *we knew none more worthy than your ſelves, and therefore now implore your proweſs for our relief. Let us not ſtill be ſubject to our preſent Enemies. To any thing you ſhall think fit to impoſe we ſhall ſubmit.* Whatever the Ambaſſadours ſaid or offered, the *Saxons* were very well pleaſed with the meſſage, as being courted to that which they themſelves had infinitely deſired, and reſolving not to be guilty of any miſcarriage by their own delay, firſt return an obliging anſwer to the Ambaſſadours, as that the *Britains* might reſt upon their friendſhip and fidelity, as ſuch who would ſtand by them no leſs in their adverſe than proſperous Eſtate. The Ambaſſadours return very joyfull, as expecting thanks for the ſucceſs of their errand, and they are not deceived in their expectation, thoſe that ſent them now eſteeming themſelves made for ever.

Accordingly Ambaſſadours are ſent.

Witichind. Geſt. Saxon. Lib. 1.

Germani audientes rem mille votis petitam à ſe ultrò expoſtulari, &c. Malm. Ubi ſuprà.

Sect. I.

Hengiſt and *Horſa* with the *Saxons* arrive.

Cinlæ, al. Ceolæ, unde noſtrat. Keeles.

18. It appears from what we have cited out of *Gildas*, that the *Pagan Saxons* in their way, were ſo Religious as to conſult their Gods about the ſucceſs of this expedition, who anſwered, that the Land to which they directed their courſe, they ſhould hold for three hundred years, and half ſo much time ſpend in conteſt and bickerings with that Nation. From the three ſeveral ſorts of People called *Saxons*, *Angli* and *Jutes*, in three long Ships, by them called *Kynles*, were ſent a ſelect Company, not ſo much conſiderable for number, and the courage and dexterity of the Men, under conduct of two Brothers, *Hengiſt* and *Horſa*, of choiceſt Nobility amongſt them, as deſcended in the fourth degree from *Woden*, from whoſe Loyns moſt of theſe barbarous Nations derived the ſeveral Pedegrees of their Kings, and whom, for the renown of his Acts, they made their God, ſacrilegiouſly, as our Authour obſerves, dedicating to his memory the fourth day of the week, as the ſixth to the worſhip of his Wife *Frea*. But they came not ſo willingly, but they were as joyfully received, the People running out to meet them, and offering them all acts of kindneſs and hoſpitality, and the King giving them his hearty thanks for the great pains and peril they had been pleaſed to undergoe for the ſake of him and his Subjects. After ſome ſmall conference and faith given and received on both ſides, the Iſle of *Thanet* is aſſigned them for their ſupport, they ingaging indefatigably to uſe their endeavours for protection of that Land, the Inhabitants whereof, as ſtrictly engaged on the other ſide to give them ample rewards for their labours; within a little time they have full occaſion to try their Metal. The *Scots* make their uſual Inrodes without any apprehenſion of more reſiſtence than the pitifull *Britains* were wont to make. But they find a freſh Gameſter ingaged, with whom, after ſome tryal made, they think it not fit to meddle, but retreat back to their receptacles, and are very unwilling afterwards to grapple with him.

And are ſeated in the Iſle of *Thanet*.

Another Company follow.

Rowen married to *Vortigern*.

A third arrive.

Craterem vino coronatum Regi obtulit, flexíſque genibus, Liener, inquit, King Wacht heil, i.e. Clariſſime (potiùs chariſſime) Rex obſerva ſalutem. Quo per interpretem intellecto, Drinc. heil, inquit Rex, poculúmque accipiens puellam oſculatus eſt. Ab illo die inquit Galfridus Monmuthenſis uſque in hodiernum manſit conſuetudo illa in Britannia, quod in conviviis qui potat ad alium dicit Wacht heil, qui verò poſt ipſum recipit potum reſpondet Drinc heil.

19. The *Saxons* (or *Angles*) were as much elevated with their ſucceſs, as the *Scots* were diſcouraged at their unuſual diſappointments, and *Hengiſt*, a Man of excellent Wit, as well as Valour, perceiving with whom he had to deal, under other pretences, ſends back ſome of his Companions to acquaint his Countreymen with the beauty and fertility of the Iſland, and the cowardiſe and ſottiſhneſs of the Inhabitants, as well King as People, inviting them to make themſelves Maſters of ſo good a fortune as now offered it ſelf unto them. The Meſſengers eaſily perſwaded ſuch a Company to follow them as filled ſeventeen Veſſels, and together with their Countreymen already landed, would make up a formidable Army. And along with them they brought the Daughter of *Hengiſt* (by the *Britains* called *Rowen*) for beauty a miracle of Nature, and by it as it ſeemed, as well as by her Father deſigned, as a ſpectacle for Men to gaze on, and therewith to be enamoured. They are invited to a Feaſt, and *Hengiſt* appoints her to wait at the Cupboard to Captivate with her looks the affections of the *Britiſh* King. His device as ſpeedily takes as executed. For *Vortigern* being exceedingly given to Women by his own Inclination, was immediately wounded by the Darts which proceeded from her Eyes, and could think of nothing elſe, could no way be cured but by enjoying her, inſomuch, that out of hand ſhe muſt be his Wife. *Hengiſt* pretends an unwillingneſs, as loath the King ſhould diſhonour himſelf by ſo unequal a Match, and at length ſeems unwillingly willing, being bought off by a gift of all the Countrey of *Kent*, (formerly Governed laudably by one *Gorongus*) which munificence of *Vortigern* he was not able to withſtand. The Barbarian perceiving now he had got ſuch hold of him that he might be bold, ſo far abuſed his Imprudence, as to perſwade him to ſend over for *Octa* and *Ebiſſa*, his own and his Brothers Son (ſome ſay his Brother himſelf) that as he took upon him the Protection of the Eaſtern, ſo they might defend the Northern Parts from the violence of the *Scots*. By the King's leave then with forty Veſſels they Coaſted about *Britain*, and coming to the *Orcades*, ſuppreſſed both the *Picts* and *Scots*, and in that part of the Iſland, which afterwards was called *Northumberland*, ſeated themſelves, though without any Title or Name of Regality till the time of *Ida*, from whom the Kings of *Northumberland* deſcended. But this was not till long after.

The *Saxons* and *Britains* quarrell.

Gildas, Beda, Ninn. Malmſ.

20. Now the *Saxons* being numerous, and ſtrong enough to accompliſh what they had deſigned, take occaſion to pick a quarrel. They complain they are much Arrear in Pay, and when this occaſion is removed, after a little pauſe, they find fault that it is too little, not at all anſwering the pains and perils they undergoe, threatning War, and a ſeizure of the Land it ſelf, except their allowance were augmented. *Guortimer* the Son of *Vortigern*, a young Man of far greater Senſe and Spirit than his Father, could not any longer diſſemble his Indignation, to ſee

himſelf and his Countreymen ſo impoſed on, and fully reſolving to attempt the expulſion of theſe Strangers, broke his deſign to his Father, and obtained his conſent for the putting of it in execution, and high time it was to doe it. For the *Saxons*, as we are informed by *Gildas*, making a League with the *Picts* and *Scots*, and iſſuing out of *Kent*, without any conſiderable reſiſtence, waſted the whole Land in a manner as far as the Weſtern Sea, making ſuch havock of all things, that Towns and Caſtles were overturned, all ſorts of People ſlain by heaps, and all places Sacred polluted and demoliſhed. Such as eſcaped the Sword, either betook themſelves to the Mountains, whither the ſame fate ſhortly after purſued them, or ſubmitted to ſlavery worſe than death it ſelf, or fled to thick Woods and Rocks of the Sea; or elſe fled over the Sea into other Countries. *Guortimer* as ſtrenuouſly as he could oppoſed himſelf; and the Monk of *Malmſbury* tells us, that after the *Saxons* had been in *Britain* ſeven years, the League was broken, and for twenty years Hoſtility continued amongſt them, in which ſpace many Skirmiſhes, or ſlight Ingagements happened, but four ſet Battels, wherein both ſides ingaged with their utmoſt force. The *Britiſh* Writers here tell us, that *Vortimer* thrice ſtraitned and beſieged the *Saxons* in the Iſle of *Thanet*; and when by reaſon of freſh ſupplies ſent from *Saxony*, they broke through and eſcaped this danger; fought with them four other Battels, whereof three are ſpecified by place and Circumſtance. The firſt on the River *Darwent*, the ſecond at *Epiſford*, wherein *Horſa*, the Brother of *Hengiſt*, fell together with *Katigern*, the other Son of *Vortigern*. The third was in a Field by *Stonar*, called then in Latin, *Lapis Tituli*; where he beat them into their Ships with ſuch Execution and Conſternation, that they ventured no more to Land for the full ſpace of five years.

Ninn.

Guortimer beats the Saxons.

Darentum non Eboracenſe illud hic intelligendum, ſed Darentum Cantianum à Darentford ſive Dartford oppido illi appoſito ſatis cognitum.

21. This might ſeem altogether uncredible, but that *Gildas* tells us how, after ſo great havock and deſtruction made by them, they retired, which others interpret of returning home, notwithſtanding the ſeeming eaſineſs of the Conqueſt. In this five years ſpace they will have *Guortimer* to have died, who deſired he might be buried in the Port of *Stonar*, perſwaded that the ſecret virtue of his Bones would keep off the *Saxons*, from ever landing in that place, but they neglecting his Commands, buried him at *Lincoln*. The *Saxon* Annals relate theſe matters otherwiſe. As that in the firſt Ingagement it was a drawn Battel in a place called *Egleſtrhip*, where on one ſide fell *Horſa* the Brother of *Hengiſt* (from whence *Horſte* the place of his Sepulture took name) and on the other ſide *Katigis* the ſecond Son of the King. In the reſt, *Saxons* or *Angles* had the better, and the *Britains* were forced to come to Termes; *Guortimer* their Captain now dead, who being of a different humour from his Father's eaſineſs, would have excellently governed, if Almighty God had ſo pleaſed; but he being gone, the Affairs of his Countreymen went quite down the wind. After the death of *Horſa*, *Hengiſt* his Brother took the Royal Title upon him in *Kent*, in which year *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* writes; that thrice he fought againſt the *Britains*, but not able to reſiſt the valour of *Vortimer*, fled into *Thanet*, where he was daily vexed at Sea; and at length the *Saxons* left their Wives and Children behind them, and returned into *Germany*. And there they ſtaid, according to what intelligence that Authour had, till ſuch time as they heard of the death of *Guortimer*, who was poyſoned by procurement of *Rowen* his Father's Wife. With four thouſand men *Hengiſt* returned into *Britain*, and with ſo great an Army ſo alarmed *Vortigern* and his Nobles, that they conſulted how to oppoſe them, which being made known to *Hengiſt* by his Daughter, he ſent to tell the King that he had no deſign againſt any perſon whatſoever, *Vortimer* excepted; who being now removed out of the way, he was ready to ſubmit himſelf and all his men to his pleaſure, to keep as many as he thought fit, and ſend back the reſt into their Countrey. There are others that tell us how two years after the firſt Fight, wherein *Horſa* was ſlain in a Battel at *Creganford*, *Hengiſt*, and *Eſce* his Son ſlew of the *Britains* four chief Commanders, and as many thouſand men; the reſt being totally routed and flying to *London*. That eight years after this, he renewed the War, and in a Battel at a place called *Wippeds-fleot*, ſlew twelve other Princes, and loſt *Wipped* the *Saxon* Count, from whom the place received its name. And in another Encounter (the place is uncertain) he gave them ſuch a Defeat, that they left Camp and Baggage, and all behind them.

Dies.

Annal. Saxonicis Petroburgenſibus Æglesford, aliis Æegleſthrep, hodie Ailesford prope quem Catigirni ut putatur memoriæ poſitum Saxum cernitur monumentum Keith Cottyhouſe vulgò appellatum: neque Horſted procul diſſitum quod ab Horſa accepit nomen. Tertius Cocus qui, ut quidam volunt Horſo fatalis fuit, & Ninio Episford Henrico Huntindonienſi Aeilſtren vel Elſtre eſt dictus in Orientalibus Cantii partibus ſitus fuiſſe, (ſi quidem talis locus extiterit) in quibus ad ſua uſque tempora Horſam occiſum in bello à Britannis monumentum habuiſſe ſuo nomine inſigne, Beda Confirmat.

22. So different are Writers in their Relations of what paſſed in theſe obſcure times; but from all laid together it ſhould appear, that for a time the Invaders were repulſed and forced to retreat, if not home into *Germany*, to ſome remote place of ſhelter and ſecurity; for the Battels were fought in *Kent* it ſelf, and not

onely there, but upon the Sea, as the word *Wippeds-fleot* intimates to us. But *Hengiſt* being landed, invites *Vortigern* his Son-in-Law to a Feaſt, together with three hundred of his Nobles; ſome ſay the meeting was appointed for a Treaty, to order their Affairs. To be ſure, he ſo ordered his matters, that having a number of his own men, ſufficient to overpower theſe *Britains*, whom he knew to be the chief of thoſe that could perform any thing either in Council or War againſt the *Saxon* Intereſt; he firſt cauſed them to raiſe a Quarrel, and then when they were warm with Wine, and more able to brawl than to defend themſelves, the Watch-word was given, *Nemet Coar Scanes*, upon which they drew their Scimiters, and murthered all their three hundred Gueſts in the place. They had another kind of deſign upon *Vortigern*, knowing he would eaſily be drawn to what they would have him. He was onely bound and kept in cuſtody, till for his Ranſome he aſſigned them three Provinces, which were afterward called *Eſſex*, *Suſſex* and *Middleſex*. After this, ſome Authours tell us, that *Vortigern* returned to his ſolitary kind of Life in that Countrey, which from him was called *Guorthigirniauri*, and thence to a Caſtle of his own building in thoſe parts, now called *North-Wales*, near to the River *Tiebi*; where living obſcurely among his Wives, he was, as it is ſtoried, burnt by fire from Heaven, at whoſe Prayer, whether *German* or *Aurelius Ambroſius*, it's not material to enquire. For the Reader muſt know that, according to the ſame Writers, he having committed Inceſt formerly with his own Daughter, was cenſured in a Synod, conſiſting both of Lay and Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, and partly for that Reaſon, partly for fear of the *Saxons*, by advice of his Nobility, retired into that Countrey, now called *Wales*; where he built him a ſtrong Caſtle (in *Radnorſhire*) by advice of a young Prophet, by ſome called *Ambroſius*, and by others *Merlin*. His Son undertook the Government, and in his Abſence reigned with great ſucceſs. After his Death *Vortigern*, either by the power of his own Faction, or by univerſal conſent reaſſumed the Government, which *Hengiſt* underſtanding, was incouraged to return and practiſe upon his Sottiſhneſs and Credulity, with that ſucceſs as we have now related.

Vortigern's Companions murthered by *Hengiſt* and his *Saxons*.

Eſſex, Suſſex and *Middleſex*, aſſigned to the *Saxons*.

Ninn.

Malmesb. quò prius.

23. The *Britains* having loſt the flower of their Nation in the Maſſacre, were much ſtartled at it to ſuch a meaſure, as they began to think of their wicked Courſes, and whither they were now bringing them, and began to be more ſober, and to betake themſelves to Divine Aſſiſtence. They were incouraged by ſome other Retreat of the *Saxons*, upon what occaſion it's uncertain, and by the great hopes conceived of *Aurelius Ambroſius*, who being deſcended of *Roman* Anceſtours, but ſuch as had born Regal Dignity in the Iſland, and loſt their lives againſt the *Picts* and *Scots*, had with their applauſe ſucceeded *Vortigern*; who, if credit may be given to ſome Authours, as much out of fear of him and the *Romans*, as of the *Picts* and *Scots* themſelves, firſt called in the *Saxons*. Under Conduct of this *Aurelius Ambroſius*, or *Ambroſius Aurelianus* (as *Beda* calls him) they took courage, and provoking their Enemies to Battel had the better of them. He is ſaid (by the Monk of *Malmsbury*) to have made much uſe in his Wars of one *Arthur*, and what *Arthur* ſhould this be, but him whom others make the Son of *Pendragon* his Brother. But ſo various and uncertain are the Reports of our *Britiſh* and *Saxon* Authours, that although much be written, yet very little of certainty have we either of the one or the other. As for *Ambroſius Aurelianus*, *Ninius*, as we lately hinted about *Vortigern*, will have him to have been famous, before the coming of the *Saxons*; according to which Aſſertion *Sigebert* begins
446 his Reign with their coming into the Iſland, at the year of our Lord 446; and
talks of his Reigning and Fighting againſt them, for full five and forty years,
contrary to the Evidence of all Hiſtory. Yet do ſome others tell us ſuch Stories
430 as yet farther caſt back his Reign into the 430 year of our Lord, which *Henry*
of *Huntingdon* brings forward again to the year aſſigned by *Sigebert*, wherein
he writes, that at a place called *Arileſtreu*, he led one Wing of the Battel againſt
the *Saxons*, and *Gortimer* and *Catigern*, the Sons of *Vortigern*, the two others:
And this he accounts the ſeventh year after their coming into the Iſland. *Geoffrey*
of *Monmouth* writes, that he burnt *Vortigern*, who after the death of his Son
Vortimer had reaſſumed the Government; which *Matthew Florilegus* notes to
496 have happened in the year 496, ending the Reign of *Aurelian*, and his Life to-
497 gether, in the year 497. *Hector Boethius* the *Scotch* Writer, begins his Reign at
498 498, which he writes to have continued almoſt ſeven years. But his Coun-
treyman *Buchanan* agrees with the *Welch David Powel* in aſſigning 19 years to
481 his Government, which he will have begun in the year 481, and ended juſt
500 in 500.

Aurelius Ambroſius ſucceeds *Vortigern* in the Government.

Hiſt. lib. 1. c. 16.

Joannes Timuthenſis in vita Dubræij apud Uſſerum in Primord. Eccleſ. Britan. p. 447.

Hiſt. Scot. lib. f. 8, 9.

Rer. Scotic. l. 5. in Rege 45.

in Britan. Regum Catalogo.

24. But

Sect. 1.

ad Ann. 476. 477.

24. But concerning *Ambroſius*, none is more out of the way than *Baronius* the Cardinal, who imagined, and that for many Reaſons, he tells us, that he lived in Exile under *Odoacer* the King of the *Heruli* in *Italy*; whereas, not one tolerable ſhew of reaſon can be aſſigned, more than his very Name, of which there were ſeveral beſides this our *Britain*, who (he ſays) took the Purple, but not the Name of Emperour upon him, which he himſelf firſt attempted, but not his Parents, as *Beda* hath it, who writes, that theſe things happened in the Reign of *Zeno* the Emperour. The Cardinal as to his matter was alſo impoſed on by the falſe Copy of *Gildas*, publiſhed by *Polydore Virgil*, wherein the Singular number is pen'd inſtead of the Plural, which fault crept alſo into that Copy of *Beda*'s Chronicle, which *Paulus Diaconus* uſed; and the errour became ſo infective, that *Onuphrius Panninius* and *Octavius de Strada* in their Catalogues of the *Roman* Emperours, talk of the Emperour *Cæſar Ambroſius Aurelianus*, *Pius Fœlix*, *Auguſtus*, 475 as who was ſaluted Emperour in *Britain* in the year 475, the 1227 of the City, and ſlain not long after. So much are we in the dark as to *Ambroſius*, whoſe Commendations yet we are told that *Gildas* an excellent Hiſtorian of the *Britains* wrote, above other Kings; nay, in an elegant ſtyle faithfully tranſmitted his Acts to Poſterity. *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* indeed writes, that he had a Book which *Gildas* the Authour intituled, concerning the Victory of *Aurelius Ambroſius*. It's to be feared the Title belied *Gildas*, but whatever it was, from it and a *Britiſh* Copy brought out of *Armenia*, and given him by *Walter* the Archdeacon of *Oxford*, *Geoffrey* tells a long Story of this matter, whereof learned *Uſher* thus gives us the Summ.

Pro indutis indutus legitur.

*In Scotichronico apud Uſſerium, p.*449. *lib.* 4. *c. ult.*

Lib. 8. *Cc.* 3. 4.

Overthrows *Hengiſt* in Battel.

25. *Vortigern* being dead, the *Saxons* betook themſelves to the Parts beyond *Humber*, where they were no ſooner arrived, but *Ambroſius* was at their heels. In his paſſage he was much affected to behold the Countries ſo deſolate, but eſpecially at the ſight of ſo many Churches laid level with the Earth, which he promiſed ſhould be rebuilt if he got the better. *Hengiſt* brought into the field againſt him, about two hundred thouſand Armed men, at a place called *Moriſbeli*, but ingaging in Battel was worſted, and he himſelf, near to the City of *Conan*, by the *Britains* called *Cair-Conan* and *Cuningburg* by the *Engliſh*, was taken Priſoner by *Eldole* the Duke of *Claudioceſter*. The City being alſo afterward taken, and they coming to conſider what ſhould be done with *Hengiſt*, *Eldade* the Biſhop of *Claudioceſter*, the Brother of *Eldole*, a man of great Prudence and Religion, harangued to this effect. *Though all ſhould agree to ſet him at liberty, I my ſelf would cut him in pieces. For I would imitate the Example of the Prophet* Samuel, *who having in his power* Agag *the King of* Amaleck, *hewed him in pieces, ſaying: As thou haſt made Mothers Childleſs, ſo will I make thy Mother this day Childleſs among Women. Doe ye in like manner to* Hengiſt, *who is another* Agag: Which ſaid, *Eldole* led *Hengiſt* out of the City and ſlew him. 489 This *Marlen*, the Flowergatherer, writes to have happened in the 489 year our Lord, adding, that to *Hengiſt* ſucceeded his Son *Oſric* in the Kingdom of *Kent*, being ſirnamed *Æſc*, from whom all the Kings of *Kent* to this day are called *Aſc-kynges*. He differs but one year in his Account from *Ethelwerd* and the *Saxon* Annaliſts, who making no mention at all of the death of *Hengiſt*, neither of the many Victories which the *Britains* obtained over the *Saxons*, write that *Æſc* ſucceeded in the Kingdom of *Kent* the year preceding.

Hodie Coniſburgh in agro Eboracenſi ad Danum vel Donum fluvium.

Who is ſlain.

And ſucceeded by his Son *Oſric* in the Kingdom of *Kent*.

26. *Geoffrey* proceeds, and tells us that *Ambroſe* beſieged *Octa* the Son of *Hengiſt*, who had ſhut up himſelf in *York*, and *Euſa* his Kinſman, who had done the like in the City *Alclud* or *Dunbritton*; and conſtraining them to yield themſelves, granted them the Countrey lying near to *Scotland*. For all his Intent was, how to reſtore his Kingdom to its ancient condition, his ſtudy how to reform the Churches, renew the vigour and force of the Laws, eſtabliſh Peace and the courſe of Juſtice. Thence therefore he went to *Gwinton*, to repair it as other places; which when he had performed, by the advice of *Eldade* the Biſhop, he proceeded to the Monaſtery near *Cair Caradoc*, now called *Saleberie*, where lay the Conſuls and Princes, whom wicked *Hengiſt* had betrayed. There in the Mount of *Ambrius* (the Founder in old time as is reported) was a Monaſtery of three hundred Friars. By others this is called the *Mount of Ambroſe*, and ſaid to be that place, *now known by the Name of Stakenges*, where the prodigious Piles of Stones were not, as *Polydore* affirms, raiſed by *Ambroſe* in memory of theſe Princes, as is vulgarly believed, but by the *Britains* in memory of *Ambroſe* himſelf, who at this place ended his life in Battel. He tells us this Monument is to be ſeen in the Dioceſe of *Salisbury* near to a Village called *Amſbery*, or rather *Ambreſbury*, the

Polyd. Virgil. Anglic. Hiſt. lib. 3.

Name denoting the Village of *Ambroſe*, whoſe name or that of *Ambrius* (if any ſuch there was) the famouſneſs of the Relicks of St. *Melorus* (or *Melior*) quite buried afterwards in the ſaid Village. But as to the *Britiſh* Princes ſlain by *Hengiſt*, that their memory might be perpetuated at the ſuggeſtion of *Tremoun* or *Tremorin* the Archbiſhop of *Carleon*, *Ambroſius Aurelius*, as *Geoffrey* tells the Story, ſent for *Ambroſius Merlin* a Prophet, and with an Army of fifteen thouſand Armed men under Conduct of his Brother *Uther Pendragon*, ſent him into *Ireland*, whence he brought from the Mountain *Killara*, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of *Gillomant* King of the Iſland, that noble Structure of Stones, which he placed in *Salisbury* Plain, where at this day it is to be ſeen. Though this be no better than an old Wives Tale, *Giraldus Cambrenſis* makes mention of it, as that this Structure of Stones, being called *Chorea Gigantum* (becauſe Giants had brought them from the utmoſt Borders of *Africk*, and placed them in the Plain of *Kildare*) was by the Divine Diligence of *Merlin*, at the deſire of *Aurelius Ambroſius* King of the *Britains* brought out of *Ireland* into this Iſland, and placed in the very ſame poſture they had formerly ſtood in that place, where the flower of *Britain*, had under pretence of Peace, been wickedy butchered by the perfidious *Saxons*.

Topograph. diſt. cap. 18. *Non procul à Caſtro Naſenſi.*

27. In reference to what *Giraldus* writes of *Ireland*, the late Learned Primate thereof obſerves, that in the Countrey of *Kildare*, about two Miles from the Caſtle he mentions, two ſuch like Piles are to be ſeen, which in that Countrey, they call the *Long Stones*, although the Writer of the *Britiſh* Hiſtory ſeems to have *Killair*, which is ſituate in the *Weſtern Meath*, where *Giraldus* affirms in his time to have been extant, a certain Stone called the *Navel of Ireland*, as ſeated in the middle thereof, for which yet at the King's County at *Birra*, another hallowed Stone is at this day ſhewed. But to that Pile of Stones in *Salisbury* Plain, none in all *Ireland* ſeems more like than what is to be ſeen in the County of *Corke*, near a Town called *Cloughtekilty*, from Stones lying in a woody place; where are alſo to be ſeen the Foundations of a very large Houſe, which the Inhabitants report to have belonged to Sir *John Mandeville*, ſo famous for his Travels of four and thirty years. But for the completing of the Fable (which thence ſeems to have had its riſe, that in *Ireland* ſuch kinds of Maſſy piles have been ſeen) we muſt take notice of what *Geoffrey of Monmouth* writes concerning the return and Succeſs of the *Britiſh* Army. Being arrived with a proſperous Gale, they began with their Stones to ſet out the Sepulchres of the murthered Nobility. This being made known to *Aurelius*, he ſends out Meſſengers through the ſeveral Parts of *Britain*, to aſſemble both the Clergy and People to the Mount of *Ambrius*, with Joy and Honour to adorn the foreſaid burying Place. They being met accordingly on the day prefixed, *Aurelius* ſets the Diadem upon his Head, and Royally celebrates the Feaſt of *Whitſuntide*, together with the three following days. Having beſtowed Honours upon ſuch of his Subjects as had deſerved, and particularly beſtowed the Metropolitical See of *York* upon *Sampſon*, a Man of great fame for Religion, and that of *Caer Leon* upon *Dabritius*, he commanded *Merlin* to ſet up the Stones he had brought from *Ireland*. He in obedience to his Commands erected them, about the burying place juſt in the ſame manner they had formerly ſtood in *Killair* in *Ireland*, and plainly ſhewed, that wit prevaileth above ſtrength.

28. Such is the Fable concerning *Stoneheng* (which though a Fable the Reader is to know) and concerning *Ambroſe* and his Prophet *Merlin*. But as there is no Law againſt the Improvement of Fables, *Ninnius* the other *Britiſh* Hiſtorian joins King and Prophet in the ſame Perſon, making that Child which propheſied to *Vortigern* the Son of a *Roman* Conſul, and calling him by the Name not of *Merlin* but *Ambroſe*; as that he was concealed by his Mother for fear of the King, who yet aſſoon as he had confeſſed his Parentage, either to reward his Predictions or as his Right beſtowed upon him all the reſt of *Britain*, retiring himſelf to a ſolitary Life. Amongſt theſe Incertainties of this, we may be certain from a more ſure Teſtimony of *Gildas*, that whatever otherwiſe this *Ambroſe* was, the *Britains* owed much unto his Courage and Conduct, by which a ſtop was for the preſent given to the violent proceedings of the *Saxons*, although their Writers conceal all things, that made againſt the Reputation of their Nation; recording nothing but Succeſs and Victories on their own ſide. And indeed ſhortly after they had ſufficient occaſion to doe it, notwithſtanding the real Performances of *Ambroſe*, and all the Romantick fine Tales told of his Nephew *Arthur*. For whatever became of *Hengiſt*; if he was ſlain in the North, in the South another of his Nation appeared, *Ella* by Name, who made himſelf King of another part of the Iſland. In the Year 477, (eleven before the death of *Hengiſt*, as ſome place it) with his three

Ella and his *Saxons* arrive in *Suſſex*.

three Sons *Cymen, Pleting* and *Ciſſa*, in three ſhips he arrived at a place called *Cymenſhore* in *Suſſex*, whereupon the Inhabitants being caſt into a grievous fright flocked in vaſt multitudes, to the place of their landing from all Quarters. The *Saxons* being tall of Stature, and very ſtout and vigorous, received them couragiouſly who came hand over head upon them, and notwithſtanding their great Numbers put them to flight with ſuch ſlaughter as might be expected from ſo unequal an ingagement, and drove them into the wood, which the *Saxon* Chronology calls *Andredes Leage*. The *Saxons* ſeized upon the Maritime parts of *Suſſex*, and ſtill inlarged their Territories till the ninth year after their Arrival, wherein the *Britains* found themſelves ſo concerned, that they joined their Forces together, and ingaged them near a place called *Mercredesburnanſtede*. The Victory was doubtfull, both Armies drawing off after much loſs to their own Quarters which cauſed *Ella* to ſend for freſh ſupplies, as *Henry* of *Huntingdon* writes, though others are unwilling to let him paſs out of the Field without Conqueſt, according to their Cuſtome. However five years after this, *Ella* and *Ciſſa* his Son laid ſiege to a little City called *Andredes Ceaſter*, and taking it uſed their Conqueſt with ſuch ſeverity, that they left not one *Britain* therein alive.

And ſeize upon the Countrey.

Choriol. Saxon ad Ann. D. 477.
Her cƿom Ælle to Bretenlond ⁊ his III Sunu Cymen ⁊ Plencing ⁊ Ciſſa mid þrym ſcypum on ða ſtoƿe ða nemned Cymenes ora ⁊ ðær ofslogon moniᵹe ƿealas ſume on fleame bedryfon on ðone ƿudu ðe ᵹenemned is Andredes leaᵹe.
Huntindonenſis hanc pugnam ponit ad novum annum adventus eorum. Chronol. verò Saxonica ad An. 485. *Ille locum vocat Mercredesburne hæc verò* Mearcredes burnan ſtede.

29. Now is *Britain* become the Field of Fortune, News is perpetually brought to the *Saxons*, of the Succeſs of their Countreymen, and there is no one Eminent for Birth or Arms, but promiſes himſelf a good ſhare of ſo fertile a Countrey, together with a Royal Title. In the forty ſeventh year after their firſt coming into *Britain*, as *Henry* of *Huntingdon*, Count *Cerdic* (or *Certic*) the tenth in Lineage from *Woden*, an old and well practiſed Souldier, with *Cenric* his Son, and ſo many men as he could tranſport in five Veſſels, arrived at a place which from him was called *Cerdiceſore*. No ſooner did the ſhips appear, but the Inhabitants of theſe Parts ſufficiently warned heretofore, ſtand upon their Guard, and as the Invaders indeavour to land, manfully oppoſe them. But the *Saxons* ſtill advance, and what ground they once gain never more forſake it, till at laſt, the *Britains* in vain reſiſting, they get ſufficient footing in this Part alſo of the Iſland, inſomuch that the *Britains* vehemently ſuſpecting what the Induſtry and Valour of *Cerdick* and his Son might farther produce, combined againſt them with all the Power they could poſſibly make. But within ſeven years after their coming they had cauſe to be a little diverted from them by a freſh Onſet of new Gameſters, who arrived alſo out of *Germany*. One *Port* with his two Sons *Bleda* and *Magla* with two Veſſels arrived at *Portſmouth* (ſo named from him) and without much Difficulty repelling ſuch as unadviſedly made head againſt them, and having ſlain a young *Britiſh* Nobleman of great Eminency, carved for himſelf and Followers another ſhare out of the Countrey. Yet it ſeems the Adventures of *Cerdick*, made the *Britains* moſt apprehenſive, and therefore ſeven years after the Arrival of *Port*, and the ſixtieth after the firſt coming of the *Saxons*, the Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* reckons *Nazaleod* the greateſt King of the *Britains*, a Man both of a great Name and haughty Spirit, (from whom that Region was named *Nazaleoli*, which reached to the Place afterward called *Cerdicesford*,) gathered the whole force of *Britain* to ingage him. *Cerdick* aware of the danger deſired and obtained aid of *Eſcai* King of *Kent*, *Ella* King of *Suſſex*, and of *Port*, and his Sons, which done he divided his Army into two wings, whereof the Right he led himſelf, and committed the left to the Conduct of his Son *Cinrick*. *Nazaleod*, perceiving the Right wing to be the ſtronger of the two, bent his whole ſtrength and fury againſt it with ſuch Execution, that after great ſlaughter made of his men he forced *Cerdick* to run away, but purſuing with more heat than caution, the left wing commanded by *Cinrick* took the Advantage, and falling on his Rere renewed the Battel with ſuch Vigour, that he himſelf was ſlain in the place, and with him for Company five thouſand of his Followers.

Cerdic and his Followers invade the Land.

Another invaſion by one *Port*.

To *Ambroſe* ſucceeded *Vtar Pendragon*.

The *Saxons* obtain a great Victory over the *Britains*.

Chronol. Saxona ad An. 490.
Huntindonenſis Hiſt. l. 2.
Chronolog. Saxon. ad Ann. CCCCXCV.
Her cuomon tƿeᵹen ealdormen on Bretene Cerdic ⁊ Cynric his ſunu mid fif ſcipum in ðone ſtede þe is ᵹecƿeden Cerdices hora ⁊ ðy ilcan dæᵹe ƿid ƿeum ᵹefulhtan.
Cerdicis ora, vel Cerdicſford, noſter Cerdford. hodie contractè Chardford.
Chronol. Saxon. ad An. DI.
Huntindonenſis ubi ſuprà.

30. Such were the Circumſtances of the Battel, if the Archdeacon doth not take the liberty to frame theſe, and many more of his own head. But who this *Nazaleod* ſhould be is much controverted; for the *Britains* own no ſuch King by this Name. Some imagine it might be the *Britiſh* ſirname of *Ambroſe*, who it's certain about this time fought with the *Saxons*, with various fortune. Others think it the Name of *Vther Pendragon* his Brother, whom *Hector Boethius* writes to have governed the *Britains* at this time; but he adds that this *Nazaleod*, was a Man of obſcure Original, and that *Vther* made him his General, more out of reſpect to his Perſon, with which he had long been familiar, than to his Valour or Military skill; but being the beſt Captain next the King himſelf, he was ſlain in Battel together with fifteen thouſand Men. *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* tells us how *Vther*

Pendragon now lay ſick, and therefore ſent this Man whom he calls *Nathanlioth* againſt the *Saxons*, who ſlew him and fifteen thouſand of his *Britains*. But foraſmuch as all the *Saxon* Annals unanimouſly call him a King, and ſo doth *Ethelwald* and *Florentius Wigonienſis*, and the Archdeacon ſaith he was the greateſt King of the *Britains*; Learned *Uſher* conjectures, that his Name might indeed be *Natanleod*, and that in reſpect of the great things atchieved by him, he might have the Sirname of *Uther*, *viz.* Admirable or Horrible, for ſo *Uther* ſignifies, *Mab Uter* being an horrible Son in the *Britiſh* Language, and *Arthur* an horrible Bear, or an Iron Mall wherewith the Jaws of Lions are broken. Could we fix upon this the Chronology of theſe obſcure times might be made much clearer, and the beginning of *Arthur* his Son, that King of whom Writers ſo much talk, and ſo much differ.

Notæ Ninio adjectæ de Arthuro, vide Uſſerium in Primordiis, P. p. 466, 467. Ut Græcis Ἄρκτος *ita Britannis Arth, Urſum notat.*

Another freſh ſupply arrives.

30. Though *Cerdick*, (or *Certick*) obtained the Victory, yet with ſo much loſs and danger, that finding ſtill ſome difficulties, he was glad to admit of freſh Supplies. Six years after the Battel, came two of his Nephews *Stuf* and *Witgar* with three Ships, and landed at *Cerdicsford*, where they found the *Britains* in a poſture of warmly receiving them. For if *Henry* of *Huntingdon* be to be credited, the Captains had marſhalled their men according to the exact Laws of War. When they marched with Advice and Caution, ſome on the Mountains, and others on the Vallies; as ſoon as the Sun aroſe and ſhone upon their guilded Shields, the very Mountains therewith gliſtered, and the Air it ſelf became inlightned and reſplendent, wherewith the *Saxons* were exceedingly affrighted. Yet drawing near to Battel when the two reſolute Armies came to joyn, the valour of the *Britains*, became inferiour, becauſe (as our Writer takes upon him to judge) God had deſpiſed them, and the Victory was evident on the part of the *Saxons*, who hereby obtained places not a few, and the Proweſs of *Certic* became terrible throughout the Countrey. Theſe that came over ſtill proſpering in this manner, not a man there was in *Germany* who was either touch'd with a ſenſe of honour, or not well ſatisfied with his preſent fortune, but muſt over into *Britain*, and accept of better, which ſo eaſily offered it ſelf. Therefore not long after the War, whereof we write, many more flocked into the Iſland, and as *Huntingdon* tells us, ſeized both upon *Eaſtangle* and *Merce*, though they continued ſome time in confuſion, not reduced under obedience of their reſpective Kings. For many Noble men there were who ſcrambled amongſt themſelves, and in great haſte and Emulation ſnatched and ſeized on ſuch Regions as they could. Hence innumerable Contentions and Battels followed againſt one another for ſuch and ſuch Territories, of which we are ignorant, as well as of the Names of theſe Cavaliers, ſo numerous they were.

More *Saxons* ſtill come over hither.

31. But for all their ſucceſs, it's certain they found great oppoſition, and were not ſeldomer (probably oftner) defeated than the *Britains*, who were onely tired out and overpowered by their conſtant ſwarming into the Iſland, there being no end of their Numbers; however the *Saxon* Writers conceal all that makes not for the inhancing of the Valour and Victories of their Anceſtours. Great pity it is that, as is uſual in great Deſolations, the Ruines of *Britain* buried theſe Monuments in the Rubbiſh, which ſhould have tranſmitted the noble Acts of its Captains to Poſterity, if any ſuch Monuments there were, if the proſpect of Death and Baniſhment, of the loſs of all that was near and dear unto them, did not divert their thoughts, and their deplorable condition afford them no other Ink than Tears, wherewith to deſcribe theſe valiant Deeds, which how daring and gallant ſoever, were rendred at length uſeleſs and ineffectual, by the Crowds of a perpetual ſwarming Multitude. *Gildas* was no way partial for his Countreymen, to ſay any great matters of their Valour, yet from that little he mentions of *Ambroſe*, and of the Victory they obtained at *Mount Badon*, as alſo of the viciſſitude of ſucceſs betwixt the Nations, ſufficiently evidence they had Commanders ſometimes who gave ſufficient proof of their Caurage and good Abilities. Though as to the mentioning of any of theſe Captains, we are deſtitute of Authentick Writers (*Gildas* excepted) yet Fame, and the Report of ſome Authours (but ſuch as wrote ſeveral hundreds of years after his ſuppoſed Reign) make a loud noiſe with the Name of *Arthur* the Son of *Uther Pendragon*, as *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* is pleaſed to ſirname him.

To *Uther Pendragon* ſucceeded *Arthur*.

32. Concerning the time of this *Arthur*, (ſuppoſe his Perſon to have been) there is more variety of Opinions than concerning that of *Ambroſe*, ſo formerly related. (*a*) One placeth the beginning of his Reign, ſo high as to have it flouriſh in the year 458. (*b*) Another bringeth it down nine years, and placeth it at the

458

(*a*) *Meyer Flandr. Annal. l.* 1.

467

467 467 year of our Lord, the eleventh of the Emperour *Leo*, and the laſt of *Hilary*
the *Roman* Biſhop. (*b*) Some ſay he flouriſhed in the Reign of *Zeno* the
Succeſſour of *Leo*, and another will have him but to have been born in the twelfth
485 year of this Emperour, which fell into the year 485. (*b*) All theſe were Foreigners.
Of our own Writers, *William* (*c*) the Monk of *Malmeſbury*, *Geoffrey* (*d*)
of *Monmouth*, *Matthew* (*e*) of *Weſtminſter*, and the Authour of (*f*) *Eulogium*
would have him made King at fifteen years of Age; whereas (*g*) *Ralph* of *Cheſter*,
John (*h*) of *Tinmuth*, and *George* (*i*) *Buchanan* the *Scotchman*, defers this till his
eighteenth, *Ralph* of *Baldec* was of Opinion, that he began his Reign in the
515 year DXV, as alſo was *Thomas Radburn*; *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter*, and *David*
516 *Powell*, place it at DXVI; *Buchanan* at DXXVIII; and *Hector Boethius* caſts it
back to DXXII. *William* of *Malmeſbury* in another place writes, that *Cerdic*
coming into *Britain* in the CCCCXCV year of our Lord, ſo beat and terrified the
Britains, that he forced them to ſubmit and yield themſelves to his victorious Arms,
and in the twenty fourth year after his coming into the Iſland, in the Weſtern
part thereof eſtabliſhed his Monarchy. But in the place before cited, he writes,
that in the tenth year of this *Cerdic*, *Arthur* began to reign over the *Britains*;
with whom ſeveral others, lately mentioned, concur; placing his beginning at
528 the year DXXVIII. To this one adds, that *Cerdic* often ingaging with *Arthur*,
always came off with Victory, ſo that *Arthur* being tired out, after that *Cerdic*
had been in *Britain* ſix and twenty years, took an Oath from him, and gave
him the poſſeſſion of the two Shires, *Hantſhire* and *Somerſet*. *Leland* that renowned
Antiquary, from other Authority affirms this done after *Cerdic* had been
506 in *Britain* but twelve years, *viz.* in the year DVI. *Thomas Radburn* to his Account,
adds ten years more with this Note farther, that *Cerdic* for an Annual
Tribute permitted to the Inhabitants of *Cornwall*, the free exerciſe of the Chriſtian
Religion.

Several Battels between *Cerdick* the *Saxon* and *Arthur* the *Britiſh* King.

33. But however, *Arthur* was beaten and tired out by *Cerdic* the *Saxon* King:
There is great noiſe made of his overthrowing the *Saxons* in no fewer than twelve
ſeveral Battels. The firſt of theſe, they ſay, was fought near the Mouth of a certain
River, called *Glenus* or *Glenn*; the ſecond, third, fourth, and fifth, near another
River in the *Britiſh* Tongue called *Dulgas* or *Duglas*; the ſixth at a Rivers
ſide called *Baſſas*; and the ſeventh in the Wood of *Chelidon*, which in *Britiſh* had
the Name of *Cattoit Celidon*. *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* beſtows this Flower upon
518 this Battel. In the year of our Lord DXVIII, *Arthur* King of the *Britains* (ſaith
he) having got together a great Army, marched therewith to the City, called
then, *Caerlindcoit*, and now *Lincoln*; where finding out the *Saxons*, he made an
unheard of ſlaughter of them; for in one day there fell of them ſix thouſand
men, of whom ſome were drowned, others killed in the fight, or in the flight;
for he left not off purſuing them, you muſt know, till they came to the *Calidonian*
Wood, when they rallied and made Head againſt him. *Arthur* perceiving their Reſolution,
cauſed Trees to be cut down and the Trunks thereof ſo placed about them,
that they ſhould have no way to eſcape, reſolving there to ſtarve them to death.
Of this they being ſenſible, begged leave they might return into *Germany*, though
with naked Bodies, to which he conſented, after he had ſpoiled them of all they
had, and taken Hoſtages for the payment of a Tribute. But enough verily of this
Battel. The eighth was fought near (not the River but) the Caſtle of *Suinnion*,
where all the day he carried the Image of the Virgin *Mary* upon his Shoulders.
The ninth in the City *Leogis*, in *Britiſh* called *Caerleon*. The Tenth in the ſhoar
of the River, which we (ſaith *Huntingdon*) called *Tracteheuroit*. The eleventh
upon the Hill *Brenoin*, by us (ſaith he) called *Cathbregion*, or *Catheregio*. And
the laſt was fought at the Hill of *Badon*, where he himſelf, without aſſiſtence of
any other *Britain*, ſlew four hundred and forty men. Theſe Battels and the
places thereof, ſaith the ſame Authour, doth *Gildas* the Hiſtoriographer ſet forth;
all which places yet are to our Age unknown, which we think came to paſs by
God's Providence for the deſpiſing of popular air, flattering praiſe, and tranſitory
fame. However many Battels were fought, wherein ſometimes the *Saxons*, and
otherwhiles the *Britains* had the Victory: But the more *Saxons* that were loſt in
fight, the more came to their ſuccour, being invited by the Countries round
about.

34. However true may be his Story of the Battels, the name of this Authour is falſe, for *Gildas* it was not, but *Ninius* that was his Relatour. For the eleven they muſt paſs, and ſtill continue as unknown, as the Names of the places where they were fought; but for the Battel at Mount *Badon*, that ſuch an one

(*b*) *Vide Uſſerium in Primordiis*, p. 467.

(*c*) *De Antiquitat. Eccleſ. Glaſton.*

(*d*) *Hiſt. Britan.* l. 9. c. 1.

(*e*) *Ad Ann.* 516.

(*f*) *Lib.* 5.

(*g*) *Polychron.* l. 5. c. 6.

(*h*) *In Aurea Hiſtor.*

(*i*) *Rer. Scot.* l. 5. *Scot. Hiſt.* lib. 9. *De geſtis Reg. Angl.* c. 2.

there was at this Hill, is out of doubt from the certain Teſtimony of a true *Gildas*, whoever was then the *Britiſh* General. Here *Matthew* the Flowergatherer ſtrews his flowers or his Romantick Stories about him, and joyning the matter of this Ingagement, with that of the other in the *Caledonian* Wood, tells us, that it repented *Colgrin*, *Baldulph* and *Cheldrick* the *Saxons*, that they had made an Agreement with *Arthur*. Returning therefore into *Britain*, they landed at *Totnes*, and at laſt beſieged the City of *Badon*. *Arthur* receiving the news, commanded their Hoſtages to be hanged, then haſting toward the Siege, commanded all to be in Arms. He having already on his Corſlet, ſets on his Head an Helmet, whereon is ingraven the Image of a Dragon. On his Shoulders he hangs a Target, called *Pridwen*, whereon was painted the Image of the Bleſſed Virgin, which he often called to mind. Being alſo girt with the beſt *Caliburnian* Sword, into his right hand a Lance he takes, named *Iron*; and having given all convenient Orders, boldly ſets upon the *Pagans*. They ſtood manſully to it all the day, and killed many of the *Britains*. The Sun growing low they ſeized upon the Mount adjoyning, and for that Night uſed it as a Camp, whither the next Morning *Arthur* with his men aſcended. But in aſcending he loſt many of them, the *Saxons* having the advantage of the upper ground. But the *Britains* having with great valour reach'd the Hill top, moſt dreadfully laid about them, and made as dreadfull ſlaughter of their Enemies, inraged at their difficulty and loſs. The *Saxons* couragiouſly reſiſted, not fearing to ſtretch out their Breaſts towards the points of Spears and Swords, and much of the day was ſpent, when *Arthur* having drawn his *Caliburn* or Sword, called upon the Name of the bleſſed Virgin *Mary*, and ruſhing amongſt the thickeſt Troops of his Enemies, whomſoever he ſtruck he killed without any more to doe; neither ceaſed he to ſlay till he had ſlain no fewer than four hundred and forty men. Here fell *Colgrin* and *Baldulph* with his Brother and many thouſands of Barbarians. But *Cheldrick* perceiving the danger of his Companions, was ſo wiſe as to run away with the remainder of the Army, whom the King commanded *Cador* the Duke of *Cornwall* to purſue. Finding no place of ſecurity in ſtragling Companies, they came at laſt to the Iſle of *Thanet*, whither yet the Duke followed them, and never reſted till *Cheldrick* being ſlain, the reſt gave up themſelves into his Hands.

35. So doth *Matthew* tell the tale in conformity with *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, who ſetting it out at length, hath this Circumſtance, that the *Saxons* having waſted the Countrey as far as the *Severn* Sea, thence took their way to the City of *Badon*, which they beſieged: After that *Arthur* being entred then into the Province of *Somerſet* and perceiving what was done, animated his Souldiers to Battel, who being cheared up by the Benediction of *Dubricius* Archbiſhop of *Caerleon*, firſt drove the Enemy up to the Hill, and the day following utterly routed them. This City of *Badon* is, as *John* of *Tinmuth* and others rightly obſerve, the ſame with that we now call *Bath*, to the *Britains* known by the Name of *Caer Badon*, as well as *Tr Exinant Twymin*, in *Ptolemy* called ΥΔΑΤΑ ΘΕΡΜΑ, in *Antoninus Aquæ Solis*, and by the *Saxons* Baþanceſteꞃ & Hat Baþan, and from Diſeaſed People which flocked to the Hot waters Acmanceſteꞃ: In *Stephanus* we reade it *Badica*, and in *Latin* by the name of *Bathonia*. The Hill ſeemeth to be no other than the very ſame, which now is called *Banneſdown*, over a little Village near this City, which they call *Bathſtone*, on which there are Banks and a Rampire yet to be ſeen. And the vale which runneth along the River *Avon* is named in *Britiſh* *Naut Badon*, or the Vale of *Badon*. As for the time wherein the Battel was fought, *Gildas*, according to the beſt reading of his Text, tells us, that from that to the writing of his Epiſtle, had intervened forty years and one month, the Battel and his Nativity having fallen into the ſame year. This (as *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* tells us) was of our Lord the DXX, with whom conſents the Chronographer of the *Britains*, who reckons from this Battel of *Badon* to the death of *Arthur*, two and twenty years. By which account *Gildas* muſt have been born in the ſaid year DXX, and have written the Epiſtle, now extant, in the year DLXIIII.

Camden in *Somerſetſhire.*

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36. This is the laſt Battel ſaid to have been fought by *Arthur* againſt the *Saxons*. But many other Exploits are told to have been done by him, as well within *Britain* as without. *Howel* the *Albanian*, or King of *Scotland*, the Brother of *Gildas Albanius* (not *Gildas* whoſe Epiſtle we have ſo much ſpoken of, but one elder than he) a young Prince of great valour and hopes he ſlew, which that we may not take for a Fable we are told, by one concerned for the *Britiſh* Hiſtory, that in *Venedotia* the place is yet to be ſeen, which retains the memory of the Battel, where is erected a great Stone bearing the Name of the ſaid *Howel* according to the

Vide Uſſer. Primord. p. 677.

Arthur ſlays *Howel* King of *Scotland.*

In inſula Mynaw ſive Angleſeia. Joan. Priſæus.

Sect. I.

Ad Ann. Gratiæ. 517.

the cuſtome of the Ancients of perpetuating the memory of ſuch like things. But *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* preſents us with a flower which grew quite in another Garden. He talks of one *Howel* or *Hoel*, King of the leſſer *Britain*, the Siſters Son of *Arthur* by *Dubritius* the King of the *Armorican Britains*. That *Arthur* having beſieged *York*, and frighted thence to *London* by the coming of *Cheldrick* with ſeven hundred Ships out of *Germany*, ſent to this his Nephew to let him know the diſtreſſed condition of *Britain*, who, underſtanding the danger wherein his Uncle ſtood, with an Army of fifteen thouſand men, and the next fair wind, arrived at the Port of *Hamon*. He tells us that *Arthur* recieved him with joy and honour, becoming his Quality and Relation; and for four years after hath not one word concerning him, till the year after the fight at *Badon*, he writes how *Arthur* received news, that the *Scots* and *Picts* had beſieged him in the City *Alchid*, where he lay ſick. Hereupon the Uncle with all ſpeed haſted to relieve him; which when the Enemy heard, he fled to a place called *Mureiſ*, whither *Arthur* followed and beſieged them. But they fled out by night, and got to the Lake of *Lumonoy*; whereupon he got four Ships together, and for fifteen days together beſieged them in the Iſland, where being ſtarved with hunger thouſands of them died, which moved the Biſhops of the Countrey bare foot and bare leg and with tears in their eyes to beſeech him to have mercy on a miſerable People, and permit them to inhabit ſome portion of the Countrey, though under the Yoke of perpetual ſervitude. *Arthur*, good man, overcome by the tears of the Biſhops, whom all the water of the Lake could not before this mollifie, granted them pardon at their requeſt.

Marries.

Then Invades *Ireland*.

Holland, *Juteland*, and the Iſles *Orcades*.

Thence he Sails to *Norway*.

And ſo for *Gall*.

37. Two years after this, when he had reſtored *Britain*, you muſt know, into its ancient Eſtate, he married a Wife called * *Guenhumara* (having now leiſure enough to doat) one that was deſcended of the Noble Stock of the *Romans*, and educated in the Houſe of the Duke of *Cornwall*, a Lady ſurpaſſing in Beauty all the Ladies of the whole Iſland. Now doth he invite all notable Perſons from all quarters, and becomes ſo pleaſant in his Houſe, that both by putting on forſooth, and wearing his Armour, by ſpeaking and his demeanour, he provokes at diſtant People to Emulation; inſomuch that the Fame of his Bounty and Honeſty being divulged through divers Countries, all Foreign Kings, either loved or feared him. And there was good reaſon; now behold his exploits abroad. With a mighty Navy he firſt Invaded † *Ireland*, the King whereof, *Gillamurg*, for all his Bravado's, being taken Priſoner, all his Grandees were forc't to come and ſubmit themſelves. Then made he nothing of waſting with Fire and Sword, *Holland*, *Juteland*, and the Iſles *Orcades*, all which he ſubdued under Tribute; which done he returned into *Britain*. || Here, it ſeems, he ſtaid to breath himſelf a matter of 7 years. Then caſting in his mind, and could you blame him, how to become Maſter of all *Europe*; he reſolves to begin Northward, and drive all before him. He Sails to * *Norway*, whither, when come, he finds *Sichelin* the King of the Countrey dead, who had left *Loth* the Siſters Husband of *Arthur* his Succeſſour, being his own Nephew, and a young Man of admirable goodneſs and beauty. As young as he was, he had a Son by name *Walwane*, of twelve years of Age, ſent to *Vigilius* the Pope to breed, from whence he received the Girdle of War. *Arthur* finding things at this paſs, having ſubdued the *Norwegians*, advanced *Loth* to the Crown, and for Joy, would not follow on his Conqueſt, but returned again into *Britain*, but not without a deſire to conquer *Gall* alſo, which he mightily, yea, exceeding mightily thirſted after. His thirſt continued three years very vehement, and at length forced him to take the Sea to quench it, which having proſperouſly paſſed, with no more trouble than what the firſt Penner of the Hiſtory was put to, he conquered *Neuſtria*, afterward called *Normandy*, and proceeding farther, waſted all the Provinces of *Gall*, killed *Frillo* a Tribune in a Duel, had ſurrendred to him the City of *Paris*, and toward the Weſt, conquered all *Anjou*, *Poictou*, *Gaſcoign*, and every Foot of *Aquitain*.

Having beaten the *Romans*, and ſubdued all about the *Alpes*, he prepares to conquer *Rome*.

38. The † year following, being certainly out of breath, after he had Conquered all *Gall* almoſt at a bit, he came to *Auguſtodunum* or *Autun*, and there met with *Lucius* the Conſul of *Rome*, being thence come to oppoſe him; but he made nothing of killing both him and all his *Roman* Gallants near *Lengriæ*, in a Valley called (as truly) *Seiſiæ*. In the ſecond year after this, the Sun was darkened from its riſing till nine a Clock, envious it ſeems and not willing to behold the Succeſs of brave *Arthur*, who having now ſubdued all the Provinces about the *Alpes* prepared to go to conquer *Rome*. His Name by this time of day was become mighty throughout the World, whereupon Princes came far and near to live and learn

* *Matheus Weſtmonaſt. ad Ann.* 523.

† *Idem ad An.* 525.

|| *Idem ad An.* 533.

* *Legibus Edwardi Confeſſoris adjicitur quod confœderavit Regnum Britanniæ in unum, quod expulit Saracenos & inimicos à Regno, quod ſubjugavit Norweiam & omnes inſulas ultra eam, ſcil. Iſlandiam, & Greenlandiam Snechordam, Hiberniam, Gurlandiam, Deciam, Semelandiam, Winlandiam, Curlandiam, Roe, Femelandiam, Wirelandiam, Flandriam, Cherrelam, Lappam, & omnes alias terras, & Inſulas Orientalis Oceani uſq; Ruſſiam in Lappa, ſcil. poſuit Orientales metas Regni Britanniæ. Alii dicunt eum Hieroſolyma uſq; fuiſſe profectum. O nimium!*

Idem ad Ann. 536.

† *Idem an An.* 537.

Idem ad An. 539.

Sect. I. learn under him, and to be refreſhed with his facetious manner of converſe. But leſt you ſhould think this a wonder, you muſt know all this was foretold by *Merlin* the Prophet of the *Britains*, who affirmed, *That oppreſſed* Britain *ſhould prevail, and reſiſt the Cruelty of ſtrangers. For a * Boar of* Cornwall *ſhould ſuccour it, and tread his Feet on the Necks of the Enemies. The Iſlands of the Ocean ſhould be ſubjected to his Power, and he ſhould poſſeſs the Gallican Foreſts. The Houſe of* Romulus *ſhould tremble at his Fiercene ſs, and his Exit ſhould be doubtfull. But he ſhould be celebrated in the Mouth of the People, and his Acts ſhould be meat to them that ſhould declare them.*

Galfrid. Monmuth. lib. 7. cap.3.

** Quod ſcil. in Cornubiæ maritimo caſtro Tintagel fuiſſet genitus.*

39. But, for all this, heavy tidings! this Boar is forced back again to recover his own Stye, whilſt he is in his way to take up his Quarter in the beſt Palace *Rome* can afford. You muſt know, that *Arthur* at his ſetting out of *Britain*, had committed the Care thereof to *Mordred* his Nephew, together with his Wife *Guenhumar*. *Mordred*, his back being turned, uſurps; ſets the Diadem on his Head, and takes *Guenhumar* to be his Bedfellow; joining in Confederacy with thoſe *Saxons*, who came in eight hundred ſhips which they fitted out of *Germany*, and all now became Servants to *Mordred*. As ſoon as the News of ſo horrid Vilany reached the high Ears of *Arthur*, who had now began to climb the Ladder of *Italy*, *viz.* the *Alpes*, that he might get up into *Rome*, the higheſt Chamber of the Empire; out of Anger he would mount no more, but down he comes in a dump, and returns with the Kings of the Iſlands onely in his company toward *Britain*, burning with ſuch a Rage toward *Mordred*, as all the water in the Sea could not quench, ſo that as great a thirſt he had upon him at his return, as at his ſetting out. And it was not for nothing, that about this time ſo dreadfull a Comet appeared in *Gall*, the Countrey through which this King Errant paſſed, that the Heavens ſeemed to be on a flame. The ſame year alſo to uſher in and betoken the gore bloud, which ſhould be ſhed when doughty *Arthur* laid about him, true bloud dropped from the Clouds, a certain Houſe was found beſprinkled with it, and a grievous Mortality followed. Noble *Arthur* haſting towards *Britain* reſolved to land in the Port of *Rutupus*, afterward called *Sandwich*, whom *Mordred* there with a great Multitude oppoſed, and made great ſlaughter of ſuch as attempted to come on ſhoar. Here fell gallant *Arguſel*, the King of *Albany*, and *Walwane* the King's Nephew, and well-away others innumerable. But at length after vaſt pains taken, and much. very much bloud ſhed, *Arthur* and his Men got to land, and ſo hotly, too hotly, purſued his Enemies, that he drove. *Mordred* and his Army after no ſmall loſs received, I aſſure ran away to *Wincheſter*. This being alſo brought to the tender Ears of *Guenhumar*, without looking behind her ſhe ran away to *Caerleon*, and hid her head under a Nuns vail, profeſſing her ſelf a (chaſte) Nun in the Monaſtery of *Julius* the Martyr. *Arthur* almoſt mad with Anger comes to *Wincheſter*, and there beſieges *Mordred*; who the next Morning is ſo ſawcy as to ſally out upon the King, and the Villain did much Miſchief; but for all that ſtill thought one pair of Legs worth two pair of Hands, and ran away again towards *Cornwall*.

Idem ad An. 540.

Mordred Uſurps.

Several Preſages of Miſchief, enſuing.

Ad An. 541.

Is ſet upon by King *Arthur*.

40. *Arthur* would not balk him an Ace but followed as faſt as he ran, and caught him napping at the River *Camblan*. Would you believe the Rogue, for all this, would ſet his fellows in order, and give brave *Arthur* battel? He did it, reſolving to dye rather than run any more away, for he knew not whither to run, his ſhoes not being corked to take the Ocean. A ſad fray followed. Abundance of Bloud was ſhed, and the Cries of the wounded, and dying would have pierced ones very Bowels. They had fought almoſt a whole long day (a whole long day till Noon, as did *Robin Hood* and the Pinder of *Wakefield*) when *Arthur* ruſhed, not like a Boar, but a Lion into the place where he knew *Mordred* ſtood, and eaſily making way with his Sword, and removing the Enemies as he could do his own Servants with his word, he made moſt bloudy work on't, cutting down the ranks like Corn with his Sickle, nay even there where they were the thickeſt, and then thraſhing them. What ſhall we ſay? The battel grows hotter and hotter, and the Air rings again, and ſounds with the very blows that were ſtruck. The Villain, the Traitour himſelf fell, and with him the *Saxon* Whelps *Cheldrick*, *Elaph*, *Egbrith* and *Bruning*, and many thouſands with them, and the Victory was *Arthur's*. But woe and alas! he was mortally wounded in the fray, and was carried to be cured, if it might be, into the Iſland of *Avalon*, ſince ycleped *Glaſcon*. Deſpairing of Life, when he had cauſed his Enemies to be ſlain, he yielded the Diadem of *Britain* to *Conſtantine* his Kinſman, the Son of *Cador*, Duke of *Cornwall*. The good Soul being ready to depart hid himſelf, leſt Enemies ſhould inſult over ſuch a Miſchance, and his Friends be troubled. Hence it happens, that Hiſtories making no mention

And after ſeveral bloudy Battels is ſlain.

Arthur dies of his wounds.

Idem ibid. Vincentius Bellonacenſis Specul. Hiſt. lib. 21. *cap.* 74. *Alan. in Merlin. lib.* 1. *Radulph. Niger.*

of the death of *Arthur* or his Burial, the *Britains* for the Exceſſive love they bear him, contend that he ſtill liveth. Here's an end of an old ſong, to the tune of *Arthur* of *Bradley*. A Fable which deſerves not confuting. Pity it was not writ in verſe, aſwell as the brave Adventures of *Roland*. Alas, poor *Arthur*, that being greater than he both as to Royalty and Atchievements, greater by far than *Achilles*, thou ſhouldſt be ſo * unfortunate as not to have as brave a Bard to make thee Immortal by Verſes dipt in *Caſtalian* Fountain! as brave a Trump to ſound forth thy Virtues. Blind and bald Chanters they were indeed, who took upon them to publiſh thy Glories.

*For not to have been dipt in *Lethe* Lake
Could ſave the Son of *Thetis* from to die.
But that blind Bard did him Immortal make
By Verſes dipt in dew of *Caſtaly*.
Which made the Eaſtern Conquerour to cry,
O fortunate young Man, whoſe Vertues found
So brave a Trump thy noble Acts to ſound.
Spencer.

41. No height of indignation can be too great againſt thoſe ignorant Scriblers, who by the deformed brats of their brains, have ſo impoſed upon an ignorant and unwary World. May a blot lye upon their Memories, who ſending their Follies abroad, did not cloath them in ſuch Garments, as might diſcover them to be what they really were. Courſe enough indeed their Dreſſes are, and the fancy wherewith they are inveſted is of a very thick-ſpun thread. Yet Wiſemen indeed are alſo often meanly clad, (true Hiſtories courſly writ) but Fools ſhould be dreſſed in fools Coats, a Romance writ like a Romance, a Poetick figment appear like a Poetick figment. Let it dance on ſix or ſeven Feet, and jingle with Rithm at every turn, or be ſet out with the party-coloured Coat of Extravagant fancy, and Effeminate Language, not clad in the grave, ſerious and ſubſtantial, (though courſe) Habit of an Hiſtory. Certainly, Reader, if the Sin and Injury of a Lye * conſiſts in this, that it takes away a Man's Right and Liberty of judging or knowing, whereupon he that took away the means or ways of Knowledge was ſaid by the *Hebrews* to ſteal the Heart, and the greater or more conſiderable the thing is which ſhould be known, the greater is the Injury, they that belye our Progenitours, and take away the means of our underſtanding the Originals of our Nations, muſt needs be guilty of a Theft greater than all others, in the Opinion of a generous Man, who by Nature it ſelf is ſtirred up with a deſire of knowing the State of his own Countrey, the condition of that ſtock, whence he or his Relations are derived. But though *Britains* and *Engliſh* are moſt concerned, yet hath this Injury extended to † Foreigners, who have, in reference to *Arthur*, in the ſame manner been impoſed on. That *Arthur* ſhould thus lay about him, doe ſuch wonders as never had been done before; that he ſhould conquer both Eaſtward and Southward, ſubdue *Gall* and pierce into *Italy*, and no notice of him taken by any Hiſtorian of that time, or any time elſe till *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* began to collect the old Wives tales of his Countrey, and publiſh them in the *Latin* Tongue; that he ſhould goe and ſeek work abroad, when he had ſo much to doe at home, where ſo many thouſand *Saxons* had taken up their Habitations, and already ſetled ſeveral Kingdoms; is a thing that no ſerious Man with Patience may endure to reade or hear.

* *Vide Grotium de Jure Belli & Pacis, lib.* 3. *c.* 1.

† *Vide Alanum de Inſulis in Merlini Prophetiam, lib.* 3.

42. Theſe Romantick Tales have produced this Effect upon ſome more wary minds, that the ſhadows have brought the ſubſtance it ſelf into ſuſpicion; allthough as we ſay there could not be ſo much ſmoke, but there muſt have been ſome fire, and one ‖ of thoſe that queſtions the very being of *Arthur*, builds his Conjecture upon a weak Foundation, and is himſelf in other matters extravagantly credulous, and obtruding. Againſt this opinion poſſibly too extreme on the other ſide it may be objected, that the Sepulchre of *Arthur* was found in *Glaſſenbury*, in the Reign of King *Henry* the Second; being buried there, as one of the Monks of that Monaſtery wrote, in the Year DXLII. having come into that Iſland of *Avallonia*, to have his wounds cured, as writes the ſo often cited *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*. Nay after *Geoffrey* himſelf was dead and buried, the Sepulchre of *Arthur* was found out, as ſeveral teſtify, and might have been ſeen in a great Table of the Monaſtery, whereon was written to this purpoſe: *In this Iſland, which is called the Iſland of* Avallonia, *yea in this burying place of Saints, at* Glaſſenbury *reſt the renowned King* Arthur, *the flower of the* Britiſh *Kings, and* Guenhumara *his Queen. Who after their Departure, were honourably buried, by the old Church, betwixt two ſtone Pyramids in time paſt nobly ingraven; and for many years there they reſted* (viz. *ſix Hundred and twenty Eight Tears*) *till the time of* Henry de Soili; *who was Abbat of the place after the burning of the ſaid Church. Now this Abbat being often importuned by very many Perſons, gave order to ſome to digg betwixt the Pyramids, and ſee if they could find the Bodies of the forementioned King and Queen: and before they began to digg they hung up Curtains, and ſurrounded the whole Plat of ground. Having digged very deep, at length they light upon a great wooden Coffin cloſe ſhut, which having opened, they found his Body therein with a certain leaden Croſs,*

‖ *Genebrard in Chronogr. ad An.* 498. *Dicit ex Beda poſſe intelligi Arthurum Mag. nunquam extitiſſe; quare? quia illius omnino non meminit. Vide Uſſer. in Primord. p.* 116. *&c.*

King *Arthur* and his Wife *Guenhumar* buried at *Glaſſenbury*.

in one part of which was written, Here lies buried renowned King *Arthur*, in the Iſland of *Avallonia*. *Then opened they the Queens Grave and found her Hair diſhevelled, and lying about her ſhoulders, as if ſhe had been but newly buried, which yet upon touch fell all to Aſhes. The Abbat and Convent with great joy, and the greateſt honour imaginable, took thence their Reliques, and beſtowed them in the greater Church, in a Tomb which within was divided into two parts, and without nobly cut in a Rock*, viz. *the King's Body by it ſelf at the Head of the Tomb, and the Queen in the Eaſtern part thereof, over which they cauſed to be written, their ſeveral Epitaphs.*

Avalonia vero dicta eſt vel ab Aval Britannico verbo quod pomum ſonat, quia ſolet locus ille pomis & pomeriis abundare, vel ab Avalone quodam territorii illius quondam dominatore. Item ſolet antiquitùs locus ille Britannicè dici Ynys gwyclrin, hoc eſt Inſula vitrea, propter Amnem, ſcil. quaſi vitrei coloris in mariſco circumfluentem: & ob hoc dicta eſt poſtmodum à Saxonibus terram occupantibus lingua eorum Glaſtonia, Glas enim Anglicè vel Saxonicè vitrum ſonat. Girald. Cambrenſ. in Specul. Eccleſ. diſtinct. 2. c. 9.

43. The Abbat, by whom theſe Bodies were found, was *Henry Soliacenſis de Soily* or *Sully*, and by ſome called *Suineſius* (not *Henricus Bleſenſis*, the Nephew of *Henry* the Firſt, as *Leland* miſtook, confounding them together) who was made Abbat after the burning of the Church of *Glaſſenbury*, which happened in the Year MCLXXXIV. afterward Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and died in the Year, MCXCV. He it was that placed their Reliques in a Marble Monument, and on it two * Diſticks for Epitaphs. But more than this *Giraldas Cambrenſis*, deſcribes the Bones of *Arthur* to us in this manner, having been ſhewn them by the Abbat of the place, together with the leaden Croſs lately mentioned. *The Bone of his Leg reared up by the Leg of one of the talleſt men* (as the Abbat experimented before the Authour's face) *and placed by his foot upon the ground, was higher than the man's knee full three fingers. His Skull was prodigiouſly large and thick, ſo that between the Eyes and the Eye-brows one might lay their hand. In it appeared ten wounds or more, all which, one great one excepted, which gaped very wide, and was onely mortal, were grown up and cicatrized.* As for the leaden Croſs he adds, that *upon a broad ſtone, ſeven foot within the Earth, and three foot higher than the Sepulchre of* Arthur *was found ſuch a Croſs, not inſerted into the upper, but rather the nethermoſt part of the Stone, having theſe Letters ingraved*, *Hic jacet ſepultus inclytus Rex Arthurius in Inſula Avallonia cum Weneveria uxore ſua* † *ſecunda.* This very Croſs being taken from the Stone he ſaw, being ſhewn it by the ſaid Abbat *Henry*, and read theſe Letters. But in this Inſcription, the five laſt words ſeem ſome way to be added, for they are not to be found in the Monk of *Glaſſenbury*, who tells this ſtory in the very words of *Girald*, nor were they to be ſeen in the Croſs it ſelf, which was preſerved in the Treaſury of the Church of *Glaſſenbury*, till the diſſolution of the Monaſtery which * *Leland* himſelf with moſt curious Eyes, and carefull Fingers viewed and handled, moved both by the antiquity and dignity of the object. It conſiſted of a piece of Lead about a foot long, and in Large Roman Letters, but ill cut, contained theſe words, *Hic jacet ſepultus inclytus Rex Arturius in Inſula Avalonia.* To conclude this Buſineſs, theſe Reliques were found in the days of *Henry* the Second, about the Year of our Lord MCLXXXIX. which may check the opinion of thoſe who believed there never was ſuch a Man (the Man we admit of, but the Romantick ſtories of him we abominate) and had it been known earlier, might have prevented that ridiculous humour of the *Britains*, who thought him ſtill alive many hundreds of years after, and that ſo confidently, that ſhould any Man have ſaid in the ſtreets in † *Armorica* or *Little Britain*, that he was dead, he ſhould have had the ſtones immediate flying about his Ears.

The dimenſions of his Body.

Which was found in the time of *Hen.* 2. A. D. 1189.

44. *Arthur* being ready to dye, is ſaid to have left the Diadem of *Britain* to his Kinſman *Conſtantine*, the Son of *Cador*, the Duke of *Cornwall*, who the year following had the better of the two Sons of *Mordred*, who roſe up againſt him, and purſued them ſo cloſe, that one of them he ſlew at *Wincheſter*, in the Church of St. *Amphibalus* before the Altar, and the other at *London*, where he was hid in a certain Monaſtery. In the third year they will have *Conſtantine* ſlain, and buried at *Stoneheng*, or the *Chorea Gigantum*, to whom ſucceeded *Aurelius Conanus*, and held the Monarchy of the whole Iſland, being a young man very well inclined, and every way worthy of a Diadem, onely too great a lover of Civil Wars; for he impriſoned his Uncle who ſhould have reigned after *Conſtantine*, and having ſlain his two Sons, obtained the Kingdom. *Geoffrey* writes that he died in the ſecond year of his Reign, and that *Wortipor* obtained the Monarchy, who diligently and peaceably Governed the People four years, which done, he left his place to

Conſtantine ſucceeds *Arthur*.

* *Hic jacet Arthurus flos Regum gloria Regni,*
Quem mores probitas commendant laude perenni.
Arthuri jacet hic Conjunx tumulata ſecunda,
Quæ meruit cœlos virtutum prole ſecunda.
al. fœcunda.

Giraldas Cambrenſis, de Inſtitutione Principis & Speculo Eccleſiaſtico.

† *Secunda dicta videri poſſit, reſpectu Guennivaræ alterius ab Arthuro in ipſo Regni ſui initio ductæ, quam à Melua Sommerſetenſium Rege raptam ad An. DIX. Ex Caradoco Lancarvanenſi annotavit Uſſerius. Quæ an illa Guanora Arthuri uxor fuerit cujus in Albaniâ oſtendebatur tumulus (quam ſi mulieres calcaviſſent, ſteriles inde ſe futuras credebant; ut ex gentilium ſuorum opinione Hector Boethius retulit) ipſi Scoti Albienſes viderint.*

* *Lelandus apud Uſſer. p.* 120. *in Aſſert. Arturii.*

† *Alanus de Inſulis.*

‖ *Matthæus Florilegus ad An.* 542.

to *Malgo.* But here *Geoffrey* and his Companions cannot agree about their Verdict; for whereas he gives to the Reign of *Aurelius Conanus*, ſcarcely two years, *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* allows him no fewer than two or three and thirty, and gives but three to *Vortiporius.* But both their Accounts are true alike, while they make them to ſucceed one another in the Monarchy of *Britain*, juſt like that *Theophilus* of *Antioch*, who makes thoſe Kings to have ſucceeded one another in one and the ſame Kingdom; which *Moſes* writes to have Governed ſeveral ſorts of People. For *Gildas* ſpeaks to them all perſonally, as living and reigning at the ſame time, in ſeveral Parts of the Iſland, and whereas they call *Conſtantine* Monarch of *Britain*, he terms him Tyrant of *Damnonia* or *Cornwall. Malgo* whom he calls *Maglocunus*, the laſt in the Catalogue, being another *Regulus* in *Venedotia* or *the Northern Wales*, to the *Cambro Britains* being known by the name of *Maelgun Guineth*, as he whom they call *Aurelius Conanus*, but *Gildas Caninus* rather, is by theſe Writers called *Kynan Wledic*, ſo is *Vortiper Gwyrtheſyr.* As *Conſtantine* reigned in *Damnonia*, and *Malgo* in *Venedotia*, ſo *Vortipor* in *Demmetia*, *South-wales*, as *Carmarthen*, *Pembroke* and *Cardigan ſhires*; and *Aurelius Conanus*, as is conjectured, in *Powis* or ſome other Province.

Several Kings or Tyrants Reign together.

45. *Geoffrey* did like our late Writers of Romances, who take ſome real Subject, ſome certain Perſons for the Baſis of their work, but cloath theſe Perſons with ſuch circumſtances, add ſo much of their own Invention, that in their ſtory there's hardly one ſentence of truth. Finding all theſe Names in *Gildas*, and wanting Succeſſours for his *Arthur*, whom he reſolved to extend to the ſeventh Generation, out of this ſtore he reſolved to furniſh himſelf, not ſetting them all at one time as *Gildas* doth; but making them ſucceed one another in the Monarchy: which thing *Gildas* overthrows in that he calls *Conſtantine* no Monarch but Tyrant, or *Regulus* of *Damnonia.* In like manner, by either a wilfull miſtake, or otherwiſe came the ſtory of the Church of St. *Amphibalus. Gildas* wrote that *Conſtantine* ſlew two Boys of Royal Bloud, *ſub ſancti Abbatis amphibalo*, that is under the Gown-coat or Veſtment of the Holy Abbat; for that *Amphibalum* was a ſort of outward Veſt or Garment, worn by Clerks and Monks, is very certain, hairy on both ſides, ſo that it was doubtfull which was the outward or inward ſide of it, whence it had its Name. Now *Geoffrey* from this place frames a Tale of the Martyr *Amphibalus* and his Church at *Wincheſter.* Hence came the very text of *Gildas* to be corrupted ſo, that in ſome Copies was written *ſub ſancto Abbate Amphibalo*, particularly in thoſe which *Polydore Virgil* followed in his Edition of this Authour. Hence alſo came the Fiction of the New *Amphibalus Gimenus*, Abbat of the Abby of *Amphibalus* the Martyr at *Wincheſter*, ſaid to have written an Epiſtle concerning this horrid fact to *Gildas*, as *John Ball*, and from him *Pirſæus* would have us believe. In like manner from ſome things charged upon theſe particular Princes by *Gildas*, he has raiſed particular ſtories. From his charging *Aurelius* with Paricides, and his being a lover of Civil War, he raiſed that of his Impriſoning his Uncle, and killing his two Sons. *Gildas* calls *Maglocunus Inſularis Draco*, and a depoſer of many Tyrants, another *Saul*, being taller than any other of the *Britiſh* Captains; and farther adds, that he was as it were drunk with the Wine that was preſſed from the Sodomitical Grape.

De ſucceſſoribus Arthuri pari impudentiâ mentitur, tribuenseis uſq, ad ſeptimam fere generationem Britanniæ Monarchiam. Guil. Neubrigenſis. Vide Cambdenum in Brit. de Wall. & Cornwall. Uſſer, ubi ſuprà. p. 539.

Amphibalum quid.

Lib. 11. *c.* 7.

46. Hence *Geoffrey* tells us, that his *Malgo* was the moſt beautifull Perſon of all *Britain*, that he was the depoſer or driver away of many Tyrants, larger than others, and moſt famous for goodneſs. Becauſe *Gildas* calls him an Iſland Dragon, he tells you that he obtained the whole Iſle, and moreover, adds ſince other comprovincial Iſles to his Dominion, *viz. Ireland*, *Iſland*, *Godland*, the *Orcades*, *Norwey* and *Dacia*, having conquered them, by moſt cruelly Fought Battels. And becauſe the ſame Authour uſed this expeſſion, that he was Wet or Drunk with Wine, preſſed out of a Sodomitical Vine, he repreſents him to you as guilty of Sodomy; whereas *Gildas* meant a general or univerſal heap of Sins and Iniquity, the phraſe being taken from the Prophet and elſewhere, which he had formerly alſo uſed to ſet forth the wickedneſs of *Conſtantine.* As for *Cuneglaſus*, it's a wonder he paſt him over, for he might have filled up ſome room in the Monarchical Catalogue; it's to be fear'd, the Copy of *Gildas* he ſaw had not his Name, there being no Memory of him in the Britiſh Hiſtory. But in reference to *Maglocunus* or *Maglo*, we find elſewhere, that under his Government a dreadfull epidemical Diſeaſe raged throughout (*a*) *Cambria* or *Wales*, called the *Yellow Plague*, by the *Britains Y Gall Veleu*, from the yellow colour of thoſe that were infected, but by the (*b*) *Centuriators Morbus Regius*, or the *Kings Evil*, as the *Icterus* or *Jaundice*, is ſometimes named by Phyſicians. As for his Uncle, whom *Gildas* writes, that he ſlew in his youth, he is by others called (*c*) *Cathwallain*, after whoſe death he Invaded the Kingdom of

Madidus.

Jerem. 23. 9. *Deut.* 32. 3. 32.

(a) *Girald. Cambr. Itiner. Cambr. l.* 2. *c.* 1. *Plures apud Uſſer. in Primord. p.* 76.

(b) *Centur.* 6. *c.* 10

(c) *Uſſerius in Indice Chronol.* 1138.

of *Venedotia*. In conformity with this his ravenous and cruel Diſpoſition he is ſaid being King of the Northern *Britains*, to have come (*d*) with an Army to ſubdue and prey upon the Southern, to have always been an Afflicter of the Saints, eſpecially of St. *Paternus*, and to have been in particular (*e*) curſed by *Thalieſſin*, the Bard or Prophet. Yet is he memorable for ſomething not ill; for erecting (*f*) a new City called *Bangor*, upon the River *Meanath*, or *Menai* (an Arme of the Sea rather) which is by no means to be confounded with the other *Bangor* of the Monks killed by *Ethelfrid*, which ſtood in *Wotton* upon the River *Dee*, not far from *Cheſter*. This he did, and all theſe things happened while he was yet but *Regulus* of *Venedotia*. But afterwards *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* tells us, he was
581 made King of the *Britains* at the year of Our Lord DLXXXI; about eleven years after the death of *Gildas*, the Complainer, who died at or about the year
570 DLXX.

47. At this time he is therefore thought to have been made King over the *Cambrian Britains* in General, the form of his Election being told us by *Humphry Lhuyd*, an excellent Antiquary of *Denbigh*, as appears by his Fragment (*a*) of the Deſcription of *Britain*, directed at the point of death to the Learned *Antwerpian Abraham Ortelius*. After that the *Saxons*, ſaith his (*b*) Authour, having overcome the *Britains*, had obtained the Sceptre of the Kingdom, and the Crown of *London*, all the People of *Cambria*, aſſembled together at the Mount of the River *Dee*, to chuſe them a King, and thither came the Men of *Guynedh*, the Men of *Powys*, thoſe of *Dehenbarth*, of *Reynuc*, *Eſylluc* or *Sylluc*, and *Morganuc* or *Morgan*, and made choice of *Malgun*, whom others call *Maclocun Guened*. From this paſſage he collects, that *Cambria* or *Wales*, was then divided after the Deſtruction of *Britain*, into ſix Regions or Parts, *viz.* about the year of Our Lord DLX. But
560 afterwards we meet with the King of * *Dynetia*, falſely called *Demetia*, the Kings of *Guent Powys*, and *Northwales*, and mention is alſo made of the Kings of *Strat Cluyde*; whence may eaſily be collected, that this Countrey was ſubject to divers petty Kings or *Reguli*, till the time of *Roderick* the Great; who obtained the Monarchy
843 of *Cambria*, about the year DCCCXLIII, and dividing it into three Parts, left it ſo to be poſſeſſed by his three Sons, for to † *Meruin* his eldeſt; he aſſigned *Guynedh*, to *Anaraud* (whom ſome make his Eldeſt) *Powys*, and to *Cadelh* his youngeſt with the bleſſing of the whole People, *Dehenbarth*, that is the Right part or Southwales. For the *Britains*, as *Welch* at this day, herein imitate the *Hebrews*, that as to the Coaſts they look Eaſtward, and name the South as on the Right Hand. This *Dehenbarth*, though it was in quantity larger, yet in reſpect of thoſe Noblemen, by the *Welch* called *Tychelwyr*, wherewith it abounded; who were prone to rebell againſt their Lords, and diſpute with them by dint of Sword, it was accounted much the worſt. This Diviſion of *Wales* (as generally all Diviſions of Kingdoms) at length deſtroyed the Government, while the Poſterity of theſe three Brothers conſumed it ſelf by inteſtine Wars, though each Prince was externally laid at by the *Engliſh*.

The Diviſion of *Wales*.

48. And ſo at length, and by Degrees were the poor Inhabitants of *Britain* by the *Picts* and *Scots*, and eſpecially the *Saxons*, outed of their Ancient Seats, and driven ſuch of them as fled not over the Sea, to the craggy and mountainous Places toward the Weſt of the Iſland, naturally fenced with Hills, and the Inlets of the Sea, whither their Ravenous Enemies could not eaſily follow them. Here they continued a very warlike Nation, as we ſhall have occaſion in the Proſecution of our *Engliſh Saxon* Story to demonſtrate, and for many years defended their Liberty, and though they were ſeparated from the *Engliſh Saxons*, by a ditch or trench, caſt by *Offa* King of the *Mercians*, yet ſtood they not onely to the defenſive part of War, but made many inrodes into the *Engliſh* Pale, and by Fire and Sword waſted the Countrey. Their Succeſs had been much better, but that they fell out amongſt themſelves, and as formerly when they lived in the Heart of the Land, ſo now alſo they groaned under the Yokes of their ſeveral *Reguli* or Tyrants, the Names of whom it will not boot much here to mention, and the Acts of whom as remarkable, reſpect chiefly the oppoſition they made againſt the *Engliſh*. Of the Parts into which they were driven, that called *Cambria* is moſt conſiderable, by them in their Language called *Cymbri*, and *Wales*, by the *Engliſh*, after the *German* Cuſtome. For, as one * obſerves, the Ancient *Teutones* or *Germans*, calling the Strangers that lived near them on one ſide by the Name of *Galls*, or *Walls*, afterward to all Strangers, and Inhabitants of other Provinces they gave the ſame Appellation, as at this very day not onely the *Galls*, but *Italians* and *Burgundians* they call by that Name, as all things ſtrange or Exotick

The poor *Britains* driven from their Countrey.

Some into *Cambria* or *Wales*.

(d) *Johannes Tinmuth, ibid.*

(e) *Balæo & aliis Telieſinus Helius, vide & verſus Britannicos & in linguam Latin. verſos apud Uſſer. in Primord. p.* 547.

(f) *Mailgo Rex erexit novam Civitatem ſuper fluvium Meanath in Wallia. Erat enim altera Bangor ſuper Dee fluvium, ubi Ethelfridus Monachus occidit in Wotton non longè à Ceſtria. Johan. Roſſus apud eundem p.* 133. *A pulchro vel excelſo Choro Ban-cor ſive Bangoræ nomen poſtea eſt adepta*

(a) *Impeſſ. Coloniæ Agrippinæ. A. D. M. D. LXXII.*

(b) *Author antiquiſſ. libri de legibus Britannornm, à Yno Doethaut, à Guyr Guynedh, à Guyr Powys, à Guyr Dehenbarth, à Reynuc, à Eſylluc, à Morganuc, fol.* 51.6.

* *In miſerabili illa pugna contra Ethelfredum Northumbrorum Regem.*

† *Ita Galfridus ſeniorem nominat cui Lhuydus accedit.*

* *Lhuyd. in Frag. f.* 46. 6.

tick *Walſhe* : The *Wallons* in the Low Countries, the *Wallachians* upon the *Danube* have hence received their Denominations. At firſt they ſeized, and ſolely inhabited all this Region. Afterward it began to be inhabited by the *Engliſh*, as far as the Ditch of *Offa*, with whom they had innumerable Skirmiſhes, and conteſts till the days of *William* the Conquerour, under whoſe Son *Henry* ſome *Flemmings*, who had been driven out of their own Countrey by Inundation of the Sea, received *Roſſe*, a Province of *Demetia*, to inhabit, and notwithſtanding all the Princes of *Wales* could doe, moſt valiantly defended themſelves, and ſtill preſerve their Language and Cuſtoms,different from the *Britains*. Afterward the *Engliſh* growing by Degrees upon them, ſeized ſeveral other Parts of the Countrey, and at length brought them into full ſubjection,upon which we muſt not now dilate. But thoſe that inhabited this Countrey, the Engliſh *Saxons* called Bꞃıꞇpealeꞅ, or *Britiſh Welſh*.

Others into *Cornwall.*

49. Another ſort they termed Coꞃnpealeꞅ from *Cornwall*, in Latin *Cornavia*, in the *Britiſh* Language *Cernico*, into which another Part of the Remnants of the *Britains* were driven. Theſe alſo uſe the Britiſh Tongue, all their words almoſt being radically the ſame with the *Welſh*; but in contexture of Speech, they do a little differ. Beſides theſe Countries, we are farther told by the Learned Anti- 870 quary lately mentioned, that till about the year of Our Lord DCCCLXX, theſe Parts lying about *Carlile* and *Galloway* it ſelf as far as the River *Cluda*, were poſſeſſed by the *Britains*, at which time being ſorely laid at by the *Scots*, *Danes* and *Engliſh*, and at length *Conſtantine* their King being killed in *Anaudra*, they were conſtrained to betake themſelves to their Countreymen in *Wales*, where they beat out the *Engliſh*, which had ſeized on the Countrey *Tegenia*, (by the *Latins* called *Igenia*, but *Tegengel* by the *Welſh*, that is *Tegenia* of the *Engliſh*) lying betwixt the River *Dee* and *Conway*. They founded a Kingdom by the *Welſh* called *Stratcluyd* (a), from the River *Cluda*, on whoſe banks they ſate down; for by the word *Strat* (b) added to a River, they underſtand the tract of ground lying upon or adjoining to the ſaid River, as *Strad Alyn*, *Strad Towy*, and the like. Here they had often great bickering with the *Engliſh*,till at length *Dunwallon*, the laſt of their Princes,deſpiſing his Principality went to *Rome*, at ſuch time as the *Danes* by their 971 Inrodes, ſorely afflicted the Iſland about the year DCCCLXXI. where he ſhortly after died. Such alternative Succeſſions were there in the places, whither the *Welſh* were driven,though as we e'er now ſignified,for the main they poſſeſſed the whole Countrey called *Wales*, eſpecially that toward the North, *viz. Guynedhia* by *Latin* writers corruptly called *Venedotia*. As for the other called *Dehenbarth* by them, and *Southwales* by us, the *Engliſh* having paſſed the River *Severn*, by degrees ſeized on all the Land betwixt it, and the River *Vaga*. So that all *Herefordſhire*, and that anciently called the *Daniſh* wood, and *Gloceſterſhire* with a great Part of *Worceſterſhire* and *Shropſhire*, are though beyond the River *Severn*, this day inhabited by the *Engliſh*.

Ut illos in Gallia. Galpealeꞅ.

Lhuydus quo ſuprà, fol. 26. b. & 56. a.

(a) *Mariano Scoto Straudiylcad Walanorum corrupté.*

(b) *Ita ferè Angli uſurpant voc. Strand, ſignificat enim altam Ripum fluminis ut platea hæc Londino adjacens propriè ſic dicta.*

50. This River, together with *Dee* of old, divided *Cambria* from the other part of *Britain*, called *Lhoegria*, and ſome do farther obſerve, that all the greater Towns which are built upon their Eaſtern Banks, were firſt raiſed for this very end, to reſtrain the Irruptions of the *Cambrians*, or *Welſh* into *Lhoegria*, like as the *Romans* very politickly erected very ſtately Cities upon the Weſtern Banks of the *Rhine*, to hinder the Inrodes of the *Germans* into *Gall*, and the laſt *Wall* which the *Britains* made, was by the Advice of the *Romans*, drawn by conſiderable Towns the more to ſtrenghthen it. But to purſue our buſineſs, theſe Countries lately mentioned,together with ſome Corners of *Flint* and *Denbigh*,were in times paſt ſubject to the Kings of the *Mercians*, and to this day the Inhabitants of them are known to the *Welſh* by theſe words, *Guyr y Mers*, or the Men of *Mercia*. For 770 *Offa* the moſt potent King of the *Mercians*,as we hinted before in the year DCCLXX, to diſtinguiſh, and fence his Limits from thoſe of the *Cambrians*, cauſed to be digged a very deep Ditch with an high Wall upon it from the Mouth of *Dee*, a little above *Flint* Caſtle, through moſt high Mountains, as deep Vallies, Fenns, Rocks and Rivers for an Hundred Miles, as far as the Mouth of the River *Vaga*. This Ditch retaining its old Name, (for by the *Britains* it's ſtill called *Claudh Offa*, or the Ditch of *Offa*) is clearly yet to be ſeen in all theſe Quarters; and almoſt all the Cities and Towns ſeated on the Eaſtern ſide of it, have their Names ending in *Ton* or *Ham* which makes it evident, that in old time *Saxons* there did inhabit. Yet again the *Cambrians* or *Welſh*, reſeated themſelves beyond the Ditch (on this ſide as we write) in all places toward *Lhoegria* or *England*, and the Inhabitants of theſe parts in their own Language are called *Cymbri*, in the pronouncing of which word the force of the letter *b* is ſcarcely to be perceived.

Sect. I.

The Language of the *Britains* the ſame with the *Galls*.

51. So much as to the Places into which our poor diſtreſſed *Britains*, were driven within the Iſland, now having mentioned their Language, it were convenient to ſpeak a little to it. And a little muſt be ſpoken by one who cannot ſpeak it at all, and has but little acquaintance with it. That it was the ſame with that of the old *Galls*, I am ſtill perſwaded both for the Reaſons I have given in the Hiſtory of the *Franks*, and alſo upon farther conſideration. Of *Brennus*, and his Exploits all who are meanly ſtudied in Antiquity have read, and that he and his were *Galls*, is the Opinion of the beſt Authours, both *Greek* and *Latin*. Now it may be proved, that they either ſpake the *Britiſh* Tongue it ſelf, or that which differed a little from it in Dialect. *Pauſanias* tells us, that in their Language they called an *Horſe Marcha*, and the way of their ſerving in war each with his two ſervants, ſo that they made three Horſe, *Trimarchiſia*. Now the *Britains* at this day call three in the Maſculine gender *Tri*, in the Feminine *Tair*, and an Horſe they know by the Name of *March*; yet this agrees alſo with the *Teutonick*, wherein *Treo* or *Thre* is uſed in the ſame ſenſe, as alſo *Mare*, anciently to denote the whole Species of that Noble Animal. But afterward the ſame Authour affirms theſe *Galls*, in their Language, to have termed their Shields, *Tyran*, and a Target now with the *Welſh* is no other than *Tariam*. Farther *Athenæus* writes, that the Remainders of the *Galls* under Conduct of *Bathanatius*, ſeated themſelves upon the River *Iſter*, and afterwards divided themſelves into two Parts, whereof one named *Scordiſci* planted in *Hungary*, and the other ſeized by the Name of *Brenni* on part of the *Alpes* near the Mountain *Brennerus* in the Countrey of *Tirol*; and *Appian* calls all theſe by the Name of *Cymbri*. Now *Bathynad* in *Welſh* ſignifies a *Formed Judge*; for *Bath* is *Form*, and *Ynad* a *Judge* that obtains the ſecond place from the King himſelf, for *Brennus* being dead, this man they choſe for their Captain. Beſides, *Yſcar* in *Britiſh* is to *Separate*, and *Yſcaredic* is the ſame as *Separated*, whence that part of the *Galls* which ſeparated it ſelf, and departed from the reſt, was called *Yſcaredic*, and thence came the Name of *Scordiſci*. The other preſerved the Name of their former Leader *Brennus*. Now *Brynn* in *Britiſh* ſignifies an Hill or Mountain, whence he had probably his Name, and ſo had *Brennerus* the Mountain in the *Alpes*. It's reported that the *Gatheli* or *Iriſh*, when from *Cantabria* they wandred up and down the Seas to find them out new Habitations, called all *Britains* by the Name of *Brennach*, from that Famous Captain, and ſo ſtill by that very Name they call them. Yet can I not believe that *Brennus* was a *Britain*, though he and his followers be called *Cymbri*, and this word agrees with that very Name whereby the *Welſh* at this day call themſelves, as ſome learned men of that Nation would have it. But this ſtrengthens the opinion we have elſewhere delivered, that the old *Gallick* and *Britiſh* Languages differed not except in Dialect.

In ſeveral words it doth appear.

Lhuydus quo prius, fol. 45 & 46. *At vero in præf. ad Davieſii Gram. dicitur nonnullos exiſtimaſſe Britannos ſeſe Cymro & Cymry, h. e. Aborigenes indigitare ſolitos. Apud Panvinium.*

And in the beginnings of them.

52. We ſhall onely make two or three more Remarks upon this Language, and ſo diſmiſs it, as is agreeable to our general Deſign. One Letter it hath peculiar, which commonly they write with *LL* two of theſe, but the more learned *Lh*, or *L* with a point under it, which is better. The *Spaniards* indeed uſe a double *LL*, and the *Germans Lh*, as in the Names of *Lhodowick* and *Lhothair*, but neither of them hath the force of that whereof we write. Poſſibly the Inhabitants of *Mexico* have had it, the *Spaniards* expreſſing it by *ll*, but this is but a Conjecture, and uncertain; however this of the *Welſh* is pronounced with a ſharp kind of hiſſing, the Letter *L* being pronounced with a ſtrong aſpiration, the Tongue being with ſome violence thruſt upon the Teeth half ſhut, and the Lips remaining unmoved, a matter not to be learnt but by long practice. For *V* Conſonant they uſe *F*, as in the *Teutonick* Language they are uſed promiſcuouſly. Beſides the five Vowels which the *Latines* had, they have two others, therein imitating the *Greeks*; hereof one is written with a double *V* by the Vulgar, or with a ſingle prick underneath by the Learned, and hath a ſound not much different from the *Roman V*; or rather is pronounced in the ſame manner as the more ſimple ſort were wont to pronounce the Latine *O*. The laſt both of Vowels and Letter is *Y*, and hard to be pronounced. *Q*, *X*, and *Z*, are not neceſſary to write their words; and inſtead of *K*, they uſe *C*. They have many Diphthongs, in which, both the Vowels, or three together, as ſometimes it happeneth either retain their full ſound, or at leaſt ſome part of it.

53. As to the peculiar Idiome of the Tongue, this is very remarkable, that as the Greek and Latin have their Variations of Speech, and Caſes at the ends of their words; on the contrary, this of the *Britains* ſuffers this change of Letters at the beginning; whereby it hath happened that in the Names of Provinces,

Regions, and other things, very learned men have erred by reaſon of their ignorance in the Language. Every word whereof the firſt Radical Letter is, *P*, *T*, or *C*, hath three Variations in the Contexture of Speech, to avoid a diſagreeable ſound. As *P*, is turned into *B*, into *Ph*, and *Mh*; ſo *T*, into *D*, into *Th*, and *Nh*, and *C*, into *G*, *Ch* and *NGH*. For Example, with them *Pen* is an *Head*, *from the Head*, *O ben*, or, *his Head* (Maſculine) *Ben: With the Head*, *à phen*: or, *her Head*, *i phen: My Head*, *Fy mhen.* So that of this Word *Pen*, there are all theſe Variations, *ben*, *phen*, and *mhen.* So *Fire*, in *Britiſh*, *Tan*, begets, *from Fire*, *O dan: with Fire*, *a than: my Fire*, *Fy mhan.* And for *C*, *Cariad*, *Love*: *From Love*, makes *O gariad*, *with love*, *a chariad: my love Fy nghariad.* Farther, *B*, with *D*, and *G*, being Radicals, have their Variations alſo: as *Bara*, *Bread*; *from Bread*, *O fara*, (where *F* hath the force of *V* Conſonant) *my Bread*, *fy mara.* And as *B* is changed into *F* and *M*, ſo is *D*, into *D*, *DH*, and *N*, as *Duu* the *Name of Almighty God*, and pronounced as the *French* pronounce their *Dieu*, makes *from God*, *O Duu: my God*, *Fy nun.* But for *G*, in the firſt place it fails, and in the ſecond, is turned into *NG*: as *Gur* ſignifying *a Man*, makes *from a Man*, *O ur: my Man*, *Fyngur.* Beſides theſe, *L*, *M*, and *Ph*, ſuffer but one Mutation: as *Lyfur*, *a Book*, hath *from a Book*, *O lyfyr.* *Mon*, the *Iſland Mona*, or *Angleſey*, hath *from Mona*, *O Fon*: and *Rufayn*, *Rome*, makes *from Rome*, *O Rufayn.* The reſt either are never Radicals, as *D*, *F*, *Th*, *L*, *R*; or elſe are never changed, as *Ph*, *Ch*, *N* and *S*. Thus much may ſuffice to ſpeak of the genius of the Language, and thus much the rather to put ſome upon enquiry, whether any ſuch footſteps of Variation may be found of the ancient *Gallick*, which if it may, would abundantly confirm us in this belief, that they were the ſame. That this Language received ſome Impreſſion and Alteration from that of the *Romans*, we muſt not doubt, conſidering how many hundreds of years they lived in the Iſland, although not ſo much as thoſe of ſuch Countries as were neareſt unto *Italy*. This is clearly to be perceived ſtill in ſeveral words, as *Cariad*, *Duu*, *Gur* or *Ur*, and *Lyfur*, lately mentioned, *Tair Tri*, that word whereby they expreſs the *Eaſt* and many others. And that as it received ſome Impreſſion from the Latin, ſo likewiſe did the Latin from it, and a barbarous Latin was here of both made in *Britain*, as the Modern *French* or *Gallick* Baſtard Latin in the Countrey of *Gall*, and the *Spaniſh* and *Italian* in the other Countries. But the diſtance of the *Romans* from the Iſland, and conſequently the weakneſs of Commerce, were cauſes that it could not be ſo conſiderable, (as neither the Impreſſion made upon the *Britiſh*) and their departure ſo clearly out of the Iſland, procured the extinguiſhment thereof.

Davieſius in Gram. Cambric. ait Britannos habere novem literas mutabiles quas umbratiles vocant, quia ut umbræ cedant & mutentur: Omnes iſtæ literæ in principio Dictionis atque aliis etiam in locis ob mollitiem variantur.

Ex Ludd fit Lund.

Aix eſt loci terminatio ut Prydain Brydain, Rhufain Mechain Cedewain Lundain.

54. Thus in our Comment upon the Text of *Gildas*, have we ſeen the *Britains* baniſhed to the Mountains, and a little conſidered their condition there. We muſt remember he writes how ſome committed themſelves to the mercy of the Sea, and ſought for ſhelter and habitation beyond that Element. It's the general Opinion that they ſeated themſelves in *Armorica* in *Gall*. That that Countrey was ſeized by *Britains*, a Colony as it were of the Inhabitants of this Iſland, both the Name of *Britain the Leſs*, and the Language of that People ſufficiently demonſtrate (for that this *Britain* was denominated from that, is an idle Dream and deſerves not confuting) but at what time, and upon what occaſion, it's not ſo eaſie to determine. The firſt mention we find of the *Britains* in *Armorica*, is about the year CCCCLXI, about thirty years after that the *Anglo-Saxons* were called out of *Germany* into *Britain*; for at that time *Manſuetus*, a Biſhop of the *Britains*, ſubſcribed to the firſt Council of *Tours* amongſt other Prelates of *France* and *Armorica*. In the ninth year after this, theſe new Inhabitants of *Gall* perceiving the drift of the Weſtern *Goths* to ſeize the moſt fertile Provinces of *Anjou* and *Poictou*, were ſo reſolute as to make head againſt them, and to them the *Franks* were much beholden, for they chiefly hindred the *Goths* from poſſeſſing themſelves of the whole Countrey. For againſt them they ſided with *Anthemius* the Emperour, and *Arnandus* was condemned of Treaſon for giving Council by Letter to the King of the *Goths*, to ſet upon the *Britains* dwelling upon the River *Loir*, and diſſwading to make Peace with the *Greek* Emperour, whereby they might divide *Gall* between the *Goths* and *Burgundians*. *Sidonius Apollinaris* to *Riothenius* his Friend (whom *Jornandes* nameth King of the *Britains*) complains that theſe *Britains* were a *kind of People witty and ſubtile*, *Warlike*, *Tumultuous*, *and in regard of their Valour*, *Number*, *and Intelligence with one another*, *ſtubborn.* *Riothenius* being afterward ſent for by *Anthemius*, went to him with a power of twelve thouſand Men, but before he could joyn with the Emperour's Forces, was defeated by the *Goths*, and fled to the *Burgundians*, at that time confederate with the *Romans*.

Another part of the *Britains* ſeated themſelves in *Armorica* in *Gall.*

Vide Cambdenum in Britannia de Britannis Armoricanis.

Sidonius Apollinar. in ep. ad Vincentium. Hæc ad Regem Gothorum charta videbatur emitti, pacem cum Græco Imp. diſſuadens, Britannos ſuper Ligerim ſitos impugnari oportere demonſtrans.

55. We find them therefore at this time in *Armorica*, but ſtill the Controverſie remains undecided, how firſt they came there. One who was born in that very Countrey, lived near to that very Age, and wrote the Life of St. *Wingalof* the Confeſſour, committed this alſo to writing, that *A Progeny of the* Britains *imbarked in Flotes, arrived in that Land on that ſide the* Britiſh *Sea, at ſuch time as the Barbarous Nation of the* Saxons *fierce in Arms, and uncivil in Manners, poſſeſſed their Native and Mother Soil.* *Then* (ſaith he) *this dear Off-ſpring ſeated themſelves cloſe within this Nooke and ſecret Corner. In which place, wearied with travail and toil, they ſate quiet for a while without any Wars.* But our *Engliſh* Writers report it as a truth, that long before this time our *Britains* ſeated themſelves in this Tract of *Gall*, and particularly at ſuch time as *Maximus* uſurped the *Roman* Empire. The Monk of *Malmsbury* relates, that *Conſtantinus Maximus* being ſaluted Emperour by the Army, carried away with him a great Power of *Britiſh* Souldiers, through whoſe Courage and Induſtry having attained the Empire, ſuch of them as were paſt Service, and had done bravely, he planted in a certain part of *Gall* Weſtward upon the very Shoar of the Ocean; where at this day, ſaith he, their Poſterity remaining, are wonderfully increaſed even to a mighty People, in Manners and Language ſomewhat degenerate from our *Britains*. True it is that *Conſtantine* concerning Military men made this * Edict, *Let the old Souldiers, according to our Precept, enter upon the Vacant Lands, and hold them for ever freely*; and poſſibly here theſe might be placed to help to reſtrain the then frequent Inrodes of the *Saxons*. Yet doth he alſo affirm a Colony of *Britains* to have been planted in *Armorica* by *Conſtantine* the Great; and another will have the ſame thing done by *Conſtantius Chlorus* his Father. Generally thoſe that write the *Britiſh* Hiſtory, are confident that *Maximus* there placed his *Britiſh* Souldiers; but others as earneſtly contend, that there was no Plantation there till after the coming of the *Saxons*.

Vita S. Wingualoei, M S. in Bibliotheca Cotton. apud Camdenum & Uſſerium in Primord. p. 421. Hic vetus ſcriptor Armoricanus; qui Tricanum conſobrinum Coronii Regis Britannici, cum filio ſuo Wingualoeo (Winwaloco & Galnutio aliis dicto) è majore Britannia in Armoricam tranſmigraſſe oſtendens, de tempore Britanniæ Coloniæ eo deductæ præmittit iſta.

* *Cod. Theod. l.7. tit.20.*

De Geſtis Reg. l. 1. c. 1.

Radulph Niger in Chronic.

56. This indeed makes ſomething againſt the other Opinion, that *Gildas* ſpeaking how *Maximus* drained the Iſland of its Men, mentions nothing of his planting them in *Armorica*. But neither doth he ſpeak of this Countrey when he tells us how the diſtreſſed *Britains* were driven beyond the Seas, though it was above forty years from the Victory at *Badon* Hill, to the time of his writing his Epiſtle, and conſequently the Colony, or Commonwealth of the *Armorican Britains*, muſt have been grown up to that eminency, as provokes him to make mention of them; if any thing could divert that angry and querulous Writer from his Theme. Some might be planted there by *Maximus*, as others think, and the Children of theſe old Souldiers might gladly receive theſe diſtreſſed *Britains* that fled out of their Countrey under Conduct of *Rional*; but the truth is, ſuch Authours as fix the time of the *Britains* ſetling there after the Invaſion of the *Saxons*, are rather of better credit and more conſiderable. Whenever they came thither they turned within a little time the edge of their Weapons moſt ingratefully upon thoſe their Friends that gave them harbour, as evidently appears from other Teſtimonies, and by theſe words of *Regalis* Biſhop of *Vennes*, *We living in Captivity under the* Britains, *are ſubject to a grievous and heavy Yoke.* The Native *Armoricans* being by little and little ſubdued, the Name of *Britains* grew ſo great where they were newly ſeated, that generally all the Inhabitants paſſed by degrees into their Name (as of other parts of *Gall* into that of the *Franks*) ſo that the whole Tract was called *Britannia Armorica*, and by the *French* Writers *Britannia Ciſmarina*. In the firſt times they courageouſly maintained themſelves under petty Kings, and afterward under Dukes and Counts againſt the *Franks*, as we have already ſhewed out of their Writers, particularly *Gregory* the Biſhop of *Tours*, in which Authour we meet with the *Britains* in *Gall*, but never before the time of *Childerick* the Firſt, who began his Reign much about the ſame time as did *Hengiſt* in *Kent*, over the *Saxons*. It ſeems their Quarter was not much better than what their Countreymen obtained, whom they left behind them in the Iſland. For their Wealth, as one writes, was onely Immunity from publick Taxes, and plenty of Milk. And if you will believe our Monk of *Malmsbury*. "A kind of People they were, needy and poor in their own Countrey (in his "time, and he lived ſome 550 years agoe) being hired by foreign Money, and purchaſing a laborious and painfull life. If they be well paid, they refuſe not ſo much as to ſerve in Civil War one againſt another, without all regard of Right or Kindred, but, according to the quantity of the Money, ready with their Service, for what part ſoever you would have them.

Hoc neque ſolus neque primus Johannes Leidenſis ſed & ante & poſt illum tradiderunt alii, vide Uſſerium quo ſuprá.

Rionalus vel ut apud Sidonium Apollinar. Riothumus, vel ut apud Jornandem Riothimus.

Who deſtroys moſt of the Natives.

Whence the Countrey is called after their Name.

Lib. 2. c. 18.

Their Character.

Gleter Rodolphus.

57. This Deſcription of them as to their Manners and Diſpoſition ſuits well enough with what *Gildas* and others write of their Countreymen. However ſo Induſtrious and Valiant they were, as to bring under all the Inhabitants of that Tract, and had they had as conſtant Supplies out of *Britain*, as the *Saxons* had out of *Germany*, might have done as much for the reſt of the People of *Gall*, and been before-hand with the *Franks*. In this they equalled them, that as they gave Name to the places they conquered, ſo did they. But herein they exceeded them, that whereas the Language of the *Franks* being *German*, was ſwallowed up, and devoured by that, then ſpoken by the Provincials, or by the Baſtard Latin, we now call improperly *French*. Theirs either quite conquered and overcame that of the *Armoricans*, or finding it much the ſame with it ſelf, as we ſaid the *Britiſh* and ancient *Gallick* were the ſame, preſerved it ſelf and it unmixt and uncorrupted. Our *Welch* men hence prove that the *Corniſh*, and the *Armorican Britains* were the ſame Nation, becauſe the Names of their Kings were alike to both, as *Conanus*, *Meriadoc*, (by which Name a part of *Denbighſhire* in *North-Wales*, is ſtill ſo called) *Howel*, *Alan*, *Theodore*, *Rywallon*, and the reſt; and almoſt all their words are the ſame, although they differ a little in Syntax of Speech, as often it happens in the ſame Countrey. The Countrey it ſelf is by our *Britains* called *Lhydaw*, which *Cambden* interprets, coaſting upon the Sea, and ſo ſignifying the ſame in *Britiſh*, as doth *Armorica*. But it ſeems it's no proper *Britiſh* word; for *Lhuid* thinks it came from the Latin word *Littus*, as being a Region of the *Gallican* Shoar. For as the Latin Writers in our words (ſaith he) turn *D* into *T*, ſo our Conntreymen in like manner change *T* into *D*, and *L* in the beginning of words they always write with an aſpiration. For Example, *Lhadron* with us ſignifies *Robbers*, the word being borrowed from the Latines.

They preſerve their Language unmixt and uncorrupted.

Lhuydas f. 9. 6.

58. But as ſome of our diſtreſſed *Britains* fled over Sea into *Armorica*, which they called *Little Britain*; ſo we are told that others of them went into *Holland*, where at the Mouth of the *Rhine*, as it falls into the Sea, near to *Catwyck*, they divided their Sails: and there they built a moſt ſtrong Caſtle, which they called *Britain*, and ſubdued unto themſelves the Neighbouring People. This Caſtle in the *Teutonick* Idiome, as we are told by the ſame Authour, is called *Die burch te Britten*, as if you ſhould ſay, *Britains Burge*, or, the Caſtle of the *Britains*; being in the ſame ſenſe at this day, by the Neighbouring *Hollanders* called *Het Huys te Britten*, or *The Houſe of* Britain. This Caſtle was placed in the *Batavian* Shoar, at the middle Mouth of the *Rhine*, and the Ruines thereof are to be ſeen at a very low Water. It was built four-ſquare, and took up the compaſs of two *Roman* Acres. And that it was indeed a *Roman* Fort, beſides other things, the ancient Coins, Stones and Bricks, which here were found with Inſcriptions, do demonſtrate; with the view which *Hadrianus Junius* in his *Batavia*, and *Petrus Scriverius* in his Tabulary of *Holland* Antiquities hath preſented us. As therefore it cannot be granted this Chronographer that the *Britains* built this Caſtle, (which might be called *Britten Huys*, becauſe it ſtood over againſt *Britain*) ſo might it, being now left deſolate by the *Romans*, be ſeized by the *Britains*, who might alſo, as he writes, ſubdue the Neighbouring People. That this may not be thought incredible, a place of *Procopius* is cited, who in the time of *Juſtinian* wrote, that *Brittia*, diſtinct from *Britain*, was inhabited by three moſt numerous Nations, the *Angles*, *Triſſons*, and the *Britains*, who had the ſame Name with the Iſland. And if what he ſaith be true, that it was placed in the Ocean juſt over againſt the Mouth of the *Rhine*, this could be no other than the Iſland of *Batavia*.

Another Company of the *Britains* plant themſelves in *Holland*.

Joan. Gerbrand Chron. Belg. lib. 1. c. 13.

Vide Cambd. in Brit. Uſſer. in Primord. p. 418.

59. Neither ought it to be wondered at that here the *Triſones* inhabited; foraſmuch as it's certain, that not onely in the time of *Pliny*, and *Tacitus*, the *Friſii* here had their Seats, but in later times part of *Friſia*, the Province of *Utretcht* was alſo accounted, and the Weſtern *Holland*, which ſtill retains the Name of *Weſt Freiſeland*, and in time paſt gave to the Earls of *Holland* the Title alſo of Lords of *Friſia* or *Freiſeland*. But whence the *Angli* or *Angili* ſhould thither come, is to be conſidered. * One Hiſtorian of that Countrey reports out of their Annals, as a certain truth, that a great Number of *Angli* came out of *Britain* into *Friſia* under Conduct of *Hengiſt*. † Another from the like Authority relates, that the City of *Leiden* was firſt founded on the Bank of the *Rhine* by *Hengiſt*, the Son of the King of *Friſia*, being beaten out of *Britain*, and having built a Caſtle upon the Eaſtern Bank of the ſaid River, made Governour thereof or *Borchgrave* one *Dibald*, to procure ſafe Paſſage to Travellers, with free Acceſs and Receſs to Merchants; whereupon the City in the Vulgar Tongue had the Name of *Leiden*. But *John Gerbrand*,

Uſſer. ibid. p. 419.

* *Suffridus Petrus de Orig. Friſiorum, l.* 2. c. 11.

† *Corn. Kempius Rer. Friſic. l.* 2. c. 1.

brand, who himſelf was born at *Leiden*, relates the Original thereof with more Circumſtances. Having ſaid, that *Hengiſt* gathered Military men together out of the Lower *Saxony* or *Friſia*, his own Countrey, and with the *Sclavenſes* or *Hollandenſes*, having paſſed into *Britain*, after this relates what was done by that part of the Army which returned home. The *Saxons Friſons* with the *Sclavenſes*, that is, the *Hollandenſes* being returned home, the reſt being diſmiſſed, when they had now no employment, neither knew what to doe, nor whither to turn themſelves; they went along to the *Feirce Wood* with a ſtrong hand, and there at the Courſe of the River *Rhine*, built a great Caſtle, which now is called *Leids*. In the ſame Caſtle of *Leide*, by conſent of the Elders, they ordained and appointed for the Cuſtody of the Foreſt, a certain *Burchgrave* or *Caſtellane*, a Valiant man, with many others like himſelf, to defend and ſecure the Merchants going and coming from the ſaid Caſtle to that of *Wiltenborch* and *Slavenborch*: And therefore that Caſtle was called *Leyden*, that is, *Ductio* or *Leading*. The common Chronicles of *Holland* relate the ſame alſo concerning the *Burg De Burch*, built by *Hengiſt*. For we muſt not be ſo injurious to that Noble City, as to conceal that *Lugdunum Batavorum* was much ancienter both from *Ptolemy*, and the Itinerary Table.

In Chronic. Belgic. l. 1. Cc. 9. 10.

60. That a conſiderable part of *Hengiſt's* Army, after the defeating and diſperſing of the Inhabitants, returned out of *Britain*, we have already ſhewn from more ancient Authours, as *Gildas* and *Beda*. But whereas ſome will have *Hengiſt*, a *Dane* by Original, (which we ſhall hereafter diſcuſs) it would if it could be known whether he being beaten out of *Britain* with his *Angli* (as the *Britiſh* Hiſtories affirm) or being Victour, and purſuing the flying *Britains*, planted here a new Colony, and built a new Caſtle to keep in awe and bridle that which they had formerly ſeized. For *Procopius* doth not ſay that theſe three ſorts of People, *viz.* The *Friſians* being *Indiginæ*, and the *Angli* and *Britains* being new Comers made up one People, but ſignifies that each of them was ſubject to their own Kings: and indeed from *Brittenburg* or *Huys te Britten*, that *Burgh* is diſtant but about two hours Sail, (ſo they of theſe Countries reckon, and not as we, by Miles) from which the *Bargraves* of *Leiden* of old had their Title. Yet another * Authour will have it not built by *Hengiſt*, but by one *Mandeth* the Son of *Lemaun*, the firſt of that Name King of the *Batavi*. *Philip* † *Cluverius* alſo thinks it was built by the *Romans*, the Stones of it ſeeming as ancient as thoſe of *Brittenburgh*. And || others think it to have been the work of the *Normans*. But theſe ſeem more ſingular in their Opinions. However, finding that our diſtreſſed *Britains* were, by Authours of this Countrey, ſaid hither to have fled for Refuge, and ſetled themſelves; we thought our ſelves to let the Reader know ſo much, whom we leave Judge of what on all ſides hath been ſaid.

* *Corn. Haemrodius in Batavia.*

† *Antiquit. German. l.* 2. *c.* 36.

|| *Johan. Latius in Deſcript. Holland. c.* 5.

61. We thought we had now done our part as to the Text of *Gildas*, (the beſt courſe we could take to write the Hiſtory of theſe obſcure Times, ſmall credit being to be afforded to other *Britiſh* Writers) but due favour and reſpect both to the dead and the living violently calls upon us to take ſome conſideration of that part alſo of his Epiſtle which ſo vehemently inveighs againſt the Manners and Diſpoſitions of the ancient *Britains*. What he ſays of the Layety we have already ſeen of late, and how he paints out the Manners and Behaviour of thoſe of his own Rank, the Reader may ſee in the Account we give of Eccleſiaſtical Matters. Moſt profligate he makes both ſorts, as well the one as the other, and as to thoſe we have at preſent to deal with, he charges upon them breach of truſt and perfidiouſneſs, perpetual Emulations, Factions, and Tyranny over one another, makes them to be of a ſleepy Nature, as eaſie to be beaten as ready to rebell, given up to all manner of Riot and Debauchery, and what he ſays ſeems not to be meant onely of that time when he wrote, but of their general temper and demeanour in all precedent Ages, whereof he pretends to have the knowledge, *viz.* as far as, the Invaſion of *Julius Cæſar*. Hereupon ſeveral modern Authours have been emboldned to vilifie the *Britiſh* Nation, *Polydore Virgil* in particular, who taxeth it as mean and cowardly in the general courſe of its Actions and Concernments: And ſome learned Men of that Original are very much concerned to wipe off that dirt he throws upon it. In this endeavour they urge that *Cæſar* found them at his landing ſo courageous and Martial, that they put him ſore to it, forced him to contain himſelf in his place, and indeed put him to flight, which he in his own behalf cunningly expreſſeth, by drawing back the Legions to their Camp; for that a flight it was, they thence prove, that a little after Midnight being paſt, he ſtole to his Ships and ſo departed. But here was not the ſtrength nor

An Aſperſion upon the *Britains.*

Which is largely confuted from the beſt of Authours.

Cæſar ad laceſſendum hoſtem & Committendum prælium alienum eſſe tempus arbitratus, ſuo ſe loco continuit, & brevi tempore intermiſſo legiones in Caſtra reduxit.

As to their Courage.

nor courage of all *Britain* employed, onely a ſmall Company of thoſe of *Kent* haſtily gathered together. From *Cæſar* himſelf it's evident, that they fought with great earneſtneſs from their Chariots, fell with violence upon his Camp, and ſo diſcouraged the *Roman* Cohorts, that having loſt *Labienus* the Tribune, it's ſaid, they made a ſafe Retreat. Now what doth this Retreat ſignifie, but that they eſcaped away by flight? He confeſſes that *Caſſivelaun* when he ſent Ambaſſadours to him about Peace, was thereto moved by the Revolt of *Mandubratius* and others his Countreymen.

As to their Manners.

A Compariſon betwixt the *Galls* and *Britains.*

Βουνδουίκα *apud Xiphil.*

62. They farther uſe the Teſtimony of *Diodorus Siculus*, who writes, that the *Britains* being *Aborigenes*, and living after the manner of the Ancients, uſed Chariots in Fights, as the ancient Greek Heroes are reported to have done in the Siege of *Troy*. That as to Manners they were ſimple and upright, being far remote from the craft and cunning of thoſe to whom he was related. That they contented themſelves with ſimple and mean food, being abſolute Strangers to the delitious living of Rich men. *Tacitus*, they plead, doth wonderfully extoll the Acts of *Caratacus*, and confeſſes, that after his Captivity the *Romans* were often beaten by onely one Nation of the *Silures*. He writes that *Venuſius* (whom he calls fierce, and an utter Enemy of the *Romans*) beat not onely the *Romans*, but the *Britiſh* Auxiliaries alſo. He denies not that the Queen *Boadicia* (by *Dion Caſſius* called *Bunduica*) being exaſperated, put to the Sword ſeventy thouſand of the *Romans*: And both he and *Dion* with long and evident Speeches celebrate and extoll the more than Manly courage of this Woman and her Facts, which may be compared with thoſe of the moſt famous Emperours. In the Life of *Agricola*, his Father-in-Law, having told us, that the *Galls* and the *Britains* were very like in their Ceremonies and Superſtitious Perſwaſions; and that their Language differed not much; he adds, that betwixt them there was the like boldneſs in courting and ſetting upon dangerous Enterprizes; when Dangers were come, like fear in refuſing: But that the *Britains* made ſhew of more Courage, as being not then mollified by long Peace; for the *Galls* (ſaith he) were once alſo as we reade, famous in War, till ſuch time as giving themſelves over to Idleneſs, Sloth crept in, Shipwrack was made both of Valour and Liberty together, which alſo befell to thoſe of the *Britains* that were ſubdued of old, the reſt remain ſuch as the *Galls* were before. Their Military ſtrength conſiſteth in their Foot, ſome Countries fight in Waggons alſo; the more conſiderable Perſon guideth the Carriage, and his Dependents fight. In former times they were governed by Kings; now by their great men they are drawn to Factions and Parties: Neither is there any thing that more benefits us when we have to doe with the moſt powerfull Countries, but that they do not unite and conſult together. Seldom it hapneth that two or three States agree together to propulſe the common danger; ſo whilſt each fight for themſelves apart, all are overcome. A little after he adds: That *Britains* indure Levies of Men and Money, and all other Burthens impoſed by the Empire, patiently and willingly, if Injuries be forborn; theſe they cannot endure, being ſubdued to remain as Subjects, not as Slaves. Again; The Noble Mens Sons, he (meaning *Agricola*) took and inſtructed in the Liberal Sciences, preferring the Wits of the *Britains* before the Students of the *Galls*, as being now deſirous to attain to the *Roman* Eloquence, whereas they had lately rejected the Language. After that our Habits began to grow into Eſteem, and the Gown was much uſed among them; and by little and little they proceeded to the Provocations of Vices, to Galleries, Baths, and exquiſite Banquettings; which things the Ignorant counted Civility, being in reality a part of Bondage.

An account of their Valour.

63. They urge farther, that *Dion Caſſius* in the Account he gives of *Cæſar's* Expedition into the Iſland, delivers ſuch things as make for the honour of the Inhabitants; and namely this, That they did not accept of Peace before they had oftentimes experienced adverſe Fortune; that he ſo ſet forth his Actions at his return to *Rome*, with Gloſſes and Flouriſhes, that a Supplication was decreed upon this account, for twenty days together; elſewhere this ſame Authour reports Paſſages tending to the repute of the Nation. So doth *Herodian*, giving this Character of it, that it was moſt Warlike and greedy of Slaughter, contenting it ſelf as to Arms with a narrow Target and a Lance. *Eutropius* in like manner ſpeaking of *Cæſar's* Adventure, ſaith he was tired out with bitter fighting, and being ſeized by a Tempeſt, returned into *Gall*, whence returning again into the Iſland, at the beginning of the Spring following, his Horſe at the firſt Incounter was routed by the *Britains*, and there *Labienus* the Tribune was ſlain; and in a proſperous Fight at length, but with great loſs of his own men, he beat and put

them to flight. *Suetonius* farther tells how *Veſpaſian* conquered two moſt powerfull Nations in point of War, and fought no fewer than thirty times with the Enemy; ſigns not of cowardly and effeminate, but of a moſt valiant People. And *Eutropius* writes, that *Carauſius* the *Britain* having been in vain attempted by Arms, at laſt, as the greateſt defence againſt a man moſt skilfull in War, a Peace was made. *Sextus Rufus* reckoning up the Legions of the *Roman* Empire mentions the *Britanniciani* and *Brittannici*; the ſecond the *Britiſh* Legion, and amongſt the Legions of the *Magiſter Equitum* of *Gall*: the *Britones* twice; with the *Comes Hiſpaniarum Invictos juniores Britones*, and with the *Comes Britanniarum Vectores juniores Britannicos*. But what need is there, ſay they, to turn over the Writings of ſo many learned Men to diſcover the glory of *Britain*? When ſo many moſt valiant Kings, ſo many Invincible Captains, ſo many famous *Roman* Emperours iſſued from the *Britiſh* bloud, have abundantly evinced what kind of men this Iſland brings forth. To what purpoſe ſhould I, ſaith *Lhuid*, make mention of *Brennus* that Conquerour of *Romans*, *Greeks*, and of almoſt all the ſtouteſt Nations of the whole World? Why *Caſſivelaun*, to whom, as *Lucan* expreſſeth it, *Cæſar* ſhewed his affrighted Back? Why, *Caratacus* that diſtreſſed the *Romans* by a War of nine years continuance? Or *Bunducia* that moſt valiant *Virago*, who procured the deſtruction of 70000 *Romans*, with the terrour of which Woman *Rome* and *Italy* were ſo mightily ſtruck, that as one writes, they were not ſo much concerned for the coming of *Brennus* or *Hannibal*? Or *Arviragus*, that unconquered King of *Britain*, preſerving his Liberty in deſpight of the *Romans*, the Lords of the World? Or thoſe moſt courageous Captains who thirty times ingaged in Battel with *Veſpaſian*, and broke the heart of that valiant Emperour *Severus*, becauſe he could not bring them under? Why (ſaith he) ſhould I make mention of theſe, when *Britain* beſtowed upon the World *Conſtantine* the Great, not onely a moſt valiant and moſt happy Captain, but what is more, the beſt Man and the firſt Emperour of the Chriſtian Religion, in which he was inſtructed by his Mother *Helena* a *Britiſh* Woman?

Territaquæſitis oſtendit terga Britannis.

Strabo Geogr. l. 4. & Euſtathius ad Dionyſium.

Δὶς δὲ φασὶ διαβὰς ἐκεῖ ἐπανῆλθε διὰ ταχέων οὐδὲν μέγα διαπραξάμενος οὐδὲ προελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τῆς νήσου.

64. How much do *Gall* and *Italy* owe to *Britain* for this man born in this Iſland, being freed from the rage of cruel Tyrants by his means? And much Chriſtian Religion, thus he proceeds, all do well know, except one *Polydore* and his Maſter *Gulielmus Parvus*, lately publiſhed by ſome ill willers of *Britain*, although unworthy to ſee the light. And becauſe a late Frenchman, and an ancient Greek Authour, of a greater Name, affirm *Conſtantine* born at *Dyrrachium*, I will produce the words of a moſt ancient Panegyriſt, ſpoken in the preſence of *Conſtantine* himſelf: "O fortunate *Britain*, and now " more happy than other Countries, who firſt ſaweſt *Conſtantine Cæſar*. De" ſervedly hath Nature endowed thee with all good things belonging both " to Air and Soil, in which is neither too great cold in Winter, nor heat in " Summer; wherein is ſuch abundance of Corn, that it hath ſufficient of the " Gifts, both of *Ceres* and *Bacchus*; in which are Woods without Savage " Beaſts, Land without noxious Serpents: On the other ſide an Innumerable " Multitude of gentle Cattle diſtended with Milk, and loaded with Fleeces, " with other things deſireable for Life; very long Days and no Nights with" out ſome light. For that extreme Level of the Shores doth not raiſe Sha" dows, and the view of Heaven and the Stars tranſcends the limits of " Night, ſo that the Sun, which with us ſeems to ſet there, appears onely " to paſs by. Good God what means this, that always from ſome laſt end " of the World, new Divinities of the Gods deſcend to be worſhipped by the " whole World! Why ſhould I mention (now *Lhuid* proceeds) *Bonoſus*, who from a Duke of the limits of *Rhætia*, became a moſt valiant and fortunate Emperour? why *Carauſius Auguſtus*, who ſeven years together, though ſore againſt the wills of *Jovius* and *Herculius*, wore the Purple? And why *Allectus Cæſar*, for the Conqueſt of whom *Mamertinus* ſeems to prefer *Maximian* before *Julius Cæſar*. After him, was Emperour *Maximus* a *Britain*, the Kinſman of *Helena*, a valiant and honeſt man, and worthy of the Title, had he not ſpoiled *Britain* of its Youth, by which he overthrew *Gratian*.

The ſeveral Emperours of the *Britiſh* Nation.

65. He by his Wife *Helena*, Daughter of *Euda*, left a Son *Victor Auguſtus*. *Britain* alſo, as writes *Paulus Diaconus*, owned *Marcus* and *Gratian* for Emperours. *Conſtantine* alſo with *Conſtans* his Son, were made Emperours in *Britain*, (*Gratian* their Countreyman being kill'd) againſt whom their Captain *Gerontius* (concerning whoſe death moſt ancient *Britiſh* Rithms are extant) ſet up another *Maximus* for a Rival. After theſe the laſt Emperour of the *Britiſh* bloud

And other famous Men.

Ambroſius Aurelius is reckoned by *Panvinius*. Beſides theſe twelve Emperours, *Britain* produced to the World *Arthur* that moſt invincible King, whoſe unmatchable glory and moſt illuſtrious Acts, our *Leland* by infinite Teſtimonies, and moſt invincible Arguments, hath made more eminent againſt the ſnarling and Vatinian hatred of doting *Polydore*, and the great gutted Monk of *Rhicvall*, more converſant in the Kitchin than in the Hiſtories of the Ancients. Neither do our Countreymen alone, but the *Spaniards*, *Italians*, *French* and *Swedes*, (as one relates out of their Hiſtories) ſound forth his Acts in their Books. *Cadvaun* alſo made from a Prince of *Guynedhia* King of the *Britains*, and his Son *Cadwalla* (whom *Beda* ſtyles a Tyrant) becauſe he purſued the *Saxons* with cruel Wars in the declination of the *Britiſh* Government, moſt valiantly reigned. And after the deſtruction of *Britain* it ſelf in *Cambria* or *Wales* there were men not to be defrauded of due praiſe; as *Roderick* the Great and his Nephew by his Son *Howel*, ſirnamed the *Good*, both of them famous for matters relating to War and Peace. *Graffith* alſo the Son of *Lewelin*, the Son of *Geſyl*, moſt valiantly defended their *Wales*. And after him *Owen* Prince of *Guynedhia*, reſiſted *Henry* the Second, the moſt potent King of the *Engliſh*, who had thrice invaded *Wales*, and his Son being ſlain in *Angleſey*, a great part of his Army he deſtroyed. *Lewelin* the Great, was his Nephew by his Son, whoſe innumerable Triumphs as writes *Mathew Paris* an *Engliſh* man, require particular Treatiſes to ſet them forth according to the exigency of their worth.

66. Neither onely theſe but the Remainders of the *Britains* in *Cornwall*, as they are the moſt robuſt of all the *Britiſh* People, ſo are they to this day famous for Military Exploits. Neither have the *Britains* in *Gall* the Off-ſpring of the ſame Nation degenerated from their Anceſtours, having not onely defended their Poſſeſſions obtained amidſt valiant People for many Ages, but overthrown the *Goths* and *Franks* in moſt bloudy Battels. They valiantly reſiſted *Charles* the Great, that moſt potent Prince. The Army of his Son *Lhodowick*, the Emperour ſent againſt them under Conduct of *Murman*, they put to flight; *Charles* the *Bald* in like manner, Emperour and King of *France*, in open Battel they defeated twice, and cauſed to run away, leaving his Pavilion and all his Royal Furniture behind him, when *Numenius* was their King. *Heriſpons* the Son of *Numenius* compelled the ſaid *Charles* to make an ignominious Peace with him, whom *Salomon* the Son of *Heriſpons*, a Courageous and skilfull Warriour, compelled to retreat as he marched againſt him. This *Salomon* being dead, the *Britains* (as writes *Sigebert*) out of deſire of reigning, waſte themſelves with Inteſtine War, and ſo unwillingly they ceaſe to doe miſchief to *Gall*. Wherefore ſhould I make mention (ſaith *Humphrey Lhuid*) again of *Vrſand* that moſt invincible and moſt ſtrenuous Captain, his Acts againſt *Haſting* the *Norman*, and *Paſtquitan* the *Britain*? Wherefore *Judicael* and *Alan*, who repelled the *Normans* from their Borders, as they miſerably waſted all *France*? Wherefore ſhould I inſiſt upon the Wars which long after being aſſiſted by the Aids and Supplies of the *Engliſh*, they waged againſt the *French* Kings, when as to all men it is evident that this was ever a moſt valiant Nation? Thus much *Lhuyd* by way of Teſtimony out of his great, and to be commended, Zeal for the Reputation of his Countrey. He cloſes all with a direct anſwer in reference to the Perſon of that Authour, whence ſo much matter and evidence for the Accuſation of his Countreymen is uſually fetch'd.

67. That at laſt (ſaith he) I may ſtop the Mouth of *Polydore* with his *Gildas*, this I ſay, that this man, if indeed the Work be his, was not an Hiſtoriographer, but a Prieſt and a Preacher, who are ever wont too ſharply to inveigh againſt the Vices of their People. If therefore with *Polydore* we fetch Authorities from Sermons, what Pariſh, what City, what Nation, what Kingdom ſhall eſcape Infamy? What hath *Bernard* written of the *Romans*? He calls them Impious, Infidels, Seditious, Immodeſt, Traytors, Braggers of much, but ſmall Doers. Theſe things ſay Divines, that theſe Vices might be ſhunned, and life be reformed, not that indeed the *Romans* or *Britains* were the ſame, although according to the Cuſtome, ſuch they be called out of the Pulpit: Neither doth any man, except he be an impudent Sycophant, make infamous any Society, City, or People, by reaſon of the Speeches of Prieſts, their words being wreſted to the worſt. Avant therefore all curſed Detractours, and let the true glory of *Britain* appear to the World: Neither (Good Reader) account my Tongue too ſharp. For (ſo let God love me) neither Envy to another Man's Name, neither the deſire of a little pittance of glory, neither

hatred to any Nation, but the love of my Countrey, which undeſervedly is ill ſpoken of, and the deſire of illuſtrating the truth, have cauſed me to write what I have written. In ſuch like words, and very modeſt, doth *Humphry Lhuid* of *Denbigh* end his Epiſtle to *Ortelius*, or his Fragment of the Deſcription, a Piece the Authour of which deſerveth what the Publiſher hath put into the Title Page, that *The Reader will admire his Diligence and Judgment*, and pity it is that with it he ended his Life, and had no longer time to ſtudy and publiſh more, which he ſeems to promiſe. His Zeal is to be commended, and if it cauſed him to believe ſuch Stories, as perhaps upon another Subject he never would (for he uſeth the ſilence of *Roman* Writers to confute the Fables which *Beothius* uttereth, and never conſiders this in his own *Arthur*, and other Paſſages of his *Britiſh* Hiſtory) his love to his Countrey, and his Virtues lately mentioned, may eaſily procure his Pardon.

68. As to that work of *Gildas*, and this Perſon's indeavours to beget a contrary Opinion of his Nation; Prudent and Moderate Perſons, as in all ſuch Caſes, will ſcarcely chuſe either of the Extremes but the middle way. That Age whereof *Gildas* wrote, was undoubtedly very corrupt, effeminate, and debauch'd, and made way for the Ruine, which is ever uſhered in by ſuch Practices. But that *Gildas* was a Prieſt and a Preacher, and uſed ſuch a Pious Art as others of his Profeſſion for the amendment of their lives, to whom he wrote, we can eaſily yield and add, not of what another Countreyman of *Lhuid* hath written, though not of the general deſign of his Book. He (*viz. Gildas*) ſeems to have propoſed this onely thing to himſelf in this little Book, that he thought at leaſt his *Britains* would bluſh and repent, if he rather collected all that was blame-worthy in them, and ſet it before their eyes, than if he ſhould mind ſomething worthy of Commendation, which either they themſelves or their Anceſtours had performed. Therefore he partly overwhelms them with all ſorts of Accuſations, partly ſmites them with the Divine Oracles, that none might ſuſpect he did it out of hatred to them. And if the Ghoſt of *Lhuyd* will permit the Name and Teſtimony of *Polydore Virgil* here to be uſed we ſhall add what he himſelf ſaith in this Caſe as to the decay of Religion amongſt the *Britains*: That a few retained the true ſenſe of Chriſtian Religion, whom *Gildas* calleth Good Men, the reſt of them, and eſpecially the Prieſts erring ſo through the iniquity of the Times, he chaſtiſeth and labours to reduce into the way. This was to be ſaid in this place, that every one might know that *Britain* did not beget evil Prieſts, but that the Cruelty and Impiety of men was the cauſe; foraſmuch as this firſt of all Provinces received the Chriſtian Religion, and at all times (ſaith he) and even at this time, hath had and hath a moſt Religious People. Thus far *Polydore* aſcribing this decay of Religion amongſt the *Britains*, to the ancient Perſecutions of the *Romans*. Here now we muſt leave our poor *Britains* in the Mountainous places of *Wales* and *Cornwales*, or elſe ſhifting for themſelves in ſtrange Countries, and now come to thoſe Intruders who poſſeſſed themſelves of their Countrey, and drove them out, whom retaining the old word they ſtill call *Saiſſon*, and their Language *Saiſſonaeg*, not knowing what *Engliſhman* or *England* means. Firſt therefore let us ſee what theſe *Saxons* and others that invaded *Britain* in Conjunction with them, were. Then let us come to a view of the ſeveral Kingdoms they erected in the Iſland. And of theſe in their places.

Priſæus Hiſtor. Britannic Defenſ. C. ult.

Unde venit quod Noſtrates primum retinentes nomen, Anglos omnes Saiſſon & linguam eorum Saiſſonaeg appellant, nec quid ſit Anglus aut Anglia nôrunt. Lhuyd ubi ſupra. fol. 11. b.

The Countrey called *Saiſſon*, and that Language *Saiſſonaeg*.

SECT. II.

SECT. II.

The Original of the Saxons, Angles *and* Jutes, *which planted themſelves in* Britain.

Sect. 2.

Their firſt Seats.

1. THE *Getes* or *Goths*, as we have formerly ſhewed out of *Scandia*, in moſt ancient times, not onely made Inrodes into the *Cherſoneſus*, and the Iſlands of the Baltick Sea, and the more Northern Parts of *Germany*, but into ſeveral Parts both of the *Aſian* and *European Sarmatia*, and *Scythia*, whence driving out the Inhabitants, they there ſeated themſelves, as well as in *Thrace* and ſeveral other Provinces. In the *Aſiatick Scythia* or *Sarmatia*, was there a City called *Aſgard*, as the Northern Writers tell us, the Inhabitants whereof *Agardiani* are by ſome thought the ſame with thoſe whom the *Greeks* knew by the Name of *Aſpurgiani*, both ſorts of Authours placing them near to the Lake *Mæotis*, where the River *Tanais*, with great fury empties it ſelf into it, and if ſome have not wrongly apprehended him, *Ptolemy* the Geographer himſelf, called the City by the very Name of *Aſcard* or *Aſgard*. The Countrey in which this City ſtood was in a peculiar way called *Aſia* by *Strabo*, and the People thereof *Aſæi*, and *Aſiota* by the other Writers. As for the Names of *Asgard* and *Aſpurg* they denote but the very ſame thing, *Gard* to the *Goths* ſignifies the ſame which *Purgos* did to the *Greeks*, *viz.* a Tower or Caſtle. Such of the *Goths*, as inhabited this Countrey were alſo called *Turcæ* or *Turks*, as *Mela* witneſſeth, who makes them the ſame with the *Tyrſagetæ*, thoſe that at this preſent bear that Name having long time after entred into theſe Quarters deſerted by the *Goths*, after they returned back into *Europe*. Theſe *Aſpurgiani* had their Kings, the Dominions of whom extended to the farther Mountains of *Scythia*, within *Imaus*, where the *Saſones*, *Syebi* and *Iotæ* inhabited, whom *Strabo* comprehends under the very Name of *Aſpurgiani*.

Lib. 2.

Turcas quaſi Tauricas à monte Tauro; ad cujus Radices habitabant, eos dictos putat non nemo.

Apud Stephanium.

Woden their King.

2. Of this *Aſpurgia* or *Aſgardia* was King, amongſt the reſt, one *Othin*, as an ancient Chronicle of *Norwey* calls him, though he has many other Names different in ſound yet eaſily to be apprehended of the ſame Original, for *Gothick* they all are though variouſly written, and pronounced according to the ſeveral *Gothick* Dialects. The Reader will find him called *Othin*, and *Othen*, *Oden* and *Voden*; *Godan* and *Guodan*, *Eowthen* and *Euoden*; ſometimes conciſely written *Wode*, *Ode* and *Othe*, *Gode* and *Guode*, *Woen* and *Goen*, but moſt commonly we find him *Woden*, and from him is the third day of the week named *Wodenſdach*, (our Wedneſday) as alſo *Woenſdach* and *Gorenſdach*, neither are there wanting other Names and Epithetes, whereby he is known. He is reported to have been a ſtout and expert Captain, aſwell wiſe and cautious, as hardy and daring, and famous for the Art or Faculty of foretelling. Some will tell you, that he was expert in the Art Magick to ſuch perfection, that he would change his ſhape into that of a four footed Beaſt, Bird or Fiſh as often as he liſted; in the twinkling of an Eye could remove himſelf into what place he pleaſed, with his word alone could reſtrain the heat of Fire, the fury of the Sea, and doe many other things which far exceed the Power and Capacity of Man, whereby he procured to himſelf no ſmall Eſteem, and Reverence; even aſmuch as was attributed to the higheſt Deity. This well fitted him for the place of Chief Prieſt, which he bore in his Countrey, where very frequent Sacrifices were offered to Idols. Twelve of the chiefeſt Senatours he choſe from amongſt the reſt which excelled in Goodneſs and Wiſedom, and made them Overſeers not onely over Religious matters, but Miniſters of Juſtice to the People. They were called *Diar*, that is Gods or Divine, and *Drotuar* or Lords, and the People by turns were bound to aſſiſt and ſerve them in their Miniſtration. While they governed the People at home, he conquered many Kingdoms and Countries abroad; being ſo proſperous in all his Enterprizes, that in none he failed. When to his Captains he committed any Expedition or other ſort of Service, he laid his hands on them, and as it were conſecrated them to that Affair, who thereby concluded, that as by a certain Spell they were rendred uncapable of any

Who chuſes 12 Senatours to be Overſeers in ſacred and civil Affairs.

any Miſfortune, eſpecially if at time of danger they made but mention of his Name.

He makes war upon the *Scythians.*

Who after ſeveral Battels deliver Hoſtages on both ſides.

3. He had two Brothers, the one called *Ve*, and the other *Velir* or *Vuli.* He being abroad and buſied in his Wars, they preſided over the Kingdom of *Aſgardia*, and took care of all publick buſineſs, as of his Wiſe *Frigga.* He returning, they reſtored to him his Wife and Government, which he preſently again leaving in the ſame hands, undertook an Expedition againſt the *Scythians* of *Tanais*, called *Vaner*, who made Valiant Reſiſtence, notably defended their Countrey, and making his Victory often very ambiguous, retreated ſtill with ſafety to their places of Succour, and conſtrained him not ſeldom to procure ſafety by a ſeaſonable return. Many damages did they receive on both ſides, whereof at laſt being weary, they gave Hoſtages mutually, and came to an agreement, which ended in a firm and laſting Peace. The *Scythians* gave up to *Woden* two notable men, *Niord*, Sirnamed the *Rich*, and his Son *Troi*: And the *Aſiani* were not below them in their choice, delivering to them in exchange one *Heiner*, a Perſon fit for the management of all matters relating both to Peace and War, and *Mimer* the moſt wiſe of all Mortals, whereat the *Scythians* were ſo touched, that out of a ſenſe that they were overcome in this particular, they delivered up to balance him another Heroe called *Quaſir*, who to them ſeemed the wiſeſt of all living Men. *Heiner* preſently obtained the Sovereignty over the *Scythians*, and having at his Elbow ſo able and faithfull a Counſellour as *Mimer*, did nothing without his advice, who taught him Rules and Methods which he ſhould uſe in all publick buſineſs; but afterwards wanting him when Cauſes were brought before him, which he was not able to decide, he would often ſay, *do you agree amongſt your ſelves, and adviſe together ſuch of you as are ſkilfull, for from me you can have no aſſiſtence.* The *Scythians* now perceiving themſelves deceived by the *Aſiani*, in an unequal exchange of Hoſtages, cut off the Head of *Mimer* and ſent it to them, which *Woden* receiving, cauſed it to be preſerved with Balſam, with Magick Rhimes made it Vocal, ſo that it would reveal to him any ſacred or concealed thing. *Niord* and *Troi* he reckoned amongſt the *Aſiatick* Deities, together with *Treia* the Daughter of *Troia*, who having learnt Magick and Inchantments of the *Aſiaticks*, therewith wonderfully pleaſed the *Scythians* her Countreymen. As for *Niord*, he returning home, married his own Siſter, which their Laws allowed, where amongſt the *Aſiaticks* it was eſteemed the greateſt wickedneſs for any to joyn in Wedlock, which were ſo near in bloud.

He goes into *Saxony,* and ſubdues it and *Denmark.*

He makes a League with *Gyluo* Governour of *Swethland.*

4. But, very high and craggy Mountains, running in length from North to South, ſeparate the greater *Scythia*, as it were by a natural Fence and Limit, from the adjoyning Countries, whereof ſuch as lay toward the South were all ſubject to the command of *Othin.* At this time the *Romans* being Maſters of all, had ſubdued Innumerable Nations, far and wide, with their Victorious Arms having reduced under the Yoke of their Empire, moſt vaſt Kingdoms, moſt Valiant People, moſt flouriſhing Cities, and famous Commonwealths; whereupon many Princes and Governours, forſaking their own Countries, delivered up their Subjects into their Hands. But *Othin* being a famous Magician, and endued with an eſpecial faculty of Divining, and thereby knowing that he and his Poſterity ſhould for a long time Reign in the Northern Parts of the world, committed to his two Brothers, *Ve* and *Veler*, the Government of *Aſgardia.* He himſelf went into *Ruſſia*, and thence proceeded into *Saxony*, which having ſubdued, he delivered it over to his Sons, of whom, *Skiold* he ſet over *Dania* or *Denmark*, wherein he made *Lethra* his Regal Seat. *Othin* after this having diſcovered that *Gothia Suetica*, or *Swethland*, over which preſided one *Gyluo*, with Royal Authority, was a Countrey fertile, and able to entertain numerous Inhabitants, he betook himſelf to *Gyluo*, and having made a ſtrict League and Alliance with him, obtained leave to plant himſelf, and as many as he pleaſed in theſe Quarters, for the other was afraid leſt by refuſal, he ſhould irritate and provoke the *Aſiaticks*, to whom he ſufficiently knew himſelf to be inferiour in power. Now do *Gyluo* and *Othin* ſtrive who ſhall excell in Magical Inchantments, in all which conteſt, yet *Othin* bore away the Victory, and this done, went and Inhabited on the River *Loger*, where he adorned the City *Sigtun* (of which name ſaith our Authour, there was a Town in *Sweden* in the days of our Anceſtours) and built a moſt magnificent Palace, where he ordained a courſe of Sacrifices, according to the Rites and Cuſtoms of the *Aſians.* Having ſeized on all this Region, he planted as it were a certain Colony of their *Deaſtri*, to which he aſſigned certain Places and Chapels, ſo to *Niordſell Moalum*, to *Frey Upſal*, to *Theron Truduanger*, to *Heiner Hundbierg*

and to *Balder Broedeblick*. At length *Othin* with a Troop of his Idols, going back to the Northern Parts of *Suedia*, exerciſed himſelf in working wonders by his Magical Art; and thereof, as it were, ſet up a publick School, there being formerly no uſe of it in this place.

His character and cunning in Magick.

5. As for this Perſon, his countenance, words and carriage, ſhewed him to be chearfull, pleaſant and facetious to an high degree, moſt agreeable to his friends, but terrible in all reſpects to his Enemies; for, *Proteus* like, he could change himſelf into all forms and ſhapes. He had ſuch a perſwaſive Tongue, ſo eloquent as could not be reſiſted, and the more for that with his Oratory, he mixed Rhimes and Sonnets, whereupon he and his Companions were called *Schialdri* and Poets. By his Magick, he was wont to deprive his Enemies of all ſenſe, and ſtrike them with a pannick fear; nay, joyning Battel with them by his Charming Verſes, he could dull the edge of their Swords, inſomuch that his Souldiers, without either Shield or Breaſtplate, like ſo many fierce Dogs or Wolves, would wound, tear, and rend their Enemies, which were but like ſo many Sheep before them, they themſelves in the mean time being utterly out of danger. Thence was this kind of fierceneſs, afterward called the Onſet of the *Berſerkers*. Farther, then this *Othin* was ſo cunning in deceiving the Eye, that he would caſt himſelf down as dead, and his Body would ſeem to be changed into the ſeveral ſhapes of Fiſhes, Birds and Serpents. Returning to himſelf, he would affirm he had been viewing Countries far diſtant, and knew exactly what was therein done. With one word he could extinguiſh Fires, lay Tempeſts, ſtop Inundations, and command the boiſterous Winds. The Spirits of dead Men he could fetch out of their places, and confine them unto certain Hills, whereupon he was named *Dronga Drotten vel Hunga Drotten, the Lord of Hobgoblins.* He had two Crows which he had taught to ſpeak, which would fly into other Regions, and relate to their Maſter what Accidents had happened. By his Magick he would open Mountains, and thence from the Veins of the Earth, fetch as much Gold and Silver as to him ſeemed convenient, and without any ones telling find out Treaſures that had been hidden. In ſumm, *Othin* by his Rhimes, Songs and Inchantments (called *Caldran, Seid, Liod* and *Frolkinga*) did ſuch incredible things, that his Name became Famous, and the Renown of his Wiſedom and Power, as alſo of his *Aſians*, reached all Countries and Nations. By this means he ſo afrighted his Enemies, that they dared not to attempt any thing againſt him; on the contrary, he ſo retained his Allies and Friends in their Fidelity, that ſeldom or never, did they revolt from him.

6. Thence came it to paſs, that the *Sueci* and other Northern Nations ſolemnly ſacrificed to him and his twelve Aſſociates, and paid to him that Duty and Devotion, which was due to the Lord of Heaven and Earth alone. Their Names they gave to their Children newly born, calling ſome of them *Audun* and *Oudun* from *Othin*, *Thord*, *Thore*, *Toraren*, *Stemtor* and *Haſtor* from *Tor*, ſome of which ſaith the Chronicler are ſtill in uſe amongſt the *Norwegians*. *Othin*, farther, made many Laws, amongſt which theſe are reported the moſt memorable. The Bodies of the dead or ſuch as were ſlain in War, he ordained ſhould be conſumed with Fire, together with their Choice Goods and Ornaments, the Aſhes either buried in the Earth, or caſt into Rivers. That Hillocks ſhould be raiſed in memory of Great and Noble Perſons with Monuments upon them, to tranſmit the fame of their Actions to Poſterity. That thrice every year they ſhould offer ſolemn Sacrifice; in Winter for the Happineſs of the year, in Mid-winter for the fruitfulneſs of it, and at the end of Winter for Victory. The *Scythians* every year paid him a *Denarius* a Head in way of Tribute, he being to protect them from their Enemies, and propagate Superſtition amongſt them. *Niord* had to wife one *Skade*, which leaving him married a little after to *Othin*, and by her he had many Sons, the Name of one of which was *Semming*. Then did new *Scythia*, viz. *Suecia* get the Name of *Manheim*, and the Great *Scythia* of *Gudheim*. At length, *Othin*, when he had lived long enough, died in *Suecia*. Being near his end, he commanded all his Members and Limbs to be marked with nine Scars, which the Ancients called *Geirs Odde*. He farther commanded, that ſuch as were beaten down in Battel ſhould be ſacrificed to him, as the moſt acceptable oblation that could be. After his death he appeared to many, eſpecially if ſome conſiderable Battel was at hand. For many he obtained Victory; others he invited into the Palace of *Pluto*, called *Valhalden*. His Body was ſolemnly burned, and a Funeral Banquet together with Sacrifices were inſtituted to the Honour of the deceaſed. Such is the Account we have concerning the Life and Death of this *Woden*, and his Expedition out of *Agardia* into

He dies.

into *Saxony*, from an Ancient Chronicle ſaid to have been written by *Snorro*, the Son of *Sturlay*, an eminent Man in *Iſland*, about the year of Our Lord 1220. And with this Relation, for the main, agrees the *Edda* of *Iſland* a moſt Ancient Monument, *Johannes Martini* an Ancient Writer alſo, as *Joh. Meſſenius* hath it, and another old *Sueo Gothick* Chronicle publiſhed by the ſaid *Meſſenius*, from ſeveral Manuſcripts which agreeth in all things almoſt with the Relation made by *Snorro* the Son of *Sturlay*.

7. The *Edda* makes mention of *Odin* his making a long ſtay in *Saxony*, that he poſſeſſed the Countrey far and wide, and diſtributed it amongſt his Sons, whereof *Vegdegg* obtained the Eaſtern *Saxony*, *Begdeg Weſtphalia*, and *Sig Francia*. It adds that having done this, he himſelf went into another Countrey called then *Reidgotoland*, afterward *Jutland*, of which he had to himſelf as much as he pleaſed, and over it ſet his Son *Skiold*, who was Father to *Fridleif*, whoſe Poſterity was called *Skioldungar* or *Skioldrades*, from whom the Kings of *Danemark* are deſcended. Afterwards relating how he went into *Suithiod* or *Suecia*, it adds that he built the City from him called *Sigtun*, and now enjoying Royal dignity, called himſelf *Niord*. Therefore in the Annals it is found, that the firſt King of *Suecia*, was *Niord*, becauſe *Odin* the moſt magnificent King there reigned, though before him other Kings there ruled. Laſtly it relates how *Odin* conſtituted twelve Perſons, for adminiſtring of Law to the People according to the *Turkiſh* Cuſtoms, in imitation of what was done at *Troy*. *Johannes Martini* tells the Story how *Woden*, with twelve Judges of the Kingdom called *Drotnarii*, his Wife *Frigga*, and Children, and a great Army went into *Ryſland*, over which having happily conquered it, he appointed Governour his Son *Bo*. His Affairs having ſo proſperouſly ſucceeded in *Ryſland*, he ſailed over the Sea into an Iſland of *Denmark*, called *Oden Soo*, which to this very day ſaith he from *Woden* his inhabiting there keeps its Ancient Name. Having alſo made ſome ſtay in the Dukedom of *Sleſwick*, and from a certain Cunning woman called *Geſion*, learnt how fruitfull and beautifull a Countrey was *Suecia*, having left *Hilſatia* under the Rule of ſeven of his Sons, he departed thither and a long time lived at *Sigtun*, where he obtained great Fame and Veneration amongſt the *Sueones*, who were amazed at the things formerly related which he did by Magick, aud particularly at this, that he could paſs vaſt Seas in a little Skin or Pelt which he was wont to fold up together like a Bag. Dying at laſt at *Sigtun*, he was with much Honour, and no ſmall Quantity of Gold and Silver burnt, and by how much higher the ſmoke aſcended from the kindled pile by ſo much they eſteemed him placed in an higher degree, in the other World. The *Saxogothick* Chronicle relates, that *Woden* being Prince and alſo Prieſt of *Aſgardia*, killed and offered Men aſwell as other Animals unto Idols. That coming with all his *Diarii*, and a great multitude, of other Men into *Ryſland*, thence he proceeded into *Saxony*, which he committed to the Government of his Sons, and by Sea paſſed to a certain Iſland called *Odenſæa* in *Fronia*, at the writing of that Book. Having underſtood, that there was a good Land near *Lagere*, thither he went with his *Diarii*, and took a piece of ground to himſelf which he called *Sigtun*. *Niord* placed himſelf at *Nuburg*, *Freyar* at *Vpſal*, *Hymdel* at *Hymburg*, *Thora* at *Trundwagn*, and *Balder* at *Bredeblike*, where they introduced the Cuſtome of ſacrificing. Here is to be underſtood, that after *Woden* and his *Diarii* came into the Northern Parts, Art Magick came in uſe, but prevailed eſpecially in *Finmark*. Concerning his wonders performed by this Art, his death and honours, he relates the ſame with *Snorro* the Son of *Sturlay*.

His Body is burnt.

8. Such is the Account we have of the return of the *Getes* or *Goths* into *Germany*, under Conduct of *Woden*, from theſe moſt ancient Northern Writers: a ſtory the Reader cannot but a little ſtartle at, as ſavouring of ſuch Poetick fancy, and Romantick humour, as uſually covers the Originals of Nations, under the Veil of Obſcurity. That ſuch fancy and humour is prevalent in this Story cannot be denied, eſpecially as to the Perſons and Practices of our wonderfull *Woden*. We muſt confeſs, that theſe Northern Parts have abounded with Tales inſerted into their Magical Songs and Incantations, and that *Edda* the ancient Monument, we have cited, was no other but a Store-houſe of Allegories and Fancies, a ſhop out of which Poets were to gather materials, and furniſh themſelves with fit Conceits, for their Superſtitious Ditties. And to ſpeak the utmoſt, it's to be feared that theſe ancient Chroniclers from it and Tradition had their greateſt Collections. Indeed as *Kranzius* obſerves in his Hiſtory of theſe Northern Countries, it's difficult for any Man to write the Original of any Nation, and not to touch upon ſome Fables; not onely the *Greeks*, but each other People have their Heroick Story. Yet

as in theſe of the *Greeks* as moſt think, is involved much alſo of truth, and real things covered with fictions, which may be diſcovered to have been real, by conſent of other Circumſtances of times and places; ſo perhaps upon diſquiſition we may find the ſame in this Subject, whereon we now inſiſt. In the firſt place, to grant ſuch Stories as are told of Magick to have been general Fables and Rumours of the People; yet this we muſt ſay, that to any one who has either travelled into theſe Parts or hath been converſant in the Hiſtories of theſe Northern Nations, it will appear, that they have been in former time (whatever they are at preſent, and let this be conſidered) moſt propenſe to Inchantments, direfull Imprecations and other Magical Charms and Tricks. Many Monuments of their ancient places of burial with their *Runick* Inſcriptions, ſufficiently teſtify enough of this matter at this very day.

Magical Inchantments much uſed.

9. But to put our velitary or weaker Arguments in the Front of our Ingagement, that *Woden* and his Companions came from *Aſia*, bears ſome reſemblance of truth; becauſe his ſirname is *Aas*, and they have that of *Aſiani*. *Æſer* in the plural is the ſame as *Aſiaticks*, whereof the ſingular is *As* or *Aas*, given to *Woden*, in an extraordinary manner with too great an Adjunct, as *Den Almegſte Aas.* This is more evident from that ancient form of an Oath, which in old time was uſed in *Norwey*, *So help me Frier, and Niordar, and that omnipotent As*, meaning *Woden*, whom they ſacrilegiouſly elevated into the place of the higheſt Divinity. Hereupon the Ancient *Goths* to witneſs their deſcent from theſe their Deities, *Woden*, *Thor*, *Skiold*, and the reſt, were wont to add the word *As* unto the Names of their Children, it ſignifying with them as much as Divine or Saint. As *Asbiorn* (or as the *Danes* write it *Esberne* (we Osborn) St. *Beare* or *As Beare*, *Asgeir*, *As-Speare*, *Asgrimur*, *Aswalſe*, *Asketil*, *Asdog*, *Aslakur*, (the *Danes* call it *Axell*) that is *Dius Famalus*, or *As ſeruant*, and as theſe and others belong to Men, ſo ſome there were that appertained to Women. Farther, that in *Sarmatia Aſiatica*, there was really ſuch a place called *Asgardia* or *Aspurgia*, and People known by the Name of *Aſiotæ*, and *Aſiani* a Countrey by *Strabo* expreſly and peculiarly called *Aſia*, we have already ſeen. Hence when *Woden* and his Followers came into *Germany*, was the Name of *Aſciburg*, or as now it is called *Asburg*, given to an ancient City there mentioned by *Tacitus*, this being far more probable than that it ſhould be founded by *Vlyſſes*, it being the Cuſtome of theſe *Gothick* Nations, to give the Names of the places from whence they came, to their newly acquired Conqueſts. In the Preface to the *Edda*, the Countrey whence *Woden* came, is called *Turcia*, and *Mela* witneſſeth that the Inhabitants of *Aspurgia*, were ſome of them called *Turcæ*; being the ſame with thoſe *Goths* called *Tyrſagetæ*, who from the Mountain *Taurus* might receive ſome denomination. And as ſuch like Denominations, when they come to be fixed upon Nations or Families commonly ſtick; ſo probable it is, that after the *Saxons* came into *Britain*, the Name of *Turk* ſtill continued, though the reaſon of the Name might be in the dark. For in the County of *Lincoln* upon the *Trent*, ſome four or five Miles from *Gainsborough*, there is a Town now called *Torkſey*, which the *Saxons* in their Language called ꞇuꞃceꞅiᵹᵹe or the Iſland of *Turks*. But as we ſaid before the preſent *Turks* came into theſe parts of *Aſia* long after, when the *Goths* returning into *Europe* had forſaken them.

His Sirname was *As*.

His Countrey *Aſpurgia*.

Part whereof was called *Turcia*.

10. Farther, that *Woden* came into *Ryſland*, is made probable from the proper Names of ſeveral Places there. In the Borders of *Livonia*, formerly accounted part of *Ryſland*, was a Province from him called *Odenpoe*, as much as to ſay, *Vpon Woden*, denoting as ſome think, that all their Hope and Expectation was upon him. In the Bay of the *Sarmatian* Sea, is alſo a certain Iſland from him called *Wodeſholm*, by the *Danes* *Odesholm*, and *Vodeſholme*. *Woden* leaving *Ryſland*, left King over that Countrey, his Son *Bo*, as both *Saxo Grammaticus*, and *Johannes Magnus* relate, calling the ſaid *Bo* King of the *Rutheri*, the Land of whom by the *Goths* was called *Ryſland*, *Roxilania* in the *Latin* Tongue, and in times paſt *Ruſſia* extending from the Mouth of the River *Viſtula*, as far as the Bank of *Mæotis*, and *Tanais* with the Riphean Mountains, in the Circle of which are at this day contained *Pruſſia*, *Livonia*, and a great Part of *Muſcovy*, with other Countries. Now that from *Ryſland*, *Woden* by Sea came into the Northern Parts of *Germany*, beſides what is ſaid by *Johannes Martini*, other Circumſtances render very probable. Firſt it has been the conſtant opinion and tradition of the *Saxons* themſelves, that thither they came not by Land but Sea. Then as in other Places, ſo in theſe Quarters of *Germany*, *Woden* left ſeveral marks of his Name. From him otherwiſe called *Wodan* and *Godan*, *Sialand* formerly called *Wetallaheeth*, received the Name of

Vide Sheringhami Diſcept. de Orig. Gentis Angli, c. 13.

Settles his Son *Bo* in the Kingdom of *Ryſland*.

Godanonia, or *Codanovia*, as alſo all the Straits beſet with Iſlands, that of *Sinus Godanus* or *Codanus*, the *Bay* of *Godan* or *Codan*. Then it ſeems very probable, that *Woden* brought Poetry and the *Runick* Letters in uſe with the *Goths*, becauſe of old they called the *Runick* Speech by the Name of *Aſmal*, or the *Aſian* Language; which is preſerved in *Iſland* more pure, than in other places. *Fimbul*, who is reported to have been the Scribe and Prophet of theſe *Aſæ*, is indeed ſaid to have invented the *Runick* Letters or Characters; but *Woden* is ſaid to have cut them, and taught the People the uſe of them, for which reaſon he was called *Ranhofdi*, or the Head, Principal or Chief of the *Runæ*, which were imagined to have wonderfull Power and Operation in Prayers and Imprecations. But of theſe more, in a more proper Place.

Stephanius in Præf. ad Saxon. Grammaticum.

11. The Removals and Travels of the *Goths* out of the more Northern Parts into *Germany*, and the adjacent Iſlands are farther made out by the Inſcriptions in *Runick* Characters, which are extant both in the ſaid Iſlands, and in *Sweden*, as well as by the conſent of the Annaliſts of theſe Quarters. Great Pillars were in *Sweden*, not long ſince to be ſeen, which the Inſcriptions upon them manifeſted to have been erected by them in memory of their Worthies, which had loſt their lives in *Greece*, *Thrace*, or other places. From *Woden* and his Companions who were *Scythians*, came *Sueica* to be called *Nova Scythia*, and the Inhabitants of the *Cherſoneſus*, or the *Cimbri* to be called by the *Greeks Celtoſcythæ*, being firſt to them known by the Name of *Cimmerians*, and why by this, but that becauſe they were firſt in *Scythia* called *Cimmerians*, and into *Germany*, and thoſe Parts travelled from *Boſphorus Cimmerius*. But to come near to our matter, we know that our Anceſtours came out of *Germany*, conſiſting of *Jutes* (*Gutes* or *Getes*) *Saxons* and *Angles*, three of the moſt valiant People of that Countrey. Now from *Ptolemy* it appears that in *Scythia* or *Cimmeria*, there were three ſeveral People which were known by the very ſame Names. He ſpeaks of *Jotæ*, lying upon the Sea of the *Rhymmii*. Of the *Saſones*, under the *Maſſæan* and *Alan* Mountains. Now though he mentions not the *Angles*, yet the *Suebi* he doth, or *Suevi*, part of which Nation the *Angli* are rationally thought to have been; being ſo called from the *Angle* or Corner on which they ſeized in *Germany*. This is accounted no ſmall Argument, that theſe People came into the Maritime Parts of *Germany*, at no other time, nor under any other Conduct than that of *Woden*, becauſe before the time of his Expedition, no ſuch Names as theſe do occur in Northern Writers, but after this they became famous, eſpecially the *Saxons*. In the *Sueogothick* Annals, thoſe of *Norwey* and *Danemark* their Memory flouriſhes, but amongſt the ancient *Greek* and *Roman* Writers, the *Saxons* are known; as alſo the *Jutes* by the Name of *Cimbri*, though the *Suebi* by that of their own.

The *Jutes*, *Saxons*, and *Angles*, came into the Northern Parts of *Germany*, under Conduct of *Woden*.

12. In *Sarmatia* are many Towns, eſpecially in *Livonia*, which it appears plainly to have borrowed their Names from the *Saxon* Tongue. *Reſſuel* ſignifies a place where two Seas meet, *Riga*, *Riches*, and others there are whoſe Terminations are plainly *Saxon*. And as for the Maritime Parts, there they ſpeak that Language to this very day, which are preſumed manifeſt ſigns, that theſe Countries were formerly ſubject to *Woden* and his *Saxons*, part of whom ſuch as there took not up their abode, paſſed over the Seas into *Germany*. Let that farther be conſidered that the *Peninſula*, when *Woden* came thither had the Name of *Reidgothaland*, but afterward received that of *Jutia*, and whence ſhould this change come but from the *Goths*, *Jotes* or *Jutes*, who came and ſeizing on this Countrey inhabited, eſpecially the Weſtern Promontory thereof? But we had almoſt forgot what in courſe ſhould before this have been remembred, that not onely our Anceſtours, *viz.* the *Jutes*, *Saxons* and *Angles*, but others the Principal Nations of *Germany*, had their Name *Jutes* in *Scythia*. *Strabo* places the *Macropogones* or *Longobards* in *Cimmeria*, about *Syndica*, near to which *Woden* is ſaid to have reigned in *Aſpurgia*; it may be true indeed that other Colonies did afterward go out of *Scandia*, but yet before theſe Migrations, that ſuch of this Name inhabited part of *Germany*, both *Tacitus* and *Ptolemy* may aſſure us. All know that in *Gerwany* there are the *Treres*, *Trevirenſes*, or thoſe of *Triers* in *Saxon die Trerer*, and ſuch there were in *Scythia* alſo. The *Chatti* lied in *Germany*, under the Mountain *Relibotus*, not far from the *Suevi*, *Angli* and *Camani*, and *Ptolemy* places them alſo in *Scythia*, next the *Maſſagetes*, without the Mountains *Imai*.

The Names of their Towns the ſame.

13. Yet ſtill this doth mightily (eſpecially in conjunction with the other Arguments) inforce the probability of this Plantation, that the *Gothick* Nations or *Cimbri* in their manners, and Inclinations much ſuited with the *Aſiatick Scythians*. Both the one and the other eſteemed it Noble to dye in war, but diſgracefull to

Being very much alike in all things.

De his omnibus vide Sheringhamum ubi prius. c. 15.

be ſent out of the World, either by Old Age or a Diſeaſe. By bloud (drunk or ſprinkled) both entred into Leagues and Confederacies. Their Women with both, together with the Men, ingaged in battel, and fought againſt the Enemy. The *Amazons* themſelves were the Off-ſpring of the *Scythians* in *Aſia*. And ſuch *Goths* as inhabited in *Europe* on this ſide *Tanais*, and the *Riphæan* Mountains as far as *Germany*, called with ſome variety *Gothones*, *Gottones*, *Samogetæ* and *Sauromatæ*, and part of them *Alans*, had their *Amazons* alſo, which for warlike enterprizes, equalled the Men themſelves, and as thoſe in *Aſia* had their Right Breaſt burnt off, whereupon from the *Greeks* they received the ſame Name, and were not ſuffered to marry till they had killed three Enemies. Women both of warlike Diſpoſitions and Actions, like to theſe, *Saxo Grammaticus* relates *Danemark* once to have bred. Another though barbarous Cuſtome both agreed in, and that was to make Cups of the Skulls of their Enemies, and drink out of them; this being accounted by the *Goths* the Sum of all Felicity, that after death in ſuch kind of Veſſels they ſhould drink Nappy Ale with *Woden*. But nothing more evinces the thing we are about to prove, than the mixture of the *Greek* Language, and others of the *Aſiatick* Tongues with the *Saxons*, viz. *Armenian*, and thoſe of the *Turks* and *Perſians*. Now how could they reach ſo far as into the *Cimbrick Cherſoneſus*, but as they were tranſmitted by ſuch as were once Neighbours to theſe Nations, and afterward travelled into theſe Quarters? Moreover the moſt ancient Names both of places and Perſons were the ſame, and many of them to this day continue amongſt us, *Erick*, *Berig*, *Filmer* or *Fulmer* are frequent enough in *England*. And as for the proper Names of the *Grand Aſæ* themſelves, as *Woden*, *Thor*, *Siggo*, *Skiold* or *Scyld*, they are here alſo ſufficiently known, and of them we have the Names of Towns compounded, as *Wodensbury*, *Thorsby* (not to ſpeak of days) *Sigſton*, *Shilton* or *Shelton*; and many others an induſtrious Man might find.

Hippocrates de Aere, &c. ſect. 3.

Lib. 7.

14. Such are the Arguments brought for this opinion, that the *Aſiatick Goths* with *Woden*, came back into *Scandia*, and ſetled part of them in *Germany*. And though ſome of the Books out of which they are fetcht abound with Fables, yet we muſt needs confeſs ſeveral things there are which laid all and conſidered together, will at leaſt inforce a Probability. Likeneſs of Speech argues ever the ſpeakers to have been of one and the ſame deſcent, and where two ſeveral People bear the ſame Name, a vehement ſuſpicion it is, that though at preſent they are yet, they have not ever been ſeparated from each other. A Tradition it was amongſt the *Saxons*, that by Sea they came into thoſe Quarters of *Germany*, but no Footſteps of any other Invaſion or Migrations, are to be found beſides this of *Woden*. Let this Opinion then ſtand at leaſt as Probationer, and let him receive his deſerved thanks of all that affect Letters, who has lately taken ſo much ingenious pains to make it out. What ſhall we ſay as to the time of this Migration? Some make it to have happened four and twenty years before the birth of Chriſt, about the time whem *Pompey* waſted *Syria*. But *Woden* is ſaid in the Preface of the *Edda*, to have delivered over the Government of *Jutia* to his Son *Skiold*, whence the Kings of *Danemark* were anciently called *Skioldinger*, now this *Skiold* according to the *Daniſh* Chronology, lived almoſt a thouſand years before *Pompey*; and accordingly *Woden* with his *Saxons*, *Sueves*, *Getes*, and other People of *Scythia*, muſt about the pretended beginning of the *Daniſh* Empire have entred the *Cherſoneſus*, and the adjacent places, and to *Saxony*, *Suevia* and *Jutia*, have given theſe as their proper Names. And one there is who will have the *Saxons*, to have given occaſion to the riſe of the *Daniſh* Kingdom, and to have invaded the *Danes*, who then endeavoured to ſhake off the *Gothick* Yoke, with whom the *Danes* not able to graple, were conſtrained to crave aid of *Howel* King of the *Goths*, who ſent them for King his Son *Dan* (from whom *Dania* received its Name) who by his Valour repreſſed the *Saxons*. But theſe things are uncertain.

Both Nations proceed from one Original.

Sheringhamus ubi ſuprà.

The time of their Migration 24 years before Chriſt.

15. By this laſt Account the beginning of the *Daniſh* Kingdom, ſhould fall into the 2910 year of the World, and *Woden* muſt have been ſomething Ancienter than *Homer*. But how will this conſiſt with the Genealogies of our *Engliſh Saxon* Kings, the Founders of the ſeven Kingdoms, all which are derived in deſcent from *Woden*? *Hengiſt* and *Horſa* his Brother are ſaid by the Monk of *Malmesbury*, to have been but the *Abnepotes* or fourth in deſcent from *Woden*, and *Cerdick*, the Founder of the Kingdom of the Weſt *Saxons*, the Tenth; but how could this be? For this Chronology will have *Woden*, live and flouriſh 1038 years before Chriſt, and *Hengiſt* came not into *Britain*, till about 449 years after his Birth, the Great Grandfather, Grandfather and Father of *Hengiſt*, muſt at this rate have been nigh as long lived as *Methuſalah*, ſuppoſing them to have generated in the

2910 *Mundi.*

1038

449

Three that bare the Name of *Woden.*

Brynolphus Suenonius Epiſcopus Scalhaltenſis in Conjectaneis ad Saxon. Grammat. ex vetuſtiſſimis tabulis Genealogicis Eccleſiæ Cathedralis Anholtini.

middle of their Age. Some therefore tell us, that as amongſt the *Greeks* there were ſeveral that bore the Name of *Hercules*, but that they were all confounded together, and what was done by all was aſcribed to one; ſo alſo it fell out as to the matter of *Woden.* There is one that thinks there were three of this Name all deified: the firſt deſcended from *Saturn* and the *Trojan* Kings, called *Aſianus*, and *Odin hin Gamle*, or *Woden the Ancient*, who never came into *Carpoe*, but his Name and Rights were hither brought by others. The ſecond of *Upſal*, to whom in *Suedeland* was a Temple dedicated, which was very ſumptuous ſhining with Gold, who was alſo called *Aſianus*, but a ſtranger of the *Scythians.* The third was called *Methodinus*, or *Middle Woden*, of whom *Saxo Grammaticus* maketh mention, who, the other *Woden* being abroad, took occaſion to feign himſelf a God, but after his return relinquiſhing his Preſtigiatory tricks fled away into *Phaonia*, there to lurk; but was ſlain by the Concourſe of the Inhabitants. Another produces a fourth *Woden*, who being beaten by *Pompey* out of *Aſia*, into the Northern Parts, taught the People the Arts and Laws of the *Aſiaticks*, and was therefore had in eſpecial Honour. But his flight is from the *Romans* alſo aſcribed unto him of *Upſal*, although they are reported to have lived in far different Ages. In theſe obſcure matters it's difficult where to fix. If ſuch was the Deſcent of our *Saxon* Conquerours, there muſt be a *Woden*, much later than that firſt we have ſpoken off, nay later than the laſt of all theſe mentioned. But it's a uſual thing with Ethnicks to father ſuch upon their Gods as they are at aloſs with, as to their Pedigrees. Or ſome notable Warriour, the more to aggrandize his Name, might aſſume to himſelf or have given to him that of *Woden.*

Amgrinus Jonas.

16. Let us admit then of this ſtory of *Woden*, and the great Army of *Saſons*, *Getes* and *Suebi*, that came with him into *Germany.* Now let us ſee what there they did, let us take a view of theſe ſeveral ſorts of People, there ſuppoſed to be planted. *Nicholas Ciſner*, a Learned Lawyer of *Spira*, in his Preface to *Krantzius* his Hiſtory of *Saxony*; having brought the *Sacæ* and the *Saxons* (ſprung from them) out of *Aſia*, whence from the Eaſt they betook themſelves Northward, and from the North by Degrees into Countries nearer to theſe parts of the World, is of opinion, that moſt of the People of *Germany*, as the *Suevi*, *Catti*, *Alani*, *Cimbri*, *Daci*, *Dani*, *Getæ* and *Goths* almoſt in the ſame method and manner, powered themſelves into *Europe*; ſo that what Neighbourhood was amongſt them in *Aſia*, the ſame almoſt continued with them in *Europe.* But, the old *Saxons*, or thoſe that firſt invaded *Germany*, ſeated themſelves in that Countrey, which at preſent contains *Holſatia*, properly ſo called, *Dithmarſh*, *Stonnar* and *Wagria*: the breadth of it lies from the City of *Sleſwick* to that of *Hamborough* (placed in the utmoſt part of *Saxony*) the length from the Weſtern to the Eaſtern Sea, or from the *German* Ocean to the *Baltick*, having old *France* adjoining to it, between the Mouths of the *Elbe*, and the *Rhine.* For *Ptolemy* places the Southern Border of *Saxony*, betwixt the Mouth of the River *Altis* (now *Elbe*) and *Chaluſus* (or *Trane*, which runs by *Lubeck*) the Northern Border as *Adamus Bremenſis* fixeth it was the River *Egdom*, which ſeparated the old *Saxony* (from lying North of the River *Elbe*, called *Nortalbingia*) from *Dania.* Of the People inhabiting this *Saxonia Tranſelbiana*, the ſame Authour makes this diſtinction. Of the *Tranſelbian Saxons*, there are three People: the firſt are the *Dithmarſi* upon the Ocean, whoſe Church is *Mildenthorp.* The ſecond are the *Holſati*, ſo called from the woods where they inhabit, being watered by the River *Stare*: their Church is *Sconenfeld.* The third and more Noble are *Stormarii*, ſo called becauſe that Nation is alſo toſſed by Seditions: their *Metropolis* is lofty *Hanburg.* With this diviſion agrees *Helmoldus*, in his *Sclavian* Hiſtory. The old *Saxony* was not therefore *Weſtphalia*, as *Krantzius*, and ſeveral others were of opinion, but that which at this day is called the Dukedom of *Holſatia.*

The Situation of old *Saxony*, being the ſeat of our ancient *Saxons.*

The ſorts of the *Tranſelbian Saxons.*

Adamus Bremenſis Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. l. 1. *cap.* 9.

Holtſaten etiam Krantzio dicitur ab Holts Sylva & Saten Incolis, tanquam eſſent Sylveſtres Incolæ. Alii dicunt Regionem Germaniæ fuiſſe dictam Oltſaxen veterem Saxoniam, in antiquis ſcil. manuſcriptis Chronicis.

They inlarge their Territories.

17. But afterward by their Conqueſts our *Saxons* ſo inlarged their bounds, that ſeveral other Diviſions came in uſe. For all theſe Maritime Parts as far as the River *Scheld* and *Flanders*, were called *Saxony*; then came up Names of *Saxonia Ciſſrhenana* and *Saxonia Inferior*, as for new *Saxony*, or that which bears the Name at this day, it's but a ſmall Pittance of the other. All theſe though diſtinguiſhed enough amongſt themſelves in *Germany*, were firſt known to the *Greeks* and *Romans* by the name of *Cimbri*, as the Sea from the *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus*, as far as *Flanders*, having been called *Mare Cimbricum.* Though the *Saxons* brought their Name out of *Aſia* with them, and were by it ſufficiently known at home, yet *Ptolemy* is the firſt Authour that makes mention of it; and after it became known,

and

The Seats of the *Angli* where.

Malmesb. Lib. 2. *c.* 2.

De Angliꝭ Copioſè agit Ciſnerus in Præf. adKrantzium.

and famous to *Greeks* and *Romans*, by it they underſtood that Part of the *Cimbri* inhabiting betwixt the Rivers *Rhine* and *Elbe*, which had been conquered by our ancient *Saxons*. So much for the Seats of our ancient *Saxons*, now let us ſee if we can find that of the *Angles*, and we are pointed to it by *Ethelward*, and our own Monk of *Malmsbury*, who tell us, that *Old England* was ſituate betwixt the *Saxons* and *Giotes*, having its Capital Town, in the *Saxon* Tongue called *Sleſwick*, but *Haithaby* by the *Danes*. Betwixt an Arm of the *Baltick*, of old called *Slia* and the Bay of *Fleteſtoicke*, did this Countrey lie; which ſtill, by its Inhabitants is called *Anglen*; by *Krantzius* and others that write in Latin *Anglia*. The Inhabitants were more anciently called *Suevi*, being part of the Nation which *Cæſar* witneſſeth in his time to have been the greateſt and moſt Warlike of all the *German* Nations. *Ptolemy*, though others mention more, diſtinguiſhes them into three ſorts of People, *viz.* The *Suevi Longobardi*, the *Suevi Semnones*, and the *Suevi Angili*, whom *Tacitus* and other Hiſtorians contractedly call *Angli*. But ſome make a great doubt, others deny that the *Saxones Angli*, and theſe *Suevi Angli*, were the ſame Nation; and upon this ground, becauſe *Beda* calls the *Angli*, *Saxons*, but the *Saxons* and *Suevi* were not the ſame Nation, being Nations diſtinct both as to Name and Place. To this others anſwer, that ſo it was indeed at their firſt coming into *Germany*; but afterward part of the *Suevi*, with their Seat about the *Elbe* was conquered by the *Saxons*, and after this retained both their own Name, and yet got that alſo of *Saxons*. So the *Normans* and *Britains* retain their old Names in *Gall*, and yet in a general acceptation, are called *French*. And as we ſaid before, the *Saxons* paſſing over the *Elbe*, pierced as far as the *Rhine*, nay, the *Scheld* and all People in this compaſs obtained the ſirname of *Saxon*, eſpecially ſuch as lived within the two former Rivers. Now that part of the *Suevi* were ſeated betwixt theſe two Rivers, *Strabo* is a ſufficient Witneſs, who alſo teſtifies that the *Suevi* were a reſtleſs People, and wont often to change their Seats. Therefore though the *Suevi Angli* in the days of *Tacitus* and *Ptolemy*, inhabited the Inland Countrey, yet ſome time after they might remove, being not wont in *Cæſar*'s time (as he aſſures us) to ſtay any longer than a year or two in a place.

Vide Suffridum Petrum de Orig. Frizior. lib. 1. *c.* 11. *Sheringhamum quò ſuprà, c.* 2.

The Seats of the *Jutes*.

18. Being invited by the *Saxons* to joyn with them in War againſt the *Danes*, they mixed with them in the *Cherſoneſus*, or in *Jutia*, the *Danes* being ejected, who ſometimes again recovered their ground and expelled them. But hence the *Angli* received the Name of them under whoſe Patrociny they were, being when amongſt the *Suevi*, called *Anglo Suevi*, when amongſt the *Saxons*, *Angli Saxones*, in *Pomeravia*, *Angli Pomeravi*, in *Friſia*, *Angli Friſij*, and ſome were called *Angli Germani*; but the *Angli Saxones* became moſt eminent, becauſe they came over into *Britain* in Conjunction with the *Jutes* and true *Saxons*, the Name of which *Beda* gives to both the other, which argues this People to have been then under their Juriſdiction. This doth much make for this Opinion of their changing their Seats, that neither *Ptolemy* nor any after him till they came into *Britain* makes any mention of the *Angli* in the *Cherſoneſus* or *Jutia*, and when they come to be mentioned as inhabiting the *Cherſoneſus*, none ſpeaks of their living upon the *Elbe*, a great ſign they were thither removed. Neither after this time doth any Geography ſpeak of two ſorts of *Angli* ſeparated as to the place of their Habitation. But, in making this diſcovery of the Place of the *Angli*, we have light upon that of the *Jutes* too, who inhabited *Jutia*, which ſtill retains its Name being a moſt known and remarkable Member of the preſent *Daniſh* Kingdom. A Geographer ſpeaking of the Parts of the ſaid Kingdom, tells us, that Gothia *is moſt ſpacious and Populous, in the place of which Name, the former Syllable being vitiated, one near to it is retained, and it is called* Jutia: But that the Name of *Jutia* or *Jutland* was ancient, not onely *Adamus Bremenſis*, but *Saxo Grammaticus* witneſſeth, as alſo *Beda*, who more than once calls the Inhabitants thereof by the Name of *Jutæ*. For a very learned man affirms to us that all the Manuſcript Copies of that Authour which he conſulted, ſo read it, and not *Vitæ*, wherewith alſo concur, *Florentius* of *Worceſter*, *William* of *Malmſbury*, *Henry* of *Huntingdon*, *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter*, *Ralph* of *Cheſter* and others. *Fabius Ethelward* the *Saxon* Writer calls the Countrey *Giota* and the People *Giotæ*; the *Saxon* Annals of *Peterburg* ᵹeaꞇum and ıoꞇum. Agreeable to this is the mention which *Aſſerius Menevenſis* makes of *Oſlac* the Grandfather of King *Ælfred* by the Mother, that *He was a* Goth *by Nation being iſſued from the Goths*

Uſſerius de Brit. Eccleſiar. Primordiis, pag. 391.

Saxonica Regis Aluildi verſio habet ᵹeaꞇum

Chronologia Saxonica ⁊ ꞇum.

Sect. 2.

Goths *and* Jutes, for it ought to be read *Jutis*, and not as it is moſt vitiouſly printed, *Judis*. In reſpect of thoſe *Jutes* it is that the King of *Danemark* retains ſtill the Title of King of the *Goths*; and with reference to their Progeny may that of *Beliſarius* be interpreted in *Procopius*, which has put ſo many to a plunge, where in his Treaty with the Ambaſſadours of the *Goths*, he tells them, *we alſo permit the* Goths *to have all* Britain, *being far better than* Sicily, *and though it was in times paſt ſubject to the Dominion of the* Romans.

De Bello Gothico. lib. 2.

The Name whence.

19. But be it that ſome Copies have it *Vitæ*, this might eaſily be changed for *Juitæ*, the firſt Letter being taken away or omitted; and *J* might eaſily be changed into *G*, as in the Laws of *Edward* the Confeſſour they are called *Gutæ*, by reaſon of the nearneſs there is in the force of theſe two Letters. Be they *Jetæ*, *Jutæ*, *Juitæ*, *Jotæ*, *Jotuni*, *Getæ*, *Geatuni*, *Giotæ*, or *Gutæ*, it's the ſame Name as well as thing, the Orthography and Terminations according to the diverſe fancy of People, and their pronunciation being onely various, as happens uſually in all other Names, ſcarcely any Nation or Town being written and called every whit the ſame in any two Languages. Some therefore ſeem to approve of the preſent Copy of *Beda*, calling them *Witi*, whereof one tells us, that at ſeveral times going out of their own Countrey, ſome came into *Britain*, others paſſed the *Rhine*, and ſeized on part of *Helvetia*, being afterward called *Suiti* and *Suiceri*, which Name ſtill continues; but to ſpeak impartially, the *Suicers* with more probability ſome derive from the *Suevi*, but *Abbo Floracenſis* in the Life of King *Edmund*, calls the *Jutæ* by the Name of *Viti*, and this is not to be neglected that the Grandfather of *Hengiſt* is called *Vitta*; and Sir *Henry Spelman* upon other Quotations, approves the reading of the Word *Witi*: *W* and *Gu* being ordinarily uſed for each other, as in the Word *William* and *Guilielmus*. The *Jutæ* therefore being the ſame with the *Gutæ* or *Getæ*, the ſame Original of Name, whether from ᵹeaꞇ a *Gyant*, or *from their Goodneſs* the Reader may call to mind what we have ſaid in another place. Theirs was far more ancient than either that of the *Angles* or *Saxons*. As for the *Saxons*, *Iſidore* was ſo good a Latiniſt, and had ſo little skill in the *Teutonick* Tongues, as to derive their Name from *Saxum* a *Stone*, becauſe they were an hard and robuſt Nation, excelling all others in Piracy. Others fetch'd it from *Aſchanes* the Son of *Gomer*, but with what tolerable Reaſon we are to ſeek. Doubtleſs the Name as well as the People was *Gothick*, and as to this, ſeveral there are who would have them called *Saxones* as *Sacaſones*, viz. the Sons or Children of the *Sacæ*, deriving them from this People, which they ſay made Incurſions into *Bactriana*, *Armenia*, *Cappadocia*, the *Hercinian* Foreſt, and alſo into *Germany*. But of their Inroad into *Germany* they can bring no proof, and as for the word ꞅaex is the Name of a *Saxon*, not ꞅeaxꞅon in the Singular Number, whereof ꞅaexen is the Plural. Others fetch the Name from the ſlaughter of the *Thuringi*, with whom this People having War, hid their long Knives under their Clothes, and with them called ꞅeaxen when they were at a Treaty baſely cut the Throats of the *Thuringi*, who expected no ſuch Treachery, and thence being before called *Cimbri*, obtained this Name of *Saxons*.

Fabricius Chemnicenſis de orig Saxon. Lib. 1.

The *Saxons* Derivation.

Vide Ciſnerum in Præf. ad Krantzium. Sheringhamum ut prius, c. 11.

20. It's to be imagined that he that firſt mentioned this had read of Nemeꞇ coun ꞅeaxen, what the *Saxons* did with the *Britains* on *Saliſbury* Plain, and it's well his Learning was not ſo *Britiſh*, as to make them firſt called *Saxons* from that baſe Action here; but it was not much better, for they had that Name, as ſeveral Learned Men have evinced, long before this *Thuringian War*, or the Name of the very *Thuringians* was heard of. Moſt therefore and with moſt Reaſon take their Name from *Saex*, which ſignifies a Knife, or a crooked ſort of ſhort Sword, having teeth like to a Saw, or from *Seiſon* or *Saiſon*, which ſignifies a *Sickle*, for that ſuch like Swords were in uſe with the *Getes* is very manifeſt, and the ancient Arms of *Saxony* (as *Pontanus* tells us, were two ſuch little Swords placed acroſs, the one over the other. This Derivation is as probable as can be brought in Matters that are conjectural, it were to be wiſhed we could ſatisfy our ſelves ſo well about the Original of the Name of *Angli*. *Saxo Grammaticus* derives it from *Angulus* Son of *Humblus* King of the *Danes*, but what it ſignifies, and of what Language it is, he doth not tell us; neither do we hear any thing of the *Angles* being in *Denmark* in theſe ancient times, we find ſeveral Marks of them, ſeveral Towns which took Names from them in *Germany*, as *Ingolſtadt*, *Engleburg*, *Engelrute*; and *Ingelheim* famous for the Birth of *Charles* the Great, but no footſteps of them in *Denmark*. *Widiſcind* a *Saxon* will have the *Saxons* called *Angli* from a certain Iſland placed in a Corner or Angle of the

Orig. Francic. Lib. 2. *cap.* 2.

The original of the name *Angli*.

the Sea, which they ſubdued: Others more truly (ſaith *Ciſner*) interpret *Anglia* or *England* as an Angle or Corner of the World (but what is this to the purpoſe) and all theſe fetch the Derivation rather from the *Latin* than the *German* Tongue. *Aventinus* and *Goropius Becanus* will have it of *German* Extraction. *Aventinus* acquaints us, that *Angel* or *Engel* in this Language ſignifies three things, an Hook or Sling, an Hinge, and a Border or Limit, and hence in a general ſenſe, he thinks that *Ptolemy* calls them *Anguli*, and *Tacitus Angili*. *Goropius* makes choice of the firſt Interpretation, whereby is ſignified a Fiſhing or Angling Hook, as we even at this day call it, and he is of Opinion that the *Saxons* ſo called themſelves as Hooks which caught all that was in the Sea: And as for the *Suevi Angli*, they might well alſo have this Name, becauſe living near to the *Sicambri* and *Ubii*, they hook'd in all they could ſnatch from their Neighbours. Amongſt theſe Opinions (if one may interpoſe) I cannot ſee any Reaſon why the Names of other *German* Nations ſhould be *German* or *Gothick*, and this of theirs onely taken from the Latin; certainly this is no common, but an extraordinary thing; and I believe they were called *Angili* or *Angli*, before the *Romans* had much knowledge of theſe Parts, for certainly *Tacitus* did not give them the Name but found it before his time faſtned on them. In ſo Conjectural a matter where it is free for any one to declare his Opinion, I muſt confeſs I ſide with *Ciſner*, who believes the word to be *German*, but modeſtly rather agrees with *Aventine*, who deduces it from a general rather than a ſpecial ſignification and force of the word, leaving the choice thereof to the pleaſure of the Reader. From ſome accident in reſpect to their Habitation, they might be called Borderers at ſome certain place and time, and this might ſtick by them afterwards; or rather being, as we find, a Roving, Wandering People, it was not for nothing they roved and wandered, but for their advantage, to ſeek, doubtleſs, what they could farther ſnatch or hook in to themſelves. It's no ſtrange or unordinary thing for Nations, from their Preying and Rapine to receive Names.

21. So much for their Places and Names after theſe three People came into *Germany*. We muſt now look upon them all under the general Name of *Saxons* awhile, and ſee what they did till ſuch time as they Invaded *Britain*. For a long time we find them ſtrugling with the *Danes*, for the *Cherſoneſus*, or that Countrey called *Jutia*, in which Conteſt they had ſuch ſucceſs as War affordeth, ſometimes coming off with loſs, and otherwhiles driving out their Enemies; but at laſt they were quite driven out themſelves, and forced to leave that about which they had ſo long contended. But the very firſt Quarrel betwixt them was not about *Jutland*, but a Love buſineſs, if we give heed to what *Krantzius* writes, but what ſcarcely himſelf believed. One *Sirublus* King of *Phinus* or *Finland*, had a very fair Daughter, and on her *Gram* the King of *Denmark* and *Sweden* was ſo enamoured, that he muſt needs quit his former Wife, the Daughter of the late *Swediſh* King, whom he had conquered, and marry her. Yet was he not in ſuch haſte but that he could ſtay from Conſummating any Marriage quickly, you muſt know he was contracted to her now, and then departed into *Norwey*, whither his Military Affairs called him. Being there intangled in ſuch Difficulties as was judged he would hardly maſter, *Sibdas* began to repent him of what he had done, and Married his Daughter to *Henry* King of the *Saxons*, a People he knew to be fierce and Warlike, which would preſently be upon his Back, in caſe he Invaded *Finland*. But *Gram* was aware of the Plot, and having timely notice of what they were about, came upon them unexpectedly and quite ſpoil'd their ſport, killing the Bridegroom e'er he could enjoy the Bride, which he took inſtantly from her Father. This is the firſt mention made of the *Saxons* in the *Daniſh* Antiquities, and I aſſure you upon a very ſad occaſion. But this Feaſt, and eſpecially the laſt Courſe ſtuck in their Stomachs, they would ſpoil *Gram*'s ſport alſo in *Norwey*, where they joyned with the Natives againſt him, and within a little time made him paſt mocking, ſending him after their good King *Henry*. Neither was it difficult for our *Saxons*, who long before this were potent at Sea, from *Jutia* to paſs into *Norwey*. But how, ſaith our Authour, doth time change all things! Then did the *Saxons* there Wage War, and Intermarry, whither now, a vigorous trade on the Coaſts of *Germany* flouriſhing in the hands of the *Saxons*, ſcarcely any would vouchſafe to Sail, who got their living upon the remoteſt Seas. But hence you may take a ſcantling of the greatneſs and ſtrength of this Nation by its Warring abroad, and thus being courted to Marriage and Alliances.

Sic Saxoniæ ſuæ Præfatur. Gentis Saxonum primordia & origiginem & (quas putant) Antiquitates, apud noſtros relegentem pudor occupat & confuſio faciei: ita puerilibus fabulis & anilibus deliramentis omnia ſcatent ut nihil in his ſibi conſtet, nihil quadret. Una eſt omnibus ſententia, aliunde profectam gentem, navibus à mari adventaſſe: Sed unde & quo tempore, non inter ſcribentes convenit, &c.

Henry their King kill'd on his Wedding day by *Gram* King of the *Danes*.

22. The

They loſe the poſſeſſion of *Juteland.*

And are beaten at Sea by the *Danes.*

22. The next King of the *Saxons* mentioned by *Krantzius*, is *Sifrid*, who lived in the time of *Hadding* King of the *Danes*, with whom he had ſome Skirmiſhes, but ſtill he kept poſſeſſion of *Jutia*, which was loſt by *Hundinck* his Son, who was worſted in a ſingle Combat, to which he was provoked by *Roe* the *Daniſh* King, who founded *Roſchild* a Town once famous in *Danemark*. From this time the *Saxons* never had the entire poſſeſſion of *Juteland*, though ſometimes the Dukedom of *Sleſwicke*, the principal part of it was in their Dominion. The next Adventure made by our *Saxons* was about another Love buſineſs, liking it ſeems in ſuch to intermeddle. *Hother*, you muſt know, the King of *Sweden* had a Miſtreſs he much affected, and a Rival one *Balder*, his Subject by Birth, and ſo in this reſpect his Inferiour; but Superiour to him in the Opinion of the People, which for his Magical tricks, as it ſeems, had fanſied him to be a God. To War they went, a ſuppoſed God, for a Mortal Woman; and he did not ſo confide in his Divinity, but that judging himſelf too weak for his King, he ſought to *Gelder* the King of the *Saxons* for aid, a Perſon that very readily complied with his Demands. Though the *Saxons* had now loſt *Jutia*, yet their Ships they had not, which had tranſported them into *Sweden*, but that that King's Fleet met them by the way and ſtreight ingaged them. Now, as our Authour obſerves, a ſuppoſed Divinity could not prevail againſt the Arms of poor Mortals. *Balder* is beaten and runs away. The *Saxons* ſtick to it, and are ſlain every Mothers Son: Which the Enemy perceiving, made a fair Funeral Pile of their Veſſels, and therewith moſt nobly and gently conſumed them. A Fact, doubtleſs to be compared with that Generoſity which *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian* ſhewed towards ſlain *Marcellus*. The next Act of the *Saxons* ſhewed but little of Generoſity. They would have hector'd *Wermund* the King of *Danemark* out of *Jutia*, being now very old and blind, and having a Son, in whom for his reputed Stolidity, he had no pleaſure. The Ambaſſadours in a jeering way offer a Combat betwixt this Son and their Maſters, which contrary to all expectation, the Fool accepts; nay, offers to meet in the Field both him and his Squire, and that with ſuch ſucceſs, that he firſt doughtily ſlew the Squire, and then his Maſter.

Another defeat.

23. By this means the proud *Saxons* were forced to ſubmit their own Necks to the Yoke which they had been fitting for others, though not long they continued in that condition. For ſhaking off the Yoke of Servitude again, in the days of *Dan*, the third of that Name, King of the *Danes*, they ſent another proud Challenge to them, either to pay Tribute, or to expect them to come and fetch it; but in this Adventure our daring *Saxons* were once again beaten. Here *Krantzius* ſatisfies the wonder of his Reader, why he ſhould ſo much hear of Sea Expeditions, and nothing of the Mediterraneous Parts; why the *Danes* ſhould ſtill come off with Victory, and the *Saxons* ever with loſs and diſcredit, a thing which did not ſo fall out in after times. He tells him there's no Body has written of theſe Matters but *Saxo Grammaticus* an Iſlander, one who made it his deſign to extoll the *Danes*, as all other Writers *Greek* and *Roman* have done by their Countreymen; had *Saxo* been a *Saxon* by his Countrey as well as by Name, he would have done the quite contrary, and not obtruded theſe Fables upon the World, but perhaps others as bad on the contrary ſide. Doubtleſs he is very fabulous and partial, and for that cauſe we refer the Hiſtory of theſe Northern Kingdoms to another Period, when he may have ſomething certain whereon to fix; but when we have certain footing as we have in the caſe of the *Britains*, *Saxons*, and others, then judge we it neceſſary to give the Reader an hint of Fables, though Fables, which by that habit we dreſs them in, and that diſtinction we put upon them he may eaſily diſcover from rational and probable Stories. Then comes *Krantzius* to write the Hiſtory of the *Cimbri*, which made War in *Italy*, and other places, which we have heretofore diſpatched in the Accounts we have already given of thoſe Nations, againſt which they made War. We have already told the Reader, that unto the *Greeks* and *Romans* the *Saxons* were firſt known, as well as others, by the Name of *Cimbri*; but ſo were all down to *Gall*, and even the *Galls* themſelves, of which Nation theſe *Cimbri* that invaded *Italy* and *Greece*, ſeem to have been. And whereas *Krantzius* ſaith they were *Saxons*, we ſhall grant them ſo to have been, in a large acceptation, as their Name was alſo communicated to all that inhabited, even as far as the *Scheld*.

24. After this he reaſſumes his Story of the War betwixt the *Saxons* and *Danes*. They paid Tribute to *Fronte* the Great, who reigned when our Saviour was born, and to his Son *Fridleve* as valiant and victorious as himſelf, but grudged to doe ſo to his Son *Frotho* a Child of but twelve years old. They rebell, and

Sect. 1.

They have the worſt again.

De Orig. Hamburgi vide Ciſnerum in Præf. Krantzio & præcipuè Lambecii Origines Hamburgenſes.

the Armies meeting, the Controverſie is referred to another Duel between one *Starcater* on the ſide of the *Danes*, and one *Hama* on the *Saxon* part, who came by the worſt, having his head cloven aſunder, from whom the Writer gueſſeth the Town of *Hamburgh* might receive its Name. Yet ſtill would not the *Saxons* reſt, but ſhortly after paſſing the *Elbe* (for they had loſt to the *Danes* all lying beyond that River) they were again overcome and loſt their Captain *Hanef*, from whom he thinks *Hanofer* might alſo receive its Name; and truly one as likely as the other. But for all this *Swerting* the other Captain of the *Saxons* would not be diſcouraged, and preſuming he ſhould doe nothing by force, betook himſelf to Wiles and Craft. He invites the King of the *Danes* to his Houſe, and then ſets it on fire, willingly therein periſhing like another *Decius* or *Samſon*, that thereby he might deſtroy his Enemy. The Sons of this *Swerting* took off his Son and Succeſſour from revenging his death, by giving to him their Siſter in Marriage, which procured ſo good an underſtanding betwixt them, that they lived lovingly with him in his Court for a long time, till ſtout *Starcater* returned thither. He (you muſt know) ſo rated the poor young King for harbouring theſe Snakes in his boſome, that to prevent ſtinging he knock'd them on the Head, notwithſtanding what their Siſter and her Children could doe to preſerve them. Yet could not he get any Tributes from the *Saxons*, who now ſtood upon their guard and ſtoutly defended their Liberty.

25. What was done in the mean time in the Iſland Countries by the *Saxons*, *Krantzius* complains that we are ignorant, blaming *Tacitus* for being too much *tacitus* in this Particular. He then mentions in ſhort what was done in *Germany* by *Druſus* and *Germanicus* in the time of *Auguſtus*, concluding, that thoſe they had to doe with were *Saxons*, although ſuch they be not called. After this he tells us another Tale of one *Siwar* a Nobleman amongſt them, who had got the conſent of the young Queen of the *Danes*; but one *Haldan* of *Norway* who had had a Months mind to her, but was diverted, by ſome Wars he waged with the *Ruſſes* hearing of the Wedding, came as *Gram* had done upon them on the very day, and cruelly ſlaying the Bridegroom, took the Bride away with him: And theſe are the *Saxon* Antiquities (and goodly ones they are) which *Saxo* the *Daniſh* Writer (in Name alone being *Saxon*) hath communicated to us; the reſt are buried in Oblivion. From theſe goodly Antiquities he paſſeth to what was done againſt the *Batavi* in the time of *Veſpaſian*, but inſiſts on this Subject but little, as unproper by his Confeſſion. Next he falls into a grievous Complaint that none hath tranſmitted to Poſterity the Actions of the *Saxons* in the Inland Countries, not doubting but that ſuch as had been ſo ſtout at Sea, would not be Cowards at Land, but have acted ſomething againſt or with the *Turingi* and *Vandals*. He doubts not but they had an hand in that War of the *Marcomans*, in the days of *Marcus Antoninus*, which affrighted the *Romans* no leſs than the *Carthaginian* Wars had done. But neither any of the *Marcomans* nor *Saxons* committed any thing relating hereunto to writing; we onely enjoy what the *Romans* wrote, which they did, as all other Stories, for the advantage and grandeur of their Empire, onely being ſilent as to the valiant deeds of their Enemies. We ſee a Man hath plainly the advantage of a Lion, becauſe a Man was the Painter. Could a Lion have painted, we ſhould have ſeen another kind of Picture. Of theſe things we may complain, but cannot amend them. Thus *Krantzius* Wittily.

They pay for their Leachery once more.

26. He farther obſerves, that till about three hundred years after the Birth of Chriſt, there is no mention made of the *Saxons* in any *Roman* Writer. The firſt that mentioned them, is *Eutropius*, and after him *Oroſius*, in the Reigns of *Diocletian* and *Maximian*. *Eutropius* relates how *Carauſius* being appointed to clear the Coaſts of the *Armorican* and *Belgick* Seas, which the *Franks* and *Saxons* infeſted, though he often took many Barbarians, yet neither gave up the Booty to the Provincials, nor ſent it to the Emperours, was ſuſpected for favouring of the Pirates, that he might rob them as they paſſed by, and for this reaſon being commanded to be ſlain by *Maximian*, took upon him the Purple at *Bononia* or *Bulleign* in *Picardy*. This is related by *Oroſius* in well nigh the ſame words, and by *Beda* in his *Britannia*, as he calls it. Here our Authour inſults upon two ſorts of Writers, as well he may; Firſt, ſuch as fetch the *Franks* from the Lake of *Mæotis*, in the time of *Valentinian* the Emperour, who was not yet born; then over thoſe who deduce the Original of the *Saxons*, from the times of *Theodorich* King of the *Franks*, who was neither in being two hundred years after: This is to be taken ſpecial notice of, that in thoſe days the *Saxons* exerciſed Piracy upon all

theſe Coaſts, and that as well the *Britiſh*, as the *Gallick*; ſo falſe is that which ſome have affirmed, that before the coming over of *Hengiſt*, they were unknown to the *Britains.* For *Claudian* the Poet, inveighing againſt (*a*) *Eutropius*, about the year of our Lord 400, makes mention of their Inſeſting the Sea in general, (*b*) in another place of the *Orchades*, and in (*c*) another introduces *Britain*, ſpeaking how *Stilico* had Fortified her both againſt the Invaſions of *Picts*, *Scots* and *Saxons.* Moreover, (*d*) *Sidonius Apollinaris*, about the time of their coming into the Iſland, deſcribes moſt elegantly their Piracy, both in his Epiſtle to *Lampridius*, and in his Panegyrick to his Father-in-Law.

27. Moreover, in the *Notitia* of the Dignities of the Weſtern Empire, we have mention made of the *Comes litoris Saxonici per Britannias*, of the Count of the *Saxon* Shore throughout *Britain.* Now the *Saxon* Shore was all that Tract from the *Cambrica Cherſoneſus* on that ſide the Sea, as far even as the Weſtern Part of *Gall*, where the *Saxons* were wont both to rove and rob upon the Sea, and alſo land and make depredations on the Continent; and from this Shore it is, that a very Learned Man of our own will have the Count of the *Saxon* Shore throughout *Britain,* to have received his Title, denying that this Shore of *Britain* could be called the *Saxon* Shore, becauſe here they never landed, but onely robbed off at Sea. In a matter of truth we muſt be impartial, and affirm him ſtrangely overſeen when he ſaith that, * *We reade not any where that the* Saxons *had at that time, either ſetled themſelves upon the Shores of* Britain, *or were wont to ſail thither, or that they infeſted any thing of* Britain, *except the Sea.* From the verſes of *Claudian* lately cited, it ſufficiently appears that *Britain,* as he brings her in, did not fear the *Saxon* roving, but the *Saxon* coming, and how could he properly be ſaid to come to her except he landed? But *Ammianus* himſelf, whom that Learned Man ſo often cites, ſufficiently clears the controverſie, where he relates that a meſſage came, how *Britain* was extremely vexed by Conſpiracy of Barbarians, that *Nectaridius* the Count of the Maritime Tract was ſlain, and *Buchobandes* the Duke was circumvented by their Hoſtile lying in wait; now what Barbarians theſe were, is evident from his words which follow, that the *Saxons* were at this time wont to Conſpire with the *Attacotts* and *Scotts*; and in another place he writes, that as the *Allemans* did depopulate *Gall,* and *Rhætia*, and the *Sarmatæ* and *Quadi Pannonia*, ſo the *Picts*, *Scotts*, and *Attacotts*, vexed the *Britains* with continual miſeries. Can we imagine that theſe Rovers would not land any where, where they could get booty; and that *Britain* ſhould be ſo poor and beggarly, that it ſhould not afford them Incouragement, as well as the wateriſh places of *Holland*, and the barren Coaſts of *Brabant*? their aim, if they rightly underſtood their Trade, ſhould be to prey at Sea upon the *Batavians*, whoſe ground could ſcarcely maintain them, as at this day, and plunder the Land of *Britain* more fruitfull, affording more incouragement than the other. We find by *Claudian* they landed in the *Orchades*, and were the *Orchades* Iſlands more tempting than the Iſland of *Britain*? As for the opinion of *Pancirollus*, that the *Britiſh* ſhould be called the *Saxon* Shore, becauſe the *Saxons* were before called in by *Vortigern* to aſſiſt the *Britains*, and there inhabited, in thoſe times, it is a mighty overſight alſo, the *Saxons* being called in long after there was a Count of the *Saxon* ſhore throughout *Britain* in the times of the *Romans.* But it was but an overſight not worthy to be ſo charged with ignorance by that Learned Man, *Pancirollus* being ſufficiently known to have been excellently skilled both in Hiſtory, the ſeries of Times, and other Learning.

Infeſting Sea and Land.

28. That our *Saxons* then were great Pirates and Rovers at Sea, it's granted on all hands; but as one of our Learned Men denies they landed or made any abode in *Britain,* ſo another as eminent in things of this nature alſo, will not yield that before the coming of *Hengiſt*, they had ſo much as paſſed the *Elbe*, and ſeated themſelves upon that Shore betwixt it and the *Rhine*, ſo commodious for Riding of Ships and Navigation. He grants that in the time of *Domitian*, *through the Tract of* Belgica *and* Aremorica, *they infeſted the Sea*, as *Eutropius* witneſſeth, and, that *the* Saxons *were a Nation active, in Piracy on all the Coaſt from the River* Rhine *to the City* Donia, *now called* Danemarc, at ſuch time as they were called into *Britain,* as *Fabius Ethelwerdus* affirms in the ſecond little Book of his Annals. He denies not that they exerciſed Piracy in that Maritime Tract: but cannot yet, he ſaith, find that they fixed any where in the Continent of that Tract: For, whereas it is read in *Zozimus*, that the *Quadi* Part of the *Saxons* ſeized upon *Batavia*, having thence beaten the *Franci Salii*, and that *Julian* taking upon him the defence of the *Salii*, reduced the *Quadi* into obedience, he cannot aſſent

(a) *Quantum te Principe poſſum*
Non longinqua docent, domito quod Saxone Thetis
Mitior.

(b) *De 4o Conſulatu Honorii*
—Maduerunt Saxone fuſo
Orchades.

(c) *Me quoq; vicinis pereuntem gentibus inquit*
Munivit Stilico.
Illius effectum curis ne bella timerem
Scotica, ne Pictum tremerem, ne littore toto
Proſpicerem dubiis venturum Saxona ventis.

(d) *Iſtic Saxona cœrulum videmus,*
Aſſuetum ante ſalem ſolum timere
Cujus verticis, &c.
Quin & Aremoricus piratum Saxona tractus
Sperabat, &c.

* *Seld. in Mar. Clauſ. Lib.* 2. *c.* 7.

Lib. 27.

Lib. 26.

Uſſerius in Primord. Eccleſ. p. 399.

Hiſt. lib. 9.

aſſent to it firſt, becauſe the *Quadi* were no part of the *Saxons*, and then becauſe (*a*) *Eunapius Sardianus* (whoſe Hiſtory (*b*) *Zozimus* rather tranſcribed than wrote one himſelf) neither ſaid they were *Quadi*, neither *Canchi* (whom *Cluverius* would ſubſtitute in their Rooms) nor *Saxons*, but *Chamani*; (*c*) *Julian* himſelf in his Epiſtle to the Senate and People of *Athens*, ſetting forth what he had done to the ſame purpoſe. But to this may be oppoſed, firſt, that they made many Inrodes, and theſe Inrodes made by them were not ſmall and contemptible, but to ſome extent; for (*d*) *Ammianus Marcellinus* writes, that in the days of *Valentinian* and *Valens*, the Coaſts of *Gall* were waſted by the *Franks* and *Saxons*, bordering upon them, each making excurſions as far as they could by Land or Sea, with grievous plunderings, firings, and ſlaughters of ſuch as they took Priſoners. And farther, the *Saxones Baiocaſſini*, or the *Saxons* of *Baieux*, are mentioned by *Gregory* of *Tours*, as ancient Inhabitants upon the Shore of *Aremorica*. It's not the opinion onely of *Krantzius*, that the *Saxons* long before their coming into *Britain*, had inlarged their Borders from *Holſatia*, on this ſide the *Elbe*, almoſt as far as the *Rhine*, but *Aventinus* placeth the *Saxons* between theſe two Rivers, even in the days of *Auguſtus Cæſar*. Some Eaſtward extend their Dominions through all the *Sarmatian* Sea, even almoſt as far as the River *Tanais*, which ſeparates *Europe* from *Aſia*. And an ancient Chronicle in Rhime alledges from other Books, much more ancient, that all the Countrey beneath *Neomagus*, was in old time called the lower *Saxony*, and that the River *Scheld* taking in its Waters from the *Meuſe* and the *Rhine*, was its Weſtern Border. To be ſure that after the removal of the *Franks* into *Gall*, by degrees they ſetled themſelves in their Seats, and not onely poſſeſſed the Maritime Coaſt betwixt the *Elbe* and the *Rhine*, but pierced into the inward Parts of *Germany*, on all hands is agreed. Theſe things ſpeak the extent of the *Saxon* Power; which indeed was ſo terrible both at Land and Sea (wherever they planted) that amongſt all other Nations, in the decay of the Empire, they by the *Romans* were moſt fear'd.

(*a*) *In Ecleg. legat. ab Hæſchalio Edit. p.* 8.
(*b*) *Phot. biblioth. num.* 98.
(*c*) *Oper. Julian. par.* 1. *pag.* 514.
(*d*) *Lib.* 27.

Lib. 5. *c.* 26.

Boior. Annal. lib. 2.

Vide apud Sheringham. cap. 2.

Are chiefly feared by the *Romans.*

29. We have now preſented our *Saxons* ready to take Ship, or their Keels for *Britain*, to which Voyage they were ſufficiently inclined, doubtleſs from the knowledge they could not but have of the Iſland. And ſo great inclination they had, that ſome there are who ſpeak nothing of an Invitation, but ſay like unwelcome Gueſts, as they proved, they came abſolutely without ſending for; yet partly becauſe they could not ſtay at home. For *Ninius* will have them driven by their Relations out of *Germany*, which another limits unto *Friſia*, as the *Galls* of old when their Countrey was not able to maintain their growing Multitudes, ſent out as to travell, three hundred thouſand of their Brood, to ſeek out new Habitations; ſo *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* would have us believe it to have been the Cuſtome in *Saxony*, to ſend out their Numbers by Lot, to free themſelves from a ſuperfluous Multitude. But we have good ſecurity from *Gildas*, *Beda*, *Paulus Diaconus*, and many others, that they were ſent for over by *Vortigern*, whom *Gildas* calls a proud and unlucky Tyrant, and *Witichind* makes a formal Embaſſy to be ſent, as we have before related. Therefore *William* the Monk of *Malmesbury* will have both Cauſes to have concurr'd, which is not improbable. *It pleaſeth them all* (ſaith he) *to ſend for the* Saxons *and* Angli *out of* Germany, *being valiant at their Arms, and a wandering People. Hereby would accrue double profit, for being invincible, they would eaſily beat back their Enemies; and hitherto being uncertain where to fix, they would take it for a mighty favour, if they might have but ſome rough and barren Soil, ſome dry and hungry Heath to inhabit. They never imagined they would act any thing againſt their Countrey, the freſh memory of this favour would ſo oblige them and ſoften the fierceneſs of their Diſpoſition. This Advice being approved, Ambaſſadours are ſent into* Germany, *men really of quality, who would worthily diſcharge themſelves of that publick Character.* *The* Germans *hearing they were courted to a thing which they themſelves a thouſand times had deſired, quickly condeſcended; the pleaſure they took in the Enterprize, ſpurring them on to all expedition imaginable. Bidding therefore farewell to the Places that bred them, and renouncing the Affections of their Parents, they commit themſelves to the favourable Gale of Fortune and the Winds, which in three long Ships, which they call Ciules or Keels, waft them into* Britain. *Now at this time and afterward they came from three ſorts of People in* Germany, *viz. The* Angles, Saxons *and* Jutes.

Joh. Gerbrand Chronic. Belg. l. 1. *c.* 9.

Hiſt. Britan. l. 6. *c.* 1.

They take Ship for *Britain* being invited by *Vortigern.*

De Geſtis Reg. Angl. l. 1. *c.* 10.

30. *For, almoſt all the Land which lies under the Northern Pole, becauſe it doth germinate ſo many Men* (ſo the Monk plays with the word) *is not undeſervedly called* Germany, *though diſtinguiſhed by many Limits of Provinces. Wherefore in like manner, as they whoſe work it is, are wont to cut off the Luxuriant boughs of a*

Tree,

Caſting Lots who ſhall goe.

Hengiſt and *Horſa* arrive with a ſmall, but valiant Company.

Tree, that it may have Juice enough wherewith to keep in Life the remaining; ſo do the Inhabitants by the Expulſion of ſome of their Number eaſe their Mother, leſt by feeding ſo numerous an Off-ſpring ſhe ſhould be exhauſted; but to prevent grudgings and diſcontent, they uſe Lots for deciding the Controverſie, who ſhall be ſent away. Thence is it, that the Men of that Land have made a Vertue of a Neceſſity, that ſuch as were driven from their Native ſoil, might by their Arms make themſelves room in foreign Countries, as the Wandals *who formerly overran* Africk, *the* Goths *who poſſeſſed* Spain, *as the* Lombards *which ſtill inhabit* Italy, *and the* Normans *poſſeſſing that part of* Gall, *which they had won with their Arms, have called it* Normandy. *Out of this* Germany *then came firſt into* Britain *a ſmall Band of Men, but ſuch as made good its ſmalneſs by its Valour, two brothers of hopefull Inclinations, and not ignoble in their Countrey, viz.* Hengiſt *and* Horſa, *being their Captains. For they were the* Abnepotes, *or Great, great Grandchildren of that moſt ancient* Woden, *from whom almoſt all barbarous Nations derive their Pedigree, and whom the Nations of the* Engliſh, *madly fanſying to be a God, have by a perpetual Sacrilege conſecrated to him the fourth day of the week to this very time, and the ſixth day to his Wiſe* Frea.

31. This is to be obſerved from what we have formerly ſaid, that ſuch as came over into *Britain* were of the Ancient *Saxons, viz.* thoſe peculiarly ſo called whoſe ſeats we have ſhewn, and of the *Jutes* and *Angles*. *Ninius* will have *Hengiſt* to have come out of an Iſland called *Oghul*, whether by it he means the whole *Cimbrick Peninſula*, or as Learned *Uſher* found in one Copy *Angul*, that is that part of the *Cherſoneſus*, which at this day is called *Angleu*, and gives a certain repreſentation of the whole *Peninſula*. But (*a*) others from the Chronicle of *Leyden*, will have *Hengiſt* a *Friſian*. *John* (*b*) of *Leiden*, in his *Belgick* Chronicle, affirms him to have been King of *Friſia* or *Freiſeland*, which he ſays was called Lower *Saxony*. *Suffridus* (*c*) *Petrus* contends, that he was the Son of *Udolph Haro*, the ſeventh Duke of the *Friſians* by *Suana*, the Daughter of *Vetgiſt* Prince of the *Saxons*; and adds that he led forth two ſeveral Colonies: the former in the two and twentieth year of his Age into old *England* near *Jutia*, where for ſixty two years he continued ſuſtaining his Company, partly by Tillage, and partly by a piratical kind of War: the ſecond in the eighty fourth year of his Age from that *England* into *Britain*, where he laſted not above four years dying in the eighty eighth year of his Age, which was of our Lord the four Hundred fifty third. But whatever he fondly talks of Books written in thoſe days upon theſe ſubjects by the Father of *Hengiſt*, and two I wot not what Dukes, our Learned Primate very rationally concludes, that if *Hengiſt* and *Horſa* were *Friſians*, they were born rather in the *Daniſh Friſia*, than in that which borders upon *Holland*. For in *Danemark* there is a *Freiſeland*, which in reſpect of the other *Saxo Grammaticus* calls the leſs in the beginning of his Hiſtory, being the moſt Southern Part of Southern *Jutland*, having on the Eaſt *Old England* or old *Anglia*, and on the South the Ancient *Saxony*, and ſeparated from both by the River *Eidore*, from which its Inhabitants are called *Eiderſteds*, as from the ſhore they inhabit *Strand Freiſelanders*. That theſe People were a Colony of the *Friſians*, the Agreement both of their Name and Language do teſtifie, as the ſame *Saxo* writes, and *Ubbo Emmius* affirms, that ſtill they retain through ſo many Ages their Speech uncorrupted, having ſo much affinity with the *Engliſh* Tongue, that it comes not nearer any Language of their Neighbours.

(a) *Vorper Thaborit. Hiſtor. Friſ. l.* 1. *c.* 8.
(b) *Johan. Gerbrand.*
(c) *In Apol. pro Antiquit. Friſ.*

In Primord. p. 397.

A ſupply from *Friſia*.

Hiſt. lib. 14.
Hiſt. Friſic. lib. 2.

32. Now if theſe *Friſians* were of one and the ſame Original, and agreed in their Speech both betwixt themſelves and the *Engliſh*, it's the leſs to be wondred ſaith the Primate, that the *Friſones* are alſo with other Nations, which gave Original to the *Engliſh Saxons* reckoned by *Beda*; the other are, beſides the Ancient *Saxons*, the *Rugini*, *Dani*, *Hunni* and *Boructuarii*, ſome of which might poſſibly come over amongſt the conſtant ſupplies which were ſent to *Hengiſt*, and the reſt out of *Saxony*; for that the main Body of the Colony conſiſted of the three Nations, *Saxons*, *Angles* and *Jutes* is univerſally accorded. Neither is there any other Teſtimony beſides this of *Beda*, that the *Angloſaxons* were of *Friſian* deſcent, for as for that which *Emmius* produceth out of *Marcellinus*, in the life of *Suidbert*, this *Marcellinus* is a forged Authour, diſcovered to be ſuch by *Stephen White* (one moſt knowing not onely in the Antiquities of his own *Iſland*, but of other Nations alſo) as *Mailew* the Great Patron of that Book himſelf confeſſed. But he produces another Proof out of *Procopius*, who writes that the Iſland of *Britain was inhabited by three moſt numerous Nations, over each of which commanded its own King, theſe are called* Angili Friſones, *and* Britones, *having a Name near a-kinn to the*

Lib. 1. *Hiſt. cap.* 10.

UMI

Iſland it ſelf. And what can you now farther require ſaith *Ubbo?* But *Procopius* meant nothing leſs than *Britain;* he wrote of *Brittia*, which in the ſelf ſame place in plain words he diſtinguiſheth from *Britain*, placing it betwixt *Britain* and *Scandonavia*, which he calls *Thule*. This ſhews us how to correct that Paſſage of *Iſaac Tzetzes*, the Scholiaſt upon *Lycophron*, which ſaith, *that in the Ocean is the Iſland of* Britain *placed betwixt* Britain *which lies Weſtward, and* Thule *towards the Eaſt.* And whatſoever the two *Tzetzes* Brothers, *John* upon *Heſiod*, and *Iſaac* upon *Lycophron*, have fabled concerning the Souls of the deceaſed, they being carried into *Britain* (as we reade it,) *Procopius* writes all this with Relation to *Brittia*.

When they landed.

33. We land therefore our *Saxons* in *Britain*, being ſuch as were deſcended from
thoſe properly ſo called from the *Angles* and *Jutes*, though ſome of other Nations
might poſſibly intermix in ſome of their ſupplies, and now let us enquire what
time it was they were ſent for over. Thoſe of *Holland* and *Freiſeland*, ſay their
385 Paſſage happened in the three hundredth and eighty fifth year of Our Lord. Out
of the Ancient *Welſh* Chronicles, *Price* in his defenſe of the Hiſtory of *Britain*,
preſents us with this Chronology: *From the time of* Guorthigirn, *till the Battel of*
Badon, *when* Arthur *fought with and vanquiſhed the Saxons, paſſed* 128 *years: then
from the Battel at* Badon, *to the Battel of* Camilan, *wherein* Arthur *was ſlain* 22
years more are reckoned. Now the death of Arthur *in the* Britiſh *Hiſtory is placed*
392 *at the Year* 542, *out of which Number firſt* 128 *and then* 22 *being deducted*, 392
will remain to have been the Year of our Lord. But at this time the *Britains* were
under the Command of the *Romans*, the yoke of whom though *Zozimus* writes
that they caſt off, and made themſelves a free People; yet if ſo it was, this was but a
rebellious fit of theirs ſuitable to what *Gildas* writes of them, for the *Saxons* came
not to their aſſiſtence till they had petitioned again the *Romans* for Relief, and
wholly ſubmitted themſelves to them again, and yet they were forſaken by them,
and left to ſhift for themſelves. This is certain whatever *Irenicus* a German hath
written, that the *Engliſh Saxons* on a ſudden paſſed over into *England* (*Britain* he
means) in the Days of *Valentinian*, and killed the *Romans* every Mothers Son
of them; their opinion is abſolutely to be allowed, who write that under *Theodoſius*
the younger, or elſe of *Martian* his Succeſſour, this great Alteration happened
in *Britain*.

Vide Uſſerium ubi ſuprà. p. 401. Germanic. *Exeg. lib.* 6. *c.* 37. *Proſper, in Chronic.*

On heoꞃa Daᵹum Henᵹeꞅꞇ ⁊ Hoꞃꞅaꝼꞃom ƿẏꞃꞇ ᵹeoꞃne ᵹelaꝺoꝺe Bꞃeꞇꞇa Cẏninᵹe ꞇoꝼulꞇame ⁊ hia, &c. *Hiſt. lib.* 1. *c.* 15.

The laſt Edition is mended by Mr. *Wheelock*, according to the beſt Copies, and the *Saxon* Tranſlation of King *Alured*, which runs thus,

Ða ƿæꞅẏmb ꝼeoƿeꞃ hunꝺ ƿinꞇꞃa ⁊ niᵹon ⁊ ꝼeoƿeꞃꞇiᵹ ꝼꞃum, uꞃeꞅ Dꞃihꞇneꞅ menniꞅcẏꞅꞅe ꝥ Maꞃꞇianuꞅ Caꞅeꞃe ꞃiceonꝼenᵹ ⁊ ꞅeoꝼon ᵹeaþha ꝼꝺe. ----ꝺa Anᵹeþeꝺ ⁊ Seuxna ƿæꞅ ᵹelaþoꝺ ꝼꞃam ꝺam ꝼoꞃꞅpꞃecenan Cẏninᵹe ⁊ en Bꞃeoꞇone com on þꞃẏm mẏclum ꞅcẏƿum ⁊ on eaꞅꞇ ꝺæle ꝺẏꞅeꞅ ealonꝺeꞅ eaꞃꝺunᵹ ꞅꞇoƿe on ꝼenᵹ, &c.

34. Therefore an Interliner of *Ninius*, who ever he was, hath placed the coming
428 of the *Saxons* in the year CCCCXXVIII, at the Conſulſhip of *Fœlix* and *Taurus*,
in which Conſulſhip the *Franks* their Neighbours loſt to *Ætius*, the Count, part of
Gall lying upon the *Rhine*, on which they had ſeized. To paſs by other foreign
Accounts, which deſerve no credit, becauſe they contradict what *Gildas* clearly
hints, that before the third Conſulſhip of *Ætius*, the *Saxons* were not called hither,
Sigebert placeth their coming in the very year of his third Conſulſhip, of our
446 Lord CCCCXLVI. But the *Latin Saxon* Annals left by *Cambden* to *Cotton's* Library,
448 refer it to the year CCCCXLVIII. *Fabius Ethelward*, and with him the Annals
written in the *Engliſh Saxon* Tongue, publiſhed by *Wheelock* lately, and by him called
a *Saxon* Chronology, *William* of *Malmesbury*, *Henry* of *Huntingdon*, *Alanus de*
449 *Inſulis*, *Matthew Florilegus*, and others aſſign it to the year CCCCXLIX, induced
as *Uſher* believes by thoſe words of *Beda*, that *in the year* CCCCXLIX, *from the
Incarnation of our Lord* (ſo the Manuſcripts have it, not as the Printed Books
CCCCIX) *Martian being the forty fourth from* Auguſtus, *together with* Valentinian
obtained the Empire, and held it ſeven years. Then the Nation of the Engliſh *or* Saxons,
invited by the foreſaid King (Vortigern) *paſſed over into* Britain *in three long
ſhips.* But it being evident, that *Martian* came not to the Government till the year
following, their coming is either to be referred (as *Florentius* of *Worceſter* doth
450 it) to the Conſulſhip of *Valentinian* and *Avienus*, that is to the year CCCCL, or
as it is in the Common Chronicle of *Marianus Scotus* to the Conſulſhip of *Herculanus*
452 and *Aſperatius*, which, as appears from the *Faſti*, fell into the year CCCCLII.
For *Beda* doth not mean, that juſt in the year that *Martian* was advanced, but
within the compaſs of the ſeven years he reigned, the *Saxons* arrived in the Iſland,
or rather within the five years, wherein he jointly governed with *Valentinian*.
For in the Epitomy of his Hiſtory, *Beda* ſignifieth, that *in their times the* Engliſh
were ſent for by the Britains.

Where they landed.

35. What number they were which *Hengiſt* firſt brought over with him, is no where told us, but coming over but in three Veſſels by them called *Ciules*, by us *Keels*, by the *Freiſlanders Schieulen*, they could not be very many. They firſt landed, or as *Gildas* ſays, ſet their terrible Claws, on a place called *Hip-wines-fleot*, as both the *Saxon* Annals or Chronology, and *Ethelward* do call it, thought

S 2 to

Sect. 2.

to have been *Ebſfleet* in the Iſle of *Tanet*, which Iſle being the Eaſtern part of *Kent*, as *Kent* is of *Britain*, ſeveral Authours affirm to have firſt been given up into their Hands. They ſhew'd themſelves ſo valiant againſt the *Picts* and *Scots*, againſt whom the Nation intended them, and ſo cunning withall for their own ends, that by the means and methods we have formerly ſhewed, they got ſuch footing in *Britain*, that of Friends they turned Enemies, and from Gueſts would be Maſters and Owners of all; and driving the poor *Britains* up into the Mountains, and barren places of the Iſland, or forcing them upon Rocks, or beyond the Seas into foreign Parts; the beſt part of the Countrey they ſeized, where their Poſterity at this day continueth, notwithſtanding what alteration was afterward made by the *Danes* and *Normans*, in its poſſeſſion of their however got Inheritance, their very Language, notwithſtanding too much altered by ridiculous affectation of worſe words, ſtill ſurviving. Having for a time conſidered them all as *Saxons*, now we ſhall diſtinguiſh them again, and acquaint the Reader what parts of *Britain* were ſeized and planted by each ſeveral People. Firſt then the *Jutes*, or ſuch as came out of *Jutia*, poſſeſſed themſelves of *Kent*, the Iſle of *Wight*, and part of *Hamſhire* lying over againſt that Iſle, where the River *Vmble* enters the Ocean; for though afterward it fell to the Province of the *Weſtſaxons*, yet in the firſt times of theſe *Engliſh Saxons*, the Inhabitants were called Jutnacynn or of the Nation of the *Jutes*. The *Saxons*, or ſuch as came out of *Saxony*, properly and anciently ſo called, came to be diſtinguiſhed into Southern, Eaſtern and Weſtern. The *Southſaxons* poſſeſſed themſelves of *Suſſex*, which ſtill bears their Name; not that they were ſo called in their own Countrey, but from the Situation of their newly acquired poſſeſſions. The Eaſtern *Saxons* obtained for their ſhare *Eſſex*, which ſtill bears their Name, with *Middleſex*, and that Southern Part of *Hertfordſhire*. The *Weſternſaxons* anciently called *Genniſſi*, got to themſelves that which we now call *Surrey*, all *Hamſhire*, that part excepted which we ſaid was ſeized by the *Jutes*, *Berkſhire*, *Wiltſhire*, *Dorſetſhire*, *Somerſetſhire*, *Devonſhire*, and ſome part of *Cornwall*; for, moſt part of it is ſtill retained by the Remainders of the ancient *Britains*.

The Poſſeſſion of the *Jutes*.

The Poſſeſſion of the *Saxons*.

The Poſſeſſion of the *Angli*.

36. The *Angli*, or thoſe that came out of *Anglia* (which *Beda* calls *Angulus* and ſaith it was ſo exhauſted by this Plantation, that to his time it remained deſolate, but it was afrerward repleniſhed by the *Jutes*, as we may perceive by *Adamus Bremenſis*) had the greater ſhare, and therefore it was reaſonable they ſhould give denomination to the whole, though there might be another occaſion. They gave Original to four ſorts of People, *viz.* the Eaſtern *Engliſh*, the *Midland Engliſh*, the *Mercians*, and *Northumbrians*. The Eaſtern *Engliſh* poſſeſſed theſe Provinces called afterward Counties of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk* and *Cambridge* with the Iſle of *Ely*, and, as ſome think, part of *Bedfordſhire*. The *Midland Engliſh* inhabited *Leiceſterſhire*, which was ſubject to the Dominion of the *Mercians*. The *Mercians* by the River *Trent*, were divided into Southern, and Northern. Within the extent of the Southern *Mercians* were comprized the Counties of *Lincoln*, *Northampton*, and (what was once a Part of it) *Rutland*, *Huntingdon*, *Bedford*, the Northern Part of *Hertford*, *Buckingham*, *Oxford*, *Gloceſter*, *Warwick*, *Worceſter*, *Hereford*, *Stafford* and *Salop*. Within that of the Northern *Mercians*, the Counties of *Cheſter*, *Derby* and *Notingham*. Laſtly the *Northumbrians*, were they that lived beyond the River *Humber*, who were diſtinguiſhed into the *Deiri* and *Bernicii*. The *Deiri* dwelt in *Lancaſhire*, *Yorkſhire*, *Weſtmorland*, and the Southern Part of *Cumberland*, on this ſide the River *Derwent*. The *Bernicii* were Maſters of *Northumberland* (which at this day onely bears the Name of that large Kingdom,) the Northern Part of *Cumberland* with ſome Portion of *Weſtmorland*, contiguous to it, with the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, and the Southern Part of that we now call *Scotland*, lying betwixt the River *Twede*, and the *Frith* of *Edenborough*. For though the Name of *Scotland* came afterwards impoſed upon that Countrey, yet that the People inhabiting there, and poſſibly farther Northward were the Off-ſpring of the *Engliſh* is evident from their Language, which being *Engliſh Saxon* could not have conquered and over-powered the true *Scotch*, but by the great Multitudes of them that ſpake it.

An account of the *Britains*, that were expelled by thoſe New-comers.

37. Now laſt of all before we take our leave of this Subject, what *Britains* were expelled, by what other ſorts of New-comers, whether *Jutes*, *Saxons* or *Angles*, we ſhall inform the Reader, that of his own Countrey he may receive as full information as we can give him. Know then that *Kent* retains the old Name, being by *Cæſar* as well as others called *Cantium*, and as *Cambden* gueſſeth from a Gallick word, ſignifying a Corner, which the *French* ſtill call a *Canton*; for, a certain Nook or Corner in *Scotland* is called *Cantir*, the Inhabitants of another

part of the Iſland are by *Ptolemy* termed *Cantæ*, the *Canganæ* in *Wales* were poſſeſſed of another Corner, and the *Cantabri* in *Spain* amongſt the *Celtiberians*, dwelt in another *Angle*. Certainly *Kent* is a *Canton* or *Angle* of *Britain*, looking toward *Gall*. And to take the reſt rather as they lay in the Iſland, than as we have named them in reſpect of their New poſſeſſours, *Cornwall* and *Denſhire* were before inhabited by the *Damnonii* or *Danmonii* ſo called in *Britiſh*, either from the Mines of *Tinn*, called by them *Moina*, or from their dwelling under Hills. *Dorſetſhire* belonged to the *Durotriges*, ſo named poſſibly from *Dour* or *Duor* water, and *Trig* an Inhabitant, the Coaſt lying for about fifty Miles full of turnings or windings upon the *Britiſh* Sea. *Somerſetſhire*, *Wiltſhire*, *Hampſhire* were the Poſſeſſion of the *Belgæ*, who as moſt hold paſſed over from the *Belgæ*, a People of *Gall* into *Britain*, being originally *Germans*, having paſſed over the *Rhine*. The Iſle of *Wight* adjoining, was probably peopled by them. The *Atrebatii*, who came alſo from the *Atrebates* in *Gall*, were Maſters of *Berkſhire*. The People called *Regni* of *Surry* (or *Southrey* from its Situation Southward from the River) *Suſſex* (or *Southſex*) and the Sea Coaſt of *Hampſhire*. The *Dobuni* of *Gloceſterſhire* and *Oxfordſhire*, ſo named from *Daffen*, ſignifying low places lying under Hills; their Succeſſours the *Engliſh* were termed *Wiccii* from *Wic* in *Saxon*, ſignifying a *Creek*, for they inhabited round about the Mouth of *Severn*, which is very full of ſmall Creeks and Reaches. The *Cattieachlani*, being as is rationally conjectured firſt called *Caſſii*, inhabited the Counrties of *Buckingham*, *Bedford* and *Hertford*. The *Trinobantes*, thoſe of *Midleſex* and *Eſſex*, rationally thought to have taken their Name from *Tre Nant*, or *Towns in a Vale* by the ſide of the River *Thames*.

The Trinobantes Cæſari; Trinoantes Tacito & Ptolomæo.

38. Next to the *Trinobantes* lived the *Iceni* (poſſibly ſo called from *Iken* a *wedge* in *Britiſh*) and poſſeſſed what was afterward called Eaſt-*England*, *viz.* the Counties of *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridge* and *Huntingdon*. The *Coritani* ſpreading themſelves very far through the Mediterranean Part of the Iſland, inhabited as far as to the *German* Ocean, the Counties of *Northampton*, *Leiceſter*, *Rutland*, *Lincoln*, *Nottingham* and *Derby*. The *Cornavii* dwelt in *Warwickſhire*, *Worceſterſhire*, *Staffordſhire*, *Shropſhire* and *Cheſhire*. The *Brigantes* whoſe Territories were afterward contained within the Kingdom of the *Deiri*, held *Yorkſhire*, the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, *Lancaſhire*, *Weſtmorland*, *Cumberland*. The *Oſſadini* (who rather ſhould have been called *Offatini*, for that they lived beyond the River *Tine*) had their Habitation in *Northumberland*. The *Gadeni* were next to them, and were ſeated in that Countrey, which lies betwixt the Mouth of the River *Tweed*, and *Edenborough Frith*. All theſe were by degrees diſpoſſeſſed by theſe reſolute and hardy Incomers, and either killed or driven out of the Iſland, or forced up into *Cornwall* or *Wales*, which once ſignifyed all lying beyond the *Severn*, but afterward was much contracted, and when the *Romans* ruled in *Britain*, was inhabited by three ſorts of People, the *Silures*, *Dimetæ* and *Ordovices*, who held not onely the twelve ſhires as they now call them of *Wales*, but thoſe two alſo beyond *Severn*, viz. *Herefordſhire* and *Monmouthſhire*, which have been now long reckoned amongſt the Counties of *England*. What ſorts of People were diſpoſſeſſed by *Jutes*, *Saxons* or *Engliſh* properly ſo called, the Reader may diſtinguiſh by comparing what has been ſaid, and may farther underſtand by that to which we have now brought him, *viz.* a particular Deſcription of the ſeveral petty Kingdoms, theſe New Planters founded in the Iſland. Of which ſeverally according to the meaſure of our Intelligence.

SECT. III.

The Kingdom of the Jutes *in* Kent, *from the firſt founding of it by* Hengiſt, *to the Conqueſt of it by* Egbert *King of the* Weſt-Saxons.

The ſpace of three hundred ſeventy four Years.

Sect. 3.

Hengiſt made King.

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1. Hengiſt the Son of *Victigiſke*, whoſe Father was *Vitta* (*Veta*, *Wehta*, or *Withar*) the Son of *Woden*, after the death of his Brother *Horſa*, was made King of *Kent* by his Followers, in the year of our Lord CCCCLVI, as *Mathew Florilegus* writes, or as all the *Engliſh Saxon* Annals conſent in the year CCCCLV; the ſame wherein the Battel was fought betwixt them and *Vortigern* the Son of *Vortigern*, about the very ſame time that *Childerick* the Firſt, King of the *Franks*, of the Race of the *Merovingii*, or the Son of *Meroveus* began his Reign; the Affairs of the *Romans* now every day more and more going down the Wind in theſe Parts, and the *Goths* and *Suevi* being together by the Ears about the ſhares of that Countrey.

Is beaten to his Ships by *Vortimer*.

But in another Battel he beats the *Britains* quite out of *Kent*.

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2. This ſame year he is ſaid thrice to have fought againſt the *Britains*; but as the ſaid Flowergatherer tells us, was not able to reſiſt the skill and proweſs of *Vortimer*, but was glad to flie to the Iſle of *Thanet*, where being daily vexed with Sea Fights, at length the *Saxons* being ſcarcely able to recover their Boats, leaving their Wives and Children, returned into *Germany*. *Henry* of *Huntingdon* writes, that once he fled to the Iſle of *Thanet*, and once to his Ships, and ſent into his Countrey for ſuch as were gone away. If theſe Writers ſay he was beaten, we may be aſſured *Ninius* the *Britain* will ſwear it, who plies you with his Verbs *Concluſit*, *Obſedit*, *Percuſſit*, *Comminuit*, *Tenuit*, meaning *Vortimer*, (or *Guorthemir* as he calls him) his *Welſh* Bloud being up, as it had reaſon to flie out againſt theſe Infidels, theſe that were wretched Unbelievers themſelves, and like Miſcreants had broken all Faith and Covenants, and of Hirelings and Servants turned Tyrants and Maſters; who being called to protect, were now turned Deſtroyers, and with Fire and Sword proſecuted the *Britains*, the true and right Proprietours of the Countrey. But being thus beaten, he ſaith, they ſent Meſſengers into *Germany* to bring more Keels full of a great number of ſtout and luſty Warriours, and afterward fought againſt the Kings of our Nation. Sometimes they overcame and enlarged their Borders, other whiles they were worſted and driven back. And *Guorthemir* greedily fought four Battels againſt them, whereof the laſt was by *Lapis Tituli* upon the Shore of the *Gallick* Sea (ſtill called *Stonar*, as we ſaid, in the Iſle of *Thanet*) where the Barbarians were overthrown, and he remained Conquerour. They ran away to their Keels, and got fearfully into them like ſo many Women, and he died not long after. He of *Huntingdon* agrees with him as to the death of *Gortimer* (ſo he calls him) with whom, he adds, that the hope and ſucceſs of the *Britains* died. After this, *Hengiſt*, and *Æſc* his Son having received freſh Supplies out of their Countrey, and being much incouraged by the death of *Gortimer*, prepare themſelves for another Battel at *Creganford*. The *Britains* bring forth againſt them four Bodies of men, each conducted by a moſt valiant Captain; but coming to the Ingagement, find themſelves over-matched by the Numbers of their Enemies. For thoſe that were newly arrived being freſh, and all of them choice men, with their Axes and Swords ſo laid about them, that they made great ſlaughter of the *Britains*, who yet left not off till they ſaw their four Captains dead upon the place. Then being frighted and diſcouraged beyond belief, fled from *Kent* as far as *London*, and never after durſt come thither for to fight. That this Battel fought at *Creganford* (a Village in *Kent*, ſo called, becauſe ſituate upon the River *Creke* or *Crey*, about a Mile and an half from *Dartford*, in the Bailywick of *Sutton Dartford*, Hundred of *Little* and *Leſneſs*, lately of *Sutton* at *Hone*, Weſt Diviſion of the County, and at this day called *Creiford*) was fought in the year CCCCVII, wherein *Leo* the Elder began his Reign. *Fabius Ethelward* alſo teſtifies, beſides *Florence* of *Worceſter*, the *Saxon* Annals both of *Chriſt-Church* in *Canterbury*, and

the other of *Peterbrough* continued, although in others it be referred to the preceding year.

A Maſſacre.

3. But *Ninius* tells us another kind of Tale of what happened after the death of *Guorthemir*, and after the Return of *Hengiſt* with his Troops. The *Saxons* then began to conſult how they might craftily circumvent King *Guorthigirn* and his Army. They ſent their Ambaſſadours to make a Peace and a perpetual League and Amity with them. Hereupon *Guorthigirn* called his Council, and conſulted what was to be done; the Reſult whereof was, that they would accept of a Peace, and with this Anſwer the Meſſengers returned. After this a friendly Meeting was agreed on, and Caution was given, that neither *Britains* nor *Saxons* ſhould come to the meeting with their Arms; the more to ſuffer their Minds and Affections to unite and ſtrengthen. But that moſt wicked *Hengiſt* commanded his Followers, that each of them ſhould carry his ſhort * Sword with him, ſaying, when I call to you and ſay *Nemet cour Saxes*, then draw your Knives (or Swords) and fall upon them courageouſly. But kill not their King, but for my Daughters ſake, whom I gave him to Wife, keep him ſafe, that he may redeem himſelf. The place was appointed, and they met together. The *Saxons* cunning Foxes ſeemed very kind, giving marvellous good words, and they ſate down man by man very ſociably. But *Hengiſt*, as he ſaid, gave the word, and all the three Hundred Noblemen (*Seniores* † he calls them) of *Guorthigirn* were ſlain, he alone being taken Priſoner and put into Chains. And for his life he was conſtrained to give them large Countries, *viz. Eaſtſex*, *Southſex* and *Middleſex*. *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* tells us, that this Meeting was near the Convent of *Ambriſis*, not far from *Saliſbury*, where ‖ four hundred and ſixty Perſons were ſlain, the Bodies of whom were buried by *Eldade* the Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, with Chriſtian Burial, not far off in the ordinary place. The Chronicle of *Leiden* mentioned but three hundred Princes of *Britain* to have been ſlain, which account another of that Countrey follows in his Chronicle of the Low Countries, though he mentions in another place twelve, whom he calls *Duces Britanniarum*, as being the chief in Place and Dignity. But theſe Outlandiſh Writers confound the Affairs of *Britains* and *Saxons*. What they ſay concerning *Hengiſt* his being beaten out of *Britain*, and his founding the City or Caſtle of *Leiden* upon the Bank of the River *Rhine*, let the Reader remember what has been ſaid before, that we may not here again repeat it.

4. In the year CCCCLXV, *Hengiſt* and *Æſc* his Son again ingaged with the *Britains* at a place called *Wippedsfleet*, and therein indeed ſlew twelve Captains of their Nation, as both *Fabius Ethelward*, *Florence* of *Worceſter*, and the *Engliſh Saxon* Annals do teſtifie, theſe they might miſtake, for having been ſlain in the Maſſacre. But ſtill about that Maſſacre there is more variety of Stories. *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* talks of *Hengiſt* his having aſſociated himſelf for this Enterprize, or Evil Merry-day, no fewer than three hundred thouſand men. As to the number of the ſlain, our *Caxton* and *Johannes Major* in his *Scotch* Hiſtory will have *Hengiſt* to have entered *Britain* with fifteen thouſand men, and *John Harding* will have the *Saxons* to have kill'd there near *Saliſbury* treacherouſly, one thouſand and threeſcore of the *Britiſh* Noblemen. A certain *Scotch* Chronicle agrees with *Geoffrey* in the number of four hundred and ſixty; and *William* of *Malmsbury* ſides with *Ninius* in the ſmalleſt number of three hundred. As for *Hengiſt* he having been the death of ſo many *Britains*, at length was ſlain himſelf at *Coningsburgh* near the River *Dun* in *Yorkſhire*, as we have told already, if that be true which the *Britiſh* Writers relate of him. There is a great ſuſpicion he came to ſome ſuch kind of end, becauſe the *Engliſh Saxon* Writers ſay nothing of his death, as neither of any of the Victories obtained by the *Britains*; what made againſt the honour of their Countreymen they conceal, but are zealous to publiſh their Conqueſts and Trophies. *Matthew* the Flowergatherer placeth his death in the year CCCCLXXXIX, and from him *Ethelward* and the *Engliſh Saxon* Annals differ but in one years computation. According to both their Accounts he reigned then thirty and three, or as *Florentius Wigornienſis* hath it thirty and four years; ſo falſe is that which *Suffridus Petrus* writes of his being but four years in the Iſland. He was by conſent of all, a moſt ſtout Warriour; cruel enough, and as cunning as courageous, knowing very well, in caſe the Lion's skin was too ſcant, how to piece it up with the Fox's. As his Brother had his Name from that Noble Creature we ſtill call an Horſe, ſo he from the Male of that Species intire as Nature leaves him, without any mutilation of Members. And he being a man deſerving Honour in his Countrey, from that great Planta-

Hengiſt is ſlain at *Coningsburgh* in *Yorkſhire*.

Pro veteri voce Hors utuntur hodierni Batavi Paerd, at equum integrum quem Franci vocant un cheval entier, nos Ston'd Horſe, dicunt Hengiſt.

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* *Ninio artavus, i.e. Cultellus, jubet Hengiſtus ut in medio ficonis ſui poneret. Fico verò theca eſt quæ Græcis barbaris etiam φικάελον eſt. Quippe brevis gladius apud illos Saxa vocatur. Unde ſibi Saxo nomen traxiſſe putatur.*

† *Ex Senior Lat. Signior Ital. Sennor Hiſpan. & Signieur Francic.*

‖ *Vel* 480 *ut alia exemplaria habent quæ Johannes Tinmuthenſis in vita S. Dubricii eſt ſequutus. Vide Uſſerium in Primord. p.* 415.

Sect. 3. Plantation he ſettled in this Iſland, his Countreymen the *Saxons* might poſſibly give in memory of him that Animal for their Arms, which formerly were two little Swords or Seanes born croſs or Salter-wiſe.

Oſeric his Son ſucceeds.

5. To *Hengiſt* ſucceeded his Son *Oeric* or *Oſeric* ſirnamed *Æſc*, as *Beda* informs us, from whom the Kings of *Kent*, ſaith *Matthew*, to this day are called *Æſc-kynges*. *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* tells a ſtory, how when *Hengiſt* was taken and killed in *Coniſburgh*, *Oeta* his Son ſhut himſelf into *York*, but was forc't to yield himſelf up to *Ambroſe*, who granted to him, and to *Eoſa* his Kinſman, who had alſo fortified the City of *Alclud* or *Dunbritton*, a Countrey near to *Scotland*; but though *Oeric*, *Oſeric* and *Oeta* being ſomething, yet this ſeems not the ſame with the Eldeſt, who came into *Britain* with his Father, with whom he was invited by *Vortigern*, as *Beda* writes, and who is ſaid to have begun his Reign alſo together with his Father over the *Saxons* (*Jutes* who by a general Name were ſo called) in the Kingdom of *Kent*. There is little or nothing more ſpoken of him, than that he reigned twenty four years, though ſome add ten to this number. The Monk of *Malmesbury* ſays he reigned quietly, *Florentius* of *Worceſter*, glorioſly, being content with the Dominions his Father left him, rather than ſtriving to inlarge them, though *Henry* of *Huntingdon* ſaith he did this too; but moſt dark are theſe times whereof onely the main things, as great Battels and notable Succeſſions are mentioned, ſo as Memory and Tradition could tranſmit them from one Generation to another. For who ſhould relate the many and conſiderable Actions which happened in this great Revolution? the poor *Britains* were maſſacred and driven from Houſe and Home: the *Saxons* were Heathens, nothing of humanity, nothing of civility or letters amongſt them. They took care how to get and hold their Poſſeſſions, nor thought at all how to tranſmit the method and courſe of their Exploits to Poſterity. They thought they ſhould doe bravely if they but leſt goodly Inheritances to thoſe that ſhould come after them; how they came by them they cared not whether ever they knew, ſeeing they ſhould leave them poſſeſſion, nine points of the Law, and a title written by the Sword's point.

Ethelwardus ſic, denique Æthelbyrht Eormenrices filius fuit, cujus avus Ochta qui prænominabatur Æſc, propter quod poſtea Reges Cantuarii Eſingas ſunt nomen ſortiti, ut à Romulo Romani, & Cecrope Cecropidæ, & à Tuſco Tuſci. Æſc quippe pater fuit Hengiſt qui primus Conſul & Dux de Germania fuerat Gentis Anglorum, cujus pater fuit Wightgels, avus Witta, proavus Wither, atavus Wothen, &c. Chron. li. 2. c. 2.

After him reigned *Otha* and *Ermerick*.

6. To *Oſeric* ſucceeded his Son *Otha*, to whom Sir *Henry Savil* in his *Faſti* gives twenty years, although *William* of *Malmesbury* tells us that *Oſeric* had for Succeſſours his Son *Otha*, and *Otha's* Son *Ermerick* more like to him than to the Grandfather and great Grandfather: that to them both are aſcribed fifty three years in the Chronicles; but whether they reigned apart or jointly together it's uncertain. But the *Faſti* now mentioned give to *Ermerick* nine and twenty years.

Then *Ethelbert*.

After them followed *Ethelbert* (or *Egilbert*, or *Æthilbyrht*, as ſome Copies reade him) who at his firſt coming to the Government was very contemptible in the eyes of his Neighbours, and ingaging in War with ſome of them, was once or twice worſted, particularly by * *Ceaulin* and *Cutha*, who beat him back into *Kent*, and ſlew, in a place called *Wibbandune*, two of his Noblemen, *Oſlac* and *Cnebban*, and with much adoe could defend what was leſt him by his Anceſtours. But when he grew older, and came to more experience in the World he grew more ſkilfull in military matters, and ſo plied his buſineſs, that he obtained Victory where-ever he engaged, and quarrels ariſing betwixt him and the other petty Kings, as one gave occaſion unto another, he ſubdued them all one after another, and by continual ſucceſs brought under all the *Engliſh Saxon* Nations except thoſe of *Northumberland*. This made him ſo conſiderable abroad as well as at home, that ſeeking for Alliances he was not denied, but obtained *Bertha* the Daughter of the King of the *Franks*, ſay ſome, or rather one that was of the Bloud-royal of that Nation. Now had he and his Court by more acquaintance with the World, and eſpecially by converſation with the Nation of the *Franks*, which had been civilized before, began to relinquiſh their barbarous manners, and the Queen being a Chriſtian, and having a Chriſtian Biſhop, by name *Letard*, attending upon her, by this means he became more ſuſceptible of that Impreſſion which was made upon him hy *Auguſtine* the Monk and his followers, who being ſent hither by *Gregory* the Biſhop of *Rome*, and finding better acceptance, no doubt, by reaſon of the Intelligence he might hold with the Queen, without much adoe brought him over to the Chriſtian Religion. Having aboliſhed Paganiſm, and brought in true Religion, that his Subjects might grow into a more civilized Body, like to the other poliſhed Nations of the World, he ſet upon making Laws, ſuch as moſt fitted their Temper, and ſuited with the preſent occaſions of the State. In making theſe Laws, *Beda* tells us that he followed the pattern of the *Romans*, and compiled them in the *Engliſh* Tongue, in the firſt place making proviſion for reſtitution

Ethelwardo Æthelbyrht.

* *Chronol. Saxonic. ad An.* ᵹlxvii Ƕep Cƿeatin ⁊ cuꞅa Beꞅuhꞇon ƿiꞅ Ædelbẏꞅhꞇ ⁊ hinc in Cenꞇ ᵹeꞅlẏmꝺon ⁊ꞇƿeᵹen ealꝺ oꞅmen on ƿibbanꝺune oꞅꞅoᵹon Oꞅlac ⁊ Cnebban.

Who was converted to the Faith,

And made Laws in favour of the Church.

Juxta exempla Romanorum. l. 2. c. 5.

ſtitution to be made, in caſe a Church, Biſhop, or others in Orders were indamaged, reſolving to protect thoſe the Doctrine of whom he had received. He died on the twenty fourth day of *February* after he had reigned ſix and fifty years, in the one and twentieth year after the receiving of the Chriſtian Faith, the year of our Lord DCXIII, as the preſent Copy of *Beda* hath it, but as the *Saxon* Tranſlation of King *Alfred* about the year DCXVI, it being placed by the *Faſti* above mentioned, in the year following, which was the ſeventh of *Heraclius* the Emperour, and the firſt year of *Boniface* the Fifth, the *Roman* Biſhop, in the days of *Clothair* King of the *Franks*.

Then dyes.
613
616

Ða ƿæꞅẏmb ꞅẏx hunꝺ ƿinꞇꞃa ⁊ ꞅyxꞇẏne ƿinꞇeꞃ ꝼꞃam ꝺꞃih-ꞇneꞅ men-nẏꞅeneꞅꞅe, &c.

Edbald ſucceeds him.

7. To *Ethelbert* ſucceeded *Edbald* or *Eadbald* his Son, unlike him both in his Diſpoſition and Succeſs. He caſt off the Chriſtian Yoke and inceſtuouſly polluted himſelf by the Marriage of his Father's Wife, which was followed by a defection of thoſe People which lately had obeyed his Father. Yet by means of *Laurentius* the Succeſſour of *Auguſtine* in the See of *Canterbury*, he was reduced to the Faith, and left the Bed of his Step-Mother, but never could reduce thoſe Nations which had faln off, not being able to prevail with the Citizens of *London* to receive back *Mellitus* their Biſhop, whom out of an Heatheniſh Rage they had expelled. He was forced therefore to be content with his Kingdom of *Kent*, and never could recover that height of Power from which he was faln. He reigned, according to *William* of *Malmsbury*, four and twenty years, and was then, or is as ſome Copies, ſucceeded by *Ercombert* his Son begotten of *Enima* Daughter to the King of the *Franks*, who reigned the ſame number of years, and with better fortune; being famous for his Religion towards God, and his goodneſs towards his Countrey. He is indeed much commended upon the account of Religion, the Reformation whereof he much perfected, as we ſhall ſhew in its proper place. He Married *Senburg* the Daughter of *Huna* King of the Eaſt *Angles*, and having governed with great Commendation (though by ſome he is noted to have fraudulently uſurped upon his Brother *Ermenred*, whoſe Right was precedent to the Crown) four and twenty years and ſome odd Months, then left this World and his Kingdom to *Egbert* his Son, his death being uſhered in with an Eclipſe of the Sun on the third of *May*, and a grievous Peſtilence. *Egbert* either cauſed to be ſlain, or winked at the Murther of his Uncle's two Sons *Elbert* and *Egelbright*, and being not famous for any thing done (onely infamous for doing or ſuffering this) died after he had held the Royal Seat nine years. He being dead, *Lotharius* his Brother ſeized on the Kingdom, though he left a Son called *Edrick*, with ill luck as it happened. For *Edrick* for eleven years together would never ſuffer him to take any reſt, but perpetually vexed him with Stirs, Inſurrections, and Battels upon his own account, in one of which *Lotharius* received his Deaths Wound; for being pierced with a Dart he died as the Wound was dreſſing. Both he and his Brother were cut off after a ſhort continuance, as ſome obſerved, for their Uſurpation, Injuſtice and Cruelty. For *Egbert* as we ſaid procured the innocent Sons of his Uncle to be murthered: And *Lothair* is taxed for abuſing and deriding the Martyrs, (ſo they are termed) though he repented of the deed, and in way of ſatisfaction, granted to their Mother, part of the Iſle of *Thanet*, whereon to build a Monaſtery.

Lege Bedam in Hiſt. Lib. 2. *c.* 6. *& Willielm. Malmesburienſ. de Geſtis Regu. Anglorum. c* 1.

Then *Ercombert*.

After him *Egbert*.

Next *Lothair*.

Edrick follows, who was deprived of Life and Kingdom by *Cadwalla* King of the Weſt *Saxons*.

8. *Lothair* being removed out of the World in that manner, *Edrick* then enjoyed the Power, but onely a ſhort time, for before two years were well at an end he was both ſpoiled of his Life and Kingdom, and left his Countrey expoſed to the Luſt and Tyranny of his Enemies. Theſe were *Cadwalla* King of the Weſt *Saxons*, and *Millo* his Brother, who finding the *Kentiſh* Affairs all in a confuſion and out of order, reſolved to take the opportunity offered of invading it: But he found not the People ſo unprepared as he imagined, for they made a very ſtout reſiſtence, and after their Houſes had been burned, and their Countrey depopulated, gave them Battel with great Indignation. They had the better of them, and forcing *Cadwalla* to run for his Life, drove up his Brother *Millo* into a little Cottage wherein ſhutting up himſelf, and not daring to break through, fire they ſet to the Cottage, and therein burnt him alive. This did very much provoke *Cadwalla*, who, as appears from the Chronology or *Saxon* Annals, either ſtaid in *Kent* well onward of two years, or elſe invaded it two years together, and the later of them twice, to which they add, that he waſted not onely *Kent*, but the Iſle of *Wight* too, which was under the Juriſdiction of the Kingdom of the South *Saxons*. To revenge his Brothers death he raged with all manner of Depopulations and Cruelties againſt them, and ſo deſperate was the condition of *Kent*, that for ſix years it had no King except it were Foreigners that intruded.

Chronol. Saxon. ad An. Ꝺclxxxvi Heꞃ Ceaꝺƿalla ⁊ Mul Cenꞇ ⁊ ƿiᵹhꞇ ꝼoꞃheꞃᵹeꞇon.

Who being bought off, *Withred* Reigned.

intruded. In the ſeventh year *Withred* the Son of *Egbert* having by his great pains and induſtry taken off the Envy and Prejudice which lay upon himſelf and Family, and by Money bought off the publick Enemy, obtained to be King, and much ingratiated himſelf with his Subjects, who conceived extraordinary hopes of him. At home in his own Houſe he ſhewed all manner of reſpect and civility to his People, Religion he every way countenanced and promoted. Abroad he was famous for having inlarged the extent of his Dominions, and after three and thirty years continuance in his Government, dying full of Age and Honour, left three Sons behind him as his Heirs in due time and place, if need ſhould ſo require; the greateſt felicity which uſually is accounted can happen to Mortals.

To whom ſucceeded *Edbert*. Then *Edilbert* and *Alrick*.

After whoſe Death ſeveral Uſurp the Government.

But are driven into Baniſhment by *Egbert* King of the Weſt *Saxons*.

9. Of theſe his three Sons *Edbert* the eldeſt ſucceeded him, of whom nothing ill is recorded, though nothing good. After he had reigned twenty and three years he gave way to his Second Brother *Edilbert*, who reigned other eleven, his Reign being onely unfortunate in the accidental burning of the City. He dying after theſe eleven years, *Alrick* the youngeſt Brother took his place, and held it for four and thirty, the luſtre of his Reign, as his Brother's by the fire, being much obſcured by an unfortunate Battel, which he fought againſt the *Mercians*. So ſaith *Malmsbury*, if any ill Accident happen, it ſhall be ſure to be mentioned, but if any good luck or accident, it will be forgotten in Chronicles, whether ſo it be done on purpoſe and by deſign, or it ſo falls out through the badneſs of our Nature, through which it comes to paſs that the memory of good things quickly is obliterated, but any thing that cauſeth ſmart and ſorrow is never forgotten. But though this may be true as to matters that happened among themſelves, yet the Monk's Obſervation is much amiſs in reference to the Wars betwixt them and the *Britains*, their Annal talking aloud of their Victories, but wholly ſilent as to their Defeats. But in theſe three Brothers the Royal *Kentiſh* ſtock quite withered, the generous bloud was extinct, ſaith our Authour, and every impudent Fellow, whoſe bold Tongue had procured him Wealth, or Faction and Turbulency had rendred formidable, would aſpire after Tyranny, and dare to aſſume the Royal Diadem. Of theſe *Edilbert* or *Pren* having governed the *Kentiſh* men two years, to ſhew himſelf a King indeed would attempt greater things againſt the *Mercians* than he was able to perform, and being taken Priſoner by them was kept in cuſtody, whence not long after he was yet diſmiſſed by them, but could obtain no entertainment from his late Subjects, and to what end he came is utterly uncertain. After him one of the ſame Faction ſucceeded to his pitifull condition, and was King onely in Name for eight years more. The laſt of all was *Baldrede*, whom *Malmsbury* calls an Abortive Brat of the Royal Dignity, who after he had rather beſieged than governed *Kent*, for other eighteen years was by *Egbert* the King of the Weſt *Saxons* driven into Baniſhment. So this Kingdom of *Kent*, which from the year CCCCXLIX had ſtood for the ſpace of CCCLXXIV years became ſubject to another Juriſdiction. So writes *William* of *Malmsbury*. The end of the Kingdom of *Kent* is noted in the *Faſti* to have faln out in the twenty fourth year of the Reign of *Egbert*, the third year of the Reign of *Michael Traulus* Emperour in the Eaſt. The tenth of *Ludovicus Pius* who bore that Title in the Weſt. *A. D.* DCCCXXIII.

SECT. IV.

SECT. IV.

The Kingdom of the South Saxons *in* Suſſex. *From the founding of it by* Aella *to the Ruine thereof.*

Sect. 4.

1. THE next Kingdom that was founded by theſe New Planters in *Britain*, was that of the South *Saxons* in *Suſſex* by *Aella*, who as we have already ſaid with his three Sons landed in that Countrey, and for ſeveral years fought with various ſucceſs againſt the *Britains*. The place where he firſt landed is by the *Saxon* Annals called *Cyrnenes ora*, and *Cambden* tells us, that near to the Haven of *Chicheſter* is a place called *Witering*, where, as the Monuments of the Church teſtifie, *Ælla* the firſt founder of the Kingdom of *Suſſex* arrived. How he and his Sons cunningly drove off the *Britains*, who flocked to him at his landing, we have already ſaid, and ſtill inlarged their Bounds, till nine years after their Arrival, when another Battel was fought at a place called *Merix desburnanſtede*; where, though the Victory is ſaid to have been doubtfull, and the *Saxon* Annals are very unwilling to let him go out of the Field but with flying Colours; yet that his Victory was none, or ſuch as did much weaken him, appears in this that he ſent for new Supplies out of *Saxony*. Whereas he is ſaid in his firſt Ingagement with the *Britains*, to have beaten them into a Wood called *Andreſleage*; by the Annals the Reader muſt know that this Countrey in old times was hardly paſſable by reaſon of Woods. For the Wood *Andradſwald*, or *Andredſleage*, in the *Britiſh* Language *Coid Andred*, having its Name from *Anderida*, the City next adjoyning, took up in this Quarter an hundred and twenty Miles in length and thirty in breadth. Of this vaſt Wood are (or lately were) Remnants toward the Weſt, the Foreſt of *Arundell*, St. *Leonard's* Foreſt, *Word* Foreſt, *Eaſt Grenſted*, *Aſhdown* Foreſt, and *Waterdown* Foreſt.

The Countrey very full of Wood.

Cantiani & Suith-Saxones locum ſylvæ ad huc Walden appellitant: Neſcientes tamen unde hoc dimanavit Nomen; cum alii Welden, alii Wylden, ſed falſò vocitent: Nam Anglo Soxones Sylvam Walden ut nunc Germani, Wolden verò planitiem ſive arboribus appellitabant; ut in nominibus Cotteſwalden & Pothewolde apparet. Hæc Lhuydus f. 13. b.

Ælla King of the *South-Saxons.*

2. *Ælla* found it ſeems ſo much oppoſition, and was ſo long in ſubduing ſuch an Extent of Ground as would brace the Title of a Kingdom, that ſome Fourteen years he ſtaid without the Title of King, which at laſt he took by the Name of King of the South *Saxons*, in the fourth year of *Eſc* King of *Kent*, firſt of *Anaſtaſius* the Emperour, *A. D.* CCCCXCI. In the third year after the death *Hengiſt*, *Huntingdon* tells us, that new and great Supplies came to him out of his own Countrey, with which he went and beſieged a moſt ſtrong City called *Andredeſwaſter*, ſuppoſed to be that now called *Newenden* in *Kent*, in Latin *Anderida*, as in the *Notitia* of the Provinces, and in *Britiſh Caer Andred*, being that we now find to have given Name to the Wood of *Andredeſleage*. For the conſtant Tradition of the Inhabitants teſtifies it to have been an old Town and Haven, whereof they ſtill ſhew the Plot. Then is it ſituate by the Wood *Andredeſwald*, that took the Name from it, being ſeparated from *Suſſex* but by the River *Rother*. And laſtly becauſe the *Engliſh Saxons* ſeem to have termed it *Brittenden*, (as they alſo called *Segontium* an ancient Town of the *Britains*) or the Vale of the *Britains*, whence the whole Hundred adjoyning is named *Selbrittenden*. The *Romans* to defend this Coaſt againſt the *Saxon* Rovers, placed here the Band and Captain of the *Abulci*. *Hengiſt* after his Arrival being reſolved to drive the *Britains* quite out of *Kent*, and thinking it would much quicken his work to increaſe his Numbers by new Supplies out of his own Countrey, ſent for this *Ælla* out of *Germany* with a ſtrong power of *Engliſh Saxons*, and while he gave a violent Aſſault to this Town *Anderida*, the *Britains* out of the adjoyning Wood where they lay in Ambuſh, ſo fiercely fell upon him, that at length, after much loſs on both ſides, when he had divided his Army and routed the *Britains* in the Wood, and at the ſame time forced the Town by Aſſault, his

Cambden in Cantio.

Sect. 4. his barbarous heart was ſo inflamed with deſire of revenge, that he put all the Inhabitants to the Sword, and levelled the Town with the very ground. The place lying thus deſolate was ſhewn (as ſaith *Henry* of *Huntingdon*) to thoſe that paſſed by many Ages after. Till the *Friars Carmelites* newly come from Mount *Carmel* in the Holy Land, who ſought for ſuch ſolitary places, built them here a little Priory in the time of King *Edward* the Firſt, at the Charges of Sir *Thomas Albuger* Knight, and preſently after there roſe up a Village, which in regard of the old Town demoliſhed, began to be called *Newenden*, or the New Town in the Vale. Thus *Cambden* in his Chorography of *Kent*.

3. Who when he ſpeaks all in one courſe of Speech of *Hengiſt* his ſending for *Ælla* out of his *Germany*, and his laying Siege to this Town, is to be underſtood with that diſtinction of time we have lately mentioned, not that after his coming he ſet preſently upon it, as the uninterrupted courſe of words would ſeem to intimate; for that it was after the Auxiliaries came to him, which arrived in the third year after *Hengiſt's* death, *Huntingdon* plainly affirms, and the *Saxon* Annals do confirm. The ſaid Writer tells the Story with ſome Circumſtances, but ſuch as well ſuit with a People unwilling to be turned out of their ancient Poſſeſſions, to be utterly ruined. He tells us the *Britains* upon notice of his coming flocked to the place like Bees; by Day they overmatched the Beſiegers by Wiles and lying in wait, by Night with Onſets; there was neither Day nor Night wherein ſome ſorrowfull Meſſage did not afflict the *Saxons*. But by each loſs they were but the more provoked, and the City they plied with continual Allarms and freſh Attacks; though the *Britains* were ſtill upon their Backs, and gored them with their conſtant Showres of Darts and Arrows. The *Pagans* therefore were conſtrained to intermit their work at the Siege, and retire back upon them, who then being more nimble of Body than their Enemy, betook themſelves into the Woods, and as the *Saxons* retired again toward the City, failed not to fall upon their Rere. By this means were the Beſiegers tired with their work, and great Slaughters were made of them, till ſuch time as they divided themſelves into two Bodies, that while one plied the Siege the other might divert and keep the other *Britains* in action. Hereby they did their work vigorouſly in both places, no interruption being given, but each Party ſolely intending what it was about, till the poor Beſieged being weak with hunger, and more violently than ever charged, could not endure another ſhock, were with their Wives and Children all pitifully butchered, inſomuch that not one eſcaped. And the Strangers becauſe they had received ſo much loſs, would not ſuffer the Town a Monument of their diſgrace to ſtand, but ſo deſtroyed it, that it was never after rebuilded: Onely the place of a moſt noble City is ſhewed to ſuch as paſs by; ſo the Archdeacon of *Huntingdon*, who calls this Town a moſt fortified City, a moſt Noble City, though the Tranſlatour of the Chronology or *Saxon* Annals hath interpolated the word *Urbeculam*, for which he had no ground in the Text.

Ad An. CCCCXC, Hær Ælle ⁊ Ciſſa ẏmbſaton Andredeſceſter, ⁊ ofſlogon ealle þa ðe ðar inne earðe ðan, ne wearð ðære forðon an Bryt to lafe.

Beſieges *Andredeſceſter.*

Which is taken and raced.

4. By the violence and ſeverity in this place uſed by *Ælla*, we may conclude there was vigorous oppoſition made by the *Britains*, who it ſeems, notwithſtanding all the endeavours of *Hengiſt*, kept ſome footing ſtill in theſe Quarters till after his death. This evidences that they were not eaſily beaten out of their Inheritances, nor ſheepiſhly quitted their Countrey, though perpetual Supplies to the very exhauſting of the places from whence they came, at length overpowered them: And pity it is we have ſo ſmall intelligence of ſo great and famous a Revolution. But, to return to *Ælla*, as he began his Reign with ſo terrible a blow to the *Britains*, ſo he followed on the courſe of valour and victory with ſuch ſucceſs, that as *Beda* teſtifies he had under his Power and Command all the Dominions of the *Engliſh Saxons*, being the firſt of theſe ſeven Kings he mentions who extended their Authority over all the Southern part of their Provinces, which was limited by the River *Humber* and the places adjacent. He Reigned twenty four years as the *Faſti* have it, or twenty ſeven as writes *Henry* of *Huntingdon*, and was then ſucceeded by his Son *Ciſſa*, or *Sciſſa* as ſome call him, who being mentioned the laſt of his three Sons which came over with him, it ſeems was the onely one that ſucceeded him, or elſe for his Courage and Prroweſs was appointed his Succeſſour, being indeed ſtill named with him by the Annals in any great or dangerous undertaking. After his Fathers death there is little memorable of him, but that from him a little Village or Hill, called *Ciſbury* in *Suſſex*, took it's

Lib. 2. *c.* 5.

Ciſſa ſucceeds him.

it's Name, where there is a Fort compaſſed about with a Bank rudely caſt up, wherewith the Inhabitants are perſuaded that *Cæſar* entrenched and fortified his Camp ; but the Name of the place ſufficiently teſtifies it was the work of this *Ciſſa*; and that he built the City *Chicheſter*, which though in Latin it be called *Ciceſtria*, and in *Britiſh Caercei*, in *Saxon* is read Ciꞅꞅanceaꞅꞇeꞃ or the City of *Ciſſa*. It lies in a Nook of *Suſſex* in a Champion Countrey. Yet before the Conqueſt it was of ſmall or no Name, known onely by a Monaſtery of St. *Peter*, and a ſmall Nunnery. But in the Reign of *William* the Firſt, as witneſſeth Dooms-day Book in the Exchequer, there were in it one hundred Hages; it was in the hand of Earl *Roger* of *Montgomery*, there being in it threeſcore Hages or Manſion Houſes more than there were before. Fifteen Pounds it paid to the King, and Ten to the Earl. But afterwards a Decree being paſſed in the days of the ſaid King, that the Sees of Biſhops ſhould be removed out of ſmall Towns to Places of greater Note and Reſort, it was honoured with the Reſidence of the Biſhop of the Dioceſe, which formerly was at *Selſey*, and by this and other helps began to riſe to ſome degree of eminency, which had been greater but that the Haven is bad, and ſomewhat at too great a diſtance.

Who builds *Chicheſter.*

Vide Cambdenum in Suſſex.

5. After *Ciſſa* Reigned ſome of his Poſterity, but through the Viciſſitude of Humane Affairs, or ſome defect in him or them, loſt quite that Power and Reputation, to which *Ælla* their Predeceſſour and Founder of the Kingdom had arrived. By degrees their Dominions leſſened, and after the Reigns of ſeveral inglorious Perſons, few of whoſe Names are now extant, they became a Prey to their Neighbour Kings, and were for the moſt part either ſubject to thoſe of *Kent*, or of the Weſt *Saxons*. Indeed the ſecond King that after *Ælla* had Dominion over all the other *Engliſh Saxons*, as far as *Humber*, was *Ceaulin* King of the Weſt *Saxons*, by whoſe greatneſs and Neighbourhood it's more than probable that the Fortune of theſe South *Saxons* was curbed and much abated. Then when the fortune of *Ceaulin* abated, grew *Ethelbert* the *Kentiſh* King, and their Neighbour on the other ſide, to that great Power whereof we have ſpoken, that *Beda* makes him the third, whoſe Arms and Authority extended as far as to *Humber*. By this means lying betwixt ſuch potent Neighbours, the Kingdom of *Suſſex* ſo dwindled, that after *Ciſſa* ſcarcely is any of their Kings mentioned, except *Adelwold*, whoſe memory continues upon this Account, becauſe he was the firſt King that imbraced the Chriſtian Religion. After him *Brentius* is mentioned: And *Aldwin* was the laſt, whom *Ina* King of the Weſt *Saxons* deſpoyled both of his Life and Kingdom. For after the decay of *Ethelbert*'s greatneſs, and that his Son had made Shipwreck of that great Power he had, and could hardly defend what *Hengiſt* left them; this Kingdom of the Weſt *Saxons* got ground, and though it received ſome Checks and Rebukes, at length prevailed over all the reſt, as in due time and place will be diſcovered.

Cæteros penuria ſcriptorum vel fama obſcura recondit præter Regem Adelwold qui jure adhuc nomen habet, quia primus nomen Chriſti agnovit. Henric. Hunting. lib. 2. in fine, Qui autem Huntingdonenſi Adelwold aliis Adilwalch.

Aldwin the laſt King, deprived of Life and Kingdom by *Ina* King of the Weſt *Saxons.*

SECT. V.

SECT. V.

The Kingdom of the Eaſt Saxons *in* Eſſex, Middleſex, *and part of* Hertfordſhire. *From the founding of it by* Erkenwin, *to the conquering of it by* Egbert *King of the Weſt* Saxons.

The Space of Three Hundred and One Years.

Sect. 5.

Erkenwin. *Slede.* *Sebert.* *Sextus.* *Seward.* *Sigbert.* *Sigebert.*

1. THE next Kingdom in order after that of the South *Saxons*, was the other of the Weſt *Saxons*; but, foraſmuch as this ſwallowed up all the reſt at length, though we aſſign it here its place, it's moſt convenient in the laſt place to ſpeak of it. The next after it was the petty Kingdom of the Eaſt *Saxons*, in *Eſſex*, *Middleſex*, and part of *Hertfordſhire*. It was begun by *Erkenwin*, in the ſixteenth Year of *Otho* King of *Kent*, the firſt year of *Juſtinian* the Emperour, the Conſulſhip of *Mavorſius*, and the year of Our Lord DXXVII. This *Erkenwin* was the Son of *Offa*, he of *Biedcan*, he of *Sigewolfe*, *Sigewolfe* of *Spoewz*, he of *Geſac*, *Geſac* of *Andeſc*, and *Andeſc* of *Saxnat*. After *Erkenwin* ſucceeded his Son *Slede* according to *Huntingdon*, who by the Monk of *Malmesbury*, is made the firſt of theſe Eaſt *Saxon* Kings, and the tenth from *Woden*. He married *Ricula* the Daughter of *Ermerick* King of *Kent*, and Siſter to *Ethelbert*, by which Lady he had a Son named *Sebert*. This *Sebert* firſt received the Chriſtian Faith at the preaching of *Mellitus*, and his Monument they ſhew to Paſſengers in St. *Peter*'s Church at *Weſtminſter*. He dying, his two Sons *Sextus* and *Seward* (*Beda* ſaith he left three) being always Pagans in their Hearts, baniſhed *Mellitus* from his Cure, but not long after ingaging with the *Geniſſi*, or the Weſt *Saxons* in Battel, they and all their Men were cut off. *Sigbert* ſirnamed the Little, the Son of *Seward*, ſucceeded them; and dying, left the Kingdom to *Sigebert* the Son of *Sigebald*, who was Brother to *Sebert*. This *Sigebert* being in amity with, and often uſing to viſit *Oſrei* King of *Northumberland*, was perſuaded to relinquiſh his Idols and be baptized, which done, he cauſed the Chriſtian Religion to be reſtored in his Kingdom.

Swidhelm. *Sigher.* *Sebba.* *Sighard.* *Snefrede.* *Offa.* *Selrede.* *Swithede.*

2. Having imbraced Chriſtian Religion, he was murthered by two of his Kinſmen (two Brothers) for obeying the Chriſtian Doctrine, which bids us paſs by Injuries, and forgive our Enemies, they which confeſſed had angred and provoked them to commit the Fact. After him reigned *Swidhelm*, the Son of *Secbald*, ſaid by *Malmeſbury* to have been his Brother, who alſo was baptized by Biſhop *Ledda*. He being dead, *Sigher* the Son of *Sigebert*, ſirnamed the Little, and *Sebba* the Son of *Seward*, held the Kingdom jointly together. *Sigher* died firſt, and left *Sebba* ſole King, who reigned thirty years, and at his death took the Habit of Religion upon him. He left two Sons, *Sighard* (who by *Beda* it ſhould ſeem was a Monk) and *Snefrede*, both who ſucceed him, though how long they reigned, or what they did we are ignorant. They both being dead, *Offa* the Son of *Sigher*, a young man of a pleaſant Countenance, ſprightly wit, in the flower of his Age, and extraordinarily believed by the People, for ſome time governed this Kingdom; but as *Beda* writes, left his Wife, his Lands, Kindred and Countrey, and going to *Rome*, there lived and died in Monaſtical life; *Malmesbury* ſaith, that by the Counſel and Advice of *Kineſwitha*, Daughter of King *Penda*, whom he had ſought in Marriage, being taught to breathe after Celeſtial loves, he went to *Rome* with *Kenede*, King of the *Mercians*, and bleſſed *Egwin*, Biſhop of the *Wictii*, and there being ſhaven, at his time paſſed to the heavenly Kingdom. To him ſucceeded *Selrede* Son of *Sigebert*, ſirnamed the Good, and reigned thirty eight years. He being ſlain, one *Swithede* reigned over the Eaſt *Saxons*, and in the ſame year that *Egbert*, King of the

Vide Bedam in Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 3. c. 22.

Al. Sebbi.

Beda l. 4. c. 11. Nam ſubitò aſtante Epiſcopo & filio Regis ejuſdem ac monacho Sighardo qui poſt illum cum fratre Snefredo regnavit, &c. Lib. 5. c. 20.

the Weſt *Saxons* conquered the Kingdom of *Kent*, was by him alſo driven away and outed of his Royalty. Yet was *London*, and the parts about it, ſubject to the Kings of the *Mercians* ſo long as they continued. But ſuch end had this petty Kingdom of the Eaſt *Saxons*, which moſt commonly was under command either of the *Mercians* or Weſt *Saxons*, in the ſame year that the *Kentiſh* Kingdom was ſubdued, as writes the Monk of *Malmesbury*, but the *Faſti* continue it four years longer, and make it to be united to that of the Weſt *Saxons*, in the year of our Lord DCCCXXVIII. ſo that according to this account it muſt have continued (in this mean condition) the ſpace of three hundred and one years. Of the extent of the Reigns of the Kings there's little certainty, as alſo of thoſe of the Kingdom of the Eaſt *Angles*, therefore it is that no certain years can be aſſigned.

SECT. VI.

The Kingdom of the Northumbrian Angles *in* Britain. *From the Founding of it by* Ida *to the Conquering of it by* Egbert *King of the Weſt* Saxons.

The ſpace of Two Hundred Eighty One years.

1. THE Kingdom of the *Northumbrians* was founded by *Ida*, in the one and twentieth year of the Emperour *Juſtinian*, in the days of *Childebert* King of the *Franks*, the ſixteenth of *Ermerick* King of *Kent*, and the thirteenth of *Kenrick* King of the Weſt *Saxons*, A. D. DXLVII. His Anceſtours are thus reckoned, *Eope* (or *Coppe*) *Eſc* (or *Eſe*) *Inguim*, *Angenwit*, *Alock*, *Beonock*, *Brand*, *Beldet*, *Woden*, *Fredlelaf*, *Fredeulf*, *Fin*, *Godnulf*, *Heata*.

2. It muſt be remembred that *Hengiſt* after he had fixed his footing in *Kent*, ſent to *Otha* his Brother and *Ebuſa* his Son, Men of tried experience in military matters, under a ſpecious pretence of repelling thence the *Picts* and *Scots*, to ſeize upon the Northern parts of *Britain*. They being there arrived, at length with much labour and travel performed that for which they were ſent; for very often ingaging with the *Britains* in Battel, at length they brought them under, and forced them quietly to ſubmit unto their yoke. But if theſe two were *Octa* and *Eoſa* the Son, and Brother (for ſo it ought to be, and not the Brother and Son as we reade it in *Malmesbury*) of *Hengiſt*, of whom *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* writes, that at ſuch time as *Ambroſe* took and ſlew *Hengiſt* at *Coningsbourgh* ſhut themſelves up in the Cities of *York* and *Dunbritton*, others tell other Tales concerning them. *Geoffrey* writes that after they had ſurrendred themſelves, *Ambroſe* granted to them part of the Countrey lying near to *Scotland*. *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter*, from thoſe *Britiſh* Writers, ſaith, that *Ambroſe* having laid ſiege to *York*, *Octa* being of opinion that he could not hold the place againſt ſuch a multitude, took advice with thoſe that were with him, and with the Nobility that accompanied him, came out of the Town and ſpake to this purpoſe. *My Gods are overcome, and I am content that thy God reign who compells ſo many Noblemen to come to thee. Take us, and if thou wilt ſhew no mercy, bind us and uſe us as thou wilt, for we are willing and ready.* With theſe words *Ambroſe* was moved to pity, and ſhewed himſelf mercifull to them: And by this pattern *Eoſa* and the reſt were moved to come in and ſubmitted to *Ambroſe*, who gave them a Countrey near to *Scotland*, and made a League of Friendſhip with them. Though he tells us of this Countrey beſtowed upon them here, yet in another place, and nineteen years after, he tells us another ſtory, that their Keepers being corrupted, let them out of Priſon, where they had led a miſerable life, and fled with them into *Germany*, whence with a great Fleet they returned, to the deſtruction of *Britain*. Hereupon his *Uther Pendragon* committed the Army of *Britain* to one *Loth*, a Conſul and a moſt valiant Man. But though he often gave Battel to theſe Strangers, inſtead of driving them out, they got ground of him; for the *Britains* would not obey him.

Galfrid. Monmuth. l. 8. *c.* 9. *Ad An.* 490.

Idem ad An. 509.

3. After this *Uther Pendragon* falling ſick, theſe Rovers ranged about the Iſland and made havock of all things without controll. This exceedingly provoked the King, who grieving that Church and State ſhould thus goe to ruine, ſent for the Nobles, and accuſing them of pride and idleneſs, vowed he would lead them againſt the Enemy though in that condition wherein he then lay. He cauſed a Litter to be provided, and marched with the Army towards *Verulam*, where the curſed *Saxons* at that time lay. *Octa* and *Eoſa* having word brought of the approach of the *Britains*, and how their King was carried in a Litter, they diſdained to go out and fight him becauſe he came in ſuch a poſture; they betook themſelves into the City, and out of ſcorn left the Gates wide open. *Uther* preſently cauſed the Town to be beſieged and the Walls battered, by which entring, his Men made great ſlaughter of the *Saxons* till they unbethought themſelves. In the Morning they came out in order of a Battel, challenging the *Britains* to fight, who courageouſly grappled with them, and many fell on both ſides, but after much contention and bloudſhed the Victory fell to the King of the *Britains*, and they that ſcorned him in his Litter, found his Orders and Commands ſo effectual and deadly that there they two loſt their Lives, and when they were dead, their Men fairly betook them to their Heels. With this Victory the King was ſo overjoyed (and well he might) that whereas before he was not able to ſtir Hand or Foot he could now riſe with a very little help, and was in a manner recovered. This Story ſuits not very well with what *Malmesbury* and others write, that ſo good an account was given of their pains in ſubduing the Northern Parts of *Britain*. But whether this end befell them, or that the *Britains* were forced to quit to them that Countrey near *Scotland*, which ſeems to be inwrapped in the Story of *Ambroſius*, their endeavours, or the labours of their followers at length effected what they intended, at leaſt in a good meaſure.

4. For, the Captains of the *Saxons* in theſe Countries ſtill more prevailed againſt the Natives, yet notwithſtanding would they not doe any injury to the Name of Kings by aſſuming that Title, but ſtill devolved the power in the ſame form of Mediocrity, ſaith *Malmesbury*, upon their Succeſſours; and in this kind of eſtabliſhment they continued for an hundred years lacking one, ſatisfying themſelves with the common name of Captains or Dukes, and truckling under the patronage and command of the *Kentiſh* Kings. But no longer would Ambition be ſtinted; either for that humane nature ever inclines to the worſt, or for that this Nation naturally was high and lofty. Therefore in the year of our Lord DXLVII and LX after the death of *Hengiſt*, the Dukedom was changed into a Kingdom, to which *Ida* was firſt promoted; a Perſon doubtleſs of moſt noble extraction, and in the flower of his age and ſtrength; but whether he invaded the Sovereignty, or by the conſent of others came to the Government I determine not, ſaith the Monk, becauſe the truth it ſelf is obſcure. But it's certain that his Deſcent was high and very ancient, and that by his unſpotted Life and excellent Morals he added much to the luſtre of his Birth. In War he was unconquerable, yet at home tempered his Royal ſeverity with an uncounterfeited mildneſs and ſerenity of mind. I could (ſo he proceeds) in this place ſet down the lineal deſcent both of him and others, but I am unwilling by the harſh ſound of barbarous words to diſguſt the Reader. But thus much I ſhall note, that whereas *Woden* had three Sons, *Weldeg*, *Withleg* and *Beldeg*, from the firſt the Kings of *Kent* derived their Pedegree, from the ſecond the Kings of the *Mercians*, and from the third the Kings of the Weſt *Saxons* and the *Northumbrians*, beſides two which we ſhall name hereafter. So this *Ida*, as I abſolutely find, being the ninth from *Beldeg*, and the tenth from *Woden*, continued fourteen years King of the *Northumbrians*.

Ida the firſt King.

His character.

5. Thus much *William* of *Malmesbury* concerning *Ida*, by which we may obſerve the incertainty of the Pedigree derived from this *Woden*, for whereas he will have him but to have had three Sons, the Continuatour of *Florentius Wigornienſis* mentions ſeven, from whom he draws the Genealogies of our *Engliſh Saxon* Kings, which the Reader may there conſult if he think it worth his while to attend to theſe incertainties. And whereas he writes uncertainly concerning his advancement, the Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* delivers it for a truth, that he was choſen to this Dignity by conſent of the great ones. He reigned with great commendations for the Vertues lately mentioned, and for his courage and diligence, twelve years, and built a Town called *Bebanburgh*, which firſt he fenced with a Palliſado, and afterward with a Wall. From *Beda*, it ſhould ſeem, that he called it ſo from his Wiſe, for he writes that it had its name from one Queen *Bebba*. It

Pag. 688. *Edit. Francofurti* MDCI. *qua præter Matth. Florilegum continetur Florentius Vigornienſis.*

He builds *Bebanburgh.*

Hiſt. l. 3. *c.* 6.

Cambden.

It is at this day called *Bamborough* in *Northumberland* (not *Dunſtaburg*, as ſome have imagined) being in the days of *Honeden*, as he writes, a moſt ſtrong City, but ſmall, containing the ſpace of two or three Fields, having one hollow entrance raiſed with ſtairs, in a wonderfull manner, on the aſſent of an Hill. It had a very fair Church, and Weſtward on the top there was a well ſet out with marvellous Art, ſweet to the Taſte, and moſt pleaſant to the Eye. At this day it is counted a Caſtle rather than a City, yet ſo big and large, that it may ſeem to match with ſome Cities. In it did *William Rufus* Beſiege *Mowbray*, who lurked in it, and at length eſcaped. It was much defaced in the Civil Wars by *Breſſy* a *Norman*, who ſided with the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, and ſince that has been almoſt quite ruined, partly by time which conſumeth all things, and by the Winds which have driven an incredible deal of Sand of the Sea into the Fortreſs. To it adjoyneth *Humildon*, where was born *John Duns*, by miſtake called *Scotus*, the ſubtile Doctor, who falling into a fit of an Apoplexy, and in his Man's abſence buried for dead, came again to himſelf, and daſhed his Brains out againſt the ſtones, being hence ſaid to have been twice dead, but once buried.

The Kingdom divided into *Deiri* and *Bernicii*.

The ſeveral Kings.

6. *Ida* by his Wife had ſix Sons, *Adda*, *Ethelrick*, *Theodorick*, *Ætherick*, *Oſmer* and *Theofrede*, and by his Concubines other ſix, *viz.* *Oga*, *Alrick*, *Eccha*, *Oſbald*, *Segor* and *Segother*, all who came into *Britain* (*Matthew Florilegus* tells us) with forty Ships, and landed at a place called *Flemsburg*; ſo that according to him, this *Ida* muſt not have been the Son of any of theſe Captains that Governed *Northumberland* before it had a King; but a mere ſtranger choſen for his Merit. The ſame *Matthew* writes, that after the death of *Ida*, the Kingdom of the *Northumbrians* was divided into two, whereof that next to *England*, and on this ſide the River *Tine*, as we have already ſaid, was called *Deira*, or the Inhabitants thereof *Deiri*, and the other lying beyond that River as far as *Edenbrough Frith* had the name of *Bernicia*, as the Inhabitants *Bernicii*. In *Deira*, or the hithermoſt Province, *Ælla* ſucceeded, the ſon of *Iſſi* of the ſame ſtock originally, but in a * ſeveral Line deſcended from *Woden*: In *Bernicia* ſucceeded *Adda* the Son of *Ida*, where he Reigned ſeven years, being as little memorable as moſt of thoſe Princes that came after him. *Ælla* was a very induſtrious Man, and by his great Labour much inlarged thoſe Territories, to the Government of which he was promoted for the ſpace of thirty years. After his death, as *Malmesbury* writes, *Ethelrick* the Son of *Ida*, having ſpent moſt of his Age in poverty, and now gray, obtained the Kingdom, but therein continued not long, dying when he had Reigned but five years a miſerable Prince, and who would abſolutely have been buried in Oblivion, had it not been for the eminency of his Son *Ethelfrid* a young Man in years, but old in diſcretion and behaviour. In this mean time in the Kingdom of *Bernicia*, another informs us that *Adda*, the eldeſt Son of *Ida*, Reigned ſeven years, after him *Clappa* five, *Theodulf* one, *Freothulf* ſeven, *Theodrick* ſeven, and *Ethelrick* two, *Ælla* yet living. He being dead, and his Son *Edwin* driven out of the Kingdom, he Reigned five years over both the Provinces.

* *Stemma ejus apud Florent. Wigorn. ſic ſe habet: Ælla filius iſti cujus majores Walſefrea, Wilgelſus, Watena, Seomelus, Suearta, Sæpugelus, Seabaldus, Siggeotus, Suebdegus, Siggarus, Weadegus Wodenus. Florentius Wigorn. ad Ann.* 559.

Next *Æthelfrid*.

MathFlorileg. ad Ann. 595.

Florent. ad Ann. 593.

Who fights with *Eda* King of the *Scots*.

De geſtis Regum Angl. lib. 1. *c.* 3.

Beſieges *Cheſter*.

7. *Æthelrick* once dead, *Æthelfrid* his Son ſucceeded him in both Provinces, as both his Birthright and his Pains required; for by his Valour and Conduct, *Eadwin* the Son of *Ælla* was expelled, who lived in exile with *Redwald*, King of the Eaſt *Angles*, till ſuch time as by his means he was to be reſtored. The ſame Authour tells us, that *Æthelfrid* Married *Acca* the Daughter of *Ælla*, and by her had ſeven Sons, *viz.* *Eanfrid*, *Oſwald*, *Oſwin*, *Oſlack*, *Oſwide*, *Oſa* and *Offa*; to which Sons another adds a Daughter named *Ebba*. *Æthelfrid*, having obtained the Kingdom firſt with earneſtneſs, defended and ſecured his own, then fell upon what belonged to others. Many Wars did he prudently undertake, and as ſucceſsfully end, being neither given to lazineſs nor yet temerity; but keeping a Mean betwixt the Extremes, yet ever acted by a deſire of Glory. Of this is witneſs ſufficient, ſaith *Malmeſbury*, *Degſeſtan*, or the ſtone of *Degs*, a place famous in thoſe Quarters wherein *Eda* the King of the *Scots*, who envying the proſperity of *Æthelfrid*, forced him even againſt his mind to Fight, was not without great danger of the Conquerour himſelf, beaten and driven to flight. For *Tedbald* the Brother of *Ethelbert*, out of deſire to approve his Induſtry and Valour to his Brother, putting himſelf into extreme danger, left him a ſorrowfull Victory, being ſlain with his whole Party. The City *Legio*, now ſimply called *Cheſter*, is witneſs, which being to this time poſſeſſed by the *Britains*, harboured a People full of Pride and Contumacy againſt the King, which when he reſolved to Beſiege, the Inhabitants reſolving to endure any thing rather than a Leagure, and truſting,

to their Numbers, went out thick and threefold to give him Battel, but fell into the Ambuſhes he had laid for them and were defeated; but the Monks eſpecially felt his Rage and Fury, who had flocked thither to pray for the ſucceſs of the Army. Of their incredible number ſtill in our Age, are ſufficient marks, the ruinous Walls of the Churches of the Neighbouring Monaſtery, ſo many turnings of Cloyſters, ſo great heaps of Beams and Rafters, as can ſcarcely be ſeen in any other place: It's called *Banchor*, at that time a famous receptacle of Monks, and now turned into a Biſhoprick. *Ethelfrid*, having all things ſucceeding thus according to his wiſhes, and deſirous to remove all occaſions of domeſtick Broils and civil Quarrels, baniſhed *Edwin* the Son of *Ælla*, a young Man of good worth, who wandering up and down, and in his adverſity, as generally it happens, finding but ſmall incouragement, at length came to *Redwald* King of the Eaſtern *Angles*, to whom deploring his preſent condition, he was kindly received; but preſently after him arrived the Ambaſſadours of *Ethelfrid*, requiring the Fugitive to be given up, or upon refuſal, War was denounced. *Redwald*, being by his Wiſe earneſtly moved never to break his Faith given to the diſtreſſed Prince, got ready an Army, and unexpectedly fell upon *Ethelfrid*, who abſolutely ſurprized was ſlain, while he manfully made reſiſtence, and ſold his life at a dear rate, killing *Reiner* the Son of *Redwald* before he fell. To this end came *Ethelfrid*, after he had Reigned twenty four years, a Warriour inferiour to none of the higheſt eminency, but utterly ignorant of the true Religion. By *Acca* his Wife, the Daughter of *Ælla*, and Siſter of *Edwin*, he had two Sons: *Oſwald*, a Child of twelve years old, and *Oſwin* but four; who when their Father was ſlain, were by the care of thoſe that brought them up ſpeedily conveyed out of the way, and carried into *Scotland*.

Baniſheth *Edwin*.

Who flying to *Redwald* King of the Eaſt *Angles*, is protected.

Thence a war wherein *Ethelfrid* is ſlain.

8. Thus much *Malmsbury* tells us of *Ethelfrid*, in ſhort, which as he confeſſeth he had from *Beda*. This Authour indeed calls him a moſt Valiant Prince, and one moſt deſirous of Glory, who more than all the Captains of the *Engliſh*, haraſſed the Nations of the *Britains*, ſo that he might ſeem comparable to *Saul* the King of *Iſrael*, onely he was ignorant of the true Religion. For no Captain, no King ever ſubdued more of their Countrey, and by rooting out or conquering the Inhabitants, made them either be poſſeſſed by the *Engliſh*, or Tributary to them. To him might that be applied which the Patriarch when he bleſſed his Son, ſpake as to the Perſon of *Saul*, *Benjamin is a ravenous Wolf, in the morning he ſhall devour the Prey, and at night he ſhall divide the Spoil.* Hence by his ſucceſſes, *Edan* King of the *Scots*, which inhabite *Britain*, being moved, came againſt him with a vaſt and ſtrong Army, but being overthrown, fled away onely with a few in his Company. For in that moſt famous place which is called *Degſeſtan* or *the ſtone of Degſa*, almoſt his whole Army was cut in pieces. And in this Fight *Theodbald* (*Malmsbury* hath it *Tedbald*) the Brother of *Ethelfrid* was ſlain, with all the Party of which he had the Conduct. This War was finiſhed by *Ethelfrid*, in the DCIII. year, from the Incarnation of our Lord, and of his Reign, which continued twenty four, the twelfth; the firſt of *Phocas*, who was then Emperour of the *Romans*. Neither from this time forward to this very day, durſt any of the *Scotiſh* Kings offer to fight againſt the Nation of the *Engliſh*. So much *Beda*, concerning this War betwixt *Ethelfrid* and *Edan*, as for what he writes concerning the Siege of *Cheſter*, and the ſlaughter of the Monks of *Bangor*, we muſt ſpeak of it in our Eccleſiaſtical matters, becauſe of a queſtion wont to be moved about it concerning *Auguſtine* the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. As for what he ſays, that none of the *Scotiſh* Kings durſt fight againſt the Nation of the *Engliſh*, to that day, it is to be underſtood till the year of our Lord DCCXXXI, where at ending his Hiſtory in another place thereof, he alſo ſignifies that the *Scots* which inhabited *Britain*, being content with their own limits, practiſed nothing againſt the Nation of the *Engliſh*, by craft or fraud. But farther, as to the death of *Ethelfrid*, *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter*, writes that *Redwald* challenged him to fight, and they met in the Countrey of the *Jutes*, Eaſtward of the River, which is called *Idle*. Thence ſaith he, came a Proverb at this very day in uſe, that *the River* Idle *was defiled with the Bloud of the* Engliſh. He adds, that *Edwin* had lived in exile with *Redwald* ſeventeen years. As for the place of the Battel, it was fought upon the ſaid River *Idle*; which ſpringing in the Foreſt of *Shirwood* runneth into the *Trent*, near to *Idleton* in *Notinghamſhire*. And whereas *Matthew the Flowergather* placeth this River in the Countrey of the *Jutes* (which we know not how it ſhould be ſo called, except the Brother and Son of *Hengiſt*, when they were ſent into the North, here planted ſo[illegible]e Colony)

the

Qui plus omnibus Anglorum Primatibus gentem vaſtabat Britonum. Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. 1. *c.* 14.

Gen. 49. 27.

Ad Ann. 617.

the Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* writes, it was on the Borders of the *Mercians*, which ſuits well with this place in *Notinghamſhire* now mentioned.

Edwin King.

9. *Ethelfrid* being ſlain, *Edwin* came to the poſſeſſion of his Hopes and Wiſhes, *viz.* the two Kingdoms of the *Deiri* and *Bernicii*, in the ſeventh year of *Heraclius* the Emperour, in the days of *Clothair* the ſecond King of the *Franks*, in the firſt year of *Eadbald* King of *Kent*, *A.D.* DCXVII. Being of ſufficient years, and taught large Experience by his long Afflictions, he firſt ſetled his matters very well at home, and then began to look towards his Neighbours, all whom he compelled to truckle under him, and ſo far extended his Power or Authority, that of theſe ſeven Princes, which during the Heptarchy till the time of *Beda*, commanded the Southern Parts from the River *Humber*, he is reckoned the fifth in order, being in this reſpect ſuperiour to them all, as well as others hereafter to be mentioned, that whereas Limits or bounds to their Power were ſet by the River *Humber*, the Border of his Paternal Dominions, and they never pierced into his Power, reached through the extent of their Territories. *Beda*, to explain what he ſaid of the extent of his Power, affirms, that with greater might than any other before him, he ruled over all the People which inhabited *Britain*, as well *Britains* as *Engliſh*, theſe of *Kent* excepted; he ſubdued to the Command of the *Engliſh* Nation, the *Mevaniæ* Iſlands of the *Britains*, which lye in the Sea betwixt *Britain* and *Ireland*. Now whereas the preſent Copies of *Beda* reade it, *Nevaniæ*, *Camden* tells us, that *Menaviæ* is the right reading, and that *Beda* calleth two Iſlands by that Name, whereof one he terms *Menavia Prior*, which is *Mona* or the Iſle of *Angleſey*, and the other *Menavia ſecunda*, which is the ſame with that called *Mona* by *Cæſar*, *Monoeda* by *Ptolemy* (that is as one would ſay *Moneitha*, or the more remote *Mona*, to put a difference between it, and the other *Mona*, viz. *Angleſey*) by *Pliny Monabia*, and by *Oroſius Menavia*, the ſame which we call the *Iſle of Man*, being known to the *Britains* by the Name of *Menow*, and by that of *Maning* to the Inhabitants. As for what *Beda* writes of their ſituation, betwixt *Britain* and *Ireland*, The firſt *Mona*, or of theſe *Menaviæ* now called *Angleſey*, ſince it was conquered by the *Engliſh*, but anciently *Mona* by the *Romans*, by the *Britains*, *Mon* and *Tir-Mon*, or the Land of *Mon*, and *Ynis Dowil*, that is a *ſhadowed or dark Iſland*; and by the ancient *Engliſh Saxons* Moneȝ, lyeth over againſt the County of *Caernarvan* (which took Name of the chief Town therein, as the Town from the Iſland) being ſeparated from the Continent of *Britain*, but by a ſmall narrow Strait, and on all parts elſe is beaten upon by the ſurging and boiſtrous *Iriſh* Ocean. As for the other, or the Iſle of *Man*, it is ſtretched out juſt in the Mid-level, as *Giraldus Cambrenſis* deſcribes it between the Northern Coaſts of *Ireland* and *Britain*, and about it, namely to whether of the Countries it ought of Right to appertain, there aroſe no ſmall controverſie amongſt the Ancients, which was decided at length by this evidence, that it foſtered venemous wormes carried thither for trial, whereupon by a common cenſure it was adjudged to belong to *Britain*. Yet do the Natives both in Language and Manners come nigheſt to the *Britains*, yet ſo as therewith they alſo ſavour of ſomewhat derived from thoſe of *Norwey*.

Beda, lib. 2. *c.* 5. & 9.

Who adds to his Dominion the *Menavian* Iſlands.

The Situation of the Iſland *Angleſey*.

Of Man.

De iis Beda lib. 2. *c.* 9. *Quarum prior quæ ad Auſtrum eſt & ſitu amplior, & frugum proventu atque ubertate fœlicior, nongintarum ſexaginta familiarum menſuram juxta æſtimationem Anglorum, ſecunda trecentarum & ultra ſpatium tenet.*

10. But more of theſe Iſlands upon farther occaſion, let us farther inlarge upon what *Beda* ſaith in ſhort, concerning the Greatneſs and Power of King *Edwin*. The Monk of *Malmesbury* tells us, that the ſtiff-necked *Northumbrians* having ſubmitted themſelves, the ſudden death of *Redwald* was added to the heap of his felicity. For the People of Eaſt *England*, during the time of his Exile among them, having had good experience of diligence and vigour, unanimouſly ſwore obedience to him, who ſuffered the Son of *Redwald* (as leſs he could not doe out of gratitude) to enjoy the bare and empty Title of King, but he managed all things at his pleaſure. At that time all the Hope and Help of the *Engliſh* were in him, neither was there any Province in *Britain*, which obſerved not his Orders; and were ready to obey him, but onely thoſe that inhabited *Kent*. Them he ſuffered to enjoy their freedom and repoſe becauſe he had a great deſire to marry with *Ethelburga*, the Siſter of *Eadbald* their King, which Lady having long been a Suitour to, at length he obtained, whereby the two Kingdoms became moſt like, both as to Government, and the manners of the People. For upon this occaſion by the preaching of *Paulus Edwin*, after mature Deliberation, as we ſhall ſhew in its proper place, imbraced the Chriſtian Religion, and procured it to be received by his own Subjects. After this ſo great Bleſſings were heaped upon him, that not onely the Nations of *Britain*, as the *Engliſh Saxons*, *Picts* and *Scots*, but the Iſlands *Orchades*, and the other called *Menaviæ*, both feared his Arms, and adored his Power.

The Eaſt *Angles* ſwear obedience to him.

And with *Ethelburga* and his Wife *Kent*, and the neighbouring Provinces obey him.

er. Then was there no publick Robber, no domeſtick Thief, all ſuch as laid wait for the violation of conjugal Modeſty were removed afar off, the Invader of another Man's Inheritance was not to be found, a thing extraordinary, as to his Commendation, and in our Age. His Empire was ſo far propagated to this effect, that Juſtice and Peace flouriſhed together, and moſt happy might the State of the Commonwealth have continued, if immature death, the Step-mother, as the Monk terms it, of temporal happineſs, after a kind of ugly Sport, had not deprived his Countrey of him.

A Rebellion.

In which *Edwin* is ſlain.

His commendation.

11. His ſudden death as we are informed by *Beda* himſelf, was brought about upon this occaſion. When he had ruled the Nation both of *Engliſh* and *Britains*, moſt gloriouſly for the ſpace of ſeventeen years, whereof five of them he had fought under Chriſt his Banner, *Caedwalla* the King of *Britains* rebelled againſt him, who had drawn into his aſſiſtence a moſt ſtout Captain, *viz.* *Peuda* then King of the *Mercians*. They ingaged in a great and bloudy Battel at a place called *Hethfield*, where *Edwin* on the fourth day of the Ides of *October*, in the year of our Lord DCXXXIII. was ſlain, being ſeven and forty years old, and his whole Army was either ſlain or routed. In the Battel before him a moſt courageous Son of his called *Offrid* * fell, another called *Eadfrid*, neceſſity compelling him, went over to *Peuda*, who afterward in the Reign of *Oſwal* ſlew him, contrary to his Oath. To this end came this moſt valiant and prudent Prince, being as *Malmeſbury* writes a miſerable Spectacle of humane Variety, or that Viciſſitude which is incident to humane Affairs, a Prince whom the Courſe of his Actions and great Succeſs, ſpeak great both in the one Capacity and in the other. As for the Halcyon times which this People enjoyed under his Government; it will not be amiſs to note what *Beda* himſelf obſerveth of them. At that time, ſaith he, ſo great a Peace is reported to have been in *Britain*, whitherſoever the Empire of King *Edwin* reached, that (as yet the Proverb is) *If a Woman with a Child in her Armes newly born would travell through the whole Iſland from Sea to Sea, ſhe might doe it without any Let or Moleſtation.* The ſaid King moreover ſo much conſulted the Good of his People, that whereever he beheld any Fountains or Springs by the High-ways, there for the refreſhment of Travellers he cauſed Poſts to be erected, and brazen Diſhes to be hung upon them; neither would any body touch them except for their preſent uſe, either for the greatneſs of the fear they had of him, or of the Love they bare unto him. He was of ſuch eſteem in his Kingdom, that not onely in Battel were Banners born before him, but in time of Peace as he rode through the Cities, Towns or Provinces together with his Attendants an Enſign-bearer was wont to goe. Nay when he paſſed along in the Streets in all places, that kind of Banner which the *Romans* call *Tufa*, and the *Engliſh* *Thuuf*, were wont to be born before him.

* *Cum Godbaldo Rege Orchadum, inquit Math. Florilegus Ad Ann.* 634.

Lib. 2. *c.* 16.

The Conquerour's Cruelty.

12. *Edwin* being ſlain in Battel, the Provinces of the *Northumbrians* were in a moſt ſad Eſtate. Of the two Captains that overthrew him, the one being a Pagan, and the other as he terms him a Barbarian, both Religion and all things civil went to wreck; while the one raged againſt the Church, and the other againſt the Laity, of which he ſpared neither any Sex nor any Age or Condition, ſubjecting as well Women as Men, innocent Babes, as thoſe of ripe years to death, and moſt cruel Tortures, which continued no ſmall time; for *Cadwall* ſtudied how together with their deſtruction, he might root the whole *Engliſh Saxon* Nation out of *Britain*. And though a Chriſtian he was himſelf, yet did he not ſhew any reſpect to their Religion, the Cuſtome of the *Britains*, ſaith *Beda*, being at this very day to ſet at nought the Faith and Religion of the *Engliſh Saxons*, neither will they have any thing to doe with them more than *Pagans*. The head of the ſlain King was brought to *York*, and there depoſited in the Church of St. *Peter*, which he himſelf had begun, and *Oſwald* his Succeſſour perfected. All things being in confuſion in thoſe Parts, and no refuge or ſafety any where to be expected. *Æthelburga* the Queen returned by Sea into *Kent*, together with *Paulinus* the Archbiſhop, that brought her where ſhe was very kindly and honourably received by *Eadbald* her Brother. With *Baſſus* alſo a moſt valiant Souldier of *Edwin*'s, went *Eaufleda* the King's Daughter, as alſo *Vſcfrea* his Son, and *Iffi* the Son of his Son *Oſfride*, whom their Mother afterward for fear of *Eadbald* and *Oſwald*, the Kings, ſent into *France*, to the King her friend to be brought up; and there they both died in their Infancy.

Beda lib. 2. *c. ult.*

Beda Hiſt. lib. 3. *c.* 1.

13. But after the death of *Edwin*, *Oſrick* the Son of *Elfrick* his Uncle by the Fathers ſide, obtained to be King of the *Deiri*, from the Province of whom he was iſſued, and had received his Royalty as well as Birth. On the Kingdom of

the

In *Bernicii Eaufred* obtained to be King.

Both ſlain by *Cadwalla* the *Britain.*

Who was afterward kill'd by *Oſwald* their Succeſſour.

the *Bernicii* ſeized *Eaufrid* the Son of *Edelfrid*, who in like manner was iſſued out of this Province. For during the Reign of *Edwin*, the Sons of *Edelfrid*, with many more of the younger ſort of Nobility lived in Exile, either with the *Scots* or *Picts.* Both theſe Kings abjured the Chriſtian Religion, which they had learnt, and profeſſed in baniſhment, and were ſhortly after cut off by *Cadwalla* the *Britain*, who now thinking the time might be come to drive the *Engliſh Saxons* out of their once unjuſtly obtained poſſeſſions, and to reſtore the Iſland to its ancient Owners, omitted nothing that might rationally tend to the bringing of this about. In the very Summer following the death of *Edwin*, he fell ſuddenly upon *Oſrick*, when he never expected him, and cut him off with his whole Army. After this he raged like a cruel Tyrant in theſe provinces for a year, at the end whereof, when *Eaufrid* came to him, but with twelve in his Company to treat of peace, he treated him in the ſelf ſame manner. That year, ſaith *Beda*, is ſtill at this day accounted unlucky and hatefull to all good Men, both in reſpect of the Apoſtacy of theſe *Engliſh* Kings, who renounced their Baptiſm, as for the leſs Tyranny of this *Britiſh* King. Whereupon it was agreed by all, that computed the times of theſe Princes, to aboliſh the memory of theſe perfidious Kings, and to aſſign the ſaid year to the Reign of bleſſed King *Oſwald*, who after the death of his Brother *Eaufrid*, coming with a ſmall power of Men, but fortified by faith in Chriſt, that curſed Captain of the *Britains*, with his vaſt Army which he boaſted nothing could reſiſt, was ſlain in a place which in the Language of the *Engliſh* is called *Deniſesburna*, or the Brook of *Denis.* The place, ſaith our Authour, is ſhewn at this day, and had in great Veneration, where *Oſwald* being to fight erected the ſign of the Croſs, and kneeling down, beſought Almighty God that he would Succour his Servants in this day of their Neceſſity. He himſelf laboured at the Erection of the Croſs, which finiſhed, he ſpake aloud to the whole Army: Let us kneel down and jointly pray unto the Omnipotent living and true God, that he would mercifully defend us from the proud Enemy, for he knows that we undertake a juſt War for defence of our Nation. The place is in the *Engliſh* Tongue called *Heofonfeld*, or *Heavenly Field*, lying near to the Wall which the *Romans* built from Sea to Sea, for the reſtraining the inſolent Inrodes of Barbarians.

Vide dicitur lædes Cadwallæ Diviſi curſus coercuit. Huntingd. l.3.

14. It's ſtill at this day for the ſame reaſon, as ſome would have it, called *Haledon* near to *Sciliceſter*, in the Wall in the County of *Northumberland*, where was a Church built in Honour of St. *Cutbert* and Kind *Oſwald*, but the Name of the King hath ſo obſcured the light of the other Saint, that the old Name being quite gone, it's now known onely by that of St. *Oſwald.* For the place where *Cadwalla* was ſlain, the preſent Printed Copy of *Beda* hath it *Deniſesburna*, and King *Alfrede's* Tranſlation Ðeniſſeſbuꞃna, but *Camden* read it in *Beda*, *Devilesburn*, a little River running into *Tine*, which gave to a Manſion Houſe upon it, the Name of *Divelſton*, as in old Records it's found written, now called *Dilſton*, belonging in his time to the *Ratcliffs.* After this Victory atchieved, *Oſwald* governed his Dominions with great Juſtice and Tranquillity, being ſo humble, ſo tender hearted, and bountifull to the poor, that he behaved himſelf indeed as a true Father of his Countrey. This his Goodneſs is ſaid to have been crowned with remarkable Succeſs, ſo that his Empire, he extended farther than any of his Predeceſſours; for as ſome write all the Nations * of *Britain* ſubmitted to his Command, not onely the *Engliſh* and *Britains*, but the *Picts* and *Scots* themſelves, which good Fortune did not puff him up, but he continued as humble and mercifull as ever. But that neither he nor any other good man might place his happineſs in this world, at laſt an alteration was made, and an end happened to him, contrary to his beginning. By his Induſtry and Prudence the Provinces of the *Deiri* and *Bernicii*, which formerly had diſagreed were lovingly and faſt united together. But in reference to his Neighbours abroad, matters ſtood in another poſture, who, however they might for a while ſubmit unto him, and acquieſce under his moſt mild Adminiſtration, yet it ſeems either counting this ſubjection, how mild ſoever it was, a ſlavery, or provoked by the Rulers of the *Britains*, and eſpecially *Peuda* the King of the *Mercians*, they were perſwaded (a great Party at leaſt) to revolt from their profeſſed obedience. The matter flew ſo high, that *Peuda* led his Pagan Subjects the *Mercians* forth againſt him, and they met at a place called *Maſenfeld*, where a great and moſt bloudy Battel being fought, he had the ſame ill fortune his Uncle *Edwin* had (whoſe Nephew he was by his Siſter *Ava*) being with Multitudes of his followers ſlain upon the place on the fifth day of *Auguſt*, in the thirty eighth (or the thirty ſeventh, as King *Alfred's* Tranſlation hath it) of his Age, when he had reigned nine years, as the Ancient Annaliſts reckoned, but

Peuda and his *Mercians* rebell.

In the conflict *Oſwald* is ſlain.

**Denique omnes Nationes & Provincias Britanniæ, quæ in quatuor linguas, (id eſt Britonum, Pictorum, Scotorum, Anglorum) diviſæ ſunt in ditionem accepit, &c. Beda.lib.3.c.6.*

Unde dicitur Campus Meſafeld ſanctorum canduit oſſibus. Huntingd. l.3.

but in this Number muſt be included that year which, as we formerly ſaid, the Apoſtaſie of the *Engliſh* Kings, and Tyranny of the *Britiſh* rendred ſo odious to them, as that they would not aſſign it to them, but rather aboliſh its memory. *Peuda* the cruel Pagan after he had ſlain him, contented not himſelf with his bare death, but having killed him, tore his Body in pieces and fixed it upon three Stakes as a Spectacle of terrour. The Place is at this day called *Oſweſtre* or *Oſwalſtre*, in *Britiſh*, *Croix Oſwalds*, a little Town upon the Weſt Frontier of *Shropſhire*, not far from the River *Severn*. It was not long ſince incloſed with a Ditch and a Wall, and it had very good Traffick, eſpecially of ſlight and thin *Welſh* Cottons. It ſeems to have had its firſt Original from Devotion to this King and Saint. But it was built by *Modoc* the Brother of *Mereduc* (as *Caradoc* of *Lancarvan* wrote) and the *Fitz Allans* being *Normans* and Earls of *Arundell*, who afterwards came to be Lords of it, walled it about. The Eclipſes of the Sun in *Aries* have been moſt dangerous unto it, for twice when that Luminary was in that Sign, did it ſuffer very great Calamity by fire.

Apud Cambdenum in Shropſ.

In *Bernicia Oſwi*.

In *Deira Oſwin* ſucceeds.

Who differ.

And *Oſwin* by the others command is ſlain.

His Character.

15. *Oſwald* dying in this manner, *Oſwi* his Brother ſucceeded him in the Kingdom of *Bernicia*, a young Man of about thirty years of Age; but *Oſwin* the Son of *Oſrick* obtained that of *Deira* in the third year of *Ercombert* King of *Kent*, in the Reign of *Dagobert* King of the *Franks*, *A.D.* DCXLIII. Theſe two Kings being thus as it were Partners in the Throne, agreed, as is uſual in ſuch Caſes. Differences were ever ariſing betwixt them, and at length grew to ſuch an height, as one could not ſubſiſt if the other continued. They raiſed Forces on each ſide; but *Oſwin* perceiving he was overmatched in Number, thought it not fit to fight, but to reſerve himſelf to better times; he therefore Disbanded his Army, commanding every Man to repair to his own Home from a place called *Wilfares Dun*, or the Hill of *Wilfare*, about ten Miles South-Weſt from the Village *Cataracto*. He himſelf withdrew, with one onely faithfull Souldier in his Company called *Tondhere*, to the Houſe of a Count named *Hunvald* whom he eſteemed as moſt ſure to him; but it proved far otherwiſe, for by him he was betrayed, and ſlain by command of *Oſwi* together with his truſty *Tondhere*, on the thirteenth of the Calends of *Semptember* in the ninth year of his Reign in a place called *Ingerlingum*. This *Oſwin* was a Man of a beautifull Aſpect, tall of Stature, Affable, Courteous, and very Bountifull, which Endowments both of Mind and Body procured him ſuch Reputation, that he was by all men beloved, and many moſt Noble Perſons out of all the Provinces thought themſelves happy if they could but get into his Service; but above all, his Humility and ſingular Modeſty were remarkable, whereof *Beda* gives us this Inſtance. “ *Oſwin* beſtowed an ex-
“ cellent Horſe upon *Aidan* the famous Biſhop of *Lindisfarne*, but the Biſhop
“ when a Poor Man asked Almes, gave him the Horſe with all the rich Furniture
“ upon him. The King hearing of this, as they were going in to Dinner, ſaid to
“ him: My * Lord Biſhop, Why would you give that Royal Horſe that was for
“ your own Saddle, to a Poor Man? Have we not many worſe Horſes and other
“ things which would ſerve the Poor, inſtead of this Horſe I made choice of
“ for your own Perſon? The Biſhop inſtantly replyed, King, what do you ſay?
“ *Is that Son of a Mare more dear to you than that Son of God?* With that they
“ went in to Dinner, the Biſhop to his Seat; but the King being come from
“ Hunting, ſate him down by the Fire with his Attendants. But remembring
“ what the Biſhop had ſaid, he roſe ſuddenly up, and giving his Sword to
“ his Servant, went haſtily to him, at whoſe feet he fell and beſought him
“ not to be angry, affirming he would never after ſpeak or concern himſelf,
“ whatever he gave of his Money to the Children of God. The Biſhop was
“ wonderfully amazed, and riſing haſtily, raiſed him up; telling him he was
“ very well pleaſed if he would but ſit down to Dinner, and be chearfull. The
“ King then at his Requeſt began to be merry, but the Biſhop began to be
“ very ſad, ſo as he ſhed Tears, of which his Prieſt taking notice, in their own
“ Language (they were both *Scots*) which neither *Oſwin* nor his Servants under-
“ ſtood, demanded the reaſon. I know (ſaith he) that the King will not live
“ long: For till this time I never beheld an humble King; whence I apprehend,
“ that he will ſpeedily be taken away by Death; for this Nation is not worthy of
“ ſuch a Governour. Not long after was this ſad Preſage of the Biſhop fulfilled in
the Murther of *Oſwin*. And *Aidan* lived but till the twelfth day after his Death, dying himſelf on the laſt of *Auguſt*.

Lib.3. c.14.

* *Domine Antiſtes, quod Rex Alfredus vertit; Min Domne Biſceop. Batavi hodie ſimiliter Sacerdotem titulo Domini ſalutant. Min Hlaford adhuc non erat in uſu, quæ compellatio in hodiernam, My Lord, tranſiit.*

Sect. 6.

Oſwi and Peuda quarrel.

16. *Oſwi* having removed his Equal, whom he much grudged, yet did not find himſelf freed from trouble by that unworthy Act. He found continual fears and trouble from the *Mercians*, *Peuda* their King never ceaſing to caſt one Rub or other in his way. Yet paſſed there ſeveral Acts of kindneſs and indearment, as one would have imagined betwixt the Families. *Peuda* had a Son called *Peada*, who being a young man, for his good Endowments accounted worthy of a Kingdom, was by his Father appointed to the government of their Nation. He came into *Northumberland* to *Oſwi*, deſiring his Daughter *Alkflede* in Marriage, which he could not obtain except he and his Subjects received the Chriſtian Religion. He upon hearing what was preached concerning the promiſe of an Eternal Kingdom, the hope of a Reſurrection and Immortal Life, profeſſed himſelf a Believer, though he never ſhould obtain the young Lady, being much induced to this Belief by the Perſwaſions of *Alfrid* the Son of *Oſwi*, his Friend and Kinſman, who had Married his Siſter *Cyniburg* the Daughter of *Peuda*. Notwithſtanding theſe Alliances, *Beda* tells us, that *Oſwi* ſuffered frequent, moſt bitter and Intolerable Eruptions from the ſaid King of the *Mercians* who had ſlain his Brother. Neceſſity often inforcing him, he often preſented him with Gifts innumerable, therewith to purchaſe Peace, and prevent the utter ruine of his Dominions. The perfidious Prince did not conform himſelf to his Deſires, but reſolved to root out and deſtroy all his People little and great, which *Oſwi* perceiving, betook himſelf to Divine aſſiſtence, vowing, in caſe he obtained the Victory over him, to Conſecrate his Daughter as a Nun to perpetual Virginity, and to paſs over twelve Poſſeſſions for the building of Monaſteries. Armed more by Faith than any Carnal Hope he could have of Victory, he gave Battel to the Enemy, who is ſaid to have brought into the Field thirty times as many men, thirty Legions whereof each was headed by a skilfull Leader. Theſe Forces he and *Alckfrid* his Son ingaged with a very ſmall Army. He had another Son *Egfrid* by Name, who was at this time an Hoſtage in *Mercia* with *Cinoiſe* the Queen.

Beda, lib. 3. *c.* 21.

Ibid. lib. 3. *c.* 24.

17. *Ethilwald* the Son of *Oſwald* who rul'd in *Deira*, though he ought to have been aſſiſting to them, as good *Beda* obſerves, was at this time on the contrary ſide, and commanded a Party which was to ingage againſt his Countrey and his Uncle, but when they came to fight he withdrew himſelf, and in a ſafe place expected the event of the Battel. When they joyned, thirty Pagan Captains were ſoon ſlain or routed, and all the Auxiliaries in a manner cut off; amongſt whom was *Ædilhere* the Brother and Succeſſour of *Auna* King of the Eaſt *Angles*, who had blown the Coals betwixt the two Kings, and been the great Cauſer of the War. The Battel being fought near the River *Viaved*, which then through exceſs of Rain was overflown, it happened that more periſhed by the Waters than by the Sword. It was fought by King *Oſwi* in the Countrey of *Loidis* on the ſeventeenth of the Calends of *December*, and the thirteenth year of his Reign, to the great advantage of both the Nations. For he both freed his own People from the Hoſtile Invaſions of the Pagans, and the other of the *Mercians* and the Neighbouring Provinces, *Peuda* their Head being now cut off, he reduced quickly to the Chriſtian Faith. This *Loidis* is that eminent Town in the Weſt Riding of *Yorkſhire*, now called *Leeds*, which became an Houſe of the Kings when *Cambodunum* was burnt to the ground, a rich Town (ſo lately it was) by means of clothing. The very place of the Fight Writers call *Winwidfield*, which Name we may ſuppoſe was given it of the Victory; like as a Place in *Weſtphalia* where *Quintilius Varus* with his Legions was ſlain, is in the *Dutch* Tongue called *Winfield* or the *Field of Victory*, as *Ortelius* hath obſerved. The little Region or Territory about it, which *Beda* mentions, was in old time called by the Name of *Elmet*: and was conquered by *Edwin* the Son of *Ælla* King of *Northumberland*, after he had thence expelled *Careticus* the *Britiſh* King in the year of our Lord DCXX.

A Battel enſues in which *Peuda* is ſlain.

Regi Alfredo Ƿinƿæꝺe.

In Regione Loidis, on ðam lanꝺe ða Loidiꞅhaꞇꞇe.

Cambden.

To the joy of all men.

18. The death of *Peuda*, who had been the death of ſo many Kings, cauſed in all places out of his own Territories very great rejoycing, which as well the Affinity and Conſanguinity wherein ſeveral were conjoyned to them he had ſlain, may perſwade us to believe, as the Song that was made upon this occaſion. *Oſwi* ſo plied his buſineſs and followed on the ſtroak of his late Victory, that he brought

In Winwed amne vendicata eſt cædes Aunæ, cædes Regum Sigeberti & Egrici, cædes Oſwaldi & Edwini. Sic Math. Florileg. ad Ann. 655. *at vero Huntingdon hoc modo; In Winwed amne vindicata eſt cades Aunæ, cades Regum Sigbert & Ecgnice, cades Regum Oſwald & Edwine.*

to his beck all the Kingdom of *Mercia* for three years after the death of *Peuda*, together with all the other Southern Provinces (as his Brother before him had done) and the greateſt part of theſe belonging to the *Picts*. Yet was he ſo good natur'd as to beſtow on *Peada* the Son of *Peuda*, becauſe he had Married his Daughter, and was his Kinſman, the Kingdom of the Southern *Mercians* ſeparated from the Northern *Mercians* by the River of *Trent*, whereof the Southern in thoſe days contained five thouſand Families, and the Northern ſeven. But the *Eaſter* following *Peada* was murthered, and that as was reported by Conſpiracy of his Wife. Three years being completed after the death of *Peuda*, *Immin*, *Eaba*, and *Eadberht*, advanced to the Throne *Wulfhere* his Son a Youth whom they hid from danger, which done they revolted from *Oſwi*, whoſe Governours driving away, they valiantly defended the Liberties of their King and Countrey. Of *Oſwi* there's not much more remarkable. His good demeanour to his People in great meaſure obliterated that bloudy Crime of murthering *Oſwin*; but this *Beda* teſtifies of him, that with very great pains he maintained his Dignity, which is not onely applicable to the great Induſtry he uſed for attainment of that power, at which he arrived (he being the ſeventh of the moſt powerfull Kings amongſt the *Engliſh Saxons*, as his Brother *Oſwald* is by *Beda* reckoned the Sixth) but in relation to the perpetual troubles and dangers he underwent, not onely brought upon him by *Peuda* the *Mercian* King, but by *Æthilwald* the Son of his Brother, who by ſome is ſaid to have ſucceeded *Oſwin*, nay his own Son *Athfrid*; this being the ordinary Lot and Portion of men of bloud. He reigned moſt painfully twenty and eight years, and died on the firſt of *March* in the fifty eighth year of his Age.

Peada his Son murthered.

Oſwi Dies.

Tranſlato ergo ad cœleſtia Regna Oſwaldo, ſuſcepit Regni terreſtris ſedem pro eo frater ejus Oſwi Juvenis triginta circiter annorum, & per annos viginti octo laborioſiſſimè tenuit, &c. Beda, *lib.*3. *c.* 14.

Florentius Wigorn. ad An. 673.

19. *Oſwi* being dead, *Egfrid* his Legitimate Son ſucceeded him in the third year of *Conſtantine* the Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, the ſeventh of *Egbert* King of *Kent*, during the Reign of *Childerick* the Second, King of the *Franks*, *A. D.* DCLXXI, or the year before, as *Beda* placeth it. His Father being ſickly toward his latter end, could not proſecute *Wulfhere*, who had ſet up for himſelf in *Mercia*, and therefore left to him a War as Hereditary, which he ſo proſecuted, as that he drove *Wolfhere* out of *Lindſey*, and recovered it again to his Paternal Territories. Thus much is onely hinted to us by *Beda*; how long he kept it is utterly uncertain. For *Malmsbury* falling foul upon him for his Impiety, ſhewed in the malitious proſecuting of Biſhop *Wilfride*, adds, that towards humble Suppliants he was proud and harſh, a Diſeaſe wherewith all Tyrants are infected; that on the contrary againſt Rebels he was ſluggiſh and lazy, and defacing the Triumphs of his Father loſt the Empire of the *Mercians*, and being beaten in Battel by *Ethelrede* the Son of *Peuda*, loſt alſo his Brother. In the ſecond year of the Reign of *Egfrid*, there was a wonderfull great Fight of Birds, many thouſands of them being killed, and the Foreigners ſeemed to be worſted. This might ſeem to betoken that great Fight which was fought eight years after near the River of *Trent*, betwixt *Egfrid* and the ſaid King *Æthelrede*; where, as the ſame Authour *Beda* tells us was ſlain, *Eſewin* the Brother of *Egfrid*, a young man very much beloved by the People of both the Provinces, whoſe Siſter by Name *Oſtrith* the ſaid *Æthelrede* had married. This Battel it ſeems did not, together with the young Prince's life, put a Period to the Controverſie. For *Beda* writes that more new matter of a more ſharp War and longer enmity aroſe betwixt the angry Kings and their People, till *Theodore* the Biſhop by his Diligence and Interceſſion took up the Quarrel, and prevented the dreadfull miſchiefs which thereupon would have followed; making this Agreement, that Bloud ſhould not be required for the Bloud of *Elſewin*, but his Brother ſhould be contented with a certain Sum of money to be paid by *Æthelrede*. And the Peace made upon this occaſion continued a long time betwixt theſe Kings and their Kingdoms.

Egfrid ſucceeds.

Who chaſtiſes *Wulfere* the *Mercian* for revolting.

Lib. 4. *c.* 12. *Cum quibus & Edhadus in provincia Lindisfarorum, quam nuperrimè Rex Egfridus, ſuperato in bello & fugato Wulfhero detinuerat, ordinatur Epiſcopus.*

Math. Florilegus ad Ann. 671.

Fights *Æthelrede* the *Mercian* King.

*Lib.*4. *c.*21.

An Agreement made betwixt them.

20. But though *Egfrid* had peace with the *Mercians*, and on this ſide the Sea, he was of ſo reſtleſs an humour, that finding no work in *Britain*, he muſt needs transfer his Arms over into *Ireland*, in the year of our Lord DCLXXXIV. under Command of one *Berht*, he ſent an Army over thither, and miſerably waſted that Nation, which was both innocent, and always moſt friendly to that of the *Engliſh*, neither Churches nor Monaſteries being any whit ſpared. The *Ilanders* or *Scots* did what they could, both by repelling force with force, and putting up their Prayers to Heaven for Divine Aſſiſtence. And although, ſaith he, Curſers cannot inherit the Kingdom of Heaven, yet was it believed that they who were now deſervedly curſed for their Impiety, were ſuddenly puniſhed by the juſt judgment of Almighty God. For in the year following this King *Egfrid*, without any mature advice, leading out his Army to waſte the Countrey of the *Picts*, though

He Invades *Ireland*.

And is there ſlain with his whole Army.

To the ruine of the *Engliſh.*

Ex quo tempore, ſpes cœpit & virtus Regni Anglorum fluere ac retrò ſublapſa referri. Beda, l. 4. *c.* 26.

though his Friends earneſtly laboured to diſſwade him, and amongſt others, St. *Cuthbert*, who was newly then ordained Biſhop, he was by the cunning Enemy, who counterfeited a flight drawn within the ſtraits of unpaſſable Mountains, and with the greateſt part of the Forces he brought along with him, cut off, in the fortieth year of his Age, and the fifteenth of his Reign, on the thirteenth day, before the Calends of *June.* As I ſaid, ſaith *Beda*, his Friends adviſed him againſt this War, but as the foregoing year he would not hear the moſt Reverend Father *Ecgberht*, when he dehorted him from offering violence to *Scotland*, which had nothing hurt him, as a puniſhment to him for that ſin, it came to paſs that now he would not hear them who ſtrove to prevent his utter overthrow. And from this time it was that the hopes and valour of the *Engliſh* Empire began to decay and dwindle. For both the *Picts* recovered the Land of their Poſſeſſion, which the *Engliſh* and *Scots*, that inhabited *Britain*, held, and ſome Part of the *Britains* obtained their Liberty which they ſtill retain for the ſpace of forty ſix years. Amongſt many others of the *Engliſh* Nation, which were either ſlain by the Sword, condemned to bondage, or fled for their lives from the Land of the *Picts*, *Trumwin* the moſt Reverend Man of God, was one who had been a Biſhop amongſt them, but now came back with thoſe that belonged to him in the Monaſtery of *Ebbercurnig*, which ſtood indeed in the Countrey of the *Engliſh*, but bordered upon the *Frith*, which ſeparated their Territories from thoſe of the *Picts*. Theſe be the words of *Beda*, who diligently diſtinguiſhes in ſeveral places, the *Scots* that inhabited *Scotland*, from the *Scots* that inhabited *Britain*, but when he mentions *Scotia* or *Scotland*, he means onely one Countrey thereby, and that is *Ireland.*

Alfride ſucceeds him.

The occaſion of *Egfrid's* invading *Ireland.*

21. *Egfrid* being ſlain, *Alfride* or *Aldfrid* his Brother, and the Son of *Oſwi*, ſucceeded him, in the firſt year of the Emperour *Juſtinian* the younger, the firſt of *Edrich* King of *Kent*, in the Reign of *Theodorick* King of the *Franks.* A. D. DCLXXXVI. *Malmsbury* writes, that *Oſwi* had but two Sons, whereof the ſpurious being rejected, the legitimate ſucceeded him in his Kingdom, which was *Egfrid*; yet a little after, he tells us that *Egfrid* in the Battel fought with *Ethelrede*, the Son of *Peuda* loſt his Brother, and after this he writes, how the news of his Death flying all over, at laſt came to the Ears of his Brother *Alfrid*, who being baſe born, although the elder, was by the Nobility thought not fit to Reign, and either by conſtraint, or out of indignation, went into *Ireland*, where being ſecure from the hatred of his Brother, and having leiſure ſufficient to follow his Studies, he much bettered his mind by the precepts of Philoſophy. If he retired in this manner into *Ireland*, then from all theſe paſſages we may gueſs that the indignation and jealouſie of his Brother follow him thither, and hence it is that we may fetch the account of his ſending an Army into that Iſland. Therefore they who formerly refuſed him, now when they had need of him, and conſidered his worth, betook themſelves to Intreaties, ſo well ſatisfied was he with the preſent condition of his Life. But when he had once undertaken what was offered, he gave them no cauſe to repent them of their choice, being a Man mighty in the Scriptures, and ſo carefull of the Duty incumbent upon him, that for nineteen years he Governed his People in great Peace, and with as great Applauſe, having no other flaw in the whole courſe of his Adminiſtration, but what they find concerning his Perſecution of Biſhop *Wilfride.* Yet was his Kingdom contained within much narrower Bounds, than in the days of his Father and Brother. For the *Picts* making an inſolent uſe of their Victory, ſet upon the *Engliſh*, whom long quiet and eaſe had rendred leſs fit for reſiſtence, and made bold to juſtle them out of ſome of their Territories lying toward the North, or to ſubdue and bring them under their Yoke, though they ſtill inhabited theſe Countries. And never after could they recover their liberty, and reunite themſelves with the *Engliſh* their Brethren, by the *Picts* coming to be ſubject to the *Scots*, though their Language at this day ſufficiently diſcovers their Original.

Oſrede made King.

Is very debauch'd.

22. After *Alfrede* his Son, *Oſrede* was made King in the ſixth year of *Tiberius Apſimarus* Emperour; the twelfth of *Withrede* King of *Kent*, in the days of *Childebert* the ſecond King of the *Franks*, A. D. DCCIIII. He was but a Child of eight years old, but ſhewed himſelf ſoon enough to be of ſufficient Age to be vitious. He Reigned but eleven years, and was famous for nothing, infamous for his uncleanneſs, which could not be kept within the bounds of ordinary voluptuouſneſs, but extended to the very Cloyſters, where he violated the Virginity of thoſe that were, as their Relations imagined, ſecured againſt ſuch attempts by a Religious

Sect. 6.

And at laſt Murthered.

Kenred ſucceeds.

Then *Oſric*.

Next *Ceolwulf*.

Who turns Monk.

Veil. Theſe courſes brought him into ſuch hatred, even of his own kindred, that to prevent one ſin, they committed a greater by taking away his Life, when he hoped he had ſcarcely ſpent one quarter of it. Yet had they that removed him out of the way to take his place, ſupplied as well the want of Eminence and Vertue, as of Royalty, they might have been more excuſable, at leaſt it would have partly covered and concealed the blackneſs of the Parricide; but *Kenred*, who went after him took the Throne, and therein ſate for two years, and after him *Oſric*, who Reigned eleven, did nothing memorably, or which could call them worthy of that Dignity to which they advanced themſelves. *Oſric* indeed in this, had the advantage of the other, that he did not firſt leap into the Chair of the murthre'd Prince, and before his death, adopted *Celwulf* or *Ceolwulf* the Brother of *Kenred* for his Succeſſour. This is that *Ceolwulf* to whom *Beda* dedicates his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, at the end whereof he ſignifies, that this King was embraced with great difficulties, and how he would extricate himſelf, or what end they would have, was utterly uncertain. What theſe Difficulties were, he tells us not, either becauſe he would not burn his finger by medling with matters of his own time, or for that his deſign was to write an Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory onely, which ſeems to have been his drift, for elſe he might doubtleſs have given up a more large account of what he has left, but a mere ſcantling, a few remarks, and thoſe but by the bye, as they were neceſſary to be brought in for making way to, or Illuſtrating ſome other matters relating for the moſt part to the Cloyſter. As for *Ceolwulf*, we are told he was ſo edified with what he read in the Hiſtory of *Beda*, that deſirous to be of the Number of thoſe Kings who had exchanged their Crowns for Cowls, he at length reſigned his Kingdom and betook himſelf to a Monaſtery. Or rather he was wearied with theſe difficulties he found in reigning, and however his Crown ſeemed glorious to the eyes of the Beholders, felt the weight of it ſo great, that he was not ſatisfied till he was eaſed of his burthen, which he caſt off from his Head after he had governed eight years, and in the Monaſtery of *Lindeſfnare*, took upon him the Monkiſh Habit. He was not deſcended from the Loins of the late Kings of the *Northumbrians*, but in another Line deſcended from *Ida*. He was the Son of *Cutha*, whoſe Fore-fathers were *Cuthwin*, *Lethewold*, *Egwold*, *Aldelm*, *Oga* and *Ida*.

Math. Florilegus, Henricus Huntingd.

Egbert made King.

Huntingdon Egbricht. Florilego Eadbert.

23. But he quitted not the Government before he had provided his People of another King. This was *Egbert* his Uncles Son, as *Malmesbury* calls him, but *Huntingdon* tells us he was the Son of *Ecca*, who was Son to *Lethwold* or *Ledwold*; and as he, as the Flowergatherer hath it, was Son to one *Ceolwolf*, ſo that he could not be of that Line, but now mentioned, yet he calls him his Kinſman too. Whoever he was, he began his Reign in the two and twentieth year of *Leo Iſaurus* the Emperour, the thirteenth of *Edbert* King of *Kent*, the thirtieth of *Selrede* King of the Eaſt *Saxons*, in the days of *Theodorick* King of the *Franks*, *A. D.* DCCXXXVIII. We can tell the Reader that he Reigned, but what he did particularly in his Reign, he as well as we muſt ſtill be ignorant, *Beda* having told us but little of theſe Civil Matters; but after his time no one of any tolerable Abilities, having taken any care to tranſmit any thing of moment to poſterity, ſo that we have little more than the bare Names. But that he laudably governed, *Malmesbury* tells, treading in the ſteps of good Princes. He had a Brother baſely born it ſeems, and of his own Name in his time Archbiſhop of *York*, who as *Alcuin* the Schoolmaſter of *Charles* the Great left in writing, did very much for the advancement of learning, and others add, that it was in Conjunction with, and by the aſſiſtence of, the King his Brother. The King did ſo well agree with the Archbiſhop, and ſo emulated him in Religion, that needs he muſt be Religious too, and more Religious, having his Crown ſhaven and turn Monk after he had Reigned twenty years, leaving his Kingdom to his Son *Oſwulfe*. He being not able to ſteer the Helm, was, though an Innocent, thrown over-board to make way for *Mollo*, when he had born the Name of King little more than a year. *Mollo* held it ſtoutly and laboriouſly eleven years; but was then ſerved in the ſame manner, as he or others for him had uſed his Predeceſſour, by the Devices of *Alrede* who got his Place. *Alrede* ſo ingratiated himſelf with the People, and ſo plied his work that he held it for nine, but in his tenth was compelled by them that now ſaid they were not his Subjects to give way to *Ethelbert* the Son of *Mollo*. But he was but a King of the ſecond Head neither; in the fifth year they Loyally failed again, and out they drove him.

Habuit fratrem æquivocum Archiepiſcopum Eboraci, qui & ſua prudentia & germani potentia ſedem illam in genuinum ſtatum reformavit, &c. Malmesb. Lib. 1.

Who turning Monk leaves his Kingdom to *Oſwulfe*.

He is ſucceeded by *Mollo*.

Then *Alrede* Reigns.

Next *Ethelbert*.

Then *Celwold.*

To whom ſucceeded *Oſrede.*

Who was outed by *Ethelbert.*

An *Interregnum* for thirty odd years.

At length *Egbert* is made King.

24. Then was *Celwold* proclaimed King, who was Brother to *Alerede*, and he made a ſhift for eleven years to make good his Hold. But the People were now ſo uſed to making and unmaking Kings, that after theſe years he taſted of their perfidious humour being with Innocency ſent to Heaven as his famous Sepulchre at *Hagulſtade*, and the Miracles which they ſaid they ſaw ſufficiently teſtified to that then repenting Age. To his merit ſure it muſt be aſcribed, that his Nephew *Oſrede* the Son of *Alerede* ſucceeded him, but being got in, he could not keep Poſſeſſion; for ſcarcely had he enjoyed his Royalty one year, but *Ethelbert* (or *Athelrede*, or *Ethelwald*) the Son of *Mollo* drove him out, and recovered his Seat after twelve years of exile, which he held for four more, which once paſt, he could not eſcape the common calamity of his Predeceſſours, but was miſerably ſlain. Some ſaid he was juſtly puniſhed for the unjuſt putting of *Oſrede* to Death, with whoſe Reſignation he ought in conſcience to have been contented: but many Biſhops, and Noblemen who had more ſenſe than their Neighbours, were ſo weary of theſe perpetual Diſturbances and Murthers, that they left thereupon their Native Countrey. Nay, *Charles* the Great was ſo incenſed, that as *Alcuin* wrote, having delivered Letters and Preſents to Meſſengers, to be delivered to this *Ethelrede* when he heard how he was murthered, he exclaimed againſt this perfidious, perverſe Nation, the Murtherers of their Lords, affirming they were worſe than Pagans; and if *Alcuin* had not interceded, whatever good he could have hindred, or miſchief he was in a capacity to doe, would have been performed againſt them. So great a terrour did this curſed cuſtome ſtrike in all the Nobility, that he being dead, no Candidates appeared for the Kingdom; for conſidering the freſh example of others, they choſe rather to ſleep in a whole skin and live in obſcurity, than venture upon ſo dangerous, nay pernicious Royalty; moſt of the *Northumbrian* Kings having come to an untimely end. Therefore was the Countrey without a King, for the ſpace of thirty and three years, and became a deriſion and a Prey to all the neighbours. The *Danes* had before this begun to make Inrodes and Depredations in thoſe parts, and ſuch as had once been in them, ſhewing the great booty they carried back to their Countreymen, and telling them of the baſeneſs and ſluggiſhneſs of the Inhabitants, ſo ſtirred them up with the greatneſs, yea eaſineſs of the enterprize, that the Barbarians flocked thick and three fold, and ſeized on thoſe Quarters untill the time lately mentioned. For they had a King (rather a *Regulus*) of their own ſeveral years, who yet truckled under the King of the Weſt *Saxons*: and the forementioned thirty three years being over, King *Egbert* obtained this together with the other Countries.

The limits of the Kingdom of *Deiri*, and *Bernicii.*

Vide Uſſerium in Addend. & Emendand. Primord. P.p. 1003. 1003.

25. Thus have we preſented the Reader with what the Hiſtories of theſe Times afford concerning this Kingdom of *Northumberland*; more we could not, except inſtead of a true Account of things, we ſhould take the trade of Writing Romances. Concerning the limits of this Kingdom in general, and the *Deiri* and *Bernicii* betwixt themſelves to that ſhort Account we have already given, we ſhall farther add that as to its Northern Border it was terminated by that Southern Part of *Scotland*, which on the Eaſt and Weſt is limited by the *German*, and *Iriſh* Seas, on the South by that *Bay* called *Æſtuarium Solviacum*, or *Solway Frith*, and the River *Tweede*. Northerly by the *Frith* of *Dunbrittan*, and that of *Edenburgh*; for that this Kingdom extended it ſelf to both theſe *Friths*, whereof the one limited the Kingdom of the *Scots*, and the other that of the *Picts*, is moſt evident both from the Writings of *Beda*, and other moſt certain Teſtimonies. But to the Diſtinction of the Provinces of *Deira*, and *Bernicia*, amongſt themſelves Authours do very much differ. *Ralph* of *Cheſter* from *Alphred* of *Beverly* affirms, that the Kingdom of the *Deiri* reached from the River *Humber* to that of *Tyne*; and the Kingdom of the *Bernicii* from the River of *Tyne*, as far as the *Scotiſh* Sea, with whom agrees the Monk of *Malmeſbury*, onely adding to the *Scotch* Sea this note, *Where now ſtands the Town of* St. John *of* St. Johnſton. But *Richard* the Prior of *Hagulſtade*, in the beginning of his Book concerning the State of his Church, hath theſe words. Deira *beginning at* Humber, *ended at the River* Tees: and of this opinion was *Humphrey Lhuyd* that excellent Antiquary. *Cambden* ſometimes aſſigns the River *Tees*, ſometime the River *Tyne*, as the common limit of theſe Provinces; and *John* of *Tinmuth* in the Life of St. *Oſwald* ſeems to reconcile the Controverſie in this manner. *The Kingdom of the* Deiri *anciently extended it ſelf from the*

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River Humber, *to the River* Tyne*: that of the* Bernicii *from the River* Tyne (*rather* Tees) *as far as the* Scotch *Sea, which in the* Scotch *Language is called* Forth. *For all the ground which lay between the Rivers,* Tyne *and* Tees *in thoſe Days was onely a waſte or Deſart, and therefore was under the Juriſdiction of neither, being onely a Receptacle, and Habitation of Wild Beaſts.* The ſame thing is obſerved in the *Scotch* Chronicle of *John Fordon.*

26. Indeed we we reade in the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of *Beda*, That *Eata who governed the Province of the* Bernicii *had his Epiſcopal See in the Church of* Haguſtald *or* Lindisfarne. Therefore that not onely the Church of *Durham* (to which after the death of *Beda* the See of *Lindisfarne* was tranſlated) but that of *Haguſtald* on this ſide the River *Tyne* may not be removed out of the Province of the *Bernicii*, wherein *Beda*, and not he alone placeth it; we are forced to aſſign the River *Tees* rather than *Tyne*, as the common limit of theſe two petty Kingdoms. By this means the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, and that we now call the County of *Northumberland*, muſt be aſſigned to the Eaſtern Part of *Bernicia*; and to the Weſtern, all that Kingdom of *Cumberland*, which after the Everſion of this of the *Northumbrian Angles*, was ſettled betwixt the River *Derwent*, and the *Frith* of *Dunbrittan*, by the *Cambrobritains* or *Welſhmen*. For *Cumbria*, or *Cumberland* took the Name of the Inhabitants who were true and Natural *Britains*, and called themſelves in their own Language *Kumbri* and *Kambri*: and Hiſtories teſtifie that here they remained a long time in deſpight of the *Engliſh Saxons*, however they fretted and ſtormed thereat. *Marianus* himſelf teſtifieth as much, who terms this Countrey *Cumbrorum terram*, or the Land of the *Cumbri*, or *Britains*, and to it bear mention the *Britiſh* Names, which in this Tract very many places ſtill bear, as *Caerluel*, *Caerdronoc*, *Penrith*, *Penrodocke*, and the like. Late it was, as we ſaid, e'er it was ſubject to the *Engliſh Saxons*, and when their ſtate became ſore ſhaken by *Daniſh* Wars, and was run to ruine; it had peculiar Governours called Kings of *Cumberland*, till the Year of our Lord DCCCCXLVI, at what time King *Edmund* by help of *Lealin* Prince of *Wales* (who herein was unnatural) waſted all *Cumberland*, and having put out the Eyes of both the Sons of *Danmail* King thereof, granted it to *Maleolin* King of *Scots*, whereupon the Eldeſt Sons of the Kings of *Scotland* were under the *Engliſh Saxons*, and *Danes*, both called Prefects, or Deputy Governours of *Cumberland*. But this is by way of Anticipation. To put a period to our Diſcourſe of the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, King *Egbert* reduced it under his obedience in the DCCCXXVIII. Year of our Lord, and the eight and twentieth of his own Reign, in the ſeventh of *Michael Traulus* Emperour of the Eaſt; the fourteenth of *Ludovicus Pius* the Weſtern Emperour, the year preceding the like fate of the Kingdom of the Eaſt *Saxons.*

Lib. 4. *Cc.* 12. 27.

SECT. VII.

SECT. VII.

The Kingdom of the Eaſt Angles *in* Britain. *From the firſt Founding of it by* Uffa *to the Conquering of it by* Edward *King of the Engliſh* Saxons.

The ſpace of Four Hundred Forty One years.

1. NExt after the Kingdom of the *Northumbrians*, followed that of the Eaſt *Angles*, which was begun by *Uffa*, in the tenth year of the Emperour *Juſtin* the younger, the fifteenth of *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, the ſeventeenth of *Alla* King of the *Northumbrians*, about the beginning of the Reign of *Chilperick* King of the *Franks*, *A. D.* DLXXV.

Uffa began the Kingdom.

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2. Of *Uffa* there is little or nothing more extent than that he begun this Kingdom, (how and in what manner is utterly unknown) and that from him the ſucceeding Kings were called *Uffingæ*. After him his Son *Tityllus* or *Tytulus*, of whom there is onely remarkable, that he was Father to *Redwald*, the moſt potent King of the Eaſt *Angles*, the ſame who received *Edwin*, and upon his account ſlew *Ethelfrid* King of the *Northumbrians*. The Monk of *Malmesbury*, as contrary to the ſenſe of others, he makes this Kingdom to have begun before that of the Weſt *Saxons*, though after the other of *Kent*, mentions this *Redwald*, as the firſt King being the tenth from *Woden*. Of theſe ſeven Princes ſaid by *Beda*, to have had Dominion over all the Southern Parts lying on this ſide the River of *Humber*, him he mentions as the fourth. In another place he tells us, that he was Noble as to his Birth, but Ignoble as to his Actions. For being perſwaded by *Edwin* to receive the Chriſtian Faith, he was baptized; but returning home was perſwaded by his Wife and others about him to fall off again, ſo that he living betwixt two, like the old *Samaritans*, ſeeming to ſerve both Chriſt and Idols, having in the ſame Chapel an Altar for Chriſt, and an Altar for Divels, which Chapel *Adulf* King of that Province, who lived in the time of *Beda*, teſtified that he himſelf had ſeen when a Boy. But *Eorpwald* his Son, being perſwaded alſo by *Edwin*, was not onely almoſt but altogether a Chriſtian, and was ſlain by a certain Pagan called *Richbercht*. Three years after the Province lay in confuſion and errour, till *Sigbercht* or *Sigebert* obtained the Kingdom, a Man, ſaith *Beda*, moſt Chriſtian and moſt Learned throughout, who while his Brother yet reigned living in exile in *Gall*, was there baptized, and when he came to reign made all his Province partaker with him of his Faith. As a means to propagate and confirm Religion, aſwell as to cultivate otherwiſe the minds of his People, he erected Schools by the aſſiſtence of *Fœlix* the Biſhops, and furniſhed them with Maſters and Teachers, according to the Cuſtome of thoſe of *Kent*. At length he relinquiſhed his Kingdom to *Egrick* his Kinſman, who before that held ſome part of it, and took upon him the Monaſtical Habit.

After him reigned *Tytulus* his Son.

Then *Redwald*.

Lib. 2. *c.* 15.

Next *Eorpwald*.

Afterwards *Sigebert*.

Vir per omnia Chriſtianiſſimus ac Doctiſſimus.

Idem. lib. 3. *cap.* 18.

Who turning Monk left his Kingdom to *Egrick*.

3. When he had for a good ſpace continued in that condition, it happened that the Eaſt *Angles* had war with *Peuda*, that common Enemy of Chriſtians, then King of the *Mercians*. Finding themſelves too weak for their Enemies, to incourage the Souldiers, they deſired *Sigebert* to be preſent at Fight, and when he flatly refuſed, they drew him by force out of the Monaſtery, and placed him in the Battel, preſuming that the Souldiers under the Eye of him, who had lately been a moſt valiant and Martial Captain, would not dare to think of Flight. But he being mindfull of his profeſſion, and in the midſt of great Arms would onely bear a Rod in his Hand, and in that poſture was ſlain, together with *Egrick* the King; and their whole Army was either ſlain or diſperſed by the purſuing Pagans. In the Kingdom ſucceeded *Anna* the Son of *Enus* (Brother to *Radwald*, as ſome write, but *Beda* onely ſays he was of the Royal Race) a Perſon good himſelf, and

Who were both ſlain in a Battel with *Peuda* King of the *Mercians*. After him *Anna*, who had the ſame fate.

and a Father of as good an Off-ſpring. Of him *Beda* ſaith he ſhould ſpeak more afterward, but we do not find him ſo good as his word, it's well he tells us at preſent, that he alſo was ſlain by that furious *Peuda*. By the Off-ſpring he means the three Daughters that this *Auna* left, whereof *Etheldritha* was married to two Husbands yet died a Virgin, *Edelburga* was firſt a Nun, and then Abbeſs of her Houſe at *Brigæ* or *Bruges* a Monaſtery in *Gall*, as *Malmesbury* terms it, and *Sexburga* was the Wife of *Ercombert* King of *Kent*, after whoſe death ſhe took the veil in the ſame Monaſtery with her Siſter *Ethelreda*, being accounted a Saint. It ſeems he had no Son, for his Brother *Ethelberius* ſucceeded him, who (by neceſſity doubtleſs was forced to doe it; for we cannot think he would doe it of choice) joined with *Peuda* the *Mercian*, againſt *Oſwi* the King of *Northumberland*, and was ſlain with him in the Battel heretofore mentioned. *Ethelwald* his Brother took his Seat, and by continued Succeſſions devolved the Kingdom upon the Sons of *Ethelberius*.

Next *Ethelwald*.

4. Theſe were *Adulph* and *Elwold*, after whom one *Beorna* was King, to whom ſucceeded one *Ethelrede*. His Son was Saint *Ethelberht*, whom *Offa* King of the *Mercians* deceitfully ſlew, and adjoined this Kingdom of the Eaſt *Angles* to that of the *Mercians*. After this time ſaith *Malmesbury*, few great Men reigned in Eaſt *England*, becauſe of the violence of the *Mercians* to the time of St. *Edmund*, who in the ſixteenth year of his Reign, was ſlain by *Hinguar* the Pagan. From that time for the ſpace of fifty years, the *Engliſh* ceaſed to reign in this Countrey. For during nine years, the province was without any King ſtill expoſed to, and haraſſed by the Pagans. Afterward in Eaſt *Saxony*, as he calls it, *Guthrum* the *Daniſh* King, reigned twelve years in the time of King *Alfrede*. *Guthrum* had for his Succeſſour a *Dane* too called *Eoleric*, who when he had governed or tyrannized fourteen years was ſlain by the *Engliſh*, for the incivilities he offered them. Yet could they not for all this recover their Liberty, the *Daniſh* Officers either oppreſſing them themſelves, or uſing them againſt the Weſt *Saxon* Kings, till *Edward* the Son of *Alfride*, expelled the *Danes*, and delivering the *Engliſh* from their Tyranny, joyned both Provinces to his Weſt *Saxon* Empire, in the fiftieth year after the death of St. *Edmund* the King and Martyr, and of his own Reign the fifteenth. This is the ſhort Account we have of this Petty Kingdom of the Eaſt *Angles*, for which we cannot but complain of the lettered men of thoſe times, whereof we write, that they ſhould not take notice of, and tranſmit to poſterity thoſe ſeveral remarkable Paſſages, tranſactions of very great weight, of which we have ſcarcely the Mens Names. This they omitted out of heedleſneſs, or rather becauſe they were ſo mightily taken up with Monaſtical lives, that little elſe could they think on, nothing elſe ſeemed worth their while. But by the Hiſtory of the *Mercians* and Weſt *Saxons*, ſeveral things may be more largely explained which have relation to this Kingdom.

Then *Adulph* and *Elwold*. After them *Ethelrede*.

Next St. *Edmund*.

Then 'twas governed by *Guthrum* a Dane. After him *Eoleric*.

Laſt of all *Edward* who expelled the *Danes*, and joyned it to the Weſt *Saxon* Empire.

SECT. VIII.

SECT. VIII.

The Mercian *Kingdom of the* Angles *in* Britain, *from the firſt completing of it by* Peuda, *to the Conqueſt of it by* Egbert *King of the Weſt* Saxons.

The Space of Two Hundred Forty Nine Years.

Sect. 8.

Peuda King. 1. THE Kingdom of the *Mercians* was completed by *Peuda*, a moſt valiant and hardy Souldier, but as *Malmesbury* terms him, a Fanatick and impious Perſon, after he had till the fiftieth year of his Age, conquered ſeveral places, and continually warred againſt his Neighbours, in the CXXXIX. year after the death of *Hengiſt*, in the ſixteenth year of *Heraclius* the Emperour, the tenth of *Eadbald* King of *Kent*, and the tenth of *Edwin* King of the *Northumbrians*, when *Sigebert* the Little was King of the Eaſt *Saxons*, and *Eorpwald* of the Eaſtern *Angles*, **His pedigree.** *A. D.* DCXXVI. The *Saxon* Annals derive thus his Pedigree. He was the Son of *Wibba*, who had theſe Anceſtours, *Crida*, *Cunewald*, *Cnebba*, *Icele*, *Eomere*, *Angelgeat*, *Offa*, *Weremund*, *Wightleag*, *Woden*.

2. This Kingdom as we ſaid was completed by *Peuda*, but others laid the Foundations of it, though he, for the cauſe alledged, be generally accounted the firſt King of this Province. For both *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter*, and others write, that *Ad An.* 585. the firſt beginning of it was effected by *Creodda* a *Saxon*, whom in the Genealogy he calls *Crida*. The Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* names him *Crida*, who having, as far as can be known by any writings, firſt, ſaith he, obtained the Kingdom of *Merce*, died and left for his Succeſſour his Son *Wipha*. This *Wipha* or *Wippa*, was followed by one *Cherle* or *Keorle*, who was not his Son but his Kinſman, but he either dying, or which is yet unlikely, relinquiſhing the Kingdom to him, *Peuda* ſucceeded when he had now conſumed the beſt of his Years, as having completed the Number of Fifty. This Kingdom being by him inlarged and ſtrengthened, obtained the Name of Myꞃcnaꞃic and Meaꞃelonꝺ, but for what reaſons is not agreed, a pair of the greateſt Antiquaries differing about it. *Humphrey* * *Lhuyd* is of opinion it was named from the River *Merſe*, which indeed running betwixt *Cheſhire* and *Lancaſhire*, was the North-Weſtern Bound of the *Mercians*. But *Cambden* † deriveth it from Meaꞃc an old *Engliſh* word which ſignified a Limit, for though it was by far the largeſt Kingdom of all, yet all the other bordered and confined upon it. Neither of theſe opinions are improbable, whether the River took Name from it, or it from the River; yet are not they ſo probable, but that of *Wolfgangzius Laus* is as ridiculous, who in that work of his concerning the Migrations of Nations, affirms theſe *Mercians* to have been *Marcomanni*, and their Kings *Peuda*, *Offa*, and all the reſt to have reigned in the lower *Germany*; whereas nothing is more certain by conſent of all Hiſtories than that never was there any ſuch Kingdom there, and that theſe Kings and People inhabited that part of *Britain*, which we formerly aſſigned them. But the good Man going about to declare the Genealogies of the Kings of *England*, of the *Norman* Race doth it ſo pitifully, ſo confuſedly, ſo falſly, that it appears, he neither ever in any good Authours either read the order of them, their Actions or their very Names, but received his home Intelligence from ſome ſilly fellow, as a certain eminent Mathematician in the Geographical Chart of this Iſland alſo did to their no ſmall diſparagement. And beſides them *Jeronymus Rigcellus* in his *Ptolemy*, printed at *Venice* an hundred years agoe, labouring to reconcile the ancient Names of places to the new, confounds ſeveral, that are an Hundred Miles diſtant from each other. Of theſe Strangers therefore the Reader is to take notice, and beware. As for this Kingdom of the *Mercians* he may obſerve, that it being ſetled, all the ſeven Kingdoms of the *Engliſh Saxons* were now begun.

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* *Sextum Anglo-Saxonum in Britannia Regnum quod à flumine Merſe Merciorum dicebatur conſtitutere, fol.* 23 *b.*

† *In Cornaviis*

3. *Peuda*

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3. *Peuda*, as we ſaid, had ſpent the beſt of his time before he came to be King, but the great things he performed afterward ſhewed, that the greateſt of his Labours and Travels he had not paſſed. No ſooner had he got the Power into his Hands, but he improved it for the Moleſtation of his Neighbours, thinking it no fault at all to diſturb the World, to ruine Families, overturn Kingdoms, and deſtroy a Multitude of innocent Souls, and all to gratify the humour of one ſingle Man, to tickle his fancy with the pitifull thought of domineering; the true account of the Actions of Conquerours, (or as that little one told the greateſt of them) thoſe publick Pirates who rob with whole Armies and Fleets, whoſe Power makes their Murthers and Robberies lawfull, and alone diſtinguiſheth them from thoſe puny ones, to which the Halter is appropriate. About the fourth or fifth year of his Reign, he undertook a War againſt *Kinegils* and *Kichelm* the Kings of the Weſt *Saxons*, and with very great Forces on both ſides, they met at a place called *Ciranceſtre*, as we read it in *Huntingdon*, where they fought a moſt bloudy Battel, both the Armies as he ſays having abjured Flight, and were not to be parted, but by the darkneſs of the Night; and with the next Mornings light, were about to renew their malitious fury, but that more conſiderable thoughts interpoſed, and they came to an Agreement. The next Adventure he made, was with better (too good) Succeſs, againſt *Edwin* the King of the *Northumbrians*. Herein he joyned with *Cadwalla* the *Britain*, and ſhewed that he no more regarded his own Lineage than Strangers themſelves, neither yet was moved by any Religious pretences, aſſiſting one Chriſtian againſt another, and making uſe of that great Antipathy which their Religion could not remove, to gratify his ambitious and bloudy Deſigns, which were prevalent in him, even, above all other things, which others as Heatheniſh as he have accounted Sacred. This appeared in his perfidious killing *Edfrid* the Son of *Edwin*, who had fled to him for Succour.

Ingages with the Kings of the Weſt *Saxons*.

Then with the King of the *Northumbrians*.

Killing his Son that fled to him for Succour.

Ptolemæo Corinium, Antonino Durocornovium, Britannis Caer Cori & Caer Ceri, Anglo-Saxonitus Cẏꞃen-ceaꞅꞇꞃe *hodie Circeſter & Circiter in Gloceſterſhire, ait Cambdenus Peudam hîc à Cinegliſo fuſum fuiſſe dum urbem copiis maximis obſideret. Marianus refert eum à Brittannis cepiſſe Ceaulinum Weſtſaxonum Regem.*

4. Moreover *Eorpwald* the Son of *Redwald* King of the Eaſt *Saxons*, whom others write to have been killed by *Rickbercht*, is ſaid by the Archdeacon of *Huntingdon*, to have been ſlain by him. How he killed *Oſwald* the King of the *Northumbrians*, in the Battel of *Maſerfeld*, we have ſhewed already. Raging thus, and breathing nothing but ſlaughter, even where he wanted Provocation, no wonder if every little fault committed againſt him was a Crime, it was ſo at leaſt as to the meaſure of its Puniſhment inflicted by him. *Cenwalch* the King of the Weſt *Saxons*, having his Siſter to wife put her away, of which opportunity glad, after two or three Attempts he drove him out of his Kingdom, not being able to reſiſt him as his Father had done, and in exile he forc't him to continue for three years. But this Proſecution extended not to bloud, after which he thirſted aſmuch as after drink in the greateſt extremity of Summer, having one would think, as *Malmesbury* expreſſes it, a ſenſe of ſome imminent ſlaughter, and the quality of a Raven which follows Armies, as having ſome preſent ſenſe and ſmell of the dead Carkaſſes which ſhortly are to fall. Therefore ſet he upon *Egbert* King of the Eaſt *Angles*, and made a ſtout meal of Royal bloud, at this bout killing both this King and *Sigebert* formerly King, though now a Monk, who would not by taking a Sword into his Hands defend himſelf, but like a Monk died in the Crowd without reſiſtence. Another meal yet he made, and that was upon poor *Auna* King of the Eaſt *Saxons*, his Sword making but one bit, in one moment *Huntingdon* words it, devouring him and his Army, of which ſcarcely one Man remained. Yet ſtill he had not done, with the ſame Eaſe he deſtroys alſo *Edelhere* his Brother and Succeſſour, as the Archdeacon relates, though elſewhere believes another Account of this Prince which we have already communicated to the Reader. Having ſoundly Plundred the Countrey, being now fleſhed with the ſlaughter of ſo many Kings, he went into *Northumberland* to hunt after another, but there at the River *Winwed* met with his match, being dealt withall by *Oſwi* as he had dealt with others, being ſlain in the place after he had Reigned thirty years. A ſtout Souldier he was, and well deſerved the Sirname of *Strenuus* which was given him; yet is he not reckoned by *Beda* amongſt thoſe ſeven Princes which Reigned in effect over all the Kingdoms on this ſide *Humber*. But his Power muſt have been Great in the ſeveral Kingdoms of *Northumberland*, and Eaſt *England*, the Kings whereof he ſlew, as alſo in *Weſtſex*, whereof he drove the King into exile. This they obſerve of him with much regret, that his Arms be onely turned upon his own Countreymen, ſuffering the *Britains* to enjoy what they had left, nay aſſiſting *Cadwalla* in the Attempts

And ſeveral other neighbouring Kings.

At laſt is ſlain by *Oſwi* King of *Northumberland*.

tempts he had made to recover *Britain*, ſo ſtrong is Intereſt, or Humour and Malice, ſtronger than the ſtrongeſt Bonds of Conſanguinity.

Peada ſucceeds.

Chronicon Joh. Bromton in Regno Merciorum.

Malmeſ. Huntingdon. Chron. Johan. Bromton.

Who is made away by his Wifes Treachery.

Oſwi Governs.

Then *Wulthere.*

Who Routs the King of the Weſt *Saxons.*

Taking from him the Iſle of *Wight.*

De Sacro fonte levavit, inde Suſceptor dictus.

In cujus adoptionis ſignum inſulam dedit ſibi Vectam & etiam ingentem Parorum provinciam occidentalium Saxonum Chronic. Joh. Bromton.

**Lib.* 4. *c.* 13.

5. *Peuda* being Dead, his Son *Peada* ſucceeded to the Title, in the Sixteenth year of *Ercombert* King of *Kent*, and the Fourteenth of *Oſwi*, King of the *Northumbrians*, *A. D.* DCLVI. Betwixt his Family, and that of *Oſwi* there was a double Match. He Married his Daughter the Siſter of *Alfrid*, and *Alfrid* the Son of *Oſwi* Married the Siſter of *Peada*, and Daughter of *Peuda*, which yet could not bridle the extravagant humour of this Furious *Pagan*, who refuſed all offers made him, having reſolved utterly to exterminate the Nation of the *Northumbrians*. Yet what if we ſay there was ſome Generoſity in the *Pagan*, and that what he did was to reſtore *Ethilwald* the Son of *Oſwald* to his Father's Kingdom? For this *Ethilwald*, as *Beda* calls him, or *Dilwald* as others, the Son of *Oſwald*, who as they ſay ought to have aſſiſted his Uncle, was on the other ſide, and having led an Army of *Pagans* againſt his Countrey when the Battels joined, drew off, and expected the iſſue in a ſafe place. But how little ſoever *Peuda* was moved by the Alliance we now mentioned, *Oſwi* ſhewed how great a ſenſe he had of it, when having now Conquered the Kingdom of the *Mercians*, and held it for three years, after his Death, as ſome ſay, he beſtowed on *Peada* his Son-in-Law the Southern *Mercians*, which as we have formerly ſaid were ſeparated from the Northern by the River of *Trent*. However kind he was, his Daughter was as unnatural, for *Peada* when he had ſcarcely Reigned two years, was by his Wife's means they ſay made away, after which for three years more the *Mercians* were ſubject to *Oſwi*, and by him brought over to the Chriſtian Faith. Theſe years being expired, the Nobility Rebelled againſt him, and ſet up for King *Wulthere* the Son of *Peuda*. He is ſaid to have Inherited his Father's Valour, and being endowed with excellent Qualities both of Body and Mind, to have by all means laboured to diſcharge himſelf well of the expectation the People had of him. At the beginning of his Reign he was hard ſet by *Cenwald* King of the Weſt *Saxons*, whom at length yet he overpowred, and after a great overthrow in a pitched Field invaded, waſted his Kingdom, and marching through it with a great Army, took from him the Iſle of *Wight*, which he kept not long in his hands, giving it to *Ethelwald* King of *Suſſex*, whom having perſwaded to embrace Chriſtianity, he took up from the Font,as the Phraſe of the Ancients was, or, as we ſay, was Godfather to him. One tells us, that together with this Iſle of *Wight*, he gave him in token of this Adoption a great Province of the *Pari* belonging to the Weſtern *Saxons* as one now hath it, whereas in * *Beda*, from whom he took it, is read, The Province of the *Meanvari*, or as ſome Copies have it, the *Mevari* But *Meanvari* ſeems to be the better Reading, theſe being a People that Inhabited a Part of *Hampſhire*, not far from *Portſmouth*, but farther within the Land. Their Habitation as yet having ſcarcely changed the Name at this day, is divided into three Hundreds, called *Meanſ-borow*, *Eaſt-mean*, and *Weſt-mean*: and amongſt them there mounts up an high Hill, invironed on the top with a large Rampire, and they call it Old *Wincheſter*; at which by Report there ſtood in Old Time a City, but now nothing remaineth of it: ſo as a Man would eaſily judge it to have been a Summer-ſtanding Camp, and nothing elſe.

Marries.

Is accuſed of Symony, and Dies.

Ethelrede ſucceeds.

6. *Wolfere* Married *Ermenilda* the Daughter of *Ercombert* King of *Kent*,by his Wife *Sexburga* the then Heir apparent of her Father's Kingdom; and by her pious Care and Inſinuations two good things were brought to paſs, *viz.* the *Jutes* of *Kent*, and the *Angles* of *Mercia* became in Friendſhip as it were one People after her Father's Death, though we know another ſucceeded in the Kingdom, and the Paganiſh Superſtition was aboliſhed throughout their Territories. By her he had a Son named *Kinrede*,and *Werburg* a Daughter, who became a Nun. He Reigned nineteen years, and had gone with a clear report from off the ſtage, but that he is noted to have been the firſt King of the *Engliſh Saxons* that committed Symony, having ſold the Biſhoprick of *London*, (which at this time therefore was in his Power) though Seated in the Kingdom of the Eaſt *Saxons*, to one *Wina* an ambitious Man. To *Wolfere* ſucceeded *Ethelrede*, or *Adelrede* another of *Peuda*'s Sons, in the Second year of *Lotharius* King of *Kent*, and the fifth of *Egfrid* King of *Northumberland*, *A. D.* DCLXXV. *Malmsbury* Writes, that he was more famous for Religion than Fighting, contenting himſelf with one eminent Expedition into *Kent*, to make known his valour to the World. The reſt of his time he ſpent without Action, only *Egfrid* King of the *Northumbrians* ambitiouſly paſſing the Bounds of his own Kingdom, by a Battel, and therein the Death of his Brother *Elſwin*, he admoniſhed, and taught more moderation and ſobriety. So

the Monk with his onely's makes notable exceptions to what at firſt he laid down, as a general Remark upon this King. The Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* tells us with more circumſtance, that *Edelrede* the New King of *Mercia* roſe up againſt *Lotair* King of *Kent*: that *Lotair* dreading his Grandfather's and his Father's Valour, turned aſide, and would not make any oppoſition, ſo that he deſtroyed the City of *Rocheſter*, (as we muſt take it) and ranging all along the Province of *Kent*, carried back with him an unſpeakable quantity of Booty. As to what happened betwixt him and *Egfrid* he adds, that in the Third year of *Centwin* King of the Weſt *Saxons* a Comet appeared for three Months together, ſhining every Morning like another Sun. That in the year following *Egfrid* (or *Egferd* as he calls him) and *Edelrede* fought a mighty Battel near to *Trent*, and there was ſlain *Alwin*, *Egferd*'s Brother, a Young Man, much beloved in both the Provinces. This enmity roſe amongſt them though *Edelrede* had Married their Siſter *Oſtrith*; and being once riſen it was hard to get it down, this bloud adding to its vehemence, as Oil to the flame. For every day offences and miſapprehenſions were multiplied betwixt theſe two fierce Kingdoms, threatning deſtruction to them both, but the endeavours of *Theodore* the Biſhop at laſt took up the quarrel by this accommodation, that no bloud ſhould be required for the bloud of the King's Brother, but onely a ſum of Money paid him. This he might the better doe, becauſe as *Malmesbury* tells the ſtory, he was the Aggreſſour.

Who makes an expedition into *Kent*. And deſtroys the City of *Rocheſter*.

Fights *Egfrid* King of the *Northumbrians*.

7 *Ethelrede* after the twenty ninth year of his Reign, turned Monk in *Bardney* Abby, whereof at length he Died Abbat, and there was Buried. In his Kingdom ſucceeded *Kenrede*, or *Coinrede* his Kinſman, the Son of his Brother *Wolfere*, in the fifth year of the Emperour *Tiberius Apſimarus*, the eleventh of *Withrede* King of *Kent*, the ninteenth of *Alfrede* King of the *Northumbrians*, *A. D.* DCCIII. As he ſucceeded him in his Kingdom, ſo in the Monaſtical Life, for when he had Reigned but five years he went to *Rome* and there turned Monk, taking along with him *Offa* the Son and Succeſſour, if he had thought good of *Sigebert* King of the Eaſt *Saxons*, who alſo was enamoured of, and aſſumed the Habit. After him Reigned *Ceolrede* or *Celrede* the Son of his Uncle *Ethelrede*, who as he was wonderfull for his valour againſt King *Ina*, ſo was miſerable in his ſudden death, for having reigned no more than eight years, he was buried at *Lichfield*, leaving *Ethelbald* his Heir, his Nephew by his Brother *Alwi*. *Ethelbald* is characteriz'd a valiant and a vehement Man, yet did he govern, ſaith *Malmesbury*, both a long time and in great peace and quietneſs. But for all this Peace we are told by others, that *Adelard* King of the Weſt *Saxons* endeavoured by force to conquer his Kingdom, and to that purpoſe fought a Battel with his Son *Oſwald*, who having ſuſtained his fury a good ſpace, when he ſaw he was utterly unable to bear up againſt ſo numerous Forces betook himſelf to a fair Retreat, and thereby preſerved his Father's Territories. After this *Ethelbald* the moſt valiant King of *Mercia* with a terrible Army laid ſiege to the Town of *Somerton*, the inhabitants whereof receiving no ſuccour he quickly became Maſter of it, and from this time forward became ſo eminent for his Arms amongſt his Contemporaries, that he cauſed to ſubmit to him all the Provinces Southward of *Humber*, with their Kings. This *Somerton* ſtanding upon the River *Parret* had indeed formerly a Caſtle of the Weſt *Saxon* Kings, through the Walls of which *Ethelbald* is ſaid to have forced a Breach. But now Time hath ſo gotten the Maſtery of it, that there is no appearance at all of it, and the very Town it ſelf would have much adoe to keep the Name, were it not for a Fair of Oxen and other Cattel, there kept from *Palm Sunday* till the midſt of *June*, with good Reſort of People, the Countreymen thereabout being very great Graſiers. Yet being famous in Ancient times, and of all others moſt frequented, it gave Name to the Shire which *Aſſerius* every where calls *Somertunenſis*. Some indeed have thought it called *Somerſetſhire*, becauſe the Air is Mild and Summer-like there; and in that ſenſe the *Welſh Britains* at this Day call it *Gladerhaf*. But this Name they borrow from the *Engliſh* Tongue: and however in Summer time it may be a Summer-like Countrey, in Winter it may as truly be called *Winterſet*, ſo wet, ſo miry and mooriſh it is, as Travellers to their very great trouble and inconvenience do find.

Turns Monk, and is ſucceeded by *Kenrede*.

Who aſſumes the like Habit.

Then *Celrede*.

Who was buried at *Lichfield*. Next *Ethelbald*.

Chronic. Joh. Bromton quo prius.

Who Beſieges *Somerton*, and takes it.

Cambden in Belgis.

8. But *Ethelbald* growing proud upon his ſucceſs, and preferring Violence before Juſtice, between ſuch time as *Ceolwulf* King of the *Northumbrians* had forſaken his Crown for a Cowl, and the ſucceſſion of *Egbert*, took his opportunity, and in an hoſtile manner invaded that Kingdom, whence having got vaſt plunder, he returned, finding none to reſiſt him. This proud *Ethelbald* again, ſaith our Writer, when *Adelard* the King of the Weſt *Saxons* was dead, often diſturbed his Succeſ-

Invades the *Northumbrians*.

ſour

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Quarels with *Cudrede* King of the Weſt *Saxons.*

But is worſted in the firſt Battel.

In the next ſlain.

Secandune, where.

Repandune.

ſour and Kinſman *Cudrede*, ſometimes with open hoſtility, and otherwhiles by ſtirring up his Subjects to Seditious Attempts. Various was their ſucceſs in the Field, ſometimes the one and now the other having the advantage, and now would they conclude a Peace, and then again violate it by hoſtile Acts. At length in the fourth year of *Cudrede*, they ſeemed ſo heartily accorded, that with joint force they ſet upon the *Britains*, and defeated them, though their multitudes were innumerable. Yet again they fell at variance, and *Cudrede* not able to bear the Exactions and Inſolence of *Ethelbald*, in his thirteenth year took courage, and met him at *Bedford*, truſting much to the skill and courage of *Edelhim* a ſtout Captain he brought along with him. *Ethelbald* the King of Kings, beſides his *Mercians* and other Forces, brought along with him the Eaſtern *Saxons*, the *Angles*, and the *Kentiſh* Men. The Battels being formed and ready to join, *Edelhim* leading on the Weſt *Saxons*, and bearing the Standard of *Cudrede* which was a Golden Dragon, called upon the Standard Bearer of *Ethelbald*, challenging him it ſeems to a Combat. Hereupon the Weſt *Saxons* ſhouted and were much encouraged, and the Armies joined. A moſt bloudy Conteſt began and a long time continued, the ſucceſs being doubtfull. But God who reſiſteth the Proud, as our Authour obſerves, was pleaſed to abate the haughtineſs of *Ethelbald*, inſomuch that he himſelf firſt of all ran away, and from this time to his Death ſuffered he nothing he undertook to proſper. Yet in the ſecond year after this Battel having recruited himſelf, he would again try his fortune, and fought another moſt bloudy Battel with the Weſt *Saxons* at a place called *Secandune*, where being ſorely diſtreſſed, and diſdaining as formerly to flye, he was ſlain, and Buried at *Repandune*. And ſo ſaith *Bromton*, this moſt valiant King when he had Reigned one and fourty years (not in ſuch profound Peace ſurely as the Monk of *Malmſbury* writes) was puniſhed for his exceſſive Pride, and from this time the Kingdom of the Weſt *Saxons* became ſtronger. This *Secandune* though it flouriſhed in the Times of the *Saxons* is now almoſt quite gone, and at this time is called *Seckinton* in *Warwickſhire*. *Repandune* from a great and fair Town is alſo become a poor and ſmall Village, at this day called *Repton* upon the River *Trent*, where it takes in the Rivolet *Dove*. This it is, though in former Ages it was famous both for the Burial of *Ethelbald*, of other the *Mercian* Kings, and the Calamity of *Burthred* the laſt of them, who here was deprived of his Kingdom, as we ſhall ſee in its due place.

Beared Uſurps.

Upon whoſe Death *Offa* is made King.

Who engages with *Alrick* King of *Kent*.

And takes *Binſington* from *Kinwulf* King of the Weſt *Saxons*.

Vide ſi placet in Annal. Saxon. ad An. DCCLV. *in Huntingdonenſi & Chronic. Joh. Bromton.*

Heꞃ Cẏneƿulꝼ ⁊ Oꝼꝼa ᵹeꝼuhꞇon ẏmb Bẏnꞅinꞇun ⁊ Oꝼꝼa nam ðone ꞇun.

9. But whereas by the Chronicle of *Bromton* it would appear that *Ethelbald* was ſlain by his Enemies, it is generally affirmed by other Writers, that being a good King he loſt his Life by the Treachery of his own bad People, for he was in the Army ſtabed by *Beared* or *Beornrede*, who immediately uſurped, taking the title of King upon him. But not long he enjoyed the title. For as he began, ſo he continued his Reign like a Tyrant, which ſo incenſed the People, that Noble, and Ignoble together, they united themſelves, and under conduct of *Offa* a moſt valiant young man preſently unking'd him, ſome ſay by driving him away, others by taking away his Life, and bringing him to ſuch an end as the murther of *Ethelbald* had deſerved. *Offa* for his pains was made King, in the eighteenth year of *Conſtantinus Copronymus*, the tenth of *Edilbert* King of *Kent*, the firſt and laſt of *Oſulf* King of the *Northumbrians*, *A. D.* DCCLVIII. He was the fifth in deſcent from *Peuda*, as *Malmesbury* writes, yet others in his Pedegree, which they derive from *Woden*, make no mention at all of *Peuda*. He was a Prince of extraordinary conduct, courage and ſucceſs, which for a long time he managed and enjoyed together. The firſt Action of him we meet with was his ſubduing by Arms a certain People called *Heſtings*, concerning whom we know nothing, and therefore can ſay nothing farther. Much about the ſame time he fought with *Alrick* King of *Kent*, at a place called *Ottanford*, now *Otford*, in *Kent* upon the River *Darent*, more famous afterward for an overthrow of the *Danes*, and longer after that for an Houſe of the Kings. What ſucceſs he had at this place the Annals do not tell us, but it ſeems it was ſuch as encouraged him the year following to engage againſt *Kinwulf* King of the Weſt *Saxons* at a place called *Binſinton*, which Town he took. It is that which is now called *Benſon*, ſtanding upon the *Thames* in *Oxfordſhire*, by *Marian*, ſaid to be a Royal Village, who reports that *Ceaulin* took it from the *Britains* in the year DLXXII. and that the Weſt *Saxons* held poſſeſſion of it for two hundred years, till *Offa* thinking it would be both for his commodity and honour that they ſhould have nothing on this ſide the River, wone it and ſubjected it to his own Kingdom. At this day it goes for a Village onely, and not long ſince had an Houſe of the Kings hard by, called of certain

Elmes,

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Elmes, *Ewelme*, commonly *New Elme*, ſometime a fair place, but ſuffered to go to ruine, being not very wholſome by reaſon of a foggy Air ariſing from a ſtanding Water adjoining.

10. As to the reſt of the Actions of *Offa*, we may take that obſervation of the Monk of *Malmesbury*, who when he compared them with thoſe we have related, and with others, remained doubtfull, whether he ſhould approve of or diſprove his courſe in general. In one and the ſame man, ſo many vices were palliated with vertues, and ſo many vertues ſucceeded vices, that you would think you had to deal with a very *Proteus*. Ingaging with *Kinwulf*, King of the Weſt-*Saxons*, in open War, he eaſily obtained the Victory, though that Prince was no contemptible Warriour. This ſame man, ſaith he, imagining that treachery would doe him moſt ſervice, having by great allurements of fair promiſes, drawn to his Court King *Ethelbirht*, on a ſudden, and when he never could imagine ſuch Villany, cauſed him to be cut ſhorter by the Head, and unjuſtly ſeized on his Kingdom of the Eaſt *Angles*, wherein he built a Caſtle for bridling the Inhabitants, the Ruines whereof may be ſeen upon a clay Hill, at the Town ſtill from him called *Offton* in *Suffolk*. After this he commends him for ſhrining the Reliques of St. *Alban*, and blames him for robbing ſeveral Churches, and amongſt others, that of *Malmesbury*, which makes the Authour not a little concerned. Finding his carriage in theſe affairs, and his handling of his People to be of perilous conſequence, to fence himſelf againſt the worſt occurrents, he courted much his Neighbour Princes. To *Brithrick* King of the Weſt *Saxons*, he married his Daughter *Ethelburga*, *Charles the Great* alſo, King of the *Franks*, with frequent Embaſſies he made his Friend, though diſficultly could he bring him to what he deſired; for formerly there had been miſunderſtanding betwixt them, and ſo high it had flown, that commerce was forbidden on both ſides. The *Engliſh* in theſe times travelling to *Rome*, were very much moleſted, not onely by the *Saracens*, who poſſeſſed the ſtraits of the *Alpes*, but the Subjects alſo of *Charles* inhabiting both *Gall* and *Italy*. Hereof he complained, and with much adoe procured a Peace and friendly correſpondence, which the ſumm of *Charles* his Letter, wherein he ſtiles himſelf King of the *Franks* and *Lombards*, and Patritian of the *Romans*, directed to the *Reverend man, and his moſt dear Brother Offa* King of the *Mercians*, doth ſufficiently teſtifie; in what year written it's uncertain, but probably about the time of *Offa*'s death.

Bebeads *Ethelbert*, and ſeizes on the Kingdom of the Eaſt *Angles*.

His Alliances.

Apud Malmesb. de Geſtis Reg. Ang. lib. 1. *& Spelman. Concil. p.* 315.

11. “Herein after thanks given to Almighty God, for the ſincerity of the Catholick Faith which he found in his Papers, he gives leave to ſuch as go on Pilgrimage to *Rome*, to paſs freely and peaceably through his Dominions. But in caſe any be found among them, who go not upon a Religious account, but for that of gain, at convenient places, they muſt pay their Tolls. He grants alſo that Merchants have lawſull Patronage, promiſing them Redreſs of their grievances upon application to him or his Miniſters. And his Epiſtle he concludes with acquainting him, what * gifts he had ſent to the Churches in his Dominions, together with one Belt, an Hunniſh Sword, and two ſilken Veſts unto himſelf. Such was the kindneſs at laſt procured betwixt *Charles* and *Offa*, which ſtood him in ſuch ſtead, that notwithſtanding, he had many Enemies, who ceaſed not to attempt much againſt him, yet he ſpent his time in great eaſe and proſperity, and made his Son *Egfrid*, whom he left his Succeſſour, to be accounted King before he died. But of all his Actions, none is more memorable than the making of a Ditch, which with admirable work and labour, he cauſed to be caſt from the mouth of *Dee* unto *Weymouth*, for the ſpace of fourſcore and ten Miles, to ſeparate the *Britains* from his *Angles* or *Engliſh* Men. Hereupon in *Britiſh* it is called *Claudh Offa*, or *Offa his Ditch*, and a † Town ſome ſeven Miles from *Radnor*, from this Ditch which lies under it, had the *Britiſh* Name of *Trefy Claudh*, afterward changed into *Trebuclo*, in *Engliſh* called *Knighton*. To what we have already ſaid of this Work, we ſhall add, though by way of anticipation, what *John* of *Salisbury* writes in his *Polycraticon*. *Harold* ordained a Law, that what *Welſhman* ſoever ſhould be found without a Weapon on this ſide the limit he had ſet them, that is to ſay, *Offa*'s *Dike*, ſhould have his right Hand cut off by the King's Officers.

Makes his Son Partner in the Kingdom.

He is famous for making a Ditch.

* *Munera ſic expreſſit & interpretatur Priſcus quidam.*

A Carolo dona data ſunt Offæ, mucro, zona,

Cingat ut imbelles Clemens, feriátq; rebelles.

Pallia donantur, velut his ſecreta legantur.

Tyro mucrone ſed & utens munere zonæ,

Indomitos punit, pronos ſibi nectit & onit.

Palliat arcana, ne ſignent pallia vana.

† *Cambden. in Silur.*

12. For the main, *Offa* ſo carried himſelf, that he may be accounted of the firſt Rank of theſe *Engliſh Saxon* Kings, during the Heptarchy. The grand flaw in his Eſcutchion, is the Murther of *Ethelbert* King of the Eaſt *Angles*, and yet Authours of good credit ſay, that coming to woe his Daughter, he was ſo baſely made away by the procurement of *Queendred*, *Offa*'s Wife, a Woman that more valued the Countries of Eaſt *England*, than the honeſt and honourable match of

His Character.

her Child. But by his Martyrdom (ſuch it was eſteemed) great acceſſion of Wealth and Reputation came to the City of *Hereford*, for being regiſtred in the Catalogue of Martyrs, there he had a Church built and dedicated to him by *Milfrid*, a petty King of the Countrey, wherein when a Biſhops See was eſtabliſhed, it grew very rich, firſt through the devout liberality of the *Mercians*, and then of the Weſt *Saxon* Kings, who at length came to be poſſeſſed of it.

Was buried at *Bedford.*

Oſfa being dead, after a Reign of thirty nine years, was buried at *Bedford*, in a Chapel without the Town, on a Bank of the River *Ouſe*, in a Royal manner. But it's a conſtant Tradition, ſaith *Matthew* the Flowergatherer, of all the Countrey to this day, that the ſaid Chapel, by long wearing, and the violence of the River, was overthrown, and by its rapacity, together with the King's Sepulchre, thrown down into the water. Whereupon, till this preſent time, the ſaid Sepulchre, by ſuch as waſh themſelves in that place, ſeems to appear deep in the water, and yet at another time, although it be moſt diligently ſought after, as if the thing was fatal, cannot be found.

Ad Ann. 797.

Egfrid Reigns alone.

Egfrid his Son, who had been Partner with him in the Kingdom, for the ſpace of eight years, upon his death became ſole Poſſeſſour of it, being commended by Churchmen for treading in his Father's ſteps. For he confirmed whatſoever he had given to pious uſes, and what out of covetouſneſs he had taken away, he freely cauſed to be reſtored. And more he had done, had he continued any longer time.

Dies.

For on the hundred and forty firſt day after his Father's deceaſe, he departed this life, to the exceeding great grief of all his Subjects. Being ſo well inclined, and dying in the flower of his Age. *Alcuin* a Man famous in thoſe days, an *Engliſh* Man, and the moderatour of the Studies of *Charles* the Great, in an Epiſtle to *Oſbert* a Patritian or Nobleman, wrote that he did not believe he died for his own ſins, but becauſe his Father had ſhed much bloud to eſtabliſh his Kingdom.

Malmesb. quâ ſuprà.

Kenulſe ſucceeds.

13. To *Egfrid* ſucceeded *Kenulſe* or *Ceolwulſe*, as the *Saxon* Annals call him, deſcended in the fifth degree from *Kenwalch* the Brother of *Peuda*, in the laſt year of *Conſtantinus Porphyrogenitus* the Emperour, who was depoſed, and had his Eyes put out by command of his Mother *Irene*, the firſt of *Cuthrede* King of *Kent*, the ſecond or third year after the death of *Ethelrede*, the laſt (in reality) King of the *Northumbrians*, *A. D.* DCCXCVI.

His Character.

The Monk of *Malmesbury* deſcribes him to us as a great Man, as one whoſe Vertues were greater than his Fame, who never did any thing which malice could juſtly tax, was at home Religious, in War victorious, a man whoſe Praiſe deſervedly will mount on high ſo long as there ſhall be found a fit Judge thereof in *England*, to be commended not onely for the ſublimity of his Throne, but the humility of his mind, which in his greateſt proſperity was eminently remarkable.

He invades *Kent*, ſeizing the King and Countrey.

Againſt the Inhabitants of *Kent* from *Offa* he received a ſucceſſive Enmity, which cauſed him in the firſt year of his Reign to invade that Countrey, wherein after much waſte made, he took *Edbright* ſirnamed *Pren*, and carried him bound along with him. To this Relation of *Malmesbury Roger de Howden* adds, that he commanded his eyes to be plucked out, and in great Pride and Cruelty his hands to be cut off: This done, he laid the Kingdom of *Kent* to his own Dominion, ſetting upon his own Head a Crown, and holding a Sceptre in his Hand. Yet *Malmesbury* affirms, that not long after being touched with mercy to the Captive King, he ſet him at liberty. For at *Winchelcombe* (ſaith he) where he built a Church, which at this day ſtandeth, on the day of the Dedication thereof, he manumitted or ſet free the Captive before the Altar, there exhibiting a memorable Spectacle of his Clemency. At the Solemnity was *Cuthrede* preſent, whom he had made King over the Inhabitants of *Kent*, and then and there applauded his Royal Munificence.

His Munificence.

The Church was filled with Applauſe and rejoycing, and the Streets were thronged with People. Foraſmuch as in a Meeting of thirteen Biſhops and ten Dukes, none that deſired to taſte of his bounty was rejected, all went away with their Pouches full. For beſides the Gifts he gave to the Nobles, which both for value and number were ineſtimable in Utenſils, Garments, and choice Horſes, to ſuch as had no Land he gave a Pound of Silver, to Prieſts a Mark of Gold: To Monks one *Solidus* a piece, and many things to all the Inferiour Multitude. And when he had indowed the Monaſtery with ſo great Revenues as at this time may ſeem incredible, in the twenty fourth year of his Reign he honoured it with his own Funeral.

Kenelme his Son murthered and buried at *Winchelcombe.*

His Son *Reuelme* a very Child and Innocent being murthered by his Siſter *Quendrida*, obtained both the Name and Honour of Martyrdom, and there alſo reſteth. So much *Malmesbury*.

Cambden.

The place he mentions is *Winchelcombe*, a great Town and well inhabited in *Gloceſterſhire*. Indeed a Man would ſcarcely believe how much this Abby was frequented in ancient times for the Relicks of this *Kenelme*, a Child of ſeven years old, whom his own Siſter, to get the Inheritance unto her ſelf, ſecretly made away, and our Fore-fathers regiſtred in the Rank of Holy Martyrs. The Territory adjoyning was of old reckoned a Sheriffdom or County of it ſelf, till ſuch time as *Edric*, ſirnamed *Strecna*, that is the Getter or Gainer, who firſt under King *Ætheldred*, and afterward under *Cnute* or *Canute* governed as Viceroy the whole Kingdom of *England*, adjoyned it to the Shire of *Gloceſter*.

An Account of the Murther.

14. *Kenulſe* by his Wife *Alfritha* had this Son, thus murthered by his own Siſter *Quendrida*, and another Daughter called *Burgenilda*. The manner how the Murther was committed, and how it was diſcovered, was this, which you muſt take upon the truſt of *William* of *Malmesbury* and *Matthew* the Flowergatherer. "The Boy was committed to an Attendant, who carrying him into a Wood under pretence of Hunting, cut off his Head and hid his Body in the Thickets. "A wonderfull thing it was that a thing done ſo privately in *England*, ſhould be "known at *Rome*, but ſo it came to paſs by Divine Revelation. For upon the "Altar you muſt know of bleſſed *Peter* Prince of the Apoſtles, a white Dove let "fall a certain Paper, which in order diſcovered both the death of St. *Kenelme* "King and Martyr, and alſo the place of his Burial. The Schedule being written "in *Engliſh* in Golden Letters, the Clerks that were preſent at the Command of "the Pope attempted to reade, but in vain. But as it happily came to paſs an Angel ſtood by and Interpreting it in Latin, cauſed the *Roman* Prelate by an Epiſtle to give notice to the *Engliſh* Kings of their Compatriot Martyr. Amongſt other things this was found written in the Paper. *In Clenc kon bath Kenelm kynebearne lith under thorne heaued by reaued:* That is, *In the Cow-paſture* Kenelme *Son of the King lies under a Thorn beheaded, by the head.* The Body of the bleſſed Martyr being thus miraculouſly diſcovered to the *Engliſh* Kings, in a great Aſſembly of Clerks and Nobles, was taken out of the Hole and carried to *Winchelcombe*. The Paricide (ſaid he) or rather Fratricide (his Siſter) being vexed at the ſinging and noiſe of the People which rejoyced at the finding out of ſo great a Martyr, put her head out of a Window, and by ſaying a Pſalm backward indeavoured to inchant and diſturb them, but as ſhe was ſinging both her eyes fell out of her Head upon the Book ſhe held in her hand. Still to this day, he adds, the Pſalter it ſelf ſet in Silver, and beſmeared with the bloud of the Eyes, gives teſtimony of this Puniſhment. So much of this Boy, King, and Martyr. Thus much we may be certain of, that the Murtherer, however the Villany was diſcovered, reaped not the fruit of her Ambition as ſhe intended. For after this *Kenelme*, *Ceolwulfe* his Uncle, the Brother of *Kenulſe*, ſucceeded in the Kingdom of the *Mercians*, which henceforth was in a tottering condition, and little or nothing memorable, or which deſerved notice, afterward is to be found concerning it, beſides the mere Names and Succeſſions of a few Kings. *Ceolwulfe* reigned but two, ſome ſay but one year, and then was driven away by *Bernulſe*. This *Bernulſe* in the third year of his Reign, yet durſt adventure to graple with *Egbert* King of the Weſt *Saxons*, with whom he fought a bloudy Battel at a Place called *Ellandune*, but was defeated. This *Ellandune* is now called *Wilton*, ſituate upon the River *Willey*, whence it hath taken its latter Name, and imparted it to the whole Shire, called *Wiltſhire*, of which it ſome time was the Head. In the *Saxon* times it mightily flouriſhed. The *Danes* ſorely diſtreſſed it, yet fell it not ſo much to decay till the Biſhops of *Salisbury* turned another way the common Road, which formerly lay through it into the Weſtern Countries. Then by degrees fell it to ruine, and now is but as it were a ſmall Village, having nothing to boaſt of but a Mayor and a very fine Houſe of the Earls of *Pembroke*, raiſed out of the Ruines of the old Monaſtery. But moſt overtopped it was by *Sorbiodunum*, and now by *Salisbury*, which aroſe out of the Ruines of this laſt mentioned City. But as for its Name of *Ellandune*, one rationally conjectures, that this River *Willey* is the ſame with *Alan*, which *Ptolemy* mentions in this Coaſt of the Countrey.

Apud Simeon. Dunelm. hoc modo: In Clent, in Condale Kenelm Kingis Bern, lith undir thorn hed by rened.

Ceolwulfe made King.

Then *Bernulſe*.

Who was defeated at *Ellandune* by *Egbert* King of the Weſt *Saxons*.

Sax. Annal ad An. ꝺCCCXXIII. Ellenꝺune.

Cambden.

15. The defeat received by *Bernulſe* at *Ellandune*, was but a prelude to a greater Miſchief, which happened to him the ſame year. *Offa* as we have ſaid had ſeized on the Kingdom of the Eaſt *Angles*, whither he now repairing as to part of his Dominions, the Inhabitants met him in the Field and ſlew him, then doubting what might be the Conſequence, for fear of the *Mercians* they ſubmitted themſelves both King and People to the Sovereignty of *Egbert*. After him was King one *Ludecan*, who keeping in his mind the Inſolence of the Eaſt *Angles*, after two

Next to him reigned *Ludecan*.

Ƕeꞃ Lutecan Meꞃcna Cẏning ⁊ hiꞃu ealꝺoꞃmen mon oꝼꞅloh miꝺ him. ⁊ ƿigleꝼ ꝼenꝫ to ꞃice. Ad Ann. ꝺCCCXXV.

years Reign prepared to be revenged on them, but failed in the attempt, being ſlain with his five Captains, or as the *Saxon* hath it, his Aldermen. To him ſucceeded one *Wiglaf* or *Withlaf*, who was preſently expelled by *Egbert*, and three years continued in Exile. At the end thereof being touched with Compaſſion, *Egbert* ſuffered him to return, but to hold the Kingdom of him as his Tributary Vaſſal, paying him and his Son the thirteen years he reigned a ſum of money. In the ſame Capacity reigned *Berthulfe* his Succeſſour, and juſt ſo long a time, who at laſt by the *Daniſh* Pirates was driven beyond the Seas. After this *Burhede* having Married *Ethelſuida* the Daughter of King *Athulfe* the Son of *Egbert*, by ſo great an Alliance comforted himſelf both againſt his Tributary Eſtate and the frequent Depredations of the Pirates. But after two and twenty years he was conſtrained by them to quit his Countrey, whence he betook himſelf to *Rome*, and there died, and at the *Engliſh* School in St. *Mary's* Church was buried. His Wife he left behind him, but ſhe afterward followed him into *Italy* and died at *Pavia*. Then was the Kingdom of the *Mercians* by the *Danes* delivered to one *Selwulfe* the Servant of *Burhrede*, but during pleaſure. After a few years *Alfrede* the Nephew of *Egbert* obtained it. He Married *Elfleda* Siſter to *Edward* the Elder, who after her death laid the Kingdom of the *Mercians* to his own Dominions; Then this Principality which (ſaith *Malmeſbury*) by the madneſs of a Pagan man ſuddenly flouriſhed, through the miſerable ſluggiſhneſs of half a man utterly withered and came to nought: In the Eight Hundred and Seventy Fifth Year of our Lord.

Then *Wiglaf.*

Berthulfe.

Burhede.

Alfrede.

SECT. IX.

The Kingdom of the Weſt Saxons. *From the beginning thereof by* Cerdick, *to the Death of* Egbert *the firſt* Engliſh *Monarch.*

The ſpace of Three Hundred and Eighteen years.

1. THE Kingdom of the Weſt *Saxons*, than which (ſaith *Malmeſbury*) *Britain* never ſaw any more magnificent or of longer continuance received its beginning from one *Cerdick*, and preſently arrived at an high pitch of Greatneſs. This man being by Birth a *German*, and Nobly deſcended, as the Tenth from *Woden*, having by homebred Conflicts molded his Mind to a warlike Temper, reſolved to quit his Countrey and become famous by his Arms abroad. Having fully ſetled his Reſolutions, he communicated his mind to his Son *Cynrick*, who was in all glorious Actions no farther behind him than that treading in his ſteps he ſeemed to tread upon his Heel. He eaſily conſenting to the Expedition into *Britain*, they came with their Forces in five Keels, in the Four hundred and ninety fifth year of our Lord, which was the fifth of the Emperour *Anaſtaſius*, the eighth of *Esk* King of *Kent*, the fifth of *Ælla* King of the South *Saxons*, in the days of *Clodoneus* the Firſt King of the *Franks*, in the Conſulſhip of *Æmilius* and *Viator*. His Pedigree is thus drawn from *Woden*; *Bealdeag*, *Brandi*, *Fithogar*, *Freawine*, *Wig*, *Gewiſs*, *Eſla*, *Eleſæ*, *Cerdick* or *Certick*.

Cerdick and his Son *Cynrick* arrive.

2. What entertainment they found at their Landing we have already told the Reader, and how by degrees they advanced and got ground. But this is to be farther obſerved, that the place where he Landed was not within the Bounds of that Kingdom which he afterward founded, and whereof we write. For *Cerdiceſore*, or *Cerdicſhore*, which is ſtill by the Inhabitants called *Cerdikeſand*, lay near to the old City *Garianonum*, which being decayed, and no Garriſon lying

The place where they Land.

Thence they Sail Weſtward.

Portſmouth, whence ſo called.

He overthrows the *Britains* at *Cerdicksford.*

there, as formerly to defend the Coaſt, *Cerdick* there landed, and after he had made ſore War upon the *Iceni*, or that part of this people eſpecially which inhabited *Norfolk*, ſailed thence to the Weſtern parts, where he erected the Kingdom of the Weſt *Saxons.* And not long after, the *Saxons* getting ground every where, inſtead of *Garianonum* founded a new Town in that moiſt and wateriſh ground near the Weſt ſide of the River *Yare* (by the *Britains* called *Guerne*, by the *Engliſh Saxons Gern* and *Jere*) which from it they named Caꞃmuð and Lieꞃmuð. After the arrival of *Port* and his two Sons, which was in the ſeventh year, and not till then, *Cerdick* ſeems to have quitted theſe Eaſtern parts, and incouraged by intelligence received from him of his ſucceſs to have bent his courſe Weſtward; to be ſure the Battel fought with *Nazaleod* the *Britain*, Authours place after the coming of *Port*. But whereas it's ſtoried that *Portſmouth* from this *Port* received its Name, this was founded upon often erring Tradition. That famous Creek near which it ſtandeth being by *Ptolemy* termed Μέγας Λιμὴν, or the *Great Haven*, in reſpect of its wideneſs, like as that *Portus Magnus* in *Africk*, as *Pliny* witneſſeth. Yet probable it is that thereabout *Port* landed, who poſſibly might take a Sirname, or Nickname from the place, and not the place from him. This makes it more probable that as *Portſmouth* is in that Province we call *Hantſhire*, the landing of *Cerdick* in the Weſtern parts, after he had quitted the Eaſtern, was alſo in this ſame County. For hard by its Weſtern bounds, where the River *Avon* entreth into the Shire, it meets with the Ford of *Cerdick*, or *Cerdicksford*, afterward called *Cerdeford*, and now by contraction of the word *Chardford*, ſo named of *Cerdick* that valiant *Engliſh Saxon.* For here, ſaith our Antiquary, in a ſet Battel he ſo daunted the *Britains*, that he not onely inlarged the bounds of his Empire, but alſo delivered an eaſie War to his Poſterity, having in the year of our Salvation DVIII, after great Conflicts in this Tract, vanquiſhed the moſt mighty King of the *Britains Natanleod*, called alſo *Nazaleod* by others, with many of his People. Of whoſe Name likewiſe a ſmall Region reaching to this place was termed *Natanleod*, as we reade in the Annals of the *Engliſh Saxons:* which I ſought very curiouſly for, but hitherto could not find ſo much as any ſmall ſign or token of that Name, neither can I gueſs who that *Natanleod* ſhould be. But moſt certain it is, that *Aurelius Ambroſius* at the very ſame time fought in this Tract with the *Saxons*, with alternative Fortune, and yet theſe Chronicles of the *Engliſh* no where made mention of him; as who (a thing that I have obſerved) being overmuch affectionate to themſelves, reported onely their own fortunate Battels and Victories, but never mentioned their Foils and Overthrows. Thus *Cambden.*

Ceꞃꝺiceꞅ
hoꞃa Ceꞃ-
ꝺiceꞅ ꝼoꞃꝺ.

3. Concerning this the Reader muſt call to mind what we have already ſaid, and farther take notice that *Cerdiceſhore* and *Cerdicesford* are two ſeveral places at a great diſtance, the one in *Norfolk* and the other in *Hampſhire*, when he reads of them in the *Engliſh* Annals. And where he finds the *Saxon* Annals, and from them the Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* relating how *Stuf* and *Witgar* the Nephews of *Certic* arrived at *Certiceſore*, he may conclude that *Certicesford* is rather to be read, for e'er their coming he had quitted the Eaſtern parts and had fought the great Battel with *Natanleod*, except we imagine that they knew not of his quitting the Coaſt of *Norfolk* and came thither to find him, which not being able to doe, after a Victory obtained over the *Britains* they betook themſelves again to their three Keels, and followed after; but *Huntingdon* writes as if by the Victory they obtained over the *Britains*, at their landing, made the Name of *Cerdic* terrible, ſo that it muſt have been fought in conjunction with him. However, after this their uniting with him he became much ſtronger and victorious, and got ſuch ground of the Neighbouring *Britains*, that at length the Territories he had conquered ſeemed to him capable of receiving a Royal Title; yet was not this till three and twenty years after his coming into the Iſland; ſo valiant, nay pertinacious were the *Britains*, that they did not eaſily quit their Counties nor give them up, being not diſcouraged by one or two Defeats received, but were overpowered at laſt by Numbers, however the *Saxon* Writers have concealed the particulars from us. But then did he by aſſuming the title of King, which was devolved upon his Poſterity, begin the Kingdom of the Weſt *Saxons*, ſo called from their ſituation in the Iſland, as Geᵹuẏꞅiꞅ from *Gewis* his great Grandfather, a Kingdom which at length became the Kingdom of Kingdoms, conſtraining all the reſt to ſubmit unto it. The beginning thereof fell in the ſecond year of *Juſtin* the Elder Emperour, the Conſulſhip of the Emperour himſelf and *Eutharicus Cilica*, in the days of *Childebert* King of the *Franks*, the Eighth of *Otha* King of *Kent*, *A. D.* DXIX, ſeventy one years after the firſt coming of the *Engliſh Saxons* into *Britain*, twenty ſeven after the begin-

Aſſumes the Title of King.

⁊ ꞅiþþan
ƿicꞅaðon
ƿeꞅꞇ ꞅeaxa
cẏne beaꞃn
oꝼ ðæm
dæᵹe.
Chronol. Sax.
ad An. DXIX.
Gevisſi.

beginning of the Kingdom of the South *Saxons*, ſeven before the beginning of that of the Eaſt *Saxons*, eight and twenty before that of the *Northumbrians*, and an hundred and ſeven before the beginning of *Peuda* the firſt King (worth notice) of the *Mercians*. By degrees it grew upon all, and at length ſwallowed up the reſt; though by its Antiquity therefore it preceded ſeveral of them, yet thought we fit to cloſe their number with it, together with this caution to the Reader.

And gives it to his Son *Cynric*.

Hence another Engagement with *Cerdic* and his *Saxons*.

4. Though *Cerdic* had aſſumed the title of King, and gave it as appears from the *Saxon* Annals, to his Son *Cynric*, yet were not the *Britains* therewith affrighted, but more provoked to diſpoſſeſs him of what they thought they had a better right than he. In the very ſame year they endeavoured to unking him, for though the Annals tell us that he fought againſt the *Britains* at *Cerdicesford*, yet it ſhould rather be ſaid that the *Britains* fought againſt him, for they came to him, not he to them, this being the place of his firſt landing in theſe Parts. *Henry* of *Huntingdon* tells the Story with great advantage on the ſide of the *Saxons*, though upon what ground we know not, the Annals onely affirming that from this day forward, Royal Off-ſpring (meaning his) reigned over the Weſt *Saxons*, and indeed that he had the better is probable enough, as that thereby he made ſit faſt on his head the Diadem, which he had aſſumed in the City of *Wincheſter*, as tells us the greater Chronicle of *Thomas Radburn*. Seven years he ſpent, for any thing we can find, in fortifying the Places he had already gained; but in the year that followed he fought another Battel with the *Britains*, in another place from him alſo called *Cerdicks Lea*, with what ſucceſs we are ignorant, but good ground there is to believe the *Britains* here victorious, becauſe where the *Saxons* had the better, their Annals never uſe to be ſilent. Yet this muſt make us think on the other ſide, that ſometimes they are modeſt, becauſe after this Battel he very much inlarged his Bounds. For after two years he and his Son conquered the Iſle of *Wight*, and ſlew many men in the place called *Wihtgarabirig*, as the Annals or *Saxon* Chronology affirms. Others tell us from theſe Annals, that being the firſt *Engliſh Saxon*, that ſubdued the Iſland, he granted it unto *Stuffa* and *Whitgar*, who jointly together ſlew well nigh all the *Britiſh* Inhabitants (for few there were of them remaining) in *Whitgaraburg*, a Town ſo called from *Whitgar*, and now by Contraction ſhortned into *Caresbroke*.

Lib. 2. *c.* 1.

A Third.

After which he conquered the Iſle of *Wight*.

Ad An. DXXX. *Cambden.*

5. But as the Annals call the Iſland by the Name of *Wiht*, and this Man *Wihtgar* I cannot but ſuſpect this Name to have been the Name of his Office, and that he was made by his Uncle *Cerdic* the Keeper or Guarder of the Iſland, firſt, and then four * years after, and that wherein he died beſtowed it on him, and his Brother *Stuffe* (his two Nephews) as a Legacy, for this gift they mention the very year they ſpeak of his death. From him this Town which ſeems to have been the place of his Reſidence, received its Name as he had his Title from the Iſland. This ſame year *Cerdic* died, after he had reigned ſixteen years, leaving all his Kingdom except the Iſle of *Wight*, as *Malmesbury* obſerves, to his Son *Cynric*. This *Cynric* the Annals ever join with his Father, ſo that he ſeems to have reigned jointly with him before, but now came to the ſole Management of that Power, he left him in the ninth year of *Juſtinian* the Emperour, in the Conſulſhip of *Beliſarius*, the fourth year of *Iremerick* King of *Kent*, and about the ninth year after that *Erkenwin* had begun the Kingdom of the Eaſt *Saxons*, *A. D.* DXXXV. For matters of War he is ſaid no whit to have been inferiour to his Father, yet at his beginning do we hear little of him, his great care being to preſerve what he had, his Father had got already rather than by ſtriving for more, when what he had was not yet confirmed, he being in danger of loſing all. In his fourth year the Annals mention an Eclipſe of the Sun, which fell out on the fifteenth of *February*, whereon that Luminary was darkened from Morning to Evening. Two years after it was ſo darkened again on the fifteenth of *June*, that Stars appeared till paſt three of the Clock. Four years after, died *Wightgar* in the Iſle of *Wight*, and by his burial there gave Name to *Wightgarabirig*, as in thoſe days they called it.

Beſtows it on his Nephews *Wihtgar* and *Stuffe*.

Dies.

Cynric reigns alone.

2 Eclipſes of the Sun.

Ad An. DXXXIV.

Ad An. DXXXVIII.

Iidem ad An. DXL.

He overthrows the *Britains* at *Salisbirig*.

6. At length we hear again of *Cynric* at the eighteenth year of his Reign, of his giving battel then to the *Britains*, as a place called Seaꞃobẏꞃiᵹ, where he put to flight the *Britiſh Welſh*, as the Annals now term them, they being by this time moſt of them either killed or driven into *Wales*, or other foreign Countries. This *Searobyrig* called *Salesbirig*, being the ſame which the *Saxons* alſo termed Seaꞃẏꞅbyꞃiᵹ, the vulgar Latiniſts *Sarum*, *Sariſburia* and *Saliſburialia*, the Name of *Searesbirig*, having proceeded from *Sorbiodunum*, by addition of the *Saxon* word Bẏꞃiᵹ, which ſignifies a *Burge* or *Town* inſtead of *Dunum*, which the *Britains* and

Ad An. DLII.

* *Meæ ſententia accedit illud Henrici Huntingdonenſis: Eandem autem Inſulam, quæ ſcil. Latinè dicitur Vecta dederunt quarto poſt hunc anno duobus Nepotibus ſuis Stuff. & Witgar. Wihtgar verbatim Wihtæ Cuſtos ſeu defenſor. Gard & Wardidem, non ſemper autem adjicitur id, ut in Ead-gar & multis aliis.*

Galls were wont to add to places ſeated on higher Ground, ſuch as this *Sorbiodunum* was. For *Sorniodunum* is by Interpretation the *Dry Hill*, and upon an high Hill this City is mounted. *Kinric* was the firſt of all the *Engliſh Saxons*, that forced it after he had got a notable Victory over the *Britains*, which ſo much incouraged him, that four years after this he and his Son *Ceaulin*, ingaged with them again at a Place called *Beranbyrig*. The Archdeacon of *Huntingdon*, whereſoever he had his Collections, tells the ſtory with various Circumſtances. The *Britains* ſaith he to take off that War which lay with ſuch Confuſion upon them, and they had endured for five years, gathering together a numerous and well inſtructed Army, put themſelves into a poſture of fighting at *Beranburi*. And when they had formed nine ſeveral Battalia's, which Number in War is moſt convenient, three in the front, three in the middle, and three in the Rere, having appointed to each Body its fitting Officers, and placed their Archers, thoſe that uſed Darts conveniently with their Horſe according to the *Roman* Cuſtome, the *Saxons* in one Body fell moſt boldly upon them. Their Standards they caſt down and defaced, and breaking their Lances fought it out with dint of Sword, till the Evening approached, the Victory being ſtill very doubtfull. Neither need this ſeem wonderfull, they being Men of extraordinary Stature, Vigour and Courage, although in our Days the Armies as well of the one as the other at the firſt onſet are eaſily put to flight; conſiſting now of ſuch Men as both in reſpect of their Stature, Vigour and Courage are inconſiderable; ſo much he. As for the Place of the Battel, this *Beranbyrig* is that Town now called *Banbury*, ſituate upon the River *Charwell* in the County of *Oxford*. About this Town are found Coins of the *Roman* Emperours, which argue for the Antiquity of the Place. Now the fame of it is for Cheeſe, Cakes, and ſuch like things, and lately it could ſhew a Caſtle built by *Alexander* Biſhop of *Lincoln* (for to the See of *Lincoln* it belonged, as did many other good Houſes, and Manors now ſwallowed by the iniquity of times) who deſiring to dwell ſtately, rather than quietly, by his vaſt Structures of this kind brought himſelf into many troubles.

Gives them another defeat at *Beranbyrig*.

To *Cynric* ſucceeds *Ceaulin*.

7. *Cynric* died after he had reigned ſix and twenty years, and was ſucceeded by *Ceaulin* his Son in the five and thirtieth year of *Juſtinian* the Emperour, about the beginning of the Reign of *Clothair* King of the *Franks*, the ſame year that *Ethelbert* became King of *Kent*, the third of *Alla* King of the *Northumbrians*. *A. D.* DLXI. *Ceaulin* was a Man of ſuch metal of warlike Enterprizes, that, as *Malmesbury* phraſeth, it to the *Engliſh Saxons* he became an object of wonder, to the *Britains* of hatred, and to both of them the Authour of Deſtruction. Now had theſe *Saxons* been in *Britain* for the ſpace of an hundred and twenty years, all which time they had been ſo employed in chuſing and ſetling their new Poſſeſſions, that having ſpace enough (a little ſeems much to them that have none) they agreed well enough amongſt themſelves, and united upon occaſion againſt them, whom their Intereſt had made their common Enemies. But now having pretty well ſecured their new (however got) Poſſeſſions, they had more leiſure to be proud and idle, and having much, began to think they had not enough, and to envy the Conditions of one another. In the Weſt and North they had ſtill indeed work enough to defend their own, and ſtill provoked by ambition, and Covetouſneſs to wreſt more out of the Hands of the Poor diſtreſſed *Britains*, but toward the South-Eaſt the Coaſt was clear, not a *Britain* left either to diſturb or be diſturbed, ſo that theſe Princes having nothing elſe to work upon, muſt needs find work amongſt thoſe of their own Nation, not enduring to be idle while they were ſo employed, to be mere Gazers upon the Actions of others, and to hear every day of their Conqueſts, Trophies and Spoils, now began to feel and perceive they had bounds to their Dominions, and however their Clothes ſeemed to be wide in the Infancy of their Kingdoms, now they complained they were ſtrait laced. The firſt that betrayed this reſtleſs humour, was *Ælla* King of the South *Saxons*, who as *Beda* tells us was the firſt of theſe Kings, that commanded all the Provinces of the *Engliſh*, lying Southward of the River *Humber*. His Kingdom was not large, and his work was narrow, having quickly diſpoſſeſſed the ancient Inhabitants, ſo that having time to look about him, and leiſure enough to attempt any Enterprize, he awed the reſt who ſtill all of them except the King of *Kent*, had work enough, time and ſtrength little enough to be employed againſt the *Britains*, to win and ſettle thoſe Poſſeſſions which they had already obtained, and either convenience or ambition ſtill provoked them to obtain. They were forced to give him good words, and admit of his Superiority, obey his Commands without oppoſition. Not one blow can we find, this procured amongſt them.

Civil Wars among the *Saxons* in *Britain*.

Ælla King of the South *Saxons* begins.

Lib. 2. *c.* 5.

8. He

Then *Ethelbert* King of *Kent.*

8. He being dead and gone, and his Poſterity degenerating, ſome twenty years after *Ethelbert* came to be King of *Kent*, who receiving from his Anceſtours a quiet poſſeſſion of that Canton of the Iſland, grudged himſelf thus confined unto a Corner. Wealth and Idleneſs pricked him, and begat the Itch of ambition, which was vehemently provoked by this reflexion, that he was the Great, Great Grandchild (as we improperly ſpeak, rather he his Great, Great Grandfather) the Heir and Succeſſour of *Hengiſt*, that great Captain the firſt Leader of the *Saxons*, the firſt that gave them opportunity of obtaining this Wealth and Honour, to whoſe Sceptre it was but juſt and fit, that they ſhould truckle and ſubmit. This was a fair pretence where there was a ſharp Sword to back it, but Intereſt and preſent Poſſeſſion afford deaf Ears to matters of Right, much more of Honour and Reputation. *Ethelbert* could eaſily give Laws to the South *Saxons*, the Weſtern were the great object of his Envy, which was increaſed by that opportunity, which the nearneſs of their ſituation ſuggeſted to him. While *Ceaulin* was buſied in the ſettlement and inlargement of his own Kingdom, in which Employment he had now ſpent Eight years, he invades his Territories. *Ceaulin* his Affairs requiring he ſhould ever be in readineſs, was not unprepared for him, but ſpeedily made head againſt him, and with *Cutha* gave him Battel at a Place called *Wibbandune*, where he gave him a great overthrow, *Oſlac* and *Cnebban*, his *Ealdormen* or great Officers, being ſlain together with a great multitude of the inferiour ſort, and drove him back into his *Kentiſh* Quarters. The Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* obſerves, that this was the firſt War which the Kings of the *Engliſh Saxons* waged amongſt themſelves, the firſt Battel fought on the account of a Civil Quarrel.

Who invading *Ceaulin* is overthrown.

Annal. Saxonic. ad Ann. DLXVIII. Heꞃ Cƿealin ⁊ Cuƿa ᵹeꝼuhꞇon ƿiþ Æꝺelbyꞃꞇ ⁊ hine Cenꞇ ᵹeꝼlymꝺon ⁊ ꞇƿeᵹen ealꝺoꞃmen on ƿibbanꝺune oꝼꞅlogon Oꞅlac ⁊ Cnebban.

9. *Ceaulin* did not purſue him into *Kent*, or revenge the Injury and Violence at this time, his main concerns lying at home againſt the *Britains*. Notwithſtanding all the Attempts of him and his Predeceſſours, ſtill they continued and held many Places on every ſide him. Yet the firſt ingagement we meet with in the Annals of thoſe that happened in his time, was that of the eleventh year of his Reign betwixt *Cuthwulfe*, whom *Huntingdon* calls his Brother, and confounds him with *Cutha*, at *Bedanford* which *Huntingdon* interprets of *Bedford*, which now ſaith he is the Head of the Circumjacent Province. He came off with Victory, as an effect whereof he took in four Towns, *Liganburk*, *Æglesburk*, *Benningtun* and *Egoneſham*, that is ſuch as afterward received theſe Names from their New Maſters, for *Saxon* they are and not *Britiſh*. But *Cuthwulfe* ſurvived his Victory not long, dying the very ſame year that theſe things happened. For ſix years after this we hear of no Action, as if *Ceaulin* by his Brother's death was deſtitute of a Commander. But ſix years after he took his Son *Cuthwine* with him in his ſtead, and again made War upon the *Britains*, of whom were ſlain three Kings, *Comail*, *Condidan* and *Farinmail*, at a place called *Deorham*, which done they ſubdued three notable Cities, *viz. Gleawanceſtre*, *Cyrenceſtre* and *Bathanceſter*. This *Deorham* is a little Town in *Gloceſterſhire*, not far from *Severn*, at this day called *Derham*, where are yet to be ſeen huge Rampires and Trenches, as Fortifications of their Camps, and other moſt apparent Monuments here and there of ſo great a War. *Gleawanceſtre* is that we call *Gloceſter*, in *Antonine* named *Glevum* from *Glaw* in *Britiſh*, which ſignifieth *Fair* or *Goodly*, the *Britains* ſtill calling it *Caer Glaw*. Being built by the *Romans* as a Curb to the *Silures*, it was thus wreſted out of the Hand of the *Britains*, firſt by *Ceaulin*. Afterward the *Mercians* won it, under whom it flouriſhed in great Honour, and *Oſrick* King of *Northumberland* by permiſſion of *Ethelrede* the *Mercian*, founded there a great and ſtately Nunnery, where *Kineburga*, *Eadburga* and *Eva* Queens of the *Mercians*, were ſucceſſively Prioreſſes one after another. And *Edelfleda* that moſt Noble Lady of the *Mercians*, adorned it with a Church. *Cyrenceſter*, that we now call *Circeſter* and *Circiter*; called *Corinium* by *Ptolemy*, and by *Antonine*, *Durocornovium*, from the River *Corin* (now *Churn*) upon which it ſtandeth, fifteen Miles diſtant from *Glevum* or *Gloceſter*, upon the *Roman* High Street. *Bathanceſter*, is that we now call *Bath* in *Somerſetſhire*, on which we are told, the *Saxons* for a long time durſt not ſet, but left it to the *Britains*, till *Ceaulin* had defeated him at *Deorham*. Then it yielded after a furious aſſault, and within few years recovering ſome ſtrength grew up again, and therewith got a new Name of * *Akmancheſter*. For *Osbrick* in the year DCLXXVI, founded a Nunnery there, and immediately after when the *Mercians* had got it under them, King *Offa* built another Church, both which in the time of the *Daniſh* Broils were overthrown, and out of the Ruines of them both aroſe another Church, wherein *Eadgar* ſirnamed the *Peace-maker*, being crowned

Ceaulin overthrows the *Britains* in two pitch'd Battels.

Ad An. DLXXI.

Ad An. DLXXXVII.

And takes ſeveral places, as *Deorham*,

Gleawanceſtre.

Cyrenceſter.

* *Ak ægrotus. Ache eodem ſenſu hodie durat, atque optimè huic loco quadrat iis maximè ſaluber, qui artubus ſuis doloribus laborant quos nos Anglico Sermone Aches dicimus.*

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crowned King beſtowed upon the Citizens very many Immunities, the Memory of which they yearly celebrate with ſolemn Plays. But thus were the *Britains* diſpoſſeſſed of theſe Countries for ever by this King of the Weſt *Saxons*, though afterward all theſe three Places with the Territories about them, fell into the Hands of their Neighbours the *Mercians*.

Another Victory over the *Britains*.

Ceaulin at laſt is defeated at *Wodensbeorlige*.

10. No other Battel do we reade of that was fought betwixt theſe Nations, although probably many Conteſts and Skirmiſhes happened till the ſeventh year after, when *Ceaulin* and *Cutha* ingaged with the *Britains*, in a place called *Fethanleage.* Here *Cutha* loſt his Life, but the Annals tell us, that *Ceaulin* took Towns, not a few, beſides Plunder without meaſure, yet in great wrath and indignation he returned home. Here one would ſuſpect it were for the death of *Cutha*; but *Huntingdon* writes that a moſt dreadfull fight being fought, *Cuthwine* was oppreſſed by the multitudes of his Enemies, overpowered and ſlain. The *Engliſh* were overthrown and put to flight; but *Ceaulin* coming in, in good time, cauſed them to rally, and ſetting on afreſh, conquered the Conquerers, which done, in the purſuit he became Maſter of many Territories and innumerable Spoils. Thus flouriſhed he, ſeeming not to court but to command Victory, while all, as well Enemies as Friends, ſtood wondering and looking on. But extraordinary Proſperity cannot be called Felicity, ending moſt commonly in extraordinary Miſery. His Brother he loſt, and as *Malmesbury* tells us, his Son of the ſame name was killed before his face. His great Succeſs and Power, as it procured fear, ſo envy and hatred, while all that heard but of him, ſuſpected preſently their own Eſtates. This made not onely friends but foes to agree in this, to put a ſtop to his formidable greatneſs, ſo that *Britains* and *Engliſh* conſpiring together, gave him Battel at a place called *Wodensbeorlige*, where ſo great a ſlaughter was made of his Men that he was totally defeated, and he who ſo lately commanded all on this ſide the River *Humber*, was now forc't in a forlorn condition to hide his Head, and lurk in ſome obſcure place, a baniſhed Man from his own Dominions, a miſerable ſpectacle of the inconſtancy of ſublunary things. This *Wodensbeorlige* is now called *Wodensburge*, a little Village in *Wiltſhire* near to that Ditch of wonderfull work, which being caſt up for many Miles together, divideth the middle of this Shire from Eaſt to Weſt. The People dwelling thereabout, call it *Wanſdike*, and upon an errour generally received, they talk that it was made by the Devil upon a Wedneſday. But in the *Saxon* Tongue it is called *Wodeneſdic*, or the Dike of *Woden*, who here perhaps was worſhipped by the Pagan *Saxons*, or being a thing of great conſequence was dedicated to him. *Malmesbury* writes, that this great Battel was fought at it, not mentioning *Wodensburge*, and it's very probable that the *Saxons* made it to divide the two Kingdoms of the Weſt *Saxons* and *Mercians* aſunder, this being the very place of Battel between them, while they ſtrove one with another to inlarge their Dominions. For beſides this Battel betwixt *Ceaulin* and the *Saxons*, and *Britains*, who joyned together; at this Dike, to ſay nothing of other accidents, *Ina* the Weſt *Saxon* afterward, and *Cealrede* the *Mercian* joyned Battel, and departed the Field on even terms. It was their cuſtome to make ſuch Ditches, ſuch was that of *Offa*, of which we have already ſpoken. Others are alſo to be ſeen among the Eaſt *Angles* in *Cambridgeſhire* and *Suffolk*, wherewith they bounded their Territory, and defended themſelves from the Inrodes and violence of the *Mercians*.

Being driven into exile dies.

Ad. An. *DXCIII.*

Is ſucceeded by *Ceolric*.

11. *Ceaulin* being thus driven into exile, when he had Reigned one and thirty years, died ſhortly after, in the ſecond year, ſay the Annals, and together with him periſhed *Cuichelme* and *Crida*, the ſame year that *Ethelfrith* began his Reign over the *Northumbrians*. This his Cataſtrophe, was the high advancement of *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, who for the reaſons but now alledged, having high deſigns in his Head, was hitherto hindred from bringing them to perfection by the greater abilities and ſucceſs of *Ceaulin*. By this time he had well ripen'd his Ambition with more general obſervation and experience in war, and what he formerly, when raw and unpractis'd, had attempted, now ſucceſsfully attained, and by degrees brought all the other Kingdoms between *Kent* and *Humber* to be at his Devotion, that of the Weſt *Saxons* the firmeſt of all, being now in a very low condition: this gave him the main advantage, being humbled to his hand; the reſt yielded not ſubjection, but as he earn'd it by continual Victories and the Terrour which they procured, his Reputation being farther ſtrengthened by his Marriage with *Bertha*, Daughter to a King of the *Franks*. But to return to the Kingdom of *Weſtſex*, in its deplorable eſtate, *Ceolric* the Nephew of *Ceaulin*, by his Brother *Cutha* undertook its protection, and as he could in ſo tickliſh times, or-

dered

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Then followed *Ceolwulf.*

dered the affairs thereof for five years. After him followed *Ceolwulf* his Brother, who for all the fourteen years he governed, was perpetually employed, either againſt the *Engliſh*, *Britains*, *Picts* or *Scots*, and came off with advantage. Yet have we nothing particular concerning theſe great attempts; onely this is mention'd, that the ſame year that *Ethelfrith* warred againſt the *Britains* of *Cheſter*, he made war upon the South *Saxons*. It muſt be remembred that *Ethelbert* of *Kent* outlived him, and therefore he having all his Life the ſuperiority over all the other Kings, he durſt not attempt any thing againſt him, it muſt have been againſt his fellow Vaſſals; and as for the *Picts* and *Scots*, he lying at ſuch a diſtance from them, his warring againſt them, muſt have been in giving aſſiſtence to the *Northumbrians* their next Neighbours. He dying after he had Reigned fourteen years, *Cynegils* the Son of *Ceolric* (or, as the Annals call him, *Ceol*) ſucceeded him. The Tranſlatour of the Annals talks of his, and *Quichelm* taking the Government upon them in the ſame year. But the Annals themſelves ſay no ſuch thing, and *Huntingdon* writes, that he took his Brother *Kichelm* in the fourth year of his Reign, to be his Collegue in the Kingdom.

Ꝼeahꞇ ⁊ ƿon.

Heꞃ Cyneᵹylꞅ ꝼenᵹꞇo ꞃice on ƿeꞅꞇ Seaxum ⁊ heolꝺ XXXI. ƿinꞇꞃa. Cyneᵹilꞅ ƿæꞅ Ceoling. Ceol Cuþaning Cynꞃicing. *Ad. An.DCXI.*

Next *Cynegils* and *Quicelm.* Who Reigned joyntly.

12. *Cynegils* began his Reign in the ſecond year of *Heraclius* the Emperour, the two and fiftieth of *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, the twentieth of *Ethelfrith* the fierce King of the *Northumbrians*, A. D. DCXII. The Monk of *Malmesbury* writes, that *Cinegiſle* and *Quicelm*, the Sons of *Celric*, put on the Enſigns of the Kingdom with equal Authority, they were both ſtout Perſons, and contend betwixt themſelves in the mutual Offices of Piety which ſhould exceed, inſomuch, that in reſpect of their Concord, not uſual among Kings, they may be propounded as a Miracle to the preſent, and an Example to future times. Many Wars they waged, one cannot diſtinguiſh whether with greater valour or moderation, either againſt the *Britains* or *Peuda* King of the *Mercians*, a Man exceedingly dextrous in the ſurprizing feats of War, who having paſſed beyond his own Bounds, while he labours to get *Cireceſter* into his hands, was not able to bear the ſhock of theſe unanimous Kings, but with a few in his Company ran away. *Quicelm* is not a little blamed, for hiring an Aſſaſſinate to murther *Edwin* King of the *Northumbrians*, a Man of approved wiſedom. But if that gentile ſaying be conſidered, *Dolus an virtus quis in hoſte requirat*, he will eaſily find excuſe having done nothing unuſual, and led by a deſire to remove out of the way by any means he could, one who ſtudied his own deſtruction. For from the Kingdom of the Weſt *Saxons*, he had before this wreſted much, and at that time irritated by the injury recieved, the old grudges now coming to remembrance, practiſed many things which tended to their great damage. But the Kings eſcaped, to whom not long after, by the Preaching of *Binnus* the Biſhop, the Heavenly Doctrine was revealed, in the twenty fifth year of their Reign, and the fortieth after the coming of St. *Auguſtine*, the Apoſtle of the *Engliſh*. *Cinegiſle* was preſently won, and abaſing his Royal Loftyneſs, willingly ſubmitted himſelf to the Prieſt in Baptiſm. *Quicelm* wrinched a little, till by the health of his Body, admoniſhed that he ſhould not neglect the Salvation of his Soul he imitated the devotion of his Conſort, and died the ſame year. But *Cinegiſle*, for ſix years after, enjoying long quiet and repoſe, ended his Life in the one and thirtieth of his Reign.

Who beat the *Britains* at *Beamdune* in *Dorſetſhire.*

13. Thus much *Malmesbury* in general, concerning the joynt Government of theſe Kings, we ſhall add what particulars we can light upon in theſe obſcure times. The firſt is the Battel, which in the third or fourth year of *Cynegils* they fought againſt the *Britains*, at a place called *Beamdune*, where were ſlain of the ſaid *Britains*, two thouſand and ſix and forty. *Huntingdon* here tells us, that they were frighted at the very ſight of their Enemies, and at the firſt onſet threw down their Enſigns and fled. Others write, that it was a doubtfull and dangerous Battel, each one uſing his conjecture, rather than having any thing certain from the Monuments of Antiquity, whereon to fix this. We may eaſily believe that this *Beamdune* was that Town of *Dorſetſhire*, ſituate upon the River *Frome*, which at this day is known by the Name of *Bindon*. As for that attempt which *Quichelm* made to take away the Life of *Edwin*, we muſt remember that this Prince was the fifth, whoſe Authority extended it ſelf over all the Provinces of the *Engliſh Saxons*, greater in this reſpect than any of the other four, that their Territories were now ſubject to him, but his Dominions never had been in their Power, to which a bound was ever put by the River *Humber*. He had made bold in ſeveral reſpects, as well with the Weſt *Saxons* as with others, and would give Law to them all. What therefore could not be done by fair, *Quichelm* reſolved to effect by foul means; for foul it was, never to be excuſed or reconcileable with

Heꞃ Cyneᵹilꞅ ⁊ Cƿichelm ᵹefuhꞇon on Beamꝺune. ⁊ oꝼꞅoᵹon ꞇƿa ðuꞅenꝺo ƿeala ⁊ XLVI. *Ad.An.DCXV.*

Bed.Hiſt.lib.2. c.9.

with generoſity, even in any Enemy. But the thing was this, as we have it from the Authentick Hiſtory of *Beda* himſelf. A certain Aſſaſſinate named *Eumere*, was ſent from *Quichelm* the King of the Weſt *Saxons*, to kill King *Edwin*. Pretending a Meſſage from his Maſter, he runs upon him with an envenomed weapon (that in caſe the ſteel did not, the poyſon might take effect) near the River *Derwent*, where ſtood at that time the King's Palace. This being perceived by *Lilla* a faithfull and loving Servant of the King's ſtanding by, he interpoſed himſelf and was ſtabbed, the King alſo received a little hurt by the blow through his Body. The Aſſaſſinate killed another Souldier called *Forthere*, and at laſt was killed himſelf and cut in pieces. The King was exceedingly diſturbed at the villany, but his grief was a little mitigated by a Daughter, of which his Queen was brought to Bed the night following. He gave thanks therefore unto his Gods, which being overheard by *Paulinus* the Biſhop, he expoſtulated it with him, affirming that the Queen through his Prayers had been delivered without much pain. The King well pleaſed to hear that, promiſed that he would believe in Chriſt, in caſe he would give him Victory over *Quichelm*, and as a pledge of his promiſe commanded his little Daughter to be Chriſtened, which was done, the Name of *Eanfleda* being given her, and with her were Baptized twelve others of the Family. Then did he raiſe an Army and lead it againſt *Quichelm*, and beginning a War, either killed all that had been of the Conſpiracy, or had them delivered up unto him. To this *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* adds, that *Quichelm* he ſlew in the place, which from him is called in the Language of the *Engliſh Quichelmes haune* to this day. In teſtimony of the Victory he gave this Name to the Place, and ſo in triumph returned home.

They invade *Sebert* King of the Eaſtern *Saxons.*

And wage War with *Peuda* King of the *Mercians.*

14. The Paſſage concerning the death of *Quichelm* is ſuch as agrees not with other Authours, nor can we believe it true, being placed by the Flowergatherer before the Battel betwixt *Kinegils* and *Peuda*, at which other Writers unanimouſly affirm *Quichelm* to have been preſent. But he, and *Florentius* of *Worceſter*, otherwiſe alſo differ from ſome of their fellow Hiſtorians about this Perſon, he calling him *Quichelm*, and both of them accounting him the Son of *Kinegils*, whereas others ſpeak of him as of his Brother; but to ſay truth, the Annals make him his Son. Next after this Battel betwixt them and *Edwin*, that is placed by the Archdeacon of *Huntingdon*, which he affirms, they fought with the two Sons and Succeſſours of *Sebert* the King of the Eaſtern *Saxons*. He makes them to have been the Aggreſſours, ſays, that being more in number they fought boldly but unfortunately. For both of theſe young men were killed, and ſcarcely could any of their Souldiers eſcape their flight, being intercepted both by the Mountains of dead Bodies, and the Torrents of bloud. In the third year after he placeth their fight with *Peuda* King of the *Mercians* at *Cirenceſter*, where aſſembled very great Armies on both ſides, and (ſaith he) they fought it out with invincible Courage, till parted by the Intervention of Night and Darkneſs; and in the Morning when they were about to renew their fury, the Kings took up the Quarrel by a Truce, or ſome other Accommodation. What Circumſtances ſoever he may add concerning their Multitudes and the Intervention of Night, that ſuch a Fight there was, and a Ceſſation thereupon we are aſſured by the Annals. That firſt *Kinegils*, and then *Quichelm* was Baptized the year after they alſo confirm; and moreover, that this very year *Quichelm* died eight years after the fight with *Peuda*, and three years after the death of *Edwin*, who therefore could not kill him in the Battel lately mentioned, but yield himſelf he might into his Hands. Then laſtly for *Cynegils*, that he outlived him ſix years the ſaid Annals make manifeſt, placing the Succeſſion of his Son (for his Death they mention not) in the ſeventh year after the death of *Quichelm*.

Ad. An. DCXXVIII.

Ad An. DCXXXV & DCXXXVI.

Ad. An. DCXLIII.

Cenwalh begins his Reign.

Cenwalh Annal. Saxonic. aliis Kenwalh & Kenewalh, Cenwald.

Is driven out of his Kingdom by *Peuda.*

Returns.

Is Baptized.

15. *Cenwalh* the Son of *Cynegils* ſucceeded his Father in the Kingdom of the Weſt *Saxons* in the third year of *Ercombert* King of *Kent*, the eighteenth of *Peuda* King of the *Mercians* the ſame that *Oſwi* began his Reign over the *Northumbrians*, *A. D.* DCXLII. By *Malmesbury* he is deſcribed a Prince in the beginning of his Reign to be compared with the worſt, in the middle, and the end with the beſt of Kings. Coming young to the Government, by Luxury he grew Inſolent, deſpiſing the Example ſet him by his Father, and lawfull Matrimony; but being by *Peuda* King of the *Mercians*, whoſe Siſter he had repudiated, ſet upon with War, he was driven out of his Kingdom, and fled to the King of the Eaſt *Angles*; whereby being diſciplined by Adverſity and the Perſwaſions of him that gave him Entertainment, he conſidered better of it, was fully perſwaded in the Faith, and recovered his Kingdom; where, to his Subjects, he preſented himſelf a welcome Miracle of alteration

for the better, ſo valiant that he who formerly was not able to protect his own Territories, now twice overthrew the *Britains*, who remembring their ancient liberty fretted at their preſent condition, and therefore often plotted how they might ſucceſsfully rebell; firſt in the place called *Witgeornesbrug*, and again by the Hill called *Pene*. Upon *Wulpher* alſo the Son of *Peuda* he revenged the Injuries received from his Father, taking from him a good part of his Kingdom. So Religious he was, that firſt of all *Saxon* Kings he built at *Wincheſter* the moſt beautifull Church of that time, the pattern whereof was followed afterward in founding the Epiſcopal See, though in a more ſtately manner. So Munificent that nothing, even of his Patrimony, would he deny to his Kindred, as who beſtowed upon his Brother's Son well nigh the third part of his Kingdom. Theſe Royal Vertues of his were much excited by the Admonitions of *Angilbert* and *Lutherius*, ſucceſſively Biſhops of his Province.

Is kind to his Relations.

16. That *Cenwalh* was by *Peuda* driven away, the *Saxon* Annals do teſtifie, the year before he was Baptized; ſo that if he was not Baptized till his return out of Exile, as by the Annals it appears, he could not be abſent from his Kingdom three years, as both they and *Beda* affirm; but perhaps longer it was e'er he received Baptiſm. The King of the Eaſt *Angles*, to whom he fled, and who by his Advice brought him to a thorough underſtanding of himſelf was *Auna*, who afterward was ſlain by *Peuda* the *Mercian*, without any ſuccour or aſſiſtence received from him that we reade of. The kindneſs to his Relations appears from that great gift he gave to *Cuthrede* his Nephew the Son of *Quichelm*, and Grandſon of *Cynegils*, as in this place the Annals expreſly ſignifie, which was three thouſand Lands (as the *Saxon* terms them) by *Æceſdune*, which *Huntingdon* interprets of Villages, or poſſibly they might be ſo many *Hides*, as afterward were called the ordinary diviſion of Grounds; but the expreſſion uſed by *Malmesbury* of the third part of his Kingdom, ſeems to hint at as great a quantity as that whereof *Huntingdon* ſpeaks. As for the ſucceſs which after his return he had againſt his Enemies, Authours ſpeak variouſly thereof; for though *Malmesbury* and others talk of Victories, * *Beda* ſaith expreſly that he very often received moſt grievous Damages from them in his Kingdom. Four years after his Gift to *Cuthrede* the Annals make mention of his fighting at a Place called *Bradanford* upon the River *Afene*, but name none againſt whom he fought, neither tell they what the ſucceſs was. *Cambden* tells us it had the Name of *Bradanford* from the broadneſs of the Ford of *Avon*, which is there inlarged by receiving a little Rivulet; that it is now called *Bradford* in *Wiltſhire*, ſituate upon the deſcent of an Hill. Here he ſaith *Cenwalh* King of the Weſt *Saxons* imbrued his Sword with bloud in Civil-war againſt *Cuthrede* his near Kinſman. But he names no Authour from whom he had it. If ſo it was, either *Cuthrede* was guilty of much Ingratitude, or *Cenwalh* of much overſight and Inconſtancy.

Ad An. DCXLVIII. Heꞃ Cenƿalh ᵹeꞅealde Cuþꞃede hiꞅmæᵹe III ðuꞅendo londeꞅ be Aꞅceꞅdune. ꞅe Cuþꞃede ƿæꞅ Cƿichelminᵹ. Cuichelm Cẏneᵹilꞅinᵹ.

* *Lib.* 3. *c.* 7.

He overthrows the *Britains* in two ſeveral Battels.

17. As for the Battel fought againſt the *Britains* at *Witgeornesbrug*, there's none that makes mention of it beſide the Monk of *Malmesbury* himſelf, and upon his mere Credit it muſt lye. But there might well be ſuch a Fight; for when he was ſetled after his Reſtauration he undertook a War againſt them, or rather they againſt him, if *Huntingdon* may be believ'd, who writes, that they knowing full well how he had been beaten by *Peuda*, and driven him from his Kingdom, deſpiſed him as one not able to defend himſelf; and getting together a great number of men, in the pride of their Hearts made War upon him. And in the firſt ingagement the *Britains* ſeemed to make the *Saxons* give ground. But the *Saxons* deſiring rather to die than flie, ſo pertinaciouſly maintained the Fight, that the *Britains* were quite tired out, and their ſtrength melted away like Snow. They gave then their backs to the Conquerours, were chaſed from *Pen* as far as *Pedrede*, and an incurable wound was made in the Poſterity of *Brutus* in that day. Theſe are the words. The Annals confirm that he fought againſt the *Britains* or *Welſh* as they term them, and that he chaſed them as far as *Pedridan*. *Pen*, *Cambden* tells us, is now an obſcure Village not far from the River *Juel* in *Somerſetſhire*, though anciently famous, being ordained by deſtiny, as it may ſeem, to the overthrow both of *Britains* and *Danes*. For at this very place (ſaith he) *Keniwalch* a Weſt *Saxon* had ſuch a day of the *Britains* that ſcarcely ever after would they abide to enter the Field againſt the *Engliſh Saxons*. And many a year after that, King *Edmund*, ſirnamed *Ironſide*, gave there a notable foil to the *Danes*, as he purſued *Canutus* their King, then Uſurping the Crown of *England*, from place to place. *Pedridan* is a Town alſo in that County now of no account, except for the Market or Fair there held, but formerly the Royal Seat of King *Ina*, now

Pedderton.

called *Pedderton* from the River *Pedred*, (commonly *Parret*) which here runneth into *Ivel* and robbeth him of his Name.

Dyes.

A ſtrange fight of Birds in the Air.

Ad. An. 672.

18. Not long after *Cenwalh* took occaſion to fall out with *Wulhfere* the *Mercian*, the Son of *Peuda* his old enemy, and gave him Battel at a place called *Poſſentes Berig*. *Fabius Ethelward* is ſingular in this ſtory, ſavouring much the Family of the Weſt *Saxons*, from which he himſelf was deſcended. He writes, that he took him Priſoner; But the Annals ſaying that he fought at this place in *Eaſter* Holydays, add that *Wulfer* haraſſwed all as far as *Æſleſdune*, the ſame year wherein died *Cuthred* the Son of *Quichelm* and King *Cenbyrht*. That *Wulfere* waſted the Iſle of *Wight*, and beſtowed the Inhabitants thereof on *Ethelwald* the King of the South *Saxons*, to whom he was Godfather, and that *Eoppa* the Prieſt by command of *Wulfhere*, and King *Wulfhere* himſelf, firſt were Authours of Baptiſm to the Inhabitants of the ſaid Iſland, which how it agrees with another affirmation of *Beda*, we ſhall ſee in a more proper place. We have no more to ſay of *Cenwalh*, than that he died after he had Reigned one and thirty years: we know not whether we ſhould take notice of what the Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* thinks to be worthy ſpecial remarque. The year before he died happened a mighty fight of Birds in *England*, which that you may believe to have been no impoſſible thing, he tells you that in his time the very ſame thing happened in *Normandy*, during the Reign of *Henry* the Firſt. About the City of *Roven*, ſuch Combats there were that thouſands of them were found ſlain upon the Earth, and the ſtrangers ſeemed to be put to flight. A ſign he counts it of the Battel fought betwixt the ſaid *Henry* then King of *England*, and Duke of *Normandy*, and the *French* King *Lewis* the Son of *Philip*. In which fight *Henry* remained Victor, and *Lewis* was routed and ran away. But as for *Cenwalh*, at his death, he left his Kingdom to the diſpoſal of his Wife *Senburgh*. But ſhe ſurviveded him not long, holding the Government but one year, which ended, the Nobility expelled her, diſdaining, as *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* writes, to fight under the Banner of a Woman, though *Malmeſbury* ſays, ſhe ſtrenuouſly diſcharged all Offices of a good Ruler. It ſeems ſhe took it to heart, for ſhe died preſently after.

Several petty Kings.

As *Sexburg.*

Eſcuin.

Kentwin.

Ceadwalla.

Sets upon *Edelwalch* King of the South *Saxons.*

Seizes the Iſle of *Wight.*

Invades *Kent.*

Lib. 4. *c.* 12. *Subreguli.*

Sic Malmesb. at vero Annales Saxon. aliter eum à Cenrico derevant.

Ad. An. DCLXXIV.

Annal. ad An. DCLXXV.

Ad. An. DCLXXXI.

Lib. 4. *c.* 15.

Vide ejus ſtemma apud Annal. ad An. DCLXXXV.

19. *Beda* writes, that after the death of *Cenwalh*, very Petty Kings held the Kingdom divided among themſelves, and that for about ten years together, not mentioning *Sexburg*. Others ſpeak of *Eſcuin* the Son or Nephew of *Cuthgiſt* the Brother of *Cynegils*, who Reigned but two years, yet was not petty in his Actions; for he dared to grapple with *Wulfhere* King of the *Mercians*, with whom he fought a Battel at a place called *Bedanhafde*, and about a year after, both of them died. *Kentwin* the Son of *Cynegils*, after him aſſumed the Title, or as *Beda* hints, Reigned at the ſame time, being as the Monk notes as well as the other, of approved experience in War; for he defeated the *Britains*, as *Eſcuin* before him did the *Mercians*. Of this defeat we have no other account from the Annals than that he drove them as far as the Sea, but whence or to what Sea, we are far to ſeek. This they place five years after the beginning of *Kentwin*, and four years after this they tell us that *Ceadwalla* again began to ſeize on the Kingdom of the Weſt *Saxons*. Thus much *Beda* writes concerning this *Ceadwalla*, that he was a moſt valiant young Man of the Royal ſtock of the *Geviſſi*, and being baniſhed his Countrey, came with an Army upon *Edelwalch* King of the South *Saxons*, whom he ſlew, and then cruelly with Fire and Sword haraſſed his Dominions. *Malmesbury* affirms, that being deſcended from *Cutha* the Brother of *Ceaulin*, he was a young Man of immoderate hope, who could not omit any occaſion of exerciſing his Valour. Having by his reſtleſs humour provoked the indignation of the Nobility, too powerfull a faction he excited againſt himſelf, and was driven to Baniſhment. Being conſtrained at this time to ſubmit to his Fortune, that he might make his County naked and defenceleſs, he took away with him all the youth, which either for love to his vertues, or in commiſeration of his ſufferings, willingly followed him. The firſt that underwent the violence of his fury, was *Edelwalch* King of the South *Saxons*, who was ſo bold as to grapple with him; but being routed with all his People, procured, as the effect of his raſhneſs, a late repentance. But *Ceadwalla* on the contrary, having by ſo great ſucceſs incouraged his Men, ſpeedily returned, and an unlooked for onſet eaſily drove away his Emulators. After this, enjoying the Kingdom two years, he gave many evident proofs of his Military Abilities. Bearing to the South *Saxons* an irreconcileable hatred, he deſtroyed alſo *Edrich* the Succeſſour of *Edelwalch*, who refuſed not, but boldly gave him Battel. The Inhabitants of the Iſle of *Wight*, who in confidence of aſſiſtence from the *Mercians* rebelled, he almoſt utterly deſtroyed. Over thoſe of *Kent* he

often obtained Victory, and revenged ſufficiently upon them the death of his Brother. Amongſt other things memorable of him, it's hard to ſay with what Piety he was endued, even before his Baptiſm; for the Tithe of all his Spoils, he gave to Almighty God. In which thing, as we approve his affection, ſo we diſapprove his example, according to that ſaying: *He that offers Sacrifice of the ſubſtance of the Poor, is as if he offered the Son in the preſence of the Father.* But that he went to *Rome* to be Baptized, was there Baptized by *Sergius* the Pope, and called *Peter*, and as yet being in *Albis* (or within ſeven days after his Baptiſm) died, is more known than that it needs any relation from us.

Alkerne is chriſtened *Peter*, and dies.

20. So much doth *Beda* and *Malmesbury* write of *Ceadwalla*, which the Reader muſt take in the name of all the *Engliſh* writers. For the Hiſtory of the *Britains* and the Annals of the *Engliſh* do not agree about this King. The Annals ſay, he was the Son of *Cenbyrht*, deſcended from *Ceaulin* by *Cutha*, in the fourth degree, but the *Britains* affirm him the Son of *Cadwallin* their King, the ſame that ſlew *Edwin* and *Oſwald*, the Kings of the *Northumbrians*. Of this *Cadwallin*, they tell a ridiculous ſtory, that being ſpent with Age, after a Reign of eight and fourty years, the *Britains* embalming his Body, put it into an Image of Braſs, reſembling him, which they ſet upon a Brazen Horſe, over the Weſtern Gate of *London*, in memory of the great things he performed againſt the *Engliſh*: a lye which proceeded from ſome Monk of a brazen face, who could not be ignorant that *London*, long before this time, had been out of the hands of the *Britains*. Now they ſay alſo, that under the very Gate they built a Church in honour of St. *Martin*, wherein for him and the reſt of the faithfull deceaſed, divine obſequies might be for ever celebrated. In his Kingdom ſucceeded his Son *Cadwalader*, whom *Beda* calls *Cadwalla*, a young Man, whoſe Mother was Siſter to *Peuda* King of the *Mercians*, and Married by *Cadwallin*, after a reconciliation made with his Brother. All this as a ſtory attended with ſuch ridiculous circumſtances, we reject, betaking our ſelves to the Pedigree of *Ceadwalla*, which the *Saxon* Annals afford us, and the more ſure teſtimony of *Beda*, who affirms him of the * Royal ſtock of the *Geviſſi*. From the ſame *Beda* we muſt add to what we have formerly ſaid concerning his killing *Ædilwalch* King of the South *Saxons*, that though he had ſlain him, he was immediately driven away by *Berchthun* and *Andhun*, the King's Captains, who afterward held the Province of that Kingdom. Yet he farther adds, that the firſt of theſe Captains, when *Ceadwalla* came to be King of the *Geviſſi*, was killed by him, and the Province ſubjected to more grievous ſervitude than before. In the following Chapter he writes, that after *Ceadwalla* was poſſeſſed of the Kingdom of the *Geviſſi*, he took the Iſle of *Wight*, which before this time was wholly given to Idolatry, labouring by a tragical ſlaughter utterly to exterminate all the Natives, and to ſubſtitute in their rooms men of his own Province. From him it appears that one *Arvald* was at this time King of the Iſland, whoſe two Sons having taken, and reſolving to kill them, he permitted they ſhould be Baptized before they were put to death. But we cannot admit him for above a *Regulus* or Petty King, remembring that on this *Ædilwalch* King of the South *Saxons*, *Wulfhere* King of the *Mercians*, his Godfather, beſtowed this Iſle of *Wight*, whom *Ceadwalla* having ſlain in right of proſecution of War, entred and ſubdued this part of his Dominions, which lay ſo conveniently for him. From this time forward our Writers for a great while have not one word of *Wight*, till the year of our Lord, one thouſand ſixty ſix, in which *Toſtie*, King *Harold*'s Brother, with certain Men of War and Rovers Ships out of *Flanders*, in hatred of his Brother, invaded it, and after he had fleeced the Inhabitants of their Money, quickly again departed.

Math. Florilegus ad An. 676.

De Regio genere Geviſſorum, quod Rex Alfredus ſic vertit: ƿeſt Seaxna æþeling. *nunc quis ſit Ætheling omnes qui vel mediocriter Saxonicè callent ſatis norunt. idem ſcil. qui Priſcis Clyto, Cæſar,* Princeps, *Juventutis. Anglis hodiernis* Prince. *Edgar Etheling, Enlands darling, Ille cui Regnum Anglorum ante Haraldum vel etiam Gulielmum Normannum debebatur.*

21. To what we have already ſaid concerning *Ceadwalla*, his Invaſion of *Kent*, (in the Hiſtory of that Kingdom) and the Death of his Brother, whom *Latin* writers call *Mollo*, but the *Saxon* Annals *Mull*, we can add nothing more that is material. He being gone to *Rome* to receive Baptiſm, *Ina* the Son of *Cenred*, whoſe Father was *Ceolwald*, the Brother of *Cynegils*, obtained the Kingdom of the Weſt *Saxons*, in the third year of *Juſtinian* the younger Emperour, in the days of *Theodorick* King of the *Franks*, the third of *Alfrid* King of the *Northumbrians*, and the fourteenth of *Æthelred* (or *Ædilred*) King of the *Mercians*. A. D. DCLXXXVIII. The Monk of *Malmesbury* is very ſmart and pithy in his Deſcription of him. He writes, that more in reſpect of the induſtry of his inſitive Vertue than any Pedigree of a ſucceſſive Off-ſpring, he was taken to be Prince, the onely ſpecimen of Fortitude, Image of Prudence, his equal for Religion you cannot find. By ſuch like Acts, framing the courſe of his Life at home,

Beda Hiſt. lib. 4. *c.* 16.

Ina King of the Weſt *Saxons*.

Annal. ad An. 689.

he purchaſed favour and reverence abroad. And for eight and thirty years exerciſing his Function, he waxed old, all along void of the fear of Treachery, a moſt holy Pander as it were of publick Love. His firſt expedition was againſt the *Kentiſh* men, bearing ſtill in his mind the burning of *Mollo* alive. For a little while they made reſiſtence, but after their utmoſt effort, having left nothing unattempted, and finding every thing unſucceſfull, when they could find nothing in the breaſt of *Ina*, which might incourage ſlothfulneſs, they began to conſider of their Eſtate, and fairly yielded. With Gifts they make tryal of his Royal mind, they ſolicite him by Promiſes, and for thirty thouſand Marks of Gold, they purchaſe their own quiet by his retreat. He having received the money pardoned what was paſt, and returned home. But not onely they of *Kent*, but the Inhabitants of Eaſt *England*, were made objects of his hereditary hatred, all their Nobility being firſt driven away, and afterwards defeated in Battel. Let this ſuffice to have been ſaid of the ſucceſs of his Wars. How great a man he was in the things of God, the Laws which he made to correct the Vices of his People ſufficiently ſhew, which ſtill remain as a living Mirrour of his purity. The Monaſteries he built are evident Witneſſes, ſtructures of Royal Magnificence, eſpecically that of *Glaſtenbury*. At length he declares how by the ſolicitations of *Ethelburga* his Wife, after all his Earthly Triumphs he arrived at the height of Glory and Perfection as he eſteems it, and went to *Rome*, where he lived and died as obſcurely as he had deſired.

Forces the *Kentiſh* men to buy peace.

Invades Eaſt *England*.

22. As for his firſt Expedition into *Kent*, others write that *Victred* unwilling to hazard all for the raſh Act of a few, delivered up thirty of thoſe that had been acceſſory to the burning of *Mollo*. This expedition the Annals place at the ſixth year of his Reign, and are ſilent as to any other Act of his, till fifteen years after. Then they tell us that *Ina* and *Nun* his Kinſman fought with *Gerend* King of *Wales*, but where or how they leave us in Ignorance. With as much ſhortneſs and obſcurity, fourteen years after this they inform us, that *Ina* and *Ceolred* King of the *Merciaus*, fought Battel at a place called *Wodensboorke* or *Wodensburge*, the ſame we have formerly mentioned to ſtand near to *Wansdike* in *Wiltſhire*, or the Dike of *Woden*. *Huntingdon* from what Authority we have not, affirms that they fought horribly on both ſides, ſo that it could not be known, on which the greater Number of Men was loſt. But *Ina*, if not Victour, remained the Survivour, *Ceolred* dying the following year, who that year that next ſucceeded, was followed into another World by *Ingild* the Brother of *Ina*, whoſe Siſters the Annals take here occaſion to mention. They were two, *Cwenburk* and *Cuthburk*; whereof the later built a Monaſtery in a place called *Winburnan*; the other was married to *Alfrid* King of the *Northumbrians*, but out of deſire to be wedded alſo to a monaſtical life, was ſeparated from him while he yet lived. After this time it ſeems that *Ina* was vexed at home by Civil Diſcords, his Title having not been ſuch to the Government, but that others thought their right as good as his. For the Annals at the year which follows, tell us he ſlew *Cynewulfe*, and *Florent* of *Worceſter* gives him the Title of *Clyto*, the ſame with *Ætheling*, and given to none but thoſe of the Bloud Royal. But no ſooner was one cut off, but aſſoon if not ſooner, another appeared, one *Ealdbright* who ſeized on a Caſtle which *Ina* had built at *Tantune*. Whom the Archdeacon tells us Queen *Edelburk* beſieged, took the Caſtle and razed it, *Ealdbright* being fled into *Surrey*. He was purſued by *Ina* from *Surrey* into *Suſſex*, where the Inhabitants undertaking his protection were overthrown in Battel, and *Ealdbright* himſelf was ſlain, all which the Annals allow. Three years after they tell us that *Ina* went to *Rome*, leaving his Kingdom after he had held it ſeven and thirty years.

Ingages with *Welred* King of the *Mercians*.

Civil Wars at home.

An. DCCXXI.

23. That *Ina* went to *Rome* at the ſolicitation of *Edelburk* his Wife, who alſo accompanied him, we have already related from the Monk of *Malmesbury*, and that ſix years before his departure ſhe was his Wife, the Annals do plainly ſignifie. But elſewhere we hear another ſtory of his marrying *Guala*, the Daughter of *Cadwalader* King of the *Britains*, from which Daughter we are told, that Countrey was called *Wallia*, which in ancienter times had the Name of *Cambria*. Moreover with this laſt Wife he received *Cambria*, *Cornubia*, and (with her they muſt all begin) the bleſſed Crown of *Britain*, which belonged to *Cadwalader* the laſt King of the *Britains*. All the *Engliſh* which lived at that time, took their Wives from the *Britiſh* ſtock, and the *Britains* from the illuſtrious bloud and ſtock of the *Engliſh*, that is the race of the *Saxons*. For this was done by the Common Council and aſſent of all the Biſhops, Princes, Nobles and Counts with all the wiſe men, the Elders and People of the whole Kingdom, and

Unites the *Britiſh* and *Engliſh* by Marriages.

that by Command of the aforeſaid King *Ina*. Yet ſome *Engliſh* fetcht their Wives from the Bloud and Kind of the *Angles* of *Germany*, ſome *Engliſh* from the bloud and kind of the *Scots*, and almoſt all the *Scots* from the beſt bloud and ſtock of the *Angles* of *Germany*. So at that time throughout the whole Kingdom of *Britain*, they were two in one fleſh, and ſo did he conſtitute right Wedlock, deſtroyed Fornication and Uncleanneſs out of his Kingdom, ordaining right Judgment for the ſtability of his Kingdom, the ſtrengthening of his People, with a benign Induſtry. And in this manner were they made one Nation and one People, by God's mercy throughout the whole Kingdom of *Britain*. Then did all call that the Kingdom of the *Engliſh*, which formerly had been called the Kingdom of *Britain*.

24. All theſe People ever afterward for the Common Utility of the Crown of the Kingdom, ſtood unanimouſly together againſt the *Danes* and *Norwagians*, fought moſt fiercely againſt them, and waged together moſt cruel Wars. For, the aforeſaid King *Ina* was an excellent Prince, bountifull, wiſe, prudent, moderate, ſtout, juſt, courageous and a perfect Souldier, both as to time and place, in the Divine Laws, in ſecular Affairs, in writings and performing of all good works very glorious. His Kingdom he governed, conſolidated and held in peace by his great wiſedom and prudence, and where the Caſe required by force and ſtrength of hand. This is the ſubſtance of a great Council, conſiſting of ſuch great Men as lately were mentioned, ſaid to be held by King *Ina*, a little after he had married *Guala* the Daughter of *Cadwalader* King of the *Britains*, with which Wiſe he obtained all *Cambria*, and the Crown of *Cadwalader*, found amongſt the Laws of *Edward* the Confeſſour. But notwithſtanding the Authenticneſs of the Laws among which it is found, there is no good Hiſtorian that makes mention of any ſuch Marriage of his with *Guala*, or any ſuch occaſion of the Origination of the Name of *Wallia*. Who the *Engliſh Saxons* and *Germans* were wont to call *Walls* or *Gualls*, we have already ſhewn. Neither had he any other Wife than *Ethelburk*, a *Saxon* not *Britain*, as her Name demonſtrates, who at ſuch time as he went to *Rome* turned Nun, and became afterwards Abbeſs of *Barking*. After this he never married, for they both continued in the monaſtical kind of life till death concluded it. As for the time of this pretended Council and its Authority, we are full as much in the dark. Some report *Cadwalader* to have reigned onely three years, others five, and *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* twelve, ſo that when *Ina* ſhould have entred upon his Kingdom of *Cambria* is uncertain. Moreover he makes *Ina* the Nephew, *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter*, and *H. Lhuyd* the Son, and this Council the Son-in-Law of *Cadwalader*. But the *Britains* having feigned *Ceadwalla* to be their King, could not make up the Romance without this ſtory adjoined of his Succeſſour.

Goes to *Rome*.

25. The moſt noble part of *Ina* his Acts is yet behind, his Body of Laws which we muſt refer till we come to ſpeak of the *Saxon* Laws in general. He went not to *Rome* till he had provided himſelf and People of a Succeſſour. This was one *Æthelheard* his Kinſman, who though by the means of *Ina*, he firſt obtained the Royalty, yet to confirm it was put to no little trouble. The firſt that created him, this troubles was *Oſwald* the Son of *Æthelbald* King of the *Mercians*, to whom the Annals give the Title of *Ætheling*, and ſay that in the very year of *Æthelheard*'s promotion they fought, but as to the ſucceſs they are ſilent, onely the year following they tell us of a Comet, which uſhered in the death of *Oſwald* in the ſucceeding year, a natural death for any thing that appears either from them or others. *Malmesbury* obſerves that a check by him was often given to the beginnings of *Æthelheard*, againſt whom he ſtirred up the People unto Rebellion. But not long after he being taken away by death, he writes that *Æthelheard* held the Kingdom quietly for fourteen years, and ſo left it to *Cuthrede* his Kinſman. *Cuthrede* had grievous conteſts with *Æthelbald* King of the *Mercians*. It ſeems this Enmity was too ſevere long to continue; for, two years after, the ſame Annals relate that *Æthelbald* and *Cuthrede* fought jointly againſt the Welſhmen, ſo that their private Intereſts and Grudges, at laſt they ſubmitted to publick Concernments. Here again the Annals are ſilent as to the Succeſs, but *Huntingdon* doubts not to aſſign them a great Victory over an innumerable multitude of *Britains*, uſing his ordinary way of expreſſing the greatneſs of a Fight. The courageous Kings and their moſt famous Souldiers laid ſo about them in their ſeveral Quarters, that the *Britains* not able to ſuſtain any more their violence, gave their Backs to the Smiters, and their Baggage to the Purſuers. Which Victory obtained theſe Princes returned home, where (no doubt) they were very joyfully received.

Makes *Æthelheard* his Succeſſour.

Who is diſturbed in his Government by *Oſwald* a Mercian.

The next King was *Cuthrede*.

Sect. 9.

Whoſe Son *Cynric* was ſlain in a mutiny of his Souldiers. Then a Civil War aroſe.

Heꞃ ƿæꞅ ofꞅleᵹen Cẏnꞃic ƿeꞅꞇſeaxna Æþelinᵹ. *An.* 748.

Heꞃ Cuþꞃeð cẏninᵹ ᵹefeahꞇ ƿið Æðelhunꞅon. ofeꞃmedan ealꝺoꞃmon. *An.* DCCL.

After which he conquers *Ethelbald* King of the *Mercians*.

Huntingdonenſem Johannes Brompton pænè ad verbum tranſcripſit in Chron.

26. The Succeſs and Proſperity of *Cuthred*, was three years after interrupted by a ſad Accident in his own Family. The Annals note onely, that *Cynric* the *Etheling* of the Weſt *Saxons*, was ſlain. *Huntingdon* ſays he was his Son, terms him the Glory of Arms, the deſtroyer of wild Beaſts; tender in Age, but ſmart in martial matters, little in years, but great in vigour, who ſtill preſſing upon his own Succeſſes, and ſoliciting the fortune of War too much, his extravagance of mind, was puniſhed by a death procured, by the mutiny of his Souldiers. That he was his Son we may eaſily believe, from what the word *Etheling* doth import, and that it proceeded from a Sedition of the Souldiers, that may as eaſily perſwade us, which is mentioned in the Annals at the ſecond year after, that King *Cuthred* fought with that furious Captain *Æthelhun*. *Huntingdon* in his comment upon this text, hath this inlargement upon it, that having raiſed ſedition againſt his Lord, though as to the number of his Forces he was far inferiour to him, yet long and reſolutely did he maintain his rebellion: And when now Victory ſeemed to incline to his ſide, at length a wound inflicted on his Body, and perjury in his mind procured the cauſe of the King to triumph. But this Rebellion ſeems of no larger extent than to be contained within the bounds of a Civil War. It raiſed no new one from without, this *Æthelhun* having no correſpondence with *Æthelbald*, that by virtue of that Peace and Alliance formerly made betwixt the two Kings, now again vaniſhed into nothing. But in the ſecond year after the Fight with *Æthelhun*, we are told that *Cuthred* in the twelfth of his Reign, fought again with *Æthelbald*, at a place called *Beorgforda*. *Huntingdon*'s Copy hath it *Hereford*, though Authours generally agree, it was *Bedford* where the Battel was fought. *Æthelhun* he tells us being now reconciled to the King, was his Captain and Councellour in this expedition. He then tells a long tale in affected words concerning the Fight, and how the King and Conſul (as he terms *Æthelhun*) meeting came to a ſingle Combat, which ended in the Cowardiſe and Flight of *Æthelbald*, who outlived not this defeat two years, being ſlain in another Battel fought againſt the Weſt *Saxons* at *Secandune*, and buried at *Repandune*, as we have already in the Hiſtory of his Kingdom related.

Overthrows the *Britains*.

Dies.

Sigebert ſucceeds.

Heꞃ Cuþꞃeð feahꞇ ƿið ƿealaꞅ. *An.* DCCLIII.

Is very cruel and tyrannical.

Puts to death his beſt friend and ſubject.

Is driven from the Kingdom.

27. *Cuthred* being diſintangled from the attempts of *Ethelbald*, found himſelf concerned to give a check to the *Britains*, who in vain reſiſting, the Conquerour of *Ethelbald* ſoon ran away, and deſervedly received a great Defeat, and *Huntingdon* tells us that without the leaſt ground from the Annals, which are altogether ſilent as to the ſucceſs. But two years after this they acquaint us with the News of the death of *Cuthred* after he had reigned ſeventeen years, together with the burning of the City of *Canterbury*, and the ſucceſſion of *Sigebert* into the Kingdom of the Weſt *Saxons*, which he held for the ſpace of one year and no longer. *Malmesbury* writes that he ſeized upon the Kingdom, a Man of brutiſh cruelty at home, yet abroad infamous for his Cowardiſe. Therefore incurring the hatred of all his Subjects they conſpired againſt him, and after a year depoſed him, cauſing him to give place to a better Man. But as commonly it happeneth in ſuch caſes, the greatneſs of his calamity reclaimed ſome to pity towards him, by the valour of whom he preſerved in obedience that Province called *Hamptonſhire*. But his Inclination ſtill prevailing againſt his Succeſs, as well as all Goodneſs and Juſtice, having by putting to death one *Cumbran*, a Man that of all others had been moſt faithfull to him, armed the reſt of his Followers againſt him, he was conſtrained to betake himſelf to the Dens and lurking places of wild Beaſts, whither misfortune dogging him at the Heels, he was killed by an Herdſman. And ſo the cruelty of the King, having almoſt raged againſt all the Nobility, was brought to an end by a Man of the meaneſt condition. *Huntingdon* calls him the kinſman of *Cuthred*, by whoſe ſucceſs he became ſo proud and inſolent, that he became intolerable to his Subjects. He adds, agreeable to the Annals, that abuſing them all manner of ways, forcing the Laws to countenance his unjuſt proceedings, or utterly avoiding them, one *Cumbra* his moſt noble Conſul, at the deſire of all the People made known the Complaints of the Subjects to their cruel King. But ſeriouſly adviſing him to govern more mildly, and laying aſide his inhumanity, to render himſelf acceptable to God and Man, he wickedly commanded him to be put to death, and, in a manner more cruel and intolerable than ever, encreaſed his Tyranny. Remaining incorrigible in theſe his outrageous proceedings, the Nobility and People aſſembled together, and by a provident deliberation and unanimous conſent of them all he was depoſed, and *Cynwulf* a choice young Man of the Royal Stock was elected King in his ſtead. *Sigebert* thus driven away, fled for fear of that he was conſcious to himſelf he had deſerved, into the great Wood of *Andred*, where

(at a place called by the Annals *Pruntesflodan*) he was killed by an Hogherd belonging to *Cumbra*, who thus revenged upon him his Maſter's death.

And ſlain by a Hogherd.

Cynwulf reigns.

Subdues the *Britains.*

Is ſlain by *Cynheard* Brother to *Sigebert.*

And buried at *Wincheſter.*

28. *Cynwulf* began his Reign over all the Kingdom of the Weſt *Saxons* except *Hampſhire*, which *Sigebert* poſſeſſed for a little time till the death of *Cumbra* in the fifteenth year of *Conſtantinus Copronymus*, Emperour, in the Reign of *Pipin* King of the *Franks*, the ſeventh of *Edelbert* or *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, the eighteenth of *Egbert* or *Eadbert* King of the *Northumbrians*, toward the beginning of the Reign of *Offa* King of the *Mercians*, *A. D.* DCCLV. *Malmesbury*, in ſhort, ſays he was a Man famous both for the compoſition of his Morals, and his Martial Acts, being in one onely Battel overthrown at *Benſingtune*, by *Offa* King of the *Mercians*, in the four and twentieth year of his Reign, after which he was afflicted with many loſſes, and went out of the World in a vile manner. *Huntingdon* from the Annals writes of his being victorious over the *Britains* in many Battels, whom having ſubdued on all ſides, he reſolved to baniſh *Kineard* the Brother of *Sigebert*, the Story whereof we have at large out of the Annals themſelves after this manner. About the one and thirtieth year from the firſt beginning of his Reign he had a deſire to expell out of the Kingdom a certain *Etheling* called *Cyneheard*, who was Brother to *Sigebryht*. The King having intelligence, that attended with a ſmall company of Men, he frequented the company of a certain Woman, at a place called *Merantune*, rode thither himſelf, and ſearching about the Town, ſome of his Souldiers found out where the *Etheling* lay. The King perceiving it, behaved himſelf in a manner unbecoming his Perſon, till he got ſight of him, which done he ruſhed in upon him and wounded him ſore. But all his Followers, together with him, fell upon the King, and fought with him till they had beaten him down and killed him; which was done before the Souldiers that followed him underſtood perfectly where he was. His Guard at length perceiving a tumult in this Womans Houſe haſted thither, every one as he was moſt ready and could run faſteſt, to whom the *Etheling* promiſed Money and Pardon if they would ſubmit unto him. But they utterly rejected his Offers, and ſo long fought with the Followers of *Cyneheard* till they were all killed, one certain *Britain* an Hoſtage excepted, who was moſt grievouſly cut and hacked. By the Morning the news of the King's death was fled to a place not far off, where many more Attendants had awaited his return, and with others *Oſric* and *Wiverth*, two Counts, haſted to the Houſe whence the *Etheling* was not yet departed. The Doors were made faſt but they eaſily got in, which he perceiving began to parly with them, labouring with great promiſes to draw them off from revenging their King's death and to accept of himſelf under that Title and Capacity. But they flatly refuſed to ſell their Maſter's Bloud, and reſolving neither to ſpare him nor his Relations, for whom he interceded, put them all to the Sword, except one Youth, to whom *Ine* their Leader was Godfather, and ſaved him upon that account, though grievouſly wounded. But ſuch was the end of *Cynwulf* after he had reigned one and thirty years: And his Body was buried at *Wincheſter*. That of the *Etheling*, who in a Male line was deſcended from *Cerdic*, was interred at *Acream Minſter*, not at *Repandune*, as the Monk of *Malmesbury* hath it out of a miſtake of the Annals, which affirm not *Cyneheard* but *Ethelbald* King of the *Mercians* at this *Repandune* to have been buried.

Hic fœdè lapſus eſt Mathæus Florilegus dum ait Regem alienis amoribus ſervientem à Kinehardo obſeſſum & oppreſſum fuiſſe. Ad Ann. 786.

Hic interpres malè textum latinè vertit dum hæc verba ac hi ealle læȝonbuꞇananum Bꞃẏꞇꞇiꞅcum ȝiꞅle, *de ſociis Clytonis interpretatur. Quomodo enim Clyto ipſe non occideretur omnibus ſuis occiſis? & apud quem manet obſes niſi apud Regem? Regis erant qui interibant.*

After him *Byrhtric.*

29. After *Cynwulf*'s Death, *Byrhtric* was made King of the Weſt *Saxons*, according to the *Faſti* of Sr. *Henry Savil*, (which yet allot but twenty nine years to the Reign of *Cynwulf*) in the fourth year of the Emperour *Conſtantinus Porphyrogenitus*, the twenty fifth of *Alrick* King of *Kent*, and the ſeventh of *Alfwold* King of the *Northumbrians*, *A. D.* DCCLXXXIV. He was, as *Malmesbury* deſcribes him, a man more ſtudious of Peace than War, being a very Artiſt in procuring Friendſhip, pleaſing Foreigners with Courtſhip, and Conniving at the faults of his People in ſuch things as did not hurt the Government. To obtain greater Reputation amongſt his Neighbours, he Married the Daughter of *Offa* King of the *Mercians*, at that time the moſt potent Prince, by which he had no Iſſue that can be known. Incouraged by this Alliance he drove *Egbert* into *France*, a young man, who alone ſurvived of all thoſe that were of the Royal Stock, and therefore was a Perſon dangerous to his Intereſt. For both this *Byrhtric* and the other Kings which Reigned after *Offa*, though they bragged of their Pedigrees, being ſuch as indeed did deſcend from *Cerdic*, yet were they deſcended in a good diſtance from the Royal Line. *Egbert* then being gone, he thought himſelf ſecure, and that he might now take his eaſe, when a Company of *Danes* accuſtomed to live by Piratical Depredations, ſecretly landing from three Ships, diſturbed the Peace of his Province.

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vince, This Company of men at this time came as Spies to diſcover the fertility of the Soil and the valour of the Inhabitants, as afterwards was evident from the coming of that Multitude which overwhelmed in a manner all *Britain*. At this time ſtealing upon the Iſland, this Kingdom being in profound peace and ſilence, they ſuddenly fell upon a Royal Village adjoyning, and killed the Overſeer or Keeper, who came in to its relief; but the People gathering together they left their Booty, ran to their Ships and went their ways.

Marries *Eadburgh* Daughter of *Offa* King of the *Mercians*.

Forces *Egbert* to fly the Kingdom.

An. 787.

Malmesb. de geſtis Regum Anglorum, l. 2. *c.* 1.

30. To this general account of the Monk, we may add from the Annals, that this Daughter of *Offa* he married, was by Name *Eadburgh*, a Woman too well known, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. *Egbert* being deſcended from *Inegild*, the Brother of *Ina*, gave in his Childhood pregnant proofs of much Wit and Courage, which together with his deſcent could not but excite great fear and jealouſie in *Berhtric* who reſolved his death, and ſtudied the beſt manner to make him away. *Egbert* having notice of and having good grounds to apprehend his purpoſe, betook himſelf to *Offa's* Court, where he was no ſooner come, *Byrhtric's* Ambaſſadours were at the door, both requiring the Fugitive to be given up, for whom they offered a round ſum of Money, and farther for a Confirmation of Friendſhip betwixt the two Kings, deſired *Offa's* Daughter for a Wife for their Maſter. Courtſhip effecting more with *Offa* than Threats and violence could procure, *Egbert* was forced once more to ſhift for himſelf, and over he went into *France*, which thing in the opinion of our Authour, came to paſs by the Council of God, that being ordained for that Kingdom, he ſhould receive his Inſtitution from the *Franks*; a Nation which far exceeds (ſaith he) all thoſe of the Weſt, both in Action and the pleaſantneſs of their Converſation. This affront he made uſe of as a wheſtone to rub off the ruſt of idleneſs; to ſharpen his wit, and to obtain ſuch endowments as are quite contrary to Pagan Barbariſm. *Byrhtric* however rejoyced in his abſence, not caring what advantages of education he might have, ſo their Influence reached not him, nor his poſſeſſion of what at preſent he held, he was not far from envying his happineſs any where out of *England*, that he could have heartily wiſhed him in Heaven it ſelf. The pleaſing repoſe he enjoyed was interrupted by the landing of *Danes*; the firſt *Danes* that landed in an hoſtile manner in *Britain*, who ſlew the Governour of theſe Quarters, the firſt man of thoſe many thouſands which afterward were butchered by that Savage People. Yet though we hear nothing before of their landing, they from the time of *Juſtinian*, and about the year of our Lord DLXX begun to rove upon the Coaſts of *Britain* and *Gall*, and were by the Writers which penned in Latin the Hiſtories of the *Engliſh* named *Wiccingi*, for that they practized Piracy: For *Wiccinga* in the *Saxon* Tongue (as *Alfria* witneſſeth) ſignifieth *a Pyrat* that runneth from Creek to Creek: Alſo *Pagani* or *Painims*, becauſe as yet they were not Chriſtians: But the *Angles* themſelves in their Language termed them *Deruſcan*, and oftentimes *Heathonmon* or *Ethnicks*.

Eſt enim gens illa & exercitatione virium & Comitate morum cunctarum Occidentalium facile princeps.

A Company of Pyrates infeſt the Land.

31. The Officer that went to oppoſe them, and in his attempt periſhed, by (*a*) ſome of our Authours is called *Villicus* from that *Villa* or Town which they write that theſe *Danes* attacked. By (*b*) others *Præpoſitus Regis*, which ſuits better with the word ᵹeꞃeꝼa, by which the (*c*) Annals do Name him. They affirm, that not knowing what they were he would have brought them to the Town of the King, which ſome interpret *Dorcheſter*, and farther ſay, that he being the King's Cuſtomer there, ſuppoſed them Foreign Merchants, and riding to them commanded them to come and give account of their Lading at the Cuſtome-houſe; but they ſhewed him no other Merchandize than the Steel of their Sword, wherewith they ſlew him and all that came with him, as an Earneſt of the many Murthers, Rapines and Hoſtilities, which afterward they committed throughout the whole Iſland. But of this firſt *Daniſh* Invaſion the *Daniſh* Hiſtory of *Pontanus* far otherwiſe relates, as if their Landing had been at the mouth of *Humber*, and their Depredations far into the Countrey adjoyning, whence they were repulſed by the ſurprized Inhabitants back to their Ships: What was the reaſon, by what authority they came there is no mention made, and the thing is the more ſtrange becauſe *Sigebert* it makes then to have been King, a man who more ſtudied his own peace and quiet than the moleſtation of his Neighbours. And indeed not onely from the

And kill the King's Officer.

The firſt *Daniſh* Invaſion.

(*a*) *Malmesb. de geſt. Reg. Angl. l.* 1. *Math. Florileg. ad An.* 791.

(*b*) *Huntingdon. Hiſt. l.* 4. *Hoveden Annal. Par. prior. Florentius Wigorn. ad An.* 787.

(*c*) ⁊ on hiꞅ ꝺaᵹum Cꞃomon æꞃeꞅe III ꞅcipu. ⁊ ðaꞅe ᵹeꝼeꞃa ðaꞃtoꞃaꝺ. ⁊ hi ƿolꝺe ða æꞃeꞅtan ꝺꞃẏꞅan toðæꞅ Cẏninᵹeꞅ tune ðẏhe niꞅte hƿæthy ƿæꞃon. ⁊ hinemon Oꝼꞅloh. ꝥ ƿæꞃon ða æꞃeꞅtan ꞅcipu Deniꞅcꞃa monna ðe Anᵹel Cẏnneꞅ lonꝺ ᵹeꞅohtoni. An. DCCLXXXVII.

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Daniſh Hiſtory, but ſome Writers of our own, we are apt to believe that the firſt intended Invaſion of that People with intention to rifle and pillage the Countrey, was in the Northern parts about *Humber*; and thoſe that landed here in the third year of *Byrhtric*, were but ſome Rovers or Pirates at Sea, who, as we now ſaid, were wont to inſeſt the Seas of *Britain* and *Gall*, and by chance, or diſtreſſed by Weather, came on the Weſtern ſhoar; poſſibly alſo with a deſire of ſpying the Countrey. This we are induced to think from a Story or two we find in the Chronicle of *John Brompton*, which ſetting forth the Cauſes of their firſt Hoſtile Invaſion here we think fit to recite in this place, though the thing happened a good while after.

An Account of the *Danes* firſt invading *Britain.*

Chronic. Joh. Brompton Abb. Jornalenſis.

32. At that time (*viz.* in the days of *Ethelwolfe* King of *England*, the Son of *Egbert* and of *Charles the Bald*) one *Oſbrith* was King of *Northumberland*, who on a day going to take his pleaſure in a Wood, as he returned went privately to the Houſe of one of his Noblemen *Bruern Bocard* by Name to refreſh himſelf; *Bruern* knowing nothing of the King's coming, was gone to the Sea ſide to make ſure the Shoar and Havens, according to his Cuſtome, againſt Thieves and Pirates. But his Wife a Woman of great Beauty entertained the King at Dinner very ſplendidly. The King having Dined took her by the hand and led her to his Chamber, telling her he muſt ſpeak with her in private, and there removing all out of the way but ſuch as were privy to his ſecret Courſes, by force and violence he lay with her. Having had his will he ſpeedily got him back to *York*. She lamented and mourned, ſo that her Viſage was much altered, which cauſed her Husband at his return to ask the cauſe of ſo ſudden a Change and of her unaccuſtomed ſadneſs. She told him the whole matter in order how the King had forced her, which having heard he comforted her, bidding her not afflict her ſelf, foraſmuch as ſhe was not able to reſiſt a man ſo ſtrong, aſſuring her that becauſe ſhe had told him the truth he would love her no leſs than he had done, and if God gave him leave he would avenge both himſelf and her upon him that had committed the Crime. Then did this *Bruern* being a Man both Noble and Powerfull, deſcended of great Parentage, call his Kindred together, to whom he revealed the Affront put upon him, and his Intention of a ſpeedy Revenge, to which they conſenting and approving his purpoſe, with them he took Horſe and rode to *York*. The King upon ſight of him called him to him very civilly, but he with his Relations at his back defied him, renouncing his Homage and Fidelity, giving up his Land and whatſoever he held of him. This ſaid, without any more words he withdrew, making no ſtay at all at Court.

33. His Friends conſenting ſpeedily he went over into *Danemark*, where to the King of the *Danes* he made a great complaint of the Affront offered to him and his Wife by *Oſbrith*, deſiring his ſpeedy relief and ſupply to put him into a Capacity to revenge himſelf. Hereat *Codrinus* the King and his *Danes* conceived very great joy, having now ſome reaſon to induce them to ſubdue the *Engliſh*. To revenge the injury offered to *Bruern*, who was deſcended of his bloud, he ſpeedily prepared a great Army over which he made Captains two Brothers called *Inguar* and *Hubbe* moſt valiant Souldiers, and to them he gave a Navy furniſhed with all neceſſaries to tranſport an innumerable Company of men. Theſe Adventurers landing in the Northern Parts, and taking their way through *Holderneſs*, deſtroyed all the Towns with their Inhabitants; and coming to *York* provoked *Oſbrith* to come out and fight. He accordingly iſſued forth with an Army ſuch as it was, and fighting was ſlain with his Followers; after which they took the City and therein remained. And ſo (ſaith our Authour) the *Danes* for the cauſe aforeſaid firſt in an Hoſtile manner invaded *England*. But at this time there was another King in *Northumberland* called *Ella*, who was promoted to that Dignity by the Friends and Relations of *Bruern*, becauſe for the affront offered to him by *Oſbrith*, they would have no more to doe with that laſcivious Prince. This *Ella* going out on a time to Hunt, when his ſport was over ſate down to Dinner, and as he was eating applauded himſelf for the good luck they had had that day, reckoning up what Deer they had killed. One came juſt in at theſe words and told him, though he had got ſo much that way, yet he had loſt an hundred times as much another; for the *Danes* (ſaith he) have taken *York*, ſlain *Oſbrith*, and now are invading your Countrey to deprive you of it. *Ella* hearing this got his men together, and haſted to *York* there to deſtroy the *Danes*, but they having notice came out, and not far from the City gave him Battel, wherein they killed him and a very great multitude of his Souldiers, in a place ſtill called *Elleſcroft* from this occaſion. Farther, it is reported that the late mentioned Brothers *Inguar* and *Hubbe* invaded *England* in an Hoſtile

manner, not onely for the reaſon now alledged, but eſpecially to deſtroy St. *Edmund* who then Reigned in Eaſt *England*, and was falſly accuſed of having killed their Father. For of the cauſe of their coming we reade in the Book called *Flores Hiſtoriarum* after this manner.

The Reaſon of *Inguar* and *Hubbe* the *Danes* arriving in *Britain.*

34. In the Kingdom of the *Danes* there was one *Lothebroc*, who being deſcended of the Royal Family, by his Wife had two Sons *Inguar* and *Hubbe*. This man going alone into a Boat with an Hawk on his fiſt in the Iſlands adjoyning to ſeek for Game, was ſeized by a ſudden and violent Tempeſt, toſſed hither and thither for ſeveral days together in the depth of the Sea, which having croſſed amid ten thouſand dangers, at length he was caſt upon the Province of the Eaſtern *Engliſh* called *Northfolk*, and landed at a Village which had the Name of *Rodham*. Being found alone with his Hawk, he is preſented to *Edmund* the King, and being kindly received for the comlineſs of his Perſon continued in his Court, told the King the tale of his ſtrange fortune, and often went out into the Field for his Recreation with *Bern* the King's Huntſman, being extraordinarily dextrous both in Hunting and Fowling as opportunity ſerved. For this reaſon the King's Huntſman greatly envied him, and as they two Hunted together ſecretly murthered him and hid his Body in a thick Wood. Now *Lothebroc* kept a certain Greyhound, which was exceedingly fond of him, and the Huntſman being gone with the reſt of the Dogs ſtaid there alone by his Lord's Body. On the Morrow when the King asked for *Lothebroc*, *Bern* anſwered, that the day before he ſtaid in the Wood, and ſince that he had not ſeen him. But ſee, the Greyhound comes to the Court, and fawning upon the King as well as others, as ſoon as he had filled his Belly again departed. Doing this often he was dogged to the place by thoſe who found out the Body and brought the Relation to the King. The matter being examined and found out, the Huntſman is ſentenced to be put into the Boat of *Lothebroc* without any Oars or Tackling, in which after a few days (ſurely the Boat knew the way) he was caſt upon *Denmark*, where brought to *Lothebroc* his Sons and examined by torture what was become of their Father, whoſe Boat they ſufficiently knew, he affirmed that by *Edmund* King of the Eaſt *Angles* he was diſcovered and killed by his Command.

35. They prepare then a Navy and under Conduct of *Bern* paſs into *England*, where landing in the Northern parts as was ſaid before, they haraſs grievouſly the whole Province of the *Northumbrians*, and having brought it to their beck, *Inguar* quits his Company, and with a great Fleet ſails to a City of Eaſt *England* where St. *Edmund* Reigned, which having entred he burnt and killed both Old and Young as he met them in the Streets. When he was wearied with killing, certain poor People whom he thought below his Anger, he called to him, and very diligently inquired where *Edmund* their King at that time reſided. He had heard he was in the flower of his Age, very ſtrong and Martial every way, and therefore he haſted to kill all he could find in any place, leſt their King ſhould make too ſtrenuous an oppoſition, who at that time lived far off from the City in a Village, in their Language called *Egleſdon* or *Haleſdon*, but now *Horne* (he writes) by which Name the neighbouring Wood was alſo called. For that Nation of *Danes* and *Alamans* was wont never in open Field to ingage with an Enemy, except he was before that intrapped with Snares: Therefore ſent he a truſty Meſſenger before to eſpy out where the King was, ſignifying that he himſelf would as convenience offered it ſelf follow after. The Meſſenger coming to the King delivered his Meſſage after this manner. Inguar *the moſt Invincible King both by Land and Sea, my redoubted Lord having conquered ſeveral Countries, and Landed in this with many Ships is reſolved here to Winter; and commands thee to give him the half of thy Treaſure and Riches, by which means under him thou maiſt poſſibly Reign; but in caſe thou deſpiſeſt his Power ſupported by ſo many Legions, thou ſhalt be judged both unworthy thy Life and a Kingdom.* The King ſighed having heard the Meſſage, and calling to him one of his Biſhops, who was Secretary, asked his Advice what to anſwer. He being concerned for the King's Life, by many Examples exhorted him to comply with the Pagan. The King for a while was ſilent, then anſwered the Meſſenger after this manner: Return thy Maſter ſpeedily this Anſwer: *Know that for the love of a Temporal life,* Edmund *a Chriſtian King will not ſubject himſelf to a Pagan Captain, except he firſt become a Chriſtian.* The King had ſcarcely ſaid ſo much and the Souldier gone out of the Houſe when *Inguar* met him and commanded him to give him in ſhort an account of what he ſaid. He declaring what his anſwer was, The Tyrant commanded all the King's Houſhold to be diſperſed, and he himſelf alone to be laid hold on and ſecured.

36. But ſome Hiſtoriographers relate, that the *Danes* paſſing through *Norfolk* as far as *Thetford*, there firſt found St. *Edmund* King of Eaſt *England*, who as it's ſaid, got an Army together and fought with them. But the *Danes* prevailing he fled after the ſlaughter of almoſt all his men to the Caſtle of *Haleſdon*, whither they ſpeedily purſued him and the firſt man they met was he himſelf, not far from the Caſtle, where they asked him how they might find out King *Edmund*. He, as if he had not been the Perſon, told them, *When I was in the Caſtle he was there, and when I came out he departed, and whether he ſhall eſcape your hands God knoweth.* Then the *Danes* hearing him mention the Name of God knew him to be the King, and leading him back to the Caſtle in his own Palace he was bound and led before the Impious Judge, mocked and cruelly beaten. Then brought they him to a Tree near at hand, to which making him faſt they uſed him as a Mark to ſhoot againſt in ſport, and wounded him in that manner through the whole Body, with the thick ſhower of their Arrows making Wound upon Wound, while one Shaft drove out another. But *Inguar* perceiving that by no means could his Faith or Conſtancy be overcome, he commanded the Hangman to cut off his Head, which was done with one ſtroak as he prayed, on the nineteenth of *November* in the year of our Lord DCCCLXVI according to ſome, and according to others DCCCLXX. The *Danes* leaving his Body in the place, carried his Head into the Wood called *Egleſdon* or *Haleſdon*, and caſt it among the thick Brambles, on purpoſe that being found it might not be committed together with the Body to Chriſtian Burial. But how this Head crying out it ſelf *Here, here, here*, when they ſought for it was found, and how beſtowed, it's not proper for us here to relate. We onely give the Reader what Account we can of the firſt coming of the *Danes* into the Iſland, and that the firſt of theſe Stories concerning the Incontinency of *Oſbrith*, and what followed thereupon, may not ſeem altogether improbable let him remember what we have ſaid in our Hiſtory of *Spain* concerning the firſt Invaſion of the Moors in that Countrey. Nothing is more certain than this that Sin foreruns puniſhment, Vice and Debauchery enervate a People, and prepare a Nation for Ruine and Deſtruction. This farther obſerve, that our Writers call theſe *Danes* ſometimes *Dani*, otherwhiles *Daci*. Some of them write of them as ſeveral Nations, which from the beginning of *Ethelwulfe's* Reign till the coming of *William* the *Norman* afflicted the Land, though they commonly be known by that one of *Danes*. In the Chronicle of *John Brompton* they are thus marſhalled: The *Danes* with the *Goths*, the *Norwegians* with the *Swedes*, the *Wandals* with the *Friſians*. Neighbours to the *Saxons*, *Angles* and *Jutes*, if not of the ſame Original, as the Reader by conſidering the places whence they all came may eaſily find.

Cujus (ſcil. Ethelwolfi) temporibus omnipotens Deus crudeliſſimas gentes immiſit quæ nec ætati nec ſexui parcebant, ſcil. Dacos cum Gothis, Norwagenſes, cum Suathedis, Wandalos cum Freſis, qui ab exordio regni ſui uſq; ad Adventum Willielmi ducis Normannorum Angliam vaſtaverunt.

The time of the firſt Arrival of the *Danes*.

The cruelty and malice of *Eadburg* the King's Wife.

Who at laſt poyſons her Husband.

37. To return to *Byrhtric*, in whoſe third year, the firſt landing of the *Danes* happened, we have little elſe to obſerve during his Reign, than that fiery Dragons were ſeen flying in the Air, which afterwards were interpreted as forerunners of two grievous ſorts of miſcheifs, *viz.* a great Famine, and the Pagan Nation of the *Danes*, and *Norwegians*, which as *Huntingdon* writes in the tenth year of *Byrhtric*, firſt miſerably waſted the Parts lying North of *Humber*, and then cruelly deſtroyed the Churches of Chriſt in the Province of *Lindisfarne*, together with the Inhabitants, on the Ides of *January*. In the mean while, *Eadburg* the Daughter of *Offa*, and Wife to *Byrhtric*, behaved her ſelf in a moſt inſolent manner toward her Husband's Subjects, coveting to act like her Father, and incurring the indignation and hatred of all Souldiers, Magiſtrates, and the whole People. All Religious Perſons ſhe backbited to the King, and got ſuch an hand over him, that either bewitched by her flatteries, or wearied with her importunities, ſuch as ſhe accuſed were deprived either of Life, or baniſhed them his Dominions; but in caſe ſhe could not prevail ſo far, they would diſpatch them with Poyſon. At this time there was a certain young Man, Noble and Rich, and in great favour with *Byrhtric*, whom not able to undermine in that former way, ſhe reſolved to poyſon. Her deſign took effect upon him, and on him whom ſhe never intended, the King himſelf, who by accident taſted of the deadly Cup. The King being dead, out of fear of being called to account for her Villanies, ſhe fled with great Treaſures into *France*, and preſented her ſelf with great gifts to *Charles* the Great. He, whether taken with her Beauty, or with a deſign to try her, bid her chuſe either him " or his Son that ſtood by him, whether of them ſhe would for her Husband; ſhe " anſwered ſuddenly and plainly, that if ſhe might chuſe, ſhe had rather have " the Son than the Father, as being far the younger of the two. The King repli" ed, that had ſhe choſen himſelf, ſhe ſhould have had his Son, but becauſe his " Son ſhe had choſen, ſhe ſhould have neither the one nor the other. But he

“ thought a Monaſtery the place fitteſt for her, there to bewail her heinous ſins; in which having aſſumed the religious habit, ſhe hypocritically ſpent a few years; for as ſhe lived wickedly in her own Countrey, ſo rather more wretchedly did ſhe behave her ſelf there, under the cover of a Veil. Being on a time, as was expected, and thought buſie at her devotions, ſhe was buſie at another kind of work with a mean fellow of her own Nation, which coming to light, *Charles* cauſed her to be thruſt out of the Monaſtery, though extremely againſt her mind and liking. The remainder of her days ſhe ſpent in want, miſery and diſgrace, with one pitifull Servant, begging her bread from Houſe to Houſe, Town to Town, and City to City, till at laſt ſhe miſerably died at *Pavia.*

But comes to a miſerable end.

Egbert re-call'd, and made King.

Saxon Annal. Ecᵹbꞃẏhꞇ.

38. But *Byrhtric* being dead, after he had Reigned ſixteen years, all mens eyes were fixed upon *Egbert* the Exile, and by many Meſſengers, having recalled him, they admitted him unanimouſly for their King, in the third year of the Reign of the Empreſs *Irene*, much about the ſame time that *Charles* the Great received the Title of Emperour in the Weſt, in the fourth of *Cuthred* King of *Kent*, and the fourth of *Cenulf* King of the *Mercians*, *A. D.* DCCC. He ſo well at the firſt underſtood his Intereſt, as to ſettle and eſtabliſh his Kingdom at home in the love and affection of his Subjects. It then being time to look about him, the firſt tryal of his Martial Conduct was againſt the *Britains*, of whom, firſt he ſubdued them that inhabited *Cornwall*, and then made thoſe Tributaries, as *Malmesbury* expreſſeth it, who live North of them, being ſeparated from the other by an Arme of the Sea, meaning thoſe who live beyond the River *Severn*, and in thoſe Parts we now call *Wales.* His ſucceſs was ſuch, as thereby his Neighbours were very much ſtartled, as jealous whither his Power would grow. *Beornulf* King of the *Mercians*, was the firſt that really concerned himſelf, and thinking it a matter of glory by his courage and reſolution, to remove the fears of others, was reſolved to quarrel with him, and proceeding to a War, they met and fought at a place called *Ellandune*, of which we have already ſpoken. *Egbert* elevated by this Victory, and founding hopes upon the ſame grounds, his Neighbours had done their fears, while the fame of his late ſucceſs was yet freſh, ſent *Ethelwolf* his Son, *Ealhſtan* his Biſhop (of *Sherburn*) and *Wulfheard* his General with a great Army into *Kent*, to conquer that Province, which he thought was eaſie to be done at this time, when the Inhabitants thereof were by lazineſs rendred unfit for War, and his very Name would ſtrike a Terrour into them. They that were ſent, ſtrenuouſly executed his commands, and paſſing over all the Countrey, found their work more eaſie than they could imagine; for having driven out *Balred* the King beyond the *Thames*, they ſubdued *Kent*, *Surry*, the Southern and the Eaſtern *Saxons.* And the ſame year the King and People of Eaſt *England*, for fear of the *Mercians*, ſubmitted themſelves to his Vaſſallage and Protection. As for the times of theſe Victories, *Malmesbury* placeth that againſt *Bernulf* at the ſixth year of his Reign, though the Annals ſet it at a far greater diſtance, and place thoſe other Conqueſts with the ſubmiſſion of Eaſt *England*, in one and the ſame year, which his preſent Copy ſpeaks of, as having happened in the twenty fourth of his Reign. Neither were theſe all his exploits of this year, as ſome interpret the Annals. For he fought againſt the *Devonſhire Welſh*, they ſay, at a place called *Gaſulford*, now *Camelford*; there where *Leland* will have famous *Arthur* to have been ſlain, not far from *Tindagium* or *Tindagel*, his native place upon the Sea ſhore. Indeed *Marianus* writes, that in this place the *Britains* and *Saxons* fought a bloudy Battel, in the year of our Lord, DCCCXX. But the Annals ſpeak onely of a fight of *Welſh*, and thoſe whom they call *Dena* at *Gaſulford*, not ſpeaking of *Egbert* being concerned in the Battel.

Overthrows the *Britains* in *Cornwall* and *Wales.*

Subdues the *Mercians.*

Conquers the Eaſt *Angles.*

Ann. DCCCXXIII.

Heꞃ ƿæꞅꞅeala ᵹeꞅcoht ꝺe naæꞇ ⁊ Gaꝼul ꝼoꞃꝺa ⁊ ꝺẏ ẏlconᵹeaꞃe &c.

39. The Eaſt *Angles* having ſubmitted themſelves to *Egbert*, never left off till they had ſlain *Bernulf* and *Ludecan* the *Mercian* Kings, who never could reſt from troubling their Neighbours. Their Succeſſour *Withlaf* he firſt drove from his Kingdom, then afterwards was received and ſuffered to Reign as a tributary Vaſſal. The ſame year that *Egbert* ſubdued the Kingdom of the *Mercians*, the Moon was Eclipſed on *Chriſtmas* day, at night, and he led an Army into *Deira* againſt the *Northumbrians*; who ſubmitted themſelves with ſuch humility, that they parted lovingly without a ſtroke; for fearing his diſpleaſure of a long time conceived againſt them, they gave up hoſtages or ſome other ſecurity for their quiet and obedient deportment. Having now reduced all *Britain* to obedience, all the reſt of his Life, ſaith *Malmesbury*, for nine years together he lived in tranquillity, ſave onely that toward the latter end of his Reign, a Company of *Daniſh* Pirates landing in his Countrey, grievouſly diſturbed the Peace of his Dominions. Such is the

Heꞃ mona aꝥẏꞅꞇꞃoꝺe on miꝺꝺeꞅ ƿinꞇꞃeꞅ mæꞅꞅeniht

Ann. DCCCXXVII.

The *Northumbrians* ſubmit to him.

He reduces all *Britains* to obedience.

Sect. 9.

the incertainty incident to humane Affairs; that he who firſt ruled over all the *Engliſh* ſhould have little cauſe to rejoyce in the obedience of thoſe of his own bloud, being diſturbed by a Foreign Enemy, whoſe violence extended not onely to himſelf but his Succeſſours, without intermiſſion. When he led his *Engliſh* Forces againſt them, as if Fortune was tyed to certain Rules and Methods, ſhe did not court him in the uſual manner, but ſeemed to be taken with new Faces. For when he little doubted of the Victory which had inclined to him the greater part of the day, he loſt the Garland when the Sun went down, though by the darkneſs of the night, he covered the ſhame of being beaten. In the following Battel with an inconſiderable number he put to flight a great multitude. At laſt, having Reigned thirty ſeven years, and ſeven months, he died and was buried at *Wincheſter*, leaving to his Son great opportunities whence to raiſe him Glory, and predicting his happineſs, in caſe what he had obtained by induſtry, he loſt not by lazineſs, too familiar to that Nation.

The *Danes* invade, and worſt *Egbert*.

An. Dcccxxxii. Heꞃ hæþene men oꝼeꞃheꞃᵹaꝺon Sceapiᵹe.

40. But to be more particular than the Monk, the Annals ſignify that the Heathen men, ſo they call the *Danes*, waſted *Sceapige*, and the following year that *Egbert* fought againſt thirty five Ships of Pirates, at a place called *Carrum*, where was made a great ſlaughter of men. That the *Danes* remained Maſters of the Field: that *Hereſerth* and *Wigen*, two Biſhops, were ſlain, and moreover died two great Officers (Ealdormen) *Dudda* and *Oſmod*. The defeat was received near *Carr*, a River in *Dorſetſhire*, whereon ſtandeth a Town called *Carmouth*, juſt as it diſchargeth it ſelf into the Sea, lucky to the *Danes*, who here not onely had the better of *Egbert* in a Sea fight, but eight years after King *Ethelwolfe* his Son. And this was the onely check we reade of that ever *Egbert* received in his fortune, for the Annals tell us, that the very next year a great Navy of *Danes* arrived at Weſt *Wales* or *Cornwall*, and joyning with the Inhabitants marched againſt *Egbert*; notice whereof was ſpeedily brought to him, and as ſpeedily as he could he met them with an Army at *Hengeſtdune*, where he gave them Battel, and defeated as well the one as the other. The *Daniſh* Annals themſelves of theſe Invaſions make mention, but whether out of their own Records or ours may be juſtly doubted, for as to thoſe times they are much in the dark; little have they but fabulous or uncertain, which is the reaſon we cannot give either theirs or the Hiſtory of their neighbouring Northern Nations a part or ſhare in this preſent work. As for *Egbert*, as if he had now done enough to prevent any more misfortunes which might blurr the luſtre of his former Atchievements, he died the following year; a great man, whoſe fortune ſo concurred with his Abilities, that he arrived at the Monarchy of the *Engliſh* Nation. For ſo now we muſt call it by his order and appointment, who having conquered already four of the other ſix Kingdoms, and ſwallowed up the other two alſo in hope, to the end that they which were ſubdued and reduced to the Rule of one Prince, might be conjoyned likewiſe in one Name, commanded by an Edict or Proclamation, that the whole Heptarchy ſhould be called Enᵹlelonꝺ, or *England*, whereupon it got in Latin the Name of *Anglia*, taking its Denomination from the *Angles*, (though he himſelf was King of the Weſt *Saxons*, and Conquerours are wont to impoſe their own Names) as being of the three Nations moſt in number, and of greateſt power. For they poſſeſſed the Kingdoms of *Northumberland* and *Mercia*, very great and large Countries, together with Eaſt *England*: Whereas the Poſterity of the *Jutes* held onely *Kent*, or with it the Iſle of *Wight*: The *Saxons*, *Eaſtſex*, *Southſex* and *Weſtſex*, a ſmall parcel indeed if compared with the ſpacious Territories of the *Angles*.

But arriving in *Wales*, they are wholly defeated by *Egbert* King of *Egland*.

An. Dcccxxxv. Heꞃ cꞃom micel ꞅcipheꞃe on ƿeꞅꞇ ƿealaꞅ. ⁊ hi ꞇoanum ᵹecýꞃꝺon ⁊ ƿiþ Ecᵹbꞃýhꞇ ƿeꞅꞇ Seaxna Cyninᵹ ƿinnenꝺe ƿæꞃon ða heꝥ hýꞃꝺe ⁊ miꝺ ꝼýꞃꝺe ꝼeꞃꝺe ⁊ him ƿiþ ꝼeahꞇ æꞇ Henᵹeꞅꞇꝺune ⁊ ðæꞃ ᵹeꝼlýmꝺe ᵹe ðe ƿealeꞅ ᵹe ða ꝺeniꞅcan⁊.

He ſtyles the whole Heptarchy by the Name of *England*.

41. Such was the importance of this Conſideration, that even long before this they were generally and throughout called *Engliſh*, and in their own Language *Englatheod*, *Anglcynne*, *Englcynn*, and *Engliſcmon*: Albeit every Kingdom had a particular Name of its own. This appears ſufficiently out of other Authours, but eſpecially *Bede* who intituled his Hiſtory *The* (a) *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the Engliſh Nation*, a Name ſufficiently known to the Learned and beſt Intelligent Perſons, although King *Alfred* tranſlating the ſaid Hiſtory for the underſtanding of the meaner and general ſort added to it the word (b) *Saxon*. Nay, during the Heptarchy, theſe Princes that bore ſway over the reſt were ſtiled *Gentis Anglorum Reges*, or *Kings of the Engliſh Nation*. Now lay the Name of *Britain* forgotten and quite out of uſe among the Inhabitants of the Iſland, remaining onely in Books, and not taken up in common Speech; inſomuch, that any other word would down rather than it. *Boniface* the Biſhop of *Mentz* deſcended of this Nation, called this his Countrey by the Name of *Saxony beyond the Sea*. Yet did *Eadred* about the Year of our Lord DCCCCXLVIII uſe in ſome Charters and Patents the

That of *Britain* being laid aſide.

(a) *Hiſtoriam Gentis Anglorum Eccleſiaſticam, quam nuper edideram, libentiſſimè tibi deſideranti, &c.*

(b) Ic ꝼeꞃenꝺeꝥ ꞅꞃell ꝥ ic niꞅan aꞅꞃat be Anᵹel ꝼeode Seaxnum.

Name and Title of *King of Great Britain*; and *Edgar* about the Year DCCCCLXX aſſumed this Title, *The Monarch of all Albion.* But not onely the Name of *Britain*, but of *Saxons* alſo was laid aſleep; as to the *Engliſh* themſelves who thenceforth called themſelves no more by it. We ſay *as to themſelves:* It was in their power to call themſelves *Engliſh*, but not to procure all their Neighbours to doe the like. For as we have formerly hinted the *Britains* of *Wales* and *Cornwall*, knowing them firſt by that of *Saxons*, and having ſuch ſmarting cauſes never to forget their firſt coming into the Iſland, it ſo ſtuck with them, that they never took any notice of the change, neither at this very day in their Language do it. They term us not *Engliſhmen* but *Saiſons*, and our Language *Saiſonaeg*. And not onely they but the *Scots*, which ſtill retain the true ancient *Scotch* or *Iriſh* Tongue, and the *Iriſh* themſelves write us *Saxonach* in their Orthography, but pronounce us *Saſonagh*. For as well the *Iriſh* Language as the *Welſh* even to this very day is utterly unacquainted with the Names of *England* and of *Engliſhmen*.

SECT. X.

The Monarchy of the Engliſh Saxons *in* Britain, *from the Death of* Egbert, *to the Monarchy of the* Danes *in* Britain.

The ſpace of One Hundred and Eighty Years.

Ethelwulſe the King.

Aſſiſts the *Mercians* againſt the *Britains.*

Reſtrains the fury of the *Danes* by advice of his two Counſellours.

1. TO *Egbert* ſucceeded his Son *Ethelwulfe* (otherwiſe called *Adelwolfe*, *Athewolf*, *Athulf*, *Edulf* and *Edwolf*,) in the eighth year of *Theophilus* Emperour of the Eaſt; the twenty fourth of *Ludovicus Pius* Emperour of the Weſt, the twelfth of *Withlaf* or *Wiglaf* King of the *Mercians*, the fifteenth Indiction, *A. D.* DCCCXXXVII. *Malmesbury* writes, that he Reigned twenty years and five Months, a Man of a mild Diſpoſition, who choſe rather to live quietly than to rule over many Provinces; for contenting himſelf with the Weſt *Saxon* Kingdom the Inheritance of his Anceſtours, the other Appendices (as he calls them) which his Father had ſubdued, he beſtowed upon his Son *Ethelſtan*, who died, when and how is utterly uncertain. *Burthred* King of the *Mercians* he aſſiſted with his Forces againſt the *Britains*, and not a little graced him by the Marriage of his Daughter. The *Daniſh* Pirates who ſtragled through the whole Iſland, and by their ſudden Inrodes infeſted all the Sea Coaſts, he not once put to flight himſelf, or by his Captains; although, according to the chance of War, he received very frequent and heavy loſſes from them, the City of *London* and all *Kent* in a manner being laid waſte by them. The greateſt help againſt them was the Activity of his Counſellours, who took ſuch order, that the Enemy never acted any Hoſtility, but was one way or other chaſtized for it. For he had two moſt excellent Prelates in his time: *Swithin* of *Wincheſter* and *Alſtan* of *Shireburn*, who knowing the King to be dull and heavy, by their often Admonitions and Inſtructions, ſtill excited him to the diſcharge of his Royal Duty. *Swithin* deſpiſing Temporal things inſtructed his Sovereign in Matters Celeſtial. *Alſtan* concluding that Civil Affairs were not to be neglected, animated him againſt the *Danes*, both furniſhing the Treaſury with Money and taking care for the raiſing of Armies. Such as reade the Annals ſhall find many things both ſedulouſly began and happily brought to concluſion by him. By theſe two *Ethelwolfe* being ſupported, took good care for Foreign matters, and neglected not his Domeſtick buſineſs. After his Triumphs over his Enemies he turned himſelf to the ſervice of God, to whoſe Servants he granted the Tenths of all the Hides within his Kingdom, free from all Duties

De geſtis Reg. Anglorum. lib. 2. *c.* 2.

Goes to *Rome* paying *Peter* pence.

On his return marries.

Duties and Moleſtations. But this is but a ſmall matter ſaith the Monk. Having taken order for his matters at home he went to *Rome*, where to Saint *Peter* he offered that Tribute which *England* pays at this very day, in the preſence of Pope *Leo* the Fourth, who had honourably received *Elfrede* his Son formerly ſent to him, and had anointed him King. Having there made a ſtay of a whole year he repaired the School of the *Engliſh*, which as was reported, being firſt founded by *Offa* King of the *Mercians*, was burned the year after. Thence returning home thorough *France*, he there Married *Judith* the Daughter of *Charles*, King of that Nation, ſirnamed *the Bald*.

Upon which his Son and others conſpire to depoſe him.

Upon what account.

Afterwards he makes his Will.

And dies.

2. At his return he found, what he never ſuſpected, that he had incurred the diſpleaſure of ſome about him. For *Ethelbald* his own Son, *Alſtan* the Biſhop of *Shireburn*, and *Enulph* Earl or Count of *Somerſetſhire* conſpired together to depoſe him; yet upon better advice it was agreed that the Kingdom ſhould be divided betwixt Father and Son. However the Partition was very unequal, his Adverſaries prevailed that the Weſtern part of the Countrey, being far the better, ſhould be allotted to his Son, and the Eaſtern left to him, who yet ſhewed ſuch incredible goodneſs, that out of hatred to ſtrife and contention, he patiently yielded to his Son, and gently repreſſed the People, which concerned for his Honour and Dignity, were already aſſembled to aſſert them. All this ſtir was raiſed about his Wife being a ſtranger, yet entertained he her with great reſpect, and placed her on his Throne, contrary to the cuſtome of the Weſt *Saxons*: For * out of hatred to the wicked Practices of *Eadburgh* Daughter to *Offa* King of the *Mercians* and Wife to *Byrhtric*, and they neither ſuffered the Wives of their Kings to ſit by their Husbands, nor ſo much as to have the honour of being called Queens. Such was the Decree they made to prevent ſuch miſchiefs for the time to come, but he out of his kindneſs to *Judith* now repeal'd it. A few Months before his Death he made his Teſtament, whereby after the Diviſion of his Kingdom betwixt his two Sons *Ethelbald* and *Ethelbirth*, he aſſigned a Portion to his Daughter, and for ever in every tenth Hide of his Inheritance, he commanded that a Poor man ſhould be fed and clad; as alſo every year three hundred Marks of Gold to be ſent to *Rome*, whereof one hundred to be conferred on St. *Peter*, another upon St. *Paul* to find them with Lights, and an hundred as a Preſent given to the Biſhop. He lived two years after his return from *Rome*, and then dying was buried in the Biſhop's Church at † *Wincheſter*.

3. So much *Malmesbury* from *Aſſerius* concerning *Ethulwolfe*, his Hiſtory being the beſt and moſt ſubſtantial of all thoſe of Monks, which therefore we take as text whereon to comment in making out the Affairs of theſe obſcure times; for obſcure enough they are, though our baren Writers are ſo ridiculous as to excuſe the length of their ſhort Stories, and tell us they are ſo * ſhort in their Relations, out of ſtudy to avoid Prolixity and Tediouſneſs, whereas their Accounts they give us are ſo ſcant, that little profit can be made of them, and they attribute their brevity to their own contrivance, which indeed is to be aſcribed to their want of Intelligence. As for what he writes concerning his giving to *Ethelſtan* all that his Father had conquered, his words are (*a*) ſuch, as *Ethelſtan* may be conceived, not the Son of *Egbert*, but of *Ethelwulfe*, and ſome makes him to have been the Son of one, and ſome of the other. A late (*b*) Writer tells us, that the *Saxon* Annaliſt, the Authority of whom is ancienter, ſays expreſly, that *Egbert* himſelf gave to *Ethelſtan* his Son the Kingdom of *Kent*, *Eſſex*, *Surrey* and *Suſſex*; but the Annals ſay no ſuch thing, their (*c*) Tranſlatour indeed has foiſted in the word *Egbertus*, but the text (*d*) it ſelf which poſſibly he conſulted not, hath no ſuch word in that ſentence, but onely mentions *Ethelwulfe* therein. Be he is Brother or his Son it ſeems he parted with ſo great a ſhare of his Dominions to him, which for ſome years he held, though how long, as *Malmesbury* obſerves, is utterly uncertain. The unwarlike diſpoſition of *Ethelwulfe*, might well give Incouragment to the *Danes*, who the year following the death of *Egbert*, came again

upon

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* *Gens namque occidentalium Saxonum Reginam juxta Regem ſedere non patitur; nec etiam Reginam appellare; ſed Regis conjugem permittit quam controverſiam imò infamiam: de quadam pertinaci & malevola ejuſdem gentis Regina ortam fuiſſe majores illius terræ perhibent Aſſerius.*

† *Quid autem ſibi vult illud Aſſerii defuncto autem Æthelwulfo Rege; ſepultóque apud Stemrugam?*

* *Singulorum autem bellorum geſta fines & modos ad plenum determinare nimietas prolixitatis neceſſariò prohibet, Huntingd. p. 844. vol. Savil.*

(*a*) *Denique avito Weſtſaxonum Regno contentus, cætera quæ pater ſubjugaverat appendicia Ethelſtano filio contradidit, qui quanto & quo fine defecerit incertum.*

(*b*) *Milton Hiſt. of England.* (*c*) *A. DCCCXXXVI. Hinc Ethelwulfus Ecberti filius occidentalium Saxonum Regnum capeſſit: filio autem ſuo Ethelſtano (Elbertus Cantuariorum) Saxonum Orientalium. Guthregienſium, & Guthſaxonum Regnum donavit, ita interpres, textus autem ſic ſe habet.* (*d*) ⁊ ꝼenᵹ Æþelƿulꝼ Ecbꞃyhꞇinᵹ ꞇo ƿeꞅꞇ Seaxna ꞃice. ⁊ heſealde hiꞅ ꞅuna Æþelꞅꞇane Canꞇƿaꞃa ꞃice ⁊ eaꞅꞇ Seaxna ⁊ Suþꞃiᵹea ⁊ Suþ Seaxna.

Sect. 10.

The *Danes* are twice defeated by his Captains.

upon the Coaſts with three and thirty ſhips. The Annals (*e*) ſay that *Wulfheard* the *Ealdorman*, fought with them at *Hamtune*, that great ſlaughter was there made, and that he obtained the Victory; but died the ſame year of Age, it's very probable as one obſerves, ſeeming to have been one of *Egbert*'s old Commanders, who was ſent with *Ethelwulfe* to ſubdue *Kent*. This repulſe did not ſo diſcourage them, but that either preſſed on by thoſe that ſent them, or allured with plunder and booty, the ſame year they landed in another place, and gave Battel at *Port* (or *Portſmouth*) to (*f*) *Ethelhelm* another of the King's Captains with the *Dorſetſhire* Men. For a good while (ſo the Annals word it) he had the better of them. But at length the *Danes* became Maſters of the Field, and *Ethelhelm* (whom in this place the Annals term both *Dux* and *Ealdorman*) they put to flight or rather ſlew him in the place.

Who being incouraged invade *Lindſey*. Waſte Eaſt *England* with *Kent*.

And *London*.

Maſters him at Sea.

In the next ingagement *Ethelwulf's* Captain obtained a Victory.

4. Animated by this Succeſs, in Proſecution thereof, they gave Battel the following year to * *Herebryht* (or *Herbert*) another of his Officers whom with many others they ſlew at a place called *Merſcwar*, whence driving as it were all before them, they ſuddenly invaded *Lindeſey* (that part of *Lincolnſhire*, which lies North from the City) where waſting all with barbarous Hoſtility, they pierced into Eaſt *England*, and thence into *Kent*, putting many to the Sword in all theſe places. Here was no oppoſition made againſt them, or ſo ineffectual that they proceeded, and not onely did great Miſchief at *Canterbury* and *Rocheſter*, but came to *London*, and here did their pleaſure the next year after. *Ethelwulfe* ſeemed at his Wits end, as great Violence being by theſe attempts offered to his peaceable mind, as to the Perſons of his Subjects; but by thoſe about him (the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* eſpecially, as *Malmesbury* affirms) he was excited to make reſiſtence, and to provide a Navy, his beſt defence; for had the *Engliſh* in thoſe ignorant times underſtood their true Intereſt as well as afterward *Egbert* did his, they had not endured thoſe Miſeries they ſuffered from thoſe barbarous Rovers, no way there being to ſecure the Land but by being Maſters at Sea, the beſt Bulwarks againſt thoſe hoſtile Invaſions, being ſtout and well manned ſhips. But ſuch was their ſmall practice, and thereupon little skill in Maritime Affairs, that they were inferiour to the Pirates, continually exerciſed in Navigation. For the year that followed the Slaughter at *London*, *Ethelwulfe* fighting againſt thirty and five of their ſhips at the River *Carr*, had the ſame fortune his Father had had before in the ſame place, the *Danes* remaining Maſters of the place of Fight. Yet that the *Engliſh* might not be utterly diſcouraged, Fortune ſeemed a little to own them in the next attempt they made the following year. For one *Eanulf* with the *Somerſetſhire* Men, *Ealſtan* a Biſhop (*Alſtan* of *Wincheſter*, doubtleſs the ſame that † *Malmesbury* ſpeaks of) and *Oſerick* another Officer with thoſe of *Dorſetſhire*, at the Mouth of the River *Pedridan*, ingaged with an Army of the *Danes*, made great ſlaughter of them, and got the Victory.

The *Danes* are twice more beaten.

Yet they enter the *Thames* and ſack *London*.

5. If a judgment be to be made of the ſtate of theſe Affairs from theſe ſmall hints we have from the Annals (the foundation of all the later Hiſtories of the *Monks*) we are to conclude that the Defeat they received at this place was of great conſequence. For, for five years after, or more, we hear nothing of them, nor any thing elſe of *Ethelwulfe* and his Officers, who ſeemed ſo amuzed with theſe *Daniſh* Wars, that they were attentive to nothing elſe, durſt meddle with no other buſineſs leſt they ſhould be unprepared for a freſh aſſault. And their care was not without its due effect. For when they had reaſſumed their former confidence, and landed again, one *Ceorl* * an *Ealdorman*, aſſiſted with the Shire of *Devon*, *Aſſerius* relates, and the Annals from him, fought with them at a place called *Wicganbeorche*, where he killed very many of them and remained Victor. Neither did they fare better in other places. The ſame year King *Ethelſtan*, together with *Ealchere* a Captain, defeated a great number of them at *Sandwich*, and taking nine of their Ships, forced the reſt to ſhift for themſelves: and the Pagans were conſtrained thereabout to Winter, which they did, as *Aſſerius* writes (and that the firſt time) in the Iſle of *Shepey*. Yet for all this being reſolute as far as even to deſperation, with fifty Ships did they this ſame year enter the *Thames* Mouth, whence they ranged as far as *Canterbury* and *London*. *Fabius Ethelward* writes, that they deſtroyed both. *Aſſerius*, though he encreaſes the number of their ſhips to

(*e*) *A.* 837. Her ƿulfheard ealdorman gefeaht æt Hamtune *&c.*

(*f*) ⁊ ðy ylcan geare gefeaht Æþelhelm dux ƿiþ denisone here ou Port mid dorsætum. ⁊ gode ƿhile ðene here geflymde. ⁊ ða deniscan ahton ƿæl stoƿe geƿeald. ⁊ ðone Ealdorman ofslogen ⁊

* Her Herebryht Ealdorman ƿæs ofslegen from hæþenum monnum. ⁊ monige mid him on Merscƿarum. ⁊ ðy ylcan geare eft on Lindesse ⁊ on east Englum ⁊ on Cantƿarum ƿurdon monige men ofslegene from ðam herige ⁊ *hic Interpres* ofslegen *vertit occiſi, at vero An. priori* ofslogon *interpretatur fuderunt.*

† *Ad. An.* DCCCXLV.

An. DCCCLI. *Her Ceorl ealdorman gefeaht ƿiþ hæþene here mid ðefena scyre æt ƿicgan beorche, &c. *ſic Annales. Aſſer. autem hoc modo.*

Anno dominicæ incarnationis 851. nativitatis autem Ælfredi regis 3 Ceorl Domnaniæ Comes contra paganos Normannos sive Danos pugnavit in loco qui dicitur Vuicganbeorg ⁊ Christiani victoriam habuerunt ⁊ et ipso eodem anno primum hyemaverunt pagani in insula quæ vocatur Sceperg ⁊ quod interpretatur insula ovium ⁊ quæ sita est in tamesi flumine inter East seaxum ⁊ Cantuarios. sed ad Cantium propior est quam ad East seaxnum in qua monasterium optimum constructum est. *Aſſer. p.* 2. *Edit. Parkeriana qua nos utimur, Saxonicis characteribus quibus Aſſerius ipſe librum ſcripſit.*

three hundred and fifty, yet ſpeaks onely of their pillaging of *London*. The Annals add,that they put to flight *Beortulf* the King of the *Mercians*, who made head againſt them with an Army, then paſſing Southward over the *Thames* into *Surry*, they encountred *Ethelwulfe* with *Ethelbald* his Son at a place called *Aclea*, but here they received a great overthrow, greater than ever before or after that *Aſſerius* heard of.

Whence into *Surry*, where *Ethelwulfe* overthrows them.

6. The ſucceſs of this year brought much reputation to *Ethelwulfe*, whom now being at leaſure, two years after, *Burhred* King of the *Mercians* and thoſe of his Council beſought to give them aſſiſtence againſt the Inhabitants of North *Wales*, which he readily granted. Through the Territories of the *Mercians* he marched againſt the *Britains*, and forced them all to obedience, as had been deſired. This ſame year did King *Ethelwulfe*, ſend *Elfred* his Son to *Rome*, where *Leo* the Biſhop kindly entertained him, conſecrated him King, and adopted him for his Epiſcopal Son. In the mean time *Ealkere* (or *Ealcher*) with the *Kentiſh* Men, and *Huda* with thoſe of *Surry*, were employed againſt another Army of the Pagans, which was landed in the Iſle of *Thanet*. At firſt they had the better of them, driving them from their Poſt; but afterward ſo many were ſlain, and ſo many drowned on both ſides, that the Victory remained doubtfull. Yet gave it no matter of mourning to the Court of *Ethelwulfe*, which now was buſied in Affairs of Love, the effect of which was, that the King ſent away his Daughter after *Eaſter* was over, to be married to *Burhred* King of the *Mercians*, and the Marriage was ſolemnized in the Royal village called *Cippanhamme*. However the following year the *Danes* wintered in the Iſle of *Shepey*, the Annals ſay now the firſt time. Whether to make himſelf more acceptable to Almighty God, whoſe help he now found was highly neceſſary for ſuppreſſion of theſe perpetual Annoiances, or otherwiſe religiouſly moved, he nommade a Book of the tenth part of all his Lands, and his whole Kingdom which he dedicated to his ſervice. Now as if he was fitted for undertaking a Pilgrimage to *Rome*, he went thither taking with him his young Son *Alfred* again, and there having ſtaid twelve Months, married and died as the Monk of *Malmesbury* hath related, after two years.

He reduces the *Britains* in *Northwales*, to obedience.

Beats back the *Danes* from landing in the Iſle of *Thanet*.

In villa ꞃeᵹia quæ diciꞇuꞃ Ciꞅpanhamme *Aſſer*.

The farther reaſon of the conſpiracy againſt *Ethelwulfe*.

7. Of the difference betwixt his Eldeſt Son and him, after his Return the Annals have nothing, but *Aſſerius* confirms the report,aſſigning the pretended Cauſe, being that he had taken with him to *Rome* his young Son *Alfred*, there to be inaugurated King, and had brought home with him an Outlandiſh Wife. Generally he is ſaid to have been averſe to matters of War, a Lover of Peace and Quiet which we are more apt to believe, having it told us, and * elſewhere that in his young years he was Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and for want of other Heirs was conſtrained to take upon him the Kingdom. If this be true, then muſt *Ethelſtan* formerly mentioned have been his Son, not his Brother or the Son of *Egbert*, who having him muſt have had an Inheritour of his Dominions, and no neceſſity could then have lain upon *Ethelwulfe* of being King. To conclude with *Ethelwulfe*, the Annals give us his Pedigree, which reacheth no higher than to *Adam* himſelf. The Monk of *Malmesbury* is ſo bold, as to mention it together with that we find in St. *Luke*, and thinks it not ſuperfluous to put it into his Hiſtory, although he is afraid, that the noiſe of barbarous Names may violate the ears of ſuch as are not accuſtomed to them. I diſapprove of his mentioning it with the other in the ſame Page, in the ſame Book, nay, the ſame day or year. I am half afraid of the ſame thing, and juſtly of more, that the Reader will give no credit to it; but to be guilty of this once, and no more, as a piece of curioſity I ſhall leave it to the conſideration of our Students in Heraldry, referring them, if they deſire more, to other Stemms of theſe *Saxon* Princes particularly, that of *Alfrede*, which he may find in *Aſſerius*. *Ethelwulfe* then was the Son of *Egbert*, *Egbert* of *Ealkmund*, *Ealkmund* of *Eaſa*, *Eaſa* of *Eoppa*, *Eoppa* of *Ingild*, the Brother of *Ina*, King of the Weſt *Saxons*. They were the Sons of *Cenred*, *Cenred* of *Ceolwald*, *Ceolwald* of *Cutha*, *Cutha* of *Cuthwin*, *Cuthwin* of *Ceaulin*, *Ceaulin* of *Cenric*, *Cenric* of *Cerdic*, *Cerdic* of *Eleſa*, *Eleſa* of *Eſla*, *Eſla* of *Gewis*, *Gewis* of *Wig*, *Wig* of *Freawine*, *Freawine* of *Frithugar*, *Frithugar* of *Brond*, *Brond* of *Bældæg*, *Bældæg* of *Woden*, *Woden* of *Frithuwald*, *Frithuwald* of *Freawine*, *Freawine* of *Freawulfe*, *Freawulfe* of *Fiun*, *Fiun* of *Godwulf*, *Godwulf* of *Geat*, *Geat* of *Tætwa*, *Tætwa* of *Bæaw*, *Bæaw* of *Sceldwea*, *Sceldwea* of *Heremod*, *Heremod* of *Itermon*, *Itermon* of *Hrawrain*, who was born you muſt know in *Noah*'s Ark. Now he is of ſmall Learning that knows not the Anceſtours of *Noah*, viz. *Lamech*, *Mathuſalem*, *Enoch*, *Jared*, *Mahalaleel*, *Cainan*, *Enos*, *Seth* and *Adam*. The Monk of *Malmesbury*'s Pedigree differs much in Names from this.

* *Abbreviationes Chronicorum Authore Radulfo de Diceto & Chronic. Joh. Brompton Abbatis Jornalenſis.*

His Genealogy.

*Annal. ſeu Chronolog. Saxonica ad An.*DCCCLIV.

this. But the Heraldry of the Annals is the Ancienter. Let ſuch as deſire various Readings upon this Learned Subject, compare this Genealogy with that of his and others: ſome perhaps may have ſo little to doe. And Reader, if thou haſt heard of a wonderfull Atchievement, which ſome who thought themſelves very Learned, they ſay, performed of deriving King *James* his Pedigree from *Adam*, behold here the greateſt part done, it's but carrying on this Pedigree to the Siſter of *Edgar*, *Etholing* married to the King of *Scots*, and her Daughter to our *Henry* the Second.

Ethelbald and *Ethelbert* ſucceed in the Kingdom.

8. *Ethelwulfe* being dead, his two Sons *Ethelbald* and *Ethelbert* divided his Kingdom betwixt them. *Ethelbald* reigned over the Weſt *Saxons*. *Ethelbert* obtained *Kent*, *Eſſex*, *Surrey* and *Suſſex*. *Ethelbald* began his Reign in the ſixteenth year of *Michael* the third Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, the ſecond of *Ludovicus*, the ſecond Emperour of the Weſt; in the days of *Charles the Bald* King of the *Franks*, the ſixth of *Burhred* King of the *Mercians*, *A. D.* DCCCLVII. He was, as *Malmesbury* from *Aſſerius* ſets him out, heavy and ſluggiſh, one that defiled his Father's Bed, Marrying after his Death his Wife *Judith*. But he dying after five years, the whole Kingdom fell to the other Brother. The Annals ſpeak nothing at all of him from his coming to the Crown till his carrying to his Grave, which they ſay, as *Malmesbury*, was at *Sherburn*. They add that *Ethelbert* (or *Æthelbryht* as they call him) obtained the whole Kingdom of his Brother (his Father rather) and governed it in great peace and concord. During his Reign a great Fleet of the *Danes* arrived at *Hampton* (ſaith *Malmesbury*) and ſacked the City of *Wincheſter*, which the Annals do confirm, as to the latter place not mentioning where they landed. But they were ſpeedily encountred by * *Oſric* the *Ealdorman* with *Hamptonſhire* (now *Hamſhire*) and *Æthelwulfe* the *Ealdorman*, with *Bearwucſhire* (or *Berkſhire*) who put them to flight and became Maſters of the Field. The Monk to this relation adds, that being beaten away by the King's Captains, after much loſs received they went over the Sea, and taking a great compaſs, choſe the Iſle of *Thanet* to Winter in. This he relates as done all in one year, whereas from the Annals it appears, that their coming to *Thanet* was not till ſix years after. The Kentiſh men found themſelves concerned to purchaſe Peace with them by a ſumm of Money; but the Pirates under pretence of receiving this Money, and confirming the League, made an Excurſion into the Countrey, and waſted all that part of *Kent* which lies toward the Eaſt. *Malmesbury* again adds, that the Inhabitants united themſelves and drove away theſe perfidious Wretches. About the ſame time died *Ethelbert* after he had Reigned but five years, and his Body was buried with his Brothers at *Sherburn*.

Ethelbald dies and is buried at *Sherburn*.

The *Danes* ſack *Wincheſter* but are afterwards put to flight.

Ethelbert dies.

An. dccclx.
Her Æþel-
bald cyn-
ing forþ-
ferde. ⁊
his lic lið
æt Scira-
burnan. ⁊
feng Æþel-
bryht to-
callum
ðam rice
his broður,
&c.

* ⁊ ƿiþ ðone
here ge-
fuhton Os-
ric ealdor-
man mid
Hamtun
scyre ⁊
Æþelƿulf
ealdorman
mid Bearƿuc
scyre ⁊ ðo-
ne here ge-
flymdon,
&c.

Is ſucceeded by *Ethelred*.

9. After the death of *Ethelbert* ſucceeded *Ethelred* his Brother, another Son of *Ethelwulfe*, in the firſt year of *Baſilius Macedo* Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, the twelfth of *Ludovicus* the ſecond Emperour of the Weſt, the ſixteenth of *Burhred* (titular) King of the *Mercians*, *A. D.* DCCCLXVII. † *Malmesbury* having told us, that he obtained his Father's Kingdom, the ſame number of years which his two Brothers, falls into a bemoaning of the fate of all the three, their miſerable and deplorable fate, as he terms it, that they ſhould all die an immature death, yet indeed being Royally deſcended, and the Nation being involved in ſuch dreadfull Calamities, they might well prefer an honourable death before a miſerable Reign. They ſo courageouſly and valiantly demeaned themſelves in defence of their Countrey, that no default is to be charged upon them, if proſperouſly did not ſucceed what they reſolutely had intended. This King nine times in one year fought with the Enemy in the Field, (as the chance of War is, with various ſucceſs, yet uſually with advantage) beſides many ſudden Excurſions whereby, as he was excellently skilled in Strategems, he often repreſſed the Inſolency of theſe Rovers. On the ſide of the *Danes* were ſlain nine Earls or Captains, one King, and multitudes of People without number. But above all memorable is the Battel he fought at *Eſſchendune*. The Army of the *Danes* being drawn up in that place, one part of it was led by two Kings, the reſt by other skilfull Leaders. The King with his Brother *Alfred* comes upon them: The King muſt ingage with the Kings: *Alfred* is ſet upon the Captains. So courageous and reſolute were both the Parties, that this day ſufficed not to determine the Quarrel, the Controverſie muſt be adjourned to that which followed. Scarce did the light appear when *Alfred* was up and ready. His Brother ſtaid in his Tent buſie at his Devotions, and though a Meſſage was brought him that the Pagans with great rage came on, he refuſed to ſtir untill they were ended. This Religious Confidence of the King was very ſeaſonable for the reſtraining of the heat of his Brother's youth, who was already ingaged. For the Battel of the

Who fought ſeveral pitch'd Battels with the *Danes*.

† *De geſtis Regum Anglorum lib.* 2. *c.* 3.

the *Engliſh* went to the worſt; the Infidels had the Advantage of the Ground, and made ſuch uſe thereof, that the Chriſtians began to think of flight. Now comes he unexpectedly into the Battel, beats back the Enemy, incourages his Friends and demeans himſelf with that Valour and Conduct that by God's aſſiſtence the *Danes* were diſcouraged, betook themſelves to their Heels and ran away. There fell their King *Oſeg*, five Earls, beſides an innumerable company of the Vulgar ſort.

The *Mercians* and *Northumbrians* endeavour to revolt.

10. Here our Writer will have us to remark that the Kings of the *Mercians* and the *Northumbrians* taking advantage at theſe *Daniſh* Wars wherewith *Ethelred* was incumbred, withdrew themſelves from the yoke of the Weſt *Saxons* as much as they could, and had almoſt recovered their former Independency, each Province therefore envying the proſperity of the other, the ſeveral Kings choſe rather to harbour the Enemy in their own Boſomes than give any relief to their diſtreſſed Countreymen; and by this means ſtudying rather a recovering than a preventing courſe, by their lazineſs they let their Countrey run to ruine. The *Danes* grew upon them without any oppoſition, the *Engliſh* were diſcouraged and terrified, and every Victory by means of the abundance of Captives became inſtrumental to procure another. The Territories of the Eaſtern *Engliſh* with their Cities and Villages were poſſeſſed by theſe Robbers, and their King St. *Edmund* being killed by them in the eight hundred and ſeventieth year from the Incarnation, on the nineteenth of *November* by a ſhort Temporal death purchaſed an Eternal Crown. The *Mercians* being overrun more than once, leſſened their Miſeries by Submiſſion, and giving up Hoſtages. And thoſe of *Northumberland* having been ſometime toſſed with Civil Diſſentions, when the Enemy was at their heels fairly compoſed all their Differences. *Oſberth* their King whom they had expelled, they now received again, and having made great preparations, they goe and meet the Enemy. But they are eaſily beaten, and ſhut themſelves up within the Walls of *York*, which being quickly ſet on fire by the Conquerours, and the flame increaſing, burns the Buildings, and therein they periſh and cover their native Soil with their own Bones. Thenceforth *Northumberland* falling by right of War to the ſhare of the Barbarians, for a long time groaned under their Dominion, and ſighed at the thought of its former liberty. As for King *Ethelred* though unbroken with all his many labours he died at laſt, and was buried at *Winburn*.

The Eaſt *Angles*, *Mercians*, and *Northumberland*, waſted by theſe Robbers.

11. This ſhort but good account we have from *Malmesbury*, of the ſtate and condition of theſe times, how the *Engliſh* Affairs ſtood both in reference to the Enemy, and to one another. What he ſpeaks of in general, we ſhall illuſtrate as much as we can by particular inſtances, as to time and place, the beſt courſe we can take in theſe obſcure matters. In the very firſt year of his Reign a vaſt Army of *Danes* invaded the Land, Commanded by *Hinguar*, and *Ubba*, two great Souldiers but very cruel: *Hinguar* was very crafty and ſubtile, *Ubba* was a Man of extraordinary Courage. They landed in Eaſt *England*, where wintring, they made truce with the Inhabitants out of deſign to obtain from them a ſufficient number of Horſes whereon to mount their Men. Being now become a ſtrong Body of Horſe; the following year they paſſed over *Humber* as far as *York*, where the Civil diſſentions of the People afforded them a notable advantage whereon to work. As *Malmesbury* obſerves they had driven into baniſhment *Oſbryht* their King, and ſet up a Tyrant, one *Ælla* in his room; but now though it was late, and the year declined, they recalled him, and ſo compoſed their matters that they feared not to meet, and encounter this puiſſant Army at *York*, into which City part of the Pagans had already entred: They brake into the Town, but were recieved ſo warmly by the *Danes*, that within as well as without, great ſlaughter of them was made, and the quarrel was decided betwixt their two Kings, both of them being ſlain in this Action, together with a great multitude of the People. The Remnant got as good terms from the Enemy as they could; but they were overrun, and the Countrey haraſſed as far as the River *Tine*. *Egbert* one of the *Engliſh* Race, was appointed King over them in room of *Oſbrith*. And now ſhould come in the ſtory of *Bricern*, whoſe Wife *Oſbert* is ſaid to have raviſhed, and who called in the *Danes* to revenge the injury upon the King. The thing if true was very remarkable, but we know not where *Brompton* had it; his Authority is not great, his Antiquity ſmall.

Hinguar and *Ubba* Arrive.

Huntingd. lib. 5.
Annal. ad An. 866.
ƿinteꞃ ꞅeꞇl namon on Eaꞅꞇ Enᵹl. ⁊ dæꞃ ᵹe-hoꞃꞅude ƿuꞃdon. ⁊ hihim ꝼꞃiþ-namon.
Ann. 867.
Heꞃ ꝼoꞃꞅc-heꞃe oꝼ Eaꞅꞇ Eaᵹl. oꝼeꞃ Hun-bꞃe muþan ꞇo Eoꝼoꞃ-ƿic on Noꞃ-þhumbꞃe, *&c.*

12. But the *Danes* having wrought their will in the Parts beyond the River *Humber*, the next year invaded *Mercia*, and bent their courſe toward * *Snottengaham* (then, and long after ſo called from the Caves in the Rocks) at preſent *Nottingham*. There they took up their Winter Quarters, which ſo alarm'd *Burhred*

The y invade *Mercia*.

* *De Nottingamia ſic Aſſerius.*

Sect. 10.

red King of the Countrey and his Noblemen, that they made an humble addreſs to *Ethelred*, deſiring that he with his Brother *Alfred* would undertake their Patronage and Defence. This they readily did, and with a conſiderable power of Men marched to *Nottingham*, where they offered Battel to the *Danes*. *Hinguar* was ſo crafty, as knowing himſelf unable to grapple with them, he would not ſtir a foot out of the † Caſtle, ſo that no conſiderable fight happened, and at length with good words he, ſaith *Huntingdon*, obtained a truce of the *Engliſh*, who were not able to break the Wall. Though the Annals ſeem rather to ſay that the *Mercians* obtained it of him, yet *Ingulphus* writes expreſly, that *Burhred* conſtrained the *Danes* to quit *Nottingham*, where at the Siege he renewed the Charter of Privileges to his Monaſtery of *Croyland*, which bears date from the Siege in the year 868. on the five and twentieth of *July*, from the ſubſcriptions to which it appears that both *Ethelred*, his Brother *Alfred*, and alſo *Edmund* King of Eaſt *England*, was at the Siege. But a peace or truce was made, and the *Danes* returned back to *York* with great booty, where they ſtayed a year, and there cruelly demeaned themſelves. When Winter was over they paſſed over *Humber* into *Lindſey*, and landing at *Humberſtan*, as || *Ingulphus* farther tells us, miſerably waſted all the Countrey; particularly that moſt famous and ancient Monaſtery of *Bardency* they deſtroyed, killing without mercy all the Monks in the Church. Having made their ſtay in thoſe Quarters all the Summer, and with Fire and Sword conſumed all things, about the Feaſt of St. *Michael*, ſaith he, they enter *Keſteven*; another part of *Lincolnſhire*, at this time, as well as the other, diſtinguiſht by name) where they waſte, kill and burn every thing they light on. At length, in the year of our Lord, eight hundred and ſeventy, in the month of *September*. *Algar* the younger (ſo called in reſpect of the late Earl *Algar* his Father) that moſt valiant Earl, got together all the youth of *Honland* (now *Holland*; mark, Reader, the antiquity of theſe three Diviſions of the County and their names, they continuing at this very day the ſame) and two Souldiers Seneſcals (as he calls them) *Wiburt* and *Leofric*, (from whom two Villages, the places of their reſidence, took the names of *Wiberton* and *Lefrinkton*) together with a Company belonging to the Monaſtery of *Croyland*, conſiſting of two hundred moſt ſtout Warriours, being for the moſt part fugitives: Headed by *Fryar Toly*, a Monk converted of the ſaid Monaſtery, who before his converſion had been a Souldier of great Name throughout all *Mercia*, for warlike enterprizes; Beſides theſe they got from *Deeping*, *Langtoft* and *Baſton*, about three hundred ſtout Men fit for War; *Morcard* the Lord of *Brunne* (or rather *Bourne*) with his Family which was both valiant and numerous, and the Vice Lord (as he calls him, meaning the Governour) of *Lincoln*, by name *Oſgot*, an old Souldier and moſt hardy, joyned with them with the *Lincoln* Squadron, conſiſting of five hundred Men.

But at *Nottingham* are Beleaguered by *Ethelred*, who makes peace with them.

Thence they go into *Lincolnſhire.*

Eoꝺem anno
ꞅꝑæꝺıcꞇuꞅ
ꞅaᵹanoꞃum
exeꞃcıꞇuꞅ
Noꞃꝺan-
hẏmbꞃoꞅ
ꞃelınquenꞅ
ın Meꞃcı-
am venıꞇ;
⁊ Snoꞇınga-
ham aꝺııꞇ;
quoꝺ Bꞃı-
ꞇannıce
Tıᵹᵹuo co-
banc ınꞇeꞃ-
ꝓꞃeꞇaꞇuꞃ;
laꞇıne au-
ꞇem Spelun-
caꞃum ꝺo-
muꞅ; ⁊ *vide
etiam Ingul-
phum, ad
Ann.* 866.

† Cumque
Paᵹanı ꞇuı-
ꞇıone aꞃcıꞅ
munıꞇı bel-
lum ꝺaꞃe
neᵹaꞃenꞇ;
⁊ Chꞃıſtıa-
nı ꝼꞃanᵹe-
ꞃe muꞃum
non ꞅuppe-
ꞇebaꞇ; pace
ınꞇeꞃ Meꞃ-
cıoꞅ eꞇ pa-
ᵹanoꞅ ꝼac-
ꞇa ꝺuo ıllı
ꝼꞃaꞇꞃeꞅ
cum ꞅuıꞅ
cohoꞃꞇıbuꞅ
ꝺomum ꞃe-
ueꞃꞅı ꞅunꞇ.
Idem.

|| *Ingulphi Hiſtoria.*

13. Being all drawn together in *Keſteven*, upon the Feaſt of *Maurice* the Martyr, they gave Battel to the Pagans, and by God's great mercy having killed three of their Kings, with a great multitude of the ordinary ſort, they beat the Barbarians, as far as the gate of their Camp, where making moſt ſtout reſiſtence, the Invincible Earl withdrew his Forces. That very night came into the Camp of the Pagans, all the reſt of their Kings, from their ſeveral excurſions, having divided the Countrey amongſt them for the plunder, *viz. Gogroum* (or *Godroum*) *Baſeg*, *Oskebil*, *Halfden*, and *Hamond*, with as many Earls, *viz. Frena*, (or *Erena*) *Unguar*, *Ulba* and both the *Sidroks*, the Elder and Younger, with their Armies, and too much Booty, beſides a multitude of Women and Children. Their coming being known, moſt of the Chriſtians ſorely terrified, ſlipt away by night, ſo that with the ſaid Earl *Algar* and his Captains of eight hundred (of which his Party conſiſted) ſcarcely two hundred Perſons remained; with whom, as few as they were, by break of day, having heard Divine Service, and taken their Sacred *Viaticum*, being all of them moſt ready to dye for the faith of Chriſt, and the defenſe of their Countrey, they went into the Field againſt the Barbarians. The moſt Valiant Earl ſeeing his own Forces ſo much diminiſhed, ordered *Fryar Toly*, with five hundred Men, who had gallantly demean'd themſelves to ſtand on the right hand, aſſigning him for aſſiſtant *Morcard* of *Brunne*, with all his Followers. *Oſgot* with his five hundred he placed on the left ſide, and with him joyned *Harding de Rehale*, with all the *Stanford* Men, who were young and but too Valiant. He himſelf with his Seneſcals, ſtood in the midſt to ſuccour each quarter as need ſhould require. The *Danes* being much inraged for the ſlaughter made of their Men, early in the morning buried their three Kings in a Village formerly called

But renewing the fight burn and deſtroy all before them.

called *Laundon*, but afterward *Trekingham* from their Sepulture, and now four Kings prepared themſelves to fight together with eight Earls; for two Kings and four Earls were appointed to look to their Camp and Captives. The Chriſtians being ſo few drew together in form of a Wedge, againſt the Archers, ſetting as it were a Paliſado of their Bucklers, and againſt the violence of the Horſe a wood of Lances, and in that poſture, inſtructed by their Leaders, continued all the Day till Night now approached: The Enemy perceiving that neither his Bowmen nor his Horſe could doe any execution, reſolved to counterfeit flight and to leave the Field, which the Chriſtians beholding broke their Ranks, notwithſtanding all their Leaders could doe, and in purſuit of the Pagans were diſperſed through the Plain without any Order or Conduct. The Barbarians hereupon return and like Lions fall upon ſo few poor Sheep. The moſt valiant, and never to be forgotten Earl *Algar*, with the Souldiers we named and Fryar *Toly*, cluſtering together upon an Hill, for a long time bore the brunt of the Barbarians, till ſeeing the ſtouteſt Chriſtians dead, they died alſo, fighting moſt valiantly over their Bodies. A few young men belonging to *Sutton* and *Gedeney* caſting away their Arms eſcaped into the adjoyning Wood, whence the next Night with much adoe, they got to *Croyland*, and thither brought the ſad news of the overthrow, as *Theodorus* the Abbat and his Monks were at their Veſpers. The *Danes* after this plundred and burnt the Abby of *Croyland* on the twenty fifth of *Auguſt*, killing the Abbat and all the Fryars, except one Boy of ten years old, *Tugar* or *Turgar* by Name, on whom young *Sidrok* to ſave him put on a *Daniſh* Coat. Thence went they to the Monaſtery of *Medeſhamſted*, where they did the like; and thence with innumerable Spoils paſſed on towards *Huntingdon*, the two *Sidroks* bringing up the Rere as they ever did, and paſſing over a Bridge, two Waggons full of Treaſure fell into the River *Nene*, which as the followers of young *Sidrok* were buſied in drawing out, *Turgar* the young Fryar eſcaped from them and returned to *Croyland*.

Next for *Cambridge* and the Iſle of *Ely*, which they plunder with Eaſt *England*.

Ingulphus ubi ſuprà.

14. The Pagans ſtill marched on waſting all the Countrey as far as *Grantebrig*, now *Cambridge*, and ſo to the Iſle of *Ely*, where having rifled and burnt the famous Monaſtery and killed all they found therein with much Plunder and Cattel, which for the reputed ſecurity of the place, had been brought thither out of the adjoyning Countrey, they proceeded into Eaſt *England*, where meeting with Earl *Wulketule*, who made vigorous reſiſtence, they cut him off with all his Army. Having taken alſo the moſt Holy *Edmund* King of that Countrey and led him to a Stake as a Butt to ſhoot at, they firſt with many Arrows ſhot him through, and afterward cut off his Head. Having poſſeſſed themſelves of all Eaſt *England*, there they ſpent all the Winter, at *Thetford* ſay the Annals. The year following (having received great Supplies, as *Huntingdon* hints, who calls their Army a new and mighty one, and compares it to a River which overflowing bears away all before it) they bent their Courſe toward the Weſt *Saxons*, the Territories of whom alone had not felt the effects of their Covetouſneſs and Cruelty, who alone were in capacity to reſiſt them; for the overturning of the Heptarchy (the Monarchy being not yet fully eſtabliſhed) had weakned all the other Provinces, wanting now ſuch Officers as ſhould vigorouſly defend them. Coming to *Reading* they fortified themſelves betwixt the two Rivers *Thames* and *Kenet*, and after three days ſent out two Earls to forage the Countrey, but they were encountred by *Ethelwulfe* Earl of *Berkſhire*, who at *Englafeld* (or *Englefeild*) gave them Battel, killed one of their Earls (*Huntingdon* names *Sidrac*) and obtained the Victory. Four days after came King *Ethelred* with *Alfred* his Brother and the main Body, and gave Battel to the *Danes*, wherein on both ſides very many fell: Earl *Ethelwulfe* here loſt his life, being by *Ethelward* the Hiſtorian called *Adulf*, who writes that he was buried in the Province of the *Mercians*, at a place called *Northworthige*, but in the *Daniſh* Tongue *Deoraby*, and the *Danes* became Maſters of the Field. Yet was not the diſadvantage ſo great on the *Engliſh* ſide, but that four days after the King and his Brother appeared again in the Field againſt them at a place called * *Æſceſdune* or *Aſhdowne*, where they ingaged on both ſides with their full ſtrength. The *Danes* divided their Army into two Bodies, whereof the one was led by

An. Dccclxx. Ƕeꞃ ƿaꝺ ꞅe heꞃe oꝼeꞃ oꝼeꞃ Myꞃce innan eaꞅꞇ Enᵹle ⁊ ƿinꞇeꞃ ꞅeꞇl namon æꞇ Ðeoꝺꝼoꞃꝺa. inꞇeꞃ ꝺuo ꝼlumina ꞇameꞅen ⁊ cẏneꞇan. *Aſſer.*

Then to the Weſt *Saxons*.

Where they are encountred by *Ethelwulfe*.

And fight ſeveral Battels with *Ethelred*.

Corpus quoque ſupradicti Ducis abſtrahitur furtim, adducitúrque in Merciorum provinciam in locum qui Northworthige nuncupatur, juxta autem Danaam linguam Deoraby. Lib. 4. *c.* 2.

* *De nomine ſic Simeon Dunelmenſis ad Ann.* DCCCLXXI. *Statuunt Legiones in loco qui dicitur Etſceſdun, quod Latinè mons* Fraxini *poteſt reverenter interpretari. Sic Aſſerius*: in loco qui ꝺicꞇuꞃ Æꞅceꞅꝺun ⁊ quoꝺ Laꞇine monꞅ ꝼꞃaxini inꞇeꞃꝑꞃeꞇaꞇuꞃ.

Sect. 10.

Backſecg and *Healfdene* their Kings, the other by their Earls. With the firſt ingaged King *Ethelred*, and *Alfred* with the other. In the former Battel fell *Backſecg*; in the latter the two *Sidroks*, beſides three other Earls, *Oſbearn*, *Fræna* and *Hareld*. Both the one and the other were beaten and put to flight, many thouſands ſlain, and night interrupted a greater Execution, though *Ethelward* writes, that the whole Youth of the more excellent Barbarians here periſhed, neither after nor before was ſuch ſlaughter heard of, ſince that the Nation of the *Saxons* by War obtained *Britain*. Here ſome obſerve that *Ethelred* both had the diſadvantage of the lower ground, and came later into the Battel from his Devotions. *Alfred* began the Fight e'er his Brother came into the Field. And as for the *Daniſh* King, whom the Annals call *Backſecg*, the *Daniſh* Hiſtory talks of one *Ivare* the Son of *Regnere*.

Ethelward ubi ſuprà.

15. *Aſſerius* writes of a ſupply which the Pagans received ſhortly after from beyond the Sea. Yet was it not till *Ethelred*, fourteen days after the former Fight again aſſiſted by his Brother, had encountred their whole Power at *Baſing*, in which ingagement they had the better, being headed by *Agnere* and *Hubbo*, the Brothers of the ſlain *Ivarus*. But ſtill, as we lately obſerv'd, the loſs received by the *Engliſh* could not be great, for about two Months after they were again ſo well recruited, that they durſt a third time fall upon the Pagans at a place called *Merotune*, divided into two Bodies, and in the ſame poſture as they had formerly fought. Both theſe Bodies were put to flight, although for a great part of the day they had had the better. Great was the ſlaughter made on both ſides, and yet ſay the Annals, the *Danes* became Maſters of the Field, ſo various was the fortune of this day or rather ſo uncertain their Intelligence. To be ſure *Heahmund* a Biſhop was there ſlain, beſides other good men, not a few: And a grievous Plague followed in Summer. Hereof (we may gueſs, for the Annals ſpeak not expreſly) died *Ethelred* after *Eaſter*, when he had Reigned five years, and his Body was buried at *Winburn*. *Brompton* in his Chronicle ſays, that he died of wounds received in a Fight he fought with *Somerled* a *Dane*, who returning to *Reading* from the Battel at *Merton*, deſtroyed whatever there he found. But his Authority is but ſmall, compared with that of others. As for the place of his Burial, by the Annals called *Winburnan* and *Winburnham*, in other *Saxon* Monuments is the ſame with that ancient Town *Vindogladia*, whereof *Antonine* maketh mention. Probably it had that Name from being ſituate betwixt two Rivers, for *Windugledy* in the *Britiſh* Tongue, ſoundeth as much as betwixt two Swords, and *Rivers*, by a peculiar Phraſe of their own, they termed *Swords*, as appeareth by *Aberdugledian*, the *Britiſh* Name of *Milford Haven*, as much as to ſay, the mouth of two Rivers, becauſe two Rivers named with them *Gledian*, that is, *Swords* run into it. The laſt Name *Winburn* (a Town in *Dorſetſhire*) is compounded of *Vin*, a parcel of the old Name, and the *Saxon* word *Burne*, which alſo among them betokeneth a *River*, by the addition thereof, the *Saxons* being wont to name places ſtanding upon Rivers. Here *Cuthburg* Siſter to *Ina* King of the Weſt *Saxons*, being divorced from the King of *Northumberland* her Husband, built a Nunnery which at length being decayed by time, a fair Church was erected in the place with a Vault under the Quire, and an high Spire beſides the Tower Steeple, wherein were placed Prebendaries in lieu of theſe Nuns. In this Church lyeth *Ethelred* interred, upon whoſe Tomb not very long ſince repaired, in *Cambden*'s time this new Inſcription was to be read, *Here reſteth the Body of Saint* Ethelred *King of the Weſt* Saxons *Martyr*, *who died in the year of our Lord* DCCCLXXII, *the three and twentieth of* April, *by the hands of the Pagan* Danes. By his Saintſhip and this Inſcription he ſhould either have died or been mortally * wounded in Battel.

An. Dccclxxi.
⁊ þær ꞅærþ
Heahmund
biſcop ofſlegen. ⁊
fealagodra
monna. ⁊
æfter ðyſſum gefeoht com
mico ſomorlida. ⁊ peroſer Eaſtron gefor Æþered
Cyning ⁊
he ricſode
fif gear. ⁊
hiſl c liþæt
Winburnan ⁊

Who dies.

Is buried at *Winburn*.

Alfred ſucceeds.

16. *Alfred*, *Ælfred*, *Alured*, or *Elfred* his Brother, the fourth and youngeſt Son of *Ethelwulfe* ſucceeded him, in the ſixth year of *Baſilius Macedo*, Eaſtern Emperour; the ſeventeenth of *Ludovicus*, the Second Emperour of the Weſt; the one and twentieth of *Burhred*, King of the *Mercians*; the fifth Indiction, *A. D.*

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* *De eo tamen ſic Ingulphus: Anno namque incarnationis* 872 *Rex Ethelredus multis prœliis contra Danos vexatus, ſed ſemper invictus, obiit Winburnæ & Sepultus eſt.*

Al (*ſeu* Æl) Friðe *Omnis Pax. Alurede idem Vrede (cum V Conſonanti) Pax hodie Belgis. V enim & F promiſcuè uſurpantur in lingua Teutonica. Vrede Frede, Vlie Flie, Vliſſingen Fluſhing Vader Father, & multa alia; pro f. ſcribunt v, pronunciant tamen ut f nobis pronunciatur; pro noſtris th. d. eſt illis in uſu; dat that, donder thunder; mille alia.*

DCCCLXXII. He was born at * *Wanating*, (or *Wanatune*) now *Wantage*, a Town in *Berkſhire*, then a Royal Village or Manour of the Kings, at preſent eminent for nothing, except it be for a Market. His Mother was *Oſburg*, the Daughter of *Oſlae* the Panther of King *Ethelwulfe*, but of great Deſcent, which he drew from the *Goths* and *Jutes* of the ſtock of *Stuph* and *Wihtgar* the two Brothers, who receiving the Iſle of *Wight* from their Uncle *Cerdic*, and *Cynric* his Son, ſlew thoſe few *Britains* they found in the Iſland, in the place called *Swihtgaraburg*, the reſt had either been killed before, or driven into Baniſhment. In the fifth year of his Age, his Father ſent him to *Rome*, accompanied with many perſons both Noble and Ignoble, where Pope *Leo* the Fourth ordained and anointed him; and if a certain * Chronicle tell us truth, he was the firſt King of *England* that was anointed. He adopted him alſo for his Son. Afterward when *Ethelwulfe* went himſelf to *Rome*, this young Son he took along with him, being more tender of him than any of his other Sons. For beauty and wit he exceeded them all, his converſation being delightfull and charming. But this tenderneſs grew to ſuch fondneſs in his Parents, that they neglected the great part of his † Education, *viz.* of learning his Book till he came to twelve years of Age, yet in the mean time did he learn many *Saxon* Poems, and in the Art of Hunting was ſkilfull to admiration. On a time the Mother having got a Book of Songs in her Hand, ſhewed it her Sons, and told them that he that could firſt get them by heart ſhould have the Book; he much enamoured of the firſt letter for its fairneſs, took it, and going to his Maſter, learnt to Reade, and then ſaid it before his Mother. After this he became expert in the Diurnal Courſe, or Celebration of Hours, as it was called; certain Pſalms, and many Prayers, which being digeſted into a Book, day and night he conſtantly had about him, and made uſe of them upon all occaſions. But after this time, when his Youth afforded him opportunity of learning the Arts and Sciences, there were no Maſters to be had to Teach him, of which he often with many and deep ſighs complained, as one of the greateſt misfortunes of his Life. But afterward when he came to more ripe years, and had the opportunity of Books, and Teachers, then by ſickneſs, by his extraordinary care and ſolicitude in buſineſs, by the frequent hoſtilities exerciſed by the Pagans both by Land and Sea, he was diverted from what he exceedingly deſired: yet ſtill as he could he omitted no opportunity, but ſtole it from his Recreations, to improve himſelf.

Who was the firſt King of *England* that ever was Anointed.

An. Dom. Incaꞃnaꞇioniꞅ 849. naꞇuꞅ eꞅꞇ Alꝼꞃeꝺ angul Saxonum ꞃex in villa ꞃeᵹia quæ ꝺiciꞇuꞃ Vuanaꞇinᵹ in illa paᵹa quæ nominaꞇuꞃ Beꞃnocꞅciꞃe, quæ Paᵹa taliꞇeꞃ vocaꞇuꞃ a Beꞃnoc ꞅilui ubi buxuꞅ h bunꝺanꞇiꞅꞅimo naꞅciꞇuꞃ. *Aſſerius.*

* *W. Thorn. ch. 5. ſect. 4. Hic Elfredus fuit primus Rex Angliæ qui inunctus erat. Hic conſtituit Hundred & Leſtes.*

† *Aſſerius ad A. D. 866.*

Marries.

17. When he was twenty years Old, he Married *Alſwitha*, *Etheſwida*, or *Egolſwitha* the Daughter of *Æthelred* Earl of the *Gaini*, Sirnamed *Mucil*, or the Great, from his ſtature, of the Royal Bloud of the *Mercians*. In his two and twentieth year, his Brothers being now all dead, to whom, as *Aſſerius* terms it, he had been Secundary, he came to Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, though not without reluctancy, out of apprehenſion of that danger which hung over his head, from the conſtant Invaſions and Hoſtilities of the Pagans. And ſcarcely had he made an end of his Brother's Funerals, when after one Month he was forced with a ſlender Army to Engage their whole Power at *Wilton*. He had the better of it at the firſt, for he put them to flight, but unwarily giving the Chaſe, they rallied, and returning upon his Men, now quite tired out, became Maſters of the Field. And that it may not ſeem ſtrange that here the *Engliſh* ſhould be foild, *Aſſerius* ſhews, that beſides the ſmalneſs of their Number, in compariſon of the Enemy, this one year they had been ſpent and weakned by eight ſeveral Battels fought againſt theſe Pagans. In theſe eight Battels periſhed one *Daniſh* King, and nine of their Earls, with innumerable multitudes of the leſſer ſort, beſides what fell in thoſe Excurſions made by day and night, the number of which was not to be counted. The Annals inſtead of eight, ſay that nine ſeveral Battels were this year fought, and that upon the Southern Bank of the River *Thames*, wherein one King, and nine Earls were killed. Now this ſame year the Weſt *Saxons* made an Agreement with the *Danes*, on condition that they departed out of their Quarters, which they performed, ſo wearied were both ſides with theſe inceſſant Hoſtilities. The following year (from *Reading* ſay the Annals) they went to *London*, and there they Wintered, whither the *Mercians* ſent Meſſengers, and renewed the Peace which they had formerly made with them.

Uxoꞃem de Ꝋeꞃcia nobilem ꞅciliceꞇ ᵹeneꞃe ꝼiliam Æþelꝼꞃeꝺi Gainoꞃum comiꞇiꞅ qui coᵹnominabaꞇuꞃ Ꝋucil.

Fights ſeveral Battels with the *Danes*.

Makes an agreement with them.

Who March to *Lindſey* in *Lincolnſhire*.

18. The year following being the DCCCLXXIV. of our Lord, and the twenty fourth of *Alfred*'s Age, the Army of *Danes* left *London*, and went into the Countrey of the *Northumbrians*, where in a Region called *Lindeſey* they Wintred, and there again the *Mercians* renewed the Peace. So Writes *Aſſerius*, and the Annals ſay the ſame thing, adding this, that the place they Wintred in was a Village called *Turcoſige*. This Village is at this day known by the Name of *Tork*-

ſey

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ſey, about five Miles South from *Gainsborough* in *Lincolnſhire*, in that diviſion called *Lindſey*, ſeated upon the River of *Trent*, South from the River of *Humber* (above twenty Miles) as all *Lindſey* is, being moſt certainly within the Countrey of the *Mercians*, ſo that a wonder it is that both *Aſſerius* and the Annals ſhould place them in *Northumberland*, which by univerſal conſent was bounded on the South by the River *Humber*. But here we may ſuppoſe they choſe to take up their Quarters, becauſe of the conveniency of the River, by which carrying at High Tide Veſſels of conſiderable burthen, they might receive ſupplies of Men, Arms, or Proviſions from beyond the Seas as they had occaſion; for this reaſon afterward they landed ſometimes in thoſe Parts, and took up their Quarters alſo at *Gainsborough*, where one of their greateſt Tyrants was ſtabbed. The meaning of it ſeems to be this, that they deſigned to paſs into the Parts beyond *Humber*, but here ſtopt becauſe of conveniency, or becauſe *Lindſey* was ſometime under the Power of the Kings of the *Northumbrians*; thereupon,and becauſe it lyes ſo far North, by ſome Writers,in a general acceptation it came to be reckoned as part of it. That this was ſo in the days of *Aſſerius*, (who yet being a *Welſh* Man might be Ignorant in the *Engliſh Saxon* Chorography) ſeems from what he writes at the year following, that the often mentioned Army of *Danes* quitting *Lindſey*, went into *Mercia*, and Wintred in the place called *Hreopdune*. Notwithſtanding the renewing of the Peace, here they forced *Burhred* King of the *Mercians*, to quit both the Iſland, and his Kingdom, in the two and twentieth year of his Reign, whence he went to *Rome*, and not long after his Arrival, died. He being gone, they brought all *Mercia* under their dominion: yet committed it to a ſilly Servant of *Burhred*'s, one *Ceolwulfe* on this condition, that he ſhould again reſtore it the ſame day it ſhould be demanded. For performance hereof he gave Hoſtages, and Swore, that in no manner would he contradict their will, but be obedient in all things. *Hrependune* is that Town now called *Repton* in *Derbyſhire*, the Reſidence of the *Mercian* Kings, when *Derby* was ſcarcely ſo good as a Village; ſeated upon the River *Trent*, where it takes into it the River *Dove*, eminent both for the Burial both of good King *Ethelbald*, and the deprival of this *Burhred* who had all the while he lived ſupported his Title, partly with fair Language, and partly by Gifts, and now (as one * obſerves) became an Example to teach Men in how tickliſh and ſlippery a place they ſtand, who are underprop't onely with Money.

Seize upon the *Mercian* Kingdom.

* *Cambden.*

† *Aſſerius ad A. D.* 875.

Necnon ⁊ Picꞇoꞅ ⁊ Sꞇꞃaꞇꞇuꞇꞇenꞅeꞅ ꝺepopulaꞇi ꞅunꞇ.

Annales ⁊ oꝼheꞃᵹaꝺe on Paohꞇoꞅ ⁊ on ꞅꞇꞃecleꝺ ƿealaꞅ.

Cur Strattuttenſes? Supra monuimus Cambros ſive Britannos qui regiones ſeptentrionales habitabant uſque ad Cludam Amnem conſtituiſſe Regnum quod à flumine Cluda Strateluyd à Wallis, à Mariano Scoto corruptè Streadiylcad Walanorum. Habitabant hi Britanni juxta Pictos atque inde ƿeaꞇaꞅ ꞅꞇꞃæcleꝺ *Stricled Welſh, id eſt Wallos Pictos ſeu variegatos Angli eos apellarunt.*

19. † The *Danes* departing from *Hreopdune*, divided themſelves into two Parties. One of them under Conduct of *Healfdene* one of their Kings, went into *Northumberland*, where they Wintered by the River *Tyne*, and ſubdued all the adjacent Countries, and waſted the Territories of the *Picts*, and Pictiſh *Britains*. The other Party Commanded by *Gothrum*, *Oſcitill* and *Amund*, three other of their Kings went ſtreight to *Grantebrig*, and there remained a whole year. *Alfred* in the mean time, ſenſible that all theſe miſchiefs happened at land, becauſe he was not Maſter at Sea, rigged up a Fleet with intent to ſurprize the Pirates, e'er they ſhould land. He met with five (ſays *Aſſerius*, ſeven ſay the Annals) of their Ships, whereof one he took, and the reſt eſcaped. The following Summer the *Danes* moved to a Caſtle of the Weſt *Saxons*, called *Werham*. *Alfred* now thought fit inſtead of Fighting, to Treat with them; either for that he being taken up in Sea Affairs was not well provided at Land, which made them ſo bold as to enter his paternal Territories, or becauſe they doubted of their own ſtrength, and were very willing to entertain Overtures. Some ſay by Money he purchaſed a Peace, whereby they were ſtreightway to depart his Dominions. For performance of the Accord they gave up what Hoſtages he himſelf named, took an Oath upon Holy Reliques, and upon a Sacred Bracelet; (an Oath ſo great and ſolemn as they never before would ſwear to any Nation) yet as it ſeems not with any intention to obſerve it. * For not long after by Night they took their Horſes,(*Aſſerius* ſaith they killed all his, or their own; for the words are ambiguous) and went to *Exeter*. This ſame year *Healfdene* their King had brought his Affairs to that ſettlement and perfection in *Northumberland*, that he divided the Countrey amongſt his Men, and began to cultivate it with Tillage. And this ſame year it was as *Aſſerius* affirms, that *Rollo* with his *Normans* having Wintered here in *England*, paſſed over the Sea, and invaded *France*.

Then ſubdue *Northumberland.*

And invade the Weſt *Saxons.*

Alfred then King, forced to purchaſe Peace.

*Nocte quaꝺam ꝼœꝺeꞃe ꝺiꞅꞃupꞇo omneꞅ equiꞇeꞅ quoꞅ habebaꞇ occiꝺiꞇ veꞃꞅuꞅque inꞇe Domnaniam aꝺ locum qui ꝺiciꞇuꞃ Saxonicè Eaxanceaꞅꞇꞃe Bꞃiꞇannicè auꞇem Caꞃuviꞅc⁊ Laꞇinè quoque civiꞇaꞅ in oꞃienꞇali ꞃipa ꝼluminiꞅ Uuiꞅe ꞅiꞇa eꞅꞇ pꞃope maꞃe meꞃiꝺianum ⁊ quia inꞇeꞃꝼluiꞇ Galliam Bꞃiꞇanniamque ⁊ inopinaꞇè ꝺiꞃexiꞇ ⁊ ibi hyemaviꞇ.

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20. The year which followed being the DCCCLXXVI. of Our Lord, and the twenty ſixth after the Birth of *Alfred*, part of the Pagan Army remained at *Exeter*, and another part in Harveſt time made excurſions into *Mercia*. The number of theſe Rovers dayly encreaſed, ſo as any that fought with and defeated them never ſo often, had but the ſame endleſs employment as he that cut off the Head of *Hydra*; for if as this day thirty thouſand of them were killed, to Morrow others would ſucceed them, and their number be doubled. *Alfred* perceiving that for all his labour for this reaſon he ſhould profit nothing, but that each Victory (if he obtained it) would prove but a prelude to a farther trouble and danger, gave order throughout all his Dominions for furniſhing out Gallies, or long Ships, to prevent the landing of theſe troubleſome Gueſts. He himſelf haſted to *Exeter*, wherein he Beſieged the *Danes*, from whom to cut off all ſupplies, he manned out his Ships to intercept all proviſions that ſhould come by Sea. His Navy met with one hundred and twenty of their Veſſels, upon which they ſet with all violence imaginable, and all the Veſſels full of Men as they were, periſhed; how *Aſſerius* tells us not, and the Annals ſay it was by Tempeſt near *Swanawic*. The ſame year the Pagans quitting *Werham*, partly on Horſeback, and partly on Shipboard, and theſe at Sea when they came to the place called * *Suanavine* periſhed to the number of one hundred and twenty Veſſels, more if credit be given to the Copy of *Aſſerius*, whereas the Annals mention but one loſs at Sea this year, and the identity of the number in *Aſſerius*, makes us ſuſpect it one and the ſame loſs, and that his Text is corrupted. However ſo it happened, that the *Danes* affrighted with this great loſs (or loſſes) gave him what Hoſtages he deſired, and promiſed to depart. This they did in the Month of *Auguſt* marching into *Mercia*, which Region they granted, partly to *Ceolwulfe*, a certain ſilly Servant of the King, and partly divided amongſt themſelves.

Aſſerius, Tunc ꞃex Ælꝼꞃeꝺuꞅ iuꞅꞅiꞇ Cymbaꞅ ⁊ ᵹaleaꞅ i longaꞅ ꝼabꞃicaꞃi peꞃ ꞃeᵹnum, &c.

* *Aſſerio* Gnaueꞃic.

The *Danes* ſuffer great loſſes at Sea.

21. In the year from our Lord's Incarnation DCCCLXXVII, and the twenty ſeventh after *Alfred*'s Nativity, the often mentioned Army of the Pagans from *Exeter*, in *Chriſtmas* departed to *Ceppanhamme* a Royal Village ſeated * in the Northern part of *Wiltſhire* on the Eaſtern Bank of the River, in *Britiſh* called *Abon*, where it wintred. Hence did it make excurſions into the Territories of the Weſt *Saxons*, of whom many it forced to quit the Land, and in great fear and want of all neceſſaries to croſs the Seas; ſuch as remained were conſtrained to ſubmit themſelves to their Authority. *Alfred* with a few of his Nobility, with a ſmall Party of Souldiers and ſome of his Vaſſals in Woods and the miry parts of *Somerſetſhire* was forc't to hide his Head. A miſerable life he led, having nothing whereby to ſubſiſt except what by ſtealth and Irruptions he could get from the Pagans or from his diſobedient Subjects which had ſubmitted themſelves unto them. He was forced to take up his Quarters with one of the Keepers of his Cattel. The † Neatherd's Wife being on a time buſie in baking Cakes upon the Hearth, the King ſate by the fire ſide fitting and trimming up his Bow and Arrows with his other Habiliments of War. It happened that the Cakes, ſet too near the fire, burned, at which the Woman very much concerned, in haſte ran to the fire and ſnatched them away, but heartily chid the Gueſt upon the Bench, ſaying, *How now man wilt thou not turn the Cakes that burn? Thou wouldeſt be glad to have a ſhare of them when they are bak'd.* The unhappy Woman (ſays *Aſſerius*) little thought ſhe ſpake to King *Alfred* who had fought ſo many Battels with the Pagans, and got ſo many Victories over them. But ſo great affliction happened to him, as our Authour gueſſeth, for not having in his younger years when he firſt came to the Government, heard and relieved his oppreſſed Subjects, for which neglect St. *Neolus* his Kinſman foretold out of a Prophetick Spirit, that theſe Calamities would fall upon him. In the mean time the Brother of *Hinguar* and *Healfdene* departing from *Northwales* with three and twenty Ships, where they had made great waſte, ſailed into *Devonſhire*, and facing a Caſtle called *Cynwith*, were killed in a Salley made by the King's Garriſon, with two hundred of their men. There was taken their Banner called *Reafau*, ſaid to have been made at one Noon-time of the day by the three Siſters of *Hinguar* and *Hubba* the Daughters of *Lodebrock*. Before every Battel if they chanced to be victorious, the likeneſs of a living and flying Crow was reported to have appeared in it, but in caſe they happened to have the worſt it would hang directly down and not move at all. And this hath often been proved by experience, ſaith our Authour.

The Weſt *Saxons* ſubmitting to the *Danes* put *Alfred* to his ſhifts.

* Quæ eꞅꞇ ꞅiꞇa in ꞅiniꞅꞇꞃali paꞃꞇe ƿilꞇunꞅciꞃe ⁊ in Oꞃienꞇali ꞃipa ꝼluminiꞅ quoꝺ Bꞃiꞇannicè ꝺiciꞇuꞃ Abon. *In ſiniſtrali parte; loquitur more Hebræorum & Wallorum qui meridiem dextram vocabant Aquilonem ad ſiniſtram, dum ſcil. Orientem verſus facies converterent.*

† *Aſſerius ex vita Sti Neoli.*

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22. This ſame year *Alfred* built after *Eaſter* a Caſtle at a place called * *Ethelingaeg*, whence with his Nobles of *Somerſetſhire* he made frequent excurſions againſt the Pagans. In the ſeventh week after *Eaſter* he rode to the ſtone of *Ægbryht* in the Eaſtern part of the Wood called *Selwad*, in Latine *Silva Magna*, and *Coitmaur* in *Britiſh*, (in the Eaſtern part of *Somerſetſhire*, now not ſo great) where met him all the Inhabitants of *Somerſetſhire*, *Wilts*, and ſuch of *Hamſhire* as had not been driven beyond the Sea, who received their King as one riſen from the dead, with extraordinary Joy, and there they reſted themſelves that Night. Diſlodging as ſoon as it was light, they travelled that day as far as *Acglea*, and the next arrived at a place called *Ethandun*, (now *Edindon* in *Wiltſhire*) where they ingaged the whole Power of the *Danes*, and got the Victory. They purſued them to one of their fortifi'd Caſtles, to which *Alfred* cauſed cloſe Siege to be laid, which having continued fourteen days, the Pagans pinched with hunger and cold and deſpairing of Relief, yielded on condition to have leave to depart out of the King's Dominions; for to depart they were, and gave up what Hoſtages he was pleaſed to nominate, confirming the Agreement alſo by their Oaths. *Gothrun* alſo their King ingaged to become a Chriſtian and be baptized: All which Covenants they faithfully performed. For after about three weeks he came to *Alfred*, then lying at *Alre* a place near to *Ethelingaeg* (now *Aulre* in *Somerſetſhire* upon the River *Parret*, a Village conſiſting of a few poor Cottages) accompanied with thirty of the choiceſt of his Army, and *Alfred* adopting him for his Son, received him out of the Font, and named him *Athelſtan*; the ſolemnity of looſing his Chriſmal Ligamant, was performed at *Wetmore* or *Wædmore* an Houſe of the King's, with whom he continued twelve days (or twelve Nights to ſpeak in the Dialect of our *Saxon* Anceſtours) and then returned, both he and his followers having received very great Preſents. So good a change was wrought upon them, that they kept their word. For the next year they departed from *Cippanham* to *Cirenceſtre*, and there continued an whole twelve Month. Thence removed they to the Eaſt *Angles*, the Countrey whereof together with *Northumberland*, ſome write that *Alfred* gave to *Guntrun* at his Chriſtening, to be held in fealty of him.

Alfred recovers his Kingdom.

Routs the Danes.

Makes Gothrun their King turn Chriſtian.

Giving him Eaſt England to hold in fealty of him.

23. For the Gift of *Northumberland*, we have nothing to ſay, but as to the other there is extant the (a) Form of a League made betwixt theſe two Kings, in the firſt Article whereof the Limits of their Territories are thus deſcribed. *The Limits of our Land are firſt upon the* Thames, *then proceed they to the River* Lee *as far as his Fountain, then ſtreight to* Bedford, *and ſo up to the River* Ouſe, *as far as* Watling-ſtreet. The ſecond Article, *appoints the value of a Man ſlain, whether* Engliſh *or* Dane, *to be four Marks of melted Gold, and the Redemption of each four hundred Shillings. But if the King's Servant or Thane, was accuſed of Manſlaughter.* The third Article proceeds, *that he be tried by twelve other of the King's Servants. In caſe he was not the King's Servant, but belonged to ſome inferiour Lord, he ſhould be tried by eleven of his Equals, and by one of the King's Servants. The ſame Order was to be taken in all ſuits, which exceeded four Marks. But in caſe he refuſed to undergoe this Trial, his fine was to be increaſed three fold.* The fourth appoints *Vouchers for the ſale of Men, Horſes or Oxen.* The fifth and laſt ordains, *that none from either Army ſhould paſs to the other without leave. And in caſe it be by way of Traffick, ſuch ſhall find Sureties for their Civil Deportment, that the Peace may not be infringed.* Such was the League the Preface to which declares, that it was made betwixt the two Kings, *Elfred* and *Gythrun* (ſo the *Saxon*) by conſent of all the wiſe men of the *Engliſh*, and of all thoſe that inhabited Eaſt *England*, and that not onely in behalf of themſelves, but of their Poſterity. This ſufficiently ſheweth that the Eaſtern Parts of *England* belonged to the *Danes*. Yet *Polydore Virgil* calling this King by the Name of *Gormon*, vehemently contends that he had not that Countrey beſtowed on him. *Krantzius* alſo denies, that *Gormon* was converted to the Faith; yet confeſſes that about this time, one *Froto* was converted. Whatever they write, this League evinceth the Diſtinction of their Territories, and the Teſtimony of *Aſſerius*, is uncontrolable as to his Baptiſm, who lived himſelf at this very time, not to mention that the Annals (ancient Monuments alſo) affirm the ſame.

The form of the League.

24. But the ſame year that theſe things thus paſſed, another great Army of Pagans came from beyond the Seas, and ſailing up the *Thames*, wintred at *Fullonham*, now *Fulham*, at preſent the ſeat of the Biſhop of *London*, upon this River. The ſame year happened alſo a great Eclipſe of the Sun. In that which followed, the Army of *Danes*, that wintred at *Fulham*, paſſed over the Sea into the

* *Aſſerio Æþelingaeᵹ Annal. Æþelinᵹa. Ethelingaeg.* The Iſle of Nobles made by the winding of the River *Parret* into the Thone. From hhim and his People frequenting it ſo named, now known by the Name of *Athelney* in *Somerſetſhire*.

De iſto Rege ſic Malmesb. Gudrum quem noſtri Gurmundum vocant, alii Gormonem qui Regiam ſuam habuit in vico inde Gormoncheſter dicto corruptè Godmacheſter, juxta Huntindoniam.

Cippanham *mercandi locus à nundinis ſcil. quæ etiamnum ibi (Chippenham in Wiltſhire) claræ ſunt.*

(a) *Inter Leges Saxon à Lombardo Editas.*

C. 1.
Æꞃeſꞇ ẏ ın buꞃe lanꝺᵹemeꞃa up on Temeſe. ⁊ ðonne up on Liᵹar. ⁊ anꝺlanᵹ Liᵹan oꝺ hiꞃe æƿẏlm. ðonne on ᵹeꞃıl Meꞇo Beꝺanꞅoꞃꝺa ðon up on Vſan oꝺ ƿælinᵹaſꞇꞃæꞇ.

C. 2.
Be ofſliᵹenan manneſƿeꞃe ⁊

C. 3.
Be ðeᵹnum ðe beꞇoᵹene ſẏnð ⁊

C. 4.
Be ᵹeꞇımum ⁊
⁊ cal ſeoꞇeoꝺ ðe on Eaſꞇ enᵹlum beoð.

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Alfred prepares to be Maſter at Sea.

the Eaſtern *France*, and continued a whole year at *Ghent*, whence the Summer following they pierced farther into the Countrey, and had battel given them by the *Franks*, with what Succeſs as to particulars we know not, but with no great Diſadvantage ſurely to the *Danes*, who after the Fight became Horſemen, and afterward paſſed up the River * *Meuſe*, farther into the Land, and there wintred. *Alfred* in the mean while, being by experience ſufficiently inſtructed, that his main care ought to be employed how to become Maſter at Sea, in three years time provided him a Fleet, wherewith he ingaged ſome Rovers, and took two of their Veſſels, killing all he ound therein. Two other ſhips were commanded by two of their Princes, who with all their Fellows being much wounded, and tired out in fight caſt down their Arms, and with bended Knees and humble ſupplications yielded themſelves into his Hands. Their Countreymen the following year, ſailed up the River *Scheld*, as far as a Monaſtery of Nunns called *Cundoht*, and there took up their Winter Quarters.

* Heꞃ ꝼoꞃ ꞅe heꞃup onꝺlonᵹ Mæꞅe ꝼeoꞃ on ꝼꞃonclonꝺ, *ita Annales, at vero Aſſerius hoc modo:* peꞃ ꝼlumen quoꝺ ꝺiciꞇuꞃ Ine ꞅe ꞅuꞃꞅum ꞇanꞇo longè in ꝼꞃanciam peꞃ ꞇꞃaxiꞇ ⁊ *Per Ine forſan Rhenum intelligit, nobis Rhine.*

The *Danes* invade *Kent*.

25. The year that followed being the DCCCLXXXIV, of Our Lord, and the four and thirtieth of King *Alfred*'s Age, this Army divided it ſelf into two Bodies, whereof the one held on its courſe into the Eaſtern parts of *France*, and the other making for this Iſland, arrived in *Kent*, and laid ſiege to the City of *Rocheſter*. Before the Gate they built a Fort, and uſed all means they could to become Maſters of the place, but the Inhabitants made ſtout reſiſtence, and held out till King *Alfred* came to their relief, the noiſe of whoſe approach frighted away the Beſiegers to their ſhips, wherein they were conſtrained to return to the Coaſts of *France*. The League which was made betwixt *Alfred* and *Guthrun*, it ſeems, was broken by this time, probably by that Intelligence which the *Danes*, inhabiting Eaſt *England*, held with their Countreymen, that ever and anon arrived. *Alfred* found himſelf concerned to man out his Fleet, to leſſen and reſtrain their Power, which deſign ſo proſpered, that coming to the Mouth of the River *Stour*, and meeting thirteen of the Enemies ſhips, which came ready prepared for an Encounter, they took them and killed all their Men. But growing ſecure upon this Succeſs, the *Danes* gathered together all the Veſſels they could make, and ſetting upon them as they lay in the ſame place in a careleſs poſture, ſpoiled their Triumph at their return. The year that followed, a conſiderable Number of theſe *Danes* who had come from the Weſt, quitting *Britain*, returned into that Quarter by Sea, and paſſed up the River *Seine* as far as *Paris*. There they incamped where they could beſt intercept the paſſage of the Citizens, over the Bridge, the City being ſeated in the midſt of the River in a little Iſland, and continued their ſiege for a whole year, but ſuch was the Vigilancy and Induſtry of the Inhabitants, that they could not force their Entrance. While God Almighty thus preſerved the City of *Paris*, from the Violence of the Barbarians, at the ſame time he was pleaſed to reſtore the City of *London* to her Ancient Luſtre, ſhe having as well as many other *Engliſh* Cities been defaced, and depopulated by theſe continual Invaſions of the Pagans. King *Alfred* making it his chiefeſt care to repair it, made it habitable, and committed it to the Government of *Ethered*, the Earl of the *Mercians*, to whom he gave his Daughter *Ethelfleda* in Marriage. To him turned now all ſuch *Engliſh* and *Saxons*, as formerly had been diſperſed, and had lived in captivity under the *Danes*, and willingly ſubmitted to his Dominion, and from the Rovers he reſted quiet for about eight years (ſome ſay thirteen, but to them the Annals bear not Teſtimony) four of which being expired, *Guthrun* the Northern King (as the Annals call him) who reigned in Eaſt *England*, departed this life.

Aſſerius ad An. 886.

Guthrun dies.

26. All this while the other Northern Rovers employed themſelves upon the Continent making continual Invaſions into *France*, which they never left haraſſing till they had *Neuſtria* aſſigned them to inhabit, to which they affixed the Name of *Normandy*. Eight years being paſſed from the laſt hoſtility they had attempted in *England*, an Army of them being beaten out of *France* by the Emperour *Ernulph* and the *Britains*, paſſed from the Eaſtern to the Weſtern parts of *France*, and went to *Boloigne*, where furniſhing themſelves with Veſſels, with two hundred and fifty ſail, they made for the Eaſtern Coaſts of *Kent*, and there put into a River called *Limen*, near to the great Wood *Andred*, a Wood which extended it ſelf in length an hundred and twenty Miles, and in breadth contained thirty. Into this Wood they drew up their ſhips about four Miles from the Rivers Mouth, where they built a Fortreſs. After them one *Haeſten*, with eighty Veſſels more entred the Mouth of the *Thames*, and built a Fort at *Midleton*, while the former Army remained in a place called *Apletree*. *Alfred* to prevent the ſtorm which he ſaw was

Latrunculi enim 13 *annis Gallias infeſtantes ad extremum ab Ernulpho Imperatore & Britannis multis præliis victi, in Angliam opportunum, ſcil. tyrannidis ſuffugium convolavere.*

The Rovers land in two Places.

Sect. 10.

Are attended by *Alfred.*

coming faſt upon him, reſolved to hinder the Correſpondence which was wont to be entertained betwixt the new Comers, and thoſe that were already fixed in the Countrey, a thing which ever proved of pernicious Conſequence. Thoſe of *Northumberland* he obliged to him by an Oath of Fidelity and the Inhabitants of *Eſſex*, from whom he received Hoſtages, for ever as any Strangers invaded the Land they were wont either to join with them or commit ſome Hoſtility themſelves, while the King's Forces were elſewhere employed. Having then got a ſufficient Power together, he incamped himſelf betwixt the two Armies at ſuch a diſtance, as to be ready for either of them, in caſe they offered to remove. And dividing his Army into two Parts, one he kept incamped with an Eye upon the Enemies main Body, the other was ready upon all Occaſions to reſtrain ſuch Parties as foraged the Countrey. They ranged up and down till they came into *Eſſex*, and thence again paſſed the *Thames* into *Surry*, where at *Farnham* the King's Troops met them, and put them to the rout. Their King was wounded, and with one Party ſtaid behind, the reſt croſſed the *Thames* again into an Iſland near *Colne* (ſome ſay in *Eſſex*, others by *Colebrook*) where the King's Army beſieged them ſo long, till Proviſions failed. In the mean time the *Danes* of *Northumberland*, not able to hold their Hands while they ſaw their Countreymen inriching themſelves with Booty, broke their Faith, and with an hundred ſhips coming to the Eaſt *Angles*, ſcoured the Southern Parts, as they did with forty, the Northern Coaſts, and ſailing about came to *Exeter*, which they preſently beſieged. *Alfred* hearing this haſted thither with all his Army, except a ſtrong Party of *Welſh*, which marching to *London* joined with the Citizens, and others that came from the Weſt, and then went Eaſtward to *Beamfleet*. Where *Haeſten* having built a Fort was himſelf gone out to forage, but had left a ſtrong Party to defend it. But this Party they cut in pieces, plundered the Caſtle, took much Booty and Priſoners, and either deſtroyed all their ſhips, or brought them away to *London* or *Rocheſter*.

27. Among other Priſoners was taken the Wife of *Haeſten*, with his two Sons which ſo affected the Barbarian, that he begged Peace of the King, giving Hoſtages and Oath for his peaceable Deportment. *Alfred* ſet his Wife and his Sons at Liberty, to one of which he himſelf was Godfather, and the other was the Godſon of Earl *Ethelred*, and beſides he beſtowed on him a good Summ of Money. But returning to *Beamfleet*, he could not reſtrain his ravenous Inclination, but fell of waſting the County adjacent; which was under the Government of *Ethelred* his Goſſip. After this both *Daniſh* Armies joined, and coming to *Shobury* in *Eſſex*, there built another Caſtle. Thence paſſing the *Thames*, with ſuch as joined with them from *Northumberland* and Eaſt *England*, they marched on to *Severn*, waſting all in their way. Here the King's Captains, *Ethered*, *Ethelm* and *Ethelnoth*, with Forces taken out of all the Countries adjoining, pitch'd their Camp over againſt them at a place called *Buttington* (in *Montgomeryſhire*) the River running betwixt them, and there they faced one another for many weeks. In the mean time the King by a ſiege ſorely diſtreſſed the *Danes* in *Exeter*, who having eaten part of their Horſes reſolved to ſally out, and join with their fellows that lay incamped on the Eaſt ſide of the River, but the King ſet upon and diſcomfited them all with loſs of *Ordhelm*, and ſeveral other of his own Officers. Thoſe that remained fled to *Eſſex* to the Fort they had there built, and their ſhips. But no ſooner was one Party ſuppreſſed, but another aroſe. *Laf* one of their Leaders, before Winter gathered a great Army out of Eaſt *England* and *Northumberland*, and depoſiting their Wives, Ships and Moneys in the Hands of the Eaſt *Angles*, marched, Day and Night with ſuch Expedition, that they came to a City of the Weſt called *Wirheal* which they took, e'er the Army that purſued could reach them.

Their Armies join waſting all near *Severn.*

Æꞇ Buꞇꝺinᵹ ꞇune.

Alfred beſieges the *Danes* in *Exeter.*

Hie þa ꝼeala ƿucena ꞅæꞇon on ꞇƿa healꝼe ðeꞃe ea.

Iſta Wirhea nonne eadem Urbs quæ hodie Cheſter? ſic enim Annales.

28. Having waſted the Countrey round, the year following, they quitted the place and invaded North *Wales*, which after they had plundered, they returned ſome into *Northumberland*, and ſome into Eaſt *England*; whence proceeding into *Eſſex*, they ſeized on a ſmall Iſland lying toward the Eaſt, called *Mereſig*, and another Party returning by Sea from the Siege, landed upon the Coaſt of *Suſſex*, where the Inhabitants of *Chicheſter* Sallying out, ſlew many of them, and took ſome of their Ships. The ſame year they that ſeized upon *Mereſig*, drew up their Ships, ſome into the River of *Thames*, and others into *Lee-Road*, on the Bank of which, the year following, they built a Fort about twenty miles from *London*. The *Londoners* looking upon this as a curb not to be endured, with other Aſſiſtents, endeavoured to demoliſh it, but were beaten back with loſs of many Men, and amongſt

The *Danes* invade North-*wales.*

ꝥ hie ᵹeꝺẏꝺon on auꞃe ƿeꞅꞇꞃe ceaꞅꞇꞃe on Ƿiꞃhealum ꞅic iꞅ Leᵹaceaꞅꞇeꞃᵹehaꞇen.

mongſt the reſt, three of the King's Officers. Hereupon the King in time of Harveſt Incamped nearer the City, to reſtrain the incurſions of *Danes* upon the Reapers. As he was Riding on a time by the River *Lee*, it came into his Head, that by digging of large Ditches on each ſide, he might turn the Stream from the Chanel, and ſo cauſe their Ships to reſt upon the dry ground; which thing having deviſed, he attempted with ſuch ſucceſs, that the *Danes* perceiving they were not to be got off, ſent away their Wives and Children into Eaſt *England*, and on foot marched as far as a place called *Quatbrig* upon the *Severn*, where they built a Fortreſs and Wintred. The Citizens of *London*, very joyfully and in Triumph, brought ſuch of their Ships as they could get off, into their own Road, and the reſt they burnt or diſabled. This happened three years after that from the tranſmarine Parts, theſe *Danes* firſt arrived in the mouth of *Lirnene*. During theſe ſame three years raged a great Plague, both amongſt Men and Cattle. The King loſt moſt of his choiceſt Nobility, as *Swithulfe* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and ſeveral great Earls; *Ceolmund* in *Kent*, *Brithulfe* in *Eſſex*, *Wulfred* in *Hampſhire*, beſides *Ealbard* Biſhop of *Dorceſter*, *Eadulf* the King's Officer in *Suſſex*, *Beornwulfe* Governour of *Wincheſter*, *Eigulfe* Maſter of the King's Horſe, and many others.

A great Plague.

The *Danes* of Eaſt *England*, and *Northumberland*, waſte the Territories of the Weſt *Saxons*.

29. This Diſaſter was followed by many irruptions made by the *Danes* Inhabiting *Northumberland* and Eaſt *England*, into the Territories of the Weſt *Saxons*, by means of their long Gallies, which they had built many years before. To overmatch them, King *Alfred* commanded other Gallies to be made twice as long, higher, and yet both ſwifter and ſteddier than they, ſome of ſixty Oars, and ſome of more, like to which were not then in uſe, either amongſt the *Danes* or *Friſons*. At this time the Iſle of *Wight*, the Coaſts of *Devonſhire*, and other Maritime Parts were much infeſted by ſix Pickeering Veſſels which hovered upon theſe Quarters. The King commanded ſome of theſe new Gallies to be Manned out againſt them for an experiment. The Fight was partly by Water, and partly by Land, managed with dexterity and courage enough on both ſides. Two of the Pirates Ships were ſtranded, one eſcaped away into Eaſt *England*, and all except but ſuch as ſerved in this, were either ſlain or taken; but not without conſiderable loſs alſo on the King's ſide. Here fell *Lucumon* the King's Earl, *Wulfheard*, *Ebba* and *Ethelere*, all *Friſons*, and *Ethelfrith* the Overſeer of the King's Cattle. All the *Friſons* periſhed, of the *Engliſh* ſixty two, and of the *Danes* one hundred and twenty. The Priſoners were led to the King to *Wincheſter*, where he commanded them to be hang'd as Pirates and publick Enemies. This year died *Wulfric* the Maſter of the King's Horſe, who was alſo his Governour of *Wales*, which therefore was at this time ſubject to his Command. The year following hath nothing notable, but that *Ethelm* the Earl of *Wiltſhire* died nine nights (ſo particular are the Annals in matters of ſmalleſt conſequence) before *Midſummer*, and this was the laſt of *Ethered* Earl of *Devonſhire*, and of the Biſhop of *London*. Theſe uſhered into another world the King himſelf, who having enjoyed two or three years of Peace, as a preparation to everlaſting Repoſe and Felicity, in the five and twentieth of *October*, in the one and fiftieth year of his Age, and the thirtieth of his Reign, in the year of our Lord, DCCCC. paſſed from a temporal to an eternal Kingdom.

The Iſle of *Wight*, and the Maritime Coaſt infeſted with Pirates.

Who are taken and executed at *Wincheſter*.

Æþelꝼeꞃþ Cẏninᵹeꞅ ᵹeneaꞇ.

Ƿulꝼꞃic Cẏninᵹeꞅ hoꞃꞅ þeᵹen ꞅe ƿæꞅ eac Ƿealhᵹeꞃeꝼa.

Alfred dyes.

Die 7 *Kalend. Novemb. ita Aſſer. Ann.* ſic. ꞅix nihꞇum æꞃ ealꞃa halᵹꞃa mæꞅꞅan.

30. Whoever conſiders the worth of his Perſon, will find that our opinion of his happineſs, is not founded merely upon Charity. A Man who (humane frailty alone ſet aſide) ſo diſcharged all the Offices of a King and of a Chriſtian, as ſcarcely any can be found in theſe vertues to have been ſo accurate, by whoſe (almoſt I had ſaid ſingle) example no infirmity of Body, no travel of mind, perpetual diſquiets and dangers can excuſe from the performing of all duties which the Relation, a Man ſtands in both to God and Men, exacteth from him. In what continual diſturbances he lived and reigned, we have ſufficiently ſeen already, how ſeldom he enjoyed any repoſe and quiet, in what perpetual diſtractions, cares and anxieties, any other man would have been involved. But his inward griefs were as great and preſſing as were his outward moleſtations, ſcarcely one day from his Infancy, till he came to be forty five years of Age, was he free from extraordinary pains in his Body. From his Childhood, till he came to be twenty, he was exceedingly troubled with the Piles. Then after his Marriage, ſeized with ſo great and ſtrange pain, that no Phyſician could gueſs what the cauſe ſhould be, ſome imagined him bewitched, others thought it the mere effect of the Devil's malice, who hates and envies all good Men, others imagined it an unuſual ſort of Fever, and others his former diſeaſe of the *Hæmorrhoids* increaſed to a

His indiſpoſition of Body.

greater malignity. He was afraid leſt Leproſie, Blindneſs, or ſome other dreadfull Symptom ſhould follow upon it, which render Men both deſpicable and unſerviceable. Therefore as formerly ſenſible of the proneneſs of Nature to fleſhly Luſts in the heat of youth, and before he was married, he prayed that ſome Infirmity might fall upon him which might abate theſe deſires and inclinations, now that he might not be unuſefull, he prayed for a Relaxation of this Grief, and as he had been heard in his firſt petition, ſo his ſecond was not denied. But though ſeldom did his pain intermit, or if he enjoyed any eaſe for a Day, or a Night, or an Hour, yet the fear and apprehenſion of the return of his almoſt unſupportable Torment, never forſook him, yet was the employment of his time ſo fruitfull in all reſpects, as if he had not had the leaſt diverſion. Of this *Aſſerius* his Chaplain an Eye-witneſs gives us in the Hiſtory of his Actions, this full account.

Aſſerius.

His management of Affairs.

31. Amidſt his Wars, the many diſturbances of his Life, the Invaſions of Pagans, and the daily Infirmities of his Body, he ordered the matters of State concerning his Kingdom, practiſed all the Art of Hunting, inſtructed all his Gold-Smiths and Artificers, his Huntſmen and Falconers, contrived new Buildings more ſumptuous than any of his Predeceſſours, he himſelf being the Inventour and Architect, read *Saxon* Books, got *Saxon* Verſes by heart, and ſaw that others did the like. Conſtantly was he preſent at Divine Service, Pſalms or Prayers he read, his diurnal and nocturnal Hours he ever celebrated, alone in the Night time when all others were aſleep, he frequented Churches and then performed his Devotions, overſaw the diſtribution of Alms to Poor and Strangers, ſet himſelf to the ſearching out the Cauſes of unknown things, and in all theſe Employments, and during his Pains behaved himſelf with incomparable Affability, and pleaſantneſs toward all Men. Many *Franks*, *Friſons*, *Galls*, *Pagans*, *Britains*, *Scots* and *Armenians* on their own Accord, became his Subjects, as well noble as ignoble, all whom according to their ſeveral Qualities and Conditions, he loved, honoured and relieved as his own Nation. Sermons either from Strangers or his own Chaplains, he heard conſtantly and attentively. His Biſhops, the whole Clergy, his Earls and Nobles, his Servants and Familiars, he loved moſt affectionately. Such of their Sons as were at Court he took perſonal care of no leſs than his own Children, inſtructing them himſelf Night and Day in good manners and literature. But as if in all theſe he had no comfort at all, and as if no other thing either internal or external troubled him, Night and Day he was very ſad, and with many ſighs bewailed his condition both to God and his familiar Friends, that he was deſtitute of Divine Wiſedom, and of the liberal Arts.

His deſire and improvement in Learning.

32. He made it his buſineſs to get ſuch men about him as could beſt ſupply this defect which his own humility repreſented to him far greater than indeed it was. As his utmoſt wiſh and the greateſt Boon he beg'd, was like to that of *Solomon*, ſo the ſucceſs of his Prayers was (though not proportionably) the ſame, God giving him both learning and Wiſedom, and (if not Riches yet) Honour in ſuch abundance, as no Prince of his Age, nor for many Ages afterward attained. Four learned Clerks he ſent for out of *Mercia*, and ſome he had in his own paternal Dominions of the Weſt *Saxons*, by whoſe indeavours his inſatiable deſire of knowledge was ſtill exerciſed. For both Night and Day when he had any ſpare time he heard them reade, never being without ſome one of them in attendance, whereby it came to paſs that he had a thorough knowledge almoſt of all ſorts of Books. Yet not contenting himſelf with what they could teach him, he ſent for the learnedſt men he could hear of out of *France*, and out of *Wales*, for *Aſſer* the Writer of the Story, all whom he rewarded and preferred ſuitably to their Merits. By aſſiſtence of theſe men he arrived at ſuch eminent learning, (that Age eſpecially conſidered) that he became not onely the moſt knowing of all Kings, but in univerſal knowledge exceeded almoſt all, both his own Subjects and others. He was learned in Speech, but eſpecially made it his buſineſs to be throughly verſed in Divine and Practical knowledge. He penetrated to the profound Myſteries of all Liberal Arts, which he acquired with utmoſt diligence. The greateſt part of the *Roman* Library he made familiar to his *Engliſh* Subjects. He was ſo univerſally learned that he became both an excellent Grammarian, Philoſopher, Rhetorician, Hiſtorian, Muſician and Poet; nay, a moſt perfect Architect and Geometrician. He himſelf for the benefit of his Subjects, whom the Invaſions of the Barbarous *Danes* had well nigh deprived of all Learning, tranſlated into their own Language the Hiſtory of *Oroſius*, the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of *Bede*, (which Tranſlation we make frequent uſe of) and death prevented his finiſhing an *Engliſh* Tranſlation of the Pſalms of *David*.

Ingulphus, Malmesbury, Balæus, alii.

Sect. 10.

His Devotions.

He adminiſters Juſtice.

Encourages Learning.

And rids the Nation of Thieves and Highwaymen.

33. The more wonderfull this is ſtill, if we conſider that his Devotions took up ſo much time as ſcarcely any Religious Perſon, whoſe work alone it was, ſpent more in God's Service. He made a Vow to dedicate to him one half, excepting that of ſleep and neceſſary Refreſhings. And becauſe herein he could not be accurate for the cloudineſs of the Air and want of Clocks, (which in this Age were not invented) he cauſed ſix large Tapers of Wax to be provided, each twelve * Inches in length, by the burning of which he meaſured out the four and twenty Hours. Perceiving that the burning of them was unequal by reaſon that the Wind through the Windows, the Cranies of Walls of his Chapel, or the thin Cloths of his Tents got to them; to prevent this inconvenience he invented a Lanthorn made of Wood and Horns of Oxen. But that which took up not the leaſt part of his time thus divided with the hearing of Cauſes and Adminiſtration of Juſtice, wherein to relieve the Poor and Diſtreſſed, Night and Day he travelled indefatigably; for in all that Kingdom (ſaith our Authour) beſides him alone they had no Protectour, or very few, Perſons of publick Spirits as well as Employment, having always been rare in this Nation. Such Partiality and Contention were there amongſt Inferiour Judges, that he was perpetually peſtered with Appeals, wherein he was ſo Sedulous an Inquirer, that all Villany was ever brought to light. But beſides Appeals few Cauſes were heard in Inferiour Courts of any moment, which however decided he did not examine. If he found his Judges unskilfull, he gravely admoniſhed them as ſuch, who in caſe they did not ſtudy improvement were to looſe their Places. This made them ſo vigilant and induſtrious, that though his Officers all in a manner were illiterate from their Infancy, yet in their elder Age did they apply themſelves to learning, and ſuch as by reaſon of Age or other Avocations could not doe it, brought up their Sons, their Kinſmen or their Dependants and Servants to reade to them. As he being the Superiour Judge (not onely as to Authority but Adminiſtration of Juſtice) took care that his People ſhould be furniſhed with able Miniſters, ſo he provided them of good Laws, and for the better Government of the whole *Engliſh* Nation, brought up ſeveral laudable Cuſtomes, which ſtill to this day continue, and we ſhall declare when we come to ſpeak of the Laws and Polity of our *Saxon* Anceſtours. To keep up Civility and Learning he erected Schools for the training up of Youth, and uſed ſeverity againſt ſuch as broke the Peace, that he might by Puniſhments deter, as well as by Rewards and Encouragements allure, the two great Engines of Magiſtracy. Thieves and Highwaymen he ſo proſecuted, that he rid the Land in a manner of them, to the terrour of all ſuch, cauſing upon high Poſts in the Croſs ways certain Chains of Gold to be hung, as it were daring any one to take them down; ſo that during his Government Juſtice did not onely reign but Triumph.

The management of his Revenue.

34. We have ſeen how he employed his time, one of the greateſt Concernments of a Prince; another remains as great, *viz.* how he ſpent his Revenue. Making this a main point of Conſcience, and having vowed to the Service of God, as well the half of his Revenues as his time, he commanded all his Annual Income to be equally divided into two parts. The firſt of theſe he appointed to ſecular uſes and ſubdivided it into three Portions. The firſt he appointed to pay the Wages of Souldiers, his choiceſt Miniſters, and thoſe that by their turns attended him in his Court. For of ſuch he had three Diviſions each whereof waited their month, and then reſting two at their own homes again returned to their former monthly ſervice. The ſecond Portion he aſſigned to Workmen and Architects, of whom he kept employed almoſt an innumerable Multitude of all Nations. The third he freely beſtowed on Strangers that came to him from all parts far and near, whether they asked it or asked it not, as their Qualities were, and (according to that which is written, *God loveth a chearfull Giver*) with a chearfull mind. Thus did he employ the firſt half of his Revenue. The ſecond half of his whole Revenues and Incomes with a moſt free will he devoted to the Service of Almighty God, and cauſed it to be divided into four Portions. The firſt of theſe he conferred on ſuch Poor as flocked to him out of all Nations. The ſecond on two Monaſteries he had cauſed to be built at *Æthelingaeg*, and at *Scofteſburg*. The third to a School which he had erected for the Inſtruction of the Nobility of his own Nation, ſaid to have been at *Oxford*, but *Aſſerius* mentions no place. The fourth to the Monaſteries round about in *Saxony* (the Countrey of the Weſt *Saxons* he means) and *Mercia*, and ſome years by turns to the Churches and Servants of God in *Britain*, *Cornwall*, *Gall*, *Armorica*, *Northumberland*, and alſo in *Ireland* he either according to his ability ſent relief, or reſolved to doe it as opportunity and his Treaſury would permit.

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* Uꞇ unaquæque canꝺela 12 Unciaꞅ pollicıꞅ in ꞅe ꞅignaꞇaꞅ in lonᵹıꞇuꝺıne habeꞃeꞇ. *Aſſer.*

35. Such was the demeanour of *Alfred* in his Religious and Civil kind of life, a demeanour accurate indeed, but not ſuch as can denominate him a formal or foppiſh man, for under all this Diſcipline he was not ſowre or melancholly, but carried himſelf (as an eye or ear witneſs left recorded after his Death, when he could have no temptation to flatter him) with wonderfull Affability and Facetiouſneſs. To his ſeverer Studies and Practices he alſo joyned the gentile Divertiſements of Muſick and Hunting (things not poſſible to be reached by formal Fops, may our Wits be Judges) and his Military skill and valour was ſo admirable, that no Diſaſters or Diſcouragements could abate it. *Malmesbury* teſtifies of him that while he was overthrown and lay as it were groveling on the Earth, he was ſtill a terrour to his Enemies. In all Battels he was preſent every where, ſtriking into the Hearts of his Enemies fear and coldneſs, and paleneſs into their Faces, adding freſh Courage to his own Men. He alone would expoſe his Breaſt to the Enemies Swords, he alone would reſtore the Fight when his Army was ready to run away, and by his Example conſtrain his Souldiers to repell the inſulting and purſuing Pagans. Nay, after he had been forced to flie, he became more terrible to his Foes, the memory of his Defeat made him more Circumſpect, and an ardent deſire of Revenge more venturous. Fifty ſix ſet Battels by Sea and Land he fought againſt the *Danes*, and of theſe eight in one day, ſo that by his miraculous Courage and Conduct he ſo afflicted and tired them, though they ſtill came in freſh numbers upon him, that they were forced to give up what Hoſtages he pleaſed, and ſubmit to ſuch Conditions as he thought fit to impoſe. That theſe are not Flouriſhes, the univerſal conſent of Writers bears Witneſs, all who admire him as an Heroe, and by an unparallel'd example tax him with no Vice at all; ſomewhat *Aſſerius* ſpeaks of *Niolus*'s object to him the neglect of adminiſtring Juſtice, which was in his young years, and for which in his riper he made abundant Compenſation. Upon the whole we cannot but diſmiſs him with the Exclamation of Wonder, into which Sir *Henry Spelman*, upon due conſideration of all things, breaketh forth. " O *Alfred*, the Wonder and Aſtoniſhment of all Ages! If we
" reflect upon his Piety and Religion it would ſeem that he had never gone
" out of a Monaſtery: If on his Warlike Exploits, that he had lived no where
" but in a Camp: If on his Writings and Studies, that he had ſpent his whole life
" in an Univerſity: And laſtly, If we regard his Adminiſtration of the Affairs
" of his Kingdom and Subjects, one would think that his whole time had been
" employed in nothing elſe but enacting Laws, and promoting Juſtice in his Tribunals and Courts.

His Divertiſements.

His Courage.

36. King *Egbert* is generally eſteemed the firſt Monarch of the *Engliſh Saxons*, and as ſuch we have placed him, his time better agreeing therewith, but indeed was a Monarch in the ſame ſenſe that the other ſeven were, which *Beda* mentions, the Authority of whom extended through the Heptarchy, though the ſeveral Kingdoms had their ſeveral Kings. He as *Julius Cæſar* to *Auguſtus* ſhewed the way, and chalked that out which was afterward perfected by his Glorious Son *Alfred*, who indeed was toward his latter end Monarch of all the parts of *England* which were not poſſeſſed by the *Danes*, for if a petty King afterward was ſet up in *Northumberland* or elſe where, ſo inconſiderable was his condition as deſerves not to be taken notice of. But, not onely were the *Engliſh* his Subjects. The *Welſh* or *Britains* had alſo ſubmitted to him, over whom he appointed a Governour, as we lately obſerved him by Name out of the *Saxon* Annals. But *Aſſerius* acquaints us with the Affairs of that his own Countrey, more particularly in relation to the Obedience they paid to *Alfred*. He tells us that at that time and long before all the Regions of the South (Weſtern) parts of *Britain* (*Dextralis Britanniæ* he terms it) did belong, and ſo did ſtill to the Dominion of King *Alfred*. Namely *Hemeid*, with all the People of *Demetia* or South Weſt *Wales*, being forced to ſubmit to him by the violence of the ſix Sons of *Rotri*. In like manner *Howel* or *Houil*, the Son of *Ris* King of *Gleguiſing*, morever *Brochmail* and *Fernail* Sons of *Mouric*, Kings of *Guent*, being oppreſſed by the violence and Tyranny of Earl *Eadred*, and the *Mercians*, of their own Accord ſubmitted to him as their King, that by his means they might be protected from their Enemies. Beſides theſe *Heliſed* the Son of *Teudyr*, King of *Brecknock* (*Rex Breckoniæ*) driven thereto by the violence of the foreſaid Sons of *Rotri*, voluntarily gave up himſelf into his hands. Nay at laſt *Anaraut* himſelf with his Brethren the Sons of *Rotri*, deſerted the Alliance they had contracted with the *Northumbrians*, from whom they received no emolument at all, but rather hurt; and earneſtly deſired the King's friendſhip. He was admitted into his Preſence, and with much honour

Vide Math. Floril. hic.

His Dominions.

nour entertained by him, who at his receiving confirmation from the hands of a Biſhop, acknowledged him his Spiritual Son, and at his departure preſented him very richly. The effect of this Meeting was, that he ſubjected himſelf to the Soveraignty of King *Alfred*, to be obedient to him in all things as Earl *Ethelred* and the *Mercians* were. Neither in vain did any of theſe obtain the friendſhip of the King. For ſuch as deſired Earthly power hereby found a means to increaſe it, ſuch as deſired Money had Money, ſuch as deſigned Familiarity got Familiarity, and ſuch as would have both obtained both. All of them procured Love, Defence, and Protection on every ſide, as far as the King was able to protect himſelf and his own Subjects.

⁊ aꝺ manum epıſcopı ın ꝼılıum conꝼıꞃmatıonıſ acceptuſ.

An Account of his Wife and Children.

37. King *Alfred* by *Elſwitha* his Wife, with whom he lived in all Conjugal temperance, had ſeveral Children. His Eldeſt was * *Ethelfleda*, married to *Eadred* Count of the *Mercians*. The next was a Son named † *Edward*. The third a Daughter, *Ethelgeda* as ſome call her, but *Aſſerius* names her || *Ethelgeofn*; ſhe was Abbeſs in the Nunnery founded by her Father at *Shaftsbury*. The fourth was *Elfrida*, *Aſſerius* calls her * *Elſthrith*, married to *Baldwin* the ſecond Count of *Flanders*. The fifth and the youngeſt was * *Ethelward*, who by Divine Council (ſaith our Authour) and the admirable Providence of the King, together with well nigh all the Noble Children of the whole Countrey, and many of the Inferiour ſort, was committed to the Diſcipline of the School under the diligent care of Maſters. In this School Books of both Languages, *viz.* *Latin* and *Saxon* were diligently read. They were taught alſo to Write, inſomuch that before they had ſtrength ro undergoe Manly Exerciſes, which befit Noble Perſons, as Hunting and the like, they became Studious and ingenious in the Liberal Sciences. *Edward* and *Elſthrith* were always brought up at Court diligently attended by their Nurſes and Governours (as deſigned to Princely Eſtate and Government) being exceedingly beloved by all, both home born and Strangers, to whom they carried themſelves with all humble Affability and Gentleneſs. To their Father they ſhewed all manner of Duty and Subjection, neither were they amid their other Employments ſuitable to their Birth ſuffered to live idly and careleſly without Liberal Studies. For they diligently learnt Pſalms by heart, read *Saxon* Books, but eſpecially got by heart *Saxon* Poems, and very frequently made uſe of other Books.

* Æþelꝼlæꝺ.
† Eaꝺƿeꞃꝺ.
|| Æþelᵹeoꝼn.

* Ælꝼðꞃẏð
† Æþelƿeaꞃꝺ.

To *Alfred* ſucceeded *Edward*.

38. Of theſe *Edward* the Eldeſt Son ſucceeded his Father in the ſixteenth year of *Leo* the Sixth, *Porphyrogenitus* Emperour of the Eaſt, the ſecond of *Lewis* the Fourth Emperour of the Weſt, the ſame year that *Charles* the Simple began his Reign in *France*, in the Fourth Indiction, *A. D.* DCCCCI. *Ingulphus* and *Malmesbury* after him writes of him that in Learning he was far Inferiour to his Father, but incomparably more glorious in the Power of his Kingdom, that he indeed had conjoyned the two Kingdoms of the *Mercians* and the Weſt *Saxons*, but held onely that of the *Mercians* as King in Name and Title, it being aſſigned over to Duke *Ethelred*. But his Son after the Death of *Ethelred* firſt wholly brought under his Dominion and Propriety the *Mercians*, then preſently after fully the Weſtern and Eaſtern *Engliſh*, or thoſe of *Northfolk*, the *Northumbrians*, who had imbodied themſelves with the *Danes*; then the *Scots* inhabiting the Northern part of the Iſland and all the *Britains* or *Welſh* did he ſubdue by his Sword; and having caſt out the Pagans from all Cities and Walled Towns, placed Chriſtians in their rooms; neither ever in any Battel was he worſted. He ingeniouſly invented ways to reſtrain the Excurſions of the *Danes*, by either repairing old Cities or building new ones in convenient places, which he furniſhed with ſufficient Garriſons to protect the Inhabitants and to repell the Enemy. By this means the valour of the People was ſo much excited, that upon report of the Enemies coming they would without conſulting the King or his Captains arme themſelves and valiantly charge the Invaders, whom they always overpowered both by their numbers and Military skill; ſo that the *Danes* became contemptible to the *Engliſh* Souldiers, and a Laughing-ſtock to the King himſelf.

A Glorious King.

Deſpiſing the Attempts of the *Danes*.

Ethelwald his Kinſman Rebels.

39. But notwithſtanding this his great felicity, the beginning of his Reign was much diſturbed by *Ethelwald* his Kinſman, *viz.* his Couſin German by *Ethelred* his Father's Elder Brother, though others call him the Brother of *Edward*, for his Genealogy is variouſly related. Moſt probable it is, that he was the Son of *Ethelred*, and founded his pretenſions to the Kingdom upon no weaker ground than being Son to the Elder Brother, whom he failed to ſucceed onely at that time for want of Age as ſome think, or rather becauſe *Ethelwulfe* by his laſt Will and Teſtament had appointed *Alfred* his Youngeſt Son to ſucceed, in caſe he ſurvived his three Brothers. For by the Teſtament of *Alfred* himſelf, which *Aſſerius* hath

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hath tranſmitted to Poſterity, it appears that this King had ſome ſcruples in his mind, or conceived that others might have ſome cauſe to queſtion his legal Title to the Crown. "After the Death of my Brethren (ſaith he) the inheritance "of King *Ethelwulſe* my Father devolved upon me by virtue of an Authentick "publick Writing made by him, and confirmed in a general Aſſembly of the "States of the Kingdom at *Langdene*. This Writing upon the Death of my laſt "Brother, *Ethelred*, I commanded to be freely and openly read in the Audience "of all the Deputies of the Weſt *Saxons*. It being read, I required and adjured all "that were preſent, as they loved me to declare ſincerely whether they knew "or had heard of any others who could juſtly claim any Right in this mine Inheritance, for I my ſelf did not know any. This Adjuration I again repeated in theſe words. "I beſeech you my dear Friends, let not any of you either out of "love or hatred to me, ſpare freely, to ſpeak the naked truth: for I have no deſire "or intention at all to prejudice the Rights of any of my Kinſmen in the leaſt "matter. When I had thus ſpoken, then all the Nobles and Princes of my People with a ſerious proteſtation Anſwered. "That never any Notice had come "to them of any one that had a juſter Title than my ſelf, neither could they imagine or by any Writings Diſcover that any ſuch there were.

40. Though this may ſeem to have relation to certain Lands left him by his Father, yet is it evident from the Teſtament, that this was ſuch an Inheritance as was to deſcend to all the Brothers, and the Regal Title ſo conjoyned with it, that the longer liver of them both by their Father's * ordination, and their own † conſent ſhould poſſeſs it, together with the whole Kingdom, aſſigning ſuch Lands to his Brothers Sons as were convenient for their ſubſiſtence. He came therefore to the Crown by virtue of his Father's Conveyance, which was both ratified by the States, and confirmed by the mutual agreement of the Brothers, yet to remove all ſcrupuloſity this excellent Prince would have his Pretenſions to be ſcanned, and his Title examined in another Aſſembly before ſuch time as he would undertake the Government. However *Ethelwald* knowing his Title would be warrantable enough if he could but get ſucceſs to ſtrengthen it, reſolved to try his Fortune, and for that purpoſe ſeized on two Towns, called *Winburn*, and *Tweonam*. In *Winburn* he fortified himſelf, affirming there he would live or dye; but his reſolution profited him little, the memory of King *Alfred* having ſo great a place in all the Hearts of the People, that they had no room to entertain any Inclinations toward any other Pretenders to the Royal Dignity than his Son and Heir. *Edward* aſſured of their fidelity, led an Army down to a place called *Baddanbyrig*, not far from *Winburn*, which ſo affrighted his Rival, that he who had boaſted of what valour and conſtancy he would ſhew in that place, fled out of it by night, and got him into *Northumberland*, where he joined himſelf with the *Daniſh* Army. The King commanded ſome to purſue him, but this being in vain, he cauſed his Wife to be ſeized, which being a Nun Profeſſed without leave from the King, or licence of the Biſhops, he had taken out of a Monaſtery, and returned to the place and Profeſſion from whence ſhe came. This Monaſtery was that at *Winburn* in *Dorſetſhire*, where we have for merly related King *Ethelred* the Brother of *Alfred* to have been Buried. *Baddanbyrig* is now called *Badbury*, being a little Hill upon a fair Down ſcarcely two Miles off from *Winburn*, compaſſed with a triple Trench and Rampire. It's reported to have had a Caſtle which was the ſeat of the Weſt *Saxon* Kings. But if ever there were any ſuch, it now lyes ſo buried in its Ruines that no token of it appears.

Who fortifies himſelf at *Winburn*.

But upon the approach of King *Edward*, flies.

41. *Edward* thus drove away *Ethelwald* without fighting, and the *Kentiſh* Men the year after at a place called *Holme* fought proſperouſly againſt a multitude of *Daniſh* Pirates. In the mean time *Ethelwald* was (as ſome * Authours affirm) choſen King by the *Danes* of *Northumberland*, who depoſed their King *Osbert*. † *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* writes, that from *Northumberland* he paſſed the Seas into *France*, there to ſtrenghen himſelf by the addition of a greater Force, (of *Normans*, as we may very well conjecture) who being of the ſame original with the *Danes*, had by this time obtained *Neuſtria* to inhabit, a conſiderable Province of that Kingdom. The year after returning into *England* with an Army he thereto joined a great number of Pagans, inhabiting *Northumberland*, Eaſt *England*, and other Places, and then invading *Mercia* with Fire and Sword, deſtroyed all things he met with. A later Writer tells us, he drew into his Society *Eric* the Succeſſour of *Guthrun* the *Dane*, in the Kingdom of the Eaſt *Angles*, a Prince whoſe malice to the Nation of the *Engliſh* was moſt deadly. *Huntingdon* mentions his firſt landing in *Eſſex*, and ſubduing that Countrey without delay; to which the

A bloudy Battel betwixt the *Danes* and *Edward*.

* quam ꝺe heꞃeꝺıꞇaꞇe quam ꝼaꞇeꞃ meuꞅ Æþalꝼulphuꞅ ꞃex nobıꞅ ꞇꞃıbus ꝼꞃaꞇꞃıbuꞅ ꝺeleᵹavıꞇ vıꝥ. Æþelbalꝺo, Æþeꞃeꝺo ⁊ mihı; ıꞇa quoꝺ quı noꞅꞇꞃum ꝺıuꞇıuꞅ ꝼoꞃeꞇ ꞅupeꞃꞅꞇeꞅ, ılle ꞇoꞇıuꞅ ꞃeᵹnı ꝺomınıo conᵹauꝺeꞃeꞇ.

† Eꞇ ꞅupeꞃ hoc unuꞅquıꞅque noꞅꞇꞃum alꞇeꞃı ꝼıꝺem ꝼıꞃmavıꞇ ⁊ quoꝺ quıꞅ noꞅꞇꞃum ꝺıuꞇıuꞅ vıꞇam vıveꞃeꞇ quoꝺ ıpꞅe ulꞇeꞃıuꞅ terraꞅ poꞅꞅıꝺeꞃeꞇ ⁊ ꝺomınıa ⁊ omnıa quæ ꝼuıeꞃanꞇ. pꞃæꞇeꞃ ıllam paꞃꞇem quam uꞇeꞃque noꞅꞇꞃum ꝼılıȳꞅ alꞇeꞃıuꞅ leᵹavıꞇ.

* *Haveden.*

† *Ad Ann.* 901.

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Ꞃeꞃ com Æþelƿalꝺ hiꝺeꞃ oꝼeꞃ ꞅæ miꝺ ðam ꝼloꞇan ðe he miꝺ ƿæꞅ on eaꞅꞇ Seaxe ⁊ Eallıoꞃa lonꝺ beꞇꞃeoh ꝺicum ⁊ ƿuꞅan eal oþꞅa ꝼennaꞅ noꞃþ ⁊

the Annals bear witneſs, but place his return from beyond the Seas, in the third year after his flying into *Northumberland*. In the following year he gathered together his Forces in Eaſt *England*, and waſted the Territories of the *Mercians* as far as *Geccagelade*, (ſo the Annals call the place) where paſſing over the *Thames*, he pillaged all places aſwell within *Brædene* as round about, and ſo returned. King *Edward* with what force he could make made as much haſte as poſſible after them, and laid waſte all their grounds lying betwixt the Ditch and the River *Ouſe*, as far as the Northern Marſhes. Thinking fit thence to return, he gave orders that all the Army ſhould Diſlodge, and March together. But the *Kentiſh* Men notwithſtanding ſeven ſeveral meſſages he ſent to them, ſtaid behind, which delay of theirs, and ſeparating the King's Forces, encouraged the *Danes* to give them Battel, which was very bloudy, many Men falling on both ſides; the King, loſt *Sigulf*, and *Sigelm* Earls, *Eadwold* his Miniſter, *Cenwulf* an Abbat, beſides *Sigebyrht* and *Eadwold* the Sons of two Noblemen. Of the *Danes*, beſides great numbers of lower Rank, died *Eoliric* their King, and *Ethelwald* a Nobleman, the authour of this War; *Birhtſiger*, *Iſop Hold*, and *Oskitel Hold*. On both ſides a great ſlaughter was made, but a greater of the *Danes* though they continued Maſter of the Field.

Cꞃeccaᵹelaꝺe.

The Town of *Greccagelade*, where.

Bræden.

Dike.

Dicum.

42. There being no better way both for underſtanding and remembring of Hiſtory than a knowledge of the places where eminent Actions have happened; it will be the Readers Intereſt and Delight to have a brief Account of ſuch Names of Towns, and other places he meets with, eſpecially being in his own Countrey. That place by the Annals called *Creclagelade*, by *Marianus* and others *Crecklade*, is that Town ſtanding in the North Part of *Wiltſhire*, watered with the *Thames*, known by the Name of *Greeklade*, which Name forſooth ſome believed it to have received from certain *Greek* Philoſophers, who as the Hiſtory of *Oxford* reporteth began there an Univerſity, which afterwards was tranſlated to *Oxford*. That they call *Brædene* is *Breden* Wood, now *Breden* Foreſt, which beginning at *Wotton* (that is Wood Town) *Baſſet* not far from *Greeklade*, ſtretched it ſelf far and wide. As for *Dike*, betwixt which and *Ouſe* King *Edward* waſted all the Countrey, it's the ſame with that which the People call *Devil's Dike*, and cuts overthwart the Plain of *Newmarket* in *Cambridgeſhire* ſo many Miles together. Thoſe great and long Ditches which are ſeen in thoſe Parts were (moſt probably) caſt by the Eaſt *Angles* to reſtrain the *Mercians* who with their ſudden Inrodes were wont to waſte and ſpoil all before them. The firſt of them begins at *Hinkeſton*, and runs Eaſtward by *Hilderſham* toward *Horſheath*, about five Miles in length. The ſecond called *Breutditch* near to the former, goes from *Melburn* by *Fulmire*. Another there is which begins at the Eaſtern Bank of the River *Cam*, and runs by *Fenn Ditton* (or more truly *Ditch Ditton*, ſaith *Cambden*, ſo named of the very Ditch) between great *Wilberham* and *Fulburn*, as far as *Balſham*. It's now commonly called *Seven Mile Dike*, becauſe it's ſeven Mile from *Newmarket*, but anciently it had the Name of *Fleam Dike*, that is in Old *Engliſh*, *Flight Dike*, of ſome memorable flight which there happened.

43. More Eaſtward from hence within the Countrey is to be ſeen the fourth Fore-fence or Ditch, meant by the Annals the greateſt of all, with a Rampire adjoyning; which the common People out of Admiration of its greatneſs, as the work of Devils and not of Men, uſe to call *Devils Dike*; but others *Rech Dike*, of *Rech* a little Town where it begins. Above *Rech* the County is fenny, and was therefore impaſſible where it lay open to Excurſions, there this Dike begins, and ends near to *Cowlidge*, where the Paſſage by reaſon of Woods, was more cumberſome. It was the limit aſwell of the Kingdom as of the Biſhoprick of the Eaſt *Angles*, but the Authour of ſo great a piece of work is unknown. Some later Writers mention King *Cnute* the *Dane*, but beſides what here the Annals ſay of this Battel, *Abbo Floracenſis* who Died before *Cnute* was King of *England* deſcribeth it, together with the ſite of Eaſt *England*. Such as wrote ſince the time of *Cnute* have termed it St. *Edmund's Limit*, and St. *Edmund's Dike*, verily thinking that *Cnute* caſt it up, who being moſt devoted to that King and Saint, granted to the Monks of St. *Edmunds Bury*, to make ſatisfaction for the cruelties exerciſed by *Swane* his Father upon them, very great Immunities even as far as this Dike. Certain it is that the two Fore-fences laſt mentioned were called St. *Edmund's Dikes*. And therefore *Matthew of Weſtminſter* (which the Reader may obſerve) hath written, that the Battel betwixt King *Edward* and *Ethelwald* was fought between the two Dikes of St *Edmund*. Laſtly, by *Ouſe* muſt be meant *Ouſe* the Greater, a River which diſporting it ſelf with manifold Branches and Diviſions, ſeparateth *Cambridgeſhire* from *Norfolk*. This is the neareſt *Ouſe* to the Dike: for *Ouſe* the Leſs

Sect. 10. ſeparateth (together with the River *Waveney*) *Norfolk* from *Suffolk*. As for *Ouſe* or *Iſis* which joineth with *Tame*, and makes the River *Thames*; *Ouſe* in *Yorkſhire*, or others (for this is a common Name of Rivers aſwell as *Avon*, and therefore in *Britiſh* is thought to have ſignified a River or Water in general, aſwell as it) they can have no relation to the matter in hand.

Which produces a Peace.

44. To purſue our ſtory, whatever was the Succeſs of this Battel it ſeems to have produced this effect, that in the ſecond year after a Peace was concluded betwixt the King and the *Danes* of Eaſt *England* and *Northumberland*, at a place called *Yttingaford*, which laſted for the ſpace of three years. Then was it broken, the Annals ſay not by whom firſt, but *Hoveden* lays the fault upon the *Danes*, who he ſays prevaricated with the King, and thereupon he ſent an Army of Weſt *Saxons*, and *Mercians* into *Northumberland*, where ſtaying five weeks, it made a great devaſtation, and having killed very many of the *Danes*, compelled them to renew the Peace they had lately broken. But this Peace the Annals tell us they broke again the year following invading *Mercia*, where, as write *Hoveden* and *Florent* of *Worceſter*, they were met by the *Engliſh* at *Teotenhale* or *Tetnal* in *Staffordſhire*, and overthrown. King *Edward* was then in *Kent*, and had got together about an hundred ſail of ſhips, beſides ſuch as being ſent to the Southward, met him at Sea. The *Danes* imagining that he had ſhipt the main of his Forces, took liberty to rove up and down whither hope of booty led them, beyond *Severn*. King *Edward* ſent before the lighteſt of his Army, to entertain them, till he himſelf could be ready to come. Then following with the main Body, he ſet upon them in their return at *Cantbridge* or *Cambridge* in *Glouceſterſhire*, where he gave them a very great defeat. The Annals relate, that many thouſands of them were ſlain together with *Ecwils* their King; but *Huntingdon* mentions two Kings, *viz.* *Haldene* and *Eolwulfe*, beſides *Uther* a Conſul as he calls him and eight other Noblemen, whoſe Names are harſh and without any loſs to the Reader may be omitted.

But aſſoon broke by the perfidious *Danes* to their own Deſtruction.

45. The year that followed died *Ethered* the Earl or Duke of *Mercia*, the Brother-in-Law of King *Edward*, who hereupon took into his Hands the Cities of *London* and *Oxford*, with the Territories thereto belonging. The year after about * *Martinmas* he cauſed to be built the Northern Borough of *Hartford*, betwixt *Memeran*, *Benefican* and *Ligean*, and afterwards in Summer betwixt the Rogation days and Midſummer, he marched with his Army to *Mældune* in *Eſſex*, and there lay incamped while his Souldiers built the Town of *Witham*. At this a good Part of the Countrey formerly ſubject to the *Danes*, ſubmitted themſelves to his Authority, and in the mean time another Part of his Army built the other Borough of *Hartford*, on the South ſide of the River *Ligean* now *Lea*. But whereas the Annals talk of building theſe Boroughs of *Hartford*, the Reader muſt know that that Town which gives name now to the whole ſhire, was much more ancient, being found in ſome Copies of *Beda*, called † *Herudford* (which ſome interpret the *Red Ford*, others the *Ford of Harts*) where he treateth of the Synod there holden in the year of our Salvation, five hundred and ſeventy. Therefore by building ſome Houſes, muſt be onely meant repairing of the Town. Or chiefly the Caſtle is to be underſtood, which ſtanding upon the River *Lea*, tradition reported to have been built by *Edward* the Elder, as inlarged afterward by the Houſe of *Clare*, to which it belonged. By *Memeran* and *Benefican* are meant two Rivolets, which ſcarcely a Mile off from the preſent *Hartford*, increaſe the ſtream of *Ligean* or *Lea*, *Benefican* is gueſſed to be that on which ſtandeth *Benington*, and *Memeran* the other Brook on which *Puckerich* is ſeated. *Mældune* is that we now called *Maldon* in *Eſſex* upon the River *Chelmer*, even the ſame with the famous *Roman* Colony *Camalodunum*, which many Ages ſince adorned that ſhore. *Witham* is that now called *Whitham*, in the ſame County, a fair Thoroughfair, a Mile diſtant from *Eaſterford*, and as much from *Blackwater*.

Ethered his Brother-in-Law dies.

Edward is employed in building and repairing ſeveral Towns.

*DCCCCXIII. Her on þiꞅ ᵹeaꞃe ymb Maꞃꞇineꞅ mæꞅꞅan heꞇ Eaꝺƿaꞃꝺ Cynᵹ æꞇymbꞃan þanoꞃþan buꞃh æꞇ Heoꞃoꞇꝼoꞃ ꝺa beꞇƿeox Memeꞃan ⁊ Beneꝼican ⁊ Lyᵹean ⁊ ⁊ ꝺa æꝼꞇeꞃ ꝺam ꝺaꞅ on ꞅumeꞃa beꞇƿeox ᵹanᵹ ꝺaᵹum ⁊ miꝺꝺum ꞅumeꞃæ. þa ꝼoꞃ Eaꝺƿeaꞃꝺ cyninᵹ miꝺ ꞅumum hiꞅ ꝼulꞇume on eaꞅꞇ Seaxe ꞇo Mælꝺune.

† *Hiſt. lib.* 4. *cap.* 5. *Ita Camdenus. In exemplari per Whelocum impreſſo Heorutford in capite ipſo, in titulo vero Herudfordia Regi Alfredo Interpreti* Heoꞃꞇꝼoꞃꝺ Heoꞃꞇꝼeoꞃꝺa ⁊ Heoꞃoꞇꝼoꞃꝺa.

46. The year that followed, ſaith *Huntingdon*, but in the fourth year after ſay the Annals, *Eaſter* being paſt, the *Danes* from *Northampton* and *Ligeraceſter*, or *Leiceſter*, broke the Peace by an Inrode made into *Oxfordſhire*, where they committed all Rapine, and made great ſlaughter of all they met, while another Party with worſe ſucceſs fell into *Hartfordſhire*, where the Inhabitants now taking Courage, and ſufficiently inured to ſuch Allarms ſtoutly reſiſted them, drove them back and recovered the booty they had taken, withall making themſelves Maſters of their Horſes. In the mean time *Ethelfleda* the King's Siſter, and Relict of *Ethered* the Duke of *Mercia*, having the charge of this Countrey behaved herſelf, as ſhe had done all along in her Husband's Life time, with ſuch

Another rout given the *Danes* for their Inrodes.

Courage

The Queen of the *Britains* taken by *Ethelfleda* Siſter to *Edward*.

Courage and Conduct as ſhe became a great help to her Brother in his Wars, and ſtoutly defended all thoſe that were under her Care. But the *Britains* who were Neighbours to the *Mercians*, diſdaining to be curbed by a Woman, were ſo bold as to make ſome Incurſions into the *Engliſh* Pale. She to divert and chaſtiſe them, ſent a Party into *Wales*, which eaſily routed the *Welſh*, took the Caſtle of *Bricenameer*, and beſides thirty four other conſiderable Captives, brought away Priſoner that King's Wife into *Mercia*. By this *Bricenameer* is to be underſtood, that we now call *Brecknockmeer*, a Lake of ſtanding water two miles from the Town of *Brecknock*. *Marianus Scotus* witneſſeth that this Lady in the year DCCCCXIII, entring into the Land of the *Britains*, wone by aſſault a Caſtle at *Bricenaumeer*, and there took Priſoner the Wife of the King of the *Britains*. But whether this Caſtle was *Brecknock* it ſelf, or Caſtle *Dinas*, which ſtandeth over it upon a Rocky Hill, which the higher it riſeth, the ſlenderer and ſmaller it becometh, is not certainly known, ſaith Mr. *Camden*. But foraſmuch as *Dinas* in the *Britiſh* Tongue ſignifies a Palace, and that the Queen of theſe *Britains* was here taken Priſoner, I judge it next door to certainty, that this was the Caſtle whereof we write.

Her Buildings.

47. But this *Virago* not onely took Caſtles and Towns from the Enemy, but is exceedingly celebrated by all Writers, ſo many ſhe either repaired or built within the *Engliſh* Territories. *Hoveden* gives us a liſt of them, with the time of their building or repairing, which as a memorable piece of Antiquity, we are obliged not to omit. In the year DCCCCV. by command of her and her Husband *Ethered* that City ſaith he which in *Britiſh* is called *Karlegion*, and *Legaceſtre* in the *Saxon* Tongue, was re-edifyed. Now there were two Cities in *Britain*, which the *Saxons* called by the Name of *Ligeceſtre*, from being the Seats of *Roman* Legions as is thought, though many others for the ſame reaſon might have had that Name, one of the *Coritani*, which we now call *Leiceſter*, and another belonging to the *Cornavii*, and a *Roman* Colony which we ſtill (retaining the later part of the word) call *Weſtcheſter*, and ſimply *Cheſter*. Mr. *Camden* was of opinion, that the Town repaired at this time was *Leiceſter*, which *Ethelfleda* he ſaith ſtrongly walled about. But we cannot agree with him in this point, becauſe both *Hoveden* and *Florent* of *Worceſter*, ſay it was that *Legaceſtre*, which the *Britains* called *Caerleon* or *Caerlegion*, by which Name they never called *Leiceſter*, but if we give credit to their great Antiquary, *Humphry* * *Lhuyd* by that of *Caerbeir*, whenceſoever the *Saxon* Name of *Legeceſtre* was taken, which might firſt be given it upon ſome other account than that of a Legion, or rather one but like unto † it. It's evident enough, that at the time when thoſe Authours wrote, it had not the Name of *Caerleon*, but that *Cheſter* had is moſt certain, and that firſt by way of Excellency, then alone by it ſelf, the Names of other Places being changed, as of that City which from *Caerwtheling*, by reaſon of the *Roman* Legions having changed its Name to || *Caer Lheon*, afterwards from a Noble *Britain* that repaired it, received that of *Caergwayr*, and by the *Engliſh* is called *Warwick*. But beſides this reaſon from the Name, another as ſtrong may be fetched from the Place. Her repairing and building of Towns was not accidental, but as the Exigency of Affairs required, ſo as the Countrey might be ſecured againſt the *Danes* and *Britains*. Now there could not be ſo great need for *Leiceſter* to be reinforced as for *Cheſter*, which as ſome ſay by the Invaſions of the *Danes* had been deſtroyed, beſides it was a Frontier Town, and a mighty curb againſt the treacherous and inconſtant *Welſh*, if ſuch they were indeed as our Writers would make them.

A Legione viceſſima victrice.

* *Fragment. f.* 21. *b.*

† *In Annalibus ſcribitur.* Lẏᵹeꞃa Ceaꞅꞇꞃe.

|| *Idem ibid.*

Huntingdono Wirengevic.

48. In the year DCCCCIX, on the ſecond of the Nones of *May*, ſhe marched with an Army to a place called *Sceargete*, and there built a ſtrong Caſtle, and thence to *Brige* ſeated on the Weſt ſide of the River *Severn*, where ſhe cauſed another to be erected. The year following, at the beginning of Summer ſhe went with her *Mercians* to *Tamvirting*, and repaired the City. *Florence* of *Worceſter* calls the Place *Tamewordin*, *Marianus Tamawordia*, but *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* more truely *Thameworth*, being the ſame with *Tamworth* in *Staffordſhire*, ſituate upon the River *Tame*, whence it hath part of its Name, and the other half from the *Saxon* word þeoꞃð, which ſignifies a *Farm-Houſe*, as alſo an *Holme* or *River Iſland*, any place incompaſſed with water, as in *Germany Keyſerwert* and *Bomelſwert*, betoken aſmuch as *Cæſar*'s Iſle, and *Bomel*'s Iſle. As long as the Kingdom of the *Mercians* continued, this was one Place of the King's Reſidence, a Town of great reſort and very well frequented. *Hoveden* proceeds and tells us, that in the year DCCCCXI, ſhe built a City called *Eadesbyrig*, and in the end of Autumn another called *Warwick*. *Eadesbyrig*, as ſeveral others, was ſome obſcure place; as for *Warwick*, it muſt not

by any means be granted that ſhe built it anew, rebuild it ſhe might, as one writes, that it is much bound to her becauſe ſhe repaired it when it was greatly decayed. It was an old Town by the *Saxons* called Ƿaꞃꞃinᵹƿic, but by the *Britains Caerguarvic* and *Caerleon*, as we lately hinted from *Guarth*, which in *Britiſh* ſignifies a Garriſon, and from the *Roman* Legions. For this was their *Præſidium*, or Garriſon Town ſtanding in the middle of the Countrey, as *Præſidium* in the Iſland of *Corſica* ſtood in the middle of that Iſland. Theſe are ſuch as *Hoveden* relates her to have built or repaired. *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* adds, that ſhe went to *Stanford*, and there on the Northern Bank of the River *Weiloand* repaired a Tower. That the ſame year wherein ſhe built *Eadesbyrig* (which he calls *Jadeſbyri*) ſhe built another Town called *Wartham*. That the year following, ſhe erected three more, *viz. Cherenburck*, *Weadburck* and *Runcoſe* (now *Ruckhome* in *Cheſhire*, brought by mutability of time to Cottages) to which ſome add *Stafford*, *Litchfield* and *Shrewsbury*.

Huntingdon
Cereburik
Wardebirk
Rumcouen.

49. What *Matthew* aſcribes to her concerning *Stanford*, *Marianus* attributes to her Brother King *Edward*, writing that he built a Caſtle, but it was juſt over againſt the Town on the Southern Bank, as the Annals alſo affirm, which now is called *Stanford Baron*, of which yet at this day there appeareth not the leaſt token. *Weadelbucrh* is now *Wedsborough* a Town in *Staffordſhire*. But as for *Stafford* it ſelf, it's ancienter than ſo being called *Betheney*, before it had the Name of *Stafford*, but a Caſtle was here built about the year of our Lord DCCCCXIV, on the South Bank of the River *Sow*, which *Marianus* attributes to King *Edward* himſelf, which might be, becauſe in his Reign it was erected. *Lichfield* was alſo ancienter, being by *Beda* called *Licidfeld*, which one interprets the *Field of dead Bodies*, from a Number of Chriſtians which were there martyred under the Perſecution of *Diocleſian*. And as for *Shrewsbury*, whenſoever and by whomſoever it was built, it roſe from the Ruines of old *Vriconium* now called *Wroxeſter*, which being an ancient City of the *Romans* fell to decay in the *Saxon* and *Daniſh* Wars. Some four Miles from it aroſe that we now call *Shrewsbury*, in old time *Pengwern*, that is the Head of an old *Alder*, or and high *Plat of Ground planted with Alders*, in which ſence by the *Saxons* termed *Scrobbesbyrig* from its being a thicket of Shrubs upon an Hill. It was the ſeat of the Petty Kings of *Powis* ſometime, and when taken out of the Hands of the *Britains* might be new fortifyed and repaired, which our Builders to aggrandiſe the Act of this Heroical Lady call *Builderig*. For this is obſerved of her, that ſuch Places as were repaired by her were ſuch as by her Valour and Conduct, were formerly wreſted by her out of the Hands of the Enemy. But that we may conclude this ſtory of this Lady all together, the year after ſhe had taken the Caſtle of *Brecknock* from the *Britains*, a little before *Auguſt* ſhe ſet upon the Town of *Derby* then in the Hands of the *Danes*, took it by ſtorm, after that they refuſed Battel in open Field, and then ſubdued all the Countrey round, though with the loſs of four of her choiceſt Officers who were ſlain at the Entry of the Gate. *Huntingdon* adds that after this Victory ſhe conquered *Leiceſter* with the greater part of the *Daniſh* Army that lay in theſe parts, as alſo that thoſe of *York* promiſed ſubmiſſion, and all good deportment. After this Convention, this moſt prudent *Virago* to be preferred before the ancient *Amazons* in the opinion of *Ingulphus*, died at *Tamworth* twelve days before the Feaſt of St. *John*, in the eighth year of her Government of *Mercia*, and was buried in the Porch of St. *Peter* in *Glóceſter* by her Husband. *Huntingdon* farther writes, that ſhe was reported to have been a Woman of ſo great Power, that by ſome ſhe was not onely called Lady and Queen, but King alſo, out of admiration at her worth. She left one onely Child, a Daughter named *Alwina* (or *Algina*) for it's ſaid that abhorring the pains of Childbirth after ſhe was born, ſhe would never more accompany with her Husband. To which paſſage *Ingulphus* adds, that in reſpect of the Cities ſhe built, the Caſtles ſhe fortified, and the Armies ſhe managed, one would have thought ſhe had changed her Sex. *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* tells us, ſhe made her Daughter her Heir (of her Kingdom he terms it) but King *Edward* ſo far underſtood his intereſt, that within a year he ſent for his Niece into *Weſtſex*, and ſeized *Mercia* into his own Hands.

Lhuyd in Fragment. f. 22. *b.*

She beat the *Britains* and *Danes*.

Dies.

After whoſe death *Edward* ſeis'd on *Mercia*.

50. That we may now return to him. The year after that *Derby* was taken, a new Fleet of *Danes* from the Southward arrived at *Lidwic* in *Devonſhire* under Conduct of two Captains, called *Ottor* and *Roald*. Sailing Weſtward about the Lands end, they entered the mouth of the *Severn*; where landing, they waſted the North *Welſh* Coaſt, and coming to *Ircingafelda*, they there took *Cameleac* a Biſhop, and carried him away to their Ships, whom afterward King *Edward* redeemed

Annal. ad An. DCCCCXVIII.

Iꞃcinᵹa-ꝼelða.

deemed with forty Pounds. As they proceeded, the Inhabitants of *Hereford*, *Gloceſter* Shires, with others out of other Cities oppoſed their Progreſs and put them to flight, killing their Captain *Roald*, with the Brother of *Otter* and very many others. They purſued them into a Wood, where they Beſieged them till they had given ſecurity for departing out of the King's Dominions. The King hovered with his Army between *Severn* and *Avon*, ſo that they durſt not touch upon thoſe Quarters, except in a ſtealing manner twice by Night, and then they came ſhort home, being all cut off, but ſome that by Swimming eſcaped to their Ships: The reſt being almoſt all famiſhed in a ſmall Iſland, removed from place to place, till at laſt about Martinmas time they paſſed over into *Ireland*, this was the Iſſue of this Invaſion, and the Countrey enjoyed a breathing time from theſe Calamities. Thoſe that bore the greateſt brunt of this Storm were the *Herefordſhire* men, eſpecially thoſe of that part of it which from *Gildenvale* declining and bending Eaſtward, was in thoſe days called *Ircingafelda*, and at this time with like variation *Irchenfield*, but in Doomſday Book *Archenfeld*, which Book ſignifies that certain Revenues by an old Cuſtome were there aſſigned to one or two Prieſts, on condition that they ſhould go on Embaſſies for the Kings of *England* into *Wales*. And whether it was in memory of their Sufferings and Service in this Inroad of the *Danes*, the ſaid Book hath this farther Obſervation: *The Men* Arcenfeld *whenſoever the Army marcheth forward againſt the Enemy, by a Cuſtome make the Vaunt Guard and bring up the Rere in their Return.*

51. The Pirates being gone, King *Edward* to ſecure himſelf better from the Attempts of their Countrey men who lived about the Shires of *Buckingham* and *Bedford*, and ſtill were ready to joyn with any freſh Gameſters, led his Army to *Buckingham*, where he ſtaid an whole Month, and gave order for raiſing Forts on each ſide of the River *Ouſe*. This it ſeems ſo ſtartled the *Danes* that judging that they could not now doe better, ſeveral of them ſubmitted themſelves, as *Thurcytel* an Earl, together with moſt of the conſiderable men about *Bedford*, and many of them that belonged to *Northampton*. This obliged him the following year to go down to *Bedford*, which ſoon yielded it ſelf to him whither then repaired ſuch as had been formerly on his ſide. Here he alſo ſtaid a Month and took care for building a *Burh*, as the Annals call it, on the Southſide of the River *Ouſe* which *Townelet*, as the beſt Copies of *Hoveden* have it, was in the *Saxon* times called *Mickeſgate*. The year following, ſomewhat before Midſummer, he went again to *Maldon*, where he built another *Burh* and fortified the Town, and in this year *Thurcytel* finding he was like but to have a ſmall Trade here, where the King ſo minded his buſineſs, got leave to carry over ſome men into *France*; where he knew his Countreymen might find him employment. And the King followed on his buſineſs indeed. The next year before *Eaſter* Holydays he went to *Tofaceſter*, which he cauſed to be fortified, and about Rogation Week cauſed a place called *Wiggingamere* to be built and ſtrengthened. That *Tofaceſter* is now the Town called *Torceſter* in *Northamptonſhire*, in the *Roman* times *Tripontium*, from three Bridges made over ſo many Chanels, into which the little River divideth it ſelf. *Marianus* names it *Touceſter*, writing that it was ſo fortified in the year of our Redemption DCCCCXVII, that the *Danes* by no means could win it by Aſſault, and that King *Edward* the Elder afterwards incompaſſed it with a ſtone Wall. Yet now no Tokens of any ſuch Wall appear. Onely there's an Artificial Hill remaining, which they call *Beryhill*, turned into Private Gardens. *Wiggingamere* is now called *Wigmore* a Town of *Herefordſhire*, not far from the River *Lug*.

He forces the *Danes* in *Bucks* and *Bedfordſhire* to ſubmit.

52. While *Edward* was buſied about the Fortifications of *Wigmore*, the *Danes* of *Northampton* and *Leiceſter* not being well pleaſed to find themſelves curbed with ſo many ſtrong Towns, laid Seige to *Torceſter*. For a whole day they belaboured it, but it ſtanding ſtifly out till Supplies came to them, they went their ways by Night, but were purſued and ſurpriz'd betwixt *Burnwood* and *Egleſbyrig* or *Ayleſbury*, where many of them were taken with the loſs of much of their Baggage. Much at the ſame time the *Danes* of *Huntingdon*, not judging their Caſtle convenient enough demoliſhed it, and being aſſiſted by thoſe of Eaſt *England* built another at *Temeſford* as more opportune, from whence to make their Excurſions. They went alſo to *Bedford* with intention of recovering that Town, but the Garriſon iſſued out repulſed and ſlew a great part of them. After this a greater Army was raiſed both out of Eaſt *England* and *Mercia*, which went and laid Siege to *Wigmore*, plundering the Countrey round about, but after a days tryal the Defendants obliged them to riſe and be gone. Hereupon many of King *Edward*'s Friends about theſe parts gathered themſelves together and uniting their Forces went and

Beſieged

Several Skirmiſhes betwixt the *Danes* and *Edward*.

Sect. 10.

Beſieged *Temsford*, which they took by Aſſault, therein ſlew their King together with *Toylea* and *Mannan* his Son both Earls, his Brother and all the reſt they could find, for they peremptorily ſtood it out againſt them. This *Temsford* is a Town in *Bedfordſhire* ſtanding upon the confluence of *Ouſe* and another Brook which ſome call *Ivel.* Provoked or incouraged by the example of their Countreymen the men of *Kent*, *Surrey* and *Eſſex*, and ſeveral out of other places went and laid ſiege to *Colne Ceaſter* or *Colcheſter*, and ſo pertinaciouſly carried on their Aſſault that they took it, and put all they found therein to the Sword, except ſuch as had the good hap to eſcape over the Walls.

⁊ ꝼoꞃon ꞇo Colneceaꞅ-ꞇꞃe.

53. Hereat many *Danes* both inhabiting the Countrey and the Port Towns much allarmed gathered themſelves together, and being prevented as to the Relief of *Colcheſter* pleaſed themſelves with the hope of revenging the Injury received upon *Maldon*, but the Inhabitants held out till relief came, which ſo diſcouraged the Beſiegers that they drew off, but in their Retreat were purſued, and many thouſands of them ſlain, Pirates and others, by thoſe that they hoped to have devoured. King *Edward* being jealous of all their Countreymen haſted this very Summer with an Army of Weſt *Saxons* to a place called *Pæſſanham*, ſo called from paſſing over the River, now *Pætham*, a little diſtant from *Stony Stratford*, where he continued till *Torceſter* was incircled with a ſtone Wall. This had ſuch influence upon the *Danes* of theſe Quarters, that *Thurſerth* an Earl with the Lords of the Towns thereabout, and all their Army as far as *Hampton* North of *Weolind* came and ſubmitted themſelves unto him. Now the King's Army deſired to return home, yet part of it was ordered to *Huntingdon*, where it repaired the Town and repaired ſuch Breaches as the King had formerly made, upon ſight whereof all the People of thoſe Parts ſubmitted, deſiring the King's Protection. Then with his Weſt *Saxon* Forces this very year before Martinmas did he march to *Colcheſter*, which Town he repaired and fortifi'd at what time the People of Eaſt *England* and Weſt *England* living under the *Danes*, together with the *Daniſh* Army in Eaſt *England*, ſware obedience to him, as well hy Sea as by Land fully to obſerve his Commands. Thoſe of them alſo that lay at *Grantbrig* took the ſame Oath as he had commanded. The year following wherein died his Siſter *Ethelfleda*, betwixt Rogation Week and Midſummer he went to *Stanford*, where, ſay the Annals on the Southern ſide he built a Caſtle, whereupon all ſuch as held that on the other ſide, ſubmitted themſelves to him as their Lord.

⁊ eal ꞅehe-ꞃe ðe ꞇo Hamꞇune hẏꞃꝺe noꞃ-ƿoð ƿeoluꝺ.

Moſt of the *Danes* now ſubmit and ſwear obedience to King *Edward.*

54. By her death all *Mercia*, as we ſaid, fell unto him and willingly ſubmitted, and about the ſame time *Howel*, *Cledanc* and *Jeothwell* the petty Kings of North *Wales* with all the Northern *Britains*, put themſelves under his Dominion. After this he viſited *Notingham*, which he repaired, and therein placed both *Engliſh* and *Danes*, of both which Nations, all inhabiting *Mercia*, now became his Subjects. To purſue and complete his good Fortune, the next year he went down with an Army to *Thelwall* in *Cheſhire*, where he took care for the building and fortifying of the Town. The Annals onely tell us ſo much, but *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* tells us the reaſon of the Name, which came from the Bodies of Trees (the Boughs being cut off) faſt ſet in the ground, wherewith he fenced it round: For the *Saxons* in their Language called the *Trunks or Bodies of Trees*, *Thel*, and *Wall* as we name it at preſent. While he ſtaid at *Thelwall* he ſent for another Party of Souldiers out of *Mercia*, and ordered them to *Manige Ceaſtre* in *Northumberland* to repair and Man it. This *Manige Ceaſtre* is *Mancheſter* in *Lancaſhire* ſaid to be in *Northumberland*, for that this Countrey, as well as others, North of *Humber* were formerly under the ſame Kings. Lying ſo as it doth, it ſeems to have been quite deſtroyed in the *Daniſh* Wars, wherein becauſe the Inhabitants demeaned themſelves like very valiant men, their ſucceſſours will have their Town to have been called *Mancheſter*, that is, as they expound it, *The City of Men*; in which conceit they wonderfully pleaſe themſelves. And ſo they ſhould for me. But one already has told them that *Mancunium* was the Name of it in the time of the *Britains* and *Romans*, ſo that the Etymology thereof out of our *Engliſh* Tongue, can by no meens ſeem ſo much as probable. He derives it rather from *Main* a *Britiſh* word, which ſignifies a *Stone*; becauſe upon a Stony Hill it is ſeated, and beneath the very Town at *Colyhurſt* there are very excellent and famous Quarries.

Thelwall whence ſo called.

Mancheſter.

Camden in Lancaſhire.

The reaſon of its Name.

55. The next year King *Edward* to ſecure all about him went down with an Army to *Notingham*, where he ordered a Borough to be built on the South ſide of the River right over againſt, and a Bridge to be made for entercourſe betwixt them. Thence he marched as far as into the Territories of the *Picts*, to a place called *Bedecanwyllan*, where he commanded a Town to be built and ſtrongly fortifi'd.

The King of the *Scots* and ſeveral others ſubmit.

fi'd. Now did the King of the *Scots* ſubmit unto him as his Lord and Sovereign, together with the *Scotiſh* Nation it ſelf, *Reginald* the Son of *Eadulf*, and all the Inhabitants of *Northumberland*, *Engliſh* and *Danes*, in the North as well as in the Southern Parts, as alſo the King of the *Streatgledwalli* with all his Subjects. Theſe are the great Atchievements of King *Edward*, as they are ſummarily laid down by the Annals, which ſpeak his Power ſo great, that no King before him extended his Dominions to ſuch a Proportion. By another we are told that as it were to complete his Felicity, a little before he died he reduced to obedience the Inhabitants of *Cheſter* and the Countrey about it, who having conſpired with the neighbouring *Britains*, had attempted to ſhake off the Yoke; but he by his diligence prevented the joyning of their Forces, and by his Courage and the terrour of his Name, conſtrained them again to ſubmit themſelves. In ſo great glory he died in his Return toward his ancient Province of the Weſt *Saxons* at *Faverdon* a Town of *Berkſhire*, where for the moſt part he kept his Court, after he had reigned four and twenty years.

Malmesb.

Edward dies.

56. He was well nigh as happy in his Iſſue as in the courſe and ſucceſs of his Government, yet not ſo happy in that of his firſt Wife becauſe he knew not certainly how to call their Conjunction a Marriage. Concerning their Acquaintance and firſt meeting together, beſides the Monk of *Malmesbury*, *John Brompton* the Abbat of *Jornual* relates, That in the Reign of King *Elfred* when his Son *Edward* was young, there was in a certain Village of the Weſt *Saxons* the Daughter of a Shepherd called *Edgina*, who falling aſleep dreamed that the Moon ſhone out of her Womb ſo bright that all *England* was inlightened by the ſplendour of it. The Dream ſhe told to a certain grave Woman that had been Nurſe to ſeveral of the King's Children. She thereupon takes her into her Houſe and brings her up as carefully and tenderly as if ſhe had been her own Daughter, inſtructing her ſo to demean her ſelf as might become a Perſon both of Birth and Breeding. In proceſs of time it happened that Prince *Edward*, the King's Eldeſt Son, paſſing upon ſome occaſion thorough this Town, thought himſelf obliged in honour and good nature to viſit his Nurſe, which as he did he got ſight of this Maid, being exceeding beautifull, and fell paſſionately in love with her. By his importunity he got her conſent to lie with him, and by one Nights lodging ſhe became with Child, which proving a Son in reſpect to the Mothers Dream, the Father gave him the Name of *Athelſtan*, which ſignifieth *the Moſt Noble*. Some call this Woman his Wife, (he might be Married to her afterwards) and others reckon that Lady for his firſt, whom he Married afterward. However by her he had another Son named *Ælfred*, who died ſeveral years before his Father, and a Daughter called *Editha* Married to *Sithric* the *Daniſh* King of *Northumberland*. So ſome write; but *Malmesbury* calls his ſecond Son *Ethelward*, begotten of *Elfleda* Daughter of Earl *Ethelin*, a Prince very well learned and much reſembling his Grandfather *Alfred* both in Countenance and Diſpoſition, but he died preſently after his Father.

An Account of his Wife *Edgina* and her Iſſue.

His Iſſue by *Elfreda* his other Wife.

57. By this *Elfreda* his (firſt or ſecond) Wife, beſides this *Ethelward*, whom ſome call *Elſward*, he had a ſecond Son named *Edwin*, and a third called *Gregory*, as ſome write, who forſook the world and became an Hermite; of Daughters good ſtore. As firſt *Edfleda*, who became a Nun in the Monaſtery of *Rumſey*, *Egwina*, called alſo *Edgitha* and *Edgina*, married to *Charles* the Simple, King of *France*, Son of *Ludovicus Balbus*, and Grandſon of *Charles* the Bald, whoſe Daughter, as we ſaid, *Ethelwulf* married in his return from *Rome*; *Ethelhilda* who was never married; *Ethilda* married to *Hugh* the Great Count of *Paris*, to whom ſhe bore *Hugh Capet*, afterwards King of that noble Countrey; *Edgitha* and *Elgiua*, both which their Brother *Athelſtan* ſent over to *Henry* Emperour of *Germany*, who beſtowed the firſt on his own Son *Otho*, afterwards Emperour, and the ſecond on a certain Duke, whoſe Territories lay near to the *Alpes*. This numerous Offſpring he had by his Wife *Elfleda*. By his laſt Wife *Edgina*, he had two Sons, *Edmund* and *Edred*, who both of them came to be Kings, as we ſhall ſee; and two Daughters, *viz.* *Eadburga*, who became a Nun, and *Edgina* a Woman of extraordinary Beauty, beſtowed in marriage by her Brother *Ethelſtan*, upon *Ludouic* Prince of *Aquitain*. His Daughters he ſo brought up, as in their Infancy they all were taught to reade and write, and then to uſe the diſtaff and needle; by ſuch employments to paſs the time of their unripe Virginity: his Sons in ſuch a manner, that firſt they might be fully accompliſhed with Learning, and afterward come not rude and ignorant, but like ſo many Philoſophers, to publick buſineſs, as the Monk of *Malmesbury* words it.

58. Of

Sect. 10.

Ethelwald dyes.

Athelſtan crowned.

Apud Regiam Villam quæ vocatur Kingſton Coronatus.

At *Kingſton*, whence ſo called.

58. Of his Sons, *Ethelward* died a few days after his Father, and by his death, made way for the Succeſſion of *Athelſtan*, who though the eldeſt, and legitimated as it were by the after marriage of his Mother, yet being born of a then Concubine, could hardly have obtained the Crown, by reaſon of the great love and eſteem which was born to *Ethelward*, as well for his own Learning and Vertues, as for the great reſemblance he bore to his Grandfather King *Alfred*. He being dead, and the reſt of the Sons of *Edward* being too young for ſo weighty an employment; *Athelſtan* by conſent of all the Nobility was choſen King, and Crowned at the Royal Town or Village (as *Malmesbury* tells us) called *Kingſton*, not without the foredeſignment of his Father in his laſt Will and Teſtament, who might poſſibly gueſs that his Son *Ethelward* would not be long lived. He was now about thirty years of Age. By his own pregnancy and care of his Parents, he had arrived at very conſiderable qualifications of mind, ſuitable to his weighty Employment. For *Alfred* his Grandfather is ſaid to have preſaged to him a lucky Reign, being much enamour'd of him for his great towardneſs and the extraordinary elegancy of his Features. When he was very young, he conferred on him the dignity of Knighthood, by inveſting him with a purple Robe, a Belt adorned with Gems, and a Sword of the *Saxon* Faſhion, incloſed in a golden Scabbard. He cauſed him to be educated in the houſe of his Daughter *Ethelfleda*, the Wife of noble and valiant *Ethelfrede*, that by the inſtructions and example of ſo great Captains (ſuch we may term them both) he might by degrees be trained up in ſuch actions as might render him fit for that good Fortune and Condition, which the hopes conceived of him did portend. Accordingly after his Fathers and Brothers, he was Crowned King at *Kingſton* upon *Thames*, a Town as ſome have written, formerly called *Moreford*, and ſtanding upon a flat ground, ſubject to the Inundation of the *Thames*, which cauſed it to be removed thither, where now the preſent *Kingſton* ſtands. The Kings of the Weſt *Saxons* now found it their intereſt, being Monarchs of the *Engliſh* Nation, to remove their Seat into theſe Quarters, not ſo much in reſpect to *London* (which for opulency and multitude of its Inhabitants, had not been all along theſe *Saxon* times ſo conſiderable, but ſuſtained great Calamities by Fire) as to the Invaſions of the *Danes*, which were frequently made up the River *Thames*, and to be nearer to the Eaſt *Angles*, amongſt whom theſe Rovers had fixed themſelves. Therefore *Athelſtan*, and after him *Edwin* and *Ethelred*, were openly Crowned Kings at this Town; which from them took the name of *Kingſton*.

A conſpiracy againſt him.

Charta quædam Donationis Monaſterio Malmesburienſi per ipſum Regem Athelſtanum apud Gulielm. Monachum de Geſt. Reg. Angl. l.2.c. 6.

York ſeized by *Inguald* King of the *Danes*.

Northumberland added to his Dominions.

59. *Athelſtan* began his Reign in the ſixteenth year of *Conſtantine* the eighth, Sirnamed *Porphyrogenitus*, Emperour of the Eaſt, the ſixth of *Henricus Auceps*, Emperour of *Germany*, the twelfth Indiction, *A. D.* DCCCCXXIV. His own deſerts, and the general affection of the People were not effectual to prevent all inconveniences proceeding from the condition of his Birth. One *Alfred* made conſiderable oppoſition againſt the choice, as of an illegitimate Perſon, and conſpired with his Complices to lay hold of him in the City of *Wincheſter*, and to put out his eyes. But the Plot was happily diſcovered, and *Alfred* it ſeems denying it was ſent to *Rome*, there to purge himſelf before that Biſhop, where coming to take his Oath before the Altar of St. *Peter*, he fell down, and being carried by his Servants to the *Engliſh* School, there died the third night after. The Pope would not diſpoſe of his Body, but ſent to ask the advice of *Athelſtan* what ſhould be done with it, whether it was to be buried amongſt thoſe of other Chriſtians. The Nobility and the Relations of *Alfred*, earneſtly deſired that it might be beſtowed in Chriſtian burial, to which the King aſſenting, and the Pope therewith acquainted, it was accordingly done, and his whole Eſtate was adjudged confiſcate for his Treaſon. Such good fortune had *Athelſtan* againſt this homebred Enemy. In other places he found little trouble, except on the Northern ſide of *Humber*; where *Inguald*, one of the *Daniſh* Kings ſeized upon *York*, and *Sithric* who ſome time before had killed *Niel* his Brother, by force made himſelf Maſter of *Davenport* in *Cheſhire*. The Monk of *Malmesbury* writes, that he was a Barbarian both by mind and Nation. That he was Kinſman to that *Gurmund*, of whom we reade ſo much in the Acts of King *Alfred*, that having proudly contemned the Power of former Kings, now humbly deſired the alliance of *Athelſtan* by Meſſengers, whom he himſelf followed, to make good what they had prayed on his behalf. *Athelſtan* found him ſo conſiderable, that he gave him in marriage his Siſter *Edgitha*. But he enjoyed her but the ſpace of one years, by his death giving occaſion to *Athelſtan*, of laying *Northumberland* to his own Dominions, to which he might lay claim, ſaith our Authour, both by an ancient Right, and a new Alliance.

He invades *Scotland.*

60. Hereupon *Analaf* the Son of *Sictric* fled into *Ireland*, and *Godefrid* his Brother into *Scotland*, whom followed ſhortly after Ambaſſadours from the King, both to *Conſtantine* King of the *Scots*, and *Eugenius* King of the *Humbrians*, demanding the Fugitive to be given up, or denouncing a ſpeedy War upon refuſal. And as others ſay, a War indeed he made, paſſing into *Scotland* with great Powers both by Sea and Land, where he drove his Enemies before him by Land as far as *Dunſeodor* and *Werlermore*, and by Sea as far as unto *Cathneſs*. But *Malmesbury* affirms, that not daring at all to diſpleaſe him, without fail they came to a place called *Dacor* (or *Dacre* in *Cumberland*) where each delivered up himſelf and all his into the hands of the *Engliſh* King, who was Godfather to the Son of *Conſtantine*, now ordered to be Baptized in Teſtimony of the Accord. But for all this *Godefrid* eſcaped while they were preparing for the Journey, and with one *Turfrid* travelling into ſeveral Parts, at length got ſome Men together, and laid Siege to *Tork*, the Inhabitants of which they eſſayed both by fair and foul means to let them in, but not prevailing they went their ways, yet were both taken ſhortly after and ſhut up in a Caſtle, whence they eſcaped by deluding their Keepers. *Turfrid* not long after was Shipwreckt at Sea, and became a prey to the Fiſhes. *Godefrid*, endured much miſery both by Sea and Land, and at laſt came in the poſture of a ſuppliant to the King's Court, who kindly received him, but after he had been profuſely Feaſted for four days together, he got him again to his Ships, grew an old Pirate, as accuſtomed to the water as a very Fiſh, in the Monk's opinion. In the mean time *Athelſtan* demoliſhed a Caſtle in *Tork*, which the *Danes* had fortified, that therein they might no longer ſhroud themſelves. And the large Booty found in it he divided man by man amongſt his Souldiers.

England invaded by the King.

61. But a great tempeſt began to gather againſt him in the North-weſtern Parts, where *Conſtantine* the King of the *Scots* exaſperated by the late Invaſion joined with * *Analaf* the Son of *Sithric* (others but more unprobably will have him not this Son, but another of his Name who was King of *Ireland*, and the Iſles adjacent) and drew in *Eugenius* the King of *Cumberland*, with great Forces from ſeveral Nations to their Aſſiſtence. After preparations of ſome four years they invade *England* by the River *Humber*, and paſs up the Countrey to a place called † *Brunanburg* or *Bruneford*, which *Cambden* placeth in *Glendale* of *Northumberland*, on the *Scotch* Borders; *Athelſtan* on purpoſe giving way, to obtain ſome better advantage againſt them, as ſome write, or, as others, they being fearfull to Grapple with him. *Analaf* perceiving with whom he had to doe, puts off his Royal Enſigns, and becomes a Spye in the habit of a Muſician, attending with an Harp in his hand at *Athelſtan*'s Tent, to which Inſtrument Singing, he was eaſily admitted to the King's preſence as one who got his living by that courſe of life. There he made them merry till ſuch time as having eaten and drank ſufficiently they began to debate ſeriouſly about the work they had in hand, and he all the while made what Obſervations he could, till then he received his wages, and was put out of the Tent. The Money ſcorning to carry with him, he hid into the Earth, of which a certain Souldier took notice who had formerly ſerved him, and thereby coming to know him, after he was gone acquainted the King. The King blamed him for not giving timely notice, which the Souldier excuſed as having formerly taken in *Analaf*'s Service the Military Oath, affirming that had he betrayed *Analaf*, he himſelf to whom now he was in the ſame Relation could have expected no more fidelity; but he adviſed *Athelſtan* to remove his Tent into another place. This Advice was lookt upon as very good, and how ſeaſonable it was very ſhortly appeared. A certain Biſhop coming to the Camp this night in that very place, as being pleaſantly ſituated, pitched his Tent. Him *Analaf*, with a deſign to deſtroy the King, fell upon, being ignorant of what had paſſed, and eaſily killed him with all his Followers.

* *Ingulphus ſic, contra quem cum Analaphus Sitrici filius quondam Regis Northanhumbriorum inſurgeret, &c. aliis eſt Analphus.*

† Ann. Brunanbuph. *Ingulpho Brunford in Northumbria. Et Brunnamoere Turgotio in Ethelredi legibus Bromdune. Malmesb. Bruneford, Ethelwerdo Brunandune hodie Brumridge appellatur.*

62. *Ingulphus* (who is more to be credited than any other Hiſtorian in this matter) writes, that *Anlaf* though he had brought with him an infinite multitude of *Danes*, *Norwegians*, *Scots* and *Picts*, yet either out of diffidence or the craft familiar to his Nation, choſe rather by night to ſurprize his Enemy, than fairly give him Battel in the open Field and by day light. He fell ſuddenly upon the *Engliſh*, and killed the Biſhop who was come but that night to the Camp, which cauſing a great tumult and noiſe, the King though a Mile off, and his whole Army took the Allarm, and putting themſelves into ſuch order as the ſurprize would give leave, by break of Day came up to the place of the ſlaughter, where they found the Invaders tired, and diſordered by their late travel, and for want of ſleep. It happened that *Athelſtan* in perſon leading all the Weſt *Saxons*, light upon *Analaf* himſelf, and *Turketul* his Kinſman and Chancellour,

Ff who

Whence a bloudy Battel enſued.

who had the Conduct of the *Londoners*, and all the *Mercians*, upon *Conſtantine* the *Scotiſh* King. Their Miſſile weapons being quickly ſpent, they came to handſtrokes, to fight it out with Sword and Buckler. Many poor Mortals there loſt their lives; the Carkaſſes of mean perſons lay confuſedly together with the ſlain Bodies of Kings, Death making no diſtinction. The diſpute continuing long and moſt violent, by reaſon that the multitude of Barbarians was ſo great, *Turketul* took with him ſome few *Londoners* whom he knew to be moſt valiant, and a Centurion of the *Wiccii* called *Singin*, one of approved valour, and with them, being taller than the reſt, of ſolid and ſubſtantial Limbs, and ſtrongeſt ſet amongſt all thoſe *London* Heroes, he ruſhed into the throng of his Enemies, and laying ſtoutly about him hewed down Ranks of Men both on the right hand and on the left. He paſſed through the heaps of *Orcadians* and *Picts*, bearing a wood of Darts and Arrows on his Breaſt-plate, and falling upon the crouds of *Cumbrians* and *Scots*, at length reached *Conſtantine* himſelf, whom he diſmounted and would have taken alive, but the *Scots* were ſo concerned for their King that they made a very ſharp Conflict about him, and many of them preſſing upon a few *Engliſh*, eſpecially aiming at *Turketul* he began to repent of his raſhneſs, ſeeing no means of eſcaping or getting off his Priſoner, when ſuddenly *Singin* the Centurion killed *Conſtantine*, who being once ſlain the *Scots* were diſcouraged and retired, and the report flying about the Army, *Analaf* and all his Followers ran away, after an unheard-of number of Pagans was faln in the place.

63. So much *Ingulphus* relates concerning this *Turketul* the Chancellour, who was afterward Abbat of *Croyland*, and Predeceſſour in the government of that Monaſtery, where he left the memorial of his Secular Employment. All Authours agree that this was a moſt bloudy Battel, nay the bloudieſt ſay ſome that ever this Iſland ſaw. *Ingulf* tells us, that beſides *Conſtantine* five other Kings were therein ſlain, twelve Earls, and an infinite number of the inferiour ſort. The *Saxon* Annals (ſtrangely perplex on this ſubject) ſpeak of five Kings in all, and ſeven of *Analaf's* principal Commanders, of *Freda* a *Norman*, and ſeem to hint, that *Conſtantine* eſcaped home, but loſt his Son in the Battel: that ſome of King *Edward's* Old Souldiers were here loſt; but on the other ſide great multitudes; which done the reſt fled to their Ships, particularly *Analaf* to *Dublin*, with a ſmall remainder of his great Army. *Malmesbury* adds this circumſtance, that the Battel was fought from Morning to Night, agrees with *Ingulf* that *Conſtantine* was ſlain, with five other Kings, and twelve Earls. The King's loſs ſeemed ſo inconſiderable in compariſon of what his Enemies ſuſtained, that our Writers mention few particulars, yet here fell his two Kinſmen, *Elwin* and *Athelſtan*, whom he cauſed to be Buried at *Malmesbury*. Whatever his loſs was of Men, his gain of Reputation by this Victory was very great, as is evident from what *Ingulphus* hath obſerved for us. For the notice of it flying throughout all Chriſtendom, all Kings deſired to have him their Friend, and on any terms to make an Alliance with him. *Henry* the Emperour ſent Ambaſſadours to deſire one of his Siſters in Marriage for his Son *Otho*. *Hugh* alſo the King of the *Franks* (ſo he terms him) requeſted another for his Son. And *Ludovicus* Prince of *Aquitain* begged the like favour for his own perſon. So many and ſo great and Royal Preſents they brought along with them as never had been formerly ſeen by the *Engliſh* Nation.

Ceciderunt ſiquidem in illo prælio Conſtantinus Rex Scotorum ac alii Reges numero quinque, Comites duodecim, Barbaries populorum infinita.

Which procures great Reputation to the King. Being courted by all Princes for his Alliance.

64. "Beſides rich Perfumes, Gems, Horſes for the Courſe with golden Furniture, Veſſels of Onyx, and other rare and moſt pretious things, a piece of the Croſs of Chriſt, and of his Crown of Thorns, both ſet in Chryſtal; the Sword of *Conſtantine* the Great, on the Hilt of which incloſed with Maſſy pieces of Gold was ſet one of the four Nails which faſtened our Saviour to the Croſs; the Banner of *Mauricius* the Martyr, with the Launce of *Charles* the Great of no ſmall eſteem amongſt the *Franks*. King *Athelſtan* was pleaſed with theſe Preſents; readily ſent his Siſters as was deſired, under Conduct of ſeveral of his greateſt Courtiers, the chief of whom was *Turketul*, whom he eſpecially employed in this affair, in reſpect he was his firſt and his chiefeſt Chancellour, moſt prudent and truſty of all he had, and for that he was near akin to the Ladies. With the Chancellour go the four Virago's to the Sea; if we look at Chaſtity, ſuperiour to *Diana*, and if we regard Beauty, more fair than *Helena*, ſaith our Authour. By the Dukes, Earls and all other of the *Engliſh* Nobility many rich Preſents of Jewels and Bracelets are made them. At length leaving *England*, they ſail over the Sea with a proſperous Gale, and up the *Rhine* they paſs as far as *Colein*. The two Elder Siſters are put into the hands of the Emperour *Henry*, whereof the Eldeſt he beſtowes on his own Son *Otho*; and the other upon

Which he conſents to.

Quæ caſtitatis honore Dianam vincebant, & corporali pulchritudine etiam Helenam ſuperabant.

Marrying his Siſters accordingly.

upon a great Prince of his Court. *Hugh* the King of the *Franks* took the Third Siſter for his Son; and *Ludovicus* Prince of *Aquitain* Married the Fourth, the Youngeſt of all, and the moſt Beautifull. *Turketul* the Chancellour then having diſpatched the Affairs of his Embaſſy, returned home, loaded with great Gifts, as were his Followers; who to the meaneſt Boy were highly Preſented.

He invades *Wales.*

65. The Renown of *Athelſtan* being ſo great abroad nothing could withſtand him at home, where preſently after his ſucceſs in the North, and his having reduced the *Scots* and *Picts* to obedience, with his Brother *Edmund* he invaded *Wales*, and with much more eaſe brought *Ludwal* King thereof into Subjection. This King *Ludwal* is by others called *Hunwal*, *Huwal* or *Houil*, no Name having more various reading, and is thought to have been the ſame with *Howel Dha*, or the *Good*, the Son of *Codel* and that Great King of the *Welſh*, ſo famous for the Laws he made to Govern his Subjects. Perceiving them out of all order for want of Laws, he ſummoned together out of every *Kemul* or *Hundred* of his Kingdom, both Laymen that were eminent for Authority and Knowledge, as alſo all Eccleſiaſticks, that by reaſon of their Authority bore * Staves, or had Staves born before them, aſwell Archbiſhops, Biſhops, as Abbats and Priors to a place called *Guin* upon *Taff yn deud*, an Houſe he had cauſed to be built of white or pilled Rods for his uſe when he came to Hunt in the Parts of *Demetia*, whereupon it was called by the Name of *Ty Guyn*. There the King and they continued all the *Lent*, Faſting and Praying for a good iſſue of their meeting according to what he had deſigned. Of thoſe that now met he choſe twelve of the Laity, and a very Learned Clerk called *Blangondus* to make a draught and preparative for their buſineſs which he would have divided into three parts. Of which the firſt ſhould be the Law of his dayly Court, the ſecond the Law of his Countrey, the third the Practice of both. For this purpoſe three Books he ordered to be made, one to follow his dayly Court, a ſecond for the Court of *Dinewr*, and a third for that of *Aberfran*, or any of the three Parts of *Cambria*, viz. *Guenet*, *Powis* and *Dehenbarth*, which ſhould for every matter in hand have the Authority of a Law. *Cambden* will have this Aſſembly held in the Year DCCCCXIV. a certain Manuſcript written long agoe, about the Year DCCCCXXVI. the Hiſtory of *Wales*, after or about the Year DCCCCXL. ſo great is the diſagreement of Writers, which ſeems to hint that three ſeveral Aſſemblies were held, if ſo long the Reign of this *Howel* continued. Some affirm he was not King till about the Year DCCCCXL. and Reigned not beyond DCCCCLXVIII. But the Book of *Landaff* makes him later, the Contemporary of King *Edgar* who began not his Reign till the Year DCCCCLIX: or thereabouts, in the Hiſtory of whom we ſhall have another ſpecial occaſion to make mention of this *Howel*.

Leges Hoeli Dha (1 *Boni.*) *Regis ſeu Principis totius Walliæ è ſecularibus ſuis MSS. decerptæ. Apud Spelman in Conciliis. p.* 408.

* *Et omnes Eccleſiaſticoe authoritate baculoſos.*

Making *Howel* and the other Petty Kings pay him Tribute.

66. To return to *Athelſtan*. He cauſed all the Petty Kings of *Wales*, aſwell as *Howel* their Principal (if now he Reigned) to give him a Meeting at *Hereford*, where under the Name of a Tribute he impoſed on them a yearly Payment of twenty Pounds of Gold, three hundred of Silver, of Beeves twenty five thouſand, with as many Hounds and Hawks as he ſhould demand. Moreover becauſe in the Weſtern Borders toward *Cornwall* the *Britains* and *Engliſh* dwelt confuſedly together, which bred Quarrels, and many times drew the affection of the *Engliſh* from their Prince, he expelled all the *Corniſh Britains* out of *Exeter* (which he ſtrongly fortified) and other Parts of *Devonſhire*, though there they had formerly dwelt in equal Right with the *Engliſh*, as we have formerly hinted, that the *Britains* were wont to dwell in ſome other places, eſpecially till the great Ditch of ſeparation made by the *Mercians*. To their County of *Cornwall* he fixed certain Limits, dividing it from *Devonſhire* with the River *Tamara*, as he bounded the other Northern *Britains* with the River *Vaga*, or the *Wey*. Thus dreaded at home and feared abroad he lived in repoſe for ſo much as we know for three years, and then left the World in great Glory (whatever the *Scotch* Writers pretend) no way eclipſed except it were by the Death of his Brother *Edwin*, which ſome report he willingly made away as one who by his legitimate Birthright would endanger that to which Poſſeſſion gave him the greateſt Right. The ſtory is this. *Elfred* as we have already ſaid, conſpired to prevent the promotion of *Athelſtan* by putting out his Eyes, and many Complices doubtleſs he had who gave their Names to the Enterprize. There were not wanting Sycophants to accuſe *Edwin* of the Plot, as being the next Heir to the Crown (at leaſt) the Eldeſt Son of King *Edward*'s ſecond Wife, for whoſe ſake the Treaſon was firſt hatched. A Crown is commonly lined with Jealouſie and Suſpicion, and the apprehenſion of a Rival uſually overpowers all obligations both of Friendſhip and Nature.

An account of his Brother Edwin's Death.

Malmesb Mat. Weſtmonaſt.

Edwin both by word of mouth and by meſſengers, by Oaths and Imprecations proteſted his Innocence. But this would not prevail againſt the Whiſpers of Paraſites who affirmed, that being driven into baniſhment, he would be commiſerated by foreign Princes, and ſtill more indanger the King. Therefore is ſuch a courſe found out, as under the Notion of Baniſhment, may ſend him away to his long home. A ſhip rotten of it ſelf, and not able to endure the violence of the Waves is found out, to the Government of which no mariners are appointed, onely he himſelf and his Page (or Armour-bearer) put therein. For ſome time they weathered out at Sea, till the young Prince brought up tenderly, and not uſed to hardſhip being weary of his life, caſt himſelf headlong, and ſo periſhed in the Ocean. His Servant better adviſed was contented to live, and making uſe of better fortune, landed with his Maſter's Boy at a place called *Whitſand*, not far from *Dover*.

Which is puniſhed with that of the Contrivers.

67. The fact was not long committed before *Athelſtan's* Repentance began to follow, which he is ſaid by a ſeven years penance to have teſtified to the World, as by the Puniſhment of him who was the principal Inſtrument in the late Tragedy, and whiſpered jealouſie into his Ears. This was his Cup-bearer, who upon occaſion being to preſent a cup of drink to him, one of his Feet ſlipt, but by the nimbleneſs of the other recovering himſelf, he offered theſe words: *Thus one Brother helps another*. The King hearing them, and ſadly calling to mind how little he himſelf had helped his Brother, oppreſſed by the Calumnies of this paraſite, cauſed him to be put to death. This is the tale told by *Malmesbury*, and by *Matthew* the Flowergatherer who delivers it (as many other grand Improbabilities) for a truth, whereas the former tells it as a ſtory of which he himſelf doubteth. But *Buchanan* the *Scotch* Writer runs away with it as a certain truth, joyning it with more of the ſame credit, *viz.* that he was the Murtherer of his Brother *Edred* alſo, and was vilely ſuſpected to have by his contrivance brought his Father himſelf to a violent death, foraſmuch as Writers give him the Title of *Edward* the Martyr. The very mentioning of theſe brings the other into ſuſpicion; for that *Edred* ſurvived and ſucceeded *Athelſtan* next but one in the Kingdom is ſufficiently known, and the other ſuſpicion ſhews the Writer both ignorant and malitious. For who but a mere ſtranger to *Engliſh* Hiſtory, can imagine *Edward* the Martyr the ſame with *Edward* the Elder, the Father of *Athelſtan*? If one conſider his extraordinary kindneſs to, and care for all the reſt of his Brothers and Siſters, this will ſtill ſeem more improbable; for whoſe ſake as ſome will believe he abſtained even from Marriage, making them his Companions in the Kingdom. His mercifulneſs to his very Enemies, is taken notice of by Writers who generally incline to quit him from this charge of murthering his Brother, as grounded rather upon uncertain fame and rude ſongs, than upon certain or approved Hiſtory. Even ſuch as believe him Authour of the Fact acquit him from the Crime, by affirming *Edwin* to have practiſed Treaſon againſt his Perſon.

To *Athelſtan* ſucceeds *Edmund*.

Who invades *Mercia*.

Subdues *Anlaf*, and joins *Northumberland* to his Dominions.

68. *Athelſtan* being dead, after he had reigned ſixteen years, though the Annals give him but fourteen years and ten weeks. *Eadmund* his Brother a youth of eighteen years of Age, ſucceeded him in the thirty ſecond year of *Conſtantine* the Eighth ſirnamed *Porphyrogenitus* Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, the fifth of *Otho* the Great Emperour of the Weſt, *A. D.* DCCCCXL. In courage he was no way inferiour to his Brother. In the ſecond year of his Reign he invaded *Mercia*, which was generally held then by the *Danes*, and putting them out of Power, took from them fives Cities, *viz. Leiceſter*, *Lincoln*, *Notingham*, *Stanford* and *Darby*, where it ſeems they had been plac'd by King *Edward*, but at this time it was not thought convenient that they ſhould continue. For from what *Simeon* of *Durham* relates it ſhould appear that he had matter of Jealouſie and provocation from the *Danes*, inhabiting *Northumberland*, the King whereof *Anlaf*, from *York*, waſted all Southward as far as *Northampton*, but was met and ſtopt by King *Edmund* at *Leiceſter*. Here Peace was made betwixt them by the Intervention of two Archbiſhops, *Odo* and *Wulſtan*, which was ennobled by the converſion of *Anlaf*, to whom as the Annals witneſs *Edmund* was Godfather the ſame year, who alſo a little after received *Regenlad*, another King from the Hands of the Biſhop at Confirmation: moreover it is ſaid, that their Territories were bounded North and South by *Watlingſtreet*. Who this *Anlaf* ſhould be is ſomething uncertain, whether him ſpoken of ſo much heretofore or another. *Huntingdon* will have him, another, not that *Anlaf* who died this very year. But the Annals are rather to be credited, which two years after call this *Anlaf* (now firſt of all) the Son of *Sithric*, relating that *Edmund* now drove both him and *Regenald* the Son of *Guthferd*

Buꞃᵹa ꝼiꞅe Liᵹoꞃaceꞅꞇeꞃ ⁊ Linꝺcẏlne ⁊ Snoꞇinᵹaham ꞅƿilce Sꞇanꝼoꞃꝺ eac ꝺeoꞃaby.

Eaꝺmunꝺ cẏninᵹ onꝼenᵹ Anlaꝼe cẏninᵹe æꞇ ꝼulpihꞇe. ⁊ þy ẏlcan ᵹeaꞃe, ẏmb ꞇeala mẏcel ꝼæc he onꝼenᵹ Reᵹenolꝺe cẏninᵹe æꞇ biꞅceopeꞅ hanꝺa.

Guthferd out of *Northumberland* which he ſubdued, and forced to ſubmit to his Dominion.

Sect. 10.

Haraſſes *Cumberland*, and gives it *Malcolm* King of *Scotland*.

69. The year that followed King *Edmund* haraſſed *Cumberland*, and gave it to *Malcolm* King of the *Scots*, on condition to aſſiſt him in his Wars both by Sea and Land. Hitherto, though much diſtreſſed and diſturbed by their Neighbours, the *Picts*, *Scots* and *Engliſh*, the ancient *Welſh* in this Countrey had continued a kind of State and Government, even after ſeveral of them being wearied out, had retired into *Northwales*, and there erected the Kingdom of *Stratcluyd*, which we formerly mentioned. From this time they continued under the Power of the *Scots*, but fell again to the Dominion of the *Normans* when they had conquered *England*, and at this day their Countrey retains the Name of *Cumbri* or *Kumri*, the ſame whereby the *Welſh* or *Britains* ſtill call themſelves, although the Remainders of them ſtill inhabiting theſe Parts, by reaſon of continual Commerce with their troubleſome Neighbours, have loſt the Language which onely ſticks to certain Towns and Places, not ſo ſubject to alteration. But as to this conqueſt of *Northumberland*, *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* gives us farther the Circumſtances, that *Edmund* did it by aſſiſtence of *Leoline* Prince of *Wales*, and that he put out the Eyes of both the Sons of *Dunmail* King of the Provinces, whom he had deprived of his Kingdom. Thus did *Edmund* flouriſh, giving hopes of ſtill greater things to be performed by him, when in the height of the Expectations of his Friends and his own Confidence; a too venturous act cut him off, and a ſtrange Accident deprived his People of him. The year which followed this Alteration in *Cumberland* he kept the Feaſt of St. *Auguſtine*, with many of his Nobles at a Place which has in Writers ſeveral Names, but now is called *Puclekerke* or *Puckle-Church* in *Gloceſterſhire*, in memory of his firſt converting the *Engliſh* Nation. As he ſate at meat amongſt his Gueſts, he eſpied one *Leof* a noted Thief, who for his Robberies had been baniſhed ſix years before. Hereat tranſported with Rage, he roſe from the Table, ran upon him, caught him by the Hair, and pulled him to the ground. The Thief expecting no leſs than death, thought he would not dye unrevenged, but pulling out a ſhort Dagger thruſt it into the Breaſt of the King as he lay upon him with all the violence he was able. He was deadly wounded, and that e'er the Company could turn or imagine what the matter meant, but when it was perceived they flew upon the Murtherer, and cut him in pieces, who yet like a furious wild Beaſt at a Bay laid about him, and e'er he was killed, wounded ſome of his Aſſailants. To this lamentable end came *Edmund* after he had reigned ſix years and an half, and was buried at *Glaſtenbury*.

Being aſſiſted by *Leoline* Prince of *Wales*.

Malmesbur.

Edmund is ſtabb'd at *Puckle*Church in *Gloceſterſhire*.

Edred ſucceeds.

The *Northumbrians* revolt.

70. *Edmund* died not without iſſue Male, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, but his Sons being Infants, *Edred* his Brother, the third Brother of *Athelſtan*, ſucceeded him, and was Crowned at *Kingſton*, in the thirty eighth year of *Conſtantinus Porphyrogenitus*, the eleventh of *Otho* the Great, and the DCCCCXLVI. year of our Lord. The courſe of his Actions ſufficiently ſhewed that he did not degenerate from his Anceſtours. In his very firſt year he ſubdued all *Northumberland*, which ever was revolting by the practices of its petty Princes, and he ſo ordered his matters by the Reputation hereby attained, that the *Scots* ſwore obedience to him to will whatſoever he ſhould will, as the * Annals expreſs it. But the *Northumbrians* ever unfaithfull, now alſo ſhewed the fickleneſs of their diſpoſition. The Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* here talks ſtill of *Anlaf*, as that he ſhould once more be recalled, and Reigning four years, again be put to ſhift for himſelf. *Simeon* of *Durham* writes of their chuſing one *Eric* a *Dane*, the Son of *Harald*, for their King, againſt whom *Edred* entred *Northumberland*, and having waſted the Countrey returned. *Eric* fell upon his Rere in his Retreat, which ingaged him to face about, and prepare to Charge the purſuing Enemy; which ſo affrighted the *Northumbrians*, that dreading again to prove what they had already ſufficiently experienced, they caſt off *Eric*, killed *Amanc* the Son of *Anlaf*, and with great Preſents appeaſing *Edred* again, ſubmitted to his Government, and quitting the Adminiſtration of their petty Kings, were thenceforth Ruled by Earls, of which one *Oſulf* is reported to be the firſt. Such is the account we have of this expedition in general, the onely particular of conſequence is, that *Wulſtan* the Archbiſhop of *York* ſided, at leaſt connived, as *Malmesbury* words it, with his Compatriots in their Revolt, for which he was committed to Priſon, where having continued a conſiderable time (but a year ſaith *Stubbes*) he was at laſt pardoned, and releaſed out of reſpect to his coat and function. As *Edred* thus proceeded to equal the worth of his Predeceſſours, he was taken away in the flower of his Age, when he had Reigned ſome nine years and an half, and was buried in the Cathedral Church at *Wincheſter*.

* *An.* DCCCCXLVI. ⁊ Scottas him aƿas ſealdan ꝥ hie ƿoldan eal ꝥ he ƿolde.

Are aſſiſted by *Wulſtan* Archbiſhop of *York*.

Edred dies.

Th. Stubbes. f. 1699.

71. By

Sect. 10.

Eadƿic ⁊ Eaꝺƿiᵹ.

Edwi made King.

Who is given to Women.

71. By this time *Edwi*, or *Eadwig* (as the Annals call him) the eldeſt Son of *Edmund*, was advancing to Man's eſtate, and therefore now upon his Uncle's death was admitted King, and crowned at *Kingſton*, in the forty ſeventh year of *Conſtantinus Porphyrogenitus* ſo often mentioned as contemporary, as alſo the twenti- of *Otho* the Great, in the DCCCCLV. year of our Lord. He was about fourteen years of Age, of Beauty, much above the ordinary comelineſs of Men, which got him the Sirname of *Pancalus* or altogether Fair; which Youth and Beauty expoſed him to the Arts and Allurements of bad people. He is generally ill ſpoken of, though by ſome his actions are not repreſented with that diſadvantage, which particular prejudice in other writers may ſeem a little to have procured. By them he is reported to have given extraordinary offence by his inordinate pleaſure on the very day of his Coronation. There was in his Court a Lady nearly allied to him, who had a Daughter far exceeding her ſelf in Beauty, though ſhe was very handſome, called by the name of *Algina*. Mother and Daughter, by their unchaſte deportment, had ſo inſinuated themſelves into his favour, that neither he could be quiet, nor any publick buſineſs be diſpatched without them. The deſign of the Mother was he ſhould marry her Daughter, yet is ſhe ſaid to have had as vehement a deſire to partake of their luſts, which ſhe often did, he being wont ſhameleſly to imbrace the one in the others preſence. The Ceremony of the Coronation being over, the Feaſt was prepared, or elſe they fell into a ſerious conſultation about publick matters. But the King quits the place, and without any regard to ſo venerable an Aſſembly as conſiſted of his Prelates and Nobles, flung away into the chamber of theſe women, where he caſt himſelf upon a bed betwixt them. The Lords hereat exceedingly fretted, as they had reaſon, and conſulted how to reduce the Youth into their company. This was undertaken by *Dunſtan*, Abbat of *Glaſtenbury*, and *Kinſi* Biſhop of *Lichfield*, who was related to the King, and therefore choſen as one whoſe authority would ſway the more with him. They enter the Chamber and find him in that indecent poſture; *Dunſtan* rebukes the women, and gently reprehends the King, praying him by his abſence, not to put ſo great an affront upon his Nobility. He fumes, they taunt and ſcoff, but *Dunſtan* takes him by the hand, pulls him from them, ſets the Crown upon his Head, which he had caſt aſide, and brings him back into the Aſſembly.

Is ſevere towards Monks, eſpecially *Dunſtan* of *Glaſtenbury*.

Is excommunicated.

Part of his Subjects rebell ſetting up his younger Brother.

Matth. Weſtmonaſt.

His Miſtreſſes puniſhed which he takes to heart and dyes.

72. The women hereat enraged to all degrees of malice and revenge, vowed to procure the ruine of *Dunſtan*, which they ſo far proſecuted, that the King cauſed all the wealth of his Monaſtery to be ſeized, and baniſhed him into *Flanders*, nay ſo great an averſion he conceived againſt men of his Profeſſion, that miſerable was the eſtate of Monks at that time, as *William* the Monk of *Malmesbury* affirms; who complains that his Monaſtery, which for two hundred and ſeventy years had been Inhabited by Monks, was now made a Stable of Clerks, for ſo he terms it. He and the Aurhour of *Dunſtan's* Life, and this Monk are they who tell this ſtory with ſuch tart reflexions upon his Perſon, which others not ſo much concerned for the Monaſtical life, relate more indifferently. However he was a Child, and ſo apt to be ſeduced, by the pleaſing allurements of women, and the conceit of his Royal Authority, which he lookt upon as uncontrollable. But *Odo* the Archbiſhop, is ſaid to have excommunicated and pronounced a Divorce betwixt him and his *Algina*, and the People ſo to have reſented the affronts offered to Religious People, that the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians* revolted from him, and ſet up his younger Brother *Edgar*, leaving to him the Kingdom of the Weſt *Saxons* onely, the ancient Patrimony of his Family. As for the two Ladies, *Odo* contented not himſelf with exerciſing his Spiritual Juriſdiction in cutting them off as putrid Members from the Body of the Church, but by the Council and Aſſiſtence of the Nobility, cauſed by force, and againſt the Kings will and pleaſure, to be drawn out of the Court *Algina* the Daughter, becauſe ſhe did moſt harm to the King, and being nearer to him in bloud, was inceſtuouſly uſed by him as his Wife. But this ſeverity ended not here: they added marks of ſcorn, defacing her Beauty by branding her Face with an hot Iron; and they lamed her by cutting the Sinews of her Hams, which done, they baniſhed her into *Ireland*. *Edwi* having been King four years, took theſe diſaſters to heart, and died not long after, (ſome ſay two years he lived after his Excommunication) and was buried in the new Monaſtery at *Wincheſter*.

Edgar King of all *England*.

73. *Edgar* his Brother, a Youth of ſixteen years of Age, by his Death became King of all *England*, in the one and fiftieth year of the often mentioned *Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus*, and the twenty fourth of *Otho* the Great, *A. D.* DCCCCLIX

No

Revokes his Predeceſſours Laws, and calls back St. *Dunſtan.*

His Naval preparations.

No ſooner was he advanced, but to ſerve the Intereſt of the Party that ſet him up, in an Aſſembly held at *Branford*, he revoked all the unjuſt decrees of his Brother, took care for purſuing, taking and putting to death the Adultreſs of *Edwi*, and for recalling *Dunſtan* with great Glory, whom within a little time he promoted to the See of *Canterbury*. Concerning the Government of *Edgar*, *Malmesbury* gives us this ſhort account, that not any one year is mentioned in the Chronicles, wherein he performed not ſome great thing, and neceſſary for the good of his Countrey. Yet ſuffered his Kingdom no violence, either by domeſtick Treachery or outward Force, a ſtory going, that St. *Dunſtan* at his Birth was told by an Angel, that Peace ſhould flouriſh in *England* ſo long as this Boy Reigned, and as he himſelf ſhould live. That this Peace and Tranquillity was not obtained by neglect and idleneſs, we may be ſufficiently aſſured from his vaſt Naval preparations. He underſtood and practiſed the true Intereſt of his Countrey, which was to give Laws, and to be Maſter at Sea. He was ſo wiſe as to know preventing Phyſick to be the beſt, better to hinder the Invaſion of an Enemy, than ſuffer his own Kingdom to be the Seat of a War; which at beſt muſt bring devaſtation and poverty, and make the Conquerour a very great looſer by the Victory. He rigged up ſuch a Fleet as for number of Veſſels, may ſeem incredible. Every Summer, ſaith *Malmesbury*, immediately after *Eaſter* he commanded his Ships upon every Shore to be brought into a Body. He Sailed uſually with the Eaſtern Fleet, to the Weſtern Part of the Iſland; and then ſending it back with the Weſtern unto the Northern, and thence with the Northern he returned to the Eaſtern, being exceeding diligent to prevent the incurſions of Pirates; and Courageous for the defence of his Kingdom againſt Foreigners, and the Training up of himſelf and his people for Military employments.

74. Each of theſe Fleets we are told conſiſted of one thouſand and two hundred Ships, and theſe alſo very ſtout ones, ſo that the number of all muſt have amounted to three thouſand and ſix hundred Sail; which * ſome of our Authours ſpeak expreſly. But others write of four thouſand Veſſels, and there are that add to theſe three a fourth Fleet, by which means the number will be encreaſed to four thouſand and eight hundred Sail, as may be ſeen in *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* and the Flowergatherer. To ſuſtain this charge, beſides the private Contributions of his Subjects (of which we ſhall hereafter more conveniently ſpeak) he had Eight petty Kings, who being his Fiduciary Clients or Vaſſals, were bound to him by Oath to be ready at his Command, and ſerve him both by Sea and Land; which Oath they took at *Cheſter*, where he had given them order to meet him, as he Sailed about the North of *Britain* with a great Navy. Their Names are *Kened* or *Kineld*, King of the *Scots*, *Malcolm* of *Cumberland* (who at this time it ſeems hath this Name, though as we ſaid the *Cumbrians* had thrown off that Title, and taken the other of Earls as more modeſt) *Maccuſe* of the *Iſles*, and five of *Wales*, the Names of whom were *Duſval*, *Griffith*, *Huual*, *Jacob* and *Judethil*. Having theſe then altogether at his Court at *Cheſter*, to ſet forth the Splendour and Greatneſs of his Dominion, he went one day into a Gally, and cauſed himſelf to be rowed by the petty Princes, he himſelf holding the Stern, and ſteering the Boat about the River *Dee*: Waited on by all his Dukes and Nobles in another Barge, he Sailed from the Monaſtery of St. *John Baptiſt*, where an Oration being made to him, in the ſame ſtate and pomp he returned to his Palace. Here when he Arrived, he is ſaid to have told thoſe about him, that then his Succeſſours might boaſt themſelves Kings of *England*, when by ſo many Kings they ſhould be ſo attended, and Arrive, as *Malmesbury* expreſſes it, at ſuch a Prerogative of Honours. As for theſe Princes, *Maccuſius* by *Florent* of *Worceſter*, and *Hoveden*, is termed a King of very many Iſlands. *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* calls him King of *Man*, and very many other Iſlands. And *Malmesbury* calls him an Archpirate, by which word a Robber is not to be underſtood; but as *Aſſerius* and others of that Age uſe it, one ſkilled in Sea affairs, or a Seaman ſo called from *Pira*, which in the Attique Tongue, ſignifies Craft or Art, but afterward it came to be applicable onely to ſuch as without any juſtice infeſt the Seas. Not long after, the Governour of a Ship of Pirates, came to be called a Pilote from *Pile*, the name of a Ship in the ancient Gallick Language, ſome remainders whereof ſtill continue among the *Franks*. After the inſolency of theſe Northern Rovers and Pagans grew ſo great, all the Maritime Towns throughout Chriſtendom might well be ſenſible of their danger, and the means of their deliverance, as to expreſs their common Faith, and next their common Refuge under God, on one ſide of their Coin they ſtamped a Croſs, and on the Reverſe a Ship, which gave Original to that,

* *Hoveden Florentius wigorn.*

Sect. 10.

that, though much practiſed, yet little underſtood cuſtome of caſting and naming Croſs and Pile to this day.

75. Another of the Kings and thoſe of *Wales* was *Huual* or *Huwal*, who though he be not placed the firſt in order, yet if we follow the Account of ſome Authours, muſt have been the chief of them all, the Prince to whom all the reſt performed obedience. The Book of *Landaff* bids us take notice that at the ſame time lived *Edgar* King of all *Britain*, *Huwell Da* and *Margan Heu*, which two yet were the Subjects of King *Edgar*. At that time *Morgan Heu* obtained all *Morganuc* in peace and quietneſs, onely *Huwell Da* endeavoured to take from him *Iſtradin* and *Euwias*. King *Edgar* having notice hereof, ſummoned *Huwell Da*, *Morgan Heu* and *Heweyn* his Son to his Court, where in full Council he debated both their Titles, and it was plainly found that *Huwell Da* had dealt ill with *Morgan Heu* and his Son *Huweyn*, and for this Reaſon *Huwell* was driven from the poſſeſſion of theſe two Countries for ever without recovery. “ Afterward King *Edgar* gave “ and granted to *Morgan Heu* and his Son *Huweyn* theſe two Lands, *viz.* *Iſtradin* “ and *Euwiæ* by name, lying in the Biſhoprick of *Landas*, as his own Inheritance, “ and the aforeſaid two pieces of Land to him and his Heirs, without the Calumny of any earthly man, he has confirmed by our common Aſſent, and with “ the Teſtimony of all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbats, Earls and Barons of all “ *England* and *Wales*. And curſed is he by our Lord the Father who ſeparates “ theſe two pieces of Land from the Lordſhip of *Morganuc*, and the Pariſh (Dioceſe is meant) of *Landaff*; and bleſſed be he of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt who “ obſerves this, and by all Chriſtian People henceforth for ever. *Amen*. Moreover you muſt know that the writing which on that day was made and written before King *Edgar* in full Council, was depoſited in the Church of *Landaff*. Fare you well. Now this ſeems to be no other than the above mentioned *Hoel Dha*, in Latine called *Hoelus Hælus*, and ſometimes *Huual*; one of theſe five *Welſh* Kings, whom *Malmesbury* relates, together with *Kunade* King of the *Scots*, *Malcolm* King of the *Cumbrians*, and *Maccuſius* the Arch Pirate, or rather *Chief of the Seamen* and *Governour of the Seas*, to have met him at the City of *Cheſter*, and in way of Triumph to have rowed him on the River *Dee*, by ſuch a Spectacle to ſhew him as Lord and Monarch both of the *Britiſh* Earth and Ocean. This is that *Howel Dha* of whom we have already ſpoken, whoſe Laws ſaith Sir *Henry Spelman* I underſtand were Printed by one *Salisbury* a *Welſhman* forty years agoe, and diſperſed among his Countreymen; but I never had the happineſs to ſee them.

Codex Londinenſis, fol. 103. *apud Spelman, Conc. p.*414.

76. This Pomp uſed by *Edgar* in the Attendance of theſe eight petty Princes was, as ſome write, but the Epilogue to a greater Act of State. For this very year he was ſolemnly Crowned, having the ſixteenth year of his Age, wherein he was made King, omitted this Ceremony till he came to be thirty, out of penance for his former ſins of Incontinence, as ſome would have it, whereas upon his Brothers death he might have received the Enſigns of Majeſty e'er he came to be ſo guilty of theſe youthfull Crimes. The Solemnity was performed with great ſplendour in preſence of the Nobility, and a great confluence of all ſorts of Perſons, in the old City *Ac mans ceſtre*, ſay the Annals, otherwiſe called *Bath*, on the happy day of Pentecoſt. But as for his youthfull extravagancy toward Women being that alone wherewith he is charged as the blot of his life (for as for his cruelty which ſome objected, of it we have no inſtance, but one that follows) ſeveral Stories are told by the Monk of *Malmesbury*. *Ordgar* Duke of *Devonſhire* had a Daughter named *Elfrida*, famed for extraordinary Beauty, which cauſed the King to be in love with her upon bare report. But to be certain he ſent Earl *Athelwold* his Secretary to ſee her, reſolving to Marry her if ſhe were found to be ſo handſome indeed. *Athelwold* made haſte and got a ſight of her, wherewith he was ſo ſmitten, that he concealed his Meſſage and reſolved to obtain her for himſelf, which being eaſily done, he vilifies her to the King as a Woman very ordinary, and ſuch a Dwarf as would much unbeſeem his Royal Bed. The King's thoughts are hereby diverted upon other Objects; but at laſt the Earl's Enemies bring all to light how he had deceived his Maſter; whom to inrage they omit no words to ſet out, nay enhaunce the wonderfull Beauty of the Lady. The King conceals his Anger, and reſolving by another Device to overreach him, tells him in a pleaſant manner on ſuch a day he would ſee his Wife, a Woman ſo fair as ſhe was eſteemed. He exceedingly ſtruck with a thing ſo unexpected, earneſtly deſires her to provide for his ſafety, by putting on bad Clothes and deforming her ſelf by all other means imaginable. She had by this time perceived how for a King ſhe had

Florentius. Hoveden.

Is Crowned at *Bath.*

On ꝺæꞃe ealꝺan byꞃiᵹ Acemanꞅceꞅꞇꞃe. achie buend oþꞃe ƿoꞃꝺe Baþon nemnaþ. ⁊ cyᵹaþ Penꞇecoꞅꞇeneꞅ ꝺæᵹ.

Murther laid to his charge with the account of it.

Married an Earl, which raiſed ſuch Womaniſh Pride, and Indignation in her, that againſt the coming of *Edgar* ſhe dreſſes her ſelf in the moſt amiable and tempting manner ſhe could deviſe, which had ſuch effects upon him, that his Love being the more inflam'd by being ſo long defrauded of her, he appointed for a pretence, a day of Hunting in the Foreſt called *Warewell* now *Harewood Foreſt*, and there ſlew *Athelwold* with a Dart. The Earls baſe Son coming when the thing was done, and looking upon his Father's dead Body, the King demanded of him *how he liked this Game*; to which he anſwered, *That whatſoever pleaſed the King, ought not to diſpleaſe him*; with which mild Reply the King's angry mind was ſo appeaſed, that he ever after highly favoured the Youth, and expiated the Crime committed upon the Father by the great kindneſs he ſhewed to the Son. *Elfrida* he ſpeedily Married, who to make the uſual amends for Murthers and other horrid Crimes committed, built a Nunnery in the place where her Husband was ſlain.

He is fleſhly given.

77. Another thing is laid to his charge, that he took by force a Virgin veiled out of a Monaſtery, and uſed her as his Concubine, for which he was ſo ſharply reproved by St. *Dunſtan*, and laid it ſo much to heart, that he willingly underwent a Penance of ſeven years continuance, *viz. Faſting, and the want of his Coronation*. But it ſeems he could not abſtain from all ſorts of fleſh. Coming on a time to *Andover* a Town not far from *Wincheſter*, he would have the enjoyment of a certain Duke's Daughter much ſpoken of for her Beauty, and commanded her to be brought to his Bed. The Mother of the Virgin not daring flatly to deny, yet abhorring to be a Baud to her own Daughter, reſolved to deceive him by the darkneſs of the Night, and ſent a Waiting Maid ſhe had in her room, one that was handſome enough, and not unwitty, as ſhe made it appear. When it was Morning ſhe offered to riſe, and he demanding of her why ſhe made ſuch haſte? She replyed, that ſhe muſt up and doe the work her Lady had ſet her. The King wondering what ſhe meant, as not having doubted but that ſhe was the Duke's Daughter, ſhe beſought him to ſet her free from the Service of her Miſtreſs as a Reward for her deflowred Virginity; a Boon his Majeſty could not deny her. He for a time wavering and not knowing how he ſhould take it, at laſt diſſembled his Indignation, put off all with a Jeſt, ſet her free from her Miſtreſs, and carrying her away with him, uſed her with all kindneſs, and onely kept himſelf to her till ſuch time as he married *Elfrida*. Theſe were the Vices of *Edgar*, of which more noiſe had been made by the Monks, but that he built ſo many Monaſteries (every year one it's ſaid) that they could ſcarcely think any ill of one ſo devoted to their courſe of life, one perhaps as great a lover of Chaſtity as Solitarineſs, in another Perſon. But it's certain *England* flouriſhed mightily under him, being a man ſo anſwering the Epithete given by *Homer* to a King, *That not onely from cruel Enemies but Savage Beaſts he ſecured his People*, laying a yearly Tribute of three hundred Wolves upon *Ludwal* King of *Wales*, which when he had paid three years together, in the fourth he gave over, profeſſing there were no more to be found.

Ποίμην λαῶν.

Exacts a Tribute of Wolves from *Ludwal* King of *Wales*.

Malmesbur.

Takes care that Juſtice be adminiſtred.

His Courage and Strength.

78. What his Employment was in Summer we have already ſeen. In Winter and the Spring he uſually rode a kind of Circuit to adminiſter Juſtice to the People, and take care that his Officers did the like. A low man he was and ſlender, but of ſuch Courage and ſo ſtrong made, that he would provoke the moſt robuſt he could hear of to graple with him, diſdaining they ſhould at all ſpare him out of reſpect to his perſon. It happened on a time, that *Kened* King of the *Scots* was at his Court, to whom, as *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* relates, he gave rich Preſents with the whole Countrey of *Lothian*, on condition that he and his Succeſſours at high Feſtivals ſhould come and attend on the *Engliſh* King when he ſate Crowned; moreover many Lodging places he aſſigned him by the way, which to eaſe them in their Journey were till the time of *Henry* the Second ſtill held by theſe Kings of *Scotland*. This *Kened* as he ſate one day Feaſting, ſaid jeſtingly to thoſe about him, *That it was a ſtrange thing that ſo many Provinces ſhould obey ſuch a little Contemptible man*. The words were brought to the King's Ears. “He ſends for
“ *Kened* as to conſult upon ſome important Affair, and carries him into a Wood,
“ where none being preſent but they two, he delivers into his hand one of two
“ Swords he had brought along with him. Now he tells him they were alone,
“ and ſo he had a good opportunity to try his ſtrength. He was reſolved it ſhould
“ now be determined which of them ought to rule, and which to be Subject,
“ bidding him not ſtir a foot but decide the Controverſie with him, for it was
“ an ugly thing for a King to talk at a Feaſt and not be forward at a Fray. *Kened*
“ hereat exceedingly abaſhed, without replying, fell down at his Feet, and begged

"his pardon for what he had ſpoken in jeſt without any intended Reflexion, "which he readily gave him. So great was his Courage and his Power the effect thereof, that if a Charter of his be to be credited, he ſubdued the greateſt part of *Ireland* with the City of *Dublin*, and was Lord of all the Iſles as far as *Norway*; but of this no other Writer makes mention, and inſtead of a Warriour he is uſually ſtiled *Edgar the Peaceable*. However ſuch was his Fame that if he did not go to Foreigners, they came to him out of *Saxony*, *Flanders*, *Denmark* it ſelf and other places. *Malmesbury* obſerves, that their coming over did much detriment to the Natives, who *from the* Saxons *received rudeneſs and fierceneſs*, *Effeminateneſs from thoſe of* Flanders, *and Drunkenneſs from the* Danes, being before free from theſe Vices, as contented to defend their own with a natural and innocent ſimplicity, and not given to admire the Cuſtoms and Faſhions of other Nations. Hereupon the Monk tells us he is deſervedly blamed in Story. But happy had it been for *England* had his Succeſſours by their deſerved Fame and Reputation given ſuch occaſion for Reprehenſion. He died when he had Reigned about ſixteen years in the flower of his Age, and with him all the glory of the *Engliſh Saxons*, nothing henceforth being to be heard of amongſt them but Death and Ruine.

Ædgari Regis Anglorum Charta de Oſwaldes law, hoc eſt de ejiciendis Clericis Uxoratis & introducendis Monachis apud Spelman. Conc. p. 422.

He Dies.

79. He had by *Egelfleda* Sirnamed the *Fair*, the Daughter of *Ordmer* a potent Duke (it's uncertain whether his Wife or his Concubine) a Son Named *Edward*, by *Wilfrida* another Concubine a Daughter Named *Editha*, which became a Nun; and by *Elfrida* the Daughter of Duke *Ordgar*, *Edmund*, who dyed five years before his Father, and another Son called *Ethelrede*. *Elfrida* outliving him made a great Faction, labouring earneſtly that her Son ſhould ſucceed, by objecting Illegitimation to *Edward*. By the aſſiſtence of *Elſer* Duke of the *Mercians*, ſhe wrought a great diſturbance, which by means yet of *Dunſtan* and *Oſwald* the two Archbiſhops was compoſed to the advantage of *Edward*, whom they maintained for Legitimate againſt her Pretenſions, and ſhewed it to be the late King's Will that he ſhould ſucceed him. *Edward* then ſucceeded his Father in the fifth year of *Joannes Zimiſes* Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, the third of *Otho* the younger Emperour of the Weſt, *A. D.* DCCCCLXXV year of our Lord. Preſently after his promotion Comets appeared, which portended either the miſery of the Inhabitants, or the alteration of the Government. For preſently followed barrenneſs of the ground, Famine amongſt Men, death of Cattel, and an horrible Contention betwixt Monks and Secular Prieſts, which we are to relate in another place, here hinting this onely, that it put the whole Kingdom into a Combuſtion. As for *Edward*, he was ſo extraordinarily Religious and mild by nature, that out of ſelf-denyal and for quietneſs ſake, he let his Step-Mother order all things as ſhe pleaſed, giving her all reſpect as to his Mother, and foſtering his young Brother with all love and tenderneſs imaginable. She on the other ſide from his kindneſs and love, conceives greater and more implacable malice, and with the Sovereignty ſhe already enjoyed was ſo ill ſatisfied, that ſhe muſt needs have the Title it ſelf from him. Her purpoſe ſhe covers by notable diſſimulation, till a convenient opportunity preſent it ſelf for the Execution. At length the poor Innocent Youth wearied with Hunting and ſore vexed with Thirſt, while his Companions followed the Game and minded not what became of him, hearing that her Houſe was near at hand, alone by himſelf rode thither, fearing nothing becauſe of his own Innocence, and imagining every one meant as honeſtly as he himſelf.

His Iſſue.

Edward *ſucceeds him.*

80. She receives him with wonderfull good words, and when (as it ſeems) he refuſed to light from his Horſe, cauſed ſome drink to be given, but when the Cup was at his Mouth one of her Servants privately before inſtructed to ſtab him with a Poniard. He exceedingly affrighted with ſuch unexpected kindneſs, put Spurs to his Horſe and fled as faſt as he could towards his Company, but the Wound being Mortal, ſpent with loſs of bloud he fell to the ground, and having one foot in the Stirrop was dragged through by-ways and trac'd by his bloud by thoſe ſhe ſent after him, who brought back the dead Body, and they buried it without Honour at *Werham*. Here they imagined they had buried his Memory as well as his Body, but the place of his Sepulture (it's ſaid) grew famous for Miracles, whereupon Duke *Elſer* that had an hand in his Death, interred it Royally at *Shepton* or *Shaftsbury*. Yet notwithſtanding this amends, as he thought he had made, did he die ſhortly after eaten up of Lice. *Elfrida* was ſo convinced of her wickedneſs that from her Courtly and Delicate courſe of life ſhe betook her ſelf to a very ſevere Penance; wearing Haircloth, ſleeping on the ground without a Pillow, and

Who is ſtab'd.

Malmesb.

and herein ſhe continued all her life. But ſo periſhed *Edward* after he had born the Name of King three years and an half; for his Innocency and the Miracles wrought after his death, obtained the Sirname of *the Martyr*, which opinion of his Sanctity was more confirmed by other great Miſeries which ſhortly after fell upon the Land, which the People did verily believe were inflicted on them for his Murther. The place of the Murther (which *Hoveden* calls *Corſegate*) was *Corſe Caſtle* (as Mr. *Cambden* affirms) in *Dorſetſhire*, in the Iſle of *Purbeck*; which for a great part of it is an Heath, and (Foreſt like) in his time was furniſhed both with Red and Fallow Deer. *Shaftsbury* is alſo a Town in that County.

And ſucceeded by *Ethelred*.

81. *Ethelred* the ſecond Son of King *Edgar* by *Elfrida* ſucceeded his murthered Brother in the third year of *Baſilius* Junior Emperour of the Eaſt, and the ſeventh of *Otho* Junior Emperour of the Weſt, *A. D.* DCCCCLXXIX. *Malmesbury* gives us this ſhort Character of him and his Reign. That he rather beſieged than governed the Kingdom for ſeven and thirty years. That the courſe of his life was cruel at the beginning, miſerable in the middle, and diſhonourable in the concluſion. To cruelty he attributes the death of his Brother, which he approved becauſe he did not puniſh; he was infamous for his Cowardiſe and Idleneſs, and miſerable in reſpect of his Death. His ſluggiſhneſs was predicted by *Dunſtan* from his * bewraying the Font at his Baptiſm; ſuch a Story as is told of *Conſtantinus Copronymus* Emperour of *Conſtantinople*. Yet is not that a ſign of ill nature which the Monk adds concerning him, that being then but a Child of ten years old, when he heard of his Brother's death he wept moſt bitterly, which drove his Mother into ſuch a fury, that having not a Rod at hand ſhe beat him with Wax Candles that lay in her way till he was half dead, which cauſed in him ſuch an averſion to them that he could never endure any ſuch Lights to be brought in before him. But to come to the material points of his Reign, his Mother, after ſhe had done her Feat upon *Edward*, aſſembled the Nobility together for his Coronation, which was to be performed by *Dunſtan* the Archbiſhop. His work it was, and he did it though with great Reluctancy, not thinking it convenient to ſet any other Pretender up. But as he put the Crown upon his Head he could not contain himſelf, but broke out into theſe Expreſſions. *Becauſe thou haſt aſpired to the Kingdom by the death of thy Brother, Thus ſaith the Lord God, the ſin of thine Ignominious Mother ſhall not be expiated, neither the ſin of thoſe that were her Counſellours, but by great bloudſhed of thy miſerable People, for ſuch miſeries ſhall come upon* England *as it never underwent ſince it had that Name.* Not long after, ſome three years, came to the Port of *Hampton* near to *Wincheſter*, ſeven ſhips of Pirates, and waſting the Maritime Coaſts again departed; which (ſaith the Monk) I paſs not over, becauſe amongſt the *Engliſh* there is great diſcourſe concerning theſe Ships.

* *Alii de mingendo ſolum loquuntur ut Huntingdon. his verbis: Minxit namque cum baptizaretur in Sacro fonte.*

Who is Crowned by *Dunſtan*.

82. About the time of the Coronation which was ſolemnized at *Kingſton*, one Midnight, a Cloud ſometimes bloudy ſometimes fiery appeared all over the Land, portending the return of the dreadfull *Daniſh* Tempeſt which had long ſurceaſt. Theſe barbarous and inhumane Rovers underſtanding what the Eſtate of *England* muſt needs be under the Government of a Child, in the third year of his Reign arrived at *Southampton* (as *Malmesbury* hints) and from ſeven great Ships took the Town, plundered and ſpoiled the Countrey taking away with them great Booty. Thence they went to the Iſle of *Tanet* which they waſted, when about the ſame time others from *Norway* did the ſame by the Countrey lying about *Cheſter*. The following year theſe Pirates that had done ſo much miſchief at *Southampton* haraſſed again the Maritime parts of *Devonſhire* and *Cornwall*, and in that which followed three other Veſſels arrived and very much indamaged the Coaſts about *Portland*, to which Miſchiefs this was added, that the City of *London* was burnt, by what Accident is not diſcovered; in the year of our Lord DCCCCLXXXI. The Diſorders hereby raiſed in the Land were increaſed by Domeſtick Troubles. For a difference aroſe betwixt the King himſelf and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, it's uncertain upon what occaſion, but the King laid Siege unto the City. *Dunſtan* the Archbiſhop ſent him an affrighting Meſſage, that he had beſt take heed how he provoked St. *Andrew* the Patron of the Place; who as he was very kind and favourable to ſuch as well deſerved at his hands, ſo terrible in his Vengeance upon ſuch as incurred his diſpleaſure. But though the King was little more than a Child he could not be removed with ſuch Scarecrows, he continued his Siege till *Dunſtan* was fain to purchaſe his removal with an Hundred Pounds, which ſo affected the Biſhop as to put him into another Prophetical fit. " He ſent him word, that be-

England infeſted with Pirates in ſeveral places.

Hoveden.

Domeſtick Troubles.

“ cauſe he had preferred Silver before God himſelf, Money before an Apoſtle, and “ Covetouſneſs before him; the Calamities formerly related ſhould ſpeedily come “ upon him, but he the Biſhop ſhould firſt be dead. And within two years he died, his death being uſhered in with ſtrange Fevers upon Men, and Fluxes upon Cattel.

St. *Dunſtan* dies.

Febres hominum & lues animalium quæ Anglicè Scytha nominatur, Latinè autem fluxus Interaneorum dici poteſt. Hoveden.

83. Immediately followed theſe Miſchiefs, which one leſs than a Prophet might foreſee, the *Danes*, having got a meaſure of the preſent weak eſtate of the Nation through the King's ſloath and want of Spirit. But they themſelves had at this time a Prince of a quite contrary Diſpoſition, one *Suene* or *Suene-Otto*, as *Adam Bremenſis* calls him, the Son of *Harald* the Great, one ſo undutifully active as to deprive his Father of his Kingdom. He made uſe of ſome whom *Harald* had conſtrained to profeſs Chriſtian Religion, which now abjuring they renounced their Faith and Allegiance both together ſetting up *Suene* againſt his Father, and declaring War againſt the old Man, who had therein the fortune to miſcarry, and flying to a City of the *Sclavi* called *Jamne* there died of his Wounds. *Suene* now rid of his Father perſecutes Chriſtians, and breaths revenge againſt the *Sclavi*; againſt whom making War he is twice taken Priſoner by them, and redeemed with vaſt Treaſure. After this *Heric* King of the *Swedes* takes occaſion to quarrel with him, and ingaging with him in ſeveral Sea Fights has the better of him, and at length outs him of his Kingdom which he quietly enjoys all his life. Thus juſtly rewarded for his horrid Crimes, he wanders up and down without relief. *Thrucco* the Son of *Haco* then Prince of the *Normans* rejected him as a Pagan, and *Ethelred* the Son of *Edgar* (he calls him *Adalread*) remembring what miſchiefs the *Danes* had brought on this Iſland, with ſcorn repells him. At length he is entertained by the King of the *Scots*, who taking compaſſion of him gave him free Quarter for fourteen years together. But ſo inraged was he at the repulſe given him by the King of *England*, that ever after he made it his ſtudy how to plague and afflict the Countrey, ſometime by his own peculiar Forces, and ſometime by the aſſiſtence of others, as we ſhall ſee. How true this Story is we cannot aſſert, the Affairs of the Northern Nations as to thoſe times being involved in ſo great obſcurity. However we thought it not amiſs to relate it as ſuiting with the Fortunes and Inclinations of this man, which proved ſo great a Plague to this our Countrey that he ſeems to have been acted by ſome extraordinary paſſion, whether of Revenge or Ambition or both together.

Suene deprives his Father of the Kingdom of the *Danes*.

But is afterwards outed by *Heric* King of the *Swedes*.

Who being repulſed elſewhere is entertained by the *Scotiſh* King.

84. Not long after the death of *Dunſtan* the *Danes* invaded the Maritime parts of *Devonſhire*, againſt whom one *Goda* Lieutenant of that County, and *Stremewold* a moſt valiant Souldier, made head and put them to flight, but died themſelves in the Combat. For two years we hear no more of them, but in the third they infeſted again the Eaſtern Parts and ſpoiled the Town of *Ipſwich* (then and long after called *Gippſwich*, from the River *Gipping*) their Leaders being one *Juſtin* and *Guthmund* the Son of *Steitan*. They were oppoſed by *Bricthnoth* the moſt valiant Duke of the Eaſt *Saxons*, who fought with them at *Maldon*, where a great Multitude on both ſides were ſlain, but the diſadvantage fell to the *Engliſh* by reaſon of the loſs of their Captain. Now were all Havens, all convenient places of Landing filled with the *Danes* who ſwarmed in ſuch Numbers into the Land, that it could not be known where moſt conveniently they might be met with. The readieſt courſe, doubtleſs, had been for the King to imitate his Father in manning out a ſtout Fleet to ſcour the Seas. But he was too lazy to follow his example, and as generally the humour of a Prince makes a ſtrong impreſſion upon the minds of his People, eſpecially the Nobility and thoſe near about him, as he lay idle and uſeleſs, ſo they contracted a great Ruſt; and reſolved it was by the Advice of *Siricius* the Succeſſour of *Dunſtan* in the See of *Canterbury*, and of two Dukes *Ethelward* and *Alfric*, that thoſe who could not be beaten with Iron ſhould be bribed with Gold, of which ten thouſand Pounds were given them on condition to quit the Countrey, and no more infeſt the Coaſt. An Infamous Example (ſaith *Malmesbury*) and unworthy of men, to redeem their Liberty with Money, which no violence can wreſt from an unconquer'd mind.

Hoveden ad Ann. 991.

The *Danes* invadingall parts are bought off.

85. This ſtopt their mouths for a year or thereabouts, but then their appetite was more exaſperated by what they had already taſted, being taught the way how to come by more. They land again in the North, and ſet upon *Bebbanburh*, now *Bamborow* an ancient Town in *Northumberland*, built by King *Ida* of which we have formerly ſpoken, which having taken they Plunder, and then directing their courſe to the Mouth of *Humber*, they waſte the Countrey on both ſides the River, *Lindſey* and *Yorkſhire*, burning all the Houſes, killing all the Men, Women

Simeon Dunelmenſ. ad An. Dccccxciii.

They return.

and Children, and gather together vaſt Booty. The Countrey Men in an haſty and diſcompoſed manner made oppoſition, but coming to fight, three of their Leaders, *Frana*, *Frithegiſt* and *Godwin* being all of them *Danes* by the Father's ſide, betrayed them, and procured their defeat. At the ſame time no leſs treachery was practiſed at Sea, not upon the account of Conſanguinity, but Revenge. It was now thought fit to Man out a Fleet to intercept thoſe Rovers before they could land, the Conduct whereof was committed to *Alfric* the Son of *Elſter*, Duke of *Mercia*; and another Nobleman called *Torold*. This *Alfric*, the King for ſome offence had formerly Baniſhed, but now recalled, yet the affront had ſo inflamed him with malice, that being ſent from *London* to ſurprize the *Danes* in ſome place of diſadvantage, over-night he gave them Intelligence, and then fled to them, as writes *Florent* of *Worceſter*, which his Fleet perceiving purſued him, and took the Ship wherein he fled, yet he by ſome other convenience eſcaped from them, but by chance falling upon the Eaſt *Angles* they killed and drowned many of them. But *Huntingdon* ſays, that the *Danes* being forewarned by *Alfric*, not onely all eſcaped, but afterward with greater number of Ships ſetting upon the King's Navy killed many of the *Londoners*, and led away in triumph many of their Ships, together with *Alfric* the Conſul, as he calls him.

Huntingdon. ad Ann. 13. *Regis Edelredi. Florent. Wigorn.*

Waſting Eaſt *England* and other Parts.

86. By this time was *Swene* King of *Danemark* arrived, who had brought to his Aſſiſtence *Anlaf* (or as ſome call him, *Olaf* the Son of *Thrucco*) King of *Norwey*, and with a Fleet of nine Gallies entred the *Thames*. On the day of the Nativity of the Bleſſed Virgin they ſet upon *London*, endeavouring to break into and Burn it when it was ſcarcely rebuilt, but the Citizens ſo ſtrenuouſly behaved themſelves that by the aſſiſtence of God and the Virgin, as the Monks write, they forced them with great loſs to retire from the Siege. Exaſperated by this repulſe, they invade *Eſſex* and *Kent*, which they waſte with Fire and Sword, eſpecially the Sea-coaſts, and then paſs into *Suſſex* and the Province of *Southampton*, where they burn the Villages, ſpoil the Fields, and without reſpect to either Sex, rage with all cruelty againſt Mankind and inrich themſelves with great plunder. At length they horſe their Foot, and then through many Countries make their outrageous progreſs, where they commit the ſame violence ſparing neither Sex nor Age. To put a ſtop to their march by any force no preparation was made, the ſluggiſh King and his as drowzie Counſellours implore again the aid of money, which by his Embaſſadours he offers to them to take them off from their furious courſes. The ſumm agreed on was ſixteen thouſand pounds, in expectation of which they retire to their Ships and paſs to *Southampton*, where they winter. This being a time for Complements rather than Action, *Anlaf* the *Norwegian* King received Hoſtages for his ſafety, and accepted of *Ethelred*'s invitation to his Court which then was at *Andover*. Being royally entertained and adopted the King's Son at Confirmation (or Baptiſm) as alſo nobly preſented, he ingaged to depart the Land and moleſt the Kingdom no more; and accordingly returning to his own Countrey he kept his word.

Swene with *Anlaf* King of *Norway* makes another Invaſion.

Simeon Dunelm. ad. Ann. Dccccxciv.

Anlaf bought off.

87. This was no ill advice given to *Ethelred*, to take off from *Swene* ſo powerfull an Aſſiſtent. But as Arms ſignifie little abroad except there be good Council at home, ſo in caſes of Hoſtility, Invaſions eſpecially, Conſultations without ſtrokes will not avail to remove a warlike, unfaithfull and pertinacious Enemy. The influence of the late Tribute or Bribe operated but for three years, or ſcarcely ſo much, and then the *Danes* that had Wintred at *Southampton* and ſtaid in *England*, fetching a compaſs about *Weſt Saxony*, entred the Mouth of the River *Severn* where paſſing they waſted *North Wales*, *Cornwall* and *Devonſhire*, and burning very many Towns killed multitudes of poor People, which done they fetcht another compaſs about *Devonſhire* and *Cornwall*, where having acted the ſame Hoſtilities at laſt they came to *Taveſtock* and there Wintred. The next year they ſailed to the Mouth of the River *Frome*, and waſted the greateſt part of *Dorſetſhire*, which done they made many Incurſions into the Iſle of *Wight*, and thence often returned into *Dorſetſhire* ſo long as they continued in the Iſland receiving Proviſions out of *Suſſex* and *Hamſhire*. The *Engliſh* ſeveral times made Head againſt them, but ſtill as they were going to fight were hindred either by treachery or ſome other misfortune, and turned tail againſt their Enemies. The year that followed they had the confidence to come nearer to *London*, paſſing through the Mouth of *Thames* to the River *Medway*, up which they advance to *Rocheſter*, and laid Siege to it. The *Kentiſh* Men took the Alarm and gave them a ſharp Encounter, wherein many fell on both ſides, but the *Danes* remained Maſters of the Field. Now they horſed their Foot, and ſpoiled in a manner all the Weſ-

Other Hoſtilities acted by the *Danes*.

Simeon Dunelm. ad Ann. Dccccxcvii. & Dccccxcviii. &c.

tern Coaſt of *Kent*, which things at laſt rouzed *Ethelred* and his Counſellours, ſo that they prepared both a Fleet and Land Army conſiſting moſt of Foot. But King and Commanders being all alike, they delayed their march from day to day, and oppreſſed the Countrey where they lodged. Neither the one nor the other Army, did any thing at all tending to the publick good, but burthened the People, waſted the publick Treaſure, and by their ridiculous and effeminate carriage more imboldened the Enemy to proceed, who the year following paſſing over into *Normandy*, upon what account we know not, at their return did more miſchief than before,

Idem ad An. M.

Another invaſion of the *Danes*.

88. King *Ethelred* and his Officers dare peep out when there is none left to hurt them, and are grown ſo valiant, that who is he that dare oppoſe them. They not onely threaten the abſent Enemy, but go to ſeek ſome out in *Cumberland*, where and in the Iſle of *Man* the *Danes* of the old ſtanding, lived as quietly as did the Natives. Theſe unarmed People they ſet upon, haraſs all the Countrey with a Land Army, the Fleet being ordered to ſail about and meet them, which hindred by contrary winds, it could not doe but thoſe that were therein ſhipt, ſaw there was no danger of Foes in the *Iſle of Man*, and therefore landed and overran it. But the *Danes* the next year returning out of *Normandy*, entred the Mouth of the River *Exe*, and preſently laid ſiege to *Exeter*, the wall of which they battered, reſolving to ſtorm it; yet did the Inhabitants receive them ſo warmly, that not liking their entertainment they thought fit to retire,and vent all their malice on the poor Countrey which went ſadly to wreck, having none but helpleſs People to defend it, which were murthered in great multitudes, after the loſs of their Goods and Houſes. At length thoſe of *Devonſhire* and *Somerſetſhire* aſſembled themſelves together, and made ſome reſiſtence at a place called *Penho*, but being overpowered in Numbers were repelled with great ſlaughter. This both incouraged and inraged the inſolent Enemy, who now horſing all his men, did greater miſchief in *Devonſhire* than ever, and ſo returned to his ſhips, wherein he paſſed to the *Iſle of Wight*, and ſometimes in it, and other whiles in *Hamſhire* and *Dorſetſhire*, without any reſiſtence followed his ordinary courſe of Life, doing ſuch Execution by the Sword againſt Men, and by fire againſt Villages, that he affrighted every thing called *Engliſh*, from medling with him either at Sea or Land. The King good man, was not a little troubled,he and his People bemoaned one another with one Finger in the Eye, and another in the Mouth.

A third Summ paid to purchaſe Peace, and the departure of the *Danes*.

An Alliance betwixt *Ethelred* and *Richard* Duke of *Normand*.

89. At length they ſhake their Pockets, where finding ſomething ſtill rattle, they are again ſuddenly comforted, and a gay and effeminate Courtier called *Leoff*, by advice of the Nobility with great Vapours, but fitter to eat than fight, except in the Combats of *Venus*, is ſent to offer to the *Danes* a bountifull Preſent from the King who, brave Soul (they muſt know) did it out of his Munificence not any neceſſity that he or his had to court them. A third Tribute, for ſo it muſt be called is accepted but the ſumm inhaunc'd to twenty four thouſand Pound, which paid down, the *Danes* abſtained till the next time from all Hoſtility. The Meſſenger *Leoff*, while the buſineſs was tranſacting, baſely killed another Nobleman as valiant as himſelf, one *Eaſic* one of the King's beſt Officers, for which he underwent the pains of Baniſhment. *Ethelred* having done ſo great a work as to buy off his Enemy, in the ſtrength of Reputation gained thereby, reſolves to make a new Alliance. He had formerly had a quarrel with *Richard* Duke of *Normandy*, the firſt of that Name about his entertaining and protecting certain dangerous Perſons that had fled the Kingdom, and it aroſe to ſo high terms, that *Pope John* the Fifth, whoſe Letter is extant in *Malmesbury*'s Hiſtory, was fain to interpoſe and diſpatch his Legate into *England*, by whoſe mediation the King was wrought to ſend his Commiſſioners to *Roven*, where a piece was happily concluded. Now though we cannot ſay, that the falling out of Lovers here, proved the renewing of Love, yet their falling out proved the occaſion at length of Love-matters. For after about ten years the Wife of *Ethelred* being dead, he asked and obtained the Daughter of *Richard* in marriage, which having now gallantly freed himſelf from all ſolicitudes, he had time and opportunity to ſolemnize. A great Train of the chief of his Nobles is ſent to fetch the Lady, more being found ready to goe upon this errand, than to fight againſt the *Danes*, and into *England* they bring her with wonderfull magnificence. Her name was *Emma* called by the *Engliſh Elgina* a Lady of admirable beauty, whereupon ſhe was ſtyled the *Flower and Pearl of Normandy*. Her Mothers name was *Gunnor*, deſcended from an eminent *Daniſh* Family, and therefore did the King enter upon this great Deſign, out of greater reaſons of State. For it was hoped, that her intereſt might be able

to work upon the unreaſonable *Danes*, and ſo ſave him both blows and money.

90. Such was the great Plot when he entred at firſt upon the treaty of marriage, the full advantage yet of which he did not then thoroughly underſtand. But having fully perceived the ſtrength of his Alliance, he ſcorned now to buy a peace, he would by his actions command one, and make the Barbarians pay dear for all the Extravagancies they had committed within his Kingdom. One would now think he would rouze up himſelf, take the Field, provide himſelf by Land, of ſtout and experienced Souldiers, by Sea of skilfull Mariners ſuch as knew how and durſt effect ſuch gallant Orders as he ſhould ſend them. The *Danes* had by the Sword done much miſchief, and by the Sword indeed he reſolved they ſhould be puniſhed, they had broken many Leagues and Treaties, and it was no crime to deceive the Deceiver. But this muſt be done, not in the Field but at their private Houſes, not by a fair Enemy but through ſurpriſe, not by a fight, but in a Maſſacre, Letters being ſent into all Countries, commanding all the King's Subjects upon a certain day (the ninth of *July*) to ſet upon them, and without mercy to deſtroy them all. The pretence was (as no Maſſacre but has ſuch kind of excuſe) that they had a Deſign to deprive him of his Kingdom and Life, and to deſtroy all the Nobility, that ſo they might bring the whole Iſland into their own Dominion. The Command was executed, and the *Danes* thereby, who by a League ſolemnly ſworn had been admitted to inhabit quietly amongſt the *Engliſh*, were moſt ſhamefully and barbarouſly murthered. No Sex or Age eſcaped. The Women were butchered as well as the men, and the Brains of Children daſhed againſt the walls. At *London*, when execution was to be done, many of them fled into a certain Church of that City, but ſo ſacred a place was no ſecurity, for they were all without pity murthered as they ſtood by, and embraced the Altars. The Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* informs us, that when he was a Child he heard ſome very old men who lived at that time, report that the King ſent private Letters into every City, wherein Order was given to ſet on the *Danes* unawares, and either kill them by the Sword, or burn them to death. But they found out other Devices when they perceived themſelves Maſters of their Game. They were ſo barbarous in their revenge, that they digged holes in the ground, and therein ſet the *Daniſh* Women up to the middle, which done they ſet fierce Maſtives upon them, which cruelly tore off their Breaſts.

A bloudy Maſſacre of the *Danes* here in *England*.

Matth. Weſtmonaſt.

Lib. 6. ad An. 1002.

Inhumane Cruelties.

Walſingham in Hypodig. Neuſtriæ.

91. A Popular fury, eſpecially, when backed by Authority knows no bounds, nor Authority it ſelf, when it has broken the bounds of publick Juſtice. There were ſeveral Perſons of great Quality in the Land, received upon the publick Faith as Hoſtages, to ratifie the Peace lately accorded. Among the reſt a Princeſs called *Gunildis*, the Siſter of King *Swane*, and Wife to a Count whoſe Name was *Paling*. She had ſeveral years before this come into *England* with her Family, where ſhe received the Chriſtian Faith. She was a Woman of great prudence and temper, had often interpoſed to make Peace between the Nations, and now lately had given up her ſelf, her Husband and her onely Son as Hoſtages to King *Ethelred*. Duke *Edric*, to whoſe care ſhe was committed, cauſed her Husband and her Son before her Face to be pierced through with four Lances, and after that her ſelf to be beheaded. She moſt gallantly and undauntedly took her death, not the leaſt fear or change of colour appearing in her Face, but aſſured the Murtherer, that her bloud would coſt *England* very dear; which ſhe might eaſily ſay without gift of Prophecy, ſcarcely ever any Maſſacre having happened, which procured not to the Actours much farther trouble. But that day that the Order was executed at *London*, where lay in the Streets vaſt heaps of dead Bodies, ſome of our Men of the *Daniſh* Nation, more ſwift than their Purſuers ſeized on a Boat in the *Thames*, with which adventuring to Sea they paſſed over to *Denmark*, and there related to King *Swane*, the butchery of their Countreymen in *England*. The King hereat conceived ſuch ſorrow as was anſwerable to the matter related, and aſſembling his Princes together, acquainted them with the Tragical Act, and deſired their Advice what was to be done. Inflamed with rage and grief for the loſs of their Relations, they reſolved that Revenge was to be taken with all the force the Kingdom could make, whereupon they were ſent back into their ſeveral Countries to make Preparations, and Poſts were diſpatched to the Neighbouring Nations, to invite all ſtrangers to join with them in the Expedition, wherein they propoſed to them great hopes of vaſt Spoils and rich Poſſeſſions. King *Swane*, now reſolved to make another ſort of War than formerly, not like a Pirate by taking Advantages and flying here and there, but like a juſt Enemy to puſh for all, and conquer the Kingdom. And his Provocation being juſt, he proſpered accordingly.

Matth. Weſtm.

Which are related to *Swane* King of the *Danes*.

Who prepares for an Invaſion.

Walſingham ubi ſupra.

92. This

The account of the Maſſacre.

Matth. Weſtmon. ad Ann. 1002.

92. This is the Account of the Maſſacre, as it is given us by the Generality of our Hiſtorians, all who charge King *Ethelred* alone with it, affirming, that his heart being puffed up with pride after his ſecond Marriage upon confidence of his Alliance, on ſlight ſuſpicions he expoſed the *Danes* to the Revenge and Fury of the People. But the Monk of *Weſtminſter*, who diſagrees in the Account of ten years from the reſt, has a ſtory to tell by himſelf of one *Huna* General of the King's Forces, and his chief Miniſter, he taking notice of the Inſolence of the *Danes*, how inſupportably arrogant they were grown after the late Agreement, forcing the Wives and Daughters of the *Engliſh* of beſt Quality, and offering them all the Affronts imaginable, made a grievous complaint hereof to *Ethelred*, who conceiving from his words an implacable Indignation, by advice of the ſaid *Huna*, ſent his Letters aboveſaid into all the parts of the Kingdom. Whenceſoever the Suggeſtion was receiv'd the thing was done by the King's Command, and ſo much innocent bloud ſo perfidiouſly ſhed, crying for vengeance, procured him the loſs of that which by this means his pretences were for to preſerve. The *Danes* loſt no time, but aſſoon as the Spring opened, the frozen Seas with a powerfull Fleet invaded *England*. Some ſay their firſt Hoſtility was acted upon *Yorkſhire*, where King *Swane* leaving his Forces to refreſh themſelves, after their Voyage, ſailed into *Normandy*, and there with the Duke made a firm and perpetual League, by virtue whereof, the *Normans* were to have all the Spoils got in the War with *England*, ſold to them at reaſonable rates, in recompence for which privilege all that were ſick or maimed in the *Daniſh* Army ſhould have as kind entertainment in *Normandy* as if they had been in *Denmark* it ſelf. But our Authours who trace the ſteps of the *Danes*, make no mention of this Invaſion of *Yorkſhire*; and though *Ethelred* doubtleſs contracted great obloquy and reproach from his Neighbours by the late Maſſacre, yet can we ſcarcely believe that the *Norman* would join in a League againſt ſo near an Ally as the King of *England*.

Walſingham. Gemitic. de Duc. Norm.

The *Danes* land, waſting the Countrey in ſeveral places.

Sim. Dunelm. ad Ann. M.III. Huntingd. Hoveden.

93. The firſt Impreſſion they certainly made was upon the South Weſtern Parts, where by the Folly or Treachery of *Hugh* a *Norman* Count indeed, whom Queen *Emma* had preferred to the Government of *Devonſhire*, they broke into *Exeter*; and having demoliſhed the City walls from the Eaſt to the Weſtern Gate, retired with great plunder to their Ships. After this they waſted *Wiltſhire*, where a ſtrong Body of Men, drawn partly out of that Countrey, and partly out of *Hamſhire*, advanced to give them Battel. But when the Armies were come within ſight of each other, *Alfric* the *Engliſh* General, whoſe Son's Eyes the King had lately put out for his Fathers betraying the Fleet unto the *Danes*, now it ſeems intending to be revenged upon the King, counterfeited himſelf ſick, and feigned a fit of vomiting, whereat the Army diſcouraged, inſtead of fighting every Man ſhifted for himſelf, which *Swane* perceiving and laughing in his ſleeve at the mad Couduct of the *Engliſh* Affairs, went to *Wilton*, which he plundered and burnt, and having dealt in the ſame manner with *Salisbury*, then returned to his Ships. The year following to the Coaſts of *Norfolk* he ſailed, where he landing, he plundred and burnt *Norwich*, uſing ſuch expedition, that he ſurpriſed *Vlfketel* the Duke of the Eaſt *Angles*, and a very ſtout Commander, who having no time to leavy an Army, took advice with the Nobility of his Province, and made Peace with him. But this Peace *Swane* perfidiouſly brake, after a Fortnight or three Weeks time ſtealing from his Ships to *Thetford*, which he plundred, lodged one Night in it, and the next day ſet it on fire. *Vlfketel* having notice of his expedition, ordered a Party to go and burn his Ships in the Harbour, which they either durſt not attempt or neglected to doe. He in the mean time with what ſecrecy and ſpeed he could gathered together his Forces, and marched courageouſly againſt the Enemy, and as they retreated to their Ships made a fierce onſet. But he was inferiour in Numbers, and therefore moſt of the beſt Quality among the Eaſtern *Engliſh* loſt their Lives. The *Danes* alſo received very great loſs, and with difficulty recovered their Fleet, which they had never done, had all the Force of Eaſt *England* been preſent. They confeſſed that in the Iſland they never met with ſo rough an Ingagement, as this they had with *Vlfketel*.

Sim. Dunelm. ad Ann. MIV.

Then followed a Great Famine by Land.

Sim. Dunelm. ad Ann. MV.

94. The following year happened ſo great a Famine, that it forced a Ceſſation, driving *Swane* back into *Denmark*, but ſupplied, as it were, the Place of his Sword in the Deſtruction of the poor People of *England*, as many of which are ſaid to have periſhed by Hunger, as formerly had done in a year by his Cruelties. Moſt dreadfull was the Eſtate of *England* at this time, which all ſorts of miſchiefs contended how to haraſs. A King it had ſo ſtout and warlike, that as if he had been born to ſleep, and nothing elſe, was little moved by any of its Calamities,

or if at ſome time he began to awake and rouz'd himſelf upon his Elbow, yet either his own drowzineſs or his adverſe Fortune pulled him down to ſlumber again. The guilt of his Brother's Bloud lay heavy upon him. No man can well reckon how many Armies at length he raiſed, how many Fleets he rigged, how often he gave out orders to his Officers, but all this to no purpoſe. For theſe Armies wanting the Authority and Courage of a Prince to give them life, and being rude and undiſciplin'd either mouldred away before they came to Action, or elſe eaſily were overthrown when they came to it. In War the preſence of a General avails much, much his known and approved Valour, but eſpecially Exerciſe and Diſcipline, which theſe Armies wanting procured irreparable miſchiefs to the Inhabitants, and afforded matter of ſcorn and mirth to the Inſulting Enemy; a ſort of Men moſt rapacious if not reſtrained by force, but if vigorouſly oppoſed baſe and cowardly. What the ſluggiſhneſs and cowardiſe of the Prince and People effected not, the Winds and Weather procured; for when the Ships lay at Anchor upon the Coaſts for their ſecurity, ſuddenly would a Tempeſt ariſe and daſh them to pieces one againſt another. And what all theſe ſtill left unfiniſhed was completed by treachery, folly or fearfulneſs of Officers. If they met at any time in Council they never agreed in their Opinions, ſeldom did the Major part concur in any thing that was ſeaſonable and fit to be done, having ever a greater reſpect to their private animoſities than the publick good; but if it chanced at any time that they hit upon a point convenient, their Councils were ſpeedily betrayed to the *Danes*. For beſides *Elfric* the Son of *Elſere* who murthered the late King, there was one *Edric* whom the preſent had made Earl of *Mercia*, the dreggs of Men (ſo the Monk words it) the *opprobrium* of the *Engliſh*, a flagitious Glutton, a crafty Knave who had not been inriched by any thing received from his Anceſtours, but by his own prating and boldneſs. This Fellow being a crafty Diſſembler, and an egregious Counterfeit, as a faithfull Councellour would dive into the King's Secrets, and like a baſe Traitour diſcover them. Often was he ſent to the Enemy to mediate a Peace, and as often ſtirred them up to proſecute their former courſe of Hoſtility. *Vlſketel* or *Vlkil* (as he calls him) was the onely Man that made any conſiderable reſiſtence. At length that no ſort of miſery might be wanting, what War had left, that Famine deſtroyed; and the Enemy ſo freely and without controll ranged about the Countrey, that from any place within fifty Miles diſtance from the Sea they fetcht away all they pleaſed without the leaſt jealouſie of any Ambuſhes, or the leaſt fear of Intercepting.

Malmesb.

Tempeſts at Sea.

And the Treachery of *Edric*, which ruined the Nation.

95. The year following in *July* an innumerable multitude of *Daniſh* ſhips were ſeen in *Sandwich* Road, whence ſwarms of Rovers overran *Kent* and *Suſſex*, ſparing neither Man nor any thing elſe more than they had done formerly. King *Ethelred* to oppoſe them raiſed an Army out of *Mercia* and Weſt *Saxony*, but never could ingage them, for they ſhifted from place to place, not thinking it fit to hazard a Battel, and robbed as they could; ſo that till Winter they conſumed the time, and retired then with infinite Booty to the Iſle of *Wight*, and there ſtaid till *Chriſtmas*: when underſtanding that the King was in *Shropſhire* (where if he could not kill Enemies he could murther Subjects, procuring by means of *Edric*, as was thought, *Alfhelm* a Duke of great value to be ſlain, and the Eyes of his two Sons to be put out) they overran *Hampſhire* and *Berkſhire* as far as *Reading* and *Wallingford*, which they burnt with other places. Thence paſſed they to *Aſhdown*, and coming to the River *Kenet*, found the Inhabitants of the Countrey make head againſt them, but they ingaged and eaſily routed them, and thence without moleſtation, returned to their ſhips. The King and his Courtiers were ſufficiently tired by that Dance the *Danes* had led them: They thought they had done as much as reaſonably could be expected from Mortal men; no courſe remained to be taken with theſe cowardly pilfering Villains, but to give them more Money, a thing which a generous Soul values not. They ſent to them again and offer to buy them off from their Ravenous courſe, but the price is ſtill increaſed, it being as eaſie to obtain more as leſs of ſuch eaſie Enemies. The Sum is now ſix and thirty thouſand Pounds, which is raiſed of the People throughout *England* already ruinated by their Rapines. And if ſome tell true, whom we are not willing to believe, *Ethelred* in the Agreement of this year MVII, yielded to pay an Annual Tribute of thirty ſix thouſand Pounds to the *Danes*, for a longer continuance of the Peace. We reade indeed that he yielded to the payment, but no where do we reade or find that he did pay it and ſtood to his word. This year it was that *Ethelred* advanced *Edric*, ſirnamed *Streone*, to the Dukedom of the *Mercians*;

Another Invaſion.

Simeon Dunelm. ad An. MVI.

A fourth Sum offered to purchaſe their departure.

Idem ad Ann. MVII.

Chronic. Melcoſenſe MS in Biblioth. Cottoniana.

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a Fellow who having raiſed himſelf, as we ſaid, to a great Eſtate by his cunning and a plauſible Tongue, proved ſhortly a mighty Inſtrument in the ruine of *England*.

A Tax for Shipping.

Simeon Dunelm. ad An. MVIII. Marianus Scotus. Hoveden. Florentius.

** Alii octo hidas habent ut Huntingdonenſis, Math. Weſtmonaſt. Math. Paris.*

96. The next year produced ſomething laudable, which ſhewed the King to have a little care of his Eſtate. He enacted, that every three hundred and ten Hides of Land ſhould ſet out a Gally, and every nine * Hides find a Corſlet and Head piece, and throughout all *England* he commanded ſhips apace to be built; which being made ready, he Victualled and Manned with choice Souldiers, and appointed their Rendezvous at the Port of *Sandwich*, to ſecure the Bounds of his Kingdom from the Irruptions of Foreigners. Now a Hide (as the Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* and ſeveral others tells us) was *ſo much Land as a man could Till in one year with one Plough*, being the ſame with *Caſſata* and *Carucata* in barbarous Latin. That it was a cuſtome to tax the richer ſort by the number of Hides in thoſe days is very evident both from the *Saxon* Laws and the Breviary or Notitia of *England*, called *Doomſday Book*. But as for what *Huntingdon* adds, that there never had been ſo great a number of ſhips before in *Britain*, which alſo the *Saxon* Annals of *Abingdon* do teſtify, another Notion of Hide we muſt have to make this agree with their opinion. For if Mr. *Cambden's* Account be good, who out of the ancient Records of that Age caſts up the number of Hides not to exceed two hundred forty three thouſand and ſix hundred, the number of ſhips muſt have amounted to no more than ſeven hundred and eighty five according to the Tax; ſo that this Navy could not have matched that of King *Edgar* by ſome thouſands. Others therefore there are who determine otherwiſe concerning an *Hide*; and moſt certain it is as a learned man obſerves, that it was very various according to the different cuſtome of Countries. Whatever the number of the ſhips was one would now have imagined that *England* was in a fair way to be protected, when ſuddenly Diſſention the bane of all good Deſigns, ſprung up among the Great Ones. For this very year did *Brithric* the brother of Duke *Edric* as ambitious, proud, and deceitfull almoſt as himſelf, falſly accuſe *Wulnoth* a great Officer of the South *Saxons* to the King, whereupon he judging it not ſafe to truſt his life in their Hands, who he knew would condemn him right or wrong, got him to Sea with twenty ſhips and plaid the Pirate upon the Coaſts. Upon a report raiſed that he might be eaſily taken, *Brithric* with eighty Gallies went in queſt of him, but when he had ſailed for ſome time, ſo grievous a Tempeſt roſe that it wrecked all the Veſſels and caſt them upon the ſhoar where *Wulnoth* ſoon after burnt them. This misfortune ſo diſheartened the King and his Nobles, that they fairly returned home, and the Fleet by his command came up to *London*. And ſo was the People taxed and troubled to no purpoſe.

Selden in mari clauſo, lib. 2. c. 11.

Which was rather a burthen than a benefit to the Kingdom.

Turkill with other *Danes* arrive.

Simeon Dunelm. ad An. MIX.

97. The next year after, which was the MIX of our Lord, *Turkill* a *Daniſh* Earl arrived with ſome ſhips in *England*, and in the Month of *Auguſt* was followed by an innumerable company of *Daniſh* Veſſels commanded by *Hemming* and *Eilaf* which landed in the Iſle of *Tanet*, and joyned with *Turkill*: To *Sandwich* they paſs, where landing they go and indeavour to break into *Canterbury*, the Inhabitants whereof with their Neighbours of the Eaſt part of *Kent* purchaſe their Peace by the payment of three thouſand Pounds. The *Danes* then going back to their ſhips ſail to the Iſle of *Wight*, whence paſſing to the Coaſts of *Suſſex* and *Hamſhire*, they exerciſe themſelves in their uſual Trades of plundering and burning. *Ethelred* was again ſo ſenſible of his Peoples miſeries as to leavy Forces throughout the Land, which he beſtowed in places near the Sea to reſtrain their Irruptions, but it was done ſo unskilfully, at leaſt ſo unſucceſsfully that they came and went ſecurely for all this, and practiſed their Rapines as before. On a certain time being gone farther than uſual from the Sea, the King ſtept betwixt them and Home, ſeizing upon the place through which they were to return with many thouſand men, and reſolved to die or overcome, as was the whole Army. But the Traitorous Duke *Edric* (who now might practiſe his Treaſons more colourably, having married the King's Daughter *Egitha*) by ſubtile Arguments urged, that as Circumſtances now ſtood, it was their Intereſt to let the *Danes* repaſs untouched. He perſwaded them, and the *Danes* got back ſafe to their ſhips with great Joy, and much contrary to their expectation. After this when *Martinmaſs* was now paſt they went to the Coaſt of *Kent* and reſolved to Winter in the *Thames*. They maintained themſelves by what they got out of *Eſſex* and other places, lying on each ſide of the River. They often alſo attempted to ſeize on *London*, were beaten back by the Citizens with very great loſs.

Who might have been cut off, but for the Treachery of *Edric*.

98. E[illegible]

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98. E'er Winter was over, in the Month of *January* they left their Ships, and through *Chiltern* Wood paſſed to *Oxford*, which having burnt they returned by the River *Thames*, and waſted the Countrey on both ſides in their Paſſage. In their return they had Intelligence that a great Army was gathering together at *London* to intercept them, which cauſed that part of their Army which marched down the North ſide of the River to paſs over at *Stanes*, where joining with the other and loading with extraordinary plunder they paſſed through *Surry* to their Ships, in repairing of which they ſpent in *Kent* the *Lent* following. *Eaſter* being over they departed into Eaſt *England*, where near to *Ipſwich* they came to a place called *Ringmere*, having heard that *Ulketel* lay there with his Forces. He entertained them very warmly, and a fierce Battel was fought. But the *Engliſh* at *Pougth* gave back, a certain * *Daniſh* Servant, on purpoſe, ſo it ſeems, beginning the flight and loſt the Field, though the *Cambridgeſhire* Men as long as they could ſtood to it, and fought very manfully, † which procured them much honour ſo long as the *Engliſh* Kingdom ſtood. Here fell *Ethelſtan* the King's Son-in-Law, *Oſwi* a Noble man with his Sons and many other, together with a great number of the ordinary ſort. The *Danes* being Maſters of the Field now had Eaſt *England* at their diſcretion, which horſing themſelves they ſpared not no more than the moſt violent Enemy would do, ſpending three months in plundering, burning and killing all they could meet with. Having done what miſchief they could in the Fenns, they burn *Thetford*, and *Grantebrig*, or *Cambridge*; whence (as *Huntingdon* writes) going back over moſt pleaſant Hills of a delightfull place called *Baleſham* (now *Gogmagog Hills*) they killed all they could meet in their way toſſing Infants on the points of their Spears. But one man (ſaith he) there was who deſerves to be remembred for getting into a Steeple, and there defending himſelf from the whole Army. After this the Foot by Sea, and the Horſe through *Eſſex*, returned to the *Thames*, where continuing not many days again they quitted their ſhips and went through into *Oxfordſhire*, which firſt, and then the Counties of *Buckingham*, *Bedford* and *Hertford* they waſted, and having burnt the Towns, and killed Mankind, with all other living Creatures, they returned again to their ſhips as ſo many ravenous and noxious Wild Beaſts glutted with bloud to their Dens. Yet ſtill about the Feaſt of St. *Andrew* they burnt *Northampton* with all about it, as far as they pleaſed; and then paſſing to the *Thames* went into Weſt *Saxony*, where having waſted that called then *Cuningamerſe*, and the greater part of *Wiltſhire*, they returned after their accuſtomed manner to their ſhips about *Chriſtmaſs*.

After a Battel the *Danes* become Maſters of Eaſt *England*.

And waſte part of Weſt *Saxony*.

99. They were neither yet ſo wearied with travel, nor ſatisfied with wealth, but that the year following they took a larger ſcope than ever. For on the North ſide the River, with Fire and Sword they waſted all Eaſt *England*, *Eſſex*, *Middleſex*, *Hertfordſhire*, *Buckinghamſhire*, the Counties of *Oxford*, *Bedford* and *Cambrigde*, with half of *Huntingdon*, and the greateſt Part of that of *Northampton*: on the South ſide *Kent*, *Surrey*, *Suſſex*, with the Counties of *Southampton*, *Wilts* and *Berks*. After all theſe Meſſengers are ſent to ſolicite for Peace, promiſing more Money to buy them off from theſe horrid devaſtations. They give good words and accepted the Tribute, but without any intention to keep their Faith, which they preſently break, firſt by Plundering the County in ſeveral Parties, and toward *Michaelmas* by beſieging *Canterbury*, which on the twentieth day of the Siege they take by the treachery of *Almere* the Archdeacon, and burn part of it. Here they committed all ſorts of villanies againſt the poor Inhabitants, whereof ſome they ſlew with the ſword, others they burnt; many they threw down headlong from the Walls, and ſome they hung up by the Privy Members. The Women they drag by the Hair of their Heads through the Streets, and then caſt into the fire. Infants being ſnatched from the Breaſts of their Mother they either ſtuck upon the points of their Spears, or cruſhed to pieces by driving Carts over them. *Alſege* the Archbiſhop they take Priſoner, bind and contumeliouſly uſe. *Almar* the Abbat of St. *Auſtin's* they permitted to depart. *Godwin* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Leofruna* Abbeſs of the Nunnery of St. *Mildrede*, *Elfrede* the King's Governour, with Monks and Clerks, and a vaſt number of the Common People were alſo taken; Chriſt Church they burn, Monks, Men, Women and Children are decimated, whereof nine are killed, and the tenth reſerved to a life worſe than death; ſo that of the whole multitude remained onely four Monks, and eight hundred Men. The People being ſlain, and the whole City plundred and burnt, the Archbiſhop is taken out of Priſon, driven away bound and wounded to the the Fleet, where he is kept cloſe ſeven Months together. In the mean time theſe

After more Devaſtations another ſum is offered.

Canterbury is taken and plundered.

With its Archbiſhop.

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* *Turcetil Mireneheved id eſt caput formicæ primus fugam incepit & opprobrium meruit ſempiternum. Huntingdon.*

† *Sic Huntingdonenſis ſed homines Grantebridgſcire viriliter obſtiterunt, unde dum Angli regnaverunt, laus Grantebrigienſis Provinciæ floruit. lib. 6. Hiſtor. ad Ann. MX.*

cruel and more than barbarous Miſcreants are viſited with a Plague in their Guts, whereof two thouſand of them miſerably periſh. Thoſe that lived were ſorely afflicted with the ſame Diſeaſe, and thereupon the Chriſtians take occaſion to urge the delivery of the Archbiſhop, but they ſtill defer it.

Simeon Dunelm. ad Ann. MXII.

Who is ſlain by them.

100. As ſoon as Spring appeared, before *Eaſter* that traitorous *Edrick Streone*, and all the reſt of the Nobility of both Orders Aſſembled at *London*, where they held their Councils and continued ſo long till the Tribute was paid to the *Danes*, which now amounted to eight and forty thouſand Pounds. In the mean time *Alſege* the Archbiſhop had his Ranſome ſet at three thouſand Pounds, which he conſtantly refuſing to pay or procure was at laſt murthered by them when they were heated with Wine, and farther exaſperated by his prohibiting any one to offer any ſum of money for his liberty. Being brought out into their full Aſſembly, they fell upon him with Swords, Stones, Bones, and whatever came to hand, and at length one *Thrum* whom he had Confirmed but the day before, out of an impious ſort of Piety brained him with an Hatchet. His Body was the day following conveyed to *London*, and buried in the Church of St *Paul*. Afterward the Tribute being paid, and the Peace confirmed by Oaths on both ſides, the *Daniſh* Fleet was ſeparated, onely five and forty Ships remained with the King for the Defence of *England* againſt all Foreigners on theſe terms, to be maintained by him with Victuals and Cloathing. From the Old *Saxon* Laws it appears that for repreſſing of Pirates, Robbers, or others infeſting the Sea, it was reſolved that a yearly payment ſhould be made of Money, which from thoſe who uſually were the Practiſers of this Trade was called *Danegeld*, that is to ſay, twelve pence upon every Hide through the whole Land, for the Pay of thoſe that ſhould be employed to hinder the Irruption of Pirates. This we are told by ſeveral Authours, continued from this or the following for thirty eight or thirty nine years, till it was remitted by *Edward* the Confeſſour, the Son of King *Ethelred*. The Reader muſt take notice that there were two ſorts of *Danegeld*. The one was, that Tribute or Tax ſo often mentioned by us, whereby our *Engliſh Saxons* were forced to purchaſe Peace, and remove Hoſtilities and Rapines upon occaſion, the ſeveral ſums whereof we have expreſſed in their places. It was not paid yearly, but levied now and then as the neceſſity of the Kingdom required. The other was this firſt raiſed in the Year of our Lord MXII. (the ſame wherein the eight and forty thouſand Pounds were paid) to pay the *Daniſh* Navy which was now hired to guard the Sea, and defend the Coaſts.

Vide Simeon. Dunelm. Florent. Wigorn. Hovedenum.

Lambardus de priſcis Angl. Legib. f. 128. *Dane-geld h.e. ad Danos nummus ſpectans. Geldet, Gelt, Belgis & Germanis etiamnum Nummus. Vocabatur alias* Heꞃe-ᵹylꝺ- *ſive Nummus Militaris. Lege Ingulphum.*

Danegeld raiſed to ſecure the Coaſts from Pirates.

101. But both ſorts alike contributed to the Ends and Deſigns for which they were paid. The former took but off the perfidious *Danes* for a ſmall time, who then again without regard to Oath or Promiſe violated the Peace in expectation of another gratuity to be beſtowed upon them. And this other was ſo far from ſecuring the Coaſts by ſcouring the Seas, that *Turkill* who ſtaid behind as Admiral of this now *Engliſh* Fleet ſeems to have done it to no other purpoſe (beſides the fleaing of the poor Nation of more Money) than to give Intelligence to *Swane* when it would be moſt ſeaſonable to reinvade the Land. In *July* the year following with a ſtrong Fleet he landed at *Sandwich*, where having ſtaid but a few days, coaſting about Eaſt *England* he entred the Mouth of *Humber*, whence he paſſed up into the *Trent* (which together with *Ouſe* out of *Yorkſhire* falls into *Humber*) and ſail'd to *Gainsborough* where he landed and encamped himſelf. Hither without delay repaired to him Earl *Uthred* with the *Northumbrians*, the Inhabitants of *Lindſey* (that Part of *Lincolnſhire* Northward of *Lincoln* wherein *Gainsborough* ſtands) afterward thoſe of *Fisburgh*, and by degrees all ſuch as inhabited Northward of *Watling* Street (the great Highway croſſing the Land from the Eaſt to the Weſtern Sea) yielded up themſelves to him, and delivering up Hoſtages ſwore to him Allegiance. He onely now impoſed upon them the furniſhing of his Army with Horſes and Proviſions, and then delivering the Hoſtages and the Fleet into the Hands of *Canute* his Son, with a choice Party of Auxiliaries taken from amongſt the *Engliſh*, undertook an Expedition againſt the Southern *Mercians*. Having paſſed over *Watling* Street he gave order to his Men to waſte the Fields, burn the Villages, rob the Churches, kill all the Males they could meet with, reſerve the other Sex for their luſt, and doe all other ſorts of miſchiefs they could deviſe. This being fully exerciſed, in the terrour thereof he came to *Oxford*, and became Maſter of it ſooner than he expected, where having received Hoſtages he haſted to *Wincheſter*, the Inhabitants of which conque-

Swane and his *Danes* are maſter'd of greateſt part of the Iſland.

conquered alſo by the terrour of his Cruelties, without delay made Peace with him, giving up what and how many Hoſtages he required.

102 From *Oxford* he bent his courſe for *London*, and in paſſing the *Thames* being neither carefull for finding out a Bridge nor a Ford loſt many of his Men. He endeavoured both by force and all ſorts of devices to take this City, but King *Ethelred*, together with *Turkill* the *Dane* being then here Reſident, he was beaten off and went to *Wallingford*, after that to *Bath*, where waſting all in his way he ſtaid ſome time and refreſhed his Army. Thither came to him *Ethelmar* the Earl of *Devonſhire* with other Officers of the Weſtern Parts and made Peace with him, giving up their Hoſtages, which things accompliſhed according to his deſires, and being returned to his Fleet he was by all the Nation of the *Engliſh* both ſtiled and accounted King, if by right one can call him a King (ſaith our Authour) who acted all things in a manner like a Tyrant. The Citizens of *London* concluded that it was not ſafe for them to ſtrive againſt the univerſal current, and therefore ſent alſo their Hoſtages and made their Peace, for they fear'd he would be ſo inraged againſt them that having ſpoiled them of all they had he would either command their Eyes to be pulled out, or their Hands or Feet to be chopped off. *Ethelred* now in a manner unkinged thought it moſt conſiſtent with the ſtraitneſs of his Fortune to ſend away *Emma* his Queen, with his Treaſure and his two Sons *Edward* and *Elfred* into *Normandy* to her Brother *Richard*, the Second of that Name, Duke of that Province. He himſelf continued ſometime at *Greenwich* with the *Daniſh* Fleet then lying in the *Thames*, and thence removed to the Iſle of *Wight*, where having kept but a ſad *Chriſtmaſs* he followed them into *Normandy*, and at *Rouen* was ſplendidly entertained all the time of his abode. In the mean while *Swane* the Tyrant at *Gainsborough* laid inſupportable Taxes upon the Countrey, beſides the contribution for maintenance of his Fleet And *Turkill* at *Greenwich* was not behind hand in his Exactions for inriching of himſelf and his Followers. So that they were fully agreed in this by their Violence and Rapines to haraſs and exhauſt the poor *Engliſh* Nation.

Is as King eſteemed.

Ethelred ſends his Wife and Children to *Normandy*.

103. But *Swane* to all his other cruelties and impieties, added one, which in the opinion of our writers, completed his condemnation. He exacted a grievous Tribute from the Town of St. *Edmunds Bury*, or that where the Body of that King and Martyr then reſted: Moreover, he would often detract from the worth of the Martyr, and dared to affirm he had no holineſs. In caſe the money were not ſpeedily paid, he often threatned that he would certainly burn the Town over the heads of the Inhabitants, utterly ſubvert and demoliſh the Church of the Martyr, and put the very Clerks to various Tortures. Now to tell a ſtory which is ſo generally told, and was ſo univerſally believed, becauſe he would not moderate at all, ſay they, his wickedneſs; Divine Vengeance would not ſuffer the Blaſphemer longer to live. At *Gainſborough*, as he held a general Aſſembly, when it grew toward Evening, being incircled with Armed Men, he caſt out theſe ſaid threats, but he ſaw preſently St. *Edmund* coming Armed upon him, whereupon he cried vehemently out, *Help, help, fellow Souldiers, look here,* St. Edmund *comes to kill me*, which words as he was ſpeaking, he received a mortal wound by the Saint's hands, fell from his Horſe, and lying till the dusk of the Evening in great torment, he then died on the * ſecond of *February*, and was carried to *York* and buried. So our writers report from the Legend of St. *Edmund*, which ſeems to hint this truth to us, that *Swane* was killed by an unknown hand; to be ſure here † he ended his days, and by his death ennobled this Town more than by his making it the Seat of his Kingdom or Tyranny, for ſo it was; here being his chief Reſidence all the ſhort time of his *Engliſh* Royalty; here lay his Ships, hence he made excurſions into all Parts.

Swane exacts a tribute from *Edmundbury*.

Is killed by an unknown hand.

Denique imminente veſpera diei qua in generali placito quod apud Gainſburh tenuerat hæc eadem minitans reiteravit, &c. Sim. Dunelm. ad Ann. 1014.

* 3. *Nonas.*

† *De Edmundo cognom. Ferreo latere ſic Ingulphus: qui fortiſſimè dimicans contra Cnutum Danorum Regem qui Swano patri apud Gainsburh mirabiliter & miſerabiliter extincto ſucceſſerat, regnum tandem cum eodem Cnuto æquè partitur.*

104. This Town conveniently ſeated upon the River *Trent*, which here Ebbs and Flows to a conſiderable depth, and by the convenience of Navigation and Traffick, hath procured it two famous Marts in a year, each of them of nine days continuance, is both ancient, and was of good account before it became more known by being the Rode of the *Daniſh* Ships. To omit impertinent Etymologies

Gainsborough.

Quidam in Etymologico nuper Edito hæc habet: Geneꞅ-buꞃuh, *vel forte antiquius* Geneꞃꞅ-buꞃuh *ab Angl. Sax.* Geneꞃ *Perfugium Aſylum &* Buꞃuh *Oppidum. q. d. Oppidum perfugii Aſylum.*

as

And *Gaini* where

as if it had its name from being an *Aſylum* or Refuge of I know not who, or from what, it was called *Gainſborough* or *Gainſburh* (in *Latin Gainorum burgus*) as indeed being the cheif Burgh, Borough or Town of the *Gaini* or *Gains*. If it be demanded who theſe *Gaini* or *Gains* were, I anſwer, the ſame with thoſe of which *Ethelfred* the Father-in-law of King *Alfred*, was Earl. *Aſſerius* writes, that *Alfred* Married *Uxorem de Mercia Nobilem ſcilicet genere filiam Ethelfredi Gainorum Comitis qui cognominabatur Mucil.* That *Alfred* Married a Wife out of *Mercia*, one of a Noble Stock, *viz.* the Daughter of *Ethelfred*, Earl of the *Gaini* or *Gains*, who was Sirnamed *Mucil* or *Great*. There was then a ſort of People called *Gaini* or *Gains*, and theſe *Gaini* were ſeated in *Mercia*, to which Kingdom of old *Lindſey* did belong, as is moſt evident, and not to *Northumberland*, from which it was ſeparated by that River, though ſome particular Conqueſts of theſe Petty Kings of that Tract might cauſe ſometimes ſome places to be mentioned, as within the Bounds of their Kingdoms, to which for the main they did not belong. The Reader muſt obſerve that, beſides the common Names of *Jutes*, *Angles* and *Saxons*, when theſe People Planted in *Britain* certain Select Companies of them had peculiar Names, even as the ancient *Britains* themſelves had, which either happened to them from their Principal Leaders or Governours, or were Names they brought from beyond the Seas, or elſe proceeded from ſome other accidents. Thus ſome of the *Northumbrians* were called *Deiri*, others *Bernicii*, the Weſt *Saxons* were called *Geviſſi*, and we reade of a People called *Wiccii*, and another *Meanvari* Seated in *Hamſhire*, not far from *Portſmouth*, beſides the *Girnii*, who as appears from *Ingulphus*, lived not very far from the *Gaini*, and Inhabited the *Fens*, lying in the Counties of *Lincoln*, *Northampton*, *Huntingdon*, and *Cambridge*. Thoſe *Gaini* were ſuch a ſort of People, from which this place being their principal Town or Burgh, received its name, as did *Ethelfred* his Title, though he was deſcended of the Bloud Royal of *Mercia*. The Burgh of the *Gaines* it was, and long after the death of *Swane* gave it not name, yet Habitation to the Noble Barons of Burgh, who by the *Scotch* Earls of *Athol*, and the *Percies* deſcended from Sr. *William de Valence*, Earl of *Pembroke*, by whoſe interceſſion it obtained from King *Edward* the Firſt (after the Conqueſt) the liberty of having a Fair. This digreſſion is too much not to be practiſed upon the name of every Town; but ſo much I ought to this out of gratitude, having received in it a great part of my Education; though born in that of *Nottinghamſhire*, which, on the other ſide of the River, ſtands over againſt it.

Cnute choſen King of the *Danes*.

Malmesb. Matth. Weſt. Sim. Dunelm. ad Ann. 104.

Ethelred recovers his Kingdom.

Driving *Cnute* out of *Lindſey*, and thoſe Parts.

An Inundation.

105. *Swane* being dead, his Subjects the *Danes*, chuſe *Canute* or *Cnute* his Son, for his Succeſſour. But the Inclinations of the *Engliſh* were toward their own true and natural Prince, whom hoping that he would demean himſelf more like a King for the time to come, as being diſciplin'd ſufficiently by adverſity, they ſent for home out of *Normandy*. *Ethelred*, before he ſhould put himſelf into their hands, thought fit to ſend over his Son *Edward* to promiſe all good deportment, and ſound the affections of the Nobility and People, who having found all things correſpond with his deſires, returned back with confidence to fetch his Father. The King was received with all joy and applauſe imaginable, and to make a Show, that he had offered violence to his former diſpoſition, and of compliance with their expectations, uſed all diſpatch in leavying an Army againſt *Cnute*, who lying now at *Gainſborough*, with the Fleet and Hoſtages was not wanting to himſelf, but ſpent his time in raiſing Men, and getting Horſes, threatning to chaſtiſe ſeverely the Revolters from his Father's Empire. But *Ethelreds* Forces took him before he was fully prepared, and conſtrained him to quit the Parts of *Lindſey*, the Inhabitants whereof, for their ſo readily ſiding with ſtrangers, as they found them, they put to death. *Cnute* Sailed away with his Fleet, and by the courſe of the Winds, was driven into *Sandwich Road*, where to revenge himſelf upon the *Engliſh* Nation, he miſerably deformed the Hoſtages he had in his power, cutting off their Ears, Noſes, and Hands, and depriving ſome of their Genitals. This done, he ſet them on ſhore, and departed into *Denmark* to recruit his Army. Theſe *Danes* being gone, another Calamity ſucceeded them; for on the twenty ſeventh of *September*, the Sea aroſe to ſuch an height by the impetuoſity of Wind and Tide, that it brake the Banks, and overwhelmed many Villages, drowning a great multitude of ſurprized People. However the Nation was hereby impoveriſhed, yet neceſſity urging a Tribute of thirty thouſand pounds, was levied for paying the *Daniſh* Fleet, which lay at *Greenwich*.

106. The year following, being the MXV. of our Lord, a great Aſſembly of the Eſtates was held at *Oxford*, as well of *Danes* as *Engliſh*, where by advice of

Edric Streone, the King cauſed ſeveral *Daniſh* Noblemen to be put to death under pretence of a Conſpiracy againſt his Perſon. *Sigeferth* and *Morcar*, the Sons of one *Earngrun*, of a place called *Seanenburg* in *Northumberland*, *Edric* drew by good words into his own Lodging, and there ſecretly murthered them. Their Servants and Dependants thereupon aroſe, and endeavoured to revenge their death, but were beaten back by the King's Forces, and ſo cloſely purſued, that they were conſtrained to betake themſelves into the Tower of St. *Frideſwith's* Church, where Fire being ſet to the Steeple, they were burnt to Aſhes. The King ſeized upon the Eſtates of the murthered Earls, and commanded *Algitha* the Wife of *Sigeferth*, to be conveyed to the Town of *Maidulf* (or *Malmesbury*) and there to be kept in Cuſtody as a Lady of great Nobility and Intereſt. But not long after, *Edmund* the King's Son coming thither, fell in love with her, and without his Father's knowledge, married her, after which, he took her along with him into *Northumberland*, and there ſeized on the Eſtates both of *Sigeferth* and *Morcar* his Brother. At the ſame time Arrived King *Cnute* from *Denmark*, together, as ſome write, with two other Kings, *Lachman* of *Sweden*, and *Olan* of *Norway*, and made for the Port of *Sandwich*, where it's ſaid that *Turkil* joyned with him, and gave the *Engliſh* a notable defeat. To be ſure *Cnute*, Coaſting about *Kent*, entred the mouth of the River *Frome*, and by it paſſed up into the Counties of *Dorſet*, *Somerſet* and *Wilts*, where he committed all ſorts of Hoſtilities. King *Ethelred* at this time lay ſick at *Coſham*, a Town in *Wiltſhire*, but had his place very well ſupplied by his Son *Edmund*, whoſe onely infelicity it was, that the falſe and traitorous *Streone* was joyned with him in command, which not onely hindred his preſent ſucceſs, but brought him into great danger of Life. For *Edric* made a faction in the Army, and plotted how to have him ſlain, which being timely diſcovered, the Prince was forced for his ſecurity to depart from the place where he lay. Now whether this diſcovery made him deſperate, or for that he was before prepared, and reſolved ſo to doe, for other reaſons, he openly revolted; carrying away to *Cnute* forty of the *Daniſh* Ships which ſerved the King, to whom he ſubmitted as his Leige Lord. The Weſt *Saxons* awed by his Inrodes, did the ſame: gave up Hoſtages, and made proviſion of Horſes for his Army.

Compara Matth. Weſt. cum. Sim Dunelm.

Edric revolts, ſwearing obedience to *Cnute.*

107. *Cnute* being thus ſtrengthened beyond expectation, in the following year, which was the MXVI. of our Lord, with *Edric* the Traytour, paſſed over the *Thames* at *Greeklade*, about *Chriſtmaſs* Holydays, and Invaded *Mercia*, where in *Warwickſhire* eſpecially, he burnt all the Towns, and killed all Perſons he could meet with. *Edmund* the King's Son, upon the Report, gathered together what Forces he could, but when they were to march, the *Mercians* refuſed to ingage againſt the *Danes* and Weſt *Saxons*, except King *Ethelred* and the *Londoners* would joyn with them, and thereupon the Army disbanded it ſelf. But *Chriſtmaſs* being over, *Edmund* raiſed more Forces, and ſent to *London* to his Father to come to him with all the preparations he could make, *Ethelred* complied with him, and they joyned their Forces together, but by the craft of the Enemy, a Rumour was ſpread abroad, that if the King did not carefully look to himſelf, he would ſpeedily be betrayed. This ſtruck ſuch a fear into this puſillanimous Prince, that he disbands his Army, and retires back to *London*, which done, his Son haſtes into *Northumberland*, as was imagined to raiſe a greater Army againſt *Canute*. But in this they ſeemed well agreed, that whereas on one ſide *Canute* and *Edric* waſted the Countrey, on the other, he and *Uthred* Earl of *Northumberland*, did the like, this being the onely difference that one Party haraſſed the poor People, becauſe they would not revolt, and the others pretended to puniſh them for their neutrality; for, firſt *Staffordſhire*, and then *Shropſhire* and *Leiceſterſhire*, they miſerably waſted becauſe they refuſed to fight againſt the *Danes*. In the mean time *Canute* and *Edric Streone*, committed all acts of cruelty in the Counties of *Buckingham*, *Bedford*, *Huntingdon*, *Northampton*, *Lincoln* and *Nottingham*, and at laſt peirced into *Northumberland*.

Sim. Dunelm. ad Ann. MXVI.

The Countrey waſted on all hands.

108. This approach of theirs obliged *Edmund Clito*, as our Writers call him, to leave off his Trade of pillaging, and to betake himſelf to *London*. *Uthred* hereupon haſted into *Northumberland*, where ſhortly after he was conſtrained to ſubmit himſelf to *Cnute*, to give up his Countrey, and deliver Hoſtages into his Hands, which notwithſtanding either by Command or Permiſſion of *Cnute*, he was killed by one *Turebrand* a *Daniſh* Nobleman, and with him one *Turketel*, the Son of *Navene*. This done, *Cnute* preferred one *Eric* to be Earl of *Northumberland*, and haſted Southward by another way to his Fleet; with

which he joyned his Army before *Eaſter.* About the ſame time *Ethelred* died at *London* on the two and twentieth of *April*, after a tedious and ill management of affairs for ſeven and thirty years, and was buried in the Church of St. *Paul.* *Edmund* his Son by the Nobility at *London* was choſen his Succeſſour, not his Son by *Emma* his Queen; but as *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* ſays by an ignoble Mother, though others affirm her the Daughter of an Earl called *Thored*, and *Ethelred*'s former Wife. *Matthew* writes, that though his Mother was baſe he illuſtrated the Ignobility of her Deſcent by the Ingenuity of his Mind, and the Activity of his Body, and indeed ſuch was his Courage and indefatigable Induſtry, that he obtained thence the ſirname of *Ironſide.* He having obtained the Title haſted into Weſt *Saxony*, where he was received and owned by the People of thoſe parts, while a far greater Number with many Biſhops, Abbats, and others of the Nobility obeyed *Canute* as their Sovereign, whom being aſſembled they had choſen for their King, admitted at *Southampton* to that Dignity and ſworn to him Allegiance, having abjured the Race of *Ethelred*, and received an Oath from him of good Government in all, as well Religious as ſecular Affairs.

Ethelred dies.

Is ſucceeded by *Edmund* in Weſt *Saxony.*

The reſt obeying *Cnute.*

De ea ſic Malm. Erat iſte Edmundus non ex Emma natus ſed ex quadam alia quam fama obſcura recondit. De geſtis Regum Angl. lib. 2. cap. 10.

109. *Canute* much animated by ſo powerfull a party haſted to *London* with his Fleet about Rogation week, where being arrived on *Surry* ſide, he cauſed a great Ditch to be made, and drew up his ſhips Weſtward of the Bridge. The City he begirt with a deep and broad Trench, and with armed men, and often attempted by force to take it. But the Citizens ſo manfully demeaned themſelves, that perceiving he loſt but time, and that the Defendants were to be ſtarved out, he left a guard for his ſhips, and haſted into the Weſt to attack *Edmund* e'er he could be provided, who indeed was provided ill enough, but as he was with the Company he had got together, he ventured to give him Battel at a place then called *Peonum* (or *Pea*) near *Gillingaham* in *Dorſetſhire* with ſuch ſucceſs, that he forced his Enemy to retreat. Encouraged herewith he made greater preparations, and Midſummer being now paſt reſolved to fight *Cnute* the ſecond time, whom meeting near a Town called *Swarſtan*, he gave him Battel but could onely defend himſelf, though he performed all the Offices both of a ſtout Souldier, and an expert General, becauſe *Edric* the Traitour together with *Almar* and *Algar*, the chief of the Nobility, having command of the *Hampſhire* or *Wiltſhire* Men, ſided with the *Danes.* It was a drawn Battel, this day the Armies being parted by the darkneſs of the Night. The next Morning they renewed the Fight, and King *Edmund* had wone the Garland, but for the cunning device of that perfidious *Edric*, who perceiving Victory inclined to his ſide, cut off the Head of one *Oſmear*, a Man that in the face very much reſembled the King, and lifting it up on high, called to the *Engliſh* bidding them behold the Head of their Party, and if they reſpected their own Lives, be gone as faſt as their Heels could carry them. This very much ſtartled and diſcompoſed them, till *Edmund* ſenſible of the cheat from an Hill made known himſelf to his Souldiers, and toſſed a Javelin againſt *Edric*, whom yet it had the fortune to miſs. They continued the Fight till it grew dark, and then parted as they had done the Night before.

Several Battels 'twixt *Edmund* and *Cnute.*

Sim. Dunelm. Malmesb.

110. *Canute* ſeeing what little advantage he was like to receive from a pitcht Battel diſcamped in the dead time of the Night, and making towards *London* where he had left his Ships, again beſieged the City. *Edmund* when he knew he was gone, with ſpeed marched into *Weſtſex* to recruit his Forces, and now the perfidious *Edric*, having ſufficient experience both of his Valour and Conduct, thought the onely way was to be reconciled to him, that he might reveal his Councils, and by his treacherous Inſinuations give a Check to the current of his good Fortune. He made application to him, owning him for his natural Prince, ſwore for the time to come to be faithfull to him, and obtained Pardon for what was paſt. Being ſufficiently recruited, he haſted to *London*, and raiſed the Siege, beating off the *Danes* to their ſhips. After two days he paſſed the *Thames* at *Brentford*, where many of his Men were loſt in the Water, yet coming upon the backs of his Enemies, he put them to the rout. By his loſs ſuſtained in paſſing the River, and the ſeveral Ingagements, the Number of his men was ſo diminiſhed, that he found himſelf obliged to return into *Weſtſex*, to fill up his troops, which the *Danes* perceiving returned and laid cloſe ſiege to *London*, which they attacqued by all means poſſible. Yet did the Induſtry and Courage of the Inhabitants, ſtill fruſtrate all his Attempts, ſo that deſpairing he drew off his Men, and with his Fleet, entred a River then called *Arenne*, where landing in *Mercia*, he burnt the Villages, killed the Countrey People, and made havock of all things at his pleaſure. The Foot he cauſed on ſhips to paſs to *Medway*,

Cnute beſieges *London.*

Florentio Wigornienſi. Arewe.

and the Horſe by Land with the Captives and Cattel. In the mean time *Edmund Ironſide* was not idle, but the fourth time having levied a ſtrong Power of Men out of all *England* croſſed the *Thames* again at *Brentford*, and marched into *Kent*, where at a place called *Otford*, he found and ingaged the *Danes*, who not able to ſuſtain his violence fled ſuch of them as were horſed into the *Iſle of Shepey*. All he could take he put to the Sword, and had his Prudence aſwell as his Courage ſtood by him, he had obtained a complete Victory. But he was ſo blind as not to perceive the Treachery of *Edric*, who by ſpecious allegations procured him to ſtop his perſuit at *Englesford*.

A bloudy Battel at *Aſſandune*.

111. *Edmund* finding the *Weſtſaxons* moſt firm and true to him, after this Succeſs for Recruits returned into that Countrey, the opportunity of whoſe abſence *Canute* took to vent his malice and revenge upon a naked People, for going into *Eſſex* he thence invaded *Mercia*, where he ſhewed more Cruelty than ever; commanding his Men to omit no Act which could be committed againſt Enemies. *Edmund Ironſide* with an Army gathered out of all Countries overtook, and ingaged them in their Retreat at a place called then *Aſſandune* (or * the *Hill of an Aſs*) now corruptly *Aſhdown* in *Eſſex*. The Battel was fought with great reſolution and vehemence on both ſides, and *Edmund* had great hopes of gaining the Victory, which the wretched *Edric Streone* perceiving as he had ingaged formerly to *Cnute* (having coming over for ſuch a purpoſe) with the Troops he commanded fled over to him, and ſo leaving the *Engliſh* overmatcht, whom by caſting out † words again of the King's death he had laboured to diſcourage, by his Treachery procured their Defeat and Ruine, for they never received a greater blow, almoſt all their Nobility here falling, particularly *Alfric*, *Godwin*, *Vlfketel* and *Ethelward* all Dukes: *Eadnoth* alſo the Biſhop of *Lincoln* (of *Dorcheſter* rather) and *Wolf* an Abbat who came to the place to pray for the Army, amongſt the reſt loſt their lives, yet did not this diſaſter, ſo far diſcourage *Edmund*, but that e'er long he was in caſe to make another Trial of his Fortune in the Field, of which *Edric* and thoſe of his Faction fearing the Iſſue, again circumvented him by their wiles, perſwading him for quietneſs and ſecurity ſake to divide the Kingdom with *Cnute*. After much reluctancy he was drawn to conſent, and after many meſſengers to and fro, and Hoſtages received, an Interview of the two Kings was appointed at *Deorkirſt* in *Gloceſterſhire*, a place ſituate ſomewhat low upon the Bank of *Severn*, *Edmund* with his men taking the *Weſtern*, and *Canute* with his *Danes*, the Eaſtern parts ſide, both the Kings from their Armies wafted over into a ſmall Iſland called then *Olanege*, now the *Eight*, where by oath a Fraternity and firm Peace they eſtabliſhed, and divided the Kingdom, which concluded they interchanged their Arm, and the Habits they wore, and having ſetled the Pay which ſhould be allotted to the Fleet, each repaſſed to his Followers.

Upon which a Diviſion of the Kingdom enſued.

* *In monte qui Aſſandun, id eſt Mons Aſini nominatur, abeuntes eſt conſecutus. Sim. Dunelm.*

† *Clamavit Anglorum genti, Flet Engle, Flet Engle, de dis Edmund, quod interpretatur; Fugite Angli, fugite, mortuus eſt Edmundus. Huntingd. Hiſt. lib.* 6.

A farther account of the Battel and Accord betwixt *Edmund* and *Cnute*.

112. Such is the Account which the Hiſtory that goes under the name of *Simeon* of *Durham*, gives us of this matter: others do otherwiſe relate it. *Malmesbury* having ſaid what the Iſſue of the Battel was at *Aſſandune*, tells how *Edmund* ſirnamed *Ironſide* betook himſelf with very little Company to *Gloceſter*, there to gather new Forces, and ſet upon his Enemies who he thought would be ſecure after the late Victory, as he ſaw convenient. *Cnute* was aware of him, and ſo induſtrious as to attend and watch his courſes. They were coming to a freſh ingagement when *Edmund* demanded a ſingle Combat, that for the ambition of but two men, the bloud of many innocent Perſons might not be ſhed, and they two without any inconvenience to their Subjects, might decide the controverſie in their own Perſons, and hereby obtain for the care of their People, great renown in future Ages. But *Canute* was deaf on this Ear, affirming he had Courage enough but not ſtrength ſufficient to encounter a Man of ſo vaſt a ſize, and for an expedient propounded, that each of them ſhould enjoy what their Fathers had held, from whom they had both received juſt Titles. The propoſal was well received by the Armies as very equitable, and which would give ſome breathing to the poor *Engliſh* Nation, ſo miſerably ſpent by theſe perpetual Hoſtilities; and *Edmund* by this univerſal approbation was overcome and ſilenc'd, the Accord being that he as his Hereditary Kingdom ſhould hold the Weſt *Saxons* with the Southern, and *Canute Mercia* with the Northern Parts. Thus one of our Authours ſpeaks of an Accord without ſo much as the mention of a Combat, another hints that mention was made of a Combat but it took no effect; but another there is who writes both of the Propoſal, and the Fighting of the Duel.

Another Relation of it.

113. *Henry* the Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* ſpeaking how after the Battel at *Eſeſdune* (as he calls it) the Armies in *Gloceſterſhire* the ſeventh time faced each other, adds, that the Noblemen on one ſide dreading the courage of *Edmund*, on the other of *Cnute*, began to mutter among themſelves what Fools they were ſo often to venture their Lives, and how they ſhould let them fight alone, who deſigned alone to Reign. This ſaying pleaſed well enough the Kings, for *Cnute* was a King of no ſmall honeſty. The Kings therefore fought a Duel. Their Darts and Lances on both ſides being broken, they fell to it with their Swords upon each others moſt incomparable Armour, the noiſe of which ſtruck the ears of the Lookers on with terrour, as their eyes were dazled with the fire which was ſtruck from the Swords upon ſuch admirable Metal. At length the incomparable vigour of *Edmund* prevailed, whom *Cnute* very ſtrenuouſly reſiſted, yet fearing the ſucceſs, with fair Language inſtead of foul Blows thus accoſted his Adverſary. *Young man, of all others the moſt valiant, what neceſſity is there that either thou or I ſhould die by the Sword, out of deſire of Reigning. Let us be Adoptive Brethren and divide the Kingdom, let me have a ſhare in thine, and do thou command in mine Affairs.* Denmark *alſo ſhall be at thy diſpoſal.* With theſe words the generous mind of the young King was mollified, and a kiſs of Peace was given on either part; after which their Followers came together, and weeping for joy, *Edmund* had the Kingdom of *Weſtſex*, and *Cnute* that of *Mercia*, who thereupon returned to *London*. Thus much *Huntingdon*, with whom agrees *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* as to the Duel, mentioning *Edric* as the man who firſt moved it amongſt the Nobility. But both *Hoveden* and *Florent* of *Worceſter* agree with the firſt Relation of *Simeon*.

Edmund dies.

Leaving Iſſue.

114. The *Danes* retiring to *London* after the agreement (which was certainly made, whatever might be the Circumſtances or the manner) were received by the Inhabitants, and permitted to take up their Winter Quarters in the City, where, about the Feaſt of St. *Andrew* died King *Edmund Ironſide* unexpectedly, and was buried with his Grandfather *Edgar* at *Glaſtenbury*. Concerning his death our Authours write variouſly. The Hiſtory of *Simeon*, *Florent* of *Worceſter*, and *Roger de Hoveden*, tell us onely that he died, without mentioning the cauſe. *Malmesbury* confeſſes it was uncertain of what Diſeaſe or Caſualty he died, but adds, that Fame charged *Edric* with hiring two of his Chamberlains, to whoſe Fidelity he committed himſelf, to murther him which they effected by thruſting a ſharp Iron into his Body as he ſate at Stool. *Huntingdon* will have it done at *Oxford* by one of the Sons of *Edric* as the King ſate in an Houſe of Office, with whom accords *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter*; *Radulphus de Diceto* names neither place nor a certain perſon, but ſays it was done by an Iron Spit at *Edric's* procurement. *Edmund* thus in the ſame year both began and ended his Reign, leaving two Sons behind him, *Edwi* ſome call him, ſome *Edmund*, and *Edward*. By his own Mother he had a Brother called *Edwin*, and by *Emma* his Step-Mother two more, *viz.* *Elfred* and *Edward*. Theſe Relations he left, but *Canute* reſolved none of them ſhould ſucceed him but to Reign himſelf alone. “He ſummoned all the Biſhops and Nobility to meet at *London*, and cunningly demanded of ſuch as had been preſent at the agreement betwixt him and *Edmund*, what proviſion was made by that agreement for the Sons and Brothers of *Edmund*, and whether in caſe he died before *Canute*, any of them was to ſucceed in the Kingdom of the Weſt *Saxons*? *They overcome with fear anſwered*, That to their knowledge *Edmund* neither living nor dying had made any proviſion for his Relations, but deſigned him the Protectour or Guardian of his Sons, till they ſhould come to Age. For this their falſe Teſtimony they hoped for great Rewards, and ſome of them indeed he afterwards rewarded with an Halter or ſome Inſtrument of ſuch like Deſert. But *Canute* taking the advantage it afforded him, exacted Oaths of Fidelity from all the Nobility, who readily choſe him for their King, and abjured all the *Engliſh* Line, which was diſpoſed of as we ſhall ſee hereafter, and ſet aſide for a certain time.

Who are outed by *Cnute*.

SECT. XI.

SECT. XI.

The Monarchy of the Danes *in* Britain, *from the beginning of that of* Canute *or* Cnute, *to the Death of* Hardecnute, *and the Reſtitution of the* Engliſh *Line in* Edward the Confeſſour.

The ſpace of Twenty ſix Years.

Sect. 11.

Cnute King.

Is ſole Monarch.

1. CAnute thus obtained the Kingdom of the *Engliſh*, of which his Father rather had a proſpect than firm poſſeſſion, about two hundred and twenty ſeven years after the firſt arrival of his *Daniſh* Nation, two years after his Father's death, in the one and fortieth year of *Baſilius Junior* Emperour of the Eaſt, the ſeventeenth of *Henricus Junior* the *German* Emperour, in the Reign of *Robert* the Son and Succeſſour of *Hugh Capet* King of the *Franks*. *A. D.* MXVII.

Edwin the Son of *Edmund* being baniſhed.

2. The *Danes* had formerly in ſome parts of the Land, as Eaſt *England* and *Northumberland* ſet up their petty Kingdoms, but now obtained the ſetled Monarchy of all *England*. Formerly they had been Strangers, now come to be the principal Inhabitants, not in Numbers but in Reputation. Before time they were fierce invaders, cruel and Savage Enemies, as bloudy, as Ravenous, and baſe as ever any Invader had ever been, but now were turned Proprietours, and one of them Lord of the whole; ſweetned and civiliz'd not ſo much by Chriſtianity and good Education, as by ſelf-ſeeking and worldly intereſt, for the late Inrodes made by *Cnute* were accompanied with as great Cruelties and Devaſtations, as thoſe of his Predeceſſours. Baſeneſs and fear made the *Engliſh* Nobility ſervilely to truckle, ſo that there was no need of any thing more to work his Will but his bare Commands. Nay they would prevent his Commands by doing thoſe things, to which they knew he was but inclined. For *Edwi* or *Edwin* the Brother of *Edmund*, a young Prince of excellent Endowments, and exceeding great hopes, they immediately voted to Baniſhment, which Reſolution as ſoon as *Canute* perceived ſo full of flattery and injuſtice, he went much pleaſed into his Chamber, and calling to him the perfidious Duke *Edric* asked him by what means he might trepan young *Edwin* to his death. The Traitour anſwered, that he knew one *Ethelward* who could eaſily doe it if he would ſpeak with and promiſe him a great Reward. *Cnute* ſent for the man, and telling him what the Duke had ſaid of him, not onely promiſed him all that his Anceſtours had injoyed, but to hold him more dear than a Brother in caſe he would doe him that Service. He promiſed to uſe his utmoſt indeavour, but as yet had no ſuch intention, and ſaid it onely to put him off; for he was deſcended of the moſt Noble ſtock of the *Engliſh* Nation.

He divides the Kingdom.

Puniſheth the Murtherers of his Predeceſſour.

3. *Cnute* being ſetled in his new Power and Sovereignty over all *England*, divided his Kingdom into four parts, whereof one he committed to the Government of *Edric*, *viz. Mercia*, it not being as yet ſeaſonable to lay him aſide. Eaſt *England* he aſſigned to Earl *Turkill*, *Northumberland* to *Irc* or *Eric*, and reſerved Weſt *Saxony* as that which being the ancient Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh* Line had moſt reaſon to bear reſpect to it, to his own Care and Vigilance. Then the firſt thing he did was to puniſh ſuch as had an hand in the death of *Edmund*, whom having diſcovered their wickedneſs in hope of Reward he kept cloſe up, and now in a great Aſſembly of the People cauſed to be put to death, as thoſe whom their own mouths condemned. Having thus ſweetned his way, a Covenant with all the Nobles and the whole People now he made, which was confirmed by Oath and an Amneſty decreed for whatſoever had formerly paſt betwixt the Nations. But this could not put him out of his fears ſo long as *Edwi Etheling* lived, who was commonly cal-

led King of the Countreymen. Baniſhment would not ſerve his turn, but after a ſeeming Reconciliation to enſnare him by his earneſt Solicitations, he procured him to be made away by thoſe whom he had moſt truſted. *Edric* now that his hand was in, adviſed him to put to death alſo the young Sons of *Edmund*, the *Clitunculi*, as *Simeon* calls them, *viz. Edmund* and *Edward*; but it being eſteemed a thing very odious, and which would much incenſe the People to have them murthered in *England*, within a while they were ſent to the King of the *Swedes* there to be made away, who notwithſtanding the League and kindneſs betwixt him and *Cnute*, abhorred the fact, and by all his Intreaties could not be brought to commit it, but conveyed them to *Solomon* King of the *Hungarians*, by him to be carefully brought up. *Edmund* in proceſs of time in that retirement ended his life; but *Edward* Married *Agatha* the Daughter of *Henry* the *German* Emperour, by which Lady he had *Margaret* Queen of the *Scots*, *Chriſtina* that turned Nun, and *Edgar Etheling* hereafter to be ſpoken of. This is the Account given by the general Aſſent of Hiſtorians, although there be a Paſſage amongſt the Laws of *Edward the Confeſſour*, which hints, that this *Edward* out of fear of *Cnute*, fled to one *Maleſclot* King of the *Rugians*, who both received him with honour, and beſtowed on him in Marriage a Lady of that Countrey.

He Marries. 4. *Cnute* having rid himſelf of all his Competitours, for the Sons of *Ethelred* by *Emma* were eſcaped into *Normandy*, and all others of the Bloud Royal he had baniſhed, thought he ſhould much farther eſtabliſh his intereſt by Marrying with *Emma*, which he effected in *July* following, concluding that it would win him the hearts of the People, and take off the thoughts of her Brother *Richard* Duke of *Normandy*, from the Sons ſhe had had by *Ethelred*, and he approved of the Match ſending over in *July* his Siſter into *England*. Being now arrived at the top of his Expectations, he thought fit to remove the Ladder by which he mounted, leſt it ſhould ſerve the end of ſome other Pretender. What uſe he had all along made of the Treachery of Duke *Edric* has been ſufficiently diſcovered. Now inſtead of loving he abominated the man not ſo much in hatred to his Vallany as for his own preſervation, imagining that he who had betrayed thoſe who had ſo well deſerved of him, would not ſtick to doe the ſame by him a Foreigner, when there ſhould but a ſufficient temptation or opportunity preſent it ſelf. The former Treaſon ſerving his own ends, he loved, but hated the Traytour, becauſe in his deſtruction he doubted not but he would be ready to ſerve the ends of others, and therefore reſolved to make him away. It's reported, that after he had procured King *Edmund* to be ſlain in the manner before related, he came to *Cnute*, and bade *God ſave him now the onely King*, to whom when he had told all the Story, the King anſwered, that for ſo great a piece of Service he would make him higher than all the *Engliſh* Nobility. *Henr. Huntingd. lib. 6.* Remembring therefore that Promiſe, he cauſed him in the time of *Chriſtmas* to be Beheaded, and his Head to be ſet upon a Pole on the higheſt Tower in *London*. *Ingulphus* the Abbat of *Croyland*, who lived in or near thoſe very days, writes, that unſatisfi'd it ſeems with what had been done for him, he upbraided *Cnute* with his great ſervices in betraying the two King *Ethelred* and *Edmund*, and by his own Mouth being convicted of Treaſon, was as a Traytour hanged and thrown into the *Thames*. Later Authours in compliance with this Relation, ſay, that ſuſpecting the King's intentions of depriving him of the *Mercian* Dukedom, and upbraiding him with his Services, *Cnute* ſaid to him with an angry Countenance, Traytour to God and to me, thou ſhalt die, thine own mouth accuſes thee to have ſlain thy Maſter, my Confederate Brother, and the Lord's Anointed, and thereupon cauſed him to be Strangled in the Room, and thrown out of the Window over the Wall of the City into the *Thames*, where his Trunk lay unburied, his Head being fixed on a Pole and ſet on the higheſt Tower, which as ſome ſay, *Eric* at the King's command ſtruck off. Cauſes *Edric* and others of the Nobility to be executed. Upon this occaſion either for that they were familiar with *Edric*, or upon ſome other jealous grounds, as his Complices he put to death ſeveral other Noblemen, as *Norman* the Son of Duke *Leofwin*, and the Brother of *Leofric*, *Ethelward* the Son of Duke *Aglemar*, and *Brihtric* the Son of *Elſege* who governed *Devonſhire*, all reputed Innocent Perſons. For all this he thought himſelf not yet ſecure except he kept on foot an Army, for the maintenance of which, the following year, he ſqueezed out of all *England* ſeventy (ſome ſay eighty) two thouſand Pounds, beſides fifteen thouſand out of the City of *London*. But no leſs than theſe ſeverities could be expected from an Uſurper and a Foreigner. After ſome years he ſent back his Army at the Importunity of the Nobility, having by a ſevere Law made againſt killing any *Danes*, taken ſecurity for the ſafety of his Nation. *Vide infrà.*

5. Theſe things were done in the South, while in the Northern Parts a Quarrel aroſe between *Malcolm* Son of *Cyneth* King of the *Scots*, and *Vthred* the Son of *Waldelf* Earl of *Northumberland*, or rather his Succeſſour *Eric*, for *Vthred* was (as we have heard) ſlain by *Cnute* two years before. The Rupture proceeded to a great War (as our Authour terms it) wherein on the part of the *Scots*, *Eugenius Calvus* King of the *Lutinenſes* or *Lothians* was ingaged; but what the effects of ſo great a controverſie were, he doth not tell us. *Cnute* having united the *Engliſh* and *Danes* in one Government, though the beſt Cement would be to frame their minds to the ſame Laws and Cuſtoms, for which purpoſe he called a Convention to *Oxford*, where both Parties agreed to obſerve the Laws of King *Edgar*. Now he thought he had ſo well ſetled his matters here, that he might without any danger give a Viſit to his ancient and Native Kingdom of *Denmark*, whither he ſailed the year following, being the third of his Reign, and continued there the whole Winter. The *Archdeacon* writes, that he led thither an Army of *Engliſh* and *Danes* againſt the *Wandals*, by which he muſt mean no other than *Swedes*. That incamping near his Enemies with intention not to fight till the next day, *Godwin* the *Engliſh* General (*Conſul* he terms him) without his knowledge by Night ſet upon them at unawares, killed many and put the reſt to flight. When it was day the King imagining that the *Engliſh* were either run away or had revolted to his Enemy, ſet his *Danes* in order of Battel, and marched toward the *Swediſh* Camp, but here he found nothing but Bloud, Carkaſſes, and Plunder, which thing cauſed him exceedingly to prize the *Engliſh*, (who by their valour procured their Captain an Earldom and renown to themſelves) and hold them in no leſs eſteem than the *Danes* themſelves. In Spring he returned into *England*, and in *Eaſter* Holydays held a great Council at *Circeſter*, in which he baniſhed Duke *Ethelward* or *Edward* as others call him. This ſame year in the place of the Battel fought at *Eſſandune*, which won him the Kingdom, he was preſent at the Dedication of a Church which there he had cauſed to be built as others in other places of the Fights he had been in. In this building he was aſſiſted by *Turkil* the Earl, whom the year following, ſuſpecting it ſeems his power, he baniſhed out of *England* with his Wife *Egitha*. With *Turkil* others joyn *Eric* or *Iric* the Duke of *Northumberland*, a *Dane* alſo by deſcent. As ſoon as they ſet foot in *Denmark*, *Matthew* writes, that *Turkil* (who had been the procurer of the death of St. *Elphege*, and had firſt perſwaded *Swane* to invade *England*) was killed by the Noblemen of the Countrey. But whether it was that thoſe he baniſhed and ſent home, ſtirred up the People againſt him, or that being abſent his Authority was deſpiſed. *Huntingdon* writes, that in his ninth year he carried over another Army into *Denmark* againſt *Vlf* and *Eilaf*, who had got a great multitude together againſt him both by Sea and Land, and now gave him ſuch a Defeat, that of both Nations *Engliſh* and *Danes* very many were loſt. But others make this the ſame expedition with the former.

He ſails into *Denmark*.

And beats the *Swedes*.

Incubuere igitur viribus Angli & victoriam Conſummantes Comitatum Duci, ſibi laudem paravêrunt. Malmesb. ubi ſuprà.

At his return baniſheth *Turkil* and other Nobles.

Math. Weſtm.

6. And indeed had his matters been ſo much imbroiled now in *Denmark* he would not have caſt his thoughts ſo ſoon upon *Norway*, whence having intelligence that the People deſpiſed their King *Olaus* for his plainneſs and religious ſimplicity, he ſent great ſums of Money to make way for him, that rejecting their true and natural Lord they ſhould revolt and chuſe him for their King. His Gold had ſuch effect upon them, that not able to withſtand the Operations thereof, they promiſed him a good reception whenſoever he would come, which the following year and the MXXVIII of our Lord he did, ſailing into *Norway* with fifty ſhips. The King *Olaus* he drove out of the Countrey, and then eaſily ſubdued it to his own Command, whither *Olaus* the year after returning to try the minds of the Revolters was ſlain by them with all his Followers. The year after his Conqueſt he returned into *England*, but not till the Feaſt of St. *Martin* was paſt, where being arrived under a pretence of an Embaſſy, he ſent into Baniſhment *Hacun* a *Daniſh* Count, who had Married *Gunilda* his Neice by his Siſter and the King of the *Winidi*. This man was grown ſo powerfull and popular, that he ſtood in fear of being killed or depoſed by him, and thereupon he drove him to ſuch ſtraits, that within Twelve months he either periſhed on the Sea, or elſe was killed in the Iſle of *Orkney*. Such were his fears, ſuch were the means he uſed to prevent what he feared, ſparing neither fair nor foul, ſticking at nothing how unjuſt ſoever, for fixing the Diadem on his Head. Now he had no occaſion nor temptation to be bad, and therefore reſolved to be very good, and eminently religious, as ſuch who have arrived at great wealth by griping and ſordid Practices, many times think to make Heaven ſatisfaction by dedicating ſome of their ill gotten Goods to Religi-

Simeon Dunelm. ad Ann. MXXVII, &c.

Subdues *Norway*.

Sect. 11.

Journey to *Rome.*

ous Uſes. To *Rome* he will go to viſit the Tombs of the Holy Apoſtles, a Pilgrimage which would obliterate all Crimes whatſoever. On St. *Peter* the Prince of the Apoſtles, he confers very great gifts of Gold and Silver, with other pretious things. He procures from Pope *John* a Relaxation of all Tribute and Toll to the *Engliſh* School there, both in his way thither and in his return gives large Alms to the Poor, buys off ſeveral Tolls and Impoſitions laid upon Travellers; and at the Sepulchre of the Apoſtles, vows to God an amendment of his Life and Manners. So much are we told by that of *Simeon* and other Hiſtories.

Simeon Dunelm. ad Ann. MXXXI.

His Epiſtle Written from thence.

7. In the Hiſtory of the Monk of *Malmesbury* is extant an Epiſtle which from *Rome* it's ſaid he wrote to *Ailnoth* or *Egelnoth*, the Metropolitan, to *Alfric* of *York* with all the Biſhops and Primates, and the whole *Engliſh* Nation aſwell Noblemen as Plebeians. “Herein he gives an account of his Journey, both the reaſon of “his undertaking it, how he was received at *Rome*, what he had negotiated for “the benefit of his Subjects, and then gives directions and command to his “Officers to doe all juſtice and right to the People in his abſence. The thing he “decreed he ſays long before, but never could till now accompliſh what he “had deſigned for the pardon of his Sins, and the ſafety of all his Subjects. He “ſignifies that he was received by all the Princes who at that time were with Pope “*John* ſolemnizing the Feaſt of *Eaſter* with extraordinary reſpect and honour, “but eſpecially by *Conrade* the *German* Emperour. That he had dealt with them “all about the concernments of all his People both *Engliſh* and *Danes*, that their “paſſage toward *Rome* might be more free and open; and had obtained that aſ-“well Merchants as others ſhould with all ſafety paſs and repaſs without any Toll “or Impoſition. He complained to the Pope that his Archbiſhops paid vaſt “ſumms of Money before they could obtain their Palls, which grievance by “Decree was taken off. All theſe Immunities procured from the Pope, the Emperour, King *Rodulphus* and all other Princes * through whoſe Territories he Travells were confirmed by Oath under the Teſtimony of four Archbiſhops, and twenty Biſhops, with an innumerable multitude of Dukes and other Noblemen that were preſent. “Then follows a Thankſgiving to Almighty God, that what “ever he had deſigned in his Journey had proſpered. After this he deſires it “may be publiſhed to all the World that having devoted his Life to Righteouſ-“neſs, and reſolved to Govern the People ſubject to him in all Piety and juſtice “with a reſpect to Equity in all particulars, in caſe any thing had ſlipped in his “Youth which might juſtly be taxed with Intemperance or Negligence, with “the help of God he was ready to make for all ſuch Extravagancies full amends. “Therefore all his Officers whatſoever, Sheriffs or others, he charges that nei-“ther for fear of himſelf, nor out of favour to any other Perſon they pervert “Juſtice, not in reſpect to himſelf becauſe there was no neceſſity that by any un-“juſt exaction there ſhould be any Collection of Money. At laſt after a great “aſſeveration how much he ſtudied the profit and convenience of his People, he “adjures all his Officers before he ſhould arrive in *England* they would procure “all Debts to be paid due according to the Ancient cuſtome, as Almes for the “Plough, the Tithes of all Cattle brought forth in the ſame year, Peterpence, “in *Auguſt* the Tithes of Corn, and at Martinmas the firſt Fruits of the ſame “called *Cureſcot*, or rather *Circeſcot* becauſe given to the Church. In caſe this “were not paid before his Return he threatens to animadvert upon every one ‘according to the Laws.

Cnute Rex totius Angliæ & Danamarchiæ & Norwergiæ & partis Suavorum Ailnotho Metropolitano, & Alfrico Eboracenſi, omnibúſque Epiſcopis & Primatibus, & toti genti Anglorum tam Nobilibus quam Plebcis ſalutem.

* *A monte Gargaro uſque ad iſtud proximum mare.*

8. It's not much that a Foreigner and Uſurper ſhould mention the Laws; for ſuch having, though by lawleſs courſes, obtained the ſecure Poſſeſſion of what they aimed at to gain the People, uſually both obſerve the Laws of their Predeceſſours ſo far as they contradict not their Ends and make themſelves very good ones. There be but two courſes, *viz.* abſolute Conqueſt, and force with Sword and Halter; or elſe ſuch as may win and cajoll the People. The former is dangerous, and muſt have a ſtanding Army, and the Conquered muſt be turned out of their Eſtates, which are to be diſtributed amongſt the Officers and Souldiers; the other more practicable and ſuitable to ſuch as have a mind to live at eaſe. Eſpecially the Laws of King *Ethelred* he commanded under a Penalty to be kept, the lateſt and moſt fitting the preſent caſe and temper of the Nation, but whereas the Monk adds *in all Ages or Times*, he underſtood not that poſitive Laws or Statutes muſt be changeable according to the mutability of the ſtate and condition of a People. Beſides the reinforcing of theſe former Laws, others he publiſhed in his own Name, as we ſhall ſee in another place. From *Rome* he went to *Danemark*, and thence at this time (as ſome would have it) paſſed into *Norway* and expelled *Olaus* the King,

Omnes enim Leges ab antiquis Regibus & maximè ab Anteceſſore ſuo Ethelredo latas ſub interminatione regiæ mulctæ perpetuis temporibus obſervari præcepit. Malmesb.

King, but better Computers place this Action four years before. At his return he ſpent his time in building and repairing Monaſteries and Churches, which with the Monks the Writers of thoſe times hath ſo far repaired his Fame and Eſteem, that notwithſtanding all his violence and injuſtice, nay notwithſtanding he was the Depriver of one of their Saints, King *Olaus*, aud the Procurer of his Death, (if not immediately by ſending Aſſaſſinates to murther him, as ſome have Written, yet mediately by procuring the Rebellion, and reducing him into the hatred of his People) they diſmiſs him with a very fair character. Nay ſome tell us, that for his Piety he was rewarded with another Kingdom, *viz.* that of *Scotland*, which, as appears from *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter*, at this time depended on this of *England*, for he writes that the *Scots* now Rebelled, and that upon that occaſion he led his Army thither where he eaſily Conquered *Malcolm* the King, with two other *Reguli* which *Huntingdon* mentions by the Names of *Melbeathe* and *Jermare*. From ſome paſſages in the Eccleſiaſtical Affairs of theſe times it alſo appears that *Wales* was ſubject to him as it had been formerly to his Predeceſſours, although one *Ritherech* was ſtyled King of all *Wales*, by which this onely was meant that there were ſeveral other Petty Kings which ackowledged his Superiority. But if the *Kingdom* of *Scotland* was given him for his Piety, that of Heaven followed not long after, for within two years he Died on the twelfth of *November* at *Shaftsbury*, and was Buried at *Wincheſter* in the Old Monaſtery, after he had Reigned twenty years. It cannot be denied but that he was a Magnificent Prince, bountifull both to Religious Men and the Poor, even of other Nations. His fault was that he could never have been ſo Magnificent or Bountifull, but that he came to that greatneſs by Indirect means. His method and means were bad; but few that have obtained Crowns ſo unjuſtly have managed their Power once obtained with ſo much Juſtice and Humanity; ſo that well may he bear away the Title generally given him of *Canutus* the Great.

Adds *Scotland* to his Dominions.

Godwinus in London. Epiſcop.

Dies.

His Character.

9. And this he may the better deſerve if that Story be true which is commonly told of his ſenſibleneſs of his own Meanneſs as a Man and his aſcribing abſolute Greatneſs onely to him in compariſon of whom Kings themſelves, though in reſpect to one another they may be ſtyled Great, yet are to be accounted *little greater than Nothing*. The Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* having told us that before him there was never a King of *England* ſo Mighty, as being Lord of all *Danemark*, *Scotland*, adds that beſides his many Wars he waged, he was eminent for three things eſpecially. The firſt was his marrying his Daughter to the Emperour with unſpeakable Riches. The ſecond was the diminiſhing or abating to one half all the Exactions or Impoſitions upon Travellers between *France* and *Rome*. The third was this: when the Tide came in he ſet his Chair on the Sea Shoar, and as the Sea grew to be high he ſpake to it in theſe terms: *Thou art under my Dominion, and the Land where I ſit is mine; neither is there any, who without due puniſhment ſhall reſiſt my commands. I command thee therefore that thou riſe not ſo high as where I ſit, neither preſume to wet the Cloaths nor the Limbs of thy Lord.* But the Sea according to the cuſtome without any Reverence, flowing up, firſt to the Feet and then to the Legs of the King, wet as he was he leaped back and ſaid. *Let all Inhabitants of the World know that vain and frivolous is the Power of Kings; neither is there any one worthy that Title but he alone whoſe Command by force of Eternal Laws the Heaven, the Earth and the Sea obey.* He adds, that after this he never ſet his Golden Crown upon his head, but placed it upon a Crucifix. Some ſillily blame his carriage as Superſtitious, others ſay ſuch a Demonſtration of Almighty God's Prerogative was needleſs. But the paſſage was ſeaſonable enough to convince and reprove ſuch as were apt to be dazled with the worldly glory of thoſe who have ſo ſmall command over the Sea, that at land it ſelf the Power of the greateſt of them extends it ſelf ſcarcely one intire Mile from the place where they ſtand, either upward, or below; the ſurface, ſo long as he pleaſes too, they can onely call their own.

10. *Cnute* by *Algiva* of *Northampton* his Concubine the Daughter of Earl *Alfelm* had two Sons, whereof one was called *Swane*, and the other *Harold*, as the current opinion went, though ſome ſpeak doubtfully, as if to conceal her Barrenneſs, the former ſhe had procured from a Prieſt's Wife (or a Woman Servant) and the latter from the Wife of a Shoomaker. By *Emma* the Relict of King *Ethelrede* which he ſeems to have Married in the life-time of *Algiva*, though others call *Algiva* Queen, he had a Son Named *Hardecnute*, and a Daughter of great Beauty called *Gundhilda*, married by her Brother afterward to *Henry* the

Malmesb. Matt. Weſtm. Huntingdon. Hoveden. alii.

Emperour

UMI

Sect. 11.

Sim. Dunelm.

Elegerunt eum Dani & Londoniæ cives qui jam pæne in Barbarorum mores propter frequentem convictum tranſierant. De Geſtis Regum Anglor. lib. 2. ch. 12.

Ingulphus. Malmesb.

A conteſt about the Succeſſion.

Emperour of *Germany*. Before his Death it's ſaid that he appointed *Swane* to be King of *Norway*, *Hardecnute* King of *Danemark*, and to *Harold* aſſigned the Kingdom of *England*. But this ſeems no ways probable that he would ſeparate the Son of his dearly beloved Wife ſo far from her, eſpecially if that be true, which ſome have written, that he formerly promiſed to leave the Crown of *England* to ſuch Iſſue as he ſhould have by her. However *Harold* by means of the *Danes* and the Citizens of *London* (whom *Malmesbury* writes to have been almoſt by this time degenerated into Barbarians by their continual intercourſe with them) and afterward by injuſtice obtained the *Engliſh* Crown, but not till after much contention. For each Pretender endeavoured to ſtrengthen himſelf with Friends and Forces: as Earl *Leofric* with the *Danes* and *Londoners* ſtood for *Harold*; ſo moſt of the *Engliſh* contended for *Edward* the Son of King *Ethelred*, and ſome for *Hardecnute* the Son of *Cnute* by Queen *Emma*. No expectation was there but of a great War to follow, which cauſed multitudes of People (who had not yet forgot the dreadfull waſtes made by the *Daniſh* Inrodes) to quit their Habitations, and betake themſelves into watriſh and fenny places where they thought the Enemy either could not or would not purſue them, particularly to the Monaſtery of *Croyland*, where they cauſed ſuch a diſturbance that the Religious of the Place could neither meet in the Church, nor in their Refectory. All ſeemed now to tend to a ſlaughter, when by the Interpoſition of ſome of the more ſober ſort Advice was given to the Heads of all the Factions to meet and hold a Conſultation to prevent the effuſion of Chriſtian Bloud. The place appointed was *Oxford*, where when they ſufficiently debated the matter by the Major part it was at laſt concluded, that the Kingdom ſhould be divided betwixt *Harold* and *Hardecnute*, ſo that *Harold* ſhould have all the Countries lying Northward from the *Thames*, together with the City of *London*; and *Hardecnute* enjoy all the Southern Provinces.

Which is ended.

11. *Hardecnute*'s diſadvantage was that at the time of his Father's Death he was in *Danemark*, whither he was ſent to order matters, and by his entercourſe to gain the affections of the People, and indeed he ſeems to have been deſigned by his Father both to the Succeſſion of the one Kingdom and the other. *Harold* took his opportunity to gain Friends, and ſome think that at firſt he was choſen King alone by a prevalent Party, but *Hardecnute* arriving e'er he had confirmed his Poſſeſſion, this Agreement was made betwixt them for dividing the Kingdom, which ſetled, *Hardecnute*'s Affairs called him back into *Danemark*, and then again *Harold* taking an advantage at his Abſence, being already in Poſſeſſion of the greateſt part, ſeized upon all. But whether in this juncture of Affairs *Hardecnute* returned into *England* or was abſent all the while, *Harold* got to be ſole King by aſſiſtence of the *Danes*, the *Londoners*, and now at length of *Godwin* created for his former Services in *Danemark*, Earl of *Kent*, who being a Man made up of ambition and cunning, at the beginning of the Conteſt had profeſſed himſelf a ſtout Champion of *Emma* and her Children, but now upon the turning of the tide reſolved to ſwim with the ſtream, or was wrought upon by the promiſes of *Harold*, who made as if he would Marry one of his Daughters. Yet did the Clergy ſtick cloſe to the Children of *Emma*, and though the Nobility ſided with *Harold*, ſo much contended for them, that *Egelnoth* the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* refuſed the Office of Crowning him, profeſſing that as long as any of the ſaid Children lived he would never give his Aſſent or Benediction to any other, and affirming (as ſome write) that *Cnute* on his Death-bed had commended them to his care and fidelity. The Enſigns of Royalty he laid upon the Altar, denouncing a Curſe againſt his Brethren the Biſhops in caſe any of them ſhould deliver them to *Harold*, and inhibiting him from medling with ſuch things, and by his private Authority taking them away which he had commended to God and that Holy Place. Yet for all this was he Crowned, for we cannot but believe * *Ingulphus*, that he beſtowed on their Monaſtery the Robe of his Coronation. That this Archbiſhop notwithſtanding all this adoe overcome either by his threats or promiſes, performed the Ceremony, though one of his Succeſſours writes, yet we dare not affirm. † Others will have him Elected King without the Royal Ornaments, but herein they are not to be credited.

Harold outing his Brother, ſets up for himſelf.

* *Ipſe dedit Monaſterio noſtro Chlamydem coronationis ſuæ de ſerico aureiſque floribus intextam, quam poſtea Secretarius commutavit in cappam, &c.*

† *Parker in Antiq. Brit.*

12. *Harold* having ſecured now, as he thought, his Royal Eſtate, ſo far as the People were concerned (which if *Simeon* tell true, he had by means of *Godwin* and others ſo far cajolled, that from being King of the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians*, together with the Nobility, they choſe him to Reign through all *England*, abjuring *Hardecnute*, who it was pretended, though ſent for, would not return out of

Denmark) caſt in his mind, as the cuſtome is, how to entrap and obviate his Emulatours and Rivals. *Emma* or *Algina*, as ſome call her, his Stepmother, he had already deprived of the greateſt part of the treaſure which his Father had left her, ſo the leſs reaſon he had to fear her effectual tampering with any for her Sons, having nothing preſent wherewith to allure them, and it being accounted but a ſpare diet to fede merely upon hopes. But her two Sons, *Alfred* and *Edward*, hearing in *Normandy* how matters paſſed, could not forbear looking on, if they could not be the principal Actours in theſe Revolutions: into *England* they come with a ſplendid attendance of *Normans*, and haſte to their Mother then lying at *Wincheſter*. But paſſing through *Kent*, the Charge and Reſidence of Earl *Godwin*, *Alfred* falls into his hands, and then pretending (at leaſt) to be going to *London* to the King who had ſent for him, is ſtopped and put into cloſe Cuſtody: *Godwin* affirming it was dangerous under pretence of Kindred, to bring ſo many ſtrangers, and thoſe of a crafty Nation into the Land, of his followers, ſome he put into Chains, of ſome he put out the Eyes, of others he cut off the Hands and Feet, and many he cauſed to be ſold, ſome he tortured by pulling their Skins over their Ears, of others he cauſed the Guts to be bound about a ſtake, and then their Bodies to be turned round the ſtake till all the Entrals were drawn out, and in concluſion, by various and miſerable deaths, ſix hundred Men he murthered at *Guilford*; ſome write, that he onely ſpared one in ten, and after that was done, thinking that too many *Normans* ſtill ſurvived, he decimated them over again, and amongſt the reſt thus murthered were twelve perſons of great Nobility. *Emma* having notice of this Maſſacre, ſent away her Son *Edward* into *Normandy*, to be out of harms way. And well did ſhe ground her fears; for while the one Brother thus ſhifted for himſelf, the other that was entrapped by command of Earl *Godwin* and others, was ſent away to the Iſle of *Ely*, where he was ſcarcely Landed, when moſt cruelly his Eyes were pulled out of his Head, which done, he was led to the Monaſtery, and there delivered to the Monks to be ſafely kept. But he troubled them not long, preſently after his ſight ending his days, and in the Southern Porch of the Weſtern End of the Church, was decently buried.

Simeon Dunelm, ad Ann. 1636.

A Maſſacre of the *Normans.*

Apud Gillingeham ut ſcribit Malmesb.

Among whom *Alfred* is kill'd by the Treachery of *Harold.*

13. Thus cruelly was poor *Alfred* dealt with, but ſtill greater was the cruelty, if it was procured and uſhered in by the treachery and forgery of *Harold*, who as the Encomium of *Emma* (the Authour whereof ſeems to have lived about thoſe times) gives us the Relation, on purpoſe to get thoſe young Princes into his Hands, counterfeited a Letter as written by their Mother. “Herein perſonating her, ſhe chides them gently for their delay in looking after their own concernments, ſeeing they could not but know, that it procured the dayly confirming of the Uſurper in his Power, who omitted no Arts whatſoever to gain the chief Nobility to his Party. He aſſures them yet that the *Engliſh* Nation had much rather that one of them ſhould be their King, and in concluſion, deſires they would come as ſpeedily and privately as they could to conſult with her what courſe was to be taken. The Letter was conveyed by a ſuborned Meſſenger, who by preſents ſent as from their Mother, and by his inſinuations plaid his part ſo well, that the truth of the Meſſage was not doubted of. Now ſome Hiſtorians ſay, that the better to conceal themſelves, they came into *England* ſeveral ways. Others ſay, that *Alfred* onely Arrived, and that *Edward* with forty Sail of well manned Ships came to *Southampton*, where he found the Coaſt guarded with Souldiers to prevent his Landing. He adventured to fight, and that with good ſucceſs, but finding himſelf too ſlenderly provided to march up into the Countrey, and Conquer the Kingdom, with much Booty he Sailed back into *Normandy*. Indeed, conſidering that *Alfred* onely was taken, theſe Relations ſeem nearer to truth, and that *Alfred* with a few Ships, and not many Men Landing in *Kent*, fell into the Snares laid for him by Earl *Godwin*. The Children being thus diſpoſed of, the Mother he thought fit not to ſuffer here to remain, but preſently after baniſhed her the Kingdom, though Winter was begun, ſhe retired not into *Normandy*, becauſe, as ſome alledge, Duke *William*, the baſe Son of her Nephew *Robert*, was then brought up in the *French* Court, and ſome add what may be more improbable, that her Son *Edward* was then gone into *Hungary* to conſult with his Couſin *Edward*, Sirnamed the *Outlaw*, whom as we ſaid, *Cnute* had baniſhed thither. She went ſtreight for *Flanders*, where ſhe was courteouſly received by Earl *Baldwin*, who pitying the Caſe of a diſtreſſed Lady and Queen, aſſigned her *Bruges* to dwell at, and munificently provided for her all the time ſhe there ſtaid.

Walſingham. in Hypodigm. Neuſtriæ, lib. 6. *c.* 4.

He baniſheth *Emma.*

14. After two years ſhe was viſited by her Son *Hardecnute* out of *Denmark*, and they comforted themſelves as well as they could with hopes of better Fortune, that either the Hearts of the *Engliſh* would relent, or that the Uſurper would by ſome other means end either his days or his Reign, in which they were not much beguiled. *Harold* on this ſide the water, as much incouraged himſelf in his hopes ſtrengthened by preſent and actual poſſeſſion, the main point in the caſe, and reſolved to omit nothing, which now they were gone, might ſerve to keep them out. For this purpoſe he provided himſelf of a Fleet, the onely Bullwark of the Iſland, for the furniſhing of which to ſixteen ſhips every Port pay'd Eight Marks of Silver, as had been done in his Father's days, as writes *Henry* the Archdeacon of *Huntingdon*. Hereby he incenſed the minds of the *Engliſh* againſt him, which the *Welſh* it ſeems perceiving, or for ſome other reaſon, began to be ſo unruly that ſome ſtirs happened thereupon, wherein many of the *Engliſh* Nobility were ſlain, by name *Edwin* Brother to Earl *Leofric*, *Turkil* and *Algeat* the Sons of *Eſſi*, both of them great men, and many others. But theſe things could not accompliſh the hopes of the baniſhed, which was left to be done by death, *Harold* dying ſhortly after when he had reigned four years, and as many Months. Some ſay he died at *London*, ſome at *Oxford*; but he was to be ſure buried at *Weſtminſter*. *Henry Knighton* ſtrangely writes, that he had a Body like an Hare, he means ſurely hairy like that Creature, and thence was called *Harefoot*, which ſirname others derive from his ſwiftneſs of foot. *Brompton* the Abbat of *Jornal* gives him this Character, that in all regards he degenerated from the worth of his Father *Canute* (but others ſuſpected him not to have been his Son) for he was altogether careleſs both as to matters of War and Peace, onely he would purſue his own Will, and what was misbeſeeming his Royal Eſtate, choſe rather to goe on foot than ride, whence for the lightneſs and ſwiftneſs of his Feet he was called *Harold Harefoot*. He being dead, the Nobility with which now the *Londoners* joined, ſent meſſengers to *Hardecnute* ſtill at *Bruges*, with his Mother, intreating him to come, and receive the Crown as his Right. Hereupon he haſted into *Denmark*, there to ſettle his matters, which done with ſixty ſhips, and many Soldiers he came over in *Auguſt*, and landing at *Sandwich* was chearfully received, and both by *Engliſh* and *Danes* admitted as King.

Harold dies.

Iſte Haroldus habuit Corpus ad modum leporis, & ideo dicebatur Harefot. De eventibus Angliæ lib. 1. *c.*6. *Et contra ſuam Regiam Celſitudinem pede libentiùs incedebat quam Equo equitabat, indè propter levitatem pedum & curſus Haraldus Harefot, communiter extitit appellatus.*

Hardecnute ſucceeds.

15. *Hardecnute* began his Reign over *England*, in the ſixth year of *Michael* the Fourth, the *Paphlagonian* Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, the ſecond of *Henry* ſirnamed the *Black*, Emperour of *Germany*, in the Reign of *Henry* King of the *Franks*, *A.D.* 1040. Having obtained the Kingdom he did little worthy of his condition, or the place he bare, but made them advantages onely to gratify his exorbitant Paſſions. The firſt thing was to be revenged on *Harold*, for the Injuries offered to himſelf and his mother, whoſe Body he cauſed to be digged up by *Alfric* Archbiſhop of *York*, Earl *Godwin* and others, the Head to be cut off, and both it and the Trunk to be caſt firſt into a Ditch or Privy, and then into the *Thames*, where being caught in a Fiſhermans Net, it was by ſome of his Relations conveyed to land and buried in a burying place of the *Danes*, which conſtant Tradition affirms to be this Church and Church-yard of St. *Clement* without *Temple-Bar*, in which Pariſh we reſide at the writing hereof. Following on this Courſe of Revenge (which ſome ſtyle piety to his Kindred) he deſervedly deprived *Living* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, who had an hand in the Murther of his Brother *Alfred*, but then again within a year, was bought off with money and reſtored him. *Godwin* that cunning Earl was glad to buy his Peace with a Gally excellently rigged, having a guilded Stemm, furniſhed with all all conveniencies both for War and Pleaſure, and manned with Eighty choice Souldiers, every of which had upon each Arm a Golden Bracelet weighing ſixteen Ounces, with Helmet and Corſlet gilt as was the Hilt of the Sword with which he was girt, a *Daniſh* Scimiter adorned with Silver and Gold hung on his left Shoulder, in his left hand he held a ſhield, the Boſs and Nails of which were alſo gilded, and in his right a Lance, which in the Language of the *Engliſh* was called *A Tegar*. But this would not ſerve his turn except he alſo took an Oath, that Prince *Alfred* had not his Eyes put out by his advice or deſire, but therein he merely obeyed *Harold*, at that time his Lord and Maſter, together with moſt of the Nobility of the Land.

Who puniſheth the Murtherers of his Brother *Alfred*.

Alfruum Eboracenſem Archiep. Godwinum Comitem, Styr majorem Domus, Edricum diſpenſatorem, Troubd ſuum carnificem & alios magnæ dignitatis viros Londoniam miſit & ipſius Haroldi corpus effodere & in gronam projicere juſſit, &c. Sim. Dunelm. ad An. MXL.

Lays a great Tax upon the Countrey.

16. At the ſame time he thus animadverted upon ſuch as had been cruel to his Relations, he incurred the high diſpleaſure of the People by a Tax he laid upon them, for the payment of eight Marks to every Rower in his Navy, and twelve to every Officer, a burthen that ſcarcely any could bear, which cauſed

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Suos huſcarlas miſit per omnes Regni ſui Provincias ad exigendum quod indixerat tributum. Sim. ad Ann. 1041.

Waſtes *Worceſterſhier.*

But is kind to *Edward* and *Gunhilda* his Siſter.

Then dies at a Feaſt.

theſe who had procured his Advancement ſorely to repent them. However he exacted the Tax with all rigour, imploying his *Houſe Carles* as they were called, or his Houſhold Servants, in gathering the Subſidy throughout the Land, whereof the *Worceſterſhire* Men ſlew two called *Feader* and *Turſtan*, having fled into a Tower belonging to a Monaſtery of that City. *Hardecnute* exceedingly incenſed at their death, ſent to revenge it *Leofric* Duke of the *Mercians*, *Godwin* of the Weſt *Saxons*, *Siward* of the *Northumbrians*, and others with great Forces, and orders to kill all the men, to plunder and burn the City and waſte the Countrey round about. On the Evening preceding the thirteenth of *November* they began their injoyned work, and continued waſting and ſpoiling both City and Countrey for four days together. But few of the Inhabitants themſelves they could lay hands on, the Countreymen ſhifting for themſelves every way as they could, and the Citizens betaking themſelves to a little Iſland in the *Severn* called *Beverege*, which they fortified, and ſtoutly ſtood upon their Guard till their Oppoſers tired out made Peace with them, and ſuffered them to return home in Peace, which yet was not done till on the fifth day the City being burnt, the Army retreated loaded with Plunder. After this Act of ſeverity, *Hardecnute* (as if he had ſpent his Gall and evacuated his ill humours) began to be good natur'd. For ſhortly after he gave kind entertainment to *Edward* his Brother, the Son of *Ethelred* and *Emma*, who now returned after a tedious exile in *Normandy*. To his farther commendation he took good care of his Siſter *Gunhilda* or *Gunildis* preferring her to be the Wife of *Henry* the *German* Emperour. She was a Lady of admirable beauty, and in her Father's time had in vain been courted by ſeveral Lovers. Her Brother ſet her forth with all the pomp imaginable, the Nobility both accompanying her to the Ship, and contributing to the Expences as much as every one could bear, beſides what the King's Exchequer could furniſh. But Covetouſneſs was not his crime in extravagant Expences, eſpecially in Feaſting he much delighted. Four Meals a day he allowed in his Court, which *Huntingdon* attributes to his bounty, rather, he ſaith, deſiring that Meat ſhould be taken away untouched from ſuch as were invited, than that ſuch as were not invited ſhould complain for want of Victuals; whereas the cuſtome of our time is, either out of Covetouſneſs, or (as they pretend) becauſe they cannot eat, for great men to allow their Followers but one Meal a day. As *Hardecnute* lived ſo he died in his beloved trade of feaſting, at *Lambeth* at a Wedding, which with great pomp and Luxury was ſolemnized betwixt *Tovy* ſirnamed *Prudan*, a *Daniſh* Nobleman, and *Githa* the Daughter of *Oſgod Clapa* a great Lord alſo of that Nation. As he was very jolly and merry, Carouſing it with the Bride and ſome of the Company, he fell down ſpeechleſs, and died on the eighth of *June* in the flower of his Age, when he had reigned but two years.

The *Danes* domineer over the *Engliſh.*

Chronic. Joh. Brompton. c. 934.

Editionis Beeianæ colum. 2326.

17. Such was the end of this diſſolute young man by that Vice which was but too familiar to the *Daniſh* Nation, to the cruelty of which before they got poſſeſſion of the Land, when they were once ſecure and at their eaſe, Gormandizing and Drunkenneſs ſucceeded. But as he exceeded all of them in this kind, ſo though he was born in *England*, and upon that Account might have been addicted to the Inhabitants and Cuſtoms of this Countrey, yet out of Sympathy with their humour did he bear moſt affection to them; nay, ſuffered them moſt inſolently to domineer over the *Engliſh*. " In caſe a *Dane* met an *Engliſh* man " upon a Bridge, the *Engliſh* man durſt not ſtir a foot till the *Dane* was paſ" ſed over. If an *Engliſh* man when a *Dane* paſſed by did not bow the Head in " an humble manner, his head ſhould be broken, or for his Clowniſhneſs he " ſhould be ſoundly Baſtinado'd. If *Henry de Knyghton* the Canon of *Leiceſter* may be credited, this *Hardecnute* ſo far increaſed this Inſolence, that upon every *Engliſh* Family he impoſed a *Dane* as their Lord and Governour, whence ſome have believed that the word *Lordane* came, which ſignifies a *Lubberly Idle Fellow*. Theſe *Danes* received into their Houſes, raviſhed their Wives, deflou red their Daughters and their Maids without controll; and many other Villanies they committed to put Affronts and diſgrace upon the *Engliſh* Nation. The ſame Crimes, *viz.* Luxury and Effeminateneſs, of which the *Engliſh* formerly were guilty, and which procured their Rule and Domination over them, were now come to an height in the *Danes*, and as in all great changes of Kingdoms and States procured their Ruine here, and made way for another Revolution. Not that the *Engliſh* were grown vertuous and good, for they were ſtill ſick of ſuch Diſtempers, as within a few years procured the utter deſtruction of their Empire, as we ſhall ſee hereafter; but Deſpair and Neceſſity are powerfull Motives, ſuch

as will make even the Lame man to find his Legs, and the Coward to grow valiant. Not able to bear the continual Indignities and burthen put upon them, they took this opportunity to ſhake off the yoak, reaſſumed ſome Courage and gathered together (ſaith mine Authour) a great Army, which was called *Howneher*, from one *Howne* who firſt gave the Advice and was their Captain in the Enterprize. Many *Danes* they ſlew, and the reſt they baniſhed out of *England*, (that is, ſuch as they had moſt cauſe to be angry with, for that Multitudes had imbodied themſelves with the *Engliſh* Nation and ſtill continued, eſpecially in the Eaſtern and Northern parts is evident enough) whither they never afterwards returned, when they had here tyrannized by times for above two hundred and fifty years, and of theſe been poſſeſſed of the Supreme Power or Royalty, twenty ſix.

But at length were moſt of them baniſhed.

SECT. XII.

The Monarchy of the Engliſh Saxons *reſtored in* Britain. *From the Promotion of* Edward *the Son of* Ethelred, *(afterward ſirnamed* the Confeſſour) *to the Death of* Harold *the laſt King of the* Engliſh *Race, the final Period of the Engliſh* Saxon *Empire, and the Conqueſt of* Fngland *by Duke* William *the* Norman.

The ſpace of Two and twenty Years, Six Months, and odd Days.

Sect. 12.

1. THe *Engliſh* being rid of the *Danes*, reſolved to have no King but of their own Native Race, and having ſo good an opportunity to diſcharge their Reſolution, by reaſon that *Hardicnute* died Childleſs, agreed to pitch upon one of the Poſterity of their late King *Ethelred*. The generality of Hiſtorians concur as to *Edward* his Son by *Emma*, that their eyes were fixed upon him, yet *Henry* of *Huntingdon* tells a Story of *Alfred* his Brother, as if he were ſtill alive in *Normandy*, and was now ſent for by the Nobility, whom the concurrent Teſtimony of others affirms to have been before this blinded and impriſoned in the Iſle of *Ely*. Moſt of our Writers will have *Edward* preferred by the means and procurement of Earl *Godwin* eſpecially, yet ſome others tell a Tale, that *Godwin* for fear of life, as Conſcious of what he was guilty of in reference to the Relations of *Edward* was fled into *Denmark* and returned not till he was owned as King, and held a Parliament in the City of *London*, by Mediation whereof he obtained pardon. But in this caſe we have beſt reaſon to truſt to the * Teſtimony of *Ingulphus*, who himſelf lived in this *Edward*'s days, and writes expreſly that his Promotion happened by the Advice and Perſwaſion of Earl *Godwin*. † *William* of *Malmesbury* after him, the Authour of moſt credit, gives us the Relation in this manner. *Hardicnute* being dead, *Edward* was at a great loſs in himſelf, not knowing what way to turn him, or what courſe to take, but at laſt reſolved to caſt himſelf opon the Counſel and Fidelity of Earl *Godwin*, who being ſent to for a friendly Conference for ſome time fluctuated in his thoughts whether he ſhould own him or not, but at length was content to ſpeak with him. " *Edward* getting Acceſs, was about to fall at his feet, which when he would not ſuffer,
" he told him the ſad Story of his Brother *Hardicnute*'s death, and with great
" Promiſes craves his aſſiſtence for his ſafe return into *Normandy*. *Godwin* gives

" him

Edward made King by the aſſiſtance of Earl *Godwin*.

Vide Chronicon Joh. Bromton.

* *Poſt ejus obitum omnium Electione in Edwardum Concordatur, maximè cohortante Godwino comite, &c.*

† *De Geſtis Regum Anglorum. lib.* 2. *c.* 13.

“ him this unexpected anſwer, that he had better live glorioully a King in *England*, “ than dye ignominiouſly in Exile; that the Crown did of right belong to “ him, as the Son of *Ethelred* and Nephew of *Edgar*, one who was of ripe Age, “ inured to Labour, and who had learnt by experience how to order publick Affairs with Juſtice, and had been taught by his own late afflictions how to remove and prevent the miſeries of his People. To bring this about there would be no obſtacle, for if he would but truſt him, he ſhould find that his Intereſt was very great in the Land. He told him that Fortune would be favourable to his Inclinations, which way ſoever they tended, and if he took it upon him he was ſure there would be none to contradict. On condition he would eſtabliſh a faſt Friendſhip with him and his Houſe, prefer his Sons, and marry his Daughter, he ſhould ſhortly ſee himſelf a King, who now as one Shipwrackt in his Fortunes, and a Man Baniſhed from all Expectations, implored the help of another Perſon.

2. *Edward*'s Caſe at this time was ſuch, as not to reject ſo fair Propoſals, but agree to every thing, and comply with the ſtate and condition of the times, whatſoever he required he promiſed by Oath. *Godwin* was a Man fitted by Nature for managing ſuch a Buſineſs, having a very ſmooth and pleaſant Tongue, ſo copious and eloquent, that he could work upon the affections of the People, inſinuate whatſoever he deſired, and draw them with eaſe to any thing, which he could but deſign. He procures a Council to be ſummoned to *Gillingham*, (ſome Copies have it *London*) and there ſome he perſwades by his own Authority, ſome by promiſes, and others inclined before to favour *Edward*'s Cauſe, he fully brings over to his Party, the reſt that made oppoſition, were overpowered at preſent, diſgraced, and afterward hurried out of the Land. On *Eaſter* day, which this year fell on the third of *April*, he was Crowned at *Wincheſter* by the two Archbiſhops, *Edſi* of *Canterbury*, and *Alfric* of *York*, aſſiſted with other Prelates, of whom, *Living* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, contributed very much to the bringing about this deſign. Thus was the Empire of the *Engliſh* reſtored to the *Engliſh* Royal Bloud, and the People ſo unexpectedly delivered from the *Daniſh* Tiranny, were exceedingly ſatisfied, yet ſtill making a way for another Revolution, which they little imagined to be ſo near. Betwixt the Death of *Hardicnute* and the Coronation of *Edward*, intervened about ten Months, the one happening in *June*, and the other in *April* following, ſo that this alteration required ſome conſiderable time, and probably found as conſiderable oppoſition, notwithſtanding the great power of Earl *Godwin*. This Promotion of *Edward*, if we reckon no *Interregnum*, and begin his Reign where *Hardicnute*'s ended, fell out in the firſt year of *Conſtantinus Monomaclius*, Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, the fourth of *Henrigus Niger* the *German* Emperour, in the year of our Lord, MXLII. But if we reckon from his Coronation, his beginning is to be fetcht from the year next following.

Who is Crowned at *Wincheſter*.

3. *Edward* the creature of *Godwin*, after his Advancement, conformed himſelf wholly to his Dictates and Advice. The firſt thing he did, was to ſeize on the Treaſure of his Mother *Emma*, then at *Wincheſter*. The Cauſe pretended was, that ſhe had been harſh to him in the time of his baniſhment and neceſſities; and indeed, ſhe is thought to have born no great affection, either to *Ethelred* or his Children; but *Godwin* however ſeems to have been the Inſtiller of this Indignation into the King's mind, bearing her malice for concerning her ſelf about the cruelty exerciſed toward her Son *Alfred*. *Simeon* writes expreſly, that *Edward* did it by advice of *Leofric*, *Godwin* and *Giward*, who accompanied him from *Glawom* or *Gloceſter* to *Wincheſter*, where coming on her at unawares, he took away from her whatſoever Gold, Silver or Jewels ſhe had then about her; to which Relation, *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* adds, that he yet commanded that ſhe ſhould be ſupplied with Neceſſaries, and be free from all farther diſturbance, which how far it was obſerved, we ſhall ſee anon. But whatever his Actions were towards his Mother, *Godwin* would take care he ſhould deal fairly with him, in the marriage of his Daughter *Editha* or *Egitha*, which about this time he procured to be Solemnized. The Lady indeed for her perfections, both inward and outward, deſerved a Crown, ſo that this was not the particular wherein this Earl impoſed on him. Herein we may give credit to *Ingulphus* the Abbot, who knew her very well, and teſtifies that ſhe was moſt beautifull, moſt chaſte and vertuous, eſpecially humble, and very well ſeen in humane Learning, favouring nothing of the rudeneſs either of her Father, or Brothers, but mild, modeſt, faithfull and honeſt, never doing any ill Offices, ſo that it became a Proverb, *that as a Thorn pro-*

He ſeizes on his Mothers Treaſure.

And marries *Godwin*'s Daughter.

duces

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Sicut ſpina roſam. genuit Godwinus Egitham.

duces a Roſe, ſo Godwin *begat* Egitha. When he was a School-boy, and came to ſee his Father, then living at Court he ſaith he met her very often, and ſhe would often oppoſe him of his Leſſon, both in Grammar and Logick, wherein ſhe was very expert, and when by her ſubtile arguing ſhe had non-pluſ'd him, ſhe would order her Maid to give him money, and not diſmiſs him till he had alſo filled his Belly with good chear, thus ſhe obliged him: but though ſhe did this to him when a Boy he wrote not the ſtory till he was Abbat and an Aged Man.

He baniſhes many of the *Daniſh* Nobility.

Simeon ad An. 1044. *Alii.*

4. *Edward* thus ſetled in the Throne, yet thought not himſelf ſecure as long as any eminent Perſons of the *Daniſh* Bloud continued in the Land. He baniſhed *Gunhilda*, the Daughter of *Wortgern* (King of the *Vandals* ſay ſome) and the Siſter of King *Cnute*, married firſt to *Hacun*, and then to *Harold* both Earls, but now a Widow, and with her her two Sons *Hemmung* and *Turkill* were alſo ſent away. They firſt went to *Bruges* in *Flanders*, and thence afterward proceeded into *Denmark*. But while he thus as he thought prevented ſtorms at home, a Tempeſt had like to have fallen upon him from the North, where *Magnus* King of *Norway*, the Son of Holy King *Olane* to revenge, it ſeems, the Injury done here to his Father in the Days of *Cnute*, prepared to invade *England*. *Edward* to ſecure himſelf provided a ſtrong Fleet which lay expecting *Magnus* in *Sandwich* Rode, but *Swane* King of *Denmark*, though he had no reaſon to befriend the *Engliſh* who had ſo lately expelled his Countreymen, yet to hinder the growth of his next Neighbour, diverted him by making an Inrode into his Kingdom. This procured ſuch feuds betwixt theſe two Northern Kings, that *Magnus* in revenge the year following entred *Denmark*, whence he quite expelled King *Swane*, and made himſelf Lord of the Countrey. Now *Swane* ſent his Ambaſſadours to King *Edward*, hoping he would return ſuch a kindneſs as he had received from him when he was in danger. *Godwin* was for ſupplying him with a Fleet of fifty Veſſels both to requite *Swane*, and to give a check to the Succeſs and Ambition of *Magnus*, and the thing had heen done but for the oppoſition of Earl *Leofric* and others, who thought it ſafer the King ſhould ſit ſtill and be a looker on than perhaps diſoblige the Conquerour, and bring danger upon himſelf. And whereas *Swane* had formerly indeed by the Inrode he made into *Denmark*, done that which tended much to the repoſe of *England*, yet ſeeing he took his meaſures from his own Intereſt not that of *Edward*, he could not take it amiſs, that *Edward* alſo ſhould ſteer his courſe by the ſame compaſs.

Simeon ad An. 1045.

5. And their Counſel had this effect, that as *Magnus* during his Life (all which he enjoyed the Kingdom of *Denmark*) offered no more to attempt any thing upon *England*, ſo *Harold Harvager* his Uncle and Succeſſour, aſſoon as he came to the Crown ſent Ambaſſadours to *Edward*, and made a League and Alliance with him. Thus above ground there was nothing but quiet and ſerenity, when within the Earth happened on *Mayday* being *Sunday* a great motion and concuſſion, at *Worceſter*, *Derby* and many other places. A great mortality of Men, and a Murrain amongſt Cattel followed, and Fires in the Air, or thoſe Meteors which being kindled are called *Ignes fatui*, in *Derbyſhire* and other Countries burnt many Villages and much Standing-corn. But while *Edward* was free from Wars at Home, he was ingaged by the Emperour *Henry* the following year againſt *Baldwin* the Earl of *Flanders*, with whom he had a quarrel about a Palace of his Countrey, which the Earl had fired. *Pope Leo* and *Swane* the King of the *Danes* he had to aſſiſt him by Land, and leſt *Baldwin* ſhould eſcape by Sea he procured the King of *England* to ſecure the Coaſts, which he did, lying ſo long with his Fleet before the Port of *Sandwich*, till he had an intelligence that an Agreement was made betwixt them. In the mean time *Swane* the Son of Earl *Godwin*, and whom ſome make Earl of *Berkſhire*, *Oxfordſhire* and *Gloceſterſhire*, having formerly been baniſhed, or at leaſt left the Land, for having defloured *Edgida* the Abbeſs of *Cheſter* whom he would have married, came back from *Denmark* with eight ſhips, pretending a great deſire to be reconciled to the King. *Beorn* an Earl, and his Couſin German the Son of *Vlf* a *Dane* undertook to make his Peace. The War being at an end betwixt the Emperour and Earl *Baldwin*, this *Beorn* and *Godwin* who commanded the Fleet with forty two ſhips, by the King's leave were removed to *Pevenſey*, the reſt of the Navy, except what the King kept with him, being diſmiſſed. To *Pevenſey* *Swane* comes and ſolicits his Couſin *Beorn*, according to his promiſe, to carry him to the King, then lying at *Sandwich* and obtain his pardon; *Beorn* miſtruſting nothing becauſe of their Conſanguinity readily went with him attended onely by three Servants, but he having brought

Engages with *Henry* the Emperour againſt *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*.

Simeon ad An. 1049. *Florent. Wigton.*

him to *Boſenham* where his ſhips lay at Anchour, and having carried him aboard cauſed him firſt to be bound faſt, and keeping him till he came to *Dertmouth*, there he murthered him, which done he caſt his Body into a deep Ditch, and covered it with abundance of Earth. Six of *Swane's* ſhips the Inhabitants of *Haſtings* took, and killing all the Men they found aboard them, carried them to *Sandwich* to the King. With the other two he fled into *Flanders*, where he continued till ſuch time as *Aldred* Biſhop of *Worceſter* brought him back and reconciled him, for all this, to the gentle King.

The Sea-coaſt is infeſted by Pirates.

6. Crimes of this nature were at this time but too common and too little puniſhed, ſuch was the wickedneſs of the *Engliſh* Nation which now fell again into ſecurity, though the late dreadfull Rod was but juſt removed from their backs. Nay it was at this very time again as it were ſhaken over them. For *Oſgod Clapa* being it ſeems baniſhed with his Wife as well as other *Danes*, had got together nine and twenty ſhips, with ſix of which taking his Wife from *Bruges* he ſailed into *Denmark*, the reſt went to the Coaſts of *Eſſex*, where doing very much harm in their return they were ſeized with a mighty Tempeſt, and loſt but two, which being driven into foreign parts were ſeized, and the men put to the Sword. But not onely were they put in mind hereby of the *Daniſh* Cruelties more lately practiſed, but by ſomething then happened on the other ſide of the Iſland of the old Devaſtations made upon theſe parts by the *Iriſh Scots*, but here was the difference, that whereas formerly the *Britains* were ſufferers, now they were become Actours with them. For, as *Florent* of *Worceſter* writes, this ſame year in the Month of *Auguſt*, certain Pirates from *Ireland* with thirty ſix ſhips entring the Mouth of the River *Severn*, landed at a place called *Wileſceaxen*, where joyning with *Griffin* King of *Southwales*, they foraged the Countrey and did ſome miſchief. Then he at the head of them paſſed the River *Weage*, they burnt *Dunedham*, and ſlew all the People they could find, the Alarm being now taken by the adjoyning Parts, *Aldred* Biſhop of *Worceſter* with ſome *Gloceſter* and *Herefordſhire* men haſted againſt them, but certain *Welſh* men that they had with them ſent privately to *Griffin*, and gave him notice when he might moſt conveniently fall upon the *Engliſh*, and he taking the opportunity together with the *Iriſh* Pirates fell accordingly upon them early in the Morning and killed many, the reſt making their eſcape. The next year that followed but one, King *Edward* to comfort and relieve his People, ſorely vexed with a Famine of which many thouſands died, took off the Tax of Eighty thouſand Pound, formerly impoſed by his Father, and called *Danegeld*, which had lain heavy on them for eight and thirty years. But as this effect of his good nature to them, tended much to their eaſe and convenience, ſo other Acts of his kindneſs to Strangers this very year, proved of ill conſequence unto the whole Nation.

The Tax of *Danegeld* remitted by him.

Ingulphus.

He is kind to Strangers.

Vide Malmesb. ubi ſuprà cap. 13. *Simeon. Dunelm. ad Ann. MLI.*

7. *Euſtace* Earl of *Boloign* Father to *Godfrey* and *Baldwin* who were afterward Kings of *Jeruſalem*, and King *Edward's* Brother-in-Law by a Marriage with his Siſter *Goda*, from *Whitſand* ſailed over to *Dover*, and having had conference with the King about ſome affair of conſequence, and returning back in the month of *September*, one of his Harbingers at *Canterbury* was ſo rude with a Townſman in ſeeking for Lodgings, that he provoked him to kill him in heat of Anger. *Euſtace* inraged hereat with all his Company, haſted to revenge his Servants death, and killed him that had ſlain him with other eighteen of his Company; but thereupon the Citizens riſing fell upon him and his men, whereof one and twenty they ſlew, and wounded many others, he himſelf hardly eſcaping with one Follower from the Tumult. To Court he poſts with great Clamour, and aſſiſted by ſome of his own Party, greatly incenſes the King againſt thoſe of *Canterbury*. Earl *Godwin* is ſent for and commanded with all ſpeed to march with an Army and puniſh the Offenders. He on the contrary affirms, that no man is to be condemned before he be heard, and frets that the King ſhould favour all Strangers more than his own Subjects, for many of them he had preferred to great places, and truſt in the *Engliſh* Church and State; one *Robert* a *Norwan* lately Biſhop of *London* he had made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and another of that Countrey called *William*, he had promoted to the See of *London*, which thing exaſperated the *Engliſh* againſt the *Normans*. Being backed by ſome others that loved their Countrey, he urged that the chief Actours in the late diſorders were firſt to be ſent for and fairly tried; in caſe they were found innocent to be diſmiſſed, but if culpable to be fined, or undergoe ſome corporal Puniſhment for the breach of the King's Peace, and the Violence and Affront they had offered to the Earl. He farther put him in mind, that it was his part to protect his People, and not condemn

them without due proceſs. In concluſion, the thing he refuſed to doe, not eſteeming the King's Anger which he thought would be but a fit; but *Edward* diſpleaſed with his refuſal, and farther egged on to revenge called an Aſſembly of all the Nobility at *Gloceſter*, that the matter might be therein debated. All the Nobility was preſent or few excepted, onely *Godwin* and his Sons appeared not, ſuſpecting that the Nobility were too much of the King's humour, but Armed themſelves, *Godwin* raiſing Forces out of his Earldom, containing (as *Simeon* writes) *Kent*, *Southſex* and *Weſtſex*; his Eldeſt Son *Swane* out of his, which compriſed *Oxfordſhire*, *Gloceſterſhire*, *Herefordſhire*, *Somerſetſhire* and *Berkſhire*; and *Harold* his Youngeſt Son out of his County, wherein *Eſſex*, Eaſt *England*, the Shires of *Huntingdon* and *Cambridge* were included.

Godwin and his Sons take up Arms.

Quocirca totius Regni proceres juſſi Gloceſtriam convenire.

Haroldus de ſuo comitatu, viz. de Eaſt Saxonia Eaſt Anglia Huntindunenſi & Grantabrigienſi provinciis, &c.

8. They took up their Quarters at *Beverſtan*, and gave out that they Armed againſt the *Welſh* who deſigning miſchief againſt the King had fortified a place in *Herefordſhire*, where *Swane* the Son of *Godwin* then lay Incamped under that pretence. But the *Welſh* having ſome notice of the Device prevented it by clearing themſelves at Court, where *Godwin* and his Sons were rendred ſo odious, that the King's Army was expected to March againſt them. And *Edward* had ſent to *Leofric* Earl of *Mercia*, and *Syward* of *Northumberland* to come and ſuccour him in his extremity with all the Power they could raiſe. They at firſt came but with a few; but ſending afterwards throughout their ſeveral Commands, got together in a little time great Forces, with which *Rodulph* the King's Nephew by his Siſter *Goda*, and her former Husband *Walter de Maunt* joyned himſelf though with ſmall expectation, for being Earl of *Hereford* but a very Coward, he had turned (as we ſhall ſee) his back of the *Welſh* Men, and left his County with the City and the Biſhop in it to their Sword and Fire, and they had done greater miſchief if *Harold* had not by his induſtry and valour timely prevented it. *Godwin* and his Sons in the mean time proceed into *Gloceſterſhire*, and Incamped themſelves at a place then called *Langtreo*, whence they ſend to the King then lying at *Gloceſter*, and demand Earl *Euſtace* and his Company, together with ſuch *Normans* and *Bulloignois* as held the Caſtle at *Canterbury* to be given up into their hands, upon refuſal denouncing War. The King was very much diſcompoſed at the Meſſage, not knowing what courſe to take; but when he underſtood that the Forces of *Leofric*, *Syward* and *Rodulph* were on their March, he flatly refuſed to give them up, and with that Anſwer ſent back the Meſſenger. They were ſcarce gone when the Armies came to *Gloceſter* ſo inraged that the King had much adoe to keep them from going out immediately to engage *Godwin*. Now *Leofric* and others of the wiſer ſort ſeriouſly conſidering the ſad conſequences of a Civil War perſwaded the King to come to a Treaty, of which there was the more hopes becauſe *Godwin* had given order to his Sons not to fall on firſt, but defend themſelves in caſe they were attacked by the King's Forces. They brought the Parties to this Accord, that Hoſtages ſhould be given on both ſides, and the whole matter referred to a farther Debate to be held at *London*.

9. The King hereupon encreaſes his Army by Leavies in *Mercia* and *Northumberland*, and up to *London* he comes; *Godwin* alſo having done the like in *Weſtſex* comes up to *Southwark*. “Here his Son *Swane* to appeaſe the King's anger is commanded to be gone, *Godwin* and *Harold* to appear before the Council unarmed and accompanied onely with twelve Attendants, and to give up all their Forces into the Hands of the King. They pleaded they could not give up themſelves into the Hands of their Adverſaries without ſufficient caution and ſecurity, otherwiſe they were ready to ſurrender their Forces, and doe all things elſe the King Commanded which were conſiſtent with their Honour and Safety; but to come unarmed was to hazard their Lives, and but with twelve Followers their Reputation. The King by this Anſwer was farther exaſperated, and thereupon an Edict was publiſhed by conſent of the Council and Army that they ſhould quit the Land in five days. His Souldiers it ſeems fearing the Iſſue began to drop away from him and his numbers to leſſen, as concluding it was ſafeſt to give way to the times, he departed with his Wife *Gytha*, and his three Sons *Swane*, *Gyrth* and *Toſti* into *Flanders* to Earl *Baldwin*, whoſe Daughter *Judith* his Son *Toſti* had Married; with as much Treaſure as the Ship could carry. *Harold* and *Leofwin* his other Sons went to *Briſtol*, where taking a Ship that their Brother *Swane* had provided for himſelf they ſailed into *Ireland*. *Harold*'s Earldom was conferred on *Elgar* the Son of *Leofric* an Induſtrious Man, who as willingly afterward ſurrendred it to him again as now he received it.

Rex in ſuo concilio & omnis exercitus unanimi conſenſu illum & quinque filios ejus exules fore decreverunt. Simeon ibid.

Who at length depart for *Flanders*.

And

Sect. 12.

And the King ſtill purſuing his Indignation deprived *Edgytha* his Wife of all her Jewels and Treaſure, and putting her away ſent her with one onely attendant to *Wakewell* or *Warewell* to be there kept in cuſtody by the Abbeſs his Siſter. The Enemy thus gone, *William* the Earl (as they call him) or Duke of *Normandy* with many of his *Normans* comes over into *England*, where he and his are liberally Feaſted, all other ways nobly entertained, being after ſome time as richly preſented they return home, after they had been moſt imprudently led up and down to Caſtles and Forts, and ſhewed the whole ſtrength of the Nation and what elſe, after ſome little time was to be their own. Although, as the Abbat *Ingulphus* writes, there was no hope as yet of Succeſſion in the Kingdom, at leaſt no mention made of it betwixt the King and the Duke.

William Duke of *Normandy* viſits *Edward*.

Emma the King's Mother Dies.

10. The year following * *Emma* the King's Mother Died, and was Buried at *Wincheſter*; we have ſaid before how ill ſhe was treated by her Son, who under pretence of her harſhneſs to him in his Adverſity took away from her all her Treaſure. She had ſeveral Enemies which incenſed him againſt her, but eſpecially *Robert* the *Norman* whom he had firſt made Biſhop of *London*, and then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who accuſed her of being too familiar with *Alwin* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*: Hereupon ſhe was ſent to the Abby of *Werewell* having firſt all ſhe had taken from her; and the Biſhop was committed to Priſon, *Robert* crying out that ſuch villany was not to go unpuniſhed, leſt it ſhould be an encouragement to others to doe the like. She being kept not very ſtrictly wrote to all the Biſhops of *England* whom ſhe knew to be her Friends, profeſſing that ſhe was more troubled at the diſgrace offered to the Biſhop than at her own infamy, and that ſhe was ready to clear his innocency by paſſing, after the manner of *Ordeale*, over red hot Iron. The Biſhops hereupon met, and had eaſily brought the King to put up the buſineſs but that *Robert* oppoſed them. He demanded of his Brethren how they durſt take upon them to defend that Wild Beaſt and not a Woman which had defamed the King her Son, and that had called her unconſtant Lover, The Anointed of the Lord. "But loe (ſaid he) this Woman will "purge the Biſhop, but who ſhall purge her that conſented to the Death of her "Son *Alfred*, and prepared Poyſon for his Brother *Edward*? But be it ſo that "ſhe may prevail above the condition of her Sex, If ſo be ſhe will paſs bare-"foot over nine red hot Plowſhares, four ſtedy paces for her ſelf, and five for the "Biſhop, let her paſs for Innocent. The day for Tryal is appointed, which come, the King and all the Biſhops, *Robert* excepted, are preſent: ſhe having the night before earneſtly invoked the Aſſiſtence of St. *Swithin* at his Tomb, when the time came, paſſed unhurt over the Plowſhares to the great joy of her ſelf and all the Beholders, as alſo of the King that ſhe had ſo purged herſelf, though to his great ſorrow that he had been ſo credulous as to admit thoſe Calumnies againſt his own Mother, whoſe pardon he begged, as alſo that of the Biſhop, and received Penance from them on his bare Back, as ſome interpret it. But *Emma* for ſo great a deliverance gave to St. *Swithin* nine Manors, and as many gave the Biſhop, the Innocence of them both being hereby cleared: moreover the King is ſaid to have beſtowed on the Church of *Wincheſter* the Iſle of *Portland* and other Poſſeſſions. The ſubſtance of this Story is delivered both by *John Bromton* and *Henry de Knighton*, and *Harpsfield* hath enlarged it with ſome circumſtances. But Ancienter Authours, as *Malmesbury* and others, ſay nothing of it; and that which follows ſpoils all, *viz.* that *Robert* (whom ſome will have Biſhop, and others Archbiſhop, at this time) fled out of the Land, whereas he continued in the Kingdom longer, as we ſhall ſee, and fled out of *England* upon another occaſion.

The manner of Tryal by *Ordeale*.

Wakewella Malmesb. at Warewella Simeoni. Quem Rex honorificè ſuſcipiens, & aliquandiu ſolum retinens ad civitates & Caſtella regia circumduxit, & condignam humanitatem exhibens, tandem multis donatum muneribus ad propria dimiſit. De ſucceſſione autem Regni ſpes adhuc aut mentio nulla facta inter eos fuit.

** Simeoni Elgiva Emma. In charta inter Evidentias Eccleſiæ Chriſti Cantuar. legitur. Elfgyna Ymma & Elnena Ymma. Emma autem ſuis, Saxonibus vel Danis Elfgiva.*

Godwin and his Sons returning.

11. This ſame year wherein *Emma* Died, *Griffin* the *Welſh* King made an Inrode into *Herefordſhire*, and waſted a great part of the Countrey, againſt whom the Inhabitants aroſe, and the *Normans* that held the Caſtle of *Hereford* iſſued out and gave him Battel, but were defeated, and he returned home with great Booty. Not long after *Harold* and *Leofwin* the Sons of Earl *Godwin* returning out of *Ireland* paſſed with many Veſſels up the River *Severn*, and landing in the Counties of *Somerſet* and *Dorſet* there they ſpoiled many Villages, and when out of *Devonſhire* and *Somerſet* many went out againſt them they routed them, and having ſlain thirty principal Officers, beſides many of the ordinary ſort, returned with much Booty to their Ships. King *Edward* alarmed with the noiſe, and expecting Earl *Godwin* was not far off, diſpatched away forty Ships very well furniſhed into *Sandwich* Road to prevent his landing, but for all that he made a ſhift to come aſhore undiſcovered in *Kent*, whence he ſent Meſſengers

round about, and drew into his Party firſt the Inhabitants of *Canterbury* who owned him as a Sufferer for their ſakes, then thoſe of *Suſſex*, *Eſſex*, *Surry*, all the Mariners or Boat-men (*Buthſecarlas Simeon* calls them) of *Haſtings*, and others of theſe Maritime Parts, who promiſed to live and dye with him. The Fleet having notice of his landing ſome were ſent to purſue him, but he ſtill concealed himſelf; they returned to *Sandwich*, whence they ſhortly after came up to *London*. *Godwin* then went to the Iſle of *Wight*, and coaſted about till he met with his Sons *Harold* and *Leofwin* who joyned their Ships with his, which done they yet forbore all Hoſtilities, onely made bold with Victuals and other neceſſaries. On the Coaſts and elſewhere by fair means they drew as many Men to them as they could, eſpecially Seamen, and ſo made for *Sandwich* Road, where no ſooner they were arrived but the News thereof flew to *London*, and ſo ſtartled them at Court, that command went out from the King to all his loving Subjects to haſte and help him in a time of ſo great neceſſity.

12. Yet they delayed ſo long that *Godwin* had leiſure enough to paſs up the *Thames* as far as *Southwark*, where lying for a Tide he ſpent the time in conferring with the *Londoners*, whom he procured to doe whatſoever he deſigned. It being High Water he advanced farther, and no oppoſition being made upon the Bridge, rowed up by the Southern Bank till ſuch time as he met with his Land Army, which he formed into a Battalia terrible for thoſe on the other ſide to look on; and his Navy now he directed toward the King's Gallies, ſhipping his Men and making all things ready to follow. *Edward* by this time on *Middleſex* ſide had got together a competent Force, and all lookers on expected an Ingagement, but the Souldiers on both ſides agreed in this, that they were unwilling to fight *Engliſh* againſt *Engliſh*, which gave the wiſer ſort an opportunity of mediating a Peace, by virtue of which the two Armies were ſpeedily Diſbanded. The conditions of it were, that *Godwin*, his Wife and Sons were reſtored to their former honours and Eſtates, all except *Swane*, who as a Penance for murthering his Couſin *Beorn* had undertaken a Pilgrimage bare-foot and bare-leg from *Flanders* to *Jeruſalem*, and in his return Died of a Cold he had got in *Lycia*. The King receives *Editha* his Wife the Earl's Daughter to her former Dignity; Right and Juſtice is now promiſed to all Men, and ſuch *Normans* as had abuſed his Authority, and given him ill Council againſt his good Subjects are Baniſhed the Land. Some few, as *Robert* the Deacon, and *Richard* the Son of *Scrob* his Son-in-law, *Alverede* the King's Groom, *Axfrid* ſirnamed *Cookeſfot*, and ſome others whom the King much favoured, and who had done no ill Offices, were permitted to ſtay. But *Robert* the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *William* the Biſhop of *London*, and *Ulf* the Biſhop of *Lincoln* with their Followers hardly eſcaped and got over Sea. Yet afterwards *William* being a good natur'd Man was permitted to return. *Oſbirne* ſirnamed *Pentecoſt*, and his Fellow *Hugh* ſurrender'd their Caſtles, and by leave of Earl *Leofric* paſſing through his Government into *Scotland* were there entertained by King *Mackbeth*. This ſame year on St. *Thomas*'s Night happened ſo great a Tempeſt, that it overturned many Churches and Houſes, and broke and tore up by the Roots an innumerable quantity of Trees.

Are reſtored to their Eſtates and Honours.

Some of the *Normans* Baniſhed.

A great Tempeſt.

13. The next year being the M. LIII of our Lord, *Res* the Brother of *Griffin* King of South *Wales* being taken Priſoner, as a Publick Enemy, for the many Inſolencies he had committed, was by command of *Edward* put to death in a place called *Bulendum*, and his Head ſent to the King then lying at *Glooceſter*. This miniſtred matter of diſcourſe, but as little Noiſes are ſuppreſt by the greater, this was preſently quaſhed by the Rumour and Talk about the death of Earl *Godwin*, which happened this ſame year at *Eaſter*. King *Edward* celebrating this Feaſt at *Wincheſter*, and *Godwin*, as his cuſtome was, ſitting at Table with him, was ſuddenly ſeized with ſo great a Diſtemper as ſtruck him ſpeechleſs, and made him ſinck down from the Seat on which he ſate. His three Sons, *Harold*, *Toſti* and *Gyrth* being preſent removed him into the King's Chamber, hoping it was but a Fit, and that he would ſpeedily recover, but he lay in that languiſhing condition four days and dyed on the fifth, being the fifteenth of *April*, and was buried in the old Monaſtery. This is the account of his death, to which the *Normans*, and ſuch as write in favour of them, add a Circumſtance which much ſhews either his guilt or their malice. It chanced at Table, that mention was made of *Alfred* the Brother of the King, who thereupon looked very ſowerly upon *Godwin*. He to vindicate himſelf, told *Edward*, that he perceived how upon every mentioning of that Prince he look'd with a frowning Countenance upon him, *But* (ſaith he) *let not God ſuffer me to ſwallow this Morſel, if I be guilty of any thing done, either toward*

Simeon.
Mat. Weſtm.

Godwin **Dies.**

Wintoniæ ſcribit Simeon, at Huntindonenſis ait Edwardum nunc prandiſſe apud Windlas (nunc Windſor) ubi plurimum manere ſolebat. Ad. An. Edwardi. 12.

toward the taking away of his life, or againſt thine Intereſt. After which words ſtreight choakt with the Bit he had ſwallowed, he ſunk immediately down, and never recovered. A man of an active and turbulent Spirit, not tender Conſcienced in getting or keeping, and not to be excuſed for his ſo much medling and forcing his Sovereign to what he liſted. But had he not been ſo great a lover of his Countrey and an enemy to Stranger, thoſe that wrote in the *Norman* times, and durſt not but write what would pleaſe their Maſters,would have diſmiſſed him without this Story, and with a fairer Character than uſually they give him. His firſt Wife was the Siſter of *Canute*, which brought him a Son, who in his Infancy mounting an Horſe given him by his Grandfather, was carried into the *Thames* and there drowned. The Mother was killed by Thunder, a Judgment which it was believed fell upon her for her Cruelty, for ſhe made a great Trade of ſelling handſome Boys and Girls into *Denmark*. After her death he Married another Wife, and by her had ſix Sons, *viz. Harold*, *Swane*, *Wined*, *Toſti*, *Gyrth* and *Leofwin*. His Earldom, ſome ſay his Dukedom, of *Weſtſex* was given to his Son *Harold*, and the Earldom of *Harold*, *viz. Eſſex*, and the reſt was conferred on *Algar* the Son of *Leofrid* the Earl of *Leiceſter*.

De eo ſic Ingulphus Willielmi Normanni pænę dixerim mancipium.

Anno Domini 1053.

Cum Godwinus comes in menſa Regis de nece ſui fratris impeteretur, ille poſt multa ſacramenta tandem per buccellam degluttiendam abjuravit; & buccella guſtata continuò ſuffocatus interiit.

Earl *Siward* ſeizes on *Scotland*, ſetting up *Malcolm* for King thereof.

14. The next year, which was the MLIV of our Lord, was *Siward* that valiant Earl of *Northumberland* ſent with a great Body of Horſe, and a ſtrong Fleet into *Scotland*, where he fought a Battel with *Macbeth* King of that Countrey, whom he defeated, having ſlain many of his *Scots*, and ſuch *Normans* as we mentioned to have gone over to him, and driving him quite away, made King in his ſtead *Malcolm* the Son of the King of *Cumberland*, according to the orders he had received from King *Edward*. But this Victory coſt him dear, the lives of many both *Engliſh* and *Danes*, beſides that of his own Son, of whoſe death when he heard he demanded whether he had received his Wound before or behind, and when it was anſwered before, he ſaid he was glad, and otherwiſe ſhould not have thought him, though his own Son, worthy of Burial. King *Edward* having ſent him into the North to fight, much about the ſame time ſent *Aldred* Biſhop of *Worceſter* with great Preſents, to treat with the Emperour of *Germany* about ſending for out of *Hungary* his Couſin *Edward* the Son of King *Edmund Ironſide*, and remitting him into *England*; for having no Iſſue of his own to ſucceed him and the Sons of *Godwin*, being very powerfull, he took care for his neareſt Kinſman, to whom the Crown of Right ſhould belong. But *Siward* the Duke of *Northumberland* ſurvived his Victory, and his Son not long, dying the year following at *York*, where he was buried in the Monaſtery of St. *Mary* without the Walls, built by himſelf, as writes *Ingulphus*, though *Simeon* talks of his being Interred at a Monaſtery called *Galmanho* of his own Erection. The Archdeacon of *Huntingdon*, who gives him the Epithete of *Conſul Rigidiſſimus*, tells us his Diſeaſe was a Dyſentery, and that he was much grieved he ſhould end is days in ſuch a manner. Perceiving his death to approach, he ſaid, "*How aſhamed am I that I ſhould not die in* "*ſo many Battels, but thus to be reſerved to the Ignominious Death of Cowes. Put* "*upon me my impenetrable Corſlet, gird me with my Sword, and ſet my Helmet up-*"*on my Head; give me in my left hand my Buckler, in my right my guilded Sci-*"*miter, that being a moſt valiant Souldier, like a Souldier I may die.* So he ſaid, and as he ſaid he died in that honourable poſture he deſired. His Son *Walteof* being very young his Government was beſtowed on *Toſti* the Son of *Godwin*.

Siward Duke of *Northumberland* dies.

15. This ſame year King *Edward* in an Aſſembly held at *London*, baniſhed Earl *Algar* the Son of *Leofric*, without any cauſe ſaith *Simeon*, but *Huntingdon* writes, that he was in the Council convict of Treaſon. Whether guilty or not, he thought himſelf ſo aggrieved that he went over into *Ireland*, and there getting together a Fleet of eighteen Piratical Veſſels,he therewith ſailed to *Griffin* King of the *Welſh*, and deſired his Aſſiſtence againſt King *Edward*.*Griffin* ready to ſerve him in this particular, raiſed ſpeedily great Forces, and joining with *Algar* invaded *Herefordſhire*, againſt whom made Head as we formerly hinted *Rodulph* the Siſter's Son of *Edward*, one who deſired rather to Eat than Fight, and meeting them ſome two Miles from *Hereford* on the four and twentieth of *October*, horſed all the *Engliſh* contrary to their cuſtome who were wont ever to fight on foot. But the Gentleman e'er the Fight was well begun, with his *French* and *Normans* firſt began to run, which the *Engliſh* ſeeing thought it was no ſhame to follow their Leader, but in their flight four or five hundred of them were ſlain, and many wounded. *Griffin* and *Algar* encouraged by this ſucceſs entred *Hereford*, where they ſlew ſeven Canons which would have maintained the great Door of the Principal

Church againſt them, which done they burnt the Monaſtery with all its Ornaments and Relicks, killed ſome of their Townſmen, took Priſoners more, and having plundred and burnt the City went their ways inriched with great ſpoil. *Edward* ſoundly alarmed with the noiſe hereof, commanded Forces to be raiſed throughout *England*, which meeting together at *Gloceſter* he committed the Conduct of them to Earl *Harold*, who Marching ſpeedily into *Wales* incamped himſelf beyond *Straddale* where *Griffin* and *Algar* durſt not look him in the Face, but knowing him to be a Man both of skill and metal fairly betook themſelves into South *Wales*. He perceiving they were not to be reached, left there the greater part of his Men with orders to engage the Enemy if they could come at him, and with the reſt returned to *Hereford*, which he fortified all ways poſſible; during which employment of his the two Captains thinking it beſt to obtain Peace, ſend their Meſſengers and procure a meeting at a place called *Byligeſleage*, where a firm Peace and Friendſhip was concluded, in purſuance whereof *Algar* ſent his Ships to *Cheſter* till he could pay them off,and he himſelf went up to the King from whom he received his former Command. But *Griffin* the year after broke the Peace on his part by ſetting upon *Leofgar* Biſhop of *Hereford* at a place called *Glaſtbyrig*, whom he there ſlew, together with his Clerks, *Agelnoth* the vice Earl of the County, and many others.

16. The next year being the MLVII. of Our Lord, *Edward* the Son of *Edmund Ironſide* at the deſire of his Uncle came into *England* out of *Hungary*, being deſtined by him his Succeſſour; but he Died not long after at *London*, and was Buried in St. *Paul's* Church, leaving behind him *Edgar Etheling*, and two Daughters *Margaret* and *Chriſtina*. Not long after he was followed to a better life by Earl *Leofric*, who Died in his own Village of *Bromleage*, and was Buried in a Monaſtery of his own Founding at *Coventry*, a Pious Charitable Man, and the *Neſtor* of his Age, to his Councils all the Kings he ſerved, and the whole Realm of *England* being beholden. In his Earldom ſucceeded his Son *Algar*, but quickly found a miſs of him, being Baniſhed the ſecond time not a year after his Father's Death. Yet by the aſſiſtence of *Griffin*, the *Welſh* King, who would not deſert him, and a Fleet of *Norway* Men, which by chance came in to his help, he is ſaid ſhortly after by force to have recovered his Government.

The *Scots* infeſt the North of *England*.

The following year, *Malcolm*, King of *Scots*, came and gave a viſit to Kind *Edward*, and contracted ſo great a Friendſhip with his Neighbour, *Toſti* the Earl of *Northumberland*, who brought him on his way, that they became ſworn Brethren, though to what effect, the event ſhewed within two years; for *Toſti* being gone to *Rome* with *Aldrid* the Archbiſhop of *York*, to fetch his Pall from Pope *Nicholas*, his ſworn Brother fell in upon the places under his Government, which he cruelly waſted, and brake the Peace of St. *Cuthbert*, in the Iſland of *Lindisfarne*, as *Simeon* complains.

And the *Welſh* the Weſtern Parts.

While *Malcolm* thus diſturbed the Northern Parts, *Griffin* the King of the *Welſh*, ceaſed not by his frequent Inrodes and Depredations, both by Land and Sea, to hurry the Weſtern, which gave ſo great diſcontent to King *Edward*, that ſenſible how much he was concerned in honour, he diſpatch'd from *Gloceſter*, where he then lay, after *Chriſtmaſs* Holy-days, *Harold* againſt him with a Party of Horſe, if poſſible, to ſurprize him. Yet got he notice of his coming, and made a ſhift to eſcape; but left behind him moſt of his Ships, which he commanded to be burnt, and ſo returned. But about *Rogation* week, having got a Fleet in readineſs, from *Briſtol* he ſet Sail, and compaſſing the greateſt Part of *Wales*, joyning himſelf to the Horſe, with which his Brother *Toſti*, by the King's Order, met him, and did ſuch miſchief in the Countrey, that the *Britains* yielded themſelves up to him, delivered up Hoſtages, conſented to pay Tribute, and renounced quite their King *Griffin*. At preſent *Griffin* eſcaped, but the following year,

Sim. ad Ann. 1063.

Who are ſubdued, and *Griffin* their King ſlain.

he was taken by *Griffin* the King of North *Wales*, and ſlain, his Head, with the Head of his Ship, being ſent as a preſent to *Harold*. He ſent them to King *Edward*, who was ſo kind as to beſtow the Dominions of *Griffin*, upon his two Brethren, *Blechgent* and *Rithwalan*, who in *Harold's* preſence, ſwore Allegiance to him, to obey him, both by Land and Sea, and ingaged to pay without fail, what had been paid out of the Countrey to former Kings.

17. *Griffin* left behind him a Son named *Caradoc*, who could not digeſt his Inheritance, thus made over to his Uncles. *Harold*, as a curb to the Countrey, and for his own (or the King's as he pretended) convenience for hunting, cauſed in the *Britiſh* Countrey, at a place called *Portaſcith* (now *Potskewoth* in *Monmouthſhire*, upon the *Severn* Sea near to *Wymouth*) a great Houſe to be erected, and furniſhed with all conveniences for eating and drinking. *Caradoc* having notice

Sect. 12.

tice of it, out of diſdain and revenge, on St. *Bartholomew's* day, the year following his Father's death came down upon a ſudden, ſlew all the Artificers that there were at work, and took away all the good chear that was provided. Thus was *Harold* robbed of his good chear, in thoſe Parts; and within a little after, his Brother *Toſti* was in danger of being bereaved of his Life, by a Conſpiracy raiſed againſt him in his own Government, upon theſe occaſions. There was one *Goſpatrick*, an Officer in *Northumberland*, with whom he having a quarrel, his Siſter, Queen *Egitha*, cauſed him to be ſlain at Court, the *Chriſtmas* before. The quarrel being taken up by the Friends and Companions of *Goſpatrick*, two of them, *viz. Ganiel* the Son of *Orne*, and *Vlf* the Son of *Dolphin*, he himſelf having treacherouſly drawn them in, had alſo killed in his own Chamber. Beſides he had laid intolerable impoſitions upon the People, which ſo incenſed them, that three or four of the principal Men, *viz. Ganiolbarn*, *Dimſtan*, the Son of *Agelnoth*, and *Gloineorn* the Son of *Heardulf*, with four hundred Men in Arms, entred *York* a little after *Michaelmas*, and firſt ſlew two of his houſhold Servants, (his *Huſcarles*) *Amund* and *Ravenſheart*, having reached them, though they were fled out of the City, and the day following, above two hundred more of his Attendants, on the North ſide of the River *Humber*. They broke open his Treaſury, and having rifled all they could find, then went their ways. *Toſti* hereupon made a loud complaint to the King, and at his deſire, was appointed *Harold* his Brother and others to take up the Buſineſs. But as they were going down into the North for this purpoſe, the whole Countrey in a manner met them at *Northampton*, where, and afterward on St. *Simon* and *Jude's* day at *Oxford*, they vehemently oppoſed the Reſolution of *Toſti*, and by no means would admit of Reconciliation; and ſo vehement they were and reſolute, that after the Feaſt of all Saints, they procured him and his Miniſters to be baniſhed. He went over with his Wife to *Baldwin* the Earl of *Flanders*, his Father-in-law, and *Morkar*, the Son of *Algar*, was made Earl of *Northumberland* in his room.

Toſti one of *Godwin's* Sons baniſhed.

Ad An. Edw. 24.

For his cruel murthers and other Vilanies.

18. Such was the occaſion of *Toſti's* baniſhment, as moſt probable, though the Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* (who lived in the time of the *Normans* their Rule over *England*, and heard many tales of the hated Earl *Godwin*, and his Sons) tells us another ſtory. On a day, as the King ſate at Dinner at *Windſor*, he was ſerved with the Cup by Earl *Harold*. *Toſti* being preſent, and not able to endure that his younger Brother ſhould be more favoured than himſelf in the King's preſence, flew in his Face, and caught him by the hair. The ſcuffle being parted, the King foretold that their deſtruction was nigh, and that the wrath of God no longer would be deferred. For they were come to that height of barbariſm and cruelty, that if they but liked the Houſe or Poſſeſſions of any one, they would by night procure the owner to be murthered, with all his Off-ſpring, to get his Eſtate: And thoſe were the Juſtitiaries of the Kingdom. *Toſti* in great rage leaving the Court, went to *Hereford*, where at that time his Brother *Harold* had made vaſt preparations for Entertainment of the King. There he made a moſt terrible havock of his Servants, into each of the Veſſels of Wine, Mead, Ale, and other Liquors, putting either a Man's Leg, or an Arme, or an Head, ſending word to the King, that he ſhould take no care for pickled Meats, as for other ſorts he might carry them down with him to his Farm. For this ſo horrid a villany, the King commanded him to be baniſhed, which the *Northumbrians* underſtanding, for the many murthers he had there committed, they drove him thence with all his Family, as well *Engliſh* as *Danes*, and ſeized on his Treaſure and Magazine in *York*. Into his Place they preferred *Marger* (ſo he calls him) the Son of Earl *Algar*, who with them, and multitudes out of *Lincolnſhire*, *Derbyſhire*, and *Notinghamſhire*, went as far as *Hamton*. Againſt him marched *Edwin* his Brother, with Men under his Command, and many *Britains*, and at laſt came up Earl *Harold*, whom the *Northumbrians* procured to goe to the King, to get leave that *Marcher* might be their Governour, which he granted, ſending back *Harold* to them to *Hamton*. They in the mean time burnt and pillaged the Countrey, killing many of the Inhabitants, and when their requeſt was granted, many thouſands they took along with them, doing that part of the Kingdom ſo much miſchief as it could not recover many years after. Such is the account which *Huntingdon* gives us, ſtrange as to the manner of the behaviour of the *Northumbrians*. And had *Toſti* been guilty of ſuch a raſh Act toward his Brother in the King's preſence, the King would never have interceded with thoſe of *Yorkſhire*, for his keeping his Place as it appears from *Simeon* that he did. Nay, *Malmesbury* tells us plainly, he had it from thoſe that knew that another was put into *Toſti's* place by

the indeavour of *Harold*, quite contrary to the inclinations of the King, who bore a great love to *Toſti*, but being ſpent with his Diſeaſe and Age, he now began to be ſlighted by all, and could not ſuccour whom he affected, but thence fell into ſuch trouble of mind, that his Diſtemper being thereby increaſed, he died not long after.

Harold another Son of *Godwin* Shipwreckt.

19. But if the King upon this or ſome other occaſion predicted the Ruine of the Sons of *Godwin* (who doubtleſs were enough to blame) to be near at hand, he was ſo much in the right, that their ill Stars about this very time began to operate; for if *Toſti* was baniſhed by the King, *Harold* was alſo driven from *England* by the very Winds and Weather. About the time that his Brother went into *Flanders*, he being for his recreation at his houſe at *Boſeham* in *Suſſex*, upon the Sea ſide; for his farther Pleaſure, he took a Fiſhers Boat, meaning to plye up and down, but going farther off to Sea than he was aware, a Tempeſt roſe and carried him croſs the Chanel to the *French* Coaſt, where glad to be ſafe any where, he was forc't to Land in the Territories of the Earl of *Ponthieu*. The men of the place (according to their cuſtome and that barbarous practice which is on foot in moſt places, to make a prey of diſtreſſed and ſhipwreck'd Perſons) preſently fall to work. Armed they ſeize upon the naked, a multitude upon a few, on their hands they put Manacles, and Fetters on their Feet. *Harold* conſidering what was to be done, hired a Meſſenger to goe to *William*, by whom he acquaints him how he “was ſent by the King, by his word and preſence, to confirm what other little “Meſſengers had but whiſper'd, but was kept Priſoner, and hindered from the “diſcharge of his Meſſage by *Gwido* Earl of *Ponthieu*. It appeared they had a “barbarous and extravagant cuſtome in that Countrey, that ſuch as eſcaped drown“ing, ſhould on Land it ſelf be endangered, that it would ſuit well with a man “of ſo great repute as he was, not to ſuffer ſuch villany to goe unpuniſhed, ha“ving detracted from his Authority, by daring to caſt bonds upon one that had “appealed to his Juſtice; if with money his Liberty was to be redeemed, he would “willingly pay the price to Earl *William*, but not to ſuch an half Man as *Gwido* “was. By command of *William* he is quickly ſet at liberty, and by *Gwido* conducted to his Court, where being honourably treated in all reſpects, he is alſo invited to an expedition into *Little Britain*, where at that time the *Norman* had War. By his Wit and Valour he ſo approved himſelf to the Duke, that he was very much taken with him, to whom, that he might the more indear himſelf, he promiſed by Oath, that in caſe King *Edward* died, he would deliver up to him the Caſtle of *Dover*, which belonged to him, and procure him to ſucceed in the Kingdom of *England*. This ſaid, the Duke's Daughter, as yet too young for Marriage, was betrothed to him, and he was ſent home with great gifts.

Boſeham how obtained by *Godwin*.

Walterus Mapæus de Nugis Curiclium.

20. Some ſaid he was ſent over on purpoſe by *Edward*, who finding himſelf decay, had in his thoughts pitched upon his Kinſman *William* for his Succeſſour, but *Malmesbury* approves of the other report, that he was driven by Tempeſt. However, by this promiſe of his, he intangled himſelf and incurred the indignation of *William* by his breach of it, which procured him his end, ſo that he had reaſon to curſe the time of his knowing *Boſeham*, which becauſe it was wrongfully and deceitfully got from the right owner, ſeemed indeed to draw down a curſe upon him the ſecond Poſſeſſour of it, and it is not amiſs here to inſert the ſtory, the more to diſcover the humour of his Father Earl *Godwin*, who as by this and other paſſages, it appears, ſo he but got, cared not by what means he came at it. This *Boſeham* (or *Boſenham*, as anciently it was called) lying underneath *Chicheſter*, in the confines of *Hantſhire* and *Suſſex*, environed round about with Woods, and the Sea together, was formerly before *Bede*'s time, onely famous for a ſmall Cell, which one *Dicul* a *Scotch* Monk had in it, where he lived with five or ſix other Religious Perſons, very poorly in the Service of God: Afterwards it came into the hands of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. *Godwin* upon ſight of it had an itching deſire after it, and therefore with a great Train of Gallants, comes ſmiling and jeſting to the Archbiſhop, with theſe words. *My Lord, I pray you give me* Boſeham. The Archbiſhop much marvelled what he meant, but at length, whether he thought he alluded to *Baſium* a *Buſſe*, as now we term it, which in times paſt was uſed in doing Homage, or was unwilling to diſpleaſe him, anſwered; *I give you* Boſeham. He hereupon, immediately with his Followers, falls down at his Feet, as was beforehand ordered, and kiſſing them, with many thanks went back to *Boſeham*, of which as Lord, he kept poſſeſſion by ſtrong hand, and having the ſlender Teſtimony of his Friends and Followers to back him, praiſed much the Archbiſhop to the King, as his Benefactour, and ſo held

it peaceably till he left it, as it ſeems, to his Son *Harold*, whoſe paſſage hence into *Normandy*, procured the Shipwreck, though not at preſent, both of his Perſon, of his Fortunes, and indeed of his Father's Family.

Ad Ann. 1065.

Several accounts of *Harold*'s paſſage into *Normandy*.

21. But as to the Meſſage carried over to Duke *William*, there are ſtill more opinions. *Ingulphus* obliged by the Duke, and therefore a favourer of him, writes, that King *Edward*, not long before his Death, perceiving his Kinſman *Edgar Etheling*, the Son of *Edward Clito*, lately deceaſed, both in reſpect of his body and Mind, unfit for Government (of which temper his Father is alſo reputed to have been) and that the evil Off-ſpring of Earl *Godwin*, daily increaſed, and got more ſtrength and intereſt, fixed his thoughts upon Earl *William* of *Normandy*, his Kinſman, and fully reſolved to have him ſucceed him in the Kingdom of *England*, for he was then become famous in War, had triumphed over the *French* King, in the Exerciſe of Arms, was invincible, a moſt juſt Judge in deciding of Cauſes, as well as moſt Religious and devout at Divine Service. Hereupon he diſpatched to him *Robert*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to acquaint him that both in reſpect to his Kindred and Merit, he had deſigned him his Succeſſour. Beſides this, *Harold* the *Major domo* of the King's Palace, going into *Normandy*, ſwore not onely to keep the Crown for him, after the deceaſe of King *Edward*; but to marry alſo his Daughter, which things having paſſed, he returned magnificently rewarded. This is the account we have from *Ingulphus*, but ſuch as will not hold in reference to the Meſſenger, for *Robert* the Archbiſhop, was driven out of the Land before, and therefore King *Edward* could not ſend him from his ſide, or preſence, as the Abbat words it. *Simeon* has another Story, which ſends *Harold* into *Normandy*, but upon another occaſion quite different. When *Godwin*, he tells us, was reconciled to the King, he was conſtrained to give up Hoſtages for *Edward*'s ſecurity, which were *Wulnoth* his own Son, and *Hacun* his Grandſon, by his Son *Swane*, and were ſent into *Normandy* to *William* the Baſtard Son of *Rodbert*, who was Son to *Richard* the King's Mothers Brother. In proceſs of time, when *Godwin* was dead, *Harold* asked leave of the King to goe and fetch home his Brother and Nephew, to whom he anſwered, that he would not be Authour of his Journey, but that he ſhould not ſay that he hindered him, he might goe whither he pleaſed, and try what he could doe; onely he foreſaw his Journey would tend to the detriment of the whole Kingdom of *England*, and his own diſgrace. For he was aſſured the Earl was not ſuch a Fool as to diſmiſs them, without he knew it would redound to his own convenience. But *Harold* ventures to take Ship, and by a great Tempeſt, is caſt upon the Coaſt of *Ponthieu*, into the mouth of a River called *Maia*, where his Veſſel is ſeized on, as a wreck by the Lord of that Countrey. Hereupon he procures one to goe to *William*, to let him know in what a condition he was, who immediately ſends to the Lord of *Ponthieu*, to diſcharge him, and upon refuſal, a ſecond time, threatning elſe to fetch him away by force. Being now ſet at Liberty, he goes to *William*, who, very courteouſly receives him, on purpoſe to draw him over to his deſign.

Hinc Rex Edwardus Robertum Archiepiſcopum Cantuariæ legatum à latere ſuo direxit.

The Ingagement betwixt *Harold* and Duke *William*.

22. When he thought him fitly prepared he broke his mind, acquainting him how when his Couſin *Edward* lived there with him in exile, he ſeriouſly ingaged to him, that if ever he came to be King of *England*, he would transfer the Inheritance of the Kingdom upon him. He added, that if he would oblige himſelf to aſſiſt him in this matter, keep the Caſtle of *Dover* with the Well of Water for his ſervice, would ſend his Siſter to him in time convenient to be married to one of his Noblemen, and promiſe to take his Daughter for his Wife he ſhould now receive his Nephew, and aſſoon as he came to be King of *England* his Brother ſhould be ſet at liberty, and when he was once ſetled in the Throne by his aſſiſtence he ſhould have every thing elſe he could reaſonably deſire. *Harold* was ſenſible of the caſe he was in, and ſaw there was no remedy but promiſe whatſoever he required. But *William* with his bare promiſe would not be ſatisfied, but bringing forth the Relicks of Saints, made him open their ſacred Bodies to ſwear really to perform whatſoever they had now agreed, which done *Harold* took his Nephew, and with him returned into *England*. When upon the King's Demand he had given him an account of what had paſſed, he ſaid, *Did not I tell thee that* William *was no fool, and that many miſchiefs might happen to this Kingdom by that thy Journey? I foreſee great Calamities coming upon this Nation of ours by that thine Act, which I pray God may not happen in my days.* And his Prayer was granted, for King *Edward* ſhortly after died, and *Harold* as before his death he had ordained ſucceeded him in his Kingdom. So writes *Simeon*, with whom agrees *Eadmerus* as to the occaſion of his Journey. Though *Matthew Paris* believes him

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driven thither by force of Tempeſt, but when he came to get his liberty to have told another Tale quite contrary to the meaning of his Heart, and to have entred with him into that ſecret confederacy out of Neceſſity. Of this opinion alſo as we ſaid is *Malmesbury*, and it ſeems the more probable.

23. Whatever the occaſion of his Promiſe and Ingagement was, the time was at hand, that he ſhould be put to the Trial. For now approached that year, that dreadfull year to him and his *Engliſh Saxon* Nation ſignalized by a Comet, which portended as *Ingulphus* is of opinion that great change of Government, that Slaughter of the People, and that great miſery which came ſhortly upon the Land. King *Edward* grew every day more ſickly, yet kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Weſtminſter*, and aſſiſted at the Dedication of St. *Peter*'s Church there, which he had re-edified with all magnificence; but on the Eve of the Epiphany or Twelftide he died, and the day following was buried in his late dedicated Church with Royal rites, to the great ſorrow of the miſerable People. The general opinion is that he was a ſimple, honeſt, harmleſs Man, and much devoted to Religious Exerciſes, exceedingly hampered by Earl *Godwin* and his Sons, who were but too ſenſible that he received his Preferment from their Family, and upon that ground were too confident and impoſing, as often it happens in ſuch caſes. It was the Miſfortune of the Nation aſwell as of himſelf, that he was driven into baniſhment, and living in another Countrey was molded into the humour, faſhions and cuſtoms of it, and out of good nature conſtrained to be gratefull to ſuch as had well deſerved of him in his Neceſſities, more than the Temper if not the Intereſt of his own Subjects could bear or brook. Moſt of them yet were in compliance and conformity with him ſo transformed into foreign ſhapes, as foretold their Subjection in a ſhort time to thoſe the manners and uſages of whom they had already taken up, ſo that the Conquerours needed but to come to maſter their Bodies, their minds and affections were theirs already, their humour was already run out of *England*, ſo that the *Normans* needed not herein to play any after-Game.

King *Edward* dies.

Anno autem Domini 1066. *Cometa in cœlo apparuit, quod Regni mutationem magnam populi ſtragem & multam terræ miſeriam portendit: unde dicitur illud metricum:*

Anno Milleno Sexageno quoque Sexo.

Anglorum metæ Crinem ſenſere Cometæ.

Ut enim Philoſophi dicunt quo dirigit, Crinem, illuc dirigit & diſcrimen. Sic Ingulphus.

24. *Ingulphus* an Eye-witneſs is our informer, who writes that *Edward* being born in *England* but bred in *Normandy*, through his long continuance in that Countrey was almoſt changed into a *Frenchman*, and brought very many over with him whom he promoted to various Dignities, and greatly exalted under the King and other *Normans*; thus introduced all the Land began to leave off their *Engliſh* Cuſtoms, and to imitate the manners of the *French*. All the Noblemen in their Houſes ſpake the *French* Tongue as mighty gentile, made their Charters and Writings after the *French* faſhion, and grew to be aſhamed of their own uſages, both in theſe and other matters: and this humour more and more increaſed, till to thoſe they admired, at length they became Slaves and Vaſſals. But ſo King *Edward* died, or as *Malmesbury* words it, being full of years and glory yielded up his ſimple (that is his innocent well-meaning) Spirit to the Heavenly Kingdom, after he had reigned, ſaith *Simeon*, three and twenty years, ſix Months and ſeven and twenty days, which muſt be reckoned then from the death of *Hardecnute*, and not from his own Preferment, which was as we ſaid in the year following. He is ſaid to have been ſo chaſt that though he was married, yet he never as an Husband enjoyed his Wife, which ſome attribute to the Averſion he had to her for her Father's ſake, but if that was the Cauſe of his Abſtinence, his ſelf denial, and in this reſpect his ſuffering, he could not in this deſerve the Name of a Confeſſour (given to thoſe that ſuffer for Chriſt though not unto death) which yet in reſpect of this or other parts of his Conflicts againſt fleſh and bloud he obtained, and came to be known by the Name of St. *Edward*. But in him the Royal Regnant-Line of the Weſt *Saxon* Kings, which from *Cerdic* according to the Calculation of *Malmesbury* had in *Britain*, Dominion for five hundred and ſeventy one years, and from *Egbert* two hundred and ſixty one years, received its Period.

Is mightily Frenchified.

Rex autem Edwardus natus in Anglia ſed nutritus in Normannia & diutiſſimè immoratus pænè in Gallicum tranſierat, &c. Cæpit ergo tota terra ſub Rege & ſub aliis Normannis introductis Anglicos ritus dimittere, &c. Vide ad Annum 1043.

Ita ævi plenus & gloriæ ſimplicem ſpiritum cœleſti Regno exhibuit.

25. To the Glory and Happineſs of this Weſt *Saxon* Family, it did belong not by its ending to put an end to the *Engliſh* Empire, and in its own Ruine involve the Cataſtrophe of the whole Nation: this was reſerved to a baſer Houſe, out of which an Upſtart ſhould ariſe to pull down the whole Fabrick, and bury himſelf in the Ruines thereof, *Edward* being dead there were three that laid claim to the Crown. The firſt, whoſe undoubted Right it was, was *Edgar Etheling* the Son of *Edward*, the Outlaw lately mentioned, the Grandſon of *Edmund Ironſide*, the Elder Brother of him who had the laſt Poſſeſſion, though according to the Right of Primogeniture not the beſt Title. The next was *William* of *Normandy*, the Kinſman of the late King by his Mother being her Brothers Grandſon, one who in bloud could

A diſpute about the Succeſſion.

could find no pretext; but upon the kindneſs and pretended promiſe of his Kinſman. The laſt was *Harold* the Son of *Godwin*, who could not produce any ſhew of Right by Deſcent, but alledged the late King's Deſignment, and thought he could plead more merit than them both. ***Edgar*** was a Stranger, had had neither time, nor ability in Eſtate or mind to make any more Intereſt than what mere Conſcience had wrought in the minds of men, which is uſually very infirm upon ſuch Occaſions. *William* indeed was a conſiderable Prince, and as ſuch acknowledged, but betwixt him and *England* there was a deep Ditch, not eaſily got over as was imagined, and Dangers at a Diſtance are not ſo much regarded. *Harold* was Noble, a goodly Man, the greateſt Miniſter of the deceaſed King, one of much Valour and excellent Conduct, a Perſon civil and obliging, of ſuch Qualifications as fitted him for a Crown; and what was more than all, had all the Court and Grandees at his beck, whom by kindneſs he had either won, or by awe had conquered and brought over to his Party. He took the advantage and knowing delays to be dangerous, the ſame day that *Edward* was buried he aſſumed the Title and was crowned King, being choſen, as *Simeon* ſaith, by the Princes of all *England*.

Harold is choſen King.

Takes good Courſes at firſt.

His Brother *Toſti* infeſts the Land from *Flanders*.

De eo ſic Malmesb: Perſtitit incepto Haroldus (poſt mortem Regis intellige) ut fratrem exlagaret. De Willielmo primo, lib. 3. p. 104.

26. Being King he ſtreight took thoſe Courſes, which moſt of thoſe who are conſcious to themſelves of their bad or weak Titles are wont, and all other Princes ought to take. All unjuſt Laws he antiquated, made better in their ſtead, became a Patron of Churches and Monaſteries, ſeemed not onely to reſpect but even reverence Biſhops, Abbats, Monks, and even all the Clergy; to all good men he ſhewed himſelf pious, humble and affable, and to all that was bad he maniſeſted an Averſion, commanding all his Officers in general to lay in wait for all Thieves, Robbers and Diſturbers of the Peace; in concluſion, he made it his Buſineſs to defend his Countrey both by Sea and Land. But both his own Fate, and that of the Nation was too urgent to ſuffer him long to continue theſe practices. On the twenty fourth of *April* a dreadfull Comet appears, ſeen, as was reported, throughout the world with great Luſtre for ſeven days together. The firſt miſchief portended thereby, was from *Harold*'s own Brother *Toſti*, who having been baniſhed chiefly by his procurement to be out of the way, and not able to digeſt his preferment to the Regal Dignity, was moved with ſo much Envy and Indignation as to endeavour all ways poſſible to unking him, for which purpoſe he came out of *Flanders* with ſome Ships to the Iſle of *Wight*, whence after he had forced Money from the Inhabitants, he departed and plaid the Pirate upon all the Coaſts till he came to *Sandwich* Haven. *Harold* being then at *London*, upon notice thereof got in readineſs both a ſtrong fleet and a good Party of Horſe, with which he reſolved in Perſon to go to *Sandwich*, which *Toſti* underſtanding took along with him all the Seamen he could find, and went to the Coaſt of *Lindſey*, where he burnt many Villages, and killed many Men; but *Edwin* Earl of *Mercia*, and his Brother *Merkar* Earl of *Northumberland*, haſted into thoſe Parts with an Army, and ſoon forced him to quit the Countrey. Thence he ſailed into *Scotland* to King *Malcolm*, and with him continued the whole Summer.

But Duke *William* is expected.

27. *Harold* lying at *Sandwich* in expectation of his Brother when he perceived he had taken another courſe ſailed to the Iſle of *Wight*, and about thoſe Coaſts he plied all Summer and Autumn, having a land Army beſtowed in all places he ſaw convenient at the Sea ſide. For another Gueſt he looked for who required greater Preparations for his Reception than his Brother *Toſti*, *viz. William* the Duke of *Normandy*, who had before this ſent to him to *put him in mind of his Promiſe and Oath, and to require a performance of what had been agreed betwixt them.* “This *Harold* thought was very unreaſonable to require of one who was already in Poſſeſſion of a Kingdom, and was come to it by the unanimous conſent of the Nobility and People. He anſwered, that what he then promiſed was in Captivity at a time when he was not his own Man, and that could not be called his own Act which Conſtraint and Neceſſity forced from him. But had he voluntarily done what he was ſo far from intending, it could not have been valid, foraſmuch as he could not take an Outlandiſh Woman to Wiſe, being King, without the Aſſent of the Eſtates, much leſs could he Swear away the Succeſſion and Right to the Crown without their knowledge, conſent and allowance. To theſe reaſons which he looked upon as very good when backed with a better Sword it's ſaid that he added contempt, becauſe as he thought he was out of danger, ſending away the Ambaſſadours on lame Horſes. That on which he chiefly inſiſted was, that *William*'s Daughter was Dead, the Marriage with whom was the foundation of all that had paſſed be-

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“ twixt them, and this was the ground of his confidence, that he looked upon “ his Rival as having his Hands full from the Neighbouring Princes in his own “ Countrey. The Duke hereupon reſolved to attempt by War what by Words he could not compaſs, but to proceed gravely and with due preparations, conſidering the greatneſs of the Enterprize; for he knew his Adverſary to be a ſtout and reſolute Man, and made no other account but that he was to grapple with the ſtrength of a whole Nation.

Vid. Malmesb. lib. 3. in Willielmo primo.

Who with a Conſecrated Banner is ready to ſet Sail.

28. Therefore with all diligence did he ſet himſelf to the work he had in hand. All his own Souldiers he kept in pay the whole year, and though to his great charge hired others from adjacent places. He uſed great diſcretion in the choice of his Men, liſting ſuch as were tall and of ſtrong conſtitution. His Captains and Officers were both practiſed in Warlike matters, and of mature Age to govern both themſelves and others; not heady raſh Young Men, who uſually by their heat and indiſcretion ruine an Army. And indeed he was exceedingly well ſerved at this time, his Prelates ſtriving who ſhould excell one another in Acts of Religion, and his Nobles in Deeds of Magnanimity and Liberality, ſo that the Monk of *Malmesbury* admires how within the term of ſixty years they ſhould become ſo degenerate, not conſidering the luxurious effects of wealth and proſperity, great Poſſeſſions and Affluence of all things in a new Conquered Countrey. But as *William* made all as ſure as he could at home, ſo abroad he ſought for Reputation to his cauſe, by ſending to the Pope, and making his Pretences as plauſible as he could, which *Harold* omitted, thinking himſelf ſtrong enough without the help of a verbal or Paper Aſſiſtence. Pope *Alexander* in token of his Approbation ſends him a Conſecrated Banner, well ſatisfied with his bare affirmation that King *Edward* himſelf, beſides what *Harold* had engaged, by the Advice of Earl *Siward*, Earl *Godwin*, and *Stigand* the Archbiſhop, had choſen him for his Succeſſour, and had as Pledges or Hoſtages ſent over to him both the Son and the Nephew of *Godwin*. Having received the Banner as a good Omen, he aſſembled his Nobility and Officers at *Lillibone*, where laying open the whole matter to them, they promiſed to ſtand by him with their Lives and Fortunes, which reſolution he cheriſhed by great promiſes of Reward, and according to their ſeveral Abilities appointed what every one was to contribute towards a Fleet. This done he diſmiſſed them till the Month of *Auguſt*, and then they all met again at St *Valerie* a Port Town, where they ſtaid many days for a Wind, which ſtay made the Common-Souldiers mutter, blaming him for attempting to get another Man's Countrey, and alledging, that his Father having ſuch a Deſign had miſcarried, and that it was fatal to the Family to be croſſed by God Almighty in their endeavours after things too high for them.

The Wind ſerving,

He and his followers land.

29. The Duke was ſenſible whither theſe Diſcourſes tended, and how much his whole Affair was thereby indangered. Taking Council then with his Officers, he cauſed the Relicks of St. *Valerick* (one of the Diſciples of *Columbanus* who by King *Clothair* was made Abbat of a Monaſtery in this place, in the Territories of *Amiens* on the Mouth of the River *Some*, and imparted his Name unto it) to be brought forth and expoſed for the obtaining of a fair Wind, which without delay followed upon the Ceremony. Then very chearfully did they call one upon another to get out to Sea, the Earl himſelf being the firſt that went on ſhipboard, by his example to draw on the reſt. Following cloſe the Admiral Gally they had a fair Paſſage, and after they had refreſhed themſelves arrived at a place called *Pevenſey*, as ſome write, or *Bulverhith* three miles diſtant, as others moſt in the right, or at *Haſtings* as ſome alſo deliver, following herein the cuſtome of the Ancients to aſcribe a Battel or any memorable Accident to the next place of Note in that Countrey wherein the thing fell out. *As* William *was going aſhore his Feet ſlipped, and down he fell on his Hands*, which a Souldier obſerving, told him a-loud, *That he had already taken Poſſeſſion of* England. His Army he forbad to Plunder or at all to indamage the Countrey which was ſhortly to be theirs, which ſaying being by Ancient Hiſtorians related of former Conquerours, the Monks apply to him, but with no good reaſon, for when after the overthrow of King *Harold* they had better reaſon to think the Countrey would be theirs, he laid no ſuch Injunctions upon them, but permitted them to burn and kill at their pleaſure. But ſo he landed, and for fifteen days he kept himſelf quiet, not to refreſh his Army, but either to conſider better what he was to doe, or to build a Fort to have recourſe to in caſe of Danger, for his Ships he burnt that his Men might think of no mean betwixt Death and Conqueſt.

30. His

With a great Fleet.

30. His whole Fleet is ſaid to have conſiſted of nine hundred Sail, but others increaſe the number to above a thouſand, which are not then to be underſtood of ſuch Ships as ours now-a-days, but flat bottom'd Boats, or Hulkes, ſuch as were fit for tranſporting Men and Horſes. Hereof as an *Anonymus* Writer, about the Reign of his Son *Henry*, wrote, *William* his Sewer the Son of *Oſbern* ſupplied him with ſixty Veſſels. *Hugh* his Nephew, afterward Earl of *Cheſter*, with ſo many; *Hugh de Mumfort* with fifty Ships, and ſixty Souldiers; *Romus* the Elemoſynary of *Teſcan*, afterwards Biſhop of *Lincoln*, with one Ship and twenty Men. *Nicolas* the Abbat of St. *Audoen* with fifteen Ships and an hundred Men. *Robert* Earl of *Angus* with ſixty Ships. *Gerold* the Sewer with as many. *William* Count of *Deurons* with eighty Ships. *Roger* of *Montgumeri* with ſixty. *Roger de Bunmont* with ſixty. *Odo* Biſhop of *Baieux* with an hundred. *Robert de Mortimer* with an hundred and twenty. And *Water Giffard* thirty Veſſels with an hundred Men. Beſides theſe which by the Authour's computation make a thouſand, from others of his Dependants he had many other Ships from every one according to his Ability. His Wife *Matildis* for honour of the Expedition cauſed a Ship to be made Named *Mora* wherein he himſelf croſſed the Sea, having on the Prow a Child of Gold with the right Hand pointing to *England*, and with the left holding an Ivory Whiſtle at his Mouth; for which out of requital Duke *William* her Husband aſſigned her the County of *Kent*, when he had got full Poſſeſſion of that Province.

Simeon Dunelm. ad Ann. MLXVI.

Toſti and the King of *Norway* invade the North of *England.*

31. *William's* Arrival was accompanied with ſome of thoſe lucky hits, circumſtances or accidents which ever attend upon Conqueſts. *Harold* was now out of the way. He had expected him all the Summer, till about the middle of *September*, when judging he would give him no trouble that year, and Proviſions failing, both the Fleet and Army quitted the Poſts he had aſſigned them at the Sea ſide. As if *Toſti* had been hired by the *Normans* on purpoſe to divert his Brother from the Maritime Parts, to weaken his Force, nay to break in pieces his whole Power, Helpes and Aſſiſtences, he applies himſelf to *Harold Harvager* King of *Norway*, whom he knew to bear a Months mind to the Kingdom of *England*, and agrees in Conjunction with him to make an Invaſion. Having united their Fleets they ſailed up into the River *Humber*; and from it into *Ouſe*, and landed at a place called *Rickale*, whence they marched to *York*, and took it after a fierce Aſſault. *Harold* upon notice having made due preparation haſtes into the North, but before him the two Earls, and Brothers, *Edwin* and *Morkar*, with conſiderable Forces had marched againſt them, and upon St. *Matthew's* Eve on the Northern bank of *Ouſe* at *Fulford*, ingaged them with good Succeſs at the beginning, for fighting very valiantly they did great Execution. But the *Engliſh* after a long fight, not able to ſuſtain the violence and Numbers of the *Norwegians*, turned their backs after many of them were ſlain, and more were drowned in the adjoyning River. This done, the *Norwegians* received from thoſe of *York* five Hundred Hoſtages, and leaving there an hundred and fifty of their own, returned to their ſhips; and on the fifth day after, being the five and twentieth of *September*, King *Harold* with a great Army comes to the City. Thence marching to a place called *Stanford-bridge* (afterward from this occaſion *Battelbridge*, upon the River *Darwent* in the *Eaſt Riding* of *Yorkſhire*) he gave them Battel, wherein after terrible reſiſtence made, were ſlain both *Harold Harvager* and *Toſti*, and the Victory remained with him. *Olane* the Son of *Harold*, with the Earl of *Orcada* called *Paul* who were left with the Army to keep the ſhips he ſuffered to depart with twenty Veſſels, and the remainder of their Forces, having firſt received their Oaths and Hoſtages to attempt nothing againſt him for the time to come. But here we are to take notice what *Malmeſbury* tells us of a certain *Norway* Man, who alone by himſelf for ſome time retarded the Victory of the *Engliſh*, though methinks we can hardly believe it. This Man ſtanding upon the entrance of the Bridge, having killed not one, or two, or three, but many of his Enemies, hindred the whole Army from paſſing. Being ſpoke to to yield himſelf, and bid be aſſured that a Man of ſuch ſtrength and metal would find good uſage; he derided them, and with a grim countenance reviled them for pitifull Men that could not maſter him alone. At length none would come to him thinking it madneſs to Encounter with a Man ſo deſperate, but one at a diſtance ſhot him with a Dart, while like a Braggadocio he behaved himſelf negligently; and ſo he falling the *Engliſh* got paſſage, and obtained the Victory in the manner aforeſaid. The Body of *Toſti* being known by a Wart between his Shoulders, was carried to *York* and there Buried. In the Plunder of the Field if we may believe *Adam Bremenſis*,

But are both killed and their Armies.

ſo great a quantity of Gold was found, that twelve luſty young men were ſcarcely able to bear it on their Backs.

Harold diſobliges his Souldiers by taking all the Spoyl to himſelf.

32. *Harold* having obtained the Victory and ſo much Treaſure, became *Penny wiſe*, as the Proverb is, and *Pound fooliſh.* He thought it behoved him to play the Good Husband, not to be laviſh of his Money, but fill his Coffers, and lay up for future and diſtant Events. He little imagined that this great Gameſter was landed, and that he muſt now ſpeedily puſh for all. In the two laſt Battels he had loſt the flower of his Army, moſt of his beſt Souldiers were ſlain; and thoſe that remained he ſo diſobliged by taking all the Plunder to himſelf, and defrauding them as they alledged of the price of their bloud, that they renounced his Intereſt, repented of what they had done already for him, and reſolved, in caſe he ſhould have the like occaſion, to ſuffer him to fight for himſelf. This errour was no ſooner committed, but as he ſate feaſting for joy at *York* he had the News of the *Norman* Duke his Arrival with very numerous and Diſciplin'd Forces. And now he being to be ruined, his Fate hurried him to Reſolutions and Actions quite contrary to thoſe of him who was to raiſe himſelf out of his misfortune. As he had diſobliged theſe men who were to fight againſt Souldiers that loved and had been obliged by their Captain, ſo, whereas his Adverſary went ſoberly and judiciouſly to work, in making preparation for the main Encounter, he did nothing leſs. He neither took any care in gathering together his Souldiers, nor any time for Conſultation about ſo weighty an Affair, but all bloudy as he was, and with but a ſlender Company haſtes towards the place where the *Normans* lay, as if the fortune of *Cæſar, onely to come to ſee, and then overcome, were devolved upon him*, becauſe of his late Northern ſucceſs. Coming to *London* all in an Heat, he would not tarry for ſuch Supplies as were on their way toward him, but hurries into *Suſſex*, and would needs find out the Enemy and ingage e'er one third part of his Army could be put in order. Yet he ſent ſome Spies before to ſurvey the number and ſtrength of the *Normans*, whom being diſcovered (as *Malmesbury* writes) *William* cauſed to be led about the Camp, and after they had eat and drank plentifully to be ſent back to their Maſter. Being demanded how matters ſtood, they ſpake much of the Magnificence and Confidence of the Duke, and ſeriouſly profeſſed they believed, that well nigh all that were with him were Prieſts, becauſe they were ſhaven, not onely Face, but both the Lips; for at this time the *Engliſh* wore large *Muſtachoes* on the upper lip, a cuſtome which *Julius Cæſar* takes notice to have been amongſt the Ancient *Britains*. The King laughed and ſaid they were not Prieſts, but ſtout and couragious Souldiers, knowing well enough the Qualities of the *Normans*, with whom he himſelf had been but lately converſant. His Brother *Gyrth* a Youth of Courage and Knowledge above his years, at his extolling the valour of the *Normans*, took occaſion to tell him that he thought it was Indiſcretion for him to fight with them, foraſmuch as he could not deny but that either willingly or againſt his mind he had given *William* his Oath. He adviſed him to withdraw himſelf, and ſuffer him and the reſt to try their Fortune, who were never obnoxious by any Oath, and might juſtly fight in defence of their Countrey. If he ſhould fight it was to be feared he muſt either die or flie; but in caſe they did the ſame, he might either ſuccour and unite them flying or revenge their death.

Then hears of the Duke's Landing.

But acts without conſideration.

Simeon. Malmesb. Alii.

Prævolat igitur univerſos, exercet ſtimulos, nec de toto exercitu præter pauciſſimos eum aliquis Concomitatur. Ingulph. Perveniens citius Haſtingas, Collectaque illic aliquali popularium turba, confectaque ex iis acie adhuc rudi nimis & tenera, exercitum non expectat, ſed fatis urgentibus contra Comitem in craſtino dimicat & fortiſſime tota die uſque ad veſperum invictus perdurans ac ſæpius more gregarii militis manu ad manum congrediens cum adverſariis robuſtiſſime digladians à dextris & à ſiniſtris, corruit tandem in diei crepuſculo, in quodam ubi ſuos collegerat, monticulo eminus ſagittatus. Idem.

Rejects all good advice, and the Propoſals of Duke *William.*

They prepare for Battel.

33. *Harold* by no means would hearken to his Advice, as that which tended to his diſhonour, and by objection of Cowardiſe would blemiſh the Actions of all his Life. And in as great heat and haſte he rejected the Monk who brought him three Propoſals from the Duke, " Either to reſign the Kingdom to him, according " to what had formerly paſſed betwixt them: or to hold it of him: or to decide " the Controverſie with him before the two Armies in a ſingle Combat, to prevent " the Effuſion of Chriſtian Bloud. His Anſwer was, that God ſhould be Judge betwixt them; or as others write, that the Swords of the Nations ſhould decide it. No hopes then of any Accommodation appearing, each according to the cuſtome of his Countrey prepared to fight the next Morning. The *Engliſh* are ſaid to have ſpent all the Night in Singing and Drinking, the *Normans* in Confeſſion of their Sins, and in the Morning to have Communicated. The Fatal day being come, which was the two and twentieth of *October*, the *Engliſh* were drawn up into a cloſe Body armed with Battel-Axes and Shields, and by the Standard ſtood the King on foot with his Brothers, that the danger being common, none might think of running away. The forefront of the *Normans* conſiſted of Foot, being moſt Archers, and flancked with a Wing of Horſe on each hand, wherein conſiſted the great ſtrength of their Army. The Duke himſelf chearfully and audibly affirmed his

Cauſe was juſt, and that God would accordingly reſpect it, and called for his Armour, which being brought to him in an hurry, his Corſlet was put on the wrong way, which errour he corrected by this pleaſant Conceit, that *He perceived his Dukedom was changed into a Kingdom.* At the Head of his Army he put them in mind of the Valour and Renown of their Anceſtours, and eſpecially of *Rollo*, how they had beaten the *French* King in the very Heart of his Kingdom, and compelled him to give them as large a part of his Countrey as they would accept. How ſince that they had taken another *French* King Priſoner at *Rouen*, and compelled him to reſtore *Normandy* to Duke *Richard* when a Child, and laſt of all he brought to their Memories what memorable things they had done under his own Conduct, and concluded with confidence of Victory both from the guilt of *Harold* who had wilfully Perjured himſelf, and of the whole Nation, upon which he caſt the cruel and traitorous Murther of his Kinſman and their own Prince *Alfred*.

34. The *Normans* then beginning the Song of *Rowland* by the Martial Example of that Heroe, as they accounted him, to excite themſelves to imitation, and imploring Divine Aſſiſtence went againſt the *Engliſh*, who were as ready to meet them, though the ground they ſtood on was ſtrait and inconvenient for fight; which as *Simeon* writes, cauſed many of them to take the opportunity of ſlipping away. Thoſe that ſtaid to be ſure fought very valiantly, and neither by the ſhowers of Arrows nor any other means could their Impenetrable Body be broken, till *William* bethought him of this Strategem, to cauſe his Men to retire back as if they fled, which by a deſire of Purſuit drew them out of their order; this done, they faced about and fell upon them, who by this means had half routed themſelves. Yet in their flight did they often rally and make Head againſt the Purſuers, ſelling their Lives at very dear Rates, and part of them having got an Hill, when the *Normans* all in a heat climbed up after them, having the advantage of the ground they tumbled them down, and by caſting down Stones quite overpowered them. In another place by their knowledge of the Countrey, being more dextrous in paſſing a Ditch, they made very great ſlaughter of their Enemies, and filled it up with their dead Carkaſſes. Thus remained the ſucceſs doubtfull, ſometimes ſeeming to incline to the one ſide and ſometimes to the other, from nine of the Clock in the Morning, till it grew dark, and then *Harold* after he had diſcharged all the Parts both of a ſkilfull Commander and a valiant Souldier was ſhot into the Head and died. He being gone, about whom the Controverſie was, though their Countrey was as much concerned, the *Engliſh* Souldiers began to looſe their Courage and take the advantage of the Night to flie. With him fell his two Brothers *Gyrth* and *Leofwin* and the greateſt part of the *Engliſh* Nobility. *William* hereby remained Victour, who by his Courage and Activity deſerved the Garland, having ſo beſtirred himſelf all the day, and ventur'd his perſon, that three choice Horſes one after another were killed under him. Toward his dead Enemy he ſhewed himſelf generous, freely and without Ranſome giving up his Body to his Mother, though ſhe offered much Money for it; and, before that, when, as it lay in the Field, a certain Souldier by way of Contempt and Revenge gave it a cut in the Thigh, he was ſo diſpleaſed with the man, that he inſtantly caſheir'd him the Army, for doing ſo pityfull and Cowardly a Deed.

Wherein *Harold* is ſlain, and his Army routed.

35. *Harold* by his Mothers care was buried at *Waltham* in a Church of Canons founded and endowed by himſelf. When the News of his Defeat was ſpread abroad, the two Earles *Edwin* and *Morgan* who had upon diſcontent withdrawn themſelves from him came to *London*, and ſending away their Siſter *Algitha* the Queen to *Cheſter*, they tampered with the Citizens to make one of them King, but found them very cool in the buſineſs, for as in duty they were concern'd, their Inclinations were toward *Edgar Etheling*, and with them joyned *Aldred* the Archbiſhop of *York* and many of the Nobility. Hereupon the two Earls went away in diſcontent into *Northumberland*, where they thought Duke *William* would not come, not caring what became of the Cauſe of *Edgar* or of their own Countrey, becauſe their ambitious purpoſes were not gratified. The Conquerour having ſetled his matters about *Haſtings*, made not firſt to *London*, and afterwards went back into *Kent* (as *Spot* the Abbat of St. *Auguſtin*'s in *Canterbury*, and others following him, have erroneouſly written, and thereupon told a Tale of the *Kentiſh* men their meeting him with Boughs, and procuring from him a Confirmation of their Privileges) but took his Journey toward *Dover* Caſtle, which he and many others long time after eſteemed as the very Key of *England*. In his paſſage by

Romney Marſh he avenged himſelf of ſome Savage kind of People dwelling thereabout, who had killed ſome of his men that by miſtake had landed at that place. To the Caſtle Multitudes of People had betaken themſelves becauſe it was held impregnable, yet affrighted at his preſence they ſtreight way ſurrendred it, in the fortifying whereof he ſpent eight days, and then proceeding Northward at a place not far diſtant the *Kentiſh* men of their own Accord came in to him, ſware fealty to him and gave up their Hoſtages for performance. Continuing then his March he underſtood what canvaſing there was at *London* betwixt the two Earls and thoſe that ſtood for *Edgar Etheling*, whereupon he made toward them and ſate down not far from the City. Thence certain Companies iſſued out againſt him, but with five hundred Horſe he eaſily repelled them, killing divers in the Chace, and here began the miſery of poor *England*. The Duke ſeem'd reſolv'd before this to carry himſelf with all gentleneſs (at leaſt ſome ſo believe) and bring over the *Engliſh* by kind uſage, but ſeeing they made head againſt him, and put him to farther trouble and danger, he changed his purpoſe reſolving to make an abſolute Conqueſt of the Land. For upon this Sally all the Buildings South of the *Thames* he commanded or permitted to be fired.

Then *Dover* is ſurrendred to the Conquerour. And the *Kentiſh* men ſubmit.

Guil. Pictavenſis Guil. Ducis Cappellanus in ejus Geſtis & Ordericus Vitalis. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. 3.

36. Paſſing the *Thames* he removed to *Wallingford*, whither *Stigand* the Archbiſhop, and others of the *Engliſh* Nobility, confounded in their Deſigns, and not knowing what other courſe to take, came to him deſerting young *Edgar*; as alſo did the *Londoners*, who giving up themſelves into his Power, delivered ſuch and ſo many Hoſtages as he thought convenient. Thence by degrees he came to *London*, permitting his men all the while to doe as in an Enemies Countrey with Fire and Sword, and on *Chriſtmas* day was Crowned King at *Weſtminſter* by *Aldred* the Archbiſhop of *York*, for againſt *Stigand* of *Canterbury* objection was made, that he did not legally hold that Place, nor had rightly taken his Pall. Before the Crown was ſet on his Head, he gave his Oath at the Altar, in preſence of the Nobility and all the People, to protect the Church in its Rights and Liberties, to govern the People according to Law and Juſtice, to maintain them in their Rights, and protect them from Spoil and Rapine. Here is our Period. For having ſet him on the Throne, the Diſcourſe of his Life, and how by Particulars he either governed according or contrary to his Oath, whether he that had made ſuch a noiſe with the Perjury of *Harold*, had not ever a ſpecial care not to be guilty of that horrid Crime, belongs to a Treatiſe of the New Dynaſty of the *Normans*. Yet ſhall we, though we have no full proſpect, admit the Reader to look as it were through the Curtain, and ſee a little how he acted his Part of King over his new Subjects, by the aſſiſtence of *Ingulphus*, who was himſelf a prime Spectatour, if not a ſort of Actour, being preferred to be Abbat of *Croyland*, and otherwiſe much favoured by him. Having inſtanced in ſeveral Noblemen, whom either he had Impriſoned or Baniſhed, he adds, That the *Earldoms, Baronies, Biſhopricks, and the Preferments of all the Land he diſtributed to his* Normans, *and ſcarce admitted any* Engliſhman *to any State of Honour or Power*. Nay, *they ſo abominated the* Engliſh, *that how deſerving ſoever they were, they were outed of all Preferments : And Strangers leſs fit by far, of any Nation under Heaven, were admitted* gratis *into their places*. How they abominated and altered their Language and Cuſtoms, it's not convenient here to inſiſt. Almoſt all the *Kentiſh* Lands he ſeized, as well as thoſe of other Provinces; Church Lands were every where devoured, and all things belonging to the *Engliſh* became Prey and Booty.

Then the *Londoners*.

Duke *William* Crowned King at *Weſtminſter*.

Coronationis autem Officium noluit ab Archiep. Stigando percipere (cujus dignitati ſolebat illud Officium ex debito pertinere) eo quod ab Apoſtolico Papa illum Calumniatum audierat ſuum palleum non ſumpſiſſe Canonieé. Ingulph.

But neglects his Coronation Oath.

Deinceps ergo Comitatus & Baronias, Epiſcopatus, & Prælatias totius terræ ſuis Normannis Rex diſtribuit & vix aliquem Anglicum ad honoris ſtatum vel alicujus dominii principatum aſcendere permiſit. ——Tantum tunc Anglicos abominati ſunt ut quantocunque merito pollerent, de dignitatibus pellerentur; & multo minus habiles alienigenæ de quacunque alia Natione quæ ſub cœlo eſt, extitiſſent, gratanter aſſumerentur. Gervaſius Dorobern.

37. But here it may juſtly be ſaid, that the *Engliſh* were the forgers of their own Fortune; all theſe miſchiefs having come upon them through their own Egregious folly and neglect. So they behaved themſelves as if they had a deſire to be inſlaved by thoſe whom they did ſo much admire, but onely imitated in what was worſt; and being ſo ſet for their own deſtruction, deſtiny put to her helping hand. For how ſtrangely, how like an harebrain'd Man did *Harold* in this buſineſs behave himſelf; how contrary to his former wiſedom and conduct? He being really a Man for all accompliſhments, very well worthy of a Crown. He could

Several miſcarriages of *Harold* and the *Engliſh*.

not but know that *William* would invade him the next year, if he came not this, and yet he muſt diſoblige his Souldiers, and that by a dirty action of taking all the Booty to himſelf, a folly of which at another time he could ſcarcely have been guilty. Then doth he amend one errour by another, hurries away againſt the Enemy, that he knew muſt be both reſolved and deſperate; that muſt be fully bent either to conquer, or dye, being penned in by a deep Ditch, the Bridge over which he himſelf had broken down. Without ſtaying but a day or two for ſupplies, he haſtes away as one who had deſigned firſt to fight with a diſobliged Army, and then with no Army at all, alone, and in his own Perſon. The Battel ſhewed it was not Courage but Conduct, that the *Engliſh* wanted, if ſo few ſtood it out, and that upon even terms with the *Normans*, till their Captain fell, how eaſie would the Victory have been, had he uſed any moderate care in his management? Then after his death, how eaſily might this loſs have been repaired? Though many of the Nobility fell, and many Souldiers, yet theſe Souldiers were but ſuch as he picked up as he could, the ſtrength of the Nation was not much more impared, than after the Northern expedition; for *Ingulphus* writes expreſly, that he flew away to *Haſtings*, not ſtaying for the Army. Such Forces as were coming up to *Harold*, with thoſe of *Edwin* and *Morkar*, would have been ſufficient, or might have been filled up with ſuch numbers (all willingly giving in their Names at ſuch a time as this) as might have made the *Norman* repent he had burnt his Ships, for all his late ſucceſs he obtained in *Suſſex*. His expedition was not ſo quick, nor his march ſo in haſte, but they had time enough to unite. Nay, he ſo carried himſelf in this, as if he had a mind they ſhould reinforce themſelves; for his beſt way had been to march directly for *London*, to diſſipate all Forces, and hinder the forming of new Armies, for being every where Maſter of the Field, Forts and Caſtles muſt have come in of themſelves, being of no great value in thoſe days, as appeared by the large ſwinge the *Danes* took throughout the Land, without any conſiderable let or interruption from Caſtles, notwithſtanding all the Fortreſſes ſaid to be raiſed, or repaired, by *Edward* the Elder and his Siſter. But inſtead of preparation for driving away the common Enemy, they become Enemies one to another, and ſtand in competition for that Crown which he had already got, on the point of his Sword, though not on his Head. Theſe were prodigious miſcarriages, not incident to any that had reaſon about them, but abſolute effects of ſuch vitious tempers as infatuate Mens minds, and enervate the Powers of their Souls, both effects and ſigns, and carrying the puniſhments along with them, of ſome notable extravagances, of which, not onely particular Families, but even the whole Nation it ſelf was guilty.

Exercitum non expectat.

A general character of the *Engliſh*.

38. And that the *Engliſh* were now guilty of ſuch extravagances, as ever forerun ſuch Calamities and Revolutions, as by debauching their minds, render them abject, pitifull, and fit for ſlavery, we have but too good Teſtimony to aſſure us. The Monk of *Malmesbury*, who being of *Engliſh* Deſcent, as well as *Norman*, profeſſes he had no prejudice to either Nation, and we may take his word, the courſe of his writing making no ſhew of the contrary, taking a view of their manners from their firſt entering and planting in the Iſland, obſerves that they were various. "At their firſt coming, their geſture and look was altogether barbarous, and they were wholly given to War as long as they continued Pagans. When they had once received Chriſtian Religion, they applied themſelves in a manner wholly to it, giving to Arms but the ſecond place; and here he inſtances in Rich and Poor, Eccleſiaſticks and Seculars, Kings, Biſhops, Hermites and Abbats, not one Nation indeed being able to vye with this in that reſpect. But the ſtudy of Learning and Religion were grown quite out of faſhion, in the foregoing Age, not a few years before the coming of the *Normans*. The Clergy contenting themſelves with a trifling kind of literature, ſcarcely able to pronounce the words belonging to their ſeveral Services. He that underſtood Grammar, was a wonder, and Matter of aſtoniſhment to the reſt. The Monks went fairly clad, and obſerved not the Rules of their Orders, as to Meat and Drink. The Nobles were given over to Gluttony and Luſt, not going to Church in the Morning as Chriſtians ought to doe. The common People was expoſed as a Prey to the great ones, both in their Perſons and Eſtates, many having got their Women Servants with Child, when they had ſatisfied their luſt, turned them over either to the common Brothel Houſes, or kept them perpetually in that courſe of ſlavery. They were univerſally given to Drunkenneſs, ſpending night and day in Tipling, making great chear, and being at great

“ expence in their mean and pitifull Houſes, of a quite contrary diſpoſition to the “ *Normans* in this reſpect, who in fair and ſtately Houſes lived very thriftily. And Drunkenneſs was accompanied with the uſual Vices which debauch and render effeminate the minds of Men.

39. Hence came it to paſs, that rather carried headlong with temerity and fury, than any true skill they had in War, they ingaged with Duke *William*, and by looſing the day, inſlaved both themſelves and Countrey. In Sum, the *Engliſh* then wore their Clothes ſhort, cut their Hair, ſhaved their Faces, (all, he means, but their upper Lip) loaded their Armes with golden Bracelets, marked their Skin with divers Images, would Eat till they ſurfeited, and Drink till they vomited, which laſt Vices they communicated to the Conquerours, in all things elſe taking up, and admiring their Modes. But this he would not have underſtood of all, but of the *Engliſh* in general; foraſmuch as to his knowledge there were many good Men, both amongſt Clergy and Laity. *But*, ſaith he, *as in times of proſperity, the goodneſs of God moſt commonly cheriſhes the bad with the good, ſo in the Captivity of a Nation, ſometimes his ſeverity involves the good in the ſame Calamities with the bad.* They had formerly, as *Ingulphus* aſſures us, run out of themſelves, and become *French*, by idoliſing and imitating the *Normans*, in all that was light and trivial; now they muſt ſerve whom before they ador'd. Thoſe that were ſo enamoured of all things that were *French*, that they would wiſh rather to be ſerved by a *French* Dog, than an *Engliſh* Man, now had the privilege to be called and uſed as Dogs, by their late Lacquies, upon whom, out of the influence of their former affection, it's to be preſumed, that like Spaniels, they more fawned the more they beat them. And ſuch Women as raviſhed with the Perſons, and deportment of their *French* Gueſts, would flock to ſtare at and admire them even at the Gallows, or when they were Arraigned or led to Execution, now might ſtay at home and ſave their pains, might view and ſatisfie themſelves with that contenting ſight, while they beheld them knocking on the Head, or hanging up their dull *Engliſh* Husbands, Sons or Brothers, at their own Doors. But no more of this diſmal Subject. Onely, Reader, remember that the ſame Cauſes ordinarily produce the ſame Effects. We will diſmiſs our *Engliſh Saxon* Anceſtors with what is more comfortable; by taking a view of their Polity, their Laws, and better Cuſtoms.

Who are admirers of the *French*.

Who are now come to ſettle their fancy.

Verum ſicut in tranquillitate malos cum bonis fovet plerumq; Dei ſerenitas, ita in Captivitate bonos cum malis nonnunquam ejuſdem conſtringit ſeveritas. De Willielmo primo, lib. 3. *p.* 102. *Edit. Savilianæ.*

Ut quaſi per tranſennam videas quàm tyrannicè & crudeliter Normanni Anglos tractaverint pete Ingulphi Hiſtoriam, & eam partem conſule quæ de Yuone Talbois tractat. Nam hæc non pertinent ad hoc noſtrum volumen.

The Government Monarchical.

And Arbitrary as by Conquerours.

40. To begin at the top. From the courſe of this Hiſtory, the Reader will obſerve that the Government was Monarchical, and that not onely in reſpect of the particular Kingdoms during the Heptarchy, which had their peculiar Kings, but even of the whole Body of the Nation, which was uſually Commanded by one of the ſeven, of all which *Beda* takes notice till his time, and *Egbert* more effectually than any of them completed the Deſign, leaving his Poſterity in poſſeſſion of that Power, which brought the Sovereignty to the Houſe of the Weſt *Saxon* Kings, that which none of the other could accompliſh as to their Families. The nature of the Monarchy we muſt believe at the firſt followed the condition of the Tenure, abſolute Conqueſts and Territories, both got and held by the Sword alone, uſually producing abſolute Governments, which many times either by reaſon of the infirm Foundations laid by the Conquerours themſelves, the humour of the People not enduring ſuch ſubjection, or other accidents, change into more moderate and leſs Arbitrary. That *Hengiſt*, *Ælla* and the other Captains, when they firſt erected their Dominations, Governed their Souldiers, whom now being Kings they called Subjects, with as great Authority, and as full Command as formerly, we little doubt. The Polity and Frame of their Governments for a long time could not be very Poliſht; Laws and ſetled Orders having little to doe amongſt Arms and Confuſion, and with Arms they were wholly taken up, Conquering by dint of Sword every foot of ground they called theirs, generally throughout the Countrey, which having by main ſtrength, and after much contention and tuging on both ſides, wreſted out of the hands of the Owners, they were afterwards as buſie in defending it, as well from the Incroachments and Rapines of one another, as the Re-entries of its former Maſters. Therefore till the time of *Ethelbert* the firſt Chriſtian King, hear we nothing of Laws, they having been formerly Governed by common Rules of natural Prudence, according to the Exigency of Affairs, and the nature of Circumſtances, or ſuch Cuſtoms as they brought along with them from their own Countries.

Then Laws are enacted.

41. After

By what Titles the Kings ſtyled themſelves.

The Queen.

41. After that their Kings became Chriſtian, they ſtyled themſelves ſuch, (in the Singular Number, *I*, though the Plural in King *Edgar*'s days was given to ſingle Perſons) *By Divine Diſpenſation*, *By* (*a*) *the Mercy of God*, *By* (*b*) *Divine Diſpoſition*, and *By* (*c*) *the Grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, or ſuch like, though ſome of them omitted ſuch Expreſſions, writing onely themſelves *Kings of ſuch a Countrey*. The other ſix Kingdoms being brought under that of the Weſt *Saxons*, the *Welſh* and *Scots* became alſo tributary, or acknowledged ſuch Subjection, that *Eadred* the Son of *Edward* the Elder, *A. D.* 948. ſtyled himſelf *King* (*d*) *of Great Britain.* After him *Edgar* took the Title of *Monarch* (*e*) *of all Great Britain*, and *King* (*f*) *of Great Britain*, and *King* (*g*) *of all Albion*, as alſo of *the* (*h*) *Maritime or Kings of the Iſlands*, and of *King* of Albion *and the* (*i*) *Neighbouring Kings*, in which Titles he acknowledged the very large Munificence of Almighty God, in that he was advanced above all his Progenitours. The reaſon of theſe high Titles, may be fetch'd from what we have written of his being waited on, and rowed in a Boat by Eight Petty Kings or Princes, amongſt whom is found *Maccuſe* King of the Iſles, for *Edgar* is ſaid to have been Lord of all the Iſlands, as far as *Norway*. But this Dominion of the Northern Iſles continued not long, but as with *Edgar* the Grandeur and Felicity of the *Engliſh* Monarchy, ſo this large Title fell with him, not extending it ſelf to the *Orcades*, which as both *Giraldus Cambrenſis* and others affirm anciently were ſubject to the Kings of *Norway*, with one of whom, *viz. Harold Harvager*, as we have lately ſeen, *Paul* the Earl of *Orcades* came and fought againſt our King *Harold*, the Son of *Godwin*. Yet though they might not uſe the Titles, did many of the ſucceeding Kings hold both *Wales* and *Scotland* in Subjection. The *Engliſh Saxon* King whom they termed Cyninᵹ, and contractedly at laſt Cynᵹ, (as we now do the *Saxon* Language not knowing *K*) had Sovereign Power and Rights of Majeſty, made Laws, raiſed Money, and had power of Life and Death, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. The Wife of the King they called Cƿen, as we at preſent Queen, and ſhe was Partaker with her Husband though not in Sovereignty, yet in Reſpect and Honour, till by reaſon of the pragmatical Carriage of *Eadburga*, the Daughter of *Offa*, and Wife to *Birtric*, this Cuſtome common to all Nations was interrupted in the Royal Palace of the Weſt *Saxons*, where the Wives of the Kings were not ſuffered to ſit by them, nor to enjoy the Title of Queen, till this Decree was repealed by King *Ethelwulf*, though with much trouble in favour of his Queen *Judith* the *French* Lady. The King's Son or the Heir to the Crown was called *Etheling*, in Latin they termed him *Clito*, (ſignifying the ſame, as *Cæſar*, *Princeps Juventutis* or *Nobiliſſimus Cæſar*, amongſt the *Romans*) though theſe Names were in a manner given to all of the Bloud-Royal, whom *Hoveden* in a diminutive way calls *Clitunculi*. The Eldeſt by the Prerogative of his Age challenged juſtly the Title of King after his Father's death, but the Reader in peruſal of this Hiſtory may take notice how often this Courſe was changed, when either force prevailed, a former agreement had paſſed, or the next and immediate Heir was but a Child.

The King's Heir and other Sons.

Topograph. Hiberniæ Diſt. 2. c. 11. cui adde Ordericum Vitalem in Ecleſ. Hiſt. lib. 10. & Chronicon Roberti de Monte continuat. Chronic. Sigeberti ad Ann. 1167.

(*a*) *Ita Ethelbaldus Rex Merciorum in Chirographo quod extat apud Ingulphum.*

(*b*) *Sic Kenulphus Rex Merciorum.*

(*c*) *Ita Witlaſius. Ibid. & Beonedus.*

(*d*) *Ego Edredus Rex terrenus ſub Imperiali potentia Regis Sæculorum æterníq; Principis magnæ Britanniæ temporale gerens Imperium.*

(*e*) *Ego Edgarus ejuſdem Dei noſtri largifluæ Munificentiæ poſſidens totius magnæ Britanniæ Monarchiam. A. D.* 996.

(*f*) *Ego Edgarus ſub ipſo ſydereo Rege præſidens Regno magnæ Britanniæ. A. D.* 970.

(*g*) *Ego Edgarus totius Albionis baſileus*

(*h*) *Ego Edgarus totius Albionis baſileus nec non maritimorum ſeu inſulanorum Regum habitantium, adeò ut nullius progenitorum ſubjectione largiflua Dei gratia ſuppetente ſim ſublimatus. A. D.* 974.

(*i*) *Ego Edgarus totius Albionis finitimorúmque Regum baſileus.*

Two ſorts of Councils.

The great Aſſembly or Council for governing the Nation.

42. Of all the Inſtruments by which the Kings governed, their Principal were their Councils. Of theſe they had two ſorts, *viz.* their Ordinary or Domeſtick, conſiſting of Domeſticks, or ſuch as were near their Perſons; or Extraordinary; which was the Great Aſſembly or Council held for determining the great and urgent Affairs of the Kingdom. This was called ƿitenaᵹemote, or the *Aſſembly of Wiſemen*, and conſiſted of the Prelates and Noblemen, or chief Magiſtrates of the Kingdom. Hereof, beſides what the Laws of Princes ſpeak, we have ample Teſtimony from ſeveral Charters of Kings, as well in the ſeveral petty Kingdoms during the Heptarchy, as after it came fully to be reduced into one Monarchy. *Bertulph* the King of the *Mercians* in a Charter, wherein he confirms the Revenues and Privileges of the Monaſtery of *Croyland*, ſignifies that the Monaſtery had exhibited their complaint before *the* (*a*) *Prelates and Nobles of his whole Realm of*

(*a*) *Propoſita ergo tali querela veſtra per Fratrem Askillum Commonachum veſtrum palam coram prælatis & proceribus totius Regni mei Merciæ apud Beningdon ultimo congregatis. Omnibus tenerrimè compatientibus—placuit; apud Ingulphum, p.* 858. *Edit. Francofurti.*

Mercia, *the laſt time aſſembled at* Beningdon, all who tenderly *compaſſionated* them for the Injuries they had received, and having *conſidered* and *commended* the Accurateneſs of their Religion, *it pleaſed them all* by this King's Inſtrument to confirm and inlarge all their Privileges formerly granted to them by his Brother *Withlaf*. Wherefore *with (b) the common Council of his whole Kingdom*, he grants ſuch and ſuch things; again, he grants *with (c) the Common Council and free conſent of all the Great Men of his Kingdom.* And *conſenting (d) all his Prelates and Noblemen.* And that *it (e) unanimouſly pleaſed him and his whole Council.* Afterward in the ſame Charter he ſignifies, that *their Poſſeſſion was in an eſpecial manner appropriated to theſe Religious Men, by the (f) Common Council of the Kingdom.* And at length concludes in this manner, *Therefore (g) with the unanimous Conſent of the whole preſent Council here aſſembled at* Kingeſbury, *in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord Chriſt* 851, *the ſixth Day in* Eaſter-*week, for the Affairs of the Kingdom, this my Royal writing I have confirmed firmly, and immutably with the ſign of the Holy Croſs.* This abundantly ſhews of whom the Great Council conſiſted which was held in *Mercia* for the publick Affairs of the Kingdom. At this time the King of *Mercia* was tributary to him of the Weſt *Saxons*, which was *Ethelwulf*, as appears though ſeveral other ways by *Oſlat* his Butler, who being preſent at the ſigning of the Charter witneſſeth to it in this form. *I* Oſlat *the Butler of King* Ethelwulf, *and the Ambaſſadour of him my Lord, and of his Sons in their Names, and the Name of all the Weſt* Saxons *have commended this writing of the Lord King* Bertulph. His being preſent at this Aſſembly, and ſigning in *the Name of King* Ethelwulf *of his Sons, and all the Weſt* Saxons, ſeems to hint this to us, that though theſe Tributary Princes as Kings held the Aſſemblies of their Kingdoms, and therein made Laws, and otherwiſe diſpatched their great Affairs, yet in acknowledgement of the Sovereignty of the Kings of the Weſt *Saxons*, who now in effect were Monarchs over all, things were not ratified, but by the conſent of the ſaid Weſt *Saxon* Kings, expreſſed by their Ambaſſadours ſent on purpoſe.

Ego Oſlat pincerna Regis Ethelwulfi & Legatus ipſius Domini mei & filiorum ſuorum nomine illorum & omnium Weſt-ſaxonum iſtud Chirographum Domini Bertulphi Regis plurimum Commendavi. p. 861.

43. When the whole Power was transferred upon the Weſt *Saxon* Kings, and they were become Monarchs of the *Engliſh* under them, alſo ſuch Aſſemblies were held of the whole Nation, conſiſting of the ſame ſorts of Perſons. As to goe no farther than *Ingulphus*, *Edred* who ſtyled himſelf Monarch of Great *Britain*, by his Edict ſummoned *all the Great (b) Men of his Realm, as well Archbiſhops, Biſhops and Abbats as the reſt of the Nobles of his whole Kingdom to meet at* London, *to handle the publick Affairs of the whole Realm.* Here we ſee they were aſſembled by the King's Edict, not by ſending to them all in particular, but by the way of Proclamation. Their meeting was timed according to the Exigency of Affairs, as that notable Council held at *London*, *A. D.* 833. under (c) *Egbert* for ſuppreſſion of the *Daniſh* Pirates, which continually infeſted the Sea-coaſts, at which were preſent the ſaid *Egbert*, *Ethelwulf* his Son, *Withlaf* King of *Mercia*, with the Prelates and the greater Noblemen of all *England*. Yet it is obſervable that their buſineſs giving them leave, they would ſtay for ſome remarkable day or time. As this Council was held on the Feaſt of St. *Auguſtine* the Confeſſour, Doctour and Apoſtle of our Nation as the Charter hath it, meaning *Auguſtine*, the Monk, ſent over to convert the *Engliſh* Nation by *Gregory* the Great, whoſe Feſtival was held in great eſteem upon that account. The Councils held in *Bertulph*'s time, and formerly mentioned by us, aſſembled at *Eaſter*, and indeed this ſeems to have been the time chiefly reſpected when the occaſion was not urgent and preſſing, becauſe the ſeaſon being convenient for Travel, this Feſtival in thoſe days was wont by Princes more magnificently to be obſerved, and their Courts now were wont to be more full of the Nobility, who uſually waited upon Kings at the Celebration of it, *Whitſuntide* and *Chriſtmaſs*, but eſpecially of it, as appears from what we reade of *Charles* the Great, and as we ſee by the Letter of King *Canute* written to his Subjects from *Rome*, the Princes of *Italy* flocked to that City to celebrate together with the Pope that Holy Feaſt. Of courſe therefore coming to Court, at that time it was moſt convenient to hold the Aſſembly, *Eaſter*, *Whitſuntide*

and

Summoned by Edict or Proclamation upon extraordinary occaſion.

Ordinarily at *Eaſter, Whitſuntide* and *Chriſtmaſs.*

(b) *Cum commiui concilio totius Regni mei concedo.*

(c) *Cum communi concilio gratuitóque conſenſu omnium magnatum Regni mei concedo.*

(d) *Conſentientibus omnibus prælatis & proceribus meis.*

(e) *Complacuit unanimiter mihi & univerſo concilio. p.* 859.

(f) *Et Poſſeſſio viris Religioſis communi Regni concilio ſpecialiter appropriata. p.* 860.

(g) *Cùm ergò unanimi conſenſu totius præſentis concilii hic apud Kingsbury anno Incarnationis Chriſti Domini* 851 *feria ſexta, in Hebdomada Paſchæ pro Regni negotiis congregati, iſtud meum Regium Chirographum ſanctæ crucis ſigno ſtabiliter & immutabiliter confirmavi. p.* 861.

(b) *In Feſto ergo Nativitatis B. Mariæ cum univerſi magnates Regni per Regium Edictum ſummoniti, tam Archiepiſcopi quam Epiſcopi ac Abbates, quam cæteri totius Regni proceres & optimates Londoniæ conveniſſent ad tractandum de negotiis publicis totius Regni. p.* 874.

(c) *In præſentia Dominorum meorum Egberti Regis Weſtſaxoniæ & Ethelwulfi filii ejus coram pontificibus & proceribus majoribus totius Angliæ in civitate Londoniæ ubi omnes congregati ſumus pro concilio capiendo contra Danicos piratus littora Angliæ aſſiduè infeſtantes. Sic ſcribit Withlafius Rex Merciorum apud Ingulphum. p.* 857.

and *Chriſtmaſs*, were the ordinary times for holding theſe great Councils. Yet that Aſſembly ſummoned by King *Edred*, was held on the Feaſt of the Nativity of the Bleſſed Virgin.

44. We have heard that theſe Great Councils conſiſted of Prelates and Noblemen, expreſſed by theſe *Latin* words, *Proceres*, *Magnates* and *Optimates*, (not the leaſt mention of any of the Common People being made) but for a better underſtanding of the thing in hand, we muſt know what they called them in their own Language. Here to fetch the matter as high as we can, we ſhall betake our ſelves to the Laws of King *Ina*, the firſt of any Engliſh *Saxon* King now certainly extant, who tells us that he compoſed them by the counſel and advice of his Father *Ceured*, of *Hedda* and *Erkenwald* his Biſhops, and all his Aldermen, and the Eldeſt Wiſe Men of his Nation, and alſo in a great Aſſembly of the Servants of God: of Biſhops there is no doubt. As for *Aldermen* the *Latin* Tranſlatour terms it *Senators*, but this leaves us in as great obſcurity. Firſt then, the word Ealdorman was ſo general as to ſignifie and comprehend all that were eminent either in reſpect of their Dignity or their Offices, all *Reguli*, *Subreguli*, *Princes*, *Dukes*, *Earls*, and all ſorts of Magiſtrates. But ſuch of them muſt be here meant as muſt correſpond with what follows, *viz.* the * *Wiſe Elders*; and ſuch as may be called *Magnates*, *Optimates* and *Proceres*, for ſuch they are ſtyled in General in the forementioned Charters. Thoſe therefore whom Writers in *Latin* call *Duces* and *Comites* were Dukes and Earls, they ſtyled by the Name of *Aldermen*, as is notorious to any one who hath the leaſt converſed with *Saxon* Authours: in King *Alfred*'s Tranſlation of *Beda*, and in the Annals nothing more ordinary. Any eminent Judge alſo or Juſticiary was alſo known by the word *Alderman*. But more particularly we meet with the Alderman of *England*, for ſo was *Ailwin* ſtyled, as appeared by his † Epitaph in the Church of *Ramſey* which he himſelf Founded. Now by this Title what elſe can be meant than him whom following times called *The Chief Juſtice of all* England, we cannot deviſe, for that *Ailwin* was a Judge is || evident enough, and that being the Younger Son of *Athelſtan* Duke of the Eaſt *Angles*, from his Birth he could have no ſuch Title. There was another called the *King's Alderman*, either for that he was conſtituted immediately by the King, or becauſe he adminiſtred the King's Juſtice, and he ſeems to have been ordained for a time as occaſion ſerved. Then was there the Alderman of the Shire, or the *Schireman*, *viz.* he whom they called in *Latin Comes*, as the Shire it ſelf *Comitatus*. Or it ſeems rather to ſignifie the Judge of the County skilled in the Laws, the Deputy as it were of him whom they called *Eorl*, (like as the *Salii* had two or three Judges under the Count, whom they called *Sagibarones*) and joined by the Laws with the Biſhop of the Dioceſs both as to Dignity and the joint execution of their Offices in the meeting of the Countrey which they called *Folcmote*.

Who were called to this Great Aſſembly.

Ic Inemid Godes gife ƿest seaxna Cyning mid geþeaht ⁊ mid lære Cenredes mines fæder ⁊ Heddes mines biſceopes ⁊ Ercenƿoldes mines biſceopes ⁊ mid eallum minum ealdormannum ⁊ ðam ýldestan ƿitan minre Ðeode ⁊ eac mýcelre somnunge Godes Ðeoƿena.

*Ealdormen *quaſi Seniores, non propter Senectutem, ſed propter ſapientiam. Ita invenias in Edwardi. c. 35. Reſpondent itaque Presbyteris.*

† *Hic requieſcit D. Ailwinus inclyti Regis Eadgari Cognatus, totius Angliæ Aldermannus & hujus ſacri Cœnobii miraculoſus fundator.*

|| *Ex libro Rames. ſect. 49. vide Gloſſar. Spelman. in voc. Aldermanus.*

45. That the *Eorle* or *Earl* was diſtinct from this *Alderman* appears from the Laws of King *Æthelſtan*, which in the valuation of Men equals the * Archbiſhop and the Earl, as alſo the Alderman and the Biſhop, ſetting the Heads of the former at fifteen thouſand *Thrymſes*, and thoſe of the later but at eight thouſand, as the Head of him we call *Vicecomes* at four thouſand. Being thus joyned in valuation with the Biſhop, the Laws of both King *Edgar* and King *Canute* joyn them in the *Folcmote* or Meeting of the Shire, where they command that both be preſent; the Alderman to teach the People their Duty as to this World, and the Biſhop to inſtruct them in reference to that to come, as the Office of the Earl was to protect the Shire; ſo that the Office of the Earl reſpected the Political Government and Defence, that of the Alderman matter of Law, and that of the Biſhop things concerning Religion. But both as we ſaid, the Earl and Judge in general expreſſion were called Aldermen, eſpecially before the *Danes* came to ſettle in *England*. For the word *Eorla* is of *Daniſh* Original, as witneſſeth † *Ethelwerd* the Hiſtorian, and after the *Engliſh* received it, beſtowed it upon the Superiour ſort of Aldermen, whom the Laws (as we have ſaid) ranked with an Archbiſhop, and to an Inferiour it is never found applied. After the coming in of the *Normans* the word was applied to him, whom the *Dutch* call a *Grave*, though Sir || *Henry Spelman* thinks that in the days of our *Saxons* it rather ſignified whom the *Latin* Writers called *Dux*, and *Conſul* as a general Name, than *Comes*, becauſe he whom the Law of *Æthelſtan* makes equal with the Biſhop was alſo called *Comes*. But it ſeems when our *Saxon* Anceſtours took the Name of *Earl* from the *Danes*, they took it quite away indeed, and robbed them of it. For now amongſt them there is no ſuch word, as neither *Ear* nor *Ar* (ſignifying

The Valuation and Office of Alderman, Biſhop and Earl.

* Ærcebiſciopes ⁊ Eorles ƿæregild bið xv M Ðrimsa Biſceopes ⁊ Ealdormannes viii M.

† *Undecim conſules innuit quos illi (ſcil. Dani) Eorlas ſolent nominare. l. 4. c. 3.*

|| *Vid. Spelman. in voce.*

Honour) from which it is derived. Yet do they uſe the Adjective *Erlig*, that is, *Honoured*, with which they are wont to ſubſcribe their Letters.

Erlig ock Well-byrdig man.
To the honoured and Nobleman.

46. But of ſuch Perſons did the Publick Aſſembly of the Nation conſiſt, *viz.* on the Lay part of Viceroys, Princes, Patritians, (which Title King *Edgar* gives to *Turketule* the Chancellour) Dukes, Earls, Counts, Prefects or Governours, and Hlafords, all who are comprized under the Name of Aldermen; and ſo alſo are Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbats, Prieſts and Monks on the part of the Clergy. Theſe were alſo the Wiſe Men and Elders which King *Ina* meant, for Seniours, Senatours, Elders and Aldermen are the ſame, and moreover thoſe of the Clergy are they whom he calls the Servants of God, this being an appellation in thoſe times peculiar to Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, a phraſe taken up by Biſhops, Prieſts and Monks, is notorious to any one but meanly converſant in the Monuments of thoſe Ages. All they are compriſed under the Name of the Servants of God, aſwell as the Lay Members of this Great Council under the Name of Aldermen, the *Thanes* onely excepted, who muſt be added to the former, as appears by ſeveral Subſcriptions both to Councils and Charters. Now * *Thanes* were of two ſorts, either † Eccleſiaſtical, or Secular. The Secular were alſo diſtinguiſhed into two ranks, whereof the Greater were in Degree next to Counts, (as *Vavaſors* were to them) being called the King's || *Thanes* as now are called the King's Barons. The other ſort were the leſſer * *Thanes* or under *Thanes*, being the ſame with the leſſer ſort of Barons, Lords of Manors, *Vavaſors*, and the like. In *Latin* they Subſcribed themſelves *Miniſter*, after thoſe who ſtyled themſelves *Comites*; and I little doubt but that the King's *Thanes*, or the *Miniſtri Regis* were meant hereby, though ſome of the lower ſort of *Thanes* might occaſionally be called to the Council as there was occaſion to employ them, as by ſome Subſcriptions we find not onely the Queen, but Abbeſſes, Prieſts and Monks to have been preſent. But as to any Repreſentatives of the Common People, we muſt profeſs as doth † Sir *Henry Spelman*, that we can find no ſuch in theſe Greateſt Councils of our *Saxon* Anceſtours.

The Laity compriſed under the Name of Alderman. The Clergy called the Servants of God.

Thanes.

But no Repreſentatives of the Commonalty.

* Saxonicè Ðeᵹn a Ðenian *miniſtrare, ei qui ſervitutem ſervit oppoſitus, ꝛs enim* Ðeoƿ *dicitur* â Ðeoƿian *ſervire.*
† Meꞅꞅe-þeᵹnaꞅ & ƿeꞃolð Ðeᵹnaꞅ.
|| Cynınᵹeꞅ Ðeᵹnaꞅ.
* LeꞅÐeᵹnaꞅ *vide Spelman. Gloſſar. in voc. Thegnus* & *Baro* & *Selden.* Titles of Honour. *Item Somneri Gloſſar. in voc. Tegnio.*
† *Sed ut uberius dicam de Perſonis in iſtiuſmodi Concilio convocatis: occurrit primò nuſquam me reperiſſe inter Saxones noſtros plebi locum, cui in Germania Tacitus potiorem tribuit in voc. Parlamentum.*

47. What we have ſaid already of the ſeveral great Officers of the Kingdom being Members of the Great Council or Meeting of Wiſemen may much ſerve to ſhew how the King out of the Council governed as well as in, for ſomething has been ſaid in reference to the nature of their Office and Employments. The chiefeſt Officer under the King was his Chancellour; for governing of the People, were the Earls, Counts or Aldermen of the Counties or Shires, who for this purpoſe held another Aſſembly or Council, which from the Folk or People therein gathered together was called Folcmoꞇe, and from the ſhire Scyꞃᵹemoꞇe, over theſe the Aldermen of the ſhire preſided, but in them aſſembled all the Great men in King *Edward* the Confeſſour's Laws called *Principes*, the Biſhops, the military Men and Freemen of all *England*, therein they ſwore Allegiance to the King. The Buſineſſes of the Shires were here tranſacted, and hence it was not lawfull to appeal to the King's Court but in failure of Juſtice, and here were choſen the Deputies of the Aldermen of the Shires called in Latin *Vicecomites*, as alſo another ſort of military Officers called *Heretochs*. The Deputies were in *Saxon* called ᵹeꞃeꝼaꞅ and Scıꞃᵹeꞃeꝼaꞅ (whence our *Shire-reeves* contractedly *Sheriffs*) and in the Abſence of the Aldermen they managed the Buſineſſes of the County, and governed the *Folcmotes*. Before them as appears from *Ingulphus* Propriety was tried, and when evicted they were to put the right owner into Poſſeſſion. From the ſame Writer it farther appears, that there were certain Officers formerly in *Latin* called *Vicedomini*, out of which two ſorts were made, *viz.* This of *Vicecomites*, and another whom he calls *Juſtitiarii*. Yet that the *Vicedomini* continued afterward is evident enough, but one of theſe two ſorts might be meant, *viz.* either a Sheriff or a Juſticiary, for it's an ordinary thing for the *Species* to be denominated by the *Genus*.

The Governours of Council out of Parliament.

48. The *Heretochs* who as we ſaid were alſo choſen in meeting of the Shire, are thus deſcribed to us by one who in the time of the *Normans* interpolated the Laws of *Edward* the Confeſſour. “There were other Powers and Dignities (ſaith “he) conſtituted throughout all Countries and Provinces, and through the ſe-

De Heretochiis.

A Deſcription of *Heretochs*.

“ veral Shires which the *Engliſh* called *Heretochs*, viz. *Noble, Eminent, Wiſe, Faithfull and Courageous Barons*, in Latin *Ductores Exercitûs*, whom the *French* named Capital Conſtables, or Marſhals of Armies. In Battels they Marſhalled Armies, and raiſed Forces as occaſion ſerved, and when they thought fit for the Honour of the Crown, and the benefit of the Kingdom. Now theſe Men were choſen by the Common Council, for the common Utility of the Realm through all the Provinces and Countries, and the ſeveral Counties in full *Folcmote*, as the Sheriffs of Provinces and Counties ought to be choſen; ſo as in every County there was ever one *Heretoch* choſen to conduct the Forces of his Shire according to order received from our Lord the King for the Honour and Profit of the Crown of the ſaid Kingdom, always when need required. Whoſoever for fear of Battel or Death ſhall fly from his Lord, or Aſſociate in the Conduct of his *Heretoch*, either in an expedition by Sea or Land, is to looſe all he hath, liſe and all, and the Lord may ſeize upon that Land which he formerly gave him. Here add that all Men were bound to be provided of Arms, out of St. *Edward*'s Law. 35. They were choſen then as Sir *Henry Spelman* obſerves in full *Folcmote*, not in the Aſſembly of the beginning of *May*, of which we ſhall ſpeak anon, but at the beginning of *October*. At theſe *Folcmotes* theſe *Heretochs* * were preſent, and with the approbation of the Aſſembly ordered what was to be done, in reference to the *Militia*. This Popular Election of them ſeems to have been taken from the *Germans*, as appears from the Laws of the *Boii*. † And as Thing ſo Name came from them, with whom ſtill at this day *Hertog* anſwereth to the *Latin Dux*, and they as well as our *Saxon* * Anceſtours ſtill give that Title to thoſe Princes, and great Nobles which with us uſe the ſtyle of *Dukes*. Yet theſe our *Heretochs* were no ſuch kind of Perſons, but either of the ſame Dignity, and account with the Sheriffs or inferiour to them. For the Laws of *Henry the Firſt* directing who ſhould be preſent at the *Shire-mote* order that there be the *Biſhops, Comites, and Vicecomites, then the Heretochs, Trithingreves, Ledgreves, &c.* Sir † *Henry* thinks them the ſame with thoſe whom the Laws of *Æthelſtan* call *Holdes*; for as he joins *Shire-reeves* and *Heretochs* together, ſo doth he alſo *Holdes* and *Hehgereeves*, by which no other than the *Shire-reeves* are ſignified. But thus we have ſhewed that both the one and the other were choſen in the *Folcmote*, which as to the *Shire-reeves* held till the ninth year of *Edward* the Second, or the year of our Lord 1315. Afterwards great Conteſts and Tumults ariſing they came to be pricked by the King, in the manner they are at this preſent.

* *Ab* Heꞃe *Exercitus &* ꞇoᵹen *ducere.*

† *Sic Batavi hodie dicunt De Hertog van Jorck, de Hertog van Orleans, &c.*

* *Chartæ quædam Saxonicæ Ælfherum quæ Latinè nunc Ducem nunc Comitem vocant Merciorum, ſcribunt* Ælꝼheꞃe Meꞃcna Heꞃeꞇoᵹan.

† *Vide hic omnino quæ Spel. habet de Mareſchallo.*

49. But farther, What has been ſaid of the Power of the *Heretochs*, as to raiſing and management of the *Militia* of the Shire, muſt for all this be meant ſubordinately to the Earl or Alderman. For in the *Saxon* Annals and other Hiſtories throughout, upon all occaſions we find theſe great Men, thoſe whom in *Latin* they called *Duces* and *Comites*, ſtill to be up and fighting, and of theſe *Heretochs*, otherwiſe than in the Law Books, find we no mention, their Actions and Authority being hid under that Employment of the Counts. They were choſen by the People in the *Folcmote*, as the Knights of Shires at this day, the Alderman, Count or Earl, was appointed by the King, continued during pleaſure for a time, or was now and then Hereditary as the Prince thought convenient. The Office of Count, Earl or Alderman, was to prevent and puniſh Force and Injury, reſtrain Robberies, and keep the King's Peace, not onely by the vigour of the Laws, but if need ſerved, by force of Arms; the King's Dues, as Cuſtoms and Tributes, he Collected and brought into the Treaſury. Yet the Cauſes of Noblemen were not tryable in his Court, a thing in force ſo much at this day, that Actions of Debt or Injuries cannot be tried in the County Court, if the value of the thing contended for be not under forty ſhillings. This is farther remarkable, that no Man by the Laws of King *Alfred*, could change his dwelling without the knowledge and teſtimony of the Alderman, in whoſe Shire he lived. In caſe he had taken a Thief and diſmiſſed him, or concealed the theft, he was to looſe his Shire, except the King pleaſed to diſpenſe with him by the Laws of *Ina*. As the reward of his ſervice, or ſtipend from the profits ariſing out of the Mulcts and Pleas of his County, he received the third penny, as did the *French* Counts, in the time of *Charles* the Great, which Cuſtome was continued by the *Normans* after the Conqueſt. From Doomſday Book alſo, it appears, that the Earl or Count received certain Rents or Payments from particular Towns, as that of *Chicheſter* paid fifteen pounds to the King, and ten to the Earl. Such was the power, duty and reward of this great Officer, in *Saxon* called *Alderman*, in *Latin*, *Dux* or *Comes*,

How theſe Officers were choſen.

Their Power, Duty and Reward.

Vide Ll. Inæ, Aluredi, aliorum paſſim.

C. 33.

C. 34.

Sect. 12.

Comes, and often *Conſul*; for our Writers about the *Norman* times, confound theſe Names, and finding them given to great Officers abroad, handle them hand over head; inſomuch, that *William* the Conquerour himſelf, they more commonly call *Comes* than *Dux*. His power was great, the extent of it was through his Shire or County, of the Original of which, and the nature of it, we muſt add a little.

50. *Shire* or *Scire*, ſignifieth a *Section* or *Diviſion*, being a certain Portion of the Kingdom, into many of which, the whole was, as it were, cut or divided. In *Latin* it was called *Comitatus*, from the Officer of it in the ſame Language ſtiled *Comes*, as *County* at preſent from the *Count*, in *French Comte*, which word we reject, though *County* and *Counteſs*, thence derived, we retain. At what time, and by whom this Partition of the Land was made, is ſomething controverted, the general opinion following the credit of *Ingulphus*, who writes, that Shires, were firſt made by King *Alfred*. Speaking of this Prince, how in ordering the matters of his Kingdom, he was moſt carefull and ſagacious, he tells us the occaſion to have been; "That ſome of his Subjects, taught and incouraged by the example of the *Danes*, practiſed Robberies, and committed violence upon their Neighbours, whom deſiring to reſtrain, he firſt changed all the *Pagi* and *Provinces* of *England* into *Counties*, *Counties* he divided into *Centuries* or *Hundreds*, and *Hundreds* into *Tenths* or *Tithings*, that every legal Inhabitant might be found in ſome certain *Hundred* and *Tithing*, and if any one was ſuſpected of a Robbery, by his *Hundred* or *Tithing* he ſhould either be condemned or acquitted. He adds, that the Governours of Provinces, whom formerly they called *Vicedomini*, he divided into two Offices, *viz*, into *Judges*, whom we now call, ſaith he, *Juſtitiaries*, and into *Vicecomites*, who ſtill retain the ſame Name. By the care and induſtry of theſe Men, the Countrey was preſently brought to ſo great tranquillity, that in caſe a Traveller left any money in the Fields or High-ways, if he came the next day, or a month after, he might find it. So much *Ingulphus*.

A ꞅcyꞃan *ſcindere, dividere, adhuc manent*, To ſheer, a pair of ſheers, and a ſhare.

The Diviſion of the Land.

Into Provinces, Shires, Hundreds and Tithings.

Their Governours.

51. Before the Diviſion into Shires, we ſee by him there were *Pagi* or Territories and Provinces. And ſeveral of thoſe we now term Shires, are by *Aſſerius* called *Pagæ*, as thoſe of *Sommerſet*, *Suſſex* and *Cornwall*; and *Wilſcire* he calls by this very Name. Nay much ancienter than this is the word *Scire* * being found in the Laws of King *Ina*, who ſpeaks of the Ealdorman forfeiting his Shire, as alſo of * *Scirmen*. Now as we have ſeen before in the Hiſtory of *Alfred*, *Aſſerius* lived in that King's time and wrote his life, and a wonder it is that ſpeaking of many other remarkable things he ſhould make no mention of this famous Diviſion of the Land. To be ſure whether there were thoſe ſame Diviſions we now call Shires, there were thoſe Officers they then in *Latin* called *Comites*, who not being merely Titulars ſurely had their ſeveral and relative Diſtricts called *Comitatus*. For in the Hiſtory of the ſame *Ingulphus*, in the Charter of the Foundation of *Croyland* Abby by *Ethelbald* King of the *Mercians*, in the Year DCCXVI, we find one *Egga* ſubſcribing by the Title of *Comes Lincoln*, another *Leucitus* by that of *Comes Leiceſter*, and another calling himſelf *Saxulph* the Son of *Count Saxulph*. Nay in the ſame Authour in the Charter of King *Kenulph* which confirms the other in the Year DCCCVI. mention is made of *Thorold Vicecomes* of *Lincoln*, above threeſcore years before King *Alfred* came to be King. It's certain during the Heptarchy, the ſeveral Kingdoms had their Diſtricts, Territories and Diviſions, ſometimes taken from the Habitation of ſuch and ſuch a People, as the *Wiccii*, *Meanvari*, *Girnii* and *Gaini*, of whom we find the Father-in-law of King *Alfred*, to be ſtyled *Comes*. So that Province of *Mercia*, lying near *Lincoln*, or that we now call *Lincolnſhire*, was anciently divided into three Parts, the very ſame, and by the very ſame names they are now known, *viz*. *Lindſey* by *Beda*, called *Lindiſſi* from the City, doubtleſs, which he termes *Lindecollina Civitas*; *Keſteven* by *Ethelwerd*, the Hiſtorian, called *Ceoſteſne* Wood, and *Hoyland*, which if *Ingulphus* may be credited, took its name from *Hoy*, by which our *Saxon* Anceſtours meant that we now call *Hay*, or elſe being in quality like to *Holland*, in the Low-Countries, from the ſame reaſon fetcht its appellation, being as infirm, or hollow as it.

* *LL. Inæ* 36, & 39.

* *L.* 8. *vide infra in LL. Inæ.*

Of the *Comites* and *Vicecomites*.

52. Now for the Shires, probable it is that ſuch other Diviſions as were formerly made, during the Heptarchy, being found convenient, ſtill continued; and that others were made as there was occaſion, by reaſon of any newer Town, that was found fitter to be the Head of the Diviſion; for the convenience of reſort to the *Folcmote* or *Shiremote*, and by reaſon of the decay of a former place. Of this later nature, we take the Town of *Derby* to have been, which was not of any note till

An Alteration of the name of the Shire.

that *Repandune* (now *Repton*) the Seat of the *Mercian* Kings was decayed, but being a lurking hole of the *Danes*, whereas it's former Name was *Northworthige*, from them, as *Ethelward* witneſſeth, or in their Tongue, received that of *Deoraby*, contracted as ſome think from *Derwentby*, becauſe ſituate upon the River *Derwent*. *Ingulphus* writes expreſly, that in the time of the *Daniſh* Kings, the Limits and Bounds of Territories and Shires, were tranſlated and very much altered from the ancient ſtate wherein they had ſtood, as often as rich Men who had money wherewith to bribe, were concerned. In the times of the *Danes* were thirty two Shires, of which, they invaded ſixteen at one impreſſion, which number, in the time of the Conquerour, as appeareth by Doomſday Book it ſelf, was increaſed to thirty four, although ſome have written of thirty ſix. We ſaid that ſome Diſtricts, during the Heptarchy, might be continued afterward, when the whole Monarchy came to be afterward divided into Shires; but that generally it was not ſo, we may gueſs from a certain fragment, which belonging to ſome time of the Heptarchy, ſhews that the Land had other Regions diſtinguiſhed by *Hides* after this manner. *Myrena* contained 30000. *Hides*, *Wokenſetna* 7000. *Weſterna* 7000. *Pecſetna* 1200. *Elmedſetna* 600. *Lindesfarona* 7000. South *Gyrwa* 600. North *Gyrwa* 600. Eaſt *Winna* 300. Weſt *Winna* 600. *Spalda* 600. *Wigeſta* 900. *Hereſinna* 1200. *Sweordora* 300. *Eyſla* 300. *Wicca* 300. *Wihtgora* 600. *Noxgaga* 5000. *Ohtgaga* 2000. *Hwincna* 7000. *Clinternſetna* 4000. *Hendrica* 3000. *Vnecungga* 1200. *Aroſeatna* 600. *Fearſinga* 300. *Belmiga* 600. *Witherigga* 600. Eaſt *Willa* 600. Weſt *Willa* 600. Eaſt *Engle* 30000. Eaſt *Sexena* 7000. *Cantwarena* 15000. South *Sexena* 7000. and Weſt *Sexena* 100000. *Hides*. Of theſe *Hides*, we ſhall onely remark, that from diviſion of ſuch Territories as here are, into but ſo many, the quantity of them muſt be very various, for other reckonings do not agree with this. In ancient times they much uſed the word *Setna*, for Inhabitants, terming alſo thoſe that lived upon Mountains, *Dunſæten*. We are told that this Catalogue onely reſpects the Land lying on this ſide *Humber*; ſo that the Kingdom of the *Northumbrians* being left out of it, and the five laſt Regions containing ſo many other K[illegible]doms of the Heptarchy, that of *Mercia* muſt have contained the reſt before mentioned. *Pecſetna*, was the Seat of ſuch as Inhabited the Mountains, or the *Peak*, which was with other low grounds, afterward aſſigned to *Darby*. *Lindesfarona*, was *Lindſey*, South *Gyrwa* and North *Gyrwa*, were the Fenny Habitations of the *Girvii* or *Gernii*, formerly mentioned, part were bolonging to *Lincolnſhire*, *viz.* North *Gyrwa*, and the reſt to the other Counties adjoyning. Eaſt *Sexena*, South *Sexena* and *Cantwarena*, being formerly Kingdoms, and found to be of a proportionable ſize, without much variation, were left and made ſo many Shires of themſelves.

Sed Danicis Regibus Swano, Cnutone, Haraldo & Hardcnuto totam Angliam opprimentibus, & multa immutantibus, plurima privilegia monaſteriorum perdita ſunt ac prorſus ſufflata: limites ac termini Territoriorum, & Comitatuum tranſlati & a ſtatu veteri ſenſim mutati, prout pecunia divitum in mentibus barbarorum qui nihil aliud quam ruinas quærebant, præponderabat. p. 911.

Another diviſion of the Land by the *Hides.*

53. Some Diviſions therefore or Shires, King *Alfred* might find, others he might add, and he or his complete the Number which we ſaid were found in the *Daniſh* times. If he divided not all the Land firſt into Shires, the Shires he ſubdivided into Hundreds, and theſe Hundreds into Tithings. Of theſe after *Ingulphus* the Monk of *Malmesbury* writes, that becauſe the Inhabitants, taking occaſion from the Barbarians “ practiſing Robberies, ſo that there was no Travelling without defence of Arms, he ordained *Centuries*, which they call *Hundreds*, and *Decima's*, which they name *Tithings*; that every *Engliſh* Man, living honeſtly, might be found in his proper *Hundred* and *Tithing*. If it happened that any one were accuſed of a Crime, out of his *Hundred* and *Tithing*, he was to produce Sureties or Bail, if none would Bail him, he was to undergoe the ſeverity of the Laws; in caſe any accuſed Perſon, either before or after Bail given, ſhould make his eſcape, all in the *Hundred* and *Tithing* ſhould fine to the King. By this Device, he procured ſuch Peace to the ſeveral Countries, that where Highways parted, he cauſed Golden Bracelets to be hung upon Poſts, which derided the avarice of Paſſengers, of whom none dared to take them away. This gives us an account of the occaſion of their Inſtitution, and of the Succeſs. As for the Diviſion of the Land into them, it was neither certain nor equal. *Gervaſe* of *Tilbury* wrote, that an Hide of Land conſiſted of an hundred Acres, and an Hundred of certain hundreds of Hides. Sr. *Henry Spelman*, takes notice, that of purpoſe he aſſigns no certain number, for one Hundred was three or four times bigger than another. Some have held that an Hundred conſiſted of an hundred Villages, as *Giraldus Cambrenſis* deſcribes the *Welſh Cantred*. But at preſent, ſcarcely any where are there to be found throughout *England*, an hundred Villages in one Hundred; ſcarcely half ſo many; they are great ones that contain thirty or forty. Many have but ten, ſome but two, and ſome, as the Hundreds

The occaſion of ſubdividing the Land into Hundreds and Tithings.

De geſtis Reg. Angl. l. 2. p. 44.

This Diviſion not certain nor equal.

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dreds of *Cherham* and *Marden* in the County of *Kent* conſiſt but of one a-piece. And *Stanford* in *Lincolnſhire*, as appears from *Doomſday Book*, paid for twelve Hundreds and an half.

54. My Opinion is, that at firſt an Hundred conſiſted of 100 Hides, and that afterwards the quantity came to be altered, as all humane Inſtitutions are ſubject to change, and *Ingulphus* tells us that great alteration was made in the Diviſions of the Land in the time of the *Danes*. Juſt ſo at *Rome* when the ſeveral Centuries of the People were firſt ordained, a reſpect was had to the Number, but afterwards when *Servius* modelled the State anew he increaſed the numbers of People very much in ſome of them, but let the Name ſtill remain as in that Hiſtory we have obſerved to the Reader and given him warning not to take a Century for an hundred Men, but ſuch a Diviſion of the People. The Hundred to be ſure was a part of the Shire, where an hundred men preſided as Preſervers of the King's Peace, being called *Hundreders*, and in Latin *Centuriones* and *Centenarii*. They had Cogniſance of the middle ſort of Cauſes and Suits; the moſt inferiour being heard in the *Tithing* or *Decuria*, by the *Tithingmen* or *Decuriones*, (each *Hundred* containing ten *Tithings*) and the higheſt in the *County Court* or *Sciremote*. Over theſe *Hundreders* and the whole *Hundred*, one preſided, called the Lord of the Hundred; not in his own right, but of the *Count* or *Sheriff* of that *Shire*, to which the *Hundred* did belong. Moſt anciently he was choſen by the People, though a Statute of *Edward* the Second long after appropriated the Election to the *Chancellour*, *Treaſurer, and Barons of the Exchequer*. He received money from thoſe that were under his Juriſdiction, and had many Privileges. The Court of the Hundred, by the Laws of King *Ina* and *Edward the Confeſſour*, was to be held every Month, except the King's Affairs required haſte, and then ſeveral *Hundreds* ſometimes were called together for quicker diſpatch. It was not lawfull for any to be abſent, as appears from the Laws of King *Edgar*. The *Thanes* here aſſembled, whom Poſterity called *Barons* and Eccleſiaſtical Judges too, for as the Biſhop was to be preſent at the County Court, ſo others of the Clergy at this, and as there, ſo here both Eccleſiaſtical and Secular Matters were hea[illegible] and determined, till *William the Conquerour* diſtinguiſhed the Juriſdictions, and commanded the Courts to be held a-part, as is evident from a Writ of his directed to all that lived within the Dioceſe of *Lincoln*, which prohibits all Biſhops and Archdeacons any more to determine their buſineſſes in the Hundred; or to bring a Cauſe concerning the regiment of Souls before Secular Perſons. But if any application was made about any Cauſe or Crime relating to Eccleſiaſtical Laws, they ſhould appoint a place of meeting where they thought convenient, and there right ſhould be done to God and the Biſhop, not after the cuſtome of the Hundred, but according to the Canons and Epiſcopal Laws.

The Government of the Hundred.

Vide Seldeni Analect. lib. 2. c. 7.

55. The Court day being publiſhed a Week before if any one were abſent the third time, he was puniſhed as Contumacious againſt the King himſelf; and in caſe he paid not his Fine, all his Goods were to be ſeized. When the Court was ſate, the Laws of *Ethelred* commanded that twelve Elderly men of free Condition ſhould take an Oath together with the Preſident, that they would neither Condemn the Innocent nor Abſolve the Guilty. The *Hundred* by another name was and ſtill is called a *Wapentack* from the *Saxon Wæpen* and *Tac*, which ſignifies taking or touching or betaking. *Hoveden* thinks it ſo named from the touching or concuſſion of Weapons or Arms. The ancient *Germans* indeed, from whom ſo many will have the *Engliſh Saxons* deſcended, neither met in Council nor in Judicature without their Weapons, and when any Propoſal they liked they teſtified their approbation by the ſhaking together of their Arms, as *Tacitus* informs us. And from them ſome believe the Inſtitution of *Hundreds* or *Wapentacks* it ſelf to have been derived both to us and to the *Lombards*, from the Laws of whom as alſo thoſe of *Charles* the Great it is evident that the Courts of the Centenaries both among the *Lombards* and ancient *Franks* were ordered by the ſame almoſt Cuſtoms and Laws as ours are and were. But we are told by one very knowing in the *Saxon* Tongue, that the word *Tac* with our Anceſtours never ſignified *Tactus* in Latin or touching, ſo that to derive *Wapentack* from the touching or Concuſſion of Arms cannot, according to him, be warranted by the Etymology. *Brompton* the Abbat gives us another derivation, writing that it was called *Wapentack* from this cuſtome, that when any Lord of the Hundred was new made, thoſe under his Juriſdiction were wont as a Ceremony, and in token of ſubjection, to deliver their Weapons or Arms up to him. Whether this be more agreeable or not to the Etymology, the *Germans* are wont from ſuch like Ceremony to term their

LL. Æthelſtani. c. 20.
Be ðon ðe ᵹemoe ꝼoꞃꞅıꞇꞇe.

It is alſo called a Wapentack.

Ƿapen arma ᵹeꞇæcan *tradere, reddere.*

Somner. in Gloſſar. Voc. Wapentack.

their leſſer ſort of Vaſſals, whom otherwiſe they call *Arimanni*, *Wapendemannen*, or *Gewapende*.

De Hundredis & Wapentachiis.

Its Etymology.

56. But if credit be to be given to the Publiſher of the Laws of King Edward *the Confeſſour*, the former Etymology is the trueſt, the reaſon this. "When any "one, ſay they, undertook the Government of the *Wapentack*, at the appointed "time and wonted place, all the Elderly men gave him a Meeting, and as he lighted from his Horſe all did him reverence. He erecting his Lance received an "Agreement or Aſſociation according to the cuſtome from all, and all thoſe that "were aſſembled with their Lances touched his Lance, and ſo by the Contract of "Weapons ſtrengthened them, an agreement being thus publickly made. For in "*Engliſh* Arms are called ƿæpnu, and ꞇaccaꞃe ſignifies to *Confirm*; as it were a "Confirmation of Arms; or to ſpeak more expreſsly, according to the *Engliſh* "Tongue *Wapentack is the Touching of Arms*; for ƿepnu ſignifies *Arms*, and ꞇac "is *Touching*. Therefore it may ſufficiently be known, that for this Reaſon all "the Aſſembly was called *Wapentack*, becauſe by this Touching of Arms they "confederated amongſt themſelves. There were alſo other Diviſions above *Wapentacks*, which they called þꞃihinꝣaꞅ, which was the third part of the Province. "Thoſe that ruled over them were called þꞃihinꝣeꞃeꝼaꞅ, before whom were brought "ſuch Cauſes as could not be decided in *Wapentacks*. And ſo what the *Engliſh* "in general called *Hundreds*, the Counties of *York*, *Lincoln*, *Notingham*, *Leiceſter*, "and *Northampton*, as far as *Watlingſtreet* termed *Wapentacks*, and what they "termed three or four Hundreds, theſe called ðꞃihinꝣa. But in ſome Provinces "they were called leð, which theſe called *Thrihinge*: And what could not be "tried by the *Thrihinge*, was removed into the *Shire*. Here the Reader may obſerve what Counties they were that uſed the word *Wapentack* and the word *Thrihinge*, which he muſt by no means confound with *Tithing*; for the one is ſo named from *Three* and the other from *Ten*. The Diviſion of *Shires* belonged to the King, the Diviſions of *Hundreds* and *Wapentacks* to the Earl or Sheriff.

Another Diviſion called *Thrihingas*.

Thrihingas.

Thrihingereſas.

Named alſo *Leth* vel *Laths*.

Leth vel Laths

57. Such was the Diviſion, Government, and Governours of the Countries or Provinces. The Cities and greater Towns had alſo their Governours, who were alſo called *Ealdormen*, which name in them continues to this very day, and their power, as the publiſher of *Edward the Confeſſour*'s Laws affirms, was much like to that of the Governours of Hundreds and Wapentacks. Having told us that *Greve* was a Name of Authority extending to Shires, Wapentacks, or Hundreds, and to Towns alſo, that it ſignified properly what *Dominus* doth in Latin, that the *Teutonicks*, as *Friſons*, and thoſe of *Flanders* called their Governours *Mergreves*, he adds, "That in his time they who had authority over others, "were called *Greves*, amongſt the *Britains* in the time of the *Romans* they were "termed *Senatours*, and *Aldermen* by the *Saxons*, not in reſpect of their Age, ſome "of them being young, but for their Wiſedom and Experience, and their knowledge of the Laws. And that I may confeſs the truth, ſaith he, the Aldermen "alſo in the Cities of this Kingdom in their Bailywicks, in their cloſe Burghs, "their Walled Towns and their Caſtles have the ſame Dignity and manner of "Power as the Governours of Wapentacks and Hundreds have in their Bailywicks "under the King's *Vicecomes*, or Sheriff, throughout the Kingdom. For it is "their duty to preſerve the Laws, Liberties, Rights, and Peace of the King, as "alſo the juſt cuſtoms of the Kingdom, ſuch as are ancient and approved by our "good Anceſtours, inviolably, without fraud or delay, all manner of ways according to their power. When any ſudden, unexpected, doubtfull, or ill thing "happens againſt the Kingdom or Crown of our Lord the King in their Bailywicks, they ought to ring the Bells, in *Engliſh* called moꞇbell, to call all the "whole People together, which Meeting in *Engliſh* they call ꝼolcmoꞇe, that is, "the calling or Congregation of all the People, becauſe all that live under the "Protection and in the Peace of the King, within the ſaid Kingdom, ought to "meet, and there by their Common Council provide for the Indemnity of the "Crown or this Kingdom, and for repreſſing the Inſolence of Malefactours. For "it is ordained, that there the whole People meet once in a year, *viz.* on the "Firſt of *May*, and by Oath confederate and unite themſelves as ſworn Brethren "together with the King to defend the Kingdom from Strangers and its Enemies, "with all Fidelity to defend his Territories and Honours, and to be faithfull to "the ſaid Lord the King, both within and without the Kingdom of *Britain*. "This ought all Princes and Earls to doe, and ſwear together before the Biſhops "of the Kingdom in ꝼolcmoꞇe; and in like manner all the Nobles of the Kingdom, as alſo the Souldiers and all Freemen whatſoever of the whole Kingdom of

The Governours of Cities and great Towns.

De Greve.

Aldermen.

Their Power and Duty.

Theſe Northern Nations of the ſame Original.

Pulſatis campanis quod Anglicè vocant Motbel. In borealibus partibus Angliæ Locum ubi convenire ſolebant oppidani novi vocari ſolitum. The Moote-Hall.

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“ *Britain*, ought to doe in full *Folcmote* before the Biſhops of the Kingdom. He a[illegible]es the firſt Invention of this Law to King *Arthur*, and ſaith it lay long buri[illegible] Oblivion till raiſed as it were from the dead by *Edgar* the Engliſh *Saxon* King.

Two ſorts of *Folcmotes* and the difference of them.

⁊ hebbe mon þꞃıᵹa on ᵹeaꞃ Buꞃhᵹemoꞇe. ⁊ ꞇꞃa ꞅcıꞃᵹcmoꞇ. c. 5.

58. From what this Writer ſaith, and what farther he adds in the ſame Chapter, the Reader muſt obſerve what formerly we hinted, that there were two ſorts of *Folcmotes*, *viz.* That of the whole *Shire* called *Shiremote* and this other of Burghers or Citizens termed *Burghmote* held alſo at ſeveral times, and in this they alſo differed, that by the Law of King *Edgar* the Shiremote was to be held twice, but the Burghmote thrice in the year. And what he here ſpeaks of *Aldermen* is not to be underſtood of ſuch as we call *Aldermen* of Towns at this day conſtituting the Ariſtocratical form of the Government of Corporations between the chief Magiſtrate and the Commonalty; but thoſe we call Mayors and Bayliffs, being the principal Officers. For this preſent ſort of *Aldermen* is of a much later date coming up much about the ſame time as did the Name of *Mayor* ſtep into the room of the *Saxon Alderman*, *Portreeve*, *Burghreeve*, and the *Anglonorman Bayliff* about the Reign of *Richard the Firſt*. The *Folcmote* was the Meeting of the Citizens or Burgers, not in their Repreſentative as the Common Council of the City but in their own Perſons, as at *London* of all Freemen at the Election of the Mayor. And as we ſaid formerly of the *Folcmote* of the *Shire* that it was held alſo at extraordinary times by the King's order, if the exigency of his Affairs required. This we find to have been practiſed in *London* (the mentioning of which City lately brings it to our mind) long after the end of the *Engliſh Saxon* Polity. For in the one and fortieth year of King *Henry* the Third, two hundred years wanting ten after the *Norman* Conqueſt, the *Londoners* were by the King's Councellours called to *Folcmote*, and commanded to diſtribute themſelves into *Wardmotes*, the better to debate and determine the buſineſs of ſupplying the King with Money; and in his fifty fourth year this King himſelf was preſent at a *Folcmote* of *London* held at the *Temple*.

Fabian.

The private Diviſion and Government of the Land. *viz.* Tenure in Fee.

Feud l. 1. *Tit.* 1. *Feudum eſt jus in prædio alieno*, &c.

Lib. 2. *Tit. in quibus Cauſ. Feud. amit.*

59. We have ſeen the publick Diviſion and Government of the Land, the next thing we ſhall conſider, is its private Diviſion in reference to Propriety and Poſſeſſion: And the firſt inquiry is, whether Lands were held in Fee during the *Engliſh Saxon* Government before the Conqueſt. By *Fee*, with *Cujacius*, we underſtand *Right of uſing and enjoying another man's Ground* in perpetuum, *which the Lord thereof grants on this condition, that he which receives it perform Fidelity to him, with Military or ſome other Service.* Or more largely to explain it, *A* Feudum *or* Beneficium *is that which for good will is granted, ſo from one to another, that the propriety of this Immoveable thing granted, remaining in the Giver, the* Uſufructus *thereof paſſeth to the Receiver in ſuch manner, that to him and his Heirs Male, and Female alſo, if they be expreſly mentioned, it ſhall perpetually belong, on this condition, that he and his Heirs faithfully ſerve the Lord, whether the Service be by name expreſſed, or the promiſe be indeterminately made.* This laſt Definition is more agreeable to a *Fee* of the Inferiour Age, as our *Spelman* obſerves, when the Nature of it was altered from its Primitive Inſtitution; but both together lay a ſufficient foundation for our inquiry, with this farther conſideration premiſed, that *Fees* at their beginning were not tied with ſuch Circumſtances as afterwards, the thing was more looſe, and the Lord not bound by ſuch Bargains and Conditions as following Ages invented. For as elſewhere we have already obſerved what the Feudal Book it ſelf ſuggeſts; *In moſt ancient times it was in the power of the Lords to take away the thing by them granted in Fee. Afterward it came to paſs that it ſhould continue certain for a year, and that after that it was continued for term of life to the Vaſſal. But nothing for all this deſcending by right of ſucceſſion to the Sons, at length it was brought down to them, to whomſoever of them the Lord would confirm it, which at this day is ſo eſtabliſhed, that it equally appertains to all the Sons*, ſaith the Book.

Lib. 1. *Tit.* 1.

Vide Spelman. Gloſſar. v. Feudum. Seldenii Tit. Hon. & notas ad Pol.

Somner. Tract. de Gavelkind.

60. Now the general opinion of our learned Countreymen is, that *Fees* or *Tenures* were not in uſe in *England* before the *Norman* Conqueſt, after which the Conquerour, according to the cuſtome of the Countrey whence he came, diſtributed all *England* to his Followers, which then began to groan under the burthen of *Fees*, not heard off in the Age of the *Saxons*. They urge that the Term or Word *Feudum* or *Feodum*, is no where to be found in any Record or Monument of theſe times ſtill extant, and of credit; for it occurs ſometimes in the Laws of King *Edgar* and *Edward the Confeſſour*, as alſo in ſeveral Charters mentioned in *Ingulphus*'s Hiſtory, the Text is corrupted, or the Laws are of a later Date; and *Ingulphus*

Bocland and *Folcland.*

Vide Lambard in explic. verb. v. Terra ex ſcripto.

The general word in Grants.

gulphus having been Secretary ſometime to Duke *William* in *Normandy* before his Conqueſt of *England* had both his Tongue and his Pen tipt with Words and Phraſes peculiar to thoſe Countries where he had ſo long reſided. They affirm that no other *Tenures* were in uſe, or to uſe the *Scotch* expreſſion, *Haldings* of Land, but theſe two *Bocland* and *Folcland.* The former was a Poſſeſſion by Book or Writing, and the latter without. That by Writing was a *Freehold* and by Charter; hereditary with all Immunities, and for the Free and nobler ſort. That without writing was to hold at the Will of the Lord; bound to Rents and Services, and was for the rural People. But, not much to concern our ſelves about words, whether in the *Saxon* times the term of *Feodum* or *Feudum* was uſed, is not very material, for by the moſt knowing Antiquaries it is granted, that till about the beginning of the Tenth Century. ſcarcely can any Monument whatſoever of any Nation ſhew theſe words, *Beneficium* being generally uſed before to ſignifie Lands ſo granted. And to come to the thing, as the word *Feudum* was ſcarcely known in the *Saxon* times, ſo *Fees* then were of a more laxe nature, not tied up by ſuch Circumſtances, Laws and Covenants, as in after times, as appears ſufficiently from what we have already ſaid out of the Books themſelves.

Fee and *Folcland* of the ſame nature.

Vide Somner. in Tract. de Gavelkind. p. p. 114, 115.

Villanage.

Gavelkind.

61. Then again, the moſt learned acknowledge ſome kind of Footſteps of theſe Cuſtoms among the *Germans*, and that from the *Germans* our *Engliſh Saxons* iſſued as well as the *Lombards* and *Franks* they ever own. If therefore out of *Germany* the cuſtome was derived, the *Saxons* coming out of the *Cherſoneſus* were as capable of receiving it as the reſt. " If (as the Definition which moſt agrees with the " Primitive Inſtitution of *Fees* affirms) the nature of a *Fee* conſiſted in this, that " it was granted for ſome Service or other to be performed (whether Military or " other) and at firſt it was in the Lord's power to take it away when he pleaſed, I can ſee no reaſon why the *Folcland* they mention may not be accounted of this nature. " For they grant that *Folcland* was Land letten out, and in op" poſition to Demeſne Land, termed *in Servitio*, or *Tenementalis*, that is, granted " out in Service by the Lord to his Tenants, to be holden of himſelf like the " *Frenchman's Fief Servant*, i. e. *Terra Serviens*, in reſpect whereof the Tenants " were bound to be Retainers Attendants, and Followers to their Lords, Sui" tours to their Courts, and were thence called *Folgarii.* There were alſo *Villani* or *Villains*, not in that ſenſe the word hath lately been taken for *Slaves*, but as *Fitzherbert* expreſſeth it, *Baſe Tenants* that did Villain Service, but nevertheleſs were no *Villains*, that is, not in the latter ſenſe, for from *Villa* a *Villain* was named. Mr. *Sumner* contends that *Gavelkind* is a Tenure, confeſſes alſo, that in its nature is lyable to works, and though he be carried away by the Authority of ſome Learned men, without examining it, to believe that *Fees* or *Fiefs* were not in uſe here before the Conqueſt, yet he will have his *Gavelkind* ancienter, ſuppoſing it to have been an Univerſal Cuſtome in *England* before the Conqueſt. The Propriety of Land held in *Gavelkind* was this, that it was partible; and *Gerard Niger* where he treats of the Original of *Fees*, tells us, that after a *Fee* * came to deſcend, to Sons to which of them the Lord would name, at length in his time it was came to be eſtabliſht, *that it ſhould belong equally to them all*; which, as our learned Gloſſariſt notes, the † *Engliſh* call them by the Name of *Gavelkind.*

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* *Sic progreſſum eſt & ad filios deveniret & in quem ſcil. dominus vellet hoc beneficium confirmare. Quod hodie ſic ſtabilitum eſt, ut ad omnes æqualiter filios pertineat.* † *Hoc Angli Gavelkind dicimus.*

The Antiquity of *Fees.*

They become Military.

61. So *Fees* ſeem here to have been in uſe before the Conqueſt, as they were in a more lame ſenſe received out of *Germany*, and as they were in their Infancy. But as afterwards they were clothed with ſtraiter Circumſtances and Laws, ſo were they not in uſe (as little elſewhere before the tenth Century) not ſuch as *Littleton* writes of in his Book of *Tenures*, as *Fee-ſimple*, *Fee-Taile*, *Fee-ferme*, *Frank-fee*, *Grand & Petit ſergeanty*, *Eſcuage*, *Burgage*, or the like. Military Fees ſeem alſo of a later date in *England*, than the *Saxon* times, though they might have been very ſerviceable for repelling the inſolent and pertinacious *Danes.* In after times in all places the chief part of feudal ſervice became military, and for the moſt part that of old Fees was granted out *militiæ cauſa*, which thing gave occaſion to many Learned Men of Errour, both in denying *Fees* never to have been where indeed they were, and in defining *Feudum* by that which Feudiſts call *Clientela militaris*, that is of a *Genus* by a *Species* moſt illogically as *Vulteius* challengeth upon this account *Hotoman* himſelf. The general ſervice was that

of

Sect. 12.

Generally work was chiefly required.

of works impoſed upon the *Folcland*, though not all of it, for moſt of that which was called *Gafolland*, the ſame with *Gavelkind Land* (for that *Gavel* comes from *Gafol* ſignifying *Cenſus*, *Rent*, or *Tribute*, and is not derived from *Gineall*, Mr. *Sumner* hath convinced me) was onely ſubject to Rent or Payment, the works were of a divers Nature. * *Fleta* tells us, that in (or before) *the Conqueſt there were Freemen, that freely held their Tenements by free Services, or by free Cuſtoms, but being caſt out of them by thoſe that were more powerfull, afterward they returned and received back the ſame Tenements in Villenage.* There were others that were *Baſe Tenants* amongſt the *Saxons*, who might be called *Villains* in this ſenſe, that in Villages they lived, and there performed baſe ſervices to their Lords. But a queſtion may be moved, whether during the *Saxon* times there are ſuch *Villains* as are the ſame with *Bondmen* or *Slaves.*

* *Fuerunt etiam in Conqueſtu liberi homines, qui liberè tenuerunt tenementa ſua per libera ſervitia vel per liberas conſuetudines & cum perpotentiores ejecti eſſent, poſtmodum reverſi receperunt eadem tenementa ſua tenenda in villenagio. lib.* 1. *c.* 8.

Two ſorts of Slaves.

Spelm. Gloſſar. in voc. Servus.

62. Some make a diſtinction of *Slaves* into *Perſonal* and *Predial*, and contend that as well the one ſort as the other, were in uſe not onely with our *Norman*, but *Saxon* Anceſtours, the one being received from the *Romans*, and the other from the *Germans*. The latter ſort at the pleaſure of their Lords poſſeſſed Lands and Eſtates, and in the Villages did Ruſtick works and baſe Services, whence they were called *Villains*, and theſe ſeem little or nothing different from the *Villains* of which we lately ſpake: their poſſeſſing of Lands makes them diſtinct from abſolute *Slaves* (of whom amongſt the *Romans*, many wrought in the Fields and Villages, but yet held not ground) and ſhews them like to thoſe of the *Germans*, who were in far better condition than thoſe of the *Romans*, as appears from *Tacitus*. To be ſure *Doomſday Book* makes ſeveral the *Villani* and the *Servi*, as to inſtance onely in that part of it which concerned the Abby of *Croyland*, and which *Ingulphus* hath tranſcribed into his Hiſtory. Speaking of *Goundnaneſlound Hundred* in *Adington*, he ſaith St. *Guthlack* hath had, and hath two hides of Land, the Ground is of four Carucates. One is in *Dominio* and two ſlaves (*Servi*) and ſix Villains and three *Bordarii*, *&c.* Again ſpeaking of *Wendlingborough* in *Ausfordeſhew Hundred*, and what St. *Guthlack*, or the Monaſtery had both formerly, and at that time there, he adds in *Dominio* is one Carucate with one Slave, and one and twenty Villains with the Church and the Prieſt. Afterward he mentions in *Badeby*, being in *Dominio* Eight Carucates, Eight He-Slaves (*Servi*) five She-Slaves (*Ancillæ*) and twelve *Villani*. All theſe are in the ſame Page. In the next we meet with four Cotages and three Slaves, and again there is one Slave. Now he ſaith St. *Guthlachus habuit & habet*, St. *Guthlack*, both *had* and *hath*, which *had* refers to the times of *Edward* the Confeſſour, or before the Conqueſt. It's true indeed, that there are many words which are purely *Norman* in that Deſcription of *England*, and *Ingulphus* having lived in *Normandy*, made uſe of ſuch in his Tranſlation of *Engliſh* Charters, but if *Servi* and *Villani* had been the ſame, he would not have uſed ſeveral words to expreſs them. But he plainly diſtinguiſheth them by the Number of each; and if any ſhould yet doubt that this Diſtinction was brought in after the *Norman* times, this may ſatisfie him that *Slaves* were before the Conqueſt, becauſe they are frequently mentioned in the *Saxon* Laws, particularly thoſe of King *Ina*, by the Name of *Theowum*. One of this King's Laws mentions thoſe who were for Theft deprived of their Liberty and called *Wite Theowum*, ordaining that if ſuch Slaves ſteal again they ſhould be hanged, and no compenſation therefore made to their Lords. In caſe any body killed him, nothing upon that account was to be forfeited to his Kindred, except they had redeemed him within ſix Months. As for the *Villanus* or Countreyman he was called by the Name of *Ceorl* or *Ceorliſcmon*, and in the League between King *Alured* and *Guthrum*, is deſcribed to be one that occupieth *Gafolland*.

The difference betwixt a Villain and a Slave.

P. 909. *Sanctus Guthlacus habuit & habet duas hidas terræ & quatuor carucat. in Dominio eſt una & duo ſervi & ſex villani.*

The *Saxon* Name of a Slave.

ƿite þeoƿum, c. 23.

That of a Villain a Countreyman.

Ceoꞃl. Ceoꞃlıꞅcmon.

Folcland anſwerable to Fee.

Allodium what.

63. For, ſo in a larger ſenſe were all called, that held that ſort of Land called *Folcland*, whether it was *Gafolland* eſpecially ſo called, *viz.* that for which Rent was paid, or the other for which Services belonged. This *Folcland* anſwered to *Feudum* or *Fee*, at leaſt ſuch of it as was held by ſervice, and that to which we muſt now ſpeak, *viz.* *Bocland* anſwered to that which was oppoſite to *Feudum*, and termed *Allodium*. As *Feudum* or *Feodum* was ſo named as *Feo-hode* or *Feh-hode*, as one would ſay *Feeſhip*, or that to which a *Mercenary* Fee or Payment of ſervice did belong; ſo was *Allodium* called from *All-hode*, as one would ſay *Totality*, *Allſhip* (*hade hode head hept*, and the like as before we have obſerved, ſignifying what in *Latin* do *ſtatus qualitas* or *conditio*) which now are expreſſed by the word *ſhip*, as *Worſhip*, *Ladyſhip*, *Lordſhip*, &c. Yet *Man-hood*, *Woman-hood*, *Maiden-*

Maiden-head and others continue) becauſe it was poſſeſſed totally and wholly, being hereditary, perpetual and patrimonial, free without all condition, and in the Power of the Poſſeſſour to diſpoſe of it wholly how he pleaſed, without dependence or asking leave of any. This was of a quiet contrary nature to a *Feodum* or *Fee*, which when firſt inſtituted was but perſonal, not (as afterward) perpetual, patrimonial or hereditary, or holden as our ancient *Engliſh* Lawyers phraſe it, *ad remanentiam*, but as a Clergyman holds his Benefice onely for *life*, the Tenant being but a mere Stipendiary, a Termer, at beſt, as one expreſſes it, but a *Freeholder for life*, an *uſufructuarius*, or not ſo much, for ſome held onely *ad voluntatem Domini* or *precario*, not unlike our *Tenants at Will*. In proceſs of time indeed as we have already ſhewn degenerating, and receding from its firſt Inſtitution it became perpetual and hereditary, yet holden ſtill as formerly with a condition of ſervice on the Tenants part, and by way of Salary, Penſion or Stipend from the Lord, wherewith to gratifie and recompence his Man for his ſervice, to which he was obliged under peril of forfeiture. The *Fee* was holden but in *ſervice*, and though the *Dominium utile* was in the *Tenant*, yet the *directum* or the propriety remained in the Lord, together with a Power of reſtraining his Tenant from alienation, and conſequently ſuch Land was but partially, conditionally granted out, not totally and abſolutely held by the Poſſeſſour, as was *Allodium*, the Poſſeſſour of which had *Dominium*, both *directum* and *utile*, held it *pleno jure*, *integrè*, *ex toto* and *ex ſolido*, as they ſay, quit of all ſervices, independently without acknowledgment of any ſuperiour Lord, not unlike the Prince of *Haynault*, who held as Sir *Henry Spelman* obſerves *de Deo & Sole*, or as other abſolute Princes *Dei gratiâ*, or to ſpeak in a word anſwerable to the Etymology, *in Totality*. Hence the terms of *Prædia immunia*, *terra propria*, *fundus proprii juris*, *patrimonium* and the like, and in Charters of Foundations given to ſuch Poſſeſſions.

Vide Somnerum in Tract. de Gavelkind.

Bocland the ſame with *Allodium.*

64. Anſwerable to this was that by our *Saxon* Anceſtours called *Bocland*, which Interpreters into *Latin* tranſlate by the very word *Allodium* * as alſo *terra* † *hæreditaria*, *terra* ‖ *libera*, and *terra* * *teſtamentalis*. It took its Name from the Lands booking or entring in a Codicil or little Book, named a Charter after the Conqueſt, which in caſe the Land was made over to a Lay Perſon, was in way of ſeiſin delivered to the Party, and if to a Monaſtery was ordinarily laid and left upon the Altar. Thence was ſuch an Inſtrument known in thoſe times by the Name of *Landboc*, and in *Latin Telligraphium*, and ſometimes *Codicillus*. The Creation of *Bocland* (in *Latin* termed *terram hæreditario jure conſcribere* and *liberam proclamare*) was a Prerogative Royal, and not in the Power of a Subject, yet done it ſeems not without the conſent of the great Council of the Realm. Hence Mr. *Somner* tells us, that paſſages often occur in Grants made by Subjects of Lands in perpetuity to the Cathedral of *Canterbury*, and other places of ſuch and ſuch a King, that he made them hereditary, and proclaimed them abſolutely free. And as it is proper for him that makes to eſtabliſh, hence King *Ethelred*'s Privilege, or Confirmation of their whole Poſſeſſions, to that Cathedral is by one of the Subſcribers called *Cyninges bocung*. Nay this Land was very ſeldom alienated by the Poſſeſſour without (what the Law of *Mortmain* afterward required) a concurrent, at leaſt a ſubſequent Confirmation from the King, whereof Examples he tells are obvious in the Liſt of that Churches Lands and Benefactours publiſhed in the Antiquities of *Canterbury*, as alſo of the Concurrence of the Nobles of ſuch *Bocland* grants. Particularly in the year of our Lord DCCCXXXVIII. King *Egbert* and *Ethelwulf* his Son granted to *Chriſtchurch* in *Canterbury*, *Mallings* in *Suſſex*, which Manor King *Baldred* had formerly given to that Church, but becauſe it was not done by conſent of the Nobles of the Kingdom, that gift was not valid. As *Bocland* originally flowed from the Crown, ſo upon all Forfeitures particularly that of the Eſtate of the Poſſeſſour for deſerting the Wars, there being no mean Lord betwixt the King and him, by the Laws of *Ethelred* and *Canute*, to the Crown it reverted.

The manner of paſſing it.

The King's Conſent neceſſary thereunto.

* *Textus Roffenſ.*
† *Ll. Aluredi c. 47. apud. Bromton. Canuti, c.* 104.
‖ *Ll. Ethelredi, c.* 2. *in Bromton.*
* *Ll. Canuti. c.* 32.

hiꞇ ᵹebo-ked on ece yꞃꝼe.

Cyninᵹeꞅ bocunᵹe.

Quod viz. manerium prius eidem Eccleſiæ dedit Baldredus Rex ſed quia non fuit de conſenſu Magnatum Regni, donum id non potuit valere. Et ideo, &c.

By whom tenable.

65. *Bocland* was properly tenable by *Thanes*, as *Folcland* by *Ceorles*, and thereupon in King *Cnute*'s Laws *Thegn* and *Bocland* in the Original *Saxon*, meet as Relatives, as in the *Latin* Tranſlation do *Thegen* and *Allodium*. Not but that it was ſometimes held by *Ceorles*, who were not abſolutely incapable of holding it, but when it ſo happened it was placed as improperly, and as much out of *decorum*, as ſince and at this day, *Knights Fees* proper to *Knights*, and the Nobler ſort of the People are in the Hands of *Socagers*, *Sochmen* or *Ceorles*, whoſe proper tenure was that of *Gafolland*. So proper was this *Bocland* to the *Thanes*, that thoſe who in the *Latin* Charters of St. *Auſtin*'s are called *Allodiarii* in the very ſame Charters

C. 11. *par.* 1. *Text. Roffenſ. Vide Somnerum ubi ſuprà. Hinc illud ſolenne legis* buꞇan ðæm Ceoꞃle þe on ᵹaꝼol-lanð ꞅiꞇ.

ters exhibited in *Engliſh* (like as in thoſe of *Chriſt-church*) they are ſtyled *Thegnes*. Though their name came at firſt from Miniſtring, yet being the King's Miniſters, the word afterwards came always to be taken in an honourable ſenſe, denoting in general a Gentleman, one nobly or generouſly deſcended, a Man of worſhip, of honour, whether he was the King's *Thane*, properly ſo called, or a *Thane* of inferiour degree; for ſtill was he accounted Noble. But to come to *Bocland*, it was termed *terra hæreditaria*, to diſtinguiſh it from *Folcland*, otherwiſe called *Gafolland*, wherein the Tenant being but as a Leſſee, Uſufructuary or Termour, and having no propriety, upon his death bed, or other expiration of the term, it reverted to the Lord, and deſcended not upon the Heir as *Bocland* did, at leaſt might doe, being becauſe the poſſeſſion in propriety, hereditary, if not alienated by him in his life time, as it might be in regard it was *terra libera*, as well as *hæreditaria*, which *Folcland* never was. It was called *terra teſtamentalis*, in regard of the publick Teſtimony of the Shire, required and uſed in paſſing of it otherwiſe than by Will. Probable it is that the conveyance thereof was recorded and inrolled, and entred in the Shire book, in the publick Shiremote after Proclamation there made, for any to come in that could lay challenge to it. It was alſo called *Teſtamentalis* becauſe deviſeable, but yet here a queſtion is moved whether it was indeed in the Power of the owner to diſpoſe of it at pleaſure.

Thanes who.

The difference betwixt *Folcland* and *Bocland*.

Hinc Ðeᵹena ᵹilð. *Generoſum Collegium.* Ðeᵹnboꞃen *Generoſus* Þeᵹnꞅciꞃe *Thani dignitas.*

66. Sr. *Henry Spelman* was of opinion that it could neither be given away nor ſold, but was to be left to the Heir except the Writings or Conveyances otherwiſe permitted it; and that thence it had the Name of *Terra hæreditaria*. He grounds himſelf upon a Law of King *Alfred* concerning *Bocland* which runs thus: *He that hath* Bocland, *and left him by his Anceſtours, we ordain that he give it not from his Kindred, if there be any writing or witneſs that it was forbidden him to convey it to ſtrangers by thoſe that gave it to him, and that it was done in preſence (or witneſs) of the King or Biſhop, his Kindred being preſent.* Now againſt Sir *Henry Spelman* his Concluſion, Mr. *Sumner* juſtly excepts that this Law clearly makes for the contrary, foraſmuch as it allows unto the Poſſeſſour a Power of Alienation, ſaving where his Hands were tied from it by an expreſs Proviſion, and prohibition to the contrary made by thoſe from whom the Land came to him, a Caution of the ſame nature with that exception which as we ſay, *firmat regulam in non exceptis*. That *Bocland* was alienable he proves by a paſſage, he cites out of a Charter of Archbiſhop *Wilfred*, who died about the year DCCCXXX. which ſufficiently ſhews, that the Poſſeſſours might grant it away in their life time as pleaſed them, either by Act or Grant, or by Will. So it was before the Conqueſt. But afterward that Cuſtome of deviſing it by Will ceaſed, as did withall the deſcent of Land generally, by equal diviſion amongſt all the Sons. For as the *Engliſh* Laws and Cuſtoms in general, from that time ſuffered a daily Eclipſe and Declination by degrees, ſo this in particular (ſaving where they were more tenacious of it than elſewhere; or in ſuch places as *London*, which by ſpecial privilege were ſuffered to retain it) languiſhed, and was at length ſupplanted by that other kind of Deſcent, which now regularly takes place throughout moſt of the Kingdom. Inſomuch, as where Partible Deſcent cannot, to uphold it ſelf, juſtly plead Antiquity and ancient Cuſtome, it quite fails and falls to the ground. But yet we muſt know, that notwithſtanding the Introduction of new *Tenures* by the Conquerour, yet did not the *Engliſh* preſently forgoe their *Bocland* (that kind of Tenure Mr. *Sumner* tells you he means) but reteined it both name and thing, as he proves in ſeveral Inſtances. And evident enough this is from Doomſday Book, where though happily not the name of it (as neither of *Folcland*, *Saxon* terms both) yet the thing is very obvious, and often occuring under the name and notion ſometime of *Tainland*, becauſe as we ſaid properly tenable by *Thanes*, otherwhile and oftner of *Allodium*. And as *Bocland*, ſo *Folcland* ſurvived the *Engliſh Saxon* Government, continuing after the Conqueſt, and remaining unto this day, though not in the very name, yet in the thing and ſubſtance. For as aforetime the *Saxons* had their *Ceorles*, *Gebures*, *Folcmen*, and the like, as the *Normans*, afterward had their *Villani*, *Bordmanni*, *Cottarii*, and others; ſo what the former held was called *Folcland*, *Gafolland*, &c. and was oppoſed to *Bocland*; what the later Villainage, and in ſome ſenſe *Socage*, oppoſed to *Chivalry*, *Knight-ſervice*, &c. and in all likelihood intended by *Ruſticana ſervitus*, occurring in a Charter of one *Walchelinus Maminiot*, of which Mr. *Sumner* and Mr. *Selden* may be conſulted.

Be boclanꝺe. Semon ꞅeþe boclanꝺe habbe. ⁊ him hiꞅ maᵹaꞅ læꝼꝺonþonne ꞅeꞇꞇon ꞅe ꝥ he hiꞇ nemoꞅꞇa ꞅẏllan oꝼhiꞃ. Mæᵹeboꞃh ᵹiꝼ ðeꞃbið ᵹeꞃꞃiꞇ, oþþe ᵹeꞃiꞇnyꞅꞅe ꝥ hiꞇ þæꞃa manna ꝼoꞃboꝺ, &c.

Bocland alienable.

Why called *Tainland*.

Inde clomare ad Tainland. Tenere in Allodio.

Hiſt. of Tithes. c. 11.

Their Juriſdiction and Privileges.

As Sac.

32 *H.* 8.

67. Thoſe that held **Bocland**, had ſeveral Juriſdictions and Privileges, over and amongſt thoſe that held Lands of them. Their Franchiſes or Extents of their Juriſdictions and Privileges, or the Territories, Precincts, or Circuits, where they were exerciſed, they called ***Soc***, ***Socne***, ***Soken*** and the like. Beſides Doomſday Book, ***Ingulphus*** mentions the ***Soca de Dounedike***, ***Soca de Beltisford***, ***Soca de Tad***, and ***Soca de Acumesbury***. And in *Notinghamſhire*, as appeareth by a Statute of *Henry* the Eighth, ***Lordſhip*** and ***Soke***, were in his time indifferently uſed, as indeed ſtill in the Northern Parts, ***Soke*** ſignifies a *Franchiſe*, of ſuch and ſuch a Place, as the ***Soke*** of *Oſwelbeck*, mentioned in the now cited Statute. The Tenants that held Lands in this Franchiſe, might be called ***Soc manni***, and their Service *Socagium*, in *Latin*, *agium*, as a great *Engliſh* Lawyer ſaith, being a legal termination, ſignifying Service or Duty, as in *Homagium*, *Eſcuagium*, or the like;) but this Term of *Socage*, after the Conqueſt became more abſtruſe, and as ſuch we ſhall leave it, as neither belonging to us in theſe *Saxon* matters. But he that was poſſeſſed of theſe Privileges and Franchiſes, uſually was ſaid to have *Sac*, *Soc*, *Tol*, and *Team*, *Infangthef* and *Outfangthef*. *Sac*, as St. *Edward*'s Laws deſcribe it, was this. * *In caſe any one was accuſed of any thing, and he denied it, the forfeiture for proof or denial ſhould be his.* It ſuppoſed therefore the Cogniſance and Juriſdiction which the Lord had in his Court in Controverſies and Suits, ariſing amongſt his Vaſſals, ſo as to hold Pleas, and impoſe, levy and collect Fines and Amerciaments thence ariſing. The Power of holding the Pleas, and having all his Vaſſals follow his Court; it ſeems they expreſſed by *Soc* for the Laws, thus obſcurely deſcribe it. Soca *is, in caſe any one ſeek for any thing in his Land, the Juſtice is his whether it be found or not.* In this ſenſe therefore it muſt ſignifie what the Lawyers call *Secta*, in *Latin Sequela*, *Sectatio* or *Conſecutio*, and what in *French* is called *Suite de la Court*, although in general, as we ſaid, the word ſignifies a *Franchiſe* or *Immunity*. Of *Thol* or *Tol*, the Laws ſpeak more plainly, telling us that *Thol* (*which we call* Tholonium) *is that a Man hath liberty of ſelling and buying in his own Land.* It was the privilege of holding a Market, there being no other word to expreſs the ſaid Privilege, till that of *Mercat* was brought in by the *Normans*, which ſeems yet originally from the word *Merces*, to ſignifie great *Fairs* and *Marts*, rather than theſe weekly meetings of the adjacent Countrey People, which are meant by the word *Tol*, which in a ſecondary ſenſe came to ſignifie *tribute paid to the Lord of the Market, for the liberty of ſelling within his Juriſdiction*, and in after times, it was as *Fleta* teſtifies, brought to ſignifie *freedom from ſuch cuſtome of payment*. Concerning *Theam*, the Laws are again very obſcure.

Soc.

Toll.

Team.

Quod Socage à Soc vel Socne, i. e. Immunitate vel privilegio derivatur, non autem à Soc aratro, vide Somnerum fuſè probantem in ſupra dicto Tractatu de Gavelkind.

**Sachae*ſ: *quod ſi quilibet aliquem nominatim de aliquo calumniatus fuerit & ille negaverit, foriſfactura probationis vel negationis (ſi evenerit) ſua erit.*

Derivatur à Saxon ꞅac *Cauſa, adhuc dicimus, for God's ſake. vide Spelm. in voc.*

A Græc. θέλω.

Team what.

Infangthef.

68. But its agreed that it ſignifies two things. The firſt is *Advocatio* or Avoury, or Garranty, of which the Lord had Juriſdiction, *viz.* concerning thoſe that as the Lawyers phraſe it, are *vocati ad warrantiam*. Again, it ſignifies an Offſpring or Generation, and here particularly it's applied to the Iſſue or Off-ſpring of a Lord's Villains, and is defined to be a Royalty, which whoſoever enjoys, hath his propriety in his Slaves or Villains within his own Franchiſe or Fee, and power of diſpoſing of them as of his other things, moveable or immoveable, at his pleaſure. *Infangthef*, was another Royal Privilege, and by St. *Edward*'s Laws, is ſaid to be a Man's Juſtice over a Thief, *viz.* of his own Man, if he was taken upon his own ground, as *Outfangthef* (though theſe Laws ſpeak nothing of it) was Juriſdiction over a Thief that did not belong to the Lord, but being a ſtranger, was taken within his Juriſdiction. To what St. *Edward*'s Laws ſay of *Infangthef*, they add, they which have not theſe cuſtoms, may doe right before the King's Juſtice in Hundreds, Wapentacks, or in Shires. But as it appears by *Bracton*, in the *Norman* times, this Juriſdiction over Thieves onely belonged to the King, growing out of uſe amongſt Barons, who formerly had had this Royalty, rather than taken away by any Law, which yet happened to the Hundreds and Shires, which ſeem to have been deprived of this Privilege by the Great Charter. Concerning ſuch Perſons as enjoyed theſe Royalties of *Sac*, *Soc*, *Tol*, *Team* and *Infangthef*, we muſt add what the often mentioned Laws farther hint to us. *Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Earls, Barons, and all that have Sac, Soc, Thol, Theam and Infangthef, may have their own Souldiers,* (*Free Tenants* Sr. *Henry Spelman* reads it) *and their own Servants,* viz. *their Sewers, Butlers, Chamberlains, Bakers, and Cooks under their Friborg; as alſo theſe their Squires,* (Armigeri) *or others that ſerve them under their Friborg, in caſe they proved faulty, and Hue and Crye was made after them, by the Neighbours, they ſhould ſee right done in their own Court. Thoſe I ſay that have Sac, Soc, Thol, Theam, and Infangthef.* By ***Friborg*** is meant, what

Vide Skenæum de Verb. ſignif. Spelman. Gloſſar. in voce. Somneri Gloſſar. & Lexicon Saxonic. item in voce & Cowellum. Team autem derivatur à ꞇyman *propagare, parturire, unde noſtratium a Teeming.*

Ab in i intus, ꝼanᵹan *capere, prehendere, (unde digiti hodie Fingers quibuſd. Fangs) &* Ðeoꝼ *fur.*

what the *Normans* called *Frankpledge*, in *Latin*, *Fidejuſſio*; the meaning is, that for all theſe, their Lords were ingaged, and as it were gave ſecurity that they ſhould well demean themſelves.

Friborg what.

That of a Town or City.

A Saxonic. ꝼꞃeoh *i. e. liber &* Boꞃheꞅ *fidejuſſor, vas.*

69. Here it is ſeaſonable for the better diſcovery of our *Saxon* Government, to take notice that generally in every Town there was a *Friborg* or College, Company or Society of ten of the Principal Men, who were each of them *Fidejuſſors* for the King, and anſwerable one for another, invented, as it's ſaid, by that glorious King *Alfred*. From the Number (as in *Latin*, *Decuria*, *Decania*, *Decima*, *Deceana*, *Fidejuſſio*, *Decemviratus*, and the like) it was called ꞇeoðunᵹ and ꞇien anꞇale or the number of *ten men*. The chief of them who preſided over the reſt, was alſo called ꞇeoðunᵹman, ꞇienheꝼoꝺ: Boꞃheꞅealꝺeꞃ, and ꝼꞃeoboꞃheꞅheoꝼoꝺ, as in *Latin*, *Decurio*, *Capitalis Decemvir*, *Vas Senior*, *Capitalis Plegius*, *Capitalis Friborgus*, *& Juſtitiarius Friburgi*. Their Office, Employment, and the effects thereof, are ſet forth at large by the Laws of *Edward* the Confeſſour, in this manner. *Farthermore, there is another the greateſt and moſt principal ſecurity, through which all are firmly eſtabliſhed in their ſeveral Conditions,* viz. *that every one eſtabliſh himſelf under the ſecurity of this Frankpledge or Surety-ſhip, which the* Engliſh *call* ꝼꞃeoboꞃᵹeꞅ, *yet the Yorkſhire Men, and they alone, call it,* ꞇien manna ꞇala, *which is as much in Latin, as the number of ten men. This Security came to paſs in this manner,* viz. *that all Inhabitants of every Town whatſoever, in the Kingdom, ſhould be under this decennal Suretyſhip. Inſomuch, as if one of the ten proved faulty, the nine were to have one forthcoming for Juſtice: if he fled, the Law allowed one and thirty days; if he was found out in the mean time, he was led before the King's Juſtice, and was compelled at his own charge to make reparation for what he had done, and if his Crime was ſuch, Juſtice was done upon his Body. But in caſe he could not be found within the compaſs of one and thirty days, there being in every Friborg a Principal whom they called* ꝼꞃiboꞃᵹeꞅheoꝼoꝺ, *this Principal was to take two of the beſt of his Friborg, and out of the three neareſt Friborgs, from each a Principal, with two others of the beſt of every Friborg, if he could procure them, and ſo he being the twelfth, ought to purge himſelf and his Friborg, if he could, from the offence and flight of the aforeſaid Malefactour; if he could not doe it, he and his Friborg were to make ſatisfaction out of the Goods of the Malefactour, if it could be had, or if not, out of their own Eſtates, ſo much as they were legally condemned in. And what they could not doe with the aſſiſtence of the three neighbouring Friborgs, they themſelves were to ſwear that they would not be in fault for the time to come, and if they could recover the Malefactour, they would bring him before the Juſtice, or declare to the Juſtice where he was.*

Prætereà eſt quædam ſumma & maxima ſecuritas, &c. c. 20. de Friborgis.

The Power and Duty of the chief *Friborg*.

Cùm autem contingeret quòd quidam ſtulti & improbi gratis & nimis conſuetè erga vicinos ſuos, &c. c. 32.

70. The occaſion of making over theſe *Friborgs* certain Juſtitiaries they afterwards declare, foraſmuch as, it ſeems, the other conſtitution did not ſufficiently accompliſh its deſign. *But whereas it ſo happened, that certain fooliſh and naughty Perſons, too frequently and freely committed Inſolencies againſt their Neighbours, wiſe Men began to conſult about it, and over every ten Friborgs conſtituted Juſtitiaries, which* (in Latin) *we may call* Decani, *but in* Engliſh, *were named* ꞇienheoꝼoꝺ, *or the head of ten. Theſe handled Cauſes amongſt the Villages and Neighbourhoods, and according to the offences, puniſhed and made agreements,* viz. *concerning Paſtures, Meadows, Corn-fields, and concerning differences amongſt Neighbours, and other innumerable contentions which infeſt humane frailty, and inceſſantly make War againſt it. But whenas any greater Cauſes happened, they were referred to their Superiour Juſtitiaries, whom the above-named wiſe Men appointed over them,* viz. *over the ten* Decani, *whom therefore we may call Centurions or Centenaries; for that they were Judges over an hundred Friborgs.* Thus we have taken a view of the Polity of our *Engliſh Saxons*, as to the manner and form of the Government. The next that we doe, muſt be to conſider of their Laws, in the diſcovery of which, much will be farther made out as to the Cuſtoms reſpecting the Government; the faults to which the Nation was incident, the ſorts of their puniſhments, with many other incident matters.

Theſe Northern Nations of the ſame original.

Lex Angliorum, Werinorum & Thuringorum.

71. The *Engliſh Saxons* and *Jutes* coming out of the *Cherſoneſus* of *Germany*, muſt doubtleſs have brought ſome ſuch Cuſtoms with them as were then in uſe with thoſe Northern Nations, but what they were, as our Learned Gloſſariſt before us, we cannot but very much doubt, there being very little light concerning theſe ancient matters. We reade indeed of the Laws of the *Anglii* in *Germany*, but with the *Anglii* are joyned the *Werini* and *Thuringii*, and theſe Laws were confirmed by *Charles* the Great. We alſo reade of the Law of the *Saxons* of *Germany*, which ſome aſcribe to *Herald* the *Dane*, who yet flouriſhed, but about the year of our

Lord, DCCCCLXXXIV. *Lindenbrogius*, indeed will have thoſe of *Herald* much later than thoſe which he himſelf hath publiſhed, together with thoſe of the *Friſons*; foraſmuch as the Copies both in the ancientneſs of the Parchments, and Hand he imagines to have exceeded the times of *Charles*. But by our *Spelman* he is adviſed to take heed what he ſays, for ſome things in them relate to the Church, ſome things to the ſafety of the King of the *Franks*, and it's well enough known, that till the Reign of *Charles*, the *Saxons* were not converted to the Chriſtian Faith; nor had ſubmitted to the Yoke of the *Franks*. Yet that the *Saxons* had ancient Laws or Cuſtoms, not found amongſt thoſe that are publiſhed, we may eaſily admit: but theſe we may alſo object, were after they came into *Thuringia*, after the diſperſing of this People into thoſe ſeveral Quarters from the *Cherſoneſus*. But our *Saxons* came as we formerly inculcated from the ancient *Saxons*, our *Angli* from that place we formerly deſcribed, and could not deſcend from thoſe Colonies, which after their coming into *Britain*, were ſent into many places Southward in the Continent. But as they were of the ſame Original with thoſe other Colonies, no wonder if ſome affinity may be found amongſt their Laws and Cuſtoms.

Their Language and Cuſtomes the ſame.

72. For, when as all theſe *Gothick* or *Scandian* Nations, *viz.* the *Goths*, peculiarly ſo called, the *Saxons*, *Lombards*, *Vandals*, *Franks*, *Danes*, *Normans* and others, had carried their victorious Arms throughout the Weſtern Parts of the *Roman* Empire, and had begun as it were a *Gothick Teutonick*, or a *Scandian World*, no wonder that agreeing in Original, Language and Cuſtoms, impoſing their Laws upon the conquered Nations, and retaining many of their own ancient Terms and Rites, (however in ſome places their Language, for the main, might afterward be ſwallowed up by the multitude of Speakers of that of the place) it ſhould come to paſs, that betwixt us and the *Germans*, *French*, *Italians*, *Spaniards*, *Sicilians*, and betwixt all thoſe themſelves, being all of us deſcended from theſe fore-named People, ſo great agreement there ſhould be, as well in the Canon of ancient Laws, as the Names of Magiſtrates, Officers and Miniſters, not to ſpeak of an infinite number of vulgar words. To thoſe Northern Cuſtoms we muſt aſcribe then the very firſt Original of our *Saxon* Laws, not to any that are now extant in Print. Cuſtoms I call them, for they were ſcarcely written in thoſe Ages, when *Hengiſt* and *Horſas* came into *Britain*. The Runick Letters I confeſs might be more ancient, but they were rather employed upon Mythological matters, and things relating to their ſuperſtition. The firſt beginning of all humane Laws, was imperfect and rude, and our Neighbours lately mentioned, as to their municipal Laws, have no more reaſon to brag than we. * *Let them boaſt that will*, ſaith our Learned *Spelman*, *of the Antiquity of their Municipal Laws, yet the Original of them, how inconſiderable ſoever, and barbarous, is not to be fetcht from elſewhere, as ſhall appear from what follows. For what Conquering People will wink under the Laws of the Conquered, eſpecially when the one is caſt out, and the other poſſeſſeth its Seat?*

* *Jactent igitur qui volunt legum ſuarum municipalium antiquitatem (nam & hoc ineptiæ prudentes carpit) earum tamen origo quantulacunq; ſit & barbara, aliunde nuſquam videtur expetenda, ut è ſequentibus elucebit, quis enim victor populus ſub victi legibus, &c. præſertim cum ejecto iſto ſedem ille incoluerit? Spelm. in voc. Lex.*

Which prevail'd with the Conquerours.

73. Theſe laſt words are well and cautiouſly added by Sir *Henry*, for as we have elſewhere obſerved both of Laws and Languages, when theſe Northern People (or indeed any other People any other place) conquered thoſe parts of the *Roman* Empire, if they imbodied with the conquered People, and were exceeded by them in Numbers, the Language and Faſhions of the Conquered would prevail, as we ſee in the caſe of the *Franks* conquering *Gall*, and the *Normans* conquering *England*; but in caſe the Victours overpowered the ſubdued People in Numbers, or drove them out of their Poſſeſſions, then both Language and Laws of the victorious People muſt needs prevail as in our preſent caſe, when the *Engliſh Saxons* drove up the *Britains* into the Weſtern Mountainous places, deſtroyed them, or forced them to quit the Iſland. But here now it comes fitly to our remembrance, that ſome there are who would have ſeveral Laws and Cuſtoms to have been by the *Engliſh Saxons* received from the *Britains*, many of whom, as they contend, continued among them, incorporated with them, and were never driven out. They inſtance in ſeveral Charters made to the Monaſtery of *Glaſſenbury*, wherein is mention made of the *Britiſh* Inhabitants as well as *Engliſh*, and they urge, that had not *Britiſh* Husbandmen and inferiour ſort of People been ſuffered to continue and Till the Ground, Bread would preſently have failed the Invader himſelf,

and he ſhould have wanted ſtrength to Conquer, becauſe he had not whereon to live. That every where, and abſolutely the *Britains* were driven out no man will affirm; but yet for all this objected, that very few of them continued in the conquered places, we muſt be perſwaded by ſeveral Arguments. One is the general change of the Names of Places, very few Countrey Towns retaining *Welſh* or *Britiſh* Names, and thoſe great Towns that did, having ſome addition made unto them. Then the Language evidently makes out the thing in queſtion; for in deſpight of all Laws, Preſcriptions, and Orders, (as we ſee after the Conqueſt by Duke *William*) the Vulgar will be Maſter of Speech, and the greateſt multitude of Speakers overpower the reſt, each one being addicted to his own Native Language, and however ſome particular Perſons may have an affectation after the Foreign, uſing his own Dialect as moſt eaſie to him. Neither are there ſo many *Welſh* words crept into the *Engliſh* as can argue any greater Conjunction and Union than with other neighbouring Nations, with which the *Engliſh* hath had Traffick and Commerce.

74. But as for that Objection of *Tillage*, it's eaſily anſwered from what we have already written in its place of the perpetual ſwarming of theſe *Engliſh Saxon* Nations into *Britain*, which overpowered the poor Inhabitants by their Numbers, and by their Crowds forced them to quit both Seats and Arms and either paſs the Seas or ſeek for ſhelter in the Mountainous and hardly acceſſible places. Therefore do we reade that thoſe places, whence ſome of them came, were left deſolate, and void of People, Old and Young, Noble and Ignoble, Man, Woman and Child; as well he that handled the Mattock, as he that managed the Sword, haſting to be partaker of that Booty and Fertile Land, of which they had heard ſo much Commendation, and of its worth had aſſurance from this, that none that once came over were willing to return to their former Seats. Some Faſhions and Cuſtoms, while they held Correſpondence in times of Truce, or afterward when the War was finiſhed, they might receive from the *Britains*, as the *Britains* alſo from them, there being a kind of Commutation and Re-action in thoſe Caſes, but that any great matters is no way probable. Many Nations agree in ſeveral Cuſtoms, not ſo much out of Communication and from their learning one from another, as that thoſe things are either agreeable to humane Prudence in general, of which all People participate, and conſequently it dictates to them all the ſame things, (the Laws of Nations flowing from this Principle) or that as in Words, in Faſhions, and all other things relating to Mankind there is no Infinity, but Neceſſities, Uſes and Conveniences, being the ſame; ſeveral People as ſeveral men muſt ſometimes light by accident upon the ſelf ſame things. If any conſiderable Laws can be ſhewn to have been derived from the *Britains*, they were rather thence borrowed by ſuch *Saxon* Princes as finding a great defect at home, were glad to ſeek elſewhere and provide from abroad Supplies for Domeſtick Wants, for anſwering thoſe new Exigencies which continuance of time and ſettlement in a peaceable condition daily produced. So King *Alfred* is ſaid to have tranſlated and made *Engliſh* the Laws of *Milmatius* the ancient *Britiſh* King, of which anon.

Unwritten Cuſtoms the firſt original of the *Engliſh Saxon* Laws.

75. The firſt Original therefore of the *Engliſh Saxon* Laws were ſuch unwritten Cuſtoms as they brought along with them from beyond the Seas, which were increaſed by the Dictates of natural Prudence according to convenience, and the Exigency of Affairs, and by Obſervation and Communication in proceſs of time came to be more full, certain and ſolemn, in reference to Cuſtoms, or to be by Legiſlatours framed into poſitive and written Precepts. The firſt of theſe, *viz.* Cuſtoms were according to the People from which they proceeded various, and not fully the ſame throughout the Land, though by reſemblance they ſhewed themſelves near akin, and anſwerable, poſitive Laws they had joyned to them, either firſt made or received by their reſpective Legiſlatours. The *Jutes* in *Kent* had their peculiar Laws, but being reduced under the Government of the Weſt *Saxon* Kings, they alſo ſubmitted to the Laws of the Weſt *Saxons*. The *Angli* or *Engliſh* properly ſo called, uſed the Law called *Mercian*, and the Laws of St. *Edward* tell us, that *Ewerwickſhire*, or *Yorkſhire*, (or as in the Margent is noted *Warwickſhire*) *Nicolſhire* as the *Normans* called it (which ſhews theſe Laws to have been worded after the Conqueſt) or *Lincolnſhire*, *Notinghamſhire*, *Leiceſterſhire* and *Northamptonſhire*, as far as *Watlingſtreet* and eight Miles beyond were under this Law. Afterwards when the *Danes* came to ſettle and domineer in *England*, they impoſed their Cuſtoms or Laws upon the Provinces of Eaſt *England* and *Northumberland*. So came it to paſs, that in the Land were in force three ſeveral Laws, *viz.* that of the

Then that of the Weſt *Saxons*.

Of the *Mercians*.

And the *Danes*.

the Weſt *Saxons* called *Weſtſeaxnalaga*, that of the *Engliſh* or *Mercians* called *Myrcnalaga*, and the other of the *Danes* called *Denelaga*. This of the *Danes* is by the forementioned Laws called *Lex Norvorum & Danorum*, viz. The Laws of the *Norwegians* and *Danes*, and to have been the received Law of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and *Gratabridgeſhire*, or *Cambridgeſhire*, as alſo of *Deira*, with the Weſtern and Northern Iſles, as thoſe of *Man*, *Catheney*, the *Orcades* and others, and ſuch as inhabited *Gurth*, that is the Fenny places. As for the *Norwegians*, though generally thoſe Northern People that invaded the Land go under the Name of *Danes*; yet as we have formerly hinted, the People of *Norwey*, otherwiſe called *Normans*, are to be underſtood as Partners in the Expeditions; for as under the Names of *Norwegians* and *Normans*, the *Danes* are alſo to be underſtood, ſo under that of *Danes* are alſo comprized the *Norwegians* and *Normans*. The *Danes* as they ſetled in *England* by degrees induced their Cuſtoms, which ſeem to have been inforced after that *Guthron* from King *Alfred* received the Provinces of Eaſt *England* and *Northumberland*; and afterward became the moſt owned Laws of the Land when King *Canute* had brought the Sceptre into the hands of that People, where it continued from the days of *Ethelred* to *Edward the Confeſſour*, during which time the Law of the *Engliſh* is ſaid to have been mute. *Edward* when he came to the Crown would not endure that one and the ſame Kingdom ſhould be govern'd with three ſorts of Laws, ſurveyed them all, ſelected and digeſted out of them that which from the thing was called *Lex Communis* or *the Common Law*, and from him *the Law of St. Edward the Confeſſour.*

ƿeꞅꞇ ꞅeaxna laᵹa Mẏꞃcna laᵹa. Ꝺenelaᵹa.

Out of which the Common Law was compiled by *Edward* the Conſeſſour.

76. So much of the Laws in general, as they reſpected the whole government of the Land. To come to particular Legiſlatours, the Firſt that we know of, who made any written Laws, was *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, he who firſt received Chriſtianity of all the Nation. Concerning him *Bede* writes, *that among other good things he did for the Nation, He ordained for it Decrees of Judgments, according to the Examples of the* Romans, *with the Council of Wiſe Men. Which being written in the Language of the* Engliſh, *are hitherto kept and obſerved by it. In which he firſt placed how he ought to make amends that ſhould ſteal any thing from the Church or Biſhop, or the other Orders, reſolving to protect thoſe whom with their Doctrine he had received.* That he ordained was Decrees of Judgments (*Decreta* * *Judiciorum*) which may be explained by what follows, concerning Sacrilegious Perſons, that they ſhould be puniſhed or make amends (the Parliaments in *France* in their Arreſts of Condemnation of Criminals to death, uſe ſtill the Term of making *honourable amends*, anſwerable to the Latin *Emendare* here uſed by *Bede*) and this was according to the * Examples of the *Romans*. Theſe Decrees of Judgments then were Judicial Laws inflicting Puniſhments upon Offenders, and were taken from the *Roman* Books. It was about the year of our Lord DLXI that *Ethelbert* (according to Sir *Henry Savill's Faſti*) began his Reign in the thirty fifth year of *Juſtinian*, and he reigned about ſix and fifty years, in which time (*Bede* tells not in what year) he ordained and publiſhed theſe Decrees of Judgments. But publiſh them in what year he would, *Juſtinian's* Law, or his New Model, was not then known to the *European* Nations, nor many years after. What therefore he took from the *Roman* Laws muſt have been out of *Theodoſius's Code* (which determines of matters as well Eccleſiaſtical as Civil) out of the Fragments of *Gaius*, *Paulus* or *Ulpian*, or a ſmall part of the Pandects which then was known to the *Europeans*. So *Alarick* the King of the *Viſigoths* in *Gall* had near an hundred years before cauſed the *Code of Theodoſius* to be abbreviated by *Anianus* his Chancellour, and publiſhed for the benefit of his People.

Ethelbert the firſt Law-maker.

Lib. 2. *c.* 5. *Qui inter cætera bona quæ genti ſuæ conſulendo conferebat, etiam decreta illi Judiciorum juxta exempla Romanorum, cum concilio ſapientium conſtituit. Quæ conſcripta Anglorum ſermone hactenus habentur & obſervantur ab eo. In quibus primitus poſuit, qualiter id emendare deberet qui aliquid rerum vel Eccleſiæ vel Epiſcopi vel reliquorum ordinum furto auferret, volens ſcil. tuitionem eis quos & quorum doctrinam ſuſceperat, præſtare.*

* *Rex Alfredus vertit* ꞅƿẏlceꞃe ꞃihꞇꞃa ꝺoma ᵹeꞅeꞇneꞅꞅe.

* Æꝼꞇeꞃ *Romana* bẏꞅena.

77. What theſe Decrees of Judgments were which *Ethelbert* publiſhed, we do not certainly know. Yet are there certain Laws in a Manuſcript Book of *Rocheſter*, called *Textus Roſſenſis*, an ancient Monument indeed, but ſuch as in this matter we cannot fully truſt. For neither do theſe Laws of his ſeem to be taken from the *Roman* Books; nor doth their Language ſeem to be near ſo ancient as King *Ethelbert*, nor doth *Bromton* the Abbat of *Jornal* mention them, though carefull to deliver ſuch Laws of thoſe *Saxon* Kings as he then found, and thought authentick. And therefore ſhall we exhibit onely ſuch as are found in him and Mr. *Lambard's* Edition. The next Legiſlatour to *Ethelbert*, at leaſt whom he can receive as ſuch, was *Ine* or *Ina* the King of the Weſt *Saxons*, who began his Reign well nigh an

Sect. 12. hundred years (four wanted) after that *Ethelbert* ended his, and made his Laws by the Advice of *Cenred* his Father, *Hedda* and *Erhenwald* his Biſhops, all his Senatours, and the Elders of the Wiſemen of the People in a great Aſſembly of the Servants of God for the Salvation of their Souls, and the common preſervation of his Kingdom, that lawfull Marriages and juſt Judgments might be eſtabliſhed throughout all his Dominions, and that no Senatour or other of his Subjects might tranſgreſs his Laws. After this Preface follow the particular Laws, many whereof relate to Church Matters, and in that Hiſtory are to be exemplifi'd, of ſuch as reſpect the Civil State we ſhall here make mention. *If any one fight in the King's Court, let him forfeit all his Eſtate, and let it be in the King's power whether to put him to death or not. Let him that fights in a Church forfeit an hundred and twenty ſhillings; he that commits the like Offence in the Houſe of a Senatour or any other Wiſe and Honourable Perſon ſixty ſhillings. If any one fight in the Houſe of a* * *Countreyman paying Rent, or any Husbandman, let him forfeit thirty ſhillings, and ſix ſhillings to the Man himſelf, if in the open Field let him be fined an hundred and twenty ſhillings. If at a Feaſt there be any falling out, let ſuch as abuſe the reſt incurr the Mulct of thirty ſhillings.* The next that follows ordains, That *if a man ſteal without the knowledge of his Wife and Children, he be fined ſixty ſhillings, but if all the Family be knowing and conſenting,* (a) *all of them be condemned to Servitude.* And it declares, That *a Boy of Ten years old is to be eſteemed guilty of Theft.* The next enacts, That (b) *If any one deſire of the Shiremen* (c) *or other Judges that Right be done him, and cannot obtain it, neither can have any Caution given him, the Judge in ſuch caſe be fined thirty ſhillings, and yet that Right be done the Man within a* (d) *ſevennight.* The ninth Law commands, That *In* (e) *caſe any one revenge his own Quarrel privately, before he require Juſtice to be done him, he ſhall reſtore what he took, pay the full value of the thing, and further, be fined thirty ſhillings.* The Tenth impoſes (f) *Upon ſuch as rob within the Kingdom, or make Booty of any thing, a Mulct of ſixty ſhillings, beſides the reſtoring of what was taken.* The next appoints, That *if* (g) *any one buy his own Countreyman, be he Bond or Free, and ſend him over Sea, though he guilty of any Crime, ſhall pay* (h) *the whole rate or price of his Head*; and further, *give ſatisfaction to Almighty God.* The next Sentences *Such as bear falſe Witneſs before the Biſhop, or falſly produce their Pledges, to pay an hundred and twenty ſhillings.*

* Gıꝼhe ðonne on ᵹeꝼolᵹılðen huꞅ. oþþeon ᵹebuꞃeꞅ ᵹeꝼeohꞇe XXX ꞅcill. ꞇo ƿıꞇe ᵹeꞅylle. ⁊ ðæm ᵹebuꞃe ꞅyx ꞅcill.

C. 7. Be ꞅꞇale.

(a) ᵹanᵹen hi ealleon ðeoƿeꞇ ⁊ ꞇẏnƿınꞇꞃe cnıhꞇ maᵹ beon ðeoꝼþe ᵹeƿıꞇa ⁊

(b) C. 8. Be ꞃıhꞇeꞅbene ⁊

(c) ꞅcıꞃmen.

(d) binnan ꞅeoꝼan nıhꞇe.

(e) C. 9. Be ðam ƿꞃæcenðan ⁊

(f) C. 10. Be ꞃeaꝼlace.

(g) C. 11. Be leoð bẏᵹenæ ⁊

(h) ꝼoꞃᵹẏlð hıne be hıꞅƿæꞃe.

(i) C. 12. Be ðam þe heoꞃa ᵹeƿıꞇnẏ ꞅꞃe ᵹeleoᵹaþ ⁊

78. The thirteenth Law, concerning Thieves or Robbers, ordains, That *if any ſuch be apprehended he be put to death, or elſe pay the value of his Head. Now* (ſaith he) *we call them Robbers as far as the number of ſeven men; from ſeven as far as five, and thirty we call a Troop or Company; if above, we name it an Army.* Concerning *ſuch as are found in the Troop or Company,* the next Law enacts, That *ſuch an one purge himſelf by an hundred and twenty Hides of Land by Oath, or make an anſwerable Compenſation. He that is found in the Army,* the fifteenth Law commands, That *he redeem himſelf by the price of his Head, or make ſatisfaction. But this Oath muſt be made one half by Maſters of Families or Houſhoulders. And in caſe the Thief be in the King's Cuſtody this Redemption cannot be admitted.* Concerning theſe Oaths made by an hundred Hides, and by Houſhoulders, the Reader muſt call to mind what lately we ſaid concerning *Friborgs*, and Caution given about Malefactours, as alſo refer to what is ſaid afterward concerning the valuation of Heads. The ſixteenth requires, That *he that hath killed a Thief make Oath that he killed him as a Criminal, this done he is to be diſcharged.* The next is made about *ſuch as find ſtoln fleſh and hide it, that it may be lawfull, if they will, to prove it their own. Such as give notice of it are to be rewarded.* The next that follows is, *A Countreyman if he often ſtole, and at laſt be taken in the Fact, let him looſe an Hand or a Foot.* The next ordains, That *the King's Husbandman or Looker to his Cattel, if the price of his Head be twelve Hundred Shillings, and he be an Houſhoulder, his Oath be taken for ſixty Hides.* The

C. 13. Be ᵹeꝼanᵹenum ðeoꝼum.

C. 14. Behloþum.

C. 15. Be heꞃᵹe.

C. 16. Be ðeoꝼſleᵹe.

C. 17. Be ꝼoꞃꞅꞇolenum ꝼlæꞅce.

C. 18. Be ceoꞃlıꞅcum ðeoꝼum ᵹeꝼanᵹenum ⁊

C. 19. Be Cẏnınᵹeꞅ ᵹeneaꞇ ⁊

twentieth willeth, That *if a Travellour or Stranger wander up and down the Woods, and neither cry out nor wind an Horn, as a Thief be put to death, or redeem his life. If any require the value of any one ſo ſlain at the ſlayers hands, he that killed him, if he make Oath that he ſlew him as a Thief is to be indemnified both againſt the Aſſociates of the ſlain and his Lord. But if he diſſembled the Crime, and afterwards it appeareth, then gives he advantage to the Kindred of the ſlain man by Oath to purge their dead Kinſman of the fault.* That which follows directs, That *if any ones Vaſſal ſteal and flie for it, his Maſter call* * *upon ſuch as ingaged for him, if there were any; if not, he himſelf muſt pay the value of the thing, no Remiſſion being to be uſed in the caſe.* And the two and twentieth wills, That *if a Foreigner be ſlain, the King have two parts of the value of his Head, and his Children or Kindred the third; if he have no Kindred, the King is to have half of that, and his Companion or Gild-fellow the reſt. After the ſame manner an Abbat or Abbeſs, if they be concern'd may ſhare with the King. A* Welchman *that pays yearly Rent is to be eſteemed at an hundred and twenty ſhillings; his Son at an hundred, and his Servant at ſixty or fifty; let a* Welchman *redeem a beating with twelve ſhillings. If he poſſeſs five Hides of Land, let his value be ſix hundred ſhillings.*

C. 20. Be ꝼeoꞃꞃan Cumenum men ⁊

C. 21. Be þon þe monneꞅ geneaꞇ ꞅꞇalige ⁊

* gif ðu hæbbe boꞃgaꞅ mana ðone ðæꞃ angyldeꞅ.

C. 22. Be ælðeoðgeꞅ manneꞅ ꞅlæge ⁊

De his Capitum æſtimationibus vide quæ infra dicimus ad LL. Æthelſtani.

79. *Ine* by his twenty third Law commands, That *if an* Engliſhman, *deprived of his Liberty, ſteal again, he be hanged, and no Compenſation at all be made to his Lord. In caſe any one ſlew him, that nothing upon that account be paid to his Kindred, except they redeemed him within a Twelvemonth.* By his twenty fourth, That *if a Merchant that trades by Land buy any thing, he get Witneſs of what he buys. For in caſe any ſtoln thing be found with him which he cannot prove he bought by good Witneſs, he is bound to make it good, that he neither ſtole it nor was privy to the Theft, or elſe muſt pay ſix and thirty ſhillings.* By his twenty fifth he takes care, That *for the Maintenance of a Child expoſed and found, ſix ſhillings be allowed for the firſt year; twelve for the ſecond, and thirty for the third: That afterward the allowance be inlarged according to the goodlineſs of the Child.* By his twenty fixth, *To him that takes a Thief he gives as a Reward Ten ſhillings, and declares, that the King is to have the Thief. Here the Thief's Kindred are to take an Oath that they will not interpoſe on his behalf. In caſe he Contumaciouſly made reſiſtence, or fled for it, he is to be taken as guilty of the Offence. If he free himſelf he muſt doe it with reſpect to the value of the thing, and the greatneſs of the Mulct.* By the twenty ſeventh he enacts againſt *Such as beget Children clandeſtinely, ordering that if ſuch Children be killed they ſhall looſe the prices or valuation of their lives, which the King and their Lords ſhall have.* The twenty eighth requires, That *if one lend another man's Servant his Sword; if it be loſt, a third part of the value of his Head is to be paid; if a Spear, the half; and if an Horſe, that the whole value of the Slaves life be paid.* By vertue of his twenty ninth, *If a Countreyman was accuſed of relieving a Fugitive, and could not clear himſelf, he was to pay the value both of his own and the Fugitives life.* And by his thirtieth, *If any one bought a Woman and paid not for her what was agreed, he was to pay double the price, and over and above be ſeverely puniſhed, as if he had broken ſuretyſhip,* which they termed *Borhbryce.* The one and thirtieth ſets the *value of the Head of a* Welchman, *if he have an Hide of Land, at one hundred and twenty Shillings, if but half an Hide at eighty Shillings; if he have no Land at all at ſixty.* But the thirty ſecond *excepts the* King's Stable-Groom being a *Welchman,* ordaining, That *if he was fit to carry a Meſſage, the valuation of his Head ſhould be at two hundred ſhillings.* By this we learn, that the Kingdom of the Weſt *Saxons,* bordering part of it upon *Wales,* ſome *Welchmen* lived amongſt the *Engliſh.* That according to *Lambard*'s tranſlation of the word, the King was wont to have a *Welchman* to look to his Horſes, for the Phraſe is, not the King's Horſe-Groom, or his Horſes Maſter, but the King's Horſe *Welchman,* yet we may call him the Gentleman or Maſter of his Horſe, becauſe of his other imployment that follows. We reade in the *Saxon* Annals of *Wulfric* King *Alfred*'s *Horſethegne* or *Miniſter,* who was alſo Governour of *Wales.* Yet Mr. *Sumner* by no means will allow of *Lambard's*

C. 23. Be ƿiꞇe þeoꞃum.

C. 24. Be Cyꞃmanna on lande.

C. 25. Be ꝼundeneꞅ cildeꞅ ꝼoꞅꞇꞃe.

C. 26. Be ðeoꝼeꞅ onꝼeng.

C. 27. Be ðam ðe deaꞃnunga beaꞃn ꞅꞇꞃýneð.

C. 28. Be þam þe hiꞅ ƿæpnic onlæne.

C. 29. Be þam þe ꝼlyman ꝼeoꞃmige.

Boꞃhbryce.

C. 31. Be Cyliꞅceꞅ moneꞅ land hæꝼene.

C. 32. Be Cyningeꞅ hoꞃꞅ Ƿealh.

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bard's Interpretation of the word *Wealh* here for a *Welſhman*, but affirms it ſignifies onely a Servant, as Mr. *Lambard* himſelf alſo ſometimes interprets it. For it appears, that the *Saxon* Kings were wont to ſend their Domeſticks upon Meſſages, both from this Law and what we have formerly out of *Ingulphus* obſerved concerning *Oſlat* the Butler of King *Ethelwulf*, who was preſent at the Council held by *Bertulph* King of the *Mercians*, and in the name of his ſaid Maſter, his Sons and all the Weſt *Saxons* ſigned the Charter granted to the Monaſtery of *Croyland*, both in quality of his *Butler* and of his * *Ambaſſadour*.

* *Ego Oſlat pincerna Regis Ethelwulf & Legatus ipſius Domini mei, &c.*

80. The three and thirtieth Law provides, That *in caſe any was preſent at the killing of a man, he ſhall purge himſelf according to the value of his Head, or elſe be puniſhed for his preſence according to the value of his life that was ſlain. As if the valuation of his Head was of two hundred ſhillings, let him pay fifty; and let the ſame courſe be taken in thoſe that are born of any nobler Families.* The thirty fourth ſays what formerly had been ſaid, That *if any one ſlay a Thief he muſt make Oath that he killed him as a Malefactour, and farther adds*, that *he muſt make faith of this by Oath of men not choſen on purpoſe for the buſineſs, to the Kindred of the ſlain. In caſe he deny the fact and it become manifeſt he muſt pay the value of the mans Head.* The next Law provides, That *if any one be ſued for keeping another mans Goods, and by Oath preconceived hath denied the having of them, and fears not again to ſwear to the ſame purpoſe he ſware according to the penalty and the value of the thing. But in caſe he refuſe this Oath, that he pay double for his Perjury.* That which follows again, *Requires the value of the Thiefs Head of him that ſhall let him eſcape. If * he be an Alderman he is to forfeit his Shire, except the King think fit to pardon him.* The next *impoſes Forfeiture of Hand or Foot upon a Countreyman, who having been often accuſed of Theft hath been ſold or convicted any other way.* The thirty eighth Law provides, That *if a Countreyman have Children and die, the Children abide with their Mother, and to keep them that ſhe have ſix ſhillings, with a Cow in Summer and an Oxe in Winter; and that the Kindred keep the Seat till the Children come to age.* That which follows directs *Concerning ſuch as flie from their Lords, and lurke in any other * Shire, that they be thence ſent back, and moreover ſixty ſhillings paid to their Lord.* The fortieth *requires that the Field of a Countreyman adjacent to his Houſe be fenced as well in Summer as in Winter. If any gap lie open and ſo let in his Neighbours Cattel, the Countreyman muſt expect no ſatisfaction, but muſt himſelf take care for keeping out the Cattel and alone go away with the loſs.* The one and fortieth *gives liberty to deny ſuretyſhip, in caſe he knows that he doeth well.*

C. 33. Be manslyhte.

C. 34. Be ðeofslihte.

C. 36. Be ðon ðemon þeof forlæte.

* gif he ealdorman sýþoligehis scire, butan hun Cýning arian wille ⁊

C. 37. Be Cýrlisces monnes betogennisse.

C. 38. Be þon þe riht gehiþan bearn hæbban.

C. 39. Be una lýfedum fære fram his hlaford.

* Oþþe on oþre scire hine bestele. *Vides his antiquitatem vocis Shire.*

C. 40. Be ceorles ƿeorþige.

C. 41. Be borges onsæce.

81. The forty ſecond Law ordains concerning Common Ground, in this manner. *If Graſs-ground or any other belong to ſeveral Countreymen, and ſome will fence their part, and others refuſe to doe the ſame by theirs: if Cattle break into the Ground on that part that lay unfenced, let ſuch as owe this part make ſatisfaction to the other, and the owners of the Cattle to them, according to Right and Juſtice: but if there be any Beaſt that breaks Hedges and is troubleſome, and the owner thereof either cannot or will not keep it at home, he that finds the Beaſt in his Ground may kill it, and the owner of it ſhall have the Carkaſs, and no other compenſation made.* The forty third enjoyns, that *If any one ſet fire to the Trunk of a Tree lying in a Wood and be thereof convicted, he be puniſhed for it, and beſides that pay ſixty Shillings*, for this reaſon, becauſe *Fire is a clandeſtine Thief. If any fell Trees in a Wood and be convicted thereof, that for the three firſt Trees he pay thirty ſhillings, and undergo no greater puniſhments how many ſoever there be of them*, becauſe *an Axe by the noiſe diſcovers the Fact, neither can it eaſily be concealed.* The next *impoſes a penalty of ſixty ſhillings upon him that ſhall fell a Tree, the Branches whereof can cover thirty Swine:* that which follows makes an *Annual Livery, a ſort of Garment given to the Family of the value of ſix pence.* The forty ſixth impoſes penalties upon Breaches of the Peace: as *If the Peace be broken in the Town of the King, an hundred and twenty ſhillings; in the Town of an Alderman or Senatour eighty ſhillings; in that of the King's Thane or Miniſter ſixty ſhillings; if in the Town of the chief Man of the Hundred, having Land, five and thirty ſhillings; and the purgation of the crime is to be anſwerable.* The forty ſeventh takes order, that *If any one be accuſed of Theft, or of receiving a ſtoln thing he,*

C. 42. Be Ceorla gemænum land.

C. 43. Be ƿudu bærnet.

C. 44.

C. 45. Gafol-hƿitel.

C. 46. Be burhbrýce.

C. 47. Be stal týhtlan.

he free himſelf from the crime by ſixty Hides, if he be accounted fit to ſwear. If an Engliſh *Man ſteal, that he purge himſelf by a double number. If a* Welſh *Man, that he be obliged to no greater a number of Jurours. And that it be lawfull to any one both to prevent by oath the penalty of receiving Thieves, and the valuation of one ſlain in caſe of capital enmity, if he can, and be not aſhamed to doe it.* That which follows ordains, that *If any ſtoln goods be intercepted, one of ſervile condition muſt not be taken for a Voucher, as bought of him.* And the next to that, *In caſe any one for his crimes be condemned to ſlavery, and he be accuſed that he ſtole ſomething while he was free, the Accuſer may beat him once: and the Thief, according to the value of what he ſtole, is to be beaten how unwilling ſoever.*

C. 48. Be-ꝼoꞃꞅꞇolene ceap beꝼangene.

C. 49. Be-ƿiꞇe ðeoƿum mannum.

82. The fiftieth Law is concerning him that *finds Swine feeding upon his Maſt, or Acorns, without leave, that he take a pledge worth ſix ſhillings: if they never were there before let him that owns them pay one ſhilling, and according to the value of the Swine, let ſatisfaction be given that they never were in before; but if it ſhall appear that they had been in oftner, let two ſhillings be paid. He that takes in Hogs to feed upon Acorns, of thoſe that are three fingers thick in fat, let him take every third; of thoſe that are two fingers, every fourth; of ſuch as are the thickneſs of ones thumb in fat, every fifth.* The fifty firſt *forbids him whom theſe Laws call* Geſithcundmon (being of condition below a *Thane,* and above a *Ceorle,* probably as we have already tranſlated it, the Chief of the Hundred) *if he petition the King or his Alderman, for his Family; or the Lord for any Slave or Free-man, to ſue for any remiſſion of a Mulct, becauſe he had not inflicted deſerved puniſhment upon Offenders at Home.* That which follows enacts again concerning this ſame ſort of man, that *If he held Lands and refuſe to go to War, he loſe his Land, and pay one hundred and twenty ſhillings: if he have no Lands, that he pay ſixty ſhillings. A Ceorliſeman or Countreyman, if he offend in this ſort, he muſt pay thirty ſhillings.* By the next, *He that is accuſed of a Clandeſtine crime muſt purge himſelf according to an hundred and twenty Hides of Land, or elſe pay ſo many ſhillings.* The fifty fourth provides, that *In caſe another Man's Slave be found with a Man, and he be dead of whom he pretends he bought him, that the Buyer go to his Grave, and there according to the rate of forty Hides, make Oath that he bought this Slave of him, which done he is to be acquitted, and the Slave is to return to his former Lord. The ſame is to be obſerved in other ſtoln things. But in caſe it be known who had the goods of the Deceaſed, he is to be gone too, and to be deſired to clear the ſale except he make it good, that the Slave never belonged to the dead man.* The fifty fifth orders, that *If one be accuſed to have been at deadly enmity with a ſlain man, and the value of him be required at his hand, and he will ſwear that he gave him not his mortal wound; in ſuch caſe the Oath called the* Royal Oath, *according to the rate of thirty Hides is to be duly adminiſtred, whether thoſe called* Geſithcundmen, *or* Meor Ceorles *be joyned with him. In caſe he be found guilty, yet he may give his Corſlet and his Sword to whom of his Companions he will, though he be not able to pay the value of the ſlain. A* Welſhman *deprived of Liberty, muſt make this ſort of Purgation, according to the Rate of twelve Hides. A Slave muſt be beaten. An* Engliſhman *muſt ſwear according to the Rate of four and thirty Hides.*

C. 50. Be unalẏꝼeꝺeꞅ mæꞅꞇeneꞅ onꝼenᵹ.

C. 51. Beꞅiþcunꝺeꞅ monneꞅ ᵹeþinᵹe.

Vid. Sonnerum in Gloſſario voc. Sithcundus.

C. 52. Be ðon ðe ᵹeꞅiþcunꝺman ꝼẏꞃꝺ ꝼoꞃꞅiꞇꞇe.

C. 53. Be ðẏꞃnum ᵹeþinᵹþe.

C. 54. Baꝼoꞃꞅꞇoleneꞅ manneꞅ ꝼoꞃꝼenᵹe.

C. 55. Be ƿæꞃꞃæh þe ꞇẏhꞇlan.

83. The fifty ſixth, “Sets the price of an Ewe and her Lamb at one ſhilling, till a Fortnight after *Eaſter.* The next, Gives leave to any one that has bought imprudently any faulty thing, and diſcovers the fault within thirty days to return it to the Seller, except he will take his Oath that at the time of ſale, that fault was unknown to him. The fifty Eighth, Acquits the Wife of Theft, though conſcious to her Huſband's ſtealing, becauſe ſhe is to be obedient to him. And upon his condemnation, if ſhe refuſeth not to ſwear that ſhe had no part of the thing ſtoln, ſhe may poſſeſs the third part of his Goods. The next ordains that “He that cuts off the Horn of an Ox pay ten pence, the Horn of a Cow two pence. If the Tail of an Ox four pence, if that of a Cow five pence. Whoſo puts out the Eye of an Ox muſt pay five pence, if the Eye of a Cow one ſhilling. That which follows concerning Rent Barley is imperfect in Mr. *Lambard*”s Copy, neither doth *Brompton*'s Tranſlation make it much more intelligible. By the ſixty firſt, “If a Countreyman hired a Yoke of Oxen, and had Fodder

C. 56. Be eoƿeꞅ ƿẏꞃþe

C. 57.

C. 58. Be Cẏꞃliꞅceꞅ monneꞅ ꞅꞇale.

C. 59, Be Oxan.

C. 60. Be ꞃeᵹaꝼol.

C. 61. Be hẏꞃe Geôc.

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" der ſufficient, he was in that kind to pay the whole hire, if not ſufficient, then " half in Fodder, and half otherwiſe. The next commands " The firſt fruits of " Corn, due to the Church to be paid out of that Houſe, where a Man lives at " *Chriſtmas.* Of this we muſt ſpeak in Church matters. The ſixty third gives order, " That if an accuſed Perſon be required to give pledge, and is not able to " doe it before the Trial, in caſe another Man offers to doe it for him, on condition that he give himſelf up into his Power, till ſuch time as he can give him ſatisfaction for what he now depoſites; and now a ſecond time Caution is demanded of the accuſed Party, and he who aſſiſted him before now refuſeth to help " him the ſecond time; if he be caſt, let him looſe what he laid down for him " when the ſuit began. The next concerning him called *Geſithcundman* ordains, " That if he change his Habitation, it may be lawfull to him to take along with " him his Officer or Baily, his Smith, and his Child *Foſter* or his Nurſe. Here the word ***Smith***, *Lambard* tranſlates, *Fabrum Ferrarium*, viz. *Backſmith*; but *Smith* in *Saxon*, anſwers fully to *Faber* in *Latin*, not onely *Faber Ferrarius*, but *Faber Lignarius*, or any of the other ſort, the reaſon why it is become the moſt general ſirname now in *England*.

C. 62. Be Cyꞃic ꞅceaꞇꞇe.

C. 63. Be ðon ðe mon ꞇo ceape ꝼoꞃꝺꞃæꝼe.

C. 64. Be ᵹeꞅiþcunꝺeꞅ monneꞅ ꝼaꞃe.

84. By this ſixty fifth Law King *Ina* enacts, *That whoſoever poſſeſſeth twenty Hides of Land and removes his Habitation, ſhall leave twelve Hides ſown with Corn. He that occupies ten ſhall leave ſix, and he that poſſeſſeth three ſhall leave one and an half.* This we may ſuppoſe done in reſpect of the want of Corn, this Iſle and all in ancient times abounding with wood, which long after the time of *Ina*, procured Laws for cutting it down, though now we be in the other extreme. By that which follows he provides for him, *That hath hired and ploughed a Yardland, that if the Landlord exact other ſervices from him beſides the Rent, he ſhall not need to pay them nor abſtain from tilling the ground, except he aſſign him alſo an Houſe to dwell in.* Againſt *Geſithcundman* the next ordains, *That in caſe he be baniſhed, he ſhall not have the liberty to return to his Houſe.* The ſixty Eighth Commands, *That a Sheep be not ſhorn till* Midſummer, *otherwiſe the Fleece is to be redeemed with two pence.* The ſixty ninth is concerning Valuations of Mens Heads, that, *If a Man in his Life-time was valued at two Hundred ſhillings, thirty of them ſhould be deducted to make his Lord recompence for his death. If one was valued at ſix hundred, in ſuch caſe Eighty ſhould be deducted; if at twelve Hundred, then were to be deducted One hundred and twenty.* The ſeventieth concerning *maintenance* exacts, that, *From ten Hides of Land be allowed ten Fatts or Barrels of Honey; three Hundred loaves; twelve Runlets of* Welſh *Ale; thirty of the ſmaller Ale; two grown Oxen, or ten Wethers, ten Geeſe, twenty Hens, ten Cheeſes, one Pott of Butter, five Salmons, twenty Pound weight of Fodder, and an Hundred Eeles.* That which follows wills, that, *If one be required to pay the Value of his Head, and being now to ſwear, confeſſes what before he denied, he pay nothing by way of Mulct, till he have firſt ſatisfied for the value of his Head.* The ſeventy ſecond requires, that, *If a Thief who had formerly paid the value of his Head be taken, and make his eſcape the ſame day, the whole mulct be not again required, he being taken about Night: but in caſe the Theft was committed the Night before, ſuch as formerly apprehended him, muſt pay as the King or his Officer ſhall ordain.*

C. 65. Be lanꝺ hæbbenꝺum.

C. 66.

C. 67. Be ᵹeꞅiðcunꝺeꞅ monneꞅ ꝺꞃæꝼe oꝼ lanꝺe.

C. 68 Be ꞅceapeꞅ ᵹanᵹemiꝺ ꝼleoꞅ.

C. 69. Be ƿeꞃum.

C. 70. Be ꝼoꞅꞇꞃe. ꞇyn ꝼaꞇa huniᵹeꞅ. Oþþeꞇyn ƿeþeꞃaꞅ. ꞇyn ᵹeeꞅ. ꞇƿenꞇiᵹ henna. ꞇyn cyꞅaꞅ. ambeꞃꝼulne buꞇeꞃan. ꝼiꝼ leaxaꞅ. ꞇƿenꞇiᵹ punꝺ ƿaᵹa ꝼoꝺꞃeꞅ. ⁊ hunꝺ ꞇeonꞇiᵹ æla, *vide quam parum diſtant iſta rerum nomina ab hodiernis.*

C. 71. Be ƿeꞃꞇyhꞇlan. C. 72. Be ƿeꞃᵹylꝺ ðeoꝼeꞅ ꝼoꝼenᵹ.

Vide hic Spelman. in voc. Firma omnino.

85. The ſeventy third ordains, " That if a *Welſh* Slave kill an *Engliſh* Man, his " Maſter ſhall give him up into the Hands of the Lord, and the Kindred of him " that was ſlain, or elſe redeem him with ſixty ſhillings. If he will not part with " his Money, that then he ſet at liberty his Slave, and the Kindred of the ſlain recover the value of their Kinſman, if the other have any Kindred to bear him " out. If not, let him expect miſchief from his Adverſaries. A Freeman need " not pay with a Slave (except to buy off Capital Enmities or deadly Feuds) " neither a Slave with a Freeman. The next ordains concerning ſtoln Goods, " If they be found with another Man, and the Seller will neither own the Goods " nor that he ſold them, and yet confeſs that he ſold the Party ſome other things, " in ſuch caſe it muſt lye upon the Buyer to prove, that he ſold him theſe very " Goods and none other. The ſeventy fifth and the laſt is concerning him that " kills ones Godfather or Godſon, That, he pay as much to the Kindred of the " ſlain,

C. 73. Be ðon ðe ðeoƿ ƿealh ꝼꞃiᵹne man oꝼꞅlea ⁊

C. 74. Be ꝼoꞃꞅꞇoleneꞅ ceapeꞅ ꝼoꞃꝼenᵹ ⁊

C. 75. Be ᵹoꝺꝼæðeneꞅ oþþe ᵹoꝺꞅuneꞅ ꞅlyhꞇ ⁊

"ſlain, as ought to be paid to the Lord for the loſs of his Servant. And the Payment muſt be more or leſs according to the value of him that was ſlain, and "that which was to be made to the Lord for his loſs. But in caſe it was the "King's Godſon that was ſlain, ſatisfaction muſt be made to him aſwell as the "Kindred. In caſe a Kinſman ſlew him, abatement muſt be made of what is to "be paid to his Godfather, as if it had even to his Lord. If the ſlain was the "Son of a Biſhop, abatement muſt be made of the half.

86. Theſe are the Laws of King *Ina*, which we have tranſcribed, becauſe they are the firſt of the *Engliſh* Nation, now extant: of ſuch as follow we ſhall make mention with relation unto them. The next Legiſlatour after *Ina*, was *Offa* King of the *Mercians*, whom we may very well take for Authour of the *Mercian* Law, and not *Martia* the Widow of *Guenthelin* King of *Britain*, though ſome fanſie her to have enacted it while ſhe held the Regency of the Kingdom in the Minority of her Son, about three Hundred and fifty Years before the Birth of our Saviour. That *Offa* the King of the *Mercians*, made Laws is evident from the Preface of King *Alfred* to ſuch as he enacted, though now there be no Body of them extant. For the next Legiſlatour after *Offa* was *Alfred* himſelf, to whom St. *Henry Spelman* gives the Epithetes of *Pius*, *Inclitus*, *Felix*, and, amongſt perpetual and moſt bitter troubles, of *Victor* and *Triumphator*, *Alfred never ſufficiently to be commended King alſo of the Weſt Saxons*, but to whom all both *Engliſh* and *Saxons* voluntarily ſubmitted themſelves, to whom alſo *Guthrun* the *Daniſh* King ſwore obedience, and held the Provinces of the Eaſt *Engliſh* and *Northumbrians* as his Vaſſal. He himſelf tells us in the Concluſion of his Religious preface "That "whatſoever he found worthy of Obſervation, either in the time of *Ina* his Kinſ"man, or of *Offa* King of the *Mercians*, or of *Ethelbert* the firſt Chriſtened King, he "gathered them all together, and omitted the reſt, in which work he uſed the "advice, and had the conſent of the wiſeſt Men about him. Having reviſed the Laws of theſe Princes, he tranſcribed ſuch of them as he liked into his own, and by conſent of thoſe Wiſemen he uſed Collection, commanded them to be obſerved by all *Engliſh* Men, under which Name the *Saxons* and *Jutes* were then included.

Offa.

Alfred.

Leland Ceſtrienſis Monachus, apud Spelman. v. Lex. Merciorum.

Ac ꝺa ꝺe ic ᵹemeꞇꞇe ahƿæꞃ oþþeon Ineꞅ ꝺæᵹemineꞅ mæᵹeꞅ. oþþe on Offam Myꞃcna cyninᵹeꞅ, &c.

87. The firſt of his Laws commands, an Oath and a pledge to be ſtrictly regarded. "If any by neceſſity was compelled to ſwear or depoſite a pledge, where"by he is bound either to lay ſnares for his own Lord or unjuſtly to aſſiſt any "Perſon, he is adviſed to recede, rather than to ſtand to his obligation. But in caſe "he engaged to perform any thing which might juſtly be done, and doth not doe "it, his Arms and all his Fortunes are to be put into the Hands of his Friends, "and he is to be put into the King's Priſon for forty days, till he undergoe that "puniſhment, which the Biſhop according to his Deſerts ſhall lay upon him. If he "have not wherewith to ſuſtain himſelf in the mean while, his Kindred are to "provide him Victuals, if they be not in condition, the King's Officer muſt doe it. "If by force he be conſtrained to give up his Arms, he muſt forfeit both his "Arms and all his Eſtate, and if in making reſiſtence he dye, nothing is to be paid "as the valuation of his Head. In caſe he fly before his time be out and be taken, he "is to be returned back again to priſon for other forty days. If he eſcape he is to "have no benefit of the Laws, and to be excommunicated in all Churches. If "any ingaged for him he muſt pay his forfeit, and undergo ſuch penance as the "Prieſt ſhall ſet him. The ſecond bears the Title of the immunity of the Church, and we ſhall ſpeak of it in the Eccleſiaſtical concernments. The third is concerning the breach of Suretyſhip. "If the Suretyſhip was in behalf of the King, "ſatisfaction muſt be made according to the Damage received, and the breach "farther puniſhed by a mulct of five pounds of *Mercian* Penies. The Violati"on of Suretyſhip, or the Peace, made to an Archbiſhop, is puniſhed by a fine of "three pounds, to Biſhops or Senatours (*Ealdermen*) by one of two. The fourth Law, "upon one that either by himſelf alone or by his Servants, and Aſſaſſi"nates, lays treacherouſly in wait againſt the life or ſafety of the King, inflicts the "loſs of life and fortunes. If he will purge himſelf he may doe it with reſpect to "the Valuation of the King's Head. The ſame is to be obſerved in all Degrees of "Men, whether * Noblemen or Countreymen. Whoſoever conſpires againſt his "Lord, let him be puniſhed with loſs of life and fortunes, or elſe pay the Valua"tion of his Lord's Head.

C. 1. Be aþum ⁊ be ƿeꝺꝺum ⁊

C.. 2.

C. 3. Be boꞃhbꞃyce.

C. 4. Be hlafoꞃꝺ ꞅyꞃƿe ⁊

* *Saxonicè* ᵹe ceoꞃle ᵹe eoꞃle. *Comes ſcil. & villanus intelligitur ſummus & infimus apud eos ordo vel gradus quamvis* Ceoꞃl *non nunquam pro marito uſurpetur, hinc* Ceoꞃlian *pro nuptum dari.*

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88. The ſeventh Law “To the ſixth of *Ina*, which gives the King Power of life and death over him that fights in the Court, gives the ſame Power over him, that ſhall but draw his Weapon in the ſame place. Farther provides that If the Offender flye and be taken, he pay the value of his Head, and according to his offence farther be puniſhed by the payment of a Mulct, or the Value of his Head. The ninth ordains, “That if one kill a Woman with Child he pay the full Value of her Head, beſides half the value of the Head of one of her Husband's Children. If the value of the Head come not to thirty ſhillings it is to be made up, and a farther Mulct of an Hundred and twenty ſhillings to be impoſed. And whereas formerly ſuch were more grievouſly puniſhed as ſtole Gold, Stallions or Bees, and other more heavy Mulcts were impoſed upon other Offenders, by this Law the ſame reſpect ſhall be had to all; onely he that ſteals a Man ſhall pay an hundred and twenty ſhillings. The tenth requires, that “He that lies with the Wife of a Man whoſe cenſe or value of his Head, is twelve Hundred ſhillings, pay the Summ of one Hundred and twenty ſhillings to him for the offence. If the Man's value be ſix hundred, that the offender pay to him an hundred ſhillings. He that lies with the Wife of a Ceorl or Countreyman ſhall pay forty ſhillings; for payment of which, if need be, all a Man's Cattel are to be ſold, but no Mankind. The next wills, “That if any one wantonly handles the Breaſts of a Countreyman's Wife, he pay down to the Woman five ſhillings: if he caſt her down upon the ground, but lies not with her, ten ſhillings; if he enjoys her, ſixty ſhillings. If another had committed Adultery with her before, one half of this Mulct is to be paid. If he be ſued for it, either according to the rate of ſixty Hides, he muſt purge himſelf or pay down half of the Fine. If violence be offered to a Woman of greater Birth, the Mulct is to be increaſed according to the valuation of her Head.

C. 7. Be ðon ðe mon on cẏninᵹeꞅ healle ᵹeꝼeohꞇe ⁊

C. 9. Be ðon ðe mon oꝼꝼlea beaꞃn eacnenꝺ ƿiꝼ ⁊

C. 10. Be ꝼoꞃleᵹeꞃum ⁊

C. 11.

89. The twelfth Law, *concerning Burning of Wood*, alters the forty third of *Ina*, concerning this Subject, “Impoſing upon him that ſhall ſet fire to the Trees of another man, or fell them without his leave, for every greater Tree a Mulct of five ſhillings, for every ſmaller five pence, beſides a fine of thirty ſhillings. That which follows willeth, “That if in felling a Tree a Man accidentally be ſlain, the Kindred of the ſlain ſhall have the Tree, if within thirty days they fetch it off the ground; otherwiſe it is to remain with the owner of the Wood. By the fourteenth, “The Father of a dumb or deaf Man, is to repair the Damages cauſed by him. By the fifteenth, “Fighting in the preſence of an Archbiſhop, is puniſhed by a fine of an hundred and fifty ſhillings, in the preſence of a Biſhop or Senatour with one of an hundred. By the next, “ſuch as ſteal a Mare or a Cow, and drive away Foal or Calf from them are to pay the Value of the Mare or Cow, and farther a Mulct of forty ſhillings. The ſeventeenth requires, “That if a Man borrow any Cattel which chance to dye in his Hands, if thereto required he make oath, that he is not guilty of any fraud as to the death of the Beaſt. The Nineteenth ordains, “That if one Man lend to another any Weapon to kill a third Perſon, both of them if they pleaſe may pay the Valuation of his Head. If they refuſe to doe it together, that he that lent the Weapon, himſelf lay down the third part, and then he may make faith, that he meant no harm when he lent out the Weapon. The latter part of the Law, Commands reſtitution to be made of ſuch Swords or other Weapons as have been put into the Hands of Artificers, onely for mending or making into other ſorts of Inſtruments. The two and twentieth Orders, “That if a Man ſue another before the King's Officer in *Folcmote*, and afterwards let fall his Action, he make it appear if he can where the Right lies, or otherwiſe be fined the value of the thing. The next in order is concerning the “Biting of a Dog impoſing a mulct of ſix ſhillings upon his Maſter if he ſtill keep him, for the firſt offence, if he bite again of twelve ſhillings, and if the third time of thirty; and now though the Dog be killed, yet is the fine to be paid. If he live and afterwards doe more miſchief and his Maſter ſtill keep him, he muſt either pay the value of the Head, or make other Compenſation according to the miſchief done. That which follows is concerning Cattel, “if an Ox rent or wound a man he is to be ſeized, except the owner of him redeem him. The twenty fifth “Puniſheth him that raviſheth the Maid-ſervant of a Countreyman, with the payment of ſix ſhillings to the man, and a mulct of ſixty ſhillings beſides: a Man-Slave that lies with a She-Slave with the loſs of his Member; and him that raviſhes a Virgin of tender Age, as him that lies with one of riper years.

C. 12. Be ƿuꝺu bæꞃnette ⁊

C. 13. Be ðon ðe mon oþeꞃne oꝼꝼẏlle ⁊

C. 14. Be ðumbꞃa manna ꝺæꝺum ⁊

C. 15. Be ᵹeꝼeohꞇum.

C. 16. Be ðon ðe mon mẏꞃe oþ cu ꝼoꞃꞅꞇele.

C. 17. Be ðon ðe oþꞃıc hiꞅ unmaᵹum oꝼꞅæꞅꞇeþ.

C. 19. Be ðon ðe heoꞃe ꞅapne ænaþ ꞇo manꞅlihꞇ.

C. 22. Be eoꝼeꞅꞇeꞅ anꝺeꞇlan.

C. 23. Be hunꝺeꞅ ꞅliꞇe.

C. 24. Be nẏꞇena miꞅꝺaðum,

C. 25. Be nẏꝺhæmed.

90. The

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90. The twenty ſixth Law inflicts Puniſhments upon thoſe, "Who kill men "by Troops or Companies. If the ſlain innocent Party, or he that had received a "mortal wound, was valued at two Hundred ſhillings, he that ſlew him muſt pay "the value of his Head and a Mulct; and every one that was in the Troop or "Company, muſt alſo pay thirty ſhillings. In caſe he was worth ſix Hundred "ſhillings, every one in the Company muſt pay ſixty ſhillings, and he that killed "him pay the value of his Head, and the Mulct beſides. If he was valued at "twelve Hundred ſhillings, they muſt pay an hundred and twenty a-piece, and "the ſlayer both the value and the mulct. In caſe every Man deny, that he gave "the mortal wound, all are to be impeached together, and amongſt them muſt "pay both the Value and the Mulct. Now concerning theſe Troops or Companies which our *Saxon* Anceſtours called *Hlothum*, how many Men made up one of them, the Reader may remember he was told by the fourteenth Law of King *Ina*: The twenty ſeventh orders, "That if a Man in a Quarrel killed another, "and had no Kindred by the Father's ſide, ſuch Kindred as he hath by the Mo-"thers ſide, ſhall pay the third part of the value of the Head, another third thoſe of "his Gild or Society, and for the third he is to ſuffer baniſhment. In caſe he have no "Kindred neither on his Mothers ſide, thoſe of his Gild muſt pay one half, and he be "baniſhed for the other. If he that was ſlain had no Kindred, one half of the value of "his Head is to be paid to the King, and the other half to thoſe of his Gild or Society. Thoſe of his *Gild* in *Saxon* called *Gegyldan*, were ſo named from *Gyldand* ſignifying to *pay*, aſmuch as one would ſay *Fellow Paymaſters*. And they were ſo called for two Cauſes, firſt becauſe they contributed Money according to the Cuſtome, together with their Fellows that had killed a Man, *viz.* The valuation of the Head of the ſlain, as they alſo received money for a ſlain Brother of their *Gyld*. Another was becauſe they contributed toward publick Feaſts, which at certain times they obſerved. Hence afterward in the Laws of King *Henry the Firſt*, they are called *Crocca Cowellet*, as thoſe whoſe *Pot boils together*. In *Germany* the *Bores* call their publick *Feaſts* by the Name of *Gilde*, to which all contribute. A Society or Company in *Saxon* is called *Gebeorſcipe* and *Gyldſcipe*, in the low Countries *Ghildſchap*, and hence comes our more modern Name of *Gilde*, uſed to expreſs ſome Societies of Religious men, as alſo of Tradeſmen and Artificers, which now we call *Companies*, and moreover of *Gildhall*, the place of their Meetings and judicial Aſſemblies.

C. 26. Be manꞅlihꞇ mıꝺ hloþe.

C. 27. Be mæᵹleaꞃum mon num.

ᵹeᵹẏlꝺan.

A Saxon cꞃocca olla & ƿællen *bullire.*

Co præpoſito quod ut Con in Compoſitis ſimul notat ut in Co-partner Co-operate, Co-ordinate, Co-incident, &c. vide Somneri Gloſſar. ut Congildones.

91. The twenty eighth Law of *Alfred* was made againſt the *Spreaders of falſe News*, and commands that "ſuch being convicted, be not ſlightly puniſhed, but "their * Tongues cut out except they redeem them by payment of the whole "value of their Heads. The thirtieth orders that "Merchants when they land, "bring ſuch as come aſhore with them before the King's Officer in *Folcmote*, and "declare their number, and then keep them with them that they may be ready "to anſwer any thing that ſhall be demanded of them in *Folcmote*. And if out "of neceſſity they bring many with them from Sea, into the Haven thereof, "they are alſo to certifie the King's Officer in that Aſſembly. Conſidering the dangerous times wherein King *Alfred* lived, when was ſuch flocking of ſtrangers into *England*, this Law ſeems very prudently made. The one and thirtieth inflicts "upon him that ſhall put into bonds a Countreyman who no ſuch thing "deſerves, a mulct of ten ſhillings, upon him that beats ſuch an one, twenty "ſhillings; if he hang him up aloft, thirty ſhillings. If he clip his hair like a "fool, ten ſhillings; If he ſhave his head like a Prieſt and bind him not, thirty "ſhillings: In caſe he cut his beard, twenty ſhillings; and if he bind him and "cut his hair like a Prieſt, ſixty ſhillings. That which follows "requires of "him who carries on his back a ſpear ſo negligently that another by chance falls "upon it, the value of his head without a mulct: but in caſe he bore the head "of the ſpear in his hand and another falls upon it, the Law impoſes a mulct "upon him. If he be accuſed to have done it on purpoſe, it's lawfull for him "to clear himſelf according to the nature of the mulct; if the point of the ſpear "was three fingers higher than that part behind his back; if the point and all "the reſt of the ſpear was of the ſame height it blames him not. The next directs that if "a ſervant paſs from one place to another, he muſt doe it with the "knowledge of the Alderman or Governour of that County where he former-"ly ſerved. Otherwiſe, he that receives him into his Family muſt forfeit an "hundred and twenty ſhillings to the King, whereof one half to be paid in the "Countrey whence the ſervant came, and the other in that where he is now re-"ceived. And in caſe before his removal he committed any fault, he that laſt "received him muſt make amends, and fine to the King an hundred and twenty "ſhillings beſides.

C. 28. Beꝼolc leaꞅunᵹum ᵹeƿẏꞃhꞇum.

* þonnehim mon aceoꞃꝼ ꝺa ꞇunᵹan oꝼ.

C. 30. Be Cẏpmannum.

C. 31. Be Ceoꞃliꞅceꞅ manneꞅ binꞇelan.

C. 32. Be ꞅpereꞅ ᵹẏmeleaꞅꞇe.

C. 33. Be bolꝺᵹeꞇæle.

C. 34. Be ᵹeꝼeohꞇe beꝼoꝛan ealdoꝛmen.

C. 35. Be Cyꝛlıꞅceꞅ monneꞅ ꝼleꞇꞇe ᵹeꝼeohꞇe.

C. 36. Be buꝛhbꝛẏce. cẏnınᵹeꞅ buꝛhbꝛẏce. Æꝛcebıꞅceoꝑeꞅ buꝛhbꝛẏce. Ceoꝛleꞅ eoꝺoꝛbꝛẏce.

92. The thirty fourth Law "Impoſes upon him that ſhall ſtrike or fight in *Folcmote* before the King's Alderman, both the value of his own head and ſuch a fine beſides as ſhall be thought fit, beſides an hundred and twenty ſhillings to be paid to the Alderman, upon him that by his weapons ſhall make any diſturbance in *Folcmote*, a mulct of an hundred and twenty ſhillings to the Alderman. If he be not preſent, but the thing be done before his Subſtitute or the King's Prieſt, an amerciament of thirty ſhillings. Here by the *King's Prieſt* is meant the *Biſhop*, as we may very well conjecture, who, as we formerly ſaid, in thoſe times preſided alſo in *Folcmotes*, and there diſpatched buſineſs relating to the Church. The thirty fifth ordains that "He that fights at the Homeſtall of a Countreyman, pay the ſaid Countreyman ſix ſhillings; if he drew his Sword, but ſtruck not, half as much. If the offence be committed in the Homeſtall of a man valued at ſix hundred ſhillings, three times as much is to be paid as laid upon him that fights in that of a Countreyman; If it be done at the Houſe of a Man valued at twelve hundred ſhillings, the double of that which is to be paid for fighting in the Yard of one valued at five hundred. The thirty ſixth Law of *Burhbrice* or breach of the Peace in a Town "confirms that part of King *Ina*'s forty ſixth Law of this Subject; for what concerns the breach of the Peace in the King's Town or City, impoſing upon the offender the ſame mulct of an hundred and twenty ſhillings. But if it be done in the Archbiſhops Town, a mulct of ninety ſhillings; in that of a Biſhop or Alderman ſixty ſhillings. In the Town of a Man valued at twelve hundred ſhillings, a fine of thirty ſhillings; half as much if done in the Village of one worth but half as much. Him that breaks the Hedge of a Countreyman, it fines five ſhillings: and double the ſum, if it be done during an expedition in War, or in time of Lent. Him that in time of Lent draws the Holy Courtain before the People without leave, it fines an hundred and twenty ſhillings.

C. 37. Be Boclanꝺe.

C. 38. Be ᵹeꝼeohꞇe *alias* ꝼæhþe.

93. The thirty ſeventh, is that Law concerning *Bocland*, which we have already occaſionally mentioned. By virtue hereof "He that holds ſuch Lands left him by his Anceſtours, hath no power to alienate it from his Heirs to others, in caſe it can be proved by writing or teſtimony before the King or Biſhop, his Kindred being preſent, that he who firſt granted it, forbade him all alienation, and laid on him this condition. Upon occaſion of this Law, Mr. *Selden* tells our common Lawyers, that here they may behold *Fee-tail*, much more ancient than the thirteenth year of *Edward* the Firſt. The thirty eighth concerning *quarrels* or *deadly feuds* "Forbids any Man to attacque his Enemy, if he find him in his Houſe, except he firſt demand of him what is right. If he can Beſiege the Houſe, he may doe it for ſeven days, during which time, if he give up himſelf and his Arms into his hands, he may keep him thirty days, but then offer him ſafe and ſound to his Kindred and Friends. In caſe he flye to a Church, the honour of the Church muſt be preſerved: If he cannot Beſiege him, he may deſire the aſſiſtence of the Alderman, which if he cannot obtain, he muſt go to the King. If any one by chance light upon his adverſary, knowing not that he keeps himſelf at home, and the other will deliver up his Arms to him, he ſhall keep him ſafe thirty days, and then offer him to his Friends. But in caſe he will not deliver up his Arms, then may he inſtantly force him. In caſe he be willing to deliver up himſelf and his Arms to his Enemy, and any other Man ſets upon him, let ſuch a Man pay the value of his head, or give ſatisfaction for his wounds if any be given him, according to the fact, beſides, let him be fined, and looſe all that may fall to him by reaſon of Kindred. A Servant may lawfully fight for his Maſter if any one ſet upon him, and a Maſter for his Servant. In like manner, if any one unjuſtly fall upon ones near Kinſman, he may fight for him againſt all men, except his Lord, which is not to be ſuffered. It may be lawfull alſo for any to ſet upon him whom he finds locked up under the ſame covering with his Wife, or with his own Daughter, his Siſter or his Mother, lawfully Married to his Father.

C. 40. Beƿundum.

94. The laſt of theſe Laws of King *Alfred*, is concerning *wounds and maims*, which though ſomething long, we ſhall add to the former. "If any Man wound another in the head, ſo as the bone on both ſides be pierced, let him pay to the wounded thirty ſhillings: If the outward bone onely be pierced, fifteen ſhillings. If the Man be wounded to the quantity of an Inch under the hair, let the mulct be one ſhilling; but if the wound was beſides the hair, two ſhillings. If an Ear be cut off, thirty ſhillings; in caſe the hearing be loſt by the wound, ſixty ſhillings. He that digs out the Eyes of another, let him pay ſixty

“ ſix ſhillings ſix pence, and the third part of a penny; but in caſe the Eye be “ ſtill in the head, yet ſo wounded that the ſight is loſt, let the third part of the “ mulct be abated. Let him that cuts off a Noſe pay ſixty ſhillings. Him that “ ſtrikes out the firſt Teeth, eight ſhillings to the ſufferer; if thoſe called the “ Wang-teeth (*Dentes Canini*) be ſtrucken out, four ſhillings; if the Grinders, “ ſixteen ſhillings. He that wounds another on the Cheek, let him pay fifteen “ ſhillings; that cleaves his Chin-bone, twelve ſhillings; that pierces the Throat, “ twelve ſhillings. He that cuts out the Tongue as much as he that pulls out the “ Eye. He that wounds in the Shoulder to the breaking of the Member, thirty “ ſhillings; that breaks an Arme above the Elbow, fifteen ſhillings; that breaks “ both the bones of the Arme, thirty ſhillings. Let him that cuts off a Thumb, “ forfeit to the Party thirty ſhillings: that cuts off the nail of a Thumb, five “ ſhillings: he that cuts off the firſt Finger let him pay fifteen ſhillings: the nail “ of this Finger, four ſhillings; if the middle or longeſt Finger, twelve ſhillings; if the nail of it, two ſhillings; if it be the Ring-finger, ſeventeen ſhillings; if the nail, four ſhillings; if the little Finger, nine ſhillings; if its nail “ onely one ſhilling.

ᵹif hiꞇꞅyꞅe ƿonᵹꞇoþ.

95. “ If one receive a wound in the Belly, let him receive from the offender “ thirty ſhillings; and if the weapon pierced through the Belly, twenty ſhillings “ for each Orifice. If a Man be run through the Thigh, he that did it ſhall pay “ him thirty ſhillings, and if the bone be hurt, other thirty ſhillings. He that “ pierces a Man through the Leg, let him pay the wounded Party twelve ſhillings; but if the bone be broke, thirty ſhillings. If one Man cut off the great “ Toe of another he ſhall pay him twenty ſhillings; if the next to that, fifteen “ ſhillings; if the third, nine ſhillings; if the fourth, ſix ſhillings; and if the “ leaſt, five ſhillings. If a Man be ſo wounded in the Genitals, that the faculty “ of procreation be thereby taken away, the offender ſhall pay him eighty ſhillings. He that cuts off an Arme ſhall incur the mulct of eighty ſhillings. Let “ the puniſhment for every wound, beſide the Hair and the Sleeve, and beneath “ the Knee, be doubled. He that breaks a Mans Loins ſhall pay him ſixty ſhillings; if he prick them with a weapon, fifteen ſhillings, if he pierce them “ through, thirty ſhillings. If a Man receive a wound on his ſhoulder he ſhall “ receive eighty ſhillings: If the outward part of his Hand be bruiſed or wounded, yet ſo as it may be cured, twenty ſhilling; but if he looſe half of his “ Hand, ſixty ſhillings. If a Rib be broken, though the Skin be whole, the offender ſhall pay ten ſhillings, but if the Skin be broke and ſome bones be forced “ out, fifteen ſhillings. If an Eye be pulled out, an Hand or a Foot cut off; let “ there be the ſame penalty, *viz.* ſixty ſix ſhillings, ſix pence and the third part “ of a penny. If the Leg be cut off above the Knee, the mulct ſhall be eighty “ ſhillings; if the Shoulder-blade be cut off, twenty ſhillings; if it be bruiſed ſo “ that bones come out, fifteen ſhillings; if the greater Sinews be cut, yet ſo as “ they may be healed, twelve ſhillings; but if the Party fall lame and his lameneſs cannot be cured, thirty ſhillings; if the ſmaller Sinews be cut, ſix ſhillings. If a Man receive a wound on his Neck, ſo that all his life he goes infirm and deformed, let the offender by way of Compenſation pay him an “ hundred ſhillings, except in the opinion of wiſe Men more ought to be given “ to him. Theſe be the Laws of King *Alfred*, made by himſelf and his wiſe Men; for the Government of all his Subjects. In the League betwixt him and *Guthrun* the *Dane*, there were others made by the conſent of both Nations; whereof ſuch as reſpect the Civil ſtate we have already mentioned in the Hiſtory of *Alfred's* Life. The reſt which reſpect matters Eccleſiaſtical, muſt to ſuch matters be referred,

96. The next Legiſlatour in order of our *Engliſh Saxon* Kings, was **Edward** the Elder, the Son and Succeſſour of glorious King *Alfred*. In the Preface to his Laws, he ſtrictly charges and commands all his Officers, that as much as in them lies, they doe Juſtice according * as it ſtands in the Judicial Book, and without all fear boldly diſpence the Common Law, and that they ſet and appoint certain days for Determination of the ſeveral Cauſes depending before them. The firſt Law is concerning Traffick, and in way of confirmation of the fourth Article of the League made betwixt his Father and the *Daniſh* King Guthrun ordains that *If a Man buy any thing, he have one that will vouch, warrantize, and make good the ſale. That no*

Be ꝺome ⁊ ꞅpꞃæce.

C. 1. Be Ceapunᵹe.

Man

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* ⁊ hiꞇ on ðæꞃe ꝺom bec ꞅꞇanꝺe. *De iſto libro Judiciali frequens in his legibus mentio nec tamen conſtat quis fuerit. Ethelbertum legimus Decreta Judiciorum Compoſuiſſe. Aſſerius etiam prodit Alfredum Judiciorum decreta Saxonicis mandaſſe literis.*

Sect. 12. *Man without the Town buy any thing, but* (a) *have the Portreeve for witneſs, or other Men worthy of Credit, otherwiſe he ſhall* (b) *undergoe the penalty of Contumacy againſt the King, and the vouching or warrantizing ſhall alſo proceed from one to another till it be ended; we farther ordain that whoſoever calleth to warrantize a Party of whom he bought the thing, in queſtion, either produce his Teſtimony that he did rightly call him, or by interpoſition of his Oath ſatisfie the Demandant. In the ſame manner we determine concerning that that was ones own; for if he contend that it was not received from elſewhere, but was his own, and ſo uſed it, let him either produce his Witneſſes, or with ſome other perſons (if he can) not choſen on purpoſe, let him ſwear that the thing is not the Demandant's. If he cannot doe it, let ſix Men be ſummoned out of the Neighbourhood, and one Man ſwear for every Cow, or any thing of ſuch a value, or more if the thing be of a greater price. We farther Decree, that if any Pawn another Man's Goods, he take his Oath that he did it not deceitfully, but without all fraud and evil deſign: then let him with whom the Goods ſhall be found be at his choice, whether he will plead that they are his own, or go to Vouching.* This calling to Vouching or Warrantizing, our *Engliſh Saxons* expreſſed by the word *Team*, which properly ſignifies *Propago, Soboles,* or *Off-ſpring*, but ſecondarily, and by way of tranſlation, to *make known, call forth* or *produce* another. In reference to the matter in hand: it was the Cuſtome of the Ancients, that if one had ſold to another any ſtoln Goods, and this Man had alienated them to a third, and the third to a fourth, &c. yet might the true owner ſeize them wherever he found them. Then was he with whom they were found obliged to produce him that ſold them to him, to own and make good the Sale, which in *Latin* they term *Advocare.* Then was he that was thus called out or produced (*Advocatus Cauſæ*) bound to produce his Chapman alſo of whom he bought the Goods, and this Chapman another, till at length they came to the Thief himſelf. From this continuation and progreſs from one to another, it had the Name of *Team*, as in the Old *Norman* Law *French*, *Voucher al Garantiæ*; ſo hence in Barbarous *Latin* come *Garandia, Garantia, Garantum, Garantizare* and *Garentizare*, otherwiſe written *Warrantia, Warrantum,* and *Warrantizare*, the Root of all which, ſeems to be the *Saxon* word *Waran*, which ſignifies to defend. For the *French* inſtead of the *Saxon W*, always uſe *G*, and all theſe words have their proper ſignification amongſt the Lawyers of *England, France* and *Germany*, which no one *Roman* or *Latin* word can expreſs. As for the *Portreeve* mentioned in this Law, it ſignifies the *Chief Governour of a City or Town*, he of *London* and many other Cities in ancient times being known by this Title.

(a) Ac hæbbe ðæꞅ poꞃꞇᵹeꞃeꝼan ᵹeƿiꞇnẏꞅꞅe. (b) ðonneꞅẏ he cẏninᵹeꞅ oꝼeꞃhẏꞃnẏꞅꞅe ꞅcẏlꝺiᵹ. ⁊ ᵹanᵹe ꞅe ꞇeam ðeah ꝼoꞃþ, &c.

ꞇeam.

ꞇẏman *propagare* ꞇeam *ſoboles & hinc* ꞇeam *tam pro ſequela quam vocant nativorum vel mancipiorum propagine, de quâ prius; quam pro advocatione Authoris laudatione vel productione. Hinc etiam partum Teeming dicimus, à teeming Woman.*

Advocatio alio ſenſu eſt jus patronatus vel præſentandi, noſtratibus vulgo Advowſon.

Vide Lambard. Gloſſar. in voc. Advocare, Spelman. in voc. Garandia & Somneri in v. Advocare.

97. The ſecond of King *Edward*'s Laws ordains, that *Whoſoever denies another Man his Right, either in* Bocland *or* Folcland, *demanding it before the King's Juſtice, whenas he hath no Right in either of theſe ſorts of Land, ſhall pay to the King for the firſt offence thirty ſhillings, as much for the ſecond; and if he offend the third time, that he pay an hundred and twenty ſhillings for his Contumacy againſt the King.* The third determines of *One that hath forſworn himſelf, or born falſe witneſs, that no credit be given to him for the time to come, and that he be put to Ordeal.* The fourth declares, that *King* Edward *lying at* Exeter, *and conſulting with his Wiſemen, ſtudiouſly enquired by what means he might beſt provide for Peace and Tranquillity, for he perceived that theſe things were not ſo much regarded as they ought to be, and as he had ordained. He intreated therefore and required all that would be corrected and amended, and would with him enjoy common ſociety, and would proſecute with love and hatred the ſame things as he did both by Sea and Land; that they would look to this one thing, viz. that they did injury to no Man. He that doeth contrary let him (as was formerly ordained) pay thirty ſhillings to the King; if he offend the ſecond time, as much; and if the third, an hundred and twenty ſhillings.* The fifth commands, that *That Reeve or Judge that doeth not Juſtice according to the Teſtimony of ſuch as are ſummoned, pay an hundred and twenty ſhillings for his contumacy againſt the King.* The ſixth wills, *That if a ſervant be accuſed of Theft, he that recommended him to his Maſter, or other of his Friends (if any he have) be ſureties*

C. 2. Be ðone ðe oþꞃum ꞃihꞇeꞅ ƿẏꞃnþ.

C. 3. Be manꞅƿoꞃenum.

C. 4. Be ꝼꞃẏðe.

C. 5. Be ᵹeꞃeꝼan þe miꝺ ꞃihꞇ ne amaniᵹe.

C. 6. Be ðẏꝼþe beꞇoᵹenum.

ties for him, that he diſcharge himſelf of what is depoſed againſt him. If he have none to interpoſe on his behalf, thoſe that are concerned may ſieze his Goods. If he have neither Goods nor Friends, let him be taken into Cuſtody. The ſeventh abſolutely requires, that *Thoſe always be had in readineſs that will not goe to their own Homes, and that for no reward they be protected.*

98. The eighth Law enjoyns that "No man knowingly and voluntarily, have "peace with or harbour one that is condemned for a Crime: he that acts contrary "and thereby breaks his Oath and the faith given by him, and all the People, let "him undergo the Mulct preſcribed in the Judiciary Book. That if he refuſe to pay, "he is to be deprived of the King's and all other Mens friendſhip, and farther for"feit all his Eſtate. And if any afterwards relieve him, let him alſo incur the pe"nalty expreſſed in the ſaid Judiciary Book. Farther, ſaith he, whoſoever ſhall "relieve a fugitive either in this our coaſt, or in the Eaſtern or Northern parts of "the Kingdom, let him be puniſhed as in the Articles of Peace is ordained. That "which follows provides that, If one deprived of liberty for ſtealing, ſteal "again and all his kindred forſake him, ſo that none will ingage for him, he be "ſet to ſervile works as opportunity ſhall be, and his kindred looſe the Valuation of his Head. The tenth Law "forbids any Man to receive another Man's Ser"vant without his leave, and he hath fully ſatisfied his Maſter: he that doeth o"therwiſe muſt be puniſhed as Contumacious againſt the King. The eleventh and laſt commands that "about every fourth Week every Reeve, or Judge, hold "the Gemote or Aſſembly, Adminiſter Juſtice to every Man, and determine "all cauſes at the appointed days. If he doe otherwiſe he is to be puniſhed as "was before ſaid. Theſe are the Laws made by King *Edward* the Elder himſelf. After them follows the league made betwixt him and *Guthrun* the *Dane* conſiſting of ſuch matters as had been formerly agreed of betwixt the ſaid *Guthrun* and King *Alfred* which we have already mentioned, at ſuch time as the *Engliſh* and *Danes* made Peace and imbraced one another. Theſe Articles were often afterward repeated by wiſemen, and to the common utility of the Realm, as the Preface words it, increaſed and amplified. But foraſmuch as they reſpect Religion we muſt as before we hinted refer them to another place.

Sect. 12.

C. 7. Be ðon ðe heora agen secan nyllon.

C. 8. Be ðon ðe full friþiaþ. bete swa dom boc tæce. bete swa seo dom boc secge.

C. 9. Be ðon ðe his freot forwyrce.

C. 10. Be ðone ðe oþres mannes man underfeþ butan leafe.

C. 11. Be gemote andagum.

99. The next Legiſlatour after King *Edward the* Elder was King *Æthelſtan* his Son. After a Religious Preface, the firſt Law he enacts is againſt Thieves, requiring that "If a Thief be taken in the fact, no Man ſpare him if he be above "twelve years old, and have ſtole any thing above the value of eight pence: if "any one doe contrarily he ſhall pay the value of the Thief's Head, or make amends "for the fault, and yet for all that the Thief ſhall not be ſpared, who if he con"tumaciouſly make reſiſtence, or flye for it, for the time to come ſhall obtain no "favour: a Thief caſt into Priſon, ſhall there ſtay forty days, and then after the "payment of an hundred and twenty ſhillings, be diſcharged. But the kindred "muſt give ſecurity for his good behaviour, after which if he ſteal again, they "muſt either pay the value of his Head, or bring him back to Priſon; and in "caſe any one reſiſt them he ſhall pay to the King, or to any other it concerns "the value of his own Head, and if any ſtand by him, he ſhall pay to the King an hundred and twenty ſhillings. The ſecond is againſt "ſuch as have no Maſters, ordaining, that "of thoſe that are not of any Man's family, and conſequently none can "have right againſt them, the kindred ſhall give caution for their juſt demeaning "of themſelves and in *Folcmote* put them into ſome ones ſervice: which if they "will not or cannot doe, let ſuch Maſterleſs men be eſteemed as fugitives, and "be beaten as Thieves, as they are light upon. If any one afterward relieve them "let him pay the value of his Head, or according to that value, diſcharge himſelf of the guilt. But the third commands that "if a Maſter denies to doe another "man right and defends a naughty and knaviſh Servant, ſo that of him com"plaint is made to the King, he pay the value of the thing in demand, and farther "to the King forfeit an hundred and twenty ſhillings. But in caſe any make "complaint to the King, before he demand his right as it is preſcribed, he ſhall "incur the like Mulct as the other ſhould have done for denying Juſtice. If the "Maſter be convicted to have been privy to the Theft of his Servant, he ſhall "looſe his Servant and pay the value of his own Head for the firſt offence, for "the ſecond ſhall looſe all he hath. The ſame puniſhment ſhall the King's Trea"ſurers and Reeves undergo if guilty of the ſame offence. The fourth ordains concerning "ſuch as conſpire againſt their Maſters, that if thereof legally accuſed, "and if the fact cannot be denied, the offender being convicted by threefold Ordeal, "it ſhall be Capital.

C. 1. *Sax.* Be ðeofum. *apud Jornal.* C. c. 4. & 5.

C. 2. *Sax.* Be hlafordleasum mannum. *Jornal.* c. 6.

C. 3. *Sax.* *Jornal.* C. c. 7. & 8.

C. 4. *Sax.* Be hlaford syrwum. *Jornal.* c. 9.

Sect. 12.

100. The ſixth Law of King *Æthelſtan* is againſt "Witchcrafts, Inchantments "and ſuch like deeds as procure Death, that if any one by thoſe that uſe them be "made away and the thing cannot be denyed, ſuch practicers ſhall be put to death, "if they endeavour to purge themſelves and be caſt by the threefold Ordeal, let "them lie in Priſon, an hundred and twenty days, which ended let their kindred "redeem them by the payment of an hundred and twenty ſhillings to the King, "and farther pay to the kindred of the ſlain, the full valuation of the parties "Head. And then muſt the criminals procure Sureties for their good deportment "for the time to come. The ſame puniſhment ſhall be inflicted on Incendiaries "and ſuch as reſcue Thieves. Nay let ſuch as endeavour to reſcue them, though "no Man be wounded in the attempt, pay an hundred and twenty ſhillings to "the King. As for Inchantments mentioned in this Law, the *Saxon* word is *Liblacum* which ſignifies the Art *of Conjuration* or *Witchcraft*, yet not all in General, but that ſort of it properly called *Faſcination*, or *Inchantment* uſed with certain *Ligatures*, *Faſciæ* or *Bands*. The *Romans* called this ſort *Obligamentum Magicum*, *Phylacteria* and *Ligaturæ*. Hence *Nectere* came to be a Magical word, as in that verſe of *Virgil*, *Necte tribus nodis ternos Amarylli colores.* This he wrote, as *Turnebus* obſerves, from the Ancient Cuſtome of Inchantments wherein were reckoned knots, bands and neceſſities. In thoſe matters alſo the word *Ligare* came to be uſed. And as *Iſidore* writes, to theſe things belong *Ligatures* of execrable Medicines which the Art of Phyſick condemns, whether in precantations, Characters or in any other things to be hung and bound about one, in all which is the Art of Devils ſprung from a certain peſtiferous ſociety, or compact of evil Men and Angels. Upon which account they are all to be ſhunned by Chriſtians to be rejected and condemned, with all execration poſſible.

C. 6. *Sax.* Be ƿiccecꞃæꝼꞇum ⁊ *Jornal. C. c.* 11. & 12.

A Saxon. lẏblac *voce compoſita à* lẏb *obligamentum &* lac *munus. q. munus ligandi vim habens.* *Vide Somnerum in Gloſſar. v. Liblacum.*

101. The ſeventh of King *Æthelſtan's* Laws ordains concerning *ſimple Ordeal* that "If one accuſed ſeveral times of Theſt be caſt by it, and have no body "to be ſurety for him, he be ſent to Priſon, and thence freed by his kindred, as was before ſaid. The eighth appoints that "If any man having no Houſe nor Land "of his own, goes to ſerve in another Shire, and returning to the place whence "he came to ſee his Friends, doeth any miſchief, he that received him ſhall "give caution that he ſhall be ready to make ſatisfaction, or elſe doe it him"ſelf to the party aggrieved. The ninth provides that If any one challenge Cat"tel as his own in another Man's hands, five Men out of their Neighbourhood "ſhall be called, whereof one ſhall ſwear that he rightly challenges them. But "if another Man contend they are his, twenty Men ſhall be taken out of the "Neighbourhood, whereof two ſhall ſwear with him, that he bred them. This "may be done without the Common Oath of all; but otherwiſe if the value of "the thing exceed twenty pence. The tenth forbids any Commutation of Goods "but in the preſence of the Reeve, the Prieſt of the Town, or the Lord of the "Soil, or ſome other credible Perſon, under the penalty of thirty ſhillings, "and the forfeiture of the thing changed to the Lord of the Soil. And if any of "theſe bear falſe witneſs, let him be infamous, or no credit be given to him "ever after, and let him forfeit beſides thirty ſhillings. The eleventh pre"ſcribes the manner of accuſing a Thief that's killed. Firſt let there be three in "number (if they will take it upon them) two Kinſmen on the Father's ſide, "and one on the Mother's, which ſhall ſwear, that they knew no reaſon why "their Kinſman ſhould have been ſlain upon the account of Theſt. Then let there "be twelve impanelled, which by their Oaths ſhall lay Theſt to his charge, and "then if the Kindred of the ſlain Party do not appear, thoſe who firſt endea"voured to clear him of the crime ſhall each of them forfeit an hundred and "twenty ſhillings. The twelſth confirms the firſt part of the Law of King *Ed"ward* the Elder, Decreeing that no Man buy any thing out of Town which "exceeds the value of twenty pence, but within the Town, in preſence of the "Portreeve, or ſome other creditable Perſon, or elſe in preſence of the King's "Reeve or Juſtice in *Folcmote.*

C. 7. *Sax.* Be anꝼealꝺum Oꞃꝺale. *Jor. c.* 13.

C. 8. *Sax.* Be lanꝺleaꞅum mannum. *Jornal. c.* 14.

C. 9. *Sax.* Be ðonne ðe ẏꞃꝼ beꝼehꞇe. *Jornal. c.* 15.

C. 10. *Sax.* Be ẏꞃꝼa ᵹehƿeꞃꝼe. *Jornal. c.* 16.

C. 11. *Sax.* Be ðon ðe ꞅcẏlꝺᵹunᵹe bæꝺe eꞇ oꝼꞅleᵹenum. *Jornal. c.* 16.

C. 12. *Sax.* Be þon þe mon ne ceapiᵹe buꞇan poꞃꞇe. *Jornal. c.* 17.

102. The thirteenth decrees, that "All Towns or "Caſtles be repaired within fourteen days after the time of "Proceſſion or Perambulation, and that all Bargains be "managed within the Town. The fourteenth appoints, "that throughout the King's Dominions one and the "ſame Money be current which ſhall not be Coined "out of Town. If any Minter or Coiner imbaſe the Coin, "let him looſe his hand, which being cut off ſhall be

C. 13. *Sax.* Be buꞃᵹa ᵹebeꞇꞇunᵹe. *Jornal. c.* 18.

C. 14 *Sax.* Be mẏneꞇeꞃum. *Jornal. c.* 19.

“ affixed to the Workhouſe. If any be accuſed of adulterating Money, and will purge himſelf, let him by the Ordeal of hot Iron cleanſe his hands of ſuch wickedneſs “ but if by the Ordeal he be caſt, let him be puniſhed “ as now was ſaid. At *Canterbury* let there be ſeven Minters or Coyners, whereof four for the King, two for the Biſhop, and one for “ the Abbat. At *Rocheſter* let there be three, whereof two for the King, and the “ third for the Biſhop. At *London* eight. At *Wincheſter* ſix. At *Lewes* two. “ At *Haſtings* one. At *Chicheſter* one. At *Hamton* two. At *Werham* two. At *Exceſter* two. At *Shaftsbury* as many. And in every other “ Town one. The next Law requires, that no Target be “ made of Sheeps Skins under penalty of thirty ſhillings. “ That which follows commands, that for every Plough “ a Man keep two well furniſhed Horſemen. The ſeventeenth ordains, that he that receives reward from a “ Thief, and thereby hinders another Man's Right, be amerced the full value of his Head. The eighteenth forbids Horſes to be tranſported, except ſuch as be ſent upon free Gift. The nineteenth ordains, that If a Servant “ be Caſt by the Ordeal, the juſt and ſimple value of the “ thing be paid, that the Slave be thrice beaten; or if the full “ value of the thing be reiterated, this puniſhment is to be abated.

Eandem ſupplicii formam iis qui adulterinum percuterent nummum, addito inſuper, ut eorum abſcinderentur pudenda, reſuſcitavit Henricus primus ut monuit Seldenus in Jano Angl.

C. 15. Be ꞅcylꝺƿyꞃhꞇum. *Jornal.* 20

C. 16. *Sax.* *Jornal.* 21.

C. 17. *Sax.* Be þæm þoæꞇ þeoꝼe miꝺ ꞅceaꞇꞇe nimaꝺ. *Jornal.* 22.

C. 18. *Sax.* Be hoꞃꞅum. *Jor.* 23.

C. 19. *Sax.* Be ðeoꞃman ðe ꝼul ƿuꞃþe æꞇ oꞃꝺale. *Jornal. c.* 24.

103. King *Æthelſtan* by his twentieth Law enacts, that “ If any one abſent “ himſelf from *Folcmote* thrice, he be puniſhed as contumacious againſt the King, if “ ſo be that the Holding of the Aſſembly was declared a Seven-night before. In “ ſuch caſe if he refuſe to doe right, and pays not his mulct to the King, the “ ancienteſt Men of the Countrey are to go and ſeize upon all he hath, and take “ ſecurity for his appearance. If any one refuſe to go with his Neighbours for “ Execution of this Law, he is alſo to be puniſhed as contumacious againſt the “ King, when the Aſſembly is opened let it be proclaimed, that all enjoy Peace “ whom the King will have to enjoy it, and that every one abſtain from Theft “ upon pain of looſing his Life and his Eſtate. And if afterward any one be guilty “ of Theft, let the ancienteſt men of the Countrey ride thither, and ſeize on all “ he hath, one half to the King, and another to their own uſe, and take ſecurity “ for his appearance, in caſe no ſecurity can be had, let his Perſon be ſeized; “ if he ſtubbornly make reſiſtence, and flye not, he may be killed. If any one “ concern himſelf for him, and kill a third Party, let the King and all that love “ him ſet themſelves againſt ſuch an one, and if any relieve him if he make his “ eſcape, let him be fined the value of his own Head, except he make it out that “ he knew not that he was a Fugitive, and then according to the value “ of the Fugitive's Head. The twenty firſt gives order, that if “ any “ one would get off his puniſhment of Ordeal, if he be able to procure Pardon of the Party that received the Injury, but by no means that he eſcape the “ penalty inflicted by the Law. The twenty ſecond confirmation of former Laws requires, that “ No man receive another * Man's man (as this Law words it) “ into his Family without leave firſt obtained of his Maſter. He that doeth otherwiſe ſhall reſtore the *Man*, and pay the mulct of Contumacy againſt the “ King. And no *man* is to put away his *men* that are accuſed of any Crime, till “ they have firſt made ſatiſfaction. By this it appears how ancient in this Nation, the Cuſtome is of calling a Servant by the word uſed for the whole *ſpecies*, a thing in uſe as well with the *Romans*, and others more ancient, as with modern People.

C. 20. *Sax.* Be ðon ·ðe ᵹemoꞇ ꝼoꞃꞅiꞇꞇe. *Jornal. C. c.* 25. & . 26.

C. 21. *Sax.* Be ðæm ðe ꝼoꞃ Oꞃꝺale ðinᵹiaꝺ. *Jorn. c.* 27.

C. 22. *Sax.* Be ðon ðe oþꞃeꞅ manneꞅ manunꝺeꞃꝼehð. *Jorn. c.* 28. & 29.

* Neunꝺeꞃꝼo nan man' oþꞃeꞅ manneꞅ man, &c.

104. The twenty fourth concerning Traffick in Confirmation of former Laws ordains, that “ If a man buy any thing with witneſs, which another man challenges for his own, the Seller make it good, and ſecure the bargain, whether “ he be bond or free. But on the Lord's day let no market be held, under penalty “ of forfeiture of the wares, and a mulct of thirty ſhillings beſides. The next “ Law as a terrour to ſuch as ſhall *forſwear themſelves* commands, “ That ſuch “ being convicted ſhall not onely not bear Teſtimony for the time to come, as “ People to whom no faith is to be given, but be forbidden alſo Chriſtian burial, “ except the Biſhop of the Dioceſe will certify, that he had done all things, that “ were injoined him. Of this the Prieſt of the Place is within thirty days to give “ notice to the Biſhop, or elſe to be puniſhed as the ordinary ſhall think fit. The “ laſt of theſe Laws gives directions, that In caſe any of the King's Officers refuſe “ to

C. 24. *Sax.* Be ðam ðeyꞃꝼe hycᵹaþ. *Jorn. c.* 31. ꞅy ꞅƿa ðeoꞃe ꞅƿa ꝼꞃeoh.

C. 25. *Sax.* Be manꞅƿoꞃum. *Jorn. c.* 33.

C. 26. *Sax.* *Jorn. c.* 32.

Sect. 12.

“ to put theſe his Ordinances into Execution, or be remiſs in his Adminiſtration, he be puniſhed as Contumacious againſt the King, who will put in another that will be more carefull of his Duty. The receiving of the mulct he commits to the Biſhop of the Dioceſe. If any one contemn theſe his Laws and Commands, for the firſt offence he ſhall incur a penalty of five pounds, for the ſecond the value of his own Head, and if he offend the third time forfeit all the Eſtate he hath, together with the Amity of the King and all his People. After this it follows, that theſe matters were ſetled and determined in the great Aſſembly at *Greatanleage*, at which was preſent Archbiſhop *Wulſhelme*, together with all the Noble and Wiſemen, that *Æthelſtan* called together.

Ealle ðiꞅ ƿæꞅ ʒeꞅet-
teð on þam
miclan ꞅẏ-
noþ æꞇ
Gꞃeaꞇan-
leaʒe, &c.

105. After theſe Laws follow others of this ſame King in the *Saxon* Edition to which *Æthelſtan* prefaceth in this manner. “I *Æthelſtan* King, make known to all that I have diligently inquired the Cauſe why our Peace hath not been ſo well kept as I deſired, and was formerly enacted at *Greatanleage*, and from the moſt knowing Perſons in my Kingdom I received this Anſwer, that it happened by reaſon of too much patience, and ſuffering Crimes to go unpuniſhed. Moreover lately keeping *Chriſtmas* at *Exeter*, and there attended by my Wiſemen, I found them all moſt ready to venture themſelves, their Wives and Children, to procure thoſe Violatours of the Peace, to procure theſe Violatours of the Peace, to be ſo driven out of the Kingdom, that they might never return again into it, which if any of them ſhould doe, he ſhould be puniſhed as a Thief taken in the Fact. And in caſe any one cheriſh or hold correſpondence with any of them or their Servants, they ſhould forfeit both Life and Eſtate. For hence we believe it comes to paſs, and for no other reaſon that Oaths are ſo often violated, ſuretyſhip is ſo commonly broken, and Pledges ſignify ſo little as they do. Then follows a Law injoyning, that *If any one entertained in his Houſe another Man's Servant, which he has removed from his Family for his miſdemeanour, and as one he cannot govern, ſuch an one pay the full value of the Servant's Head to his Maſter, and beſides that a mulct of an hundred and twenty ſhillings to the King. But in caſe the Maſter of any Servant unjuſtly afflict and abuſe him, let him purge himſelf if he can of what is laid to his charge in* Folcmote, *and then put himſelf into any other Family he pleaſeth. For we gratiouſly grant, that if ſuch an one prove himſelf juſt and honeſt, he may ſerve whom he pleaſeth. And if any Reeve or Judge paſs this over, or unwillingly tranſacts it ſo as his fault be evidently proved, let him be puniſhed as contumacious againſt the King, and if for a reward he hath perverted Juſtice, let him both be puniſhed as contumacious againſt the King, and be farther noted with Infamy as was ſaid before; let a Thane ſo offending be puniſhed in the like manner; and let the Reeve or Judge chuſe out Men faithfull, and of Integrity the beſt he can light on within his Precincts, and make them Witneſſes and Overſeers of all Controverſies. And according to the value of the thing of Controverſie let the Oaths of honeſt men, without any picking or chuſing of them be interpoſed.* The ſecond Law requires, that *If one purſue any Cattel by their Footſteps, and find them in another Man's ground, the owner of the ground ſhall, if he can, trace their Footſteps to another Man's ground, if not the Footſteps of the Cattel in his Ground ſhall, when the owner comes to make out his right, be taken as much in evidenee as a firſt Oath.*

C. 1.
Be ðon oþ
ꞃeꞅ monne
man undeꞃ
ꝼehþ 7.

C. 2.
Be ðon ðe
ẏꞃꝼe be-
ꞅpẏꞃiʒe 7.

The valuation of Mens Heads.
Of the King's.
Of an Archbiſhop or Earl.
A Biſhop or Alderman.
Of a General.
Of ſpiritual or temporal Thane or Prieſt.
Of a Countreyman or Ceorl.
Of a wealthy *Welſhman*.
A wealthy Ceorl or Countreyman.

Be ƿeꞃum 7.

106. The next thing that follows relating to the Civil State, is the *valuation of mens Heads*, which we have often heard mentioned by the Laws, but never yet to what particularly it amounted. Firſt then ſaith the Text. *The valuation of the King's Head according to the Common Law of the* Engliſh, *is thirty thouſand Thrymſes, whereof fifteen thouſand are properly the value of his Head, the reſt being due for the Kingdom: the laſt fifteen belong to the Nation, the firſt to the Kindred. An Archbiſhop's or Earl's Weregild (as the* Saxons called it) *or valuation is fifteen thouſand Thrymſes. A Biſhop's and Ealdorman's Eight thouſand. A General's of an Army or an High Marſhall's four thouſand Thrymſes. The valuation of a Spiritual Thane or Prieſt, as alſo of a Temporal Thane two thouſand Thrymſes. That of a Countreyman (*Ceorl*) by the Daniſh Law is two Hundred ſixty ſeven Thrymſes. If a Welſhman grow ſo rich as to maintain a Family, have Land and pay yearly Rent to the King, he ſhall be valued at two Hundred and twenty ſhillings: if he poſſeſs half an Hide of Land, at Eighty ſhillings. If he have no Land, yet if he be a Freeman, the value of his Head ſhall be ſeventy ſhillings. If a Ceorl or Countreyman be ſo wealthy as to poſſeſs five Hides of Land, in caſe he be killed the price or value of his Life ſhall be two thouſand Thrymſes. But if he come to have a Corſlet, an Helmet and a gilt Sword, thou gh he have no Land let him paſs for a Sithcundman.*

The valuation of the *Mercians.*

And if his Children or Grandchildren grew ſo rich as to poſſeſs five Hides of Land let all their Poſterity be reckoned as ſo many Sithcundmen, and be valued at two thouſand Thrymſes. The Mercians *value a Countreyman at two Hundred ſhillings, a Thane at twelve Hundred. They are wont to equal the ſingle value of a King's Head with ſix thouſand of Thanes, that is thirty thouſand Sceats; for ſo much is the value of the King's Head, and as much more muſt be paid as a recompence for his death. The value of his Head belongs to his Kindred, and the Compenſation of his death to the People. He that is valued at twelve Hundred ſhillings, his Oath ſhall be of the ſame eſteem as thoſe of ſix Countreymen, for were ſuch an one ſlain, ſix Countreymen would ſatisfy over and above for the value, therefore let the value of him and all them be the ſame. By the* Engliſh *Law the Oaths of a Prieſt and a Thane are of the like eſteem, and in reſpect of the ſeven Church Offices, to which by God's Gift he is riſen, let his Place and Rank be equal with that of a Thane.*

Oaths how valued.

Puniſhments by Fines and Mulcts not with death.

107. By theſe valuations of Heads from the higheſt to the loweſt Rank, we may perceive, that in thoſe ancient times puniſhments conſiſted rather in Mulcts than in Bloud, contrary to our preſent Cuſtome, whereby ſmall offences in compariſon (eſpecially if reiterated) are become capital which whence it hath proceeded, whether from this Conſideration that Crimes in latter Ages do more abound, or from other reaſons is not evident. The Wiſedom of Legiſlatours is moſt ſeen in this, to ordain ſuch Puniſhments, as by example and terrour may beſt prevent thoſe Crimes againſt which their Laws are enacted, no other end or deſign can be called properly theirs; this is that which vindicates their Puniſhments from the Imputation of Fury * and Tyranny. And if leſs than Capital will doe it, as Men and Chriſtians, they ought to be ſparing of bloud, and as Politicians where the Countrey hath not too many Inhabitants. Therefore ſlavery, rowing in Gallies and digging in Mines, moſt Nations anciently preferred before Capital Executions, as thoſe which would more terrifie than death it ſelf, eſpecially high ſpirited Fellows, ſuch as have ſpent their Fortunes, and whom ſhame of begging provokes to rob upon the High-ways. This was ſo much practiſed in the middle Ages, that the Law of the *Boii* tells us, that *No offence is ſo great, but Life may be granted for the Fear of God.* Amongſt others the ancient *Germans*, and other Northern People who afterward gave Laws to *Europe*, puniſhed the greater ſort of Crimes and Homicide amongſt the reſt with Fines or Mulcts. For the *Germans*, *Tacitus* witneſſeth, who writes that Homicide was expiated by a certain Number of Cattel, whereby all the Houſe received ſatisfaction. For the *Cimbri* and *Danes* even till the time of *Chriſtian* the third, *Crantzius* produceth evidence. Our *Saxon* Anceſtours as well as others, as we have ſeen by ſome of their Laws, deprived Perſons of Liberty, and Mulcts generally they uſed, not commonly inflicting death upon Offenders, but where the value of the Head could not be paid, for the Murtherer was bound to pay the value not of his own Head but of him he had ſlain, and according to the Crime ſometimes a double, treble, nay nine or eighteen values. Their Mulcts or Fines were either greater or leſſer. The Greater took away all or much of their ſubſtance, being the ſame with that which we call the valuation of the Head by them called *Were*, which word originally ſignifieth a Man, and this valuation or payment ſecondarily, and by way of Tranſlation. The leſſer ſort of Mulcts they called *Wite*, which differed from *Were* both in this that it was leſs, as alſo in that it was uncertain, ſometime more and ſometime leſs, whereas the other was ſetled and conſtant, at leaſt for ſome time. The firſt anſwers to the word *Redemption*, or as it's now uſed in *Engliſh*, *Ranſome*, and the laſt to *Fine*, and *Amerciament* properly.

Lib. de moribus Germanorum.

De bello Rithmar.

Two ſorts of them.

Werewulfe, Lycanthropos.

Men diſtinguiſhed by *Were.*

108. But by this *Valuation of the Head* or *Were*, men were diſtinguiſhed into certain *Claſſes* or Ranks. Of theſe there were three, *viz.* The Loweſt, the Middle and the Higheſt. The loweſt conſiſted of ſuch as were valued at two hundred Shillings, thence in *Saxon* called *Twyhyndnemon*, in Latin *Vir Ducentenus.* The middle were of ſuch, whereof each was valued at ſix hundred ſhillings, called *Sixhyndnemon* and *Vir Sexcentenus.* The higheſt comprized thoſe that were valued at twelve hundred ſhillings apiece, thence termed *Twelfhyndnemon* and *Duodecies Centenus.* In like manner their Wives were termed *Ceorliſſa* or *Twyhynda*, (for *Ceorle* and *Twyhyndmon* were the ſame) as alſo *Syxhynda* and *Twelfhynda.* Hence comes it to paſs, that from theſe *Claſſes*, going by Hundreds, the word *Hyndene* is in-

ꞇƿyhynꝺemon.

ꞅixhynꝺemon.

ꞇƿelꝼhynꝺemon.

Hynꝺane *Societas Lambardo.*

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* *I caſtighi ſe non hanno per fine il dar Eſempio ſono furori e non Caſtighi. Manzini nell Furori, &c. p. 91.*

Nulla ſit culpa tam gravis, ut vita non concedatur propter timorem Dei. Tit. 1. Cap. 7. §. 3.

According to the degrees of valuation their Oaths were more valid.

terpreted a Society of Men. According to the degrees of the valuation of Mens Heads, they were to purge themſelves of Crimes by ſuch and ſo many Compurgatours. Herein he that was richer was thought more worthy of Credit, and his Oath was the ſooner taken, and therefore we reade that the Oath· of a *Thane* was equivalent to the Oaths of ſix Countreymen or *Ceorles*. As a Man's Value or his Wealth was more or leſs, ſo he might be a Purgatour for, or purge leſſer or greater Crimes, and therefore do we hear ſo often of *Purgation according to the rate of twelve Hides of Land or more or fewer.* For there it's obſervable, from the late mentioned Laws, that if a man was ſlain, his Kindred ſometime received the value of his Head, which payment was called *Mægbote*. In like manner were they bound on the other ſide to pay the value of the Head of one ſlain by their Kinſman, in caſe he became not reſponſible, and that to the Kindred of the ſlain party, which in the *Saxon* Tongue they termed *Cynegild* and *Cynebote*, the ſame in ſignification as *Mægbote*, now mentioned.

Mægbote what.

Cynegild.

Mæᵹ *cognatus progenies*, boꞇe *compenſatio.* Cyne *cognatio* ᵹilꝺ *ſolutio.*

Satisfaction was made to three ſorts of People.
To the Kindred.
To the Lord.
To the King.

109. Thus was the Offender variouſly puniſhed both in himſelf and Kindred for the ſame Offence, which puniſhment was ſometimes ſo heavy, that not able to undergoe it, though Pecuniary, his life was taken for ſatisfaction. Part of the *Were* or valuation the Kindred received, ſo called as we have now ſaid; another part was paid to the Lord for the loſs of his Vaſſal, which they called *Manbote*; and a third Mulct was paid to the King for the breach of his Peace, called *Fridwile* and *Fridgild*. This latter was in uſe with the ancient *Franks*, who termed it *Fredus* and *Fredum*, as appears both from *Gregory* [*] *Turonenſis*, and the *Salick* [†] Laws. As to the *Cynegild* or *Mægbote*, it appears alſo from *Tacitus*, that the whole Family received ſatisfaction for a Kinſman ſlain. And the Cuſtome might ſeem to be taken from *Moſes* his Law, who ſaith, *That in caſe a price of bloud be required of him that had killed a Man, he ſhould give whatſoever was laid upon him.* But thus much concerning the valuation of Heads, called *Weres*, the payment whereof they termed *Weregild*, to which we ſhall onely add, that theſe valuations by King *Æthelſtan* were very moderate, and that was the reaſon why many *Weregilds* were by after Laws put upon Offenders, ſometimes two, ſometimes three, and ſometimes nine. Therefore in the Charter of Liberties to the City of *London* did *Henry* the firſt grant as a Privilege, that a Citizen ſhould be but taxed or judged at one *Were* or *an hundred Shillings*, at which value he ſet a *Londoner*. And that in his days *Weres* alſo were moderate, appears from this, in that he ordained that whoſo broke or ſet at naught a Law, for the firſt Offence ſhould pay his *Were*; for the ſecond Offence double his *Were*, and in caſe he the third time offended, ſhould forfeit all he had. This is certain, that in the times of the *Engliſh Norman* Princes *Weres* and *Weregilds* were in faſhion. They grew obſolete by degrees, but when utterly laid aſide it is not certain. And the word *Fredum* (which was never in uſe with our Writers) grew alſo obſolete abroad after the Age of the Emperour *Frederick* the Second.

Man famulus Servus Vaſſallus.

Ꝼꞃıꝺe pax. *Germ. Frid.*

[*] *De Mirac. St. Martini. lib.* 4. *c.* 26.
[†] *Tit.* 55. §. 2.
Recipitque ſatisfactionem univerſa domus.

Exod. 21. 30.

Which was called *Weregild.*

The value of a *Londoner.*

LL. Henr. I. *c.* 13. *Qui legem apoſtabit Weræ ſuæ ſit reus prima vice; Si ſecundo fecerit, reddat bis Weram ſuam; qui tertio præſumat, perdat quicquid habet.*

The value of *Thrymſa.*

And other *Saxon* Money.

110. We have the Hiſtory of the *Valuation of Heads* or *Weres*, but ſtill ſhall we be in the dark if we know not the price, and that cannot be, except we ſomething underſtand the value of theſe *Thrymſes*, by which they are rated in *Æthelſtan's* Laws. That the word *Thrymſa* comes from the *Saxon* word *Threo*, the ſame with our preſent *Three* is agreed, but in what reſpect it anſwered to Three is a little controverted. One was of opinion that it contained the third part of a *German* ſhilling, anſwering to their *Tremiſſis*. Another thought it to contain three Pennies; but moſt probable it is, that it contained *Three Shillings Engliſh Saxon*, without any relation to *German* or Foreign Money, although the *Mercians* ſeem to have differed from the other *Engliſh* in its value. As for the other ſorts of Money; five Pennies in thoſe days made a Shilling, and thirty Pennies made a *Mancs* (in Latin *Mancuſa*) as *Ælfric* tells us in his *Saxon* Grammar. Of thoſe Pence two hundred and forty made a Pound, which conſiſted of forty eight of their Shillings; and then as Mr. *Lambard* obſerved from ſome Silver Pence of King *Ethelred*, which he ſaw, two hundred and forty Pence equalled a pound in weight, that which ſeven hundred and twenty of ours now will not doe, although two hundred and twenty of our Pence alſo make

Selden.
Somner.
Lambard.

Lıbꞃa on leꝺen ıꞅ Punꝺon englıꞅc. ꝼıꝼ ƿenıngaꞅ ᵹemacıᵹað ænne ꞅcılınᵹe ⁊ XXX ƿeneᵹa ænne mancꞅ ⁊̇ *in extremo fine Gram.*

a Pound in value. The Word to expreſs the moſt Money in thoſe days was the *Sceate* or *Scate*, which according to Mr. *Lambard* contained a vaſt ſum, to the value of five thouſand Pounds of Silver. Some are of opinion that it ſignified alſo a ſmall piece of money to the value of an Half-penny. Beſides this Half-penny (if an Half-penny they had) they had alſo the *Feorthing*, *Feorthling*, or *Farthing* containing the fourth part of a Penny as we may ſuppoſe. In ſhort, we are told, that theſe ſeveral ſorts and ſums of Money were in uſe amongſt our *Engliſh Saxon* Anceſtours, *viz. Feorthling*, *Peneg*, *Oſe*, *Scæt*, *Scilling*, *Thrymſa*, and *Pund*. Concerning *Oſe* I have hitherto read nothing, but ſuppoſe *Ore* is meant, which was worth *ſixteen pence*. Fifteen *Ores* alſo in a Book ſeen by Sir *H. Spelman*, was put for a Pound, and from a Manuſcript Regiſter of the Abby of *Burton* in *Leiceſterſhire*, he obſerved that the word *Ora* ſignified the ſame as *Vncia*. From that time the value of it was reckoned for *ſixteen pence*, and ſometimes for *twenty pence*, whence proceeded the difference of having *Ora* for twenty pence ſo often in Doomſday Book.

Sceaꞇ *nummum in genere ſignificat ut Belgis Schat Schot. in Borealibus etiam Angliæ partibus* Shot *adhuc uſurpatur pro potus puta Cereviſiæ, pretio. Etiam* Shot-pot.

ꝼeoꞃðlinᵹ, peneᵹ, oꞅe, ꞅcæꞇꞇa, ꞅcilling, þꞃymꞅa, punꝺ.

111. To proceed with our Laws, all that we find of King *Æthelſtan's* in the
Saxon Edition of Mr. *Lambard* we have already related, there are others, though
not in the *Saxon* Language, to be ſeen in the Chronicon of *John Bromton* the Ab-
bat of *Jornal*, of which alſo we muſt make mention, ſuch eſpecially as we judge
moſt convenient to be known. The firſt Catalogue we meet with conſiſts of nine
ſeveral Laws, whereof the Firſt *ſhews how the Court of the Hundred ought to be* 1.
kept, declaring, that to the number of four Abbats meet, and that Right be done to
all men in that Court. The ſecond appoints *how a Thief is to be proſecuted from* 2.
the Hundred to the Tithing. The third *impoſes upon him that ſhall reject the Sen-* 3.
tence or Judgment of the Hundred, ſo that it paſſeth againſt him the ſecond time,
for the firſt offence the fine of thirty Pence to the Hundred, for the ſecond offence ſix-
ty Pence, whereof one half to the Hundred and the other half to the Lord. For the
third offence the loſs of all he hath, and be Baniſhed, except the King otherwiſe
diſpenſe with him. The fourth confirms what had been ſaid concerning ſtray Cat- 4.
tel, *that no man ſhould keep them without the knowledge and Teſtimony of an Hun-*
dred or Tything man, otherwiſe no benefit of Vouching ſhould be allowed him. The 5.
fifth requires, That *when one Hundred makes Hue and Cry, or purſues Cattel into*
another Hundred, this Hundred doe the like or forfeit thirty Shillings to the King.
The ſixth requires, That *if any one decline the Law or make any eſcape, he that was* 6.
the Procurer ſhall pay the value of the thing in queſtion. The ſeventh again com- 7.
mands, That *right and publick Juſtice be done in the Hundred, and in every other*
publick Meeting, and that a day be prefixed for every buſineſs, which whoſoever tranſ-
greſſes, except hindred by the Command or Order of ones Lord, or by viſible Infirmity
ſhall forfeit thirty Shillings, and yet be obliged to doe what he ought to have done at
another appointed time. The * eighth is very hard to be explained, and the Kernell 8.
not worth the labour of cracking the Nut. And the laſt is concerning *Ordeal*, 9.
of which in another place.

112. After this follow certain *Judgments*, as they are termed, which Wiſemen
are ſaid to have ordained at *Exeter* by the Council of King *Æthelſtan*, which were
afterward confirmed both at *Feverſham* a Town in *Kent*, and at *Thundresfeld.*
Herein firſt *are reinforced all the Laws formerly made at* Greatley, *except what con-*
cerned the Market of the City and the Lord's day. The reſt *contain ſevere Animad-*
verſions upon Thieves and ſuch as receive them, viz. " Confinement into ſome place
" of the Kingdom which the King ſhall chuſe. Nay, if one that ſtole after the
" Aſſembly held at *Thundresfeld* ſteal again, let he or ſhe be what they will,
" they are condemned to death, together with ſuch as harbour, or ſpare them if
" they meet them. And as to the manner of their death here are certain odd
" Circumſtances. If ſhe was a Free Woman that ſtole, ſhe ſhould be caſt down
" from an high Cliff or Hill, or elſe drowned. If a Slave, he ſhould be ſtoned
" by twenty of like condition; and in caſe any one's blow thrice failed he ſhou'd
" ſo many times be beaten. And when the Thief was dead, every one of theſe
" Slaves or Servants ſhould pay three Pence to his Lord. If the Thief was a She-

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* *Pecoris ticimum & canis* Oppa & *blanhornum & de quibus ſic Somnerus in Gloſſar. Locus mirè ænigmaticus & meliori Oedipo relinquendus.*

“ ſlave eighty Women of the like condition ſhould each of them bring three “ Faggots or pieces of wood, and therewith burn her, and pay moreover ſo “ many Pence as the He-ſlaves were to do, or elſe be beaten. Another of theſe Laws *forbids the receiving of another man's Servant, whom he cannot rule under pain of the forſeiture of an hundred and twenty Shillings to the King, and the return and reparation of the Servant to be made beſides.* Another ordains, That *a Lord ſhall not deny* Hlafordſocna, *or his Protection, Defence, or the like, to a Freeman, who (being a Vaſſal) does him right in all reſpects.* The laſt decrees, That *ſuch Judge or Officer as breaks, or hath not ſufficient regard to theſe Ordinances forfeit an hundred and twenty Shillings to the King, be he Thane or any other kind of man.*

Wiſe men appointed by the King to manage the Government in particular Counties.

113. Theſe Judgments or Ordinances bear not the Name of the King himſelf, but of the Wiſemen of *Exeter*, who deviſed them there by the King's Advice or Conſent, whoſe allowance gave them the Power and force of Laws, and thoſe were the Wiſemen whom he mentions in the Preface of other Laws to have been with him at that City in *Chriſtmas* Holydays. Theſe were alſo confirmed at *Feverſham* and at a place called *Thundresfeld*. From theſe and other Paſſages it is evident, that in the days of this King *Æthelſtan*, the Wiſemen, or knowing Perſons of particular Countries, Provinces and Cities, by the King's conſent and allowance were wont to aſſemble and lay their Heads together, for the framing of ſuch Ordinances as ſhould be moſt convenient for the government of their particular Countries, and ſecurity of their Eſtates, and for the receiving what was enacted at the General Aſſembly of the Eſtates for the whole Kingdom; as in matters Eccleſiaſtical the Decrees of General Councils were wont to be received, or (as the Word was) confirmed in particular *Synods*, although of ſufficient authority in themſelves. And where in the particular Shires or Provinces ſuch knowing men might be wanting, or for other reaſons the King ſometimes ſent down certain from himſelf to conſult with the Bodies of the Shires and Cities as well Noble, as Ignoble, and to convey to them ſuch Ordinances or Laws as were thought moſt fitting for them. A notable acknowledgement hereof we have of the County of *Kent* in an Addreſs made to the King, wherein with much Humility and thankfulneſs they make mention of certain Laws he had ſent them; and teſtifie their acceptance of them. This becauſe of the Rarity of the thing, and for that it makes very much for the knowledge of the Mode of Addreſs of that Age, and illuſtrates the Polity or manner of the *Engliſh Saxon* Government, as well as confers to the farther knowledge of their Laws, we ſhall as well as we can tranſlate from the difficult Latin of the Abbat *Bromton*.

The form of a Saxon Addreſs.

114. *Moſt dear, your Biſhops of* Kent *with all* Kentſhire, *Thanes, Counts, and Countreymen, give thanks to you their moſt beloved Lord, for that you were pleaſed to give us orders concerning our Peace, and inquire and conſult concerning our Advantage in a matter of ſuch conſequence to us both Rich and Poor. And this we have faln upon with all the diligence we could, by the advice of thoſe Wiſemen, whom you ſent to us. And, moſt Dear Lord, the Firſt is concerning our Tithe, to the which we are very deſirous and ready to conform our ſelves, giving you moſt humble thanks for your Admonition. The ſecond is concerning our Peace, which all your People deſires may be obſerved as your Wiſemen propounded at* Greatley, *and as now is appointed in the Council held at* Fefreſham. *The third is, that all are very thankfull for the grace you were pleaſed to beſtow on guilty Perſons, in that all Forfeitures are pardoned, for ſuch Thefts as were committed before the Aſſembly held at* Fefreſham, *on condition that they commit no offence hereafter, and confeſs all their Robberies and ſatisfie your Majeſty. The fourth, that none receive another Man's Servant without his leave, to whom he formerly * belonged, neither within nor without the Limits. As alſo that a Lord deny not a Freeman his* Hlafordſocna, *that is, his Defence or Protection, in caſe he have been faithfull to him. The fifth thing is, that he that acts contrary to this is worthy of thoſe puniſhments which are preſcribed in the Inſtrument of Peace drawn up at* Greatley. *The ſixth, that if ſo be a man be ſo Rich, and of ſuch Alliance that he cannot be chaſtized, and will not ceaſe to commit his former Outrages, that you will cauſe him to be taken away and removed into ſome other quarter of your Kingdom, as it is ſaid in the Weſtern Parts, let him be what he will Alderman (or Count) or Countreyman. The ſeventh, that every one hold all his men in his own Warranty againſt all Theft. If any there be that hath ſo many*

Kariſſime, Epiſcopi tui de Kent, & omnis Kenteſcire, Thayni, Comites & Villani tibi domino dilectiſſimo ſuo gratias agunt quod nobis de pace noſtra præcipere, &c.

* *Cui prius folgavit nec intra Marcam nec extra. Folgare eſt tradere ſe alicui in Clientelam, ſervire, ſequi, ſectari, ut olim ſolebant ii qui Anglis dicebantur* Reteiners. *Saxonice* ꝼolᵹian *unde noſtrum hodiernum* to follow, g *(ut ſæpe) in u vel w mutato. Hinc etiam* Folgarius, *pro Cliente ſectatore,* a Reteiner. *Marca propriè ſignum eſt veterioris limitis à Saxon.* Meaꞃc *hodie* Marke.

ny men that he cannot keep them all, let him appoint an Overſeer in every of his Villages, whom he can truſt, and who will truſt his men. And in caſe this Overſeer dare not truſt ſome of his men, let theſe men find out twelve Perſons of their Kindred who will be ſecurity for them. And in caſe the Lord or Overſeer, or any other infringe this Ordinance, or depart from hence, let him be thought worthy of what was agreed on at Greatley, *except any other kind of Juſtice better pleaſe the King. The eighth is, that what you ſaid concerning the working of Shields contenteth all. Our Lord we beſeech you of your mercifulneſs, that if we have in this matter either exceeded or been defective, you will order it to be amended, as you your ſelf ſhall think convenient. And we are devoutly prepared for all things which you ſhall pleaſe to command us, and which any way lie in our power to perform.*

115. Next after this follow ſome other Articles, which are ſaid to have been deviſed by the Biſhops and Officers belonging to the Court of *London*, by them publiſhed, and confirmed by the Oaths of the Ealdormen (or Counts, he terms them *Comites*) and Countreymen, or the ordinary ſort of men in their *Fridgild*, *Aſſociation*, or *Publick Meeting*, with the addition of thoſe Laws or Judgments which were firſt ordained at *Greatley*, and afterward confirmed at *Exeter* and *Thundresfeld*. All theſe Articles now agreed on tend to the prevention of Theft by the puniſhment of Thieves and ſuch as harbour or protect them. Theft is now confirmed to be Capital, and not onely Aſſociations are allowed and incouraged but alſo the raiſing of publick ſtocks for defraying the Charges of proſecution, and the Incouragement of ſuch as ſhould ſhew themſelves induſtrious in that behalf. We cannot but here ſuggeſt to the Reader what Remark he ought to make of theſe times, how the Crime of ſtealing, which generally indeed is taken notice moſt of in all the *Saxon* Laws, and moſt care taken for the prevention of it, grew more common than ever in the days of *Æthelſtan*; the *Engliſh* having, as *Ingulphus* obſerves, in the days of *Alfred* imitated the Example of the *Danes*, and becauſe they thought the blame would ſtill be laid upon the *Danes* given themſelves to Robbing: For by the ſtrength and ſharpneſs of the Remedy we may judge of the violence of the Diſeaſe. But formerly a *Wite or Were*, a Fine or value of the Head would ſerve for the Puniſhment, now nothing but death it ſelf, to be inflicted both on the Maleſactours themſelves, and thoſe that abetted, received, or would not kill them if they met them. And whereas *Gilds*, *Aſſociations*, or *Societies* were in uſe among Free People, whereby the Company in general was reſponſible for each number in particular; the like for prevention of Theft muſt be erected even amongſt Servants and Slaves of both Sexes, they being both condemned to execute one another by the cruel Deaths of ſtoning and burning, and alſo to pay Money, as it were a Fine to the endamaged Party, as if bound to be Sureties for one another. We ſee what a neceſſity of ſhewing an Example and Prevention can make lawfull as to puniſhments; and may hence take an account of the ſeverity of our modern Cuſtoms in particular Towns, and of the Publick Laws againſt *Theft* and *Robbing*. If we in *England* be more ſevere againſt Thieves than in other Countries, and make ſmaller Offences Capital, it is becauſe our Legiſlatours ſaw the great proneneſs of the Natives to this Crime, and in their Judgments this way of puniſhment ſeemed more terrible than any other, (and perhaps more than later Ages have found it) and conſequently the beſt way for prevention. Yet cannot I ſee why, of thoſe two ill qualities which are aſcribed to Iſlanders, from the condition of their Habitation, inclination to Theft ſhould be as proper and Connatural as Inconſtancy.

Theft made Capital.

Exemplo namque Danorúmque colore etiam quidam indigenarum latrociniis ac rapinis incendere cæperant.

Edmund the next Legiſlatour.

116. The next Legiſlatour after *Æthelſtan* was King *Edmund* his Brother and immediate Succeſſour both in the Kingdom and in the practice of making Laws. We are told that in the ſolemn Feaſt of *Eaſter* (but not in what year) he held a great Council at *London*, as well of Eccleſiaſticks as Seculars, where was preſent *Oda* and *Wulſtan* the Archbiſhops with many other Biſhops to conſult for the good of their own Souls, and of thoſe that were under their care and Government. At this Council were enacted ſeveral Laws, which being ſix in number are of Eccleſiaſtical Concernment, and amongſt ſuch matters muſt be remembred. Theſe are found both in the *Saxon* Copy publiſhed by *Lambard*, and in the Latin of *Bromton*; but in *Bromton*'s Book follow ſeven others of Civil Concernment, ſaid to have been made by the King, his Biſhops, and Wiſemen at *Culinton*, which are not extant in the *Saxon* Edition. I. The firſt of theſe *requires an Oath of Fidelity to King* Edmund *to be taken by all, in like m[illegible]ner as a Man ought to be faithfull to his Lord without all controverſie or ſedition both in publick and in private, in loving what he ſhall love, and rejecting what he ſhall reject, and before the Oath be given, that no man conceal this matter no more in his Brother or*

Neighbour than in a Stranger. The ſecond concerning *apprehenſion of Thieves,* enjoyns, 2.
That *if it be known for certain where a Thief is, the* Twelfhindi *and* Twifhindi
unite together and take him either alive or dead. In caſe any one take up Mortal
Feud againſt any one of them for ſo doing, he is to be eſteemed as the Enemy of
the King and all his Friends. And if any refuſe to aſſiſt in the apprehenſion, he ſhall
forfeit to the King an hundred and twenty Shillings, and to the Hundred, thirty Shillings.
The third, as ſeveral before, *forbids the receiving of another man's Servant* 3.
that hath injured any man till he have done the injured party right, on pain of making
amends himſelf. The fourth enjoyns, That *if ſeveral Thieves do ſteal, the Eldeſt* 4.
of them be taken and killed or hanged, and each of the reſt beaten thrice, Racked,
and for an Example have his Little Finger cut off. The fifth *forbids the buying or* 5.
receiving of ſtrange Cattel, without the Teſtimony of the Chief Officer, Prieſt, the
Ordeale or the Portreeve. The ſixth injoyns *the proſecution or ſearch of Cattel from* 6.
place to place. He with whom they are found ſhall reſtore the Beaſt and pay to the
King an hundred and twenty Shillings, which fine he ſhall alſo incur that reſiſts and
refuſeth to doe right. The ſeventh and laſt requires, That *every perſon make his* 7.
Servants and all that live in his Peace and his Lands to be truſted. That all ſuch as
have ill Names and be loaded with Accuſations have ſecurity given for them. And
whatſoever Officer, Thane, Alderman, or Countreyman he be that refuſeth to doe accordingly
ſhall forfeit an hundred and twenty Shillings, and farther, be thought worthy
of ſuch puniſhments as have been before mentioned.

117. After theſe follow ſeven other Laws of King *Edmund,* which are found both in the Copies of *Bromton* and of *Lambard.* Before them we find a Preface wherein the King ſignifies to all his Subjects, both old and young, that he had moſt ſtudiouſly inquired in a ſolemn Aſſembly both of Eccleſiaſticks and Laicks, by what means Chriſtian Faith might beſt be propagated. And that it ſeemed moſt convenient to them all that he ſhould cheriſh and procure love and mutual friendſhip through all his Dominions. For they were much troubled at the unjuſt Contentions that were among them, and therefore he and they did ordain. Firſt, That *if hereafter one man kill another, that he alone take up Deadly Feud or Enmity with the Kindred of the ſlain, unleſs within twelve Months, by the aſſiſtence of his own Kindred, he pay the Weregild or value of the ſlain man's Head, of what condition ſoever he was. In caſe his Kinsfolks forſake him, and will pay nothing for him, he alone ſhall bear the Quarrel, and they ſhall not be taken for Enemies. But they in the mean time ſhall not relieve him, nor have peace with him, which if they doe or have, they ſhall forfeit all they have to the King, and he that firſt forſook his Kinſman ſhall be taken as an Enemy by the Kindred of the ſlain, and bear deadly Feud againſt them. And if any ſhall revenge himſelf upon or proſecute any other of the Kindred beſide the Killer himſelf, he ſhall forfeit all he hath, and be taken as an Enemy both by the King and all that love him.* The ſecond denounces, That *if a man flie to a Church or the King's * Town, and there any one ſet upon him or doe him any harm he ſhall be puniſhed in the ſame manner.* By the third *the King expreſly forbids that any* Fyhtwite *or* Manbote, *that is, any fine for Fighting or Killing be remitted.* By the fourth *he openly ſignifies, that his Houſe ſhall afford no ſhelter to him that hath ſhed bloud, except he have firſt made ſatisfaction to God and the Kindred of the ſlain, and have done whatſoever was enjoyned him by the Biſhop in whoſe Dioceſe the Fact was committed.* By the fifth *he gives hearty thanks to God and them all who had aſſiſted him in making this Law of Peace for the reſtraining of Thieves, and he truſts that they will be the more ready for the time to come to aſſiſt him by how much more neceſſary they ſee the Law is to be obſerved.* The ſixth injoyns, That *he that breaks the Peace, and ſets upon a man in his own Houſe, forfeit all he hath, and his life be at the King's diſpoſal.*

C. I. *Saxon.* Be manꞅlihꞇe. *Apud Jornal.* C. I.

C. 2. *Sax.* Be ðon ðe mon oꝼeꞃne on Cyꞃicean ᵹeꞅece. Oþþe on Cyninᵹeꞅ buꞃh ⁊ *Apud Jornal.* c. II.

* Mine buꞃh.

C. 3. *Sax.* Be ꝼyhꞇƿiꞇe ⁊ manboꞇe. *Jornal.* c. III.

C. 4 *Saxonic.* Be bloꝺᵹeoꞇe. C. IV. *Apud Jornal.*

C. 5. *Saxon.* Ðæncunᵹe ðam ðe ƿiþ ðyꝼþe ꝼyꞅꞇaþ. C. V. *Apud Jornal.*

C. 6. *Saxon.* Be munðbꞃyce ⁊ hamꞅocne. C. VI. *Apud Jornal.*

118. The Seventh and laſt of theſe Laws is concerning *Enmities* or *deadly Feuds,* declaring that *it's the duty of Wiſemen to ſuppreſs them,* and preſcribing the way after this manner. *Firſt, as the Law is, every where a Mediatour is to be ſent before to the Kindred of the ſlain man, who is to ſigniſie to them that he that killed him will make ſatisfaction, then into the Hands of this Mediatour the Manſlayer is to be delivered, that he may quietly appear and give Caution for the payment of the value of the dead man's Head; which as ſoon as he hath done, the King's Peace is to be made*

C. 7. *Saxon.* Be ꝼæhþe. C.VII. *apud Jornal.*

made betwixt them. One and twenty days ended let him pay Halſfage, (as the Abbat *Bromton* hath it) or as the *Saxon* Text *Healsfange*, that is (as Mr. *Lambard* rightly interprets it, *that which was paid in way of Commutation for the puniſhment of tying by the Neck to the King or Lord. Within one and twenty days after* (*or Nights* as the Text hath it) *let him pay Maubot or Money for the Servants death due to the Lord*, as we have formerly explain'd it; *and within one and twenty more the Weregild or value of the ſlain Parties Head*, as *Bromton* hath it, *or*, rather as the *Saxon* Text, *the firſt portion of the Payment.* As for theſe Capital Enmities or Deadly Feuds the Reader muſt underſtand they were ordinary among the *Germans* and Barbarous Northern Nations, who ordinarily maintained private Quarrels by their whole Kindred, thereby rendring their Fewds as it were Patrimonial and Hereditary. So *Tacitus* writes concerning the *Germans*, that *they were conſtrained to take up the Quarrels and Friendſhips of their Fathers and Kinſmen.* There was neceſſity of it, Murthers and Homicides not being cenſured by the Sentence of the Judge, but, as one expreſſeth, by the hands and fury of the Kindred of the ſlain, who in puniſhing uſed their own Methods and Meaſures as they liſted. The cuſtome as the Northern People uſed in their own Countries when tranſplanted into more Southern Soils they would not leave off no more than ſeveral others, no not when their Principles ſhould have been bettered by Chriſtianity. But whatever Princes or Laws could doe, thoſe Enmities they ſtill maintained, ſo that Legiſlatours by degrees could ſcarcely get ground upon them, not daring to forbid the whole buſineſs, but regulating it as we ſee King *Edmund* doth by theſe two Laws, in the one preſcribing the manner of carrying on theſe Deadly Quarrels, in the other the method of compounding them. Amongſt the *Salique* Laws alſo, thoſe of the *Lombards*, *Franks*, and other Obſolete Conſtitutions, as well as in the *Capitula* of *Charles* and *Ludovic*, are there many Laws concerning this Subject. The Capitulary of *Charles* the Great calls this Enmity *Faida*, in *German* it's *Fhede* and *Feido*, which ſeem to be derived from no other than the *Saxon* ꝼah, now in *Engliſh Foe*, otherwiſe an *Enemy.* Our *Saxon* Anceſtours termed it ꝼæhꝺ from the ſame Original, and hence we may well derive the preſent word *Fewd*, and give theſe the Name of *Deadly Fewds.* Mr. *Lambard* was of opinion that to theſe Deadly Fewds ſucceeded that Action in Law granted to the next akin to the Party ſlain, called *Appeal de mort.* But the cruel Cuſtome of the *Fewds* themſelves continued till the *Norman* times and longer, as appears by that * Law of King *Edward the Confeſſour*, reviſed and confirmed both by *William the Conquerour*, and by *Henry* the ſecond, as *Hoveden* tells us.

ðæꞅ ƿeꞃeꞅ ꝥ ꝼꞃumᵹilꝺ ꝼꞃum *autem ſignificat principium, originem*, ᵹilꝺ *ut antea.*

Suſcipere tam inimicitias, ſeu patris, ſeu propinqui, quam amicitias neceſſe eſt.

Vide Lambardi Gloſſar. in voc. Capitales inimicitiæ.

Spelman. in voc. Faida.

A Sax. ꝼah & haꝺe, *junioribus* hode & hood, *Germ.* heyd, heit, hat, *quod in vocum terminatione ut ſuprà monuimus conditionem vel qualitatem denotat.*

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*C. 12. *Parentibus occiſi* (*i.e. cognatis more Francorum*) *fiat emendatio, vel guerra eorum portetur. Unde Anglicè proverbium habetur.* Byhe ꞅpeaꞃe oꝼ ꞅiꝺe oððe bæꞃ. *i. e. Eme lanceam à latere aut fer.*

119. Beſides theſe Laws before mentioned, there is a certain Conſtitution aſcribed to this ſame King *Edmund*, by *Bromton*, concerning the manner and Rites of Marriage. The ſame was found by Sir *Henry Spelman*, in *Saxon*, in a Book belonging to *Corpus Chriſti College in Cambridge*, joyned to the Laws of King *Alfred*, but in the Margent is noted, by ſome obſerver, that the ſame conſtitution was found amongſt the Laws of King *Edmund*, as *Bromton* the Abbat of *Jerval* hath it. The Tenour of it is thus. 1. *If one purpoſe to marry a Virgin or a Woman* (*a Widow* Bromton *hath it*) *ſhe and her friends conſenting, the Bridegroom both by the Law of God and Man ought to give caution for the fulfilling of what Covenants made before, as alſo that his purpoſe is, and his deſire to have her as a Wife, according to the law of God, and no otherwiſe, and for this his friends muſt alſo ingage.* 2. *The ſecond thing muſt be to take care of their maintenance, and it muſt be known who ſhall maintain them, and for this, both the Bridegroom and his friends muſt ingage.*

The manner and Rites of Marriage.

Spelman. Concil. p. 425.

Hu man mæꝺen ƿeꝺꝺian ꞅceal. ⁊ hƿylce ꝼoꞃeƿaꞃꝺe þæꞃaᵹhon ꞇo beon ⁊

Jornal. in leg. Edmundi & Whelocus in Editione nova legum Lambardi Saxonic. p. 60.

Saxonicam autem verſionem interpretati ſumus ſecundum quod monuit Somnerus, in lib. de Gavelkind. c. 3. *Conſtitutionem enim hanc a Spelmanno Editam erratis variis inquinatam obſervavit.*

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*gage. 3. Then after that, let the * Bridegroom declare what he will give his Bride, beſides that which ſhe formerly made choice of with his good liking in caſe ſhe overlive him. 4. In caſe they ſo agree, it's fit ſhe have the one half of all his Eſtate, and if they have a Child betwixt them, the whole Eſtate till ſuch time as ſhe marry again. 5. What the Bridegroom hath promiſed, let him confirm by giving caution, let him carefully obſerve it, and his friends engage on his behalf. 6. If they be now agreed on all things, let the Kindred of the Bride contract her to him as a Wife, and ingage for her honeſty, and then let caution be given for celebration of the Marriage. 7. If afterwards her Husband carry her out of the Territory of the Thane or Baron where ſhe was bred, into the Diſtrict of another Thane, let caution be given to her friends that ſhe ſhall receive injury from no Man. And in caſe ſhe her ſelf doe any ill thing, let her friends be ready to make ſatisfaction to her Husband, if ſhe have not wherewith to doe it. 8. At the beſtowing of her in Marriage a Prieſt muſt be preſent, who of right, with the Bleſſing of God, ſhall promote their Conjunction to the attainment of all Felicity. 9. Laſtly, There muſt be good heed and aſſurance had, that there be no Impediment of Conſanguinity betwixt them, leſt afterward they be juſtly ſeparated, who were unjuſtly joyned together.*

* Bꞃıðȝuma a bꞃyde *ſponſa &* ȝuma aȝymon *curare, unde forte* ȝymunȝ *Nuptiæ.* Bridegroom *nunc dicimus corruptè pro Bridegume, quaſi ſcil. Sponſus eſt ſponſæ famulus vel ſervus die Nuptiarum.* The Bride's Groom, *ita popellus ſibi imponit.*

The form of Endowing.

120. To the fourth Article of this Conſtitution, Sr. *Henry Spelman*, in the Margent ſets this Note; *The ancient form of Endowing*, as hinting that it was the Cuſtome amongſt the *Engliſh Saxons*; for the Wife that overlived her Husband, to have half his Eſtate, and in caſe ſhe had a Child by him, the whole till ſuch time as ſhe Marry another Husband. Accordingly he Interprets the *Saxon* words, *Quod ſiquidem eveniat; If it ſo come to paſs*, viz. that ſhe overlive him. But Mr. *Somner* who hath diſcovered other faults in this Edition of Sr. *Henry*, Interprets the words, *ſi ſic conveniat*, viz. *If they ſo agree*; the King thinks it juſt that ſhe have the half if ſhe outlive her Husband, *&c.* This Endowing, being that which they call *Dotarium* or *Donarium*, according to this beſt Interpretation of the words, was not then neceſſary, or by compulſion, but ſo as was thought fit, if it was ſo agreed before the Marriage: but whereas Mr. *Somner* in his Gloſſary, thinks it the ſame with the maintenance mentioned in the Second Article, by our *Saxon* Anceſtours (as in that Article) termed *Fosterlean*, his own Interpretation of the other words ſeems to confute him. For that maintenance or *Foſterlean* hath relation to their joynt condition during Marriage, or as now we ſay, whilſt *under coverture*, the *victus* as they interpret it, after which follows, *who ſhall maintain them*? The one being neceſſary, but the other uncertain, and according as he himſelf will have it, to agreement. Beſides this Endowing this *Dotalitium* or *Donarium*, there was that which our *Saxon* Anceſtours called *Morgangiſe*, the *Lombards Morgangap*, the *Burgundians*, *Alamans*, and others *Morgengeba*, and ſome *Morgingab*, ſo called (for all theſe amount to one) becauſe it *was a gift beſtowed by the Bridegroom on the Bride*, that morning they were to be Married. Yet doth * *Gregory Turonenſis* diſtinguiſh it à *Dote* from the ordinary *Endowing*. It ſeems to have been ſome ſpecial thing given to the Bride, as an eſpecial mark of the Bridegroom's favour. Some think it to correſpond or have ſome affinity with the *Engliſh* Cuſtome of Endowing or Enfeoffing *at the Church Door*, as they term it. Whereby the Bridegroom, when in the morning he is about to enter the Church to be Married, makes a preſent, as it were, to his Bride of ſome piece of Land.

Priſca dotationis formula.

ȝıꝼ hıꞇ ſƿa geꝼoꞃƿoꞃð bıþ.

The Antiquity of *Gavelkind.* C. 3. *p.* 76.

A Saxon. ꝼoſꞇeꞃ *i. e. victus, cibaria unde hodiernum noſtrum to* Foſter *nutrire, &* lean *exhibere.*

In leg. Canuti. c. 71.

Moꞃȝan ȝıꝼe *matutinum donum, ſic etiam Germanicè* Morgin *ſignificat mane &* Gab *donatio.*

* *Lib.* 9. *c.* 10. *Hiſt. Tam in dote quam in Morgangiba.*

Ad oſtium Eccleſiæ.

121. But theſe Gifts and Endowings are quite contrary to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the *Romans*, with whom, *Dos*, properly ſignifieth that Portion which the Husband receiveth with his Wife. They were not wont to give their Wives any thing back, and therefore have no proper word whereby to expreſs ſuch a Gift (Donations betwixt Man and Wife being carefully in their Laws forbidden) which we in *Engliſh* call *Dower*, anſwering properly to *Dotarium Donarium*, (*a*) and the like. *Tacitus* admires the thing it ſelf, amongſt the *Germans* expreſſing it thus. *The* (*b*) *Wife brings no Portion* (Dotem) *to the Husband, but the Husband* (Dower) *to the Wife.* Yet the *Greeks* moſt

(*a*) *Vocatur etiam Doarium Dodarium Dotalitium.*

(*b*) *Dotem non uxor marito, ſed uxori maritus affert.*

anciently as they had (c) words to expreſs both *Portion* and *Dower*, were wont thus alſo to provide for their Wives. *Homer* ſeigns *Vulcan*, to have endowed *Venus*, and to have demanded back the *Dower* after that ſhe was taken in Adultery with *Mars*; and in like manner, *Claudian* feigns the ſame thing to have been done by *Pluto* to *Proſerpina*. For the *Galls*, *Cæſar* teſtifies that the Husband was wont to return the value of what he received in Portion with his Wiſe. *Strabo* writes of the *Cantabrians* in *Spain*, that they alſo Endowed their Wives, and left their Daughters their Heirs, which thing he diſlikes, as giving Women power over Men. To be ſure the *Teutonick* and Northern Nations, practiſed this courſe, as is evident from *Gregory* of *Tours*, concerning the *Franks* in *Gall*, and concerning the *Goths*, *Saxons* and *Lombards*, their ſeveral Laws. In ſome places half the Lands, and ſome a third part went in Dower, and in others Money. In other places it was left to the diſcretion of the Man to give what he pleaſed. The *Engliſh* and *Scots* have in later Ages, after the Faſhion of the *Sicilians*, alotted the third Part; though *Kent* and ſome Boroughs, one half part, as alſo ſome Towns in *France*. But this Cuſtome hath farther to plead for it, that it had the *Hebrews* alſo for its practiſers, as appears from that place which ſaith, *a Man ſhall Endow a Woman, and take her for his Wiſe*. And *Sichem* being begging to Marry *Dina*, *bids them ask what Dower they would, and he would grant it*.

(c) *Dotem* φερνὴν & προίκα, *vocant antidotem vero ut ita dicamus*, ἀντιφέρναν, ἕδνον & ὑπόβολον.

Lib. 6. de bello Gallico.

Geograph. l. 3.

Hiſt. l. 9. c. 20.

How much was aſſigned for *Dover*.

Vid Spelman. Gloſſar. in voc. Doarium

Exod. 22. 16.

Gen. 34. 12.

122. So much is fit to be pleaded for our Cuſtome, and in favour of the other Sex againſt the *Romans*, who yet were ſo juſt, as when they put away their Wives, *bid them take what they brought along with them*; which words were uſed expreſly, to ſignifie a Divorce. Our *Engliſh Saxon* Anceſtours were both carefull for the main Chance, not to have nothing with their Wives, becauſe meat cannot be bought in the Market without Money, and yet were both ſo juſt and kind as to provide for their Wives by way of Dowry when they Married, that they might be able to Live when they were Dead, and were content to be bound up for performance, and not to be left to their own diſcretions what they would doe after Marriage, or at their Deaths. By King *Edmund*'s Conſtitutions we have ſeen their care on one ſide, and that they were not heedleſs on the other appears by an ancient *Saxon* Monument, or a Tripartite Writing, concerning a Marriage made in the Days of King *Cnute*, which here for Illuſtration of this Subject we ſhall Exemplify as we have it publiſhed by Mr. *Sumner*. *Here appeareth in this Writing the Agreement that* Godwin made *with* Byrhtric *when he Woed his Daughter. That is, firſt he gives her one pound weight of Gold on condition that ſhe ſtand to the Agreement, and he giveth her theſe Lands at* Strete, *with all that thereto appertaineth, and in* Burware *Marſh one hundred and fifty Acres; withall, thirty Oxen, twenty Cows, ten Horſes, and ten Theowmen or Bondmen. This was agreed at* Kingſton *before King* Cnute, *in the preſence of* Living *the Archbiſhop, as alſo in the Covents at* Chriſt Church, *of* Ælſmere *the Abbat, the Covents at St.* Auguſtin's; *of* Æthelwin *the Sheriff,* Sired *the Elder,* Godwin, Wulfey's *Son*; Eadmer *at* Burham; Godwine, Wulſtan's *Son*; *and* Charles, *the King's Servant. And when this Maid was fetch'd to* Brightling, *then went off all theſe for Sureties,* Ælgar, *the Son of* Sired; Frerth, *Prieſt of* Folcſton; Leoſwine, *Prieſt of* Dover; Wulfey *a Prieſt*; Eadred *the Son of* Eadelm; Leoſwine, *the Son of* Warelm; Cenwold Ruſt; Leoſwine, Godwin's *Son* at Horton; Leoſwine *the Red*; Godwine *the Son of* Eadgiſe, *and* Leofsun *his Brother. And which of them longeſt liveth ſhall have all the Poſſeſſions, aſwell that Land which I give them, as every thing. This thing is known to all* * *Doughty, or Valiant Men in* Kent; *and in* Suſſex *both Thanes and Churles, or Countreymen. And this Writing is Tripartite, one is at* Chriſt Church, *a ſecond at St.* Auguſtin's, *and the third hath* Byrhtric *himſelf*. See here the manner of Marriage, and ſettling matters thereto belonging in thoſe ancient Times. And take notice by this Inſtrument, as alſo all along by the Laws how cautious they were in all reſpects, ſcarcely tranſacting any thing but by the Intervention of Suretyſhip.

Suas ſibi res habere juſſerunt.

The Settlement given to Wives.

Heɼ ꞅƿuꞇelaþ on þẏꞅan ᵹeƿɼiꞇe þa ꝼoɼeƿaɼꝺe, *&c. In Appendic. ad Tractat. de Gavelkind Scriptura 17. p. 196.*

* Ðiꞅꞅa þinᵹa iꞅ ᵹecnæƿe ælc ꝺohꞇiᵹ man on Kænꞇ; *&c.*

123. To return, The next Legiſlatour after *Edmund*, was King *Edgar* his Son, who began his Reign in the year of our Lord DCCCCLIX. and ended it in the year DCCCCLXXV. He amongſt many Laws and Canons of Eccleſiaſtical Concernment, publiſhed alſo ſome which reſpected the Civil State of his Kingdom; or, as he terms it, to the People, to be obſerved by them, whereof this is

Sect. 12 the firſt, whereby He enjoyns, that "Every Man, Poor or Rich, enjoy the "benefit of the Law, and have Juſtice done him. And for Puniſhments, he "would have them ſo moderated, that thereby, being accommodated to Divine "Clemency, they may be the more tolerable unto Men. The ſecond forbids "Appeals to the King in Suits, except Juſtice cannot otherwiſe be obtained. If "a Man be oppreſſed, he may betake himſelf to the King for relief. And in "caſe a pecuniary Mulct be inflicted for a fault, it muſt not exceed the value of the Man's Head. The third impoſes a Mulct upon a Judge that paſſes an unjuſt Sentence againſt any Man, of an hundred and twenty ſhillings "to the King, except ſuch Judge will take his Oath that he did it not out of "any malice, but onely it happened by errour and unskilfulneſs: in ſuch caſe "let him be removed from his place, except he can obtain favour of the King "to keep it: and let the Biſhop of the Dioceſe convey the Mulct that is "impoſed upon him to the King's Treaſury. The fourth ordains, that Whoſoever malitiouſly defames another Man, whereby he receives any damage either in his Body or Eſtate, in caſe the defamed Perſon can wipe off thoſe Reports, and prove them falſe, the Defamer's Tongue ſhall either be cut out, or "he ſhall redeem it with the value of his Head. The fifth is that which we "have formerly cited, which Commands every one to be preſent at the Gemote or Aſſembly of the Hundred; ordains that the Burhgemote or Aſſembly of the Towns or Cities be held thrice a year; and the Shiregemote or Meeting of the County twice; whereat are to be preſent the Biſhop and the "Ealdorman, the one to teach the People God's Law, and the other Man's. "The ſixth requires, that Every Man find ſureties for his juſt behaviour. In caſe "any one commit a crime and fly for it, let the Sureties undergoe what ſhould "have been laid upon him. If ſo be he ſtole any thing and be taken within a "twelvemonth, let him be brought to Juſtice, and then let them receive back "what they had forfeited on his behalf. The ſeventh orders, When any one "being of evil report and again accuſed of ſome crime, abſents himſelf from the "Gemotes or Publick Meeting, ſome of the Court to go where he dwells, "and take Sureties for his appearance, if they may be had; if they cannot get "them, let them take him alive or dead, and ſeize on all his Eſtate, whereof "the complaining Party having had ſuch ſhare as may ſatisfie him, let the one "half of the remainder go to the Lord of the Soil, and the other half to the "Hundred. And if any of that Court, being either a Kin to him, or a Stranger to his Bloud, refuſe to go to put this in execution, let him forfeit an "hundred and twenty ſhillings to the King. Farther, let not ſuch as are taken "in the manner of ſtealing or betraying their Maſters obtain pardon of their "Lives. The eighth and laſt ordains, that One and the ſame Money be current throughout the King's Dominions, which no Man muſt refuſe. That "the Meaſure of *Wincheſter* be the Standard. And that a Way, or Weigh of "Wool be ſold for half a Pound value of Money, and no more.

C. 1. *Sax.* Ƿeoꞃul-cunꝺ ᵹe-ꞃæꝺnẏꞅꞅe. *c. 7. apud Jornal.*

C. 2. *Sax.* Be ðonne ðe mon cẏnᵹ ᵹe ꞅece. ⁊ Be ðæm ꞅeꞃe. *c. 7. adhuc apud Jorn.*

C. 3. *Sax.* Be unꞃihꞇum ꝺome. *c. 8. apud. Jornal.*

C. 4. *Sax.* Be ðon ðe mon oþeꞃne ꝼoꞃꞅecᵹaþ. *c. 9. apud Jornal.*

C. 5. *Sax.* Be ᵹemoꞇum. *c.* 10. *apud Jornal.*

C. 6. *Sax.* Be boꞃᵹum. *c.* 11. *apud Jornal.*

C. 7. *Sax.* Be ꞇẏhꞇbẏꞃiᵹum. *c.* 12 *apud Jornal.*

C. 8. *Sax.* Be mẏneꞇum ⁊ ᵹemeꞇum. *c.* 13. *apud. Jornal.*

124. The next Legiſlatour after *Edgar* was King *Ethelred*, his Younger Son, who began his Reign in the year of our Lord DCCCCLXXIX. and ended it in the year MXVI. *Brompton* the Abbat of *Jorval* preſents us with four ſeveral Bodies of Laws of this King, made at ſeveral times, and in divers places, whereof there is onely two extant among the *Saxon* Laws, publiſhed by *Lambard.* The Laws comprized in the firſt Body are ſix, and ſaid to have been made at *Woodſtock* in *Mercia*, according to the Laws of the *Engliſh*, in a Council of Wiſemen, held there by King *Ethelred* for the Promotion of Peace. The firſt of theſe, as the ſixth of King *Edgar*, requires, that "Every Free-man have his "truſty Sureties, who ſhall be bound for him, that he ſhall be ready to doe every "Man right in caſe he be queſtioned. If one be often accuſed and made infamous "let him undergoe the ſcrutiny of threefold Ordeal. But in caſe ſuch an one's "Lord contend, and affirm that he hath neither broken his Oath, nor been "caſt by the Jugement of Ordeal after the Councill held at *Bromdune*, let "his Lord call to him out of that Hundred one or two *Thanes*, who together "with him ſhall confirm by Oath that this Servant neither ever forſwore "himſelf, nor paid never any thing upon the account of Theft, except he have "ſome Officer, who (according to his Right) may doe it without Swearing. "In caſe they made Oath let the Accuſed Party chuſe whether he will undergoe the tryal of ſingle Ordeal, or make an Oath in three ſeveral Hundreds, "which ſhall anſwer to one pound and thirty pence in equal proportion. But "in caſe they refuſe to ſwear, let the Accuſed undergoe the tryal of threefold

Æꞇ ƿuꝺe ꞅꞇoce on Mẏꞃcena lanꝺ æꝼꞇeꞃ Ænᵹla laᵹe.

C. 1. *Sax.* Be boꞃᵹum. *c.* 1. *apud Jornal.*

“ Ordeal: and if ſo be that he appears a Condemned Man, let him reſtore “ twofold to the Complainant, and pay the value of his Head to the Lord, “ and find Sureties for his good behaviour for the time to come. If he offend “ the ſecond time, let it coſt him his Life. In caſe he refuſe to be Tryed by “ the Ordeal, and fly for it, his Sureties ſhall pay the juſt value of the thing “ to the Injured Party, and to his Lord the value of his Head, if he have ſo “ carried himſelf as to be worthy of it. But if it be objected againſt his Lord, “ that after the Fact, committed by his advice and aſſiſtence, his Servant fled “ away, he ſhall take to him five Thanes, and thereof purge himſelf; which “ if he doe, he hath ſhewn himſelf to be worthy of the *Were*, if he doe not “ the King ſhall have the *Were* or value of the Head, and the Thief ſhall be “ made incapable of any benefit of the Law. The Lord ſhall anſwer for his “ whole Family, and be Surety for the appearance of every perſon in it. And “ if any of his Servants being accuſed, run away, his Maſter ſhall pay his “ Man's *Were* to the King. And if the Maſter be Accuſed as the Advizer to “ the eſcape, he ſhall purge himſelf by the aſſiſtence of five *Thanes*. If he doe “ it not, he ſhall pay to the King his *Were*; and his Man ſhall be an Outlaw.

125. The ſecond “ Appropriates the mulct which is laid upon any Man “ that poſſeſſeth *Bockland*, for any fault by him committed, to the King; and “ forbids any compenſation to be made for any Accuſation, but in preſence of “ the King's Reeve or Officer. The third ordains, that A Bond-man being “ Caſt by the Ordeal, be marked with an hot Iron for the firſt offence; and “ being Caſt the ſecond time in the ſame manner, by all means to be put to “ Death; which Law bears ſome reſemblance to our preſent Law or Cuſtome, where Clergy is allowed for the firſt crime committed. The fourth “ Forbids all Buying and Chaffering without Suretyſhip and Witneſs. If it happen otherwiſe, the Lord of the Soil is to have the thing in his cuſtody till “ ſuch time as it appear to whom of Right it belongs. By the fifth, The “ King's Reeve or Officer is obliged to require Sureties for the good behaviour “ of ſuch as are of ill fame amongſt all Men, which if ſuch an one do not “ give he is to be put to Death, and Buried in a profane place with Malefactours. And if any make reſiſtence in his behalf, he is to undergoe the ſame puniſhment. The ſixth, after *Brompton*, but which hath neither Title nor Number in the *Saxon*, concludes it thus. “ And whoſoever neglects or doth “ not promote what we have ordained, according to the Sentence and Judgment “ of us all, ſhall forfeit an hundred and twenty ſhillings to the King.

C. 2. *Sax.* *c.* 2. *apud Jornal.*

C. 3. *Sax.* Be ðeoƿmen ðe ꝼull ƿẏꞃþe. *c.* 3. *apud Jornal.*

C. 4. *Sax.* Be ðon ðe mon ne ceapıᵹebuꞇon ᵹeƿıꞇneꞅꞅe. *c.* 4. *apud Jornal.*

C. 5. *Sax.* Be ðæm men ðe eallumꝼolc unᵹeꞇꞃıƿeꞅẏ. *c.* 4. *apud Jornal.* 6.

Ale and Ale-houſes among the *Engliſh Saxons.*

126. The next Body of Laws made by King *Ethelred*, as *Brompton* ranks them, are ſaid to have been made at *Venetyng*, or *Wanating*, now *Wantage* in *Berkſhire*, the Birth place of the glorious King *Alfred*. They are thirty in number, and were made by King *Ethelred* and his Wiſemen for the encreaſe of Peace and Felicity. The firſt of them is concerning the *Keeping of the King's Peace as it was in the days of his Predeceſſours, and for the puniſhment of the Breach of it, as that in a Gemote of five Boroughs, with the forfeiture of five pounds, in one Borough by ſeven hundred (ſhillings are meant) in a Wapentack by one hundred; and in an Ale-houſe if a man be killed, with ſix half Marks; if he be not killed, with twelve Ores*. Hence (but eſpecially from the Laws of *Ina*) we may obſerve how ancient the Liquour of Ale, and Houſes deſigned to the ſale and drinking of it have been in *England*; how ancient alſo Quarreling and breaking of the Peace in ſuch places. But much more ancient have all theſe been than the continuance of the *Engliſh Saxons* in this Countrey; they were too much in faſhion with theſe Northern Nations in thoſe Days of *Tacitus*, as appears from what he writes of the *Germans*; ſo that what Mr. *Cambden* writes in his Annals, of Drunkenneſs being firſt brought into this Countrey by the Souldiers that ſerved in the Low Countries under the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and that then Laws were firſt made againſt this Vice, is to be underſtood with an exception of this Antiquity; for when the *Engliſh Saxons* came firſt into the Iſland, they brought Drunkenneſs along with them out of the *Cherſoneſus* of *Germany*. For of the ancient *Germans Tacitus* reports, that “ To paſs a day “ and night in Drinking was no diſgrace at all. Being Drunk they would quarrel, and often wound and kill one another. Yet moſt commonly (ſaith he) “ they conſult in their Feaſts and Banquets concerning Reconciling of Enemies, “ making Affinities, chuſing Magiſtrates, even of Peace and War: as if at no “ other time the mind was fitter either to entertain plain thoughts or heat upon

“ great

Sect. 12. “ great Conceptions. *Quintilian* alſo aſſures us, that in ancient times, ſuch as had Fought in the Field againſt one another, would be Friendly at an Entertainment at the Table. In *Germany* this Cuſtome, we are told, ſtill continues; and here in *England* at our *Ales* and *Wakes*, Controverſies and Quarrels were wont to be heard and compounded. As to Drinking and Drinking Houſes, the preſent Age can ſhew and ſay as much or more than any other, both as to quarrels, and as to the doing of buſineſs, for no buſineſs now is to be done, but in a Drinking Houſe. But in our Greater Towns and Cities, the Scene of theſe too often tragical Meetings is removed from *Germany* and *England*, to *France* and *Spain*; or if it be ſtill in *Germany*, it's removed cloſe to the *Rhine*. The Grape hath got the advantage of the Barley: and *Bacchus* (if ever) may now ſeem a Deity, nay above all the reſt, having (by *Vulcan*'s means) in the Capital City lately turned his Houſes into ſumptuous Palaces, the moſt ſumptuous there to be ſeen; and in the adjoyning Parts juſtled ſeveral Gentlemen out of their Habitations.

127. The ſecond Law *requires credit to be given concerning either quick or dead,* C. 2.
according to legal Teſtimony which it will have all Perſons, free to make aſwell as to C. 3.
ſwear. The third conſiſts of ſuch Terms as certainly cannot be explained. The
fourth commands that *The publick Meetings be obſerved in every Hundred or Wapentake,* C. 4.
and that twelve Thanes (*ſaith* Bromton) *or twelve men of free Condition*
(*as* Lambards *reades it*) *being elderly men, together with their* Præpoſitus *or*
Overſeer, ſwear over Goſpels or Sacred things, that they will neither condemn an
innocent Perſon, nor acquit a guilty. From this Law as well as other Circumſtances
Juries in uſe. it appears, that the way of trial by twelve men, that we now call a Jury was in uſe with the *Engliſh Saxons* before the Conqueſt, and not introduced by *William the Conquerour*, as *Polydore Virgil* an *Italian*, and not much skilled in the Antiquities of this Iſland hath delivered in writing. To confirm what we have ſaid, the third Chapter of the League, betwixt King *Alfred* and *Guthrun* the *Dane*, very much maketh, which orders that *If the King's Thane or Miniſter be accuſed of Homicide he ſhall purge himſelf if he dare by twelve other Thanes or Miniſters. And in caſe he be in degree inferiour to the King's Thane he ſhall take Eleven of his Equals, and one of the King's Thanes or Miniſters, and ſo purge himſelf from all ſuſpicion. The like is here ordered to be obſerved in all ſuits, exceeding four Mancuſes or Marks. And in caſe one be afraid ſo to clear himſelf, he ſhall pay the treble value of the thing in queſtion.* Beſides theſe throughout the *Saxon* Laws as the Reader may obſerve, there is frequent mention of clearing, and purging by ſo
many Men called together, ſometimes of * twelve, ſometimes of † fewer, and the * *Vide Æthelſtani. L.* 12.
more common and ordinary had this courſe been even in thoſe times, but for the
Ordeal ſo much in repute, which alſo got more ſtrength and reputation toward † *Ejuſdem. L.* 9.
the Days of *Ethelred*, and the Concluſion of the *Engliſh Saxon Monarchy*. Amongſt the ancient Charters of Kings publiſhed by *Ingulphus*, are alſo Footſteps of this Cuſtome though but in its youth as it were, or growing up do appear.
As in that of *Withlaf*, where puniſhment is to be inflicted upon a Fugitive from *P.* 155.
the Monaſtery of *Croyland*, his Flight is to be found by ſix men that muſt be ſworn, ſo in the Charter of Confirmation granted by *Edrede*, ſuch as injured the Monks, or infringed the Liberties thereby confirmed to the Monaſtery, are to
make ſatisfaction for all Damages ſuſtained, which are to be taxed by the Oaths *P.* 876.
of four or five ſufficient creditable Men, by whom the Truth of the matter may be the better made out, before his Judges or thoſe of his Heirs and Succeſſours. Therefore neither did *Edward the Confeſſour* firſt bring up this Cuſtome of Juries, or deciding Controverſies civil or criminal by twelve or other Number of Perſons, though he might introduce the Cuſtome into *Normandy*, where he long
ſojourn'd as one of that Countrey hath written. But the Cuſtome of trying Crimi- *Vide Spelman-*
nals even by twelve Men, was frequent amongſt the *Franks*, *Burgundians*, *Boii*, *ni Gloſſar.*
and where the Cuſtome of Fees took place, as appears ſufficiently from the ancient Laws of theſe Nations.

128. The Laws of King *Ethelred* made at *Wantage*, have many of them relation to the Trial by *Ordeal*, and contain many obſcure terms, *Bromton*, or whoever he was that made them *Latin*, being a very unprofitable Tranſlatour. Others of them are reſervable to other former Laws, and therefore we ſhall onely pick out from amongſt them, ſuch as are moſt worthy to be taken notice of.
The Eleventh makes *The adulterating of Coin a Capital Crime.* The twelfth *For-* 11.
bids any Cattel to be bought but with two Witneſſes, requiring that the Skin and 12.
Head be kept three Nights, as alſo that of a ſheep; and in caſe any one ſell the

Skin before three Nights be over, he is to forfeit twenty Ores. The twentieth *Declares*
how far the King's Peace ſhall extend from his Gate every way, that is three
Miles and three Quarters, and three Acres in breadth, nine Feet and nine Barley 20.
Corns. The two and twentieth directs that *Aldredeſgate and Cirgelegate* (ſo they 22.
are called) have their Keepers or Porters. The twenty third declares, that *If* 23.
a ſmall Veſſel came to Bilynggeſgate, *an half Penny was wont to be given for toll;*
if a greater bearing ſails, a Penny. If a Keel or Hulk, being a long and large capacious
ſort of Veſſel, four Pence are to be given. Out of a ſhip loden with wood one Piece
for Toll. Thrice a Week toll of bread is to be paid, viz. *on the Lord's Day,* Tueſday
and Thurſday. *If a Boat arrive with Fiſh, it is to pay an half penny, if it*
be a bigger Boat a penny. Thoſe of Rouen *in* Normandy, *that came with Wine or*
Grampois, thoſe of Flanders *and* Ponthieu, *and others from* Normandy *and* France,
were wont to open their wares and free them from Toll. Such as came from Liege
and other Places, travelling by Land opened their wares and paid Toll. The Emperour's
men coming with their ſhips were accounted worthy of good Laws, as we
alſo to buy in their ſhips. And it was not lawfull for them to foreſtall the Market
from the Burghers of London. *They were to pay Toll, and at* Chriſtmas *two gray*
Cloths, and one brown coloured with ten Pounds of Pepper, and five pair of Gloves with
two Veſſels of Vinegar, and as many at Eaſter. *From Panniers that come with Hens,*
one Hen for Toll. Thoſe that trade in Butter and Cheeſe fourteen days before
Chriſtmas, *muſt pay a penny for Toll, and another penny ſeven days after that Feſtival.*
The twenty ſixth *Impoſes the ſame Puniſhment upon ſuch as wittingly receive,* 26.
as they that make bad money. The twenty eighth *Puts it into the King's Power* 28.
whether to fine, or put to death ſuch Merchants as import counterfeit bad money,
and impoſeth upon Portreeves that ſhall be acceſſory, the ſame Puniſhment as lies upon
thoſe that Coin falſe money, except the King think fit to pardon
them. The laſt, *That there may be fewer Minters than formerly,* ordains *that there be three in every great Port Town, and in every other Port one with their underworkmen. And the Governours of theſe Ports are required, as they will avoid the charge of Contumacy againſt the King, to ſee to the weight, and that the pieces be ſo ſtampt, that fifteen Ores may make a Pound.*

Unum monetarium in Stanford in perpetuam libertatem concedimus inquit Rex Edgarus ſcil. Monaſterio Croyland. Ingulph. p. 884.

The League 'twixt *Ethelred* and the *Daniſh* Army.

129. After theſe Laws in *Bromton* follows the League, which was made betwixt King *Ethelred* and the Army of *Anlaf*, *Juſtin*, and *Guthmund* the Son of *Stegete*. The firſt Article hereof, *Eſtabliſheth a Peace betwixt the King and his People, and this Army which the King ſupplied with money, according to the Form of the Agreement, made by* Sigeric *the Archbiſhop, and* Æthelward *and* Alfric *Alderman, when they obtained firſt of the King leave to buy the peace of thoſe Countries, which they governed. If therefore hereafter any violence be offered to* England *by Sea, this Army, ſaith the King, is to aſſiſt us, and we will prepare all neceſſaries for its ſubſiſtence, as long as it ſhall continue faithfull. And if ſo be that any Foreign Nation make Friendſhip with them that doe the ſaid violence, both we and the Army ſhall account of them as Enemies.* The Second Article, *Gives freedom to come into Port though belonging to the Enemy, whether driven thither by Tempeſt or otherwiſe.* The third, *To all their Friends and Allies confirms Peace and Security both at Sea and Land, though they be met in an Enemies Countrey. In caſe ſuch a Friend convey his Goods into an Enemies Houſe, he ſhall loſe the Goods, but go free himſelf. But if he either flye or make reſiſtence, or do not make known himſelf and be ſlain, no ſatisfaction is to be made for him.* The fourth requires that *If a man be robbed in a ſhip the Maſter thereof is to make ſatisfaction, or by four others taken to him make faith that he came lawfully to the Goods that are challenged.* The next Article *impoſes a Mulct of twenty five pounds upon a free* Engliſhman, *that kills a* Dane *of free Condition, except the Murtherer yield up himſelf: the ſame forfeiture a* Dane *incurs if he ſlay an* Engliſhman. *If an* Engliſhman *kill a* Dane *of ſervile condition he ſhall pay one pound, and the like a* Dane *if he kill an* Engliſh *man. If ſo be that eight Perſons be ſlain, the League ſhall be accounted violated, but if under this Number, Compenſation ſhall be made according to the value of the particular Perſons.*

C. 1. *Sax.* C. 1. *apud Jornal.*

C. 2. *Sax.* Be ceapꞅcypum; C. 2. *apud Jornal.*

C. 3. *Sax.* Be ðæꞅ cyninᵹeꞅ ꝼꞃiðmannum ⁊ C. 3. *apud Jornal.*

C. 4. *Saxon.* Be ðon ðe mon ꞅcipe beꞃeaꝼoð ꞅy ⁊ C. 4. *apud Jornal.*

C. 5. *Saxonic.* Be monꞅleᵹe ⁊ C. c. 5. 6. *apud Jornal.*

130. *If this happen in a Town the Townſmen are to take the Murtherers alive or dead, at leaſt their next Kinſman is to ſurrender them Man for Man, which if they refuſe to doe,*

C. 6. *Sax.* Be ꝼꞃiþbꞃec binnan byꞃiᵹ ⁊. C. 8. *apud Jornal.*

the Ealdorman muſt doe it, if he doe it not the King; if the King refuſe, that Countrey muſt be accounted out of the League. The Seventh Article, *indemnifies both ſides, for all Murthers and Plunderings before this League. The one ſide is not to receive the Servant, Robbers or Enemies of the other.* That which follows *Condemns a Countreyman, that ſhall plunder or kill, if it be affirmed by a Seaman and a Land man. If he kill their Cattel, he ſhall be taken both by the King's Party, and the Army for an Outlaw without admiſſion of any Excuſe. And afterward it declares that the* Engliſh *purchaſed peace of the Army with two and twenty thouſand pounds of Gold and Silver.* The ninth directs that *If a Man find his Goods in another Man's Hands, he with whom they are found tell where he had them, and give ſecurity to produce his Voucher. In this caſe if he be to ſend for a Man out of another Shire, he ſhall have convenient time to doe it. If upon offer he take the thing upon him, the other ſhall be acquitted with whom the Goods were found. This Voucher muſt then produce his, and if he live in another Shire, have a Weeks time given him to produce him; if he live beyond two Counties, a Fortnight, if beyond three, three Weeks, or a Week to be allowed for every County. But all of them muſt come to the place where the Goods were found.* The tenth and laſt concerning *vouching*, tells us that *in times paſt it was the Cuſtome with whom a thing was found, that he ſhould thrice produce Vouchers, and then they ſhould go to the place where the Voucher lived. Now to Wiſemen it ſeems more reaſonable, that in the place where the thing is found, the Vouchery proceed till it come to a Period, leſt that thoſe who are not ſo able to bear it in ſeeking for their own be tired out with the length of the way, and time, whereas it's moſt juſt, that the trouble ſhould be impoſed upon the unjuſt Poſſeſſour. But he that finds his Goods is to beware, that he with whom he hath found them find ſufficient ſecurity, to produce thoſe that will ſave him harmleſs, and leſt he make any unjuſt challenge, leſt indeavouring to trouble others he himſelf be imbroyled in intricate Affairs. If there be any have challenged one that's now dead, and hath no Heirs to purge him, let him if he can, prove by Witneſs that he did ſo challenge him, and thereupon he being diſcharged of the Guilt, let the blame lye upon the dead Party, except he have Friends that will legally purge him as if he had been alive. In ſuch caſe he is to be taken as clear, and he is be accounted guilty of the Theft with whom the Goods were found, foraſmuch as* Denial is of more weight than affirmation. *Laſtly, if any one in this matter of vouching, refuſe to proceed any farther, but contends that the Goods were his own, he may be at his choice if he can aſcertain his propriety by credible witneſs.* For, if it do not otherwiſe appear, Propriety is preſumed to be rather in the Poſſeſſour than in the Pretender.

C. 7. *Saxon.* C. 8. *apud Jorn.*

C. 8. *Saxonic.* Be lanꝺeꞅ manneꞅ ꞇẏhꞇe ⁊ C. 9. *apud Jornal.*

C. 9. *Sax.* Be ðon ðe mon ᵹeꝼð ðe him loꞅoꝺ ƿæꞅ ⁊ C. 10. *apud Jornal.*

C. 10. *Saxon.* Be ꞇe amum ⁊ C. 11. *apud Jornal.*

131. The next Body of Laws which follows in *Bromton*, and was made at a
place called *Habe*, are all of Eccleſiaſtical concernment purely except it be the fifth,
which prohibits any man to be ſold out of his Countrey. But there is publiſhed by *Concil. p.* 513.
Sir *Henry Spelman* the Acts of another Council held by this ſame King *Ethelred*
at a Place called *Ænham*, amongſt which are ſome that relate to the Civil State.
The ſixth *prohibits alſo the ſale of a Man out of his own Countrey, eſpecially into* 6.
the ſervice of a Pagan. The ſeventh *will have no man put to death for a ſmall fault,* 7.
but inculcates mercy. The nineteenth *forbids a Widow to marry within a twelve month* 19.
at leaſt. The two and twentieth *takes care for preſerving the Peace, and keeping the* 22.
Coin uncorrupt, that one and the ſame go throughout the Land. The like for juſt weights
and meaſures, the reparation of Cities, Towns, Caſtles and Bridges, and warlike expe-
ditions, both by Sea and Land. The twenty third *takes care that preſently after* 23.
Eaſter, *the Annual expedition by Sea be haſtened, and ordains that if any Man doe*
any hurt to a ſhip deſigned for the ſervice of the State, he both make ſatisfaction for
the Damage, and be puniſhed as a Breaker of the King's Peace. And if he utterly
ſpoil the Veſſel ſo as ſhe be made unſerviceable, he ſhall make full amends for the Da-
mage, and farther, be taken as guilty of High Treaſon. The twenty fourth *De-* 24.
prives that Man of all his Fortunes, who deſerts the Expedition whereat the King
himſelf is preſent. The next *Deprives him that hath killed a Man, or forſworn* 25.
himſelf, of all his fortunes; alſo if he offer to come into the King's preſence be-
fore he hath made ſatisfaction, except the King will diſpence with him. The
twenty ſixth *Deprives him both of Life and Fortunes that Conſpires againſt the* 26.
Life of the King. If he deny it, he muſt purge himſelf by the moſt ſolemn Oath,

27. *or by treble Ordeal according to the Law of the* Engliſh, *or after the Daniſh Law, as it appoints.* That which follows *ordains, that if any openly ſet himſelf to oppoſe the Laws of Chriſt or the King, he be puniſhed either by paying the value of his Head, or otherwiſe according to the quality of the offence; and if he procure his own death by making reſiſtence, he muſt lye unrevenged.* Theſe are the Laws of King *Ethelred*, which reſpect the civil State, made as we have diſtinguiſhed them at ſeveral times and places, but what theſe times were we are uncertain, though we be ſure the Laws were made during his Reign.

132. There are others which we cannot certainly affirm to have been made in his time, though the General conjecture be that they were, and theſe are comprized in an Agreement or Act, which the Wiſemen of *England* and the Councellours of *Wales*, made concerning the Inhabitants of the Mountains of that Countrey. The firſt Article of this *Senatusconſultum*, as they call it, *preſcribes the purſuit after Cattel, by the Footſteps from one place to another.* The ſecond wills that *Within nine or ten days, the one Countreyman do write to the other whether it be in purging themſelves, or in any other matter which is in Controverſie. But in all Accuſations betwixt* Engliſh *and* Welſh *men, they ſhall clear themſelves onely by Ordeal, except the Accuſer permit it. And each of them if they cannot otherwiſe have their right, may lawfully take away pledges one from another.* The third gives order that *If any one be injured and have taken a pledge from him that did the fact, he that gave the offence ſhall redeem it, or ſo much of his Goods as it amounts to be ſeized. That he who refuſes to doe Juſtice, may be compelled to doe it. Here twelve men, ſix* Engliſh, *and as many* Welſh, *ſhall adminiſter Juſtice to thoſe of both Nations: who in caſe they do not doe right ſhall forfeit all they have, except they excuſe themſelves by their Ignorance of the Law.* Here behold another pattern of a Jury, and of that which we call *Medietas Linguæ*, viz. when a ſtranger is to be tried, ſix *Engliſh*, and as many of the Parties own Countrey, at leaſt, ſtrangers are impanelled to judge as to matter of fact, and according to their evidence give in their Verdict. The fourth Article wills, *That when an* Engliſh *or* Welſh *man is accuſed of Theft and caſt in the Trial, he ſhall onely pay the forfeit due for the Theft, and no other mulct or any thing beſides.* The fifth, *Exacts but half of the Value of the Head, in caſe a* Welſh *man kill an* Engliſh *man, or an* Engliſh *man a* Welſh *man, of what Family ſoever the ſlain Party was.*

C. 1. Be trode geſtolenes ẏrfes ⁊

C. 2. Be rihtes feorce beƿteon ƿealum ⁊ Englum ⁊

C. 3. Be badum ⁊

Another Pattern of a Jury, *Per medietatem linguæ.*

C. 4. Be ðone ðe ladteore ⁊

C. 5. Be manslihte.

133. The ſixth Article, *Forbids the* Welſh *to come into* England, *or the* Engliſh *to enter* Wales, *except received at the other Bank by the Borderers, who ſhall take care for their ſafe Conduct and Return. And in caſe any Borderer be accuſed of falſe dealing herein, and cannot by witneſs diſprove it, let him be fin'd. In the ſame manner, if any one procure that any ſtranger doe any damage to a Man of the Place, and be ſuſpected to have been privy to the Fact, with reſpect had to the Damage he ſhall purge himſelf by the Oaths of Select men. Firſt the Accuſer ſhall make his Accuſation by Oath; and then if the accuſed Party be caſt in his Trial, he ſhall pay double Damages to the Plaintiff, and a Mulct to the Lord.* The ſeventh Article *ſets the value of an Horſe, that miſcarries at thirty Shillings, and if it be pretended that there was no fault in the Perſon accuſed, the Purgation ſhall be according to that rate, and ſo for the reſt the value of a Mare, and a yearling Colt at twenty Shillings: A wild Aſſes Colt at twelve Shillings: An Ox at thirty Pence, a Cow at twenty four Pence, a Swine at eight Pence, a Sheep one Shilling, a Goat at two Pence. Any other thing unſeen muſt be valued by Oath, and recompence made accordingly.* The Eighth directs that *If one find his Goods with another man, and he challenges to avowry one that lives beyond the water, then that the Controverſie may come to an end, ſhall he give ſufficient Caution. And he that finds the Goods ſhall by the Oaths of ſix men make it good, that he juſtly lays challenge to the thing that was ſtoln. But he that goes to avowry muſt ſwear alone, that he doth rightly doe it. And in caſe any beyond the River contend, that the thing queſtioned is of his own proper goods, he muſt make it evident by the Judgment of Ordeal.* The ninth declares that *Wentſæte* (by which ſome underſtand *Southwales*, but others more probably *Monmouthſhire* being anciently called *Guent*, *Went*, *Wentſet* and *Wentſland*, ſo named from its chief City which of old, had the Name of *Venta Silurum*) *Sometimes was ſubject to the* Dunſætes *or* Mountainers, *but ſeems rather to belong to the Weſt* Saxons. *And thither they muſt ſend Tribute and Hoſtages of Peace. As alſo that it's meet, that the* Mountainers *ſend Hoſtages if the King think it fitting.*

C. 6. Be ðon ðe Englisce on ƿýliscland fare.

C. 7. Be ælces nýtenes ƿeorþe. gis. hilosiaþ.

C. 8. Be orf ofer stream befangenum.

C. 9. Be ƿentsetum ⁊ dunsetum.

134. Theſe were the Laws made by the *Engliſh Saxon* Kings, before the *Danes* eſtabliſhed their Monarchy throughout the Land, which Laws King *Cnute* after his return from *Rome*, commanded ſtrictly to be obſerved, eſpecially thoſe made by the late King *Ethelred*. And being now at leiſure from War, and applying himſelf to the good uſage of what he had ill got, he made Laws of his own, reſpecting both the Eccleſiaſtical and Civil State, reinforcing ſome old Laws, and altering and adding others, as he found occaſion, in all which, as he tells us in his Preface, he uſed the Council of his Wiſemen, and commands thoſe his Laws to be obſerved throughout *England*. "The firſt of Civil Concernment commands Juſtice to be faithfully and indifferently adminiſtred both to Poor and Rich, and aboliſheth all unjuſt Laws. The ſecond commands Mercy to be uſed, and that no man be put to death for a ſmall Offence. The third prohibits a Chriſtian to be ſold out of the Kingdom, eſpecially to Unbelievers. The fourth Baniſhes or Condemns to Death, Witches, Sorcereſſes and Whores; and threatens Thieves and ſuch as injure and doe violence to the People. The fifth forbids the Superſtitions of Pagans, with Inchantments and Deluſions. The ſixth expells Murtherers, perjured Perſons, and Adulterers out of the Land except they ſpeedily repent. The ſeventh exhorts all men to beware of theſe Crimes and ſuppreſs all Flatterers, Lyers, Robbers, Thieves. The eighth commends to all People the keeping of the Peace, orders one and the ſame good Money to be current, and no man to refuſe it. If any one imbaſe the Money, his Hands are to be cut off without any redemption. And if a Reeve or Governour be accuſed that it was done by his conſent, he ſhall purge himſelf by a treble purgation, and if he be caſt incur the ſame puniſhment. The ninth enjoyns a due care to be had of juſt Weights and Meaſures. The tenth commands as the Law of *Ethelred* (for theſe are but as repetitions of his Laws) that "Towns and Bridges be well looked to, and that the Militia both by Sea and Land be inforced according as the neceſſity of the Commonwealth requires. By the eleventh he promiſes to uſe and entertain ſuch Councils as may tend to the promotion of Juſtice, the profit of the State, and the advancement of Chriſtian Piety.

C. 1. *Sax.*
C. 2. *Sax.* c. 25. *Apud Jornal.*
C. 3. *Sax.* c. 20. *Apud Jornal.*
C. 4. *Sax.* c. 26. *Apud Jornal.*
C. 5. *Sax.* c. 27. *Apud Jornal.*
C. 6. *Sax.* c. 28. *Apud Jornal.*
C. 7. *Sax.* c. 29. *Apud Jornal.*
C. 8. *Sax.* C. c. 29. & 30. *Apud Jornal.*
C. 9. *Sax.* c. 31. *Apud Jornal.*
C. 10. *Sax.*
C. 11. *Sax.* c. 31. *Apud Jornal.*

Of Forfeitures incurred by the Law.

135. That which follows, being the twelfth, is remarkable for comprizing thoſe *Forfeitures* which the King challenges as due to himſelf in the Countries of the Weſt *Saxons*, except he pleaſe to confer them upon any other, *viz.* "The Penalty incurred for breach of the Peace, for breaking into an Houſe, ſtopping up a Paſſage, and forſaking ones Colours. If alſo for ſome Crime a man be Outlawed the reſtitution of him to his former condition belongs to the King. He alſo that poſſeſſeth Bocland, forfeits to the King, whoſoever elſe may be his Lord. And whoſoever relieves or harbours a Fugitive, except he can plead ignorance, ſhall pay to the King five Pounds. The thirteenth Law makes the ſame Challenge of all theſe Mulcts or Forfeitures in *Mercia*. The fourteenth makes the ſame Challenge in ſuch parts as are governed by the Law of the *Danes*, of Mulcts incurred for fighting, refuſing to goe out in the Militia, breaking the Peace, and violent entry of an Houſe, except he honour any man elſe, by granting theſe Royalties to him. The like is to be ſaid of ſuch an one as harbours or relieves one that is made incapable of the King's Peace. If any Judge have for hatred or lucre perverted Juſtice, by the Law of the *Engliſh* he is to pay to the King the value of his Head, and alſo to be removed from his place, or redeem it as the King ſhall pleaſe, except he plead that what he did was out of ignorance, and then he muſt confirm this Aſſertion by Oath. By the Law of the *Danes* he is to incur the Mulct of the breach of the Law, except he plead Ignorance. In caſe any oppoſe or refuſe to ſubmit to lawfull Judgment, let the Mulct be theirs that are concerned. If it belong to the King the Fine ſhall be an Hundred Shillings, if to the Earl Sixty Shillings, if to the Hundred thirty. By the *Engliſh* Law, if all be concerned, all are to be pay'd. But by the Law of the *Danes*, if any one make oppoſition to the juſt adminiſtration of the Law, he is to pay *Lahſlite*.

C. 12. *Sax.* c. 33. *Apud Jornal.*
C. 13. *Sax.*
C. 14. *Sax.* C. c. 33, 34, & 35. *Apud Jornal.*

136. This word *Lahſlite* is *Daniſh*, and firſt found in thoſe *Engliſh Daniſh* Laws. It ſignifies properly the *Tranſgreſſion* or *Breach of the Law*, but here ſecondarily, the *penalty incurred for that breach.* The Reader muſt take notice, that though the *Danes* mingled here with the *Engliſh*, yet both Nations preſerved their own common Laws and Cuſtoms. The *Engliſh* for as much as can be perceived, to every ſeveral ſort of offences aſſigned generally their ſeveral Mulcts, which they called *Gildwites.* But the *Danes* puniſhed ſeveral offences by one ſort of Animadverſion called *Lahſlite.* Therefore in theſe Laws often occurs, *Let the* Engliſh *man be puniſhed with Gildwite*, and *the* Daniſh *with Lahſlite.* But though this one puniſhment was common with them for ſeveral Offences, yet was it various in quantity according to the condition of the Party offending. As, *a man of liberal condition his Lahſlite was five Marks, His that poſſeſſed Bocland three Marks, that of a Ceorle or Countreyman twelve Ores.* Here we have what anſwers to the *Engliſh Twelfhind*, *Sexhind* and *Twihind* men. Some have imagined, that when *Lahſlite* is mentioned in general terms or *Wite* in reference to the *Engliſh*, the value of them is *twelve Ores*, becauſe of that Article in the League, renewed betwixt King *Edward* and *Guthrun*, which ordains, that if a Prieſt deny Baptiſm, where it is requiſite, he ſhall pay *Wite* with the *Engliſh*, or *Lahſlite* with the *Danes*, that is, ſaith the Text, *twelve Ores.* But this was the loweſt ſort of theſe Mulcts, neither can we imagine that the puniſhment for breach of all Laws was the ſame, or not fitted to the height of the Crime.

Ab Anglo Danorum lah, lex. *&* ꞅliꞇe *raptio; violationes adhuc dicimus* ſlit in two.

ᵹilꝺƿiꞇe miꝺ Enᵹlum ⁊ miꝺ ꝺenum lahꞅliꞇe.

Somner. in Gloſſar. ex TextuRoffenſi.

C.3.

137. The fifteenth Law of *Cnute* confirms that of King *Alfred*, “ Whereby is
“ ordained, that he that by defamation does another man damage in his Body
“ or Fortunes, and is convicted of falſhood by the proofs of the Party, have his
“ Tongue cut out, except he redeem it with the value of his Head. The ſixteenth
“ alſo, as other Laws before mentioned, will have no Complaints made to the
“ King, except relief cannot be had in the Hundred, at the Meeting whereof all
“ are to be preſent, or be amerced for their abſence. The ſeventeenth requires,
“ that the Burhgemote be held thrice a year, and the Sciregemote twice or oft-
“ ner, whereat the Biſhop and Alderman are to be preſent to thoſe purpoſes as has
“ been before ſaid. The eighteenth will have no man by taking away Pledges,
“ or diſtraining to doe right to himſelf againſt any man, except he have four times
“ dimanded it, and expected right to be done him in vain in the Hundred; then
“ he has liberty to get his own where he can. The nineteenth commands, that
“ every one of free condition put himſelf into ſome Hundred and Tithing as he
“ deſires, that being in a condition to purge himſelf he may alſo be in capacity to
“ claim from another the value of his Head. Otherwiſe none that exceeds twelve
“ years, in caſe he receive any wrong, ſhall be capable of enjoying the ſame Pri-
“ vilege with a Free man. Be he Maſter of a Family or a Reteiner, he muſt be
“ entred into ſome Hundred or other, and muſt have Fidejuſſours or Sureties for
“ his appearance in caſe he be accuſed of any Crime. Some great men, as they
“ can doe it, protect their Servants, giving out ſometimes, that they are Free, o-
“ ther times that they are Slaves, but we not induring any ſuch unjuſt practice, com-
“ mand, that every one of twelve years of Age give ſecurity by Oath, that he
“ will neither ſteal himſelf, nor be acceſſory to the Theft of any other. Thus doth
he revive what King *Alfred* had before cautioned, that no Freeman ſhould be without Society, without Law, or live at randome, without this moſt Efficacious Curb of Suretyſhip, by being thus received. And to what was before, adds this Caution of *twelve years*, beyond which for the publick Peace and ſecurity none were to live without being admitted and received into ſome Hundred and Tithing.

C.15.*Sax.c.*36. *Apud Jornal.*

C.16.*Sax.c.*37. *Apud Jornal.*

C.17.*Sax.c.*38. *Apud Jornal.*

C.18.*Sax.c.*39. *Apud Jornal.*

C.19. *Saxonic. c.* 140, 41. *Apud Jornal.*

ἀφρήτωρ, ἀθέμιστος, ἀνέστιος. *Ut apud Homerum ait Neſtor.*

138. The twentieth Law of King *Canute* “ ſo far indulges a man unblamea-
“ ble and of good repute, who never brake his Oath in the Hundred, nor was
“ caſt by the Ordeal, that his ſingle purgation be accepted. But a man of the
“ contrary reputation ſhall either be compelled to take his ſingle Oath in three
“ Hundreds, or a threefold one according to the cuſtome of that Court, or be
“ put to the Ordeal. But a ſingle Purgation is to be made with a threefold
“ preparatory Oath. A man of good eſteem may have ſome faithfull man in his
“ ſtead to be his Prejurour, or elſe he muſt doe it himſelf; for a preparatory
“ Oath is never to be omitted. The one and twentieth forbids any man to
“ have the privilege of vouchery, except by ſufficient Witneſs to prove from whom

C.20.*Sax.c.*42. & 43. *Apud Jornal.*

C.21.*Sax.c.*43. *Apud Jornal.*

“ he had the Goods that are found with him. The Witneſſes muſt affirm, as they love God and their Lords, that they have moſt religiouſly born teſtimony, and that both by their Eyes and Ears they are aſſured that he rightly came by the thing in queſtion. The twenty ſecond revives the Laws about buying without Witneſs, forbidding any thing to be bought above the value of four pence without the teſtimony of four Credible Witneſſes. In caſe any one buy any thing contrary to this Law, if any one challenge the thing ſo bought, the Buyer ſhall not have the benefit of Vouchery, but reſtore him the thing, with the juſt price of it, and a Mulct to whom of right it belongs. But if the thing was bought by legal Teſtimony, he ſhall have thrice allowed him the liberty of Vouchery, and the fourth time the thing is to be delivered to the Owner, except ſome other make uſe of his right in challenging it to be his. For neither doth it ſeem fitting to us that any one ſhould challenge a thing when there are Witneſſes to diſprove it, and conſequently he is convicted to be guilty of Fraud or Malice; neither that what was ſtole ſhould be recovered within a leſs time than ſix Months.

C.22. Sax.c.44. Apud Jornal.

139. The twenty third “ directs, that if a man of evil report abſent himſelf from the Publick Meetings thrice, at the fourth time ſome of that Court go thither, and if they can get no Sureties for his appearance, to apprehend him alive or dead, to ſeize on all he hath, and when the juſt pretenders have received the true value of what they lay claim to, then of that which is left the Lord ſhall have one half, and the Hundred the other. If any of the Court, of Kin or Stranger, refuſe to goe, he ſhall for that fine to the King in an hundred and twenty Shillings. Of thoſe that are taken in the manner of ſtealing, or betraying their Lords, their lives ſhall in no wiſe be ſpared. The twenty fourth forbids one Accuſation to be ſuperſeded by another, but as the Hundreders ſhall think fit, orders the firſt to proceed. The next forbids alſo the harbouring of a man above three days, except recommended by him he formerly ſerved: As alſo to remove his Servant from his Houſe till he have purged himſelf of what is laid to his Charge. That which follows denounceth, that if any one meet a Thief and permit him to paſs without diſcovering him, ſhall pay the utmoſt Farthing of the value of the man's head, be it as much as it will, or by a full and perfect Oath make it good that he knew nothing of his Theft. And if he cried out againſt him, and thoſe that heard him would not purſue the Robber, they ſhall be puniſhed as contumacious againſt the King, except they make void the ſuſpicion. The twenty ſeventh, In caſe a man be of evil report in the Hundred, and be accuſed by three ſeveral men, admits of no purgation but by threefold Ordeal. But if his Lord affirm that he hath neither broken his Oath, nor ſince the Council held at *Wincheſter* been caſt by the Ordeal, out of that Hundred the Lord ſhall take one or two men of Credit, and with them make Oath, that he neither hath broken his Faith formerly given, nor been condemned by the Ordeal, nor paid nothing for ſtealing; except ſome Reeve or Officer there be whoſe authority may have weight ſufficient to clear him without theſe Oaths. If they make their Oaths, the Accuſed ſhall be at choice whether he will be tryed by ſingle Ordeal, or make an Oath in three Hundreds, which in proportion ſhall anſwer to one Pound and thirty Pence. But in caſe they refuſe to ſwear he ſhall goe under the Examination of threefold Ordeal after this manner.

C.23. Sax.c.45. Apud Jornal. & 46.

C.24. Sax.c.47. Apud Jornal.

C.25. Sax.c.48. Apud Jornal.

C.26. Sax.c.49. & 50. Apud Jornal.

C.27. Sax.c.51. Apud Jornal.

The manner of Examination by threefold Ordeal.

140. “ The Accuſer muſt find five Perſons who ſhall be Prejurours, and he himſelf ſhall be the ſixth. As ſoon as the Accuſed is caſt, the firſt time he ſhall pay double damages to the Accuſer, and to his Lord, if he have ſhewn himſelf worthy of it, the full value of his own Head, and give Sureties that he will abſtain from all Crimes for the time to come. But in caſe he be caſt the ſecond time, he ſhall have no liberty of making any Compenſation, but his Hands, or Feet, or both, if the heinouſneſs of the offence require it, ſhall be cut off. But if after this he doth not leave off his former Courſes but ſtill commit more Villanies, then as they ſhall think fit that are concerned, either his Eyes ſhall be pull'd out, his Noſe cut off, his Ears or his Upper lip, or his Skin be drawn over his Ears for an Example, with a reſpect to the ſafety of his Soul. If he flie and eſcape the Judgment of Ordeal, his Sureties ſhall make full ſatisfaction to the Accuſer, and to the King or ſome other that deſerves it, the value of his Head. But if his Lord be accuſed for having been acceſſory to his eſcape after the Fact committed, with five men of credit he muſt purge himſelf, which if he doe, he ſhews himſelf to be worthy of the

“ value of his Servant's Head. If he doe not, the King ſhall have the value of
“ the Head, and the Thief ſhall by all men be taken as excluded from the benefit
“ of the Law.

141. “ The twenty eight will have every Maſter to be Fidejuſſour, or reſponſible C.28.*Sax.c.*52.
“ for the appearance of all his Family. And if any of his Servants be impeached, *Apud Jornal.*
“ he ſhall anſwer it in that Hundred where the other brings the Action.
“ In caſe any of them accuſed of a Crime run away, his Maſter ſhall pay the value
“ of his Head to the King. If the Maſter be accuſed as acceſſory to his flight,
“ he ſhall purge himſelf by five men of good repute. If he do not acquit
“ himſelf he ſhall pay to the King the value of his Head, and his Servant ſhall
“ be Outlaw'd. The twenty ninth enacts, that if a Bondman or Slave be by the C.29.*Sax.c.*53.
“ Ordeal condemned, he ſhall firſt be marked with an hot Iron, and if caſt the *Apud Jornal.*
“ ſecond time, be put to death. The thirtieth ordains, that if a man be of evil report C.30.*Sax.c.*54.
“ ſo as no man ſpeaks well of him, the Reeve (the *Sheriff* doubtleſs is *Apud Jornal.*
“ meant) ſhall take ſecurity for his appearance when he is called, which if he
“ doe not give, he ſhall be put to death and buried in a prophane place: And if
“ any one ſtand up in his defence, he ſhall incur the ſame puniſhment. And if
“ any Officer neglect or refuſe to put this in Execution, he ſhall by one univerſal
“ Sentence pay an hundred and twenty Shillings to the King. The thirty 31.
“ firſt wills the ſame manner of Purgation of Criminals be uſed in all Boroughs.
“ The next directs, that if a man be deſtitute of all Friends or be a Stranger ſo 32.
“ that he hath none to be bound for him, ſuch an one, if accuſed, ſhall be ſent
“ into Cuſtody to be examined by the Ordeal. That which follows ſentenceth 33.
“ ſuch as are convicted to have forſworn themſelves upon the Goſpels or *Sacra*,
“ to looſe their Hands, or to give half the value of their Heads to the Lord and
“ the Biſhop. The thirty fourth accounts it of ſmall moment, that one who has 34.
“ openly born falſe Witneſs have no Credit given to his Teſtimony for the
“ time to come; but orders, that he moreover pay to the King or the Lord
“ the Fine wont to be paid in the room of the Neck being tyed, called
“ *Healsfange*.

142. The twelve Laws that follow next in courſe reſpect Eccleſiaſtical Matters, C.47.*Sax.c.*75.
and therefore to ſuch we muſt refer them. “ The forty ſeventh requires, *Apud Jornal.*
“ that Adultery be puniſhed more or leſs as the Circumſtances be, affirming it
“ bad for a Married Man to lie with a Maid, much more with another Man's
“ Wife or one in Religion. The forty eight directs, that Inceſt be puniſhed either C.48.*Sax.c.*76.
“ with the value of the Head, with a Mulct, or the loſs of the whole Eſtate, *Apud Jornal.*
“ there being a difference betwixt abuſing ones own Siſter and another Kinſwoman
“ more remote. The next Chaſtizes him that Raviſhes a Widdow or a Virgin C.49.*Sax.c.*77.
“ with the payment of the value of his own Head. The fiftieth denounceth, *Apud Jornal.* C.50.*Sax.c.*58.
“ that if a Man's Wife be convicted to have lain with another Man, ſhe *Apud Jornal.*
“ ſhall for ever be noted as Infamous, and her Husband ſhall have all that belongs
“ to her; beſides ſhe ſhall looſe her Noſe and her Ears. But if ſhe be
“ onely accuſed of Whoredom, and in the Tryal be caſt, the Biſhop in ſuch caſe
“ is to be Judge, and commanded in his Judgment to be ſevere. As for Married C.51.*Sax.c.*79,
men the next Law enjoyneth, that “ if one lie with his own Maid Servant he & 80. *Apud*
“ forfeit her and make ſatisfaction both to God and Man: If beſides his Wife *Jornal.*
“ he keep a Concubine, the Prieſt ſhall deny him all Chriſtian Privileges till he
“ put her away, and as well by his forbearance for the future as in other things
“ according to the Biſhop's direction, he have made ample ſatisfaction. That
“ which follows baniſhes Strangers with all their Vices and Fortunes out of the C.52.*Sax.c.*81.
“ Land if they do not bridle their Luſts. By the fifty third, If a Man upon *Apud Jornal.* C.57.*Sax.c.*82.
“ premeditated malice kill another, he ſhall be delivered up to the kindred of the *Apud Jornal.*
“ ſlain. If he be onely accuſed of the Murther and be found guilty, the Biſhop
“ in that caſe ſhall be his Judge.

143. “ By virtue of the fifty fourth Law, whoſoever C. 54. *Sax. c.* 83. *Apud Jornal.*
“ Conſpires againſt the King, or his Lord ſhall forfeit Life
“ and Fortunes, except he purge himſelf by threefold Ordeal.
“ By order of the fifty fifth, He that breaks his C. 55. *Sax. c.* 84. *Apud Jornal.*
“ Faith given to the King ſhall forfeit five Pounds; if it
“ was to an Archbiſhop or great Nobleman three Pounds,
“ if to a Biſhop or Alderman two. If any fight in the C. 56. *Sax. c.* 85. *Apud Jornal.*
“ Court, by the next that follows, it's Capital except the
“ King will pardon it. The fifty ſeventh puniſhes him that C. 57. *Sax. c.* 86. *Apud Jornal.*
“ ſhall diſarm a man with that which they call *Healsfange*,

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“ *ſange*, if he binds him, with half the value of his Head.
“ The next reſtrains the violence of Souldiers, ordaining,
“ that if in an Expedition any break the Peace he ſhall either
“ forfeit his life or the value of it; and if he plunder
“ make ſufficient Compenſation. That which follows,
“ declares, that he that breaks into another man's Houſe,
“ according to the Law of the *Engliſh*, is to pay five Pounds to the King; if it
“ be done where the Law of the *Danes* obtaineth, he muſt be puniſhed according
“ to their Cuſtome. And if he be juſtly killed in the Attempt, nothing ſhall be
“ forfeited upon that account. The ſixth ordains, That if
“ one man rob another of any thing, he reſtore the thing
“ together with the value of it and pay the value of his
“ Head to the King. The ſixty firſt declares breaking
“ down and burning of Houſes open Theft, manifeſt Murthers
“ and betraying of one's Lord, according to humane
“ Laws, to be Crimes, for which there is no *bote* or ſatisfaction
“ to be made, by way of Mulct or Compenſation.
“ The next fines ſuch as ſhall deny to pay toward the Repairing
“ of Towns, or mending of Bridges, as ſhall refuſe
“ to go upon the Warlike Expedition, if he be an *Engliſh* men, an hundred and
“ twenty Shillings to the King; if he be a *Dane*, he is to make ſatisfaction according
“ to their Cuſtome; or fourteen men are to be named to him, out of which
“ number he may make his choice of eleven to purge himſelf.

C. 58. *Sax.* c. 87. *Apud Jornal.*

C. 59. *Sax.* c. 88. *Apud Jornal.*

C. 60. *Sax.* c. 89. *Apud Jornal.*

C. 61. *Sax.* Huꞅbꞃec. ⁊ bæꞃneꞇ ⁊ open ðýꝼþ. ⁊ æbeꞃemoꞃþ. ⁊ hlaꝼoꞃꝺꞅƿice. æꝼꞇeꞃ ƿoꞃulꝺ laᵹa iꞅ boꞇleaꞅ. c. 90. *Apud Jornal.*

C. 62. *Sax.* c. 91. *Apud Jornal.*

144. The ſixty third in like manner declares, that “all
“ ought to contribute to the repairing of the Churches.
“ The ſixty fourth denounces againſt ſuch as ſhall harbour
“ Excommunicated or Outlawed Perſons, that they ſhall
“ bring them forth to Juſtice, make ſatisfaction to thoſe that are concern'd and pay
“ the value of their Heads to the King. But in caſe they will keep and defend
“ them, loſs of Life and all their Fortunes. The next wills, that Mercy be ſhewn as
“ much as may be to ſuch as plainly and unfeignedly amend their ways. And by
“ that which follows, the King declares he will put a difference betwixt ſmall
“ and Great, Rich and Poor, Young and Old, Infirm and Healthfull, foraſmuch
“ as ſome men may offend out of a kind of neceſſity, and a diſtinction is to be
“ made betwixt a forced and a voluntary act. Therefore will he ſuccour where
“ there is moſt need of his Help. The ſixty ſeventh contains an Act of Grace
“ of the King to his Subjects, whereby he relieves ſuch as formerly were oppreſſed.
“ He enjoyns all his Officers, that they make proviſion for his Houſe out of
“ his own Lands and Tillage, and that they compell no man to furniſh him with
“ any Conveniencies in this kind, upon pein of paying the value of their Heads
“ if they impoſe any Mulcts upon Refuſers. The ſixty eighth ordains, that in
“ caſe any man by neglect or by the ſuddenneſs of his death depart this World
“ Inteſtate, his Lord ſhall take nothing of his Goods but what is due to him as an
“ Heriot. But all is to be diſtributed by his Judgment to the Wife, Children,
“ and next Kindred juſtly according to their ſeveral right. The ſixty ninth in order
“ ſettles the Rates of the Heriots, ordering that the Heriot of every one be according
“ to his Dignity. As firſt, that of an Earl eight Horſes, whereof four with
“ Furniture and four without, four Helmets, as many Corſlets, eight Spears, as
“ many Shields, four Swords, and two hundred Mancuſes of Gold. That of a
“ King's chief Thane four Horſes, whereof two with Furniture and two without,
“ two Swords, four Spears, and as many Shields, one Helmet, one Corſlet,
“ and fifty Mancuſes of Gold. The Heriot of an Inferiour Thane an Horſe with
“ Furniture and Arms, or amongſt the Weſt *Saxons* the ſum that is paid called
“ *Halſfange*, in *Mercia* and Eaſt *England* two Pounds; but amongſt the *Danes*
“ the Heriot of a King's Thane, who has free juriſdiction, is four Pounds. And
“ if he be nearer to the King his Heriot is two Horſes, whereof the one with Furniture
“ and the other without, a Sword, two Spears, as many Targets, and fifty
“ Mancuſes of Gold. But the Heriot of a Thane of the loweſt condition is two
“ Pounds.

C. 63. *Sax.* c. 92. *Apud Jornal.*

C. 64. *Saxonic.* c. c. 93, 94. *Apud Jornal.*

C. 65. *Sax.* c. 94. *Apud Jornal.*

C. 66. *Sax.* c. 95. *Apud Jornal.*

C. 67. *Sax.* c. 96. *Apud Jornal.*

C. 68. *Sax.* c. 97. *Apud Jornal.*

C. 69. *Sax.* c. 97. *Apud Jornal.*

145. This word *Heriot*, or as the true *Saxon* word is, *Heregeate*, ſignifies Furniture for War, given by the Vaſſal to his Lord, probably at firſt de-

Ab Heꞃe *exercitus* & ᵹeoꞇe *à Saxon* ᵹeoꞇan *fundere & Metaphoricè reddere vel erogare, unde Scoto Britannis Herezeld, q. d. Heregeld, g in z, (ut illis ſæpe) tranſeunte.*

ſigned for the driving away Thieves and Robbers, which abounded when the *Daniſh* or Northern Nations ſo frequently invaded the Land; for though the word *Here* do in the *Saxon* Language ſignifie an Army, yet is it in our *Saxon* Authours (when without compoſition) generally taken in the worſt ſenſe, for Invaders and Spoilers, a lawſull Army collected by the King for the Defence of the Nation, being called by the Name of *Fyrd*. Sir *Henry Spelman* fetches the Original of the thing from *Clodonee* King of the *Franks*, who having about the Year of Our Lord DXI. given the *Alamans* a very great overthrow, and deprived them of all Honour and Liberty, aſſigned them as Vaſſals, ſome to his Treaſury, and ſome to the Church, the former being termed *Servi Fiſcalini* and *Fiſcales*, and theſe *Servi Eccleſiaſtici*. He ordained, that when any Maſter of a Family Died, the Officer of the King, or Biſhop ſhould ſeize upon the beſt Horſe he had, or the Cloths of moſt value. Some are of opinion, that to this *Heriot* ſucceeded what was afterward called *Relief*; but that theſe were ſeveral is manifeſt in this, that ſometimes both an *Heriot* and *Relief* were paid from the ſame Lands, and an *Heriot* had place where an Heir did not ſucceed in the Patrimony, which *Relief* never had. Mr. *Lambard* thought that the *Normans* when they Conquered the Land, and ſpoiled the inhabitants of all their Arms and furniture for War, remitted the *Heriot*, and took Money in its ſtead. Moſt probable it is, that *Heriot* and *Relief* were different, and that Vaſſals in the *Engliſh Saxon* times contributed thoſe Habiliments of War to their Lords, towards the Expulſion of thoſe Northern Thieves and Invaders, as we ſaid. Their Land they held on that condition with that burthen and ſervice, and therefore they held them as Feudataries. *Heriots* were in uſe in the Infancy of *Fees*, when *Fees* were held in a more general and Law ſenſe, as we have already demonſtrated. *Relief* ſucceeded when they were grown up to more regulation and certainty, clothed with new circumſtances, of Succeſſion, and the like. The giving of Horſes and Arms by Vaſſals to their Lord, was a thing alſo practiſed by the *Germans* and *Italians*.

Fyrð.

In voc. Hereotum.

Temp. Conradi primi vide Sigonium de Reg. Italiæ. lib. 8.

146. To make an end of King *Cnute* his Laws, The ſeventieth “ Confirms “ to a Woman and her Children the Seat and Habitation which her Huſ- “ band enjoyed. But if there were any Suits commenced againſt the Man “ when living, his Heir muſt anſwer them. The ſeventy firſt Requires Wi- “ dows to continue in Widowhood twelve months, and then permits them “ to Marry. If a Woman Marry before her twelve months be out, ſhe is “ to looſe her Dower, with all that her Husband left her, which is to come, “ in ſuch caſe, to the next akin; and he that Marries her ſhall pay the value “ of his Head to the King, or whomſoever he aſſigns it. Nay, although ſhe “ was taken by force ſhe ſhall looſe all ſhe had, except ſhe depart and return “ no more to this Husband. Widows are not ſuddenly to enter into Religion; “ Widows ſhall not be compelled to pay their *Heriots* till twelve months be “ over, eſpecially if not able to pay before. A Woman, by the ſeventy ſecond “ Law, is not to be compelled to Marry againſt her will, nor ſold, except “ the Man voluntarily will give ſomething. The next confirms what had been “ formerly enacted, Concerning a Man's leaving his Weapon at another Man's “ Door, and another's making ill uſe of it. That which follows in like manner “ confirms what was Law before, Concerning a Woman's not being ac- “ ceſſory to the Theft of her Husband. Firſt, If a Man be convicted to have “ brought ſtoln Goods into his Houſe, it's the ſame thing as if he ſtole them; “ but his Wife ſhall not be accounted guilty of Theft, except ſhe kept it un- “ der Lock and Key. Now the Wife ought to keep the Keys of theſe things, “ *viz.* of the Store-houſe, of the Cheſt of Cloths, and her Coffer; in any of “ which if ſhe lock up any thing, ſhe is to be accounted guilty of Theft. “ Otherwiſe the Wife cannot hinder her Husband from bringing any thing into “ his Houſe. It was the cuſtome (ſuch is the avarice of Men) for the Child “ which lay in the Cradle, and never yet had eaten Meat, yea though it was “ aſleep, to be accounted as guilty of this Crime as if it had had underſtanding. *But I* (ſaith the King) *abſolutely forbid that, with ſome other things that are odious to God Almighty.* Here Mr. *Selden* demandeth if from any other Fountain than this can be derived what *Henry de Bracton* and other *Engliſh* Lawyers deliver, concerning a Man's Wife being acceſſory to his Theft.

C. 70. *Sax.* *c.* 98. *apud Jornal.*

C. 71. *Sax.* *c.* 99. *apud. Jornal.*

C. 72. *Sax.* *c.* 101. *apud Jornal.*

C. 73. *Sax.* *c.* 102. *apud Jornal.*

C. 74. *Sax.* *c.* 103. *apud Jornal.*

In Jan. Anglorum.

147. The ſeventy fifth Law “ Deprives him of Life and Eſtate, who either “ in an Expedition by Land or Sea deſerts his Lord, or his Fellow Souldier: “ and in ſuch caſe the Lord is to have back the Land he gave him; or if it

C. 75. *Sax.* *c.* 104. *apud Jornal.* &105.

“ was *Bocland* it goes to the King. But in caſe any one dye in a Fight in the “ preſence of his Lord, either at home or abroad, his *Heriot* ſhall be remitted, “ and his Children ſhall ſucceed both to his Goods and Lands, and rightly di-“ vide them. The ſeventy ſixth Gives him liberty that hath defended his Land, “ and cleared it from all doubts and incumbrances in the Sciregemote or Coun-“ ty Court, to poſſeſs it quietly while he lives, and to leave it to whom he “ pleaſeth when he dies. The ſeventy ſeventh Gives liberty to every Man to “ Hunt in his own Grounds, but forbids all under penalty to meddle with the “ King's Game, eſpecially in thoſe places which he had Fenced by privilege. By thoſe places thus privileged, he means thoſe which afterwards the *Normans* called (*a*) Foreſts, being Ground deſart and woody, moſt commonly expoſed to the King's Wild Beaſts or Deer, not fenced about with any Hedge or Wall, but circumſcribed and privileged, as here he words it, Fenced with certain Bounds, Laws, Immunities, Magiſtrates, Judges, Officers and Servants. Concerning theſe Foreſts, he publiſhed Conſtitutions thirty four in (*b*) Number, which becauſe he mentions them not in this nor in any other of his Laws, ſeem to have been made afterwards. But the thirtieth Article is almoſt the very ſame with this Law, forbidding all to meddle with his Game, but permitting them to Hunt in their own Grounds, (*c*) *yet without Chaſe*. Afterwards the *Norman* Kings made ſtrange improvement of what he began, turning many Towns and Churches into Denns of Wild Beaſts, with what ſucceſs it's neither pleaſing nor ſeaſonable for us here to relate. The ſeventy eighth Law “ requires, that *Drinclean* and other Offices of Service “ due to Lords, be inviolably obſerved. Mr. *Lambard* interprets this *Drinclean*, *Honorary Gifts of Drink*. It ſeems the ſame with *Scotale*, which was Ale wherewith Fellow-Vaſſals joyning together were wont to entertain their Lords or their Stewards when they came to their Manors. The ſeventy ninth Law revives the Law before, which will have “ All enjoy perfect peace, and be free from all moleſtation which go to, or “ return from Gemotes or Publick Meetings; as now they that are Members “ of Parliament. The eightieth and laſt, in Confirmation of all theſe Laws “ made by the King to be obſerved by all his Subjects, upon any that ſhall “ break them, for the firſt offence impoſeth the value of his own head whe-“ ther he be *Engliſh* or *Dane*; for the ſecond offence it doubles the puniſh-“ ment; and for the third, deprives him of all his Fortunes. The King cloſeth all with a very Religious Exhortation to Piety, and a Prayer.

C. 76. *Sax.* c. 106. *apud Jornal.*

C. 77. *Sax.* c. 106.

C. 78. *Sax.* c. 109. *apud Jornal.*

Drinclean à Sax. ꝺꞃinc *&* lean *ſtipendium, tributum, unde noſtratium* Loane.

Scotale *à Sax.* ꞅcoꞇ (*potius* ꞅceaꞇ) *ſymbolum &* ale *cereviſia.*

C. 79. *Sax.*

C. 80. *Sax.* c. 110. *apud Jornal.*

148. There are onely now remaining the Laws of King *Edward* the Conſeſſour. Theſe we have not publiſhed in the *Saxon* Tongue, nor as he ſet them forth, but as they were afterwards confirmed by *William* the Conquerour, and as Tranſcribed by one who had lived in the Days of *Henry* the Second, or after, who has interlaced them with things very much, ſometimes Foreign to the purpoſe, and with tales of King *Arthur*, and other matters. At beſt they are a Rhapſody of things, rather telling and explaining things what they anciently were, than expreſſed in Legiſlative manner; but of ſuch of them as make for our purpoſe, (as ſeveral of them do) and give us light in the Diſcovery of the ancient Polity or frame of Government of our *Engliſh Saxon* Anceſtours, if we have not already made uſe of them, we ſhall give the Reader an Account. To paſs thoſe which are merely of Eccleſiaſtical Concernment. The eleventh Law or Article tells us what was the Original of *Danegeld*, declaring that *The payment of it was appointed for Pirates, which infeſting the Countrey, waſted it to their utmoſt power. Now for repreſſing their Inſolence,* Danegeld *was appointed to be yearly paid,* viz. *twelve pence out of every Hide of Land throughout the Kingdom, to hire thoſe that ſhould reſiſt the Irruption of Pirates.* Here the Reader is to remember what we ſaid before concerning King *Ethelred*'s raiſing of this Money called *Danegeld*, that two ſorts of Payments are called by that Name, *viz.* that which upon occaſion was raiſed to give the *Danes* wherewith to buy off their Hoſtilities now and then as the caſe required, and that other which was impoſed for procuring *Daniſh* Ships and Men to reſtrain the

11. *De Danegeldo, Danegeldum redditio propter pyratas primitus ſtatuta eſt, &c.*

Danegeld laid upon Hides.

(*a*) *A Latin. foris, hinc exteris Foreſtiere pro peregrino, Saltus autem hujuſmodi Saxonibus noſtris & Danis dicebantur* Buc Holꞇ, *i. e. Saltus Cervinus*; *aliter* ꞇeneꝼalꝺ *vel* ꝺeoꞃꝼalꝺ, *q. d. ferarum ſtabulum.*

(*b*) *Vide eas ſi placet apud Spelman. in Gloſſar. voc. Foreſta.*

(*c*) *Sine Chacea tamen quid hoc ſibi velit venatores viderint.*

the Irruptions and Inſolencies of the Northern Rovers, the former (as we ſaid was upon occaſion, but this was Annual. As for the payment of the latter, the Cuſtome was, according to the Laws of that Age, that the Richer ſort ſhould be taxed according to the number of Hides, as is evident from *Doomſday* Book, written in the time of King *William* the firſt. Now as to the Rate, *Marianus Scotus*, *Hoveden*, and *Florentius Wigornienſis*, all tell us that at that time whoſoever poſſeſſed three hundred and ten *Caſſatas* or *Hides* of Land, was charged with the building of one Ship, and a Coat of Armour and an Helmet was impoſed upon nine, or as *Huntingdon* and others upon eight; all being rated proportionably after this manner, who were owners of more or fewer Hides, or of part of an Hide. *Huntingdon* ſaith an *Hide* was ſo much Land as could be Tilled with one Plough in one year. But others of the quantity of *Hides* determine otherwiſe. And indeed it was various according to the different Cuſtoms of ſeveral Countries.

149. Some there are who write, that two Shillings were yearly laid upon every *Hide* of Land for ſuppreſſion of thoſe Pirates, ſo that they make the payment double to what is ſaid by this Law aſcribed to King *Edward*. But as they differ herein without any reaſon; ſo do they with as little diſcretion ſet the yearly Tax at the rate of thirty eight thouſand Pounds; as others do at thirty thouſand. For at what Rate ſoever that Tribute was paid to the King according to the alteration of times, it appears for certain from our ſeveral Hiſtories that the Stipends uſually allowed to the *Daniſh* Fleet were ſo uncertain, that they were ſometimes higher, ſometimes lower, as it could ſcarcely otherwiſe happen, according to the number of Ships and Forces, that were neceſſary for defence of the Realm. This payment being higher or lower as occaſion ſerved, was to be ſure paid till the year MLI, or the tenth of this King *Edward the Confeſſour*. "But then "as *Ingulphus* himſelf tells us, in regard that the Earth did not bring forth its "fruits in ſuch plenty as it was wont, but devoured many People by Famine, "thouſands dying through ſcarcity of Corn and want of Bread, the Pious King "being moved with Compaſſion towards the People, releaſed that moſt grievous "Tribute called *Danegeld* to all *England* for ever. It is reported (ſaith he) by "ſome, that this moſt Religious King being brought by his Officers into the Treaſury to ſee the *Danegeld* that was collected, and to take a view of ſo vaſt an "heap of Treaſure, ſtood amazed at the firſt ſight, proteſting that he beheld the "Devil dancing upon the heap of Money, and extremely rejoycing, whereupon he immediately commanded it ſhould be reſtored to its former Owners, "and would not keep any of ſo cruel an Exaction, but remitted it for ever, "*viz.* In the thirty eighth year after *Swane* King of *Denmark* commanded it to be "paid every year to his Navy, in the time of his Father *Ethelred*. So *Ingulphus*, with whom agree both *Hoveden* and *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter*, that King *Edward* remitted it for ever. Yet whatever this good King might reſolve or order, the Dialogue belonging to the Exchequer makes it to have been paid for fourteen years longer, till the time of the Conquerour; nay, during his Reign, and the Reigns of his Succeſſours, when they either had or ſuſpected a War with Foreigners. From *Hoveden* it appears, as well as from the Interpolatour of St. *Edward*'s Laws, that it was paid to *William Rufus* and King *Stephen*, and from the Accompts of the Exchequer, ſometimes to *Henry* the ſecond, after which it grew out of date, other Courſes being taken to ſcower the Seas and defend the Kingdom, of which we are not here to take notice.

Dialogus Scaccarii M. S. Item Math. Weſtm. & Math. Paris. Vide Seldenum in Mari Clauſo, lib. 2. c. 11.

150. The twelfth Article of St. *Edward*'s Laws declares, That *the Peace of the King is manyfold. As ſometimes it's given by his own hand, which the* Engliſh *call* Cẏninᵹeꞅ honꝺe ꞅealꝺe ᵹꞃẏþ. This was given to places and Perſons by way of Privilege as to Churches or Churchmen within their own Walls, as appears by the League betwixt King *Edward* and *Guthrun* the *Dane*, in which it is termed Cẏninᵹeꞅ hanꝺ ᵹꞃiþ. *Another ſort of Peace is on that day he is Crowned, which laſts eight* Art. 1.
days. That at Chriſtmas, *which holds alſo eight days, as alſo at the Feaſts of* Eaſter *and* Whitſontide. *Another ſort is given by his Brief or Letters. And another there is belonging to the four great High-ways*, viz. *Watlingſtreet, Foſs, Hickenildſtreet, and Ermingſtreet, whereof two are extended to the length, and two to the bredth of the Kingdom. Another yet there is of the Rivers of note, which convey Proviſions to Cities or Towns.* Then doth this Writer declare the Forfeitures incurred for breach of theſe ſeveral ſorts of the King's Peace, as to which we refer the Reader to the Laws and Cuſtoms already mentioned, as well as to what he here writes thereof; onely here mentioning this, that the Breach of the King's Peace in thoſe great High-ways and Rivers was puniſhable in the greater Aſſemblies or

Sect. 12. Courts of Judicature, but that in the leſſer Ways and Waters was ſubject to the Law of the County. The fourteenth declares, That *Treaſure found in the Earth is the King's, except found in a Church or Church-yard; in this caſe if it be Gold it's all the Kings; if Silver one half goes to him and another to the Church.* 14.

151. The fifteenth treateth of *Murther*, and declares, That *if any one was murthered, the Murtherer was wont to be enquired for in the Village or Town where the Body was found. If he was diſcover'd, he was delivered up to the King's Juſtice within eight days after the Fact committed. In caſe he could not be found, a Month and a day was allowed for ſearch after him, within which term, if he could not be found, forty ſix Marks were gathered out of the Town, and if it was not able to pay ſo much, what it could not the Hundred was liable to. But foraſmuch as this payment could not be made in the Towns, and Inconveniencies aroſe, the Barons took care that ſix and forty Marks ſhould be paid out of the Hundred, and being ſealed up with the Seal of ſome one Baron of the County, they were ſent to the Treaſurer, and by him kept ſo ſealed up for a Year and a Day, within which time if the Murtherer was found out, upon his delivery to the King's Juſtice they were to be repayed; but in caſe within that time he could not be diſcovered, then were the Kindred of the Murthered Party to have ſix of the Marks, and the King the other forty. If he had no Kindred his Lord was to receive it; and if no Lord his ſworn and devoted Friend and Companion. If none of theſe there were, the King ſhould have the whole Sum, all men living under his Peace and Protection.* 15. Now the ſixteenth Article tells us, 16. that *Murthers were found out and appointed* (that is this way of diſcovery and puniſhing the Hundred if the Party could not be found) *in the days of* Cnute *the* Daniſh *King, who after he had gotten* England *and ſetled it in Peace, at the requeſt of the* Engliſh *Barons ſent back his Army into* Denmark. *Theſe Barons became Sureties to the King, that all that ſtaid behind with him ſhould in all things enjoy perfect Peace. But in caſe an* Engliſhman *killed any of them, if he could not clear himſelf by the Judgment of God, that is, by Water or Iron* (meaning Ordeal) *Juſtice was to be executed upon him, And in caſe he eſcaped, Payment was to be made as is aforeſaid.*

152. That which made King *Canute* thus fearfull and cautious, was the memory of the Maſſacre committed upon the *Danes*, during the Reign, and by the Command of King *Ethelred*. The ſenſe of this made him keep an Army on foot along time, which ſorely oppreſſing the People gave occaſion to the Requeſt of the Nobility, (the *Norman* Interpolatour calls them Barons) and to the making of this Law. And when the *Normans* had conquered the Countrey, they Conſcious to themſelves that from their uſage of the Natives, they could expect no better entertainment than what the *Danes* had received, made uſe of it for their own ſafety. If a *Norman* was found ſlain, his death was more grievouſly by far puniſhed than that of an *Engliſhman*; the onely mitigation of it was if the *Engleſcheria* of him that was killed could be made out, that is, that he was an *Engliſhman*, and neither *Dane* nor *Norman*, nor any Stranger. Hence came this word *Engleſceria*, *Englecheria*, or *Engleceria* to be uſed as the name of this Law. For, as *Bracton* writes, when any one was killed it was preſumed he was a *Frenchman*, *Niſi Englecheria*, i.e. *quod Anglicus ſit probetur per parentes & coram Juſtitiaris præſentetur*, *Except his Englecheria, that is, that he was an* Engliſhman *could be proved by his Relations and preſented before the Juſtices.* But this Law was abrogated by the Statute of the Fourteenth of *Edward* the Third as *Stanford* writes, who delivers alſo that this *Englecheria* was an Inſtitution of the Common Law, whereby you may take notice, ſaith Sir *Henry Spelman*, that our Modern Lawyers attribute that to the Common Law, whereof they can find neither beginning in their Annals nor in their Book of Statutes. But according to this Hiſtory, and the Original of it, well enough doth *Bracton* define *Murther* to be *the killing of a Man privately, none either being preſent, knowing, hearing, or ſeeing.* But *Fleta* ſeems beſide the matter, ſaying, that it was not *Murther* except it was proved that the Party ſlain was *Engliſh* and no Stranger, as Dr. *Cowell* underſtands him, who rightly obſerves, that at this day *Murther* is otherwiſe to be defined, *viz.* by *prepenſed malice, whether ſecretly or openly, be the man what he will.*

Fictitium Subſtantivum à Saxonic. Enᵹliꞅc. *Anglicus. Quaſi Anglietas vel nativitas Anglica.*

Vide Bracton. L. 3. Tract. 1. c. 15.

Pl. Cor. l. 1. c. 2.

Ex quo animadvertas hodiernos Juriſconſultos id legi Communi tribuere, cujus initium nec in Annalibus ſuis nec in Statutorum Volumine deprehenderint. In Gloſſar. voc. Englecheria.

133. The

153. The ſeventeenth Article concerning the *Duty of the King, and the Right*
and Appendices of the Kingdom of Britain, *as alſo the Epiſtle of* Eleutherius *to*
Lucius *King of* Britain, ſavour ſo much of the Interpolatour, that to him we leave 17.
them. The eighteenth *Declares the King's Power by virtue of his Royal Dignity,* 18.
to pardon loſs of Life and Member, yet ſo as the Maleſactour make ſatisfaction to
ſuch as he hath injured, according to his power, and find ſureties for his good be-
haviour, which if he doe not, he is to be baniſhed. The nineteenth in like manner, 19.
Declares his Royal Prerogative to be ſuch, that he may ſet at liberty a Captive or
Priſoner, whereever he comes in any City, Borough, Caſtle or Village, or if he meet
him in the way, by his mere Word or Command. Yet ſhall he that is ſo ſet at li-
berty, make ſatisfaction to the injured Party. But a Murtherer, Traytour, or one
Guilty of like Crimes, although the King pardon him as to Life and Member, accor-
ding to the Law, ſhall in no wiſe ſtay in the Countrey, but ſhall ſwear that he will
depart to the Sea Coaſt within a Term ſet him by the Juſtice, and paſs over as ſoon
as he can get the opportunity of a Ship and Wind. And in caſe any ſuch be perjured
and ſtay in the Land, any one as he meets them, may doe Juſtice upon them. And
if any one entertain ſuch a Maleſactour for one ſingle night, he ſhall be fined in the
higheſt degree, according to the Laws of the Engliſh *or* Danes; *for the ſecond*
night he ſhall pay double, and for the third be puniſhed as an Aſſociate and Abet-
tour of Maleſactours. If ſuch leave any Wives behind them, which by the Kindred
of the murthered Party, are accuſed as conſcious to, and partakers with their Huſ-
bands in the Crimes committed, they ſhall by Ordeal purge themſelves, by which if
they make their Innocence appear, they ſhall continue free with their Dowers and E-
moluments they have by Marriage. As for their Children born or begotten, before
the Commiſſion of the Fact, they ſhall neither be Outlawed, nor looſe their Inheri-
tance.

154. The twenty ſeventh Article, *gives leave to harbour a Stranger or Foreigner,* 27.
whom in Engliſh *they termed* Cuþ ⁊ uncuþ. *that is, known or unknown, as a Gueſt*
for two nights together: If within this ſpace he tranſgreſs, he that harbour'd him
ſhall not be anſwerable for him. But if any one be injured, and complaint is made,
that it was by the Counſel and Advice of him that lodged him, he ſhall with two of
his honeſt Neighbours by Oath purge himſelf as to the Advice and Fact, or other-
wiſe make ſatisfaction. But in caſe any one lodge a Stranger three nights, and he
commit any offence, he ſhall be anſwerable for him, as for one of his own Family, accor- ꞇƿanıᵹhꞇ
ding to the Engliſh *ſaying; two nights a Gueſt, and the third night one of the Houſe.* ᵹeꞅꞇ þꞃıꞅ
If he cannot produce the Maleſactour, he ſhall have allowed him a month and a day to nıᵹhꞇ aᵹen
doe it, within which time, if the Maleſactour be taken he ſhall make ſatisfaction if hıne;
he can, and with corporal puniſhment, if it be ſo adjudged. If he cannot find him
within that time, he ſhall make compenſation for the loſs ſuſtained, and undergoe the
forfeiture, and if the Juſtice have him ſuſpected, ſhall purge himſelf by the Tryal of
the Hundred or Shire. The twenty eighth, *wills that if any one bring any Cattel or* 28.
Money into a Town, and ſay he found them, before he bring them to his own or any
other man's Houſe, he carry them to the Church, and before the Prieſt, the chief Of-
ficer of the Town, and the better ſort of Men declare all he found, whatever it be.
Then ſhall the Officer of the Town ſend to the four next Towns adjoyning, for the
Prieſts and the Officers, who ſhall bring with them three or four of the Inhabitants of
the beſt note of each Town, before whom all that is found ſhall be produced and ſhewn.
They being Witneſſes, the Officer of the Town where the finder dwells, ſhall keep the
thing by him till the morrow, and then goe to the Governour of that Hundred, of
which his Town is a Member, and to him he ſhall ſhew all. If it was found in the
Ground belonging to a Lord who hath not his Cuſtomes or Privileges, viz. Sake *and*
Soke, *the Finder ſhall deliver all up to the Governour of the Hundred if he will*
receive it, with good witneſs. But if the Lord have ſuch Privileges, he ſhall be an-
ſwerable to him in his Court.

155. The twenty ninth Article, *will have all Men know, that all Jews, where-* 29.
ſoever they are in the Kingdom, ought to be under the King's Liege Protection, and
Safeguard, neither without his Licence can any of them put themſelves under any Rich
Man. For the Jews and all theirs are the Kings. And in caſe any one detain them
or their money, the King ſhall make enquiry if he pleaſe of his own. The thirti- 30.
eth; *gives warning to ſuch as have the King's Peace, either by his Hand or his Let-*
ters, that they be faithfull to him; as alſo that they muſt neceſſarily obſerve, and
keep it inviolably towards all others, neither becauſe of this Protection, detain other
Mens Rights, whether of their Lords or Neighbours; foraſmuch as he is not worthy
of this Peace, that will not himſelf ſtrictly obſerve it. In caſe out of too much con-

Sect. 12.

fidence therein, he proudly injure any man, he ſhall make double compenſation for the loſs which the Engliſh *call* Aꞅꞇꞃıhılꞇheꞇ. The thirty firſt requires, *that the King's Peace, granted by his own Hand, that of the eight days of his Coronation, of the Feaſts lately mentioned, and the others granted by his Breve or Letters, if broken, have the ſame way of puniſhment or forfeiture, and that by the greateſt way of tryal, had in the County where it was broken; as thus. In* Danelaga, *or after the Law of the* Danes; *by eighteen hundreds, which number makes up ſeven times twenty pounds and four: becauſe the* Danes *had the forfeiture of the hundred; thoſe of* Norway *had eight pounds, Therefore eight being multiplied by eighteen, make up an hundred and fourty four. And this was not done without cauſe: For of theſe eight pounds, the King had an hundred Shillings, and the Conſul* (Earl he means) *of the County fifty, he having the third penny of forfeitures: But the Dean of the Biſhop in whoſe Deanry the Peace was broken, the other ten remaining, the Peace of the King,* viz. *granted with his own Hand, that of his Coronation, and the Feaſts abovesaid of* Chriſtmas, Eaſter *and* Whitſontide.

C. 31. *De Emendatione Pacis.*

156. The thirty ſixth Article directs that, *if after a Man be ſlain as a Thief or Robber, any complaint be made to the Juſtice, that the man was wrongfully put to death, and lyes buried amongſt Thieves, and ſuch like Malefactours, and offers to make it good, that he firſt give ſecurity for ſo doing.* "Then ſhall a month and "a day be allowed him to bring together the Kindred of the dead man, of both "ſorts, twelve by his Fathers ſide, and ſix by his Mothers. In caſe theſe eighteen will take the matter upon them, together with him who firſt complained "and hath given ſecurity, let every one of them give alſo ſecurity with a Sword, "and afterward find ſureties, who ſhall be able to pay his *Were*, in caſe they "cannot make good what they have undertaken. Then muſt he that killed the "man give ſecurity, and find ſureties to ingage that he was juſtly ſlain, and as "a Thief juſtly lyes, according to the Law amongſt ſuch Malefactours. And "firſt, he muſt ſhew in what Theſt or Robbery, and how he was ſlain. If it "appear that he was taken alive, let him name the Juſtice and Judge, and produce his lawfull Witneſſes out of the Neighbourhood, which Perſons, if they "warrantize that Juſtice was rightly done upon the man as a Thief, he that killed him ſhall be acquitted: and thoſe that made their complaint ſhall forfeit "their ingagement as to the Judges and Witneſſes. But if they make it out "that he was unjuſtly ſlain, he that killed him ſhall forfeit his obligation to the "Juſtice of the Biſhop, and find ſureties for doing what is right: then ſhall the "Juſtice of the Biſhop (his Officer he means) cauſe a Proceſſion to be made "with a Prieſt, habited in an Albe Maniple, and Stole, and Clerks in their Surplices, with Holy-water and a Croſs, the Candleſticks and Incenſe-pot, with "Fire and Incenſe going before, and the Friends of the dead having taken his "Body up, ſhall put it on a Biere, and carry it to the Church, where Maſs being "ſaid for him, and other Rites performed, they ſhall Inter him as becomes a "Chriſtian. Then within ſixteen days, ſhall he that killed him pay to the Biſhop "three forfeits. One for killing an honeſt Man inſtead of a Thief, another becauſe he Buried his (Chriſtian) * Brother as a Thief; and the third, becauſe "he gave ſecurity to acquit himſelf but could not.

C. 36. *De latronibus.*

* *Quod Angli dicunt* hıꞅ emne Cꞃıꞅꞇen⁊

157. The thirty ſeventh Article or Chapter, tells us that King *Edward* defended or *prohibited Uſurers, forbidding them to remain in any part of his Kingdom. And if any was convicted to have exacted Uſury, he was to forfeit all his Eſtate, and be outlaw'd.* And you muſt know that he heard it ſaid in the Court of the *French* King, while he there ſojourned, *that Uſury was the root of all Vices.* The next Article acquaints us, that in the ſame Law alſo was *prohibited the buying of quick Cattel, or uſed Cloth without ſureties or good witneſſes. If it was a thing of Gold or Silver, or ſeemed ſuch to be, it ſhould not be bought without the teſtimony of Goldſmiths or Minters, who if they ſaw it belonged to the Church or Treaſury, ſhould take care it were not done without ſecurity. In caſe the ſeller could find no ſureties, the thing with what belonged to it, ſhould be kept till his Lord came or ſome other that would warrantize him. If any one bought any thing without theſe circumſtances, he ſhould forfeit it, and otherwiſe be puniſhed. Afterward the Juſtice was to enquire by the lawfull men and thoſe of beſt account in the Town, Village, or Hundred where the buyer dwelt, of what manner of life he was, and whether ever he was charged with any other miſdemeanour. If it was affirmed that he was a Man of good repute,*

C. 37. *De Uſurariis, Uſurarios quoq; defendit Rex Edwardus. Normanus hic ſcriptor utitur voce defendit ut hodierni Franci pro vetare, prohibere. Noſtrates etiam aliquibus in locis adhuc dicunt,* God defend, *pro Deus vetet,* God forbid.

C. 38. *De emptionibus ſive fidejuſſoribus, quod Anglicè dicitur faſteımannes.*

repute, he ſhould purge himſelf by the Judgment or Sentence of the County, that he knew not the ſeller to be guilty as to the ſale, neither of any other crime, and if he could, ſhould tell who, and where he was: whereupon the Juſtice ſhould enquire after him to bring him to Tryal; and if he could not be found he ſhould be outlaw'd. Now the thirty ninth and laſt, farther acquaints us, that whereas it is *ſaid that no man ſhould buy any quick Cattel without ſureties*; The Butchers of the Cities and Towns, whom the *Engliſh* called *Fleſhmongers*, made complaint that they every day ought to buy ſuch Cattel, to kill and ſell them; foraſmuch as in the death of Cattel, their life conſiſted. Moreover, the Citizens, Townſmen, and the multitude, cryed out for their Cuſtoms, that about *Martinmas*, they were wont to buy Cattel in the Market, to kill againſt *Chriſtmas*. Great murmuring was there amongſt the People, by reaſon of this Law. Wherefore I am of opinion, ſaith our Writer, that as in other Aſſemblies, if the queſtion had been put *yea* or *nay*, they would have anſwered the latter, and if you had been preſent, you ſhould have heard private murmurings, as well as clamours and noiſe of the tumultuous People. Therefore the King thought fit not to take away from them theſe Cuſtoms that were juſt and prudent; witneſſes and conſideration of the ſellers, being of force in bargaining in the King's Market.

C. 39. *De Emptoribus & Machecariis.*

158. Theſe are they which bear the Name of the Laws of King *Edward the Confeſſour*, together with ſuch as we formerly mentioned in deſcribing the Polity of our *Engliſh Saxons*. But ſuch as (what we hinted before) are rather to be called Rhapſodies than Laws, being Notes or Comments made upon his Laws by ſome *Sciolus*, ſome pretender in the time of the *Norman* Kings. So that when the Reader hears the Laws of St. *Edward* ſo much talked of, ſo much contended for, both by word and ſword, after the Conqueſt, he muſt not underſtand theſe to have been the Laws, which are onely ſome ſcraps taken up and commented on in this manner. For indeed theſe Laws were ſaid to be the Laws of the Confeſſour after the *Norman* Revolution, not becauſe he made or exacted, but obſerved them, as the Monk of *Malmesbury* tells us. One of thoſe that King *Canute* enacted, or rather revived with ſome other circumſtance, being in ſubſtance formerly ordained by King *Alfred*, commanding *every one above twelve years old, to be entred into ſome Century and Tithing*, *Bracton* aſcribes to this King, writing that this was enjoyned by the Law of *Edward the Confeſſour.* So this Interpolatour or Noter himſelf tells you, that thoſe Laws of St. *Edward* ſo much deſired, and at length obtained from the Conquerour, were invented and conſtituted in the time of King *Edgar*, his Grandfather; but after his death they were laid aſide for ſixty eight years, during the Reigns of the ſucceeding Princes. But after that King *Edward* came to the Crown by the Counſel of his Barons, he revived, repaired, adorned and confirmed this Law, and being confirmed, it was called the Law of King *Edward*, not that he firſt invented it, but when it had been laid aſide and quite forgot, from the time of his Grandfather *Edgar*; for the ſaid ſpace of ſixty eight years, becauſe it was juſt and honeſt, he drew it out of the deep pit of oblivion, renewed and delivered it to be obſerved as his own. By theſe and other circumſtances, we may gather that the whole Body of theſe Laws we have recited, or all ſuch of them as were approved by this King *Edward*, who was a Prince of great mildneſs and indulgence to his People, ſuch written Laws as were in force in his time, and ſuch Cuſtoms as had been all along obſerved in the *Saxon* times, and ſtill were kept on foot in his days, were after the *Norman* Conqueſt, when the People ſo earneſtly contended for their Liberties, called by the Name of the Laws of St. *Edward*, thereby being indeed meant the *Engliſh Saxon Laws*, which received denomination from him, being in effect the laſt King of that Race, and one whoſe memory the People reverenced and preſerved in an eſpecial manner, for the great Reputation he had got of Sanctity, and the gentleneſs of his Diſpoſition.

Lib. 3. Tract. 2.

159. Now after the *Norman* Conqueſt what alteration was made in thoſe ancient Laws and Cuſtoms, by introducing the *Norman* way of *Fees*, and other matters out of that Countrey, as alſo after the ſtrugling of the Barons, how far *Magna Charta* and the *Common Law* were the iſſue and product of theſe *Engliſh Saxon* Laws and Cuſtoms is not our work, eſpecially now to enquire, leſt we ſhould exceed the Bounds of our preſent Period, and ſeem to thruſt our ſickle into the Corn of other Men. But this would better be done, by digeſting theſe *Saxon* Laws into a Methodical Body under certain Heads, which ſeems not very hard to be accompliſhed. For theſe Laws it's more than time we diſmiſs them, having already committed an Extravagance, being carried farther than the general Nature of our

Deſign permits, and not to be practiſed as to other Nations, but that the deſire of giving the Reader the moſt ample Knowledge of his own Countrey, that we could, hath tranſported us. So ſcant are our Hiſtories of thoſe times, that had it not been for theſe Laws, very little of the Polity of our Anceſtours could have been diſcovered, and thence it is no wonder, if ſometimes we meet in them ſeveral things that are obſcure, or at this diſtance not perfectly to be underſtood. For the main they do very much contribute to the Knowledge of the *Saxon* Antiquity, the Nature of the Government with the State of thoſe times, and the humour and temper of the People, matters of the greateſt conſequence in things Hiſtorical. By the Nature and Force of the Medicine, a ſkilfull man will know both the kind and violence of the Diſeaſe, Puniſhments, Cenſures and Cautions are the Medicines which are preſcribed in the Laws. By the general Current of theſe Laws, which run againſt Theft for prevention both by Suretyſhip and Puniſhments, as we hinted before, the general Inclination of the People to that vice may be diſcovered. But whereas the Theft moſt aimed at by the Laws is that of Cattel, and ſuch care is taken for purſuing them when ſtoln, this thereby is hinted to us, that the Wealth of our *Saxon* Anceſtours, as of the Ancients chiefly and principally conſiſted in Cattel, Gold and Silver with other Goods or Houſhold ſtuff of price and value, being not ſo ordinary in theſe days, nor ſome Ages after as in ſucceeding times. Therefore were Rents formerly paid in kind, and our Kings themſelves were ſo paid till the time of *Henry* the Second, who changed the Cuſtome. And in the writings of thoſe *Saxon* and later times by the word *Pecunia*, quick Goods or Cattel are often meant, which are for explication expreſſed, ſometimes by *Viva Pecunia.* And from their Heads or *Capita*, was framed the word *Capital*, *Capitale*, *Captale*, *Capitalia*, which ſignified Goods moveable or immoveable, ſometimes Pledges and the Price and Value of things, and what we *Engliſh* now term *Catalla* and *Chattels*; but originally Beaſts or quick Goods. But of the *Saxon* Laws ſo much, from the Knowledge of which as we ſaid very much benefit may be reaped, though we go no farther than to thoſe publiſhed by Mr. *Lambard*, thoſe being ſufficient if not more than ſufficient to our Deſign.

Theft the chiefeſt vice.

The Wealth of the *Engliſh Saxons.*

The uſual Subſidies, Revenues and Profits of the Kings.

Danegeld.

Heregeld.

Contribution money.

160. We have ſeen the Polity or Government of the *Engliſh Saxons* much by their Laws and otherwiſe, for the maintenance and ſupport whereof, we muſt admoniſh the Reader to take notice what Revenues and Profits the Kings enjoyed. Beſides their own Demeſn-Lands, he may obſerve how much came to them by the way of Mulcts, ſo frequently occurring in the Laws. Then for *Danegeld* that much money they received yearly from the People. And for military Expeditions both by Sea and Land, they levied much money of the People, which they called *Heregeld.* By *Doomſday Book*, (which Book beſides the knowledge and valuation of the Provinces, contains very many Cuſtoms in uſe amongſt the *Engliſh Saxons*) it appears that ſeveral Towns contributed by preſcription toward Naval Preparations. As to inſtance in ſome. It was a Cuſtome at *Warwick*, if the King went by Sea againſt his Enemies, to ſend him either four Boatſwanes (Sea Souldiers or Mariners) or elſe four pounds in money. And the City of *Exeter*, when he made any expedition by Land or Sea, ſerved after the Rate of five Hides of Land. The three Towns of *Barneſtable*, *Lydeford* and *Totnes*, paid aſmuch as *Exeter* alone. The City of *Gloceſter* paid ſix and thirty Dicres of Iron, and an Hundred Iron Rods fitted to make Nails for the King's Ships. *Leiceſter*, if the King went againſt his Enemies by Sea, ſent him four Horſes to *London* for conveyance of Arms or other Neceſſaries. At *Lewes* in *Suſſex*, King *Edward* the Confeſſour had an hundred and twenty ſeven Burghers at his ſervice, who if the King went not himſelf in Perſon, but ſent others to guard the Sea, collected twenty ſhillings of every man of what Countrey ſoever he were, and provided men who were to look to the Arms on ſhipboard. Moreover *Colcheſter* paid out of every Houſe that was able ſix pence a year for maintenance of the King's Souldiers, upon an expedition by Sea or Land.

161. Some places held many Privileges by way of ſervice, as *Torkſey*, a Town of *Lincolnſhire* upon the *Trent*, wherein before the Conqueſt were numbred two Hundred Burgheſſes, enjoyed many on this condition, that they ſhould tranſport the King's Ambaſſadours, whenſoever they came this way in their own Barges along that River, and conduct them as far as *York*. From this ſame ſurvey of *England*, ſufficiently is evident that moſt eminent Towns paid money to the King upon ſeveral accounts, and ſometimes to the Earl or Alderman of the Shire. As for the later way of Subſidies, we muſt ſay with a Learned man that we cannot

find that the *Saxon* Kings had any collected after the modern manner. But they had many Cuſtoms whereby they levied money of the People, or perſonal ſervice as we have already ſaid, and toward the Building and repairing of Cities, Caſtles and Bridges (as we have ſeen in their Laws) which they called *Burghbote* and *Brigbote*. The *Danegeld* being impoſed upon Hides of Land, it was afterwards called *Hidagium*, and this Name remained afterward upon all Taxes and Subſidies impoſed upon Lands, for money was alſo impoſed upon Cattel, but then it was called *Hornegeld*. When the *Normans* came in they called both theſe ſorts, ſometimes according to the *Latin* and *Greek* word *Taxes*; and ſometimes according to their own word *Tallagium* from *tallier* to *cut or divide*, and ſometimes according to the word uſual beyond the Seas, *Auxilia* and *Subſidia*. The Conquerour had theſe kinds of *Taxes*, and made a Law for the manner of levying them.

Spelm. Gloſſ. voc. ſubſidium.

Hornegeld and other Taxes.

Their Cuſtoms.

Diſpoſitions.

Experience and Courage.

The trial of it in their Infants.

162. Of their Polity and Laws we have ſaid enough. Their Cuſtoms as of all other Nations, partly proceeded from their Laws and Polity, or were adjuncts of them, and partly from their natural Diſpoſitions and Tempers. Their Diſpoſition, as we formerly ſhewed, was very fierce and warlike before Proſperity and Idleneſs betrayed them to effeminate Courſes. By the conſtitution of their Government, they were to appear all once a year in Arms, which gave occaſion to the Maſſacre of the *Danes* in the time of *Ethelred*, which cuſtome rendred them expert and valiant by way of uſe and exerciſe. But a natural Courage they required in their Children while yet but Infants, and as the Eagle is ſaid to try her young ones by ſetting their Eyes and Faces againſt the Sun, ſo thoſe of Eaſt *England* tried the Magnanimity and Courage of their Babes by another Experiment though of a more ordinary and homely Nature. “They were wont “to ſet them upon the thatcht ſides of their Houſes, and ſuch of them as were afraid and hung timorouſly or cried for fear of falling, they pronounced would “be puſillanimous and Cowards; but ſuch as laid faſt hold of the Straw, clung faſt “to the Thatch, and fearleſs would endeavour to ſecure themſelves, with great “Acclamation they predicted, that they would be *Stoutheres*, as their term was, “or valiant, magnanimous or courageous Lords.

Their computation of time.

Their years.

163. The ordinary way of their Reckoning or Supputation of times was by *Winters*, poſſibly for this reaſon at firſt in barbarous times, becauſe the memory of ſharp and ſevere weather, as of all other things which ſmart, make a ſtronger impreſſion in the memory. And as they preferred Winter before Summer in their Reckoning, ſo alſo Night before Day, which cuſtome we ſtill retain uſing theſe words, a *Sennight* and *Fortnight* for *Seven Nights*, and *Fourteen Nights* more uſually than ſeven days, or fourteen days, even as *Tacitus* writes of the old *Germans*, their way of Computation. Their year was two fold, natural and civil. Their natural year they meaſured not as other Nations by the Sun, but the Moon, beginning it when ſhe was at the full after the Autumnal Æquinoctial, when the greateſt Tides uſually fall out, and hence this Month they called by the Name of *Winter filleth*. For the Reader muſt know, that their twelve Months they equally denominated; ſix from Summer and ſix from Winter, but began the year with the firſt winter Month, which they accounted *October* to be, for in the days of *Beda*, the Autumnal Full-moon fell in this Month, and thereupon the beginning of the *Saxon* year was fetcht from thence, although Poſterity to fix it at ſome certain and remarkeable time, ſetled themſelves upon *Michaelmas* Day, a Day ſtill obſerved as the beginning of the year, both as to Officers, and the letting and hiring of Grounds (the Fruits of the foregoing Year being now gathered in, and ſeed time arrived for the following) in many if not moſt places of the Land. The Civil year they derived from the five and twentieth of *December* or *Chriſtmas* Day, the Night whereof they termed *Modranect* or the Night of Mothers, from ſome Ceremonies by Matrons then uſed, and whereas they thus began the year before their converſion to Chriſtianity, we may imagine it was out of reſpect to the winter Solſtice or the Full-moon thereof, for in the Days of *Julius Cæſar*, the Solſtice fell on that Day.

Nec dierum numerum ut nos ſed noctium computant.

Beda.

Their Months and the Names of them.

164. As their Years ſo their Months were either Civil or Lunary. The later ſort were thirteen in Number, for every year. The former were twelve for three ordinary years together, and in the fourth a thirteenth was added by way of Emboliſm, and placed at the end of Summer; but by theſe muſt alſo, whatever *Beda* and others write, be meant Lunary Months; for had either a ſolar or lunar Month been added to a civil or ſolar Year, the year would thereby have ſwollen to three hundred ninety five, or three hundred ninety three days, which

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Sect. 12 would wonderfully have perplexed the *ſeries* of times. Now to come to the Names of their Months, and begin with the firſt Circle, or thoſe of Winter; we are told by *Verſtegan*, that their Month anſwering to *September*, they called *Gerſt monat* from *Barley*, which by that Month commonly yielded was anciently called *Gerſt*, the later Name of *Barley*, being given unto it by reaſon of the drink therewith made, called *Beer*, and from *Beerleyh* it came to be *Berleyh*, and ſo *Barley*. But notwithſtanding what this Authour writes, yet in our ancient *Saxon* Monuments ordinarily, this Grain is called *Bere*, and thence ſeveral Names of Places derived, and ſo indeed from the Grain the Name came to be tranſferred to the Liquour, as from the place of growth to the grain it ſelf, for *Bareley* or *Bereleyh*, ſignifies the Ley or Ground where the grain of *Bere* did grow. *September* was otherwiſe called alſo *Haligemonat*. That which anſwered to *October* had the Name of *Wynmonat*, for albeit they had not anciently Wines made in *Germany*, yet at this ſeaſon they received them from the Countries adjoining. But, as we ſaid before, this Month they alſo called *Winter filleth*. That we call *November*, they termed *Wintmonat* or *Windmonth*, it being then the Cuſtome of Mariners to ſhrowd themſelves at home till bluſtering *March* was over, but whereſoever *Verſtegan* picked this up we have it from better Teſtimony, that this Month was called *Blotmonath* or the Month of Immolations, becauſe ſuch Cattel as were to be ſacrificed they now devoted to their Gods. He tells us farther, that *December* had his due appellation given him in the Name of *Winter monat*, or *Winter month*, but that after the *Saxons* received Chriſtianity they then out of devotion to the birth-time of Chriſt termed it by the Name of *Heligmonat* or *Holy month*. But *Beda* writes that our *Saxons* called *December* by the Name of *Firſt Giuli*, as *January* by that of *Later Giuli*, for theſe Names were taken from the turning of the Sun, in reſpect to which *December* precedes *January*, though ordinarily accounted the laſt of all. Hence came the Feaſt of the Nativity or *Chriſtmas*, happening at this time to be called *Geol*, as it is by King *Alfred*, and in the Northern parts of *England*, as well as in *Scotland*, the *G* being turned into *Y* as is uſual, it is yet known by the Name of *Yeol* or *Youl*, as by the *Danes* it is termed *Jul*.

Hinc **Beretun** *hodie* **Barton** *vicus* **Hordei.** **Berewick** *vel* **Barwick** **Bereham** *alias* **Barham,** *pro quibus hodie utimur* Grange.

Geola æꞃꞃa ᵹeola æꝼꞇeꞃa à ᵹeol *& hoc* à ᵹeolꝺen *reddere reſtituere* (*unde hodiernum* yield) *ut ſic idem ſit quod res ipſa poſtulat* τρόπικος *ſeu verſatilis quòd Sol jam ad autumnale delapſus ſe in auſtrum ſublevat, vide Spelm. Gloſſ. de Anno Saxonum.*

165. But to take along with us what *Verſtegan*, writes of each Month, he tells us that *January* was called *Wolfe monat* or *Wolfe month*, becauſe People are wont always in that Month to be in more danger to be devoured of Wolves than in any ſeaſon elſe of the year; for that through the extremity of Cold and Snow, thoſe Ravenous Creatures could not find of other Beaſts ſufficient to feed upon. Concerning *February* he adds, that they called it *Sprout Kele*, by *Kele* meaning the *Kelewurt*, which we now call *Colewurt*, the greateſt Pot-wurt in time long paſt that our Anceſtours uſed, and the Broth made therewith was thereof alſo called *Kele*. For before we borrowed from the *French* the Name of *Potage*, and that of *Herb*, the one in our own Language was called *Kele*, and the other *Wurt*: and as this *Kele-wurt*, or *Potage-herb*, was the chief Winter Wurt for the ſuſtenance of the Husbandman, ſo was it the firſt Herb that in this Month began to yield out wholſome young Sprouts, and conſequently gave thereto the Name of *Sprout-kele*. But from *Beda* we are aſſured that the Old *Saxons* called *February* by the Name of *Solmonath*, as the Month of Cakes, which in it they offered to their Gods. The word *Saoul* indeed of Old to the *Teutonick* Nations ſignified Meat, and ſtill it is uſed in the *French* Language for one who is filled with Meat, or eſpecially Drink. But here *Beda* interprets it of Cakes, which the Idolatrous *Jews* are ſaid to have Offered to the Queen of Heaven, probably the Sun, which in the *Hebrew* is of the Feminine Gender. And the *Germans* (as *Tacitus* witneſſeth) Worſhipped alſo the Sun, and ſtill uſe the ſame Gender.

Jerem. 7. 17.

166. Theſe were the Months belonging to the Winter Courſe. Of thoſe of the Summer *Semicycle* the firſt was that anſwering to *March*, which (as *Verſtegan* ſays) they called *Lenct-monat*, or according to our preſent Orthography *Length-month*, becauſe at this Seaſon the Days firſt begin in length to exceed the Nights. This Month being by our Anceſtours ſo called when they received Chriſtianity, and conſequently therewith the Ancient Cuſtome of Faſting, they called this Chief time of Faſting the Faſt of *Lent*, becauſe of the *Lenct monat*, whereon the greateſt part of the Duration of this Faſting always fell, and hereof it cometh that we now call it *Lent*, it being rather the Faſt of *Lent*,

though the former Name of *Lenct monat* be long ſince loſt, and the Name of *March* borrowed inſtead thereof. But though (as he writes) this Name be loſt long ſince, yet there's another mentioned by *Beda*, which having a more ancient Original, ſeems alſo to have ceaſed long before it. For the *Saxons* (as he witneſſeth) termed this Month by the Name of *Read monath*, from their Goddeſs *Rheda*, to which they Sacrificed at this time of the year. What Goddeſs this was, neither *Tacitus*, nor *Cæſar*, nor *Diodorus* do tell us; but the *Saxon* word *Read* ſignifying Council, probable it is ſhe thence received the Name, that as (*Tacitus* writes) the *Germans* were wont to Conſult at the beginning or Full of the Moon, and conſequently at the Full Moon of this Month, held their great Conſultations for the year enſuing. For (as Sir *Henry Spelman* well obſerves) *Pliny* demonſtrates the Moon to be moſt potent at the Æquinoctials, and therefore *March* and *September* have been eſteemed as moſt fit for ſuch Conſultations.

167. To the Month of *April* anſwered that which they called by the Name of *Oſter* or *Eoſter monath*, from their Goddeſs *Eoſtre*, as moſt write, whoſe Feſtival they now obſerved. Some call her *Goſter*, and yet ſhe was ſuppoſed to cauſe the Winds (which by ancient Obſervations were found in this Month) moſt commonly to blow from the Eaſt. Now Eaſt in the *Teutonick* is *Oſt*; as *Oſtend*, which rightly in *Engliſh* is *Eaſtend*, hath that Name for the Eaſtern ſituation of it, as to the Ships it appears which through the narrow Seas come from the Weſt; ſo that *Oſter* ſeems the true writing, and *Goſter* to have crept in by way of miſtake. But by a prophane Cuſtome hath this Heatheniſh Name been applied to the moſt ſacred Feſtival of Chriſtianity, ſo hard is it to obliterate old Manners and Habits; though ſome there have been who interpret the word concerning the Reſurrection, and thence in the *Teutonick* call it *Coſtern*, which ſome ancient Copies of *Beda* do favour, calling it *Coſtur*, and not *Eoſter*. But in *Saxony* the Feaſt is called *Oſtern* at this preſent, which hath near affinity with ours and their *Oſter Monath*. The pleaſant Month of *May* they termed by the Name of *Trimilki*, becauſe in that Month they began to milk their Kine three times a day, ſuch being it ſeems of old the fertility of *Britain*, or of *Germany*, out of which this Nation came into the Iſland, though no ſuch fruitfulneſs now appears in either Countrey that we know of. However on the eighth day of this Month *Beda* placeth the beginning of Summer. To *June* (as *Verſtegan* will have it) they gave the Name of *Weyd Monat*, becauſe their Beaſts did then *Weyd* in the Meadows, that is to ſay, *go to feed there*. For a Meadow in the *Teutonick* is called a *Weyd*, and of *Weyd* we yet retain our word *Wade*, which we underſtand of going through watery places, ſuch as Meadows are wont to be. But *Beda* writes, that *June* in *Saxon* was called *Erralida*, *Lida* ſignifying *fair* or *navigable*, as the Seaſon is pleaſant and fit for Navigation both in *June* and *July*, whereupon *June* they termed *Lida Era* or *Lida* the *firſt*, and *July Lida after* or *Lida* the *ſecond*. *Verſtegan* writes, that *July* was called *Hen Monat* or *Hay Monat*, that is to ſay, *Hay Month*, becauſe therein they uſually Mowed and made their Hay-harveſt. And *Auguſt* they termed *Arn Monat*, or more rightly *Barn Monat*, intending thereby the then filling of their Barns with Corn. But from *Beda* it appears, that *Auguſt* in *Saxon* was called *Weod*, or *Wend Monat* (not *Wenden Monath*, as ſome Copies corruptly have it) from *Cockle*, which then doth moſt abound. He uſes *Cockle* as a *ſpecies* to expreſs the *genus*, for which the *Latin* Tongue hath no proper word; but the *Saxon* fully expreſſeth it by that of *Weod*, as we ſtill at this day by *Weeds*, thereby ſignifying *all ſorts of harmfull or unprofitable Herbs*.

168. To this Account of the *Saxon* Months and Year, we ſhall onely add ſome Cuſtoms which we cannot but obſerve out of *Ingulphus*, and ſo diſmiſs this almoſt tedious Subject. Firſt he tells us it was the Cuſtome of the *Engliſh*, that when any one was to be Conſecrated to Warfare, the Evening preceding the day of his Conſecration he ſhould confeſs his Sins with Contrition and Compunction, to a Biſhop, Abbat, or ſome Monk or Prieſt; by whom being Abſolved, he ſhould continue in the Church all night, giving himſelf to Prayer, Devotion and Affliction. On the Morrow, being about to hear Maſs, he ſhould Offer his Sword upon the Altar, which being Bleſſed, aſter the Goſpel, the Prieſt ſhould put about the Neck of the Souldier with his Benediction: then having communicated, he ſhould be accounted and remain a lawfull Souldier. This cuſtome of Conſecrating a Souldier (*Miles* he terms him) the *Normans* afterward

Hanc conſecrandi militis conſuetudinem Normanni abominantes non militem legitimum, &c. p. 901.

abominated, not accounting ſuch an one a lawfull Souldier, but a dull and heavy Knight, a degenerate Citizen. But ſaith *Ingulphus*, not onely this, but other cuſtoms they changed. For the *Engliſh* way of making Writings of Contracts, which till the time of King *Edward* were wont to be confirmed by the Subſcriptions of credible Perſons, together with the ſhape of Golden Croſſes, and other ſacred Manners of Signature, the *Normans* condemning, gave to theſe *Chirographa* the Name of *Charts*, and confirmed theſe *Charts* by impreſſions of Wax made by each one's particular Seal, and the Atteſtation of three or four Witneſſes preſent at the Action. At firſt many Poſſeſſions were paſſed over by word of Mouth alone without Scrip or Scroll, onely with the Sword, the Helmet, the Horn or Cup of the Owner: many Tenements with a Spur, or Bow, and ſome with an Arrow. This was the Cuſtome at the firſt coming in of the Conquerour, which ſhortly after was abſolutely changed. After this, he writes, how the *Normans* abominated *Engliſh* Men, and drove them from all Dignities. He adds, that they ſo abominated their Language, that the Laws of the Land, and the Ordinances of the *Engliſh* Kings were handled in the *French* Tongue, and to Children at School were the Rudiments of *Grammar* explained not in *Engliſh*, but in *French*, and the *Engliſh* manner of Writing being laid aſide, the *French* mode was introduced in all Charts and Books.

Hic omnino diſtinguendum inter aſcriptionem in militiam honorariam & vulgarem. Hæc gregarii militis, illa inſignioris. Ad gregarii ſufficit poſt evocationem vel conductionem nuda ſolummodo in tabulas militares conſcriptio. Ad alterius ſolennitas adhibenda.

Their manner of paſſing Lands.

169. What *Ingulphus*, as to the Cuſtome of the *Engliſh Saxons* calls *Chirographa*, and after the coming of the *Normans*, *Charts* or *Charters*; after the Decay of the *Roman* Empire, under the Emperours themſelves, and the Kings of the *Goths* and *Lombards*, went under the Name of *Epiſtles*, and by this Name all matters of Conveyance and Contract were tranſacted. Their ſtyle is turgid, affected and not beſeeming Majeſty, as ſufficiently appears from thoſe of *Caſſiodorus*. Some of our preſent Charts or Deeds ſtill retain the Form of an Epiſtle, as thus, To *All Chriſtian People to whom theſe Preſents ſhall come greeting. Know ye*, &c. And the King in conferring honours, and other matters, ſtill follows this Form. *To All Archbiſhops, Dukes, Earls, Biſhops, Barons*, &c. The Ancients had as many ſorts of Epiſtles as we have of Charters, or more; as for Adoption, Donation, Conceſſion, Confirmation, and many other, as may be ſeen ſufficiently in *Marculfus*. As to the manner of the *Engliſh* Writing, though our Authour ſays it was new laid aſide, and the *French* brought in at the time of the Conqueſt, yet toward the end of his Hiſtory he tells us, that the *Saxon* Hand was uſed by all *Saxons* and *Mercians* till the time of King *Alfred*, but he being very well inſtructed in Learning by *French* Teachers, though before his time it was uſed in all Writings, by degrees grew out of Eſteem, and the *French* Hand as more legible and pleaſant, began to be practiſed by the *Engliſh*. Therefore he aſſures us, that the Charters granted to his Monaſtery by King *Ethelbald*, and all the ancient Kings were written in the *Saxon* Hand alone; but thoſe of *Edred* and *Edgar* were written double, both with *Saxon* and *French* Characters.

Their manner of Writing.

Manus etenim Saxonica ab omnibus Saxonibus & Merciis uſque ad tempora Regis Alfredi, &c. p. 912.

170. It appears therefore from all that *Ingulphus* ſays upon this Subject laid together, that from King *Alfred*'s time the *Saxon* Characters were not ſo much uſed as formerly, but not aboliſhed, as appears from very many Monuments yet extant aſwell of Civil as Eccleſiaſtical concernment (whereof ſome in the *Latin* Tongue it ſelf) all written after the time of King *Alfred*, and to be ſeen both in the publick Library of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and the private or inner Library of *Corpus Chriſti* College. Nay, notwithſtanding what the Conquerour and the other *Norman* Kings could doe, both Language and Character continued in uſe, thoſe things being carried by the Multitude notwithſtanding all oppoſition. Therefore as this ſame *Ingulphus* writes in another place (at the very end of his Hiſtory) as to the Language *William* the Conquerour was forced to commend to his Juſtices the Laws of *Edward* the Confeſſour in the Idiome they were written, leſt any one by ignorance ſhould offend againſt them. And as for the Character, it ſo long continued, that our Antique Hands of Court

Attuli eadem vice mecum de Londoniis in meum monaſterium leges æquiſſimi Regis Edwardi, quas Dominus meus inclytus Rex Willielmus authenticas eſſe & perpetuas, per totum Regnum Angliæ inviolabiliter tenendas ſub pœnis graviſſimis proclamarat, & ſuis Juſtitiariis commendarat, eodem idiomate quo editæ ſunt; ne per ignorantiam contingat nos vel noſtros aliquando in noſtrum grave periculum contraire & offendere auſu temerario Regiam Majeſtatem, ac in ejus cenſuras rigidiſſimas improvidum pedem ferre contentas ſepius in eiſdem, hoc modo. Ita claudit Hiſtoriam ſuam & videtur hic leges Edwardi inſeruiſſe quæ deſunt.

and Chancery owe to it their Original, however now altered by continuance of time. Publick Inſcriptions alſo were made in theſe Characters as appears by the Names of Kings and Noblemen in golden Letters written about the Wall of the Abby Church of *Weſtminſter*. The Inſcriptions alſo of Coins, whatever the Conquerour and his *Norman* Succeſſours did, continued ordinarily in theſe Characters, even till the time of Queen *Mary*, although ſome of King *Edward* I have alſo beheld, with the *Roman* Characters. And this is obſervable that thoſe *Saxon* Characters were borrowed by the *Iriſh*, ſeveral moſt ancient Books of which Nation are found written therewith, though in their own Language as I have ſeen. And not long ſince if not at preſent, although they retained the ſenſe of their own words and their own way of pronunciation, yet in writing they uſed the *Saxon* Letters. That this Communication firſt happened, when in the Infancy of the *Engliſh Saxon* Church there was great entercourſe betwixt the Religious and Learned Perſons of both the *Scotch* and *Engliſh* Nations, is moſt probable. But it ſeems more confirm'd after that in the days of *Henry* the Second the *Engliſh* ſent their Collonies into that Iſland.

The Antiquity of their Language.

171. Of the Original, Nature and Progreſs of the *Engliſh Saxon* Tongue, now it remains in the laſt place that we ſhould ſpeak, if we did not daily expect an entire Treatiſe upon this Subject, which we cannot but promiſe to our ſelves to be very exquiſite if we may judge from that very learned Preface to it already publiſhed. This Language is of the ſame Antiquity with the whole *Teutonick*, being a Language carried by the Colony into *Aſia*, and brought back again by *Woden*, not fetch'd and derived from the Greek, as ſome by reaſon of ſome Correſpondence do imagine, though the nearneſs of the People brought back by *Woden* to the *Greeks* in *Aſia* and *Thrace*, might procure ſome Communication of Words, a Language which looks as old as any that aroſe from the confuſion of *Babel*, that we may not with others carry the Original higher up. A Dialect of the *Teutonick* it is, to which the moſt ancient *German* Records bear moſt reſemblance, which hath ſuffered moſt impairment from Brethren, who having firſt loſt their own Native Language, another Branch of the ſame ſtock, could not be ſatisfied without endeavouring to aboliſh this alſo where they found it unmixt with their affectations. For the greateſt alteration made in it hath been by *Normans* and *French*, both which People were *Teutonick*, and before they loſt them in *Gall* ſpake but different Dialects of the ſame Tongue. Take but away *French* and *Latin* Mixtures, and what thou ſpeakeſt, Reader, is ſtill a part of this *Saxon* Language, eſpecially the ſhorteſt Words and Monoſyllables. By theſe Mixtures thou haſt loſt Multitudes of ſuch Words, and now ſpeakeſt by Circumlocution, what thou mighteſt have expreſſed with much more brevity; but it's well if ſtill thou purſueſt not this humour of Innovation in thy Speech, and thinkeſt every Feather very gay onely becauſe it is not thine own. If *Latin* and *French* ſhould each take their own, how naked wouldſt thou appear where thou haſt ſtript thy ſelf of thine own Plumes.

Copious and ſmooth.

As this Language whereof we ſpeak was Copious, ſo not harſh in its pronunciation, not ſo harſh as other Dialects of the *Teutonick*, as the *Low Dutch*, which bears great affinity to it, but in pronunciation is more rough and full. Where the *Dutch* both high and low uſe the *d*, we uſe the *th*, as for *dat that*, *dunder thunder*, *dincke thinke*, *dicke thicke*, and many more; a motion of our Tongue not eaſie by them to be attained. So where they write the *v* Conſonant we make uſe of the *f*, as to inſtance in a word which hits both Particulars, for their *Vader* we ſay and write *Father*, for their *vor* we ſay *for*; and Inſtances of this nature might be infinite.

Compared with the ancient *Teutonick*.

172. In comparing our ancient *Engliſh Saxon* with that remainder of it we now ſpeak. I cannot yet but take notice of one thing, wherein Time hath done ſome ſervice, in lopping off ſome Superfluities with which the *Dutch* Tongues do ſtill abound. In the *Saxon*, *Be* ſometimes, but moſt commonly *Ge* prefixed before Verbs, Verbals, the Preterperfectenſe of Verbs, and the Participles of the Preterperfectenſe is ſuperfluous, being that we call *incœptivum augmentum*, or *Syllabicum*, or merely Expletive, as *y* and *i* have more lately been, eſpecially with our Poets, for the increaſing of Syllables, as in *ycleped*, *ywritten*, *ybroken*, and the like. The *Low Dutch* according to their uſual manner of pronouncing with Aſpiration, uſe to put an *h* to it and ſo make it *ghe*. Inſtances in this kind were alſo infinite; but for a few *Becoapan* they uſed for *Ceapan* or to *ſell*, *Beclæmed* for *cleamed* or *glewed*, *Beclanſed* for *cleanſed*, *Becleaped* for *called*; *Geboad Prayer*, *Gebletſud bleſſed*, *Gebode bidden*, *Gecind kindred*, *Gedon done*, *Geſeoht fight*, *Gehird heard*, *Geruote to meet*, *Geplantud planted*, *Gewrit writing*, *Gewitneſs witneſs*, and

the like. We have now quite left off the *Ge*, and where we retain this Augment we uſe it in *Be*, as ſtill we ſay for *Geleaſe belief*, *Gecomen become*, ſo we ſtill ſay, *beſpeak bethought*, and ſeveral others. It were tedious here to make Obſervations of other Alterations introduced by time and foreign Commerce, and not hard to trace them down by degrees to ſuch as underſtand the *Saxon* Tongue, and are converſant in the Writings of *Chaucer*, *Lidgate* and others that wrote nearer to the Conqueſt. An entire Volume of this might be made, and the Reader in a buſineſs of his own Countrey may himſelf take ſome pains or expect an account from the Learned Authour of the Original of the *Engliſh* Nation. I ſhall now onely farther obſerve that the Conquerour took not ſo much care to deſtroy this Language (which his own Anceſtours ſpake for the ſubſtance before they came into *France*) but the *Engliſh* our Anceſtours however Conquered were as carefull to preſerve it, to which end in ſeveral Monaſteries, particularly in that of *Taviſtoke* in *Devonſhire* Lectures were read of it, and certain Perſons were appointed to profeſs it, even as long, or well nigh as long as theſe Monaſteries continued. Had this courſe ſtill been obſerved the Antiquities of our Nation with many things which now lie hidden and abſtruſe, might have been much more known, and ſome ſtop might have been put to this giddy humour of deſpiſing all words, as well as Faſhions and other things, without conſideration, merely becauſe they are not foreign or new.

Quem in finem ſuperioribus ſæculis à majoribus noſtris monialium quædam Collegia inſtituta ſunt, in quibus eſſent quæ & hujus linguæ ſcientiâ imbuerentur, & eandem (cum aliis Communicando) ad poſteros tranſmitterent. Quod quidem in Cœnobio monialium Taveſtokenſi in Comitatu Devoniæ, & multis aliis conventiculis (noſtrâ memoriâ) receptum fuit, credo ne ejus ſermonis peritia, ob linguæ inſolentiam penitus obſoleſceret. Math. Parkerus in Præf. ad Hiſt. Alfredi.

AN

AN
INSTITUTION
OF
General Hiſtory:
OR
The Hiſtory of the World.

The Fourth Part.

BOOK II.
Of the *Conſtantinopolitan Roman* Empire.

CHAP. I.
From the promotion of Nicephorus, *to the Death of* Leo *the Philoſopher.*

The ſpace of one Hundred Years.

Nicephorus Emperour of the Eaſt.

1. IRENE being depoſed as we have ſaid, *Nicephorus* the Patritian, and General *Logotheta*, was Proclaimed, and Crowned Emperour in the great Church at *Conſtantinople*, on Tueſday, being the firſt of *November*, in the tenth Indiction, the ſeventh year of Pope *Leo* the Third, the Second of *Charles* the Great, Emperour of the Weſt, A. D. DCCCII.

Wheedles *Irene* out of the Treaſure.

Then Baniſhes her, where ſhe dyes with grief.

Theophanes Cedrenus Hiſt. compend. in Nicephoro Zonar. Annal. Tom. 3. in eodem.

2. The day after his Promotion, knowing *Irene* to be poſſeſſed of great Treaſures, he went to her, and with flattering words and fair promiſes, obtained a diſcovery of them, after which he neglected her, and whereas ſhe had ſurrendred them on this condition, that ſhe might be ſuffered to live peceably and honourably in the Palace of *Eleutherius*, which ſhe her ſelf had built; having obtained his ends, he baniſhed her to the *Prince's Iſland*, to a Monaſtery there alſo of her own building, and afterwards, perceiving himſelf hated of the People, leſt they ſhould reſtore her to her former dignity, without all mercy he removed her to *Mitylene* in very ill weather, and there in the Iſle of *Lesbos* ſhe died of grief, the ninth of *Auguſt* after. Her Body he cauſed to be buried in her own Monaſtery; for ſeveral ſuch places of Religion ſhe had built, together with many Hoſpitals

for Relief of the Poor and Aged, and done many other Acts of Piety, as our Hiſtorians deliver------ who much admire her, and as much deteſt *Nicephorus*, upon what ground it's eaſie enough to conjecture. She being gone, he betook himſelf in the ſame manner of Addreſs to her blind Son, pretending great kindneſs to him, and receiving him into his own Houſe, out of hope to flatter him into a betraying alſo of more Treaſure; and his flattery had ſuch influence upon *Conſtantine*, being a Man of a light and heedleſs temper, that he diſcovered to him Treaſure that was hid in the *Sigma*, a place ſo called from its ſemicircular Figure. This obtained, he neglected him as he had done his Mother. And before this, on the laſt day of *April*, *Nicetas Triphyllius*, by whoſe ſtout endeavours he had obtained the Diademe, he ſo far rewarded for his good deeds, as to take him out of this miſerable world by poiſon.

Cajoles *Conſtantine* for the diſcovery of more.

Poiſons *Nicetas Triphyllius*, his promoter to the Diademe.

3. All Writers now extant generally affirm him a cruel, griping and covetous Man. *Glycas* calls him a Man greedy of ſlaughters, the ſlave of gold, and abſolutely another *Midas*; writes farther, that he ſet to ſale places of Magiſtracy, and ever ſhewed a ſour and angry countenance to the People, except any brought him Gold; then would he appear very gentle and gratious. Upon the City of *Conſtantinople* he laid an heavy Tribute, under pretence of repairing their old decayed Walls called *Diceratum*, from two *Ceratia*, which were paid. The diſſatisfactions raiſed amongſt the People, one *Bardanes* or *Bardanius*, Sirnamed *Turk*, a certain Duke of the Eaſt, imagined to give ſufficient incouragement to his Ambition, which ſo far carried him as to affect the Empire, and living at *Philomelium*, he made known his purpoſe to a certain Monk, who was eſteemed to have the gift of Prophecy, *Leo* the *Armenian* being privy to the matter. The Monk told him, that if he went about to make himſelf Emperour, he ſhould looſe both his Eſtate and Life; with which anſwer as he was going away ſorrowfull, and ready to take Horſe, the Monk caſting his eyes upon his Attendants, called him back, who expecting now he would ſay ſomething that would better pleaſe him, readily returned. He told him the ſame tale over again he had formerly heard, affirming that if he were Emperour, either by his own ſeeking, or by having it put upon him, he ſhould looſe both his Eyes and Fortunes But he added, that of thoſe his Attendants, the firſt and ſecond ſhould obtain the Diademe, and the third ſhould be declared Emperour, but ſhould preſently periſh without ever attaining to his Aims. But for all this, when in ſome places ſeditions were raiſed by reaſon of the exactions of *Nicephorus*, they choſe him Emperour at *Chryſopolis*, and either willingly or unwillingly he accepted of it on the nineteenth day of *July*. Now did *Leo* and *Michael* forſake him, and went over to *Nicephorus*, who preferred the one to the Command of the Confederate Forces, and the other to be Captain of the Counts Troop; onely *Thomas* remained with him, and for his ſake ſhunned no Enterprize, how dangerous ſoever. But *Bardanius*, either terrified by the predictions of the Monk, or, as our Writers ſay, abhorring that a Civil War ſhould riſe upon his account, ſent to *Nicephorus* to beg pardon, upon promiſe of which he departed to *Catabolium*, and in the Monaſtery of *Heraclius*, received the Tonſure. The Emperour ſent after him to come to *Conſtantinople*, under ſhew of kindneſs, but in the way, in the Iſland *Prote* (or the Firſt Iſland) where he had built a Monaſtery, by Order of the Emperour, his Eyes were put out by certain *Lycaonians*. The Emperour pretended he was very ſorry for the thing, which by Oath he affirmed done without his knowledge or command. But if we may believe *Cedrenus*, he never ſwore truly in his Life.

Is very covetous.

Anna'. part. 4.

Exacts the *Diceratum*.

Ceratium duodecim folles ſive numulos continet.

Cedrenus.

Upon which *Bardanius* uſurps.

Theoph.

But afterwards is ſhaven.

And his Eyes put out by the Emperour's order.

4. *Nicephorus*, having thus ſecured himſelf from *Bardanius*, reſolved farther to eſtabliſh his Houſe, by Crowning Emperour his Son *Stauracius*, a Man neither in Body or Mind qualified for ſuch a Dignity, as our Authours write. Being thus ſetled at home, he made War upon the *Arabians*, but with ſuch bad ſucceſs, that he narrowly eſcaped taking, being hardly reſcued out of the Enemies hands by ſome of his ſtouteſt followers, and with loſs and diſgrace was conſtrained to return. The next year, or the third of his Reign, being at leiſure, he applied himſelf to the building of Towns, as *Ancyra* in *Galatia*, together with two others, *Theba* and *Andraſus*. But the following Summer he had diverſion enough given him, and his mind was ſufficiently ſtartled, by News that *Aaron*, the Captain of the *Arabians*, had invaded the *Roman* Territories, with no fewer than three hundred thouſand Men, and having marched as far as *Tyana*, there erected a Moſche or Houſe to his ſuperſtition. Many fortified places he took, and a Body of ſixty thouſand ſent toward *Ancyra*, which waſted all the Countrey as far as that City. *Nicephorus* gathering together his Forces, took alſo the Field, but finding the *Arabian*

He Crowns *Stauracius* his Son.

Makes War upon the *Arabians*.

Cedrenus ad Ann. 3. *Nicephori.*

Idem ad An. 4.

Who returning his viſit,

The Emperour expoſtulates.

“ *Arabian* too ſtrong for him wrote to him a Letter; whereby he taxed him with
“ injuſtice for invading another Man's Territories, not contenting himſelf with
“ what was left him by his Father. He demanded by whoſe command he did it.
“ *Mahomet* his Prophet he ſaid commanded him to love all Chriſtians as his Bre-
“ thren, Almighty God took care for both, and was not delighted with the
“ bloud of Man unjuſtly ſhed. He could not come to hurt thoſe that did him no
“ injury, for any want he had of Gold, Silver or other matters, having abun-
“ dance of pretious things and Rarities of his own; but in caſe any thing he had
“ would ſupply him he would lovingly ſend it. He concluded his Letter by put-
“ ting him in mind that they were both Mortal, and being to die e'er long,
“ ſhould be called before an higher Judge, by whoſe award each was to receive ac-
“ cording to what he had deſerved whether good or bad.

And by Preſents obtains a Peace.

Which being broken, the *Arabian* makes another Invaſion into the *Roman* Territories.

Zonaras. Theoph.

Nicephorus Marrys his Son to another Man's Wife.

5. To this Letter he added conſiderable Preſents, by which the *Arabian* was ſo charmed that he condeſcended to a Peace on theſe terms, *That the* Romans *ſhould pay the* Arabians *a yearly Tribute of thirty thouſand Nomiſmata, beſides three thouſand as Tribute for his own Head, and as many for that of his Son, and ſuch Forts as the* Arabians *had taken and diſmantled ſhould in no wiſe be repaired.* But *Aaron* being retreated, *Nicephorus* rebuilt and reinforced all theſe places which ſo irritated the *Arabian*, that this very year he ſent an Army which took *Theba*, and another by Sea to *Cyprus*, where it overthrew the Churches, and either killing or driving away the Inhabitants, plundered and waſted the Iſland. The year following he invaded the Iſle of *Rhodes*, where was taken a great Number of Priſoners, but the Caſtle was ſtoutly defended by the Garriſon, and the Fleet in its return ſuffered much damage by an hideous Tempeſt, which our Writers attribute to the violence they purpoſed to offer to the Relicks of St. *Nicholas* at *Myra* a City of *Lycia* in their return. *Nicephorus* in the mean time was employed in the Marriage of his Son *Stauracius*, for whom when he looked for a Wife he made choice of *Theophania* the Kinſwoman of the late Empreſs *Irene*, though ſhe was contracted to another man. To this unjuſt act he added the deflouring of two moſt beautifull Virgins, which ſo incenſed the People, that ſeveral Conſpiracies were hatched againſt him, but he ſuppreſſed them e'er they could produce any thing conſiderable, and raged cruelly againſt ſuch as were detected. Many of the Nobility made choice of *Arſatius* a Queſtour and Patritian for their Prince, but he having ſmelt out the deſign cauſed the Man to be ſhaven, and enter into Religion, which done, he baniſhed him into *Bithynia*. Of the Conſpiratours ſome he put to death, others he baniſhed, and of ſome he confiſcated the Eſtates, ſparing none of what condition ſoever, whether Biſhops, Monks, or the Officers of the Great Church, in thoſe times held in great Veneration by the People.

The *Bulgarians* take *Sardica*.

Which cauſes a new Tribute to be impoſed on the People.

The *Saracens* make an Inroad into the *Roman* Pale.

Nicephorus makes an Expedition againſt the *Bulgarians*.

6. The year following being the ſeventh of his Reign the *Bulgarians* gave him farther trouble, intercepting eleven hundred pounds of Gold wherewith the Army was to be paid at *Stragmon*, and killing the Convoy with its Captain. At the ſame time *Crumus* their Prince took *Sardica*, and therein put to the Sword ſix thouſand Souldiers, beſides Towneſmen a little before the Feaſt of *Eaſter*. *Nicephorus* went with an Army againſt him, but performed nothing worth the mentioning, onely ſuch Officers as had eſcaped the hands of *Crumus* he handled ſo roughly, that he conſtrained them to revolt to him. Being returned to *Conſtantinople* he impoſed upon the City a new Tribute for the repairing of *Sardica*, which vehemently incenſed the People, ſo as to caſt the Multitude into great Tumults, but he ſtill had the better of them, and revenged himſelf by Executions and Baniſhments, as he had done before; and laid upon all the People moſt grievous, heavy, and unheard-of Impoſitions. Some of this Wealth obtained by violence, was as violently taken away by the *Saracens*, who making an Inroad into the *Roman* Territories as far as *Euchaita*, fell upon *Leo* the Captain of the *Armenians* as he was going to pay the Army, and took from him Sixteen Talents, a thouſand and three hundred Pounds, beſides the ſlaughter of a great Multitude of his Souldiers. This happened in *February*, and in *July* following *Nicephorus* undertook an Expedition againſt the *Bulgarians*, with *Stauracius* his Son, at parting giving order to *Nicetas* the Patritian and general *Logotheta* to lay Taxes upon Churches and Monaſteries, with an Impoſition of eight years upon the Houſes of Noblemen, which cauſed great Lamentations in the City. Hereof when he was admoniſhed by *Theodoſius Salibarn* a Patritian and the Manager of his Affairs, who told him how the People murmured and would be glad he came by any miſchief. *If God hath hardened mine heart as he hardened* Pharoah's, *what good may my Subjects*

jects expect from Nicephorus? And he bade him expect no alteration of what he ſaw at preſent. This *Theophanes* proteſts he had from *Theodoſius* his own Mouth.

Refuſing Peace.

7. Having gathered together the Forces both of the Eaſt and the Weſt, and conſtrained many poor men to ſerve at their own Charges armed with Slings and Staves, with their Curſes and the Curſes of the whole Army he marched into *Bulgaria.* *Crumus* having notice of his coming ſent to him while he yet lay at *Marcella* to deſire Peace, fearing ſuch a Multitude as he brought along with him; but overcome hy his own Inclinations, as well as by the Flatteries of thoſe about him, he rejected his Propoſals, and on the twentieth day of *July* about the riſing of the Dog-ſtar invaded the Countrey, himſelf predicting his own ruine, for he had theſe words often in his Mouth. *Who ſhall go and deceive* Ahab? *Whether God or the Devil draw me, I am drawn unwilling.* And this was accounted an ill Omen, that before he entred *Bulgaria*, a much beloved Servant he had, called *Byzantius*, fled to *Crumus* from *Marcella*, carrying away with him the Imperial Robe and an hundred Pounds of Gold. At firſt he ſeemed to have the better, yet aſcribed the ſucceſs not to God, but cryed up the Conduct and good fortune of *Stauracius.* Such Commanders as withſtood his Progreſs, he exceedingly threatened and commanded all living Creatures to be put to the Sword, and neglecting to bury the Bodies of the ſlain, was onely intent upon Plunder and Booty. The Court or Palace of *Crumus* he took and ſealed up the Doors thereof as his own, and ſuch of his Followers as imbezelled any of the Booty he puniſhed by cutting off their Ears and other Members. *Crumus* now again being much out of heart offered him good terms, on condition he would quit his Countrey. But he puffed up with his ſucceſs and acted by covetous deſires, was impatient of the very name of Peace.

Waſtes the Countrey.

Taking the very palace of *Crumus* their King.

But is overcome at laſt and ſlain.

8. *Crumus* therefore acted by the more prevalent paſſion of deſperation, like a deſperate man indeed, inſtead of opening a way to the Enemy, blocked up all egreſs and regreſs by Paliſado's, which ſo affrighted the Emperour that he preſaged his ruine, ſaying, *That if they had Wings they could not eſcape imminent deſtruction.* Two days after *Crumus* ſet upon his Camp, and ſtormed it, wherein *Nicephorus* himſelf was ſlain, together with all his Officers, and a vaſt number of Souldiers. Here fell *Aetius*, *Peter Siſinnius*, *Theodoſius Sabbaras*, and *Triphiles*, all Patritians, as alſo *Eparchus* a Patritian and Governour of the Eaſt; with many *Protoſpatharii*, the *Excubitus Domeſticus*, the Captains of the ſeveral Troops, the *Drungarius* of the Imperial Watch, the Governour of *Thracia*, with the other Governours of the Provinces. All the Arms and Baggage were alſo taken, and ſo miſerable was the Eſtate of the Empire at this day, that the Writer thinks it not fit to be underſtood by Chriſtians, as exceeding all height of lamentation. The Head of *Nicephorus* he put upon a Pole, and when he thought he had ſufficiently expoſed it, incloſed the Skull in Silver and cauſed his Nobles in an inſulting manner to drink out of it. Although this day were made many Widows and Fatherleſs Children, yet many love it the better, and were ſomething comforted with this onely thought that he was dead. For as *Theophanes* affirms, never did Chriſtians feel any thing more inſupportable than his Government, exceeding all that Reigned before him in Ambition, Luxury, and barbarous Cruelties, ſo as to declare all in particular to poſterity would ſeem incredible, and to him laborious.

Nicephorus his Character.

9. But *Cedrenus* gives us the main of his Accuſation in ten Particulars. “The firſt is, That he conſtrained his Subjects out of all Quarters to remove into *Slavonia*, and afterward ſold their former Poſſeſſions, which thing nothing differed from an Hoſtile Captivity, all of them being put to the utmoſt extremity. The next was, That he cauſed poor men to ſerve in the Wars, and their Neighbours to ſupply them with Arms and Money, eighteen *Nomiſmata* for each, and beſides pay for them their publick Taxes, which they called in Greek *Allelengium*, becauſe for Tribute they were Sponſors or Sureties one for another. The third Crime was, That he commanded an account to be taken of every Man's Eſtate, and the Owner accordingly to be taxed; moreover, for the Auditour or Accomptant every man to pay (for every *Nomiſma*, ſaith *Zonaras*) two *Ceratia.* In the fourth place all Eaſements and Relaxations formerly granted he took away. In the fifth, from all Religious places, publick Houſes, deſtined to the Educations of Orphans, and all ſorts of Hoſpitals, he cauſed to be exacted *Smoke* or *Hearth money*, even from the beginning of his Reign. The beſt of what belonged to theſe Places he ſeized to his own uſe, yet made them

Τὰ καπνικὰ ἀπαιτεῖσθαι, *ita Cedrenus. Zonaræ dicitur* ἡ τοῦ καπνικοῦ ἐπίθεσις.

“ pay for what was left, and ſome double, though he had ſo emptied thoſe Houſes
“ that they were conſtrained to remove out of them. His ſixth Tyrannical
“ Practice was to cauſe his Officers to take an account of ſuch as were grown
“ ſuddenly Rich, and to exact money from them in ſuch manner, as if they had
“ found Treaſure. Nay, in the ſeventh place from ſuch as had found but a Barrel
“ or Veſſel twenty years before, he would ſqueeze money. His eighth Crime
“ was, that thoſe who received any Inheritances from their Grandfathers or
“ Great Grandfathers, he would force to pay ſomething to the Treaſury, though
“ the Inheritance had been divided twenty years before; and ſuch as bought any
“ Slaves beyond *Abidus*, he conſtrained to pay for each two *Nomiſmata*, eſpecially
“ the Inhabitants of *Dodecaneſum* or the City of twelve Iſlands. His ninth
“ that he made the Mariners and Seamen, eſpecially thoſe inhabiting the Maritime
“ parts of *Aſia* the leſs, ſuch as never were practiſed in Husbandry, to buy ſuch
“ grounds as he had taken from other Men, and pay him Rent. In the tenth
“ place he ſummoned all the eminent Seamen of *Conſtantinople* together, and to
“ each delivered twelve Pounds of Gold, with this burthen, that for every *Numiſma*
“ they ſhould pay four *Ceratia* for uſe, when at the ſame time they paid
“ all the other Duties for their Veſſels.

10. Thus much *Cedrenus* tells us, he delivers by way of *Compendium*, having omitted the manifold Injuries he did both to Perſons of high and low condition in the City, being more than can be written, but ſuch as theſe. The Slaves of Rich men he ſuborned falſly to accuſe their Maſters, rewarding the Accuſers and fleecing their Maſters of their Wealth. So rapacious he grew, that a certain man who living in the Forum ſold Honey and Wax by Retail, and by his own labour and induſtry had acquir'd competent Wealth, being ſent for he commanded to lay his hand under the Emperour's Head, and by Oath aſſure him how much Gold he had. He confeſſed he had an hundred Pounds of Gold, which he cauſed him ſpeedily to bring to him. This being done, to what purpoſe (ſaith he) ſhouldſt thou be at all this trouble? Dine with me, and taking home with thee an hundred *Numiſma's*, therewith be contented. He adds, that being much addicted to the *Manichees*, and rejoycing at the difference of Churchmen, he ſcoffed at all Chriſtians that loved their Neighbours. His Captains he commanded to uſe Biſhops and Clerks no otherwiſe than like Slaves, to make uſe of their Houſes and all their Goods at their pleaſure, deriding thoſe that dedicated any thing to Holy uſes. All Emperours that were before him, he taxed as ignorant in the Art of Government, took away Providence, and affirmed that none was greater than the Emperour if he had but the Craft of Government. Such is the Character *Cedrenus* gives us of this Emperour, with whom agrees *Zonaras* as to the ſubſtance of the Charge. He Reigned eight years and nine days, as ſome have it, or as others more truly eight Years, eight Months, and ſix and twenty days.

Stauracius ſucceeds.

11. *Nicephorus* being ſlain, *Stauracius* his Son eſcaped but with a deadly wound received in his Neck, and in his Litter came to *Adrianople*, where by the endeavours of ſome Magiſtrates he was ſaluted Emperour, but could not appear in publick by reaſon of his Wound. Senſible of his condition he reſolved to devolve the Empire upon *Theophania* his Wife, ſo great affection he bore unto her, and upon that account endeavoured to deprive of his ſight *Michael*, ſirnamed *Rangabes*, or *Rancabes*, the *Curopalata*, who had Married his Siſter *Procopia*, becauſe he ſtood moſt in the opinion of the Nobility for the Dignity. But *Michael* having timely notice of it ſo wrought with the Senatours, that calling together the Souldiers by break of day they named him Emperour in the Cirque, which when *Stauracius* knew he quitted the Palace, and with his Wife betook himſelf to a Monaſtery, where having taken upon him the Habit, he ſhortly after died, having been Emperour but two Months and ten Days. *Michael* at firſt ſeemed ſhie of the preferment, profeſſing himſelf unable to undergo ſuch a burthen, and made mention of *Leo* the *Armenian*, a Patritian, and Captain of the Forces of the Eaſt, as a couragious and valiant man; but *Leo* ſtrained Courteſie, profeſſing himſelf unworthy of the Throne, which he affirmed to belong to *Michael*, whom he exhorted to undertake the Government, promiſing him by Oath his utmoſt aſſiſtence, and that he would be his ready and faithfull Servant to his lives end. Thus whether at firſt he indeavoured to be Emperour merely to preſerve his Life, or diſſembled his Ambition in the offer made to *Leo* (which for what end ſoever proved of dangerous conſequence, as we ſhall ſee anon) he obtained the Diademe, wherewith he was Crowned in the great Church by *Nicephorus* the Patriarch, after he had by an Inſtrument written on purpoſe declared, that he would neither

But turning Monk.

Michael Rangabes obtained the Diademe.

Zonaras.

violate the Privileges of the Church, nor defile his Hands with Chriſtian Bloud, in the Eleventh year of *Charles* the Great, Emperour of the Weſt, the ſixteenth of Pope *Leo* the Third, the fourth Indiction. *A. D.* DCCCXI.

12. He hath the Commendation of a Pious and good natur'd Perſon, ſuch as had been injured by *Nicephorus*, he relieved and provided for the Widows of Souldiers. *Theophania* the Wife of *Stauracius*, he courteouſly treated, giving her a good Summ of Money together with an Houſe which ſhe turned into a Monaſtery, and from the Burial of her Husband in it bore his Name. *Idem.* A few days after his Coronation he cauſed *Procopia* his Wife to be adorned alſo with the Diademe,having given her the Title of Empreſs; and after ſome time commanded the Patriarch to perform the ſame Ceremony to *Theophylact* his Son, whom he alſo dignified with that of Emperour, and propounded a Marriage for him, *Theophanes* writes to *Charles* King of the *Franks*. This *Charles* muſt be no other than *Charles* the Great, as we reade in the Annals of the *Franks*, ſent an Embaſſie to *Nicephorus*, for Confirmation of the Peace betwixt the two Empires. The Ambaſſadours were *Hatto* Biſhop of *Baſil*, *Hugh* a Count, *Aio* a *Lombard* of *Forumjulii*, *Leo* the *Spatharius*, a *Sicilian* by birth, and *Wilharius* Duke of *Venice*. Coming to *Conſtantinople* they found *Nicephorus* dead, and therefore tranſacted their matters with *Michael*, who was ſo ready to entertain their overtures, that he ſent his Ambaſſadours with them at their return to *Charles*, whom finding at *Aquiſgranum*, they complemented in behalf of their Maſter. Their Names were *Michael* a Biſhop, and *Theognoſtus*, both *Protoſpatharii*, from whom *Charles* having received their meſſage, the Spring following ſent other Ambaſſadours to their Maſter for farther Eſtabliſhment of the Peace, *viz.* *Amalharius* Biſhop of *Triers* and *Peter* Abbat of *Nonantula* in *Italy*, both of them men famous for Learning in that Age; but coming to *Conſtantinople*, they found not him then in the Throne, but *Leo* who ſucceeded him, by whom they were heard, and diſmiſſed together with Ambaſſadours from him to *Charles* upon the ſame errand.

Makes his Son *Theophylact* Emperour with him.

13. But to return to *Michael*, not long after his Promotion he was ingaged in War on ſeveral Hands. The *Agarens* or *Saracens* made Inrodes into the Eaſtern Provinces, but were repelled by *Leo* the *Armenian* who governed thoſe parts, who in one battel ſlew of them two thouſand men, and got many Horſes with other booty. *Crumus* Prince of the *Bulgarians* took up Arms with more ſucceſs, having received a repulſe in a matter which he demanded. Some of that Nation leaving their former Habitations, had with this Emperour's leave ſetled themſelves within the *Roman* Territories. Hereby ſome better underſtanding than formerly there had been between the Subjects of both; but it happened that ſome *Romans*, who in the former Wars had been taken by the *Bulgarians*, broke Priſon and returned home. Theſe *Crumus* demanded to be ſent back, and ſome were for gratifying him in this particular, amongſt whom the Emperour and ſeveral Religious Perſons of great account, believing this would prevent the uſual hoſtile Incurſions of the *Bulgarians*. But many others were of the contrary opinion, and of them the chiefeſt were *Nicephorus* the Patriarch, with *Theoctiſtus* the Maſter, as *Cedrenus* calls him, a Man of mighty eſteem for his Vertue and Wiſedom, who urged that they were to truſt to God's Aſſiſtence, and not by giving up the Fugitives to gratify the pride and inſolence of the Barbarians. *Crumus* alſo required, that the Articles made formerly by Mediation of *Theodoſius* of *Adrymitium*, and *Germanus* the Patriarch might be obſerved, elſe he threatned to fall upon *Meſymbria*. But *Michael* by advice of thoſe about him, denying to gratiſy him in all,he accordingly fell upon *Meſymbria*,uſing in the Battery of the City the Skill and Induſtry of a certain *Arabian*,excellently skilled in the framing of Engines, who having formerly betaken himſelf to the ſervice of *Nicephorus*, was ſo ill treated by him that he fled over to the *Bulgarians*, and inſtructed them in all ſorts of Machines. *Zonaras* writes, that *Nicephorus* the Patriarch and the Churchmen, were for the delivering up of the Fugitives, alledging that a few were to be ſacrificed to the publick ſafety; but the Senatours, Courtiers, and *Theodorus Studites* vehemently oppoſed their Delivery, by whom the Emperour was governed, being a Perſon by nature mild, and Orthodox, but ſlow in buſineſs, and eaſie to be led to any thing which his Officers deſigned.

Repells the invading *Saracens.*

Zonaras.

Cedrenus.

Κὶα ὁ μάγιςρος Θεοκτίςος ἐπ' ἀρετῇ ϗ συνέσει πρωτεύων τῶν τότε.

The *Bulgarians* fall upon *Meſymbria.*

Zonaras.

14. Now is a Comet ſaid to appear in divers ſhapes, and amongſt the reſt of a Man without an Head; this probably having little other Foundation than in the Fancies of Men, who in ſeeing the ſhapes of Clouds as in ringing of Bells, may work their imaginations to any poſture or ſound they pleaſe. But *Crumus* takes *Meſymbria*,and waſtes the Weſtern Parts of the Empire with Fire and Sword. Hereupon

upon the Emperour ſends out his Orders for raiſing of Men, and haſtes into *Thrace*, his Wiſe accompanying him as far as *Cedoctum*, at which his Souldiers murmured and reviled him, that he was forc'd to ſend her back. *Crumus* having notice of his coming drew back his Men from their Depredations, and *Michael* coming into *Thrace*, ſuffered his Men to behave themſelves ſo diſorderly, that they were as offenſive to the Inhabitants as the Enemy himſelf, which procured the Emperour no ſmall prejudice. *Crumus* fortified himſelf againſt his coming not far from *Adrianople*, and after his ſitting down near to his Camp began to ſkirmiſh; but in theſe the *Romans* ſtill had the better, and therewith were ſo elevated, that with great earneſtneſs and impatience they required a Battel, which the Emperour either out of fear or for good reaſon deferring till he could have a good advantage, differing they grew mutinous, and upbraided him with ſawcy and importune Clamours, threatning that except they were led forth, they would break out, and of their own accord attack the Enemy. *Michael* being thus conſtrained to doe it led them forth, and put them into a Poſture for a Fight, which *Crumus* perceiving ordered his men alſo according to the Cuſtome of his Nation, and to blows they came. The *Bulgarians* had plainly the worſt of it, and were ſo overpowered by the Valour of their Enemies, that they were about to run, *Crumus* their Captain having even ſpent himſelf with riding to and fro, and by his preſence and ſpeech labouring to reinforce the Battel, when *Leo* the Captain of the Eaſt, whoſe Ambition was now come to maturity, cauſed his Squadron to leave the reſt and depart the Field, no hardſhip or neceſſity at all urging him to it. This ſight utterly diſmayed thoſe that were ſo hotly ingaged, and as much incouraged the *Bulgarians*, whom at firſt *Crumus* reſtrained from purſuit, believing it was ſome Strategeme, and done of purpoſe to draw them into ſome greater danger. But ſeeing the *Romans* flye without all order, or any ſtop, he then inforced the purſuit, and made great ſlaughter of them. The Emperour with much difficulty eſcaped to *Adrianople*, and thence got to *Conſtantinople*, with a ſlender Equipage, leaving *Leo* behind him in *Thrace*, to protect the Countrey and repreſs the Incurſions of the Barbarians.

And in a Battel through the Treachery of *Leo* rout the Emperour.

15. He being gone, *Leo*, who had already prepared the minds of his Souldiers by declaiming againſt him as an effeminate, unskilfull and cowardly man, now more openly diſcovered his Deſign. Conſulting with his Officers, and concluding he had now a good opportunity, he ſent abroad his Emiſſaries to tell through the whole Army, how ſilly and unexperienced the Emperour was, and that by his ignorance in warlike matters the *Roman* Forces had been defeated, and their ancient glory and fame eclipſed, or rather quite extinguiſhed. By this means the minds of the Souldiers were corrupted, and ſuch as he could pick up he joyned to his own Troops, and perſwaded them to revolt from *Michael*. On the other ſide theſe Agitatours cried up the Ability and Integrity of *Leo*, as a man born to preſerve the *Roman* Name and Empire, and they cauſed the Souldiers to compaſs about his Tent, and having reviled and renounced the other to ſalute him Emperour. He pretended great unwillingneſs, nay, ſo pertinacious ſeemed he to be in the refuſal, that *Michael Traulus* or *Balbus* the Stammerer one of his Principal Officers drawing his Sword, and cauſing thoſe with him that were of the conſpiracy to doe the like, threatned to kill him, except he would accept of the Empire. When the Report of his having aſſumed the Title came to *Michael*, ſome would have perſwaded him to buckle himſelf to a vigorous reſiſtence, and ſuppreſs the Uſurper; but being of a quiet diſpoſition, he refuſed to caſt himſelf into ſo great danger, and reprehended thoſe ſharply that inſtigated him on to a Civil War, to the deſtruction of many innocent Perſons. By ſome of his intimate Friends, he ſent to *Leo* the Diademe, Purple and Scarlet ſhooes (Enſigns of the Empire) whereby he might ſee that he quitted the Dignity, as one ready alſo to part with his life, rather than that upon his account one drop of Chriſtian bloud ſhould be ſhed, and he bad him without all fear or doubt to come and take Poſſeſſion of the Palace. *Procopia* his Wife being a Woman of an high Spirit, vehemently indeavoured to perſwade him to the contrary, nay, rather to dye than ſo quit the Imperial Throne, but to no purpoſe.

Leo ſaluted Emperour by the Souldiers.

Hath the Diademe and other Enſigns ſent him by *Michael*.

16. So write our Hiſtorians generally concerning this change and promotion of *Leo*, that it was accompliſht by his own Arts, through his Inſinuations, his crafty and fraudulent Suggeſtions againſt *Michael*. Yet the Hiſtory of *Theophanes* attributes the fall of *Michael* to his own Imprudence, aſſigning the contempt and hatred of his Perſon, to his oppreſſing his Subjects by the Army he had raiſed againſt *Crumus*. It ſaith nothing of *Leo*'s tampering with the Souldiers,

but on the contrary, that when *Michael* after the Defeat would have reſigned to him, he refuſed it. But *Michael* being firm in his reſolution to lay down, notwithſtanding for ſome time he was hindred by his Wife and Sons, and quitting the City, the Magiſtrates and People earneſtly implored his aſſiſtence, for the ſaving of both Church and State from Ruine. He as earneſtly refuſed, conſidering the difficulty of the times, the continual Incurſions and Violence of the Barbarians, and being unſhaken in his Fidelity to the Emperour. But perceiving the Enemy to draw nigh the City, he ſent to *Necephorus* the Patriarch who was much for his advancement, and deſiring his Prayers, with the Magiſtrates and Souldiers went to the Tribunal raiſed without the City, and there was declared lawfull Emperour of the *Romans*. *Michael* having notice hereof, went with *Procopia* his Wife and his Children to the Oratory of *Pharus*, where being ſhaven he put on the Monaſtical Habit on the Eleventh of *July* in the ſixth Indiction, and on the ſecond day of the week. Thus relates the matter the Hiſtory of *Theophanes*, who lived at this time, and was an Eye-witneſs of all theſe paſſages. But ſome ſay he brought down his Hiſtory but to the end of *Nicephorus*, ſo that this muſt not be his but the addition of ſome other who favoured *Leo*, and concealed his ambitious practices in obtaining the Empire. However it came to paſs, *Michael* laid down the Purple after he had reigned one Year, nine Months, and as many Days.

Who turns Monk.

17. *Leo* the *Armenian* began his Reign on the ſeventh day of *July*, in the thirteenth year of the Reign of *Charles* the Great, the eighteenth of Pope *Leo* the Third, the ſixth Indiction, *A. D.* DCCCXIII. However he firſt obtained the Government; having once obtained it, he took care for the ſecuring of it to himſelf. *Michael* he parted from his Wife and Children, ſending him away to the Iſland *Prota* to the Monaſtery there, where he ſpent the remainder of his Days; and *Theophylact* his Eldeſt Son, they ſay he Gelded, and then Baniſhed him with his Mother and Brothers. *Michael Balbus*, or the Stammerer, he promoted to the Degree of a Patritian and Count of the *Schola Excubitorum*, and to *Thomas* his other Fellow-ſervant he gave the Command of the Confederate Forces. The *Bulgarians* at this time were puſt up with their late Victory, and made Incurſions afreſh in *Thrace*, where without controll they waſted all things. *Leo* not well ſetled in his Seat, thought it beſt at preſent to reſtrain their Hoſtilities by good words, and ſent Ambaſſadours to *Crumus*, who thinking he had much the advantage of the *Romans*, refuſed to entertain any reaſonable Propoſitions, and ſent the Ambaſſadours back without having any thing obtained. The Emperour hereby forced to take Arms, omitted nothing to ſtrengthen himſelf, and Marched againſt the Enemy. Ingaging in a great and bloudy Battel, the *Bulgarians* had much the better, and having routed the *Romans*, gave the Chaſe in great diſorder, which *Leo* perceiving, who ſtood upon an Hill, with a Reſerve fell down with great violence upon them, renewed the Battel, and got a notable Victory. Many were ſlain, and more taken Priſoners. *Crumus* himſelf hardly eſcaped, for having received a Wound by an Arrow, and beaten from his Horſe, he had quickly faln into the Hands of his Enemies but that he was reſcued, and ſet upon another Horſe by the more than ordinary Valour and Induſtry of his Guard. This Victory very much repreſſed the Inſolence of the *Bulgarians*, and kept them within their Bounds ſome time after; and on the other ſide raiſed up the drooping Spirits of the *Romans*, whom the Valour of their Anceſtours had in a manner forſaken. *Leo* in Triumph with great Spoils and many Captives returned to *Conſtantinople*.

Leo begins his reign.

Baniſhing *Michael*,

And Gelding his Son.

Zonaras. Cedrenus.

Beats the *Bulgarians.*

18. After this our Hiſtorians very much revile him as Heretical and Cruel, becauſe he oppoſed vigorouſly the Worſhipping of Images. Otherwiſe they confeſs he was a moſt Vigilant and Induſtrious Prince in Reforming what was amiſs in the State, omitting nothing that might tend to the benefit and advantage of it; ſo that *Nicephorus* the Patriarch whom he had Baniſhed from his See, and out of reſpect to matters of Religion was his utter Enemy, yet when he heard he was Dead, confeſſed that the Common-wealth had loſt an ungodly, but however a Great and conſiderable Governour. As he was very exact in ordering his matters of State, ſo very ſevere againſt flagitious Perſons. On a time as he paſſed out of his Court a certain Man met him, and complained that his Wife was taken away from him by a Senatour, of which he had complained to the Governour of the City, but could have no redreſs of the Injury. *Leo* commanded that at his return ſhould appear before him both the Complainant, the Criminal, and the Judge. By Evidence the Senatour was ſo preſſed, that he confeſſed

His Character.

Ὡς ἡ πολιτεία Ῥωμαίων ἄρα εἰ ϗ δυσσεβῆ, ἀλλά γε μέγαν προστάτην ἀπώλεσε. *Cedrenus.*

ſeſſed the Fact; and the Judge being asked why he had not puniſhed ſo heinous a Crime, was ſilent, as having no excuſe. The Judge therefore the Emperour diſcharged of his Place, and ordered the Adulterer to be puniſhed according to the Laws. Moſt commonly *Leo* heard Cauſes himſelf. The Officers of his Army, his Souldiers, and all ſorts of Magiſtrates he choſe merely for their Worth and Abilities, no Place being purchaſed for Money or any other Conſideration than that of Merit, in his time, for he was a great contemner of Money. He endeavoured alſo after ſeveral Accompliſhments, as that of the Voice, though not naturally fitted for Muſical Exerciſes, and he himſelf was wont to begin the Pſalms in the Church, eſpecially at *Chriſtmaſs*. In concluſion, he was one of the beſt, if not the very beſt Prince of this Age in this declining ſtate of the Empire; and had he not been againſt the Worſhipping of Images, in many words and much flouriſh by our Writers who were of the contrary opinion, for ſuch an one would have been acknowledged.

Χρημάτων ὑπερόπτης ὢν ϗ αὐτὸς ἀκριβέστατος.

19. That Jealouſie, and conſequently Cruelty was not his fault appears from this, that want of ſufficient caution procured his Ruine. *Michael* of *Amorium* the Stammerer (as we ſaid) he had preferred, and as it proved to that height, that he grew proud and inſolent; and as it often happens to ſuch as have done eminent Service to Princes in obtaining their Crowns, imagining that he could never be ſufficiently requited, nor commit any offence which the reputation of his former Services would not expiate. Being amongſt other vices very laviſh of his Tongue, and not able to conceal any part of his mind, he firſt began to talk againſt the Emperour, and at length threatned to deprive him, and Marry the Empreſs. The Emperour being informed of his Diſcourſes, at firſt reſolved to diſſemble the matter, and take no notice, knowing him to be very laviſh of his Tongue. But afterwards he let him know that he was ſenſible of his opprobrious language, which he would deny, and then fall into the ſame fault again. *Leo* therefore reſolving not to be wanting to his own ſafety, ſet ſome Spies upon him to obſerve him more ſtrictly, that they might give Evidence againſt him, and amongſt the reſt there was one *Enabulius* very familiar with them both, who would often reprehend him, and admoniſh him of the danger into which thoſe intemperate Diſcourſes would bring him; but ſeeing he was not to be reclaimed, he made the Emperour acquainted with all his Deſigns, which in his drink he eaſily diſcovered. *Leo* then not thinking fit to delay any longer, on *Chriſtmas*-Eve ſate himſelf in Judgement and heard his Accuſers, by whom he was evidently convicted of Treaſon; and having not been able to deny the ſame, had Judgment to be Burnt alive. The Priſoner is bound, and on his way to the place of Execution, when the Empreſs *Theodoſia* having notice of it, runs out of her Apartment in the Palace like a Diſtracted Woman, lays hold upon her Husband, and calls him wicked, and an Enemy to God, in that he would have no reſpect to that Holy time, wherein he was alſo to partake of the Bleſſed Sacrament. *Leo* was moved with her words and paſſion, and fearing to offend Almighty God, reſpited the Execution, and commanded him to be kept by one *Papia*, with Shackles on his Legs, whereof he himſelf would keep the Key. But turning to his Wife, he told her he had done what ſhe had deſired, being overcome with her Frantick paſſions; but ſhe and her Children would find at length what would be the Iſſue of it.

Michael Balbus condemned for Treaſon is reſpited from Execution.

Οὗτοι δὲ τῷ Θεῷ προσκροῦσαι δεδοικώς.

But is ſtill miſtruſted by the Emperour *Leo*.

20. So intent was he upon this matter, and as our Writers affirm, ſo terrified by ſeveral ſigns portending his Deſtruction, that the following Night he could not ſleep, but to ſecure himſelf of the Traitour, broke into the Houſe of *Papia*, where, to his great wonder, he ſaw him beſtowed in a very fair and coſtly Bed, *Papia* lying by on the bare Floor, and ſo faſt aſleep, that with no jogging or ſtirring could he awake him, a thing not incident to thoſe that expect nothing but death. With this ſight he was ſo vexed, that he reſolved on the Deſtruction both of the Priſoner and his Keeper. But *Papia* got knowledge of his coming by one of the Watch, who knew him by his purple Buskins, and obſerved narrowly his behaviour, and having told to *Michael* the extreme danger they were now joyntly in, as deſperate Men they conſulted how to extricate themſelves. *Michael* pretended by the means of one *Theoctiſtus* to come to conference with certain Religious Perſons about the eſtate of his Soul, to which the Emperour being not averſe, when *Theoctiſtus* had liberty to come to him, inſtead of providing for his Soul he took care for his Body, cauſing him to go to his fellow Conſpiratours and to threaten them, that except they would enter into ſome ſudden

den and effectual courſe for his deliverance he would Diſcover them all to *Leo.*

21. Theſe Men being very much ſtartled, ventured upon this courſe to reſcue him, and preſerve themſelves. It was the Cuſtome then, that ſuch Clerks as Sung in the Emperour's Chapel did not (as afterward) lye in the Court, but each at his own Houſe, whence about the third Watch of the Night they all met at the Ivory Gate, and by that entring the Palace, ſo went to perform the Morning Service. With theſe the Conſpiratours mixed themſelves, and carrying their weapons hid under their Cloths, entred the place, and in an obſcure part of the Church hid themſelves till the ſign was given. One part of the Service being done, in comes the Emperour according to his Cuſtome, and with a loud Voice begins his uſual * Anthem, when they take the advantage, but by miſtake fell upon the Dean of the Chapel, or he that † Preſided over the Clerks, either becauſe his Head was covered as the Emperour's was, for it being then a great Froſt they all wore warmer Hoods, but he quickly uncovered himſelf, and by ſhewing to them his bald Pate ſaved his Life. The Emperour perceiving the matter, conveyed himſelf to the Altar, and there with the chain of the Incenſe Pot, or as ſome ſaid, with the Croſs, defended himſelf as well as he could: but they all ruſhing upon him together, ſome wounded him in the Head, others in the Belly, and others in other Parts, till overpowered by the Number, though he demeaned himſelf moſt ſtoutly, like an Hart at a Bay, he was at length knock'd down: Perceiving one of a vaſt ſtature to fetch a blow at him, he conjured him by that Grace which inhabited the Sacred place to ſpare him, but he anſwering that this was a time for killing and not conjuring, cut off his Hand, together with the Horn of the Croſs. At length, ſpent with wounds, and falling to the ground, one of them ſtruck off his Head; and to ſuch an end came *Leo*, after he had Reigned ſeven years five months and fourteen days. In a Book of Predictions belonging to the Emperours Library, is ſaid to have been an Oracle of *Sibylla*, expreſſed in an Hieroglyphical way, by a Lion, from the Back of which, as low as the Belly, was drawn the Greek Letter *X* and a Man, who ſtanding behind the Lion, thruſt a Spear into his Body through the Letter. This obſcure Oracle the Queſtour of old time could alone Interpret, affirming it to ſignifie an Emperour, that being called *Leo*, ſhould be ſlain on the day of Chriſt's Nativity.

* Τῷ παντάνακτος διεφαύλισαν πόθῳ. *Sprevere ſummi cuncta amore Principis.*

† Τὸν τοῦ κλήρου ἔξαρχον.

Who is Murthered by the Conſpiratours.

22. The Body of the ſlain Prince the Conſpiratours cruelly dragged into the Cirque, being void of all manner of fear, for that they ſet a guard about the Court, out of which they preſently caſt the Empreſs, together with her four Sons, *Sabbatius*, to whom, being deſigned Emperour, was given the Name of *Conſtantine*, *Baſil*, *Gregory*, and *Theodoſius*, all which, putting into a Boat for the preſent, they ſent packing into the Iſland *Prota*, and there cauſed them to be gelded, after which *Theodoſius* ſpeedily died it ſeems of the wound, and was buried with his Father, and *Conſtantine* thereupon grew dumb; as for their Mother, ſhe was ſhut up in the Monaſtery of the *Lords*. But *Michael*, freed now from his Gaoler *Papia*, with the Shackles on the Feet (for *Leo* had got the key) ſate down upon the Imperial Throne, and was ſaluted as Emperour, and worſhipped by all in the Palace. About noon the noiſe was all ſpread abroad, and then, as time it was, were his Bolts knocked off with an Hammer, and without either waſhing his Hands, thinking on God, or doing any thing fitting ſuch an occaſion, he haſted to the Great Church of St. *Sophia*, deſirous to be Crowned by the Hand of the Patriarch, and received for Emperour by all the People, truſting onely to his fellow Conſpiratours, and the Murtherers of *Leo*. Here *Cedrenus* makes a wonder, firſt, that *Leo* of ſuch and ſo many flatterers ſhould have none to ſtand up in behalf of his cauſe, but like ſo many creeping Animals, each of them betake himſelf to his lurking hole; and at the impudence of *Michael*, that he ſhould enter the Church, not like ſome Murtherer or Hangman, whoſe Hands were polluted with Bloud, but as ſome Conquerour, who had deſerved the Palm of Victory, and juſtly prized himſelf for ſome notable Atchievement. Whereas he had not ſhed hoſtile but civil Bloud, and that not in an ordinary place, but at the Holy Altar, where the Lord's Bloud was offered for expiation of ſins. This *Michael* was born at *Amorium*, a City of the upper *Phrygia*, and in this manner became Emperour, in the ſeventh year of *Ludovick* the Son of *Charles* the Great, Emperour of the *Franks* in the Weſt, the fourth of *Paſchal* Biſhop of *Rome*, in the thirteenth Indiction. A. D. DCCCXX.

His Empreſs caſt out.

And his Sons Gelded.

Michael in his Shackles ſaluted Emperour.

His Character.

23. As he came to his Preferment by Treaſon and Cruelty, as baſely and ignominiouſly he Reigned, ſhewing himſelf to be Emperour, by no other thing than the Diademe and the Purple. All Diſcipline, Order, and rational ways of Adminiſtration, he with great ſcorn rejected, as formal fopperies, but indeed becauſe he knew they would diſcover his folly, and render ridiculous thoſe courſes, his own Inclinations and ſillineſs put him upon. Such as in his mean Eſtate had been his Trade or Exerciſe, now in the higheſt degree of Eminency and Power he eſteemed his beſt qualifications. As (if you will have it in down right terms from *Cedrenus*) to gueſs and divine, whether * Pigs newly pigged would prove well, if brought up; to be ſkilfull enough to ſtand near to a kicking Horſe or Aſs, to have skill in Mules, whether they would prove better for riding or carrying other burthens. In like manner by the mere look, to be able to tell what Horſes would be good for the Race, and what for the War; the like concerning the fruitfulneſs of Sheep and Cows, the quantity of Milk they were like to give, and the quality of their young newly brought forth. Moſt ingratefull he had been to his firſt Maſter and Benefactour *Bardanius*, and worſe did he behave himſelf to *Leo*, whoſe Wife and Children he uſed as we have ſaid, onely allowing them a ſmall pittance to live on out of their great Eſtate he had ſeized, with ſome of his own Servants to attend them. Learning ſo much he abominated, that he would not ſuffer Children therein to be inſtructed, leſt they ſhould be able to underſtand and reſiſt his madneſs, or be able to write more readily than he could, for therein he was ſo ſlow, that another might as ſoon reade a Book as he go over the Letters of his own Name. Such Ignorants as he, have left an evil example to the world; for before the decay of the *Roman* Empire, and Hogherds and Neatherds came to Arrive at the Sovereign Power, who in their younger years by reaſon of the Poverty of their Parents, had no opportunity to learn, Princes were the beſt inſtructed in Learning, the greateſt care was had to breed them in Philoſoſhy, and they thought it behoved them to excell others, as well in knowledge as in birth and Dignity; but theſe upſtarts, theſe baſe and illiterate Perſons coming to be Emperours, began firſt to decry as mean, uſeleſs, and formal, that to which their ſlender education could never reach, and what they did not underſtand.

* Τὰ τὶῶν, συῶν μὲν τῶν ἀρτιτόκων προλέγειν ὅσοι τε ἔσονται εὐτρεφεῖς, &c.

A Civil War occaſioned by one *Thomas*.

24. But as ſeldom it happens, but that ſome notable miſchief happens in the Reigns of ſuch ſordid Princes, a Civil War fell out in the Eaſtern Parts, which brought all ſorts of inconveniences upon the World, and conſumed ſo many mortals, that it cauſed a great ſcarcity of Men throughout the Empire. The Authour of it was one *Thomas*, concerning whoſe birth and condition, there is a difference amongſt Writers. ſome have reported him born of obſcure Parents, Barbarians, and very poor, and that according to his Original he led his Life in his own Countrey, in continual drudgery and hard labour, the onely means of his preſervation. After this he came to *Conſtantinople*, where he got into the Service of a Senatour, and there plaid ſeveral pranks, being ſo impudent as to defile his Maſter's Bed, which being diſcovered, to ſhun the diſgrace and puniſhment of his crime, he fled to the *Agarens* (or *Saracens*) and with them having continued the ſpace of five and twenty years, and approved himſelf by his Actions much unto them, he abjured the Chriſtian Religion, and turning Mahometan, procured the Command of a good Party of Men, and to be ſent againſt the Chriſtians, promiſing to ſubdue the whole Roman Empire to their Authority. And leſt the *Romans* ſhould be averſe to him as a ſtranger and a man of another Religion, he affirmed himſelf to be *Conſtantine* their Lawfull Prince, the Son of *Irene*, whom his Mother had deprived both of his Eyes and Empire, and who before this time had left the World. Others there were that affirmed this *Thomas*, the ſame with him that ſerved *Bardanius*, and concerning whom the Monk of *Philomelium* propheſied, as we ſaid, before, and whom *Leo* had made Captain of the Confederates; that this *Thomas* underſtanding *Leo* to be Murthered by *Michael*, partly to be revenged on him for the death of his Patron, and partly to ſatisfie his own malice (for from his youth he had ever born ill will to *Michael*) and out of fear of the Monk's prediction, he now took Arms. Firſt of all he raiſed a great Army in the Eaſt, the place of his abode, liſting all that were able to fight, whereof ſome followed him out of hatred of *Michael*, who had incurred the contempt of all men, others followed him out of good will, ſome for hope of booty, and thoſe whom none of theſe motives urged, he compelled to give their Names to the enterprize. His advantages were, that in reſpect of the gravity of his aſpect, he was reverenced by all, beſides he was very familiar and fair ſpoken, qualities very

Cedrenus.

very acceptable to Souldiers, and inferiour to no man in ſtrength and courage.

25. Having ſeized on the Eaſt, and made ſure of the publick Revenue there, as he began ſo he proceeded, whom he could not allure to his Party, by force bringing them over to ſide with him. *Aſia* he miſerably waſted, and dealt ſeverely with thoſe Cities, which out of reſpect to the Emperour, ſtood out againſt him; the whole Region he took, except the Countries of the *Opſiciani* and *Armeniaci*, which through the valour of their Commanders, *Olbianus* and *Catacelas*, ſtood it out, and for that were rewarded by the Emperour, with the gift of the Smoak-money or Hearth-money, which was wont to be paid into the publick Treaſury. But the *Saracens* now taking notice how the *Romans* were imbroiled in a Civil War, took the advantage, and made incurſions into all places, Iſlands as well as others. *Thomas* was hereat concerned, fearing leſt his Men affrighted hereat, would deſert him, and betake themſelves to the defence of their own poſſeſſions. He reſolved therefore by a ſudden onſet to repreſs them, which he did, together with a promiſe that he would put into their Hands the Territories of the Empire, and ſubdue it wholly to their Command. By this means being rid of them, he put the Diademe on his own Head, and aſſumed the Title of Emperour, being declared ſuch by the Patriarch of *Antioch*. Now did he increaſe his Forces by new Levies, not onely out of the Neighbouring, but remoter Nations, as the *Ægyptians*, *Indians*, *Perſians*, *Aſſyrians*, *Armenians*, *Chaldæans*, *Iberians*, *Zichi* and *Cabiri*, and changing his Name to that of *Conſtantine*, adopted one whom he thought would be a ſupport to his uſurped Dignity. *Michael* all this while was not wholly idle, but made preparations for reſiſtence, but ſo unequal, that *Thomas* ingaging with them, eaſily defeated them, killing many, and forcing the reſt for to ſhift for themſelves. Having by this ſucceſs very much eſtabliſhed his affairs, he purſued his good Fortune with great induſtry, ſetting out a Fleet to Sea of Ships, both fit for Fight and Burthen, which had ſuch ſucceſs, that he became thereby Maſter of the Emperour's Navy, and appointing the Rendezvous at *Lesbus*, with eighty thouſand men, came to *Abydus*, waſting all places in the way. Not onely ſuch as were eaſie to come at; but ſuch as made reſiſtence he took by force, and ſet on fire.

26. One Caſtle there was which made ſtout reſiſtence, and this *Thomas* ſent his adopted Son to Attacque. He proceeding without care or good order, fell into an Ambuſh laid for him by *Olbianus*, who ſent his Head to the Emperour, and he diſpatcht it back again to *Thomas*, as he was proudly purſuing his Victories. But little affected with his loſs, which the world was wide enough to ſupply, Adoption being eaſier than natural Generation, he remitted nothing of his former vigour, but paſſed over into *Thrace* juſt upon the changing of the Moon, when the Night was darkeſt, that he might not be diſcovered. *Michael* was aware of it, and to prevent his Deſign, had reinforced all his Garriſons, and by both good words and deeds confirmed the reſolutions of his Souldiers as much as he could, although to very little purpoſe. For as ſoon as he was returned to *Conſtantinople*, and *Thomas* was arrived in *Thrace*, they all revolted to him, and followed him to the Siege of that City. The Emperour hereupon as he could, raiſed other Forces, which committing to the Conduct of *Catacelas* and *Olbianus*, he ſent to meet the Tyrant, and put a ſtop to his proceedings, and he neglected not his Sea affairs, putting matters there into as good a poſture as his preſent condition would ſuffer. But *Thomas* like a Torrent, with his vaſt Armies, both by Sea and Land, bore down all before him, eaſily routing and diſſipating all the Emperour's Forces, whereever they appeared, and ſtruck him with ſo much Terrour, that he cauſed a chain to be drawn croſs the Haven, from the Caſtle to the oppoſite Village, to ſtop his Progreſs into the inward Parts of the adjoyning Sea.

27. At this time there lived in the Iſland *Scirus*, one of the *Cyclades*, a certain Captain called *Gregory*, whom being a near Kinſman of *Leo* the late Emperour, *Michael* had thither baniſhed for boldly upbraiding him with his death. *Thomas* thought fit to draw him to his Party, and for that purpoſe, gave him the Command of twelve thouſand Men, and ſent him to Attacque *Conſtantinople*, being aſſiſted by a ſtrong Squadron of Ships, that the Defendants thus ſet on both by Sea and Land, might have the greater diverſion and leſs ability to defend themſelves. He himſelf intended to follow with the groſs of the Army. The chain was without much difficulty broken, and Siege laid to the City on all ſides, after which *Thomas* himſelf coming up, many furious Aſſaults were made, but the In-

habitants made ſuch vigorous and reſolute oppoſition, that nothing they produced, and *Thomas* found himſelf deceived in his expectation, that the Citizens upon his Approach would have opened their Gates and received him in, which cauſed him to ſend *Gregory* before, as it were to prepare for his entrance, reſolving to follow in State with the Body of his Army, and his newly adopted Son *Anaſtaſius*, who for this Honour had lately forſaken the Monaſtical Life. Finding himſelf treated with opprobrious Language, and threatned with Death inſtead of a kind Reception, he Incamped himſelf as ſtrongly as he could, and ſent a ſtrong Party to the Euxine Sea, and *Hieras* to take in all the Fortified Towns, that he might not have an Enemy at his back. As he made preparations to Attacque the City afreſh, he was much diſcouraged by the union and reſolution of them all within, and much diſtracted in his mind what courſe to take; but at length, truſting to his multitudes, reſolved to try his Fortune again by Storm.

28. By break of day commanding the Signal to be given, he draws his Men out of their Trenches. To his Son he commits the Scaling of the Wall by Land; by Water, he orders his Fleet with Fire and all ſorts of things that would annoy, to attempt the Town on that ſide, and he himſelf reſolves to fall upon the Towers of *Blachernæ*, wherein he conceived the chief ſtrength of the Beſieged to conſiſt. No ſort of Engine for Battery or Ladders wanting, nothing omitted to ſtrike Terrour into the Defendants, and to force them to yield. But on a ſudden aroſe a violent Tempeſt which both diſſipated the Ships by Sea, and by Land ſo diſordered the Engines and Inſtruments of Battery, that they were rendred uſeleſs and unmanageable, ſo that he was conſtrained to give over, and ſound to a retreat. This ſo incouraged the Citizens, that now they took more reſolution, and began to make Sallies, which ſo vexed and wearied him, that Winter alſo being ſharp in thoſe Quarters, he reſolved to raiſe the Siege, and leaving *Thrace*, Quarter his Army in ſome warmer place, with firm purpoſe to return in Spring as ſoon as the Seaſon would permit. This he performed, but found *Michael* now better provided for his Reception, being furniſhed both with a Fleet and a Land Army. At the ſame Quarter he gave the Aſſault as before, and with as much violence, which while it continued, *Michael* found a convenience to talk with ſome of his Souldiers, to whom he promiſed not onely pardon for what was paſt, but good rewards in caſe they would deſert his Service, and abſtain from the ſhedding of Bloud in ſo bad a quarrel. But they were deaf to all his charming Language, and rather more animated againſt him, meaſuring their fidelity to their own Captain by his ſtrength, which in their apprehenſions made every way deſperate the cauſe of *Michael.*

Endeavouring to ſtorm it, is diverted by a ſudden Tempeſt.

29. *Michael* perceiving his good Language had no operation upon the Enemy reſolved, with greater hopes to apply it to his own Men, and that he did with ſuch ſucceſs, that making a ſally upon the Enemy he did great Execution, and killing very many of them obtained a notable Victory. *Thomas* having received this defeat at Land had no better ſucceſs at Sea, where his Navy miſcarried through the Cowardiſe of his men, who terrified with the approach of the Emperour's Triremes fled back to Land, and ſome of them revolted, the reſt retired unto their Camp. His ſucceſs was better againſt *Gregory* the Kinſman of *Leo*, who perceiving his Affairs go down the wind, and believing he would in a ſhort time dwindle to nothing, reſolved to make his Peace with *Michael*, and the rather becauſe the Emperour had gotten his Wife and Children into his Hands. But *Thomas* had timely notice of his intended flight with that party which he commanded, and as he was marching away, before the Emperour could receive the News of his revolt fell upon him, and eaſily maſtering his Party took him alive, and preſently put him to death, having left a convenient Number of men, all this while to keep the ſiege, leſt the Enemy ſhould take the Advantage, and fall in upon his back. The exploit performed, he returned to the ſiege, and ſent Letters up and down which falſly proclaimed a mighty Victory, and ſent for ſuch Ships as lay in *Greece*, as purpoſing to purſue his good Fortune by Sea alſo, and the Fleet came as far as *Beridus*, conſiſting of fifty Veſſels in all, as well thoſe of burthen as the other for fighting. The Emperour's Fleet had notice of their coming, and ſecretly by Night ſet upon them. Many were taken with the men, others were burnt; and thoſe that eſcaped came up to *Blachernæ*, which they joined with the Land Forces.

And much weakened by a ſally from the Town.

30. In the mean time ſeveral skirmiſhes happened at the ſiege, ſometimes *Michael* himſelf, otherwhiles *Theophilus* his Son, or *Catacelas* and *Olbianus* iſſuing out upon the Beſiegers, for he durſt not adventure upon a ſet Battel, becauſe *Thomas* far exceeded him in Numbers. But by this time the Report of the *Roman* Emperours being blocked up in a Town, had flown far and wide, and was come to the Ears of *Mortagon* the King of the *Bulgarians*, who was therewith ſo affected, as pitying the Dignity rather than the Man he ſent privately, to incourage him with a promiſe, that he would come ſpeedily to his aſſiſtence. *Michael* either for that he ſuſpected what this ſtranger in concluſion might doe, or was unwilling the Countrey ſhould be waſted by another Army, or rather to ſave his Money in getting and keeping, whereof none of his Predeceſſours had been more ſordid, thanked the *Bulgarian* for his kindneſs, and excuſed his not accepting of his Relief. But for all this *Mortagon* who was accuſtomed to War and Depredations, and deſirous to confirm the League for thirty years, which he had made to the *Armenians*, undertook the expedition againſt *Thomas*, and coming into the *Roman* Territories as far as *Cedoctus*, there incamped himſelf. *Thomas*, as he had reaſon, was very much diſturbed, finding himſelf too weak to continue the Siege, and fight the *Bulgarians* too, great Forces being requiſite to each of theſe undertakings. At length he reſolved to fight the *Bulgarians*, which he did at *Cedoctus*, but was worſted in Battel; great Numbers of his men being ſlaughtered, the News whereof coming to his Fleet before *Conſtantinople*, it preſently revolted to the Emperour. Yet ſuch was his Ambition and Hopes of attaining his ends, at laſt, that incouraged by the retreat of *Mortagon* into his own Countrey, he ſtill continued his ſiege.

And forced to raiſe the ſiege upon the arrival of the *Bulgarians* to the Emperour's aid.

31. But finding all his Attempts fruſtrate, at length he marched to a place called *Diabaſis*, ſome furlongs diſtant from the City, und very convenient for Excurſions where he incamped himſelf, and thence waſted all near the Walls, without any formal ſiege or drawing out his Forces. The Emperour incouraged by this his Receſs raiſed a conſiderable Army, which he committed to the Conduct of *Catacelas* and *Olbianus*, and thereto joyning his Guards and the ordinary *Militia*, he led them all againſt him who received them courageouſly, and by way of ſtratageme ordered his men to counterfeit flight, and ſuddenly again to retreat, and ſo terrifie the Enemy. But his Deſign would not take at this time. His men were quite tired out with expectation. Such of them as had Wives and Families at Home, now began to think of returning to them; how laviſhly they had ſhed civil and innocent Bloud, and to gratify the madneſs and ambition of one man ſpent three years in proſecution of that, which now there was no probability of attaining. The ſign being thereſore given they fled not in jeſt, but in good earneſt, and diſperſing themſelves, moſt of them went over to the Emperour. *Thomas* himſelf with a few got to *Adrianople*, and *Anaſtatius* his fictitious Son ſeized upon the Caſtle of *Birya*, *Michael* reſolved to make ſure of them e'er they could recruit, and in the firſt place purſued *Thomas*, whom beſieging, he reſolved not to uſe any Engines or Inſtruments of Battery in attacking the Town, but to ſtarve him out, partly becauſe he would not deface the Walls and Houſes, and that he might not teach the *Scythians*, bordering upon the place, the manner of taking Cities by ſtorm. A line he drew about the place, and blocked it up every where. *Thomas* put forth all ſuch as were not fit for War, but neceſſaries at length failing thoſe that remained, moſt of them made their eſcapes as they could, at a little Gate, and over the Walls by Ropes, part of them going to the Emperour, and part to *Anaſtaſius* ſtill lying at *Birga*.

In a Battel is driven to *Adrianople.*

32. Thoſe that remained with *Thomas* being reduced to ſuch extremity, that they were forced to eat rotten Leather and other things which naturally Man abhors, at laſt entertained Correſpondence with *Michael*, and having obtained pardon for what was paſt, delivered him up in Fetters to him. *Michael* obſerving the Cuſtome received in thoſe times by the Emperours, upon ſuch occaſions, firſt cauſed him to lie all along on the ground, and then ſet he his Feet upon his Neck, after which his Hands and Feet being cut off, he was put upon an Aſs and ſhewed about the Camp, ſaying onely thus much, *Thou who art the true King (or Emperour) have mercy upon me.* The Emperour went about to examine him if any of his Courtiers were of the Conſpiracy, and he had doubtleſs accuſed many had not *John Exabulius* the Patritian adviſed *Michael* to forbear and not to truſt an Enemy that accuſes his Friends; by which ſaying he ſaved many miſerable Citizens and the very Friends of the Emperour from great impending miſchiefs. *Thomas* at length ſpent by lingring Torments, breathed out his laſt in the middle

But at laſt *Thomas* is delivered up to the Emperour.

Ἐλέησον μὲ ἀλεθῶς Βασιλεῦ.

middle of *October*, a Man who at the beginning enterprized great things, and with great Alacrity and Vigour proſecuted his Deſigns, but fell leſs and leſs as he went on, and his laſt attempts anſwered not expectation. Thoſe at *Briga* underſtanding what their Friends at *Adrianople* had done, treated *Anaſtaſius* in the ſame manner; for they delivered him up bound Hand and Foot, and he periſhed after the ſame manner as did his Father, ſucceeding him in his puniſhment, though not in his Imperial Dignity. The two Uſurpers were thus diſpatched, but ſome Remnants of the Rebellion remained. *Pavium* and *Heraclea* two Maritime Towns of *Thrace*, ſtill held out, not ſo much out of reſpect to them as hatred to the Emperour, becauſe he refuſed to reſtore Images. But e'er long *Pavium* was taken, the Walls being overwhelmed by an Earthquake, and *Heraclea* was ſtormed on the ſide lying toward the Sea.

The Inhabitants of *Heraclea* and *Pavium* reduced to obedience.

Choreas and *Gazarenus* ſubdued.

And the Civil War finiſhed.

The Eaſtern Iſles waſted by the *Saracens*.

33. There yet remained two Caſtles, *Cabala* and *Saxiana*, whereof the one was held by *Choreas*, the other by *Gazarenus*, who thence exerciſed Robberies and Depredations. The Emperour offered them their pardon, and more than that to make them Maſters (ſuch was the Name of the Dignity) but they rejected his offer, which he knowing, corrupted ſome of the garriſon Souldiers, ſo that going out to rob another time, the Gates were ſhut againſt them at their return, and flying into *Syria*, they were there apprehended by ſome of the Governours, and nailed to Croſſes. By this means the whole Rebellion was now extinguiſht. Upon ſuch as were taken in the War *Michael* no otherwiſe animadverted, than by ſetting them firſt on Aſſes, and ſo carrying them about to be ſeen at the *Circenſian* Games, after which they were baniſhed. But, as *Cedrenus* writes, all miſchiefs ceaſed not with the War; but as well *Europe*, as *Aſia*, the Head, as the Tail, (ſo he terms it) were chaſtized from Heaven, by Slaughters, Fires, Earthquakes, Robberies, Civil Broils, ſudden and unexpected deſtruction of Cities, ſigns in the Heaven and Air; and the like miſchiefs invaded alſo the Iſlands, as well as the Continent; all which he aſcribes to this, that they would not worſhip Images. But (to come to the matter) at ſuch time as *Thomas* began to raiſe Commotions, when the rumour thereof ſpread abroad, the *Saracens* that inhabited *Spain*, thinking a fit opportunity to be preſented them, deſired of their Prince, that they might ſend out a Colony; for that they were too numerous for the Countrey they inhabited. Their Prince *Apochapſus* by Name (their *Amermumnes Cedrenus* rather than they themſelves called him) very glad of the opportunity, and concealing his deſign went with ſome long ſhips furniſhed with them to waſte the Eaſtern Iſlands which belonged to the Empire; both to gratify the People, and to diſcover whether there was any fruitfull Iſle, into which it would be worth his labour to ſend a Colony. Sailing away at the beginning of the Spring, and coming to ſeveral Iſlands he found no reſiſtence, all Ships and Garriſons being gone to the aſſiſtence of *Thomas*; great booty he got, and ſo returned, bringing home eſpecially Intelligence concerning the fertility and pleaſantneſs of *Crete*, as a place abounding with Milk and Honey; for ſo he term'd it.

They invade *Crete*.

Thereof *Photinus* advertiſeth the Emperour.

They defeat him and *Damianus*.

34. When therefore Winter was over, and the ſeaſon permitted, with another Fleet conſiſting of forty Ships and furniſhed with Souldiers, he ſet ſail, and arriving at *Crete*, there landed his Men. He incamped upon the Promontory *Charax*, and ſent Spies to diſcover the Countrey, who returned, without having met any to oppoſe them, when in the mean time, he cauſed all the Ships to be ſet on fire. The Army being much affrighted at the ſight, and returning to the Camp to know the cauſe of the misfortune, their Captain told them that they themſelves were the cauſe thereof, who had been earneſt for planting a Colony in ſome fruitfull place: but no fruitfuller, nor fitter every way to plant in did he know than this, now he had both ſatisfied their deſires, and had eaſed himſelf of their Importunities. But they objected to him the want of their Wives and Children, to which he anſwered that they ſhould ſpeedily have captive Women which they might uſe as Wives, and on them beget Children: and ſatisfied with this anſwer they intrenched themſelves. *Photinus* the *Protoſpatharian* and *Prefect* of the Eaſt, having ſpeedy notice hereof gave Intelligence alſo to the Emperour, deſiring he might have ſufficient Forces to withſtand ſo impending a miſchief, who accordingly with great ſupplies diſpatched to him *Damianus* another *Protoſpatharian*, and they, joyning their Powers together, prepared for an expedition. But it happened that coming to ingage the *Saracens*, at the very firſt onſet *Damianus* was ſlain, which ſo affrighted the whole Army that it ran away, and amongſt others *Photinus* to the Emperour as faſt as a ſwift Pinnace could carry him with the News of the Overthrow, who yet rewarded him with the Government of

Sicily inſtead of that of *Crete*, whereof the unmannerly *Agarens* had now deprived him. They could not for ſome time, agree amongſt themſelves where to plant, being ſolicitous for a place of ſafety, till a certain Monk coming down from the Mountains directed them to *Chandace*, which finding very convenient for their Deſigns, they there built a City to command the whole Iſland, and thence they made Excurſions, and took all the Towns within the Iſland in a ſhort ſpace, one onely excepted. After this manner became the Iſle of *Crete*, ſubject to the *Saracens*, who ſtreight began to perſecute ſuch as profeſſed the Chriſtian Religion.

And fix at *Chandace*.

35. But, *Michael*, freed from the civil Wars, aſcribed the Iſſue not to the Goodneſs of Almighty God, but to his own Prudence and Sagacity. His Wife being dead and having a great deſire to be married again, he deals with ſome of the leading men in the Senate, by their complaints to conſtrain him as it were to take another; nay to threaten him in caſe he did it not, uſing this worthy pretext, that their Wives muſt by no means want a Sovereign Lady and Miſtreſs. To ſatisfie them therefore he will take a Wife, but not without this Caution neither, that in caſe ſhe overlive him, they will ingage to eſteem and honour her as their Empreſs, and make Emperour one of the Sons he ſhould have by her. After all this ſtir, he takes out of a Monaſtery a Virgin called *Euphroſyna*, one that from her Childhood had ever profeſſed the Monaſtical life, and was reported to be the Daughter of *Conſtantine*, whoſe Eyes were put out by his Mother *Irene*. Being married, he began to think of the Iſle of *Crete*, and what a diſgrace it was, for him to ſuffer the *Saracens* in it to neſt themſelves; therefore he ſent away *Craterus* the Governour of the *Cibyreots* with ſeventy Veſſels, to which joining all the reſt that belonged to the Iſlands, he made up a conſiderable Fleet, and therewith landed his men, and very fiercely fell upon them, who with as much reſolution received him. From break of the day they fought till noon, without any appearance to which ſide the Victory inclined, but, towards Evening the *Saracens* were worſted and put to flight, many of them being ſlain and many taken, and their new City might have eaſily run the ſame fortune had day and light ſufficed. But the Conquerours were, neither, willing to take too much pains, and not valuing thoſe that had eſcaped whom they doubted not, but they could eaſily maſter when they pleaſed, they gave themſelves to Drunkenneſs all the Night, as if they had been at home, and not in an Enemies Countrey; not ſo much as ſetting any Watch, or taking the leaſt care of their own Security. The *Saracens* now, how weary and wounded ſoever, perceiving the condition they were in, when they were all drowned in drink and ſleep fell in upon them, and cut them all off, hardly one eſcaping with the News from the Iſland except *Craterus* himſelf, who got away in a Merchants ſhip, but the Captain of the *Saracens* ſeeking for him, and miſſing him among the dead ſent thoſe after him who took him alſo napping in the Iſland *Cos*, and there nailed him to a Croſs. This expedition ſo ill ſucceeding, one *Oriphas*, a man conſiderable both for Courage and Skill in military Affairs, raiſed by the Emperour's order an Army which got the Name of *Teſſaracontarius* or *Fortieth*, becauſe to every man were aſſigned ſo many *Aurei*. Herewith viſiting the Iſles partly by Ambuſhes, and partly by open Ingagements, he repreſſed the Inſolence of theſe *Cretian Saracens*.

Michael marries a veiled Virgin.

Cedrenus.
Zonaras.
Ex Johanne Curopalata.

Craterus and all his Souldiers ſlain by the *Saracens*.

36. At this time it happened that one *Euphemius* an Officer in the Army, falling in love with a veiled Virgin in a Monaſtery, and incouraged by what he knew the Emperour to have done in the like caſe, took her thence by force and lay with her. Her Brothers hereupon make loud complaints to the Emperour, who gives order to the Governour of *Sicily*, if upon examination he found the matter objected to be true, to cut off his Noſe. *Euphemius* having notice of his doom draws into conſpiracy his Fellow Officers, and makes ſo ſtrong a Party, that when the Governour comes to execute his Orders he eaſily repells him, and flying over to the *Ameras* or Governour of *Africk*, promiſes him to betray *Sicily* into his Hands, and pay him a large Tribute if he would declare him Emperour of the *Romans*. This the *Ameras* thought was no great matter to doe, and therefore furniſhes him with Forces, and ſends him away with the glorious, but empty Title of Emperour. He accordingly brought the *Saracens* into *Sicily*, but as he went about the Iſland to perſwade the People to own and receive him for Emperour indeed, and coming to *Syracuſe* went ſo near the Walls, that he was drawn about a bow ſhot off from his Company, as he endeavoured to make his way by a flattering Speech, two of the Citizens being Brothers agree together to take the opportunity and kill him. They made him great Reverence, and both

Euphemius uſurps and brings the *Saracens* into *Sicily* which they ſeize on.

by words and geſtures flattered him into a belief of their kindneſs and fidelity, inſomuch that he to requite their Civility called them to him, and went to ſalute one of them, who caught him by the Hair of the Head, and ſo faſt held him till the other cut off his Head. But the *Saracens* fell not ſhort of what they deſigned and he promiſed, for introduced by him they got poſſeſſion of the Iſland, and not onely that, but upon *Calabria* and ſeveral other pars, by reaſon of this Vicinity they ſeized, waſting all where e'er they came with Fire and Sword. But though *Cedrenus* and others relate this ſtory of *Euphemius* all together, yet two years ſeem to have been taken up in tranſacting the whole Affair, the Death of the Emperour *Michael*, being related juſt after the Concluſion. He died after he had reigned nine years of a Dyſentery, and was buried in *Juſtinian's* great Chapel. *Dalmatia* alſo revolted from the Empire in his time, which was very full of Calamities, which credulous People believed was foretold by an Oracle. They alſo concluded, that the Empire ſhould at length be devolved upon him, from ſome Circumſtances which fell out at the Promotion of *Leo* his Predeceſſour. As *Leo* being about to pray for happy ſucceſs put off the Robe he then had on, he gave it to hold to this *Michael*, being then the Maſter of his Horſe, who without any more to doe put it on. And when the ſaid *Leo* inveſted in another Robe, went into the Chapel belonging to the Palace, this *Michael* following him negligently trod on his Train, which it's ſaid *Leo* accounted an ill Omen, and thence gueſſed that he would in time raiſe Commotions. From theſe paſſages, and what has been ſaid of the Monk, we may ſee how they were addicted to Prophecies and Ominous conceits in thoſe days.

Michael dies.

Dalmatia revolts from the Empire.

Theophilus his Son ſucceeds him.

829.

Joan. Curopalata, ex eo Cedrenus, Zonaras, alii.

37. *Michael Balbus* being dead, *Theophilus* his Son now arrived at Man's Eſtate ſucceeded him in the Month of *October*, and the ſeventh Indiction in the ſixteenth year of *Ludovicus* Emperour of the Weſt, the ſecond of *Gregory* the Fourth of that Name Biſhop of *Rome*. *A. D.* DCCCXXIX. This *Theophilus* ſhewed himſelf a marvellous obſerver of Juſtice, and a ſevere Aſſertour of the Laws of the Empire, though as his Adverſaries, upon account of Religion take upon them to cenſure him, he was herein hypocritical, pretending this Zeal merely thereby to ſecure himſelf from Conſpiracies, to cut off all Pretences and Advantages, that any who had a mind to uſurp, might catch at, and improve againſt him. To this purpoſe he put in Execution ſuch a Deſign, as could not but to the underſtanding ſort evince his Father to have been both a Traitour and a Tyrant, and himſelf an Uſurper if he came to the Dignity by the way of Succeſſion, and upon his account. He reſolved to put to death all thoſe that had any Hand in the Murther of *Leo* and his Father's Advancement, and for that end publiſhed an Edict whereby he ſummoned all ſuch as had had any Favours, Dignities or Preferments conferred on them by him, to the Houſe called *Magnaura*, and from the Five Towers *Pentapyrgium*. When they were all aſſembled he mildly told them, that his Father had in his Life-time reſolved to reward ſuch highly, as had procured his preferment, and done him eminent ſervice, but foraſmuch as being prevented by death, he could not effect what he purpoſed, he had left him as his Executour to pay that Debt. Therefore he deſired them that were his Father's Friends to ſeparate themſelves from the reſt, into a peculiar place, where they might receive the Reward intended them. Such as had aſſiſted in the Murther of *Leo*, in expectation of ſome great matter gladly and readily diſcovered themſelves, whom having incompaſſed as Fiſh in a Net, he commanded the Officer thereto appointed to put the Laws in execution, telling him that *Seeing both God and he committed the Power to him, he ſhould give theſe men their full hire, who had not onely defiled their Hands with Man's bloud, but had killed the Anointed of the Lord within his Temple.* Having ſaid this he diſmiſſed the Aſſembly, and the Officer going to work took the Malefactours, and puniſhed them as thoſe that had committed Murther. This performed, *Theophilus* ſent back his Mother-in-Law, and ſhut her up in the Monaſtery, where firſt ſhe had been profeſſed. And the Ingagement wherewith her Husband had bound the Senate in her behalf, could not ſtand her in any ſtead.

Puts to death the Murtherers of *Leo* his Predeceſſour.

Is a ſtrict obſerver of Juſtice, and againſt worſhipping of Images.

38. Such was *Theophilus* his beginning. He was ſo exact a Follower of Juſtice, that he was feared by bad, and admired by all good Men, this onely blot our Authours find in his Eſcocheon, that he was againſt the worſhipping of Images, and as ſeverely as any of his Predeceſſours. Every week he rode to our Ladies Church in *Blachernæ*, and heard all Complaints of oppreſſed People, without any partiality. Riding alſo about the Markets, he himſelf would view what was to be ſold, and take notice of the Prices of Commodities, wherein he went

below himſelf, but he would not truſt any to doe it, eſpecially in Meats and Drinks, where the Poor were moſt concerned. In all other matters relating to Government he was very exact, having an eſpecial regard to Courts of Juſtice. And although he condeſcended thus in theſe things yet was he not of any Mean, Covetous or Sordid Spirit, as appears by this following Paſſage. Looking on a time over the Wall of the Palace towards the Sea, he beheld coming into the Haven a Ship of burthen goodly to behold under ſail, and very well fraught with Merchandiſe. Being much taken with the ſight, and asking to whom the Veſſel belonged, and what was her Lading, it was anſwered, to the Empreſs, with which anſwer at preſent he ſeem'd ſatisfied, and replyed nothing. But ſtaying till the time came he was to go to the Church in *Blachernis*, in his way he took the Haven, where he called to the Mariners, and demanded of them if they wanted any thing, when after often asking, at length they replied, that by the care of the Emperour they had all things that were convenient for them, he demanded if they did not know that God Almighty had made him Emperour, but the Empreſs his Wife had made him a Merchant or Mariner; and he added with Indignation, was there ever any Empreſs before that ſaw her Husband a Merchant? This ſaid, he cauſed the Men to come aſhore, and to bring their own Goods along with them, then fire to be ſet to the Ship, which conſumed it with all its Merchandize and Tackling. He rebuked his Wife with great earneſtneſs, and threatned her with deſtruction if ever ſhe attempted any ſuch thing again; telling her that Traffick was ordained for private men wherewith to ſuſtain themſelves, and that if Princes ſhould beſides their publick Incomes apply themſelves to Trade, their Subjects ſhould not have whereon to live. Her Name was *Theodora*, by Birth a *Paphlagonian*, the Daughter of one *Maximus* a Man of Noble Parentage, and *Theoctiſta Floriana* his Wife.

Not at all given to Covetouſneſs.

39. Another Story is told, which as much ſhews his Juſtice, and both of them declare his generous Diſpoſition. There was a certain Souldier in the Army that had an excellent Horſe, of ſo good Heels that he had often ſaved his Maſter's life in Battel. The Officer under whom he ſerved taking notice of him, indeavoured by all means, both by Threats and Promiſes to get him from him, and when he could no-ways prevail, accuſed him to the Emperour for a Coward and Caſhier'd him. Not long after it happened that the Emperour wanted an excellent Horſe, which bringing to the mind of this Officer the repulſe he had received from the Souldier, he takes away his Horſe by mere force, and preſents him to *Theophilus* as of his own free gift. After this there being a neceſſity of raiſing more Forces, this man is preſt to the ſervice afreſh and ingaging in Battel, for want of his Horſe is overtaken and ſlain, leaving a Wife and Children behind him. The Widow left in low condition, and hearing much of the Emperour's Juſtice, comes to *Conſtantinople*, and as he rode to the Church in *Blachernis*, according to his cuſtome, upon her Husband's Horſe, caught him by the Bridle, crying out that he was hers, and that the Emperour had been the cauſe of her Husband's death. *Theophilus* amazed deſires her to have patience till he returned to Court, and then to come to him, which ſhe did, and having told him all the Story, he ſent immediately for the Officer, and cauſed the Woman to ſtep aſide. He being examined would confeſs nothing, till ſhe being produced, and confronting, he could no more deny the Fact, but firſt ſtanding mute, acknowledged what ſhe ſaid to be true as to all Circumſtances, and then he fell at the Emperour's feet with Tears imploring his mercy. *Theophilus* took away all his Eſtate and gave it to the Widow and her Children, put him out of Command, and ſent him into Baniſhment.

Very Juſt.

40. Beſides theſe good qualities he was very magnificent in building, amongſt other things he rebuilt the Walls of the City, pulling down the old and mean ones, and rearing others in their room, ſo lofty that they could not be ſcaled by the Art of Enemies. To all diſſolute living he was ſo averſe, that he turned Whores out of the Stews, and converted the place to the better uſe of harbouring Strangers, giving it his own Name, and afterward it became a Nunnery or Receptacle of the better ſort of ſingle Women. He himſelf is reported never to have been overtaken with Women but once, being then inſnared by the extraordinary beauty of one of the Empreſſes Attendants, but ſeeing his Wife to be much concerned about it, he confeſſed his fault, asked her forgiveneſs, and with hands lifted up to Heaven, vowed that he had never been faulty in that kind before. He much affected Muſick, and compoſed ſeveral Anthems. He had very ſhort Hair, and therefore publiſhed an Edict, that no *Roman* ſhould wear Locks longer than

Endued with ſeveral other good Qualities.

than his Neck; but otherwiſe alſo by Laws he indeavoured to retain the ancient *Roman* temperance and moderation. Having five Daughters and never a Son, his beſt beloved, *Mary* by Name, he reſolved to Marry to ſome Perſon of Principal note and merit, and pitched upon one *Alexius Moſeles*, an *Armenian* by Birth, deſcended of the *Genitæ*, one beautifull in Perſon, and in the flower of his Age. He firſt conferred on him the Dignity of Patritian, then of Pro-conſul, afterward of Maſter, and at laſt created him *Cæſar*, and with a numerous Army, matters then requiring it, ſent him into *Lombardy*. There he managed his matters to the ſatisfaction of his Father-in-Law,but what ſatisfied him,diſſatisfied his Æmulatours,who accuſed him as Ambitious, and affecting the Empire, and they urged a Prophecy *as if* A *ſhould juſtle out* Th; which as ſoon as he underſtood he deſired leave of *Theophilus* to retire to the Monaſtical life. The Emperour unwilling to doe ſo much injury to his Daughter, denied his Requeſt, and compelled him to keep his Rank and Power; but ſhe dying not long after, and *Theophilus* having a Son born to him by Name *Michael*, when he again importuned him to diſmiſs him, he aſſented, though with much regret, and aſſigned him ſuch places as he thought moſt commodious for his retirement.

41. Beſides this *Alexius* he was otherwiſe well furniſhed with eminent Captains, two eſpecially, *Manuel* and *Theophobus*. *Manuel* had formerly been General to *Leo*, and Maſter of the Horſe to *Michael Rangabes*. *Theophobus* was the baſe Son of a certain *Perſian* Ambaſſadour, deſcended of the Royal bloud, who after his birth preſently died, and left him at *Conſtantinople*. It happening that all thoſe of the Royal Houſe in *Perſia* being either deſtroyed or driven away by the *Saracens*, the *Perſians* hearing of him ſent to *Theophilus* to deſire they might have him to be their King; but he refuſed it, chuſing rather to make him a Patritian, and to give him his own Siſter in Marriage, and he made a Law which gave leave to his Subjects to Marry with *Perſians*. By this means many of that Nation came over to him, and gave their Names to the expedition he was now undertaking againſt the *Saracens*, out of whom he raiſed a Legion, which was called the *Perſian*, and joyned in the Army with the *Roman* Legions. The *Saracens* having invaded the *Roman* Territories, *Theophilus* with theſe two Captains marcheth againſt them. When they came near the Enemy, and began to conſider whether they ſhould give Battel, *Manuel* was againſt the Emperour's ingaging in Perſon, affirming it a thing below him to graple with a Man ſo inferiour as the *Amermumnes* was, and that ſome of his Captains with part of his Forces was to do it. But *Theophobus* contended that the Prince himſelf ought to fight, and adviſed him by Night to fall on with the Foot, and to leave the Horſe for a Reſerve. The Emperour approved not of his Advice as to falling on by Night, but reſolving to doe it by day light, *Impræl* the *Amermumna* or General of the *Saracens*, whether out of fear, or to let the *Romans* ſee how much he deſpiſed them, went away with part of his Army, and left eighty thouſand men with *Abuzachar* one of his Captains to fight them. Battel being joyned many fell on both ſides, and at length the Cohorts or Schools, as they called them, with their Captain or *Domeſticus* gave ground and turned their backs. The Emperour with his Guard, two thouſand *Perſians*, and *Theophobus* got to an Hill, where they were incompaſſed by the *Saracens*, who ſought to take him Priſoner, and his own men ſtrove as hard to defend him, and in this Contention they ſpent all the day; when night was come *Theophobus* commanded the Souldiers to ſhout and make a noiſe with their Trumpets and Inſtruments of Muſick as if they rejoyced for ſome Relief that was arrived, which Strategeme took ſo well that the *Saracens* concluding they had Succours come indeed, leſt they ſhould be ſurrounded by their Enemies, retreated to ſeven Miles diſtance, and by this means the Emperour eſcaped to the reſt of his Army which had run away. Yet did he onely chide, and in no ſeverer manner animadverted upon them. *Theophobus*, as reaſon was, he very much honoured, which made his Countreymen the more fond of him, inſomuch that they Petitioned *Theophilus*, that under his Conduct they might by themſelves make War againſt the *Saracens*. And he ſo far gratified them, that he ſuffered none elſe to command them.

Ingaging with the *Saracens* and *Turks* he is worſted.

42. The following year he marched againſt the *Saracens* with very good ſucceſs, which incouraged him to make another attempt the next Spring, but this did not anſwer expectation. For he had far the worſt, and was very near being taken in Battel, when *Manuel* his General conſidering what a diſgrace it would be to the *Roman* Name and Empire, propounded it to the Army as an Argument to animate them to fetch him off, and when he had broken through to him and found him

And with difficulty brought off by his General in the next.

Who being accuſed to the Emperour flies to the *Saracens*.

him wearied and in deſpair, he intreated him to follow him as he made him way through the throng of the Enemies. But *Theophilus* ſtill loitered, pretending he muſt not diſcourage his men by flying, which *Manuel* perceiving came back when he had already paſſed to him the third time, and drawing his Sword threatned to kill him except he would follow him, (telling him it much more behoved the State that he ſhould die than be taken) by which means he brought him off. For this ſervice he deſerved a reward, and the Emperour was not ſlow to give it, and the thing being ſo evident, to confeſs he had been his Deliverer. But as Princes do not care too much to be beholden to their Subjects, he envied him for his Reputation, and there wanted not thoſe who gratified him by accuſing the General of Deſigns to Uſurp, ſo that it was reſolved he ſhould looſe his ſight. This was diſcovered to him by one that formerly had been his Servant, and now was Cupbearer to the Emperour, whereupon he fled to the *Saracens*, and upon condition that he ſhould not be conſtrained to change his Religion, revolted to them and was joyfully received. He was ſpeedily advanced to the higheſt Honour and Command he was capable of, and with an Army the *Saracens* ſent him againſt their Neighbours called *Cermatæ*. But he refuſed to fight with any other than ſuch *Romans* as there were in Captivity, whom gathering into a Body he therewith did very notable Service, and took a Caſtle called *Choroſan*, ſtriking greater terrour into the Beſieged, not onely by his valour, but the difference of Language and Habit, and an unexpected change of the manner of fighting. But not onely was he very acceptable to the *Saracens*, for fighting with Men, but making War alſo upon Wild Beaſts, which did very much at this time infeſt their Countrey, and afforded him this opportunity of keeping his Souldiers in Action.

But is ſent for to the Emperour.

And received into favour.

43. Theſe things being made known to *Theophilus*, vexed him much, as taxing himſelf with Ingratitude and high Imprudence, in diſobliging ſo ſerviceable a man, therefore he reſolved to get him Back by any means. At that time Monks being wont to travell and wander up and down in all Places, he employed one of that ſort whom he knew fit for his purpoſe, as leaſt liable to ſuſpicion, ſending by him Letters ſtrengthened by a Seal of Gold and a Croſs, which gave *Manuel* ſuch ſatisfaction, as concealing the Meſſage he ſtudied how to return, and after ſome time effected it in this manner. He deſired leave of *Iſmael* Prince of the *Saracens* to make an Expedition againſt the *Romans* into *Cappadocia*, to be revenged chiefly on thoſe who had accuſed him to the Emperour, and eaſily obtained it, together with the Son of the Prince to accompany him, as having already given ſufficient Teſtimony of his Fidelity. The Governour of *Cappadocia* he prepared beforehand to receive him, and being arrived at the place he deſired, and going out from the Army with the Prince his Son and a few Followers as to Hunt, he bid the Young man get him back to the *Saracens*, and let them know his Reſolution of returning into his own Countrey. Getting ſafe to *Conſtantinople* he was gladly received by the Emperour in the Church of *Blachernæ*, there had conferred on him the Place of *Magiſter*, and was ſhortly after Godfather to his Son *Michael*, whom afterwards he adorned with the Imperial Title and Enſigns of Majeſty. After this in the Spring *Theophilus* and the *Saracens* on each ſide made preparations for War, but coming near together were ſtruck with ſuch mutual fear, that both Armies returned home without having any thing performed. At his return came Ambaſſadours from *Chagan* the petty Prince of *Chazaria*, deſiring leave to build up a Caſtle called *Marcol* on the Borders, as very convenient for reſtraining the Incurſions of the *Petzinacæ* toward the River *Tanais*, which they obtained, and one *Petronas* was ſent to ſee the thing performed. *Petronas* when he came back acquainted the Emperour that he could not continue Maſter of *Cherſon*, except he ſent thither a Governour of his own, the manner having been to put ſome of the Natives into the command. The Emperour being ſatisfied with his Reaſons ſent him to execute the office, with orders to the Townſmen to put him into poſſeſſion, which they obeyed.

Theophilus enters *Syria* waſting the Dominion of the *Saracens*.

44. The year following *Theophilus* made an Incurſion into *Syria* againſt the *Saracens*, which waſting all in his way he took two Cities, and carrying away the Inhabitants made himſelf Maſter alſo of *Sozopetra* the Native place of the *Amermumnes*, though he ſent to him and earneſtly begged of him that he would ſpare it. This done the Emperour returned to *Conſtantinople*, leaving behind him *Theophobus* to ſettle ſome matters relating to the Army, which paſt, he was to follow after. But the Reverence which the Mercenary *Perſians* had for *Theophilus*, being removed they fell into a Mutiny, and laying hold of *Theophobus* at *Sinope*, would

Is requited by a Viſit from them.

would needs make him Emperour, though he uſed all the Proteſtations and Intreaties he could; but when he could not divert them, he ſent private notice of it to *Theophilus* to ſignifie his Averſeneſs to the Thing, and as ſoon as he could made his eſcape and got to Court, where he was kindly received and enjoyed his former Honours. And for this time no farther trouble happened, the *Perſians* being alſo pardoned, and received to favour, yet it was thought fit that being thirty thouſand in Number they ſhould not continue together, but be diſperſed by two thouſands into ſeveral Provinces under their diſtinct Officers. But the Prince of the *Saracens* or *Amermumnes*, as theſe Greek Hiſtorians call him, was wonderfully inraged for the deſtruction of his Native City, and breathing nothing but revenge, hired men out of *Babylonia*, *Phœnicia*, *Paleſtine*, *Cœloſyria*, and the farther *Africk*, (that lying next *Spain Cedrenus* means) giving Orders to every Souldier to ingrave upon his Target the word *Amorium* which being the Birth-place of *Theophilus* he was reſolved to deſtroy. At *Tarſus* all his Forces met; and *Theophilus* aware of the danger marched to *Dorylæum* with ſuch an Army as he could raiſe, diſtant three days journey from *Amorium*. Now there were ſeveral that perſwaded to decline rather than withſtand the fury of the *Saracen* Prince whoſe Numbers far exceeded his, and to remove the Inhabitants of *Amorium* to ſome other place. But he thought it would much reflect upon him, and reſolving to protect the place, ſent thither *Aetius* a Patritian the Captain of the Eaſt with a ſtrong Party, which he alſo committed to the Conduct of *Theodorus Craterus*, (whom *Zonaras* will have to have commanded at *Amorium*) *Theophilus Bubutzicus* and others, men very eminent in their time.

Who rout the Emperour's Army.

45. The Prince of the *Saracens* lying at *Tarſus*, deliberated with thoſe about him what to doe; for he was of opinion that he ſhould not paſs on directly for *Amorium*, but ſend his Son with part of the Army to make an Attempt upon the Emperour, whom if he ſhould beat he ſhould ſhare in the Victory, and if it happened otherwiſe, it would be beſt for him to be quiet. His Son therefore he ſent together with *Ameras*, who then commanded *Metylene*; ten thouſand *Turks*, all the *Armenian* Forces, and his Commander in chief, and they came and incamped themſelves at a place called *Dazymenum*. *Theophilus* with his Army, conſiſting eſpecially of *Perſians* both Eaſtern and Weſtern, marching to a Town called *Anzin*, reſolved before he would ingage to view the Numbers of the Enemy, which finding to exceed his, it was to be conſidered with what Strategem and advantage they ſhould fall upon them. *Manuel* the Domeſtick of the Schools, as *Cedrenus* calls him, and *Theophilus* thought it beſt to be done by Night; but all the reſt were for day light, with whom the Emperour agreed. And by day light a moſt fierce Battel was fought, wherein firſt the *Romans* had the better, the *Saracens* turning their backs. But the *Turks* ſo exceedingly galled the Purſuers with their Arrows, that they quite turned the courſe of the fight, and made thoſe to run and forſake their Emperour, who but now ſeemed to have the Victory. Yet did the Captains manſully behave themſelves, and ſo did the *Perſians*, who compaſſed him about, and earneſtly laboured for his Preſervation: yet he had been ſlain had not Night come on and ſome Rain faln, which wet the Bowſtrings of the *Turks* ſo as they could not ſo conveniently uſe them, and the *Romans* had thereby opportunity to retreat. In the Night *Manuel* who commanded the Watch, obſerved the *Perſians* to entertain Diſcourſe with the *Saracens* in their Language, about betraying the *Roman* Army and returning into their own Countrey, which revealing with all ſpeed to the Emperour, he adviſed him by all means, with ſome choice Followers to provide for his own ſafety by flight, now while he had time, and not fall into the hands of the *Saracens*. He anſwered, that this he could hardly doe, eſpecially to leave thoſe to periſh whom he had brought into the danger, but *Manuel* replyed, that if God would but preſerve him, they would look to themſelves, whereupon *Theophilus* took his Advice and fled away to a place called *Chiliocomum*. Hither ſuch as we ſaid ran away from the Battel being fled, it's ſaid they met him, and confeſſing themſelves unworthy of life, who had ſo deſerted their Emperour, drew their Swords and would have killed themſelves, but that he reſtrained them, by affirming he was preſerved by God, and that therefore they ſhould not periſh.

46. But the *Saracenian* Prince underſtanding how matters had proſpered under his Son, reſolved without delay to fall on *Amorium*, which joyning Forces with him, he did, drawing firſt a deep Trench about it. The *Turks* plied it with Arrows, and the *Saracens* with Batteries, yet the *Romans* within Valiantly defended themſelves and it, though the ſtorm continued without Intermiſſion. *Theophilus*

And Race the City *Amorium.*

philus with much adoe having eſcaped at *Dorylæum* expected the event, whence he reſolved to try the temper of the *Saracen* by Meſſengers ſent with rich Preſents, and to deſire of him to deſiſt. But he being implacably incenſed by the Deſtruction of his *Sozopetra*, upbraided him with Cowardize, and ſcoffing at the Meſſage, commanded thoſe that brought it to be ſecured till they might ſee the Iſſue. Then did he more vigorouſly than ever attacque the Town, dividing his Forces into many Parties, ſo as when one was ſpent or beaten off, another freſh one might ſucceed, with which pertinacious courſe he hoped that the Beſieged would be tired out and ſurrender. Yet the Defendants were ſo reſolute, that the Town was not to be taken but by Treachery, to which one *Badaties* a Townſman was Bribed, who upon ſome diſcontent had abjured the Chriſtian Religion. He gave them notice where the Walls might moſt eaſily be mounted, and an Aſſault be made, which ſo ſucceeded as the *Saracens* by ſtorm took the Place, and made unſpeakable Slaughter of the Garriſon and Inhabitants, being inraged at their Reſolution, and for the Death of ſo many eminent Men as on their ſide had periſhed in the Siege. And with the Citizens ſo periſhed this moſt Beautifull of Eaſtern Cities, nothing remaining of it but Rubbiſh. The Women and Children were led away into Captivity, the Men generally being put to the Sword. But *Calliſtus*, *Conſtantinus*, *Theodorus Craterus*, all Patritians, and others who were eminent for their Employments in the Army or the State were taken, and the Prince now in an Inſulting manner cauſed the Ambaſſadours to take a view of the eſtate of *Amorium*, and then ſent them with an Account thereof to their Maſter.

Which makes the Emperour melancholy.

After which he Dies.

Πρὸς τ̃ ῥῆγα φραγγίας. *ſic Imp. Occid. communiter vocant Cedrenus, alii.*

47. He ſent them back again to deſire that ſuch eminent Perſons as were taken, being his Kinſmen and Allies, and the reſt of the Priſoners might be ſet at liberty for their Ranſome, offering four and twenty Centenaries; but he rejected them and their Meſſage ignominiouſly, ſaying he ſhoud be unjuſtly accounted a Fool indeed, if he ſhould accept of but ſo many Centenaries, when it had coſt him no leſs than a thouſand Centenaries in his Preparations. *Theophilus* hereupon as overwhelmed with inſupportable Calamity fell into exceſſive Melancholy, ſo as to abſtain from all ſuſtenance, receiving nothing but ſome Snow-water, which caſt him into a Dyſentery. The onely Thought or Diſcourſe he would admit, was how to be revenged for *Amorium.* To this end he ſent away *Theodoſius* a Patritian toward the King of *France*, to deſire his Aſſiſtence, and to procure him to invade thoſe Parts of *Africk* which belonged to the *Amermumnes*; but this Deſign came to nothing, *Theodoſius* Dying upon the way e'er he could deliver his Meſſage. His Melancholy and Diſeaſe both encreaſing upon this Diſappointment, in his Litter he would be carried to *Magnaura*, where calling together the Senate, with the Chief Men of the City, he moſt ſadly lamented the poſture of his Affairs, and earneſtly moved them, that being mindfull of their kindneſs to him, they would continue faithfull to his Wiſe and Son, and ſecure them from all Treachery. His lamentable Speech they Anſwered with as lamentable a Cry, and praying for his Life and Health, promiſed him that in caſe ſo unacceptable a thing as his Death ſhould happen, they would ſtand by his Wife their Lady and Miſtreſs with their Lives and Fortunes to the utmoſt. After this he lived not long, yielding to the Diſtempers of his Mind and Body when he had Reigned twelve years, three months and twenty days. His care for his Poſterity it ſeems was ſo great, that he would not Dye without having *Theophobus* bear him company, whoſe Enemies took advantage at the Revolt of the *Perſians* in the Battel we mentioned, and encreaſed the Jealouſie conceived of him by the Emperour, from their giving to him the Title of Emperour, urging that the Revolt was not without his Device and Procurement. Having before cauſed him to be Impriſoned, when he was at the point of Death he commanded his Head to be cut off and brought to him, which touching with his Hand he breathed out theſe words, together with his Soul: *Henceforth I am neither* Theophilus, *nor thou* Theophobus. But ſome reported that *Oriphas* the *Drungarius* of *Bigla* ſlew him without having received any orders.

Michael his Son ſucceeds.

Joannes Curopalata. Cedrenus. Zonaras. Glycas.

48. *Theophilus* being Dead, *Michael* his Son ſucceeded him, the third of that Name, Sirnamed the *Drunken*: in the ſecond year of *Lotharius*, Emperour of the Weſt; the fifteenth of *Gregory* the Fourth, Biſhop of *Rome*; the Fifth Indiction, *A. D.* DCCCXLII. His Father by his Will left *Manuel* the *Magiſter* and Domeſtick of the Schools, and *Theoctiſtus* the Patritian and *Logotheta Dromi* his Tutours or Governours, but the Regency was committed to *Theodora* his Mother, who by their Directions ordered all Affairs of State. Preſently after the

A Perſecution againſt the *Manichees.*

Which cauſes a Rebellion,

And the Deſtruction of the Eaſt by the Inrodes of the *Saracens.*

Old Emperour's Death, the two Great Miniſters lately mentioned went into the *Circus*, where calling the People together they rehearſed to them his laſt words and Will, inſiſted upon his Love and good Inclinations to them, and with many fair and alluring words endeavoured to gain their Affections toward his Young Son and Succeſſour, who promiſed, if need ſhould ſo require, to ſhed their Bloud in his behalf, and their Promiſe inſtantly confirmed by Oath. *Theodora* thus ſettled in the Government was drawn wholly to matters relating to the Church, binding all her endeavours for the reſtoring of Images. which for a conſiderable time by the late Emperours had been forbidden: and ſhe raiſed a great Perſecution againſt the *Manichees*, which became an occaſion of unſpeakable Calamities in the Eaſt. For thoſe ſhe employed in the Inquiſition, uſing no moderation but great cruelty in their Office, Nailed ſome of thoſe they Comdemned to Croſſes, and others put to Death by many and unheard-of ſorts of puniſhment. An hundred thouſand by this courſe they made away, and confiſcated their Eſtates, which drove the reſt into Deſperation and Rebellion, which was began by one *Carbeas* of that Sect, who ſerved *Theodorus Meliſſenus*, Commander of the Eaſt, in quality of *Pratomandator*. He underſtanding that his Father was Crucified, inraged by ſo ignominious an Affront, fled with five thouſand of his Perſwaſion to the *Ameras* of *Mitylene*, and from him to the *Amermumnes* himſelf, by whom being gratiouſly received he preſently after invades the *Roman* Territories, and therein builds two Cities, which he called *Argannum* and *Amera*. Then great numbers of the *Manichees* flying to him for ſhelter, to theſe two he added another for their Reception, by the Name of *Tephrica*. From theſe three places joyning with ſome Saracen Officers, they made Inrodes without intermiſſion into the Emperour's Dominions, with ſuch ſucceſs generally as pleaſed them, onely *Alimus* the Governour of *Tarſus* making an Inrode into *Armenia*, was cut off with his Party, and *Amer* the *Ameras* of *Melitena* for ſome time was diverted by the Revolt of one of his Felow-officers. But having Conquered his Adverſary, and being a Man impatient of Reſt, he joyned himſelf with *Carbeas*, and renewed his Hoſtilities. Againſt them at length was ſent *Petronas*, Brother to the Empreſs, and Domeſtick of the Schools (which Office he executed, though it properly belonged to his Brother *Bardas*, who otherwiſe employed in State Affairs could not attend it) who led down an Army of *Thracians* againſt them, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

Manuel one of the Emperor's Guardians leaves the Court.

Theoctiſtus the other, Murthered by the procurement of *Bardas*, Uncle to the Emperour.

49. In the mean time *Michael* the Emperour growing up towards a Man, was mightily inflamed with a deſire to Govern by the procurement of this *Bardas* his Uncle, who thereby and by all other ways ſought to ſcrew up himſelf into Power. The great obſtacles to his Riſe were *Manuel* and *Theoctiſtus*, who being the Emperour's Governours, and conſtantly attending in Court, were by one means or other firſt to be removed. It luckily happened for him that there fell ſome miſunderſtanding betwixt them, which he ſo encreaſed that thereupon *Manuel* quitted the Palace, and retired to his own Houſe. Having thus removed him, he attempted the ſame upon his Inſtrument *Theoctiſtus*, whom he more hated, becauſe he had taxed him for having inceſtuouſly to doe with his Daughter-in-Law. The Engine he uſed was the Emperour's School-maſter, a wicked and intractable Man, whom the Scholar (commendable yet in this, that he was his Maſter) willing to Prefer to ſome conſiderable Office, *Theoctiſtus* had oppoſed it, telling him ſuch Preferments were to be beſtowed according to Merit, and not upon undeſerving Perſons. The Scool-maſter acted by Revenge, and the conſtant incouragements of *Bardas*, never left whiſpering into the Ears of the Youth, that all things went ill through the bad management of *Theoctiſtus*; that he had a Deſign to make a Marriage for the Empreſs or one of her Daughters, and put out the Emperour's Eyes; otherwiſe terrifying him, and telling him he muſt be quick, and very crafty in providing for his own ſafety. They having often met and deliberated about this matter, reſolved to have *Theoctiſtus* made away, and that after this manner. As he went to *Lanſiacum* for the Recording of ſome Tranſactions, the Emperour following after at ſome diſtance ſhould give the ſign by theſe words, *Take him away*. *Theoctiſtus* apprehending the ſign, endeavoured to ſave himſelf by flight towards the Court in the *Circus*, where the Secretaries then had their Office, but was ſtopt as he ran, and *Bardas* drawing his Sword threatned to kill any that ſhould make any oppoſition or defend him. He was then committed to Priſon till order ſhould be taken about him, which was not long in taking nor executing; for leſt the Empreſs ſhould in the Inte-

rim attempt any thing, they ſent one to diſpatch him, with whom he ſtrugled ſome time, but Died of a wound received in his Belly.

50. He being dead, *Bardas* took upon him the Office of *Canicleus*; but *Theodora* underſtanding what was done, ran with her hair all about her ſhoulders up and down the Court, which ſhe filled with her ſhrieks and cries, curſing her Son and Brother, and wiſhing to them the like end. *Bardas* could not bear her Reproaches, but reſolved that ſhe, as the next obſtacle to his Deſigns, was to be removed. She being an underſtanding Woman, was aware hereof, and reſolved not to put all into bloud by making reſiſtence, but to call together the Senate, and give them an Account what Treaſure was now in the Palace, both to obviate the extravagant expences of her Son, and to make manifeſt how carefull and frugal ſhe had been, during her adminiſtration of Affairs. She told them, that of Gold there was one thouſand and ninety Centenaries, and three thouſand of Silver, partly gathered together by her Husband, and partly by her ſelf; beſides very great Wealth in other kinds, of which ſhe thought fit to let them know, leſt her Son ſhould hereafter make them believe that ſhe had left him an empty Purſe; and ſhe cauſed the Officers of the Treaſury to be preſent, who bore witneſs to what ſhe had ſaid. Having thus delivered her ſelf, ſhe reſigned her Power and Government, and departed from Court; of which her Son was not at all diſpleaſed. For all this Wealth the fooliſh Young Prince in a ſmall time conſumed. Being above all things delighted in Riding, and Driving of Chariots, he refuſed not the Office of a Driver himſelf in the Cirque, and ſuch as would accompany him and play with him at this or other idle and Raſcally Sports, he profuſely enriched, beſtowing upon each an hundred, eighty, or at leaſt fifty Pounds at the Chriſtening of their Children. Having thus made away all his Mother had left him, when the ſolemn time came that he was to make Preſents, having no other means left him of making Money, he cauſed to be melted and ſtamped thoſe famous Trees of Gold, which (as *Glicas* relates) being made in the late Emperour's time by *Leo* the Philoſopher a Biſhop, the greateſt Scholar of his time, held in the Boughs a number of Golden Birds, which by virtue of an Engine ſung melodiouſly, together with Golden Lions which roared alſo by the ſame Device, beſides as many Vultures, and other ſtuff of the ſame metal, with other things, for which the Imperial Palace was famous, and gratified the curioſity of Strangers. In the ſame manner he had dealt with the Imperial Robes, but that Death prevented him, and *Baſilius* his Succeſſour recovered them out of the Hands of his Inſtruments, who found in the Houſe onely three Centenaries of Gold, and nine Bags of *Miliariſia*, which he produced to the Senate, and deploring the Poverty of the Empire, Commanded them to Conſult by what means it might beſt be ſupplied.

Theodora the Emperour's Mother gives an account of the Treaſure,

Which *Michael* laviſhly conſumes.

51. But *Bardas* and his Nephew proceeding in their evil courſes, and ſtill jealous of the Empreſs, cauſed *Petronas* her own Brother, when on a time ſhe came to the Church in *Blachernis*, to lay hands on her and her Daughters that accompanied her, to ſhave them, and make them all Nunns, which Indignity ſhe not long ſurvived. Now the whole Power was in *Bardas* his Hands, whom his Nephew Honoured with the Dignity of *Curopalata*, as a Reward for thus dealing with his Mother. After this he raiſed an Army, and undertook with him an Expedition againſt the *Saracens*, and the *Ameras* of *Melitena*, and laid Siege to a City of theirs, ſituate upon the River *Euphrates*. Herein they contained themſelves, as willing to have it believed that they durſt not adventure out, and their Deſign proſpered ſo well, that the Emperour's Army thereupon grew ſecure, and took no care how they ordered their matters. The *Saracens* then took the advantage when they were at Prayer, and going to Communicate on the Lord's Day, and iſſuing out fell upon them, put them eaſily to the Rout, the Emperour eſcaping by the ſwiftneſs of his Horſe. All the Baggage of the Army was taken, and *Charbeas* Captain of the *Manichees* ſo notably behaved himſelf, that beſides many of the Inferiour ſort which fell by his Hands, he took no fewer than an hundred of the moſt eminent Commanders alive, who were all put to Ranſome, onely one *Seon* died in Reſtraint. Two years after, *Amer* with an Army conſiſting of thirty thouſand Men invaded the *Roman* Territories, whom *Michael* oppoſed with no fewer than five and forty thouſand *Thracians* and *Macedonians*; but *Amer* making his Paſſage through bye-ways, fell upon him unexpectedly, and with as much eaſe as formerly, put his Army to flight. And he himſelf had been taken, but that *Manuel* the Domeſtick of the Schools in good time came in to his Reſcue with a ſtrong Party. The reſt ſhifted for themſelves, every Man as he could.

Theodora. ſhaven.

An Expedition againſt the *Saracens*.

But with ill ſucceſs.

They invade the *Roman* Territories, and rout the Emperour's Army.

52. Two

Another Invaſion.

Wherein the *Saracens* are worſted.

Bardas made *Cæſar*.

52. Two years more having paſſed after this Ingagement, *Amer* marches with another Army of forty thouſand Men into the *Roman* Provinces and waſtes *Armenia*, with the Maritime Parts; at which time it's reported that he imitated the mad frolick of *Xerxes*, in laſhing the Sea, becauſe it ſtopped his farther pleaſant progreſs. The Emperour upon the News, ſent Orders to his Uncle *Petronas*, with all the force he could make to march againſt him, who then lying at *Epheſus*, and much diſturbed upon Receit of the Letters, conſulted one *John* a Monk, who had the opinion of a Prophet, and by him was promiſed victory againſt the *Saracens*. Incouraged hereby, he haſtes toward the Enemy, whom in an advantageous place he compaſſes about, and after ſome vain attempts of getting looſe, cuts him off, and his whole Army. The Son of *Amer* being abroad on Foraging, and hearing of the diſaſter, made with all ſpeed he could toward *Melitena*, but the Officer that commanded the *Charſian* Straits, took him and his Party and preſented him to *Petronas*. Now returned *Petronas* to *Conſtantinople*, carrying along with him this Monk, whom he commended as a wonderfull Man to the Emperour and his Brother *Bardas*, and for his good Service was made Domeſtick of the Schools, *Manuel* being lately dead. *Bardas* being now left without a Competitour, ordered all things as he liſted, putting in and out all Officers, and now procured to himſelf the Dignity of *Cæſar*, *Michael* in the mean time, as he was well pleaſed he ſhould, by his ridiculous Actions making himſelf deſpicable in the eyes of all Men. *Bardas* hoping one day to be ſole Maſter of all, that he might by ſomething commend himſelf to the publick, endeavoured to bring into faſhion again Philoſophy and other Parts of Learning, which by reaſon of the ignorance of the later Emperours, had for many years lain buried in oblivion, appointing to each Science it's ſeveral School in the Palace of *Magnaura*. He was frequently preſent alſo in the Courts of Juſtice at the Cirque, and procured the Laws again to flouriſh, which in theſe times had been alſo much neglected.

The Maritime Coaſts of the Empire infeſted by Pirates.

The firing of Beacons forbidden by the Emperour.

53. In the mean time, all the Coaſts lying upon the *Euxine* Sea, were grievouſly waſted by a ſort of Pirates called *Roſſi*, a *Scythian* People, fierce and cruel, inhabiting ſome of the Northern Parts of the Mountain *Taurus*. They brought the City of *Conſtantinople* alſo into great danger. About the ſame time another Fleet of Pirates from *Crete* infeſted thoſe Parts, lying about *Proconneſus* and the *Cyclades*, and moſt horrible Earthquakes happened, whereof the greateſt on Aſcenſion day, wherewith Walls, Churches, and other Buildings and Works were overturned. Beſides Rivers and Fountains failed of their Waters, and many other Prodigies happened in divers places; of all which when the Emperour had notice, he regarded them not, ſo intent he was upon his Races. One ſottiſh Act of his muſt not be paſt over in ſilence. His Predeceſſours, that they might have certain notice of the Incurſions of the *Saracens*, and to give warning to the Inhabitants of the Neighbouring Countries, that they might not be ſurprized, cauſed to be Built as near *Tarſus*, in the Border of theirs and the Saracenian Dominions, a ſtrong Fort or Tower called *Luluni*, on a very high Rock, wherein were placed certain Men, who as ſoon as ever they perceived theſe People to be about an Invaſion, by fire kindled, were to give notice thereof to others that kept their ſtation in another Hill called *Argens*. Thoſe in *Argens* gave a ſign in the ſame manner to others that watched in *Ægialus*, thoſe to others at *Mamas*. From *Mamas* the ſign was given to the Cirque, from the Cirque to *Mocillum*, and from *Mocillum* to thoſe that watched in the Mount of St. *Auxentius*, who in the laſt place gave the ſign to the great Palace. By theſe Beacons were the Emperours, in a moment as it were, certified of the Enemies motion, and the Countreymen had timely warning to ſecure themſelves and goods, in the ſtrong holds adjoyning. Now it happened that on a time, near the Church of St. *Mamas*, this *Michael* beginning his Races, the Beacon was ſet a fire, which exceedingly afflicted him, leſt the People ſhould not view well, and conſider his Dexterity in Riding. And leſt by any ſuch ſight; the attention of the Spectatours ſhould be diverted for the time to come, he forbade the fires to be made in the places that were near to the City.

Who is wholly addicted to Racing and Villany.

54. Another time as he ſate in his Chariot, and the Horſes were juſt ready to be let goe, word was brought, that the *Ameras* of *Melitena*, did grievouſly haraſs the Province of *Aſia*, and being come already as far as *Malagina*, threatned the reſt with Deſolation, which being told him by the firſt Notary, in a ſorrowfull manner, who alſo preſented him with the Letters of the Domeſtick of the Schools, matters of Importance as he imagined, he looked upon him with a grim and angry Countenance, asking him how he durſt, Villain as he was, diſturb him,

buſied

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buſied in ſo important an Affair, with ſuch trifling matters, eſpecially now onely intent upon this, to turn off him that ſhould Encounter him, to the left Hand, which was the wager laid. He would debaſe himſelf with all ſorts of mean Actions, blaming his Predeceſſours for inſiſting upon State. He had ever in his company a crew of moſt impure and profligate wretches, whom to abuſe all things Sacred, he would cauſe to put on Copes, and other Veſtments wherein Churchmen were wont to Officiate, and thus Habited, to imitate the moſt Sacred Functions and Holy Myſteries. One *Gryllus* a Rogue, he called Patriarch; others he named Metropolitans, and took to himſelf the Title of one of the chief Biſhops and Preſident of the Colony. With this crew he would meet the Patriarch in Proceſſion, and once ſent for his Mother, as to meet *Ignatius*, who then held that Place, and as the good Woman on her knees begged a Bleſſing, the Villain *Gryllus* appeared, having all the while hid his Beard, and with filthy geſtures derided the poor Lady, who with ſuch Anger as upon ſuch an occaſion became her, denounced vengeance unto her Son. Such were the manners and company of this diſſolute Prince, whom veangeance at laſt overtook according to his Mother's Prediction, but firſt all his Governours, and ſuch as ſhould have better principled and adviſed him, were to receive their Puniſhment. How *Theoctiſtus* came to his end we have already ſeen, and *Bardas* his Tragedy is now to follow, which was uſhered in by a terrible Dream, and ſeveral other preſages, as our Authours obſerve.

55. He had perſwaded the Emperour to Arm againſt the *Saracens* of *Crete*, who infeſted his Subjects upon all occaſions, and were now come in their Expedition into *Thrace*, as far as a place called *Chorus*. There the Servants of *Bardas*, whether out of Deſign or unadviſedly, for they were in an hurry, pitched their Maſters Tent upon an Hill, the Pavilion of the Emperour being placed below in the Plain. This advantage was taken by his Enemies, who ceaſed not to render *Michael* jealous of him, and to inſtigate him againſt him to procure his ſudden Deſtruction. Yet the Intereſt of *Cæſar* was ſuch at Court, that they had much difficulty to bring about what they deſired. For, his Son *Antigonus* bore the Office of Domeſtick of the Schools, and had the other Officers of the Army much at his Devotion; and *Symbatius* the *Logotheta Dromi*, being his Son-in-Law, was concluded of his Party, although the Emperour himſelf privately had taken him off, and no Man ſo much watched an opportunity to deſtroy him, and to him alone was committed the truſt of giving the privy ſign when it ſhould be done. Now *Symbatius* making a Relation of what had happened, ſigned his Face with the Croſs, which was the ſign agreed of among the Conſpiratours. Yet were they very ſlow, being awed by the Relations and Dependents of *Bardas*, there preſent, though *Michael* fearfull leſt the Plot, if not now executed, might be turned upon himſelf, by one he could truſt, ſent and animated them all he could. The Fact had not now been committed, but *Baſilius* the Emperour's Chamberlain, (who for eſpecial reaſons, as we ſhall ſee at large, was more concerned than any other to have him made away) ſtirred up his courage, and exhorting thoſe preſent to ſtand to him courageouſly, reſolved upon it. *Bardas* ſeeing them come upon him with drawn Swords, fell down at the Emperour's feet, and was cut all in pieces, after which they expoſed his Genitals ignominiouſly fixed upon a Pole. So great a Tumult hereupon enſued, that brought the Emperour into extreme danger; and he might have eaſily miſcarried in it, had not *Conſtantine* the *Drungarius* of *Biglæ* come in in good time with a ſtrong Party of Men and quieted thoſe concerned, affirming that *Bardus* was juſtly put to Death. He being after this ſort diſpatched, *Michael* caſt off all thoughts of the Expedition to *Crete*, and returned to *Conſtantinople*.

Bardas Murthered.

56. Here it's obvious to remark the Cuſtome of Courtiers and great Miniſters to raiſe themſelves upon the Ruine of others, and that uſually they themſelves are ſerved in the like ſort; the Intereſts of times or humours of Princes eaſily changing, although their hopes ſo beguile their wits that they do not conſider it. *Bardas* had caſt down others, as ſteps to mount to his great Preferment, and more than probable it is, that the Emperour himſelf muſt at length have faln for a greater advantage, had he not been prevented; but now his Removal makes way for another Favourite, who executes at laſt what he had but deſigned. This was *Baſilius* but lately mentioned, by Birth a *Macedonian*, but as ſome reported, of *Armenian* Deſcent, and that from the ſtock of the *Arſacidæ*, out of which alone of old time the Kings of the *Parthians*, *Medes* and *Armenians* could be choſen, out of reſpect to *Arſaces* the Firſt, who recovered the Kingdom to the

Baſilius put into his Place.

the *Parthians* from thoſe of *Perſia*. And long did this Race continue, *Artabanus* and *Clienes* being the two laſt of the Kings, who being driven from their Inheritance, came in the time of *Leo* the Great to *Conſtantinople*, and he entertained them honourably, aſſigning them convenient abode in the City. Afterward the King of *Perſia* invited them to return, about which while they were Conſulting, *Leo* removed them to *Nice*, a Town in *Macedonia*, whence in proceſs of time, when the *Saracens* had Conquered the *Perſian* Kingdom, the *Amermumnes* alſo invited their Poſterity to return. This being underſtood by the Emperour *Heraclius*, who perceived that he recalled them not out of any affection, but that by their means he might the better maſter the *Armenians* and *Parthians*, he removed them firſt to *Philippi* a City in *Macedonia*, and thence to *Adrianople*, where they multiplied, yet kept their race unmixt with other People. Sometime after when *Conſtantine* and his Mother *Irene* reigned, one of them by Name *Maictes* came to *Conſtantinople*, where lighting upon *Leo* one of his own ſtock he contracted ſuch Friendſhip with him, that coming to *Adrianople* he gave him his Daughter in Marriage. Of this Conjunction was born the Father of *Baſilius*, ſo gracefull a Perſon, that a certain eminent Matron, ſaid to be deſcended from *Conſtantine the Great*, married to him her Daughter. This is the Pedigree *Cedrenus* gives us of *Baſilius*, but by others generally it's accounted but a fiction, who affirm him born of very ignoble and obſcure Parents.

Some account of him.

57. It's granted on all Hands, that when *Crumus* the *Bulgarian* took *Adrianople* his Parents were led away Captive, and carried him with them being a young Infant hanging on the Breaſt. The Succeſſour of *Crumus*, being ſore diſtreſſed by ſeveral Defeats received from the *Romans*, made peace with the Emperour, and by virtue of that Agreement reſtored all Priſoners formerly taken, amongſt whom *Baſilius* returned. Many Prodigies are ſaid to have portended to him the Empire. An Eagle, when being a Child he was laid in the Field, as his Parents were at work, covered him with her Wings, and being beaten off once or twice ſtill returned to her former Poſture. When he was grown up to be a youth, his Father died, and his Mother being left a poor Widow, and not able to maintain him, he went to *Conſtantinople* to ſeek a ſervice, where he got into the Family of one *Theophilizes* (ſo called from his ſmall ſtature) who was of kin to the Emperour and to *Bardas*, being recommended it's ſaid by him that kept the Church of St. *Diomedes*, to whom they will have it that the Martyr revealed it that he ſhould be Emperour, and commanded him to take him in as he lay at the Gate for want of a better Lodging. *Theophilizes* being much taken with him, for he was tall, beautifull of Body, and wore long curled Hair, being beſides very active, and of a very good wit, made him Gentleman of his Horſe, which they in thoſe days and places called *Protoſtrator*. The Emperour at this time having an unruly Horſe, none could tame him, till at length it was effected by *Baſilius*, who when he was got looſe rode after, and leaping into the Emperour's ſadle made him quiet and tractable, which was accounted another Omen, the Imperial trappings and purple Bridle, Enſigns of Majeſty, being conſidered. For this Service and Contemplation of his Dexterity, he was taken amongſt the Officers of the Emperour's Stable, and ſhortly after *Bardas* having out of Jealouſie cauſed the former to be turned out, was made a *Protoſtrator* or Maſter of the Horſe a place both very honourable, and which gave him occaſion often to be near and converſe with him. So much he grew into favour, that *Bardas* began to caſt a jealous Eye upon him; as alſo the Empreſs *Theodora* her ſelf, by reaſon of I wot not what ſecret marks ſhe eſpied in his Face, which had been formerly deſcribed to her by her Husband, as appropriate to him that ſhould put a Period to his Family.

58. But neither her ſwooning at the ſight of theſe marks, nor all the Caution ſhe could give her Son could in the leaſt diminiſh his Reputation with him, who after ſome time preferred him to be Chamberlain, which ſo inraged *Bardas*, and augmented his jealouſie that he ſought his deſtruction; and this being known to the other, impoſſible it was that both of them could long ſubſiſt. But the expedition towards *Crete* gave *Baſilius* the Advantage, who as *Cæſar* ſtood and talked with the Emperour, lift up his Hand in a threatning manner at his back, which the other by chance looking behind him having eſpied, fell down at the Feet of *Michael*, where the reſt of the Conſpiratours cut him in pieces, but not till the firſt ſtroke was given by *Baſilius*. Returning then back with the Emperour to *Conſtantinople*, he received from him in Marriage *Eudocia* the Daughter of *Juceres*, a Lady much extolled for her Chaſtity aſwell as Beauty, and other Qualifications

by

Baſilius made Emperour.

Conſpires with others who murther *Michael*.

by *Cedrenus*, but *Zonaras* writes, that ſhe was Concubine to *Michael*, and that ſhe was then believ'd with Child by him of *Leo*, who afterward ſucceeded *Baſilius* as his Son. After this the Emperour made him his Collegue, or Emperour cauſing him to be Crowned by the Patriarch in the Great Church of St. *Sophia*. For after the Death of *Bardas*, the Adminiſtration of Affairs having faln upon *Michael* alone, his Weakneſs and Debauchery came to be made more publick than ever, no buſineſs being diſpatched, but all things going to Ruine, which conſtrained him as ſtupid as he was to think, of ſome one who ſhould bear the Burthen. Being eaſed ſomething in his mind by this he returned to his Drunkenneſs,his driving of Chariots and other looſe Courſes rather more than ever, and on a time when he had won the prize entertained *Baſilius* and *Eudocia* at Supper,being grievouſly incenſed againſt him for rebuking and admoniſhing him; for in his mad and drunken fits he would command the Ears of ſome, the Hands others, and ſometimes the Heads to be cut off. But there one *Baſilinus*, of late Maſter of his Barge, but whom for his comely Perſon he had made ſomething familiar with him, ſtanding by the Table fell into a great Harangue, wherein he wonderfully extolled him for his ſkill, and his management of his late exerciſe in the Cirque. *Michael* being even drunk and much elevated with Commendation, delivers him his Purple ſhooes,bids him put them on,and ſalutes him Emperour; at which when he was abaſhed and looked upon *Baſilius*, the Emperour growing angry, *Baſilius* beckoned to him to doe as he was bidden. The ſhooes being on, *Michael* inraged at *Baſilius* told him, that theſe Enſigns of Empire did much more become *Baſilinus* than him, and asked him whether as he made him Emperour, by the ſame Authority he might not create another. To this relation of *Zonaras Cedrenus* and *Glycas* add, that as Emperour and more fit than the other he recommended *Baſilinus* to the Senate. However, *Baſilius* ſaw plainly there was no way but one, he muſt either ſtrike or be ſtricken, and therefore making a Party, as *Michael* was drunk another time in the Palace of St. *Mamas*, being led into his Chamber, when he was faſt aſleep he made ſure the Doors, and then came with his Conſpiratours who being reſiſted by thoſe that waited without, a noiſe was made,and the Emperour therewith awaked. One going in to him with a drawn Sword,cut off both his Hands as he held them up, and therewith returned to his Companions. Not able to go he ſtumbled, lay roaring on the ground, till another of them thruſt his Sword through his Breaſt, and ſo opened his Body that his Entrails came out. To ſuch an end came *Michael* ſirnamed the *Drunken*, after he had reigned twenty five years and three Months, whereof fourteen years together with his Mother.

Baſilius ſole Emperour.

Furniſhes his Treaſury.

Takes care that Juſtice be rightly adminiſtred.

Prevents cheating.

59. *Michael* being dead, *Baſilius* became ſole Emperour by conſent of Nobility and People, in the twelfth year of *Ludovicus* the ſecond Emperour of the Weſt, the tenth of *Nicholas* Biſhop of *Rome*, the fifteenth Indiction. *A. D.* 867. The firſt thing he did was to call together the Senatours and Magiſtrates, and to open the Treaſury wherein were onely found as we ſaid before three Centenaries. But to know how theſe vaſt Summs of Money had been ſpent, he procured the Accounts of an old Eunuch belonging to the Revenue, and ſhewed them to the Magiſtrates and Senate, by whom it was unanimouſly reſolved, that thoſe who had received them for ſuch diſhoneſt or frivolous ſervices ſhould refund to the Treaſury, which ſentence he ſo far mitigated as to make them pay half, by which means three Hundred Centenaries of Gold were recovered. By this and other Courſes very acceptable and honeſt he ſo furniſhed himſelf, that he made great largeſſes to the People. Hereby he got great Reputation and Love, which he augmented by beſtowing Offices upon fit Perſons alone, by taking great care for equal and indifferent diſtribution of Juſtice, to which end he appointed upright Judges to whom he aſſigned convenient Salaries, and dividing them into three Courts which he appointed to ſit dayly in *Magnaura*, the Cirque and *Chalce* or the *Braſen Gate*, which for this purpoſe he repaired. To ſuch as were poor and unable to be at the expence, he allowed Money for their ſuits. As his publick Affairs permitted, he himſelf would attend theſe matters, and going down to *Genicum* where his Cuſtome-Houſe was, took care that no Man ſhould be oppreſſed. It's reported that once being at the Place he was wont to hear Cauſes, and finding none that exhibited any complaint, he ſuſpected that ſome of his Officers hindred ſuch as had recourſe to Juſtice, and therefore he ſent certain Officers about the City to make inquiry, if there were any that deſired to prefer their Petitions, who returning with this anſwer that they could find none, he wept for joy, and gave God Thanks. Taking notice that the weights and Meaſures of the City were ſtamped

onely with Figures,which wearing out,or ignorant Perſons not underſtanding them, gave opportunity to many Tradeſmen to cheat, he cauſed inſtead of Figures the quantity to be expreſt in words at length, that any Countreyman might reade them, and this at his own charge. To theſe commendations is added by ſome, that he altered and new modelled the Civil Laws themſelves, of which we ſhall inquire in another place.

A Conſpiracy againſt him, but diſcovered and puniſhed.

He ſettles his Family.

He waſtes the Countrey near *Tephrica*.

Enters the Territories of *Melitena*.

Thence to the *Manichees* deſtroying all things in his return to *Conſtantinople*.

60. But though he gave content to the generality, all were not ſatisfied; for in his firſt year one *George* and *Symbatius*, both Patritians, made a Conſpiracy againſt him, which being revealed by one of the Party, their Eyes were put out, and the reſt being ſhewn up and down in diſgrace were ſent into Baniſhment. The better to obviate all Deſigns, to gain Diadems to his two Eldeſt Sons *Conſtantine* and *Leo*, and in his third year to his third Son *Alexander*. His fourth, *Stephen* by Name, he cauſed to take orders with intention to prefer him to be Patriarch, as ſome have written, and his four Daughters he made Nuns in the Monaſtery of *Euphemia* the Martyr. Having ſetled his Domeſtick affairs as to him ſeemed moſt prudential, he then reſolved upon War, and finding the uſual Number of Souldiers much diminiſhed, by reaſon that *Michael* had otherwiſe ſpent their Pay, he took care for making up the ſeveral Companies by new Levies. Then went he againſt *Tophrica*, the Governour of which was one *Chryſochir* a Man of approved Valour and Skill, who had done much miſchief by his Inrodes made into the *Roman* Territories. Upon notice of the Emperour's approach he ſhut himſelf up within the Walls, to which *Baſilius* purpoſed to lay Siege, but underſtanding that the Place was ſtrong and well furniſhed, he waſted the Countrey adjacent, and taking three Neighbouring Caſtles *Abara*, *Coptus* and *Spatha*, he departed thence with much booty. This expedition ſo terrified *Taurus*, a City not far diſtant from *Tephrica*, that it made peace with the Emperour, and *Curterius* an *Armenian*, who held a City called *Locana*, and had done great harm in the *Roman* borders, gave it up into his Hands. In the mean time, a ſelect Party took in *Zapetra* and *Samoſata*, where a great Number of Chriſtian Captives were ſet at liberty, and then paſſing over *Euphrates* waſted the Countrey, and with many Captives and rich Spoils returned to the Emperour, then lying upon the River *Artzanucus*. He incouraged by this Succeſs marched to *Euphrates*, and laying a Bridge over it beſides other Acts of Hoſtility, took a Caſtle called *Rapſacium*, as a Party he ſent to haraſs the Countrey, lying betwixt *Arſines* and *Euphrates*, deſtroyed five other Forts. Entring the Territories of *Melitena*, he killed and took many of thoſe that made oppoſition, and at firſt thought of attacking the City, but finding it very ſtrong, and ſo furniſhed with Proviſions as to hold out a very long Siege, he departed into the Countrey of the *Manichees*, where deſtroying all things as he paſſed with Fire and Sword he took four Caſtles, and then returned to *Conſtantinople*, which entring at the Golden Gate from the *Hebdomus*, he went in triumph accompanied with the Acclamations of the People to the Church of St. *Sophia*, where having given thanks, the Patriarch, according to the Cuſtome, ſet a Crown upon his Head. This done having diverted himſelf a little with his Wife and Children in the Palace, he returned to the Cares of the Commonwealth.

The *Manichees* invade the Emperour's Dominions.

But are met.

61. The year that followed, the *Manichees*, under Command of *Chryſochir*, again made an Inrode and waſted the Emperour's Dominions, againſt whom, according to the Cuſtome, he ſent the Domeſtick of the Schools. He with all the Forces that could be made reſtrained their Incurſions as he could, but not daring to hazard all in a Battel, as the Enemy retired, ſent two Commanders with Orders to follow him at ſome convenient diſtance to watch his motions; if he returned to let him know, but if he went directly home then to return back to the Camp. It happened that thoſe two Officers being upon their Duty, and watching the Enemy as he had ſate down at the Foot of a certain Hill, their two ſeveral Parties they commanded, fell into a ſharp Contention about their Valour, and which had moſt deſerved for their Service in the Field. The Contention continuing, a cunning Fellow amongſt them, told them it was vain to contend in words, ſeeing that ſo notable an opportunity preſented it ſelf by their Actions, as to declare their Superiority in Courage. The thing took ſo well, that their Officers reſolved to make uſe of this their preſent Heat, which would receive much advantage from the convenience of the Place, they being upon the higher Ground. The half of their Men ſix Hundred and no more, they led down againſt the *Manichees*, and the other ordered to ſtand upon the Hill, and by making a great Noiſe to amuſe them with apprehenſion of greater Numbers. By

And taken by the *Romans*.

Night they made their Onſet with ſuch Clamour, as put the Enemies into a great Fright, which hindred him from looking about or conſulting, and he fairly betook himſelf to his Heels. Then was notice ſent to the Domeſtick of the Schools, and purſuit was made for thirty Miles with great Execution. *Chryſochir* himſelf was ſlain, and his Head ſent to the Emperour, and with him fell the whole Vigour and Strength of the *Manichees*, who from *Tephrica* had done ſo great miſchief, and *Cameia* their *Metropolis* our Greek Hiſtorians call it, or chief City, was preſently after deſtroyed. About which time alſo *Baſilius* recovered *Lulum* a Caſtle from the *Saracens*; and *Melvus* another Fort yielded it ſelf.

Another Conſpiracy, diſcovered and puniſhed.

Baſilius invades *Syria*.

62. This good ſucceſs of *Baſilius* abroad was envied at home, another Conſpiracy being at this time hatched againſt him, by one *Curcuas* a Patritian; but one of the Number revealed it; *Curcuas* had his Eyes put out, and the reſt being ignominiouſly beaten and ſhaven were baniſhed their Countrey. Having eſcaped this danger, in the beginning of the Spring with his eldeſt Son *Conſtantine* he made an Invaſion into *Syria*, and took *Cæſarea* the chief City of *Cappadocia*, where he ſtaid ſome time and trained his men. But thence by ſeveral Parties ſent abroad, he took in ſeveral Places, and either cauſed the Governours of the *Saracens* to run away or to ſubmit; after which he paſſed over the Rivers *Onopnictes* and *Sardus*, and came to *Cucuſus*, and thence through the Straits of the Mountain *Taurus* to the City *Germanicia*, the Inhabitants whereof, as of other Towns, ſhutting up themſelves he waſted the Countrey about, and having taken a Fort called *Geron*, with all his might fell upon the City *Adapa*. The Inhabitants moſt valiantly defending themſelves, he asked how they could be ſo confident, ſeeing ſuch certain deſtruction to hang over their Heads, to which an Old Man amongſt them anſwered, that their City was not to be taken by him at this time, but by one deſcended from him named *Conſtantine*, therefore they were nothing terrified by this Attempt he made. He replyed, that he had a Son there whoſe Name was *Conſtantine*, but the Old Man again affirmed, that he was not the Perſon, but another of that Name and of his Poſterity long after ſhould deſtroy the Place, which inraged *Baſilius* ſo as he indeavoured by all means poſſible to prove the Prediction falſe, but his indeavours would not ſucceed, and the Froſt coming on he was forced to riſe up and be gone homewards. In his return he cauſed many of the Priſoners to be killed becauſe they were too numerous, and by ſeveral Hoſtile Acts ſtruck ſuch terrour into *Abdelomeleres* a *Saracen* Governour, that he ſubmitted himſelf to him and became his Aſſociate againſt his own Nation. Coming to *Cæſarea* out of *Meſopotamia*, and from elſewhere he received news of good ſucceſs of his Forces and Multitudes of Captives, whom he commanded to be put to death as Cumberſome and Dangerous. At *Medæus* he rewarded ſuch as had done worthily in this Expedition, and ſending the Army into its Winter Quarters returned to *Conſtantinople*, where he received a Crown from the Patriarch, as the manner was, and was Careſſed after the uſual ſort by the Inhabitants.

Returns with vaſt Spoils to *Conſtantinople*.

The *Saracens* beaten by the Conduct of *Andreas*.

63. By this ſucceſs of his Arms he quite broke the Power of the *Manichees*, or thoſe of *Tephrica*; but the *Saracens* from *Tarſus* began to renew their Hoſtilities, and rather more than ever to practiſe their Robberies and Depredations. Againſt them one *Andreas* a *Scythian* made very ſtrong oppoſition, and did ſo eminent ſervice therein, that the Emperour honoured him with the Dignity of a Patritian, and at length made him Domeſtick of the Schools. Furniſhed now with great Strength and Authority, he fought ſeveral Battels with the *Ameras* of *Tarſus*, wherein he had ever the better, and in one of them ſlew him who had by a Blaſphemous Letter challenged him to an Ingagement. Yet, as Envy is never wanting to great Atchievements, there were ſome at Court who maligned and accuſed him to the Emperour, as having had *Tarſus* it ſelf in his power, which he might eaſily have taken had he not wanted either Courage or Conduct, or both. They perſwaded *Baſilius* to take away his Command, which was given to one *Stipeiotas*, one of his Accuſers, one who made great Brags, and undertook ſpeedily to put the Emperour into poſſeſſion of *Tarſus*. And thither indeed he led an Army, but managed his matters without any diſcretion or forecaſt, and ſuffered his men to lie in ſuch diſorder, that the *Saracens* iſſuing out frighted them by certain Noiſes they made, and eaſily routing put moſt of them to the Sword, for by the many Overthrows received from *Andreas* they were reduced to ſo ſmall a Number, that they durſt not venture a Battel but were forc't to uſe their Wits. Such was the State of Affairs in the Eaſt, how they ſtood in the Weſtern parts we muſt now diſcover according to the meaſure of our Intelligence.

Pannonia and *Dalmatia* waſted by the *Saracens*.

But ſomewhat relieved by the Emperour's Forces.

64. All buſineſs, eſpecially Foreign, being neglected by *Michael*, ſuch Parts of *Italy* as had belonged to the Empire, with the *Roman* Pale in *Sicily*, were faln into the hands of the *Saracens* of *Africk*, and made Tributary to thoſe Barbarians. Farther, the *Scythians* (ſo our Authours call them) inhabiting *Pannonia*, *Dalmatia*, and the other adjoyning Countries, as the *Chrobatæ*, *Servi*, *Zachlubi*, *Ferbuniotæ*, *Canalitæ*, *Diocletiani* and *Reutani*, having been formerly ſubject to the Empire, had caſt off the Yoke and declared themſelves free People, againſt whom the *Saracens* of *Carthage* watching an opportunity, made War, and creating *Goldan*, *Saba*, and *Calphuſus* their Generals, with a Fleet of ſix and thirty Ships took ſeveral Cities of *Dalmatia*, as *Butama*, *Roſa*, and the lower *Decatara*, and thus proſpering they fell upon *Raguſium* the principal City of the Province. The Inhabitants being almoſt ſpent with a long Siege ſent to *Conſtantinople* for Relief, begging they might not be neceſſitated to fall into the hands of the profeſſed Enemies of Chriſtian Religion, and it well happened for them that by this time *Michael* was dead, and *Baſilius* in poſſeſſion of the Government. He commiſerating their condition ſent away with all expedition poſſible a Fleet conſiſting of an hundred Sail under command of *Nicetas Oryphas* a Patritian and the *Drungarius of Naval Affairs*, or *Admiral of the Empire*, a prudent and skilfull Perſon, whoſe coming the *Saracens* apprehending, raiſed their Siege, and ſailing to *Lombardy* ſeized on a Caſtle called *Baris*, whence they grapled by degrees all the Countrey about, and extended their power well nigh as far as *Rome* it ſelf. But the *Chrobatæ*, *Servi*, and the reſt of the *Scythian* Nations perceiving how well their Neighbours in *Dalmatia* had ſucceeded in ſending to the Emperour for aid, by their Meſſengers craved that they might return into their former Obedience and Protection of the Empire, to which their Petition *Baſilius* willingly aſſented, their Recovery bringing no little acceſſion to the good Fortune and Glory of his Reign.

Siege laid to *Euripus*, but to the great loſs of the *Saracens*.

65. But the *Saracens* that from *Raguſium* had invaded *Italy*, making great Devaſtations in that Countrey, *Baſilius* conſidered that his Fleet under Command of *Nicetas* was not ſufficient for the Enterprize, and therefore he ſent to *Dolick* King of *France* (*Lodovick* the Emperour of the Weſt theſe Greek Authours mean) and to the Pope of *Rome*, ſo they word it, to deſire their Aſſiſtence; moreover, thoſe his Subjects that were lately returned to obedience, he deſired not to be wanting to ſo good a work. Hereby a very great Army was got together, wherewith *Baris* was taken with *Soldan*, and ſuch as fought under his Command, whom the King of *France* led away Priſoner unto *Capua*. Here being kept two years, at length he beguiled the King and got his Liberty (as is more proper to be related in another place) and returning into *Africk*, thence brought a great Force againſt *Capua* (the Inhabitants of which had ſet him free) and *Beneventum*. Being thus diſtreſſed they ſent to the King for aid, but by the cunning of *Soldan*, having been brought to revolt from him, he refuſed to give them any, wiſhing them deſtruction, and thereupon they ſent to *Baſilius*, who on the contrary returned them a very comfortable anſwer. But it happened that the Meſſenger at his return, was taken by ſome of *Soldan*'s Army, to whom being brought, he told him, *That except going to the Walls, he would deliver to his Friends a quite contrary anſwer, and put them out of all hope of Relief, he ſhould die*, which yet he refuſed, ſo great was his love to his Countrey, and telling them truly what he had in charge from the Emperour, was accordingly cut in pieces; after which, the *Soldan* not daring to abide the coming of the Succours, raiſed his ſiege and departed. About this time *Eſman* the *Ameras* of *Tarſus*, puffed up with his late Victory, ſends an Army aboard thirty great Ships (by the *Saracens* called *Cumparia*) againſt the City *Euripus*. But *Baſilius* being aware of ſuch an attempt, had ordered *Orneiates* the Governour of *Greece*, to have it very well manned, and furniſhed with all manner of neceſſaries; which rendred *Eſman*'s attempts ineffectual, ſo as inſtead of taking the Town, he loſt many Men, and had ſeveral of his Ships burned. Inraged hereat, and knowing that Gold was wont to operate much, he cauſed a great quantity thereof to be ſet before the Wall, together with an hundred moſt beautifull Captive Virgins, propoſing theſe as a reward to him that ſhould firſt mount the works and enter. This being taken notice of by the Defendants, they incouraged one another, and ſetting open all their Gates, made an univerſal ſally, wherein they killed the *Ameras* and many of his followers, and drove away the reſt to their Ships, who few in number, with ſufficient ignominy, returned home.

Another Invaſion from *Crete* with like ſucceſs.

Μετὰ ἑπτὰ ϗ εἴκοσι Κȣμπαρίων, ἃς δὴ γαλέας κατονομάζειν εἰώθασιν. *Cedrenus.*

66. But this being over, another ſtorm came from *Crete*, the Lord whereof, *Sael* the Son of *Apochapſe*, ſent one *Photius* a ſtout and skilfull Souldier, with ſeven and twenty *Cumparia*, called alſo Gallies, againſt the *Romans*. Such Iſlands as lye in the *Ægean* Sea and all the Maritime Coaſts they waſted as far as *Proconneſus* and the *Helleſpont*. But *Nicetas* the Admiral, met with them at *Cardia*, in the mouth of the *Ægean* Sea, and in a ſharp Ingagement burnt twenty of their Ships, the reſt ſhifting for themſelves by flight. Notwithſtanding this great defeat, yet they of *Crete* under command of *Photius*, again Rigged out a Navy, and therewith much diſtreſſed the Weſtern parts of *Peloponneſus*. *Nicetas* going againſt them, found he ſhould looſe much time, and perhaps the expedition if he ſhould Coaſt round about that *Peninſula*, and therefore with admirable induſtry and expedition, conveyed his Ships over the *Iſthmus* or Neck of Land of *Corinth*, and fell upon the Pirates e'er they heard of his coming, of which he killed and took great Numbers, ſlew their Commander, ſunk, burnt, or took many of their Veſſels, and forced the reſt to run, and hide themſelves amongſt the Iſlands where he hunted them out, and ſuch as he could come by, put them to death, by various and exquiſite torments. This courſe had ſuch effect upon the *Saracens* of theſe Parts, that it made them more backward afterward to invade the *Roman* Countries, but could not ſo much operate upon thoſe of *Africk*, who with hopes of better ſucceſs ſet forth a Fleet conſiſting of ſixty Ships, of unuſual bigneſs, wherewith they did very much miſchief, roving as far as the Iſland *Cephalenia* and *Zacynthus*. Againſt them was ſent *Naſar*, or (as *Zonaras* calls him *Narſan*) the ſucceſſour of *Nicetas*, who haſted with a very ſtrong Fleet to *Methona*, but thence ſo many of his men ran away, that he durſt not venture to Ingage, his Ships were ſo unmanned. This he ſignified to the Emperour, who preſently thought of this device. Thirty *Saracens* then Priſoners at *Conſtantinople*, having their Faces beſmeared ſo as they could not be known, he cauſed to be led into the Cirque, and there whipped, thence to be ſent into *Peloponneſus*, as if they had been the Authours of the Defection, and there to be nailed to Croſſes, in the place whence it muſt be imagined that they fled. This ſtruck ſuch fear into all the Seamen and Souldiers, that it did the work, and they earneſtly deſired to be led againſt the Enemy, to which he readily aſſented, as ſoon as he had from *Peloponneſus* ſufficiently furniſhed himſelf, and given order to the Governour to meet and aſſiſt him.

Which cauſed the *Saracens* to deſiſt from invading the *Roman* Territories in the Weſt.

Thoſe of *Africk* make an invaſion.

67. The *Saracens* were much elevated at this delay of the *Romans*, and as fully ſecure left their Ships, and were intent upon Rifling and Pillage at Land, when *Naſar* by night, and unexpectedly fell upon their Fleet, and ſunk, burnt or took all their Veſſels; ſuch as remained he offered to God at the Church of *Methona*. The Emperour much commending his Conduct, ordered him to proceed in the hunting of theſe Pirates; whereupon he Sailed to *Sicily*, where he deſtroyed ſuch Ships as the *Saracens* had hired, and took many Veſſels full fraught with Merchandize, eſpecially with Oil, of which by this means he cauſed ſuch plenty, that a pound thereof was ſold for no more than an *obolus*. From *Sicily* he proceeded to the Coaſts of *Italy*, where joyning with the Emperour's Land Forces, commanded by *Procopius* his *Protoveſtiarius* or Gentleman of his Wardrobe, and *Leo* a Patritian, the Governour of *Thrace* and *Macedonia*, did very commendable Service. For another *African* Fleet was defeated at the Iſland *Stele*, and moſt of the Forts in *Calabria* and *Lumbardy*, were taken from the *Saracens*, which done, *Naſar* returned Victoriouſly to *Conſtantinople*. After his departure, things went not ſo well in *Italy*, where the two Commanders, *Procopius* and *Leo* falling out, and an Ingagement happening with the Enemy, *Leo* was ſo far tranſported with Anger and Revenge, as to ſuffer the other to periſh in the Battel for want of help, when he might eaſily have relieved him, having the better of the *Saracens* in that Wing where he fought. He endeavoured to make amends by his good Service in taking the Caſtle of *Tarentum*, and ſending the Plunder to *Baſilius*, but he underſtanding the manner of *Procopius* his Death, would not ſo let it paſs, but Baniſhed *Leo*, ſome of whoſe Servants preſently accuſed him of Treaſon, and for that were killed by *Bardas*, and *David* his Sons. Fearing puniſhment, they fled with their Father towards *Syria*, but were overtaken in *Cappadocia* by ſome the Emperour ſent to purſue them. Refuſing to yield, the two Sons were ſlain in the place. The Father was brought back to *Conſtantinople*, and Sentenced by the Judges to looſe one Eye and one Hand, which being executed, he was Baniſhed to *Meſembria*, and there ſpent his days.

But are beaten by *Naſar*, General to the Emperour.

Who returns to *Conſtantinople* in triumph.

Syracuſe Beſieged and taken by the *Saracens,* through the neglect of *Adrian* the *Roman* General.

Stephen, another General baniſhed for the like fault.

68. While the Emperour's Officers were thus employed in the Weſt, the *Saracens* of *Africk* thinking him careleſs, and unprovided at home, from *Ægypt*, *Phœnicia*, and *Syria*, got Ships together, and made up a conſiderable Navy, yet reſolving to eſpie out the condition of *Baſilius*, before they would attempt any thing, but the Spye returning, acquainted them how he kept many Men in readineſs for any occaſion, and employed them in Building of Churches and other Works to keep them in Action, which underſtood they deſiſted from their Enterprize. They of *Carthage*, had prepared a Fleet to defend themſelves, imagining *Baſilius* would make War upon them, but when they found no ſuch thing, concluding that he was diverted by ſome other Enemies, they Sailed over to *Sicily*, and Beſieged *Syracuſe*, to aſſiſtence whereof, one *Adrian* a Patritian was ſent, but he either wanted Wind, or loitered ſo by the way, that at *Poloponneſus* he heard that the City was taken (the ſtory went as firſt told by Spirits) which the Infidels deſtroyed, together with all the Churches. *Adrian* having certain Intelligence by ſome that had eſcaped, how he ſhould come too late, and was prevented, returned with the Fleet to *Conſtantinople*, and took Sanctuary in the Great Church, but was thence taken and ſent into Baniſhment. Much after the ſame manner miſcarried one *Stephen* a *Cappadocian*, who with a ſelect number of *Thracians*, *Macedonians* and *Cappadocians*, was ſent into *Lombardy*, but minding nothing but his eaſe and luxury, he was turned out of Command, and one *Nicephorus Phocas* ſent in his Room, (a valiant and worthy Perſon) with a new ſupply, and a Party of *Manichees*, formerly belonging to *Chryſochis*. Joyning theſe with the Forces of *Stephen*, he obtained many Victories over the *Saracens*, taking ſeveral Towns, as *Amantia*, *Tropæ* and St. *Severina*. Theſe were the Wars managed by *Baſilius*, in the ſeveral Quarters of the World.

Crimes laid to *Baſilius* his charge.

69. Otherwiſe he moſt employed himſelf in the Building or Repairing of Churches, of which *Cedrenus* reckons up a great number, beſides other expenſes upon the Imperial Palaces, much admiring him for his Prudence and Goodneſs, whereas *Zonaras* rather taxeth him for his toiling of his Subjects in ſuch works, and inſiſts moſt upon the Churches, built to St. *Michael*, as provoked to ſo much expenſe upon them by the ſtings of his Conſcience, to expiate as it were the Murther of the Emperour *Michael*, his Maſter and Benefactour. Two things beſides that there are upon Record againſt him, which cannot be excuſed, whereof the one was his being in a manner bewitched by the cheating tricks of a certain Monk called *Theodorus Sandabarenus*, who after he had loſt one Son, had almoſt procured him to make away the other. His Eldeſt Son *Conſtantine* being dead, his thoughts and hopes were fixed upon *Leo* the ſecond Brother, yet ſo he could not ceaſe from mourning for *Conſtantine*, and was ſo fond as to deſire he might have his ſhape, as alive, repreſented to him. This it's ſaid, this *Sandabarenus* being a Conjurer, undertook, cauſing a *Spectrum* in his ſhape to meet him on Horſeback, which he imbraced and kiſſed. However it was, this Monk got very much into his favour, and often deluded him by his cheating tricks, which *Leo* his Son could not but take notice of, often exclaiming againſt him as a Mountebank and Impoſtour; The Monk for this bore him a Mortal grudge, reſolving to be revenged of him, but concealed his Malice, and carried it fair towards him, the better to bring about his Deſign. He perſwaded him when he went abroad with his Father, to carry a knife along with him, therewith to ſerve his Father in hunting, if need were, or if any Treaſon ſhould be committed againſt him, that he might be in a capacity the better to aſſiſt him.

70. The young man not knowing his drift, and thinking it no imprudent advice, the next time he went abroad put a knife into his Boot, which the Monk underſtanding, and how his device took, then betook himſelf to the Father, telling him that his Son *Leo* had reſolved to kill him, and for that purpoſe that he might not doubt thereof, came prepared with a knife into the Field. The old man's jealouſie is eaſily kindled, the young man is ſearched and the knife found, whereupon he is committed to cloſe Priſon, in an apartment of the Palace, where his Eyes had been put out at the Inſtigation of the Monk, had not the Patriarch and the Senatours made vigorous oppoſition. But for a long time in Priſon he continued, notwithſtanding all interceſſion uſed in his behalf, ſo powerfull was the ſuſpicion of *Baſilius*, till on a ſolemn day, entertaining ſome of the Nobility at dinner, there was a Parrat hung up in a Cage, which, in imitation of ſome one he had heard, lamented the young Prince his condition, ſaying often, *Alas, my Lord Leo?* This occaſion the Senatours took to renew their ſolicitation to the Emperour in behalf of his Son, for whom they undertook to anſwer, as if the

Baſilius dyes.

Bird it ſelf did reprehend them for their neglect, and the good nature of *Baſilius* was now ſo much wrought upon, that he ſet him at liberty, and reſtored him to his former place and favour. *Baſilius* not long after died, when he had Reigned eighteen years ten months and ſeven days, by himſelf, and about one year with *Michael.* About the cauſe of his death there is ſome difference; *Cedrenus* writes, that he died of a *Diarrhœa,* but *Zonaras* tells us another ſtory of his going to hunt, and how a certain Deer, more ſtout than ordinary, making reſiſtence, thruſt his horn under his girdle, and lift him up from the ground, bringing him into danger of his Life, which was ſaved by one of his Followers, who drew his Sword and cut the girdle. He adds, that inſtead of rewarding the man, he cauſed his Head to be cut off, as having drawn his Sword againſt the Emperour. Of this, *Cedrenus* is ſilent, and ſo *John Curopalates,* who mentions alſo the Flux he died of, though *Zonaras* attributes his death to an hurt received from the Deer. Leaſt of all is that ſtory to be believed of him that he ſhould make a vow, that if he could conquer and reduce the *Bulgarians,* he would turn Monk, and having conquered them in effect, performed it, abſtaining from all fleſh (both of Woman and Beaſt) ever after, though he ſtill uſed the Imperial Enſigns. Take it all together, his Government was ſuccesfull and eaſie to his People, which we may believe, though we gave no credit to what *Cedrenus* farther hath in his commendation, that when the Senatours adviſed him to ſend ſome Officers down into the Provinces, who ſhould be ſevere in exacting the publick Revenue, he would not permit any ſuch ſtrict inquiſition to be made.

Hiſtoriæ Acquitanicæ, apud Pithæum fragmentum.

Leo ſucceeds.

71. *Baſilius* being dead, *Leo* the Sixth of that Name, ſucceeded him in the ſixth year of *Charles* the third Emperour of the Weſt, the ſecond of *Stephen* the Sixth Biſhop of *Rome,* the fourth Indiction. *A. D.* DCCCLXXXVI. He ſucceeded him as his Son, though as to his Birth, *Glycas* bids us obſerve that the Writers of Annals differed amongſt themſelves. For *Scylitzes* wrote, that the Emperour *Michael* left no Natural Iſſue, ſuch as are much given to Drink ſeldom being able to get Children, as he tells us that Men skilfull in thoſe matters affirm. But others delivered it for a truth, that *Leo* was the Son of *Michael,* particularly *Zonaras,* that he was indeed the Son of *Michael,* and in the opinion of the world the Son of *Baſilius.* His ſeverity to him ſo long in reſtraint, may a little increaſe the ſuſpicion that he thought him not his own, and yet ſcarcely would he have left him the Empire, having other Sons, except he did it to make amends for the death of *Michael.* However, as to his Son, he left him very good Inſtructions, whereof ſome had Relation to his Faith and to the Church, and others to his univerſal good behaviour. And as a great means for his Information and Direction of his Life, he charged him *to be conſtant in reading ancient Hiſtories, wherein with little labour he ſhould find what others with great pains had laid together. There he ſhould have a view of the vertues of good, and the vices of bad Men, with the ſeveral changes incident to humane Life, the viciſſitude of Affairs, and Inſtability of all worldly things, as alſo how prone Empire and Sovereignty it ſelf is to decay and periſh. In ſhort, he ſhould therein reade the rewards of good Actions, and the puniſhment of Wickedneſs, to learn to obtain the one and avoid the other.* *Leo,* ſo far obſerved theſe Precepts, as by his Study, at leaſt to obtain ſo much Theory, that for his extraordinary knowledge he got the Sirname of Philoſopher. How he obſerved them as to practice the Hiſtory of his Actions, will beſt declare, though by *Curopalates,* and the reſt of the Writers, who have taken in a manner all from him, though it be moſt obſcurely and confuſedly delivered.

Evolvere ne unquam ceſſes Hiſtorias veterum, ibi enim reperies ſine labore, &c. Apud Baron. ad An. 886. *n.* 13.

Obtains the Sirname of Philoſopher.

Animadverts upon *Sandabarenus.*

72. The firſt thing that *Leo* did, was to be revenged of *Sandabarenus,* in order to which he removed *Photius* from the Patriarchal See, as one that bore him good will, and had conſulted with him for the promotion of a Kinſman of his own to the Empire; *Sandabarenus* he cauſed after Judgment to be ignominiouſly and grievouſly Whipped, though a Biſhop, and thence Baniſhed to *Athens,* where having his Eyes put out, he was ſent into the Eaſt, though long after he recalled him, and ordered him maintenance from the New Church; he outlived *Leo,* Dying in the Reign of *Conſtantine* his Son. While he was intent upon this courſe of Revenge, he ſought to get Reputation, and make amends for his Father's fault by taking up the Body of *Michael* the Emperour out of the Monaſtery at *Chryſopolis,* and conveying it to *Conſtantinople,* attended by a number of Prieſts, Torches and Candles, perfumed with ſweet Odours, placed in a Coffin of Cypreſs wood, and graced with all Rites and Ceremonies ſuiting the Place and Dignity which he bore. Being at the City received by the Emperour's Brothers, *viz. Alexander* and *Stephen* (whom he had made Patriarch in the room of *Photius*) with Singing and

Removes the Body of *Michael* the Emperour to *Conſtantinople.*

The *Saracens* make an Inrode into the Empire.

other Solemnities it was intombed in the Church of the Apoſtles in a Marble Monument. While he thus employed himſelf, the *Saracens* the Enemies of the Empire were not idle, but took the uppermoſt City, lying upon the River *Charſianus*, making Priſoners all the Inhabitants. And at the ſame time happened a Fire in the Southern Part of *Conſtantinople*, which with other Buildings, conſumed the Church of St. *Thomas* the Apoſtle, repaired afterward by the Emperour with very great charge.

'Αγγαίων ὁ Λογγοβαρδίας δοὺξ γαμβρὸς ὢν τοῦ ῥηγὸς Φραγγίας, &c. *Cedrenus.*

73. In the ſecond year of *Leo*, the *Greek* Hiſtorians to whom thoſe of *Italy* herein bear no Teſtimony, tell us, that *Angæus* Son-in-Law of the King of *France*, and Captain or Governour of *Lombardy*, having notice of the Death of *Baſilius*, fell off from the *Romans*, and ſubjected all the Countrey to the obedience of himſelf. Againſt him was ſent *Conſtantine*, a Patritian and Overſeer of the Emperour's Table, with the Weſtern Forces, but he received a total Defeat, loſing all his Army, and eſcaping himſelf with much difficulty. About the ſame time the Sun ſuffered ſo great an Eclipſe, that the Stars were ſeen at Noon, and terrible Thunder and Lightning followed, with the force of which ſeven Men were killed in the *Forum* upon the Stairs of *Conſtantine*. Then was *Saxius* Beſieged by the *Saracens*, and the Emperour being exceedingly enamoured of a certain Lady called *Zoe*, gave a new and unheard-of Title to her Father *Zantzas*, of *Father to the Emperour*, having formerly made him *Magiſter*, and *Logotheta Dromi*. This *Zoe* was eſteemed the moſt Beautifull Woman of her time, and had been Married to a Patritian called *Theodorus Guniazitzas*, but he being removed it's ſaid by Poiſon, *Leo* uſed her as his Concubine in the lifetime of his Wife *Theophania*.

A War with the *Bulgarians*.

The year that followed happened a Quarrel and War with the *Bulgarians* upon this occaſion. There was an Eunuch, *Muſicus* by Name, belonging to *Zantzas*, who being very intimate with the Chief Merchants of the City, by his Intereſt with his Maſter procured the Mart of the *Bulgarians* to be removed from *Conſtantinople* to *Theſſalonica* on a ſudden, and theſe Merchants by whom the Deſign was contrived to be made Officers and Receivers of the Cuſtoms, who impoſed grievous and unuſual burthens upon thoſe of that Nation, and quite tired them out of their Traffick. *Simeon* their Prince, who ſought all ways poſſible of picking a Quarrel with the *Romans*, made complaint hereof to the Emperour, who by the ſuggeſtions of *Zantzas*, having his ears ſtopped to all that could be urged, he gladly laid hold of the opportunity, and took Arms againſt him.

The *Romans* are beaten.

Upon which *Leo* deſires the *Turks* to invade *Bulgaria*.

74. *Leo* having Intelligence hereof, prepared alſo for War, and ſent an Army againſt him, under Command of *Procopius Crenites*, with whom he joyned one *Curticius* an Armenian. In *Macedonia* the Armies met, but the *Romans* were overthrown, and their Generals ſlain; ſuch Priſoners as *Simeon* took he cut off their Noſes, and ſo ſent them in ſcorn to *Conſtantinople*. *Leo* moſt grievouſly netled with this Affront, ſent one *Nicetas* a Patritian to the *Turks* or *Ungri* (*Hungarians*) to perſwade them to paſs the River, and invade the *Bulgarians*, which they readily undertaking, he reſolved alſo to fall upon them on the other ſide. His Fleet he committed to the care and Conduct of *Euſtathius*, a Patritian and *Drungarius*; and his Land Army to *Nicephorus Phocas* a Patritian, whom after the Death of *Andreas* he had made Domeſtick of the Schools; yet having a mind ſtill more deſirous of Peace, he ſent to *Simeon* one *Conſtantinacius* about that Affair, whom he imagining to be ſent onely to put a trick upon him, for *Nicephorus* was now at hand, committed to Priſon *Simeon*, preparing himſelf to meet and ingage *Nicephorus*: the *Turks* (ſo they call them) paſs the River, and waſte all *Bulgaria*; which he underſtanding, omits his Deſign of meeting him, and marches directly againſt them. They readily ingaging with him, defeat his Army, he with much adoe eſcaping to *Doroſtolum*, otherwiſe called *Driſta*. The *Turks* being Conquerours, deſired of the Emperour that he would buy of them their *Bulgarian* Priſoners, which he did, ſending ſome on purpoſe to drive the Bargain. *Simeon* his matters going ſo ill, deſired Peace of the Emperour, to which he being ſufficiently inclined, ſent one *Leo Choiroſphactes* with ſufficient Inſtructions for concluding of it, and ordered *Phocas*, with *Euſtathius* the *Drungarius* to return Home with the Forces. But now the cunning *Bulgarian* ſeeing himſelf freed from great Danger, caſt the Ambaſſadour into Priſon, and with a great Army ſuddenly fell upon the *Turks* or *Ungarians* and defeated them, which done, he waſted their Countrey, the Emperour not being in a capacity to ſend them Relief, by reaſon of the ſhortneſs of the warning. Now puffed up at his ſucceſs, he writes to the Emperour, that he would not in any caſe admit of Peace, except firſt the *Bulgarian* Captives were ſet at liberty, to which he yielded, receiving

Who Defeat the *Bulgarians*, and force *Simeon* to deſire Peace of the Emperour.

Χοιροσφάκτης *Occiſorem porci ſignificat.*

ceiving back his Ambaſſadour, with whom came one *Theodorus* to receive the Priſoners.

Which afterwards he ſlights.

Provoking the Emperour to Ingage in another Battel,

But with ill ſucceſs.

A Conſpiracy is Diſcovered, and Puniſhed.

Another.

75. The Priſoners returned, and yet *Simeon* would not accept of Peace, which inraged *Leo* to that height, that he was reſolved with all the Power he could make to chaſtize, and if poſſible, utterly to deſtroy him. This Army he committed to *Catacalon* (a man lately preferred to be Domeſtick of the Schools, in the room of *Nicephorus Phocas*, whom *Zantzas*, becauſe out of fear of the Emperour, he refuſed to become his Son-in-law, had procured to be diſcharged of that Office) and *Theodoſius* a Patritian, and the *Potoveſtiarius*, who giving Battel to *Simeon*, were defeated by him, with great ſlaughter of their men, with whom fell alſo *Theodoſius*. This Diſaſter abroad was followed by an imminent Danger at home from a Conſpiracy, while he uſed the company of *Zoe* the Daughter of *Zantzas* in the Countrey. She happened to overhear the Conſpiratours Diſcourſe, and awaking the Emperour, cauſed him to ſhift for himſelf, which he did by returning to his Palace by water. *John* the *Drungarius* of *Biglæ*, who then Commanded the Guards, he put out of his Place, for having Watched no better; and it ſeems he had *Zantzas* himſelf ſuſpected, for he was ſorely diſpleaſed with him, we are told, and was at length brought to a Reconciliation by the means and ſolicitation of *Leo Theodotaces* the *Magiſter*, and an intimate Friend to them both. Yet that excellent Lady *Theophano* his Empreſs being Dead, he Married *Zoe* his Daughter, who was formerly his Concubine, and ſet the Diademe on her Head, in which ſhe joyed not long, dying after a year and eight months. She being Dead, another Conſpiracy was hatched by a Kinſman of her, by Name *Baſilius*, the *Pectes*, as * *Zonaras* calls him, or *Epeictes* of the Emperour, as † *Cedrenus* hath it, who communicated his Deſign to *Samonas* the Chamberlain, under an Oath of ſecrecy. But he, though a *Saracen* by Birth, revealed the matter; whereupon *Baſilius* was ſent into *Macedonia*, as there to celebrate the obſequies of *Zoe*, and at his return ſubjected to Examination and Tryal, together with his Complices, by which being found Guilty, he was led ignominiouſly through the City, and Baniſhed to *Athens*. The good ſervice of *Samonas* was ſo far applauded by the Senate, that they gave him thanks, and judged him fit for the greateſt preferment: and the Emperour who had made a Relation of it to the Fathers, ſo far approved their judgment, that he made him preſently *Protoſpatharius*, and began to uſe him very familiarly. Now about this time did *Leo* Marry a third Wife, a Woman of extraordinary Beauty, by Name *Eudocia*; but ſhe died not very long after in Childbed, together with her Infant. To the memory of his firſt Wife *Theophano* he now Built and Dedicated a Church, in which and other Buildings while he employed his Seamen, a Fleet of *Saracens* took *Taurominium* in *Sicily*, with great ſlaughter of the *Romans*, and made themſelves Maſters of *Lemnus*, whence they led away a great multitude of Captives.

The *Saracens* make an Invaſion.

Leo like to be Brained.

Another Invaſion by the *Saracens*.

76. To *Leo* it ordinarily happened that one miſchief did not come alone; for at the ſame time that his Subjects ſuffered theſe things in other Parts, he himſelf eſcaped narrowly with his Life at *Conſtantinople*. It was the Cuſtome on *Whit-Sunday* to make a ſolemn Proceſſion to the Church of St. *Mocius*. He being preſent thereat, juſt as he entred the Church, a certain Fellow aſſaulted him with a great Club, and ſtriking him on the Head had killed him outright, but that a Candleſtick hanging in the way kept off part of the Blow; but as it was it fetched bloud in abundance. *Alexander* his Brother being not at the Solemnity, was ſuſpected by many as guilty of the Contrivance; but the Man, though grievouſly tortured, accuſed no Man, and therefore no farther inquiſition was made, he having his Hands and Feet chopped off, and ſo burnt alive in the Cirque. The Emperour no ſooner recovered, but being now a Widower, and having himſelf much dabled in Aſtrology, aſwell as hunted after the Opinions of others, who affirmed he ſhould have a Son to ſucceed him, applied his mind to new loves, and ſhortly after Married another *Zoe*, called *Carbonopſina*, from the place of her Nativity or abode, who lived with him a good ſpace before he ſet the Diademe on her Head, not till ſhe had brought him a Son, which he called *Conſtantine*. But his Nuptial Joys were preſently allayed by ill News he received from Sea, where now the *Saracens* having taken Encouragement from the Hoſtility which the *Bulgarians* exerciſed, tyrannized exceedingly, and under Conduct of one *Leo Attaleus* a Renegado of *Tripolis* did great miſchief upon the Coaſts, who threatned *Conſtantinople* it ſelf with ſpeedy Deſtruction; the Emperour upon the News diſpatched away *Euſtathius* his *Drungarius* of the Fleet, who finding himſelf too weak for *Leo*, returned, but with him at his back, for he followed him into the mouth of the *Heleſpont*, and proceeded on as far as *Parium*.

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* Ὁ πήκτης Βασίλειος.

† Βασίλειος ἢ ὁ ἐπείκτης τοῦ Βασιλέως.

77. This much diſturbed the Emperour, he ſent away *Himerius* his Principal Secretary with the Fleet, who found out the Renegado, but finding him ſuperiour to him in Numbers and his Men more courageous, he durſt not venture upon an Ingagement, but ſuffered the *Saracens* quietly to return and lay Siege to *Theſſalonica* which they took, ſhed much bloud and made many Priſoners. A little before it fell out, that one *Rhodophyllus* one of the Bedchamber, travelling upon publick buſineſs for *Sicily*, with an Hundred Pounds of Gold fell ſick by the way, and for his eaſe and recovery was forced to take in at *Theſſalonica*, where *Leo* the Renegado finding him tortured him to death, to force him to betray this Treaſure into his Hands. But indeed the Money he had left by the way, which was taken up by *Simeon* one of the Secretaries, who had other occaſion to travell on that Rode. He perceiving *Leo* reſolved to deſtroy that City, perſwaded him to accept of the Money as a Ranſome of it, which the Emperour took ſo well from him, that he rewarded him with the Dignity of a Patritian, and of Principal Secretary. The *Saracens* having left *Theſſalonica*, *Himerius* prepared to purſue them, but they ſailed to the Iſle of *Crete*, and there having left part of their booty, departed home unmoleſted leaving him idle at *Lemnos*. The Emperour not able to graple with them at Sea, ſent two of the greateſt Captains he had by Land into the Eaſt, *Euſtathius Argyrus*, and *Andronicus Ducas* who ſo managed their Affairs, that they got many Victories. In the mean time *Gamonas*, who, as we ſaid, had diſcovered the Treaſon intended againſt the Emperour's Perſon, and for that was with him in great eſteem, veiled a *Saracen*'s mind under the habit and ſhew of a Chriſtian and a Roman, and pretending a Journey to his Monaſtery (of his own founding it ſeems) endeavoured with much Money and Horſe to eſcape into his own Countrey, and leſt he ſhould be purſu'd, hamſtring'd, the publick Poſt-Horſes in the way. *Leo* ſent ſeveral after, but at the River *Halys* he was taken and ſtopt by *Nicephorus Caminas* the *Drungarius*, though he uſed many Intreaties, and offered a great reward to be let paſs. When he ſaw he could not eſcape, he then pretended that he was on his way towards the Croſs of *Siracha*, there to diſcharge himſelf of a Vow he had made, but for all that *Conſtantinus Ducas* brought him to *Conſtantinople*. There *Leo* ordered him to be kept in the Houſe of *Bardas Cæſar*, and cauſed *Conſtantine* to tell another Tale in the Senate, how indeed he was going to the aforeſaid Croſs to pay his Vow. The next day calling the Senate together, he cauſed *Conſtantine* to ſwear by God and the Emperour's Life, and then asked him the queſtion whether *Samonas* was going into *Syria*. He reſolving not to forſwear himſelf, openly proteſted that he fled toward *Melitena* his own Countrey. Hereat the Emperour was angry, and having kept *Samonas* for ſome ſpace in cuſtody, ſet him afterwards at Liberty, and reſtored him to his former Dignity and Place. *Zonaras* adds, that he made him a Patritian, and deſigned him to the Office of Chamberlain.

Upon which *Leo* ſends a Land Army into the Eaſt who perform great Execution.

Leo excommunicated for marrying thrice.

78. Not long after, at the Birth of his Son *Conſtantine* a Comet appeared, caſting its Tail toward the Eaſt for forty Days. *Zoe* his Wife he now declared Empreſs, for which the Patriarch excommunicated him, or forbade him as they term it entrance into the Church, ſo as he was forced to go on the right ſide to the *Mitatorium*. Hereat grievouſly offended, he yet earneſtly begged of him that he might be reſtored to Chriſtian Communion, and when all this was to no purpoſe, reſolved to exerciſe his Authority over the Prieſt, ſo as to correct him for his Arrogance, and ſent him as a baniſhed Man into a Monaſtery. In his Room he made Patriarch one *Euthimius Syncellus*, who it ſeems took off the Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure, but whenas by the Advice of his Nobility, he was about to publiſh an Edict, to make it lawfull to marry three or four Wives, he vehemently withſtood, and prevented it, ſo nice and ſevere was this Age in the Point of Marriage. For, Reader, neither the Practice nor Deſign of *Leo*, was to have or allow more than one Wife at a time, but ſucceſſively after the death of the former. Yet muſt not this be allowed to him, though ſome of his Wives lived not long with him after Marriage. But the truth is, he led aſide by the Humour of the Eccleſiaſticks, who all along by a great Fatality had been from the time of *Conſtantine the Great*, inclined to the Commendation of Celibate and Averſion to Marriage, he made formerly an Edict (*a*) againſt the Multiplicity of Marriage, ſubjecting ſuch as were thrice married to the Penalties (*b*) impoſed by the Ca-

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(*a*) *Leonis conſtit. 9. quæ ſic incipit oportebat nos.*

(*b*) *Tempus aliquod pœnitendi Bigamis & Trigamis imponebatur, inſuper vetabantur Presbyteri intereſſe nuptiis ejus quæ ſecundo nubit, privabant enim nonnulli benedictione ſecundas nuptias. Vide Aug. ſerm.* 243. *Ambroſ. in Cap.* 7. 1. *ad Corinth. & in* 3. *Cap.* 1. *ad Corinth. Concil. Lateranenſe ſub Alexandro* 3. *Tit. de ſecund. nuptiis. c.* 1. *Gothofred. in locum.*

The *Saracens* again renew their Incurſions, but are beaten by one of the Generals to the Emperour.

nons, of which now he late enough repented. This ſame year the *Saracens*, ſet out a Fleet againſt the Emperour's Subjects, againſt whom he ſent *Himerius* the *Logotheta Dromi*, and with him joined *Andronicus Ducas*, the Father of *Conſtantine* formerly mentioned. *Samonas* bearing implacable hatred to this Family, for his being intercepted by *Conſtantine* on his way homeward, bribed a familiar Friend of *Adronicus* to write to him, that he ſhould by no means adventure to join in the Enterprize with *Himerius*, who had order from the Emperour to put out his Eyes, aſſoon as he could have an Advantage to doe it. *Andronicus* believing this ſtory, refuſed to accompany *Himerius* in the Expedition, who ingaged without any Collegue with the Enemy, and gave him a very notable Defeat.

79. *Andronicus* awakened with this his Succeſs, and ſenſible of his Errour, out of deſperation, ſeized upon a Caſtle ſituate about *Iconium* called *Cabala*, and conſidered how to revolt. His Enemy now inceſſantly plied the Emperour with complaints againſt him, urging his Treachery and Deſigned rebellion, upbraided him for not having ſecured him before he eſcaped his Hands, and importuning him at leaſt to obviate, and leſſen this growing Miſchief. Overcome with his Suggeſtions, he ſent againſt *Andronicus*, *Iberitzas Gregoras*, the Domeſtick of the Schools, and one allied to him, with a ſtrong Army, which he underſtanding, and how *Nicholas* the Patriarch, his principal Friend was caſt out of the Church, he fled with all he had to the *Saracens*, and was kindly received by the *Amermumnes*. This much diſturbed *Leo*, when he conſidered both what a Subject he had loſt, and an Enemy he had created to himſelf, and if poſſible he reſolved to get him back. He wrote Letters to him, wherein he promiſed both oblivion of what was paſt, reſtitution to his former Dignity and Eſtate, and much more Incouragement, and more kindneſs than he had ever yet received. But the Meſſenger, a Captive *Saracen*, was perſwaded by *Samonas* not to deliver the Letters to *Andronicus*, but diſcover the Contents of them to the *Amermumnes*, who thereupon caſt *Andronicus* and his Followers into Priſon, where they endured much and long miſery; and of them ſome abjured their Religion to be rid of their Chains, he himſelf periſhed without Redemption. But his Son *Conſtantine*, with divers of the other Priſoners made his eſcape, and though purſued ſometimes by fighting, and otherwhiles by caſting Gold in the way, and thereby diverting the greedy Souldiers, got ſafe to *Conſtantinople*, where the Emperour conferred great Gifts upon him, and feaſted him in the Golden Room. It's ſaid, that as he was departing out at the Gate, *Leo* called him back again, and adviſed him, that by reaſon of his Name he ſhould never take the Confidence to aim at the Sovereignty, for he was very well aſſured by ſuch as could foretell things of this Nature, that *Conſtantine* his young Son was deſtined of God to the Empire. But if not content with his former Condition, he ſhould make any Attempt that way, his Head for certain ſhould be cut off, and brought thorough that Gate in its Gore, which the Event confirmed.

Upon which the other revolt to the *Saracens*.

Where he dies miſerably.

80. Much about this time, out of ſome jealouſie he had conceived *Leo* put *Euſtathius* the *Magiſter*, and *Drungarius Biglæ* out of his Place, whereupon he retired and died by poiſon, being much regretted by the Souldiers, both by Sea and Land. For he was an extraordinary Man, who brought the ſirname of *Argyrus* or *Silverd* to his Family, either by reaſon of the Purity of his Life, the beauty of his Body, or the luſtre of his valiant Actions, wherein he ſo far exceeded all others of his time, and during the Reign of *Michael*, that with Slaves and Dependants alone, he kept in awe the *Manichees* of *Tephrica*, and the *Saracens* of *Melitena*. *Leo* was not ſo ſevere to him, as indulgent in the other extreme to *Samonas* the *Saracen*, whoſe Father together with one *Abelbaces*, ſent from *Melitena* and *Tarſus*, he entertained in the Palace of *Magnaura*, with all Magnificence imaginable. And what was thought not ſuitable to Men of their Religion, ſhewed them all the Treaſure and Furniture of the great Church. The old Man was ſo much taken with the ſplendid condition of his Son, that he would have ſtaid at *Conſtantinople*, and been partaker of his good Fortune; but *Samonas* would not permit it, deſiring him to go into his own Countrey, and perſevere in his own Religion, aſſuring him that he would follow him with the firſt opportunity. Now on *Whitſunday*, *Leo* cauſed his Son *Conſtantine* to be Crowned by the Hands of *Euthymius* the Patriarch. And the Confidence of *Samonas* was by his immoderate Favour grown to that height, as being jealous of a new Favourite named *Conſtantine* a *Paphlagonian* by birth, which he himſelf had given to the Empreſs, he both accuſed her as being too familiar with him, and made a ſcurrilous Libel

againſt the Emperour, who upon Inquiſition finding him to be Authour of it, cauſed him to be ſhaven for a Monk, and made *Conſtantine* whom at his Suggeſtions being ſhaven, he had retaken out of the Monaſtery, Chamberlain in his ſtead. About this time the *Saracens* ſent out three Hundred Ships under conduct of one *Damianus* a *Tyrian*, and *Leo* of *Tripolis*, which committing the uſual Hoſtilities, *Himerius* the Admiral was ſent againſt them, and ingaged with them at *Samus*, but was beaten, put to flight, and hardly eſcaped to *Metilena*. The Emperour not long after was ſeized with the Colick, and brought ſo low with it, that he could not make his uſual Speech in the time of Lent, but calling together the Senate recommended to their gratitude and care his Wife and Son, telling them he ſhould hardly hold out ſo long as *Eaſter*. Yet he lived till the Eleventh of *May*, and then dying left the Empire to his Brother *Alexander*, whom with all Earneſtneſs, he deſired carefully to educate his Son *Conſtantine*, to uſe him as became his Quality, and to leave him his Succeſſour. He reigned two and twenty Years, three Months and four Days.

The *Saracens* infeſt the Sea Coaſts and beat the Emperour's Admiral.

Leo dies.

81. We have brought *Leo* to his end, yet have not done with him, as neither with *Baſilius* his Father, and that upon account of a remarkable Alteration made by them in the Laws of the Empire, of which we muſt neceſſarily give the Reader an Account. He is then to know, that the Civil Law with ſo great Care and Induſtry modelled a-new by *Juſtinian* was in great danger, not long to ſurvive the Authour. For beſides that came not into *Italy*, and the Weſtern European Nations for the ſpace of five Hundred years after his death; being ſuppreſſed or kept out by the particular Laws and Cuſtoms of the Barbarous Nations which had lately poſſeſſed theſe Parts, as the *Goths*, *Lombards*, *Vandals*, *Franks*, and others, in the City and Empire of *Conſtantinople* it ſelf, either through the neglect or envy of the Emperours, ſcarcely for forty years did it continue in any conſiderable Authority. Indeed through the Reigns of *Juſtin*, *Tiberius* and *Mauricius*, his Books were received both in the Schools and Courts of Juſtice, and in *Latin* as they were written, and in the ſame Language was Juſtice adminiſtred, the Decrees of Magiſtrates and the Reſolutions of Judges publiſhed, ſuch honour and reſpect being as yet given to the Tongue of the *Romans*, to the Valour and Conduct of whom ſo great Dominion was to be aſcribed. But *Mauricius* being murthered, *Phocas* and his Succeſſours had little care either for Preſervation of the Language or the Laws, and though the Empire was ſtill called the *Roman* Empire, and their Writers are very carefull to give the Name of *Romans* all along to the Emperour's Subjects, even ſo far that if they and the *Italians* be mentioned together, yet by *Romans* they ever mean ſuch as were ſubject to the Conſtantinopolitan Empire whereever they lived, yet however, *Latin* grew out of uſe, the *Greek* Tongue being native to the Place (though exceedingly mixed with *Latin* words) drove the practice of it out by Degrees; Generally in other Countries the Emperours were known by the Name of *Greek* Emperours; and ſome of them vaunted themſelves, as the Succeſſours of *Alexander the Great*.

Vide Fabrot. in Edit. Baſilic. Baldvin. in proleg. ad Inſtit.
Duckium de uſu & authorit. Juris Civilis. Lib. 1. cap. 5.

82. By theſe means the Books of *Juſtinian*, written firſt in *Latin*, becauſe little regarded, yet of ſome uſe they were for two hundred years, till the time of *Baſilius Macedo*, the Father of *Leo*. For they had been either in the lifetime of *Juſtinian* himſelf, or ſhortly after tranſlated into *Greek*, as the Code and the Pandects by *Thalelæus* an Anteceſſour, and the Inſtitutions by *Theophilus*, and beſides theſe, many other Books of the Ancient Lawyers, out of which the Pandects had been Compoſed. Out of theſe Tranſlations then and the Conſtitutions of ſuch Emperours as ſucceeded *Juſtinian*, was Juſtice adminiſtred, ſo as it was, till the time of *Baſilius*, though the knowledge and practice of the Law were both very ſmall, for the Reaſons now mentioned, and the continual Irruptions and Deſolations made by the *Saracens*, during which like diſturbances, Laws are wont to make but little noiſe. But *Baſilius* being a Man of Spirit far above his Birth and Breeding, and having good ſucceſs againſt the Infidels, as our Hiſtorians write, ſet upon the work of making and reforming Laws. He was moved by this reaſon, as they tell us, becauſe he perceived the Civil Laws to be very confuſed and obſcure; therefore he reſolved to purge them by abrogating the unprofitable ones, by making ſhorter ſuch as were tedious, and otherwiſe, of which Deſign Death preventing the accompliſhment, it was perfected by *Leo* his Son. Later writers aſcribe

Baſilius and *Leo* new model the Civil Law.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς νόμους, πολλὴν ἀσάφειαν, καὶ σύγχυσιν ἔχοντας ἰδὼν, καὶ τούτους κατὰ τὸ προσῆκον προσφόρως ἐπανασώσασθαι ἔσπευσε, &c.
Cedrenus in Baſilio.

Ciron. obſervat. Jur. Canonic. C c. 4. 5.

aſcribe to his envy at the glory of *Juſtinian*, what the other attribute to a kind of neceſſity, and they impute it to his deſire, that his Name with his Books ſhould be obliterated and quite forgotten.' Out of what principle ſoever it was, he with his Sons, *Conſtantine* and *Leo*, firſt publiſhed an Epitome of *Juſtinian*'s Code, which he called *Procheiron*, and afterward ſixty Books called *Baſilica*, compoſed out of the Books of the ſaid Emperour, his thirteen Edicts after the publication of his Novels, with the Novel Conſtitutions of *Juſtin* and the following Emperours. Theſe alone had the Force of Laws ſo long as the Eaſtern Empire it ſelf laſted, and *Juſtinian* his Books were quite laid aſide, both in the Schools and the Courts of Juſtice.

Πρόχειρον τῶν νόμων Βασιλικὰ, *quia Principum leges continebant, idem opus* ἑξηκοντάβιβλον *quia ex* 60. *libris conſtabat.*

83. Now theſe Books of the *Baſilia*, (a) ſome attribute to *Leo*, and others (b) to *Baſilius* himſelf, to whom *Leo* alſo aſcribes them, and indeed this controverſie may eaſily be decided by what we have lately ſaid from the *Greek* Hiſtorians, that *Baſilius* began, and *Leo* perfected the work; ſo that both Father and Son had an hand in them, and twenty years after their publication, the Grandchild, not another Son, as one of our Lawyers miſtakes, * *Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus* purged and amended them. But *Leo* after the *Baſilia*, publiſhed an hundred and thirteen Novel Conſtitutions which ſtill are extant, and at preſent ſince the Recovery of *Juſtinian*'s Law, in the Weſt are made uſe of onely in matters wherein *Juſtinian's* Books are ſilent. Nay, in the Age of *Leo* himſelf, they ſeem to have had no greater Authority, and that from the teſtimony of *Greek* Lawyers themſelves, who cited them onely when nothing had formerly been Conſtituted concerning ſuch or ſuch a Point, or for explication of the Old Law. Of theſe ſeveral works the *Greeks* ſeem moſt to have eſteemed the Epitome or *Synopſis*; and chiefly to have been delighted with Breviaries. For from that of *Baſilius* firſt publiſhed, and the Conſtitutions of Emperours as far as *Emanuel Comnenus* did *Conſtantinus Harmenopulus*, a Judge of *Theſſalonica*, frame an Epitome of univerſal Law: And before him *Michael Attaliates* by command of *Michael Ducas*, the laſt Emperour mentioned in this work publiſhed a ſhorter *Synopſis*, which he called the *Compendium of a Compendium*. *Michael Pſellus*, at the ſame time Compoſed another *Synopſis*; and long after *John Leunclavius* publiſhed an Epitome of the *Baſilica*, out of the Library of *Sambucus*, afterward Chancellour of *Poland*, who found it at *Tarentum* in *Calabria*, which part of *Italy*, as we ſee, was longeſt ſubject to the Emperours of the Eaſt. The *Baſilica* themſelves lay hid a long time, till *Gentiacius Hervetus* firſt publiſhed ſeven Books of the ſixty; afterwards *Cujacius* three more, though he had the whole Number by him, as appears in his admirable works, eſpecially his obſervations, and at length they were all ſet forth out of the *French* Kings Library, together with the Scholia and Gloſſes of the *Greek* Commentatours, by the care and induſtry of *Fabrottus*, that excellent Lawyer, who by this means has procured much aſſiſtence for explication of ſuch matters as are obſcure in *Juſtinian*'s Laws. Yet are not the Gloſſes of theſe *Greek* Lawyers comparable for Number to thoſe made by the Weſtern Europeans, upon the Books of *Juſtinian*. Thoſe now extant are onely thoſe of *Stephanus*, *Nicæus*, *Thaddæus*, *Eudoxus*, *Iſidorus*, *Baſilius*, and ſome others, which as the Gloſſes of *Accurſius*, are ſet in the Margent of the *Baſilica*. But thus much concerning theſe new Models of *Baſilius* and *Leo*, which with ſmall alteration contained the onely Law in uſe and practice till the diſſolution of the Empire. Hereby we may perceive that in the Reigns of theſe two laſt Princes, Learning and Ingenuity were much revived, by the convenience whereof, and his own Induſtry, *Leo* arrived to ſo high a Pitch as to obtain the Sirname of *Philoſophus* and *Sapiens*. For his meriting theſe Titles, there is more produced than his indeavours about the Law. In the Vatican Library are ſtill extant, many Orations of his, as well about ſacred as other matters, ſome precepts of Morality, with a Treatiſe concerning the Military Art; and a Catalogue of many of them, the Reader if he think it fit may ſee in *Baronius* his Annals.

(a) *Harmenopul. Lib.* 1. *Tit.* 1. *Cujac. obſervat. l.* 17. *alii.*

(b) *Gothofred. ad Novel. Leonis. alii.*

* *Conſtantinus hic fuit Conſtantinus Leonis filius cognomento Porphyrogeneta qui libros* Βασιλικῶν *repurgavit fuitq; Author* ἀνακαθάρσεως *id eſt Baſilicῶn repetitæ prælectionis. Non Baſilii filius qui ante patrem diem ſuum obierat ut ex Hiſtoria noſtra conſtat utq; Gothofredus ad Leonis Novellas notat; lapſus itaq; eſt in hac parte Duckius noſtras.*

Cujac. 17. *Obſerv.* 31. *Gothofred. ubi ſuprá.*

Ad An. 911. *num.* 2.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

From the Death of Leo the Philoſopher, *to the Death of* Conſtantine Ducas, *the twelfth of that Name.* *A. D.* MCXVII.

The ſpace of One Hundred and Fifty Six Years.

Alexander Emperour.

I. LEO being dead, his Brother *Alexander* ſucceeded him in the ſecond year of *Anaſtaſius* the Second Biſhop of *Rome*, the fourteenth Indiction. *A. D.* DCCCCXI. About his Age when he came to the Empire, our *Greek* Hiſtorians are ſtrangely overſeen, writing that he was now a young man, about twenty years old, whereas they themſelves had formerly told us, that in the third year of his Reign, *Baſilius* made his third Son *Alexander Cæſar*, ſo that by this time he muſt have paſt above forty years, from his very promotion to this Title; and if *Leo* Reigned above twenty five, how could *Alexander* be but twenty at his Death, and be his Brother, the Father being dead above five and twenty years before? He had *Conſtantine* his Brother's Son his Partner in the Empire, yet within a little time purpoſed to deprive him of all hopes of Succeſſion, by gelding him, and leave the Dignity to one *Baſilitzas*, an obſcure fellow, but his Companion in his libidinous and extravagant courſes. For to ſuch alone he addicted himſelf; neither thinking nor acting any thing becoming the place he bore, and as hitherto he had lived, ſo ſtill did he onely intend, a voluptuous life and matters of intemperance, putting ſmall value upon any but ſuch as could accompany and aſſiſt him in ſuch like practices. From putting in practice what he intended againſt his Nephew, he was diverted merely by ſuch as bore good will to the Child for his Father's ſake, who ſtill alledged he was young and ſickly, and ſo perſwaded him, not thinking of his own Death, that he had time enough farther to conſider and reſolve. Deſirous to be aſcertained of his long life, he conſulted with ſuch cheaters as pretended skill in thoſe matters, who anſwered that his Reign ſhould be long, if to a Boar of Braſs which ſtood in the Cirque, he would add Genitals and Teeth which were wanting to it; for that Boar was his Element, as the *Greeks* phraſed it, that is, by it he himſelf was magically ſignified in oppoſition to his Brother *Leo*. He giving heed to them, who for his manners compared him to that creature, added thoſe Members to the Boar, as ſecuring his life thereby for a long ſeaſon. Now elevated by this and other hopes, he baniſhes *Himerius* the *Logotheta*, as one who had practiſed ſomething againſt him in the days of his Brother. The Ambaſſadours of *Simeon* Prince of the *Bulgarians*, who were come about the renewing of the League and Friendſhip formerly made with his Predeceſſours, he uncivily treated and diſmiſſed, whereupon that Prince to be beforehand with him, and prevent the effects of his Threats, broke the Peace, and made War upon the *Romans*. But following on his courſe of intemperance, after a great fit of gormandizing and drunkenneſs, too violently exerciſing himſelf at Tennis, he broke ſome Veſſels, and died of Bleeding the day following, having ſo much time and conſcience (now in extremity) as to declare *Conſtantine* his Succeſſour, after a Reign of one year and about a month.

His Character.

The *Bulgarians* make War upon the *Romans*.

Alexander Dies.

Ex Curopalata Cedrenus oſcitans errorem hauſit inquiens, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ τοῦ Λέοντος ἀδελφὸς ἤδη νεανίας ὤν, καὶ τὸ εἰκοστὸν τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτοῦ παραμείβων ἔτος, &c.

Zonaras ſic. σὸν γὰρ, ἔλεγον, οὗτος, στοιχεῖον ἐστιν, ἀντίος ἱστάμενος Λέοντι τῷ σῷ ἀδελφῷ. *Cedrenus verò,* στοιχεῖον γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦτον εἶναι προφανῶς. Λέοντι γὰρ ἀντιμάχεσθαι, τῷ αὐτοῦ (φασὶν) ἀδελφῷ. *Hic* στοιχεῖον, *ſeu elementum vocant rem quæ magicarum artium vi alicujus hominis fortunam gubernet. Qualis (verbi gratia) in Romano Lacapeno, Simeoni Bulgaro Statua in Xerolopho fuit, qua truncata is periit; vide alia exempla apud Xylandrum in Annot. ad hunc locum Cedreni. Hinc autem magi* στοιχειωματικοὶ *dicti, qui in res certis notis & Incantationibus vim quandam ad aliquid præſtandum putabantur conciliare, &* στοιχειοῦσθαι *verbum magicis artibus aliquid moliri.*

Conſtantine's Nephew, a Youth, ſucceeds.

Τὸν μάγιστρον Στέφανον. Ἰωάννην τὸν ῥαίκτωρα.

2. To *Conſtantine* who was ſcarcely ſeven years old, he aſſigned for Governours, *Nicholas* the Patriarch, *Stephen* and *John Eladas* being *Magiſtri*, *John* a Rector and two others whom from the Dunghill, in a manner, he had raiſed to Senatorian and Patritian Dignity, being his Companions in his lewd Courſes, *viz.* *Baſilitzas* we e'er now mentioned, and one *Gabrielopolus*. At this time *Conſtantinus Ducas*, Son of *Andronicus*, the General or Maſter of the Schools was abſent from the City, who notwithſtanding the warning formerly ſaid to be given him by the Emperour *Leo*, nouriſhed hopes of arriving one day at that Dignity, and his Power was ſo great, and his Dependents and Fewds ſo numerous and Potent, that therein his hopes ſeemed not at all to flatter him. His Friends were carefull to give him timely notice of *Alexander*'s deceaſe, telling him, that the Empire now wanted an Head, and was in extreme danger of being ruined, if he, the onely man alive that was fit to govern it, would not take care of it in its neceſſity, which to doe he would not want incouragement, both the Senate and People being at his Devotion; and it was reported, that the Patriarch himſelf was in the Conſpiracy, not knowing that he was deſigned one of the Governours, the Teſtament of *Alexander* not being yet opened. *Conſtantine* having received the Letters, haſtes to the City with a ſelect Company of Men, and late at Night getting in at the Gate next the Caſtle, went and ſtaid that Night with *Gregoras Iberitzas* his Father-in-Law, whither, upon notice of his Arrival, came to him *Nicetas* the Secretary with *Conſtantine* a Patritian, the *Eladican Monk*. They before it was light, with Torches and a great Multitude, came to the Gate of the Cirque, and there with lucky Acclamations ſaluted him Emperour. But here they found ſtout reſiſtence from within, and as an ill Omen the *Protoſtrator* of *Conſtantine*, as he earneſtly laboured to get open the Gate, was through ſome hole in it killed with a Lance. Here then repulſed, they went into the Cirque, and by the Brazen Gate paſſed as far as the Court of Guard, or the place where ordinarily the Watch was kept. In the mean time *John Eladas* one of the Governours had got together ſome Seamen and others as he could, and ſent them to meet and oppoſe *Ducas*, with whom they fought, and many falling on both ſides, *Gregoras* the Son of *Ducas* was ſlain together with one *Michael* his Kinſman, and *Curticius* an *Armenian*. He much diſordered at their death, put Spurs to his Horſe and galloped toward the foremoſt of his men to incourage them; but his Horſe fell upon the Pavement, and it happening that his own men either running away, or not taking notice of it, one of the other Party fell upon him as he lay at that diſadvantage from off his Horſe, and cutting off his Head carried it to the Emperour. By this his end was the Conſpiracy and Tumult quaſhed, after which *Gregoras* his Father-in-Law and *Leo Chœroſphacta* a Patritian took Sanctuary in the Church of St. *Sophia*, but were thence by the Governours taken, ſhaven, and thruſt into a Monaſtery. In the like ſort was ſerved *Conſtantinus Eladicus*, but not till after he was ſoundly beaten and led as in Triumph through the City. Some were baniſhed, having their Eyes put out, and others were beheaded in the Cirque by *Philotheus* the Prefect of the City; ſome were faſtened to Poſts: But *Nicetas* and *Conſtantinus Africus*, though much ſought for could not be found. The Governours had proceeded and deſtroyed many other perſons of Senatorian Rank though Innocent, if one of the Judges had not taken courage and asked them how they durſt doe things of ſo high a nature in the Minority of their Prince. Yet they farther cauſed the Wife of *Ducas* to be ſhaven and ſent home into *Paphlagonia*. And his Son *Stephen* to be deprived of his Genitals.

A Conſpiracy againſt him.

Νικήτας δὲ ἀσηκρῆτις τὴν ἔλευσιν, &c. *Vide quomodo Latinæ voces in Græcum ſermonem irrepſerunt. Latinè à Secretis & Græcè* ἀσηκρῆτις.

Ἔφθασεν ἄχρι τῶν ἐξκουβίτων.

But puniſhed.

3. While theſe Diſorders were within the City, no leſs a danger threatned the Government from without. *Simeon* the *Bulgarian* diſobliged, as we ſaid, by *Alexander*, had with a great Army invaded the *Roman* Territories, and was come even as far as *Conſtantinople* it ſelf, before which he incamped himſelf from *Blachernæ*, as far as the Golden Gate, with no ſmall hope of becoming Maſter of it in a ſhort time. But ſuch was the good fortune of the Inhabitants, that though thus ſurprized, by their ſtout oppoſition and the ſtrength of the Walls, by degrees they defeated his hopes, and he retired to *Hebdomus*, where he ſignified he would accept of a Treaty. This Overture was moſt gladly entertained by the Governours, and Hoſtages being given and received, *Simeon* was admitted to dine with the Emperour in the Palace of *Blachernæ*, and received the Patriarch's Bleſſing, after which he departed home richly preſented, though as *Zonaras* writes, without any Peace concluded, the Conditions whereof he would not accept, which yet *Cedrenus* ſignifies to have been accorded. But, the Governours giving no content, by reaſon of their extravagant Actions and Diſagreement, were ſoon after ſuffered to

Simeon the *Bulgarian* incamps near *Conſtantinople*.

But accepting a Treaty returns home.

Zoe the Emperour's Mother recalled outs all his Governours.

take their eaſe. The young Emperour making great lamentation for the miſs of his Mother, whom *Alexander* had put from Court, they were forced; though againſt their wills, to recall her, and ſhe being returned, quickly got the power into her hands. By the advice and aſſiſtence of *Conſtantine* one of the Bedchamber, *Anaſtaſius*, and *Conſtantine Gongglii* Brothers, and *John Eladan*, ſhe put out of the Court the Favourites of *Alexander*, viz. *John* the Rector, *Gabrielopolus*, *Baſilitzes*, and others; and at the motion of *Dominicus*, whom ſhe preferred to the Command of the Aſſociates, ſhe alſo removed the Patriarch from the Palace. As for the Magiſter *John Eladus* he departed of his own accord out of the Palace by reaſon of ſickneſs, whereof he died. All the Governours of the young Emperour being thus put out of Office, *Conſtantine* the Bedchamber man, that he might govern alone accuſed *Dominicus*, lately mentioned, to the Empreſs, as indeavouring to compaſs the Empire for his Brother, which ſhe believing, created him a Patritian; and when, according to the Cuſtome, he went down to pray, commanded him to ſtay at home, and put into his place one *John Garidas*. And ſhe made one *Damianus* an Eunuch the *Drungarius Biglæ*. Such chopping and changing there was, outing and being outed, as is uſual to thoſe, whoſe narrow Souls (how big ſoever they look) are taken up with the Vanities and Uncertainties of Courts.

Simeon. lays ſiege to *Adrianople*.

The *Ameras* of *Tyre* infeſts the Maritime Coaſts.

A Peace concluded with the *Saracens*.

Turning the whole force of the Empire againſt the *Bulgarians*.

4. But *Simeon* now again haraſſed *Thrace* without any mention made of breaking the Peace; ſo that he muſt rather believe *Zonaras*, who writes, that at his late Entertainment at *Conſtantinople* nothing had been concluded. *Zoe* conſidering with her Council how to reſtrain his Depredations, one *John Bogas* ingaged that if ſhe would promote him to the Dignity of a Patritian, he would procure the *Patzinacæ*, a neighbouring People to fall into his Territories and divert him, and accordingly he went and obtained a Promiſe from them, confirmed by the delivery of Hoſtages. But for the preſent *Simeon* beſieged *Adrianople*, which after ſome time was betrayed to him by one *Pancratucas* an *Armenian* whom he had corrupted with Gold, by which Metal the Empreſs again ſhortly after recovered it, ſending *Baſilius* a Patritian, the Commander of the *Canicleus*, and *Nicetas Eladicus* ſufficiently furniſhed for that purpoſe. Much about the ſame time did *Damianus* the *Ameras* of *Tyre*, with a Fleet exceedingly well manned, infeſt the Maritime Parts, and made a violent Attempt upon *Strofelus*, which he had carried, but that he was ſnatched away by death to the good fortune of the Town, from which his Forces preſently aroſe and departed. *Zoe* being thus attacked on ſeveral Quarters, by advice of the Senate, with which ſhe conſulted, reſolved to make Peace with the *Saracens*, and employ the whole force of the Empire againſt the *Bulgarians*, for reſtraining the Incurſions of *Simeon*, and if poſſible, the abſolute deſtruction or Conqueſt of that Nation. To this purpoſe *John Radenus* a Patritian, and *Michael Toxaras* were ſent into the Eaſt, and compounded all matters with the *Saracens*, from whom now being diſtinangled ſhe gave order to *Leo Phocas* the Magiſter and Domeſtick of the Schools to lead the Army againſt the *Bulgarians*, having firſt made amongſt the Souldiers the uſual diſtribution of Money called *Rogæ*. A general Muſter was made at *Diabaſis*, a place ſo called from the Paſſage, being a ſpacious Plain fit for ſuch a purpoſe, and thither came the chief Prieſt or Chaplain of the Palace, whom they termed *Protopapa*, and with the uſual Ceremonies made them all kneel down and ſwear they would fight it out to the laſt, which Oath taken they were led againſt the Enemy.

The Officers of the *Roman* Army.

Ingaging with them are overthrown.

5. The Army was good, and as well commanded. The Cohort of the *Watchers* or *Excubitores*, as they were called, was led by *John Grapſon*, a Man whoſe Valour and Conduct had appeared in many Battels. The Regiment of thoſe, called *Hicanati*, was commanded by *Olbianus Marula*, a very eminent Man alſo; the reſt by *Romanus* and *Leo*, the Sons of *Argyrus* and *Bardas Phocas*. Beſides theſe, was preſent at the Expedition *Melias* the *Magiſter* with his *Armenians*, and many of the other Provincial Officers: And *Conſtantinus Africanus* the Patritian was joyned as Councellour with *Leo* the General or Domeſtick of the Schools. On the ſixth day of *Auguſt* was a fierce Battel fought at the Caſtle *Achelous* with the *Bulgarians*, who were beaten, and after great loſs put to flight. But the General of the *Romans* in a great Sweat and fainting by the extraordinary pains he had taken, lighting at a Fountain to refreſh himſelf ſo neglected his Horſe, that ſenſible he had no Rider he broke looſe and ran amongſt the Army, where being known by the Souldiers, they concluded that *Leo* was kill'd, and thereupon all left the Purſuit; and ſome betook them to their Heels. This was quickly perceived by *Simeon*, who did not make his Retreat in a looſe or confuſed manner, but

ſo as he could eaſily face about and purſue the Purſuers, which he did with ſuch execution, the *Romans* hindering one another, that not onely a great Slaughter was made of the ordinary Souldiers, but very many of the Officers themſelves were loſt, amongſt whom *Conſtantinus Africus* and *John Grapſon*, e'er now mentioned. All this while *Romanus Lacapenus* the *Drungarius* of Naval Affairs, according to order hovered about the Sea Coaſts with the Fleet to relieve *Leo* if need were, and give paſſage to the *Patzinacæ*, whom *Bogas* had brought to the aſſiſtence of the Empire. But he and *Bogas* fell into a difference and thereupon they departed home. As for *Leo* he hardly eſcaped to *Meſembria*.

6. Theſe are the ordinary Reaſons given for this overthrow, though another Report was very current, as that when *Leo* was hot in the Purſuit of the Enemy, News was brought him that *Romanus* the Admiral was returned back to *Conſtantinople* with a deſign to make himſelf Emperour while all the great Ones were abſent, which ſo affected him, who had himſelf the ſame ambitious purpoſe, that he retired into the Camp to know the truth, at which his men were diſcouraged, as imagining it was out of fear, and ſo changed the courſe of the Battel. However it happened, a great loſs was received, and after the return of the remainders of the Army to *Conſtantinople*, the buſineſs betwixt *Romanus* and *Bogas* was ſcanned, the iſſue of which was, that the former was ſentenc'd by the Judges to looſe his Eyes, for not having according to his duty paſſed over the *Patzinacæ*, and received ſuch as fled from the Battel, which ſome attributed to careleſneſs, but others to Malice and Deſign; and the Sentence had been executed but that *Stephen* the Magiſter, one of the Emperours Tutours, and *Conſtantinus Gongyles* a Patritian, men very powerfull with the Empreſs had not prevailed for the remiſſion of it. Now was *Simeon* the *Bulgarian* ſo puffed up with his late ſucceſs, that again he reſolved to attack *Conſtantinople*, and was on his way, when *Leo* the Domeſtick, *John* the Commander of the Aſſociates, and *Nicholas* the Son of *Conſtantinus Ducas* were ſent out againſt him. In a place called *Cataſyrtes* they light upon a Party that was foraging, and defeated it with little trouble. Then a freſh one came on which put the men now wearied and wounded much to it, but they were ſo reſolved and courageous that after a ſharp Conflict they had the ſame ſucceſs, though not without loſs of ſeveral worthy men, amongſt whom none more eminent than *Nicholas* now mentioned, to whoſe Valour eſpecially the ſucceſs of the day was aſcribed.

Simeon proceeds towards *Conſtantinople*.

But two of his Parties are met and worſted.

Leo deſigns to aſſume the Purple.

So doth *Romanus*.

Who ſeizes upon the Emperour.

7. So went matters in the Field, and againſt the Enemy, at home they carried a ſadder Aſpect, whilſt in the Minority of the Emperour ſeveral of the Nobility wanted but opportunity and power to diveſt him of his Dignity, and to reign themſelves. Of all others *Leo Phocas* with moſt confidence hatched and carried on his deſign, truſting much to the power and intereſt of *Conſtantine* the Chamberlain, his Wives Brother, for his private Reputation at Court was very great, beſides that Eunuchs in general at this time were much reſpected. He made himſelf ſo ſure of his projected greatneſs, that he would not ſtick openly to own it, and affirm that the Severeignty of right belonged to him by deſcent. This *Theodius* the Emperour's School-maſter taking ſtrict notice of it leſt any miſchief ſhould thence happen to his Scholar, perſwaded him to take *Romanus Lacapenus*, the *Drungarius* of the Fleet to be his Keeper, and if need were his Protectour, who had been a dutifull Servant to his Father, an no leſs faithfull to him. But *Romanus* often, and with ſome pertinacy refuſed to accept of the Charge, till at length ſeeing the Emperour's Letters written with his own hand and ſigned, as the manner was, with Purple Letters, he conſented, and promiſed to fruſtrate as much as in him lay the Deſigns of the Chamberlain and his Allies. This could not be ſo much concealed but that it took air, and began to be talked of openly in the Streets, and all places of Reſort, but yet *Conſtantine* was therewith little moved, contemning all Reports out of a vain confidence, that no man durſt attempt any thing againſt him, till going to the Fleet to diſtribute the *Rogæ*, or pay the Seamen, he was by *Romanus*, who at their firſt meeting diſguiſed his Purpoſe, till he got him into the Snare, ſeized and ſecured. Great noiſe hereof being made in the City, and no leſs than a Revolt expected, *Zoe* called together the Patriarch and ſome Senatours, and by their Advice ſent to *Romanus* to know his meaning, and to require that the Chamberlain ſhould be diſmiſſed; but the Meſſengers were hindered from delivering their Meſſage by a number of Mariners, who threw Stones and denied them Acceſs. Early in the Morning ſhe went and inquired of her Son and thoſe about him, what their Intentions were, to which, when none elſe would anſwer, *Theodore* affirmed this change to have happened by reaſon of

Leo

his ill management of the Army, and *Conſtantine*'s ill adminiſtration of matters relating to the Court.

Zoe the Empreſs forced to quit her Government.

8. Now did the Emperour take the power from his Mother upon himſelf, and preſently ſent for to Court the Patriarch and *Stephen* the Maſter, and thence commanded the day following his Mother to be removed; but ſhe weeping and wailing and clinging cloſe to him, wrought ſo upon his good nature as to permit her to ſtay. Then fearing *Leo Phocas*, he removed him from his Office, and made *John* the *Magiſter* Domeſtick of the Schools. Yet did *Phocas* prevail, as a way of recompence, to have his Son *Simeon* and *Theodorus* his Wives Brother made Commanders of the Aſſociates, and then taking an Oath of Fidelity to the Emperour retired to his Houſe. But ſhortly after hearing that his Kindred were again diſmiſſed from Court, he reſolved to ſee how he could work upon *Romanus*, to whom poſting, he laid open his condition, and bewailed the ſtraits to which he was reduced. *Romanus* fearing, it ſeems, his great Intereſt and Alliance, was ſo wrought upon, as ſecretly to contract Friendſhip and an Union with him, which was confirmed by Oath, and the deſigned Inter-Marriage of their Children. After this *Romanus* went to Court to purge himſelf to the Councillours of any Conſpiracy againſt the Government, affirming his Deſign, merely to protect the Emperour from any ambitious attempts of *Phocas*, for which purpoſe his Reſolution was to come to Court, with a ſufficient Guard. This the Patriarch would not believe, nor accept his Purgation, whereupon *Theodore* the Schoolmaſter importuned him to come up with his Fleet into the Dock of *Bucoleon* near to the Palace, which he earneſtly refuſed to doe, till vehemently urged by thoſe privy to the Deſign, who prevailed with him in an Hoſtile manner to ſail up to the place, which happened upon the Feaſt of the Annunciation. Preſently hereupon *Stephen* the *Magiſter* departed from Court, and *Nicetas* the Patritian, a great Intimate of *Romanus* went in and thence removed the Patriarch, which done, after an Oath taken from *Romanus*, with moſt bitter and heavy Curſes that he would never entertain any thought againſt the Emperour's Dignity or Perſon, he received him into the Palace, and going along with him to Prayers to the Church in *Pharus*, after Faith given and received on both ſides, made him Great Commander of the Aſſociates. Shortly after to ſweeten and take off *Phocas*, Letters were written to him, to bid him be of good courage, and continue in his Allegiance, for he ſhould ſpeedily be conſidered. To this purpoſe alſo *Conſtantine* the Chamberlain was commanded to write to him. And upon receipt of theſe Letters he kept himſelf quiet for ſome time at his own home in *Cappadocia*.

Leo and *Romanus* combine together.

Conſtantine Marries the Daughter of *Romanus*. Styling him Father of the Emperour.

Upon which he Rebells.

9. But in the fifth Week of *Lent* the Emperour Married *Helena* the Daughter of *Romanus Lacapenus*, and cauſed her to be Crowned together with himſelf by *Nicholas* the Patriarch. To *Romanus* himſelf he gave the Title and Dignity of his Father, with which no Man ever had been honoured before, as *Glycas* obſerves, and conferred his former Office upon his Son *Chriſtopher*. Theſe things quite turned the Stomach of *Leo Phocas*, who had almoſt digeſted former Misfortunes in dayly expectation of what was promiſed him. Now by the advice of his Friends, aſwell as his own Inclinations, he reſolved to riſe, and for that purpoſe got to him *Conſtantine* the Chamberlain, the two Brothers, *Gongylii*, and others, endeavouring to perſwade all that he took Arms in behalf of the Emperour *Conſtantine*. But *Romanus* ſo beſtirred himſelf, that by Letters conveyed to the Camp ſigned by the Emperour and ſealed with his Seal, he convinced many of his Souldiers of their miſtake, of whom ſeveral great Officers preſently revolted from him. And herewith incouraged, he ſent *Simeon* the Overſeer of the *Canicleus*, to the Army, who by reading to them another Declaration, whereby he owned *Romanus* for his Father, and declared *Leo* to be a Traytour to him and his Family, wholly brought them all off, and *Leo* ſhifted for himſelf by flight to a certain Caſtle *Atcas*, whence he removed to another, which bore the Name of *Goleon*, as much as to ſay the Lamentation of *Leo*, which was eſteemed an ill Omen; for here he was taken. Upon notice thereof were ſent to fetch him up to the City *John Tubaces* and *Leo Pagtelæs*, who in the paſſage pulled out his Eyes by private order from *Romanus*, or of their own Accord without his knowledge, as he affirmed, pretending to take the matter much to heart. Thus was ſuppreſſed the Inſurrection made by *Leo*, but all danger not thereby removed from the Head of *Romanus*, againſt whom Conſpired one *Conſtantinus Crematenus*, *David Cumulianus*, and *Michael* the *Curator Manganorum*, (that is, Overſeer of the Engines) who armed certain young men to kill him as he went out to hunt. But the Plot was timely diſcovered, and the Conſpiratours having their Eyes put out were in an ignominious manner led about the

But is taken and puniſhed.

Μιχαὴλ κȣράτωρος τῶν Μαγγάνων. *Curator Manganorum id eſt baliſtarum & aliorum id genus tormentorum.*

Zoe the Empreſs ſhaven.

the *Forum*, and among them *Leo Phocas* upon a Mule. *Zoe* alſo the Empreſs accuſed of a deſign againſt his life was ſhaven and thruſt into a Monaſtery. Moreover for attempting ſomething againſt him were baniſhed the City *Theophylact*, the Patritian, and even he who had been the Authour of his preferment *Theodore* the Schoolmaſter, with his Brother *Simeon*, he perceiving, it ſeems, and repenting that he had gone too far. They were confined to a place called *Opſicium*, and thither conveyed by the diligence of *Curcuas* the *Drungarius Biglæ*, who ſeizing ſuddenly on them conveyed them by Boats into the oppoſite Continent.

Romanus Crowned Emperour by the allowance of *Conſtantine.*

Chriſtopher Emperour.

Puniſhes ſeveral Conſpiratours againſt himſelf.

Inſults over *Conſtantine.*

10. Now the way being fully cleared by removal of all Competition, on the four and twentieth day of *September*, and the eighth year of the Emperour's Reign, the Title of *Cæſar* was conferred on *Romanus*; and in *December* following he was by allowance of *Conſtantine* Crowned Emperour by the Hands of *Nicholas* the Patriarch. Thus poſſeſſed of the Imperial Dignity on *Candlemas* day following he cauſed to be Crowned his Wife *Theodora*, and in *May* on *Whitſunday* his Son *Chriſtopher*, *Conſtantine* openly yielding his conſent and approving, but inwardly repining and deploring the condition into which he was brought. *Romanus* for the ſecurity of his Eſtate baniſhed ſeveral Perſons upon ſuſpicion; but could not thereby hinder the effects of envy which his high and ſudden Advancement had procured. For another Conſpiracy was hatched againſt him by *Arſenius* a Patritian, and one *Paulus Manglabyra*, which yet was diſcovered, and they loſt both their Eſtates and Eyes. To obviate theſe Practices and ſtrengthen himſelf by Alliance he Married his Daughter *Agatha* to *Leo* the Son of *Argyrus*, a man very Noble and of excellent Qualifications both of Body and Mind. But by this time ſeveral began to commiſerate the condition of *Conſtantine*, who was thus overpowered by the Upſtart, and one *Anaſtaſius*, called *Sacellarius*, framed new Deſigns to take him off. But this Plot was alſo diſcovered, and *Anaſtaſius* for his pains was ſhaven and made a Monk. Now did *Romanus* publickly command, that he himſelf having the firſt, *Conſtantine* ſhould be onely called and eſteemed Emperour in the ſecond place, and under this pretence that this was the onely means to prevent Conſpiracies; thus for uncertain things and a fading Empire, making himſelf perjured and an Enemy to Almighty God, as our Writers obſerve. About this time it happening that *Adraleſtus* the Domeſtick of the Schools dying, he conferred his place, as a farther means to ſtrengthen his Alliance on *Pothus Argyrus*.

The *Bulgarians* renew their Incurſions againſt the *Romans*.

11. Now were the *Bulgarians* again very troubleſome, making their Inrodes as far as *Cataſyrtes*; and *Pothus*, as his place required, led out an Army againſt them, with little effect on either ſide, ſave that *Michael* one of his Officers being out to ſcout, did ſome little hurt to a Party of the Enemy, and received a wound of which he died ſhortly after. But *Simeon* ſent more Forces commanded by *Chaganus* one of his Noblemen, and *Minicius* the Maſter of his Horſe, with Orders to march to *Conſtantinople* it ſelf without any ſtop. *Romanus* hearing of it leſt they ſhould burn and waſte the Suburbs and adjoyning Palaces, diſpatched away the two *Argyri*, *Leo* and *Pothus*, *John Rector*, and others to meet and oppoſe them, who accordingly gave them Battel in the Plain of *Pegæ*, but *John* the *Rector* aſfrighted at their noiſe and ſudden Onſet ran away and gave occaſion to a Defeat, wherein many were ſlain. He hardly eſcaping got to a Pinnace, which *Alexius* the *Drungarius* of the Navy endeavouring to doe, fell down from the ſide of the Veſſel, and was drowned, together with his *Protomandator*. *Leo* and *Pothus* recovered a Caſtle in their flight; the reſt of the Multitude was either drowned as they indeavoured to eſcape, were ſlain by the Enemies hand, or taken Priſoners: And the *Bulgarians* without any oppoſition burnt the Palace of *Pegæ*, and waſted all the Countrey. The year following being the eleventh of *Conſtantine*, in the Tenth Indiction, died on the twentieth of *February*, *Theodora* the Wife of *Romanus*, and after her deceaſe *Sophia* the Wife of *Chriſtopher* bore the Title of *Auguſta* or Empreſs. Now made the *Bulgarians* another Inrode as far as the Palace of *Theodora*, which they burnt without any reſiſtence. *Romanus* ſtanding now in need of his Officers, made them a great Feaſt, and by good words, aſwell as the Entertainment, made them ingage to doe their utmoſt indeavour in defence of their Countrey, ſo much diſgraced aſwell as haraſſed by the ſo frequent Invaſions of that People.

12. The day following, *Sactitius* the Leader of the *Excubitores* to make good his word, as ſoon as it was light ſet upon the Enemy's Camp, and killed all he found therein, the reſt being employed abroad in pillaging the Countrey. But underſtanding by ſome that had eſcaped of his Enterprize, they returned thither, and overpowered the *Romans* already wearied by the former Fight; *Sactitius*

having with his few made oppoſition a conſiderable time, and killed many, put ſpurs to his Horſe and fled, but being laid faſt in paſſing of a Ditch, was wounded mortally by thoſe that purſued him; and though by the Aſſiſtence of his Attendants he was got out of the Ditch, and came to *Blachernæ*, yet he died there the night following in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, to the great affliction of the Emperour, the Army, and all the People.

A Rebellion in *Chaldia*, but ſuppreſſed.

At this time a Rebellion happened in *Chaldia* (a Region of *Syria*, near to *Iberia*) againſt the Emperour, which was happily ſuppreſſed by the diligence of *Curcuas*, Domeſtick of the Schools, then lying at *Cæſarea*, who on a ſudden and unexpectedly fell upon the Conſpiratours.

Simeon lays Siege to *Adrianople.*

In the mean while *Simeon* the *Bulgarian* laid Siege to *Adrianople*, about which he drew a line, and with violence attacqued it. The Governour at this time was *Leo* a Patritian, whom for his too unadviſed haſte and vehemence againſt the Enemy, they called *Moroleon*, or *Leo* the Fool. But he defended the City very Gallantly, both by oppoſition made from the Walls, and ſeveral ſucceſfull Sallies, till the Inhabitants, pinched with Famine, gave up themſelves, Governour and Town into *Simeon's* Hands, who remembring of how many *Bulgarians Leo* had been the Deſtruction, baſely cauſed him to be tortured to Death. Then left he a Garriſon in *Adrianople*, which upon its being ſeized by ſome *Roman* Forces, delivered it up again into their Hands.

The *Saracens* invade the Sea Coaſts, but are ſoundly beaten.

At the ſame time, *Leo* of *Tripolis* with a great Fleet of *Saracens* invaded the Sea Coaſts and Iſlands. Him *John Radenus* the Patritian and *Drungarius* of the Navy, as he lay at *Lemnus*, ſuddenly Attacqued with ſuch Execution, that ſcarcely any but himſelf eſcaped alive from the place.

Simeon undertakes another Expedition, pitchig his Tent near *Blachernæ*.

13. In the Month of *September*, and the ſecond Indiction, being the ſeventeenth year from the beginning of the Reign of *Conſtantine*, *Simeon* the *Bulgarian* Prince, with all the Force he could make, undertook another Expedition againſt *Conſtantinople*; having with Fire and Sword waſted *Macedonia* and *Thrace*, he pitcht his Camp near to *Blachernæ*. Hence he ſent to require that the Patriarch and ſome of the Nobility might be brought to him to Treat, who accordingly, upon the Reception of Hoſtages, were diſpatched to him; but when they were about to Treat, he diſmiſſed them, ſignifying his deſire to come to an Interview with the Emperour himſelf, whom he knew both to be a Man of Prudence and Veracity.

Whence an Interview and Peace enſued.

Romanus was well enough pleaſed with the offer, and commanded a place to be prepared not far from the Walls, upon the Sea ſhore, whither he might conveniently come with his Gally; when in the mean time, *Simeon* not able or willing to reſtrain his Hoſtility, ſent a Party to burn the Church of our Lady of the Fountain, built by *Juſtinian*, and all things thereabout, giving thereby vehement occaſion to ſuſpect that he was no-way inclining to Peace. But on the ninth day of *December*, all things being prepared, they met on the place; firſt came the Emperour, and expected the other, who made all the ſhew of Bravery he could by his ſeveral Ranks, diſtinguiſhed by their Gilded and Brazen Targets and Spurs. *Romanus* expoſtulated with him, that "Being a Chriſtian, he ſhould be ſo Bloudy, and rejoyce in the "ſlaughter of thoſe that Profeſſed the ſame Religion; and putting him in mind "that he muſt dye, and according to that Faith, give an Account of all his "Cruelties to an Higher Judge; offered him what Wealth he would aſk, if it "was that he ſought after, by which and other motives he ſo wrought upon him, "that he promiſed to conclude the Peace, and ſo departed richly preſented by "the Emperour.

Stephen and *Conſtantine*, Sons of *Romanus* Crowned Emperours.

14. On *Chriſtmas* Day following, *Romanus* cauſed his two Sons, *Stephen* and *Conſtantine* to be Crowned in the Great Church, reſerving the other, *Theophylact* by Name, for the Patriarchal Dignity. *John Myſticus* his prime Miniſter he honoured with Patritian and Proconſular Dignity, who ſhortly after was convicted of aiming at the Imperial Power, and for that was ſhaven a Monk; his fellow Conſpiratour, *Coſmas* the Patritian and *Logotheta Dromi* being ſoundly beaten, and turned out of his Place, who had had a Deſign of Marrying his Daughter to *Myſticus*. About the ſame time moſt horrible Earthquakes happened in *Thrace*, by which many Churches, Houſes and Men were ſwallowed up: *Simeon* the *Bulgarian* making an Expedition againſt the *Chrobati*, was in the ſtraits of the Mountains overthrown by them in Battel, and loſt all his Army. Now the Story goes, that one *John* an Aſtronomer came to the Emperour, and deſired him to ſend ſome to cut off the Head of a Pillar which ſtood over the Arch of *Xerolophus*, toward the Weſt; for by that means *Simeon* ſhould periſh inſtantly, that Pillar being fatal to * him, or Magically ſignifying Him; which being done, they

* Αὐτῷ γὰρ ἐστοιχειῶσθαι τὴν τοιαύτην στήλην. *Hanc ejus eſſe elementum, ei vi quadam magica eſſe fatalem.*

Simeon the *Bulgarian* Dies.

Peter ſucceeds him.

they give out, that in the ſame inſtant **Romanus** found that he Died in *Bulgaria*, of a Diſeaſe which ſeized upon his † Heart, or Stomach. His Succeſſour was *Peter* his Son by his ſecond Wife, the Siſter of *George Suſurbulus* (whom dying, he left Guardian to his Children) for *Michael* his Son, by a former Wife, he had ſhaven and made a Monk. Now, together with the Death of their Prince, ſeveral calamities fell upon the *Bulgarians*. For the Neighbouring Nations, and the *Chrobati*, *Servi*, *Turks* and others hearing of *Simeon's* Death, prepared to make War againſt them, and they laboured under a great Famine, their Corn being conſumed by Locuſts. But they feared eſpecially the *Romans*, and therefore to divert them from their own doors, reſolved to begin firſt, and fright them from any ſuch Reſolutions by an Invaſion.

† *Cedren.* Νόσω κατακαρδίω. *Zonar.* καρδιογμῶ.

Who invading *Macedonia*, is met by the Forces of the Empire.

15. *Peter* then makes an Inrode into *Macedonia*, but underſtanding that the Emperour was coming againſt him, by advice of *George* his Uncle, ſent a Monk with Letters to him, wherein he offered to make a Peace, and a League alſo with the *Romans*, for farther ſtrengthening whereof, if he thought fit by a Marriage, he would enter into a ſtricter Alliance with them. *Romanus* was no whit diſpleaſed with the Meſſage, but ſent ſpeedily away one *Theodoſius* a Monk, and *Conſtantinus Rhodius* a Clerk of the Court to Treat with them in *Meſembria*. The Treaty ſo well ſucceeded, that there returned with the Commiſſioners to *Conſtantinople* one *Stephen*, a Man of great eſteem in *Bulgaria*, and after them followed *George Suſurbulus*, with others the moſt eminent of that Countrey. Coming to Court, they liked exceedingly a Daughter of *Chriſtopher* the Emperour's Son, called *Mary*, a very Beautifull Lady; and ratifying the Treaty of Peace, ſent away for *Peter* himſelf, whom *Nicetas* a *Magiſter* and Father-in-Law to *Chriſtopher* met on the way, and Conducted him to *Blachernæ*, where *Romanus* himſelf received him very honourably. The Peace and Articles of Marriage were quickly confirmed, and on the fifth day of *October* the Nuptials ſolemnized in the Church of our Lady, at the Fountain, by *Stephen* the Patriarch. It happened, that at the third Feaſt after the Wedding, that *Romanus* entertained *Peter* the Bridegroom, *Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus* the Emperour, and once his Maſter, of whom we have heard nothing a long time, and his Son *Chriſtopher*. Now by the Arts of *Romanus*, the *Bulgarians* there preſent being wrought upon, as is probable, made a Diſturbance, and exclaimed againſt it, that *Conſtantine* ſhould take Place and be preferred before *Chriſtopher* the Father-in-Law of their Prince. To gratifie them you muſt know, the Emperour cauſed his Son to precede *Conſtantine*; and all the Ceremony being now over, the new Married Couple departed into *Bulgaria*, being brought on their way as far as *Hebdomus* by the Parents of the Bride, and *Theophanes* the *Protoveſtiarius*, which *Theophanes* had managed the whole Affair.

Βασιλικὸν κληρικόν.

Whence a League and Alliance.

Chriſtopher preferred before *Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus.*

The *Saracens* of *Syria* beaten by the *Romans.*

16. In the mean time, the Maſter *John Curcuas*, Domeſtick of the Schools, did ſuch Execution on the *Saracens* of *Syria*, and took ſo many of their Towns and ſtrong Holds, laying Siege to *Melitena* it ſelf, that *Apochapſus* the *Ameras* of this place, and *Aposblathus* who Commanded the Souldiers of the Garriſon came out to him to Treat, and were ſent on that Errand to the Emperour. They gave ſuch ſatisfaction, that they were received as Friends and Allies of the *Romans*, and ingaged to Fight in their aid againſt their own Countreymen. But not long after they both died, and with them the Peace ceaſed to be any longer, whereupon the Domeſtick, aſſiſted by *Melias* a *Magiſter* who Commanded the *Armenians*, beſieged *Melitena*; after ſome time took it, and brought all the Countrey adjoining into the Obedience of the Emperour, who reduced it into the form of a Province or Curatourſhip, as they term it, and by that means much increaſed the publick Revenue. Much about this time, *Nicetas* Father-in-Law to *Chriſtopher* was accuſed to have moved him to depoſe his Father, for which he was Baniſhed the City, and made a Monk. The Winter following, happened ſo great a Froſt in *December*, as continued for an hundred and twenty days, and this was followed by ſo great a Plague, as if we ſhould believe our Authours, no ſuch ever happened before, the Living ſcarcely ſufficing to Bury the Dead. However, herein they may Hyperbolize, yet this we have found in our Age, that the greateſt Plague which hath happened in this City, was uſhered in by an hard Winter, whereby the Pores of Mens Bodies were ſhut, and Perſpiration hindred, the greateſt means of Health, by reaſon of the avoydance of thoſe vapours, and ſpending thoſe humours, which ſhut in, muſt needs cauſe great diſturbance and fermentations in the Bodies of thoſe that are accuſtomed to a milder air; for as for ſuch as conſtantly live in extremity of cold, nature ſome other way

Melitena and the Countrey adjoyning reduced into the Form of a Province.

Τὴν μὲν οὖν Μελιτηνὴν εἰς κουρατωρείαν καταστήσας ὁ Βασιλεύς.

A great Froſt and Plague.

Rebellions in *Bulgaria.*

Christopher the Emperour Dies.

may diſcharge her ſelf. About this time, *John* the Brother of *Peter* the *Bulgarian* Prince, with others Conſpired againſt him, and being diſcovered, his Complices were put to Death, and he beaten and caſt into Priſon. *Romanus* the Emperour underſtanding hereof, ſent one who, under colour of renewing the League, got him out of Priſon, and brought him to *Conſtantinople.* After this, *Michael* the other Brother of *Peter* Rebelled, and endeavouring to ſet up for himſelf, ſeized on a Caſtle, and got many to joyn with him. But he preſently after died, and then they out of deſperation invaded the *Roman* Territories and waſting all before them,proceeded as far as *Macedonia*, *Strymone* and *Greece*, as far as *Nicopolis*, on which they ſeized, and were not removed out of the Countrey but by much labour and endeavour in after-times. Now fell down a great ſtone from an Arch in the *Forum*, called the Arch of the World, and killed ſixty Men. A terrible Fire alſo happened near the *Forum* of the Bleſſed Virgin. And *Chriſtopher* the Emperour Died on the fourteenth day of *Auguſt.*

A Rebellion, but ſuppreſſed and puniſhed.

The *Turks* invade the *Roman* Pale.

The *Roſſi*, a People of *Poland* infeſt the Coaſts of the Empire.

Σκευαστῷ πυρὶ, *Cedr.* Τῷ ὑγρῷ πυρὶ *Zonar.* Wild Fire *Angl.*

But are at length deſtroyed.

Lib. 5.

17. Some time after this, one *Baſilius* a *Macedonian* feigned himſelf to be *Conſtantine Ducas*, and perſwading many to believe him, had done much miſchief, but that he was apprehended by a Captain in the Army, and brought to the Emperour, who cauſed one of his Hands to be cut off, and ſo let him goe. But as theſe Cheats if neglected have ever made greater Diſturbances, he got a brazen Hand inſtead of that cut off, and began to tell his tale over again, by which he got together a multitude of credulous People, and ſeizing on a Caſtle, thence made Depredations into all the adjoyning Countrey; but a Party was ſent which eaſily maſtered him, and being taken again, when upon Examination it could not be found that any of the Nobility had been Acceſſory to his Crime, he was Burnt alive. *Romanus* rid of this Danger, Married his Son *Stephen* to *Ann* the Daughter of *Gabalas*, and upon her Marriage beſtowed on her an Imperial Diademe. In *April* following, the *Turks* made an Invaſion, and waſted all Weſtward as far as the City; to whom *Theophanes* the Patritian and *Protoveſtiarius* was ſent and bought them off, *Romanus* ſparing no coſt to redeem the Captives; as to give him his due, he omitted nothing during the great Froſt and Plague to relieve the Poor, and leſſen the publick Calamity. But thinking to eſtabliſh his Family in the ſucceſſion to perpetuity, he married his third Son *Conſtantine* to one *Helena* the Daughter of *Adrian* a Patritian, an *Armenian* originally, and, ſhe dying not long after, to *Theophano*, who derived her Pedigree from *Mamas.* Not long after, on the fourteenth of *June*, a Fleet of the *Roſſi* (a People by others called *Roxolani*, and by *Tacitus Baſtarnæ*, of the *European Sarmatia*; their Countrey being now *Ruthenia* and *Ruſſen*, in the Kingdom of *Poland*, Weſt of *Podolia*, their chief City *Leopolis* or *Leunpurg.*) conſiſting of ten thouſand, or as ſome ſay, of fifteen thouſand Veſſels came againſt the City. Againſt them was ſent with the Navy *Theophanes*, the *Protoveſtiarius*, the great Man now in Command and Favour, who watching his opportunity, put them to flight, and burnt many of their Ships with that which *Cedrenus* calls Artificial Fire. They that eſcaped went toward the Eaſt, but in their paſſage *Bardas* the Son of *Phocas* killed a number of them which landed for Proviſions, and *Curcuas* the Domeſtick of the Schools coming ſuddenly upon many more, made great ſlaughter of them. This Barbarous People, called *Roſſi* or *Ruſſi*, coming out of that Countrey, which ſtill bears their Name, had before their Defeat done things which (to uſe the Expreſſion of *Greek* Writers) exceeded a Tragedy. For of thoſe Chriſtians they took, ſome they nailed to Croſſes,ſome they faſtned to the Ground, and others they placed as Marks to Shoot at. But ſuch Prieſts as they found, they drove nails into their Heads; and they burnt many Churches. Being thus worſted, they kept themſelves in their ſhips, and becauſe the *Roman* Fleet attended their motions, thought to ſlip away; but *Theophanes* was ſo vigilant, that he fell upon them, and taking or ſinking moſt of their Veſſels, very few returned home with the News. Of this Ruſſian Fleet *Luitprandus* makes mention, beſides the *Greek* Hiſtorians, and ſays, that the Name of their King or Captain was *Inger.* He calls them *Northmans*; and ſo it ſeems were called all ſorts of People Inhabiting the Neighbouring Parts of this Frozen Zone.

18. *Theophanes* for his good ſervice was made Chamberlain; but *Curcuas* upon jealouſie was hurried out of his Place, which he had held two and twenty years, and ſeven months; a Man exceeding Valiant and Wiſe, who in a manner had Conquered all *Syria*; and for a complete knowledge of whoſe Actions, *Cedrenus* refers us to one *Manuel*, a *Protoſpatharian*, and a Judge, who had deſcribed them in a Volume conſiſting of Eight Books. And no leſs proſperous was *Theophilus*

philus his Brother, Grandfather to that *John* who afterward was Emperour, the Governour of *Meſopotamia*, overpowering the *Saracens* whereever he came. The *Turks* after this made another Invaſion, but were the ſecond time bought off by *Theophanes*. To complete theſe Felicities by a more honourable Alliance, *Romanus* ſends *Paſchalius*, a Protoſpatharian and Governour of *Lombardy*, to *Hugh* the King of *France* (of *Italy* our *Greek* Writers mean) to deſire his Daughter in Marriage, for *Romanus* his Nephew the Son of *Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus*, which was granted, and the Lady *Berta* by Name, his Daughter by a Concubine, being ſent with great Pomp lived with *Romanus* five years, and then died. But theſe ſerene and proſperous Days were ſucceeded by tempeſtuous weather, both in the natural and civil Senſe. A Violent wind in *December* did much miſchief, and the State and Dignity of *Romanus* was ſhortly after not ſhaken onely, but quite overturned. Conſcious, as our Authours believe, of his Wickedneſs and Perjury, in that he ſwore to be a Protectour onely to *Conſtantine*, and never to affect the Sovereignty (though he not onely did this, but placed himſelf and Sons before the Right owner) he endeavoured to expiate this Guilt by certain good Actions, and to appeaſe Almighty God. Beſides other charitable Deeds, he paid the Debts of ſuch as owed money, to the Value of nineteen Centenaries, and cauſed the Bonds to be burnt in the middle of the *Forum*: Moreover he paid the Rents of ſuch as hired Houſes in the City. “And truly, ſaith *Zonaras*, herein he gratified ſuch as were in Debt, but thereby he himſelf received little or no benefit. For what he gave was not his own, it being publick money, and belonging to the Sovereign Power, of which he had ſeized by force, and defrauded the Right owner. Injoying all the Imperial wealth and ſubſtance, out of it he ſpared a ſmall Pittance, juſt as if a man having killed his Neighbour's Ox, gives the Feet onely to the Poor, and he himſelf devours the whole Body; or as if one that lies with another Man's Wife, gives ſome of her Husband's money to thoſe that are in want, to purchaſe excuſe for his Crime.

Romanus endeavours to expiate his unjuſt Uſurpation and Dealings with *Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus.*

19. But as Providence (ſo he farther obſerves) is uſually ſlow in Revenge to give time and ſpace for Repentance, ſo is it ſure at laſt to take vengeance of thoſe that will not amend their ways. *Romanus* was now paſſing the twenty ſixth year of his Uſurpation, wherein he had made no reckoning of *Conſtantine* the true Heir of the Empire, who all this while had concealed his Indignation aſwell as he could, but notwithſtanding was ſo carefull as to watch a fit opportunity to caſt off the Uſurper, and recover his former Place and Dignity, having ſo much Spirit as to be ſenſible, that nothing was left him but the Name and Habit. He found at length, that the onely means to doe his work was to ſet the Father and Sons at variance. *Chriſtopher* was already dead, *Conſtantine* was a Man too ſolid and wiſe for him to deal withall; but *Stephen* being of the quite contrary diſpoſition was moſt fit for his purpoſe, and he got one *Baſilius Volucer*, a very crafty man to inveigle him, and bring about his Deſign. *Baſilius* having wound himſelf into his Acquaintance by Degrees inſtilled into him ſuch thoughts as theſe: that he was imprudent, a Man of his Age, Strength and Underſtanding, to ſuffer all to hang by a rotten Thread, as he termed the old Man's Life, and not rather take the Government upon himſelf being ſo admirably qualified for it, for which he might be aſſured of the aſſiſtence of *Conſtantine* his Siſters Husband, who could not take it well to be ſo leſſened, and eclipſed as he was by *Romanus*. With theſe and the like Flatteries he was ſo tickled, that he reſolved to depoſe his Father, and having felt a little the Pulſe of his Brother *Conſtantine*, and found him averſe to any ſuch Attempt, to go through it, with the Help of *Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus* and *Marianus* the Monk, the Son of *Leo Argyrus*, who gladly joined in the Enterprize, though he was very much beloved by *Romanus*. Taking then his opportunity he ſeized on his Father, on the ſixteenth of *December*, and conveying him into the Iſland *Prota*, forced him to be ſhaven and made a Monk; which done, he with his Brother and Brother-in-Law managed all things. But long could they not live without ſuſpicions and jealouſies, and eſpecially *Stephen* feared the Intereſt and claim of *Porphyrogenitus*, and therefore reſolved to depoſe him. This *Conſtantine* was aware of, and having the ſame Deſign upon him was more quick, and that through the inſtigation of his Wife eſpecially. Having communicated his purpoſe to *Baſilius*, we now mentioned, *Marianus* and others whom he made his own, as the two Brothers dined with him; on the twenty ſeventh of *January* he cauſed them to be ſecured and conveyed away, *viz.* *Stephen* into the Iſland *Panormus*, and *Conſtantine* into *Terebinthus*, where they were ſhaven and made Clerks, *Stephen* was afterwards removed into *Proconneſus*, thence

Who ſets the Father and Sons at variance.

Thereby depoſing *Romanus.*

And ſhaving *Stephen* and *Conſtantine.*

thence to *Rhodes*, and at laſt to *Mitylene*; and *Conſtantine* into *Samothracia*. *Stephen* bore his Fortune courageouſly, and lived many years in *Leſbus*; but *Conſtantine* grew ſullen and impatient, and having often endeavoured to eſcape, in the ſecond year after his depoſing killed one of his Keepers, at which the reſt were ſo inraged, that they ſlew him. As for *Romanus* their Father he outlived the diſgrace ſome three years.

Becomes ſole Emperour.

His management of Affairs.

A Conſpiracy againſt him, but diſcovered and puniſhed.

20. Thus *Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus*, having in his thirty third year recovered his former Eſtate, in his Government anſwered not the expectation and hope, that had been conceived of him. For he gave himſelf up to Wine and Sloth, leaving the management of affairs to others, and yet took no care whom he intruſted, promiſcuouſly and without any conſideration conferring Offices both military and Civil. He would puniſh Offenders without any Mercy, though he looked not at home where *Helena* his Wife, and *Baſilius* made merchandize of all Preferments, by which means baſe and unworthy Perſons got into the greateſt Places of Truſt and Revenue. Yet is he much commended for reſtoring the Sciences and Advancement of Learning, which now had lain much neglected. He incouraged alſo Artificers, and very much increaſed Trade. Moreover he was very gratefull to ſuch as had aſſiſted him in the Recovery of his Power. On *Bardas Phocas* he conferred the Dignity of *Magiſter*, and the Office of Domeſtick of the Schools of the Eaſt; and his Sons he preferred to good Commands in the Eaſt, *Cappadocia* and *Seleucia*. To *Baſilius Volucer* he gave the Command of the Aſſociates, made *Marianus Argyrus* his *Comes Stabuli*, and one *Manuel Curtices* the *Drungarius Biglæ*. But to eſtabliſh his Power which he had now recovered, in the firſt Place on *Eaſter*-Day he gave a Diademe to his Son *Romanus*: then cauſed he to be gelded *Romanus* the Son of *Stephen*, as alſo *Baſilius* begotten by *Romanus* the Elder on a Slave, and *Michael* the Son of *Chriſtopher* to enter into Orders. Now he ſeemed to himſelf ſo fixed as nothing could ſhake him, all Dangers being removed and prevented, when more ways than one he was in peril to looſe all again. For *Theophanes* the Chamberlain, was plotting how to reduce *Romanus* out of the Iſland *Prota*, and to reſtore him, many joyning with him in the Deſign: and at the ſame time ſeveral others of great Quality and Intereſt conſulted how they might fetch back *Stephen*, and re-eſtabliſh him in the Government. The Plots were timely diſcovered by ſome of the Parties, and *Theophanes* with his Companions were baniſhed. Thoſe that were for *Stephen* were ignominiouſly beaten, and looſing both their Eſtates and Noſes were then driven into exile.

He marries his Son *Romanus*.

The *Saracens* make an Invaſion into the Empire.

21. The Daughter of *Hugh* dying as we ſaid after five years, having ſome time conſulted to whom he ſhould marry his Son *Romanus*, at length he beſtowed on him a Maid of very ſordid Parentage, her Parents it's ſaid keeping a Victualling-Houſe, but of admirable beauty and a miracle of Nature, and her Name being *Anaſtaſia*, he changed it into *Theophano*. As for matters of War, *Bardas Phocas* was as we ſaid made Domeſtick of the Schools, but did nothing worthy of his Title himſelf, but managed all by his Deputies, incurring ſuch hatred of the Souldiers by his extreme covetouſneſs, that in an Ingagement he was deſerted by them, and had been taken or killed but for the pertinacious Valour of his own Attendants, who brought him off alive, but with a great and deep wound he received in his Forehead. But his two Sons *Nicephorus* and *Leo* behaved themſelves to Admiration, both in reſpect of their Valour and Conduct againſt the Enemy, and the Kindneſs and Providence for thoſe that were under their Charge. *Leo* took in Battel one *Apolaſaems* a very eminent Man, and Kinſman of *Chabdanus* the *Ameras* of *Chalepus*, who with a great multitude had invaded the *Roman* Pale, and after a great ſlaughter of his Men ſent him up Priſoner to *Conſtantinople*, where the Emperour led him in Triumph, and trode upon his Neck. But *Conſtantine*, the third Son of *Phocas*, *Chabdanus* took, and carried him away to *Chalepe*, where he eſſayed by all means to make him abjure his Religion, and when all would not doe poiſoned him, which ſo inraged his Father, that all the Kinſmen he took of *Chabdanus* he put to death. This ſo irritated *Chabdanus* on the other ſide, that *Paul* a *Magiſter* ſirnamed *Monomachus*, being ſent to treat of Peace could doe no good with him; and he with a great Force invaded the Empire, leading with him *Nicetas Chalentzas* a Patritian, and ſeveral other Perſons he had taken Priſoners. But *Nicetas* betrayed all his Councils to *Phocas*, who laid an Ambuſh for him in a very ſtrait place he was to paſs, and cut off moſt of his Men, he himſelf with a very few eſcaping. Before his flight, he killed thoſe Priſoners he had in Cuſtody. But *Nicetas* had corrupted his Keepers, and was got away with all ſuch as belonged to him.

The Territories of the *Saracens* invaded but with ill Succeſs.

Conſtantine like to be Poiſoned.

A Little after dies.

22. *Bardas* to prevent any more Inrodes invaded the Territories of the *Saracens*, where he waſted all in his way, took many ſtrong Holds, and amongſt other Places *Adapa* that Noble City as they term it. The Emperour's Succeſs was no way ſuitable to his undertaking, who, as became him, did conſtantly regret the great Loſſes his Subjects ever and anon ſuſtained from thoſe *Agarens* that inhabited *Crete*, to ſtrike therefore a Terrour into them, he prepared a ſtrong Army, and rigged a very conſiderable Fleet to tranſport it. And had his choice of a Perſon to conduct them been as good as his Deſign was laudable, it could not have miſcarried. But General of this whole expedition he made one *Conſtantine Gongylas* a Patritian one of his Bedchamber, a mere Courtier, an effeminate Man not fit at all for a Camp, of which he never had any Experience. He paſſed over into *Crete*, but there did nothing worthy of the Place he bore; neither took care for fortifying himſelf by any Works, nor ſending out any Scouts to give him notice of the motion of the Enemy. The *Saracens* then perceiving what a careleſs and ſilly Enemy they had to deal with, took their opportunity, and falling upon the *Romans* eaſily defeated them; ſome they took, others they killed, and made themſelves Maſters of the Camp, and the worthy General himſelf had ran the ſame Fortune as he deſerved, had not his Domeſticks notably defended him, and conveyed him into the Admiral Gally. Yet was it not out of diſdain for this miſcarriage or for his miſgovernment, that *Romanus* the Son of the Emperour now plotted againſt his Father's Life. But ſo it was, that impatient to dominiere himſelf he could not ſtay his time, but conſpiring with his Wife the Victualler's Daughter, they perſwaded *Nicetas*, one of the Attendants at his Table, to give him Poiſon, inſtead of a purging Potion he was to take. It either happened by chance or was deſigned, that as he was about to drink it he ſtumbled, and ſpilt the greater part of it, ſo that what remained did not work the effect they wiſhed, though he fell very ſick and hardly eſcaped. In the Month of *September*, he would needs travell to the Mountain *Olympus*, as was pretended to beg the Prayers of the Monks, for a ſucceſfull expedition he purpoſed to undertake into *Syria*, but as was thought to confer with *Theodorus* Biſhop of *Cyzicus*, how he might out *Polyeuctus* of the Office of Patriarch, which he had obtained after the Death of *Theophylact* Son of *Romanus* the late Emperour. There, either by the farther practice of his Son upon his Body, or otherwiſe he fell ſick, and being brought back to *Conſtantinople* in his Litter, died on the ninth of *November*, having lived fifty four years and two Months, whereof thirteen he reigned with his Father, Uncle and Mother, and twenty five more (he ſhould have reigned) with *Romanus Lacapenus*, and fifteen after that by himſelf. *Zonaras* gives him Commendation for his Piety to God, and his Love to Learning which he ſhewed by many good Deeds, his Writings and Epiſtles, compoſed though not according to exact Rules of Oratory, yet ſo as they wanted not ſtrains of Rhetorick. And there in *Baronius*, * a Fragment ſtill remaining of an Advice to his Son not to marry with any of the Barbarous Northern Nations, a great Reaſon of which is fetcht from a Precept left by *Conſtantine* the Great. He adds that he was much addicted to all ſorts of Verſes as was to be ſeen in theſe Writings, wherein he deplored the Death of his Wife, and he ſubjoins what's ſuitable to what we ſaid before concerning his reviving of Philoſophy, and the Liberal Arts. But the moſt memorable thing of theſe things is, the Collection which he cauſed to be made out of all Hiſtorians.

* *Ad An.* 96.

Romanus The Boy ſucceeds.

Why ſo termed.

23. *Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus* being dead, *Romanus* the *Boy* (ſo he was called, not that he was a Boy as to years, but to diſtinguiſh him from the Elder *Romanus* his Grandfather) ſucceeds him in the third Indiction, *A. D.* DCCCCLX. And as to his manners and carriage he might well enough be termed a Boy. For neglecting wholly matters of Government, which he left to the Management of one *Joſeph Bring*, as the chief of his Chamber, he himſelf attended no other weighty Affairs but thoſe of Mirth and Filthineſs, his chief Companions being either Whores, or thoſe of the other Sex that could pimp for him and gratifie him in ſuch naſty Delights, or tickle his Ears with Ribaldry. One *John* a Clerk, and an Eunuch, whom for his many Villanies *Conſtantine* had thruſt into a Monaſtery, now he received amongſt thoſe of his Bedchamber, the monaſtical Habit being thrown off, and notwithſtanding the earneſt Complaints of *Polyeuctus* the Patriarch, yet he excuſed the matter, and kept him with him as long as he lived; indeed after the Emperour's Death he returned to his Monaſtery, and changed again his Habit though not his Mind. Yet that it ſhould not be ſaid, but that *Romanus* was carefull to keep the Succeſſion in his own Family, on *Eaſter* Day he cauſed an

He crowns his Son *Baſilius.*

The Iſland of *Crete* ſubdued.

The *Saracens* on all ſides beaten by the *Romans.*

Imperial Crown to be ſet on the Head of his young Son *Baſilius*, and ſhortly after he had another Son born whom he called *Conſtantine* after his Grandfather, by which Iſſue he ſeemed now ſo confirmed in what at preſent he enjoyed, that he needed to take no farther care, eſpecially having ſo good a Commander as *Nicephorus Phocas* to manage his Wars, whom the late Emperour for his great ſervices, had preferred to be Domeſtick of the Schools of the Eaſt. This *Nicephorus* indeed had done things very extraordinary againſt the *Saracens*, having at ſeveral times ingaged and beaten the ſeveral *Ameras* of *Tarſus*, *Chalepus* and *Tripolis*, by which having ſo much teſtified his Abilities, *Romanus* now made choice of him to go againſt thoſe of *Crete*. Arriving at the Iſland with the Fleet, he put ſuch of them to flight as would have hindred his Landing, and then having ſtrongly incamped himſelf, and his Ships riding ſafely in Harbour he fell upon the ſeveral Towns, and in the ſpace of ſeven Months took many of them. On the ſeventh of *March*, he took *Chandace* the moſt fortified of all others, after which *Curupes* the *Ameras* of the Iſle, and *Arcemas* who was his Lieutenant, or next to him in Power fell into his Hands. He had now in a manner brought all *Crete* into obedience, for the ſettlement whereof when ſome time required, he was ſuddenly recalled at the Suggeſtions of *Joſeph* becauſe of an old ſaying, *That he that conquered that Iſland, ſhould become Maſter of the whole* Roman *Empire.* While he yet ſtaid in *Crete*, his Brother *Leo Phocas* was ſent into the Eaſt to reſtrain the *Saracens*, from making Inrodes, which at this time they might be prone to doe, on purpoſe to divert the *Romans* from *Crete*. He ingaged with *Chabdanus* at a Place called *Andraſſus*, and gave him ſuch an Overthrow, that an innumerable Multitude of the *Agarens* being ſlain, the reſt were brought away Priſoners to *Conſtantinople* in ſuch Droves, that all the Houſes both in City and Countrey were filled with Slaves. *Chabdanus* with a very few hardly eſcaped. *Leo* was graced with a Triumph, and otherwiſe honoured and rewarded as were all the reſt, that had well deſerved in the Expedition.

A Conſpiracy againſt him, but diſcovered and puniſhed.

A great Murrain among Cattel.

Ὁ Κράβα κατονομάζεται. *Qui Craba nominatur.*

24. But *Romanus* had not paſſed the ſecond year of his Reign, when a grievous Conſpiracy was hatched againſt him by the Principal of the Nobility. The Head of them was *Baſilius Volucer*, with whom joyned *Paſchalius* and *Bardas* the Son of *Libis* both Patritians, and *Nicholas Chalcutzas*, who reſolved to kill the Emperour on the Day appointed to the Horſe-races, as he ſhould come down to ſee the Sport, and proclaim *Baſilius* his Succeſſour. E'er the Day came, one *Joanicius* a *Saracen* and Conſpiratour diſcovered the Plot, and they were apprehended by *Joſeph*, who put them all to Torture except *Baſilius*, and on the Day of the Solemnity were led up and down in Deriſion, then baniſhed and ſhaven for Monks, yet the Emperour was ſo mercifull, that after ſome ſmall time he recalled them, but *Baſilius* fell diſtracted and died in *Proconneſus*, ſo paying for his ſeveral Treaſons. *Romanus Saronita*, who was Son-in-Law of *Romanus* the Elder, was ſo frighted with what had happened to him, and the reſt, that leſt his Eminent Condition ſhould bring him into danger, he diſtributed his Eſtate to his Children, and giving largely to the Poor went into a Monaſtery, where he lived a Monk many years in great eſteem with the ſucceeding Emperours. At this time raged a great Murrain of Cattel, which having begun in the Days of *Romanus Senior*, continued a long time after. The Emperour at the Inſtigation of his Wife, now reſolved to remove his Mother and Siſter from Court, to the Palace of *Antiochus*. The Mother underſtanding of it, ſo wrought upon her Son with her Complaints and Curſes, that ſhe was permitted to continue; but the Siſters were taken away and made Nunns, though afterwards when there was none left to awe them, they threw off the Habit and fell to Fleſh again. But ſhe took their removal ſo ill, that ſhe ſhortly after ſickned and died on the twentieth of *September*, and was royally interred by her Father.

* *Glycæ Apochanda.*

Berrhœa taken from the *Saracens.*

Romanus the Emperour dies.

25. We ſaid e'er while, that *Nicephorus Phocas* was called out of *Crete*, to which we muſt now add, that it was without any Permiſſion to return to *Conſtantinople*; for he received Orders to paſs with all his Forces into the Eaſt, where * *Chabdanus* after his defeat had recruited himſelf, and having now got together a conſiderable Army was expected every day by the Subjects of the Empire, to renew his wonted Hoſtilities. *Nicephorus* e'er he could doe any harm, got up to him as he came into *Syria*, overthrew him in Battel, and drove him farther up into the Countrey, which done he took *Berrhœa* all but the Caſtle, therein much Wealth, many Priſoners, and ſet at Liberty many Chriſtian Captives. This was good News to thoſe of *Conſtantinople*, though *Romanus* the Emperour ſcarcely lived to receive it, dying on the fifteenth Day of *March*, after he had lived twenty four years,

and

Baſilius Conſtantine and their Mother *Theophano* ſucceed. *Nicephorus Phocas* Triumphed at *Conſtantinople.*

and thereof Reigned thirteen years four Months and five days, as writes *Curopalates* and from him *Cedrenus*,(that is with his Father and by himſelf, for he Reigned about three alone) ſome thought he died of Poiſon, and others through his intemperance as to Wine and Women. He was large of ſtature though leſs than his Father, very good natur'd and eaſily reconciled; and is thought to have been able and fit enough for Government, had not thoſe about him intangled him in pleaſures and laſcivious courſes, that they managing his affairs, might have the better opportunity to enrich themſelves. The Empire by his death was devolved upon his two young Sons *Baſilius* and *Conſtantine*, and their Mother *Theophano*, who two days before was brought to Bed of a Daughter they called *Anne*. By the command of the Empreſs now Regent, though ſorely againſt the mind of *Joſeph*, *Nicephorus Phocas* came to *Conſtantinople* in *April*, and there Triumphed in the Cirque, ſhewing the Rich ſpoils taken both in *Crete* and *Berrhœa*, *Joſeph* very jealous that he affected the imperial Dignity, of which he being aware and knowing how much it concerned him to avoid the ſuſpicion of him, who at preſent was chief Miniſter, came to his Houſe privately, and deſiring to ſpeak with him alone, profeſſed he had had for a long time a deſire and purpoſe to retire out of the vanities of the World, to a Monaſtical Life, but had been hindred from his purpoſe by the kindneſs of his Princes, who had forced employment upon him: and he ſhewed him a Shirt of hair he had next his Skin. *Joſeph* ſurprized at his carriage, and at the ſight of the Shirt, fell down at his Feet, and begged his pardon, profeſſing he would give no Credit to ſuch as accuſed him for the time to come. And ſo he was permitted to depart to his own Houſe.

The League with the *Bulgarians* renewed.

26. They were alſo jealous of *Stephen* the Son of *Romanus* the Elder, who ſtill lived in confinement, and after much endeavour by ſtricter Cuſtody, he was made ſure of by Poiſon, at the procurement of *Theophano*. At the ſame time, *Peter* Prince of the *Bulgarians*, his Wife being dead, renewed the League with the Empire, and giving up his two Sons *Borices* and *Romanus*, ſhortly after died. Upon report hereof they were ſent home to poſſeſs themſelves of their Father's power, after which the four Sons of a potent Count of that Countrey, gaped and made a great faction amongſt the People. But in the mean time *Joſeph* ſorely repented that he had let *Nicephorus Phocas* eſcape out of his Hands, and reſolved to recover the prey if poſſible. He wrote Letters to *Tzimiſches*, and *Curcuas* Commanders in the Eaſt, and Men of great intereſt and abilites, promiſing to procure to the one the Office of Domeſtick of the Schools of the Eaſt, and the other that of the Weſt, if they would either get him ſhaven and made a Monk, or by any other means remove him out of the way. They when they had received the Letters out of their good will to *Phocas* gave him notice of it, and adviſed him to take good Courage, and put thoſe at *Conſtantinople* out of all doubt by a ſudden taking upon him the Dignity of Emperour, and when he excuſed himſelf, and either heartily or cunningly ſhewed himſelf averſe, they drew their Swords and threatened him with death upon refuſal. To ſave then his Life, as ſome gave out, he conſented, and on the ſecond day of *July*, by procurement of *Tzimiſches*, the Towns of the Eaſt ſaluted him Emperour. Others more probably reported that he had for a good while been ambitious this way, but not ſo much out of love to the Empire as to the Empreſs *Theophano*, with whom he was exceedingly in love, having ſent his truſty Servant ſeveral times to her on Meſſages, had private conference with her himſelf, and, as ſome gave out, Communication of cloſer importance. This *Joſeph Bringas* it's thought had ſmelt out, and thereupon increaſed his jealouſie of him.

Nicephorus ſaluted Emperour by the Army.

27. And when the report of his Deſignment came to *Conſtantinople*, he was then at his Wits end, the Citizens bearing him no good will, he had born himſelf ſo highly, and been difficult for Acceſs. But when he underſtood that with the Shouts and Acclamations of the Army, he was brought to *Chryſopolis*, he then conſidered what other he might ſet up for Emperour, and avoid the Indignation of the Souldiers. Upon the report of *Phocas* his promotion, his Father *Bardas* had taken Sanctuary in the great Church, but his Brother *Leo*, though narrowly watched yet eſcaped, and got to him ſafe. This farther perplexed *Joſeph*, who was not of an humour to ingratiate himſelf with the People, but if he went about it was wont the more to diſpleaſe and provoke them. And now he could not reſtrain his Inclination, but as he ſaw them all flock to the Church, and to be tickled with the Change they apprehended, with haughty and ſevere words he rebuked them, and threatened to raiſe Corn to an high rate, than which he could not doe nor ſay any thing more to inrage the multitude. This was on *Sunday* the ninth of *Auguſt*,

when

A Tumult at *Conſtantinople.*

when on the Evening of the ſame Day, *Baſilius* the Favourite of *Conſtantine* the Emperour bearing mortal hate to him, got a Company of his Acquaintance and Servants together, and ſet them on Work to pull down the Houſes of thoſe of his party in ſeveral quarters of the City. They levell'd *Joſeph's* Houſe with the Ground, and not onely his, and divers others of the Nobility, but under this pretence, if any of the Company bore a grudge to another Man, down went his Houſe as well as the reſt, and not a few were killed in the Tumult. In the mean time all the Streets rebounded with the Noiſe of *Nicephorus Callinicus* or the brave Conquerour, and *Bardas* was now ſo incouraged as to leave the Shelter he had taken up in the Church, and *Joſeph* very prudently took his place. *Baſilius* took with him the Emperours Pinnace, and with the reſt of the Fleet, ſailed down to *Chryſopolis*, whence he brought up *Nicephorus* to the *Hebdomus*. Hence all the People of the City accompanying him in a ſolemn Pomp, with Shouts and Muſick, he entred the City at the Golden Gate, and going to the great Church was there Crowned on a Scaffold by *Polieuctus* the Patriarch, it being the Lord's day, and the ſixteenth of *Auguſt*.

Nicephorus Crowned there.

Marries *Theophano* the Empreſs.

28. *Nicephorus Phocas* thus became Emperour in the ſixth Indiction, *A. D.* 963. The firſt thing he did, was to remove the Empreſs *Theophano* from Court into another Palace. Then did he baniſh *Joſeph* into *Paphlagonia*, who after two years ended his Life in a Monaſtery. He gave to his Father *Bardas* the Title of *Cæſar*, and on the twentieth of *September* throwing off the Vizard, he married *Theophano*, and now fell to Fleſh again, of which he had not eaten ſince the death of his Son, who was killed by his Couſin German *Peluſa*, as they were riding and ſporting together. The Marriage being ſolemnized in the new Chapel of the Palace, as they were to paſs into the Chancel, *Polieuctus* having him by the Hand, and being entred himſelf ſtopt him at the Door, and refuſed to admit him, till he had made ſatisfaction for Marrying the ſecond time. At the ſame time a report flew about the Church, and made no little diſturbance, which was, you muſt know, that *Nicephorus* had been Godfather to one of *Theophano's* Children, by which ſpiritual Alliance being her Brother could not Marry her, and therefore the Patriarch required him either to quit his Wife, or he muſt ſtand Excommunicated, *Nicephorus* choſe the latter of the two, and propounded the matter to be debated by ſuch Biſhops of the Countrey as were in Town, and certain ſelect Senatours, who gave ſentence that the conſtitution which preſſed him, was made by *Copronymus*, that it did not bind him, and they all ſubſcribed an Inſtrument of his Abſolution. But the Patriarch for all this perſiſted in his former opinion, and refuſed to communicate with him, though *Cæſar* affirmed that the Emperour was not Godfather, as was alledged: and *Stilianus* chief of the Court Chaplains, whom they termed *Protopapa*, who was reported firſt to have raiſed the Story, before the Council and Senate, ſwore that he never either ſaw or ſaid any ſuch thing. Hereupon though *Polieuctus* knew he forſwore himſelf, yet he relinquiſhed the objection of Compaternity, and quiting alſo his obſtinacy as to the Crime of ſecond Marriage, after all this ſtir recovered to Communion *Nicephorus*. But he was ſenſible of, and never pardoned the affront as long as he lived.

He makes War upon the *Saracens* of *Sicily.*

29. In the firſt year of his Reign, *Nicephorus* undertook a War againſt the *Saracens* of *Sicily*, becauſe he judged it an Ignominious thing to pay Tribute to the People, which how it came firſt to be granted, we muſt diſcover by fetching matters a little higher. That People having in the Reign of *Baſilius Macedo* Conquered *Sicily*, all but *Panormus*, and thence Invaded *Italy*, and all the Iſlands of the *Mediterranean* as far, as *Peloponneſus*, were then repelled and beaten into quiet by *Nicephorus Phocas*, then Domeſtick of the Schools, and Grandfather to this Emperour, who thereby got exceeding much Honour. From that time *Italy* continued in repoſe till the Reign of *Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus* and his Mother, when theſe Barbarians taking advantage, fell upon the Countrey, and the Governours finding themſelves unable to grapple with both the Weſtern and Eaſtern Infidels, eſpecially now that the *Bulgarians* had violated the League, thought fit to conclude a Peace with them of *Sicily*, and the accord was made by *Euſtathius*, then Governour of *Calabria*, one of the Emperour's Chamber, that a yearly Penſion or Tribute, of two and twenty Thouſand *Aurei* ſhould be paid to the *Saracens*. The Peace concluded, *John Muzalo* a Patrician was preferred to the Government of *Calabria*, a Man ſo imperious that he was killed by the People, who gave up themſelves to *Dandulphus* King of *Lombardy*, (here probably is meant *Radulphus* King of *Burgundi* and *Italy* againſt *Berengarius*) much about the time that *Romanus* the Elder ſeized on the Government. *Romanus* reſolved if need were, to ſend a Fleet

to recover if poſſible, theſe Weſtern Provinces of the Empire, but yet thought fit to ſend before *Coſmas* of *Theſſalonica*, a Patritian well known to *Dandulphus*, who by many Arguments at length perſwaded him to quit the Countrey, and embrace amity with the Emperour, and our Authours add that beſides him, he perſwaded thoſe that commanded other revolted Provinces, to return to obedience and acknowledge their ſubjection to the Empire. In the mean time *Simeon* the *Bulgarian*, elevated by his many victories and gaping after the Empire it ſelf, ſends to *Phatlumus* the Prince of the *Saracens* in *Africk*, propounding Terms of an Alliance with him, and for ſharing the Booty of the Conquered *Romans*. But the Meſſengers in their return with others from *Phatlumus*, fell into the hands of ſome *Calabrians*, who ſent them to *Romanus*. He apprehending well the danger that hung over his Head, committed the *Bulgarians* to Cuſtody, but the *Saracens* he nobly treated, and ſent them well preſented loaden with gifts to their Prince, with this meſſage, that *Thus* the *Roman* Emperours were wont to requite their Enemies.

30. This was ſo kindly taken by *Phatlumus*, that he remitted half of the Tribute, and the reſt was paid till this promotion of *Nicephorus*. When the Governours proved good, all things went well, and the *Saracens* were well enough content; but when otherwiſe, the Subjects would be Tumultuous, and then happened ruptures. Under *Porphyrogenitus*, one *Crenites* who commanded in *Calabria*, when the *Saracens* of *Sicily* and *Africk* had War made upon them by thoſe of *Cirene*, and thereupon were much ſtraitned for proviſions, ſold them corn at very dear rates, which he had forced the Subjects to let him have at *Robin Hood's* penyworths, and thereby much inriched himſelf, the *Saracens* being forc'd to condeſcend to what price he pleaſed to ſet. For this he was put out of command by *Conſtantine*, his Money was taken from him, and he lived afterward and died in diſgrace. During the ſame War, the *Romans* received and protected the Fugitives of the *Carthaginians*, who all this while durſt neither complain of that, nor make any demands of the Tribute, leſt they ſhould give them diſtaſte from whence they received their ſuſtenance how dearly ſoever they paid for it. But when the War was over, they both demanded, the one and the other, and when they received a denial ſet out a Fleet and Invaded *Calabria*. Now *Conſtantine* reſolved to take another courſe than *Romanus* had done, not by palliating the matter but by force of Arms, to clear the reckoning, and for that purpoſe raiſed a ſtrong Army which he committed to the Conduct of *Malaconus*, a Patritian, with orders to joyn himſelf with *Paſchalius* Governour of *Calabria*, and with him joyntly to manage the War, and one *Maeroroannes*, he appointed to command the Fleet. Theſe Men coming into the Province made it their buſineſs to Pill and Haraſs the People, no otherwiſe than if it had been an Enemies Countrey, which being known to *Abulchares*, *Ameras* of the *Saracens* (for *Phatlumus* e'er this was dead) he told his Men there was no fear to be had of ſuch Enemies, that handled their own Friends in ſo rough a manner: taking his Advantage, he fell upon them, gave them a notable defeat, and miſſed narrowly of taking the Commanders themſelves. After this *Conſtantine* ſent one *John Pilate* his Secretary to treat with them, who were no whit difficult to conclude a Truce for a certain time. But this time expir'd they again paſſed the Sea, and infeſted *Calabria*, as formerly, to divert them from which he ſent another Fleet and Army, the one commanded by *Crambeas* and *Moroleon*, the other by *Romanus Argyrus* a Patritian. They had ſcarcely put to Sea for *Sicily*, when the *Saracens* having News of vaſt Preparations (as fame is wont to make all greater than they are) in a Panick fear quitted their Camp and haſted away from *Rhegium* into *Sicily*, but coming near to *Panormus*, were by an horrid tempeſt all caſt away, upon this a Peace was again concluded and continued till the time of *Nicephorus* whereof we ſpake.

Πανικοῦ δείματι.

31. He accounting it a great diſgrace to pay them any Tribute ſent away a conſiderable Fleet, and as ſtrong an Army under command of *Manuel* a Patritian, the baſe Son of his Uncle *Leo*, who having the Title of Domeſtick of the Schools was deprived of his ſight by the Emperour *Romanus*. This *Manuel* was young and fitter to make a Souldier than a General, was very vitious and ſo conceited that he would not hearken to good advice, and ſo caſt both himſelf and his Army away, being ſhut up in the Craggy and unpaſſable parts of *Sicily*: and beſides this *Nicetas* the Eunuch a Patritian and *Drungarius* of the Fleet was taken and carried away Priſoner into *Africk*. Much about the ſame time *John Tzimiſces* being created Domeſtick of the Schools of the Eaſt, was ſent into *Cilicia*, where he defeated a great number of *Agarens* got together. About five Thouſand of them quitted their Horſes and betaking themſelves to a Craggy hill near at hand by the

But his Army is defeated by the unskilfulneſs of his Commanders.

the Advantage of the place ſtoutly defended themſelves. *Tzimiſces* ſeeing their reſolution, reſolved to attack them in their own way, and diſmounting, led his Foot on himſelf, and fell upon them, of whom not a man turned his Back, but fighting out to the laſt were all ſlain, and from their Bodies iſſued ſuch Streams of Bloud into the Plain, that the Hill got the Name of the *Bloudy Hill* upon this occaſion. The year following, and the ſecond of his Reign, in the Month of *July*, *Nicephorus* himſelf taking his Wife and Children along with him led a ſtrong Army, conſiſting partly of his own Subjects, and partly of the Aſſociates, *Iberians*, and *Armenians*, into *Cilicia*. Having left *Theophano* behind in a Caſtle called *Drizium*, he entred the Countrey, and took three Cities, *Anabarza*, *Roſſus* and *Adana*, beſides ſeveral Caſtles; but not daring to venture upon *Tarſus* or *Mopſueſtia*, the Seaſon of the Year being almoſt ſpent, he left a ſtrong Guard and went into *Cappadocia* to Winter. In Spring he returned and dividing his Forces into two parts, the one he committed to *Leo*, with orders to fall upon *Tarſus*, and he himſelf led the other againſt *Mopſueſtia*, which attacking with much violence he was therein aſſiſted by the Famine which raged among the Inhabitants, ſo that the River *Sarus* dividing the Town into two parts, of one of them he got poſſeſſion, though fired by the *Saracens*, and not long after the other with all that had made reſiſtence, fell into his hands. Thoſe of *Tarſus*, affrighted with this ſucceſs, ſent to him and ſurrendred their City, to the aſſiſtence of which, after three days, a Fleet came from *Ægypt*, but finding no incouragement to land, it was moſt of it loſt in its return, either by Tempeſts or taken by *Roman* Ships. Thus proſperous was *Nicephorus* whereſoever he bore his Arms. Beſides this, he recovered *Cyprus* to the Dominion of the Empire from the *Saracens*. He invaded *Syria*, made *Tripolis*, a City of *Phœnicia*, and *Damaſcus* Tributaries, and having Conquered all the reſt, both ſituate near the Mountain *Libanus* and upon the Sea, he removed to *Antioch*, which the Inhabitants ſtoutly defending, his Proviſions failing, and the place being very moiſt, he raiſed his Siege and returned to *Conſtantinople*. This we muſt ſay of him that he was the moſt victorious Warriour that of long time had worn the Purple, and inlarged the Dominions of the Empire far and wide.

He leads an Army into *Cilicia*.

Inlarging the Dominions of the Empire very much.

He is hated at home by his Subjects upon ſeveral accounts.

32. But he was not ſo much admired and feared abroad as hated by his Subjects at home, who rejoyced not in Conqueſts acquired by great expence of their bloud, and eſpecially their Treaſure, delighting not at all in ſuch grinning honour. The Story went that he could eaſily have taken *Antioch*, but forbore upon a Saying there was, That *the Emperour that ſhould conquer that City ſhould not live very long after*, and upon this account he gave charge to *Peter* and *Burtzas* whom he left in the Countrey to ſecure what he had already got, to make no Attempts upon it. But *Burtzas* lying near to the City could not forbear, but having corrupted one of the Townſmen to a Diſcovery, ſeized upon two Turrets of the Wall, and then ſending for *Peter* eaſily overpowered the Garriſon, and took the City, for which the Emperour inſtead of other reward, diſgraced him and turn'd him out of his Place. This procured him much ill will, but here lay not the hundred part of the burthen. At his very firſt Promotion when his Souldiers were very Inſolent and committed many outrageous Acts, he would give no ear to any complaint; nay, though they rifled the Houſes of Senatours and ſuch as had aſſiſted him in obtaining what he had, alledging, that in ſuch a Multitude it could not be but that ſome would carry themſelves uncivily. Then under pretence of his Wars he raiſed Taxes, and laid unſufferable burthens upon the People, not abſtaining from Rapine and violence. Part of what was uſually given to Senatours he ſtopped in the Treaſury, as alſo ſuch Penſions as by his Predeceſſours had been granted to Monaſteries, Churches, and other Pious uſes: And by a Law he forbade any more Lands to be given to the Church, a Crime more heinous than all others in the opinion of the Eccleſiaſticks. They farther laid to his Charge, that taking advantage of a difference betwixt the chief * *Paſtor* (ſo *Zonaras* calls the *Patriarch*) and the chief Prieſts concerning Juriſdiction (he denying that they could approve or Elect without him) he challenged to himſelf all the right of nominating Biſhops, by an Edict commanding that none ſhould be admitted to any Church without his leave. Accordingly when any Biſhop died he ſent an Officer ſparingly to defray Charges, and the reſt of the Revenue he took to himſelf. Nay, during his Government all Countries ſwarmed with Collectours and Informers, who ſqueezed, even out of the pooreſt of the People, all that ever they had; ſuch as had been in publick Service before, were raiſed to more chargeable Employment. As if formerly in the Navy, now they were conſtrained to

* Εἶτα τῶν τότε ἀρχιερέων καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιποίμενος πολυεύκτου διαφερομένων περὶ τῶν Ψήφων. *Zonaras in Nicephoro Phocâ.*

ſerve on Land, and if before as Foot, now as Horſemen at their own Charge.

33. War was his onely Element, neither could he think or ſay any thing but what had relation to it. Therein he placed the Meaſures of good and evil, inſomuch, that he laboured to introduce a Law which ſhould give to them that loſt their Lives in Fight, equal Honours and Veneration with the Martyrs, and but for the vigorous oppoſition of the Patriarch and Biſhops he had publiſhed the Edict, they contending, that on the other hand the Canon of *Baſil* the Great did bar ſuch of the Communion as had killed, though but an Enemy in Battel, for three years. But what did more provoke the Multitude he debaſed the Coin, cauſing ſome of leſs intrinſick value to be made, which done, all Payments to himſelf he exacted in that of the greater, and cauſed all Iſſues out of the Treaſury to be made of the leſſer ſort. And whereas all Money ſtamped with the Images of Emperours, if of the ſame weight and goodneſs went at the ſame Rates, he inhanced the value of his own Coins above thoſe of his Predeceſſours. This cauſed extraordinary difficulty and damage in Commerce, which added to the dearneſs of all Commodities, made very great diſturbance. But that which inraged moſt, was the fortifying of the Court or Palace, becauſe it was told him, that in it he ſhould die. He pulled down very fair Houſes of private Perſons adjoyning to it, and cloſe to it erected a Cittadell, wherein were built Granaries, Store-houſes, Ovens, and Bakehouſes, filled with all ſorts of Proviſions. To theſe publick Grievances there were other particular Accidents, which being ill taken, however deſigned, farther increaſed the general hate againſt him. A great Tumult happening betwixt the Seamen and *Armenians*, wherein many were killed, and *Siſinnius* the Prefect of the City hardly eſcaped, he to be revenged on the Citizens, whom he concluded to have been Authours of the diſorder, was thought to have drawn them into a Snare in this manner. He appointed ſome Exerciſes on Horſeback, and either to let the People ſee the manner of fighting or to terrifie them, cauſed the Riders to draw their Swords and skirmiſh together, which caſt the Multitude into ſuch a fright, that all ran headlong down from the Theatre, over the Precipices and Ditches, and treading one upon another many were preſſed to Death, many more hurt, and greater had been the miſchief but that they obſerved him to ſit on his ſeat not at all concerned, which made them change their Opinion of him, and to ſtop their Flight. But the Relations of ſuch as were killed, not long after, as he returned into the City, reviled him, and caſt at him Dirt and Stones, and had not ſome of the more ſober ſort become his Guard, he had eaſily miſcarried.

34. In the fourth year of his Reign, the tenth Indiction, in *June* going to viſit the Cities of *Thrace*, when he came to *Great Suda*, he wrote to *Peter* Prince of *Bulgaria*, not to ſuffer the *Turks*, as they called them, to paſs the River *Iſter*. This he objected for ſeveral Reaſons that he could not doe, but eſpecially he inſiſted on this, that when that People had invaded his Dominions, then the Emperour had refuſed to give him any aſſiſtence: That therefore he was forced by neceſſity to make a Peace with them, which his Intereſt would not permit him now to break. To be revenged of him, for this repulſe he procured *Sphendoſthlabus* King of the *Ruſſians* the following year to invade *Bulgaria*, where committing all ſorts of Hoſtility, they deſtroyed many Towns, and returned with much Booty, acting the ſame part over again the next year after. In the mean time happened a terrible Earthquake in *Paphlagonia*, and elſewhere. And in *May* following the Corn was ſo blaſted by ſcorching Winds, that a great Famine followed, at which *Nicephorus* took advantage to fill his own Coffers, and made a Jeſt of the Calamity of his People, boaſting that he had ſold his Wheat at a double Rate. Both he and his Brother Rejoiced in the Miſeries of the Poor, or their Actions were ſuch, as they could not afford a better Interpretation, and drew ſome Expreſſions from the Oppreſſed, which taxed him with miſ-government to his Face. "On a time as he was Muſtering his "Souldiers, an ancient man with a gray head deſired to be liſted amongſt them, of "whom when he demanded why he that was now old and feeble, would deſire to "go to the Wars, he told him that he found he was much ſtronger than when he "was young; for now, ſince he was Emperour, he could carry Corn of that "value on his own Back, with which then he was wont to load two Aſſes. So much was he hated abroad, and at home, and in his own Houſe he was as little beloved. *Theophano* his Wife did now loath him, either becauſe he was no good Womans man, or ſhe was jealous that he deſigned to geld her Sons, and leave the Empire to his Brother. *Glycas* writes expreſly that it was becauſe he lived chaſtly,

He ingages the *Ruſſians* to invade *Bulgaria*.

In time of Famine he raiſes the price of Corn, which adds to his hatred and oppreſſion.

ly, abſtained from her Bed, and was wont to ſleep on the ground, being much delighted in taking his reſt in that manner. Following her intemperate humour ſhe had caſt her affections upon *Zimiſces*, whom as a ſuſpected Perſon, the Emperour had confined to his own Houſe.

35. She procured him to be diſcharged of his Confinement, and when *Nicephorus* refuſed to let him come preſently to *Conſtantinople*, ſhe not onely got him ſecretly conveyed thither, but by Night to be drawn up into the Palace in a Basket, with five of his Friends, *viz. Michael, Burtzas*, the Patritian, whom *Nicephorus* had diſobliged, *Leo Abalantius*, an Officer in the Army, and one *Atzypotheodorus* (ſo named from the ſwarthineſs of his Complexion) more intimate with him than all others. Being got in, they went directly to ſeek the Emperour, and not finding him in his Chamber in the Bed wherein he ordinarily ſlept, they were going down the way they came, concluding that their Deſign was diſcovered. But by a Fellow that belonged to the Womens Apartment, they were brought where he lay aſleep on the ground in a Bears ſkin, as his Cuſtome was, which Skin he much valued becauſe given him by his Uncle *Michael* a Monk. *Zimiſces* firſt gave him a kick with his Foot and awakened him, then as he leaned on his Elbow indeavouring to riſe, *Leo Abalantius* with his drawn Sword mortally wounded him in the Head, the Skull being pierced. Then they dragged him before *Zimiſces*, who had placed himſelf in the Emperour's Seat, and uſed him with all ſorts of Indignities, while he onely ſaid, *Lord have mercy upon me, and the Mother of God help me.* By this time the Alarm was given to thoſe of the Guard that then watched, and they were haſting to his Relief, which the Conſpiratours perceiving, diſpatched him, and cutting off his Head ſhewed it to them out of the Window, which ſight quieted them; the Tragedy being already over and not to be prevented. Some reported that ten days before his death, by a Writing left in his Chamber, warning was given him to beware of *Zimiſces*: Nay, that by a certain Clerk that very Night the Conſpiracy was revealed the ſame way. But ſome reported, that he imagining the Paper to contain onely ſome Petition, never open'd it; others ſaid he did open and reade it, but made no reckoning of it, his Fate ſo vehemently preſſing upon him: And there wanted not who affirmed, that he both took notice of the thing, and committed the Inquiry thereof, and the Defence of his own Perſon to the *Protoveſtiarius*, and alſo wrote to his Brother *Leo*, then at his own Houſe, to come to him ſufficiently armed and accompanied with all ſpeed; but he being buſie at Cheſs, with which Game he was wonderfully delighted, neglected to open the Letter till it was too late, which perceiving, with his Son *Nicephorus* he took Sanctuary in the Great Church. However to ſuch an end came this Emperour, who by his Example abundantly ſhewed the truth of that old Saying, *That Magiſtracy, eſpecially in Sovereign Power, diſcovers the Diſpoſition of a man.* Formerly he had taxed that Vice in his own Father, to which he himſelf, when he had moſt ample opportunity of getting Wealth, was inſlaved. In how ſad and uncertain a condition thoſe that wore the Diadem in thoſe days perpetually were, and how much of that liberty which the old *Roman* Legions took of diſpoſing of the Empire according to their own Luſt and Ambition, was ſtill uſurped, the Reader from more than this one Inſtance cannot but take notice. *Nicephorus* lived fifty ſeven years, and thereof Reigned ſix, with as many Months.

A Conſpiracy againſt him which takes effect to his Deſtruction.

Zimiſces ſeizes on the Empire, making *Baſilius* and *Conſtantine* his Collegues.

969.

36. The Murther committed, *John Zimiſces* ſeized on the Empire in the twelfth Indiction, *A. D.* DCCCCLXIX. *Baſilius* and *Conſtantine*, the Sons of *Romanus*, he made his Collegues, he being in the ſeventh and this in the fifth year of his Age, as *Cedrenus* writes, which could not be, conſidering how long it was ſince the death of their Father; ſo that herein greater credit is to be given to *Panvinius*, who reckons *Baſilius* to have been fourteen, and *Conſtantine* about twelve, at this Alteration. For his prime Miniſter he made choice of *Baſilius* of the Bedchamber, to whom *Nicephorus*, having been advanced in a great meaſure by his indeavours, had given a new Title of *Preſident*, being a man of great experience, which he gained under *Romanus* his Father, and his Brother-in-Law *Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus*, by his Wars againſt the *Saracens*, and other Negotiations of greateſt Concernment. He as ſoon as intruſted, to diſcharge his Duty, firſt removed all ſuch as he knew to have been addicted to *Nicephorus*, from all Commands both Military and Civil, and ſubſtituted others in their Rooms, whom he knew to be faithfull to him in preſent power. Such as *Nicephorus* had baniſhed, he recalled, and eſpecially the Eccleſiaſticks, whom for oppoſing him in Matters relating to the Church, he had driven from their places. Theſe things premiſed

for the eſtabliſhing of his Power, *Zimiſces* thought he might take the Enſigns of the Dignity, and to the great Church he went to receive the Diadem from the hands of the Patriarch. But here he was ſtopped at the Door, *Polyeuctus* affirming that it was not lawfull for him to enter that Place, whoſe hands ſtill ſmoaked with the Bloud they had ſo lately ſhed, for which he muſt make ſatisfaction before he could be admitted. He received the Reprehenſion in good part, promiſing to perform all things that could be reaſonably injoyned him; but alledged he had laid no violent hands on the late Emperour, who was ſlain by *Abalantius* and *Atzypotheodrus* by Command of the Empreſs. The Patriarch then required that ſhe ſhould be baniſhed from Court into ſome Iſland, as alſo the Murtherers of *Nicephorus*, and that the Edict made by him concerning Eccleſiaſtical Affairs ſhould be reſcinded. The Murtherers by *Zimiſces* his command were preſently removed, and *Theophano* Baniſhed into *Proconneſus*, whence afterward eſcaping and betaking her ſelf to the great Church, ſhe was thruſt out by *Baſilius*, and carried into the Province of *Armenia*, and there cloſe ſhut up in a Monaſtery, after many bitter and reproachfull Speeches uttered againſt the preſent Emperour and againſt *Baſilius*, to whom ſhe had given a Cuff on the Ear, and loaded him with the Names of *Scythian* and *Barbarian*. Her Mother alſo was removed from the City, and the Edict of *Nicephorus* againſt the Privileges of Church-men openly produced and torn in pieces.

Baniſhes *Theophano* the Empreſs.

Zimiſces Crowned at *Conſtantinople*

37. Theſe things performed, and the Emperour having promiſed for expiation of his Crime, to give all the Eſtate he had been Maſter of when a Private Man to the uſe of the Poor, he was admitted by *Polyeuctus* into the Church, and on *Chriſtmas* day was there Crowned by his hands. While there was this changing and ſhifting at Court, Affairs of the Empire both in the Eaſtern and Weſtern Parts, were but in a ticklish condition. For the Cities taken from the *Saracens* in *Cilicia*, *Phœnicia* and *Cœloſyria*, were inclining to revolt. And *Nicephorus* his procuring of the *Ruſſians* to invade *Bulgaria*, as it happened, had brought the Territories of the *Romans* into much greater danger. *Zimiſces* thought he ſhould provide in ſome meaſure for the ſecurity of the Eaſt, by preferring to the Biſhoprick of *Antioch* upon the River *Orontes*, or that near *Daphne*, one *Theodorus* a Monk, a man of very good Deſert, who always told him that he ſhould come to be Emperour, but always adviſed him not to be haſty in his Attempts that way. He had alſo perſwaded him that as ſoon as he ſhould get the opportunity by his preferment to remove the *Manichees* out of the Eaſt, which he performed afterward, cauſing them to be tranſported to *Philippopolis*. All this while the *Saracens* intermitted no thoughts nor means for recovery of their Cities, eſpecially of *Antioch*, in which their Reputation was moſt concerned. By the Agitation of thoſe moſt principally concerned, a ſtrict League and Alliance was entred into, not onely by that People in what parts ſoever they lived, but by all other Nations, profeſſing their Religion, particularly, as *Cedrenus* reckons them, the *Ægyptians*, *Perſians*, *Elamites*, both the ſorts of *Arabians*, (inhabiting the Deſart and *Happy Arabia*) and *Sabæans*, vaſt Forces they gathered together, the Command of which was given to thoſe of *Carthage*, as the moſt experienc'd in War both by Sea and Land, who transferred it upon *Zochares* a man very fit for the place of General. They laid Siege to that *Antioch* near to *Daphne*, as our Authours call it, to diſtinguiſh it from all others of that Name, and omitted nothing proper to take it, but the ſtrength of the place and the Courage of the Beſieged held them to it till ſuch time as the Emperour had ſent orders to the Governour of *Meſopotamia*, to raiſe what power he could and relieve them, and diſpatched away *Nicholas* an Eunuch moſt intimate with him to be General of the Expedition. He muſtering all the Forces he could poſſibly get together, though not once to be named with their Multitudes, ſet upon them, gave them Battel, raiſed the Siege, forced them to diſperſe, and betake themſelves to their own Countries, ſuch of them as eſcaped the Slaughter; and confirmed the Cities of theſe Quarters in their Obedience.

The *Saracens*, &c. in the Eaſt indeavour to revolt.

Syriæ Metropolis Antiochia ἐπὶ Δάφνῃ *vulgo vocata. Daphne erat ſuburbium ob arbores umbriferas & aquarum copias amœniſſimum. Quod enim in Italia Baiæ, ad Alexandriam Canopus, id erat in Syria Suburbium, Antiochiæ Daphne.*

But are reduced to obedience.

38. Thus matters in the Eaſt very well ſucceeded; but in *Bulgaria*, which the *Roſſi* had overrun, things went not according to expectation; for this People having made themſelves Maſters of the Countrey, and got into their hands *Boriſes* and *Romanus* the two Sons of *Peter*, finding it much more pleaſant and fertile than their own, reſolved to fix in it, and brake the Covenants they had made with *Nicephorus*. In this their Reſolution they were confirmed by one *Calocyrus*, who ingaged that if by their means he could come to be Emperour of the *Romans*, he would freely quit to them *Bulgaria*, make a perpetual League with them, and double

He orders his Forces to march Weſtward.

double the Tribute or Penſion, which had been promiſed them. Puffed up with theſe his Offers, but eſpecially with preſent poſſeſſion, they challenged *Bulgaria* as their own acquired by War, and the Ambaſſadours of the Emperour, who offered to confirm and make good whatever *Nicephorus* had granted, they rejected with ſcornfull Language and Deportment. *Zimiſces* then finding himſelf obliged by force of Arms to obtain what by good words he could not compaſs, ſent Orders for all his Forces to march Weſtward, over which he made General, one *Bardas* ſirnamed *Sclerus* or *Hard* his Wives Brother, reſolving in the Spring in Perſon, to be at the Head of the Army. The *Ruſſians* hearing of theſe preparations, to prevent him, raiſed to themſelves as many of the lately conquered *Bulgarians* as they thought convenient, and drawing into their Aſſiſtence the *Patzinacæ*, and thoſe our Writers call *Turks*, inhabiting the Weſtern Parts of *Pannonia* (the *Hunnes* or *Hungarians*) made up an Army of three Hundred and eight thouſand Men, with which paſſing *Æmus*, they laid waſte all *Thrace*, and ſate down before the Walls of *Adrianople*. *Bardas* could ſcarcely muſter above twelve thouſand Men, and therefore ſo very much over-matched in Numbers, reſolved to try if he could be ſuperiour in skill and ſtrategeme. He contained himſelf within the Walls of that City, and however challenged and provoked by the Enemy would not fight, making a ſhew of great fear and diffidence. This made them ſecure, ſo as they kept no order, obſerved no rules, were negligent in their watches, as not doubting but with convenience enough to ſeize upon the Prey.

Who ingageing with the Barbarians rout them.

39. He watcht his opportunities, and when he ſaw his time ſent out *John Alacaſenſis* a Patritian, with a Party to skirmiſh with the Enemy, and by little and little retreating to bring them into an Ambuſh he had conveniently placed for them. The Barbarians were divided into three Bodies, whereof the *Ruſſians* and *Bulgarians* compoſed one, the other two conſiſted ſingly of the ſeveral Nations of *Patzinacæ* and *Turks*. It happened, that *John* light upon the *Patzinacæ*, with whom skirmiſhing and gently retiring till he came to the Place of the Ambuſh, he then fled as faſt as his Horſe could carry him, and they breaking all Order, and purſuing fell into the Army of *Bardas*, which compaſſing them in, cut them all off, or very few eſcaped. This incouraged him to complete his Victory by falling upon the reſt, who though diſcouraged by what had happened to their Friends, yet made ſtout reſiſtence, and the ſucceſs continued doubtfull a long time, till a *Scythian* taller and bolder than the reſt ſingled out *Bardas*, as he rode up and down incouraging his Men. He gave him a blow on the Head, but his Helmet was of ſuch tried Metal, that his Sword could not enter, though that of *Bardas* was ſo much better temper'd, that with one ſtroke he both clave his Head-piece and Head in ſunder. And *Conſtantine* a Patritian, the Brother of *Bardas*, coming in to his Relief had as good Succeſs. For they write, that grapling with another *Scythian* who aſſiſted his Countreyman, and fetching a ſtroke at his Head as he declined the blow, he cut off the Head of his Horſe, and then cut the Throat of the Maſter as he lay grovling on the Ground. Theſe Atchievements of the *Roman* General, and his Brother ſo diſcouraged the Barbarians, that they would no more abide it, but ſhifted for themſelves aſwell as they could, but had not Night prevented farther purſuit, none had eſcaped, moſt being killed, and the reſt in a manner all taken Priſoners, of whom there were very few to be ſeen, that were not wounded. Yet if we may believe ſome Writers, of the *Romans* were killed but five and twenty Men. But none eſcaped without having received the marks of their Valour upon their Skins.

Bardas Phocas uſurps ſeizing on *Cæſarea*.

40. Scarcely was this *Scythian* War brought to an end, when one Inteſtine which threatned more danger if not to the Empire, yet to the Emperour, recalled *Bardas* to *Conſtantinople*. *Bardas Phocas* who had been baniſhed into *Amaſia* had fled from thence, and having held ſecret Intelligence with his Kindred and Acquaintance, was up in Arms, having ſeized on *Cæſarea* the City of *Cappadocia*, where he had got together conſiderable Forces, and ſeveral Eminent men being come to him had aſſumed the Imperial Title and Ornaments. *Leo Curopalates* his Father had drawn in many, ſome by Gifts, and others by large Promiſes, by the means of the Biſhop of *Abydus* eſpecially, and had purpoſed with his Son *Nicephorus*, to ſteal out of the Iſland *Lesbus*, whither he had been confined, into *Thrace*. But the Biſhop being apprehended and examined revealed all the Plot, and both the Father and Son were condemned to death. This Sentence of the Judges, was by the Emperour mitigated to the looſing of their Eyes. Yet was he ſo farther mercifull, as it's ſaid, he gave order to the Executioners to make ſhew onely of blinding them, and to ſpare their ſight, and give out that it was not by his

Command, but proceeded merely from their pity towards them. In the mean time *Bardas* the General was come into *Aſia*, as far as *Dorylaus*, having given him in charge from *Zimiſces* to ſhed no more bloud than was neceſſary. By large Offers therefore he firſt endeavoured to draw *Phocas* and his Complices from what they had undertaken. But finding them ſo confident, that with ſcorn and heat they rejected his Propoſals, he marched to *Cæſarea*, where he was ſcarcely arrived, when theſe Promoters and Followers of the New-made Emperour, upon farther conſideration, and weighing of what had been offered, with what their utmoſt hopes might amount to, found their beſt Game would be to undoe what they had done,and accordingly one *Diogenes Adraleſtus* and *Ampelas*,with *Theodorus* and *Nicephorus* the Sons of *Theodulus*, who had been the Authours of the Revolt firſt came over, whom all the reſt followed, ſo that *Phocas* was left attended onely by his own Servants.

Dorylaus, quæ etiam Dorylæus, Magnæ Phrygiæ Civitas, juxta quam oritur Hermus amnis.

But is deſerted by thoſe that ſet him up.

41. Much diſcontented at the Falſeneſs of thoſe, wo had perſwaded him to theſe ambitious Courſes, and, as they ſay, farther diſcouraged by a Dream, he fled toward a Caſtle called *Tyropæum*. The General ſent a Party if poſſible to overtake him, and it reached him as he came to the Foot of the Hill, on which the Caſtle ſtood. There one *Conſtantinus Charon*, bolder and more forward than any of the reſt came ſooneſt up with him, and giving him other contumelious Language called him Coward, bidding him ſtay if he durſt, and receive the Reward of his Treaſons from his Hands. *Phocas* perceiving who it was, ſtopped his Horſe, and turning towards him, put him in mind how idle a thing it was without conſideration of the Inſtability of Humane Affairs, to inſult over a man that was merely oppreſſed by the Inconſtancy of Fortune, and that he ought rather to commiſerate the Condition of one, whoſe Father was *Curopalates*, Grandfather *Cæſar*, and Uncle an Emperour himſelf. *Charon* to this returned more outrageous words, calling him Villain, and telling him that he ſhould ſooth up Boys with ſuch idle Stories, and not think therewith to delude him; and very fiercely made up to cloſe him. But *Phocas* being aware of him up with a Club,or Poll-axe, which hung concealed, and his Helmet not being ſtrong enough to keep off the blow knocked him on the Head, whom thus having diſpatcht, he put Spurs to his Horſe again, and recovered the Caſtle, the Purſuers when they came where *Charon* lay dead, were ſo aſtoniſhed at the ſight, that they followed him no farther. But not long it was e'er *Bardas* came up, and by Meſſages urged him to yield, profeſſing his kindneſs to him as an Allie (for to *Sophia* the Siſter of *Phocas*, was married his Brother *Conſtantine*) and undertook to procure his Pardon from the Emperour. *Phocas* then receiving from him an Oath, that he ſhould not be rigorouſly proceeded againſt, yielded himſelf. And the Emperour made good what *Bardas* had ingaged, being ſatisfied with his entring into Orders, and Confinement to the Iſland *Chius*. This danger thus happily over, *Bardas* received Command to return into the Weſt. To which our Writers of the *Byzantine* Hiſtory mean *Conſtantinople*; and thoſe Parts of *Europe* ſtill ſubject to it, as by the Eaſt the Provinces of *Aſia*.

Flying to the Caſtle *Tyropæum*, capitulates.

Is ſhaven and confined to the Iſland *Chius*.

Zimiſces marries *Theodora* Siſter to his Collegue.

Undertakes an expedition into *Bulgaria*.

42. Theſe things happened at the beginning of the Reign of *Zimiſces*, who much about the ſame time his former Wife being lately dead, married *Theodora* the Siſter of *Romanus* the Third, and Daughter of *Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus*, as our *Greek* Hiſtorians write, though *Panvinius* whomſoever he follows, makes her the Daughter of *Romanus* by *Theophano*, and the Siſter of *Baſilius* and *Conſtantine*, the Collegues of the preſent Emperour. In the ſecond year of his Reign, reſolving in Perſon to make War againſt the *Roſſians*, he uſed all endeavours poſſible to make his Deſigns effectual. By his bounty he made his Souldiers chearfull and courageous. He ſet over them prudent and valiant Officers, took care that no Ammunition or Proviſions ſhould be wanting; and not onely ſet all things in good order at Land, but provided as well for the Sea, ſetting forth a very conſiderable Fleet under the Command of *Leo*, the *Drungarius* thereof at preſent, but afterward preferred to be *Protoveſtarius*. Having finiſhed his Devotions for good Succeſs, and ſetled all matters at home, in the beginning of Spring he ſet forward, and in his Journey at *Rædeſtus* met with two Perſons, who under ſhew of an Embaſſie were ſent from the Enemy to ſpy how matters ſtood with him, making great complaints of great Injuries offered to the Nation of the *Scythians*. He knowing well enough on what errand they were ſent, cauſed them to take a view of all his Forces, and therewith bid them be gone, and tell their Maſters with how great and well diſciplin'd an Army he was coming againſt them. With five thouſand Foot, and four thouſand Horſe fit for expedition, he marched away ordering

Laying ſiege to *Perſthlaba.*

dering the reſt to follow under Conduct of *Baſilius* the Preſident, and paſſing over *Hæmus*, laid ſiege to *Perſthlaba* the principal City of *Bulgaria.* This ſtruck a great terrour into the People, and *Calocyrus* being in the Town without any oppoſition made, ſecretly withdrew himſelf into the Camp of the *Roſſians*, who upon ſight of him, and hearing the Emperour himſelf was in the Field, were not a little diſmaid. But *Sphendoſthlabus* their General comforted them, aſwell as he could by words fit for the preſent exigence, and cauſed them to remove nearer the City, where they incamped. A Party of Eight thouſand, exerciſing themſelves near the City-Walls *Zimiſces* fell upon and did great Execution, whom others iſſuing out to ſuccour in confuſion ran the ſame Fortune, the ways being intercepted at their Retreat, ſo that multitudes were ſlain and as many taken, amongſt whom *Sphagellus*, the next in Authority to their General. Animated with this Succeſs the *Romans* fell upon the City, and were forced off more by the Darkneſs of Night, than the Valour of the Defendants.

Which he takes by ſtorm with *Boriſes* their King.

43. Early in the Morning appeared *Baſilius*, with the reſt of the Army to the great Joy of the Emperour, and ſhewed himſelf upon an Hill to ſtrike greater Terrour into thoſe that kept the Town. Now did *Zimiſces* endeavour to perſwade them to ſave themſelves by yielding, to which finding them averſe, he gave order for the Forces jointly to begirt and attacque the Place. So violent an Onſet the *Romans* made, by their ſhowres of Arrows driving the Defendants from the Walls, and then ſcaling them with their Ladders, incouraged by one of their Fellows who firſt mounted, and was more pertinacious than the reſt, that a ſufficient Number got in and opened the Gates, and then the Army entring filled all Places with ſlaughters. The Women and Children were made Priſoners, and *Boriſes* King of the *Bulgarians* was taken with his Wife and Children, who in his Royal Robes was brought to the Emperour. He uſed him very courteouſly, gave him the Title of King, and ſet at liberty all the *Bulgarians*, profeſſing himſelf their Friend, and an Enemy onely of the *Roſſi.* But all this while, when he thought his work was done as to *Perſthlaba*, Eight thouſand of the ſtouteſt *Scythians* had ſeized upon the Caſtle, and were firſt diſcovered by the Miſchief they did, making ſeveral Sallies and Slaughter of many they ſurprized. He cauſed his men to attacque the Place, but they were very faint in the Service, not ſo much for the Valour of the Defendants, as the natural ſtrength of its Situation, which he perceiving armed himſelf, and with Sword in his Hand led them on, which ſight wrought ſo much ſhame upon them, that ſtriving who ſhould put himſelf forwardeſt betwixt his Prince and Danger, they broke through all oppoſition by Fire and Sword, and Maſter'd the hold; thoſe that reſiſted, being either killed or driven headlong down the Rocks and Precipices, or intercepted by the Fire and burnt. Thus was this City fully conquered, in the ſpace but of two Days. The Emperour took order for repairing of it, and called it after his own Name *Joannopolis.* He left a ſtrong Garriſon in it, and furniſhed it with all ſorts of Proviſions. Having therein attended the Devotions of *Eaſter*-Day, the Day following he departed for *Doroſtolus*, which alſo had the Name of *Diſtra.*

Changing the Name to *Joannopolis.*

44. All this while *Sphendoſthlabus*, was incamped in expectation of the coming of the *Romans*, till ſurpriz'd with the News of the taking of the City. He concealed his grief and exhorted his Men to ſhew themſelves the more courageous, the more oppoſition they met with, and no longer to expect but to march and find out the Enemy. The Emperour in the mean time ranged about, and took and waſted many Towns and Caſtles, the plunder whereof he gave to the Souldiers for their Incouragement. But having notice of the approach of ſome *Roſſians*, he ordered one *Theodorus* of *Miſtheia*, with a ſelect Party of three hundred to go before to view them, and give him an account of their Condition, and if occaſion were to skirmiſh with them till he ſhould come up to the main Body. It proved onely a Party of ſome ſeven thouſand men, ſent out as it ſeems upon the ſame errand with which yet he ingaged, and they imagining becauſe of his ſmall Number ſome Strategeme to be in the caſe, fled amain to the adjoining Woods and Mountains, and ſo took their way for *Diſtra*, not far from which, all but ſuch as fell in the ingagement and perſuit, joyned themſelves with *Sphendoſthlabus*, and his Army. There it was now reſolved, that twelve Miles from that Town they ſhould incamp, and ſtay for the coming of the Emperour; being in all three Hundred and thirty thouſand Men, and thoſe unanimous, for three Hundred *Bulgarians*, whom they had ſuſpected, they had put to death. The *Romans* animated to a great height by their Victories were preſently with them, and then both Armies prepared for a Battel, at the beginning whereof, though the late Victours

Then meeting the Army of the *Roſſians*, in Battel defeats them.

Flying to *Doroſtolus*.

did great Execution, yet the Numbers of their Enemies were equivalent to their Alacrity, and thereby incouraged, they made ſuch reſiſtences, that the ſucceſs was very doubtfull. Twelve times Fortune ſeemed to change her Face the diſtreſſed ſide ſtill reinforcing it ſelf, till at length Night now coming on, the left Wing of the *Roſſians* gave more ground, which as they endeavoured to recruit the Emperour in perſon led on a Reſerve,and with Spear in Hand ſo beſtirred himſelf, that his Example put new life into all his Souldiers, whereby he carried the day. The *Roſſians* fled to *Doroſtolus*, very much leſſened in their Numbers, and thither followed the Emperour after he had done his Devoirs to St. *George*, on whoſe Day this Victory was obtained.

Which upon the arrival of his Fleet *Zimiſces* begirts.

After ſeveral ſkirmiſhes.

45. He ſate down before the Town, but would make no attempt upon it, till his Fleet arrived, becauſe the Defendants might eaſily eſcape by the River. In the mean time *Sphendoſthlabus* commits to ſafe Cuſtody in Fetters no fewer than twenty thouſand *Bulgarians*, leſt they ſhould revolt or make any diſturbance in the Garriſon, and prepared for a Siege. The Fleet being arrived the Emperour buckled himſelf to his buſineſs, and the Enemy making ſeveral Sallies, he ſtill repelled with good Succeſs. Now the *Roſſians* horſed ſeveral Companies contrary to their former Cuſtome, and in an Evening when the *Roman* Soldiers were diſperſed, at their Supper, made a very briſk Sally out of two ſeveral Gates, the one toward the Eaſt, where *Peter* the chief Commander of the Camp lay with the *Thracians* and *Macedonians*, and the other to the Weſt, which Poſt was aſſigned to *Bardas Sclerus*, with the Eaſtern Forces. A very ſharp Conflict there was, and the Succeſs for ſome time inclined to neither ſide, but the *Romans* had the better at laſt, and killing many, forced the reſt back into the City without ſo much as one of their own Men either killed or hurt as our Authours affirm; onely three Horſes periſhed in the Ingagement. The Barbarians much diſcouraged at this repulſe, with great Howlings and hideous Cries, bewailed the Death of their Fellows lately ſlain, and for the greater ſecurity of the place, ſent for all their Countreymen that lay in the Garriſons round about. *Zimiſces* hereupon drew out his Army into the adjoining plain, and offered them Battel, which they refuſing he had time to give Audience to Meſſengers that came from *Conſtantia*, and other Forts beyond the River *Iſter*, to beg pardon and yield themſelves, whom he gratiouſly received and ſent Garriſons into the Places ſo given up. But the beſieged, though they refuſed a pitcht Battel, yet their Number being increaſed iſſued out in the Night at all their Gates at once, and furiouſly aſſailed the Beſiegers when they little expected it. And at the firſt, as was to be expected, they had the better, till *Sphagellus* was ſlain, which ſo diſcouraged them, that they remitted much of their former Alacrity. Yet they kept the Field all the Night, and till Noon the next Day, when perceiving that a Party was ſent to get betwixt them and home, they then began to ſhift for themſelves, and finding the ways leading to the Town beſet, they ſtragled through the Countrey, and many of them were ſlain. The Night following *Sphendoſthlabus*, began to draw a Trench about the Walls, with which having more ſtrongly fortifyed the Place, he reſolved to hold out till the laſt.

He reſolves to ſtarve them out.

Another Rebellion at home.

But ſuppreſſed and puniſhed.

46. But Proviſions failing, and all ways by Land being blocked up, he took along with him two thouſand Men, and in a dark and rainy Night paſſed down the River in Boats, and fetched in Corn and other Neceſſaries, without the leaſt apprehenſion of the Beſiegers, till at his Return he killed many of their Foragers, and the reſt eſcaped with the News, which arrived not till he was got out of danger. At this the Emperour was very much diſturb'd, and threatned the Officers of the Fleet with death,if any ſuch thing happened for the time to come; for having ſpent now forty Days to no purpoſe in Hoſtility, he was reſolved to ſtarve them out, and having taken care for ſtopping up of all Avenues, took his eaſe and expected the Event. In the mean time while he ſought after new Conqueſts, what he had formerly poſſeſſed was in great danger, for *Leo Curopalates*, and his Son *Nicephorus* no-way obliged by his Clemency, who had cauſed their Eyes to be ſpared, when they had been ſentenced for their former Treaſons to looſe their ſight, again broke out into Rebellion, and having corrupted many Officers in ſeveral Places, left the Iſland, to which they were confined, and by Night came to *Conſtantinople*, where they imagined they could doe great matters, in the Abſence of the Emperour. But *Leo* the *Drungarius* of the Fleet, to whom with *Baſilius* the Rectour, the care of the Palace and City was committed, timely before they could get their Complices together, ſent a Party of Souldiers to ſecure them, of which having notice they betook themſelves to the great Church; but

were thence drawn out and ſent into the Iſland *Prota*, where the former Judgement was now executed with effect upon them. To return to the Siege, the Defendants were both ſorely pinched with Famine, and diſtreſſed by Engines of the Enemy, with which among ſo many ſtout and young Warriors, ſome would ever be trying their skill, and attempting ſomething. One *John* a *Magiſter* the Son of *Romanus Curcuas* with a Machine he had, did them moſt miſchief, ſo that they reſolved to make a Sally by ſome of their ſtouteſt men, to break or diſable it. *Curcuas* to reſcue his Engine ruſhed in amongſt them, was knocked down from his Horſe and ſlain, but his Souldiers though they could not ſave his Life yet preſerved the Ram, and drove back the *Roſſians* into the Town.

The beſieged make an univerſal Sally.

But retreat with great Loſs.

After which they conſult.

47. On the twentieth day of *July*, they reſolved to make an univerſal Sally, by the Advice of one *Jernor*, a man who for his deſert was the ſecond in Repute amongſt them. A fierce conteſt there happened, till *Anemas* one of the Emperour's Guard ſingled out *Jernor* and ſlew him, at which ſight in Confuſion they retired, and many by reaſon of the ſtraitneſs of the Ways, were either killed by the Purſuers, or trampled down by their own Fellows, *Sphendoſthlabus* himſelf with difficulty eſcaping. When the *Romans* came to ſtrip the ſlain, they found many Women in Mens Clothes had accompanied their Husbands, and fought ſtoutly. And courageous enough they were of both Sexes and all Conditions, but what proſpect of any hope there was to ſucceed, the moſt prudent amongſt them could not ſee. For on all ſides, were they ſurrounded with inſuperable Difficulties. Of any relief there was no probability, their Friends and Countreymen being ſo far off. The Neighbouring Nations refuſed to meddle, being awed by the Power of the Emperour; who by his Fleet and Army being now Maſter both at Land and Sea, barred them of all Acceſs, while he and his Souldiers abounded, not onely with all things neceſſary but delightfull, and was recruited with perpetual Supplies of Men. Great deliberation being had about their matters, ſome were for flying away by Night, others moved that they ſhould yield, others propounded other ways and Methods, but all concluded that a Period was to be put to this War. But *Sphendoſthlabus* affirmed, this was not to be done in any cowardly manner, leſt they ſhould be derided by all their Neighbours, and Eternal Infamy ſhould ſtick to their Nation, and therefore he perſwaded them once more to try it with the Beſiegers, and prefer a glorious Death before an ignominious Life.

Reſolving to leave the City and try it out by Battel.

48. Unanimouſly the next day they quit the City, and make faſt the Gates that no hope of retreating thither might any more remain. Such a Fight followed as is uſual with a reſolved and deſperate Enemy. The *Romans* leſs accuſtomed to hardſhip were moſt diſtreſſed by the heat of the Weather, whom their Emperour carefully relieved by bottles of Wine and Water mixed, and then cauſed them thus refreſhed to renew the Fight. The narrowneſs alſo of the ways was a great hinderance to them, of which he being ſenſible, commanded that his Officers ſhould by degrees retire, and when they were come into the open plain, then to fall on again with their former violence. The *Roſſians* imagining they fled, made after them with great earneſtneſs, till the *Romans* being arrived at the appointed place, furiouſly charged them a-freſh. Now the ſervice being hot on both ſides, *Theodorus* of *Miſtheia* his Horſe was killed under him, and a ſharp contention followed, while the Enemy endeavoured to kill, and his Friends laboured as hard to preſerve him. He clearing himſelf of his Horſe as well as he could, cought one of the *Roſſians* faſt by the Girdle, and beſtirring himſelf, thruſt the Man on this ſide and that ſide of him, where he ſaw the danger was, and uſed him as a Target to receive the Strokes or Darts that were deſigned aganſt him, and this he did till he was reſcued and brought off. But *Zimiſces* ſeeing the Enemy fight rather more courageouſly than ever, the ſucceſs doubtfull, and pitying the dangerous condition his Men were in, to prevent greater effuſion of bloud ſent to *Sphendoſthlabus*, and challenged him to deſide the quarrel by the ſingle Combat of them two. The Barbarian refuſed it, proudly anſwering that he underſtood himſelf better than did the *Roman* Emperour, who if he was weary of his Life, might find ways enough to be rid of it, while he ſhould mind what he had to doe. The Emperour reſolving with all his force and dexterity, to drive the Affair in that manner, which alone remained and by this one days action, to finiſh both this War, and Siege, ſent *Bardas Silerus*, with his Troops to hinder them all Acceſs to the Town, *Romanus* the Patritian, the Son of *Conſtantine Cæſar*, and Grandſon of *Romanus* the Elder, together with *Peter*, another great Commander in the Army, he ordered with their forces to give a freſh charge, which was ſo warmly both given and received, that ſtill the ſucceſs remained abſolutely uncertain: but *Anemas* lately mentioned, Son of the

In which *Sphendoſthlabus* is diſmounted and the *Roſſians* overthrown.

Ameras of *Crete*, with a blow given upon the ſide on the Head, beat *Sphendoſthlabus* from his Horſe, and while he indeavoured in vain to kill him, by reaſon of the ſtrength of his Armour, was himſelf cut in pieces. At length the faint and ſtarved *Roſſians* gave way to the ſtout and vigorous *Romans*, who put them to flight, and in the Purſuit through the Plains killed an innumerable Multitude of them, all the reſt being alſo ſaid to be wounded. The Victours not aſcribing the Victory all to themſelves, took notice that Heaven fought for them, by a Storm of Rain which blew ſo violently upon the Faces of their Enemies, that they could not with their wonted Alacrity and Conduct manage the Fight. And much was aſcribed to *Theodorus the Martyr*, on whoſe day the Battel happened, whom ſome ſaid they ſaw fighting at the Head of the Army. And the Emperour's Faith was herein ſo ſtrong and operative, that he repaired a Church dedicated to him, and the Name of the Town wherein it ſtood he changed from *Euchaneia*, to *Theodoropolis*.

Which obliges them to ſend to the Emperour.

Who accepts of their Terms.

And returns to *Conſtantinople* in Triumph.

49. " Now *Sphendoſthlabus* having herein ſatisfied himſelf, that he had done all things becoming a prudent Man, for the mainteriance of his cauſe and Countrey, and that nothing ſucceeded, betook himſelf to the laſt refuge, of ſending to the Emperour. But greater things he required, than one would judge to have been ſuitable to his condition; as that on the publick Faith he might be received as a Friend and Ally of the Empire, that ſafe Conduct ſhould be granted to him and his Countreymen, to their own Homes, and that free Commerce ſhould be eſtabliſhed betwixt the Nations. Theſe things he thought it prudence to ask, though not to ſtand by them, but govern himſelf according to the humour and anſwer of *Zimiſces*, who either weary of the War, or afraid farther to provoke a deſperate Enemy, of whoſe courage he had had ſufficient experience, granted what he ask'd, excuſing it with this old ſaying, that *It was the Cuſtome of* Romans, *to overcome more by kindneſs than force of Arms.* The Accord being made, he deſired to come to an interview and diſcourſe with the Emperour, which was alſo granted. It was covenanted that the *Patzinacæ* ſhould be comprized in the League, and for that purpoſe the Emperour ſhould ſend to them, to ſignifie that he would accept of them as Friends and Allies, and to deſire free paſſage for the *Roſſi*, through their Territories to their own Countrey. The *Patzinacæ* agreed to all except the free Paſſage, but the *Roſſi* in the caſe they were in, muſt needs put them to the Trial. After their departure *Zimiſces* fortified all the Towns and Caſtles upon the River, and then returned to *Conſtantinople*, where the Patriarch with his Clergy, the Senate and People received him with all expreſſions of Joy imaginable. They met him with Crowns, and a Chariot drawn with four Horſes ſplendidly furniſhed, in which they would have him enter in ſolemn Triumph. But he would not admit of any of this, but bore himſelf very modeſtly entring upon a white Horſe, and putting into the Chariot the Veſtments of the *Bulgarian* Princes, and over them the Image of our Lady, as the Protectreſs of the City, which he ordered ſhould go before him. Having in the *Forum* received the Acclamations of the Multitude, and finiſhed his Devotions, in the ſight of them all, he deveſted *Boriſes* of the Enſigns of Majeſty which were a Golden Crown, a Silken Veſtment and Purple Shoes, and then going to the Great Church offered the Crown, and there left it. Which done, he promoted *Boriſes* to the Dignity of a *Magiſter*, and ſo departed to the Palace. In the mean time *Sphendoſthlabus*, in his Return, paſſing through the Countrey of the *Patzinacæ* fell into the Ambuſhes, laid by them for him, and was cut off with all his men; they objecting it as a Crime, that he had entred into League with the *Romans*.

Where he releaces his Subjects from Hearth-money.

A dreadfull Comet appears.

50. But the Emperour farther to teſtifie his Gratitude for his late Succeſs, re-edified the Church which ſtood upon the Arch of *Chalce*, ſparing no Coſt in the Workmanſhip. He eaſed all his Subjects of the Smoke or Chimney-money, and gave order, that as well in the Golden Coins, as in the *Obolus*, the Image of our Saviour ſhould be ſtamped (which formerly had not been done) with this Inſcription, *Jeſus Chriſt the King of Kings*, and this was afterward obſerved by his Succeſſours. But to put him as well as other Mortals in mind, what Accidents and Inconſtancy threaten humane Life, in the Month of *Auguſt*, and the third Indiction appeared a Comet, which becauſe of its ſhape of a Beard, they were wont to call *Pogonia*, and it continued till the Eighth Month of the fourth Indiction, foreſhewing as was afterward believed, the Death of the Emperour, and thoſe Diſtempers never to be cured, wherein the State by reaſon of Civil Wars was thenceforth involved. After this, *Zimiſces* undertook an expedition

againſt

Zimiſces makes an expedition as far as *Damaſcus.*

againſt thoſe Cities which having been Conquered by *Nicephorus*, had afterward revolted, and Travelling as far as *Damaſcus*, ſome by fair words, others by rough deeds he recovered, and having ſetled all things according to his will, returned home. In his Journey as he paſſed by *Anazarbahe*, *Podandus*, and other places, ſeeing there moſt pleaſant and fruitfull grounds, he asked to whom they belonged. It was anſwered that they all belonged to *Baſilius*, the Preſident, who had obtained the poſſeſſion of them all, though part got by *Nicephorus*, other portions by this or that Domeſtick of the Schools, and ſome ſhare by the Arms of *Zimiſces* himſelf. Hereat he grew very ſad, and perceiving the publick had got little by the Acceſſion of thoſe Territories, broke out into this expreſſion; “My Companions, it's a very odd thing that the publick Treaſure muſt be waſted, and “the *Roman* Armies undergo ſuch difficulties, and yet whatſoever has been gained by ſo much labour and expence, muſt be ingroſſed by one Eunuch. This was not ſo well meant as ill taken by *Baſilius*, from whom conſidering his place, it could not be hid, and thenceforth he reſolved by ſome means or other to make away the Emperour. This e'erlong he effected by procuring his Cupbearer for ſome reward in preſent, and more in promiſe to give him Poiſon, not ſuch as ſhould ſpeedily kill, but by degrees in a Languiſhing manner diſpatch him, which carried him off yet e'er he reached *Conſtantinople*, with the Symtoms of Carbuncles upon his Shoulders, and avoidance of much Bloud by his Eyes, after he had Reigned ſix years ſix Months and ſomething more. An excellent Prince, who is onely guilty upon Record, for the Murther of his Predeceſſour (however the Patriarch abſolved him) although as we may ſee by frequent examples, ſuch ambitious ſeeking after Sovereignty and Dominion, was ſcarcely counted a Crime in thoſe days.

But in his return is Poiſoned by the procurement of *Baſilius* the Preſident.

Baſilius and *Conſtantine* 10. ſucceed.

51. *Baſilius* and *Conſtantine* the Sons of *Romanus*, according to his own Deſignment, ſucceeded him in the month of *December*, the fourth Indiction, *A. D.* DCCCCLXXVI. Now our Authours ſpeak more probably of their Age than formerly, that the one was about twenty, and the other three years younger. They bore the Name, but all the Power ſtill reſided in *Baſilius* the Preſident, who preſently to ingratiate himſelf with them and their Mother, ſent a Pinnace and fetcht her out of Baniſhment. To provide againſt the Uſurpations of others, he had greateſt cauſe to ſuſpect *Bardas Solerus*, who had already been guilty that way, and had narrowly eſcaped the loſing of his eyes, but at preſent Commanded all the Forces of the Eaſt, by which advantage he might eaſily perſwade the Souldiers to any thing he pleaſed. The Command of the Eaſt therefore he took from him, and gave him the Government of *Meſopotamia*, with orders to reſtrain the Incurſions of the *Saracens*. In like manner he dealt with *Michael Burtzas* for the ſame reaſon; and to draw him from the company and Neighbourhood of *Bardas*, made him Governour of *Antioch* upon *Orontes*; and the Command of all the Forces in the Eaſt was given to one *Peter*, formerly the Servant of *Phocas*, an Eunuch, but a Man of much valour and experience. Hereat *Bardas* was exceedingly inraged, ſo as he could not refrain himſelf, but fell into grievous invectives and reproachfull words againſt *Baſilius*, who for all that was not moved, but admoniſhed him to quiet himſelf, and ſettle to the buſineſs enjoined, or elſe expect to be deprived of all Command whatſoever, and confined to his Houſe. Hereupon he departed into his Province, and having broken his Deſign to ſome Officers of the Army, reſolved to break into Rebellion, knowing all the Souldiers to be at his Devotion. But his Son *Romanus* was at *Conſtantinople*, and therefore he durſt not attempt any thing till he had got him thence, which he effected by the Induſtry and Diſſimulation of one *Anthes*, who coming to the City, ſpake all bitter things againſt him, and ſo paſſing for his Enemy, had opportunity to ſteal away the Youth. Then did he openly aſſume the Title and Habit, and was ſaluted Emperour by his whole Army, the *Armenians* herein giving example to the reſt.

Bardas Solerus breaks out into Rebellion and uſurps.

52. For maintaining what he had now done, and going through with his Enterprize, he ſeized upon all Collectours of the publick Revenue he could, and conſtrained them to pay it to his Officers. Such as were rich he forced to contribute, and many there were who in hope of receiving it back with good Advantage, voluntarily ſent him in large ſums of Money, all which he laid up for a Reſerve in a certain Caſtle of *Meſopotamia*, called *Charpote*, where he placed as ſtrong a Garriſon as the concern required. With his Neighbours the *Saracens* he contracted Friendſhip, which was ſtrengthned by cloſer Alliances and Marriage, by virtue of which he received from the two *Ameras* of * *Amida* and

Joyning with the *Saracens* proceeds towards *Conſtantinople.*

* *Saracenis Emet.*

and * *Martyropolis* much money, beſides three hundred *Arabian* Horſemen for a ſupply. Thus furniſhed in the beginning of Spring, and farther encouraged by a Dream of a certain Monk, he ſet forward for *Conſtantinople*, whither the Report flying diſturbed both the Emperours and all men that were not delighted with change, and loved to fiſh in troubled waters. Orders are diſpatched to *Peter* to have the Army in a readineſs, to Rendezvous at *Cæſarea*, and *Stephen Syncellus* the Biſhop of *Nicomedia* is ſent to *Bardas*, by his Eloquenee, if poſſible, to perſwade him to deſiſt. But all he could ſay not in the leaſt ſhaked the Determination of the Uſurper, who to make a ſhort Anſwer to his long Oration, thruſt out his right Foot, and ſhewing him his Purple ſhoe, told him, that “He that had once worn that colour abroad, and in the ſight of People, “ could not be eaſily induced to put it off, and bid him tell thoſe that “ ſent him, that if they would not freely admit him for Emperour, he would en“deavour to eſtabliſh himſelf as ſuch whether they would or no. This Anſwer returned, command was ſent to *Peter*, that he ſhould not begin the War, but watch and obſerve *Bardas*, ſecure the Paſſages, and make reſiſtence if Attacqued. Accordingly he ſtopped up the ways, and after ſome bickerings of ſmall Parties, they came to Encamp one againſt the other. *Bardas* now ſhewed himſelf backward to Fight, till ſome convinced him that he injured himſelf by delays, which would moſt certainly bring him into contempt, and cauſe his Friends to fall off from him.

* *Miepherkin.*

Meeting the Emperour's Army by Stratageme he overcomes them.

Upon which *Leo* as *Dictator* is appointed to ſuppreſs him.

53. Convinced by this Reaſon he diſlodged, and in the ſpace of three days marched into *Lapara*, called afterwards *Lycandus*, a Part of *Cappadocia*; and *Peter*, leſt he ſhould be prevented, followed after, night and day, and thither came up cloſe to him. Yet neither of them had any mind to Fight, but endeavoured by wiles to circumvent each other, in which craft, *Bardas* was ſuperiour after this manner. He cauſed meat to be prepared as if all the Army was to take Refreſhment, but yet commanded every Man to be ready to Fight. This perceived by the Enemies they alſo fell to Eating, as concluding that for that day they might take their eaſe, and there would not be any Ingagement. In this poſture he fell upon them, and though they flew to their Arms and made ſtout reſiſtence yet perceiving they ſhould be compaſſed about by his two Wings, and the Mercenaries he had ordered to fall on their Backs, they ran away, and with the firſt *Burtzas* the Governour of *Antioch*, whether for fear or out of deſign is uncertain. Many were killed, and *Bardas* took their Baggage wherein was much treaſure found. Thence he removed, and took in a City called *Tſamandus*, and by this ſucceſs got ſuch reputation that many came over to him, and took his part, as *Burtzas* we now mentioned, *Andronicus* a Patritian, *Lydus* an Officer in the Army, and the inhabitants of *Attala* laid hands on *Michael Curticas*, the Commander of the Emperour's Fleet, which they carried all to *Bardas*, and from him received orders under his command, to make War againſt the *Cibyrræotæ*. Theſe things being reported at Court, it was there reſolved, that ſome of the Emperour's Friends ſhould be inveſted with abſolute or imperial power to give, grant and act whatſoever he ſhould think convenient for the ſuppreſſion of this Uſurper. Againſt him then was created, *Dictator* (as we may Term him) *Leo* the *Protoveſtiarius* and one *John* a Patritian a very eloquent and eminent man was ſent with him as an aſſiſtent or Councillour. Joyning with *Peter* at *Cotyacius* a place of *Phrygia* he firſt eſſayed ſecretly by great promiſes to draw the moſt conſiderable Perſons from *Bardas*, but all his Art this way was ſo far from doing any good, that it confirmed them in an Opinion of his weakneſs and of his Inability to proceed any other way.

54. Finding this project to fail him, by the night time he gave *Bardas* the go-by, and held on his courſe toward the Eaſt, which marvellouſly perplexed thoſe about the Uſurper, both in that they feared their Treaſure, and alſo were ſolicitous for their Relations, left behind them in thoſe parts. And this conſideration ſo wrought with them, that many departed and fled to *Leo*; *Bardas* his affairs were brought into that poſture, that he had juſt cauſe to fear that all his Forces would ſpeedily fall away and diſperſe themſelves. There was no way therefore but one; to ſend *Burtzas* and *Romanus Taronita* a Patritian, two that he could truſt to ſtop the courſe of *Leo*, by continual Allarms, ſudden on-ſets and intercepting his Proviſions, yet ſo as to be ſure not to venture a ſet Battel. But they were forced to break their orders. For News was brought that betwixt the two Armies were ſhortly to paſs ſome *Saracens* who were carrying the Annual

Tribute, due from the Eaſtern *Berræa* to *Conſtantinople*, which would fall as a certain Prize to thoſe that could compaſs it, and therefore the Souldiers were not to be reſtrained. It occaſion'd an Ingagement, wherein *Burtzas* was beaten, and many of his Men were ſlain, eſpecially the *Armenians*, to whom no Quarter would be given, becauſe they firſt revolted to *Bardas*. He having notice how matters went, haſted with the Body of his Army, and incamped, as conveniently as he could againſt *Leo*, expecting a fit opportunity to ingage. But *Leo* was wary and drew out the time in length, which he was incouraged to doe, finding that his ſtrength increaſed by the daily coming over of ſome or other to him. And the opinion of the Elder and Wiſer about him was, that by delay he ſhould ſtill manage his Matters; but thoſe of the younger and hotter ſort were all for fighting, and as we are apt to yield to the worſt, he ſuffered himſelf to be overruled, and to give Battel. *Bardas* divided his Forces into three Parts, whereof he himſelf led the middle Battel, to his Brother *Conſtantine* he aſſigned the right, and to *Conſtantine* the Son of *Gabras* the left Wing. They had not long ingaged when *Leo*'s Souldiers, not able to ſuſtain the violence of his Horſe, placed at each Wing, gave ground and occaſion to a total Defeat, which immediately followed. *John* the Patritian was killed, and *Peter* the Maſter of the Camp, with many other perſons of great Quality. *Leo*, with ſeveral other men of Office and Dignity was taken Priſoner. He was committed to Cuſtody; but the Eyes of *Theodorus* and *Nicetas Hagiozacharitæ*, two Brothers, at the Head of the Army were digged out, becauſe they had broken their Oaths and fallen off to *Leo*.

But in a Battel is alſo overthrown.

55. This Victory ſo exceedingly advanced the Intereſt of *Bardas*, that the whole Empire ſeemed now at his Devotion. But *Baſilius* the Preſident, was all this while very intent upon his buſineſs, and though he neglected no means for increaſing the Land Forces, yet his eſpecial care was for ſetting out a ſtrong Fleet; for *Michael Curtices* the General of *Bardas*, had waſted almoſt all the Iſlands, and was ſhortly expected at *Abydus* in the *Helleſpont*, which muſt needs cauſe *Conſtantinople* it ſelf to tremble. Having made all preparations the time would give him leave, he ſent out the Navy under Command of *Theodorus Carentenus*, a Patritian, who finding out *Curtices* at *Phocæa*, fought with and defeated him, by which means the Seas were all cleared. Then *Baſilius* applying himſelf wholly to the War by Land, ſent away *Manuel Eroticus* to command the City of *Nice*, the *Metropolis* of *Bithynia*, againſt which in a ſhort time after *Bardas* ſhewed himſelf and fell upon it with all violence. But not able to Maſter it, ſo vigorous and ſucceſsfull was the reſiſtence which *Manuel* made, he reſolved to ſtarve him out, and from his hands forced him to betake himſelf to his Wits, ſo much were the Inhabitants preſſed with want. He cauſed the Granaries therefore of the City to be filled with Sand, and Corn to be ſtrowed ſo thick upon it, that the Sand could not be diſcovered by the Eye. Then did he ſhew to ſome Priſoners he had the ſaid Granaries, and bragged how able he was by that means to hold out; but withall ſignified, that if he and thoſe with him might have leave honourably to depart, he would quit the place. This was not unwelcome News to *Bardas*, who upon report of the full Granaries, granted them ſuch Conditions as they deſired, and ſo with Bag and Baggage they marched out, and went to *Conſtantinople*. Thus *Bardas* became Maſter of *Nice*, but in ſuch a way, and by ſuch means, as he was aſhamed to own. However, he put a ſtrong Garriſon into the Town, under Command of one *Pegaſius*, and then attended his other Affairs.

The Seas cleared of the Uſurper's force.

But by Land he obtains the City of *Nice*.

56. *Baſilius* the Preſident perceiving his matters now deſperate, *Bardas* being ſhortly expected at *Conſtantinople*, betook himſelf to his laſt refuge in making uſe of a Perſon to which Neceſſity alone could oblige him. This was *Bardas Phocas* whom for this purpoſe he ſpeedily recalled out of Exile, and judging him the onely Perſon he could oppoſe to his Nameſake, received of him an Oath of Fidelity to the Emperours, and conferring on him the Dignity of a *Magiſter*, made him Domeſtick of the Schools, and committed the War to his management. *Phocas* having received Power and Inſtructions, indeavoured to paſs over to *Abydus*; but finding *Romanus* the Son of *Sclerus* to command the *Helleſpont*, returned to *Conſtantinople*, and there light of a Veſſel which wafted him over to the oppoſite Shore, whence travelling by Night, he came to *Cæſarea*, and there joining himſelf with *Euſtathius Maleinus* and *Michael Bartzas*, who had again turned to the Emperour's ſide, and gathering what Forces he could together, went on to *Amorium*. *Sclerus* having notice of his Arrival, now concluded, that he was to deal with his Match, not with Eunuchs and Effeminate Perſons, and to *Amorium* he

Which cauſes *Bardas Phocas* to be recalled and made General.

Who is twice worſted by *Sclerus*.

marched, where coming to an Ingagement, the Forces of *Phocas* being diſheartned by the Defeats they had lately received, failed of Courage and of Succeſs, and were driven out of the Field, yet ſo as the Retreat was very fair and leiſurely, *Phocas* himſelf bringing up the Rere and facing about and charging the Purſuers as he had advantage. He got away to the Caſtle of *Charſianus*, and there refreſhed his men, and received many that came to him upon the Emperour's Account, whom he promoted according to their Qualifications. *Sclerus* was not long behind him, but coming and incamping not far off provoked him to fight, who as readily conſenting, they joined Battel again, wherein *Phocas* had the worſt, not being able to make his men ſtand their ground, though with his Poll-axe in his Hand he rode about to the ſeveral Ranks, and killed many of the Enemies, diſcharging all Offices both of an expert Commander and valiant Souldier.

57. After this Defeat he went into *Iberia*, where he deſired and obtained a ſupply from *David* the Prince of that Countrey, with whom he had contracted a particular Friendſhip when formerly he commanded *Chaldia*. Joyning theſe Forces with the remainders of his own, which he had rallied, he marched to *Pancalea*, a large Plain lying upon the River *Halys*, to ſeek out his Enemy, who there lay incamped. Another bloudy Contention followed, wherein *Phocas* perceiving his men again to give ground reſolved to indure no longer the ignominy of being beaten, but eſpying *Sclerus*, ran violently at him with purpoſe to kill or be killed. But *Sclerus* was ſo aware of him that he fetch'd the firſt ſtroke, ſome ſay with his Poll-axe, and others with his Sword, which miſſing him, cut off one of the Ears of his Horſe, and his Bridle in ſunder. *Phocas* his hand was more ſteady, who gave the other ſuch a blow upon his Helmet as ſtruck him down upon the Neck of his Horſe, which done he galloped up to an Hill and reſtrained the flight of his Souldiers. *Sclerus* dazled with the ſtroke, and fainting, was by his Followers carried to a Fountain to have his wound cleanſed, who concluded that *Phocas* and his Cauſe were both now loſt, and therefore were the more careleſs. Not taking heed to their Maſter's Horſe when they had taken him off, he got looſe and with his Main all bloudy ran amongſt the Souldiers, who thereupon concluding that the Rider their General was ſlain, inſtead of purſuing, ran away themſelves, and that with ſuch fear and haſte, that ſome tumbled down Precipices, and others took the River and therein were drowned, while *Phocas* to his great amazement beholding what happened and looking upon it as an extraordinary mercy from Heaven, took the Advantage offered him of giving the Chace and obtaining an unexpected Victory. *Sclerus* with a few eſcaped and got to *Martyropolis*, whence he ſent his Brother *Conſtantine* to *Choſroes* the Prince of *Babylon*, to deſire his Friendſhip and Aſſiſtence. *Choſroes* making delay, and neither granting his Requeſt nor returning a denial, when his Brother came not back with any anſwer, he himſelf went thither with all his men. The Emperour *Baſilius* being informed by *Phocas* of his late ſucceſs, and how *Sclerus* was gone to *Babylon*, ſent an Ambaſſadour to *Choſroes* the *Amermumnes*, deſiring him to conſider, as he was a Prince, of what ill example and conſequence it might prove to harbour and protect Rebels, and Letters were written alſo to *Sclerus* and thoſe about him, offering them free pardon for what was paſt, if they would return to obedience, and every man to his own Home, which when *Choſroes* underſtood, not thinking himſelf fairly dealt with, he committed both the Ambaſſadour and *Sclerus* to Cuſtody. Such of his Party as did not accompany *Sclerus* to *Babylon*, ſeized upon one or two ſtrong Caſtles in the Province of *Thrace*, whence for ſome conſiderable time they made excurſions into the neighbouring Territories, and did much miſchief, till by *Nicephorus Parſacutinus* a Patritian, upon promiſe of Indemnity from the Emperour, they were perſwaded to deſiſt, and were brought in.

But in the third Ingagement obtains the Victory.

Sclerus flying to *Babylon*,

Is there committed into Cuſtody.

58. Such was the Iſſue hitherto of the Rebellion of *Bardas Sclerus*; how matters went in the mean time in the Weſtern Parts of the Empire, we muſt now diſcover. The *Bulgarians*, notwithſtanding all the pains of *Zimiſces*, in that Countrey continued no longer in obedience than he in life. Not long after his Death, reſolving to be governed by thoſe of their own bloud, they committed the ſupreme Power to four Brothers, *David*, *Moſes*, *Aaron* and *Samuel*, called commonly *Cometopoli*, becauſe they were the Sons of an eminent Count amongſt them. For of the ſtock of *Peter* none was left whom they could prefer. His two Sons *Boriſes* and *Romanus*, that were, as we ſaid, brought to *Conſtantinople*, had thence upon the death of *Zimiſces* made their eſcape back into *Bulgaria*. But *Boriſes* paſſing through a Wood in a *Roman* Habit, was killed by a certain *Bulgarian*, who took him for one of that Nation: *Romanus* indeed was alive, and returned ſome

The *Bulgarians* invade the Weſtern parts of the Empire.

time after to *Conſtantinople*, but he was an Eunuch, having been gelt by *Joſeph*, that eminent Bedchamber man, formerly mentioned. Now of all theſe four Brothers *David* died preſently after. *Moſes* in the Siege of a place called *Serræ* was killed by a blow given with a Stone, and *Aaron* being ſuſpected to favour the *Romans*, was by *Samuel* murthered with all his Children, one *Blackoſthlabus* excepted, called alſo *John*, who was preſerved by *Kadomer* (otherwiſe alſo named *Romanus*) the Son of *Samuel*. This *Samuel* was a man of a reſtleſs diſpoſition, a very good Souldier, and while the Empire was ſufficiently intangled with the War againſt *Sclerus*, plagued all the Weſt with his Incurſions, not onely *Thrace* and *Macedonia*, with the Parts near to *Theſſalonica*, but *Theſſaly* alſo, *Greece*, and *Peloponneſus*, and took many ſtrong Holds, the chief whereof was *Lariſſa*, the Inhabitants of which with their whole Families he tranſported into *Bulgaria*, inrolled them amongſt his Souldiers, and uſed them againſt the *Romans*.

Upon which *Baſilius* the Emperour enters *Bulgaria*.

59. Matters thus ſtanding with the *Bulgarians*, the Emperour *Baſilius*, as ſoon as the buſineſs with *Sclerus* was over, began to reflect upon his own Power, and reſolved now he was of years ſufficient to undertake the War againſt them upon his own ſcore, to ſhew he was in a condition to be out of Pupillage. Without acquainting *Phocas*, though the Domeſtick of the Schools, or any other of the Captains of the Eaſt, he invaded *Bulgaria*, through the Countries, lying near *Rhodoptes* and the River *Eurus*, leaving *Leo Meliſſenus* behind him to ſecure the Straits, whilſt he coming about by the difficult Paſſages and Woods, lying near to *Triaditza*, or as it was in old time called *Sardica*, came into a place known by the Name of *Stoponium*, reſolving to lay Siege immediately to *Sardica*, being the more incouraged ſo to doe becauſe *Samuel* was reported, out of fear, to keep himſelf in the mountainous Parts of the Countrey, not daring to come down, but when he ſaw he had an Advantage by Strategeme or Ambuſh to effect ſomething conſiderable. But while he prepared for this Siege, *Stephen* the Domeſtick of the Schools of the Weſt, for the ſmallneſs of his Stature called *Contoſtephanus*, but a very great Enemy to *Leo Meliſſenus*, came to him by Night, and with moſt vehement words perſwaded him to ſet all other Conſiderations aſide, and return with ſpeed to *Conſtantinople*, becauſe *Meliſſenus* had a Deſign to Uſurp, and for that purpoſe was haſting toward the City. The Emperour eaſily frighted with ſuch a Story gave orders for the Army to march, and then *Samuel* ſeeing his time, fell upon them as a flying Enemy, and put them to flight indeed, taking all their Baggage, and therein the Emperour's Enſigns of Majeſty, who with much adoe got through the Straits, and eſcaped to *Philippopolis*. There he found *Leo* at his Station intending diligently what had been injoyn'd him, whereupon ſenſible how they had both been abuſed, he reviled *Contoſtephanus* as a Lyar and Authour of ſo great Infamy as this ridiculous Expedition muſt needs procure, and *Stephen* demeaning himſelf very arrogantly, and indeavouring to defend what he had done, he leap'd from his Seat, and catching faſt hold of him by his Locks and Beard pulled him down to the ground.

But in his return looſes his Baggage, &c.

A great Earthquake.

60. A great Earthquake happened after this in the Month of *October*, and the twelfth year of the Emperour *Baſilius*, and *Conſtantine*, of whom we hear little or nothing, being wholly given up to Idleneſs and Pleaſure, and willingly leaving all to the management of his Brother, who now caſting off his former Neglect, took matters into his own Hands, and ſeriouſly applied himſelf to buſineſs. By the Earthquake were not onely many Churches and private Buildings overturned, but alſo part of the Globe of the Great Church, which he magnificently repaired with ſo great expence, that the very Scaffolding ſtood him in ten Centenaries of Gold. But his late Expedition into *Bulgaria* had that operation upon ſeveral of the Nobility, eſpecially *Bardas Phocas*, that thinking themſelves exceedingly neglected in that he would not conſult with them, and thence taking a meaſure of what they muſt expect from him in time to come. Some two Months before the Earthquake in the Month of *October*, meeting at the Houſe of *Euſtathius Malenius*, who had been ignominiouſly diſmiſſed the Service, at *Charſianum* they proclaimed the ſaid *Phocas* Emperour, giving him a Diadem, and inveſting him with the other Imperial Ornaments. At the ſame time word was brought that *Sclerus* (whom *Baronius* ſtrangely makes the ſame with *Phocas*, writing that *Sclerus Bardas*, ſirnamed *Phocas*, was this year Proclaimed and Crowned Emperour) was coming out of *Syria* being delivered out of his Priſon at *Babylon* upon this occaſion.

Bardas Phocas ſaluted Emperuor.

Quod ad res pertinet Orientis, invaleſcente bello Civili, Sclerus Bardas Cognomento Phocas Tyrannus, Imperator acclamatur, ac coronatur. Baron. ad. A. D. 987. *num.* 4.

The *Perſians* endeavour to caſt off the Yoke of the *Saracens.*

The Nation of the *Perſians* being ſubdued and inſlaved by the *Saracens*, endured the Yoke with much Reluctancy and Repining, and the moſt Noble and Potent of them were watching but for a fit opportunity to ſhake it off. Of theſe one *Inargus* more concerned himſelf than all others, being of a great Family, very Eloquent, and a Complete Souldier, who obſerving *Choſroes* very imprudently and negligently to manage his Affairs, reſolved not to let ſlip ſuch an Advantage, but drew to revolt all the *Achæmonidæ* or *Achæmenidæ*, a Part of *Perſia*, and hired twenty thouſand of the Eaſtern *Turks* (ſo they term them, as the *Hunni* or *Hungarians* the Weſtern) and then openly makes War, killing all the *Saracens* whereſoever he could light on them. *Choſroes* often in Perſon, and as often by his Officers ingaged with him in Fight, but ſtill came off with loſs, which ſtruck ſuch terrour into his Souldiers, that they could not endure to hear a *Perſian* named. This made him think of his *Romans* now in durance, and to conſider, that were not *Sclerus* a man very conſiderable, aſwell for skill in War and Courage as other Matters, he could never have waged war with the Emperour, nor brought him to ſuch Straits as he did, nor would ſo many Noblemen have ſided with him, and given him the Title. Communicating his thoughts with his Council, he delivered him out of Priſon, and after much Careſſing of him, deſired that he would undertake the War againſt the *Perſians.*

Achæmenia pars Perſidis ab Achamene filio Ægei ſic dicta, ut ait Stephanus. Achamenes autem erat Rex Perſarum, nomen teſte Ammiano, Rex Regibus imperans ſonat.

61. *Sclerus* at firſt pretended an Averſeneſs, affirming that He and his Fellows being kept ſo long in Priſon, were thereby rendred unfit for Employment of that Nature. But *Choſroes* promiſing him ample recompence for the Injury that had been done him, with much Treaſure and great Force for carrying on the War, he undertook it, yet ſo as he would not meddle with the *Arabians*, *Saracens* or other Subjects of *Choſroes*, but deſired that the Priſons of *Syria* might be opened, and all *Roman* Captives ſet at Liberty, with whom and no other Army he would doe his work. By this means, getting together about three thouſand Men, he cauſed them by bathing and other ways to recover their former ſtrength, and new clothing and arming them, led them againſt the *Perſians*, whom by a manner of fighting unuſual to them, and eſpecially by the Violence and Courage of his Souldiers he totally defeated, ſo that ſcarcely remained any to carry away the News, and *Inargus* himſelf fell in the Croud. Now the *Romans* inriched with great booty, and many Horſes would by no means return to *Choſroes*, but taking the Rode that led into the Territories of the Empire, by great Journeys without the Knowledge of the *Saracens*, they eſcaped thither. Thus ſome reported. Others affirmed that they went back to *Choſroes*, were courteouſly received by him, and that dying not long after he gave Order to his Son to conduct them with Honour and Safety, into their own Countrey. And a third ſtory there was, they getting away without his Knowledge, he ſent after them a great Multitude to bring them back, with which they fought, and reducing them to a ſmaller Number than themſelves, ſuch ſlaughter they made, then without any oppoſition proſecuted their Journey.

Upon which *Sclerus* and the *Romans* in *Syria* are let out of Priſon.

Who ingage and defeat the *Perſians.*

And return into the Empire.

62. However it was, *Sclerus* with his Followers got ſafe into the Territories of the Empire, where underſtanding how *Bardas Phocas* had alſo aſſumed the Title, he found himſelf much at a Loſs what to doe. To make himſelf ſole Emperour, he was not ſufficiently provided, and to join himſelf either to *Baſilius* or the other he eſteemed a mean thing, and below him, and ſhould he take the Part of one and make the other his Enemy, it might prove a matter of great danger, therefore he reſolved to give words to both, and ſo ingratiate himſelf with the one, that he ſhould not diſoblige the other. To *Phocas* he ſent and offered to ſuppreſs *Baſilius*, and ſhare the Empire with him, but ſecretly at the ſame time he cauſed his Son *Romanus* to go to the Emperour at *Conſtantinople*, under pretence of running away and revolting, with this Deſign, that if *Phocas* got the better, the Father ſhould intercede for and bring off his Son, and if *Baſilius* overcame, his Son ſhould make the Father's Peace. *Romanus* was kindly received, preferred to the Dignity of a *Magiſter*, became a great Favourite and a Councillour to *Baſilius* in his Wars, who had now taken all matters out of the Hands of *Baſilius* the Preſident, and fearfull that for his ſo doing, he might as he had done to others practiſe ſomething againſt him, had removed him from Court to his own Houſe. There perceiving that he was very unſatisfied, and turbulent, and was hatching ſome Deſign for recovery of his Power, he baniſhed him, and ſeized upon moſt of his vaſt Eſtate both to inrich himſelf, and hinder him from attempting any new matters. The Monaſtery lately built by him, he rifled, and ſeized on all his Curioſities, which ſo afflicted the old Man, that he pin'd away and died.

Cajolling *Phocas*, and ſending his Son to *Baſilius* the Emperour.

Baſilius being rid of him, and wanting ſome to aſſiſt and adviſe him, the more welcomely received *Romanus*, knowing him to be both a prudent Man, and an excellent Souldier.

Sclerus and *Phocas* make an Agreement.

But when joyned *Phocas* trepans him and commits him to cuſtody putting in for the whole.

63. In the mean time an Agreement was made between *Sclerus* and *Phocas*, on theſe terms, that their Deſigns ſucceeding, *Sclerus* ſhould for his ſhare have *Antioch*, *Phœnicia*, *Paleſtine*, *Cœloſyria*, *Meſopotamia* and *Egypt*; and *Phocas* obtain *Conſtantinople*, with the reſt of the Provinces. This was confirmed by oath on both ſides, and *Sclerus* joined himſelf with *Phocas* in *Cappadocia*, for the better carrying on of the War. But *Phocas* watching his Advantage, ſpoiled him of the Imperial Enſigns,and then committed him to Cuſtody,which done he prevailed with his Souldiers to fight under him, and now ſeeming to himſelf to have ſufficiently provided for his Intereſt, ſent one *Calocyrus Delphinus* a Patritian, with part of his Army to *Chryſopolis*, over againſt *Conſtantinople*, on the ſhore of *Aſia*, and with the reſt of the Forces he himſelf removed to *Abydus*, by this means to block up *Conſtantinople*. *Baſilius* by this time had received ſome Succours from the *Roſſians*,to the Prince of whom, *Blœdimere*, he had married his Siſter *Anne*. With theſe *Roſſians* by Night having wafted over, he fell unexpectedly upon *Delphinus*, eaſily overpowred and took him Priſoner, whom he cauſed inſtantly to be nailed to a Poſt,and having animadverted as he thought fit upon the reſt, that he there took, then returned to *Conſtantinople*. In the mean while *Phocas*, with might and main endeavoured to get into *Abydus*, but the Inhabitants made ſtout reſiſtence, being incouraged by *Cyriacus* the *Drungarius* of the Fleet, who was ſent thither for that purpoſe. But preſently *Conſtantine* the Emperour paſſed over, and was ſoon followed by his Brother *Baſilius*, whom *Phocas* with part of his Forces ſpeedily encountred, leaving the reſt to continue the Siege of *Abydus*. Before the Armies joined doubtfull of the Event, and perceiving *Baſilius* to ride up and down, to view the Troops, give directions and animate his Men, he reſolved to ſingle him out and kill him, by which Act ſeeming not at all difficult, their years and experience conſidered, he ſhould put an end to the Quarrel, and ſecure the Empire to himſelf. Accordingly with all his Force he made towards him, but ſtopped in his Carreire, before he came near to the Emperour. Some reported his Horſe threw him: the Emperour *Conſtantine* gave out that he fell by his Hand, but the general and moſt received opinion was that making toward an Hill near at hand, finding himſelf ſurprized he laid him down and died of Poiſon, which by procurement of *Baſilius*, one *Simeon* a Servant whom he moſt truſted had given him, although it was alſo given out, that in his Paſſage from the Hand of ſome Enemy he received a mortal wound. At firſt it was onely imagined that he there reſted himſelf, but when he was found to be dead, and the Rumour was thereof ſpread into the Army, his Men then fled in diſorder, and the Emperour's giving the Chace obtained a Victory at a very eaſie rate. Amongſt the Priſoners were *Leo*, and *Theognoſtus Meliſſeni*, *Theodoſius Meſanyctus* and many others whom *Baſilius* led in Triumph, being ſet upon Aſſes. Onely *Leo Meliſſenus* he exempted from this Ignominy, becauſe when the Armies were preparing for Battel, he rebuked with Tears his Brother *Theognoſtus* for reviling the Emperours, and beat him when he would not ceaſe his contumelious Language.

But is poyſoned by Procurement of *Baſilius*.

Who in effect is ſole Emperour. *Conſtantine* Indulging himſelf in eaſe and pleaſure.

64. *Baſilius* finding himſelf now Emperour indeed, upon the removal of ſuch a Competitour, with his Fortune quite changed his Humour, ſcarcely thinking or doing what he had been accuſtomed to before. Conſidering what ſolicitude and pains his place required, he quitted all his former pleaſures, left off all his brave apparel, renounced his wonted Intemperance both as to Wine and Women, and applied his mind wholly to the Art and Practice of Government, wherein he left nothing to his Brother but the mere Name and Luſtre, aſſigning him a Guard, but that very ſmall, and not anſwering the Dignity, which he did not at all take in evil Part, contenting himſelf with his Freedom and Eaſe, and prizing his Hunting and Converſation with his Friends, above whatever Domination and troubleſome Command could afford. But *Phocas* being dead in the Month of *April*, the ſecond Indiction, and the fourteenth year of *Baſilius* and *Conſtantine*, *Sclerus* was thereupon ſet at Liberty, by ſuch as kept him in the Caſtle of *Tyropæum*, and continued in the ſame mind of aſſuming the Title as formerly. *Baſilius* laboured to take him off, expoſtulating with him for imbroyling the Empire, and being the cauſe of ſo much Bloud-ſhed contrary to his Chriſtian Profeſſion; and herewith he was ſo much moved, or rather by conſideration of his great Age, and the little means he had to compaſs his ends, that having received ſecurity for his Indemnity, and the Dignity of *Curopalates*, he made an Agreement,

Sclerus is ſet at Liberty.

But by Agreement with *Baſilius* quits his pretenſions.

and was content to lay down his Pretenſions. When the Emperour ſaw him led to him by two that ſupported him, for by reaſon of his Age and Corpulency he could not walk, or as ſome gave out in his way to him he had loſt his ſight, he ſmiled to think in how great fear he had ſtood of ſuch a Man, and perceiving that he ſtill wore his Purple Shoes, which he had forgot to put off, having deveſted himſelf of all other marks of Majeſty, he refuſed to admit him to Diſcourſe. He then put off the Shoes before the Door and approaching the Emperour's Seat, *Baſilius* roſe up to him, and taking him by the Hand cauſed him to eat and drink with him. According to the Agreement he was made *Curator* of the Palace, and ſuch of his Followers as had under him enjoyed any Places or Eſtates, were permitted to enjoy their Eſtates and to keep their Places, or elſewhere preferred to others of like value.

And is kindly received.

Baſilius revenges himſelf for the Incurſions of his Neighbours during theſe Civil Wars.

65. *Baſilius*, being freed now from all Uſurpations and trouble of Civil Wars, conſulted how to be revenged on *Samuel* the *Regulus* of *Bulgaria*, and others who during thoſe Rebellions had taken the Advantage to infeſt the Borders of the Empire. He made a Progreſs into *Thrace* and *Macedonia*, and going to *Theſſalonica*, there left a ſtrong Party under Command of *Gregorius Taronitas*, to repreſs the Incurſions of *Samuel*, and returning to *Conſtantinople* ſhortly after took another Journey into *Iberia*. *David* the *Curopalates* or petty Prince of that Countrey being lately dead, had made him his Heir, he therefore took poſſeſſion of his Inheritance, and forcing *George* the Brother of *David* to be content with the *Inner Iberia*, received his Son for an Hoſtage, and then took his way for *Phœnicia*, where the ſeveral *Ameras* of *Tripolis*, *Damaſcus*, *Tyre* and *Beritas*, had, during the Uſurpation and Wars of *Sclerus*, made a League amongſt themſelves and ſet upon *Antioch*, the Governour of which *Damianus* a Patritian they had ſlain in fight. But he now frighted them into a Compliance, forced them to ſubmit themſelves, and having received Hoſtages for their dutifull demeanour for the time to come, returned back to *Conſtantinople*. As he paſſed through *Cappadocia*, the *Magiſter*, *Euſtachius Melenius* entertained him with his whole Army, with which kindneſs he pretended he was much pleaſed, but inwardly diſſatisfied that a Subject ſhould be poſſeſſed of ſuch an Eſtate, to the endangering of the Government, which was ſo often ſhaken, through the too great Wealth and Power of the Nobility; under ſhew of kindneſs he carried him with him to *Conſtantinople*, where he took care he ſhould live very plentifully, but never would permit him to return home; and after his death ſeized on all his Eſtate. To prevent the Miſchiefs thence ariſing by a Law, he ordained, that the Great men ſhould not increaſe their Poſſeſſions or Lands, which (ſaith *Cedrenus*) had been formerly enacted by his Grandfather *Conſtantine*, and *Romanus* (the Elder) his Father-in-Law.

Ἤδη γὰρ καὶ ὁ Κουροπαλάτης ἐτεθνήκει Δαβίδ. *Hoc ex loco Cedreni apparet Regulos iſtos, ut bene innuit Xylander, ſeu Regionum Romanis Vicinarum Dominos vocari Curopalatas. Et ſuprà quoque facta eſt alicubi Iberiæ Curopalatæ mentio.*

And by a Law decrees that Noblemen ſhould not increaſe their Poſſeſſions or Lands.

66. The Conſtitution of *Romanus* the Elder, here mentioned, is yet extant and publiſhed by *Bonefidius*, in the firſt Book of thoſe three, which he ſet forth concerning the Oriental Law, bearing the name of a Novel. "It "prohibits any of the conſpicuous *Magiſtri*, or Patritians, "any in command or power, any Honoured with principal Dignities, whether employed in Functions, Civil or "Military, Magiſtrates, choſen or ſubſtituted, any Metropolitans or Archbiſhops, Prefects or thoſe that had the "overſight of Religious Houſes, or any other preferred to "any ſecular Honour, by purchaſe gift or any other "means, to get into their Hands, or come to the poſſeſſion of any Territories or "Lands. If any ſuch ſhould preſume ſo to doe, after the publiſhing of this preſent Conſtitution, it ordains that without Reſtitution of their Money, they be "put out of Poſſeſſion, and looſe all their Labour and Charges, they had been "at both in getting and bettering what they had ſo obtained. Beſides this "they ſhall forfeit the value of the Lands to the Emperour if they be the more "eminent and Illuſtrious Perſons; and if meaner condition, they ſhall be forced "from them without any the leaſt ſatisfaction made, and farther puniſhed as "they ſhall deſerve. The reaſon of the making and Re-inforcing of this Law is, as we may very well obſerve from the courſe of this Hiſtory, to be fetched from thoſe frequent Uſurpations, of the great ones, to which they were inabled by their great Revenues and Poſſeſſions, which both afforded them Treaſure, and many Dependants out of their Tenants and Vaſſals. Hence do we reade of one Domeſtick of the Schools, able with his own Retainers to Wage War with ſeveral

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Καὶ ἡ νεαρὰ τοῦ κυρίου Ῥωμανοῦ τοῦ Γέροντος, οὕτω φησὶ μηδένα μηκέτι τῶν περιβλέπτων Μαγίστρων, ἢ πατρικίων, &c.

Ἀγορᾷ ἢ δωρεᾷ ἢ ἄλλω τινὶ τρόπω εἰσέρχεσθαι εἰς χωρίων, ἢ ἀγρῶν κτήσεις.

The reaſon of that Law.

Χωρίων.

Ameras of the *Saracens*, and we Tranſlate the word Territories, as well as Lands or Grounds. For ſuch were intirely poſſeſſed by *Baſilius* the Bed-Chamber-man, or Preſident, as we have ſeen, that *Zmiſces* complained to the loſs of his Life. Hence it was that the imperial Purple was ſo dangerous to be worn, ſuch murthering of Princes, ſuch alterations in the Government. And we ſee *Baſilius* the Emperour was not onely directed by a care of his own preſervation, but much warranted by former Laws, in proceeding with *Baſilius* the Eunuch ſo as he did.

Samuel the *Bulgarian* takes *Theſſalonica.* Killing its Governour.

And waſting the Countrey adjacent.

But is found out by *Uranus* the Emperour's General and defeated.

67. But to return to our Story, *Samuel* the *Bulgarian* was now come againſt *Theſſalonica*, the Conqueſt of which he knew would much conduce to the Maſtering of the whole Countrey. He placed ſome of his Army in Ambuſh, and then ſent others to face the Town to the very Gates, to draw out the Gariſon into the Snare. And the device ſo far took that *Gregory* the Governour ſent out *Aſotes* his Son with a party to make a diſcovery of the Enemy, who fell into the Ambuſh while without any fear he purſued thoſe that fled from the Gates. Upon notice *Gregory* iſſued out to relieve him, but being alſo intrapped and overpowered, he himſelf was ſlain, and his Son taken Priſoner, which being known at *Conſtantinople*, *Nicephorus Uranus*; who had corrupted his Keepers and eſcaped out of Priſon at *Babylon*, the Commander of all the Weſt, was ſpeedily diſpatched thither. Coming to *Theſſalonica* he found that *Samuel*, grown inſolent upon the Death of *Gregory*, had paſſed *Tempe*, croſſed the River *Peneus*, and made an Inrode into *Theſſaly*, *Bœotia*, *Attica*, and through the *Iſthmus* of *Corinth* into the very Heart of *Peloponneſus*. He marched therefore with his Army by the foot of *Olympus* to *Lariſſa*, whereleaving his Baggage, by great Journeys he proceeded into *Theſſaly*, and paſſing the *Pharſalian* Plains, and the River *Apidanus*, incamped himſelf on the Bank of *Spercheius* oppoſite to *Samuel*, who lay on the other ſide of the River at this time ſo ſwollen with Rain Water that no paſſage could preſently be had to come to an Ingagement. Yet *Uranus* by much ſearching at length found a Ford, and by Night paſſing the River, fell upon the *Bulgarians* as they ſecurely ſlept, and made vaſt Slaughter of them; and *Samuel* with his Son *Romanus* were ſorely wounded, and had been taken but that they lurked amongſt the dead Bodies, and the following Night ſtole away into the Mountains of *Ætolia*, by the Tops of which they eſcaped to the Hil *Pindus*, and ſo into *Bulgaria*, here he was conſtrained to Marry his Daughter to *Aſotes* his Priſoner the Son of *Gregory Taronitas*, for being deſperately in love with him, ſhe had declared that if ſhe might not have him, ſhe would kill her ſelf.

Ζωστὴ à Veſte.

Baſilius invades *Bulgaria* by way of *Philippopolis.*

68. The Wedding being over, he ſent his New Son-in-Law with his Wife to *Dyrrachium*, making him Governour of that Countrey. They had not been long there, but he having eaſily perſwaded his Wife to Accompany him and taking the opportunity of the Emperour's Gallies which were then cruſing on the Coaſts, went to *Conſtantinople* where he was honoured with the Dignity of *Magiſter*, and ſhe with the Title of *Zoſta* or *of the Robes*. He brought Letters alſo to the Emperour from *Chryſelius*, one of the principal Officers in *Dyrrachium*, who thereby covenanted to deliver that City into his Hands on condition that the Dignity of Patritian might be conferred on himſelf and his two Sons; but this ſeems to have been prevented by the Death of *Chryſelius*, which the maimed Text of *Cedrenus* hints to us, though it be not clearly expreſſed; however the Emperour became Maſter of the place not long after, although by ſome other means. But about the ſame time *Paulus Bobus* Magiſter the chief Man in *Theſſalonica*, and *Malaceinus* a Perſon eminent for wiſedom and eloquence being accuſed of favouring the *Bulgarians*, were ſent away and confined, the one to *Conſtantinople*, and the other to *Palias* in *Thrace*, which report flying to *Adrianople*, ſome of the moſt eminent there that had alſo been ſuſpected out of fear betook themſelves to *Samuel*. The Emperour that he might obtain the Friendſhip of the *Venetians* to their Prince or Duke gave in Marriage the Daughter of *Argyrus*, and Siſter to him who afterward Reigned. He now invaded *Bulgaria* by the way of *Philippopolis*, which City he committed to the care of *Theodorocranus* a Patritian, and having taken many Caſtles or Forts in *Triaditza*, returned to *Moſynopolis*. Afterward he ſent a great Army againſt ſuch of the *Bulgarian* Gariſons as lay beyond the Mountain *Hæmus*, commanded by *Theodorocranus*, and *Nicephorus Xiphias* a *Protoſpatharian*, who took both the greater and the leſſer *Perſthlaba*, with *Pliſcoba*, and victoriouſly returned Home.

Another Invaſion by way of *Theſſalonica.*

69. The following year *Baſilius* in perſon made another Inrode into *Bulgaria* by the way of *Theſſalonica*, and received *Berrhœa* from the hands of *Dobromerus* the Governour, who for his good ſervice was rewarded with the Honour of *Proconſul.*

ſul. But one *Nicolas* for the ſmallneſs of his Stature nicknamed *Nicolitzas*, ſtoutly defended *Servia* againſt him which yet he took by force, and having therein placed a ſtrong Garriſon took *Nicolitzas* along with him to *Conſtantinople*, and conferred on him the Dignity of a Patritian; but there he did not long continue, making an eſcape back to *Samuel* with whom he came, and again beſieged that place. The Emperour upon Notice haſted thither and eaſily raiſing the Siege beat away *Samuel* and *Nicolitzas*, who was taken ſhortly after, and then committed to cloſe Priſon at *Conſtantinople*. *Baſilius* after this went into *Theſſaly* where he cauſed to be repaired thoſe Caſtles which *Samuel* had diſmantled, ſuch as ſtill were held by the *Bulgarians* he recovered, and removing them to a place called *Bolerus* re-inforced them with ſtrong Garriſons, and thence removed to *Bodena* a fort ſituate on a Craggy Rock through which Water paſſeth unſeen from the adjoyning Fenns and then preſently appears again. This he took by force, and removing the Defendants (ſuch mercy he uſed) to *Bolarum*, furniſhed it with all conveniences, and then went to *Theſſalonica*. The Governour, *Drexanus* by name, a very good Souldier, deſired leave of him to live at *Theſſalonica*, and there he Married a Wife the Daughter of the chief *Pribatarius* of the Church of St. *Demetrius*. After ſhe had born him two Children he endeavoured to run away, but was taken, and at the interceſſion of his Father-in-Law, pardoned. The ſecond time he committed the ſame fault, and found the ſame indulgence. But after the birth of two Children more relapſing into the ſame Crime the Emperour would extend no farther mercy to him, but being again ſurprized he was there faſtned alive to a Pole.

Τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ πρώτου τῶν πριβαταρείων. *Quid ſibi velit iſte Pribatarius nondum conſtat, ſimile aliquid nonnulli putant noſtri temporis Prebendariis.*

The *Arabians* infeſting *Cœloſyria* and *Africk* are ſuppreſſed.

70. In the mean time the *Numaritæ* and the *Ataphitæ Arabians* grievouſly infeſted both *Cœloſyria* and *Africk* with their Depredations. To reſtrain them the Emperour made *Nicephorus Uranus* Governour of *Antioch*. One *David Arianita* a Patritian being ordered to ſucceed him in his command at *Theſſalonica*, as *Nicephorus Xiphias* ſucceeded *Theodorocranus* in the Government of *Philippopolis*, who reſigned it for Age: *Uranus* ſhortly after his arrival at *Antioch* in three Battels defeated *Ciſtrinitas* the Captain of the *Arabians*, and forcing him to live quietly, procured Peace and Reſt to thoſe parts. The year that followed being the fifteenth Indiction, the twenty ſeventh of the two Brothers, *Baſilius* laid Seige to *Bidyna*, which City he took by ſtorm after a Siege of eight Months, and then returning toward *Conſtantinople*, took or Demoliſhed many forts of the *Bulgarians* in his way. Being come as far as the City *Scopiæ*, he perceived that *Samuel* lay with his Army in great careleſneſs and diſorder beyond the River *Axius*, called afterward *Bardarius*, to the depth whereof lately increaſed by Rains he truſted. But the Emperour having diſcovered a Ford paſſed over, and falling upon him ſo unexpectedly, ſtruck ſuch Terrour into his Men that they all ran as faſt as their Legs could carry them, not one ſhewing his Face to the Enemy. His Camp and Pavilion was taken, and the City *Scopiæ* was delivered up to him by *Romanus Simeon* the Governour, the Son of *Peter* and Brother of *Boriſes*, who for a reward was made a Patritian and Governour of *Abydus*. Thence *Baſilius* proceeded to a place called *Pernicus* which one *Cracras* ſo ſtoutly defended, that finding it two ſtrong for him to Maſter at preſent, by *Philippopolis* he returned to *Conſtantinople*. “ Here he made “ a Law for the payment of *Allalengyum*, as it was called, which was this. When “ any by reaſon of their Poverty could not pay the uſual Tribute, the Sum was “ made up by their Neighbours that had wealth enough to doe it. This ſeems “ the ſame with the *Epibole* of which we formerly ſpoke in the life of *Juſtinian*; ſo that *Baſilius* rather renewed than made a Law for the Payment of this duty. As formerly * at other times this payment was oppoſed eſpecially by the Eccleſiaſticks, ſo now alſo the Patriarch *Sergius*, and many other Prelates and Religious Men laboured to diſſwade this Emperour from it. But in vain.

Bidyna taken by ſtorm.

Samuel's Army routed by *Baſilius*.

Who returns to *Conſtantinople*.

Ἀλληλέγγυον.

* *Vide Alemannum in* Procopii *Arcanam Hiſtoriam in voce* Ἐπιβολή.

71. For by this time grown inſolent upon ſo many Victories, he was become very lofty in his Converſation, and deſired rather to be feared than to be beloved by his Subjects. Neither was he more indulgent to the Souldiers, than others in Civil employment, contrary to the Cuſtome of his Predeceſſours, who eſteemed it their greateſt Intereſt to gain the affections of Military men. Of Learned men he made no Account, neither did he at all value Learning it ſelf, but accounted it a thing formal, vain and uſeleſs, as ignorant and effeminate Princes are wont to doe: for which reaſon he made no diſtinction of Men, but preferred to be Secretaries and other Employments, Perſons of no Education nor Ability, and he was ſerved accordingly, their Actions being as much derided and ſcorned as their Perſons. His Treaſury he kept full, but the Doors thereof faſt locked. Of Gold Coin

Baſilius his management of affairs.

Zonaras.

And Character.

Coin alone he was reported to have two Hundred thouſand Talents in his Coffers; beſides of thoſe of other Metals, Summs not to be counted, and vaſt quantities of Pearls and Gemms, none of which he ever uſed or wore but when he gave Audience to Ambaſſadours, or on high Feſtivals. In the management of his Wars he was of various humour, as the ſeveral Diverſities of Accidents wrought upon him, in time of Peace and Reſt more earneſt, and vehement than ordinary. He endeavoured to conceal his Paſſion; but eaſie Provocation would diſcover it to the Coſt and Pain of Delinquents, againſt whom he was ſevere, reſolute, and inexorable after Sentence paſſed. This was his natural Temper and Diſpoſition throughout the Courſe of his Reign, which was both long and full of Action, as we ſhall farther ſee.

The Church of our Saviour's Sepulchre at *Jeruſalem* deſtroyed.

Glaber.

Guil. Tyrius.

A hard Winter and dreadfull Earthquake.

The *Lombards* revolt from the *Romans*.

Δυνάστης γὰρ τις τῶν ἐποίκων τοῦ Βαρέως τοὔνομα Μέλης, παραθήξας τὸν ἐν Λογγιβάρδᾳ λαὸν, ὅπλα κατὰ Ρωμαίων αἴρει. *Cedrenus.*

72. In the thirty fifth year thereof and the eighth Indiction, *Azizius* the Prince of *Egypt* for very ſlight Cauſes, and not worthy the mentioning as our *Greek* Writers relate, breaking the League betwixt the *Romans* and himſelf, deſtroyed the ſumptuous and beautifull Church of our Saviour's Sepulchre at *Jeruſalem*, together with the Monaſteries, the Monks whereof he cauſed to be driven away. Another Hiſtorian will have this done by the Prince of *Babylon*, induced thereto by the cunning and malitious Inſinuations of the *Jews*, who from *Orleance* in *France*, ſent Letters to him written in *Hebrew* Characters, whereby they perſwaded him that by reaſon of the vaſt Confluence of Chriſtians to *Jeruſalem*, he was in danger of looſing his Principality. Another calls this Prince *Homer*, Prince of the *Saracens*, and theſe *Latine* Hiſtorians fix this Action at the ſeventh Indiction, the preceding year, moreover adding what greater Maſſacres were made of the *Jews*, in all Places upon diſcovery of the Treachery, with other matters thereon depending more proper for to be related with Eccleſiaſtical matters. A very hard Winter followed, wherein all Waters were frozen up, the Sea aſwell as Rivers and Fenns, and in *January* happened a moſt dreadfull Earthquake (the ſtopping of the pores of the Earth, producing the ſame Effects of diſturbance in it, as the Retention of fuliginous Vapours doth in the Body of Man) which continued by Fits till the Ninth of *March*, on which Day it cauſed to tumble down the Cupoloes of the Church of the Forty Saints, and of the Church of All Saints at *Conſtantinople*, beſides much miſchief done both there and in the Provinces. This was thought to preſage thoſe motions which preſently followed in *Italy*, where by the perſwaſions of one *Meles* a powerfull man in thoſe Parts, the *Lombards* took Arms againſt the *Romans*. The Emperour ſent to reduce and quiet them, *Baſilius Argyrus*, and *Contoleo*, the one Governour of *Samus*, and the other of *Ciphallenia*; but *Meles* gave them a very notable defeat, killed many of their Men, and the reſt forced to an ignominious flight. Thus the *Lombards* revolted from the *Romans*, as our Authours word it, by which you muſt underſtand, as they ever do thoſe that had relation to New *Rome*, or rather thoſe that were Emperours and Subjects of that *Roman* Empire which ſtill remained unaltered, and unconquered in thoſe Parts, although *Rome* it ſelf the firſt Seat thereof, with moſt of the Provinces about it had run a quite contrary Fortune through ſeveral Hands; which quite altering the Property, our *Greek* Writers contend, that the Weſtern Empire fell with *Auguſtulus*, and what after happened could not make a ſufficient Title, neither for an Empire nor Emperour.

Another expedition into *Bulgaria*.

Obtaining a Victory.

73. Notwithſtanding theſe things *Baſilius*, every year made an Inrode into *Bulgaria*, waſting all the Countrey as he paſſed. *Samuel* had received ſo many Defeats, that he durſt not venture any more to fight; but indeavoured by Bulwarks and Trenches to intercept his way in the ſtraits of *Cimba Longus* and *Cleidius*, where he alſo placed a ſtrong Guard. And this Guard having the Advantage of the Ditch, and the height of the ground, ſo effectually made reſiſtence, that the Emperour deſpaired of breaking through, till *Nicephorus Xiphias* the Governour of *Philippopolis*, found out the means which in ſuch like caſes had ever ſucceeded. He adviſed him to remit none of his Intention and Earneſtneſs in his indeavour to force the Paſſage, while in the mean time he would with a convenient Party get over the Hill, that lay to the South called *Balathiſta*, and come upon the Back of the Enemy, whom he could thereby quickly conſtrain to quit his Poſt. This, with much difficulty having paſſed over ſo high and ſteep an Hill, he effected on the ninth Day of *July* in the twelfth Indiction, ſo that putting the *Bulgarians* to flight, *Baſilius* had eaſie entrance, and gave the Chace. Many were killed and many taken. *Samuel* himſelf hardly eſcaped by the great Valour and Conduct of his Son, who made as fair a Retreat as the Condition they were in would permit, and after many facings about

Baſilius puts out the Eyes of 1500. ſending them to *Samuel*, who thereupon dies.

and renewed skirmiſhes, horſed his Father and carried him off into the Caſtle of *Prilapus*. Of all the Priſoners to the Number, it's ſaid, of fifteen thouſand the Emperour cauſed the Eyes to be put out, and to every Hundred aſſigned a man that had one Eye left, under conduct of which Leaders he ſent them away to *Samuel*, who beholding ſuch a Spectacle coming to him in ſuch Rank and Order was not able to bear up againſt ſo great a Calamity, but inſtantly fell down in a ſwoon. Thoſe that were by with Spirits, and other things at hand, did what they could to recover him, and he came to himſelf again, and asked for ſome cold Water. Which having drunk, he fell into a *Cardiogmus*, or Pain and Faintneſs at his Stomach, and died of it two Days after.

Gabriel ſucceeds him.

But is kill'd by *John*.

Baſilius purſues his Victory.

At length comes to *Theſſalonica*.

74. *Gabriel* who was alſo ſirnamed *Romanus* his Son, by a Captive Woman of *Lariſſa*, ſucceeded him, one ſuperiour to him in ſtrength of Body, but in that of mind far inferiour. When he had not reigned all-out a year, he was as he went out to hunt, killed by *John Bladiſthlabus* the Son of *Aaron*, whoſe Life he had once preſerved. But before this happened, one *Neſtoritzas* was ſent by *Samuel*, with a conſiderable Force into *Theſſalonica*, in the Government of which City, one *Theophylact Botaniata* had ſucceeded *David Arianita*. This *Theophylact* with his Son *Michael*, ſallied out againſt him, put him to flight, and having got much Plunder in his Camp, then went to the Emperour as he lay in the Straits. Having paſſed the Straits and followed the Chace after *Samuel*, as far as he thought convenient, *Baſilius* took in a Caſtle called *Matzucius*, and then paſſed on toward *Strumpitza*, from which place deſirous to have a way cleared to *Theſſalonica*, he put *Theophylact* upon that task, to clear the Hills of Fortreſſes, and open the ways through the Woods, and he undertook the work with all Alacrity, and proſecuted it with diligence, but was intrapped and compaſſed by the Enemy, in a place where there was neither means of eſcaping, nor good opportunity to fight, and cut off with moſt of his Men. The Emperour much troubled at the News durſt not proceed but retreated, and in his way had a very ſtrong Caſtle called *Melenicus*, through the powerfull Oratory of *Sergius* an Eunuch, whom he employed to the Garriſon Souldiers, delivered up into his Hands. Having kindly entertained thoſe that gave it up, and therein put a ſtrong Party of his own Men, he removed to *Moſynopolis*, where on the four and twentieth Day of *October*, he heard of *Samuel*'s death. Thence marching to *Theſſalonica*, he moved into *Pelagonia* without doing any harm to the Countrey, ſave that he burnt *Buteliana* the Palace of *Gabriel*, and took in the Caſtles of *Prilapus* and *Stypeius*. Then paſſed he the River *Tzerna*, with Boats and Bladders as he could and came to *Budena*, whence on the Ninth day of *January*, he arrived at *Theſſalonica*.

Another invaſion into *Bulgaria*.

Taking ſeveral of the Noblemen of the Countrey.

Upon which they pretend to ſubmit to the Emperour.

75. At the beginning of Spring he again invaded *Bulgaria*, where having recovered the Caſtle of *Budena* which had revolted, he cauſed two Caſtles to be built in the middle of the Straits, one by the Name of *Cardia*, and another by that of St. *Elias*, and returned to *Theſſalonica*. As he here lay, one *Romanus Cheirotmetus* brought him Letters from *Gabriel*, wherein he promiſed to turn his Subject and Vaſſal; but he giving no credit to them, ſent *Xiphias* and *Conſtantine Diogenes* at preſent the Governour of *Theſſalonica*, with an Army into the Countrey of the *Moglenians*, which having waſted and laid Siege to the City, he himſelf came up with the reſt of the Forces, and by a Ditch cauſed the River to be drained from the Walls, the Foundations whereof when he had undermined the Inhabitants with Lamentations and Prayers, gave up what they could not keep. Therein were taken *Domitianus Caucanus*, the principal Councillour of *Gabriel*, with *Elitzes* the chief Man of the Countrey, beſides many other Noblemen, and a multitude of the inferiour ſort of Souldiers, of which ſuch as were fit for ſervice he tranſported to *Aſpracania*, and cauſed to be burnt a Neighbouring Caſtle called *Natia*. On the fifth day after came *Cheirotmetus*, bringing with him ſome of the Servants of *John Bladiſthlabus*, the Son of *Aaron*, with Letters to the Emperour, wherein he ſignified that he had taken away the Life of *Gabriel*, and that the Kingdom of *Bulgaria*, now was reverted to him who ſhould own himſelf his Subject and Vaſſal. *Baſilius* returned him an Anſwer in Golden Characters, after which within a little time *Cheirotmetus* returned and brought with him not onely Letters from *John*, but from the *Bulgarians* who owned themſelves the Emperour's Subjects. And to him came *Caucanus*, the Brother of *Domitian Caucanus* lately mentioned, and was honourably entertained.

76. But

Another Expedition into *Bulgaria.*

76. But for all this the Emperour being aſſured, that *John* dealt deceitfully with him, and was practiſing matters quite contrary to his Ingagements returned into *Bulgaria*, and waſting the Countrey of *Oſtrobus*, *Goſens* and *Pelagonia*, put out the Eyes of as many of the Inhabitants as he took. He proceeded to *Achris*, the Seat of the *Bulgarian* Princes, which having taken and ſetled all things there, he reſolved to go to *Dyrrachium*, where matters very much required his Preſence. So long as *Trymalia*, and the nearer Parts of *Servia* continued under the Government of *Bladimere* the Son-in-Law of *Samuel*, all things were there in repoſe, for he was a man very juſt, and a great lover of Peace and Vertue, but he being (through the Treachery of *David* the Archbiſhop) perſidiouſly murthered by his Command, after *Gabriel*'s Death all were in great confuſion and diſorder, *John* ſometimes by his Officers, and otherwhiles in his own Perſon falling upon the City. The Emperour purpoſed to viſit them again, but for this time was prevented of his Journey upon this unpleaſing occaſion. He had left behind him a ſtrong Party to haraſs all the Parts of *Pelagonia*, all which the *Bulgarians* having drawn into an Ambuſh, cut them off with their Commanders, being headed by *Ibatzes* a man of great Nobility, and as great Valour amongſt them. *Baſilius* much concerned for this ignominious loſs, returns into *Pelagonia* in purſuit of this *Ibatzes*, and from *Theſſalonica* proceeds to *Moſynopolis*. He ſends *David Arianita*, with a ſufficient Power to attacque *Strunpitza*, who in room of it takes another Caſtle called *Thermitza*. Another Party he diſpatches away under command of *Xiphias*, to take in the ſeveral Forts of *Triaditza*, and all thoſe in the plain he took together with a Fort which they called *Boion*.

The Region of *Chatzaria* ſubdued.

Upper *Media* put into the Emperour's Hands.

77. In *January* the Emperour returned to *Conſtantinople*, and thence ſent a Fleet into *Chatzaria* commanded by *Mongus* the Son of *Andronicus Ducas* the *Lydian*, who by the aſſiſtence of *Sphengus* the Brother of *Bladimer*, who married *Baſilius* his Siſter, ſubdued that Region, having taken *Tzulus* the Prince thereof in the firſt Conflict. At the ſame time *Senacherrimus* the Prince of the upper *Media* (afterward called *Aſpracavia*) not able to reſiſt the *Saracens* who preſſed ſorely upon him, gave up himſelf, his Family and Countrey into the Emperour's Hands. Hereupon for a reward he was made a Patritian, and in lieu of his quitted Dominion received the Cities of *Sebaſtea*, *Lariſſa* and *Abara*, with other large Revenues. Of *Aſpracavia* was made Governour, *Baſilius Argyrus* the Patritian, who for his ill adminiſtration or bad ſucceſs was not long after put out of Command, and *Nicephorus Comnenus* was ſent his Succeſſour, who partly by force and partly by perſwaſion brought the Countrey to ſubmit. But all other Deſigns, Expeditions and Acceſſions ſeemed to the Emperour of no value, ſo long as *Bulgaria* remained unconquered, which having invaded ſo often in his own Perſon, he was much concerned in honour to have the work perfected, and for that purpoſe could give himſelf but little reſt. This ſame year being the fourteenth Indiction, he marched again into *Triaditza*, where he laid ſiege to the Caſtle of *Pernicus*, which he lay before and violently attacqued for eighty days together, but thoſe within as earneſtly and pertinaciouſly making reſiſtence after much loſs of his men, he was forced to riſe, and departed to *Moſynopolis*. Here having wintred and refreſhed his Army, in Spring again he breaks into *Bulgaria*, where he takes a Caſtle and gets great booty out of *Pelagonia*, but having in vain attacqued the City of *Caſtoria*, he retreats. That which moved him ſo to doe, was the Intelligence he had receiv'd, that *Cracas* was joyned with *John* having a vaſt Army, and that being aſſiſted by the *Patzinacæ*, they were reſolved to make an Inrode into the Territories of the Empire. Diſturbed at this report he retired, but in his way took and burnt the Caſtle of *Boſograda*, relieved *Beræa*, and having demoliſhed ſeveral other Forts, then made an Halt, having now received more welcome News, how that the deſigned Expedition of *John* and *Cracas* was come to nothing, the *Patzinacæ* refuſing to join with them.

Bulgaria once more invaded by the Emperour.

78. However proceeding in his Return, after this little Pauſe he took by ſtorm the Caſtle *Setæna*, where had been laid up much Corn, which being removed he commanded Fire to be ſet to the Place. Now hearing that *John* was not far off, he ſent againſt him the *Cohorts of the Schools* (ſo they termed them) of the Eaſt, and of the *Theſſalonicians* under Command of *Conſtantine Diogenes*, who was either not ſo wary, or had not ſo good intelligence as the Emperour. For, *John* had placed an Ambuſh for them, which *Baſilius* underſtanding and ſolicitous for his men rode on faſt before, bidding all ſuch as were Souldiers to follow him, which being perceived by thoſe that *John* had ſent out, they fled in great fear to their Camp, making much Noiſe with theſe words *Bezeite Tſæſar*, by which we

John, Prince of the *Bulgarians* routed.

Is afterward ſlain,

And the Countrey delivered up to *Baſilius* the Emperour.

ſuppoſe was meant *Runne*, here's *Cæſar*, (*as moſt Nations Termed him*) *or the Emperour.* *John* and all his Army thus putting themſelves to the Rout, *Diogenes* and his Men purſued them, did great Execution, and took the Horſes and Baggage of *John* with one of his Kinſmen, which done the Emperour returned to *Bodena* and ſo home to *Conſtantinople* on the ninth of *January*, the fifteenth Indiction, and the two and fortieth year of his Reign. *John* being by his retreat eaſed much of his fears, in confidence of his good fortune goes againſt *Dyrrachium*, where ingaging in fight he is ſlain, uncertain by whom, after he had born the Title of Prince or King of the *Bulgarians* two years and five Months. The Emperour was no ſooner certified of his death by the Governour of that City but rather flew than went to *Bulgaria* in hope that the long looked for Prey would now fall into his Hands. And ſo far good fortune complied with his Wiſhes, that when he was come on his way no farther than *Conſtantinople* the Brother and Son of the famous *Cracras*, ſo often mentioned, there met him to give up *Pernicus* and five and thirty Caſtles more, whom he courteouſly received, and having admitted *Cracras* to the Dignity of a Patritian, then held on his way to *Moſynopolis*. Thither came Ambaſſadours both from *Pelagoma*, *Morobiſdus* and *Lipenius* to give up other Cities; and when he had reached *Serræ* there *Cracras* himſelf met him with the Deputies of thoſe that yielded up the five and thirty Caſtles, and were kindly entertained. And hither came alſo *Dragomuzus* to ſurrender *Strumpitza*, and was alſo made a Patritian, becauſe he brought along with him *John* the Governour of *Chaldia*, who being taken Priſoner by *Samuel* had continued in Priſon two and twenty years.

Who receives his new Subjects with great kindneſs.

79. When the Emperour drew near to *Strumpitza*, *David* the Archbiſhop of *Bulgaria* met him with Letters from *Mary* the Widow of *John* which hinted that on certain conditions ſhe was willing to quit all pretences to *Bulgaria*. Here alſo met him *Bogdanus* the Lord of the Caſtles that ſtood farther within the Countrey, who alſo received the Dignity of a Patritian having formerly held with the Emperour, and killed for this purpoſe his own Father-in-Law. He proceeded now as far as *Scopia*, in which leaving a ſtrong Garriſon, he returned by the Caſtles of *Stipeius* and *Proſacus* being every where welcom'd with the Prayers and well-wiſhes of his new Subjects. Then he went to *Achris* where he was received with the lucky Acclamations of the People. This *Achris* was ſituate upon an high Hill near to a vaſt Lake out of which the River *Drinus* iſſuing toward the North, after no long ſpace turneth Weſtward and entreth *Ionium* (by which the Hiſtorian ſeems to mean the Countrey lying upon the Adriatick Sea) near the Caſtle *Iliſſus*. The Emperour now ſeized on the Treaſure of the *Bulgarian* Princes which was very great, as beſides other things ſeveral Rich Crowns adorned with Pearl, and an hundred Centenaries of Gold which he beſtowed as a Donative upon his Souldiers. Returning to his Camp he there received the Widow of *John Bladiſthlabus* with three Sons and ſix Daughters: and ſhe brought along with her a Baſtard Son of *Samuel*, and two Daughters of *Radomere* beſides ſix Sons one of which had his Eyes put out by *John* at ſuch time as he ſlew *Radomere* with his Wiſe and his Son-in-Law. She had other three Sons by *John*; but they were fled into the Hill *Tinorus*, one of the Tops of the *Ceraunick* Mountains, where much preſſed with difficulties by reaſon that the Emperour had given order to beſet the Mountain they ſent to him to yield, and within a while came to him as he lay at *Diabolis* in his Journey from the Lake *Preſpa*, where on a Tribunal erected for this purpoſe he kindly received them, and comforting them with moſt gentle words honoured *Proſranus*, who ſeems to have been the Eldeſt, with the Dignity of *Magiſter*, and the reſt with that of Patritians. And hither was brought, whom it moſt concerned him to ſee, *Ibatzes* deprived of his ſight; how and by whom, it's not an unpleaſant Story to relate.

Ibatzas onely ſtanding out.

80. *Bladiſthlabus* being dead, and his Wife and Children with all the Nobility having yielded themſelves and Countrey into the Emperour's hands, he alone refuſed to comply with the time and preſent poſture of Affairs, and ſeized upon a Mountain moſt difficult of acceſs. (Some called it *Brochotus*, others *Proniſta*) where was a neat Caſtle of the *Bulgarian* Princes, with Gardens and other things of ſolace and divertiſement. This in no little meaſure perplexed the Emperour, who had ſufficient cauſe, by reaſon of the Man's Qualifications, to ſuſpect the conſequence of this unexpected Uſurpation. “ He omitted his Journey as he had “ intended, and turning Southward, ſpent ſome time in ſoliciting him by Letters “ to conſider what he did, and not to expoſe himſelf to certain deſtruction by enterprizing ſo impoſſible a thing on his own Head without any advice or aſſiſtence, “ to which he anſwered ambiguouſly, drawing out the time in length and in expectation,

“ pectation, he held *Baſilius* againſt his will five and fifty days at *Diabolis.* The care and anxiety the Emperour was in being taken notice of by *Euſtathius Daphomelus* a Patritian, whom he had lately preferred to the Government of *Achris,* he reſolved upon a ſtrange courſe, to rid him of this trouble, which he communicated to none but two of his Servants whom he could truſt, and he knew would ſtand by him in any undertaking. The Feaſt of the Aſſumption of our Lady was ſolemnly obſerved by *Ibatzes,* and to it were invited as well ſtrangers as Neighbours, and to it though not invited *Daphnomelus* would go, and being diſcovered by the Sentinels, he openly declared who he was, and ſent to let *Ibatzes* know that he was come to be merry with him. He wondred to hear that one ſhould come of his own accord, and put himſelf into an Enemies Hands, but he bad them bring him in and very kindly entertained him. Morning Prayer being over, and all others gone to their Appartments, he went to him and deſired that they two might diſcourſe in ſome convenient and ſecret place, for he had a matter of great importance, and which was for his own good to Communicate to him.

But is reduced by the valour and cunning of *Euſtathius Daphnomelus.*

81. *Ibatzes* ſuſpecting nothing but that he would join with him in his Rebellion, led him into an Orchard very thick beſet with Trees, ſo that they could ſcarcely either be ſeen or heard, whither being come *Euſtathius* being ſtrong and nimble, and watching an advantage ſtruck up his Heels, ſet his Knee upon his Breaſt, ſtopped his Mouth, and called his two Men who watched their motions conſtantly for this purpoſe. They thruſting their Cloths into his Mouth, forced both his Eyes out of his Head, which done they let him goe, and all three with their drawn Swords, got up into one of the higheſt Chambers in the Houſe, expecting what inſtantly followed. For aſſoon as the fact was divulged, a great multitude came running together, ſome with Swords, ſome with Spears, others with Bows, not a few with Stones, ſome with Wood, others with Fire, and others with other Combuſtible matter, Crying out *cut their Throats, Burn them, Tear them Limb from Limb, Stone them, let no Body ſpare the Villains. Euſtathius* ſeeing and hearing this could have ſmall hope to eſcape their fury, yet adviſed his Men not to let fall their Courage, nor by any means to reſign themſelves into their hands who would moſt certainly tear them in pieces in this Rage. “ Putting his Head out of a Window by the motion of his hand he procured ſilence, and then told them that “ for his part there had not been the leaſt enmity or grudge betwixt *Ibatzes* and “ him, the one being a *Bulgarian* and the other a *Roman,* as they ſhould judge, “ being born not in *Thrace* or *Macedonia,* neighbouring Countries, but in *Aſia* the “ leſs at a very great diſtance from *Bulgaria.* Therefore all that were wiſe a- “ mongſt them, muſt needs conclude that it muſt needs be ſome extraordinary “ thing that had put him upon ſuch an enterprize, and that nothing but Neceſ- “ ſity it ſelf could have engaged him in ſo dangerous an Attempt. He told them “ that what was done, was done by the Command of the Emperour, who had “ onely made uſe therein of his hands; and therefore if they were reſolved to kill “ him, kill him they might, he was in their power, yet reſolved with his Ser- “ vants to ſell his life at as dear a rate as he could, and fight it out to the laſt “ Breath. If they killed them, as it was no Maſtery being ſo many to ſo few, “ they ſhould not be unhappy in their death leaving behind them ſo powerfull “ an Avenger, againſt whom as it ſeemed they were reſolved to ſtruggle as long as “ poſſibly they could. This Speech eſpecially the dread they had of the Emperour therein mentioned produced ſuch an Alteration in their minds, that they all ſhrunk away by degrees, and the wiſer ſort wiſhed him Proſperity, and promiſed obedience. *Euſtathius,* then without any oppoſition carried away *Ibatzes* to the Emperour. He rewarded this notable ſervice with the Government of *Dyrrachium* and all the movable goods of *Ibatzes,* who was committed unto Cuſtody.

82. At the ſame time *Nicolitzas* who had been ſo often taken and ſo often diſmiſſed, having lurked in the Mountains, and been forſaken of well-nigh all his Men (who were frighted by a Company, ſent on purpoſe to hunt him out) of his own accord came to the Camp, and declared it was with Reſolution to yield himſelf to the Emperour, who would not ſee him but gave order that he ſhould be kept Priſoner at *Theſſalonica. Baſilius* having all things according to his Wiſh in thoſe Parts, and given leave to as many *Romans* as he had found in Captivity either here to remain or to follow him, removed to *Caſtoria.* Here were brought to his preſence two Daughters of *Samuel*; which beholding *Mary,* the Widow of *John,* to ſtand by him, preſently flew in her Face, and had made an end of her, if the Emperour himſelf had not interpoſed, and by good words mitigated their wrath, promiſing

Baſilius having viſited moſt places of *Bulgaria,* miſing them alſo to provide well for them. On *Mary* he conferred the Honour of *Zoſte*, and ſent her with her Sons to *Conſtantinople*. Then by the Induſtry of *Xiphias*, did he domoliſh all the Caſtles in *Serviæ* and *Soſcus*, and came to the Caſtle of *Stages*, where *Elamagus* Prince of the *Belegradi* preſented himſelf to him in a ſervile Habit with his aſſiſtents. Thence proceeding towards *Athens*, in his paſſage thorough *Zetunium*, he beheld with Admiration the Bones of thoſe *Bulgarians*, that were ſlain in the Defeat given to *Samuel* by *Nicephorus*, and much more the Wall called *Scelos* built on *Thermopylæ*, at a Place called *Rupena* to reſtrain the *Bulgarians*. Arriving at *Athens*, he gave Thanks to our Lady for his good Succeſs, and offered very largely in the Church.

Returns in Triumph to *Conſtantinople*.

And thence returned to *Conſtantinople*, which he entred in Triumph through the great Doors of the Golden Gate, with a Golden creſted Crown called *Tuphus* (from the pride, ſaith *Zonaras*, of thoſe that wore this kind) *Mary* with the Daughters of *Samuel*, and the reſt of the *Bulgarians* going before him. With the Shouts and Acclamations of the People he went to the Great Church, and there having given thanks to Almighty God, went and repoſed himſelf in the Palace. This Conqueſt of *Bulgaria* happened in the ſecond Indiction, the forty fourth year of *Baſilius* and *Conſtantine*. *A. D.* 1019.

83. After his Return *Sergius* the Patriarch was very earneſt with him, to make good what he had promiſed in caſe of this Conqueſt, that he would remit the *Allelengyum*, but could not prevail.

The *Chorbati* give up themſelves.

His mind was wholly bent upon Covetouſneſs and Dominion, to gratifie which immediately after his Succeſs in *Bulgaria*, the Neighbouring Nation of the *Chorbati*, by the Hands of their two Princes, Brothers, gave up themſelves. There onely remained *Sermo* the Lord of *Sermium*, who refuſed to row by this great ſtream, and therefore ſpeedily made ſhipwreck of his life and all. *Conſtantine Diogenes* Governour of the Neighbouring Province, ſent to him to deſire Conference, and if he feared any deceit or Ambuſh, he deſired that each ſhould come onely with three Servants in his Company to the Rivers ſide that ran by them.

Sermium taken.

Sermo agreed and met him, but when he expected a Diſcourſe, *Diogenes* prevented it by thruſting a Dagger into his ſide, which he had hid in his Coat, and inſtantly ſlew him, which his Servants ſeeing fled as faſt as they could, leſt they ſhould be ſerv'd in the ſame manner. Then gathering together ſuch Forces as he commanded, he went to *Sermium*, which partly by threats and partly by promiſes he brought the Widow to ſurrender, which done ſhe was ſent away and married to one of the Principal Citizens of *Conſtantinople*; and *Diogenes* was made Governour of the newly (however) gained Territory for his pains. In the mean time, to make himſelf acceptable by ſomething how little ſoever, *Baſilius* ſupplies the City abundantly with water, by cleanſing and repairing the Aqueduct of *Valentinian*.

The *Abaſgians* breaking the League, *Baſilius* marches againſt them.

But his thoughts were quickly diverted from Employments of this Nature by a meſſage brought, that *George* the Prince of the *Abaſgians* had broken the League betwixt them, and invaded in hoſtile manner the adjacent Territories of the Empire. He preſently marched againſt him with a complete Army, leaving behind him *Xiphias* and *Nicephorus* the Son of *Bardas Phocas* both Patritians.

84. Now whether they took it ill that they were left behind, or for other more tempting reaſons, they got together a power of men, and broke out into Rebellion. This much diſordered the Army, and the Emperour more out of fear that they ſhould be beſet with the Rebels on one ſide, and on the other by the *Abaſgians*, with whom it was reported, that they held ſecret Intelligence. *Baſilius* in this ſtrait wrote Letters both to *Xiphias* and *Phocas*, but gave order to the meſſenger ſo to deliver them, that the one ſhould not know of any the other received.

A Rebellion at home but ſuppreſſed and puniſhed.

However upon the receit of them, *Phocas* was ſo free as to reade his to *Xiphias*, who denying that he received any, on a certain day ſent for the other to ſpeak with him, and when he came, having before hand laid his ſnares, took away his Life. Which the Emperour having underſtood, ſent againſt *Xiphias Theophylact*, the Son of *Damianus Delaſſenus* who took him Priſoner, and ſent him to *Conſtantinople*, to *John* the Prothonotary who ſhaved him, and made him a Monk in the Iſland of *Antigonus*.

The *Abaſgians* forced to ſubmit.

In this manner, *Baſilius* freed from all danger of this Rebellion gave battel to the *Abaſgians*, but with no Succeſs at firſt; but in a ſecond Conflict which happened on the eleventh of *September*, and the ſixth Indiction, *Liparites* their General fell, and with him the greateſt part of their Army. *George* fled into the more diſtant Mountains of *Iberia*, whence ſhortly after he ſent and made his Peace, ſubmitting to what Terms the Emperour pleaſed to impoſe, and gave up for an Hoſtage his Son *Pancratius*, whom *Baſilius* honoured with the Dignity of *Magiſter*, and ſo departed home.

He animadverts upon the Accomplices of the Arch-rebels.

85. There did he animadvert upon the Accomplices of *Phocas* and *Xiphias*, by confiſcating their Eſtates, and condemning them to Priſon; none he put to death but *Pherſa* a Patritian, who had firſt of all ſided with the Rebels, had killed four Officers of the Neighbouring Princes, and beheaded one of the Emperour's Eunuchs with his own Hands. There was alſo one of the Emperour's Chamber caſt to the Lions, for attempting to poiſon him for the ſake of *Xiphias*. A little before this, *Anne* the Siſter of *Baſilius*, and a Widow of *Bladimer* the *Roſſian* Prince died, after whoſe deceaſe *Chryſochir* a Kinſman of her Husbands, put Eight hundred men on board, and with them came to *Conſtantinople*, pretending he would ſerve the Emperour. But he requiring that he ſhould lay down his Arms, and then to ask what he pleaſed, he refuſed to doe it, and paſſing over the *Propontis* went to *Abydus*, where he defeated eaſily him that lay there for defence of the Coaſts, and then went to *Lemnus*, where he and all his Men were cut off deceitfully by the Fleet of the *Cibyrræotæ*, *David* of *Achris* the Governour of *Samus*, and *Nicephorus Cabaſila* the Commander at *Theſſalonica*. After this *Baſilius* prepared for an Expedition into *Sicily*, and for that purpoſe ſent before *Oreſtes* one of his moſt faithfull Eunuchs, with great Forces. But he was prevented by his Deſtiny from following, dying in the Month of *December*, and the Ninth Indiction, after he had lived Seventy ſaith *Cedrenus*, Seventy two years ſaith *Zonaras*, and born the Title of Emperour as many, but reigned alone in effect, though his Brother alſo had the Name the ſpace of fifty. He left his Brother his Succeſſour, and deſired him to ſee him buried in the Church of St. *John* the Evangeliſt and Divine at the *Hebdomus*, who therein fulfilled his will.

Preparing for an expedition into *Sicily* *Baſilius* dies.

Conſtantine X ſole Emperour.

86. *Conſtantine* the Tenth of that Name, came to the management of the Empire in the Ninth Indiction, *A. D.* 1026, and therein did little or no good to it, but much miſchief. Being a man of moſt depraved manners, he neither acted, nor thought any thing worthy of his Place and Dignity. His Delight was in running Races, jeſting with looſe and ſilly drolling Perſons, and drinking whole Nights together, and thus was willing to ſpend his time, while his Brother (who was content it ſhould be ſo) attended Affairs of State, and increaſed both the Reputation and Bounds of the Empire. In chuſing of his Officers (the great Tryal and Indication of a Prince) he had onely reſpect to thoſe of his own humour, ſuch vertuous Perſons as himſelf, drunken Slaves and the moſt profligate Wretches, no Man either for his Birth, Abilities or Education, being at all conſidered. *Nicholas*, the chief Man of his Chamberlains, he made Domeſtick of the Schools, and of his Bedchamber. *Nicephorus* the next after him *Protoveſtiarius*, and *Simeon* who was in the third Place his *Drungarius Biglæ*. One *Euſtathius* far inferiour to theſe, he created Captain of the Aſſociates. To one *Spondyles* he gave the Government of *Antioch*, and that of *Iberia* to one *Nicetas*, both Perſons very infamous. Theſe Miniſters under ſuch a Prince undid all, bringing all things into diſorder, and almoſt ruinated the Empire, which ſince the time of *Romanus*, had ſo exceedingly flouriſhed under *Nicephorus Zimiſces* and *Baſilius*. And not onely did he prefer unworthy, and ſcandalous Perſons, but every man eminent for any worth or goodneſs, aſmuch as in him lay, he laboured to diſgrace and undoe, eſpecially the moſt Noble or Illuſtrious Perſons. He pulled out the Eyes of *Conſtantine* a Patritian, Son of the *Magiſter Michael Burtzas*, having born him malice, for diſcovering his naughty Courſes to his Brother. And other moſt excellent Perſons he blinded, as we ſhall ſee; for as he began ſo he proceeded, the ſame Cauſes ever producing the ſame effects, when not hindred by Incapacity of the Subjects, or the Intervention of more powerfull Accidents.

His Management of Affairs.

87. At this time *Nicephorus Comnanus* governed *Aſpracania* (*Baſpracania* or *Baſprania* as it is variouſly written) a Man very wiſe, and as valiant as any of his time, with ſuch Succeſs, that he forced all his Neighbours to live quietly about him. But after ſome time finding his Souldiers begin to fail in their Courage againſt the *Saracens*, by all the means he could uſe, he endeavoured to reſuſcitate in them their wonted Courage, and upbraiding them much with the Alteration, procured them not onely to promiſe but to take a formal Oath, that they would not forſake, but ſtand by him to the laſt extremity againſt the Enemy. This being reported at *Conſtantinople*, *Conſtantine* and his effeminate Miniſters, incompetent Judges of matters relating to War or Fortitude, put him preſently out of command, and being ſent for up to the City he was condemned of Treaſon, or a deſigned Uſurpation, and had his Eyes put out, to the regret of all good men: and in the ſame ſort he dealt with *Bardas* a Patritian, deſcended from *Bardas*

Condemning and putting out the Eyes of ſeveral *Romans*.

Phocas the *Magiſter*, whom he procured ſome of his Creatures to accuſe of a Conſpiracy againſt his Perſon. About the ſame time, *George* the Governour of *Nawpactus*, for his Folly commonly call'd *Morogeorgius*, by his perpetual Exactions and other Injuries ſo oppreſſed the Townſmen, that they broke out into a publick Rage againſt him, kill'd him and rifled his Houſe, for which Deed the Emperour not onely uſed great Cruelty in puniſhing the Authours of the Riot, but cauſed the Eyes of the Biſhop of the Place to be put out. There happened a Quarrel, and this was followed by a Combat betwixt *Baſilius* a Patritian, the Son of *Romanus Sclerus*, and *Pruſianus* the *Bulgarian* a *Magiſter*, and Captain of the *Bucellarii*, which judging to be a Crime no leſs than Treaſon, he baniſhed them both. Being told that *Baſilius* indeavoured to eſcape, he commanded his Eyes to be put out; and *Baſianus* when he expected the like meaſure, he moſt mercifully diſcharged. But he pull'd out the Eyes of *Romanus Curcuas*, who had married *Pruſianus* his Siſter, of *Bogdanus*, *Gleba* and *Gudeles*, and to give himſelf ſome diverſion by variety, cut out the Tongue of one *Zacharias* (poſſibly out of his wit to make him like the Prieſt of that Name, who was ſtruck dumb) pretending that they all had deſigns againſt him.

The *Patzinacæ* invading *Bulgaria*, are forced to return beyond *Iſter*.

A Great Drought.

The *Saracens* infeſting the Iſlands *Cyclades* are defeated.

Zoe *Conſtantine*'s Daughter married to *Romanus*.

Conſtantine dies.

88. But to leave this odious Subject, let us ſee if we can find any other thing of publick Conſequence, and worthy the mentioning, in his Reign. In his firſt year the *Patzinacæ* broke into *Bulgaria*, and there did much miſchief, killing many of the People with ſeveral Officers and their Companies. Againſt them he created *Diogenes* the Governour of *Sirmium*, General of *Bulgaria*, who falling on them as they ſtragled, after much ſlaughter forced them to return beyond the *Iſter*. During his whole Reign there was a great Drought, which dried up both Fountains and Rivers. His Brother *Baſilius*, how hard and difficult ſoever in the caſe of the *Allelengyum*, yet herein was wont to gratifie the poorer ſort, that he did not exact Payments juſt when they were due, but bore with them till they could better doe it, ſo that at his death, the Tribute of two years was behind. But *Conſtantine* notwithſtanding the Drought, not onely when he came to the Government exacted all the Arrears, but forced the Payment alſo of three years to come, which not onely undid the Poor but much diſtreſſed the Rich, and thoſe that were not wont formerly to complain. And now did a Fleet of *Saracens* infeſt the Iſlands *Cyclades*, which was happily defeated and diſſipated by *George Theodorocranus*, the Governour of *Samus*, and *Periboas*, who commanded *Chius*, twelve Ships being taken. On the Ninth day of *November* in the twelfth Indiction, the Emperour fell ſuddenly ſick, and being given over by Phyſicians, then thought upon a Succeſſour. A meſſenger was ſent to fetch *Conſtantine Delaſſenus*, living then in *Armenia*, whom he deſigned to create *Cæſar*, and marry him to one of his Daughters. But *Simeon* ſo wrought out of his Love to *Romanus Argyrus*, that he altered his purpoſe, and another was ſent to bid *Delaſſenus* ſtay where he was. *Romanus* then was brought to Court, and leave given to chuſe whether he would looſe his Eyes or part with his Wiſe, and marrying the Daughter of the Emperour be declared *Cæſar*. He pauſed at it, but his Wife fearing what might happen to him, voluntarily ſhaved her ſelf and renounced the ſecular Life for the ſaving of his Eyes, and procuring him the Empire. *Conſtantine* had by *Helena* the Daughter of *Alyni..s*, an Eminent-Patritian, three Daughters; of which *Eudocia* the Eldeſt being disfigured by the Plague was turned Nun, and *Theodora* the youngeſt refuſed to marry *Romanus*, either becauſe they were too near a Kin, as ſhe pretended, or for that his lawfull Wife was yet living: but *Zoe* the ſecond was very well content to accept him for her Husband, and the matter of Kindred being diſcuſſed, and diſpenſed with by the Patriarch and Eccleſiaſticks, to her he was joyned in Marriage, and declared Emperour. The third day after the Wedding, *Conſtantine* died, when he had lived Seventy years and upward, and Reigned three wanting one Month.

Romanus and *Zoe* ſucceed.

89. *Romanus* the Fourth of that Name, beyond all his expectation, together with *Zoe*, took Poſſeſſion of the Empire in the twelfth Indiction, *A. D.* 1028. and at his beginning was very acceptable to his Subjects, though he had not come after ſuch a Predeceſſour. For he not onely took away the *Allelengyum*, ſo much complained of, which *Cedrenus* tells us (I know not what ground there is to believe him) *Conſtantine* would have done, had he not by death been prevented, but he increaſed the Salaries wont to be paid out of the publick Treaſury to thoſe of the Quire of St. *Sophia*, diſcharged out of Priſon ſuch as were guilty of ſlighter Faults, and not onely paid the publick Debts, but thoſe of private Men, and redeemed the Captives out of *Patzinacia*. He did many good things

relating to the Church not here to be diſcourſed of, relieved many that were in great poverty, or otherwiſe diſtreſſed, for the health of his Father-in-Law's Soul they tell us expended a great Sum of Money, and made reparation to ſuch as he had injured either in way of Honour or Fortune. *Romanus Sclerus* who had Married his Siſter and had loſt his Eyes by Command of *Conſtantine*, he promoted to the Dignity of a *Magiſter*, and recalled out of Baniſhment *Nicephorus Xiphias*, who was turned Monk: And now as reconciled again, God gave convenient Rain, and abundance of all fruits followed, eſpecially of Oil. But theſe Acts of mercy *Romanus* mixed with others of ſeverity, which being accompanied with Juſtice and publick ſafety, did not eclipſe but more ſet off the other. *Pruſianus* the *Bulgarian* for Conſpiring with *Theodora* the Siſter of the Empreſs, and affecting the Sovereignty was deprived of his ſight, and his Mother *Zoſtica* expelled the City. *Conſtantine Diogenes* who had Married the Emperour's Brother's Daughter, and was Governour of *Sirmium* being removed to the Command of *Theſſalonica*, was accuſed by *Oreſtes*, one that had ſerved *Baſilius*, of a purpoſe to rebell, and for that was ſent to govern the *Thracians*, where his Crime being clearly diſcovered, he was brought bound to *Conſtantinople*, and caſt into the Tower, and his Complices ſix or ſeven men of eminency were beaten, and then carried in diſgrace through the City into Baniſhment. *Theodora* was alſo baniſhed from Court to *Petrium*.

His kindneſs and Juſtice at firſt.

90. On the laſt day of *October* a Comet appeared, ſeeming to move from Weſt to Eaſt, and on the ſame day the *Roman* Intereſt ſuffered much damage, under Command of *Michael Spondyles* the Governour of *Antioch*. Great Rains alſo fell and continued to fall till *March*, which cauſed mighty Floods every where, by which, and the rottenneſs of Graſs, moſt Cattel periſhed, and becauſe that the Seed corrupted in the ground, great ſcarcity happened the following year. The Emperour to redeem much loſs and diſgrace, by this time ſuffered in *Syria*, reſolved upon an Expedition to *Berrœa*, ſending before his Siſters Husband *Conſtantine Carentenus* a Patritian, with a flying Company, to diſcover the Paſſages, and infeſt the Enemy, but not to hazard a Battel till his Arrival. While he prepares for his Journey it happens, that *George* the Prince of *Abaſgia* dies, whoſe Widow ſends away her Ambaſſadours to deſire he would renew the League made formerly with her Husband, and aſſign a Wife to her Son *Pancratius*, to which he willingly aſſenting, both renewed the League, and ſent *Helena* his Brother *Baſilius* his Daughter into *Abaſgia* to be Married to *Pancratius*, whom he honoured with the Title of *Curopalates*. Now *Romanus* haſtens his Preparation for *Syria*, the ſtate of which Countrey we muſt declare before we bring him thither by fetching matters a little higher. The Reader is to remember, that the Emperour *Nicephorus* very much inlarged the Bounds of the Empire, in *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, where he recovered moſt of the Cities, and that *Zimiſces* following on what was begun, extended its Dominion as far as *Damaſcus*. *Baſilius* after them, being at firſt employed in Civil Broils, and afterward wholly taken up with the *Bulgarian* War, neglected the Eaſtern Parts, which gave the *Saracens* opportunity to lay their Heads together and conſult, yet they openly attempted nothing during his Reign. But under the diſſolute Government of his Brother *Conſtantine*, they neglected not their Advantage, the moſt potent Cities of the Eaſt now caſting off the *Roman* Yoke, and aſſerting their liberty, and the *Saracens* openly ſet upon many places, took them, and put the Garriſon Souldiers to the Sword. Above all, the Governour of *Berrœa* (or *Chalep* as they call'd it) plaid his Pranks, by his frequent Incurſions ſorely diſtreſſing *Antioch*, and the adjoyning *Roman* Pale. *Spondyles* the Governour of *Antioch*, endeavoured to reſtrain him but came off with loſs and diſgrace. And he ſuffered himſelf to be overreached by one *Aſaraptius* an *Arabian* a Priſoner in that City. This man perceiving his fickle humour vaunted of great matters he both could and would perform for the Emperour againſt the *Saracens*, if he were but ſet at Liberty; and particularly ſhewed him a Platt of ground, on which if a Fort were but built and committed to his keeping, he doubted not but to doe wonderfull things. *Spondyles* not onely believed what he ſaid, but ſet him at Liberty, built a Fort in the place, and therein putting a thouſand men, gave him the Command of it, who now being where he would, entertained Intelligence with the *Ameras* of *Tripolis*, and with *Tusbere* the Prince of *Ægypt* his General, who ſent a Body of men, which he having received into the Caſtle, they put all the Garriſon to the Sword, and then received it from his Hands. After this the *Saracens* ranged up and down without controll. *Romanus* removed *Spondyles*, and put his Brother-in-Law *Conſtantine Carentenus*, lately ſaid to be ſent

He reſolves upon an Expedition into *Syria*.

The League with the *Abuſgians* renewed

thitherward with an Army, into his place, reſolving to follow in Perſon and proſecute the War.

The *Saracens* of *Berrœa* offer Peace, which is refuſed by the Emperour.

Who marches on with his Army.

Which is conſumed with Thirſt.

91. He was ſcarcely got on his way as far as *Philomilium*, when Meſſengers were ſent to him from *Berrœa* with Preſents, to ask pardon for what was paſt, to promiſe him to return to their former obedience, and pay all the Tribute that was due. There were ſeveral excellent Warriours now with him in the Army, who earneſtly adviſed him to hearken to them, and accept their Submiſſion, and that for very weighty Reaſons, alledging, that in the Summer time Water was much wanting in *Syria*, that the *Saracens* were accuſtom'd to them, and could very well endure both Heat and Thirſt, but the *Roman* Souldiers could not, eſpecially being burthened with their heavy Armour. But *Romanus*, what his Predeceſſour had done in the like kind, was ſo tickled with a fancy of the great honour he ſhould obtain, that he would not liſten to them, but held on in his Expedition, and entring *Syria*, incamped before a Caſtle called *Azaezium*, two days journey diſtant from *Berrœa*. Now intent upon his buſineſs, he ſent out *Leo Choroſphactes* a Patritian, Captain of the *Excubitores*, to ſcout about, to watch the motions of the Enemy, and find out ſome fitter place whereon to fix; but he fell into the Ambuſh laid for him in the Plain, and his Party was all defeated. Incouraged herewith, the *Saracens* hindred his men from foraging, and knowing well enough their greateſt want, from fetching in any Water, which cauſed them out of mere neceſſity, and for vehement thirſt, to ſtraggle up and down, though with manifeſt danger of their lives, which uſually they loſt before they returned. To reſtrain and chaſtize their boldneſs *Conſtantine Delaſſenus* was ſent with a convenient Power of men; but very ſillily and cowardly managed the buſineſs, and ran back in great terrour to the Camp, which ſtruck all the reſt of the Army with ſuch Conſternation, that now no mention was made of any Battel, but every man conſidered how he might ſave one. And a Council of War being called, it was reſolved, that the next day they ſhould diſlodge and march to *Antioch*.

And endeavouring to reach *Antioch* is ſhamefully beaten.

But the Baggage is re-taken by one *George*, who for a Reward is made Captain of the lower *Media*.

Theoctiſtus ſent with an Army to take the Caſtle *Menicus*.

92. Accordingly when the day came, being the tenth of *Auguſt*, in the thirteenth Indiction, and the ſecond year of *Romanus*, all the Gates of the Camp were open'd, and they ſet forward for *Antioch*, moſt of them being ſick of the Gripes, and vexed with a violent Thirſt. They were no ſooner come into a place convenient, but the *Arabians* ſet upon them, againſt whom they never turned Head, nor made any reſiſtence, but the groſs of the Army running away moſt ſhamefully, ſome were taken, others killed, and more deſtroyed by being born down and trodden on by their Fellows, yet one Eunuch of the Emperours is ſaid very ſtoutly to have demeaned himſelf in fetching off both his Servants and Waggons which had been taken, and as for the Emperour himſelf he eſcaped, but that with great difficulty, by the Courage of his Guards, to *Antioch*, as he had deſigned. At the ſame time was one *George Maniaces* Governour of a Province in theſe Parts, called *Telucha*. To him came about eight hundred of the *Saracens*, after this flight of the Emperour and his Army, told him the Emperour was taken, his Army utterly defeated, and uſed what Rhetorick they were able, to perſwade him like a wiſe man to quit that Town, which he was not able to hold; if not, by Break of day he would be ſurrounded and miſerably deſtroyed. He ſeemed to take their Advice in good part, and ſent them out a great quantity of Meat and Drink praying them therewith to refreſh themſelves that Night, and promiſing in the Morning to come forth and deliver up *Telupha* and whatever was the Emperour's into their hands. They gave credit to his words, and ſetting their hearts at reſt, made uſe of what he had ſent them to exceſs, which being his Deſign, at Midnight he iſſued out and killed them all Drunk and aſleep as they lay. Two hundred and eighty Camels he took loaded with the rich Plunder of the late Encounter, and cauſing the Ears and Noſes of the ſlain to be cut off, he went and preſented them to the Emperour, who then in his Retreat was come as far as to the Houſe of *Phocas* in *Cappadocia*. He for a Reward made *George* Captain of the Lower *Media*. When he left *Syria* he made *Simeon* the Servant of *Conſtantine* his Father-in-Law Domeſtick of the Schools, and the Command of *Antioch* he gave to *Nicetas* a *Miſtheia*, giving it in charge to theſe two, that by all means they ſhould reduce the Caſtle *Menicus*, which *Muſaraph* had built. They attempted what he had enjoyned them, but *Muſaraph* breaking out upon them by Night, forced them to be gone, and burnt their Engines. This *Romanus* took in ſo evil part, that he created General with full power one *Theoctiſtus* the *Protoſpatharian*, one of his moſt truſty Servants, and the Captain of the Aſſociates, having raiſed him a great Army of *Romans* and other Nations together, gave him inſtructions to joyn

with *Pinzarach* the *Ameras* of *Tripolis*, who had lately revolted from the *Amermumnes* of *Ægypt*, and fled to his protection, and to take in the Caſtle *Menicus*, which moſt of all did diſcontent him.

Which he performs.

An Army ſent into *Italy* which miſcarries.

Romanus much altered for the worſe.

93. One *Tuſber* a *Turk*, the General of *Ægypt*, did much diſtreſs *Pinzarach*, till hearing of the coming of *Theoctiſtus* he then returned home. And *Muſaraph* durſt not truſt to his new Caſtle, but deſerted it, and flying to the Mountains about *Tripolis*, was there found out and ſlain. The Caſtle was by his Brother's Son delivered up to *Theoctiſtus* with another called *Argyrolaſtrum* ſeated on a craggy Mountain, which done he returned back to *Conſtantinople*. At the ſame time one of his Brethren, a *Protoſpatharian*, *Oreſtes*, ſent formerly by *Baſilius* into *Sicily*, having no skill in matters of that Nature, for which he was ſent, managed them with very ill ſucceſs. His Army he ſuffered to be Idle and Luxurious, and when their Intemperance had caſt moſt of them into Diſeaſes of their Bowels, then did the *Saracens* (who had watched but for a convenient opportunity) ſet upon them and made great ſlaughter of them, to repair which loſs the Emperour raiſed a great Army out of *Greece* and *Macedonia*, and ſent it into *Italy*, the greateſt part of which alſo miſcarried, through the unskilfulneſs of the General. This ſame year in the fifteenth Indiction to make his Eſtate more ſecure, he cauſed *Pruſianus* to be ſhaven for a Monk, and removed his Mother out of the Monaſtery where ſhe was into *Thrace*, and *Conſtantine Diogenes* being taken out of the Town, he alſo conſtrained to take the Religious Tonſure and Habit. A great Alteration indeed was now obſerved, if not in the Humour yet in the Actions of *Romanus*, which were changed much for the worſe after his return out of *Syria*. To repair his Diſgrace there ſuſtained, inſtead of an Emperour, to uſe the Expreſſions of *Zonaras*, he turn'd an Exactour and bitter Inquiſitour, requiring old and out-worn Debts of the Fathers from the Children, which the length of time, it was expected, had utterly buried in Oblivion, upon which account many were driven from their Inheritances, and from having good Eſtates were forced to beg their Bread. Yet did he not bring any of this Money thus gotten into the Treaſury, but this and much more taken out of the publick Revenue he conſumed, building a ſtately Monaſtery and a Church to the Honour of our Lady, thus chopping and changing, pulling down and building up again. To Monks alſo he was very profuſe, aſſigning them whole Provinces and Cities, and theſe the moſt fat and fertile of all the Empire, which was not ſuitable to that ſort of life which theſe men ought to lead, but more fit for Delicate, Effeminate, and Voluptuous Perſons, as *Zonaras* obſerves.

The League renewed with the *Ameras* of *Chalepe*.

A Conſpiracy diſcovered.

The *Roman* Pale infeſted by the *Arabians*, *Patzinacæ*, and *Saracens*, which laſt came ſhort home.

94. In the fifteenth Indiction and the Month of *September*, came *Amer* the Son of the *Ameras* or Governour of *Chalepe*, with great Preſents to renew the Peace for that place, with promiſe to pay the accuſtomed Tribute; which Accord to aſcertain and ratifie, was ſent *Theophylact* an *Athenian* and *Protoſpatharian*, who renewed the League with that People. *Zoe* the Empreſs now went ſuddenly into *Petrium*, and there ſhaved her Siſter *Theodora*, and made her a Nun; there being no other way, as it was ſaid, to put an end to her Plots and Diſcontents. *Romanus* Married his Brothers Daughter to the *Regulus* of *Armenia*, with a great Portion, and prepared for another Expedition into *Syria*. As he was on his way at *Meſenacta*, *Theophanes* the Biſhop of *Theſſalonica*, diſcovered a Plot to the Empreſs of *Conſtantine Diogenes* and *Theodora* her Siſter, to fly into *Illyricum* and there to Uſurp the Imperial Dignity, to which two Biſhops were privy, the Metropolitan of *Dyrrachium* and the Biſhop of *Peritheorium*. Hereupon both *Diogenes* and the Biſhops were ſuddenly apprehended. *Diogenes* when in the Palace of *Blachernæ* he was examined, threw himſelf down headlong from the Wall, rather than he would diſcover his Friends, and was caſt out unburied amongſt ſuch as laid violent hands on themſelves: The Biſhops were ſent away to the Emperour, and by him were diſmiſſed. On the eight and twentieth of *July*, being *Friday*, a blazing Star was ſeen to traverſe the Heavens from South to North ſo big and ſhining, that it illuſtrated all the horizon. And a little after came News, that the *Arabians* had made an Inrode into *Meſopotamia* as far as *Melitenæ*, that the *Patzinacas* had paſſed *Iſter* and invaded *Myſia*, and the *Saracens*, (*Arabians* they are alſo called, theſe Names being uſed promiſcuouſly, had waſted all the Coaſts of *Illyricum* with Fire and Sword, and were got as far as *Corcyra*. The Iſſue of theſe Diſturbances was, that the two former ſorts of theſe Enemies having done what they came for, returned home unhurt, but the *Saracens* were ſorely beaten by the Inhabitants of *Raguſium*, and *Nicephorus* the Son of *Carantenus* then Governour of *Nauplium*,

and having loſt the greater part of their Ships, as they returned, periſhed by Shipwreck in the Sicilian Sea.

A great Famine and Plague.

A terrible Earthquake.

The *Saracens* of *Africk* infeſt the Iſlands but are beaten.

Ægypt invaded by the *Romans* who return with great Booty.

Percris near *Babylon* taken by them.

Another Victory over the *Saracens.*

95. This very year ſo great a Famine and a Plague both raged through *Cappadocia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Armenia* and *Honorias* that the Inhabitants left their dwellings and ſought out other Habitations, whom the Emperour meeting as he returned from *Meſanacta* compoſed them to go Home again furniſhing them with Money and other neceſſaries; and they were much relieved by *Michael* the Biſhop of *Ancyra* who omitted nothing in his power for their ſupport. On the thirteenth of *Auguſt* happened a terrible Earthquake. On *February* the twenty eighth in the ſame year another Comet appeared paſſing from the North toward the South with a Noiſe and cracking, and was ſeen till the fifteenth of *March*, having as it were a Bow above it, in which Month alſo another Earthquake fell out. At the ſame time the *Saracens* of *Africk* with a Thouſand Veſſels and an infinite Number of Seamen and Souldiers aboard them fell upon the Iſlands. With part of which *Nicephorus Carantenus* ingaged, defeated them and ſent five hundred bound in Fetters to the Emperour. This ſame year *George Maniaces* the *Protoſpatharian*, who commanded the Coaſts upon *Euphrates*, by corrupting *Salamenes* a *Turk* the Governour of *Edeſſa* the City of *Oſroena*, got it into his Hands, from which he ſent a yearly Tribute of fifty pounds to *Conſtantinople*. So proſperous were the Affairs of *Romanus* abroad, whilſt at Home *Baſilius Durus* his Siſters Husband who had been deprived of his ſight by *Conſtantine* now Plotted againſt his Life, though ſince his coming to the Government he had conferred on him the Dignity of *Magiſter*, and otherwiſe been very kind to him; for which he and his Wife were expelled the City. Not long after the Emperour incouraged by the Revolt of the *Ameras* of *Tripolis* whom he ſent with a conſiderable Army into *Syria*, gave order to *Tecneas* a *Protoſpatharian* to make War upon *Ægypt* with his Fleet and invade the parts about *Alexandria* which he did with ſuch ſucceſs that he ſunk and burnt many Veſſels and returned loaden with very great Booty. In all other Quarters the Arms or fortune of *Romanus* was as proſperous though in one particular accompanied with a diſaſtre. One *Alimus* a *Saracen*, Governour of a Fort called *Percris* near to *Babylon*, delivered the place up to the Emperour, but ſent his Son to him expecting he ſhould beſides other gifts be ſent back dignified by the Title of a Patritian. But it ſo happened By reaſon of the Indiſpoſition of the Emperour that the young Man coming to *Conſtantinople* was wholly neglected, and no notice taken of him, which ſo inraged him that he returned to his Father and perſwaded him, if poſſible to recover the Fort into his own Hands. This, by entring into a confedaracy with the Neighbouring *Perſians*, and through the careleſneſs of *Nicolas Chryſelius* a *Bulgarian* to whom the Cuſtody of it had been committed, he eaſily did, and put to the Sword ſix Thouſand *Roman* Souldiers that then lay in Garriſon. Now *Alimus* thought himſelf ſufficiently revenged, when ſhortly after *Nicetas Pegonites* a Patritian being ſent into theſe Parts with an Army of *Romans* and *Roſſians* lays Siege to the Place, and with ſuch earneſtneſs and conſtancy inforces it, that he carries it by ſtrength, and therein kills both *Alimus* and his Son. The News hereof was the more welcome at Court becauſe there it met with an addreſs made by *Alda* the Widow of *George* ſometime *Regulus* of the *Abaſgians*, whereby ſhe delivered up a very ſtrong Caſtle call'd *Anacuphe*, for which *Romanus* inveſted her Son *Demetrius* with the Dignity of a *Magiſter*. And much about the ſame time *Carantenus* got another Victory over the *Saracens* ſix hundred of whom he ſent bound to the Emperour.

A terrible Earthquake and Famine which cauſeth *Romanus* to be very mercyfull and kind to his Subjects.

96. But the joy conceived for all this good ſucceſs was not long after allayed by the Terrour of an Earthquake which on the ſeventeenth day of *February* ſorely afflicted the Cities of *Syria*. And ſo great a famine followed throughout the Eaſt, by reaſon of multitudes of Locuſts which devoured all the Fruits of the Earth, eſpecially in *Cappadocia*, *Armenia* and *Paphlagonia* that many of the inhabitants were forced to ſell their Children and to ſeek out new Habitations, of whom multitudes came into *Thrace*. The Emperour diſtributed three *Nomiſma's* to every man, and commanded them to return home, which by this time they might the better doe becauſe a vehement Wind had driven moſt of the Locuſts into the *Helleſpont*, the ſhores of which were all covered with them. Now in a manner he wholly employed himſelf in Works of mercy and compaſſion towards his People. Such Hoſpitals as had been erected for Poor and diſeaſed People about *Con-*

Romanus made away by his Wife *Zoe.*

Zonaras.

ſtantinople and had been demoliſhed by Earthquakes or other ways he reedified for the ſame uſes. He repaired the Aqueducts by which Water was brought into the City; his Wife ſent him to another World in ſuch cares and employments being buſied, after this manner. When he firſt arrived at the imperial Dignity, as Men tickled with Honour are wont to doe, he flattered himſelf with hopes of many years, though he had then arrived at ſixty, and of Children therein to ſucceed him, though his Wife was nothing leſs than fifty. So deſirous he was of having a Son, that at the firſt he very earneſtly uſed all indeavours that way, omitting no Ointments nor other means to render himſelf luſty and her fit for conception. He cauſed her to wear certain Gemms about her as made to believe them very efficacious for fecundity, ſhe refuſing nothing of this Nature but farther uſing Charms and Inchantments; though all proved ineffectual: which he perceiving, afterwards ſcarcely ever cohabited with her, or ever made her a kind Viſit, being both by Nature and Age in himſelf little Prone to carnal Imbracements. Some years ſhe bore this humour though with much Regrets, but at length her luſt and hatred of him aroſe to ſuch violence as to practiſe againſt his Life, being exaſperated by a violent paſſion ſhe had conceived for another Perſon. *Romanus* had about him a certain Eunuch called *John* who had ſerved him while he was yet a private Man, and after his coming to the Empire had been preferred to great Employments. This *John* had four Brothers; *Miehael*, *Nicetas*, *Conſtantine* and *George*, whereof the two later were Eunuchs as well as himſelf: *Nicetas* was a ſtripling; but *Michael* was come to Man's Eſtate, and a moſt beautifull Perſon. Both of them dealt in Silver and Adulterated the Coin, as the other three had formerly uſed a Circulatory or rambling kind of Trade.

Who falls in love with *Michael.*

Being very cloſe together.

Yet ſuſpected by *Romanus.*

Who in a ſhort time after is Poiſoned by them.

97. *John* by degrees procured for his Brothers acceſs to the Emperour who preferr'd them all, and in particular made *Michael* Overſeer of the *Pantheon*, and took him into his Bedchamber. With him *Zoe* the Empreſs fell moſt deſperately in love, and her luſt being more and more inflamed by the daily ſight of him, though ſhe extremely hated *John*, yet could ſhe not forbear to talk with him, and in her diſcourſe ſtill ſeek occaſion to ask queſtions and ſpeak of his Brother. *John* being a crafty Man perceived by the great delight ſhe took in talking of him, how matters ſtood, and giving him notice thereof charged him that if ſhe applyed her ſelf any way familiarly to him, not to be ſhie and baſhfull but entertain her with all the Careſſes that Lovers are wont to doe, to the very laſt point, which inſtructions he ſo obſerved that from looks they proceeded to dalliance, and lay frequently together. As Courtiers are quick to Eſpy, and the Women eſpecially curious to pry and enquire into love matters, their entertainments how private ſoever could not be concealed, but from the Court to the City became the diſcourſe of all, and in every place; the good old Emperour being the onely Man that was ignorant of it. At length from his Siſter *Pulcheria*, and ſome others he received hints, which he onely made uſe of ſo far as to ask *Michael* the queſtion, whether there was any ſuch matter, and, when he denied it, to make him ſwear, which he having done, he thought he would not forſwear himſelf, and thence concluded it a Calumny. Now for this perjury *Michael* was reported ſtruck with a dreadfull diſeaſe, being at certain times ſeized with a Frenzy, a trembling and ſtaring with his Eyes, which *Romanus* beholding pitied the Man and was the more confirmed in his incredulity, concluding his Wife could take no pleaſure in the converſation of ſo miſerable a Creature, who was not capable either of loving or being beloved. Others ſaid that he knew very well what courſe of Life ſhe led, but knowing her to be a moſt laſcivious and inſatiable Woman winked at what ſhe practiſed with *Michael*, leſt being hindred from his imbracements ſhe ſhould proſtitute her ſelf to more. However it was, ſhe reſolved to be rid of him, that what ſhe now enjoyed by ſtealth and in fear ſhe might openly and ſecurely own, and for that purpoſe is ſaid to have given him a ſlow working Poiſon which by degrees made an end of him. The Symptoms were a face much ſwollen, and diſcolour'd, ſhort and quick Reſpiration, and the falling off of all his Hair, ſigns pregnant enough and of a violent ſuſpicion. Yet he continued Languiſhing till the fifteenth day of *April*, on which having according to the Cuſtome made the *Rogæ*, or paid Penſions to the Senatours, he went into a Bath and there by ſome thereto appointed to make more ſpeedy work of it was ſtifled by holding his Head a ſufficient time under Water, which done he was pulled thence and laid upon his Bed. He was ſpeechleſs now but not quite dead, and the Rumour being ſpred that he was dying his Wife ran for haſte amongſt the reſt and made great Lamentation for her dear Husband, who caſting out of his Mouth ſome black

matter preſently departed the World, after he had Reigned five years and ſix Months in the ſecond Indiction. *A. D.* 1034. In his Youth he applyed himſelf to learning, and was well ſeen in *Greek* Authours and the knowledge of the Civil Laws, although he boaſted himſelf much more knowing than he was.

98. The ſame Night when the office of Chriſt's Paſſion was Sung, or the Service belonging to *Good Friday*, *Alexius* the Patriarch was ſent for to Court, as it were by Command of *Romanus*, whither being come he found the Emperour Dead, and *Zoe* in the Golden Room Royally furniſhed for ſo worthy an occaſion, produced *Michael*, and required him to Marry them together. The Patriarch amazed at the ſuddenneſs of the thing, was very backward, till *John* and ſhe Bribed him by a preſent of fifty pounds to himſelf, and as much to his Clergy; by which overcome, he ſolemnized the Marriage. *Zoe* having thus introduced *Michael* the *Paphlagonian* (as for diſtinction he is ſtyled from his Countrey) both into her Bed and Throne, therein purpoſed to uſe him but as a Drudge and Servant, and reſolving to Govern her ſelf, took into the Court ſuch Eunuchs as had ſerved her Father. But ſhe was much deceived through the induſtry and craft of *John* her Husband's Brother, who ſufficiently underſtanding her, and mindfull of *Romanus* his Fate, turn'd out all theſe Eunuchs, and removing from her all her moſt truſty Women, put into their places his own Friends and Acquaintance,by which and other means he ſo hamper'd her,that to her great grief ſhe could neither doe nor act any thing, not ſo much as go into the Bath without his knowledge and permiſſion. Having thus ſecured all in the Palace, he wrote Letters into all Provinces which ſignified the Death of *Romanus*, and how by his Will and Determination *Michael* had ſucceeded in the Empire and Marriage of *Zoe*. All Men ſeemed to be ſufficiently pleaſed with the change, and wiſhed proſperity to them, except *Conſtantine Delaſſenus* the Patritian, who took it in moſt high diſdain that ſo obſcure and ignoble a Fellow ſhould be ſo preferred before Perſons of moſt high Rank and Quality, of which at this time there were very many, *John* was much diſturbed to hear how much he concerned himſelf, and reſolved to draw him to their Party if poſſible, employing one *Ergodotes* an Eunuch, a Man very able to inſinuate any thing, to him for this purpoſe, who offering him Oath for his Security, and requiring one from him for his Loyal deportment, was to bring him to the Emperour, where things ſhould be concluded and made up betwixt them, to their mutual ſatisfaction. In the mean time he made the Senate his own by promoting all the chiefeſt of them and the leading men to places of Dignity and Revenue. And amongſt the multitude as any be perceived to be in Capacity to doe miſchief by preferments he took off, and obliging ſuch as were fit to doe ſervice, made all the People ſatisfied and at his Devotion.

Zoe and *Michael* Marry and are Crowned, ſucceeding *Romanus* in the Empire.

99. But all this notwithſtanding our Writers obſerve, that ſuch things happened at the very firſt beginning as manifeſtly ſhewed theſe devices how ever yet proſperous to have much diſpleaſed Almighty God. For on *Eaſter* day fell ſuch a terrible ſtorm of Hail that it brake down Trees, Houſes and Churches in great numbers, and ſo deſtroyed the ſtanding Corn that a great ſcarcity thereupon followed. And on the Lord's day following appeared ſo great a Comet that with the light it caſt it obſcured all the Stars,and ſome imagined the Sun was returning,though it was but the third hour of the night. And the Emperour was in a grievous manner tormented with his diſtemper, which would not be overcome by any either ſpiritual or temporal means that could be uſed: ſome affirming he was poſſeſſed, and thoſe that judged moſt favourably accounting it no better than a Frenzy or Lunatick Diſeaſe. *Delaſſenus* was not ſo eaſily to be brought off by *Ergodotes* as they imagined, requiring greater caution than his bare Oath for his ſecurity, which given he ſignified by a Meſſenger of his own that he ſhould not refuſe to come to *Conſtantinople.* To him then was ſent one *Conſtantine Phagitzes* an Eunuch, the Emperour's Countreyman, and confident with the wood ſaid to belong to the Croſs of Chriſt, the Linen Cloath that had his Image upon it and the Epiſtle which they believed he wrote to *Augarus*, with the Picture of the Bleſſed Virgin; by the Religious Opinion of which he was induced to accept of the Faith given him, and went with *Delaſſenus* to the Court, where being honourably received, and dignified with the Title of Proconſul, he was richly preſented and ordered to live at his eaſe in his own Houſe near at hand. Now we are told a ſtrange Story, how the Locuſts which by the Wind were caſt upon the Shore of the *Helleſpont*, revived and did great miſchief to the adjacent Countries, eſpecially in the Province of *Thrace* for three years, which ended, they periſhed about *Pergamus*.

A terrible ſtorm of Hail.

A vaſt Comet appears.

The Locuſts revived.

100. But, *Michael* bearing onely the name, his Brother *John* exerciſed all the power of an Emperour, by virtue whereof he made his other Brother *Nicetas* Governour of *Antioch*. *Nicetas* going thither to enter upon his Charge the Townſmen refuſed to admit him, fearfull that he would with ſeverity puniſh them for having lately in a Tumult killed one *Sallibas* who with too much rigour had gathered the publick Revenue. At length upon promiſe of pardon and oblivion they opened their Gates and received him, but when he had got poſſeſſion without any regard to his promiſe he cauſed about an hundred Perſons to be beheaded and faſtned upon Poles, and ſent eleven of the principal Citizens all of great Nobility (of whom *Elpidius* a Patritian was the chief) bound to *Conſtantinople*, having confiſcated their Eſtates: and he wrote to his Brother *John* that the Gates had been ſhut againſt him not becauſe of the Murther of *Salibas* but out of their Inclinations to *Delaſſenus*. He being formerly in ſuſpicion, Credit was eaſily given to this ſuggeſtion and being brought before the Emperour on the third day of *Auguſt*, in the ſecond indiction, he was condemned to Baniſhment in the Iſland *Prota*, againſt which breach of Faith *Conſtantinus Ducas* his Son-in-Law proclaiming and proteſting, was for his Pains caſt Priſoner into a Tower. The Eſtates of three very eminent and rich Men in *Aſia* the leſs were upon this pretence ſeized and aſſigned over to *Conſtantine* the Emperour's Brother. And *Simeon* the *Protoveſtiarius* one of *Conſtantine* the Emperour's Miniſters for diſapproving thoſe proceedings as injurious and Breaches of Faith was expelled both from Court and City, and made a Monk at *Olympus* in a Monaſtery of his own founding. This ſame year for forty days together the Eaſtern parts were terrified with an Earthquake by which many Men periſhed at *Jeruſalem*, beſides the ruine of Houſes and Churches. In the Indiction following and the Month of *September* a Pillar of Fire appeared toward the Eaſt with its Head inclining Southward. And at the ſame time the *Saracens* took *Myra* and thoſe of *Berrœa* caſt out the Governour whom the Emperour had ſent to them: *Pancratius* the *Abaſgian* to revenge the cauſe of *Romanus* his Wives Uncle broke the League and recovered ſuch Caſtles and Forts as had formerly been in the hands of the Emperours: moreover the *Patzinacæ* having paſſed *Iſter* waſted all *Myſia* as far as *Theſſalonica*; and the *Saracens* of *Africk* by their Fleets, not a little indamaged the Iſlands *Cyclades*.

An Earthquake in the Eaſt and a Pillar of Fire ſeen in the Air at which time the *Roman* Territories on all ſides are infeſted.

101. Theſe matters were of very great conſequence, but ſeemed nothing to *John the Governour of Orphans*, as he is ſtyled, who ruled all, in compariſon of the dangers which at home threatened them from *Delaſſenus*, whom imagining he would never ſecurely enough keep, from the Iſland he removed him to a Tower, and that kept with a very ſtrong Guard: and *George Maniaces* he removed from *Edeſſa*, and made him Governour of the upper *Media* or *Aſpracania*, to prevent the growth of intereſt by favour and intelligence, ſending to ſucceed him one *Leo Lependrenus*. *Nicetas* ſhortly after dying in his Government of *Antioch*, he would intruſt none with it but *Conſtantine* the other Brother, and now did he promote to the place of *Protoveſtiarius* him that onely remained of the reſt, for *Simeon* as we ſaid had taken upon him the monaſtical courſe of Life. To make the Government of *Conſtantine* more acceptable to thoſe of *Antioch*, their fellow Citizens were releaſed out of Priſon, and the Emperour farther to eſtabliſh the intereſt of his Family or rather to gratifie the ſolicitude of his Brother, who ſeeing him ſo ſickly was afraid if he died both he and his Family ſhould be deſtroyed by the Empreſs, promoted *Michael* the Son of his Siſter *Mary* to the Dignity of *Cæſar*. He attended now little but matters of Devotion bewailing to his laſt hour the Murther of *Romanus*, for which he thought to appeaſe Almighty God by good Works and Liberality to the Poor, the building of Monaſteries and other things which that Age eſteemed the moſt valuable. But as our writers obſerve they profited him nothing. Indeed had he made Reſignation of his ill gotten Empire which occaſioned his Sin, had he put the Adultereſs away which had provoked him, and in a private condition deplored his Crimes, they might have been Teſtimonies of his Repentance. But he ſtill uſed the Company of *Zoe* and thought of parting with his Soul as much as the Empire. Out of ill gotten goods he made a ſhew of Liberality and yet vainly imagined he thereby expiated his former faults, and purchaſed pardon by the purſes of other Men, the publick Revenue.

'Ορφανοτρόφος

Michael promoted to the Dignity of *Cæſar* the Emperour being very Sickly.

The *Saracens* of *Africk* and *Sicily* infeſting the *Cyclades* are forced to make Peace.

102. This ſame year in the Month of *May* did the *Saracens* of *Africk* and *Sicily* infeſt the *Cyclades* and the maritime Coaſts of *Thrace* with their Incurſions, but the Governours ſo attended their motions that moſt of them came ſhort home, five hundred being ſent alive to the Emperour and were faſtned upon Poles

all along the Coaſt from *Atramytium* to *Strobelus*. This ſo humbled the *Ameras* of *Sicily*, that he eaſily admitted of Peace which *John* offered him by one *George Probatas*, who was ſent Ambaſſadour for this purpoſe. The *Ameras* whoſe Name was *Apolaphar Muchumet*, was honoured with the Title of *Magiſter*, and being attached by his Brother *Apochapſus*, ſent to the Emperour for aſſiſtence, according to the Conditions of the League made betwixt them. To repreſs *Apochapſus* therefore *George Maniaces* was ſent into *Lombardy*, together with *Stephen* a Patritian the Huſband of the Emperour's Siſter, and Commander of the Fleet, and *Conſtantine Chages*, who governed the *Cibyrreotæ*, gave the *Saracens* a notable defeat at Sea. In Winter happened a mighty Froſt, which incouraged the *Patzinacæ* to paſs the River *Iſter*, and to haraſs *Myſia* and *Thrace*, as far as to *Macedonia*, and in Summer following vaſt quantities of Locuſts did much damage to the fruits of theſe Countries. No fewer times than thrice in one year, did that People make Inrodes into the Territories of the Empire, where they deſtroyed all things in their way, and tortured all Perſons to death they took without any reſpect had to Sex or Age, amongſt whom were five Officers of Eminence. But it fell out well for the Empire, that much about the ſame time, *Noſiſthlabus* and *Hieroſthlabus*, two Princes of the *Roſſians* died; and *Servia*, which after the Death of *Romanus* had caſt off the Yoke, was now again in the third year of *Michael* recover'd to it. And the publick ſatisfaction for theſe things was no whit leſſened by what happened in *Ægypt*, the *Amermumnes* whereof being dead, his Wife imbracing Chriſtian Religion, together with her Son offered to make a Peace with the *Romans*, with whoſe deſires *Michael* ſo far complied as to grant a Truce for thirty years.

The *Patzinacæ* haraſs *Myſia* and *Thrace*.

A Truce for thirty years betwixt *Ægypt* and the *Romans*.

103. The year following happened three ſeveral Earthquakes, whereof one was very terrible. The *Saracens* of *Meſopotamia*, uniting themſelves laid ſiege to *Edeſſa*, which could not poſſibly have eſcaped their Hands, but that *Conſtantine* the Emperour's Brother, ſent timely Succours from *Antioch*, for which Care and Induſtry he was rewarded with the Office of Domeſtick of the Schools of the Eaſt. The Summer was ſo dry, that no Rain fell for ſix Months together, for removal of which Judgment, Proceſſions and Supplications were made, but nothing fell from Heaven but a great ſtorm of Hail which did great miſchief to Trees, and damage to the Tiles of Houſes. A Great ſcarcity hereupon following at *Conſtantinople*, *John* procured Corn out of *Peloponneſus* and *Greece*, much to the Relief of the Citizens. In the mean while the two *Saracen* Brothers in *Sicily*, whom we lately mentioned, making War upon each other, *Apochapſus* who ſeemed to decline, craved aſſiſtence of the *Ameras* of *Africk*, who ſent it on this Condition to have part of the Iſland aſſigned him, and jointly they defeated *Apolaphar*, *Maniaces* not yet being arrived with his Auxiliaries. *Apolaphar* hereupon betook himſelf to *Leo Opus* the Governour of *Lombardy*, who with ſuch force as the ſhortneſs of the time would give him leave to raiſe, paſſed over into *Sicily*, where he grapled with the *Ameras* of *Africk*, and repreſſed him, but the two Brothers beginning to look towards an Agreement, leſt ſtrangers ſhould deprive them of what they ſtrugled for, and to plot againſt the *Romans*, he returned into *Italy*, and gave Scope to the *Ameras* to renew his Hoſtilities, which he did with all freedom, much to the loſs of the Iſlanders. In the following year on the ſecond of *November*, another Earthquake happened which laſted till *January*. And a great Famine followed throughout *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, and all theſe Quarters as far as *Theſſaly*, whereat the Biſhop of *Theſſalonica* taking advantage, and refuſing to pay to his Clerks, both what he ought and what he was able to diſcharge, was caught, notwithſtanding all his cunning by the Emperour. Being convict of Perjury (in ſwearing he had but thirty Pounds, though he was found to have three and thirty Centenaries of Gold in ready money) all this Wealth was ſeiſed to the uſe of his Creditours and the Poor, and he was turned out of his Biſhoprick, of the Revenues whereof ſo much onely was aſſigned him, as was convenient for his maintenance.

Three ſeveral Earthquakes. The *Saracens* of *Meſopotamia* lay Siege to *Edeſſa*, which is relieved.

A Drought.

Another Earthquake. And a Famine in *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, and *Theſſaly*.

104. Now did *Pancratius* Prince of *Abaſgia*, make War upon *Jaſitas* Prince of the upper *Iberia*, whom the Emperour being obliged to ſuccour, *John* ſent againſt the Aggreſſour his Brother *Conſtantine*, Domeſtick of the Schools with all the Forces belonging to the Eaſt, yet ſupported by a promiſe, that *Delaſſenus* ſhould with him be ſent as Councellour and Aſſiſtant, which being not performed (ſo great a Jealouſie was had of the Man) his Courage and Conduct failed him, and he returned home without having any thing performed. At this time *Zoe* the Empreſs indeavoured to poiſon *John*, which was diſcovered, and he pu-

niſhing ſufficiently the Conſpiratours had a nearer regard both to her, and his own preſervation, we muſt not forget (though our Authours ſeem to have done it all this while) that *George Maniaces* arriving in *Sicily*, to anſwer the requeſt of the *Ameras* of that Iſland, the two Brothers made Peace betwixt themſelves, and jointly made War againſt him, procuring out of *Africk* a great Power of Men for this purpoſe. Againſt theſe *Africans* he had ſuch ſucceſs, that a Brook is reported to have received a Tincture from their Bloud, and animated if not ſtrengthned by this Succeſs, he preſently brought under thirteen Towns, and by Degrees conquered the whole Iſland. At the ſame time in the Eaſt matters were in a different poſture, where *Edeſſa* eſcaped narrowly of being taken by the *Saracens*, in this manner. *Parasbatzes* an *Iberian* was Governour there; to whom came twelve Men of the Principal of their Nation with five hundred Horſe, and as many Camels carrying Boxes on their Backs, wherein were beſtowed no fewer than twelve thouſand of armed Men. The pretence was that the Camels bore Preſents ſent to the Emperour, but the Deſign was to get the armed Men into the Caſtle, and ſo to make ſure of the Sentinels, as to maſter both it and the City. *Parasbatzes* the Governour kindly entertained the twelve Perſons at a Feaſt, yet would not admit the Horſemen or Camels into the City, which refuſal proved ſo fortunate, that the Conſpiracy was diſcovered by an *Armenian* Beggar, who overheard one of thoſe in the Boxes, diſcourſing and asking his Fellow where they were. The Governour ſecretly admoniſhed by him to look to himſelf, left his Gueſts at their Feaſt, and with a ſufficient Number of Men going out of the Town, pull'd the *Saracens* out of their Neſts, and killed them in the Place. This done he returned to his Company, the laſt courſe of whoſe entertainment was of the ſame ſort; for he kill'd them all, except one of the chief, whom having deprived of Hands, Ears and Noſe, in that Condition he ſent him to make relation of their Succeſs to his Countreymen.

Edeſſa like to be taken by the *Saracens*, but the Deſign is diſcovered and they are cut off.

105. In the mean time *John* who managed all things, was ſo in love with his Power and Domination, that his Jealouſie and Fear to looſe it, gave him but little quiet and contentment. His fear of *Delaſſenus* was grown to ſo great a ſuſpicion, that he not onely broke his promiſe with his Brother, in ſending him his aſſiſtant againſt the *Abaſgian*, leſt he improve any advantage put into his Hands; but thinking him too dangerous in the private Condition, as he was, reſolved to deprive him of all Helpers and Abettours, and for that purpoſe ſent into Baniſhment his two Brothers, and all his other Relations, being very deſirous to rid himſelf of his whole Family. He was very cunning in his Contrivances, and not wanting to exerciſe his Wits for the hoarding up of Treaſure, the uſual Humour of Men of his Condition. No means he omitted, how indirect and unjuſt ſoever to accompliſh this end. He raiſed the publick Revenue by greater Impoſitions upon Land, and other Courſes unworthy as our Authours tell us to be related. In the mean time his Brother the Emperour, was vexed more than ever with his Diſeaſe, which notwithſtanding all his Alms and Acts of Charity increaſed, and was more exaſperated by acceſſion of a Dropſie. At the ſame time his People were diſturbed by almoſt continual Earthquakes, by one of which *Smirna* was made a miſerable ſpectacle, and in ſome provinces the Quinzy raged ſo much, that the living ſcarcely ſufficed to bury the Dead. In *Sicily*, the War renewed by the *Ameras* of *Carthage* againſt *Maniaces*, who watching his opportunity fell upon him with ſuch violence and execution, that few of his Men eſcaped with their Lives, and he himſelf got away in a little boat into *Africk*. *Maniaces* to prevent his flight, in caſe he ſhould be defeated, had before the ingagement given order to *Stephen* the Commander of the Fleet, and Brother-in-Law to the Emperour, to hover about the Coaſts and intercept him; but through his Careleſneſs he eſcaped. This ſo far inraged *Maniaces*, and tranſported him, that aſſoon as he ſaw him he reviled him, and to ſevere words added as ſowre blows, which he gave him on the Head with a Cudgel. This *Stephen* received with ſo great Indignation, that to be revenged he wrote to *John*, and accuſed him of plotting againſt the Emperour, to which his jealous Pate ſo far gave credit, that he ordered him to be ſent Priſoner to *Conſtantinople*, where he was caſt into cloſe Priſon, together with *Baſilius Theodorocranus* a Patritian. The command of *Sicily* was given to *Stephen*, jointly with *Baſilius Pedradites* an Eunuch, who ſo ordered their matters, that in a ſhort ſpace by their Rapacity, and negligence they brought all to nothing. It was *Maniaces* his courſe when he took any conſiderable Place, there to build a Fort to keep the People in obedience. Now the People perceiving the Careleſs humour of the two new Commanders, and provoked by their Exactions, privily

The Emperour's Diſeaſe increaſed by acceſſion of a Dropſie.

The War renewed in *Sicily*, which is wholly overrun by the *Ameras* of *Carthage* *Meſſana* excepted.

procured ſome Men to be ſent over from *Carthage*, and falling upon theſe Forts, took them all with all the conſiderable Towns in the Iſland, *Meſſana* excepted, which was held by *Catacalo Ambuſtus* a *Protoſpatharian*, and Captain of the *Armenian* Legion, with three hundred Horſe and five hundred Foot. To *Meſſana* now they lay ſiege, all that are capable of bearing Arms, being forced into the Field; *Stephen* and *Pediates* being fled into *Lombardy*.

To which the *Saracens* laynig ſiege are by a ſudden Sally cut off.

106. For three days together *Catacalo* ſhut himſelf cloſe up, and thereby cauſed the *Saracens* to believe him fearfull, and to deſpair of any way eſcaping the danger. They as fully ſecure and judging no otherwiſe, than that they had him as ſure as a Bird in a Net, neglected all Diſcipline, ſtragling up and down, making merry, and giving up themſelves to all Jollity and Drunkenneſs. On the fourth day which was *Whitſunday*, he having finiſhed his Devotions, took the advantage offered him, and about Dinner time made a briſk Sally upon them, wherein firſt making to the Tent of *Apolaphar* their Commander, he killed him as he was drunk, and then made vaſt Slaughter of the ordinary ſort, ſo as all the Countrey was overſpread with dead Bodies, ſo unexpected was the Onſet: And incredible Wealth the Souldiers got in the rifling of the Camp. To leave all *Sicily* now in the Hands of the *Saracens*, *Meſſana* excepted, and to return into the Eaſt, we find *Michael* the Emperour at *Theſſalonica*, fixed at the Tomb of *Demetrius* the Martyr, by whoſe means he hoped to be freed from his Diſeaſe, and thence would he not ſtir without abſolute neceſſity compelled him, neglecting all Affairs of State which were caſt upon the Shoulders of *John* his Brother. And never did man manage them more to the diſquiet and diſcontent of the Subject, whom he oppreſſed by all ways and Methods he could, with whoſe cruel Actions other ſad Accidents joyning, made them very miſerable. For Earthquakes and violent Storms of Wind and Rain ſorely diſtreſſed them, yet with this little comfort, that together with the Comets which frequently appeared, they ſeemed to predict the impending Fate of the Tyrants. Their Siſter *Mary* the Mother of *Cæſar* as ſenſible of what was coming, having in a Journey to *Epheſus* obſerved ſeveral Acts of Injuſtice and Oppreſſion, thereof certified *John*, and was earneſt with him to prevent ſuch things for the time to come, for which ſhe was much derided, he calling her Fool, telling her ſhe talk'd like a Woman, and underſtood not what belonged to Government. But while he thus pleaſed himſelf in his Craft of governing, a thing fell out which much diſturbed both his Brother and him. To defray his Expenſes at *Theſſalonica*, *John* put ten Centenaries of Gold aboard a Veſſel, which by a Tempeſt was ſplit upon the Coaſt of *Illyricum*, and *Stephen Boiſthlabus* Prince of *Serbia* (or *Servia*) who had lately made his eſcape from *Conſtantinople*, and turning out thence *Theophilus Eroticus*, had made himſelf Maſter of that Countrey, ſeized the Money to his own uſe.

Michael the Emperor fixed at the Tomb of *Demetrius*. *John* his Brother exercising great Cruelties.

107. The Emperour when he underſtood that he had his Money, ſent and made demand of it, threatning to recover it by force if fair words would not prevail, *Stephen* ſlighted the Threats, whereupon to make them good, *George Probatas* an Eunuch was ſent with an Army, but by his Indiſcretion and want of Conduct the Deſign miſcarried, and having loſt well nigh all his men in Straits and impaſſable places, he himſelf eſcaped with great difficulty. In the very ſame year the *Bulgarians* revolted upon this occaſion. One *Petrus Deleanus* a *Bulgarian*, the Servant of a Citizen of *Conſtantinople* running away from his Maſter, in all places as far as *Morabus* and *Belegrade* (Caſtles of *Pannonia*, ſaith our Authour, beyond *Iſter*, and bordering upon the Territories of the *Turks*) gave out that he was the natural Son of *Romanus* and Nephew of *Samuel*, by which he ſo moved the *Bulgarian* Nation, which having lately ſubmitted unto the Yoke, was now again impatient of Servitude, that in *Naiſſus* and *Scupia*, the principal Towns, aſwell as elſewhere, he was with lucky Acclamations proclaimed and owned as King; and as a Sacrifice to this new Idol the *Romans* were butchered whereever they were met with. As ſoon as this was known to *Baſilius Synademus* the Governour of *Dyrrachium*, he judging it was the beſt way to ſuppreſs the miſchief in the beginning, marched out with all the Forces of the Garriſon againſt *Deleanus*, but coming to a place called *Debra*, a Quarrel fell out betwixt him and a certain Tribune in the Army, who taking the effectual way to ruine powerfull and popular men, accuſed him to the Emperour of Treaſon, whereupon he was turn'd out of Command, and clapt up cloſe Priſoner at *Theſſalonica*. The Tribune by Name *Michael Dermocaitas* could not for his good Service and Zeal receive a leſſer Reward than the Command of the Malefactour, which he managed ſo extremely ill, that the People inraged by his Cruel Exactions, roſe up againſt him as one man,

The *Bulgarians* revolt chuſing *Deleanus* for King.

Cedreno Δελεάνος *Zonaræ* Δολιάνος.

So do the Inhabitants of *Dyrrachium* chuſing *Teichomere*.

man, and having driven him out of Town, and knowing how the matter would be reſented by the Emperour, openly revolted, making choice for their King one *Teichomere* a Souldier amongſt them of good note both for Valour and Prudence.

Teichomere removed and ſlain by the Wiles of *Deleanus* who alone governs *Bulgaria*.

Leading an Army towards *Theſſalonica*.

Takes *Dyrrachium*, and moſt part of the Province of *Nicopolis*.

A Conſpiracy diſcovered and puniſhed.

108. Now were there two Kings, and conſequently two great Factions in *Bulgaria*, whereof when neither ſeemed able to prevail againſt the other by force, by cunning and ſlight the matter was eaſily effected. *Deleanus* wrote kind Letters to the other, inviting him to partake of the Sovereignty, and ſo counterfeited a contented and ſelf-denying Perſon, that he prevailed with *Teichomere*, to come to him and join their Forces together. Having now gotten a convenient opportunity, he calls all the Souldiers together, and deſired them that if they believed him to be deſcended from *Samuel*, and were ſatisfied in their Election of him to be their King, that they would remove *Teichomere*, or if ſuch was their pleaſure he would willingly ſurrender his Intereſt to him, foraſmuch as it was not to be thought, that *Bulgaria* could bear two Kings together. This produced at firſt a great conteſt amongſt the Souldiers, which ended yet in the choice of *Deleanus* to be their King, and the ſtoning to death of the unhappy *Teichomere*. *Deleanus* being now poſſeſſed of the Kingdom without a Rival, led an Army preſently towards *Theſſalonica* againſt the Emperour, who would not ſtay his coming, but in a confuſed manner ran away to *Conſtantinople*, leaving all his Baggage and Treaſury behind to be brought after him by *Manuel Ibatza* one of his Domeſticks, who carried it over to *Deleanus*. This Upſtart ſo diligently managed his matters, that by Forces ſent under Conduct of one *Caucanus*, he took *Dyrrachium*, and into *Greece* diſpatched another Army under Command of one *Anthimus*. So much he proſpered in his Enterprize, that the Province of *Nicopolis*, all except *Naupactus* gave up it ſelf into his Hands, being impatient of the Domination of *John*, whoſe moſt cruel and exacting Officer they cut into pieces, and caſt off the Yoke of Obedience. When *Baſilius* conquered *Bulgaria*, he made no alteration as to Taxes, but contented himſelf with what had been paid to *Samuel* in kind, in this proportion, that whoever had a Yoke of Oxen paid a Meaſure of Wheat, another of *Milium*, and a Veſſel of Wine to the publick. This *John* had changed into ready money, which they of *Nicopolis* took ſo very ill, that taking their opportunity they revolted from the Emperour, and joined themſelves with their Countreymen. At this time a great Conſpiracy was hatched againſt the Emperour by *Michael Cerularius*, *John Macrempolita*, and many others, which being detected they were baniſhed, and their Eſtates ſeized. And againſt *Conſtantine* the great Domeſtick, a Mutiny was raiſed at *Meſanactæ*, for which *Michael Gabras*, *Theodoſius Meſanyctes*, and other Centurions loſt their Eyes. And *Gregory Taronita* a Patritian, the Principal contriver was covered with a raw Hide all over, but where ſpace was left for breath and ſight, and in that manner ſent up to *John* to *Conſtantinople*.

Aluſianus run to the *Bulgarians*.

Is admitted Collegue with *Deleanus*.

Beſieges *Theſſalonica*.

But is beaten and his Army routed.

109. In the Ninth Indiction, the Month of *September*, *Aluſianus* the Patritian, the ſecond Son of *Aaron* ſo often mentioned, and Governour of *Theodoſiople*, fled ſecretly and betook himſelf to *Deleanus* upon this occaſion. Being accuſed of ſome unjuſt proceedings, the Emperour or rather his Brother was ſo incenſed againſt him, that before his Cauſe could be heard, he was forbidden the Court, or to come to *Conſtantinople* without leave, and more than this *John* ſcrued out of him Fifty pounds of Gold, and which vexed him moſt took from him a very beautifull Woman, which he kept in the Countrey. Being not able by all his ſolicitation to procure a redreſs of theſe grievances, he took the *Armenian* Habit, and paſſing for a Servant of *Baſilius Theodorocranus*, got undiſcovered to *Oſtrobus*, where *Deleanus* then lying with an Army, very joyfully received him in appearance. He was ſufficiently ſenſible how deſpicable both his counterfeit Perſon and Intereſt was in danger to prove at the appearance of one of the true Family, but perceiving all the Souldiers out of reſpect to his Lineage to bear him hearty affection, he ſaw there was no other way, but to offer him to ſhare in the Sovereignty of the Countrey. *Aluſianus* was wiſer than to neglect ſo fair a beginning, and being admitted his Collegue was preſently ſent with forty thouſand Men againſt *Theſſalonica*, which then was held by *Conſtantine* the Patritian, the Emperour's Kinſman, who ſo manfully defended himſelf, that *Aluſianus* having with all ſorts of Engines attacked it for ſix Days together, perceived there was no other Courſe to be taken, but to ſtarve them out. But the Defendants reſolving to fruſtrate his expectations, made a General and unexpected Sally, and forced him to raiſe his Siege with ſuch loſs, that fifteen thouſand of his Men are

ſaid to be ſlain, and the reſt ran away with him to *Deleanus*, the Victory being aſcribed to *Saint Demetrius* the Martyr, whom ſome of the *Bulgarians* ſwore they ſaw fighting, like a young Man at the Head of the *Roman* Troops, and deſtroying thoſe againſt whom he fought by Fire which proceeded from him, ſo powerfull had been the Prayers of the beſieged at his Sepulchre, and efficacious the Ointment proceeding from his Tomb.

110. This defeat of *Aluſianus*, increaſed the Jealouſies already conceived betwixt him and *Deleanus*, and ripened their Hatred and Deſigns; for *Deleanus* would not be convinced but it was out of Treachery, and the other was rendred more peeviſh and out of humour by the apprehenſion of his Malice, and of the diſgrace he had received by the overthrow. Now they thought of nothing, but how to circumvent and deſtroy each other, nor plotted any thing but how to get advantages to doe it. But *Aluſianus* was before-hand with his Collegue, whom having invited to a Feaſt, when he was drunk he cauſed his Eyes to be put out, and not truſting to his own Intereſt or the Humour of the *Bulgarians*, then ſent to the Emperour and offered to return to his obedience, provided he might be accepted, and receive rewards due to his Loyalty, which was granted, and he repaired to *Michael*, then lying at *Moſynopolis*, who conferred on him the Dignity of *Magiſter*, and to make ſure of him ſent him to his Brother *John* to *Conſtantinople*. *Michael* was before this reſolved in Perſon, to make an expedition into *Bulgaria*, upon hearing that that Province had revolted, having this ſaying frequently in his Mouth, that *It was a ſhame for him who had added nothing to the Empire, to loſe any Portion of it.* The Dropſie had already ſo far prevailed, that he was adviſed by thoſe about him to alter his purpoſe, which was farther urged by the Principal Senatours, but he by this oppoſition was the more quickened to undertake the Journey. And when on a certain Night he ſeemed overpowered by his Diſeaſe, and no hope there was, that he could proceed in his March the following day, to the great wonder of all Men he was in the Morning ſeen at the Head of his Men, and very ſtoutly led on into *Bulgaria*, where deſigning to fall upon the Revolters, and reduce them by force, this opportunity was preſented of getting the Victory without fighting. For of their two Princes, the one being depoſed, and the other revolted, the *Bulgarians* without an Head, and here and there diſperſed, very eaſily returned to obedience. *Deleanus* having got into his Hands, he ſent to *Theſſalonica*. Then piercing into the more Inner Parts of the Countrey, he came to the wooden Rampart made formerly by *Manuel Ibatzes* at *Prilapus*, to reſtrain the Emperour's Incurſions, but this he broke down, and having diſſipated ſome *Bulgarians* who began to unite themſelves, he took *Ibatzes*, with whom and *Deleanus* he returned in Triumph to *Conſtantinople*. Having done this work, and perceiving his time to be but ſhort by the prevalence of his Diſeaſe, he caſt off all Cares of State, and forſaking the Palace betook himſelf to a Monaſtery of his own building, and there putting off the Purple and all Enſigns of Majeſty, was ſhaven for a Monk. He gave himſelf up to Religious Exerciſes, wholly refuſing to admit the Empreſs to his preſence, and perpetually bewailed his Sins, eſpecially the Murther of *Romanus* the Emperour, till ſuch time as his Dropſie oppreſſed his Vitals, which was on the tenth Day of *December*, in the tenth Indiction, after he had Reigned ſeven years and eight Months, or thereabouts. He of himſelf was mild enough in his Government, though the contrary Humour of his Brothers made his Reign be ill ſpoken of. The onely Crime laid to his Charge is, that about *Romanus* his death; which yet moſt aſcribe more to his Brother *John* than him.

Aluſianus circumvents *Deleanus* and returns to the Emperour.

Who marches towards *Bulgaria*.

Reducing it into obedience returns in Triumph to *Conſtantinople*.

Is ſhaven.

Dies.

The Empire devolved upon *Zoe*.

111. By the death of *Michael*, the Empire was again devolved upon *Zoe*, as by hereditary right. *Michael* ſirnamed *Calaphates* his Nephew by his Siſter, the Wife of *Stephen*, who ordered matters ſo ill in *Sicily*, was as we ſaid promoted by him to the Dignity of *Cæſar*. Yet afterward, as if he repented of what he had done, he was ordered to live out of *Conſtantinople*, and forbidden to come to Court without licence firſt obtained. But when *Michael* was gone into the Monaſtery, his Brothers wrote Letters as in the Emperour's Name, whereby he was recalled into the Palace, but his Uncle *John* gave him his Leſſon, which was by all means to pleaſe *Zoe*, and doe nothing without her approbation. Thus inſtructed, they bring him into her Preſence, where he falls down at her Feet, and putting her in mind how ſhe had adopted him for her Son, at the time of his Advancement to the Title of *Cæſar*, and ingage moſt ſolemnly to her, that upon the Death of his Uncle he ſhould onely enjoy the Name of Emperour,

but ſhe all the Power, whom as a Slave bought with money is wont to do his Lady and Patroneſs, he would obſerve and obey to the utmoſt. She being of her ſelf very eaſie, and finding the buſineſs of Government more troubleſome than ſhe had imagined, after three days deliberation complied with them, and (adopting him for her Son, ſaith *Cedrenus*, though others write that this was done before) cauſed him to be adorned with the Imperial Diadem, of which he was unworthy, not ſo much in reſpect to his obſcure Birth and Family (his Father's Trade having been to pitch Ships) but to his diſpoſition and manners, though before the Trial he was reputed active and induſtrious. As an ill Omen, of what a giddy humour he would prove, at his Coronation he was taken with ſuch a *Vertigo* and Miſt before his Eyes, that he had like to have faln into a ſwoun, and with Ointments and Perfumes, could hardly be recovered. But thus did *Michael Calaphates*, the fifth of that Name, become Emperour of the *Romans* in the Tenth Indiction, *A. D.* M. XLI. Before his Admiſſion, *Zoe* would ſecure ſome matters her ſelf. Firſt *John* his Uncle, ſhe removed into a Monaſtery. Then *Conſtantine* the Domeſtick of the Schools, ſhe deprived of his Command, and confined him to his Houſe, as ſhe did alſo *George* the *Protoveſtiarius*.

Who makes *Michael Calaphates* Emperour.

112. It's obſerved of the Reign of *Michael*, that during its continuance, there was ſtill an Earthquake in one part or other of the Empire. Such were his Actions, that they quickly produced an Alteration in his Fortune. He was deceitfull and highly ingratefull, having no regard either to the obligations of Nature or Friendſhip, of ſo laviſh a Tongue, that never regarded what he ſaid, his Heart and Lips never agreeing: In adverſity moſt baſe and ſervile, and born to puniſh the Crimes of his Uncle *John*, and to procure the Ruine of all his Family. For ſome time however his Uncle had been outed by the Empreſs, yet he uſed his advice, gave him great Titles and moſt fair words; but either to pleaſe the Empreſs, or rather to gratifie his own Humour by degrees, bore himſelf to him after a quite contrary Faſhion; being ſo far from giving him any reſpect, that he took all occaſions to croſs and to affront him. The onely Perſon of his Kindred to whom he bore any reſpect was his Uncle *Conſtantine*, whom he prevailed with *Zoe* to have recalled from his Confinement: on him he conferred the Title of *Nobiliſſimus*, and would have him near him, ſuffering him to affront his Brother *John* in his Preſence without any reprehenſion, which cauſed *John* to depart at a good diſtance from the City. Hereupon *Michael* broke out into open Enmity againſt him. He had formerly ſent for him to Court, but when he was to come, on purpoſe abſented himſelf at the Theatre, to behold the *Circenſian Games*. Now again he ſent a Gally for him to give an account of his proud Carriage, and when he was come near the Palace, ordered him to be carried away into Baniſhment: And thus he rewarded him, by whoſe Craft and Deſign he had both received the Dignity of *Cæſar*, and the Imperial Power. Having thus removed him, he dealt no better with his other Relations, many of whom not onely men in Size, but bearded by reaſon of their Age, nay both Husbands and Fathers he cauſed to be gelded, and made Eunuchs. He had now obtained the Conqueſt over his own Kindred, but another Triumph remained, which required more than Herculean pains. This was to reduce the Empreſs *Zoe* to a private Life, and this he reſolved upon by the advice and aſſiſtence of his Uncle *Conſtantine*, and firſt attempted it by theſe means.

His Character.

Zonaras Tom. 3. *in Michaele Calaphato.*

Diſgracing and uſing ill all his own Relations.

113. This moſt Ignoble (adoptive) Son cauſes odd rumours to be ſpread (ſay our Authours) againſt his moſt Noble Mother, reporting her guilty of many Crimes, particularly of witchcraft and ſorcery, and that ſhe Plotted to take away his Life. Having thus made his way he caſts her out of the Court, baniſhes her into the Princes Iſland, cauſes one who had ſo well deſerved of him to be ſhaven, and inſtead of the Purple which had deſcended to her from her many Anceſtours, to put on the Habit of a Nun. *Cedrenus* writes that before he did this he reſolved to try how the affections of the Citizens of *Conſtantinople* ſtood, after this manner. The next Lord's day after *Eaſter* he ordered a ſolemn Proceſſion to be made to the *Church of the Apoſtles*, in which he appeared with his Diadem on his Head, and waited on by all the Senate. All the People ran to the ſhew, and thoſe that lived in the Streets through which he paſſed from the Palace adorned the Walls and Windows of their Houſes, as is uſual, with the beſt and richeſt Hangings they had to Grace the Solemnity, and were not wanting to follow him with uſual Acclamations. This the vain and miſerable Man concluded to proceed from their intire af-

And depoſing *Zoe* the Empreſs.

fection to him, and in the night following put his device in practice in the manner formerly related. “ The day following he cauſed a writing publickly to be read by the Prefect of the City to this purpoſe, that he had “ baniſhed *Zoe* becauſe ſhe was an Enemy to his Government, and removed “ *Alexius* from the Patriarchate for conſenting to her Deſigns, promiſing “ his People all protection and all good things if they remained firm in their “ Duty and Allegiance to him. As the Prefect was concluding, ſome one amongſt the multitude was heard to ſay, *We will not have* Stauropta Calaphates *for our Emperour, but we will obey* Zoe *our Mother to whom the Empire is juſtly deſcended by hereditary right*, to which preſently all the People acclaimed as with one voice. *Let* Calaphates *his Eyes be pulled out.* Then with ſtones and all other things that came to hand they fell upon the Prefect (this was *Anaſtaſius*, a Patritian, formerly one of the Miniſters of *Zoe*'s Father) and had certainly kill'd him had he not ſpeedily got away.

Upon which a tumult ariſes in the City of *Conſtantinople.*

114. *Zonaras* writes that *Michael*, after his depoſing of *Zoe* accounting himſelf ſecure, fell to his pleaſures and former delights, and therein was ſuddenly ſurprized. For at what had happened to the Empreſs all the People was affected no otherwiſe than each one is wont to be at his own Calamity and misfortune: the Men bethought themſelves of what her Anceſtours had performed, and the Women concerned for her Sex as well as Birth failed not to contribute their paſſions for making up a publick diſcontent. The whole City out of a diſcontent broke out into a publick Rage and ſedition, and every Man reſolved to venture his Life in vindication of her to whom the right belonged. The Patriarch out of fear of being depoſed had taken up his reſidence in the great Church, where hearing the joyfull News of thoſe commotions he expected to hear of the depoſition of *Michael.* Thither repaired all the Eunuchs that had belonged to the Father of *Zoe*, with *Conſtantine Cabaſilas* the Patritian, and now they durſt ſhew themſelves to all the reſt of the Senatours, who with Unanimous conſent ſent for *Theodora* out of *Petrium* and in the Church ſaluted her Empreſs together with her Siſter *Zoe.* Then with all the multitude they made to the Court, thence to expell *Michael*, who at firſt was little ſenſible of the danger wherein he ſtood, till ſeeing the People ſo much bandy together and his Guards out of conſcience incline to the ſide of the Women, he was then very much affrighted. His Uncle the *Nobiliſſimus* to provide both for his own ſecurity, and his Eſtate, ſent and fetcht back *Zoe* into the Palace, and againſt the Nobility oppoſed ſome Companies of Souldiers who reſtrained their violence a little though with the loſs of many Lives, till they brought her to the Theatre and there ſhewed to them their Lady and Miſtreſs, having deveſted her of her vail and reſtored to her all the imperial Ornaments. They imagined this would quiet the People, but ſo far was it from it that the ſight of two together, ſo divers as to their Birth and Education, the more inraged them, which they teſtified not onely by moſt reproachfull words but by caſting of Stones and all other expreſſions of Fury and Indignation.

Cedrenus.

Theodora ſent for and ſaluted Empreſs together with her Siſter *Zoe* who is brought back into the Palace.

115. *Michael* now deſpairing to doe any good reſolved to depart into a Monaſtery, and there take the Religious Habit, but his Uncle would not permit him, telling him an Empire was not ſo eaſily to be parted with, that it was manſully to be defended, and to be parted with by a generous and reſolute death worthy of ſo great a Prince. Reſolution being taken accordingly, all that were in the Court were Armed, and it was eſteemed very good fortune that *Catacalo Ambuſtus* was lately arrived out of *Sicily* with the welcome News of what had happened at *Meſſana*, whoſe preſence and Aſſiſtence not a little incouraged the Emperour. The multitude Attacquing the Court in three ſeveral Parties, the deſendants were alſo divided into ſo many, who being well Armed killed many of the unarmed People, who with Stones, peices of Wood or any thing they could light on ingaged with the Souldiers and three Thouſand Men are ſaid to have periſhed in this Attempt. But however the Citizens at length by their Numbers prevailed and breaking into the Palace made Booty all the Treaſure, and what elſe they could there find, tore in pieces the Rolls of the Tributes and ſought diligently how to take *Michael*, who ſeeing that there was no more contending nor ſtriving againſt ſo great a ſtream, took a Pinace, and with the *Nobiliſſimus* fled to the Monaſtery of *Studium* where they both took the Religious Habit, and ſo this conteſt ended after three days and as many nights. *Zoe* who was left in the

The Citizens attacque the Court.

And force the Emperour to fly in his Pinace to *Studium* where he takes the Religious Habit.

the Palace having now recovered the Sovereign power diſdained to think that her Siſter ſhould Reign with her, but the Senate and People would needs have it ſo, and ſhe was forced to acquieſce in their Reſolution and admit *Theodora* into the Palace. Then from an high Place did ſhe make a ſpeech, firſt to the Senate, and then to the People, giving them thanks for their great kindneſs expreſſed to her and her Family, wiſhing and promiſing them all returns of kindneſs, and ſhe deſired to know their opinions what ſhould be done with the Emperour, for ſuch he was, and according to the Rules of the Government for ſuch he could not be denied.

116. The Univerſal Cry was that the wicked wretch as they Termed him, ſhould be made away; ſome named the nailing him to a Pole, others to a Croſs, and others more mercifull, propounded the ſaving of his Life by the loſs of his Eyes. *Zoe* pitied the Man (as a Creature it's likely of her own making, for we naturally love thoſe to whom we have been in the place of Parents or Benefactours) and was for ſparing him; but *Theodora* full of Animoſity for her long confinement, and deſirous to vent her Anger againſt any one, gave order to *Capanares*, one who was lately made Prefect of the City, to goe ſpeedily and pull out the Eyes of him and the *Nobiliſſimus*. His Errand and Voyage being known, the multitude followed him to the Monaſtery, where the two Princes upon notice of their coming betook themſelves into the moſt cecret Receſs of the Church of St. *John Baptiſt*, but the People the more inſenſed for the death of ſo many of their Relations and Neighbours dragged them out by the Heels through the *Forum* to the place called *Sigma* above the Monaſtery of *Peribleptus* and there pulled out their Eyes, *Conſtantine* bearing it very patiently, but *Michael* with Reluctancy and Lamentation deſiring them to doe it to his Uncle firſt who had been the Authour and cauſe of all the Evils of which they complained, and he had the favour to cloſe his Eyes with the ſight of that Spectacle. After the blinding of them they were both baniſhed, *Conſtantine* and others of his kindred to ſeveral places and *Michael* to *Elegnis* on the twenty firſt day of *April* the tenth Indiction after he had Reigned four Months and five days. The two Empreſſes (or rather *Zoe* alóne) being thus made ſure of began to ſettle the Commonwealth and their own Eſtate by beſtowing Honours upon the Senatours, and diſtributing Money amongſt the People as the caſe required: and commands were ſent into all the Provinces that no Offices of Magiſtracy ſhould be ſold which before had been the ordinary courſe, and all Acts of Injuſtice and Oppreſſion were ſeverely forbidden. There being great occaſion for Money, the *Nobiliſſimus* was fetch'd back to the Court, and being queſtioned concerning the publick Treaſure, was by threats brought to diſcover three and fifty Centenaries of Gold hid at his Houſe, which being found he was returned to the former place of his confinement. Then was *Nicholas* the Preſident made Domeſtick of the Schools of the Eaſt having been the Eunuch of their Father, and of the Weſt, *Conſtantine Cabaſilas* the Patritian. And *John Maniaces* whom *Michael* had diſmiſſed out of Cuſtody from a Patritian was honoured with the Dignity of *Magiſter*, and with full Authority ſent General of an Army into *Italy*.

Michael and the *Nobliſſimus* have their Eyes put out and are baniſhed.

Zoe and *Theodora* being Empreſſes.

Πρόεδρος.

117. Though matters were thus well ordered, yet the State ſeemed not ſetled except an Emperour was created, which all Men wiſhed, and that ſhould be lawfully married to *Zoe*. And ſhe being as deſirous of an Husband as they were of an Emperour had already caſt her thoughts and affections upon ſeveral. The firſt was *Conſtantine Delaſſenus*, who was ſent for to Court as upon ſome other occaſion; but he ſpake ſo roughly and ſeemed ſo intractable that he was rejected. The next was one *Conſtantine Catapano* the Husband of another Woman, though her Paramour; but his Wife not enduring the thought that ſhe ſhould part with him in that manner choſe rather by Poiſon to ſend him to another World, that neither of them might enjoy him. Being thus prevented as to him ſhe reſolved upon one *Conſtantine Monomachus*, whom *John* having baniſhed to *Mytilena*, becauſe a rumour was ſpread that he ſhould Reign, ſhe had recalled, and while ſhe yet thought of Marrying the other *Conſtantine* had made Pretor or Judge of the *Greeks*. He was a Man both Noble as to his extraction and very handſome. His firſt Wife dying he married the Niece of *Romanus* the Emperour by his Brother, but by that Alliance got not any preferment; yet coming by that means often to Court he had opportunity to be in the Empreſs's ſight and became very familiar with her, and ſhe was ſo kind to him (as to ſay truth her humour was ever free and generous) that from her bounty he received great ſumms of

Δικαστὴν ἑλλήνων προεχειρίσατο.

Conſtantine Monomachus married to *Zoe*, and choſen Emperour.

of Money. This made ſome ſuſpicious and credulous Perſons talk hardly of them and *Michael* the Succeſſour of *Romanus* out of mere jealouſie though for ſome pretended Crimes confined the Man to *Leſbus* where he continued all his time, and found not the other *Michael* that followed more favourable to him. Being now ſent for to the City he was ſtopped at the Church of St. *Michael* in *Damocrania* and *Stephen* of *Pergamenus* an Eunuch of the Chamber meeting him adorned him with Purple and brought him in a Pinace to *Conſtantinople* where he was Married to *Zoe* by one *Stypes* a Prieſt of New *Rome*, as *Cedrenus* calls him, for *Allexius* the Patriarch refuſed to ſolemnize the Nuptials becauſe of the third Marriage, ſo terrible a matter in thoſe days, yet did he ſet the Crown on his Head the day following. Thus did *Conſtantine* ſirnamed *Monomachus* obtain the imperial Dignity on the eleventh day of *June* in the tenth Indiction. *A. D.* M.XLII. And the power of the two Siſters became extinct after it had continued ſcarcely three months which though it pleaſed the People, out of reſpect to the Nobility of their Houſe and their hatred to *Michael*, yet to the prudent ſort ſeemed very uncouth and indecent. For odd they thought it to ſee two Women ſit together upon the Tribunal, to have all Royal Ceremonies performed to two of that ſex at the ſame time, incircled with the uſual Guards and attended by the Senatours and principal Magiſtrates: to ſee cauſes debated before them, all affairs of State handled in their preſence; to behold them giving audience to Ambaſſadours, preſiding in the Senate and the other publick and ſolemn Aſſemblies of the Empire.

He obliges his Subjects.

And acceptable to the Empreſſes.

He ſends an Army againſt the *Triballi*.

Which is deſtroyed at its return through the Straits.

118. The general ſatisfaction for having an Emperour was no whit diminiſhed by the firſt Obſervations made upon the Carriage and Demeanour of *Monomachus*. For the Senatours he immediately obliged by preferring them to places of Dignity and profit, and the People by diſtribution of Money, as he thought he had Intereſt and Opportunity. For ſatisfaction of the Provinces he ſent abroad his Edicts, by which giving notice of his Promotion, he promiſed all good Offices, and the removal of all Grievances whatſoever. *John* the Great Actour in the days of his Brother, he removed into *Leſbus*, *Michael* his Nephew, lately depoſed, into *Chius*, and *Conſtantine Nobiliſſimus* into *Samus*, whereby he farther pleaſed the People. But Wiſe men and ſuch as pried nearer into his Actions and the Methods of his Government obſerved, that without any Prudence or grave conſideration he conferred Dignities, and beſtowed Money, aſwell the unfit as fit, the unworthy as worthy receiving his Favours; and he never regarded whether there was Money or no Money in the Treaſury. But this could not hinder him from being Popular, or not obvious to the eyes of the Vulgar, to whom other things did farther commend him. For he frankly and freely forgave ſuch from whom he had received Injuries when a private man; and he was ſo wiſe as to give content at home, making himſelf acceptable to the two Women by a Pleaſant and Debonnair Carriage, and he little cared to perplex himſelf and ſoure his humour by much and difficult buſineſs, but rather indulged his Pleaſures and took his eaſe. He ſeemed to Countenance men of Ingenuity and Learning, though of the latter he ſcarcely had received any taſte. But the Provinces were in no good condition, however matters ſtood at Court and in the City. On the ſixth of *October* in the eleventh Indiction a Comet appeared traverſing the Heavens from the Eaſt to the Weſt, and kept on its Courſe as long as that Month continued, being afterward eſteemed to forerun and predict thoſe Calamities which ſhortly after happened. *Stephen Boiſthlabus* who, as was ſaid, eſcaped from *Conſtantinople*, had ſeized on the Mountains of *Illyricum*, of the *Triballi* and *Servi*, and thence like a Beaſt of Prey fell down upon the adjacent Territories of the Empire, and did very great miſchief to the Inhabitants. Hereupon the Emperour ſent Orders to *Michael* a Patritian the Son of *Anaſtaſius* the *Logotheta*, and then Governour of *Dyrrachium*, to raiſe what force he could out of the adjoyning Provinces, and hunt him out. But it's both the weakneſs and grievous puniſhment of the folly of a Prince, to chuſe unfit Perſons for the management of buſineſs. This *Michael* had not the leaſt skill in Martial Matters, was an Effeminate and Diſſolute Perſon, brought up in Idleneſs and Luxury and now ordered his Affairs like ſuch a General, with ſixty thouſand men he marched into the Territories of the *Triballi*, and that through ſuch difficult, rough, ſteep, and narrow ways, that onely two Horſemen could ride abreaſt. The *Servi* living at thoſe Straits, obſerved his motion and ſuffered him without Interruption to paſs them into the Champion Countrey, and there to burn and plunder at his pleaſure, but watched his return and poſſeſſed themſelves of all the Straits and difficult Paſſages. And when loaded with booty and without fear or wit he re-entred, they fell upon

on him and his Army with Stones, Earth, Darts, and all other things convenient from the higher ground, that of the miſerable Souldiers who could not in the leaſt defend themſelves nor ſtir any way forty thouſand were ſlain. The reſt paſſing the Holes and Valleys which were now filled up with the Carkaſſes of their Fellows got up to the Mountains as they could, and by Night together with their Prudent General eſcaped.

119. At the ſame time a great danger threatned the Emperour from *Italy*, where *George Maniaces* uſurped the Sovereignty for theſe Cauſes and upon theſe occaſions. When firſt this *George* was by *Michael* ſent into *Italy* to aſſiſt *Apolaphar* the Prince of *Sicily* againſt his Brother and the *Africans*, he took to his aſſiſtence five hundred *Franks* Commanded by one *Arduin* the Lord of a certain Region ſubject to none other, and by their aſſiſtence did he obtain all his Trophies in that War. When he was removed from his Charge, *Michael Doceanus* the *Protoſpatharian*, a ſilly Man, omitted to pay theſe *Franks* their monthly Wages as he had been wont; and when their Captain came to him, and deſired him to be more courteous to the Souldiers, and not defraud them of their Wages, he contumeliouſly beat him, which cauſed the *Franks* to Revolt. He to chaſtize and reduce them would not uſe all the Force he might, but ingaged them with the *Opſician* Legion, and a part of that of the *Thracians* upon the River *Aufidus* at *Cannæ*, and there loſt the greater part of his Army, where the *Romans* long before had been ignominiouſly beaten by *Hannibal*. Yet did not this experiment teach him any wiſedom, ſo as ſufficiently to furniſh himſelf for another Ingagement, but onely rallying together ſuch as had been lately beaten with ſome *Piſidians* and *Lycaonians*, which made up the Legion of the *Phoberati*, he fell raſhly upon the *Franks* again, now ſtrengthned by conſiderable Supplies, and from them received a great Overthrow. *Michael* the Emperour having Information of his Conduct, ſent one *Boioannes* to ſucceed him, a Man of much repute for matters of War, Deſcended from *Boioannes*, who under the Reign of *Baſilius* reduced all *Italy* as far as *Rome* to his obedience. But he having none but beaten and diſcourag'd Men to lead againſt the Enemy, was ſo far from driving them out, that he could not defend his own Poſts, but was defeated at *Monopolis* and taken Priſoner; after which the *Franks* ſo beſtirred themſelves, that they brought under *Italy*, four Cities onely remaining to the *Romans*, (our Authours mean the Emperour) *viz. Brunduſium*, *Hidriis*, *Tarentum* and *Baris*.

Italy taken from the Emperour by the *Franks* except four Cities.

120. Now *Michael* the Emperour being dead, and *Calaphates* depoſed, *Maniaces*, as we ſaid, was ſent into *Italy*, and there, though he laboured under the ſame difficulty of want of Men as thoſe before him had done, yet ſo far exceeding them in the Art of a General, that he drove the *Franks* from *Capua*, *Beneventum* and *Naples*, and brought the Countrey into a reaſonable good condition. Whilſt he employed himſelf there in his Command, *Romanus Sclerus* who was his Neighbour where his Eſtate lay in the Eaſtern Parts, who bore him mortal hatred for an Injury he thought done to him, did him ſuch miſchief as forced him upon an Attempt,the Iſſue of which proved deſtructive to him. The Siſter of this *Sclerus* was the Emperour *Monomachus* his Miſtreſs, who on her ſo doted, that beſides all other things ſhe deſired, he preferred her Brother to be *Magiſter* and *Protoſtrator*. Puffed up with this advancement, and now thinking he might doe any thing, he both injured him in his Eſtate and Lands, and lay with his Wife very licentiouſly. *Maniaces* having notice hereof, boyled with Rage, and by no means could digeſt the Affront, but as he was thinkng how to be revenged for theſe Injuries his thoughts were farther employed by another, for *Sclerus* procured him to be turn'd out of his Employment in *Italy*. This made him deſperate, for he could not but expect ſtill worſe at Court where his Enemy had ſo great an Intereſt, and drove him into a Reſolution of Uſurping and taking Arms againſt the Emperour. He killed him that was ſent to ſucceed him, one *Pardus* a *Protoſpatharian*, a Fellow not at all fit for ſuch an Employment, but onely becauſe he was known to *Monomachus*, and then took the Diademe with other Enſigns of Majeſty, and was by the Forces of *Italy* which he eaſily cajolled to this Service, ſaluted Emperour. Putting his Army Aboard he paſſed over into *Bulgaria*, with the News whereof they were ſo ſtruck at *Conſtantinople*, that Letters were written to him in the Emperour's Name, which promiſed Pardon to him and his Followers for all that was paſt, beſides good Rewards, if they would return to their former obedience. But he continuing fixt in his Reſolution, an Army was got together, and committed to the Conduct of *Stephanus Sebaſtophorus*, who brought the tidings of his Promotion to *Monomachus* when he met him at *Damocranea*. At a

Maniaces uſurps in *Italy*.

Entring *Bulgaria*,

Is met by *Stephen* the Emperour's General, and in Battel wounded, of which he dies.

place called *Oſtrobus* they met, and then *Stephen* had the worſt of it, *Maniaces* leading on his own Men, and fighting ſtoutly in the Head of them. And all now received and acknowledged him for Emperour in the Field, when ſuddenly he fell dow dead from his Horſe, having it ſeems received a mortal wound in his Breaſt, though not known from what Hand. Now was the Scene quite changed: they who a little before did him reverence as Emperour, now railed at him as a Traitour, and his Head being cut off, his Men ſubmitted to the preſent Power. *Stephen* for his great Conqueſt returned in triumph to the City, where for a ſhew the Head of *Maniaces* was carried on the point of a Spear, and ſome of thoſe whom the Death of their General, not the valour of *Stephen* had ſubdued, to encreaſe the Pageantry followed it as a Trophy upon Aſſes; the worthy Conquerour bringing up the Rere on a Milk-white Steed.

An account of *Conſtantine*, with *Sclerœna* his Doxy.

121 But into ſo great danger was *Monomachus* brought by his Miſtreſs, a Lady ſo conſiderable, that *Zonaras* thinks it not a thing below the Dignity of an Hiſtory to give an account of their Amours; he having Buried two Wives, had no mind to Marry a third, but it ſeems judging Fornication better than a breach of that humour ſo much applauded in thoſe days, uſed the company of this Woman, being a Widow, and the Kinſwoman of one of his Wives, at firſt privily, but afterwards without any diſſimulation. She was Young, very Beautifull, and deſcended of the Noble Family of the *Scleri*, which attracted his Affections to her, but ſhe was not at all in his debt; the teſtifications of her Love to him were full as large and ſignificant. They could neither of them be at quiet if they were not together; and when he was Baniſhed ſhe followed him, not able to live but in his company, where by all her Arts ſhe endeavoured to make his condition as eaſie as might be, both with her ſociety, advice and ſupply of his wants, ſo far as her Eſtate would allow, having a ſtrange fancy all along that one day he would arrive at the Sovereignty. And when at the Sovereignty he arrived, at the height of his Proſperity he forgot not her that had been his chief comfort in his diſtreſs, but got the conſent of the Empreſs that ſhe might be ſent for to Court and provided for, with which *Zoe* was well enough content, the greatneſs of her Age having now mortified Jealouſie in her, together with her experience of the misfortunes which this life affords. Now was *Sclerœna* removed from *Mitylena* to the City, where at firſt ſhe was in no ſplendour either as to Houſe or Attendance, but by degrees was ſerved like an Empreſs, and her Houſe turned as into a Court. For *Monomachus*, where ſhe lay built very ſumptuouſly both for her convenience, and that under pretence of overſeeing his Workmen he might have oftner occaſions to make her Viſits. At firſt he was ſhie and cautious of being diſcovered in his Amours, but at length caſt off all diſſimulation, and uſed her not as a Concubine and Vice-wife, but as one to whom he had been lawfully Married. Now all the Treaſury is at her Command, and not enduring her abſence hardly for a moment, he obtains the conſent of the Empreſs for bringing her into the Court, where by his endeavours a great friendſhip was contracted betwixt them, ſo as *Zoe* grudged her neither the Name nor Honours of an Empreſs, and contented her ſelf with his company when ſhe knew he was not with his Miſtreſs. Thus lived he and his *Sclerœna* together, hoping ſtill for a nearer conjunction, at leaſt which would more ſatisfie the World, when on a ſudden death prevented it, ſnatching her away, to his great diſcontentment, a little before the Civil War of *Maniaces*, occaſioned by his Power and Interceſſion for her Brother, as ſome write, though by a Sedition there happened upon her account it appears that ſhe lived longer.

The Iſland *Cyprus* reduced to obedience.

122. But the Civil War raiſed by *Maniaces* was not all the Difficulty wherewith the Emperour ſtrugled at the ſame time. *Theophilus Eroticus* the Governour of *Cyprus*, a man greedy of Novelty, when he heard of the Death of *Calaphates*, and the confuſion which thereupon happened, thinking it a ſeaſonable time for putting in practice what he had deſigned, put all the Inhabitants of the Iſland into a Tumult, and excited them to the Murther of *Theophylact* a *Protoſpatharian*, a Judge there, and the Chief Collectour of the Tributes. But it ſucceeded well that *Conſtantine Chages* a Patritian being ready at Hand, without any more trouble to the Emperour or much adoe, ſeduced the Iſland, and therein taking the Rebel brought him to *Conſtantinople*, where a Woman's Coat was put upon him, and therein he was ſhewn at the *Circenſian* Games, which done, and his Eſtate confiſcated, he was then diſmiſſed. On the ſecond of *May* following the Eyes of *John* the Brother and Great Miniſter of *Michael* the *Paphlagonian* were put out, ſome ſay by command of *Theodora*, but as moſt affirmed by order of *Monomachus* himſelf, out of revenge for his long Confinement, which misfortune he ſurvived

The *Roſſians* break the League with the Empire.

vived but eleven days. In the month of *July Stephen Sabaſtophorus* was accuſed of Conſpiring againſt the Emperour, to prefer *Leo* a Patritian to his Place, and make the Son of *Lampus* Governour of *Melitena*; for which *Stephen* was condemned to a Monaſtick life, having all his Eſtate ſeized, and *Lampus* was cruelly tortured, ſhewed up and down the *Forum*, and deprived of his Eyes, after which he ſoon died. At the ſame time, the ſame month the *Roſſians* again took Arms, who had for a long time held ſo good correſpondence with the Empire, that there was mutual commerce,and the Merchants went to and fro without the leaſt Interruption. Now it happened that at *Conſtantinople* there was a quarrel amongſt the Trades-men, and it ſo fell out, that one of thoſe *Scythian* Merchants was killed. The Prince of the Countrey, *Bladimer* by Name, a paſſionate Man and reſtleſs, took the matter ſo heinouſly, that without any delay he raiſed all his Subjects that were fit to bear Arms, and beſides procuring many Auxiliaries out of the Northern Nations, an Army of a hundred thouſand Men he put into their uſual Boats, whereof each was made of one Tree, and ſo proceeded againſt the City. The Emperour aſſoon as he knew of his Deſign ſent to him, and offered all reaſonable ſatisfaction if he would lay down Arms, and preſſed him much not for ſlight cauſes to break that Peace which for ſo many years had been preſerved inviolable betwixt the Nations; but he returning a ſawcy Anſwer, and treating the Meſſengers with much diſreſpect, he then provided for his own ſecurity. All *Scythian* Merchants and others that were ſpread up and down the Empire he cauſed to be ſecured for fear of any Conſpiracy. Then got he ready all the Gallies and Veſſels he could compaſs, and putting aboard as many Forces as the time would permit him, he himſelf in a Pinnace led them againſt the Enemy, whom he found in the Straits about *Pharus*. Beſides his Fleet a ſtrong Party of Horſe waited and attended his motions all along the Shore.

Are met by the Emperour's Fleet, and defeated.

But ſome of the Gallies purſuing too far, are deſtroyed by the Enemy.

123. There the Fleets faced each other, but neither would begin the Fight; the *Scythians* keeping themſelves within the Haven, and the *Romans* attending what courſe they would Steer. The time being ſpent, and Night approaching, the Emperour ſent to *Bladimer* the ſecond time to move him to Peace, but he as peremptorily and ſawcily as ever, rejected his offer, declaring he would not lay down Arms except he ſhould have paid down three Pounds of Gold for every Man he had with him. This Anſwer being ſo inſolent and Extravagant, *Monachus* prepared himſelf to Fight. He gave order to *Baſilius Theodorocranus* a *Magiſter*, with three ſwift Gallies to make a gentle onſet to skirmiſh with the *Roſſians*, and provoke them to Fight, to ſee how they would order their matters. But he inſtead of skirmiſhing paſſed into the middle of them, burnt with Wild-fire ſeven of their Veſſels, ſunk other three with all the Men in them, and took another, having either killed or driven out all thoſe that were aboard. Then did the Emperour make up to them with his whole Fleet, which perceiving, they concluded that if they could not ſuſtain the violence of three Gallies, they ſhould never be able to endure the whole ſhock, and therefore ſhifted for themſelves as they could, ran upon the Rocks and Shelves, and loſt moſt of their Veſſels; and ſuch as eſcaped to the Shore the Emperour's Horſe fell upon and killed ſo many, that fifteen thouſand of their dead Bodies were afterwards found upon the Shore. The *Scythians* being thus defeated, after a farther ſtay of two days the Emperour returned to *Conſtantinople*, leaving a ſufficient Power under command of *Nicholas* one of the Chamber, and *Theodorocranus* with orders to look well to the Maritime Coaſt, not to ſuffer the Barbarians to land, and that the whole Fleet ſhould be ſtill in the Bay of *Pharus*. But however it happened, twenty four *Triremes* ſeparated from the reſt of the Fleet, purſued the Enemy ſo far till they paſſed the Bay wherein they lay, and were driven beyond them. The *Scythians* perceiving this, and how Wind and all things ſerved, reſolved to intercept their paſſage, which they eaſily did in the Straits, by lying thick from one ſhore to the other. There being no way to eſcape, *Conſtantine Caballarius* a Patritian, the Captain of the *Cibyrræotæ* with his and other Gallies endeavoured to make a paſſage, but was killed as he manfully fought, and his Ship with four others, together with the Men fell into the Hands of the *Roſſians*; the other Ships were ſplit upon the Rocks or run aſhore. The Men were ſome drowned, ſome killed or taken by the Enemy, and ſuch as eſcaped came in much ſhame and conſternation to their Friends. The *Roſſians* having beyond all expectation done ſo much miſchief, made the more comfortable Retreat. But being forced to return aſwell by Land as by Sea (ſo many of their Veſſels had miſcarried) they fell into the Territories of the Government of *Catacalo, Beſta Ambuſtus*, who then commanded the Coaſt about *Iſter*,

and

and were moſt of them killed and taken, of the later of which he ſent five Hundred bound in Chains to the Emperour, having, to his great Commendation when firſt theſe *Scythians* arrived, been very watchfull in his Charge, ſo as to hinder their landing, and deſtroy many of them. And his Care and Induſtry, he continued to this very laſt.

124. In the twelfth Indiction the Month of *September*, the ſecond year of *Monomachus*, ſo great a Tempeſt happened, that in a manner deſtroyed all the Grapes of that year. On the Ninth Day of *March* following, which was conſecrated to the Memory of the forty Martyrs, the Emperour being about his Devotion, was ſtopped by a Sedition of the People. Going on Foot in Proceſſion accompanied with his Guards, and followed by the Acclamations of the People, from the Palace to the Church of our Saviour in *Chalce*, he there took Horſe to paſs on to the Church of the Martyrs, when from amongſt the Multitude this Voice was heard. *We will not have* Scleræna *be Empreſs, nor our Sovereign Ladies* Zoe *and* Theodora Porphyrogenita, *to die upon her Account*; which caſt all into Confuſion and Tumults, wherein the Rabble demanded the Life of the Emperour, and they had taken it had not the two Empreſſes ſhewed themſelves to them from an high place, and by good words appeaſed them. But the Emperour was frighted from his Proceſſion, and was glad in an whole Skin to eſcape into the Palace. The following year, he thought himſelf concerned in honour to make challenge of a City which he found belonged to the Empire upon this occaſion. At ſuch time as *George* Prince of the *Abaſgians*, made War upon the *Romans*, he was aſſiſted by one *Johaneſices*, the Lord of a City called *Anium*. But when *Baſilius* the Emperour invaded *Iberia*, and was too hard for *George*, then *Johaneſices* fearing he ſhould be puniſhed for what he had done fled to the Emperour, and gave up himſelf with the Keys of the City into his Hands, which rendition *Baſilius*, accepting, honoured him with the Dignity of a *Magiſter*, and made him Governour of *Anium* and *Armenia* the Great for his Life, with this caution of writing, that after his death it ſhould revolve upon the Empire as Part thereof. But *Baſilius* being dead, and many years after him *Johaneſices*, his Son *Cacicius* entred upon the Government, and it being not obſerved kept his Fathers Territories in good Peace and Friendſhip with the *Romans*. Now *Monomachus* finding the writing in the Archives, was reſolved to make demand of the Reſtitution of *Anium*, and all the Great *Armenia* as the Heir of *Baſilius*. *Cacicius* profeſſed himſelf the Friend and Servant of the Emperour, but ſeeking for Excuſes and Delays, *Monomachus* reſolved to recover his Right by Force of Arms, and committed an Army to the Conduct of *Michael Beſta*, *Jaſites* newly deſigned Governour of *Iberia*, with order to make War upon *Cacicius*.

A Tumult in the City of *Conſtantinople* concerning *Zoe* and *Theodora*.

Conſtantine challenges the City *Anium* and *Armenia* the Great as belonging to the Empire.

125. *Cacicius* conſidering into what ſtraits he was brought, made all preparations he could for defence, and had rather the better of *Jaſites*, to whoſe aid then was ſent *Nicholas* Domeſtick of the Schools, formerly of the Chamber to *Conſtantine* the Emperour with a great Army, to ſuppreſs *Cacicius* by mere Numbers if nothing elſe will doe it, and moreover the Emperour wrote Letters to *Apleſpharius* the Governour of *Tibium*, and that *Perſarmenia* which lies upon the River *Araxes*, to fall upon him on his ſide the Countrey. *Apleſpharius* wrote back again, that on this Condition he would doe it, if the Emperour would under his Hand make a grant to him of whatſoever he ſhould take from *Cacicius*, which he did accordingly, an Inſtrument being written and confirmed by the *Golden Bulla*. He having received this, applied himſelf to his work, and took many Caſtles and Forts belonging to *Cacicius*, who being thus beſet on all ſides, and deſpairing to extricate himſelf out of ſuch difficulties, made Peace with *Nicholas*, and by him giving up himſelf and the City to the Emperour, afterward went to him, and from him receiving the Dignity of a *Magiſter*, with Ample Revenues from *Cappadocia*, and elſewhere, lived thenceforth a quiet and peaceable Life. Now did *Monomachus* demand the Caſtles and Forts, which *Apleſpharius* had taken as part of the Dominion of *Anium*, which he refuſing to ſurrender, and alledging the *Golden Bull* whereby they were granted to him, Command was ſent to *Nicholas*, with the *Roman* and *Iberian* Forces, and thoſe that had belonged to *Cacicius* to make War upon him, and recover them by Force. *Nicholas* accordingly ſends *Jaſites* to lay ſiege to *Tibium*. *Apleſpharius* being a very good Souldier, and knowing himſelf not in a condition to graple with the *Romans*, keeps himſelf within the Walls, and beforehand lays all the Ground adjoining under Water by Sluces made from the River, and he places in the Vineyards which were on

And ſending thither an Army hath them delivered up.

Then they lay Siege to *Tibium*.

on higher Ground a Number of Archers, whom he bid expect the ſign he ſhould give them by Trumpet, and in this poſture expect the coming of the Enemy. The Officers of the *Romans* finding him cloſe in the Town, and the Grounds under Water, concluded it was out of fear and deſperation, and haſted without order to get to the Walls by the ways that were left paſſable, and take poſſeſſion of what was already their own. Then did *Apleſpharius* give the ſign to thoſe he had placed in Ambuſh, who from the Vineyards with Arrows, Darts and Stones, made great ſlaughter of theſe unwary Men, who were ſo intangled in Thickets, Ditches and Water, that not able to defend themſelves or fly, an innumerable Number of them there periſhed, and *Jaſites* with ſome other Officers, eſcaped with the News of the Adventure and Succeſs to *Nicholas*. The Emperour having notice of the Defeat, put both *Nicholas* and *Jaſites* out of their Offices, and in place of the latter made *Ambuſtus* Governour of *Iberia*. In the Room of *Nicholas* he made General one *Conſtantine* Captain of the great *Sodality*, as it was termed, an Eunuch deſcended from the *Saracens*, but moſt faithfull to him, who had much ſerved him when yet in a private Condition. Theſe coming ſufficiently furniſhed into the Province, thought not fit to lay ſiege to *Tibium* the principal Town, but took in ſeveral Forts belonging to *Anium*, very ſtrong and ſituate on Craggy Rocks, which *Apleſpharius* often attempted to relieve; but in vain. Thence they removed to a ſtrong Caſtle near to *Tibium*, called *Chelidonium*, about which they drew a Trench, and had taken it or ſtarved out the Defendants; but that the Uſurpation of *Tornicius* in the Weſt, obſtructed both this and other Proceedings.

But by an Ambuſh are all cut off.

Μεγάλης ἐταιρείας ἄρχων.

126. This *Leo Tornicius* being formerly Governour of *Iberia*, had upon a ſurmize of a Conſpiracy for advancing himſelf been turn'd out of Command, been ſhaven and put into a Monaſtery, though the Emperour's near Kinſman by his Mother. His dwelling having been at *Adrianople* (formerly called *Oreſtias*, from *Oreſtes* the Son of *Agamemnon*) he had the *Macedonians* much at his Devotion, who exceedingly eſteemed him, for he was a Man both beautifull and of excellent parts, and had a certain way peculiar to himſelf of gaining love from thoſe with whom he converſed: but what got him moſt Reverence, a Report or Prophecy went about, that in time he ſhould come to be Emperour. Theſe and other things cauſed *Monomachus* his Kinſman much to diſtaſte him. On the other ſide, *Eupropia* the Emperour's Siſter uſed him with great reſpect: being a Woman indeed of a very generous mind, very noble and rich, but not at all acceptable to her Brother, who ſtood in awe of her, becauſe of her eminent Wiſedom. And to be even with him, ſhe neither received any thing from, nor frequented the Court, but when ſhe met him was wont to carry it very high towards him, would rebuke and chide him, and when he fell into paſſion for her ſo doing, would by ſilence contemn and diſſemble it. He perceiving her great affection to *Tornicius*, on purpoſe to ſeparate them made him Governour of *Iberia*, where all things proſpering under him, and he flouriſhing in great repute, thence ſome took occaſion of calumniating him to the Emperour, who cauſed him to be ſhaven and to take the Habit of a Monk. But the *Macedonians*, as was ſaid, being much addicted to him, carried away by Night out of *Conſtantinople*, and at *Adrianople* ſaluted him Emperour, whither great Confluence there was made of Souldiers from all thoſe Parts, either through deſire of Plunder and Innovation, out of love to him or hatred to *Monomachus* who had much diſtaſted, and as much diſtruſted of late the military Men. Thus incouraged, he reſolved with all ſpeed to march for *Conſtantinople*, which he had great hopes would inſtantly be put into his Hands by the Citizens, who for certain Cauſes bore neither at preſent any good will to the Emperour, and the Armies of the Eaſt had their Hands ſufficiently full in thoſe Quarters. With theſe hopes he incamped before the City, with intention to uſe violence if fair words would not prevail. The next Morning coming up with his Army to the Walls about *Blachernæ*, he ſummoned the Town, and by great promiſes invited thoſe that kept the Gates to open them; but they not onely refuſing, but reviling him with ill Language, he then gave the Onſet.

Zonaras.

Leo Tornicius uſurps.

Laying Siege to *Conſtantinople*.

127. The Emperour all this while was very ſolicitous, not being (at leaſt as he thought) ſufficiently provided for ſo ſurprizing a Miſchief. In the firſt place he ſent into *Iberia* to *Conſtantine*, to come to him with all the ſpeed he could make, whatever his buſineſs at preſent ſhould be. But for making effectual oppoſition againſt the Enemy now endeavouring to ſcale the Walls, he brought the Citizens and others together, not exceeding a thouſand Men. Now as to the Management of this affair, accounts

counts are very different. *Cedrenus* writes of his going out into the Field, with a contemptible Number in reſpect of the Enemy, and how his Men were beaten back, and driven into the Trench, he himſelf with difficulty eſcaping into the City, which might have been taken with the greateſt eaſe, had the Uſurper proſecuted his Victory; not onely the Gates, but the Walls themſelves about *Blachernæ*, being left deſolate. On the other ſide *Zonaras* tells us, that the Emperour never went out of the City, but in his *Imperialibus* ſhewed himſelf upon the Wall, thinking thereby to ſtrike ſome awe into the Rebels. But the *Macedonians* on the contrary, being accuſtomed to ſcurrility, with bitter Invectives reviled him, ſinging Songs, and uſing Geſtures, choſen for ſuch an occaſion, and ſuch as iſſued out with Loſs and Ignominy they beat in again, or elſe killed or drowned them in the Trench before they could there arrive. But this opportunity which now in a manner begged his acceptance, *Tornicius* did not improve, purſuing thoſe that ſallied to the Walls, but never conſidering whether he could goe any farther. *Monomachus* ſeeing this, laid hold of the Advantage to bring the Citizens upon the Wall again, and to re-inforce the City, having narrowly eſcaped the ſhot of an Arrow, which fell upon one of the under Servants of his Bedchamber, though without any hurt. The day following, *Tornicius* renewed the Aſſault, but had no more any ſuch advantage, for he was both repulſed, and was nigh being killed by a Stone of a Talent weight, which was caſt out of an Engine, by which danger he was ſo affrighted and diſcouraged for want of Succeſs, and above all when he perceived, that his Men began to fall off from him to the Emperour, that fearing to be delivered up into his Hands, he raiſed his ſiege and retreated to *Arcadiopolis*, where he joined Forces with *John Batatzes*. All the Cities of *Macedonia* and *Thrace* had ſubmitted to him, *Redeſtus* excepted, which now he ſent ſeveral of his Captains and Kinſmen to beſiege, and afterward followed with all his Army, but attacked it without Succeſs. By this time the Eaſtern Forces were arrived, and the Emperour ſent them directly into *Thrace* againſt him, under Command of *Michael Jaſites* the *Magiſter*, who incamping himſelf againſt him at *Arcadiople*, would not ſuffer his Men to doe any Injury to the Countreymen, ſuch of *Tornicius* his Souldiers as he took he uſed very civily, and by good words and promiſe of Pardon, endeavoured to draw away all the reſt. Now Winter was at hand, and the Arts of *Jaſites* had ſuch influence upon them, that they began to conſider, that they could not undergo both the Incommodities of the Seaſon, the want of Proviſions, and ſuſtain the Violence of ſo powerfull an Enemy all together, by degrees they fell off to the *Magiſter*. For ſome time, notwithſtanding, *Tornicius* would not quit his hopes, as long as obſcure Perſons onely revolted. But when the great Commanders of his Army fell off, then with *Batatzes* who alone ſtuck by him, he conſulted how to eſcape, and when that could not be they betook themſelves into a Church, whence *Jaſites* cauſed them to be fetcht, and ſent them bound to the Emperour. On *Chriſtmas*-Eve by his Command their Eyes were put out, ſuch as were moſt eminent in the Rebellion, were ignominiouſly led about the *Forum*, then baniſhed, and their Eſtates confiſcated. The ordinary ſort were all ſent away into their own Countries.

But not purſuing his Victory is forced to raiſe the Siege.

And retreat to *Arcadiopolis.*

There he is deſerted by his Followers, and puniſhed for his Rebellion.

128. Thus was *Monomachus* happily delivered from this Civil War, but another from abroad now fell upon him, to the Empire the moſt miſchievous of all others, becauſe made upon it by the *Turks*, who in concluſion by their furious and victorious Arms put an end to it, and erected one of their own in its Place. The *Turks*, ſay our Authours, were an *Hunniſh* Nation, inhabiting the Northern Parts of the Mountain *Caucaſus*, moſt populous and free, as having never ſubmitted the Neck to the Yoke of any Perſon or People, but laid one of their own upon ſeveral others by Degrees, and firſt upon this occaſion. After ſuch time as the *Saracens* had overturned the Kingdom of the *Perſians*, and had not onely ſubdued *Perſia*, but *Media*, *Babylon*, *Aſſyria*, *Egypt*, *Africk*, and no ſmall Part of *Europe* it ſelf, they began to fall out among themſelves, and their vaſt Empire was divided into ſeveral Portions, ſo that *Spain*, *Africk*, *Ægypt*, *Babylon* and *Perſia* had their ſeveral Princes, and theſe Wars one with another. At ſuch time as *Baſilius* was Emperour, *Muchumator Mahomet* the Son of *Imbrael*, was Prince of *Perſia*, the *Choraſmi*, *Oretani* and *Media*, having War with the *Indians* and *Babylonians*, and put hard to it ſent to the Prince of the *Turks* for aſſiſtence, deſiring three thouſand Men, which he accordingly ſent him under Command of *Tragelipax*, or *Tangrolipix Mucalet* the Son of *Michael*, hoping by this means to have a Paſſage opened into *Perſia*, which was hitherto ſtopped by the ſeveral

The *Turks* make War upon the Empire.

Tangrolipix a *Turk* aſſiſts the *Saracens* againſt the *Arabians.*

ſtrong

But refuſing to fight with the *Indians.* He revolts.

ſtrong Forts which ſtood upon the River *Araxes*. *Mahomet* making uſe of theſe Auxiliaries eaſily maſtered *Piſaſtrius* Prince of the *Arabians* whoſe Men could not endure the force of their Arrows. After this he would have uſed them againſt the *Indians*; but they deſired to be diſmiſſed and to have the Garriſon removed from the Bridge of *Araxes* by which they muſt of neceſſity paſs, and when he refuſed, and went to offer violence, they revolted and betook themſelves to the Wilderneſs of *Carbonitis* and the Mountains, not daring to abide a Battel becauſe they were ſo ſmall a Number. Upon the *Saracens* they fell down continually, and did much miſchief to the adjacent Parts, ſo that to deſtroy them *Muchumet* ſent an Army of twenty Thouſand Men commanded by ten of the moſt Noble of his Nation. The Captains thought it not ſafe to enter the Deſart being not provided of neceſſaries for ſo deſolate a place, but incamped themſelves at the entrance, which *Tangrolipix* underſtanding fell upon them by night when they little expected it, eaſily defeated them, and finding in their Camp many Chariots and Horſes with much Money, now would not like a Fugitive practiſe Robberies and make incurſions by ſtealth, but openly ſhew himſelf as a fair Warriour. And all Malefactours and diſcontented Perſons that could, now came in to him from the Neighbouring Countries, eſpecially ſuch as loved to maintain themſelves by Rapine and Violence, ſo that in a ſhort time his force was increaſed to fifty Thouſand Men.

And defeating *Mahomet* is declared *Sultan* and King of all the Dominions of the *Perſians* and *Saracens.*

Seizes on the Dominions of *Babylon.*

129. *Mahomet* inraged at the defeat put out the Eyes of the ten Commanders and threatned ſuch Souldiers as had eſcaped to lead and ſhew them abroad in Womens Cloaths, which cauſed whem now when he prepared to renew the War to run from him to *Tangrolipix*, who now came and offered *Mahomet* Battel. He notwithſtanding the revolt of theſe Men had got another Army together of *Saracens*, *Perſians*, *Caberians* and *Arabians*, of about five hundred Thouſand and with an hundred Elephants bearing Turrets on their backs gave Battel to his Enemy in a place called *Aſpachan*, which was fought with much vigour on both ſides, but he riding about to animate his Souldiers chanced to fall from his Horſe and broke his Neck, whereby the Quarrel was decided, for his Army then ſubmitted and *Tangrolipix* by univerſal conſent was declared King of *Perſia* and all *Mahomet*'s Dominions. *Tangrolipix* thus promoted preſently cleared the Bridge of *Araxes*, and then his Countreymen in great multitudes flocked to him, wherewith having ſufficiently ſtrengthened himſelf he took the Title of *Sultan* (by which *Abſolute Emperour or King of Kings* is meant) and inſlaving the *Saracens* and *Perſians* divided all the Countrey amongſt the *Turks*. Having here ſettled his Affairs he reſolved to make War upon the Neighbouring Princes and firſt overthrew in ſeveral Battels and killed him of *Babylon* whoſe Dominions he then ſeized into his hands. After this he ſent *Cuthimuſes* (his Brother's ſome call him, others his Uncle's Son) againſt the *Arabians* from whom he received a notable defeat, and in his flight asked leave of *Stephen* a Patritian the Emperour's Governour of *Media* (at that time called *Baſpracæn*) to paſs through that Countrey, which he denying, he made his way by force and worſting *Sephen* who oppoſed him took him Priſoner, and in his paſſage through *Trabrezium* ſold him to the Lord of the Place. Returning to the *Sultan* he excuſed himſelf of the blow received from the *Arabians*, whom he would undertake to ſubdue if he might but be ſent the ſecond time; and by the way he ſpake of *Baſpracæn*, how fertile a Countrey it was and eaſie to be Conquered being held by Women, as he termed thoſe *Roman* Souldiers with whom he had fought.

But is beaten by the *Arabians.*

Then he ſends an Army into *Media.*

130. But the *Sultan* was ſo inraged at him that he deſigned to put him to death for the loſs in *Arabia*, and as for *Media*, he feared to make War againſt the *Romans* being awed by the fame which the Emperours *Nicephorus*, *Zimiſces* and *Baſilius* had obtained in the World, and concluding with himſelf that the valour and power of the Empire was ſtill the ſame. But while he deliberated hereof *Cuthimuſes* for fear, fled and ſeized on a City in the Countrey of the *Choraſmii* called *Paſar*, a very ſtrong place. When now the *Sultan* was moving againſt the *Arabians* who had the ſame ſucceſs againſt him, as his Kinſman, and he returned home with the like diſgrace. This ſhould have made him have better thoughts of *Cuthimuſes*, but he beſieged him in *Paſar*, whence he made many ſallies, and did much damage to the *Sultan*, who now beſides this Iron in the Fire made himſelf ſtill more work by ſending an Army of about twenty Thouſand Men to Conquer *Media* under command of *Aſan the Deaf* his Brother's Son. *Aſan* entring the Countrey deſtroyed all things in his way, ſparing neither Sex nor Age. The Countrey was then Governed by *Aaron Beſta* the Son of *Bladiſthlabus* and Brother of *Pruſianus*, who finding himſelf too weak to graple with the *Turks*

wrote to *Catacalo Beſta*, *Ambuſtus* the Governour of *Axium* and *Iberia* to come to his aid with all the ſpeed he could make, which he accordingly did, uſing great expedition. When they came together and it was propounded whether they ſhould fall upon the *Turks* by night or openly give them Battel by day, *Catacalo* was pleaſed with neither but adviſed to have the Camp left with the Baggage and carriage Beaſts and to lie in Ambuſh till the *Turks* ſhould be buſie in the Plunder of it. The Device took ſo well that *Aſan* coming to give them Battel and perceiving there was no body left in their Camp, preſumed they were fled out of fear, and boldly bad his men enter and ſeize on the Booty. Then did the *Romans* about vening riſe from their Ambuſh and taking them in ſo much diſorder killed moſt of them with their Captain, very few eſcaping through the Mountains into the Cities of *Perſarmenia*.

Which is cut off by the *Romans*.

131. The *Sultan* was grievouſly perplexed at the News yet to repair his loſs by better ſucceſs he got together of an Army an hundred Thouſand Men conſiſting of *Turks*, *Caberi* and *Limnitæ*, which he committed to *Abram Alim* his half Brother for a ſecond attempt upon *Media*. Upon notice of their coming *Aaron* and *Ambuſtus* again united their forces and Councils. *Catacalo*'s advice was to fight them e'er they came into the *Roman* Territories while they were weary, a great part of them wanted Horſes, and ſuch Horſes as wanted ſhooes whereas the *Roman* Souldier was full of courage animated by his late ſucceſs. On the contrary *Aaron* affirmed that they ought by no means to hazard a Battel againſt ſuch a multitude, but that all the ſtrong places were to be fortified, and all they had was to be put within the Walls till they could ſend to the Emperour, and from him receive orders what to doe in ſo difficult a caſe. This courſe was taken, and having put all the Women and Children and all their beſt things into the ſtrong places they two ſent to the Emperour, and withdrew into a plain of *Iberia* by the Natives called *Oſurtru*. The Emperour wrote back to them that they ſhould attempt nothing till *Liparites* Prince of part of *Iberia* ſhould joyn with them, to whom he ſent as he was a Friend and Ally of the Empire not to fail it at this time. *Liparites* at his Leiſure raiſed his Men when in the mean time *Abram* having entred *Media*, and perceiving that the *Roman* forces had out of fear withdrawn themſelves into *Iberia* reſolved to march after them with all ſpeed, and fight them e'er they ſhould be increaſed by Acceſſion of new ſupplies. The Captains having notice hereof, leſt they ſhould be ſurprized before the coming of *Liparites* wrote to him to haſten, and betook themſelves to a place, very difficult of Acceſs. *Alim* not being able to come at them, went to *Artze* a Village of great capacity wherein lived a great Number of Merchants and Tradſmen not onely of the Countrey, but *Syrians* alſo, and *Armenians*, and of other Nations, and the inhabitants truſting to their Numbers though they had no Walls ſtoutly defended themſelves, by ſtopping up the Paſſages, and from their Houſes caſting down Stones, Wood and Darts upon the *Turks*, whom thus they held in play for ſix days together. This coming to the Ears of *Ambuſtus* in the *Roman* Camp he moſt earneſtly urged that they might not ſtay for the Loitering *Liparites*, but take this advantage while the *Turks* were thus buſied at the Village, and fall upon them: but *Aaron* refuſed to joyn with him affirming he would doe nothing but what he was warranted by the Emperour.

Another Expedition into *Media*.

Laying Siege to *Artze*.

132. *Abram* finding what he did not expect, ſo great reſiſtence, and that he could not by force of Arms Conquer one Village, the Wealth of which he moſt vehemently thriſted after, reſolved to conſume all he could not get and ſet it on fire, by which the inhabitants being forced out; (though an hundred and fifty Thouſand are ſaid to have periſhed partly ſlain by the Sword and partly burnt in the fire, into which many it's reported caſt themſelves) he found much Silver and other things that were not combuſtible. Beſides he got many Horſes and other Cattel, and ſo led away his Army well inriched in queſt of the *Romans*. *Liparites* being by this time come to them, they were come down into the Plain, and had pitched at the Foot of an Hill on which ſtood a Caſtle called *Capetrum*. The *Turks* now marching in no order but running in Herds together, *Ambuſtus* moved that in this condition they might fall upon them; but now *Liparites* refuſed to fight out of a ſuperſtitious humour, becauſe it was *Saturday* which he reckoned amongſt unlucky days, being the eighteenth of *September* and the ſecond Indiction, in the ſeventh year of *Monomachus*. But *Abram* underſtanding by his Scouts where, and in what condition the Enemy lay, marched up to them in due order of Battel, which they perceiving, put themſelves how unwillingly ſoever into the like poſture to receive them: *Ambuſtus* led the Right and *Aaron* the

Which is burnt and Sack't by the *Turks*.

They meet and ingaging the *Roman* Army are defeated.

But take Captive *Liparites* one of the *Roman* Generals.

Sending him to the *Sultan*.

the Left Wing; the middle of the Battel being left to the Conduct of *Liparites*. To *Ambuſtus* was oppoſite *Abram* himſelf, to *Aaron* another of the *Turkiſh* Commanders called *Choroſanites*, and to *Liparites* one *Aſpam Selarius* the half Brother of *Abram*. The fight began a little before Sunſet, and both *Ambuſtus* and *Aaron* defeated their Oppoſites, and purſued them till Cocks crow. But *Liparites* inraged for the loſs of a Kinſman, to be revenged ingaged more deſperately than prudently and was taken Priſoner, being much expected by his Friends who returning from the purſuit and lighting from their Horſes gave God thanks for the Victory in theſe words, ſinging, *What God is ſo great as our God?* Expecting with great longing to hear what was become of *Liparites* whom at firſt they concluded to be in purſuit of the Enemy they were at length put out of all doubt by the coming of one that had ſerved under him who affirmed him taken and led away bound to ſuch place as he that took him pleaſed. The *Roman* Captains notwithſtanding their Victory were ſo ſtruck with the News, that paſſing that night without ſleep, in the Morning they conſulted what was to be done; and all reſolved to depart home. Thereupon *Aaron* with his Men returned to *Ibane* the *Metropolis* of *Baſpracan* or *Media*, and *Catacalo* with his went back to *Anium*. But *Abram* overjoyed that he had taken *Liparites*, and thereupon thinking himſelf the moſt happy Man alive, omitting all other buſineſs conveyed him himſelf five days Journey, and then ſent him away to the *Sultan* who made a ſhew of joy for the taking of ſo conſiderable a Man; but envying his Brother the good fortune, as he had formerly Stomached *Cutlumuſus* for his bad, reſolved to make him alſo away, and for that watched his opportunity.

But by preſents is redeemed and ſent Home, and with him an Ambaſſadour from the *Turks* to the Emperour.

Tyrach Prince of the *Patzinacæ*.

From whom *Kegenes* Revolts.

133. The Emperour having News of the Captivity of *Liparites* deſired above meaſure to have him freed, and for that purpoſe ſent one to the *Sultan* with Preſents of the value of his Ranſom offering alſo to make a Peace and Alliance with him. The *Sultan* that he might ſeem a generous Prince rather than a Man of violence and Robbery ſent him *Liparites Gratis*, receiving the Preſents that were ſent him, but he gave them all to his Priſoner, adviſing him to have him in his mind, and no more to bear Arms againſt the *Turks*. And he ſent in Ambaſſage to the Emperour their *Seriph*, who had the ſame Relation to their *Caliſph*, as the *Syncellus* at *Conſtantinople* in old time had to the Patriarch, ſucceeding him in ordinary courſe when he died. The *Seriph* at his audience ſpeaking many things arrogantly and boaſtingly according to their faſhion required, that the *Romans* ſhould become Tributaries to his Maſter, and when the Emperour would hear of no ſuch matter returned home. This Hint cauſed *Monomachus* in expectation of War to provide for the ſecurity of the Provinces, when violence was offered to them by an Enemy in another Quarter, the *Patzinacæ* a People of *Scythia*. This People being of that ſort of *Scythians* then termed Royal, the moſt powerfull of them all was divided into thirteen Tribes, which though they all made up one Nation, yet each received Denomination from its own Prince. They poſſeſſed beyond *Iſter* the Champion extending from *Boryſthenes* to *Pannonia*, not being any where fixt but wandring from place to place, and always dwelling in Tents. Their Prince at this time was *Tyrach* the Son of *Kilter* a Man of Noble extract, but very Lazy and heavy. But there was one *Kegenes* the Son of *Baltzar*, by Birth obſcure, but of great fame for Arms which he had obtained in his Conduct againſt the *Uzzian* Hunniſh Nation whom making incurſions he had often repulſed with great loſs, *Tyrach* not daring to ſhew his Head, but lurking in the Fenns about *Iſter*. The People reverencing *Tyrach* for his extraction, but much more admiring the other for his valour, he grew ſo jealous of him that he reſolved to take his Life, which often attempting ſecretly without ſucceſs, at length he openly ſent a Company to ſeize, and kill him. But *Kegenes* having timely notice of their coming made his eſcape into the Fenns of *Boryſthenes* whence he ſent and procured his Friends and his own Tribe called the Tribe of *Belemarne* with another which had the name of *Paguman* to revolt from *Tyrach*.

Putting himſelf under the Protection of the Emperour.

134. With theſe two Tribes he Ingaged and Fought *Tyrach*, aſſiſted by eleven, being oppreſſed with multitudes and being defeated, reſolved the onely means of his ſafety, was to go over to the Emperour. He went to *Doroſtolus*, and there paſſing into a River Iſland with his Men to the Number of twenty Thouſand, ſent to *Michael* the Son of *Anaſtaſius* Governour of the Countrey to let him know who he was, and the reaſon of his coming, which was to put himſelf into the Emperour's protection, whoſe intereſt he doubted not very much to promote. The Governour having communicated his deſires to the Emperour received orders to receive him courteouſly with his Men, to provide them of all neceſſaries and ſend him to *Conſtantinople*

where he was entertained with all the kindneſs he could expect. He promiſed to be Baptized and to perſwade his Countreymen alſo to turn Chriſtians, and was Honoured with the Dignity of Patritian: then were aſſigned to him three Caſtles with large Grounds on the Bank of *Iſter* and he and all his Men received Baptiſm. When he was conveniently ſetled he made frequent inrodes into the Territories of *Tyrach*, where he killed all the Men, and ſold the Women and Children to the *Romans* for ſlaves. Hereupon *Tyrach* ſent the Emperour to expoſtulate for that being a Friend and Ally of the *Patzinacæ* he had received their Enemy and Fugitive, and required that he would not any more afford him any aſſiſtence for the invaſion of their Countrey; otherwiſe he denounced War againſt him. Of this meſſage the Emperour made very light, and laught at it as unreaſonable, whereupon the Meſſengers departed as they came. He wrote to *Michael* and *Kegenes* to look narrowly to the Bank of *Iſter*, and to ſend him word in caſe any conſiderable Army made any attempt to paſs that River, to prevent which he ſent an hundred Gallies to hover about thoſe Coaſts. But to render theſe Gallies uſeleſs, *Tyrach* expected the coming of Winter and a Froſt, which having cruſted over the River to the thickneſs of fifteen Cubits, he then paſſed over with all the Power he could make, and with his Numbers, which amounted to eight hundred thouſand Men, overwhelmed, as it were, the *Roman* Provinces. The Emperour having ſpeedy notice hereof, as ſpeedily ſent away to *Conſtantine Arianites* the *Magiſter* and Governour of *Adrianople*, and to *Baſilius Monachus* the General of *Bulgaria*, with the Forces of *Macedonia* and *Bulgaria* to join themſelves with *Michael* and *Kegenes*, which accordingly they did. The *Roman* Armies being united, *Kegenes* as he ſaw his advantages, being better acquainted than any other with the humour of his Countrey Men, made many Aſſaults upon them, who having on this ſide the River light upon Wine and Drinks made with Honey, of which before they had never taſted, thereof drank ſo intemperately, that great multitudes of them died every day. This being made known to *Kegenes*, he prevailed with the other Captains to fall upon them now when they were diſtreſſed by Cold and Sickneſs; though with ſome Reluctancy, to ingage in Fight with ſo great Multitudes.

Upon which War is denounced againſt the *Romans*.

Wherein *Tyrach*, the King and the whole Army of the *Patzinacæ* are defeated and taken.

135. A ſudden and fierce onſet being made upon them, they were ſo much therewith affrighted that this added to their other diſtreſs, they threw down their Arms, and yielded aſwell *Tyrach* and the moſt Noble, as the reſt of the multitude. *Kegenes* very vehemently urged that they ſhould all be put to Death, which he executed on many upon whom he light, with this ſaying, that *A Snake is to be killed in Winter while he cannot move his Tail, leſt when Summer comes (animated afreſh by the heat of the Sun) he doe more miſchief.* But the *Roman* Captains abhorring ſo great cruelty, thought fit they ſhould be beſtowed in the Deſart places of *Bulgaria*, a Tribute put upon them, by which a good Revenue would accrue to the Emperour, and he might be furniſht with Souldiers againſt the *Turks* or other Enemies. They prevailed againſt *Kegenes*, who yet to doe what lay in his power, killed all he had taken except ſuch as he could make Money of, and went his way. The reſt of the multitude *Baſilius* the Governour of *Bulgaria* diſperſed through the Plains of *Sardica*, *Naiſus* and *Eutzapelus*, taking from them all their Weapons leſt they ſhould afterward attempt any thing. *Tyrach* and an hundred and forty others were ſent up to *Conſtantinople*, where they were kindly entertained by the Emperour, Baptized, had Honours and Wealth conferred on them, and lived with greater content and pleaſure than formerly. But by this time the *Sultan* diſpleaſed by the Anſwer to his Meſſage, had gathered Forces out of *Perſia* and *Babylonia*, and renewed the War: *Monomachus* upon notice, beſides other preparations cauſed fifteen thouſand of the lately Conquered *Patzinacæ* to be Armed, and giving them four Commanders of thoſe who abode at *Conſtantinople*, whom he richly preſented and adorned with coſtly Armour, ſent them into *Iberia* under Conduct of *Conſtantine Hadrobalanus* a Patritian. They went on their way as far as *Melitena*, but drawing near to *Damatrys*, and conſulting what to doe with themſelves, they abhorred ſo much the thoughts of going into *Iberia*, by the Advice of *Catalune* one of their Officers they reſolved to return back to their Countreymen, and following his example in taking the Sea with his Horſe, ſwom over it being narrow, for they had no Boats, and by a prodigious adventure got back to *Traditza*. There arming their Companions as they could they did much miſchief to the *Roman* Territores, and ſome of them removing to the River *Oſmus*, and the Countrey lying about *Iſter*, thence they made excurſions into *Thrace* and *Macedonia*, having the better of ſuch Captains as oppoſed them, till at length they made a Truce with the *Romans* for thirty years.

The *Sultan* renews the War upon the Emperour, who ſending fifteen thouſand *Patzinacæ* againſt him, they return back into their own Countrey.

After which a Truce with them for thirty years.

The *Sultan* is repelled every where.

And laying Siege to *Mantzikierte*.

136. In the mean time the *Sultan* was with all his Force entred into *Iberia*, where the Inhabitants had ſhut up themſelves and their Wealth in the ſtrong Towns, ſo that being come as far as *Comium*, and there underſtanding that the *Roman* Army was to Rendeſvouz at *Cæſarea*, he would not venture to proceed, but returned in great wrath becauſe he could perform no greater things. Paſſing into *Baaſpracan* or *Media*, and there finding all in the ſame poſture, in Indignation he was reſolved to attacque ſome of the Garriſons, and ſell upon a City called *Mantzikierte*, ſituate in a Champion Soil, fortified by a triple Wall, and furniſhed largely with Water and all other neceſſaries, of which the Inhabitants had timely provided themſelves. Thinking becauſe of its ſituation with eaſe to become Maſter of it, he attacqued it with all ſorts of Engines for thirty days without intermiſſion; but nothing could he gain upon it, the valour and induſtry of *Baſilius* a Patritian the Governour, a very prudent Perſon fruſtrating all his Attempts. Wearied with the frequent Repulſes he received, he purpoſed to raiſe his Siege, when *Alcan* the Captain of the *Coraſmii* begged of him but to continue it one day longer, and commit it to his management, which was readily granted. By break of day *Alcan* having his men and all things in readineſs, placed the *Sultan* and the moſt eminent Perſons about him on an Hill near the Eaſtern Gate to be Spectatours of what ſhould follow; and then to that Gate applied all his Engines and Devices, becauſe in that place the Wall ſeemed lower, and the place where he ſhould ſtand ſomewhat higher, ſo that it afforded advantage to doe execution upon thoſe within the Walls. The Army he divided into two parts, whereof the one he ordered to ſtand upon that Ground to ſhoot into the Town, the other with Forks and other ruſtical Inſtruments to bear up a ſort of Engine called *Læſa*, and bear it to the Walls. This *Læſa* was a kind of Hurdle or Tent made of Boughs, and above covered with an Ox Hide, born with Feet or Pillars which ſtood upon Wheels. This they were to thruſt to the Walls, which under covert of it they were to demoliſh; for he concluded that all Arrows or Darts would be kept off by the Hide above, and they might work at the Walls as he pleaſed, eſpecially ſeeing his Archers placed upon that advantageous Ground would not permit any to appear upon the Battlements. But *Baſilius* perceiving what he aim'd at, gave order to ſuch as were to defend the Walls not to appear nor ſhew themſelves, but to have in readineſs great Stones, Arrows and Darts, and expect the ſign, which was, *Chriſt help us*; and he had prepared ſome very great Beams which were ſharpned at one end. Now *Alcan* ſeemed to himſelf by his ſhowrs of Arrows, to have driven all from the Battlements, and therefore the *Læſæ* were put to the Walls, which being come ſo near that they could not go back, *Baſilius* gave the watch-word, and out came they that had the guidance of the Beams, and let them fall upon the *Læſæ*: then did others plye them with great Stones and other things, whereby the Tops of them were quite broken, and they within were expoſed to all Arrows, Darts and other things that came to Hand, and all periſhed, amongſt whom *Alcan* himſelf: he being known by the goodneſs of his Armour, two Young Men iſſued out and by his Hair drew him in at the Gate, which done, *Baſilius* cauſed his Head to be cut off and ſhot amongſt the *Turks*. At the ſight of it the *Sultan* was much troubled, and broke up his Siege, pretending he was called away by more urgent Affairs, and threatning the next ſpring with greater Forces to make another Journey into the *Roman* Territories.

Is forced to riſe and go Home.

137. The Emperour being ſolicitous about his return, and deſirous to be Revenged of *Apleſphar*, who having broken the League made with *Conſtantine*, had invaded his Dominions, gathered all the Forces of the Eaſt together, and over them appointed for Commander one *Nicephorus* an Eunuch, and formerly his Chaplain when a private Man, but who ſince had for love of the World renounced his Orders. Him he now graced with the Title of Governour and General of the Camp, and ſent him into the Eaſt, not becauſe of any valour or skill he had, but becauſe he knew him faithfull to him. This *Nicephorus* proceeding as far as the Iron Bridges, as they were called, and *Cantzacium*, light not upon the *Turks* (for they upon hearing what Preparations were made againſt them under Command of *Abimilech* the Brother of *Cutlumuſus*, were returned Home) but forced *Apleſphar* within the Walls, and waſting the Countrey, compelled him again to make Peace, and renew the League, for confirmation whereof he gave up as Hoſtage *Artaſiras* the Son of *Phatlum* his Brother, Prince of the Region of *Cantzacium*, whom having received, *Nicephorus* as having performed enough, returned to *Conſtantinople*. In the mean time the *Patzinacæ*, as we hinted, paſſing over *Hæmus*, and viewing the Plain which lay betwixt it and *Iſter*, and extends it ſelf as far as the Sea; and perceiving how

The *Patzinacæ* make freſh incurſions into the Empire, upon which *Kegenes* is ſent for to *Conſtantinople*,

well it was Wooded and Watered, there ſate down (the Inhabitants called it, *An hundred Hills*) and thence made Incurſions into the Dominions of the Empire, the ſubjects of which they not a little moleſted. Upon this occaſion *Kegenes* was ſent for by the Emperour to Conſult, and lying with his Forces in a Field near to the City, while as yet he knew not wherefore he was ſent, three of the *Patzinacæ* his Countreymen made an attempt upon his life, and wounded him by Night though not mortally, for ſome of his Guard coming timely in, they ſtruck not courageouſly, but endeavouring to eſcape, as much more Aſſiſtence came in with *Baltzar* the Son of *Kegenes*, they were taken. They appealed to the Emperour; whereupon *Baltzar* put his Father into a Chariot with four Wheels, and after him drew them bound, and ſo with all his Horſe, he himſelf, together with his Brother *Gulin* followed on Foot, and entred the City till they came to the Cirque, then leaving there the reſt, he himſelf went to the Emperour. At ſight of him the Emperour demanded why he had not at firſt put to Death the Aſſaſſinates, to which he anſwered, becauſe they had appealed unto him. Hereupon *Monomachus* grew ſuſpicious, and ſent immediately for the Men, who being asked the cauſe of the Attempt, affirmed they did it for his ſake, and for the Empire and City, to which *Kegenes* was a Traitour, having a deſign by break of Day to have entred, killed all, and with the Plunder to return to his own Countreymen.

And is there kept Priſoner.

But his Followers return to their Countreymen, making freſh Incurſions.

Upon which an Army is ſent againſt them.

138. Now whereas the Emperour ſhould have made ſtrict Inquiſition, and ſifted out the matter, he gave credit to the improbable and ill coherent tales of theſe Fellows, and cauſing *Kegenes* to be brought to Court, under pretence of Cure and Phyſick, kept him cloſe up, ſeparated his Sons the one from the other, and pretending great kindneſs to his Men, and flattering them with large allowance of Meat and Drink, endeavoured by degrees, and as he could to diſarm them, and commit the principal of them to cuſtody, giving free leave in the mean time to the Aſſaſſinates to go where ever they pleaſed. Yet thought he for all this to cover his deſign, though the *Patzinacæ* proved far more cunning, and deceived the Deceiver as he thought himſelf. They took very thankfully what he ſent them, and made ſhew of much contentment and obedience; but conſidering all theſe particulars they were well ſatisfied as to their Inclinations, and by Night got them away from the Camp, and travelling hard on the third Day by great Journeys paſſed the *Hæmus*, and joined themſelves with their Countreymen. Now being all united and having Arms ſufficient, they came over the Mountain to a Caſtle called *Aula*, not far from *Adrianople*, and thence waſted the Countries adjacent, which aſſoon as *Conſtantine Areianites* the *Magiſter* and General of the Weſt underſtood, he drew out ſome Forces againſt them, and lighting upon ſome Straglers and Parties had at firſt the better of them, but Ingaging their main Body near a Fort called *Dampolis*, there he was defeated, with the loſs of many men; and returning to *Adrianople* gave notice thereof to the Emperour, ſignifying that there was neceſſity of bringing another Army into the Field, and that no good could be expected from thoſe who had been already beaten againſt ſo reſolved and numerous an Enemy. The Emperour had had notice of the defeat before his Letters arrived, and had ſent to *Tyrach* and the other Noblemen of the *Patzinacæ*, then reſiding at *Conſtantinople*, whom having richly Preſented they engaged by Oath to pacifie and quiet their Nation. He ſent alſo for all the Forces of the Eaſt, which having paſſed over from *Abydus* and *Chryſopolis*, he then aſſigned them *Nicephorus* the Rectour for their Captain, to whom he joyned *Catacalo* the General of the Eaſt, and *Erbebius* a *Frank* Captain of his Countreymen, yet ſo as to be obedient to his Orders. *Conſtantine* marching with his Army over *Hæmus*, came to a place called *Diacene*, and there incamped and fortified himſelf, purpoſing the day following to leave all his Baggage there, and ſo with the Army diſintangled from all Incumbrances to Fight the Enemy, whom he ſo contemned as not fearing to have the better of them, it onely perplexed him how to prevent their running away, and eſcaping his Victorious Arms. Nay the Souldiers being as confident as their Captain; ſome of them had prepared Ropes and Thongs wherewith to lead away their Priſoners.

Ingens Cedreni Lacuna ex Hiſtoria Scylitzæ Curopalatæ ſuppletur.

139. In the mean time *Tyrach* and the reſt of the Nobility whom the Emperour had diſmiſſed were come to the *Patzinacæ*, and conſpired with the reſt for the beſt promotion of the Affairs of their Countrey, ſo far were they from accompliſhing what they had ſworn at their departure. *Conſtantine* conſulting what was fitteſt to be done, *Ambuſtus* was for falling on them while they were yet diſperſed and out of order, which the General out of Gallantry refuſed, ſaying that

They would run away into the Woods, and for his part he had no Dogs to Hunt them out. But this fault was quickly amended, for the *Patzinacæ* drew up in order towards him, and then the next Morning he prepared to give them Battel. He himſelf led the middle Battel, *Ambuſtus* the Right, and *Francopullus* the Left Wing; but without much labour they loſt the day, the *Romans* ignominiouſly betaking themſelves to their Heels, onely *Ambuſtus* and thoſe about him fighting manfully were ſlain: the *Patzinacæ* durſt not make any conſiderable purſuit for fear of Ambuſhes, hardly imagining they could be earneſt in running upon ſo little provocation. The Emperour at the News was much netled, but not able to recall what he had done in the choice of a General, reſolved if poſſible to repair the loſs the following year. In the third Indiction, and the eighth year of his Reign he ſent for his Army out of the Eaſtern Parts, which he committed to the Conduct of *Conſtantine* Captain of the Friends or Aſſociates, and commanded him to joyn with the Forces ſtill in *Thrace*, and chaſtize (if poſſible) the obſtinate *Patzinacæ*. He went to *Adrianople*, and there uniting his Forces, incamped himſelf within a Rampart; and the *Patzinacæ* hearing of his coming, ſhortly after came up to him on the eighth day of *June*. While he was in a Council of War conſulting what to doe, *Samuel Burtzes* one of his Officers without any orders led the Foot he Commanded, he ſet upon the Enemy, who far exceeding him in numbers ſore diſtreſſed him, ſo that he ſent ſeveral Meſſengers to the General for Aſſiſtence, who though he could have wiſhed him puniſhed for his raſhneſs, yet conſidering it was the Emperour's buſineſs, concluded he muſt not neglect it, and ſo was conſtrained to give the Signal for Battel.

But is put to Flight.

So that more Forces are raiſed.

Ἑταίρειαρχα.

140. He went in to the Succour of *Burtzes*, but could not prevail againſt the obſtinate Enemy, who much animated by vanquiſhing the Foot already, eaſily diſcouraged the Horſe, ſo that Horſe and Foot both ran ignominiouſly within the Rampart, and there ſecured themſelves, after the Loſs of many Men and ſeveral Perſons of Eminence, as *Michael Doceianus* a Patritian, and *Conſtantinus Areianitus* the *Magiſter*, who died on the third Day after of his Wounds. The *Patzinacæ* beſieged them in the Rampart, and had certainly taken it, but that they were diſcouraged by an accident, an arrow out of an Engine killing one *Sultzus*, and his Horſe under him, when at the ſame time it chanced, that *Glabas Nicetas* drew near with ſome Succours from *Adrianople*, which they imagining to be *Baſilius* with the Forces of *Bulgaria*, would not abide his coming, but diſperſed themſelves. While matters went thus abroad, at home in the City, a Conſpiracy was diſcovered againſt the Emperour, whereof were Authours, *Nicephorus* and *Michael* the Sons of *Nicephorus*, with others of their Relations. Inquiſition was made after all Offenders, but none were puniſhed, but *Nicephorus* whoſe Eſtate was ſeized, and then he ſent into Baniſhment. *Monomachus* rid of this Danger, ſet himſelf wholly to vindicate the Honour of the Empire againſt the *Patzinacæ*. *Kegenes* he took out of Priſon and ſent him to them, he ingaging to take them off from their outrageous Courſes. All the Forces he could raiſe out of his own Subjects, and his Allies he cauſed to be got together, in particular the *Franks* and *Barangi*, over every Nation he appointed for Commander ſome Eminent Perſon of their own, and over all made General *Nicephorus Bryennius* a Patritian, whom upon this occaſion he called *Ethnarch*, and ſent him againſt the *Patzinacæ*, who now very much deſpiſing the *Romans*, freely and without any fear laid all waſte they could come at in *Macedonia* and *Thrace*. Their Cruelty they exerciſed more than ever, not ſparing the Infants that hung at the Breaſt, and ſome of them were ſo bold as to come as far as *Cataſyrtæ*, not far diſtant from *Conſtantinople*, and were paid well for their boldneſs. For the Emperour ſet out a Party againſt them, collected out of his own Guards, and others under Command of *John*, ſirnamed *Philoſophus* a Patritian, one of the Eunuchs belonging to the Chamber of *Zoe* the Empreſs, which falling on them by Night when drunk and ſleepy, made an end of them all, and ſent up Cart-loads of their Heads to *Monomachus*.

Which are alſo defeated.

A Conſpiracy at home, but diſcovered and puniſhed.

Kegenes releaſed out of Priſon.

The whole Force of the Empire ingaged againſt the *Patzinacæ*.

Who had the boldneſs to come near to *Conſtantinople* but pay for it.

141. But in the mean time *Kegenes* to perform his promiſe made to the Emperour, came near to his Countreymen and ſent to them to let them know his mind, to which they returning this Anſwer, and confirming it by Oath that they would be governed by him, he truſted and went to them, but was no ſooner come, but they cut him to pieces, and thoſe very ſmall ones. *Bryennius* coming to *Adrianople*, took care for preſervation of the Countrey; for the Emperour thinking not yet enough done, ſent after him *Michael* a Patritian, and *Acoluthus*, or Captain of his Guards, with a new ſupply, and to have the chief Command, but

Several of their Parties being cut off they make not their Incurſions ſo openly as heretofore.

but with Order to be carefull how he ingaged in Battel, and in the firſt place to repreſs the Incurſions of the Enemy, into the poor haraſſed Countries. He accordingly, having joined with *Bryennius*, ſet upon them as they ranged in Parties. One he cut off at a Place called *Goloa*, and another near a Caſtle named *Toplitzus*, which ſo diſcouraged them, that they dared no more to appear in the Countrey, lying at the Foot of *Hæmus*, but transferred all their Power and Rage into *Macedonia*, which they waſted with a ſelect Party, able if need were to reſiſt all oppoſers they could expect from thence. *Bryennius* and *Michael* having notice of this their Cunning, by Night diſcamped, and keeping their Deſign very cloſe, by great Marches came to *Chariopolis* which they entred, and as the *Patzinacæ* merily returned home in the Evening from their Plunder, to their Camp not far from the City, in which they did not think any Army at all could be, fell upon them as they lay ſleeping and ſecure, and eaſily put them to the Sword. This defeat ſo awed them, that for the two following years they did not range about ſo licenciouſly as formerly, but very cautiouſly and as it were by ſtealth.

142. The Emperour was in ſome meaſure freed from his apprehenſions of them, but in the mean time perceived not what danger he was in from a Snake he had taken into his boſome. There was one *Romanus Boilas*, who being an obſcure man ſerved in the Wars, of a ready Tongue, *Cedrenus* tells us, but *Zonaras* will have him a Stammerer, not able to ſpeak plain, which defect having received partly from Nature, he had increaſed by affectation and cuſtome, thinking it ſeems it would make the more notice to be taken of him. With this man the Emperour, aſſoon as he came to the Knowledge of him, was wonderfully taken, pleaſing himſelf exceedingly with his trifling and inſignificant Wit, ſo as he had conſtant acceſs both to him and to the Women when he pleaſed, and was not wanting to himſelf, but made uſe of his time and opportunities to hoard up much Wealth. This ſo far imboldned him, as from a mean Condition to procure the Dignity of a Senatour. But his ambition diſdained ſuch moderate bounds; mean men when got into Power uſually carry their Heads and Noſes high, and ſnuffing up much of the upper Air, cannot once be brought to think of their former Friends or Condition, till an Ebb of Fortune diſcover their Folly to them again aſwell as their Original and Principles. Being Senatour he was never quiet till he became the moſt inward Councillour, and chief Miniſter of the Emperour, to which having arrived, what wanted there now but to be Emperour himſelf, and for this vaſt preferment as he wanted not opportunity, (having continual acceſs both into the Bedchamber, and other the moſt ſecret retiring Rooms) by the death of the preſent Prince to bring his ends about, ſo he thought himſelf abundantly meriting the Dignity, and had a Conſcience large enough to bear any thing that might make for that purpoſe. Being then poſſeſſed with a vehement deſire of reigning, he cunningly attempted all he knew to be diſſatisfied with the Emperour. To ſuch as abhorred the thought of making him away, he pretended abundance of Love, as having onely tried their Loyaſty and good Affection to their Prince, to whom he would not fail to make it known. But ſuch as approved of the thing he incouraged to the utmoſt, nay obliged them to it by Oath, and watched for a convenient opportunity to put it in Execution. And to Execution he had put it, but that he was detected by one of the Conſpiratours, as he had the very Sword in his Hand, which ſhould have done the deed. Hereupon much Inquiſition was uſed for conviction of his complices, whoſe Eſtates were confiſcated, and their Perſons baniſhed; but no other puniſhment was inflicted upon himſelf, but that the Emperour for ſome time ſhewed ſome averſeneſs or diſſatisfaction in his Company, which in a little time wore off again, and he returned to his wonted Truſt and Familiarity.

A Conſpiracy at home but diſcovered and puniſhed.

143. In the mean time (to return a little into the Eaſt) the *Sultan* as we ſaid bearing a mortal Spight to his Brother *Abram*, continually ſought occaſion to take away his Life, which he perceiving fled to *Cutlumuſus* his Kinſman, with whom he joined Forces and Intereſt to make War upon the *Sultan*. They gave him Battel at a Place called *Paſar*, but there *Abram* was taken Priſoner and put to death. *Cutlumuſus* with ſix thouſand Men, and *Melech Abram*'s Son ſent to the Emperour, deſiring to be received into his Protection, and in the mean time till an anſwer ſhould be returned, laid ſiege to a Town in *Perſarmenia* called *Carſe*, which he took, the Caſtle excepted. But the *Sultan* with an Army purſuing him came into *Iberia*, whom to avoid he fled as far as *Saba* and *Arabia the Happy*. In *Iberia* the *Sultan* laid all waſte before him, to ſtop whoſe progreſs the

Civil Wars among the *Turks*.

Em-

Another Expedition againſt the *Patzinacæ*.

But with great Loſs to the Empire.

At laſt a truce for 30 years is concluded.

Emperour recalled *Michael Acoluthus* out of the Weſt, and ſent him into that Province, who there in *Chaldia* gathering together the diſperſed *Franks* and *Barangi*, uſed his indeavours to repreſs his Motions and Hoſtilities. The *Sultan* having News of his ſudden Arrival, concluded with himſelf that he meant to fight, and conſidered that ſhould he ingage and overcome the Emperour's Servant and Officer, it would not at all redound to his Honour, and ſhould he be beaten by him it would tend exceeding much to his diſrepute, whereupon he departed with all his Forces to *Tabreſium*. At the ſame time *Michaelas* the Son of *Stephen*, and his Succeſſour in his Principality over the *Triballi* and *Serbi*, entred into the League with the Emperour, and receiving from him the Office and Dignity of *Protoſpatharius*, was admitted a Friend and Ally of the *Roman* Empire. At the ſame time the Prince of *Ægypt* courted him with Preſents. But nothing gave him or could give him ſatisfaction, ſo long as the *Patzinacæ* ſtill went unpuniſhed, to chaſtize whom he now again raiſed, and got together all the Force he could make both out of Eaſt and Weſt, over which he appointed General *Michael Acoluthus*, and beſides this he commanded *Baſilius Syncellus*, with the *Bulgarian* Army, to join with him in the Expedition. The *Patzinacæ* having notice of the Contrivance, incamped themſelves at a Place called *Great Priſchlava*, which they fortified by a deep Trench and a Bulwark, reſolving therein to endure a Siege. And the *Romans* beſieged them till they were weary, and began to be in diſtreſs for Neceſſaries, which drove them into a Conſultation what was to be done. It was reſolved that the Siege ſhould be raiſed, and accordingly a deep ſilence being injoined late at Night they departed. This was not unknown to *Tyrach*, who ſent out a great Number to ſtop the ways through which they muſt paſs, and then did he ſet upon them as they went at their backs whereby great Multitudes were killed, when ſhe fled from him the other receiving, and killing them in the narrow or unknown Paſſages. Amongſt others fell *Syncellus*; thoſe that eſcaped got with *Michael* to *Adrianople*. The Emperour exceedingly afflicted for the perpetual Loſs and Diſgrace received from this People, made yet once again Preparations ſo great, that he reſolved if poſſible to root them out of the Earth, making new Levies, and hiring Souldiers whereever he could. They from a Fugitive underſtanding his Reſolutions, to divert ſo great a ſtorm as was gathering, ſent and deſired Peace. And he condeſcended to a Truce for thirty Years.

Conſtantine the Emperour is very profuſe.

He disbands the Souldiers upon the Frontiers to the Ruine of the Empire.

Zoe the Empreſs dies.

144. The Truce was very ſeaſonable, conſidering into what condition his great Expence had brought him. Whereas the great Charge of his Wars ſhould have made him frugal and circumſpect in other matters, it was ſo far from it, that the more he expended out of the Neceſſity, the more he would profuſely and vainly caſt away, the certain Argument of a weak and eaſie Prince. He had an ambition to appear bountifull and liberal, but in it was not the leaſt Skill or Diſcretion, not being able to diſtinguiſh betwixt Magnificence and Prodigality. In beſtowing the publick Treaſure, he never obſerved any Rules of *to whom, when*, or *how much*, and ſo plunged himſelf into ſo great Neceſſities, that by honourable or diſhonourable means, by right or wrong he muſt have Supplies. That which was taken notice of moſt to beggar him, was the building of a Monaſtery to St. *George* in *Mangana*, as it was thought chiefly, that under pretence of viſiting and overſeeing the Workmen, he might have opportunity more frequently to viſit his *Scleræna*, who followed ſeveral Games, and particularly that of Hunting in theſe Parts. Hereby and by his other Courſes, the Treaſury was quite drained, to recruit which he invented ſeveral mean, ſordid and unjuſt Courſes, employing moſt rapacious Fellows in the gathering the Revenue, who exacted it without any reſpect had to Right or Equity. And one thing there is, which makes him guilty of the Decay and Ruine of the Empire; to be ſure the Eaſt was loſt through his Miſcarriage in this profuſe way. For whereas certain Provinces, thoſe upon the Boders eſpecially, were free from Tribute and Impoſitions for this Reaſon, becauſe they maintained ſo many Souldiers to keep the Straits, to watch the *Roman* Pale, and ſecure it from the Incurſions of Barbarians, he disbanded theſe Souldiers, and diſſolved the Garriſons of ſuch Parts, particularly the Army of *Iberia*, ſo neceſſary for reſiſtence of the *Turks*, conſiſting of fifty thouſand Men, they were disbanded by *Leo Serblius*, on purpoſe to raiſe a Revenue out of that Countrey: an Act of moſt pernicious and infamous Conſequence, which ſets a Mark upon him to all Poſterity, as a dreadfull warning to all profuſe Princes. *Zoe* the Empreſs dying at Seventy Years of Age, he howled and roared for her, and behaved himſelf much unlike a Man, compared her with Angels, and when

out of the moiſture of her Tomb a Muſhrome ſprung up he affirmed it an evidence ſent from Heaven that ſhe was there received amongſt the intelligent Powers. But his love was ſo great to her that preſently after her Death he made choice of another object inamoured of the Daughter of a certain *Alan* Prince, which then lay as an Hoſtage at *Conſtantinople*, that he brought her into the Palace; called her *Auguſta*, gave her Royal maintenance,and had it not been for the Awe and reſpect he bore to *Theodora*, or eſpecially for the Infamy of a fourth Marriage he had made her Empreſs and given her a Diadem. But the Domination of this new Lady was not long lived. For after his death, ſhe was reduced into the State and condition ſhe was in before, except ſhe made uſe of her time and ſaved any thing, the ſhort ſpace that her Beauty ruled.

145. For now *Monomachus* grew towards his end, being almoſt quite ſpent by the Gout, which preſently after his advancement ſo ſeized on his Limbs that he could neither ſtand nor go, but was held up or carried when ever he had occaſion to ſtir. Afterward his intemperance toward Women increaſing the diſtemper, the humour fell alſo into his Hands and upon his Shoulders, and at length tormented him throughout both in all his Joynts, and inwardly in his ſide, ſo that he could not but with great pain and trouble fetch his Breath. His caſe now ſeeming deſperate both to himſelf and others, thoſe that were about him conſulted about a Succeſſour. The chief Man now in favour and power was one *John* the Principal *Logotheta*, an Eunuch and otherwiſe a pityfull fellow, of obſcure Original, and as deſpicable as to his parts, utterly as unfit for buſineſs as to write or ſpeak according to true *Grammar*; but him the Emperour intruſted with all and deſigned him Prince of the Senate, having removed from the place of chief Miniſter one *Lictrudes* a Perſon of quite different Qualifications becauſe he was wont to deal plainly with him, and oppoſe any thing he knew contrary to reaſon. This *John* together with *Conſtantine* the *Protonotarius Dromi*, *Baſilius* the *Caniclei Præfectus* and others, perceiving him drawing on, put him in mind of ſetling matters and recommended to him *Nicephorus* the Proteuon (or Primate, as one might call him,but that this Title is appropriate to Eccleſiaſticks) as the moſt fit Perſon to ſucceed him, to which he aſſenting they ſent notice to him then being at his Government in *Bulgaria* ſecretly as they thought and without the knowledge of *Theodora*. But ſhe wanted not Friends to let her know their contrivance how private ſoever, and leaving *Monomachus* dying in this new Monaſtery ſhe entred a Pinace and accompanied with ſeveral that were faithfull to her went to the great Palace in *Conſtantinople* where ſhe was publiſhed, declared and owned Empreſs by all, as right Heir to her Anceſtours. This News thereof brought to *Monomachus* increaſed his diſtemper and he lived little longer than to teſtifie his ſorrow by a ſigh, with which he ended his days after he had Reigned twelve years and eight months. That we may not diſmiſs him without his due commendations as well as tax him for his faults, the proviſion he made for the Poor, for the Aged and Strangers in his Monaſtery is applauded by our Writers. And whereas the Revenues of the great Church were ſo loſt and diminiſhed that Service was there onely ſaid on the Lord's day, he ſo provided for it that Maſs was there every day celebrated, and for the Communion he largely ſupplied the Altar with Plate, adorned with Gemms and Pearl very richly. Yet his Reign is ill ſpoken of for the reaſons above alledged, and was more taken notice of by the People for ſome ill Accidents that happened toward the end thereof. For in the ſeventh and eighth Indictions ſo great a Plague there raged in the City that the quick could ſcarcely Bury the Dead. And in the Summer of the ſeventh ſo great Tempeſts, that they killed both much Cattel and ſome Men.

Conſtantine Monomachus dies, *Theodora* is declared rightfull Empreſs.

146. *Theodora Porphyrogenita* having got poſſeſſion of what the People granted to be her Inheritance, firſt puniſhed thoſe that had been for the promotion of *Nicephorus*, by the Confiſcation of their Eſtates and Baniſhment. Then to her Eunuchs did ſhe diſtribute the greateſt Places and Offices in the Empire. *Theodorus* ſhe makes Domeſtick of the Schools of the Eaſt, and ſends him thither to reſtrain the inrodes of the *Turks*, taking away from the Magiſter *Iſaacius Comnenus* the Maſterſhip of the Camp. For *Monomachus* had Tranſported all the *Macedonian* forces into the Eaſt under *Macedonian* Captains, amongſt which was alſo *Bryennius*, a certain Rumour or Prophecy running abroad, *that the* Turks *ſhould be ſuppreſſed by ſuch an Army as* Alexander *the Great uſed in Conquering the* Perſians. She made *Nicetas* the *Logotheta Dromi*, *Manuel* the *Drungarius Biglæ*, and for his great abilities ſhe employed *Leo Straboſpondylus* as her Maſter of State, who had formerly ſerved the Emperour *Michael*. Aſſiſted by theſe and other Officers though ſhe was

She ſettles her Government.

very old, yet would ſhe govern her ſelf, and refuſed to make any Emperour. To *Leo* ſhe committed the chief management of all affairs; but ſhe her ſelf would ſit upon the judgment ſeat, give Audience and anſwer to Ambaſſadours, create Magiſtrates, pronounce Laws, and interpoſe her Opinion and Reſolution both in publick and private matters: and her Government ſucceeded well enough. For againſt her no man oppoſed himſelf, nor diſobeyed her, and ſhe maintained her Authority ſeizing the Eſtate and baniſhing *Bryennius* becauſe upon hearing of the Death of *Monomachus* he had with the *Macedonians* under his command removed to *Chryſopolis* without her orders. No Nation made War upon her, neither did any publick Calamity happen in her time, the ſeaſons of the year being all good and natural. Though old as ſhe was yet being of a ſtrong conſtitution and able enough for buſineſs, ſhe promiſed her ſelf many years. But though herein ſhe flattered her ſelf and was flattered into this belief, it's ſaid, by a Monk, yet e'er two years came to an end ſhe found ſhe was deceived, being ſeized with the *Iliack Paſſion*, a diſeaſe always dangerous, and which cauſed the Phyſicians to deſpair of her recovery. Then did thoſe about her conſider whom to prefer to the Government by whom theſe happy days might be continued. They pitched upon *Michael Stratioticus* one of *Conſtantinople*, innocent and harmleſs, but utterly unfit for ſuch an employment both in reſpect of his ignorance, for from his youth he had onely been uſed to War; and his great Age, for he was very Decrepit. But the Eunuchs and *Leo* judging him fit for their turn becauſe they could govern him at their pleaſure, they perſwaded *Theodora* to make him Emperour, which ſhe did by adorning him with a Diadem, after he had given his Oath to doe nothing without their knowledge and conſent. Theſe matters finiſhed *Theodora* ended her Life when ſhe had Reigned one year and nine months about the end of *Auguſt*.

Naming *Michael Stratioticus* for her Succeſſour dies.

Michael Emperour.

147. *Michael Stratioticus* by her death became Emperour and Monarch, and was for ſuch declared on the laſt day of *Auguſt* in the ninth Indiction, *A. D.* M. LVI. As ſoon as the News of his promotion came to the Ears of *Theodoſius* the Preſident, the Couſin German of *Monomachus* he was thereby ſo much diſturbed as not conſidering the difficulty of the thing he undertook nor what danger he incurred, he got together his dependants, Servants and ſuch of his Friends laid things little to heart, and in the Evening with that Train at his Heels paſſed up the Streets from his Houſe toward the Palace, crying out that he was injur'd, and that the Empire of right deſcended upon him as being next in Bloud to the late Emperour. Coming to the *Prætorium* he broke open the Priſon, and let out the Malefactours to aſſiſt him, which he did alſo at *Chalce*. In the mean time the Eunuchs in the Palace having received the Alarm made what Preparations they could to ſuppreſs him, both by Land and Water, which he underſtanding turned from the way leading thither and went to the great Church where he hoped to be received and owned by the Patriarch and Clergy. But things fell out quite otherwiſe; for when he came to the Church, they ſhut the Doors upon him; and though upon occaſions of Innovation many people uſed to flock and run together, yet none now appeared, and on the contrary ſuch as had appeared for him began by degrees to deſert him and fall off. So that at length being by all deſerted he betook himſelf with his Son to the Church, not as a Prince but a ſuppliant, and was thence taken away very ſpeedily and confined to *Pergamus* as a place of Baniſhment. After which ſort the chiefeſt of thoſe who had taken part with him were puniſhed. And for his folly he became a Song to the ordinary ſort.

Againſt whom *Theodoſius* the Preſident ſets up.

But is puniſhed for his folly.

148. *Stratioticus* thus freed from this raſh Adventurer was Emperour without the contradictions of any. To ſhew that he was govern'd by thoſe that rais'd him, ſuch things as they underſtood he did very well, but in ſuch matters as he himſelf had been continually verſed none did ever worſe. The Senatours as they were Men of intereſt and influence he promoted, ſuch generally as were not fit for ſo great Employments as thoſe to which he preferred them; uſing the ſame courſe and method to Men of more ordinary Rank. But as to military Men, he acted quite otherwiſe, his own Companions, nay his equals once, Men of conſiderable commands in the Armies. To theſe Officers when they came into the City he did not ſhew the leaſt reſpect either by act or deed, and the two principal he much diſguſted, Men both of them of great Nobility, bearing the Title of Magiſter, and by their skill and actions having as much Reputation as their places were uſually capable of. Theſe were *Iſaacius Comnenus* and *Ambuſtus Catacalo*, the latter of which in a meeting of Officers in *Eaſter* (when the Emperour's bounty was wont to appear towards Men of this quality and Employment) he deprived of his Government of *Antioch*, and into his place immediately put *Micha-*

el his Kinſman whom at the ſame time he preferred to the Dignity of a *Magiſter*, giving to him the ſirname of *Uranus* that he might ſeem to derive his Deſcent from that Noble Family. *Catacalo* he accuſed as having very badly diſcharged his Office, in that the Numbers of Souldiers were diminiſhed in his time, and he gave no content to thoſe that had buſineſs with him; and when the moſt Ancient and moſt eminent Officers of the Army ſtood up in his Defence he fell into opprobrious Language both againſt him and them, wherein he did not ſpare *Comnenus*. This carriage very much diſcouraged ſome and provoked others of the Army, who could hear of the Liberality of this new Emperour unto others but not receive ſo much as one good word from him themſelves, though Men of his own Profeſſion; yet did they not thence conceive ſo great Indignation as to Plot or deſign any thing againſt him till another Tryal. So Writes *Zonaras*, from whom *Cedrenus* differs in this that he gave *Comnenus* and *Catacalo* ill Language, for he Writes that he gave them two good words, but would not gratifie them in any thing they deſired. And he farther inſtances in others he diſobliged. *Bryennius* he recalled out of Baniſhment, gave him the command of the *Cappadocians*, and with the *Macedonian* Legions ſent him againſt the *Turks*, a Commander of whom *Samuch* by name, now much infeſted the Borders of the Empire. But when he earneſtly deſired him to have his Eſtate reſtored which *Theodora* had taken from him he refuſed, and when ſtill more importunately he urged him to it, he put him off with that Common ſaying, *that Wages are not to be required till the work be done*, whereby he ſo exaſperated him that he expected but an opportunity to be revenged.

The *Turks* infeſt the Borders of the Empire

149. Imprudent alſo was his carriage to *Francopulus Erbebius* who had done very good ſervice under *Maniaces* in *Sicily*, and ſtudied the Intereſt of the Empire. He deſired of him to be Honoured with the Dignity of a *Magiſter*, which he not onely refuſed to confer on him, but with Scoffs and much ſcorn rejected him, which Affront being a Barbarian (ſaith our Writer) and impatient in his nature, he took ſo heinouſly that not thinking what others were attempting, to be revenged he got him Home into *Armenia*, and drawing over to him three hundred of thoſe *Franks* that ſerved the Emperour went into *Media* and joyned himſelf with *Samuch* the *Turk* to make War upon the *Romans*. For ſome time they accorded, but at length as commonly it happens differences aroſe, and were multiplied betwixt the two ſeveral Nations, and they began to Plot, and contrive means how to affront and at laſt to deſtroy each other. *Samuch* ſeemed to carry it fair, but *Erbebius* never truſted him, but dayly expected the *Turks* would make ſome attempt upon him and his Men, whom he charged ever to look to themſelves, not ſo much as to Sleep or Eat but with their Weapons at Hand. At length the thing broke out and the *Turks* ſet upon the *Franks* as they were at Dinner who aware of their coming and having their Horſes ready, inſtantly mounted, fought with and defeated them, killing the greater part; the reſt eſcaped into a Town not far off called *Chlear*. *Erbebius* after the purſuit was earneſt for returning to their Camp, but it happening that there being a League and friendſhip betwixt him and the *Ameras* of that Town, his Men would needs go thither to refreſh themſelves. He moſt vehemently endeavoured to diſſwade them, urging that they were by no means to truſt thoſe that were of a different Religion and Nation, who would make no difficulty at all of breaking their Oath, they counting it a matter of Piety and Merit to kill as many Chriſtians as they could. But there was no good to be done, they continued obſtinate, and he was forced to go with them into the Town, all he could doe was to beg of them to be vigilant and carefull, always to be upon their Guard. But they once got in fell to their Baths and Cups which invited *Aponaſar* the *Ameras* to take the advantage offered him, ſo that Communicating his Deſign with *Samuch* and the *Saracens* living thereabouts, he gave ſecret orders to thoſe that lodged the *Franks* to lay hold of and bind faſt their Gueſts, or if that could not be done to kill them. The ſign being given, ſome accordingly they make faſt and others they kill; the reſt eſcaping by leaping down from the Walls. *Erbebius* was taken and kept as a Priſoner. This advantage the *Ameras* made of what he had done to curry favour with the Emperour. He ſent him word he was at his ſervice and in Teſtimony of the Reality thereof, had deſtroyed thoſe that had been Traitours to him, and at preſent had their Captain faſt in Priſon.

Erbebius Revolts to the *Turks*.

But is ſuppreſſed and taken by the *Ameras* of *Chlear*.

150. But *Stratioticus* his rough and crabbed Carriage produced ſuch effects in a ſhort ſpace that he had but ſmall cauſe to rejoyce at the Calamity of the *Franks*. The Eaſtern Officers being rejected by him as was ſaid now betook themſelves to *Leo Straboſpondylus* the *Protoſyncellus* and chief manager of affairs

under

Michael's unkindneſs to the Souldiers makes them conſpire againſt him.

under him deſiring his mediation in their behalf that they might not be the onely Men that muſt be neglected, and not taſte of his Liberality, which they could not but take notice was very large towards others, who had neither watcht nor fought as they had done, and endured all manner of hardſhips from their very Childhood. *Leo* heard them and had ſo much of the Courtier as to commend every Man a part and ſpeak of his valour and Merits; but did nothing of their buſineſs, ſubmitting to the Emperour's humour who would neither allow them good deeds nor good words, which at a ſmall expence he might have done. This made them outrageous ſo as firſt to revile *Stratioticus* one to another, and from reproachfull words to paſs to exhortations to ſtand by one another, and revenge ſo great Injuſtice, which Combination they confirmed by Oath ſecretly in the Church. By the advice of *Ambuſtus* they Communicated their Deſign to *Bryennius* as one who could aſſiſt them with a numerous Army, and eaſily gained his concurrence. When they conſulted whom to prefer to be Emperour, *Ambuſtus* had all their ſuffrages, as one who by his Age, valour and experience excelled all others, but he really adverſe to the burthen; named *Iſaacius Comnenus* as the fitteſt Perſon they could chuſe, and to him they all aſſented; which done and confirmed by Oath they received Proviſions from the Emperour and departed each to his Quarters as was imagined. Amongſt the reſt *Bryennius* went to his charge and with him was ſent *John Opſaras* a Patritian with Gold to pay his Souldiers. *Bryennius* at the Muſter required ſo much to be given to every Souldier, which *John* refuſed, affirming he would fully obey the Emperour's Orders, and contending together about this matter *Bryennius* grew ſo Angry that he fell upon him and pulling him down to the Ground by his Hair and Beard ſoundly buffeted him, which done he committed him to Cuſtody and afterward diſtributed the Gold to his Souldiers as he pleaſed. At that time it happened that *Lycanthes* a Patritian who commanded the *Licaonians* and *Pyſidians* was near at hand with his Forces, and hearing what had happened, concluded with himſelf that none but one who Aimed at the Sovereignty it ſelf would have committed ſuch an Arbitrary and Inſolent Act, and being utterly Ignorant of what the other Commanders of the Eaſt had reſolved, with a ſufficient power fell upon the Camp of *Bryennius*, took him and delivered him into the Hands of *Opſaras* whom he had ſet at liberty, who colouring his Revenge with a pretence of Loyalty put out his Eyes and ſent him to the Emperour together with the Relation of what had paſſed.

Saluting *Iſacus Comnenus* Emperour.

151. But the chief Officers of the Eaſtern Parts, ſuch as *Romanus Sclerus*, *Burtzes*, *Bataneiates*, the Sons of *Baſilius Argyrus* and the reſt underſtanding what had paſſed, having hitherto concealed their Inclinations, and expected the time when to ſtir, when they heard what had befallen *Bryennius* concluded that upon Examination he would reveal the conſpiracy, and therefore thought it ſafeſt to prevent ſuch a diſcovery by a timely riſing. They all went into *Paphlagonia* to *Caſtamo* the Houſe of *Comnenus*, and compelled him to goe along with them to a ſpatious Plain called *Guvaria*, whither from all parts adjacent they ſent for the Souldiery, and then by univerſal conſent ſaluted him Emperour on the eighth day of *June* in the tenth Indiction. Having taken the Title he incamped himſelf as ſtrongly as he could in the place, expecting the forces of the reſt of the Conſpiratours, eſpecially of *Ambuſtus*, at whoſe ſlowneſs he conceived ſome diffidence, which was ſhortly changed into a ſuppoſed certainty by a Meſſage he received that he had changed his mind, broken his (unlawfull) Oath, and reſolving to adhere to *Stratioticus* was gathering together an Army for ſuppreſſion of the Confederates. This mightily perplexed *Comnenus* when he conſidered how dangerous an Enemy he ſhould have at his Back, and therefore fortifying himſelf in his Camp he reſolved not to ſtir till he heard farther. But *Ambuſtus* had not changed his mind, but miſtakes cauſed diſorder on both ſides. For *Ambuſtus* in his way from *Conſtantinople* meeting one of the Emperour's Meſſengers had ſent a blunt meſſage by him to *Nicetas* the *Logotheta Dromi* which ſufficiently diſcovered the Deſign; and when he came into the Eaſt and found not *Comnenus* ſtirring or as it ſeemed at all concerned, he imagined that he and the reſt had changed their Reſolutions and would declare nothing, ſo that he ſhould be left to ſhift for himſelf alone, and be condemned out of his own Mouth. Therefore he was much concerned how to avoid the Danger; for he neither had any Army in readineſs, thoſe Forts he had being unable to graple with the Emperour, neither had he had any Communication as yet with the other Souldiers of the Eaſtern parts that lay about his Government, therefore not knowing how to truſt them he had been very ſlow and wary in Preparations, and this was the cauſe of his Delay. Beſides, there lay near him in their Winter

Quarters, two Regiments of *Franks* and one of *Roſſians*, of which he ſtood in great fear, leſt upon diſcovery of his Deſign they ſhould ſeize him, and ſend him to the Emperour. But when by Degrees he thought he had ſecured himſelf, then firſt he broke his mind to his Servants and Dependants, and having got about him about a thouſand Men, then he try'd the Inclinations of ſuch as he could leſs truſt, firſt to bring over the Officers and Governours, and then the ordinary ſort. He counterfeited Letters as from the Emperour, by which he was ordered with three Regiments of the Aſſociates, and two of the *Colonienſes* and *Chaldeans*, to go againſt *Samueh*. Thoſe with their Officers, he either by Promiſes or Threats procured to take the Military oath to him, and having furniſht himſelf with an Army of ſeveral Nations, then marcht towards *Comnenus*, having ſent to let him know he was on his way.

152. *Comnenus* diſtruſtfull and much out of heart before, was much elevated by this Meſſage, and having joined his Forces with his, now ſet about his Work as being out of Danger. Yet did he commit his Wife and his Treaſure, to his Brother *John* to be kept in a Caſtle called *Pemoliſſa*, ſeated on a Rock near the River *Alys*. He having taken order for raiſing of Money throughout the Eaſt, and appointed his Receivers, paſſed the River *Sangarius*, and being every where received with applauſe and acclamations by ſlow Journeys moved toward *Nice*, which he deſired to get into his Hands to be a Receptacle for him upon occaſion, and therefore he gave time to thoſe that had adhered to the Emperour to remove from it, which they did aſſoon as they heard of his coming, the Souldiers to their particular Homes to look to the Safety of their Houſes, Wives and Children, and the Officers to the Emperour with News of what happened, amongſt whom the moſt eminent was *Lycanthes*, Captain of the Eaſtern Troops, *Theophylact Maniaces* and *Pniemius Iberus*, Captains of the Troops of the *Charſiani*. *Stratioticus* having Intelligence of the Revolt made by almoſt the whole Force of the Empire, yet refuſed to offer any Conditions of Peace, but prepared for a vigorous reſiſtence. All the Weſtern Regiments he ſent for, and gave the Command of them to *Macedonians*, Perſons of greateſt Quality and Experience in matters relating to War, and now moſt wiſely he Courted both Officers and Souldiers, preſenting them with good Gifts. In the ſame manner he treated the *Charſiani*, and ſuch of the Eaſtern Forces as had not revolted, of whom he appointed Commander *Theodorus* the Domeſtick of the Eaſt, the Eunuch of *Theodora* the Empreſs, joyning with him *Aaron Ducas* the *Magiſter*, Brother to *Comnenus* his Wife, a Man of a very great experience. Theſe being ſent againſt the Revolters came to *Nicomedia*, and thence ſent ſome to break down the Bridge of *Sangarius*, that *Comnenus* being forced to go about, they might be ſure not to miſs him. From *Nicomedia* they removed to the Mountain *Sopho*, and there incamped themſelves, and prepared for Fight. *Comnenus* having notice hereof immediately got into *Nice*, and there left all his Baggage and Carriages, and having ſtrongly fortified the City, removed and incamped himſelf ſome twelve Furlongs diſtant from it towards the North. The Armies being near together, ſeveral Parties of them knowing one another uſed Arguments on both ſides to draw off their oppoſites, theſe of the Emperour's ſide reviling *Comnenus* as a Traitour, and they of his Party deſpiſing the Emperour, as a deſpicable doting old Man, ruled by Eunuchs.

Who marching towards *Nice*.

Cauſeth *Michael* the Emperour to ſend for the Weſtern Forces to engage him.

153. The Captains on both ſides at firſt incouraged this Diſcourſe, but when *Comnenus* found that it did no good, he would not permit his Men ſo freely to go abroad, which the Domeſtick and the *Macedonians* eſpecially judged to proceed from fear, and therefore reſolved to give him Battel. The reſt aſſenting, they removed and pitched at a Place called *Petroa*, ſome fifteen Furlongs diſtant from the Enemy. *Comnenus* his Men now calling for Battel aſwell as they he led out, and prepared to fight. The left Wing he committed to *Ambuſtus*, the right to *Romanus Sclerus*, and he himſelf led the middle Battel. The Domeſtick and *Aaron* in forming their *Battalia* committed their left Wing to *Baſilius Trachaniotes*, then Captain of the Weſt, and the moſt eminent of all the *Macedonians*, and the right Wing *Aaron* led himſelf aſſiſted by theſe Officers, *Lycanthes*, *Pyemius* and *Randulph* the Patritian a *Frank*. They fought in a Place called *Ades* by the Inhabitants, and at firſt *Aaron* ſeemed to have gotten the Day, for he beat the oppoſite Wing, took *Romanus Sclerus* Priſoner, and drove them back as far as their Camp, which he might have taken, and obtained a full Victory had he not been too cautious, for *Comnenus* had alſo the worſt of it, and had thoughts of flying back to *Nice*. But *Ambuſtus* bore down all oppoſite to him where he fought,

Whom a Battel enſued.

and

In which *Comnenus* had the better.

and purſuing them to their Camp broke into it, and having plundered their Tents cut them down, which ſight ſo animated *Comnenus* and his Souldiers, and on the contrary diſcouraged the Souldiers of *Aaron*, that the Emperour's Party was defeated, a great Multitude falling in the Fight, and eſpecially of *Macedonians* both Officers and Souldiers; and not a few were taken Priſoners. This ill Succeſs ſo perplexed *Michael*, that he had ſent to *Comnenus* and offered to lay down, if thoſe about him had not kept him from it, and urged him rather to dye than quit the Supreme Dignity. However certain of the chiefeſt Senatours, and Men of the greateſt Wiſedom were ſent to treat with him, *viz. Conſtantine Leichudes, Theodorus Alopus* who had both the Title of *Proedri* or Preſidents, and *Conſtantine Pſellus* chief of the Philoſophers, who offered him to be adopted *Cæſar*, and Pardon and Indemnity to all his Followers. The Souldiers would not hear of this, nor permit as they ſaid, that their General ſhould be ſeen in an Habit inferiour to what he wore at preſent, which yet they were thought to ſpeak more out of Flattery than Deſign. However *Comnenus* took the Meſſengers aſide and told them as a ſecret, that he ſhould very willingly admit of their Propoſals, provided the Emperour would indulge him ſome of his Power, ſo as to be able to reward thoſe that had ſerved him.

The Emperour offering Conditions to him.

154. And *Zonaras* reports, that to deceive his Souldiers he gave them two ſeveral Anſwers in Writing, of which that which was made known, with Scorn rejected the Conditions, but the other accepted them. The old Man was overjoyed to hear of his Acceptance, and returned, that it ſhould not be long before he took him to be his Collegue in the Empire, though for ſome Reaſons at firſt he muſt defer it. With which Meſſage he ſent the Senatours back together with Promiſe of Confirmation of what had been granted before, and of eſtabliſhing the Officers of *Comnenus* in their preſent Employments. *Comnenus* and all the reſt liked well enough of it, and required a Confirmation by a Golden Ball; onely *Ambuſtus* oppoſed, who would by all means have the old Man depoſed, and contended that whom they had already depriv'd by Oath, they could not without Perjury re-admit to the Throne, and he urged that if they laid down their Arms, the Iſſue would be that *Comnenus* would be poyſon'd, and they for their ſhares ſhould have their Eyes pull'd out of their Heads. And to this *Cedrenus* adds, that the Senatours themſelves did prevaricate and perſwade *Ambuſtus*, that he ſhould thus oppoſe the Articles of the Treaty, and moreover made *Comnenus* to believe, that the People at *Conſtantinople* did greatly affect him, where ſhould he but once ſhew his Face, the old Man would quickly be depoſed, and he be put into his place with univerſal ſatisfaction and applauſe. While thus the Negotiation was diſturbed, the Emperour himſelf by his falſe and underhand dealing, went about to prevent what he had ſo readily promiſed, and by endeavouring to keep by deceitfull means loſt all. By gifts aſwell as good words and promiſes, he now endeavoured to oblige all the People, and having ſo made his way cauſed both Senatours, and the Citizens to ſubſcribe a Writing, and take an Oath with direfull Imprecations, that they would never give to *Comnenus* the Title of Emperour, nor own him for their Sovereign Lord, which they took being overpowered, and *Comnenus* far diſtant as yet from the City. But he being now come nearer, and lodging at *Damatrys* within leſs than a Days Journey, by break of day ſeveral Senatours and others came to the great Church, and required the Patriarch to come to them to conſult of an important Affair. The Patriarch ſhut his Doors, and refuſed to come to them, but ſent two of his Kinſmen to know their buſineſs, on whom the Company by this time much increaſed laid hands, and threatned to ſtrangle them except he would come down. Hereat he came down in *Pontificalibus*, as he pretended unwillingly, though ſome were of opinion that he did but counterfeit, and they compaſſing him about required him to go from them to the Emperour, and demand back again the Writing which they had ſubſcribed, for ſeeing he had declared *Comnenus* ſhould be his Succeſſour, they muſt either incur Perjury or very much danger by oppoſing him. The Patriarch bid them be of good chear, and gave them good words, and this appeared alſo to be a pretended and feigned buſineſs. For omitting this they ſhortly after declared by Common conſent, *Comnenus* to be Emperour, and all that oppoſed him ſhould loſe their Eſtates, and be accounted Enemies of the *Roman* Empire. This the Patriarch procured and decreed in the Church, and ſent Meſſengers both to *Comnenus* and *Stratioticus*, to the one that he would haſte to the City, and to the other that he would reſign, and depart from the Palace which did not belong to him; whereby he ſhewed that he had been the

But not intending to perform them.

But is forced to it by the Revolters and the Patriarch.

the Authour and Principal cauſe of the Revolt. The Biſhops or Metropolitans, as *Cedrenus* calls them, that went to *Stratioticus*, delivering their Meſſage, he demanded what the Patriarch would give him in exchange for the Empire, to which they replied *The Kingdom of Heaven*, whereupon he put off the Purple and Violet ſhoes, and took the Habit of a private Man; although *Cedrenus* idlely thinks the Patriarch's promiſe to have been ſcarcely valid, except he had returned to a private Life at the beginning of the Defection, and thereby prevented the effuſion of ſo much Bloud as had been ſhed before his conſtrained Reſignation; as if a lawfull Prince was bound to give way to an Uſurper. *Stratioticus* being departed to his own Houſe in the Caſtle, after he had Reigned one year, *Ambuſtus Curopalates* by order of *Comnenus*, the next Day being the laſt of *Auguſt*, in the Tenth Indiction, *A. D.* M.LVII. together with many Noblemen took poſſeſſion of the Palace. At Evening *Comnenus* himſelf made his Entry, and the next Day being the firſt of *September*, in the Eleventh Indiction, going in a ſolemn Proceſſion to the great Church, and there being on a Scaffold crowned by the Patriarch, was declared Emperour of the *Romans*. Here the Hiſtory of *Cedrenus* leaves him and us.

Upon which *Michael Stratioticus* reſigns, and *Iſaacius Comnenus* aſſumes the Government.

155. *Iſaacius Comnenus* having obtained the Empire, is ſaid to have aſcribed it not to Almighty God but himſelf, and his military skill, which they thence gather, becauſe he immediately cauſed Money to be ſtamped with his Image, holding a drawn Sword. But ſuch Men as had aſſiſted him he largely rewarded, and took care when they had their Money that they departed home, leſt being together in the City they ſhould deviſe ſome new thing, and make any Commotion amongſt the People. The Patriarch he exceedingly Reverenced, and highly preferred his Nephews. Whereas the proviſion of things for the Church formerly belonged to the *Oeconomus*, and Keeper of the Veſſels, whom the Emperour was wont to Name; for his ſake left the Diſpoſition of theſe matters abſolutely to the Patriarch. His Wife he now named Empreſs, and to his Brother *John* gave the Offices of *Curopalates* and *Grand Domeſtick.* Whereas he took notice that his Predeceſſours ever ſince the time of *Baſilius Porphyrogenitus*, had ill diſtributed and employed the Revenue, making odd Aſſignments, as of ſome to Monaſteries and the reſt to the gratifying of their pleaſures and Appetites whereby the Treaſury was ever kept empty, he would doe this not by degrees, as a good States-man imitates a skilfull Phyſician, but on a ſudden and all at once, as if he had ſtamped the Sword in his Hand upon the Coin, not ſo much to ſignifie what a Fighter, but a Reformer and Cutter of ill Members and Diſtempers from the Commonwealth he meant to be. The Acts of *Stratioticus* he abrogated without deſtinction, took away all he had given, and not onely his, but the Acts of other Emperours he reſcinded, therein ſparing neither the Senatour, if concerned nor thoſe of the Common ſort. Daily in thoſe courſes he grew more ſevere, and at length fell upon the Monaſteries to which he aſſigned onely Neceſſaries, and took the reſt of their Revenues to his own uſe. By theſe means he incurred the *Odium* of all ſorts, and forgetting on what Rock his Predeceſſour had ſplit of Souldiers as well as of the reſt, no advice, reprehenſion, fear or hatred being of power ſufficient to reſtrain him. As for reprehenſions he wanted them not, the Patriarch being very inſolent in that Point, that if he had not what he asked he would not onely upbraid him, but threaten as he had ſet him up to pull him down again, which he not brooking, and to prevent miſchief Baniſhed the Prelate together with his Nephews, whom yet he reſtored to their former Dignities again, when ſhortly after their Uncle died. He preferred to be Patriarch *Conſtantine Lichudes* the Preſident and *Protoveſtiarius*, but not till ſuch times as he had wrung out of his Hands the Charter of Privileges and Immunities granted by *Monomachus*, to his Monaſtery of *Mangana*.

Zonaras.

He is very ſevere.

He had ſome Skirmiſhes with the *Hungarians* and *Patzinacæ*.

156. He had ſome Bickerings with the *Hungarians* and *Patzinacæ*, both of whom without much trouble asked Peace. But as he lay at the end of *September* at *Lobrius*, ſo great a quantity of Rain and Snow fell, that he and his Army were both in danger to miſcarry, and he was juſt but removed from under a great Oak when the Tree fell, for which to teſtifie his Deliverance he built a Church to St. *Theila*, on whoſe Day he eſcaped the Danger, but ſuch a Building as teſtified the meanneſs of his Spirit, which his Couſin and Succeſſour *John* the Son of *Alexius* afterward repaired moſt Magnificently, in the Name of our Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*. Not long after *Comnenus* deveſted himſelf of the Empire, which how it came about, Writers do not agree. Moſt ſaid that as he was Hunting he was blaſted with a Wind or with Lightning, and thence contracted ſuch a

Diſtemper,

Comnenus lays down, and chuſes *Conſtantine Ducas* for his Succeſſour.

Diſtemper, that deſpairing of Recovery, and ſenſible how he came by his Power, to Obliterate his Offence in ſome manner, he laid down what he had unjuſtly taken up. And in the choice of a Succeſſour he would not be ſwayed by any carnal report, neither making choice of *John* his Kinſman, *Theodorus Docianus* his Siſter's Son, nor his Daughter's Husband, but pitched upon *Conſtantine Ducas* the Preſident, whom he thought very fit and able for the diſcharge of ſo great a Place, and then retired into a Monaſtery, where he diſcharged all the meaneſt Offices, and lived the remainder of his Days, after he had Reigned two years and three months. A Man, to ſpeak of his good aſwell as bad qualities, very Stout, arrogant in his Diſpoſition, very quick in diſpatch of Buſineſs, and moſt skilfull in Military matters; not Learned himſelf, but a lover and encourager of Learned Men. A Man exceeding Chaſt, inſomuch as being from Home falling ill, and told by Phyſicians that the Company of a Woman would relieve him, he refuſed utterly to meddle with any other than his own Wife, whoſe Name was *Aecatharina*, a Lady very Vertuous and Religious. When his Ambitious affecting the Empire was objected to him, he ſaid, that, *He could not bear the Reign of a Fellow-Servant who denied him his juſt Reward.*

Conſtantine Ducas Emperour.

157. *Conſtantine* (*Ducas*) the Twelfth of that Name, thus without any trouble became Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, in the thirteenth Indiction, *A. D.* M.LX. He began his Reign with a Promotion of ſeveral Perſons, and Reſtitution of thoſe whom *Comnenus* had ſpoiled of their Dignities. Yet was his Life preſently laid at by ſome Conſpiratours, who to make him come by Boat out of the Countrey where he was diverting himſelf, made a ſtory be told him that there was an Inſurrection in the City; and then had corrupted the Maſters of his Gally, called *Protocarabi* to Drown him. He hearing of the Tumult haſted indeed to *Conſtantinople*; but it happened that his Gally was not then at Hand, ſo as he took another Boat, and the Conſpiratours meeting it reſolved to run over his Boat, and ſo to ſink him, which they were attempting, when thoſe in the Veſſel with him by their loud cries and warning ſo affrighted the Rowers, that they had no power but to obey. Yet upon Diſcovery of the Treaſon, he contented himſelf onely by confiſcating the Eſtates of the Traitours. He boaſted himſelf to be Deſcended of the Family of the Ancient *Ducæ*, *Andronicus Pantherius* and *Conſtantine*, but that Family when *Conſtantine* affected the Empire, was ſubverted in the Reign of *Conſtantine* the Son of *Leo* the Philoſopher, yet under Age, no Heirs Male being left; ſo that his Anceſtours were ſaid to claim from a Woman, and he was thought no Genuine and true *Ducas*, but as it were ſuch by adulteration, and therefore by moſt was by way of Diminution not called *Duca* but *Duciza*. But he was a Man Pious towards God, of good Morals, and a lover of Juſtice: of none of the quickeſt Wits, but a lover of plain dealing and ſincere Men, but loved Money exceedingly; and it was his care how to invent ways of encreaſing his Treaſure. Two things therefore he eſpecially employed himſelf in: in encreaſing the Publick Revenue, by ſelling Places, and new farming out the Cuſtoms: and in hearing of Cauſes and deciding Controverſies, wherein he did not always obſerve the Preſcript of Laws, but ſometime uſed his Will for Law, and otherwhiles had reſpect to Perſons. And as he was hard and tenacious, this was his Maxim, "By no means to make War, but by fair means to take off all Nations "from their Hoſtilities, both to ſave the great expence of Expeditions, and that "he might not be diverted from attending the Trade of getting Money. This cauſed him to neglect his Muſters, and even to Disband the moſt Valiant and fit for Service, as it happened, whereby the Barbarous Nations grew more bold, and got Ground of this *Roman* Empire.

A Conſpiracy againſt his Perſon, but puniſhed.

He is exceeding Covetous even to the almoſt ruine of the Empire.

158. In the Eaſt ſome of the Provinces were haraſſed, and ſome ſubdued by the Neighbouring Nations: neither were thoſe of the Weſt in a good condition, becauſe the Souldiers were both few and lazy. The *Vzi* a *Scythian* People having Beaten and taken Priſoners *Magiſter Nicephorus Bataniates* and *Magiſter Baſilius Apocapes* paſſed the River *Iſter*, and having waſted all the Countrey near to it, proceeded into *Macedonia*, and thence into *Greece*, making havock of all things, which though it much troubled the Emperour, yet that he might not ſpend any thing would he not raiſe any Forces, ſaying, that *The Enemy could not be Beaten back*, but endeavoured by Gifts to take off their Captains. But being reviled for ſuffering the Empire out of his miſerableneſs to miſcarry, he marched out of the City againſt the Enemy, but as is reported, with no more than an hundred and fifty Men, and for getting more, and Conquering the Barbarians, betook himſelf rather to his Prayers than any other means, and they ſo well ſucceeded,

The *Vzi* infeſt the Empire.

that

But are deſtroyed by the *Patzinacæ* and *Bulgarians.*

Conſtantine being Sickly appoints his three Sons, *Conſtantine, Michael* and *Andronicus* under the tuition of their Mother *Eudocia* to ſucceed him.

And dies, *A.D.* M. LXVII.

that when he was conſidering how to raiſe an Army, News was brought, that there was no Enemy left againſt which to ſend it; for the *Patzinacæ* and *Bulgarians* had faln upon the *Uzi*, wearied and weakned, and had utterly cut them off, their Captains hardly eſcaping over *Iſter*. This happened in the ſixth year of his Reign, preceded by a great Earthquake which happened on the twenty third of *September*, by which many Churches and Houſes were overturned. In the month of *May*, the fourth Indiction appeared a Comet, following the Sun, at firſt of the bigneſs of the full Moon, but as its Tail encreaſed, ſo the Body of it ſeemed to diminiſh: it was ſeen for forty days with its Tail turned toward the Eaſt. By this time the Emperour had contracted a Diſeaſe, which made him deſpair of life, and to apply himſelf to ſettle matters relating to the Government and Succeſſion. By *Eudocia* his Wife he had three Sons, whereof *Michael* and *Andronicus* when a private Man, but *Conſtantine* after he was Emperour, who upon this account was the onely *Porphyrogenitus*, and for that cauſe was firſt adorned with Enſigns of Empire. Afterwards he named Emperours the other two, and left the Empire to them all, but Named his Wife their Empreſs and Lady, and left the management of Affairs to her, for which ſhe ſeemed to him fit, aſwell as for the Education of her Children: but firſt he took an Oath from her committed to Writing, and left with the Patriarch, that ſhe would not Marry again: as he exacted the like from the Senatours, that they would admit none but his Sons for Emperours. He had made his Brother *Cæſar*, and uſed him as his Councillour and Aſſiſtant in his moſt important and ſecret buſineſs. Though he himſelf was unlearned, yet he reverenced Learned Men, being wont to ſay, that *He had rather been enobled by Learning than Sovereignty.* For ſuch as Conſpired againſt him he ſaid he would uſe them no worſe than to uſe them for Slaves, the Laws having deprived them of Liberty. Dying after a Reign of ſeven years and ſix months, leaving (as we ſaid) the Adminiſtration to his Wife, ſo that as we began the Second Part of our Hiſtory with a *Conſtantine*, we conclude this with one; and as we began this Part with a *Woman*, at the Time of *Charles* the Great, ſo now we end at one in the Year M. LXVII. the year following the Conqueſt of *England* by Duke *William* the *Norman*.

FINIS.

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FINIS.

UMI